Living Standards and Market Integration in the Rural Economy of Roman Britain

Margaret Hannah Burr

Volume One: Text

Thesis submitted to the University of Oxford for the degree of D. Phil. in

Classical Archaeology

School of Archaeology

To my family

Table of Contents

List of Figures *ix*

List of Tables *xx*

Abstract *xxiii*

Acknowledgements **xxv**

Chapter 1: Introduction **1**

The Roman rural economy—subsistence farming or market-oriented production? 1

Stereotypes about Peasants 13

Farming, Subsistence and Productivity: Lessons from Development Economics 16

Peasants and Farmers in Ancient Literature 21

Defining terms 30

Rural workers in the literary landscape 32

Methodology 45

Locating lower-status sites 47

Project overview 56

Site categories 57

Terminology and Definitions 63

Consumption as theoretical framework 64

Other limitations 65

Organisation of the thesis 66

Chapter 2: The Danebury Environs Roman Programme **68**

Introduction 68

Data Overview 70

Site type and land-use 70

Site longevity 72

Structures 73

A note on phasing 74

Phase 1—Late Iron Age 76

Morphology 77

Phase 2—Late Iron Age–Early Roman 82

Site Morphology 83

Phase 3—Early–Mid-Roman 90

Agricultural production 95

Finds Assemblages—LIA–E/MR 96

Phase 4 and 5—Mid- and Late Roman 100

Overview 100

Phase 4--Mid-Late Roman 109

Phase 5—Late Roman 115

Finds Assemblages—M/LR 123

Conclusion 126

Chapter 3: Heathrow Terminal 5 132

Introduction 133

Geology of the Middle Thames Valley 136

Data Overview 138

Site Distribution 138

Site Type and Land Use 138
Site Longevity 144
Structures 147
Finds Assemblages 150
Phasing 158
Phase 1—Late Iron Age–Early Roman 159
Overview 159
Morphology 163
Finds Assemblages 172
Conclusions 175
Phase 2—Mid-Roman 176
Overview and Landscape organisation 176
Morphology 181
Finds Assemblages 182
Conclusion 184
Phase 3 – Late Roman 186
Morphology 190
Finds Assemblages 192
Conclusions 193
Chapter 4: The Fenland Survey 196
Introduction 197
Fenland Geology 199
Formation of the Fens 199
Drainage and the archaeological record 203
Research questions and history 205

The Car Dyke 208
Was there an imperial estate in the Fens? 213
Data overview 216
Site type and land-use 217
Land use 217
Site distribution and topography 218
Structures 221
Finds Assemblages 221
Site longevity 225
The First Century 227
Historical background 227
Late Iron Age 229
Early Roman 237
Finds Assemblages 245
Mid-Roman 246
Site distribution 246
Production 249
Morphology 252
Finds Assemblages 265
Late Roman 267
Finds Assemblages 275
Conclusion 276
5: High-Speed 1 **280**
Introduction 281
Archaeological Background 282

Historiography 282

Data 284

Land-use 284

Site distribution 284

Structures 289

Site longevity 290

The First Century 291

Late Iron Age 293

Early Roman 296

Finds Assemblages 307

Mid-Roman 307

Finds Assemblages 310

Late Roman 316

Finds Assemblages—Late Roman 324

Conclusion 325

Conclusion 328

Major Themes 331

Settlement hierarchies 337

Finds Assemblages 342

Bibliography 351

Ancient Sources 351

Works Cited 352

Volume Two: Catalogue of Sites **396**

1: Danebury Environs Roman Programme 396

2: Heathrow Terminal 5 412

3: The Fenland Survey 433

Blackhorse Lane, Swavesey 449

4: High Speed 1 580

List of Figures

Figure 1: Peasant farm, Muzeul ASTRA, Sibiu, Romania (TripAdvisor). 49

Figure 2: Archaeological projects in England that include excavation between 1960 and 2010 (Darvill 2016, 13)..... 52

Figure 3: Distribution of excavations between 1990–2010 (Darvill 2016, 12)..... 52

Figure 4: Aerial view of a section of the A14 excavation (Current Archaeology). 56

Figure 5: Average and median excavation sizes on different site types in the case study area, Case Study 2. The discrepancy between the average and median areas in this case study reflects the enormity of the Heathrow excavation..... 66

Figure 6: Area of Danebury Environs case study within a general map of England. 69

Figure 7: All Danebury Environs sites. 70

Figure 8: Number of case study sites occupied in different periods in Case Study 1 area. 71

Figure 9: Changes in Case Study 1 settlement types (and peripheral sites) over time..... 72

Figure 10: Changes in structural forms on settlements in Case Study 1 over time..... 73

Figure 11: Case Study 1 sites occupied during the LIA. Site names are as follows: Grateley South (1), Pains Wessex Factory (2), Cockey Down (3), Winnall Down (4), Nettlebank Copse (5), Sparsholt Roman Villa (6), Dunkirt Barn (7), Somborne Park Farm (8), Houghton Down (9), Suddern Farm (10), Old Down Farm (11), Woolbury (12), Balksbury Camp (13), Bury Hill (14), Salisbury (15), Fullerton (16), Thruxton (17), Rowbury Farm (18), Twyford Down (19), Viking Way (20), Ashley (21), Winchester (22)..... 77

Figure 12: LIA/ER phases at Old Down Farm (top) and Rowbury Farm (bottom) (Davies (left) and RSRB database (right)). 79

Figure 13: E, M, and LIA enclosures at Suddern Farm in Case Study 1 (top left) (Hamilton, et al. (2019), Fig. 1). 79

Figure 14: Late Iron Age enclosure system at Houghton Down in Case Study 1 (RSRB database, “Houghton Down”)..... 80

Figure 15: Banjo enclosure from Grateley South in Case Study 1 (RSRB database, "Grateley South"). 81

Figure 16: Villa site at Dunkirt Barn in Case Study 1, with Late Iron Age banjo enclosure at the top right (RSRB database, "Dunkirt Barn"). 82

Figure 17: Sites occupied in Case Study 1 in the ER. Site names are as follows: Salisbury (1), Cockey Down (2), Grateley South (3), Suddern Farm (4), Thruxton (5), Dunkirt Barn (6), Fir Hill (7), Nettlebank Copse (8), Houghton Down (9), Balksbury Camp (10), Rowbury Farm (11), Old Down Farm (12), Longstock Nursery (13), Viking Way (14), Ashley (15), East Anton (16), Fullerton (17), Woolbury (18), Barton Stacey (19), Winchester (20), Twyford Down (21), Winnall Down (22)..... 84

Figure 18: ER-period features at Rowbury Farm (RSRB database, "Rowbury Farm"). 85

Figure 19: "Ladder" system of paddock enclosures at the Roman farm at Easton Lane/Winnall Down in Case Study 1 (RSRB database, "Winnall Down"). 86

Figure 20: LIA/ER phase at Houghton Down in Case Study 1 (RSRB database, "Houghton Down"). 87

Figure 21: LIA- (left) and ER-period (right) features at Grateley South in Case Study 1 (RSRB database, "Grateley South"). 89

Figure 22: Building 4 and Structure 5 at Houghton Down in Case Study 1 (RSRB Database, "Houghton Down"). 91

Figure 23: ER Structure 5 at Houghton Down in Case Study 1 (Cunliffe and Poole 2008, "Houghton Down"). 94

Figure 24: Percentage of Case Study 1 ER sites furnishing different finds types. 99

Figure 25: Case Study 1 sites occupied in the MR. Site names are as follows: Ashley (1), Balksbury Camp (2), Barton Stacey (3), Dunkirt Barn (4), East Anton (5), Fir Hill (6), Fullerton (7), Grateley South (8), Houghton Down (9), Longstock Nursery (10), Nettlebank Copse (11), Old Down Farm (12), Rowbury Farm (13), Salisbury (14), Sparsholt Villa (15), Suddern Farm (16), Thruxton (17), Winchester (18), Woolbury (19). 100

Figure 26: Study sites occupied in the LR period. Site names are as follows: Ashley (1); Balksbury Camp (2); Woolbury (3); Houghton Down (4); Thruxton (5); Grateley South (6); Dunkirt Barn (7); Fullerton (8); Sparsholt Roman Villa (9); High Post, Salisbury (10); Suddern Farm (11); Pains Wessex Factory, High Post (12); Cockey Down (13); Bar End, Winchester (14); Longstock Nursery (15); Fir Hill (16); Winchester (17); East Anton (18); Salisbury (19) 100
Figure 27: Plan of excavation at Fir Hill, Bossington (RSRB Database). 103
Figure 28: Plan of excavations at Longstock Nursery, Longstock (Lovell 2000)..... 104
Figure 29: Plan of watching brief excavations at Bar End, Winchester (Teague 2004). 105
Figure 30: Site plan from excavations at High Post, Salisbury. Trenches are indicated in pink and are difficult to see (RSRB Database). 107
Figure 31: Plan of Cockey Down excavations in Case Study 1 (Lovell 1999, 35). 107
Figure 32: Percentage of 'peripheral' sites (dated to the M/LR period) furnishing finds that evidently come from outside local area. 109
Figure 33: Aisled Buildings I and II at Sparsholt Roman Villa in Case Study 1 (Johnston et al. 2014, 21). 112
Figure 34: Top plan of all features at Thruxton in Case Study 1 (RSRB Database)..... 114
Figure 35: Plan of MR features at Houghton Down, Longstock, in Case Study 1 (RSRB Database)..... 115
Figure 36: Plan of Sparsholt Roman Villa in Case Study 1 (RSRB Database)..... 118
Figure 37: Mid-Roman Case Study 1 sites furnishing MR imports or coins, by broad site category..... 124
Figure 38: Presence or absence of other finds types on rural sites in Case Study 1. Note that 'economic' materials included writing equipment, intaglio/signet rings, seals, weights, and locks/keys. 124
Figure 39: Percentage of LR Case Study 1 sites reporting presence of various categories of find. 126
Figure 40: Heathrow Terminal 5 (Case Study 2) case study area. 132
Figure 41: All sites in Case Study 2, mapped together with sites outside study area. 133

Figure 42: Map illustrating superficial geology within Case Study 2. 138
Figure 43: Site occupation over time in Case Study 2. 139
Figure 44: Number of nucleated and non-nucleated sites in Case Study 2, by period. 140
Figure 45: Number of settlement and periphery sites in Case Study 2, by period. 140
Figure 46: Distribution of Late Iron Age sites in the Heathrow T5 environs. 141
Figure 47: Distribution of ER sites in the Heathrow T5 environs. 142
Figure 48: Distribution of second century sites in the Heathrow T5 environs. 142
Figure 49: Distribution of third century sites in the Heathrow T5 environs. 143
Figure 50: Distribution of 4th century sites in the Heathrow T5 environs. 143
Figure 51: Percent of Case Study 2 sites, per period, that experienced major changes in use. 145
Figure 52: Percent of Case Study 2 sites of each category that were founded in each study period. 145
Figure 53: Percent of Case Study 2 sites of each category that were abandoned in each study period. 146
Figure 54: Percent of Case Study 2 sites founded in each period that were abandoned in successive centuries. 146
Figure 55: Percent of Case Study 2 sites furnishing evidence for different structural types, by study period. 148
Figure 56: Percentage of all Case Study 2 sites furnishing evidence for various types of building materials. 149
Figure 57: Average and median excavation size within Case Study 2, by site type. 150
Figure 58: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites reporting the presence of various categories of imports and/or luxury items. 151
Figure 59: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites in each category reporting the presence of Late Iron Age and Roman finds. 153
Figure 60: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing various objects used in agricultural production. 154
Figure 61: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing objects of 'personal' use. 154

Figure 62: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing evidence for objects related to Mediterranean-style dining and/or entertaining. 155
Figure 63: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing evidence for 'specialised' equipment of various types. 156
Figure 64: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing objects related to written communication, either in the form of writing itself (graffiti), writing implements (styli or ink-pots), and seals or seal-boxes. 156
Figure 65: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing evidence for religious belief or burial customs. 157
Figure 66: Phase 1 site distribution around the Heathrow T5 excavations. 159
Figure 67: Case Study 2, LIA and ER sites mentioned in text. 160
Figure 68: Screenshot of the PAS map of all coin finds dated to the LIA, zoomed-in to show the Heathrow T5 case study area. 161
Figure 69: Stukeley's 1723 drawing of M/LIA earthworks at Caesar's Camp, Heathrow (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993, 306). 162
Figure 70: All phases excavated at Ashford Prison (Carew 2003). 165
Figure 71: Iron Age and E/MR features at Heathrow Terminal 5 (Ghisleni 2017). 167
Figure 72: Transition period (2a), E/MR (2b), and M/LR (2c) features at All Souls Farm Quarry, Wexham (RSRB Database). 168
Figure 73: Landscape changes at Kingsmead Quarry (Chaffey, Barclay, and Pelling (forthcoming)). 169
Figure 74: Site plan from Hengrove Farm, Case Study 2 (RSRB Database). 170
Figure 75: Phased plan of features at Imperial College Sports Ground (RSRB Database). .. 171
Figure 76: Distribution of regional and extra-provincial imports and/or coins and brooches dating to Phase 1 in Heathrow Terminal 5 case study area. 173
Figure 77: First-century finds assemblages on sites with and without evidence for reorganisation. 174
Figure 78: First-century finds assemblages on reorganised rural settlements and settlements without evidence for reorganisation. 175

Figure 79: Sites that were abandoned, experienced hiatuses, or on which activity seemed to have been reduced in the second and early-third centuries AD. 1 (Agar's Plough); 2 (Bath Road, Slough); 3 (Brentford); 4 (Cippenham, Slough); 5 (Eton Area 16); 6 (Datchet, Field A); 7 (Datchet, Fields 2, 3, and 4); 8 (Hayes Manor School); 9 (Heathcote); 10 (Hurst Park); 11 (Lake End Road West); 12 (Long Lane); 13 (Lower Horton Channel); 14 (Manor Farm); 15 (Mayfield Farm); 16 (Staines); 17 (Western International Market); 18 (Wood Lane). The kiln sites at Hedgerley, Fulmer, and Springwood were not included here. 177

Figure 80: Case Study 2, MR sites mentioned in text. 178

Figure 81: All excavated features at Wood Lane, Slough (Ford, Entwhistle, and Taylor (2003), 36). 180

Figure 82: Enclosures uncovered in excavations at Kingsmead Quarry, Horton, Case Study 2 (RSRB Database , "Kingsmead Quarry"). 182

Figure 83: Second-century material from outside Case Study 2 area. 183

Figure 84: Distribution of regional and/or extra-provincial imports on different types of MR settlements in the Heathrow Terminal 5 case study area. 186

Figure 85: Map of 4th-century sites within Case Study 2. Numbers correspond to the following site names: 1. 51 Avenue Gardens, Acton; 2. Agar's Plough; 3. All Souls Farm Quarry, Wexham; 4. Berkyn Manor Farm, Horton; 5. Brentford (vicus); 6. Brook Farm, Slough; 7. Coldharbour; 8. Cranford; 9. Ferry Lane, Shepperton; 10. Franklands Drive; 11. Hayes Manor School; 12. Imperial Sports College, Harlington; 13. Kingsmead Quarry; 14. Lake End Road West; 15. Laleham, Spelthorne; 16. Lower Horton Channel, Horton; 17. Mayfield; 18. Old Way Lane, Slough; 19. Perry Oaks/Heathrow Terminal 5, Hillingdon; 20. Prospect Park; 21. Skerne Road; 22. St John's Hospital, Twickenham; 23. Staines (vicus); 24. Staines, 18-32 London Road; 25. Staines, 42-54 London Road; 26. Staines, 9-11 High Street; 27. Staines, Old Police Station, 10-16 London Road; 28. The Lea, Denham; 29. Thorpe Lea; 30. Waylands; 31. Waynflete Tower Avenue, Esher. 187

Figure 86: Case Study 2, LR sites mentioned in text. 188
Figure 87: LR finds from settlement and peripheral sites in the study area. 188
Figure 88: Mid- to late-Roman activity at Heathrow Terminal 5, Case Study 2. 190
Figure 89: Two possible reconstructions of LR structure E6 at Heathrow Terminal 5 (Lewis et al. 2010). 191
Figure 90: Percent of Heathrow Terminal 5 case study settlement or 'unclear' sites (n=14) furnishing coins or regionally-traded pottery in the LR period. 192
Figure 91: Map of Case Study 3 area. 196
Figure 92: Case Study sites (circles), shown in black. Roman roads and sites outside case study area shown in grey. 198
Figure 93: Approximate elevation of fen landscape with modern flood-zone marked in green. 200
Figure 94: LiDAR-derived image of the relict creek networks around the Littleport area of Cambridgeshire (Pritchard et al., 2015). 203
Figure 95: Car Dyke and Midfendic in Lincolnshire (Simmons 1979). 209
Figure 96: Map of putative Roman canals and canalised rivers in the Fens (Blair (2007)). 210
Figure 97: Anglo-Saxon lodes around Waterbeach, including Reach Lode, which may have a Roman origin (Oosthuizen (2017)). 211
Figure 98: Putative sea levels over time in Case Study 3. Roman sea level shown (blue) at 1 metre below the modern one. Flood zone shown in yellow/green at 2.5m OD. 220
Figure 99: Evidence for structures from Case Study 3, all periods. 221
Figure 100: Building materials on sites without structures in Case Study 3. 221
Figure 101: Case Study 3 finds types. 223
Figure 102: Percent of Case Study 3 sites furnishing uncommon finds types. 223
Figure 103: Percent of Case Study 3 sites in each period which experienced major changes in function. 226
Figure 104: Percent of Case Study 3 sites founded in each period that were abandoned in each period 226

Figure 105: Late Iron Age site distribution in Case Study 3. 230
Figure 106: Clustered Late Iron Age settlement pattern (between Spalding and Bourne). ... 231
Figure 107: Clustered Late Iron Age settlement pattern (between Spalding and Bourne) superimposed on DTM. Flood zone (2.5m OD) is marked the in yellow. 232
Figure 108: Case Study 3, LIA sites mentioned in text. 233
Figure 109: Main Late Iron Age phases at Haddenham V (left) and Lower Cambourne (right), (RSRB Database and Allen and Wright (2009), 15). 235
Figure 110: Case Study 3, ER sites mentioned in text. 237
Figure 111: Percentage of Fenland site types garrisoned, abandoned or continuing into the second century AD, by site type. 240
Figure 112: Structure 2b at Fison Way, Thetford (Gregory 2001, 194). 240
Figure 113: Case Study 3 forts (square), nucleated settlements (diamond), and farm (circle) sites dated to the ER, shown in black. Roman roads and sites outside case study area shown in grey. 242
Figure 114: Case Study 3 saltern (triangles) and kiln sites (circles) dated to the first century. 243
Figure 115: Case Study 3 Late Iron Age sites abandoned in the first century, shown in black. Roman roads and sites outside case study area shown in grey. 244
Figure 116: Distribution of second century sites in Case Study 3, by type, with sea level adjusted down by 1 metre from modern sea-level. 247
Figure 117: Case Study 3, MR sites mentioned in text. 248
Figure 118: Possible Roman-period saltern debris or briquetage scatters in Case Study 3 area identified by the Historic England National Inventory and the Historic England NRHE National Excavation Index. 250
Figure 119: Possible Roman-period kiln sites in Case Study 3 identified by the Historic England National Inventory and the Historic England NRHE National Excavation Index. 251
Figure 120: Early-Roman phases at Camp Ground, Colne Fen (Regan 2004). 253
Figure 121: Early-Roman layout at Langdale Hale, Case Study 3 (Regan 2003, 13). 253

Figure 122: Early- to mid-second century changes in layout at Langdale Hale, Case Study 3 (Regan 2003, 16). 254
Figure 123: Changes in layout at Jeavons Lane (Case Study 3) between Late Iron Age and Roman Phases, mapped here as Phases 2B and 3, respectively (Wright et al. 2009, 44). 255
Figure 124: Photograph of the features and plan of Structure 2 at RB.1 – 2, North West Cambridge (Cessford and Evans 2014, 176). 256
Figure 125: Plan of partially excavated Roman masonry structure at Sudbrooke, Lincolnshire, Case Study 3 (Spence 2008, 20). 258
Figure 126: Dutch "three-aisled buildings" (De Clercq 2009, 297). 261
Figure 127: Distribution of fourth-century sites, Case Study 3. Sea-level has been adjusted 1 metre upwards from the present-day, as the region is thought to have experienced widespread flooding. 267
Figure 128: All Case Study 3 sites with evidence for fifth- or sixth-century activity. 268
Figure 129: Case Study 3, LR sites mentioned in text. 269
Figure 130: Case Study 4, along the line of the CTRL excavations, Kent. 280
Figure 131: Distribution of Late Iron Age sites in Case Study 4 mapped alongside sites from outside the study area. 285
Figure 132: Distribution of ER sites in Case Study 4. 286
Figure 133: Distribution of second-century sites in Case Study 4. 286
Figure 134: Distribution of third century sites in Case Study 4. 287
Figure 135: Distribution of fourth-century sites in Case Study 4. 287
Figure 136: Distribution of fifth-century sites in Case Study 4. 288
Figure 137: Case Study 4, LIA sites mentioned in text. 293
Figure 138: Case Study 4, ER sites mentioned in text. 297
Figure 139: Known Roman roads in Kent, after Margary 1973 (Ashford Borough Council). 299
Figure 140: Provisional map of known and suspected routes in southern England, using Margary's data alongside survey and excavation data (North East Hampshire

Historical and Archaeological Society, Field Archaeology Branch (http://www.nehhas.org.uk/RRAbstracts.html)). 300
Figure 141: Peacock's map of sites furnishing CLBR stamped tiles (Peacock 1977, 236).... 304
Figure 142: Case Study 4, MR sites mentioned in text. 308
Figure 143: Mid-Roman pottery finds reported from different site categories, Case Study 4. 311
Figure 144: Structure types found on MR settlements in Case Study 4. 312
Figure 145: Building materials found on settlements in Case Study 4. 312
Figure 146: (MR) finds types that were reported frequently on most site types in Case Study 4. 313
Figure 147: Non-luxury, 'medium-accessibility' items found on MR settlements in Case Study 4. 313
Figure 148: MR items found on 10% of farm sites that were common on nucleated sites (Case Study 4). 314
Figure 149: MR items found on less than 10% of farm sites, that were commonly found on nucleated sites in Case Study 4. 314
Figure 150: Items not found on farm sites, some of which were reported from villa settlements, which were common on nucleated sites in Case Study 4. 315
Figure 151: Case Study 4, LR sites mentioned in text. 316
Figure 152: Late-Roman Coastal defences in Britain (Pearson 2005). 317
Figure 153: Chart showing site abandonments in Case Study 4 compared with the percentage of study sites inhabited by period. 319
Figure 154: Number of farm and villa sites, by period, in Case Study 4. 320
Figure 155: Percentage of farm sites to villa sites per period in Case Study 4. 320
Figure 156: Building 5, East Farleigh 'Villa' Complex (Case Study 4), excavated by the Maidstone Area Archaeological Group (ongoing), http://www.maag.btck.co.uk/ExcavationsatEastFarleigh/SiteOverview. 323
Figure 157: Settlement 'change' over time, all case studies combined. 333
Figure 158: Percent of sites occupied in each period, by case study. 335

Figure 159: Case study sites abandoned over time, by case study. 335
Figure 160: Sites founded over time, as a percentage of the total sites examined per case study. 336
Figure 161: Change in structural features over time, all case studies combined. 336
Figure 162: Plan of excavations at Ashley (RSRB Database, from Neal 1980, Fig. 22). 339
Figure 163: Second-century farms furnishing either Samian ware, imported amphorae, or Mayen lava quernstones, by case study. 341

List of Tables

Table 1: Definitions for phases used in this thesis. 58

Table 2: Definitions for typological categories used in this thesis..... 59

Table 3: Table showing the number Case Study 1 sites per period categorised into the various site types presented below. 71

Table 4: Table depicting Case Study 1 site longevity for all study sites, by period. 72

Table 5: Structural evidence on Case Study 1 sites, per period. 73

Table 6: Table comparing percentage of Case Study 1 settlements furnishing different structural types were identified, by period. 74

Table 7: List of Case Study 1 sites on which first-century boundary reorganisations took place and the nature of the reorganisation. 84

Table 8: Major changes in site use or morphology detected in the case study area during the late first–mid-second centuries AD. 92

Table 9: All sites in CS1 with evidence for mid-second-century occupation (i.e., sites abandoned in the EMR are not included in this table). 93

Table 10: Case Study 1 sites categorised as peripheral in the M/LR period, with excavation details noting reasons occupation focus was not identified. 101

Table 11: Sites identified as 'settlements' in the later second–mid-third centuries in the Danebury case study area..... 110

Table 12: Grain-processing installations dating to the M/LR period in the Danebury Environs region. 122

Table 13: Average elevations for sites in Case Study 2. 141

Table 14: Number of Case Study 2 occupied sites in each period, divided into settlement and non-settlements. 144

Table 15: Change in settlement in Case Study 2, by period. 144

Table 16: Number and percentage of Case Study 2 sites abandoned, by date of foundation and date of abandonment. 147

Table 17: Number of Case Study 2 sites of each period furnishing evidence for various types of structures. 147
Table 18: Percentage of all Case Study 2 sites (by period) furnishing structural remains, compared with percentage of settlements from all periods with structural evidence. 147
Table 19: Number and percentage of Case Study 2 excavation reports missing key information (or where occupation was so minimal that such materials were absent). 151
Table 20: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites with local, regionally-produced, or imported pottery. 152
Table 21: Ratio of settlements to non-settlements throughout the Roman period in Case Study 3..... 217
Table 22: Settlement categories over time (percent) in Case Study 3..... 218
Table 23: Nearest neighbour analysis, Case Study 3. In the NNI field, values closer to 0 are more clustered, values closer to 1 are more 'random', and values closer to 2.5 are more evenly distributed across the area. In the Z-value field, positive values indicate random or even distribution and negative values indicate heavy (non-random) clustering. 218
Table 24: Site reports missing certain features in Case Study 3. 222
Table 25: Division of Case Study 3 sites by finds and architectural categories..... 224
Table 26: Division of Case Study 3 sites by level of elaboration and structure type..... 224
Table 27: Finds on second-century settlements with structures (of any date) compared with finds on second-century sites with aisled buildings (of any date). 265
Table 28: Settlement vs. non-settlement sites in Case Study 4 over time..... 284
Table 29: Number and percentage of sites in Case Study 4 furnishing structural remains by period. 289
Table 30: Percentage of sites (with evidence for structures) in in Case Study 4 furnishing different types of structures, by period. 289
Table 31: Number and percentage of different site types in Case Study 4. 290

Table 32: Level of settlement disruption (abandonments and foundations) in Case Study 4 by period. 290
Table 33: A reprise of Table 5, showing total settlement disruption in Case Study 4 by period. 305
Table 34: Number of sites per category occupied in the second and third centuries in CTRL case study area. 309

Abstract

Rural non-élites (i.e. 'peasant producers') are thought to have comprised 50–95% of the Roman population, and yet, because they are seen as having operated largely at subsistence, models of ancient economic development see them as having had little effect on the wider economy. The spread of commercial excavation regulations across Britain (and in other parts of the former Roman world) has created a growing body of evidence pertaining to rural settlement and economy. Economic historians and archaeologists alike have used these data to make arguments about the Roman economy—but continue to debate whether or not excavated rural sites should be seen as representative of the ancient settlement landscape at all.

This thesis examines data from four microregions in Southern Britain, arguing, first, that the new archaeological data available since the passing of PPG16 provide representative samples of sites up and down the socio-economic spectrum. Second, it argues that farm sites of all statuses were integrated into local, regional, and supra-regional markets to a degree typically not recognised in current economic models of the Roman agricultural economy. The variegated landscape revealed by commercial excavations demonstrates that this integration was the result of the complex interaction of multiple macro- and micro-economic factors—changes in consumer culture (beginning in the Late Iron Age), expanding markets, and site status alongside institutional changes (taxation)—that fostered widespread integration in the Roman world. These

data suggest that models of the Roman ‘peasantry’ and the wider economy must be re-theorised to accommodate changes in rural demand, as well as production, as a possible factor in economic change.

Acknowledgements

I would, first of all, like to thank my supervisor, Andrew Wilson, whose influence on both the theoretical and practical elements of this project is, naturally, impossible to overstate. He has been an ideal advisor, and the combination of patience, support, encouragement, and (frequently humorous) critique he has given me throughout my time as a Master of Studies and then a D.Phil. candidate has been invaluable and essential to this work. His support, along with that of Janet DeLaine, was also instrumental in finding me funding, in the form of a Clarendon Scholarship, and in giving me the opportunity to help coordinate the Roman Discussion Forum during the time I lived in Oxford. I am very grateful for the support of the Clarendon Scholarship and for the community of Clarendon students, among whom I found many of my closest friends.

I have received great personal and material support from my college, Christ Church. Anna Clark proved to be an ideal college advisor, offering insight into aspects of Roman social history, giving me opportunities to present my research, and giving advice about finishing-while-parenting (when requested). The generous support of the Christ Church American Friends Scholarship enabled several summers of excavation and research, and the social and academic support I have received from The House has been critical to my success.

I am extremely grateful to Oxford Archaeology and, most especially, to Paul Booth, both for helping me access publications and for the crucial support

and education he gave me during my work with the Discovering Dorchester Research Project between 2014–2018. Paul's friendship and expertise in all things to do with Roman pottery, and in many of the case studies I examined, have been essential to this thesis. The opportunities I was given, through the Dorchester excavations, to work with material very closely adjacent to my area of study was invaluable. My thinking on matters of the Roman economy and on the interpretation of the material was sharpened in conversations with various members of that project and those adjacent to it, including (but not limited to) Wendy Morrison, Abi Tompkins, Ed Peveler, Thomas Matthews-Boehmer, Samuel Johansen, Olivia Graves, Clifford Sofield, Janet DeLaine, David Wilkinson, Susan Lisk, and numerous other members of the staff, students, and volunteers. I would also like to thank the wider community of Dorchester village for taking us in every summer and for asking questions about rural life in the ancient world (frequently taken from modern-day experiences) that challenged me every step of the way.

This work has been influenced by conversations with numerous colleagues and friends. I am indebted to my examiners, David Mattingly and Dominik Maschek, for their extremely helpful and sharp comments and suggestions, which have made this thesis much stronger. I am grateful to Nicholas Purcell, Damian Robinson, and Tyler Franconi for the very valuable comments and suggestions they provided during my Transfer and Confirmation interviews. Discussions with Nick Ray about consumption, with Lisa Lodwick about cropping regimes, and with Tyler Franconi about all manner of things relating to the Middle Thames Valley proved invaluable throughout the project.

Paul Chadwick and Chris Green shared valuable data and insights from the RolCAP project. Wim DeClercq discussed rural settlement forms and commercial archaeology with me, and Kim Bowes graciously shared unpublished work and her thoughts on the Roman Peasant Project. Gareth Chaffey, at Wessex Archaeology, lent me a draft copy of the Kingsmead Quarry excavation report, while Steve Ford at TVAS provided much assistance in gathering other resources. Bruce Hitchner and Matthew Harrington, from Tufts University, were extremely influential prior to my coming to Oxford and have continued to offer support throughout the thesis process. Bruce Hitchner was responsible, in large part, for getting me started down this 'path' in the first place: it was his Roman Economy course at Tufts that originally awakened my interest in the ancient economy, and it was his idea for my Masters' Thesis topic that first pointed me in the direction of rural settlement (in Gaul). For his consistent support and friendship, I owe him a great debt. This work was also made better through discussions with Michael Leese, Phacharaphorn Phanomvan, Steven Collins-Elliot, Mario Adamo, Tim Sorg, Panayiotis Christoforou, Hannah Kinney, Jelena Jarić, Michael Fowler, and Michael Kopsidis.

The prospectus for this thesis was written during a year as an Associate Member at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) in 2013–2014, and much of the initial project design was a direct response to issues that came up in the group's spirited discussions of rural economies and social status. I would like to thank Guy Sanders, in particular, for his help thinking about comparative data and pottery assemblages. Jody Cundy and

Aileen Ajootian also provided valuable feedback early on in the process. I would like to thank Margie Miles, then our Mellon Professor and now friend, for continuous support both in and outside Athens. Steven Ellis and the Porta Stabia Project team graciously hosted me and had endless discussions with me about non-élite urban economies during the summer of 2013. I am deeply grateful for the practical, intellectual, and personal experience afforded to me during other field projects: with Andrew Koh in Crete, Matthew Harrington and the Tor Vergata excavation team in Gabii, André Gonciar in Racos (Romania), Travis Parno at the Fairbanks House in Dedham, MA, and the University of Maine at Farmington's excavation team at Bear Pond in Turner, Maine.

When the exigencies of the academic job market compelled my husband, Bram, and me to leave Oxford for Michigan (USA), we had the good fortune to land in a warm and vibrant community of scholars and friends who have been of both intellectual and material help. I would like to thank, specifically, the Classics faculty at Kalamazoo College, the Classics and History faculties at Hope College, and the students, whose interest, questions, and kindness have given life to my research over the years.

In addition to those mentioned above, I have been lucky to have a group of very dedicated family and friends, who have provided unwavering support. This thesis would have been impossible without them. Thank you to Sarah Green, Hilary Wolkan, Bridget and Chad Culleton, Christine Grindle, Corey LaFlamme, Lucy O'Sullivan, Nicole Chen, Kevin Kambo, Kara Kort, Diana Dodson Lee, Jessie Voigts and Ed Forteau, Jill and Lee Forester, Julia and Josh Kraut, Rhonda and Jared Ortiz, Melissa and Jack Mulder, Steve and Grace

Maiullo, Carmelita and Joe LaPorte, Charlie Brown, Michael Burt, Kyle Kilpatrick, and our wider community of friends here in Holland, Michigan, whose loving support has been both intellectually stimulating and materially helpful.

My in-laws (Loek and Jeanette), and my siblings (my brother Sam, my sister-in-law Floor, and my brother-in-law Maarten), have cheered me on for what feels like forever, and they (and the rest of the family in the US and the Netherlands) have provided invaluable love and support, and some much-needed comic relief, for which I am very grateful.

My parents have supported my interest in archaeology since I was four years old and fascinated by a yucca-fibre sandal in an archaeology museum. They have been endlessly supportive of me, in every possible way—even when that involved long separations (and the possibility of being eaten by bears!). Ideas borne in debates and discussions with them are threaded throughout this thesis, and I am deeply grateful for, and indebted to, them.

It is not possible to express with words the enormous debt of gratitude owed to my husband, Bram. He has accompanied me through every stage of this project and, with joyful dedication, has been sounding board and editor, travel companion and finds washer, and head chef and childcare expert in our household affairs far more than was strictly fair as I have laboured through the finishing stages of this thesis. I am enormously grateful to him for his unwavering support, his steadfast friendship, his keen historical mind, and his sharp eye. I would also like to thank our daughter, Emilia Sophia, not only for

her patient forbearance but also for the joy and humour she has brought into the process and, more generally, into our lives.

While all these, and many others, have contributed to this thesis, the views expressed and any errors and inadequacies that remain are, naturally, my own.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis sits at the intersection of economic theory and archaeology, examining rural connectivity and material culture in Roman Britain. While in many ways concurring with current scholarly understandings of and approaches to the Roman (rural) economy, it challenges entrenched assumptions about rural economies, proposing that the bulk of the rural population were more connected to wider imperial and regional economies than generally assumed.

Rural non-élites are often considered economically unimportant. Some see them as *so* unengaged with wider markets as to have been archaeologically invisible. The assumptions on which these ideas rest have deep and often unexamined origins. While increasingly interrogated in the fields of economics, economic history, and development economics, those ideas remain a force in the study of the ancient economy.[1] This chapter first presents these ideas and introduces the ways in which they have influenced the study of the Roman economy, and then delves deeply into their origins, and the ways in which modern scholarship has begun to wrestle with them. The chapter ends with an introduction to the project and a discussion of its methodology.

THE ROMAN RURAL ECONOMY—SUBSISTENCE FARMING OR MARKET-ORIENTED PRODUCTION?

To oversimplify, the ongoing primitivist-modernist debate, which has raged amongst scholars of the Roman economy for over a century, questions the extent to which the ancient economy was rational, market-orientated, and profit-driven, versus being 'embedded' in the social fabric, constraining real

[1] *Cf.* Matthews (1997).

economic growth.[2] This debate influences both scholarly understandings of Roman economic performance (i.e., how much growth could the economy support and was that growth endogenous or merely exogenous?) and conventions of economic analysis, with some primitivists (labelled formalists) arguing that modern economic theory is inapplicable to the ancient economy and modernists (labelled substantivists) arguing the opposite. Recent work has begun to redress these problems using archaeology, and some consensus has been achieved on basic issues like whether or not there was economic growth at all during the Roman period.[3]

Evidence for Roman economic growth is increasingly being linked not only to evidence for commodity production, but to post-conquest increases in agricultural production, achieved through both extensification and intensification of land-use.[4] The people who did this work—rural non-élites—are thought to have represented 70–95% of the Roman population.[5] The question of whether that population was subsistence-based or market-orientated remains open, as does the question of whether or not Roman farmers were integrated into wider markets and whether, in light of evidence of widespread increases in production, the non-élite rural population enjoyed, materially, any of the fruits of that growth. Much recent scholarship on the agricultural economy focusses on either macroeconomic questions or on surviving evidence for productive facilities located mainly—but not exclusively—within villa landscapes.[6] These studies have led most scholars to accept that Roman villas were both *loci* of élite display *and* highly productive agricultural facilities.[7] While the volume of work on rural non-élites has been less substantial, recent

[2] An introduction is provided by Hanson (2016), 11. More-detailed discussions can be found in Finley (1974); Scheidel and von Reden (2002); Manning and Morris (2005); Scheidel, Morris, and Saller (2007); Temin (2013); and Van Oyen (2017).

[3] Bowman and Wilson (2009); Wilson (2014).

[4] Franconi (2021); Mallet and Stansbie (2021); Lodwick (2020); Martyn Allen *et al.* (2017); Alexander Smith *et al.* (2016); van der Veen (2016); Groot *et al.* (2009).

[5] Erdkamp, Verboven, and Zuiderhoek (2015), 1; Bowman and Wilson (2013), 1–4 for a brief "state of the question" overview. See also Applebaum (1978), 33.

[6] Wilson (2002), and Bowman and Wilson (2013), 3. See also Hitchner, Amouretti, and Brun (2002).

[7] See, for instance, Marzano (2007); Marzano (2015); Marzano and Métraux (2018).

work has increasingly explored either peasants or, more broadly, the rural economy.[8] Scholars remain divided (or agnostic) on several issues pertaining to the structure of the rural economy: the extent to which non-élite producers aimed at subsistence or market production, the extent to which the arrival of Rome changed subsistence strategies or not, whether or not (and to what extent) farmers were integrated into wider regional and imperial markets, and the extent to which rural non-élites 'owned' *any* of the fruits of their production.[9] Many see non-élites as essentially unintegrated into regional and imperial markets: despite much recent work synthesizing rural datasets, some dispute the notion that it is possible to locate non-élite farms archaeologically, at all. In their 2009 article on income inequality in the Roman world, Scheidel and Friesen claim that:

> "artifacts such as the putative 'small farms' that may be discerned in the archaeological record (and were thus most likely sufficiently substantial to reflect economic activity beyond basic subsistence farming) … are most likely to derive from the more robust elements of the middling income tier."[10]

This statement highlights a problem central to the study of the rural economy: that of the 'subsistence farmer'. In brief, there has been a widespread and far-reaching assumption within the study of the ancient economy that rural non-élite populations not only lived at subsistence but may have aimed for it, and were thus largely unable, and perhaps unmotivated, to engage with wider

---

[8] Peasants are given thoughtful consideration in large edited volumes on the Roman agricultural economy and in studies of specific regions. Bowman and Wilson (2013) provide a useful discussion of the state of the field. Marzano (2020) (and included papers) examines various aspects of the rural economy. Peasants as producers and consumers are discussed in Erdkamp, Verboven and Zuiderhoek (2015), and in Erdkamp, Verboven, and Zuiderhoek (2020). Heeren (2009); Dossey (2010); Goodchild (2013); Groot, Lentjes, and Zeiler (2013); Vaccaro *et al.* (2013); Bowes *et al.* (2015); Bowes *et al.* (2017); Launaro and Leone (2018); Mercuri *et al.* (2018); Reddé (2018); and Van Oyen (2020) work on this question outside of Britain. Hollander (2018), Shaw (2013), de Ligt (2012), and de Ligt (1993) take a predominantly literary perspective on agricultural and/or economic questions (predominantly in the Mediterranean). Alexander Smith, et al. (2016) examines both villa and non-villa landscapes (as does Kooistra *et al.* (2013)). Oxford's RoLCAP project (personal communication from Dr. Christopher Green, 2021), Rippon, Smart, and Pears (2015), Perring and Pitts (2013), McCarthy (2013), and many, many others examine specific regions or topics related to Britain. See also Leese (2021) and McHugh (2017) for the Greek economy.

[9] Witcher (2017).

[10] Scheidel and Friesen (2009), 91.

markets. This assumption—an orthodoxy of sorts—holds that:

> "…the bulk of the labour force in the Roman empire, perhaps 80─90 per cent, were primarily peasants who produced most of what they themselves consumed and consumed most of what they produced. This solid mass of self-sufficient production always stood outside the money economy."[11]

Hopkins' assertion about farmers' (lack of) engagement with markets is stated as fact but is built on a series of assumptions which have burrowed so deeply into scholarship as to operate with the force of law.[12] While this orthodoxy now appears to be waning, it remains powerful in the study of rural life and the Roman economy, limiting the degree to which new ideas can be tested and/or accepted.

This 'old orthodoxy' holds that: most Romans were poor peasants; Roman peasants lived and cultivated at (or just above) subsistence; they were too poor (and economically irrational) to engage much with economic markets; and, finally, that, as a result, evidence for their existence is bound to be scarce and difficult to interpret. These assumptions are embedded in most 20th-century work on the rural economy, some excerpts of which are provided below to illustrate the points listed above.

The idea that most Romans were poor (or subsistence) peasants is frequently expressed as an assumption, as in Knapp's *Invisible Romans,* which claims that "it is quite reasonable to *suppose* that the great mass of people in the Roman world were poor…"[13] The Pseudo-Virgilian *Moretum,* Knapp avers, "captures to a degree the reality of a farmer's life lived in *squalor*, with very basic food to eat and an income supplemented by meagre sales of garden vegetables in the town market."[14] Likewise, in a work on subsistence farming

[11] Hopkins (1980), 104.
[12] *Cf.* Horden and Purcell (2000), 272–274 make a case for a 'subsistence-plus' kind of agricultural regime, while Dossey (2010), 57–58, contends that, "Most historians of the ancient economy believe that rural populations, if they participated at all in the market, did so at a very local level."
[13] Knapp (2011), 97, italics my own.
[14] Knapp 2011, 98, italics my own.

in Roman Italy, Frayn claims that "a large proportion of the population of ancient Italy throughout Roman times *must* have been engaged in small-scale or even subsistence farming, just as many still are today."[15]

Poverty, squalor, subsistence—these are words that communicate the idea of the 'peasant economy'—an assumption that farmers cultivated at or around subsistence, rather than attempting to produce a surplus for the market. Foxhall explains that:

> "the subsistence sector is the realm of peasants. It is static, tradition-bound, economically 'irrational', and exists only at the fringes of the monetary economy. The market-orientated sector is the realm of the proprietor with large estates. This sector is 'economically rational', geared to maximum profits, and holds the monopoly of commercial production and activity."[16]

This statement is based on early- to mid-20th-century scholarship, like that of Chayanov (on Russian peasants), which argues that peasants focus on producing only enough to survive.[17] Bang explains that:

> "The peasant family works until it has fulfilled its needs. Considerations of profitability do not easily enter the picture."[18]

Likewise, Sanders claims that:

> "One reason for our *inability to see the poorest echelons of society*… is rooted in the 'Ricardo-Malthusian Trap.' This universal economic law of nature states that at any given time, everywhere, except in parts of Europe and North America after the Industrial Revolution, the great majority of humanity has lived at a level at or close to subsistence."[19]

Scholars have recently begun nuancing this view. Horden and Purcell note that aiming at subsistence alone in the Mediterranean world would be "suicidal" in

---

[15] Frayn (1974), 11–12, italics my own.
[16] Foxhall (1990), 104.
[17] Chayanov, Thorner, and Kerblay (1966); Launaro (2015).
[18] Bang (2007), 26.
[19] Sanders (2013), 103, italics my own.

bad years.[20] Bowes takes issue with the whole orthodox package.[21] Even Hopkins sees his peasants as having produced a surplus: in *Taxes and Trade,* his main argument is that the coming of Rome (and Roman taxes) stimulated provincial economies by forcing peasants, previously cultivating at subsistence, to begin producing a surplus large enough to pay new Roman taxes.[22] The corollary of this is that peasant farms have also been seen as *less productive* per hectare than 'capitalist' (*i.e.*, villa) farms,—an idea that has not been shown to hold true for modern agriculture.[23]

The third part of the orthodoxy is that Roman peasants engaged in only limited market activity.[24] Bang notes that "traditionally peasants have only directed a relatively small part of their production to the market."[25] Dossey claims that "most historians of the ancient economy believe that rural populations, if they participated at all in the market, did so at a very local level."[26]

Some scholars have begun to argue for the presence of at least limited peasant market activity in the Roman period. In addition to Horden and Purcell, Erdkamp notes that

> "… while the spending power of the majority of the rural population was quite low individually, the aggregate demand it generated was significant. Peasants bought goods they could not produce themselves, such as iron tools or ceramic vessels…but also luxuries that became part of the expected living standard of the common people, such as clay figurines or *terra sigillata.*"[27]

Temin argues that it is anachronistic to assume that Roman small farmers must have experienced similar tenure conditions to their Medieval counterparts:

---

[20] Horden and Purcell (2000), 272–4. See also Halstead and O'Shea (1989).
[21] Bowes (2021), 19.
[22] Hopkins (1980), *passim.*
[23] See, Gilligan (1998), 2, for an overview of the farm-size paradox. See Kron (2008) for a lengthy rebuttal to the 'unproductive peasant' model.
[24] Foxhall (1990), 104. Finley (1974), 136.
[25] Bang (2007), 26.
[26] Dossey (2010), 58–59.
[27] Erdkamp (2012), 260. Also see Hollander (2018).

> "But the modern history of land tenure comes from the violence that followed the end of the Roman Empire; it says nothing about the conditions that obtained while the Roman Empire was intact."[28]

As Temin's assertion points up, one of the central questions of history is how, exactly, circumstances changed over time—an issue elided in many discussions of 'peasant economies', which are presented as almost timeless. Even if *some* small farmers in *some* periods and places were too poor (or dependent) to engage in production for markets (or to consume from them), might it be possible that small farmers in other times and places were not?

Despite the growing body of archaeological data indicating that peasants were more engaged in local economies than previously imagined (a fact now taken almost for granted by many archaeologists), the old orthodoxy remains a force in recent economic-historical work on the ancient economy. Some, like Scheidel and Friesen, in fact, see peasants as, by nature, *so* un-engaged with wider markets as to be archaeologically invisible—a point which brings us to the final link in the 'old orthodoxy:' that archaeological finds that appear to pertain to members of the rural non-élite population must pertain, instead, to a small rural 'middle class'.

This radical idea—that the bulk of the Roman population was archaeologically invisible or living *at* subsistence—is still presented as fact by scholars such as Sanders (above).[29] Likewise, Dossey can suggest that field survey, which relies on pottery scatters, heavily biases models of settlement hierarchies, as surveys *must* miss most sites, viz. those inhabited by:

> "not only the subsistence farmer, but also those populations, particularly pre- and post-Roman ones … that participated only in regional economies."[30]

Scheidel and Friesen, discussed above, similarly argue that it is difficult, if not impossible, to find the homes of peasants.[31]

---

[28] Temin 2013, 156.
[29] Sanders (2013), 103.
[30] Dossey (2010), 34.
[31] Scheidel and Friesen (2009), see quote above.

These ideas are partially based upon the notion of a 'timeless peasantry'.[32] This notion holds that, in the words of Braudel:

> "people go on sowing wheat *as they always have done*, planting maize *as they always have done*, terracing the paddy-fields *as they always have done*, sailing in the Red Sea *as they always have done*."[33]

As Witcher explains, this idea "has been thoroughly debunked" by Horden and Purcell—though its echoes live on in scholarship.[34]

The assumption that peasants were unconnected with wider markets has influenced larger models of historic economies. Maddison and Milanovic both use data based on (outdated) GDP models by Hopkins and Goldsmith to 'prove' that the rural population in the Roman period (and everywhere at all times before the Early Industrial period) lived at subsistence.[35] These data are then re-imported into scholarship on the Roman economy, to 'prove' the same thesis.[36] Thus, "what you get out of such a calculation is entirely a function of the assumptions you put in".[37] As Bowes explains, this orthodoxy is essentially ahistorical, and creates circular (and unverifiable) models:

> "Rather than assuming historically unchanging consumption levels, one might imagine that the point of these calculations should be to interrogate them."[38]

These ideas are not held universally. Historians have recently begun to challenge these concepts using both literary evidence and economic theory, while archaeologists, using a vast new body of data from both commercial and academic projects, take for granted that some (many?) of the farms they have been excavating for the past 30 or more years pertain to the majority of the rural

[32] Bowes (2021), 19–24.
[33] Braudel (1985), 28. italics my own.
[34] Witcher (2017), 42, citing Horden and Purcell 2000. The latter comment is my own.
[35] Maddison (2007); Milanovic, Lindert, and Williamson (2007). For a critique of such studies, see Bowman and Wilson (2009), 44–46; Bowes (2021).
[36] See R. Allen (2009) for a discussion of this issue.
[37] Wilson (2014), 149.
[38] Bowes (2021), 19.

population.[39] Three recent projects in Britain, Italy, and Gaul, moreover, have sought to combat these problems explicitly, using archaeological data to examine rural society and the rural economy.

Beginning in 2012, The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain project compiled an exhaustive database of rural and small nucleated sites uncovered in antiquarian, academic, and commercial excavation, and published a series of volumes synthesizing the project's findings, using data from county HERs and commercial archaeological units.[40] That project has provided an invaluable resource for myself and others working on rural material, both in the form of the database itself (without which this project, in its current form, would not have been possible) and its data analysis. I do not believe it is an exaggeration to say that the publication of the RSRB revolutionised the study of rural Roman Britain (and the rural Roman Empire more generally). The project demonstrated the enormous range in settlement types in different regions over time, emphasising the importance of small nucleated settlements and small- and medium-sized farms, in addition to *villae,* in the Romano-British landscape. The project also examined, synthesized, and explained a wide range of regional and supra-regional economic and cultural trends, with the effect of making the dataset comprehensible to researchers from outside each microregion. Working with an enormous amount of data over a relatively short time frame, the RSRB project naturally did not have the resources to engage in detailed site-specific analyses of ceramics or small-finds assemblages, but the database and resulting publications are detailed enough to offer a sturdy 'jumping-off point' for anyone interested in doing so. In addition to its analytical contributions, the RSRB

[39] See, for instance, Bowman and Wilson (2013), 22, along with footnote 24. See also Loseby (2012), 337–338, for a discussion of consumption patterns. Kron (2008) takes issue with the idea that Italian peasants were unproductive agriculturally; Silver (2008) challenges the economics of Hopkins' model specifically; Groot, et al. (2009) and Groot, Lentjes, and Zeiler (2013) demonstrate persuasively that non-élite communities in the modern-day Netherlands engaged with wider markets; Launaro (2015) argues that peasants may have been able to achieve higher living standards by working as labourers on villa estates; Hollander (2018) argues that peasants *must have* engaged in market activity to purchase necessities. See also Ouzoulias (2014).

[40] Alexander Smith, *et al*. (2016); Martyn Allen *et al.* (2018); Martyn Allen, *et al*. (2017); Alexander Smith *et al.* (2018). As the RSRB project began before I started work on this thesis, but did not appear until midway through my own research timetable, there were some unfortunate overlaps between the RSRB case study areas and those chosen for this thesis.

database has, essentially, 'opened the door' to further research on the rural economy of Roman Britain.

The Rurland Project, headed by Michel Reddé, gathered over 100 scholars from all over Europe to examine data from commercial excavations in northern Europe. Running from 2014–2014, the project—like the RSRB—has revolutionised the field of rural archaeology in ways that are only beginning to be understood.[41] Among its many achievements, the project (again, like the RSRB) demonstrates the inability of our current villa-based models of rural settlement to accommodate the existing and ever-expanding archaeological record. The project's focus on diachronic changes in site development provides crucial data on the nuanced nature of economic and social change in the northern provinces and, further, suggests that rural sites were more connected with markets than previously imagined.

The Roman Peasant Project took an approach that was in some ways the *opposite* of that taken by the RSRB. Running between 2009–2014 and headed by Kim Bowes (University of Pennsylvania), the RPP used survey data to identify eight potential 'peasant' sites near modern-day Grosseto, Italy, for excavation.[42] While *The Roman Peasant Project 2009–2014: Excavating the Rural Poor* was published at the very tail end of my work on this thesis, interim publications and related work have revolutionised the study of the rural economy by emphasising the utility of fine-grained data collection and analysis for our understanding of the particulars of rural consumption and production.[43]

While one potential criticism scholars may have of the RPP is that the sites examined were identified through surface survey—exactly the method least trusted by economic historians *and* archaeologists interested in locating the lowest echelons of society—the small scale of the project enabled researchers to gather a truly exhaustive array of finds, environmental, and morphological data on the sites that were excavated. As Bowes argues:

---

[41] Bermejo Tirado (2019); Bermejo Tirado (2021); Reddé (2015); Reddé (2017a); Reddé (2017b); Reddé (2018).
[42] Bowes (2020).
[43] Most recently: Bowes (2020). See also: Mercuri, et al. (2018); Bowes, et al. (2017); Bowes, et al. (2015); Vaccaro, et al. (2013).

> "Before Roman history can begin to play the comparative games that have animated previous scholarship, it needs to produce thicker, context-specific data on that most basic variable for well-being—consumption. Understanding how and what people actually consumed, as opposed to notional formulations of what they might have produced or consumed, is the critical first step to a more rigorous—and historically specific—calculus."[44]

The RPP sites exhibited a higher level of both market connectivity and market-driven production and (though the sample size was small), the habitation sites appear to have been less-dispersed across the landscape than previously imagined.[45] These are all important findings. But perhaps the project's most important contribution to the study of the rural economy *thus far* is methodological. The fine-grained analyses of everything from manuring regimes to consumption patterns demonstrates the enormous wealth of interpretive data that can come from what looks like 'nothing', and the RPP's methodology should set the proverbial 'bar' for all future research on Roman rural settlement.

Yet, as inconvenient as it may be to the archaeologists in the proverbial room, the central problem put forth by Scheidel, Sanders, Dossey, and others *is* a valid one—that is, can rural surveys reliably find ephemeral remains? And if not, what other methodologies do we have to identify sites used by the rural non-élite? How do we know if a given site is a 'peasant' site, or not? Until we know the answer to these questions, we cannot know whether Bowes' sites represent *peasant* occupation or something else entirely, and any conclusions we draw about the rural economy will remain on shaky ground.

This thesis attempts to contribute to the larger debate by using a different type of 'thick' data to examine questions about the rural economy. I propose to answer (some of) these questions by examining, holistically, all available archaeological data from four microregional case studies in southern Britain, coming mainly from commercial excavations undertaken in the past half-

[44] Bowes (2021), 29.
[45] Bowes (2017), 15–22.

decade. The sites examined generally were not identified through surface survey but were instead evaluated and/or excavated as part of the legal process governing construction projects in Britain after the enaction of a new cultural heritage law (PPG-16) in 1990. As such, they represent a *more* random sampling than could be achieved through surface survey alone. While many of the thousands of projects undertaken since 1990 consist of only a few test trenches (combined with geophysical and/or surface survey), others were undertaken as part of large development projects: pipelines, railway lines, new housing schemes, highways, airport terminals, and gravel extraction works. These projects, both large and small, have encountered numerous Roman sites, many of which are built entirely of ephemeral materials. Imported ceramics are found on many of these but, because locally- and regionally-produced ceramics are well-studied in the regions chosen, there are well-dated sites without these materials, as well. Since developer-funded excavations have found Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age sites of ephemeral construction, it is highly unlikely, given the huge number of rural sites excavated and the robustness of the resulting data, that, in Britain, Romanists are missing 'peasant' sites altogether.

There is a certain circularity in the claims of both the orthodox, who suggest one cannot find peasants, and the new breed of scholars who suggest one can ('and here they are'). As in *The Emperor's New Clothes*, one side describes the clothes the emperor is wearing, while the other side claims he has none, at all. It would be both impossible *and* unwise to attempt to prove that archaeology is capable of finding traces of every activity that ever took place in a landscape. But the suggestion that we must be missing a vast underclass (some 50–70%) in our rural archaeology is equally unverifiable and, thus, equally problematic, for reasons that are discussed at the end of this chapter. The methodology proposed above is an attempt to escape that circularity (to the degree that escape is possible). As discussed at the end of this chapter, to imagine that some 50% of the rural population lived at a material level *lower* than what excavations regularly recover is even more radical, I propose, than imagining a peasantry that *can* be located archaeologically. Further, as I argue below, the latter scenario is, perhaps, not quite as radical as it might seem.

STEREOTYPES ABOUT PEASANTS

In modern English, the accepted terminology for people who live in the countryside and engage in agriculture is 'farmer', and their land, however small, a 'farm'. The term peasant, when used substantively and not as a pejorative, is not a synonym for 'farmer'. Peasant is instead "now used especially with reference to foreign countries (or to Britain and Ireland in earlier times) and often to denote members of the lowest and poorest rank of society."[46] Edelman notes that:

> "very early on, both the English 'peasant,' the French 'paysan' and similar terms sometimes connoted 'rustic,' 'ignorant,' 'stupid,' 'crass' and 'rude,' among many other pejorative terms. The word could also imply criminality..."[47]

Von Frauendorfer writes:

> "with the word 'farmer' there are no difficulties… 'Peasant' is a more complicated term. … The English word 'peasant' still connotes serfdom, dependence, and the corresponding moral and social qualities…"[48]

As de Vries notes, assumptions about peasants—which are built into the very structure of the discipline of economic history—originate not in the study of actual peasants but in an Early Modern economic ideology "that defined the working population's otherness and incapacity for self-governance… [and]…had the practical benefit, as the 'utility of poverty doctrine,' of justifying low wages."[49] This statement recalls a fact all too often forgotten: that the field of economics is as much a 'politics' as a science, and that the works of both economists and historians reflect the concerns of their contemporary worlds and social milieus in a manner that is often difficult to disentangle from the subject matter itself. Due, in part, to the role played by agriculture and landed wealth

[46] *OED*, s.v. *peasant*: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/139355?rskey=8gV0Ts&result=1#eid
[47] Edelman (2013),3.
[48] von Frauendorfer (1929: 633).
[49] de Vries (1994), 258.

in premodern European economies, social conflicts and ambivalences between peasants and large-scale landowners are woven into Medieval and Early Modern art and literature—including academic literature—and embedded in certain branches of economic and social theory.

From the 'Repressed Citizen' sketch in *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1975)[50] to Knapp's peasant living in 'squalor', peasants have conventionally been depicted as being not only poor, but also dirty, slovenly, and perhaps unintelligent, too. As Knight notes:

> "Static and phatic is the normal concept of the image of the medieval peasant, inarticulately stuck in the hierarchical mud, capable of the occasional gesture devout or resistant, but essentially the flat and featureless feet of the human social body."[51]

Modern 'memes' about peasants flow from negative historical depictions which have been treated extensively by both Medievalists and Early Modernists.[52] What their work has shown is that the negative depictions of peasants not only *illustrated* élite perceptions of social realities, but also served to justify the highly unequal dynamics of medieval and Early Modern European society.

> "Such depictions did not simply present the supposed physical characteristics of rustics but explained their subordination, their separation from the rest of humanity."[53]

Many of the same philosophical, theological, and representational strategies later used to justify race-based slavery were first employed in depictions of peasants in the feudal economy, and these rhetorical tactics were later used by Early Modern political theorists to push land reform movements aimed at enlarging the holdings of burgeoning capitalists. These depictions presented peasants as either deserving of subjugation (because of an inherent sinfulness)

---

[50] T. Jones and Gilliam (1975).
[51] Knight (2000), 487.
[52] Weber (1976); Moxey (1981); Laurent (1984); Alexander (1990); Mellinkoff (1993), Braude (1997); Crummy (1999); Freedman (1999); Devroey (2000); Glancy (2002); Corcoran (2007); Dyer (2007); Handy (2009); Metzler (2012); Lipton (2014); Kendi (2016); O'Neal (2017).
[53] Freedman (1999), 1–2.

or needing protection (because of an inherent incapacity), or both.[54] This stress on *sinfulness* appears to have shifted in the Early Modern period, with an emphasis on the childlike incapacity or conservative unprofitability of peasants and other agricultural labourers.[55] Landowners grew to appreciate the large profits that could be made from selling certain products (notably wool, tobacco, and sugar), if labour costs could be kept low. Theories emerged to justify these new economic activities (ranging from land enclosure to Manifest Destiny to slavery), which radically redistributed land, wealth, and people. What these theories had in common was a commitment to 'progress'(i.e., profit), and a corresponding belief that those who were unprofitable or anti-progressive should be removed or re-educated. In many cases, people who worked the land (peasants and Black, and Indigenous peoples) came to be *characterised* as anti-progressive, economically backward, unproductive, and/or lazy, in addition to other stereotypes used to justify their oppression.[56]

These ideas were, further, formalised in the anthropological works of Tylor and Morgan, both of whom held that culture had evolved from 'savagery' to European-style urbanism.[57] Peasants, Africans, Indigenous Americans, and others were presented as 'primitives', belonging to an earlier 'level' of culture, and the characteristics ascribed to them (uneducated, romantic, traditional, superstitious, lazy, credulous, poor, wretched, etc.), whether positive or negative, asserted "their unsuitability for the modern world."[58] Drawing a link between colonial depictions of First Nations peoples in British Colombia and Irish peasants, Cole Harris notes that:

> "the rhetoric of dispossession—about lazy, filthy, improvident people who did not know how to use land properly—often sounded remarkably similar in locations thousands of miles apart."[59]

[54] Freedman 1999, 136; Laurent (1984), 575.
[55] Laurent (1984), 583. Witcher (2017), 36, alludes to a similar preoccupation with progress in Roman archaeology.
[56] Kendi (2016).
[57] Tylor (1871), Morgan (2013 (orig. 1878)).
[58] Handy (2009), 343.
[59] Harris (2004), 165.

In the burgeoning new industrial economy, peasants and other agriculturalists were pitted directly against capitalists, who wanted their land and labour. Legal programs—like the Enclosures in England and the many Indian Acts in the US and Canada—radically redistributed land, allowing for consolidation into progressively larger units and creating a new pool of low-wage labour. These changes played a crucial role in processes of European and American industrialisation—a fact not lost on Arthur Lewis, who won the Nobel Prize for a paper that suggested that developing economies might use the 'unlimited labour' of peasants "prevented from enjoying the full fruit of their extra production" (and paid low wages in factories) to help drive capital accumulation.[60]

The fact that peasant dispossession played an economic role does not prove that memes and stereotypes about peasant or Indian land tenure were ever accurate or that agriculturalists (or traditional agriculture) were, in reality, *unproductive.* Rather, it suggests that early Industrial economic development was in part the result of changes in land ownership and the labour pool, as well as the result of technological change. This basic fact seems often to be ignored.[61]

As we have seen, biases about peasants reflect socio-economic tensions, élite perceptions, and land-tenure disputes, rather than the productivity of peasant farms themselves. Recent work drawing on historic and modern studies of farm productivity challenges the still-prevalent notion of the backward, sinful, or unproductive peasant and offers up comparanda that may be more useful than the tired memes reflecting this past conflict.

Farming, Subsistence and Productivity: Lessons from Development Economics

[60] Handy (2009), 338, citing W. A. Lewis (1958), 434.

[61] Wrigley (2006), 461–476, focuses on the importance of institutional, technological, and organisational change in the prelude to the Industrial Revolution in the UK. Lo Cascio (2009) examines the question with regard to Italian agriculture (primarily during the Roman period).

One of the most basic generalisations made about ancient agriculture holds that it was a 'subsistence-based' system or that farmers lived 'at subsistence'. 'Subsistence' carries multiple meanings, including: 'how a person gets his/her food', 'poverty', 'self-sufficiency', or 'simple reproduction' (as opposed to capital accumulation, in Marxist thought). Examinations of ancient economies tend to conflate these definitions. The peasants described by Hopkins and Scheidel live *at* subsistence—indicating poverty—but they are also 'subsistence-based', which means the actors aim more at 'simple reproduction' than 'capital accumulation' and are relatively self-sufficient. Since the term is used so often by anthropologists to describe prehistoric 'subsistence strategies', which by their definition are systems by which humans ensure their food supply, 'subsistence' in ancient economics indicates that survival strategies of the poor are focused on food production. Yet, while farmers may (and may not) be poor, and may have 'subsistence strategies', it does not follow that they all lived at subsistence *or* aimed wholly at simple reproduction.

The idea that peasants aim at simple reproduction was formalised by Alexander Chayanov, who produced studies on Russian peasants during the 1920s, at a time when there was great Soviet interest in 'modernizing' peasant agriculture.[62] Chayanov saw peasant agriculture as something of a different nature altogether than proto-capitalist (or productive) farming:

> "peasant[s]… aim at securing the needs of the family rather than making a profit. That is why a central role is given in Chayanov's theory to the notion of balance between subsistence needs and a subjective distaste for manual labor (dis-utility) for this determines the intensity of cultivation and the size of the net product."[63]

His theory holds that the family decides how hard to work on the farm based not only on potential profits but also on whether or not the additional work will be 'worth it' (a sort of cost-benefit analysis, with the cost being not only financial but also experiential).[64] Chayanov's theory does not, actually,

[62] Kerblay (1987), 176–177.
[63] Kerblay (1987), 177.
[64] Shanin (1987), *Introduction,* discusses the wide range of studies of peasant economies.Ellis (1993), Ch. 6, discusses the influence of Chayanov specifically. See also Launaro (2015), 38.

hold that peasants aim *only* at subsistence—rather that peasant producers will make economic decisions based on both profit *and* projected labour cost. His theory was seen as so pro-peasant, in fact, that his contemporaries charged him as a pro-*kulak* petit bourgeois, and he died in jail. Nevertheless, as Handy and Kopsidis note, both pre- and post-Chayanov 19th- and 20th-century economists habitually blamed poor economic performance in entire regions or nations on the 'irrational' mentality of their farmers. Kopsidis writes that modern scholarship on 19th- and early 20th-century Balkan economies tends to blame slow economic growth on:

> "the peasantry's irrational attitude adhering to tradition and being hostile to innovation which finds its visible expression in the adherence to outdated subsistence economy and patriarchal disdain towards work as being unheroic and the task of women anyway; an attitude that had prevented peasantry from reaping its economic potentials."[65]

Handy asserts that there is:

> "a long history of blaming peasants for economic backwardness and social underdevelopment… [During the Enclosure period] a parade of English writers sought to justify the effects of the accumulation of private property and increased inequality by espousing the economic and productive efficiencies of scientific agriculture on relatively large, capital intensive estates. They also painted their opposite—peasants and commoners—as backward, ignorant, rude, and lawless, a threat to the economy, society and stability of the nation."[66]

20th-century policy experts and development economists responded to these ideas by advising developing countries to enact coercive measures aimed at forcing villagers to farm differently and blaming peasants for the failure of those measures. In a 1955 examination of the Ujamaa villagisation scheme in Tanzania, for instance, Goran Hydén argued that the failure of the project was the fault of peasant mentalities:

---

[65] Kopsidis (2012), 13.
[66] Handy (2009), 326.

> "Exploitation (of peasants) … is inevitable in the African societies if they are to develop. Such has been the road to progress in all other societies."[67]

Recent work in economic history seems to suggest that some of this blame, and the associated ideas about peasant economies, may be inaccurate.[68] Historical data demonstrate that rural living standards around Europe differed greatly from one another: peasant economies were not identical everywhere—and thus, peasant 'mentalities' must have differed as well.[69] Pomeranz, citing de Vries, notes that estimated living standards in 16th–18th-century Friesland were four times higher than in more-distant regions, enabling "rural smallholders and even tenants … [to purchase] a wide variety of nonessential goods."[70] In England, changes in the legal status of farmers (from serfs to tenants) allowed some former serfs to become proto-entrepreneurs. Dyer examines the life of Robert Parman, who was born a serf in 1405 on the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds,[71] manumitted, became a land manager in the town of Chevington, and eventually became relatively wealthy.[72] Parman was clearly an atypical farmer, but the Chevington records indicate that possibilities for social mobility existed in the English countryside after the Black Death and also suggest a that more market-orientated system may have operated in villages than is typically assumed. The villagers of the Bury records sold their grain at market, engaged in secondary production (like beer making), rented multiple plots of land at a time, and went into debt in order to speculate.[73]

In addition to historical accounts, the successes and failures of modern development projects have provided another source of data for economic historians interested in peasant economies.[74] These studies have brought some

---

[67] Hydén (1980), 31.
[68] Ellis (1993).
[69] de Vries (1975).
[70] Pomeranz (2000), 136.
[71] Dyer (2007), 3.
[72] Dyer (2007), 8.
[73] Dyer (2007), 11. *Cf* Wrigley (2006), 436, who indicates that living standards in agricultural economies are based on the efficiency of (agricultural) production in a given region at a given time—a variable that, as in 15th c. England, is known to have changed over time.
[74] Easterly (2001), xi–xii.

surprising data to the fore. While the economists and anthropologists of the mid-20th c. may have assumed modernization was a panacea for agricultural problems, in some regions 'modernisation' has had a deleterious effect on both living standards and food production. In Romania, for instance, regions where 'modernised' large farms prevail have poverty rates that are four or five times those in regions dominated by small (10 acres or less) 'traditional' farms.[75] Global studies of farm yields have, further, demonstrated that despite efficiencies of scale that make mechanisation and the use of fertilisers more affordable on large farms, small farms are, paradoxically, frequently more efficient in both labour and yield per hectare.[76]

Findings like those cited above have led economists to seek out new ways of understanding 'peasant economies'. One of the most transformative elements of new thinking on peasants is that the low-level subsistence production seen in some agricultural communities results not from an overarching peasant 'mentalité', but is instead a *symptom* of large-scale institutional failure.[77] 'Subsistence' farming communities around the world have been shown to be bearing the brunt of oppressive landholding regimes, insecure/unstable or unavailable markets, poor or non-existent infrastructure, and systemic political or social unrest.[78] Rather than being evidence of the past existence of a timeless ur-agriculture, as was once believed, research is increasingly demonstrating that seemingly 'irrational' or 'unproductive' economic behaviour is a profoundly *temporal* symptom of bad institutions. According to Ellis, peasant agriculture changes when these institutions improve:

> "when most of the conditions for working markets are fulfilled—diversity and abundance of information, transport, mobility, inputs, outlets and consumer goods … peasants cease to be peasants" [and become 'family farm enterprises'].[79]

[75] Page and Popa (2013), 5.
[76] Gilligan (1998), 1.
[77] Ellis (1993), 4.
[78] Ellis (1993), 4–13.
[79] Ellis (1993), 13.

Ellis' differentiation between 'family farm enterprises' and 'peasant farms' highlights the large variety of economic strategies and outcomes possible for small farms. It also points to the fact that other comparanda ('family farm enterprises') may exist for Roman farms. While Roman economic historians typically rely on a the Chayanovian (or Hydénian) comparanda, they do so *in lieu of* using other evidence that demonstrates that more-successful agricultural regimes were also possible in past economies. While the former set of comparanda certainly present a valid worst-case-scenario, alternative scenarios should also be considered. If, as Ellis suggests, 'peasants' are a product of bad institutions which prey upon them, we must question whether or not changing ancient institutions influenced strategies or outcomes on ancient farms. Outcomes for farms, like outcomes for all economic units, depend on a multitude of variables, from the availability and security of markets to legal, social, and economic institutions, and from technology to weather and the quality of land. While many of these are in question in the study of ancient economies (particularly in Britain), the literary and epigraphic sources that *do* survive for Roman agriculture suggest that the worst-case comparanda may not, strictly, always have applied to the Roman (Italian) agricultural economy.

Peasants and Farmers in Ancient Literature

Discussion up to now has focussed on modern perspectives on peasant economies, and on arguing for a certain open-mindedness regarding the various economic, productive, and perhaps even social possibilities that may have existed in historical agricultural economies. I hope to have convinced the reader that the insistence on modelling the Roman population at around subsistence-levels is too rigid and perhaps not in keeping with historical and anthropological data from other periods. What remains to be discussed in this historiographical introduction is the *ancient* background of this study. The following pages examine Roman sources on agriculture, the agricultural economy and, more specifically, non-élite farmers. The discussion begins with a brief discussion of sources pertaining to society and the agricultural economy

in the Later Iron Age and Roman period in Britain, specifically, before moving to an examination of a larger body of data that comes predominantly from the Republican Mediterranean region.

With the exception of scant remarks by Greek and Roman historians and geographers, no contemporary accounts of the Iron Age economy in southern Britain are preserved.[80] On current evidence, it is widely understood that, as elsewhere in the ancient world, the economy in Britain was broadly based around agricultural production, with an emphasis on cereal production and animal husbandry (mainly focussed on cattle and sheep). As Cunliffe makes clear, the period as a whole was a time of population growth and agricultural expansion, particularly in southern Britain.[81] In the absence of contemporary written evidence, reconstruction of Iron Age social and economic organisation is "riddled with many problems".[82] The morphology of many Iron Age settlements, consisting of one or two contemporary roundhouses, storage pits, and 4- or 6-post granaries within enclosures, has led to the belief that society (and the economy) may have been structured around independent family units.[83] Analogy with later Irish and Welsh societies suggests the possibility of a kinship-based (and possibly agnatic) social structure, and the existence of two or more roundhouses, occupied simultaneously, within or surrounding single or double enclosures, might indicate the presence of multiple related nuclear families working the land together.[84] Historical-linguistic work focussed on 'Celtic' Iron Age societies more broadly suggests that, in Celtic economies in the Iron Age (including in Britain), inheritance may have been partitive, i.e., shared between the deceased's children or close kinsmen.[85] Karl argues that such a system would necessarily have led to the impoverishment of families with high levels of reproductive success, and suggests that the economy may

[80] Haselgrove and Moore (2017); Martyn Allen, et al. (2017); Hill (2012); Henderson (2007); van der Veen and Jones (2006); Cunliffe (2005); O'Connor and van der Veen (1998).
[81] Cunliffe (2005), 541.
[82] Karl (2006), 23.
[83] Harding (2008), 283.
[84] Harding (2008), 284.
[85] Karl (2006), 28–29 on the possible impoverishment of kin-groups or families depending on systems of partitive inheritance.

have depended heavily on slave and dependent labour (possibly resulting from a system of debt-bondage) coexisting within a landscape of clan- or privately-owned large and small farms and tenant farms.[86]

Research in Britain has demonstrated that the dispersed settlement pattern became increasingly nucleated around hillforts in the Early Iron Age and then, in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, around a smaller number of apparently more-powerful and better-defended "developed hillforts".[87] Some scholars have seen this period as one of increasing hierarchy and division, while others have read the same data as indicating a more levelled social structure.[88] It remains unclear how hillforts operated, i.e., whether or not they operated primarily as residential sites or had other functions (with defence, storage, government, agricultural/craft production and/or redistribution among several possible options).[89] Cunliffe sees the development of the hillforts as possibly indicative of territorial expansion by emerging élite groups, though Harding suggests the formation of alliances (and the slighting of less-powerful centres) as another possible mechanism.[90] There is environmental evidence to suggest that in addition to any other functions, MIA hillforts were central places for the storage of foodstuffs from around the region.[91]

There is evidence for other broad changes in society (and in the economy) in the Later Iron Age in southern Britain, including increased trade with the continent, the appearance of new burial rituals, the development of local coinages, changes in settlement architecture, new forms of settlement (i.e., *oppida*), and a reduction in the importance of the older hillforts, many of which were in use only sporadically in the LIA.[92] Concurrently, farmsteads once again became more dispersed, and historical, artefactual, and environmental evidence

[86] Karl (2006), 27–29.
[87] Cunliffe (2005), 388–396; Harding (2008), 283.
[88] Hill (2012); Harding (2020).
[89] Harding (2020), 280.
[90] Cunliffe (2005), 591–592; Harding (2008), 277.
[91] van der Veen and Jones (2006); O'Connor and van der Veen (1998).
[92] Harding (2020), 285–286. Much excellent work has been done on the LIA: see also Hingley (1984); Macready and Thompson (1984); Haselgrove (1992); Hill (1995); Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf (2005); Pitts (2005); Massey (2006); Harding (2008), 283; Morris (2010); Moore (2011); Garland (2012); Moore (2012); Haselgrove and Moore (2017).

suggests that this was a period of increasing agricultural production, which occurred alongside deepening trade ties with Roman Gaul.[93]

Although Cunliffe reads the prevalence of coins on LIA sites in southern Britain as evidence for a burgeoning "market economy",[94] Howgego reads the numismatic data differently.[95] The dearth of coin finds from non-nucleated, non-religious sites in southern Britain rather points, for Howgego, to a type of coin use that may have been *less* focussed on market transactions than those in the Roman world:

> "Whatever view one takes, it is probably common ground that money-use in the Iron Age was more involved with reproducing social and religious orders and Roman money-use more involved with market exchange, relative to each other."[96]

Whether or not coins were widely used in daily market transactions, there is limited evidence for increasing market-orientation in ceramic assemblages in certain portions of southern Britain, as discussed further in chapters 4 and 6. There is also evidence for increased manufacturing of certain goods, such as querns and salt, that may have been marketed, traded, or otherwise distributed outside *oppida.*[97]

Taken in tandem with literary accounts from the time of the Caesarian and Claudian invasions, the data above are generally seen as indicating the expansion of power by tribal or civic polities, some of which had become kingdoms by the time of the Claudian invasion.[98] The historical background to

---

[93] See Cunliffe (2005), 177, on the developing economy. Martyn Allen, et al. (2017), 143, quotes Strabo (*Geog.* IV.v 2–3) as saying "that Britain was exporting 'corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron, hides, slaves and hounds'". See also Morris (2010); Sharples (2010); van der Veen and Jones (2006); and O'Connor and van der Veen (1998).

[94] Cunliffe (2005), 177.

[95] Howgego (2013); Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf (2005) Woolf (1997). See also Bland *et al.* (2020), which appeared too late to be fully integrated into this thesis.

[96] Howgego (2013), 31.

[97] For the growth of 'mass-produced' ceramics industries in East Anglia, see J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017). For quern production, see Keller (1989) and Selkirk and Parfitt (2012). For salt production, see Kinory (2011).

[98] See Moore (2011) for a discussion of the problematics of the term 'tribe' in anthropology (in general) and the study of the British Iron Age (in particular). For the development of kingdoms in the LPRIA, see Cunliffe (2005); Creighton (2000); See also Howgego (2013) for a discussion of coin use in this period.

all of this must logically relate to the Roman annexation, in 121 BC, of Gallia Narbonensis (and the economic changes that this may have encouraged further north), Caesar's wars in Gaul (58–50 BC), and the Caesarian invasion of Britain (55–54 BC).[99]

During and after the Claudian conquest (beginning in AD 43), British society changed in complex ways that differed by region/polity, with distinct differences apparent between north and south and east and west.[100] The foregoing relates to south-eastern Britain, which is the focus of the present study. As the Roman hold on Britain deepened, new urban centres, infrastructure, military installations, and people (in the form of the army, Roman officials, and traders/migrants) appeared 'on the scene', and socioeconomic and cultural changes followed political ones.[101] Numismatic evidence (as reflected by excavated finds and by the material in the vast PAS database), material culture more generally, changes in site distribution and evidence for craft and agricultural production, and a small but growing body of epigraphic data all point to the presence of a market economy in Britain from the first century of Roman rule.[102]

The economic, social, and cultural changes that indigenous societies underwent following Roman conquest and provincialisation have, traditionally, been seen as the result of a deliberate process called 'Romanisation'—a concept and term which "remains embedded in scholarship"[103] even as it has increasingly been widely (though not universally) seen as a "false paradigm".[104]

---

[99] Martyn Allen, et al. (2017), 143–144; Cunliffe (2005), 601.

[100] These regional differences have been much discussed. For specifically economics-related discussions, see Martyn Allen, et al. (2017) and Walton (2015).

[101] There is naturally an enormous amount of very good work on Roman Britain, and the sources that follow are by no means an exhaustive list of important work. See Collingwood and Myres (1936); I. Richmond (1955); Applebaum (1972); Wacher (1974); I. Richmond (1978); Esmonde-Cleary (1979); Miles (1982); Fulford (1989); Hingley (1989); Fulford and Huddleston (1991); Millett (1992); Ken Dark and Dark (1997); M. Jones (1998); Simon James (2001); P. Salway (2001); Todd (2004); Mattingly (2007); J. Taylor (2007); Allason-Jones (2008); Walton (2011); Walton (2012); J. Taylor (2013); Alexander Smith, et al. (2016); Martyn Allen, et al. (2017); Martyn Allen, et al. (2018); Alexander Smith, et al. (2018).

[102] For archaeological and numismatic data, see Martyn Allen, et al. (2017); Walton (2015); and Howgego (2013).

[103] Mattingly (2002), 538.

[104] Mattingly (2007), 22–23; 38–41. See also Gardner (2013).

As Mattingly explains, the term fossilises a colonialist reading of Roman (and provincial/indigenous) history. While the term, as used today, has multiple meanings, it generally (and unhelpfully) tends to imply something akin to 'acculturation',[105] and it does so through a unidirectional and uni-temporal lens, which biases our discussion of cultural change and blinds us to other possible (temporal, cultural, religious, economic) nuances within our datasets.[106] Mattingly has suggested using a variety of other (more accurate) terms to convey the idea of cultural change in Roman provinces:

> "identity, discrepant experience, élite negotiation and emulation strategies, resistance, integration, creolization, power discourse, culture change and acculturation (cf. James 194–207), cultural bricolage."[107]

In discussions of cultural and artefactual change that occurred in and around Roman provinces, these terms are much more accurate (and less colonialist) than 'Romanisation'. Recent scholarship has also begun to challenge the use of the concept in examinations of provincial economies, stressing instead the variation present in the archaeological record.[108] Yet, in my view, the concept might be a useful shorthand in thinking about the *institutional* transformations that took place in Britain after the Claudian conquest.

While it remains a distinct possibility that pre-existing LIA economic institutions may have remained in force in some regions or among some populations in the Roman period, the surviving epigraphic sources (naturally biased in favour of Latin language users) suggest that by the early 2nd century, Roman economic institutions governed even small-scale, rural transactions—a fact that has important implications for our study of the rural economy in

---

105 Mattingly (2007), 22–23; 38– 41.

106 Much work has been done on this question, and Mattingly and others have pushed the frontier further by generating new terminologies and ways of thinking about 'change' in Roman provinces. Some newer work on this subject, in addition to the Mattingly (cited above), is: Woolf (1997); Woolf (1997); Woolf (1998); Pitts (2007); Redfern and DeWitte (2011); Woolf (2011); Mattingly (2013); Pitts and Versluys (2014); Versluys (2014); Woolf (2014); Ghisleni (2017); Ghisleni (2018); Gardner and Wallace (2020) examine settlement changes in the Thames Valley from a temporal perspective. See also Gardner (2013);

107 Mattingly (2002), 537–538.

108 Walton (2015), 13.

Roman Britain.[109]

Roman legal sources pertaining specifically to Britain are few and far between,[110] and those that have survived tend to focus on urban or military rather than civilian/rural matters. One well-known exception is a wooden (wax) stylus tablet, found in 1986 in excavations at the Garden House site, near the Walbrook, in Roman London.[111] The surviving portion of the inscription, dated to c. AD 118, records the purchase of a wood in Kent, but breaks off before its purpose is revealed.[112] Whatever its purpose (Tomlin has suggested that the inscription records a lawsuit disputing the ownership of the wood, while du Plessis suggests it may have recorded the actions of an *agrimensor*), the surviving portion contains information about the property, the neighbourhood and neighbouring properties, the buyer and seller, and the purchase price of the wood.[113]

The property (a roughly 5-acre wood) has a Celtic name (Verlucionium), but is evidently being bought and sold according to Roman law (for 40 denarii, which Tomlin indicates may have been "quite a bargain"), suggesting that formal Roman legal proceedings may have been necessary, in the Hadrianic period, even in the case of relatively low-cost (rural) transactions.[114] The tablet also records the location of the land in question (in the *pagus Dibussu-* within the *civitas Cantiacorum*), reflecting a similar division of the countryside into *civitates* and *pagi* familiar from other regions in the Roman west.[115] Also recorded are the names of the purchaser, the seller, and the owner of a neighbouring property, all of whom have the *trianomina* (seemingly of continental origin) suggestive of Roman citizenship.[116] The above details are surprising in their *Roman-ness*, at a time when the province was less than 100

[109] See Korporowicz (2012) for a relatively-recent account of Roman (public) law in Britain. Other work on legal matters tend to treat single documents, perhaps the most famous of which is examined by Tomlin (1996) and Du Plessis (2015).
[110] Korporowicz (2012), 229–230.
[111] Tomlin (1996), 209.
[112] Tomlin (1996), 211–212.
[113] Tomlin (1996), 215; Du Plessis (2015).
[114] Tomlin (1996), 214.
[115] Tomlin (1996), 213–214.
[116] Tomlin (1996), 214.

years old. That a small wood in the *civitas Cantiacorum* was being bought and sold by Roman citizens (with Roman-citizen neighbours) suggests, first, that (as Tomlin notes) at least some of the land in the *civitas* had moved out of indigenous ownership—whether by conquest-related land appropriation or simple 'market' activity.[117] That the particulars of the wood's location could be laid out in Roman terms might indicate that the region had already been surveyed (as expected). That Roman (i.e., Latin) legal language and law were followed make explicit the fact that Roman legal and economic institutions were in force in the *civitas Cantiacorum* (again, as expected). While it is unclear whether or not non-citizen inhabitants of the region would necessarily have operated in exactly the same way citizens did, the find of another early tablet from the Walbrook (this time mentioning the possible sale of a female slave) rather suggests they would.[118] That tablet, written in Latin, records instructions from an employer (or owner) to his servants (or slaves). All of those named in the text (i.e., the master and the servants) appear to be local Britons, yet Latin is the language of choice for this message.[119] These two tablets, both found in ER deposits in Roman London, present evidence for the operation of Roman legal and economic institutions within Britain at a relatively early date. We cannot know what, if any, portion of the population in Roman Britain may have continued (extra-legally) to conduct economic and legal transactions according to pre-existing custom, using native legal institutions. Yet it is clear from the evidence above (and that from a growing body of other Roman texts from Britain) that Roman institutions replaced native ones in Britain from an early period. This leads to the possibility that Roman socioeconomic evidence from other provinces, and from Roman Italy, might offer useful *comparanda* for studies of the Romano-British economy. These sources are much more plentiful than those from Britain itself, and they present a nuanced picture of social relations and economic activities up and down the socio-economic spectrum. While not directly reflecting life in Roman Britain, they provide a *starting*

[117] Tomlin (1996), 215.
[118] I. A. Richmond (1953). See also Korporowicz (2011).
[119] Korporowicz (2011), 216–217.

point—a set of possible legal, economic, and social possibilities for how society may have operated under a similar institutional regime.

In modern scholarly discourse, the people of the Roman countryside are frequently divided into three groups: landowners, peasants, and slaves. For instance, while Kolendo is careful to remind readers that "the terms used by the Romans … invite us to define the 'peasant' broadly,"[120] he lumps all free agricultural workers together as 'peasants'.[121] These neat divisions between landowning élites, peasant workers, and slaves conform well with our assumptions about Roman rural work and power that rather anachronistically originate in Medieval and later depictions of peasants. The Roman sources themselves offer up a more diverse picture of the various 'characters' that may have occupied the countryside, and I argue here a good case can be made for throwing out the term 'peasant' when looking at (Italian) rural society in the Roman period. A close examination of Roman terminologies for and perceptions of the countryside and its inhabitants reveals that the idea of 'peasant', as a distinct social class, does not appear to exist in ancient sources. Rather, words that are often translated as 'peasant', such as *rusticus*, *colonus* and *agricola*, are, in our Latin sources, invested with meanings that differ in important ways from how the term 'peasant' is used in modern English.

The only extant Roman works that focus directly on farming are the agricultural treatises of Cato (*de Agri Cultura*), Varro (*de Re Rustica*), and Columella (*de Re Rustica*), and the Natural History of Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia*).[122] Agriculture also features in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* (i.e., the political tensions between farmers and élites in the Late Republic), in Cicero's legal speeches (*In Verrem* and *Pro Roscio Amerino* most notably), in extant legal texts, such as the *Lex Irnitana* and the *Lex Manciana,* and, more broadly, the *Corpus Iuris Civilis.* Rural scenes are also a prominent feature in fiction. Horace's *Odes* and Vergil's *Georgics* take agricultural life as its subject matter, as do several poems from the *Index Virgiliana* (*Copa*; *Moretum*; *Dirae*; and *Lydia*; as

[120] Kolendo (1993), 200.
[121] Kolendo (1993), 200.
[122] Nelsestuen (2015); Doody (2007); Green (1997); Reay (2005).

well as the *Priapea*). Comedians—Plautus and Martial most notably—frequently play on distinctions between urban and rural life (more below). Farms and farmers are also found in epistolary sources, specifically in the letters of Cicero and his son and Pliny the Younger. Documentary sources in general often provide unparalleled information about the economy, and Egyptian papyri in particular provide deep insight into the lives and economies of Egyptian farmers.

David Hollander argues at length that these disparate sources demonstrate that Italian farmers engaged in market activity.[123] There is naturally insufficient space here for a full discussion of that subject, and this section instead seeks briefly to make several points:

- first, that our ancient sources suggest that the countryside was neither a feudal landscape nor one entirely dominated by slave estates;

- second, that while Roman sources frequently stereotype *rustici*, those stereotypes are different in nature from those of the Medieval period and later;

- third, that those stereotypes and other references to agriculture tend to suggest that Roman farmers may not have been *peasants,* per Ellis' definition;

- fourth, and finally, that as Hollander demonstrates, farmers were engaged in both production for and consumption from markets.

Defining terms

The English-language distinction between farmers and peasants (and all that comes with it) hampers us Anglophone scholars when we venture into our Latin sources: our baggage is written into our translations. Kolendo, for instance,

[123] Hollander (2018).

notes that the term *agricola* means a 'farmer', which "could denote the peasant who worked a parcel of land he owned … or a rich landowner," while the rather pejorative *rusticus*, means 'peasant'.[124] But Kolendo's division of *rustici* into 'farmers' and 'peasants' bespeaks Medieval teleologies that may be anachronistic when looking back at Roman sources. If we want to escape that possible anachronism, we must remove the English for a while and examine what the Latin sources *themselves* tell us about the meanings of agricultural terms, to whom they seem to refer, and what sort of rural social structure (a feudal one, or something else) they seem to illustrate. I contend that they illustrate a reality less familiar than conventional approaches would lead us to expect.

In Latin, people living in the countryside tend to be called *agricolae*, *rustici*, *coloni*, *aratores*, *cultores*/*cultores agri/agrorum* and to a lesser degree *politores* and *pagani*. Both *agricola* (farmer) and *rusticus* (rural/rustic/countryperson) ultimately derive from locations—in the one case, the field, in the other, the countryside.

References to farms and farmers in Roman literature give us information about actual farms and agriculture and about élite attitudes towards them. The earliest non-legal sources mentioning farmers come from the comedies of Plautus and are followed in short order by Cato in *Agr*. Plautus calls farmers *rustici* and *agricolae,* as does Cato. As we shall see, these terms, particularly *rusticus* (on which this section focuses) carried both positive and negative connotations. The familiar Roman idealisation of farms and farmers goes all the way back to Rome's beginnings, as reflected by stories like that of Cincinnatus.[125] In the preface to *De Agr.*, Cato explains that 'in the olden days' farming was considered the most respectable way of making a living: when the *maiores* wanted to praise someone as being a good man, they called him a "good farmer and a good cultivator," (*bonum agricolam bonumque colonum*, Cato, *Agr. Praef.*). While the ideal of the simple, honest, hardworking farmer endured in

[124] Kolendo (1993), 200–1.
[125] Livy *AUC* 3.26.

Roman literature, farmers were also frequently described as being boorish, dirty, and simple as well.

Rural workers in the literary landscape

Ancient sources suggest a countryside not composed of 'peasants' vs 'landlords' but rather a varied and diverse group of people up and down the social spectrum. In early Latin comedy, the *rus* is replete with malcontents. There is the young farmer busy with lots of filthy farm work (*multo opere immundo rustico se exercitum*, Plaut., *Merc.* 65), waiting for his father to die so he can sell the farm and buy a ship. There are young wives, pining away while their husbands do business in town, fathers trying to expiate guilt with hard labour, veterans, weavers, landowners, orphans, and courtesans.[126] Martial's epigrams indicate a busy, heterogenous, and sometimes productive countryside (i.e., III.58). Plutarch notes that Cato was famous for giving dinners at his country estate, to which he invited his neighbours and others from the surrounding countryside, so they could dine together cheerfully (ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐν ἀγρῷ δαψιλέστερον ἐκάλει γὰρ ἑκάστοτε τῶν ἀγρογειτόνων καὶ τοὺς συνήθεις περιχώρων καὶ συνδιῆγεν ἱλαρῶς, Plut. *Cat. Ma.* 25.2).[127] According to Cato, the ideal farmer and/or his slave *familia* should stay on good terms with all of these people:

> *"Vicinis bonus esto; familiam ne siveris peccare. Si te libenter vicinitas videbit, facilius tua vendes, opera facilius locabis, operarios facilius conduces; si aedificabis, operis, iumentis, materie adiuvabunt; siquid bona salute usus venerit, benigne defendent."* (Cato, *Agr.* 4)
>
> "Be a good neighbour, and do not allow your *familia* to do wrong. If your neighbours like you, you will sell your goods more easily, you will contract your work more easily, you will hire workers more easily; if you build, they will help you with labour, beasts of

[126] Ter., *Heaut*.

[127] A recently translated inscription from Tralles supports the notion of regions where small and large(r) landowners coexisted, there would have been a mix of both large and small landholders, Cooley and Salway (2012: 235); Thonemann (2007).

> burden, and materials; if, God forbid, anything should happen, they will defend you kindly (Cato, *Agr.* 4)."[128]

From these neighbours come the non-slaves working on or for the estate: contractors for the harvest of specific crops (olive and grape),[129] olive pickers (*leguli*),[130] share tenants (*politores*),[131] buyers for specific crops (sometimes called *emptores*, sometimes *qui… emerit*),[132] and the legal representative of the owner of the estate (*custos*).[133] These neighbours are naturally non-élites, and they seem to engage in a lively social life (which was evidently also available even to some slaves), as demonstrate by Cato's injunctions to the *vilicus* and *vilica*—"you must not go out to dine" (*ad cenam nequo eat*, Cato, *Agr.* 5). He adds that the *vilica* should be allowed to visit neighbouring women and others as little as possible, not receiving people into the home, nor going out to meals or wandering about (*vicinas aliasque mulieres quam minimum utatur neve domum neve ad sese recipiat*; *ad coenam ne quo eat neve ambulatrix siet*, Cato, *Agr.* 143).

Varro mentions that "all fields are cultivated by men: slaves or free men or both (*servis aut liberis aut utrisque*); by free men, when they themselves cultivate the fields, as do many poor men together with their children (*ut plerique pauperculi cum sua progenie*) or by hired hands (*mercennariis*)… (*Rust.* 1.17.2)." Here we see that Varro expects his readers to know that free farmers (both impoverished and able to hire labourers) were a normal part of the rural economy.[134] Sometimes, as Varro implies, there might be a mixture of slaves, free men, and hired hands working on the same farm. Varro (*Rust.* 1.16.4) is also careful to mention that *some* farmers (*coloni*) prefer to live near artisans whom they can hire, rather than owning their own artisans (*coloni potius…habent vicinos…quibus imperent…medicos, fullones, fabros, quam in villa suos habeant…*). He mentions that wealthy villa owners use their own slaves to do

[128] All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.
[129] Cato, *Agr.* 138, 144, 145.
[130] Cato, *Agr.* 144, 145.
[131] Cato, *Agr.* 137.
[132] Cato, *Agr.* 146, 147, 148.
[133] Cato, *Agr.* 145.
[134] Shaw (2013), 261–266, explores the idea of rural mobility and the harvest. See also Erdkamp (1999); Erdkamp (2015); Erdkamp (2016).

these tasks, in order to avoid the problem of the *familia* leaving the farm and acting as if it is a holiday, presumably by going to a town or *vicus* (hamlet, village) to find someone to do the task at hand (*quam partem lati fundi divites domesticae copiae mandare solent. Si enim a fundo longius absunt oppida aut vici, fabros parant, quos habeant in villa, sic ceteros necessarios artifices, ne de fundo familia ab opera discedat ac profestis diebus ambulet feriata potius, quam opera faciendo agrum fructuosiorem reddat*, *Rust.* 1.16.4). For this reason, Saserna has a rule that no one is to leave the *fundus* except the *vilicus*, the steward (*promum*), or someone specifically chosen by the *vilicus.* These comments clarify several points. First, in Varro's world, some *coloni* lack the funds to buy their own artisans and thus choose to live near people whom they can hire for necessary tasks, while others are wealthy enough to own their own artisans. Second, there is an expectation that artisans can be found in villages and towns (*oppida aut vici*) around the countryside. Third, that slaves enjoy walking to the local *vicus*, where they can enjoy something like a holiday (even on workdays). Perhaps, as in Appian (below), they might even lounge at a tavern in the village.

Appian's *Bellum Civile* also records a countryside full of people of various ranks. The farmer (ὁ γεωργὸς) who hid Marcus Antonius (the orator) has a multi-storey farmhouse in which to hide the orator, and he seems to be in the habit of buying necessities from another rural character, the tavern keeper. He also happens to have a slave, who appears to know the innkeeper well enough to (erroneously) confide in him (App., *B. Civ.* 1.8.72).

The countryside reflected in Cicero is, likewise, inhabited and worked by a heterogeneous group of people. Freedmen, slaves, *vilici*, renters and heads of families work the land, on farms both large and small. Accusing Verres of tax fraud while governor of Sicily, Cicero identifies the victims as ploughmen (*aratores*), a term which seems calculated to inspire the greatest amount of sympathy possible in the minds of the senatorial judges. Playing up the idea of farmers as the most virtuous kind of men,[135] as in the olden days, Cicero remarks that Verres must have gotten himself into a lovely state, if the order

[135] *Cf* Var., R. preface; Col., *de re rustica,* preface; Ovid Fasti 3.771, Pliny *NH* 19.52.

and class of men which is the best and most honest, by which both the republic as a whole and Sicily in particular are upheld, are completely hostile to him (*omnino praeclare te habes cum is ordo atque id hominum genus*, *quod optimum atque honestissimum est*, *a quo uno et summa res publica et illa provincia maxime continetur*, *tibi est inimicissimum*, Cic., *Ver.* 2.2.14). Throughout, Cicero refers to the farmers of Sicily as *aratores.* The *Verrines* probably are the first extant source for this word, and Cicero uses it 198 times across the six speeches.[136] Both before and after the *Verrines*, the plough (*aratrum*) and ploughing (*aro, arare*) most commonly appear in pastoral poetry or in descriptions of the origins of Rome, and in using (and coining?) the term, Cicero seems to be deliberately 'countrifying' Verres' Sicilian victims, many of whom were doubtless wealthy men. Not only did Verres give the *publicani* power to levy unlimited taxes on Sicilian land, Cicero alleges, he also made it virtually impossible for farmers to appeal these decisions, by forcing the appeals to happen in the city. It is a miserable and unjust thing, Cicero says, for men to be brought out of the fields and into the forum, from the plough to the courts, from the rustic pursuits to which they are accustomed, to trials and actions wholly unfamiliar to them (*miserum atque iniquum*! *Ex agro homines traducis in forum*, *ab aratro ad subsellia*, *ab usu rerum rusticarum ad insolitam litem atque iudicium*? Cic., *Ver.* 2.3.26). Yet as the speech continues, we learn that, far from being a homogenous class of small (or large) farmers, the *aratores* in question run the gamut from the very wealthy to the rather poor. There are many who plough a single *iugerum*, who never cease from personal labour (*qui singulis iugis arant*, *qui ab opere ipsi non recedunt*, Cic., *Ver.* 2.3.27), while numerous others are large landowners, or farmers renting multiple estates. [137]

While self-sufficiency is represented as the ideal,[138] farms and their inhabitants of all social classes are presented as aiming for a profit even in satire

[136] Save for one mention of the word by Lucretius, which may or may not have been written by the time of the *Verrines*.
[137] Cic., *Ver.* 2.3.53–4.
[138] *Cf.* Mart.7.31, Verg., *G.* 4.133; Hor., *Epod.* 2.48.

and other fiction.[139] Modern scholars frequently conflate 'self-sufficiency' with 'subsistence agriculture', yet this is mistaken: self-sufficiency was often a way for élites to advertise the richness and fertility of their estates, the diversity of their holdings, and the industry of their *familia.*[140] Indeed, the false advertisement of self-sufficiency is something of a theme in several of Martial's epigrams. At III.58, for instance, he juxtaposes a *real* productive farm with an unproductive villa to which the owner must send all the necessities, including flour for his *vinitores* (*et vinitorem farre pascis urbano pictamque portas otiosus ad villam holus, ova, pullos, poma, caseum, mustum. rus hoc vocari debet, an domus longe*?).

Martial's epigrams also contain some interesting notes on farmers' use of markets.[141] Because of (artificially?) low food prices at Rome, he says, "an amphora sells for 20, a modius of wheat for four: overfilled and drunk, the farmer has nothing" (*amphora vigesis, modius datur aere quaterno. Ebrius et crudus, nil habet Agricola*, Mart. 12.76). This suggests that marketing produce was not only a positive side-gig for many farmers but a necessary part of their survival. Similus, the poor farmer in the pseudo-Virgilian *parva casa* poem *Moretum*, goes out into his garden and surveys a crop which was:

> "Truly the yield was not for the *dominus* (for who is tighter [with money] than he?) but for the people; on the ninth day, on his shoulders he would bring his bundle to town for sale. From there, he would return home with a light neck, heavy with cash, hardly ever with the merchandise of the urban market (*Ap. Verg. Moretum* 77–81)."

Poem 87 in the *Carmina Priapea* also presents us with a farmer going to market. It opens with a rustic *Priapus* speaking to a traveller, explaining that he protects the small fields (*agellulum*) and the small house and garden (*villulam hortulumque*) of the poor owner (*erique… pauperis*) from the evil

[139] Horace notes that his farm supports five families and sends "five honest fathers to Varia's markets," *Ep*. 1.14.
[140] See recent work on productive villa estates, i.e., Marzano (2015); Bowman and Wilson (2013).
[141] For scholarly work on this subject, see especially Frayn (1974); de Ligt (1993); and Hollander (2018).

hand of robbers (*malaque furis arceo manu*). Scene set, we next get the expected celebration of fertility: *Priapus* is crowned with multicoloured crowns (*corolla picta vere ponitur*), with ruddy grain under the burning sun (*rubens arista sole fervido*), with the verdant vines of sweet grapes (*virente dulcis uva pampino*), with fallen olives, in bitter cold (*caduca oliva, cocta frigore*). Next, we see the charming she-goat (*capella delicata*) going into town, sending back the owner with his "right hand heavy with cash' (*gravem domum remittit aere dexteram*)." At the end of the poem, the farmer returns to punish any ne'er-do-well—but it turns out that he is a *vilicus*, suggesting that this *Priapus* resides on a slave estate.

Writing several generations later, Pliny the Younger, in his *Letters*, suggests, that his land and the surrounding area was farmed not by slaves but by tenant farmers who, for various reasons, were in arrears with their rent (*Ep*. 9.37). If he switches to share-type tenancy, he notes, he will have to use one of his 'household' (slaves) as a *custos.* Pliny also seems to be responsible for providing his tenant farmers with slaves (3.19), and these same farmers appear to write their own accounts (5.14). When looking for someone to administer a friend's country estate, he notes that one must consider not a city man but a rural/rough (*agrestem*) man. He considers not a slave *vilicus,* but Rufus, the friend of the owner's son (6.30). Some of these tenants may live near (or in) the small *oppidum* (town) that elected him as its patron (4.1)—where he commissioned a temple. Tenant farmers seem to be in short supply in all of Pliny's letters, but he never mentions using slaves instead of tenants (and some tenants use slaves).

Whether or not they had public buildings, small towns and villages seem to have been central places, as seen in some of the above sources. The *Lex Rivi Hiberiensis*, a Hadrianic irrigation decree from Agón, c. 50 km west of Zaragoza (Roman *Caesaraugusta*),[142] suggests that these communities organised and cooperated for economic reasons. The *Lex* lays out the rules and regulations of an irrigation community which involved the sharing of water from the *rivus Hiberiensis* (an Ebro river canal), and the maintenance of the

[142] Beltrán Lloris (2006).

canal, between the inhabitants of three *pagi*: the *pagus Gallorum* (situated in or near modern-day Gallur), the *pagus Segardenensis*, and the (*pagus*?) *Belsoninensis*.[143] As Lloris makes clear, the *lex* depicts a countryside with a "remarkably high level of activity … social coherence, and … surprising autonomy with regard to its urban nuclei."[144] It demonstrates that *pagi* could have elections and local authorities (*magistri pagi*), a governing body that met regularly to make collective decisions (*pagani in concilio*), and public works officers (*curatores*), and suggests that *pagi* contracted with *publicani*.[145] Lloris notes that the *lex* demonstrates a high level of autonomy for the local population, saying the "surprising fact that it was not the *duoviri* of *Caesaraugusta* who lodged appeals with the provincial authorities, but one of the *magistri pagi.*"[146]

Provincial inscriptions, further, hint at possibilities for investment and social mobility in the countryside—as in the much-discussed Mactar/Maktar Harvester inscription, which "has since come to assume a paradigmatic importance in the social and economic history not just of Africa, but of the entire Roman empire".[147] The epitaph—which has variously been dated between the 3rd and 5th centuries[148]—was found in Mactaris/Maktaris in Africa Proconsularis (modern-day Tunisia). Written in the first person, it tells the life story of an unnamed man who was born impoverished, started his working life as a harvester, and rose up the ranks, becoming a *ductor* (a headman)—a position that enabled him to purchase a house (and presumably land), to gain election to the order of decurions, and to be elected *censor*.[149] In his excellent *Bringing in the Sheaves,* Shaw offers many other examples of rural social mobility, including on the part of farmers who invested time and resources in extending cultivation of high-investment crops (like vines or olive trees) or

[143] Beltrán Lloris (2006), 148.
[144] Beltrán Lloris (2006), 148.
[145] Beltrán Lloris (2006), 148.
[146] Beltrán Lloris (2006), 148.
[147] Shaw (2013), 51–54, on CIL 8.11824. As Shaw points out, it is unclear how typical, or not, this type of social mobility may have been, and scholarly opinion is divided.
[148] The inscription is conventionally dated to the 3rd century in part on the basis of its script, but Shaw (2013), 57–64, argues for a later (late 4th–6th c.) date.
[149] Shaw (2013), 50–55.

improving cultivation methods through the use of irrigation or other measures.[150] In fact, it appears that tenants were encouraged to bring new land into cultivation, and to improve it with new plantings of vines and/or olive trees, on imperial estates in North Africa, based on the discovery of two well-known sharecropping regulations, the *lex Manciana* and the *lex Hadriana de rudibus agris*.[151] These *leges* were uncovered in a series of six inscriptions in the Bagradas Valley in Tunisia in the 19th and 20th centuries.[152] While Kehoe sees the *lex Manciana* as having been developed as a private *lex locationis*,[153] Hobson argues that it may have originally been a general Republican law aimed at bringing newly-available *ager publicus* into cultivation.[154] Tenancy regulations like this seem to have encouraged even risk-averse populations to gamble "with their livelihoods on a significant scale."[155] If this second hypothesis is correct, it is possible that similar arrangements were in use in the British countryside, as well.

Socially, as well (perhaps) as economically, the Roman countryside little resembles the feudal landscape called up by the word 'peasant' and neither does it appear to be predominantly slave-based (although we see many slaves).[156] Rather, we see a complex web of social and economic connections, full of farms lived and worked on by people of diverse classes and statuses and levels of wealth.[157] These landscapes do not appear to be comprised only of slave-based *latifundia,* but of a heterogenous mix of farms worked by hired hands, small farmers and their families, bigger farmers (with slaves or hired

[150] Shaw (2013), 66–68. In CIL 8.212 (*Flavii de Cillium*), the deceased, Titus Flavius Secundus, speaks of irrigating vines to expand his wealth. Shaw cites ILTun.243, an epitaph memorialising Bion/Dion, from Upenna, who "*instituit arbores quatuor milia*" (planted 4,000 olive trees). Shaw also cites the epitaph of a man from Bihensi (Bilta?) (AE 1983 975) who "restored a farm called the *fundus Aufidianus*. Through hard work and ingenuity, he improved the olive crops by implementing a new process of grafting. He dug a new well, set out a new orchard, and planted new vines under the trees."
[151] Kehoe (1984). Van Oyen (2020) argues for peasant agricultural innovation in Roman Italy.
[152] Kehoe (1984), 242. CIL 8.25902 (from Henchir Mettich); CIL 8.25943, Ain-el-Djemala; CIL 8.26416, Ain Wassel; CIL 8.10570, Souk-el-Khmis; CIL 8.14428, Gasr-Mezuar; CIL 8.14451, Ain-Zaga.
[153] Kehoe (1984), 242.
[154] Hobson (2012), 73.
[155] *Cf.* Mattingly (2013), 154.
[156] *Cf.* Mattingly (2013), 153.
[157] *Cf.* Mart. 3.63.

hands), and slave estates.[158] These slave estates also appear far more socially complex than might be imagined. In Cato, we see the cast of characters: the owner (alternatively *dominus* or *pater familias*) and the group of slaves living on the estate (*familia*, *servi*), headed by an overseer (*vilicus*) and his wife (*vilica*). Under the overseer, the *familia* consists of general labourers (*operarii*) and various specialist workers.[159] While firmly under the direction of the owner, the *vilicus* had personal leeway when it came to operating the farm: Cato instructs the *dominus* to give directions to the *vilicus* about what parts of the property and the work are to be done by the *familia* and what parts are to be let out, and he notes that these instructions should be left in writing (*ea scripta reliquat*),[160] suggesting that the *vilicus* and/or prospective tenants were expected to be able to read.

While later authors (Varro and Columella) specify that the *vilicus* is himself a slave, whether this was the case for Cato is less clear. At *Agr.* 2, he lists excuses that might be given by the *vilicus* to the *dominus* for undone work: illness, bad weather, runaway slaves, and *opus publicum effecisse* ("that he had to do public work"). While the use of *opus publicum* as a punishment for slaves is well attested, it is thought to have lasted many months, if not years, or more, and it is thus unlikely that the *opus publicum* referred to by Cato's *vilicus* is of that sort.[161] On the other hand, the requirement for *incolae* and *mancipes* to provide corvée labour for their *municipia* is well-attested, though the relevant inscriptions date to the early and mid-Imperial period, rather than to the mid and late Republic, as indicated by legal and epigraphic sources (the *penthemeros* receipts from Karanis, for instance).[162] Section 83 of the *Lex Irnitana* (thought to be one of three surviving examples of the *Lex Flavia Municipalis*, dated to around AD 91), for instance, dictates that all male *incolae* and *mancipes* with property (owned or rented) within the *municipium* give 5 days of labour to the *municipium* annually, for the purpose of municipal

158 Cato, *Agr.* 135; Varro, *Rust.* 1.17; Columella, *Rust.*1.7.
159 Cato, *Agr.* 10–11.
160 Cato, *Agr.* 2.
161 Millar (1984), 132–6.
162 Sijpesteijn (1986), Ast (2007).

building projects.[163] Did slaves do this kind of *opus publicum* for their masters, or could *vilici* be free men? The answer is unclear.[164]

Slave or free, non-élite farmers made an effective foil for both the luxury and immorality and the *urbanitas* and *humanitas* associated with to urban life in Latin literature.[165] In these comparisons, *rustici* can be either idealised or demonised—or both simultaneously. As we shall see, '*rusticus*' (the Latin term most frequently interchanged with '*peasant*' in English) can be used as an insult *or* as a plaudit (never a meaning of 'peasant'). While it can carry many negative connotations, those meanings are different to those connoted by 'peasant', particularly with regard to morality and work-ethic.

In Tibullus' romanticised, pastoral countryside, full farmers (*saturi… coloni*) are shining, sleek, healthy rustics (*nitidus… rusticus*), with teeming fields (*plenis… agris*, Tib. 2.1.21–25), and this (prototypical) strong ploughman (*fortis … rusticus*) with a strong steer (*valido … bove*) is worth more than "the jewels born in lucky India" (*gemmarum quidquid felicibus Indis nascitur*, Tib. 2.2.14–20).[166] In Plautus, *rustici* are rather less idealised. In *Mostellaria* (*Most.* 39–55), the slaves Grumio and Tranio insult each other. Tranio, an urban slave, insults farmhand Grumio for being too 'countrified' (he has garlic breath, filthy clothing, is rustic, like a goat, like a pigsty, like manure, etc.), while Grumio accuses Tranio of being corrupted by the luxuries of the city (smelling of exotic ointments, eating dainty dishes, sleeping with unsuitable youths, etc.). In *Persa*, Sophoclidisca is angry at being treated "like an idiot, like a hillbilly" (*pro barda et pro rustica…habitam*, Plaut., *Persa* 168–9).

Many uses of the term are less extreme. In love poetry, to be rustic is to be *too* honest, too credulous, too boring, too unrefined: Ovid criticises a henpecked husband as excessively rustic (*rusticus est nimium, quem laedit adultera coniunx, et notos mores non satis urbis habet,* Ov., *Am.* 3.4.39–42). It

[163] González and Crawford (1986).
[164] Against this idea is the fact that Cato forbids the *vilicus* from presiding at any religious rites except the *Compitalia* and the daily sacrifices to the *lares* and *penates*. The *Compitalia* were traditionally presided over by slaves (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom*. 4.14).
[165] Uden (2010), *passim.*
[166] See also Ov., *Fast.* 1.659, 2.639, 4.165 and 405.

is stupid, Ovid tells us, to leave an attractive young man with your wife while you are away—provided he is no rustic (*vir abest*, *et adest non rusticus hospes*, Ov., *Ars* 369). Here, *rusticus* seems to mean 'simple' and 'trustworthy'. Ovid writes that if you want to fall out of love, it might help to turn your beloved's good qualities into bad ones—"since bad qualities are the neighbours of good ones" (*et mala sunt vicina bonis*, Ov., *Rem*, 323–4). Thus, if she is honest and upright, you might call her a rustic, while if she isn't quite so *rustic*, she could be characterised as an over-eager, trouble-making gold-digger (*et poterit dici petulans, quae rustica non est, et poterit dici rustica, siqua proba est*, Ov., *Rem.* 329–330).

Penelope worries that her husband is telling some saucy young thing about his boring (rustic) wife, good for nothing but working wool (*quam sit tibi rustica coniunx, quae tantum lanas non sinat esse rudes*, Ov., *Her.* 1.77–78). In his letter to Helen, Paris presents himself as well-groomed, well-educated, the picture of the urban man-about-town, regretting his visit and bursting with envy whenever Menelaus (a boorish rustic from a nowhere town in the Argolid) touches his wife (*paenitet hospitii, cum me spectante lacertos inponit collo rusticus iste tuo. rumpor et invidia—quid enim non omnia narrem*?*—membra superiecta cum tua veste fovet*, Ov., *Her.* 16.220–22). Helen, too, is too 'rustic' in imagining she can remain chaste when gifted with such beauty (*a*, *nimium simplex Helene*, *ne rustica dicam*, *hanc faciem culpa posse carere putas*? Ov., *Her.* 16.285–90). In her reply, Helen assures Paris that she would rather be rustic than give up her chastity (*rustica sim sane, dum non oblita pudoris, dumque tenor vitae sit sine labe meae*, Ov., *Her.*17.14–15).

Cicero likewise describes his own bashfulness as 'almost rustic' (*pudor quidam paene subrusticus*, Cic., *fam.* 5.12), and he can claim he would rather speak to 'rustics' than to those who could understand and judge him—"I would rather my oration not be understood than to be judged badly" (*nolim equidem apud rusticos*, *sed multo minus apud vos*; *malo enim non intellegi orationem meam quam reprehendi*, Cic., *Orat.* 2.7). Likewise, Marcus Cicero (the son of the famous orator) in a letter to *libertus* and close friend Tiro, congratulates him on the purchase of a country estate with the injunction to: "put aside your urbanities—you've become a countryman now" (*habes deponendae tibi sunt*

urbanitates; *rusticus Romanus factus es*, Cic., *fam.* 16.21). Here we see that relatively respectable and wealthy men can be *rustici* or *subrustici.*

Later on in the letter to Tiro, Marcus notes that: "I seem to see you buying things for the farmstead, talking to the *vilicus*, hiding the seeds from dessert in your hem [a thrifty way to save seeds for planting] (*videor enim videre ementem te rusticas res, cum villico loquentem, in lacinia servantem ex mensa secunda semina*, Cic., *fam.* 16.21). Evidently, *rusticus Romanus* can pertain to farmers and/or landowners with relatively substantial wealth and social standing. Here we meet an important Roman stereotype about rustics: they are hardworking and almost fanatically obsessed with making money (not necessarily a positive trait in the world of Roman literature).

In a rags-to-riches (and back to rags again) tale in *Epistle* 1.7, Horace describes how a middle-class urban man (Mena) had purchased a farm (using money gifted him by a patron). Once there, the "spiffy man becomes a rustic" (*ex nitido fit rusticus*, Hor., *Ep.* 1.7.80–85), completely obsessed with the farm and with making a profit (*atque sulcos et vineta crepat mera, praeparat ulmos*, *immoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.80–85). He works so hard that it makes him age prematurely. He is so consumed with the farm that he disregards urban hygiene, and evidently stops cutting his hair and oiling his face.

While the countryside makes men work hard, it also provides an antidote to the cares—and the luxuries—of urban life. In an epigram addressed to Juvenal (Mart. 12.18), Martial brags that his hometown of Bilbilis (in Spain) has made *him* a countryman again (*rusticumque fecit*, Mart. 12.18.8). Juvenal, he surmises, is probably wandering the Suburra sweating in his toga (*dum tu forsitan inquietus erras clamosa… Iuvenalis*, *in Subura… sudatrix toga ventilat*, Mart. 12.18.1–5), while he (Martial) makes up for 30 years of lost sleep (*ingenti fruor inproboque somno quem nec tertia saepe rumpit hora, et totum mihi nunc repono, quidquid ter denos vigilaveram per annos*, Mart. 12.18.13–16). Curchin notes that Martial:

> "… has abandoned his urban elegance: he sleeps late, wears informal clothes, ambles in the countryside, and eats home-made stew."[167]

Similarly, Ovid suggests that those looking to cure lovesickness might go to the countryside, where the beauty and toil of farm life will surely put the cares of the city—including the beloved—far from one's mind. Here, again, we see that farming profitably requires hard work. In the countryside, all worries must yield to the all-consuming work of cultivating the fields and caring for the animals (*quaelibet huic curae cedere cura potest,* Ov., *Rem.* 169–70).

Cicero uses this idea to his advantage in his *Pro Roscio Amerino*. The son of a large and influential landowner, Sextus Roscius was accused of having murdered his father. In his defence, Cicero plays up the stereotype of the farmer so caught up with the work of farming he had no time to be corrupted by city sin. After the elder Roscius had left his son in charge of their farm, argues Cicero, the son, in obedience to his father, had entirely given himself over to domestic affairs and a rustic life (*cum hic filius adsiduus in praediis esset cumque se voluntate patris rei familiari vitaeque rusticae dedisset*, Cic., *S. Rosc.* 18). Murders, says Cicero, are not usually done by country people, who live sober, unpolished, rough lives (*in rusticis moribus*, *in victu arido*, *in hac horrida incultaque vita istius modi maleficia gigni non solere*, Cic., *S. Rosc.* 75). The countryside is the teacher of economy, industry, and justice (*vita autem haec rustica quam tu agrestem vocas parsimoniae*, *diligentiae*, *iustitiae magistra est*, Cic., S. *Rosc.* 75).

In pastoral poetry, the countryside was the unchanging world of Cincinnatus: slow, hard-working, dignified, and severe. As a literary trope, country people were stoic, cheerful, honest, uneducated, and unrefined—everything the city was not. In legal documents (e.g. the *lex Irnitana*: see above), the countryside was a part of *municipia* and *coloniae*, its inhabitants simply *incolae*, members of the community like everyone else. In agricultural treatises, epigrams, and anecdotes, the countryside was a place for making a profit. Our sources do not tell us what, exactly, the countryside was, nor do they

[167] Curchin (2003), 224–225.

tell us who, exactly, lived there, or what, exactly, their lives were like. But they certainly allow us to conclude what the Italian countryside was *not*. They do not give us a picture of a feudal landscape peopled exclusively by serfs and slaves, overseen by cruel masters and their rich overlords. They do *not* give us a picture of a subsistence society, unengaged with the market or the wider world. They do *not* give us a picture of lazy peasants, or unproductive ones—or, I would wager, of 'peasants', at all.

METHODOLOGY

Scheidel and Friesen claim that non-élite sites are virtually undetectable in the archaeological record, and that the archaeologically visible sites, that we know of, necessarily must belong, therefore, to the middling or *upper* strata of society.[168] This thesis is an attempt to interrogate and challenge that assumption. In it, I argue that, in Britain, we have portions of the full spectrum of site types, *right down to the lowest level,* and that a holistic examination of micro-regions around Britain, coupled with a holistic examination of finds on sites in those regions, challenges current assumptions about living standards on Roman farms and about market integration on non-élite sites in the Roman countryside. Here, I present four regional case studies focussing on large commercial and academic projects and the sites surrounding them, arguing that the data allow us, firstly, examine rural living standards—at the upper *and* lower ends of the spectrum—and secondly, to ask (and begin to answer) some of the broader economic-historical questions in the study of rural economies.

The thesis begins by examining the region around a large academic research project (Danebury Environs, Ch. 2). It then 'checks' the efficacy of traditional survey and targeted excavation strategies against large commercial excavation programmes (Chs. 3–5) in regions that have been heavily studied by other scholars and are therefore well-understood in terms of their regional

[168] Scheidel and Friesen (2009), 91.

chronologies, economies, and finds assemblages. As explained below, while not a 'random sampling' of all of Britain's archaeological potential, commercial projects offer a more randomised sampling than do academic ones and are thus more likely to offer a full range of sites than targeted excavations are. As large open-area excavations become increasingly common, it has been possible for excavators to uncover increasingly more-ephemeral sites that do not show up easily in surface and sometimes even geophysical surveys.

In each case study, I use these data to ask a series of questions about rural archaeology and the rural economy. Some of these are:

- What does the rural settlement hierarchy look like in each region? Was the region a 'villa landscape', a 'non-villa landscape', or something else?

- How did settlement in each region change over time? How did land-use, production, and consumption change over time?

- What differences existed between sites and site categories with regard to production and consumption? Were there 'characteristic' consumption packages for different site types or settlement 'levels?'

- How integrated were rural sites into wider trade networks? What differences were there in the integration of smaller and larger farms and villas? What similarities existed? Were small farms and villas using the same supply networks for basic goods (as far as it is possible to tell) or different ones? Were smaller farms engaged in a money economy or not?

- Is there any evidence for social mobility (or immobility) in *rural,* as opposed to urban, Roman Britain?[169] Can the archaeology tell us

[169] Witcher (2017), 42.

anything about the nature and structure of the rural economy in the Roman period more broadly?

Locating lower-status sites

Scheidel and Friesen's claim, that we cannot find the lowest-status sites, arises from several very real difficulties in detecting lower-status sites. First, the identification of non-élite sites without excavation, through surface survey or aerial survey, is problematic, particularly in regions where local coarsewares are understudied. Second, the use of surface survey alone to identify sites potentially misses ephemerally-built sites that leave little (or no) surface traces.

Yet, the idea that ephemerally-built sites *cannot* be identified archaeologically is a mistaken one. Some lifeways, like nomadism, are more difficult to identify archaeologically, yet advances in archaeological research have allowed researchers to identify even extremely ephemeral nomadic camps in recent decades.[170] Such sites can range from the highly ephemeral, as for instance tipi rings in North America,[171] to the more substantial, like the growing number of seasonally-occupied Mesolithic structures from Britain.[172] Roman archaeologists have learned from the work of prehistorians and these strategies are increasingly becoming the norm in Roman archaeology.[173]

Limited, ephemeral structural remains (like tent posts) are not the only feature making nomadic camps difficult to locate—camps often lack other features typical of sedentary settlements (crop storage pits or granaries, wells or waterholes, animal yards, farm or field boundaries, etc.), as well. The ability of careful excavation strategies to detect certain nomadic sites, under some circumstances, should give us some confidence that archaeological techniques are able to detect low-status permanent agricultural sites, even when

[170] Honeychurch and Makarewicz (2016), 349. Some examples of such studies are: Hole (1974); Woosley and Hole (1978); Sutliff (2015) (for sites in Iran); Collins (2007) (sites in Texas); and Maher and Conkey (2019) (for Upper Paleolithic sites in Southeast Asia).
[171] Finnigan (1982).
[172] P. Preston and Kador (2018).
[173] de Haas and Tol (2017), 2.

ephemerally-built.

Indeed, permanent farming settlements built entirely of ephemeral materials are all archaeologists have to go on in many regions worldwide—including in pre-Roman Britain and northern Europe and in North America, where ephemeral structures (i.e., *wetus* and longhouses) and associated domestic debris (storage pits, middens, hearths) are frequently all that remains of Indigenous settlements.[174] Because ephemeral structures mainly consist of soil discolorations or depressions, they are more easily lost to truncation than stone- or brick-built structures, and are also more prone to being machined-away before/during excavation. Yet even when structures themselves are lost, permanent settlements leave other traces. Agriculture and animal husbandry necessarily influence both the wider landscape and domestic foci, as crop- or carcass-processing, storage, cooking, and waste disposal needs must be met. Because of the regularity of these activities, even low-status farms are frequently physically large or spread out over the landscape (Figure 1). In Roman Britain, sub-surface grain-storage pits and above-ground granaries are frequently associated with farm settlements, and these leave distinct archaeological traces in the form of the physical infrastructure and finds (hand-querns or quern fragments, parching ovens or corndryers, waterholes, wells, and crop processing waste identified during environmental sampling). Further, farms frequently lie within networks of path or trackways, fields, fences, hedges, or other boundaries, for which—for drainage and other purposes—ditches, postholes, or stakeholes were usually dug.[175]

While some scholars argue that ancient peasants may not have had access to much pottery or other goods from markets,[176] archaeological, historical, and ethnographic research from outside the Classical world indicates that non-élite farmers in some cultures used large quantities of pottery and other materials. An ethnographic study of pottery use in the Maya highlands estimates average of 35–64 ceramic vessels in use per household per year.[177] This

[174] Bamann *et al.* (1992); Ferris (2009), 51–52; Handsman (2018).
[175] Alexander Smith, et al. (2016), 17–43.
[176] Sanders (2013).
[177] Straight (2017), 99–100.

population hand-makes its own pottery, for community use rather than export,[178] and production was on a low enough scale that c. 40% of the vessels consumed by the community were imported from elsewhere.[179]



Figure 1: Peasant farm, Muzeul ASTRA, Sibiu, Romania (TripAdvisor).

Similar numbers of in-use vessels are attested from Maya archaeological contexts: Straight's study of pottery assemblages in three Maya houses destroyed by fire during the Classical Period (with pottery left *in-situ*) similarly found between 62 and 85 vessels in each household.[180]

Access to tableware varied according to culture and socioeconomic status. Elaborately decorated tablewares were available up and down the socioeconomic spectrum at Tikal.[181] Conversely, inventories from 13th–15th-century Valencia suggest that prior to the Black Death, peasant households were

[178] Straight (2017), 100–101.
[179] Straight (2017), 101.
[180] Straight (2017), 106.
[181] Straight (2017), 108.

largely aceramic, relying on metal pots and pans and iron spits for cooking and on wooden bowls for eating. They roughly doubled their cooking pot consumption after the Black Death,[182] and began using ceramic tableware. Their new ability to afford such goods seems to have led to a new industry of lower-quality or simplified tablewares (as in the Roman world with the production of *terra sigillata* and regional mass-production industries). Fernandez suggests that this rapid shift indicates "a mass production agreeing with a permanent demand from the local markets, which has left a mark in the simplification of the shape and decoration of these pieces with respect to the former period."[183]

Jervis notes that pottery vessels often do not appear in probate records from Medieval England, but argues that in this case, ceramics were thought to be of such low value that they did not merit inclusion: only when *made* valuable—by, for instance, the addition of a silver lid to a jar—were they included in inventories.[184]

Similar analyses have been undertaken in England in studies of potentially low-status Iron Age sites. The joint University of Cambridge and CAU project at Haddenham V, in Willingham (Cambs.) uncovered a M/LIA farmstead with complete floor/surfaces which was used by CAU to examine surface deposition on a more general level. Evans and Hodder estimate that the 15,000 sherds of pottery produced represent at least 800–1,000 individual vessels and suggest that c. 30 may have been used simultaneously. One context (demolition debris of a roundhouse destroyed by fire) is thought to represent an in-use assemblage that contained 20 different vessels representative of all sizes and shapes found on the site.[185] These numbers do not appear anomalous in comparative studies of non-élite or lower status table and cooking ware consumption through time lends credence to the idea that such a large sherd assemblage need not confer any degree of 'wealth' upon the inhabitants of Haddenham V (an idea echoed by the lack of imports to the site). Thus, the

[182] Fernández (2015), 5.
[183] Fernández (2015), 5.
[184] Jervis (2014), 47.
[185] C. Evans and Hodder (2006), 175.

presence of pottery on farm sites in ceramic-rich regions (like southern Britain) need not indicate that a farm was middle- to high-status.

As shown above, careful excavation is capable of uncovering even the ephemeral remains of nomadic camps (let alone less-ephemeral timber structures); farms leave behind landscape-level traces in addition to structural remains; and farms (even documented peasant farms) can also be identified through surviving finds, of which there may be more than commonly assumed. The dizzying increase in commercial excavation in the UK in recent decades has, further, led to the excavation of an enormous number of rural sites in southern Britain.

Since the publication of *Planning Policy Guidance Note 16* (PPG 16), on 12 November 1990, developers in the UK have been required to "pay for the costs of archaeological investigation, post-excavation analysis and publication."[186] Between 1990 and 2010 alone, English Heritage recorded over 86,000 investigations, including roughly 1,000 excavations *per year* (Figure 2), covering much of the country (Figure 3).[187] Nearly half (49%) have taken place in (current) rural areas.[188]

[186] Fulford and Holbrook (2015), 1.
[187] Darvill (2016), 12.
[188] Darvill *et al.* (2018), vii.

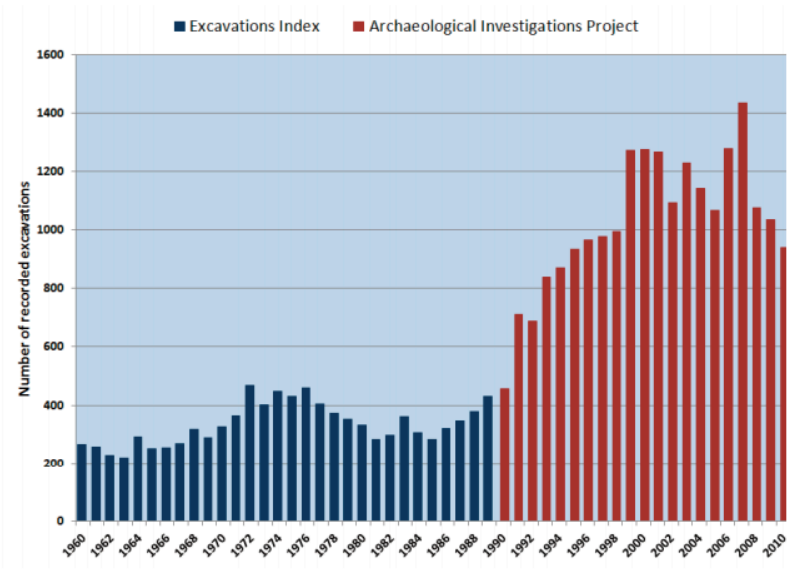


Figure 2: Archaeological projects in England that include excavation between 1960 and 2010 (Darvill 2016, 13).

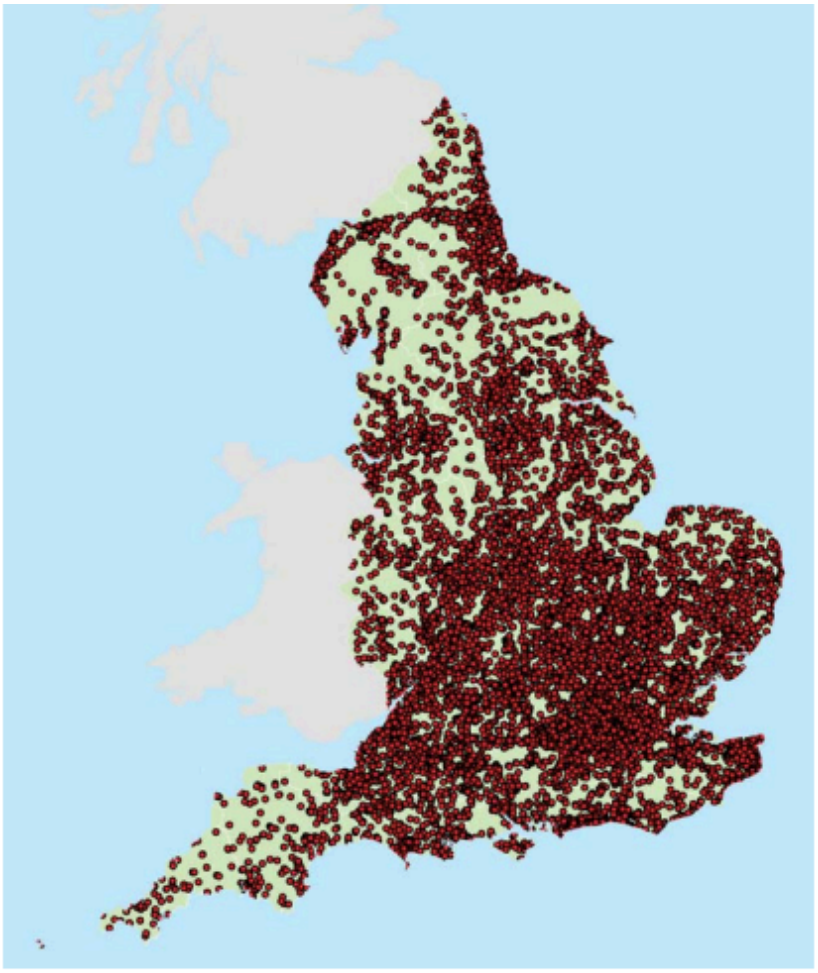


Figure 3: Distribution of excavations between 1990–2010 (Darvill 2016, 12).

While commercial excavations are not entirely risk-free when it comes to 'losing' ephemeral information,[189] modern survey and excavation methods are much more secure than traditional surface and aerial survey in locating ephemerally-built settlements. In East Anglia, for instance, "the sites identified at Scotland Farm (Site 7) and Bourn Airfield (Site 3) … were unknown prior to their geophysical survey and excavation, while other Iron Age sites at Cambourne (Wessex Archaeology 2003), Caldecote Highfields (Kenney 2007) and Love's Farm, St. Neot's (Mark Hinman, pers. comm.) also had not been identified by aerial survey."[190] While the Scotland Farm site sat within a known cropmark,[191] the Cambourne sites were identified through trial-trenching alone, when other assessments failed to identify archaeological remains.[192] Likewise, the settlement at Hurst Lane, Ely, consisting of roundhouses and animal paddocks, "was entirely unknown prior to the area's trial trench evaluation in the summer of 1999…"[193]

Some ephemeral farms are almost certainly 'missed' during evaluation. Yet when even Mesolithic cremations (buried without urns) can be identified and excavated by commercial projects,[194] it is hard to imagine that the farms of 'typical' Roman 'peasants', with all their storage facilities, boundary ditches, waterholes, and trash, are in particular 'invisible'. What would it mean if they were? What types of sites must we imagine, if we keep to the assumption that Roman rural people are 'invisible'?

Indeed, if we are to imagine that the bulk of the Roman population lived at a level that was 'archaeologically invisible', then we must imagine that population living at a level below that of other documented peasant groups. The Late Medieval and Early Modern settlements of Italian '*mezzadria'* farmers, upon whom many of our economic models of peasant economies depend, have

189 Fulford (2011), 36.
190 Abrams *et al.* (2008), 19.
191 Ingham (2008), 31.
192 Michael Allen and Wright (2009), 1.
193 C. Evans, Knight, and Webley (2007), 66.
194 Little *et al.* (2019).

been located in excavations,[195] as have the wooden dwellings of Russian peasants, the likes of which Chayanov studied.[196] The remains of Mayan, Iroquoian, and English peasant households have also been uncovered archaeologically.[197] As Clark writes, though over 1,000 Medieval vernacular buildings have been identified archaeologically, some of which are peasant houses, there was once:

> "an assumption (*perhaps derived from a presumed definition of peasant*) [italics my own] that most of the medieval houses recorded were 'obviously' not of peasant status, although the circularity of this argument is clear."[198]

Further, even when wooden (or cob) buildings do not survive on farm sites, the landscape elements of farms leave clear traces, as demonstrated in regions as diverse as the Medieval Netherlands and modern Amazonia, where wells, trash, and storage facilities survive even when houses do not.[199]

In sum, archaeologists can and do find wooden buildings. With the professionalisation of developer-funded archaeology, moreover, an increasing number of large-scale, high-quality excavations have been undertaken. If these are capable of locating Bronze and Iron Age 'huts', then surely they would also be capable of finding Roman ones, too.

In the 'invisibility' argument presented by scholars like Sanders and Scheidel and Friesen,[200] the idea that peasant settlements *could* be located archaeologically seems overly-optimistic and even radical—'What are they thinking? *Of course* peasant settlements are invisible'. Yet, it is the notion that Roman peasants lived at a level low enough to have been entirely archaeologically invisible that is the truly radical idea. Such an eventuality would require a fundamental departure from what is presented in our historical sources about non-élite farmers and from evidence for rural dwellers from other periods. I argue, then, that the *less* radical position is to assume that non-élite

[195] Pluciennik, Mientjes, and Giannitrapani (2004), 30.
[196] Chernaya (2016).
[197] Sabloff (1994); Handsman (2018).
[198] D. Clark (2013), 3. See also Dyer (1986).
[199] van Doesburg and Groenewoudt (2014); González-Ruibal (2010).
[200] Scheidel and Friesen (2009); Sanders (2013).

Romans lived at a level *at least* as materially high as the other peasant groups mentioned above. If that is true, then their farms are already a part of the archaeological record, particularly in places like Britain and the Netherlands, where archaeological mitigation works are required as part of the development process. If we believe that we already have data pertaining to lower status farms, studying them is a fairly straightforward process: by holistically examining data across microregions that have undergone extensive excavation, we can identify what the 'top', 'middle', and 'bottom' of the local settlement hierarchy looks like, and we might see the 'bottom' as the peasant level.

How do we know that our 'bottom level' really is low on the actual hierarchy, rather than being just the lowest *visible* level? One way to check this archaeologically may be to look at the results of large open-area excavations: programmes that strip and excavate large areas 'encounter' ephemeral sites unknown prior to excavation. The A14 Huntingdon to Cambridge project, for instance, stripped and excavated along 21 miles of the roadway, uncovering a Medieval village, an Anglo-Saxon village (comprising over 40 buildings), a large Roman farmstead, 50 Roman kilns, an Iron Age agricultural landscape, and a Bronze Age barrow (see Figure 4).[201] Even if more-targeted excavations were missing whole categories of site—such as the Roman peasant 'small farm'—it is unlikely that *all* open-area excavations would do so.

[201] Hilts (2018).



Figure 4: Aerial view of a section of the A14 excavation (Current Archaeology).

PROJECT OVERVIEW

This study aims to examine regional settlement hierarchies by looking holistically at data from four microregions in southern Britain, integrating all possible finds, in order to locate, define, and better understand the (surviving) spectrum of site types and consumption patterns up and down the socio-economic 'ladder', with an especial focus on locating less-élite sites. As for the latter, in order to see if 'new' site types might emerge from different excavation and recovery strategies, each case study was designed around a large, nationally-important site or project, all with different characteristics, with the large project acting as a central 'node'. All known sites for which sufficient data could be attained within a certain distance of this 'node' were included in each case study. Sites were initially located using published site reports, and when the Rural Settlement of Roman Britain Database was published in 2016, that

resource was used alongside site reports and the ADS website.

The first case study centres on Cunliffe's Danebury Environs Roman Programme, which is *not* an open-area excavation and relies on sites identified during surface, aerial, and geophysical survey. The drawback of this choice is obvious, but the benefit is that Cunliffe's team spent nearly two decades ascertaining a robust coarseware chronology for the region, which is useful for understanding supply patterns on lower status sites that may not have had access to the high quantities of imported tablewares often used in discussions of imperial trade. The second case study centres around the Heathrow Terminal 5 excavations and the Roman town of Staines. One of the largest open-area excavations in British history, the T5 project *did* uncover a highly-ephemeral rural landscape. Further, many nearby ephemeral sites were uncovered during smaller-scale open-area excavations or recent commercial work. The drawback of using the Heathrow Project as a central node is that the site was heavily truncated by ploughing and by the site's later use as a waste disposal facility. The third study area used the Fenland Survey as the central 'node', but it includes numerous open area excavations (including those at Cambourne and North West Cambridge). These suffered less from truncation than the Heathrow/Staines region did. The final case study centred on the HS1 excavations in Kent, for the High-Speed rail line which runs from Greater London down to the coast near Folkestone. This region, too, has seen a combination of large commercial projects and small academic ones in the past decades.

Site categories

After choosing the case study 'nodes', I located surrounding sites using the Rural Settlement of Roman Britain (RSRB) database, the ARCHSEARCH database (through the Archaeological Dataservice), the ADS Library, local HER websites, and published reports. Sites included in each case study are a 'judgement sample', i.e., known sites with inaccessible (or missing) site reports or those that turned up only a very small amount of material were not included.

These data were compiled into Excel 'databases', and where possible, were entered by both century, phase (LIA: Late Iron Age, ER: Early Roman, MR: Mid-Roman, and LR: Late Roman, see Table 1), and site type (more below).

Table 1: Definitions for phases used in this thesis.

Designation	**Approx. date range**
EIA (Early Iron Age)	600–400 BC
MIA (Middle Iron Age)	400–100 BC
LIA (Late Iron Age)	100–50 BC or 100 BC–AD 43
LPRIA (Late Pre-Roman Iron Age)	AD 50 BC–AD 43
ER (Early Roman)	AD 43–100
MR (Mid-Roman)	AD 100–250
LR (Late Roman)	AD 250–410

One of the drawbacks of big-data projects is that, in order to examine large amounts of evidence, data are generally placed into a variety of interpretive categories at the outset—whether morphological (enclosed vs. unenclosed), descriptive ('farm' vs. 'nucleated settlement'), or analytical ('peasant' vs. 'élite'). While necessary, these categories inevitably bias later analysis. It was thus my aim to begin with as few categories as possible, and then to reassess and refine those categories throughout.

The primary typological category that developed during this iterative process was that of 'settlement' vs. 'peripheral' site, a set of categories reflecting occupation and/or excavation intensity. Settlements were eventually categorised into *vici* (Roman nucleated settlements) or hillforts/*oppida* (Iron Age nucleated settlements), villas (based on the categorisation of the RSRB or the excavators), and *farms.* For the purposes of the present study, 'farms' were not subdivided further. While most studies on rural settlement in Roman Britain categorise sites morphologically,[202] this study offers a different approach, leaving categories as loose as possible in order to determine if new or unseen patterns might emerge. Peripheral sites were loosely subdivided into *field systems*, *industrial/work sites* (kilns, etc.), and general *peripheral/unknown*

[202] Hingley (1989); J. Taylor (2007); Alexander Smith, et al. (2016); Martyn Allen, et al. (2017); Martyn Allen, et al. (2018); Alexander Smith, et al. (2018).

sites, again keeping the categories loose. Finds were entered into 110–120 fields in the database on a presence/absence basis, to account for site-by-site differences in reporting, and assemblages were compared integratively, by period when possible, across each case study and between each broad site category.

Table 2: Definitions for typological categories used in this thesis

Typological designation	**Meaning**
Settlement: nucleated/town/vicus	If a town, called a town. Roadside settlements, villages, hamlets, small towns all called 'vici' in the database
Settlement: hillfort or oppidum	LIA central places, based on designation in site reports or secondary literature
Settlement: farm	Non-nucleated settlement not called a 'villa' by excavators
Settlement: villa	Non-nucleated settlement with masonry architecture and called a villa in primary or secondary literature
Periphery: general	Excavated area not thought to be within settlement focus (by excavators, RSRB, or myself). Many of these sites are thought to be near settlement foci: 'peripheral' designation does not mean there is no settlement nearby, just that finds do not come from settlement focus
Periphery: field system	System of field boundaries or paddocks
Periphery: agricultural work zone	Crop-processing facilities (corndryers, ovens), waterholes, concentration of agricultural refuse not in (obvious) immediate vicinity of settlement.
Periphery: funerary	Cemetery or isolated burial(s)
Periphery: industrial	Kilns, salterns, slag heaps or metalworking waste, or other non-agricultural 'industrial' zones not in immediately vicinity of settlement
Periphery: ceremonial	Shrines, temples, ritual deposition sites not in immediate vicinity of settlement
Periphery: transport	Roadway, causeway, canal, etc.

The subdivision of rural sites into a broad binary categorisation of settlements vs. peripheries is one way in which this thesis differs from other studies. The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain divides rural sites into traditional morphological categories, of which 'unenclosed', 'enclosed', 'complex', and 'unclassified' pertain to non-nucleated sites. 'Unclassified' is the largest category, ascribed to 2,356 (64.6%) sites.[203] 'Complex' is the next-largest, with 657 (18%) sites, followed by 'enclosed', with 565 (15.5%), and 'unenclosed', with 70 (1.9%). Other categories include nucleated or roadside settlements and villas. That significantly fewer than half (35%) could be classified at all demonstrates the problem with these classifications, which rely not only on the categories having meaning (something that the numbers above call into question), but also on the ability of excavation methodologies to regularly uncover enough of a site that it can be classified using its boundary morphology.

Rural land-use is heterogenous. Rural landscapes contain not only villages and farms, but also field networks, roadways, quarries, crop processing or craft production areas, cemeteries, middens, etc. Developer-funded projects, which examine places of modern interest (i.e., to developers), are located 'randomly' with respect to the ancient landscape, frequently sited not within settlement foci but on the fringes of settlements or other areas whose use is often unclear. Boundary ditches, pits, agricultural processing zones, and trash dumps may pertain to nearby settlements or be stand-alone features. As Pluciennik et al. have found, the Early Modern Sicilian landscape looked 'empty' to people travelling through it, because there were few farms: farmers lived in villages and often had to walk as many as 12 km to work each day (or spend nights sleeping in their fields).[204] Bowes has found similar patterns in her work on rural settlement in Roman Italy.[205] It is unclear whether, or to what extent, Roman Britain fits that pattern or a more dispersed one, making it important to

[203] Martyn Allen, et al. (2018).
[204] Pluciennik, Mientjes, and Giannitrapani (2004), 43.
[205] Bowes *pers. comm.*

differentiate between 'settlements' and other types of rural land-use. Furthermore, examinations of consumption must also differentiate between settlement foci and peripheral areas in order to accurately compare 'like' with 'like': finds from outer boundary ditches often differ in nature and density from those uncovered closer to the settlement focus. If boundary ditches and settlement foci are both categorised as 'farms', finds assemblage statistics for them are bound to be skewed—especially when settlement foci are more frequently excavated in higher-status site types.

Differentiation between settlement and periphery was done on a somewhat subjective basis. I used the designations given by excavators and/or the RSRB database where applicable, and created my own designations based on a subjective combination of site morphology and finds when pre-existing designations were either unavailable or unsatisfying. While it was tempting to use the presence of structures to identify settlements, an increasing body of research suggests that construction methods in the LIA–Roman period shifted toward the use, on some sites, of architectural styles that leave little archaeological trace. In the Thames Valley, in particular, excavations have uncovered a large number of sites that were obviously the domestic foci of long-lived agricultural settlements (with much evidence for animal husbandry, storage, domestic refuse, land divisions, etc.), but on which only very ephemeral structural remains survive. As Poulton explains, "the only plausible explanation is that they [i.e., the missing structures] were either timber-framed buildings of sill-beam construction which have in most cases left no trace (Bird 2004b, 67), presumably because the beams were not usually dug into the ground to any depth, or used mass wall construction techniques (*cf*. Perring 2002, 98–106)".[206] On many sites (including Hengrove Farm, whence the quotation from Poulton comes), very ephemeral remains of these structures seem to survive in groupings of postholes or portions of shallow beam-slot trenches. These are especially prone to being 'lost' during excavation. At Berkyn Manor Farm (in the Middle Thames Valley), "several (features) were either machined away

[206] Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017), 296.

before they were recognised or so quickly flooded that excavation was impossible."[207] It can be particularly difficult to determine site function, particularly when sparse domestic material is reported, on sites with no or very ephemeral structural remains.

Subjective though it is, this categorisation was chosen in order to better understand rural consumption patterns. Even in Roman small towns, small-scale and randomised excavations occasionally (or often, depending on the town) turn up limited numbers of finds or features that very clearly do not 'tell the whole story' about what activity took place or what consumption patterns existed, at a general level. The nature of activity within Roman towns is, then, better understood when the results of numerous small excavations are combined. Rural excavations can, similarly, be misleading, if placed in the 'wrong' location on the edge of a settlement or done on a very small scale. Unlike small towns, however, rural sites usually do not benefit from numerous small interventions over several decades, but instead are frequently subjected to brief one-off Watching Briefs. The finds assemblages associated with them are thus more likely than those from urban sites to dramatically under-represent actual levels of material consumption, particularly in cases where the domestic focus of the putative settlement is not excavated or is demonstrably excavated in only a limited fashion. Because a large proportion of rural sites have been excavated in this way, rural consumption patterns in the aggregate differ significantly from those on sites where domestic foci have been excavated. Examining them in the aggregate, then, can create a misleading picture. In *The Rural Economy of Roman Britain,* for instance, Allen *et al*. report that "Samian pottery … [was] identified at 63 per cent of all sites recorded on the database."[208] Yet, when settlements are separated from peripheral sites, and examined chronologically, it becomes clear that post-ER settlements had a high level of access to Samian, while peripheral sites and LIA/ER sites had less access. This difference highlights the chronological aspect of many of the traditional site-type categories (i.e., open and enclosed farmsteads tend to be

[207] Farwell (1990), 6.
[208] Martyn Allen, et al. (2017), 283–284.

earlier than complex farms, *vici*, and *villae*). Comparing assemblages from early (predominantly LIA/ER) sites with later (predominantly M/LR) ones is bound to skew the picture.[209]

Accordingly, as noted above, I decided not to use morphological categories like enclosed and unenclosed, and instead to categorise sites as 'settlements' vs. 'peripheries'. Settlements were eventually subdivided according to nucleation and architectural elaboration and according to current conventions, with the caveat that the term 'villa' is dramatically overused in British archaeology (as Marzano notes, divergent usages of the term has meant that relatively small and evidently non-élite farms have been read as being élite villas simply by virtue of having a masonry construction style).[210]

Terminology and Definitions

Given the particular research questions examined here, it was also necessary to discuss (and to differentiate between) élite, non-élite, and lower-status sites. This is a thorny issue, given that it is unclear whether or not we know how to identify social status (or even socio-economic status) archaeologically. Furthermore, as stated above, it was my goal in this project to place as few of my own expectations on the material as possible. Thus, rather than coming up with an external measure for hierarchy, and then applying it to the data (which naturally invites circularity)[211], I assessed hierarchy on a 'sliding scale', region by region and period by period. Thus, throughout this study, 'higher-status' or élite sites are those with more access to 'stuff' (measured in terms of architectural refinement, small finds, fine pottery, and coins) than others in a given region. Non-élite or less-élite sites, conversely, are those without access to measurably 'more' materials than others in a given case study area. Lower-status sites are those with measurably *less* access to 'stuff' than the rest of the

[209] Although the term 'peasant' is not used.
[210] Marzano (2007), 2. In Britain, for instance, many multi-roomed, rectilinear, masonry-footed buildings, regardless of their size or level of sophistication, are labelled 'villas'.
[211] Van Oyen (2017) discusses the dangers of introducing assumptions into datasets.

sites in a case study area. To avoid biasing the dataset, these categories were not used in data collection (and not used in the database at all) but were instead only used in post-analysis discussion of the data.

Consumption as theoretical framework

This study rests on the assumption that it is possible to use data pertaining to household consumption to draw broader conclusions about the nature of the Roman economy and rural society. Most studies of the rural economy focus on production.[212] Evidence for production on non-élite sites, however, does not clarify issues of non-élite market participation. Even where there is evidence for surplus production on such sites, it is unclear who 'owned' the proceeds.[213] Consumption is an important indicator of economic activity, economic well-being, and culture in studies of modern *and* ancient economies.[214] Evidence for Roman-period consumption has been used to demonstrate, among other things, market integration and connectivity,[215] economic growth,[216] and globalisation/regionalism.[217]

After a relatively long period of being widely ignored, consumption is increasingly being seen as a fruitful avenue for the study of the Roman economy and Roman society. New work on consumption and distribution is beginning to elucidate the complexity of Roman markets, showing the wide variety of factors influencing the behaviour of economic actors and emphasising the power of bottom-up change.[218] This new work highlights the usefulness of fine-grained, integrated analysis of micro-regional consumption, demonstrating that regional

[212] Most articles/chapters in Bowman and Wilson (2013) and Marzano (2020) focus largely or only on production.
[213] Lodwick (2020), 64–65. See also Witcher (2017), 32, for a discussion of externalisation of landholding.
[214] See Matthews (1997), 128–129; Greene (2008); Ray (2010); Morrison (2012).
[215] Hollander (2018), uses literary sources to argue that non-élite farmers were both producers *and* consumers. Launaro (2015), 38, highlights the importance of non-élite aggregate demand to the economy as a whole. See also Tol (2017) and Witcher (2017), 46.
[216] Erdkamp (2015), 39; Jongman (2017).
[217] Witcher (2017), 42–50. See also Woods (2007).
[218] Pitts (2019); Van Oyen and Pitts (2017); Van Oyen (2017); Pitts and Versluys (2014); Perring and Pitts (2013). See also J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017).

distribution networks, personal or community-wide relationships, new or pre-existing suites of cultural behaviours, grass-roots innovation, *and* formal market factors all worked together to create the distribution patterns we see in the material record.

In this study, finds assemblages were examined holistically, on a site-by-site basis, by time period where possible. Because of the uneven nature of the data and the large sample sizes, finds data were entered on a presence-absence basis. This is one of the study's limitations: detailed and sensitive analyses of consumption on individual sites, as in many of the studies cited above, were not possible here.[219]

Other limitations

The case study regions in this thesis were chosen specifically to include particularly large, well-published, or otherwise important archaeological projects. Nevertheless, the quality of the data and/or reporting in each region was uneven. Many site reports—both antiquarian and recent—were missing important elements. In the Staines/Heathrow case study, for instance, 45% of the site reports were missing either a finds or a pottery report or were written before modern excavation and reporting methods became common. Others were well reported but written prior to the publication of regional coarseware typologies. Even recent site reports differed in the level of detail given to any (or all) elements of the project.

Some commercial excavations took place on too small a scale, or over too brief a time frame, for accurate conclusions to be drawn about the site's character.[220] Data from small-scale evaluations or from succinct reports are of questionable value in examining any aspect of rural settlement save, perhaps, basic facets of 'site distribution'. Small excavations were also, unsurprisingly,

[219] Morrison (2012).
[220] House and Beasley (2005), 12.

less likely to locate settlement foci, with the result that excavations of 'peripheral' sites were usually smaller than those of 'settlements' (Figure 5).

I began designing and researching this material prior to the initial publication of the RSRB Database and its three subsequent volumes. While those materials have been of enormous value in the completion of this study, several of the case studies chosen by the RSRB were, surprisingly, quite similar to those chosen for this study (a reflection, no doubt, of the exceptional nature of the data from the regions in question). Data from the RPP likewise were not fully available until right before the submission of this thesis, and thus could not be fully integrated into the methodology described above.

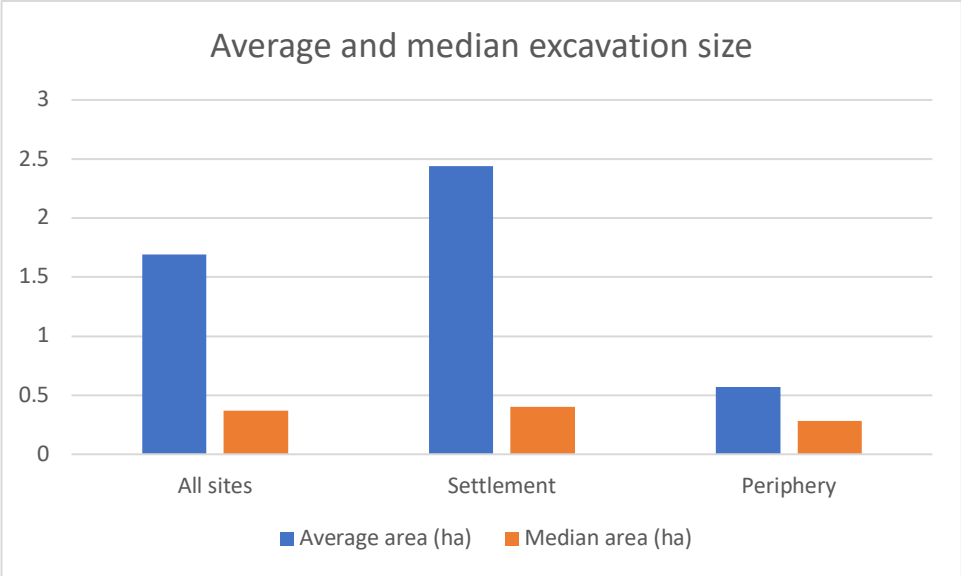


Figure 5: Average and median excavation sizes on different site types in the case study area, Case Study 2. The discrepancy between the average and median areas in this case study reflects the enormity of the Heathrow excavation.

Organisation of the thesis

This thesis aims to explore non-élite rural settlement by holistically gathering data from entire well-excavated microregions in order to examine questions of rural connectivity in southern Roman Britain. Did Roman farmers live *at subsistence,* or were they connected to the wider market economy? Was rural

settlement dispersed or nucleated? Did conquest change subsistence strategies and/or market behaviour? Was the villa system all-pervasive in the West?[221] As we shall see, the answer is complex: yes, Roman farmers *were* integrated into wider markets, but the extent of this integration differed over time and space more than it did between farms of different statuses.

The four case studies in this thesis are organised by their 'central' project into Chapters 2 (Danebury Environs), 3 (Heathrow Terminal 5), 4 (Fenland Survey), and 5 (High Speed 1). Each chapter examines data simultaneously and diachronically, with the second half of each chapter devoted to discussing the region's settlement 'landscape' phase by phase. A gazetteer including all sites examined in this thesis (by case study) and containing basic information such as site location and site narrative, is appended. Detailed information about finds was not included in the gazetteer, but can be easily found in site reports, the RSRB database, or on ARCHSEARCH.

[221] Temin (2013), 156.

