

**Fields *for* Discourse. Landscape
and Materialities of Being in
South and West Yorkshire and
Nottinghamshire during the Iron
Age and Romano-British Periods.**

A Study of People and Place.

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

Volume I – Text

Preface

Chapters 1-8

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Nothing is more pleasing, wholesome and engaging than the pursuit of archaeology. Its varieties are infinite. It takes us out to the woods and fields, to the breezy moorland where lie so many puzzling remains of men [*sic*] of old, to early churches and quaint houses. And there is always something new to read about, some document to be deciphered, some fresh problem to be solved. (Addy 1914: 30, my addition in parentheses).

Summary

This PhD thesis is an interpretative study of the rural landscapes and communities of Nottinghamshire and South and West Yorkshire during the Iron Age and Romano-British periods. It challenges dominant narratives of the Iron Age and Romano-British periods by focusing on the regional evidence for inhabitation that remained relatively unknown until the late 1970s. Much of this evidence consists of cropmarks of field systems and enclosures. Whilst aerial photography and developer-funded survey and excavation work have significantly expanded the data available, it has not been interpreted from a social perspective, and these landscapes and their inhabitants are still rarely discussed outside of the region. This thesis argues that the region and its archaeology offer the potential to write very different accounts of people and places in northern England during the study period.

This PhD thus assesses the current known extent of these enclosures and field systems within the region, and suggests reasons for their physical layout and purpose. This thesis is also an explicit attempt to use theories developed in landscape archaeology, social geography, anthropology and critical social theory to write fine-grained histories for the people who once inhabited this region. In addition to the empirical research therefore, theories concerning the nature of everyday life, small-scale communities, field systems and boundaries, agricultural practices and daily routines, human-animal relations, depositional practice and consumption studies will be used to articulate with research at both a local and a wider scale. I will also discuss issues concerning Roman imperialism and 'Romanisation' within the region.

This PhD has developed archaeologies of inhabitation for the study period that treat the region on its own terms, rather than continuing to contrast it in negative terms to the better known Iron Age and Romano-British landscapes and artefact assemblages of southern England. This PhD responds to calls by recent archaeological research agendas for greater emphasis on landscape, settlement and regional studies, and for the development of agrarian sociologies.

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Following my graduation, Bob Sydes of the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit (now Heritage Manager for North Yorkshire Council) gave me my first professional employment. His belief that the brickwork field systems had their origins in the Iron Age inspired much of my later work. I would especially like to thank the friends in the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit who helped me develop my practical expertise and my involvement with the archaeology of the region. They include Tim Allen, Simon Atkinson, Bill Barkle, Mark Brennand, Andrea Burgess, Claire Brown, Clare Coleman, Chris Cumberpatch, Jon Dunkley, Jane Gosling, Stacey Hallett, Kay Harvey, Dom Latham, Colin Merrony, Karen Miller, Graham Robbins and Steve Webster. The closure of the South Yorkshire field unit was lamentable. The Doncaster Archaeology Group, especially George Morris and Albert Cruze (both now sadly deceased) also helped with fieldwork upon which I was engaged.

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I would not have been able to begin this PhD if I had not held a joint post as a Lecturer at the Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Wales, Newport, and as a Project Officer with Wessex Archaeology. I would like to thank Professor Stephen Aldhouse-Green from UWN and Sue Davies and Andrew Lawson of Wessex Archaeology for setting up this post. Professor Miranda Aldhouse-Green and Dr Joshua Pollard were instrumental in the award of a studentship allowing me to spend five months a year working on my PhD research whilst continuing to teach undergraduates. My teaching and postgraduate colleagues at UWN have been the source of much advice and help, especially Dr Eleanor Ghey, Dr Mike Hamilton (thanks for the loan of the computer!), Dr Ray Howell, Anne Leaver, Dr Lesley McFadyen, Dr Angela Morelli, Dr Joshua Pollard and Dr Julia Roberts. Josh and Lesley in particular pointed me to lots of useful literature, and their innovative approaches to archaeology have influenced my own practice. It was a sad time indeed when SCARAB was dismantled and the decision was made to close the Archaeology department at Caerleon, and in particular the subsequent disingenuous, disorganised

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Preface and preamble

There were many reasons behind me embarking on a PhD, closely woven into my own personal biography. I wish to outline some of these here in order that my approach to the region can be better understood. As my engagement with archaeology is unashamedly personal and emotional, I believe it has relevance.

During my undergraduate degree, I am embarrassed to admit that I had little time for archaeological theory. I thought excavation alone was enough to investigate the past, and it was only later that I realised this needed to be placed within an intellectual interpretative framework. As an undergraduate, however, all I wanted was to dig sites well, and one day be allowed to direct my own projects. When I graduated from Sheffield University's Department of Archaeology and Prehistory in 1990, I was fortunate to get a job with the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit. Its then Project Officer Bob Sydes had excavated part of a late Iron Age and Romano-British settlement site at Pickburn Leys (Sydes 1993; Sydes and Symonds 1985), which produced the first Iron Age pottery recovered from a modern excavation in South Yorkshire, a handful of worn sherds. Bob became a good friend and mentor and introduced me to the archaeology of the area.

Although I was to work for many different contract field units around England during 1990-1996, I spent the majority of that time working for the South Yorkshire Unit. It was there that I gained my supervisory experience, and where I subsequently ended up running my own field projects. During this time, I also worked on several South Yorkshire sites that were part of enclosure or field system complexes. These included projects at Rossington (Atkinson 1998; Chadwick 1992; Sydes 1991), Barnburgh (Sydes and Holbrey 1991), Schole's Coppice (Atkinson, Latham and Sydes 1992) and Edenthorpe (Atkinson 1994a; Chadwick 1995a, 1995b). I was fortunate during this time to meet Derrick Riley, the aerial photographer who had done so much of the initial research into the later prehistoric and Romano-British archaeology of the region. He, Bob Sydes and Colin Merrony were all convinced that the origins of the brickwork field systems and the other cropmark complexes within South Yorkshire

lay in the Iron Age. John Collis at Sheffield University shared this view, although Professor Keith Branigan supported a Roman origin (Branigan 1989).

In the South Yorkshire field unit we viewed these debates with interest, but felt that they missed some key points. We were more concerned with trying to establish *why* they were constructed, and how they were understood and used by Iron Age and Romano-British people. In John Barrett's terms, it was the material and political conditions of these past people's lives that we were trying to comprehend (q.v. Barrett 1994, 1999), not increasingly circular arguments about the date of inception of these field systems and a chronology that often seemed equivocal at best. On site, we re-excavated ditches dug two thousand years previously, and thus in some ways we were performing physicalities and engaging with materialities of ditch and spoil in similar ways to these long dead people. We too stood in ditches in the driving rain, tried to shovel or mattock frost-hardened gravel, or sweated in the summer sun and heat. For me at least, this was an almost tangible sense of connection with the past, no matter how imaginative. Yet although our embodied acts of excavation were similar to acts performed in the past, this was not a stripping back of time, a form of 'ghostly repetition' (q.v. Lucas 2001: 42). We were highly conscious that we were *creating* these archaeologies.

Many sites we investigated were located on Sherwood Sandstone sand and gravel deposits, where finding the edges of cut features and trying to distinguish between layers was often extremely difficult. We evolved a method of working involving wide sections across ditches, and excavating as many sections as possible, trying to tease out details of the base and sides of ditches and spot recuts. None of these techniques were themselves innovative, but we took much greater time and care when digging ditches because we knew this detail was often missed or ignored in other regions. This was very different from how Iron Age or Romano-British people would have engaged with digging, yet we were conscious that whatever these field systems were for, they must have been an important part of people's everyday lives. The extensive scale of the ditches, and the complexity of cuts and recuts that we often found, seemed to imply a quite different relationship to the land and the landscape from our own.

Along with colleagues, I became very frustrated at the way in which the archaeology of the region was marginalised in the literature. As Chris Cumberpatch and Graham Robbins have noted, the Iron Age of South Yorkshire effectively did not exist, simply because it was not mentioned in general or national publications (Cumberpatch and Robbins n.d.; Robbins 1999). Most sites remained as unpublished client or archive reports, or at best short articles in local journals. We felt excluded from wider archaeological debates. To us, the challenging nature of the archaeology had resonances for discussions of Iron Age and Romano-British regionality and processes of Romanisation for example, but no one outside the region seemed to recognise this.

Despite supervising sites, I grew disenchanted with contract archaeology. Competitive tendering was noticeably reducing the amount of time and money available for projects (q.v. Chadwick 1998, 2000a, 2000b), and I was not gaining much satisfaction from writing the very dry, factual accounts that are the accepted format for client and archive reports. I realised that without a theoretically informed basis, developer-funded archaeology was in danger of becoming a sterile exercise in description and tabulation (Chadwick 1998). I was fortunate that in Sheffield, the field unit and the archaeology department maintained close contacts. Friends recommended books and articles, and I began to attend conferences such as TAG (the annual meeting of the Theoretical Archaeology Group) on a regular basis. I remember the excitement I felt on first reading John Barrett's *Fragments from Antiquity* (1994) and Chris Tilley's *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994). These books were stimulating and encouraged me to think in new ways, despite my reservations about some of the ideas contained within the latter. I realised that I wished to undertake archaeologies where theory and practice were inextricably interlinked.

Just before the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit closed due to financial mismanagement and council indifference, I moved away from Sheffield. In 1996 I was working in London and Beirut, and despite the interesting sites and good friends and colleagues, I was not enjoying field archaeology much anymore. Mark Edmonds then offered me a place on his Landscape Archaeology Masters course at Sheffield along with a departmental bursary; without this I would not have been able to complete my course. Those two and a half years were amongst the happiest of my life.

I read voraciously, went on field trips all around Britain, and was part of a group of people with very exciting ideas. I was able to pursue my study of the region's Iron Age and Romano-British archaeology in a series of project reports, and I recognised that a theoretically informed 'landscape' approach was a very productive way of engaging with this archaeology.

When I finished my Masters in 1999, I returned to contract archaeology to earn some much-needed money. I was a Project Officer for Wessex Archaeology, and would have carried on in the field had not the unique joint post come up at the University of Wales, Newport; and subsequently the offer of a PhD bursary. What could be a subject for my PhD? For me there was no other choice – I felt that only PhD research could do justice to the Iron Age and Romano-British periods of the region. I believe that archaeologists have an ethical commitment to write the histories of people in the past, and that if I undertook this groundwork it would also enable others to write their own archaeologies. These people had been denied a history for far too long.

I knew the subject matter and the nature of my evidence would be problematic. My good friend and former colleague Graham Robbins began a PhD at Sheffield University on the 'brickwork' field systems, and wished to write a social archaeology of one area of South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire; as Melanie Giles was then doing for Iron Age East Yorkshire (Giles 2000). I had always assumed that after my few very general papers on the evidence (Chadwick 1997, 1999), Graham would pursue it further. Graham abandoned his PhD however, partly for personal reasons, but also because he had pushed the evidence from that one area as far as it would go. Graham is a highly intuitive archaeologist in terms of his field practice and theoretical insights, so if I was to consider the region myself I knew that I had to take a different approach. I have therefore tried to avoid some of the potential problems by broadening my study region to encompass the whole of South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and most of Nottinghamshire. The later prehistoric and Romano-British archaeology of these counties share many features, and is relatively unknown outside the region. I also wished to compare and contrast a series of sites and assemblages across the region.

The desire to do this PhD was my own, and influenced by my own biography, but also happenstance and the work and lives of others. Such interwoven aspects of the lifeworld are themselves part of the focus of this thesis.

The project outline

The main focus of my research is on the structure and practices of daily life in the enclosures and field systems. I have done this through studying aerial photographs of the study region taken by Derrick Riley, and by a literature search of published and unpublished survey and excavation reports. I have then used contextual approaches to examine this evidence, and write a thematic interpretation of it. This thesis also aims to engage with the Roman occupation, and explores ideas derived from post-colonial theory to discuss changes in identity, production and consumption practices amongst these small-scale rural communities. I discuss the ways in which changing patterns of fields and enclosures affected movement through the landscape, and traditions of tenure, land use and animal husbandry. This thesis explores the materiality of land divisions and settlements and the social practices involved in their construction and their possible symbolic connotations; through theoretical approaches to identity and relational agency informed by ethnographic analogies and a poetics of landscape.

I have also included poems in between each major chapter of this thesis. These have been called ‘movements’, partly as a musical allusion, but also as a reference to the importance of daily and seasonal movements of people and animals in the inhabitation of these landscapes. These poems are not simply some attempt at post-modern ‘artiness’ for its own sake, but have been carefully selected to explore other narratives and meanings of landscape beyond the obvious restrictions of the text. They are counterpoints to the archaeological evidence. Poetry can help archaeologists to understand the world of emotions and metaphorical relations (Giles 2004: 118), and to bear witness to that which is normally excluded from conventional discourse (Berger 1984: 121). Poetries of place can help us to investigate the nature of identity, community and the relationship between people and the land (Burnside n.d.), issues

which are very much a central concern of this thesis. I aim to show how inhabited places are always replete with meanings, good and bad, and how landscape features such as enclosures and trackways, dilapidated fences or silted-up ditches are (and were) inevitably caught up in the human and animal experiences and memories of the events that happened around and about them.

I have chosen to embed images within the text wherever possible, and in addition to conventional archaeological plans, maps and photographs I have included many ethnographic images from contemporary or historically-recorded small-scale communities from around the world, some grouped as photomontage. This is not merely an uncritical ‘scatter-gun’ approach to ethnographic analogy. Instead, I am trying to ‘evoke a coherence out of the assembled moments’ (Giles 2004: 118); to add texture to my archaeological narrative and further explore how embodied social practices contributed to people’s identities. These landscapes were always more than collections of two-dimensional archaeological drawings, and through the ethnographic photographs I have tried to restore some sense of how individual tasks and mundane daily details would have been at the centre of people’s lifeworlds. These images also provide an alternative visual narrative to be compared and contrasted to the text.

There has not been one overall interpretative synthesis of the evidence from the three counties in my study region. Much information remains as unpublished client or archive reports, and is rarely known about beyond the individual county level. For example, although some of the curatorial, research and commercial unit archaeologists working in West and South Yorkshire are familiar with the unpublished evidence from those two counties, they are less well informed about the Nottinghamshire evidence. Similarly, archaeologists working in Nottinghamshire and the Trent Valley are less aware of the evidence from West and South Yorkshire.

This has caused difficulties in writing this thesis, as in addition to my interpretative synthesis I have had to summarise a large amount of unpublished material, and make it more accessible for other archaeologists. Although I have presented some of this information in tables, my contextual approach demands more discursive discussions

to draw out the various landscape and material associations. The majority of the detailed evidence has therefore had to be incorporated into accompanying appendices or within the gazetteer. A more integrated approach would have been preferable, whereby I presented the bulk of my evidence within the main text and tacked back and forth between theoretical discussions, interpretations and the contextual evidence. This was simply not possible within the limitations of the PhD thesis format, although I am aware that this is a potential weakness.

I wish to stress that this thesis is an *interpretation*. Whilst I have tried to write an archaeology based upon the regional evidence and a series of plausible inferences (q.v. Adams 1991), I acknowledge that there might be competing or even conflicting interpretations of this evidence. One of the principal aims of my work has been to encourage further discussion and debate.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 outlines the limits of the study region, its physical characteristics, and a brief history of previous archaeological research. Each subsequent chapter of my thesis examines key theoretical concepts and themes which I have selected in order to interrogate and structure the evidence more effectively.

In Chapter 2, I summarise conventional culture-history approaches to Iron Age and Romano-British communities, and then present an alternative historiography of the region informed by more critical post-colonial approaches to the past. In Chapter 3, I explore theoretical studies of landscape, the body and Self-identity, and use these to develop my own theory of relational agency in order to understand the complex interconnections between places, people, plants, animals and things. In Chapter 4, I discuss the national and regional palaeo-environmental and archaeological evidence for plant husbandry during the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, and in Chapters 5 and 6, I consider the national and regional palaeo-environmental and archaeological evidence for animal husbandry. Chapter 7 explores concepts of land tenure, land

division and land use, and examines the field patterns recorded in the study region, assessing how these might inform understandings of the function and social importance of the field systems to people in the past. In Chapter 8, I take a short voyage into the river systems of the study region, and explore the practical and symbolic importance of water to Iron Age and Romano-British communities.

In Chapter 9, I return to the land-based evidence, and consider dwellings and settlements within the study region and how they might have been inhabited, understood and experienced during the Iron Age and Roman period. In Chapter 10, I look at the artefactual evidence, particularly metalwork and ceramics, and using critical contextual approaches I examine changes in production and consumption practices across the region and over the study period. Chapter 11 considers theoretical approaches to ritual behaviour, including death and burial; and proposes an integrated notion of ritualisation and depositional practice that unites previously disparate concepts of prosaic discard and structured deposition. Finally, in Chapter 12 I briefly summarise the evidence for the immediate post-Roman inhabitation of the study region, and then suggest a series of practical methodological measures and further archaeological investigations through which future research within the region can be taken forward. The varied chronological developmental trajectories of the field systems and enclosures across different parts of the study region is also summarised, and archaeologies of the everyday are discussed.

Appendix A presents the palaeo-environmental and archaeological data for plant husbandry and cultivation within the study region, both direct and detailed forms of evidence such as pollen analyses and carbonised seed remains, and more indirect forms of evidence such as the presence of quernstones, T-shaped corn driers and other features associated with the cultivation or processing of cereals. Appendix B outlines the archaeological and historical evidence for animal husbandry practices, and also considers relevant ethnographic data concerning human-animal relationships, seasonal movements of livestock, and animal health issues. It also considers the likely behaviours of different animal species and breeds, and how these would have affected human interactions with them. The detailed archaeozoological data from bone assemblages recovered from Iron Age and Romano-British sites excavated in the

study region is presented in Appendix C. Appendix D outlines many examples of the archaeological features associated with animal husbandry within the study region, including trackways or droveways, funnels and races, and pens and corrals. In Appendix E I examine some of the detailed data concerning features associated with dwelling and enclosures, listing examples of roundhouses, rectangular buildings, four-post structures, ovens and evidence for ‘industrial’ practices such as metal-working. Appendix E also presents the data from my analysis of roundhouse, rectangular building and enclosure entrance orientations, and my detailed discussion of the results. Appendix F outlines the data for ‘ritual’ practices within the study region during the Iron Age and Romano-British periods.

Appendix G is the gazetteer of Iron Age and Romano-British sites in my study region. This is not a complete listing of every known archaeological investigation, but instead provides brief descriptions and interpretations of the results of the most significant excavation and survey projects to date, as well as some of the more interesting cropmarks or earthworks that have yet to be investigated further. In order to make this thesis a more manageable document, this appendix has not been printed out, but rather is presented on a CD included in the back of the third printed and bound volume.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction to the Study Region, the Outline of Previous Research, and the Aims of this Study

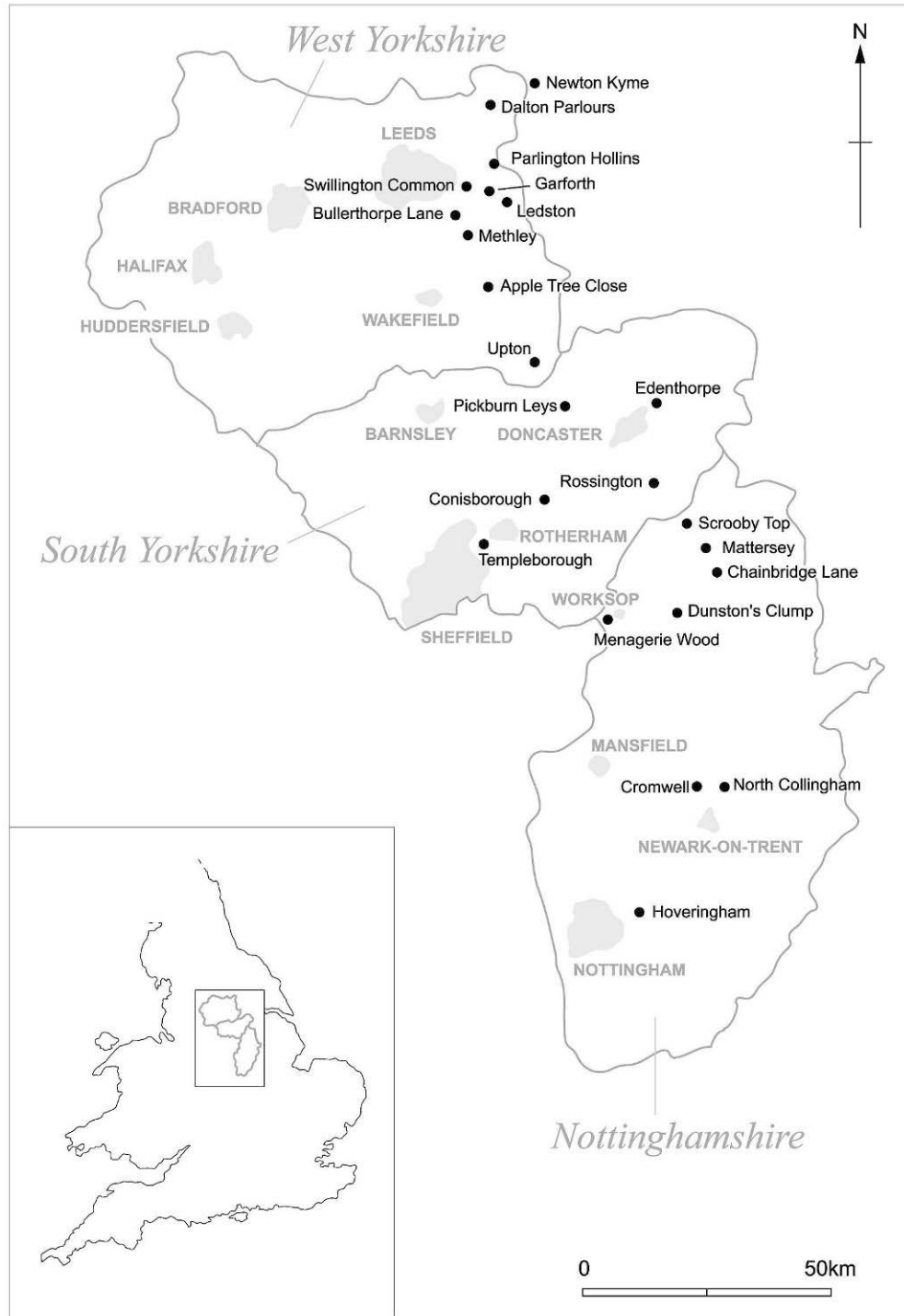


Figure 1.01. Map showing the three modern English counties forming my study region, and a few of the sites mentioned within the text. (Drawn by A. Leaver, from Chadwick 2004a: 91).

The geology, topography and hydrology of the study region

This thesis focuses on South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire (Fig. 1.01). These are modern administrative units, but they have been selected for convenience and to provide reasonable limitations on the data. Where relevant, I have at times also mentioned evidence from Derbyshire, Staffordshire, North Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The Pennines and Peak District have characteristically different archaeologies, and they form a convenient western boundary. The eastern ‘boundary’ of the sample area is much less clear however.

The dominant bones of the land lie north-south. The Trent Valley is formed by a wide band of Mudstones, and west of these are the Sherwood Sandstones (once known as Bunter Sandstones). Across these areas and north up to the River Humber, the topography consists of rolling broad, shallow alluvial valleys interspersed with mostly gentle gravel ridges of drift geology, with occasional patches of marls and fertile loess-derived aeolian deposits (Catt 1978; Knight and Howard 2004a: 1-6; Robson and George 1971). The soils are light and well drained on more elevated ground, but Pleistocene river terrace gravels and alluvium fill the river valleys, and in some there are peat and wind-blown sand deposits too. In the north of Nottinghamshire and the eastern third of South Yorkshire, the landscape is very low and merges seamlessly into the flatlands of Lincolnshire and Humberside. Here, the topographic contrasts are more subtle, and in the frosty mornings of autumn and winter mist lies between these low ridges like a skein of fine wool held between the fingers.

West of the Sherwood Sandstones, other north-south geological bands brace the region, comprised of Permian Mudstone and Marls, Magnesian Limestone and Coal Measures deposits. These form more elevated and undulating landscapes, cut by the valleys of the Rivers Idle, Don, Calder, Aire and Wharfe. Here there are greater topographic contrasts and sharper rises and falls, including ridgelines parallel to the rivers running beneath them. There are extensive and sometimes dramatic vistas available from valley-side slopes, along and across these broad valleys. The Magnesian Limestone dips gently to the east, forming a west-facing scarp, and has

shallow but well-drained and fertile brown earth soils. To the north are a swathe of Boulder Clay and the broad alluviated plain of the River Ouse and the Vale of York. The Coal Measures comprise alternate bands of grit, shale and mudstone (Berg 2001: 4), and form an elevated, rolling plain, with more subtle and localised folds of ground. The soils here are heavier, more acidic and less well drained.

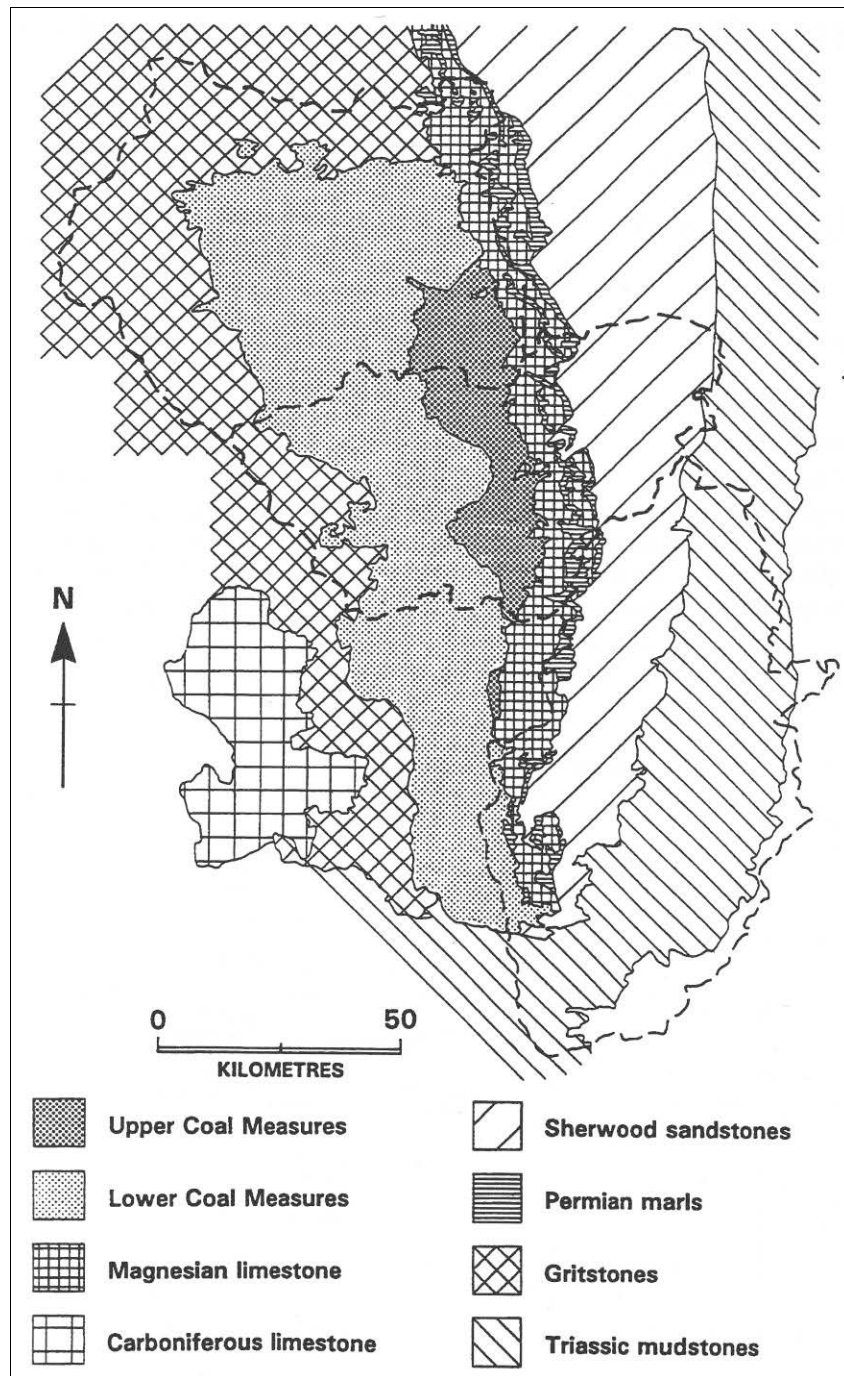


Figure 1.02. Simplified solid geology map with the outlines of West Yorkshire, South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. (Source: author, from Chadwick 1999: 150).

Further west again, the land rises to the dramatic Millstone Grit shelves and Carboniferous Limestone plateau of the Pennines and Peak District. Rainfall increases westwards too (*ibid.*), and here blanket peat formation has been extensive (see below). The soils on the Millstone Grit are thin, acidic and stony, whilst fertile loess deposits on the Carboniferous Limestone were the only non-calcareous contribution to the otherwise thin soils (Catt 1978).

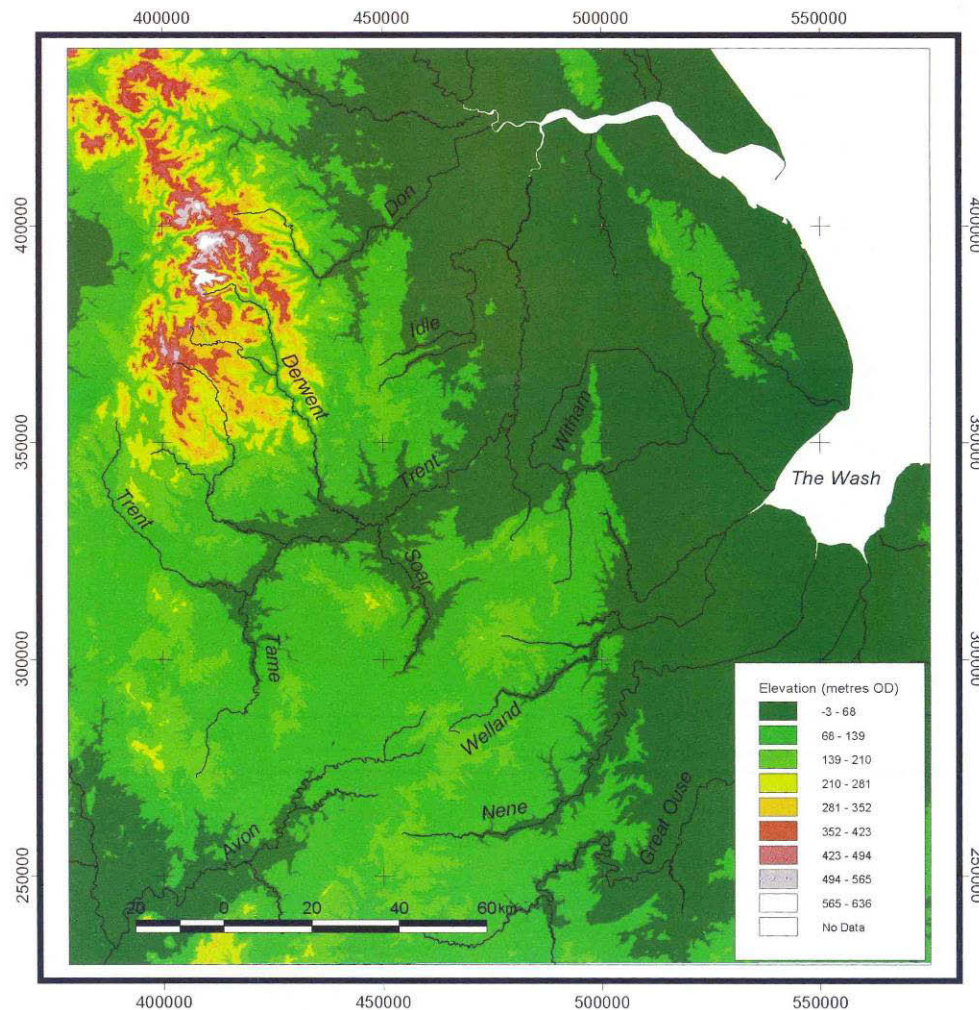


Figure 1.03. *The major relief of the eastern part of the study area, including the Trent Valley. (Source: Knight and Howard 2004a: 3, fig. 1.2).*

The River Humber and its estuary is the principal drainage basin in the region, the soggy heart into which all riverine arteries flow (Fig. 1.03). The Rivers Trent, Idle and Don all drain north or north-east into this area, the Idle, Derwent and Soar eventually merging with the Trent; whilst the Rivers Calder, Aire and Wharfe drain eastwards into the Humber too.

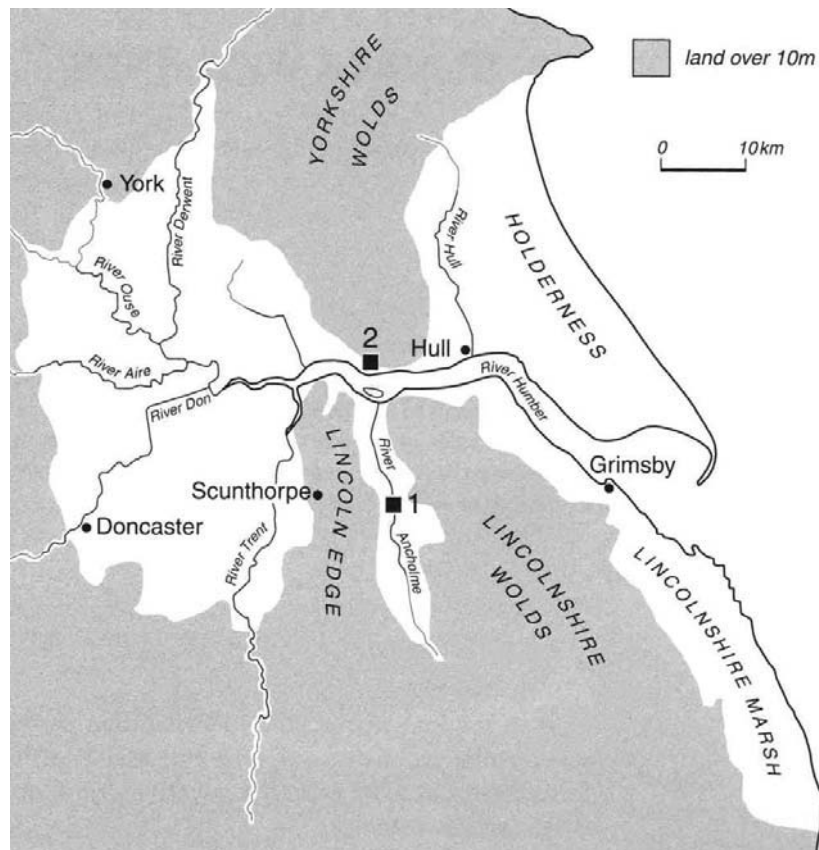


Figure 1.04. *The north-eastern part of the study area, showing the extent of the Humberhead Levels in the natural basin between modern York, Doncaster and Scunthorpe. (Source: Van de Noort 2004).*

In addition to these major channels, there were numerous minor channels and becks, greater in number and many more impressive in the past than they are today, tamed as they have been with drainage ditches and lowered water tables (Berg 2001: 4). Some smaller tributaries may have been quite violent at times when in full spate after spring thaws and rain, or following summer thunderstorms. There may even be place name evidence for this past fluvial fecundity in the region (Breeze 2002). Throughout much of prehistory, the Humberhead Levels formed an extensive area extending southwards into modern South Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and northwards into the Vale of York (Fig. 1.04). The Levels would have comprised a highly diverse mix of alder carr, peat bog, marsh, raised mires such as Thorne and Hatfield Moors, and standing open water (Van de Noort 2004; Van de Noort and Ellis 1997, 1999) (Figs. 1.05-1.07). These landscapes would have been in constant flux, as some places progressively flooded or peat bog developed, whilst others dried out and were colonised by birch scrub.



Figure 1.05. (top left). *Modern alder carr woodland* (Source: Miles 1999: 210) **Fig. 1.06. (top right).** *Standing pool of water, surrounded by rushes, reed mace and birch scrub.* **Fig. 1.07. (left).** *Developing peat bog.* (Sources: author).

Within the Levels there were occasional areas of drier ground such as the Isle of Axholme to the north of modern Doncaster, just a few significant metres above the prevailing low-lying landscape. Even in the twentieth century this place sometimes felt remote and cut-off from the outside world (Doncaster Museum oral history exhibition). Just to the north of Armthorpe and south-east of Doncaster, a large subcircular depression in the underlying solid geology may even represent the remains of an ancient astrobleme or meteorite impact crater that has slowly filled up with sediments over the millennia (P. Buckland and G. Gaunt pers. comm.). This would have been a boggy, peat and alluvium-filled basin in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods (Fig. 1.08), and it is notable how many past field system boundaries and trackways in the area appeared to end on its edge, or skirt round it.

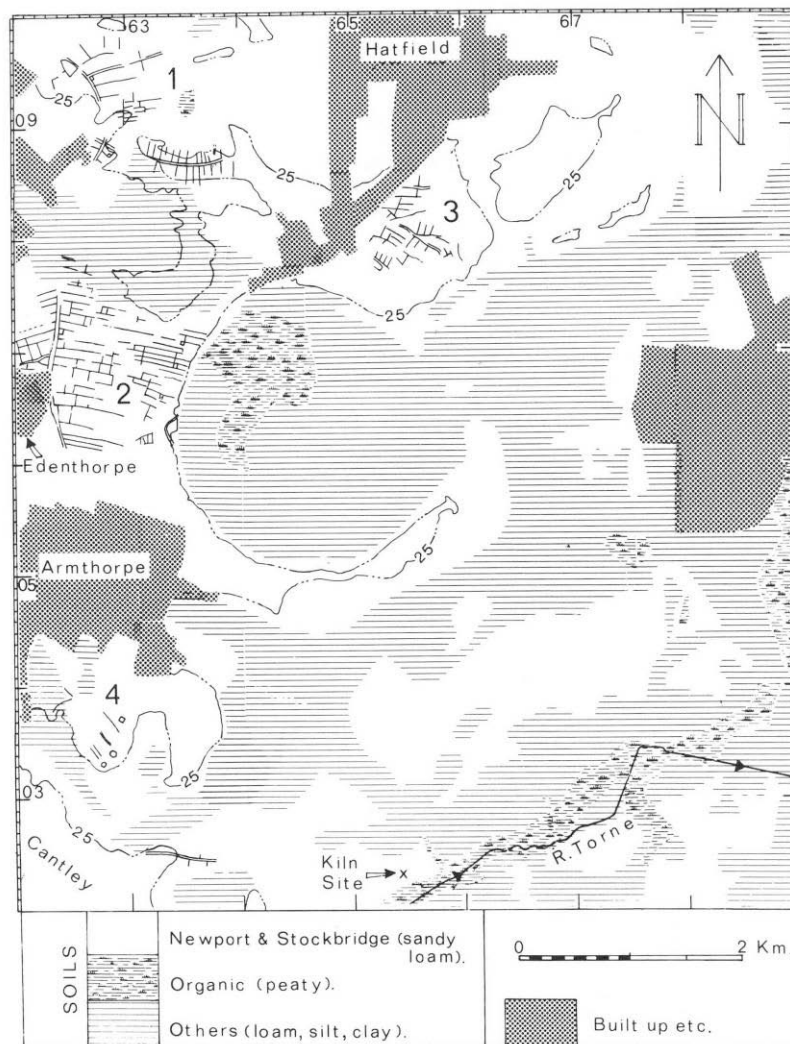


Figure 1.08. Soils and cropmarks of part of the study region in South Yorkshire, showing the large subcircular silt and alluvium filled basin to the east of Edenthorpe that may be an ancient meteorite impact crater. (Source: Riley 1980: 61, fig. 9).