Chapter 2: The Danebury Environs Roman Programme

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines 29 sites within and around the villa landscape of Sir Barry Cunliffe's Danebury Environs Programme (DEP) and Danebury Environs Roman Programme (DERP) projects (Figure 6), within the rough triangle of Roman roadways linking Winchester (Venta Belgarum) with Salisbury (Sorviodunum) and East Anton (often identified as Leucomagus), and including sites up to 2 miles beyond the roadways. DEP and DERP used traditional and scientific survey methods to identify Iron Age and Roman sites around Danebury Hillfort (Hampshire), and then excavated portions of many identified sites. The drawback of this methodology is that the dataset is biased in favour of sites that could be located via survey—and, in fact, many DERP sites were previously known and had been investigated in antiquarian excavations.

Because of the academic nature of the DEP/DERP excavations, Cunliffe's team had the time and resources (for nearly two decades) to create a robust coarseware chronology for the region. While unable to excavate the entirety of any single settlement, they were able to excavate pre-villa phases on most sites, in addition to the villa structures themselves.

The project has been extensively studied by other scholars, who, along with Cunliffe's team, have shown that some sites were heavily invested in large-scale agricultural production in the Roman period. Large crop-processing facilities on many sites predated the elaboration of domestic spaces, which were enlarged and added to until the LR period. This pattern suggests a degree of 'social mobility' in the region, with intensification of production enriching some settlements that 'began' as relatively simple settlements, rather than as (apparently) élite sites. One question about the region is the extent

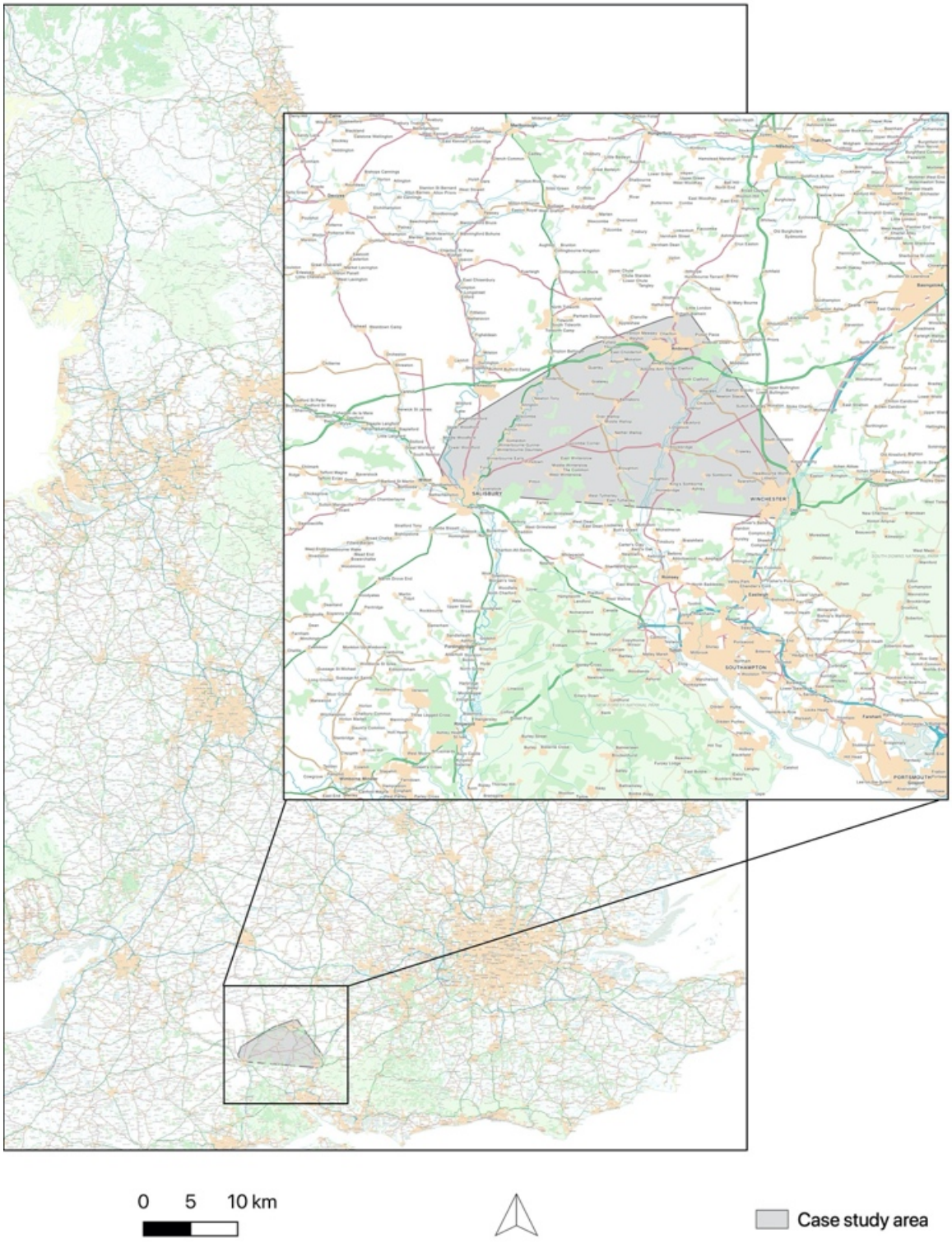


Figure 6: Area of Danebury Environs case study within a general map of England.

to which the DERP sites are representative of settlements in the region; another is what their relationship was with the surrounding countryside.[222]

This region was selected in part because it has been heavily published, making possible an in-depth examination of the chronologies and finds profiles on most case study sites.

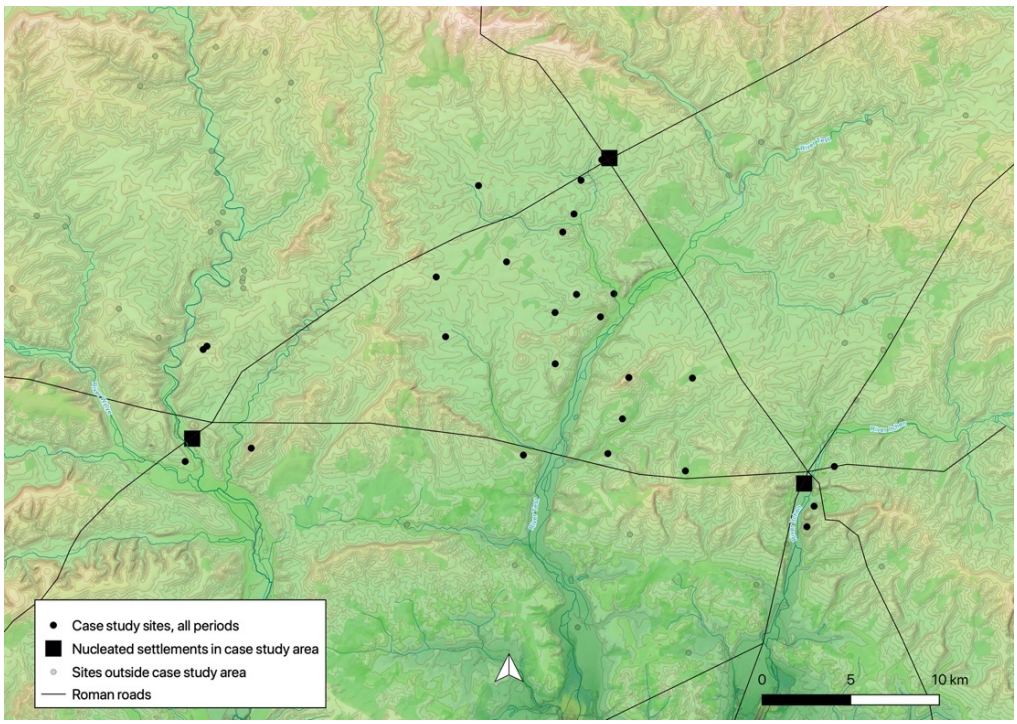


Figure 7: All Danebury Environs sites.

DATA OVERVIEW

Site type and land-use

[222]Cunliffe and Poole (2008e) (Overview), 229.

This case study examines the results from 26 rural excavations and the combined results of numerous excavations from the nucleated sites at E. Anton, Salisbury, and Winchester. Between 65–75% were occupied at any one point during the LIA/Roman period (Figure 8).

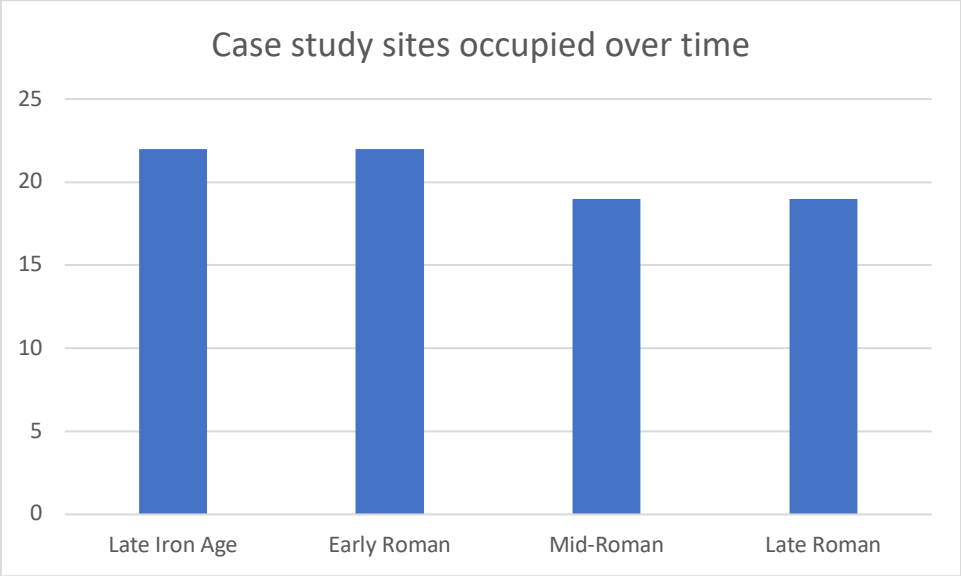


Figure 8: Number of case study sites occupied in different periods in Case Study 1 area.

Settlements were more numerous than peripheral areas throughout the study period (Table 3), though the number of peripheral sites increased (in the ER) and then slowly decreased over time. Numerous 'farm' sites expanded over the course of the Roman period, developing into 'villa' settlements by the third century or later (Figure 9). Environmental evidence suggests a mixed farming regime in all periods, with a degree of specialisation on some sites in some periods.

Table 3: Table showing the number Case Study 1 sites per period categorised into the various site types presented below.

Period	Farm	Unclassified	Periphery	Villa	Hillfort	Vicus
LIA	6 (27%)	7 (32%)	6 (27%)	0 (0%)	2 (9%)	1 (5%)
ER	6 (27%)	4 (18%)	10 (45%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (9%)

2nd c.	8 (42%)	2 (11%)	7 (37%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (11%)
3rd c.	3 (16%)	2 (11%)	6 (32%)	5 (26%)	0 (0%)	3 (16%)
4th c.	2 (11%)	2 (11%)	6 (32%)	6 (32%)	0 (0%)	3 (16%)

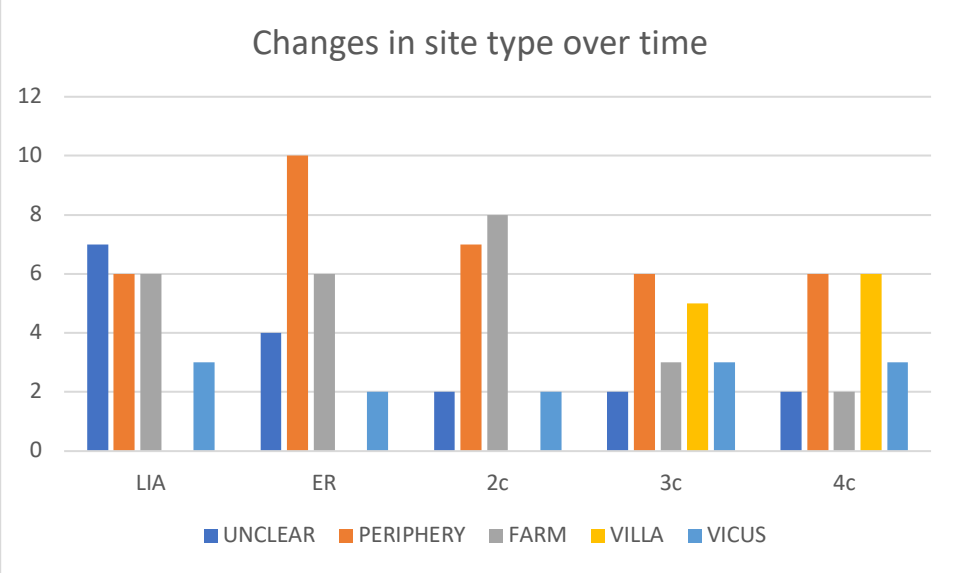


Figure 9: Changes in Case Study 1 settlement types (and peripheral sites) over time.

Site longevity

The M/LR period saw the greatest stability, while the first and fourth centuries saw the highest level of dislocation (Table 4). Some 26 sites (90%) were occupied during the first century AD, and only five (17%) in the fifth century. The LIA/ER period saw a high level of site foundation (27%) and abandonment (35%), while the LR period saw no site foundations, and a high level of abandonment (73%).

Table 4: Table depicting Case Study 1 site longevity for all study sites, by period.

	Inhabited	Percent Inhabited	Abandoned	Percent Abandoned	Founded	Percent Founded	Percent Change
1st c.	26	90%	9	35%	7	27%	62%
2nd c.	19	66%	5	26%	2	11%	37%

3rd c.	19	66%	0	0%	4	21%	21%
4th c.	19	66%	14	73%	0	0%	73%
5th c.	5	17%	n/a	n/a	0	0%	n/a

Structures

Evidence for structures was limited in the LIA, increased somewhat in the ER, and peaked in the second century, when structural remains were found on 68% of sites in the area (Figure 10, Table 5, and Table 6).

Table 5: Structural evidence on Case Study 1 sites, per period.

Period	Any structure	Roundhouse	Rectilinear timber	Aisled	Masonry
LIA	14%	5%	5%	0	0
ER	36%	0*	32%	0	5%
MR	63%	0	47%	21%	32%
LR	58%	0	32%	32%	47%

This difference remains even when limiting the analysis to settlements only (Table 6). The paucity of remains for the Late Iron Age here is a widely acknowledged problem that has yet to find a solution.

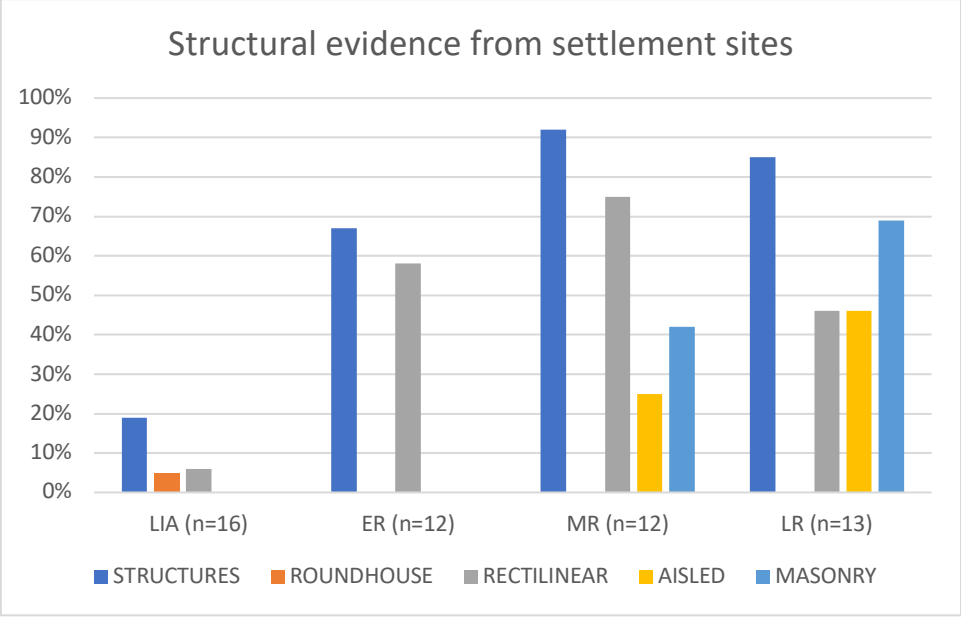


Figure 10: Changes in structural forms on settlements in Case Study 1 over time.

While roundhouses were found in MIA phases, only one site furnished evidence for them in the LIA/ER period (Figure 10**)**, when rectilinear timber buildings, rather than roundhouses, seem to have been the norm. The building repertoire expanded in the MR, when aisled halls and other masonry buildings were constructed. By the LR period, masonry structures were more common than timber ones.

Table 6: Table comparing percentage of Case Study 1 settlements furnishing different structural types were identified, by period.

	Structure?	Roundhouse	Rectilinear timber	Aisled	Masonry
LIA	19%	5%	6%	0	0
ER	67%	0*	58%	0	5%
MR	92%	0	75%	25%	42%
LR	85%	0	46%	46%	69%

A note on phasing

Ceramic chronologies here do not clearly differentiate the LPRIA from the ER.[223] These issues are exacerbated by the fact that many of the DEP sites were not intensively occupied in the Roman period, while Late Iron Age settlement foci at the DERP sites were left largely unexcavated. The material below has been divided into three phases of occupation between c. AD 1–150, along with two more in the 'Roman' period.

Phase 1—LIA: Redefinition of enclosure sites across region, introduction of Dorset pottery and Roman imported wares (i.e., *terra nigra*).[224]

[223] Collis (2019), 67.
[224] Cunliffe and Poole (2008d), 74.

Phase 2—LIA/ER: Possible construction of early nucleated settlements at Winchester and Old Sarum. Reconfiguration of earlier boundaries on over 30% of rural sites (i.e., rectilinear enclosures built at Rowbury Farm and Winnall Down). Pottery: local and Dorset products, Savernake wares, some Roman imports.

Phase 3—E/MR: More site reorganisation. A full 59% of the ER period settlement landscape is either reorganised or falls out of use.[225] Timber structures appear on many sites, and crop processing facilities and structures become more 'visible'. Ceramic analysis suggests that much of this falls in the mid-second century.

Phase 4—MR: Well-known masonry aisled hall phase on some sites in the region.

Phase 5—LR: Well-known 'villa' phase on some sites in the region.

[225] In such a small sample, the statistical validity of this finding is questionable.

PHASE 1—LATE IRON AGE

Much research has focussed on the Iron Age around Danebury, revealing that an E/MIA pattern of dispersed farmsteads became increasingly nucleated, around Danebury and other hillforts, in the MIA period.[226] There is evidence for political and social dislocation in the M/LIA in southern Britain, with the construction of massive defences at Danebury and Maiden Castle, destruction levels and war cemeteries at Worlebury, Bredon, Torberry and Danebury, and the deposition of hoards, possibly buried to protect them in times of dislocation (i.e., the Winchester Hoard).[227] In the midst of the above unrest (possibly resulting from Caesar's wars in Gaul), LIA settlement seems to have dispersed again.[228] The abandoned hillfort at Bury Hill was reoccupied, huge ramparts were built, and shortly thereafter, both Danebury and Bury Hill were abandoned.[229]

Some 22 case study sites revealed evidence of LIA occupation (Figure 11). Seven were classified as settlements of some sort, two as hillforts, six as peripheral areas, and seven were left unclassified. Most were not nucleated, although scholars disagree about whether Oram's Arbour (Winchester) should be considered a central place.[230]

The wider region's LIA period settlement landscape consists of systems of enclosures, fields, and/or paddocks that were modified over time. Finds and morphology within and around these enclosures suggest that some were used domestically, while others may have been paddocks or agricultural work areas, gathering places, or even ritual enclosures.[231] Secure evidence for structures was found on only three (13%) sites, and roundhouses on only one (4%). Many sites were newly founded (or re-founded after a long hiatus) in the LIA period.

---

[226] Cunliffe and Poole (1991); Sharples (1991); Haselgrove (1992); Hill (1995); Collis (2001); Cunliffe (2004); Cunliffe (2005); Massey (2006); Lock (2007); Sharples (2010); Lightfoot and Stevens (2012); Hamilton *et al.* (2019).
[227] Hill *et al.* (2004).
[228] Cunliffe and Poole (1991), 110; Cunliffe (2005), 127–140; Hill, et al. (2004).
[229] Sharples (2010), 74.
[230] Collis (2019), *passim*; Qualmann *et al.* (2004); Wacher (1974), 291.
[231] Cunliffe (2009), 191; Sharples (2010).

Twenty-six sites were occupied during the first century AD, 81% of which (n. = 21) were new or re-founded after a hiatus.

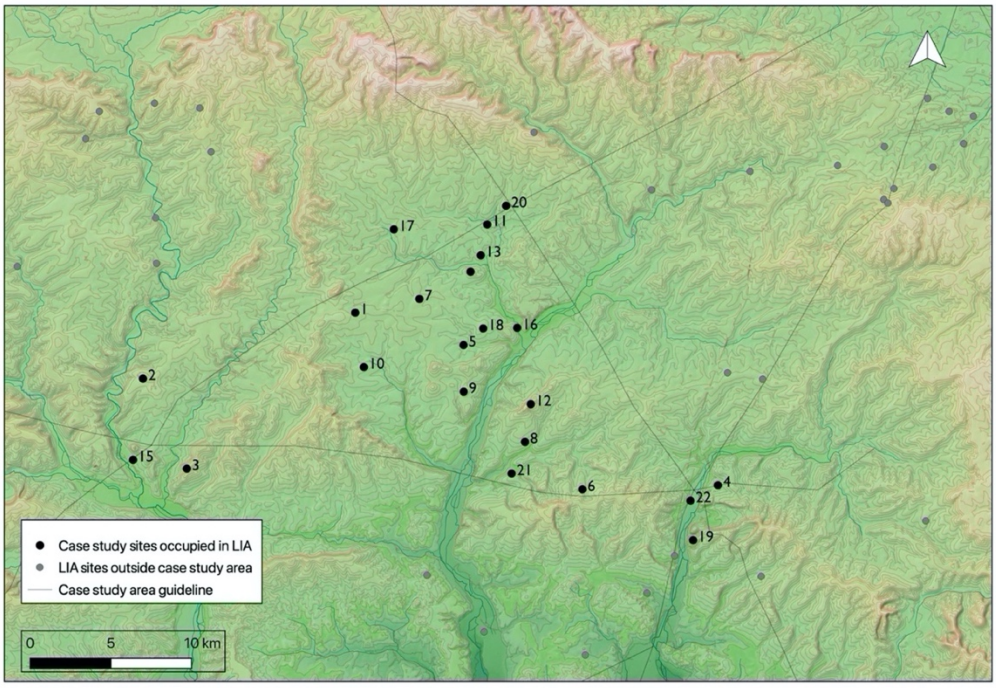


Figure 11: Case Study 1 sites occupied during the LIA. Site names are as follows: Grateley South (1), Pains Wessex Factory (2), Cockey Down (3), Winnall Down (4), Nettlebank Copse (5), Sparsholt Roman Villa (6), Dunkirt Barn (7), Somborne Park Farm (8), Houghton Down (9), Suddern Farm (10), Old Down Farm (11), Woolbury (12), Balksbury Camp (13), Bury Hill (14), Salisbury (15), Fullerton (16), Thruxton (17), Rowbury Farm (18), Twyford Down (19), Viking Way (20), Ashley (21), Winchester (22).

Morphology

The Late Iron Age (re-)occupations consisted of new or re-dug ditches and/or enclosures of different configurations. The most common were sub-rectangular and curvilinear enclosures—in many cases, reconfigured versions of original E/MIA earthworks. At Rowbury Farm, for instance, a large sub-rectangular E/MIA enclosure was reoccupied in the Late Iron Age, and a smaller enclosure and trackway were constructed in its north-eastern corner (Figure 12).[232]

[232] Cunliffe and Poole (2008d).

Likewise, at Old Down Farm, a smaller sub-rectangular enclosure was cut into a large E/MIA period one (Figure 12).[233] At Suddern Farm, an E/MIA enclosure complex was re-dug in the first century BC, creating a monumental double-ditched enclosure. Pits within contained large quantities of pottery (including Dr. 1 amphorae and imports from Poole Harbour) and 'special' deposits. Cunliffe sees this site as élite in this period.[234] Banjo enclosures, created in the MIA, were also (re?)occupied at Grateley South (Figure 15), Dunkirt Barn, and Nettlebank Copse.[235] Not all curvilinear enclosures were re-occupations: at Houghton Down, a large curvilinear enclosure may date to the M/LIA (Figure 14).[236]

The function of these enclosures is unclear. Some—like Houghton Down—may have been part of larger networks in which settlement shifted seasonally, annually, or periodically.[237] Analyses of LIA period animal bone assemblages suggest that occupation at Houghton Down was seasonal or sporadic, while that at Suddern Farm may have been year-round.[238] Some enclosures may have been used as stock pens rather than settlements, though there is also evidence for arable cultivation.[239]

As Cunliffe notes, the re-foundation or re-configuration of earlier E/MIA sites could indicate stability in landholding patterns (though the significant number of new or re-founded occupations could also indicate the opposite).[240] Several of the enclosure sites later became villas—(Grateley South and Dunkirt Barn), and it is possible that these places were important sites in the Iron Age as well.[241]

---

[233] S. Davies (1981).
[234] Cunliffe (2009), 189.
[235] Lang (2016).
[236] Cunliffe and Poole (2000b).
[237] Davis (2012), 181.
[238] Sharples (2010), 75.
[239] Cunliffe (2009), 188. Collis (2001), 92, disputes this, noting that Nettlebank Copse is the only well-excavated banjo enclosure for which there is no evidence of internal pits/postholes. See Cunliffe and Poole (2000c)(Suddern Farm), 193–194 for a discussion of LIA arable cultivation.
[240] Cunliffe (2009), 191. Contra: Massey (2006), 3–4.
[241] Also suggested by Moore (2012: 403). Contra: Lang (2016)

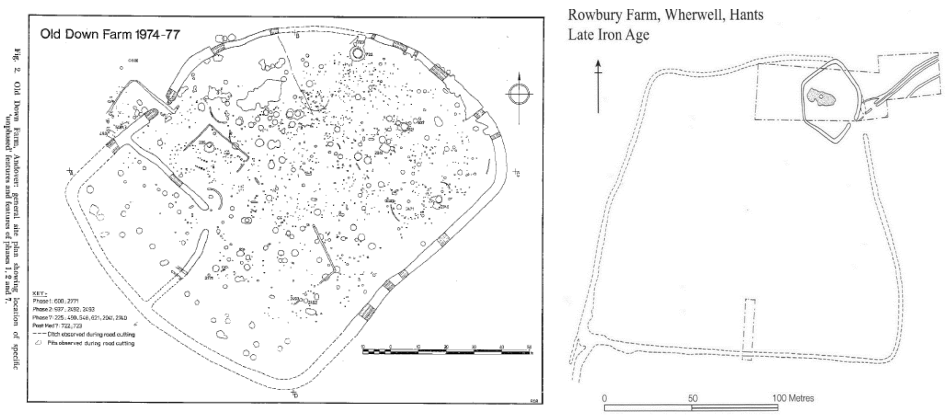


Figure 12: LIA/ER phases at Old Down Farm (top) and Rowbury Farm (bottom) (Davies (left) and RSRB database (right)).

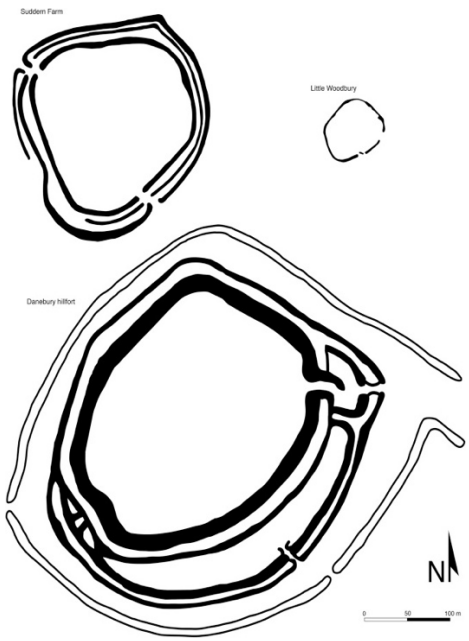


Figure 13: E, M, and LIA enclosures at Suddern Farm in Case Study 1 (top left) (Hamilton, et al. (2019), Fig. 1).

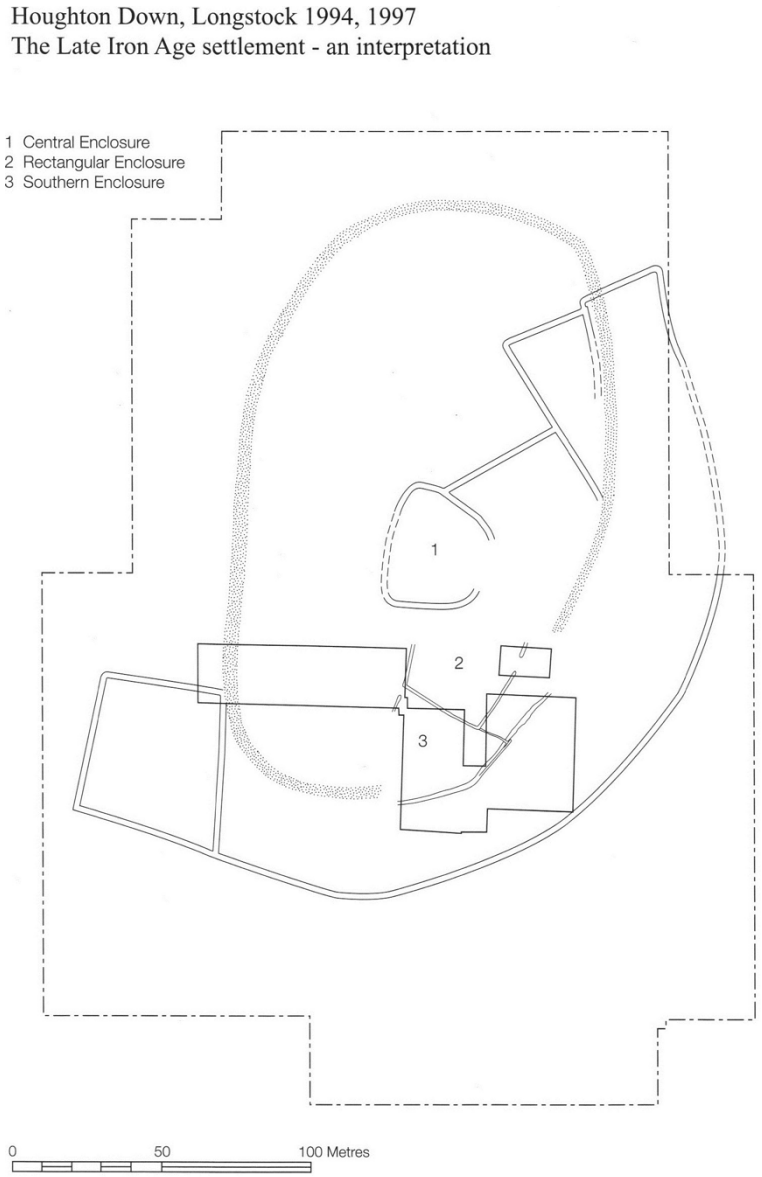


Figure 14: Late Iron Age enclosure system at Houghton Down in Case Study 1 (RSRB database, "Houghton Down").

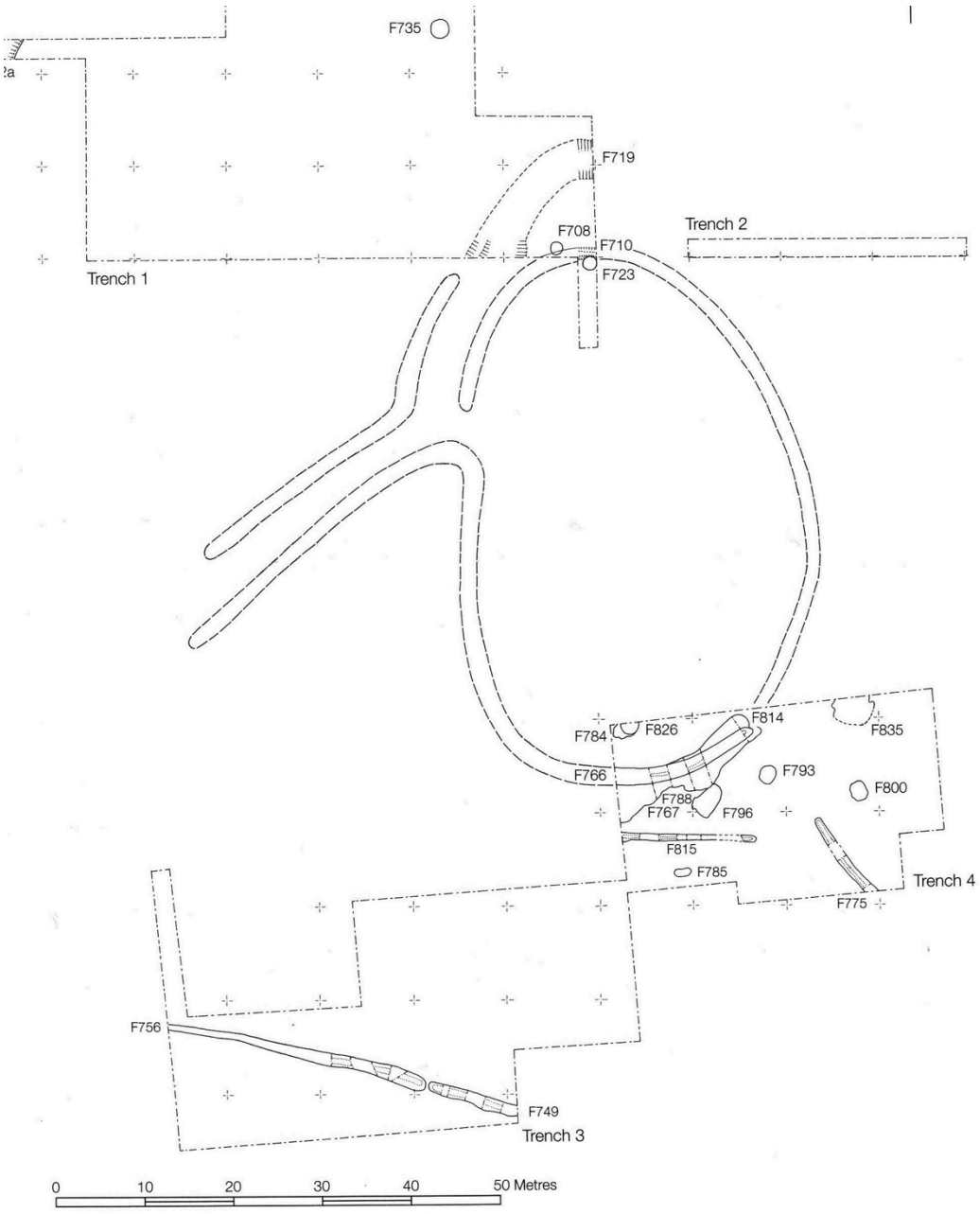


Figure 15: Banjo enclosure from Grateley South in Case Study 1 (RSRB database, "Grateley South").

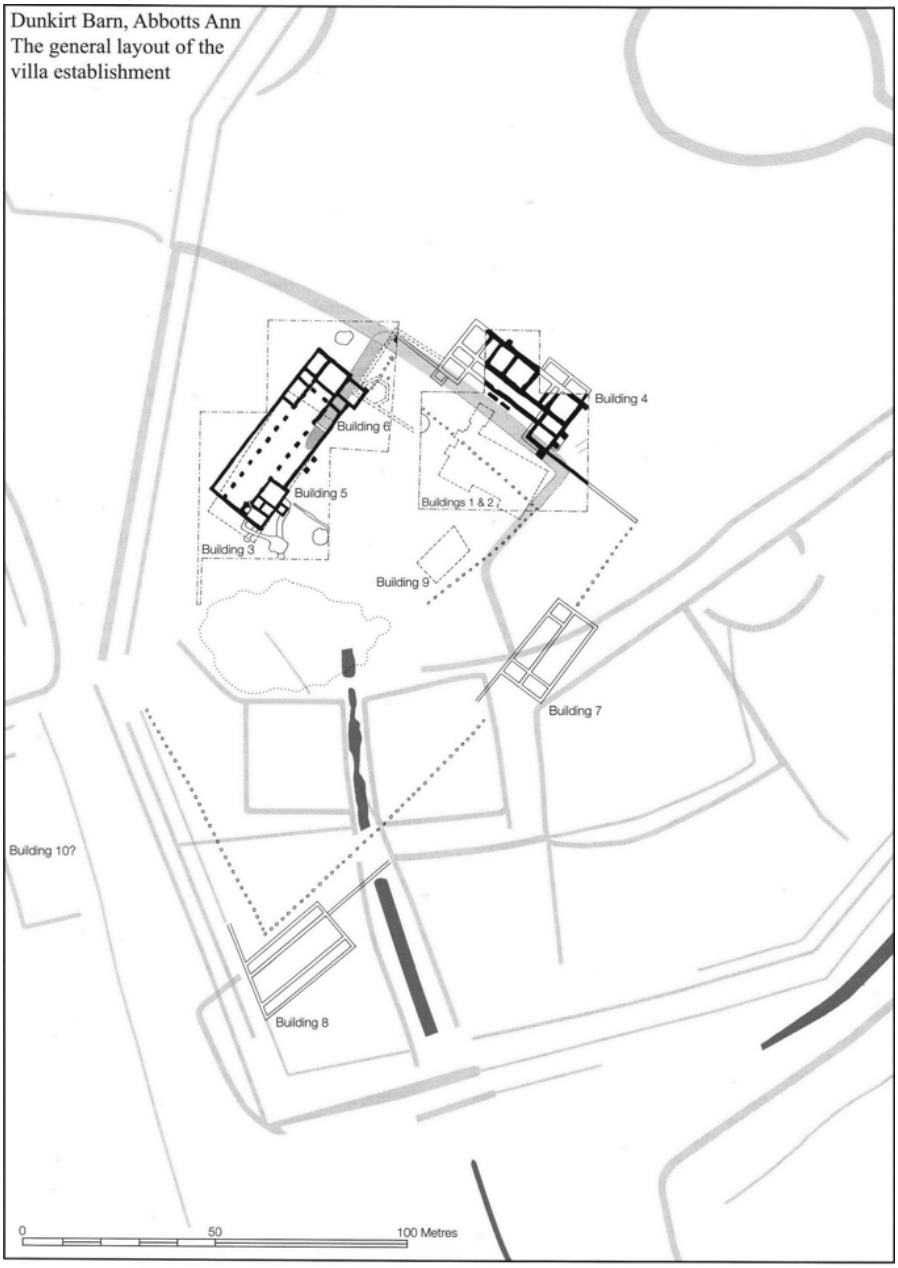


Figure 16: Villa site at Dunkirt Barn in Case Study 1, with Late Iron Age banjo enclosure at the top right (RSRB database, "Dunkirt Barn").

PHASE 2—LATE IRON AGE–EARLY ROMAN

Twenty-two sites furnished evidence for LIA/ER-period occupation (Figure 17). Eight were settlements (six farms and two nucleated settlements), ten were field systems or peripheral, and four were unclassified. There was a moderate amount of site dislocation in the period, with four (i.e., 18%) of the LIA sites being abandoned and four new sites being founded.[242]

The Roman nucleated settlements at Winchester and Old Sarum developed in this phase. It is unclear whether Winchester had military origins—a fort has not yet been located.[243] In or by the early second century, however, the street grid was laid out, a forum and temple had been constructed, timber buildings lined some streets, and drainage works were underway.[244]

The nature of early occupation at Sorviodunum/Old Sarum is less well-understood, but the site appears to have been a roadside settlement or small town in this period.[245] Settlement at E. Anton/Leucomagus may have been primarily agricultural until the third century.[246]

Site Morphology

Boundary and enclosure ditches were reconfigured and elaborated in the ER period on 32% of (occupied) case study sites (Table 7), becoming, in many cases, more subdivided and more rectilinear. These modifications may have served to visually formalise land-holding arrangements,[247] but they also had an agricultural function, demarcating fields, crop processing areas, and/or stock pens (Table 7). At Rowbury Farm and Winnall Down, paddock-type enclosures were dug within Iron Age enclosures (Figure 18 and Figure 19).[248]

[242] Fulford *et al.* (2006), 202.
[243] Rees *et al.* (2008), 5; Wacher (1974), 291
[244] Wacher (1974), 293.
[245] S. James (2002); Moffat (2010), 172–174; Alex Smith and Henry (2020), 191.
[246] Firth (2011), 16
[247] Booth (2011), 11.
[248] Cunliffe and Poole (2008d), 132–133; Fasham, Farwell, and Whinney (1989).

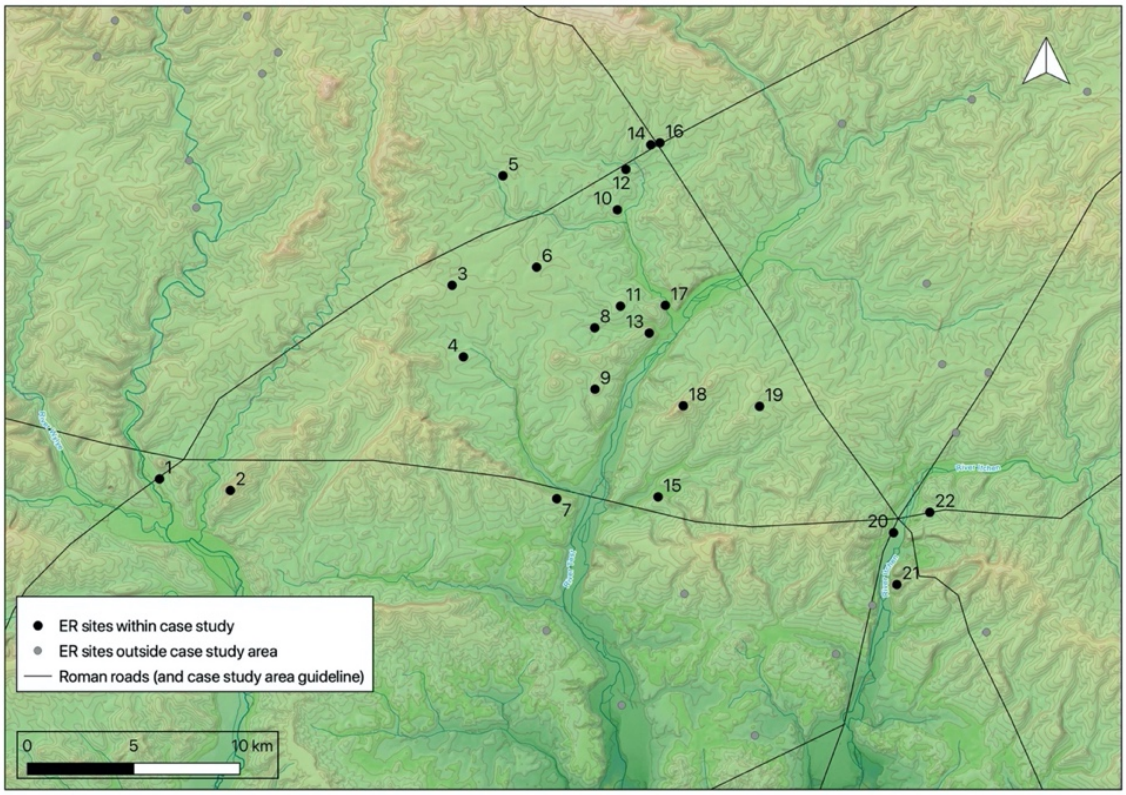


Figure 17: Sites occupied in Case Study 1 in the ER. Site names are as follows: Salisbury (1), Cockey Down (2), Grateley South (3), Suddern Farm (4), Thruxton (5), Dunkirt Barn (6), Fir Hill (7), Nettlebank Copse (8), Houghton Down (9), Balksbury Camp (10), Rowbury Farm (11), Old Down Farm (12), Longstock Nursery (13), Viking Way (14), Ashley (15), East Anton (16), Fullerton (17), Woolbury (18), Barton Stacey (19), Winchester (20), Twyford Down (21), Winnall Down (22).

Table 7: List of Case Study 1 sites on which first-century boundary reorganisations took place and the nature of the reorganisation.

Site	**Modifications**
Suddern Farm	Fenced enclosure, crop processing (?)
Winnall Down	Paddocks
Rowbury Farm	Paddocks
Twyford Down	Field systems and paddocks
Ashley	Ditch system and paddocks
Barton Stacey	Linear boundaries (fields?)
Nettlebank Copse	Field system (?)

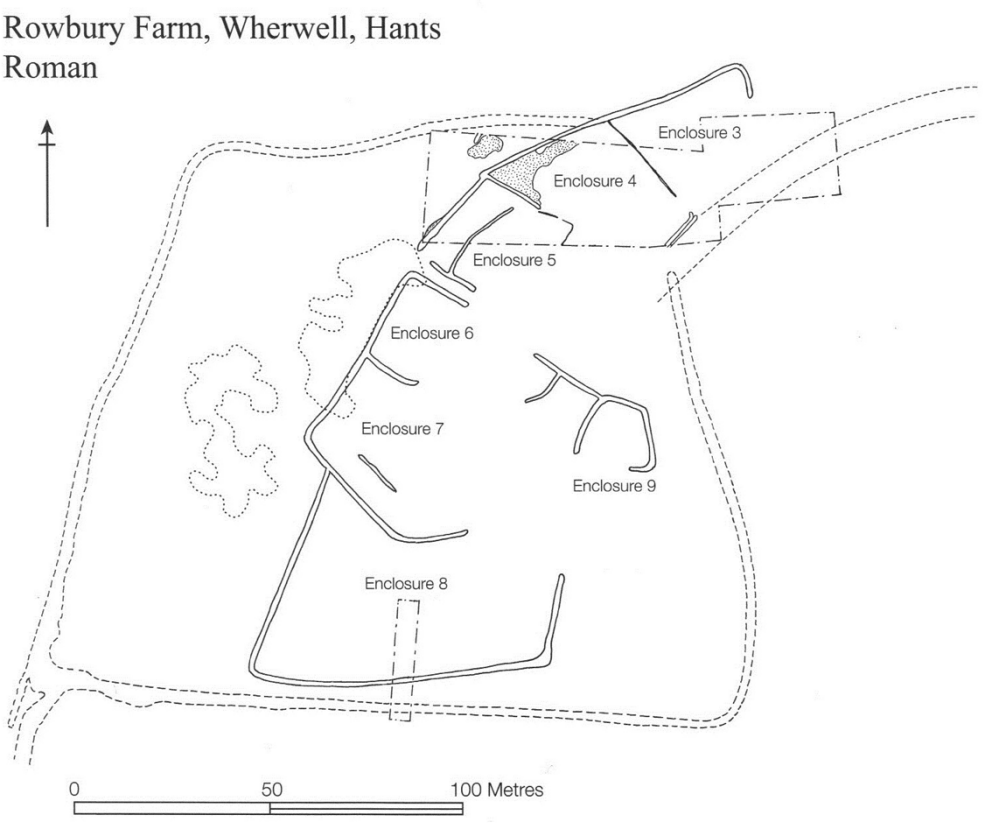


Figure 18: ER-period features at Rowbury Farm (RSRB database, “Rowbury Farm”).

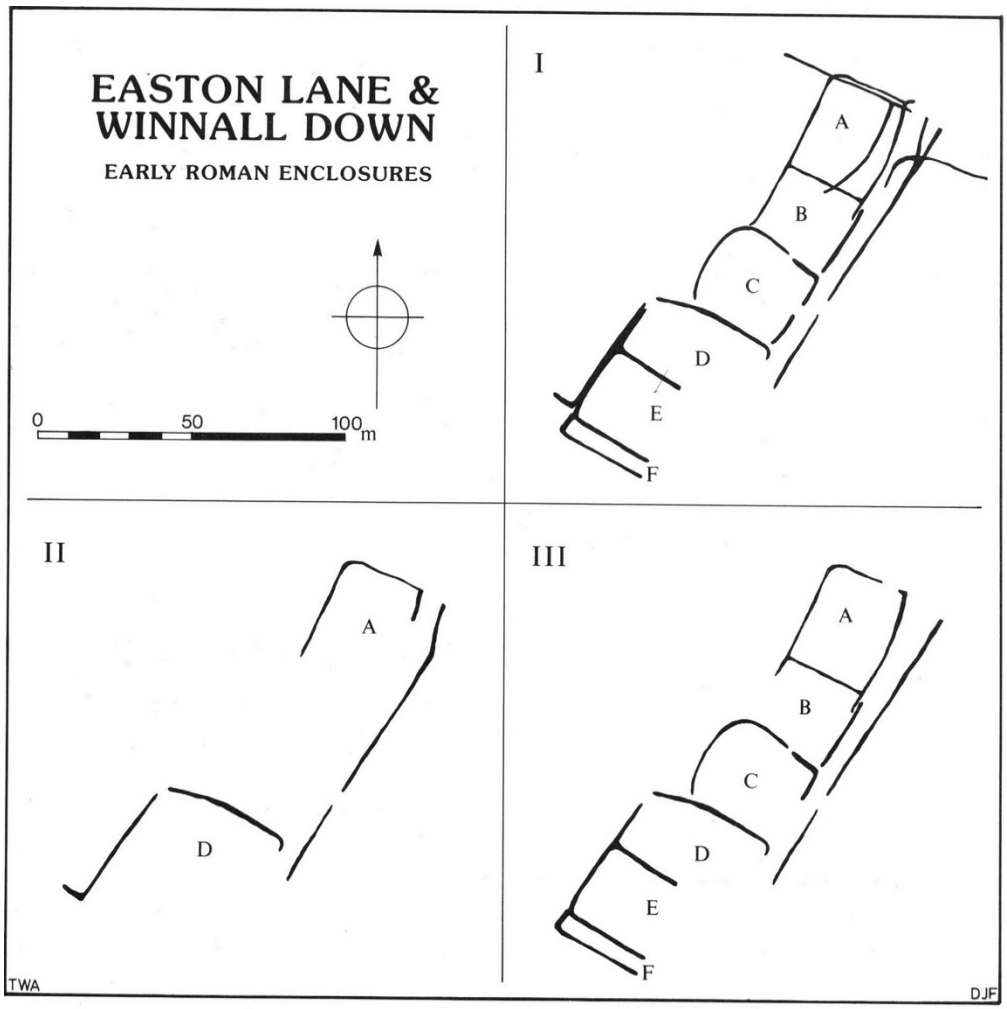


Fig 78. Easton Lane. Phase 9, Early Roman, Area H: plan of enclosures, incorporating information from Winnall Down.

Figure 19: "Ladder" system of paddock enclosures at the Roman farm at Easton Lane/Winnall Down in Case Study 1 (RSRB database, "Winnall Down").

At Houghton Down, curvilinear M/LIA ditches were filled in, and rectilinear fenced enclosures were constructed in their place.[249] In a similar phase, the latest enclosure ditch at Suddern Farm was deliberately filled in with chalk.[250]

[249] Cunliffe and Poole (2008a), 116 (Houghton Down).
[250] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 205.

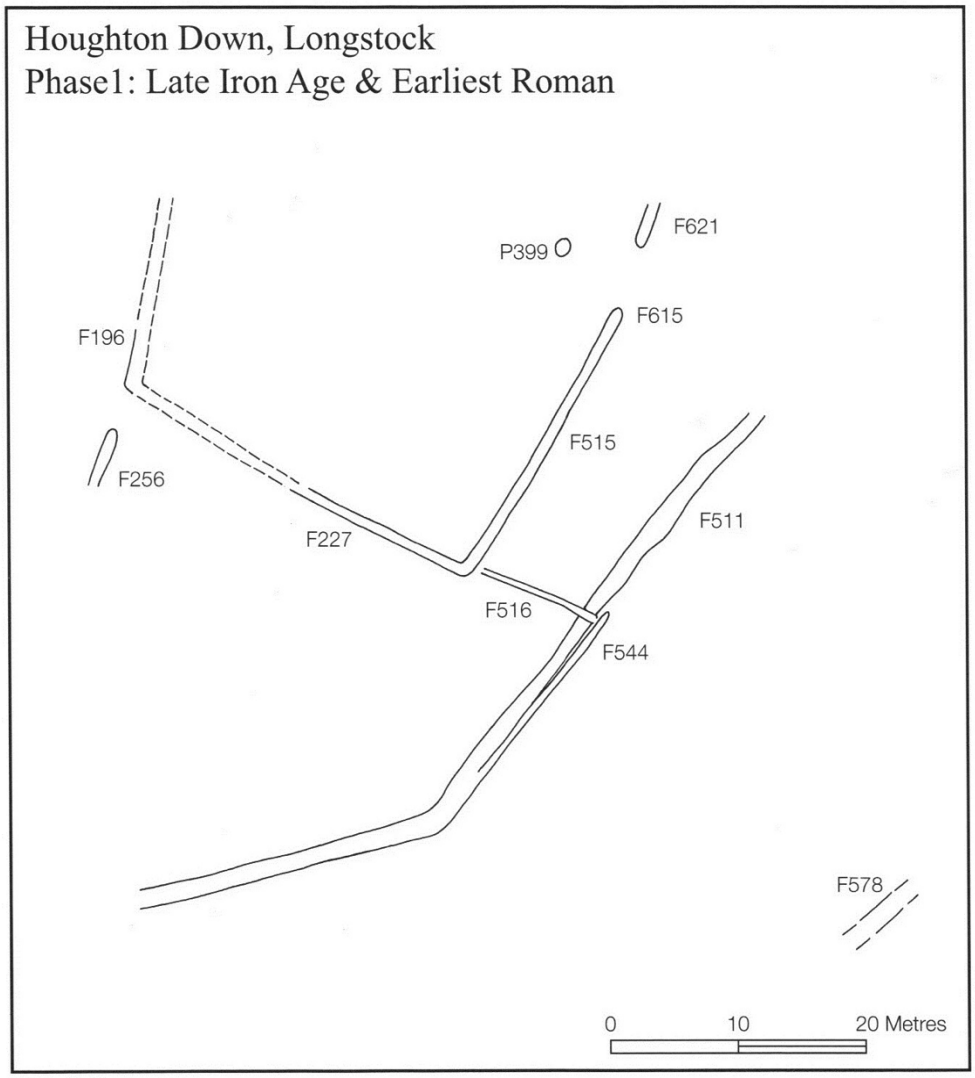
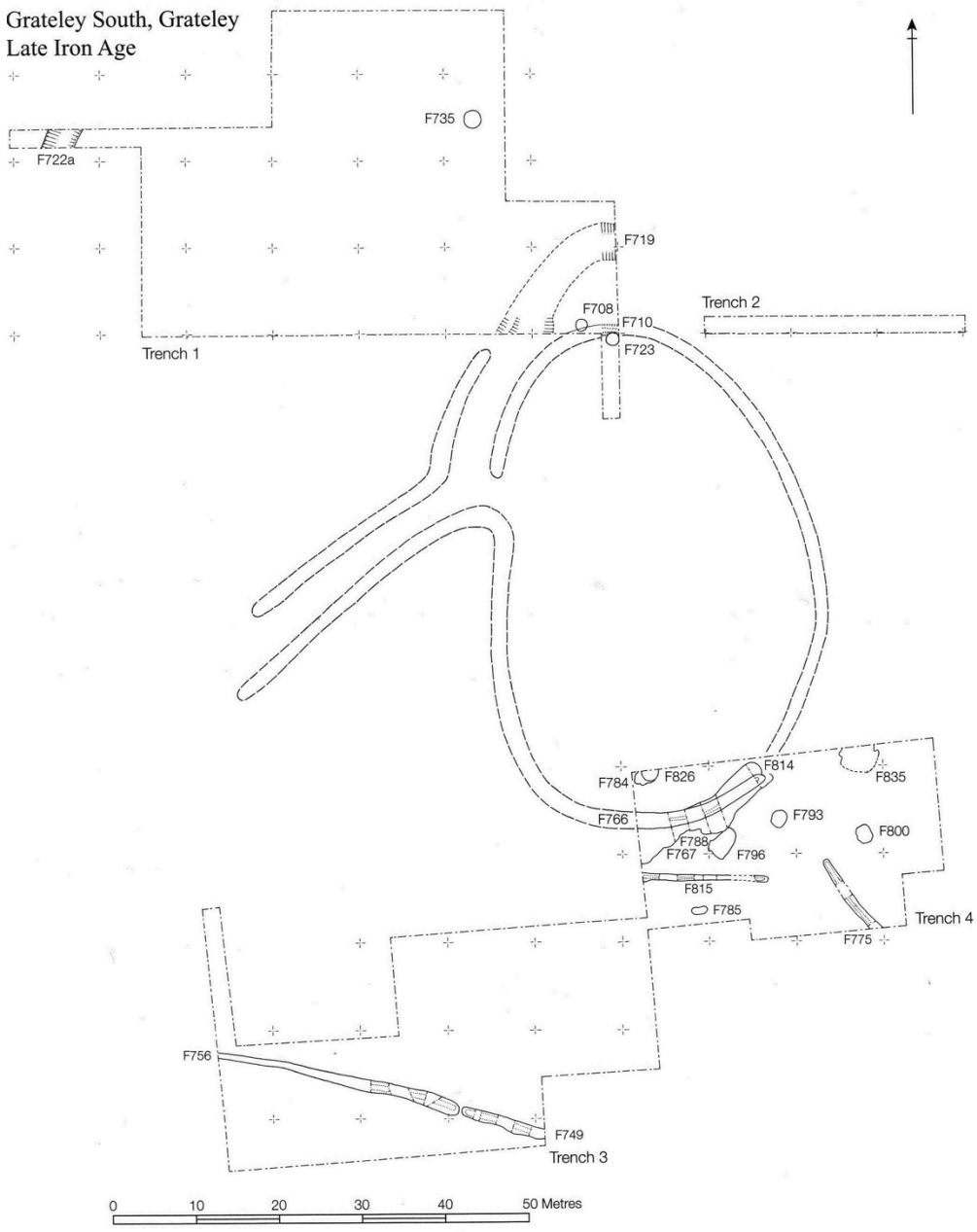


Figure 20: LIA/ER phase at Houghton Down in Case Study 1 (RSRB database, "Houghton Down").


Grateley South, Grateley
Late Iron Age
F735
F722a
F719
F708
F710
F723
Trench 1
Trench 2
F784
F826
F814
F835
F766
F793
F800
F788
F767
F796
F815
F785
Trench 4
F775
F756
F749
Trench 3
0
10
20
30
40
50 Metres

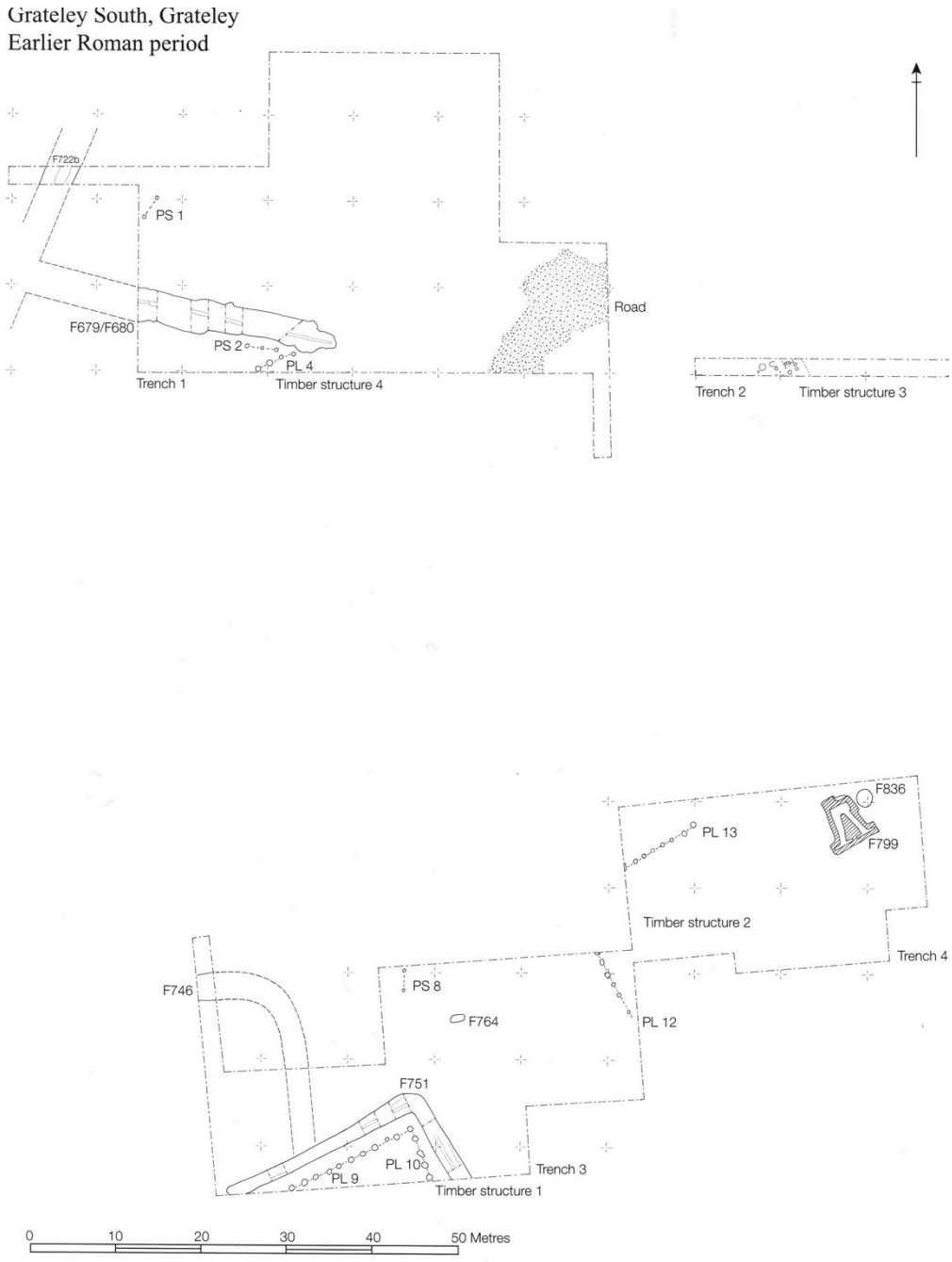


Figure 21: LIA- (left) and ER-period (right) features at Grateley South in Case Study 1 (RSRB database, “Grateley South”).

PHASE 3—EARLY–MID-ROMAN

In the M/LR period, this region is seen as a 'villa landscape', and it is assumed that the villa sites sit at the top of a local settlement hierarchy, under which were "smallholders dependent on the main estate".[251] As we shall see, however, the idea that agricultural labourers were necessarily housed in dispersed farmsteads (rather than, for instance, on estates or in villages) is possibly mistaken. This region has furnished no L/MR 'small farms' with well-excavated settlement foci.

As in the previous period, this phase saw boundary and site reorganisation across the region, with some 59% of occupied sites being abandoned or restructured (Table 8). Roughly 60% of the 'restructured' sites (75% of restructured *settlements*) later developed into villas.[252]

In the E/MR period, these 'proto-*villae'* were not dramatically (morphologically) different from other sites, consisting of ditched enclosures or field systems, timber buildings, and (frequently) crop-processing facilities. The later villa sites do not, in this period, appear to have been 'rising to the top' within a landscape full of smaller (dependent) farms (Table 9). Rather, small farms were abandoned, while the remaining ones (for which we have settlement foci and good chronological data) developed along a similar trajectory.

All rural structures in this period were ephemeral. The two apparently E/MR structures at Houghton Down were of timber posthole or post-pad construction (Figure 22 and Figure 23).[253] Similar rural E/MR timber structures were also identified at Suddern Farm,[254] Grateley South,[255] Winnall Down,[256] and Dunkirt Barn.

[251] Cunliffe and Poole (2008e), 126.
[252] Fulford, et al. (2006), 202–203, finds a similar pattern on the Salisbury (Higher) Plain.
[253] Cunliffe and Poole (2008a), 46–49.
[254] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 205.
[255] Cunliffe and Poole (2008g).
[256] Fasham (1985), 31–37.

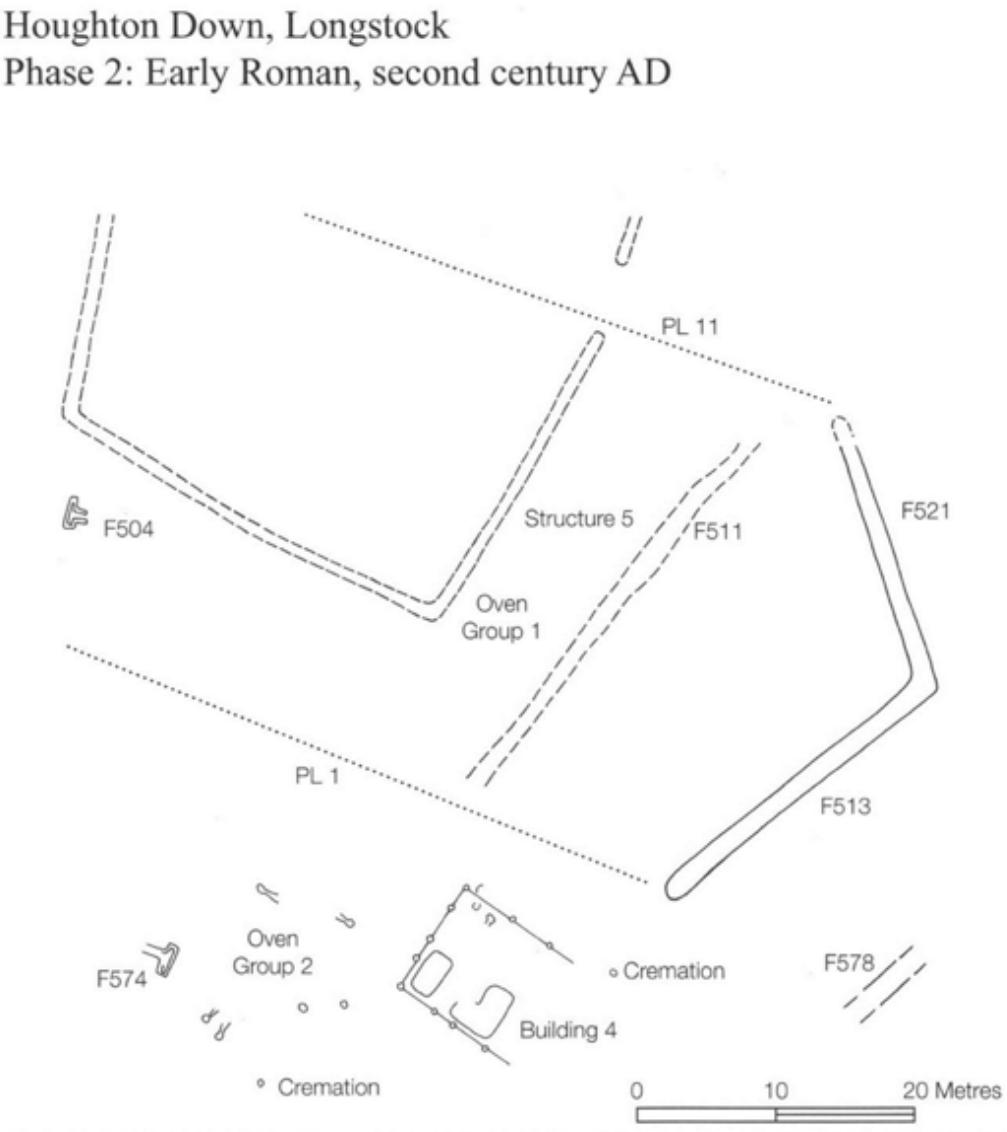


Figure 22: Building 4 and Structure 5 at Houghton Down in Case Study 1 (RSRB Database, "Houghton Down").

Table 8: Major changes in site use or morphology detected in the case study area during the late first–mid-second centuries AD.

Site name	Early-2nd-c. (?) modifications on CS1 sites
Twyford Down	Site **abandoned**: no evidence for occupation after ER
Viking Way	Site **abandoned** early 2nd c. (?) after M/LIA ditches filled in
Old Down Farm	Site **abandoned** in early 2nd c.
Rowbury Farm	Site **abandoned**: Use of paddock system ceases c. mid-2nd c.
Nettlebank Copse	Site **abandoned**: : Use of field system ceases mid-2nd c.
Winnall Down	Site **abandoned**: Use of paddocks ceases by mid-2nd c.
Balksbury Camp	Possible **hiatus** between LIA/ER and LR phase
Cockey Down	Possible **hiatus**: no clear evidence for occupation in MR
Longstock Nursery	(**Re)organisation**: Field system apparently defined in 2nd c.
Suddern Farm	**(Re)organisation**: Ditches replaced by fencelines, timber building, ovens, pits
Dunkirt Barn	(**Re)organisation (new occupation)**: Rectlinear boundaries constructed, along with timber building and large corndryer
Houghton Down	(**Re)organisation after LIA/ER hiatus**: Fenceline constructed, along with timber buildings 4 and 5 and several clusters of ovens and corndryers
Grateley South	**(Re)organisation**: Enclosure ditches and two timber buildings, along with a possible oven (Cunliffe 2008, 93)
Highbury School	**Unclear**: small excavation uncovered only 2 Roman ditches (though earlier excavations suggest settlement lies nearby)
Barton Stacey	**Unclear:** ER enclosure, settlement outside area of excavation
East Anton	**Unclear**: appears to be a field system in this phase
Fir Hill	**Unclear**: extremely small excavation revealed ditches and probable E/MR activity, but any focus outside area of excavation.
Fullerton	**Unclear**: E/MR finds on site suggest activity outside area of excavation.
Longstock Nursery	**Unclear**: extremely small excavation revealed ditches and M/LR occupation spread, but any focus outside area of excavation.
Thruxton	**Unclear**: E/MR finds on site suggest possible activity outside area of excavation.
Ashley	**Unclear**: small excavation and short site report – unclear phasing, though site is probably a settlement focus?
Woolbury	**Unclear**: Site used for agricultural work, unclear phasing.

Table 9: All sites in CS1 with evidence for mid-second-century occupation (i.e., sites abandoned in the EMR are not included in this table).

Site name	**2nd c. category**	**Nature of EMR occupation**
Balksbury Camp	Hiatus???	Multiple excavations indicate MR hiatus
Cockey Down	Hiatus???	Unclear if occupied
Ashley	Settlement - farm	Small excavation. Evidence for agricultural use of the site and domestic material, but unclear phasing.
Dunkirt Barn	Settlement - farm	Enclosure, timber structures, ovens
Grateley South	Settlement - farm	Enclosure, timber structures, ovens/corndryer
Houghton Down	Settlement - farm	Enclosure, timber structures, ovens/corndryers
Sparsholt Roman Villa	Settlement - farm	Enclosure, masonry structures, crop processing (?)
Suddern Farm	Settlement - farm	Enclosure, timber structures, ovens
Thruxton	Peripheral/unclear	MR 'scatter' but no settlement focus
Woolbury	Peripheral/unclear	Small excavation. Evidence for agricultural use of the site and domestic material, but unclear phasing.
Highbury School	Peripheral/unclear	M/LR occupation spread, settlement focus unex?
Barton Stacey (Crawley)	Peripheral/unclear	E/MR occupation spread, settlement focus unex?
East Anton, Andover	Peripheral	Field systems
Fir Hill	Peripheral/unclear	Small occupation spread – settlement focus unex?
Fullerton	Peripheral/unclear	MR 'scatter', but no settlement focus
Longstock Nursery	Peripheral/unclear	Field system and occupation spread but focus unex?

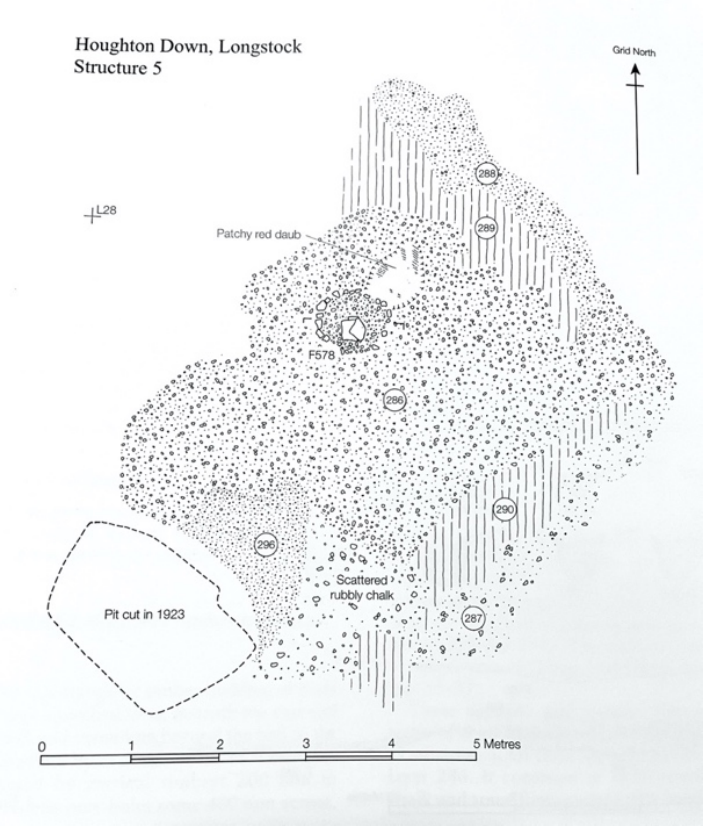


Figure 23: ER Structure 5 at Houghton Down in Case Study 1 (Cunliffe and Poole 2008, "Houghton Down").

At Dunkirt Barn, a large early- to mid-second-century timber structure was destroyed by fire (and preserved in a sealed ditch) in the late second century.[257] The sill-beam trenches suggest a timber superstructure walled with wattle and daub, floored with trampled chalk, and finished with plaster. Both interior and exterior walls were decorated—the exterior with a whitewash, the interior with white, red, and black designs.[258] Structural daub was, likewise, recovered at Woolbury[259] and Suddern Farm,[260] which suggests the presence of similar wattle and daub or adobe structures there.

[257] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b) (Dunkirt Barn), 69.
[258] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b) (Dunkirt Barn), 69, 210.
[259] Cunliffe and Poole (2000d), 60–61.
[260] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 140.

Agricultural production

Most of the restructured E/MR sites contained production equipment (Table 9). The occupation spread adjacent to the ER-period timber building at Dunkirt Barn contained four non-contemporary figure-of-eight shaped oven bases.[261] Some of the 16 Roman ovens uncovered during the Suddern Farm excavation date to the early-mid second century.[262] A double T-shaped corndryer at Grateley South dates to sometime in the second century,[263] and at Houghton Down, Building 4 and Structure 5 were both associated with ovens and corndryers, one of which was used for malting.[264]

Corndryers are oven-like structures that were used to malt or parch grain.[265] They consist of "a stoking hole and fire place, a subterranean flue overlain by a drying floor to hold cereals, and, in some cases, the remains of a superstructure."[266] Corndryers are generally taken as indicators of intensification of agricultural production, though some scholars have seen them as representative of changing social dynamics or climactic conditions.[267] Lodwick suggests that their presence on various different site types (roadside settlements, villas, farms) indicates more-widespread market integration than often assumed.[268] In this region, corndryers generally appear in the late second or early third centuries, replacing smaller ovens on sites like Grateley South and Dunkirt Barn. Samples from the early corndryer at Grateley suggest that malting was taking place on site, possibly on a large scale considering the size of the double ovens.[269] The presence of such facilities in E/MR or MR phases, alongside evidence for boundary reorganisation and new construction, may indicate a change in focus toward production for the market. As we shall see

261 Cunliffe and Poole (2008b) (Dunkirt Barn).
262 Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 39.
263 Cunliffe and Poole (2008g), 93 (Grateley South).
264 Cunliffe and Poole (2008a), 116.
265 Martyn Allen, et al. (2017), 55–65; Lodwick (2020), 58–60.
266 Lodwick (2020), 58.
267 Lodwick (2020), 62.
268 Lodwick (2020), 58 and throughout.
269 Cunliffe and Poole (2008a) (Grateley South), 169.

below, finds assemblages here indicate some level of market integration on many sites throughout the study period, with an increase in apparent integration in the E/MR period.

Finds Assemblages—LIA–E/MR

Pitts and Perring see early imports (i.e., *terra nigra*) as being linked to "pre-Roman [élite] power structures",[270] Samian, sandy grey wares and BB1 as linked to urban consumption, and use of native-style black-surface wares as being linked to 'rural' consumption.[271] Here, however, access to imported pottery does not seem to correlate with access to other 'luxury' goods. Suddern Farm produced numerous examples of (LIA/ER) 'prestige goods', including coins, brooches, and amphorae, and is seen as a high-status site by Cunliffe.[272] Yet, the site's ceramic assemblage does not reflect much access to wider markets (except the Dorset and Alice Holt potteries).[273] There were few finewares, but such a wide range of imitation ones from Dorset that the excavators noted that, "even the Hengistbury Head excavations did not produce such a wide range of exotic forms from Poole Harbour" as did those at Suddern Farm.[274] That a site with the resources to import so much Dorset pottery, yet did not apparently have access to (or desire) 'true' Gallo-Belgic imports, is notably "odd".[275]

Conversely, the ceramic assemblage from Rowbury Farm reflects a wide range of trade connections, with first-century Gallic amphorae, Samian ware, and *terra nigra*, in addition to local and regional (Dorset) product.[276] Yet no LIA/ER metalwork was found, and the only Late Iron Age/Early Roman small finds were shale fragments, two spindle whorls, several Late Iron Age

[270] Perring and Pitts (2013), 144.
[271] Perring and Pitts (2013), 145.
[272] Cunliffe (2009), 189.
[273] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 68 (Suddern Farm).
[274] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 67 (Suddern Farm).
[275] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 67 (Suddern Farm).
[276] Cunliffe and Poole (2008d), 65 (Rowbury Farm).

greensand quern fragments, and a small sherd of (undated) Roman vessel glass.[277] ER period assemblages from Grateley South contained Durotrigian bead-rim bowls, Dorset products, Gallo-Belgic copies, and a *terra nigra* bowl.[278] The excavators note that "like Houghton Down, post-conquest Grateley South was a Romano-British site utilizing native coarse wares for some time after the conquest. These were gradually replaced mainly by reduced coarse wares produced at two or three major Roman manufactories and a small proportion of fine wares originating from a wider range of sources."[279] *Terra nigra,* early *amphorae,* and early Samian was also reported from Winnall Down.[280] At Fir Hill, Bossington, the ER-period assemblage consisted of 'indigenous' flint- and grog-tempered wares, Dorset wares, wheel-thrown sandy wares, and Samian. This assemblage corresponds with Phase 6 at Old Down Farm, which also contained a mixture of indigenous flint-tempered and grog-tempered ware and wheel-turned sandy wares.[281]

Jars dominated assemblages on rural sites and at Winchester, where excavations between 2002–7 revealed inhabitants had access to a wider range of forms and fabrics than their rural counterparts but, as on rural sites, used mainly (59.5%) coarse grey wares, over half of which were jars.[282]

While assemblages consisting mainly of utilitarian grey/reduced wares are seen as evidence of low (and sometimes 'dependent') status, the assemblages here show that, low-status or not, the sites here were connected to regional markets and used them to procure even such run-of-the-mill products as cooking pots. Nearly all assemblages contained pottery from outside the local region (i.e., more than 30 miles away), and most also contained Samian (77%). Thus, by the later first century, inhabitants of *all* sites were evidently engaging with wider markets.

[277] Cunliffe and Poole (2008d), 84–88 (Rowbury Farm).
[278] Cunliffe and Poole (2008g) (Grateley South), 107–108.
[279] Cunliffe and Poole (2008g) (Grateley South), 113.
[280] Fasham (1985), 73–76.
[281] L. Brown (2009), 57–8; S. Davies (1981).
[282] E. Biddulph and Booth (2011), 12–17.

Excavations around Winchester furnished by far the largest finds assemblage in the region, as well as the most robust ER structural evidence. Timber strip buildings—like the one at Dunkirt Barn—were constructed along the streets and continued in use until the end of the second century.[283] Excavations at Northgate House and the Discovery Centre alone produced over 1,000 small finds.[284] ER small finds included LIA/ER coins and brooches and other goods that were either unavailable or unwanted in the countryside (and even in Old Sarum) in the first century.[285]

In Phase 3, by the time that the timber building at Dunkirt Barn was being constructed, some of the early establishments listed in Table 8 had probably gone out of use. Finds assemblages from occupied sites are quite different from those of the previous phase, with more 'recognizably' regionally-produced pottery, more imported pottery, and more small finds, overall. All Phase 3 sites with detailed finds and pottery reports seem to have had access to a 'core' group of utilitarian and personal goods, most of which must have been purchased/bartered for off-site. These include regionally produced pottery,[286] quernstones from West Sussex (c. 50 miles away) or the Eifel range, and/or metal and bone tools. Many also had access to cross-Channel materials: black-slipped and/or Samian wares from Gaul were reported from 77% of ER sites (100% of the settlements—see Figure 24).

Fewer sites furnished evidence for items such as imported pottery, amphorae, jewellery, and other personal objects (including brooches, which, as demonstrated by Matthews Boehmer, may have had very long lifespans).[287] Fewer still (32%) furnished ER coins. Some E/MR finds categories found in

[283] Fulford and Holbrook (2015), 69.
[284] Cool (2011).
[285] The PAS records more than 12,000 Roman period finds from Hampshire, of which c. 2,000 are not coins. Several came from the study area—some are provisionally dated to the first/mid-second centuries, including miniature copper alloy axes, a spatula with a cast Minerva handle, a copper alloy 'captive' figurine probably dating to the early 2nd c., bucket fittings and personal care objects (brooches, hair pins, nail cleaners etc).
[286] Tablewares from Alice Holt became common across the region (reported on 75% of settlements furnishing pottery reports).
[287] Matthews Boehmer (2020).

Winchester (such as inscriptions)[288] seem never to have been widely available in the countryside (even on sites that developed into villas).

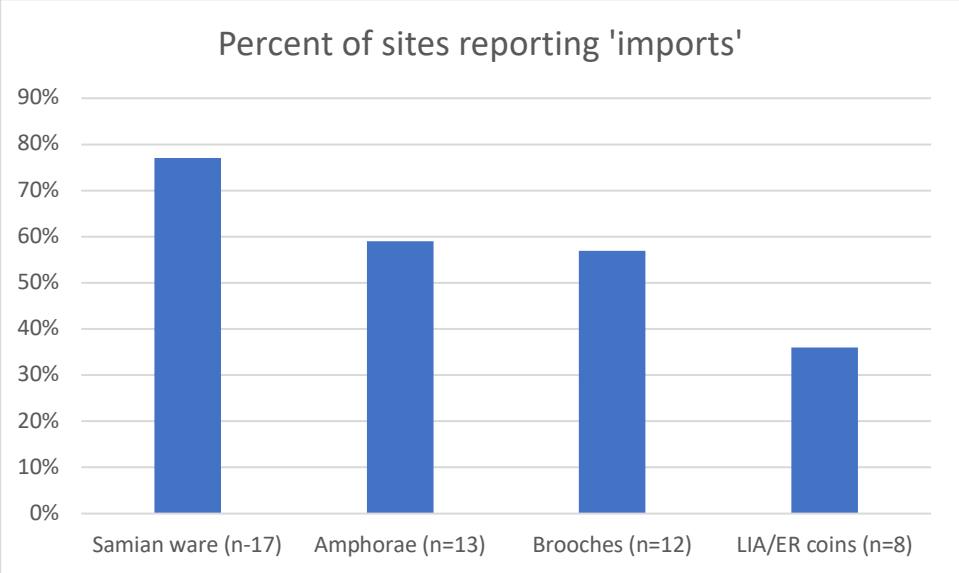


Figure 24: Percentage of Case Study 1 ER sites furnishing different finds types.

[288] I.e., the E/MR votive altar to *Magna Mater* (*RIB* 88).

PHASE 4 AND 5—MID- AND LATE ROMAN

Overview

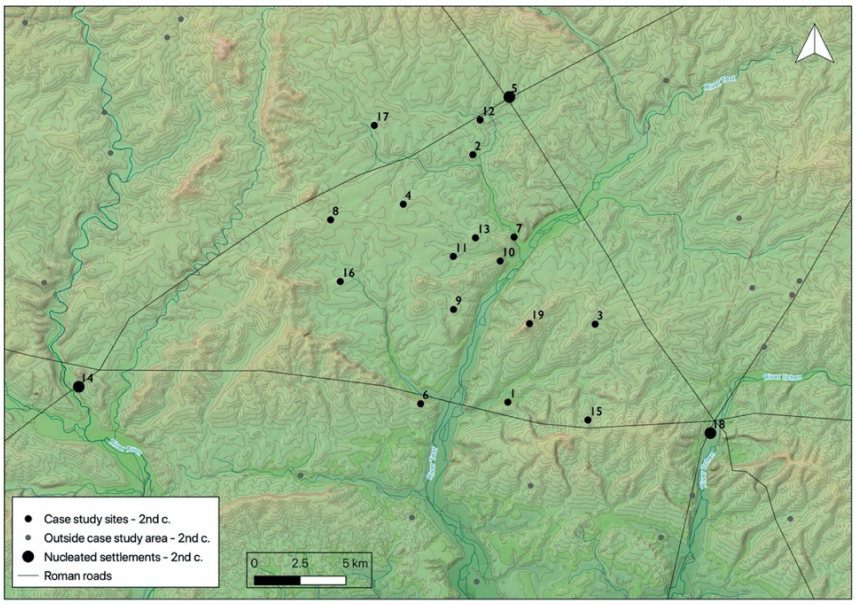


Figure 25: Case Study 1 sites occupied in the MR. Site names are as follows: Ashley (1), Balksbury Camp (2), Barton Stacey (3), Dunkirt Barn (4), East Anton (5), Fir Hill (6), Fullerton (7), Grateley South (8), Houghton Down (9), Longstock Nursery (10), Nettlebank Copse (11), Old Down Farm (12), Rowbury Farm (13), Salisbury (14), Sparsholt Villa (15), Suddern Farm (16), Thruxton (17), Winchester (18), Woolbury (19).

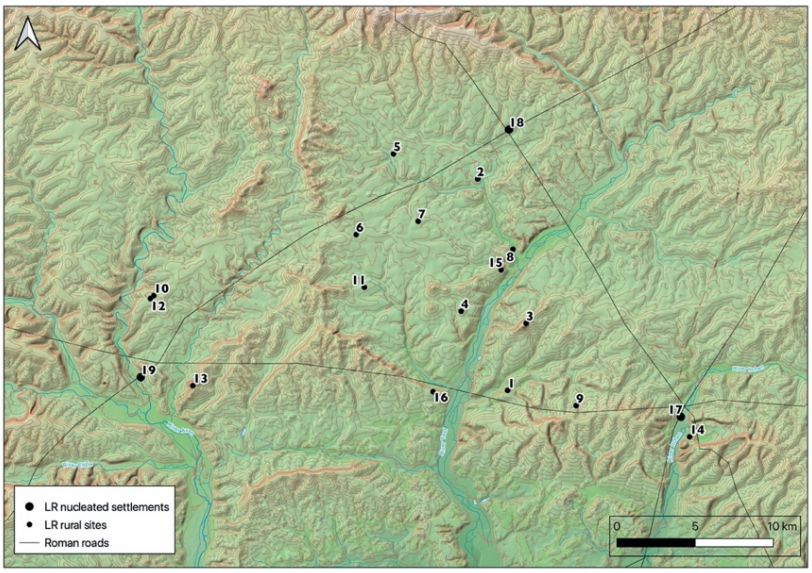


Figure 26: Study sites occupied in the LR period. Site names are as follows: Ashley (1); Balksbury Camp (2); Woolbury (3); Houghton Down (4); Thruxton (5); Grateley South (6); Dunkirt Barn (7); Fullerton (8); Sparsholt Roman Villa (9); High Post, Salisbury (10); Suddern Farm (11); Pains Wessex Factory, High Post (12); Cockey

Down (13); Bar End, Winchester (14); Longstock Nursery (15); Fir Hill (16); Winchester (17); East Anton (18); Salisbury (19)

Site categorisation and distribution

The Danebury environs region is nationally known for having been a prosperous villa landscape in the M/LR period, and many of the settlements examined in this case study developed masonry architecture at this point. Farms furnishing evidence for masonry structures (particularly large ones) are, naturally, seen as sitting at the 'top' of rural settlement hierarchies in Roman Britain—the centres of estates presumably worked by slaves or tenant farmers. Evidence for the latter interpretation, here, is sparse. With the exception of two or three sites with no (or very ephemeral) architecture, which may or may not be settlements, the sites that developed masonry construction are the only rural settlements for which M/LR settlement foci have been uncovered. It is tempting to marshal the 'peripheral' sites to fill in the gaps in the settlement hierarchy, though this seems (to me) to stretch the evidence somewhat.

Twenty of the case study sites were occupied in the third century, and 19 were occupied in the fourth (Figure 25 and Figure 26). At the start of this period, 11–12 were settlements (eight farms and three nucleated settlements) and 6–8 were categorised as peripheral. It is to these sites that I now turn.

One possible critique of every conclusion I reach in this thesis is that the high degree of connectivity displayed by the 'settlement' sites is merely the result of circular categorisation. As demonstrated below, however, the L/MR peripheral sites in the case study were a.) located away from the putative centre of any associated (unexcavated) settlements and should *not* be considered LR small farms, and b.) were nevertheless deeply connected to regional and supra-regional trade networks (Table 10).

Table 10: Case Study 1 sites categorised as peripheral in the M/LR period, with excavation details noting reasons occupation focus was not identified.

Site Name	Excavated area	Roman sherds	Reason MR *or* LR focus not found
Highbury School, Salisbury	0.011 ha	16	Nature of settlement unclear
Barton Stacey to Lockerley Pipeline - Land North of Crawley	0.364 ha	283	Pipeline excavated located on edge of putative settlement
East Anton, Andover	1.6 ha	5531	Not yet occupied: field system until LR
Fir Hill	0.45 ha	2132	Nature of settlement unclear: excavation area restricted (pipeline)
Fullerton	0.2 ha	3764	Not yet occupied: excavation focussed on LR villa complex rather than earlier occupation area
Longstock Nursery	0.1625 ha	581	Settlement focus located outside excavation area
Nettlebank Copse	0.38 ha	607	No longer occupied: DEP excavation focussed on LIA site rather than putative adjacent RP site
Rowbury Farm	0.2 ha	1940	No longer occupied: LIA enclosure turned into probable field system (paddocks) in MR

As demonstrated above, most of the sites categorised as peripheral were either field systems or were excavated on too small a scale (or simply in the wrong place) to locate the settlement focus. The site at Fir Hill, for instance, was excavated over 0.45 ha, produced c. 2100 sherds of pottery (local and imported), and contained a corndryer that was in use in the later Roman period.[289] Yet, our knowledge of the site's function (and morphology) is hampered by the location of the excavation, which cut across the northern edge of the enclosure along the side of the Roman road, allowing only a glimpse of Roman-period activity on site (Figure 27).

[289] L. Brown (2009).

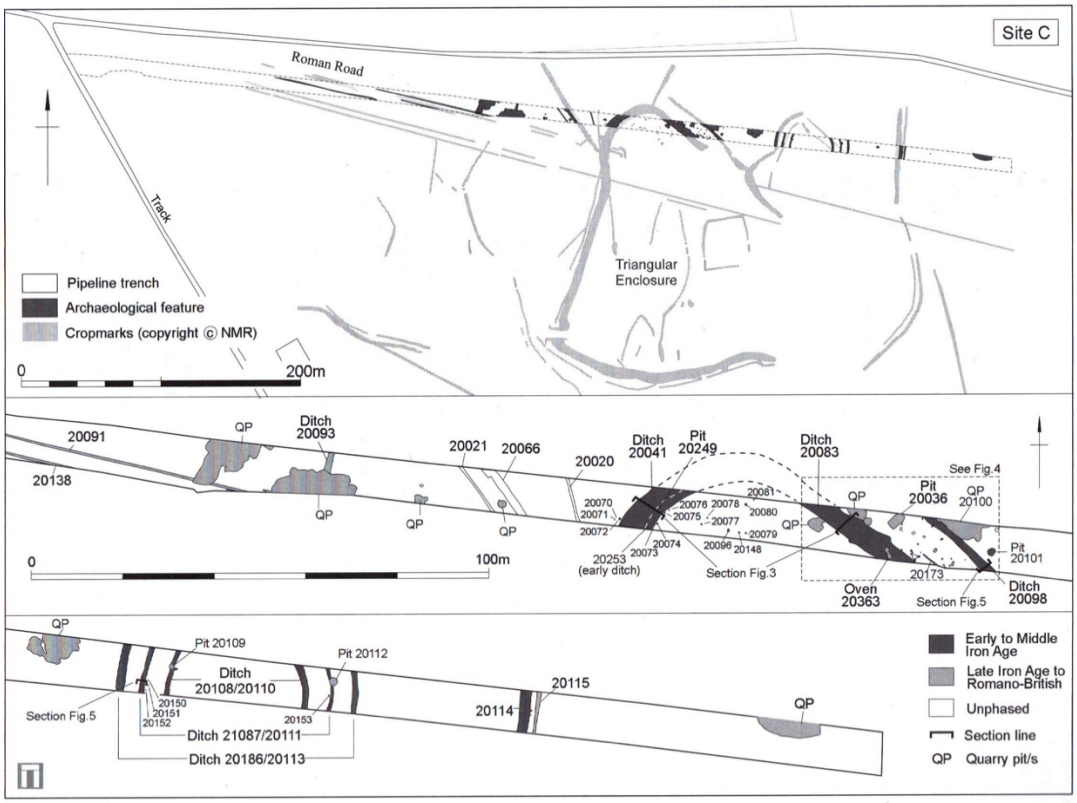


Fig. 2 The enclosure complex at Fir Hill, Bossington, and plan of excavated features (Site C)

Figure 27: Plan of excavation at Fir Hill, Bossington (RSRB Database).

Similarly, the watching brief (over 0.16 ha) at Longstock Nursery produced evidence for an enclosure ditch and an 'occupation spread' containing nearly 600 sherds of predominantly LR pottery (including imported finewares), along with roof and flue tiles, hypocaust bricks, and limestone roofing tiles that excavators suggest may have reflected the presence of a building outside the excavated area (Figure 28).

The report from a watching brief (0.04 ha) at Bar End, Winchester, likewise described a probable field system and a small number of finds that the excavators suggest might be related to a 'substantial' structure outside the excavated area.[290]

[290] Teague (2004), 3.

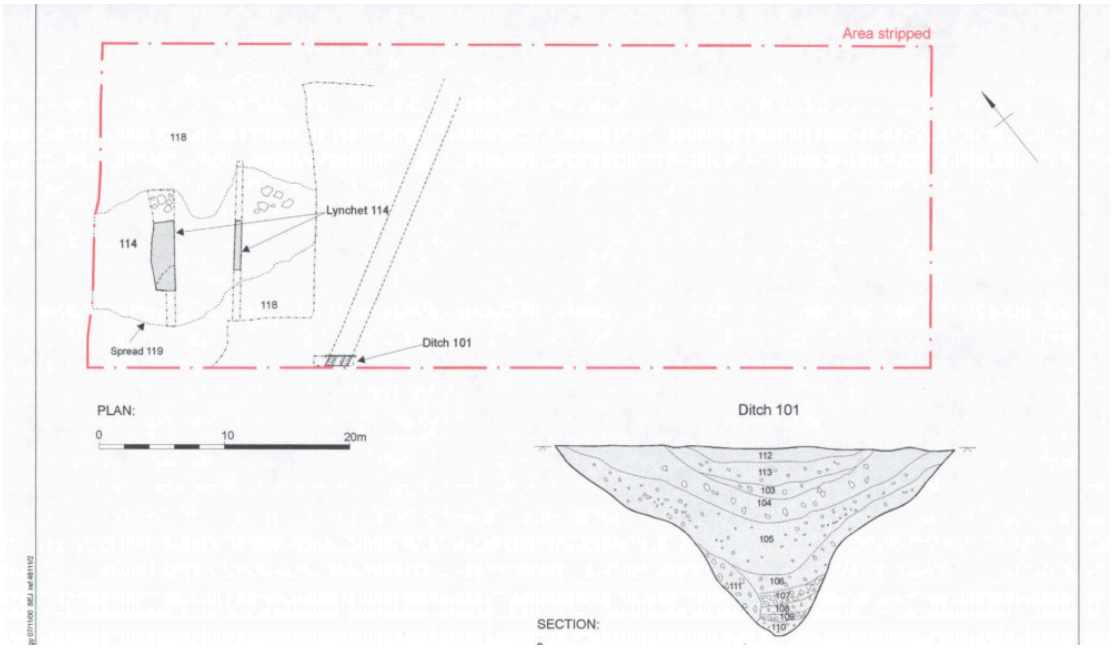


Figure 28: Plan of excavations at Longstock Nursery, Longstock (Lovell 2000).

Excavations at the M/LIA and M/LR period sites at High Post uncovered an M/LIA hamlet, a Roman-period shrine, and a dense spread of Roman occupation debris that excavators suggest was a colluvial deposit from an unexcavated rectilinear enclosure located 40 m to the north.[291] The colluvial deposit "was exceptionally rich in Roman pottery and other finds, particularly metalwork, and especially Late Roman coins….[and] indicate a fairly intense and dense spread of activity that may continue further north and east (beyond the extent of the current excavation strip)."[292] While the excavations did not produce a Roman-period settlement focus, work by Musty in 1956 somewhere on or near the site apparently uncovered the remains of a masonry structure.[293]

[291] C. Gibson (2009), 7.
[292] C. Gibson (2009), 7.
[293] Budd (2008).

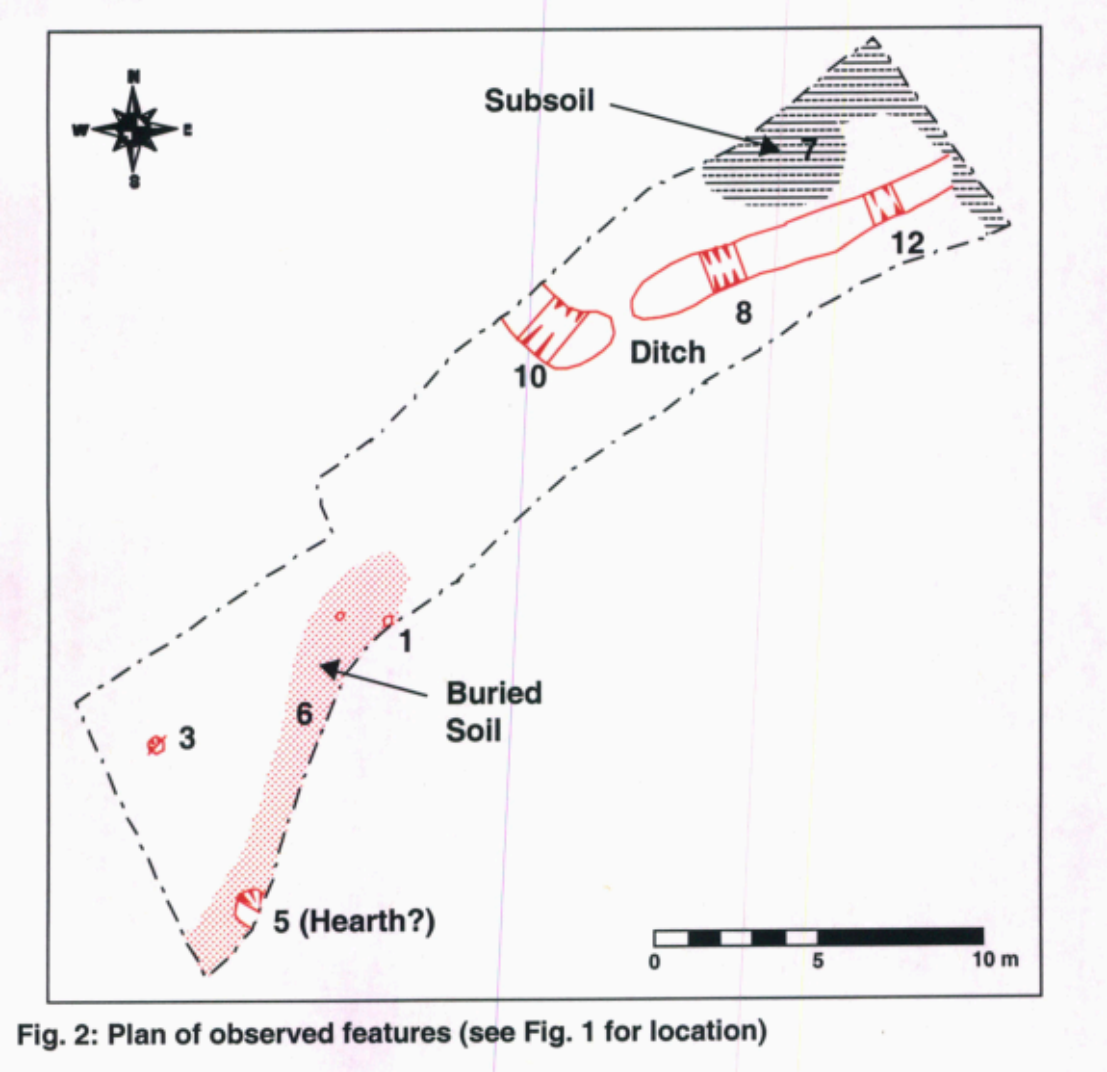


Figure 29: Plan of watching brief excavations at Bar End, Winchester (Teague 2004).

Small finds from the Roman colluvial layer and the fill of the 'shrine' feature contained an array of small finds generally found only in *vici* or on aisled hall or villa sites.[294] Yet the small size of the trenches (in pink on the plan, Figure 30) and their location away from the probable Roman-period enclosure impedes meaningful understanding of the M/LR activity on site. The excavated portion of the site was clearly peripheral to the putative source of the Roman

[294] Including weights and a steelyard balance, a decorated stylus, and a cu-alloy finger ring. These data were collected from site archives on ADS website: https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/chemring_wessex_2019/

material, but all available evidence suggests the presence of a well-connected small farm, perhaps resembling those at Balksbury Camp and Houghton Down.

The small watching brief at the Pains Wessex Factory, 0.18 miles away from High Post, produced evidence for a corndryer, LR coarse and finewares, and fired clay. Pains Wessex was identified as a separate small farm in the RSRB database,[295] but both reports reference Musty's 1956 excavation, which uncovered the LR masonry building mentioned above.[296] That excavation was undertaken after a collapsed Roman wall was identified (and partially demolished) during the construction of a water tank and roadway, and the subsequent small-scale intervention happened on an exceedingly short timeframe.[297] The collapsed wall apparently consisted of chalk and flint rubble and dressed-flint blocks, although its morphology remains unknown.[298] It is possible that Pains Wessex and High Post form the peripheries of Musty's site. A larger area of excavation on either site might have clarified the question.

Pipeline excavations over 0.24 ha at Cockey Down revealed a dense spread of features dating from the Late Bronze Age through to the Medieval period (Figure 31). Inhumations and three post holes dated to the ER, while two ditches and part of a trackway dated to the LR period. LR finds include extra-regionally produced coarse and finewares, brick and tile fragments, metalwork (including a latch lifter), and greensand quernstones.[299] Excavators note that the location of the work "seemed to have been positioned towards the edge of the main focus of settlement activity, in an area possibly predominantly used for burial."[300]

[295] RSRB database, "Pains Wessex Factory".
[296] Musty (1957), 173–175.
[297] Musty (1957), 174.
[298] Musty (1957), 173–174.
[299] Lovell *et al.* (1999), 36.
[300] Lovell, et al. (1999), 38.

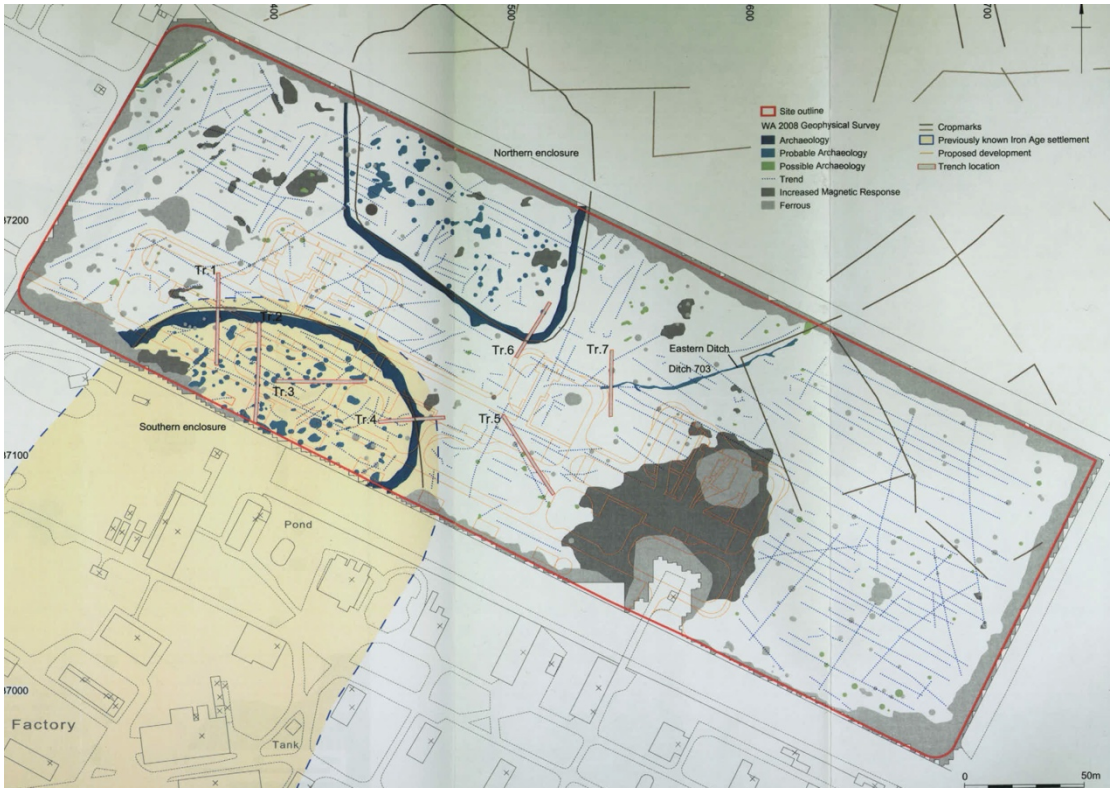


Figure 30: Site plan from excavations at High Post, Salisbury. Trenches are indicated in pink and are difficult to see (RSRB Database).

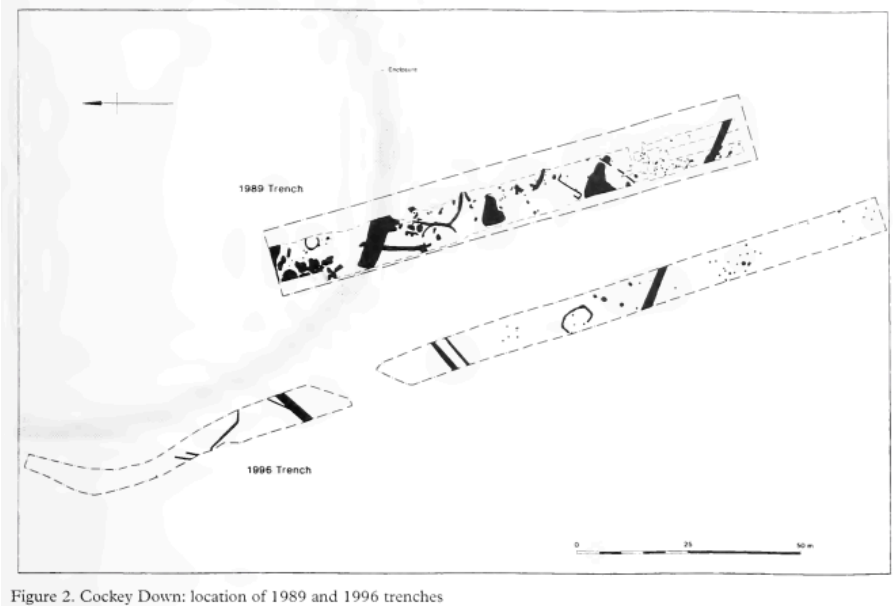


Figure 2. Cockey Down: location of 1989 and 1996 trenches

Figure 31: Plan of Cockey Down excavations in Case Study 1 (Lovell 1999, 35).

Suddern Farm, categorised as a 'settlement' in this study, might also have been 'peripheral' in the M/LR period. Later phases on site were difficult for excavators to understand, with fewer features, many of which were related to agricultural work, including a corndryer, bread ovens, 'working hollows', a trackway, and an inhumation burial.[301] Cunliffe notes that the site *could* represent part of a peasant farm but cautions that:

> "it is probably best seen as the working yard of a larger establishment sited nearby. The discovery of stone roofing slabs, reused in oven bases, suggests that a substantial building, possibly of masonry, remains to be discovered somewhere in the vicinity."[302]

The LR finds from Suddern Farm are similar to those uncovered at Balksbury Camp and include coins,[303] metalwork (i.e., a copper alloy and iron harness, copper alloy bracelets, and agricultural tools),[304] Greensand querns,[305] finewares from Oxford and New Forest, and coarsewares (including jars that some specialists suggest may have functioned as beehives).[306] It was identified as a settlement and appears as a 'small farm' in this study, although it is equally likely that it is an agricultural working area.

As these detailed descriptions show, the excavations of the 'peripheral' sites here were generally not interpreted, by their excavators, as having located a settlement focus, and they are not of sufficient size or location to allow meaningful understanding of site morphology or function. While many are called 'rural settlements' by their excavators and/or in databases, they provide little information for what 'rural settlement' means in this context.

One thing these excavations do illustrate is that goods from outside the local area penetrated deeply into the countryside, even away from settlement foci. Regional (or extra-provincial) imports were reported from 75% of the sites, and either regional imports *or* coins from 86%.

---

[301] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 38–39 and 202. The working hollows could have been minimal foundations for sill-beam structures (38–39).
[302] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 49.
[303] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 115.
[304] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 117–118.
[305] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 123.
[306] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 111.

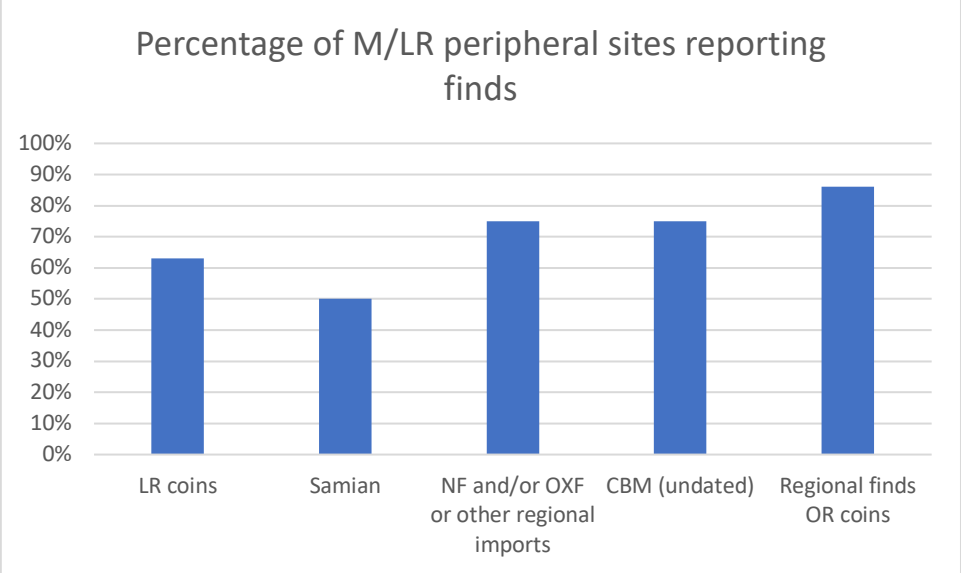


Figure 32: Percentage of 'peripheral' sites (dated to the M/LR period) furnishing finds that evidently come from outside local area.

Phase 4--Mid-Late Roman

While the LIA/ER period saw the transformation of parts of the region's physical and economic landscape, the MR saw major changes in structural morphology: it is at this point that aisled halls and masonry architecture appears on sites across the region.

By the mid-second century, 27% of the LIA/ER-period sites in this study were no longer occupied, and numerous sites had been reorganised, perhaps to formalise tenure arrangements, or perhaps to facilitate intensification of agricultural production. These large landscape changes seem to have slowed during the MR: most of the settlements that were in place by the mid-second century were continuously occupied until near the end of the Roman period.

Major differences in structural morphology and/or finds assemblages were not observed between settlements still occupied in the MR: what differences exist appear to be ones of degree (see Table 11). In the MR, many of the structures in the region were either long rectilinear timber buildings or masonry aisled halls, some of which became part of villa complexes in the later

third or fourth centuries. In this region, aisled halls seem to be associated with large-scale arable production. Aisled buildings are rectangular timber-framed structures built, essentially, as a single large open space, with the roof supported by two rows of posts running the length of the building, with suites of rooms are often built into one end in some instances.[307] In 45% of cases, they were the precursors of villas.[308] Both their origin and function are debated: they have been seen as élite residences *and* (or?) elaborate granaries, built to display wealth to the surrounding community;[309] as spaces for performing "symbolic and communal functions";[310] and as primarily agricultural buildings, possibly for housing workers.[311] Chapter 4 contains a lengthier discussion of aisled buildings. In this region, aisled halls are associated with large-scale production facilities: 83% of sites with aisled halls also contained ovens, corndryers (discussed below), or other productive facilities.

By the later MR, masonry structures had been built on 7 sites. Masonry aisled halls were constructed on 3 of these (Balksbury Camp, Houghton Down, and Thruxton), requiring large-scale investment. A masonry structure surrounded by a corridor was built around the same time at Dunkirt Barn.

Table 11: Sites identified as 'settlements' in the later second–mid-third centuries in the Danebury case study area.

Site	2nd century morphology	3rd century morphology	Aisled building?	Parching oven/corndryer?

[307] Alexander Smith, et al. (2016), 66–69.
[308] Alexander Smith, et al. (2016), 69.
[309] Perring (2002), 53–55.
[310] Wallace (2018), 231, citing Cunliffe and Poole (2000a); Cunliffe (2013); and J. Taylor (2011).
[311] I. Richmond (1969).

Ashley	Possible MR rectilinear structure (?) - line of post holes within enclosure.	Postholes overlain by 3rd- or 4th- c. oven and contemporary masonry wall (?)	N/a	Ovens
Balksbury Camp	Possible hiatus?	Masonry aisled building	Aisled hall	Corndryer
Dunkirt Barn	Timber wattle-and-daub building (painted plaster), burns down in 2nd c.	Masonry 'Building I' constructed, and later 3rd-c. strip-building and aisled hall.	Aisled hall	Corndryer (?) F1585
Fullerton	Peripheral site	Water mills and early villa established late-3rd century.	Hall-house	Corndryers and milling
Grateley South	Two timber structures (?), corndryer 1 (double dryer)	Aisled hall, timber strip house, more crop processing facilities	Aisled hall	Multiple corndrying installations
Houghton Down	Timber buildings, corndryers, ovens	Masonry aisled hall (early) and strip house (late), along with paddocks and continued use of crop processing facilities	Aisled hall	Corndryers
Sparsholt Roman Villa	Aisled Hall I possible corndryer[312]	Aisled hall II + corridor villa possible corndryer	Aisled hall	Corndryer(?)
Suddern Farm	Timber building (?) constructed late 1st or early 2nd century	Ovens suggest site used for crop-processing?	n/a	Ovens and corndryer
Thruxton	Masonry aisled hall, late-2nd or early-3rd c., with ovens on one side	Aisled hall, late 2nd or early 3rd c., with ovens on one side	Aisled hall	Corndryer
Woolbury	4-posters and lines of postholes - farm with possible timber structure?	4-posters and lines of postholes - farm with possible timber structure?	n/a	n/a

Aisled Building I (the earliest extant example) was constructed at Sparsholt in the mid- to late-second century (Figure 33).[313] The structure may have been roughly 30×12 m^2, with an outer face of flints and an inner face of chalk blocks.[314] Sometime after construction, a small bath complex with painted plaster walls was inserted into one end.[315]

[312] Dicks (2011), 184.
[313] Johnston, Dicks, and Allen (2014: 20-4).
[314] Johnston, Dicks, and Allen (2014: 20).
[315] Johnston, Dicks, and Allen (2014: 22).

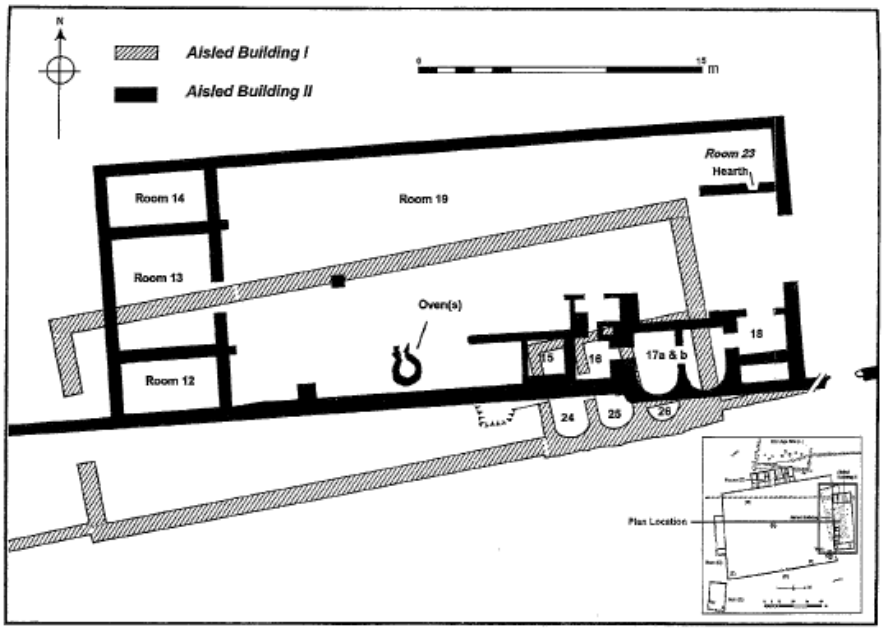


Fig 13 Site plan of the Aisled Buildings (drawn by DEJ, modified by JD)

Figure 33: Aisled Buildings I and II at Sparsholt Roman Villa in Case Study 1 (Johnston et al. 2014, 21).

The aisled halls at Thruxton,[316] Houghton Down, Grateley South, and Balksbury Camp were not sumptuously decorated, and all five seem to have combined domestic with industrial functions. At 19.5×12.6 m^2, the aisled hall at Thruxton consisted of two rows of four timber piers, with flint and mortar walls, chalk floors and an apparent foundation deposit (a horse's skull buried in the W doorway).[317] A corndryer and 13 (non-contemporary) ovens were found in the NW end of the hall.[318] The hall at Houghton Down measured 27.2×13.6 m^2 and was constructed of 2 rows of 6 timber piers, with masonry or timber sidewalls."[319] The structure had a limestone tile roof and rammed chalk floors, with pits and an oven at one end. Two infants were buried within.[320] While the aisled building was the only contemporary structure this early at Thruxton, a strip building constructed the hall at Houghton Down (also containing infant

316 Construction date unclear. Cunliffe and Poole suggest the 2nd or early 3rd century (Cunliffe and Poole (2008f), 107).
317 Cunliffe and Poole (2008f), 35.
318 Cunliffe and Poole (2008f)43.
319 Cunliffe and Poole (2008a), 27.
320 Cunliffe and Poole (2008a), 98.

burials and ovens) may have been contemporary.[321] At Balksbury Camp, a heavily truncated flint and mortar building with painted plaster walls, within which were several possibly-contemporary ovens, was constructed in the mid-third century.[322]

While not an 'aisled hall', a masonry central-hall house was constructed at Dunkirt Barn in the early third century similarly lacked obvious architectural elaboration. The structure initially consisted of a single room with a rammed-chalk floor, surrounded on three sides by a corridor that was later subdivided into two rooms. As we shall see, further aisled halls were constructed in the region in the following phase.

[321] Cunliffe and Poole (2008a), 44–46.
[322] Wainwright (1969), 24–26.

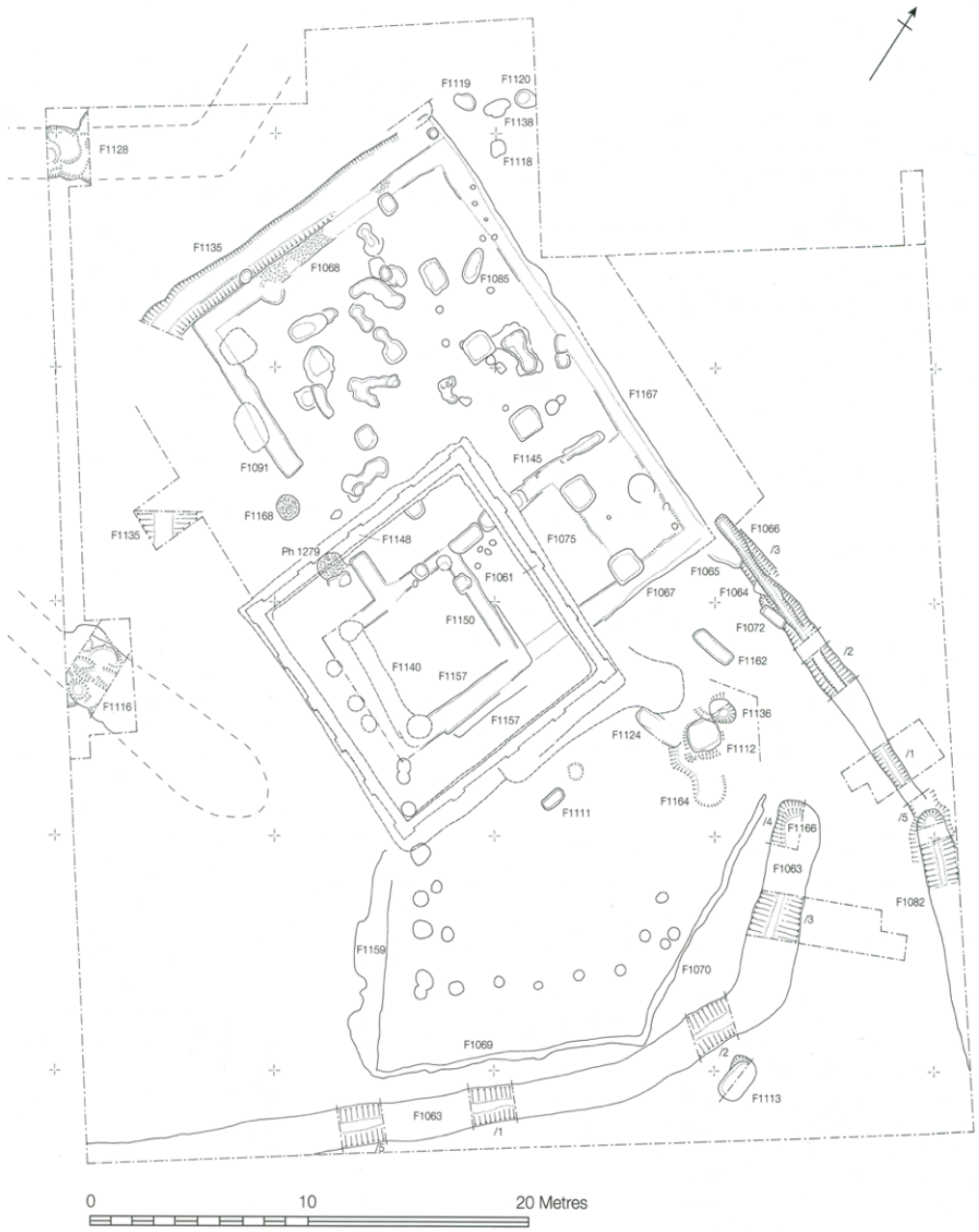


Figure 34: Top plan of all features at Thruxton in Case Study 1 (RSRB Database).

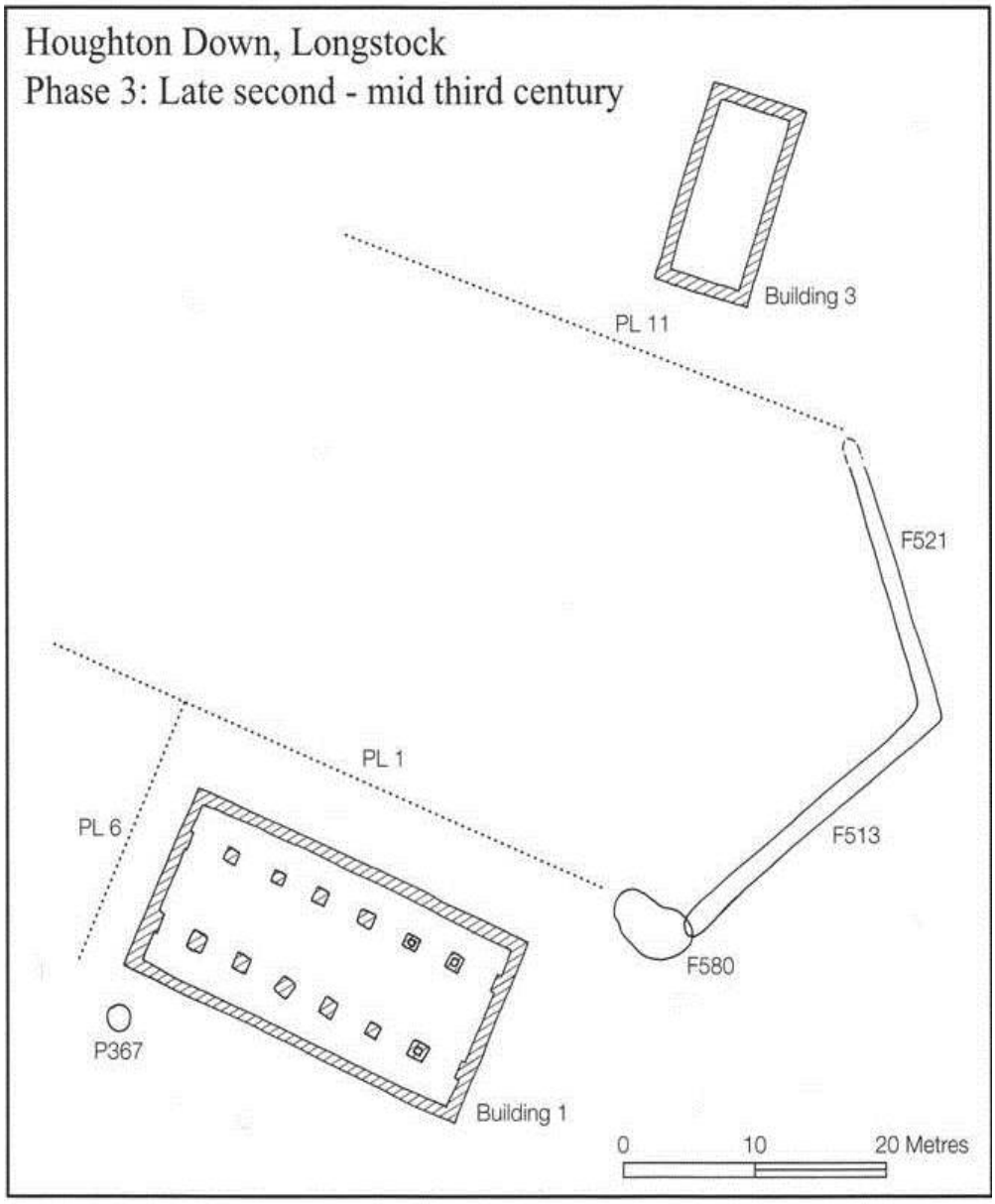


Figure 35: Plan of MR features at Houghton Down, Longstock, in Case Study 1 (RSRB Database).

Phase 5—Late Roman

In the LR period, several sites developed elaborate masonry architecture, and most settlements were engaged in large-scale agricultural processing. Structural morphology from Woolbury and Ashley was limited. A LR masonry structure

at Ashley consisted of the corner of a wall and might have been a windbreak around a corndryer. At Woolbury, the remains of a possible LR timber building were the only structural features uncovered. The remainder of the rural settlements produced evidence for LR masonry structures, some of which remained fairly simple while others, such as Fullerton and Dunkirt Barn, were elaborated significantly.

In the mid- to late third century, large aisled halls and masonry buildings were standing on 6–7 sites. While not identical, these structures tended to contain both domestic and industrial space (including ovens) and boasted few signs of architectural elaboration aside from painted plaster walls. By the early fourth century, 4 had become 'villas' (Sparsholt, Dunkirt Barn, Grateley South, and Fullerton), with large agricultural buildings and domestic dwellings arranged around a courtyard.[323] Three further sites (Houghton Down, Thruxton, and Balksbury Camp) had masonry architecture and were expanded and elaborated in the late third and fourth century, albeit on a somewhat more 'modest' scale.[324]

The old hall at Sparsholt was elaborated in the later third century (Figure 36), and then, in what was apparently a single phase of construction, a larger (27×14 m^2) aisled hall, a villa building, a barn and a walled courtyard were built. Shortly thereafter, a hall/barn was constructed just outside the courtyard walls. Like its predecessor, the hall contained a bathing suite, a large hearth, and two ovens. Outside the courtyard walls, another large (18×12 m^2) rectangular 'hall' was constructed in the mid-third century. The structure was badly damaged, but the few surviving features suggest that this building was used domestically: it contained a hearth, a small oven, and a pit containing the bones of five neonates (interpreted as a foundation deposit).

A contemporary courtyard house was also built, which consisted of a row of seven rooms (some unfinished). In the fourth century, mosaics were

[323] Johnston, Dicks, and Allen (2014); Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), Cunliffe and Poole (2008g); Cunliffe and Poole (2008c).
[324] Cunliffe and Poole (2008a); Cunliffe and Poole (2008f) (Thruxton); Wainwright (1969).

added to some rooms, and the walls were painted in polychrome.[325] The 'barn' (22×6 m^2), had unpainted flint walls, a limestone tile roof and beaten chalk floors. Its simplicity, combined with the paucity of finds from the building, led excavators to suggest it may have been used as a space to store agricultural equipment, though occupation debris was found within a room on one end suggests that it may also have been used domestically.[326]

[325] Johnston, Dicks, and Allen (2014), 35.
[326] Johnston, Dicks, and Allen (2014), 63.

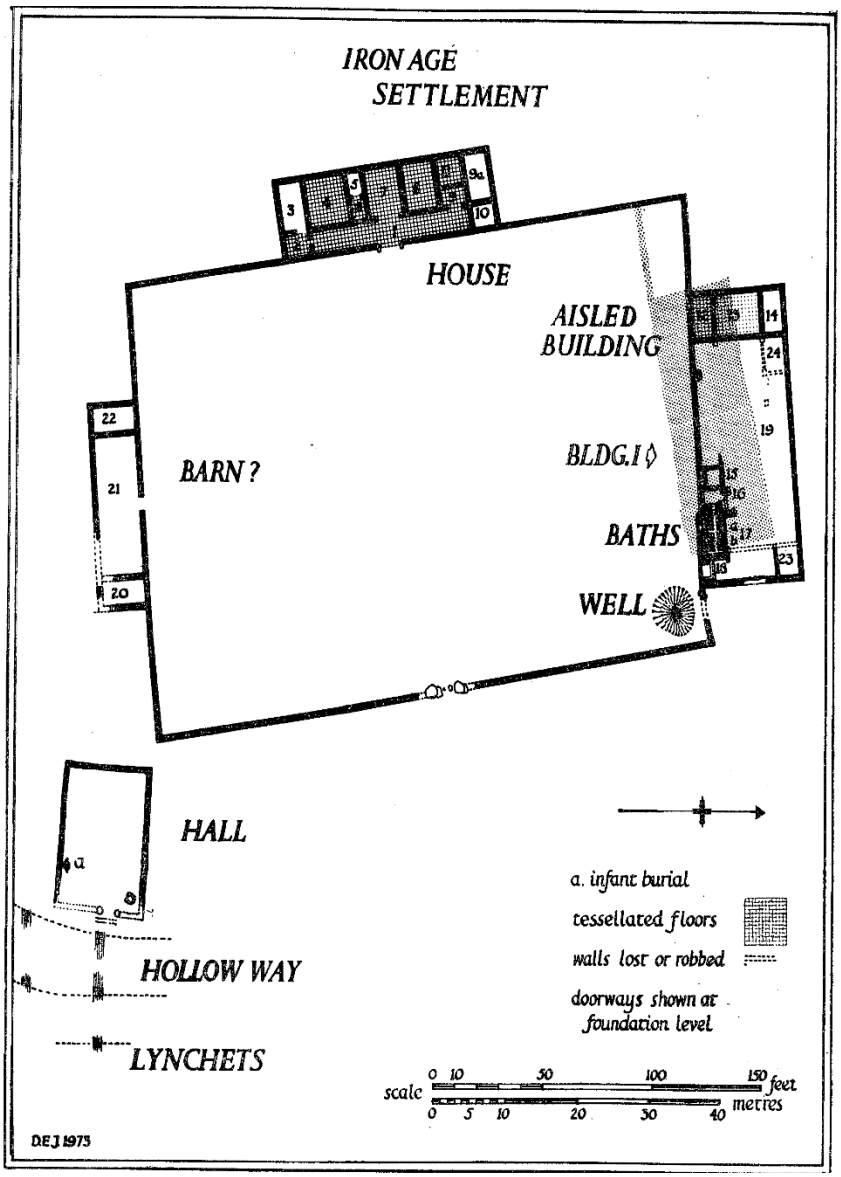


Figure 36: Plan of Sparsholt Roman Villa in Case Study 1 (RSRB Database).

The construction of the Sparsholt complex seems to have occurred earlier than developments on other farmsteads. At Dunkirt Barn, the modest complex was enlarged and elaborated in the late-third century and then enlarged again in the late fourth century.[327] The initial structure was a 'modest' strip-building, with 6–7 rooms.[328] Also dating to this phase was a T-shaped corndryer

[327] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), 212.
[328] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), 211.

(F1585).[329] A sample of charred plant remains from the corndryer contained much spelt (and some barley), 21% and 15% of which had germinated, respectively, suggesting "that the oven was being used to dry malted spelt wheat."[330]

In the next phase, a bath suite was added to the 'villa' building, an aisled hall and 'garden complex' were built.[331] The hall had a hypocausted room and "elaborate wall paintings".[332] Several (outdoor) figure-of-eight shaped ovens were associated with this phase, but no other crop-processing features were identified (though unexcavated structures revealed in GPR survey may have contained crop-processing facilities).[333]

This complex was rebuilt in the later fourth century. A winged corridor villa replaced the earlier building, and the aisled hall was replaced by a larger one (46.4×15.9 m^2). The later villa may have been multi-storeyed, "with the projecting wings treated as towers of three storeys or more".[334] This was decorated with mosaics and painted plaster walls. The new aisled hall now contained a suite of nine rooms on one end, some of which had mosaic floors, and a bath suite. On the opposite side of the hall, adjacent to the bath suite, a large corndryer was constructed. Like the MR one, this LR corndryer (F1661) contained wheat and barley, 23% and 36% of which had germinated, respectively.[335] The CPR analyst suggested that in addition to growing spelt and 6-rowed barley, the inhabitants of Dunkirt Barn were also growing opium poppy.[336]

The Fullerton complex was not constructed until the later third century, and the early settlement involved large-scale investment in productive equipment. The first evidence of occupation was a late-third-century hall house

[329] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), 72.
[330] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), 203.
[331] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), 73.
[332] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), 211.
[333] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), 211.
[334] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), 45.
[335] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), 203.
[336] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), 205. No brewing facilities were identified on site, but one wonders if the two products were being combined intentionally.

and water mill, constructed alongside a canal.[337] The house was initially simple in plan and decoration, consisting of a central open area with rooms on either end, seen by Cunliffe as "transitional between the open aisled hall type and strip-houses…"[338] The plastered and painted central area may have had a beaten earth floor, while the suites of rooms were floored with chalk and gravel. The hall contained a series of ovens, a corndryer, and a fireplace, built after the construction of the later villa (at which point the hall may not have been used domestically).[339] In the mid-fourth century, the canal was enlarged and the water mill rebuilt upstream, and a winged-corridor villa was built near the canal edge.[340] Occupation continued into the early fifth century, when a new hearth and corndryer were built within the villa, at a time when the inhabitants were using chaff-tempered (Saxon-style) pottery.[341] Samples from both corndryers furnished processing waste, mainly of spelt wheat, some of which was germinated and may reflect small-scale malting.[342]

At Grateley South, masonry buildings were constructed (replacing the earlier E/MR timber structures?) in the later third century. The M/LR period compound consisted of an aisled hall (possibly constructed first), two large barns, and a corridor building arranged around a (walled) courtyard.[343] While the structures were extremely large, the architectural remains and finds were less lavish than those from Sparsholt, Dunkirt Barn and Fullerton. The badly truncated aisled hall (33.5×14.8 m^2) was timber framed and contained occupation debris, a large pit[344] and 20 ovens (not contemporary).[345] The corridor building contained a bath complex, one mosaic floor and red and white plastered and painted walls.[346]

337 Cunliffe and Poole (2008c) (Fullerton), 165–166.
338 Cunliffe and Poole (2008c) (Fullerton), 165.
339 Cunliffe and Poole (2008c) (Fullerton), 55–72.
340 Cunliffe and Poole (2008c) (Fullerton), 166.
341 Cunliffe and Poole (2008c) (Fullerton), 166–167.
342 Cunliffe and Poole (2008c) (Fullerton), 162.
343 Cunliffe and Poole (2008g) (Grateley South), 176.
344 Cunliffe and Poole (2008g) (Grateley South), 51.
345 Cunliffe and Poole (2008g) (Grateley South), 44–57.
346 Cunliffe and Poole (2008g), 57–62.

This final phase at Grateley has been much studied, because two sets of double T-shaped corndryers were found in the barn buildings, along with ovens and hearths.[347] These are identical in plan to the E/MR or MR corndryer. Samples from within them indicate that, within both buildings, one side of the double dryer contained far more sprouted grain than the other, suggesting that (perhaps) one side of each was regularly used in the malting process.[348]

At Houghton Down, a large masonry hall and a strip house were constructed in the third century.[349] A second strip house (with plastered and painted rooms, a stone roof, and trampled earth floors) was built in the later third or fourth century, and a bath suite was inserted into one end of the hall.[350] Ovens, hearths, post holes and an infant burial were dug into the floor in a room in the strip house which was interpreted as "the main focus of activity in the building throughout its life."[351] Samples from the corndryer revealed that it was being used for crop processing.[352]

The aisled hall at Thruxton may have been roughly contemporary with that at Houghton Down.[353] As on the other sites, in its third century phase had simple chalk floors and painted plaster walls. The hall was originally undivided, but in the later fourth century, one end was subdivided into three rooms,[354] and a large corndryer (which was not sampled) was constructed in the main hall. One of the subdivided rooms was converted into a smithy. Shortly after this, the hall went out of domestic use and may have been turned into a shrine or the seat of an ancestor cult.[355] The open hall was abandoned, but the former smithy was renovated, with a door added to allow access from outside the building, and an inscribed mosaic floor (the Orpheus Mosaic) laid down within the room.[356]

---

[347] Cunliffe and Poole (2008g), 177. Lodwick (2020); Martyn Allen, et al. (2017), 142–177; van der Veen (2016); J. Taylor (2011); Cunliffe (2009).
[348] Cunliffe and Poole (2008g), 169–170.
[349] Cunliffe and Poole (2008a), 116.
[350] Cunliffe and Poole (2008a), 116.
[351] Cunliffe and Poole (2008a), 40.
[352] Cunliffe and Poole (2008a), 112.
[353] Cunliffe and Poole (2008f), 107–108.
[354] Cunliffe and Poole (2008f), 108.
[355] Cunliffe and Poole (2008f), 38.
[356] Cunliffe and Poole (2008f), 109.

Although reported in less detail than the DERP sites, the farmstead at Balksbury Camp followed a similar trajectory as at Houghton Down: the badly truncated earlier flint and mortar building was rebuilt in the early to mid-fourth century. This new structure consisted of a long open rectangular room with a partition on one end and a rammed chalk floor, painted plaster walls and a Purbeck limestone roof. It contained several ovens and had a suite of rooms at one end. Outside, a large corndryer, working hollows, a pit and four graves were associated with this phase. Here, as at Houghton Down, the corndryer appeared to have been used to harden grain prior to milling, and there was no evidence for malting.[357]

M/LR corndryers ovens were also found at Suddern Farm (M/LR),[358] Fir Hill (LR),[359] Cockey Down (LR),[360] and East Anton, where an evaluation uncovered 12 M/LR corndryers.[361] A keyhole-shaped oven uncovered at Ashley might also have been used for grain parching.[362] While crop-processing facilities were found on all site types (Table 12), evidence for malting came only from villas.[363] Given that sampling of corndryers was either not done, or the results not discussed, on *half* of the non-villa sites, it is difficult to say whether or not this finding is robust. Lodwick suggests that corndryers can be seen as evidence for both large-scale production and for integration of non-villa sites into wider surplus markets in Roman Britain.[364]

Table 12: Grain-processing installations dating to the M/LR period in the Danebury Environs region.

Site	Site type	Installation	Use
Sparsholt Villa	Villa	Hypocausted room said to be used for grain-drying	Not sampled
Dunkirt Barn	Villa	Corndryers	Malting (and parching/drying?)
Fullerton	Villa	Corndryers	Malting (and parching/drying?)

[357] Wainwright, Davies, and Allen (1995), 90–92.
[358] Cunliffe and Poole (2000c), 58–60.
[359] L. Brown (2009).
[360] Trott (1991); Lovell, et al. (1999), 38.
[361] Firth (2011), 13.
[362] Neal (1980), 133.
[363] Martyn Allen, et al. (2017), 65.
[364] Lodwick (2020), 65.

Grateley South	Villa/Farm	Double corndryers	Malting (and parching/drying?)
Houghton Down	Farm	Corndryer	Parching/drying
Balksbury Camp	Farm	Corndryer	Parching/drying
Thruxton	Farm	Corndryer	Not sampled
Suddern Farm	Peripheral (?)	Corndryer	Not discussed in report
Fir Hill	Peripheral (?)	Corndryer	Small sample inconclusive
Cockey Down	Peripheral (?)	Corndryer	Not sampled (?)
East Anton	Vicus (?)	Corndryers	Parching/drying?
Ashley	Farm or peripheral	Keyhole-shaped oven	Not sampled

Finds Assemblages—M/LR

The ubiquity of LR coins and regional imports on M/LR sites across southern Britain indicates that rural settlements may have been connected with wider markets across the board, particularly in the mid- to later Roman period. This was the case in the present study region (Figure 37). In the MR, all settlements with the exception of that at Ashley reported the presence of Central Gaulish Samian (an object more likely than regional imports to be recorded in older or briefer reports. All sites furnished jewellery and metal tools, though these were usually not dated and frequently came from metal detectors (Figure 38). Most (89%) produced querns from outside the region, some imported from the Eifel. *Amphorae* (primarily Dr. 20) were rarer, as were materials used in 'economic' activities (weights, locks/keys, *styli*, or seals and/or signet rings), found on 56% of settlements. It appears that most settlements had access to a 'core' assemblage consisting of regionally produced pottery, metal tools, jewellery, and (in most cases) tablewares, coins, and querns sourced from between 30 and 100 miles away. A smaller proportion of sites had access to other categories of finds like 'economic' objects, toilet implements, and figurines—suggesting that these objects might be seen as 'luxuries' in rural contexts.

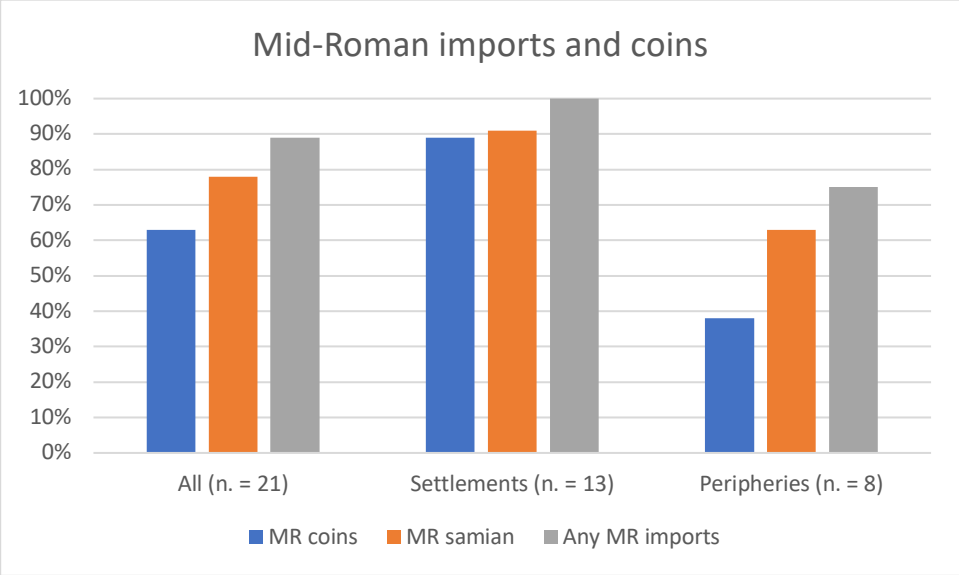


Figure 37: Mid-Roman Case Study 1 sites furnishing MR imports or coins, by broad site category.

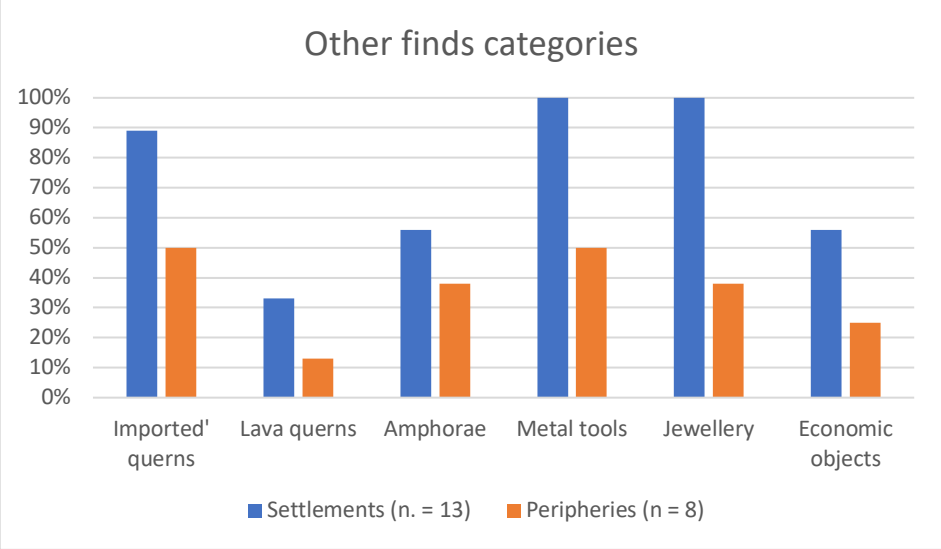


Figure 38: Presence or absence of other finds types on rural sites in Case Study 1. Note that 'economic' materials included writing equipment, intaglio/signet rings, seals, weights, and locks/keys.

In the LR period, once again, all settlements and most peripheral sites had access to coins, and all of those with detailed pottery reports produced coarse or fine wares from outside the region (Figure 39).

Based on its finds assemblage, Dunkirt Barn was at the 'top' of the regional settlement hierarchy from the E/MR period on. An MR glass intaglio ring, casket ring-keys, numerous bracelets, an iron candlestick, padlock keys, spoons, more than 1500 iron nails, steelyard weights, worked bone (both E/MR and LR), a possible shale table leg, gaming pieces, ceramic lamps, and possible *lapis lacedaemonius* (or green marble from a British source) were among the more unusual finds from the site.[365] A similar assemblage came from Fullerton (where column fragments were found) and Sparsholt.[366] Fewer coins and less jewellery overall were reported from Grateley, though finds 'typical' of aisled halls (see Chapter 4), including lighting and writing equipment, locks or keys, and weights *were* reported.[367] Assemblages from Balksbury Camp, Houghton Down, and Thruxton were smaller, less varied, and were predominantly limited to the 'core' products.

Lower levels of finds were reported from Suddern Farm, Ashley, and Woolbury. The M/LR period function of all three was unclear to excavators. Samian was not reported from either Woolbury or Ashley, and MR coins were not reported from Woolbury. All three 'low' status sites *did* produce evidence for regional trade, as well as metal tools (not dated), and jewellery.

[365] Cunliffe and Poole (2008b), 144–179.
[366] Cunliffe and Poole (2008c), 110–140; Johnston, Dicks, and Allen (2014)
[367] Cunliffe and Poole (2008g) 121–141.

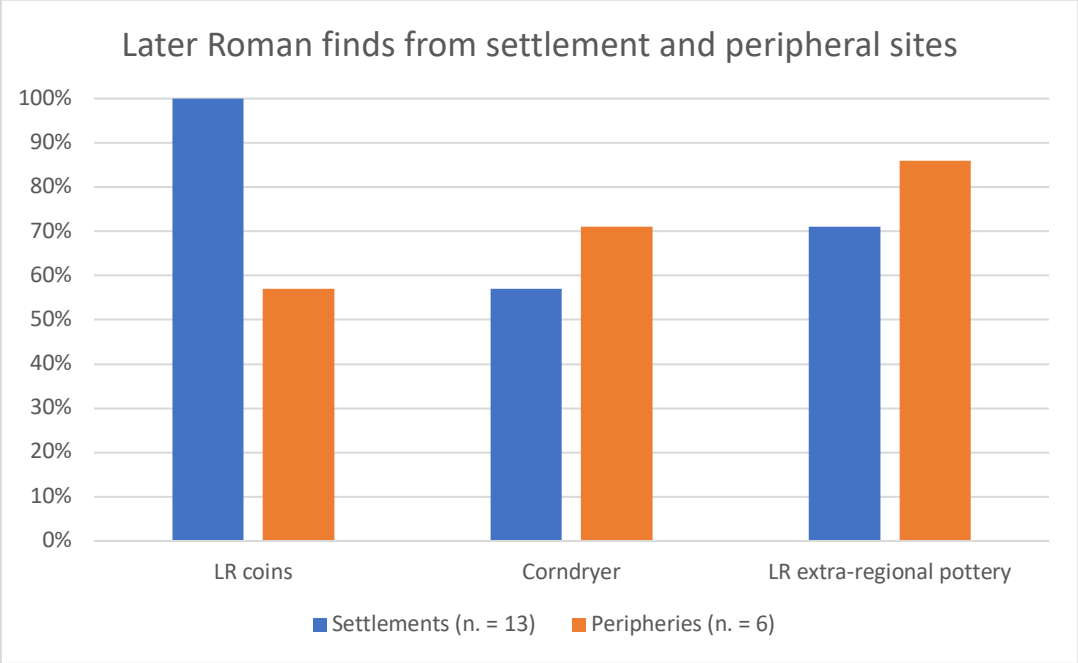


Figure 39: Percentage of LR Case Study 1 sites reporting presence of various categories of find.

CONCLUSION

The data presented above suggest several conclusions about economic life and rural economic integration in the study area. First, the villa landscape of the LR period is based on a pattern of tenure and exploitation that began in the E/MR period. Direct continuity of occupation was found on some DERP sites, although this evidence was very slim in some cases—i.e., small quantities of LIA/ER finds found in survey or trial trenching. Yet the available data suggest that even as some settlements continued from the Late Iron Age into the ER period, other Late Iron Age sites were abandoned in the E/MR period, at which point new systems of enclosure were laid out across many sites in the region, possibly initiating a rather widespread change in agricultural strategy affecting most sites in the region.[368]

Second, differences in access to (or desire for) wider markets were observed between settlements in all periods in the study area. In a few cases, those

[368] van der Veen (2016).

differences were lasting: Dunkirt Barn and Sparsholt Villa displayed evidence for increased access to material wealth from the E/MR period until the later fourth century, while Ashley had lower access to traded goods throughout.

Third, while site-based teleologies are difficult to escape in the study of the Roman period, no rural settlement began as a villa, and in the E/MR period later 'villa' sites and sites that did not develop into villas were architecturally similar and seem to have been on the same *continuum* of access to material goods.

Fourth, settlements across the region appear to have been engaged in large-scale production *prior* to the development of 'villas' or 'elaborated' aisled halls. This suggests that their later 'wealth' may have been based on agricultural production rather than (at least entirely) on heredity, and that something akin to social mobility may have existed in the countryside.

Fifth, present evidence does not allow us to 'fill' the landscape surrounding the masonry-built settlements with smaller 'peasant' farms. This point requires a bit of explanation. While disagreement remains about the function of aisled halls in general,[369] Cunliffe has argued that, in the Danebury region, the earlier versions of these were intended to house a combination of domestic and industrial activities. He interprets the large open halls as performative spaces in which the hierarchies of the countryside and of patron-client relationships could be enacted:

> "the running of estates would inevitably require formal occasions for the transactions of various forms of business. These might include annual meetings where clients—smallholders dependent on the main estate—congregated to give an account of themselves and to pay their tithes: at such meetings rents would be negotiated and land redistributed and it is not unlikely that the event would be marked by feasting. On other occasions one might envisage the estate workers and their dependents being brought together to celebrate the harvest, and perhaps give thanks to the gods, with a communal autumn feast. It is also possible that the estate owner settled disputes and imposed punishment for misdemeanours committed within his jurisdiction."[370]

[369] See Wallace (2018), 231, for a thorough overview of aisled buildings.
[370] Cunliffe and Poole (2008e)126.

This picture is problematic given the current evidence (though more excavation in the region may confirm it). First, while aisled halls may have been used as gathering spaces on some or all farmsteads, it is unlikely that they were constructed for that purpose on *all* of them. The halls at Houghton Down and Thruxton were full of ovens, pits and other features (seemingly from the start), and, while gatherings could have taken place within them, it seems more likely that they originally were designed to house productive and domestic activities. Much of the interior of the later fourth-century aisled hall at Dunkirt Barn was kept clear of ovens and corndryers (below), and it appears that here there would have been ample space for the sorts of gatherings Cunliffe envisions, as also (perhaps) in the halls at Grateley and Sparsholt.

Second, while Cunliffe's paints a picture of a landscape dominated economically by villa owners but farmed by tenants living in ephemeral settlements (a widespread assumption), evidence for the latter is not currently available in this region. Stray metal detector finds on the open downland "appear to extend over considerable areas but at none is there any surface evidence indicative of masonry buildings",[371] and future excavations in these areas may reveal small farms or ephemeral villages. Cunliffe suggests that there may be unexcavated peasant villages (or farms) in the downland around Suddern Farm and Rowbury Farm, and jumps from there into wondering how these putative villages may relate to the DERP villa estates:

> "Allowing that two types of settlement coexisted—the villa estates and the upland 'villages'—the question of their relationship immediately arises. On present evidence there is little that can be said of this. It could be that the upland 'villages' arose from individual holdings that were economically restrained by the quality of the land but it is equally possible that they were true villages depending upon a productive regime focusing more on pastoral activities better suited to the depleted soils, than on crop growing. How these settlements related to the villa estates is an intriguing question. Were they free peasant communities or bondmen of the wealthy estate owners and did the relationship change over time? The questions are pertinent but it is difficult to see

[371] Cunliffe (2009), 193.

> how they might be answered using only archaeological evidence. A necessary preliminary would be the total excavation of an upland settlement."[372]

Until increased excavation of such putative sites *does* give us these peasant villages, imputing their existence without evidence will not generate robust economic or social models of regional development—and it represents a radical departure from the evidence to build our economic and social models around them. Thus, until more evidence is forthcoming, we must read our current dataset as, at least potentially, reflecting the reality.

We might begin by reading not only our potential 'low-status' farms,[373] but also some sites that began with highly ephemeral architecture and only developed masonry structures (but not villa houses) in the M/LR period, as middle-range or lower-status sites.[374] The expectation that throughout the Roman period the 'base' (i.e., non-élite) of the rural population must have 'looked' a certain way—living in roundhouses or extremely ephemeral huts—may be accurate, but it is possible that, particularly in the later part of the Roman period, a larger part of the population built stone-footed buildings—evidence for wetter conditions would certainly have made masonry footings an efficient choice in that period. Given the clear differences in wealth *between* even the settlements which boasted masonry architecture, it is possible that Cunliffe's 'tenants' (or smallholders) could have inhabited the smaller and/or less-elaborated masonry-built farms. Moreover, the masonry farm complexes offer up potential evidence of hierarchical divisions within the estates themselves, with élite spaces and workaday ones contained within and around the same building or enclosure, and these could well have housed hired labourers or slaves—or extended families of dependents, as suggested by Applebaum.[375] While, as discussed in the Introduction, many of the details of social organization in Iron Age Britain remain unknown, Karl uses linguistic analysis and analogy with Medieval Welsh and Irish populations to posit a large

[372] Cunliffe (2009), 193.
[373] i.e., Ashley, Suddern Farm, and Woolbury.
[374] Balksbury Camp, Houghton Down, and Thruxton, for instance.
[375] Applebaum (1972), 46–47 and 140–187.

underclass of dependent tenants in Iron Age Celtic societies, some of whom may have been "*tegesa-kos, 'member[s] of the household, belonging to the house'." [376] Could these people have been housed in the many ancillary buildings and wings in some of the larger farms/*villae* in our case study area?

Cunliffe suggests that the DERP villas were the result of entrepreneurial agricultural practices—where investments in production 'paid off' and some sites became more prosperous over time.[377] Such economic activity evidently 'paid off' on non-villa sites, as well—perhaps reflected in the increase of masonry-footed structures in the M/LR period in the region, as well as in the apparent widespread access to marketed goods in the same period (though these goods were also evidently more readily 'accessible' up and down the spectrum in the M/LR period). This is a familiar pattern in the Roman provinces, as in Baetica, where numerous later villa sites started out as small and evidently low-status farms.[378] Certainly, our evidence suggests that there was investment in production across settlement types, and there is a correlation between increased 'investment' and later structural elaboration.

The Danebury Environs case study suggests that small(er) farms not only engaged in market-driven (or taxation driven) production, but may have prospered from it (to a lesser degree than the sites which later became villas, to be sure). Rural living standards may have been higher than is generally assumed, particularly from the E/MR period forward, and the rural population may have enjoyed some degree of 'social mobility'—which is something Wallace-Hadrill's research has forced us to accept for urban populations, but which we are far more hesitant to accept for rural ones.[379]

As discussed at the start of this chapter, a limitation of the Danebury Environs case study area is that it lacks major open-area excavations and has been excavated less intensively than some other regions. Another is that it *is* a

[376] Karl (2006), 27–30.
[377] Fulford (1989), 187, cautions against viewing evidence for MR villa expansion as a proxy for economic intensification and advocates for looking not only at villa buildings themselves, seeking to relate them to "changes in farm buildings and the wider estate," for which he (in 1989) saw no evidence.
[378] Haley (2003), 23–24.
[379] Wallace-Hadrill (1994), 183.

villa landscape, which may (and probably does) bias the record in favour of larger sites. We move next to the hinterland of the Roman town of Staines, where one of the largest open area projects in British History—the Heathrow Terminal 5 excavations—uncovered a landscape without a single villa establishment throughout the whole of the Roman period. Here we shall see a rural landscape dominated by small, timber-built farms, with many fewer signs of architectural 'elaboration' than in the Danebury study. We shall also see that these farms were apparently engaged in large-scale production of a different kind than in Hampshire, and that the region's inhabitants appear to have 'benefitted' from this production (though certainly to a lesser degree than in the present study), at least as reflected by the material evidence for economic integration on those sites.

Chapter 3: Heathrow Terminal 5

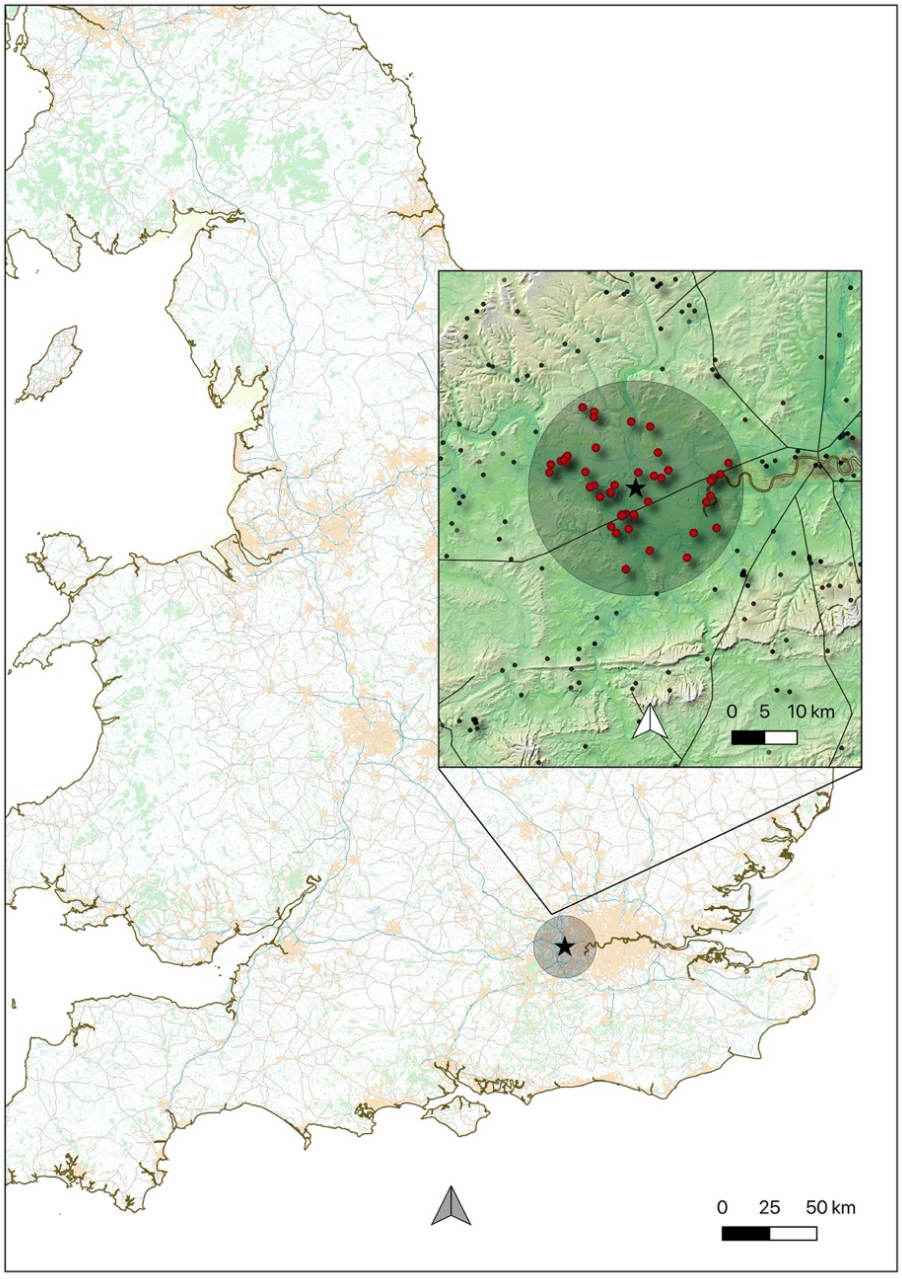


Figure 40: Heathrow Terminal 5 (Case Study 2) case study area.

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on 59 sites in Middle Thames Valley (Figure 40) centring around a previous investigation of national importance: the large open-area excavations at Heathrow Terminal 5. Covering c. 753,800 m² (75.38 ha), the Heathrow excavations were, at the time, the largest open-area excavations ever conducted in the UK. They uncovered a multi-period prehistoric and Roman settlement whose existence was largely unknown before the initial evaluations. Heathrow forms the central node of the study area, which includes all identified sites (n=46) within a 10-mile radius of it (and 15 separate excavations from within and around the Roman small-town Staines-upon-Thames) (Figure 41).

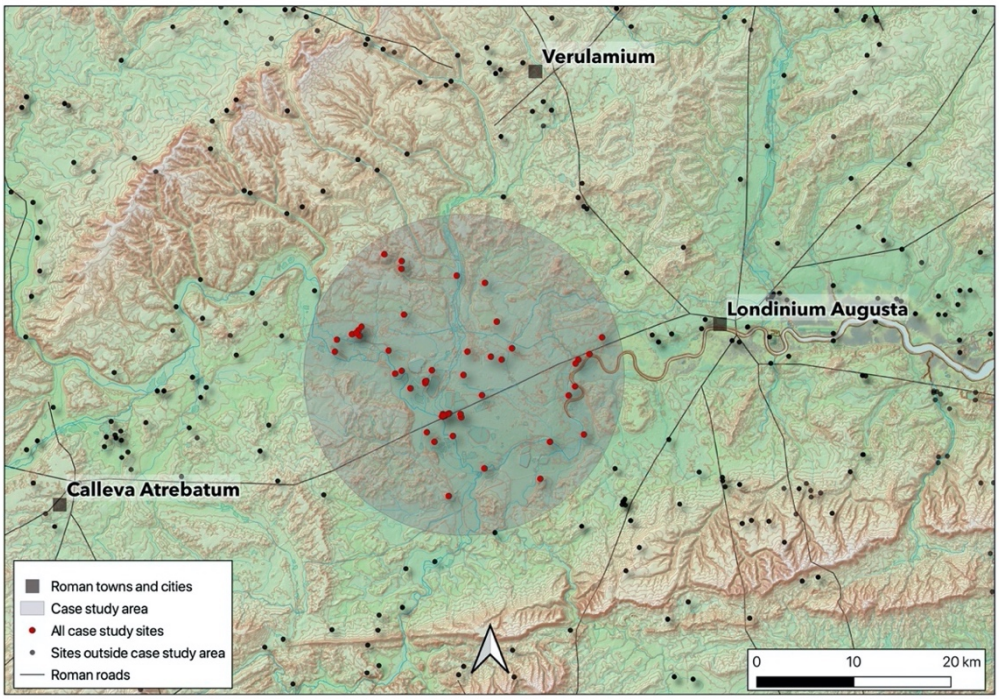


Figure 41: All sites in Case Study 2, mapped together with sites outside study area.

In the previous chapter, we saw how the DEP/DERP excavations provided a wealth of detailed data to work with, but also saw that conclusions about low(er) status settlement were limited by the dearth of detailed excavation in locations without pre-identified masonry architecture. This chapter examines

a non-villa landscape of ephemeral farms, many of which were only discovered during development-led evaluation and excavation.[380]

The wider Heathrow area that had received a considerable amount of attention prior to Framework Archaeology's excavations there. The Perry Oaks sludge disposal excavations began in 1937, and more archaeology was uncovered during the initial construction of Heathrow Airport.[381] Yet, the multiperiod settlement uncovered in the Terminal 5 excavations was largely unknown until the project began.

Several other (smaller) excavations covered large areas and investigated archaeological landscapes that were not well-understood using aerial survey or other more traditional site-identification methods.[382] Excavations prior to construction of a development at Cippenham, Slough, for instance, uncovered a multi-period farmstead and field system in an area where, despite aerial survey, no Late Iron Age or Roman sites had been previously identified.[383]

Thus, commercial excavations on gravel sites and in advance of building have uncovered many previously unknown (or little-known) rural sites in the Middle Thames Valley. In keeping with the commercial nature of regional excavation, its primary publications do not offer the same degree of focussed regional analysis that the DEP/DERP projects do, but the region has been the focus of numerous studies in the past decade, making it one of the most heavily studied region examined in a thesis focussed on well-studied regions. The 2007 and 2009 publications of *The Thames Through Time* provided the first real synthesis of the region's archaeology.[384] A decade later (after an initial draft of this chapter had been written), *The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain Project* (released in a series of three publications in 2016–2018) examined this region in a short case study, the findings of which dovetailed with (and illuminated) my own, and I consult their work here extensively.[385] Most recently, the region

[380] Tim Allen, Hey, and Miles (1997), 121–123.
[381] J. Lewis (2010), 10.
[382] These are: Imperial College Sports Ground (5.5 ha), Cippenham, Slough (3.7 ha), Old Way Lane, Slough (2.08 ha) and Mayfield Farm, Hounslow (1.8 ha).
[383] Ford, Entwistle, and Taylor (2003), 1.
[384] Lambrick, Robinson, and Wachnik (2009); Booth (2007).
[385] Alexander Smith, et al. (2016).

was a case study area in two PhD theses, one focussed on the idea of continuity and change in the Romanisation debate (Ghisleni 2017), the other focussed on the role of small towns in the Roman economy (Dawson 2019).[386] A recent paper (Franconi 2021) focusses on the Thames Basin more generally.[387] Publications of commercial excavations in the region, most notably of Kingsmead Quarry (forthcoming), Imperial College Sports Ground (2015), and Heathrow Terminal 5 (2010) have also sought to synthesise the region's archaeology as a whole. As a result of this sustained academic focus on the archaeology of the Middle Thames Valley, a clearer picture of the region is beginning to emerge, though questions remain. While Smith et al. focussed heavily on regional changes in production (and reinvestment of wealth),[388] and Ghisleni looked closely at some elements of consumption on rural sites, neither focussed specifically on connections between production and consumption in the region—an issue that has become increasingly pressing as evidence mounts that this was a highly productive region in the Roman period.

Research in the Upper Thames Valley has long suggested that landscape features like the 'ladder enclosure', which emerged in the Roman period, are related to the movement and management of livestock.[389] Networks of trackways and droveways, sometimes originating in the Late Iron Age but most frequently beginning in the ER period and increasing in number and complexity in the M/LR period, marked out and 'regulated' the Roman countryside, linked rural producers with larger centres and making room for transhumant patterns of grazing in a landscape that was growing more-heavily circumscribed.[390] Open-area excavations around the Middle Thames Valley have uncovered field systems and 'ladder' and other enclosures that may be related to herd management, probably of cattle. In his synthesis of animal bone from sites in the Staines hinterland, Allen argues that "some sites witnessed the

386 Dawson (2019); Ghisleni (2018); Ghisleni (2017).
387 Franconi (2021).
388 Alexander Smith, et al. (2016), 139 provides a summary of their short case study discussion (130–135).
389 Martyn Allen, et al. (2017), 262.
390 Booth (2011).

establishment of extensive droveway systems, enabling the trafficking of large numbers of livestock across the landscape."[391]

One of the (sometimes unspoken) questions dogging the study of Roman rural settlement all over the empire (but perhaps particularly in Britain) is the extent to which changes in the countryside were imposed by Rome and/or patrician landlords or developed organically in a way that was materially beneficial to native rural communities.[392] The nature of the changes occurring here, the mechanisms of those changes, and the effect of rural transformation on the local population, are all presently up for debate. Booth *et al*. note a distinct second-century hiatus on many sites—associated with flooding, large-scale reorganisation of the landscape, or a combination of factors.[393] Stevens suggests the presence of "large managed estates"[394] around Harlington, and Franconi suggests that widespread flooding may have led landowners to a new focus on pasturage.[395] The extent to which the rural population participated in and/or benefitted (or not) is an open question, and one at the heart of this thesis more generally.

While it may be impossible, at present, to know the answers to many of the questions above, this study aims to look at evidence for consumption in the region, alongside that for production, as a possible source of information on the central question of whether or not the local population benefitted materially from the agricultural changes that occurred in the Roman period. At present, my answer is a cautious and qualified 'yes', though not to the degree that those in Hampshire did.

Geology of the Middle Thames Valley

The present study covers a roughly 500 km² section of the Middle Thames Valley, the geology and topography of which have influenced both ancient

[391] Alexander Smith, et al. (2016), 139. Allen suggests these were marked at Staines. Contra: Dawson (2019), all of Chapter 9 (Staines-upon-Thames).
[392] *Cf.* Bowes (2021), 28–29.
[393] Franconi (2021); Booth (2007), 49–66.
[394] Powell *et al.* (2016), 107.
[395] Franconi (2021).

settlement and modern archaeological investigation in the area. Pleistocene-era movements of the river and its tributaries spread deposited gravels over a wide area in both Upper and Lower Thames Valley and the London Basin.[396] Over millennia, as the river moved, these gravel deposits evolved into wide sand and gravel terraces,[397] in some places up to 3 km wide and 4 m deep.[398] At present, the gravels are covered by a thick (2m) deposit of alluvial clay that formed over the past two millennia, before which the gravels were covered by only a thin layer of soil.[399] At different locations, the underlying gravels come from different sources, and the character and fertility of the Middle Thames soils tend to be acidic, as the underlying gravel comes from the flinty Chilterns.[400]

In addition to having variable soil quality, both the Upper and Middle Thames Valley flooded annually, and the lowest-lying floodplain was an ideal landscape for water meadows.[401] Flooding is reflected in the location of settlements across the region, with "settlement archaeology of all periods"[402] concentrating on higher ground and avoiding lower-lying areas "with alluvial covering".[403] Flooding in the Middle Thames Valley became more dramatic over time, possibly as a result of widespread deforestation and other environmental damage related to the Roman occupation.[404] Mid-Roman flooding, in particular within Staines, caused several hiatuses in occupation.[405] While arable cultivation was possible (and widespread) here, the region's geology may have made large-scale arable cultivation less profitable than livestock management.

396 Lambrick, Robinson, and Wachnik (2009), 20.
397 Booth (2007), 7; Lambrick, Robinson, and Wachnik (2009), 21.
398 Lambrick, Robinson, and Wachnik (2009), 20.
399 Lambrick, Robinson, and Wachnik (2009), 22.
400 Lambrick, Robinson, and Wachnik (2009),, 22.
401 Lambrick and Robinson (1988); Lambrick, Robinson, and Wachnik (2009), 22–29.
402 Booth (2007), 17.
403 Booth (2007), 18.
404 Franconi (2021); Booth (2007), 18.
405 Booth (2007), 19.

DATA OVERVIEW

Site Distribution

Most sites in this study sit atop the gravel terraces on or adjacent to the Thames floodplain (Figure 42). The region is surrounded by low chalk hills which were sparsely occupied in the Roman period.

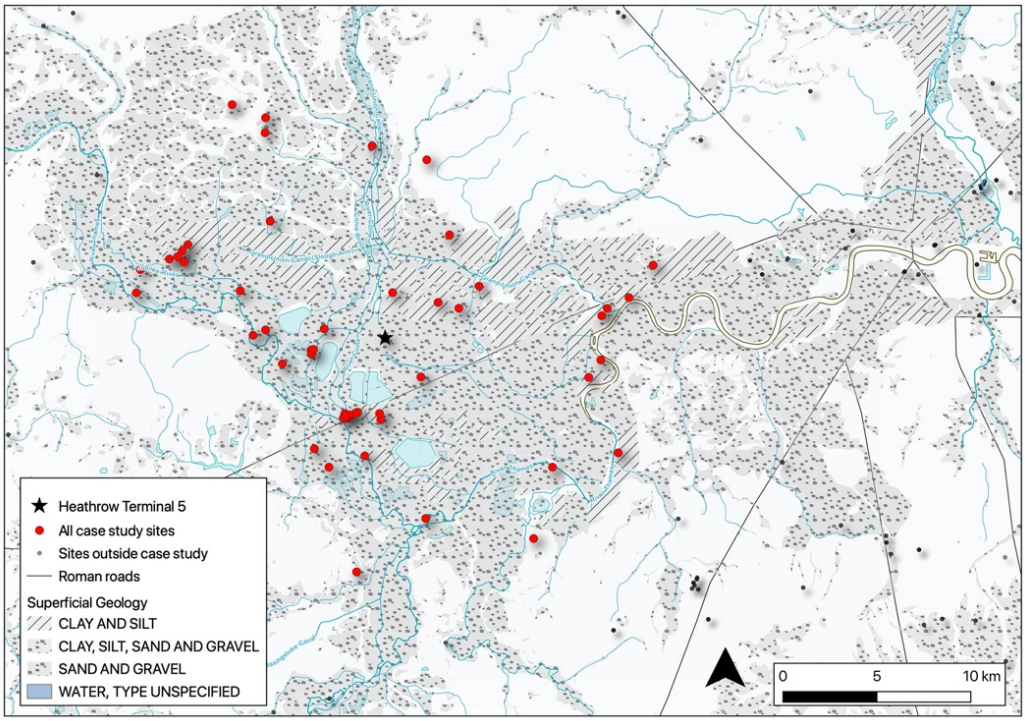


Figure 42: Map illustrating superficial geology within Case Study 2.

There was an expansion of settlement in the second century, with a few new sites moving above the valley floor. Many sites are peripheral—(field systems and 'industrial, i.e., kiln sites).

Site Type and Land Use

The present study examines the results from 59 excavations, consolidated into 48 'sites', with excavations from the *vici* at Staines and Brentford collated into

single 'sites' to ease analysis. Between half and three-quarters of these were occupied at any given time during the LIA/Roman period (Figure 43), from a low of 25 sites in the Late Iron Age to a high of 36 in the second century. Fifth- or sixth-century material was identified on roughly one quarter (12) of the sites.

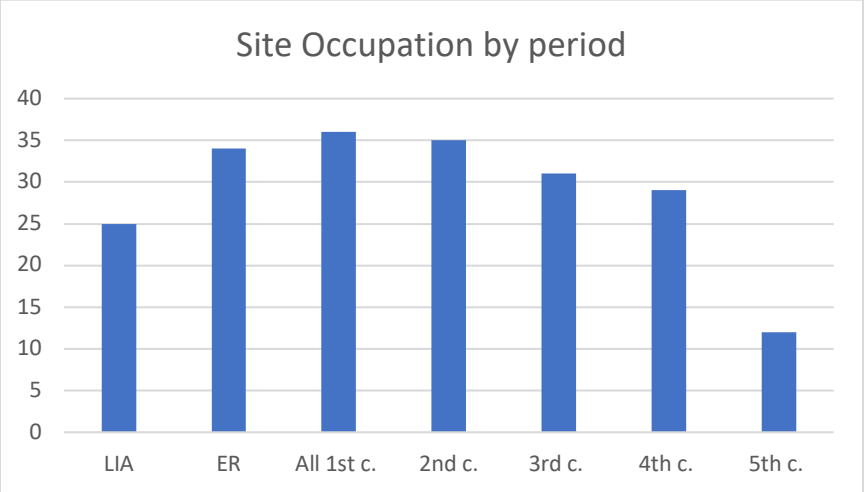


Figure 43: Site occupation over time in Case Study 2.

Two or three (c. 6%) of the sites examined here could be considered 'nucleated'. Most (94%) were small farms or 'peripheral' areas. No Late Iron Age site was nucleated: neither Staines nor Brentford were major centres until the ER period (Figure 44). While non-nucleated sites were subdivided into 'farm' and 'villa' categories in this thesis, no Heathrow T5 region site became a villa at any point in the RP.

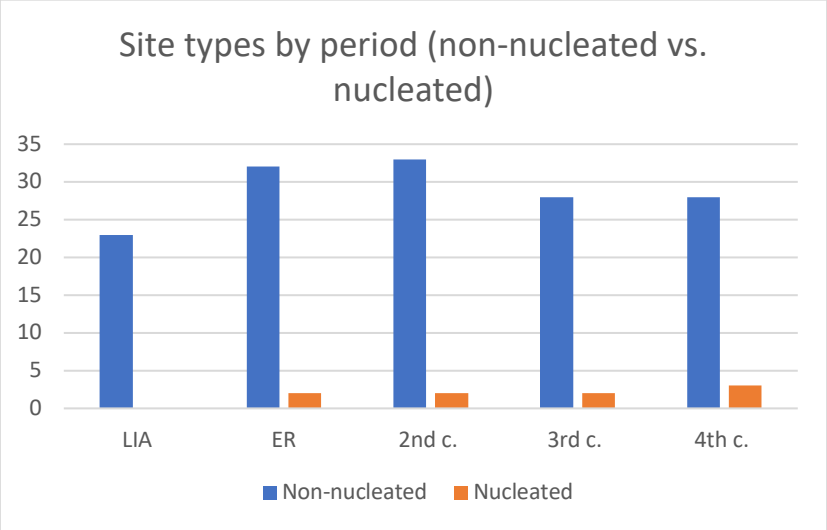


Figure 44: Number of nucleated and non-nucleated sites in Case Study 2, by period.

The number of settlements remained roughly the same throughout the study period (c. 11–12), while the number of peripheral sites increased in the ER period and decreased again in the third and fourth centuries (Figure 45). Because many peripheral sites were thought to have been on the outskirts of as-yet-unexcavated RP settlements, the expansion of peripheral sites probably reflects an expansion in settlement numbers. It may also reflect a change in Roman land-use, demonstrating that industrial, agricultural, and ceremonial (funerary) activities were more likely to take place at a distance from any associated settlement.

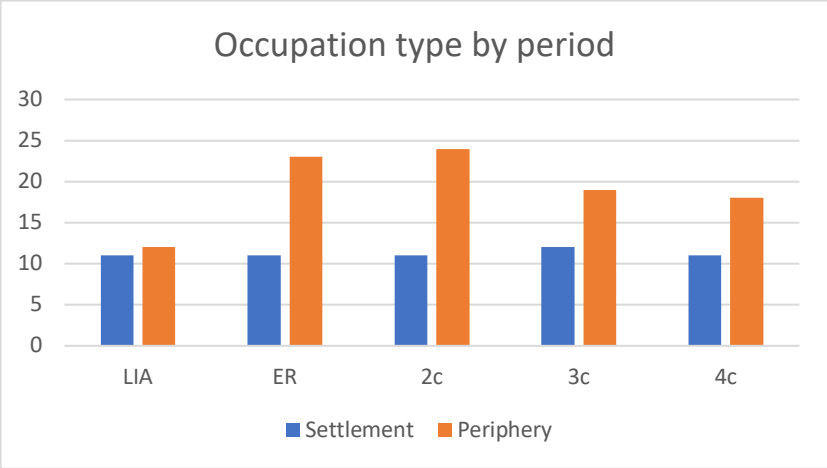


Figure 45: Number of settlement and periphery sites in Case Study 2, by period.

Settlements concentrated primarily on the valley floor. In the second century some occupation moved up into the chalk hills above the valley (Figure 46—Figure 50). Whether this reflects a real difference in how land was used in the Roman period, or is simply the result of differing excavation methods, is unclear. Second-century occupation was nearly 6 m higher, on average, than first-century occupation (Table 13), reflecting newly-occupied high-elevation peripheral sites (i.e., the kilns in the Alderbourne Valley), which may have been located on higher ground to utilise different natural resources, to escape flooding on the valley floor, or for other reasons.

Table 13: Average elevations for sites in Case Study 2.

	Average elevation, all sites	Settlement	Periphery
LIA	21.17	19.09	24.4
ER	20.7	20.45	22.22
2nd c.	26.31	20.45	32.23
3rd c.	21.4	21.9	22.9
4th c.	21.13	22.18	21.29
5th c.	17.33	n/a	n/a

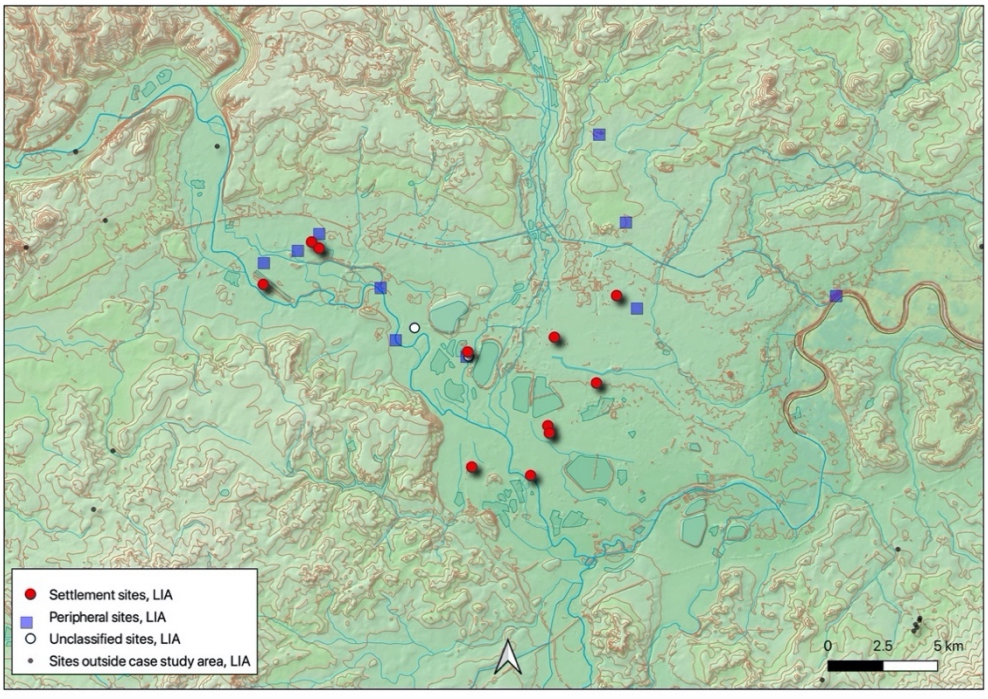


Figure 46: Distribution of Late Iron Age sites in the Heathrow T5 environs.

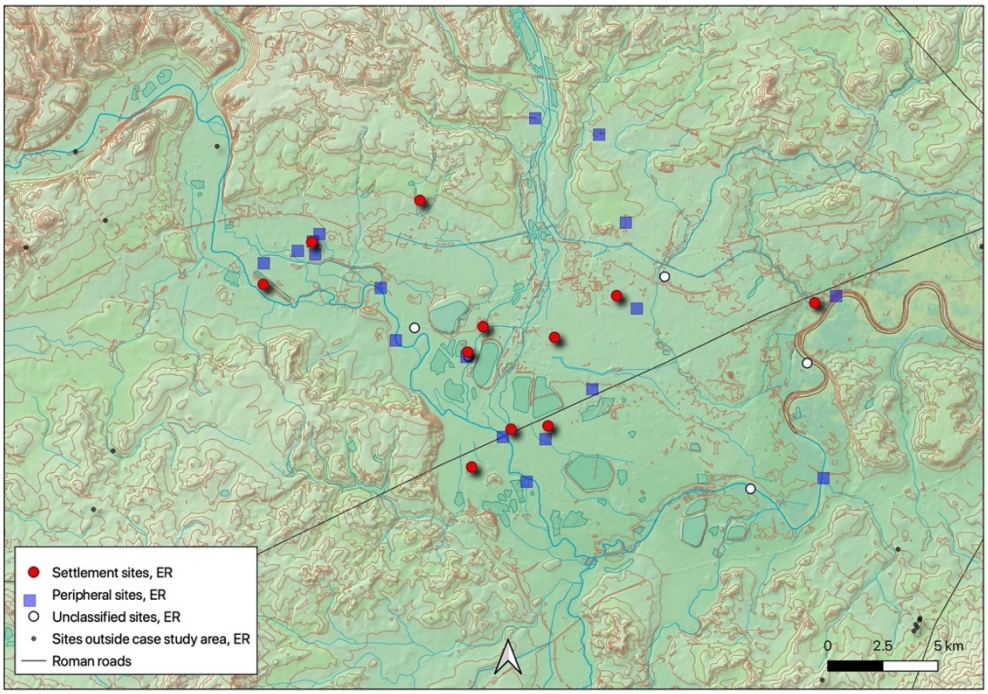


Figure 47: Distribution of ER sites in the Heathrow T5 environs.

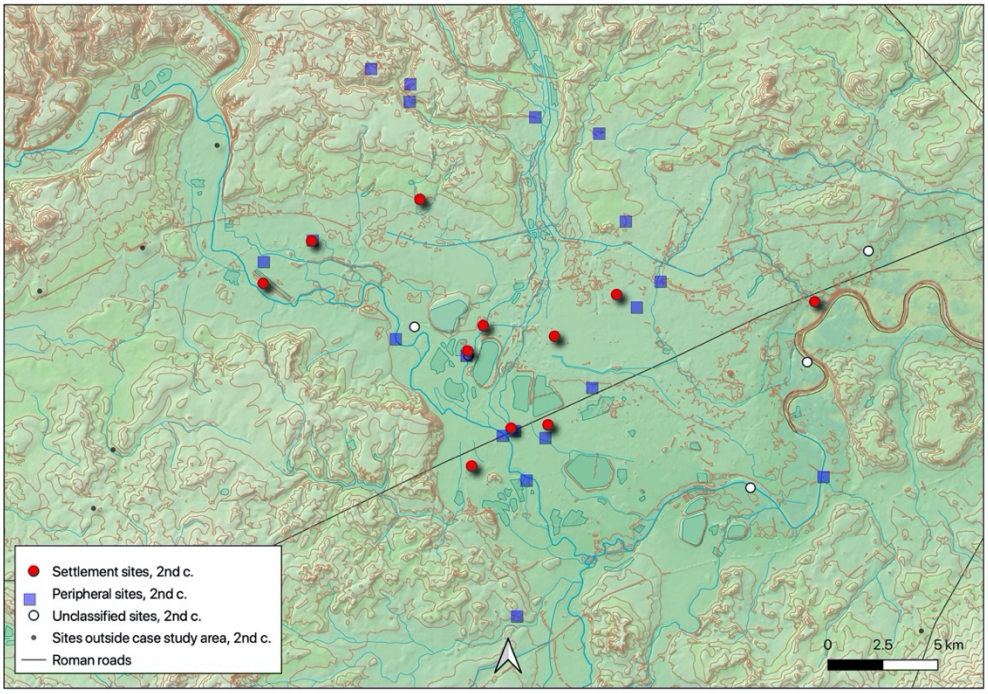


Figure 48: Distribution of second century sites in the Heathrow T5 environs.

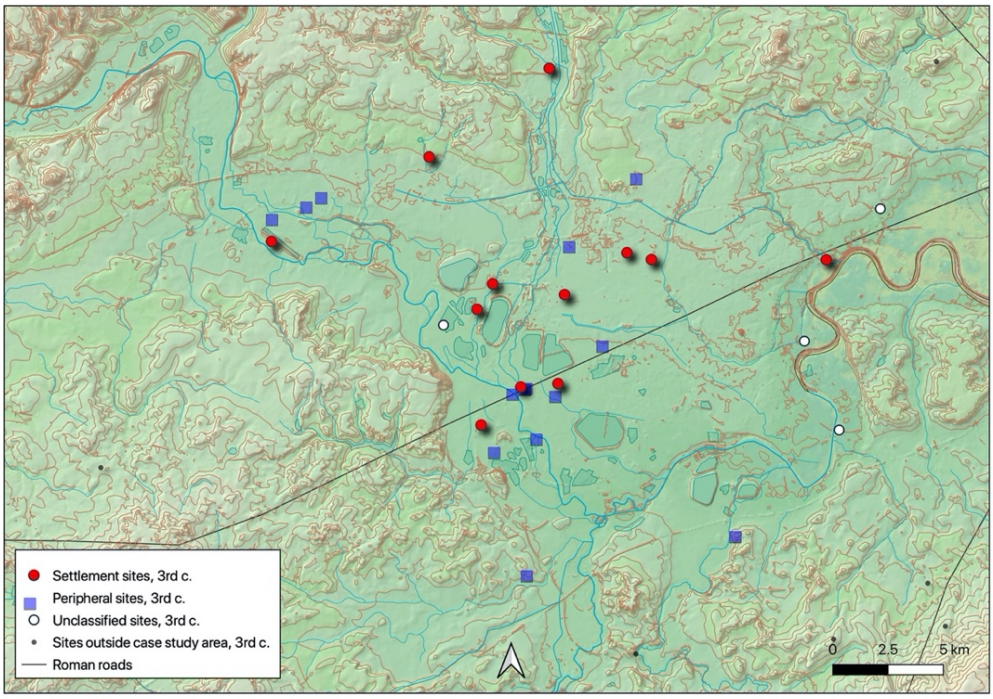


Figure 49: Distribution of third century sites in the Heathrow T5 environs.

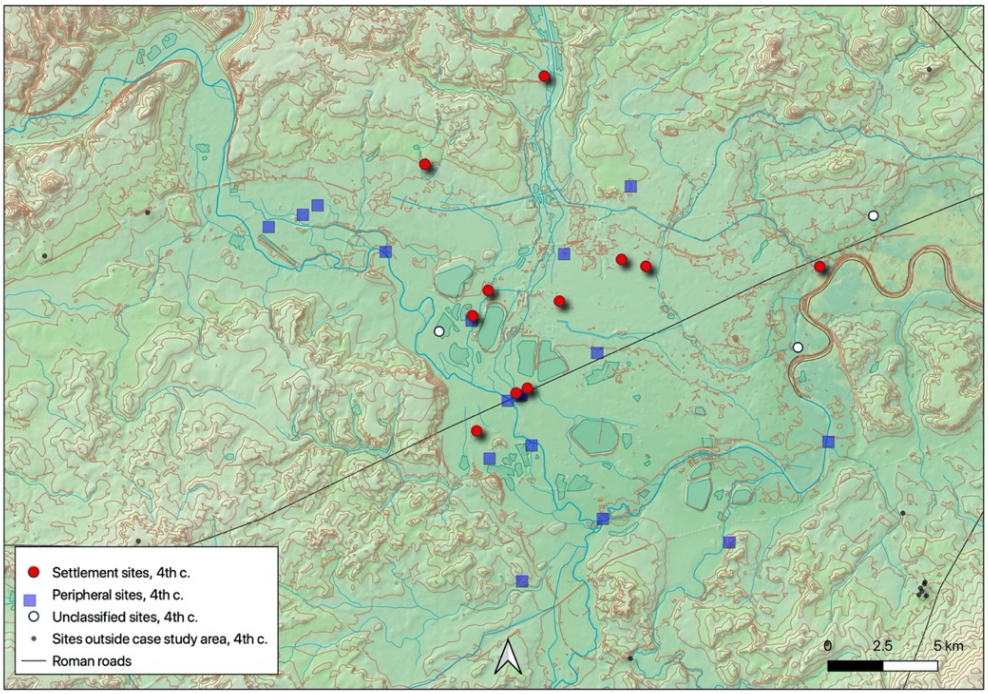


Figure 50: Distribution of 4th century sites in the Heathrow T5 environs.

Site Longevity

The first, second, and third centuries saw the most 'change' in land-use, while the third century in the region appears to have been fairly stable (Figure 51 and

Table 15). There was limited site abandonment in the LIA/ER period (15% of sites), coupled with a high degree of site foundation (32%). Apart from the fourth century, which saw 69% of sites abandoned, the greatest disruption in settlement occurred in the second century, when 34% of sites were abandoned. This was first noted by Booth et al. (2007), and may have had differential causes on different sites, from flooding to landscape reorganisation.[406]

Table 14: Number of Case Study 2 occupied sites in each period, divided into settlement and non-settlements.

Period	Total occupied	Percent case study sites	Settlement	Percent contemporary sites	Periphery	Percent contemporary sites
LIA	23	48%	11	49%	12	52%
ER	34	71%	11	32%	23	68%
2nd c.	35	73%	11	31%	24	69%
3rd c.	30	63%	12	40%	19	63%
4th c.	27	56%	11	41%	18	67%
5th c.	12	25%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Table 15: Change in settlement in Case Study 2, by period.

Period	Abandoned	Change in use	New foundation	Total 'change'
1st c.	5 (15%)	4 (12%)	11 (32%)	20 (59%)
2nd c.	12 (34%)	3 (9%)	6 (17%)	21 (60%)
3rd c.	6 (19%)	0 (0%)	7 (23%)	13 (42%)
4th c.	20 (69%)	3 (10%)	4 (14%)	27 (93%)

[406] Which might be linked: see Franconi (2021), 337.

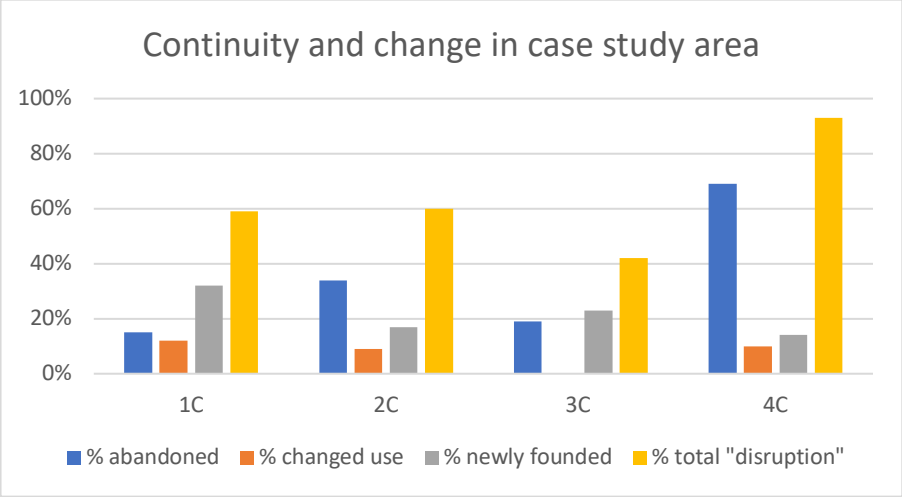


Figure 51: Percent of Case Study 2 sites, per period, that experienced major changes in use.

Few sites categorised as 'settlements' were founded after the ER, while 'peripheral' sites were founded throughout (Figure 52). Peripheral sites were abandoned throughout the study period, while settlements tended towards stability until the fourth century (Figure 53).

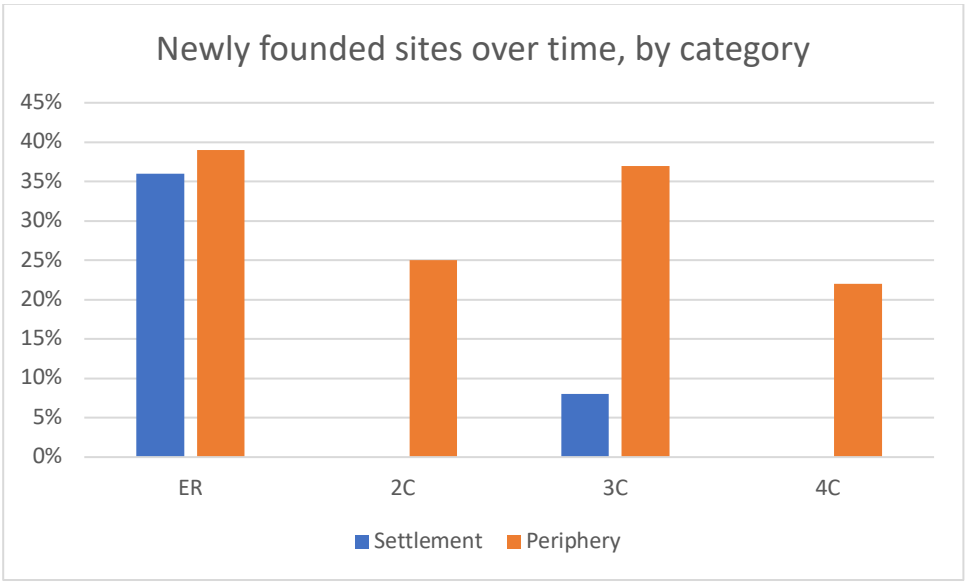


Figure 52: Percent of Case Study 2 sites of each category that were founded in each study period.

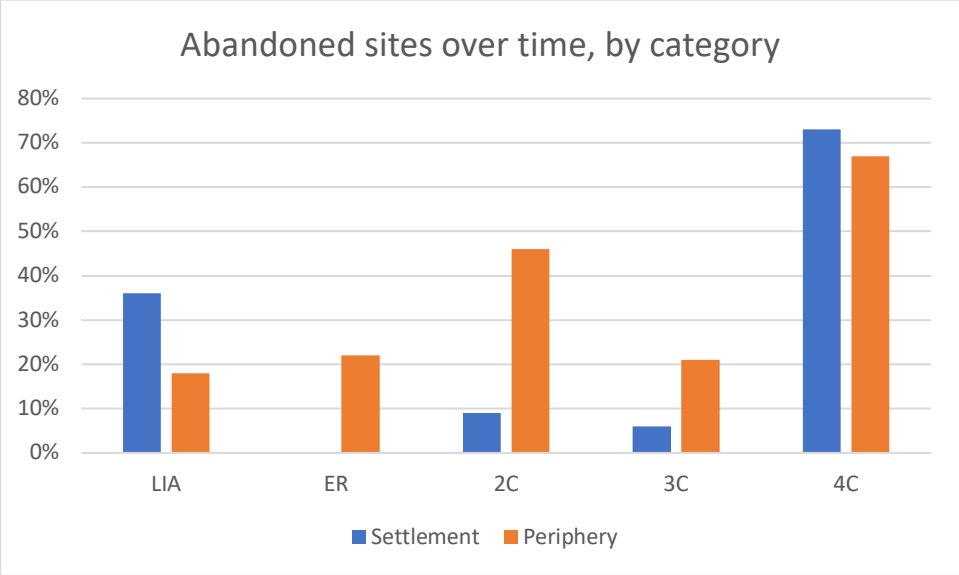


Figure 53: Percent of Case Study 2 sites of each category that were abandoned in each study period.

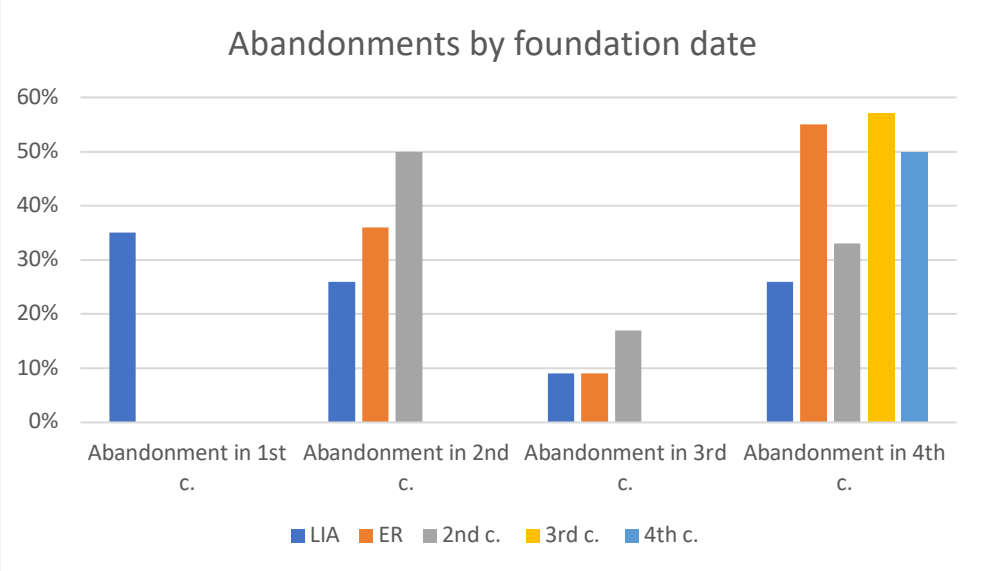


Figure 54: Percent of Case Study 2 sites founded in each period that were abandoned in successive centuries.

Figure 54 shows the percentage of sites abandoned by the date of site foundation (Table 16). These data suggest that sites founded in all periods were most likely to be abandoned either shortly after their foundation, or in the fourth century. They further suggest that sites founded in the ER period were less

likely to be abandoned before the fourth century than sites founded in any other period, which presumably reflects the fact that most of the settlements (which experienced greater stability than peripheral ones) were founded in the ER period.

Table 16: Number and percentage of Case Study 2 sites abandoned, by date of foundation and date of abandonment.

Foundation date	1st c.	2nd c.	3rd c.	4th c.
LIA	35%	26%	9%	26%
1st c.	0%	36%	9%	55%
2nd c.	[redacted]	50%	17%	33%
3rd c.	[redacted]	[redacted]	0%	57%
4th c.	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	50%

Structures

Structural features were reported from 19 (40%) sites (Table 17), and building materials on an additional 11 (23%). Late Iron Age layers furnished the largest number of structural features.

Table 17: Number of Case Study 2 sites of each period furnishing evidence for various types of structures.

Period	Sites with structures	Roundhouse(s)	Rectilinear timber building(s)	Masonry buildings	Aisled buildings
ALL	19	13	10	2	1
LIA	10	8	1	0	0
ER	8	7	4	1	0
MR	9	4	6	1	1
LR	8	2	8	2	0

Table 18: Percentage of all Case Study 2 sites (by period) furnishing structural remains, compared with percentage of settlements from all periods with structural evidence.

	Sites with structures	Percent	Settlements with structures	Percent
LIA	10	43%	8	73%
ER	8	24%	8	82%
MR	9	26%	9	76%
LR	8	30%	7	70%

Roundhouses were common in the Late Iron Age and ER periods (and may have persisted, on some sites, into the LR period), and rectilinear structures (difficult to date) were common in the M/LR periods (Figure 55).

No sites furnished evidence for villa buildings, and only one (Hengrove Farm) produced evidence for a potential 'aisled building'. Other evidence for structural 'elaboration', in the form of roof tile (ceramic building material), painted wall plaster, mosaic *tesserae,* and/or window glass, was rare. CBM was the most common (found on 44% of sites—Figure 56). Other elements of architectural 'elaboration' came from only 4 sites (8%). Box flue tile, painted wall plaster, and mosaic *tesserae* were each reported from only two (4%) sites, and window glass was reported from only one (2%).

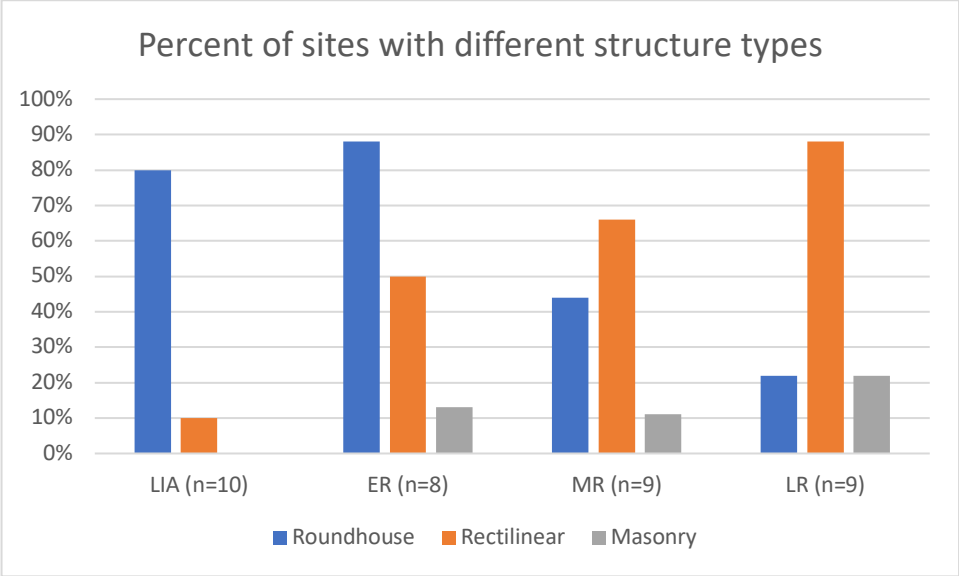


Figure 55: Percent of Case Study 2 sites furnishing evidence for different structural types, by study period.

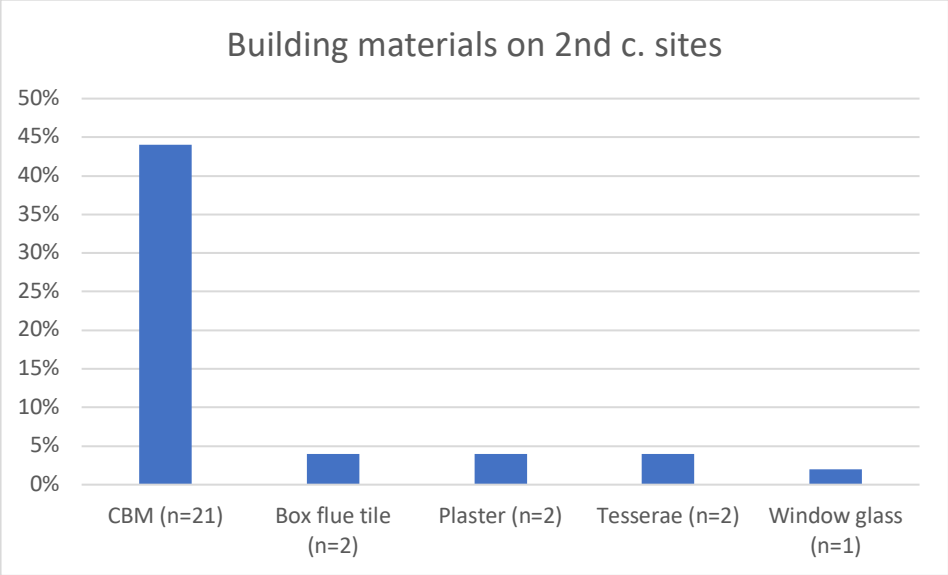


Figure 56: Percentage of all Case Study 2 sites furnishing evidence for various types of building materials.

Finds Assemblages

The Staines area has seen much commercial excavation, but the quantity and quality of data from sites varies considerably.

Table 19 lists the number of excavations examined here that were missing key information. The average excavation size here was 3.64 ha, but this number masks the enormous differences in size across the study, with the Heathrow excavations covering 75 ha and many smaller interventions being half a hectare or smaller (median: 0.61 ha). Unsurprisingly, excavations on peripheral sites were smaller-scale than those on which clear evidence for settlement was found, and these sites furnished minimal evidence for imported goods, luxury materials, and other classes of finds (Figure 57 and Figure 58).

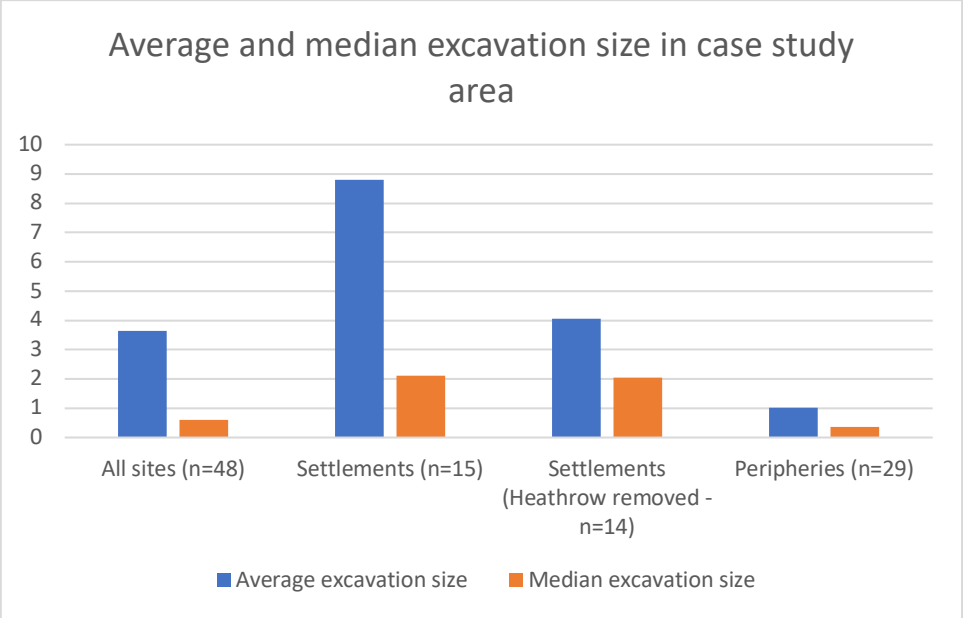


Figure 57: Average and median excavation size within Case Study 2, by site type.

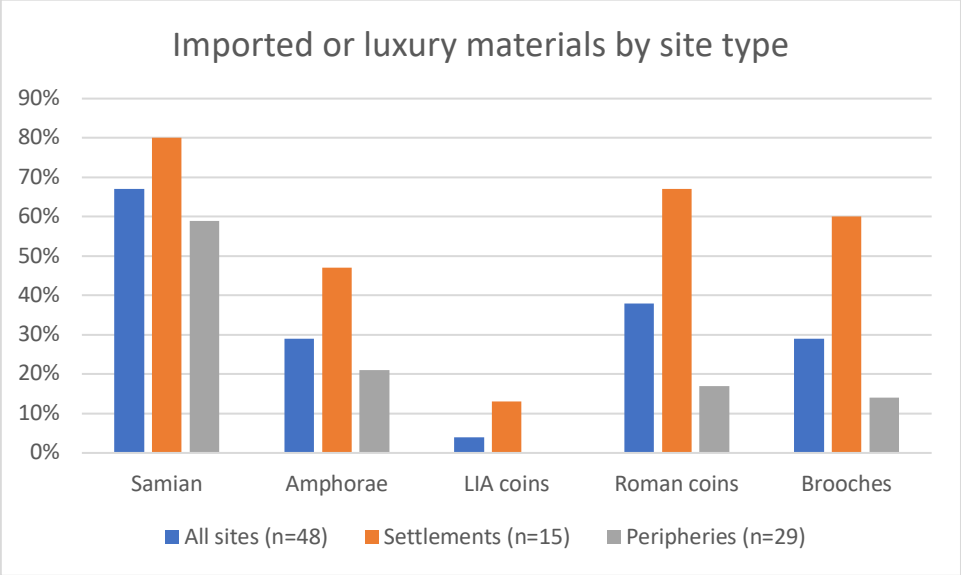


Figure 58: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites reporting the presence of various categories of imports and/or luxury items.

Table 19: Number and percentage of Case Study 2 excavation reports missing key information (or where occupation was so minimal that such materials were absent).

Problem	Number of sites	Percent of sites in case study
No pottery and/or no finds report	26	45%
Few finds or less than 100 sherds of pottery	15	26%
No animal bone report	27	47%
No environmental report	36	62%

Over half (55%) of the excavations were either missing import parts of their reports (i.e., the finds and/or pottery reports) or furnished a minimal number of finds and pottery. Some of the latter category, like the kiln sites at Hedgerley and Fulmer, may reflect a real paucity of activity on site, as it appears that the kilns were placed at a distance from any associated settlements, which were not located during excavation. Other sites were simply excavated on too small a scale to accurately reconstruct its history.

With these caveats in mind, finds from the region demonstrate that it was fairly connected to wider exchange networks, and its proximity to London may have afforded its inhabitants slightly more access to non-local goods compared with the other case studies in this thesis (Table 20). Some 92% of

sites furnished material from at least 25 miles away, 83% from at least 40 miles away, and 71% imported from the continent (based on the presence of either Samian ware or Niedermendig lava quern fragments). When industrial (kiln and fish weir) and funerary sites were removed from the dataset, 95% of sites furnished evidence for materials from more than 25 miles away, 93% from more than 40 miles away, and 78% imported from the continent.

Table 20: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites with local, regionally-produced, or imported pottery.

Site type	Only local	25 miles	40 miles	Cross-Channel
All sites	8%	92%	83%	71%
All but industrial and funerary	5%	95%	93%	78%
All settlements	6%	94%	94%	83%
All peripheral	10%	90%	77%	63%

While proximity to London may have given local residents more access to imported ceramics, the region was not wealthy at any point in the Late Iron Age or Roman period and did not have more access to *luxury* goods than the other regions examined.

Most luxury items—and even non-luxury ones of a more Continental/Mediterranean nature (like *styli* and medical equipment)—were uncommon everywhere but the small town of Staines and the *vicus* at Brentford. This trend has been noted by other scholars and holds across southern Britain.[407] Samian was found on 69% of sites, on 100% of the *vici* and 89% of the sites identified as 'farms' (Figure 59). Samian has been graphed alongside other 'diagnostic' finds categories: *amphorae*, Roman and Late Iron Age tribal coins, and brooches. The *presence* of Samian pottery is quite different from the *quantity.* As Allen notes in his study of 'The South', quantities of Samian sherds tend to be lower outside villas and nucleated settlements.[408] Other finds types were rarer: only two farms produced Late Iron Age coins (i.e., 4%), and Roman coins, *amphorae,* and brooches were found in the *vici* but on few farms (53%,

[407] Smith et al. 2016, 122–124. See also Perring and Pitts (2013).
[408] Smith et al. 2016, 121–122.

40%, and 60%, respectively), and only minimally on peripheral sites (23%, 20%, and 10%).

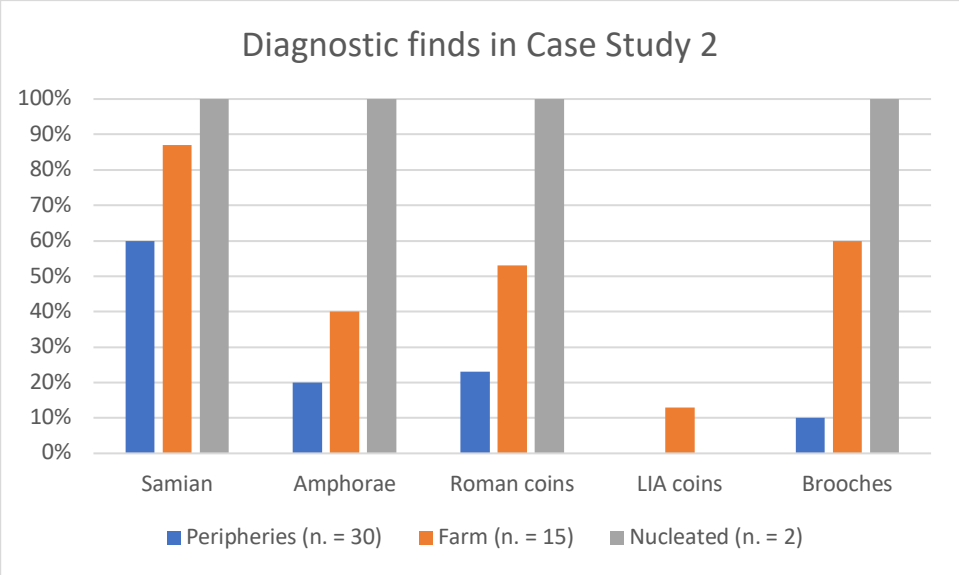


Figure 59: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites in each category reporting the presence of Late Iron Age and Roman finds.

Agricultural tools, querns, spindle whorls, and loom weights, were recovered from all *vici* and many farm sites, and less frequently on peripheral sites (Figure 60). Production facilities like mills and/or corndryers were uncommon, probably due to the region's geography and the unsuitability of the (increasingly-flooded) gravels for extensive grain cultivation. Evidence for malting was slim across all site types.

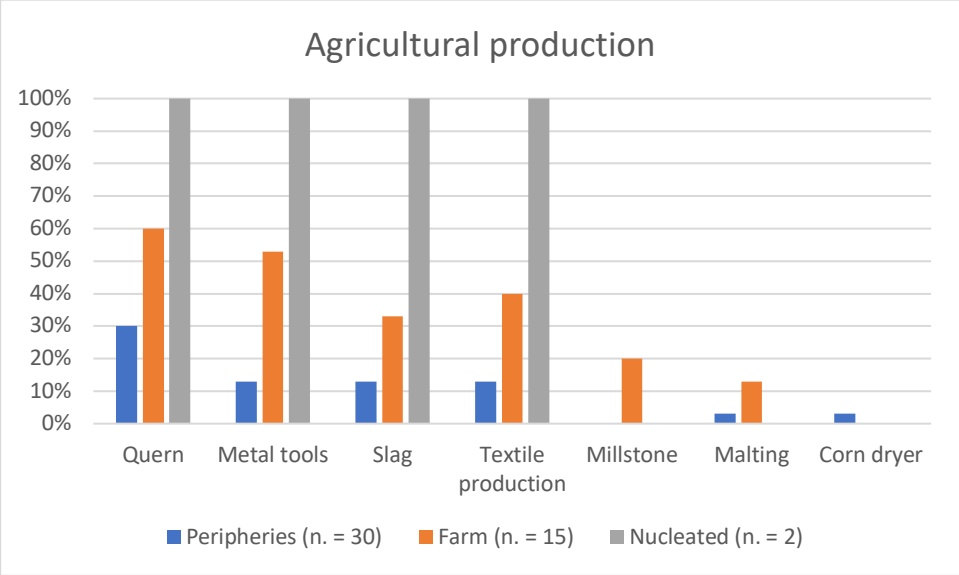


Figure 60: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing various objects used in agricultural production.

Jewellery, hobnails, and toilet implements, were fairly common on farms, but other objects of personal use, like gaming pieces and objects made from shale, were uncommon on farms and peripheral sites (Figure 61).

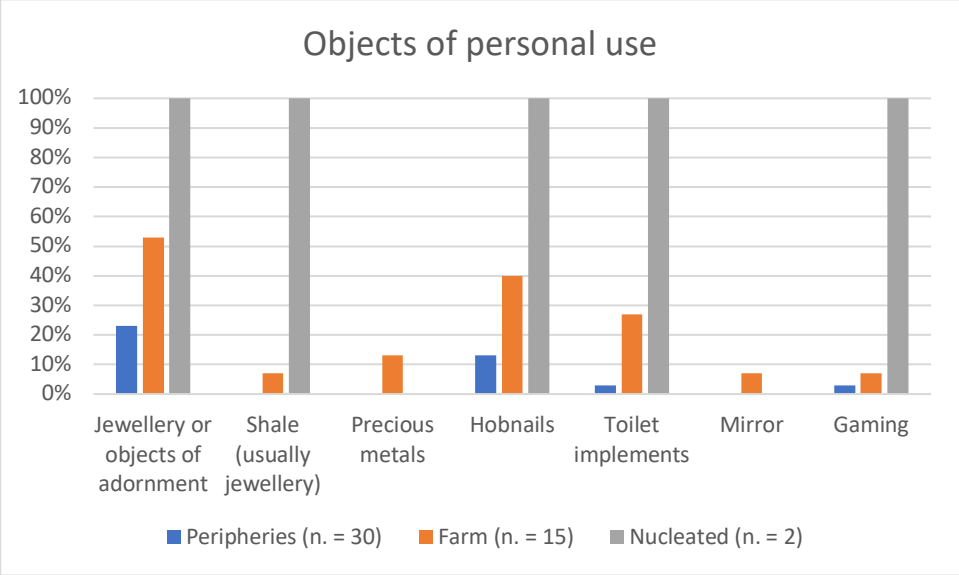


Figure 61: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing objects of 'personal' use.

Items associated with dining (i.e., *mortaria*, metal tablewares, imported foods, oyster shells, and to a more problematic degree, glassware) were reported from all *vici* and less frequently from farm and peripheral sites (Figure 62).

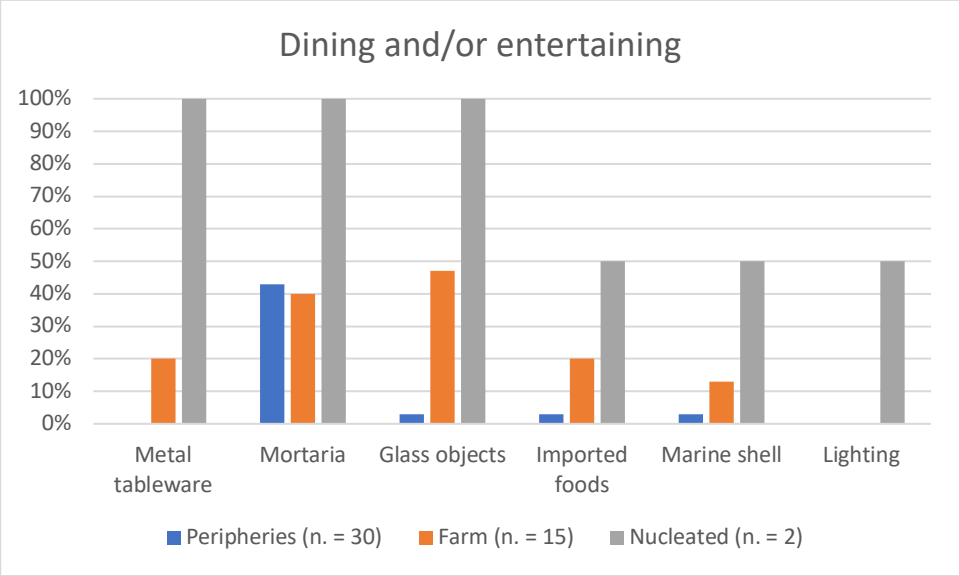


Figure 62: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing evidence for objects related to Mediterranean-style dining and/or entertaining.

'Specialised' objects and items associated with communication were rare everywhere but the two *vici* (Figure 63 and Figure 64). Military equipment and locks/keys were recovered from 33% of the farm sites, and from 3% of the peripheral sites. No objects related to written communication were found at any of the peripheral sites, and evidence for writing (in the form of graffiti) was reported from only 7% of the farm sites.

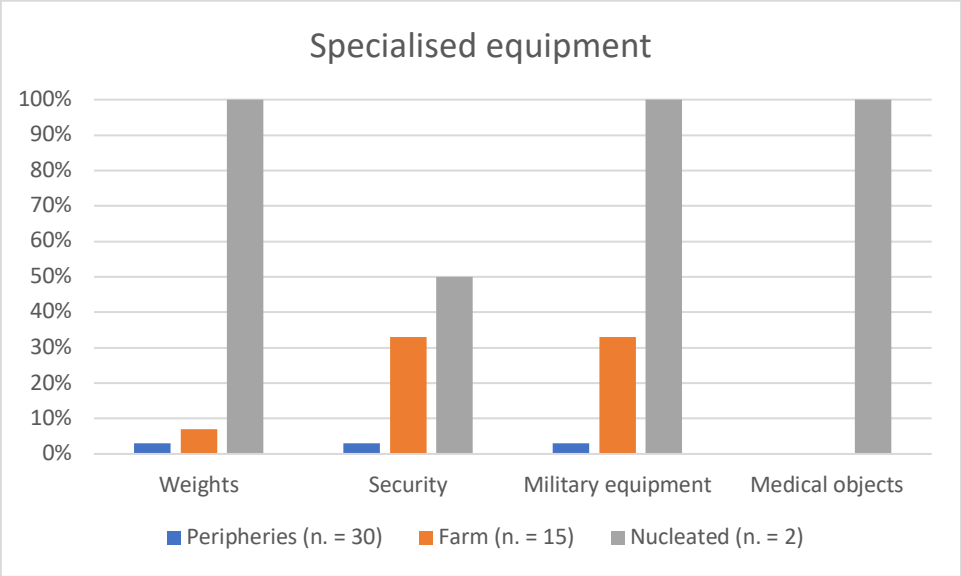


Figure 63: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing evidence for 'specialised' equipment of various types.

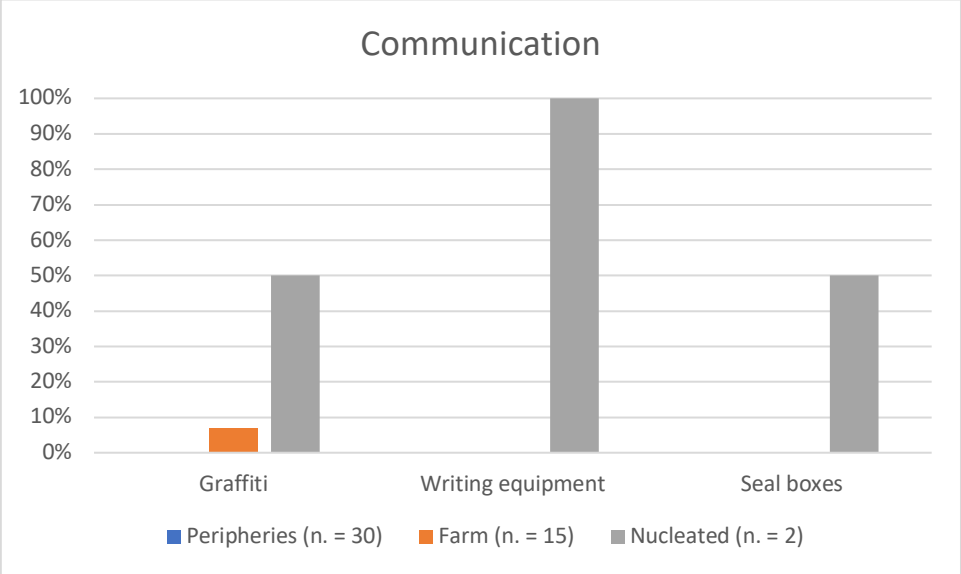


Figure 64: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing objects related to written communication, either in the form of writing itself (graffiti), writing implements (styli or ink-pots), and seals or seal-boxes.

Religious objects were examined alongside other types of evidence for belief, namely, burials (Figure 65). Here, there are major differences between nucleated and non-nucleated settlements, with minimal religious objects and no figurines identified on farms or peripheral sites. Only Heathrow Terminal 5 produced evidence for Christianity: a circular lead tank which may have been either a baptismal font or foot-washing tank.[409] Burials were naturally found on all site categories, with cremations being less common on farms, and inhumations less common on peripheral sites.

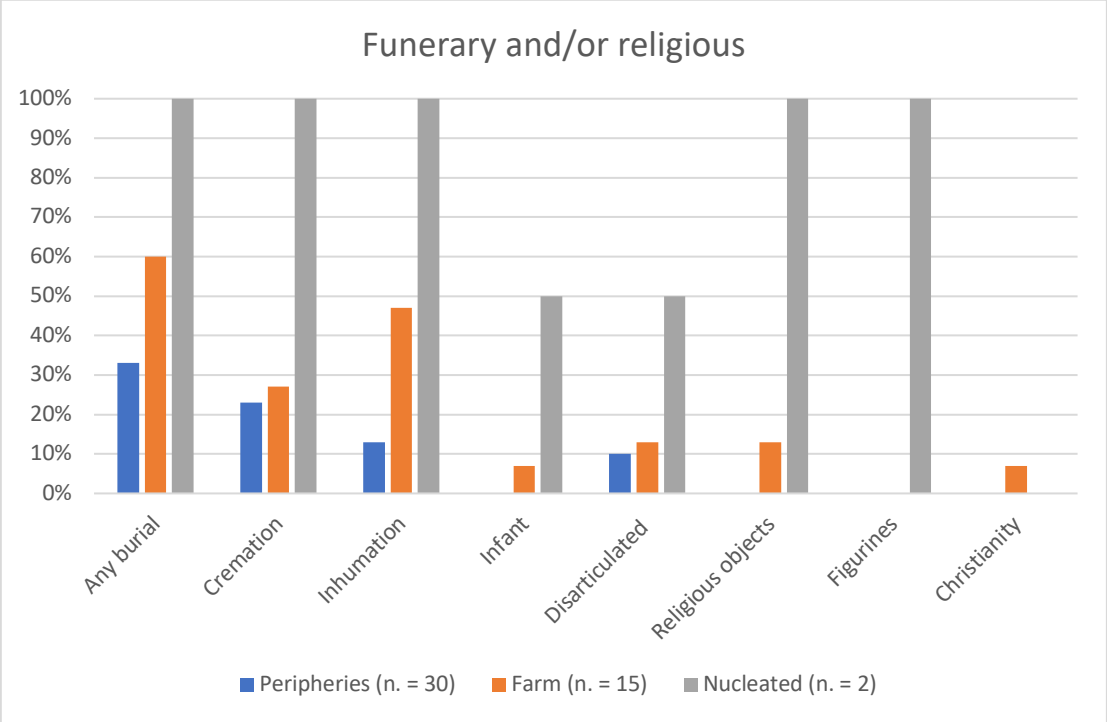


Figure 65: Percentage of Case Study 2 sites furnishing evidence for religious belief or burial customs.

[409] J. Lewis (2010), 312.

Phasing

In this region, it is difficult to distinguish the pre- and early post-conquest periods ceramically.[410] At Heathrow, for instance, wheel-turned, Mediterranean-style ceramics did not become numerous until the second century, "creating a corresponding difficulty in phasing certain elements of the site"[411] before AD 120. Late Iron Age or ER phases (up to c. AD 120) are frequently given the date of 'LIA/ER,' in reports from this region. Only when clearly-Roman period manufactured pottery, like that from Alice Holt, arrives in assemblages are they designated E/MR.[412] Thus, the following discussion is broken into three broad phases, with more specificity provided wherever possible.

Phase 1: LIA/ER – Pre- or post-conquest phases generally dating to before AD 120.

Phase 2: E/MR, MR, L/MR – Mid-Roman period, generally dating between AD 120–250. Third-century phasing here is often imprecise, and the mid-Roman section in this chapter encompasses the second and early-to-mid-third century.

Phase 3: LR – Late Roman period, generally dating between AD 250–410.

[410] Powell, et al. (2016), 161.
[411] J. Lewis (2010), 203.
[412] See Powell, et al. (2016).

PHASE 1—LATE IRON AGE–EARLY ROMAN

Overview

Of the 48 sites included in this case study, 23 were in use in the Late Iron Age period and 34 were occupied in the ER period (Figure 66 and Figure 67).[413] Roughly 10–16 of the sites were settlements in this period, while 10–23 were classified as peripheral or 'unclear'. The 'new' ER settlements were mainly 'peripheral' sites, although Staines and two farms were also founded in this period. Limited environmental data suggest that cereal cultivation may have concentrated around higher-lying fertile areas,[414] while the lower lying or more acidic soils were used as pastureland.[415]

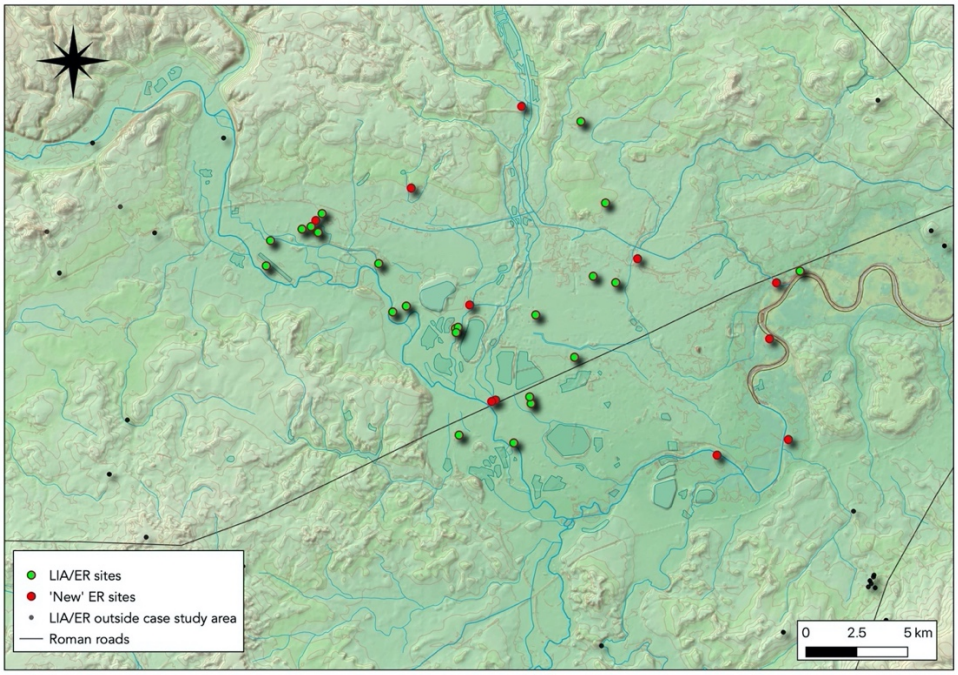


Figure 66: Phase 1 site distribution around the Heathrow T5 excavations.

[413] Other sites with possible LIA occupation were identified at Heathrow (Runway 1, Canham (1978)), and Fern Hill, Hatton (reference in Powell, et al. (2016), site report still not found).
[414] Booth (2007), 26.
[415] Booth (2007), 29.

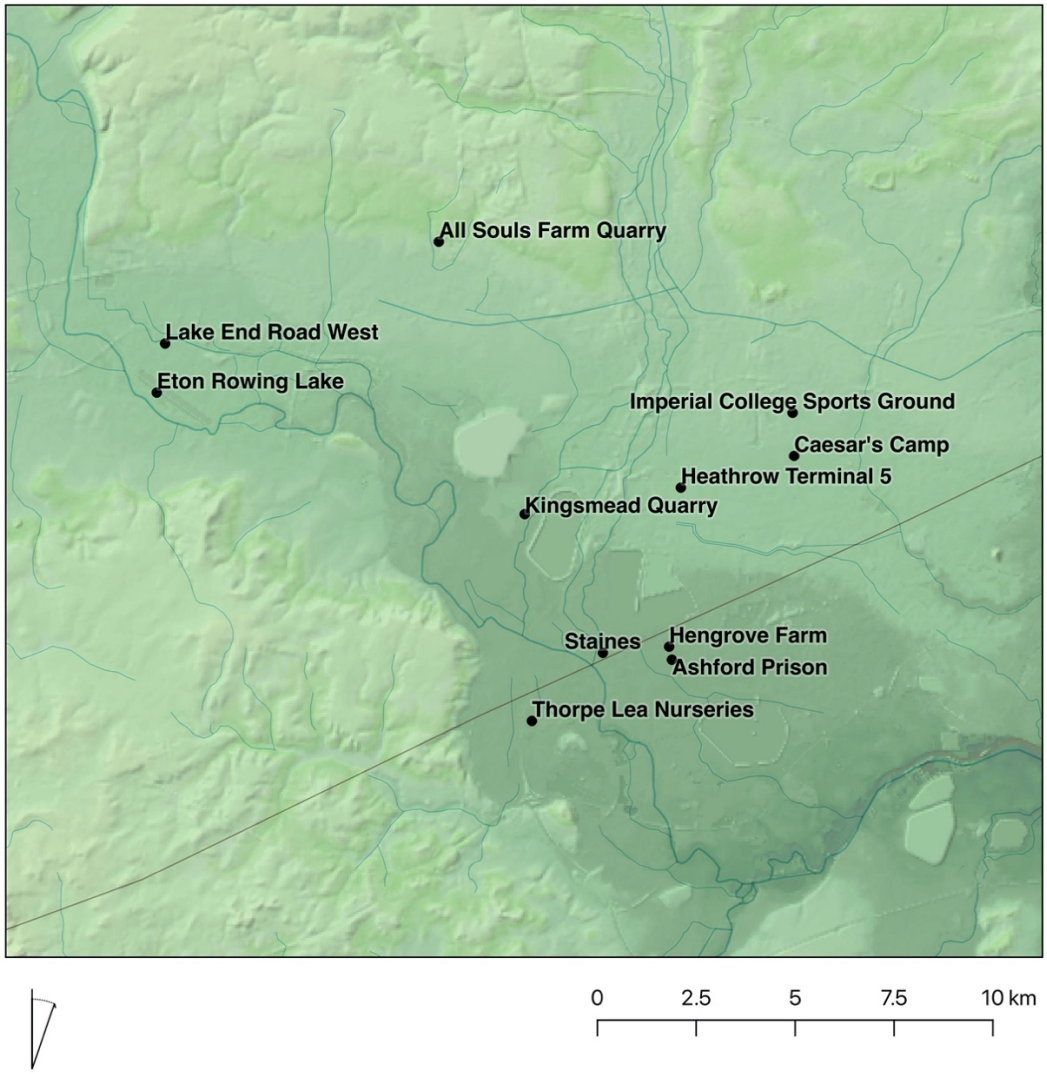


Figure 67: Case Study 2, LIA and ER sites mentioned in text.

Within the case study and the Greater London region as a whole there is little evidence for large-scale Late Iron Age period occupation or settlement. In traditional reconstructions of the Claudian invasion, the London region is seen as a contested landscape, changing hands as members of Catuvellaunian and/or Durotrigian/Atrebatian dynasties attempted to conquer each other's territory.[416] No evidence for endemic warfare has been located here, however.[417] Further,

[416] Rankin (1996), 215; Booth (2007), 367. For ancient sources, see: Dio 60.19.1; Suet., *Claud.* 17.
[417] Lambrick, Robinson, and Wachnik (2009), 375.

while the Thames seems to be a numismatic boundary between the Durotriges, Atrebates, and Cantiaci to the south and the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes to the north (Figure 68),[418] Creighton cautions against using coins to reconstruct tribal politics in the Late Iron Age.[419]

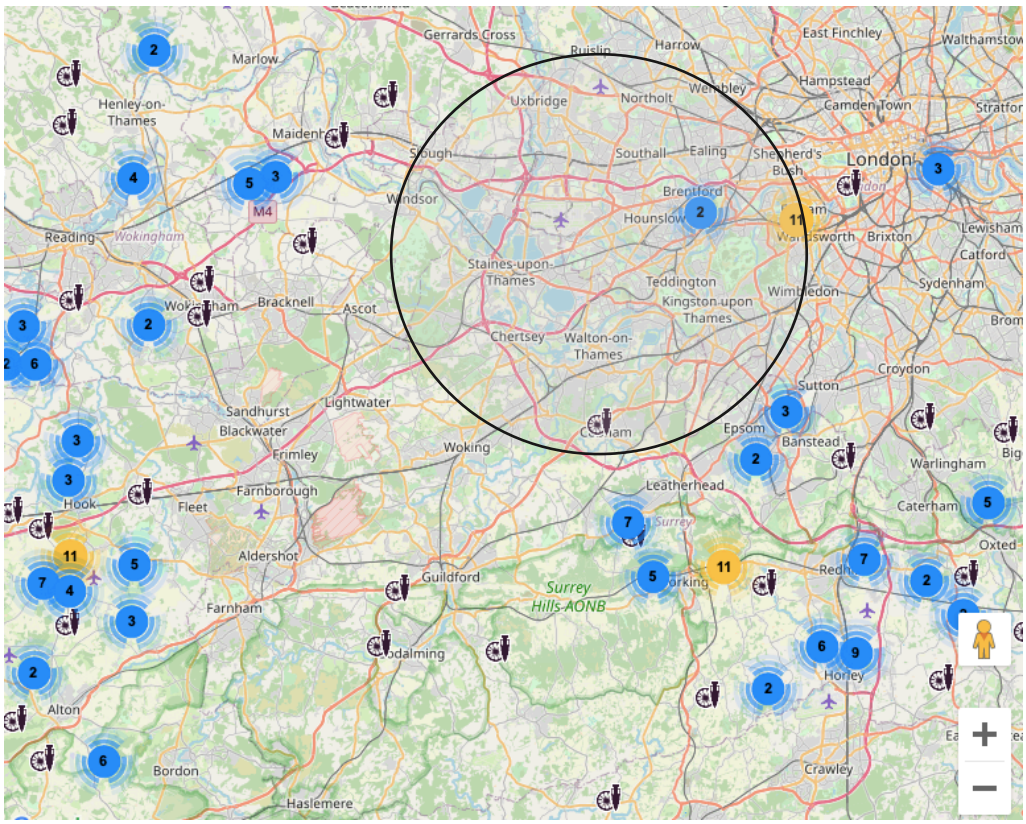


Figure 68: Screenshot of the PAS map of all coin finds dated to the LIA, zoomed-in to show the Heathrow T5 case study area.

The region may have been 'marginal' in the Late Iron Age: few Late Iron Age sites and only one possible 'central location' have been identified thus far. The latter is an earthwork enclosure excavated by Grimes during early construction works at Heathrow Airport in the 1940s (Caesar's Camp, Figure 69).[420] The site contained both roundhouses and a rectilinear structure that has

[418] Van Arsdell (1989); Booth (2007), 366; Moore (2012).
[419] Creighton (2000), 30 and 21. See also Braund (1996), 68
[420] Booth (2007), 35; Bryant and Niblett (1997).

been identified as a shrine,[421] mostly dated to the MIA, and the site is not included in this study for that reason.[422] Aside from this, evidence for occupation is slim, indeed. As Wallace notes, London is one of the few major Roman settlements in Britain *not* to have been constructed atop an Late Iron Age *oppidum* or hillfort.[423] There was, likewise, no Late Iron Age precedent for the *vicus* at Staines, and no M/LIA 'central places' have been located nearby.[424] The closest large LPRIA power centres seem to have been at St. Albans and Silchester, both c. 30 miles away.

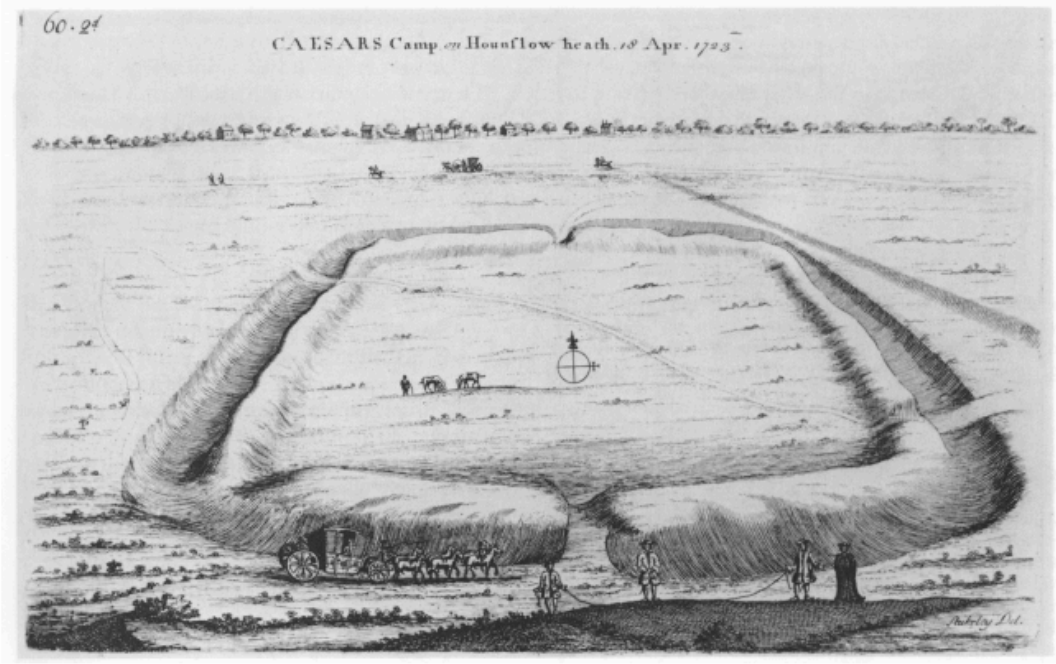


Figure 69: Stukeley's 1723 drawing of M/LIA earthworks at Caesar's Camp, Heathrow (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993, 306).

The region came under Roman control following the Claudian invasion, when Staines (thought to be Roman Pontibus, mentioned in *Iter VII* of the Antonine Itinerary)[425] was founded at a fording place along the first iteration of

421 J. Lewis (2010), 187.
422 Grimes *et al.* (1993), 334.
423 Wallace (2015), 1.
424 Wallace (2015), 6.
425 *Iter* VII; Rivet and Smith (1979), 166; Merrifield (1983), 129.

the Londinium–Calleva road.[426] The earliest activity there (Friends Burial Ground) consists of pre-Flavian ditches and pits,[427] and the question of whether the *vicus* had military origins is much debated.[428]

There is no evidence for violence or major civil unrest in the ER archaeology here, and many stress continuity from the Late Iron Age to the ER.[429] Yet the construction of new infrastructure must have affected the region, and changes in landscape management (possibly in two phases—one in the LIA/ER period and another in the E/MR period) began within the first generation or two after conquest. Later, in the M/LR period, parts of the study area appear to have been engaged in large-scale livestock management, and developed complex ladder systems, paddocks, and conjoined field systems. M/LIA or LIA/ER sites (including all 8 sites on which M/LIA roundhouses were identified) were substantially reorganised in the first or early second centuries—a period which also saw the foundation of 11 'new' sites. Thus, between new foundations and major re-organisations on ER sites, 62% of the Phase 1 sites in the case study experienced some kind of major change in the first century, the exact chronology of which remains opaque.

Morphology

Major changes in the agricultural landscape transformed the region during the LIA/ER period, as field systems and boundaries were realigned, new field systems and agricultural areas were laid out, settlements changed 'shape',[430] and structural morphology changed, with roundhouses (found on 43% of Late Iron Age sites and 24% of ER sites) becoming less common.[431] Site

[426] Booth (2007), 39; Wallace (2015), 35.
[427] Crouch and Shanks (1984), 11.
[428] Crouch and Shanks (1984), 2, suggests Staines' possible military foundations. Contra: P. Jones, Poulton, and Bird (2010), 14. See also Dawson (2019), 125.
[429] Ghisleni (2018)*;* Booth (2007), 36, and all references therein.
[430] Carew (2003); Powell, et al. (2016); Crockett and Nowell (1998); J. Lewis (2010); J. Lewis (2006).
[431] Lambrick posits that a dearth of building on some evidently domestic sites could indicate that a new (and more ephemeral) architectural style, such as mass-wall or cob construction, was

reorganisation occurred on c. 48% of the rural sites, and their primary 'theme' seems to have been an expansion, and re-ordering, of systems of livestock management and possibly also of arable fields.

A M/LIA roundhouse settlement at Ashford Prison, for instance, was abandoned either prior to, or just after, the conquest.[432] Shortly thereafter, the landscape was reorganised, and the Late Iron Age settlement was overlain by a rectilinear ditched field system and possible droveway.[433] It is unclear whether or not the fields were used for arable cultivation or livestock: while the presence of an iron coulter in one of the Roman ditch fills might imply arable cultivation nearby,[434] environmental samples suggest that the landscape was "open/wasteland or grassland."[435]

in use on some sites: Lambrick, Robinson, and Wachnik (2009). Booth suggests a similar construction style at Gill Mill, outside the case study area: Booth (2016), 258.

[432] Carew (2003), 185 and 230.

[433] Carew (2003), 185.

[434] Carew (2003), 208.

[435] Carew (2003), 278.

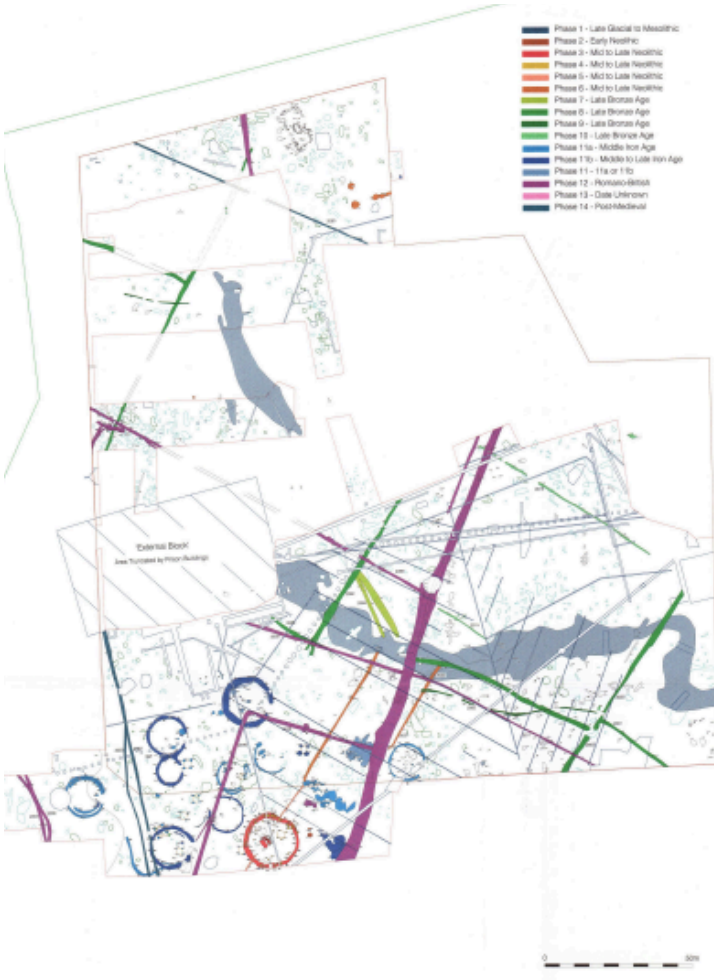


Figure 70: All phases excavated at Ashford Prison (Carew 2003).

Similar landscape reorganisation was visible at Heathrow, where an unenclosed MIA settlement was superseded by a (heavily truncated) LIA/ER settlement consisting of numerous enclosures sometime in Phase 1.[436] The reorganisation of the settlement was accompanied by a reorganisation of the field system. As Lewis *et al*. note, "the system of small co-axial fields which had characterised the landscape for almost two thousand years seem to have been largely replaced or cleared and a field system aligned roughly north-east to south-west was constructed in its place" (Figure 71).[437] How this new field

[436] J. Lewis (2010), 275. The chronology of these changes remains unclear: G. Jones and Brown (2011), 4–5.
[437] J. Lewis (2006), 202.

system was being used is unclear. Environmental evidence suggests that much of the surrounding area had turned into waterlogged heathland by the LIA/ER period,[438] and indicates that the LIA/ER site was surrounded by "extensive open grazing land".[439] Lewis notes that the new enclosure system was probably "designed… to control larger herds of livestock than their Middle Iron Age ancestors… probably in order to maximise the available economic output."[440] Yet there was also much evidence that "cereal crops [predominantly emmer and spelt] were an increasingly important part of the site's economy from the Late Iron Age onwards, and it may have been that the expansion of arable production was in part responsible for the establishment of the new eastern field system at this time."[441]

At Eton Rowing Lake, an M/LIA roundhouse settlement was enlarged in the mid-first century AD, briefly abandoned, and then overlain by a rectilinear system of field boundaries. Ovens, a possible corndryer, and a millstone found there indicate that at this point the site had become an agricultural processing area.[442]

438 J. Lewis (2006), 273.
439 J. Lewis (2010), 286.
440 J. Lewis (2010), 286.
441 J. Lewis (2010), 286
442 The full report has yet to be published, and the majority of the information on the site here comes from the RSRB database, Alexander Smith, et al. (2016) and reports, including Tim Allen (2000), Tim Allen and Mitchell (2001), and Tim Allen, Hey, and Miles (1997).

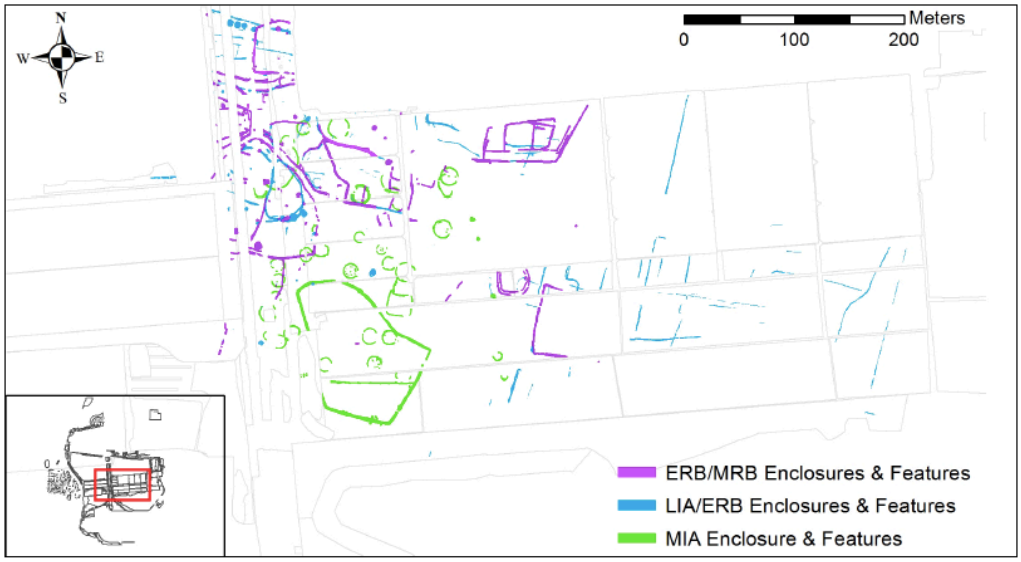


Figure 71: Iron Age and E/MR features at Heathrow Terminal 5 (Ghisleni 2017).

A new settlement at All Souls Farm Quarry, Wexham, began in the early post-conquest period with the construction of a boundary ditch, pits, and a grain-parching oven.[443] It was reorganised in the later first century AD (c. 70), with a new system of large rectilinear enclosures, crop-processing facilities, a roundhouse, and (possibly later) E/MR or MR timber buildings.[444] As on other sites, the system of enclosures is thought to relate to stock management, and environmental evidence suggests much grain processing on site.[445] An unenclosed M/LIA settlement at Thorpe Lea Nurseries was enclosed, with new field boundaries being laid out around it, in the early Roman period.[446]

[443] S. Preston (2012), 99–101.
[444] S. Preston (2012), 99–101.
[445] S. Preston (2012), 170.
[446] Hayman (1992).

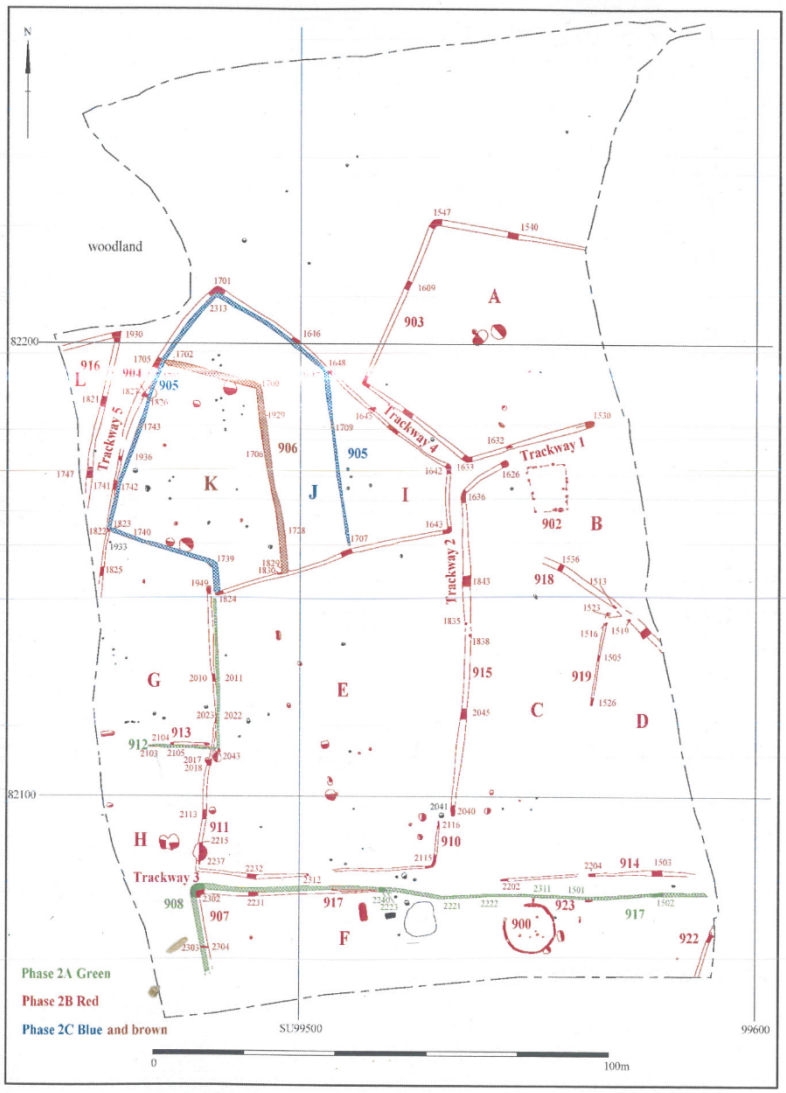


Figure 72: Transition period (2a), E/MR (2b), and M/LR (2c) features at All Souls Farm Quarry, Wexham (RSRB Database).

While much of the change in the agricultural landscape appears to have begun post-conquest, there is limited evidence from some sites to suggest a first phase in the LIA, followed by a second phase in the LIA/ER period, and a third phase of reorganisation in late first or early second century. At Kingsmead Quarry, Horton, an M/LIA roundhouse settlement was abandoned, perhaps around 100 BC, and the landscape was completely reorganised, with a system of fields of paddocks laid out alongside the Colne Brook.[447] In the later first

[447] Chaffey, Barclay, and Pelling (forthcoming), 130.

century AD, this system was significantly enlarged, "radically alter[ing] the landscape" (Figure 73).[448] While the enclosures are thought to have been related to stock control, arable cultivation may have also taken place on site.[449]

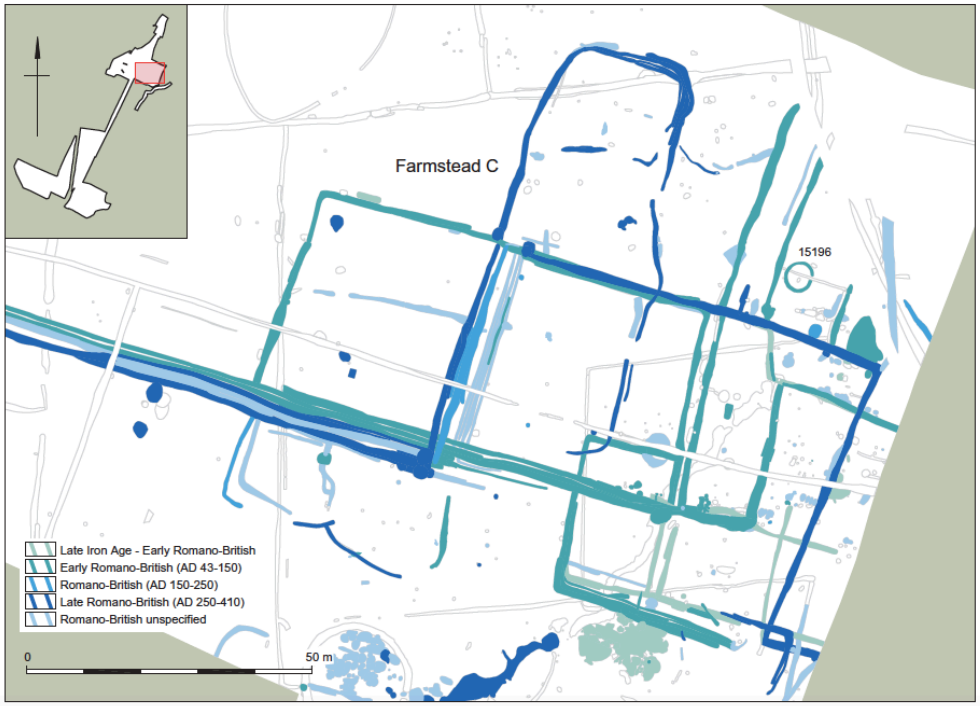


Figure 73: Landscape changes at Kingsmead Quarry (Chaffey, Barclay, and Pelling (forthcoming)).

As at Kingsmead, the agricultural landscape at Hengrove Farm was transformed in the very late Iron Age or very early conquest period, after which it was continuously expanded (Figure 74).[450] This system was also thought to have been used for livestock control (of cattle or cattle and sheep), though as at Kingsmead, crops were probably also grown in the area.[451]

[448] Chaffey, Barclay, and Pelling (forthcoming), 136–143.
[449] Chaffey, Barclay, and Pelling (forthcoming), 126.
[450] Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017), 289–296.
[451] Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017), 232.

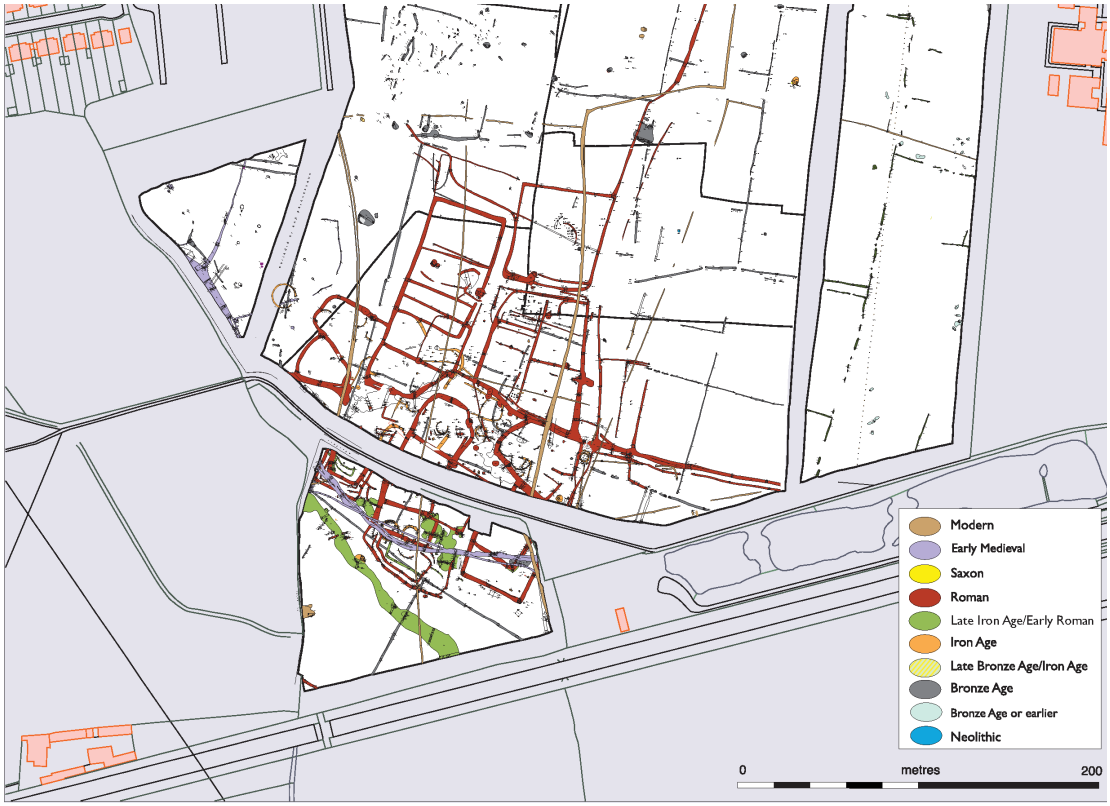


Figure 74: Site plan from Hengrove Farm, Case Study 2 (RSRB Database).

Similarly, at Imperial College Sports Ground, field boundaries on a new alignment seem to have been initially laid out in the Late Iron Age and then significantly enlarged (with an added trackway) in the later first century AD (Figure 75).[452] A similar "ladder" enclosure is said to have been excavated at Lake End Road West.[453]

[452] Crockett and Nowell (1998), 11–12; J. Lewis (2010), 309.
[453] That site has not yet been published, and all information comes from Martyn Allen, et al. (2018), "Lake End Road West."

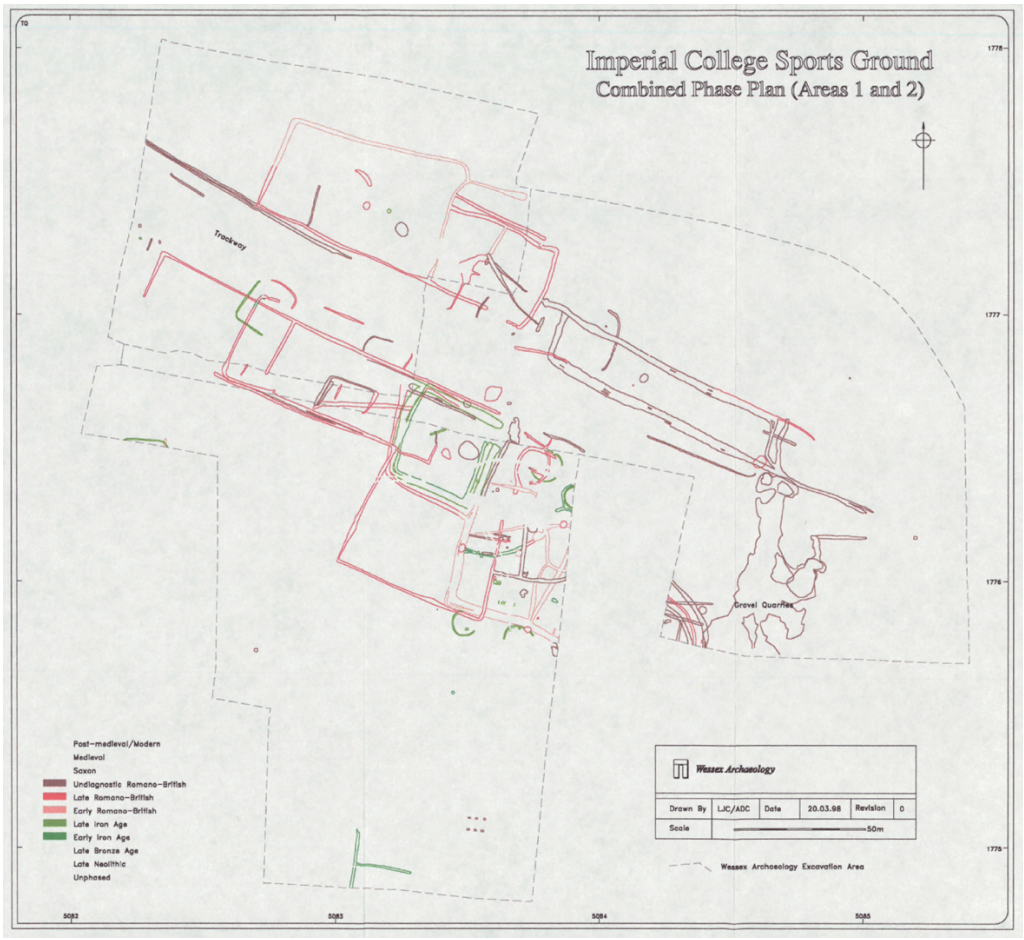


Figure 75: Phased plan of features at Imperial College Sports Ground (RSRB Database).

As mentioned above, those working closely with the archaeology of the Middle Thames Valley often stress that there was little change in the ER. Poulton notes that the "continuity in settlement form, and by implication function and economic status, of Hengrove across the Conquest period" suggests that the site—and the Middle Thames Valley more generally—may not have been "susceptible to economic development."[454] Chaffey suggests (in relation to Kingsmead Quarry) that "there is nothing within the ceramic assemblage to suggest that the events of AD 43 had an immediate impact on the site."[455] One might argue, however, that the large-scale changes to both the administrative and agricultural landscapes, discussed above, in themselves

[454] Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017), 296.
[455] Chaffey, Barclay, and Pelling (forthcoming), 146.

constitute an 'impact'. Early-Roman expansion of the agricultural components of settlements has been found across southern Britain,[456] and while some of these changes date to the LIA, most seem to begin very shortly after AD 40, and then undergo a second phase of development a generation or so later. That these changes may have been associated with production of goods for Roman markets is suggested by the contemporary finds profiles from these sites (meagre though they were).

Finds Assemblages

In contrast with the Danebury Environs region, the Heathrow Terminal 5 case study sites furnished scant evidence for connectedness to Late Iron Age (élite) trade networks, with Late Iron Age coins identified on only two sites,[457] *terra nigra* from only one,[458] and no reports of Dressel 1 *amphorae* in the region at all. In the latter part of the period (the late first century AD), more connectivity can be observed, although the region was by no means materially wealthy.[459] As shown in Figure 76, there seems to have been a slight increase in coins and brooches on LIA/ER sites,[460] and most sites furnished evidence for Samian ware from southern Gaul. Further, materials manufactured outside the immediate region were reported from most settlements (Figure 76). Heathrow, for instance, reported pottery from Highgate Wood, the Colne Valley, and the Alice Holt kilns[461] (in addition to locally produced and some imported wares). Many reports give only broad dates for querns, but Greensand querns dating to the LIA/ER period were found at Hengrove Farm and Heathrow (which also reported a potentially-Phase 1 quern fragment of Upper Old Red Sandstone). A

[456] Martyn Allen, et al. (2017), 144–147.
[457] Chaffey, Barclay, and Pelling (forthcoming), 129. Information on LIA coins from Eton Area 16 came from RSRB Database, 'Eton Area 16.'
[458] (Long Lane, Ickenham) Lakin (1995), Appendix 6 (very abraded, possibly erroneous identification).
[459] J. Lewis (2010), 221.
[460] Unidentified brooches were removed from the figure.
[461] G. Jones and Brown (2011), 3 and 13–14.

fragment of a Mayen lava quern was reported from a first-century feature at All Souls Quarry.[462]

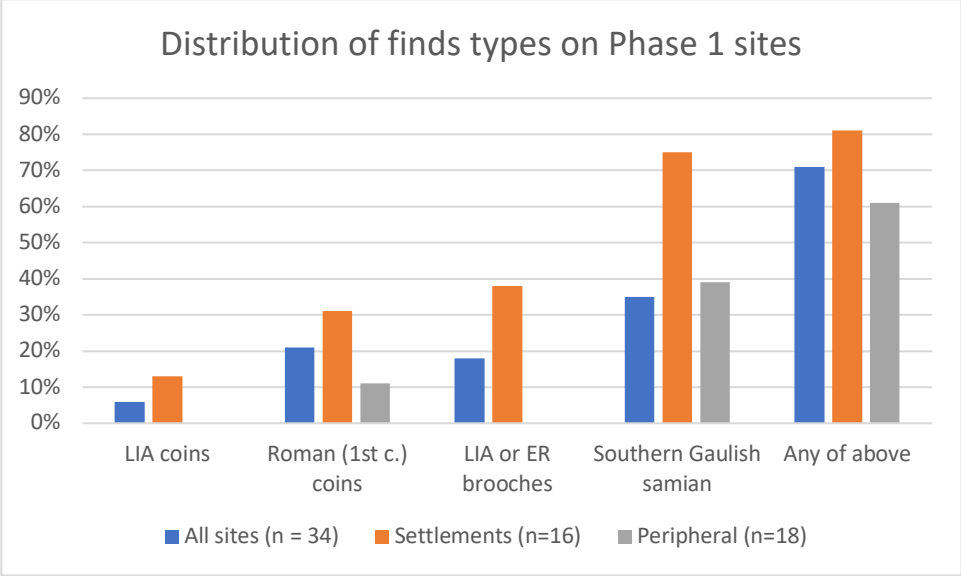


Figure 76: Distribution of regional and extra-provincial imports and/or coins and brooches dating to Phase 1 in Heathrow Terminal 5 case study area.

An examination of pottery assemblages from some sites demonstrates that both rural and urban consumers sourced pottery (and other necessities) from a wide range of regional producers, as well as from local kilns. There are hints, however, of slightly different supply networks at work.[463] While ER contexts at Staines contained pottery from local native-tradition potteries as well as mass-produced wheel-turned wares, the bulk of the coarseware came from the large producers.[464] The transitional assemblage from Hengrove Farm, on the other hand, tells the opposite story, with some early pottery sourced from mass-producers but with a higher proportion of locally- (or regionally-) produced wares in the native tradition (including flint-gritted Silchester ware,

[462] Poulton (2007), 19; Roe 2010 (ub J. Lewis (2010)), 8; S. Preston (2012), 155.
[463] *Cf.* Perring and Pitts (2013), 44–45; 145.
[464] Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017), 183. McKinley (2004), 30–31; Anon. (2000), 20–22. Cowie (2009), 26–27. Pottery from Alice Holt (AD 50–160 and Highgate Wood (AD 100–140). Cowie (2009), 26–27 and McKinley (2004), 30–31 list ER toilet implements, coins, brooches, glass, locally- and regionally-produced pottery, and the expected la Graufesenque Samian and unidentified (1st- and 2nd-century) and Dr. 20 amphorae.

which has recently been linked with native 'resistance' to new Roman pottery traditions).[465]

The urban-rural distinction was not the only one in the dataset. It appears that from this early period (and continuing throughout the Roman period), 'reorganised' sites were more deeply integrated into the regional markets than sites that were not reorganised (Figure 77). The reorganised sites were more likely to furnish coins and brooches, imported pottery, and extra-regional imports. This difference becomes even starker when peripheral sites are removed from both samples (Figure 78). It is unclear if this distinction will 'hold' as excavation in the area continues: excavations that revealed evidence for site reorganisation tended to be large (median: 4.9 ha), roughly eight times larger than those that did not (median: 0.61 ha).

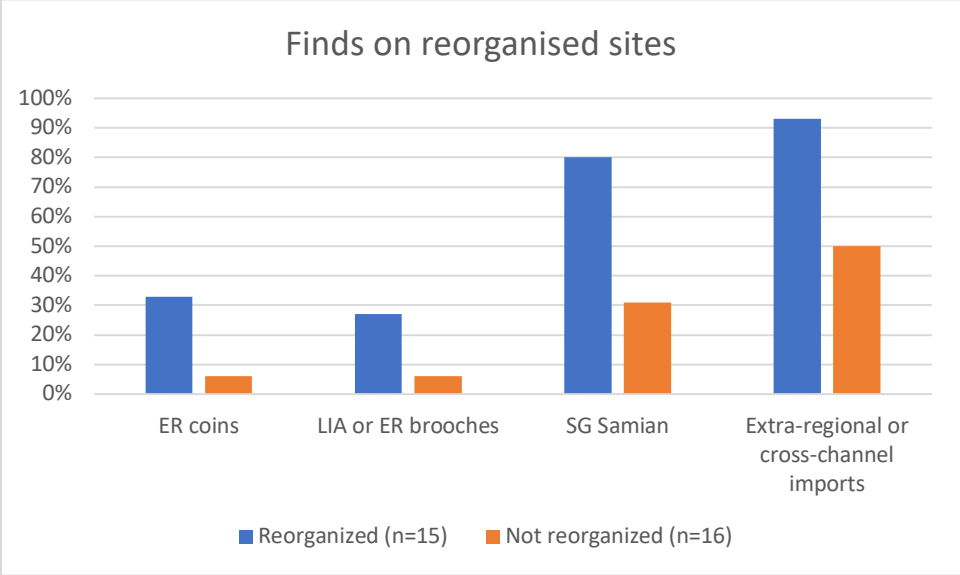


Figure 77: First-century finds assemblages on sites with and without evidence for reorganisation.

[465] Sutton (2020); quote from Poulton (2007), Appendix 3, 4.

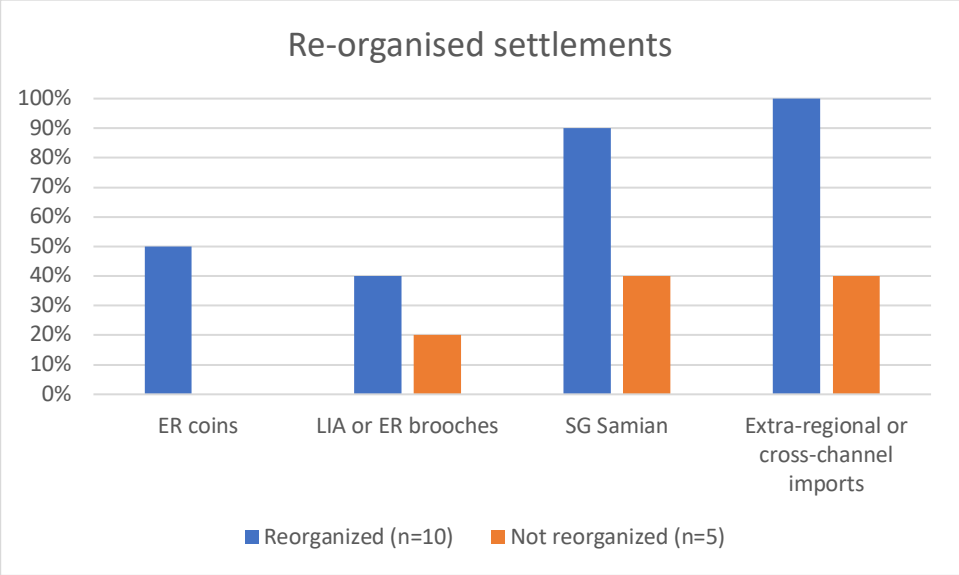


Figure 78: First-century finds assemblages on reorganised rural settlements and settlements without evidence for reorganisation.

Conclusions

An increasing body of research in the region has demonstrated that the M/LR landscape-level changes alluded to at the start of this chapter were related to extensive livestock (cattle) management. Staines is seen as a possible processing centre for this livestock (more below).[466] The extent to which Phase 1 changes in the agricultural landscape prefigured these developments is unclear. While cattle dominated most animal bone assemblages dated to the Late Iron Age and ER, there was great variation between sites, as Smith *et al*. point out.[467]

While there were minor differences in elaboration and market access between sites, in this period, no site stood out as having particularly 'remarkable' levels of access or material elaboration. Farm or landscape reorganisation seems to have been linked to changes in consumption, however. All of the rural sites reporting ER coins were either reorganised in Phase 1 or were new foundations. Some 93% of reorganised sites, furthermore, reported

[466] Dawson (2019).
[467] Alexander Smith, et al. (2016), 131–135.

diagnostic Phase 1 finds compared with only 67% of sites without evidence for reorganisation, and 45% of the 'new' sites (Figure 76). This suggests that site reorganisation may have been linked with market integration. The fact that these changes happened in a piecemeal way on both pre-existing native sites and on new foundations further suggests that these changes may not have been the result of top-down management (by absentee landlords), but of rural non-élite agency.[468]

PHASE 2—MID-ROMAN

Overview and Landscape organisation

In the Thames Valley overall, up to 70% of sites were either abandoned or reorganised by c. AD 120–150.[469] Booth notes that "what was happening, if not the result of a single 'event', was part of a short-term process and not simply a manifestation of one or more long-term trends."[470] These trends are apparent in the case study area, although here these changes happened in two phases—one, in the first century and early second century that predominantly involved landscape reorganisation (mainly discussed above), and a second, in the second or third century, involving reduction in occupation, abandonment, or hiatuses in occupation that affected roughly 34% of the case study sites (Figure 79 and Figure 80). Franconi suggests that some of the abandonments were caused by flooding or other environmental changes (which interrupted settlement in many parts of Staines).[471]

[468] See Witcher (2017).
[469] Lambrick (1992), 83–84; Henig and Booth (2000), 106–108; Booth (2007), 43–44.
[470] Booth (2007), 50–53.
[471] Franconi (2021); McKinley (2004), 10.

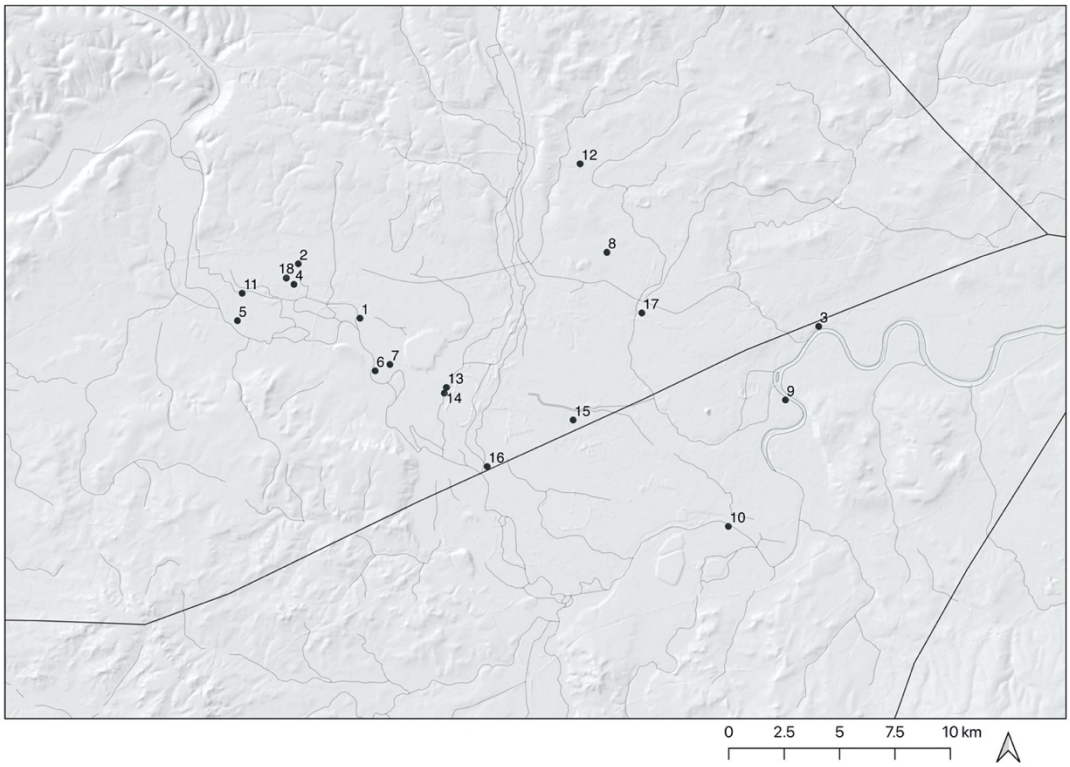


Figure 79: Sites that were abandoned, experienced hiatuses, or on which activity seemed to have been reduced in the second and early-third centuries AD. 1 (Agar's Plough); 2 (Bath Road, Slough); 3 (Brentford); 4 (Cippenham, Slough); 5 (Eton Area 16); 6 (Datchet, Field A); 7 (Datchet, Fields 2, 3, and 4); 8 (Hayes Manor School); 9 (Heathcote); 10 (Hurst Park); 11 (Lake End Road West); 12 (Long Lane); 13 (Lower Horton Channel); 14 (Manor Farm); 15 (Mayfield Farm); 16 (Staines); 17 (Western International Market); 18 (Wood Lane). The kiln sites at Hedgerley, Fulmer, and Springwood were not included here.

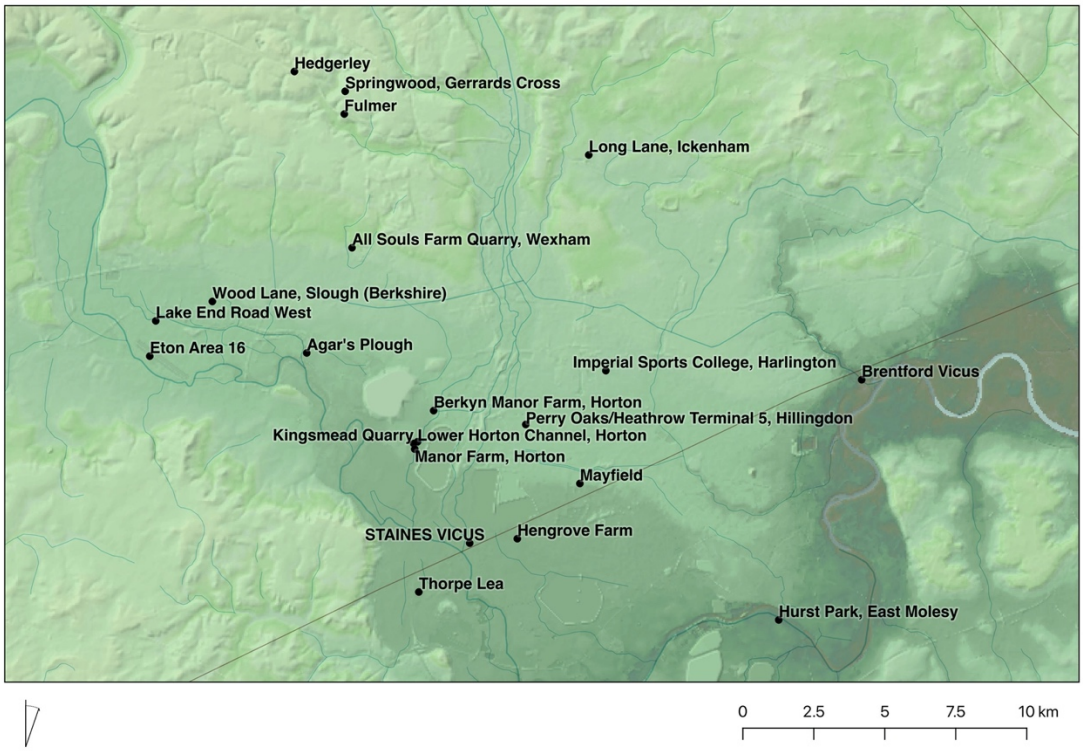


Figure 80: Case Study 2, MR sites mentioned in text.

Of the 35 sites occupied in the second–third-century, 11–12 were categorised as settlements and 14–19 were classified as 'peripheral/other'.[472] Some of these (three kiln sites at Hedgerley, Fulmer, and Gerrards Cross, four cemeteries, and two field systems) may have been seasonally- or sporadically occupied, without an associated settlement, while others were peripheral areas of probable settlements that lay outside the excavated area.

Most of the reorganised sites examined in the previous section continued to develop through the second and early third century, and evidence from some suggests a focus on cattle rearing. The larger enclosures at All Souls Farm Quarry were laid out in the late first or early second century, the enclosures at Hengrove Farm were constantly reworked, and some of the enclosures and the trackway at Imperial College Sports Ground may have been constructed in the second century (dating is imprecise).[473] Within and around the ladder-like enclosures at Kingsmead Quarry (which were reworked in the

[472] 5 were left uncategorised.
[473] Crockett and Nowell (1998); Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017); S. Preston (2012).

LR period), environmental evidence suggests the site was engaged in cattle rearing and arable cultivation (Figure 82).[474] At Hengrove Farm, the animal bone assemblage reflects a shift from a predominantly sheep/goat focus in the LIA/ER period to a predominantly cattle focus in the MR.[475] Conquest-period field systems around a trapezoidal MIA enclosure (excavated over 2.1 ha) at Wood Lane, Slough, were significantly reworked in the later first and early second centuries. Since no crop processing remains (or under- or above-ground storage) were identified, the site was likewise seen as being focussed on stock management (Figure 81).[476] Pottery from the site—consisting primarily of storage jars, large mixing bowls and a cheese press—further signifies pastoral activity.[477]Activity there decreased or ended by the third century, after which it may have seen sporadic reuse. A similar arrangement of paddocks—without as much associated evidence for domestic occupation—was initially laid out in the ER period at Long Lane, Ickenham, and continuously reworked until a hiatus in the late second century.[478]

[474] Chaffey, Barclay, and Pelling (forthcoming), 150.
[475] Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017), 221–225.
[476] Ford, Entwistle, and Taylor (2003), 162.
[477] Ford, Entwistle, and Taylor (2003), 84–5.
[478] Lakin (1995), 11.

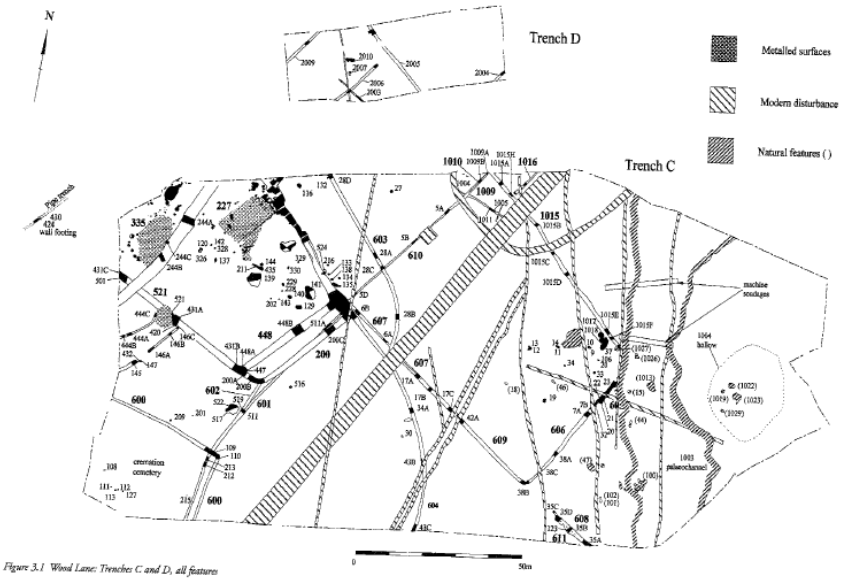


Figure 81: All excavated features at Wood Lane, Slough (Ford, Entwhistle, and Taylor (2003), 36).

Processing marks from the cattle bone assemblages within Staines are "indicative of large-scale and rapid processing of livestock," and Smith *et. al.* suggest that Staines could have acted as a central node in the processing of cattle (and possibly the production of smoked meats) from the hinterland for sale in London.[479]

Activity on several sites changed or reduced/ceased altogether in the mid- to late second century. There appears to have been a major hiatus at Staines between the late second–early third centuries, and all evidence suggests this was caused by flooding.[480] Flooding is thought to have been a factor in the abandonment of the field system/agricultural complexes at Manor Farm and Horton Channel, Horton.[481] Flooding may have been a factor on other sites, as well, although these events do not seem to have occurred simultaneously and must have been part of a longer-term process.[482] A corndryer at the heavily truncated site at Hurst Park, East Molesy (on the south bank of the present-day

[479] Alexander Smith, et al. (2016), 134–5.
[480] McKinley (2004), 10–11. See also Crouch and Shanks (1984).
[481] S. Preston (2003), 66–86.
[482] *Cf.* Franconi (2021).

Thames), was in use in the first and early second centuries, before being abandoned c. AD 150,[483] and activity around the ladder systems at Lake End Road West and Agar's Plough seem to have undergone second-century hiatuses.[484] An enclosure with an apparent focus on cattle rearing went out of use briefly at Eton Area 16, before the site was reorganised in the second century, with new field systems and a barn being constructed. Evidence from a corndryer on site demonstrates that at this point, the inhabitants were engaged in large-scale crop processing and malting.[485]

Morphology

Structural remains were limited across the case study: found on only 9 (26%) sites. Rectilinear structures (found on 67% of the sites with structures) were slightly more common than round ones (44%), and only one site (Staines) furnished evidence for masonry buildings.

At Hengrove Farm and Eton Rowing Lake, an MR 'aisled' barn-type structures were identified,[486] and at All Souls Farm Quarry, a square structure with an internal hearth dated to the MR. Two timber structures, both dated to the E/MR period, were reported from Wood Lane (Slough). One was represented by a gravel floor, a line of stakeholes (possibly the remains of a wattle wall), and a series of postholes that marked either a porch or were external structural supports.[487]

Evidence for other MR timber structures was much more ephemeral. A possible MR roundhouse gully was identified at Kingsmead Quarry (although the date was unclear).[488] Rectilinear timber structures were posited at Heathrow

[483] P. Andrews and Crockett (1996).
[484] The Lake End West and Agar's Plough reports are not yet published, and all information comes from Martyn Allen, et al. (2018), "Lake End Road West" and "Agar's Plough."
[485] The report (along with Lake End Road West, which was excavated as part of the same large project) is not yet published, and all data comes from Martyn Allen, et al. (2018), "Eton Area 16."
[486] Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017), 292; Martyn Allen, et al. (2018), "Eton Rowing Lake."
[487] Ford, Entwistle, and Taylor (2003), 53–56.
[488] Chaffey, Barclay, and Pelling (forthcoming), 135.

on the basis of 4–5 MR gullies.[489] At Thorpe Lea, possible structures were indicated by the presence of daub, second-century roof tile, and environmental samples showing woodworm and powder post beetles, typically found in association with structural timbers.[490] A structure has also been posited at Berkyn Manor Farm based on the relatively large quantity of Roman tile (including *tegulae*, *imbrices* and box flue tiles) found on site (819 pieces weighing 138.62 kg).[491]

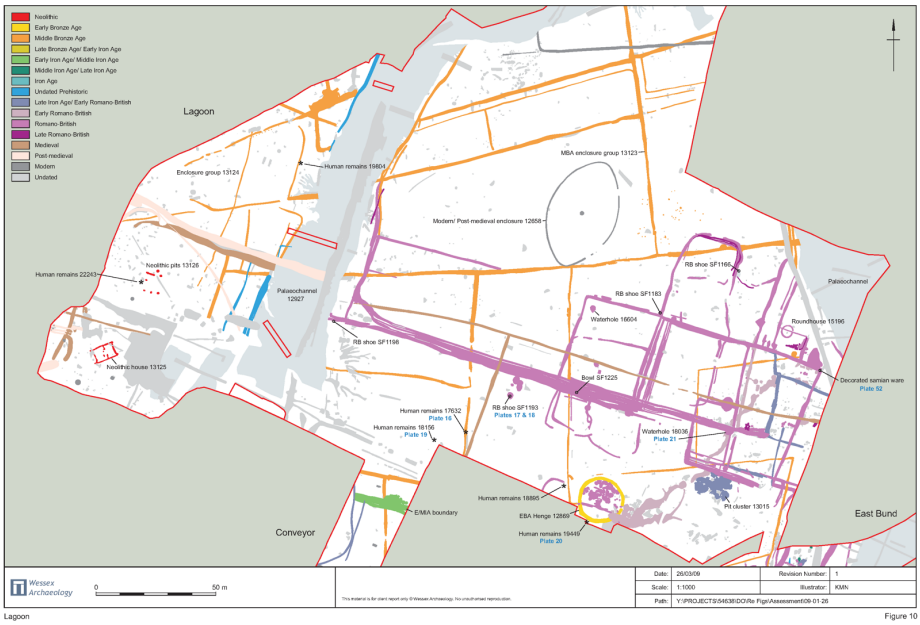


Figure 82: Enclosures uncovered in excavations at Kingsmead Quarry, Horton, Case Study 2 (RSRB Database , "Kingsmead Quarry").

Finds Assemblages

489 J. Lewis (2010), 293.
490 Hayman *et al.* (2012), 183.
491 P. Andrews (1998), 2.

As in the later part of Phase 1, most of the settlements appear to have been connected with both regional and cross-Channel trade networks in the second centuries. The only settlement that was 'unconnected' to wider MR trade networks, in fact, was Berkyn Manor Farm, which furnished a total of 19 pages of literature, spread across two reports, and was thus too brief to include details about finds or pottery. Central Gaulish Samian ware was reported from 90% of the settlements occupied in the MR period, and pottery from outside the region or coins was reported from 91% (Figure 83). Second-century coins were reported from 6 rural settlements (and the two *vici*), third-century coins were reported from 7 rural settlements (and the *vici*). Sites that benefitted from detailed reporting also uniformly mentioned the presence of regionally imported quernstones, of Millstone Grid, Greensand, and Old Red Sandstone, as well as from the Rhineland.[492] The 48 quernstone fragments from the E/MR settlement at All Souls Farm Quarry (mainly from MR contexts), for instance, came from "the West Country and Sussex," as well as from the Rhineland.[493]

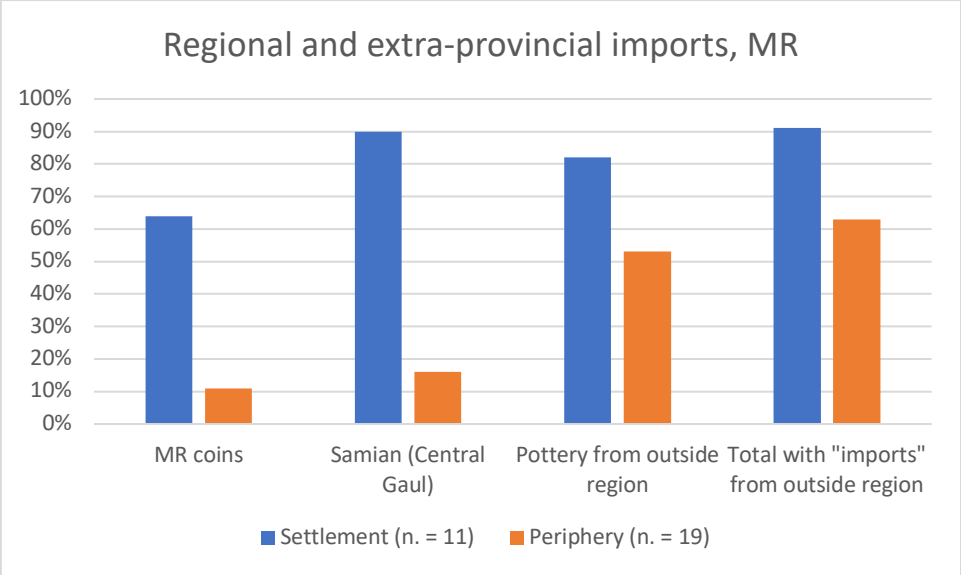


Figure 83: Second-century material from outside Case Study 2 area.

[492] Dawson (2019)
[493] S. Preston (2012), 154.

As in the previous phase, settlements (with detailed reports) seem to have had access to pottery from sources similar to what was available at Staines. At Hengrove Farm, the Roman ceramic assemblage included a similar proportion of fine to coarsewares as Staines, and moreover produced "all the wares and fabrics found in nearby Staines…except for a few uncommon imported types."[494] As at Staines, c. 82% of the Roman sherds from the site seem to have come from the Alice Holt/Farnham production site.[495] The site also received regional imports from Verulamium, Dorset, and London, and Oxford, along with CG Samian.[496] At Heathrow, earlier MR mica-dusted wares came from Gaul (mostly Samian) and London, and later (M or LR) finewares were sourced from the Nene Valley, Oxford, and the New Forest kilns.[497] A similar assemblage was reported from All Souls Farm Quarry, which produced an enormous (> 16,000 sherd) assemblage consisting predominantly of E/MR material. Extra-provincial imports (Samian, amphorae from Baetica and unidentified sources, Gallo-Belgic ware, Cologne ware and Moselkeramik) were present in small quantities (c. 1.5% of total), alongside British finewares from the usual sources (Oxford, Hoo, and the Nene Valley), mortaria (Oxford and other producers), and coarsewares from the Colne Valley, Highgate Wood, Verulamium, Alice Holt, Oxford, and Dorset.[498]

Conclusion

The mid-Roman period appears to have been one of economic expansion (and some associated reorganisation) across much of the area, although contraction or abandonment (in the early or later second century) was occurred on c. 34% of the sites. Much of the rural evidence pertains to production, with the most 'dramatic' landscape-level change evident on sites that either specialised in stock management or on mixed-farming sites. An emphasis on arable

494 Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017), 186.
495 Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017), 187.
496 Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017), 187–188.
497 G. Jones and Brown (2011), 5–6.
498 S. Preston (2012), 134–135.

production was evident in the reorganisation of the settlements at All Souls Farm Quarry and Eton Area 16. Isolated kiln sites were in-use in the second century at Hedgerley, Fulmer, and Springwood, and a kiln may also have been in operation in an as-yet unexcavated portion of the settlement at Mayfield Farm.[499] As in the previous section, settlements that produced evidence for large-scale agricultural production or specialisation furnished more evidence for market integration than those that did not (Figure 84). This may be simply the result of the small sample size and small physical size of the latter excavations (average size=0.24 ha). It may, however, also reflect differences in agricultural 'outlooks' or regimes in this region. Whether or not there were MR farms that were *not* involved in some way in surplus production (and/or consumption from markets) is an open question, and one that more excavation over a wider area may help resolve. The extent to which production on the 'producer' sites above was intended for wider markets—and what markets it was intended for—is another open question. Staines—and even the roadside settlement at Brentford—may not have been producing their own cereal crops. Cowie notes that a "scarcity of cereal chaff in the samples [at Brentford] suggests that processing activities were not taking place here," and that "the settlement may have been a consumer rather than producer of cereals."[500] Isotope analysis of animal bone from large market centres and military sites might help answer this question with regard to the putative stock-rearing sites.

[499] Oakley (1937); Tarrent and Sandford (1972); Stainton and Stanley (1987); Anon. (1999).
[500] Cowie (2009), 86.

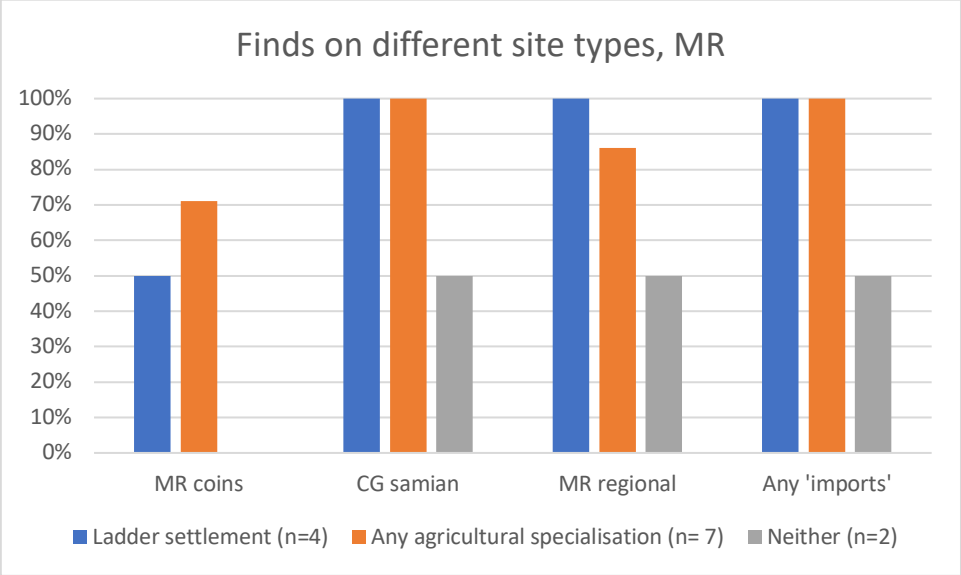


Figure 84: Distribution of regional and/or extra-provincial imports on different types of MR settlements in the Heathrow Terminal 5 case study area.

PHASE 3 – LATE ROMAN

The Later Roman period in the case study area is becoming increasingly well-known, on a national level, for a series of LR field systems and droveways that are thought to have related to large-scale stock movement and control, as the complex field systems discussed in the previous two sections (along with some others) were reorganised or expanded. LR occupation was attested on 30 (63%) case study sites (57% identified as peripheral and 37% as settlements, Figure 85 and Figure 86), including 9–12 non-nucleated settlements. Most (74%) of the occupied sites had gone out of use by the sub-Roman period.

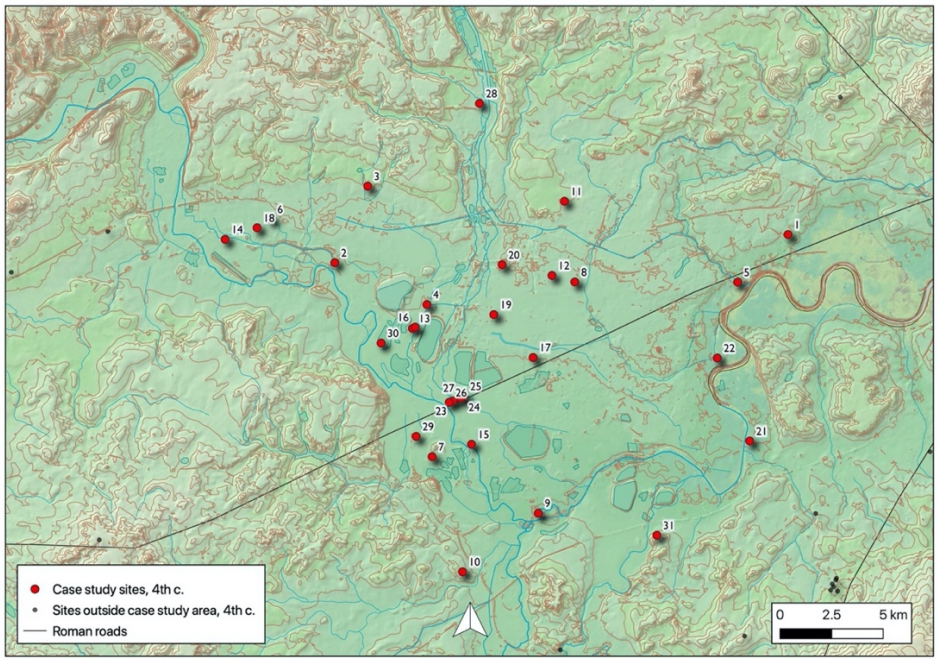


Figure 85: Map of 4th-century sites within Case Study 2. Numbers correspond to the following site names: 1. 51 Avenue Gardens, Acton; 2. Agar's Plough; 3. All Souls Farm Quarry, Wexham; 4. Berkyn Manor Farm, Horton; 5. Brentford (vicus); 6. Brook Farm, Slough; 7. Coldharbour; 8. Cranford; 9. Ferry Lane, Shepperton; 10. Franklands Drive; 11. Hayes Manor School; 12. Imperial Sports College, Harlington; 13. Kingsmead Quarry; 14. Lake End Road West; 15. Laleham, Spelthorne; 16. Lower Horton Channel, Horton; 17. Mayfield; 18. Old Way Lane, Slough; 19. Perry Oaks/Heathrow Terminal 5, Hillingdon; 20. Prospect Park; 21. Skerne Road; 22. St John's Hospital, Twickenham; 23. Staines (vicus); 24. Staines, 18-32 London Road; 25. Staines, 42-54 London Road; 26. Staines, 9-11 High Street; 27. Staines, Old Police Station, 10-16 London Road; 28. The Lea, Denham; 29. Thorpe Lea; 30. Waylands; 31. Waynflete Tower Avenue, Esher.

In the later Roman period, occupation returned or began on several rural sites (Agar's Plough, The Lea, Coldharbour Quarry, Cranford Lane, Laleham, and Wayland's Nursery), and occupation at Staines picked up again, though seemingly on a less-intense level.[501] Even on some sites without any evidence for MR disruption, activity was hard to understand, and (although they were evidently still engaged in market activity—see Figure 87), numbers of LR finds decreased even on sites which furnished strong evidence for LR activity. At Heathrow Terminal 5, for instance, excavators explain that "the level of [LR

[501] McKinley (2004), 50–55.

activity]… is difficult to discern as in general finds from this period are present in reduced quantities."[502]

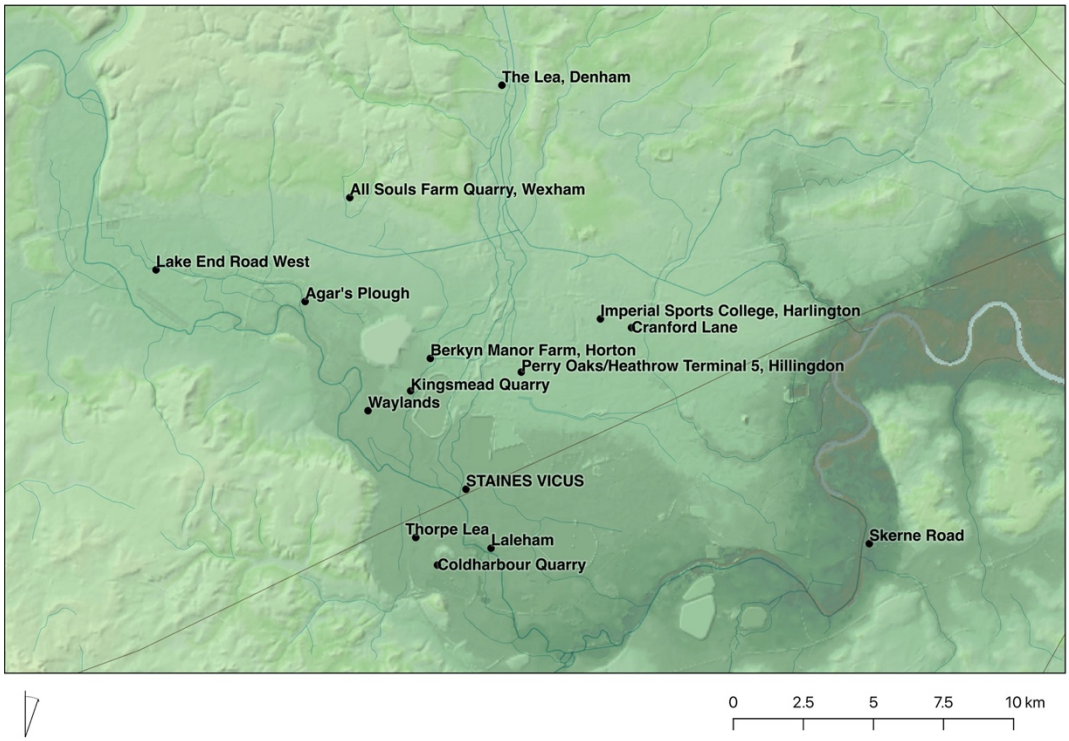


Figure 86: Case Study 2, LR sites mentioned in text.

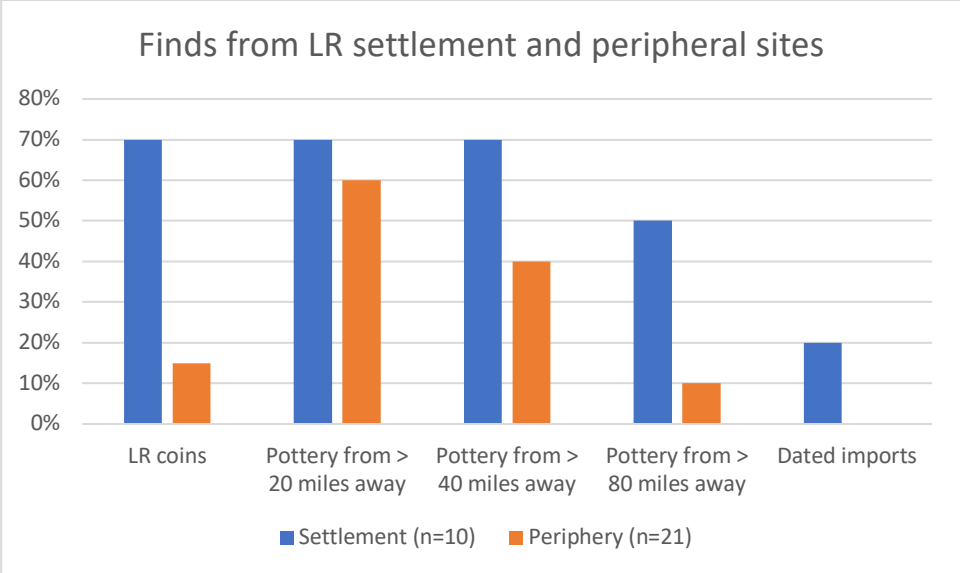


Figure 87: LR finds from settlement and peripheral sites in the study area.

[502] J. Lewis (2010), 302.

It is in the mid- to late-third and fourth centuries that the stock control (i.e. 'ladder') systems seem to have developed fully.[503] At Imperial College Sports Ground, the earlier paddock system was transformed into a ladder system, with paddocks lining a trackway, and the system "may have been related to the movement of livestock."[504]

At Heathrow Terminal 5 (which has a trackway lying perpendicular to that at Imperial College), a ladder complex was constructed "at some point in the third century AD",[505] with M/LR paddocks flanking a trackway "some 90 m wide in places, designed to accommodate high levels of traffic, even if only seasonally", (Figure 88).[506] Environmental evidence suggests the site may have been involved in both stock rearing and haymaking, as hay species from both dry and water meadows were identified on site.[507] Powell et al. suggest the Heathrow and Imperial College sites may have formed a contiguous livestock-management landscape, which could have connected both sites to a market at Staines.[508] Thorpe Lea may have been a "ranch" by the LR period.[509] The enclosures at Kingsmead Quarry were enlarged by 39% in the later Roman period: "an enlargement that could have seen an increase in productivity and economy."[510] The ladder enclosures at Agar's Plough and Lake End Road West may have been reused in this period, as well.[511]

[503] Alexander Smith, et al. (2016), 134. See also D. Bird (1996), 224; J. Lewis (2010), 298–311; and Powell, et al. (2016), 107.
[504] Powell, et al. (2016), 107.
[505] J. Lewis (2006), 218.
[506] J. Lewis (2010), 224.
[507] J. Lewis (2010), 297.
[508] Powell, et al. (2016), 107; J. Lewis (2006), 225.
[509] J. Lewis (2010), 310.
[510] Chaffey, Barclay, and Pelling (forthcoming), 140.
[511] Martyn Allen, et al. (2018), "Agars Plough", "Lake End Road West."

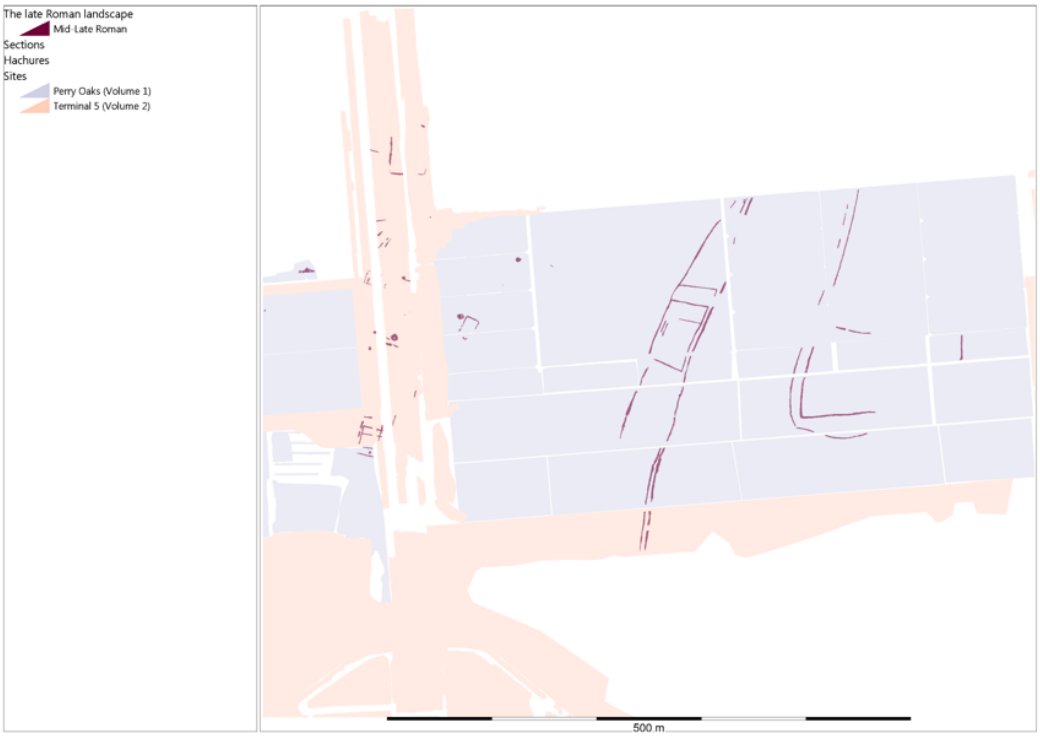


Figure 88: Mid- to late-Roman activity at Heathrow Terminal 5, Case Study 2.

Morphology

Structural remains representing possible timber buildings were identified on six (19%) rural sites, (Heathrow Terminal 5, The Lea, All Souls Farm Quarry, Skerne Road, Berkyn Manor Farm, and Cranford Lane). At Heathrow, MR buildings may have remained in use, while two new structures were built in the LR period. One, E6, was a large rectilinear structure that could either have been a palisaded enclosure or a building (Figure 89).[512] The presence of CBM on site (158 fragments) could suggest that it was a structure, although there were many fewer *imbrices* than *tegulae* in the assemblage, and it might be more reasonable to suggest the tiles were being used for another purpose.[513]

[512] J. Lewis (2010), 304–305.
[513] K. Brown (2010), 1–3.



Figure 89: Two possible reconstructions of LR structure E6 at Heathrow Terminal 5 (Lewis et al. 2010).

A pair of beamslots, possibly "represent[ing] the gable ends" of a LR timber structure, were identified at The Lea, Denham.[514] The square M/LR posthole structure at All Souls Farm Quarry, discussed above, may have been in use in the LR period, and a post and beamslot structure (possibly an enclosure, not a building), was identified at Cranford Lane.[515] A line of (LR?) postholes at Skerne Road may have been the edge of a timber building or a fenceline.[516] Clusters of 'Romano-British' postholes (representing circular or rectilinear buildings) at Berkyn Manor Farm were undated (and the six-page interim report furnished little information about their chronology), but the structures may have been LR, given the general date of activity on site (second–fourth century).[517]

[514] Coleman *et al.* (2004), 16.
[515] S. Preston (2012), 125; Elsden (1996), D-20.
[516] Bradley (2002), 17.
[517] P. Andrews (1998), 2.

Finds Assemblages

The LR period was characterised by a lower level of visible extra-provincial trade than other periods here, reflecting both province-wide trends in pottery supply and a possible decline in settlement or market activity in the region. LR coins were found on 42–55% of the rural settlements. LR regional finewares, were reported from all settlements, with the exception of Berkyn Manor Farm, which did not report pottery in detail (Figure 90).[518]

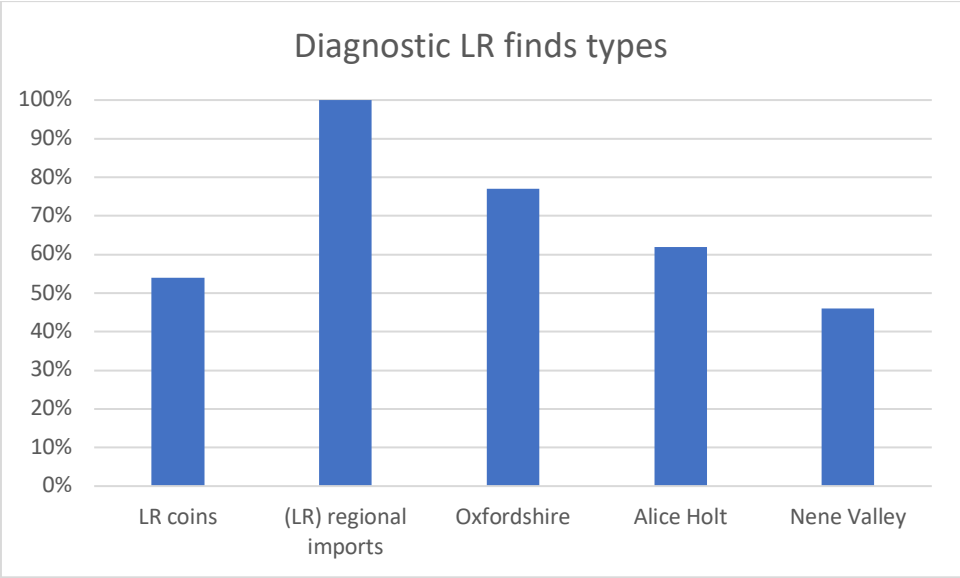


Figure 90: Percent of Heathrow Terminal 5 case study settlement or 'unclear' sites (n=14) furnishing coins or regionally-traded pottery in the LR period.