The river valleys of the Trent, Don and Aire were extremely dynamic environments. The lower courses of the main channels would have shifted laterally across the floodplains over the decades, leaving bar deposits, oxbows, silted up and peaty palaeochannels and backwater reed swamps in their wake (Brown 2002; Dinnin and Weir 1997: 152; Garton and Malone 1997; Knight and Howard 2004b: 80). The broad, alluvium filled valleys would have been relatively low-energy environments, however. Overbank flooding of extensive low-lying areas might nonetheless have been commonplace during the winter and spring. In some places the Trent and other rivers may have had several braided channels flowing at the same time, with gravel islands of varying sizes in between. Many palaeochannels and silted up oxbows are visible on aerial photographs and have been archaeologically investigated (e.g. Baker

2002; Garton 1999; Kinsley 1998; Knight and Howard 1995; MacCormick et al. 1968; Salisbury 1992) (Figs. 1.09-1.11). In the upper reaches of these rivers along the more dynamic gravel terraces, sometimes erosion and deposition would have been gradual, but at other times flash floods would have swept away riverbanks and trees and broken through river loops, depositing new bars of mud and gravel downstream. So-called ‘ridge and swale’ topography has also been identified from aerial photographs, appearing as multiple but irregular corrugations or banks and hollows, and marking the lines of previous bars and channels (Baker 2002: 18).

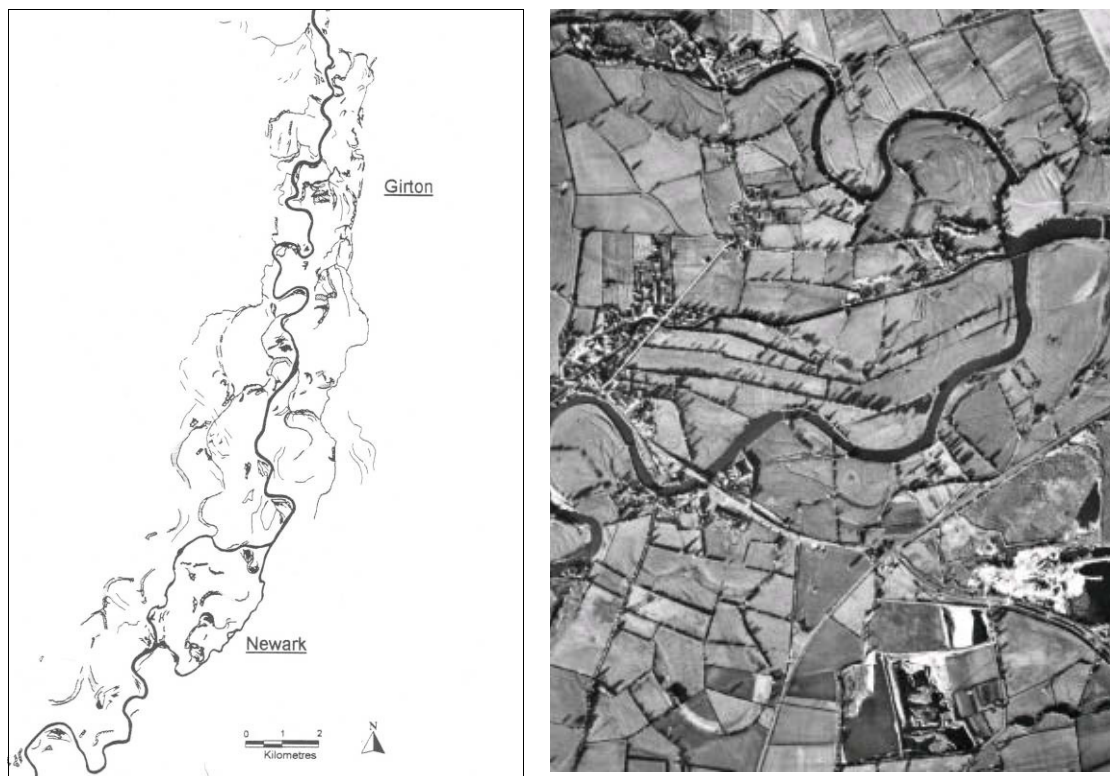
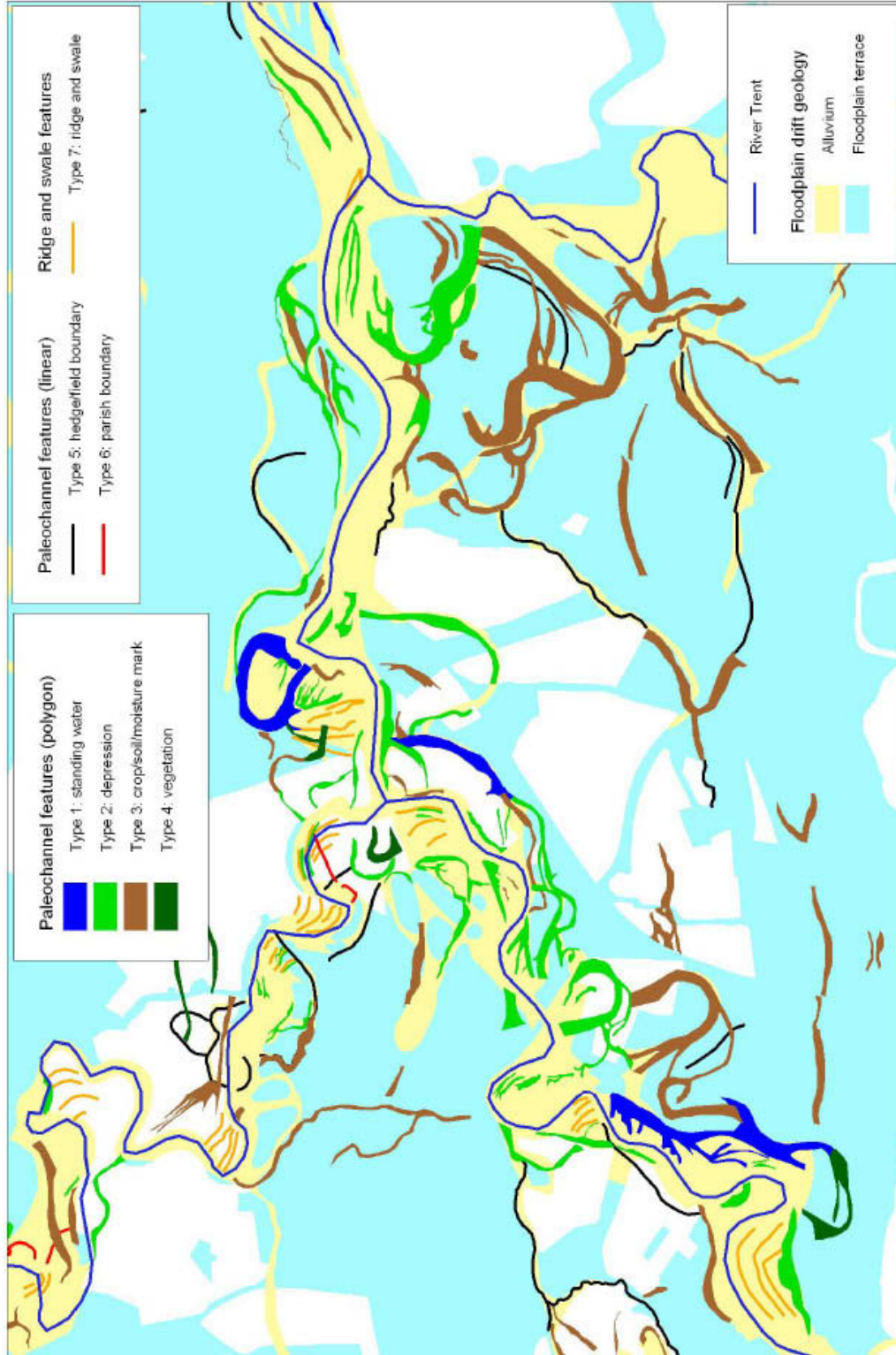


Figure 1.09. (left). *The River Trent between Newark and Girton, showing palaeochannels mapped from aerial photographs. (Source: Garton and Malone 1997: 141, image © S. Malone).* **Fig. 1.10. (right).** *Aerial photo of the Trent Valley showing palaeochannel features in a dynamic gravel terrace landscape, including silted up loops of the river and ‘ridge and swale’ features. (Source: Baker 2002: 24, fig. 19).*

Drainage of the Humberhead Levels began in the medieval period (Dinnin 1997), but became widespread from the seventeenth century to the present day (Buckland 1986: 42; Caulfield 1991: 22-24). In some parts of the region Dutch engineers were brought in to assist with the challenge. Large parts of north Nottinghamshire and eastern South Yorkshire on the edge of the Humberhead Levels were extremely low-lying, with

Figure 1.11. (left).
*Palaeo-channel
 features plotted from
 aerial photographs
 at the Trent-Derwent
 and Trent-Soar
 confluences. Source:
 Baker 2002: 26, fig.
 20).*



extensive areas below the 5m contour. Reclaimed and ‘improved’ areas feature numerous large, straight-edged ditches and often have place names such as ‘dike’ and ‘drain’, but also the surviving place names ‘ing’, ‘carr’ and ‘levels’, from the pre-drainage landscape. These areas would have flooded repeatedly during winter and spring high water levels, and pastures were often under water from November to April (Fig. 1.12) but the rich silts borne in the waters ensured lush summer vegetation. Even during the medieval period, seasonal flooding formed extensive meres that persisted for much of the year (Dinnin and Weir 1997: 152; Hey and Rodwell 2006: 32). Such landscapes consisted of stream channels and pools of standing water, raised peat bogs and reed beds, separated by slightly raised gravel islets on which grew damp grassland and wooded birch and alder carr. Many were used as commons grazing until the nineteenth century, or formed part of Hatfield Chase royal hunting estate.



Figure 1.12. *Standing water or mere on the floodplain of the Aire Valley just east of Castleford, West Yorkshire, April 2006. (Source: author).*

In the late twentieth century, highly destructive large-scale drainage and peat extraction by multi-national companies such as Fisons have threatened remaining wetland areas such as Thorne and Hatfield Moors and Sutton Common, which preserve valuable ecological communities and archaeology (Buckland 1979; Caulfield 1991; Dinnin, Ellis and Weir 1997). The tenant farmer of Sutton Common bulldozed one Scheduled enclosure, and not only escaped penalties but was ultimately

financially compensated when the land was taken into stewardship (Parker Pearson and Sydes 1997; Van de Noort, Chapman and Collis 2007). Fisons have repeatedly blocked conservation measures, and even tried to remove the SSSI status of Thorne and Hatfield Moors (Caulfield 1991; Dinnin and Whitehouse 1997).

What some of the conservationists would say to us for using peat today I don't know, but I don't know what a gardener can do without peat. I intend to go on using it. (Margaret Thatcher 1990, quoted in Caulfield 1991: 59).



Figure 1.13. *Thorne Moors, showing 3000 year old tree stumps exposed by drainage and peat extraction. (Source: Caulfield 1991: 82, © F. Godwin).*

Modern land-use and archaeology

Modern land-use in the area is highly variable, with arable agriculture generally dominating over pasture in lowland areas, mainly with the help of modern organo-phosphate fertilisers and pesticides. Nineteenth and early twentieth century heavy industries such as mines, steelworks and quarries and the dumping of associated waste have undoubtedly removed or masked much archaeology. With few exceptions (e.g. May 1922), most destruction went unrecorded at the time. Spoil tips and slurry

lagoons have impacted heavily on some areas, whilst limestone quarries have also removed large areas. Gravel quarrying is predominant in the Trent Valley and on the sand and gravel drift deposits over the Sherwood Sandstones, and many of the sites I will be considering were excavated in advance of gravel extraction (Fig. 1.14). Many limestone and aggregates quarries were granted planning permission in the 1950s and 1960s, which until recent ROMP schemes (Renewal of Old Mineral Permission), severely limited archaeological work. Quarrying still constitutes a major threat to archaeology across the region (Figs. 1.15-1.16). Funds from the Aggregates Levy, however, are now being channelled into research and educational archaeology projects though (e.g. AS WYAS 2006; Bevan 2006; Roberts et al. 2004, 2007).



Figure 1.14. *Gravel extraction at Chainbridge Lane, Lound, Nottinghamshire in the late 1980s. (Source: © Jen Eccles).*

Woodlands are another important aspect of modern landscapes. None are extensive, but some contain elements of Ancient Woodland – usually medieval or post-medieval plantings, that nevertheless may preserve earthworks of Iron Age and Romano-British date (e.g. Atkinson, Latham and Sydes 1992; Corder 1951; Court 1944; Latham 1992; Makepeace 1985; Radley and Plant 1969b; Sumpter 1973; Tyson 1950). They are a valuable and threatened archaeological resource (Whiteley 1992), and some earthworks are enclosures and elements of field systems that escaped plough damage. Tree roots, however, have often caused disturbance to these woodland features.



Figure 1.15. (right).
*Pastures Road,
Mexborough, South
Yorkshire, with an
enclosure complex
threatened by quarrying
and housing
developments. (Source:
D. Riley, SLAP 843, SE
4880 0040).¹*



Figure 1.16. (left).
*Barnsdale Bar Quarry, S.
Yorks., with ongoing
limestone extraction.
Archaeological features
are visible in the area
stripped of topsoil in
the foreground.
(Source: Roberts et al. 2007,
cover image).*

The palaeo-environmental evidence

Although still far from comprehensive, there is increasing palaeo-environmental evidence across the study region for extensive clearance during the Bronze Age, contrary to older interpretations (cf. Turner 1981a). Peat from palaeochannel deposits within the Trent Valley indicates a marked decline of woodland and a rise in grasses and sedges from 1200-1000 BC onwards, along with suggestions of cultivation and pastoralism (Brayshay and Dinnin 1999; Knight and Howard 2004b: 79; Scaife 1999; Smith and Howard 2004: 115-117). At Hatfield Moors heath and pine vegetation was present prior to peat formation, and mixed deciduous woodland at Thorne Moors. At both these locales, small-scale woodland clearance developed from the early Bronze Age, but accelerated greatly during the Iron Age (Buckland 1979; Dinnin and Whitehouse 1997; Smith 2002).

In West Yorkshire, there are also indications of a major decrease in tree cover and an associated increase in grassland and perhaps cultivation during the Bronze Age (Berg 2001: 8-9). Woodland clearance was not always a progressive trend, however – there was probably localised woodland regeneration in some places (McElearney 1991). Peat formation in the Pennine uplands began in earnest during the mid to late Bronze Age, and although tree clearance undoubtedly contributed to this, it was exacerbated by a probable climatic downturn between *c.* 1000-800 BC, and by rising sea levels and a concomitant rise in inland water tables from around 500 BC, which also affected low-lying areas of East Anglia (Bell 1996; Dark 1999; Dinnin, Ellis and Weir 1997; Evans 1999; Scaife 1992; Turner 1981a). The wetter, colder conditions were once linked to Icelandic major volcanic eruptions (Baillie 1991, 1995; C. Burgess 1985, 1989), but such arguments have been criticised as too simplistic (e.g. Buckland, Dugmore and Edwards 1997; Tipping 2002; Young and Simmonds 1995).

By the middle Iron Age, in West Yorkshire there were probably extensive areas of largely open, grasslands, with occasional evidence for ploughing and arable cropping (Long and Tipping 2001: 225; Richardson 2001a: 248). At Sutton Common in South Yorkshire, the landscape was dominated by alder carr, with some willow, hazel and

oak. During the middle and later Iron Age there were increasing areas of grass and sedges, maintained and extended by grazing (Boardman 1997: 245-247; Broadbent 1997: 49-50; Gearey 2007: 62-64; Roper and Whitehouse 1997: 244).

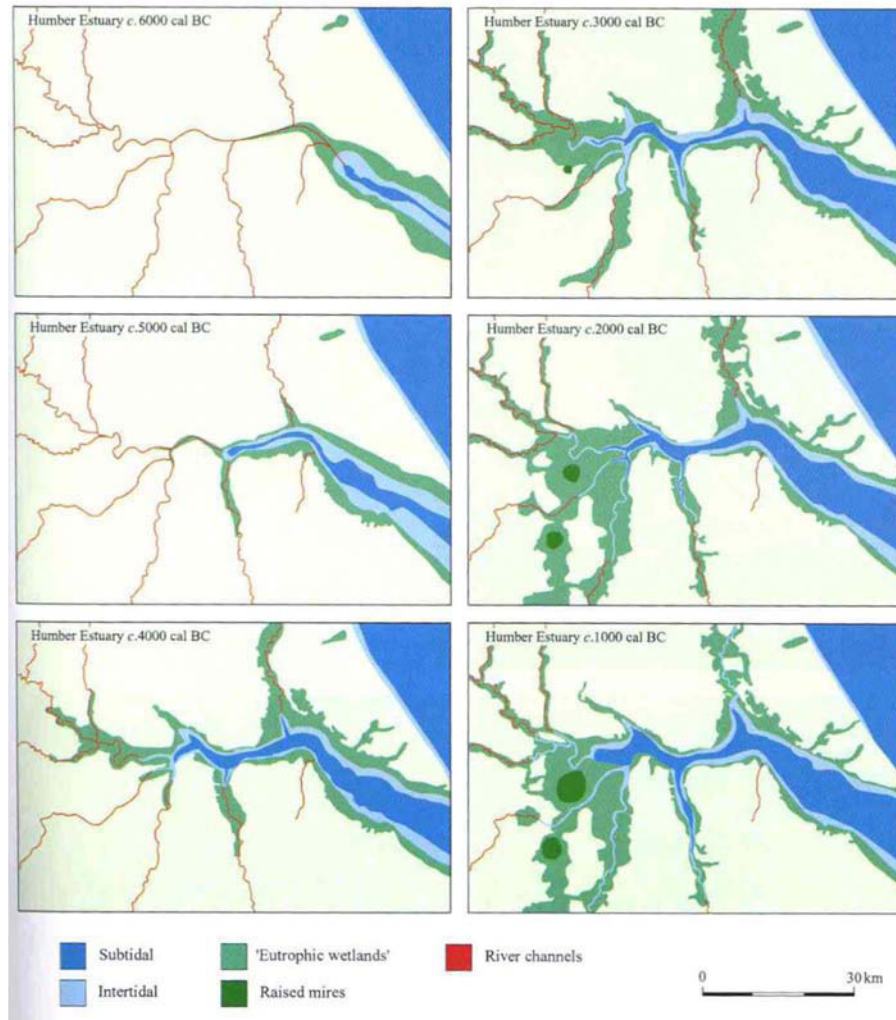


Figure 1.17. *The possible chronological development of the Humberhead Levels, showing phases of marine incursion and regression. (Source: Van de Noort 2004).*

By the late Iron Age, these essentially open landscapes had farmsteads interspersed with fields and small copses of woodland, much of the latter probably managed (Berg 2001: 8-9; Buckland 1986: 4; Garton 1987: 67; Garton et al. 1988: 29; Garton and Salisbury 1995: 40-41; Rackham and Martin 2004: 56, 73-74; Wilson 1968: 43-44; Yarwood 1981: 51-52). There is some limited evidence for plants associated with hedges that may have helped define some boundaries (Greig 2005: 13; Wilson 1968: 48). Although some wildwood might have remained on hillsides and upland areas, on the lowlands much tree cover had probably disappeared by the later Iron Age.

There were damp meadows in valley bottoms but also drier grasslands, and heather, heath and pine trees on ridges and elevated ground (Bastow and Murray 1990: 266-267; Berg 2001: 9; Bogaard 2000: 184; Giorgi 2004: 70; G. Jones 1987: 60). At Balby Carr, there were dry and damp grasslands, alder carr, hedges and water filled ditches during the later Iron Age and Romano-British periods, with cereal cultivation further afield (Greig 2005: 13; Hall et al. 2005). Balby was on the edge of the Humberhead Levels, whose rich habitats would have provided many resources. There was timber in the alder and birch carr, whilst around open water and reed swamp willow, sedges, rushes, reeds, water lily, arrowhead and water plantain served for food, thatch, hurdles, matting or basketry. Fish, wildfowl and beavers were potential food sources², although biting insects and disease could have been a problem – malaria may even have been present in some areas.

Conditions gradually became warmer and drier from around 150 BC (Lamb 1981: 62-63; Simmons 2001: 53), as increasing evidence for Roman viticulture in the midlands also suggests (Brown and Meadows 2000; Brown et al. 2001). In addition, the Romans may have attempted some large-scale engineering schemes as they did in East Anglia and on the Gwent and Somerset Levels. The canalised course of the River Don north of Thorne, the eastwards course of the River Idle, the Turnbridgedike and Bycarrsdike canals and the Fosssdyke Canal were artificial channels, and these might have been built by the Romans (Buckland 1986: 40-42; Gaunt 1975; M. Jones 2002: 95; P. Jones 1995; Knight and Howard 2004b: 122).

There is evidence for another climatic downturn in the late second to fourth centuries AD, with wetter, cooler conditions (Knight and Howard 2004b: 116; Lamb 1981: 62-63; Simmons 2001: 53). At sites along the Trent such as *Segelocum* (Littleborough-on-Trent), Ferry Lane Farm, Moor Pool Close, Rampton and Bottom Osiers, Gonalston there were major episodes of flooding, deposition of alluvial silts and the abandonment of inhabited areas in the later Roman period (Eccles, Caldwell and Mincher 1988; Elliott and Knight 1997, 1998, forthcoming; Knight and Howard 2004b: 117-120; Knight and Priest 1998; Macklin 1999; Rackham 2000: 115). Late Roman flooding has also been suggested for areas beside the Don and Idle (Buckland and Sadler 1985: Ch. 5; Dinnin and Weir 1997: 124, 147; Samuels and Buckland

1978). It is possible that loss of woodland and deeper ploughing, perhaps with increased cropping of winter wheat for tax payments (Didsbury 1992; Riley, Buckland and Wade 1995: 263), caused higher levels of surface run-off and soil loss.

Extensive sand deposits around Holme Pierrepont and Collingham may have resulted from ‘blow-outs’ caused by loss of vegetation over sandy soils (Bourn, Hunn and Symonds 2000: 99; Knight 2000; Knight and Howard 2004b: 120). Such aeolian erosion still takes place today over the Sherwood Sandstones (e.g. Riley 1980: 70, plate 16) due to modern intensive arable agriculture. The fertile but fragile loess is particularly prone to erosion (Limbrej 1978: 23-25), and it is likely that much of this was lost during this period. Peat formation also seems to have increased during the Romano-British period in some river valleys, as at Rossington Bridge in the valley of the River Torne (Dinnin and Weir 1997: 124, 152), and East Carr, Mattersey in the Trent Valley (Morris and Garton 1998a, 1998b). Coupled with higher rainfall, possible agricultural intensification or extensification and another phase of marine transgression in the lower Trent Valley and Humberhead Levels between AD 100-400 (Van de Noort and Davies 1993: 18); this may have caused soil erosion and colluvium and peat formation. The histories of later Iron Age and Romano-British field systems have to be viewed with regard to these changing environmental conditions, and in some cases may have been a response to them.

This then was the varied shape of the land. Some landscapes were open, and extended to the far horizons with only the subtle rise and fall of gentle ridges and knolls, and occasional copses of woodland to interrupt the view. In other areas there were more restricted vistas with pronounced folds of ground and ridges and hills, with denser woodland on the steepest slopes. In places journeys by foot and on horseback would have been little hindered, in others boats may have been the best or only means of travelling long distances. Standing on a grass or heath-covered hilltop or a ridge in the limestone country would have been a very different embodied experience to picking a route through the boggy tracks or paddling through the narrow waterways of a lowland wooded carr or reed swamp. The physical characteristics of these landscapes were not backdrops to the archaeology but rather the foregrounds to it, the settings for the daily dramas of animal and human life during the Iron Age and Roman periods.



*The bones of the land. **Figure 1.18. (top left).** The River Trent at Carlton-on-Trent, Notts.; looking north. **Fig. 1.19. (top right).** Low-lying land near Mattersey, Notts., looking north from Blaco Hill. **Fig. 1.20. (second row left).** New Rossington, S. Yorks., looking north-east, across gently undulating Sherwood Sandstone gravels. **Fig. 1.21. (second row right).** Low-lying land at Cantley Low Common, S. Yorks., looking east along South Ring Drain. **Fig. 1.22. (centre).** The Magnesian Limestone scarp near Barnburgh, S. Yorks., looking north-east. **Fig. 1.23. (bottom left).** Near Goldthorpe, S. Yorks., looking south-east. **Fig. 1.24. (bottom right).** Back Newton Lane, near Ledston, W. Yorks., looking south-west across the River Aire towards Castleford. (All images source: author).*

The nature of the crop and soil mark evidence

The nature of the soils and underlying geology is highly influential to cropmark formation. Cropmarks are more visible on lighter, more free-draining soils, which is why they are so clear on the Sherwood Sandstone zone. Heavier, more clayey soils such as those above the Coal Measures and east of the River Idle are not as conducive to cropmark formation (Deegan 1996: 19; Riley 1980, 1983), though local variations make generalisations misleading. Alluvium, colluvium and peat deposits may also mask archaeological features (Knight and Howard 1994: 80-81; Riley 1980: 62-63; Whimster 1989: 20-22). Natural periglacial and fluvial features can further hamper the interpretation of aerial photographs (Wilson 1987), and this is a particular problem over Magnesian Limestone areas, where frost cracks and ice wedges from cryoturbation, bedding planes and other geological patterning is often evident (Fig. 1.25), although periglacial activity may also affect Sherwood Sandstone areas too.



Figure 1.25. Cropmarks near Thorpe Salvin, South Yorkshire, showing a possible enclosure and field boundaries (the darker features to the centre and lower left of the photograph); but also the extent of geological patterning on the underlying Magnesian Limestone. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 733, SK 5400 7970).

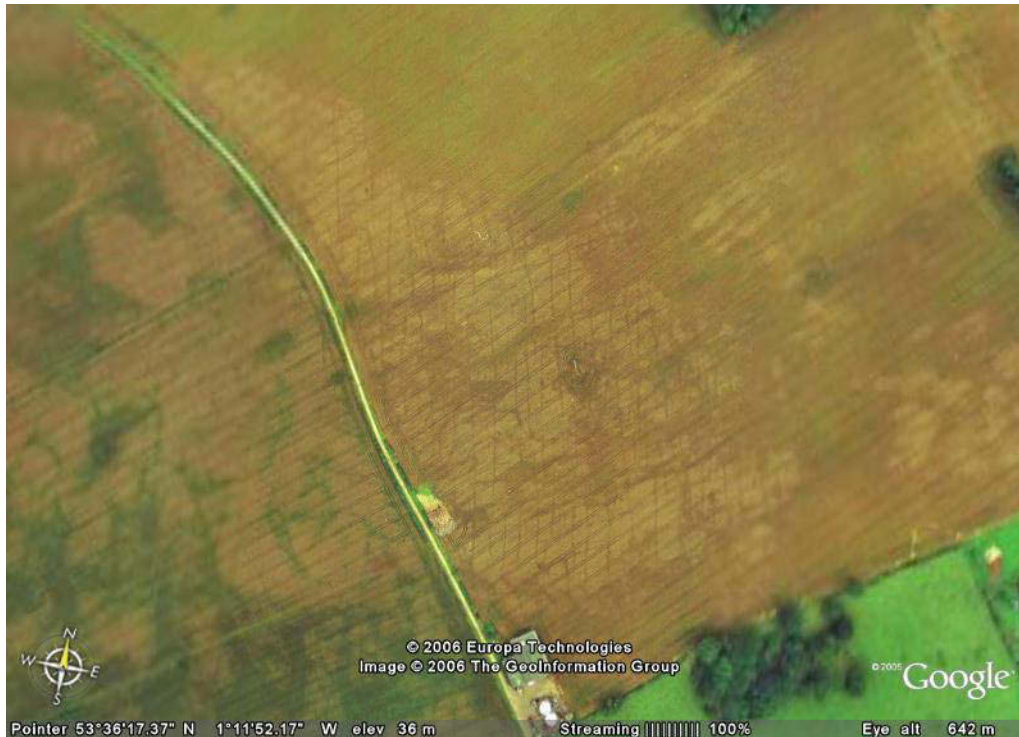


Figure 1.26. *Unusual pattering north-east of Burghwallis, South Yorkshire, probably a result of underlying periglacial features. (Source: © Google Earth).*

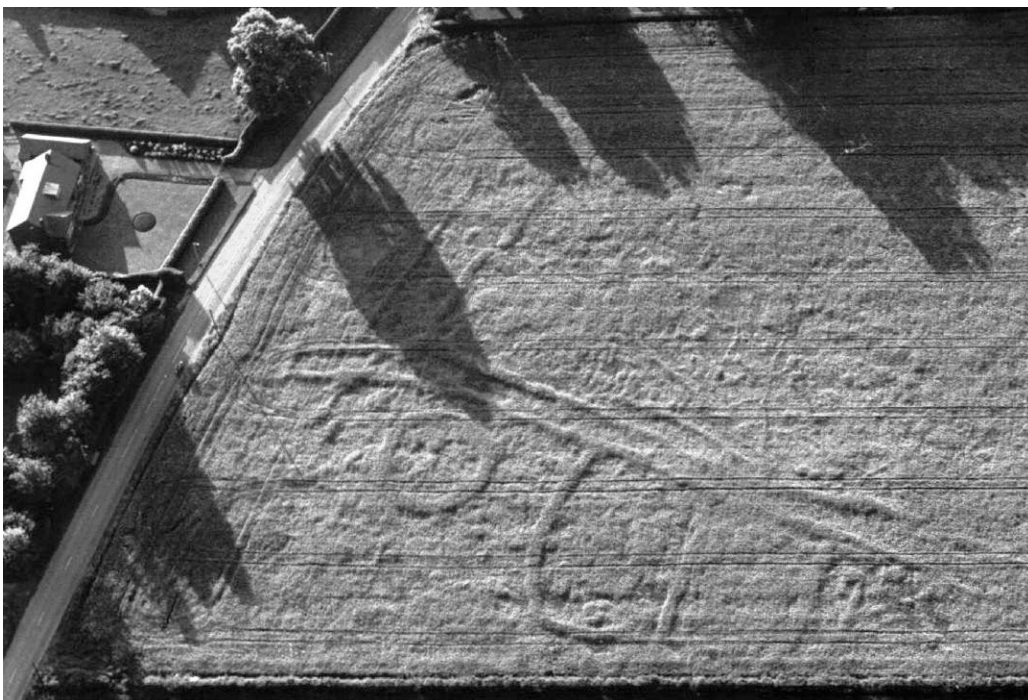


Figure 1.27. *Cropmarks near Kirk Smeaton, just inside modern North Yorks., showing positive cropmarks of an enclosure, a trackway and field boundaries; along with a possible roundhouse or ring ditch/round barrow. Such exceptional detail from cropmarks is rare. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 338, SE 5150 1650).*

Features such as ditches and pits retain more moisture than surrounding soils, and during summer plants above such features have more luxuriant growth that produces positive cropmarks (Fig. 1.27) (Cox 1984; Jones and Evans 1975: 2; Kershaw 1998). Most cereals such as barley produce good cropmarks (Kershaw 1998), but even sugar beet may still be responsive (Riley 1983: 72). Differential ripening of the crops in different fields also affects cropmark formation. Soil marks of ditches and pits are usually darker than surrounding soils, and masonry lighter in colour (Wilson 1989: 61). Buried masonry produces negative cropmarks, as plants above such features are more stressed and produce less luxuriant growth (Cox 1984; Jones and Evans 1975), though such features are rare in the study region. The few Roman villas such as Stancil or Cromwell do not reveal buried masonry (Whimster 1989: 78-79), probably due to later robbing of their stone, whilst Roman forts and fortlets at Rossington, Burghwallis and Scaftworth were mostly of timber and turf construction. More recent plough damage can also be a factor – Marr Thick existed until the early 1960s as earthworks of limestone walls and ditches (Buckland 1986). After the removal of the trees and subsequent deep ploughing, however, only the bases of ditches were apparent (Fig. 1.28). The same is true of the Scratta Wood enclosures (Fig. 1.29).



Figure 1.28. Cropmarks at Marr Thick, South Yorkshire, showing trackways and two subrectangular enclosures (in the centre and upper part of the photograph), after woodland clearance and ploughing. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 2486, SE 498 050).

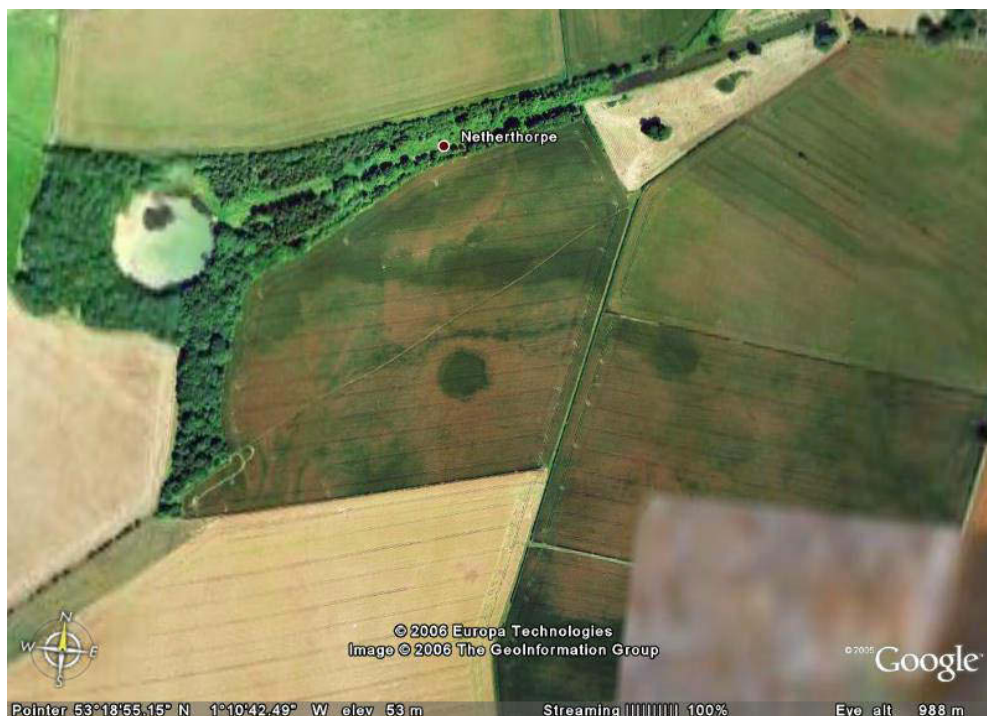


Figure 1.29. *Former Iron Age and Romano-British earthwork enclosures within Scratta Wood in Nottinghamshire, visible as dark green, subcircular cropmarks in what are now arable fields after woodland clearance (in the centre of the image). SK 5475 8020. (Source: © Google Earth).*

The history of archaeological research within the study region

Unlike Derbyshire and East Yorkshire with such notable figures as Thomas Bateman and Canon Greenwell, and despite the work of Joseph Hunter and others, there was a comparative lack of antiquarian investigation in the study region during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly with regard to prehistoric remains. Until the 1960s, most work on the Iron Age had concentrated on hillforts and other earthworks, with surveys and/or limited excavations at Barwick in Elmet (Colman 1908; Whitaker 1816), and Castle Hill, Almondbury (Armitage 1900; Armitage and Montgomery 1912); followed by Varley's excavations during 1936-1939, 1969-1970 and 1972 (Varley 1976). There were also very limited investigations of Sutton Common (Surtees 1868; Whiting 1936) and South Kirkby in 1949 (Atkinson n.d.), the latter unfortunately unpublished.

Early Romano-British studies consisted mainly of reports on isolated finds of pottery, burials and coin hoards, as with finds from Adel in the early eighteenth century (Thoresby 1702, 1715) and between 1933-1938 (Clark 1934, 1939), in Wetherby (Kent and Kitson Clark 1933) and Castleford (Johnson 1861). Early excavation work tended to be relatively small-scale and with a particular focus on forts, as at Slack (Dodd and Woodward 1920), Ilkley (Woodward 1925) and Castleshaw on Saddleworth Moor in Lancashire near the boundary with West Yorkshire (Buckley 1898; Bruton 1908; Watson 1766). Further fort excavations took place at Ilkley and Elslack in the 1960s (Hartley 1966; Thompson 1965). There were excavations of the fort at Templeborough in Sheffield in 1877 by J.D. Leader, and during 1916-1917 by May (Freemantle 1913; May 1922), and early investigations of the villa at Dalton Parlours (Procter 1855), and very poor work on the villa at Stancil (Whiting 1943). In Nottinghamshire and western Lincolnshire, there were earlier twentieth century excavations of villas at Mansfield Woodhouse, Norton Disney and Barton-in-Fabis (Oswald 1949; Oswald and Buxton 1937; Thompson 1951), and at the small Roman towns of *Ad Pontem*, *Margidunum* and *Crococolana* (Inskeep 1965; F. Oswald 1927, 1941, 1948; Todd 1969; Wachter 1964; Woolley 1910).

Unlike southern England, there was no dramatic rise in rescue archaeology during the 1950s and 1960s, with few resources made available. Doncaster, Chesterfield, Castleford and Ilkley saw limited rescue or salvage excavations ahead of development (e.g. Borne, Courtney and Dixon 1978; Buckland and Magilton 1986; Courtney 1975; Fossick and Abramson 1999: 14-17; Hartley 1966; Lane 1985; see Cumberpatch and Thorpe 2002 and Ellis 1989 for a summary of the Chesterfield investigations). Some of this work remains unpublished, and many areas in Doncaster and Chesterfield in particular were extensively redeveloped with little or no archaeological recording. Despite these centres having Roman and medieval deposits equivalent to York or Winchester, their archaeology was largely ignored at a national level, and the destruction attracted little concerted opposition, despite the valiant efforts of local researchers and museum staff. It may be that the larger middle class populations of cities such as York and Durham, and those in the affluent south of England, were able to exert more political and social pressure for rescue archaeology to take place. Regional variations in property values were also a likely factor in this.