Smith *et al*. note that "there is very little evidence for wealth being reinvested in architecture" in the region (at this or any point in the Roman period).[519] It is possible that, as Lewis *et al*. suggest, the LR period was a period of consolidation of landholdings, and that the extensification of livestock-management systems reflects this. Lewis suggests that rural dwellers became '*coloni'* in this period and suggests (rather ominously) that the large LR timber

[518] P. Andrews (1998); Farwell (1990).
[519] Alexander Smith, et al. (2016), 135.

structure (discussed below) identified on site, "may have been built under external influence."[520] While this is certainly possible, it might also be possible to see the development of large, interconnected droveways as the work of a local *pagus* or other collective organisation.

The presence of a large structure, like that at Heathrow, might even be seen as evidence for local 'investment in architecture,' albeit on a smaller scale than in the Danebury region (the most elaborate phases of which, like the Heathrow structure, were constructed in the fourth century). LR finds from the Heathrow excavations included a padlock key, lead weights—rare in this region—a harness bell, several finger rings, and a lead tank (possibly a baptismal font), buried in a waterhole.[521] These are similar in character to finds from other 'commercial' sites examined in this thesis (like the aisled buildings in the following chapter). Likewise, while no LR structures were identified at Imperial College, the site produced two LR strip-armlets, a nail cleaner, ironwork, and quern fragments, some imported from the Eifel. The enclosure at Cranford Lane, built alongside a possible droveway and primarily occupied in the LR period, also furnished a relatively large number of metal objects, mostly of agricultural use (shears, a reaping hook, chains, quern fragments), but including a large number of personal 'luxury' items (bracelets, hobnails, a glass bead, and a gaming counter).[522] Finds like these, alongside the limited but consistent level of LR finewares reported from many sites (and the fact that these installations were constructed on sites that had been engaged in stock management since the ER period or earlier), suggests agency of local communities here in the later Roman period.

CONCLUSIONS

[520] J. Lewis (2010), 310–311.
[521] J. Lewis (2010), 311–312.
[522] Elsden (1996), D–20.

The Staines region produced the sparsest settlement evidence of any area examined in this thesis, for various reasons: high levels of truncation on the MTV gravel terraces, the unsuitability of the soils for extensive, high-yield arable cultivation, the small size of some excavations, and an apparently relatively low level of material culture in the Late Iron Age and Roman period. In contrast with the other three case studies, no rural settlements here became villas at any point during the study period. Yet, the case study area underwent profound transformations in the wider agricultural landscape from the mid-first century on, with the development of complex new field systems, predominantly for livestock management, on numerous sites. These new field and enclosure systems continued to develop over time, and ongoing research suggests that many sites around the region may have been involved in livestock management. While the particulars of Iron Age tribute and/or taxation systems remain unclear, our literary sources suggest that the imposition of Roman systems of taxation was more burdensome for native communities than potentially-pre-existing ones, and this new tax burden may have contributed to some of the wider landscape changes.[523] Yet, the evidence suggests that the presence of new markets for agricultural and other products was an important driver of change, as well.[524] First, the 'stepped' nature of the agricultural developments seem to be chronologically linked with the development of the region's Roman towns, which were founded in the early post-conquest period but do not seem to have been fully functional until after c. AD 70. Mid- and Later Roman reorganisation may have been a response not only to localised flooding, but to the hiatus at and reoccupation of Staines. Second, sites in the region were deeply engaged in *consuming* both necessary goods (quernstones, agricultural implements, and cooking pottery) and 'luxuries' (finewares and personal objects) from wider markets. Sites with developed field systems displayed even greater access to goods from the market (both necessities and luxuries). Access to coins also correlated with evidence for agricultural expansion. Thus, while the region's

[523] Franconi (2021), 332–333, cites Dio (52.2–3) and Tacitus (*Agr.* 30).
[524] Dawson (2019), 126, argues that Verulamium, not Staines, would have been the intended market for much of the region's produce.

inhabitants never became the proprietors of large villa estates, they nevertheless may have been agents of economic change in the Middle Thames Valley, working to integrate the region with wider regional systems of supply.

Chapter 4: The Fenland Survey

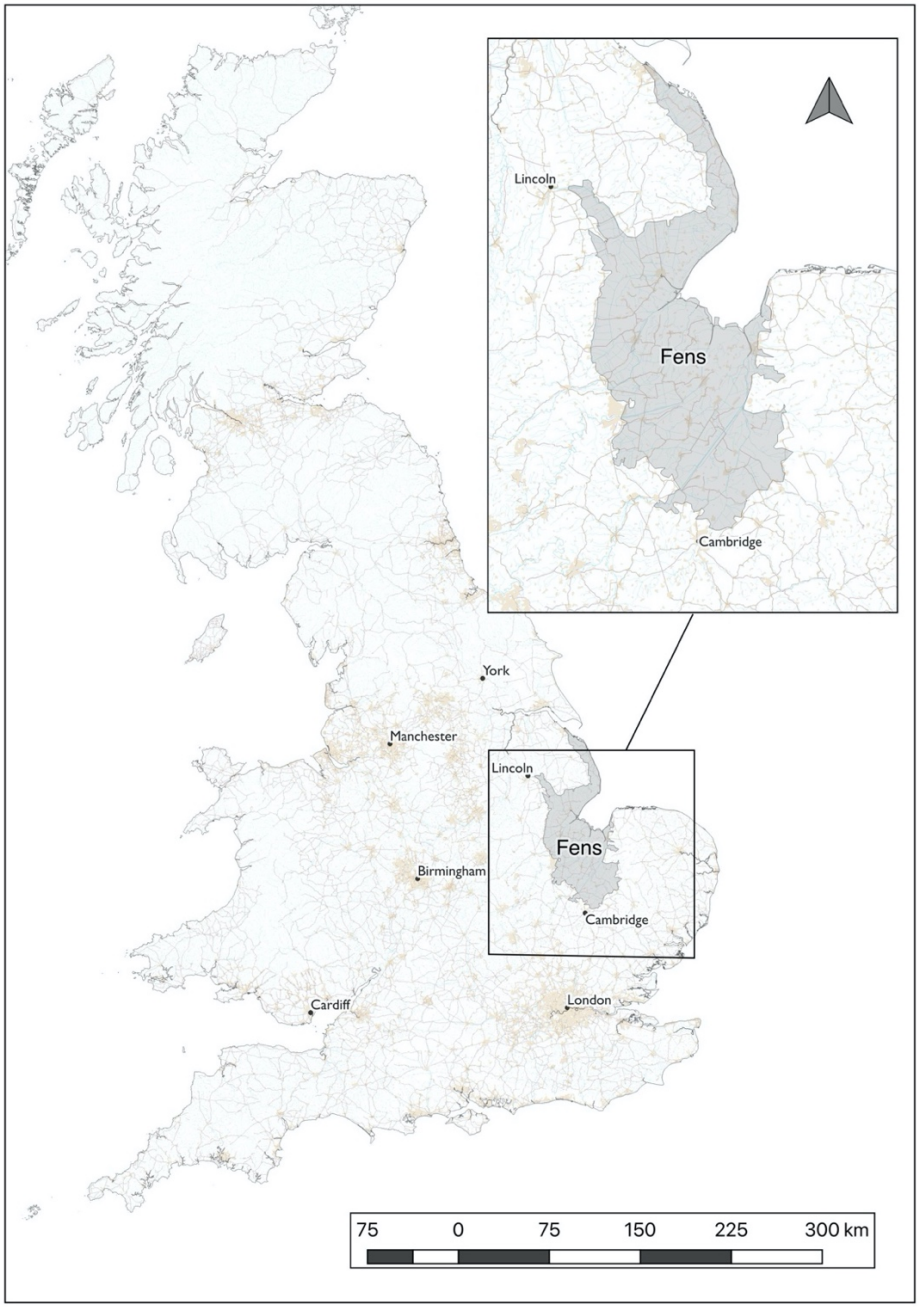


Figure 91: Map of Case Study 3 area.

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on 339 sites in and around the Fens (Figure 91). It includes the entire area of the Fens as well as settlements on higher-lying ground 10 miles (16.09 km) from the Fen Edge itself. It encompasses parts of the putative *territoria* of the Iceni, Catuvellauni and Corieltauvi and their associated settlements, 10 conquest-period Roman forts, 26–36 nucleated settlements, and numerous farms and other sites.

On a national scale, the Roman Fens are known as an area of low-status (non-villa) Roman settlement, and for the interlinked questions of whether the Fens were drained in the Roman period and whether the area was part of an imperial estate. These questions, and others, were examined in two large surveys—the Fenland Survey and its precursor, *The Fenland in Roman Times*. This study is centred on the Fenland Survey, which covered an exceptional 250,000 hectares in a combination of field walking and limited excavation, identified over 2,400 'sites', and presented a picture of a densely populated landscape of small farms, excavation on which was needed to clarify questions about settlement status, the regional economy, the imperial estate question, and more. Now, nearly 30 years later, numerous development-led excavations, including several large open-area ones, have made it possible to re-examine the picture.

The scale of this chapter necessitates a briefer discussion of individual sites than in other case studies, but conversely offers the chance to reach more statistically-robust conclusions. The present chapter draws on the lessons of the previous two case studies in site-identification and development and applies them on a larger scale.

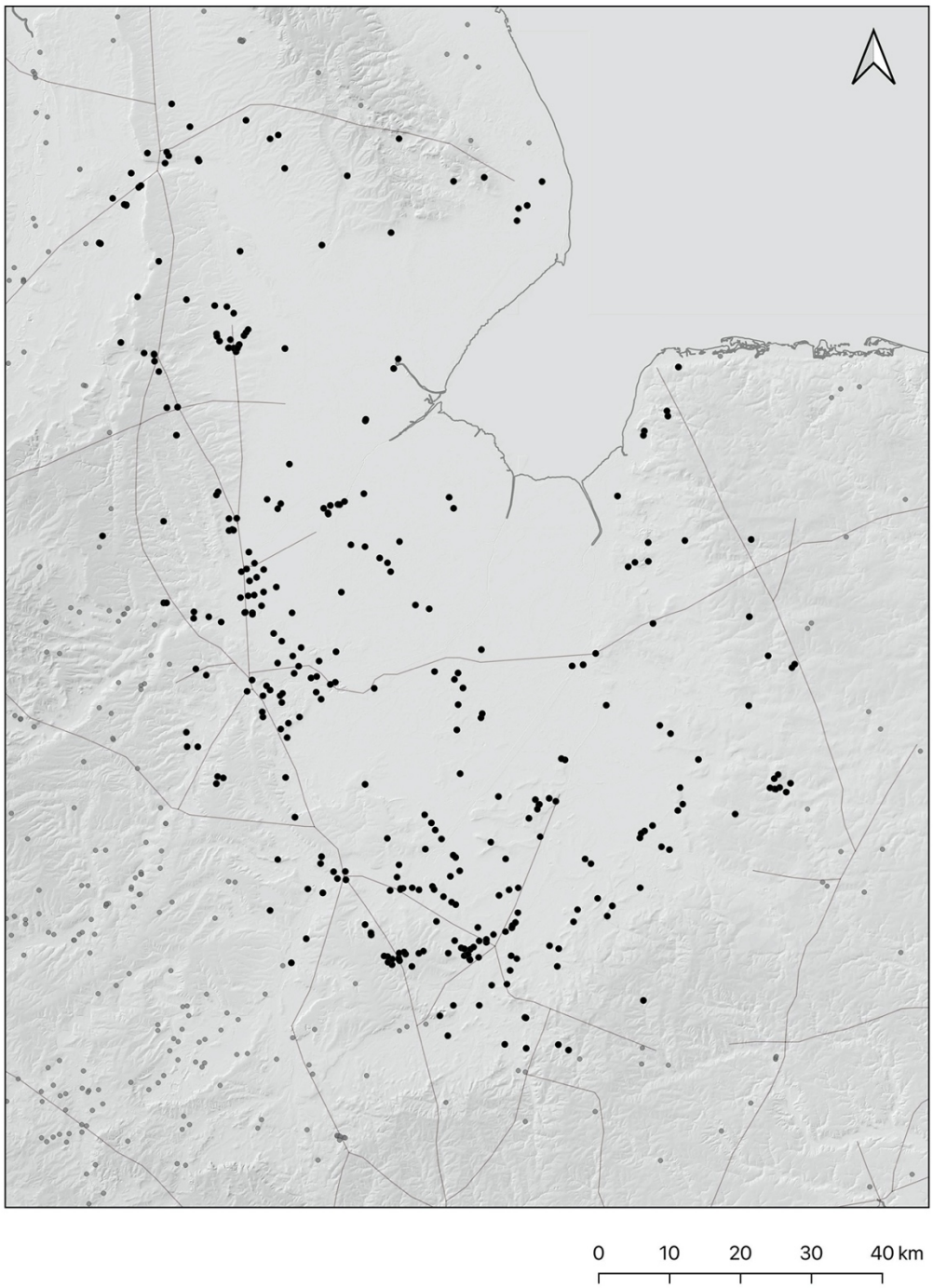


Figure 92: Case Study sites (circles), shown in black. Roman roads and sites outside case study area shown in grey.

FENLAND GEOLOGY

The changing geology of the Fens has influenced both the archaeological record and the assumptions/questions scholars bring to it. Peat erosion unearthed previously unknown sites, whilst exploration of the landscape by newcomers intent on drainage led to the 'discovery' and (re-)interpretation of above ground features. Evans notes that archaeological finds were examined within a tense political climate that pitted wetlanders against newcomers, and these pre-occupations can be seen in regional scholarship on the Roman Fens.[525]

Changing sea levels and drainage conditions beginning in the early Holocene have influenced the flat, low-lying landscapes of north-western Europe. The Fens were created when periodic episodes of marine transgression and regression turned what had been simply low-lying ground into a complex landscape of peat bogs, ponds, and salt marshes. Drainage began in the 17th century, and by the 19th, the Fens had become one of Europe's most intensively cultivated landscapes.[526] Drainage had a dramatic influence on Fenland geology, causing the peat lands to dry out and erode, and lowering the ground level by between 0.2 mm–3 cm per year.[527]

Because this geology has had such a large influence on both the archaeological record and the questions being asked of it, a brief geological overview must preface discussion of the archaeology.

Formation of the Fens

Covering nearly 400,000 ha, much of the fenland sits at or below 3.5 m above Ordnance Datum (sea level, Figure 93).[528] Until widespread drainage in the 19th century, the fenland environment consisted of a patchwork of wetland marshes, bogs, fens and meres, along with water meadows and gravel and clay islands

[525] C. Evans and Cessford (1997).
[526] Honnor and Lane (2002), 1.
[527] Honnor and Lane (2002), 15.
[528] Honnor and Lane (2002), 1.

that rose high enough above the 'flood line' (of c. 3.5 m OD) to be securely habitable.

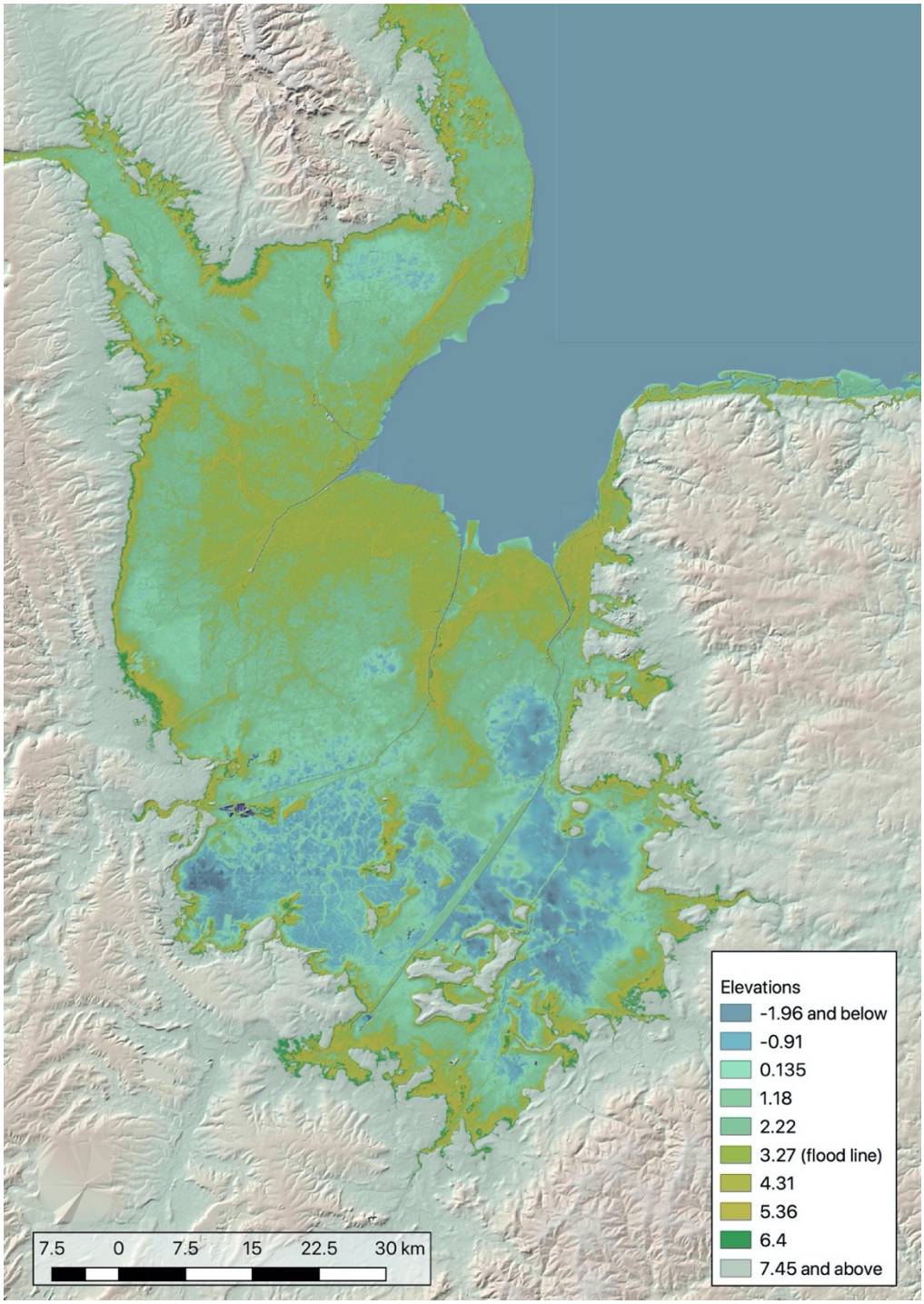


Figure 93: Approximate elevation of fen landscape with modern flood-zone marked in green.

Numerous rivers (the Cam, Delph, Ouse, Nene, Witham, Welland, Glen and the Bourne Eau) drain through the Fens. Just beyond the fen edge, clay uplands extend to the south and west. The clay tills in this region were famous in the 19th and early 20th centuries for their woodlands and orchards and for their geology (viz. the clays themselves, long used for brick making). While the climate is anything but dry by European standards, Cambridgeshire in particular has the warmest, driest summers in the country, experiencing an average of 568.1 mm of rain annually.[529] The sandy, clayey soils in the uplands are notoriously vulnerable to drought conditions.[530]

Estimating the exact location of the Roman Fen Edge (and coast) is difficult. The Roman fen edge may have been lower than the modern one, between 2.5–1.5m OD.[531] Few Roman sites are located below this line, though this may partially reflect site loss from peat wastage. The deposition of marine silts along the north-eastern edge of the Fens slowly raised the ground level there to c. 3–5m OD. This was a complex process and seems to have happened in and after the Roman period.[532] The only part of the fens significantly above sea level are islands of gravel capped clay, which in places rise to a height of 20–36m OD.[533]

Work on post-glacial (Holocene) geology has demonstrated that the eastern coastline of Britain experienced a series of marine transgressions and regressions. The most dramatic of these, dated to the early Holocene, occurred both as the result of post-glacial isostatic adjustment (i.e., changes in land elevation) of changing sea levels (themselves influenced by changes in meltwater input).[534] Detailed analysis of the north-western fens demonstrates that between 8000 and 7500 cal. BP, the rate of sea level rise was c. 8 mm/yr. Between 7500 and 4500 cal. BP, this rate dropped to c. 2.7 mm/year, and it

529 Parks (2013), 23–25; Met Office, 1981–2010 averages.
530 LandIS: Cranfield Soil and Agricultural Institute: Hallett *et al.* (2017), Soilscapes Map.
531 Newton (2018) presents the various figures put forth by previous studies. Most important of these is Coles and Hall (1998), 41–48, and Brew *et al.* (2000).
532 Hayes and Lane (1992); Lane, Hayes, and Chowne (1993), 5.
533 Hall and Coles (1994).
534 Brew, et al. (2000), 73.

dropped again between 4000 cal. BP and the present, to c. 1 mm/year.[535] Rapidly rising sea levels before 7500 cal. BP impeded river drainage and raised the water table, waterlogging the low-lying land and causing the formation of basal peat deposits across the fens.[536] Marine flooding and the deposition of intertidal muds raised the seaward ground level incrementally. Subsequent incursions and withdrawals eroded earlier inland deposits and deposited marine muds and sands closer to the coast, eventually silting up embayments and trapping more and more freshwater inland. This led, among other things, to the formation of inland peats, interspersed with gravels, sands, and silts, and to the formation of roddons (paleochannels).

More-recent episodes of marine and freshwater flooding left deposits so complex as to make lithostratigraphic dating nearly impossible.[537] Evidence from a recently excavated roddon at the Bronze Age site of Must Farm (Whittlesey) indicates these events could occur suddenly, dramatically changing the landscape. Micromorphological analyses of the roddon sediment demonstrate periods of long-term stability interspersed with short periods of dramatic change that altered the landscape over the long term. At Must Farm, for instance, a "catastrophic storm surge" in the Late Bronze Age, which occurred over the space of, perhaps, a single day,[538] resulted in the formation of a slow-moving watercourse that was a focus of human activity for over 1,000 years. Finds from its fills include nine log boats, numerous eel traps, willow fish weirs, Bronze and Iron Age swords and spears, and a timber platform[539] (Figure 94).

[535] Brew, et al. (2000), 83.
[536] Brew, et al. (2000), 83.
[537] A. Wheeler and Waller (1995), 223.
[538] D. Smith *et al.* (2012), 157.
[539] D. Smith, et al. (2012), 156.

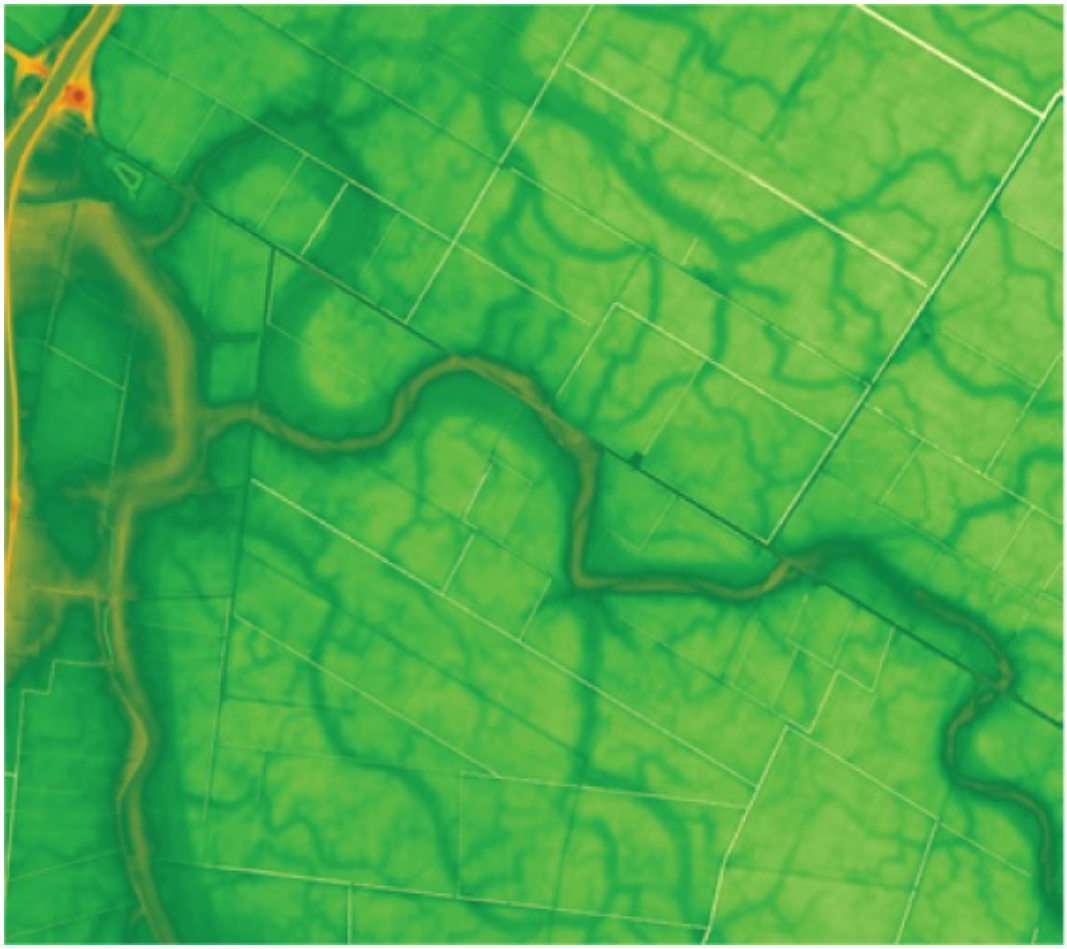


Figure 94: LiDAR-derived image of the relict creek networks around the Littleport area of Cambridgeshire (Pritchard et al., 2015).

As the Must Farm example demonstrates, geological-scale changes in the Fens were, at times, perceptible to the region's human inhabitants, and at other times, less so. But, more importantly for the purposes of this chapter, they have profoundly influenced our understanding of settlement here.

Drainage and the archaeological record

Early modern drainage of the fens began in the 17th century and increased in intensity in the 19th and 20th centuries.[540] It had an enormous influence on the topography, economy and ecology of the fens and has directly and indirectly

[540] Hall and Coles (1994), 4–6.

influenced the region's archaeology: construction of drainage ditches cut or obliterated ancient deposits, the lowering of the water table destroyed waterlogged deposits and caused peat erosion, and the onset of deep ploughing has damaged or destroyed sites that were preserved prior to drainage.

The construction of drainage canals and dykes disturbed/demolished archaeological sites, which were neither studied nor recorded. Honnor and Lane estimate that within the land managed by the Black Sluice Drainage Board alone, more than 460 ha were excavated, "in an area where archaeological sites are as numerous as anywhere in the country."[541] Subsequent intensive cultivation caused extensive truncation up to a depth of 20–45 cm,[542] in a landscape where features sit just below the surface. The (Roman) Bourne–Morton canal, for instance, lies at a depth of c. 35–45 cm.[543]

The dropping water table across the fens has damaged waterlogged deposits[544] and led to 'wastage' (drying and subsequent erosion) of the peat, causing ground levels to subside. The famous Holme Fen Post, installed in 1851, is a dramatic illustration of this process, demonstrating a 2–4m subsidence. Wastage reveals earlier landscape features (such as roddons) and archaeological sites (such as Bronze Age barrows) and simultaneously destroys later parts of the sequence in many areas. Honnor and Lane note that:

> "one effect of the peat wastage in Morton Fen is the obliteration of much of the central part of the Bourne-Morton canal … in the peats of Dyke Fen, only the 0.4m deep basal silt deposits survive, indicating a loss of approximately two metres of peat since the Roman period (Lane 2000a)."[545]

Anecdotal evidence suggests that many near-surface sites have been destroyed by this combination of deep ploughing and erosion. Fenland poet and storyteller Rex Sly tells of his childhood, when Roman finds would come up during ploughing near a series of cropmarks on one of his family's farms in

[541] Honnor and Lane (2002), 8.
[542] Honnor and Lane (2002), 7.
[543] Honnor and Lane (2002), 7.
[544] Honnor and Lane (2002), 8.
[545] Honnor and Lane (2002), 4.

Thorney. When the site was later excavated prior to wind farm construction, "they found not one scrap of evidence, nothing at all of Roman remains there."[546] Honnor and Lane note that, "elsewhere, during the Fenland Survey, the second author had been told by farmworkers of first ploughings of what are now merely artefact scatters in arable land. Huge sherds of Roman vessels were described from the times that earthwork sites had been levelled in Gosberton Fen."[547] Even on sites that survive, much of the stratigraphic sequence is often lost in areas with heavy peat wastage.[548]

Little Roman settlement has been found on the peats, particularly below 2.5m OD.[549] It is unclear whether these data reflect real patterns of settlement in the Roman period or are influenced by peat erosion.[550] While this chapter puts forth an argument, it is by no means certain what the correct answer is, one way or the other.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HISTORY

The Cambridgeshire Fens in particular have benefitted from a great deal of research over the years, as has Lincoln and the territory of the Iceni in Norfolk. Large parts of the region have historically been seen something of a 'place apart'[551] and that 'otherness' has been found in the region's Roman archaeology. Potentially anachronistically, the Norfolk-based Iceni have long been seen as having 'done different',—a cultural trait espoused by their (possible?) descendants but which may have developed during the Danelaw rather than in the Roman period.[552] Because of its wetland character, the Fens have also been seen, historically and in the modern period, as 'set apart'.[553]

546 Sly (2017).
547 Honnor and Lane (2002), 10.
548 Kibblewhite, Tóth, and Hermann (2015), 251.
549 Honnor and Lane (2002), 3.
550 Hall and Coles (1994), 24.
551 C. Evans and Cessford (1997), 117–125; Huisman (2017), 1–4.
552 Harlow (2018), 52.
553 Huisman (2017), 4–5.

Domesday Book records record fewer plough teams in Fenland communities than in neighbouring dry-land ones.[554] Corresponding, as they do, with stereotypes about wetlands,[555] these data were long read as evidence that the Medieval Fens were poor and 'under-developed'—a perspective that is now being challenged.[556] The near-complete lack of Roman masonry structures excavated in the Fens has likewise been seen as indicative of the region's backwardness and poverty. Mounting evidence for large-scale Roman-period salt and pottery production, which might elsewhere be seen as evidence for economic growth/development, has instead been read as confirmation of the presence of a strong external authority.

Regional concepts of local history are palimpsests comprised of both ancient data (archaeological and literary) and a hodgepodge of more-modern sources: folk histories, early Medieval mytho-histories, curated chance finds, and antiquarian research projects. True or not, pre-existing narratives everywhere form the basis of new research which seeks to prove, disprove, flesh out, or retell, stories that have been told before; the questions asked by one generation are in many cases predetermined by the pre-occupations of the previous one. This is perhaps nowhere truer than in the Fens, where powerful folk histories and a long tradition of antiquarian research have combined with (until recently) a relative paucity of archaeological data to create a set of questions and pre-occupations that have persisted to the present day.

The region's 'otherness', the perceived unproductivity of wetlands, the specific poverty of the Fens in the Domesday records, and the absence of villas all contributed to the idea that the region was underdeveloped in the Roman period. The presence of large and apparently ancient canal systems (i.e., the Car Dyke), combined with early speculation about their origins, had fossilised into a set of pseudo-historical theories before excavations ever began in earnest. Alternative questions have, until recently, not often been asked.

554 Oosthuizen (2014), 3.
555 C. Evans and Cessford (1997) and Huisman (2017).
556 Oosthuizen (2014), 3.

Among the early pre-occupations continuing to affect Fenland research are:

- whether or not the Fens were drained (and if so, by whom?)
- whether or not the Fens were part of an imperial estate
- whether the Fens were heavily populated in the Roman period
- what the function of the Car Dyke was
- whether or not sea-ward embankments were constructed by the Romans
- whether or not the supposedly reclaimed land in the Fens was used for large-scale arable agriculture[557]

These questions and many others have been extensively explored in studies of survey data, beginning with *The Fenland in Roman Times* (ed. C. W. Phillips) in the 1960s, followed by Hall and Coles' *Fenland Survey* (1994), and finally by Garrick Fincham's *Landscapes of Imperialism* (2007), which synthesised the previous two. Survey and excavation of the Car Dyke (chiefly by Simmons in the 1970s and 1980s), and major excavations by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit and the British Museum, at Haddenham and Stonea, respectively, began in the 1980s. Development-led excavation in the wake of PPG-16 has uncovered hundreds of other sites.

Most theories about Fen and Fen-Edge history were born before excavation began. Even Fincham's synthesis, published in 2007, was unable to rely on many excavations, as so few had been published. The picture presented by the survey data is of a densely inhabited landscape: the flat, silty Fens are a nearly perfect location for the crop mark development (whether the enclosures they represent were ever inhabited on a long-term basis is another story altogether). Some still survive, others (presumably destroyed) live on in the memories of the families and/or communities that discovered them. Data compiled from surface survey, combined with local tales of lost sites, form what might be called a kind of 'phantom' record, existing as a body of thought and research on the archaeology of 'what might *be* or *have been* there'. The conclusions stemming from this are important and, for the moment,

[557] Thomas Allen (1830), 4–8.

unverifiable. Vast peat turbaries, for instance, are thought to be Roman—but remain largely unexcavated.

Examples of this can be found in the debate about Fenland drainage and the possibility that the region was part of an imperial estate. Pottery scatters and cropmarks in the Fens led to the widespread belief that they had been drained in the Roman period. Such a large-scale drainage project would have required imperial involvement. The monumental Car Dyke (92–122 km long) suggested imperial or military involvement here and could have been used to drain the Fens. Stukeley suggested it was dug to transport grain from the Fens to the Roman troops stationed around York.[558] The paucity of villas here, taken alongside this evidence for 'imperial involvement', then led to the notion that the Fens were an imperial estate, possibly based around Stonea Grange, in Cambridgeshire.[559]

Because of the ways they have influenced later research here, the two big 'issues –the function of the Car Dyke and the Imperial Estate Theory—are summarised more fully below.

The Car Dyke

Hundreds, if not thousands, of manmade canals, dykes, and channels snake through the fens, alongside natural waterways. They are notoriously hard to date. The Lincolnshire Car Dyke runs along the western fen edge from Washingborough to Peterborough, and was initially seen as a transport canal constructed during the reign of Hadrian (Figure 95 and Figure 96).[560] The Old Tillage, in Cambridgeshire, was once seen as part of the Car Dyke, but recent excavations suggest this is not the case.[561] The Midfendic, the Reach Lode and

[558] Simmons and Cope-Faulkner (2006), 13.
[559] Hall and Coles (1994), 105.
[560] Simmons (1979), 185.
[561] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 122.

the Fosse Dyke have also been claimed to be of Roman construction (Figure 95, Figure 96, and Figure 97).[562]

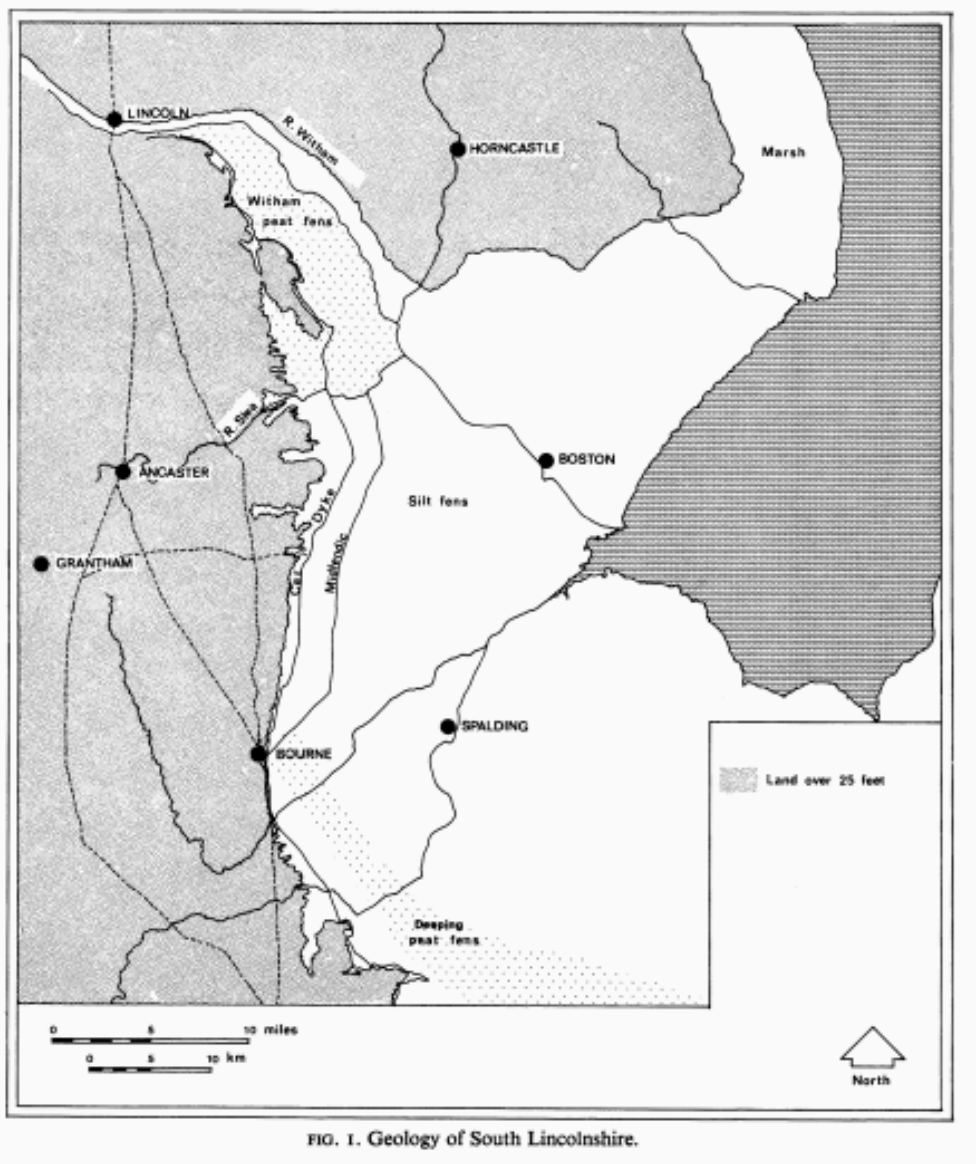


FIG. 1. Geology of South Lincolnshire.

Figure 95: Car Dyke and Midfendic in Lincolnshire (Simmons 1979).

[562] RCHME researchers have concluded these are Roman, but Hall suggested that they were Anglo-Saxon constructions—the debate continues. See Oosthuizen (2017), 123–124.

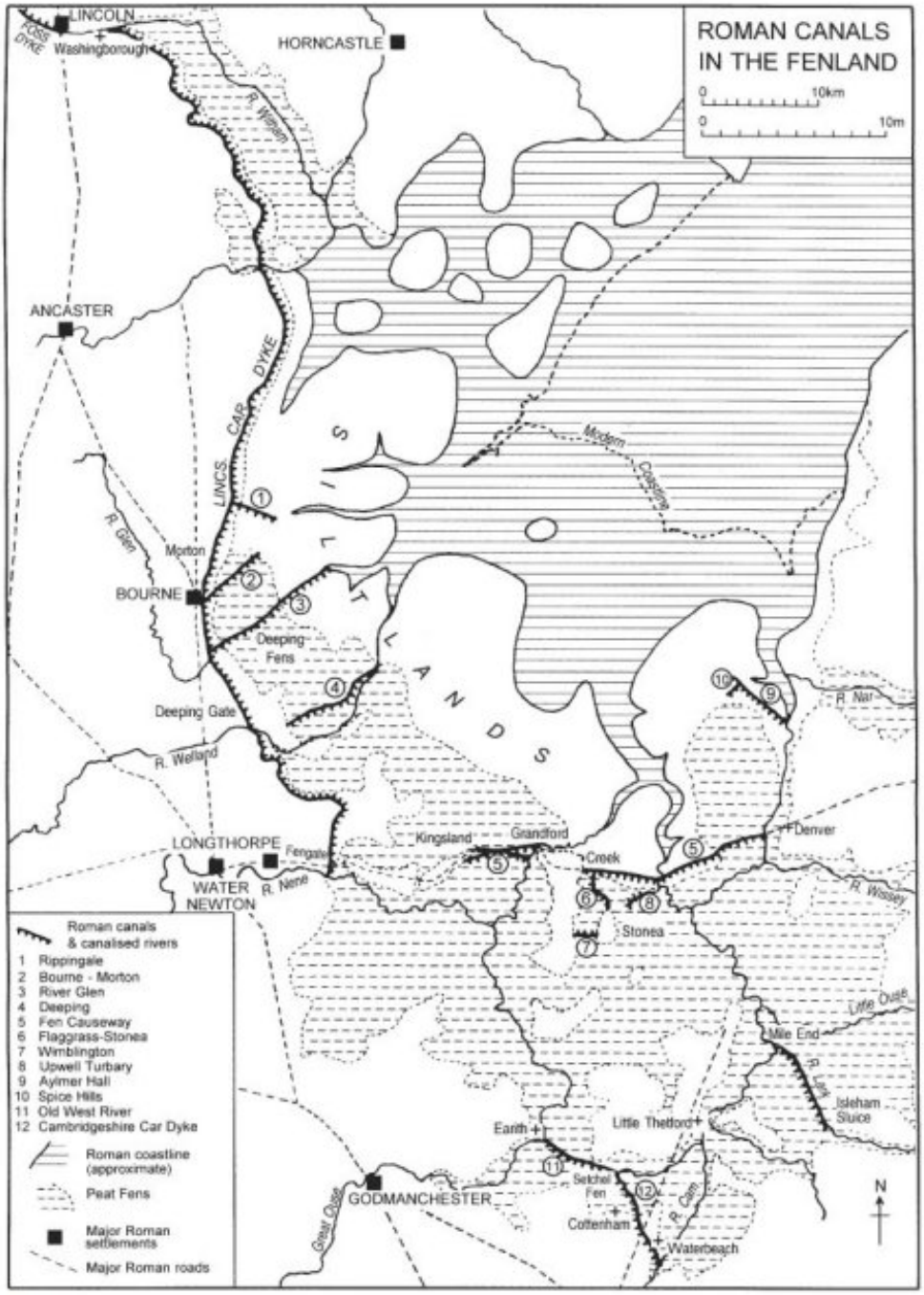


Figure 96: Map of putative Roman canals and canalised rivers in the Fens (Blair (2007)).

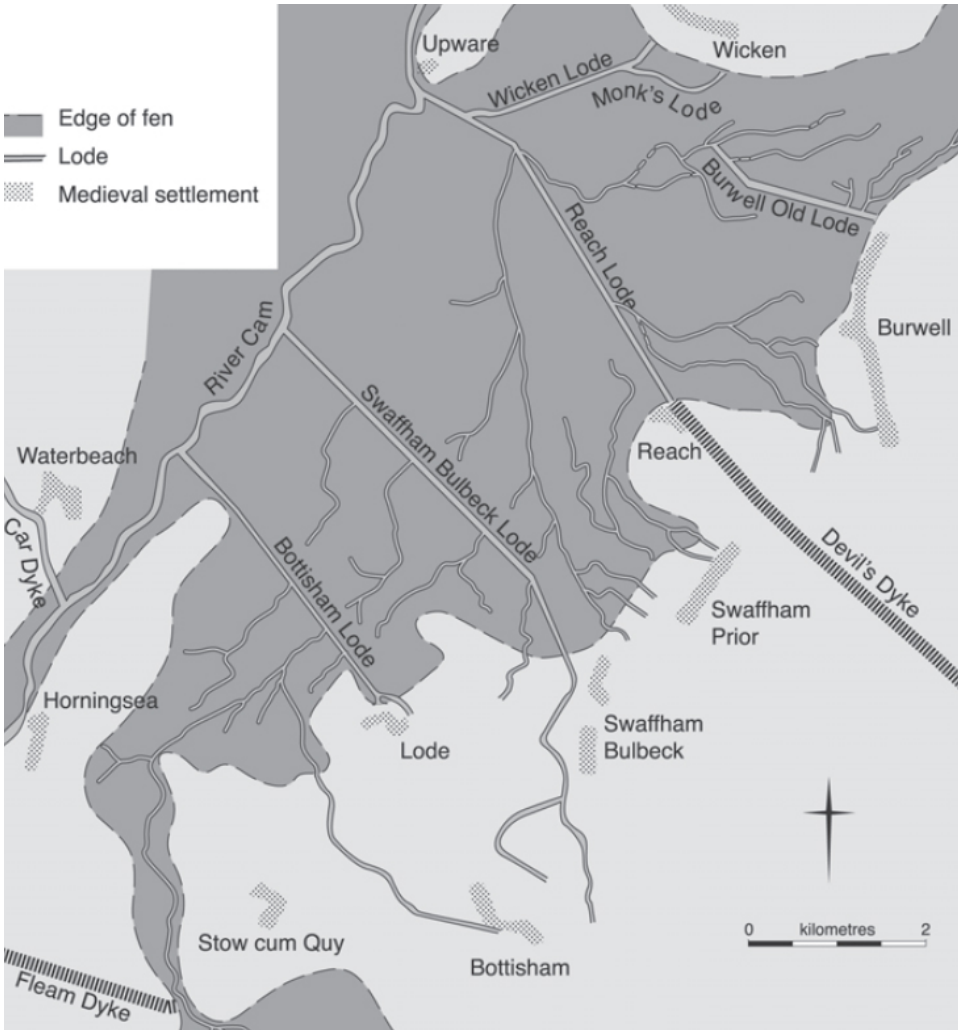


Figure 97: Anglo-Saxon lodes around Waterbeach, including Reach Lode, which may have a Roman origin (Oosthuizen (2017)).

Survey and excavation of sections of the Car Dyke in the late 20th century upset the apple cart, as it were, by demonstrating that the canal was crossed by several roads and trackways, complicating the notion that it was constructed primarily for transport:[563] it would have required the use of numerous locks to be navigable—a technology for which there is, in any case, no evidence in the Roman period.[564] This led to further debate about the Dyke's function, with some arguing that it acted as a tribal boundary or as the boundary

[563] Simmons and Cope-Faulkner (2006), 10–24.
[564] Simmons and Cope-Faulkner (2006), 23.

of the aforementioned imperial estate,[565] and others that protected the local salt industry from seasonal flooding.[566] Arguing that the Romans never intended to use it for transport, Simmons contends that the Car Dyke was constructed as part of a drainage system protecting the Fens from inundation.[567]

This argument was popular in the 18th and 19th centuries as well: in 1830, Allen noted that the contemporary Car Dyke "receive[d], from the hills, all the draining and flowing water [coming from the uplands beyond the Fen Edge], which takes an easterly course, and which, but for the catchwater drain, as it is now appropriately called, would serve to inundate the Fens."[568]

Oosthuizen argues for a similar system of controlled water management in the Saxon period: one of the sources of the great wealth of Fenland communities in the late Saxon and early Medieval periods was the richness of the Fenland water meadows, which were purposefully created and maintained through the manipulation of natural floodwaters to periodically inundate or drain them.[569] Large herds of cattle were intercommoned there, and the milk from these produced famously high-quality butters.[570]

Oosthuizen's work also demonstrated that short watercourses (lodes) were heavily relied upon for transport in the Saxon and Medieval fens: even interrupted waterways could apparently be useful transport links.[571] Thus, it may not be necessary to ascribe a single function to the Car Dyke. As Werther notes, most Roman canals were not navigable in their entirety, and yet were still used for transport.[572] The Car Dyke could have been used in-between the causeways, as the presence of Roman boats within the canal testifies.[573] Excavations on the Fen Causeway further attest that dry-land transport links

565 Peter Salway (1970), 10; Whitwell (1982), 123; Noble (1987); Mackreth and Bamford (1996), 234; Simmons and Cope-Faulkner (2006), 13.
566 J. Taylor (2000), 658; Simmons and Cope-Faulkner (2006), 13.
567 W. H. Wheeler (1868), 263–4; King-Fane (1931), 89; Simmons (1979), 192; Hayes and Lane (1992), 14.
568 Thomas Allen (1830), 6.
569 Oosthuizen (2014), 3.
570 A. Taylor (1829), 54.
571 Oosthuizen (2013), 8.
572 Werther (2018), *pers. comm.*
573 Hall (1996), 123.

here were prone to flooding: travel by boat could have been more secure (and possibly the only option) during certain times of the year. Research on the Old Tillage suggests it was used in part for the trans-shipment of grain.[574]

The one function the Car Dyke may not have been designed for is, perhaps, as a component of a Fen-wide drainage system of the sort that exists here today.[575] Simmons argued that the widespread presence of inland salterns, which would have been fed by salty water, "incidentally, mitigates against any thought of grain production other than on a small scale at best and, perhaps, for local consumption only."[576]

Was there an imperial estate in the Fens?

Prior to the Fenland Survey, it was believed that the Fens were uninhabited (and uninhabitable) before the coming of the Romans.[577] Coupled with evidence for a Roman presence in the Fens, Salway argued that as virgin land, the Fens would have belonged to the imperial government.[578] Suggesting that the expansion of settlement into the Fens could only have been possible if the Fens had been drained, Salway argued that a drainage scheme on a vast scale had been undertaken and "was indicative of the hand of government."[579] The paucity of masonry-built structures was taken as evidence "that the land was imperially owned and let to tenants."[580] Salway saw the numerous salterns here as further proof of imperial ownership. The 1939 discovery of an inscription (*RIB* 230) reading *public*[…] on the line of Ermine Street at Tort Hill in Sawtry, has been seen as confirmation that the land may have been in the hands of the government.[581] The size of the large masonry 'tower' found by Jackson and

[574] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 122.
[575] Hall and Coles (1994), 121.
[576] Simmons and Cope-Faulkner (2006), 23.
[577] Fincham (2002), 8.
[578] Collingwood and Myres (1936), 224; I. Richmond (1978); .
[579] Millett (1992), 120.
[580] Millett (1992), 120.
[581] For the inscription, see *RIB 230.* Inscriptions with some variant of the word 'public' are known from around the empire and rarely denote the boundaries of an imperial estate *per se* (although they could relate to imperial land, i.e., *agri publici*). A simple search for the term

Potter at Stonea, and its (somewhat tenuous) parallels with other Roman towers, led the excavators and others to propose the settlement as the administrative centre for the putative estate.

Thus, the construction of the Car Dyke, the drainage of the Fens and the expansion of settlement are widely understood to have been the result of a project initiated by Hadrian in association with his AD 122 visit to Britain and centred at Stonea Grange.[582] The evidence used to argue the above thesis is problematic on several grounds:[583]

- First, the notion that the Fens were virgin land has been disproven by large-scale excavation in recent decades,[584] and it is now clear that the region was settled in the LIA.
- Second, the presence or absence of villas indicates nothing about land *ownership*. The fact that villas are common in certain regions, and uncommon in others, has been well-established.[585] The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain Project's large-scale, in-depth survey of post-PPG-16 grey-literature has made clear that a wide range of rural site types existed in Roman Britain.[586] The easy division of the landscape into a villa-based 'owning' classes and a roundhouse/hut-based 'servile' class must be seen as overly-simplistic in light of the wide range of settlement forms now known to exist. Further, there is no evidence that settlement patterns on imperial estates were different from those not located on imperial land.[587]

---

*public** in the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg reveals the following attestations (among others): *viam publicam* (public way), *publica pecunia* (with public funds), *terminus publica posita* (boundary publicly erected), *loco publico* (in a public place), *horreis publicis* (for/from public granaries), *iure publico* (by public law), *publicata* (having been published), *tabulas publicas* (public accounts), *aquam publicam*, (public water), or simply *publice* public act. *Publicani* is also possible.

582 Potter and Jackson (1982), 118; R. Jackson, Cameron, and Potter (1996), 118; Millett (1992), 120.

583 Disputed by Crawford (1976), Millett (1992), and Fincham (2002).

584 Millett (1992), 120; Mattingly (1997); Fincham (2002), 74.

585 Booth (2017), 63.

586 Alexander Smith, et al. (2016), 64.

587 Millett (1992), 120.

- Third, the idea that all salterns were imperially owned is probably erroneous.[588] While *metalla* (mines), including *salinae*, were in many cases state-owned, most salt produced in the Roman world came from seaside salt pans. Marzano argues that since discussions of publicly owned *salinae* in the *Digests* pertain to salt *mines* (i.e., geological deposits), there may have been a legal distinction between the two kinds of salt production.[589] This makes a great deal of sense when one considers just what is meant by '*metalla*', which are, specifically, mines dug into the earth, usually involving large-scale extraction schemes. The Roman government did not claim ownership of all metal in the empire.[590] Seen in this light, it would be rash to assume that the state claimed ownership of all the salt in the sea. Doing so would not only be absurd but would also dis-incentivise the production of a crucial resource. Epigraphic sources support this idea: as Marzano shows, epigraphic sources indicate the state, cities and private individuals could own and manage salterns.[591] Marzano suggests that references to *salinae,* which are few, "might indicate that in most cases, both in the Greek classical world and in the Roman Empire, the norm was rather for marine salt pans to be privately owned, and that only in some cases did direct control by the Roman state occur."[592]
- Fourth, data from Stonea Grange do not support the idea that the site was ever intended to be the administrative centre of a vast estate. There were no bath buildings, purpose-built dormitories (as at Beauport Park, in the Weald), or *praetorium*-style buildings. Further, more research is needed before 'administrative sites' can be identified architecturally. Ongoing excavations at Vagnari, in Puglia, have identified a cemetery and *vicus* on the site of a putative imperial estate. A nearby villa at San

588 J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017); Marzano (2013), 138; Malim (2005), 128; Phillips and Salway (1970), 10.
589 Marzano (2013), 139.
590 Hirt (2010), (Chapter 3, esp. 85–86) shows that operations of and profits from *metalla* could remain in the hands of private and municipal owners.
591 Marzano (2013), 139–196.
592 Marzano (2013), 140.

> Felice is thought to have been the administrative centre of the estate. Indeed, were Stonea an administrative centre meant of a large imperial estate such as the one being proposed, it appears unlikely that the 'tower structure' (which most resembles the temple of Janus at Autun) would have been the only comfort provided.

None of this proves that Stonea was *not* the centre of an imperial estate, but it suggests that, if that *is* the case, it would be a one-off, as far as the evidence goes. And, while Jackson and Potter may have loved the flatlands of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, it may be asking too much to assume that Hadrian, upon viewing the marshlands of Britannia, which contained no resources save those common in *all* wetlands or on *all* shorelines, would have felt the same way.

The extent to which research in the Fens has been dominated by the questions of the Car Dyke and the putative imperial estate can hardly be exaggerated. The single-minded focus on resolving those questions has, until recently, restricted the questions being asked of the ever-growing body of data from the region. Those data increasingly suggest a region of far more diversity, in terms of social status, than has previously been understood.

DATA OVERVIEW

This study focuses on 339 sites in Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, and Norfolk, most of which were excavated in the last 30 years. While many were uncovered as part of small-scale development projects, recent expansion (particularly around Cambridge and Lincoln), has led to numerous large-scale open-area excavations, some on a truly enormous financial and physical scale.[593]

[593] For one small section of the Longstanton-Northstowe development, the Cambridge Archaeological Unit was awarded £4,497,158.00.

Site type and land-use

Between half and two-thirds of the sites were occupied at any one time, from a low of 136 sites in the Late Iron Age to a high of 255 in the second century. Fifth- or sixth-century material has been found on 71 of the sites.

While occupation concentrated around the Fen Edge in all periods, it fluctuated over time and concentrated on the higher ground (the Fen Edge and the Fen islands) in the LIA, before extending into the Fens in the E/MR period and contracting back towards the Fen Edge again in the LR period.

Land use

Between the late first and mid-third centuries, the percentage of peripheral sites increased (Table 21). This seems to reflect a real change in the way land was used and managed in the Roman period, with more activities— production, ceremonial and/or agricultural—'spreading out' away from settlements.

Table 21: Ratio of settlements to non-settlements throughout the Roman period in Case Study 3.

Date range	Occupied	Settlement	Percent settlement	Other	Percent other
LIA	137	83	61%	53	39%
ER	189	111	59%	78	41%
2nd c.	255	123	48%	132	52%
3rd c.	234	111	47%	123	53%
4th c.	185	99	54%	86	46%
5th c.	70	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

The number and percentage of nucleated settlements also increased in the first and fourth centuries (Table 22), with the effect that there was a much greater diversity of settlement and non-settlement land-use forms in the MR.

Table 22: Settlement categories over time (percent) in Case Study 3.

Period	Oppidum	Fort	Town	Vicus	Nucleated	Farm	Periphery	Fieldsystem	Isolated
LIA	4%	0%	0%	7%	12%	49%	26%	9%	3%
ER	1.6%	5.3%	0%	11%	17%	42%	24%	10%	7%
2nd c.	0%	0%	2%	12%	15%	34%	34%	12%	5%
3rd c.	0%	0%	3%	11%	14%	31%	42%	9%	5%
4th c.	0%	0%	3%	12%	15%	34%	41%	5%	5%

Site distribution and topography

In her work on the Saxon Fens, Oosthuizen noted that most examinations of the region's economy ignore the "extreme physical geography of the fen basin, where—unlike the uplands which surround it—there is no middle ground between land that is or is not available for settlement."[594]

Much of that basin lies below the 'flood zone' (2.5–3.5 metres OD) and was regularly inundated in winter. This is crucial to keep in mind when discussing site distribution within the Fen basin. Occupation clustered on the Fen Edge and islands in all periods and spread out (minimally) into the Fens and/or the clay uplands in the second–fourth century. Expansion into the Fens is often taken as evidence that the basin was drained but may also reflect increasing exploitation of still-marginal wetland for economic or industrial purposes. To interrogate this further, a nearest-neighbour analysis (NNA) was done for all phases (using the Nearest Neighbour Analysis tool in QGIS), in order to examine site clustering over time. It was hypothesised that, if the visible pattern were the result of drainage, both settlement and peripheral sites would spread out, while, if the pattern were the result of increasing (economic) exploitation of marginal land, settlements would remain more clustered than peripheral sites. As shown in Table 23, settlements were more clustered than peripheral sites in all periods except the second century, and both settlements and peripheral sites spread out more over time.

Table 23: Nearest neighbour analysis, Case Study 3. In the NNI field, values closer to 0 are more clustered, values closer to 1 are more 'random', and values closer to 2.5 are

[594] Oosthuizen (2014), 5.

more evenly distributed across the area. In the Z-value field, positive values indicate random or even distribution and negative values indicate heavy (non-random) clustering.

Period	Settlement NNI	Peripheral NNI	Settlement Z-value	Peripheral Z-value
LIA	0.59	0.72	-6.7	-3.9
ER	0.57	0.78	-8.21	-3.52
2nd c.	1.69	0.74	13.67	-5.34
3rd c.	0.69	1.76	-5.85	15.75
4th c.	0.69	0.79	-5.20	-3.53

The decrease in second-century settlement clustering could imply drainage, but an examination of the topography demonstrates that even in this period, settlement clustered just above the flood-zone (Figure 98). Whether this reflects site loss due to peat wastage is, as discussed previously, an open question.

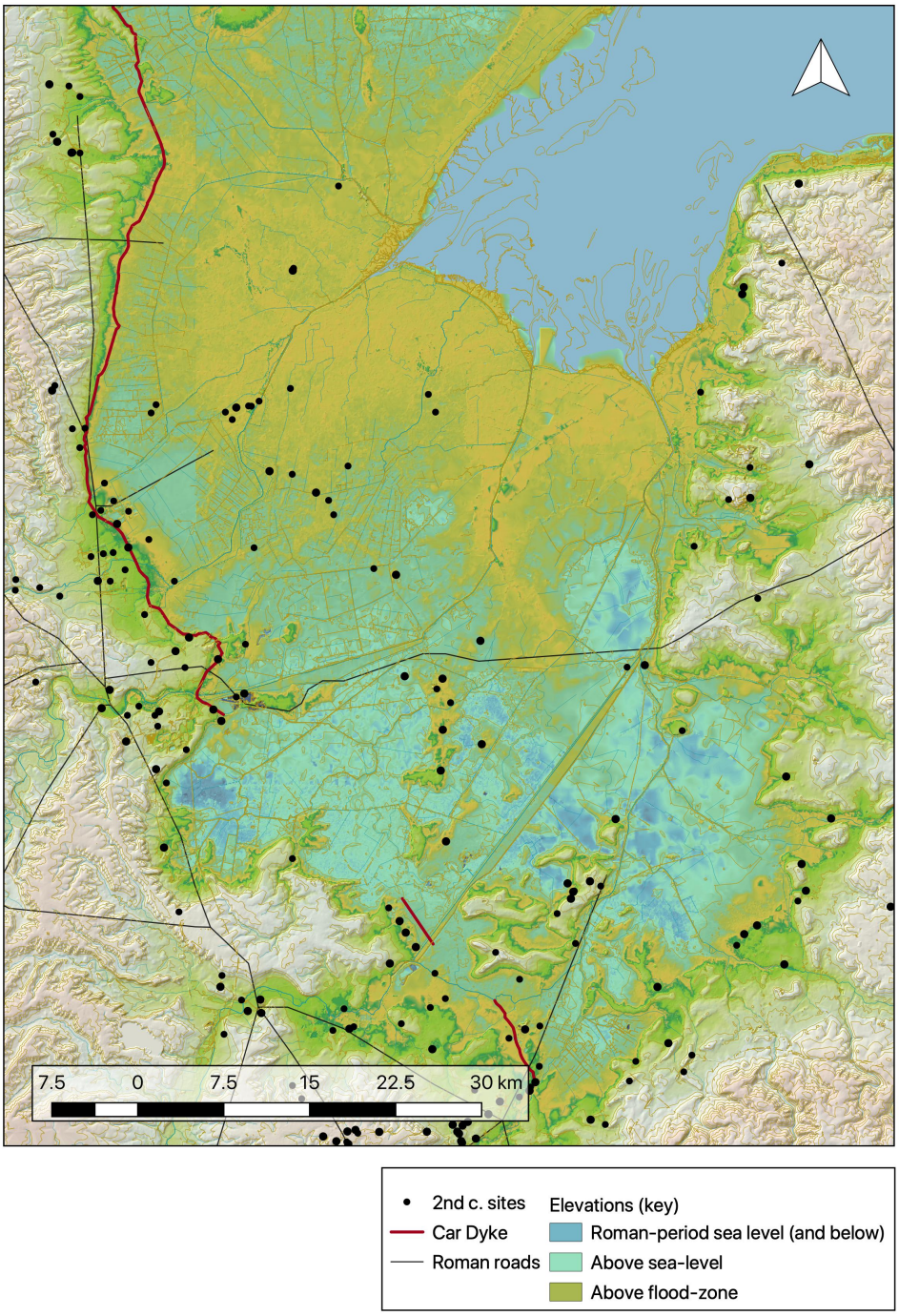


Figure 98: Putative sea levels over time in Case Study 3. Roman sea level shown (blue) at 1 metre below the modern one. Flood zone shown in yellow/green at 2.5m OD.

Structures

Structural features were found on 166 (49%) sites (Figure 99) and building materials on an additional 58 (Figure 100). These are discussed by phase, below.

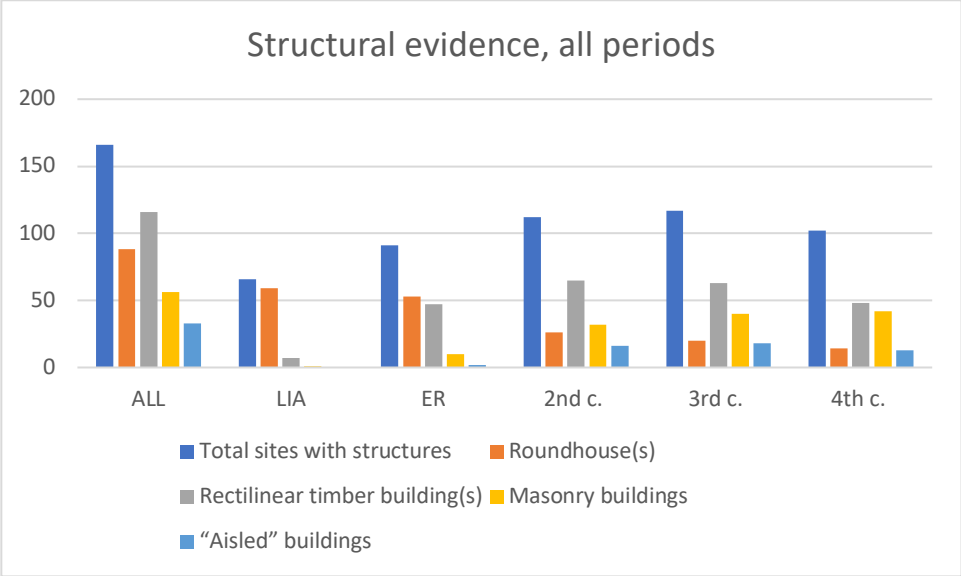


Figure 99: Evidence for structures from Case Study 3, all periods.

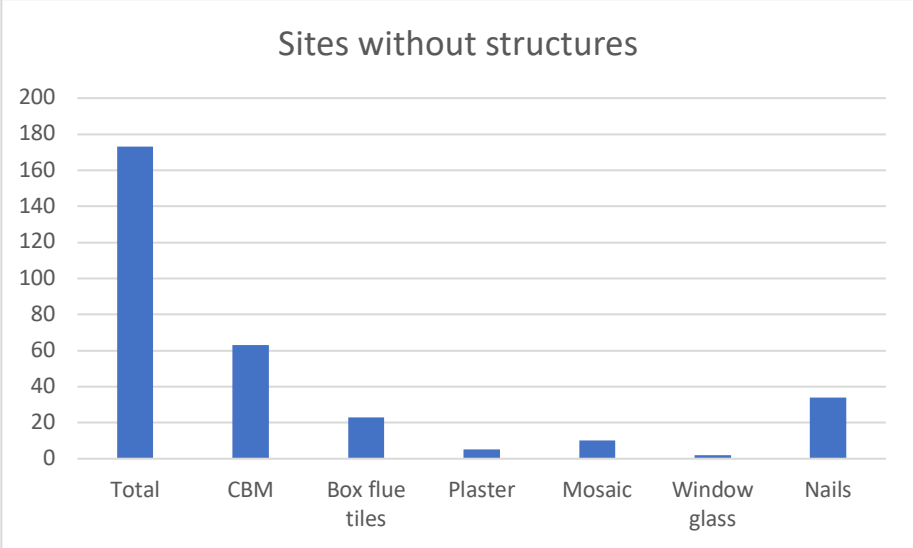


Figure 100: Building materials on sites without structures in Case Study 3.

Finds Assemblages

Though many data were recovered, the quantity and quality of reports varied (Table 24), making it difficult to determine the nature of Roman-period activity on some of the sites. The dearth of material in many cases reflects the small size of excavations and/or the site's non-settlement function.[595]

Table 24: Site reports missing certain features in Case Study 3.

Problem	Number of sites	Percent of affected case study sites
No pottery (or report)	38	12%
Fewer than 100 sherds or minimal finds	73	40%
No animal bone report	101	33%
No soil samples	127	41%

Problems with reporting aside, finds suggest that while most of the region was connected to local, regional and inter-provincial exchange networks, the remotest sites within the Lincolnshire Fens may have been either sparsely inhabited or much less connected to wider networks. Overall, non-local materials were reported from 86% of sites, and from 94% of those still inhabited after the end of the first century. Some finds types were common (Figure 101). Samian ware was found on 66% of sites and on 85% of M–LR settlements.

[595] The only Roman remains from the field system at Neath Farm (except an LR burial), for instance, were 14 Horningsea and Samian sherds, CBM that actually came from a different site, and a copper-alloy Colchester-type brooch (also from a neighbouring site). Cessford and Slater (2014), 44.

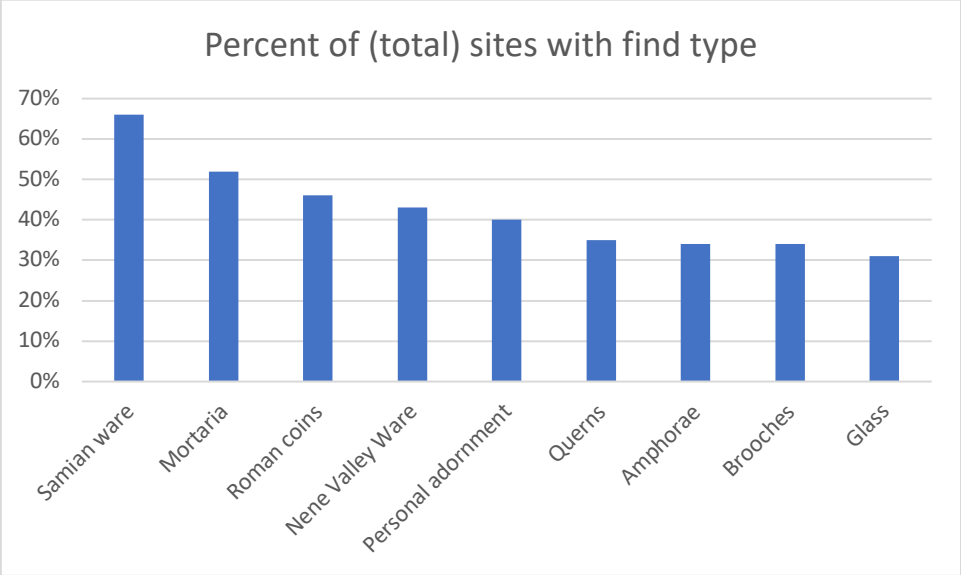


Figure 101: Case Study 3 finds types.

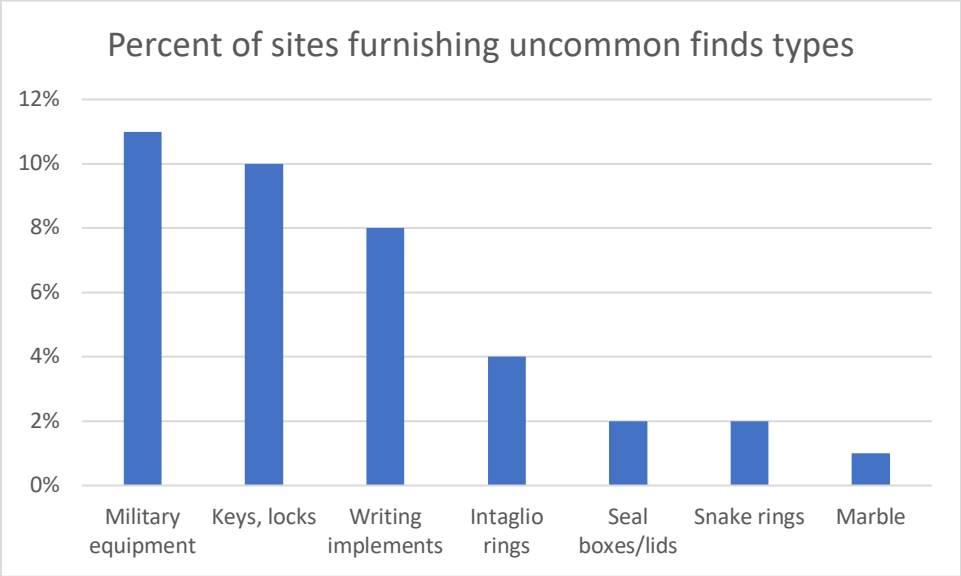


Figure 102: Percent of Case Study 3 sites furnishing uncommon finds types.

As discussed in other case studies, certain finds types (Figure 102) were rare on rural sites but common on villa and nucleated sites. These include military equipment, keys, writing implements, intaglio rings, seal box lids, and marble (among others). Some of these seem to correlate with each other, as discussed further below.

The absence or presence of some finds types was examined along with site architecture to investigate whether building types correlated with architectural style and elaboration. Correlations were examined using traditional architectural categories (roundhouse, rectangular timber building, aisled building, villa) and according to the degree of elaboration on site (regardless of structural form): thus, not all villa sites fell into Type 3, and not all Type 3 sites were villas (Table 25).

Table 25: Division of Case Study 3 sites by finds and architectural categories.

Designation	Description
Type 1	Buildings constructed of ephemeral materials, no architectural elaboration
Type 2	Significant investment in architecture (masonry or aisled buildings) or with at least one element of 'elaboration' (i.e., plaster)
Type 3	More than one Type 2 Feature

All finds types were examined this way, a portion of which are listed below (Table 26). The correlations between finds and site type reflect not only site status but also chronology, excavation size/strategy, and reporting methodology (i.e., many villa sites were excavated in the 19th century and not well-published).

Table 26: Division of Case Study 3 sites by level of elaboration and structure type.

Settlement/Object	Type1	Type2	Type3		Roundhouse	Rectilinear	Aisled	Villa
Samian	77%	95%	100%		70%	86%	97%	91%

Amphorae	47%	74%	73%		30%	54%	83%	64%
Toilet	17%	37%	53%		10%	20%	60%	55%
Security	13%	21%	27%		0%	20%	33%	36%
Military	7%	16%	27%		0%	6%	33%	36%
Inscriptions	3%	0%	20%		10%	3%	17%	18%
Writing	7%	21%	27%		0%	14%	30%	9%
Shale	10%	37%	40%		10%	17%	47%	18%
Corndryer	7%	42%	47%		0%	17%	50%	27%
Weights	10%	32%	47%		0%	14%	47%	27%
Religion	10%	50%	18%		0%	14%	50%	27%
Pewter	10%	19%	0%		0%	20%	17%	0%
Gaming	3%	25%	9%		0%	6%	17%	9%
Intaglio	5%	19%	18%		0%	6%	20%	9%
Quern	53%	68%	33%		40%	66%	62%	36%
Figurine	0%	0%	27%		0%	0%	27%	18%
Snake rings	7%	5%	0%		8%	6%	13%	0%

Site longevity

The first–early-second century and the fourth century saw considerably more settlement 'dislocation' (site abandonment, foundation, and change of use) than the MR. Dislocation might have various causes, related to security, political/socioeconomic unrest (making it either more dangerous to live in a certain place or, conversely, making the economy more 'permeable' and allowing for greater movement), and environmental change. Figure 103 demonstrates that site abandonments *and* foundations were the highest in the first century, and Figure 104 shows that sites founded at different periods experienced slightly different patterns of abandonment.

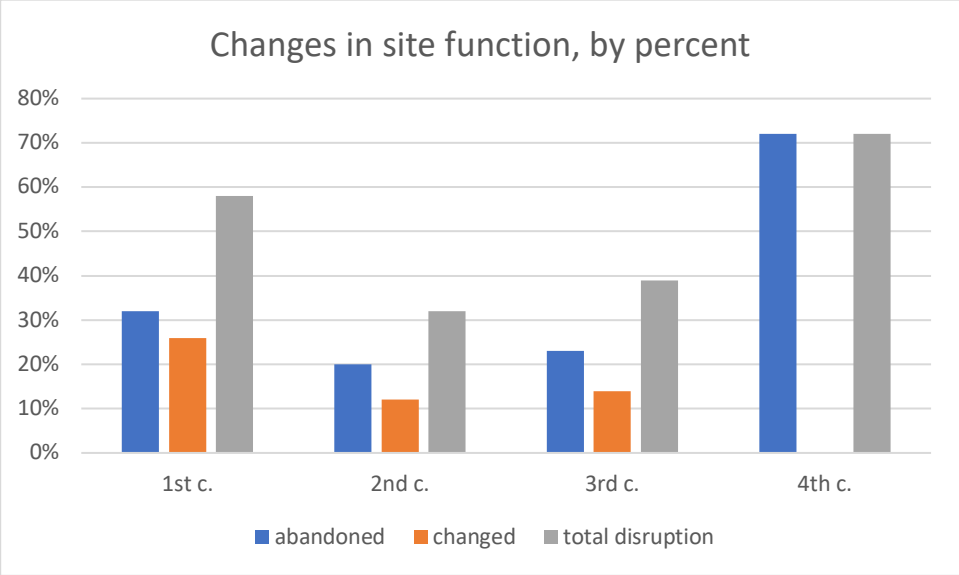


Figure 103: Percent of Case Study 3 sites in each period which experienced major changes in function.

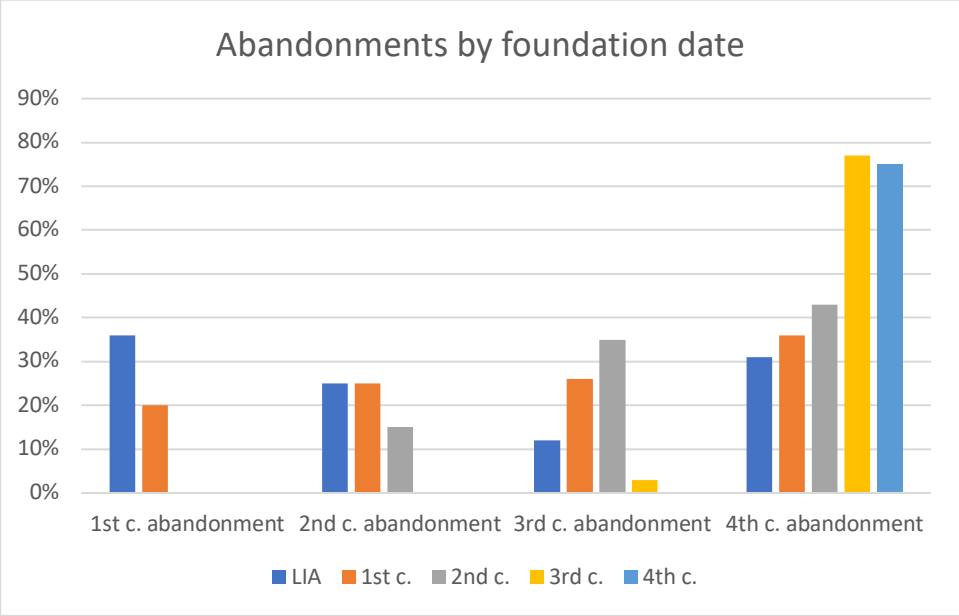


Figure 104: Percent of Case Study 3 sites founded in each period that were abandoned in each period

THE FIRST CENTURY

Historical background

The first century AD was one of relatively dramatic change to the settlement landscape here. Between widespread site abandonment (affecting nearly 50% of Late Iron Age sites by the turn of the century) and a large number of site foundations, nearly 70% of first-century sites experienced some degree of major change. Some of this change reflected the creation of the Roman administrative apparatus, seen in the appearance of forts, towns, and roadways. This period also saw the transformation of the productive landscape, with many settlement and peripheral sites founded or reorganised.

As the territory of the Iceni, East Anglia holds an important place in the history of the Roman conquest. Tacitus relates how the Iceni and their neighbours revolted under Scapula c. AD 47 and were vanquished.[596] The Roman victory was followed by an apparent period of 'peace' during which the Icenian king Prasutagus willed his territory to Nero—a move that, as Tacitus puts it, did not prevent his kingdom from being ravaged by centurions, his household by slaves—as if they were captured property (*regnum per centuriones, domus per servos velut capta vastarentur*, *Ann*. 14.31.1) when he died in AD 60. Desperate and enraged, the Iceni persuaded their neighbours into a revolt that continues to shape British identity to this day.[597] In Tacitus' account, the neighbouring polities are so easily persuaded because they are rightfully enraged—the natural result of burdensome in-kind tribute regulations[598] and (illegal or extraconstitutional) confiscations and land grabs by the army and the veterans settled at nearby Camulodunum.[599] In Dio's later account, the Britons revolt for economic reasons, too, though here the Roman

[596] Tac. *Ann.* 12.31–32. See Frere (2000) for a discussion of the possible boundaries of Icenian territory. For links between the events and the local archaeology, see Fincham (1999), 49; Potter and Robinson (2000), 32; and Malim (2005), 52–8. See Gambash (2012), 13–14, for a discussion of the difficulty of reconstructing these events.
[597] Tac. *Ann.* 14.31–37; *Agr.* 5 and 15–16; Dio 62.1–12.
[598] Tac. *Agr.* 19—for comment see Reddé (2017a).
[599] Tac. *Ann.* 14.31. See Gambash (2012), *passim.* Conscription was also an issue: Tac. *Agr.* 15.

soldiers are described as merely trying to recall loans made to the British élite by Claudius and other élite men (including Seneca the Younger).[600] These loans have been interpreted as a kind of proto-IMF, with the imperial administration using élites to pay for the development of the provinces,[601] though they may also have been used to help LIA polities pay off indemnities or to elevate élites into the equestrian order (in which case, Seneca's loan would have paid for the elevation of exactly 100 men).[602]

While there are no details about specific reprisals in Icenian territory after Boudicca's defeat and suicide (Tac., *Ann*. 14.37–39), Tacitus tells us that Suetonius Paulinus was withdrawn from Britain in part as a result of his violent treatment of the rebels in the aftermath of the revolt (Tac., *Agr.* 16.2; *Ann.* 14.38.3–39). On Tacitus' account, provincial maladministration continued until the arrival, in the winter of 77, of his father-in-law Agricola, whom he credits with lightening and normalizing tribute payments (and with eliminating other abusive administrative practices: *Agr*. 19).

Many working in the Fens see this period as marked by extreme violence, on the assumption that Roman reprisals may have involved the confiscation of much of the land and, perhaps, the enslavement of a portion of the population. The partially-dismembered remains of three (late Roman or early Saxon) men excavated recently near Cambridge, for instance, were interpreted by the lead excavator as a telling example of the effects of the Roman conquest: "the Romans arrive, the people who were here are completely subjugated, everything changes and is never the same again. We are not seeing trade and peaceful co-existence here, we are seeing enslavement."[603] As discussed below, the archaeological data do not bear out this interpretation.

[600] Dio 62.2.
[601] Habinek (2014), 12, following Veyne (2002), 9–15.
[602] Kehoe (2006), 298.
[603] Kennedy (2018)

Late Iron Age

Site Distribution

Pre-conquest occupation was identified on 137 sites (83=settlements, 53=peripheral—Figure 105). Six were nucleated in some way, and four may have been central places and seem to have minted coins (Lincoln, Old Sleaford, Thetford, and Saham Toney).

Settlement clustered within or above the flood zone, and these clusters have been seen by Fincham (following Hingley) as evidence of 'girdle-like' communal landholding patterns (the persistence of which, in the Roman period, might hint at continuity of tenure: Figure 106).[604] Such distribution patterns might also result from the region's hydrology, as shown in the contrasting maps (Figure 106 and Figure 107) showing settlement clusters superimposed onto a digital terrain model.

[604] As in Welsh *gwelyau*, the community or extended family holds land in common, and new generations move outwards from a 'home' site to 'satellite' sites, with the territory of the 'original' household eventually being abandoned. Fincham 2002 Fincham (2002), 28–31; after Hingley (1989), 100.

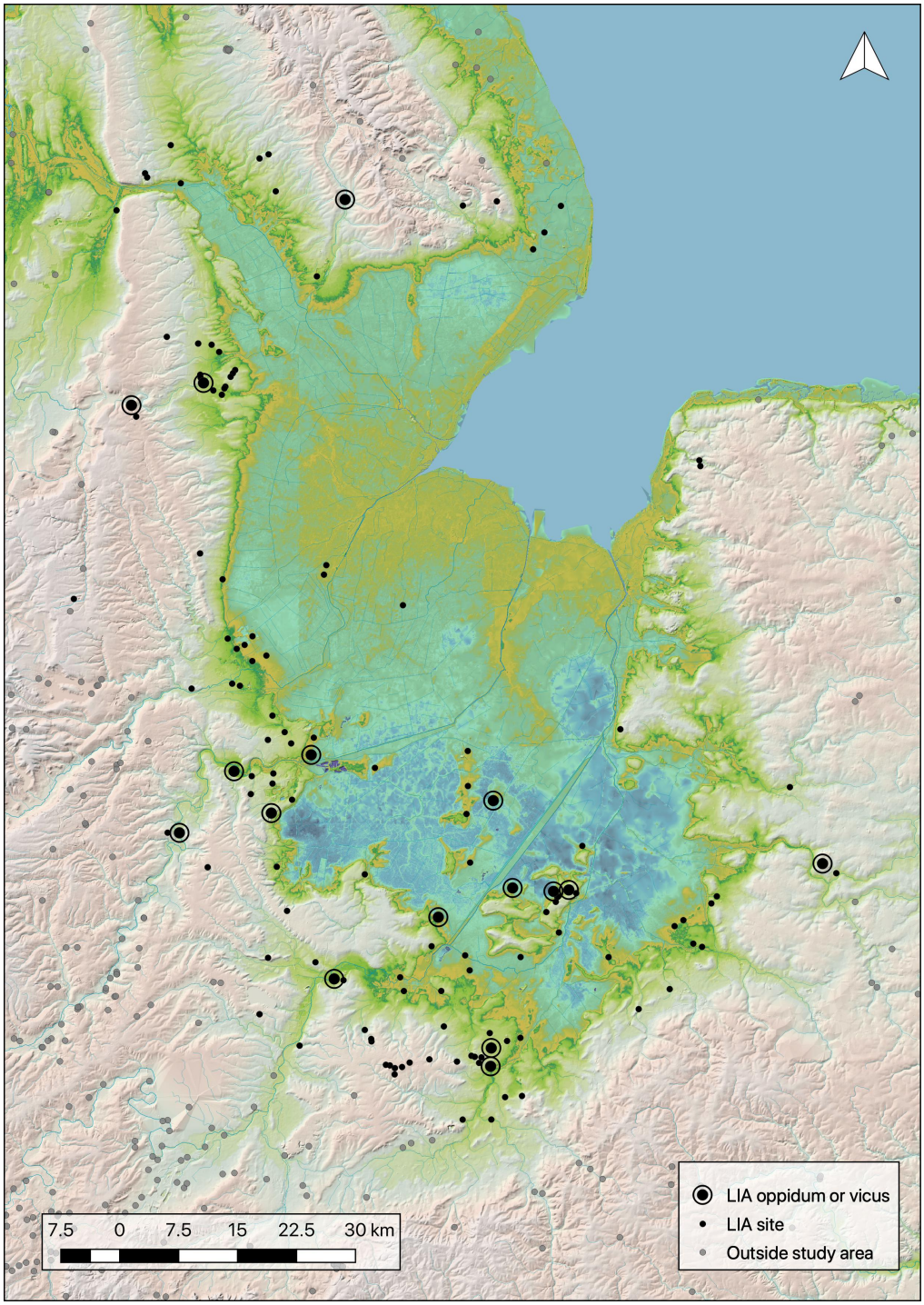


Figure 105: Late Iron Age site distribution in Case Study 3.

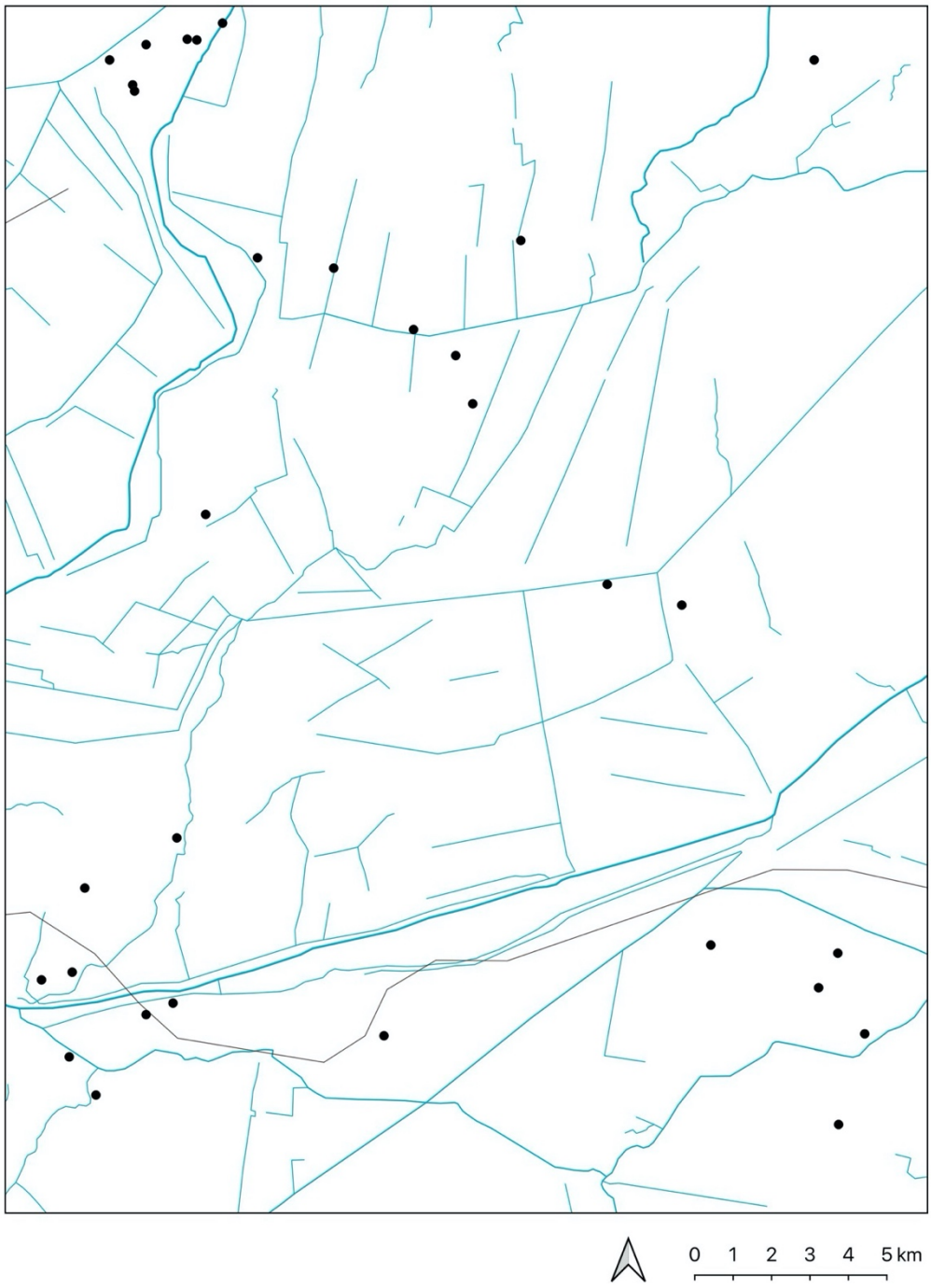


Figure 106: Clustered Late Iron Age settlement pattern (between Spalding and Bourne).

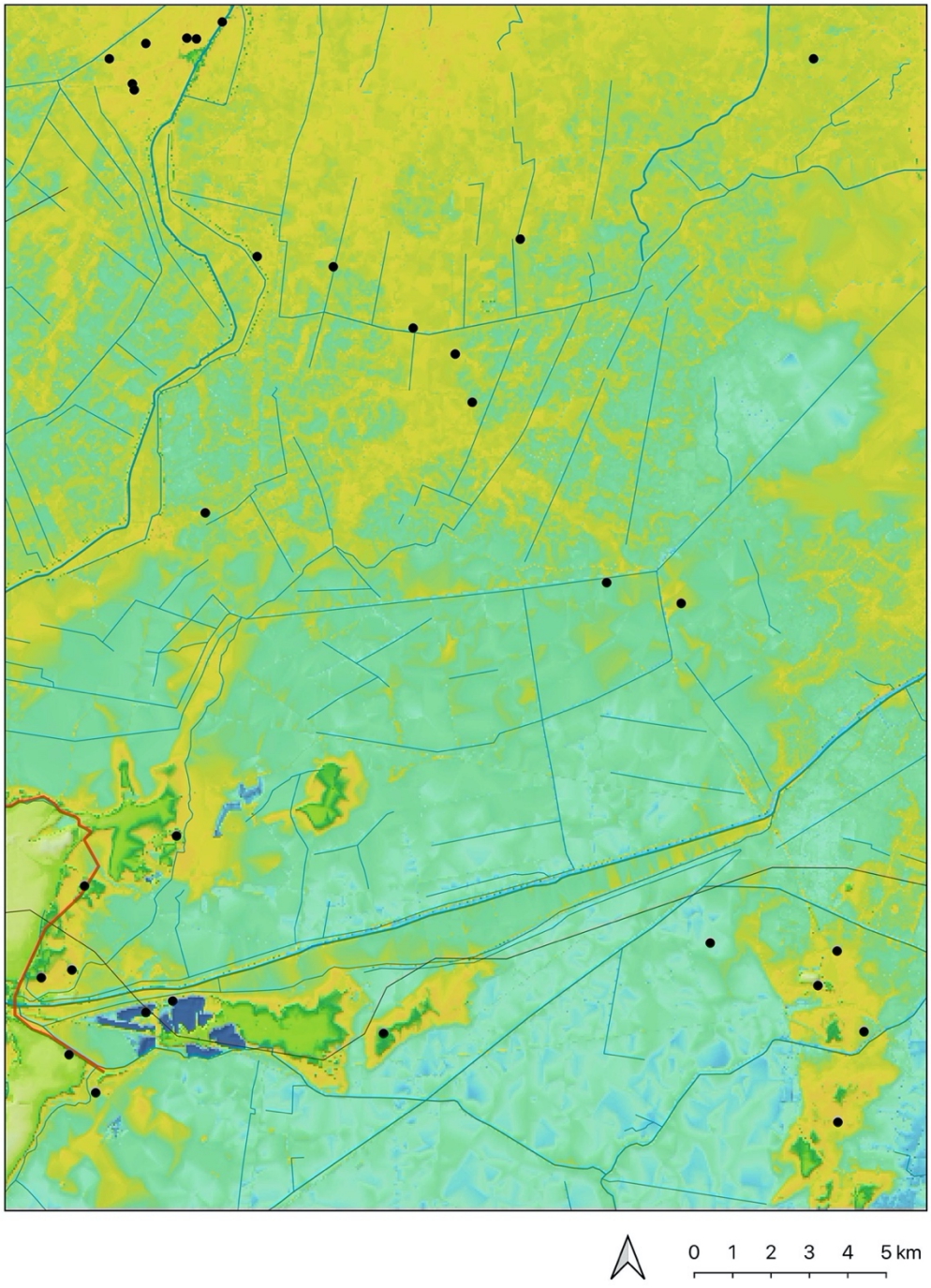


Figure 107: Clustered Late Iron Age settlement pattern (between Spalding and Bourne) superimposed on DTM. Flood zone (2.5m OD) is marked the in yellow.

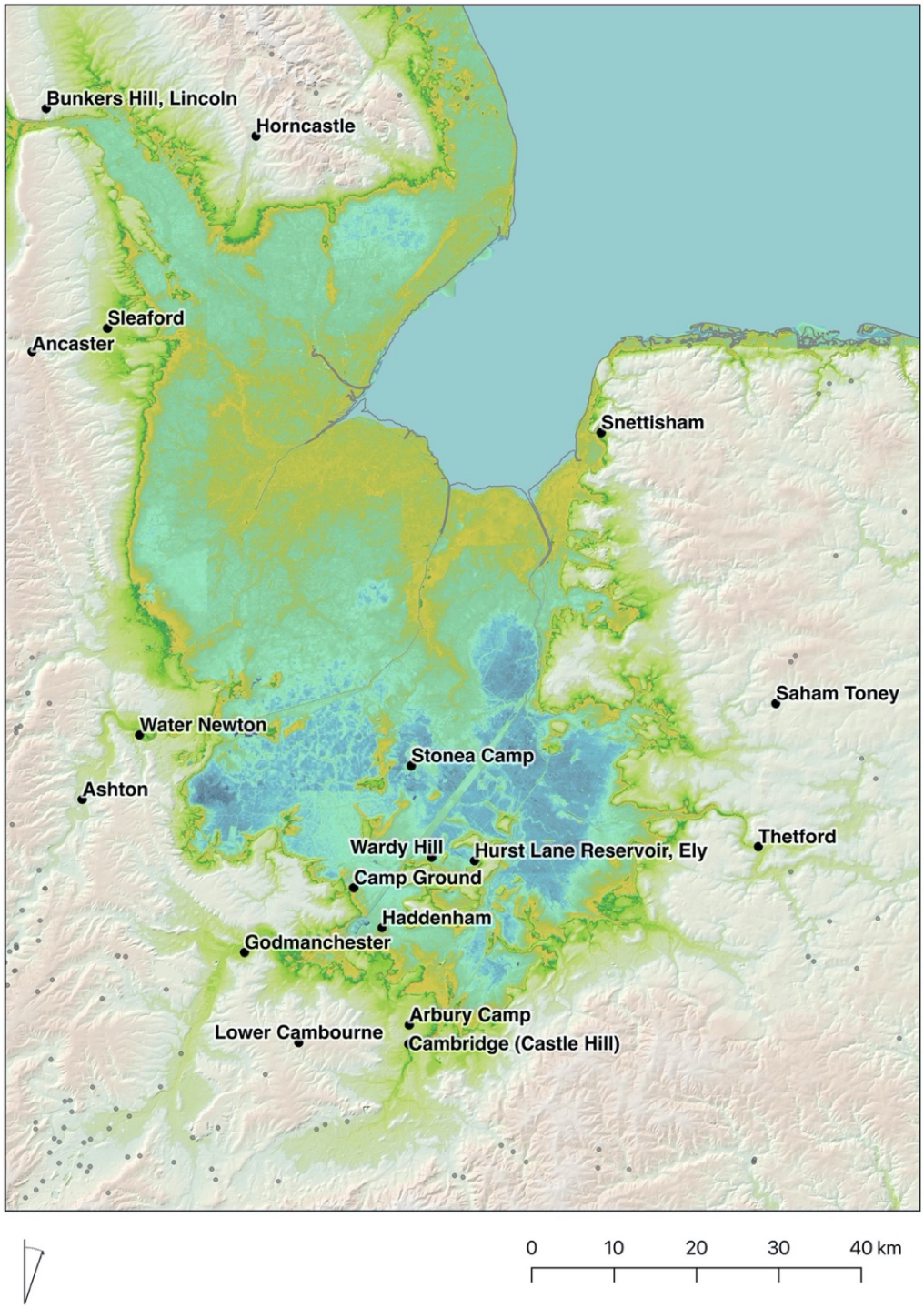


Figure 108: Case Study 3, LIA sites mentioned in text.

Settlement and economy

While numerous sites (Horncastle, Lincoln, Sleaford, Ancaster, Godmanchester, Cambridge, Stonea Camp, Arbury Camp, Wardy Hill, Saham Toney, Ashton, and Thetford) seem to have been important central places in the LIA, the extent of actual settlement on these sites unclear on all but Thetford, Ancaster and Wardy Hill (see Figure 108). Earthwork fortifications at Stonea Camp, Thetford (Thetford Castle), and Arbury Camp enclosed zones that may not have been residential, while Sleaford, Saham Toney, and Thetford (Fison Way) functioned primarily as religious and/or ceremonial centres.[605] Coins were produced on the three latter sites.[606] Excavations at sites like Hurst Lane and Camp Ground show a network of small villages, smaller hamlets, and dispersed farms.[607]

These small farms and hamlets consisted of enclosed or unenclosed roundhouses (with little evidence for socioeconomic differentiation in architecture: Late Iron Age structures were found on 48% of Late Iron Age sites).[608] Detailed excavations at some have helped reconstruct Late Iron Age rural settlement. The CAU excavations over 0.25 ha at Haddenham, for instance, uncovered a substantial M/LIA enclosure, within which were six roundhouse gullies (not all contemporary: Figure 109). An enormous assemblage of 15,015 sherds of pottery and a wealth of environmental data were reported, showing that the inhabitants exploited wetland resources, engaged in mixed farming,[609] and were connected with a network of local and regional pottery producers.[610] At Lower Cambourne, on the clay uplands, an unenclosed settlement containing six (not all contemporary) roundhouses evolved,

[605] C. Evans and Knight (2008); R. Jackson, Cameron, and Potter (1996); J. Davies (1996), 75; Elsdon and Jones (1997); R. Brown (1986); Gregory (1991).
[606] A. M. Cooper (2015), 16–18; Elsdon and Jones (1997).
[607] C. Evans (2007); C. Evans *et al.* (2013); C. Evans and Hodder (2006), 49–50.
[608] Harding (2020), 21.
[609] Hall and Coles (1994), 68; Parks (2013), 81.
[610] C. Evans and Hodder (2006); Hill and Woodward (2002), 160.

developing an enclosure and apparently becoming heavily engaged in malting in the LIA/ER period (Figure 109).[611] Parks stresses that cultivators at in-Fen settlements like Haddenham invested in improving the soil quality, and also that in-Fen sites differ from those on the Fen Edge in appearing to have engaged mainly in emmer cultivation.[612]

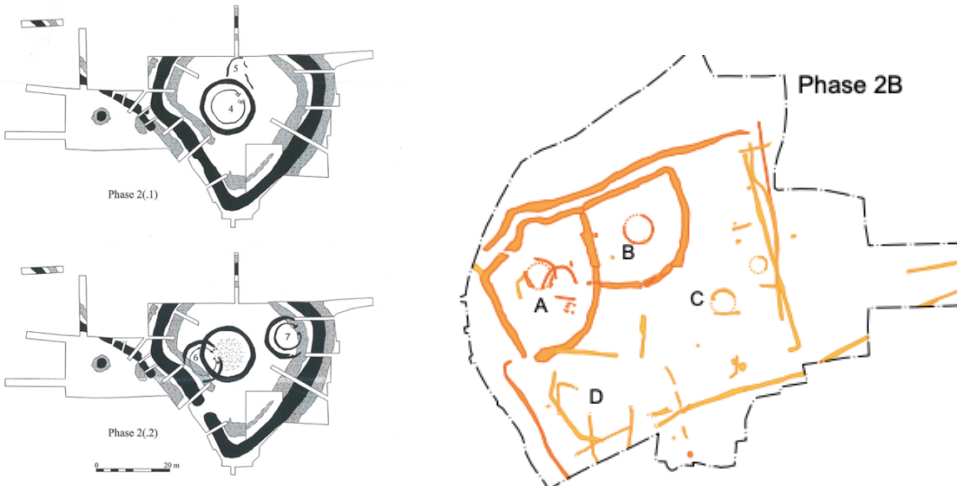


Figure 109: Main Late Iron Age phases at Haddenham V (left) and Lower Cambourne (right), (RSRB Database and Allen and Wright (2009), 15).

Finds Assemblages

East Anglia is famous for its metalwork hoards, found predominantly outside settlements. While at Stonea Camp, the only (Iron Age) metal objects found were a copper alloy tankard handle and a copper alloy bracelet, one of the largest hoards of Icenian silver coinage ever located (872 coins) was uncovered at Field Baulk Farm, four miles away.[613] A further 233 metal objects (including 231 coins and 2 copper alloy brooches) are recorded 'near' Stonea Camp by the Portable Antiquities Scheme.[614] The 12–14 hoards found at Snettisham contain

[611] Michael Allen and Wright (2009), 12–21.
[612] Parks (2013), 81; 186.
[613] Anon. (2004).
[614] In a search of the finds.org.uk database for "Stonea."

75 complete and 100 fragmentary gold and silver torcs[615] (for context, only 276 torcs have been found in all of continental Europe).[616] The Snettisham hoard, representing significant wealth, contained 20kg of silver and 15kg of gold,[617] worth approximately ~~HS~~ 208,000 by weight.[618]

Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, metalwork was found on significantly more sites here than in the other case studies (LIA or ER brooches on 34% and coins on 21% of settlements). As in the other case studies, other Late Iron Age finds consisted of utilitarian agricultural/productive objects (querns, many of which came from outside the region, metal tools, and spindlewhorls), jewellery, metalworking debris, and local, regional, and a small amount of imported pottery (reported from 7% of settlements). As Pitts demonstrates in the south-east, in-depth analyses of Late Iron Age vessel forms and fabrics increasingly demonstrate that the presence of 'Belgic' or imported pottery and of closed or drinking-specific vessel forms reflects new (local/native) cultural practices (i.e., feasting).[619] Many of these objects were locally-produced copies of Belgic forms (as at Lower Cambourne).[620] Local producers for these copies have not been securely identified (though the Harrold kilns seem to have been one amongst several producers in the ER).[621] While Belgic imports and copies are found in the case study area, Evans, Macaulay, and Mills' detailed examination of stratified assemblages suggests a distinct 'falloff' in Belgic-style products within the Fens themselves, where shell-tempered MIA-style pottery was being produced by itinerant potters.[622] In both 'zones', however, the Late Iron Age wares are increasingly 'products' of specialist producers—a trend that could signify a growing 'consumer approach' to pottery use.

---

615 Garrow and Gosden (2012), 138.
616 Garrow and Gosden (2012), 1–2; 138.
617 Garrow and Gosden (2012), 138. This is seen as the property of an entire community, although it is a fraction of what was required for entry into the senate and could also have been the property of a royal dynasty. See Garnsey and Saller (2014), 64, on the property qualification.
618 Based on weight alone.
619 Pitts (2005), 157–158.
620 Lievers *et al.* (2009), 11–12.
621 Lievers, et al. (2009), 21.
622 J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 85.

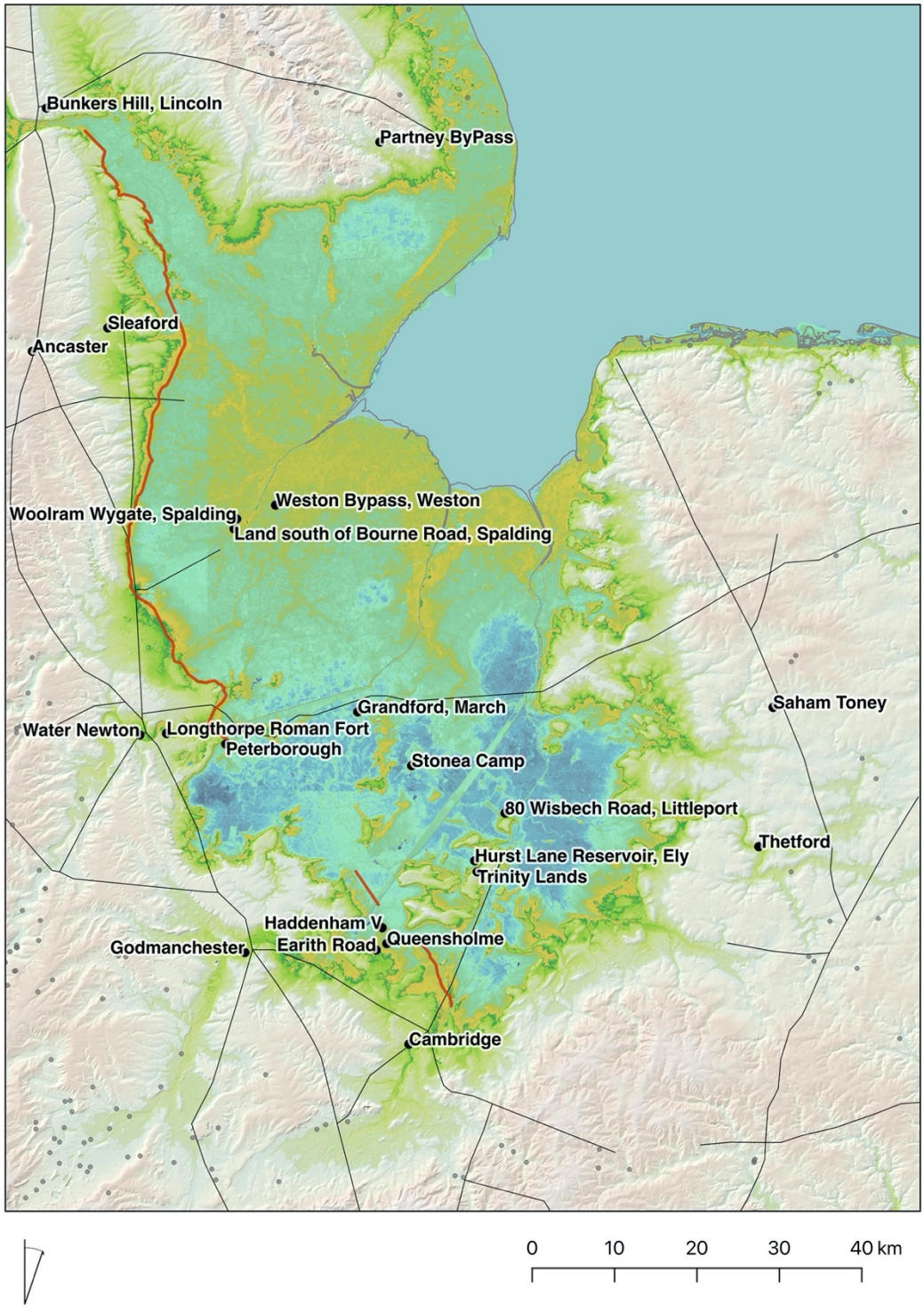


Figure 110: Case Study 3, ER sites mentioned in text.

Early Roman

While scholars often aver that the conquest is 'invisible' or hard to identify in the region's archaeology, the conquest initiated a period of intense and lasting change in and around the Fens. By the turn of the century, the settlement landscape had been dramatically altered, with pre-existing power centres either abandoned or commandeered (into forts and towns), old routes metalled, new ones constructed, and a new productive landscape taking shape in the countryside. These changes may have taken place in two (or more) phases. Fortifications and roads were constructed within the first two decades of Roman rule. The earliest phase at Grandford (and possibly Longthorpe) was Neronian, while forts at Saham Toney, Godmanchester, Water Newton, Ancaster, and Lincoln were constructed between the AD 40s and 60s, possibly in response to ongoing unrest (see Figure 110).[623] Ermine Street was also constructed in the 40s or 50s,[624] as was the *Via Devana*.[625] The earliest phase of the Fen Causeway was Neronian.[626] Other routeways had pre-Roman origins and were formalised in the first century (including the Cambridgeshire Akeman Street and, possibly, Peddars Way).[627] Detailed re-analyses of pottery assemblages is beginning to change some of the region's ER chronology and even some hypotheses of site function, as in Evans, Macaulay, and Mills' re-examination of pottery from Cambridge.[628]

These new administrative 'impositions' are relatively straightforward. Activity outside this 'administrative landscape' is harder to understand and involves changes in the location of 70% of sites, with nearly 50% of Late Iron Age sites abandoned before the turn of the century and 43% of the ER sites consisting of new foundations. Occupation at Haddenham V is thought to have ended at least a generation prior to conquest,[629] and this may have been the case

[623] Potter and Potter (1980), 85; Potter and Robinson (2000); R. Brown (1986); A. Jones (2003); Fincham (2004); Whitwell (1982); Todd (1975); Stocker and Vince (2019).
[624] Tort Hill West, on the line of Ermine Street, was levelled and abandoned shortly before the road was constructed. See Welsh (1994).
[625] C. Evans and Ten Harkel (2010), 54–55.
[626] Fincham (1998), 26–7. All evidence for a pre-Boudiccan construction is circumstantial.
[627] C. Evans and Ten Harkel (2010), 54–55, note that in Cambridge, Akeman Street predates the *Via Devana*. Albone (2016), 81, discusses other routes.
[628] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 122–126.
[629]Hill and Woodward (2002), 160.

on other sites lacking clear evidence for wheel-turned, Mediterranean-style pottery. Yet, in many cases, it is clear that site disruption happened in the Roman period. The causes of such widespread abandonment are unclear. Flooding may have ended activity on some lower-lying sites (evidence was identified on nine sites).[630] Many of the transition-period abandonments occurred on higher ground, however—the average elevation of abandoned settlements is a full 10m higher than that of all occupied sites.[631] Some abandoned sites are found in 'clusters' (usually in areas of heavy commercial excavation), leading to the impression that levels of disruption may have been localised, as around Old Sleaford.

Most Late Iron Age 'central places' had either been garrisoned,[632] transformed into Roman administrative centres,[633] or abandoned by AD 100 (Figure 111, though, given the shaky ground on which many assertions of military foundations rest, this figure may be exaggerated). Here, it seems that Roman policy favoured significant oversight of the local population.[634] These changes may not have been 'linear', however. The shrine/coin production site at Fison Way, Thetford, for instance, experienced a frenzy of building which involved the monumentalisation of much of the complex (and apparent coin production), between c. AD 40 and 60, before being abruptly abandoned.[635] While it is usually impossible to link archaeological sites directly with historical accounts, the timeline here runs parallel to the Tacitean account, and indications of continued coin production in the post-conquest period seems to confirm the account of an independent *regnum* here.[636]

---

630 These are: Queensholme, Haddenham V, 80 Wisbech Rd., Weston Bypass, Partney Bypass, Bourne Road (Spalding), Woolram Wygate, and Stonea Camp. See Greene (2000), 20 and Murphy (1992), 4. See Potter and Robinson (2000), 32; Murphy 1992, 8; Hingley and Unwin (2006), 31.

631 Average elevation of all Late Iron Age settlements=23.5m OD; average elevation of abandoned settlements=33.3m OD.

632 Saham Toney, Leicester, Cambridge, Godmanchester, and Peterborough. See May (1996), 606 for a discussion of the possible military kiln site at Dragonby, which lies outside of the case study area. See N. Cooper and Buckley (2004), 52–53 for a discussion of the transition period in Leicester.

633 Leicester, Cambridge, Godmanchester, and Peterborough.

634 Contra: Woolf (1993), 223 and Woolf (1998), 114; Millett (1992), 138.

635 Gregory (1991), 194.

636 Gregory (1991), 142–143.

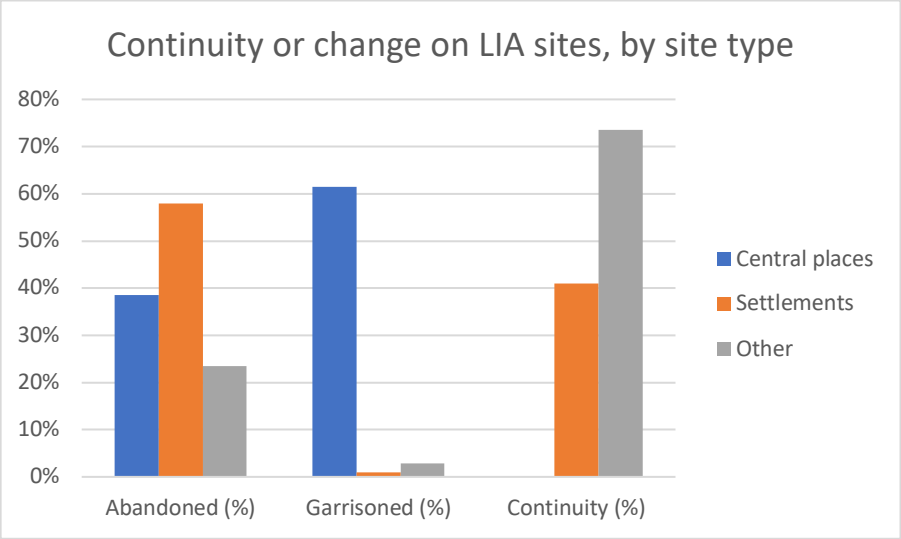


Figure 111: Percentage of Fenland site types garrisoned, abandoned or continuing into the second century AD, by site type.

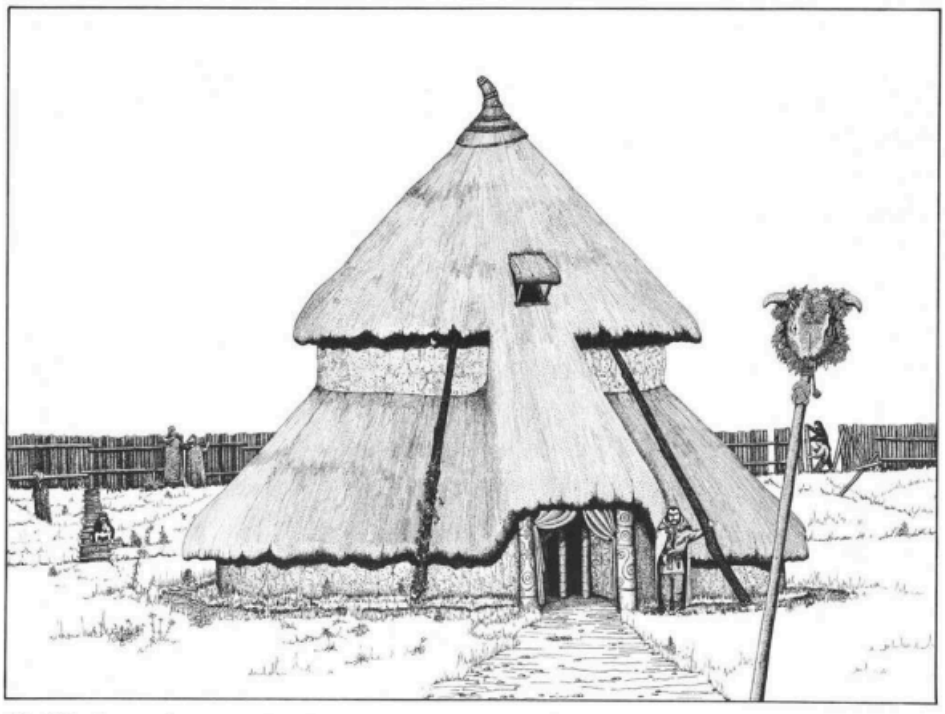


Figure 112: Structure 2b at Fison Way, Thetford (Gregory 2001, 194).

Beyond these central places, occupation on nearly half of settlements (and a smaller number of peripheral sites) either ended or changed in character (from settlement to agricultural use) by the early second century. Boundaries were re-

aligned and/or enclosures were re-organised in the first or early second centuries on 55% of the Late Iron Age settlements still occupied in the second century.[637] Reorganisation was correlated in some way with site longevity, with 67% of sites that survived into the early second century being reorganised (more below). These changes may reflect new Roman administrative frameworks (i.e., tax surveys), although, as in the Staines region, there are indications that some sites were expanded and reorganised prior to conquest—or prior to the majority of other re-alignments. A new rectilinear field system laid out at Trinity Lands, for instance, lies "off the common alignment of the island's Roman settlements… and also off the orientation of Hurst Lane's Iron Age settlement."[638] Evans notes that either "its rectilinear system must be considered a Late Iron Age 'invention,' or … initial Romanisation must have had a major impact on its layout."[639] Given the prolonged dislocation of the 40s and 50s (refugees were still taking shelter at Mona in c. AD 60: Tac., *Ann.* 14.29), the former solution might be more likely, and would accord with other emerging evidence for some limited economic change prior to the arrival of Rome. The next phase of landscape reorganisation seems (predominantly) to date to the period *after* Agricola's arrival and is discussed in the following section.

[637] The extent of re-organisation was unclear on a further nine sites.
[638] C. Evans, Knight, and Webley (2007), 69.
[639] C. Evans, Knight, and Webley (2007), 69

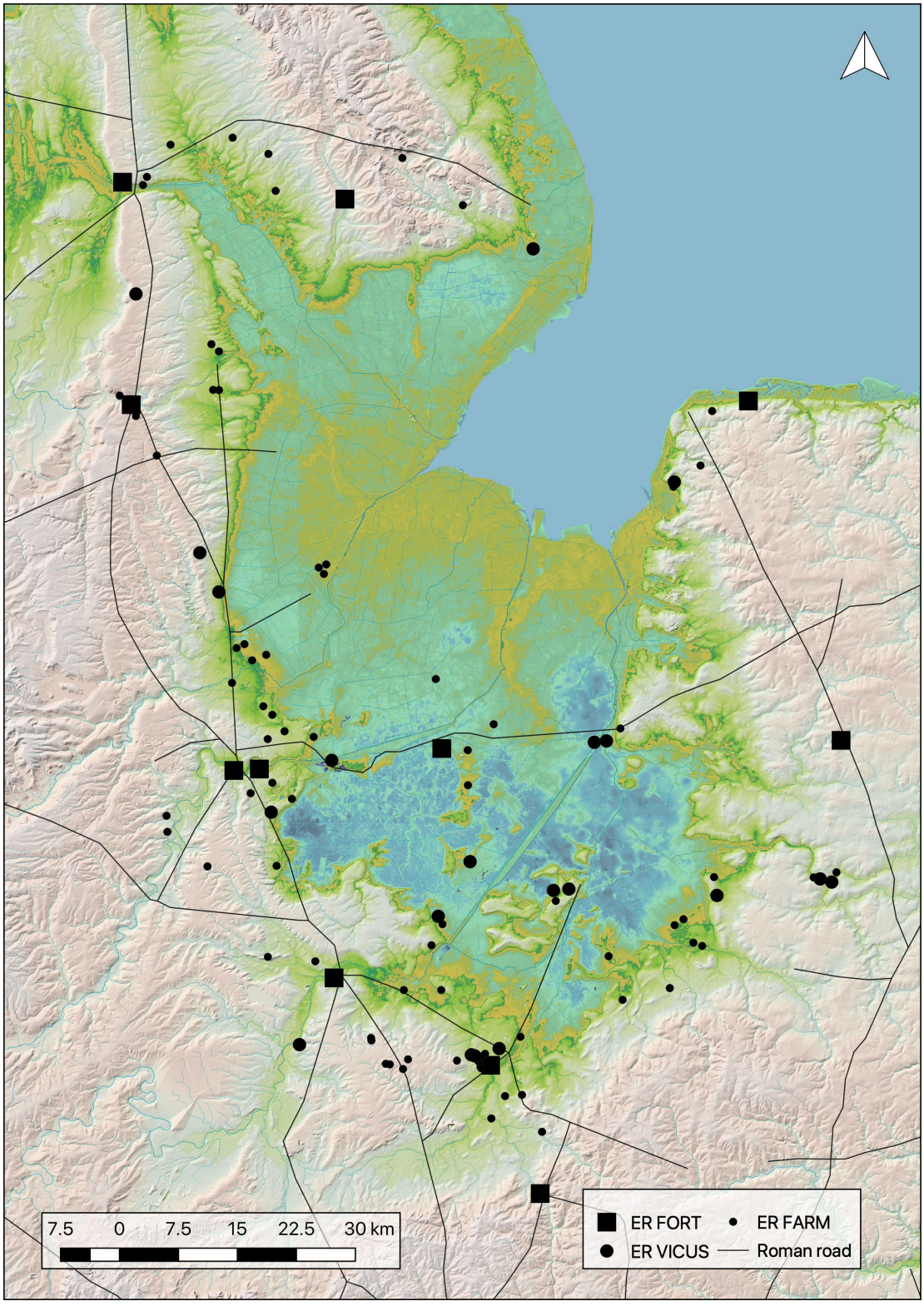


Figure 113: Case Study 3 forts (square), nucleated settlements (diamond), and farm (circle) sites dated to the ER, shown in black. Roman roads and sites outside case study area shown in grey.

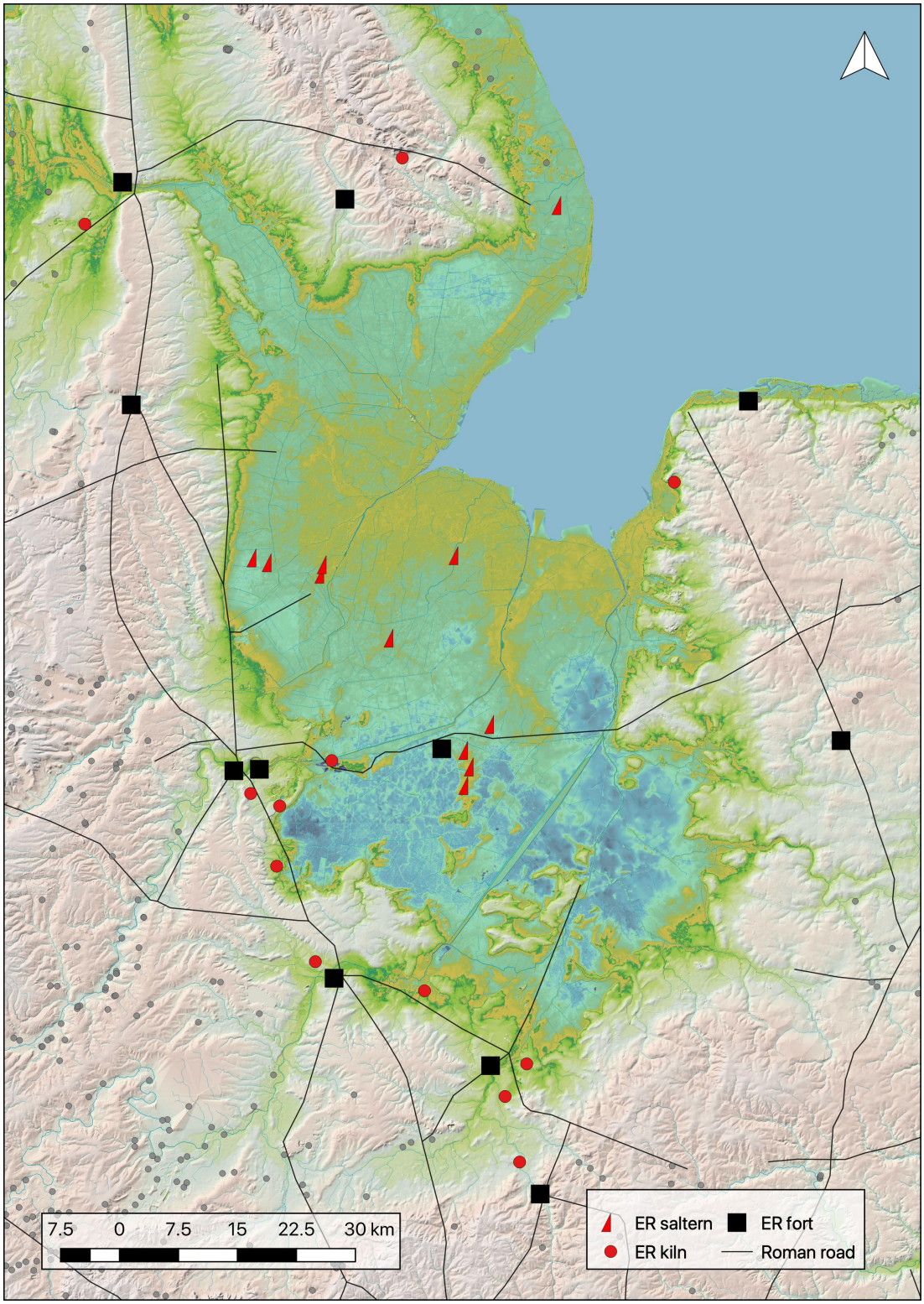


Figure 114: Case Study 3 saltern (triangles) and kiln sites (circles) dated to the first century.

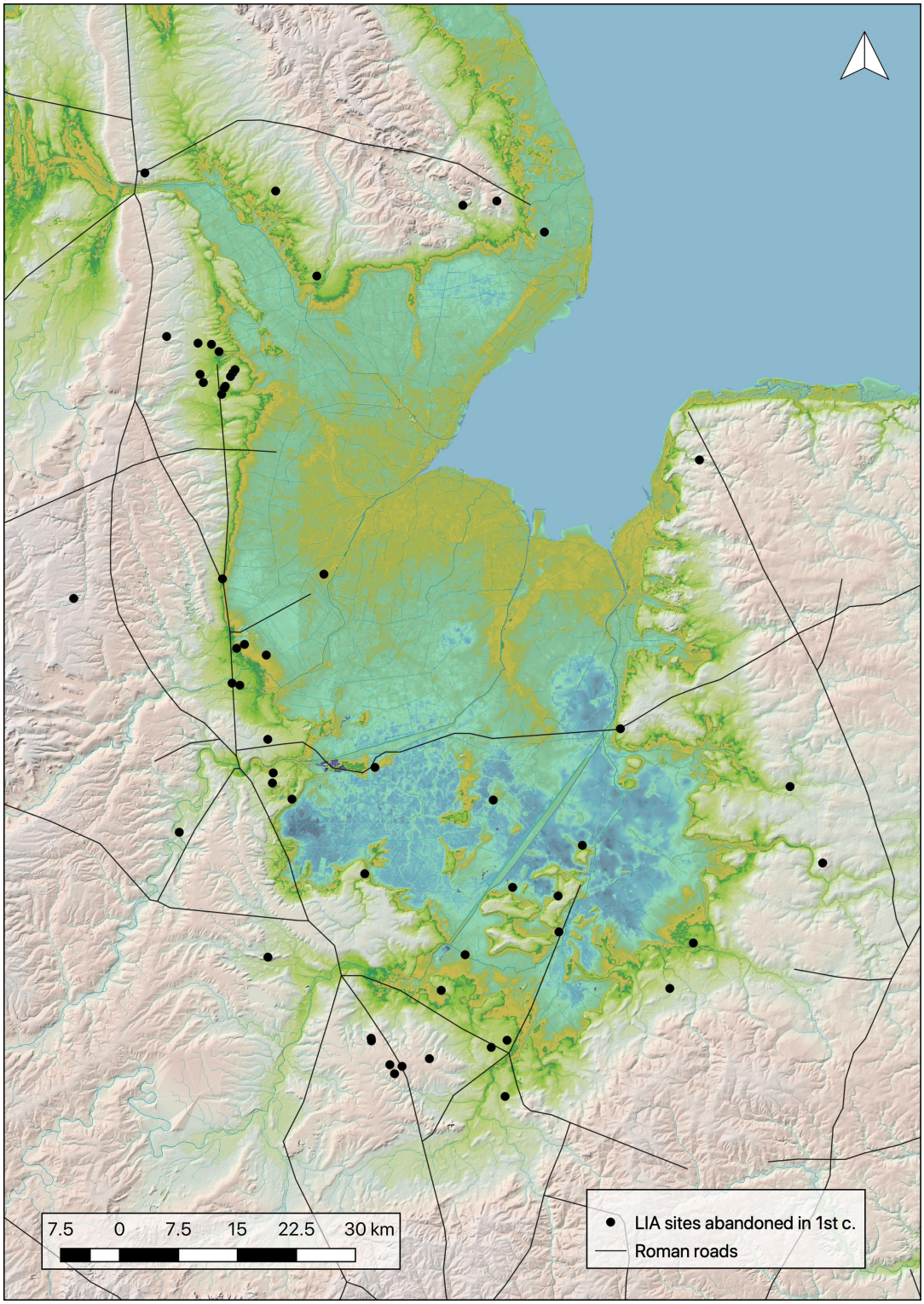


Figure 115: Case Study 3 Late Iron Age sites abandoned in the first century, shown in black. Roman roads and sites outside case study area shown in grey.

Finds Assemblages

Samian was reported from 69% of case study sites, though neither manufacturing sites nor dates were always provided. Early-Roman coins were reported from 31% of settlements. These numbers mask a dramatic change in pottery supply (and, presumably, the supply of many other goods) that occurred in the Flavian period. The recent OA East/English Heritage study of the Horningsea pottery industry (Evans, Macaulay, and Mills 2017) provides an in-depth assessment of ceramic assemblages from 88 sites around the Fens and environs. It shows that most of the pre-Flavian pottery in the region came from household-scale kilns, in the form of handmade shell-tempered pottery possibly produced by peripatetic potters[640]—although "to varying degrees across the region" wheel-turned grog-tempered pottery was also found.[641] Needless to say, finewares were limited and mainly imported, as in the LIA. As elsewhere in southern Britain, this pattern shifted dramatically in the Flavian period. Production of shelly wares continued on a smaller scale (and had 'crystallised' at a few permanent centres like Harrold), while wheel-turned sandy greywares from new regional producers—the Horningsea kilns included—spread out across each microregion in increasing quantities.[642] Well-reported assemblages also indicate that the supply of finewares changed in this period, with *terra nigra* disappearing and Samian wares found (in small quantities) on all site types.[643] This would have been a visual as well as an economic transformation (from black-surfaced to red-surfaced tableware), and Evans, Macaulay, and Mills link this with the aftermath of the Boudiccan revolt, suggesting that the pre-Flavian Belgic fashion may have looked "treasonous" by the 70s.[644] Forms, too, shifted dramatically, with small cups taking the place of large ones, and with large "feasting" deposits vanishing.[645] Evans, Macaulay, and Mills note that pottery use within the small towns was similar to that used on military and

[640] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 85.
[641] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 108.
[642] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 109.
[643] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 85.
[644] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 85.
[645] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 88.

rural sites, and different from that in the large cities, suggesting multiple 'versions' of Roman material culture, at least one possibly associated with élites, another with the military.[646]

MID-ROMAN

Between the mid-first and mid-second century, the number of (identified) occupied sites increased by 84%, and excavators estimate an E/MR beginning on 48% of the sites examined here (164 sites). Much of this change was driven by the transformation of the productive landscape.

Site distribution

Extensification of land-use is a hallmark of the Roman period in all case studies examined here. In the second century, both settlement and non-settlement occupation expanded into the Fens and the clay uplands (Figure 116 and Figure 117). Many of these new sites are productive: field systems, manufacturing areas, or peripheral sites, see Table 21).[647] Some may have been sporadically or seasonally occupied (particularly sites engaged in seasonal activities like salt or salted-meat production).[648] The production of pottery, salt, textiles, meat, cheese, garum, flax and other agricultural goods (ground or malted grain and beer) was a major activity on 33% of the second-century sites.

[646] Mattingly's terminology for this is 'discrepant experience' or 'discrepant identity' is an appropriate way of conceptualizing these various 'versions' of *Romanitas:* Mattingly (2013), 29.
[647] Hall and Coles (1994), 121.
[648] Fincham (2002), 48–58.

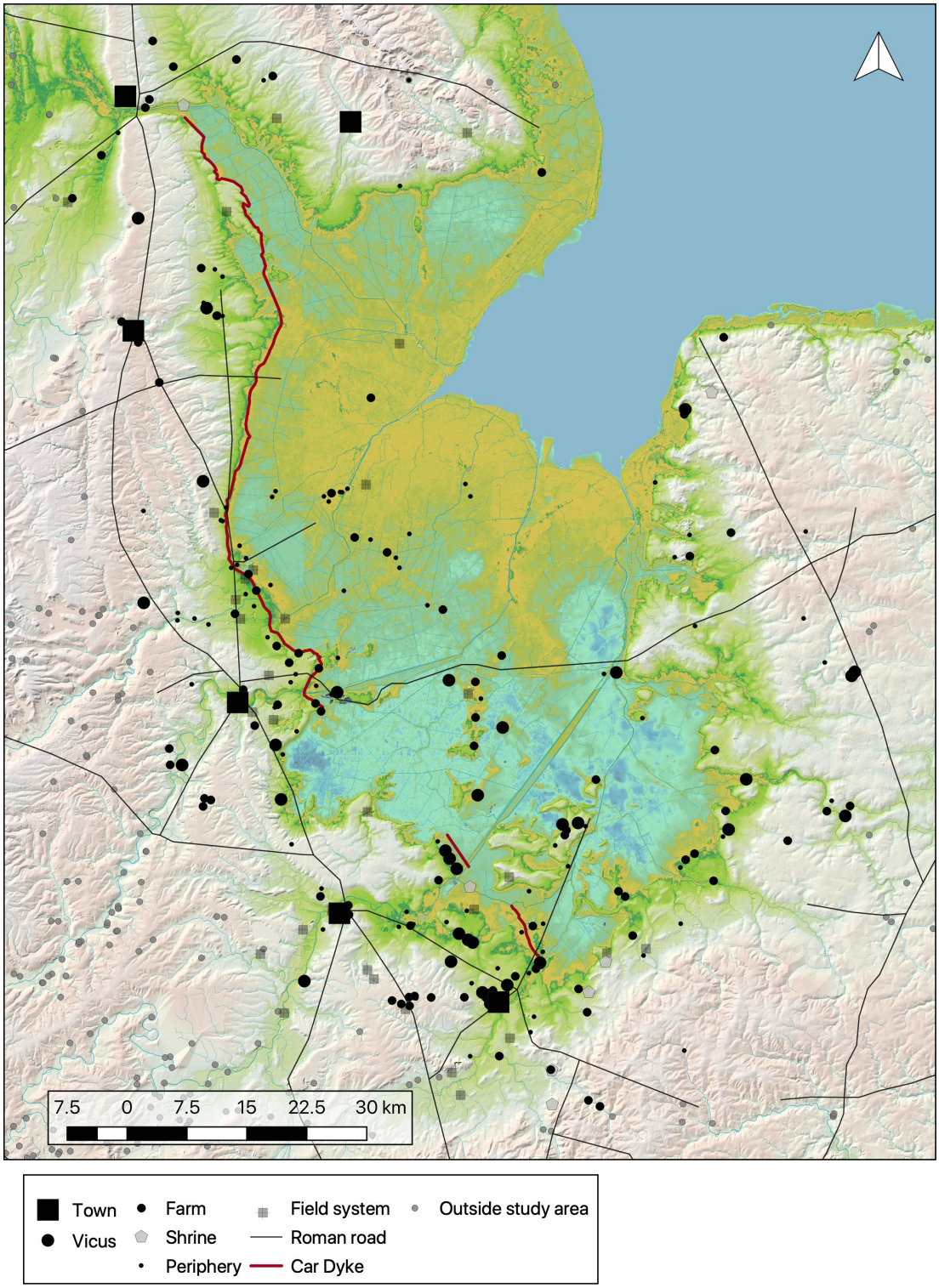


Figure 116: Distribution of second century sites in Case Study 3, by type, with sea level adjusted down by 1 metre from modern sea-level.

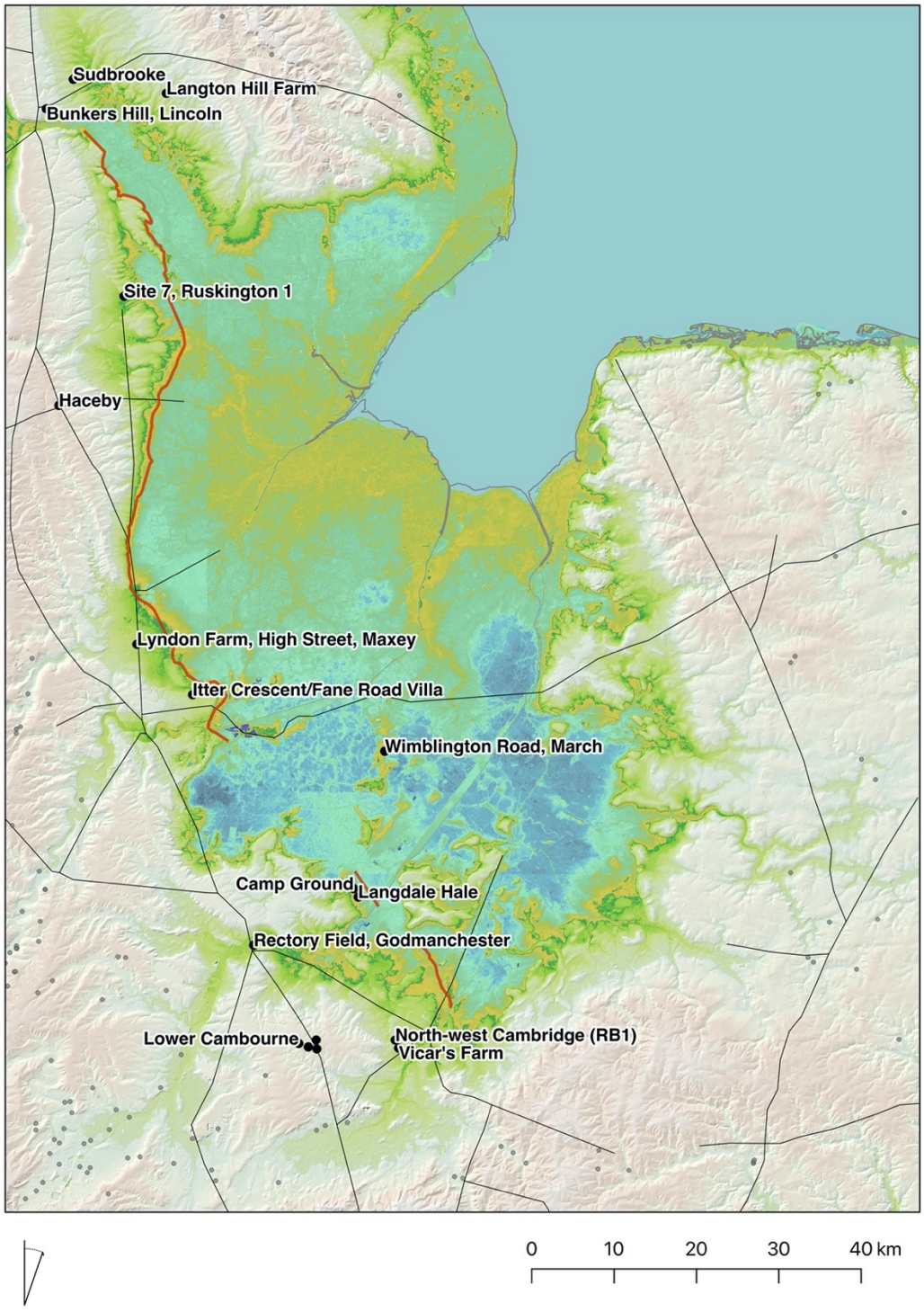


Figure 117: Case Study 3, MR sites mentioned in text.

Production

The Historic England National Inventory and NRHE National Excavation Index list 137 'Roman' saltern sites, many of which were identified in brief surveys and some of which are now lost to rising sea levels. These studies suggest that the saltern sites included in the present case study may only be a small fraction of those that operated in the Fens. These 'phantom' sites are included in Figure 118, which shows the spread of sites along the fringes of the peat fens and into the southern portion of the silt. Calculations of the volume of salt produced in the region must be conservative: some sites were only operational for a single season and saltworks on long-inhabited sites, like Woolram Wygate, may only have briefly operated as salterns. Turbaries found in survey and tentatively dated to the Roman period have been identified at March Island, in the Christchurch field system, along the Rodham Farm Canal and in Euximoor Fen, and these may have been fuel sources for both salt and ceramic production.[649]

Likewise, surveyors have identified more than 250 Roman kiln sites (Figure 119), including those apparently involved in the Nene Valley, Horningsea, Swanpool and Market Rasen industries, and kilns producing as-yet-unidentified wares.[650]

There is also evidence for large-scale production of other crafts and of agricultural goods, both on isolated farmsteads and on a series of nucleated sites, loosely termed 'supply farms' by local excavators, that seem to have been engaged in extensive production of various goods. In addition to grain (and some brewing), there were horticultural crops,[651] meat- and possibly fish-salting, and the ubiquitous stock rearing (for which the Fens provided an especially good environment), among other activities. Fincham suggests that stock rearing and salt production were complimentary, "because of the obvious

[649] Fincham (2002), 58. See also Hall and Coles (1994), 113–119; Huisman (2017), 6.
[650] i.e.: Frend (1998); Dannell *et al.* (1993); D. Gibson and Lucas (2002); Willis *et al.* (2008); Newton (2010); J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017).
[651] Robinson-Zeki (2016).

end result of practicing [sic] both activities in the same economy, that of salted meat."[652]

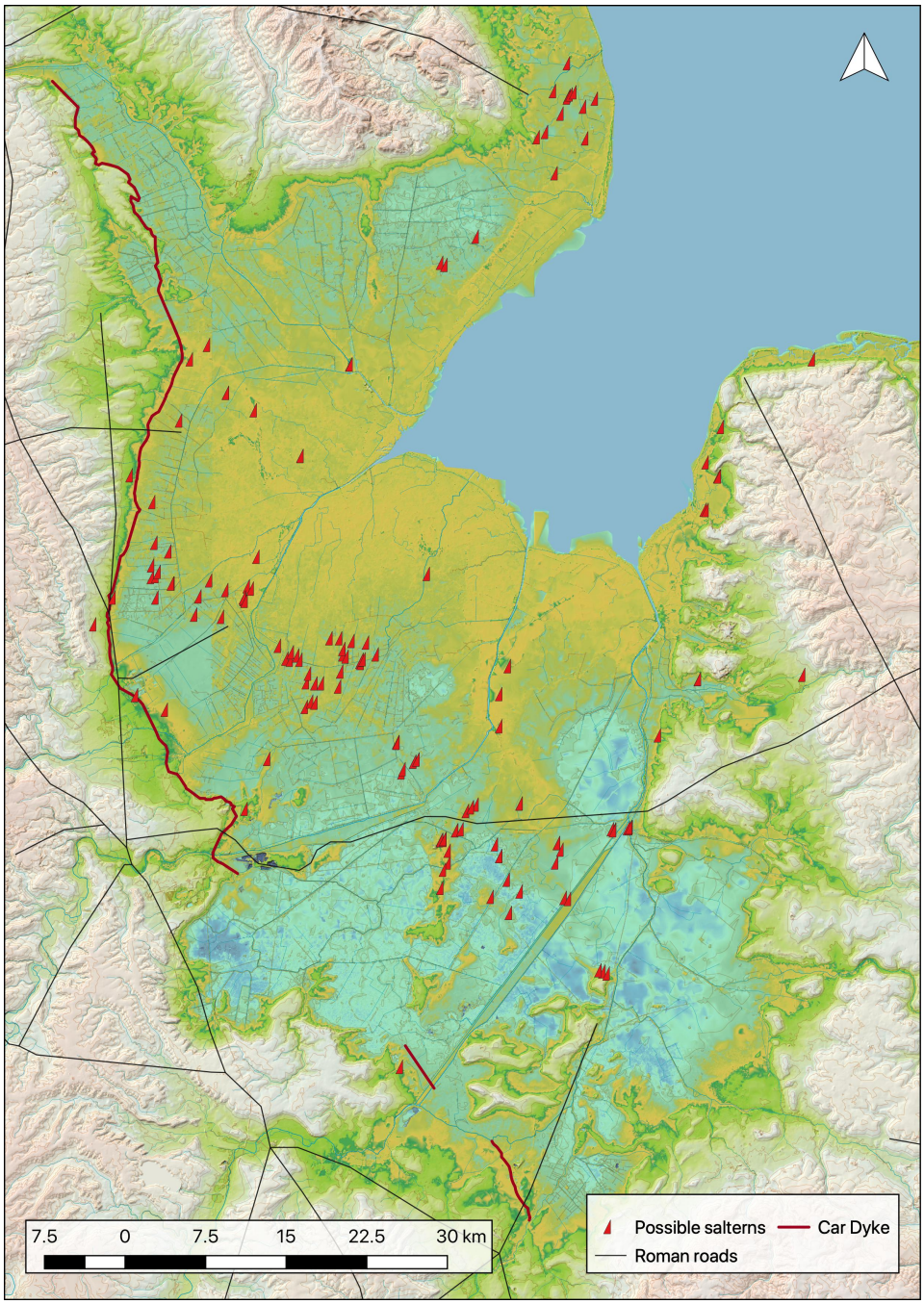


Figure 118: Possible Roman-period saltern debris or briquetage scatters in Case Study 3 area identified by the Historic England National Inventory and the Historic England NRHE National Excavation Index.

[652] Fincham (2002), 48.

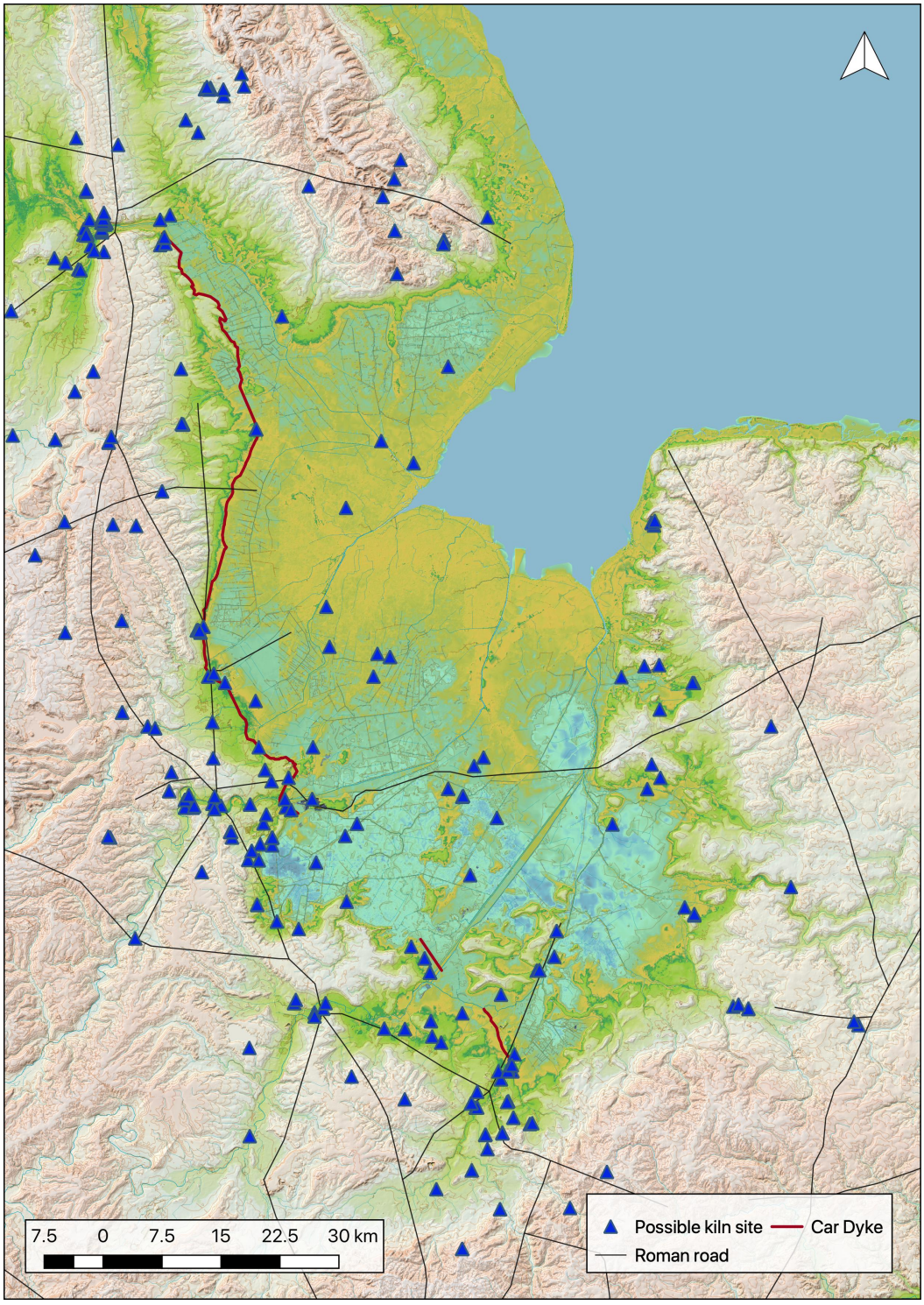


Figure 119: Possible Roman-period kiln sites in Case Study 3 identified by the Historic England National Inventory and the Historic England NRHE National Excavation Index.

Morphology

The second century saw both an expansion of settlement and much nucleation. By AD 100, there were six towns and 18 smaller agglomerated settlements.[653]

At Camp Ground, excavations uncovered an M/LIA hamlet (which may not have been continuously occupied through the conquest period). A rectilinear enclosure system was dug in the late first century and then re-organised and enlarged in the early second century, c. AD 120 (Figure 120). Within and around these enclosures were the remains of 52 rectilinear timber structures (dating primarily to the MR). The site may have been a trading centre, possibly exporting goods manufactured on site, and environmental evidence suggests the inhabitants engaged in crop processing, wild game hunting, and numerous other activities. An enormous number of finds (including over 73,000 sherds of pottery and 2000 coins) attests to the mercantile nature of activity on site.[654] At nearby Langdale Hale (Figure 121 and Figure 122)[655], a conquest-period roundhouse settlement was reorganised, again in the early second century, with large enclosures arranged along a roadway, within which rectilinear timber buildings were constructed. As at Camp Ground, various productive activities (including metalworking, large-scale crop processing, and possibly *garum* production) took place, and the site's large ceramic assemblage (over 14,000 sherds) and coin profile (n=81) attest to the mercantile nature of production.[656]

[653] These designations come predominantly from the RSRB database.
[654] C. Evans, et al. (2013); 423–431.
[655] C. Evans, et al. (2013); Regan (2003).
[656] C. Evans, et al. (2013). Garum production, 133; coins, 99; pottery, 85–99; discussion, 163–177.



Figure 120: Early-Roman phases at Camp Ground, Colne Fen (Regan 2004).



Figure 6: Mid-Late 1st Century

Figure 121: Early-Roman layout at Langdale Hale, Case Study 3 (Regan 2003, 13).

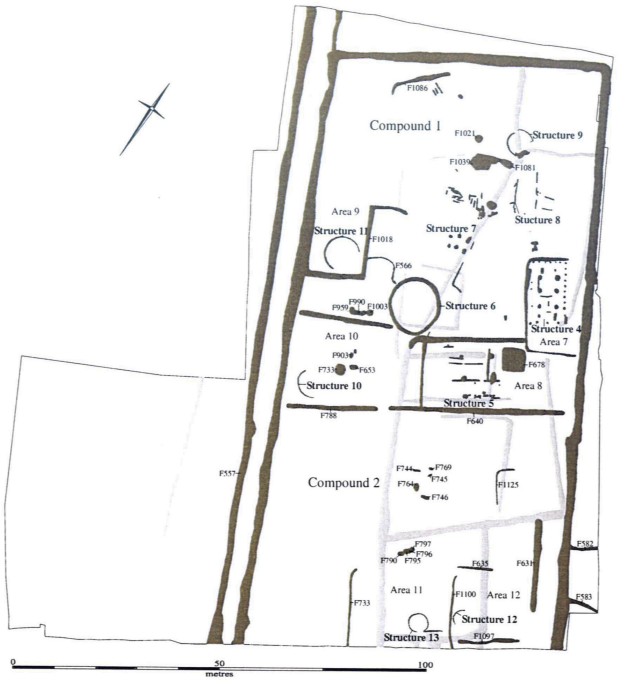


Figure 7: Early-Mid 2nd Century

Figure 122: Early- to mid-second century changes in layout at Langdale Hale, Case Study 3 (Regan 2003, 16).

Changes were also visible both on non-nucleated settlements and in the wider productive landscape. They generally dated between the late first–mid-second century, and involved the expansion and realignment of field systems, often aligned with trackways and roads. Such changes are visible on nearly every site with continuing (or new) occupation. At Site 7 in Ruskington, for instance, new Romano-British boundaries cut almost perpendicularly across the Iron Age landscape.[657] Excavators suggest that, as occupation was "more or less continuous… this re-alignment may indicate that there was an organised re-allocation of land, probably in the early part of the second century AD".[658] Evidence for centuriation is lacking, however, and it is possible that reorganisation was more a response to economic than to political change.

[657] (Hatton to Silk Willoughby Gas Pipeline) Anon. (2006), 48–9.
[658] (Hatton to Silk Willoughby Gas Pipeline) Anon. (2006), 48–9.



Figure 123: Changes in layout at Jeavons Lane (Case Study 3) between Late Iron Age and Roman Phases, mapped here as Phases 2B and 3, respectively (Wright et al. 2009, 44).

The small farm site at Jeavons Lane was likewise re-aligned in the mid-second century alongside a droveway, with stock enclosures, domestic enclosures and fields all on the same alignment, in a way that is reminiscent of the ladder enclosures in the Staines region (Figure 123).[659]

Some 85% of these settlements furnished structural remains, the vast majority of which were the ephemeral remains of timber structures. While Perring notes that roundhouses continue in use in the Fens longer than they do elsewhere in southern Britain,[660] roundhouses were the primary architectural

[659] Michael Allen and Wright (2009), 43–5.
[660] Perring (1999), 201.

form on only 10–15 settlements in the second century. Roundhouse-use may have been regional: in the uplands around Cambridge, roundhouses remained a central feature of the settlements at Lower Cambourne, Ash Plantation, The Grange and Vicar's Farm.[661]

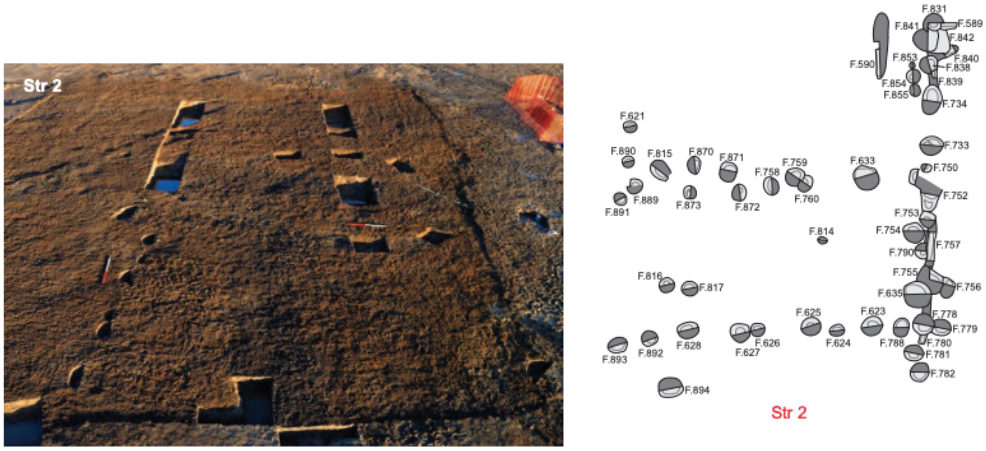


Figure 124: Photograph of the features and plan of Structure 2 at RB.1 – 2, North West Cambridge (Cessford and Evans 2014, 176).

As in the previous case study, small or ephemeral rectilinear timber structures were the most common structure type, found on 70% of second-century settlements. Small and non-aisled rectilinear buildings are easily truncated, and even on sites where ephemeral remains survive, they often consist only of postholes or beamslots in the rough outline of a structure. Excavations at North West Cambridge sites RB.1–2 identified the possible remains of five post and beamslot structures (with additional structures thought to have been lost to truncation).[662] Structure 2, the best-preserved of all of these, had been heavily-truncated and only the deepest post-holes survived (Figure 124).[663]

The better-preserved beam slots and floors from the timber phase at Fane Road/Itter Crescent villa illustrates that some timber structures were plastered and painted. That structure:

[661] Michael Allen and Wright (2009).
[662] Cessford and Evans (2014), 110–111.
[663] Cessford and Evans (2014), 181.

> "consisted of at least three rooms with a corridor on the eastern side…. A thick layer of clay was used as a levelling deposit and pitched limestone cornbrash laid as the foundation for a compact gravel floor surface (502). The constructional beamslots retained evidence of wattle and daub interior walls which were covered in painted wall plaster. The surviving elements of a collapsed wall on the western side of the building consisted of three timber posts (1675) spaced 1.4m apart; the collapsed wall consisted of mortar and daub (1648) with wattle impressions."[664]

Even non-élite buildings may have been plastered (though plaster does not always survive well): some structures within the Snettisham *vicus* (Station Road) were plastered, and plaster was also found near the putative rectilinear and round timber buildings at Lyndon Farm, Maxey.[665]

Second-century masonry structures were identified on 23 sites. Most are in towns/*vici* or ritual sites. In many cases, these were relatively elaborate: excavations around Ermine Street in Godmanchester uncovered an early second-century *mansio* and bathhouse with glazed windows, a colonnaded portico, painted plaster, and marble and mosaic decorations. Likewise, large masonry houses with mosaic or *opus signinum* floors, painted wall plaster, and inlaid-marble decoration have been identified at Lincoln.[666] Masonry buildings were also found on smaller sites. At Sudbrooke, a villa complex was built in the early second century (overlying apparent traces of a conquest-period timber phase and near to an Iron Age roundhouse gully).[667] It was heated, decorated with painted wall plaster and *opus signinum* and mosaic flooring, and may have had an associated bath house (along with a possible plunge pool or industrial tank, Figure 125).[668]

[664] Henley, Lyons, and Pickstone (2012), 18.
[665] Lyons *et al.* (2004), 27; Roberts (2000), 19: plaster found in a later Roman ditch but presumably came from the earlier structures (i.e., p. 11) on site.
[666] Stocker and Vince (2019), 90–93.
[667] Spence (2008), 38.
[668] Spence (2008), 10.

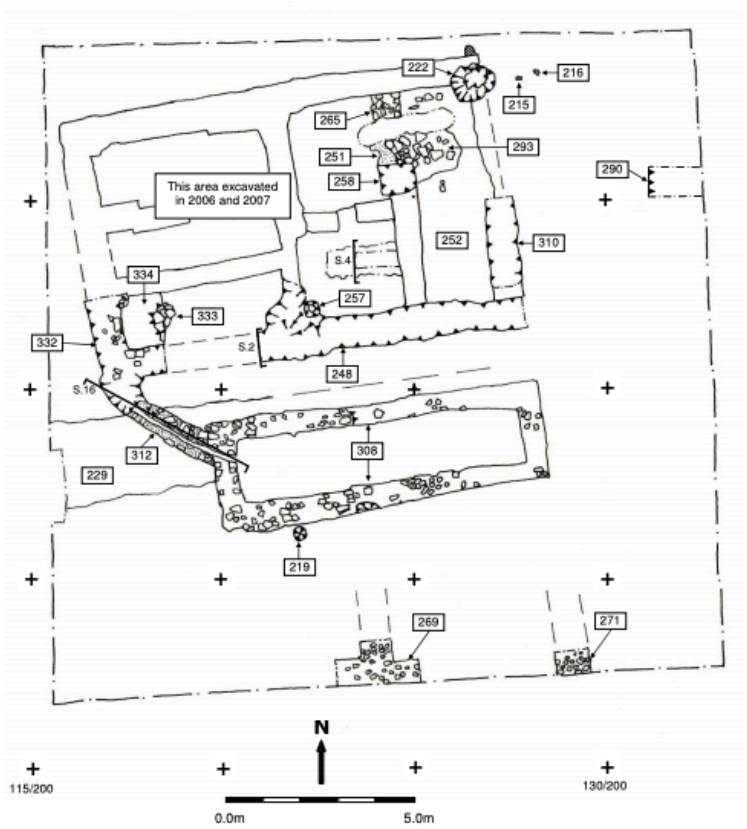


Figure 125: Plan of partially excavated Roman masonry structure at Sudbrooke, Lincolnshire, Case Study 3 (Spence 2008, 20).

Aisled buildings with timber or masonry foundations were identified on 27 sites. Most of these were built in either the second or third centuries, and as such, the wider phenomenon of aisled hall building in the case study area is examined here. As discussed in Chapter 2, the function of aisled buildings or 'halls' is the subject of some debate, and they have been seen alternatively as barns, low-status housing on larger villa estates, semi-élite domestic structures (possibly inhabited by larger extended families of owner-occupiers), reception rooms or work areas on larger villa estates, and display-oriented storage facilities on large élite farms in "regions characterised by absentee landlords".[669] Wallace notes that aisled halls with predominantly agricultural

[669] See Wallace (2018); Smith et al. 2016, 66–69; Cunliffe (2013); J. Taylor (2011) Perring (2002), Cunliffe and Poole (2000a); for the quote: Perring (1999), 204–207.

functions are "generally restricted to military and urban sites,"[670] and draws a distinction between these and other halls that were either, themselves, architecturally elaborated, or that belonged to architecturally-elaborate villa estates. Whether used as housing of local élites wishing to enact native-style or regional communal social relations (as at Wallace's North Warnborough), or as *loci* for the élite display of large-scale storage or crop-processing activities within a villa landscape (as in Taylor's discussion of villas in the south-east), aisled halls have been presented in recent scholarship as reflecting élite display of some kind.[671] Yet, as Wallace explains, the North Warnborough aisled hall, though extremely large (with an internal area of 484 m^2) and élite, may have functioned in part as a gathering place for the wider community.

In the present case study, however, 17 (59%) of the aisled buildings were found on small *vici* (n=4) or on non-nucleated rural sites that never became 'villas' (n=13), while only 5 (19%) were on villa sites. In most cases, it is unclear whether those in the former category (i.e., those on non-villa rural or *vicus* sites) were dwellings, per se, or industrial/storage buildings. It is tempting to read them as dwellings, since, in most cases, they were the largest (and often the only contemporary) structures on site, and in all but one case the sites furnished much evidence for domestic occupation. The interpretation of these sites as domestic is strengthened by the presence of (usually earlier) roundhouses on 59% of them. While evidence for internal elaboration on these sites was rare (with one site each reporting painted plaster, mosaic *tesserae*, or window glass, and three for box-flue tile), nearly all sites furnished evidence for both investment in (or the existence of) agricultural or craft (surplus) production and for the consumption of 'luxury' goods from wider regional (and cross-Channel) markets.

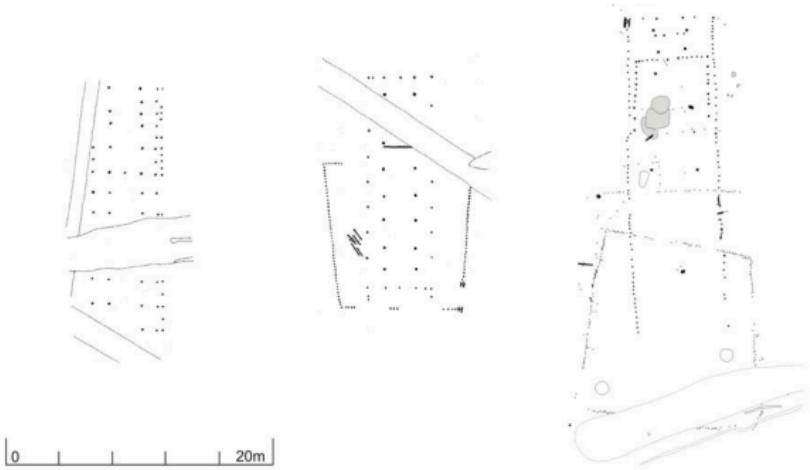
Should these sites be read as *loci* for the display of agricultural wealth owned by "absentee landlords",[672] as the dwellings of local élites, or as industrial work zones not related to élite display at all? I propose that an

[670] Wallace (2018), 245.
[671] J. Taylor (2011), 187–189. Wallace (2018) sees the North Warnborough example as an example of high-status architecture on a non-villa site.
[672] Perring (1999), 204–207.

examination of large timber architecture elsewhere in the Roman north provides a helpful tool with which to think about such questions. This is a link that was made by Applebaum in the 1970s, but which has been largely dismissed in recent years.[673] Large timber structures are frequently found in excavations in the Netherlands and Germany. While British scholarship tends to stress the differences between these structures and those in Britain, a close examination of recently excavated *woonstalhuizen* (in German: Wohnstallhäuser) suggests that there may be some similarities, in both morphology and use, between these and the aisled halls in the present case study. While a direct parallel in architectural style is not apparent, I suggest that the morphology and finds profiles of the Continental sites point to the existence of socio-economic structures that may also have been present in Britain.

The most well-known of these *woonstalhuizen* sites is at Tiel Passewaaij (Passewaaijse Hogeweg), near Tiel in the modern-day Netherlands. The site—a hamlet of sorts—was inhabited from c. 60 BC until sometime in the fourth century AD. Excavations between 1999 and 2004 revealed a series of enclosures within which were large single-roomed timber farmhouses of numerous different construction types (but all surprisingly similar to modern-day Dutch farms—i.e., long and narrow).[674] While a majority of these were *not* aisled, some were (see Figure 126) and these were built on a similar scale as those in the present case study (with an average internal area of c. 115 m^2 but with some examples as large as Structure 6 at Langdale Hale, with an area of c. 150 m^2).[675] Many include stall areas at one end (as the name *woonstalhuizen* suggests). Groot contends that the inhabitants of Tiel Passewaaij engaged in the production of surplus (cattle) for local and military markets and were "integrated in an exchange network."[676]

673 Applebaum (1972), 46–47 and 140–187.
674 Groot (2008), 2–3. Similar discussions can also be found in Groot, et al. (2009) and Groot, Lentjes, and Zeiler (2013).
675 De Clercq (2009), 297; C. Evans, et al. (2013), 66.
676 Groot (2008), 22.



Figuur 10.22 Plattegronden van de gebouwen Type VI. Drieschepig hoofdgebouw met gelijkmatig verspreide krachtenverdeling over dakgebintendragende palenkoppels (1-2: Colijnsplaat-Noordhoeksenol (plannen: J. van de Berg, AWN); 3: Borsele-Ellewoutsdijk).

Figure 126: Dutch "three-aisled buildings" (De Clercq 2009, 297).

As in Britain, these structures are found in both semi-nucleated and non-nucleated settlements on the Continent. In his work on domestic architecture in the *Civitas Menapiorum,* De Clercq notes that increased commercial excavation has demonstrated that in the Roman period, there were "*grote nederzettingscomplexen, opgetrokken in hout waarin het woonstalhuis een belangrijke plaats innam*," ("large settlements, built in wood, in which the *woonstalhuis* occupied an important place").[677]

In the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, and northern France,[678] as in Britain, some aisled timber buildings were later replaced by villa-type masonry structures, while "others remained small, simple and barely monumentalized" throughout their lives.[679] Also as in Britain, some scholars have been tempted to read these aisled halls as representative of a two-tier system of 'villa' type settlements (which later became elaborated), on the one hand, and small peasant

[677] De Clercq (2009), 84.
[678] Habermehl (2014); Besuijen (2008).
[679] Habermehl (2014), 159 (quote); Besuijen (2008), 28–35.

farms (which did not), on the other.[680] De Clercq, however, notes that such a dichotomy may be inappropriate for the southern Netherlands, where research increasingly shows that "*er veel meer ruimtelijke en chronologische verscheidenheid is in en tussen de boerderijen dan het tweeledige model voorstelt (van Enckevort et al. 2005: 22-23)*," ("there is much more spatial and chronological variety within and between farms than the dual model proposes").[681]

The presence of large, timber-framed farmhouses on both villa and non-villa sites across the north-western provinces casts the British 'aisled hall' problem in a new light—indicating, at the very least, that investment in large-scale timber architecture in the Roman world need not be uniformly linked with high-status settlement. The evidence from Passewaaijse Hogeweg further indicates that even middle-range rural settlements could be heavily engaged in surplus production for the wider Roman market.[682] Examinations of finds assemblages there have identified a suite of objects (possibly related to the commercial activities taking place there) that demonstrate the deepening integration of these farmers within the wider cultural and economic world of the empire.

Heeren's 2009 Ph.D. thesis examined a group of objects found frequently around *woonstalhuizen* at Tiel Passewaaij, such as military gear, seal boxes, intaglio rings, writing equipment, locks and keys, and weights.[683] In addition to changes in finds assemblages in the Roman period, he notes that structural morphology in Tiel Passewaaij changed as well, with porches now frequently added to the *woonstalhuizen.* Heeren demonstrates that these most

680 De Clercq (2009), 260, citing Slofstra, Roymans, and Theuws (1991).
681 De Clercq (2009), 261.
682 Groot, et al. (2009).
683 Heeren (2009), 124–159. See also Nicolay (2007). Derks and Roymans (2006), 28–30, suggest the seal boxes might represent letter-writing between soldiers and their families back home, or even the presence of literate veterans in those communities. C. Andrews (2013) sees seal boxes as anti-tamper devices for bags of money or other valuables, as (perhaps) suggested by their prevalence on sites that display economic functions. Besuijen (2008), 36, sees 1st c. AD changes in large-scale surplus (stock) production as driven by returning veterans, whose ability to rely on a robust social network (including army connections) gave them a 'leg up' in the market

closely resemble the porches on military barracks.[684] The local change from posthole to sill-beam construction can also be traced to military construction methods.[685] While these changes have sometimes been interpreted as an attempt to re-create an Italian-style portico (as the presence of intaglio rings and writing equipment have been read as attempts to take on 'Romanised' (élite) culture), Heeren argues that, instead, they might indicate the presence of returned veterans.

While there is little evidence to suggest that returned veterans played an important role in East Anglian society, Heeren's argument is salient here in the emphasis it places on alternative (discrepant) identities in non-élite communities. Essential to his argument is the idea that cultural change that appears 'Romanising' may not be the result of attempts to ape the behaviours of provincial or imperial élites. Batavian veterans, Heeren argues, were not trying to become *Roman,* but were, rather, bringing a bit of their new, military identities home with them on their return:

> "It is likely that many soldiers took some of their equipment with them as mementos of their 25-year-long service. On the one hand, symbols of military service provided status; through the long history of a Romano-Batavian alliance and the intensive recruitment of Roman auxilia in Batavian territory that accompanied it, martial values became a part of Batavian identity. On the other hand, veterans would have had a desire to commemorate their past military service. After all, it is no small thing to become a citizen again, after 25 years of service, and to find a new home in their native land after such a long time in military camps."[686]

Heeren (and Derks and Roymans, Nicolay, and Besuijen) all argue that, for first-century Batavians, a distinct *military* identity had developed with almost no reference to élite Roman/Italian culture, and that it was this version of *romanitas* that soldiers brought home with them upon discharge. Élites may have played down their business dealings, but for veterans, "business activities

[684] Heeren (2009), 157–9.
[685] Heeren (2009), 157–9.
[686] Heeren (2009), 124–5, translated from the Dutch.

seem to have played a major factor [sic] in the construction of a social identity and in emphasizing their political and social affiliation to Rome."[687]

Interesting, for the purposes of the present study, is the idea of a distinct social identity embraced by rural non-élites—one that could be based around business dealings in a manner similar to that familiar from (non-élite) urban inscriptions and relief sculpture.[688] As Wallace's Warnborough study suggests, locally-important rural social subcultures, with their own modes of communication (and driven or shaped by both cultural and economic concerns) evidently existed.[689]

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to determine a 'function' for aisled buildings, in the present case study area (as in Hampshire), aisled halls appear to be heavily associated with markets (or market-orientated production). First, sites with aisled halls were far more likely to have coins (and more of them) than sites with other kinds of (masonry or non-masonry) buildings.[690] Second-century non-nucleated sites furnishing structural remains reported an average of 12 coins (and a median of a single coin) per site, while non-nucleated, non-villa sites with aisled buildings reported an average of 242 coins (with a median of 72). Other finds types were also more common on 'aisled' than 'non-aisled' farms furnishing structural remains (Table 27). As shown in the table below, evidence for both production (slag, corndryers) and for consumption were higher on sites with aisled buildings. Intriguingly, the finds that Heeren highlights (see above) were also more common on aisled sites—though they were by no means ubiquitous. While the structures themselves were not highly elaborated, they furnished low-cost 'luxuries' to a degree similar to the 'villa' sites. These data suggest that rural non-villa sites with aisled buildings in this region should be seen as dwellings occupied by independent

687 Besuijen (2008), 36.
688 See Mattingly (2013), especially Chapters 5 and 6 (especially 154–155) for a discussion of discrepant experience in the countryside.
689 Wallace and Mullen (2019).
690 This calculation is based on Roman coins of all dates (because not all reports identified coins by date), but a similar pattern is found with coins dated to the mid-Roman period.

proprietors able to access these low-cost 'luxuries', and as centres of either production or sale of agricultural goods.

Table 27: Finds on second-century settlements with structures (of any date) compared with finds on second-century sites with aisled buildings (of any date).

Object type	Non-'aisled'	Aisled	Villa
Samian	80%	100%	86%
Amphorae	47%	85%	43%
Corndryer	16%	62%	14%
Slag	43%	85%	43%
Personal adornment	47%	92%	71%
Toilet implements	24%	54%	57%
Weights	10%	54%	29%
Security	12%	38%	29%
Intaglio rings	6%	23%	14%
Writing equipment	8%	31%	14%
Military gear	8%	23%	0%
Religion	12%	54%	29%

Finds Assemblages

The second to mid-third centuries were grouped together because numerous studies, most recently that of the Horningsea potteries, indicates that pottery supply remained fairly stable in the second and third centuries.[691] Now that the various shell-tempered, greyware, and fineware potteries were 'up and running', as it were, they continued to supply local and longer-distance markets, with microregional (and chronological) differences in the 'market share' of each industry.[692] The introduction of Nene Valley finewares in the second century occasioned a rise in the incidence of finewares on all site types. Only 5% of case study settlements reported neither Nene Valley colour-coat *nor* Samian. These were either poorly reported (including the villa at Haceby),[693] or may not have been used as a settlement into the mid-second century. The site at Langton Hill, for instance, produced much élite pre-Flavian pottery, including *terra nigra, terra rubra*, and unidentified amphora fragments, and no diagnostically later pottery, but the date range given by excavators suggested the site may have

691 J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 89–99.
692 J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 93.
693 Recorded as "Haceby" in Martyn Allen, et al. (2018).

been used sporadically into the second century.[694] Excavations at Wimblington Road, March, for instance, uncovered the remains of two timber structures and a cobbled trackway. While the location and size of the trenches made it difficult to understand the site's morphology, it is thought to have been a small farm. The inhabitants managed cattle (and possibly sheep) and may have been engaged in small-scale salt production, malting, and/or pottery production.[695] Finewares were entirely absent from the pottery assemblage,[696] although the site's inhabitants sourced coarsewares from Colchester, Oxford, and the local Nene Valley and Horningsea industries.[697]

A higher proportion of settlements reported coins (41%), though they were found in smaller quantities and on fewer sites than late-third–fourth-century coins (found on 68% of settlements).

[694] Anon. (2006), 33.
[695] S. Cooper (2003).
[696] S. Cooper (2003), 15, with the exception of a Belgic platter.
[697] S. Cooper (2003), 15.

LATE ROMAN

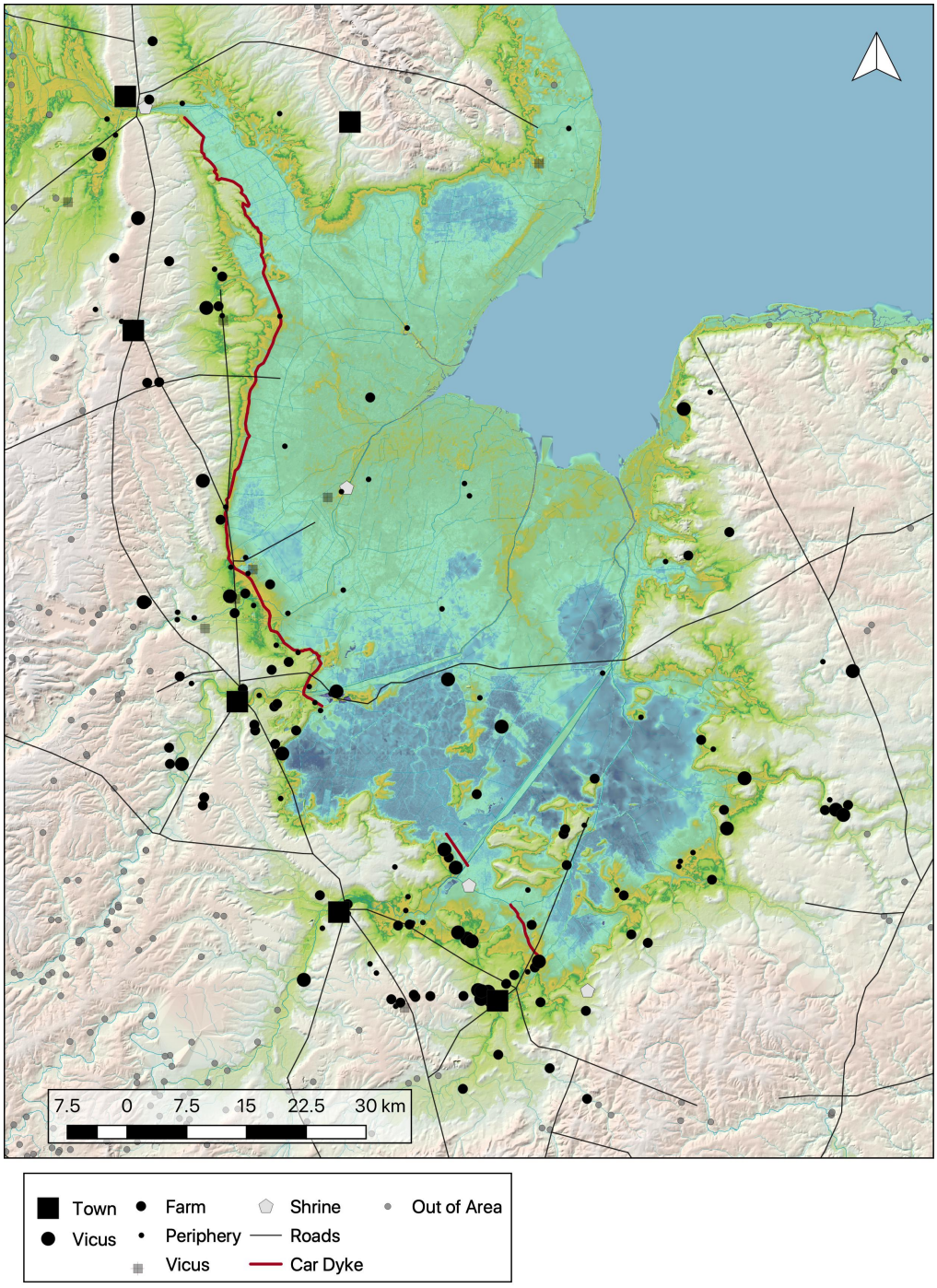


Figure 127: Distribution of fourth-century sites, Case Study 3. Sea-level has been adjusted 1 metre upwards from the present-day, as the region is thought to have experienced widespread flooding.

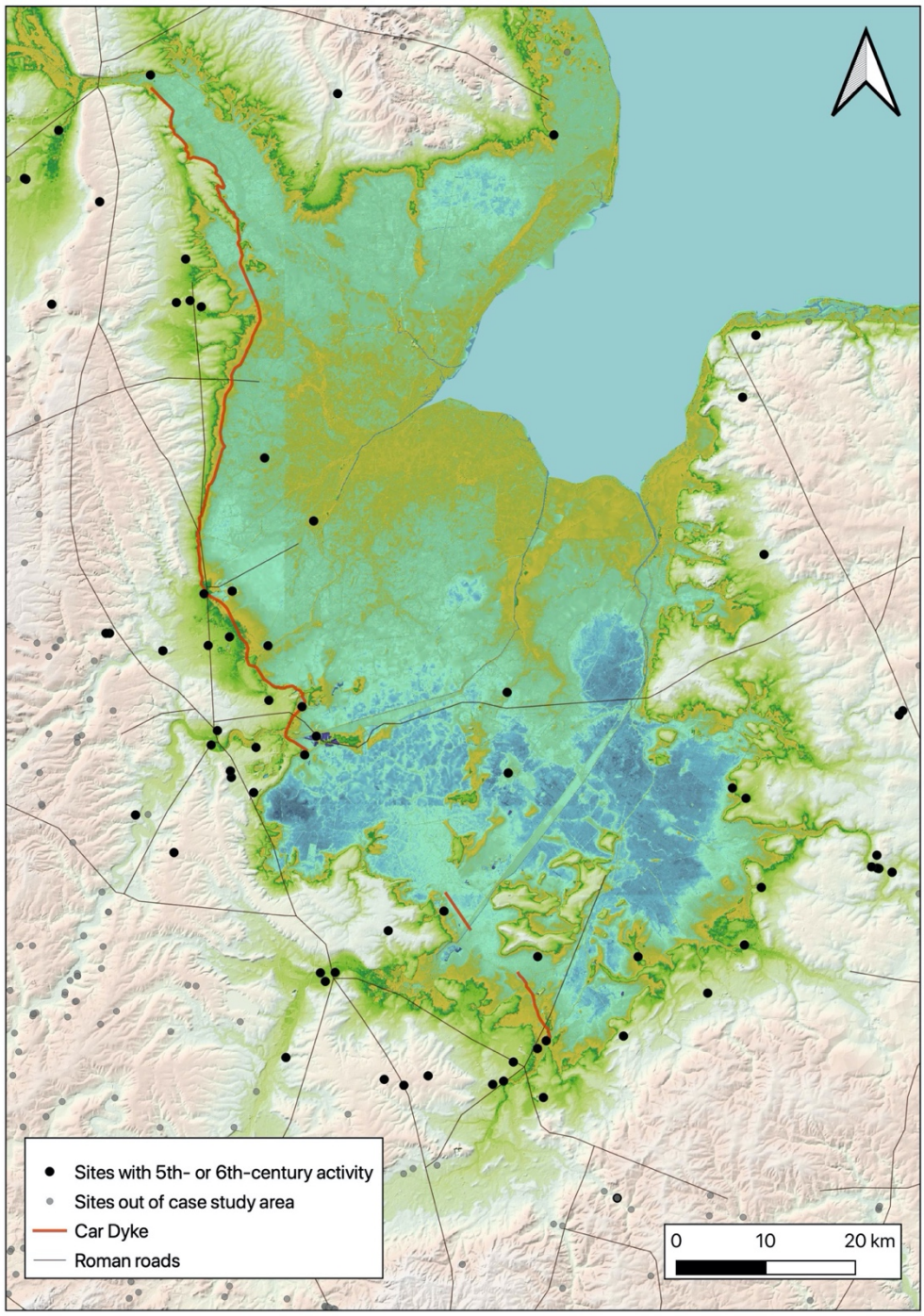


Figure 128: All Case Study 3 sites with evidence for fifth- or sixth-century activity.

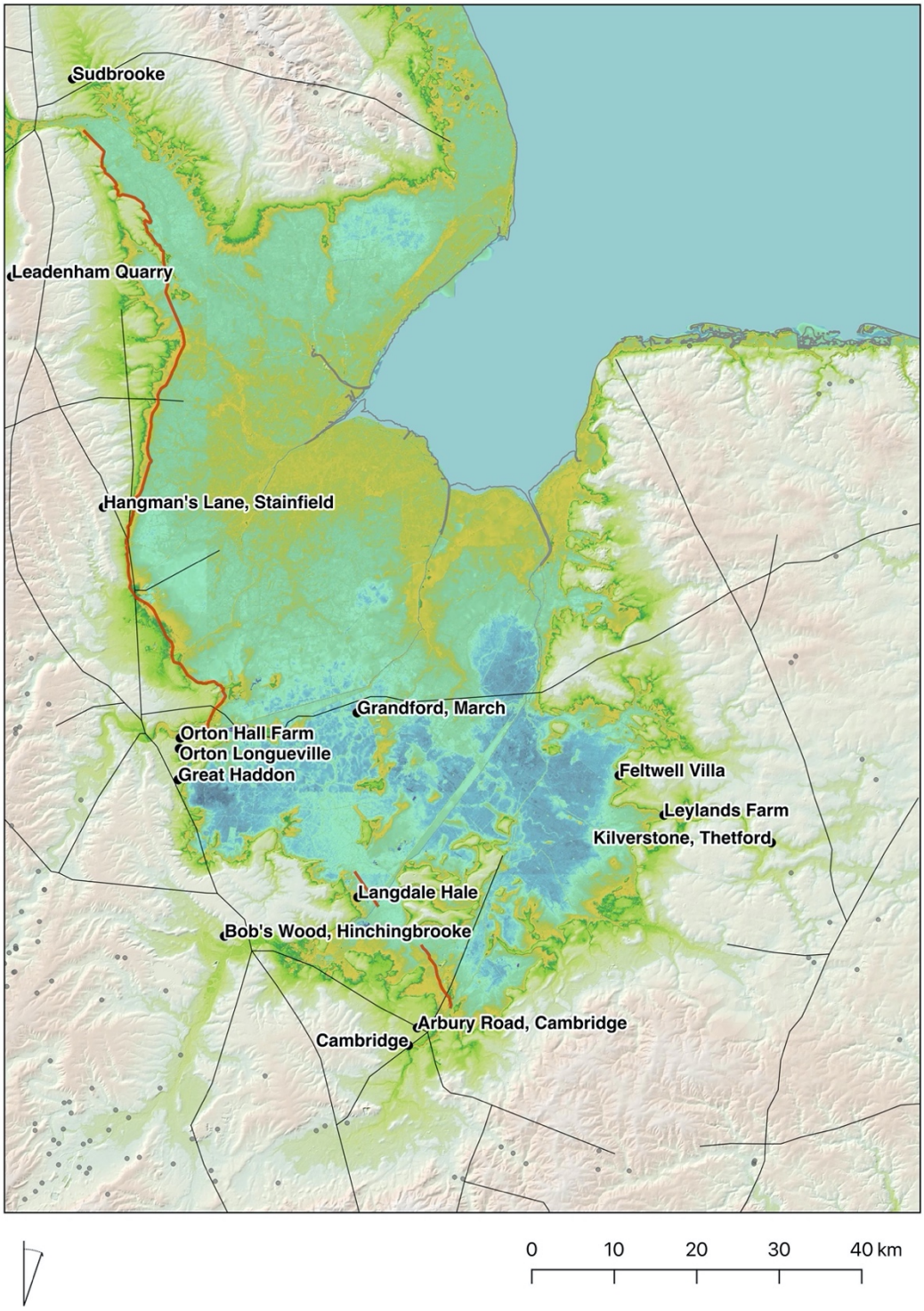


Figure 129: Case Study 3, LR sites mentioned in text.

Historical sources on the Late Roman period in Britain are few and generally focus on either the military situation in the north the problems caused by myriad 'usurpers'. Seven times (or more), Britain broke away from central authority: first under Albinus in 195/6, again as part of the Gallic Empire under Postumus, from 259–274, thrice more between 280–296 (the last being the Carausian Revolt), and twice again in the mid to late fourth century, under Magnentius (350–353) and Magnus Maximus (383–388). Additionally, invasions from the east and along the northern border seem to have intensified c. AD 180, during a conflict which Dio called Commodus' "greatest struggle", (Dio 63.8). Further invasions seem to have followed: by the *Maetae* in 206/7 and by the Saxons and the Scoti throughout, culminating in the fourth century (367), raids which Ammianus refers to as a "*barbarica conspiratio*" (Amm. Marc. 27.8.1). References to the final withdrawal of Roman troops from Britain were written much later than the events themselves. Zosimus, (late fifth century) reports that the Britons expelled the Roman army and that, a few years later, Honorius wrote to tell them (or the people of Bruttium, in Italy) to defend themselves.[698] The earliest surviving histories by (post-)Roman Britons themselves (by St. Patrick and Gildas) also were written in the late fifth or early sixth centuries.

Despite the unrest evident in the historical sources, many now see the later Roman period as one of growth. Millet sees the LR period as marked by the "flowering of the countryside and the culmination of Roman Britain's achievements,"[699] evidenced by an increase in villa construction, among other things. The picture that can be inferred from the present study is rather darker. From the mid-third century, there seems to have been a shift in settlement dynamics. From the conquest period until c. AD 150–200, settlement numbers here steadily increased, and while c. 20–30% of settlements were abandoned in each period, site foundations outpaced abandonments. From the mid-second or early third century until the end of the Roman period, that trend reversed. While 62% of the sites were founded between AD 50–150, only 21% were founded between AD 151–400. Conversely, 38% of the sites occupied in AD 200 were

[698] See E. Thompson (1982) for a discussion of the problematics of these sources.
[699] Millett (1992), 181.

abandoned between 250–350, and an additional 58% of those occupied in the third–fourth centuries were abandoned by the year 400. These changes affected all settlement types (Figure 127, Figure 128, and Figure 129).

While evidence from towns is patchy, the smaller nucleated sites have been excavated more fully and are used here to illustrate this change. At Langdale Hale, the site's layout and apparent economic organisation of the small *vicus* at Langdale Hale shifted c. AD 250, with grain processing either moved off-site or reduced in scale.[700] By the mid-fourth century, most structures had been abandoned, and the road/trackway had been "effectively blocked."[701] While the late fourth- and early fifth-century pottery found on site implies that settlement of some sort continued, the excavators suggest that "the settlement as a farmstead supplying an 'outside' demand is likely to have gone 'out of business' by the end of the fourth century, reflecting the general malaise affecting eastern Britain with the overall decline of administrative and subsequent economic relationships."[702]

Similarly, the road running through the small *vicus*/roadside settlement at Hangman's Lane, Stainfield, was metalled in the late-third or early fourth century, but settlement ended (possibly after a fire) in the mid-fourth century, and later occupation was limited to agricultural activities.[703]

Non-nucleated settlement seems to have contracted across the region beginning in the mid-fourth century, with numerous sites appearing to fall out of use slowly and others definitively destroyed or abandoned. While Roman-style architectural *elaboration* peaked in the late third-to mid/late fourth-centuries, numerous structures were demolished or repurposed in the early- to mid-fourth century. The masonry bath structure at Haddon was built in the late third century, and the roof had collapsed by c. AD 370/80.[704] In the phase

[700] Regan (2003), 26–28.
[701] Regan (2003), 29.
[702] Regan (2003), 35.
[703] Later phases at Hangman's Lane had something else in common with Langdale Hale: so-called 'or 'decapitation' burials. Decapitation burials tend to be seen as a rural phenomenon, but here, well over half (17) of the sites with deviant burials were *vici* or small towns occupied in the LR, and in nearly all cases ('rural' or within nucleated settlements) such burials are found within established cemeteries.
[704] Upex (1993) (pages unnumbered).

immediately following this collapse, a small two-roomed timber structure was constructed against one wall of the bathhouse, and an ancillary lean-to was built nearby. Fragments of 23 large hand querns (millstone grit and puddingstone) were found within the structures.[705] In the late-fourth or early fifth century, a corndryer was built inside the timber structure (possibly after it had gone out of use, as the corndryer cut one wall), using material (tile and limestone) robbed from the bathhouse. A phase of Saxon occupation continued without a break and involved the re-use of the bathhouse. Post holes cutting the building's Roman-period floor may have supported new roofing. Following this phase, a mid-fifth-century structure (represented by lines of stake holes) was built. The sequence ends with a mid-sixth century burial cut into the threshold of this building. The demolition of architecturally elaborate buildings, occasionally followed by re-use of the materials or the space for other (usually, but not always, non-domestic) activities, is a well-known feature on other LR (Bob's Wood, Hinchingbrooke, Sudbrooke, Arbury Road, Cambridge, Kilverstone, Orton Longueville, Feltwell Villa and Leylands Farm).

Large-scale production here may have peaked in the later second and early third centuries, and declined somewhat in the fourth century, even as production sites became more architecturally elaborate.[706] Large-scale drying or malting ovens were more common towards the latter part of the sequence: corndryers were found on 9% of third-century sites and on 14% of fourth-century ones. On some sites with new fourth-century structures, the buildings may have been purpose-built to house corndryers, malting ovens or grain storage facilities. At Orton Hall Farm, 5 corndryers were placed within aisled barns, from c. the third century until the fifth. Similarly, a corndryer was built within a small masonry building at Leadenham Quarry, and at Haddon (farm), a malting oven was built within a small timber structure.

The reasons for the profusion of crop-processing facilities are unclear. An intensification of agricultural production, in particular of grain (and beer),

[705] Upex (1993) (pages unnumbered). Upex calls these 'millstones', but they appear to be less than 50 cm in diameter and therefore more likely to have been querns.
[706] Parks (2013), 239, notes that large-scale processing increased in the MR period and then decreased again in the LR.

is the most common explanation,[707] with historical references to British grain shipments (by Ammianus, Libanius, and Zosimus) often used to support this theory.[708] Yet Fulford (and, more recently, the Rural Settlement of Roman Britain Project) suggests that in the fourth century, the Roman economy was in decline.[709] Parks' thesis examining environmental data from sites in East Anglia supports the latter notion.[710]

Hydrological change contributed to some of the dislocation evident here and could also be a factor in the LR agricultural changes discussed above. Several sites (7–12), such as Grandford, in March, remained inhabited but experienced episodic flooding and/or hiatuses in occupation from the mid-third until the mid-fourth century. Supporting this notion is the fact that abandoned sites are, on average, located at a lower elevation (17m in the third century and 12m the fourth) than those that remained inhabited. Episodic, sporadic flooding (not a "great flood")[711] seems to have had a particularly profound influence on the inland washlands around the River Welland, where a 'line' of second-century occupation was flooded or abandoned from Gosberton to Bourne in the LR period. The Fen Causeway was flooded in the third century, although it was reconstructed in the fourth.[712]

Climatic shifts may have affected regional productivity. Recent tree-ring and peat analyses have indicated that, following a relatively warm and dry period in the first two-and-a-half centuries AD, the late third- and early fourth-century climate in Britain (and in northern Europe more generally) became colder and wetter.[713] Parks found a higher frequency of charred grain in the LR period and suggested that, "…this may indicate bulk storage and accidental destruction … or more frequent drying of spikelets using fire (with ensuing accidents)."[714] Wilson has argued, with regard to Egypt, for the significance of

[707] van der Veen (1989); O'Connor and van der Veen (1998); J. Taylor (2007), 115.
[708] Amm. Marc. 18.23; Lib. 18.82–83; Zos. 3.5.2. See M. Jones (1998), 215.
[709] Fulford (1989), 199.
[710] Parks (2013), 272.
[711] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 133–134.
[712] Fincham (1998), 28.
[713] K. Dark (2016), 16.
[714] Parks (2013), 142.

climate change in shaping agricultural regimes and population dynamics,[715] and it must remain a possibility that changes in agricultural production in the LR period were influenced by rising sea levels and climatic shifts.

Parks also notes that her data could reflect LR changes in grain storage, noting that bulk storage of semi-processed grain might lead to partial spoilage and a greater need for artificial drying facilities. Large-scale storage and processing facilities could suggest a shift towards extensification of production (and integration—see Lodwick).[716] Other indications of extensification here include low levels of nitrogen-loving weeds and evidence for the cultivation of wet clay soils.[717] Parks notes that extensification is seen as a biomarker for subsistence farming:

> "It is consistent with what Saller (2005) calls "satisficing" (the seeking of safe return on minimal investment, rather than any attempt to maximise productivity/profit) and with Van der Veen and O'Connor's (1998) characterisation of agricultural production in subsistence economies (limited goals and a preference for leisure over maximising output)."[718]

Intensive regimes (more commonly found on farms without enough available land) produce higher yields per hectare of land, while extensive regimes produce higher yields per unit of labour. Extensification could, thus, indicate higher rate of available land to labour, or the consolidation of holdings by large landowners. The fact that not all farms practising extensive cultivation regimes were subsistence-based is implied by the investment in malting and drying facilities, and in the large buildings that often housed them.[719] There is some evidence that extensification in other historical agricultural regimes followed dramatic decreases in population (as in the case of agriculture in England following the Black Death). Our sources suggest that the region's

[715] Wilson (2013).
[716] Lodwick (2020).
[717] Parks (2013), 244.
[718] Parks (2013), 242.
[719] Specialist investment in beer production is also evidenced in Case Study 1 (the Danebury Hinterlands).

population faced numerous difficulties, including the Antonine Plague and the collapse of 'border' security from the mid-third century on.

Finds Assemblages

Late Roman coins were widespread (found on 68% of settlements). Imports of Samian from eastern Gaul stopped in the mid-third century, and finewares were now supplied by regional producers. LR assemblages also show a higher proportion of finewares on many sites, as Nene Valley colour coat seems to have been used *instead of* greywares for functions once reserved for coarsewares, alongside some newer shell-tempered wares (Pakenham, Portchester D, Dales Ware, etc.). This all changed in the later part of the century. Nene Valley greyware production ended c. 325, and the Horningsea kilns closed c. 370/380.[720] Some Roman pottery production may have continued into the early fifth century, after which "ceramic traditions stretching back for half a millennium" disappeared.[721] Evans suggests that the end of the Roman pottery tradition may have been the result of "the end of production of (small denomination) Roman coinage," and "the end of cash taxation and expenditure on the army…[which] saw the end of money transactions and most non-subsistence production."[722] This is an extremely complex issue, and one outside the scope of this thesis. Given the existence of a commercial pottery market *prior* to the Roman conquest, and its (limited) growth prior to the arrival of Agricola (i.e., when tax/tribute was only assessed in kind), it seems unlikely that the collapse of the industry was due entirely to the end of taxation. A collapse of Roman institutions, however—including to the money supply, to large-scale government contracts, and to some stable (monetised) markets—may be a better explanation for these changes. The speed with which this collapse occurred suggests that most, if not all, ceramics consumption had relied on coin prior to the end of the industry.

[720] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 103–106.
[721] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 107.
[722] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 140.

CONCLUSION

An examination of settlement distribution and topography suggests that LIA/Roman Fenland land-use was mediated by topographic concerns, but that within those bounds, the landscape was overwhelmingly ordered toward production. Recent work in the Fens demonstrates that the wetland environment was heavily utilised in both the Iron Age and the Roman period for the large-scale production of salt, ceramics, peat (as fuel), pasture (for cattle) and the procurement of wild resources. While it is clear that sea-levels fell and that the wetlands underwent some drying in the study period, particularly in the second and third centuries, the idea that the Fens were widely drained as part of a Roman public-works scheme is neither confirmed nor disproven by the material presently available. Archaeologically visible settlement only expanded into the higher-lying silt fens, which formed during the Roman period, without significantly expanding into the peats of the central Fenland (Figure 128). The documented and widespread wastage of peat over the past several centuries, however, may have damaged or destroyed Late Iron Age and/or Roman-period settlements on the peat fens, leaving the question unanswerable, for now. I argue, very cautiously, against seeing the Car Dyke as evidence for large-scale artificial drainage.[723]

Leaving the question of large-scale drainage aside, it is clear that settlement in and around the Fens underwent a significant expansion in the early- and mid-Roman period, and that these changes were related in some way to economic expansion. Fenland occupation sites in particular appear to have been heavily engaged in resource exploitation. Some of this exploitation was long-term and supported long-lasting settlements, while others, such as the salt production site at Cross Drove, Morton, were seasonal—perhaps only single-season operations.[724]

[723] Simmons and Cope-Faulkner (2006), 23.
[724] Crowson, Lane, and Reeve (2000).

Available data contradict the notion that the Fens were economically underdeveloped and unconnected with wider trade networks in the Roman period. The aforementioned large-scale Roman-period resource exploitation and production across the region led to its integration into the wider economy, and the trade evidently went both directions. Non-local materials (i.e., from more than 40 miles away) were reported on a full 94% of the region's settlements (and 86% of the sites in total) from the early second century on. Materials from across the Channel (Samian or other materials) were found on 89% of the M/LR settlements. These data do not indicate that the region's inhabitants were *wealthy* by any stretch—rather that the region's settlements were *connected* and even *integrated into* wider regional and cross-Channel markets. The prevalence of low-cost luxury goods, like regionally-produced finewares and jewellery, on even the least well-connected sites in the MR and later periods indicates the spread of a 'consumer' culture here.[725] As in the other regions, there is some indication that consumerism (and the productive changes that facilitate it) was a growing force in local culture prior to the Roman invasion. It is possible that new Roman taxes were only a partial cause of the economic changes observed here.

The data remain inconclusive regarding the imperial estate thesis. Based on the data at hand, the region seems *not* to have been part of an imperial estate. Most of the arguments underpinning that hypothesis are based on the putative lack of monumental building.[726] But the relative paucity of masonry structures—or any structures at all—in the lowest-lying parts of the Fens has already been discussed. Unless future excavations demonstrate otherwise, it is prudent to assume that, as in the Saxon, Medieval and pre-Modern periods, the Roman Fens were either too low-lying and too wet to merit large-scale investment in public and private architecture, or that such architecture has been lost due to peat wastage. Oosthuizen notes that some earlier scholarship:

[725] *Cf.* Greene (2008).

[726] Fincham (1999), 49–51 cites the "lack of Roman period 'local centres'" in the Fens as proof that the region existed "in a state of non-violent resistance to the Roman empire." Further, he argues that a paucity of market centres in much of the (annually flooded) Fens "leaves little doubt that the network of markets as currently understood was not sufficient to service the region."

> "treated the fenland as if its entire area was as habitable as the south Cambridgeshire uplands. This was clearly not the case… The number of plough teams per square mile in fenland is low because there are fewer acres that can be ploughed; the number of settlements is low because the flood line placed an absolute restriction on their location. The fenland distributions are all sparse because they are affected by the exceptional limitations of the physical geography and, to that extent, they are not comparable with upland parishes where almost all land is at least capable of being ploughed."[727]

The paucity of villas in the Fens deserves further discussion for other reasons. Fincham, who, like most scholars before him, saw the region as being underdeveloped by Roman standards, sought to understand the latter in terms of native agency. But, fruitful as this work is, Fincham 'buys in' to the idea that, across the empire, villa landscapes were the only way a region could be successfully 'Roman'.[728] Yet, most rural settlements here lay somewhere in the middle of the spectrum. Aisled buildings are clearly not low-investment buildings, and other large timber structures might be understood in a similar light. The fact that, stylistically, in some cases, such structures do not emulate villas is telling. Post-colonial work on cultural resistance has demonstrated the existence of 'Roman' identities that do not conform with typical tropes of what *Romanitas* looks like. Unfortunately, these ideas have not dramatically challenged our perceptions of the Roman countryside, scholarship on which remains overwhelmingly stuck in a binary system between rich and poor that dramatically oversimplifies the picture and removes economic agency from non-élites (while preserving the idea of cultural agency). As seen in the Dutch data discussed above, veterans returning to the *Civitas Batavorum* lived out a different version of *Romanitas* than that espoused by élites, and we might extrapolate such data to other areas of the empire. The Batavian *Romanitas* was plainly expressed in part through economic engagement with wider Roman (military and civilian) markets. Data from the Fens and environs suggest that

[727] Oosthuizen (2014), 5.
[728] *Cf.* Bermejo Tirado (2019); Bermejo Tirado (2021).

(limited) economic *and* cultural agency may have existed up and down the social spectrum here, too.

5: High-Speed 1



Figure 130: Case Study 4, along the line of the CTRL excavations, Kent.

INTRODUCTION

The present study is based on the excavations of the Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL, now known as High Speed 1; Figure 130) and includes neighbouring sites within a radius of 5 miles on either side of the rail link. HS1 connects London St Pancras with the Channel Tunnel at Folkestone, running 68 miles through Greater London and Kent,[729] and was, at the time, the largest excavation in British history.[730] Phase 1 of the project, alone, included evaluation and mitigation work in 120 discrete locations, 82 of which furnished Roman remains.[731] Thirty-three of these received in-depth excavation, and 21 produced evidence for Late Iron Age or Roman occupation. These sites, along with 45 others that lie within 5 miles of the railway line, form the backbone of the present study.

Kent differs from the other areas examined in this thesis. As the 'gateway' to Britain, the region may have experienced more Roman (governmental and military) intervention than other regions. The ports at Richborough, Dover, and Lympne were situated less than 20 miles apart along the coast and were important nodes in the military supply network.[732] Along Watling Street (running between Dover and London), a Roman town or *vicus* was located roughly every 12–20 miles, bringing the local population into early contact with the Roman state. Changes characteristic of the second or third centuries elsewhere in southern Britain—like the construction of villas—began earlier here. Kent's proximity to London and the ports may have contributed to the growth of several important industries (the Wealden iron production and Kentish ragstone industries), pottery production in the Thames Estuary and salt production.

729 Glass and Foreman (in Booth and Smith (2011)), 2.
730 Glass (2003), 24.
731 Booth and Smith (2011), 120.
732 Detsicas (1983) *The Cantiaci.*

Archaeological Background

Kent has seen much antiquarian and small-scale amateur excavation—much of it around Watling Street (until the implementation of PPG16 in 1990) and particularly focussed on *villae*. Since then, numerous large-scale commercial excavations have been undertaken (in addition to the HS1 project) away from the well-trodden coast, and these have increasingly uncovered farms and villages on the lower end of the material spectrum, with much in common with rural sites elsewhere in southern Britain.[733] These occasioned important syntheses of the region's archaeological materials. Influential book chapters by Millett (2007) and Booth (2017) have recently sought to briefly synthesise the region's archaeological data, updating Detsicas' (1983) earlier work.[734] Wallace and Mullen (2019) examined the area around Canterbury and propose new ways of seeing social relationships in the Roman landscape.[735] The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain project examined data from the county as part of a subsection on settlement in the south-east, recording 193 sites from Kent.[736] Two recent theses examining aspects of Roman settlement in Kent, by Elizabeth Blanning (2014) and Simon Elliott (2017), examined case studies from around the county.[737] Blanning constructed a comprehensive synthesis of settlement in the county, while Elliott used microregional case studies to argue that the region was heavily 'industrialised', producing building stone and iron for markets in London and for the Roman army.[738]

Historiography

[733] See Booth (2017), 56–7, John Williams (2003), and John Williams (2007). Some of these excavations include: the A2 Pepper Hill to Cobham road-scheme (Tim Allen, Bates, and Collins (2012)); the East Kent Access Road (P. Andrews *et al.* (2015)), the A249 Iwade Improvement Scheme (Anon.), the A299 (Parfitt (2016)), the Farningham to Hadlow Pipeline (Powell (2015)), and the excavations around Ashford, including that at Westhawk Farm (Johnson (2003); Stevenson (2013); Booth (2001); Booth, Bingham, and Lawrence (2008)).
[734] Millett (2007); Booth (2017); Detsicas (1983).
[735] Wallace and Mullen (2019).
[736] Alexander Smith, et al. (2016), Ch. 4. In contrast, the Kent HER database lists 3,861 records for the Roman period, and the Archaeological Dataservice lists 3,472.
[737] Blanning (2014); Elliott (2017).
[738] Elliott (2017), 15.

The most detailed descriptions of pre-conquest Britain come from Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, which record his campaigns of 55 and 54 BC and mark the moment Britain enters recorded history. A recent investigation has suggested Pegwell Bay on Thanet as the Caesarian army's possible landing place, though the evidence is still not conclusive.[739] Kent is, thus, one of the only parts of Britain upon which Caesar's descriptions of Britons can be said to be based. It is also thought to be the site of the Claudian invasion, and thus archaeological finds pertaining to new infrastructure (roads, ports, and military installations) dating to early in the Roman period are seen as confirming this.[740]

The *Gallic Wars* is unclear on numerous points of detail, and differing readings of it *Gallic Wars* have brought up questions, most pressing of which is that of a potential large-scale migration of Gauls to Britain.[741] Caesar claimed that maritime Britain was populated by descendants of Belgic groups who had migrated to Britain seeking booty (*BGall.* 5.12). In the 1890s, Sir Arthur Evans published his excavations at Aylesford cemetery, which closely resembled contemporary burials from the Loire Valley and elsewhere in Gaul and was seen as confirmation of the Caesarian narrative.[742] In Kent and much of southern Britain, the Late Iron Age is characterised by new types of settlement (*oppida* and hillforts); new types of social organisation (in the form of dynastic rulers); and new industrial production (of iron, salt, and quern stones).[743] These have historically been attributed to the Belgic 'invasion'.[744] Scholarship has increasingly turned away from the 'invasion' hypothesis, seeing the same data as evidence, instead, for changing technologies and fashions amongst a fairly

[739] Excavations at Ebbsfleet uncovered a ditch resembling the Roman ditches from Alesia, along with a *pilum* head and bones which exhibit signs of trauma. Fitzpatrick (2017); Fitzpatrick and Haselgrove (2019).

[740] Frere and Fulford (2001) for the invasion overall, and Hoffmann (2013) for an archaeological overview. Contra: D. G. Bird (2000).

[741] i.e., Creighton (2021). Caesar's discussion of these issues can be found in the following passages: *BGall.* 4.20; *BGall.* 5.14; *BGall.* 5.12 (which is followed by Tac., *Agr.* 11.2–3); *BGall.* 5.21; *BGall.* 5.22.

[742] A. Evans (1890); Hawkes and Dunning (1930); Birchall (1965).

[743] Champion, Baker, and Pelling (2011), 2.

[744] Hawkes (1968); Stead (1967).

stable indigenous population (called "indigenous evolution" in Clark's famous 1966 article).[745]

DATA

Land-use

Land-use patterns changed throughout the LIA/RP: the percentage of settlements increased, while the percentage of non-settlement sites decreased (Table 28). Most of these latter sites had shorter use-phases than the settlements. This pattern differs from those seen in the other case studies in this thesis.

Table 28: Settlement vs. non-settlement sites in Case Study 4 over time.

Period	Total occupied	Percent of case study sites	Settlement	Percent	Other	Percent
LIA	55	70%	34	62%	21	38%
ER	64	81%	40	63%	24	37%
2nd c.	57	72%	41	72%	16	28%
3rd c.	41	52%	33	80%	8	20%
4th c.	29	37%	26	90%	3	10%

Site distribution

Booth notes that excavated evidence for Late Iron Age and Roman settlement in Kent is unevenly distributed, with higher numbers of sites in the north and east (i.e., largely outside the study area).[746] Sites outside the case study were plotted (along with case study sites) in Figure 131–Figure 135 in order to illustrate the case study area within the wider landscape of settlement in Kent, over time. As illustrated below, the pattern Booth describes is clear: settlement concentrates in lowland areas while largely avoiding the North Downs and the Weald, with the exception of the mid-Roman period, when activity briefly moved into those areas.

[745] G. Clark (1966), 188; Cunliffe (2005), 20; Pitts (2007).
[746] Booth (2017), 55.

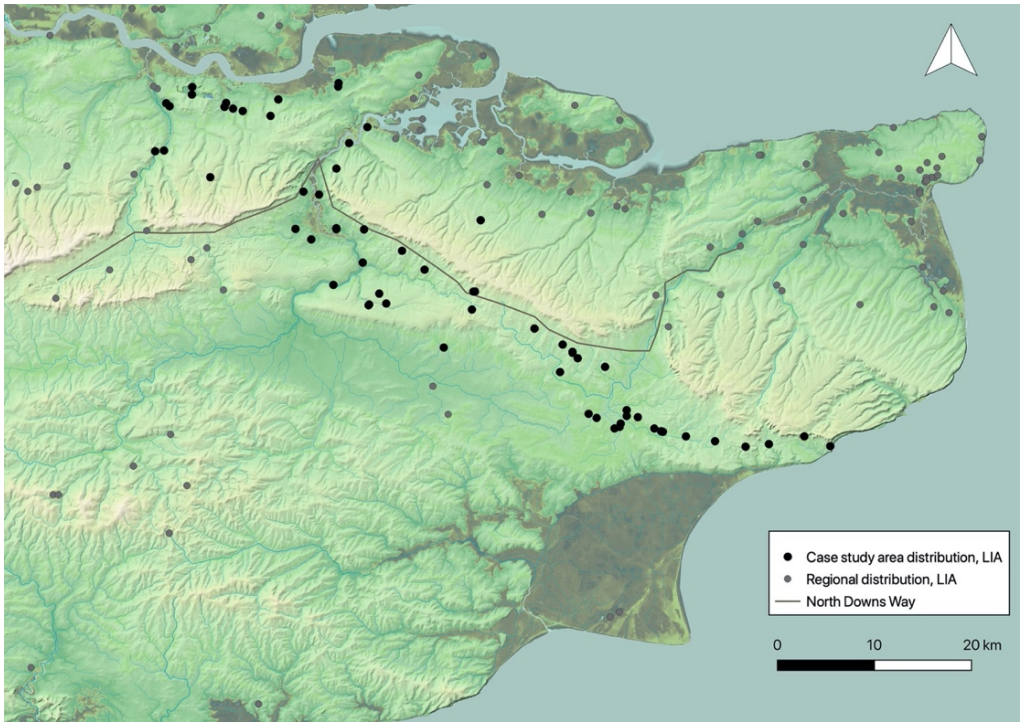


Figure 131: Distribution of Late Iron Age sites in Case Study 4 mapped alongside sites from outside the study area.

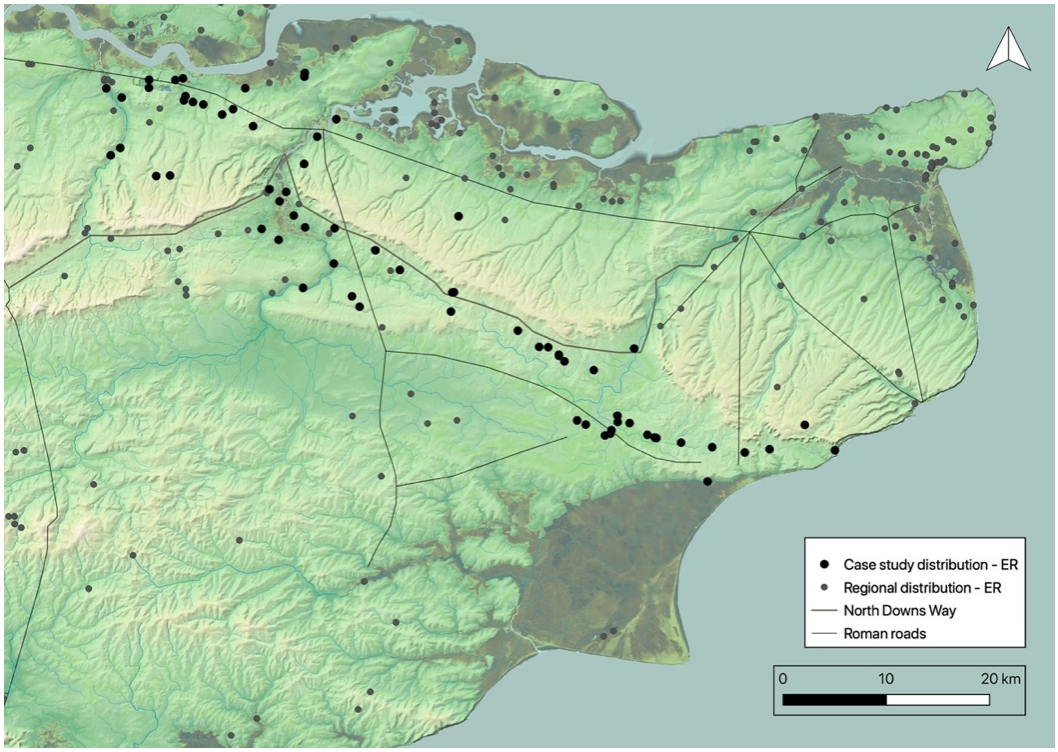


Figure 132: Distribution of ER sites in Case Study 4.

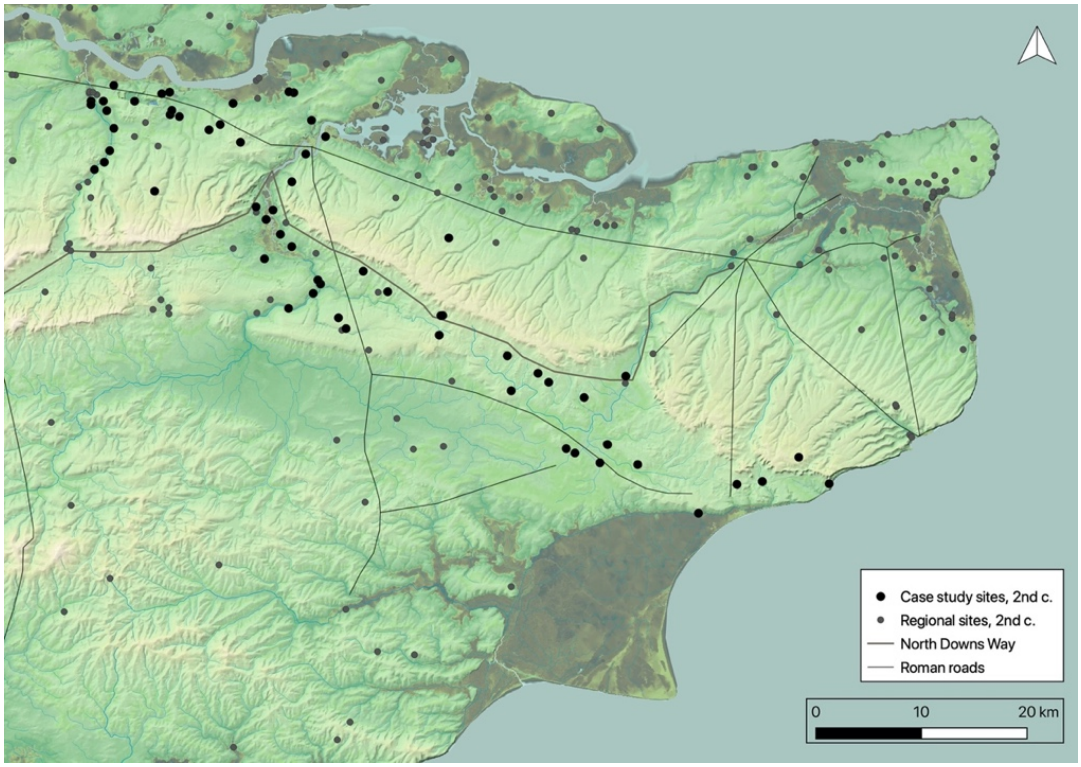


Figure 133: Distribution of second-century sites in Case Study 4.

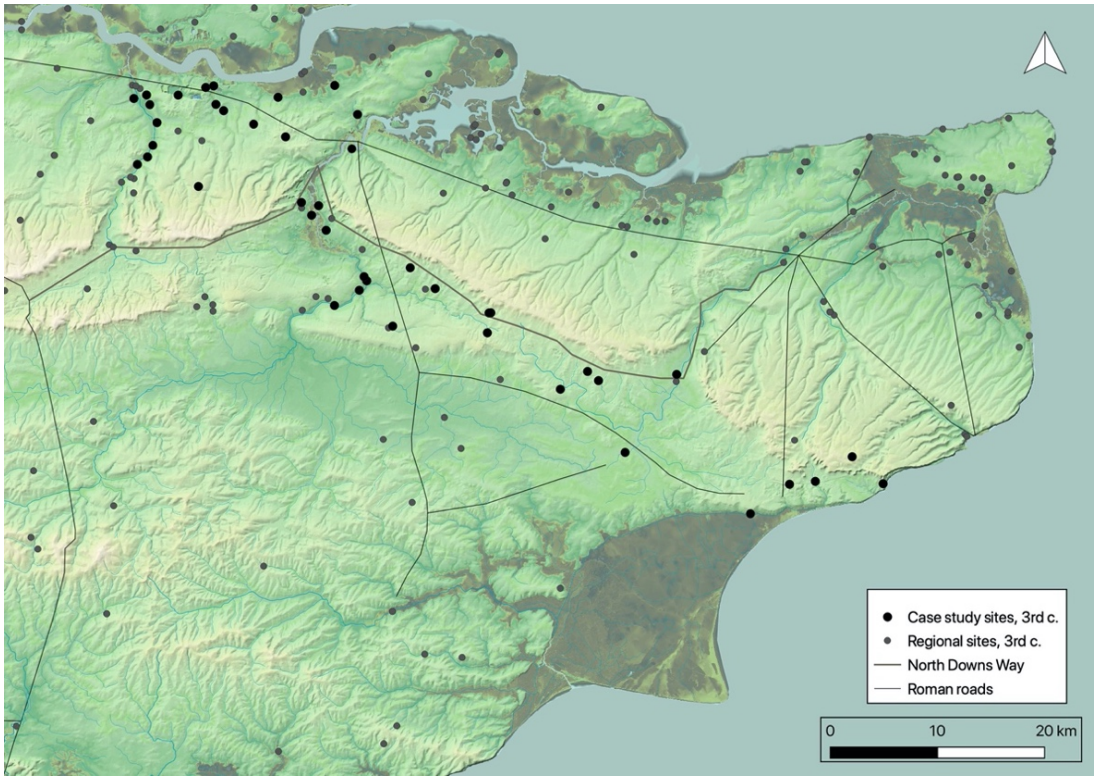


Figure 134: Distribution of third century sites in Case Study 4.

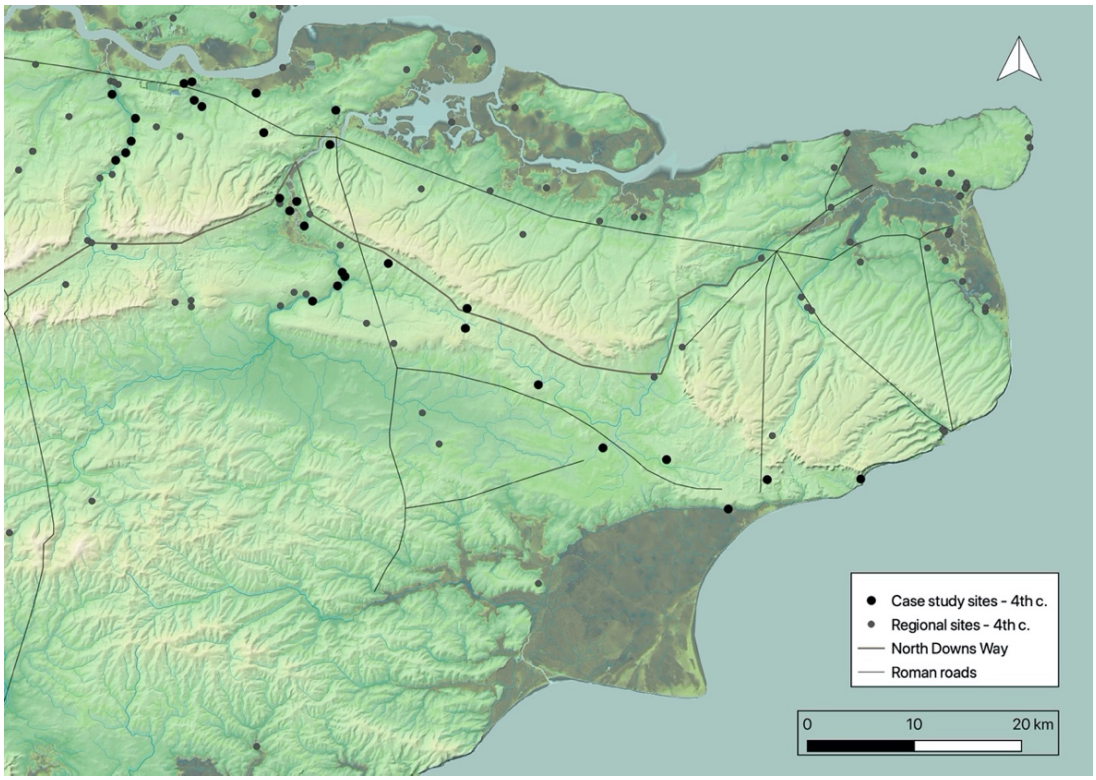


Figure 135: Distribution of fourth-century sites in Case Study 4.

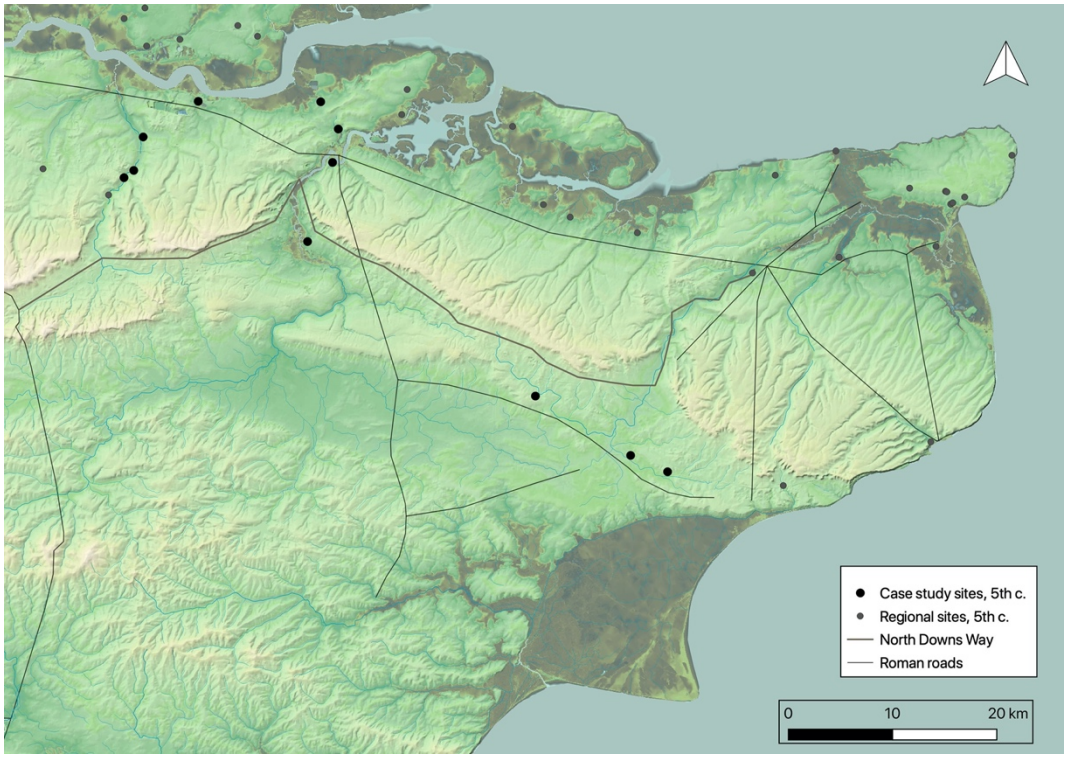


Figure 136: Distribution of fifth-century sites in Case Study 4.

Throughout the period, most occupation clustered in the Darent and Medway valleys and along the coast. Settlement contracted in the third, and by the fourth century (by nearly half): all but two excavated Wealden sites were abandoned, and coastal activity in North Kent had also reduced.[747] Nearly all Roman sites had been abandoned by the start of the fifth century. Figure 136 maps *case study* sites in the fifth century, not all inhabited sites, and a study of the early Saxon period is outside the scope of this thesis. The Kent HER lists 1334 sites as potentially dating to the early Saxon period—in many cases, the possible date ranges for the occupation of the sites is quite wide. The corndryers and pits at Ebbsfleet, for instance (HER record number TQ 67 SW 1485), were dated to between AD 410–1065.

[747] *Cf.* Wickham (2009), 55, on "dramatic economic simplification."

Structures

Evidence for structures (excluding out-of-context building materials) was identified on 54% of the case study sites. All of the HS1 structural data came from sites identified as settlements, and 80% of settlements furnished structural remains. These were identified less frequently on Late Iron Age settlements (56%) than on Romano-British ones, reflecting real chronological differences between the periods *and* (presumably) challenges in identifying certain types of structures (Table 29).

Table 29: Number and percentage of sites in Case Study 4 furnishing structural remains by period.

Period	Sites with structures	Settlements w/ structures
LIA	25%	49%
ER	37%	71%
MR	38%	76%
LR	30%	74%

Table 30: Percentage of sites (with evidence for structures) in in Case Study 4 furnishing different types of structures, by period.

Period	Roundhouse	Rectilinear timber	Aisled	Masonry
LIA	52%	19%	0%	0%
ER	29%	39%	23%	26%
MR	9%	81%	31%	56%
LR	4%	88%	40%	72%

As in other parts of southern Britain, roundhouses are the most commonly identified structural form in the LIA, when they are found on over half the sites furnishing structural remains (Table 30). Rectilinear timber and masonry structures became more prevalent starting in the ER, and by the MR found on 81% of sites. Masonry structures are much more numerous here than in the other case studies, found on 56% of the MR and 72% of the LR period sites.

Site longevity

There was a peak the number of settlements in the ER/second century (Table 31). While site numbers remained roughly the same throughout the second century, the ratio of settlement to non-settlement sites increased, as 'other' settlements were abandoned more quickly than were settlements.

Table 31: Number and percentage of different site types in Case Study 4.

Period	Total occupied	Percent of sites	Settlement	Percent of sites	Non-settlement sites	Percent of sites
LIA	60	71%	35	58%	25	42%
ER	65	77%	41	63%	24	37%
2nd c.	58	69%	42	72%	16	28%
3rd c.	42	50%	34	81%	8	19%
4th c.	30	36%	25	83%	5	17%

The first and fourth centuries saw the most disruption in settlement (Table 32), affecting c. 70% of occupied sites experienced this. In the first century, this 'disruption' came in the form of both abandonments *and* foundations (38% founded and 32% abandoned), while in the fourth century nearly 70% of sites were abandoned. The second century was characterised by more stability than the first: only roughly 31% of the sites occupied in the second century experienced disruption. In the mid-third century, the proportion of sites being abandoned had begun to rise again (31%), while no new sites were founded. Between the fourth century and the end of Roman rule in Britain, roughly 73% of still-occupied sites were abandoned, and most of the remaining sites underwent drastic changes in use and morphology.

Table 32: Level of settlement disruption (abandonments and foundations) in Case Study 4 by period.

Period	Number occupied	Percent abandoned	Percent founded	Percent disruption
1st c.	74	38%	32%	70%
2nd c.	58	28%	2%	30%
3rd c.	42	31%	0%	31%
4th c.	30	73%	0%	73%

Peripheral sites and farms were more frequently abandoned throughout the study period (particularly in the second and third centuries), while nucleated

and villa sites experienced greater longevity. Nearly all were occupied until the LR period before being abandoned in the late fourth or early fifth centuries.

THE FIRST CENTURY

LIA Kent is less well-known than some other areas of southern Britain: no hillforts have been extensively excavated and few non-funerary Late Iron Age 'type sites' have been identified. Hillforts at Oldbury and Bigbury have been partially excavated and may have been sporadically used from the MIA.[748] Bigbury was abandoned around the middle of the first century BC, and for this and other reasons, it has been linked to the *oppidum* mentioned by Caesar (*BGall.* 5.9). Its destruction is thought to have inspired the construction of Canterbury, located just 3 km away on a fording-place across the Great Stour. Late Iron Age power is thought to have shifted to lower-ground centres (*oppida,* in the archaeological sense of the term) after the Caesarian invasion, but none of the putative Kentish *oppida* has been excavated fully enough to give a clear picture of this.[749] Canterbury and Rochester have been seen as the Late Iron Age 'capitals' of the region.[750] Although Rochester has seen even less excavation than Canterbury, both had access to an unusual number of imported and prestige items, and based on these finds it appears that they may have been central locations in Late Iron Age Kent.[751] Canterbury had access to imported goods that appear rarely in Kent, including Dressel 1B *amphorae*,[752] brooches imported from Gaul,[753] and *terra nigra* and *terra rubra*[754] (also reported from Rochester, with the exception of the Dr. 1 amphorae). Holman's 2005 study of coin profiles concludes that Canterbury must have been a centre of some sort.[755]

[748] F. H. Thompson (1979); F. H. Thompson (1983); A. Bates (2017).
[749] Rodwell (1976); Moore (2012); E. Jackson (2017).
[750] E. Jackson (2017).
[751] E. Jackson (2017), Ch. 10.
[752] Arthur (1986), 240–242.
[753] Jackson 2017, 246–247.
[754] Pitts (2014), 170.
[755] Holman (2005).

Both sites furnished pellet moulds, which have been linked to coin-production and are found only rarely in southern England, primarily in or around central places (*oppida,* hillforts and sanctuaries).[756]

Less is known about the status of other possible central places. Recent excavations underneath and around the Roman villa at East Wear Bay uncovered only minimal Late Iron Age structural evidence but furnished finds that indicate it was an important location for trade.[757] Finds of a massive number of querns, in all stages of production, led excavators to argue that quern production occurred on site. Other finds included over 100 Late Iron Age coins, imported pottery, and Dr. 1 amphorae.[758]

Morris' work on cross-channel trade in the M/LIA period demonstrates that before the Caesarian invasion, Kent was where Gallo-Belgic gold staters and other coin arrived.[759] Numerous scholars have argued that these were payments for mercenary services, both before and during the Gallic Wars.[760] Changes in trade after the end of the Gallic Wars seem to confirm this theory: Morris notes that, in the second half of the first century BC, non-coin imports from the continent (such as amphorae, tablewares, and metalwork) increased, with traders now coming through Kent rather than Hengistbury Head.[761] Simultaneously, imports of Gallo-Belgic gold coins decreased (stopping almost entirely).

The broad-brush picture painted here is one of increasing complexity, based predominantly on changes in trade in central places. One of the primary

---

[756] Jackson concludes that Canterbury was not an *oppidum* (Jackson 2017, 460). Holman, however, identified 163 Late Iron Age coins, the largest number coming from a single site that was not a coin hoard, and Holman suggests that, if not an *oppidum* per se, Canterbury was "a major site", from coin evidence probably founded in the late 1st century BC (Holman 2005, 29).

[757] M. R. Bates *et al.* (2011), 37–38; Farley *et al.* (2014)

[758] Selkirk and Parfitt (2012), 26–27. See also Rigold (1972); Coulson (2013); and Elliott (2017).

[759] Morris (2010), 10–13.

[760] Morris (2010), 13, suggests that coinage "may have been transferred to Britain as a result of groups, or individuals, from northern France fleeing the Roman army, perhaps in an attempt to avoid the systematic looting of wealth that followed Roman conquest."

[761] Other imports include Dr. 1a and b amphorae, Italian and Gallic *terra sigillata* and other table and coarse ware; brooches; jewellery; and copper and bronze tableware (Morris (2010), 29–35). On the importance of Hengistbury Head in the wider understanding of the Late Iron Age economy: Cunliffe (1987); de Jersey (1993); Collis (1996).

concerns of this thesis is how far those putative big-picture changes penetrated into the countryside at any period under study, and it is to that question that we now briefly turn.

Late Iron Age

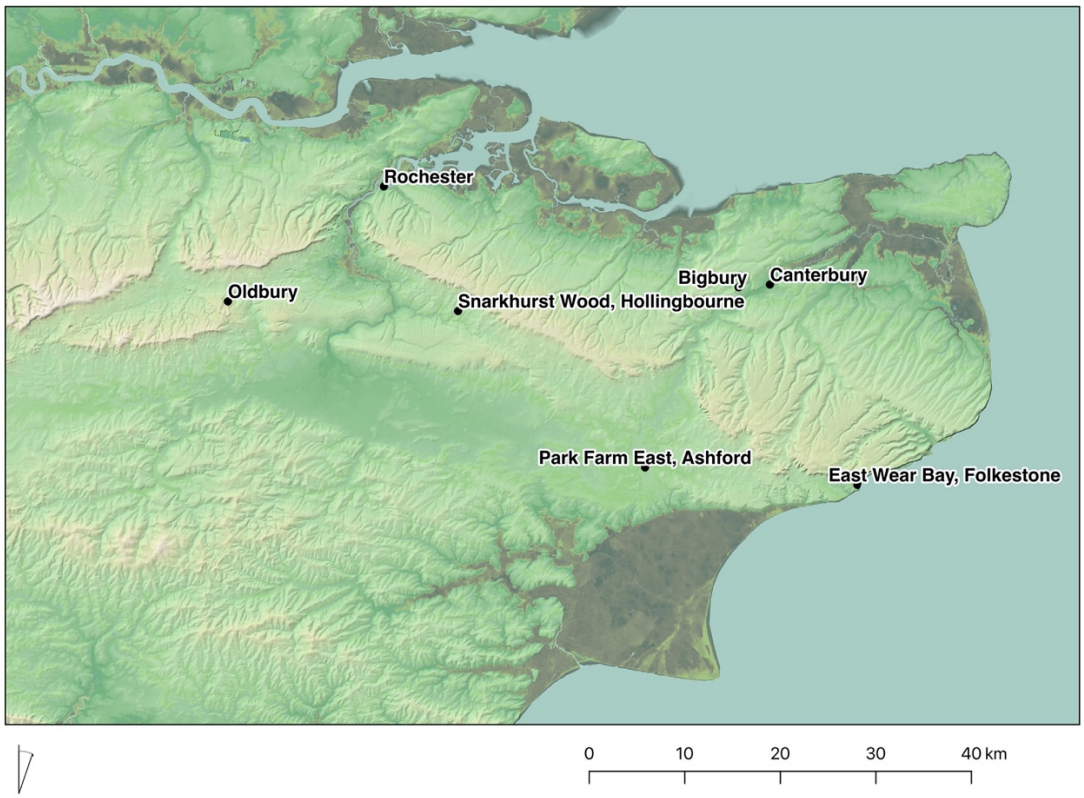


Figure 137: Case Study 4, LIA sites mentioned in text.

Some 58 HS1 Corridor sites revealed evidence for Late Iron Age activity of some kind (Figure 131 and Figure 137), of which 34 were settlements and 24 were peripheral. Most (c. 94%) settlements were non-nucleated, while 6% of the sites were nucleated. Structural remains were identified on 21 (36%) of the sites overall, with roundhouses being the most common structural form (identified on 52% of sites reporting Late Iron Age structural remains), while rectilinear structures were either suspected or positively identified on 20% of

the settlements. Differences between hamlets and non-nucleated settlements were minimal in morphological terms.

Recovery of environmental data was not robust here, but available evidence suggests that 'typical' Late Iron Age cereals and pulses were cultivated (including emmer and spelt wheat, barley, and peas) and that a mixed animal husbandry regime was followed on most if not all sites.

A full 23% of Late Iron Age sites were published without a detailed finds report, biasing the dataset. Some 56% of sites reported no 'prestige' goods (coins, brooches, and imported finewares).[762] Some sites were extensively reported, and the lack of such finds must reflect something of the Late Iron Age reality. HS1 excavations at Snarkhurst Wood, for instance, uncovered a small rural settlement consisting of enclosure ditches, a trackway, a roundhouse, two four-posters, an oven, and pits and postholes.[763] The only finds reported were local ceramics.

Between one-third and one-fifth of sites did furnish evidence for luxury goods: Late Iron Age coins, brooches, and imported table wares from Gaul (35%, 24% and 18% of sites, respectively). While these materials were fairly common, fewer sites had access to multiple types of materials: while one-fifth of the sites furnished evidence for two types of 'prestige' find, three or more types were identified on only 11% of sites. Only three (6%) had access to the *rarest* Late Iron Age imports (in Kent): Dr. 1a or 1b amphorae.[764] While Dr. 1 amphorae were not reported from Rochester, the site was the only one in the region which furnished coin-blank moulds.[765] As in all phases, there were distinct differences in 'nucleated' and rural assemblages: Late Iron Age metalwork or imported pottery was identified on only roughly half of the farm and peripheral sites and on 75% of the nucleated sites.

[762] As Pitts has shown, access to imports should not be linked with 'Romanisation'—Pitts (2005).
[763] Booth and Diez (2006a), iii.
[764] Queen Elizabeth Square, Maidstone (Booth and Howard-Davis (2004)); Thurnham Roman Villa (Booth and Lawrence (2006)); and East Wear Bay, Folkestone (Selkirk and Parfitt (2012), 26).
[765] A. C. Harrison (1991).

The inhabitants of East Wear Bay were actively engaged in production and trade. Excavations there uncovered a Roman villa overlying a Late Iron Age settlement that engaged in large-scale quern production: over 145 whole or partial querns in various stages of production have been recorded.[766] Over 119 Late Iron Age coins have been recorded so far, coming from stratified deposits, metal detectors, and chance finds.[767] Imported brooches were plentiful. The presence of relatively rare imports such as Dressel 1b amphorae and tablewares in *terra rubra* and *terra nigra,* in addition to local and regional wares, indicates trade with the continent. Excavator Keith Parfitt suggests that East Wear Bay may have been an important trading centre—even, perhaps, "the Kentish equivalent of the famous Hengistbury Head IA trading port in Dorset."[768] Morphologically—as elsewhere in Kent—there is little indication of where or how the site's inhabitants lived. At present, I am only aware of one possible Late Iron Age structure (a roundhouse).[769]

The finds from East Wear Bay are unusual within the wider rural context, as an examination of the semi-nucleated site at Park Farm East (14 miles away) serves to demonstrate. The settlement furnished evidence for 11 roundhouses (not all contemporary).[770] Environmental data indicate that the site's inhabitants engaged in mixed farming, cultivating barley and wheat and keeping cattle and sheep/goat.[771] Powell suggests that a large deposit of metalworking debris situated a short distance from the site (comprised of nearly 26 kg of slag, crucibles, and two furnaces) could have been worked by the inhabitants of the site or by an itinerant metalworker, as the apparent poverty of the rest of the site seems out of step with the size of the deposit.[772] The inhabitants of Park Farm East had few visible trade connections until the LPRIA, using mainly unidentified grog-tempered (locally-produced) pottery

[766] Rigold (1972); Keller (1989); Selkirk and Parfitt (2012), 26.
[767] Selkirk and Parfitt (2012), 27.
[768] Selkirk and Parfitt (2012), 27.
[769] Selkirk and Parfitt (2012), 27.
[770] Powell (2012a), 45.
[771] Powell (2012a), 45.
[772] Powell (2012a), 45.

and small amounts of imported wares (*terra nigra* and *terra rubra*).[773] Other small finds included a (stratified) potin recovered from a post-hole within one of the roundhouses,[774] two fired clay slingshots (M/LIA), a triangular loomweight, an annular glass bead, an iron nail, an iron strip, and an (unstratified) iron "pig."[775] No imported brooches or amphorae were reported from the site.[776]

Relatively few finds were reported from the M/LIA enclosure site at Snarkhurst Wood (and it is unclear if the excavated portion was fully within the settlement focus). While the Late Iron Age pottery was overwhelmingly local/regional in manufacture, "the overall fabric breakdown shows radical shifts in pottery supply during the late pre-Roman Iron Age and pre-Flavian occupation. Quantification shows that glauconitic wares accounted for nearly all of the pottery in use on the site in the late Iron Age, but that at a point probably fairly shortly before the Roman conquest (Malcolm Lyne suggests c. AD 30) were supplanted in part by sand and calcined flint tempered wares (Lyne 2006)."[777] While much of this pottery remains unsourced, it is probable that some (or many) of the grog-tempered wares came from regional kiln sites, and their presence on small rural settlements suggests that small socio-economic changes occurred in the countryside in the LPRIA, with previously locally-made wares now being increasingly purchased from further afield.[778]

Early Roman

[773] Jones (Pottery report), in Powell (2012b) (vol. 2), 14–22.
[774] Powell (2012a), 10.
[775] Powell (2012b) (vol. 2), 8.
[776] While East Wear Bay became an important villa site, Park Farm East was overlain by ditches which Powell suggests were placed so as to deliberately slight the settlement (Powell (2012a), 46): "This process may be seen as making an explicit statement about a transformation of the social landscape at a time of general political uncertainty and rapid economic and social change."
[777] Booth and Diez (2006a), 8.
[778] See Compton (2015) for an up-to-date discussion of Kentish LIA pottery.

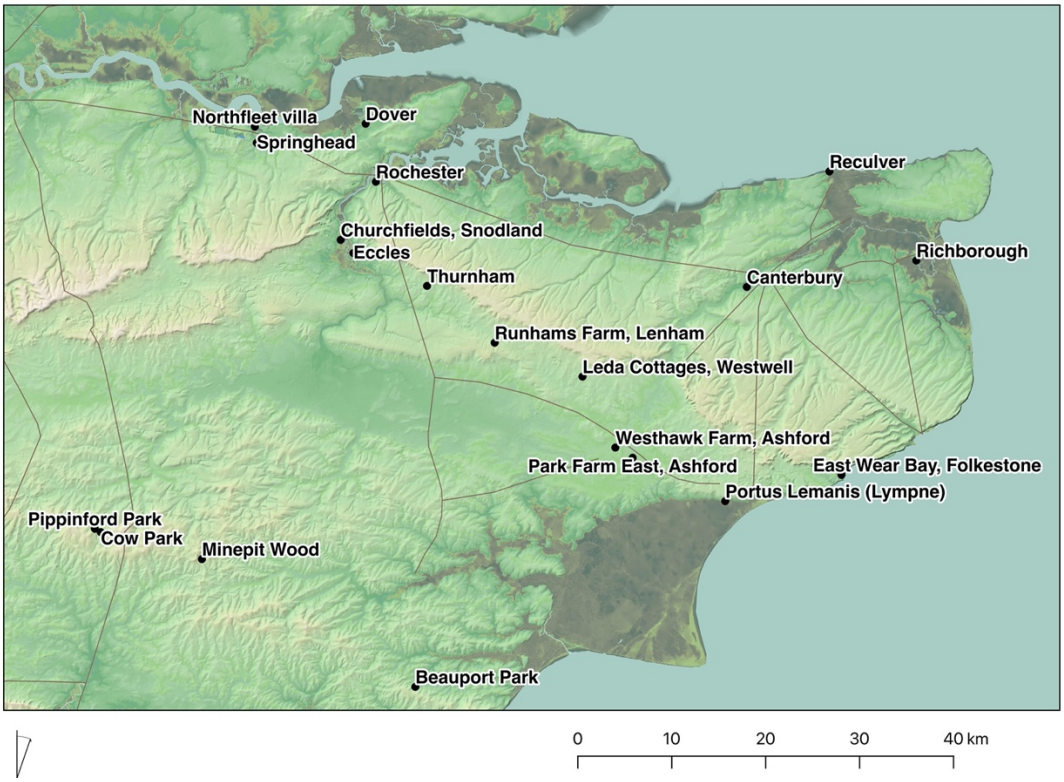


Figure 138: Case Study 4, ER sites mentioned in text.

As the landing-place and initial foothold of the Roman armies in Britain, Kent played an important role in the early history of the province. Soon after the Claudian invasion, the earliest infrastructure of the Roman presence in Britain was laid out in Kent—forts and ports at Canterbury, Dover, Richborough, Reculver, and Rochester, roads linking the coast with London and the Thames, metalworking facilities (probably to supply the troops, *inter alia*) in the Weald.[779] It is hard to imagine that this activity did not influence the region's inhabitants from the start.[780]

Sixty-four sites were occupied during the first century (Figure 132 and Figure 138). Five were nucleated settlements, and Rochester and Springhead may have been small towns early in the post-conquest period. While most sites were farms (54%), the ER period saw an increase in non-settlement land-use,

[779] Bennett (1984); M. R. Bates, et al. (2011); Bushe-Fox (1930); Philip (1959); Philip (2003); A. C. Harrison (1991); Ward (1990); Elliott (2017); Hodgkinson (2008); Hodgkinson (1999); Cleere and Crossley (1985); Cleere (1974).
[780] Booth (2017), 58–59.

with field systems, peripheral agricultural areas, work zones and ceremonial sites making up 38% of the sites occupied in the later first century. Fifteen (23%) of the sites were new foundations, and twenty-two (32%) of the first-century sites were abandoned before the end of the first century. While structures were found on both settlement (65%) and non-settlement sites (19%), they were (unsurprisingly) more common on settlements. Building styles changed in the ER period, with rectilinear timber buildings now outnumbering roundhouses (76% to 38%) on sites with structural evidence. Aisled and masonry buildings were also identified, although they were comparatively rare (found on 21% and 17% of sites with structural evidence, respectively). Because of Kent's relatively acidic geology, many reports lacked well-dated environmental evidence, but based on available evidence, most settlements followed mixed farming regimes.

Shortly after conquest, new physical infrastructure (towns, roads, and perhaps metalworking facilities) was constructed, in order to carry out new social, political, military and economic activities that may have deeply influenced the lives of the region's inhabitants. Not all of the physical infrastructure lay within the study area, but much did, and it influenced settlement and other activities here. New routes, connecting coastal ports with London and the Thames, were constructed soon after conquest. The most important was Watling Street, connecting Richborough (Rutupiae) to a natural ford in the Thames at Thorney Island (Figure 139 and Figure 140), and then running north-west to Verulamium and ultimately to the fort at Deva (Chester).[781] Another road (Iter III in the Antonine Itinerary) ran from Dover to the *civitas* capital at Canterbury, and another across the Downs from Lympne to Canterbury (Iter IV in the Antonine Itinerary).[782] Another connects Dover with Richborough via Woodnesborough.[783] Durobrivae Cantiacorum (Rochester) was also the nodal point for a road running from the Thames Estuary to the south coast through the Weald.[784] Portions were metalled with

[781] Detsicas (1983), 35.
[782] Detsicas (1983), 35.
[783] Detsicas (1983), 35–36.
[784] Detsicas (1983), 36–37.

slag, which Detsicas suggests reflects the importance of the route in connecting the iron industry with coastal ports.[785] Another road snaked south along the edge of the Kent Downs, towards Lympne, and another ran south from Peckham to Lewes.[786] Several trackways ran east-west through the Downs and Weald—the North Downs Trackway(s) being the oldest.[787]

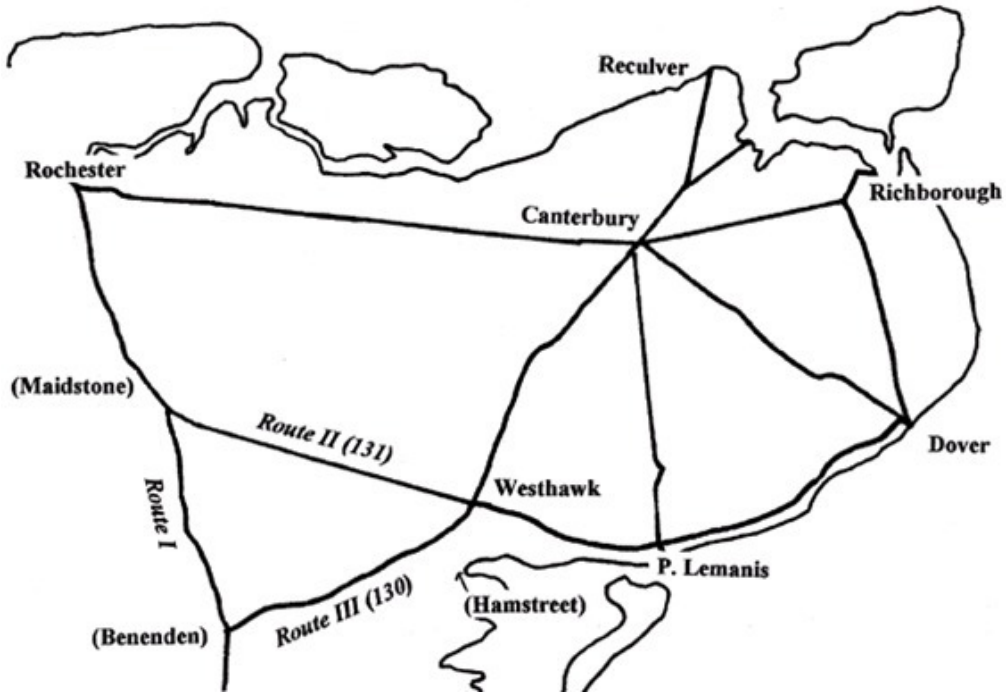


Figure 139: Known Roman roads in Kent, after Margary 1973 (Ashford Borough Council).

[785] Detsicas (1983), 37.
[786] Detsicas (1983), 37–8.
[787] Detsicas (1983), 38; Bright (2010), 3.

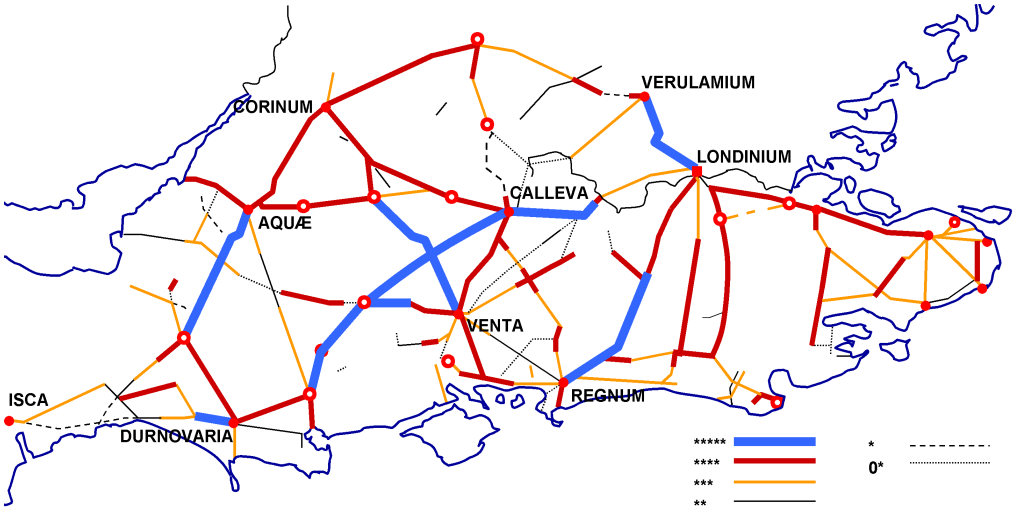


Figure 140: Provisional map of known and suspected routes in southern England, using Margary's data alongside survey and excavation data (North East Hampshire Historical and Archaeological Society, Field Archaeology Branch (http://www.nehhas.org.uk/RRAbstracts.html)).

Soon after conquest, the putative *oppidum* at Canterbury (Durovernum Cantiacorum) was made into the region's tribal or *civitas* capital.[788] Rochester (Durobrivae Cantiacorum*)* was used as an early urban and military centre, although what its administrative relationship was with Canterbury remains unclear.[789] Ports were constructed at Dover and Richborough (Dubris and Rutupiae, respectively) and garrisoned (at first by the *Classis Britannica* and later, in the late-third century, by the soldiers of the *litus Saxonicum*).[790] The settlement at Lympne may not have been founded until the mid- to later second century (it was mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary). Numerous smaller nucleated sites, including a religious site at Springhead (Vagniacae), were either founded or grew substantially in the first century.[791]

[788] Detsicas (1983), 38–9.
[789] Detsicas (1983), 38–9.
[790] Detsicas (1983), 39, mentioned in 1983 that little excavation of the civilian settlements had been undertaken on those sites, and the situation has not dramatically changed since then.
[791] Detsicas (1983), 39, notes that early nucleated settlements formed at Maidstone, Dartford, Crayford, and Hastings. For developments at Springhead, see: Anon. (1997) and the excellent four-part series P. Andrews *et al.* (2011a); Edward Biddulph, Seager Smith, and Schuster (2011); Barnett *et al.* (2011); P. Andrews *et al.* (2011b).

Canterbury was a 'sprawling' Belgic settlement before the invasion. In the ER period, the Late Iron Age roundhouses were dismantled and gullies filled, before/during the establishment of a street grid.[792] Though an early fort is thought to have been constructed on site, there is little evidence for a military presence.[793] Most early buildings were timber-framed, with wattle-and-daub walls.[794] The forum has not been located, but excavations on the site of the former Fleur-de-Lys hotel uncovered the remains of a substantial building, decorated with marble veneer, which may have been a basilica or other public building.[795] Other public buildings include a bath complex, a theatre, and two possible temples.[796] Rochester has been less extensively excavated (aside from the city walls), but Roman-period construction appears to have begun there soon after conquest.[797]

There is insufficient space here for anything but the briefest summary of the Wealden iron industry, which is discussed in detail by other scholars.[798] The Weald was one of the largest iron-producing regions in the empire, and recent research has demonstrated that ironstone seams within the Wealden clays were mined before conquest: the Wealden Iron Research Group (WIRG) have identified an ever-growing number of Late Iron Age iron production sites.[799] The scope and intensity of industrial iron production increased in the ER period,[800] and conquest introduced new production technologies. Beginning in the first century BC and in use until the conquest period was the domed slag-tapping furnace (found at Pippingford Park, Cow Park, Minepit Wood and Broadfield).[801] Shaft slag-tapping furnaces were built on Wealden sites

[792] Detsicas (1983), 41–2. This happened piecemeal, with many areas of the city not cleared until AD 60.
[793] Detsicas (1983), 41.
[794] Detsicas (1983), 46.
[795] Detsicas (1983), 46.
[796] Detsicas (1983), 46–49.
[797] Philip (2003); A. C. Harrison (1991); Philip (1990); Ward (1990); A. C. Harrison and Williams (1979); Flight and Harrison (1978); A.C. Harrison (1972).
[798] See Cleere and Crossley (1985) and Hodgkinson (1999) and Hodgkinson (2008).
[799] Nearly 40 sites are listed in the Wealden Iron Research Group database (www.wirgdata.org), including Broadfield, Cow Park, Minepit Wood, and Pippingford Park.
[800] The Wealden Iron Research Group database (www.wirgdata.org) lists 136 such sites.
[801] Cleere and Crossley (1985), 39.

following conquest—Cleere and Crossley note that, "what is incontrovertible…is the dating: none of the shaft furnaces so far excavated in Britain is earlier than the second half of the first century AD, and so it is reasonable to infer that this type was a Roman importation into the province."[802] Cleere and Crossley estimate that at the height of production (between the early second and mid-third centuries), c. 750 tonnes of iron may have been produced in the Weald, for use by the civilian market and the military in Britain and along the German *limes.*[803]

A portion of the Wealden industry has long been thought to have been under state control, organised and carried out by the *Classis Britannica.* This hypothesis is based partially on differences in site morphology between (often minimally-published) sites, with military-style barracks buildings and/or bath houses found on some putative military sites, and partially on finds of tiles stamped CLBR (*Classis Britannica*).[804] At Beauport Park, which furnished the greatest number of tiles, over 1,600 stamped tiles were recovered from a collapsed bath building.[805] Cleere and Crossley see this as evidence for "a direct connection… between the fleet and the sites that have so far produced specimens of these tiles."[806] The tiles came from second- or third-century contexts, prompting the statement that "it can…be claimed incontrovertibly that the *Classis Britannica* was controlling these sites and the port at Bodiam in the period between the mid-second century and the early third century."[807] While no tiles stamped CLBR have yet been found dated earlier than the early second century, Cleere and Crossley suggest that it is likely that the fleet was in charge

[802] Cleere and Crossley (1985), 42.
[803] Cleere and Crossley (1985), 81.
[804] Cleere and Crossley (1985), 74, write that Bardown "represents the military ironworks admirably. The only substantial building on the site was a sturdy timber-framed barrack block of standard type which would have housed some 40 men. Discovery of flue-tiles on the site suggests that there may have been another, more substantial building the settlement…."
[805] Brodribb (1979); Brodribb and Cleere (1988), for a discussion of CLBR tiles in the Weald in general.
[806] Cleere and Crossley (1985), 65, note 28 CLBR tiles from Bardown and 50 from Little Farningham Farm.
[807] Cleere and Crossley (1985), 65.

of the Wealden sites, but using non-stamped tile, from the first century onward.[808]

There are, of course, alternative explanations for the presence of CLBR tiles on Wealden sites—the most obvious being reuse of tiles originally used by or produced for the *Classis Britannica* or the sale of extra tiles to non-affiliated buyers (a dynamic widely assumed to underlie tile deposition on rural sites throughout the province). Several CLBR stamped tiles were recovered from the villa at Folkestone, and on the strength of these finds both Cunliffe (1969) and Winbolt (1925) suggest the site may have been the residence of a commander of the fleet.[809] Peacock, however, argues that "the stamps may represent re-used material from elsewhere. This accords well with Rigold's (1972) recent suggestion that there had been a light-house at Folkestone."[810] This may have been the case at Lympne, where several stamped tiles were found in the LR period fortifications. Peacock notes that this "material is clearly derived from a pre-existing structure, but this did not underlie the existing Shore Fort, for there is no evidence of second-century occupation on the site (Wheeler, 1932)."[811]

There is no direct correlation between the *numbers* of stamped tiles found on sites and their possible function as central places used by the *Classis Britannica*. Cleere and Crossley's hypothesis is still the most logical, given that CLBR tiles are found on few sites in the region (Figure 141): their rarity on non-port sites rather suggests some sort of direct relationship between the sites and the *Classis* itself. They postulate that the Weald may have been an imperial estate—possibly divided into an eastern half, under the direct control of the *Classis Britannica,* and a western half, leased "perhaps to *conductors* or *collegii…*"[812] This development may not have happened, they note, until the

[808] Cleere and Crossley (1985), 68–69.
[809] Peacock (1977), 246, and see Cunliffe (1969), 260, and Winbolt (1925).
[810] Peacock 1977, 246, citing Rigold (1972).
[811] Peacock (1977), 246.
[812] Cleere and Crossley (1985), 68. See also Cunliffe 1971, 14.

later first century.[813] Intensive production moved into the High Weald in the early- to mid-second century,[814] and had ended by the later third century.[815]

While most of the large Wealden ironworking sites were located to the west of the study area, three smaller Roman iron production sites are included here (Leda Cottages, Runham's Farm, and the nucleated settlement at Westhawk Farm). Westhawk Farm is the best known. The site was founded c. the mid-first century, with iron production beginning in the ER period, and quickly became an apparently densely populated village-type settlement. Although the central part of the site remains unexcavated, it appears that both rectilinear and roundhouse architecture were in use for much of the site's life.[816]

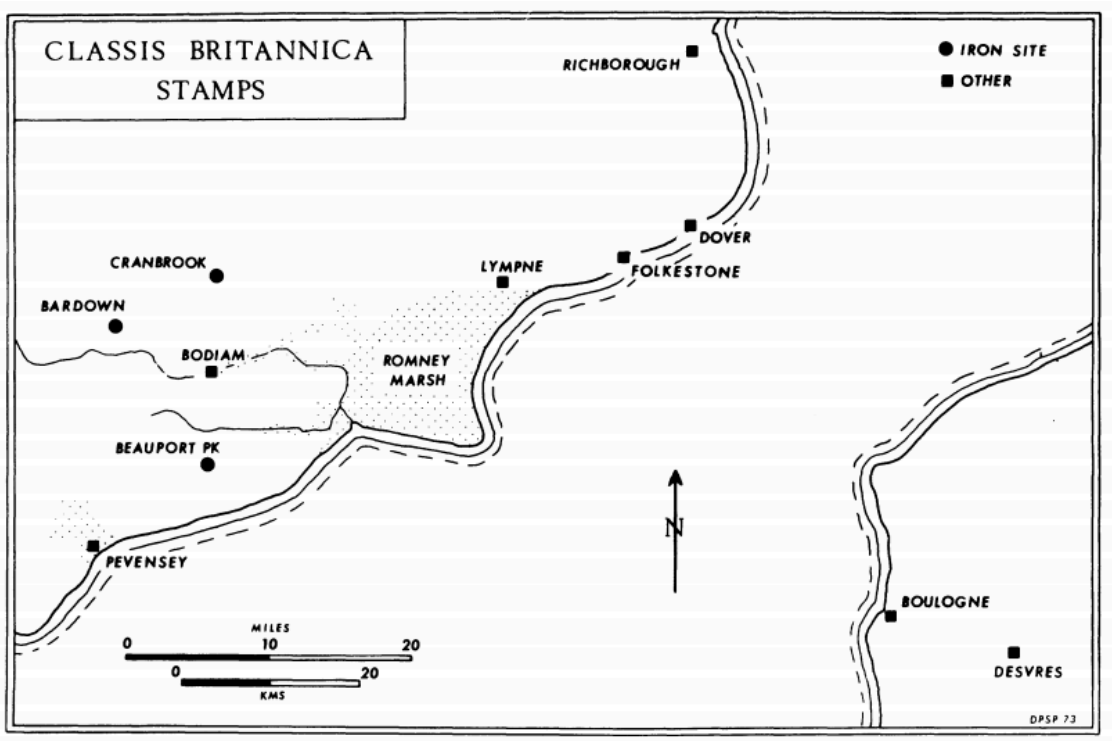


FIG. 1. The Channel coasts, showing the distribution of sites producing Classis Britannica stamped bricks.

Figure 141: Peacock's map of sites furnishing CLBR stamped tiles (Peacock 1977, 236).

[813] Cleere and Crossley (1985), 68–69.
[814] Booth, Bingham, and Lawrence (2008), 271.
[815] Cleere and Crossley (1985), 85.
[816] Booth, Bingham, and Lawrence (2008), 271–272.

The building of roads and towns and the growth of the iron industry represented a significant disruption to the pre-existing settlement pattern. That the *oppida* at Canterbury and Rochester continued in use could be seen as a sign that pre-existing power centres were respected, and continuity on those sites would have allowed any surrounding settlements to continue using them as central places. Looked at another way, however, the practice of garrisoning central places and of then altering the ways in which those settlements functioned—by physically constructing a new street grid and new buildings to overlie and obliterate the old ones—could be seen as more disruptive to pre-existing patterns than simply constructing a new city nearby.

With the exception of Rochester, there are no large Late Iron Age nucleated sites in the present study, but it is interesting that both Park Farm East and East Wear Bay (the two other potentially nucleated sites in the LIA) underwent dramatic transformation in the ER period. As previously discussed, Park Farm East was deliberately slighted. Exactly how and when changes occurred at East Wear Bay is less clear. For nucleated sites along the HS1 corridor, then, the term 'continuity' is misleading.

Moving to non-nucleated sites, it is notable that while, as Booth mentioned, many rural sites continued to be occupied into the early second century AD, the first century AD was the period of greatest change to the settlement pattern before the apparent crises of the later third and fourth centuries. This conclusion can be demonstrated numerically and through close reading of some sample site chronologies from the region (Table 33). The 50 years post-conquest saw the most dramatic changes in settlement here until the fourth century.

Table 33: A reprise of Table 5, showing total settlement disruption in Case Study 4 by period.

Period	Total occupied	Total abandoned (percent)	Total founded (percent)	Total disruption (percent)
1st c.	74	38%	32%	70%
2nd c.	58	28%	2%	30%
3rd c.	42	31%	0%	31%
4th c.	30	73%	0%	73%

The ER period saw a higher level of site abandonments than in the MR and the highest percentage of site foundations for the entire study period. Most were farms, but while in some ways they looked like their Late Iron Age predecessors, they had different trajectories. Some 36% of sites were villas. Kentish villas developed earlier (in the first century) than those in other study areas. In the Danebury sample, major morphological differences between site types only appeared later (in the second century). Within the HS1 sample, on the other hand, six substantial first-century villa buildings were constructed between AD 60–70, and first-century baths were constructed on two of the sites (Eccles and Churchfields, Snodland). Some sites, such as Churchfields and Northfleet, have produced little evidence for Late Iron Age occupation, while others, like Eccles, produced slight evidence for Late Iron Age activity. At Eccles, a settlement consisting of ditches and pits was overlain in c. AD 65 by a palatial villa.[817] It is unclear whether or not there was any relationship between the earlier settlement and the villa. In only one case, at Thurnham Villa (whose first-century structures overlie Late Iron Age roundhouses) was there any *real* sense of continuity, as Booth mentions.[818] All this points to the fact that the first-century expansion in settlement represented a change in the settlement pattern, rather than an expansion of a pre-existing pattern.

If one looks only at non-nucleated sites, there was a distinct difference in architectural style between new and older sites. While rectilinear structural remains were found on both (found on 58% of the new settlements and 50% of those that continued from the Late Iron Age), new foundations were much less likely to contain roundhouses (found on 12% of the new settlements and 33% of those continuing from the Late Iron Age). New foundations were also more likely to contain aisled buildings (33% vs. 4%), and more likely to contain masonry buildings (33% vs. 4%). These numbers may in part reflect site chronology, but they also indicate that many of the newly inhabited ER-period sites here differed morphologically from their Late Iron Age counterparts.

[817] Walthew (1975), 196. We await the final publication of the site.
[818] Booth (2017), 61. See also Booth and Lawrence (2006).

Finds Assemblages

In this period, wheel-thrown coarsewares produced within the region were found on all sites, but ER foundations had greater access to imported pottery (i.e., Southern Gaulish Samian ware and Dr. 20 amphorae), first-century coins, and regional imports than those founded in the LIA period. These data may reflect nuanced chronological differences between sites or cultural/socioeconomic differences.

Most finds types were not closely dated in reports, but several types of specifically ER finds *were* routinely reported (ER coins, pottery, and brooches). ER coins, imported pottery, and/or brooches were reported from a small majority of the settlements (58%) and from 38% of the non-settlement sites. First-century imports were reported from 64% of settlements, while *regional* imports were reported from an additional 15% of settlements. In total, materials from outside the immediate area (coins, brooches, imported pottery and other materials) were reported from 82% of settlements, and of the 8 sites without access to these goods, 5 (62%) were published without full finds or pottery reports.

MID-ROMAN

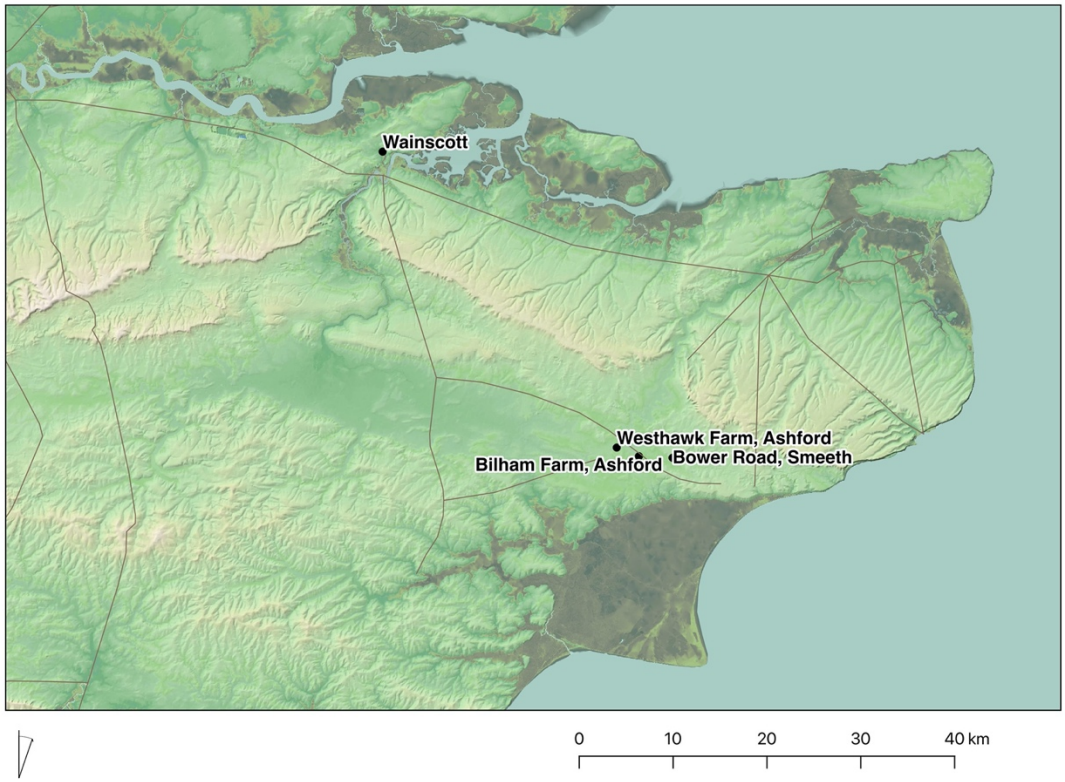


Figure 142: Case Study 4, MR sites mentioned in text.

While the MR is generally seen as a time of stable prosperity in Roman Britain, in Kent it appears that farms, in particular, experienced some dislocation. Fewer sites, overall, were occupied in the second and third centuries in Kent than in the first century (82% of the sample sites were occupied in the first century, 70% in the second century, and 50% at the start of the third century). As Blanning and Elliott note, abandonments increased into the later third and fourth centuries[819]—Elliott observes that by the late second century, "many of the original Roman sites [were] falling out of use."[820] Along the line of the HS1, however, it was not the *new* sites, but the older (LIA) sites which went out of use initially: of the 16 sites abandoned between AD 100 and AD 200, all but 2—or 13%—were originally founded in the LIA period.

Fifty-nine study sites were occupied at some point in the MR (Figure

[819] Blanning (2014), 480; Elliott (2018), 56.
[820] Elliott (2018), 56.

133, Figure 134, and Figure 142—73% settlement and 29% peripheral sites). Only 2% were newly founded in the second century.

Table 34: Number of sites per category occupied in the second and third centuries in CTRL case study area.

Period	Farm	Villa	Nucleated	Peripheral
2nd c.	25 (42%)	13 (22%)	4 (7%)	17 (29%)
3rd c.	15 (36%)	14 (33%)	3 (10%)	9 (21%)

As with other periods, MR environmental data were not provided for all sites: available data suggest that farmers followed a mixed cultivation regime, with spelt and barley being the most common varieties of grain. If not simply an accident of preservation, between the Late Iron Age and the MR period, there was an increase in the cultivation of spelt wheat and flax, and in the consumption of fruits, nuts, and/or berries on farms in the study area. Most animal bone reports were unphased, but the available data suggest a similar mixed farming regime was followed for animal husbandry. In their discussion of the MR phase at Bower Road, Smeeth, Booth and Diez note that, "the animal bones from this phase suggest a producer site with evidence of a mixed farming strategy, where animals were reared for consumption, secondary products and traction (Kitch 2006). Cattle, used for both milk and traction, dominated the assemblage, followed by pig, primarily raised for meat, and then sheep/goat, mainly bred for wool."[821]

The dislocation discussed above affected farm and peripheral sites rather than villas and nucleated sites. By the end of the second century, 40% of farms and 47% of peripheral sites that had been occupied in the second-century had been abandoned. By the end of the third century, 54% of the remaining farm sites and 86% of the remaining peripheral sites had been abandoned. While in this same period none of the villa sites were abandoned, one nucleated settlement (Westhawk Farm) saw a reduction in settlement. While the decline in non-villa farm sites is a trend seen across southern Britain, it is perhaps more pronounced in Kent than elsewhere. When coupled with an increase in villa

[821] Booth and Diez 2006 Booth and Diez (2006b), 13.

building, the contraction in settlement may reflect ER/MR changes in land tenure. More research is needed to elucidate this issue.

Finds Assemblages

All finds that were dated generally to the Roman period as well as specifically MR finds, were analysed together for the present discussion. It appears that the MR was marked by an increase in material wealth in Kent. An examination of the Roman finds demonstrates that inhabitants of both 'high-status' and 'lower status' sites were engaged in market activity with local, regional, and long-distance markets. Nearly all sites had access to these markets, but while farm sites had access to imports, there were important differences between urban and rural sites.

Imported MR pottery was identified on 92% of settlement and 73% of non-settlements (Figure 143). Of the 3 settlements without imported pottery, 1 was a villa site without a full finds report, one (Bilham Farm, Ashford) was preserved *in situ* and published without a finds report, and the last, Wainscott, *did* furnish evidence for long-distance trade, with pottery coming from as far as the Nene Valley (100 miles) and Alice Holt kilns (70 miles), but did not report any materials from Continental production centres. Essentially, then, more than 95% of settlements had access to materials traded from over 50 miles away, and 92% to materials from overseas, suggesting that most (if not all) settlements engaged in some way not only in the regional market economy but also with wider imperial markets.

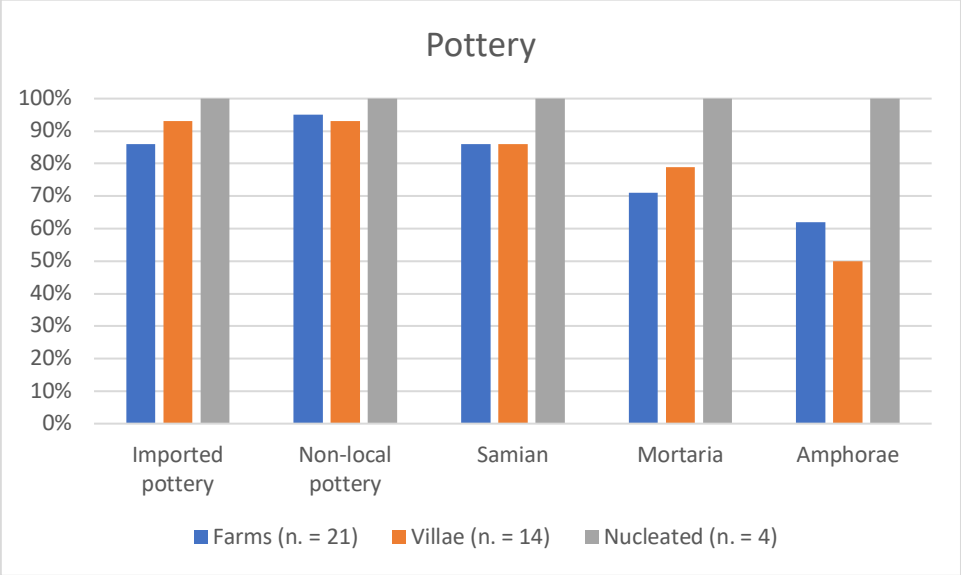


Figure 143: Mid-Roman pottery finds reported from different site categories, Case Study 4.

The accessibility of lower-cost imports across the socio-economic spectrum does not mean, however, that the bulk of the rural population was able (or chose) to avail themselves of most of the types of materials generally seen as ubiquitous on Roman sites. It appears that some of the goods we tend to think of as luxuries (fine imported tableware, amphorae and their contents), hairpins, brooches, and coins, were *not* luxuries, at least not in Kent. Other finds (even of objects that are ubiquitous in urban settings), such as oil lamps, weights, and figurines, were found frequently on nucleated and villa sites but were quite rare on rural sites.

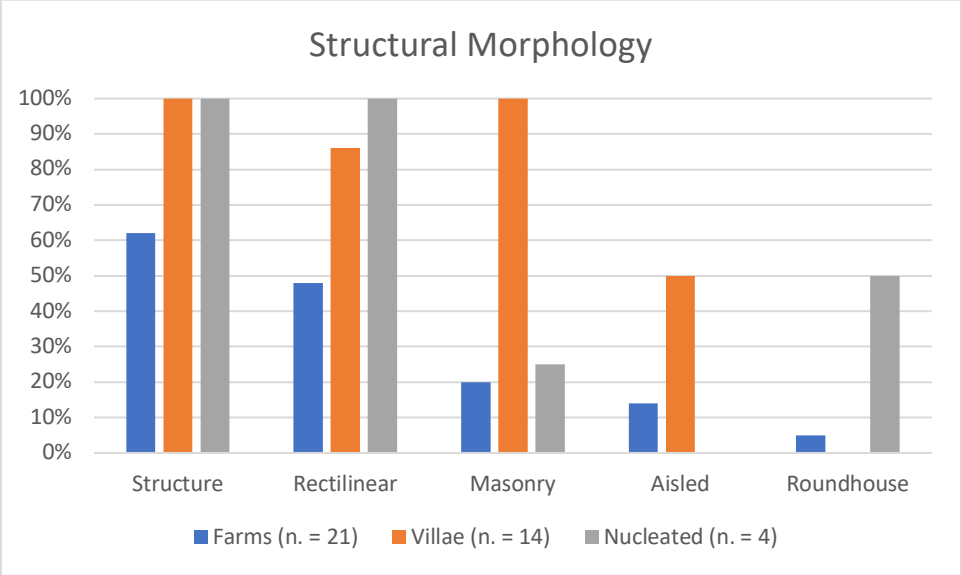


Figure 144: Structure types found on MR settlements in Case Study 4.

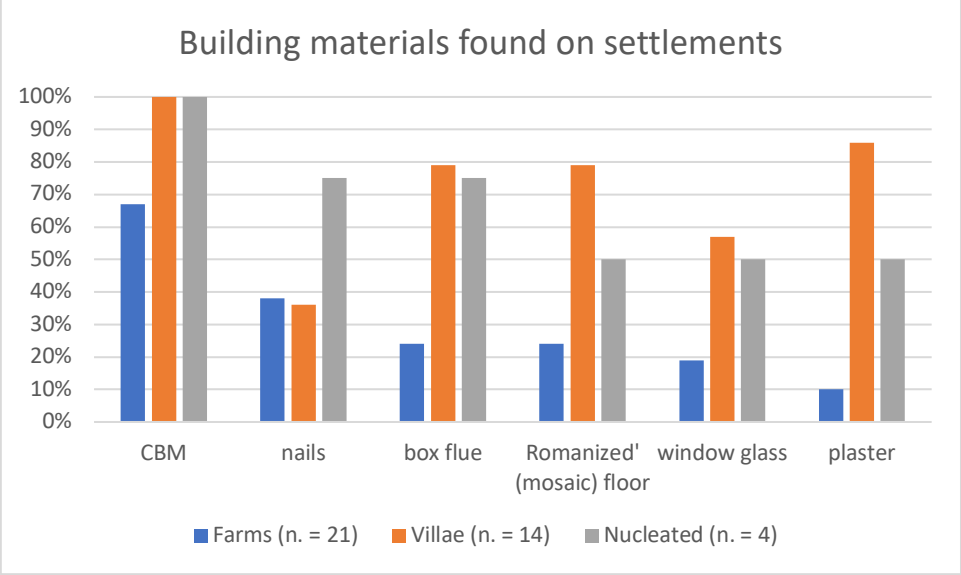


Figure 145: Building materials found on settlements in Case Study 4.

The most common MR structural type was the rectilinear timber building (Figure 144), while roundhouses were the least common form on farm and villa sites (and were found on 50% of nucleated sites). CBM and nails were found frequently on all site types. Other building materials (mosaic floors, hypocausts/box-flue tiles, window glass and plaster) were found on less than 25% of farms but frequently on villa and nucleated sites.

While coins and jewellery appear on all site types in Kent (Figure 146), only 30% of farms produced brooches and/or toilet equipment, while these were found on all nucleated sites.

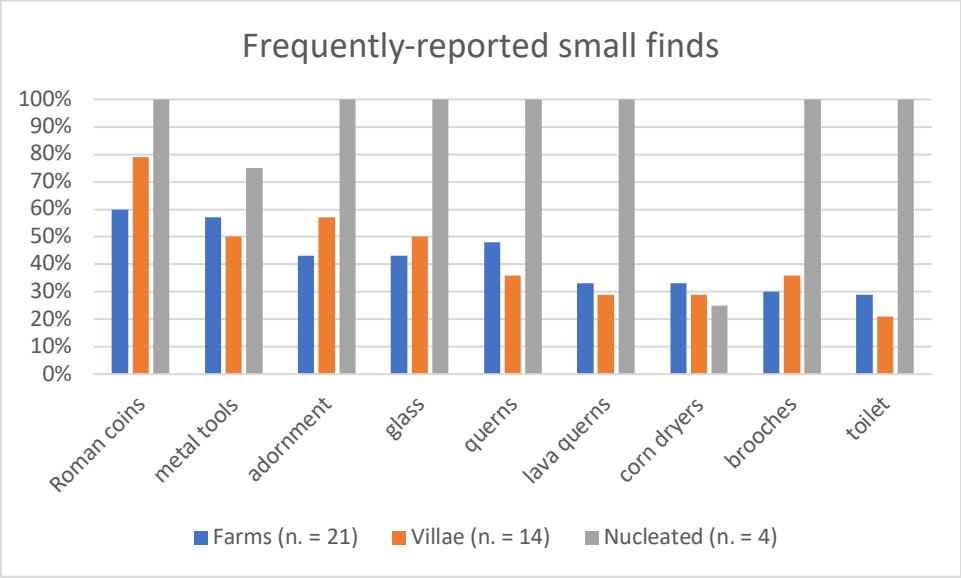


Figure 146: (MR) finds types that were reported frequently on most site types in Case Study 4.

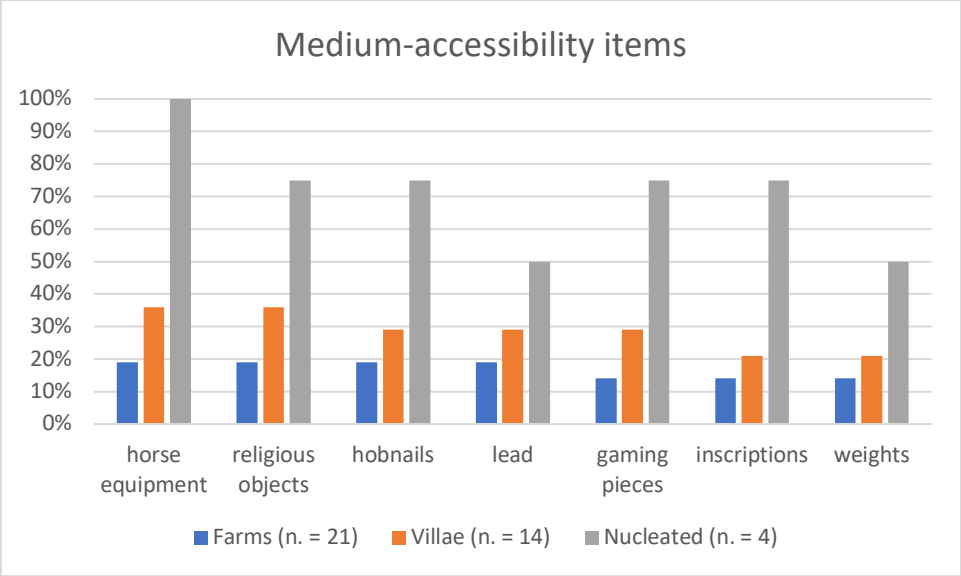


Figure 147: Non-luxury, 'medium-accessibility' items found on MR settlements in Case Study 4.

The items depicted in Figure 147 were found frequently on nucleated sites and infrequently on farm and villa sites (between 11 and 20% of farm sites and

on more than 20% of villa sites). Some find types (hobnails, gaming pieces, weights, religious objects) are, perhaps, rarer than to be expected on rural (farm and villa) sites, given their general ubiquity on nucleated sites. The relative rarity of these materials may speak to cultural and/or fashion choices more than to market accessibility.

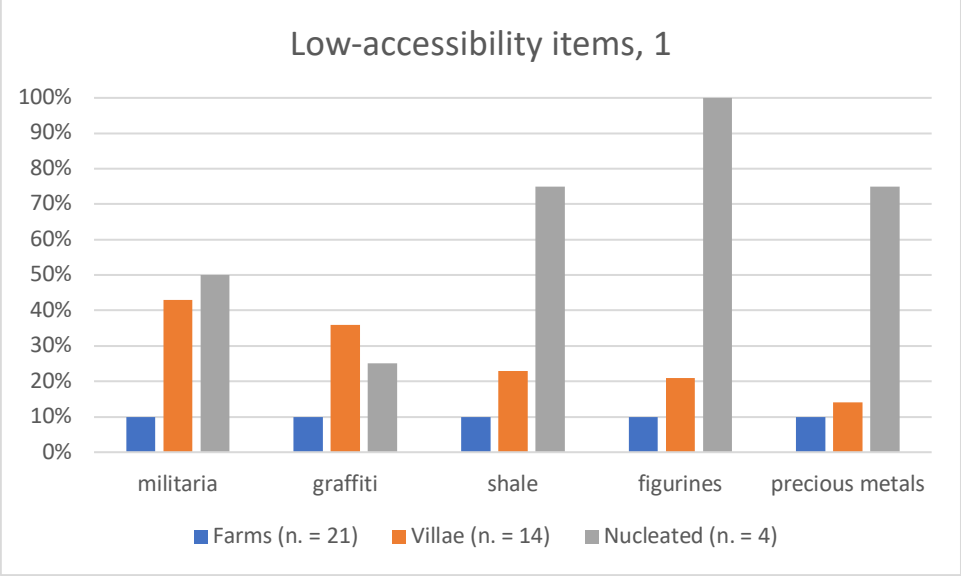


Figure 148: MR items found on 10% of farm sites that were common on nucleated sites (Case Study 4).

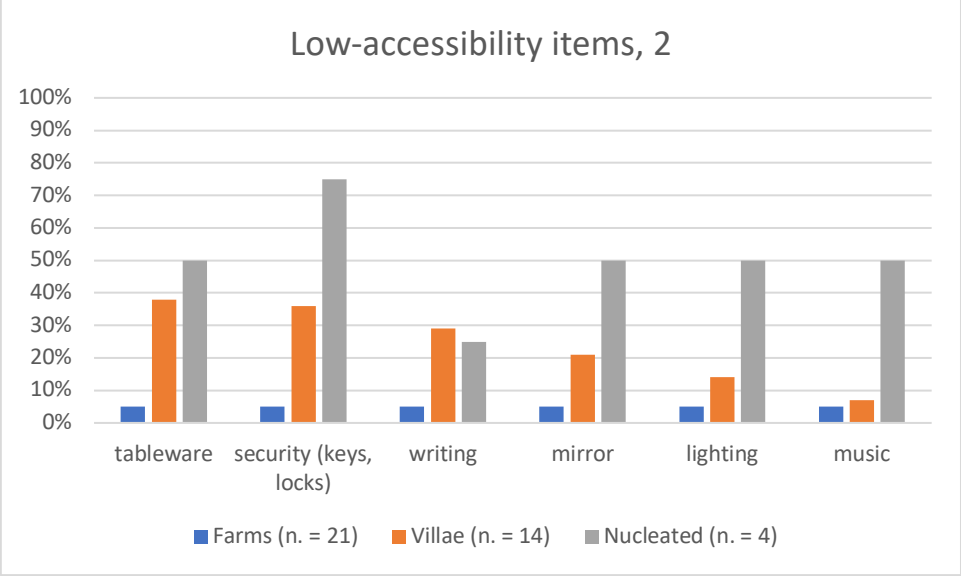


Figure 149: MR items found on less than 10% of farm sites, that were commonly found on nucleated sites in Case Study 4.

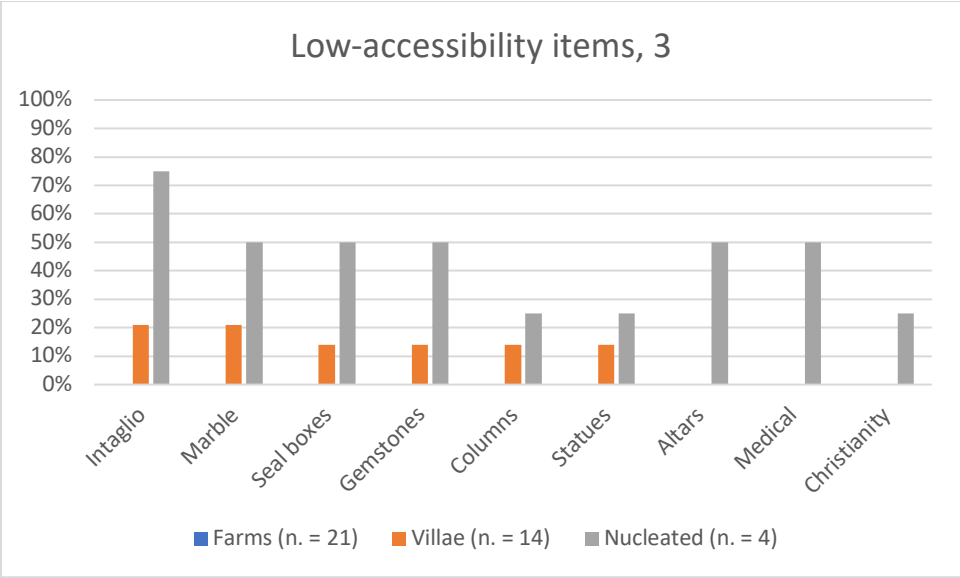


Figure 150: Items not found on farm sites, some of which were reported from villa settlements, which were common on nucleated sites in Case Study 4.

The items in Figure 148, Figure 149, and Figure 150 should be understood as rare or luxury items in MR Kent. These items were common on nucleated sites, rare on villa sites and, in the case of Figure 150, were found on no farm sites at all.

In sum, while the inhabitants of (non-villa) rural sites had access to a wide variety of materials that were undoubtedly accessed via market activity, there were artefact types that were not found on any MR farm sites in the study area, and some (intaglio rings, marble, seal boxes, gemstones, columns, statues, altars, medical equipment and evidence of Christianity) that were found infrequently even on villa sites, though the antiquarian nature of many (n=47%) of those excavations make it difficult to know how secure this statistic is.

LATE ROMAN

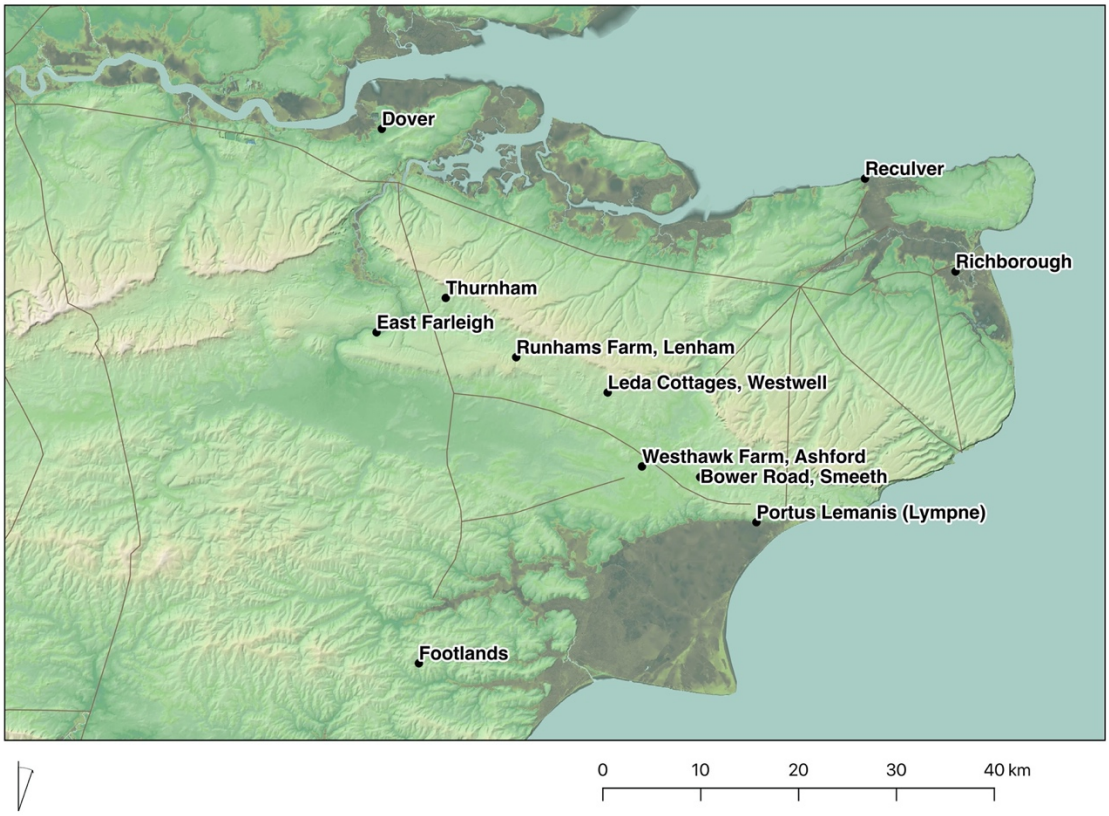


Figure 151: Case Study 4, LR sites mentioned in text.

Between the mid-third century and AD 410, the number of inhabited sites in the region seems to have declined and the makeup of the remaining sites changed. Thirty-four sites were inhabited during the LR period (Figure 135 and Figure 151) representing a 39% decrease in site numbers between the mid-second and mid-third centuries. Iron production in the Weald (and the bulk of occupation there) seems to have fallen off by the mid-third century.

The reasons for these changes remain opaque. Scholars debate the extent to which violence or other security issues affected the province, and LR coastal defences in Britain and along the North Sea coast and Gaul (Figure 152) have long been seen as evidence for violent incursions.[822] Their collective name, the Saxon Shore, is a reference to a British command post (the *comes litoris*

[822] White (1961); Cunliffe *et al.* (1980), 287; Pearson (2005), 73;

Saxonici) in the LR *Notitia Dignitatum*,[823] which lists the names of nine forts under the Count of the Saxon Shore—among them Lemanis (Lympne), Regulbio (Reculver), Dubris (Dover), and Rutupis (Richborough), in Kent.[824] LR coastal defences have been found at all four sites (Figure 152).

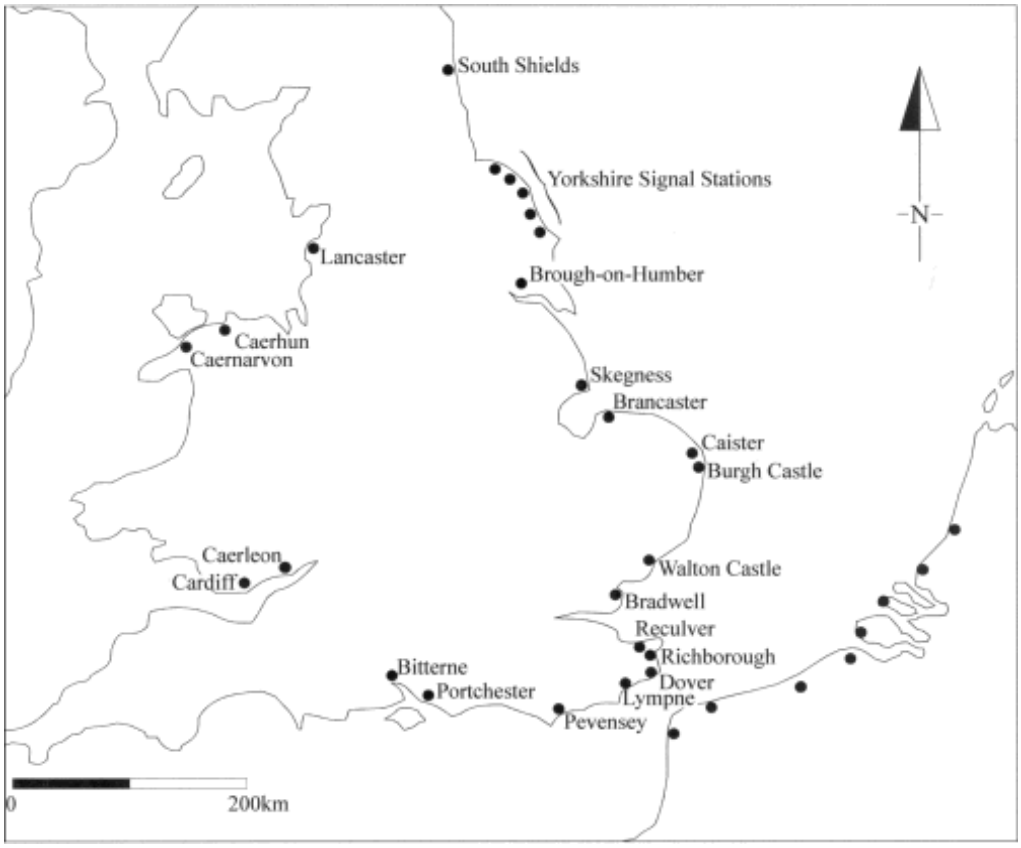


Figure 152: Late-Roman Coastal defences in Britain (Pearson 2005).

Scholarship remains divided on the main function of the forts: some argue that they were built to defend the coast from incursions or piracy;[825] some suggest they may relate in some way to political unrest on the island, which broke away from the Empire five times between the late-third and late-4th

[823] *Not. Dign.* 38.
[824] *Not. Dign.* 28–38.
[825] This situation could have been exploited, or even caused, by North Sea piracy. Eutropius, *Breviarium* IX.21.

centuries;[826] and others contend fort construction may have had economic or political causes.[827]

While evidence for the purpose of fort construction remains inconclusive, research in the case study area, at Lympne, suggests that not all were long-lived. The late 3rd-century fort (known locally as Stutfall Castle),[828] may have fallen out of use by the mid-third century.[829] This chronology appears to correspond to changes that were occurring in the mid- to late third century in the Weald and could potentially be related.

The Wealden iron industry seems to have contracted sometime in the mid- to late-third century. Cleere and Crossley note that, "by the end of the third century, only Oldlands and Broadfields in the western group and Footlands in the eastern were still functioning, and little later fourth-century material is known from any of these."[830] Iron production ended even earlier than this in our study area, with the latest phases apparently ending in the mid- to late third century at Leda Cottages, Runham's Farm, and Westhawk Farm. The reasons for this are unclear. In addition to changes in the iron industry itself, there was a widespread abandonment of settlements here, though iron production ended on Runham's Farm and Westhawk Farm well before occupation ended. Booth notes that "the abandonment of the Westhawk settlement, and many others in the Weald, coincides with the upheaval in Gaul in the second half of the third century AD and the disappearance of the Roman fleet in Britain, the *Classis Britannica,* from the record."[831] Pearson has suggested that "the management and distribution of metal ores may have been a particular concern" for the forces based along the Saxon shore.[832] If this were the case, one wonders why (even after a break in occupation after the putative withdrawal of the *Classis Britannica* in the mid-third century) iron production was never re-started in the Weald following the construction of the fort at Lympne. This question seems

826 Pearson (2005), 76.
827 Cotterill (1993), and Pearson (2005).
828 Cunliffe, et al. (1980), 227; M. Davies (2017).
829 Cunliffe, et al. (1980), 263.
830 Cleere and Crossley (1985), 85.
831 Booth, Bingham, and Lawrence (2008), 296.
832 Pearson (2005), 84.

particularly salient given the evident need for iron weaponry during the upheavals of the LR period.

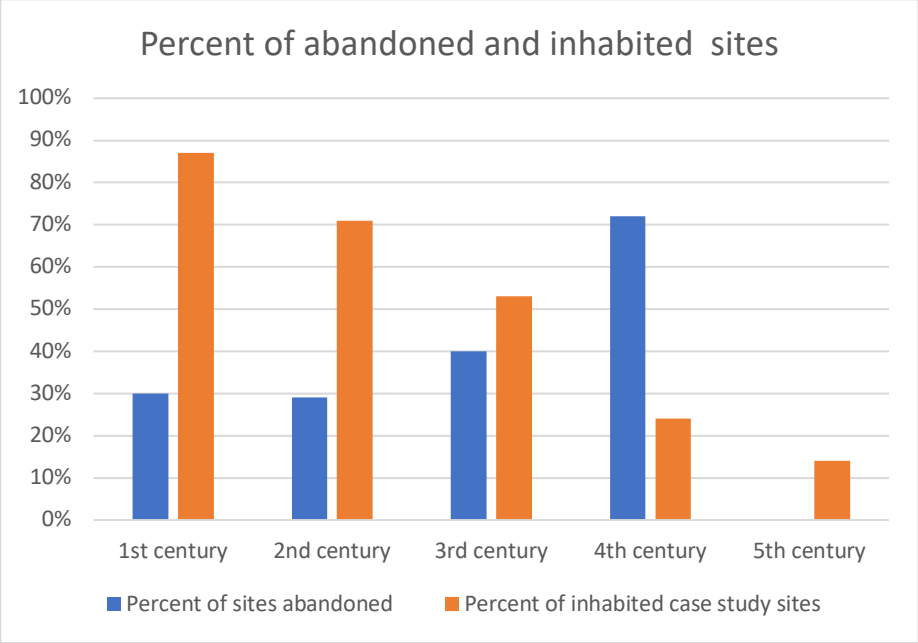


Figure 153: Chart showing site abandonments in Case Study 4 compared with the percentage of study sites inhabited by period.

In addition to changes in the iron industry and to coastal fortifications, there were sweeping changes in settlement in the LR period. Roughly 53% of the sample sites were inhabited in the LR period. The later third century saw a slight increase in site abandonments, and by the end of the fourth century most sites were abandoned (Figure 153).

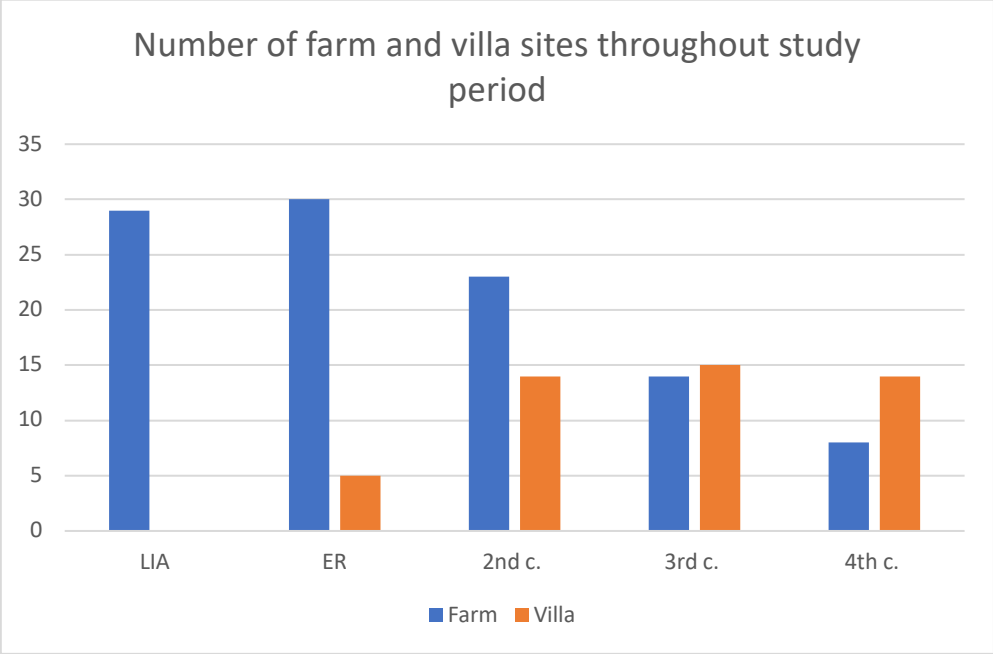


Figure 154: Number of farm and villa sites, by period, in Case Study 4.

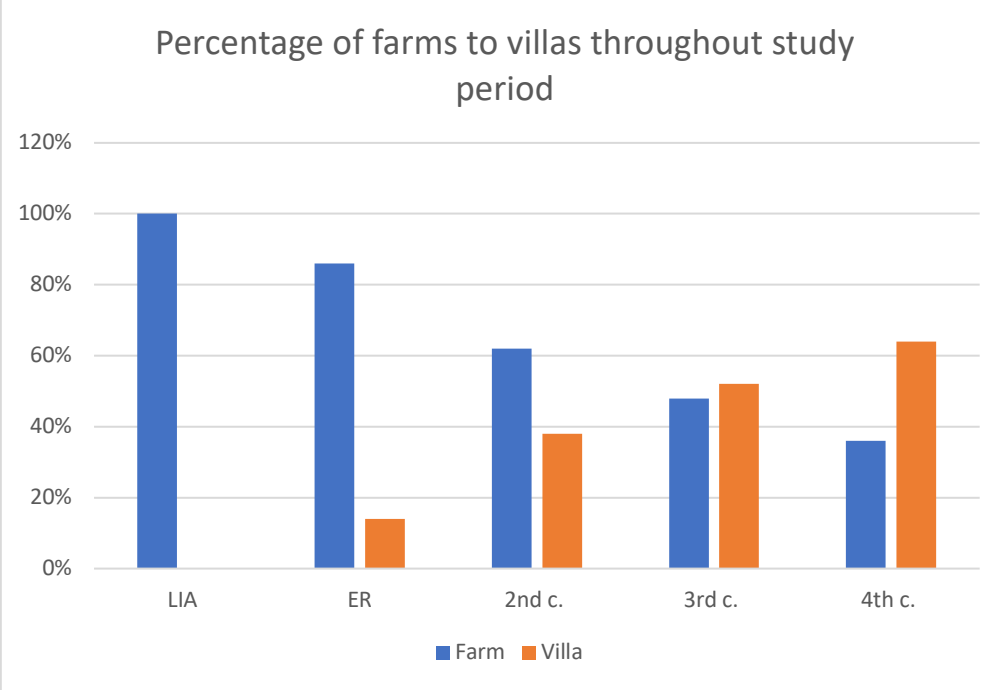


Figure 155: Percentage of farm sites to villa sites per period in Case Study 4.

The number of 'farm' sites decreased in the LR period, as the number of villa sites increased (Figure 154 and Figure 155). This was not simply a matter of farm sites being transformed into villas as architectural styles

changed. Only 27% of the villas identified in the study area overlie earlier farms. Rather, the farm/villa ratio changed because farms were, disproportionately, abandoned earlier than were villas. The reasons for this are unclear. Perhaps land was increasingly concentrated in the hands of villa owners—or perhaps smaller farm sites, with ephemeral buildings and small numbers of inhabitants, were more frequently sold off or abandoned in favour of new opportunities than investment-heavy villa sites. If this last option were correct, however, one would perhaps expect to see new farm sites appearing in the LR period, or growth within nucleated settlements—but, conversely, we see dispersal there, too (more below).

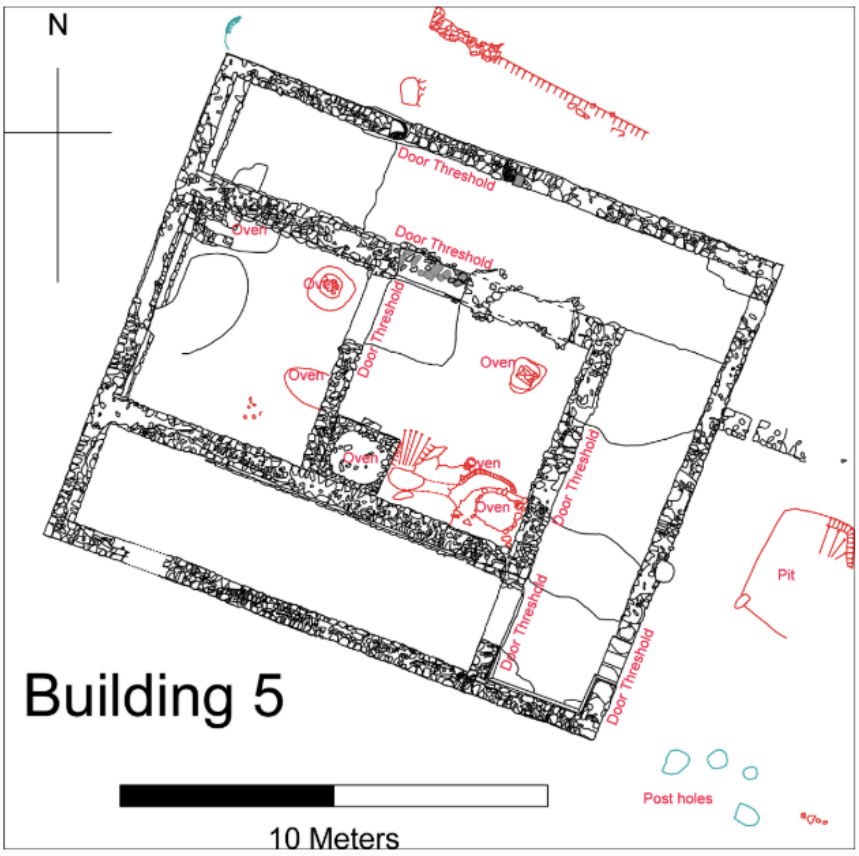
In addition to broad changes in settlement type/distribution, the fourth century was marked by smaller-scale changes, in both site morphology and function, which took place on some sites from the mid-third century on. At least 10 (29%) sites contracted in size at the mid-century or were used only sporadically.

In the M/LR period, a 20-post timber building (presumably a barn) was in use at Bower Road, Smeeth.[833] Although no occupation area was found during the excavation, the site has been identified as a farm engaged in a mixed farming regime. While the site remained occupied into the LR period, the later occupation took on a different character, and the only LR features were four pits.[834] The authors note that, "subsequent occupation seems sporadic and could possibly be of a seasonal nature,"[835] and that the site's fate appears "strikingly similar to the pattern observed at the neighbouring small town of Westhawk Farm," to which we now turn.[836]

Westhawk Farm was a small town located on the southern edge of the North Downs, which was founded in the mid-first century at the junction of Margary's routes 130 and 131 (from Canterbury to Benenden and from Lympne to Maidstone).[837] The site was divided into property units or plots at roughly

[833] Booth and Diez (2006b), iii.
[834] Booth and Diez (2006b), 20–21.
[835] Booth and Diez (2006b), 22.
[836] Booth and Diez (2006b), 22.
[837] Willis (2012), 366.

right-angles to one of the two roads, within which structural remains (both roundhouses and rectilinear timber buildings) were identified, along with two (non-contemporary) ironworking areas. A roadside shrine was the only identifiable public building, and a centrally-located open space was thought by excavators to suggest "a significant market function."[838] By the early-mid third century, it appears that activity may have been contracting somewhat, although "intensive activity continued in some of the south-west roadside plots…"[839] No new structures could be dated to the next phase (later third and fourth centuries), and "even finds of this date were localised, occurring principally in a small number of upper fills of features which had originally originated in earlier phases."[840] The cemetery and probably the unexcavated focal area of the settlement remained in use (albeit at an evidently lower intensity than in earlier phases).



[838] Willis (2012), 391.
[839] Willis (2012), 389.
[840] Willis (2012), 389.

Figure 156: Building 5, East Farleigh 'Villa' Complex (Case Study 4), excavated by the Maidstone Area Archaeological Group (ongoing), http://www.maag.btck.co.uk/ExcavationsatEastFarleigh/SiteOverview.

The LR phases at the so-called East Farleigh Villa (now thought not to have been a villa in the traditional sense, Figure 156), was also marked by changes in site density and function. The complex consisted of five masonry buildings, one of which was identified by excavators as a Romano-Celtic temple. The site underwent changes before the site's mid-fourth century abandonment.[841] Walls were demolished, some of the ragstone and roofing tiles are thought to have been transported elsewhere, at least 10 ovens were built into buildings 3 and 5 (the temple building), and scatters of postholes around the structures may have been lean-tos. Infants were buried within the corners of the temple building.

Similar changes may have taken place 6 miles east, at Thurnham Villa, where excavators note that "later [Roman] activity…is characterised by a distinct change in the character of occupation."[842] By the late third century, the site's bath house and aisled building had been demolished or allowed to collapse, and the central room of the villa "was converted into a small smithy that was probably engaged in the recycling of scrap iron."[843] The site was still occupied at this time, but excavators suggest that in the fourth century "the villa [had] ceased to function as a high status occupation site, possibly being subsumed into a larger estate by this time. A large oven within the main villa building is the only clear evidence for late Roman domestic occupation."[844]

Booth has noted that these developments had a geographical element., suggesting that settlements in Kent can be divided between a 'normal 'northern zone—with occupation chronologies lasting "as far as the well-known limitations of the dating evidence allow"[845]—and a southern zone (including the Wealden iron production sites and the *Classis Britannica* fort at Dover),

[841] http://www.maag.btck.co.uk/ExcavationsatEastFarleigh/SiteOverview
[842] Booth and Lawrence (2006).
[843] Booth and Lawrence (2006), abstract.
[844] Booth and Lawrence (2006), abstract.
[845] Willis (2012), 395.

where many were abandoned or had contracted by the mid-third century AD.[846] Booth surmises that the decline of the iron industry in the Weald might account for the decline of sites like Westhawk Farm—and potentially even of Thurnham Villa.[847]

Finds Assemblages—Late Roman

Many Roman-period finds are difficult to date beyond the 'Roman period', and for this reason finds, in general, were discussed in the MR section. The available chronological data for the LR period leave much to be desired in terms of detail, but several important points can be gleaned from finds specifically dated to the LR period. First and most notably, imports of finewares from the continent dropped off in the third century,[848] to be supplanted by southern British products on LR sites in Kent.[849] Non-Samian fabrics are not as well-reported as is Samian, and detailed descriptions of pottery assemblages citing named non-Samian fabrics are either absent from, or only briefly discussed in, most (68%) LR site reports. It is possible to draw conclusions from the sites that have furnished detailed pottery reports. Of the reports that *do* mention non-Samian fabrics, 92% of sites had access to materials imported from outside the immediate area, and 67% had access to materials imported from the continent. Small quantities of imported ceramics continued into the fourth century, most notably pottery produced in the Argonne and Mayen regions. The supply of this pottery was not consistent in the LR period. At Northfleet, new continental wares were not imported between AD 240 and the fourth century, "when *céramique à l'éponge* or marbled ware from western Gaul arrived. Two sherds were recovered, probably belonging to flanged bowls."[850] As elsewhere in Britain, few amphorae were found post-dating the mid-third century, and those that were came from 'new' production sites. At Northfleet, fragments from two

[846] Willis (2012), 395.
[847] Willis (2012), 396.
[848] Pollard (1988), 117.
[849] Pollard (1988), 117–119, Willis (2012), 210.
[850] Booth and Smith (2011), 141.

later-Roman amphorae were found. One, an Almagro 50 from Portugal, dated to the mid-fourth century (and was present residually in a post-Roman layer) and the other, a North African cylindrical olive oil amphora (Peacock and Williams class 35) was found in a fourth or fifth century deposit.[851] Imported materials were not found equally on all site types. All of the *vici* reported the presence of LR imports, as did 50% of the villas. LR continental imports were only reported from 25% of the farm sites.

CONCLUSION

An examination of Roman-period settlement along the HS1 corridor demonstrates (unsurprisingly) that the region was deeply integrated into the regional and wider imperial economy from an early date. The proximity of Kent to both London and the English Channel ports, as well as to the iron production zone of the Weald and the probably military-run operations there, is evident in the region's settlement landscape, which is subtly different from those of other regions examined here.[852] While only 9% of the Kentish settlements were identified as nucleated, the nucleated sites in the region were large, important, and deeply connected with both the markets and the power structures of Roman Londinium. A full 28% of the CS4 settlements became villas, which is a significantly higher percentage than in CS2 (0%) and CS3 (13%), and surprisingly similar to CS1 (30% of settlements were *villae*), in which a remarkably large number of the excavations have focused on *villae*. These Kentish *villae* were founded earlier than those further from the London-Channel route, which linked nearby settlements with both regional and cross-Channel markets from the ER period on. Access to materials from outside the region was

[851] Booth and Smith (2011), 141.
[852] Elliott (2017).

evident on 88% of sites (*with* ceramic reports) inhabited between AD 40–410 and on 96% of settlements (*with* ceramic reports) that survived into the second century. Only two sites without materials from outside the region were identified as settlements. In Kent, engagement with non-local markets appears to have been widespread and pervasive up and down the socio-economic spectrum.