J.K.S. St Joseph and the Cambridge University Committee for Air Photography had recorded Roman forts and fortlets in the region during the 1950s and 1960s (St Joseph 1953, 1969), but it was not until 1974 that Derrick Riley began to identify patterns of field systems (Riley 1976, 1980: 1). He flew regularly over the region until his death in 1993, although the Air Photography Unit of English Heritage (formerly the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England or RCHME) based in York still carry out regular flights (McNeil 1995). The bulk of Riley's published photographs and maps concern the Sherwood Sandstone areas of South Yorkshire and north Nottinghamshire, and the extensive, 'brickwork' field systems (Riley 1980). These have received most subsequent attention, partly due to their perceived regularity but also the pattern of developer-funded archaeological work within the region.

In the 1970s and 1980s, in advance of quarrying, new roads or housing estates there were a few poorly funded 'salvage' excavations, although as at Chainbridge Lane, whole enclosure complexes were often quarried away with only limited investigations (e.g. Eccles, Caldwell and Mincher 1988). Initial work was largely concerned with identifying and attempting to date the enclosures and field systems. A paucity of Iron Age pottery and poor sampling methodologies meant that some researchers believed the 'brickwork' field systems were planned estates established under centralised Roman control (e.g. Branigan 1989), although landscape stratigraphy suggested a late Iron Age origin for at least some of the field systems (Buckland 1986: 8-9).



*Derrick Newton
Riley 1915-1993.*

Figure 1.30.
(left). *Derrick
Riley as a young
RAF Sergeant
Pilot in 1941.*

Fig. 1.31. (right).
*Derrick and
Marjorie Riley at
home in 1986.*

*(Source: Kennedy
1989: iii, 4).*

Since 1990 and PPG16 (DoE 1990), there has been a dramatic rise in developer-funded excavations of Iron Age and Romano-British sites in the region, and have included detailed aerial photographic survey carried out by Alison Deegan (Deegan 2001b). Deegan also undertook the Lower Wharfedale mapping project, and AP analyses for developer-funded projects in South Yorkshire (e.g. Deegan 2000, 2001a, 2001c, 2004). Alison Deegan and Christine Cox also plotted Nottinghamshire cropmarks as part of English Heritage's National Mapping Programme (Deegan 1996, 1999a). Building on previous small-scale research (Chadwick 1998; Cox 1984), an ongoing project has been examining the Magnesian Limestone and some of the Sherwood Sandstone areas of West and South Yorkshire, with funding from the Aggregates Levy and English Heritage (AS WYAS 2006; Roberts et al. 2004, 2007) (Fig. 1.32). When collated and fully published, these projects will further aid archaeologists wishing to examine these Iron Age and Romano-British landscapes.

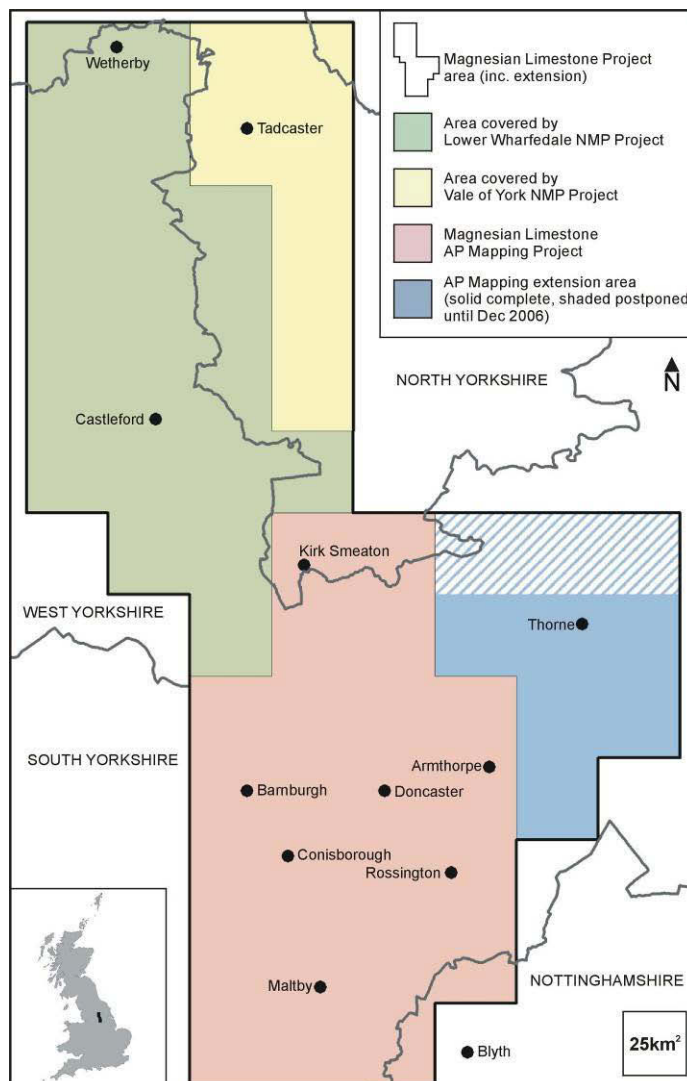


Figure 1.32. (left). *The Magnesian Limestone Project area for West and South Yorkshire, which also covers some Coal Measures and Sherwood Sandstone areas, and parts of North Yorkshire and north Nottinghamshire.* (Source: © AS WYAS/WYAAS.

Despite recent developer-funded work, the impact of Rome on the everyday life of the region is poorly understood, particularly for rural communities. Most developer-funded projects lack clear research focus, and remain as unpublished ‘grey literature’³. There has been no major synthesis of fields, settlements and societies during the study period. Broader accounts of Iron Age and Romano-British Britain (e.g. Cunliffe 1991; Dark and Dark 1997) barely mention the evidence, whilst the few previous regional studies are now very dated (Buckland 1986; Challis and Harding 1975; Faull and Moorhouse 1981; O’Brien 1979). A recent account of the Iron Age in northern Britain used some published information from the region that was nearly twenty years old (Harding 2004), but did not reference more recent investigations.



Figure 1.33. *The M1-A1 junction under construction. The M1-A1 and A1(M) road schemes have provided opportunities to examine Iron Age and Romano-British rural settlements and field systems at a landscape scale. (Source: © AS WYAS).*

The M1-A1 and A1(M) projects enabled cogent summaries of the Iron Age and Romano-British periods in West Yorkshire to be produced (Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennan 2007; Burgess 2001c; O’Neill 2001d), and the Trent Valley evidence has been excellently reviewed (Knight and Howard 2004b; Knight, Howard and Leary 2004). A very useful research framework for the East Midlands has been published

(e.g. Bishop 2001a, 2001b; Willis 2001), but the Yorkshire example was poor by comparison (Manby 2003; Ottaway 2003), and West and South Yorkshire continue to be treated (or ignored) as adjuncts to ‘northern England’ (Cumbria, C. Durham and Northumberland). These two counties are also rarely compared with the evidence from Nottinghamshire and the East Midlands, despite some similarities in the archaeological evidence. In addition, the evidence from all three counties continues to be downplayed or marginalised in the national literature (q.v. Robbins 1999).

There was thus a pressing need for an interpretative synthesis of the Iron Age and Romano-British archaeology of the region, and it was this major lacuna that this thesis aims to address. It has been produced in response to many of the questions posed by the Iron Age Research Agenda (Haselgrove et al. 2000, 2001: 24-25), the Romano-British research agenda (Taylor 2001b: 48-53), and the various regional research agendas noted above. I wish to conclude this introductory chapter with one important observation. The supposedly ‘problematic’ nature of the archaeological evidence, including a perceived paucity of material culture (see Chapter 10), can actually be beneficial. Without many of the key ‘type fossils’ of the Iron Age and Romano-British periods found in central and southern Britain (such as hillforts, villas and small towns), the region’s archaeology allows the writing of different accounts that move away from dominant, highly stereotypical views of Iron Age and Roman Britain.

Notes

1. Throughout this thesis, whenever I have used aerial photographs I have tried to provide six or eight figure grid references for them, and note the photographer. The SLAP number refers to images from the Derrick Riley collection of aerial photographs in the Sheffield Library of Aerial Photographs held at the Research School of Archaeology, University of Sheffield. These photographic prints, slides and negatives were donated by his widow Margaret after Riley’s death in 1993. Only the prints have been fully catalogued, but a few of these are missing their SLAP numbers, so in such cases I have used Riley’s own numbering scheme.
2. There is no archaeological or palaeo-environmental evidence that I am aware of for the exploitation of fish in the study region during the Iron Age or Romano-British periods, although shellfish remains have been found at some Roman sites such as Dalton Parlours. This

is similar to the evidence from Iron Age Britain at least, where there is remarkably little evidence for the consumption of either fresh or salt water fish (Dobney and Ervynck 2007). This might suggest that during the Iron Age there was some prohibition on fishing, along with the hunting (or at least the consumption) of wild animals such as deer and wild boar (see Chapter 5); although in Iron Age deposits at Haddenham in Cambridgeshire a few pike bones were found, in addition to butchered beaver and wild fowl bones, and bird eggshell fragments (Serjeantson and Sidell 2006: 227-235).

3. I have tried wherever possible in my in-text referencing of specific points or arguments to give details of page numbers for unpublished developer-funded client reports as well as published articles and books. Unfortunately, for many years AS WYAS reports were produced without page numbers, and so this has not been possible for most of their reports from *c.* 1990-2007. Some reports did have individually numbered paragraphs, however, and I have referred to these wherever possible.

Movement 1

Naming the Field

We here call this *grass*, you can pick it
 like this, it is the earth's *hair*, feel *hair*
 on your head. Pick a *strand*
 of *grass*, one of the earth's *hairs*,
 you can whistle through it like this,
 you can chew it and, spread out,
 it is a kind of *carpet*. This is what we call *rock*
 sticking through the *carpet*, the rock is not a *strand*
 but is *hard*, like my *head*, you see, if I tap it,
 but *harder* than *head*. This, flowing through the *field*,
 we call *stream*. *Field* is *carpet* between *hedges*
 and *stream* divides it. Is this place the end

of your pilgrimage or are you passing only,
 have you become astray here? *Hedge*
 is what we call this *flowing* upwards of *shrubs* and *bushes*,
 of *runners* and *nests*, of parasitic *blooms*. The *field*
 in its *flowing* to us through *time*

is named Saint Alphege's, who was beaten to death
 with ox *bones*. These, under the skin, we call *bones*,
 you see I am thin, my *bones* stick through almost
 like *rocks*. This all around us, invisible
 we call *air*, see when I *breathe* my *lungs*
 fill with *air*. I have had my place here, I wash my *bones*
 under my *skin*
 in the *stream*, so as to be *clean*
 when the *earth* claims me back. This—*splash, splash*—
 we call *marsh*. These *reeds* in the *marsh*
 are the long thin grave stones
 of those who went straight *down*
 thrilling to the call of the steep deep,
 their *bodies* long thin needles—'This won't hurt,
 this won't hurt a bit.' I cannot explain *home*,

it is not *room*, nor is it contained within *stone* walls. The *stream*

is at *home* in *field*, *rocks* are,
air is, *grass* is, *honeysuckle* is—smell it
and *I* am.

David Hart

Winner, Field Days Poetry Competition, Blue Nose Poetry/Common Ground, 1997/8.

From A. King and S. Clifford (eds.) (1998) *Field Days. An Anthology of Poetry*.
Green Books.

CHAPTER 2

Cultural Mysteries and Culture-Histories

In this chapter I critique conventional culture-history accounts of Iron Age societies and the Roman occupation of northern England. I then propose alternative approaches to understanding the communities of the region during the study period.

Models of Iron Age social structure

Conventional and populist views of later Iron Age communities imagine tribal ‘kings’ or chiefs at the head of warrior aristocracies, with craft specialists, ‘druids’ and ‘bards’ below this, and then peasant farmers and slaves owing fealty to the king and the tribal aristocracy (e.g. Airne 1950 (in Sørensen 2006); N. Chadwick 1971; Cunliffe 1984, 1991, 1995; Davies 2000; Dillon and Chadwick 2000). Cunliffe and James both illustrated their models of society, though in the latter case mostly men and only a few of the ‘ordinary farming folk’ were portrayed (Figs. 2.01-2.02).

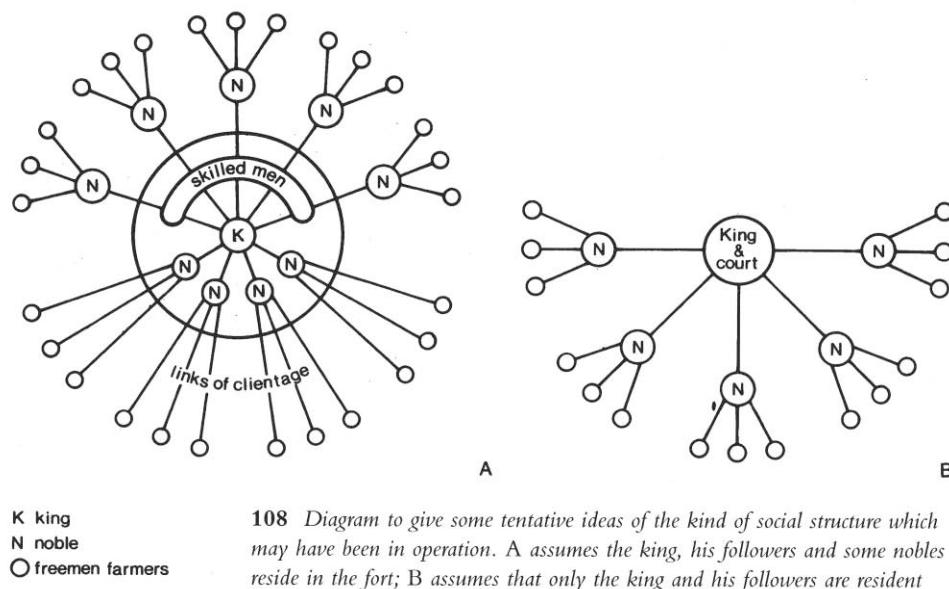


Figure 2.01. Models of Iron Age society according to Barry Cunliffe, based on his excavations at Danebury hillfort in Hampshire. (Source: Cunliffe 2003: 167).

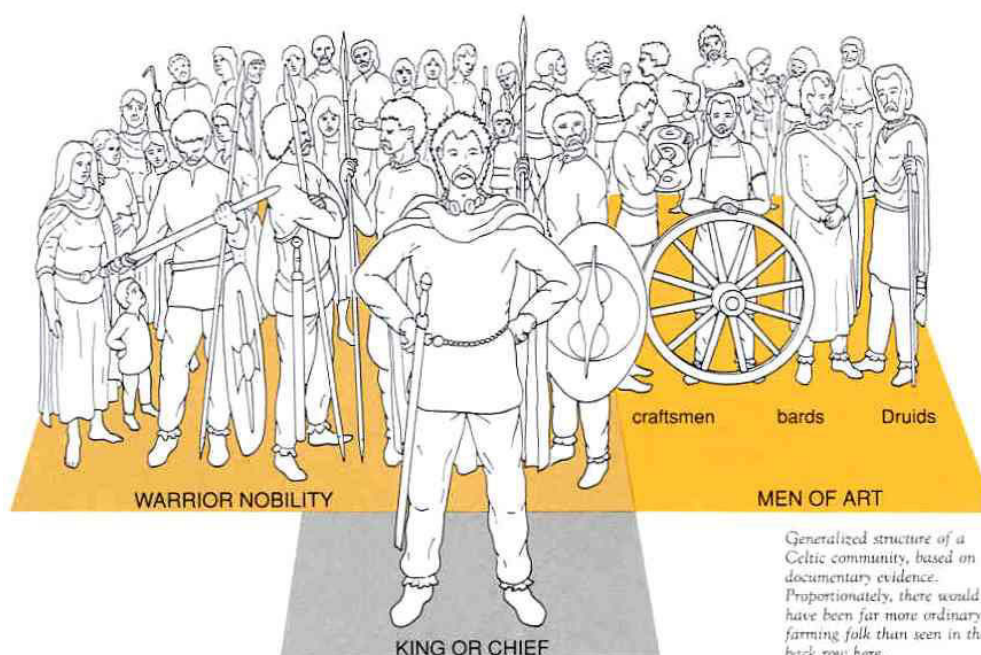


Figure 2.02. *Iron Age society according to Simon James. (Source: James 1993: 53).*

These ideas are derived partly from Classical authors such as Caesar, Livy and Dio, but also from early medieval Irish and Welsh sagas (e.g. Cunliffe 1984: 560-562). A rather ahistorical idea of ‘Celtic’ society is the result. Notions of heroic warriors, fighting and feasting are based on accounts from the seventh to eleventh centuries AD. Such approaches rely on biased or ill-informed Classical authors, and also on uncritical use of the early medieval sources, which themselves often reflected idealised views of society (Collis 1985, 1997; Dunham 1994; Haselgrove 1986; Hill 1989; Merriman 1987). Although some ethnohistorical accounts could be used in a very general way to inform discussions of the Iron Age and Romano-British period, it is quite another thing to transpose specific early medieval social structures directly back into the pre-Roman past, as Barry Cunliffe, John Davies and others have done. These ideas nevertheless remain popular and widespread, especially in modern Wales, Scotland and Ireland where many people hark back to idealised notions of pre-English identity (James 1999; S. Jones 1997; Morse 1996). These accounts also confuse the often contradictory evidence from Classical literary sources and linguistic studies with the *archaeological* evidence for Iron Age communities (Chapman 1992; Collis 1997, 2003; James 1997; Merriman 1987). Such ‘Celtism’ (Hill 1996: 96) also tends to downplay the many regional variations across Iron Age Britain and Ireland.

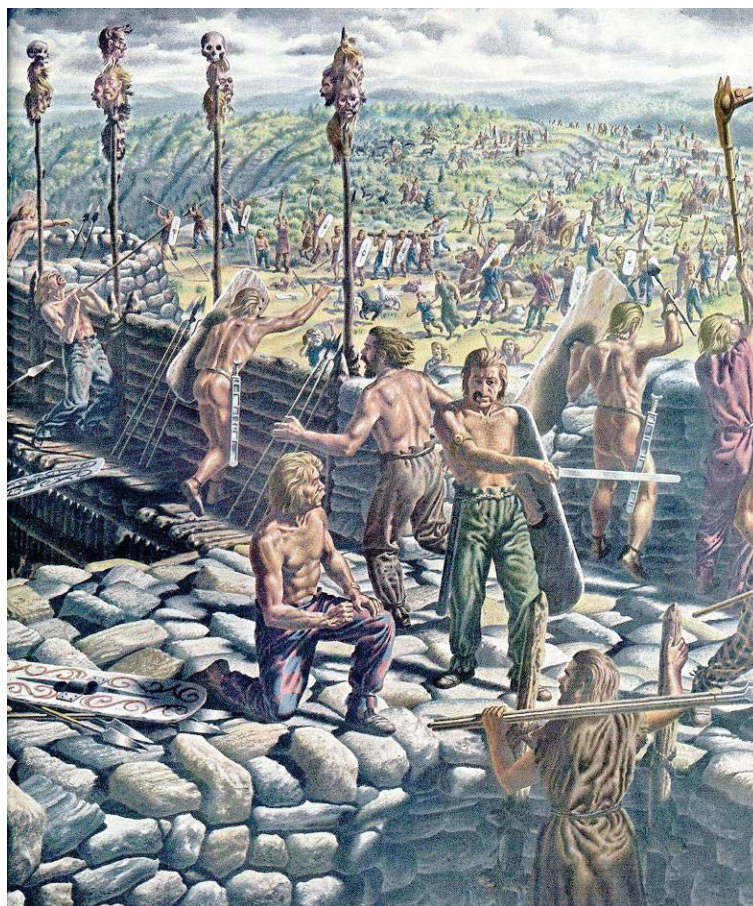


Figure 2.03. *‘Celtic’ kitsch: populist stereotypes are much in evidence in this overly dramatic recreation of Iron Age life. (Source: 1960s teaching pack, author unknown).*

J.D. Hill has criticised Cunliffe’s model of an intensely stratified Iron Age society, with powerful chiefs or kings controlling centralised agricultural and artefact production and exchange (Hill 1995b: 68, 73, 1996: 102-105; 2005). Hill suggests that households were the main basis of Wessex Iron Age communities, and it was they who owned land and controlled the means of production. Different households may have been linked by kinship and ties of obligation into larger social groups, but it is doubtful whether these were ‘tribes’ as such. Hill also disagrees with the idea that kinship was the fundamental means of ordering Iron Age society, and along with others (e.g. Gosden 1989; Sharples 1991b) has proposed that class, age, gender and skill may have been the basis for competitive, unstable social relationships. There were no permanent elites of warriors, chiefs or kings, but rank and leadership were more loosely defined, and subject to contest and rivalry. *If* this was the case for Iron Age Wessex, where there were ‘centralised’ sites such as hillforts and evidence for high status metalwork, then what of my study region, where there are far fewer

material indications of *apparent* social stratification than in south-central England? Only the development of *oppida* in the very late Iron Age in south-east England (and perhaps at Stanwick in North Yorkshire) might indicate the emergence of powerful chiefdoms with their own coinage and growing sense of ‘tribal’ identities and authority, and even with these it has been argued that *oppida* might not have been central places specific to particularly chiefly lineages (Haselgrove and Millett 1997).

In a cogent critique, Inés Sastre argued that in addition to the uncritical use of Classical sources and stereotypical tropes of ‘Celtic’ warrior societies, many European Iron Age archaeologists have been unduly influenced by very simplistic evolutionary ideas of pre-capitalist societies (Sastre 2002: 225-228), with chiefdoms are seen as another socio-economic stage between gatherer-hunter bands and early states (e.g. Fried 1967; Friedman and Rowlands 1977; Service 1962, 1975). Using concepts of peer polity interaction, prestige goods exchange and world systems theory, such processual models were used explicitly and sometimes rather uncritically to explain the emergence of inequalities and social elites in later prehistory across Europe (e.g. Brun 1995; Champion and Champion 1986; Kristiansen 1982, 1991; Parker Pearson 1984; Sherratt 1994). Sastre suggests that in Iberia at least there was a segmented society, that although not subject to pronounced class-based divisions was nevertheless characterised by social inequalities based on control of communal production (Sastre 2002: 233).

I have problems with aspects of these critiques, particularly Hill’s assertions (1996: 106-107) that kinship would not have been an important aspect of later Iron Age societies, and Sastre’s insistence that farming necessarily involves an ever-increasing intensification of production coupled with conflict-ridden social inequalities (Sastre 2002: 229-230). Nevertheless, they provide useful starting points with which to assess the archaeological evidence for social structure in the study region.

Firstly, few hillforts were constructed and inhabited during the early or middle Iron Age. Thus, even if hillforts were built primarily for defence (and see Chapter 9 for a critique of such ideas), or if they were projections of power and status, there was not

the same need to build them as in other regions. Sites such as Sutton Common could perhaps be seen as defended refuges and centralised storage areas, but it is not clear if this was organised by a social elite or by a relatively undifferentiated community. At Sutton Common, the lack of contemporary settlement and arable production in its immediate vicinity might suggest that it was not a ‘marsh fort’, but rather a communal focus and even a ritual centre for more dispersed communities (see Chapter 9). The late Bronze Age or early Iron Age palisaded enclosures at South Elmsall and Swillington Common South were not ‘domestic’ settlements (Howell 1998, 2001), but these were hardly chiefly strongholds either.

Secondly, in the region there is relatively little evidence for swords, daggers and other weaponry, in contrast to East Yorkshire where during the Iron Age there seems to have been an emphasis on the deposition of martial artefacts in the burial record, perhaps part of discourses constituting personal and gender identity (Giles 2000: 168). But these discourses seem to have been missing from the study region, and need not represent actual warfare in any case. Thirdly, although there have been a few finds of items of metalwork such as torcs and swords (see Chapters 10 and 11) that may have represented the high-status of their owners, the study region was not marked by the production, exchange and deposition of large quantities of prestige metalwork and decorated and/or wheel-thrown pottery. Coins were minted at more distant centres such as Old Sleaford (Elsdon 1997), but few seem to have circulated in northern Nottinghamshire, and fewer still north-west of the River Don (see below).



Figure 2.04. *Corieltavian coin found near Brough-on-Noe, Nottinghamshire.* (Source: World Wide Web <http://web.arch.ox.ac.uk/coins>).



Fig. 2.05. (left). *A gold Corieltavian coin found near Doncaster, an extremely rare find in South Yorkshire. (Source: ©AS WYAS, courtesy of Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery).*

This again suggests a less hierarchical society, certainly one with less archaeologically visible status differences. In other regions of Britain, the production and exchange of material culture may have been part of how wider social identities and networks were created and maintained (Gosden 1989; Moore 2007). Without such an emphasis on material culture, power might have been played out in other more intangible ways. The development of agglomerated settlements at sites such as Micklefield, Castle Hills, Wattle Syke, Dalton Parlours, Moor Pool Close, Rampton and Cromwell suggests that by the late Iron Age some communities had access to greater resources and imported goods than others and accrued some economic, social and political power, but the majority of settlements were dispersed, small-scale farmsteads that would have probably been occupied by one or two extended families. The household was probably the principal organisational level of society.

All are recognised, for there are not too many...envisage the singer, the hunter, the fighter, the runner, the grower, the cook, the mother, the herder, the elder, the gatherer, the daughter, the father, the healer, the trader and the ironworker. There are 15, there are no others. They are all related, and tied by kinship...In the end, no matter how small, no matter how short-lived *there is nothing else but family* (Zubrow 2006: 313, original emphasis).

In the ethnographic and ethnohistorical record there are many possible analogies for late prehistoric social structures. In parts of West and Southern Africa for example, paramount chiefs control the distribution of surplus agricultural production through

taxes, and may accrue large retinues and considerable personal wealth and prestige (e.g. Gibbs 1965). These elites were often co-opted into colonial administrations. In the pre-colonial Hawaiian Islands chiefs controlled production through land grants to lower ranks, and they received the resulting rents in return. They maintained their positions through wars of succession and conquest, and elaborate ritual practices mediated and controlled by religious elites (Earle 1977, 1987). The minor chiefs who were their vassals controlled the allocation of land in extensive systems of fields. These societies are all characterised by very large populations with sizeable administrative, political and/or religious centres, however, and the production and exchange of artefacts with high-status characteristics. Such ‘complex chiefdoms’ (Earle 1991) do not fit with the evidence for the Iron Age of the study region.

Other work within anthropology and ethnography has taken a more critical approach to chiefdoms and chiefly power. For example, the notion that hereditary stratification is a consequence of economic complexity and increased production has been undermined (Rousseau 2001). In some societies where the household is the primary ‘economic unit’, there is often a tendency to produce only an acceptable minimum and no more, where social reproduction is more important than economic intensification (Sahlins 1972: 86). A small agricultural surplus may be produced as a safeguard against future famine or disease, but there may be no social pressure to exploit land holdings intensively. Agricultural production creates the *potential* for agricultural surpluses, storage and private property (Netting 1990: 46-47), but many so-called ‘peasant’ societies are characterised by relatively minor differences of wealth and/or status (Dobrowolski 1971; Saul and Woods 1971) – the difference between owning five milk cows as opposed to two milk cows for example.

There can be forms of unequal social relations that need not be explained by ideas of hierarchy, control and exploitation (e.g. McIntosh 1999; Saitta 1994; Stein 1998), as in segmentary societies or those with ‘heterarchies’ of inequality (e.g. Brumfiel 1995; Crumley 1995; Hill 2005; Johnson 1989; Sahlins 1961; Upham 1990). These studies do not deny that social inequalities exist, but power and status are seen as much more informal, local and historically contingent. Authority often has to be earned, and may not correlate to material expressions of wealth at all, as with the ‘big men’ of some

New Guinea communities (Feil 1987; Godelier 1986a; Pospisil 1963; Strathern 1971), for whom negotiation, oratory and persuasion are far more important than coercion. Big men may be ridiculed or even ostracised, a form of social levelling. Power is a relational and a performed attribute, subject to criticism and sanction by others who are active social agents in their own right (Clay 1992: 723-725). Authority is a two-way interaction, and leaders may be seen as serving a group of people, rather than people being in service to them. Even in hierarchical societies such as the Bedouin there are many social checks and balances to ensure the respect and compliance of others (Abu-Lughod 1986: 99-103). Leadership and seniority may have continually been assessed, and criticised where it was found wanting. Power could be contested and challenged. Other forms of authority may be derived from spiritual sources, in a manner that negates simple Western notions of secular versus sacred power.

There can be competitive clans, lineages or families, and although some may become dominant for short periods, this is rarely stable, and others may supersede them after a few years or generations. These ideas may be much more appropriate to many Iron Age societies than complex chiefdoms (Collis 1994: 32; Sastre 2002: 233). In these communities, perhaps only those who had proven themselves during fighting or as negotiators and brokers might have been allowed to lead. Others who may have achieved higher status might have included craft specialists such as metalworkers and potters. Success in one realm of practice may be taken as evidence of prowess in others (Herbert 1993: 2-3). And in any 'culture' there may actually be many different interdigitating or inconsistent interpretations and practices existing through each other to greater or lesser degrees (q.v. Archer 1988: 8-10; Hill 2005).

Though many small-scale societies have unequal distributions of resources amongst age and gender groups, with women and the elderly often receiving less food than men for example (Godelier 1986a: 15-16; Rappaport 1984: 74-76), there is also a danger of focusing on androcentric notions of power. The complex chiefdoms of the Nigerian Igbo had separate political and legal institutions for women, and senior women serving in these had considerable power and prestige (Okonjo 1976; Van Allen 1977: 169)². In Native American groups with matrilineal descent such as the Iroquois and Hopi, women were mediators and had great social authority (Schlegel

1977: 254). With the Yakö of Nigeria, the matrilineal line was considered more important in matters of religion and livestock than the patrilineal line (Forde 1968: 180-189). Even in overly patriarchal societies, ‘unofficial’ means such as collective discussion and shaming may allow women to maintain some independence and influence men’s decisions and behaviour (Moore 1986: 175-196; Wolf 1972: 37-41).

Following Classical sources and ‘Celtism’, Iron Age societies are often portrayed as exotic, romanticised and orientalised ‘Others’ (q.v. Fabian 1983; Said 1978), with their purported predilection for warfare and religious rites. Yet at the same time, many aspects of their societies such as agriculture and settlement are seen as familiar and knowable. However, these people *were* different from us (q.v. M. Knight 2002), and these differences were likely to have been manifested in aspects of everyday life that archaeologists have long considered unproblematic (Hill 1992: 60; Rowlands 1986: 746). There is much that archaeologists do not understand about Iron Age social structure – if these communities were based on matrilineal or patrilineal descent groups, if households and/or families were conjugal or cosanguinal, polygamous or polyandrous, and matrilocal or patrilocal in terms of where they resided. These factors would have great bearing on the makeup of households, and the apparent patterns that we observe in archaeological remains. As I outline in Chapter 7, it is not known how land allotment, land tenure and land inheritance were constituted.

There were undoubtedly social changes as a consequence of the Roman invasion of AD 43 and occupation of the midlands, and following the conquest of the north in AD 70-71. Any existing inequalities may have become further emphasised, especially if some households and clans were able to gain social, political and/or economic advantages through contacts with the Roman administration. New elites were established as ‘Roman’ settlers moved into the region, and new forms of material culture might have allowed identities to be expressed in novel ways. Yet for most rural people, there may have been relatively few changes following the occupation of the north, at least for the first few generations of Roman rule. The household and kinship ties probably continued to define social identity for people in these small-scale rural communities (McCarthy 1996).

A brief conventional culture-history of the region

The main ‘tribes’ thought to inhabit the region during the Iron Age were the Brigantes, the Corieltaui (now usually termed the Corieltauvi) and the Parisi. In traditional culture-history accounts, the Corieltauvi were thought to hold sway over most of Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire (Breeze 2002; May 1994; Todd 1973; Whitwell 1982), with centres at Leicester and Ancaster, Dragonby and Old Sleaford (e.g. Elsdon 1997; May 1996). The western and northern boundaries of the Corieltauvi may have been formed by the Rivers Trent, Don and Humber. North of the Humber in eastern Yorkshire were the Parisi, with their putative boundaries possibly formed by the North Yorkshire Moors and the River Ouse (Ramm 1978; Stead 1965, 1979). The area of central northern England northwards from the River Don was supposedly the realm of the Brigantes, thought to comprise a looser tribal ‘federation’ (Branigan 1984; Hartley 1980; Hartley and Fitts 1988).



Figure 2.05. Putative ‘tribal’ groupings of Britain. (Source: James 1999: 101).

These dispositions are based on the writings of Tacitus and Seneca, Ptolemy's Geography and the Antonine Itinerary of the third century AD, but we *cannot* assume that these groupings reflected peoples' contemporary understandings of their own affiliations and identities (James 1999; Jones 1997). As in many colonial contexts, this was likely to have been a simplification of much more complex situations by Roman administrators, and it is uncertain or even unlikely that many people within these areas would have thought of themselves as Corieltauvi and Brigantes. Many societies do not draw clear-cut ethnic distinctions, or only do so in times of social stress when they perceive that they are being threatened (e.g. James 1999: 73-74). Ironically perhaps, the very presence of the Romans following their first incursions in 54 and 52 BC and prior to the invasion of Britain in AD 43 may have had a galvanising effect on many previously loosely connected communities, causing them to assert or invent a common identity, both as allies of the Romans (q.v. Creighton 2006), or as opponents of them. If linear earthworks such as the Aberford Dikes and the Roman Rig were of later Iron Age date, they could have been a reaction to a perceived threat from further south (see Chapter 7).

Following the invasion of AD 43, Roman forces moved north establishing forts at Chesterfield and Lincoln, the latter probably dating to around AD 55 (Jones 2002; Jones et al. 1980: 48). Some researchers suggest the Roman fort at Chesterfield was built between AD 55-65, possibly on the site of an Iron Age farmstead or small hillfort, but then abandoned by AD 90-100 (Lane 1985). Others propose two phases of fort building in AD 55-60 and AD 80-85 (Woodall 1979), or a fort with an annex built between AD 65-80, but with a civilian *vicus* not established until the early second century AD (Ellis 1989). A more recent consideration of the evidence proposes a Roman fort and *vicus* established at Chesterfield in the early Flavian period or late first century AD, perhaps following earlier but unknown Roman occupation (Connelly and Walker 2001: 44). This fort may then have been abandoned around the mid-second century AD and the *vicus* may have contracted. The nature and extent of the occupation at Chesterfield between the later second and fourth centuries is relatively unknown, though some features and artefacts of this period have been excavated (Cumberpatch and Thorpe 2002; Taylor 2001a).

The early phase of the fort at Templeborough and the vexillation fortresses at Broxtowe, Rossington Bridge, Osmanthorpe and Newton-on-Trent may also have been established in the mid-first century (Bishop 1999: 307; Bishop and Freeman 1993; Buckland 1986; Hanson and Campbell 1986: 81-82; May 1922: 5-6; St. Joseph 1969; Webster 1981: 307), that at Rossington probably supporting up to 2500 legionaries. There is debate over whether they were winter camps (*hiberna*) or summer campaign bases (*aestiva*) (Bishop and Freeman 1993: 173), but this distinction may not have been rigidly followed by the Roman military in any case. They provided a flexible line of defence, allowing Roman units to campaign north of them if required.

This frontier may thus have existed along a roughly south-west to north-east line formed by the line of the Rivers Severn, Trent, Humber and Don. To the north of this line, the client state of the Brigantes ruled by queen Cartimandua was traditionally thought to have protected this early frontier (Buckland 1986; Hanson and Campbell 1986; Hartley 1980). Cartimandua may have been part of a dynastic union with her husband Venutius, uniting previously disparate groups. Troops may have suppressed unrest there in AD 48 (Creighton 2006: 34; cf. Tacitus *Annals* 12: 31), and may have been sent to support Cartimandua around AD 57 when she separated from her husband Venutius and some form of civil conflict ensued. Roman troops may have intervened again on a later occasion in AD 68-69 after Venutius led an uprising against her rule, although Tacitus may have been conflating two separate incidents (Braund 1984; Hanson and Campbell 1986: 78). Cartimandua herself was supposedly rescued in this putative mission, but her subsequent fate is unknown.

Few small towns and villas were ultimately established to the north and west of the Trent and Don, and the settlements that were founded were more often initially linked to military establishments, as at Brough-on-Noe, Castleford, York and Doncaster. This sense of a persistent cultural boundary is supported by first century AD ceramic distributions too (Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 145-146). Although in the later Romano-British period these distributions become more complex, they may nevertheless still reflect some underlying pre-Roman social structures.

Towards new post-colonial histories

The presence of Roman forces on the frontier for around twenty years before the invasion of the north would have had profound effects on native societies with complex two-way social relationships as a result, some perhaps broadly analogous to those on the seventeenth and eighteenth century colonial frontiers in North America and Siberia (e.g. Rubertone 1989; Russell 2001). There may have been Roman demands for tribute from client leaders, which might have caused social frictions within native communities. Younger people may have seen co-operation with Romans as offering possibilities for advancement outside the traditional status of elders, or alternatively might have called for war when elders counselled caution. Roman patrols or raids across the frontier would have stoked tensions and insecurities, and occasional retaliation. In addition, there would have been Roman expeditions to spy and make maps, as well as diplomatic missions to particular areas or individuals identified as ‘leaders’, to curry favour or set faction against faction. At the same time, native groups would have been endeavouring to manipulate Roman understandings of their communities in order to further their own interests.

There may have been official gifts and trade in both directions, and some ‘Roman’ traders may have ventured northwards along rivers and valleys. In all these cases, there would have been indigenous guides and scouts working for the Romans. There would also have been sexual relationships between Roman troops and locals, both officially tolerated as with ‘camp followers’; and illicit, where serving men married local women. In colonial encounters, women of indigenous societies often became the object of sexualised male fantasies (q.v. Young 1995), and there were probably many incidences of rape and abuse. There might have been some long-lived and loving relationships as well, however. Some Romans may have adopted local dress, conventions and gods over time, as with some British and French in India and Indochina during the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries (Dalrymple 2002). Many ‘Romans’, especially auxiliaries, would have been from Gaul, Germany and southern Britain, and they would therefore have been engaged in complex cultural dialectics with their own Roman commanders, and with local people.