I have discussed above the fact that settlement here seems to follow a rather different pattern than in the other case studies. Higher-status and/or nucleated sites naturally furnished a wider range of imported pottery and other materials than did lower-status ones,[853] with *villae* generally producing more objects of architectural refinement and nucleated settlements generally producing a wider range of other finds. Non-villa farms produced limited numbers of finds (low levels of consumption might be seen as a hallmark of the economies on these sites). A full 97% of non-villa farms (with pottery reports) occupied into the second century, however, produced material from outside the region, and 95% produced material (mainly Samian) from across the Channel. While lower-status rural sites were evidently engaged in trade with long-distance markets, this activity was restricted to a limited range of necessary goods. Mayen lava querns and Samian ware from Gaul plainly were brought to most small rural sites from the MR period on, but other objects (such as metal votive objects, gaming pieces, and writing implements) were rare on farm sites and common on nucleated settlements. The reasons for these disparities are probably a combination of economics and culture.

As Elliott suggests, there is perhaps reason to see evidence for state or military involvement in the Kentish economy, in both the iron and building-stone trade.[854] These are complex issues, and they have not been the focus of the present chapter. If Elliot's thesis is correct, it remains unclear whether or not these industries were 'run', as it were, by local élites or by incomers, military or civilian. Tomlin's Five Acre Wood is certainly reason to suspect the

[853] Blanning (2014), 391–399.
[854] Elliott (2017), 42.

possible involvement of civilian outsiders in the Kentish economy.[855] The organisation of the Wealden iron industry and the identification of parts or all of the Weald as an imperial estate are also questions which remain unanswered (and are outside the scope of this thesis). Differences between the HS1 dataset and those from other case study areas are difficult to understand. As shown above, at present, Kentish archaeology overwhelmingly concentrated on current population centres or transport links, which lie directly on top of the Roman-period Londonium-Channel road (where the majority of the *villae* and nucleated settlements in the case study are located). Differences between these data and those of other areas—including the relative paucity of small and medium-sized working farms and non-villa agricultural production areas in Kent—might reflect the excavation bias and demonstrate that (unsurprisingly) coastal Kent had a mercantile and transit-based economy. Recent excavations away from the coastal corridor, such as that at Westhawk Farm, have begun to fill out the picture beyond the coastal areas, showing that native-style nucleated *vici* existed in *some* parts of the region.

[855] Tomlin (1996); Du Plessis (2015).

Conclusion

This study has served to demonstrate that by examining well-excavated rural datasets holistically, it is possible to 'find' and study ancient rural populations, including the putative majority of the ancient population: rural non-élites ('peasants'). Choosing four microregions that have benefitted from an extraordinarily high level of good-quality excavation, I conducted an integrated examination of site development and consumption patterns and, using the resulting data, formulated loose regional settlement 'hierarchies' on a 'sliding scale'.[856] This approach has made it possible to begin to untangle what site-types and finds-assemblages were the 'norm' and to identify outliers (i.e., less- or more-élite sites) in a given microregion. Rather than attempting to identify 'peasant' sites based on preconceived notions about what 'peasant farms' may have looked like, I began with the assumption (discussed further below) that, in well-excavated regions, archaeologists have not missed the entire broad base of the population, and thus that the archaeology in each region, if examined holistically, can 'speak for itself' and tell us what 'peasant sites' looked like and how they functioned economically.[857]

Differences in survey/excavation strategy plainly affect the material record in any given region. The first case study, the Danebury environs region, focussed on a central project that primarily used surface and other survey methods to identify sites for excavation. Ephemeral sites and/or structures were rare, indeed, and were generally found incidentally underneath or near the remains of later masonry structures. It is unclear whether or not the 'villa landscape' (a dramatic oversimplification of the reality) that was revealed is a

[856] As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, attempting to understand these complex patterns is an iterative and highly subjective process—but in this study, I argue that it is only by embracing the real uncertainty in the data (as uncomfortable and un-scientific as it may seem) that their nuances begin to emerge with some clarity.

[857] To be sure, I do not argue that the majority of excavated sites in each region pertains to a 'peasant' population: clearly, in some regions in southern Britain (as in the Danebury environs), the available evidence points away from a dispersed, peasant/tenant-based tenure pattern and towards a more-nucleated estate- or village-based one.

true reflection of the Roman settlement pattern or is, rather, biased by an insufficiently sensitive survey/excavation methodology. The other three case studies examined here benefitted from a higher level of 'random' sub-surface investigation, both in the form of large open area excavation and small interventions. In contrast to the Danebury region, the large open area excavations examined in Case Study 2 (on the Heathrow Terminal 5 project and on numerous other sites investigated prior to gravel quarrying or large construction projects) uncovered extensive agricultural landscapes and extremely ephemerally-built small farms. The third case study, the Fens, was based around the Fenland Survey, which used intensive surface survey to identify an enormous number of sites, and in this way was similar in nature to the Danebury Environs Roman Programme. Mitigation work in and around the Fens since the completion of the Fenland Survey, however, has included a significant number of large open area excavations, the data from which revealed (as in Case Study 2) a large number of ephemerally-built sites of all periods. The final case study, HS1, used the line of the High Speed 1 excavations through Kent as a starting point. Archaeological assessment, evaluation, and excavation along the railway line was done in several stages and involved surface and geophysical survey, evaluation trenching, and open area excavation. As discussed by Booth and Smith (2011), the initial assessment, which was based on surface, aerial, and geophysical surveys, "identified or predicted" only roughly half of the sites that were later investigated by the project.[858] The other half were identified during evaluation trenching, which was undertaken in areas of known archaeological potential and elsewhere along the projected line of the railway.[859] This project was instrumental in developing project management strategies (like large-scale stripping, mapping, and sampling) still in use in the planning process today, and it encouraged a focus on the wider landscape around settlements, increasing the potential for the discovery of ephemerally-built sites not initially found in evaluation trenching.[860] This project, along with

[858] Booth and Smith (2011), 3.
[859] Booth and Smith (2011), 5.
[860] Booth and Smith (2011), 6.

other planning-related ones, like the open area excavation at Westhawk Farm, Ashford, revealed a complex landscape of both large and small farms surprisingly different from the villas and *mansiones* previously uncovered (mainly along the coastline) in Kent. As discussed in the Introduction to this study, Reddé's work on commercial and rescue excavations in northern Europe reveals a similar pattern, and it is expected that such patterns will emerge from datasets in other provinces, as well—although in some regions with more-difficult stratigraphies and drier soils, ephemeral materials may survive less well.[861]

Of course, none of the projects discussed above was perfect in its methodology. "Strip, map, and sample" investigations may miss ephemeral structural features if the stripping occurs too deeply; test pitting naturally misses features in-between the pits—a problem also encountered in the 'sampling' portion of the 'strip, map, sample' strategy; and ephemeral sites are particularly prone to being lost through truncation or other taphonomic processes. Low-intensity excavation, moreover, particularly on site types (like small farms) that are less-well understood, often furnishes limited information that lends itself to the sorts of circular argumentation discussed in Chapter 1, whereby small excavations that turn up limited material evidence are labelled 'small farms' and assumed to have been the loci of some sort of 'small-scale' or 'low-level' production or habitation, the nature and extent of which might be better understood with higher-intensity excavation.

These caveats aside, I contend that at least three out of the four case study areas examined here contain excavations done at a level of detail sufficient to uncover extremely ephemeral site types, including 'small farms', hamlets, agricultural work areas, rural cemeteries, and the like. Excavations on the Danebury Environs sites were also plainly detailed enough to uncover ephemeral materials. While some ephemeral structural material has been lost (or is very fragmentary) on a portion of the sites in all four case studies (particularly those in areas with heavy plough damage), other elements of these

[861] *Cf.* Reddé (2017b); Reddé (2018).

sites survive, allowing them to be identified and examined archaeologically. The existence of well-understood coarseware types (and the robustness of finds identification in the UK more generally) means that even very low-level finds assemblages, containing only handmade local pottery, can be dated and studied, though not always at a level one might hope for.

The wide-net approach of open-area excavation furnished ephemerally-built sites with more regularity than did other site investigation strategies. But although open area excavations and random test-pitting produced many unexpected *sites,* they did not produce any new site *types.* This suggests the likelihood that we have a relatively full range of the Roman-period site types in regions examined using this combination of methods. Given that ephemerally-built sites are the most common site type in all case studies except the Danebury Environs, it is, further, improbable that the basic settlement patterns revealed by these studies are essentially inaccurate. In some regions (such as Kent) where much academic or antiquarian work has preceded a smaller number of modern development investigations, it remains unclear whether patterns newly revealed by development work should be extrapolated out into regions excavated piecemeal in the past. The recent work at Springhead rather suggests that more large ephemerally-built sites are waiting to be uncovered in Kent.

I hope to have convinced the reader of the probability that in parts of southern Britain we possess a relatively full representative sample of the Roman settlement pattern. If this is true, then it becomes possible to begin to interrogate rural datasets on a firmer footing, in an attempt to better understand the rural economy.

MAJOR THEMES

Several major themes emerge from a close analysis of the rural datasets examined in this thesis. Most important is the level to which sites up and down the economic spectrum seem to have been engaged in both production for and consumption from local, microregional, regional, and supra-regional (cross-Channel) markets. Before discussing this point, however, it is necessary to

begin with a brief overview of the current state of understanding of settlement hierarchies in the regions examined.

As commercial excavation in Britain continues, it is becoming increasingly clear that settlement hierarchies were far more complex than previously imagined.[862] We find not only nucleated and non-nucleated settlements, and villa and non-villa landscapes, but also a vast and complex group of 'middle-range' nucleated sites (villages/*pagi*?) that were home to relatively significant populations and to many productive activities (metalworking, crop-processing, etc.). To these should be added a 'middle' range of 'larger' farms with complex morphologies furnishing evidence for significant investment in production facilities and, to a lesser extent, elaborate timber or masonry architecture. While small farms and (to a lesser extent) central places existed in the Later Iron Age, the 'middle' group of nucleated and non-nucleated settlements appears to be a predominantly Roman phenomenon, generally appearing in the later first or second centuries and continuing until the later third or fourth centuries.

As discussed in each case study, the first and early second centuries were generally periods of reorganisation in the settlement landscape of southern Britain. In Kent, changes in settlement and the economy dated significantly earlier than in the other three case study areas. While some scholars have pointed to this period as one of great continuity of occupation in inland regions, my own perspective has been rather different. While the date of AD 43 is difficult to recognise in the archaeological record, the landscape changed within the first generation or two after the conquest in important and noticeable ways even far from the coast.

First, across the case studies, overall site numbers increased in the ER period and second centuries (see Figure 157), before falling in the third and fourth centuries and collapsing in the fifth.[863] These numbers reflect changing ratios of site foundations and abandonments. In the ER period and second

[862] Alexander Smith, et al. (2016); Martyn Allen, et al. (2017); Martyn Allen, et al. (2018); Alexander Smith, et al. (2018). See also Reddé (2015); Reddé (2017b); Reddé (2018).
[863] J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), citing Lucas in C. Evans and Hodder (2006), demonstrates how reassessment of pottery assemblages is complicating this picture in the Fens.

century, a greater percentage of sites were both founded and abandoned than in later centuries (until the fourth century). Other, less-easily-graphable changes took place, as well. Late Iron Age 'central' places were either garrisoned, rebuilt as Roman cities, towns, or shrine sites, or abandoned. Important Late Iron Age roads or trackways were metalled or formalised for use, and a vast new road network came into being. New towns and ports grew up or were planted. Fortifications and marching camps were built. Pottery kilns began producing Roman or native-style wares on a new and massive scale. Settlement nucleation increased, with both towns and small-scale roadside agglomerations beginning either in the later first or early second centuries.

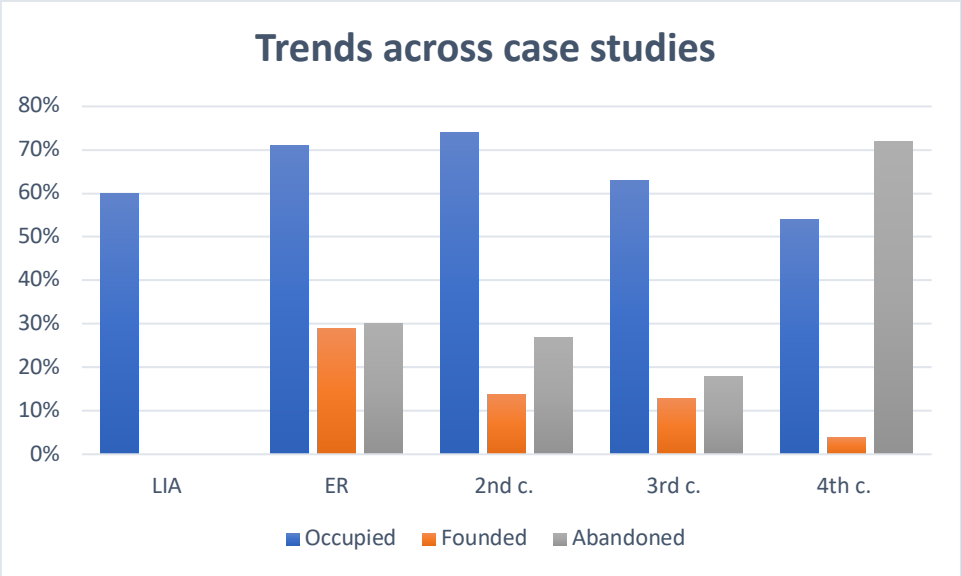


Figure 157: Settlement 'change' over time, all case studies combined.

These trends exhibit regional differences. In Figure 158, which shows the percentage of sites occupied over time, by case study, the Fens region stands out as having a very large jump in site numbers (by 20%) between the first and second centuries. While this jump may in part reflect new land available in the (drained?) Fens, it is interesting to note, as discussed in Chapter 4, that 82% of the increase consisted of peripheral sites (field systems, salterns, pottery kilns, cemeteries, etc.).

Site expansion was accompanied in the Danebury, Staines, and Fens case studies by re-organisation of the wider landscape in either the first or, more frequently, the early second century. New field boundaries, often on new alignments, were laid out, and different types of enclosure (rectilinear instead of sub-circular, 'complex' instead of 'simple') came into vogue. These changes may reflect developments in land tenure (or changes to the physical expression of tenure?) and changes in how land was being used. The impression, looking at these changes holistically, is one of a re-ordering of land use towards production (although that order, naturally, differs by region, microregion, and individual site). In all regions, most 'farms' engaged in mixed farming, with different regional emphases on either agricultural or craft products. In the Danebury region, the landscape was relatively quickly ordered towards large-scale arable agriculture (and later, towards grain malting), while around Staines the focus seems to have been on livestock husbandry. In the Fens proper, it was on salt, pottery, and wild resource production, while Kent may have had more of a traditional 'mixed' farming focus.

Site expansion and a new focus on market production led to changes in land use, and activity 'spread out' across the landscape. In the case studies analysed here, there was an increase not only in site numbers but also in the variety of site types: nearly half (44%) of the sites were loosely labelled as 'peripheral'—field systems, kiln and saltern sites, and cemeteries—as were sites excavated at such a low level that their morphology and the nature of activity on them were unclear. This leads to some interesting (possible) conclusions about the population of southern Britain in the Roman period. Most scholarship has posited an increase in population in the Roman period. This seems evident—but given how many of these 'new' sites were peripheral work areas, that increase may not have been quite as large as often imagined.

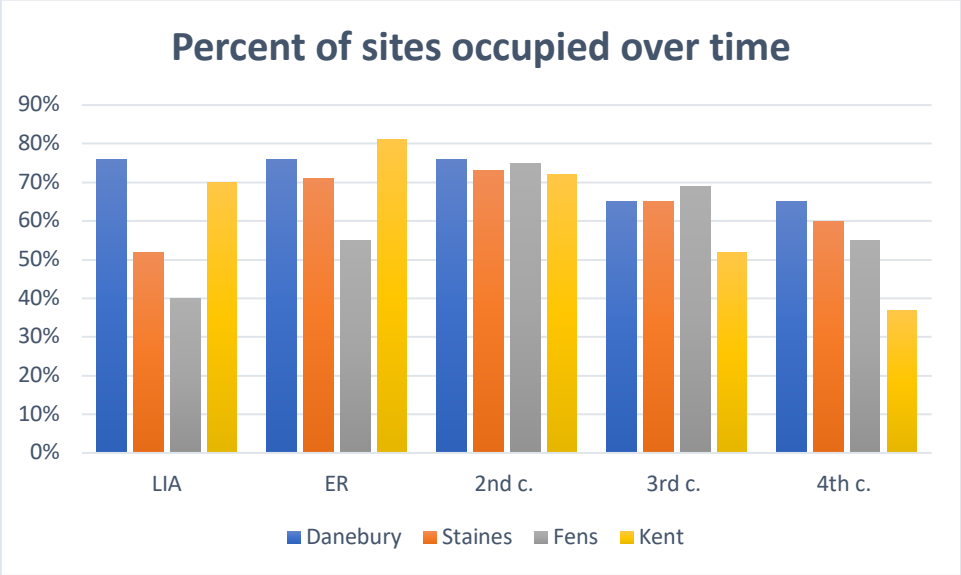


Figure 158: Percent of sites occupied in each period, by case study.

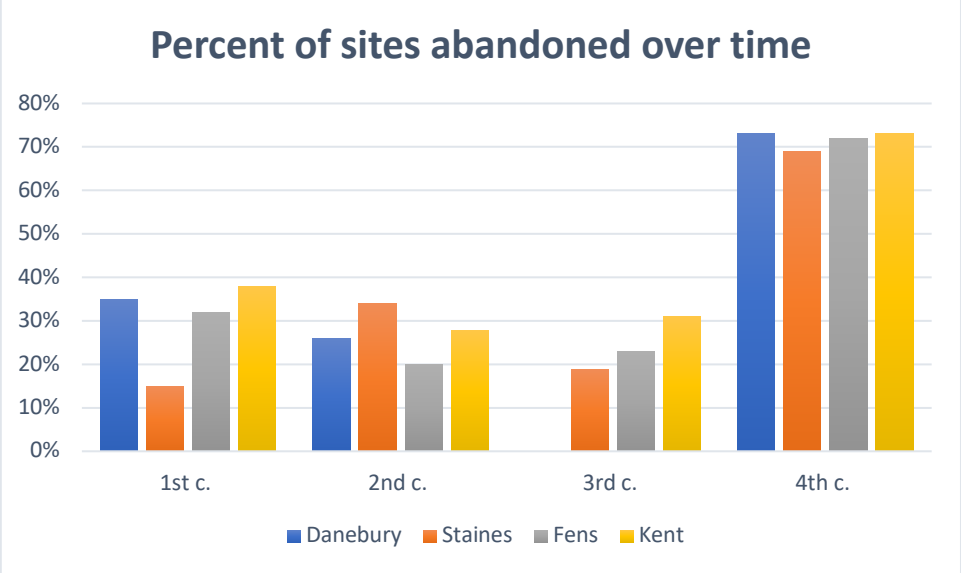


Figure 159: Case study sites abandoned over time, by case study.

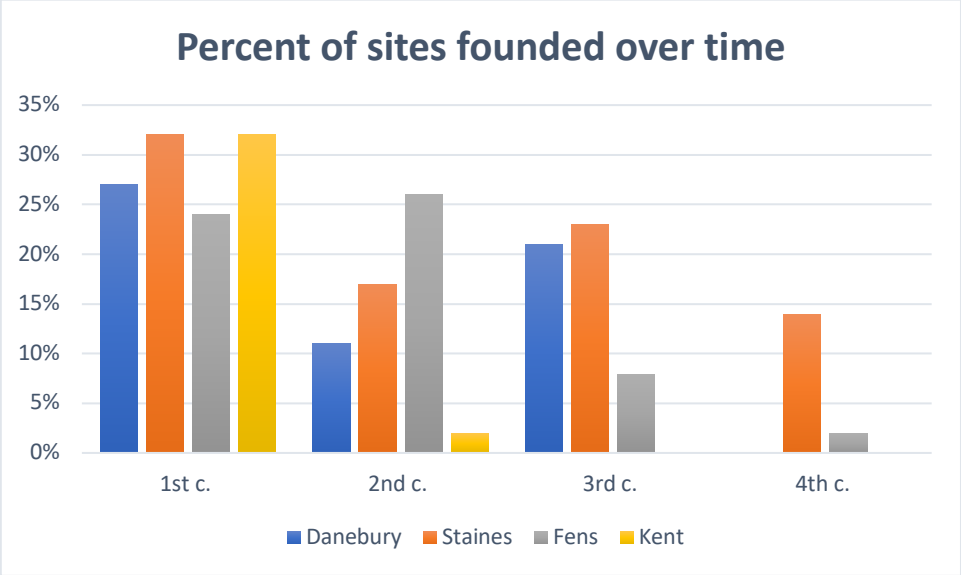


Figure 160: Sites founded over time, as a percentage of the total sites examined per case study.

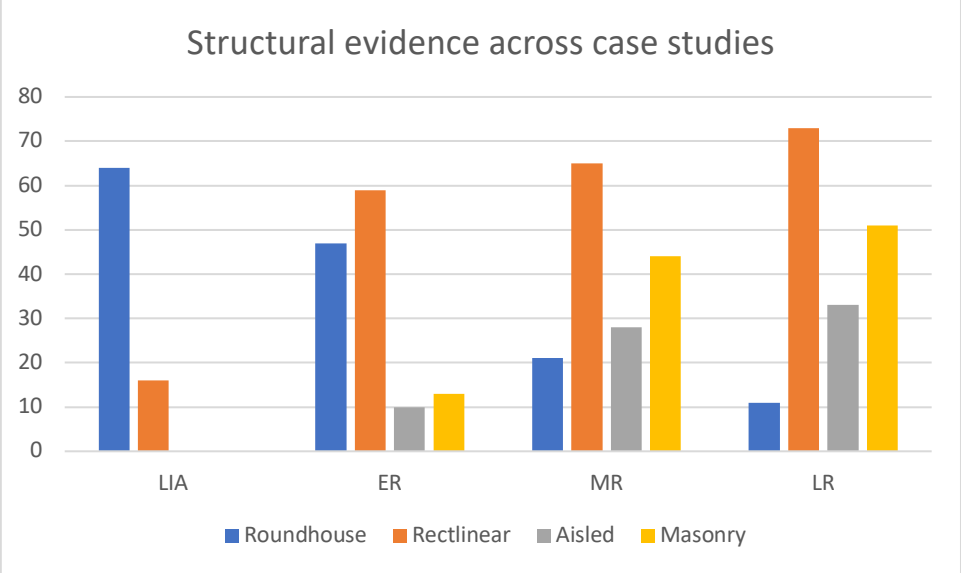


Figure 161: Change in structural features over time, all case studies combined.

SETTLEMENT HIERARCHIES

One of the goals of this project was to identify and examine production and consumption patterns at the top, middle, and bottom of the settlement hierarchies in each case study region. As expected, towns stood at the top in all regions, being physically large and morphologically varied, containing large populations, and producing much evidence for trade and material wealth. The next 'rung' down, as it were, were villas and smaller nucleated settlements, which might best be seen as 'tied' for second place in the regional hierarchies. Given the antiquity of many of the villa excavations, and the broad range of sites that have been categorised as 'villas', that category is problematic, and increased modern excavation is needed on villa sites to better understand them. In current scholarship, 'villa' denotes not only a particular architectural style (Mediterranean) but usually also implies a particular economic outlook, station, and relationship between owner and surrounding landscape. In Latin, this second meaning is rather less clear (as the use of the word '*villula'* (small farm) attests). Frequently, in British archaeology, any multi-room masonry house in the countryside with any hint of Roman-style decoration (i.e., painted wall plaster, *opus signinum* floors, window glass) is called a 'villa'. The mere existence of a masonry building may not signify the existence of the economic relationship often implied, but by using the term 'villa' for (nearly) all masonry buildings, those relationships are retroactively implied. If by 'villa' we mean not only a multi-room masonry house decorated with painted plaster and, in some cases, *opus signinum* or mosaic floors but also the home of an élite land owner who held significant power in the local or provincial economy, managed the landscape using slaves and tenants, and decorated his/her *pars urbana* to display his/her wealth and *humanitas* to the wider community, then it seems that many of the LR masonry buildings in the case studies areas were not, in fact, villas.[864] In many instances—as at the site at Houghton Down in the Danebury region—these sites appear to be morphologically, economically, and socially

[864] Of course, in Italian archaeology, many farms are called *villae* (*villae rusticate*) even when not provided with a *pars urbana.*

no different from larger farms until the later Roman period, when a strip house, hall house, or small corridor villa was built. In other instances, as at Dunkirt Barn in the same case study, later villas seem, from their inception, to have been quite different from surrounding sites (morphologically and in terms of their finds assemblages). The latter group of *villae* sits above nucleated settlements in terms of their finds and morphology, while the former farms-*cum*-*villae* generally sit under them. As shown in all case studies, both these and smaller nucleated settlements (i.e., roadside settlements and hamlets/villages) were important loci of both production and consumption.

On the bottom end of the spectrum, as far as settlements go, are farms. As discussed above, the category 'farm' is a big one and contains 'large' sites, like Houghton Down, that become 'villas' in the later Roman period, and 'small' sites, like the farm at Ashley (Hampshire), for which robust information about on-site activities is sparse. Differentiating between these sites is an important goal for future research.

Roman-period small farms that correspond to our preconceptions about 'peasant farms' (i.e., extremely small and ephemeral, largely unconnected with wider markets) did not emerge in an obvious way from the dataset. As shown, in particular, in Case Studies 1–3, the 'smallest' and least connected farms, and the true 'bottom' of the hierarchy in terms of finds assemblages, were LIA/ER settlements with roundhouses, pits, and associated enclosures, most of which were relatively unconnected with wider markets (though they accessed mass-produced greywares) and which had largely disappeared from the settlement landscape by the end of the first or the early second century (see Figure 161), either turning into farms with rectilinear boundaries and timber buildings or being abandoned altogether. Given these data, along with the material from the RPP and more-modern Italian farming communities, it seems reasonable to hypothesise that the poorest members of ancient farming communities may have lived in villages, rather than in dispersed farmsteads.[865]

[865] See Bowes (2020) for nucleation in the Italian countryside and Pluciennik, Mientjes, and Giannitrapani (2004) for later Italian examples.

The next-smallest *possible* gradation of farm consists of Roman-period sites that produce the typical ditches, pits, and waterholes, alongside ambiguous structural remains (postholes, partial gullies, beamslots) and relatively few finds (though they do frequently produce Samian ware and coins). These make up roughly 10–20 percent of each dataset. As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, a majority of these relatively unconnected sites were excavated at a small scale, and it is frequently difficult to tell whether the excavated portions represent individual farm units or a part of larger settlements. Differing interpretations can lead to opposing interpretations of land tenure and the wider agricultural economy.

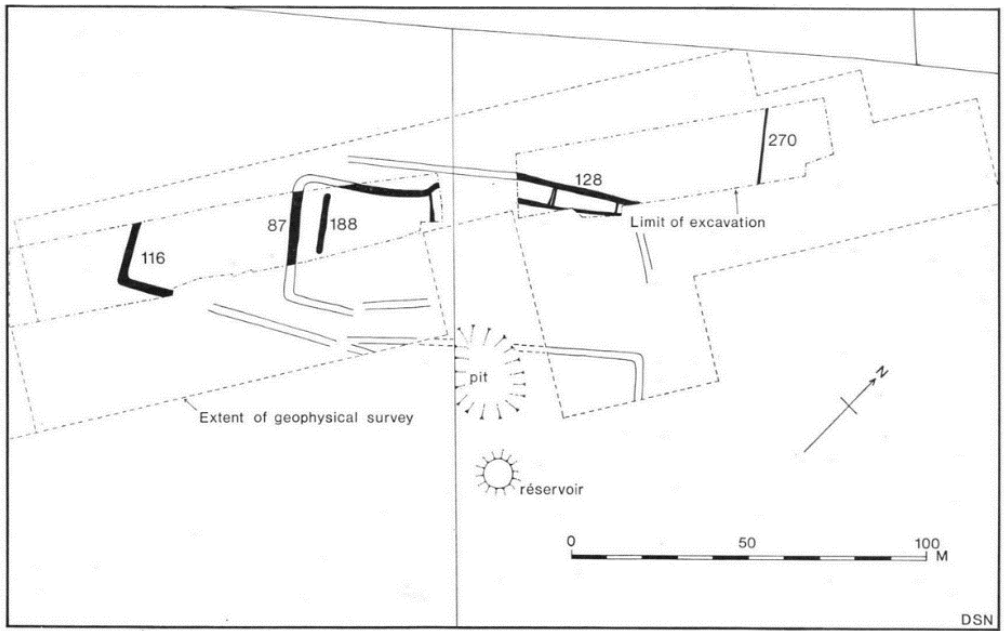


Figure 162: Plan of excavations at Ashley (RSRB Database, from Neal 1980, Fig. 22).

As demonstrated in Case Studies 2–4, larger-area excavations that enabled excavators to examine wider landscapes around farming settlements showed that even materially 'poor' sites were relatively large in area and were more deeply engaged with production for and consumption from markets than is evident from the smaller-scale projects. Excavations over 3 ha at Bluebell Land, Langtoft (Case Study 3), for instance, examined an area of rectilinear enclosures, trackways, and field systems not wholly unlike those around Ashley (Hampshire), and produced much useful environmental and finds data,

including evidence for local, regional, and cross-Channel trade possibly financed in part through the production of cheese or beer.[866]

I highlight the site at Bluebell Land because it is a particularly well-understood example of what appears to be a single-family farmstead without any evidence for architectural elaboration or great wealth. As discussed in each case study, larger-area excavations tend to clarify that 'small farms' like this one engaged in mixed farming (animal husbandry and arable agriculture), and, where landscape-level information is available, they frequently seem to have engaged in some level of surplus, craft, or commodity production for local or regional markets. Increased archaeological focus on both smaller farmsteads *and* the wider landscape around them will help clarify whether such sites were representative of 'typical' rural settlements.

As sites like Bluebell Land continue to indicate, rural settlements could simultaneously engage in subsistence-driven mixed farming regimes *and* produce for markets. Research in Campania,[867] Roman Baetica,[868] and Roman Egypt indicates that engagement in mixed farming did not prevent farmers from producing for the market.[869] Traveling long distances on foot to procure goods that could be grown at home was never a widespread practice in the Pre-Industrial period, and mixed farming spreads risk effectively and is capable of supplying large networks, as data on modern 'peasant' networks demonstrate.[870] Some posit that this is how the Baetican olive oil trade worked: with oil coming from smaller farms with few presses, as well as from those with multiple press facilities.[871] The potential importance of small-scale producers to regional supply networks is a topic that would benefit from further theorisation (and field investigation).[872] Reddé's work on storage facilities in Gaul, and Lodwick's

[866] Hutton (2007), 69–70.
[867] Haley (2003), 173.
[868] Haley (2003), 100–111.
[869] See also Reddé (2015); Reddé (2017b); Reddé (2018).
[870] Note, e.g., the information from ZFcorporate, about Romanian milk cooperatives, as cited by the Dutch Ministry of Agriculture, Nature, and Food Quality: https://www.agroberichtenbuitenland.nl/actueel/nieuws/2019/11/22/solutions-for-small-farmers
[871] Remesal Rodriguez (1998), 188; Kron (2008), 86. See also a literary perspective: Fear (1992).
[872] Goodchild (2013), 77.

work on crop processing in Britain, are beginning to demonstrate the complexity of the agricultural supply network in Roman provinces and of the social networks that underpinned them.[873] In Britain, ambiguous evidence for large-scale or well-organised rural production is frequently seen as evidence for the involvement of oppressive 'outside' forces, rather than as possible evidence for local (especially non-élite) investment or for activity by local organisations. The LR droveway at Heathrow Terminal 5, for instance, is rather ominously read as evidence for 'outside' involvement,[874] and while this is a real possibility, it may also suggest investment by individuals or, perhaps more interestingly, by a collective. Epigraphic evidence from Roman Spain and North Africa demonstrates that rural groups and/or institutions could have great power in the administration of local agricultural landscapes—the potential for *pagus*/village-level organisation has a long history in the British countryside and deserves significantly more attention.[875]

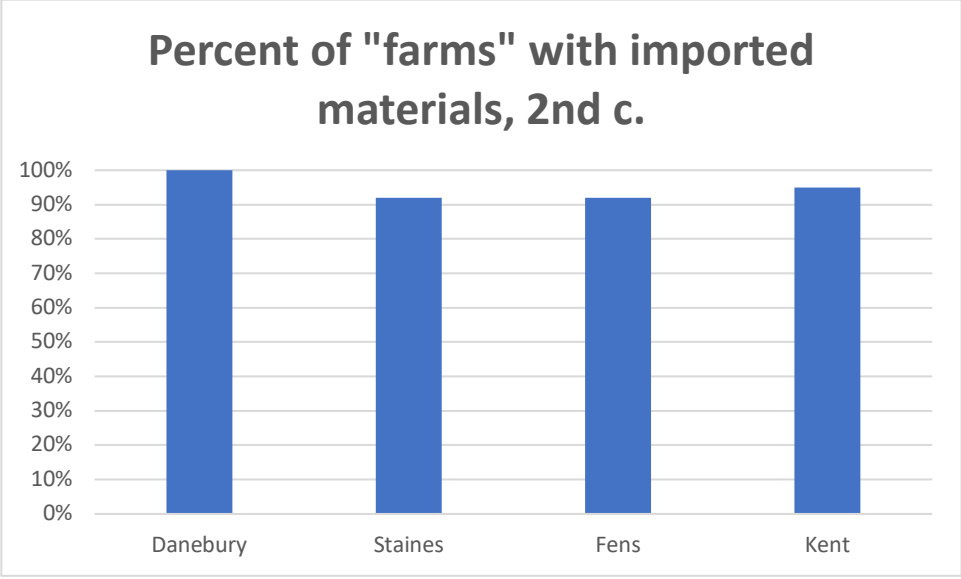


Figure 163: Second-century farms furnishing either Samian ware, imported amphorae, or Mayen lava quernstones, by case study.

[873] Reddé (2017a); Reddé (2015); Lodwick (2020).
[874] J. Lewis (2010), 310–311.
[875] Beltrán Lloris (2006); Shaw (1982).

FINDS ASSEMBLAGES

Even in the absence of landscape-level evidence for production on rural sites, the following major conclusions emerge from analysing finds assemblages in the case study areas. First, as shown in all case studies, sites up and down the settlement spectrum were engaged, to varying degrees, in local, regional, and cross-channel trade (see Figure 163). Second, the Roman-period sites in each case study depended on local and regional markets for necessities, particularly mass-produced pottery.[876] This may seem like a basic and self-evident fact, but, as discussed below, its implications are important and have not been fully taken up in studies of the rural economy to date, as noted in Bermejo Tirado's review of the Rurland Project's findings.[877] Third, as discussed at length in Case Study 4, on an impressionistic level, some elements of finds assemblages correlate with site type. Fourth, while most farms produced evidence for imported materials and even luxury goods, consumption patterns on farms differed in important ways from those on roadside settlements, which may have acted as market centres, in their own right, for the surrounding countryside.

As demonstrated in all case studies, imported continental pottery was reported from an average of 11% of all Late Iron Age sites and from an average of 83% of Roman sites (including from an average of 95% of second-century *farms*). Mass-produced local and/or micro-regional wares were found on all Roman settlements furnishing pottery reports, and mass-produced 'nationally-important' fine and coarse wares, often from 30–70 miles away, were found on most sites with well-reported ceramics. Other utilitarian objects, like querns and whetstones, were generally imported to even the smallest of farms from distant 'mass-production' centres. While some other finds types were relatively uncommon on the smallest farms, and more common on larger ones, other non-utilitarian finds types, like jewellery and other personal items, were more common on all settlement types. Yet, even on sites without clear structural

[876] Interestingly, a similar trend was also found in studies of finds in (inhabited) British caves: see Branigan and Dearne (1992), 91.
[877] Bermejo Tirado (2021), 376–377.

evidence or any evidence for surplus production, and even on those producing extremely small and utilitarian finds assemblages, mass-produced pottery and querns imported from more than 60 miles away were ubiquitous.

It is a truism of Roman archaeology that Roman 'stuff' (read: mass-produced pottery) drowns out the 'stuff' from every other period save the Early Modern.[878] Hopkins made this point clearly in 'Taxes and Trade' (1980). But, at the time, he noted that while this was self-evident to people working in the field, it had not actually been quantified or demonstrated.[879] Forty years on, we can confirm his observation that "Roman levels of consumption were obviously and significantly higher than pre-Roman levels"[880] in most regions of the empire. Yet the significance of this fact for our theorisation of the Roman agricultural economy is too often overlooked, as is the importance of regional differences within this general pattern (the near absence of pottery on many sites in northern Britain may be the exception that proves the rule). The absolute universality of mass-produced wares on rural sites in the south-east—local, regional, cross-Channel—attests to a fundamental integration of this region into wider regional trade networks (and the absence of such goods from many sites in the north and west deserves much more research and theorisation). The ubiquity of these materials in the south suggests a countryside that stood not outside of the market but within it—producing for it and relying on it to procure necessary (and sometimes luxury) goods.[881]

Chayanov has often been cited as 'proof' of the existence of 'untouched' peasant populations standing "outside the money economy".[882] As economic historians have increasingly shown, however, peasant production for markets is

[878] Hopkins (1980), 104. See also Van Oyen and Pitts (2017), 3.
[879] Hopkins (1980), 104 and footnote 13.
[880] Hopkins (1980), 104.
[881] The possible rejoinder is that the presence of these wares on rural sites might, instead, indicate the existence of an elaborate gift or redistributive economy, whereby Roman-style pottery and other objects were widely distributed outside of the market to cement social relations (see Whittaker (1985)). I find this suggestion extremely unrealistic, even with regard to the sometimes quite fragmentary Samian pottery recovered from small sites; it is absolutely not feasible with regard to the much higher volume of mass-produced coarse pottery from known regional producers found on virtually all rural settlements in the Roman period.
[882] Hopkins (1980), 104.

a feature of many pre-Industrial economies[883]—something that Chayanov *himself* stated in *Theory of Peasant Economy*: "any economic unit, including the peasant farm, is acquisitive—an undertaking aiming at maximum income."[884] Urdank notes that "Chayanov remained ambivalent about whether peasants should be considered a subsistence-oriented social stratum…or a petit bourgeoisie."[885]

Studies of pre-Industrial and modern peasant societies have shown that peasant households should "be understood as…entit[ies] that [were] at once producer and consumer."[886] Peasant 'acquisitiveness' (and the desire for profit) is understood to have been a factor in the planning of cropping regimes (more below). In the introduction to *The Peasant Economy and Social Change in North China*, Huang discusses the formalist-substantivist-Marxist debate, explaining that it is:

> "pointless to continue to insist on one or another of these characteristics to the exclusion of the others…the key to comprehending the Chinese peasant household is to see it as an entity that fused the characteristics of entrepreneur, subsistence producer–consumer, and exploited cultivator into a single, inseparable unit."[887]

Whether the rural economy in southern Britain was fully monetised or not (the presence of coins on all site *types* suggests that it was more monetised than sometimes expected—a point demonstrated rather dramatically by the density of coin founds recorded on the PAS database),[888] rural consumers plainly depended on markets for various necessary and luxury goods. In each case study, there is a clear pattern of increasing consumption of 'mass-produced' goods in the first and second centuries. Changes in consumption patterns seem to have begun on a small scale in the Late Iron Age, not the ER period—with an increasing number of sites furnishing mass-produced grog- or shell-

883 Urdank (1990); Biddick (1985); Huang (1985); Popkin (1979 (reprinted in 2020)); Schultz (1966).
884 Chayanov, Thorner, and Kerblay (1966), 119.
885 Urdank (1990), 277–281.
886 Huang (1985), 9. See also Fernández (2015); Pomeranz (2000); Langdon (1994); Urdank (1990); Biddick (1985); Chayanov, Thorner, and Kerblay (1966).
887 Huang (1985), 6.
888 For the PAS Database: http://www.finds.org.uk.

tempered pottery in the decades before the Claudian invasion, supplied by itinerant potters or stationary kiln sites. This trend accelerated in the ER period, which saw not only an increase in access to cross-Channel imports but also the expansion (in the south) of regional and microregional coarsewares—those low cost, high-volume transactions that make up the backbone of a functioning market economy. This dependence on 'market-based' commodities remained consistent until the fifth century, when the pottery industry collapsed.[889] While, as Ghisleni and Gardner argue, it is important not to 'collapse' the timescales of post-conquest socioeconomic change, the appearance of mass-produced pottery is roughly contemporary with the arrival of coins on rural sites, and with the morphological changes that occurred on some of them.[890]

Walton notes that broad regional variations in monetisation in Britain are consistent from the Late Iron Age through to the Medieval period, arguing that "it was not Roman occupation that provided the impetus for 'monetisation'".[891] This accords well with the broader trends in finds assemblages discussed above, which suggest that, for the south (also a 'monetised' area in the Late Iron Age), 'consumer' uses of markets had begun in the Late Iron Age and intensified throughout the Roman period.[892]

That these changes accelerated in the post-conquest period highlights, first (and in friendly opposition to many current post-colonial approaches to rural archaeology), the extent to which rural life *was* transformed by the coming of Rome. But the story is more complex than that.

As Hopkins (and many others subsequently) suggested, the arrival of the Roman state brought with it taxation requirements. It is unclear if pre-Roman polities assessed taxes or tribute. Changes to the agricultural economy are, in this context, frequently attributed to the demands of the state.[893] Yet we should not be so quick to tie evidence for reorganisation of productive land to 'outside influence' entirely. First, as Walton and Evans, Macaulay, and Mills have

[889] See J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 140–141; Walton (2011), 291; Walton (2012).
[890] Ghisleni (2017); Ghisleni (2018); Gardner and Wallace (2020).
[891] Walton (2011), 291; Walton (2012).
[892] Walton (2011), 291; Walton (2012).
[893] *Cf.* Franconi (2021) and, of course, Hopkins (1980).

shown (using separate datasets), rural areas in northern England (very much within the tax-paying province) were virtually aceramic and un-monetised, much as they had been prior to the coming of Rome.[894] Conversely, both coins and specialist-made pottery were expanding in use for many decades prior to the invasion in the south. Not only were 'Belgic' wares imported, but, as Evans suggests, handmade native-style pottery seems to have been made (and presumably sold or bartered) by itinerant potters in the LIA period, or (in other cases) produced at locally or regionally important kiln sites. This may or may not have involved the use of coin, but certainly counts as a form of 'market consumption'.

Thus, pre-existing cultural or economic differences between north/west and south/east may have influenced later economic development. Other factors may have included distance from urban and/or cross-Channel markets, greater levels of land confiscation following the wars with the Brigantes, and the generally depressive influence of a heavy military presence. Further examination of datasets outside Britain will clarify the extent to which these regional differences are 'typical' and may help us further elucidate the causes of the disparities seen in the British material.

The dramatic differences in market activity between north and south suggest that taxation was not the only stimulus to the consumer behaviour seen in the four case study areas. Taxation might, instead, be considered one among many factors leading to monetisation. In studies of Medieval economies, taxation has been shown to be part of a 'complex' of factors, including institutional stability, infrastructure, population growth (and demand), the existence and accessibility of markets, and expanding consumerism.[895]

Data from the four case studies examined here suggest that first- to second-century changes in production (and perhaps also consumption) resulted from a similar combination of forces. These took place over several phases:

[894] Walton (2011), 289–292; Walton (2015); J. Evans, Macaulay, and Mills (2017), 141.
[895] Guzowski (2013), 246–247.

1. LIA: Expansion of production and/or site reorganisation began, on some sites, in the latest phase of the Iron Age.[896] This might be linked to cultural change *and* to changes in consumer behaviour.

2. AD 40–70: Reorganisation of some sites; 'boom and bust' settlement pattern (i.e., much foundation and abandonment). This period seems static to some (i.e., continuity), and while there are important modifications to the rural landscape (with the definition and reorganisation of many settlements, as in the Staines region), these changes are modest compared with what is seen in the following phase. It is tempting to link this phase with the two decades of political and economic unrest recorded by Tacitus, whose account suggests an in-kind tax regime, levied by the military, in a manner that was both burdensome and prone to abuse by both the military and large landowners.[897] This period may have been one of insecurity *and* opportunity, making strategic planning difficult or prone to 'failure'. We see a dramatic increase in 'Roman-style' pottery from microregional production sites, indicating a widespread integration into local markets in the south.

3. AD 70–120: In this third 'wave', rural reorganisation was widespread, involving the decisive and well-planned modification of most sites that continued into the MR period. In contrast with the previous period, changes on some sites seem to clearly indicate 'extensification' (i.e., creation of larger fields, paddocks, and productive facilities) and 'integration' (i.e., creation of trackways and minor roads linking producer sites to wider networks). As some have suggested, the observed reorganisation may in part reflect new administrative activity (i.e., *agrimensores*).[898]

[896] I.e., Hengrove Farm (Poulton, Hayman, and Marples (2017)) and Trinity Lands (C. Evans (2007)).
[897] Tac., *Agr.* 19; see also Mattingly (2013).
[898] Mattingly (2007), 353–354; Frere (2000).

The 'stepped' nature of the changes sketched above reflects (in part) the long-lasting period of conquest, which should be seen as occurring not in AD 43 but in AD 43–79 and lasting an entire generation. Both during this period and after, changes to the agricultural landscape also resulted from a combination of macro- and micro-economic factors affecting individual sites. These included, amongst others, taxation/rents, the resources available to producers, the availability of markets, and the choice of the producer(s). It was the complex interaction between each these factors that created the variegated archaeological landscape discussed in the preceding chapters.

Hopkins wisely acknowledged the importance of institutions in the economic transformation of the Roman world. He was wrong, however, in his assessment of farmers as an undifferentiated "mass of self-sufficient production."[899] Studies of the Roman countryside are increasingly revealing a complex landscape of farms of different sizes, statuses, and cultural outlooks.[900] Huang explains that differences in status and resources amongst the 'peasantry' led, in China, to farming strategies that changed alongside market forces.[901] I reproduce his discussion at length here for the important way it parallels the results of the case studies examined above:

> "The larger and more well-to-do farms were unmistakably motivated to a great extent by considerations of profit when they chose to include cotton in their total cropping 'portfolio.' Yet … still devoted a substantial proportion of their cultivated area to subsistence crops for household consumption. They also paid a part of their surplus in tax to support a state structure. In the case of poorer peasants, survival considerations often figured more prominently than profit motives in a switch to cotton… Many of those households were impelled to place abnormally large proportions of their farms under cotton, at greater risk and sometimes also reduced average returns… For those poorer peasants who were tenants, there was often no choice at all: once rental terms on land that could grow cotton came to be set according to the market potential of that crop, no tenant could really afford to grow cereals. Yet when market conditions

[899] Hopkins (1980), 104.
[900] Morrison (2012); Bowes (2020); Reddé (2018); Martyn Allen, et al. (2017); Reddé (2017b).
[901] Huang (1985), 7.

> changed, poorer households could and did adjust their cropping portfolios accordingly, in ways not unlike the well-to-do farms."[902]

Indeed, this interplay between status, necessity, and individual agency may help to explain the variegation of site types in the regions examined in this thesis (though micro-scale annual data on cropping decisions are lacking). In this context, it is possible to understand the variability between finds assemblages in economic as well as cultural terms—a countryside that was unequal (in part) because of, not despite, its essential integration.

The integration of the countryside into larger economic networks has macro-level implications for the study of the Roman economy as well as micro-level ones for the study of both the rural economy and rural society in Britain. On a socio-political level, data from Britain, including from the present thesis, increasingly indicate that the inhabitants of non-villa farms were less economically (and socially) constrained than our models might predict—in keeping with data from later periods as discussed above. This has also been suggested by Dyson with regard to settlement in the Buccino Valley, though his idea has not been widely taken up.[903] This thesis did not attempt to determine the social status of any putative 'site', as such a distinction seems to me nearly impossible to do based on archaeological data alone. Social status notwithstanding, however, these data point (tentatively) to the possibility of a high degree of socio-economic mobility in the countryside.[904] Literary and epigraphic studies may (or may not) corroborate the idea that models of rural society should assume a more permeable or permissive socio-economic structure than currently imagined.[905] As discussed in Chapter 1, recent research on subsistence-based economies demonstrates that subsistence farming is an adaptive strategy in some socio-economic systems but not in others. As Ellis notes, much modern research shows that, when functioning markets are available, former peasant producers begin producing for them:

---

[902] Huang (1985), 7.
[903] Dyson (1985).
[904] As in urban settings: *cf.* Mouritsen (1996).
[905] Shaw (2013).

> "when most of the conditions for working markets are fulfilled—diversity and abundance of information, transport, mobility, inputs, outlets and consumer goods … peasants cease to be peasants."[906]

As discussed above, while Hopkins' taxes and trade model is one possible explanation for the dramatic shift in the rural economy, we must understand this shift as working alongside other forces. The availability and growth of stable markets for agricultural produce (both the army and towns and roadside settlements), augmented by the spread of a 'consumer' culture for which farmers were both producers *and* consumers, should be understood as fundamental forces of rural change.

Even when we allow that farmers were economically significant from a *production* point of view, and when we allow for the idea that limited social or economic mobility may have been possible on certain farms or for certain farmers, we tend to assume that 'normal' farmers—and even the aggregate of 'rural dwellers' more generally—were not important consumers on a macro-economic scale. While the 'consumer city' model is currently being challenged, the 'producer countryside' trope is not. As the data examined here show, however, the countryside, too, 'learned to consume' in the first and second centuries.[907] The consistent small- to medium-scale demand for mass-produced (and non-mass-produced) goods, from pottery to knives to quernstones, from these 'peasants', would have been significant in the aggregate. It is their production that we observe in the ever-growing body of evidence for the scaling-up of rural agriculture around the Roman world.[908] And it is their demand—in addition to military and urban demand—that provided the market for the major industries in Britain (and beyond).

---

[906] Ellis (1993), 13.
[907] Greene (2008).
[908] Reddé (2017a); Reddé (2017b); Martyn Allen, et al. (2017); Reddé (2018); Lodwick (2020).

Bibliography

ANCIENT SOURCES

Appendix Virgiliana, *Carmina Priapea; Moretum*

Appian, *Bellum Civile*

Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*

Cassius Dio, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία*

Cato, *de Agri Cultura*

Cicero (Marcus Tullius), *in Verrem; pro Roscio Amerino*

Cicero (Marcus), *Epistulae*

Columella, *de Re Rustica*

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*

Horace, *Epistulae*

Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita Libri*

Martial, *Epigrammata*

Ovid, *Ars Amatoria; Heroides; Remedia Amoris*

Plautus, *Mercator; Mostellaria; Persa*

Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*

Suetonius, *Claudius*

Tacitus, *Agricola*; *Annales*

Terence, *Heauton Timorumenos*

Varro, *de re Rustica*

WORKS CITED

Abrams, J., Ingham, D., Archer, J., and Lightning, J. (2008). *Farming on the Edge: Archaeological Evidence from the Clay Uplands to the West of Cambridge* (123). Bedford: Albion Archaeology.

Albone, J. (2016). *Roman roads in the changing landscape of eastern England, c. AD 410–1850*. Ph.D. thesis, University of East Anglia.

Alexander, J. (1990). 'Labeur and paresse: ideological representations of medieval peasant labor', *The Art Bulletin* 72/3: 436–52.

Allason-Jones, L. (2008). *Daily Life in Roman Britain* (The Greenwood Press Daily Life Through History Series). London Greenwood Press.

Allen, M., Blick, N., Brindle, T., Evans, T., Fulford, M., Holbrook, N., Lodwick, L., Richards, J., and Smith, A. (2018). The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain: An Online Resource [data-set]. York, Archaeology Data Service [distributor].

Allen, M., Lodwick, L., Brindle, T., Fulford, M., and Smith, A. (2017). *The Rural Economy of Roman Britain* (Britannia Monograph Series 30). London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Allen, M. and Wright, J. (2009). *Cambourne New Settlement: Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement on the Clay Uplands of West Cambridgeshire* (Wessex Archaeology Report 23). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.

Allen, R. (2009). 'How prosperous were the Romans? Evidence from Diocletian's price edict (AD 301)', in A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds), *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems*, Vol. 1 (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy), 327–45. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Allen, T. (1830). *The History of the County of Lincoln*. London: John Saunders Jr.

Allen, T. (2000). 'Dorney, Eton Rowing Lake: fourth interim report', *South Midlands Archaeology* 30: 21.

Allen, T., Bates, A., and Collins, J. (2012). *A Road Through the Past: Archaeological Discoveries on the A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road-Scheme in Kent*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Allen, T., Hey, G., and Miles, D. (1997). 'A line of time: approaches to archaeology in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley, England', *World Archaeology* 29/1: 114–29.

Allen, T. and Mitchell, N. (2001). 'Dorney, Eton Rowing Lake: fifth interim report', *South Midlands Archaeology* 31: 26–30.

Andrews, C. (2013). 'Are Roman seal-boxes evidence for literacy?', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 26: 423–38.

Andrews, P. (1998). Berkyn Manor Farm, 1995: Preliminary Statement. Wessex Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Andrews, P., Biddulph, E., Hardy, A., and Brown, R. (2011a). *Settling the Ebbsfleet Valley: High Speed 1 Excavations at Springhead and Northfleet, Kent. The Late Iron Age,*

Roman, Saxon, and Medieval Landscape, Vol. 1: *The Sites*. Oxford/Salisbury: Oxford Wessex Archaeology.

Andrews, P., Booth, P., Fitzpatrick, A. P., and Welsh, K. (2015). *Digging at the Gateway: Archaeological Landscapes of South Thanet: The Archaeology of the East Kent Access (Phase II)*, Vol. 1: *The Sites*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Andrews, P. and Crockett, A. (1996). *Three Excavations Along the Thames and its Tributaries, 1994: Neolithic to Saxon Settlement and Burial in the Thames, Colne, and Kennet Valleys* (Wessex Archaeology Report No.10). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.

Andrews, P., Mepham, L., Schuster, J., and Stevens, C. (2011b). *Settling the Ebbsfleet Valley: High Speed 1 Excavations at Springhead and Northfleet, Kent. The Late Iron Age, Roman, Saxon, and Medieval Landscape*, Vol. 4: *Saxon and Later Finds and Environmental Reports*. Oxford/Salisbury: Oxford Wessex Archaeology.

Anon. A249 Iwade Bypass to Queenborough Road Improvements, Kent: Archaeological Survey: Stage 2: Preliminary Field Evaluation. Wessex Archaeology Report SKE11943. Unpublished report.

Anon. (1997). Archaeological Evaluation at Springhead (ARC SPH95), Gravesend, Kent. Environmental Statement Route Window 13. Final Fieldwork Report. Wessex Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Anon. (1999). Mayfield Farm Reservoir, Mayfield Farm London Borough of Hounslow: Archaeological Evaluation Report. Framework Archaeology, ref 45388.04. Unpublished report.

Anon. (2000). Tilly's Lane, Staines, Surrey, Interim Assessment Report: Excavations at Tilly's Lane East and West. Wessex Archaeology Report No. 45931.01. Unpublished report.

Anon. (2004). Iron Age and Roman-British Settlement at Land off Wimblington Road, March: Post-Excavation Assessment. Cambridge County Council. Unpublished report.

Anon. (2006). Hatton to Silk Willoughby Gas Pipeline 2001, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Unpublished report.

Applebaum, S. (1972). *Roman Britain*. Edited by H. P. R. Finberg (The Agrarian History of England and Wales Roman Britain, Vol. 1: AD 43–1042). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Applebaum, S. (1978). 'White and the rustici', *The Agricultural History Review* 26/1: 33–6.

Arthur, P. (1986). 'Roman amphorae from Canterbury', *Britannia* 17: 239–58.

Ast, R. (2007). 'Two receipts of Artemidora', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 163: 183–7.

Bamann, S., Kuhn, R., Molnar, J., and Snow, D. (1992). 'Iroquoian archaeology', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21/1: 435–60.

Bang, P. F. (2007). 'Trade and empire: in search of organizing concepts for the Roman economy', *Past and Present* 195: 3–54.

Barnett, C., McKinley, J., Stafford, E., Grimm, J., and Stevens, C. (2011). *Settling the Ebbsfleet Valley: High Speed 1 Excavations at Springhead and Northfleet, Kent. The Late Iron Age, Roman, Saxon, and Medieval Landscape*, Vol. 3: *Late Iron Age to Roman Human Remains and Environmental Reports*. Oxford/Salisbury: Oxford Wessex Archaeology.

Bates, A. (2017). *Making the invisible visible: new survey and investigation of the Iron Age hillforts of Bigbury and Oldbury in Kent*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Kent.

Bates, M. R., Corke, B., Parfitt, K., and Whittaker, J. E. (2011). 'A geoarchaeological approach to the evolution of the town and port of Dover: prehistoric to Saxon periods', *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association* 122/1: 157–76.

Beltrán Lloris, F. (2006). 'An irrigation decree from Roman Spain: *the lex Rivi Hiberiensis*', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 96: 147–97.

Bennett, P. (1984). 'The topography of Roman Canterbury: a brief reassessment', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 100: 47–56.

Bermejo Tirado, J. (2019). 'Looking for the rustici: the impact of rescue archaeology on the study of the Roman countryside - MICHEL REDDÉ (ed.), GALLIA RUSTICA 1. LES CAMPAGNES DU NORD-EST DE LA GAULE, DE LA FIN DE L'ÂGE DU FER À L'ANTIQUITÉ TARDIVE (Mémoires 49, Ausonius Éditions; Bordeaux). Pp. 868 online annexe. ISBN 9782356132062', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 32: 765–71.

Bermejo Tirado, J. (2021). 'Looking for the rustici II: rural development and economic growth in northern Gaul - M. Reddé, ed. 2018. Gallia rustica 2. Les campagnes du nord-est de la Gaule, de la fin de l'age du fer à l'Antiquité tardive. Mémoires 50. Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions. Pp. 717. ISBN 978-2-35613-225-3', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 34: 365-82.

Besuijen, G. (2008). *Rodanum: a study of the Roman settlement at Aardenburg and its metal finds*. M.A. thesis, Leiden University.

Biddick, K. (1985). 'Medieval English peasants and market involvement', *The Journal of Economic History* 45: 823–31.

Biddulph, E. and Booth, P. (2011). Winchester, a City in the Making: Archaeological excavations between 2002–2007 on the sites of Northgate House, Staple Gardens and the former Winchester Library, Jewry St, Section 1.2: The Roman Pottery. Oxford Archaeology.

Biddulph, E., Seager Smith, R., and Schuster, J. (2011). *Settling the Ebbsfleet Valley: High Speed 1 Excavations at Springhead and Northfleet, Kent. The Late Iron Age, Roman, Saxon, and Medieval Landscape*, Vol. 2: *Late Iron Age and Roman Finds Reports*. Oxford/Salisbury: Oxford Wessex Archaeology.

Birchall, A. (1965). 'The Aylesford-Swarling culture: the problem of the Belgae reconsidered', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 31: 241–367.

Bird, D. (1996). 'The London region in the Roman period', in J. Bird, M. Hassall, and H. Sheldon (eds), *Interpreting Roman London: Papers in Memory of Hugh Chapman* (Oxbow Monograph 58), 217–32. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Bird, D. G. (2000). 'The Claudian invasion campaign reconsidered', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 29: 91–104.

Blair, J. (2007). *Waterways and Canal-Building in Medieval England* (Medieval History and Archaeology). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bland, R., Chadwick, A., Ghey, E., Haselgrove, C., Mattingly, D., Rogers, A., and Taylor, J. (2020). *Iron Age and Roman Coin Hoards in Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Blanning, E. (2014). *Landscape, Settlement and Materiality: Aspects of Rural Life in Kent during the Roman Period*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Kent.

Booth, P. (2001). 'The Roman shrine at Westhawk Farm, Ashford: a preliminary account', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 121: 1–23.

Booth, P. (2007). *The Thames Through Time: the Archaeology of the Gravel Terraces of the Upper and Middle Thames: the Early Historical Period, AD 1–1000*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Booth, P. (2011). 'Romano-British trackways in the Upper Thames Valley', *Oxoniensia* 76: 1–13.

Booth, P. (2016). 'A probable cattle-handling settlement in the Windrush Valley, Oxfordshire: a brief summary of 25 years work at Gill Mill Quarry, Ducklington and South Leigh', *Britannia* 47: 253–61.

Booth, P. (2017). 'Kent Roman rural settlement', in D. Bird (ed.), *Agriculture and Industry in South-Eastern Roman Britain*, 55–83. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Booth, P., Bingham, A.-M., and Lawrence, S. (2008). *The Roman Roadside Settlement at Westhawk Farm, Ashford, Kent: Excavations 1998–9* (Oxford Archaeology Monograph 2). Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit.

Booth, P. and Diez, V. (2006a). The Late Prehistoric and Roman Landscape at Snarkhurst Wood, Hollingbourne, Kent. Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Booth, P. and Diez, V. (2006b). The Roman Settlement at Bower Road, Smeeth, Kent. Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Booth, P. and Howard-Davis, C. (2004). *Prehistoric and Roman settlement at Queen Elizabeth Square, Maidstone* (Oxford Archaeology Monograph 11). Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Booth, P. and Lawrence, S. (2006). The Iron Age Settlement and Roman Villa at Thurnham, Kent. Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Booth, P. and Smith, A. (2011). *On Track: the Archaeology of High Speed 1 in Kent*. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology.

Bowes, K. (2017). Rural Poverty in the Roman Empire. Accessed July 10, 2021: https://cpb-us-w2.wpmucdn.com/u.osu.edu/dist/a/49661/files/2017/08/bowes-rural-poor-243zk6w.pdf. Unpublished report.

Bowes, K. (2020). *The Roman Peasant Project 2009–2014: Excavating the Roman Rural Poor*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Bowes, K. (2021). 'When Kuznets went to Rome: Roman economic well-being and the reframing of Roman history', *Capitalism: A Journal of History and Economics* 2/1: 7–40.

Bowes, K., Mercuri, A. M., Rattigheri, E., Rinaldi, R., Arnoldus-Huyzendveld, A., Ghisleni, M., Grey, C., MacKinnon, M., and Vaccaro, E. (2017). 'Peasant agricultural strategies in Southern Tuscany: convertible agriculture and the importance of pasture', in T. de Haas and G. Tol (eds), *The Economic Integration of Roman Italy*, 170–99. Leiden: Brill.

Bowes, K., Mercuri, A. M., Rattighieri, E., Rinaldi, R., Arnoldus-Huyzendveld, A., Ghisleni, M., Grey, C., Mackinnon, M., and Vaccaro, E. (2015). 'Palaeoenvironment and land use of Roman peasant farmhouses in southern Tuscany', *Plant Biosystems—An International Journal Dealing with all Aspects of Plant Biology* 149/1: 174–84.

Bowman, A. and Wilson, A. (eds) (2009). *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems* (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bowman, A. and Wilson, A. (eds) (2013). *The Roman Agricultural Economy: Organisation, Investment, and Production* (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bradley, T. (2002). Assessment of an Archaeological Excavation at Skerne Road, Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames. Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd. Unpublished report.

Branigan, K. and Dearne, M. J. (eds) (1992). *Romano-British Cavemen: Cave Use in Roman Britain* (Oxbow Monograph 19). Oxford: Oxbow.

Braude, B. (1997). 'The sons of Noah and the construction of ethnic and geographical identities in the medieval and early modern periods', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54/1: 103–42.

Braudel, F. (1985). *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*. Translated by S. Reynolds. London: William Collins Sons & Co.

Braund, D. (1996). *Ruling Roman Britain: Kings, Queens, Governors and Emperors from Julius Caesar to Agricola*. London: Routledge.

Brew, D., Holt, T., Pye, K., and Newsham, R. (2000). 'Holocene sedimentary evolution and palaeocoastlines of the Fenland embayment, eastern England', in I. Shennan and J. Andrews (eds), *Holocene Land–Ocean Interaction and Environmental Change around the North Sea* (Geological Society Special Publications 166), 253–73. London: Geological Society.

Bright, D. (2010). The Pilgrims' Way Revisited: The Use of the North Downs Main Trackway and the Medway Crossings by Medieval Travellers. Unpublished report.

Brodribb, G. (1979). 'A survey of tile from the Roman bath house at Beauport Park, Battle, E. Sussex', *Britannia* 10: 139–56.

Brodribb, G. and Cleere, H. (1988). 'The Classis Britannica bath-house at Beauport Park, East Sussex', *Britannia* 19: 217–74.

Brown, K. (2010). Framework Archaeology Heathrow Terminal 5 Excavation Archive [data-set]: Section 8—Ceramic Building Material. York, Archaeology Data Service [distributor].

Brown, L. (2009). 'An unusual Iron Age enclosure at Fir Hill, Bossington and a Romano-British cemetery near Brook, Hampshire: the Broughton to Timsbury pipeline', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 64: 41–80.

Brown, R. (1986). 'The Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Woodcock Hall, Saham Toney, Norfolk ', *Britannia* 17: 1–58.

Bryant, S. and Niblett, R. (1997). 'The late Iron Age in Hertfordshire and the north Chilterns', in A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds), *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies* (Oxbow Monograph 71), 270–81. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Budd, C. (2008). Chemring Countermeasures, High Post, Salisbury Wiltshire: Archaeological Evaluation Report. Wessex Archaeology Report 69541.03. Unpublished report.

Bushe-Fox, J. P. (1930). *Third Report on the Excavations of the Roman fort at Richborough, Kent*. London: Society of Antiquaries of London.

Canham, R. (1978). 'Excavations at London (Heathrow) Airport 1969', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 29: 1–44.

Carew, T. (2003). An Assessment of an Archaeological Excavation at Ashford Prison, Woodthorpe Road, Ashford, Middlesex. Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. and Evans, C. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2012–2013 Excavations Assessment Report (Part 3, 1–3). Cambridge Archaeological Unit Report 1255. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. and Slater, A. (2014). 'Beyond the Manor of Hintona: further thoughts on the development of Church End, Cherry Hinton: The Neath Farm Site', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 103: 39–59.

Chaffey, G., Barclay, A., and Pelling, R. (forthcoming). Kingsmead Quarry, Horton, Volume 1: 2003–2009 Excavations. Unpublished report.

Champion, T., Baker, P., and Pelling, R. (2011). South East Research Framework Resource Assessment and Research Agenda for the Middle Bronze Age to Iron Age periods (2011 with additions in 2018 and 2019): Middle Bronze Age to Iron Age. Unpublished report.

Chayanov, A. V., Thorner, D., and Kerblay, B. (eds) (1966). *A. V. Chayanov on The Theory of Peasant Economy*. Translated by R. Smith. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, Inc. for the American Economic Association.

Chernaya, M. (2016). 'What history says versus what archaeology shows: sources and methods in the study of Russian culture in Siberia', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 44/1: 114–22.

Clark, D. (2013). 'The medieval peasant house—towards a new paradigm?', *Vernacular Architecture* 44/1: 1–5.

Clark, G. (1966). 'The invasion hypothesis in British archaeology', *Antiquity* 40: 172–89.

Cleere, H. (1974). 'The Roman iron industry of the Weald and its connexions with the classis Britannica', *Archaeological Journal* 131/1: 171–99. doi: 10.1080/00665983.1974.11077523.

Cleere, H. and Crossley, D. (1985). *The Iron Industry of the Weald*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Coleman, L., Havard, T., Collard, M., Cox, S., and McSloy, E. (2004). 'Cotswold Archaeology: Denham, The Lea (TQ 0490 8600)—interim report', *South Midlands Archaeology* 34: 14–7.

Coles, J. and Hall, D. (1998). *Changing Landscapes: The Ancient Fenland*. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council.

Collingwood, R. and Myres, J. (1936). *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (The Oxford History of England 1). Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Collins, M. (2007). 'Discerning Clovis subsistence from stone artifacts and site distributions on the Southern Plains periphery', in R. B. Walker and B. N. Driskell (eds), *Foragers of the Terminal Pleistocene in North America*, 59–87. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Collis, J. (1996). 'Urbanisation in Atlantic Europe in the Iron Age', *Gallaecia: revista de arqueoloxía e antigüidade* 14: 223–39.

Collis, J. (2001). 'Danebury, its environs, and the Iron Age in Hampshire', *Landscape History* 23/1: 91–4.

Collis, J. (2019). 'Oram's Arbour, Winchester: a new interpretation', in T. Romankiewicz, M. Fernández-Götz, G. Lock, and O. Büchsenschütz (eds), *Enclosing Space, Opening New Ground: Iron Age Studies from Scotland to Mainland Europe*, 65–85. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Compton, J. (2015). 'The late Iron Age vessel form typology', in M. Atkinson and S. J. Preston (eds), *Heybridge: A Late Iron Age and Roman Settlement, Excavations at Elms Farm 1993–5* (Internet Archaeology 40), http://dx.doi.org/10.11141/ia.40.1.compton3.

Cool, H. E. M. (2011). Winchester, a City in the Making: Archaeological excavations between 2002–2007 on the sites of Northgate House, Staple Gardens and the former Winchester Library, Jewry St: Section 3: The Small Finds. Oxford Archaeology.

Cooley, A. and Salway, B. (2012). 'Roman Inscriptions 2006–2010', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 102: 172–286.

Cooper, A. M. (2015). *Iron Age Sanctuaries and Coin Production in the North East of England*. PhD. thesis, University of Virginia.

Cooper, N. and Buckley, R. (2004). 'Recent, and not so recent, work in Roman Leicester (Ratae Corieltavorum)', in P. Bowman (ed.), *Leicestershire Landscapes*, 51–62. Leicester: Leicestershire County Council Museums, Arts and Records Service.

Cooper, S. (2003). Roman Farmstead at 23–33 Wimblington Road, March, Cambridgeshire. Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Unpublished report.

Corcoran, P. (2007). John Locke on the Possession of Land: Native Title vs. the'Principle'of Vacuum domicilium. University of Adelaide. Unpublished report.

Cotterill, J. (1993). 'Saxon raiding and the role of the late Roman coastal forts of Britain', *Britannia* 24: 227–39.

Coulson, I. (2013). *Folkestone to 1500: a Town Unearthed*. Canterbury Archaeological Trust Limited.

Cowie, R. (2009). Hotel Development, Syon Park, Brentford, TW8, London Borough of Hounslow: Post-excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design. Museum of London Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Crawford, D. (1976). 'Imperial estates', in M. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Roman Property* (Cambridge Classical Studies 35), 35–70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Creighton, J. (2000). *Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Creighton, J. (2021). 'Caesar's Gallic Wars: Archaeology breaking free of the shackles of history? - A. P. Fitzpatrick, and C. Haselgrove, eds. 2019. Julius Caesar's Battle for Gaul: New Archaeological Perspectives. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books. Pp. xxvi 309, figs. 138, tables 2. ISBN 978-1-78925-050-3 (paperback).', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 34: 382–9.

Crockett, A. and Nowell, J. (1998). Imperial College Sports Ground, Sipson Lane, Harlington, London Borough of Hillingdon: Archaeological Excavation: Phase 1 and 2 interim Assessment Report. Wessex Archaeology Unpublished Report Series 42282.b. Unpublished report.

Crouch, K. and Shanks, S. (1984). *Excavations in Staines, 1975–76: The Friends' Burial Ground Site* (Joint Publication 2). London: London & Middlesex Archaeological Society.

Crowson, A., Lane, T., and Reeve, J. (2000). *Fenland Management Project Excavations 1991–1995*. Sleaford: Heritage Lincolnshire.

Crummy, I. (1999). 'The subversion of gleaning in Balzac's Les Paysans and in Millet's Les Glaneuses', *Neohelicon* 26/1: 9–18.

Cunliffe, B. (1969). *Fifth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*. London: Society of Antiquaries of London.

Cunliffe, B. (1987). *Hengistbury Head, Dorset: The Prehistoric and Roman Settlement, 3500 BC–AD 500*. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology.

Cunliffe, B. (2004). 'Wessex cowboys?', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 23: 61–81.

Cunliffe, B. (2005). *Iron Age Communities in Britain: An Account of England, Scotland and Wales from the Seventh Century BC until the Roman Conquest*. London: Routledge.

Cunliffe, B. (2009). 'Continuity and change in a Wessex landscape', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 162: 161–210.

Cunliffe, B. (2013). '"For men of rank... basilicas": British aisled halls reconsidered', in H. Eckardt and S. Rippon (eds), *Living and Working in the Roman World: Essays in Honour of Michael Fulford* (JRA Supplementary Series 95), 95–110. Portmouth, R. I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (1991). *Danebury: An Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire*, Vol. 5: *The Excavations 1979–88: the finds*. London: CBA Research Report.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2000a). *The Danebury Environs Programme: the Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape*, Vol. 1: *Overview*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 49.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2000b). *The Danebury Environs Programme: the Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape*, Vol. 2—Part 6: *Houghton Down, Stockbridge, Hampshire, 1994*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 49.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2000c). *The Danebury Environs Programme: the Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape* Vol. 2—Part 3: *Suddern Farm, Middle Wallop, Hants, 1991 and 1996*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 49.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2000d). *The Danebury Environs Programme: the Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape*, Vol. 2—Part 1: *Woolbury and Stockbridge Down, Stockbridge, Hants, 1989*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 49.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008a). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 2—Part 1: *Houghton Down, Longstock, Hants, 1997*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 71.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008b). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 2—Part 7: *Dunkirt Barn, Abbotts Ann, Hants, 2005 and 2006*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 71.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008c). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 2—Part 3: *Fullerton, Hants, 2000 and 2001*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 71.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008d). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 2—Part 5: *Rowbury Farm, Wherwell, Hants, 2003*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph 71.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008e). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 1: *Overview*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 71.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008f). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 2—Part 4: *Thruxton, Hants, 2002*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 71.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008g). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 2—Part 2: *Grateley South, Grateley, Hants, 1998 and 1999*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 71.

Cunliffe, B., Reece, R., Henig, M., Hawkes, S., Care, V., and Young, C. (1980). 'Excavations at the Roman fort at Lympne, Kent 1976–78', *Britannia* 11: 227–88.

Curchin, L. (2003). 'Whose hair wants cutting in Martial 12.18?', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 146/2: 222–4.

Dannell, G., Hartley, B., Wild, J., and Perrin, J. (1993). 'Excavations on a Romano-British pottery production site at Park Farm, Stanground 1967–8', *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 6: 51–93.

Dark, K. (2016). *The Waves of Time: Long-Term Change and International Relations*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Dark, K. and Dark, P. (1997). *The Landscape of Roman Britain*. Stroud: Sutton.

Darvill, T. (2016). 'What's been going on? Archaeological investigations in England since 1990', *The Archaeologist* 98: 12–3.

Darvill, T., Barrass, K., Constant, V., Milner, E., and Russell, B. (2018). *Archaeology in the PPG16 Era: Investigations in England 1990–2010*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Davies, J. (1996). 'Where eagles dare: the Iron Age of Norfolk', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 62: 63–92.

Davies, M. (2017). 'The findings of various archaeological investigations at the Roman naval fort, Stutfall Castle, Lympne, 2014–16', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 138: 165–78.

Davies, S. (1981). 'Excavations at Old Down Farm, Andover, part II: prehistoric and Roman', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 37: 81–163.

Davis, O. (2012). 'A re-examination of three Wessex-type sites: Little Woodbury, Gussage All Saints and Winnall Down', in T. Moore and X. L. Armada (eds), *Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium BC: Crossing the Divide*, 171–86. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dawson, M.-J. (2019). *Rethinking small town market status in Roman Britain: a review of the data for five case studies in the Thames Valley region*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Kent.

De Clercq, W. (2009). *Lokale gemeenschappen in het Imperium Romanum: transformaties in de rurale bewoningsstructuur en de materiële cultuur in de landschappen van het noordelijk deel van de civitas Menapiorum (Provincie Gallia-Belgica, ca. 100 v. Chr.–400 n. Chr.)*. Ph.D. thesis, Ghent University.

de Haas, T. and Tol, G. (eds) (2017). *The Economic Integration of Roman Italy: Rural Communities in a Globalising World*. Leiden: Brill.

de Jersey, P. (1993). 'The early chronology of Alet, and its implications for Hengistbury Head and cross-channel trade in the Late Iron Age', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12: 321–35.

de Ligt, L. (1993). *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire: Economic and Social Aspects of Periodic Trade in a Pre-Industrial Society*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.

de Ligt, L. (2012). *Peasants, Citizens and Soldiers: Studies in the Demographic History of Roman Italy 225 BC–AD 100*. Cambridge Cambridge University Press.

de Vries, J. (1975). 'Peasant demand patterns and economic development: Friesland 1550–1750', in W. Parker and E. L. Jones (eds), *European Peasants and their Markets:*

Essays in European Agrarian History, 205–66. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.

de Vries, J. (1994). 'The Industrial Revolution and the industrious revolution', *The Journal of Economic History* 54/2: 249–70.

Derks, T. and Roymans, N. (2006). 'Returning auxiliary veterans: some methodological considerations', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 19: 121–35.

Detsicas, A. (1983). *The Cantiaci*. Gloucester: Alan Sutton.

Devroey, J.-P. (2000). 'Men and women in early medieval serfdom: the ninth-century north Frankish evidence', *Past and Present* 166: 3–30.

Dicks, J. (2011). *The economic and social status of Romano-British rural villas in southern England*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Southampton.

Doody, A. (2007). 'Virgil the farmer? Critiques of the Georgics in Columella and Pliny', *Classical Philology* 102/2: 180–97.

Dossey, L. (2010). *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Du Plessis, P. J. (Year). 'Return to the wood in Roman Kent' in É. Jakab (ed.), *Sale and Community Documents from the Ancient World. Individuals' Autonomy and State Interference in the Ancient World: Proceedings of a Colloquium supported by the University of Szeged*, Budapest: 5–8 October, 2012, 171–80. Trieste: EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste.

Dyer, C. (1986). 'English peasant buildings in the later Middle Ages (1200–1500)', *Medieval Archaeology* 30: 19–45.

Dyer, C. (2007). 'A Suffolk farmer in the fifteenth century', *Agricultural History Review* 55/1: 1–22.

Dyson, S. (1985). 'Villa at Buccino and the consumer model of Roman rural development', in C. Malone and S. Stoddart (eds), *The Cambridge Conference: Papers in Italian Archaeology IV (Part IV): Classical and Medieval Archaeology* (BAR International Series 245). Oxford: BAR Publishing.

Easterly, W. (2001). *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Edelman, M. (2013). 'What is a peasant? What are peasantries? A briefing paper on issues of definition', in *First session of the Intergovernmental Working Group on a United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and Other People Working in Rural Areas*, edited by, 15–9. Geneva.

Elliott, S. (2017). *Change and continuity in the exploitation of natural resources (such as stone, iron, clay and wood) in the principal areas of industrial activity in Kent (namely the Weald, Folkestone region and upper Medway Valley) during the Roman occupation*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Kent.

Elliott, S. (2018). *Ragstone to Riches: Imperial Estates, Metalla and the Roman Military in the South East of Britain During the Occupation* (BAR British Series 638). Oxford: BAR Publishing.

Ellis, F. (1993). *Peasant Economics: Farm Households and Agrarian Development* (Wye Studies in Agricultural and Rural Development). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Elsden, N. (1996). Cranford Lane, Harlington, London Borough of Hillingdon: Post-Excavation Assessment Report. Museum of London Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Elsdon, S. and Jones, M. (1997). *Old Sleaford Revealed: a Lincolnshire Settlement in Iron Age, Roman, Saxon and Medieval Rimes: Excavations 1882–1995*, Vol. 2 (Nottingham Studies in Archaeology). Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Erdkamp, P. (1999). 'Agriculture, underemployment, and the cost of rural labour in the Roman world', *The Classical Quarterly* 49/2: 556–72.

Erdkamp, P. (2012). 'Urbanism', in W. Scheidel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy*, 241–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Erdkamp, P. (2015). 'Agriculture, division of labour, and the paths to economic growth', in P. Erdkamp, K. Verboven, and A. Zuiderhoek (eds), *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World* (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Erdkamp, P. (2016). 'Seasonal labour and rural-urban migration in Roman Italy', in L. De Ligt and L. E. Tacoma (eds), *Migration and mobility in the early Roman Empire*, 33–49. Leiden: Brill.

Erdkamp, P., Verboven, K., and Zuiderhoek, A. (eds) (2015). *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World* (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Erdkamp, P., Verboven, K., and Zuiderhoek, A. (eds) (2020). *Capital, Investment, and Innovation in the Roman World* (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Esmonde-Cleary, S. (1979). *Towns and urbanization in Roman Britain: the evidence from outside the defences*. Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University.

Evans, A. (1890). 'XIV—On a Late-Celtic urn-field at Aylesford, Kent, and on the Gaulish, Illyro-Italic, and Classical connexions of the forms of pottery and bronze-work there discovered', *Archaeologia* 52: 315–88.

Evans, C. (2007). 'Iron Age settlement and romanisation on the Isle of Ely: the Hurst Lane Reservoir site', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 96: 41–78.

Evans, C., Appleby, G., Lucy, S., and Regan, R. (2013). *Process and History: Romano-British Communities at Colne Fen, Earith: an Inland Port and Supply Farm* (CAU Landscape Archives: The Archaeology of the Lower Ouse Valley, Vol. II). Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit.

Evans, C. and Cessford, C. (1997). 'Sentimental prehistories: the construction of the Fenland past', *Journal of European Archaeology* 5/2: 105–36.

Evans, C. and Hodder, I. (2006). *Marshland Communities and Cultural Landscapes: from the Bronze Age to the Present Day*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Evans, C. and Knight, M. (2008). 'Further excavations at Arbury Camp, Cambridge: the eastern entrance: a monumental architecture', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 97: 7–30.

Evans, C., Knight, M., and Webley, L. J. (2007). 'Iron Age settlement and romanisation on the Isle of Ely', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 96: 41–78.

Evans, C. and Ten Harkel, L. (2010). 'Roman Cambridge's early settlement and Via Devana: Excavations at Castle Street', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 99: 35–60.

Evans, J., Macaulay, S., and Mills, P. (2017). *The Horningsea Roman Pottery Industry in Context*, Vol. I: Production, Distribution and the Old Tillage (East Anglian Archaeology Monograph 162). Oxford: East Anglian Archaeology.

Farley, J., Parfitt, K., Richardson, A., Antoine, D., Pope, R., and Sparey-Green, C. (2014). 'A late Iron Age helmet burial from Bridge, near Canterbury, Kent', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 80: 379–88.

Farwell, C. (1990). Berkyn Manor Farm, Horton, Berkshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Wessex Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Fasham, P. (1985). *The Prehistoric Settlement at Winnall Down, Winchester*. Edited by K. Qualmann (Hampshire Field Club Monograph 2). Gloucester: The Trust for Wessex Archaeology.

Fasham, P., Farwell, D., and Whinney, R. (1989). *The Archaeological Site at Easton Lane, Winchester* (Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society Monograph 6). Winchester: Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society.

Fear, A. (1992). 'The golden sheep of Roman Andalusia', *The Agricultural History Review*: 151–5.

Fernández, L. A. (2015). 'The peasant's tableware: modelling the consumption of pottery in the rural surroundings of the city of Valencia in the later Middle Ages', in *European Rural History Conference*, edited by. Girona, Spain.

Ferris, N. (2009). *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes*. Tuscon, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Fincham, G. (1998). 'Military communications in the East Anglian Fenland during the Roman period: an archaeological investigation of the Fen Causeway at Flag Fen, with a discussion of the road's origins', *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 9: 19–30.

Fincham, G. (1999). 'Poverty or power? The native responce to Roman rule in the Fenland?', in P. Baker, C. Forcey, S. Jundi, and R. Witcher (eds), *TRAC 98: Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Leicester 1998*, 46–51. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Fincham, G. (2002). *Landscapes of Imperialism: Roman and Native Interaction in the East Anglian Fenland*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Fincham, G. (2004). *Durobrivae: A Roman town between Fen and Upland*. Stroud: Tempus.

Finley, M. (1974). *The Ancient Economy*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Finnigan, J. (1982). *Tipi Rings and Plains Prehistory: A Reassessment of their Archaeological Potential*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

Firth, E. (2011). Excavations at East Anton, Andover, Hampshire: archaeological assessment report. AC Archaeology Ltd. Unpublished report.

Fitzpatrick, A. P. (2017). "How our discovery of Julius Caesar's first landing point in Britain could change history", *The Conversation (online magazine),* 29 Nov., 2017: https://theconversation.com/how-our-discovery-of-julius-caesars-first-landing-point-in-britain-could-change-history-88267.

Fitzpatrick, A. P. and Haselgrove, C. (eds) (2019). *Julius Caesar's Battle for Gaul: New Archaeological Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Flight, C. and Harrison, A. C. (1978). 'Rochester Castle, 1976', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 94: 27–60.

Ford, S., Entwistle, R., and Taylor, K. (2003). *Excavations at Cippenham, Slough, Berkshire, 1995–7* (Thames Valley Archaeological Services Monograph 3). Reading: Thames Valley Archaeological Services Ltd.

Foxhall, L. (1990). 'The dependent tenant: land leasing and labour in Italy and Greece', *Journal of Roman Studies* 80: 97–114.

Franconi, T. (2021). 'The environmental imperialism of the Roman empire in northwestern Europe', in P. Erdkamp, J. Manning, and K. Verboven (eds), *Climate Change and Ancient Societies in Europe and the Near East* (Palgrave Studies in Ancient Economies), 321–45. London: Pallgrave MacMillan.

Frayn, J. (1974). 'Subsistence farming in Italy during the Roman period: a preliminary discussion of the evidence', *Greece & Rome* 21/1: 11–8.

Freedman, P. (1999). *Images of the Medieval Peasant*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Frend, W. H. C. (1998). 'Roman kilns at Penfold Farm, Milton', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 87: 45–7.

Frere, S. (2000). 'A "limitatio" of Icenian territory? ', *Britannia* 31: 350–5.

Frere, S. and Fulford, M. (2001). 'The Roman Invasion of A.D. 43', *Britannia* 32: 45–55.

Fulford, M. (1989). 'The economy of Roman Britain', in M. Todd (ed.), *Research in Roman Britain 1960–89* (Britannia Monograph Series 11), 175–201. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Fulford, M. (2011). 'The impact of commercial archaeology on the UK heritage', in J. Curtis, M. Fulford, A. Harding, and F. Reynolds (eds), *History for the Taking? Perspectives on Material Heritage: A Report Prepared for the British Academy, Chaired by Professor Sir Barry Cunliffe CBE, FBA*, 33–53. London: The British Academy.

Fulford, M. and Holbrook, N. (2015). *The Towns of Roman Britain: the Contribution of Commercial Archaeology Since 1990* (Britannia Monograph Series 27). London: The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Fulford, M. and Huddleston, K. (1991). *The Current State of Romano-British Pottery Studies: A Review for English Heritage*. London: English Heritage.

Fulford, M., Powell, A., Entwhistle, R., and Raymond, F. (2006). *Iron Age and Romano-British Settlements and Landscapes of Salisbury Plain*. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology and University of Reading.

Gambash, G. (2012). 'To rule a ferocious province: Roman policy and the aftermath of the Boudican revolt', *Britannia* 43: 1–15.

Gardner, A. (2013). 'Thinking about Roman imperialism: postcolonialism, globalisation and beyond?', *Britannia* 44: 1–25.

Gardner, A. and Wallace, L. (2020). 'Making space for past futures: rural landscape temporalities in Roman Britain', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 30: 327–42.

Garland, N. (2012). 'Boundaries and change: the examination of the Late Iron Age-Roman transition', *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 0/2011. doi: 10.16995/trac2011_91_104.

Garnsey, P. and Saller, R. (2014). *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture*. London: Bloomsbury.

Garrow, D. and Gosden, C. (2012). *Technologies of Enchantment? Exploring Celtic Art: 400 BC to AD 100*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ghisleni, L. (2017). *Shifting ground: rethinking concepts of continuity and change in Late Iron Age and Early Roman landscapes of southern England*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Ghisleni, L. (2018). '"Contingent persistence" and ancient identities', *Current Anthropology* 59/2: 138–66.

Gibson, C. (2009). Chemring Highpost Excavation Brief, Site Summary. Wessex Archaeology Report No. 69543. Unpublished report.

Gibson, D. and Lucas, G. (2002). 'Pre-Flavian kilns at Greenhouse Farm and the social context of early Roman pottery production in Cambridgeshire', *Britannia* 33: 95–127.

Gilligan, D. (1998). 'Farm size, productivity, and economic efficiency: accounting for differences in efficiency of farms by size in Honduras (Draft report)', in *1998 American Agricultural Economics Association Annual Meeting*, edited by. Salt Lake City, Utah.

Glancy, J. (2002). *Slavery in Early Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Glass, H. (2003). 'Channel Tunnel Rail Link section 1: archaeology and heritage works', *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers. Civil engineering* 156/6: 21–4.

González, J. and Crawford, M. (1986). 'The lex Irnitana: a new copy of the Flavian municipal law', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 76: 147–243.

González-Ruibal, A. (2010). 'Domestic space and cultural transformation among the Awá of Eastern Amazonia', in K. Hardy (ed.), *Archaeological Invisibility and Forgotten Knowledge: Conference Proceedings, Łódź, Poland, 5th–7th September 2007* (BAR International Series 2183), 154–71. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Goodchild, H. (2013). 'GIS models of Roman agricultural production', in A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds), *The Roman Agricultural Economy: Organisation, Investment, and*

Production (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy), 55–83. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Green, C. M. (1997). 'Free as a bird: Varro de re Rustica 3', *The American Journal of Philology* 118/3: 427–48.

Greene, K. (2000). 'Technological innovation and economic progress in the ancient world: M. I. Finley re-considered', *The Economic History Review* 53/1: 29–59.

Greene, K. (2008). 'Learning to consume: consumption and consumerism in the Roman Empire', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21: 64–82.

Gregory, T. (1991). *Excavations in Thetford, 1980–1982, Fison Way*, Vol. 1 (East Anglian Archaeology Report 53). Dereham: Norfolk Museums Service.

Grimes, W., Close-Brooks, J., Cotton, J., May, J., and Williams, D. (1993). 'The excavation of Caesar's Camp, Heathrow, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1944', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 59: 303–60.

Groot, M. (2008). *Animals in Ritual and Economy in a Roman Frontier Community: Excavations at Tiel-Passewaaij* (Amsterdam Archaeological Studies, 12). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Groot, M., Heeren, S., Kooistra, L., and Vos, W. (2009). 'Surplus production for the market? The agrarian economy in the non-villa landscapes of Germania Inferior', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 22: 231–52.

Groot, M., Lentjes, D., and Zeiler, J. T. (eds) (2013). *Barely Surviving or More Than Enough? The Environmental Archaeology of Subsistence, Specialisation and Surplus Food Production*. Leiden: Sidestone Press.

Guzowski, P. (2013). 'Money economy and economic growth: the case of medieval and early modern Poland', *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 18: 235–56.

Habermehl, D. (2014). *Settling in a Changing World: Villa Development in the Northern Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Habinek, T. (2014). 'Imago suae vitae: Seneca's life and career', in G. Damschen and A. Heil (eds), *Brill's Companion to Seneca: Philosopher and Dramatist*, 3–31. Leiden: Brill.

Haley, E. (2003). *Baetica Felix: People and Prosperity in Southern Spain from Caesar to Septimius Severus*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Hall, D. (1996). *The Fenland Project, Number 10: Cambridgeshire Survey, the Isle of Ely and Wisbech*. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire Archaeological Committee in conjuction with the Fenland Project Committee and the Scole Archaeological Committee.

Hall, D. and Coles, J. (1994). *Fenland Survey: an Essay in Landscape and Persistence*. London: English Heritage.

Hallett, S., Sakrabani, R., Keay, C., and Hannam, J. (2021). 'Developments in Land Information Systems: Case studies in Land Resource Management Capabilities and Options.' accessed 27 July, 2021. http://www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes/#.

Halstead, P. and O'Shea, J. (1989). *Bad Year Economics: Cultural Responses to Risk and Uncertainty*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hamilton, W., Sayle, K., Boyd, M., Haselgrove, C., and Cook, G. (2019). '"Celtic cowboys" reborn: Application of multi-isotopic analysis (δ13C, δ15N, and δ34S) to examine mobility and movement of animals within an Iron Age British society', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 101: 189–98.

Handsman, R. (2018). 'Survivance strategies and the materialities of Mashantucket Pequot labor in the later eighteenth century', *Historical Archaeology* 52/1: 51–69.

Handy, J. (2009). '"Almost idiotic wretchedness": a long history of blaming peasants', *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 36/2: 325–44.

Hanson, J. (2016). *An Urban Geography of the Roman World, 100 BC to AD 300*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Harding, D. W. (2008). *The Iron Age Round-House: Later Prehistoric Building in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harding, D. W. (2020). *Iron Age Hillforts in Britain and Beyond*. 2 edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harlow, N. (2018). 'Resistance is useless! Culture, status, and power in the Civitas Icenorum', *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal (an online resource)* 1/1.

Harris, C. (2004). 'How did colonialism dispossess? Comments from an edge of empire', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94/1: 165–82.

Harrison, A. C. (1972). 'Rochester East Gate, 1969', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 87: 121–57.

Harrison, A. C. (1991). 'Excavation of a Belgic and Roman site at 50–54 High Street, Rochester', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 109: 41–50.

Harrison, A. C. and Williams, D. (1979). 'Excavation at Prior's Gate House, Rochester 1976–77', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 45: 19–36.

Haselgrove, C. (1992). 'Warfare, ritual and society in Iron Age Wessex', *Archaeological Journal* 149: 407–15.

Haselgrove, C. and Moore, T. (eds) (2017). *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haselgrove, C. and Wigg-Wolf, D. (eds) (2005). *Iron Age Coinage and Ritual Practices*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern.

Hawkes, C. (1968). 'New thoughts on the Belgae', *Antiquity* 42/6–16.

Hawkes, C. and Dunning, G. C. (1930). 'The Belgae of Gaul and Britain', *Archaeological Journal* 87: 150–335.

Hayes, P. and Lane, T. (1992). *The Fenland Project Number 5: Lincolnshire Survey, the South-West Fens* (East Anglian Archaeology 55). Ipswich: Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire.

Hayman, G. (1992). Further archaeological evaluation at Thorpe Lea Nurseries, Near Egham, in 1992. Surrey County Council Archaeology Unit. Unpublished report.

Hayman, G., Chapman, J., Jones, P., and Poulton, R. (2012). *Settlement Sites and Sacred Offerings: Prehistoric and Later Archaeology in the Thames Valley, near Chertsey*. Surrey County Council: SpoilHeap Publications Monograph 4.

Heeren, S. (2009). *Romanisering van rurale gemeenschappen in de Civitas Batavorum: de casus Tiel-Passewaaij*. Ph.D. thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

Henderson, J. (2007). *The Atlantic Iron Age: Settlement and Identity in the First Milennium BC*. Oxford: Routledge.

Henig, M. and Booth, P. (2000). *Roman Oxfordshire*. Stroud: Sutton.

Henley, S., Lyons, A., and Pickstone, A. (2012). An Iron Age Settlement and Romano-British Villa Complex at Itter Crescent, Peterborough: Post-Excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design. Oxford Archaeology East. Unpublished report.

Hill, J. D. (1995). 'The pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain and Ireland (ca. 800 B.C. to A.D. 100): An overview', *Journal of World Prehistory* 9/1: 47–98.

Hill, J. D. (2012). 'How did British middle and late pre-Roman Iron Age societies work (if they did)?', in T. Moore and X.-L. Armada (eds), *Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium BC: Crossing the Divide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hill, J. D., Spence, A., La Niece, S., and Worrell, S. (2004). 'The Winchester Hoard: a find of unique Iron Age gold jewellery from southern England', *The Antiquaries Journal* 84: 1–22.

Hill, J. D. and Woodward, A. (eds) (2002). *Prehistoric Britain: The Ceramic Basis*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Hilts, C. (2018). 'A landscape revealed: exploring 6,000 years of Cambridgeshire's past along the A14', *Current Archaeology* /339: 18–25.

Hingley, R. (1984). 'Towards social analysis in archaeology: Celtic society in the Iron Age of the Upper Thames Valley', in B. Cunliffe and D. Miles (eds), *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain, Monograph 2*, 72–88. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

Hingley, R. (1989). *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*. London: Seaby.

Hingley, R. and Unwin, C. (2006). *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*. London: Hambledon Continuum.

Hirt, A. M. (2010). *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World: Organizational Aspects 27 BC–AD 235*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hitchner, R., Amouretti, M., and Brun, J.-P. (2002). 'Olive production and the Roman economy: the case for intensive growth in the Roman Empire', in W. Scheidel and S. Von Reden (eds), *The Ancient Economy*, 71–83. New York: Routledge.

Hobson, M. S. (2012). *The African boom?: evaluating economic growth in the Roman province of Africa Proconsularis*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester.

Hodgkinson, J. (1999). 'Romano-British iron production in the Sussex and Kent Weald: a review of current data', *Historical Metallurgy* 33: 68–72.

Hodgkinson, J. (2008). *The Wealden Iron Industry*. Stroud: The History Press.

Hoffmann, B. (2013). *The Roman Invasion of Britain: Archaeology Versus History*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books.

Hole, F. (1974). 'Tepe Tūlā'ī: an early campsite in Khuzistan, Iran', *Paléorient* 2/2: 219–42.

Hollander, D. (2018). *Farmers and Agriculture in the Roman Economy*. Oxford: Routledge.

Holman, D. (2005). 'Iron Age coinage and settlement in East Kent', *Britannia* 36: 1–54.

Honeychurch, W. and Makarewicz, C. (2016). 'The archaeology of pastoral nomadism', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 45: 341–59.

Honnor, J. and Lane, T. (2002). Archaeology, Arable Landscapes and Drainage in the Fenland of Eastern England. Archaeological Project Services, 2002. Unpublished report.

Hopkins, K. (1980). 'Taxes and trade in the Roman Empire (200 BC–AD 400)', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 70: 101–25.

Horden, P. and Purcell, N. (2000). *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell.

House, M. and Beasley, M. (2005). Report on Archaeological Mitigation Recording Action at Hayes Manor School. AOC Archaeology Group-London. Unpublished report.

Howgego, C. (2013). 'The monetization of temperate Europe', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 103: 16–45.

Huang, P. (1985). *The Peasant Economy and Social Change in North China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Huisman, F. (2017). 'Misreading the marshes: past and present perceptions of the East Anglian Fens, UK', in R. O'Sullivan, C. Marini, and J. Binnberg (eds), *Archaeological Approaches to Breaking Boundaries: Interaction, Integration and Division: Proceedings of the Graduate Archaeology at Oxford Conferences 2015–2016* (BAR International Series 2869), 105–16. Oxford: BAR Publishing.

Hutton, J. (2007). Excavations at Langtoft, Lincolnshire. Areas F to H. The Bluebell Land. Cambridge Archaeological Unit, CAU Report No. 795. Unpublished report.

Hydén, G. (1980). *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Ingham, D. (2008). 'Iron Age settlement by the Dam Brook at Scotland Farm, Dry Drayton', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 167: 31–40.

Jackson, E. (2017). *Oppida: a settlement phenomenon of the later Iron Ages in Britain and temperate Europe: an analysis of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Kent.

Jackson, R., Cameron, F., and Potter, T. (1996). *Excavations at Stonea, Cambridgeshire, 1980–85*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.

James, S. (2001). Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda. Council for British Archaeology. Unpublished report.

James, S. (2002). 'Sorviodunum: a review of the archaeological evidence', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 95: 1–26.

Jervis, B. (2014). *Pottery and Social Life in Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Johnson, C. (2003). Brisley Farm, Ashford, Kent (NGR TQ 992 401): A Post-Excavation Assessment Report on the Archaeological Excavations 1998–2002 with Proposals for Publication. Archaeology South East. Unpublished report.

Johnston, D., Dicks, J., and Allen, D. (2014). *Sparsholt Roman Villa, Hampshire: Excavations by David E. Johnston* (Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society Monograph 11). Bristol: Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society.

Jones, A. (2003). *Settlement, Burial and Industry in Roman Godmanchester* (British Archaeological Reports 346). Oxford: Archaeopress.

Jones, G. and Brown, K. (2011). Framework Archaeology Heathrow Terminal 5 Excavation Archive [data-set]: Section 2—Late Iron Age and Roman Pottery. York, Archaeology Data Service [distributor].

Jones, M. (1998). *The End of Roman Britain*. Ithaka, NY: Cornell University Press.

Jones, P., Poulton, R., and Bird, J. (2010). *The Roman and Medieval Town of Staines: The Development of the Town*. Woking: SpoilHeap Publications.

Jones, T. and Gilliam, T. (1975). 'Monty Python and the Holy Grail', in, edited by.: Cinema 5 Distributing.

Jongman, W. (2017). 'The benefits of market integration: five centuries of prosperity in Roman Italy', in T. de Haas and G. Tol (eds), *The Economic Integration of Roman Italy*, 15–27. Leiden: Brill.

Karl, R. (2006). '*butācos, *uossos, *geistlos, *ambaχtos: Celtic socio-economic organization in the European Iron Age', *Studia Celtica* 40: 23–41.

Kehoe, D. (1984). 'Private and imperial management of Roman estates in North Africa', *Law and History Review* 2: 241–63.

Kehoe, D. (2006). 'Landlords and tenants', in D. Potter (ed.), *Kehoe, D. P. (2006). Landlords and Tenants: A Companion to the Roman Empire*, 298–311. Oxford: Blackwell.

Keller, P. T. (1989). 'Quern production at Folkestone, south-east Kent: an interim note', *Britannia* 20: 193–200.

Kendi, I. X. (2016). *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America*. New York: Nation Books.

Kennedy, M. (2018). "Archaeologists in Cambridgeshire find graves of two men with legs cut off", *The Guardian*, 18 June, 2018.

Kerblay, B. (1987). 'Chayanov and the theory of peasant economies', in T. Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and Peasant Societies*, 176–84. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Kibblewhite, M., Tóth, G., and Hermann, T. (2015). 'Predicting the preservation of cultural artefacts and buried materials in soil', *Science of the Total Environment* 529: 249–63.

King-Fane, W. (1931). 'The Car Dyke, its origins, object and extent', *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*.

Kinory, J. L. (2011). *Salt production, distribution and use in the British Iron Age*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford.

Knapp, R. C. (2011). *Invisible Romans*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Knight, S. (2000). 'Images of the Medieval Peasant by Paul Freedman', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 22/1: 487–90.

Kolendo, J. (1993). 'The peasant', in A. Giardina (ed.), *The Romans*, 199–213. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Kooistra, L., van Dinter, M., Dütting, M., van Rijn, P., and Cavallo, C. (2013). 'Could the local population of the Lower Rhine delta supply the Roman army? Part 1: the archaeological and historical framework', *Journal of Archaeology in the Low Countries* 4/2: 5–23.

Kopsidis, M. (2012). Peasant agriculture and economic growth: the case of Southeast Europe c. 1870–1940 reinterpreted. Leibniz Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe. Unpublished report.

Korporowicz, Ł. J. (2011). 'Buying a slave in Roman Britain: evidence from the tabulae', *Revue Internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 58: 211–24.

Korporowicz, Ł. J. (2012). 'Roman law in Roman Britain: an introductory survey', *The Journal of Legal History* 33: 133–50.

Kron, G. (2008). 'The much maligned peasant: comparative perspectives on the productivity of the small farmer in classical antiquity', in L. de Ligt and S. Northwood (eds), *People, Land, and Politics: Demographic Developments and the Transformation of Roman Italy, 300 BC–AD 14*, 71–119. Boston, MA: Brill.

Lakin, D. (1995). Long Lane Playing Fields, Ickenham, London Borough of Hillingdon. A Post-Excavation Assessment. Museum of London Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Lambrick, G. (1992). 'The development of late prehistoric and Roman farming on the Thames gravels', in M. Fulford and Nichols (eds), 78-105.

Lambrick, G. and Robinson, M. (1988). 'The development of floodplain grassland in the Upper Thames Valley', *Archaeology and the Flora of the British Isles* 14: 55–75.

Lambrick, G., Robinson, M., and Wachnik, M. (2009). *The Thames Through Time: The Archaeology of the Grave Terraces of the Upper and Middle Thames: the Thames Valley in Late Prehistory, 1500 BC–AD 50*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Lane, T. W., Hayes, P., and Chowne, P. (1993). *The Fenland Project Number 8: Lincolnshire Survey, the Northern Fen-Edge* (East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 66). Sleaford: Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire.

Lang, A. (2016). 'Defining banjo enclosures: investigations, interpretations, and understanding in the Iron Age of southern Britain', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 82: 341–61.

Langdon, J. (1994). 'Lordship and peasant consumerism in the milling industry of early fourteenth-century England', *Past and Present* 145: 3–46.

Launaro, A. (2015). 'The nature of the villa economy', in P. Erdkamp, K. Verboven, and A. Zuiderhoek (eds), *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the*

Roman World (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy), 173–86. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Launaro, A. and Leone, N. (2018). 'A view from the margin? Roman commonwares and patterns of distribution and consumption at Interamna Lirenas (Lazio)', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 31: 323–38.

Laurent, J. (1984). 'The peasant in Italian agrarian treatises', *Agricultural History* 58/4: 565–83.

Leese, M. (2021). *Making Money in Ancient Athens*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Lewis, J. (2006). *Landscape Evolution in the Middle Thames Valley, Heathrow Terminal 5 Excavations*, Vol. 1: *Perry Oaks* (Framework Archaeology Monograph 1). Oxford: BAA, Oxford Archaeology, and Wessex Archaeology.

Lewis, J. (2010). *Landscape Evolution in the Middle Thames Valley Heathrow Terminal 5 Excavations*, Vol. 2: *Heathrow Terminal 5* (Framework Archaeology Monograph 3). Oxford: BAA, Oxford Archaeology, and Wessex Archaeology.

Lewis, W. A. (1958). 'Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour', in A. N. Agarwala and S. P. Singh (eds), *The Economics of Underdevelopment*, 400–49. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lievers, M., Jones, G. P., Seager Smith, R., and Seager Smith, R. (2009). 'Prehistoric pottery, Late Iron Age pottery, Romano-British pottery, and Saxon Pottery', in J. Wright, M. Lievers, R. Seager Smith, and C. Stevens (eds), *Cambourne New Settlement: Iron Age and Romano-British settlement on the clay uplands of west Cambridgeshire*, Vol. 2 (Specialist Appendices (Web Report 2) Wessex Archaeology Report No. 23). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.

Lightfoot, E. and Stevens, R. E. (2012). 'Stable isotope investigations of charred barley (Hordeum vulgare) and wheat (Triticum spelta) grains from Danebury Hillfort : implications for palaeodietary reconstructions', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39/3: 656–62.

Lipton, S. (2014). "The invention of the Jewish nose", *The New York Review of Books,* Nov. 14, 2014: https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2014/11/14/invention-jewish-nose/.

Little, A., Elliott, B., Collins, T., Blinkhorn, E., Coyne, F., Warren, G., Cooney, G., and Schulting, R. (2019). 'H.A.R.P.: investigating Mesolithic landscapes of life and death at the western edge of Europe', *Antiquity* 93/368: 1–6.

Lo Cascio, E. (2009). 'Urbanization as a proxy of demographic and economic growth', in A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds), *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems* (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy), 87–106. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lock, G. (2007). 'Wessex hillforts after Danebury: exploring boundaries', in C. Gosden, H. Hamerow, P. de Jersey, and G. Lock (eds), *Communities and Connections: Essays in Honour of Barry Cunliffe*, 341–56. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Lodwick, L. (2020). 'The organisation of cereal production in Britannia: grain-drying ovens as evidence for agricultural integration', in A. Marzano (ed.), *Villas, Peasant Agriculture, and the Roman Rural Economy. Panel 3:15* (Archaeology and Economy

in the Ancient World – Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Cologne/Bonn 2018 17), 57–71. Heidelberg: Propylaeum.

Loseby, S. (2012). 'Post-Roman economies', in W. Scheidel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy*, 334–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lovell, J., Hamilton-Dyer, S., Loader, E., and McKinley, J. (1999). 'Further investigations of an Iron Age and Romano-British farmstead on Cockey Down, near Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 92: 33–8.

Lyons, A., Brennand, M., Flitcroft, M., Chirikure, S., and Ames, J. (2004). Romano-British industrial Activity at Snettisham, Norfolk: Archaeological Investigations at Strickland Avenue and Station Road. Archaeology and Environment Division, Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service. Unpublished report.

Mackreth, D. and Bamford, H. (1996). *Orton Hall Farm: A Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon Farmstead* (East Anglian Archaeology 76). Manchester: University of Manchester, Nene Valley Archaeological Trust.

Macready, S. and Thompson, F. H. (1984). *Cross-Channel Trade between Gaul and Britain in the Pre-Roman Iron Age* (Society of Antiquaries of London Occasional Paper 4). London: Society of Antiquaries of London & Thames and Hudson.

Maddison, A. (2007). *Contours of the World Economy, 1–2030 AD: Essays in Macro-Economic History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Maher, L. and Conkey, M. (2019). 'Homes for hunters? Exploring the concept of home at hunter-gatherer sites in Upper Paleolithic Europe and Epipaleolithic Southwest Asia', *Current Anthropology* 60/1: 91–137.

Malim, T. (2005). *Stonea and the Roman Fens*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Limited.

Mallet, S. and Stansbie, D. (2021). 'Substances and Cycles', in C. Gosden, A. Cooper, M. Creswell, V. Donnelly, T. Franconi, R. Glyde, C. Green, Z. Kamash, S. Mallet, L. Morley, D. Stansbie, and L. Ten Harkel (eds), *English Landscapes and Identities*, 183–217. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Manning, J. and Morris, I. (eds) (2005). *The Ancient Economy: Evidence and Models*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Marzano, A. (2007). *Roman Villas in Central Italy: A Social and Economic History* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 30). Boston, MA: Brill.

Marzano, A. (2013). *Harvesting the Sea: the Exploitation of Marine Resources in the Roman Mediterranean* (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marzano, A. (2015). 'The variety of villa production: from agriculture to aquaculture', in P. Erdkamp, K. Verboven, and A. Zuiderhoek (eds), *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World* (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy), 187–206. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marzano, A. (ed.) (2020). *Villas, Peasant Agriculture, and the Roman Rural Economy: Panel 3.15*, Vol. 17 (Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World: Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Cologne/Bonn 2018). Heidelberg: Propylaeum.

Marzano, A. and Métraux, G. (2018). *The Roman Villa in the Mediterranean Basin: Late Republic to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Massey, R. (2006). *The emergence of the Atrebatic kingdoms: settlement change and social formation in the late pre-Roman Iron Age of central southern Britain*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Reading.

Matthews Boehmer, T. (2020). 'Questions concerning the residuality of brooches and coins in Romano-British contexts', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 39/4: 395–409.

Matthews, K. (1997). 'Immaterial culture: invisible peasants and consumer subcultures in north-west Britannia', *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 1996: 120–32.

Mattingly, D. (1997). *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire* (JRA Supplementary Series 23). Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.

Mattingly, D. (2002). 'Vulgar and weak 'Romanization', or time for a paradigm shift?', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 99: 536–40.

Mattingly, D. (2007). *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire*. London: Penguin Books.

Mattingly, D. (2013). *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

May, J. (1996). *Dragonby: Report on Excavations at an Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement in North Lincolnshire*, Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

McCarthy, M. (2013). *The Romano-British Peasant: Towards a Study of People, Landscapes and Work During the Roman Occupation of Britain*. Oxford: Windgather Press.

McHugh, M. (2017). *The Ancient Greek Farmstead*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

McKinley, J. (2004). 'Welcome to Pontibus… gateway to the West', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 91: 1–69.

Mellinkoff, R. (1993). *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, Vol. 2. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Mercuri, A. M., Rattighieri, E., Rinaldi, R., Florenzano, A., Vaccaro, E., and Bowes, K. (2018). 'The plant landscape of Roman Tuscany and the peasant agricultural strategies in the Cinigiano area (central Italy)', in *Humans and Environmental Sustainability: Lessons from the past ecosystems of Europe and Northern Africa (14th Conference of Environmental Archaeology)*, edited by A. Florenzano, M. C. Montecchi, and R. Rinaldi, 166–7. Modena.

Merrifield, R. (1983). *London, City of the Romans*. London: Batsford.

Metzler, S. (2012). *Colonizer or Colonized: The Hidden Stories of Early Modern French Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Milanovic, B., Lindert, P., and Williamson, J. (2007). Measuring Ancient Inequality. National Bureau of Economic Research. Unpublished report.

Miles, D. (ed.) (1982). *The Romano-British Countryside: Studies in Rural Settlement and Economy* (BAR British series British Series 103). Oxford: BAR.

Millar, F. (1984). 'Condemnation to hard labour in the Roman Empire, from the Julio-Claudians to Constantine', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 52: 124–47.

Millett, M. (1992). *The Romanization of Britain: an Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Millett, M. (2007). 'Roman Kent', in J. Williams (ed.), *The Archaeology of Kent to AD 800*, 135–84. Woodbridge: Boydell Press and Kent County Council.

Moffat, B. (2010). 'Excavations and watching briefs in Sorviodunum: 2001 to 2008', *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 103: 172–7.

Moore, T. (2011). 'Detribalizing the later prehistoric past: concepts of tribes in Iron Age and Roman studies', *Journal of Social Archeology* 11: 334–60.

Moore, T. (2012). 'Beyond the oppida: polyfocal complexes and late Iron Age societies in southern Britain', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 31/4: 391–417.

Morgan, L. (2013 (orig. 1878)). *Ancient Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Morris, F. (2010). *North Sea and Channel Connectivity During the Late Iron Age and Roman Period (175/150 BC–AD 409)*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Morrison, W. (2012). *Complex assemblages, complex social structures: rural settlements in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley 100BC to AD100*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford.

Mouritsen, H. (1996). 'Order and disorder in late Pompeian politics', *Publications de l'École Française de Rome* 215: 139–44.

Moxey, K. (1981). 'Sebald Beham's church anniversary holidays: festive peasants as instruments of repressive humor', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*: 107–30.

Murphy, P. (1992). Stonea Camp, Cambridgeshire: Plant Macrofossils, and Molluscs from Iron Age Fort Ditch Fills. Unpublished report.

Musty, J. (1957). 'A Romano-British building at Highpost, Middle Woodford', *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* 57: 173–5.

Neal, D. (1980). 'Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Roman settlement sites at Little Somborne and Ashley, Hampshire', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club Archaeological Society* 36: 91–144.

Nelsestuen, G. (2015). *Varro the Agronomist: Political Philosophy, Satire, and Agriculture in the Late Republic*. Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press.

Newton, A. (2010). 12 Pieces Lane, Waterbeach, Cambridgeshire; Research Archive Report. Archaeological Solutions Ltd: Report No. 3763. Unpublished report.

Newton, A. (2018). *Iron Age Fen-Edge Settlement at Black Horse Farm, Sawtry, Cambridgeshire* (BAR British Series 640). Oxford: BAR Publishing.

Nicolay, J. (2007). *Armed Batavians: Use and Significance of Weaponry and Horse Gear from Non-Military Contexts in the Rhine Delta (50 BC to AD 450)*. Translated by A. Visser. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Noble, M. (1987). *Thurlby: an Ordinary Village*. Thurlby: Thurlby Book Fund.

O'Connor, T. and van der Veen, M. (1998). 'The expansion of agricultural production in late Iron Age and Roman Britain', in J. Bayley (ed.), *Science in Archaeology: an Agenda for the Future, English Heritage*, 127–43. London: English Heritage.

O'Neal, L. (2017). "Ibram Kendi, one of the nation's leading scholars of racism, says education and love are not the answer", *The Undefeated,* 20 September, 2017: https://theundefeated.com/features/ibram-kendi-leading-scholar-of-racism-says-education-and-love-are-not-the-answer/.

Oakley, K. (1937). 'The excavation of a Romano-British pottery kiln site near Hedgerley', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 13: 252–80.

Oosthuizen, S. (2013). 'A 'truth universally acknowledged'?: Morphology as an indicator of medieval planned market towns', *Landscape History* 34/1: 51–80.

Oosthuizen, S. (2014). 'Re-evaluating maps of Domesday population densities: a case study from the Cambridgeshire Fenland', *Medieval Settlement Research* 29: 1–10.

Oosthuizen, S. (2017). *The Anglo-Saxon Fenland*. Windgather Press.

Ouzoulias, P. (2014). 'Nos natura non sustinet: à propos de l'intensification agricole dans quatre terroirs du nord des Gaules', *Gallia* 71/2: 307–28.

Page, N. and Popa, R. (2013). Family Farming in Romania. Fundația ADEPT Transilvania, Saschiz. Unpublished report.

Parfitt, K. (2016). 'Excavations and other archaeological investigations on the Thanet Way 1990–95', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 137: 37–62.

Parks, K. E. (2013). *Iron Age and Roman Arable Practice in the East of England.* Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester.

Peacock, D. (1977). 'Bricks and tiles of the Classis Britannica: petrology and origin', *Britannia* 8: 235–48.

Pearson, A. (2005). 'Barbarian piracy and the Saxon Shore: a reappraisal', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24/1: 73–88.

Perring, D. (1999). *Houses in Roman Britain: A Study in Architecture and Urban Society*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester.

Perring, D. (2002). *The Roman House in Britain*. London: Routledge.

Perring, D. and Pitts, M. (2013). *Alien Cities: Consumption and the Origins of Urbanism in Roman Britain*. Edited by M. Pitts. Brighton: SpoilHeap Publications.

Philip, B. (1959). 'Reculver: excavations on the Roman fort in 1957', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 73: 96–115.

Philip, B. (1990). 99 High Street, Rochester. Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit. Unpublished report.

Philip, B. (2003). 'A new Roman site discovered at Rochester', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 123: 203–32.

Phillips, C. and Salway, P. (1970). *The Fenland in Roman Times: Studies of a Major Area of Peasant Colonization with a Gazetteer Covering all Known Sites and Finds*. London: Royal Geographical Society.

Pitts, M. (2005). 'Pots and pits: drinking and deposition in late Iron Age south-east Britain', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24: 143–61.

Pitts, M. (2007). 'The emperor's new clothes? The utility of identity in Roman archaeology', *American Journal of Archaeology* 111: 693–713.

Pitts, M. (2014). 'Reconsidering Britain's first urban communities', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 27: 133–73.

Pitts, M. (2019). *The Roman Object Revolution: Objectscapes and Intra-Cultural Connectivity in Northwest Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Pitts, M. and Versluys, M. J. (eds) (2014). *Globalisation and the Roman World: World History, Connectivity and Material Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pluciennik, M., Mientjes, A., and Giannitrapani, E. (2004). 'Archaeologies of aspiration: historical archaeology in rural central Sicily', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 8/1: 27–65.

Pollard, R. (1988). *The Roman Pottery of Kent*. Maidstone: Maidstone Archaeological Society.

Pomeranz, K. (2000). *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Popkin, S. L. (1979 (reprinted in 2020)). *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Potter, T. and Jackson, R. (1982). 'The Roman site of Stonea, Cambridgeshire', *Antiquity* 56/217: 111–20.

Potter, T. and Potter, C. (1980). 'A Romano-British village at Grandford, March', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 70: 70–112.

Potter, T. and Robinson, B. (2000). 'New Roman and prehistoric aerial discoveries at Grandford, Cambridgeshire', *Antiquity* 74/283: 31–2.

Poulton, R. (2007). Hengrove Farm, Staines, Archaeological Work 2004–2006 Assessment Report. Surrey County Council Archaeology Unit. Unpublished report.

Poulton, R., Hayman, G., and Marples, N. (2017). *Foragers and Farmers: 10,000 Years of History at Hengrove Farm, Staines: Excavations between 1997 and 2012*. Woking: SpoilHeap Publications.

Powell, A. (2012a). Excavations South-East of Park Farm, Ashford, Kent (Part 1: Main Report). Wessex Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Powell, A. (2012b). Excavations South-East of Park Farm, Ashford, Kent (Part 2: Finds and Environmental Reports). Wessex Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Powell, A. (2015). Archaeological Discoveries along the Farningham to Hadlow Gas Pipeline, Kent Wessex Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Powell, A., Barclay, A., Mepham, L., and Stevens, C. (2016). *Imperial College Sports Grounds and RMC Land, Harlington: The Development of Prehistoric and Later Communities in the Colne Valley and on the Heathrow Terraces* (Wessex Archaeology Report No. 33). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.

Preston, P. and Kador, T. (2018). 'Approaches to interpreting Mesolithic mobility and settlement in Britain and Ireland', *Journal of World Prehistory* 31/3: 321–45.

Preston, S. (2003). *Prehistoric, Roman, and Saxon Sites in Eastern Berkshire* (Thames Valley Archaeological Services Monograph 2). Reading: Thames Valley Archaeological Services Ltd.

Preston, S. (2012). *Settlement and Landscape Archaeology in the Middle Thames Valley: Slough and Environs* (Thames Valley Archaeological Services Monograph 14). Reading: Thames Valley Archaeological Services.

Qualmann, K., Rees, H., Scobie, G. D., and Whinney, R. (2004). *Oram's Arbour: The Iron Age Enclosure at Winchester*, Vol. 1: Investigations 1950–1999. Winchester: Winchester Museums Service and English Heritage.

Rankin, D. (1996). *Celts and the Classical World*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ray, N. (2010). *Household consumption in ancient economies: Pompeii and the wider Roman world*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester.

Reay, B. (2005). 'Agriculture, writing, and Cato's aristocratic self-fashioning', *Classical Antiquity* 24/2: 331–61.

Reddé, M. (Year). 'Some critical thinking about large and small rural settlements in north-eastern Roman Gaul' in M. Reddé (ed.), *Méthodes d'analyse des différentes paysages ruraux dans le nord-est de la Gaule Romaine*, Paris, 7–39. Rurland and ERC.

Reddé, M. (2017a). 'Conclusion: des greniers ruraux aux greniers militaires et urbains. Les enjeux historiques d'une enquête archéologique', in S. Martin (ed.), *Rural Granaries in Northern Gaul (6th Century BCE–4th Century CE): From Archaeology to Economic History* (Radboud Studies in Humanities 8), 128–44. Leiden: Brill.

Reddé, M. (2017b). *Gallia rvstica les campagnes du nord-est de la Gaule, de la fin de l'âge du fer à l'Antiquité tardive: projet "Rurland" financé par l'European Research Council (ERC) 1* (Ausonius éditions. Mémoires 49). Bordeaux: Ausonius.

Reddé, M. (2018). *Gallia rvstica les campagnes du nord-est de la Gaule, de la fin de l'âge du fer à l'Antiquité tardive : projet "Rurland" financé par l'European Research Council (ERC) 2* (Ausonius éditions. Mémoires 50). Bordeaux: Ausonius.

Redfern, R. C. and DeWitte, S. N. (2011). 'A new approach to the study of Romanization in Britain: A regional perspective of cultural change in late Iron Age and Roman Dorset using the Siler and Gompertz-Makeham models of mortality', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 144/2: 269–85.

Rees, H., Crummy, N., Ottaway, P., and Dunn, G. (2008). *Artefacts and Society in Roman and Medieval Winchester: Small Finds from the Suburbs and Defences, 1971–1986*. Winchester: Winchester Museums Service.

Regan, R. (2003). An Archaeological Excavation at Colne Fen, Earith, Sites V & VI: Langdale Hale. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Remesal Rodriguez, J. (1998). 'Baetican olive oil and the Roman economy', in S. Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica* (JRA Supplementary Series 29), 183–99. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.

Richmond, I. (1955). *Roman Britain and Roman Military Antiquities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Richmond, I. (1969). 'The plans of Roman villas in Britain', in A. Rivet (ed.), *The Roman Villa in Britain*, 49–70. London: Routledge.

Richmond, I. (1978). *Roman Britain*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Richmond, I. A. (1953). 'Three Roman writing-tablets from London', *The Antiquaries Journal* 33: 206–8.

Rigold, S. (1972). 'Roman Folkestone reconsidered', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 87: 31–41.

Rippon, S., Smart, C., and Pears, B. (2015). *The Fields of Britannia: Continuity and Change in the Late Roman and Early Medieval Landscape*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rivet, A. and Smith, C. (1979). *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*. London: Batsford.

Roberts, J. (2000). Roman Occupation at Lydon Farm, High Street, Maxey. Cambridge. Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit: Report No. 181. Unpublished report.

Robinson-Zeki, L. (2016). Ouse Washland Archaeology: Fen Drayton Villa Investigations (Excavation Report No. 2). Report number 1333. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Rodwell, W. (1976). 'Coinage, oppida and the rise of Belgic power in south-eastern Britain', *Oppida: the Beginnings of Urbanisation in Barbarian Europe*: 181–367.

Sabloff, J. A. (1994). *The New Archaeology and the Ancient Maya*. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

Salway, P. (1970). 'The Roman Fenland', in C. Phillip and P. Salway (eds), *The Fenland in Roman Times*, 1–21. London: Royal Geographical Society.

Salway, P. (2001). *A History of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sanders, G. (2013). 'Landlords and tenants: sharecroppers and subsistence farming in Corinthian historical context', in S. J. Friesen, S. James, and D. Schowalter (eds), *Corinth in Contrast: Studies in Inequality*, 101–25. Leiden: Brill.

Scheidel, W. and Friesen, S. (2009). 'The size of the economy and the distribution of income in the Roman empire', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 99: 61–91.

Scheidel, W., Morris, I., and Saller, R. (eds) (2007). *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scheidel, W. and von Reden, S. (eds) (2002). *The Ancient Economy*. New York: Routledge.

Schultz, T. W. (1966). 'Transforming traditional agriculture: Reply', *Journal of Farm Economics* 48: 1015–8.

Selkirk, A. and Parfitt, K. (2012). 'Folkestone: Roman villa or Iron Age oppidum?', *Current Archaeology* 262: 22–9.

Shanin, T. (1987). 'Peasants and peasant societies', in T. Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and Peasant Societies*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Sharples, N. (1991). 'Warfare in the Iron Age of Wessex', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 8: 79–89.

Sharples, N. (2010). *Social Relations in Later Prehistory: Wessex in the First Millennium BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shaw, B. (1982). 'Lamasba: an ancient irrigation community', *Antiquités africaines* 18: 61–103.

Shaw, B. (2013). *Bringing in the Sheaves: Economy and Metaphor in the Roman World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sijpesteijn, P. (1986). 'Five early penthemeros certificates', *Chronique d'Egypte* 61/122: 287–93.

Silver, M. (2008). 'The rise, demise, and (partial) rehabilitation of the peasant in Hopkins' model of Roman trade and taxes', *Classics Ireland* 15: 1–33.

Simmons, B. (1979). 'The Lincolnshire Car Dyke: navigation or drainage?', *Britannia* 10: 183–96.

Simmons, B. and Cope-Faulkner, P. (2006). *The Car Dyke*. Sleaford: Heritage Lincolnshire in partnership with Lincolnshire County Council.

Slofstra, J., Roymans, N., and Theuws, F. (1991). 'Changing settlement systems in the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt area during the Early Roman period', in N. Roymans and F. Theuws (eds), *Images of the Past: Studies on Ancient Societies in Northwestern Europe*. Amsterdam: Instituut voor Pre- en Protohistorische Archeologie.

Sly, R. (2017) "Soil in their Souls: Lecture by Rex Sly, Ouse Washes Conference 2016". Distributed by YouTube: Ouse Washes (accessed 28 July, 2021): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mr-OMqeoY0M.

Smith, A., Allen, M., Brindle, T., and Fulford, M. (2016). *The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Smith, A., Allen, M., Brindle, T., Fulford, M., Lodwick, L., and Rohnbogner, A. (2018). *Life and Death in the Countryside of Roman Britain*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Smith, A. and Henry, R. (2020). 'A controlled metal-detecting survey: revising the Roman numismatic perspective of Sorviodunum', *Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Magazine* 113: 190–201.

Smith, D., Zalasiewicz, J., Williams, M., Wilkinson, I., Scarborough, J., Knight, M., Sayer, C., Redding, M., and Moreton, S. (2012). 'The anatomy of a Fenland roddon: sedimentation and environmental change in a lowland Holocene tidal creek environment', *Proceedings of the Yorkshire Geological Society* 59/2: 145–59.

Spence, C. (2008). Interim Report on Archaeological Excavations at Sudbrooke (Roman Villa) Lincolnshire. Bishop Grosseteste University College. Unpublished report.

Stainton, B. and Stanley, C. (1987). 'A Romano-British pottery kiln at Springwood', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 29: 160–9.

Stead, I. M. (1967). 'I.—A La Tène III Burial at Welwyn Garden City', *Archaeologia* 101.

Stevenson, J. (2013). *Living by the Sword: The Archaeology of Brisley Farm, Ashford, Kent* (Spoilheap Monograph 6). Brighton: Archaeology South-East.

Stocker, D. and Vince, A. (2019). *The City by the Pool: Assessing the Archaeology of the City of Lincoln* (Lincoln Archaeology Studies 10). Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Straight, K. (2017). 'A houseful of pots: applying ethnoarchaeological data to estimate annual ceramic vessel consumption rates of Classic Maya households', *Ancient Mesoamerica* 28/1: 95–117.

Sutliff, D. (2015). 'On nomadic transhumance at Neolithic Tepe Tula'i, Iran: a re-analysis of findings', *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 3: 392–7.

Sutton, A. (2020). 'Resistance is futile? ceramic technology and social change in later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain: Silchester ware as a case study', *Britannia* 51: 53–82.

Tarrent, N. and Sandford, A. (1972). 'A Romano-British kiln at Fulmer', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 19: 174–88.

Taylor, A. (1829). *A Treatise on Dairy-Husbandry; Shewing the Advantages Arising From It, and the Most Approved Directions for Selecting, Breeding, Feeding, and Management of Dairy Cows and their Produce; etc*. Edinburgh: A. Taylor.

Taylor, J. (2000). 'Stonea in its Fenland context: moving beyond an imperial estate: Review of "Jackson and Potter, *Excavations at Stonea, Cambridgeshire, 1980–85* (1996)"', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13: 647–58.

Taylor, J. (2007). *An Atlas of Roman Rural Settlement in England*. York: Council for British Archaeology.

Taylor, J. (2011). 'The idea of the villa: reassessing villa development in south-east Britain', in N. Roymans and T. Derks (eds), *Villa Landscapes in the Roman North*, 179–94. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Taylor, J. (2013). 'Encountering Romanitas: characterising the role of agricultural communities in Roman Britain', *Britannia* 44: 171–90.

Teague, S. (2004). Park and Ride, Bar End, Winchester: Report on Archaeological Watching Brief 2003. Unpublished report.

Temin, P. (2013). *The Roman Market Economy*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.

Thompson, E. (1982). 'Zosimus 6.10.2 and the letters of Honorius', *The Classical Quarterly* 32/2: 445–62.

Thompson, F. H. (1979). 'Interim report on the excavations at Bigbury', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 95: 301–3.

Thompson, F. H. (1983). 'Excavations at Bigberry, near Canterbury 1978–80', *The Antiquaries Journal* 63: 237–78.

Thonemann, P. (2007). 'Estates and the land in late Roman Asia Minor', *Chiron* 37: 435–78.

Todd, M. (1975). 'Margidunum and Ancaster', in W. Rodwell and T. Rowley (eds), *The Small Towns of Roman Britain: Papers Presented to a Conference, Oxford, 1975* (British Archaeological Reports 15), 211–24. Oxford: British Archaeological Association.

Todd, M. (2004). 'A Companion to Roman Britain'.

Tol, G. (2017). 'From surface find to consumption trend: a ceramic perspective on the economic history of the Pontine region (Lazio, Central Italy) in the Roman period', in T. de Haas and G. Tol (eds), *The Economic Integration of Roman Italy*, 367–87. Leiden: Brill.

Tomlin, R. (1996). 'A five-acre wood in Roman Kent', in J. Bird, M. Hassall, and H. Sheldon (eds), *Interpreting Roman London: Papers in Memory of Hugh Chapman* (Oxbow Monograph 58), 209–16. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Trott, M. (1991). 'Archaeological evaluation on the route of the Cockey Down to Petersfinger main pipeline, near Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 84: 116–9.

Tylor, E. B. (1871). *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom*, Vol. 2. London: Bradbury, Evans, and Co. Printers, Whitefriars.

Uden, J. (2010). 'The vanishing gardens of Priapus', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 105: 189–219.

Upex, S. (1993). Excavations at a Roman and Saxon Site at Haddon, Cambridgeshire, 1991–1993. Peterborough Regional College. Unpublished report.

Urdank, A. M. (1990). 'The consumption of rental property: Gloucestershire plebeians and the market economy, 1750–1860', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 21: 261–81.

Vaccaro, E., Ghisleni, M., Arnoldus-Huyzendveld, A., Grey, C., Bowes, K., MacKinnon, M., Mercuri, A. M., Pecci, A., Ontiveros, M. Á. C., and Rattigheri, E. (2013). 'Excavating the Roman peasant II: excavations at Case Nuove, Cinigiano (GR)', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 81: 129–413.

Van Arsdell, R. (1989). *Celtic Coinage of Britain*. London: Spink and Son.

van der Veen, M. (1989). 'Charred grain assemblages from Roman-period corn driers in Britain', *Archaeological Journal* 146/1: 302–19.

van der Veen, M. (2016). 'Arable farming, horticulture, and food: expansion, innovation, and diversity in Roman Britain', in M. Millett, L. Revell, and A. Moore (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain*, 807–33. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

van der Veen, M. and Jones, G. (2006). 'A re-analysis of agricultural production and consumption: implications for understanding the British Iron Age', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 15: 217–28.

van Doesburg, J. and Groenewoudt, B. (eds) (2014). *In search of the invisible farm: looking for archaeological evidence of late medieval rural settlement in the sandy landscapes of the Netherlands (1250–1650 AD)* (Středověká Evropa v pohybu: k poctě Jana Klápště—Medieval Europe in Motion: in honour of Jan Klápště). Praha: Archeologický ústav AV ČR.

Van Oyen, A. (2017). 'Agents and commodities: a response to Brughmans and Poblome (2016) on modelling the Roman economy', *Antiquity* 91/359: 1356–63.

Van Oyen, A. (2020). 'Innovation and investment in the Roman rural economy through the lens of Marzuolo (Tuscany, Italy)', *Past and Present* 248/3–40.

Van Oyen, A. and Pitts, M. (eds) (2017). *Materialising Roman Histories*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Versluys, M. J. (2014). 'Understanding objects in motion: an archaeological dialogue on Romanization', *Archaeological Dialogues* 21: 1–20.

Veyne, P. (2002). *Seneca: The Life of a Stoic*. Translated by D. Sullivan. London: Routledge.

von Frauendorfer, S. (1929). 'American farmers and European peasantry', *Journal of Farm Economics* 11/4: 633–42.

Wacher, J. (1974). *The Towns of Roman Britain*. 2nd edn. London: Batsford.

Wainwright, G. (1969). 'The excavation of Balksbury Camp, Andover, Hants', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club* 26: 21–55.

Wainwright, G., Davies, S., and Allen, J. (1995). *Balksbury Camp, Hampshire: Excavations 1973 and 1981*. London: English Heritage.

Wallace, L. (2015). *The Origin of Roman London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wallace, L. (2018). 'Community and the creation of provincial identities: a re-interpretation of the Romano-British aisled building at North Warnborough', *Archaeological Journal* 175/2: 231–54.

Wallace, L. and Mullen, A. (2019). 'Landscape, monumentality and expression of group identities in Iron Age and Roman East Kent', *Britannia* 50: 75–108.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1994). *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.

Walthew, C. (1975). 'The town house and the villa house in Roman Britain', *Britannia* 6/1: 189–205.

Walton, P. (2011). *Rethinking Roman Britain: an applied numismatic analysis of the Roman coin data recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme*. Ph.D. thesis, University College London.

Walton, P. (2012). *Rethinking Roman Britain: Coinage and Archaeology*. Wetteren: Moneta.

Walton, P. (2015). 'From barbarism to civilisation? Rethinking the monetisation of Roman Britain', *Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie* 161: 105–20.

Ward, A. (1990). 'Excavations at Rochester Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 108: 91–151.

Weber, E. (1976). *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Welsh, K. (1994). Iron Age and Roman Settlement Remains near Tort Hill, Sawtry. Unpublished report.

Wheeler, A. and Waller, M. (1995). 'The Holocene lithostratigraphy of Fenland, eastern England: a review and suggestions for redefinition', *Geological Magazine* 132/2: 223–33.

Wheeler, W. H. (1868). *A History of the Fens of South Lincolnshire: Being a Description of the Rivers Witham and Welland and their Estuary, and an Account of the Reclamation, Drainage, and Enclosure of the Fens Adjacent Thereto*. 2 edn. Boston (Lincs.): Newcomb, J.M.

White, D. (1961). *Litus Saxonicum: the British Saxon Shore in Scholarship and History*. Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for Department of History.

Whittaker, C. R. (1985). 'Trade and the aristocracy in the Roman Empire', *Opus* 4: 49–75.

Whitwell, J. (1982). *The Coritani: Some Aspects of the Iron Age Tribe and the Roman Civitas*, Vol. 99 (BAR British Series). Oxford: BAR Publishing.

Wickham, C. (2009). *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*. London: Penguin UK.

Williams, J. (2003). 'New light on Roman Kent', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16: 219–36.

Williams, J. (2007). *The Archaeology of Kent to AD 800*, Vol. 8. Boydell Press.

Willis, S. (2012). 'Review of The Roman Roadside Settlement at Westhawk Farm, Ashford, Kent, Excavations 1998–9. By P. Booth, A.-M. Bingham and S. Lawrence. Oxford Archaeology Monograph 2. Oxford Archaeology, Oxford, 2008.', *Britannia* 43: 433–4.

Willis, S., Lyons, A., Shepherd Popescu, E., and Roberts, J. (2008). 'Late Iron Age/Early Roman pottery kilns at Blackhorse Lane, Swavesey, 1998–9', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 97: 53–76.

Wilson, A. (2002). 'Machines, power and the ancient economy', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 92: 1–32.

Wilson, A. (2013). 'The Mediterranean environment in ancient history: perspectives and prospects', in W. Harris (ed.), *The Ancient Mediterranean Environment between Science and History*, 259–76. Leiden: Brill.

Wilson, A. (2014). 'Quantifying Roman economic performance by means of proxies: pitfalls and potential', in F. de Callataÿ (ed.), *Quantifying the Greco-Roman Economy and Beyond* (Pragmateiai 27). Bari: Edipuglia.

Winbolt, S. E. (1925). *Roman Folkestone: A Record of Excavation of Roman Villas at East Wear Bay, with Speculations and Historical Sketches on Related Subjects*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Witcher, R. (2017). 'The global Roman countryside: connectivity and community', in T. de Haas and G. Tol (eds), *The Economic Integration of Roman Italy*, 28–50. Leiden: Brill.

Woods, M. (2007). 'Engaging the global countryside: globalization, hybridity and the reconstitution of rural place', *Progress in Human Geography* 31/4: 485–507.

Woolf, G. (1993). 'Rethinking the oppida', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12/2: 223–34.

Woolf, G. (1997). 'The formation of Roman provincial cultures', in J. Metzler, M. Millett, N. Roymans, and J. Slofstra (eds), *Integration in the Early Roman West: the Role of Culture and Ideology*, 9–18. Luxembourg: Musée national d'histoire et d'art.

Woolf, G. (1998). *Becoming Roman: the Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Woolf, G. (2011). *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West* (Blackwell Bristol Lectures on Greece, Rome and the Classical Tradition). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Woolf, G. (2014). 'Romanization 2.0 and its alternatives', *Archaeological Dialogues* 21: 45–50.

Woosley, A. and Hole, F. (1978). 'Pollen evidence of subsistence and environment in ancient Iran', *Paléorient* 4: 59–70.

Wrigley, E. (2006). 'The transition to an advanced organic economy: half a millennium of English agriculture', *The Economic History Review* 59/3: 435–80.

Living Standards and Market Integration in the Rural Economy of Roman Britain

Margaret Hannah Burr

Volume Two: Catalogue of Sites

Thesis submitted to the University of Oxford for the degree of D. Phil. in Classical Archaeology

School of Archaeology

1: DANEBURY ENVIRONS ROMAN PROGRAMME

Ashley

County: Hampshire
Parish: Ashley
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 437114, 131093
Start date: AD 50
End date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 15073

Description: Partial excavation and geophysical survey over 0.4 ha of a ditched enclosure complex revealed RB farm or peripheral site. Domestic debris suggested settlement, although the enclosure may also have been for livestock. Postholes (some four-posters and other groupings) suggest structures. Ditches are dated (by pottery) to the LIA/ER, and later modifications are dated to the LR. No pottery report. Finds limited to a set of joiners dogs, a bucket handle, a spindle whorl, several coins, and slag.

Neal, D. (1980) Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Roman settlement sites at Little Sombourne and Ashley, Hampshire, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 36, 91–143.

Balksbury Camp

County: Hampshire
Parish: Andover
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 435200, 144600
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 15039

Description: EIA hillfort investigated over 17.5 ha, with evidence for occupation in the LIA and Roman period. LIA/ER features include roundhouses, ditches, etc. Possible MR hiatus, followed by reuse of site as farm in LR, with LR masonry (possibly aisled) building, four and five post structures, LR corndryers, burials, and pits. Site produced 27,000 sherds of pottery, though the amount of Roman pottery was unquantified in reports. Contains early manufactured wares (AH and BB1) along with Samian. Animal bone assemblage heavy on the sheep/goat, but horse and cattle remains also present. Corndryer produced much charred cereal, mainly spelt.

Ellis, C. J., and Rawlings, M. (2001) Excavations at Balksbury Camp, Andover 1995–97, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 56, 21–94

Wainwright, G. J., and S. M. Davies (1985) *Balksbury Camp, Hampshire: Excavations 1973 and 1981.* English Heritage Archaeological Report 4. English Heritage

Bar End, Winchester

County: Hampshire
Parish: Winchester
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 448749, 128132
Start date: AD 150

End date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 15110

Description: MR/LR field system investigated in an evaluation and watching brief over 0.04 ha. Building materials found across the site may suggest the presence of a large structure nearby. No pottery report and only minimal environmental reporting.

Teague, S. (2004) Park and Ride, Bar End, Winchester: report on archaeological watching brief 2003. Winchester: Winchester Museums Service https://doi.org/10.5284/1027317

Barton Stacey to Lockerley Pipeline, Area 5

County: Hampshire
Parish: Crawley
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 441887, 135353
Start date: AD 70
End date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 15117

Description: ER field system investigated during a pipeline project over 0.364 ha, consisting of three linear ditches and a curving ditch that may be an enclosure. Putative enclosure ditch may indicate a settlement nearby, as hinted by cropmarks. Finds minimal (brooches: trumpet, Nauheim deriv., and Drahtfibel), coin (nummus: Gloria Exercitus), and a snaffle bit. Small pottery assemblage (283 sherds) entirely E/MR, including probable AH wares, flint- and sand-tempered wares, and one sherd of SG Samian.

Anon. (2008) Barton Stacey to Lockerley natural gas pipeline, Hampshire: archaeological mitigation works, excavation areas 1–9 and watching brief. Summary report. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. WA Ref: 62413.04 https://doi.org/10.5284/1027330

Bury Hill

County: Hampshire
Parish: Andover
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 434570, 143580
Start date: 900 BC
End date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: n/a

Description: Bivallate hillfort occupied sporadically into the ER. Site began as EIA univallate hillfort and, after a period of abandonment, became an MIA/LIA bivallate hillfort. Sits across the Anna River from Balksbury Camp. Little evidence of interior habitation, but important finds of terret rings and other horse gear. Early 20th century excavations also found very LIA and possible ER occupation spread, but none of this was encountered during Cunliffe's 1990 excavations, and so that occupation is thought to have been minimal.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2000). *The Danebury Environs Programme: the Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape*, Vol. 2—Part 2: *Bury Hill, Upper Clatford, Hants, 1990*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 49.

Cockey Down

County: Wiltshire
Parish: Salisbury
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 417000, 131400
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 17062

Description: LIA/RB settlement and peripheral site revealed during pipeline excavation over 0.24 ha. LIA settlement consisting of a sub-rectangular enclosure within which a roundhouse was identified (alongside a cemetery with inhumations carbon dated to M/LIA). In the ER, settlement consists of groups of pits and infant burials. In the LR, the site was almost certainly peripheral to any permanent habitation and consisted of a corndryer, boundary ditches and a trackway. Pottery report unquantified, although it mentions presence of BB1. Two greensand quern fragments, a latch-lifter, an iron ring, and CBM were the only finds.

Lovell, J. (1999) Further investigations of an Iron Age and Romano-British farmstead on Cockey Down near Salisbury, *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 92, 33–8.

Dunkirt Barn

County: Hampshire
Parish: Abbotts Ann
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 431400, 141900
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 15018

Description: Long-inhabited site probably occupied from the LIA through to the end of the Roman period, revealed during survey and excavation over 0.3674 ha by DERP team. LIA banjo enclosure was enlarged into a rectilinear enclosure in the ER. Within this, paddocks, a timber building, and a corndryer were constructed. In the 3rd century, a masonry structure was built and is thought to have coexisted with other unexcavated (timber) buildings. In the later 3rd century, the site becomes a "villa" complex when the masonry building was demolished and a strip villa built in its stead. A bath house, masonry aisled building and garden shrine were also excavated, and other structures were identified in the geophysical survey. The complex was further elaborated in the mid-4th century, when a winged corridor villa and a larger aisled hall were built. The site appears to have been abandoned in the 5th century. Huge pottery assemblage (over 15,000 sherds) with a very wide range of pottery reflecting

wide trade network even in the 2nd century. Large finds assemblage, including inlay in Lapis Lacedaemonius. Corndryers seem to provide evidence for both parching and malting grain. Extremely rich animal bone assemblage with evidence for scapula hanging (cattle), cleaver-chopping, and hunting (?) – wild boar. Also evidence for consumption of egg, oyster, fish, and mussels.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 2—Part 7: *Dunkirt Barn, Abbotts Ann, Hants, 2005 and 2006*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 71.

East Anton, Andover

County: Hampshire
Parish: Andover
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 437200, 147750
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 410
RSRB Database number: 15112

Description: Potential nucleated settlement once identified as the Leucomagus and now thought to have been a roadside settlement. Recent excavations over 1.6 ha suggest that it did not *really* nucleate until the M/LR, and that it may have begun as a field system alongside a droveway or trackway, and which grew up at the crossroads of the Silchester-Salisbury and Winchester-Cirencester roads. In the M/LR (starting c. AD 240), major intensification, and at least 12 malting and corndryers (all but one T-shaped) were constructed. Survey suggests **further** kilns or ovens beyond. Pits and inhumations were also dated to this phase. Small-ish pottery assemblage for site like this (c. 5500 sherds). Interesting animal bone assemblage containing many skulls. Possible dispersed coin hoard. Much cereal, but no evidence for malting.

Firth, E. (2011) Excavations at East Anton, Andover, Hampshire: archaeological assessment report. AC archaeology Ltd. Document No: ACW209/1/0 https://doi.org/10.5284/1027335

Stevens, S. (2003) An Archaeological Evaluation of Land at East Anton Manor Farm, East Anton, Andover, Hampshire. Ditchling: Archaeology South East https://doi.org/10.5284/1027324

Fir Hill

County: Hampshire
Parish: Bossington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 432350, 131010
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 15023

Description: Roadside activity around an E/MIA enclosure (which had been abandoned by the LIA), partially examined during pipeline excavation over 0.45 ha. Roman domestic refuse from the upper layers of the still-open ditches (dating to between the 2nd and 4th centuries) and a corndryer suggest that this area may have been peripheral to a more intensively settled area (although the cropmarks visible outside the excavated area are thought to pertain to Iron Age settlement). Large amount of pottery (2000 sherds). Only two small finds: a knife and an ox-goad (or stylus, as the report mentions).

Brown, L. (2009) An unusual Iron Age enclosure at Fir Hill, Bossington and a Romano-British cemetery near Brook, Hampshire: the Broughton to Timsbury pipeline. Part 2, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 64, 41–80.

Fullerton

County: Hampshire
Parish: Wherwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 437457, 140105
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 450
RSRB Database number: 15015

Description: Long-inhabited site, excavated over 0.2 ha after geophysical survey. Site has evidence for M/LIA and later Roman habitation and with earlier Roman domestic refuse suggesting continuous use of the area. Began as an M/LIA enclosure settlement. Probable ER use of the site, based on the presence of much ER domestic refuse. Villa building and rectangular enclosure not constructed until the mid- to late 3rd century. Complex consisted of a hall-house with ancillary buildings and a watermill complex (with canal, mill ponds, and two watermills). In the mid-4th century, a winged-corridor villa was constructed within the enclosure near the canal, at which point a corndryer and baking ovens were inserted into the hall-house. 5th century activity is attested from the winged corridor villa: chaff-tempered pottery was found and a corndryer and hearth were built into the villa floors. 3764 sherds of pottery, over 100 coins.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 2—Part 3: *Fullerton, Hants, 2000 and 2001*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 71.

Grateley South

County: Hampshire
Parish: Grateley
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 427430, 141047
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 15014

Description: Long-lived settlement and LR villa complex excavated over 0.43 ha after geophysical survey. Site began as an LIA banjo-enclosure (with associated pits, features, and special deposits but no structural evidence) set within a field system. In the ER, a rectilinear enclosure was dug, without initial clear structural evidence, although shortly thereafter a very ephemeral complex of timber buildings was constructed. Associated features included ditches, a gravelled track, a well, a corn-drier and, presumably, a contemporary building attested by the presence of postholes underneath later buildings. In the LR, the farm site is classified as a villa complex, as four to five large masonry buildings were constructed. These included an aisled hall, crop-processing facilities, and an oven complex thought to pertain to large-scale malting. Excavations produced almost 11,000 sherds of pottery.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 2—Part 2: *Grateley South, Grateley, Hants, 1998 and 1999*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 71.

High Post, Salisbury

County: Wiltshire
Parish: Salisbury
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 414500, 137150
Approximate start date: AD 250
Approximate end date: AD 500
RSRB Database number: 17069

Description: Later Roman farm (?) site excavated over 0.8 ha within an earlier (E/MIA) enclosure. The LR site consists of an oval gully, postholes, pits, and hearths. The gully has been interpreted as a shrine. Pits contained special deposits. An inhumation and a T-shaped corndryer were also found. Early Saxon pottery, along with an oven, pits, and domestic refuse, attest to post-Roman use of the site. 4254 sherds.

Budd, C. (2008) Chemring Countermeasures, High Post, Salisbury Wiltshire. Archaeological Evaluation Report. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Report 69541.03 https://doi.org/10.5284/1029178

Highbury School, Salisbury

County: Wiltshire
Parish: Salisbury
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 413270, 130650
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 17138

Description: M/LR peripheral (?) site excavated over 0.011 ha in a modern eval and antiquarian investigation, along with an MR coin hoard. The site has been identified by others as a small farmstead despite the fact that only 16 sherds of Roman pottery were found. It is classified here as peripheral/other.

Wright, J. (2010) Highbury School. Cotswold Archaeology: Cotswold Archaeology. CA typescript report 10195: Unpublished report.

Houghton Down

County: Hampshire
Parish: Longstock
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 434147, 136156
Approximate start date: 75 BC
Approximate end date: AD 375
RSRB Database number: 15013

Description: Long-occupied site excavated over 0.1514 ha. Site begins in the EIA and is abandoned until being re-occupied in the LIA, when a rectangular enclosure was dug. Domestic material suggests it was intensely used, but the interior of the enclosure was never excavated. In the 2nd century, a timber building, fences, and two T-shaped corndryers were constructed. In the later 2nd or early 3rd century, a masonry aisled hall was constructed and another masonry building nearby is thought to have been contemporary. This building was further elaborated between the mid-3rd and mid-4th centuries, with the addition of a bathing suite. A strip house was also constructed during this phase. The site was abandoned in the mid-4th century and the masonry walls were robbed out. A chalk quarry was dug between the aisled hall and the strip house in this phase. Over 10,000 sherds of pottery were reported from this small (in size) excavation.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008). The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era, Vol. 2—Part 1: Houghton Down, Longstock, Hants, 1997. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 71.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2000). *The Danebury Environs Programme: the Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape*, Vol. 2—Part 6: *Houghton Down, Stockbridge, Hampshire, 1994*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 49.

Longstock Nursery

County: Hampshire
Parish: Longstock
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 436700, 138800
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 15107

Description: Boundary ditch and occupation spread (including CBM and box flue tile) excavated over 0.1625 ha. Spread indicates the presence of a nearby settlement. Site investigated as part of a small-scale watching brief near a scheduled field system (Hazeldown), which may be contemporary. 581 sherds of pottery were found and seem to date the site to the M/LR.

Lovell, J. (2000) Longstock Nursery, Longstock, Hampshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Ref: 48111: Unpublished report.

Nettlebank Copse

County: Hampshire
Parish: Wherwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 434135, 139046
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 15020

Description: LIA/ER settlement or peripheral work area, located on the site of an earlier MIA banjo enclosure, excavated (after geophysical survey) over 0.30 ha. Site appears to have been abandoned after initial use and then re-occupied during the LIA. Postholes may indicate the presence of buildings within the enclosure in the LIA, and chalk quarrying and special deposits also pertain to that phase. In the ER, linear ditches were dug across the site, and it appears that at that point the area was used for agricultural or pastoral activities. 607 sherds.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2000). *The Danebury Environs Programme: the Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape*, Vol. 2—Part 5: *Nettlebank Copse, Wherwell, Hants, 1993*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 49.

Old Down Farm

County: Hampshire
Parish: Andover
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 435600, 146500
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 125
RSRB Database number: 15071

Description: Long-occupied site (from later Neolithic through to the 6th century AD) excavated over 2.2 ha. Site consists of a large enclosure inhabited throughout the IA. In the EIA, the site was a village, and thousands of postholes pertain to that period. Occupation had dramatically by the MIA and was even further reduced in the LIA/ER, when a smaller enclosure ditch was dug in the SW corner of the larger enclosure. Within and around the enclosure, rectangular gullies, fencelines, postholes, a quarry, several pits, and burials were identified as belonging to this phase. Although no buildings have been clearly identified, this site has been identified as a farm on the basis of a truly robust amount of

domestic refuse (including 1800 sherds of pottery). It was abandoned by AD 120 at the latest.

Davies, S. (1981). 'Excavations at Old Down Farm, Andover, part II: prehistoric and Roman', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 37: 81–163.

Pains Wessex Factory, High Post

County: Wiltshire
Parish: High Post
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 414286, 136966
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 17078

Description: Peripheral agricultural area occupied in the Later Roman period on the site of an M/LIA settlement. Small-scale excavation only (no recorded area), so only a very limited amount of information. The major feature uncovered was a masonry structure tentatively identified as a corndryer. Only 62 sherds of Roman pottery were reported.

Wells, N. (1995) Pains Wessex, High Post, Wiltshire: Archaeological Watching Brief. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Report No. 38977: Unpublished report.

Rowbury Farm

County: Hampshire
Parish: Wherwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 435346, 140066
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 15017

Description: LIA/ER farm site excavated over 0.2 ha and located, like many in this area, on the site of an earlier E/MIA enclosure settlement that had been abandoned between the MIA and LIA. LIA occupation focuses on a smaller enclosure built into the NE corner of the large, earlier enclosure. No buildings were identified, although a large amount of pottery (1940 sherds) and special deposits suggest some domestic focus there. A large area within the enclosure also appears to have been used as a chalk quarrying. In the ER, this smaller enclosure was abandoned, and larger enclosures were laid out across the site. These are thought to have been paddocks. 1940 sherds.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 2—Part 5: *Rowbury Farm, Wherwell, Hants, 2003*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph 71.

Somborne Park Farm

County: Hampshire
Parish: Little Somborne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 437940, 133055
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 40
RSRB Database number: 15021

Description: LIA D-shaped enclosure, excavated over 0.5 ha, tentatively identified as farm *or* peripheral site. It appears to have been abandoned just during or just before the conquest. No structures were identified, and while domestic finds were recovered, only 99 sherds of pottery dated to the LIA.

Harding, P. (2010) 'An Iron Age farmstead at Somborne Park Farm, Little Somborne', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 65: 7–22.

Sorviodunum/Salisbury

County: Wiltshire
Parish: Salisbury
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 413666, 131938
Approximate start date: ?
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 17022; 17020; 17021; 17055

Description: Site of possible Roman town of Sorviodunum, a c. 45 acre nucleated settlement centred on an Iron Age oppidum at Old Sarum, excavated in small interventions. Four separate areas of excavation (much of it investigated piecemeal over the past century) are listed in the RSRB: Stratford-sub-Castle, Bishopsdown, Old Sarum, and Old Sarum Water Pipeline. The site was either a small town or an important roadside settlement. If a small town, major public buildings have not yet been identified.

Rahtz, P. and Musty, J. (1960) 'Excavations at Old Sarum, 1957', *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 57: 352–70.

Anon. (1992) Proposed Development at Bishopsdown Farm, Salisbury. Second-Stage Archaeological Evaluation, February 1992. Chicklade: AC Archaeology Ltd.: Unpublished report.

Hawkes, J., Mcmahon, P. (1999) Archaeological evaluation at Roselea / Avonview (Land between), Stratford-sub-Castle, Wiltshire. Chicklade: AC Archaeology Ltd.: Unpublished report.

James, D. (2002) 'Sorviodunum: a review of the archaeological evidence', *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 95: 1–26.

Powell, A. et al. (2005) 'Excavations along the Old Sarum Water Pipeline, North of Salisbury', *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 98: 250–80.

Moffat, B. (2010) 'Excavations and Watching Briefs in Sorviodunum, 2001 to 2008', *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 103: 172–7.

Smith, A. and Henry, R. (2020). 'A controlled metal-detecting survey: revising the Roman numismatic perspective of Sorviodunum', *Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Magazine* 113: 190–201.

Sparsholt Roman Villa

County: Hampshire
Parish: Sparsholt
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 441490, 130120
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 375
RSRB Database number: 15084

Description: Long-lived site, excavated over 0.8 ha, which began as an M/LIA enclosure with associated pits, ditches, and a great deal of domestic refuse (including pieces of a Dr. 1 amphora). That occupation seems to have ended before the Roman conquest and the site was abandoned, apparently until the mid- to late 2nd century AD, when an aisled building was constructed. A second aisled building with a three-room bathing suite overlay the remains of the first structure. A corridor villa was constructed near the aisled building in the late 3rd-early 4th century AD. At this point, the villa complex lay within a perimeter wall with a "courtyard" in the middle. After c. AD 330, much of the complex was demolished, although the hypocaust may have continued in use as a corndryer. Almost 15,000 sherds of pottery came from the site.

Johnstone, D. and Dicks, J. (1965) The Roman villa at Sparsholt (first season's excavation: provisional report) Department for Extra-Mural Studies, University of Southampton: Unpublished report.

Johnstone, D. and Dicks, J. (1972) 'The Sparsholt Roman Villa', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 23.2: 46–47.

Johnston, D., Dicks, J., and Allen, D. (2014). *Sparsholt Roman Villa, Hampshire: Excavations by David E. Johnston* (Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society Monograph 11). Bristol: Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society.

Suddern Farm

County: Hampshire
Parish: Middle Wallop
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 427961, 137681
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 15031

Description: As with many sites in the case study area, an E/MIA enclosure settlement abandoned in the later MIA and then re-occupied, beginning in the LIA and inhabited through to the later Roman period (with a possible 3rd-century hiatus). Excavations (over 0.247 ha) centred on the enclosure, which was defined by several non-contemporary ditches. The nature of occupation seemed to change in the ER, when the site seems to have been in more clearly domestic use. In the early 2nd century, a rectilinear timber building appears to have been constructed. In the LR, the area may have been peripheral to more intensive settlement. LR features included bread ovens, working hollows, a T-

shaped corndryer and an inhumation burial. 3767 sherds of pottery and 57 coins (mainly 3rd and 4th c. but some 1st and 2nd c. and a few LIA).