Internal disagreements between different pro and anti-Roman factions may have been exacerbated by the purported incident whereby Cartimandua took the anti-Roman rebel Caratacus prisoner and handed him over to the Romans (Hanson and Campbell 1986: 73; Hartley and Fitts 1988: 15). From around AD 54, disaffected elements within the Brigantian tribal federation allegedly clashed with Rome, and this may correlate with the establishment of the fortresses at Templeborough and Rossington around this time (Birley 1973; Buckland 1986; May 1922). A supposed Brigantian leadership dispute between Venutius and Cartimandua from AD 69 may have prompted the final Roman invasion of the north in AD 71, although as in many colonial situations it is possible that a relatively minor incident was used as a convenient excuse for what was already a planned long-term strategy.

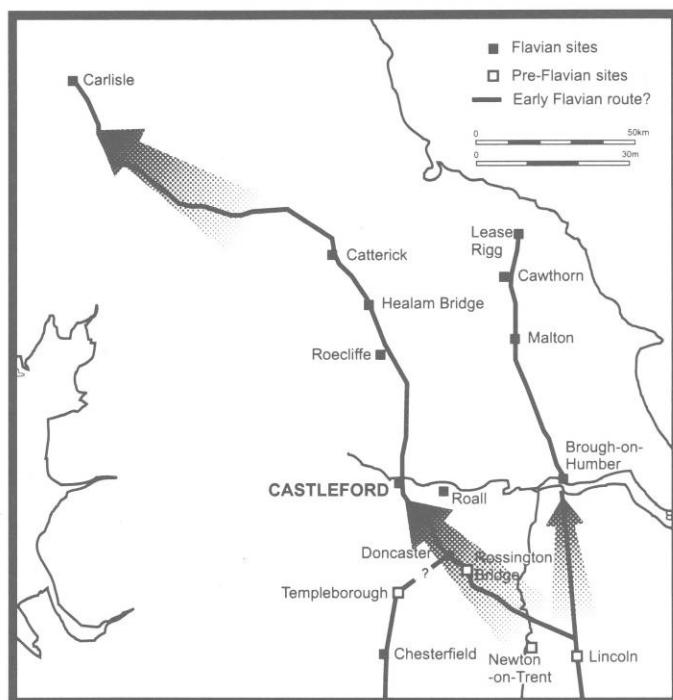


Figure 2.06. (left). *The possible route(s) of the Roman advance into the north of England, AD 71. (Source: Bishop 1999: 308-309, fig. 136).*

According to the *Histories* of Tacitus, the key instigator of the invasion was Quintus Petulius Cerialis, once commander of the Legion IX *Hispana* in the Boudiccan revolt of AD 60-61, who returned to Britain as governor with the new Legion II *Adiutrix* (Birley 1973, 1981: 66-69; Bishop 1999: 307). During the initial military campaign, Roman forces probably advanced along one or both of the lines of the later Roman roads from Lincoln to Brough-on-Humber (Ermine Street), and northwards to Malton and Newton Kyme; and/or between Rossington Bridge to Castleford and Roeccliffe

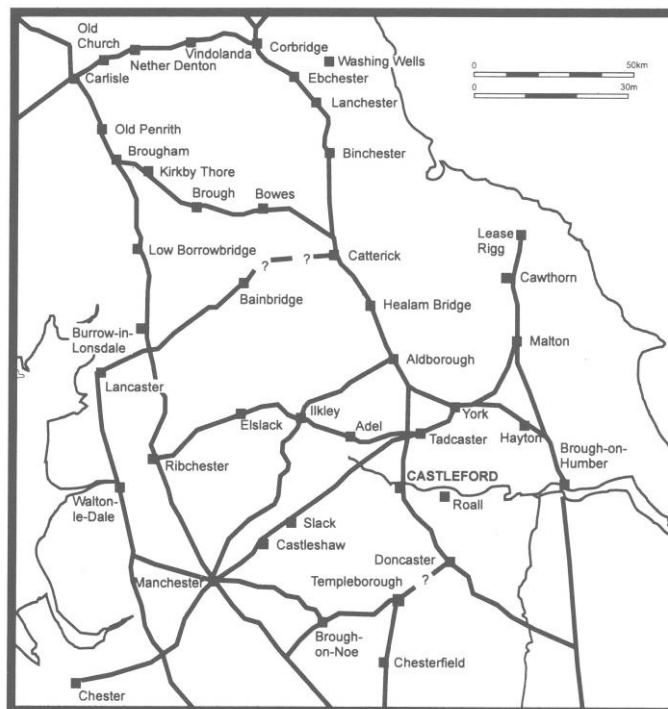
(Fig. 2.06). The winter of AD 71-72 may have seen the consolidation of river crossings, with forts built at Brough-on-Noe, Burghwallis, Doncaster, York, Adel, Slack, Elslack, Tadcaster and Ilkley (Buckland 1986: 18; Dearne 1993; Faull 1981: 150), many of these small stations to safeguard roads (see below). The first phase fort at Castleford was also probably established between AD 71-73/4 (Cool and Philo 1998: 3), perhaps with a *vicus* founded shortly afterwards. This fort may have been abandoned, but a second one established in the late 80s, although this too was disused by around AD 95. The *vicus* continued in use, albeit with a likely major phase of rebuilding in stone around AD 140-180.



Figure 2.07. *Remains of the early phase turf rampart of the fort at Castleford, West Yorkshire. (Source: © AS WYAS).*

In subsequent campaigning, a fort was established in Carlisle in AD 72 (Daniels 1989: 25); and at Aldborough by the mid-80s (Bishop 1999: 308), the latter a replacement for Roelcliffe. There may have been a small military station established at Kiveton Park around AD 80 (Radley and Plant 1969a). Cerialis was succeeded by Julius Frontinus, who concentrated more on subduing Wales, but he was in turn succeeded by Julius Agricola in AD 78, who took the army north into Scotland until *c.* AD 84-86. During this time, Castleford, Doncaster, Brough-on-Humber, York and smaller forts acted as supply bases and as centres for the acquisition of crops and livestock.

Fig. 2.08. (right). *Military sites and roads of Flavian date. (Source: Bishop 1999: 308-309, fig. 137).*



Once again, many of these troops were drawn from further-flung regions of the Roman Empire such as North Africa and Croatia. Memorial stones from Templeborough record the Fourth Cohort of Gauls (May 1922: 127), whilst roof tiles found at Slack were marked with the stamp of the Fourth Cohort Breucorum (Dodd and Woodward 1920: 86); the Breuci a tribe recorded as living in what is now modern Croatia. These non-Italian men would have had their own dynamics with their commanders, other military units, and with local people. It is also likely that some Roman soldiers, particularly those of more senior rank, might have brought their own families, servants and slaves to live with them, as happened elsewhere in the Empire (Hoffmann 1995: 110; James 2002: 42-43; Van Driel-Murray 1995: 9-10).

The impact of these northern campaigns on indigenous peoples was barely recorded by writers such as Tacitus, nor has it been much discussed by Roman military historians, but it is worth exploring these ‘subaltern discourses’ (q.v. Spivak 1988). Even for people with first or second-hand knowledge of the Roman army, the march of legions through their land may have had profoundly traumatic social and psychological impacts. Armed resistance would have been crushed, but even where this did not occur it is likely that livestock would have been confiscated and stored or

standing crops stolen. To date, however, there is no archaeological evidence for the wholesale destruction of settlements and houses. Turf would have been stripped from pastures to help build ramparts. Many woods and copses would have been cut down to provide the prodigious quantities of timber required for fuel and to construct forts and bridges (Hanson 1978; Reece 1997: 18-19), violating local rights of tenure and depriving local communities of such resources for many years.

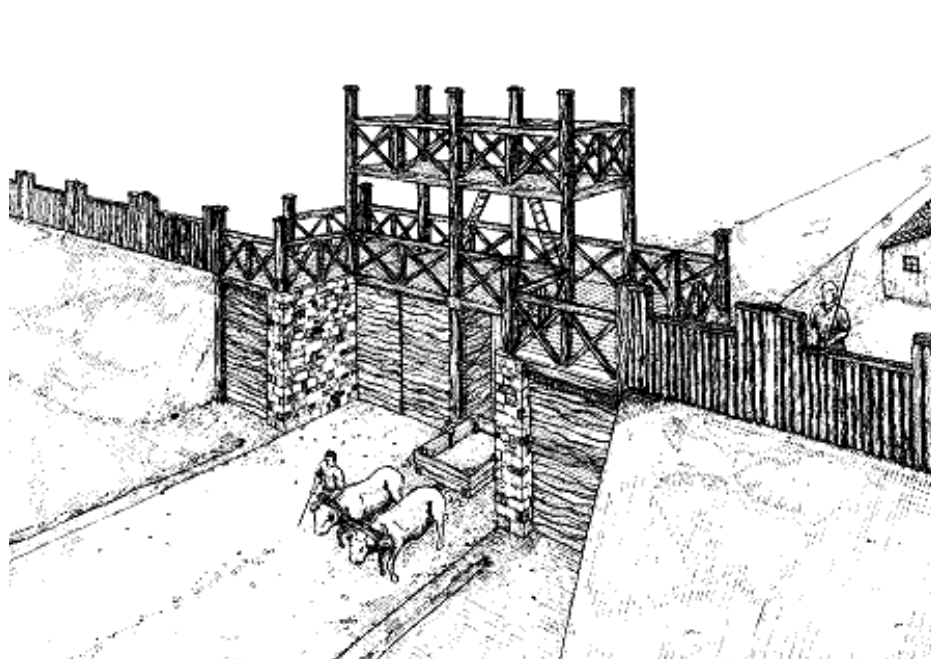


Figure 2.09. *Reconstruction of Castleford's early timber fort gate. (Source: © WYAAS).*

Confusion, rejection and fear might have characterised many initial native responses to the Roman invasion of the north (q.v. González-Ruibal 2003: 30), but the occupation would have also brought the potential to construct or renegotiate new identities. These would have been far more complex than the generic entities such as 'villa owners' and 'farmers' that normally feature in discussions of Romano-British people (McCarthy 2006: 202-203). Although for some people large extended families and kinship may have remained essential organisational frameworks of these communities, many stresses may have been created by the Roman occupation that cross-cut existing kinship ties and social obligations. For some people, smaller social networks centred on individual households might have become more important over time. For others, traditional kinship links and allegiances remained.

Infrastructure, road schemes and road protestors?

Settlements or *vici* grew up around many forts or astride roads. Doncaster was a substantial town by the second century AD (Buckland and Magilton 1986), and Aldborough became a *civitas capital*. Smaller settlements grew at Tadcaster, Wetherby, Leeds and Adel (Faull 1981: 143-146; Jefferson and Roberts 2006). Nevertheless, compared to south-central England there was remarkably little urbanisation. Possible fortlets were established at Scaftworth near Bawtry and at Sandtoft (Bartlett and Riley 1958; Dearne 1997; Samuels and Buckland 1978: 65), to guard river crossings. Scaftworth has been considered ambiguous as a military site (Van de Noort et al. 1997: 427), but another possible fort has been recently identified there, and at Kirk Sandall beside the River Don and by the River Went at Thorpe Audlin (Deegan 2007). Another possible fortlet may have been at Roall 10km east of Castleford (Fig. 2.08) (Bewley and MacLeod 1993). Many forts were bases for the internal policing of imperial interests, which some scholars now regard as one of the fundamental purposes of the Roman military (e.g. James 2002: 37-38).

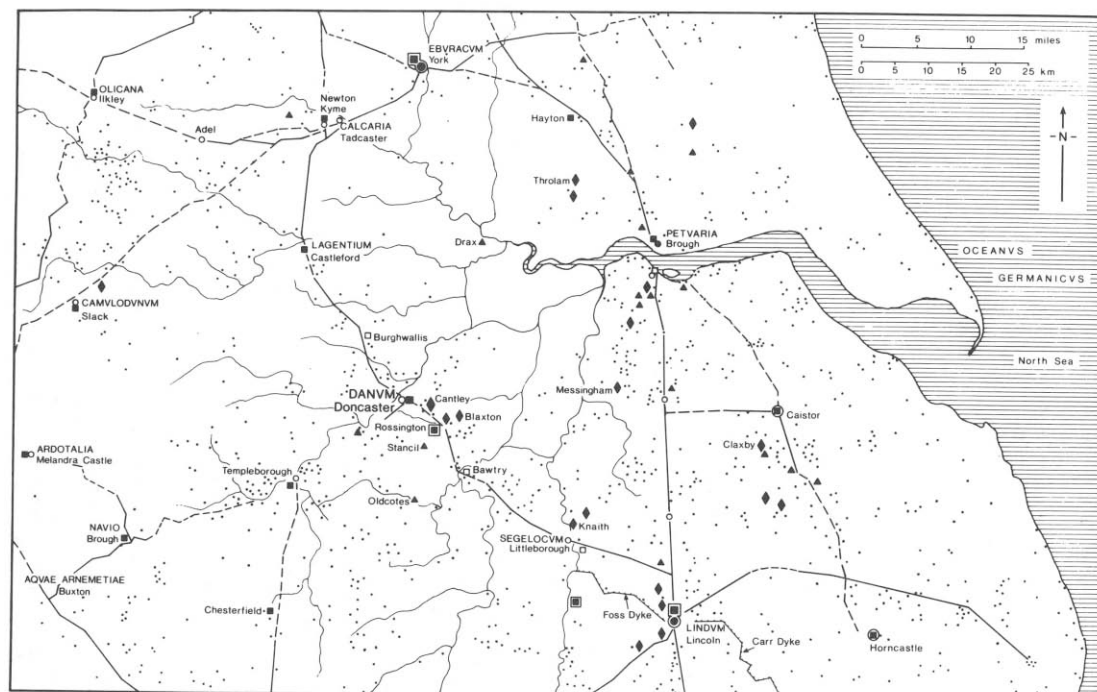


Figure 2.10. Major Romano-British sites and roads within the study region, showing forts, towns, villas, potteries and major roads. Minor routes not shown – compare with Fig. 2.06. (Source: Buckland 1986: 7, fig. 5).

The four main roads that the Romans established in the region were Ermine Street, the Fosse Way, the Great North Road and Rykniel Street. The Great North Road was one of two major routes north from Lincoln (Margary 1973; Ordnance Survey 1994), and *Segelocum* or Littleborough-on-Trent was established where it crossed the River Trent (Riley, Buckland and Wade 1995). It entered modern South Yorkshire near Bawtry after crossing the marshy River Idle floodplain in the form of a timber and turf ‘corduroy’ raft (Dearne 1997; Kennedy 1984; Van de Noort et al. 1997), and ran north-west past the fortress at Rossington Bridge to Doncaster (Buckland and Magilton 1986). It then headed north past Adwick-le-Street where part of this road was recently investigated at Redhouse Farm (Meadows and Chapman 2004; Upson-Smith 2002); and passed the forts at Burghwallis. The earliest of these forts probably pre-dated the road (if only by a few months), as here the road kinked slightly to respect it, before it then ran north-west to Castleford, Tadcaster and York (Abramson, Berg and Fossick 1999; Margary 1973, road 28a). Now the A656, this Roman road was investigated during the M1-A1 project (O’Neill 2001a: 114), but also earlier during the 1960s (Thackray 1967). The Great North Road ran parallel to Ermine Street to the east (from Lincoln to Brough-on-Humber and Malton). Just before Tadcaster it forked, the one road leading to Tadcaster and York, the other (Rudgate) going past Newton Kyme (Monaghan 1991: 53) to Aldborough.

Another important route ran from Tadcaster across the Pennines to Manchester, protected by forts and fortlets at Adel, Slack and Castleshaw (Margary 1973, road 712). Interestingly, recent work west of the Roman fort at Adel has found that a section of the Ilkley-Tadcaster road was rafted on timbers with a ¹⁴C date of 180 BC – AD 30 (Jefferson and Roberts 2006). This might suggest the re-use of timbers from a native structure, or perhaps even the utilisation of an earlier, pre-conquest trackway. The route over the Pennines across Saddleworth Moor has seen considerable investigation in the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth century, but also more recent effective fieldwork by a local archaeological society which has traced the line of the road between Slack and Castleshaw across rugged terrain (Booth 2001; Lunn, Crosland, Spence and Clay 2008).



Figure 2.11. Investigation of the Roman road at Roman Ridge, West Yorkshire, showing the road (now the north-south line of the A658) cutting across pre-existing boundaries and enclosures. Excavated features in black, geophysical survey results in green, and cropmarks in red. (Source: Deegan 2001b: 33, fig. 17).

The Fosse Way linked Leicester to Lincoln, and it crossed the River Trent at *Ad Pontem*, near modern Thorpe (Wacher 1964). The small towns of *Crococolana* and *Margidunum* were both established astride it (Knight, Howard and Leary 2004; Todd 1969; Whimster 1989: 76, fig. 55), and a subsidiary route probably led from Thorpe to the fort at Osmanthorpe (Challis et al. 2002). The settlement at Redhill near Ratcliffe-on-Soar was established on or near the crossing point of the Rivers Soar and Trent by the road linking the fort and *vicus* at Little Chester, Derby with the fort at *Vernemetum* or Willoughby (Elsdon 1982: 14; Palfreyman and Ebbins 2003: 17-18). Ryknield Street ran north from Little Chester and Chesterfield to Templeborough (Ordnance Survey 1994), and probably entered South Yorkshire near Harthill, turning west after climbing the hill at Kiveton Park (Greene 1957a; Radley and Plant 1969a: 161). A linear cropmark visible at SK 455 880 near Aughton (SYAS SMR records) may reveal part of this road.

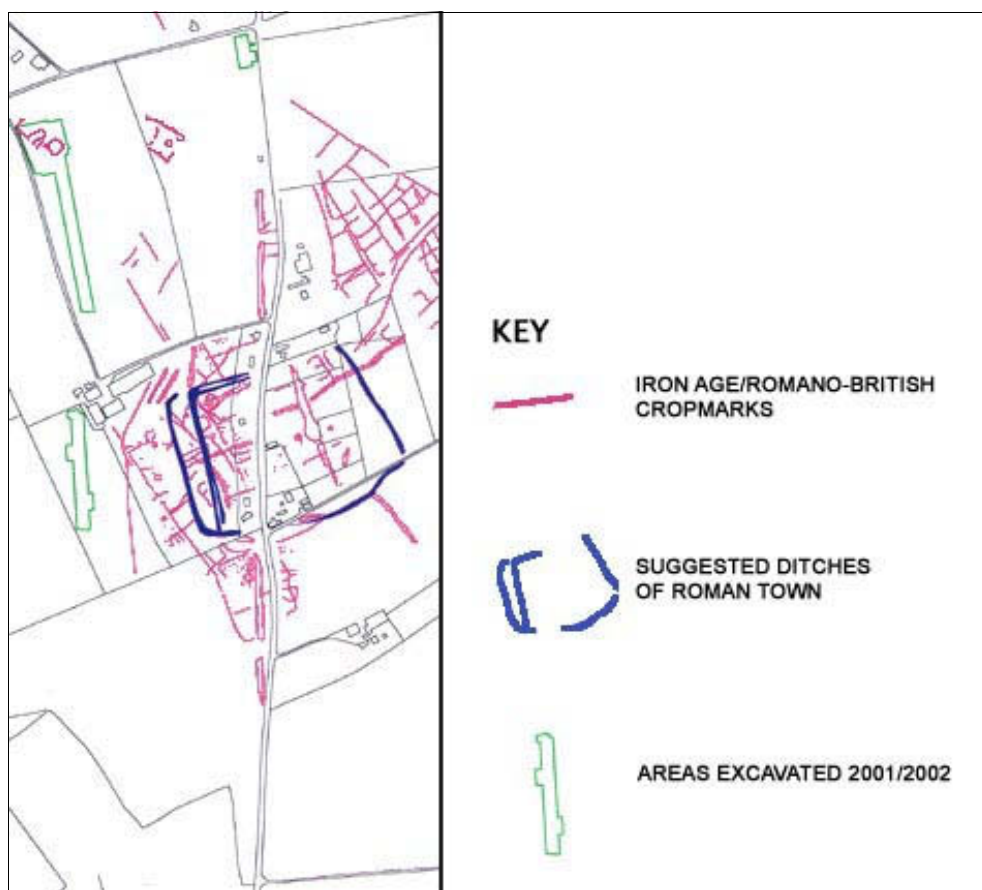


Figure 2.12. *The small town of Crococolana, Brough-on-Fosse, Notts.; showing the Roman town ditches superimposed across earlier Iron Age and Romano-British cropmarks, but also revealing later boundaries orientated to the town and to the north-south course of the Fosse Way itself. (Source: © Trent and Peak Archaeology).*

From Templeborough, a road ran westwards through Hallam Head and Lodge Moor in Sheffield to the fort at Brough-on-Noe in Derbyshire (Greene 1957b; Preston 1969). A cropmark at SE 468 031 near Barnburgh might have been part of a road connecting Templebrough to Doncaster, and there were undoubtedly many minor routes (Greene and Wakelin 1950; Margary 1973).

Roman roads and forts were powerful symbols of Roman imperialist intent (Wilcher 1997). These were ‘technologies of power’ (Forcey 1997). At Burghwallis and Rossington Bridge, the Roman forts and the road were superimposed across earlier field systems and enclosures (Buckland 1986: 8; Riley 1980: 94-95). At Roman Ridge, the road to Newton Kyme or Tadcaster also cut across fields and enclosures (O’Neill 2001b: 110-115, fig. 86, plate 14), and the road between Thorpe and Osmanthorpe truncated an earthwork enclosure at Camp Hill (Challis et al. 2002: 42-
Adrian M. Chadwick

43). This was a demonstration of imperial might, but also suggests that control over traditional patterns of movement was a concern of the occupiers. Familiar routines around fields and farmsteads for people and animals were disrupted, and trackways and paths blocked off, completely ignoring local tenure and tradition. This also imposed directly upon people's bodies. Although army units built some of the first roads, it is likely that forced labour was later used to construct and maintain them (Given 2004: 54; Mitchell 1993: 126-127). This would have been deeply resented, as it would not only have taken people away from their fields, but would also have quite literally severed existing social networks of tenure, obligation and debt.

For people unfortunate enough to live alongside roads, their oxen, horses and other livestock, wagons and food could all be requisitioned to Roman army units and provincial officials (Given 2004: 56-57). At regular intervals there were often small garrisons or *stationes*, but there is documentary evidence for corruption and abuses, with troops and rural gendarmes or *stationarii* extracting unofficial taxes and tolls from travellers (Lintott 1993: 125-126). In many parts of the Empire this evolved into a system of sanctioned military patronage by the later third and fourth centuries AD, where soldiers offered their protection to local inhabitants, but only at a price.

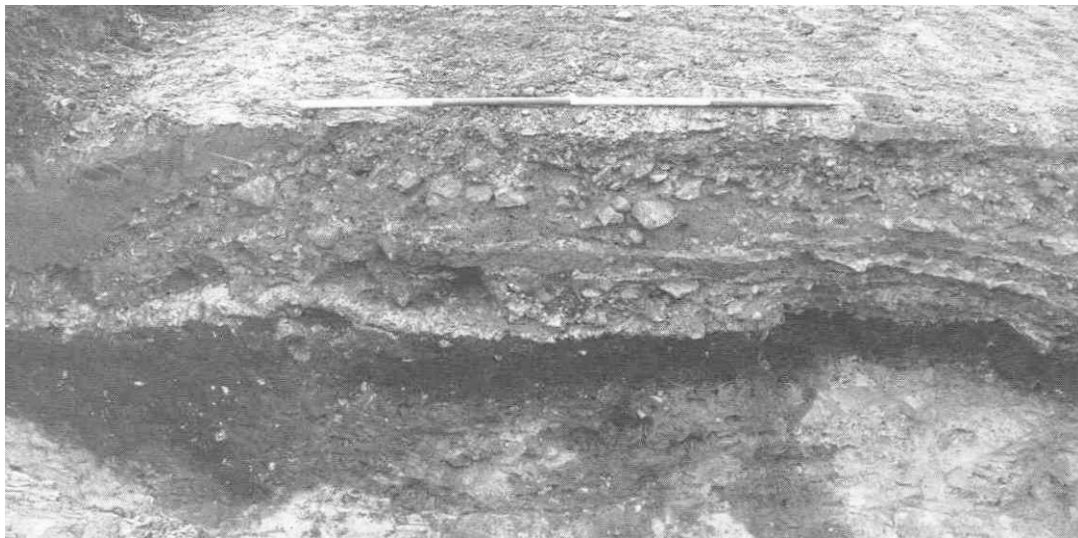


Figure 2.13. *Section through the agger of the Roman road excavated at Roman Ridge, also showing roadside sand deposits at the left of the photograph. The dark deposit was a buried soil. (Source: O'Neill 2001b: 113, plate 14).*

In the early decades following the invasion of the north, it might have been mainly military units, officials and traders using Roman roads (Petts 1998: 88). Michael Given notes how in many colonial situations, roads built by the occupiers have often been deliberately ignored by native peoples (Given 2004: 55). Many people in the study region probably continued to use existing trackways and paths wherever possible. Sometimes this avoidance was simply out of practicality – metalled roads would have been too hard for unshod cattle or horse hooves on longer journeys (see Appendix C). Many people leading pack animals or driving livestock would have travelled beside Roman roads rather than along them (Mitchell 1993: 134). A rural Roman road excavated near Paris had sandy tracks on each side of the metalled surface that seem to have been deliberately created for this purpose (Chevalier 1976: 93). The road section excavated at Roman Ridge had what were interpreted as wind-blown sand deposits on either side of the *agger* (O’Neill 2001a: 115, see Fig. 2.13), and similar layers interpreted as post-abandonment deposits were also noted at Redhouse Farm (Meadows and Chapman 2004: 13-14). It is possible that in both cases these were deliberate dumps, however. Even if they were natural and aeolian in origin, they might have been tolerated and not removed because they facilitated the movements of unshod traffic.

It is also likely though that over time, many people would have taken advantage of the presence of Roman roads to expand their contacts and trade. South Yorkshire potters such as Sarrius were able to send their pottery up to the frontier because of their close proximity to these routes (see Chapter 10); whilst some local livestock breeders might have been transformed into cattle or sheep barons precisely because they were able to find new markets for increased numbers of animals. Some traditional paths and tracks may thus have gradually fallen out of use, and people would have been renegotiating their relationship to the landscape during the occupation. Unlike the clear palimpsest at Rossington and Burghwallis, at Spittalmoor Forest Farm the relationship between the Roman road and ‘brickwork’ field boundaries is more ambiguous, and at this locale many boundaries were orientated *to* the road (Deegan 1998b; Riley 1980: 94-95). Here, the Roman road superseded native routes.

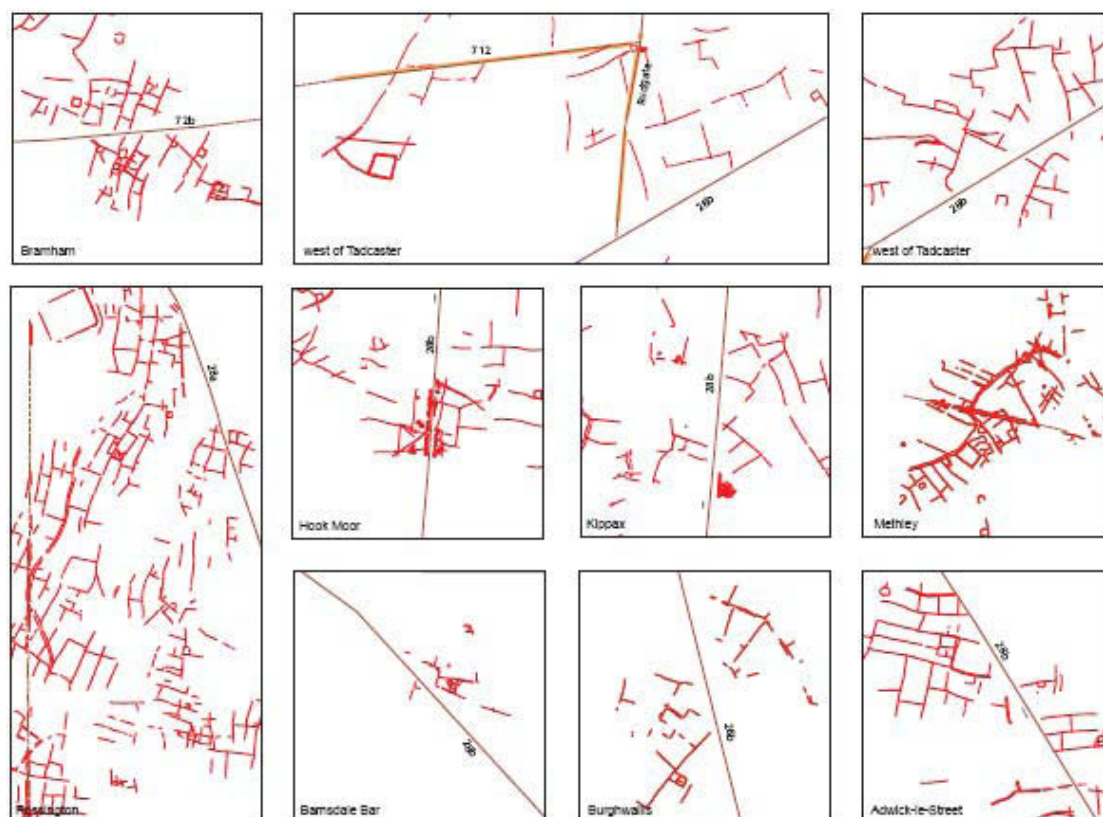


Figure 2.14. *Some of the relationships between Roman roads and field systems in the study region, with their Margary (1973) numbers added. At Bramham, Tadcaster, Hook Moor (Roman Ridge), Kippax, Barnsdale Bar, Burghwallis, Adwick-le-Street and Rossington they clearly cut across fields and enclosures. The Methley example is slightly more ambiguous, and its date is also less secure. In addition to the sinuous road or trackway cutting across some fields at Rossington which was identified by Derrick Riley, Alison Deegan has recently plotted a straight road cutting across fields and enclosures that runs northwards to the fortress at Rossington Bridge. (Source: Roberts, Deegan and Berg 2007: fig. 8.4).*

For other people, the roads brought officials including tax inspectors into their midst, and allowed the removal of some of the products of their hard labour for the army and the Empire. The imperial administrators needed to deal with large quantities of tax in kind – grain and livestock – and this required considerable control over the movement of animals and produce as well as authority over its collection (Given 2004: 38-40). Many individuals and communities must have felt seriously aggrieved by the tax collectors, with illiterate people particularly alienated from the imperial bureaucracy. Some people in rural communities could read and write, however – two metal styli were recovered from an enclosure excavated at Holme Hall Quarry, Stainton (Bevan 2006: 31; O’Neill 2007). This was rather a ‘Romanised’ settlement by the third century AD, with a pottery assemblage that included fine tablewares. For many

people the ability to read and write was probably crucial to their social and economic success in Roman Britain.

In many colonial situations where there is taxation, people often try and circumvent and subvert the state through illicit means by smuggling goods, stealing livestock belonging to the authorities, hiding their own grain and livestock, or even carrying out secret cultivation (Given 2004). Some Romano-British pits might have been dug furtively to keep surplus grain out of the reaches of tax inspectors, whilst the rafters of many buildings may also have concealed such evidence. Sometimes it could have been a challenge or even a game to outfox the administrators and hold back produce, at others it might have been dire necessity.

These actions may on occasion have reflected deliberate acts of cultural resistance (q.v. Hingley 1997a: 88; Scott 1985), but this might also have reflected the more general suspicions often felt by rural dwellers towards urban-based bureaucracies. Such secretive acts or hidden transcripts (Given 2004: 161; J.C. Scott 1990) may have been a source of independence and pride, and the basis for many songs and stories within rural communities. Relatively undisturbed areas such as the overgrown corners of fields, tumbled-down outbuildings, small wooded copses, carr and reed swamp and other marginal or out of the way places would have been knowledge known only to local people, part of their local landscapes, memories and identities. Archaeologists must recognise that places which might seem out of the way and marginal may nevertheless have been important to past people.

Conclusions

This synthesis has highlighted the limitations of conventional culture-histories and over-arching meta-narratives, both in terms of understanding the nature of later Iron Age communities and the Roman occupation of the region. It offers a more nuanced interpretation; one that takes into account both hegemonic and subaltern experiences of coloniser and colonised, and the diverse makeup of the ‘Roman’ military and

settlers. It also considers some of the effects that the native peoples had on these ‘Romans’, in addition to the effects that the Roman conquest and occupation of northern England had on the indigenous inhabitants. There would have been changes in dress and identity, some more marked than others. I will address these changes and also develop ideas of these dialectical processes further when I discuss models of ‘Romanisation’ in Chapter 10.

Notes

1. I use the term ‘household’ as shorthand to refer to an extended co-resident family, similar to the sense in which I believe it was meant by J.D. Hill (1995b, 1996) and Mike McCarthy (2006), though whether this extended family was conjugal or cosanguinal, polygamous or polyandrous, and matrilocal or patrilocal is unknown and open to debate. Similarly, I use ‘co-resident’ to mean living within the same enclosure or settlement compound, *not* necessarily within the same building. For example, a man might have routinely inhabited one roundhouse and his wives and children another, or two sisters and their one husband might all have lived in one dwelling.
2. In some societies though, senior or elderly women may be considered as quasi-male in many ways, particularly after their menopause (see Chapter 3).

Movement 2

The Hill Field

Look there! What a wheaten
Half-loaf, halfway to bread,
A cornfield is, that is eaten
Away, and harvested:

How like a loaf, where the knife
Has cut and come again,
Jagged where the farmer's wife
Has served the farmer's men,

That steep field is, where the reaping
Has only just begun
On a wedge-shaped front, and the creeping
Steel edges glint in the sun.

See the cheese-like shape it is taking,
The sliced-off walls of the wheat
And the cheese-mite reapers making
Inroads there, in the heat?

It is Breughel or Samuel Palmer,
Some painter, coming between
My eye and the truth of a farmer,
So massively sculpts the scene.

The sickles of poets dazzle
These eyes that were filmed from birth;
And the miller comes with an easel
To grind the fruits of earth.

Donald Davie

From D. Davie (1997) *Selected Poems*. Carcanet Press.

CHAPTER 3

Landscape, Embodiment, Identity and Agency; and Human and Non-human Personhood

In this chapter, I discuss critical theoretical approaches to concepts of landscape, identity and embodiment, in order to develop a theory of relational agency that explores the interconnections between people, places, plants, animals and things. This undermines traditional functional and economic approaches to Iron Age and Romano-British farming, and brings us closer to understanding how the lives of people and animals in these small-scale communities were intertwined.

Cartographic anxiety

Aerial photographic mapping is essential to recording field systems, but landscapes are always more than objective *spaces* to be measured and quantified, and can also be understood as a series of subjective *places*, given meaning by human activities, experiences and beliefs (Buttimer 1980; Cosgrove 1989; Eyles 1985; Pred 1984, 1990; Sayer 1985; Tuan 1977). These notions might be termed ‘cartographic anxiety’ (Gregory 1994 Ch. 2). There may be multiple experiences of landscape based on notions of gender, class and status, affiliations, biographies and histories, and feelings of longing, belonging or not belonging (see the many discussions of such topics in Bender 1993b; Casey 1996; Crang and Thrift 2000; Evans 1985; Feld and Basso 1996; Hirsch and O’Hanlon 1995; Holloway and Hubbard 2001; Mitchell 2000; Tilley 1994). The relevance of such approaches to landscape archaeology has been summarised elsewhere (Bender 1993a; Chadwick 2004b; Johnston 1998; Tilley 1994), although some aspects have been criticised (e.g. Bender 2001; Brück 1998; Fleming 1999, 2005). Andrew Fleming is especially indignant about recent landscape archaeologies that have experimented with alternative ways of presenting the past (Fleming 2006: 268). Whilst accepting many of the criticisms of the use of phenomenology within archaeology, I strongly disagree that all theoretically-influenced landscape studies have ‘freed themselves from traditional concerns with

verification' (Fleming 2006: 268). Empirical analyses must always be the basis for interpretative studies, but it should be recognised that landscapes are never static or neutral. Landscapes may be better imagined as tapestries or fabrics (Bender 1998: 8; Chadwick 2004b: 5; Giles 2000: 208; Ingold 2000: 346-348), where complex physical and social relationships are intertwined.



The 'duplicity of landscape', where land is at the centre of conflicts between different social groups. **Figure 3.01. (top left).** Dani men and women outside an Indonesian-owned shop in West Papua, which has been illegally occupied by Indonesia since 1975. Most West Papuans have no economic or political power. **Fig. 3.02 (top right).** The Indonesian colonial occupation is enforced through heavily armed police and military units. **Fig. 3.03. (middle left).** Multi-national mining companies operate extensive interests in West Papua, despite criticism from human rights and environmental groups. (Sources: www.freewestpapua.org). **Fig. 3.04. (middle right) and 3.05. (bottom left).** Israeli army units demolishing Palestinian houses. **Fig. 3.06. (bottom right).** Palestinian olive groves burnt and destroyed by the Israeli army. These illegal operations are reprisals for attacks against Israeli troops and civilians in the occupied West Bank of Palestine. (Sources: www.electronicintafada.net).

Landscapes may be at the centre of tensions, disputes and conflicts between groups divided by class, gender, politics or perceived ethnicity (Harvey 2001; Hirsch 1995; Inglis 1977; Olwig 1996) (Figs. 3.01-3.06), and they have a significant role in the constitution of notions of identity (Berger 1972; Cosgrove 1984; Daniels 1989; Darby 2000; Rose 1993; Schama 1995; Williams 1963). Landscapes may be mapped and measured, bought and sold or manipulated and controlled. Such processes can involve hegemony by one group over another, especially in colonial contexts. The Western map-making tradition has often been used as an instrument of power, propaganda and colonial oppression (Harley 1988), and has often been at odds with many indigenous people's understandings of landscape (Belyea 1996; Duncan 1993; Gow 1995: 56-58; Ingold 1997, 2000: 232-234; Sparke 1998: 318-320; Strang 2000: 277-279). During the early years of Roman Britain map-makers, military surveyors and engineers were deployed across the countryside (K. Clarke 2001; R. Evans 2003; Hingley 2006b), bringing cartographic order to the new territories as a form of dominating imperial appropriation. Their ways of seeing and engaging with the landscape were probably radically different from native people who inhabited a series of places imbued with local histories and meanings and complex networks of lineage, tenure and movement.