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2000). *The Danebury Environs Programme: the Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape* Vol. 2—Part 3: *Suddern Farm, Middle Wallop, Hants, 1991 and 1996*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 49.

Thruxton

County: Hampshire
Parish: Thruxton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 429818, 146199
Approximate start date: AD 1
Approximate end date: AD 450
RSRB Database number: 15016

Description: Site with a long history of occupation, beginning in the LIA and in the vicinity of other (presumably) LIA features seen in aerial survey, excavated minimally over 0.16 ha. The earliest features include ditches and an early 1st century inhumation burial with a deep shaft that appears to have remained open through the 4th century AD. In the Roman period, a ditched complex was constructed. The chronology of the settlement is a bit unclear because the site was originally excavated in the Victorian period. An aisled hall may have been built in the 2nd or early 3rd century and may have resembled that at Houghton Down. It is thought to have begun as a domestic building. In the later 4th century AD, three rooms were added to one end of the aisled building. Around this time, an enclosure was constructed around the grave and shaft, and it appears that special deposits (including the bone of an aurochs) continued to be left in the shaft. Before the abandonment of the site, the hall largely went out of use, but one room (the "smithy") was refloored with an elaborate mosaic now in the British Museum. This area is thought to have become a shrine and dining area at this point. Sub-Roman pottery was recovered from the site, along with 4th-5th century inhumations. 5653 sherds.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2008). *The Danebury Environs Roman Programme: A Wessex Landscape during the Roman Era*, Vol. 2—Part 4: *Thruxton, Hants, 2002*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 71.

Twyford Down

County: Hampshire
Parish: Winchester
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 448343, 126971
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number:

Description: Enclosure complex, investigated over 3.5 ha, on Twyford Down. Site thought to have been used as paddocks on the periphery (?) of a larger settlement. Large and extremely varied amount of pottery coming from the excavations (over 3100 sherds) could suggest settlement rather than peripheral site, but listed here as peripheral based on the excavators' opinions.

Stuart, J. and Birbeck, J. (1936) 'A Celtic village on Twyford Down—excavated 1933–34: *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 13: 188–212.

Walker, K. and Farwell, D. (2000) *Twyford Down, Hampshire archaeological investigations on the M3 motorway from Bar End to Compton, 1990–93* (Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society Monograph 9). Winchester: Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society.

Venta Belgarum/Winchester

County: Hampshire
Parish: Winchester
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 448190, 129410
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 500
RSRB Database number: n/a

Description: Roman city of Venta Belgarum (modern-day Winchester). Roman city founded in the vicinity of three hillforts (Oram's Arbour, St. Catherine's Hill and possibly Worthy Down). An oppidum is thought to have succeeded the fort at Oram's Arbour, although it may not have been densely occupied at the time of the Roman invasion. The earliest history of the city is not well understood. Drainage operations seem to have been undertaken c. AD 100, and at this point it is thought that work on a street grid, the central forum and a basilica may have begun. The city was walled in the 3rd century. Occupation continued there after 410, though the exact nature of activities there and whether or not occupation was continuous until the early Saxon presence is unknown.

Rees, H. (2008). Artefacts and Society in Roman and Medieval Winchester: Small finds from the suburbs and defences, 1971-1986. Winchester Museums Service.

Ford, B. and Teague, S. (2011) Winchester – A City in the Making: archaeological excavations between 2002 and 2007 on the sites of Northgate House, Staple Gardens and the former Winchester Library, Jewry Street. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, Oxford Archaeology Monograph, No. 12.

Ottaway, P. (2017). Winchester: Swithun's 'City of Happiness and Good Fortune': An Archaeological Assessment. Oxbow Books.

Collis, J. (2019). 'Oram's Arbour, Winchester: a new interpretation', in T. Romankiewicz, M. Fernández-Götz, G. Lock, and O. Büchsenschütz (eds), *Enclosing Space, Opening New Ground: Iron Age Studies from Scotland to Mainland Europe*, 65–85. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Viking Way

County: Hampshire
Parish: Andover

Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 436772, 147657
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 125
RSRB Database number:

Description: Site appears to be peripheral to more intensive occupation, but the small size of the excavation (0.08 ha) makes any conclusions uncertain. Features consist of ditches, pits, and postholes (no clear structures) along with an inhumation, and some activity dates to as early as the MIA, although the bulk of the pottery is 2nd century. 166 sherds.

Weaver, S. (2002) 'The excavation of Iron Age and early Roman features at Viking Way, Andover, Hampshire', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 57: 1–19.

Winnall Down

County: Hampshire
Parish: Winchester
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 449893, 130370
Approximate start date: AD 1
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 15093

Description: Long-inhabited site that on Winnall Down, surveyed and excavated over 11.26 ha, which began in the LBA/EIA as an enclosure settlement and was an open settlement in the MIA. In the LIA, conjoined enclosures and a trackway developed, and six rectilinear timber buildings, four post structures, fences, burials, and pits dated to that period. While the lead excavator felt that the enclosures were used primarily as paddocks, the large amount of pottery (>9000 sherds), much of which consisted of tablewares, suggested to the pottery specialist that it was a domestic site. I agree. It appears to have been abandoned in the mid-2nd century. 9814 sherds.

Fasham, P., Farwell, D., and Whinney, R. (1989) *The Archaeological Site at Easton Lane, Winchester* (Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society Monograph 6). Winchester: Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society.

Fasham, P. (1985) The Prehistoric Settlement at Winnall Down (Winchester Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society Monograph 2). Winchester: Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society.

Woolbury

County: Hampshire
Parish: Stockbridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 438298, 135382
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 15032

Description: IA hillfort (excavated over 0.244 ha) that, by the LIA, had been repurposed as an apparently domestic site. Site may have been abandoned briefly between MIA and LIA. When reoccupied, a ditched enclosure was dug. The interior of the site was not fully excavated but excavated features include metalled areas, four posters (and possibly other structures), and a quarry or pond. The use of the site may or may not have been continuous through to the end of the Roman period. 2766 sherds.

Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. (2000). *The Danebury Environs Programme: the Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape*, Vol. 2—Part 1: *Woolbury and Stockbridge Down, Stockbridge, Hants, 1989*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 49.

2: HEATHROW TERMINAL 5

51 Avenue Gardens, Acton

County: Middlesex
Parish: Acton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 519862, 179654
Approximate start date: 100
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 8018

Description: RB farm or peripheral site excavated over 0.062 ha. Site consists of ditches and a pit (MR), and a later Roman phase of gravel flooring, ditch sections, and pits. 4 kg pottery.

Cotton, J. (1993) 'Excavations and observations of a Bronze Age cemetery and Roman site in Avenue Gardens, Acton, Middlesex, 1882 and 1981–85', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 44: 1–22.

Agar's Plough

County: Buckinghamshire
Parish: Windsor
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 497878; 178293
Approximate start date: 1
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 13079

Description: LIA/ER "ladder" system excavated over 0.5 ha. Unclear to what extent these were just stock pens or whether some were also domestic areas. No structures were identified. Some of the enclosures were in use in the 4th century, with a potential hiatus in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. 1272 sherds. Site report (in draft form) currently unavailable (to me), so all information on this site came from RSRB database.

Cromarty, A., et al. (2013) Agar's Plough draft excavation report. Oxford Archaeology: Unpublished report.

All Soul's Farm Quarry

County: Buckinghamshire
Parish: Wexham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 499473; 181995
Approximate start date: 50
Approximate end date: 325
RSRB Database number: 13065

Description: RB farm site excavated over 4.9 ha. Site originated as an unenclosed settlement of uncertain character, which in the later 1st c. was reorganised, with enclosures and trackways dividing the landscape. Within the enclosures were domestic features (postholes, a roundhouse, three rectilinear buildings, numerous grain storage pits, and an area devoted to ironworking, along with a midden, several wells, and gravel quarrying areas). Abandoned by mid-4th c. Nearly 16,000 sherds.

Preston, S. (2012). *Settlement and Landscape Archaeology in the Middle Thames Valley: Slough and Environs* (Thames Valley Archaeological Services Monograph 14). Reading: Thames Valley Archaeological Services.

Ashford Prison

County: Surrey
Parish: Spelthorne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 505364; 171429
Approximate start date: -100
Approximate end date: 250
RSRB Database number: 10024

Description: M/LIA village-type site that became a field system early in the Roman period, excavated over c. 2 ha. M/LIA phase consisted of a number of roundhouses, four-posters, pits, and postholes. In the RB (ER?), a field system cut across the site and is thought to relate to the site at Hengrove Farm. Possible Saxon rectilinear timber structure at one of the site (undated). Only 50 sherds datable to the RP.

Carew, T. (2003). An Assessment of an Archaeological Excavation at Ashford Prison, Woodthorpe Road, Ashford, Middlesex. Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd. Unpublished report.

Bath Road, Slough

County: Berkshire
Parish: Slough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 495093; 180745
Approximate start date: 1
Approximate end date: 100
RSRB Database number: 12014

Description: LIA/ER peripheral site (field system) excavated over 0.5 ha. Site consists of ditches, pits, and gullies. 408 sherds.

Preston, S. (1995) Excavation of a Roman field system and other features at Bath Road. Slough, Berkshire, 1995. Thames Valley Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Berkyn Manor Farm, Horton

County: Berkshire
Parish: Wraysbury
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 502346; 176264
Approximate start date: 100
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 12047

Description: Roman farm (?) or peripheral site investigated in eval over 0.775 ha. Site consists of ditches, pits, postholes (possibly relating to roundhouses), gullies, and a tile-built structure. Only 760 sherds. The two site reports combined were only 19 pages long, including title pages, and furnished minimal information, particularly on the finds.

Farwell, C. (1990) Berkyn Manor Farm, Horton, Berkshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Andrews, P. (1998) Berkyn Manor Farm, 1995: Preliminary Statement (1998). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Brentford, Vicus

County: Greater London
Parish: Brentford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 517420; 177350
Approximate start date: -50
Approximate end date: 450
RSRB Database number: 8056; 8007

Description: Roadside settlement at Brentford excavated in at least two excavations over 1.5 ha along the London-Silchester Roman Road. Road was flanked by a ditch and (later) fence, and settlement lay within a system of fields and a trackway. Within the roadside settlement were timber structures (both large and smaller) with the latest construction phase dated to the mid- to later 3rd c. Hearths and ovens, burials, and working yards were associated with these features. Nearly 16,500 sherds of pottery from the various excavations, along with a wide array of finds.

Masefield, R. (1997) 2–10 London Road, Brentford. An Archaeological Watching Brief. Abingdon: RPS: Unpublished report.

Cowan, C. (1998) Former Rank Audio Visual and Trico-Folberth site, Great West Road, Brentford, London TW8, London Borough of Hounslow. An Archaeological Evaluation. London: Museum of London Archaeology. FTR 98: Unpublished report.

Bagwell, M. (2002) Assessment of an Archaeological Excavation at the Park Tavern, 107 London Road, London Borough of Hounslow, London, TW8. London: Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd (London): Unpublished report.

Cowan, C. (2004) Hotel Development, Syon Park, Brentford, TW8, London Borough of Hounslow: an archaeological evaluation report. London: Museum of London Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Cowie, R. (2009) Hotel Development, Syon Park, Brentford, TW8, London Borough of Hounslow: Post-excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design. London: Museum of London Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Brentford, Gasworks

County: Greater London
Parish: Brentford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 518576; 177926
Approximate start date: 1
Approximate end date: 100
RSRB Database number: 8037

Description: Field system and peripheral work area possibly associated with the site at Brentford but excavated on a small scale (0.1 ha), thus relationship remains unclear. Field system and trackway emerged in the LIA, superseded in the ER by a system on a different alignment and abandoned in the E/MR. No pottery report yet.

Bishop, B. (2002) Late Prehistoric and Roman Brentford: evolution of an agricultural landscape, *London Archaeologist* 10.2: 7–12.

Brook Farm, Slough

County: Berkshire
Parish: Slough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 494786; 180404
Approximate start date: 50
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 12017

Description: Apparently peripheral site, excavated over 0.84 ha, defined by a Roman ditch, pits, and postholes, along with an apparently small amount of both early and late pottery (including Alice Holt). Roman pottery not differentiated (numerically) from later pottery in report.

Ford, S. (2003) *Excavations at Cippenham, Slough, Berkshire, 1995–7* (Thames Valley Archaeological Services Monograph 3), Thames Valley Archaeological Services.

Cippenham, Slough

County: Berkshire
Parish: Slough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 494900; 179820
Approximate start date: -100
Approximate end date: 100
RSRB Database number: 12038

Description: Farm (M/LIA) and peripheral agricultural site (ER) excavated over 3.7 ha. Site consists of IA occupation, after which the site was reorganised (in the LIA), with a field system being laid out. In this phase, a roundhouse and a small occupation site were identified. In the ER, the field system was reorganised, and there is no evidence for later occupation. Only 301 sherds of pottery.

Preston, S. (2012) *Settlement and Landscape Archaeology in the Middle Thames Valley: Slough and Environs*. TVAS Monograph 14: 87–182.

Coldharbour Quarry

County: Surrey
Parish: Thorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 502600; 168900
Approximate start date: 275
Approximate end date: 450
RSRB Database number: 10053

Description: RB peripheral work area uncovered in excavation over 1 ha, consisting of pits and ditches, a waterhole, and a corndryer. 106 sherds.

Riccoboni, P. (2006) Archaeological excavations at Coldharbour Quarry, Thorpe, Surrey: post-excavation assessment and project design for publication. Archaeology South East. Project No. 2238: Unpublished report.

Margetts, A., and Robertson, J. (2013) *Prehistoric, Roman and Saxon Discoveries at Coldharbour Lane, Thorpe, Surrey* (Spoilheap Publications Occasional Paper 5) Spoilheap Publications.

Cranford Lane, Harlington

County: Greater London
Parish: Harlington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 509520; 177360
Approximate start date: 1
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 8054

Description: LIA/RB farm site uncovered in excavations over 8 ha. There are features on site spanning from the LIA through to the LR, although the bulk of activity was LR. In the LIA, the site appears to have been peripheral to more intense activity, although a LIA beam-slot structure was the only structure on the site. In the LR, a complex series of enclosure ditches were dug, within which wells, a posthole structure (not thought to have been domestic) and pits were found.

Elsden, N. (1996) Cranford Lane, Harlington, London Borough of Hillingdon: Post-excavation assessment report. London: Museum of London Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Eton Area 16

County: Berkshire
Parish: Bray-on-Thames
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 492349; 178181
Approximate start date: -100
Approximate end date: 250
RSRB Database number: 13078

Description: Long-lived farm site excavated over 1 ha. Site consists of a trapezoidal enclosure (known from cropmarks) containing a large number of settlement-type features, including postholes (including 1 MIA roundhouse and several 4 or 6 posters) and a large numbers of pits. There was a hiatus around the turn of the 2nd c. AD, after which the site was in use as a crop-processing zone. Ovens, a corndryer, and a millstone were contemporary with this phase. In the final phase, a barn on post-pads was constructed. 6850 sherds.

Allen, T. et al. (2013) *Eton draft publication report.* Oxford Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Ferry Lane, Shepperton

County: Surrey
Parish: Shepperton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507755; 166167
Approximate start date: 250
Approximate end date: 600
RSRB Database number: 10009

Description: LR peripheral site: a fish weir, uncovered in investigations over 2.25 ha. Site consists of four rows of wooden stakes near the confluence of the Wey and Thames. Smaller branches at the bottoms of some of the posts resemble a wattle fence. Thought to be a fish weir. Radiocarbon dating suggests the date above. Six late Roman vessels were found in a pit nearby.

Bird, D. (1999) Possible late Roman or early Saxon fish weirs at Ferry Lane, Shepperton, *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 86: 105–123.

Fields 2, 3, and 4, Southlea Farm, Datchet

County: Berkshire
Parish: Datchet
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 499229; 176206
Approximate start date: 25
Approximate end date: 250
RSRB Database number: 12022

Description: LIA/RB farm or field system investigated through fieldwalking, geophysical survey, and trial trenching but not well-known. Site consists of a rectilinear ditched enclosure, possibly set within a field system. 456 sherds.

Martin, J. (2010) 'Prehistoric settlement at Southlea Farm, Datchet,' *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 79.

Franklands Drive

County: Surrey
Parish: Runnymede
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 504075; 163326
Approximate start date: 100
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 10061

Description: Small area of Roman burials revealed in eval/excavation over 0.41 ha. Two Roman cremations (including 4 sherds of Roman pottery).

Trevarthen, M. (2009) Land at Franklands Drive, Addlestone, Surrey: Archaeological Evaluation Report 70350.01. Wessex Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Fulmer

County: Buckinghamshire
Parish: Fulmer
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 499200; 186700
Approximate start date: 100
Approximate end date: 200
RSRB Database number: 13063

Description: Second-century kiln site, consisting of a kiln and a pit filled with greyware wasters, excavated over 0.05 ha.

Tarrent, N. and Sandford, A. (1972) A Romano-British kiln at Fulmer, *Records of Buckinghamshire* 19:2: 174–88.

Hayes Manor School

County: Greater London
Parish: Hayes, Hillingdon
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 509019; 181265
Approximate start date: -50
Approximate end date: 200
RSRB Database number: 8070

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site investigated in eval over 0.012 ha. Site may have been domestic in the LIA/ER, as pits and postholes were uncovered. In the 2nd c., an enclosure ditch or field boundary ran across the site. Finds reports not available and site was categorised as peripheral for lack of information.

House, M./Beasley, M. (2005) Report on Archaeological mitigation Recording Action at Hayes Manor School. AOC Archaeology Group-London: AOC Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Heathcote Road Nursery, Twickenham Bridge

County: Greater London
Parish: Twickenham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 517077; 174605
Approximate start date: 50
Approximate end date: 200
RSRB Database number: 8062

Description: LIA/RB farm or peripheral site investigated in small eval trench over 0.023 ha. Site consisted of dense settlement features (posthole fencelines, pits, and ditches), associated with a possible beam-slot building. Slag and pottery were found around the site, but pottery is not yet quantified.

Grainger, I. (1992) Archaeological Excavations at The Heathcote Road Nursery, Twickenham Bridge, London Borough of Richmond-upon-Thames. London: Museum of London Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Hedgerley

County: Buckinghamshire
Parish: Hedgerley
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 497442; 188196
Approximate start date: 125
Approximate end date: 175
RSRB Database number: 13069

Description: Mid-2nd c. kiln site consisting of two updraught kilns, without an associated settlement. Large number of wasters, along with stoking pits and drying ovens.

Oakley, K. et al. (1937) 'The Excavation of a Romano-British Pottery kiln site Near Hedgerley', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 13.4: 252–80.

Hengrove Farm

County: Surrey
Parish: Ashford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 505294; 171758
Approximate start date: -100
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 10059

Description: Large and important LIA/RB farm site which underwent numerous modifications, uncovered in excavations over 15 ha. Set within a landscape of field systems, the site consists of a complex of multiple (stock)

enclosures and a trackway which originally developed in the LIA and continued evolving into the ER. Two large post-built timber structures (on possibly aisled) date to the 2nd c. Relatively rich finds assemblage, including 7617 sherds of pottery. Site is one of many in the area that appears to be involved in large-scale animal husbandry.

Bartlett, A.D.H. (1997) Hengrove Farm, Staines. Report on Archaeogeophysical Survey 1997. Witney: Bartlett-Clark Consultancy: Unpublished report.

Poulton, R. (2007) Hengrove Farm, Staines, archaeological work 1997–2006: overall assessment report. Woking: Surrey County Council Archaeology Unit: Unpublished report.

Poulton, R. (2003) Hengrove Farm, Staines, archaeological work 1999–2002 assessment report. Woking: Surrey County Council Archaeology Unit: Unpublished report.

Poulton, R. (2004) Hengrove Farm, Staines, archaeological work in 2003 assessment report. Woking: Surrey County Council Archaeology Unit: Unpublished report.

Poulton, R. (2007) Hengrove Farm, Staines, archaeological work 2004–2006 assessment report. Woking: Surrey County Council Archaeology Unit: Unpublished report.

Poulton, R., Hayman, G., and Marples, N. (2017). *Foragers and Farmers: 10,000 Years of History at Hengrove Farm, Staines: Excavations between 1997 and 2012*. Woking. Spoilheap Publications.

Hurst Park, East Molesy

County: Surrey
Parish: East Elmbridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 514500; 168900
Approximate start date: 43
Approximate end date: 150
RSRB Database number: 10041

Description: ER peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 2.8 ha. Site was heavily truncated and consists of little aside from an ER cemetery (8 cremations) and corndryer. 33 sherds.

Andrews, P. and Crockett, A. (1996) *Three excavations along the Thames and its tributaries, 1994: Neolithic to Saxon settlement and burial in the Thames, Colne, and Kennet Valleys.* Wessex Archaeology Report No.10 Wessex Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Imperial College Sports Ground, Harlington

County: Greater London
Parish: Harlington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 508412; 177671
Approximate start date: -50
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 8053

Description: LIA/RB farm site uncovered in excavations over 5.5 ha. Site began in the LIA as an enclosure with associated roundhouses (external).

Enclosure was extended in the ER, with the construction of a trackway (either LIA or ER) and an expansion of the plots/paddocks along the roadside. Domestic features (postholes, pits, enclosures) and other features (burials, middens, wells, quarries) were associated with these enclosures. Occupation continued into the LR.

Crockett, A., Nowell, J. (1998) Imperial College Sports Ground, Sipson Lane, Harlington, London Borough of Hillingdon. Archaeological Excavation—Phase 1 and 2 interim assessment report. Wessex Archaeology Unpublished Report no. 42282.b.

Powell, A. B., Barclay, A., Mepham, L., & Stevens, C. J. (2016). *Imperial College Sports Grounds and RMC Land, Harlington: The development of prehistoric and later communities in the Colne Valley and on the Heathrow Terraces* (Wessex Archaeology Report 33). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.

Kingsmead Quarry

County: Berkshire
Parish: Horton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 501644; 175109
Approximate start date: -50
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 12001

Description: Large and important LIA/RB farm site uncovered in excavations over 10 ha. Settlement began in IA with development of field system and small roundhouse settlement. Fields and settlement reorganised in the ER into an enclosure/paddock system around trackways, with associated features (pits, postholes (some of which seem to demarcate roundhouses, waterholes). 5566 sherds.

Chaffey, G. (2009) *Kingsmead Quarry, Horton, Berkshire*: Unpublished report.

Lake End Road West

County: Buckinghamshire
Parish: Dorney
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 492560; 179420
Approximate start date: -100
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 13072

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site consisting of a ladder settlement that developed over time within a larger system of fields and enclosures, with associated settlement features (smaller enclosures, post-built structures, and pits). After the E/MR, settlement intensity seems to have decreased. 3853 sherds.

Petts, D. et al. (2013) *Lake End Road West draft publication report* Oxford Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Laleham

County: Surrey
Parish: Laleham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 504510; 169500
Approximate start date: -100
Approximate end date: 600
RSRB Database number: 10008

Description: M/LIA occupation site/farmstead with signs of reduced use in the Roman period (when the site was probably on the periphery of a more intensively occupied settlement), uncovered in excavations over 0.019 ha. M/LIA settlement consisted of an enclosure, within which a roundhouse and pits were situated. Other enclosures may have been stock pens. Kiln furniture was found, but there was no evidence for a kiln on site. Activity reduced in the Roman period, until an upsurge in the LR. The site was also used in the early and mid-Saxon period, when timber-framed buildings may have been erected (these lay at the edge of the excavated area). Two features contained both late Roman and Saxon pottery and the land boundaries appear to have remained intact into the Saxon period. 432 sherds.

Taylor-Wilson, R. H. (1997) An Archaeological Evaluation of land at Fairyland Caravan Park, Rlverway, Laleham, Surrey. London: Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd.: Unpublished report.

Long Lane, Ickenham

County: Greater London
Parish: Uxbridge, Hillingdon
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507809; 185259
Approximate start date: 25
Approximate end date: 175
RSRB Database number: 8017

Description: LIA/E/MR peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.265 ha. Limited evidence for LIA occupation was overlain in the ER by a new field system. No clear domestic focus was found, although domestic materials (including 377 sherds and a number of quern fragments, along with environmental data) suggest domestic occupation nearby.

Lakin, D. (1995) Long Lane playing fields, Ickenham, London Borough of Hillingdon: A Post-Excavation Assessment. London: Museum of London Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Lower Horton Channel, Horton

County: Berkshire
Parish: Horton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 501778; 175170
Approximate start date: 1
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 12013

Description: LIA/RB field system uncovered in excavations over 0.15 ha. Site consists of multi-phased ditches and suggest the presence of a field system. Most intense activity ends in the 2nd c., but sporadic occupation into the 4th c. 739 sherds.

Preston, S. (2003) *Prehistoric, Roman and Saxon sites in Eastern Berkshire* (Thames Valley Archaeological Services Monograph 2). Thames Valley Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Manor Farm, Horton

County: Berkshire
Parish: Horton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 501680; 174910
Approximate start date: 25
Approximate end date: 200
RSRB Database number: 12012

Description: LIA/ER farm or peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.16 ha. Site consists of LIA/ER drainage ditches and a gravel spread which was abandoned in the 2nd c., possibly due to flooding. RSRB suggests the finds assemblage is indicative of settlement. 133 sherds.

Preston, S. (2003) *Prehistoric, Roman and Saxon sites in Eastern Berkshire* Thames Valley (Archaeological Services Monograph 2). Thames Valley Archaeological Services.

Mayfield Farm

County: Greater London
Parish: Bedfont (Hounslow)
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507496; 173701
Approximate start date: -50
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 8010

Description: Peripheral LIA/RB site that was uncovered during an eval/excavation (over 1.8 ha) of BA field systems. Only a very small portion of the settlement was excavated, but it appears to be a small part of a much larger site visible in cropmarks (a possible ladder settlement). Other excavations also revealed evidence of IA roundhouses. Settlement continued, with the most intense activity in the ER and 2nd c., and diminished activity in the 3rd and 4th

centuries. ER features included a ditch, pits, and a cobbled area. There may have been a kiln in the area. 209 sherds.

Anon. (1999) Mayfield Farm Reservoir, Mayfield Farm London Borough of Hounslow: archaeological evaluation report. Framework Archaeology. Ref 45388.04: Unpublished report.

Jefferson, P. (2003) 'Excavations at Mayfield Farm, East Bedfont, London Borough of Hounslow', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 54: 9–21.

Old Way Lane, Slough

County: Berkshire
Parish: Slough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 494108; 179980
Approximate start date: -100
Approximate end date: 350
RSRB Database number: 12019

Description: Two M/LIA/RB occupation sites reported together uncovered in excavations over 2.0823 ha. The edge of a M/LIA enclosure/trackway complex was excavated in one area of the site, associated with which were foundations of a structure (with ER pottery within the feature) may have been intended for some industrial use. In another part of the site, a square enclosure and external ditches and gullies may relate to a(n) LR field system. Excavation appears to be situated on the periphery of both sites.

Ford, S., Entwistle, R., & Taylor, K. (2003). *Excavations at Cippenham, Slough, Berkshire, 1995–7*. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.

Perry Oaks/Heathrow Terminal 5, Hillingdon

County: Greater London
Parish: London Borough of Hillingdon
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 505590; 175777
Approximate start date: -100
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 8026

Description: Large and important M/LIA and RB farm site uncovered in excavations over 75.4 ha. Occupation began as an unenclosed hamlet of at least 14 roundhouses, around which were other settlement/agricultural features (four-posters, enclosures, pits, and ditches). This system became more nucleated in the LIA, with the construction of several sub-rectangular adjoining enclosures. At this point the wider field system was also re-aligned and the site's economic focus shifted to a greater emphasis on arable production. Site was so truncated that structures were difficult to spot at this point. LIA/ER settlement continued, but was extremely truncated, and only the gully of a single roundhouse could be identified. In the M/LR, the complex expanded, and four rectilinear structures were built. In the LR, the field system expanded into a ladder

settlement, and a droveway cut through the site. An additional two structures were also built, one of which may have had multiple stories. 9049 sherds.

Canham, R. (1978). 'Excavations at London (Heathrow) Airport 1969', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 29: 1–44.

Grimes, W., Close-Brooks, J., Cotton, J., May, J., and Williams, D. (1993). 'The excavation of Caesar's Camp, Heathrow, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1944', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 59: 303–60.

Lewis, J. (2006). *Landscape Evolution in the Middle Thames Valley, Heathrow Terminal 5 Excavations, Vol. 1: Perry Oaks* (Framework Archaeology Monograph 1). Oxford. BAA, Oxford Archaeology, and Wessex Archaeology.

Lewis, J. (2010). *Landscape Evolution in the Middle Thames Valley Heathrow Terminal 5 Excavations, Vol. 2: Heathrow Terminal 5* (Framework Archaeology Monograph 3). Oxford. BAA, Oxford Archaeology, and Wessex Archaeology.

Brown, K. (2010). Framework Archaeology Heathrow Terminal 5 Excavation Archive [data-set]: Section 8—Ceramic Building Material. York, Archaeology Data Service [distributor].

Jones, G. and Brown, K. (2011). Framework Archaeology Heathrow Terminal 5 Excavation Archive [data-set]: Section 2—Late Iron Age and Roman Pottery. York, Archaeology Data Service [distributor].

Prospect Park, Harmondsworth

County: Greater London
Parish: Harmondsworth, London Borough of Hillingdon
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 505990; 178191
Approximate start date: 200
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 8051

Description: Small LR mixed-rite cemetery thought to have been at the periphery of a settlement that lay outside the excavated area, uncovered in excavations over 6.75 ha. Early Saxon settlement lies nearby (dating to the 5th–6th centuries), which consisted of two halls and seven SFBs. 199 sherds.

Brook, R., Farwell, D.E. (1996) British Airways PLC Combined Business Centre, Prospect Park, Harmondsworth, West London. Interim summary report and proposals for analysis. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Reference 36665b: Unpublished report.

Andrews, P., Brook, R., Farwell, D.E. (1999) Prehistoric, Roman and early Saxon settlement at Prospect Park, London Borough of Hillingdon. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.

Skerne Road

County: Greater London
Parish: Kingston-upon-Thames
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 518003; 169662
Approximate start date: 50
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 8030

Description: Multi-phased RB peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.0693 ha. Major features included pits of various dates, a gully, and quarry pits. There were large concentrations of roof and box-flue tiles (dating to the ER but deposited with 3rd c. pottery). Possible fenceline or timber building represented by a line of postholes. 544 sherds.

Bradley, T. (2002) Assessment of an Archaeological Excavation at Skerne Road, Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames. London: Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd: Unpublished report.

Field A, Southlea Farm, Datchet

County: Berkshire
Parish: Datchet
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 498564; 175919
Approximate start date: 1
Approximate end date: 150
RSRB Database number: 12021

Description: LIA/ER farm or peripheral site consisting of ring ditches overlain by two sub-rectangular enclosures. This site was excavated alongside another (Field 2, 3 and 4). Both were only sampled/trial trenched, so little is known about either site. The most intensive occupation dated to the LIA/ER, but there are LR sherds, as well. 247 sherds in total.

Martin, J. (2010) 'Prehistoric settlement at Southlea Farm, Datchet', *Berkshire Archaeological Journal*, 79.

Springwood, Gerrards Cross

County: Buckinghamshire
Parish: Gerrards Cross
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 499230; 187500
Approximate start date: 125
Approximate end date: 175
RSRB Database number: 13057

Description: 2nd c. Roman updraught kiln site uncovered in excavations over 0.0002 ha.

Stainton, B. and Stanley, C. (1987) 'A Romano-British pottery kiln at Springwood', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 29: 160–9

St John's Hospital, Twickenham

County: Greater London
Parish: Twickenham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 516433; 173677
Approximate start date: 250
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 8063

Description: M/LR farm or peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.042 ha. Site consists of ditches, around which were pits and postholes. No quantified pottery.

Hoad, S. (1994) *St John's Hospital, Amyand Park Road, Twickenham, London Borough of Richmond-upon-Thames: an archaeological evaluation and excavation report*. London: Museum of London Archaeology.

Staines (vicus)

County: Surrey
Parish: Staines
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 503617; 171603
Approximate start date: 50
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database numbers: 10015; 10017; 10028; 10029; 10043; 10044; 10045; 10046; 10047; 10059; 10063

Description: Roman small town, possibly the *Pontibus* of the Antonine Itinerary, seemingly not predating the conquest period, investigated in numerous small-scale excavations over the past several decades. Area excavated from within the limits of the settlement does not seem to exceed 1.2 ha in *total.* Settlement is on a gravel island at the bridging point of the Thames along the London-Silchester road, and the cambered road has been uncovered in several places. The chronology of the site is complex. There have been suggestions that the site began as a military fort (Crouch 1976), but this now seems unlikely, and most occupation began after c. AD 60. Occupation seems to have continued through to the end of the Roman period (and on a more limited scale into the early Saxon period), but with a hiatus or contraction of settlement after a period of flooding in the later 2nd c. Timber and masonry structures (some, both timber and masonry, elaborated in various ways with colonnades, window glass, painted wall-plaster, mosaic floors, and possibly heating) were found in some excavations, while others suggest that much of the land was used for grazing or agricultural production. Metalworking took place on site. There were numerous waterholes, quarry pits, wells, and middens, and an enormous number of finds, including more than 105,000 sherds of pottery.

Crouch, K. (1976) 'The archaeology of Staines and the excavation at Elmsleigh House', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 27: 71–134.

Crouch, K., and Shanks, S. (1984). *Excavations in Staines, 1975–76: The Friends' Burial Ground Site* (Joint Publication 2). London. London & Middlesex Archaeological Society.

Anon. (2000). 'Tilly's Lane, Staines, Surrey, Interim Assessment Report: Excavations at Tilly's Lane East and West'. Wessex Archaeology Report No. 45931.01. Unpublished report.

Ayres, K., Hayman, G.N. (2001) An archaeological excavation on the site of the Old Police Station and 10–16 London Road, Staines. Woking: Surrey County Council Archaeology

McKinley, J., (2004). 'Welcome to Pontibus… gateway to the West', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 91: 1–69.

Jones, P., Poulton, R., and Bird, J. (2010). *The Roman and Medieval Town of Staines: The Development of the Town*. Woking. Spoilheap Publications.

Staines, 18–32 London Road

County: Surrey
Parish: Staines
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 504060; 171790
Approximate start date: 200
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 10055

Description: Peripheral part of the *vicus* at Staines, uncovered in excavations over 0.04 ha, near to the Roman road. Site consists of ditches and two inhumation burials. 139 sherds.

Hayman, G.N. (1999) Archaeological work at 18–32 London Road, Staines. Woking: Surrey County Council Archaeology Unit (Unpublished report)

Staines, 42–54 London Road

County: Surrey
Parish: Staines
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 504131; 171822
Approximate start date: 300
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 10049

Description: Probably peripheral and part of the Roman *vicus* at Staines, uncovered in excavations over 0.07 ha, and located on a separate island near to the projected course of the Roman road. Site consists of a metalled surface, postholes (possibly structural), a hearth, pits, ditches, gullies, and a LR well. Site also contained 26 burials, probably not Roman (based on radiocarbon dating). Finds assemblage includes LR coins and pottery and demonstrate continued use of this part of the site well beyond the flooding period. 878 sherds.

Hayman, G.N. (2000) An archaeological excavation at 42–54 London Road, Staines. Woking: Surrey County Council Archaeology Unit: Unpublished report.

Staines, 9–11 High Street

County: Surrey
Parish: Staines
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 503428; 171529
Approximate start date: 100
Approximate end date: 200
RSRB Database number: 10016

Description: Listed as peripheral part of Staines and uncovered in excavations over 0.0034 ha, site consists of a well deposit near to the crossing of the River Thames. Should be a part of the 'Staines' data set and not a separate site.

Chapman, J., and Smith, S. (1988) 'Finds from a Roman well in Staines', *London Archaeologist* 6.1: 3–6.

Staines, Old Police Station, 10–16 London Road

County: Surrey
Parish: Staines
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 503984; 171748
Approximate start date: 150
Approximate end date: 325
RSRB Database number: 10051

Description: Peripheral part of the Roman town of Staines, uncovered in excavations over 0.125 ha, consisting of ditches, pits, and burials, along with numerous finds. 1351 sherds.

Ayres, K., Hayman, G.N. (2001) An archaeological excavation on the site of the Old Police Station and 10–16 London Road, Staines. Woking: Surrey County Council Archaeology

The Lea, Denham

County: Buckinghamshire
Parish: Denham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 504900; 186000
Approximate start date: 175
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 13077

Description: RB farm site uncovered in excavations over 0.3 ha and consisting of rectilinear enclosures associated with which were timber buildings, an oval masonry structure, and wells, along with 8 'bustum' (funeral pyre) burials. 68 sherds.

Anon (2000) Land to the West of The Lea, Denham. Archaeological evaluation report. Cirencester: Cotswold Archaeology. Report 001231: Unpublished report.

Coleman et al. (2004) 'Denham', *South Midlands Archaeology* 34: 14–17.

Thorpe Lea Nurseries

County: Surrey
Parish: Egham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 501825; 169883
Approximate start date: -100
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 10042

Description: M/LIA and Roman period farm site uncovered in excavations over 3.75 ha. Two areas of occupation in the M/LIA, one of which went out of use and one of which continued in the 4th century. The site was enclosed by a partial ER ditch, within which there may have been structures (based on the large numbers of pits, postholes, and gullies within). Burials and wells/waterholes were also found within the enclosure, as well as good evidence for ironworking. It appears that the ER saw a new period land division, when the previously open settlement was enclosed and the fields surrounding it may have been divided.

Hayman, G. N. (1992) Further archaeological evaluation at Thorpe Lea Nurseries, Near Egham, in 1992. Woking: Surrey County Council Archaeology Unit: Unpublished report.

Hayman, G. and Poulton, R. (2012) *Settlement sites and sacred offerings: prehistoric and later archaeology in the Thames Valley, near Chertsey* (Spoilheap Monograph No. 4) Spoilheap Publications.

Waylands Nursery, Wraysbury

County: Berkshire
Parish: Wraysbury
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 500123; 174401
Approximate start date: 200
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 12015

Description: RB farm or peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.15 ha and consisting of a triple-ditched enclosure, only one corner of which was excavated. Appears to have been a(n) (enclosed) farm, based on the presence of postholes that seem to form the shape of four-posters. Roman-period habitation seemed to be dated to the LR. SFBs and 5th-century pottery also indicate an early Saxon presence on the site.

Pine, J. (1998) The excavation of late Bronze Age/early Iron Age features, a late Roman enclosure and

early Saxon features at Waylands Nursery, Welley Road, Wraysbury, Berkshire. Thames Valley Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Waynflete Tower Avenue, Esher

County: Surrey
Parish: Esher
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 513500; 165100
Approximate start date: 250
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 10013

Description: Funerary site consisting of an urned cremation burial (male).

Holling, F. W. (1969) Romano-British Cremation Burial at Esher, *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 66: 119.

Western International Market, Hounslow

County: Greater London
Parish: Hounslow
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 510595; 178531
Approximate start date: 25
Approximate end date: 200
RSRB Database number: 8072

Description: LIA/ER peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.61 ha and consisting of field system ditches and some posthole groupings (animal pens? Small dwellings?). 1109 sherds, some of which may relate to cheesemaking.

Boyer, P. (2007) An Assessment of Archaeological Investigations at Western International Market, London Borough of Hounslow. London: Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd: Unpublished report.

Wood Lane, Slough

County: Berkshire
Parish: Slough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 494553; 180105
Approximate start date: -100
Approximate end date: 250
RSRB Database number: 12018

Description: Farm site occupied from the M/LIA through to the early late 2nd or early 3rd century and uncovered in excavations over 2.1 ha. Site consists of a trapezoidal enclosure (dug in the M/LIA), which was added to with internal features and a(n external) field system. In the ER, the enclosure was recut and walled with stakes, and a porch was added to the entrance. Internal and associated features include pits and waterholes. Two SFBs were built in the 2nd c. It appears to have gone out of use by the late 2nd c., but the area may have

been in use sporadically into the 3rd c. Special deposits were placed in the LIA and in the ER. 115 kg of pottery.

Entwhistle, R., Ford, S., and Taylor, K. (1998). 'The excavation of Neolithic and Roman features at Cippenham Sector, Wood Lane, Slough, Berkshire'. Thames Valley Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Ford, S., Entwistle, R., and Taylor, K. (2003). *Excavations at Cippenham, Slough, Berkshire, 1995–7* (Thames Valley Archaeological Services Monograph 3). Reading: Thames Valley Archaeological Services Ltd.

3: THE FENLAND SURVEY

12 Pieces Lane, Waterbeach

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Waterbeach
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 549940, 265580
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 140
RSRB Database number: 2174

Description: Kiln site (2 kilns) that produced Horningsea wares in the early 2nd century AD, located along the banks of the Cam and investigated in excavations over 0.19 ha. Finds (including imported pottery and animal bone) suggest that an occupation site may lie outside the area of the excavation. Huge (> 7,000 sherds) amount of pottery from the kilns themselves but few domestic finds.

Newton, A. (2010) 12 Pieces Lane, Waterbeach, Cambridgeshire; Research Archive Report. Hertford: Archaeological Solutions Ltd. Report No. 3763: Unpublished report.

122 Ermine Street, Ancaster

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Ancaster
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 498630, 344430
Approximate start date: AD 250
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24122

Description: Peripheral site consisting of a single ditch and pit (un-excavated) just outside the Roman walled town at Ancaster, investigated in excavations over 0.01 ha. Both features were later Roman in date. Only 7 sherds, a cattle bone, and a coin of Gallienus were recovered.

Anon. (2005) Land at 122 Ermine Street, Ancaster, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services Unpublished report.

31 Tunbridge Lane, Bottisham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Bottisham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 554420, 260920
Approximate start date: AD 70
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 2121

Description: Mid-Roman farm site investigated in excavations over 0.14 ha. Activity peripheral in the ER, becoming becomes more intensive in the 2nd century, when ditches, pits, postholes, and flues are put in. A corndryer dates to a slightly later period. This site may relate to a nearby site (South of Tunbridge Lane, Bottisham). Large (for this type of site) pottery assemblage (> 4,000 sherds), including regional and extra-provincial imports (amphorae and Samian). Small finds were interesting and comprised small number of agricultural tools, dressed stone (limestone) and opus signinum, a shale palette, security objects, etc. Animal bone and CPR from malting oven suggests mixed farming with emphasis on cattle/pig and spelt wheat. 3984 sherds.

Kenney, S. (2007) Roman Settlement at 31 Tunbridge Lane, Bottisham, Cambridgeshire: An Archaeological Excavation. Bar Hill, Cambridgeshire. Cambridgeshire Archaeological Unit report number 886: Unpublished report.

60 Reach Road, Burwell

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Burwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 558360, 266010
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2168

Description: Peripheral site consisting of a Roman field system (and possible pond) and burials (2nd–3rd century AD), excavated over 0.015 ha. Area thought to have been abandoned when water table rose in the LR. Only 10 sherds of pottery and minimal crop processing waste.

Allen, M. (2007) Archaeological Evaluation Report: Trial Trenching on land to the North-West of 60 Reach Road, Burwell, Cambridgeshire. Allen Archaeological Associates: Allen Archaeology Ltd: Unpublished report.

80 Wisbech Road, Littleport

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Littleport
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 556080, 287320
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 2172

Description: Peripheral LIA site consisting of pits, postholes, ditches and gullies, thought to have been a field system or animal enclosures and investigated in excavations over 0.7 ha. Less than 20 sherds of pottery suggest no intensive occupation.

Greene, R. (2008) Land Adjoining 80 Wisbech Road, Littleport, Cambridgeshire: An Archaeological Excavation Interim Report. Hertford: Archaeological Solutions Ltd. Unpublished Report No. 3008.

A11 Fiveways to Thetford

County: Suffolk
Parish: Elveden
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 580600, 279500
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 4056

Description: Roman-period occupation site (core of a farmstead), investigated in excavations over 0.12 ha, dating to the MR and consisting of pits, ditches, gullies, beam slots and post holes. Probably lay within a network of fields, as suggested by the presence of ditches in other trenches. No pottery or finds report.

Ames, J. (2004) An Interim Report on an Archaeological Evaluation at A11 Fiveways to Thetford Road Improvements Scheme. Norwich: NAU Archaeology: Unpublished report.

A14 Ellington, Site 14

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Godmanchester (Huntingdonshire)
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 522428, 268373
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2136

Description: Small M/LR farm/hamlet/vicus (unclear, area of excavation relatively small, over 0.4 ha) consisting of ditches and gullies, numerous charcoal-rich features and slag, and evidence of crop processing. CBM/roof tile suggestive of a nearby building. There was a large amount of material and the site is thought to continue outside the excavated area. Flooding on site in LR. Small (c. 170 sherd) pottery assemblage and small finds assemblage consisting of slag, CBM, cu alloy vessels, nails. Crop processing waste heavy in charred spelt. Animal bone suggests mixed farming regime.

Patten, R., Slater, A. and Standring, R. (2010) Archaeological Evaluation of Proposed A14 Ellington to Fen Ditton 2009. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

A14 Ellington site 20

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Girton (South Cambridgeshire)
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 541036, 261634
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2137

Description: Peripheral site or farmstead (revealed in small, 0.28 ha road scheme evaluation) consisting of enclosure ditches, field systems, and enough pottery (c. 644 sherds) to suggest that a settlement either lay nearby or was within the excavated area (although there was no evidence for structures). Pottery assemblage consisted of 9% finewares (high), including Nene Valley colour coat and Samian. Limited environmental evidence (small amounts of spelt wheat). Animal bone assemblage includes two cattle scapulae with marks characteristic of 'curing'.

Patten, R., Slater, A. and Standring, R. (2010) Archaeological Evaluation of Proposed A14 Ellington to Fen Ditton 2009. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit https://doi.org/10.5284/1019402

A15 Werrington to Glinton Bypass

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Glinton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 515500, 304990
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number:

Description: Farm site revealed during 0.42 ha excavation. Originated as a small enclosed farmstead in the 1st century AD, which the report authors suggest was primarily engaged in a pastoral economy. Site redefined in ER, and continuity of occupation is unclear (report notes presence of LIA brooches in ER features). In MR, complex field system emerges, which authors relate to the construction of the Car Dyke. Economy of site switches from pastoral to arable, as reflected in enormous amount of crop-processing waste in a midden. Authors suggest that based on quantities of spelt and other grains, the site was producing for export at that point. Site morphology in the 3rd century consists of construction gullies (for buildings), a stone-lined well, and ponds/quarries. Site does not appear to have lasted much beyond the start of the 4th century. Finds include coins spanning RP, 2 LIA brooches, metal tools and toilet objects (tweezers), and 30 kg of pottery. Pottery report less than 2 pages. Assemblage concentrates in MR (with material from ER and LR) and is mainly local, but with Samian, amphorae, and mortaria.

Kemp, S. (2003) Roman-British Enclosures and Crop Processing: A15 Werrington to Glinton Bypass. Archaeological Excavations 1996. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. 128: Unpublished report.

Airport Way, Teversham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Teversham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 549800, 259090
Approximate start date: AD 300
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2146

Description: Small excavations (0.1 ha) reveal LR farm site consisting of ditches, structures (rectilinear timber beam-slot buildings) and a chalk 'platform'. Small amount (c. 340 sherds) of LR pottery recovered, including NVCC, Hadham, and possibly Harrold wares and amphorae. No environmental reporting.

Report not accessible: information above paraphrased from RSRB. Bibliography: Wallis, H. (2012) Romano-British Cambridgeshire Recent Excavations. Gazetteer entry no. 16, Airport Way, Teversham. Draft Report, East Anglian Archaeology.

Alconbury Hill

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Alconbury Weston (Huntingdonshire)
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 518500, 279050
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 2192

Description: LIA/ER peripheral site (listed as a 'farm' in RSRB) near Ermine Street Roman road, revealed in small pipeline excavation (0.07 ha). Site listed as peripheral here because it covered an infinitesimal area and appears to be on the periphery of a larger site, as seen in cropmarks, the core of which was not excavated (as stressed by the excavators: Brown 2013, 17–18). Site consists of an enclosure ditch, smaller ditches and gullies, and pits. The finds assemblage includes 73 sherds of LIA and ER pottery (mainly local, with one sherd of Samian) and a single fragment of fired clay. Small amount of animal bone mainly consists of sheep/goat, which excavators suggest were farmed for wool (Brown 2013, 17). Cattle and pigs may have been reared for meat.

Brown, J. (2013) Excavation of a late Iron Age and Roman settlement at Alconbury Hill, Cambridgeshire. Northamptonshire Archaeology Report 13/176 (Unpublished report)

Allenby Road Industrial Estate Roads

County: Lincolnshire

Parish: Lincoln (Glebe Park)
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 500197, 371366
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 24115

Description: Extremely well-connected E/MR 'farm' site revealed through a combination of evaluation trenching and geophysical survey over 0.118 ha. Evaluation revealed evidence for 1+ masonry building (ER), while geophysical survey and finds (including c. 175 pieces of CBM and box flue tiles) suggests the presence of other buildings on site. Survey also indicated that the structures lay within a complex field system. Clear evidence for early-stage butchery on some of the (large) amounts of animal bone within the ditch led excavators to suggest joints were being produced "to be consumed elsewhere" (Anon. 2004, 23), although they note that this was not taking place on "an industrial scale" and may have been for domestic use (Anon. 2004, 23). The evaluation furnished c. 500 sherds of pottery, including a wide variety of locally-made jars and pots, a stamped mortarium fragment, and imports. Imports included a rare pre-Flavian Samian cup, fragments from a Camulodunum 186 amphora (from Spain, thought to contain *garum*), and fragments from a Dr. 20 amphora (Anon. 2004, 59). Rich finds assemblage, including cosmetic instruments (tweezer, spatula), metal tools, and 901 fragments of CBM (including quadrant tiles used in column construction) suggest monumental building on site (Anon. 2004, 77). Structures appear to have been deliberately demolished in the in the mid-2nd century, and pottery is mainly E/MR (not later than mid-2nd century), though two LR (Christian?) burials and a small amount of LR pottery attest to continued use of the site (Anon. 2004, 1).

Anon. (2004) Allenby Road Industrial Estate Roads, Lincoln, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Pre-Construct Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Alma Road, Peterborough

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 519023, 300364
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 2617

Description: ER peripheral site (field system) revealed by small (0.14 ha) excavation. Site consists of LIA/ER ditches and a pits, including one which from which clay kiln lining was reported. Finds assemblage limited to CBM/fired clay and an iron rod. Pottery assemblage small (334 sherds), consisting of local sandy and shelly wares and limited imports (SG Samian and sherds from a Camulodunum 186 amphora which may have contained garum). Small amount of crop processing waste and small animal bone assemblage (51% cattle).

Mudd, A., and Upson-Smith, T. (2006) 'Middle Iron Age and Late Iron Age/Early Roman enclosures at the former sports ground, Alma Road, Peterborough,' *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 34: 19–32.

Alpha Business Park, Mundford Road, Thetford

County: Norfolk
Parish: Thetford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 586100, 284500
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 4080

Description: RP peripheral site (identified as a 'farm' and 'field system' in RSRB database) revealed by 66-trench evaluation which took place over 18 ha (excavated area: 0.297 ha). Eval. revealed field system and crop-processing area: probably the fringes of a nearby settlement. Site consists of ditches, pits, postholes and a corndryer. Extremely small finds assemblage includes several illegible LR coins, a pin shaft, CBM, and slag, along with 59 sherds of locally-produced Roman pottery (Nene Valley mortarium, Pakenham colour coat, Hadham, and greyware jars etc.). Spelt wheat processing waste from corndryer. Very small assemblage of animal bone, mainly cattle, butchered.

Trimble, G. (2001) Report on an archaeological evaluation at Alpha Business Park, Mundford Road, Thetford, Norfolk. Norwich: NAU Archaeology. Report No. 636: Unpublished report.

Ancaster

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Ancaster
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 498700, 343400
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 90037; 90038; 90039;

Description: Roman walled town of Ancaster (Roman Causennae), excavated most intensively between 1962–1971 and relatively little-understood morphologically. Town lay along Ermine Street and was constructed atop a LIA settlement and a probably-Claudian fort. Within the town were masonry buildings, including one with limestone flooring. An inhumation cemetery (M/LR?) just outside the walls is thought to have been Christian, as most of the 327 graves had heads facing west, there were few grave goods, and there were a significant number of infants (36) buried in the main cemetery area. Also, just outside the town was a site referred to as the 'Basilican building', which appears to be an aisled hall-type agricultural building with corndryers.

May, J. (1965) 'SK 985543440: Basilican Building', *East Midland Archaeological Bulletin* 8: 13–14.

Ponsford, M. (1966) 'SK 987434: Basilican Building', *East Midland Archaeological Bulletin* 9: 12.

Todd, M. (1966) 'Ancaster: SK 986436', *East Midlands Archaeological Bulletin* 9: 10.

Wilson, D. (1968) 'An early Christian cemetery at Ancaster', in Barley and Hanson (eds), *Christianity in Roman Britain* 300–700: 199–204.Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Barley, M., May, J., Todd, M., and Wilson, D. (1974) 'Fort and West Cemetery', *East Midlands Archaeological Bulletin* 10: 16–17

Todd, M. (1981) *The Roman town at Ancaster, Lincolnshire: The excavations of 1955–1971*. University of Nottingham and University of Exeter: Unpublished report.

Cox, M. (1989) *The human bones from Ancaster*. AML Report 93/89: Unpublished report.

Todd, M. (1975). 'Margidunum and Ancaster', in W. Rodwell and T. Rowley (eds), *The Small Towns of Roman Britain: Papers Presented to a Conference, Oxford, 1975* (British Archaeological 15), 211–24. Oxford: British Archaeological Association.

Whitwell, J. (1982). *The Coritani: Some Aspects of the Iron Age Tribe and the Roman Civitas*, Vol. 99 (BAR British Series 99). Oxford. BAR Publishing.

Pastscape Ancaster Entry:
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=325933&resourceID=19191

Anchor Church Field, Crowland

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Crowland
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 525050, 310820
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24117

Description: Peripheral site (identified as a 'farm' in the RSRB database) with activity spanning RP, revealed by minimal investigations (fieldwalking and evaluation trenching) over 0.023 ha. Site consists of a N-S ditch which contained building materials (including CBM and 84 tesserae). No pottery report. Finds included the tesserae and building material, along with an LR coin. Plant remains appear to be windblown debris.

Anon. (2004) Anchor Church Field. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Appletrees, 48 Main Street, Baston

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Baston
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 511680, 314080
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 225
RSRB Database number: 24044

Description: Peripheral funerary site identified in small watching brief and evaluation over 0.001 ha. Site consists of an MR inhumation burial and a 3rd-

century boundary or drainage ditch. The ten test trenches produced 40 sherds of Roman pottery, mainly shell-gritted wares, alongside Nene Valley grey and colour-coated ware.

Anon. (1997) Archaeological Watching Brief at Car Dyke Drive, rear of Appletrees, 48 Main Street, Baston, Lincolnshire. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Taylor, C. (1996) Appletrees, 48 Main Street, Baston Archaeological Evaluation Report. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Arbury Camp

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 544490, 261600
Approximate start date: -400
Approximate end date: 400
RSRB Database number: 2018

Description: Univallate hillfort or ring ditch with monumental entrance. Categorised as nucleated out of an abundance of caution, although this was probably not the case. Virtually zero evidence for IA occupation in the interior, although a waterlogged ditch terminal contained Iron Age leatherwork. Evans and Knight suggest a defensive and/or monumental/ceremonial use for the enclosure, although use as a stock corral is also possible. Finds (including LR roof tiles, pottery, glass, and metalwork, animal bones, and LR coins) indicate some Roman use of the site (presumably connected to other amorphous evidence from Cawcutts Farm and the Histon Road Allotments), the nature of which remains unclear but presumably involved the manuring of agricultural lands (see Evans and Knight 2002, 44).

Alexander, J., and Trump, D. (1970) Arbury Camp, Cambridge: A preliminary report on excavations Cambridge and London, Department of Extra-mural Studies: Unpublished report.

Evans, C., and Knight, M. (2002) 'A Great Circle: Investigations at Arbury Camp, Cambridge', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 91: 23–54.

Evans, C., and Knight, M. (2008) 'Further Excavations at Arbury Camp, Cambridge: The Eastern Entrance—a Monumental Architecture', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 97: 7–30.

Arbury Road (Former Manor Farm), Kings Hedges

County: Cambridgeshire

Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 545500, 261400
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
Historic England Site Number: 1482822; 1387287
Cambridgeshire HER Numbers: SMR 05414a; 05415a; 05416a; 05419a; 05422a; 05427; 05430

Description: Site identified here as a possible 'vicus' or nucleated settlement or villa site, investigated in small eval/ excavations over the past several decades. Many of the records were inaccessible and most data was gathered from Cambridgeshire HER records. Excavations centred on a putative villa at Kings Hedges, revealed structural remains (tesserae, flue tiles, wall-plaster, robbed chalk foundations), along with LR pottery, M/LR coins, and some evidence for earlier occupation. This site is said to be located near to "a range of houses" along Arbury Road, and for this reason the site is identified here as a possible *vicus,* although this designation is unclear.

Lisboa, I., 1995. Excavations at Kings Hedges Primary School, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, Tempus Reparatum Interim Report (**not found**)

Alexander, J., et al. (1967) *Preliminary Report on Excavations at Mount Pleasant and Arbury, 1965–7*. Unpublished document: SCB569).

Alexander, J., Trump, D., Hull, R. and Farrar, R. (1967) *Excavations in Cambridge 1964–7. A Preliminary Report on Excavations at Mount Pleasant and Arbury Road* (Unpublished document: SCB567).

Alexander, J., Trump, D., Hull, R. and Farrar, R. (1968) *Arbury Road, Cambridge, 1968. A Preliminary Report of Excavations* (Unpublished document: SCB6472).

Alexander, J., Trump, D., Hall, R., Farrar, R., and Kinner, I. (1969) *Excavations in Cambridge 1969. A Preliminary Report on Excavations at Arbury Road* (Unpublished document: SCB6474).

Alexander, J. And Trump, D. (1974) *Arbury Road Site 2: 1965 A preliminary report on excavations* (Unpublished document SCB53493).

Petty, M. (1990) *Arbury and King's Hedges Scrapbook: Cambridge, Arbury, and King's Hedges Scrapbook 1897–1990: Facts, Features, and Occasional Fallacies reported in Cambridge Newspapers:* accessed May 2017: https://archive.org/stream/CambridgeArburyKingsHedgesScrapbook1897To1990/Cambridge%20Arbury%20&%20Kings%20Hedges%20Scrapbook%201897%20to%201990_djvu.txt

Evans C. & Evans M. (2002) Further evaluation fieldwork at Arbury Camp, King's Hedges Road, Cambridge/Report No 509. Cambridge Archaeological (Unpublished assessment & evaluation reports).

Knight M. (2004) Allotment Gardens Triangle, King's Hedges Road, Arbury, Cambridge: archaeological evaluation. Cambridge Archaeological Unit (Unpublished assessment & evaluation reports).

Clarke, R., 2005. A Roman Ditch and Other Features at Kings Hedges School, Cambridge: Evaluation Report. CCC AFU Rep. No. 837

Lyons, S, 2010. Smartlife Centre Land off Kings Hedges Road Cambridge Cambridgeshire: Archaeological Excavation Report. Oxford Archaeology East Report 1228.

Area M, Parney Bypass

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Gedney
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 540885, 322650
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24103

Description: Peripheral RB site excavated over 0.05 ha. Environmental data suggested crop-processing activity. While only 108 sherds of pottery were found, the quality of the pottery suggested to the excavators that a larger occupation site may lie nearby.

McDaid, D. (2003) A158/C541 Coastal Access Route. A16 and A158 Partney Bypass. Archaeological Evaluation. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Areas B–E, Baston Quarry, Langtoft

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Langtoft
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 513100, 312900
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24116

Description: Complex multi-period farm site/field system, with evidence for occupation in the LIA and M/LR, with a possible hiatus in the ER, excavated/investigated over 7.3 ha. In the M/LIA, site appears to have been engaged in salt production. Features consisted of boundary ditches, pits, a roundhouse, and ponds/waterholes. In the ER, occupation ceased. Activity intensified between the 2nd–4th century, though in this period it may have been peripheral to more intense occupation. MR features consisted of a settlement enclosure and field system, 'industrial' finds (slag, a crucible, and baked clay), pits, (some including structured deposits) and an inhumation burial. Small pottery assemblage (183 sherds, including NVCC, all local), but fairly large finds assemblage including whetstone, *ligula*, CBM, metalworking material (Roman), and an apparently Roman saddle quern.

Webley, L. (2004) Bronze Age, Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement at Baston Quarry, Langtoft, Lincolnshire: Areas B to E. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. CAU Report No. 655: Unpublished report.

ARES Site, Babraham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Babraham

Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 550950, 250800
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2128

Description: Important RB farm site beginning in the ER revealed by small (0.77 ha) excavation. Site consists of a possible rectilinear building (ER) within a complex of fields and trackways. Excavators note that occupation on site ended in the ER, after which the whole area appears to have become a series of paddocks and sheds/shelters (stables for horses?). Later, in the 3rd century, a timber building was situated within an enclosure. Finds include possible dispersed hoard (88 coins—all 3rd c. or later), metalwork (mainly nails but including an *armilla* and frag. of *lorica segmentata*). Also quernstones, CBM, agricultural tools. Moderate pottery assemblage (c. 1200 sherds), mostly jars (finewares 1%), NVCC and imports (early Samian and Gaulish amphorae). Environmental data suggest mixed farming regime, with crop processing waste and animal bone found.

Appleby, G., Armour, N., Timberlake, S. (2007) The ARES Site, Babraham Research Campus, Cambridgeshire - An Archaeological Excavation. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. CAU Report No.752: Unpublished report.

Ash Plantation (Site 2)

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533196, 259893
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 2009

Description: Small Roman farm site uncovered during roadway excavations over 2.4 ha. ER trackway was overlain by enclosed MR farm that was unusual in that it contained at least one roundhouse that continued in use into the 3rd century. Pottery not quantified. Finds included nails, slag, buckle plate.

Abrams, J., Ingham, D., Archer, J., and Lightning, J. (2008). *Farming on the Edge: Archaeological Evidence from the Clay Uplands to the West of Cambridge* (123). Bedford. Albion Archaeology.

Ashton

County: Northamptonshire
Parish: Tansor
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 504801, 288986
Approximate start date: 50 BC

Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 26124

Description: RB roadside settlement thought to cover c. 30 ha, uncovered during road development work (excavation only 0.95 ha). LIA activity attested by possible masonry roundhouse, pottery kilns, and imported LIA finewares and an LIA coin. Roman period occupation attested from the (mid- to late) 2nd c. RB features included roads flanked by at least 8 rectilinear buildings, some of which furnished evidence for metalworking. Cropmarks and pottery scatters suggest site continued over 30. Lead tank (with Chi Rho sign) attests to Christian activity. Other finds included a worked stone column. No pottery, environmental, or animal bone report.

Hadman, J. and Upex, S. (1975) 'The Roman Settlement at Ashton near Oundle', *Durobrivae* 3: 13–15.

Guy, C. (1977) 'Ashton 1976', *Durobrivae* 5: 6–11.

Guy, C. (1979) 'Ashton 1977–8', *Durobrivae* 7: 29–30.

Dix, B. and Hadman, J. (1984) 'Ashton Roman Town: Archaeological Rescue Excavation', *Durobrivae* 9: 26–27.

Hadman, J. and Upex, S. (1984) 'Ashton 1979–82', *Durobrivae* 9: 28–30.

Ashwicken

County: Norfolk
Parish: King's Lynn
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 568325, 317826
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 4061

Description: Short lived RB industrial (metalworking) site consisting of a trackway, ditches, hearths, furnace pits, and much slag, excavated over 0.03 ha.

Tylecote, R. and Owles, E. (1960) 'A Second-Century Iron Smelting site at Ashwicken, Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeology* 32: 142–62.

Baird's Mill, Ermine Street, Ancaster

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Ancaster
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 498650, 344320
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400

RSRB Database number: 24135

Description: MR peripheral site (field system) situated 650 m north of the RB town of Ancaster and excavated over 0.022 ha. Site consists of a spread of animal bone and 19 sherds of pottery, along with a rare patera handle that the RRSD database notes ”is usually associated with the military.”

Anon (2006) Land at Baird's Mill, Ermine Street, Ancaster, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Bannold Lodge, Chittering

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Chittering
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 549988, 269095
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2108

Description: RB farm/peripheral site revealed during fieldwalking and excavations over 0.48 ha. Site consists of a 1st-century roundhouse overlain by 2nd-century enclosure ditches, a droveway, and an inhumation. No evidence for crop processing, but there was evidence for cattle butchery. Small pottery assemblage (327 sherds), most of which is greyware (Horningsea), with some finewares/mortaria (mainly local). Imports (Samian) were reported.

Whittaker, P. (1997) Excavations at Bannold Lodge, Chittering, Cambridgeshire. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 226: Unpublished report.

Barnack

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Barnack
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 508100, 306600
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2105

Description: M/LR peripheral (and *possible* farm) site revealed during small (0.03 ha) excavation. Site seems to have been used for both agricultural processing and occupation. Occupation seems to have begun in the later 2nd/early 3rd with a series of ditches, pits, and a grave. Cropmarks suggest that these features were part of a larger network of fields and enclosures. A road ditch, a complex of enclosures and trackways, and a large aisled building was constructed in the later 3rd century, into which were built several metalworking hearths. This was replaced by a smaller masonry building in the 3rd/4th century (?), into which were placed two corndryers. Finds consist of metallurgical debris (inc. coal), tools, personal objects (jewellery), vessel glass, coins (which

were stolen prior to study) and part of a limestone (cult) statue. Pottery not quantified but contained imports (Samian). Much crop processing waste.

Simpson, W. G. (1993). 'The excavation of Romano-British aisled buildings at Barnack, Cambridgeshire', 102–126. In W. Simpson (ed.), *The Fenland Project No. 7: Excavations in Peterborough and the Lower Welland Valley 1960–1969, (*East Anglia Archaeological Report 61).

Baston Drove, Thurlby

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Thurlby
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 512000, 316460
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24193
RSRB Database number:24193

Description: Fenland Project excavations (area=0.055 ha) revealed an E/MR field system. Features include of a pit with built-in stairs and a second pit containing complete vessel. Located within a larger field system and probably part of a larger site outside excavated area. No finds data provided. Environmental samples indicate that crop processing was not carried out in this location.

Crowson, A., Lane, T. and Reece, J. (2000) *Fenland Management Project Excavations 1991–1995* (Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage Reports Series 3). Sleaford: Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage.

Beck Row, Mildenhall

County: Suffolk
Parish: Mildenhall
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 568940, 277870
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 5007

Description: LIA/RP farm site revealed by excavation and evaluation over c. 2.1 ha. While there was some IA activity, intense occupation began in the 1st century AD (either pre- or post-conquest) with the construction of enclosures and field boundaries. Nearby evaluations suggest that this site lay within a wider system of fields. An aisled building was constructed in the 2nd century and was rebuilt in the 3rd century after having burnt down. A possible corndryer was identified within. Finds of painted plaster and CBM indicate that it may have been decorated. Animal bone assemblage contains usual domesticates along with wild fowl, red deer, and oyster shell, and there is evidence for primary and secondary butchering on site, as well as antler working. The aisled building is seen as a malthouse on the basis of environmental samples with much malted

grain. Quern and 'millstone' fragments (diameter not provided) also suggest grain processing. Rich finds assemblage includes LIA and Roman coins (those from the evals span RP, but around aisled building were limited to later Roman cu alloy coins) and brooches and small finds 'typical' of aisled buildings: metal tablewares, a statuette, a bell, lead weights, 'toilet' objects (including a cosmetic grinder), a harness ring, and a lava quern. The pottery assemblage was small (c. 1700 sherds) and consisted mainly of local and regional coarsewares (79% of sherds and 66% of weight, MNL 610, 21), alongside some regional specialist and finewares (Verulamium & Colchester = early. later NV and Oxfordshire), although Dr. 20 amphorae and (later – CG and EG) Samian ware were reported.

Craven, J. (2008) Land adjoining Smoke House Inn and Skelton's Drove, Beck Row, Mildenhall. Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 2008/07: Unpublished report.

Brooks, R. (2009) MNL 610, Former CES Building. Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS report no. 2009/015: Unpublished report.

Craven, J. (2009) MNL 618 Former Smoke House Inn and MNL 619 Land adjacent The Street and Holmsey Green Road, Beck Row, Mildenhall. Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 2009/240: Unpublished report.

Craven, J. (2006) PIK Housing, Washington Street, Beck Row, Mildenhall, MNL 570. Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 2006/187: Unpublished report.

Bales, E. (2004) *A Roman Maltings at Beck Row, Mildenhall, Suffolk* (East Anglian Archaeology Occasional Paper 20). Ipswich: East Anglian Archaeology.

Bedford Purlieus Wood, Thornhaugh near Peterborough

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Thornhaugh near Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 504525, 299984
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2069

Description: Very small (0.009 ha) Time Team evaluation revealed M/LR villa site, apparently built in the courtyard style and containing a bath house and ironworking complex. Report only 49 pages: no finds catalogue. Pottery c. 400 sherds, mostly later Roman, including locally-produced NV greywares and NVCC, black-burnished wares, CG Samian, Dr. 20 amphorae. Environmental sample from within building collapse suggests a grain store had burned.

Hogg, I. (2010) Bedford Purlieus Wood, Thornhaugh near Peterborough, Cambridgeshire. Archaeological evaluation and assessment of results. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Report reference: 71512.01: Unpublished report.

Blackborough End, Middleton

County: Norfolk
Parish: Middleton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 565500, 314400
Approximate start date: AD 250
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 4042

Description: LR saltern over 0.18ha, consisting of a large mount surrounded by a seawater irrigation ditch fed by two channels. Within the mound lay hearths and settling tanks. All pottery dates to the 3rd–4th centuries, after which the site was apparently abandoned during a period of flooding. Pottery (only 400 sherds quantified) consists mainly of coarsewares from the Nar Valley. Environmental samples contained wheat, but do not indicate crop processing on site. Woodland management (coppicing) may have occurred.

Anon. (1992) Fenland Management Project Norfolk Excavations at Middleton Saltern Mound. Norwich: NAU Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Blackhorse Lane, Swavesey

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Swavesey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 536000, 268800
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 60
RSRB Database number: 2022

Description: LIA/ER periphery of a larger site located on the fen edge, excavated over 1.2 ha. Site consists of pottery kilns, ditch systems, and one cremation burial. 780 sherds of pottery from kilns: mainly hand-made jars and bowls.

Willis, S. et al. (2008) 'Late Iron Age/Early Roman Pottery Kilns at Blackhorse Lane, Swavesey, 1998–9', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 97: 53–76.

Bluntisham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Bluntisham (Huntingdonshire)
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 536900, 274550
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 125
RSRB Database number: 2020

Description: LIA/ER peripheral or farm site (identified as farm here following RSRB), excavated over 0.25 ha, consisting of ditches, pits, and postholes, some of which may have formed a rectilinear timber building. Very small pottery assemblage (fewer than 250 sherds) and sparse finds (3 frags of CBM and a single nail) suggests most activity happened off site.

Burrow, A .and Mudd, A. (2008) An Early Bronze Age pit, and Iron Age burial and late Iron Age/early Roman settlement at Bluntisham, Cambridgeshire: Excavations 2005. Northampton: Northamptonshire Archaeology. 08/42: Unpublished report.

Burrow, A. and Mudd, A. (2010) 'Early Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman pit deposits at Bluntisham', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 99: 61–74.

Bob's Wood, The Stukeleys, Hinchingbrooke

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Huntingdon
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 522117, 272514
Approximate start date: 300 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB database number: 2103

Description: Multi-period farm site revealed in eval/excavation (over 8.5 ha) beginning in the MIA as a large farm/hamlet, with roundhouses, enclosures, and field systems. Excavators suggest the inhabitants may have been specializing in cattle breeding. Occupation continued through the conquest period (with a possible military presence?). In the ER, the field boundaries and enclosures were reorganised, a pottery kiln was built, and an aisled building was constructed, near to which was a cemetery containing the remains of c. 23 individuals (cremations, inhumations, adult and neonate, and flexed/prone burials). In the MR, two rectilinear timber buildings were built. One had a masonry porch, mosaic floors, plastered walls, and a hypocaust system. Rich finds assemblage includes much evidence for iron working (including a crucible). Many (16) LIA brooches, nearly 100 Roman coins spanning RP, over 21,000 sherds of pottery, including the "usual suspects" (Samian, Dr. 20 amphorae, and locally-produced wares). Finds "typical" of aisled sites (though I could not find all in the site reports, not all of which are accessible via either the RSRB or OA online): military fittings (*armillae*) and armour, a mirror handle, a copper bell, hobnails, vessel glass, harness fittings and an amulet. "Core" settlement finds, such as querns (and reported millstones, again not accessible in the report). Evidence for exploitation of natural resources and cattle/sheep breeding on site, and *some* evidence for crop processing in area.

Hinman, M. (2003) Bob's Wood, the Story So Far. An introduction to the Hinchingbrooke Excavations. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit: Unpublished report.

Bogle Holt, Martin, Plot 88

County: Lincolnshire
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 510770, 358928
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number:24188

Description: MR field system/peripheral site located during pipeline trenching (watching brief) over 0.15 ha. Site consists of a trapezoidal enclosure (seen as a stock pen) and the rectilinear enclosures of a field system. Tile fragments and pottery suggest that a habitation site may lie nearby. Finds include CMB and 117 sherds of pottery, including Samian and amphorae. Environmental evidence meagre.

Network Archaeology (1999) Hatton to Silk Willoughby 1050mm Gas Pipeline: Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Network Archaeology. Report No. 134: Unpublished report.

Boneyard Reeddam, Sedgeford

County: Norfolk
Parish: Sedgeford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 570973, 336385
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 4090

Description: LIA shrine (peripheral) site discovered by metal detectors, who found an LIA coin hoard placed "inside the broken knee end of a cow's upper right front leg bone," (RSRB). Site consists of gullies and pits, and a circular enclosure (made up of pits). Structured deposits were found in these features.

Dennis, M., and Faulkner, N. (2005) *The Sedgeford Hoard*. Stroud: Tempus.

Boston Grammar School

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Boston
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533070, 343720
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24045

Description: Excavations over 0.0036 ha uncovered M/LR saltern (peripheral) site that was possibly located near domestic activity (evidenced by marine shell, animal bones, and egg shell). Site consists of charcoal deposit within which probable clay briquetage was found, hammerscale, and vitrified hearth material. Minimal finds, including only 7 sherds of M/LR pottery.

Cope-Faulkner, P. (1996) Boston Grammar School Archaeological Evaluation Report. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Boston Railway, Site 13, Area 89, Plot 22/3

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Boston
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 509120, 345280
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 225
RSRB Database number: 24131

Description: LIA/ER farm site near Old Sleaford, identified during Hatton to Silk Willoughby Pipeline wore. Site consists of rectilinear enclosures and a possible roundhouse, along with a burial. Limited finds assemblage and c. 990 sherds of LIA-3rd c. pottery, including locally-produced wares and continental imports. Small finds included early loomweights (pre-Roman), a shoe, two quern fragments, 7 fragments of CBM, and 2 pieces of slag.

Anon. (2006) Hatton to Silk Willoughby Gas Pipeline 2001, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Lincoln: Network Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Bourn Airfield (Site 3)

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 534102, 259746
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2010

Description: LIA/RP field system site which may have been on the fringes of a permanently occupied settlement in the LR. Site uncovered during roadway excavations over 1.25 ha, which revealed LIA stock/agricultural enclosures, an ER drove/trackway and possible stock enclosures, and a possible MR ladder enclosure. At this point, permanent occupation may have begun nearby, represented by new enclosures, a coin hoard, and an LR cremation burial. No pottery report. Very few small finds—as RSRB says, "mostly nails." Environmental reports both provide minimal evidence.

Abrams, J., Ingham, D., Archer, J., and Lightning, J. (2008). *Farming on the Edge: Archaeological Evidence from the Clay Uplands to the West of Cambridge* (123). Bedford. Albion Archaeology.

Bourne-Morton Canal

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Bourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 514580, 323910
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 50

RSRB Database number: 24195

Description: Peripheral saltern site along the Bourne-Morton Roman canal, revealed during small (0.025 ha) excavation. Salt production may have been seasonal and may have taken place over a single season. Fuel for the saltern was crop-processing waste. No pottery and no finds other than briquetage.

Trimble, D. (2001) 'The Salt Making Evidence from the Bourne-Morton Canal', in Lane and Morris (eds) *A Millennium of Saltmaking: Prehistoric and Romano-British Salt Production in the Fenland* (Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage Reports Series 4). Heckington: Heritage Lincolnshire.

Crowson, A., Lane, T. and Reece, J. (2000) 'Cross Drove, Morton', in Crowson (ed) 'Fenland Management Project Excavations 1991–1995 (Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage Reports Series). Heckington: Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire.

Bourne, Bourne Grammar School

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Bourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 509850, 319550
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24039

Description: Part of a known roadside settlement (King Street Roman Road). Present features date to the E/MR and were revealed by a watching brief (and also studied in a PhD thesis) over 0.237 ha. Site consists of ditches, pits, gullies, a pottery kiln, much evidence for ironworking (in addition to the pottery production). Very few finds (mainly metalworking debris) and only 85 sherds mentioned, including very small amounts of Samian, amphorae, and mortaria.

Williams, M. (2001) Bourne Grammar School, Bourne, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation Watching Brief. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2004) Bourne Grammar School, Bourne, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (1995) Archaeological Watching Brief at Bourne Grammar School, Bourne, Lincolnshire.. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2000) Land south-west of Bourne vol.2of2, Bourne, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. John Samuels Archaeological Consultants: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2001) Bourne Grammar School, South Road, Bourne, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2002) Land at Bourne Grammar School South Road, Bourne, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2003) Land at Bourne Grammar School, Bourne, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Bourne, South Fields, South Road

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Bourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 509650, 319650
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24072

Description: Another part of the RB roadside settlement at King Street Roman Road. This area revealed large clay extraction pits, ironworking activity, and 3rd-century land divisions. Within these plots, one small rectilinear timber building was constructed, along with a hearth, and two burials (one adult and one child) were associated with the structure. After some M/LR flooding, another timber structure was built. Unclear whether or not this site was 'nucleated' or a 'normal rural site'.

Anon. (1999) South Road, Bourne, Lincolnshire. Land off South Fields. Archaeological Evaluation Excavation and Watching Brief. Lindsey Archaeological Services. LAS Report No. 352: Unpublished report.

Bourne, South West Bourne

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Bourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 509200, 319500
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24079

Description: Another part of the putative King Street Roman Road roadside settlement, revealed by evaluation trenching. Site consists of linear ditches and gullies, pits and gullies (possibly relating to structures), and rubbish pits. Briquetage and much evidence for iron working were identified. Pottery mainly 'imported' from outside the region, including usual suspects of Samian and amphorae.

Anon. (2000) Land south-west of Bourne Vol.1, Bourne, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. John Samuels Archaeological Consultants: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2000) Land south-west of Bourne Vol.2, Bourne, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. John Samuels Archaeological Consultants: Unpublished report.

Bradley Fen

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Whittlesey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 523500, 297800

Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2127

Description: Large-area excavation over 23.3 ha revealed part of a Roman road, underlain by gravel quarries (presumably used to build the road). Road flanked by field ditches and the periphery of a possible settlement, represented by settlement enclosures and a roundhouse. 500 m. to the west is the Stonald Fen (prehistoric) causeway. Extremely limited pottery assemblage (63 sherds), included Samian ware.

Gibson, D., Knight, M. (2006) Bradley Fen Excavations 2001–2004, Whittlesey, Cambridgeshire. An Archaeological Assessment Report. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 733: Unpublished report.

Brampton Road, Buckden

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Buckden
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 520330, 268930
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2164

Description: MR field system during small-scale evaluation over 0.05 ha. Site consists of a possible enclosure, boundary/droveway ditches, and a watering hole. A more intensive Roman settlement is known to exist to the south of the site. Small finds assemblage (100 sherds), mainly locally-produced, small amounts of Samian. Only 11 bone fragments.

Burrow, A., Foard-Colby, A. (2006) Archaeological Evaluation at Brampton Road, Buckden, Cambridgeshire. Northampton: Northamptonshire Archaeology. 06/146: Unpublished report.

Brandon Road, Swaffham

County: Norfolk
Parish: Swaffham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 582584, 307356
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 4047

Description: Peripheral E/MR site revealed during eval/excavation over 0.4 ha, reflecting agricultural use, in the form of an enclosure/field system, a corndryer, a clay quarry pit, and a posthole. Finds include 19 sherds of pottery and 1 fragment of CBM.

Barker, B., Bell, A., Luke, M., Wells J. (2005) Land off Brandon Road, Swaffham, Norfolk –

Archaeological Field Evaluation. Albion Archaeology: Albion Archaeology. 2005/62: Unpublished report.

--- (2006) Land off Brandon Road, Swaffham, Norfolk - Archaeological Investigation. Albion Archaeology: Albion Archaeology. 2006/35: Unpublished report.

Brauncewell Limestone Quarry

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Brauncewell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 503200, 352100
Approximate start date: 300 BC
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 24029

Description: Multi-period site revealed by survey and excavation over 3.145 ha. Earliest occupation in the form of an enclosure with 6 roundhouses (MIA?), a LIA triple-ditched and palisaded enclosure and other enclosures (at least one for stock). After a short hiatus, the site was reused from the mid-2nd c, as a limestone quarry complex and settlement site. While the site was categorised as a "farm" throughout the period, it is possible that the main area of occupation in the Roman period lay outside the area of excavation. 2nd- and 3rd-century features included enclosures, agricultural processing facilities (including a corndryer and a granary), and burials. Finds limited to a nail, a late La Tène sword, and 5 quern fragments. Pottery assemblage (c. 1900 sherds) mainly dated to MR, and contained all the 'usual suspects' included locally and regionally produced wares, Samian, amphorae, and mortaria.

Tipper, J. B. (1994) Archaeological Excavations at Brauncewell Limestone Quarry. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2004) Brauncewell Limestone Quarry Excavations and Watching Brief 2001–2, Brauncewell, Lincolnshire. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2005) Brauncewell Limestone Quarry Extension, Brauncewell, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Taylor, C. (1998) Brauncewell limestone quarry extension, Lincolnshire. Excavations 1997. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Bretton Way, Peterborough

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 516062, 300812

Approximate start date: 200 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2149

Description: Multi-period farm and agricultural site revealed by a small-scale (0.35 ha) excavation. In the LIA, site consisted of 2+ roundhouses and enclosure ditches. In the ER, there was a hiatus of occupation, as a field system spread out across the site. In the LR (late 3rd–4th c.), an aisled building was constructed, and a rectangular well, lined with (limestone) monumental building stone was dug. Pottery assemblage (> 3000 sherds) spans occupation period but mainly LR, mainly NVCC, greywares, and creamwares, along with Samian, amphorae, and mortaria. Finds assemblage included agricultural tools, 46 fragments of leather shoes, hobnails, jewellery, nails, and monumental building blocks (among other things, the full list is not here). Bone working occurred on site. Nothing surprising in environmental reports.

Pickstone, A. (2011) Iron Age and Roman remains at Bretton Wat, Peterborough. Post Excavation Assessment. Cambridge: Oxford Archaeology East. Report No. 1230: Unpublished report.

Pickstone, A. and J. Drummond-Murray (2013) 'A LR Well or Cistern and Ritual Deposition at Bretton Way, Peterborough', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 102: 37–66.

Brickfield Stud, Newmarket

County: Suffolk
Parish: Newmarket
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 562547, 265096
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 5075

Description: MR field system, perpendicular to metalled Roman road (unnamed) revealed by survey and evaluation over 11 ha (excavation only 0.7 ha). Possible occupation near some of the enclosure ditches, based on quantity and quality of finds (which only included 124 sherds of Roman pottery…). Finds include CBM, burnt food waste, and the mainly-local assemblage consisting of Horningsea wares, NVCC, and CG Samian.

Anon. (2014) Evaluation of Paddocks at Brickfield Stud, Newmarket. Bar Hill: Oxford Archaeology East: Unpublished report.

Broadway Farm

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 532195, 258240
Approximate start date: 0

Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 2037

Description: LIA settlement revealed during excavation over 1.2 ha, comprised of three enclosures, several hearths, pits/postholes and two ditches. Quantities of daub suggest presence of structures. Small finds assemblage—just fired clay daub and 215 sherds of M/LIA pottery. Unremarkable environmental samples.

Allen, M. and Wright, J. (2009). *Cambourne New Settlement: Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement on the Clay Uplands of West Cambridgeshire* (Wessex Archaeology Report 23). Salisbury. Wessex Archaeology.

Bunkers Hill, Lincoln

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Lincoln
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 500430, 372920
Approximate start date: 500 BC
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24095

Description: 'Peripheral' site (field system) revealed in excavation over 0.3 ha. Site consists of a ditched boundary with evidence for LIA use of the site (in the form of LIA pottery in the upper fills of the ditch). Trackway and pits and postholes may be related to domestic and agricultural use of the boundary as a stock control feature. In the LIA, metalworking took place on site (evidenced by iron slag and hammerscale). Unstratified 2nd c. pottery suggests that the trackway may have continued in use into the RP. Small pottery assemblage (143) LIA/RP sherds mainly E/MR, including creamware and CG Samian.

Anon. (2002) Bunkers Hill, Lincoln, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation. City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit: Unpublished report.

Camp Ground, Colne Fen

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Earith
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 537750, 278250
Approximate start date: 500 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2062

Description: Important multi-period nucleated (hamlet) settlement, revealed by intensive excavation over 5.14 ha, interpreted as an inland (Fenland) trading port, in use from the MIA to 5th C AD. In the M/LIA, the site consisted of 6+ roundhouses within and around two enclosures, with a potential shrine. After a putative conquest period military phase, an E/MR port village was established c. AD 120 around a road or trackway. The area of the *vicus* was divided by large rectilinear enclosures, within which numerous (~ 52) rectilinear structures,

aisled buildings, a granary, and perhaps a shrine or altar, were built. The quantity and quality of the finds (a sculptural Jupiter panel, > 73,000 sherds of Roman pottery, > 2000 Roman coins, etc.) illustrate the importance of this site in the microregional network. Much cereal and livestock processing took place here, along with possible linseed oil production. LR building may have been on *terpen* mounds in response to rising water levels.

Regan, R., Evans, C. and Webley, L. (2004) The Camp Ground Excavations. Colne Fen, Earith. Assessment Report. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 654: Unpublished report.

Evans, C., Appleby, G., Lucy, S., and Regan, R. (2013). *Process and History. Romano-British Communities at Colne Fen, Earith: an Inland Port and Supply Farm.* (CAU Landscape Archives: The Archaeology of the Lower Ouse Valley, Vol. II). Cambridge. Cambridge Archaeological Unit.

Car Dyke Farm, Landbeach

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Landbeach
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 547500, 266100
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2140

Description: MR peripheral site revealed by small scale excavations along a section of Roman Akeman Street. Site consists of field systems, droveways, and a possible farm, consisting of an enclosure, a roundhouse, and other enclosures. Originally categorised as peripheral based on the paucity of data, but perhaps should have been categorised as a farm.

Wallis, H. (2012) Romano-British Cambridgeshire Recent Excavations. Gazetteer entry no. 8, Landbeach, Car Dyke Farm (Akeman Street). Draft Report East Anglian Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Car Dyke, Waterbeach

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Waterbeach
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 549600, 264200
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2147

Description: Peripheral kiln site identified during excavations of the Car Dyke that confirmed its function as a canal that linked the Cam, Old West, and Ouse rivers. Hadrianic/Antonine construction date confirmed by pottery in the lowest canal fills. Other kilns were also identified in the area, and a building was identified as a warehouse. Over 6,000 sherds of pottery from the kilns, but the assemblage also includes other wares, including Samian ware. No environmental remains from the dry land, but a sample from within the canal revealed pests common in stored grain, presumably being shipped through.

Macaulay, S. (2012) Romano-British Cambridgeshire Recent Excavations. Gazetteer, Car Dyke, Waterbeach. Draft Report: East Anglian Archaeology Unpublished report.

Castor Barns Time Team Excavation

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 512450, 298420
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2073

Description: MR villa or hamlet site examined during evaluations and a watching brief over 0.15 ha. Identified here as a 'villa/farm' based on layout, though may have been a village? Eleven buildings were uncovered, including at least two bath houses (with hypocausts and mosaic floors) and a temple, occupied over two main phases from the 2nd c. to the end of the Roman period. Seen as a potential administrative complex (perhaps inhabited after abandonment of Stonea Grange began, according to RRSD). Limited excavations constrain ability to interpret site – only ~500 sherds (including usual Samian, amphorae, mortaria) of pottery have been reported, etc.

Cope-Faulkner, P. (2010) Archaeological Investigations at Castor Barns, Peterborough Road, Castor, Peterborough (CPR 09). Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report. APS Report No. 58/10: Unpublished report.

Lucas, G. (1998) From Roman Villa to Saxo-Norman Village: An Archaeological Evaluation at The Cedars, Castor. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 260: Unpublished report.

Thompson, S. (2011) Castor, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, Archaeological Evaluation and Assessment of Results. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Report reference: 74155.01: Unpublished report.

Cat's Water, Fengate

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough

Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 521577, 298906
Approximate start date: 500 BC
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2065

Description: IA hamlet and RB farm site revealed by Pryor's famous excavations over 2.5 ha. MIA site consisted of roundhouses and rectilinear enclosures on the high ground in a very wet environment. In the LIA, droveways defined the edges of the settlement. After hiatus, droveways and trackways dating to the RP have been identified. While no MR structures were identified, other domestic features were (wells, waterholes, domestic debris, 60 kg of Roman pottery – including a cheese press). Flooding seems to have caused abandonment of settlement in 3rd c. Large(ish) ceramic assemblage (> 2,000 sherds) mainly 2nd c., including amphorae, Samian, mortaria.

Pryor, F. (1984) 'Excavation at Fengate, Peterborough, England: the Fourth Report (Northamptonshire Archaeological Society Monograph 2) Northamptonshire Archaeological Society.

Cedar Close, March

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: March
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 542200, 297300
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2023

Description: RP salt-making and agricultural (?) site revealed in 1.25 ha excavation. Saltern lies within landscape of field systems, enclosures, and droveways, in two phases (ER and LR), with possible flooding in the MR. Pottery not quantified but said to be minimal.

Lane, T. *et al*. (2008) 'Excavations on a Roman saltmaking Site at Cedar Close, March, Cambridgeshire', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 97: 89–110.

Chapel Gate, Whaplode Drove

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Whaplode
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 532000, 313700
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24096

Description: RP saltern and peripheral site associated with important cropmark site recorded in 1970. Excavation over 0.07 ha. Finds from the vicinity attest to the presence of a large and important site (MR pottery, coins, brick, tile and a limestone altar). Only 1 sherd of greyware was found in association with saltern.

Anon. (2002) Chapel Gate, Whaplode Drove, Whaplode, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2002) Chapel Gate, Whaplode Drove, Whaplode, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2002) Chapel Gate, Whaplode Drove, Whaplode, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Childerley gate (Site 5)

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 535973, 259854
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 450
RSRB Database number: 2011

Description: M/LR farm and peripheral site near a minor RP road, revealed during road scheme excavation over 2.4 ha. Site consists of a ladder system which furnished no evidence for E/MR occupation. In the 3rd c., the site was refurbished, with a pond and a beam-slot building being constructed. There was also a quarry pit and potentially pottery production onsite. Refurbished again in the 4th century when a new building, pits, ponds and enclosures were constructed. This period also furnished a coin hoard containing over 4500 coins (!). The site may have been occupied in the early 5th c. Finds assemblage accords with other ladder systems (i.e., more metalwork than 'normal' and some military finds). Large pottery assemblage of over 6,000 sherds, including some perforated vessels that might have been used as strainers(?) or in malting(?). Germinated wheat also found in environmental samples.

Abrams, J., Ingham, D., Archer, J., and Lightning, J. (2008). *Farming on the Edge: Archaeological Evidence from the Clay Uplands to the West of Cambridge* (123). Bedford. Albion Archaeology.

Coates Road, Eastrea

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Whittlesey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 535973, 259854
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 2175

Description: LIA field system and enclosure revealed in excavation over 0.15 ha. Only 15 sherds of pottery. Environmental samples suggest evidence for cultivation nearby.

Taylor, G. (2010) Archaeological excavation on land at Coates Road, Eastrea, Whittlesey, Cambridgeshire (EACR10). Heckington: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report. 35/11|87/10: Unpublished report.

Coldham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Whittlesey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 544800, 302700
Approximate start date: AD 70
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2183

Description: RP farm and peripheral site initially thought to have been a village based on its location 'at the centre of network of local trackways,' according to the RSRB. Early excavations revealed timber clay floored structures, while later excavation a small ER enclosure overlain by an MR spread that is said to have contained much pottery, but none of this has been quantified.

Potter, T. W. (1965) 'The Roman Pottery from Coldham Clamp and its affinities', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 58: 2–37.

Potter, T. W. (1981) 'The Roman Occupation of the Central Fenland', *Britannia* 12: 79–133.

Coton to Bourn Booster Pipeline

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Knapwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533900, 260026
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2130

Description: RP farm site revealed during pipeline excavation over 0.288 ha, consisting of enclosures, ditches, and trackways within which were pits, possible structures (roundhouses) and refuse. Small finds assemblage contains box flue tile, quernstones, and metal tools. Approx. 1,800 sherd pottery assemblage mainly local coursewares but with the usual Samian, amphorae, and mortaria. Environmental samples suggest spelt was being grown. Small animal bone assemblage.

Murrell, K. (2010) Coton to Bourn Booster Pipeline, Cambridgeshire: An Archaeological Evaluation and Excavation. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. CAU report number 911: Unpublished report.

Cottenham to Landbeach

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cottenham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 547292, 268026
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2105

Description: MR peripheral site (field system and isolated 2nd c. cremation burial) revealed in pipeline eval over 1.5 ha. Site near cropmarks thought to pertain to RB settlement and trackway. Grave goods were the only pottery.

Hall, C. (1999) Archaeological Investigations of the Anglian Water Cottenham to Landbeach Sewage Pumping Main, Cambridgeshire. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 345: Unpublished report.

Cotterstock

County: Northamptonshire
Parish: Cotterstock
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 503189, 291040
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 26105

Description: Large RB courtyard villa discovered in the 18th century. Because most of the work on the site was antiquarian (modern excavation covered 0.02 ha), there is little data on villa development, but the site is thought to have morphed from a cottage-house villa to a winged corridor villa and then into a courtyard villa, with other buildings in the same complex including a possible aisled building. Geophysical survey showed round structure that could be a roundhouse (or something else). Small pottery assemblage (1800 sherds), mainly local, with some Samian and amphorae.

Upex, S. (2001) 'The Roman Villa at Cotterstock, Northamptonshire', *Britannia* 32: 57–91.

Covells Drain

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Swavesey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 535050, 269100
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2170

Description: M/LR peripheral site revealed during small evaluation over 0.13 ha. Droveway and enclosure ditches, along with a possible roundhouse, thought to be fringes of larger settlement. Pottery assemblage (150 sherds) is LR and 25% finewares. Environmental data suggests crop processing nearby.

Murrell, K. (2007) Land Adjacent to Covells Drain, Swavesey, Cambridge; An Archaeological Evaluation. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Cambridge Archaeological Unit Report Number 767|Event Number ECB2532: Unpublished report.

Creeton Quarry

County: Lincolnshire
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 499970, 320820
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24171

Description: MR industrial site excavated (0.1925 ha) prior to quarrying operations. Smelting furnaces, ditch/gully, pits, several tonnes of slag, and ore furnaces. Only 22 sherds of pottery recovered (including Samian).

Cowgill, J., Trimble, R. (1995) A Romano-British Iron Smelting site at Creeton Quarry, Lincolnshire. Assessment Report. Lincoln: City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit. CLAU Archaeological Report Number 155: Unpublished report.

Crow Hall Park

County: Norfolk
Parish: Downham Market
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 560922, 302166
Approximate start date: AD 1
Approximate end date: AD 75
RSRB Database number: 4010

Description: LIA/ER nucleated settlement revealed in small excavation over 0.45 ha. Site comprised of ditches, pits, and several roundhouses. Pottery assemblage small (402 sherds) and all local except for a single Hofheim flagon.

Percival, J. and Trimble, G. (2008) 'Excavations at Crow Hall Park, London Road, Downham Market, 1999–2000', *Norfolk Archaeology* 45: 293–336.

DBD97, Deeping Bypass West Deeping

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Market Deeping
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 512759, 310398
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24074

Description: MR enclosure (size and location of excavation makes it unclear if domestic or not), identified during small excavation (0.16 ha), aerial survey, and geophysical survey. Iron smelting may have taken place on site. Site identified as a farm in RSRB, but only 72 sherds of pottery recovered, and very little environmental data recovered, so identified as peripheral site here.

Anon. (1999) Market Deeping Bypass (Lincolnshire section) Volume 1: Results of evaluation, , Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2000) Market Deeping Bypass Volume 1, Market Deeping, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2000) Market Deeping Bypass Volume 3, Market Deeping, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2000) Market Deeping Bypass Volume 4, Market Deeping, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Denver/Downham Market

County: Norfolk
Parish: Denver
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 559145, 300577
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 4019

Description: Thought to be the site of a roadside settlement, but excavation minimal (0.1 ha) and site needs more investigation. At this point, one roundhouse (ER?) has been identified. This site is also home to the Roman fen causeway and a 3rd c. salt production site. Finds and pottery assemblages comparatively rich, given the small size of excavation.

Gurney, D., and Cool, H. E. M. (1986) *Settlement, Religion and Industry on the Roman fen edge*, *Norfolk* (East Anglian Archaeology 31). Dereham: East Anglian Archaeology.

Downham West

County: Norfolk
Parish: Downham West
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 557600, 300400
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 4070

Description: Part of the Fen Causeway, associated field ditches and canal revealed in small excavation over 0.276 ha. Canal seems to have been dug in

the 1st or early 2nd c. and use ended in the 3rd c. Small pottery assemblage (75 sherds) entirely mid-Roman.

Wallis, H. (2002) *Roman routeways across the Fens: Excavations at Morton, Tilney St Lawrence, Nordelph and Downham West* (East Anglian Archaeology Occasional Paper 10). Norfolk: East Anglian Archaeology.

Durobrivae (Water Newton)

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Water Newton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 511755, 296818
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 90109

Description: Water Newton (Durobrivae) was a Roman small town and major industrial complex producing Nene Valley Ware (traded across England in the M/LR). Occupation on site began in the mid-1st century, when a fort was built at the crossing of the River Nene by Ermine Street. The town grew up organically, was eventually enclosed by walls in the 2nd c, and ended in the early 5th century. Iron working and pottery production occurred there, but the nature of occupation in town could be better understood with more excavation – no large-scale excavation has taken place since the 19th century work of Edmund Artis. Aerial photographic survey suggests that the street grid was organic, and that timber and stone buildings lined the street. Artis' excavations seem to have located 22 of these, some of which were heated and decorated with (white) mosaic floors.

Painter, K.S (1977) *The Water Newton Early Christian silver*. London: The British Museum Press.

Mackreth, D. (1979) 'Durobrivae', *Durobrivae* 7: 19–21

Fincham, G. (2004) *Durobrivae: A Roman town between Fen and Upland* Stroud: Tempus.

Duroliponte (Cambridge)

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 544410, 259271
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 90077; 90078; 90081; 90082; 90083; 90084; 90085; 90086; 90087; 90088; 90089; 90095; 90205

Description: Roman town at Cambridge, multiperiod occupation site with long and complex excavation history. LIA settlement at Castle Hill overlain by ER

fort and then RB walled town. In the LIA, Castle Hill settlement contained at least 5 enclosures with extant hearths, walls, and gateways. Reorganisation after 43, and then fort suggested from c. AD 70. After this, Roman road constructed, and then in the 2nd c., the fort and the LIA settlement were levelled and buildings (both of masonry and timber) were constructed (16 at Castle Hill). An MR ritual focus consisted of a shrine, containing animal burials, offerings, dogs, and then 13 ritual shafts containing infant burials and dogs. More than 252,000 sherds apparently came out of the Castle Hill excavations.

Tebbutt, C. F. (1960) 'Roman cremation groups from Godmanchester', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 54: 83–84.

Robinson, B. (1991) Shire Hall Car Park Extension, Cambridge. Cambridgeshire Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Evans, C. (1993) Archaeological Investigations at New Hall, Cambridge. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

R. Butler (1994) Archaeological investigations at 75, 83 and 85 Castle Street Cambridge, 1994. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Evans, C. (1994) Archaeological Investigations at Kettle's Yard, Cambridge. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Alexander, J., Pullinger, J. (1999) Roman Cambridge: Excavations on Castle Hill 1956–1988, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*: 88

Mortimer, R. (2000) Archaeological evaluation on the site of the former Cow and Calf Public House. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Mortimer, R. & Regan, R. (2001) Chesterton Lane Corner: Archaeological excavations at Anglia Water sewage shaft M5. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Dickens, A. (2002) Archaeological Evaluation at 18 and 18a St Peter Street, Cambridge Archaeological Unit,

Dodwell, N. (2002) Archaeological Investigations at 11 Park Street, Cambridge. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. (2003) Cambridge and County Folk Museum, Cambridge: An Archaeological Evaluation. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Alexander, M. et al. (2004) 'A Roman cemetery in Jesus Lane, Cambridge', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 93: 67–94.

Mackay, D. (2006) Archaeological Investigations at St Edmunds College, Cambridge. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

ten Harkel, L. (2006) Excavations at St Edmunds College, Cambridge Part Two Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Evans, C. and ten Harkel, L. (2010) Roman Cambridge's Early Settlement and Via Devana: Excavations at Castle Street, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 99: 35–60.

Newman, R. (2013) The School of Pythagoras, St. John's College, Cambridge: An Archaeological Excavation. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Meckseper, C. (2014) 'Roman burials and post medieval clay tobacco pipes at Merton Hall, Cambridge', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 103: 63–67.

Durovigutum (Godmanchester)

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Godmanchester
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 524500, 270400
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 90091; 90092; 90093; 90094; 90095; 90096; 90097; 90098; 90099; 90100; 90101; 90102; 90103; 90104; 90105; 90114; 90188

Description: Roman town at Godmanchester, beginning as a Claudian or Neronian fort (although with probable prehistoric occupation of some kind), excavated in a number of small interventions and in a large-scale 1974 excavation of 10.9 ha at Pinfold Lane. The chronology of the site is clearer than many other towns examined in this thesis. The site began as a Claudian fort (dismantled in the 2nd c.) and civil settlement which was burned during the Boudiccan revolt. It was re-inhabited immediately after the revolt and controlled the crossing of the Great Ouse at Ermine Street. Occupation continued on a smaller scale into the Anglo-Saxon period. Details of the site's general morphology are relatively sparse but numerous structures have been excavated. There was both intra- and extra-mural settlement. The Pinfold Lane excavations (within the walls), in particular, uncovered a (32-room) mansio, a bath house (with some marble revetment, columns, and a mosaic floor), a temple (Abandinus), a basilica (single-aisled) and a granary. The town may have been partially destroyed by fire at the end of the 3rd c, and the mansio and baths were destroyed in the 4th c. Other structures include masonry and timber buildings (including an aisled building). There is evidence for metalworking, glassmaking, and pottery production.

Walker, F. (1909) 'Greek coins and Syrian arrowheads dug up in a Roman cemetery at Godmanchester', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 13: 280–291.

Green, H. J. M. (1956) 'Romano-British Hoard from Godmanchester', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 50: 183–210.

Green, H. J. M. (1960) Roman Godmanchester Part 1. An Early Dwelling, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 53: 85–88.

Green, H. J. M. (1961) 'Roman Godmanchester Part II: The Town Defences', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 54: 68–82.

Wright, R. (1962) 'Roman Britain in 1961: Sites Explored: II Inscriptions', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 52: 160–199.

Green, H. J. M. (1973) 'Roman Godmanchester Part III: Emmanuel Knoll', *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society* 64: 15–23.

Green, H. J. M. (1975) *Roman Godmanchester in Rodwell and Rowley. The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain. Papers presented to a Conference, Oxford 1975* (British Archaeological Reports). Oxford: Archaeopress

Rankov, N. B. et al. (1982) 'Roman Britain in 1981', *Britannia* 13: 327–422

Going, C. J., Green, M., Duhig, C., and Taylor, A. (1997) 'A Roman child burial with animal figurines and pottery, from Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire', *Britannia* 28: 386–393

Hinman, M. (1998) Romano-British remains relating to the Bath House and Mansio at Pinfold Lane, Godmanchester Cambridgeshire County Council: Unpublished report.

Hinman, M. (1998) Prehistoric and Romano-British Remains on Land Adjacent to 28 St Anne's Lane, Godmanchester Cambridgeshire County Council: Unpublished report.

Abrams, J. (2001) Roman Rubbish Pits and Post Medieval Gravel Quarries on Land to the Rear Of 20–28 London Road, Godmanchester: An Archaeological Evaluation Cambridgeshire County Council: Unpublished report.

Jones, A. (2003) *Settlement, Burial and Industry in Roman Godmanchester* (British Archaeological Reports 346) Oxford: Archaeopress.

Phillips, T. (2007) Roman Remains at 8 New Street, Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire Cambridgeshire County Council: Unpublished report.

Crummy, N. and Phillips, T. (2008) 'A zoomorphic Roman handle from New Street, Godmanchester, TL 5246 2704', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 97: 83–87.

Rees, G. (2014) "Godmanchester Flood Alleviation Scheme. Archaeological monitoring" Oxford Archaeology East: Unpublished report.

Earith Road

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Willingham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 540430, 270710
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2159

Description: MR peripheral site revealed during small-scale excavations over 0.088 ha. Site consists of rectangular Roman enclosures and many pits. Identified as a field system by RSRB. Only 12 sherds of pottery – indicate a low intensity of occupation.

Hounsell, D. (2006) Enclosures at Nos 6 and 8 Earith Road, Willingham, Cambridgeshire: An Archaeological Evaluation. Bar Hill, Cambridgeshire: CAM ARC. report number 883: Unpublished report.

East Kirkby, Sleaford Road

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: East Kirkby
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 532060, 361550
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24084

Description: MR peripheral site uncovered during excavation over 0.054 ha, consisting of ditches, pits, and a small number of artifacts (50 sherds of pottery

and an unquantified amount of animal bone) suggesting the presence of a more intensive occupation nearby.

Anon. (2000) Land off Sleaford Road, East Kirkby, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

East of Ewerby, Plot 135

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Ewerby and Evedon
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 511612, 347472
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24183

Description: LIA occupation site (farm?) identified during pipeline watching brief over 0.415 ha, consisting of potential ring gullies (5 roundhouses), ditches, pits, and postholes. Abandoned by conquest period (?). 100 sherds of pottery, mostly LIA.

Network Archaeology (1999) Hatton to Silk Willoughby 1050mm Gas Pipeline: Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Network Archaeology. Report No. 134: Unpublished report.

East of Godmanchester

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Godmanchester
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 525686, 270227
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2102

Description: LIA field system/peripheral site and RB field system/possible farm, consisting of an LIA enclosure system with multiple phases of recutting and reorganisation. Limited finds and pottery data, consisting of slag, quern fragments, a bronze belt mount (?), and 27 kg of pottery, mainly Nene Valley and Horningsea wares, with some Samian and mortaria. Crop processing seems to have been happening on or near the site.

Wait, G. (1991) Archaeological Excavations at Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire. A Summary Report. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.

East of Hinxton Grange

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Hinxton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 551120, 246440

Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2163

Description: MR peripheral/ceremonial site uncovered in excavation over 0.04 ha near Roman road. Site consists of masonry building (i.e., foundations), a ditch and a fenceline. Not thought to have been domestic (seen as possible temple site), hence categorization as "peripheral." Finds consist of building materials (roof tiles, a box tile, opus signinum, painted plaster) and MR pottery, no quantified report. No environmental sampling.

Heawood, R. and Robinson, B. (1998) A Romano-British Site East of Hinxton Grange: A11 Stump Cross to Four Went Ways Road Improvement Scheme (TL 5112/4644). Cambridge: Oxford Archaeology East: Unpublished report.

Ellands Farm, Hemington

County: Northamptonshire
Parish: Hemington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 508400, 284600
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 26070

Description: LIA/RB farm site, revealed in geophysical survey and eval trenching over 0.25 ha, predominantly consisting of complex field systems and boundary ditches, revealed during survey and evaluation trenching. Possible beam slots, but no definitive structural evidence. Very small finds and pottery assemblage, in keeping with the small size of the evaluation—nothing remarkable in any of the environmental samples for same reason.

Morris, S. (2005) Archaeological Evaluation (Geophysical survey and Trial Trenching phase), Ellands Farm, Hemington, Northamptonshire. Northampton: Northamptonshire Archaeology. Report 05/107: Unpublished report.

Elsthorpe Road, Stainfield

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Stainfield
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507670, 324970
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24111

Description: Site identified as roadside settlement in RSRB, but as peripheral here, as it lies some distance away from the main Stainfield *vicus.* Site consists of pit filled with RB pottery, revealed in small (0.15 ha) excavation. 18 sherds of M/LR pottery.

Anon. (2004) Elsthorpe Road, Stainfield, Haconby, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Ely Road/Hill Close, Milton

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Milton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 548200, 262900
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2084

Description: LIA and RB funerary (peripheral) and farm (settlement) site revealed in small (0.19 ha) survey and excavation. Site begins as small settlement and boundary ditches and intensifying in the 2nd c. Environmental records suggest a mixed farming regime (wheat/barley and horses/cattle). Small 229-sherd pottery assemblage mainly unsourced coarsewares, with small (7%?) quantities of Horningsea, and some Samian, amphorae, and mortaria.

Booth, W. D. (2009) A preliminary archaeological survey (b): Hill Close, Milton, Cambridgeshire with particular reference to Crop Marks, Geophysical Survey and Fieldwalking. Cambridge: Oxford Archaeology East: Unpublished report.

Booth, W. D. (2009) A preliminary archaeological survey (a): Hill Close, Milton, Cambridgeshire with particular reference to Crop Marks, Geophysical Survey and Fieldwalking. Cambridge: Oxford Archaeology East: Unpublished report.

Rees, G. (2009) Iron Age, Roman and Medieval Settlement on Land at Ely Road, Milton. Bar Hill, Cambridgeshire: Oxford Archaeology East. report number 1053: Unpublished report.

Ely, Stirling Way near Witchford

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Witchford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 551500, 278900
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2014

Description: LIA/ER site identified as a farm by RSRB but peripheral here because excavators note only a *very* small part of it was revealed during excavation over 0.3 ha. Site consists of pits and linear boundary, along with burials (LPRIA cremation and MR inhumations). Finds mainly related to burials. Very little environmental evidence for crop production or processing. 1584 sherds of pottery, mainly local ER wares with small amounts of Samian.

Atkins, R. (2009) Bronze Age Beaker pits and a Late Iron Age into Roman Settlement on land off Stirling Way Nr. Witchford, Ely, Cambridgeshire. Bar Hill, Cambridgeshire: Oxford Archaeology East. report number 1134: Unpublished report.

Exning

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Exning
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 561200, 267600
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2057

Description: Important RB villa site excavated (over 0.084 ha) in the mid-20th century. Villa built in masonry, overlying an earlier timber structure. In typical fashion, settlement begins with E/MR postholes and gullies (along with ditches, pits, etc), overlain by aisled building (decorated with painted plaster). This was replaced in the later 3rd c. by a multi-roomed villa, rebuilt (with hypocaust) in LR. Destroyed by fire in the mid-4th c. Finds and pottery assemblages small, as expected.

Webster, C. J. (1987) 'Ernest Greenfield's Excavations at Exning Roman villa', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 76: 41–66.

Eye Quarry

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 524300, 302400
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2074

Description: MR peripheral/field system site revealed in large (4.1 ha) excavations. Excavated area thought to be associated with two different settlements. Trackway, enclosures, and fields, possibly associated with salt production. Lazybeds were also identified. Small finds assemblage and large (1500 sherd) pottery assemblage considering distance from settlement foci. Nene Valley greywares c. 45% of assemblage. Also other local/regional wares and small amounts of Samian.

Patten, R. (2004) Bronze Age and Romano-British activity at Eye Quarry, Peterborough. Phase 3. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 633: Unpublished report.

Eynesbury

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Eynesbury
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 518000, 258500
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 2064

Description: E/MR field system/peripheral site investigated over 12 ha and consisting of a droveway system, enclosures, pits, and other field systems. Small finds assemblage (c. 480 sherds), mainly local, with some Samian.

Ellis, C. J. (2004) *A prehistoric ritual complex at Eynesbury, Cambridgeshire* (East Anglian Archaeology 17). Salisbury: East Anglian Archaeology.

Fairswell Manor, Fincham

County: Norfolk
Parish: Fincham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 569000, 306400
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 4058

Description: E/MR peripheral site (thought to be a roadside settlement) revealed in small evaluation over 0.008 ha, consisting of postholes and pits. 150 sherds, mainly Horningsea (some Samian).

Watkins, P.J (2006) An Archaeological Evaluation at Fairswell Manor, Fincham. Norwich: NAU Archaeology. Rep: 1125: Unpublished report.

Feltwell Road, Southery

County: Norfolk
Parish: Southery
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 562410, 294860
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 4073

Description: M/LR peripheral site revealed in small (0.032 ha) excavation. Site consists of ditches and pits, one of which contained articulated dog buried with a toilet set. 53 sherds, mostly coarsewares.

Emery, G. (2008) An Archaeological Excavation at Feltwell Road, Southery, Norfolk. Norwich: NAU Archaeology. Report No. 1390: Unpublished report.

Fen Drayton Reservoir

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Fen Drayton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533409, 269014
Approximate start date: AD 350
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2124

Description: LR peripheral OR farm site, listed as a farm in the RSRB but peripheral here due to lack of information. Site consists of a flue-like structure (within ditch), along with a high density of pottery and animal bone. Possible beam-slot structure (?). Extremely small excavation and no finds or pottery report.

Wait, G. (1992) A Discussion of Archaeological Investigations at Fen Drayton Reservoir, Fen Drayton, Cambridgeshire. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Fen Drayton, Fen Drayton Villa

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Fen Drayton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533370, 268850
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: n/a

Description: RB farm/villa site possibly consisting of timber buildings (and a possible bath house identified in geophysical survey) within a network of field systems and droveways. No actual architecture located during the excavations, but window glass and CBM (including *pila* tiles) indicated to the authors that a high-status settlement lay nearby. Nearby IA enclosure overlain by planting beds (for vines?). Only 423 sherds came from the excavation: these contain the usual local and imported wares and date the occupation to the M/LR (with a few earlier sherds, including SG Samian).

Robinson Zeki, L., et al. (2016). Ouse Washland Archaeology: Fen Drayton Villa Investigations (Excavation Report No. 2). Report number 1333, Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Low Fen, Fen Drayton

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Fen Drayton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533750, 269030
Approximate start date: AD 300
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2100

Description: LR field system and peripheral site consisting of 'lazybeds' thought to relate to vines or fruit trees belonging to a putative villa to the west (Fen Drayton Villa). Site examined over 2.8 ha. No pottery or finds data.

Mortimer, R. (1995) Archaeological Excavations at Low Fen, fen Drayton, Cambridgeshire. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report no. 156: Unpublished report.

Fen Road, Ruskington

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Ruskington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 508900, 351100
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24077

Description: LIA/ER farm site overlain by RB peripheral site revealed in survey and evaluation over 0.06175 ha. Site consists of M/LIA roundhouse and possible evidence (i.e., briquetage) for later LIA salt making (or salt exchange). Un-associated with these finds were E/MR diches, a trackway, and a possible enclosure. Putative Roman settlement lies outside eval area. 222 sherds of Roman pottery along with charred cereal remains and a small animal bone assemblage.

Anon. (2004) Fen Road, Ruskington, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation and Watching brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2005) Land at Fen Road, Ruskington, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Anon, (2000) Land at Fen Road, Ruskington, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Fenstanton

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Fenstanton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 531930, 268710
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2115

Description: M/LR peripheral site, revealed in small excavation over 0.2 ha, consisting of ditches, pits, waterholes and postholes. One group of pits and gullies might represent a beam-slot building. 502 sherds, no small finds or plant data, minimal amount of animal bone.

Nicholson, K. (2004) Land Adjacent to the old Baptist Chapel, Fenstanton, Cambridgeshire. An Archaeological excavation. Interim Report. Hertford: Archaeological Solutions Ltd. Report No. 1594: Unpublished report.

Field 7, Burgh-Le-Marsh Rising Main

County: Lincolnshire

Parish: Burgh-Le-Marsh
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 551259, 365394
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24060

Description: LIA saltern site identified during pipeline construction. One sherd of LIA pottery.

Anon. (1995) Burgh Le Marsh – Ingoldmells Rising Main. Archaeological Watching Brief. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Fiskerton

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Fiskerton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 504976, 371651
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24001

Description: LIA and RB peripheral/ceremonial site, consisting of a timber causeway used for ritual deposition into the RP. In RP, whetstones were deposited along with pottery and (mainly IA) metalwork. Also wood, possibly from an RB boat, and c. 200 Roman sherds.

Field, N. and Parker Pearson, M. (2003) An Iron Age Timber Causeway with iron Age and Roman Votive Offerings: the 1981 Excavations. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Fison Way, Thetford

County: Norfolk
Parish: Thetford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 586652, 285071
Approximate start date: 0 (?)
Approximate end date: AD 70
RSRB Database number: 4016

Description: Extremely important site at Thetford revealed during large-scale (5 ha) excavations at Gallows Hill (near the confluence of the Little Ouse and Thet rivers), categorised as an LIA/ER nucleated site, and thought to have a ceremonial/religious function. Site begins as a small M/LIA farm (?), with roundhouse, pits, a grave, and evidence for metal and textile working within

enclosures. Site expands considerably in conquest period (AD 40), when an enormous double-ditched enclosure was constructed, within which a large circular building and a gatehouse were built. At this point, there is evidence for coin production. The site expanded at this point, to cover over 3 ha. Site was abandoned and dismantled c. AD 70. At least 60 human burials were found on site. There is some evidence for LR activity nearby (including the Thetford Treasure, found offsite but nearby). Small pottery assemblage (no sherd count) included minute quantities of imports. Extremely rich finds assemblage includes LIA and ER coins among much other metalwork. No crop processing on site. Low animal bone preservation.

Gregory, T. (1991). *Excavations in Thetford, 1980–1982, Fison Way*, Vol. 1 (East Anglian Archaeology Report 53). Dereham. Norfolk Museums Service.

Fordham Road Allotments, Soham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Soham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 560250, 272500
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 325
RSRB Database number: 2158

Description: Small fen-edge farm site revealed during small-scale (0.14 ha) eval, occupied between M and LR. Possible rectilinear buildings (on beam-slot s), along with ditches, pits, gullies, and a cobbled surface. Only 524 sherds of pottery (including illiterate graffito and minute quantities of imported wares—Samian and amphorae). Other finds included CBM and agricultural tools. Environmental data suggest a mixed farming regime with an emphasis on cattle and spelt wheat. Evidence for boneworking on site.

Connor, A. (2001) Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement and Field Systems: An Archaeological Evaluation at Fordham Road Allotments, Soham. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. A188: Unpublished report.

Quinn, S., and Peachey, A. (2012) Land North East of Fordham Road, Soham, Cambridgeshire: Archaeological Trial Trench Evaluation. Bury St Edmunds: Archaeological Solutions Ltd. Report No. 4017: Unpublished report.

Fordham Road, Exning

County: Suffolk
Parish: Exning
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 563254, 266554
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 5043

Description: Peripheral site revealed during small (0.0468 ha) evaluation, consisting of boundary ditches that could represent either fields systems or settlement edges. 239 sherds, mainly earlier. CBM, daub, painted plaster, and *opus signinum* suggest a building nearby. No plant data, but animal bone suggested mixed farming regime.

Sommers, M. (1999) Archaeological Evaluation Report. Newmarket Isolation Hospital, Fordham Road, Exning. Bury St Edmund's: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 1998/77: Unpublished report.

Former Church Hall Site, High Street, Soham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Soham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 559420, 273160
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 425
RSRB Database number: 2176

Description: LIA/RB farm and peripheral site revealed during small excavations over 0.17 ha. Site consists of LIA/ER ditched enclosure (within which a possible beam-slot building was located). Hiatus between 1st and 3rd c., after which LR ditches, pits, and gullies once again filled the area. High number of imports (*terra nigra, terra rubra,* etc.) in the early phase.

Quinn, S., and Peachey, A. (2012) Land North East of Fordham Road, Soham, Cambridgeshire: Archaeological Trial Trench Evaluation. Bury St Edmunds: Archaeological Solutions Ltd. Report No. 4017: Unpublished report.

Fosters End Drove, East Winch

County: Norfolk
Parish: East Winch
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 568350, 315160
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 4044

Description: RB farm revealed by long-term excavations over 7.5 ha. Site consists of trackways, enclosures, and field systems. In the 2nd c., a droveway and a rectilinear subdivided enclosure were constructed, within which was an aisled building and a stone-lined well. Smelting occurred on site, and specialists

argue that the inhabitants were specialising in cattle rearing. In the L/MR, four kilns, a (pottery) drying oven, and a workshop were built, along with a second timber building. There also may have been a shrine. Finds include much CBM, spinning/weaving implements, querns, and glass. Large pottery assemblage (3619 sherds) includes amphorae from Baetica and Gaul (London 555), along with Samian and much local pottery.

Lally, M., Nicholson, K., Woolhouse, T. (2008) Fosters End Drove, Blackborough End, East Winch, Norfolk. Research Archive Report. Hertford: Archaeological Solutions Ltd. AS Report No: 2922: Unpublished report.

McCall, W. (2009) Fosters End Drove, Blackborough End, East Winch, Norfolk. Archaeological Excavation, 'Strip, Map and Sample'. Quarry Phase 7. Hertford: Archaeological Solutions Ltd. AS Report No: 3453: Unpublished report.

Fox Cover Farm, Maxey

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Maxey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 513800, 308890
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 325
RSRB Database number: 2177

Description: Excavation over 0.6 ha (as part of Market Deeping Bypass work) revealed RB peripheral site consisting of a ditched enclosure (EIA, recut in RP) thought to represent the fringes of a farmstead. Five burials may be Roman, as might several posthole groups. Evidence for early Saxon activity. The 392 sherds of pottery mainly M/LR in date.

Anon. (2000) Market Deeping Bypass Volume 3, Market Deeping, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Foxton

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Foxton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 540061, 248213
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2008

Description: Pipeline excavation over 0.8 ha revealed E/MR field system and LR agricultural area or farm. In the later 3rd century, a corndryer and cemetery were constructed, and in the 4th century enclosures and a rectilinear timber

structure, with some activity continuing into the 5th c. Rich metalwork assemblage from bottom of ditch known as the Foxton Iron Hoard, and contains keys, metalworking and agricultural tools (including a scythe blade), weights, a **shackle**, etc. Other metal finds not in the hoard include a stylus, LR military fittings, and more. Large pottery assemblage of over 8500 sherds, which include 5th c. pottery.

Maynard, D. J., et al. (1997) The Archaeology of the St Neots to Duxford Gas Pipeline 1995 (BAR British Series 255). British Archaeological Reports.

Gallows Hill, Swaffham Prior

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Swaffham Prior
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 557800, 264300
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2044

Description: Putative Roman temple revealed in excavations over 0.1 ha, consisting of a rectilinear enclosure, palisade, and building. Replaced with smaller enclosure, within which a circular 'feature' and square masonry building were built, and second enclosure containing a masonry mausoleum and burial. Pottery not quantified. Limited finds, including pruning hook, horse harness, and plaster and CBM from mausoleum. No plant data, only 134 bone fragments.

Malim, T. (2006) 'A Romano-British temple complex and Anglo-Saxon burials at Gallows Hill, Swaffham Prior', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 95: 91–114.

Gayton Thorpe

County: Norfolk
Parish: Gayton Thorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 573500, 318100
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 320
RSRB Database number: 4014

Description: Early 20th c. excavation in survey project of the 1980s over 0.18 ha. Villa has south and north section on different alignments, and a bath house. Enclosure and other buildings revealed in aerial survey. Mosaics found. Mainly

3rd c. Unquantified pottery assemblage. Finds assemblage interesting and includes a stamped military tile. Animal bone unremarkable but contained much oyster shell.

Atkinson, D. (1929) 'The Roman Villa at Gayton Thorpe', *Norfolk Archaeology* XXIII: 166–209.

de Bootman, M. (1998) 'Re-evaluation of the Romano-British villa at Gayton Thorpe, Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeology* XLIII: 133–142.

Glapthorn Road

County: Northamptonshire
Parish: Oundle
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 503300, 289000
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 375
RSRB Database number: 26024

Description: LIA/RB settlement site revealed in survey, metal detecting, trial trenching, watching brief, and excavation over 0.56 ha. In the LIA, two roundhouses (possibly more) were unenclosed. By the 2nd c., there were ditched enclosures in the area, along with a possible rectilinear structure. Settlement expanded in the 3rd c., and trackway was built, and a walled enclosure was created. No building was identified here, but roof and box flue tile suggest a structure (?). A corndryer and ovens were in use in the 4th c. Within this enclosure and overlying the earlier remains was an Anglo-Saxon cemetery (c. AD 550–650). Large pottery assemblage (7370 sherds). Large finds assemblage. Animal bone dominated by sheep/goat.

Maull, A., and Masters, P. (2004) Excavations of a Roman farmstead on land west of Glapthorn Road, Oundle, Northamptonshire, 1999–2001. Northamptonshire Archaeology: Northamptonshire Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Maull, A., Walsh, T. (1998) Archaeological Evaluation at the Rear of the George Inn, Glaphorne Road, Oundle. Northampton: Northamptonshire Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Godsey's Lane, Market Deeping

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Market Deeping
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 514080, 310840
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24149

Description: LIA/E/MR farm revealed during eval over 0.59 ha. Geophysical survey identified many enclosures, and trial trenching identified a droveway (LIA/ER) and structures within the enclosures, consisting of gullies, post holes,

a beam-slot , and a hearth. Animal bone assemblage suggests rearing of cattle, sheep/goat, and pigs, and plant remains indicate "that areas of newly cultivated grassland were coming into cereal production for the first time, possibly as a result of a changing agricultural regime during the later Iron Age and Roman periods" (RSRB Database). Small pottery assemblage (446 sherds), includes amphorae. Finds assemblage typical of small farm of this period: bone handle, querns, loom weights, slag, nails, and a 'millstone' (Appendix 7), though no size given.

Anon. (2007) Land at Godseys Lane. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Goltho

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Goltho
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 511600, 377400
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24174

Description: E/MR farm site revealed in excavations over 0.18 ha. Three roundhouses were enclosed by a palisade, beyond which seem to have been fields, along with stock enclosures and water hole. Structural debris found nearby may indicate later M/LR buildings. Only 51 sherds of pottery listed.

Beresford, G. (1987) Goltho: The Development of an Early Medieval Manor, c. 850–1150 (English Heritage Archaeological Monographs 4). London: English Heritage

March, Grandford

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: March
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 538196, 299611
Approximate start date: AD 70
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2054

Description: Roadside settlement along the route of the Fen Causeway, excavated over 0.05 ha but thought to extend over 12 ha. Site was first occupied in c. AD 67–75 and may have been associated with the Roman army. In the later 1st c., the site began to develop as a roadside settlement, with plots being demarcated along the routeway, inside of which were timber buildings and other settlement features (pits, etc.). May have been briefly abandoned in the 3rd c. due to flooding. Later masonry buildings postdate this hiatus. No quantification of ceramics.

Potter, T. and Potter, C. (1982) *A Romano-British Village at Grandford, March, Cambridgeshire* (British Museum Occasional Paper 35). London: British Museum.

Grange Farm, High Street, Bassingham

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Bassingham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 491068, 360005
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24142

Description: RB farm and/or peripheral site revealed in 0.0256 ha evaluation. Site consists of ditches and gullies, along with pits and postholes (some of which might relate to structures, possibly animal shelters). Size of excavation makes understanding morphology or site function difficult. 66 sherds of pottery.

Wragg, K. (2006) Land at Grange Farm, High Street, Bassingham, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Lincs Archaeo-tech: Unpublished report.

Great Casterton Fort and Vicus

County: Rutland
Parish: Great Casterton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 500000, 309300
Approximate start date: AD 43
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 90128

Description: RB vicus/town beginning as a pre-Flavian fort (area = 2.4 ha), with military occupation ending c. AD 80 and a vicus developing along Ermine Street. Town defences were built in the 2nd c. Timber framed buildings, iron smelting, and burials all found.

Corder, P., et al (1951) *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton, Rutland*. Nottingham: University of Nottingham.

Corder, P., et al (1954) *The Roman town and Villa at Great Casterton: 2nd Interim Report*. Nottingham: University of Nottingham.

Corder, P. (1961) *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton Rutland: Third Report for the Years 1954– 1958*. Nottingham: University of Nottingham.

Todd, M. 1968: The Roman Fort at Great Casterton Rutland: Excavations of 1960 and 1962, Directed by the Late Sir Ian Richmond and the Late Dr Philip Corder. Nottingham: University of Nottingham.

Crank, N. (2002) Land Adjacent to County Primary School, Pickworth Road, Great Casterton, Rutland Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust: Unpublished report.

Grassam, A., and McConnell, D. 2005: Land Adjacent to Great Casterton Primary School, Pickworth Road, Great Casterton, Rutland: Archaeological Excavation: Interim Report: Archaeological Solutions Report 1903, Hertford: Unpublished report.

Chinnock, C., & Marshall, M. (2021). An Unusual Roman Fettered Burial from Great Casterton, Rutland. *Britannia* 52: 175–206.

Great Casterton Villa

County: Rutland
Parish: Great Casterton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 500400, 309300
Approximate start date: AD 290
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 27004

Description: Roman villa located c. 400 metres from Great Casterton small town. Occupation begins in the LR (c. AD 290) with the construction of an aisled barn, a rectangular building, and a drying floor, overlain by a corndryer. In the second phase of occupation (c.AD 350–65 to late 4th or early 5th c.), some of the buildings were dismantled and a small house was built overlying the aisled barn (and using its N. wall). It consisted of a large room decorated with a mosaic floor, from which two wings projected. Shortly thereafter (at the end of the 4th c.), this was enlarged and a hypocaust and bath house were put in. Villa destroyed by fire after c. AD 388. Parts of the structure were used for storage and crop processing (a corndryer was built in the ruins).

Corder, P. (1951) The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton, Rutland (Volumes I & II). Nottingham: Nottingham University.

Great Haddon

Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 516500, 291500
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 325
RSRB Database number: 2107

Description: Large, 119-trench evaluation over 0.75 ha revealed relatively dense LIA/Roman settlement(s) along Ermine Street Roman Road. Because of the roadside nature of the finds, site was identified as a roadside settlement (*vicus*), though it may have been on a very small scale. Area C had industrial focus, with much kiln furniture and wasters indicating local pottery production. 4065 sherds.

Gregson,R., Newboult, J., and Wells, J. (2008) Great Haddon, Peterborough: Archaeological Fieldwalking. Bedford: Albion Archaeology.

Great Wilbraham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Great Wilbraham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 555500, 258000

Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2112

Description: "Villa complex" (identified here as a farm) revealed during pipeline excavation over 0.035 ha. Site consisted of a two-room rectangular masonry building. Strange architectural remains nearby (a circular pit, containing a Roman altar and column base, which was cut into a rectilinear rammed chalk platform) may indicate some kind of architectural elaboration on the site. Pottery dates occupation to M/LR. Presence of 125 coins and numerous metal small finds led RSRB database to suggest site may have been used as a shrine.

Ette, J. and Hinds, S. (1998) Great Wilbraham Roman Villa and Fleam Dyke. Dungate Pipeline Scheme. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. 87: Unpublished report.

Greenhouse Farm pottery kilns

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish:
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 549000, 259500
Approximate start date: AD 45
Approximate end date: AD 70
RSRB Database number: 2060

Description: LIA settlement and ER industrial/kiln site identified in excavations over 1.6 ha. The 11 kilns were associated with small enclosures and pits (no structural material).

Gibson, D. and Lucas, G. (2002). 'Pre-Flavian Kilns at Greenhouse Farm and the Social Context of Early Roman Pottery Production in Cambridgeshire', *Britannia* 33: 95–127.

Greetwell Roman Villa, Lincoln

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Lincoln
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 500700, 372400
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24065

Description: A multi-period farm or villa site (or even a vicus) uncovered during excavations over 2.19 ha. M/LIA triple-ditch system was abandoned and then overlain, in the M/LR, by RB stone-footed buildings, two possible

roundhouses, a ring ditch that has been interpreted as possible burial mound, and 8 corndryers. Also identified was part of a 3rd c. cemetery (w/ 13 individuals).

Anon. (2000) Land at Greetwell, Greetwell, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Oxford Archaeotechnics: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2001) Greetwell Quarry Extension Phase I, Greetwell, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Armour-Chelu, R.J. (1998) Land at Greetwell, Lincoln. Proposal for Quarry Extension. Evaluation Trenching. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Haceby

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Haceby
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 501950, 336920
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24202

Description: Villa site uncovered during 19th and early-20th-century excavations, containing mosaics and bath wing from probable corridor villa. Coins range in date from AD 96–364.

Anon. (1929) Excavation of Roman Villa at Haceby. Sackler Library Oxford.

Haddenham Iron Age Settlement

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Haddenham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 541169, 273390
Approximate start date: MIA
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 2055

Description: Excavations over 0.25 ha revealed M-LIA farm site preserved after abandonment by heavy alluviation. Early settlement was open and contained 2 roundhouses, subsequent settlement was enclosed and contained several further roundhouses. Abandoned in early 1st century AD.

Evans, C. and Hodder, I. (2006). *Marshland Communities and Cultural Landscapes: from the Bronze Age to the Present Day*. Cambridge. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Haddenham Roman Shrine

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Haddenham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 540833, 273692

Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2056

Description: Excavation over 0.37 ha identified a Roman shrine site, beginning as an octagonal masonry-footed structure in the 2nd c. AD, associated with BA barrow. Dismantled in the 3rd c., it was re-established in the 4th as square post-built shrine atop barrow, enclosed within post fence or structure. Abandoned in 4th c., possibly due to flooding. Finds include coins, metalwork, and huge amount of animal bone, only c. 9000 frags of which were recorded.

Evans, C. and Hodder, I. (2006). *Marshland Communities and Cultural Landscapes: from the Bronze Age to the Present Day*. Cambridge. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Haddon

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Haddon
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 513892, 293918
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 370
RSRB Database number: 2029

Description: LIA/RB farm site excavated over 1.25 ha, adjacent to Ermine Street. 1st c. site established prior to construction of Ermine Street and consisted of ditched enclosure within which were postholes, gullies, and pits. Kiln established in ER, along with roundhouse, both of which went out of use by end of century. In 2nd c., boundaries reorganised, apparently to facilitate larger scale animal husbandry operations. Two aisled barns and a cistern was built, associated with enclosure and trackway. Minimal occupation in this period. Finally, in the 3rd c., fields reorganised again, and small structure with a hearth and malting oven were built. Abandoned in LR.

Anon. (1999) A Romano-British Farmstead at the site of a Motorway Service Area A1-A605 Junction, Haddon. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit: Unpublished report.

Haddon Bathhouse

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Haddon
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 514000, 293200
Approximate start date: AD 300
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2080

Description: LR bath house, excavated over 0.015 ha, possibly part of a villa complex (maybe related to the field system at Haddon). Bath house wall reused

as part of the wall of a timber building c. AD 380 (which contained a corndryer and a millstone). Un-excavated nearby masonry building. Levelled c. late 4th or early 5th c., after which there was some Saxon re-use of the bath house.

Upex, S. (1994) Excavations at a Roman and Saxon site at Haddon, Cambridgeshire, 1992–1993. Northampton: Nene Valley Research Committee: Unpublished report.

Hall Field, Water Lane, Bassingham

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Bassingham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 490900, 360100
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24037

Description: RB field system in multiple phases identified during geophysical survey and excavation over 0.1122 ha. Site began as a field system overlain by rectangular enclosure in the 3rd c. Associated inhumation cemetery. Possibly stock enclosure associated with nearby farm.

Anon. (1995) Archaeological Investigations at Hall Field, Water Lane, Bassingham, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Harradine's Farm

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Woodhurst
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 531530, 276070
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2003

Description: RB (3rd and 4th c.) farm site overlying earlier ER field system identified in excavations over 0.63 ha. Site consists of pits and ditches and two enclosures. Only 211 sherds of pottery – site may be primarily agricultural in nature – but the plant remains and three associated burials suggested a domestic occupation to the excavators, and I have labelled this site as a farm. and comprise various pits and ditches and two possible ditched enclosures.

Williams, J. (2011) Five Sites in Cambridgeshire. Excavations at Woodhurst, Fordham, Soham, Buckden and St Neots 1998–2002 (BAR British Series 528). Oxford: Archaeopress.

Heckington

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Heckington

Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 517100, 345200
Approximate start date: AD 300
Approximate end date: AD 325
RSRB Database number: 24201

Description: Tile production site near the Car Dyke, occupied between AD 300 and 325. Numerous wasters and several kilns were excavated.

Simmons, B. B. (1977) Roman Tile Kilns at Heckington, Lincs (Car Dyke Publication 3). Boston: Car Dyke Research Group.

Hemington Water Tower

County: Northamptonshire
Parish: Hemington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507600, 284800
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 425
RSRB Database number: 26035

Description: RB farm site uncovered in small-scale excavation following survey. Site consists of two RB masonry structures, within one of which was an oval basin. Few finds and little pottery (not quantified). Occupation in the first structure began in the mid- to late 2nd c., and was interrupted by a fire in the later 4th c., after which a new phase of occupation seems to have begun. Second structure seems later.

Frend, W.H.C. (1997) A Romano-British Site at Hemington Water Tower, near Oundle, *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 27: 157–165.

High Cross, Cambridge

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 543120, 259060
Approximate start date: AD 70
Approximate end date: AD 120
RSRB Database number: 2098

Description: LIA/ER farm site identified in evaluation across 20 ha site (actual area of excavation = 0.4 ha) near Cambridge Roman town. Two areas of occupation—one M/LIA and the other ER. ER occupation consists of gullies

(including some possible eaves gullies). Excavators suggest it may have been a short-lived settlement.

Whittaker, P. (2001) University of Cambridge. The Archaeology of West Cambridge. The High Cross Fields Evaluation. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 422: Unpublished report.

Highfield Farm, Welton-le-Marsh

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Welton-le-Marsh
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 545200, 369350
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24162

Description: LIA farm site identified through geophysical survey and trial trenching, consisting of two ditched enclosures with internal divisions. Some imported sherds, but paucity of pottery and finds (c. 35 sherds) and environmental data could also indicate a field system.

Palmer-Brown, C. P. H. and Williams, S. (2007) Highfield Quarry, Welton Le Marsh, Lincolnshire. Saxilby, Lincoln: Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

HMP Littlehey

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Perry
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 515000, 265900
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2114

Description: LIA/ER site consisting of enclosures, identified in 0.75 ha excavation. Uncertain if domestic occupation occurred here—only 146 sherds and < 20 fragments of animal bone from excavation. Listed here as field system/periphery, although in the RSRB site is listed as a farmstead.

Brown, J. (2010) Iron Age and Roman enclosures at HMP Littlehey, West Perry, Cambridgeshire. Northamptonshire Archaeology Report 10/13: Unpublished report.

Hockwold cum Wilton, HcW Leylands Farm, and HcW Weeting

County: Norfolk
Parish: Hockwold cum Wilton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 575403, 287198
Approximate start date: AD 100

Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 4018; 4064; 4071

Description: Numerous small excavations revealed dispersed roadside settlement spread over at least 7 ha. Occupation appears to date to the later ER—4th c. Site consists of enclosures and metalled trackways, timber and a flint building, and religious/ceremonial features (burials and a shrine containing a pit holding priestly regalia). Several pewter hoards came from this site, and finds were consistent with nucleated settlement status (intaglio rings, glass objects, window glass, daub, militaria, votive objects, etc.).

Salway, P. (1967) 'Excavations at Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk, 1961–62', *Proceedings of Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 40: 39–80.

Gregory, T. (1976) 'A hoard of late Roman metalwork from Weeting, Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeology* 36: 265–72.

Gurney, D. and Cool, H. E. M. (1986). *Settlement, Religion and Industry on the Roman fen edge, Norfolk* (East Anglian Archaeology 31). Dereham: East Anglian Archaeology.

Gregory, T. (1996) A Roman-British farmyard at Weeting, Norfolk (East Anglian Archaeology Occasional Paper 1). Dereham: Norfolk Museums Service.

Hollowbrook, Ruskington

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Ruskington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507190, 351250
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24082

Description: LIA farm and RB farm/peripheral site identified in 0.7 ha excavation. LIA site consists of landscape boundaries and a rectilinear structure and finds suggest contemporary occupation on site or nearby. Occupation continued into the RP, but probably on a much-reduced scale: of the 100 sherds of pottery sherds recovered, 93 were LIA and only 7 were ER.

Anon. (2000) Hollowbrook, Ruskington, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Pre-Construct Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Horncastle

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Horncastle
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 525885, 369576
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 90158; 90175; 90176; 90177; 90180; 90181; 90182; 90183; 90184; 90185; 90186; 90187

Description: Roman walled settlement (Bannovallum) that has seen numerous very small-scale excavations with a combined area of less than a single hectare and furnishing only c. 2000 reported sherds (not all reports quantified pottery). These indicate a walled enclosure with extramural settlement. Main period of occupation began in the ER, though there was some LIA occupation as well (an enclosure). Later deposits contain mortar and opus signinum flooring.

Field, N. and Hurst, H. (1983) Roman Horncastle, *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 18: 47–88.

Herbert, N. (1997) Archaeological Evaluation at Land east of South Street, Horncastle, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Albone, J. (1998) Land adjacent to 5 Southfield Place, Horcastle. Lincolnshire. Pre-Construct Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Hutchinson, Q. (1999) Land west of Southfield Place, Horncastle, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation Pre-Construct Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Clay, C. (2000) Archaeological Evaluation Report. The Black Swan Inn, Horncastle, Lincolnshire. Pre-Construct Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Clay, C. (2000) The Wong, Horncastle, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation, Pre-Construct Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Harwick, A.M. (2000) Land West of Southfield Place, Horncastle, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief, Pre-Construct Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Clay, C. (2002) Archaeological watching brief report; the Wong, Horncastle, Lincolnshire. Pre-Construct Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Brett, A. (2002) Black Swan Inn, Horncastle, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief, Pre-Construct Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Jordan, M. (2005) Land at Sellwood Gardens, Horncastle, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation and Watching Brief, Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Glover, G. (2008) Churchill Avenue, Horncastle, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation Trenching. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Horseshoe Road, Spalding

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Spalding
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 523150, 322000
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 24055

Description: Isolated industrial/peripheral saltern site identified during watching brief over 0.025 ha. Site consists of ditches and pits containing RB

briquetage adjacent to possible Roman road. Nearby field system may be related.

Anon. (1997) Archaeological Watching Brief at Horseshoe Road, Spalding, Lincolnshire. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Hundred Road, March

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: March
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 541000, 298500
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 125
RSRB Database number: 2173

Description: ER field system identified in evaluation over 4.53 ha (excavated area: 0.26 ha), consisting of field boundaries and a drainage ditch running adjacent to the Fen Causeway. Horticultural trenches that were oriented perpendicular to the main axis. 11 sherds.

Hutton, J., Standring, R. (2008) Land off Hundred Road, March, Cambridgeshire: An Archaeological Evaluation. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report Number 842: Unpublished report.

Hurst Lane Reservoir, Ely

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Ely
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 552409, 281537
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 2026

Description: M/LIA nucleated settlement (village) consisting of two foci containing 35 roundhouses, pits, postholes and intercutting enclosures, identified during excavations over 2.85 ha. In late 1st c., seems to have been incorporated into RB field system, with possible new settlement foci. Structures include roundhouses and 2 rectilinear timber buildings. Evidence for later occupation slim. 3039 sherds

Evans, C., et al. (2007) 'Iron Age settlement and Romanisation on the Isle of Ely: the Hurst Lane Reservoir site', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 96: 41–78.

Hutchison Site, Addenbrooke's

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 546250, 255350

Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 2024

Description: LIA/ER farm site and later field system identified during excavations in S. Cambridge over 3 ha. LIA complex of curvilinear enclosures replaced by rectilinear ones in ER (on same alignment), with roundhouses and gullies indicating domestic settlement. Industrial activity on site represented by 11 kilns. In later 1st c., large field system placed on a new alignment and domestic occupation appears to go out of use, although horticultural and industrial use of the site indicated by lazybeds, well, hayrick, and small kiln. Enormous number of sherds (> 20,000) from settlement and kilns potentially indicates larger population (=> LIA/ER village?).

Anon. (2013) Southern Perimeter Road, Addenbrooke's Hospital, Cambridge Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief. Bar Hill: Oxford Archaeology East: Unpublished report.

Evans, C., et al. (2008) Borderlands. The Archaeology of the Addenbrooke's Environs, South Cambridge New Archaeologies of the Cambridge Region 1 Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Impington King Hedges Farm

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Impington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 545500, 261800
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 2139

Description: Small-scale evaluation over 0.15 ha revealed 1–2 ER cremation burials along Akeman Street Roman Road. Pottery included a *terra nigra* cup and a Hofheim flagon and jars.

Wallis, H. (2012) Romano-British Cambridgeshire Recent Excavations. Gazetteer entry no. 7, Impington King Hedges Farm. Draft Report East Anglian Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Itter Crescent/Fane Road Villa

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 518200, 301800
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2075

Description: OA East eval/excavation over 0.5 ha and ongoing community excavation uncovered LIA settlement overlain by high-status Roman building (villa). LIA settlement consisted of enclosed settlement containing roundhouses, pits, hearths and a hayrick. In the ER, ditches were recut and possibly re-aligned, and a "high-status" timber building was constructed, along with a barn and 3 ovens. In MR, a tile kiln was constructed. Timber buildings were replaced by 2-storey masonry-footed, timber-framed courtyard villa "of exceptionally high status," with mosaic flooring, painted wall plaster, a bath house, over 10,000 sherds of pottery, and numerous small finds indicative of high-status occupation.

Pickstone, A. (2011) Roman Remains on Land Adjacent to Itter Crescent, Peterborough. An Interim Statement. Cambridge: Oxford Archaeology East. Report No. 1290: Unpublished report.

https://peterborougharchaeology.org/fane-road-roman-villa/ (for ongoing excavation updates)

Jeavons Lane

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 532230, 259040
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2036

Description: LIA/RB farm site identified during excavations over 3.5 ha. LIA/ER activity represented by D-shaped enclosure and boundary ditches, ponds/waterholes, and droveway. ER hiatus followed by mid-2nd c. activity represented by rectilinear enclosure, fields, and droveways, with associated rectilinear buildings. Peak occupation in LR, including LR burials. 2205 sherds.

Allen, M. and Wright, J. (2009). *Cambourne New Settlement: Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement on the Clay Uplands of West Cambridgeshire* (Wessex Archaeology Report 23). Salisbury. Wessex Archaeology.

Kilverstone, Thetford

County: Norfolk
Parish: Thetford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 588400, 283850
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 4001

Description: LIA/RB farm site (excavated over 2.6 ha) identified during several excavations west of the Thet/Little Ouse near the roadside settlement at Thetford. Early occupation consisted of ditched enclosures, with pits and a 4-post structure inside. In ER, more-extensive boundaries and timber buildings were added. In 2nd c., a trackway, many enclosures and a large aisled building were constructed. In LR, the layout and architecture changed, and 3 round buildings (including a metallurgical workshop) replaced the rectilinear ones. Site was home to a small Saxon settlement in the 6th c. 5968 sherds.

Garrow, D., Lucy, S., and Gibson, D. (2006) *Excavations at Kilverstone, Norfolk: An Episodic Landscape History* (East Anglian Archaeology 113). Cambridge: East Anglian Archaeology.

King Street, West Deeping

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: West Deeping
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 512759, 310398
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24097

Description: LR peripheral or farm site identified in evaluation over 0.17 ha. Site consists of ditches and a finds assemblage that suggests domestic occupation nearby (there were abundant remains of spelt wheat in environmental samples, though only 163 sherds of pottery from the excavation). Near King Street Roman Road.

Anon. (2002) Land at West Deeping (King Street), West Deeping, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Kirkby la Thorpe

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Kirkby la Thorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 510652, 345762
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24010

Description: M/LIA/ER funerary site identified during excavation over 0.18 ha of a multi-period occupation site. Several barrows date to the M/LIA, some of which could have been in use in the ER. 89 sherds.

Bonnor, L. and Allen, M. (2000) A Possible Iron Age Barrow Monument and Anglo-Saxon Cemetery Site at Kirkby la Thorpe, Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 35, 21–34.

Kirkby la Thorpe, Area 90, plot 22/1

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Kirkby la Thorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 509185, 345300
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24133

Description: MR farm site identified in excavation over 0.13 ha (Hatton to Silk Willoughby Pipeline excavation), located c. 1200 m to the east of Old Sleaford. Site consists of MR aisled building which may not have been used for domestic occupation (only 217 sherds were recovered, but animal bone suggests domestic activity on site). Limited in size though it was, the pottery assemblage contained many imports, including amphorae.

Anon. (2006) Hatton to Silk Willoughby Gas Pipeline 2001, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Lincoln: Network Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Kirkby la Thorpe, Site 11

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Kirkby la Thorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 509400, 346450
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24132

Description: M/LR farm and peripheral site identified in eval/excavation over 0.225 ha. Site consisted of enclosure system with gullies which may have related to a non-domestic circular building. Much CBM suggests presence of more robust structures nearby. Increase in intensity of occupation in 4th c. Animal bone analysis suggests cattle were being raised for meat production (along with sheep, pig, and even horses). Nearby was an early Anglo-Saxon site containing a Grubenhaus. 463 sherds.

Anon. (2006) Hatton to Silk Willoughby Gas Pipeline 2001, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Lincoln: Network Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Knobbs Farm

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Somersham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 536800, 279400
Approximate start date: AD 60
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2097

Description: E/MR peripheral site on the fed edge revealed in excavations over 1.83 ha. Site located within dense cropmarks and consists of rectilinear enclosures laid out around a trackway, with a possible roundhouse, corndryers, and granaries. Also ER cremation cemetery. Land later used as site of inhumation cemeteries. 943 sherds.

Collins, M. (2009) Knobbs Farm, Somersham. Phase 5B (2) Investigations. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report Number 923: Unpublished report.

Land Adjacent to Beech House Hospital, Exning

County: Suffolk
Parish: Exning
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 563270, 266540
Approximate start date: AD 250
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 5010

Description: M/LR farm site identified in small evaluation over 0.5 ha (and excavation over 0.028 ha) consisting of ditches, pits, and post holes. Relatively large amount of pottery (c. 435 sherds) for the size of the excavated area, and over 100 coins were uncovered (mainly by metal detectors). Building materials were also higher status. Possible higher status building nearby?

Muldowney, M. (2008) Land Adjacent to Beech House, Exning. Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. 2008/214: Unpublished report.

Land Adjacent to Beech Street/Newark Road, Lincoln

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Lincoln
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 496800, 368200
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 125
RSRB Database number: 24114

Description: ER peripheral site investigated during watching brief over 0.05 ha, consisting of ditches, pits, and pottery (mostly of 'military character' and comparable with legionary deposits in Lincoln. Only 57 sherds of pottery—site probably on edges of occupation.

Anon. (2004) Land adjacent to Beech Street / Newark Road, Lincoln, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Land Adjacent to Oundle Road, Peterborough Business Park

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough

Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 514000, 296200
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2076

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site revealed during evaluation and excavation over 0.7 ha. Site consists of (stock management?) enclosures, field systems, and trackways associated with off-site settlements. 179 sherds.

Mackay, D. (2002) An Archaeological Investigation on Land Adjacent to Oundle Road, Peterborough Business Park. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 504: Unpublished report.

Land Adjacent to Sutterton Enterprise Park

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Sutterton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 528430, 335000
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 325
RSRB Database number: 24173

Description: M/LR farm site identified during evaluation over 0.098 ha. Site consists of settlement features around a paleochannel and drainage ditches. Structural features were limited to a post hole and some CBM (2 fragments—one tegula and one box-flue tile). Amount of pottery recovered (220 sherds) relatively large (?) and high-status for the size of excavation. Sprouted and charred grain recovered.

Dailey, M. (2008) Archaeological Evaluation Report: Trial Trenching of Land Adjacent to Sutterton Enterprise Park, Station Road, Sutterton, Lincolnshire. Lincoln: Allen Archaeology Ltd. Report Number 2008/010: Unpublished report.

Land at Backgate, Cowbit

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Cowbit
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 526400, 317500
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 225
RSRB Database number: 24086

Description: MR 'farm' site identified in 1.995 ha excavation 500 m south of putative road along Stonegate. Site consists of enclosures and ditches, pits, and 2 rectilinear buildings, with associated 'industrial' features including possible saltern (along natural creek) and briquetage-production kiln. Much animal bone, including special deposits. Charred grain samples indicate nearby crop processing. Nearly 1000 sherds of pottery.

Anon. (2003) Land at Backgate, Cowbit, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Land at Jekil's Bank and Fox Headings Lane, Holbeach St John

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Holbeach
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533250, 317950
Approximate start date: AD 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24078

Description: Peripheral LIA/ER settlement revealed during watching brief over 0.024 ha. Site consists of a ditch containing 5 fragments of briquetage.

Anon. (2000) Land at Jekil's Bank and Fox Headings Lane Holbeach St John, Spalding, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Land at Manor Farm, Main Street, Sudbrook

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Sudbrook
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 497230, 344550
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24104

Description: RB farm and peripheral site identified in 0.0147 ha evaluation 500 m west of marching camp at Ancaster. Site consists of ditches, gullies, and a possible roundhouse (i.e., a ring ditch). Crop processing and malting were carried out here, but extent of occupation unclear (only 11 sherds of pottery).

Anon. (2003) Land at Manor Farm, Main Street, Sudbrook, Ancaster, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Murphy, K. (2006) Archaeological Evaluation on Land at Manor Farm, Sudbrook, Lincolnshire (SUMF06). Heckington: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report. 139/06: Unpublished report.

Land Between 17 and 21 Lincoln Road, Welton

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Welton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 501120, 379720
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24158

Description: RB farm site identified in evaluation over 0.0062 ha, with three distinct phases of occupation. In the LPRIA/ER, stake and/or post holes related to a possible temple structure. Overlying this, in the E/MR, a timber structure and a trackway were built. In the LR, a curvilinear stone building was constructed and then later demolished. This structure appears to have had a tiled roof, hypocausts, (red) painted wall plaster, and possibly even a decorated floor (but this is based on a single *tessera*). Substantial amount of pottery (> 200 sherds) for the tiny scale of the excavation.

Allen, M. (ed), Trott, K. (2010) Archaeological Evaluation Report: Land between 17 and 21 Lincoln Road, Welton, Lincolnshire. Lincoln: Allen Archaeology Ltd. report number 2010020: Unpublished report.

Parker, N. (2007) Archaeological evaluation on land between 17 and 21 Lincoln Road, Welton, Lincolnshire (WELR 07). Heckington, Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services. 153/07: Unpublished report.

Land East of Moorfield Road, Duxford

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Duxford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 548100, 247000
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 2001

Description: ER peripheral (kiln) site on the periphery of a settlement, identified in excavations over 0.4 ha. Six kilns, along with over 3700 sherds of pottery, were identified. Probably producing specialised flagons.

Woolhouse, T. (2014) Land East of Moorfield Road and South of the A505, Duxford, Cambridgeshire: Archaeological Excavation. Post-Excavation Assessment. Stapleford: Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd (London). PCA Report No. R11661: Unpublished report.

Land North-West of Ely

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Ely
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 554360, 281720
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2193

Description: LIA/RB settlement uncovered in a 152-trench evaluation over 72 ha (excavation over 2.25 ha). Several farm sites were identified, along with a small pottery assemblage (modest 1500 sherds, or the area under investigation)) and small number of small finds. Main site consists of ditched enclosures and field boundaries, a pond, crop processing waste, etc.

Phillips, T. (2013) Archaeological Evaluation on Land north-west of Ely, Cambridgeshire. Bar Hill: Oxford Archaeology East. Report no. 1448: Unpublished report.

Land off Barnack Road, Stamford

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Stamford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 504220, 307110
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24118

Description: (Possible) RB ironworking furnace. Site consists of ditches (excavated over c. 01.2 ha) and pits, including one filled with charcoal, burnt stone and tap slag, which may be a furnace. Dating evidence minimal, and pottery consists of 4 sherds (one Samian).

Morris, S. and Yates, A. (2004) An archaeological evaluation at land off Barnack Road, Stamford, Lincolnshire. August 2004. Northampton: Northamptonshire Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Land off Broadway, Yaxley, Peterborough

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Yaxley
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 519140, 293200
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2071

Description: Long-lived LIA/RB farm site uncovered in excavations over 2.5 ha. In the LIA, occupation consisted of a series of enclosures, boundaries and timber roundhouses, along with parts of a field system. In the later Roman period, a field system (and possible malting tank) and a later concentration of agricultural (?) buildings, waterholes, burials, and a kiln, were laid out. Large assemblage of small finds and pottery (over 7000 sherds).

Chapman, P., Taylor, E. (2005) Archaeological trial trench evaluation at The Broadway, Yaxley, Cambridgeshire. Northamptonshire: Northamptonshire Archaeology. 05/77: Unpublished report.

Brown, J (2008) Late Iron Age occupation and the emergence of a Roman farming settlement at Broadway Fields, Yaxley, Huntingdonshire, July to October 2005. Northamptonshire Archaeology: Northamptonshire Archaeology. 08/135: Unpublished report.

Phillips, T. (2014) Late Iron Age and Roman settlement at land off Broadway, Yaxley, Peterborough. Excavation report. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology East. OA East Report No: 1312: Unpublished report.

Land off Huntingdon Road, Cambridge

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 543700, 260730
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 2101

Description: Two areas of LIA/RB farm site identified in 1.5 ha excavation as part of 55 ha evaluation. Inter-linked field system with two areas of occupation, indicated by domestic waste (including 1450 sherds of pottery) and limited potential structural remains. Main period of occupation MR.

Mason, P. (2008) Archaeological trial excavation on land off Huntingdon Road, Cambridge. Northamptonshire Archaeology: Northamptonshire Archaeology. 08/37: Unpublished report.

Land Off Kings Road, Spalding

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Spalding
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 524570, 323190
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24159

Description: RB peripheral site identified in small-scale (0.0144 ha) excavation, consisting of linear ditches and a charcoal-rich deposit that may relate to nearby meat-processing. 11 sherds of ER pottery.

Piirainen, M. (2010) Archaeological Evaluation by Trial Excavation: King's Road, Spalding, Lincolnshire. Lincoln: Allen Archaeology Ltd. AAL report number 2010042: Unpublished report.

Land off West Cliff Road and Lincoln Road, Ruskington

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Ruskington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507190, 351250
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24083

Description: LIA peripheral site (potentially associated with larger site seen in cropmarks) excavated over 0.018 ha. Site consists of enclosure ditch, an unknown number of LIA sherds, 4 LIA/ER sherds, and some fired clay and CBM (possibly indicating a nearby furnace structure).

Palmer-Brown, C. (1994) Land off Westcliffe Road and Lincoln Road, Ruskington. Archaeological Evaluation Report. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Land on the Holdingham Rising Main Pipeline

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Ruskington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507453, 347282
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24144

Description: LIA peripheral site identified during 0.18 ha excavation during pipeline construction-related watching brief. Site consisted of several phases of ditches, demonstrating use of the area as a field system for many years. Probably on the periphery of a settlement, given presence on site of metalworking and textile working implements. 286 sherds of pottery, including 5 RB sherds.

Allen, C. (2007) Archaeological Watching Brief on land on the Holdingham Rising Main Pipeline (Holdingham Pumping Station to Sleaford STW) (HRM04). Heckington, Lincolnshire: Archaeological Project Services. 10/07: Unpublished report.