Landscapes of inhabitation, memory and identity

Archaeologies of inhabitation explore such diverse and dynamic experiences through contextual approaches to material culture and place, and considerations of embodiment, memory and cosmology (Barrett 1997b, 1999, 2001; Giles 1997, 2000; Meskell 1996; Shanks 1992). They focus on the embodied day-to-day lives of people in the past, their social practices and material conditions (Chadwick 2004b: 9). In contrast to traditional landscape considerations of themes such as settlement patterns, this thesis explores people's habitual movements and routines around settlements and the landscape, their encounters with one another along trackways or in fields, and their tending and harvesting of animals and plants. Landscape histories are never simple, static 'sedimented layers of meaning' (*contra* Tilley 1994: 27). Older buildings, monuments and other traces of past human activities might remain, but may also be more elusive presences (q.v. M.M. Bell 1997) which through memories and

stories merge into people's everyday experiences. Such features are not simply mnemonics for maintaining these histories, but are more actively implicated in processes of memory and forgetting (q.v. Küchler 1993, 1999). Landscapes are places where different temporalities merge, where people build up their own biographies, reflect on the past, and act on those experiences for the future (Chadwick 2004b: 20).

Some people may have deep emotional and spiritual attachments to particular places, but other individuals may be displaced, living through diasporas, feelings of loss, alienation and rootlessness (Bender 2001, Bender and Winer 2001; Brah 1996; Cambridge Women and Homelessness Group 2004; Sibley 1995; Tuan 1979; Valentine 1989). Familiar places and intimate experiences of them are always surrounded by unfamiliar areas and more attenuated relationships. Nevertheless, there is often a close and recursive relationship between *where* an individual is, and *who* she or he sees themselves as being, experiences mediated through the human body. But is this body young or old, high or low status? Is it male or female? Should archaeologists use such 'common-sense' dichotomies at all? And how is Self-identity and group identity constituted? How might these concepts have differed in the past? It is really only within the last decade that issues of embodiment have been explicitly discussed within archaeology (e.g. Chadwick 2004b; Fowler 2004; Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002; Meskell 1996; Yates 1993). Identity and acts of embodied practice are not unproblematic, and need to be considered in more detail.

Changing historical ideas of the body and Self

Modern Western ideas about the body, gender and identity are historically and culturally situated. In medieval medicine and philosophy women were seen as imperfect versions of men and as a different gender, but not as a separate biological sex – their genitalia were merely inversions of men's (Cadden 1993: 170-202; Crawford 1981: 51; Fletcher 1995: 44-45). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the notion of a mind : body duality was proposed by René Descartes and Immanuel Kant. Along with advances in agriculture, mathematics and science

(Merchant 1980; Thomas 1983), this exacerbated a growing nature : culture dualism within post-Enlightenment Western European thought. The body was physical and animal, but the mind was rational and transcendental. Science increasingly based the differences between men and women upon physical biology and sexuality (Jordanova 1989: 25-26; Laqueur 1987: 19-20, 1990: 135; Shilling 1993), and was used as the basis for claims that women were socially and intellectually inferior to men.

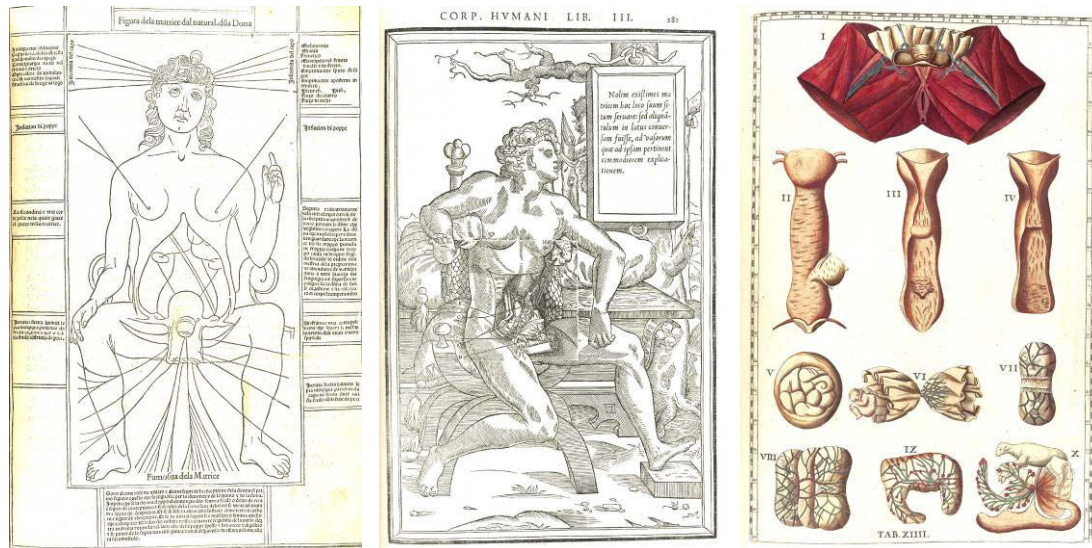


Figure 3.07. Changing scientific perceptions of the female body from 1494 (left), 1574 (middle) and 1717 (right) – the female body increasingly labelled and objectified. (Source: Historical Anatomies on the Web [http:// www.metafilter.com](http://www.metafilter.com)).

The modern body and phenomenology

The mind : body dualism was criticised by many twentieth century philosophers (e.g. Heidegger 1962; Husserl 1931; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Sartre 1954; Scheler 1973), who argued that human consciousness is based on sensual experiences mediated through the human body, without a disembodied Cartesian ego. Husserl proposed that subjective human practices were part of the lifeworld or *Lebenswelt*, the realm of immediate experience and sociality (Casey 1997: 218; Husserl 1970: 127-128; Moran and Mooney 2002: 60-61). Merleau-Ponty argued that all human experiences are mediated by interpretation – the ‘body is our general medium for having a world’ (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 23). Humans experience their lifeworld through their bodies’

senses, movements and emotions. Heidegger called this *Dasein* or Being-in-the-world (Heidegger 1962: 26-27). For Heidegger, people usually dwell *within* the world, rather than dwelling *on* the significance of the world and its events, although there are moments when these are brought into focus (Moran 2000: 220). Lefebvre expanded these ideas and proposed a contingent ‘spatial architectonics’, whereby inhabited places appear through embodied *and* cognitive processes (Lefebvre 1991: 24).

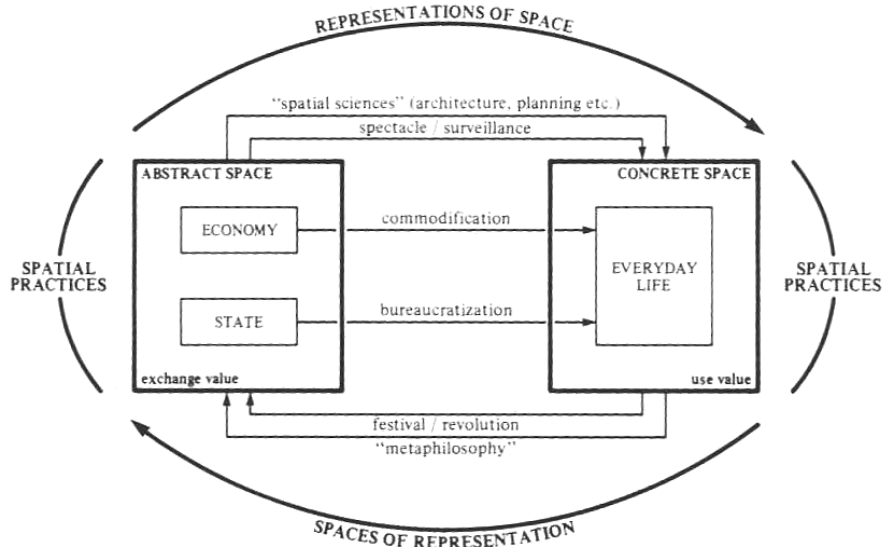


Figure 3.08. A diagram representing Lefebvre's spatial architectonics – the ‘eye of power’, mostly applicable to late capitalist states (Source: Gregory 1994: 401).

Postmodern bodies

In the later twentieth century there were further deconstructions of naturalistic notions of the body and identity. Michel Foucault showed the effects of power on the body, arguing that following the Reformation, religions and states became increasingly concerned with people's individual thoughts (1979, 1981). Governments tried to control people's corporeal and sexual habits through the construction of prisons, barracks, hospitals, schools and factories (Foucault 1981: 25). Foucault viewed bodies as social products subject to stimulation, surveillance and control, and some feminist writers have used aspects of these arguments. Critics have argued, however, that Foucault's bodies are generalised and ahistorical, not fleshy, experiencing entities –

merely abstract, inert masses controlled by external discourses (McNay 1991; Schilling 1993: 70-71; B.S. Turner 1984: 250; T. Turner 1994). There is little sense of the body resisting or reacting to these discourses.

Lacan argued that Self-identity is a 'project' begun during infancy when children become aware of their mirror images and the differences between themselves, others, and the world around them (Lacan 1977: 4-7). Physical existence becomes partially alienated from the ego through a process of 'mirroring' (Bonner 1999: 238-239). Lacan was also interested in 'the gaze', the illusion of seeing oneself, and the desire and domination implicit in subject and object, Self and Other (Lacan 1953: 12-15). Gaze also implies a disembodied, appropriating surveillance implicit in patriarchal authority and the scopophilic, objectifying gaze of men's pleasure¹. Postmodern critiques have deconstructed bodies and identities as fixed forms, emphasising fluidity and flux in ideologies, gender and sexuality and power relations (see discussions in Bigwood 1991; Leder 1990; McNay 1991; Vernant 1989; Weedon 1987). Influenced by third-wave feminism² and queer theory, these ideas stress that there are many different expressions of masculinities and femininities linked to sexualities, ethnicities and class (q.v. Butler 1990; Diamond and Quinby 1988; Sawicki 1991).

In her dense, often difficult writing, Judith Butler argued that gender and sex are culturally constructed categories created through a series of lived, repetitive performances that take on meaning from their social context (Butler 1990: 32-35), through mundane bodily movements. Self-identity is often illusionary, inconsistent, contradictory and mutable. This ignores the physical materiality of the body, however, as Butler later admitted (1993: 29), almost as if the body is a blank surface onto which social meanings and identities are inscribed (Moore 1994: 18). Butler later addressed this to some extent, arguing not for gender *construction*, whereby social agency or discourse acts upon the body; but rather for gender *materialisation* (Butler 1993: 5), with identity as a continuously reiterative practice within historically constituted ideas of sex and sexuality. Elizabeth Grosz developed the idea of 'difference' used by Luce Irigaray and Hélène Cixous to acknowledge that identities and assumptions may be inscribed *onto* people's bodies by others (Grosz 1986: 140-142, 1994: 83). The body provides the basis for sexual difference, yet may also be structured internally and

externally by social and sexual norms. Her radical, decentred reconsideration of bodies saw bodies as not just 'being', but a more dynamic 'becoming' (Grosz 1995: 34-36). Using Deleuze's idea of a 'desiring machine' (Deleuze 1994, 1997), she stressed that the body dissolves into its environment as a series of changing, transformative flows. People's capacity to act may not be actually perceived or understood by them, as agency often operates below self-awareness altogether.

For Elspeth Probyn, existence and (be)longing are dynamic processes. Identity is contingent, hard to grasp, and full of anxieties (Probyn 1993: 97-99, 168-171, 1996). She has recently considered the body as an 'alimentary assemblage', where food, objects and people are 'ingested', then 'spat' out again (Probyn 2000: 31-32). People are assemblages of visceral, sensual acts, with the openings and closings of our bodies linked to Self-performances, social relationships and spatial practices. This is the 'grinding over' of the natural into the social, the elemental into the alimentary, and the individual into the commensal (Probyn 2000: 31, 146). Susan Bordo also rejects the idea of a 'natural' body or sex, but feels that there is a potential loss of locatedness if everything is open to discursive flows of meaning. Some material and political discourses define, inscribe and proscribe gender and identity more than others (Bordo 1990: 142, 1993: 295). Bodies are partly culturally constructed, yet there is still a materiality to them, subject to discourses of power, inclusion or exclusion, but still capable of pleasure and pain, longing and loathing (Bigwood 1991: 58). Self-identity and embodiment are mediated through the identities and bodies of others, the power and gender constructions of society, and physical experiences of the lived-in world.

Relational ethics and personhood

The postmodern, Western concept of a private citizen with individual rights and responsibilities does not allow for the many differences in people's lives based on class, race and experience, and fails to acknowledge that women, the poor and others may be disadvantaged because of their race or status and have less social agency (Anderson 1992; Baker 1997; Berggren 2000; Fowler 2004; Hekman 1995; Moore

1994; Pateman 1989; Weiss 1999; Whatmore 2002). What are needed are alternative ‘epistemologies of provenance’ (Kruks 1995: 4). Such approaches to identity must undermine and deconstruct simplistic, ‘common-sense’ notions of humans as individual agents, and must examine the communal and corporeal relations between people. In order to consider how people inhabit and experience their landscapes, it is necessary to consider how social practice and a sense of group belonging *outside* of the body also inform identity. Understanding this is important, as it is often difficult for archaeology to approach the past at the scale of individuals, although there has been considerable debate over this (see Barrett 2000; Gardner 2002, 2006; Gero 2000; Hodder 2000; M.H. Johnson 1989; Spector 1991; cf. Sherratt 1995).



Growing up through the habitus. **Figure 3.09. (top left).** Turkana girl cleansing a pot with a hot brand, Kenya. (Source: Dyson-Hudson 1973: 107). **Fig. 3.10. (top right).** Tsatang girl leading reindeer, Mongolia. (Source: Kling 2003: 23). **Fig. 3.11. (left).** Girl watching her mother pluck poultry, Black Mountains, Wales. (Source: Porter 2000: 136). **Fig. 3.12.** Nenet boy practising lassoing reindeer, Siberia. (Source: Alexander and Alexander 1996: 181).

Such co-operative social participation has been called ‘existential space’ (Tilley 1994: 16-17). Cognition and identity are not internalised, but are constituted through relations with other people and the landscape (Lave 1988). People share ‘vocabularies of body idiom’ (Goffman 1963: 35) or ‘techniques of collective practical reason’ (Mauss 1973: 73) in their posture, movements and emotional expressions. Everyday routine tasks involving specific tasks, postures and tool use furnish people with their bearings in the world (Bourdieu 1977: 87). People learn how to follow ‘corporeal rules’ governing social situations, many of which are culturally specific (Goffman 1963, 1969; Young 1980, 1990). Some performances are conscious acts that attract sociability or censure from others, but others are subconscious avoidances that develop from birth through inculcation within the habitus (Bourdieu 1977: 210-214, 1992: 54-56; Mauss 1973). There are times when we express our individual Self-identities, but we may also suppress this and blend into the social group. Habitus is habituated dispositions, constituted through people’s routine social practices and shared cultural and spiritual beliefs, where people acquire much of their knowledge about the world and its social rules unconsciously, through growing up and watching the reactions of other people around them (Bourdieu 1992: 54-58).

Such values form the ‘structures’ of society (q.v. Giddens 1984), and are thus based not only upon routine, repeated actions through time, but also on the consequences of previous decisions. Human identities may also be based upon differences from other people, however. Through different skin colour, languages, ways of speaking and embodied idioms, we classify people into ‘us’ and ‘other’ (Goffman 1963; Sørensen 1997; Weiss 1999). It is partly how others see us that we see ourselves. People may also be ‘labelled’ by others, however, against their own wishes. Gender, sexuality, ethnicity and class may be appropriated, used to control or oppress others; or may cause feelings of disassociation, unhappiness or alienation. For some people, their bodies, identities, genders and sexualities are much more problematic, and these might be fragmented, continuously reworked or destroyed (see discussions in Butler 1993; Gupta 1993; Probyn 1996; Prosser 1998).

Anthropology and ethnography; and Self-identity and agency

Marcel Mauss argued that the body is the tool with which humans shape their world (Mauss 1950: 104). Ethnographic studies have demonstrated that cardinal directions framed by our bodies form the basis for many cross-cultural beliefs (Gell 1985; Lowenthal 1975), including ideas of orientation, methods of location, perceptions of shapes and colours, and territoriality. There may also be shared symbolic schema based on the body too. Up and down often represent good and evil in many cultures, heaven and hell, or high and base instincts (Short 2002; Tuan 1977; Turner 1993). Yet beliefs concerning the body can also differ enormously among cultures (see examples in Ahmed and Stacey 2001; Fowler 2004; Geertz 1983; Meskell 1996; Moore 1994; Morris 1994). Class, status, age, gender and other aspects of social identity also inform this (e.g. Young 1980, 1990). The ‘narrative of the Self’ is thus culturally and historically diverse, and may be experienced through a ‘contingent poetics’ which is part of wider social discourses (J. Thomas 1991a: 123). Some writers suggest that across human cultures conceptions of Self-identity vary as to how relationships between Self and non-Self are conceptualised, the degree to which mind is recognised as separate to the body, and the ways in which agency, motivation and knowledge are regarded (Fowler 2004: 34-35; Moore 1994: 31).

UPRIGHT HUMAN BODY, SPACE AND TIME

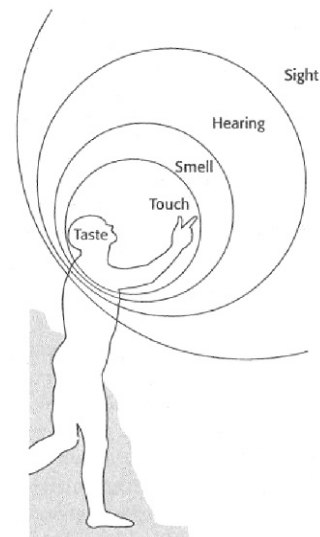
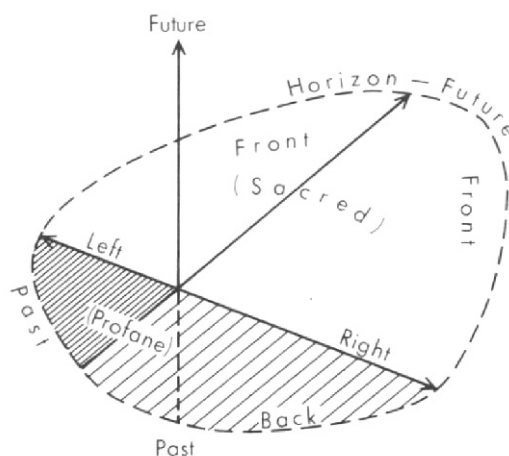


Figure 3.13. (left). How the physicality of the human body may frame some of the complex symbolic ideas concerning the world. (Source: Tuan 1977: 17). **Fig. 3.14. (right).** The phenomenological projection of the human body into the lived-in world. (Source: Holloway and Hubbard 2001: 41).

The Hausa of Niger believe that humans consist of a body (*jiki*) and a soul (*kurwa*). The soul can be captured and itself killed, and the body cannot live long once this happens, but will sicken and eventually die too. ‘Soul-eaters’ can capture souls by touching victims’ shadows (Schmoll 1993: 199). The source of soul-eaters’ powers are stones in their bellies that have a gender and a will of their own, and enable soul-eaters to see, capture and eat living souls. For the Canaque of New Caledonia the body was merely a temporary locus of being (Csordas 1999: 175; Leenhardt 1979), and the Native American Penobscot believed that each person comprised a body and a personal spirit, but the latter could roam around and interact with other beings (Speck 1920: 260-268). Many human groups around the world believe that they can ‘clothe’ themselves with the bodies of different animals (Århem 1996: 192-198; Guenther 1988: 196; Hallowell 1960: 32-42; Howell 1996: 131; Ingold 2000: 93-95; Viveiros de Castro 1998: 482).

For Warlpiri women in the Central Desert of Australia, their skin is not a boundary between them and the world but rather a medium through which they can become the landscape or other species (Biddle 2001: 186-189; Munn 1970: 152-155). Bodily decorations or *kuruwarri* link ancestral bodies and presences to Warlpiri people in the present. Kin relations are also defined by parts of the body, which are touched during conversations to signify the links (Kendon 1988). In Samoa, tattooed skin designs may signify a person’s genealogy, moral qualities and virtues (Paulo 1994: 77-78). The body is not an inert surface onto which these meanings are (quite literally) inscribed, but a domain of intersubjectivity and agency, where meanings are constructed *through* the person’s bodily relations with others. For the Turkana in Kenya, beads and bowls are ‘embodied artefacts’ – material manifestations of kinship, age and gender relations (Broch-Due 1993: 61). Life is a series of transformative processes. Breath is thought, thoughts are words, and words are edible entities. The world is experienced by actively taking it *into* the permeable body (q.v. Probyn 2000).

In some societies, group identity and relations with other human and non-human beings may be as or even more important than individual Selfhood (Dieterlen 1941; Jackson and Carp 1990; Lienhardt 1985). Mutual dependence, compliance or even subordination of individual will at times to that of kin and community can take

precedence over personal identity (Hsu 1977). This has caused considerable debate within anthropology (see discussions in Carrithers, Collins and Lukes 1985; Csordas 1990, 1994; Harris 1989; La Fontaine 1985; LiPuma 1998; Poole 1994; Whittaker 1992). To what extent can people who do not consider themselves as separate persons be conceived of as individuals? They are still very much capable of agency and intention, contradicting some psychological studies that cannot account for this apparent discrepancy (Moore 1994: 32-33). This debate is important for archaeologies of inhabitation, in order so that we may understand how identity, structure and agency (q.v. Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984) were constituted in Iron Age and Romano-British rural communities. Perhaps the traditional social structures of communal identity (family, clan or tribe) were sometimes more important than individually constituted agency (cf. Parker Pearson 1999). Was a degree of individuality still possible, or did this itself depend on age, gender and social status? And how did these discourses change after the Roman conquest?

Active social agents are able to recognise and evaluate the conditions under which they live, and to sometimes act upon them intelligently and knowingly (Giddens 1984). However, although agency includes knowledgeable individual actions, it includes the practices of human social groups extending beyond individual bodies and lifespans (q.v. Barrett 2001: 148-149; M.H. Johnson 1989). Social changes take place through structures, and structures have to be reproduced through human agency and the actions of daily life (Barrett 1997a). There are clearly complex relationships between Self-identity and communal identity, individual agency and communal structures, but despite some challenges (Spiro 1993), the idea that persons might in fact be divisible, partible and unbounded has gained increasing acceptance. This is clearly a controversial issue with considerable social, ethical and political implications (q.v. Said 1978, 1993), particularly with regard to current conflicts.

Past societies also cannot be classified in such essentialist terms, ignoring differences of age, class, gender, experience and agency (Poole 1994: 844). *Individuality* is not the same as *individualism*, and there are collectivistic and individualistic ideas in any society. Personhood may emerge out of the tensions between these (Fowler 2004: 34; LiPuma 1998: 57). Self-awareness, knowledge of one's development through time,

and distinguishing between our own actions and those of others are universal human attributes, but this is *not* the same as ontological ideas of the Self, which in many cultures do not correspond to Western conceptions (Moore 1994: 34). This concurs with the notion of the open subject, which "...refuses to limit issues of subjectivity to the skin-bound individual, or...resists writing 'society' as if it were such a corporate entity..." (Battaglia 1999: 118). Like feminist and queer theories, many ethnographic and anthropological discussions have stressed that although the body has an innate materiality, identity is also shaped by social interaction and social expectation, and by sexualities and desire (Csordas 1994; de Valle 1996; Moore 1986, 1994; Ortner and Whitehead 1981). Femininities and masculinities are contextual qualities that can be acquired by individuals or groups through social practices; or which may be projected onto others (e.g. Busby 2000; McCullum 2001; Strathern 1988).

In parts of Melanesia, people are seen as having a series of masculine and feminine traits, some more predominant in different social contexts than others (Shore 1981; Strathern 1988: 15-18, 90-92; cf. LiPuma 1998). Children acquire masculine or feminine attributes from bodily substances (blood, semen and breast milk), food and artefacts. The Sambia, Gebusi and Marind of Papua New Guinea believe that children develop gendered identities through life. Boys shed female essence (blood) and ingest male essence (semen) in order to achieve adult male status (Herdt 1984: 170-181, 1987; Knauff 1989: 218-221). With the Nuer of East Africa, a childless married woman may return to her family as a 'man', build up a herd of cattle and even pay the bride price for several 'brides' (Heritier-Auge 1989b: 294-295). She can hire a male servant who may perform sexual services for her and/or for her wives. The older woman is regarded as the 'father' of the resulting children. This demonstrates the importance of age in social constructions of gender and identity (Fowler 2004: 44-45).

Notable examples of so-called 'third genders' include the *muškobanje* or Sworn Virgins of the Balkans (Grémaux 1994; Young 2000); the *hijra* of Pakistan and India (Nanda 1994, 1998), Polynesian *mahu* of Polynesia (Bolin 1996), and Native American *berdache* (Blackwood 1984; Fulton and Anderson 1992; Hollimon 1997; Roscoe 1994). Sex and gender are thus dynamic and contingent ways of Being constructed through different cultural notions of masculinities and femininities,

sexuality, chastity and virility, and are not simply derived from differences in biology, hormones or brain chemistry alone (Gilchrist 1999: 77). Gender thus partly comes from *within* the Self, but is also derived from relationships with lovers, husbands and wives, families and communities. Masculinities and femininities are reproduced and/or rebelled against through the practices and relations of everyday life (Massey 1996: 109). Nevertheless, as Moore cogently comments:

The boundary between sex and gender may be unstable, but that does not mean that they can be collapsed into each other...we should not confuse the instability of sexual signifiers with the imminent disappearance of women and men themselves, as we know them physically, symbolically and socially. Bodies are the site where subjects are morphologically and socially constructed, they mark the intersection of the social and the symbolic; each subject's relation with his or her own body is both material and imaginary... Sex, gender and sexuality are the product of a set of interactions with material and symbolic conditions mediated through language and representation (Moore 1999: 168).

I am *not* suggesting here that Iron Age or Romano-British people necessarily recognised multiple or third-genders, or had specifically animist ideas of mutable personhood. Nevertheless, Roman soldiers and bureaucrats (from many different parts of the Empire), settlers and traders, indigenous people of higher or low status, slaves and freedmen would have all had dissimilar notions of identity and gender, masculinities and femininities, and individuality versus communality. They might not only have viewed their landscapes and other humans, animals and plants in very different ways to one another, but would also have had diverse potentials, experiences and capabilities of acting upon their world (q.v. Gardner 2003: 8; James 2001: 206). Their agency and senses of Self-identity would likewise have varied tremendously.

Actor-networks and hybrid geographies

Until recently, the only agents thought to act purposefully *upon* their environment were humans. Harvey (1996) proposed that as physical, biological and social

processes work together, however, non-human organisms should also be regarded as active subjects. As ‘nature’ is understood and mediated *through* culture, it cannot be considered separate to it (Macnaghten and Urry 1998: 30). Based upon work by Bruno Latour (1993), Actor Network Theory has proposed that humans are enmeshed within webs or networks of relational agency, in which agency is the outcome of relationships between people and the living and material worlds (see discussions in Harvey 1996; Law and Hassard 1999; Murdoch 1997; Thrift 1996). People give form to non-humans, but are acted upon and given shape by non-humans (Latour 1993: 137). The growth or behaviour of plants and animals impact upon their environments *and* people, and although usually less purposive than human agency, this constitutes agency nevertheless. Agency is the outcome of these relations between people, plants and animals and the material world. Trees too change places through their colonisation and growth, and affect human experiences of landscapes through their changing qualities over time (Jones and Cloke 2002). Material culture can also be a medium for agency, and at times may be imbued with it (Gell 1998, cf. Ingold 2007). In certain contexts, objects may become substitutes for people. Material culture is the outcome or consequence of social practices and processes constituted through agency. The forms and properties of things are contingent and relational (Brück 2004; Ingold 2007), continually emerging from their relationships with people and landscapes as part of transformative flows and assemblages (q.v. Deleuze 1997; Grosz 1995; Haraway 1991; Probyn 2000).

For Tim Ingold, Actor Network Theory is merely a way of ‘making a rhetorical point’ (Ingold and Jones 2002: 10), useful in deconstructing the culture : nature dichotomy, but not for explaining *how* relational links between beings and the material world are constituted, and for obviating the epistemological differences between social sciences (Ingold 2001). Instead, such ‘hybrid geographies’ (q.v. Whatmore 2002) open up the world to alternative conceptions of reality where boundaries become porous, surfaces open and subject to flux and change, and identities are entwined with the lives of other living beings. The complex, meaningful and interlinked relationships between Self-identity, the human body, non-human agencies and the material world can instead become the focus for enquiry. The intertwining of human, animal and plant bodies, touch, surface, vision and the material world, experiences of emotion and

memory, are all part of the ‘the messy heterogeneity of being-in-the-world’ (Whatmore 2002: 147). Through such reconfiguration of our engagements with the landscape’s living and non-living components, we can shed some of the constraints of post-Enlightenment Western thinking which might interfere with our understanding the embodied lives of people and other beings in the past. We can move closer to a unifying theory of practice which allows us to explore the many diverse ways in which Self-identity and embodiment is constructed, maintained and experienced.

Non-human relational personhood

In anthropology too, dichotomies between culture : nature, human : animal and mind : body have been criticised (see critiques in Descola and Pálsson 1996; Ingold 1986b, 2000; MacCormack and Strathern 1980; Noske 1989; Sökefeld 1999; Strathern 1988). The Western idea of fixed bodily states and stable material substances is culturally and historically specific. People who have close relationships with plants and animals often consider these in terms of mutualism and interdependence, not domination or exploitation, acknowledging an underlying ontological equivalence between human and non-human beings (Ingold 1996b, 2000), with shared relationships between humans, animals and plants as fellow participants in the *same* world, not separated as ‘culture’ and ‘nature’. Relational personhood conceives of each human not as a unique and indivisible *person*, but as an entity in continuous connectivity with multiple selves in multiple contexts, in reciprocal relations with other *persons* (Battaglia 1990; Bird-David 1999; Ingold 2000; Strathern 1988).

There is much ethnographic literature regarding relational epistemologies (e.g. Bird-David 1990; Brody 2001; Ingold 1996b, 2000; Kayano 1994; Strauss 1982). Identity is unstable, and people can become animals, ghosts or spirits, just as animals can sometimes be embodied as humans (Guenther 1988, 1999; Hallowell 1960; Vitebsky 1995). Landscapes are shared by humans, animal and plant beings; and people may be possessed by spirits, or pass through different worlds. In parts of Melanesia, some stones are believed to move around the landscape, and have names and biographies

derived from spirits or ancestors within them (Kahn 1990: 55; Leenhardt 1930: 241; Munn 1986: 81; Roe and Taki 1999). They signify tenure, temporality and identity. For the Ainu of northern Japan, spirits or gods (*kamuy*) were animals and plants, items of material culture, landscape features such as rocks and rivers, and manifestations of weather such as thunderstorms (Fujimura 1999: 273). At sacred sites and hunting, fishing and farming locations, offerings were made to *kamuy* to ensure success (Watanabe 1972, 1999). Animal and plant spirits were honoured in this way, but also the spirits of tools or implements belonging to the dead (Kayano 1994; Oda 1998; Utagawa 1999). After their owners had died, these implements were broken and buried with their bodies for use in the next world.

Amongst agricultural groups, many people do not see themselves as *making* plants and animals, but rather as providing assistance for their growth. For Q'eqchi' farmers in Guatemala the land is a deity, *Tzuultak'á*, from whom permission must be sought before any clearance, ploughing and sowing or tree cutting takes place (Gonzalo 1999). If the prescribed rituals are not followed, harvests may fail. The Achuar of Amazonia believe that women have two sets of offspring – human children, and the plants women grow in gardens, and both may actively compete for nurturance (Descola 1994: 206). In Boyacá in Columbia, the earth is a repository of strength which is drawn upon by plants, animals and humans (Gudeman and Rivera 1990: 18). People are in service *to* the land, and with their assistance it produces crops and young animals. In Algeria, for the Kabyle Berber ploughing is not an onerous activity and cannot be delegated to others as the land bestows bounty only on those who actively care for it and provide labour as a tribute (Bourdieu 1977: 175). In areas of Turkey, women and land were symbolically linked as sustainers of life (Delaney 1991: 267), and men and women were characterised in terms of seed and field (*tohum ve tarla*). Patriarchal dominance meant that fields and women had to be 'enclosed' (with the walls of fields or the houses), and 'covered' (with crops or modest clothing).

In parts of New Guinea and Melanesia, domestic animals and crops are incorporated into kinship relations, like human children. Yams are regarded as sentient beings that need nurture, tranquillity, and respectful offerings, and there are often strict prescriptions for clearance and cultivation (Battaglia 1990: 18; Bowden 1983: 53;

Roe and Taki 1999: 416; Seaglioni 1999: 214; Sillitoe 1983: 161, 1999: 349). The growing cycles of yams are closely bound up with people's understandings of time and ancestry. The Swahili of East Africa believe their fields have protective guardian spirits, and they plant 'medicine' in the ground to ensure the land's productivity (Caplan 1997: 71-72). Offerings to spirits are made at specific points in the cultivation cycle. For the Gawa of Papua New Guinea, if boundary stones containing ancestral spirits are moved, 'the soil is angered' and will not produce yields (Munn 1986: 81), whilst for the Southern Paiute, plants needed to feel a human presence when people talked and tended to them (Fowler 1999: 422).

Pastoralists and their relationships with animals

Ingold once suggested that pastoralism or herding involves the domination of animals by people who impose their will upon them (Ingold 1986b: 273, 1996a: 18-20), though he has elaborated on this earlier assertion (Ingold 2000: 72-73). The realities are often much more complex (Campbell 2005; Faye 1996; Porcher 1998). Increasingly mechanistic agricultural practices since the end of the nineteenth century and the growth of urban areas have alienated most Western people from everyday relationships with animals who are either pampered pets, or shapeless lumps of processed flesh bought in supermarkets, although Muslims, Hindus and Jews still preserve a sacred aspect to killing animals and eating meat (Ingold 2005: 111). Nevertheless, the raising and slaughtering of animals for food and other products is now an experience limited to a few. In many small-scale societies throughout the world, more intimate engagements still persist. Herders may regard their animals in a benevolent and attentive manner, and guard and care for them, albeit in an ultimately hegemonic fashion. Importantly, many pastoral peoples do not see their relationship with animals in terms of domination, but in close and affectionate terms that go far beyond utilitarian demands. It is worth exploring ethnographies of these, due to the archaeological evidence that livestock husbandry was of great importance to Iron Age and Romano-British communities in the study region (see Chapters 5 and 6 and Appendices D and E). This was unlikely to have been a purely economic relationship.

Cattle are often held in high regard due to their value as 'wealth on the hoof', and because individual animals and herds may be embodiments of networks of obligations

between people and lineages within a community, or between different communities (Campbell 2005; Crandall 1998; Parker Pearson 2000). Relationships between people and animals provide the basis for human words, metaphors, songs and stories, and myths and legends (see many examples in Ingold 1988; Porcher 1998; Serpell 1985, 1986; Tambiah 1969; Willis 1990). People may distinguish themselves through differences based on attributes of their livestock, and the names of owners' families and descent groups and descriptive terms of animals may be interlinked and interchangeable. The Maasai of Kenya have matrilineal descent groups, and the structure of their human lineages and clans is based upon that of the cattle they herd, where younger cattle are descended from highly regarded and valued older bovine matriarchs (Galaty 1989).



Pig love. Figure 3.15. (left). A Tifalmin man cradling a piglet inside a Papua New Guinea house. (Source: Wheatcroft 1973: 82). Fig. 3.16. (top right). A Huli woman taking pigs out to the fields. (Source: www.elisasjourneys.com). Fig. 3.17. (bottom right). A Dani woman in occupied West Papua, suckling her infant and an orphaned piglet. (Source: www.janesoceania.com). Fig. 3.18. (bottom far right). A Dani man with his favourite pig. (Source: www.lostworldarts.com).

In many herding societies close attention is paid to the colour and patterning of cattle, horse and reindeer skins (Evans-Pritchard 1940; Coote 1992; Galaty 1989; Giles 2007; Parker Pearson 2000), or the shapes of cattle and reindeer horns. People may recognise the identity and idiosyncrasies of individual animals, and animals come to know and trust certain humans. Animals may be named, and respond to the call (Campbell 2005; Faye 1996). This should not be confused with sentimentality. In parts of New Guinea, piglets are raised within the house, and are accorded affection and respect (Dwyer and Minnegal 2005; Gillison 2002; Rappaport 1984). Human women may even suckle piglets, and they follow their mistresses attentively around settlements and gardens. Yet the same pigs are killed and eaten when fully grown, although these can be emotive occasions. Many herding peoples care for orphaned, sick or injured beasts, yet may also quickly dispatch animals when they are perceived to be a potential burden or to have transgressed (e.g. Campbell 2005: 90).

For the Eveny of Siberia, each herder has his or her own *kujjai*, a reindeer consecrated to protect its owner from harm, even to die in their place (Vitebsky 2005: 278-279). For the Turkana of Kenya cattle are the cornerstone of their world, and after they kill human enemies men may notch the ears of their cattle 'to make them glad' too (Dyson-Hudson 1973: 94). The Samburu sing to their cattle, and paint favoured animals with designs of mud and ochre (Pavitt 1991), whilst the Dinka decorate cattle with tassels or with ash, especially during rituals. The Nuer of Sudan have over 400 words for the colours, patterns and sheen of cattle hides, and the shape of their horns and bodies; similar to other cattle-herding peoples in north-eastern Africa (Coote 1992: 250-251).

Such aesthetics extend throughout these societies. Forked-branch shrines, pottery and gourd designs and even some patterns scarified on human skin amongst the Aga Dinka are based on cattle horns (Coote 1992: 259). Many dance movements amongst the Nuer, Dinka, Atuaot and Turkana are based upon cattle horns, or the behaviour of cows and bulls (Burton 1982; Dyson-Hudson 1973; Evans-Pritchard 1940). Human bodies and animal bodies, human lives and animal lives, are thus linked materially and symbolically through performed practices and decorative schemes.