Land South of Bourne Road, Spalding

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Spalding
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 523200, 321840
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 75
RSRB Database number: 24058

Description: LIA/ER farm site identified in evaluation and excavation over 0.0825 ha in area already known, via cropmark evidence, to have had dense settlement in LIA/RP (Roman road and enclosure(s)). Site consists of one or more roundhouses within a ditched enclosure, domestic waste, and evidence for salt production (briquetage). Activity here *may* have been seasonal. Small (92 sherd) pottery assemblage, LIA/ER.

Anon. (1997) Archaeological Evaluation at Land south of Bourne Road, Spalding, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (1998) An Archaeological Excavation on land South of Bourne Road, Spalding, Lincolnshire. John Samuels Archaeological Consultants: Unpublished report.

Land to the Rear of 41–73 Hykeham Road, Lincoln

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Lincoln
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 496461, 367940
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400

RSRB Database number: 24179

Description: M/LR Swanpool-type pottery production site identified in evaluation over 0.0336 ha, 3 km south of the *colonia* at Lincoln. Kiln and 'occupation deposit.' 677 sherds of pottery, mainly from the kiln. Sparse evidence for any kind of domestic occupation.

Williams, S. (2008) Land to the rear of 41–73 Hykeham Road, Lincoln, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation Report. Lincoln: Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln). PCA 08/456/02IRev A: Unpublished report.

Land west of North Road, Bourne

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Bourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 509200, 321200
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24034

Description: RB peripheral/field system, identified during watching brief over 0.5 ha. Site consists of ditches and pits containing minimal animal bone and 77 sherds of pottery.

Start, D. (1995) Archaeological Watching Brief of a development at land west of North Road, Bourne, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Langdale Hale, Earith, Colne Fen

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Earith
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 538287, 277246
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2094

Description: Important Roman farm (or perhaps 'hamlet'), covering over 2.8 ha, investigated over many years (total excavated area = 1.8 ha). Began in ER as "ladder enclosure", within which one rectilinear timber building and several roundhouses were built. Site enlarged considerably in the early 2nd century, with a new enclosure system flanking a road and 19 structures: 3 mills or 4-posters, 5 roundhouses, and 11 rectilinear timber buildings, 3 of which were aisled buildings. This site—now identified as a *vicus* in the database—lay within a network of fields, trackways, and smaller buildings. Occupation reduced in the LR, when site was reorganised, and number of structures decreased (with only one certain and 6 potential buildings occupied). Inhabitants were engaged in ironworking, animal (hide) processing, and crop-processing on site. Over 14,000 sherds of pottery came from the excavations.

Small finds 'typical' of aisled building sites (militaria, an intaglio ring, metal tableware, weights, stylus, lamps, etc.).

Regan, R., Evans, C. and Webley, L. (2004) The Camp Ground Excavations. Colne Fen, Earith. Assessment Report. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 654: Unpublished report.

Langtoft Common, Langtoft

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Langtoft
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 514100, 314000
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24043

Description: IA farm and RB field system identified during watching brief over 7.5 ha. IA site consists of 4-posters, while RB field systems (multiple different ones) lay on different alignments to each other. Only 22 RB sherds.

Dymond, M.C. (1996) Archaeological Watching Brief on Land bounded by Cross Road and Langtoft Outgang Road, Langtoft Common, Langtoft, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Langtoft, Areas F–H, The Bluebell Land

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Langtoft
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 513100, 312900
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 24148

Description: MR farm or peripheral site excavated in advance of quarrying over c. 3 ha. In the LIA, the site was in use as a field system, and was associated with a known settlement off-site. In the MR, part of the site was in use a field system, while occupation was concentrated within a rectangular enclosure associated with a trackway (and also close to King Street Roman Road). Main domestic focus may be off site, but structures within area of excavation (including a 4-poster, an out-building of some kind, and a beam-slot structure) were identified. Possible sheep or goat-cheese manufacturing site. Substantial pottery assemblage (> 4000 sherds) and lots of other finds (shoes, jeweLRy, toilet implements) typical of a farmstead.

Hutton, J. (2007) Excavations at Langtoft, Lincolnshire. Areas F to H. The Bluebell Land. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. CAU Report No. 795: Unpublished report.

Langton Hill Farm

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Langton by Wragby
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 515000, 374800
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24128

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site identified in pipeline-related excavations over 0.204 ha. Site consists of enclosure ditch, pits and postholes, and minimal occupation debris (charcoal fills, 51 sherds of pottery, etc).

Anon. (2006) Hatton to Silk Willoughby Gas Pipeline 2001, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Lincoln: Network Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Langton Hill, plots 1/5 & 1/6

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Langton by Wragby
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 516150, 375330
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24127

Description: LIA/ER farm site identified during 0.27 ha pipeline excavation. In LIA, three roundhouses were occupied, and these were replaced by other roundhouses. Later, in the ER, a field system cut across the settlement on a new alignment, and a roundhouse and rectangular structure were built. Animals appear to have been managed for both milk and meat. Higher-status ER pottery, CBM, and a fragment of painted wall plaster hint at the presence of a higher status building nearby. 1202 sherds of pottery

Anon. (2006) Hatton to Silk Willoughby Gas Pipeline 2001, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Lincoln: Network Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Langwood Farm, Chatteris

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Chatteris
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 541800, 285200
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2061

Description: LIA/RB farm and nucleated settlement revealed in survey (test-pitting, evaluation) over 10 ha and excavation (extent not recorded) on the Fen island of Chatteris. In the LIA and LR, site seems to be a farm or small hamlet, while in the E/MR, it may have been a dispersed nucleated settlement. In that period, the site consisted of enclosures laid out around a trackway, pits, and structures, including a masonry building will the usual refinements (mortar

floors, possible hypocaust, tiled roof, and painted plaster walls). There also appear to have been other structures—rectilinear (?) and roundhouse, in form. No pottery quantification, but a high proportion of Samian (6% of entire assemblage). Small finds include part of *lorica segmentata.*

Evans, C. (2003) 'Britons and Romans at Chatteris: Investigations at Langwood Farm, Cambridgeshire', *Britannia* 34: 175–264.

Leadenham Quarry

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Welbourn
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 496300, 352500
Approximate start date: AD 250
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24088

Description: LR peripheral and farm site identified in excavation over 1.73 ha. Most evidence from the site relates to agricultural processing and other industrial activities. Features include a trackway, a possible (undated) roundhouse, 2 rectilinear post-built structures (one a granary?), a rectangular masonry building containing a corndryer, a second corndryer, a metalled surface, and quarry pits. Malting may have been taking place in one corndryer, while parching/drying may have taken place in the other. Millstones or large quernstones were also identified.

Anon. (2001) Leadenham Quarry Vol. 1: Leadenham Welbourn, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation. West Yorkshire Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2001) Leadenham Quarry Vol. 2: Leadenham Welbourn, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation. West Yorkshire Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Library Site, 266 Broadway, Yaxley

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Yaxley
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 517580, 292330
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 2071

Description: ER peripheral/industrial site excavated over 0.007 ha. Site consists of sub-surface features (ditches and pits over four phases) and a pottery kiln dated to c. AD 70, possibly on the outskirts (?) of a small ER farm. 441 sherds of pottery, mainly produced on site. No small finds aside from fired clay kiln furniture.

Anon. (2013) Excavation at Library Site, 266 Broadway, Yaxley. Bar Hill: Oxford Archaeology East::

Unpublished report.

Linton Roman Villa

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Linton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 557100, 246200
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2109

Description: Pipeline excavations 50m from the river Cam and 2km NW of the Bartlow Hills burial mounds (ID 2021) revealed part of an extensive villa complex, excavated originally in 1846–50. Excavated features (from the modern project) included a range of Roman buildings, associated ditches and yard surfaces. Earlier LIA features also observed. Many small finds and 74 coins recovered, mainly by metal detectors, and 10 kg of pottery.

Ette, J. and Hinds, S. (1993) Excavations at Linton Roman Villa. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. 88: Unpublished report.

Linton Village College

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Linton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 555650, 246960
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2111

Description: M/LR farm site identified during excavations over 0.12 ha. Site consists of possible timber structures (represented by beam-slot s and postholes), pits and ditches, and a trackway. Very large amount of pottery, given the size of excavation (3413 sherds).

Gilmour, N. (2008) Excavation, Evaluation and Watching Brief at Linton Village College, Linton Cambridgeshire Post-excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design. Bar Hill, Cambridgeshire: Oxford Archaeology East. OAE Report No: 1058: Unpublished report.

Little Common Farm

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533140, 259180
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 2038

Description: M–LIA domestic site occupied in multiple phases, uncovered in 1 ha excavations. Site consists of conjoined enclosure system within wider field system, within which were 3 roundhouses. Other features include a 4-post structure and other small enclosures. > 1600 sherds of pottery, none dating post-LIA, but including Dr. 1 *amphorae.*

Allen, M. and Wright, J. (2009). *Cambourne New Settlement: Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement on the Clay Uplands of West Cambridgeshire* (Wessex Archaeology Report 23). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology

Little Oulsham Drove, Feltwell

County: Norfolk
Parish: Feltwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 569964, 292016
Approximate start date: AD 300
Approximate end date: AD 450
RSRB Database number: 4017

Description: M/LR corridor villa revealed in small excavation over 0.1 ha. Site consists of masonry (5-roomed) villa with separate bath house, in which an early 5th c. Germanic sword was found. 634 sherds of pottery and small finds assemblage (including a single coin and many other objects, some related to the architecture—i.e., CBM, *opus signinum* and painted plaster).

Gurney, D. and Cool, H. E. M. (1986). *Settlement, Religion and Industry on the Roman fen edge, Norfolk* (East Anglian Archaeology 31). Dereham: East Anglian Archaeology.

Little Thetford, Watson's Lane

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Thetford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 553100, 276300
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: n/a

Description: LIA (?) and RB domestic and tile kiln site with probable hiatus in ER. LR coins and finds typical of higher-status or mercantile sites (including steelyard, steelyard weights, and decapitation burials) were found.

Gdaniec, K., 1994, Archaeological Investigations at Watson's Lane, Little Thetford, Ely, Cambridgeshire: Unpublished report. SCB18439.

Hinman, M., 1995, Archaeological Excavations at Watson's Lane, Little Thetford, Ely, Cambridgeshire. Interim Report: Unpublished report. SCB18441.

Lucas, G. and Hinman, M., 1996, Archaeological Excavations of an Iron Age Settlement and Romano-

British Enclosures at Watson's Lane, Little Thetford, Ely, Cambridgeshire. Post-Excavation Assessment Report: Unpublished report. SCB18442.

Littleport, Camel

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Littleport
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 556600, 287150
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2141

Description: M/LR farm site identified in excavations over 0.7 ha. Site consists of roundhouse and rectilinear beam-slot structure within system of droveways and boundary ditches, apparently relating to other nearby sites (RSRB suggests perhaps part of a larger *mansio* complex). Kiln wasters and possible salt-making facilities indicate potential industrial use of the site. No sherd count given, but finds, along with list of represented ceramics, indicates deep engagement with markets.

Roberts, J. (1997) Roman Occupation on the Fen Edge at Camel Road, Littleport. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. A114: Unpublished report.

Longhill Road, March

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: March
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 541500, 299400
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2093

Description: Farm and important saltmaking site revealed in evaluation (excavated over 0.12 ha). Site consists of domestic occupation along a trackway: possible beam-slot structures within enclosure ditches, with pits, wells, and other features, and a saltern site with kiln, with much briquetage (860 fragments). Other finds relatively minimal (210 sherds of pottery).

Atkins, R. (2003) An Early Salt Making Site and Settlement at Longhill Road, March, Cambridgeshire. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. A226: Unpublished report.

Longstanton Site XII

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Oakington and Westwick
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 538461, 264346
Approximate start date: 0

Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 2154

Description: Evaluation over 0.054 ha within larger survey over 574 ha revealed multi-phase activity. LIA/ER phase consisted of an enclosure system, overlain by system of rectilinear enclosures which produced 46 sherds.

Evans, C. and Mackay, D. (2004) Longstanton, Cambridgeshire. A Village Hinterland. Archaeological Investigations 2004. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Evans, C., Mackay, D. and Appleby, G. (2007) Longstanton, Cambridgeshire. A Village Hinterland III. The 2006 Evaluation. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 755: Unpublished report.

Longstanton Site XVIII

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Oakington and Westwick
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 541178, 266737
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2152

Description: Evaluation/excavation over 0.25 ha within larger survey spread over 574 ha revealed putative 'village' settlement possibly extending over 24ha. Settlement consists of ladder enclosure system, within which masonry buildings were identified. Sherd count: 789.

Evans, C. and Mackay, D. (2004) Longstanton, Cambridgeshire. A Village Hinterland. Archaeological Investigations 2004. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Evans, C., Mackay, D. and Appleby, G. (2007) Longstanton, Cambridgeshire. A Village Hinterland III. The 2006 Evaluation. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 755: Unpublished report.

Longstanton Site XIX

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Oakington and Westwick
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 540606, 267072
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2151

Description: Evaluation/excavation over 0.82 ha within larger survey spread over 574 ha revealed putative 'village' settlement possibly extending over 8 ha. Activity dates between the 2nd – 4th c., and consists of enclosures and trackways, occupation spread, a tile kin, burials, and a shrine. Only 500 m away from larger nucleated settlement. Only 505 sherds of pottery recovered in evaluation.

Evans, C. and Mackay, D. (2004) Longstanton, Cambridgeshire. A Village Hinterland. Archaeological Investigations 2004. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Evans, C., Mackay, D. and Appleby, G. (2007) Longstanton, Cambridgeshire. A Village Hinterland III. The 2006 Evaluation. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 755: Unpublished report.

Longstanton Site XX

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Oakington and Westwick
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 539459, 267846
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2153

Description: Evaluation over 0.1 ha within larger survey spread over 574 ha revealed Roman farm represented by enclosure systems, gullies/postholes, wells, and a corndryer. Sherd count: 505.

Evans, C. and Mackay, D. (2004) Longstanton, Cambridgeshire. A Village Hinterland. Archaeological Investigations 2004. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Evans, C., Mackay, D. and Appleby, G. (2007) Longstanton, Cambridgeshire. A Village Hinterland III. The 2006 Evaluation. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 755: Unpublished report.

Longthorpe Roman Fort

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 515000, 297000
Approximate start date: AD 44+
Approximate end date: AD 62
RSRB Database number: n/a

Description: Fortress originally identified in aerial survey and covering c. 27 acres excavated by Frere in the 60s/70s, thought to have been established in the 40s and continued in use until the Boudiccan revolt (61/2).

Frere, S. S., et al. (1974) 'The Roman Fortress at Longthorpe,' *Britannia* 5: 1–129.

Love's Farm, St. Neots

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: St. Neots
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 520100, 261900
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 500

RSRB Database number: 2118

Description: Important LIA farm and RB nucleated settlement identified in survey/eval/excavation project over c. 60 ha. In the LIA, site consisted of several farms (enclosure systems, roundhouses, and a possible ceremonial enclosure) and a routeway. In RB, roundhouses went out of use, and larger (?) nucleated settlement was built, and rectilinear buildings, barns and aisled buildings, a smithy, etc., were constructed. Site produced over 26,000 sherds of pottery.

Hinman, M. (2004) Land East of St. Neots, Cambridgeshire. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. 700: Unpublished report.

Low Park Corner Chippenham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: St. Neots
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 567200, 269100
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2187

Description: MIA to RB farm site identified during survey and eval/excavation project over 1.2 ha. In MIA, site was unenclosed and consisted of approx. 4.5 ha of roundhouses and pits. Partially enclosed in LIA, and at this point site still consists of roundhouses and pits, along with some quarries and a metalworking area. In RB, settlement was enclosed and consisted of roundhouses. In 2nd c., settlement appears to become less intense, and site appears to have become focused on stock breeding. 4935 sherds of pottery.

Atkins, R. (2013) Iron Age to Roman Settlement at Low Park Corner, Chippenham, Cambridgeshire. Bar Hill: Oxford Archaeology East. Report no: 1275: Unpublished report.

Lower Cambourne

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 531080, 259460
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2032

Description: M/LIA hamlet settlement (4–5 roundhouses within enclosure) identified in excavation over 3.3 ha. In MR (2nd–3rd c.), sub-rectilinear enclosures become rectilinear and buildings are both round and possibly rectilinear. In the 4th c., a free-standing post "shrine" is built, along with 4-posters. Over 11,000 sherds.

Allen, M. and Wright, J. (2009). *Cambourne New Settlement: Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement on*

the Clay Uplands of West Cambridgeshire (Wessex Archaeology Report 23). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology

Lynch Farm, Peterborough

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 514500, 297600
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2182

Description: LR/RB farm and cemetery revealed in gravel-quarrying mitigation excavation over 0.45 ha. Site consists of complex enclosures and trackways, with no associated structural remains. Cemetery contained the remains of 51 individuals. 850+ sherds recovered.

R. Jones (1974) The Romano-British Farmstead and its Cemetery at Lynch Farm, near Peterborough. Northamptonshire Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Lyndon Farm, High Street, Maxey

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Maxey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 511420, 307930
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 500
RSRB Database number: 2077

Description: LR/RB farm site revealed in excavations over 0.9 ha. Site consists of (complex?) arrangement of trackways and enclosures, potential roundhouses, a possible rectilinear building, and gullies/pits/a well. 1400 sherds of pottery.

Roberts, J. (2000) Roman Occupation at Lydon Farm, High Street, Maxey. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. 181: Unpublished report.

Lynford Quarry, Stanford

County: Norfolk
Parish: Stanford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 582500, 294800
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 4012

Description: M/LIA settlement consisting of typical pits, ditches, and and posthole structures), abandoned in LIA/ER. Later field boundary crossed site. 1400 sherds of pottery. Site is notable for containing earliest-ever rabbit bones in Britain.

Birks, C., and Robertson, D. (2005) 'Prehistoric settlement at Stanford: Excavations at Lynford Quarry, Norfolk 2000–2001', *Norfolk Archaeology* 44: 676–701.

Madingley

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Madingley
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 540130, 259870
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2051

Description: LIA/RB farm site uncovered in small (0.03 ha) pipeline mitigation excavation. Site consists of pits and ditches and a possible roundhouse. No pottery quantification or report.

JB Tipper (1994) A late Iron Age/Romano-British Settlement at Madingley, Cambridgeshire, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 83: 23–30.

Maid's Hill Cross, Lakenheath

County: Suffolk
Parish: Lakenheath
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 572828, 283230
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 5040

Description: RB farm uncovered in small (0.015 ha) excavations, consisting of a ditches and pits with chalk floors (representing two structures), with numerous associated features (pits, hearths, postholes). Very limited number of sherds (37) but, given size of excavation, surprising number of small finds, including a patera.

Briscoe, G. (1952) A Romano-British settlement at Lakenheath, Suffolk, Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History 26.1: 69–84.

Manor Farm, Langtoft

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Langtoft
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 512100, 312400

Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 24006

Description: Small LIA/RB farm site revealed in small (0.01648 ha) trial-trench excavation. Site consists of ditches, pits, postholes, etc. Circular crop marks might indicate LIA/ER roundhouses.

French, C.A.I. (1991) Manor Farm, Langtoft: Archaeological Assessment. Fenland Archaeological Trust: Unpublished report.

Manor Pit, Baston (site 2)

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Baston
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 512800, 314900
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 325
RSRB Database number: 24099

Description: RB peripheral site identified in eval over 1 ha. Site consists of ditches, droveways, post holes (buildings?), and enclosures over several phases. 488 sherds.

Anon (2003) Manor pit, Baston, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Northampton: Northamptonshire Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Anon (2004) Manor Pit, Baston, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Northampton: Northamptonshire Archaeology: Unpublished report.

March to Chatteris

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Doddington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 541341, 291380
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 2066

Description: Farm and peripheral site uncovered in 0.25 ha pipeline excavations. Site consists of boundary ditches and (livestock) enclosures. Activity expanded in ER, to include two large sub-rectangular enclosures within which were small (animal?) structures. 183 sherds of pottery.

Jones, R. (Mo) (2007) Bronze Age, Iron Age and Romano-British Archaeology on the March to Chatteris Anglian Water Pipeline, Cambridgeshire. Bar Hill, Cambridgeshire: CAM ARC. report number 863: Unpublished report.

Massingham Road, Rougham

County: Norfolk
Parish: Rougham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 582850, 318250
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 4091

Description: RB field system and possible domestic focus revealed in 0.25 ha pipeline excavation. Site consists of droveway, large rectilinear ditched enclosure, and possible domestic focus (pits, postholes, etc). 185 sherds of pottery.

Wilson, T. *et al*. (2012) Bacton to King's Lynn Gas Pipeline Volume 1: Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval Archaeology (East Anglian Archaeology 145) Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service, in conjunction with ALGAO East.

Maxey Quarry

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Maxey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 512500, 307900
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2070

Description: Roman field system uncovered in 9.12 ha assessment/survey which also uncovered E/MIA farm (not discussed here). Co-axial field system dates to M/LR. 186 sherds of contemporary pottery.

Meadows, I. (2008) Maxey Quarry, Cambridgeshire Western Extension 2007–2008 Assessment Report. Northampton: Northamptonshire Archaeology. Report 09/143: Unpublished report.

Maxey, Bardyke Field

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Maxey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 512500, 307700
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 2030

Description: LIA/ER peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.32 ha. Site consists of a field system, trackway, and enclosures, within which lay iron and copper smelting materials (including a furnace). 120 sherds of pottery.

Simpson, W.G. (1985) Excavations at Maxey, Bardyke Field, 1962–3', in Pryor (ed) The Fenland Project No. 1: Archaeology and Environment in the Lower Welland Valley, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire Archaeological Committee.

Mayor's Walk, Peterborough

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 518390, 299350
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 2079

Description: LIA/RB farm and peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.22 ha. Site consists of pits and structural remains of up to 5 structures which were not thought by excavators to be domestic (even though c. 737 sherds of pottery were uncovered in excavations). Much pottery came from pit (probable midden deposit).

Hatton, A. (2003) Prehistoric and Roman Settlement Remains at Mayor's Walk, Peterborough. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. 0216: Unpublished report.

Meadow Lane North Hykeham, CLAU Site

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: North Hykeham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 494700, 365400
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24180

Description: RB farm site uncovered in assessment over 0.48 ha. Site consists of enclosures within which were features (pits, ditches, post holes), occupied in several phases beginning with a large ditched rectangular enclosure. 599 sherds of pottery.

Anon. (2001) Meadow Lane, North Hykeham, Lincolnshire: Assessment Report. Lincoln: City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit. CLAU Report 467: Unpublished report.

Meadow Lane, North Hykeham

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: North Hykeham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 494720, 365480
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24124

Description: RB peripheral site revealed in excavation over 0.0848 ha, consisting of ditched boundaries (recut several times) containing pottery and a single un-urned cremation burial. 121 sherds of pottery.

Anon. (1999) Land off Meadow Lane, North Hykeham, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. John Samuels Archaeological Consultants: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2006) Meadow Lane, North Hykeham, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Excavation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Meadow Lane, St. Ives

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: St. Ives
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 532900, 270600
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2122

Description: RB peripheral site revealed in eval/excavation over 0.3 ha. Site consists of trackway and field system, along with nearby enclosures, pits, and a midden. Pottery unquantified.

Pollard, J. (1995) 'Iron Age pit alignments and Roman settlement features at Meadow Lane, St. Ives', *Fenland Research* 9: 37–42.

Melford Meadows, Brettenham, Thetford

County: Norfolk
Parish: Thetford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 587800, 282600
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 4002

Description: Small hamlet or roadside settlement thought to cover c. 2 ha uncovered in two excavations over 1.2 ha. Site consists of conjoined enclosures along the edge of the River Thet, within which were structures (timber buildings, an aisled building, and a possible roundhouse), pits, middens, ovens, a cemetery (containing 23 burials), etc., possibly connected with the Thetford settlement. Over 120 coins, significant small finds assemblage, and over 5600 sherds of pottery.

Pine, J. (2010) Land at Arlington Way, Thetford, Norfolk. A Post-excavation Assessment. Reading: Thames Valley Archaeological Services. Report 09/32: Unpublished report.

Mudd, A. (2002) Excavations at Melford Meadows, Brettenham, 1994: Romano-British and Early Saxon Occupations (East Anglian Archaeology 99). Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit.

Mildenhall

County: Suffolk
Parish: Mildenhall
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 567344, 276777
Approximate start date: AD 360
Approximate end date: AD 370
RSRB Database number: 5028

Description: Site Mildenhall Treasure, a nationally important LR silver hoard containing 34 objects (tableware) deposited near un-excavated Roman building. Objects are heavily published and studied as they contain both Christian and pagan symbols and speak to the complexity of religious belief and representation in this period. Nature of site uncertain.

Painter, K. S. (1977) The Mildenhall Treasure. London: The British Museum.

Mill Drove, Bourne

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Bourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 510300, 321250
Approximate start date: AD 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24041

Description: LIA/ER farm and M/LR peripheral site uncovered in survey and excavation over 0.06 ha. Site consists of enclosures within which were two separate foci containing different types of pottery (potentially differentiated by chronology but this is a bit unclear). Hiatus in 2nd c., and then the boundaries were re-aligned, and the site became a field system (probably for livestock). 396 sherds of pottery.

Jarvis, M. (1995) Excavation of a Late Iron Age/Romano-British Settlement at Mill Drove, Bourne. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Mill Farm

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 531630, 258590
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2034

Description: M/LR farm or peripheral site uncovered in Cambourne excavations over 0.56 ha, consisting of rectilinear enclosure, other boundaries,

a waterhole/pond, and pits, along with crop processing waste, animal bone, and c. 792 sherds of pottery.

Allen, M. and Wright, J. (2009). *Cambourne New Settlement: Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement on the Clay Uplands of West Cambridgeshire* (Wessex Archaeology Report 23). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.

Milton, East Waste

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Milton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 546500, 262500
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2113

Description: LIA/RB farm site uncovered in excavations over 1 ha. Site occupied in several phases with a possible hiatus in between the latest IA and RB phase, which begins in 2nd c. LIA site consists of enclosures and field systems (with 'lazybeds'), numerous roundhouses, and 4-posters. RB site consists of field systems, a cemetery (containing 21 burials), rectilinear buildings, and a corndryer.

Reynolds, T. (1994) Iron Age/Romano-British Settlement at Milton: An Archaeological rescue project. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. 0104: Unpublished report.

Moor Farm, Bucknall

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Bucknall
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 517064, 370624
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24181

Description: LIA/RB farm and peripheral site uncovered in watching brief/excavation over 0.33 ha associated with pipeline construction. Activity in multiple phases. LIA site consists of (stock?) enclosure and roundhouses, which continued to be built (rebuilt) into the ER, along with a rectangular building. Box flue tile and wall plaster indicate the possible presence of a Roman-style building nearby. Occupation decreased in 2nd c., and new ditches laid out to turn the site into a field system. 1033 sherds of pottery.

Network Archaeology (1999) Hatton to Silk Willoughby 1050mm Gas Pipeline: Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Network Archaeology. Report No. 134: Unpublished report.

Morton Fen

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Morton and Hanthorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 516500, 323300
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 24194

Description: ER/MR saltern site uncovered as part of the Fenland Project survey, excavated over 0.0336 ha. Excavators think site may have been used seasonally and that the oven may have been fired with crop-processing waste. 263 sherds of pottery.

Trimble, D. (2001) Excavation of an Early Roman Saltern in Morton Fen, Lincolnshire (Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage Reports Series 4) Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage.

Moulton Chapel and Whaplode, Area 1

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Moulton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 528382, 317232
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24049

Description: RB peripheral site uncovered as part of the Fenland Survey and excavated over 1.5 ha. Site consists of a droveway, ditches and field systems, and possible peripheral settlement features (ditches, gullies, pits). No pottery report.

Anon. (1996) Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief of the Pipeline between Moulton Chapel and Whaplode, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Moulton Chapel and Whaplode, Area 2 (MHB96 - salvage excavation)

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Moulton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 530460, 315633
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24050

Description: Roman farm (?) site uncovered during salvage excavations over 2 ha. Site was first Identified as cropmarks, and consists of enclosures, gullies, and pits. 788 sherds of pottery.

Anon. (1996) Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief of the Pipeline between Moulton Chapel and Whaplode, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Moulton Chapel and Whaplode, Area 3

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Moulton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 531557, 314956
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24051

Description: RB field system and possible settlement uncovered in watching brief as part of Fenland in Roman Times survey, consisting of ditches and pits, gullies, and a droveway. 232 sherds of pottery.

Anon. (1996) Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief of the Pipeline between Moulton Chapel and Whaplode, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Mount Lane, Kirkby La Thorpe

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Kirkby La Thorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 509860, 345260
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24036

Description: LIA farm and RB peripheral site identified in eval/watching brief over 0.0077 ha. Site consists of field system and more intensely used area with ditches and pits, and a gravel quarry containing roughly-cut limestone blocks and some domestic debris. 92 sherds of pottery.

Anon. (1997) Archaeological Watching Brief at Land adjacent to Mount Lane, Kirkby la Thorpe, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Palmer-Brown, C. (1995) Mount Lane, Kirkby la Thorpe, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Field Evaluation report. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Navenby Overall

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Navenby
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 499300, 357500
Approximate start date: AD 50

Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24031; 24075; 24091; 24119

Description: Roman roadside settlement investigated in numerous small excavations over c. 2.2 ha. Site runs along the side of Ermine Street and seems to have been 'founded' in the ER. In that phase, site may have consisted of ditched enclosures, within which were roundhouses (at least three of them). In the RB, site consisted of roadside buildings (some stone-founded) with hearths and floor-surfaces. There were also burials and a shrine. Only c. 1162 have been reported from the excavations below.

Palmer-Brown, C. (1994) Chapel Heath, Navenby. Archaeological Evaluation Report. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Anon. (1999) Archaeological Watching Brief at Coleby to Wellingore pipeline (also known as Wellingore to Navenby) , Lincolnshire. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Anon. (1999) Chapel Lane, Navenby, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Anon. (2000) Archaeological Watching Brief Report. Ermine Street, Navenby, Lincolnshire. Central Lincs Trunk Main Rehabilitation Phase 1. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Anon. (2001) Land off Chapel Lane, Navenby, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Anon. (2001) Land west of Ermine Street, Chapel Heath, Navenby, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Anon. (2005) Land at Chapel Heath, Navenby, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Anon. (2008) Chapel Heath. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Neath Farm, Church End, Cherry Hinton

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 548850, 257439
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2190

Description: Peripheral RB site (field system) uncovered in excavations over 0.57 ha, consisting ditches and gullies and trackways. Only 14 sherds of pottery.

Cessford, C. and Slater, A. (2014) 'Beyond the Manor of Hintona: Further thoughts on the development of Church End, Cherry Hinton: The Neath Farm Site', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 103: 39–59.

Needingworth Bypass

County: Cambridgeshire

Parish: Holywell-cum-Needingworth (Huntingdonshire)
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533173, 272330
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2106

Description: Peripheral (and possibly domestic) RB site revealed in excavations over 0.064 ha, consisting of outer boundary ditches and features. 288 sherds of pottery.

Schlee, D.E. (1995) Excavation of a Romano-British Settlement on the Needingworth Bypass. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. 99: Unpublished report.

New Fen Drove

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Earith
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 539170, 275980
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2096

Description: Roadside settlement, said to extend over 20 ha, uncovered in numerous excavations. Most of settlement destroyed prior to excavation and cannot be well understood. Supposedly contained numerous (12?) rectilinear buildings, including some masonry buildings, kilns and ovens, burials, and a shrine. Only c. 770 sherds of pottery.

Regan, R., Evans, C. and Webley, L. (2004) The Camp Ground Excavations. Colne Fen, Earith. Assessment Report. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 654: Unpublished report.

New Road, Haslingfield

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Haslingfield
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 540850, 252490
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 2087

Description: RB farm site uncovered in excavation over 0.4 ha. Site consists of enclosures and structural features (postholes). May be peripheral site. Only c. 200 sherds of pottery and very few small finds.

Atkins, R. (2011) Archaeological Excavation: Land at No. 30 New Road Haslingfield, Cambridgeshire. Bar Hill: Oxford Archaeology East. OA East Report No. 1235: Unpublished report.

New Vicarage, Burgh le Marsh Hall Lane, Burgh le Marsh

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Burgh le Marsh
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 550028, 364960
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24061

Description: RB farm or peripheral site identified in eval over 0.0052 ha. Site consists of ditches, pits, and gullies and an LR "metalled yard or track". 255 sherds of pottery.

Anon. (1997) Archaeological Desk Top Assessment and Evaluation at New Vicarage, Plot 5, off Chapman Avenue, Burgh le Marsh, Lincolnshire. Lindsey Archaeological Services https://doi.org/10.5284/1016012

Anon. (2001) Hall Lane, Burgh le Marsh, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Newport, Lincoln (and main summary of Lincoln)

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Newport
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 497700, 372780
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24035; 24081; 24172; 24177

Description: Lindum Colonia: city of Lincoln. This entry does not fully catalogue Lincoln intramural excavations. The most recent synthesis of Lincoln's urban archaeology can be found in Stocker and Vince, 2019. The Roman town of Lincoln grew up on the site of a legionary fortress that was abandoned in c. AD 77. It does not appear to have been heavily occupied (and may not have been occupied at all) in the LIA, although Stocker and Vince note that it may, nevertheless, have been a place of importance for the Corieltauvi (Stocker and Vince 2019, 33). Excavations within the city have uncovered a forum, temple, baths, aqueduct, waterfront harbour, townhouses, production sites, and sub-Roman buildings (possibly churches). The nature of occupation changed in the 4th century, with dark earth deposits forming around the town. Stocker and Vince note that while the town proper came to an end by around AD 410, "some sort of community did continue" (Stocker and Vince 2019, 136), citing the continuity of Christian institutions in the town (Stocker and Vince 2019, 137 – 138).

Excavations around the extramural settlement (over c. 0.5 ha) have revealed intensive and urban-style roadside settlement, including (high-status)

masonry structures with a possible timber phase early in the 2nd c., which were abandoned sometime in the 4th century. As within the town, metalworking and other craft-production took place here.

Thompson, F. (1971). 'Some Lost Roman Bronzes from Lincoln'. *The Antiquaries Journal,* 51.1: 100–103.

Bogaers, J. (1977). 'Roman Tile Stamps from Lincoln (Lindum) and the Legio V Alaudae', *Britannia* 8: 275–8.

Jones, M., and Gilmour, B. (1980). 'Lincoln, Principia and Forum: A Preliminary Report', *Britannia* 11: 61–72.

Trimble, R. (1994) The former Broadway Service Station Newport, Lincoln. Archaeological Evaluation. City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit: Unpublished report.

Wragg, K. (1995) Bishop Grosseteste College, Newport, Lincoln. Archaeological Evaluation. City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit: Unpublished report.

Anon. (1997) Archaeological Excavation at Library Extension, Bishop Grosseteste College, Newport, Lincoln, Lincolnshire. City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit: Unpublished report.

Dobney, K., Kenward, H., Ottaway, P., and Donel, L. (1998). 'Down, but not out: Biological evidence for complex economic organisation in Lincoln in the late 4th century', *Antiquity* 72: 417–24.

Trimble, R. (2000) Gas Mains Renewal, Newport, Lincoln. Archaeological Watching Brief. City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit: Unpublished report.

Glover, G., McDaid, M. (2006) Bishop Grosseteste College, Lincoln. New Offices. Archaeological Evaluation. Lincoln: Lindsey Archaeological Services. Report No. 944: Unpublished report.

Stocker, D. and Vince, A. (2019). *The City by the Pool: Assessing the Archaeology of the City of Lincoln* (Lincoln Archaeology Studies 10). Oxford: Oxbow Books.

NIAB, Huntingdon Road

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 543700, 260700
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2184

Description: LIA/RB farm site and later hamlet (?) uncovered in 16 ha excavation in advance of housing development construction. Large cemeteries, conjoined enclosures, trackways, and a ladder-style system possibly used for stock.

Luke, M., and Anon. (2014) 'Cambridge, NIAB, Huntingdon Road (TL 437 607),' in 'Sites Explored, *Britannia* 45: 353–356.

Normanton

County: Lincolnshire

Parish: Normanton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 493950, 346050
Approximate start date: AD 300
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24076

Description: LR peripheral site consisting of ditches, pits, and post holes, possibly associated with a stone-footed building excavated in the 1950s. 1338 sherds of pottery.

Williams, M. (1999) Normanton Phase II Replacement Scheme, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Assessment Report. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

North Hykeham pottery kiln

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: North Hykeham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 492800, 366400
Approximate start date: AD 70
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 24198

Description: Pottery kiln excavated as it was being destroyed by quarrying, probably Flavian in date.

Thompson, F. H. (1958) A Romano-British Pottery Kiln at North Hykeham, Lincolnshire, Antiquities Journal 38, 15–51.

North Lodge, Barnwell

County: Northamptonshire
Parish: Barnwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507426, 283792
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 26126

Description: M/LR villa site uncovered in excavations over 0.0085 ha, along with quarry pit. Villa had hypocaust system and was probably only one small part of a larger complex. No detailed finds data.

Hadman, J., and Upex, S. (1974) 'The Roman Villa at North Lodge, Barnwell, 1973', *Durobrivae* 2: 27–28.

North-west Cambridge Site II/RB 1

County: Cambridgeshire

Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 542782, 259876
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2131

Description: ER farm site uncovered in large open area eval/excavation over 140 ha. Site consists of ditched enclosures along trackway and flanking major RB road, with fence lines, pits, wells, a corndryer, a cemetery, and a timber building. No pottery report from the excavation, but a large number of sherds were recovered.

Evans, C., and Newman, R. (2010). North West Cambridge, University of Cambridge, Archaeological Field Evaluation. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report number 921. Unpublished report.

Evans, C., Cessford, C., and Roberts, H. (2013). North West Cambridge Archaeology: An Interim Statement. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Evans, C. and Cessford, C. (Unknown). North West Cambridge Archaeology Part 2: The Roman Phasing. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. and Evans, C. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2012–2013 Excavations Assessment Report (Part 3, 1–3). Cambridge Archaeological Unit Report 1255. Unpublished report.

Timberlake, S. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Site VI Excavations Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 4). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Brittain, M. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Site V Excavations Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 5). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Sites II Central, IV North, and VII: Excavation Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 7). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Evans, C. (2015). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013 Excavations: Traveller's Rest Sub-Site: Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 8). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

See also the CAU web site: https://www-cau.arch.cam.ac.uk/NWC.htm

North-west Cambridge Sites IV-V (RBII)

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 542389, 260479
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2132

Description: Roman roadside settlement uncovered in excavations over 0.43 ha as part of huge eval/excavation project covering 140 ha. Settlement arranged alongside Roman road and covers 5.3 ha, and consists of conjoined LIA enclosures which are expanded into the RB. By the later 1st c. AD, this becomes

a real roadside settlement, with rectilinear enclosures fronting the road, wells, pits, beam-slot and posthole buildings, and 43 buildings. Numerous burials (43), lots of coins, and 1700+ sherds of pottery (from eval?).

Evans, C. and Newman, R. (2010). North West Cambridge, University of Cambridge, Archaeological Field Evaluation. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report number 921. Unpublished report.

Evans, C., Cessford, C., and Roberts, H. (2013). North West Cambridge Archaeology: An Interim Statement. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Evans, C. and Cessford, C. (Unknown). North West Cambridge Archaeology Part 2: The Roman Phasing. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. and Evans, C. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2012–2013 Excavations Assessment Report (Part 3, 1–3). Cambridge Archaeological Unit Report 1255. Unpublished report.

Timberlake, S. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Site VI Excavations Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 4). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Brittain, M. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Site V Excavations Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 5). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Sites II Central, IV North, and VII: Excavation Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 7). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Evans, C. (2015). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013 Excavations: Traveller's Rest Sub-Site: Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 8). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

See also the CAU web site: https://www-cau.arch.cam.ac.uk/NWC.htm

North-west Cambridge Site VI

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 541963, 260613
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 70
RSRB Database number: 2133

Description: Small LIA/ER settlement uncovered in excavations over 0.14 ha within larger evaluation/excavation covering 140 ha. Site consists of enclosure ditches and pits. 114 sherds of pottery.

Evans, C. and Newman, R. (2010). North West Cambridge, University of Cambridge, Archaeological Field Evaluation. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report number 921. Unpublished report.

Evans, C., Cessford, C., and Roberts, H. (2013). North West Cambridge Archaeology: An Interim Statement. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Evans, C. and Cessford, C. (Unknown). North West Cambridge Archaeology Part 2: The Roman Phasing. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. and Evans, C. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2012–2013 Excavations Assessment Report (Part 3, 1–3). Cambridge Archaeological Unit Report 1255. Unpublished report.

Timberlake, S. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Site VI Excavations Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 4). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Brittain, M. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Site V Excavations Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 5). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Sites II Central, IV North, and VII: Excavation Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 7). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Evans, C. (2015). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013 Excavations: Traveller's Rest Sub-Site: Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 8). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

See also the CAU web site: https://www-cau.arch.cam.ac.uk/NWC.htm

North-west Cambridge Site VII

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 542370, 259501
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 325
RSRB Database number: 2134

Description: RB peripheral site uncovered in a 0.18 ha excavation within larger eval/excavation over 140 ha. Numerous enclosures, possibly associated with a building (like a villa?). 244 sherds.

Evans, C. and Newman, R. (2010). North West Cambridge, University of Cambridge, Archaeological Field Evaluation. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report number 921. Unpublished report.

Evans, C., Cessford, C., and Roberts, H. (2013). North West Cambridge Archaeology: An Interim Statement. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Evans, C. and Cessford, C. (Unknown). North West Cambridge Archaeology Part 2: The Roman Phasing. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. and Evans, C. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2012–2013 Excavations Assessment Report (Part 3, 1–3). Cambridge Archaeological Unit Report 1255. Unpublished report.

Timberlake, S. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Site VI Excavations Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 4). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Brittain, M. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Site V Excavations Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 5). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Sites II Central, IV North, and VII: Excavation Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 7). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Evans, C. (2015). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013 Excavations: Traveller's Rest Sub-Site: Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 8). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

See also the CAU web site: https://www-cau.arch.cam.ac.uk/NWC.htm

North-west Cambridge Traveller's Rest Sub Site

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 542939, 259705
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2194

Description: RB farm site uncovered in a 1.08 ha excavation within larger eval/excavation over 140 ha. Multiple phases. M/LIA site was an unenclosed roundhouse settlement with some enclosures, and the settlement is classified as 'enclosed' by the LIA. In the 1st c. AD, rectangular compounds were built, connecting the site to RB1, with field systems in the middle.

Evans, C. and Newman, R. (2010). North West Cambridge, University of Cambridge, Archaeological Field Evaluation. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report number 921. Unpublished report.

Evans, C., Cessford, C., and Roberts, H. (2013). North West Cambridge Archaeology: An Interim Statement. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Evans, C. and Cessford, C. (Unknown). North West Cambridge Archaeology Part 2: The Roman Phasing. Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. and Evans, C. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2012–2013 Excavations Assessment Report (Part 3, 1–3). Cambridge Archaeological Unit Report 1255. Unpublished report.

Timberlake, S. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Site VI Excavations Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 4). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Brittain, M. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Site V Excavations Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 5). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Cessford, C. (2014). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013–2014 Excavations: Sites II Central, IV North, and VII: Excavation Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 7). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Evans, C. (2015). North West Cambridge Archaeology: University of Cambridge 2013 Excavations: Traveller's Rest Sub-Site: Assessment Report (NWC Report No. 8). Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

See also the CAU web site: https://www-cau.arch.cam.ac.uk/NWC.htm

North-west of Ewerby, Plot 132

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Ewerby
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 511900, 347884
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24182

Description: LIA peripheral site uncovered in pipeline excavation over 3.16 ha. Site consists of linear ditches and a gully containing domestic materials, including 17 sherds of pottery, indicating an LIA settlement focus nearby.

Network Archaeology (1999) Hatton to Silk Willoughby 1050mm Gas Pipeline: Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Network Archaeology. Report No. 134: Unpublished report.

Northbridge, Huntingdon

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Huntingdon
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 522250, 273500
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2156

Description: ER/MR field system uncovered in small 1.25 eval/excavation within much larger eval over 50 ha. Site consists of a field system ditches, a rectilinear enclosure, and a water hole near Ermine Street. C. 260+ sherds of pottery.

Cullen, K. (2004) Northbridge, Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Cirencester: Cotswold Archaeology. CA Report: 04181: Unpublished report.

Northern Bypass, Addlethorpe

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Addlethorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 553354, 368766
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24141

Description: LIA/RB peripheral/saltern site uncovered in watching brief during road bypass construction over 0.25 ha. Site consists of dumped deposits of

26,545 g of briquetage, both LIA and LR in date. Presence of 36 sherds of primarily LR pottery suggests a possible domestic focus nearby?

Anon. (2006) The Route of the Northern Bypass. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Orton Hall Farm

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 516756, 296539
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 500
RSRB Database number: 2013

Description: LIA/RB farm site (villa) uncovered in excavations over 1.47 ha. Site was a field system with enclosure in LIA and is seen as peripheral in that phase, and it appears that the site does not become a settlement focus until c. AD 175, when new enclosure with barns laid out. In 3rd c., a large hall house was constructed, and more buildings were added in the 4th c. Environmental evidence suggests that at this point the site was involved in large-scale beer brewing. 5 corndryers were excavated. Site continued in use (as brewery) into the 5th c. Huge finds assemblage includes over 44,000 sherds of pottery.

Mackreth, D. and Bamford, H. (1996). *Orton Hall Farm: A Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon Farmstead* (East Anglian Archaeology 76). Manchester: University of Manchester, Nene Valley Archaeological Trust.

Orton Longueville

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 516650, 295250
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 2012

Description: LIA-ER farm and field system uncovered in excavations over 02.5 ha. Settlement began with two enclosures that were later linked, within which were three roundhouses. Roundhouses went out of use in the ER, and no later buildings have been identified. Converted into a field system in the M/LR. A villa lies 800 m to the north. 3772 sherds.

Mackreth, D. (2001) Monument 97, Orton Longueville, Cambridgeshire: a Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman Farmstead (East Anglian Archaeology 97). Ipswich: Nene Valley Archaeological Trust.

Orton Longueville School

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 516400, 296200
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2179

Description: Part of a villa revealed in excavations over 0.01 ha, comprising a masonry building (c. 3rd c.) preceded by the construction of pits and furnaces. Building had painted plaster walls and mosaic flooring. Demolished in 4th c., and a 3-room bath house was built in its place. There seem to have been other buildings on site (represented by stone floors). Pottery assemblage unquantified.

Dakin, G. (1963) 'A Romano-British Site at Orton Longueville, Huntingdonshire', *Proceedings of Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 54: 50–67.

Outgang Road, Market Deeping

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Market Deeping
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 515870, 311540
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24192

Description: LIA/RB farm site investigated by Fenland Project in excavation over 0.25 ha. Site appears mainly (?) industrial in nature but probably was also domestic (?) and is listed as such here, particularly by virtue of the enormous (c. 4500+ sherds) amount of pottery recovered. In the M/LIA, site was used for salt production. In LIA, site consisted of ditches, pits, postholes, and a mortar floor. In the RB, a roundhouse, ditches, and pits were built.

Crowson, A., Lane, T. and Reece, J. (2000) Fenland Management Project Excavations 1991-1995 (Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage Reports Series 3). Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage.

Over Industrial Estate

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Over
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 537900, 269300
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 2086

Description: ER peripheral site investigated in small trial-trench investigation over 0.02 ha. Site consists of pits and ditches, and environmental evidence suggests crop processing. Only 70 sherds of pottery.

House, J. (2009) Evidence of Roman Settlement at Over Industrial Estate, Cambridgeshire: Archaeological Evaluation. Cambridge: Oxford Archaeology East. Report number 1123: Unpublished report.

Owl's End Road, Bury

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Bury
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 528400, 283700
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 2125

Description: LIA/ER farm and peripheral site uncovered in small excavation over 0.35 ha. Site consists of enclosures, around which were roundhouses, pits, and a fence line. Site converted to field system in RB. 166 sherds.

Begg, C. and Lucas, G. (1997) Archaeological Investigations at Owl's End Road, Bury, Cambridgeshire. Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Papworth Everard Business Park

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Papworth Everard
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 529250, 262440
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 2166

Description: LIA/ER peripheral site uncovered in small excavation (0.2 ha) within larger 5 ha eval near to Ermine Street. Site consists of gullies and ditches. Few finds and limited environmental data, but 200 sherds of pottery.

Fisher, I. (2006) An Archaeological Evaluation at Papworth Everard Business Park, Plots 7, 9 and 10, Cambridgeshire. Northampton: Northamptonshire Archaeology. NA Report 06/107: Unpublished report.

Papworth Everard Bypass

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Papworth Everard
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 528400, 263900
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2157

Description: LIA/ER field system uncovered in bypass excavation over c. 2 ha. Site consists of field system (ditches, etc.) with enough pottery to suggest a settlement probably lay nearby. M/LR activity notably less and consists of only a few ditches and a pit. 1400+ sherds of pottery.

Hounsell, D. (2007) Papworth Everard Bypass Project. Bar Hill, Cambridgeshire: CAM ARC. report number 971: Unpublished report.

Papworth Everard, Hospital Car Park

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Papworth Everard
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 529210, 262750
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 375
RSRB Database number: 2178

Description: LIA/ER farm and later RB field system excavated over 0.7a ha. Site consists of enclosed IA settlement (enclosure, ditches, gullies, pits) and RB field system and with possible area of ER occupation within smaller enclosures. Postholes hint at presence of a structure. 1155 sherds.

Carlyle, S., and Kajewski, P. (2009) Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Papworth Everard, Hospital Car Park, Cambridgeshire, Assessment Report and Updated Project Design. Northamptonshire Archaeology: Northamptonshire Archaeology. 09/124: Unpublished report.

Park Farm, Stanground

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 521500, 296700
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2180

Description: MR kiln site uncovered in small (0.025 ha) excavations. Site consists of two pairs of kilns, a ditch, and clay extraction pits, in use between late 2nd and early/mid 3rd c. LR building (beam-slot) and LR burials found as well. 240 sherds of pottery. 1 – 2

Dannell, G., Hartley, B., Wild, J., and Perrin, J. (1993). 'Excavations on a Romano-British pottery production site at Park Farm, Stanground 1967–8', *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 6: 51–93.

Parnwell, Peterborough

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough

Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 521905, 301095
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 2027

Description: M/LIA – RB farm site uncovered in large excavation over 5 ha. Site began as typical LIA farm (roundhouse, 4-poster, ditches/pits), and in ER, a curvilinear enclosure was built and then replaced in 2nd c. with larger settlement. Lay within large field system with narrow strip beds and trackways. Cremation cemetery in field system contained 5 burials. An aisled building and a large corndryer were identified dating to the MR (2nd–3rd c.), and environmental evidence suggests the corndryer was used for roasting malt. Abandoned in 3rd c. 1454 sherds of pottery.

Webley, L. (2007) 'Prehistoric, Roman and Saxon activity on the Fen hinterland at Parnwell, Peterborough', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 96: 79–114.

Parson Drove

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Parson Drove
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 537440, 308460
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2028

Description: RB farm and peripheral site identified in excavations over 1.5 ha. Site consists of enclosure and roundhouses which turned into open settlement with trackway in 2nd c. and was used for saltmaking in 3rd/4th c. 475 sherds.

Andrews, P. (2006) 'Romano-British and medieval saltmaking and settlement in Parson Drove, Cambridgeshire', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 95: 25–48.

Partney bypass, sites PTN3 04, PTN5 04, PTN 9 04

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Partney
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 540880, 368803
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24123

Description: M/LIA–RB farm and peripheral site uncovered in a series of excavations over 0.388 ha. Site began as unenclosed settlement, with ditches and pits, a 4-poster, and a sub-rectangular beam-slot building. In the LPRIA, a larger enclosure was built, within which were two roundhouses, an oven, and a post pad structure. Nearby, at the junction of two streams, was a sub-rectangular enclosure with sub-square enclosure within it, interpreted as a shrine by the excavators. Burials and a 4-poster lay nearby. In ER, the enclosure went out of

use, but the "shrine" continued in use until the 2nd c., and at least one burial dates to this period. Pottery not quantified.

Atkins, R. (2005) Partney Bypass, Lincolnshire. Post Excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design. Volume 1. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Cambridgeshire County Council Report No.788: Unpublished report.

Paston, Peterborough

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 519380, 302990
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2004

Description: MR Peripheral and possibly farm site uncovered in excavation over 0.55 ha. Site consists of enclosures with associated occupation debris (but not structural evidence). Large number of sherds (c. 3400+ sherds).

Coates, G., et al. (2001) Four Sites in Cambridgeshire. Excavations at Pode Hole Farm, Paston, Longstanton and Bassingbourn, 1996–7 (BAR British Series 322). Oxford: Archaeopress.

Penfold Farm, Milton

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Milton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 549090, 263450
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2049

Description: Farm and peripheral site uncovered in small excavations over 0.005 ha. Site consists of ditches, pits, and a two-chambered pottery kiln, and possible structural evidence in the form of cobbled, clay, and gravel floor surfaces. In addition to the kiln, there appears to have been industrial activity that included milling or grain processing (lots of querns and millstones). 50 kg pottery.

Frend, W.H.C. (1998) 'Roman kilns at Penfold Farm, Milton', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 87: 45–7.

Pennygate Drain, Spalding

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Spalding
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 522550, 322650
Approximate start date: AD 50

Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24047

Description: A watching brief near an area of suspected Romano-British cropmarks revealed a double-ditched enclosure, probably a field boundary associated with settlement. Finds included pottery fragments of 1st and 2nd century AD.

Herbert, N. (1996) Archaeological Watching Brief at Pennygate drain, Spalding, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Perrins Cottages, Fiskerton

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Fiskerton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 504850, 371910
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24028

Description: LR peripheral site uncovered in eval over 0.0059 ha. Site consists of rubble spread (limestone chunks, large tile fragments—including flue tile—, pottery and animal bone). A rubble surface of limestone chunks, mixed with large fragments of Roman tile, sherds of pottery and animal bone. Only 49 sherds of pottery.

Palmer-Brown, C. (1994) Perrins Cottages, Fiskerton. An Archaeological Field Evaluation Report. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Peterborough, Whittlesey Reinforcement Main

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 522195, 295707
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2145

Description: Farm or peripheral site (identified here as peripheral) uncovered in small excavations over 0.3 ha. Site consists of enclosure and trackways, pits, postholes, and a spread of building materials. 302 sherds.

Wallis, H. (2012) Romano-British Cambridgeshire Recent Excavations. Gazetteer entry no. 15, Peterborough, Whittlesey Reinforcement Main. Draft Report East Anglian Archaeology.

Pinchbeck Road, Spalding

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Spalding

Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 524820, 323170
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24146

Description: RB peripheral site uncovered in small excavations over 0.02 ha. Site consists of ditches, pits, and deposits containing a small amount of pottery (83 sherds), CBM (250+ pieces), and a small amount of animal bone.

Anon. (2007) Pinchbeck Road. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Plant's Farm, Maxey

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Maxey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 511517, 307966
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 325
RSRB Database number: 2014

Description: LIA/ER farm and M/LR farm or peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.1 ha. LIA site consists of enclosure and roundhouse which was replaced in ER with enclosures and a trackway. Hiatus in the 2nd c., after which a trackway and enclosure were built, with associated oven and corndryer, and a burial. Only 87 sherds of pottery.

Gurney, D. A., Neve, J. and Pryor, F. (1993) Excavations at Plant's Farm, Maxey, Cambridgeshire: East Anglian Archaeology.

Poplar Plantation

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 531590, 259385
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 75
RSRB Database number: 2033

Description: LIA–ER farm site uncovered in small excavation over 0.35 ha. Site consists of field ditches, a trackway, and an enclosure, associated with which were three roundhouse gullies and pits. 156 sherds.

Allen, M. and Wright, J. (2009). *Cambourne New Settlement: Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement on the Clay Uplands of West Cambridgeshire* (Wessex Archaeology Report 23). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.

Prickwillow Road, Ely

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Ely
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 555300, 281300
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2047

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 1.79 ha. Site consists of MIA enclosure which continued in use into RB, along with RB enclosures and field systems. In the M/LR, rectilinear enclosures and a D-shaped enclosure were constructed, and two ovens were built. There was also a small M/LR cemetery with 21 burials. Finds and pottery indicate a large-scale settlement: 3700+ sherds and finds typical of "aisled barn" sites.

Hood, A. (2007) Alpha Park, Great North Road, Eaton Socon, Cambridgeshire: Archaeological Strip, Map and Sample: Post Excavation Assessment. Swindon: Foundations Archaeology. Report No. 523: Unpublished report.

Atkins, R. and Mudd, A. (2003) 'An Iron Age and Roman-British settlement at Prickwillow Road, Ely, Cambridgeshire: Excavations 1999–2000', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 92: 5–55.

Priory Road, Great Cressingham

County: Norfolk
Parish: Great Cressingham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 585240, 301830
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 4035

Description: RB peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.03 ha. Site consists of boundary ditch and pits, one of which contained RB pottery. 170 sherds in total.

Hickling, S. (2009) An Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief at Priory Road, Great Cressingham, Norfolk. Norwich: NAU Archaeology. Report No. 1720: Unpublished report.

Queensholme

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Willingham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 541742, 271488
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 2063

Description: RB peripheral site/field system that was identified initially as large cropmark complex. Interconnecting droveways and field boundaries, enclosures, etc. Large amount of pottery (c. 604 sherds) suggests intensive occupation.

Evans, C. and Hodder, I. (2006). *Marshland Communities and Cultural Landscapes: from the Bronze Age to the Present Day*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

RAF Lakenheath

County: Suffolk
Parish: Lakenheath
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 572500, 280000
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 5005

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site uncovered in a series of watching briefs and excavations over 0.453 ha. Site consists of trackway, ditches, and enclosures, and a possible building. 657 sherds.

Craven, J. (2005) New Access Control, Gate 2, RAF Lakenheath, ERL 120. Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 2005/27: Unpublished report.

Craven, J. (2010) Thunderbird Way, ERL 211 and NATO Place/Kennedy Street, ERL 212, RAF Lakenheath, Eriswell, Suffolk. Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 2010/189: Unpublished report.

Craven, J. (2005) Thunderbird Way, RAF Lakenheath, Eriswell, ERL 142. Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 2005/86: Unpublished report.

RAF Lakenheath Caudle Head Mere

County: Suffolk
Parish: Lakenheath
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 573200, 280900
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 5027

Description: LIA farm and RB village uncovered in a series of excavations over 0.06 ha. RB site spreads over c. 20, and seems to have begun in the LIA, although LIA phases are unclear. Site consists of trackways and boundary ditches, within and around which were pits, wells, burials, and structures, both round and rectilinear. The rectilinear structures had interior hearths and rammed chalk floors. C. 3000 sherds of pottery.

Anderson, S. (1996) Archaeological Excavation and Monitoring Report. Heating main replacement project RAF Lakenheath LAK93-1258. Bury St Edmund's: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No.1996/59: Unpublished report.

Anon. (1995) Evaluation Report RAF Lakenheath Hospital Zone Maintenance Facility. Bury St Edmund's: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 1995/72: Unpublished report.

Caruth, J. (1997) Archaeological Evaluation Report. Two Storage Buildings, Cambridge Road, RAF Lakenheath. Bury St Edmund's: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No.1997/8: Unpublished report.

Duffy, J. (2003) Building 1125, RAF Lakenheath. A Report on the Archaeological Excavations 2002. Bury St Edmund's: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 2003/41: Unpublished report.

Tester, A. (1993) Archaeological Excavation Report RAF Lakenheath Industrial Maintenance Workshop. Bury St Edmund's: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. Report No. 93/46: Unpublished report.

Tester, A. (1993) Excavation report for Sewage Works Settling Tank Replacement System, R.A.F. Lakenheath - Eriswell, ERL 023. Bury St Edmund's: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service: Unpublished report.

RAF Mildenhall

County: Suffolk
Parish: Mildenhall
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 567820, 277110
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 5013

Description: LIA/RB farm/hamlet, spread over c. 4–6 ha, revealed in excavations over 0.1744 ha. Site consists of field and enclosure systems (?), trackways, pits and ditches, and at least one roundhouse. In the 2nd/3rd c., the landscape was put under a new system of land division and a rectilinear posthole building was constructed, with a (partial) 10 horse buried within. 10 burials but only 181 sherds of pottery.

Brooks, R. (2010) MNL 600 Base Perimeter Road, Mildenhall. Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 2010/030: Unpublished report.

Tester, A. (2003) 30 Acre Field Adjacent to Building 163 mnl532. A report on the Archaeological Evaluation 2003. Bury St Edmund's: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 2003/51: Unpublished report.

Recreation Way, Mildenhall

County: Suffolk
Parish: Mildenhall
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 571320, 274470
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 5063

Description: LIA/RB farm occupied in successive phases throughout the Roman period, uncovered in excavation over 0.9 ha within a larger area of investigation of 4.3 ha. MIA settlement within double ditched enclosure declined in LIA, when settlement was palisaded and seems to have been a smaller farm (with burials, ovens postholes, etc). Smaller farm site in RB, consisting of enclosure ditches, pits, postholes (a 4-poster) and ovens on high ground, with field boundaries on lower ground. In RB, occupied intensely between AD 70–150 and then AD 250+, with hiatus (flooding?) in the MR. 1647 sherds.

Havard, T. and Holt, R. (2012) Land at Recreation Way, Mildenhall, Post-Excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design. Cirencester: Cotswold Archaeology. CA Report: 12114: Unpublished report.

Rectory Farm, Great Shelford

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Great Shelford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 544500, 252500
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2025

Description: Roman farm or peripheral site identified in excavations over an undisclosed area uncovered a cropmark complex with trackways, ditches, pits, and postholes, probably occupied as a domestic site. No detailed finds information or pottery report.

Evans, C., Mackay, D., and Webley, L. (2008). *Borderlands The Archaeology Of The Addenbrooke's Environs, South Cambridge* (CAU Landscape Archives: New Archaeologies of the Cambridge Region). Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit.

Rectory Farm, West Deeping

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: West Deeping
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 511900, 310300
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24155

Description: M/LR peripheral/field system revealed in quarrying excavations over 6.65 ha. Site consists of field boundaries/ditches, reorganised in LR, with a small number (14) of sherds and finds.

Savage, S.A. (2008) Rectory Farm, West Deeping, Lincolnshire. Map 2 Assessment of Watching Brief Phases RFWD05 and RFWD07. Volume 1: Assessment. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Savage, S.A. (2008) Rectory Farm, West Deeping, Lincolnshire. Map 2 Assessment of Watching Brief Phases RFWD05 and RFWD07. Volume 2: Specialist Reports. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Rectory Field, Godmanchester

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Godmanchester
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 525600, 271400
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 425
RSRB Database number: 2058

Description: RB farm and LR villa site uncovered in excavations over the past several decades. The site developed in several phases and began in the 2nd c. with ditched enclosures/paddocks (one of which contained 55 urned cremation burials and several inhumations), a masonry-footed aisled building (at this point used for domestic activities), several other smaller structures, and a pond. In the 3rd c., the aisled building seems to have been used for crop-processing, and new buildings were constructed within an enclosure and trackway field system, with a Mediterranean-style garden. Two connected aisled buildings were used for crop processing and contained several corndryers. The latest structure on the site was a hall-house with all the trappings of a villa: painted plaster, mosaic floors, hypocaust heating, and a column (or, at least, a column base). Occupation may have continued, on a smaller scale, into the Saxon period. 5114 sherds.

Frend, W. H. C. (1968) 'A Roman farm settlement at Godmanchester (I and II)', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 61: 19–43.

Frend, W. H. C. (1978) 'A Roman farm settlement at Godmanchester (I and II)', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 68: 5–15.

Rectory Lane, Gedney

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Gedney
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 540260, 324200
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24094

Description: RB activity within a series of ditches which contained a small number of pieces of briquetage (17) and a single sherd of RB pottery (NVW).

Anon. (2001) Land adjacent to Rectory Lane, Gedney, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Roman Cemetery, Babraham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Babraham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 551080, 250732
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2129

Description: RB cemetery uncovered in excavations over 0.39 ha. Cemetery contained 49 burials, mainly inhumations but with a few cremations. Earliest burial was an urned ER cremation (possibly buried within a barrow), around which 6 "satellite" cremations and several infant burials (MR in date) were placed.

Armour, N., Dodwell, N., Timberlake, S. (2007) The Roman Cemetery, The Babraham Institute, Cambridgeshire: An Archaeological Excavation. Cambridge U.K.: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. CAU Report No. 754: Unpublished report.

Russell Avenue North Hykeham

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: North Hykeham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 494430, 365529
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24063

Description: MR farm or hamlet uncovered in eval over 0.6224 ha. Site consists of enclosures and ditches, pits and gullies, and a spread of domestic or industrial material. 610 sherds.

Anon. (1997) Archaeological Watching Brief at Russell Avenue North Hykeham, Lincolnshire. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Anon. (1999) Land off Meadow Lane, North Hykeham, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. John Samuels Archaeological Consultants: Unpublished report.

Saham Toney, Watton Sewage Treatment Works, Little Cressingham

County: Norfolk
Parish: Little Cressingham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 588600, 300160
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 250

RSRB Database number: 4020

Description: Possible part of larger nucleated settlement at Saham Toney uncovered in small eval over 0.032 ha. Features here include pits and ditches with CBM (including flue tile) indicating a hypocaust in the vicinity. Only 37 sherds.

Ratcliff, M. (2008) An Archaeological Evaluation at Watton Sewage Treatment Works, Little Cressingham, Norfolk. Norwich: NAU Archaeology. NAU Archaeology Report 1950: Unpublished report.

Saham Toney, Woodcock Hall

County: Norfolk
Parish: Little Cressingham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 588990, 300650
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 450
RSRB Database number: 4082

Description: Roman roadside settlement at Saham Toney, not extensively excavated and thus poorly understood. Huge number of coins recorded (2500+), associated with cropmarks thought to relate to a possible Claudian (or later) fort. Some of the coins are LIA and indicate LIA occupation on the site. Finds and pottery not fully published.

Brown, R. A. (1986) The Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Woodcock Hall, Saham Toney, Norfolk, *Britannia* 17: 1–58.

Salter's Way, between Welby Lodge Farm and Dembleby Gorse, Area 3

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Heydour
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 500450, 336840
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24070

Description: M/LR villa and possible roadside settlement excavated in early 20th c. and investigated more recently in survey and eval project. Early 20th c. work focused on "villa" and bath house. Stone surface was identified, as well as a robber trench with masonry building materials (within which were two infant burials – foundation deposits from the robbed out walls?). Many additional features identified in survey: separate buildings in a villa estate? Roadside settlement? Only 72 sherds.

Anon. (1999) Land north of the A52 (Salter's Way), between Welby Lodge Farm and Dembleby Gorse,

Aunsby and Dembleby Heydour, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Sandy Lane, Blackborough End, Middleton

County: Norfolk
Parish: Middleton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 566460, 315020
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 4060

Description: Isolated kiln site uncovered in small salvage excavation over 0.001 ha. Kiln dates to 2nd c. AD. Kiln seems to have been making Nar Valley ware, from the 59 sherds found.

Gurney, D. (1990) 'A Romano-British pottery kiln at Blackborough End, Middleton', *Norfolk Archaeology* 41: 83–92.

Sapperton

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Sapperton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 501787, 332964
Approximate start date: AD 300
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24023

Description: LR peripheral site or settlement alongside a Roman road, excavated over 0.019 ha. Site contained at least one and possibly more stone buildings, dated to the LR. Only 34 sherds of pottery listed in the interim report, but many small finds of the type usually confined to sites with aisled barns or small *vici.*

Simmons, B.B. (1976) 'Sapperton: An Interim Report', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 11: 5–11.

Scotland Farm

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 536620, 260160
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 2019

Description: LIA farm uncovered in excavations over 0.65 ha. Site consists of a subdivided enclosure, within which were two roundhouses and pits and gullies. 553 sherds.

Ingham, D. (2008) 'Iron Age settlement by the Dam Brook at Scotland Farm, Dry Drayton', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 97: 31–40.

Ingham, D. (2010) 'Further excavation of a late Iron Age settlement at Scotland Farm, Dry Drayton', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 99: 25–34.

Sedgeford

County: Norfolk
Parish: Sedgeford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 571103, 335655
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 380
RSRB Database number: 4089

Description: Complex and long-lived LIA/ER farm and later Roman agricultural landscape excavated over many years. In LIA, site consisted of an enclosed farm, with a possible associated shrine (where a golden torc was found). Possible hiatus between mid-1st and late-1st c. AD. RB farm consisted of rectilinear enclosures, with an associated cobbled yard surface. In the 4th c., a granary and corndryer were built. 574 sherds.

The SHARP team (2014) Digging Sedgeford. A People's Archaeology. Cromer: Poppyland Publishing.

Site 7, Ruskington 1

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Ruskington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 509860, 350180
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 24129

Description: LIA/ER farm and later Roman peripheral site identified during pipeline work over 0.467 ha. LIA field system and wattle structure, with midden containing evidence for metalworking. In the ER, a differently-aligned field system was laid out which the RSRB database suggests "may indicate that there was an organised re-allocation of land, probably in the early part of the second century AD." Area incorporated into larger scale system of arable fields, probably after ER, when occupation seems to have decreased. 772 sherds.

Anon. (2006) Hatton to Silk Willoughby Gas Pipeline 2001, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Lincoln: Network Archaeology: Unpublished report.

Sleaford

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Sleaford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507870, 346240
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24002; 24038; 24052; 24090; 24101; 24112; 24125; 24126; 24140

Description: Large and important nucleated settlement, investigated in numerous small excavations, which had its beginnings in the LIA and thought to be a central place for the Corieltauvi (acted as a mint for Corieltauvian coins). Possible hiatus after conquest until c. AD 150, after which the site became an important RB settlement with an agricultural focus. Agricultural buildings (including a corndryer and malting oven) and mansio, timber and masonry structures, a LR aisled building, and a cobbled area were uncovered, as well as votive deposits and burials. Finds assemblage not especially large or varied, but typical of a smaller *vicus*—as is the pottery assemblage (ca. 4400+ sherds). 775 coins recovered thus far.

Anon. (1997) Archaeological Watching Brief at Pipeline along St Giles' Avenue, Sleaford, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Elsdon, S. M. (1997) Old Sleaford Revealed: a Lincolnshire settlement in Iron Age, Roman, Saxon and Medieval times: excavations 1882–1995 (Oxbow Monograph 78). Oxford: Oxbow.

Snettisham Bypass

County: Norfolk
Parish: Snettisham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 567653, 332937
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 4007

Description: RB village site uncovered in excavations over 1.2 ha. Site only partially excavated but appears much larger (esp. considering the huge amount of finds). It consists of enclosure and field ditches, a roundhouse, and an industrial hearth and pit filled with smithing and bronze working waste. In later ER, site expands, with a larger enclosure, another roundhouse, a timber-lined well, and additional enclosures. In MR, trackways ran across the site, and another roundhouse, a corndryer, wells, and crop processing areas were built. The site was abandoned by the later 2nd c., although part of it may have been used as fields and agricultural work areas. Over 55,000 sherds, 59 coins, and 41 brooches.

Flitcroft, M. (2001) Excavation of a Romano-British settlement on the A149 Snettisham Bypass, 1989 (East Anglian Archaeology 93). Norfolk: Norfolk Museums and Archaeological Service.

Snettisham, Station Road / Strickland Avenue

County: Norfolk
Parish: Snettisham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 567780, 333550
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 4041

Description: RB vicus, probably part of the other Snettisham site, revealed in small eval, survey, and excavation (0.25 ha) project over 10.5 ha. Site grew up alongside metalled road and chalk path, both established in the 2nd c. AD, with ditched boundaries and enclosures on either side, evidence for metalworking and pottery (kilns), and possible structures. 9,900 sherds and numerous finds, along with 72 coins.

Flitcroft, M. (1991). Report of Archaeological Evaluation at Station Road, Strickland Avenue, Snettisham July 1991. NAU Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Lyons, A., Brennand, M., Flitcroft, M., Chirikure, S., and Ames, J. (2004). Romano-British industrial activity at Snettisham, Norfolk: archaeological investigations at Strickland Avenue and Station Road. Archaeology and Environment Division, Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service. Unpublished report.

South of Kirkby la Thorpe, Plot 150

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Kirkby la Thorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 510200, 344734
Approximate start date: AD 1
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24186

Description: M/LIA farm site uncovered during pipeline watching brief and excavated over 0.95 ha. Site consists of settlement enclosures, gullies, and pits. These were reorganised in the LIA, and at that point the enclosures may have been used for stock rearing. Site may have been abandoned as a result of flooding. A few Roman sherds in topsoil indicate some Roman use of the site.

Network Archaeology (1999) Hatton to Silk Willoughby 1050mm Gas Pipeline: Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Network Archaeology. Report No. 134: Unpublished report.

South Witham Quarry, Lincolnshire

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: South Witham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 491370, 318750
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24008

Description: M/LIA farm/peripheral site identified in evaluation and excavation over 2.45 ha. Site consists of ditches and pit alignments which change in alignment, possibly in association with droveway connecting two RB roads, and an enclosure within which were three roundhouses (identified in geophysical survey). Bone working and structured deposition occurred on the site. 894 sherds.

Nicholson, K. (2006) 'An Iron Age Site at South Witham Quarry, Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 41: 22–40.

South-East of Kirkby la Thorpe, Plot 146

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Kirkby la Thorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 510526, 345538
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24185

Description: LIA/RB farm or peripheral site uncovered in small pipeline excavation over 0.14 ha. Site consists of boundary ditches, gullies, pits, and two potential roundhouses. 186 sherds.

Network Archaeology (1999) Hatton to Silk Willoughby 1050mm Gas Pipeline: Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Network Archaeology. Report No. 134: Unpublished report.

South-East of Kirkby la Thorpe, Plots 147–149

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Kirkby la Thorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 510399, 345228
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24189

Description: RB peripheral site (field system) uncovered in small watching brief associated with pipeline work over 1.7 ha. Site consists of ditches and pits within larger complex seen in aerial survey. 155 sherds.

Network Archaeology (1999) Hatton to Silk Willoughby 1050mm Gas Pipeline: Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Network Archaeology. Report No. 134: Unpublished report.

Stainfield, Hangman's Lane

County: Lincolnshire

Parish: Stainfield
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507430, 324540
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24040

Description: RB nucleated roadside settlement that developed within LIA field system, uncovered in excavations over 0.95 ha. Road unmetalled prior to LR, but ditches and structures, including a timber post built structure and a roundhouse, were built in the area. A cemetery nearby contained 15 burials although the RSRB database indicates that there were 26. > 7500 sherds of pottery.

Anon. (1995) Archaeological Excavation at Hangman's Lane, Stainfield, Lincolnshire. (Vol.1 of 2). Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Stamford, Gwash Valley Business Park

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Stamford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 504259, 308037
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24145

Description: Peripheral site uncovered in eval over 0.171 ha. Site consisted of (boundary or drainage) ditches from which Roman material was recovered. 13 sherds.

Anon. (2007) Archaeological Evaluation on land at Gwash Valley Business Park (Proposed) (SGVB06). Heckington: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Station Road, Sutterton

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Sutterton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 528500, 335200
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24042

Description: Industrial site, identified in excavation over 0.875 ha, thought to have been located near to a settlement (given the nature of the finds), with kiln (associated with lead waste), some briquetage and “salt colours” possible use of

the site for salt production. Site consists of kiln and boundary ditches and pits. 734 sherds.

Anon. (1997) Archaeological Excavation on Land south of the cemetery Station Road, Sutterton, Lincolnshire. PISA. Report No. 98/1: Unpublished report.

Anon. (1996) Archaeological Evaluation on Land South of the Cemetery, Station Road, Sutterton, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Herbert, N. (1996) Archaeological Watching Brief at Land south of the cemetery Station Road, Sutterton, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Stilton

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Stilton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 517400, 290300
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2089

Description: Possible peripheral part of larger un-excavated settlement uncovered during Time Team evaluation over 0.04 ha. Site consists of pottery and tile kiln, within enclosed area that appears to be part of a ladder settlement along a "tributary" of Ermine Street. 1255 sherds of pottery.

Anon. (2007) Stilton, Cambridgeshire. Archaeological Evaluation and Assessment of the results. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Report reference: 62505.01: Unpublished report.

Stonald Field, King's Dyke West, Whittlesey

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Whittlesey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 524200, 298100
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2126

Description: Farm or roadside settlement excavated over 1.35 ha, along edge of Fen Causeway. Site consists of causeway, buildings/workshops, paddocks, enclosures, and a kiln. 6492 sherds.

Gibson, D., Knight, M. (2002) Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology at Stonald Field, King's Dyke West, Whittlesey. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 498: Unpublished report.

Stonea Camp

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Stonea Camp
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 544744, 293083

Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 60
RSRB Database number: 2041

Description: LIA vicus or 'hillfort' (very low to the ground naturally) with possible ritual or military significance. Excavations relatively small-scale.

Jackson, R., Cameron, F., and Potter, T. (1996). *Excavations at Stonea, Cambridgeshire, 1980–85*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.

Malim, T. (2005). *Stonea and the Roman Fens*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Limited.

Stonea Grange

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Stonea Grange
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 544920, 293681
Approximate start date: AD 125
Approximate end date: AD 500
RSRB Database number: 2042

Description: Extremely important and well-studied nucleated settlement excavated over 1.2 ha. Site appears to have begun in the early (or mid) 2nd c. near to the enclosure at Stonea Camp. Major EW road and street grid with Romano-Celtic temple, a tower, large masonry buildings, and smaller structures. Nearly 1000 coins, 100 brooches, many small finds, and no full sherd count but huge variety of pottery manufactures. Many of the major buildings appear to have gone out of use in c. AD 220, after which the settlement was used agriculturally.

Potter, T. and Jackson, R. (1982). 'The Roman site of Stonea, Cambridgeshire', *Antiquity* 56/217: 111–20.

Jackson, R., Cameron, F., and Potter, T. (1996). *Excavations at Stonea, Cambridgeshire, 1980–85*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.

Taylor, J. (2000). 'Stonea in its Fenland context: moving beyond an imperial estate: Review of "Jackson and Potter, *Excavations at Stonea, Cambridgeshire, 1980–85* (1996)"', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13: 647–58.

Malim, T. (2005) Stonea and the Roman Fens Tempus Publishing.

Sudbrooke

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Sudbrooke
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 503700, 376500
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 24120

Description: LIA/RB farm and villa site uncovered in geophysical survey, evaluation and excavation over 0.116 ha. Site began in M/LIA as roundhouse settlement, and in the late 1st c. AD, a beam-slot /posthole building was constructed, with at least three neonate/infant burials. In the 2nd–3rd c., three masonry buildings, including a bath house with mosaic floor and wall plaster and a villa building. Went out of use in later 3rd c. 2261 sherds.

Anon. (2005) Land at Sudbrooke, Sudbrooke, Lincolnshire. Geophysical Survey. Lincoln: Pre-Construct Geophysics: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2005) Land off Scothern Lane, Sudbrooke, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln): Unpublished report.

Anon. (2006) Archaeological Excavations at Sudbrooke (Roman Villa) Lincolnshire (SUDA05), July–August 2005. Lincoln: Bishop Grosseteste University College: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2007) Interim Report on Archaeological Excavations at Sudbrooke (Roman Villa) Lincolnshire, (SUD06), July–August 2006. Lincoln: Bishop Grosseteste University College: Unpublished report.

Anon. (2008) Interim Report on Archaeological Excavations at Sudbrooke (Roman Villa) Lincolnshire, (SUD07), July–August 2007. Lincoln: Bishop Grosseteste University College: Unpublished report.

Spence, C. (2009) Interim Report on Archaeological Excavations at Sudbrooke (Roman Villa) Lincolnshire (SUD08) July–August 2008. Lincoln: Bishop Grosseteste University College: Unpublished report.

Sulehay near Yarwell

County: Northamptonshire
Parish: Yarwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 506000, 299100
Approximate start date: AD 125
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 26125

Description: Kiln site in area where other Roman finds have previously been reported. Pottery = NVGW, probably from single firing. No quantification.

Hadman, J., and Upex, S. (1975) 'A Roman Pottery Kiln at Sulehay near Yarwell', *Durobrivae* 5: 16–18.

Swanpool

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Swanpool
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 495406, 369948
Approximate start date: AD 280
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 24197

Description: LR kiln site, no quantification.

Webster, G. and Booth, N. (1947) 'A Romano-British Pottery Kiln at Swanpool, near Lincoln', *Antiquities Journal* 27: 61–79.

Tallington

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Tallington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 510826, 310047
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24200

Description: Peripheral site consisting of field boundaries/paddocks, a circular building, quarry pits, and possible shrine. 39 sherds of pottery.

Peacock, D. (1962) 'A Roman Site at Tallington, Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers* 9.2: 110–124.

Tatershall Thorpe

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Tatershall Thorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 522300, 359800
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24011

Description: M/LIA defensive or stock raising site uncovered in excavation over 0.16 ha. Site consists of a large boundary ditch with limited evidence for domestic use. 98 sherds.

Seager Smith, R. (1998) 'Further Excavations at the Iron Age Enclosure at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire, by Peter Chowne, 1986', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 33: 7–19.

Chowne, P., Girling, M., and Grieg, J. (1986) 'Excavations at an Iron Age Defended Enclosure at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 52: 159–88.

The Chase, off North Road, Tetford

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Tetford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533182, 374813
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24157

Description: Possible RB kiln site uncovered in small excavation over 0.07 ha. Site consists of kiln structure and pit, along with shallow ditches which might relate to a domestic settlement as well. 40 sherds.

Berger, M. (2009) Archaeological Watching Brief a land near The Chase, Off North Road, Tetford. TET06: Unpublished report.

Berger, M. (2009) Archaeological Watching Brief a land near The Chase, Off North Road, Tetford. LCNCC: 2006.4: Unpublished report.

The Fields

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533140, 258980
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2039

Description: Field system excavated over 0.36 ha during housing development work. Site consists of grid systems of fields and/or animal pens (on two different alignments), a possible droveway, and a limited amount of Roman pottery (no report).

Allen, M. and Wright, J. (2009). *Cambourne New Settlement: Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement on the Clay Uplands of West Cambridgeshire* (Wessex Archaeology Report 23). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.

The Grange

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 533270, 258800
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2040

Description: E/MRR farm site excavated over 1.5 ha as part of larger housing development work. Site consists of trapezoidal enclosure containing at least two roundhouses, postholes and pits, and 2431 sherds of pottery.

Allen, M. and Wright, J. (2009). *Cambourne New Settlement: Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement on the Clay Uplands of West Cambridgeshire* (Wessex Archaeology Report 23). Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.

The Hollies Solar Park, Burgh-le-Marsh

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Burgh-le-Marsh

Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 549820, 363240
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24204

Description: LIA/RB farm site excavated over 0.105 ha mainly investigated through geophysical survey. Survey indicated an enclosure settlement, but morphology unknown. C. 625 sherds.

Richardson, J., Webb, A. and Williams, D. (2013) The Hollies Solar Park, Burgh-le-Marsh, Lincolnshire: trial trench evaluation. Archaeological Services WYAS: Unpublished report.

The Lodge, Manor Road, North Wootton

County: Norfolk
Parish: North Wootton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 564010, 324390
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 4076

Description: RB metalworking site uncovered in eval and excavation over 0.0482 ha. Site consists of ditches and pits and smelting works. 39 sherds of pottery.

Birks, C. (2011) Report on an Archaeological Excavation at Plot 2, Adjacent to The Lodge, Manor Road, North Wootton, Norfolk. Norwich: Chris Birks: Unpublished report.

Phelps, A. (2009) An Archaeological Evaluation at The Lodge, North Wootton, Norfolk. Norwich: NAU Archaeology. Report No. 2096: Unpublished report.

The Old School and Bell St, Feltwell

County: Norfolk
Parish: Feltwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 571482, 290857
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 4036

Description: RB site, excavated over 0.1 ha, consisting of boundary ditches, pits, and oven flue, which turned into a field system in the 3rd c. Beam-slot building replaced by chalk-footed building in the 4th c. Possibly associated with Glebe Farm Roman Villa. 234 sherds.

Anon. (2006) Archaeological Excavation at The Old School, Feltwell, Norfolk. Initial Summary of Results Progress report and Proposed Timetable. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit: Unpublished report.

Saunders, G. (2005) 1 Bell Street, Feltwell, Norfolk. Letchworth, Hertfordshire: Heritage Network. Report Number 298: Unpublished report.

Thetford, St Nicholas' Street

County: Norfolk
Parish: Thetford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 586870, 283250
Approximate start date: AD 250
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 4003

Description: Part of Roman roadside (?) settlement at Thetford, excavated over 0.09 ha. Site consists of ditches along the line of a Roman road, along with postholes (possibly two buildings), pits, and corndryers. 2027 sherds.

Andrews, P. and Penn, K. (1999) Excavations in Thetford, North of the River, 1989–90 (East Anglian Archaeology 87). Dereham: Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

Thetford, Brandon Road

County: Norfolk
Parish: Thetford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 585500, 283200
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 425
RSRB Database number: 4006

Description: Roman farm site excavated over 1.4 ha. Initially, site consisted of field systems, enclosures, and roundhouses. In 2nd/3rd c., alignment shifted and a trackway was dug, and aisled barns (2?) were constructed. In this phase the site also had wells and middens. Abandoned in the 4th c., and enclosure system reused. 2882 sherds.

Atkins, R. and Connor, A. (2010) Farmers and Ironsmiths: Prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon settlement beside Brandon Road, Thetford, Norfolk (East Anglian Archaeology 134). Bar Hill: Oxford Archaeology East.

Thetford, Brandon Road, 1964–6 Excavations

County: Norfolk
Parish: Thetford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 586324, 283003
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 70
RSRB Database number: 4015

Description: RB farm or hamlet excavated over 2 ha. Site consisted of briefly occupied area with 10 roundhouses, not all domestic (possibly none were domestic). Only 111 sherds of pottery and few finds.

Dallas, C. (1993) Excavations in Thetford by B K Davison between 1964 and 1970 (East Anglian Archaeology 62). Dereham: Norfolk Museums Service.

Thetford, Redcastle Furze

County: Norfolk
Parish: Thetford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 586150, 283050
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 4009

Description: ER peripheral site excavated over 0.36 ha. Site consists of small (3m diameter) roundhouse, pits and ditches. Only 79 sherds of pottery.

Andrews, P. (1995) Excavations at Redcastle Furze, Thetford, 1988–9 (East Anglian Archaeology 72). Dereham: Norfolk Museums Service.

Third Drove, Gosberton

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Gosberton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 517720, 328880
Approximate start date: AD 250
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 24191

Description: Peripheral site uncovered in small excavation over 0.06 ha as part of the Fenland Project. Features consist of ditches, cereal grains, and pottery. No quantification.

Crowson, A., Lane, T. and Reece, J. (2000) Fenland Management Project Excavations 1991–1995 (Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage Reports Series 3). Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage.

Thornham

County: Norfolk
Parish: Thornham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 572582, 342583
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 4021

Description: RB site uncovered in excavation over 0.035 ha. Site consists of ditched enclosure (over 0.4 ha) of uncertain function (unclear if domestic but here listed as such). Pottery unquantified but assemblage contains *terra nigra* and Samian imports. Interior of enclosure contains hearth and chalk cobbling.

Gregory, T. and Gurney, D. (1986) Excavations at Thornham, Warham, Wighton and Caistor, Norfolk (East Anglian Archaeology 30). Norfolk: Norfolk Museums Service.

Throckenholt Farm, Parson Drove

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Parson Drove
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 535500, 309000
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 2144

Description: Peripheral RB site uncovered in small (size not listed) excavated. Site consists of trackway and ditched enclosures. Very small amount of pottery (not quantified).

Wallis, H. (2012) Romano-British Cambridgeshire Recent Excavations. Gazetteer entry no. 14, Throckenholt Farm, Parson Drove. Draft Report East Anglian Archaeology.

Tort Hill (West & East)

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Denton and Caldecote (Huntingdonshire)
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 517193, 284663
Approximate start date: AD 0
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 2006

Description: Farm or hamlet developing out of LIA/ER field boundaries, excavated over 0.3 ha in two separate zones of investigation. LIA/ER site consisted of settlement enclosures and structures (4 roundhouses and potentially two rectilinear buildings). In ER, buildings levelled (associated with road construction?). Roadside ditches, enclosures, pottery kilns, cemetery, etc. established in E/M/LR, with part of site being used as cemetery in 4th c. 9351 sherds.

Welsh, K. (1994) Iron Age and Roman Settlement Remains near Tort Hill, Sawtry. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. 0103: Unpublished report.

Tower Works, Fengate West

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Peterborough
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 520778, 298705
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2161

Description: Probable agricultural periphery of farm or hamlet, excavated over 0.15 ha. Enclosure with post-built building, pits, well, and furnace, along with burials. Presence of CBM suggests substantial buildings in the area. 758 sherds.

Bibliography: Evans, C., Beadsmoore, E., Brudenell, M., and Lucas, G. (2009). *Fengate Revisited: Further Ren-edge Excavations, Bronze Age Field Systems and Settlement and the Wyman Abbott/Leeds Archives* (CAU Landscape Archives: Historiography and Fieldwork I). Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit.

Trench 8, Water Pipeline between Guthram Gowt and West Pinchbeck

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Bourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 516073, 322582
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24073

Description: RB peripheral site revealed in excavation over0.045 ha near settlement previously known from cropmark evidence. Site consists mainly of drainage features and gullies, possibly representing both drainage works and enclosures or droveways. Habitation seems most robust in the 2nd c., based on finds. Curvilinear drainage gully dug in MR, and within the gully a (murdered?) woman (c. 50 ears old) was found, probably killed by a blow to the head, with bound hands. Pots appear to have been deliberately broken over her body and the ditch was then backfilled. Metalworking evidence. 524 sherds.

Anon. (1999) Water pipeline between Guthram Gowt and West Pinchbeck, Bourne Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Watching Brief. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Uffington Estate Golf Course, Uffington

County: Lincolnshire

Parish: Uffington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 506352, 307342
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24005

Description: Peripheral LIA/RB site consisting of ditched enclosure (?) excavated in small eval 0.2975 ha. Small inhumation cemetery with 3 burials, a few coins, and 154 sherd of pottery uncovered.

Hall, M., and Ford, S. (1991) Uffington Estate, Uffington, near Stamford, Lincolnshire. An archaeological evaluation in advance of the proposed golf course development. Reading: Thames Valley Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Unwins Nursery, Impington

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Impington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 544300, 263500
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 2085

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site uncovered in eval over 0.05 ha. Site consists of ditches in two phases—beginning with field boundaries and then increasing in density. "Large" but unquantified pottery assemblage hints at presence of nearby settlement.

Fletcher, T. (2009) Iron Age Boundaries and Romano-British Settlement at the Unwins Nursery Site, Impington, Cambridgeshire. Cambridge: Oxford Archaeology East. OA East Report No. 1109: Unpublished report.

Urn Farm, Baston

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Baston
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 510950, 313700
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24046

Description: Peripheral LIA/RB site, excavated over 0.0609 ha, consisting of enclosures, with associated burials and iron working. 116 sherds.

Anon. (1996) Archaeological Excavation Watching Brief at Urn Farm, Baston, Lincolnshire. John Samuels Archaeological Consultants: Unpublished report.

Vicar's Farm

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 543200, 258900
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2110

Description: Large RB farm or hamlet excavated as part of larger (6 ha) excavation, with settlement core of over 1.6 ha. Site began with conquest-period enclosure, cremation cemetery, and shrine. Then or slightly thereafter was built an enclosure system, a rectilinear ditch system and trackways, a roundhouse, and an aisled timber building. Peak habitation in the later 3rd c. 41 burials, 339 coins, and nearly 12,000 sherds of pottery.

Lucas, G. (2001) Excavations at Vicar's Farm, West Cambridge. Final Publication text. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No. 425: Unpublished report.

War Ditches, Cherry Hinton

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 548400, 255500
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 75
RSRB Database number: 2165

Description: MIA enclosure uncovered in small excavation over 0.0054 ha, reoccupied in LIA/ER. Large amount of (abraded) LIA/ER pottery (3617 sherds), burials, and a kiln. Field system in M/LR.

Pickstone, A. and Mortimer, R. (2013) 'War Ditches, Cherry Hinton: Revisiting an Iron Age Hillfort', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 101: 31–59.

Wardy Hill

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Cambridge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 547210, 281970
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 75
RSRB Database number: 2031

Description: M/LIA bivallate ringwork which was occupied until the later ER, excavated over 0.8 ha. Interior contained several circular and polygonal roundhouses. 5311 sherds.

Evans, C. (2003). *Power and Island Communities: Excavations at the Wardy Hill Ringwork, Coveney, Ely*

(East Anglian Archaeology 103). Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit.

Waste Management Park, Waterbeach

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Waterbeach
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 548700, 268800
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2068

Description: Probable RB farm site and shrine excavated over 1.185 ha near to Roman Akeman Street (2nd c.) and the Car Dyke. Occupation began early 2nd c. and probably relates to the Car Dyke. Site consists of a droveway and associated livestock management features, an aisled building, quarry pits, and midden deposits. Nearby, an LR RC temple was revealed in cropmarks, and numerous votive finds (including a votive leg) have been found. Cremation cemetery nearby. Large number of coins (130+) and pottery (10,000+ sherds).

Anon. (2010) The Waste Management Park, Waterbeach, Cambridge. The Hammerhead: An Archaeological Excavation. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Ranson, C. (2008) The Waste Management Park, Ely Road, Waterbeach, Cambridge: An Archaeological Excavation. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Report No 835: Unpublished report.

Slater, A. (2009) Further Archaeological Investigations at Waste Management Park, Waterbeach, Cambridge. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. CAU report number 872: Unpublished report.

Waterbeach, Cambridge Rowing Lake

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Waterbeach
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 549172, 263768
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2148

Description: RB peripheral site revealed in evaluation over 100ha. Site appears to be a 'ladder' settlement and lies between Cam and Car Dyke. Site consists of the enclosures (domestic or agricultural), two cemeteries, and two Horningsea-style pottery kilns. C. 1099 sherds, 31% of which were Horningsea-style jars.

Evans, J. (2017). *The Horningsea Roman Pottery Industry in Context*, Vol. I: Production, Distribution and the Old Tillage (East Anglian Archaeology Monograph 162). Oxford: East Anglian Archaeology.

Watersmeet, Mill Common, Huntingdon

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Huntingdon
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 523959, 271360
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2043

Description: RB peripheral site excavated over 1.4 ha consisting of enclosure overlain by LR cemetery (72 burials) and field system. Near to Whitehills RB villa and Godmanchester. 2492 sherds.

Nicholson, K. (2004) Watersmeet, Mill Common, Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire. Archaeological Excavation Final Report. Hertford: Archaeological Solutions Ltd. Report No. 1780: Unpublished report.

Welland Bank Pit, Deeping St James

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Deeping St James
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 518100, 307900
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24032

Description: A droveway and associated post holes, pits and ditches, as well as a probable circular structure represented by post holes. No occupation evidence was found and so the structure may represent temporary activity. No dating evidence was found although alluvium sealing the site and it has been suggested that this was deposited in the LR or early post-Roman period.

Start, D. (1995) Archaeological Watching Brief at Welland Bank Pit, Deeping St James (Phase 2). Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Werrington

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Werrington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 516640, 303900
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 2143

Description: LIA/RB farm site excavated over 0.6 ha. Site consists of enclosure (1st c. BC) within which were two roundhouses and associated pits and hearths. In ER, the roundhouses went out of use, but were probably replaced by

rectilinear structures as evidenced by a series of beam-slot s and postholes. By MR, site may have been in use as a stock enclosure. Probable hiatus until 4th c., when a new enclosure system and trackway were built. 2747 sherds.

Mackreth, D. (1988) Excavation of an Iron Age and Roman Enclosure at Werrington, Cambridgeshire, *Britannia* 19: 59–151.

West End, Haddenham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Haddenham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 546130, 275520
Approximate start date: AD 40
Approximate end date: AD 230
RSRB Database number: 2150

Description: Peripheral—probably stock-rearing—site excavated over 0.1 ha, consisting of intercutting ditches and pits within which were pottery (2842 sherds) and the articulated remains of 18 horses and cattle, arranged "nose to tail" and dated in the E/MR.

Grassman, A. (2005) Land at West End, Haddenham, Cambridgeshire. Archaeological Excavation Archive Report. Hertford: Archaeological Solutions Ltd. Report No. 1809: Unpublished report.

West Fen Road, Ashwell Site, Ely

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Ely
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 552900, 280800
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2162

Description: Farm and peripheral site excavated over 3.16 ha. Settlement began in the MIA and declined into the LIA, after which it was reorganised in the ER. Site consists of system, trackway, rectilinear enclosures, a burial, and several LR beam-slot or posthole structures. 1950 sherds.

Mortimer, R., Regan, R., and Lucy, S. (2005) The Saxon and Medieval settlement at West Fen Road, Ely: The Ashwell site (East Anglian Archaeology 110). Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit.

West Fen Road, Ely

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Ely
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 552995, 280869
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400

RSRB Database number: 2160

Description: M/LIA/ER farm site and RB peripheral site excavated over 2.1 ha. Site consists of M/LIA enclosures, roundhouse gullies, and pits, abandoned in the ER. Diffuse peripheral use in RB (ditches, gullies, quarry pit). 354 sherds of *Roman* pottery.

Mudd, A. and Webster, M. (2011) Iron Age and Middle Saxon Settlements at West Fen Road, Ely: The Consortium Site (BAR British Series 538). Oxford: Archaeopress.

West Marsh Road, Spalding

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Spalding
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 525490, 323610
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24071

Description: RB ritual site (?) uncovered in small watching brief over 0.001 ha. Site consisted of inhumation burial, midden pit, and animal burial. No pottery.

Cope-Faulkner, P. (1999) Archaeological Watching Brief of a Pipeline at Geest Foods, West Marsh Road, Spalding. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

West of Ewerby, Plot 139

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Kirkby La Thorpe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 511320, 347018
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 24184

Description: LIA farm site uncovered in watching brief excavations over 0.15 ha. Site consists of roundhouses and boundary ditch, mostly destroyed by ploughing. C. 300 sherds.

Network Archaeology (1999) Hatton to Silk Willoughby 1050mm Gas Pipeline: Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief. Network Archaeology. Report No. 134: Unpublished report.

West Row, Mildenhall

County: Suffolk
Parish: Mildenhall
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 567166, 276136
Approximate start date: AD 100

Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 5015

Description: RB peripheral site excavated over 0.06 ha, consisting of ditches, pits, and postholes, chalk quarry pits, and 801 sherds.

Brooks, R. (2012) West Row Primary School new classroom and MUGA pitch, Beeches Road, Mildenhall, MNL 637, Archaeological Excavation Report. Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 2011/083: Unpublished report.

Craven, J. A. (2010) West Row Primary School, Beeches Road, Mildenhall, MNL 637. Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No. 2010/157: Unpublished report.

Gill, D. (2001) Archaeological Evaluation Report. Land Adjacent to the Old Police House, Beeches Road, West Row, Mildenhall. Bury St Edmund's: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. SCCAS Report No.2001/70: Unpublished report.

Muldowney, M. (2010) MNL 612 West Row Primary School, West Row, Mildenhall. B: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service. 2009/120: Unpublished report.

Westfield House, St Thomas Drive, London Road, Boston

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Boston
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 532423, 342377
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 24134

Description: Peripheral site uncovered in small eval over 0.0576 ha. Site consists of field drainage ditches overlain by marine flood deposits. Envi data suggests that crop processing took place on dry land prior to this. 15 sherds of pottery.

Anon. (2006) Westfield House, St Thomas Drive, London Road, Boston, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Weston Bypass, Weston

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Weston
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 528225, 324718
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24153

Description: RB field system uncovered in excavations over 0.1419 that appears to have been dry land in the MR. Sheep-based economy. 1703 sherds.

Wood, M. (2008) Archaeological Investigations along the Weston Bypass, Weston, Lincolnshire. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Whiteland Spring, Bottisham

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Bottisham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 555700, 260500
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2092

Description: RB farm or ritual site uncovered in pipeline excavation over 0.16 ha. Site consists of beam slot building/enclosure and enclosures that was interpreted by excavators as a Romano-Celtic temple. Only 97 sherds.

Robinson, B. (1992) An Archaeological Investigation of Dullington to Swaffhams Pipeline. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. 65: Unpublished report.

Wilberton

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Wilburton
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 548221, 273171
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 2082

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site uncovered in eval over 0.15 ha. Ditches, pits, and some occupation spreads, and 341 sherds of pottery spanning RP.

Wheaton, K. (2007) Land at Wilburton, Cambridgeshire (Mereham New Community). Archaeological Evaluation Report (phase II) Trenches 15–22 and 24. Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit: Unpublished report.

Wilsford Heath

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Wilsford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 499305, 341950
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 24151

Description: LIA/ER farm and peripheral site uncovered in eval over 0.021 ha. Site consisted of field boundaries and enclosure, within which was a rectilinear masonry-footed building with multiple phases of construction and rebuilding. Perhaps agricultural in nature and collapsed or was destroyed in ER. 373 sherds.

Anon. (2008) Wilsford-Rauceby Reinforcement Main Scheme. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Wilsmere Down Farm, Barrington

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Barrington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 538942, 251039
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 2171

Description: RB field system and quarry excavated in eval/excavation over 1.2 ha. Site consists of boundary ditches and two clunch quarries, with a possible roundhouse. 72 sherds.

Collins, M., Knight, M. (2007) Barrington Cement Quarry: Excavation at the edge of a Roman Settlement at Wilsmere Down Farm, Cambridgeshire. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. CAU Report 804: Unpublished report.

Wimblington Road, March

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: March
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 541520, 294940
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 2142

Description: MIA/LIA/RB farm uncovered in small excavation over 0.2 ha, consisting of a (cobbled) trackway and enclosures, within which were two rectilinear posthole buildings, pits, etc. Briquetage hints at possible salt production. 638 sherds.

Cooper, S. (2003) Roman Farmstead at 23–33 Wimblington Road, March, Cambridgeshire. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit. Report No. A218: Unpublished report.

Windmill Site, Swavesey

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Swavesey
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 538128, 268857
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 70
RSRB Database number: 2016

Description: LIA/ER settlement, excavated over 0.07 ha, consisting of enclosures and ditches without any sign of structures. 891 sherds.

Dickins, A. and Collins, M. (2011) 'Down the Line: Archaeological investigations on the route of the Cambridgeshire Guided Busway,' *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 100.

Wixoe Pipeline BYG030

County: Suffolk
Parish: Great Bradley
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 567650, 253200
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 5073

Description: Peripheral part of RB settlement revealed in pipeline excavation recorded in RSRB database but not given bibliographic information. Exact site could not be found in survey of nearby excavations, but the site is listed here. Site consists of cobbled surface (trackway?), enclosure ditches, and a small number of RB sherds (99).

Atkins, R. (2012) Kirtling Green to Wixoe Pipeline, Post-Excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design: Unpublished report.

Wixoe Pipeline WTL010

County: Suffolk
Parish: Mildenhall
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 570200, 274880
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 5072

Description: LIA/ER settlement revealed in pipeline excavation (0.030 ha) recorded in RSRB database but not given bibliographic information. Exact site could not be found in survey of nearby excavations, but the site is listed here. Rectilinear enclosure with possible roundhouse, pits, ditches, and domestic debris. C. 882 sherds.

Lyons, T. (2012) Kirtling Green to Wixoe Pipeline; Post Excavation Assessment/Report 1283. Oxford Archaeology East: Unpublished report.

Woodside Industrial Park, Sleaford

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Sleaford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 507500, 346900

Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 24154

Description: Peripheral LIA/ER site excavated over 0.32 ha, consisting of complex of ditches (LIA/ER) superseded by ER boundaries and field systems.

McDaid, D. (2008) Woodside Industrial Park, Land off Pride Parkway, East Road Sleaford. Archaeological Strip, Map and Record. Lindsey Archaeological Services: Unpublished report.

Woolley Hill, Ellington

County: Cambridgeshire
Parish: Ellington (Huntingdonshire)
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 516080, 273080
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 2067

Description: M/LIA/RB settlement (?) associated with hilltop enclosure and charcoal working area. Unclear if domestic or not. 70 sherds.

Collins, M., Knight, M. (2007) Barrington Cement Quarry: Excavation at the edge of a Roman Settlement at Wilsmere Down Farm, Cambridgeshire. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit. CAU Report 804: Unpublished report.

Woolram Wygate, Spalding

County: Lincolnshire
Parish: Spalding
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 523500, 323050
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 24100

Description: Important LIA/ER salt production and M/LR settlement revealed in survey/eval and excavation over 6.282 ha. Site consists of marine depression ("salt pan") and higher ground areas where settlement was concentrated. Droveway and enclosures (LIA) and smithy were in use in the LIA, after which the site was used as a saltern. Saltern consisted of frequently recut clay-lined settling tanks (fed by tidal water entering area through creeks) and hearths. Associated with this phase were post holes (suggesting structures) and a briquetage floor, which may or may not have been domestic, as little domestic evidence was found in this phase. C. 190 kg of briquetage was recovered. Salt production ended in the 2nd c., and the site became a field system, with enclosures (arable plots and paddocks) and another metalworking area. 6621 sherds.

Anon. (2003) Land at Woolram Wygate, Spalding, Lincolnshire. Archaeological Evaluation. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Wood, M. (2006) Archaeological Assessment Report on land at Wygate Park, Spalding, Lincolnshire. Volume 1. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

Wood, M. (2006) Archaeological Assessment Report on land at Wygate Park, Spalding, Lincolnshire. Volume 2. Sleaford: Archaeological Project Services: Unpublished report.

4: HIGH SPEED 1

A2 Activity Park, Gravesend

County: Kent
Parish: Gravesend
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 563534, 171502
Approximate start date: AD 40
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 9132

Description: LIA/ER peripheral site revealed in strip, map, and sample excavation over 3 ha adjacent to the settlements at Northumberland Bottom. Site consists of cremations and a small inhumation cemetery. 12 sherds of pottery.

Dawkes, G. (2010) Archaeological Investigations at A2 Activity Park, Gravesend, Kent. Post-excavation assessment and project design for publication. Archaeology South East. ASE Report No. 2010056 https://doi.org/10.5284/1027424

A2/A282 Improvement Scheme

County: Kent
Parish: Dartford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 555652, 172311
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 9052

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site, excavated and investigated over 8.5 ha, consisting of field system and enclosure that may or may not have been associated with settlement (but Identified as peripheral here). 2474 sherds.

Simmonds, A. Wenban-Smith, F., Bates, M., Powell, K., Sykes, D., Devaney, R., Stansbie, D., and Score, D. (2011) Excavations in north-west Kent, 2005-2007: one hundred thousand years of human activity in and around the Darent Valley. Oxford Archaeology Monograph No.11, Oxford Archaeology.

Area I9, Shorne Pipeline, Isle of Grain

County: Kent
Parish: Higham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 573366, 174016
Approximate start date: AD 25
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 9119

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site excavated over 0.21 ha. Site consists of a ditch (LIA/ER) and corndryer on a flint foundation constructed with brick and tile fragments. May have had a stakehole wall. Posthole was found nearby. 86 sherds.

Dawkes, G. (2009) Archaeological investigations at Grain - Shorne pipeline, Isle of Grain, Kent. Phase 7: Post-excavation assessment and project design for publication. Archaeology South East. ASE Report No. 2009031 https://doi.org/10.5284/1027415

Ash, Plot 4/01, Farningham to Hadlow pipeline

County: Kent
Parish: Ash
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 560190, 164690
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 9133

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site examined over 0.75 ha in pipeline strip, map, and sample excavation. Site consists of LIA/ER enclosure system with pits and postholes, a kiln (with crop processing waste), and a waterhole/pond. Unclear if the pits and postholes indicate settlement or other uses of the site: much pottery (694 sherds) and evidence for metalworking, but extremely small quantity of animal bone and no normal household finds (querns, e.tc).

Anon. (2011) Farningham to Hadlow, Kent 1200mm Natural Gas Pipeline. Post Excavation Assessment Report and Updated Project Design. Mitigation Areas and Watching Brief. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Report reference: 70302.2. Unpublished report.

Aylesford

County: Kent
Parish: Aylesford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 573187, 159338
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 9123

Description: The type site for Belgic cemeteries, excavated by Sir Arthur Evans in 19th century.

Evans, A. (1890) 'On a late-Celtic urn-field at Aylesford, Kent, and on the Gaulish, Illyro-Italic, and Classical connections of the forms of pottery and bronze work there discovered,' *Archaeologia* 52: 315–388.

Beechbrook Wood, Westwell

County: Kent
Parish: Westwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 597520, 146600
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 9061

Description: LIA/RB farm site identified in CTRL excavations over 38.9 ha. Two areas of Roman occupation include. In the N. were a trackway, ditches and pits, and two enclosures, containing pits and furnaces used for iron working, a possible shelter, and possibly four-posters. In the S., a cremation cemetery dated to the LIA, after which the area was used for pastoral activities. A droveway ran near the site. 3910 sherds.

Barclay, A., Brady, K., Fitzpatrick, A. (2006) The Prehistoric and Roman Landscape at Beechbrook Wood, Westwell, Kent. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture https://doi.org/10.5284/1009790

Bilham Farm, Ashford

County: Kent
Parish: Ashford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 602368, 138978
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 9108

Description: Probable LIA/ER farm site excavated over a very small area (0.162 ha) and mainly preserved in-situ. Thought to have been a settlement with associated field system, and consists of pits, postholes, and gullies (including a possible roundhouse) alongside a Roman road. 194 sherds.

Stevenson, J. (2003) An archaeological evaluation of land at Bilham Farm, Park Farm East, Ashford. Archaeology South East https://doi.org/10.5284/1027397

Boarley Farm

County: Kent
Parish: Maidstone
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 576032, 159306
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 9104

Description: LIA/ER farm or peripheral site uncovered in small excavations over 0.297 ha, consisting of two areas of LIA/ER activity. W. area contained pits and a ditch. Some of the pits contained cattle and sheep burials. E. part of the site contained a contemporary area of settlement with postholes and pits

(possibly relating to settlement), all sealed by layer of ploughsoil containing charcoal, animal bone, and oyster shell.

Anon. (1997) Boarley Farm ARC BFM 97, An Archaeological Evaluation. London: Museum of London Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Bower Road, Smeeth

County: Kent
Parish: Smeeth
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 605946, 138812
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9062

Description: LIA/RB peripheral and farm site excavated over 0.25 ha. Drainage ditches dating to the LIA and a field system dating to the ER indicate peripheral land-use. Site becomes a settlement in the MR, when ditches enclosures and fences were constructed, within which was a timber structure on ragstone foundations, a waterhole, and pits. Later (in the late 2nd c.), a new rectilinear enclosure and a larger (20 post) timber structure were built. Activity diminished but continued into the 4th c. 4175 sherds.

Booth, P. and Diez, V. (2006) The Roman settlement at Bower Road, Smeeth, Kent. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Boys Hall Balancing Pond, Sevington

County: Kent
Parish: Sevington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 603095, 140701
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 9137

Description: M/LIA and RB peripheral site, excavated over 0.6 ha, consisting of ditches and gullies and an area of cremation burials probably associated with an unexcavated settlement nearby. Nearly all of the c. 500 sherds of pottery were from the cremation burials.

Anon. (1999) Boys Hall Balancing Pond, Sevington, Kent, ARC BHB 99: Strip, Map and Sample Archaeological Works Interim Report Final. Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Bradbourne Fields, East Malling

County: Kent
Parish: East Malling and Larkfield
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 570596, 158283
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 9088

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site surveyed (trial trenching) 0.117 ha. Site could be a settlement, but small area of excavated precludes clear identification. 154 sherds.

Harrison, L., Riddler, I., Savage, A., Ward, A. (1996) An archaeological evaluation at Bradbourne Fields, East Malling. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust. Unpublished report.

Bramble Lane, Wye

County: Kent
Parish: Wye
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 604817, 147179
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 225
RSRB Database number: 9115

Description: E/MR farm site uncovered in excavation over 0.72 ha. In the ER, rectilinear field boundaries, enclosures, and a roundhouse, after which the site was either reorganised or enlarged, and at this point postholes suggest the presence of a small rectilinear structure. Other features include a small kiln, a pond, and burials. Occupation seemed to cease in the early 3rd c. Coins, significant small finds, and c. 5000 sherds attest to intensity of occupation on site.

Meaton, C. (2009) Archaeological Investigations at the Former Oil Depot Site, Bramble Lane, Wye, Ashford, Kent. Post-Excavation Assessment and Project Design for Publication. Archaeology South East. ASE Project No. 2558. Unpublished report.

Bredgar, Sittingbourne

County: Kent
Parish: Bredgar
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 588050, 160260
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 9032

Description: LIA and ER farm or peripheral site identified in small excavation over 0.03 ha. Site consists of enclosures (no structural remains) which were filled in in the post-conquest period, at which point a small flint-footed building (not fully excavated) was built. Building material found on site indicates it may have had a tile roof. Few finds and limited pottery assemblage (c. 1044 sherds).

Boden, D. (2006) 'A late Iron Age/early Roman site at Bredgar, near Sittingbourne', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 126: 345–374.

Brett's Sand Pit, Charing

County: Kent
Parish: Charing
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 593600, 149100
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 9078

Description: LIA/ER farm or peripheral site, revealed in excavations over 1.62 ha, consisting of enclosures (associated with possible droveways) and pits, postholes, and ditches, along with 2 cremations. Few finds, but c. 1000 sherds of pottery. No environmental data.

Philp, B. (1992) The excavation of a late Iron Age and Romano-British site at Charing, 1992. Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit. Unpublished report.

Brisley Farm, Ashford

County: Kent
Parish: Ashford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 599176, 140321
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 9165

Description: M/LIA-ER farm site uncovered in large housing-development excavations over 7.25 ha. Site began in the M/LIA and consisted of large-scale boundary features and a series of roundhouses, not contemporary but with several in use at a time. Associated with this was a small cremation and inhumation cemetery containing two LIA (c. AD 10–50) 'warrior graves', buried with long swords, other weapons, and continental (Gallo-Belgic and/or *terra nigra*) tablewares. Ritual activities seem to have taken place around these burials in later years. After this period, the site was restructured, with plots on either side of a trackway. At this point, part of the site may have been used for pastoral activities, while the area around the graves may have remained a 'shrine' or ritual area. Activity declines in the 2nd c. A huge amount of pottery (nearly 30,000 sherds) attests to intense use of the site.

Johnson, C. (2003) Brisley Farm, Ashford, Kent (NGR TQ 992 401). A Post-Excavation Assessment Report on the Archaeological Excavations 1998-2002 with proposals for publication. Archaeology South East. Project No. (1372). Unpublished report.

Churchfields, Snodland

County: Kent
Parish: Snodland
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 570750, 162010
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9057

Description: RB farm and villa site that has undergone periodic excavation since 1844 and which produced the Snodland Buckle (linked below). Villa complex seems to lie within ER field system, within which was built a bathhouse in the 1st c. Associated with this is a corridor villa (with mosaic floors and window glass), an aisled barn, and a small cemetery. Rich small finds assemblage, 196 coins, and 9944 sherds of pottery.

Dawkes, G. (2010) A Post-Excavation Assessment Report and Updated Project Design on Archaeological Excavations at High St., Snodland, Kent (Archaeology South East Report: 2009050). Archaeology South-East, Portslade. Unpublished Report.

Birbeck, V. (1995) 'Excavations on a Romano-British villa at Churchfields, Snodland, 1992–94,' *Archaeologia Cantiana* 115: 71–120.

Ocock, M. and Syddell, M. (1967) 'The Romano-British buildings in Church Field, Snodland,' *Archaeologia Cantiana* 82: 192–217.

Snodland Buckle (link): (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1928-0511-1)

Cliffe

County: Kent
Parish: Cliffe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 573414, 174382
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 9122

Description: M/LIA and ER peripheral (?) site excavated over 0.275 ha. Site consists of ditches and pits (and might be domestic, but site report lacks pottery and environmental data.

Kinnes, I. Cameron, F., Trow, S., and Thompson, D. (1998) *Excavations at Cliffe, Kent* (British Museum Occasional Paper 69). London: British Museum.

Cobham Park

County: Kent

Parish: Cobham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 568320, 169320
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 9082

Description: Small RB corridor villa uncovered in mid- 20th century excavations over 1.05 ha. Site of a small Roman corridor villa in Cobham Park discovered in 1959 and excavated in 1959-60. May have developed from smaller farm, but villa building itself probably constructed in the 2nd c., with painted plaster walls, tile roof (?), and a partially destroyed hypocaust representing either a small bathhouse or possibly simply a heated room. There was also a probably contemporary outbuilding and a well. Pottery unquantified.

Tester, P. (1961) 'The Roman villa in Cobham Park, near Rochester,' *Archaeologia Cantiana* 76: 88–109.

Darenth Villa

County: Kent
Parish: Darenth
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 556330, 170640
Approximate start date: AD 125
Approximate end date: AD 375
RSRB Database number: 9011

Description: Enormous RB villa site excavated piecemeal beginning in the 19th century, with more-recent excavations (over 0.1 ha) in the 19060s-1980s. Villa appears to have begun in the 2nd c. Associated bathhouse, huge main living area (70 rooms), a workshop thought to have been used for fulling, metalled trackways, an aisled barn with corndryers and a threshing floor, etc. Site continued into the 5th c., when Saxon-period SFBs were built. Large number of finds, coins, and pottery, although not all well-reported (particular the earlier ones).

Payne, G. (1897) 'The Roman villa at Darenth', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 22: 49–84.

Philp, B. (1984) Excavations in the Darent Valley, Kent Second research report in the Kent series West Kent Border Archaeological Group. Unpublished Report.

Philip, B. (1973) Excavations in West Kent, 1960-1970: The discovery and excavation of prehistoric, Roman, Saxon and medieval sites, mainly in the Bromley area and the Darent Valley Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit, no. 4. Unpublished Report.

Darenth (dispersed LIA/ER landscape & Blackdale Farm kiln site)

County: Kent
Parish: Darenth
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 556000, 172000
Approximate start date: 500 BC
Approximate end date: 0
Kent HER number for Blackdale Farm: TQ 57 SE 182

Description: Kent HER reflects a number of small local excavations and evaluations. Field systems, a kiln site, ovens, droveways, and parts of enclosures have been uncovered. One site, at Blackdale Farm, contained the remains of 16 ovens, 9-11 stoke holes, and ER pottery.

Philip, B. (1993) Blackdale Farm, Darenth: An Outline Report on an Archaeological Evaluation Excavation. KARU 1993. Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit. Unpublished Report.

Philip, B. and Chenery, M. (2001) Excavations on a Prehistoric and Roman site at Blackdale Farm, Darenth (Kent Minor Sites Ser. 15), KARU, Dover. Unpublished report.

East Farleigh Roman Villa

County: Kent
Parish: East Farleigh
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 572877, 153598
Approximate start date: 0 (?)
Approximate end date: 450
Kent HER number: TQ 75 SW 8

Description: Ongoing excavation of Roman villa site at East Farleigh, excavated by the Maidstone Area Archaeological Group (MAAG). Site originally uncovered in 1838. Chronology unclear. Excavators suggest that it may have been a temple.

Daniels, A.J. (2010) 'Roman Quern Stone from East Farleigh', *Kent Archaeological Society Newsletter*, 84: 5.

Daniels, A.J., 2010, 'East Farleigh Roman Buildings—August 2010 Update', *Kent Archaeological Society Newsletter,* 86: 12–13.

Weekes, R. (2012). 'MAAG Lead Scroll', *Kent Archaeological Society Newsletter* 98: 4.

Clifton, S. (2019). 'An interim report on excavations at land at Gallant's Farm, East Farleigh, Kent in 2018'. Unpublished Report.

Clifton, S. (2019). 'Excavations at East Farleigh 2019,' *Kent Archaeological Society Newsletter* 112: 6–8.

Clifton, S. (2020). *Roman religious sanctuaries in rural southern Britain: a context and explanation for the structures recently revealed at East Farleigh*. MA thesis, UKC.

Maidstone Area Archaeological Group web page:
https://maag.chessck.co.uk/ExcavationsatEastFarleigh/SiteOverview

East Wear Bay, Folkestone

County: Kent

Parish: Folkestone
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 624079, 136993
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 335
RSRB Database number: 9075

Description: LIA/ER hamlet or oppidum overlain by large Roman villa, excavated piecemeal over a long period of time. Site seems to have been an important quern production site and produced large amounts of LIA pottery (including continental imports) and coins. Excavations in the 1920s (by Winbolt) found that a winged corridor villa was built in the 2nd c., with baths, a mosaic, and Classis Britannica tiles. A rescue excavation was undertaken in the 1980s to try to recover information before the site eroded into the sea, and later

Winbolt, S. (1925) 'Roman villa, Folkestone', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 37: 209–210.

Anon. (1989) Folkestone Roman villa, 1989. Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit. Unpublished Report. https://doi.org/10.5284/1027360

Selkirk, A. and Parfitt, K. (2012). 'Folkestone: Roman villa or Iron Age oppidum?', *Current Archaeology* 262: 22–29.

Eastwood, Fawkham

County: Kent
Parish: Fawkham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 558860, 164660
Approximate start date: AD 45
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 9010

Description: LIA/ER ditched enclosure within which were two cremation burials and a pit that held a structured deposit (according to the RSRB database).

Philp, B. (1973) Excavations in West Kent, 1960-1970: The discovery and excavation of prehistoric, Roman, Saxon and medieval sites, mainly in the Bromley area and the Darent Valley. Second research report in the Kent series West Kent Border Archaeological Group.

Eccles

County: Kent
Parish: Eccles
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 572100, 160610
Approximate start date: AD 65
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9060
Kent HER number: TQ 7223 6055

Description: Roman villa excavated over 1.95 ha in the 1960s and 1970 and only fully-published in 2021. Villa appears to have been built in the ER (as early as AD 65?), first as a large strip house with verandah and bath building and

rebuilt on increasingly grander scales. Evidence of pottery manufacture on site (ER).

Detsicas, A. (1989) 'Excavations at Eccles: a progress report', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 107: 83–88.

Stoodley, N., Cosh, S. R., Hawkins, J., & Konshuh, C. (2021). *The Romano-British Villa and Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Eccles, Kent: A Summary of the Excavations by Alex Detsicas with a Consideration of the Archaeological, Historical and Linguistic Context*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Eureka Business Park, Ashford

County: Kent
Parish: Ashford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 600870, 145157
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 9114

Description: LIA/ER farm and MR peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.43 ha. Site consists of LIA/ER enclosure within which were postholes and pits. No structures, but nearly 4300 sherds of pottery and evidence for ironworking attest to intensive activity on site. A 2nd-c droveway cut across the site.

Thorne, A. (2007) Archaeological investigations at Plot 20, 'Local Centre', Eureka Business Park, Ashford. Archaeology South East. Unpublished report No. 2007252.

Farningham Hill

County: Kent
Parish: Farningham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 554510, 167360
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 9050

Description: LIA/ER farm site excavated over 0.2 ha, consisting of enclosure containing a roundhouse, pits and postholes (including a group that could relate to a four-poster). 2585 sherds of pottery.

Philp, B. (1984) *Excavations in the Darent Valley, Kent*. Dover: Kent Archaeological Research Unit.

Farningham II

County: Kent
Parish: Farningham

Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 554490, 166740
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9080

Description: RB corridor villa uncovered in excavations over 0.125 ha. Site apparently first occupied in the 1st c. AD, and began as an aisled building built with clay walls on flint foundations. A bathhouse was built c. AD 100. The building was slowly elaborated and was then abandoned in the later 4th c., after which parts of the house may have been used for either industrial or domestic purposes.

Meates, G. W. (1973) 'Farningham Roman Villa II', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 88: 1–21.

Florence Road, Maidstone

County: Kent
Parish: Maidstone
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 575210, 155020
Approximate start date: unclear
Approximate end date: unclear
RSRB Database number: 9109

Description: Isolated Roman structure identified in tiny excavations over 0.006 ha, with roof tile, floor tile, and box-flue tile suggesting the presence of a villa-type house. No pottery or finds reports.

Rady, J., and Shand, G. (2004) *An archaeological evaluation of the former ADT building site, Florence Road, Maidstone*. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust. Unpublished report.

Franks Hall, Farningham III

County: Kent
Parish: Farningham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 555427, 167434
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 410
RSRB Database number: 9163

Description: RB 'villa' site identified in small excavations over 0.28 ha and not yet published.

Philp, B. (2009) Farningham, Kent: Roman and Saxon discoveries on the Roman villa site at Franks Kent (Special Subject Series No.17) Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit.

Fremlin Walk, Maidstone

County: Kent

Parish: Maidstone
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 575900, 155900
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 9030

Description: RB peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.12 ha. Site consists of a cemetery containing 8 burials, all inhumations, and a rectilinear timber structure of unknown function, as well as ditches that might indicate a field system or farm plots. Dating unclear and there was no pottery report.

Edwards, C. (2007) 'Excavations at Fremlin Walk, Maidstone', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 127: 73–106.

Furfield Quarry, Boughton Monchelsea

County: Kent
Parish: Boughton Monchelsea
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 578320, 151680
Approximate start date: 75 BC
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 9112

Description: LIA/RB farm site uncovered in excavations over 1.314 ha. Site consists of ditches and enclosures, within which were a dense spread of features, including four buildings (a roundhouse, two aisled buildings, and a masonry structure) Ancillary features including a kiln and numerous hearths (some of which may have been used for ironworking, based on hammerscale and slag found in pits and environmental samples). 4159 sherds and many small finds.

Mackinder, T. (2006) East Field, Furfield Quarry, Boughton Monchelsea, Maidstone: an archaeological post-excavation assessment. Museum of London Archaeology Unpublished Report.

Harringe Lane

County: Kent
Parish: Sellindge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 609200, 138000
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 9141

Description: LIA/ER peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.105 ha, consisting of ditches, gullies, and pits containing 13 sherds of pottery in total. Site identified as a farm in RSRB database because the area corresponds to an area of "high magnetic susceptibility" in geophysical prospection.

Anon. (1999) Archaeological Evaluation at Harringe Lane (ARC HNG97), Kent. Environmental Statement Route Window 35/36, Final Fieldwork Report. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Hawkinge Aerodrome

County: Kent
Parish: Sellindge
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 621200, 139500
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 9085

Description: Field system/peripheral RB site uncovered in a series of evaluations over 1.704 ha. Site consists of ditches and pits (a possible field system), a pond, and several small burials or burial groups. 813 sherds of pottery.

Barber, L. (1993) An archaeological evaluation at Hawkinge Aerodrome, Hawkinge, Kent. South Eastern Archaeological Services. Unpublished report.

Linklater, A., Wilson, J. (2002) An Archaeological Watching Brief of the preliminary Groundworks for a replacement Primary School at Haven Drive, Hawkinge, Kent. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust. Unpublished report.

Priestly-Bell, G. (1999) Archaeological Investigations along the Southerly Section of Hawkinge - Denton Bypass and Haven Drive Extension, Hawkinge Aerodrome, Shepway. Interim Statement. Archaeology South East. Project No. 1125. Unpublished report.

Stevens, S. (2003) Archaeological investigations at Hawkinge Aerodrome, Hawkinge, Kent. Archaeology South East. Project No. 677. Unpublished report.

Stevens, S. (2004) An Archaeological Evaluation (Stage 1) at the 'Terlingham III' Development, Hawkinge Aerodome, Hawkinge, Kent. Archaeology South East. Project No. 1908. Unpublished report.

Hillside, Gravesend

County: Kent
Parish: Gravesend
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 566400, 171000
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 9161

Description: LIA/RB farm site excavated over 3 ha. Site consists of three enclosures (LIA), an ER droveway, and a field-system. Four- and 6 posters, a chalk quarry, and pits and postholes were associated with these features. While no structures were uncovered, the site produced a large amount of pottery (c. 5500 sherds) and 100 oyster shells, and is thought to have been occupied.

Philp, B. and Chenery, M. (1998) Prehistoric and Roman sites at Hillside, Gravesend, Kent (Kent Special Subject Series No.11) Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit. Unpublished report.

Home Farm, Holborough

County: Kent
Parish: Snodland
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 569800, 163200
Approximate start date: AD 25
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 9093

Description: LIA/RB peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 0.2478 ha. Site consists of an ER enclosure and a surface spread of 20 M/LR coins.

Anon. (1998) Land at Holborough near Rochester: report on the results of the second stage field evaluation: trial trenching. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Ref: 45155. Unpublished report.

Jubilee Corner, Ulcombe

County: Kent
Parish: Headcorn
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 584250, 147150
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 9040

Description: Small cremation cemetery and iron bloomery furnace dating to the LIA and excavated over 0.0005 ha. According to the RSRB database, "a similar conjunction of bloomery and cremations is known from the Swarling burial ground in east Kent (Bushe-Fox 1925)."

Aldridge, N. (2005) 'A Belgic cremation cemetery and iron bloomery furnace at Jubilee Corner, Ulcombe,' *Archaeologia Cantiana* 125: 173–182.

Leda Cottages, Westwell

County: Kent
Parish: Charing
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 596500, 147450
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 275
RSRB Database number: 9063

Description: LIA/RB settlement and ironworking site identified in excavations over 2.66 ha. Site consists of a rectilinear LIA enclosure within which were four posters and pits, to which was added a second enclosure (while the first was in use) in the ER, which again held pits and postholes, a waterhole, and a flint-lined structure. In the MR, the second enclosure was recut and contained a small (2.7 x 1.8 m) rectangular clay structure, two waterholes, pits, and postholes. Furnaces were located both within (1) and outside (3) the enclosure, as well as c. 225 kg of iron slag (in total from the site). 3144 sherds.

Booth, P., Diez, V. (2006) The late Iron Age and Roman settlement at Leda Cottages, Westwell, Kent. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Leigh Technology College, nr. Dartford

County: Kent
Parish: Dartford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 555337, 173215
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 9111

Description: RB peripheral site consisting of boundary ditches, postholes, and an inhumation, revealed in small-scale evaluation over 0.06 ha. 11 sherds of pottery.

Turner, S. (2007) Leigh Technology College, Green Street, Green Road, Dartford: an archaeological watching brief report. Museum of London Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Little Chart

County: Kent
Parish: Little Chart
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 593966, 145792
Approximate start date: AD 125
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 9127

Description: M/LR bath-house uncovered in small excavation over 0.015 ha. Site may have been a part of a larger villa complex, but according to the RSRB Database, "any such remains are also now destroyed by recent quarrying." Site consists of bath building, a well, and pits.

Eames, J. (1957) 'A Roman bath-house at Little Chart', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 62: 130–146.

Little Stock Farm, Mersham

County: Kent
Parish: Mersham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 606646, 138531
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 9064

Description: M/LIA/ER farm site (mostly dating to the M/LIA?) uncovered in excavations over 1.05 ha. Site consisted of LIA enclosures, a potential roundhouse and 4-posters, droveways, and burials. Only 11 sherds of Roman pottery were found at Little Stock, while "slightly more" came from the

adjoining site at Park Wood Cottage, indicating that activity may have continued into the Roman period there on a very low level.

Fitzpatrick, A., Ritchie, K. (2006) The prehistoric settlement at Little Stock Farm, Mersham, Kent. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Marley Road, Harrietsham

County: Kent
Parish: Harrietsham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 587470, 152920
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 9092
Kent HER number: TQ 85 SE 138

Description: Complex and long-lived site that has been revealed in several excavations and has received relatively little publication. It has been recorded as seemingly-separate sites in the RSRB Database and Kent HER. Kent HER records. Earlier and apparently unpublished (1985) excavations by KARU revealed foundations of a (masonry) building, possibly with a hypocaust, and then later evaluation by CAT (latest of which is below) revealed possible LIA/RB road surface, alongside which were ditches and postholes, pits, and pottery (not fully quantified). Site seems to have been abandoned in the 4th century, after which 7 aisled buildings were built (6th – 7th c.).

Anon. (1998) Archaeological evaluation at Marley Road, Harrietsham, Maidstone, Kent. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust. Unpublished report.

Medway Tunnel eastern approach

County: Kent
Parish: Gillingham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 576379, 169852
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 9086

Description: LIA/RB farm site excavated over 0.0056 ha in the tidal floodplain. Site consists of settlement features (postholes possibly relating to a roundhouse, a hearth, an area of consolidation overlying a cobbled floor). According to RSRB, the c. 3256 sherds (not fully reported) suggest that the site may have been a trade hub, although this this is not fully reported in the report.

Allen, T. (1994) Excavations on the eastern approach of the Medway tunnel: an assessment. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust. Unpublished report.

Nashenden Valley, Borstal, Kent

County: Kent
Parish: Borstal
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 573190, 165580
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
CTRL data link:
https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/nshpxa_ctrl_2009/index.cfm

Description: LIA/RB features found in large evaluation prior to CTRL excavations. Features include ditches and pits, along with pottery, animal bone, and environmental data suggest "the presence of a settlement in the near vicinity" (Barclay 3.1.6).

Barclay, A (2000) Nashenden Valley, Borstal, Kent (ARC NSH98). Detailed Archaeological Works Assessment Report: Final. For Contract S/300/SP/0007 T138 Oxford Archaeological Unit, Janus House, Osney Mead, Oxford OX2 0ES: Unpublished report.

North of Westenhanger Castle, Stanford

County: Kent
Parish: Stanford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 612200, 137500
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 50
RSRB Database number: 9145

Description: LIA field and droveway system (some of which may have been used to transport livestock as well as for agricultural purposes) uncovered in excavation over 0.99 ha. 24 sherds.

Gollop, A., Munby, J.T. (2006) The later prehistoric and medieval landscape to the north of Westenhanger Castle, Stanford, Kent. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Northfleet Villa

County: Kent
Parish: Ebbsfleet or Northfleet????
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 561610, 174060
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9022

Description: Villa site excavated in antiquarian and later work and more recently in CTRL excavations over c. 4 ha. After very dispersed activity in the LIA, settlement began in the ER (Kent HER site: TQ 67 SW 297) with a ditched enclosure within which were possible timber structures. Masonry buildings were constructed beginning in the early 2nd century, apparently within a wider complex of field systems. The complex (Kent HER site: TQ 67 SW 38) included

a courtyard villa and associated bathhouse, outbuildings, and a series of waterfront structures (including a malting kiln and timber structures). The waterfront features seem to have been predominantly LR and to have been related to malting and brewing. Nearly 10,000 sherds came from the most recent excavations.

Welsh, K. (1997) The Ebbsfleet Valley, Northfleet, Kent ARC EFT 97. Archaeological Evaluation. Volume 1 Report. Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Anon. (2003) Ebbsfleet Valley Detailed Mitigation Works, Northfleet, Kent: Interim Statement. Oxford Archaeological Unit. Unpublished report.

Andrews, P., and Hardy, A. (2011) *Settling the Ebbsfleet Valley: CTRL Excavations at Springhead and Northfleet, Kent: The Late Iron Age, Roman, Saxon, and Medieval Landscape*, Vol. 1: *The Sites.* Salisbury: Oxford Wessex Archaeology.

Northumberland Bottom, Gravesend/A2 Road Scheme, Areas A/L/B/C/D

County: Kent
Parish: Northfleet
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 562536, 171753
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9065

Description: Large multiperiod site uncovered in two adjacent areas of excavation over 26.5 ha. Middle Iron Age features (pits, ditches) seem to indicate peripheral agricultural use of the site, but in the LIA the intensity of occupation increased, with enclosures (pits, four posters, etc.). A second area (Site D) also contained an LIA farm site, various features inside an enclosure. Activity in the first area declined in the 1st c., while it continued into the 2nd c. in the other area (Site D). An LR corn dryer and field system and an inhumation cemetery lay some distance away from these two sites and attest to use of the landscape in the LR. Nearly 20,000 sherds of pottery from the various areas.

Askew, P., Booth, P. (2006) The Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval Landscape at Northumberland Bottom, Gravesend, Kent. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Oakland's Farm

County: Kent
Parish: Hothfield
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 596230, 144625
Approximate start date: LIA
Approximate end date: ER
Kent HER number: TQ 94 SE 228 and TQ 94 SE 231

Description: LIA farm site revealed in small evaluation. Site consists of ditches, pits, and a roundhouse gully.

Cotswold Archaeology (2014) Land at Oakland's Farm, Hothfield, Ashford, Kent: Archaeological Evaluation. Unpublished Report.

Oakleigh Farm, Higham

County: Kent
Parish: Higham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 572900, 174100
Approximate start date: AD 150
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 9162

Description: MR kiln site uncovered in excavation over 0.5 ha. Site produced BB2 pottery, and consisted of four kilns and other features.

Catherall, P. (1983) 'Romano-British pottery manufacturing site at Oakleigh Farm, Higham, Kent', *Britannia* 14: 103–141.

Park Farm East, Ashford

County: Kent
Parish: Kingsnorth
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 601846, 138817
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 75
RSRB Database number: 9176

Description: Part of an M/LIA nucleated settlement uncovered in excavations over 2.4 ha and consisting of boundary ditches/enclosures with areas for iron working, stock, and domestic activities. Eleven roundhouses were found, although excavators suggest the settlement focus may be located outside of excavated area. Later ER ditches cut deliberately across the site and may relate in some way to the development of Westhawk Farm. Nearly 10,000 sherds of pottery came from the excavations, a small amount of it dated to the ER.

Powell, A. (2012) Excavations South-East of Park Farm, Ashford, Kent. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Park Wood Cottage, Mersham

County: Kent
Parish: Smeeth
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 606820, 138475
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 9103

Description: LIA/ER field system uncovered in small excavations over 0.456 ha and producing 72 sherds of LIA/ER pottery. The site overlooks the East Stour floodplain to its south.

Anon. (1999) Archaeological Evaluation at Park Wood Cottage (ARC PWC99), nr Mersham, Kent. Environmental Statement Route Window 34. Final Fieldwork Report. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Parsonage Farm, Westwell, Kent

County: Kent
Parish: Westwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 598050, 146050
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 120
Kent HER number: TQ 94 NE 252

Description: Site of LIA or ER brushwood platform in stream bed, used to access the stream. Included in original database because excavated as part of the CTRL programme, but the site is, in reality, too small to offer any helpful information about settlement in the area.

Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. 2006. The medieval moated site at Parsonage Farm, Westwell, Kent. Unpublished report.

Peter's Pit, Wouldham

County: Kent
Parish: Wouldham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 571400, 162900
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9107

Description: M/LIA/RB settlement and kiln site revealed in small excavation over 0.2 ha. Site consists of field boundaries, diches, a pit/waterholes, and the remains of two Roman buildings, and a kiln. One of the buildings had clay and opus signinum walls/floors and a tiled roof. Limited environmental data and only 124 sherds of pottery make it difficult to understand the nature of the occupation.

Stevenson, J. (2002) An archaeological evaluation at Peter's Pit, Wouldham and the proposed Medway Crossing, Kent. Archaeology South East. Project No. 1540. Unpublished report.

Pluckley Road

County: Kent
Parish: Charing
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 595628, 147497
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 9142

Description: M/LIA/ER quarry site (for iron pan) investigated in small evaluation over 0.222 ha. Site may have been later used as a shelter. A gravel spread overlying an area of early Roman quarrying (and a ditch) may indicate a subsidiary road existed here. 33 sherds of pottery.

Anon. (1997) East of Pluckley Road ARC PRD97. An Archaeological Evaluation. London: Museum of London Archaeology.

Portus Lemanis (Lympne)

County: Kent
Parish: Lympne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 611700, 134200
Approximate start date: AD 200
Approximate end date: AD 350
Kent HER number: TR 13 SW 5

Description: LR Shore Fort known from the Antonine Itinerary as Lamanis and thought to have also housed the Classis Britannica (based on an inscription found there: the earlier fort has not been securely identified). The long bibliography associated with the site can be found on the Kent HER website: I relied primarily on the articles below, which discuss more-recent excavations.

Peacock, D. (1977). 'Bricks and tiles of the Classis Britannica: petrology and origin', *Britannia* 8: 235–48.

Cunliffe, B., Reece, R., Henig, M., Hawkes, S., Care, V., and Young, C. (1980). 'Excavations at the Roman fort at Lympne, Kent 1976–78', *Britannia* 11: 227–88.

Cotterill, J. (1993). 'Saxon raiding and the role of the late Roman coastal forts of Britain', *Britannia* 24: 227–39.

Davies, M. (2017). 'The findings of various archaeological investigations at the Roman naval fort, Stutfall Castle, Lympne, 2014–16', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 138: 165–78.

Princes Road, Dartford

County: Kent
Parish: Dartford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 554171, 173221
Approximate start date: AD 50
Approximate end date: AD 200
RSRB Database number: 9172

Description: RB peripheral site excavated over 0.023 ha, consisting of a large field boundary (0.75 ha), with numerous stakeholes. May be associated with the nearby Roman settlement at Dartford. Three sherds of pottery.

Hutchings, P. (2003) 'Ritual and riverside settlement: Princes Road, Dartford', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 123: 41–79.

Site name: Quarry Wood, Loose

County: Kent
Parish: Boughton Monchelsea
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 576500, 151500
Approximate start date: LIA?
Approximate end date: ER?
Kent HER number: TQ 75 SE 4

Description: Iron Age bank-and-ditch earthwork 'read' as an LIA oppidum but not intensively excavated and partially destroyed by quarrying. Nature of occupation currently unclear but, according to Howell, it *was* the site of industrial activity (iron smelting) and possibly also of settlement, based on the presence of cremation burials. Possibly related to the nearby site at Furfield Quarry.

Kelly, D. B. (1971) 'Quarry Wood Camp, Loose: A Belgic Oppidum', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 86: 55–84.

Howell, I. (2014). 'Continuity and change in the Late Iron Age-Roman transition within the environs of Quarry Wood oppidum: excavations at Furfield Quarry, Boughton Monchelsea,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 134: 37–66.

Queen Elizabeth Square, Maidstone

County: Kent
Parish: Maidstone
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 577600, 152700
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 125
RSRB Database number: 9157

Description: LIA/ER farm site uncovered in eval and excavation over 0.15 ha. LIA site consisted of pits (including one clay-lined pit and a pit containing much carbonised plant material), postholes, and four-posters. Activity decreased in the 2nd c., but a few sherds of LR pottery attest to settlement somewhere in the area. 1036 sherds.

Booth, P. and Howard-Davis, C. (2004) Prehistoric and Roman settlement at Queen Elizabeth Square, Maidstone (Oxford Archaeology Monograph No.11). Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Reader's Estate, Chalk

County: Kent
Parish: Chalk
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 567619, 172998
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9167

Description: Roman villa and bathhouse investigated in small excavation over 0.008 ha. Excavators uncovered a cellar-house associated with which was a dense spread of finds, 108 coins, and 3 infant burials. No sherd count.

Johnston, D. E. (1972) 'A Roman building at Chalk, near Gravesend', *Britannia* 3: 112–148.

Rochester

County: Kent
Parish: Rochester
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 574500, 168200
Approximate start date: AD 80
Approximate end date: AD 310
RSRB Database numbers: 90152; 90153; 90154; 90159; 90160; 90161; 90162; 90163; 90164; 90165; 90166; 90167; 90168; 90169; 90170; 90171; 90172
Kent HER number: TQ 76 NW 6, TQ 76 NW 8 (for the mint)

Description: The Roman town of Rochester (*Durobrivae*) has only been investigated in small-scale excavations that have generally been too small to provide useful morphological data. Excavations suggest that Rochester was the site of an Iron Age mint, and there appears to have been some level of continuity of occupation into the ER. Rochester was the site of the lowest Roman bridge over the Medway and was walled in the late 2nd century. There is evidence for both intra- and extra-mural settlement and masonry building, but nearly nothing is known about site morphology.

Harrison, A.C., and Flight, C. (1968) 'The Roman and medieval defences of Rochester in the light or recent excavations', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 83: 55–104.

Harrison, A.C. (1970) 'Excavations in Rochester', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 85: 95–112.

Harrison, A.C. (1972) 'Rochester East Gate, 1969', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 87: 121–157.

Flight, C. and Harrison, A. C. (1978) 'Rochester Castle, 1976', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 94: 27–60.

Harrison, A.C. and Williams, D. (1979) 'Excavation at Prior's Gate House, Rochester 1976-77', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 45: 19–36

Philip, B.J. (1990) 99 *High Street, Rochester*, Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit (Unpublished report).

Ward, A. (1990) 'Excavations at Rochester Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 108: 91–151.

Harrison, A.C. (1991) 'Excavation of a Belgic and Roman site at 50-54 High Street, Rochester', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 109: 41–50.

Philp, B. (2003) 'A new Roman site discovered at Rochester', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 123: 203–232.

Runhams Farm, Lenham

County: Kent
Parish: Lenham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 587150, 151058
Approximate start date: 25 BC
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 9121

Description: Large LIA/ER farm/enclosure site uncovered in excavations over 0.33 ha. Site consists of LIA ditched enclosure with evidence for conquest-period ironworking. After a period of reorganisation in the ER, the site became more formalised, with a metalled surface, an iron working area, a trackway, and a timber building. Main period of occupation in the 2nd c., but occupation continued on a smaller scale into the 3rd or 4th c. 16,420 sherds.

Philp, B. (1994) *The Iron Age and Roman-British site at Runhams, Kent: The discovery and excavation of an extensive farmstead and iron-working site at Runhams Farm, 1978–1986*. Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit. Unpublished report.

Saltwood Tunnel

County: Kent
Parish: Lenham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 615345, 136940
Approximate start date: AD 25
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9067

Description: Long-lived site excavated over 8 ha. Site consisted of an area of field boundaries, ditches, two small cemeteries (14 burials in total), and a sunken trackway, and while it was peripheral to intensive settlement in the Roman period, it must have lain very close to a settlement, as it produced nearly 4800 sherds of pottery. Fish bones and fishing weights could attest the site's use, as does a corndryer (LR).

McKinley, J., Riddler, I., Trevarthen, M. (2006) *The prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon funerary landscape at Saltwood Tunnel, Kent*. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Sevington, Cheeseman's Green

County: Kent
Parish: Sevington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 602480, 139317
Approximate start date: -200
Approximate end date: 400?
Kent HER number: TR 03 NW 121

Description: LIA roundhouse site (14 roundhouses) that may have been continuously inhabited into the ER or later. It was not possible to access the reports below, so all information comes from the Kent HER website. Environmental evidence suggests that brewing and pottery manufacture may have occurred on site, as well as small-scale ironworking and bone working. Site seems to have been reorganised in the ER, but remained inhabited, and produced a rich finds assemblage, including a curse tablet (presently illegible).

CgMs Consulting (2011) *Archaeological evaluation report: land at Cheeseman's Green Phase 1 First Stage Roadworks and Enabling Works* (Unpublished report).

CgMs Consulting (2014) Post excavation assessment and updated project design, Land at Cheeseman's Green, Ashford, Kent (Unpublished report).

Sevington, Waterbrook Farm

County: Kent
Parish: Sevington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 603100, 140100
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 120
RSRB Database number: TR 03 NW 109

Description: LIA roundhouse site (1 roundhouse and one round or rectilinear house) that may have been continuously inhabited into the ER or later. It was not possible to access the reports below, so all information comes from the Kent HER website. Site was abandoned c. AD 100–150, possibly due to flooding. They represent simple cremation burials in the base of a ditch, typical for the period. The cut for the burials were lined with charcoal suggesting the funeral pyre was very close by. There was one other possible cremation which contained burnt bone and charcoal.

Canterbury Archaeological Trust (1999) *Waterbrook Farm, Ashford: Report on Evaluation Trenching in 1992, Report and Assessment of Excavations in 1993* (Unpublished document). SKE6589.

Wessex Archaeology (2008) *Area A, Waterbrook Park, Ashford, Kent: Post-Excavation Assessment* (Unpublished document). SKE29284.

Mersham History website (2016): https://mershamistery.files.wordpress.com/2016/03/notes-for-history-society.pdf

Sevington, West of Blind Lane

County: Kent
Parish: Sevington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 604247, 139976
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number:

Description: LIA/ER field system uncovered in excavation over 1.5 ha. Site consists of field system and trackways on the margins of a crop mark complex. 343 sherds.

Anon. (1999) *West of Blind Lane, Sevington, Kent, ARC BLN 98, Detailed Archaeological Works Interim Report Final*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit (Unpublished report).

Snarkhurst Wood, Hollingbourne

County: Kent
Parish: Hollingbourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 582270, 155170
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 9068

Description: LIA/ER farm site uncovered in excavations over 1.36 ha. Site consists of ditched enclosures and trackway within which were settlement features (roundhouse, two four-posters, an oven), burial features (cremations), and pits/postholes. Site somewhat reorganised in the E/MR. 2457 sherds.

Booth, P., Diez, V. (2006) The Late Prehistoric and Roman Landscape at Snarkhurst Wood, Hollingbourne, Kent. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Springhead

County: Kent
Parish: Dartford
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 561819, 172339
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9170; 9162; 9001; 9021; 9066; 9020

Description: Important Roman nucleated settlement and temple complex at Springhead, excavated in various smaller excavations and in a large-scale CTRL excavation over 15+ ha. Over 2 tonnes of pottery were produced in the CTRL excavations. The site consisted of a spring head (whence the town's name as well) and an MR temple and shrine complex, an associated roadside settlement with a diverse set of buildings (including an aisled building, a masonry building with mosaic floor, several craft-production sites, a bathhouse, etc.

Philp and Chenery (1996) *A Roman site at Springhead (Vagniacae) near Gravesend*. Kent Special Subject Series No.9, Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit. Unpublished report.

Boyle, A., and Early, R. (1999) *Excavations at Springhead Roman Town, Southfleet, Kent*. OAU Occasional Paper No.1, Oxford Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Anon. (1997) Archaeological Evaluation at Springhead (ARC SPH95), Gravesend, Kent. Environmental Statement Route Window 13. Final Fieldwork Report. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Biddulph, E, Booth, P (2006) *The Roman Cemetery at Pepper Hill, Southfleet, Kent*. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture.

Andrews, P., and Hardy, A. (2011) *Settling the Ebbsfleet Valley: CTRL Excavations at Springhead and Northfleet, Kent: The Late Iron Age, Roman, Saxon, and Medieval Landscape*, Vol. 1: *The Sites.* Salisbury: Oxford Wessex Archaeology.

Station Road, nr Gravesend

County: Kent
Parish: Southfleet
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 561660, 171926
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 9146

Description: LIA/ER peripheral site uncovered in excavations over 1.4 ha. Site consists of enclosure and an oven, and the nature of the finds suggests to excavators that this may have been an agricultural work area near to a settlement. 491 sherds.

Barclay, A., Bull, R. (2006) The Prehistoric Landscape at Whitehill Road Barrow, Longfield and New Barn, Kent. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Stone Castle Quarry, Greenhithe

County: Kent
Parish: Stone
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 558300, 173200
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 300
RSRB Database number: 9081

Description: LIA/RB farm site uncovered by accident during quarry work. Site consists of a ditched enclosure with interior features (pits and hearths), but no structural remains survive, leading excavators to suggest that interior features may have been machined away. 278 sherds.

Detsicas, A. (1966) 'An Iron Age and Romano-British site at Stone Castle Quarry, Greenhithe', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 81: 136–190.

Stone Court Pit

County: Kent
Parish: Stone
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 556321, 174705
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 150
RSRB Database number: 9169

Description: ER peripheral funerary site uncovered in antiquarian excavations.

Cotton, M., and Richardson, K. (1949) 'A Romano-British Cremation Site, near Stone, Kent', *The Archaeological Journal* 106: 46–50.

Swan Valley Community School

County: Kent
Parish: Swanscombe
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 560868, 173914
Approximate start date: AD 75
Approximate end date: AD 375
RSRB Database number: 9091

Description: RB farm and possible shrine site uncovered in small evaluation and excavation over 0.0025 ha. Site's morphology not fully-understood but consists of a (Flavian?) rectilinear enclosure (walled with chalk) surrounding the foundations of a masonry building. Abound a century later, the enclosure became part of a farm that extended outwards within a wider field system. Inside the enclosure, postholes seem to indicate the presence of several timber buildings, and a roundhouse lay outside the enclosure and was in use in the M/LR. Associated with this were pits and a corndryer. Ironworking may have been taking place nearby. The ditches were backfilled in the 3rd c. but occupation continued into the 4th c. 513 sherds.

Mackinder, A. (2010) A Romano-British site at Swanscombe, Kent. London: Museum of London Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Pratt, S. (1997) Swanscombe Thameside Community School: Archaeological Evaluation. Canterbury Archaeological Trust. Unpublished report.

The Mount, Maidstone

County: Kent
Parish: Maidstone
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 575651, 156283
Approximate start date: AD 100

Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 9053

Description: M/LR villa site excavated over 0.2 ha in a number of separate interventions. Site consists of a corridor villa with a second range (and an associated bathhouse), set around a courtyard. Occupation appears to have begun with the construction of timber buildings (including an aisled building) within a ditched enclosure. The main villa house was constructed c. AD 175–225, and continued to develop into the 4th c.

Houliston, M. (1999) 'Excavations at Mount Roman villa, Maidstone, 1994'. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 119: 71–172.

Kelly, D. (1992) 'The Mount Roman villa, Maidstone'. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 110: 177–235.

Thurnham

County: Kent
Parish: Thurnham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 579950, 157110
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9069

Description: LIA/RB occupation/farm and second LPRIA/ER and RB villa site uncovered in excavations over 4.1 ha. The large-scale recent CTRL excavations provide a truly remarkable level of detail about the development of an apparently native farm-turned-villa site and the abstract from the CTRL report is paraphrased below. The M/LIA/ER site (called Hockers Lane) is about 1 km away from the villa site, but there may be a relationship between the two sites and they are presented together by the RSRB. The Hockers Lane contained gully enclosures inhabited from the M/LR through to the ER (c. ad 70). The site at Thurnham may have begun in LPRIA or ER: the rectilinear enclosure had been *recut* by AD 60. Within this, prior to AD 60, were roundhouses and four-posters. Around AD 60, a timber 'proto-villa' was built, and another building (seen as a possible temple by the excavators) was constructed nearby. Religious activity was also represented by a free-standing post. Booth and Lawrence note that "The structural changes at this time were accompanied by a large increase in the quantities of charred cereal remains deposited in features, indicating an intensification of agricultural production at the site (abstract)." In the 2nd c., the site was reorganised and enlarged, and the villa was re-built in stone, and an aisled building was built slightly after this (along with, perhaps, another building), and the temple was demolished. In time, a bathhouse was constructed, and the villa building was added onto. In the 3rd c., the nature of the occupation may have changed: the aisled building was demolished or allowed to collapse in the early 3rd c; the bathhouse was allowed to collapse (or was demolished) by the later 3rd c.; the main room of the villa was turned into a smithy. An LR oven, a corndryer, and a well with LR 'special deposits' suggest continued domestic or agricultural use of the site at that time. 14,635 sherds.

Booth, P., Lawrence, S. (2006) The Iron Age settlement and Roman Villa at Thurnham, Kent. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture (Unpublished report).

Pirie, E. (1960) 'Thurnham Roman villa', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 74: 162–170.

Tollgate, Gravesham

County: Kent
Parish: Cobham
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 565338, 170495
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 250
RSRB Database number: 9070

Description: M/LIA farm and RB field system uncovered in large-scale eval and excavation over 72 ha. M/LIA occupation consists of a small (seasonal?) concentration of domestic features (stakehole structures, postholes, pits and hearths). In the Roman period, occupation shifts to the junction of two trackways, and field boundaries, trackways, and crop processing areas spread out across the area. 453 sherds.

Barclay, A., Bull, R. (2006) The Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval Landscape at Tollgate, Gravesham, Kent. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Tutt Hill, Westwell, Kent

County: Kent
Parish: Westwell
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 597520, 146600
Approximate start date: 100 BC
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 9144

Description: M/LIA peripheral industrial site uncovered in excavations over 1.7 ha. Site consists of a furnace and pits containing ironworking. Metalworking stopped in the LIA, but the site was used again (for a cremation burial) in the ER.

Barclay, A., Brady, K. (2006) The Prehistoric Landscape at Tutt Hill, Westwell, Kent. Oxford: Oxford Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture. Unpublished report.

Wainscott

County: Kent
Parish: Wainscott
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 575050, 171400
Approximate start date: AD 175
Approximate end date: AD 300

RSRB Database number: 9017

Description: M/LR peripheral agricultural site excavated over 0.5 ha. Site consists of two enclosures (not exactly contemporary), around which was a large masonry malting-oven structure and a four-poster. Environmental evidence suggests that the area was in use for cattle paddocking and malting/grain storage. Domestic evidence here (including 2951 sherds of pottery) suggests that the site lay near a domestic focus.

Clark, P., Rady, J., and Sparey-Green, C. (2009) Wainscott northern by-pass: archaeological investigations 1992–1997 (Canterbury Archaeological Trust Occasional Paper 5) Canterbury Archaeological Trust.

Waterstone Park, Stone Castle

County: Kent
Parish: Stone
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 558330, 173980
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 75
RSRB Database number: 9120

Description: LIA/ER peripheral or farm site uncovered in excavations over 0.637 ha. In LIA, site consisted of curvilinear enclosure used as a livestock corral, which was subsequently enlarged and modified (possibly for 'symbolic' reasons). This area was reworked several time, and eventually a droveway was constructed, along with a timber granary, and a second granary was later constructed and cut across the site. Many pits, some of which contained 'structured deposits', were found on the site. Unclear if domestic or not. 2708 sherds.

Haslam, A. (2009) An Assessment of an Archaeological Excavation on Land at Residential Phase II (Southern Parcel), Waterstone Park, Stone Castle, Kent. Brockley, London: Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd., London. Unpublished report.

West Malling/Leybourne by-pass

County: Kent
Parish: Leybourne
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 568970, 159362
Approximate start date: 50 BC
Approximate end date: AD 100
RSRB Database number: 9023

Description: Two LIA/ER farm sites uncovered in excavations over 0.0075 ha and located c. 1 km apart (but reported together). Sites consisted of ditched enclosures, within which were postholes (structures), pits, and a neonate burial. 2415 sherds.

Andrews, P. Dinwiddy, K., Ellis, C., Hutcheson, A., Philpotts, C., Powell, A., and Schuster, J. (2009) Kentish sites and sites of Kent: A miscellany of four archaeological excavations (Wessex Archaeology Report 24). Wessex Archaeology. Unpublished report.

Westhawk Farm, Ashford

County: Kent
Parish: Kingsnorth
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 600000, 139900
Approximate start date: 0
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number: 9019

Description: RB settlement (RB *vicus*) excavated over c. 6 ha. Site thought to cover c. 10 ha and consists of a series of ditched plots laid out across a roadway/trackway. Entire site was investigated in geophysical survey, but the central part of the *vicus* was not excavated. Most plots contained timber structures (roundhouses and rectilinear timber buildings), both domestic and used for iron smelting and iron working. There was also a shrine, a cemetery, and a high-status LIA burial. Nearly 75,000 sherds of pottery.

Booth, P., Bingham, A.-M., and Lawrence, S. (2008). *The Roman Roadside Settlement at Westhawk Farm, Ashford, Kent: Excavations 1998–9* (Oxford Archaeology Monograph 2). Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit.

Westminster Sports Field, Horton Kirby

County: Kent
Parish: Horton Kirby
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 555938, 168525
Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 350
RSRB Database number:

Description: Possible RB villa uncovered in excavation over 0.5 ha. Site consists a large masonry storehouse/granary (?) with mosaic floors and a tile roof, and with multiple rooms (unclear if actually a granary or possibly a heated building). A second and mostly unexcavated building lay nearby. These may have lain within an enclosure, but the boundary wall and ditch were only partially excavated. 1484 sherds.

Philp, B. and Mills, R. (1991) The Roman Villa at Horton Kirby, Kent (Special Subject Series No.5). Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit, Unpublished report.

Wilmington

County: Kent
Parish: Wilmington
Site coordinates (eastings and northings): 554158, 172887

Approximate start date: AD 100
Approximate end date: AD 400
RSRB Database number: 9113
Kent HER number: TQ 57 SW 12

Description: Possible Roman villa complex excavated in a series of excavations. Villa excavated in the 1860s (report not found). Nearby, an aisled building and another masonry structure excavated in the 1970 (again, report not found but reported in the Kent HER). Painted plaster has been found and is thought to further the idea that the area is a villa site.

Rady, J. (2007) An archaeological evaluation of land to the rear of 3 Hawley Road, Wilmington, Dartford. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust. Unpublished report.

Canterbury Archaeological Trust (2012) Archaeological Evaluation at the 'Branches Out' site, Trafalgar Road, Wilmington, Kent. Unpublished report SKE17639.