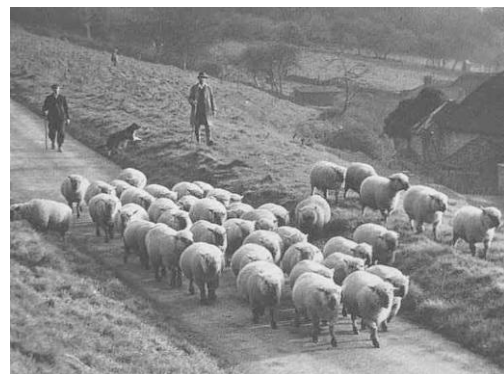
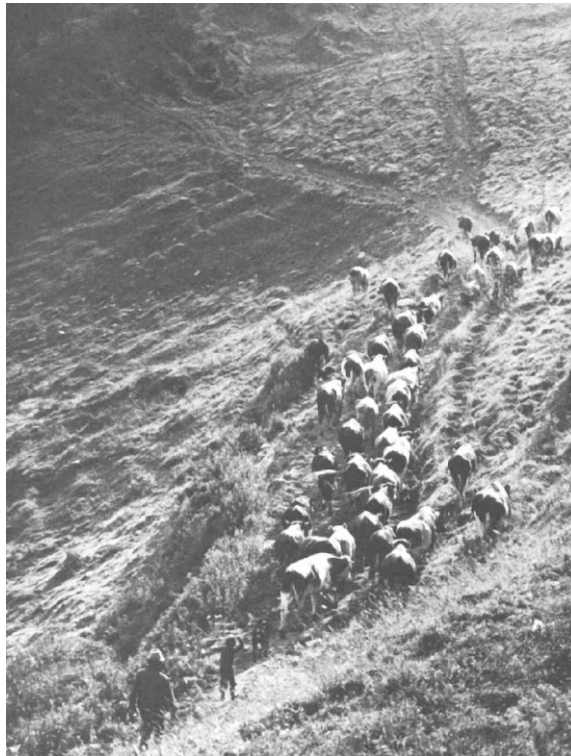


Figure 3.16. (top and bottom left). *A Turkana man (above) mimics in dance movements the shape of a favourite cow's horns (below). Note also the notched ears on the beast, celebrating the killing of enemies by its human owner. (Source: Dyson-Hudson 1973: 94).* **Fig. 3.17. (top right).** *Cattle at Aubrac near the French Pyrénées, decorated for a transhumance festival. (Source: www.loustal-de-louis.fr).* **Fig. 3.18. (bottom right).** *Samburu herders decorating one of their favoured cattle with geometrical designs of mud. (Source: Pavitt 1991: 46).*

In an evocative exploration of reindeer herding in the Scottish Cairngorms, Hayden Lorimer examined the relations between herders and herd. In their regular movements around landscapes, both herders and animals come to share intimate experiences of particular places, whilst memories of paths and favourable areas for shelter, shade, water and food form part of a phenomenology of the herd (Lorimer 2004: 9). Relations between human herders and particular lead animals become very close and trusting. When animals and people move together, authority does not lie solely with the herders. Herd leaders are important – favoured animals who in return for affection and respect, act as intermediaries during drives or round-ups (Lorimer 2004, 2006). Herders trust these beasts to lead the way at times, to make the decisions as to where to ford rivers or scramble up steep hillsides. Sometimes it is the animals that show people the best paths to take (Gray 1999: 452). When herding sheep or cattle, people

often employ dogs, and here too, people place a measure of trust in their trained companions. In these movements between fields, through droveways or up into areas of highland pasture, agency resides in the reciprocal relations between human and herd, in their collective will. We cannot study past human rural communities without also examining how people's understandings and inhabitation of their landscapes were inextricably bound up with the lives, routines and movements of their livestock. We need archaeologies of animals as well as people.

Sometimes links between human and animal transcend implicit relational links and become active social relationships, which can tell us much about how differently animals are perceived by other societies. Lorimer details the story of Sarek, a lead reindeer for fifteen years with the Cairngorm herd who, close to the point of death, descended from the mountains so that he could die close to the trusted hands of his human herder Mikel Nils Persson Utsi (Lorimer 2004: 9, 2006).



Relational agency between animals and humans – the sentient geography of the herd.
Figure 3.19. (left). Moving cattle around the French Alps. (Source: Berger and Mohr 1982: 19). **Fig. 3.20. (top right).** Shepherd family with animals in the Ecuadorian Andes. (Source: Kling 2003: 168). **Fig. 3.21. (bottom right).** Bringing ewes to lambing pens, Dorset during the 1930s. (Source: Ward 1991: 70).

Keith Basso narrates how Dudley Patterson, an elderly Apache cowhand, had long-running difficulties with a particular maverick bull, who always broke out of corrals and quite literally led the other animals astray. Although most other animals were subsequently rounded up, the bull was smart and difficult to catch, and would only rejoin the herd when ‘it suited him’ (Basso 1996: 82). The antagonism between them was nevertheless seen in terms of grudging but mutual respect by Dudley Patterson, and by other people in his community. The responses of animals to phenomena such as snowfalls and thunderstorms are also noteworthy. Such experiences are part of an animated, lived culture of the herd, ‘a sentient geography of impermanent points, forces, flows and energies that confounds any representational cartography’ (Lorimer 2004: 8). Movement through landscapes thus enculturates people *and* animals.

Non-human agencies

Non-human and relational agency is therefore not just a trend of recent academic enquiry, or a means of merely (re)presenting the world that reflects postmodern ideas of blurred boundaries and multiple perspectives. For many people around the globe, the world is not constituted in terms of subsistence techniques, but through ‘the relative scope of human involvement in establishing the conditions for growth’ (Ingold 1996a: 21), in wider networks of obligations and connections. Ingold has described these relational links as a rhizomic model of the world (Ingold 2000: 140-142), based partly on the work of Deleuze (1993). Within such a model, fields of relationships between beings and the landscape continually emerge as a series of tangled, progenerative encounters, a ‘reticulate maze’ of criss-crossing paths of being and movement (Ingold 2000: 142). Routine embodied movements and practices, significant moments such as births and deaths, relations with plants and animals and spirits, and memories of these and the places in the landscape where they occurred, take place *within* this movement, as part of dynamic and meaningful engagements with the materiality of the lived-in world. Animals, plants and other beings may be drawn into human social life, and through their agency affect people. People are likewise drawn into webs of active relationships with non-human persons, and their Self-identities are partly composed through these.

We should therefore not consider Iron Age and Romano-British farming in purely functionalist and economic terms, for this misses the social and symbolic meanings such practices probably had for those people. ‘Rational’, capitalist attitudes are unlikely to have existed in many such small-scale communities, where life itself depended on successful harvests and healthy livestock, and understandings of identity, status and wealth, tenure and history might have been closely bound up with the land, the soil and the seasons. This is not to say that changes in attitudes to animals, plants and the land did not occur during the Iron Age, and during the Romano-British period. Particularly following the Roman conquest, some people might have begun to think of the land, crops and animals in terms more redolent of modern capitalism. This might have been true of those individuals or families who managed to control larger areas of land, or maintain the largest herds and flocks. Nevertheless, even the most prosaic daily agricultural practices would still have imbedded in meaningful social beliefs and cosmological schemes. Plants and animals were not just good to eat or good to think with, but were part of the very fabric of people’s lives. In this thesis I will thus examine how these complex connections were played out within Iron Age and Romano-British landscapes, fields, trackways and settlements.

Towards an embodied phenomenology and a relational agency of the lived-in world

To summarise, the human body defines our spatial experiences of the world, but is not simply an impenetrable surface around a disengaged Cartesian Self. Rather, it is a porous membrane that opens up to external stimuli and other beings, taking these within the body and our Selves, as well as projecting outwards to other beings and the material world (Probyn 2000). Bodily movement helps reproduce our sense of identity and experiences of landscapes (Connerton 1989; Lefebvre 1991), but are also intelligent, proactive processes that also open up cognitive spaces encompassing emotions, reflections, dreams, myths and madness (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Seamon 1980). For the most part the lived-in world is experienced inattentively with little explicit thought, articulated through manual acts and repetitive movements where muscular and cognitive memories are entwined, much like the lives of people, plants

and animals themselves. Thought is ‘embodied and enacted’ (Lave 1988: 171), as everyday embodied practices or ‘muscular consciousness’ (Bachelard 1969: 11). Different ground surfaces underfoot, textures of wood, stone or fur, warm sunlight, frosty air or the pressure of wind on the skin are phenomenological experiences that often recede into the unconscious. Yet such ‘haptic geographies’ (Rodaway 1994: 41-42) are nonetheless crucial to our understandings of why walking through woodland is qualitatively different from walking along a cliff edge, or why winters are different from summers. Soundscapes and smellscapes of wind, water and vegetation, birds and animals, growth and decay are all part of these experiences.

As part of our relational links with other beings in the lived-in world, we construct our Selves and bodies through recursive performances that are never fully finished (Butler 1993; Moore 1994). The body may be subject to surveillance, control or oppression by others, and identities may be contested and subverted. Rather than reified categories such as ‘women’ or ‘men’, there are a multiplicity of femininities and masculinities, sometimes conflicting or contradictory. Our Self-projects of embodiment have a fleshy physicality of form – materialisations of sexuality, desires, hopes and fears, yet are also anchored to our corporeal bodies. Such feelings arise from *within* our fleshed Selves, not from a distanced centre of intellect. Absurd crushes, unlikely liaisons and unconsummated longings result. We may experience alienation, loss and loneliness precisely because our physical bodies and our viscerally-felt emotions do not always entwine smoothly with our cognitive Selves.

The lived body is not wholly an ‘apparatus’ (Lyotard 1988), régime (Foucault 1979, 1981), desiring machine (Deleuze and Guattari 1988), cyborg (Haraway 1991), performance (Butler 1991, 1993), open subject (Battaglia 1999) or assemblage (Probyn 2000) – there are problems with all of these metaphors. The body is a place of meeting and interdigitation between biology and culture, the physical and the social, the social and the symbolic (Battaglia 1999; Bergson 1959; Casey 1998), of attentive and inattentive engagements with the landscape and with the lives of plants and animals, with objects and the material world, as part of dense, dynamic and cross-cutting networks of agents and agencies, flows and energies. People (as knowledgeable social agents); animals and plants (as transformative agents); material

culture and other objects in the material world (imbued with agency); and the landscapes which foreground these – all come into being in relation to one another. Human attempts to make sense of the world lie in these connections, an on-going process of immersion within the warp and weft of the fabric of life. We anticipate and *project* ourselves into a future as yet unknown, as a continually recursive and reflexive movement of *becoming* (Grosz 1986: 140-142; Ingold 1993: 164, 1996c: 117; McNay 1999: 102). Our identities and life histories *unfold* through this messy tangle of relations.

Some concluding thoughts

My intention has been to critically examine how humans experience their bodies and dwell within their landscapes, and how they relate to the plants and animals with whom they share the world. I have only summarised some key elements of these discussions, and other contributions such as those from developmental psychology I have avoided for reasons of brevity. Nevertheless, I have developed a notion of relational agency that allows us to consider how aspects of human Self-identity including gender are partly derived through our biological bodies, but also our relations with other beings and with the material world. This theory of practice allows me to consider the possibility of different notions of Selfhood and identity in the past, and relational networks of relations with plants, animals and other beings, and to think through such different ways of being-in-the-world without some of the cumulative cognitive constraints of historically-constituted Western modes of philosophical thought and cultural practice.

Where do these ideas take us in understanding the lives and everyday experiences of people in the past? Firstly, we need to deconstruct ‘the body’ as the basis of sexual difference, but at the same time need to acknowledge these differences in order to understand the embodied experiences of individuals. We must consider the fleshy phenomenological experiences of being-in-the-world and *imagine* how past landscapes, architecture and material culture influenced and were themselves

influenced by the dispositions of people's bodies, but must also question 'common-sense' notions of bodies and Selves. Unlike postmodern Western individuals, in the past human agency may have been constituted as much through the family, clan or community as often as on individual ideas and needs. We need to consider how people's identities were also comprised through their skills at particular tasks, their material culture and depositional practices, and the spatial and temporal variation of these everyday activities in and around settlements and landscapes.

Furthermore, the theory of relational agency is an epistemological tool, allowing me to tack back and forth and make connections between the different forms of archaeological evidence from the study region – gender and other aspects of people's identities had to be constructed and performed in particular social contexts, through material engagements inside dwellings and around enclosures, along trackways and within fields. I can explore the relationships people had with plants and animals within these small-scale farming communities, their shared daily routines and spatial experiences, and what energies and agencies people, animals and plants *together* brought to these landscapes. There are some archaeological indications that animals in particular were not viewed in the same way as in the modern West (see Chapter 11 and Appendix F), and that people might have had ideas of more fluid and shifting boundaries between human and non-human realms of Being. People were *different* in the past (q.v. Knight 2002), with correspondingly different beliefs and values, and it is important that as archaeologists we are able to recognise and to write about these differences. I will return to these ideas concerning identity, animality and landscape at several key points within this thesis.

Notes

1. Anne Salmond and Gillian Rose have both claimed that the history of geography and Western exploration has involved the abstract processes of Cartesian geometry, and the objectifying, reifying gaze of the cartographer, map maker and surveyor, or the landscape painter. This draws upon the work of Jacques Lacan and others on the difference between *look* and *gaze* (e.g. Deutsche 1991; Edholm 1993; Grosz 1990; Lacan 1977; Rose 1986; Salmond 1992; Silverman 1991). In many allegorical nineteenth century landscape paintings, nude female figures codify

the landscape as something feminine, to be gazed at and appropriated. As Rose has stated, ‘the sensual topography of land and skin is mapped by a gaze which is eroticised as masculine and heterosexual’ (Rose 1993: 97). However, there have been critiques of Rose’s position. Catherine Nash has suggested that although visual pleasure in research, writing or looking at the landscape is unavoidably political as a practice, it is not necessarily masculinist (Nash 1996). Nash does not of course deny that such associations between nature, landscape and female exist today, or have existed in the past, but rather she feels that what matters is *how* they are constructed in historically and culturally specific ways.

2. I prefer the term postmodern or post-structuralist feminism to that of post-feminism (*contra* Brooks 1987), as I believe that this latter term implies theory *after* feminism, or even *beyond* feminism. There is a real danger here of suggesting this means the feminist project has now succeeded, whereas this is not the case. Many of the basic goals of first and second wave feminists – equal education, pay and employment rights, equality under the law, less masculinist attitudes in society and the popular media, better childcare provision – have still not yet been achieved in many Western countries (certainly not in Britain or the United States), let alone in the so-called ‘developing world’. And the many real, welcome advances that have been made by women in many areas of society have nevertheless served to conceal some of the deeper underlying differences and problems that still exist, and with new opportunities have come new inequalities (q.v. Faludi 1993; Walby 1997).

Movement 3

Brockhampton

The land was too wet for ploughing; yet it is done.
Even the stones of the ridges lie sulky and brown.
The roads are a slide of mud. The wet sky
Is blank as the chink of the hawk's perfect eye.
A blink before the dark comes down
Drops the peregrine sun.

The land glows like an awkward face.
Broken posts, by which sheep graze
Shine pale as growing wood.
Above, the last crow's wings
Cannot frighten from my blood
The stubborn light of things.

Alison Brackenbury

From A. Brackenbury (1995) *1829*. Carcanet Press.

CHAPTER 4

Arable Agriculture and Plant Husbandry in the Study Region

In this chapter, I will examine the evidence for plant husbandry during the later Iron Age and Romano-British periods with particular reference to northern England and the study region. I will also investigate the potential uses of non-cereal plants amongst Iron Age and Romano-British communities, and the possible social and symbolic importance of plants and plant husbandry practices to these people.



Figure 4.01. *Experimental ploughing using an ard pulled by two oxen, Lejre Experimental Centre, Denmark. (Source: © Lejre Experimental Centre).*

General discussions of later prehistoric arable agriculture in northern England

The poor soils often found in northern England today have contributed to the idea of the region as ‘marginal’, and many earlier archaeological accounts emphasised the primitiveness of the indigenous population and their dependence on pastoralism (e.g. Piggott 1958; Rivet 1958; Wheeler 1954). Even the allegedly endemic nature of Iron Age ‘tribal warfare’ was regarded as ‘retarding cereal cultivation’ in northern England (Higham 1991: 95), despite earlier suggestions that significant cereal cultivation had taken place (Raistrick 1939: 129). Some authors have proposed that there was a

dramatic climatic downturn around 1000-800 BC with many upland areas abandoned altogether (Baillie 1991, 1995; Barber 1982; Burgess 1985, 1989), although this view has been challenged (Buckland, Dugmore and Edwards 1997; Tipping 2002; Young and Simmonds 1995, 1999). More detailed considerations of the evidence have concluded that arable agriculture was much more significant than had been proposed (e.g. Haselgrove 1984; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995; van der Veen 1992).

Iron Age crops and arable practices

During the Iron Age, the range of plant foods utilised in Britain was greater than any previous period, and also more extensive than in any subsequent period until the agricultural diversification of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Cereals

Einkorn wheat (*Triticum monococcum*) was cultivated during the early Neolithic, but became less important thereafter (Reynolds 1979: 64). Emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*) (Fig. 4.04) was the dominant during the later Neolithic and Bronze Age, but declined in use during the first millennium BC (Jones 1996: 32; van der Veen 1992: 2), although it remained the bread wheat of the Roman military. During this period, spelt wheat (*Triticum spelta*) increased in importance and was common in the Romano-British period. Spelt is hardy (Jones 1987: 59-60, 1996: 32), and tolerant of diseases and pests. It was often stored as whole spikelets which were less susceptible to insect or fungal attack. A functionalist perspective might see the increase in spelt as a response to climatic deterioration and expansion into formerly uncultivated areas (Jones 1981). The situation was likely to have been more complex than this.

Emmer and spelt wheat may have been grown as a mixture together, or as separate crops that received similar treatment. If farmers decided to expand the areas available to them for cultivation but without an increase in traction, manure and labour, then soil deterioration might result. Under these conditions, spelt might have competed

better because of its tolerance for poorer soils, and without conscious selection may have increased in proportion (van der Veen and O'Connor 1998: 133). There were regional and intra-regional variations within this overall pattern, based on soils, altitude and rainfall, and cultural preferences. Emmer remained significant in Iron Age plant assemblages in south-western and northern England and Scotland (M. Jones 1981, 1996). On one group of Iron Age sites in north-eastern England, van der Veen found that emmer was still important, with some spelt, barley and arable weeds indicative of digging/ploughing, weeding and manuring. The other group of sites was characterised by spelt, barley and weeds indicative of more limited soil working and manuring, and less fertile soil (van der Veen 1992: 138-139). This may have represented the difference between *intensive* and *extensive* arable production (van der Veen and O'Connor 1998: 132-133).



Figure 4.02. *Before the harvest, Vaud, Switzerland. (Source: Berger and Mohr 1982: 225).*

Bread wheat and club wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) are usually grouped together because of their morphological similarity. They are free-threshing, making it easier to separate the grain from the chaff and to transport it (Green 1981; Greig 1991; M. Jones 1981). Increasing from the Iron Age onwards, it became more prevalent during the Romano-British period, though it was rare at some sites and very abundant at others (Greig 1991: 309). As a free-threshing grain it may be under-represented in some palaeobotanical assemblages.

Six-row hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) was another common Iron Age cereal, thriving on both light and heavy soils and at higher altitudes, and capable of either spring or autumn/winter sowing (M. Jones 1996: 32). Some two-row barley (*H. distichum*) is also known, which when unparched may have been used for animal fodder (van der Veen 1992: 74-75), but also for brewing. Oats (*Avena*) thrive in cool, moist climates (Zohary and Hopf 1993), but it is unclear if it was cultivated. Florets of the cultivars (*A. sativa* and *A. strigosa*) have been found, but many remains are the wild *A. fatua* or *A. ludoviciana* (M. Jones 1981, 1996) that may have been ‘weeds’ within other crops. Roman literary evidence suggests that oats were better known in their wild form (Spurr 1986: 61). Oats prefer milder and moister growing seasons than wheat or barley, and are normally spring sown. Rye (*Secale cereale*) has only recently been identified as a significant prehistoric crop, and its cultivation might have begun in the Bronze Age (M. Jones 1996: 33). It is also free-threshing, tolerant of acid and/or drier soils (van der Veen 1992: 2), and can be sown in spring and autumn.



Figure 4.03. Reconstruction of an Iron Age ‘sickle’ (or spar hook). (Source: Reynolds 1979: 65).

Many weed species including low-growing plants such as chickweed (*Stellaria media*), blinks (*Montia fontana* ssp. *chondrosperma*) and corn spurrey (*Spergula arvensis*), suggest that cereals were harvested by cutting low on the stalk/straw, or by uprooting (Moffett 1992: 82). Peter Reynolds at the Butser Ancient Farm (1979: 64-

65, 1981: 112-113) noted difficulties in cutting cereal stalks using replicas of ‘sickles’ found at southern English sites such as Danebury, and suggested the heads of cereals were plucked off and collected, with the straw cut afterwards. The ‘sickles’ might actually have been spar-hooks, used to split hazel rods and make willow withies.

Additional potential food species

Two Iron Age legumes were peas (*Pisum sativum*) and Celtic bean (*Vicia faba minor*) (M. Jones 1989: 23; 1996: 33) (Fig. 4.04.), with nitrogen-fixing nodules in their roots and that can be rotated with cereals to maintain soil fertility (Reynolds 1979: 65). Hints of Roman crop rotation were found in a corn drier at Barton Court Farm in Oxfordshire, with Celtic bean and flax seeds and cereal remains that were possible residues from a previous year’s crop (M. Jones 1981: 113).



Figure 4.04. (above left). *Emmer wheat*. **Figure 4.05. (above right).** *Celtic bean*. (Source: Reynolds 1979: 56, 66).

Vetch (*Vicia sativa*) and fat hen (*Chenopodium album*) were cultivated or at least benignly tolerated amongst cereal crops, as their seeds are common on Iron Age and Romano-British sites, with fat hen occasionally in ‘hoarded’ deposits (Reynolds 1979: 65). Vetch provides edible fruits, and a late herbage crop for animals. Apart from its nutritious seeds, fat hen can be eaten raw, cooked as a leafy green (Mabey 1998b: 20-

21), or used as animal fodder. It grows in well-manured soils or on the edges of dung heaps and middens, so it may have seeded itself (Reynolds 1979, 1995). Maturing quickly, if a cereal crop failed early, a crop of fat hen could be obtained within three and a half months, so may have been useful insurance against hard times.

Other potential species often dismissed as weeds of crops and waste ground but which have edible seeds, fruits or leaves include black bindweed (*Convolvulus arvensis*), pernicious charlock (*Sinapis arvensis*), chess or brome (*Bromus secalinus/mollis*) (Hubbard 1975; M. Jones 1981; Reynolds 1979: 69, 1981: 116-117). Some brassicas such as wild cabbage, turnip and black mustard might also have been utilised in the Iron Age (Jones 1996: 33), whilst other potential food plants include Good King Henry, pignuts, salad burnet, nettles, dandelions, water-cress, turnips, wild lettuces, parsnips and carrots, common bistort, sorrel and a host of herbs, nuts, berries and wild fruits (Mabey 1998b; Ryley 1998). Many of these are found on disturbed ground, and might have been present in or around enclosures and on the edges of cultivated fields.

Other useful plants

Flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) was cultivated from the Bronze Age, possibly for its oil-rich seeds but also for fibres for cloth, and for animal fodder (Dark and Dark 1997: 108; Reynolds 1979: 66). Nettle, hemp, lime bast, reed, rush, sage and clematis fibres might also have been used for clothing, baskets, bags and rope (Dark 1999; Hurcombe 2000; M. Jones 1991, 1996). Woad may have provided cloth dyes and perhaps body decoration, and other potential dye plants might have included walnut, common agrimony, fustic, weld and dyer's broom (Hall and Tomlinson 1990; Plowright 1901). Elder can be also used for dyes, with black colour derived from its bark, green from its leaves, and blues and purples from elderberries (Miles 1999: 232-233). Its flowers have been used as herbal remedies and diuretics. Potential medicinal plants could have included comfrey, self-heal, colts-foot, vervain, pennyroyal, opium poppy, marsh mallow, greater celandine, henbane, deadly nightshade and foxglove (Mabey 1998b; Ryley 1998). With some of the latter, the fact these plants could heal or kill may have leant them and those who used them particular potency.

Bracken, rushes and heather might have served for animal bedding (M. Jones 1991, 1996), and heather found at Dunston's Clump, Scrooby Top and Bunny (Bogaard 2000: 184; G. Jones 1987: 59; Wilson 1968: 44) may suggest it too was used as animal bedding. Willow may have been cut to provide withies, and hazel and alder coppiced to provide rods for fences, gates, walls and other structures. I have noted the potential of oak, beech, ash and elm leaves as fodder for livestock in Appendix B. Rare waterlogged contexts elsewhere in Britain have produced wooden agricultural tools, household implements, turned and incised bowls and stave-built 'buckets' (e.g. Bulleid and Gray 1911; Coles and Minnit 1995; Rees 1979). Given the paucity of Iron Age ceramics within much of the study region (see Chapter 10), especially 'domestic' pottery assemblages, the importance of containers of wood, basketry and leather is likely to have been even greater than in other parts of Britain.



Figure 4.06. (above left). *Harvesting rushes in Devon, 1930. (Source: Ward 1991: 40). Figure 4.07. (above right).* *Basket making with willow withies, River Severn, 1948. (Source: Ward 1991: 44).*

By the Iron Age, woodland management was probably undertaken through plot-felling, with managed stands coppiced in identifiable cycles (Buckland 1986: 4; Morgan 1982). Romano-British coppice pole fragments were found at Menagerie Wood (Garton, Hunt, Jenkinson and Leary 1988: 29), and waterlogged planks from coppiced trees at Wild Goose Cottage (Garton and Salisbury 1995: 40-41). Rod fragments of ash, and worked round wood or boards of oak, alder, beech and willow were found at Balby Carr (Allen 2005; Gale 2005; Hall et al. 2005). Wood chips and tool marks at this site also attest to woodworking.

The social lives of plants

Johnston (2005b) recently drew attention to the upland evidence for small garden plots in northern and western Britain during the Bronze Age. He highlighted the need to consider the ‘in-between places’ around buildings, boundaries and in uncultivated corners of fields. Many plants growing in such places might have had medicinal and/or magical or ritual importance, and these niches might have been deliberately set-aside for them and their growth encouraged. Drawing on ethnographic evidence (e.g. Crook 1999; Finerman and Sackett 2003; Harris 1989), he suggested that in prehistory people made no clear distinctions between cultivated plants and ‘wild’, gathered resources (Johnston 2005b: 216). Small garden plots might not appear to be of great economic or social significance, but being so close to dwellings would have embedded these plants and practices within socialised (and perhaps gendered) domestic spheres. Many of Johnston’s arguments are equally applicable to the enclosures and fields of the study period. Some internal spaces within enclosures could have been small garden plots, and many of the potential food and medicinal species noted above would have thrived in untended corners.

In Chapter 3 I noted the social and symbolic importance of animals, and argued that the biographies, identities and memories of animals and people were interwoven through mutual and interdependent rhythms of agency, life and movement. Some proponents of Actor Network Theory suggest that trees can affect human perceptions and experiences of landscapes through changing seasonal and annual qualities (Jones and Cloke 2002: 69-70; Rival 1998: 7-9). Trees and other plants may be caught up in metaphorical and cosmological conceptions of birth, growth, maturation and ancestry (e.g. Bloch 1995: 68; Bonnemère 1998: 115-126; Giambelli 1998: 138-141; Mauzé 1998: 236-238; Utagawa 1999: 257; Wada 1999: 266). Although some have explored the social meanings of animals in later prehistoric and Roman Britain (e.g. Black 1983; Grant 1991; Hill 1995; Wilson 1999; Smith 2005), this has not been the case for plants, aside from considerations of the iconography of cereals on some late Iron Age coins (Creighton 1995, 2000). In Neolithic studies, researchers have begun to explore the potential symbolism of plants and their incorporation in deliberately structured deposits (e.g. Fairburn 2000: 115-119; Thomas 1999: 25).

Ethnographic evidence suggests that plants may form the basis of human symbolic beliefs and practices. Some communities in Australasia and Melanesia people claim descent from ancestral plant beings, and may regard cultivated plants such as yams as sentient beings (Battaglia 1990; Bowden 1983; Crook 1999; Seaglion 1999; Sillitoe 1983, 1999). I do not wish of course to directly transpose such specific beliefs back into an archaeological context, but the importance of cereals and other edible plants for human subsistence, exchange networks, the seasonality of plant growth and the communal effort expended in planting and harvesting crops would probably have entangled them firmly within beliefs and practices associated with identity, exchange, fertility and the cycles of the seasons.

The communal consumption of plants in feasts, and especially as ale, might have been an important part of practices commemorating calendrical events or births, marriages and deaths. The evidence for Iron Age and Romano-British feasting within Britain as a whole and the study region in particular is outlined in Chapters 10 and 11. Plants might also have been caught up in competitions for status between different groups or individuals (q.v. Fairburn 2000: 117), as quantities of grain or ale. Specific communities or social groups within communities might have identified themselves through particular plants. Even in post-medieval Britain, beliefs and practices concerning boughs, John Barleycorn and harvest festivals might have exhibited similar concerns (Hutton 1996a, 1996b). To this must also be added the importance of plants in medicine and magic, and the sensual impact of their colours and smells.

There are plants used as food, for medicine, as construction and structural material, as raw material for necklaces, bracelets, headdresses, as hafts for axes and shafts for arrows and spears. There are plants woven into baskets, wickerwork and cloth, laid as trackways, burnt as aromatics and processed into dyes... There are also... plants as foci for exchange, as totemic signs of identity and membership, as tokens of luck or protection, or as icons – windows into other spheres dominated by spirits or ancestors. Finally, of course, there are plants indicative of the maps and patterns of the greater world: plants as liminal markers, as passages, gateways and thresholds, and plants as environments and habitats for [humans,] animals, insects and other flora. (Swogger 2000: 178-179, my addition in parentheses).

Technology and tools

There is a vast and slightly obsessive literature on prehistoric and Roman agricultural implements (e.g. Curwen 1927, 1938; Fowler 1971, 1983; Manning 1964, 1971; Payne 1957; Rees 1979, 1981; White 1967), a useful summary of which can be found elsewhere (Fowler 2002: 161-181). Wooden hoes and simple digging sticks might have sufficed for small plots and gardens. Late prehistoric ploughing was undertaken with bow ards, which by the later Iron Age were fitted with iron shares, and this was probably still the most common ploughing implement in Roman Britain, although more complex sole ards were probably in use by then too. In order to break up the soil cross-cultivation might have been necessary, and in many parts of Britain ard-marks at right angles to one another have been excavated (Dark and Dark 1997: 101; Evans and Hodder 2006: 133-134). These often seem to relate to just one or two phases of activity, however, and rather than routine cultivation might reflect initial ground breaking and slightly deeper ploughing into the subsoil following clearance.



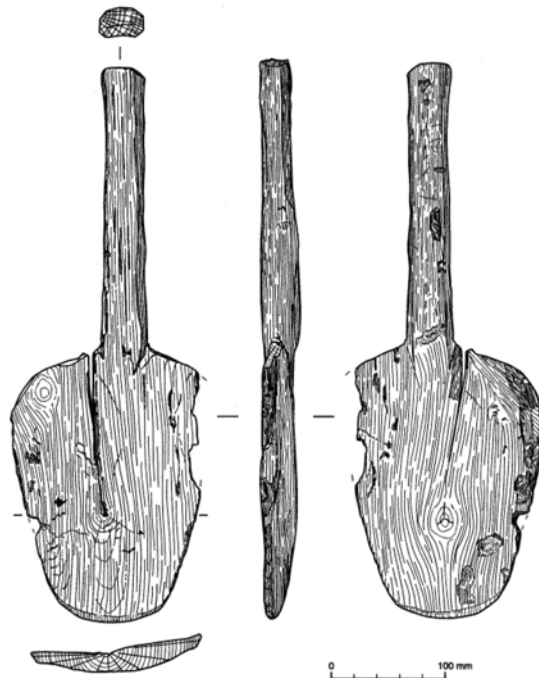
Figure 4.08. *Experimental reconstruction of a bow ard. (Source: Reynolds 1979: 62).*

Later Roman ploughs may have had longer and heavier shares and coulter, although it is still debatable whether mouldboards were introduced in the Roman or post-Roman periods (Fowler 2002: 214; Jones 1989: 131; Manning 1964; Rees 1979: 59-

61). Such ploughs allowed soil to be broken up more easily by ploughing in only one direction, and permitted the cultivation of heavier soils. Weeds such as cornflower, corncockle and stinking mayweed increased during the Romano-British period, perhaps linked to a shift to deeper ploughing and more intensive arable regimes (Fowler 2002: 212).



Figure 4.09. (left). Spademarks revealed in the base of ditches excavated at East Carr, Mattersey, Nottinghamshire. (Source: Knight, Howard and Leary 2004; Morris and Garton 1998a: 54, fig. 3, 1998b). **Figure 4.10. (bottom left).** An iron spade shoe recovered from the base of an excavated ditch at Lincolnshire Way, Armthorpe, South Yorkshire. (Source: Roberts forthcoming). **Figure 4.11. (bottom right).** A wooden spade recovered from waterlogged deposits within a ditch near the enclosure at Bottom Osiers, Gonalston, Notts. (Source: Knight and Elliott forthcoming).



Many Iron Age and Romano-British implements would have been mostly or entirely wood (Fowler 2002; Rees 1979), as was the case well into the recent historic period, and most iron blades or fittings and wooden handles would have been recycled, leaving only a few excavated examples. At East Carr, Mattersey, some field ditches were dug into alluvial clays that preserved marks from a Romano-British wooden spade with an iron spade shoe (Morris and Garton 1998: 54-61) (Fig. 4.09). A waterlogged object of alder that was probably an Iron Age spade was found in the bottom fill of a ditch cut into the alluvium at Bottom Osiers, Hoveringham Quarry, Gonalston (Knight and Elliott forthcoming) (Fig. 4.11). At Lincolnshire Way, Armthorpe, an iron spade shoe was excavated from a Romano-British field ditch (Roberts forthcoming; Rose and Richardson 2004) (Fig. 4.10), and a less well preserved example was also recovered from the well at Dalton Parlours (I.R. Scott 1990: 204, fig. 120). These separate but remarkable finds represent an almost complete suite of evidence for one form of digging tool.

Nevertheless, some digging tools with an extremely long prehistoric provenance were still utilised. Recent excavations at Wattle Syke near Wetherby recovered several antler picks deposited near the corner of a late Iron Age or Romano-British enclosure ditch. Although probably a placed deposit, the tines on the antlers were worn, and they had clearly been used for digging. Antlers that had probably been used as digging tools were also recovered from a layer above a Roman road at the fort in Ilkley (Woodward 1925: 290, fig. 48).



Figure 4.12. (left). An antler pick being excavated from near the base of an enclosure ditch at Wattle Syke, Wetherby, W. Yorks. Source: © AS WYAS.

General discussions of Romano-British arable agriculture and plant husbandry

It has been proposed by some authors that following the Roman occupation of Britain there was an increase in cereal cultivation and improvements in agricultural techniques (Fowler 2002; Frere 1987; Grant 1989; Higham 1991; M. Jones 1981, 1991), which along with a proposed expansion in livestock numbers is attributable to Roman taxation (Branigan 1984: 30). Although perhaps true for parts of central-southern Britain, evidence for this is largely absent in northern England. Such views fit within the progressive, evolutionary accounts of the Romanisation of Britain established early in the twentieth century. Innovations such as metal ard-share tips pre-date the occupation (Fowler 2002: 188; Millett 1990: 97), and it might not have been until the third century AD that the introduction of coulter and large shares took place. Many authors mention Roman inventions such as the *vallus*, a reaping machine described by Pliny and depicted on continental sculptures (Reynolds 1981: 120), but there is no evidence that these were ever used in Britain. Watermills are known (Fowler 2002: 174; Moritz 1958), including examples from Stanwick, and Chesters and Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall, but none have been found within the study region.



Figure 4.13. *Bronze statue of a Romano-British plough team found near Piercebridge, Co. Durham. As one of the animals is an ox and the other a cow, however, this might not represent 'normal' ploughing, but a ritual lustration of the fields or a town foundation (q.v. Manning 1971). The portrayal of such a scene may in any case have had symbolic connotations. (Source: Fowler 2002: 185).*

Some changes that did occur during the Romano-British period included a decline in the importance of spelt and emmer wheat, whilst bread/club wheat, rye and oats became more popular (Fowler 2002: 212; Greig 1991: 309; M. Jones 1996: 31-32). Winter cropping of wheat probably began after the occupation. It has been claimed that the Romans introduced cabbage, parsnips, turnips, carrots and flax (Day 1997), but flax was present in prehistoric Britain, and the other species occurred as wild varieties (M. Jones 1996: 33; Mabey 1998a), although new variants might have been imported. The introduction of hay cropping may have taken place, with no firm evidence of it before the Roman occupation (Greig 1984; M. Jones 1991: 23, 1996: 29-30; Lambrick 1992; Lambrick and Robinson 1988). Winter fodder in the Iron Age might have mostly been obtained from hedge and woodland leaves, and from barley grain and straw. Although river floodplains may have continued to be seasonally used, many may have been converted to hay meadows.



Figure 4.14. *Men and women hay-making, Haute-Savoie, French Alps. (Source: Berger and Mohr 1982: 212).*

Many writers have stated that agricultural expansion into new areas and onto new types of soils took place (e.g. Fowler 2002; Frere 1987), and reclamation of parts of the East Anglian Fens and the Gwent and Somerset Levels along the Severn estuary may have begun during the Romano-British period (Allen and Fulford 1986, 1990;

Dark and Dark 1997: 103-104; Fincham 2002b; Fulford 1990: 29; Grove 2002; Malim 2005; Meddens and Beasley 2001; Rippon 1996, 1997, 2000). This reclamation may have been more piecemeal than is often proposed, and some of the drainage may have begun in late prehistory (Millett 1990: 120-121). The presence of Romano-British pottery in extensive drainage ditches suggests a large-scale approach to reclamation beyond many small-scale Iron Age communities, but these communities were also capable of laying out widespread systems of co-axial fields and trackways. The lack of pre-Roman finds need not indicate that there was no pre-Roman activity, particularly as it took place in regions where Iron Age pottery was also scarce.

There is a possible literary reference for Romano-British viticulture (Hyams 1949), but archaeological evidence for grape cultivation has been found at Wollaston in the Nene Valley of Northamptonshire, and at North Thoresby in Lincolnshire (Brown and Meadows 2000; Brown, Meadows, Turner and Mattingly 2001; Webster, Webster and Petch 1967). This suggests it was more widespread than once thought (cf. Williams 1977), and may be further indication of the mild climate during the Romano-British period. Alexanders, fennel, marjoram, dill, coriander, acanthus, onions, chives and marigolds were all plants introduced to Britain by the Romans for culinary and/or medicinal use, in addition to madder for red dyes (Mabey 1998b; Ryley 1998).

There were probably considerable continuities in many areas between 'native' and 'Roman' rural landscapes, with changes often developments within existing landscapes rather than the superimposition of new agricultural systems (Dark and Dark 1997: 94-95, 113). It was proposed that extensive clearance detected around Hadrian's Wall was associated with the Roman military's need for timber and large-scale cereal production (Dumayne 1994; Dumayne and Barber 1994). Many of these clearance episodes now seem to date to the later Iron Age (Dark 1999; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995; Tipping 1997; van der Veen 1992). Existing native agricultural practices were possibly capable of meeting increased demand (Millett 1990: 98). The significance of the Roman occupation may have been in terms of rights and control over production, and in the transportation, distribution and storage of produce, and practices of processing and consumption (Jones 1982: 101; Meadows 1994, 1997).

Intensive and extensive agriculture and ‘expansion’

Many authors have explored distinctions between ‘intensive’ and ‘extensive’ agriculture. It has been argued that during the Bronze Age there was a move from long fallow to short fallow agriculture, characterised by annual or multi-cropping, shorter periods of fallow, and changes such as increased traction ploughing, manuring and soil management and conservation (Barrett 1994: 143-144; Harding 1989: 178-179). Such interpretations were based on earlier, influential characterisations of different intensities of land use and social organisation (Boserup 1965; Goody 1976). Barrett interpreted the appearance of extensive field systems in Britain during the early-mid Bronze Age as a shift towards more intensive, short fallow agriculture and increased production. Recent work on Cranborne Chase, however, failed to identify any significant changes in production following the appearance of field systems (French et al. 2003; Lewis forthcoming). Great caution should thus be exercised in viewing archaeological evidence for land allotment and land division as evidence for concomitant increases in production and agricultural intensification.

Van der Veen and O’Connor (1998) distinguished between agricultural intensification and extensification. They define intensification as raising the output (in terms of volume of cereals and/or increased head of stock) per unit area of land by increasing the input through labour or other resources (such as manuring and/or technology), but in intensive systems although the return per area might be high, the return per capita is often low. Horticulture is a classic example of this. Extensive agricultural systems signify the increase of output by enlarging the area under cultivation or pasture, without an associated increase in labour or other inputs (van der Veen and O’Connor 127-129). They thus have a low input and low return per area, but a higher return per capita, and sheep rearing and large-scale cereal cultivation are examples of this. In practice there are rarely such clear-cut divisions. Van der Veen and O’Connor identified a series of agricultural strategies involving forms of agricultural expansion (van der Veen and O’Connor 1998: 129). These include an increase of the areas under cultivation and/or pasture into new areas by new people, without changes in animal or plant husbandry techniques; an increase in yield within existing farmed areas through

new crops or animals, without changes in animal or plant husbandry; and an increase in yield through changes in animal or plant husbandry which might involve either more intensive practices, or more extensive cultivation and/or pastoralism. Other changes might involve a shift towards more specialised husbandry of particular crops or animals as part of a market and/or cash economy, and a move towards non-domestic modes of production with surpluses for trade or sale as a result.

Arable agriculture in the field systems – theories and evidence

Some explanations for land use in the region's field systems have noted that most modern soils are of too poor quality to support much arable agriculture without significant input from artificial fertilisers and pesticides, and are prone to wind and water erosion. Riley suggested that:

The land near the rivers would have been suitable for meadows to be grazed by stock, but higher up the sandy soil on the ridges between the rivers would have been too dry in summer to be good for grassland. It would also have become liable to become infested with bracken. These light soils would have been ploughed easily with primitive equipment, but their acid nature would only have suited oats or rye...and crops of other cereals would have been poor, in the absence of lime which is applied by farmers at the present day (Riley 1980: 26).

The 'brickwork' fields recorded by Riley average 1-2 hectares in area (Riley 1980: 26), larger than the 'Celtic' fields of the Wessex region that were mostly 0.1-0.6ha (Bowen 1961: 20; McOmish, Field and Brown 2002: 54; Reynolds 1979: 52), which Reynolds suggests could be ploughed or harrowed in a single day. Riley argued that the comparatively large size of many 'brickwork' fields in particular would have been too great for ploughing with the equipment available in the later prehistoric or Romano-British periods. Unless evidence could be found for subdivisions within the larger fields, which would of course be difficult given centuries of later ploughing, then Riley thought that they might well have been laid out to retain animals.

Hayes agreed that many ‘brickwork’ fields were too big for arable agriculture given the likely available workforce, but argued that due to the poor grazing and lack of water sources a pastoral ‘economy’ based on sheep was likely (Hayes 1981: 117). Branigan suggested that if the arable land associated with a particular settlement was 100ha rather than the 150ha proposed by Hayes, even with two families in each settlement there would still have been a shortage of labour at key points in the agricultural year such as harvest time. He also noted the extremely small quantities of pottery found outside enclosures during fieldwalking, which he thought indicated that manuring did not take place. As he regarded the soils over the Sherwood Sandstones as nutrient poor, he too therefore argued that the ‘brickwork’ fields were primarily for pastoral agriculture. However, he proposed that sheep were not kept for meat as Hayes suggested, but to supply an expanding Roman wool industry (Branigan 1989: 164). He thought these fields were part of extensive, centrally managed Roman estates, with enclosures representing the settlements of estate workers.

There are several fundamental misconceptions in all these arguments. The first is that modern soil characteristics and modern ‘common sense’ farming techniques can be transposed back in time to the later prehistoric and Romano-British periods. This is highly questionable. Many of the soils in the study region today are indeed of poor quality, but they are the products of over two thousand years of cultivation, and over this time their nutrient quality has surely deteriorated. Deposits of periglacial, wind-borne loess used to cover many of the Magnesian Limestone areas (P. Buckland pers. comm.; Jarvis et al. 1984), and these are usually very fertile but vulnerable to water and wind erosion. Such loess only survives today in a few isolated pockets. Similarly, many of the soils above the river valley or Sherwood sandstone sand and gravel deposits are also easily windborne, being free-draining and prone to dryness. Modern ‘sand blows’ were noted by Riley (1980: 69, plate 16), and may have been detected in deposits at sites such as Ferry Lane Farm, Collingham, where layers of sand up to 0.30m thick sealed Romano-British features (Bourn, Hunn and Symonds 2000: 99). There is also considerable evidence for alluviation and colluviation at sites along the Rivers Trent and Idle (Elliott and Knight 1998; Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 117-120; Samuels and Buckland 1978, see Chapter 1). By the late third and fourth centuries AD, increased flooding and alluviation might have caused many low-lying

settlements to be abandoned. The anthropogenic processes causing or at least contributing to these regional trends are likely to have included further woodland clearance and increased cultivation, perhaps exacerbated by deep-ploughing techniques capable of severing root mats, and the sowing of winter as well as summer crops (Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 120).

Medieval and post-medieval ploughing might have caused greater soil degradation, although across much of the Sherwood Sandstones land use in these periods seem to have consisted mostly of sheep pasture (Mingay 1989: 4), with turnips and other fodder crops introduced later (Lyth 1989: 39-43). In the Trent Valley, a more mixed medieval agricultural regime included barley and oat growing (Lowe 1798: 28, referenced in Garton, Leary and Naylor 2002: 37). Early modern and more recent agriculture has produced more profound changes. At Hunster Grange Farm, just south of New Rossington, an archaeological evaluation in 1991 investigated an area where ‘brickwork’ fields and a double-ditched trackway had been identified (Riley 1980: 94, map 8). Only a few ditches were located, however, despite cropmarks being visible in the field prior to fieldwork, and in surrounding fields during the project (D. Riley pers. comm.). This probably resulted from soil erosion through ploughing and erosion, confirmed by the farmer who over ten years had noted the increased visibility of his house over the ridge from a neighbouring hill (Sydes 1991: 24). At least 1-2m of the gentle ridge at Hunster Grange Farm had disappeared. The continued presence of cropmarks might be explained through the retention of chemical ‘ghosts’ within the subsoil – even though the ditches had been ploughed out, leaching of minerals through the soil profiles might have created changes in the underlying drift geology that continued to affect plant growth above (C. Merrony pers. comm.).

Due to this long history of ploughing and erosion, buried soils have rarely been encountered on most archaeological sites, with the exception of deposits preserved beneath prehistoric linear earthworks such as Becca Banks and Grim’s Ditch in West Yorkshire (Wheelhouse and Burgess 2001), and underneath Roman roads, as at Roman Ridge and Adwick-le-Street (O’Neill 2001; Upson-Smith 2002). Without detailed soil and palaeo-environmental analyses, there is no evidence that certain soils were not viable for arable agriculture. Micromorphological and pollen analyses of

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soils beneath the *agger* of a Roman road at Adwick-le-Street suggested cultivation *had* taken place prior to road construction (Usai 2004: 25-30; Upson-Smith 2002: 57). Some areas may indeed have been marginal, but not to the same degree as today, and many people may have attended to the use of soil much more carefully in the past, demonstrating knowledge of its fragility.

Furthermore, the size of the bounded field areas need not reflect the areas that were in pastoral or arable use. In Sweden, *stensträngar* or stonewalled boundaries of prehistoric and early medieval date did *not* define cultivated areas themselves, which were smaller plots within them, delineated by areas of clearance, lynchets or traces of fencing (Petersson 1999, forthcoming; Widgren 1990: 11). These were only detected through the stripping and excavation of internal areas of fields. Once again, land allotment and land division are not necessarily the same as land use. Within the study region, where internal areas of fields have been excavated later plough truncation has usually taken place. At Balby Carr, a rare waterlogged fenceline of oak stakes was found (O'Neill 2005, fig. 5), although it was not clear if this was *within* a ditched field. It is also impossible to establish how many of the fields within particular blocks of field systems were in use for arable or pasture at any one time (see Chapter 7).

Branigan's idea (1989: 164) that a lack of pottery scatters indicates a lack of manuring around many of these settlements is extremely problematic. He assumed that manure was stored in farmyard middens which incorporated domestic refuse, and that this material was then taken out at intervals and spread onto the fields. This is very much a medieval and post-medieval pattern. Nevertheless, across the southern downlands of England for example, under the sheep : corn regime large flocks of sheep were turned out to graze on cereal stubble after harvest, and were kept overnight in temporary hurdle pens which could be moved around to ensure the maximum amount of manuring from the animals. Such practices would not result in scatters of artefacts.

Furthermore, the fieldwalking of many enclosure sites within the region, including those likely to represent 'domestic' farmsteads, usually does not produce much

ceramic material culture at all, even Romano-British pottery (see Chapter 11, Appendix F). In 1992-1997 an extensive fieldwalking programme was undertaken at South Muskham in the Trent Valley, where a high concentration of cropmarks represented pit alignments, ditched field boundaries, trackways and enclosures (Whimster 1989: 80, 1992: 11). Despite the approximately 209ha of ploughed fields walked, only 73 definite and 21 possible Romano-British sherds were retrieved, most third or fourth century grey wares, with 11 hand-made, coarse pottery sherds that could be late Iron Age or early Romano-British in date (Garton and Leary 2008: 4.1-4.2; Garton, Leary and Naylor 2002: 27). Similarly small quantities of Romano-British pottery were reported from fieldwalking carried out by the ARTEAMUS society and the Dearne Valley College at Barnburgh Cliffs (W. Kitchen pers. comm.) and at Marr Thick by Sheffield University (C. Merrony pers. comm.).

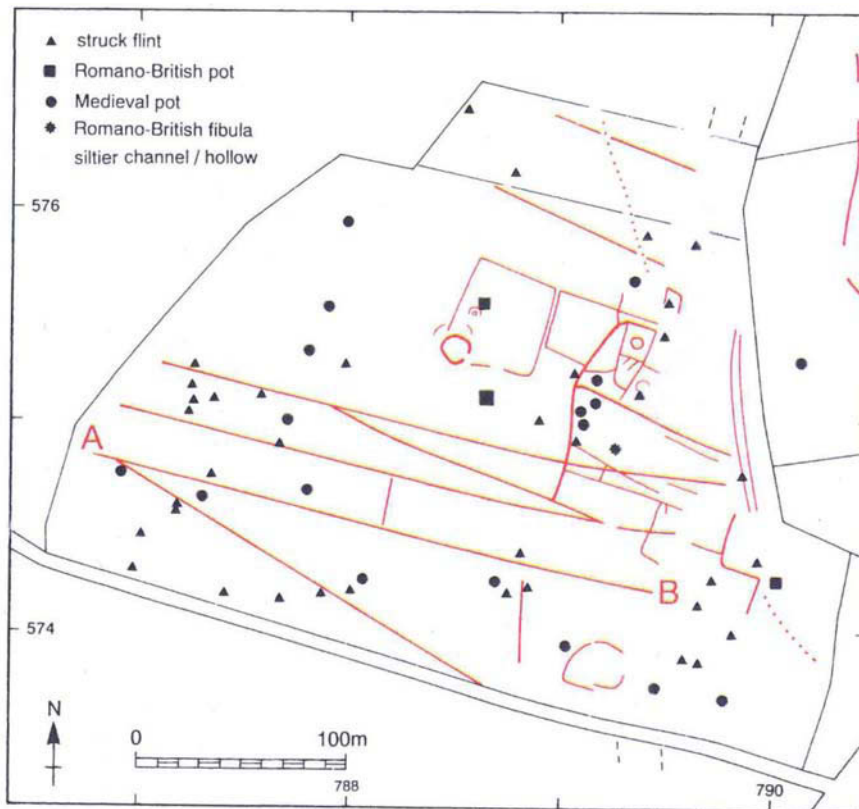


FIGURE 6: South Muskham AAI, field 8648: all artefacts plotted against cropmarks (red), and the channel/hollow shown by a darker cropmark stripe (cf. Plate 1). Scale 1:4000.

Cropmark plot by RCHME, © Crown copyright, NMR

Figure 4.15. Detailed plot of artefacts recovered from fieldwalking of field 8648 at South Muskham in Nottinghamshire. (Source: Garton, Leary and Naylor 2002, fig. 6).

This evidence suggests that many communities consumed and discarded little non-perishable material culture. Manure might thus have been entering the soil of these fields, but not with many artefacts incorporated within it. At South Muskham, for example, there were only four rather diffuse scatters of Romano-British artefacts identified, of which only one was associated with an enclosure (Garton, Leary and Naylor 2002: 34, fig. 8) (Fig. 4.15). Although the densities of pottery recovered were much smaller than sherd distributions found by fieldwalking in southern England (cf. Gaffney and Tingle 1989: 216-218), they were comparable to some in other regions such as East Anglia (Crowther 1983). In contrast, the artefacts recovered through fieldwalking 'brickwork' field systems in north Nottinghamshire were strongly associated with some enclosures (Garton and Leary 2008: 4.2; Garton in prep.; Garton, Leary and Naylor 2002: 35-36, fig. 9). This suggests that there were distinct functional practices and differences in consumption and agricultural practices between the two areas, and/or social or cultural variations. It might also indicate chronological variations too.

A final major problem with Branigan's hypothesis is that cultural factors probably influenced artefact consumption and discard (Chadwick 1999, 2004; Cumberpatch and Robbins n.d.). Many artefacts may have been deposited in rather specific places, rather than just strewn around the landscape (see Chapter 11 and Appendix F). At West Moor Park, Armthorpe for example, excavations by AS WYAS found that although most of the field and trackway ditches were devoid of finds, one otherwise unremarkable length of field ditch contained one or more large dumps of Romano-British pottery, including several near complete vessels (Evans 2001c). It was clear from the range of dates of this material that the sherds had lain or been curated elsewhere, prior to their deposition. Thus, there were no wide patterns of pottery dispersal from middens. There may also have been sorting of refuse, with organic compostable detritus separated from non-organic components. If pottery was not being thrown onto manure heaps, it would not then be dispersed across fields. Until palaeo-environmental and micromorphological sampling are used to look specifically for manuring indicators, no firm conclusions should be reached.

Palaeo-environmental and archaeological evidence for plant husbandry in the study region

The data from excavations are outlined in Appendix A, and Tables 1-3. Sites and their botanical assemblages have again been grouped according to modern county boundaries, though this is obviously an artificial divide used simply for convenience. In addition to carbonised and/or waterlogged plant remains, other evidence such as the presence of querns is also noted.

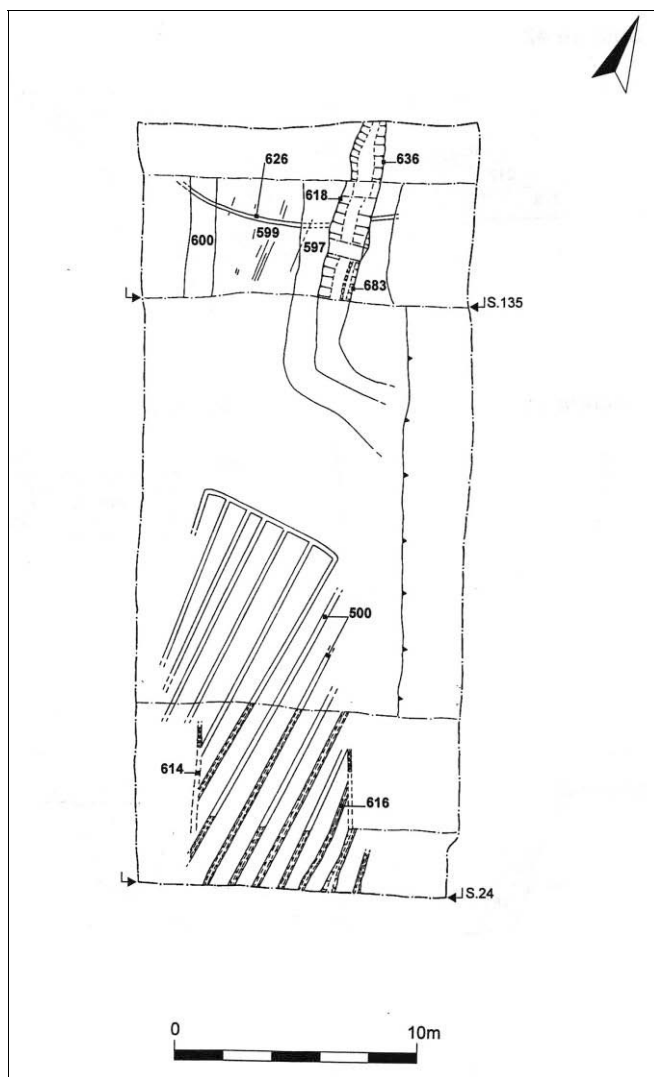


Fig. 4.16. (left). Possible cultivation marks found underneath the agger of the Roman road at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire. The northern group are most likely to have resulted from cultivation. (Source: Meadows and Chapman 2004: fig. 8).

At Red House, Adwick-le-Street in South Yorkshire, the Roman road between Rossington and Castleford passed close (*c.* 60m) to an Iron Age and Romano-British enclosure (Area 7 E1). Sealed beneath the *agger* were a series of plough furrows (Fig.

4.16). The southernmost group of furrows were deep and filled with stones, and were probably part of the process of road construction – Roman literary sources described such practices (Meadows and Chapman 2004: 14). Another group of smaller furrows to the north, however, were likely to have been due to late Iron Age or very early Roman ploughing pre-dating the construction of the Roman road which probably took place in AD 70/71. Soil micromorphology also suggested that the deposits found underneath the road were buried soils (Upson-Smith 2002: 57; Usai 2004: 25-30).

This is the first confirmed evidence for Iron Age or Romano-British cultivation marks within the region. Possible plough furrows and ditches were identified at Thief Dale, Arnold (Garton and Malone 2002: 160), but have since been reinterpreted as plough-truncated ditch bases and periglacial ‘stripes’ (Garton and Guilbert 2005: 153). Other evidence for crop husbandry or processing is more circumstantial. Beehive and flat quernstones were manufactured at many locales, including the Millstone Grit stone outcropping at Wharnccliffe Crags near Sheffield (Challis and Harding 1975: 23-25; Wright 1988: 74). These were distributed widely across the region, most probably leaving the site as roughouts to be finished elsewhere (Wright 1988: 74-75). English Heritage recently surveyed part of the manufacturing site in more detail (Fig. 4.17), and identified over 2300 roughouts in the survey area alone.

Square four-post structures (and similar five to nine-post structures) have been found at many Bronze Age and Iron Age sites across Britain, and are usually interpreted as raised granaries (Cunliffe 1991, 1995, 2003; Fowler 1983; Gent 1983). I discuss these features and their possible social significance further in Chapter 9, and data concerning examples from the study region are detailed in Appendix F.

Interpretation and discussion

Three interesting groups of sites can be identified through closer examination of the admittedly limited palaeo-environmental evidence. Firstly, probable cereal producing sites have been identified at Parlington Hollins East, Garforth, and Billingley Drive, Thurnscoe. As Appendix A and Tables 1-3 demonstrate, these all had similar ‘signatures’ in terms of their archaeobotanical evidence¹. It is also likely that Dalton

Parlours, Swillington Common South, Dunston's Clump and Scrooby Top were also cultivating their own cereals. Secondly, Dalton Parlours, Billingley Drive, Thurnscoe, Dunston's Clump and perhaps Stile Hill Colton and Scrooby Top all have evidence for bread wheat; and these sites also displayed many 'Romanised' aspects in their architecture or material culture (see Chapter 10). This might suggest that some people who were most receptive to Roman influences were also innovators in agricultural practices, although the situation was undoubtedly complex. Topham Farm, Sykehouse, and Balby Carr stand out as very different from all of the other sites. They produced very little evidence for cereals at all. This might be further indication that occupation at these locales was focused mainly on livestock, and in terms of their low-lying landscape setting possibly took place on a seasonal basis as well.

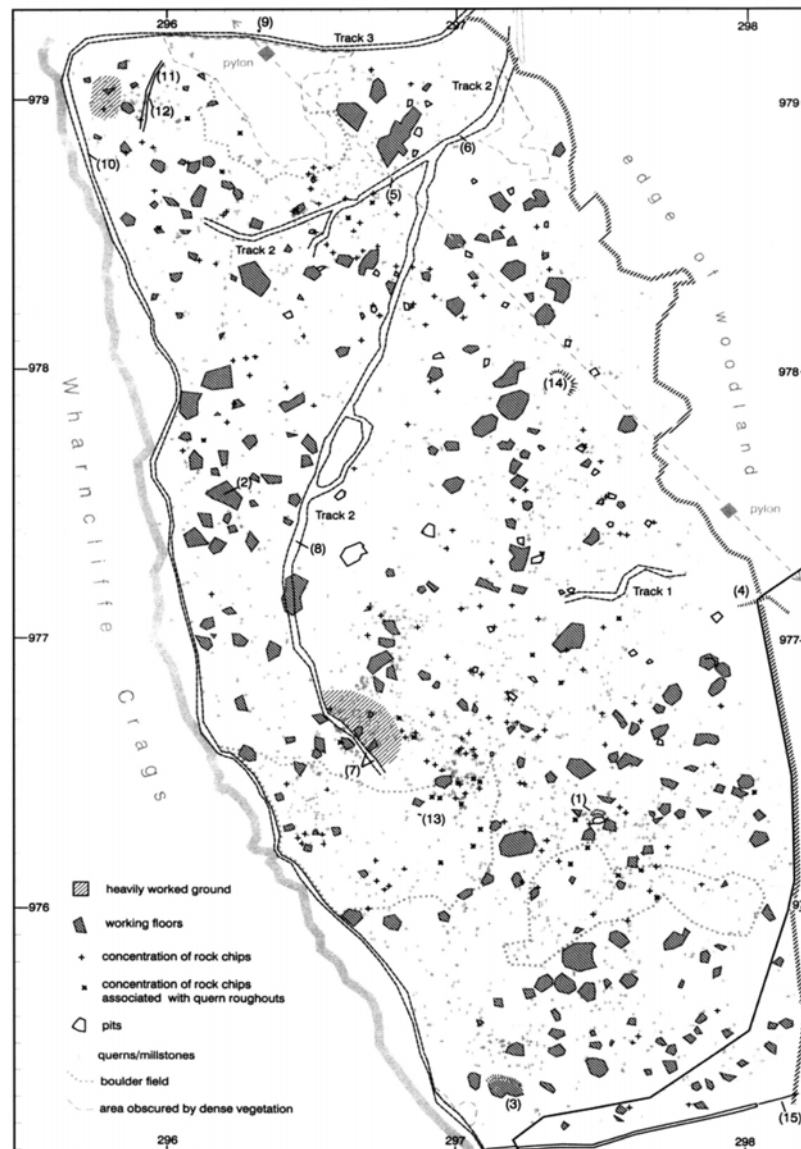


Fig. 4.17. (right). Part of the survey of the quernstones and working faces at Wharncliffe, Sheffield. (Source: Pearson and Oswald 2005: 19).

There is therefore growing palaeo-environmental evidence for cereal cultivation, but mostly from Magnesian Limestone areas rather than Sherwood Sandstone sites and ‘brickwork’ fields. To some extent this is a product of fieldwork biases, and the areas in which developer-funded archaeological work has been concentrated. Apart from Dunston’s Clump and Armthorpe, few ‘brickwork’ field system enclosures have been excavated and subjected to systematic sampling, but the poor preservation of palaeo-environmental remains on the acidic sands and gravel soils certainly remains a considerable methodological problem. Nevertheless, as suggested in Chapter 6, the emphasis in these areas was probably more on pastoral production and livestock herding rather than arable cultivation. This question must be one key area of research for future investigations.



Figure 4.18. (top left). *Woman ploughing with two mules in Greece. (Source: Berger and Mohr 1982: 265).* **Fig. 4.19. (top right).** *Man sowing grain, 1947. (Source: Ward 1991: 26).* **Fig. 4.20. (bottom left).** *Clearing a field of stones, West Yorkshire, 1945. (Source: Ward 1991: 31).* **Fig. 4.21. (bottom right).** *Women working the fields, Valais, French Alps. (Source: Berger and Mohr 1982: 264).*

‘The shadow’s singing’² – embodied practices of plant husbandry

As with animal husbandry (Chapters 5 and 6), plant husbandry was undertaken as a series of embodied practices and daily and seasonal routines, with many tasks probably divided according to gender, age and experience. Individuals carried out some tasks, households and extended families others; whilst some were probably undertaken by different families or community groups. Sowing, ploughing, coppicing and hedge laying for example, could have been undertaken by just a few more skilled individuals, but harvesting, threshing and haymaking would have required much more labour, and several different families or kin groups may have co-operated in this. Not every family or farmstead might have owned an ard or plough, or had cattle suitable as traction animals. Some equipment and labour may have been shared, with possibilities for reinforcing social relationships, or the potential for creating disputes when equipment was broken or not returned, or help unreciprocated.

As in many contemporary small-scale agricultural societies men might have been normally responsible for ploughing and the routine care of large draught animals, perhaps with women or children leading the oxen³; but cultivation using spades, digging sticks or hoes might have more often been women’s tasks (Blackwood 1987; Goody 1976). Women may have tended garden or ‘wild’ plants in and around roundhouses and enclosures (q.v. Finerman and Sackett 2003; Hastorf 1991), and this work might have been especially important if cereal harvests failed. Such gendered roles are only assumptions and generalisations, however, and there are often exceptions to these. Women might often have performed the same tasks as men, especially if men were absent or had died (e.g. Fig. 4.18). There is also ethnographic evidence for ‘nested tenure’ with different gender, age and status groups having access to and control over different plants (Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997). All ages and genders might have been involved with harvesting, threshing and haystacking, but perhaps only those with more experience were responsible for coppicing or hedge laying. Weeding, bird scaring and stone gathering or clearance could have been carried out by even very young children. Gleaning from harvested fields might have been the provenance of the very young and very old.



Figure 4.22. (top left). Men using wooden spades to break up soil in the Kaugel valley, New Guinea. (Source: Steensberg 1980: 77). **Fig. 4.23. (top right).** Somba women winnowing grain, Dahomey, West Africa. (Source: Englebert 1973: 133). **Fig. 4.24. (centre left).** A Rai couple cultivating soil, Nepal. (Source: Mendell 2000: 85). **Fig. 4.25. (centre right).** Men, women and children digging fields in the Peruvian Andes. (Source: Scott-McNab 1994: 16). **Fig. 4.26. (bottom).** Giving winter feed to cattle in Okehampton, Devon, 1961. (Source: Ward 1991: 19).

Conclusions

Some authors have claimed that after the Roman conquest what little local indigenous cultivation there had been in northern England was largely abandoned, and grain was instead imported from the south (Branigan 1984: 30; Seaward 1976: 22-23). This assertion now seems utterly untenable in light of the evidence for continued arable cultivation across northern England (Haselgrove 1984; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995; van der Veen 1992), including my study region. This was not necessarily either intensive or extensive production (cf. van der Veen and O'Connor 1998), but mostly for individual households and small communities, and perhaps allowing for a modest, tradable surplus.

Large-scale, centrally managed Roman arable 'estates' might be expected to have very regular, even centuriated field systems, with central storage and administrative centres. The agricultural enclosures and storage and administrative buildings associated with these hypothetical estates would be substantial in size and regular in form. There is some potential evidence for such Roman estates in the fenlands of East Anglia, at sites such as Stonea in Cambridgeshire (Jackson and Potter 1996, but see Taylor 2000 for a critique of such arguments). As I shall outline in Chapter 7, the presumed regularity of even the 'brickwork' fields is illusory, and there is simply *no* archaeological evidence for any centralised, regular centres. In the third and fourth centuries AD, more intensive and extensive agriculture does seem to have taken place within the study region, however, although it is still not clear if this was related to major increases in agricultural production, or changes in social factors such as land tenure (see Chapter 7).

Despite the limited evidence, probable cereal producer sites have been identified in West Yorkshire, South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. In some areas at least, crops must have been significant. For many settlements, these might have been small arable infields. In these, manure from byres and pens might have been spread onto the land, or more probably, animals were grazed on stubble after harvests and over winters. Some fields may have been rotated from arable to pasture, especially on poorer soils.

Animal husbandry would have been absolutely vital for the production of manure, either through rotation every few years, folding over the winter, and/or the addition of manure from middens and byres. If any extensification and intensification of arable agriculture did take place, it would have required a concomitant increase in the numbers of livestock that were kept (van der Veen and O'Connor 1998: 133).

Notes

1. An influential model developed by Martin Jones (M. Jones 1985, 1996) has dominated many of the interpretations about whether or not archaeobotanical assemblages indicate that a settlement was a 'producer' and/or a 'consumer' site, including many of the analyses from the study region. This is based upon the relative proportions of grains, chaff and weed seeds recovered in samples. This model has been criticised, however (Van der Veen 1992: 98; Van der Veen and Jones 2007: 420-421). In reality, many factors such as the nature of the archaeological context, and whether the cereal species were glume wheats (emmer or spelt) or free-threshing cereals (bread wheat or barley), would also have been important. In northern England in particular, methodological and preservational factors have probably created a bias against 'producer' sites.

In this interpretation of the arable archaeology of the region, I have been necessarily reliant upon the analyses of the palaeo-environmental specialists, but I have tried to use their data in a qualified manner. Some very broad distinctions between different sites are thus possible to identify in some instances. Even in areas with more favourable palaeo-environmental preservation, the lack of *all* forms of evidence for cereal cultivation at some sites may suggest that such examples were predominantly pastoral. It is also clear, however, that cultivation *did* take place around many enclosure sites.

2. James Crowden. *Scything*. In J. Crowden (1991) *Blood, Earth and Medicine*. Parrett Press.
3. Helen Wickstead (forthcoming) has identified a clear androcentric historical trend in many past authors' accounts of the development of arable agriculture, with 'man' and technology driving ever-improving processes of land enclosure and the intensification of productivity. In these accounts the plough is firmly interpreted as male technology (Childe 1942; Engels 1884; Goody 1976), a tool for the mastery of feminised nature.

Movement 4

Scything

Gently we feel the edge of dawn creep forward
Between mist and pine.
Gently we swing the curved blade into the wet grass
Into the damp dew
Gently we edge knocked knees forward
Into the swathe.

Moving ragwort and daisy
 smartweed and sorrell
 corncockle and chicory
Cutting, cutting, cutting close

Down to the roots, down to the moss
 timothy and foxtail
 cock's foot and fescue
 dog's tail and ryegrass.

Gently we swing the shoulders
 charlock and dodder
 sweet vernal and sowthistle
Bowling to the rhythm of the scythe
The meadow's pasture, the measured stride
Creeping forward into the shadow's singing.

SWISH SWISH SWISH SWISH

James Crowden

From J. Crowden (1991) *Blood, Earth and Medicine*. Parrett Press.

CHAPTER 5

Trackways and Hooves Part I – Animal Husbandry in the Study Region

In this chapter, I examine animal husbandry during the later Iron Age and Romano-British periods with particular reference to northern England, along with some of the evidence for pastoral agriculture from sites within the study region and the likely husbandry practices associated with them, in addition to the possible social and symbolic importance of animals and animal husbandry to these people.

Problems with the evidence

As with plant remains (see Chapter 4), most geologies and soils in the study region are too acidic for the preservation of animal bone. Magnesian Limestone areas offer the best preservational potential, but bone condition may still be very poor. Bones may be severely eroded and only larger skeletal elements may be found, hindering identification, ageing and sexing. Bones from neonates and juveniles and those of smaller species rarely survive, yet such information is vital to considering past animal populations and husbandry practices. Most excavations within the region produce less than 1000 bone fragments, but such samples are considered too small for statistical analyses (Hambleton 1999: 13; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995: 131-135). During the M1-A1 Link Road investigations, 7102 bone fragments were recovered, the majority from one site at Parlington Hollins, but even here only 573 bones were identifiable (Richardson 2001a: 214). At Dalton Parlours, 4432 animal bone fragments were recovered, of which only 741 (or 16.7%) could be identified to species (Berg 1990: 174). These sites were on Magnesian Limestone, and are *good* assemblages for the region! At Dunston's Clump, occupied from the late first century BC to the third century AD, only a few calcined fragments and loose teeth were found (Harman 1987: 61). Waterlogged ponds, wells and ditches have sometimes produced better preserved remains, as at Moor Pool Close, Rampton (Knight 2000a) and Chainbridge Lane (Eccles, Caldwell and Mincher 1988). On many sites, animal bones survive better in

pits and postholes, whilst those in ditches are more worn (Richardson 2001a: 215-216). The fills of 'closed' features such as postholes accumulated rapidly or were deliberately backfilled, whereas features such as ditches remained open for much longer with the bones within susceptible to greater erosion and damage. Social practices were also important, with placed deposits of animal remains perhaps occurring more frequently in pits and postholes (see Chapter 11).

The focus of research is also problematic, with a recent survey of faunal assemblages from northern England concentrating on Cumbria, Lancashire, County Durham, North Yorkshire and Northumberland (Huntley and Stallibrass 1995). A review of midlands assemblages remains unpublished (Albarella in prep.), but other discussions concentrate on Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire and the West Midlands. Most studies have concentrated on the Wessex and Thames Valley regions due to problems of sample size. Ellen Hambleton only examined a few Iron Age sites in northern England, none of them in the study region; considering other assemblages too small for meaningful analysis (Hambleton 1999: 16). Romano-British faunal studies have tended to focus on military sites along Hadrian's Wall, or large urban and/or military centres such as York and Carlisle (e.g. Dobney 2001; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995). On older excavations animal bone was often not retained (cf. Corder 1951; Daniels 1966; Phillips 1973), or the assemblages never analysed in detail. Variations in analytical techniques and data presentation mean that even published assemblages often cannot be compared directly to one another (Dobney 2001; Hambleton 1999; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995).

Clearly, considerable difficulties must be overcome before detailed 'reconstructions' of past husbandry practices within the study area are possible. Despite advances in archaeological techniques, better bone assemblages will never be recovered from many sites. This will always be a problematic category of evidence. If we do not write about a region's archaeology, however, we effectively render it invisible (q.v. Cumberpatch and Robbins n.d.; Robbins 1999). This applies to discussions of potential animal husbandry regimes as well as patterns of field systems and settlements. In this thesis I am less concerned with relatively narrow palaeoeconomic approaches, and more interested in exploring how people and animals might have

inhabited and experienced these landscapes. I therefore use the limited faunal assemblages in a critical manner in conjunction with analyses of physical features within these landscapes probably linked to animal husbandry. This is necessarily interpretative, but my approach is based on plausible inferences informed by ethnohistoric and ethnographic analogies.

Traditional accounts of late Iron Age and Romano-British animal husbandry

Traditional or culture-history approaches to the Iron Age and Romano-British periods have generalised about the ‘economies’ of different areas of Britain, and were clearly influenced by Cyril Fox’s division between Highlands and Lowlands (Fig. 5.01), which Fox believed had led to the development of regional ‘cultures’ (Fox 1932). Altitude and rainfall were regarded as absolute factors in inhibiting or encouraging different agricultural regimes and social organisation.

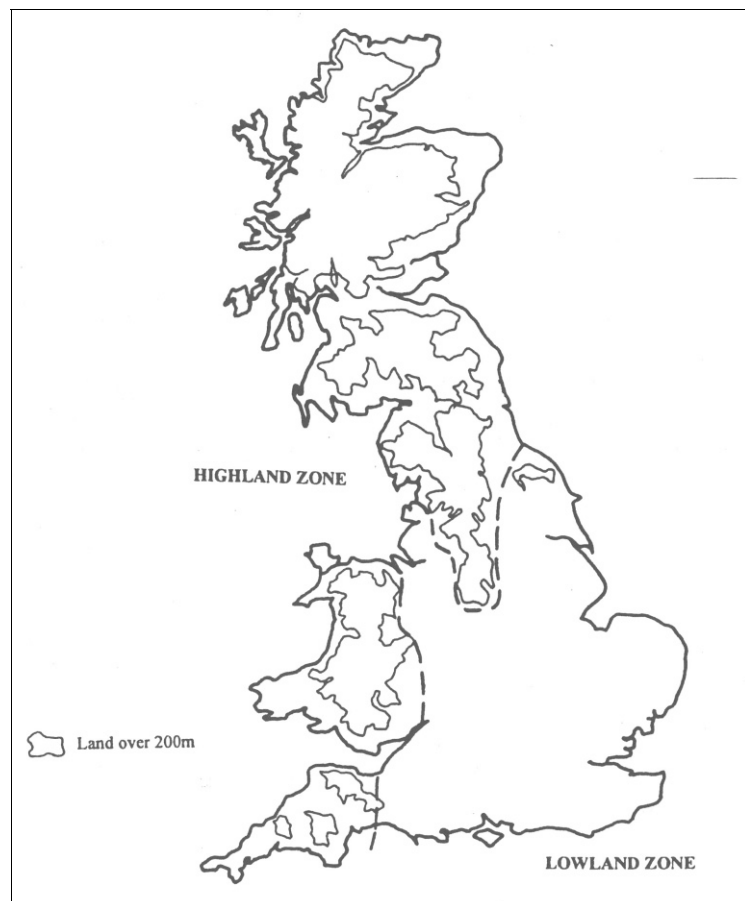


Figure 5.01. (right).
*The Highland : Lowland
division of Britain.*
(Source: Hambleton
1999: 6, fig. 1, after Fox
1932).

Stuart Piggott divided Iron Age Britain into what he termed ‘Woodbury’ and ‘Stanwick’ type cultures (Piggott 1958). The ‘Woodbury’ type, based on the type-site of Little Woodbury in Wiltshire (Bersu 1940; Brailsford 1948, 1949), was supposedly characterised by mixed farming, but with arable agriculture predominant. The ‘Stanwick’ type, based on the highly atypical northern *oppidum* (Wheeler 1954), consisted largely of pastoralism, including nomadic herding (Piggott 1958: 24-25). Wheeler proposed that the Iron Age ‘economy’ of North Yorkshire comprised semi-nomadic pastoralism with a diet of ‘unmitigated mutton’ (Wheeler 1954: 9). This lugubrious lifestyle had clear cultural implications for Piggott:

The Celtic cow-boys and shepherds, footloose and unpredictable, moving with their animals over rough pasture and moorland, could never adopt the Roman way of life in the manner of the settled farmers of the South. (Piggott 1958: 25).

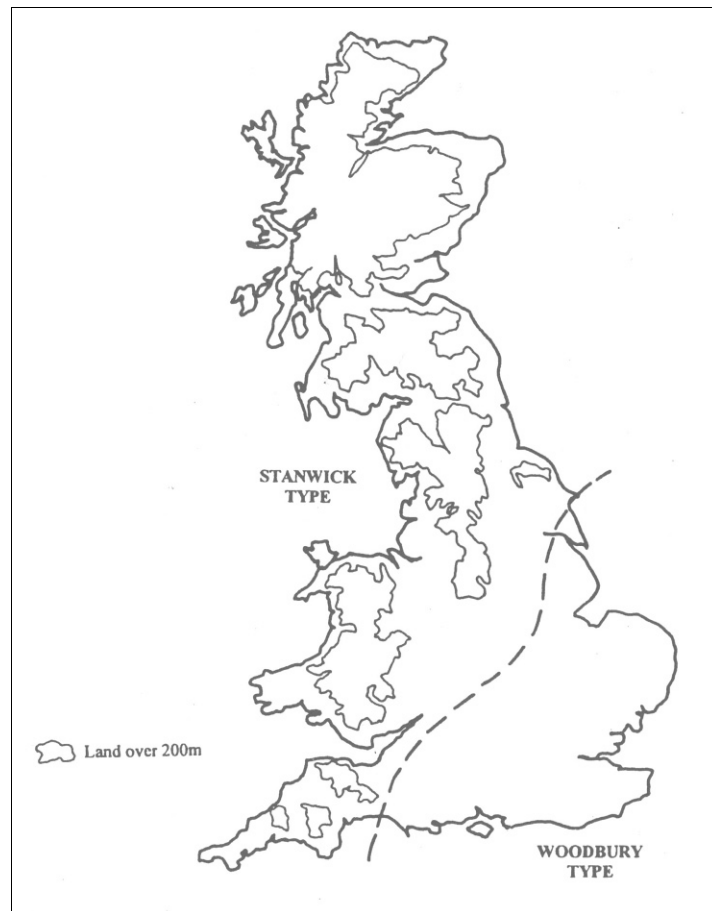


Figure 5.02. ‘Stanwick’ and ‘Woodbury’ cultures in Britain. (Source: Hambleton 1999: 7, fig. 2, after Piggott 1958).

Piggott did not simply follow Fox's Highland: Lowland distinction (*contra* Hambleton 1999: 7), and lowland areas such as the Trent Valley and the Vale of York were also included in his 'Stanwick pastoral zone'. Environmental limitations were no doubt a major factor in his deliberations, but Piggott and Wheeler's ideas were based on a perceived paucity of Iron Age settlements in northern England, and a lack of evidence for mixed agriculture. In Piggott's influential model, it was not until the arrival of the Romans with superior agricultural techniques that arable farming increased. Such thinking was widespread at the time – Rivet described the Brigantes as 'pastoral and lacking in arable agriculture' (Rivet 1958: 71); but this factoid persisted until surprisingly recently. Frere believed the oft-mentioned quote from Caesar (see below) accurately described northern societies who 'continued to lead a more primitive life' well into the Roman period (Frere 1974: 71, 304). Hartley termed the region's inhabitants as 'hillmen' (Hartley 1980: 5). Raistrick, however, had earlier suggested that mixed farming took place (Raistrick 1939: 129), and though Ramm agreed there was little evidence for arable agriculture at Stanwick and its surrounds, he did not think this was true for the whole of northern England (Ramm 1980: 31).

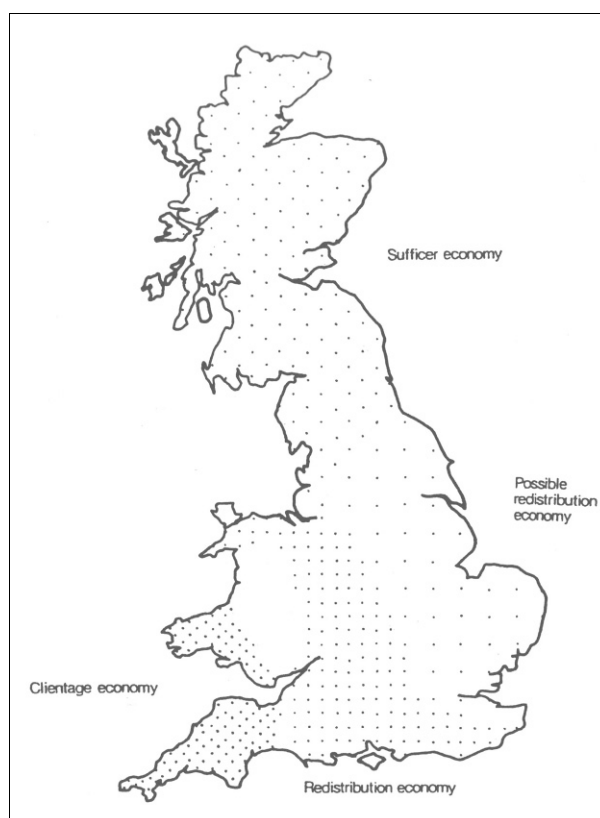


Figure 5.03. *Cunliffe's model of British Iron Age economies. (Source: Hambleton 1999, 8, fig. 3, after Cunliffe 2005: 444, fig. 16.15).*

Barry Cunliffe (1983, 1991) was more interested in productivity rather than specific agricultural practices. He included much of northern England in a ‘possible redistribution economy’ or within the ‘sufficer economy’ zone, where basic subsistence was the norm, and trade and exchange limited (Fig. 5.03). This repeats a classic core: periphery dichotomy (q.v. Collis 1996, 1999; Webster 1999; Young and Simmonds 1995). His supposedly magisterial *Iron Age Communities in Britain* only devoted a few lines to the study region (Cunliffe 1991: 279), and he continues to see northern England as predominantly pastoral. He also argued for a change in herding practices during the later first millennium BC, with secondary products becoming less important (Cunliffe 1983, 1991: 400). There is little or no archaeological evidence for this, however, other than a proposed rise in population (Higham 1991: 94).

These ideas are based upon a poor grasp of the archaeological evidence. During the 1960s and 1970s aerial photography, survey and excavation across northern Britain demonstrated that Iron Age and Romano-British rural settlement was much more extensive than previously thought (e.g. Chapman and Mytum 1983; Clack and Haselgrove 1982; Jobey 1966). Despite the identification of large-scale systems of land allotment (e.g. Riley 1977, 1978, 1980), some Romanists refused to believe there were extensive pre-Roman field systems (Branigan 1980, 1989). More considered views suggested that agriculture in upland areas may have been predominantly pastoralism, but with mixed farming or even mainly cereal cultivation in lowlands (e.g. Challis and Harding 1975; Faull and Moorhouse 1981; Haselgrove 1984).

The literary evidence

In his *Gallic War*, Julius Caesar commented thus on the inhabitants of inland Britain:

Most of those inhabiting the interior do not grow corn, but live instead on milk and meat, and clothe themselves in skins (Caesar *De Bello Gallico* V. 14).

Centuries later in his *Epitome*, speaking of two groups on the northern frontier of Britain that he called the Maeatae and Caledonians, Cassius Dio wrote:

Both tribes inhabit wild and waterless mountains and desolate marshy plains, and possess neither walls nor cities nor farms. Instead they live on their flocks, on game and on certain fruits, and though there are vast and limitless stocks of fish they do not eat them. They live in tents without clothing or shoes: they share their womenfolk and rear all their offspring in common. (Cassius Dio *Epitome* 76. 12.1-5).

Such comments fall into the Classical trope of portraying ‘barbarians’ as exotic and Other (see Chapter 2). We might see in these comments some glimpses of indigenous practices in Britain, however, no matter how distorted. The idea that people went naked or clad in skins, lived in tents, practised a promiscuous form of polyandry and did not grow any cereal crops is of course ridiculous. Nevertheless, if people did not eat many fish, and if milk and meat played a much greater part in their diets than in Mediterranean cuisine, it is possible to see how this could be wilfully misunderstood. Such biased perceptions continued to influence generations of Iron Age and Roman-British scholars, as some have noted (Collis 1996, 1999; Hingley 2000; Webster 1999; Young 1990). One exception is the description by Tacitus of cattle and horse exchanges amongst Rhineland peoples in marriage alliances or *wergeld* (*Germania* 12, 18, 21), and as fines and tribute to tribal leaders. This cannot of course be transposed to the Iron Age of northern England, but may hint at the potential social importance of livestock to these communities, which I will return to in Chapter 6.

General fauna-based studies of Iron Age and Romano-British animal husbandry

Iron Age faunal assemblages

Cattle, sheep and pigs were the main livestock raised in Iron Age Britain. In her analyses of British Iron Age faunal assemblages, Ellen Hambleton (1999: 44) states that the majority had roughly equal amounts of sheep and cattle (measured both as

NISP – the number of identifiable specimens per taxon; and MNI – the minimum number of individuals represented), with pigs present in much lower numbers (0-20%). She noted some potential regional groupings. Wessex sites had a very high proportion of sheep (40-70%), and generally slightly fewer cattle (20-50%). In the Upper Thames Valley, cattle and sheep both fell into the 30-60% range, whereas eastern England and East Anglia had high percentages of cattle (40-80%) and lower proportions of sheep (10-50%) (Hambleton 1999: 47). Although she could find no direct correlations with geology and topography, these results might reflect different regional landscapes. Sheep would be better suited to higher, drier chalkland sites in Wessex, whereas on low-lying, boggy or seasonally flooded sites in East Anglia, cattle would do better. Variations *within* regions were also important – sheep were more numerous on Wessex downlands, whereas cattle were present in higher numbers on lowland and river valley Wessex sites (Albarella 2007: 394; Grant 1984a: 104). In assemblages from midlands sites, cattle and sheep had similar proportions (30-60%). Northern assemblages were more varied, with cattle and sheep ranging from 20-70% for both species (Hambleton 1999: 47). Her samples lay outside my study region, but Hambleton suggested that this diversity reflects a broader range of husbandry practices in northern England than the ‘Celtic cowboys’ model. In the midlands and East Anglia, Albarella (1997: 394) notes an increase in the proportion of sheep during the later Iron Age, although once again none of his sites lies within my study region.

On most sites in Iron Age Britain there was a low incidence of pigs (Grant 1984a: 110-113; Hambleton 1999: 14; King 1991: 16-17; Maltby 1996: 23); unlike some late Iron Age sites in northern France and Germany that had very high proportions of pig remains (Grant 1984a: 112; King 1991: 16; Méniel 1987, 1990). A more recent study suggests a broader range of species proportions in northern Gaul (Lepetz 1996), although pigs still seem to have been more important than in Britain. The higher percentages of pigs on some southern English ‘high-status’ sites such as Skeleton Green in Hertfordshire, and in apparently high status burials in East Yorkshire, may be evidence that pork was a delicacy (Hambleton 1999: 47; King 1988, 1991: 16; Maltby 1996: 20; Parker Pearson 1999), and/or a particular emphasis on pannage. At Stanwick, investigations in the 1980s found that over 20% of the animal bone from late Iron Age deposits was pig (Haselgrove 1984: 18). At Llanmaes in the Vale of

Glamorgan, pigs accounted for at least 70-80% of the faunal remains from the early Iron Age midden deposits (Gwilt and Lodwick 2006: 8; J. Mulville pers. comm.). For many Iron Age communities, pork might only have been consumed at certain social occasions, and/or at particular places within the landscape.

Domestic goats are rarely recorded because of the difficulties of distinguishing them from sheep, so in all these descriptions ‘sheep’ should actually read ‘sheep/goat’, although to make reading easier I have not usually used this convention. Nonetheless, sometimes goats have been identified from horn cores (Grant 1984a: 113). At the Iron Age and Romano-British shrine at Uley the animal remains were around 80% goat, probably used in sacrifice and augury (Ellison 1980; Woodward and Leach 1993).

Wild game species such as deer, hare and wild boar are very rare finds on Iron Age sites. This is despite the prominence of species such as boar as representations in Iron Age iconography, whereas figurines of cattle and sheep are scarce. It is likely that there were social reasons for this (Grant 1981), and some animals might have been surrounded by proscriptions or taboos based on totemic or cosmological beliefs. For example, wild boar and hares might have been hunted but not eaten.

Mortality profiles and age-wear analyses

Estimating animals’ ages at death and calculating their different proportions is the principal means by which husbandry practices can be inferred. For cattle, their prime meat-bearing age is between 1.5-3.5 years, and if kept beyond this point it is usually for milk, traction or as breeding stock (Grant 1989: 136; Hambleton 1999: 78). Older animals are still eaten after slaughtering, but the primary reason for their existence was not as meat-bearing livestock. Across Britain, cattle may have been more important to the diets of Iron Age people and their bones are predominant in many northern and midlands faunal assemblages (King 1991: 16; Maltby 1996: 20), although on some sites cattle may have decreased in importance during the late Iron Age (Albarella 2007: 394). Hambleton’s analyses suggested great diversity in mortality profiles for Iron Age cattle, but the lack of intense culls of prime meat stock, together with the numbers of older animals, indicate a general lack of specialisation.

Cattle were probably exploited for milk, traction, breeding stock and for their manure (Albarella 2007; Hambleton 1999: 81). They also had potential social importance as markers of status and wealth, as agents in exchange and marriage networks, and for ritual feasts and rites of birth, death and fertility (q.v. Grant 1984b, 1991; Kuper 1982; Parker Pearson 2000; Reid 1996; Roymans 1999; Wilson 1999) (see Chapter 6). There may have been some social restrictions on their slaughter.

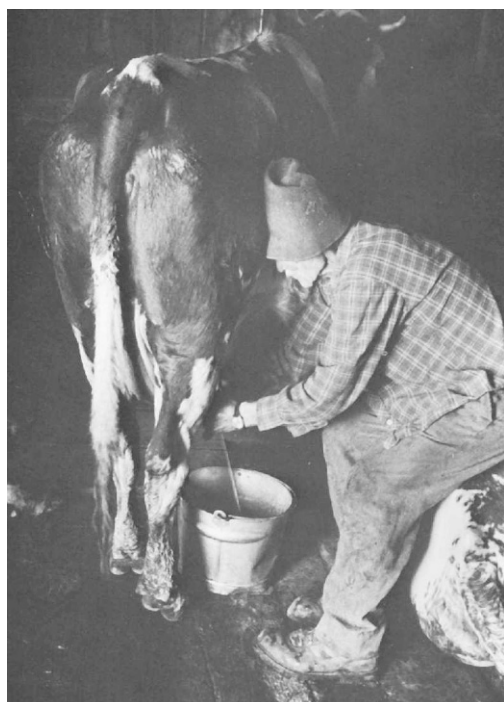


Figure 5.04. (left). *Milking cattle, French Alps. (Source: Berger and Mohr 1982: 31).*
Fig. 5.05. (above). *Milking a goat in a reconstructed Iron Age village in Denmark. (Source: © Lejre Experimental Centre).*

The Upper Thames Valley differed markedly from this overall pattern, with heavy mortality in the first three years of life, suggesting cattle were kept primarily for meat (Hambleton 1999: 82). The Thames Valley probably saw the seasonal exploitation of floodplain pasture (Lambrick 1992). Hambleton examined cattle age profiles from only three assemblages in other regions of Britain, due to problems with the datasets. Dragonby was one of these, where a concentration on the slaughter of younger beef animals was noted (Hambleton 1999: 82).

If sheep are raised for meat, a large percentage of animals are killed between 1.5-3 years (Grant 1984a: 106). Older animals are kept for wool, milk and manure, and breeding (Grant 1984a: 106-107; King 1991: 16; Maltby 1981: 172-174, 1996: 22). In most Iron Age assemblages the greatest mortality rate was between 0.5-1 years

(Albarella 2007: 394; Hambleton 1999: 70). These might have been yearlings that failed to survive their first winter, or animals culled in autumn or early winter to keep flocks at a desired size and condition over winter – the latter seems more likely, although a social predilection for lamb is also possible.



Figure 5.06. *Temporary lambing fold of hurdles for Downs sheep, made in Hampshire during the 1930s. (Source: Ward 1991: 72).*

Flocks might have been kept within or close to settlements during winter, but a generally low ratio of infant mandibles suggests lambing occurred away from settlements (Hambleton 1999: 70), although at Danebury high numbers of neonates were recovered (Grant 1984a: 107). Large numbers of juvenile cattle bones were found too, but there may be social and symbolic reasons for this deposition of young sheep and cattle (Grant 1984b, 1991; Hill 1995a, 1996b; Wilson 1999). There were two different sheep mortality curves for Wessex sites. One group had 65-85% survival beyond 0.5-1 years, but in the other only 40-55% of sheep lived beyond a year. Sites with higher mortality rates may have had greater emphasis on wool and milk, whilst slaughter for meat may have been more important at the latter group of sites (Hambleton 1999: 72-73). Apart from some Upper Thames Valley and East Anglian sites in keeping with the general pattern, Hambleton did not consider sheep assemblages from other regions as she felt that the sample sizes were inadequate.

Most Iron Age pigs were killed between 0.5-2.5 years old at prime meat bearing age (Grant 1984a: 112; Hambleton 1999: 69; Maltby 1996: 23). Pigs have few secondary products apart from manure, so this is a common pattern in many societies around the world, including our own. Individuals living beyond this might represent breeding stock, or in some cases wild boar remains incorrectly identified as domestic pig.

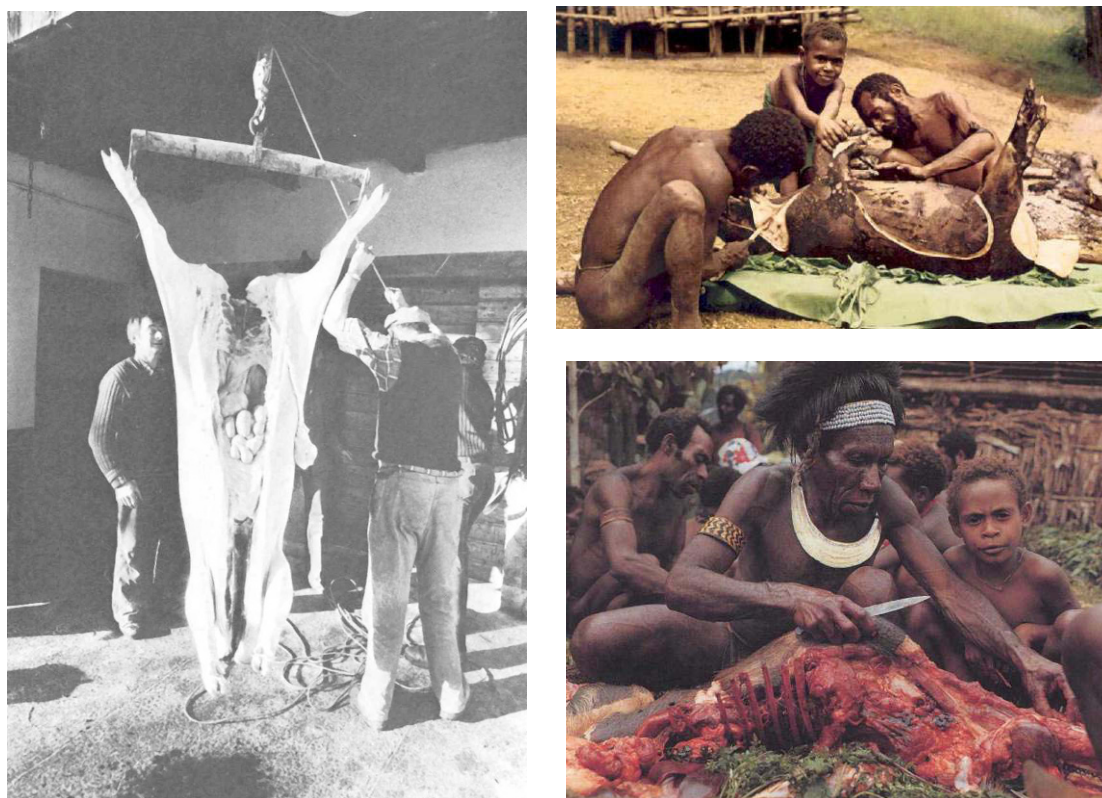


Figure 5.07. (left). *Cutting up the pig, Haute-Savoie, French Alps. (Source: Berger and Mohr 1982: 252).* **Figure 5.08. (top right).** *Tifalmin men cutting up the pig, Papua New Guinea. (Source: Wheatcroft 1973: 70).* **Figure 5.09. (bottom right).** *Gimi man cutting up the pig, Warida, New Guinea. (Source: Gillison 2002: 114).*

Romano-British faunal assemblages

Across Britain, Romano-British faunal assemblages reveal lower proportions of sheep and higher percentages of cattle and maybe pigs than Iron Age remains (Albarella 2007: 396-397; Grant 1989: 136; Hambleton 1999: 44; King 1991: 17), the latter perhaps due to increased pork consumption (King 1978, 1988, 1991). Classical sources such as Apicius concentrated on pork recipes (Cool 2006: 82; Edwards 1984; Flower and Rosenbaum 1958), and eating bacon was associated with central Italy and also the Roman military in the core of the Empire. Cattle dominate Roman military

faunal assemblages in Britain, however, with animals killed at the prime meat age of 3-4 years (Cool 2006: 82-84; Dobney 2001: 37; King 1978, 1984, 1999: 189). Such high frequencies on military and urban sites are similar to 'non-Romanised' rural communities, but also to patterns in Gaul, the Low Countries and Germany (Luff 1982; Roymans 1999). In the Mediterranean cow's milk was rarely consumed but used mainly in medicine (Dobney 2001), and sheep and goats' milk was drunk and used for fat and cheeses. Clearly, 'Roman' diets changed as the Empire spread across north-western Europe, and the continued importance of cow's milk in Roman Britain is interesting. King (1991: 17) noted changes in mortality curves for cattle during the Romano-British period. Older animals were more common than in many Iron Age assemblages, especially on military and urban sites, and sometimes there were no juveniles represented at all. This no doubt reflects changes in consumption patterns and more specialised movements of livestock, with military sites and urban centres importing most of their cattle as adult beasts, either as carcasses or live animals. More sheep were killed when sub-adult or adult in the Romano-British period than in the Iron Age, which might imply that meat and wool production were emphasised.

Livestock may have gradually increased in size during the Romano-British period (Albarella 2007: 397; Grant 1989: 142; King 1991: 17; O'Connor 1988), particularly cattle and horses, but also sheep, pigs and dogs. This was a result of importing new breeding stock, although such changes may not have become pronounced until the third century AD (Dobney 2001: 38). This trend is most noticeable in south-east England, but also along the northern frontier (King 1991: 17). Sue Stallibrass notes that slight increases in height and changes in horn core shapes in Romano-British cattle might signify marked variations in their appearance compared to native cattle, with differently coloured coats, smooth rather than longer hair, and different temperaments, milking qualities or productivity (Stallibrass 2000: 69-70). Some indigenous farmers might have regarded these introductions with resentment or disdain, others with enthusiasm. Studies of congenital and/or non-metric traits in cattle bones are revealing regional differences – cattle on either side of the Pennines were different, and larger beasts were not widely adopted in the north-west (*ibid.*).

A survey of a limited number of faunal assemblages from northern England, mostly from military and urban sites, suggests that throughout the Roman period there were small numbers of particularly large, non-native cattle (Dobney 2001: 39). Dobney does not explain this, but these could have been large draught animals used to pull heavy wagons, especially for the Roman military. In some places, particularly urban centres and forts, slaughtering patterns and butchery techniques may have changed considerably following the Roman conquest. These may have included the introduction of cleavers, the hanging of large joints for curing or storage, and the production of smaller portions as ‘snack foods’ (Cool 2006: 89-91; Dobney 2001: 39-41; King 1984: 214, 1991: 17; Meadows 1994, 1997: 26-27). Wool also supposedly became finer, and the appearance of donkeys, mules and new breeds of horse, dog and domestic fowl again suggest an increasing interest in animal breeding (Grant 1989: 146). Wild species such as deer and hares appear more frequently in some faunal assemblages from forts, urban and villa sites (King 1991: 17-18), although this evidence has been over-emphasised and game was probably only consumed in small quantities and during special circumstances (Cool 2006: 114).

Some writers have suggested that there was an overall increase in livestock numbers, with animals possibly allowed to live longer (King 1991: 17; van der Veen and O’Connor 1998: 134). The archaeological evidence for this supposed increase is unclear, however, and indeed would be extremely hard to determine (J. Richardson pers. comm.). Hay cropping may have been introduced to Britain at this time (Greig 1984; Jones 1991: 23), and might have permitted greater livestock densities through more winter fodder. Much of this apparent increase has been attributed to the introduction of taxation, and the demands of the army for meat and hides (Branigan 1984: 30). Certainly tanning and related crafts became industrial in scale on some sites at this time, as the military in particular required hides for tents, shield covers and equipment straps and belts. Although it is widely believed that most of this leather came from cattle (Grant 1989: 140; Luff 1982: 52; Noddle 1987: 43), goatskins might actually have been used for tents, saddle covers and straps (van Driel-Murray 1985, 1998). Some authors have suggested that an organised wool ‘industry’ developed in the later Roman period on villa sites (Branigan 1989: 166; Hayes 1981; King 1991: 18), and farming communities are thought to have become generally

‘wealthier’. Post-colonial approaches suggest that we should be cautious in examining many of these discourses of improvement, not least given the problems of analysing faunal assemblages. There is no doubt that in parts of central southern Britain large farms and villas did generate substantial incomes within the monetarised Romano-British market, but it is less clear how this affected the study region.

Animal behaviours and animal bones

General overviews (e.g. Albarella 2007; Hambleton 1999) have provided important insights into potential past husbandry practices, even if the faunal evidence from the study region is often equivocal, although similar analyses have been undertaken on some excavated sites within the region (e.g. Berg 1990, 1999; Richardson 2001a, 2001c, 2005c). Such economically focused studies, however, do not take us much further towards understanding how animals were linked to the daily lives and taskscape of people. In order to do so, in Appendix B I have examined the characteristics and behaviours of each animal species, as well as some ethnohistorical and ethnographic evidence for their interactions with people and the landscape. Appendix C lists the detailed data concerning excavated animal bone assemblages from the study region, where for convenience I have grouped sites and faunal assemblages according to their modern county, though this is of course an artificial divide. These assemblages are summarised in Tables 4-10.

Interpretation and conclusions

Despite the extremely problematic nature of the evidence and the variety of taphonomic and cultural factors that might have influenced bone preservation, some broad patterns are noticeable in the limited faunal assemblages available. In most later Iron Age bone assemblages the emphasis seems to have been on cattle rather than sheep/goat, with only Dalton Parlours, Apple Tree Close and Aslockton as exceptions, although if unidentified ‘sheep-sized’ animals are taken into account Topham Farm,

Sykehouse may have had roughly equal proportions of cattle and sheep. Farmsteads on higher ground might be expected to have concentrated on sheep, with cattle being more important on low-lying sites, especially on or near river floodplains. Cattle certainly dominated the assemblage at Balby Carr. Some evidence contradicts this though, with cattle bone being much more frequent at the late Iron Age and earlier Romano-British M1-A1 sites, and in both Iron Age and Romano-British periods at Ferrybridge¹, which were all in more undulating Coal Measures and Magnesian Limestone landscapes. This might suggest that for many communities within the study region cattle were generally more important during the later Iron Age and earliest Romano-British period.

The large enclosure complex at Aslockton was one of the few Iron Age sites in the region where sheep/goat might have been more common than cattle, and the artefacts recovered included rare finds of triangular loomweights and bone weaving combs, perhaps suggesting that weaving and textile production was important (Palmer-Brown and Knight 1993). It is almost unique in having cattle remains (and maybe caprines too) that suggest animals were raised primarily for their meat (Hamshaw-Thomas 1992: 6-7), perhaps indicating that Aslockton had a different, possibly higher social status to smaller settlements.

In the Romano-British period, especially in the third and fourth centuries AD, the situation became more complex, and this might well reflect some of the longer-term economic and social effects of the Roman occupation. Although on most late Iron Age and early Romano-British sites pigs were less than 4-5% of the bone assemblages, pigs represented 7.5-17% at Dalton Parlours, Parlington Hollins, Castleford, Doncaster, Staunton, *Margidunum* and *Derventio*/Little Chester. These may indicate changes in both husbandry and consumption practices, with pork becoming more desirable. These were mostly Roman military and/or urban sites, and this fits more general trends across Britain (Cool 2006; Grant 1989; King 1991, 1999), although higher percentages at Dalton Parlours, Parlington Hollins and Staunton may indicate changes on some rural settlements too. The presence of oysters at the Dalton Parlours villa might be further evidence that its occupants were more 'Romanised', as shellfish consumption was particularly pronounced in parts of

Roman Britain (Cool 2006:107-109). The very high proportions of pig (16-17%) at Castleford and Dalton Parlours in the late Roman period were also similar to Anglo-Saxon settlement sites (Berg 1999: 225; Fowler 2002: 233).

Sheep were most numerous on the M1-A1 sites during the middle and later Romano-British period, especially at Parlington Hollins. The relatively high proportion of horse remains at the latter site might again suggest this community or individuals within it had a different social status, or were involved in different practices. At Dalton Parlours and *Margidunum*, however, the proportion of sheep to cattle decreased in this period, with cattle becoming most numerous at the latter site, so such trends cannot simply be read off as an index of 'Romanisation'. There may have been a degree of livestock specialisation in different locales. In most places though, cattle continued to be the most important livestock. For both cattle and sheep, most animals at the majority of Romano-British sites were probably kept for breeding and secondary products, and were slaughtered after their prime meat-bearing age, unlike many other Roman military and civilian settlements in Britain (Dobney 2001; Grant 1989; King 1978, 1984, 1991). This suggests that for most rural settlements traditional patterns and practices of animal husbandry and food consumption remained, sometimes even around otherwise 'Romanised' settlements.

Although military and urban sites were potential markets for animal products and produce, a specific 'meat industry' did not develop within the region but rather surplus animals were sold or traded off whenever possible. This is significantly different from other regions of Britain, and emphasises the likely diversity of civilian and military interactions across the province (James 2002: 43). Furthermore, if a Roman-run 'wool industry' had developed in the study region, many more assemblages would be expected to have been dominated by sheep, and this trend would be most evident at highly 'Romanised' rural sites such as villas. There is no archaeological and faunal evidence for this (*contra* Branigan 1989; Hayes 1981; King 1991). No doubt there were variations from settlement to settlement, but despite this and all of the biases in preservation and taphonomy, it seems that following the Roman conquest, cattle continued to be the most significant animals.

Notes

1. This refers to the rural settlement sites excavated at Ferrybridge (Roberts 2005a), and not the highly atypical square barrow carriage burial found at Ferry Fryston nearby (Boyle et al. 2007), with its extremely large number of cattle remains.

Movement 5

Fetching Cows

The black one, last as usual, swings her head
And coils a black tongue round a grass tuft. I
Watch her soft weight come down, her split feet spread.

In front, the others swing and slouch; they roll
Their great Greek eyes and breathe out milky gusts
From muzzles black and shiny as wet coal.

The collie trots, bored, at my heels, then plops
Into the ditch. The sea makes a tired sound
That's always stopping though it never stops.

A haycart squats prickeared against the sky.
Hay breath and milk breath. Far out in the West
The wrecked sun founders though its colours fly.

The collie's bored. There's nothing to control...
The black cow is two native carriers
Bringing its belly home, slung from a pole.

Norman MacCaig

From N. MacCaig (1997) *Collected Poems*. Chatto and Windus.

CHAPTER 6

Trackways and Hooves Part II – Livestock Movements in the Study Region

In this chapter, I develop my interpretation of the regional evidence for animal husbandry during the later Iron Age and Romano-British periods begun in Chapter 5 by examining features that might have been associated with these husbandry practices. Appendix D lists the detailed data concerning this.



Figure 6.01. *Map of the study region, showing some of the sites where especially notable features associated with livestock movements and animal husbandry have been identified. (Drawn by A. Leaver).*

Features linked to animal husbandry within the field systems

Trackways

Double ditched trackways or droveways within the study region were sometimes sinuous, elsewhere regular and rather straight, especially in areas of co-axial or ‘brickwork’ fields, where in the latter the usual distance between the ditches was 3-8 metres (Riley 1980: 23). He suggested that the majority of double ditched features were boundaries with a single bank between them, rather than trackways. Some earlier excavations over double ditched boundaries appeared to confirm this. An excavated section at Green Mile Lane near Babworth recorded a gap of 2.7 metres between two ditches, and the asymmetry of the ditch fills along with the apparently undisturbed subsoil between the ditches was interpreted as indicating that a bank had once existed between the two (Samuels and May 1980: 75-77, fig. 13). Closer examination of the published section, however, suggests that the northernmost, recut ditch was originally the boundary ditch of the enclosure immediately to the north, with a ditch added at a later date to the south in order to create a trackway. On the aerial photograph (Riley 1980: 31) (Fig. 6.02), there is an entrance visible from the enclosure into the double ditched feature, and another from a field as well, on one side only so these were probably not entrances through a central bank. Cropmark lines running across the trackway either reflect stratigraphic complexity (extensions of ditches pre- or post-dating the double ditched feature), or possible gateways.

Modern ploughing had truncated the space between the ditches, explaining the smooth subsoil, but the excavators noted bands of ‘dirtier and evidently disturbed gravel’ extending along the inner edges of the ditches (Samuels and May 1980: 77), probably resulting from human and animal trampling. As routine maintenance of these ditches would have made them gradually deeper and wider over time (Chadwick 1997, 1999: 161; Magilton 1978: 72), the ditches might have been slightly further apart when originally created. The narrowness may also have been intentional, as many post-medieval droveways in parts of Britain were only 3-4m wide, making it easier to control animal movements. This suggests that the vast *majority* of double ditched features recorded on aerial photographs were probably trackways (*contra* Riley 1980).



Figure 6.02. *Enclosures, fields and a double-ditched feature at Green Mile Lane, Babworth, Notts. The arrows mark the positions of sections excavated across the ditches in 1976. SK 667 820. (Source: Riley 1980: 31, plate 7).*

As shown in Appendix D, some trackways seem to have been the earliest components of field system landscapes, possibly originating in the earlier or middle Iron Age. Many might have followed pre-existing, traditional routes, as suggested for Iron Age trackways in East Yorkshire (Fenton-Thomas 2003, 2005, forthcoming). At Swillington Common, a trackway ran close to an earlier Bronze Age ‘open’ settlement of roundhouses and pits (Howell 2001: 49-54, figs. 29-30). It might have formed a conceptual boundary, as although three ring ditches were excavated on the western side of the trackway, there were few traces of Bronze Age occupation. This implies that in some instances the demarcation or ‘formalisation’ of routeways by trackways was of equal if not more importance than issues of land division.

Elsewhere, it is likely that some trackways were fully integrated into field systems from an early date, or post-dated blocks of fields. This is most apparent in parts of the ‘brickwork’ field systems, such as the area south-east of Torworth in Nottinghamshire (Riley 1980: 114-115, map 19) (Fig. 6.05). Although Riley argued that these were double-ditched boundaries, they were more probably trackways associated with large-scale livestock movements. Some were associated with clusters of small enclosures

that were likely to have been pens or corrals (see below). The number of trackways might also suggest that different individuals or groups had rights of tenure and access over blocks of fields in this area, rather than all of them forming one land holding.



Figure 6.03. (above left). *Post-medieval droveway near Mynydd y Garn, Brecon Beacons, Wales, now a holloway between two tumbled down walled banks. (Source: author).* **Figure 6.04. (above right).** *Woman walking along a trackway or droveway in Ireland. (Source: Porter 2000: 66).*

As demonstrated in Chapter 7 and Appendix D, many trackways and boundaries were orientated towards rivers and streams (q.v. Deegan 1996, 1998; Robbins 1998). Near to the Rivers Idle, Ryton, Don, Torne, Trent, Poulter, Maun and Meden, whose courses all varied in orientation, fields and trackways were nevertheless deliberately laid out to be roughly perpendicular to these watercourses. Although within the ‘brickwork’ fields the two predominant axes of orientation were broadly north-south and east-west, alignments again often changed near to watercourses so that boundaries approached at approximate right-angles to them. More significantly still, trackways were often more common on the edges of blocks of fields, rather than within them. This strongly suggests a concern with access to water and floodplains, and areas of open unenclosed land, and funnelling livestock to them for watering and for grazing.

Trackways were not necessarily droveways, but the orientation of many to watercourses and floodplains, the large width of some and/or their association with funnels and crushes, pens and corrals (see below) suggests many were linked to movements of livestock. The social importance of these features lay not only in the fact that they linked different tasksapes such as fields and areas of pasture, but that



Figure 6.05. 'Brickwork' fields and trackways (not boundaries, contra Riley) near Torworth and Barnby Moor, Notts. (Source: Riley 1980: 114-115, map 19).

they were often very substantial constructions (q.v. Merrony 1993: 51), used and maintained over long periods. They also suggest that routeways through the landscape became more formalised or 'hardened' over time, perhaps subject to greater social control and surveillance. As Melanie Giles suggested for the Yorkshire Wolds:

It is one thing to pass along the base of a slack or hill ridge, and see the houses and pens of households at a distance...It is quite another to be scrutinised as you are forced to pass through a series of embanked enclosures to either side. Access to these tracks could have been controlled through a series of gates or fences. It enabled inhabitants to monitor and permit passage through [or past] their settlement, as well as funnelling people into close contact with each other in their routine movements across the landscape. (Giles 2000: 179, my addition in parentheses).

Funnels and crushes

Pryor (1996, 1998) outlined some features associated with stock handling in field systems, including ‘funnels’ or ‘crushes’ where animals can be gathered together prior to driving them along trackways. ‘Funnels’ are large, flared entrances into trackways or fields, whilst ‘crushes’ are the end points where animals can be concentrated. Herd animals such as cattle and sheep are reluctant to enter confined spaces, so the open end of the funnel aids this process, with people and dogs driving them from behind (Pryor 1996: 318). Pryor’s examples are from Bronze Age fields in East Anglia, but such features should be apparent wherever pastoralism formed part of agricultural practices. Appendix D lists many of the identified funnels within the study region.

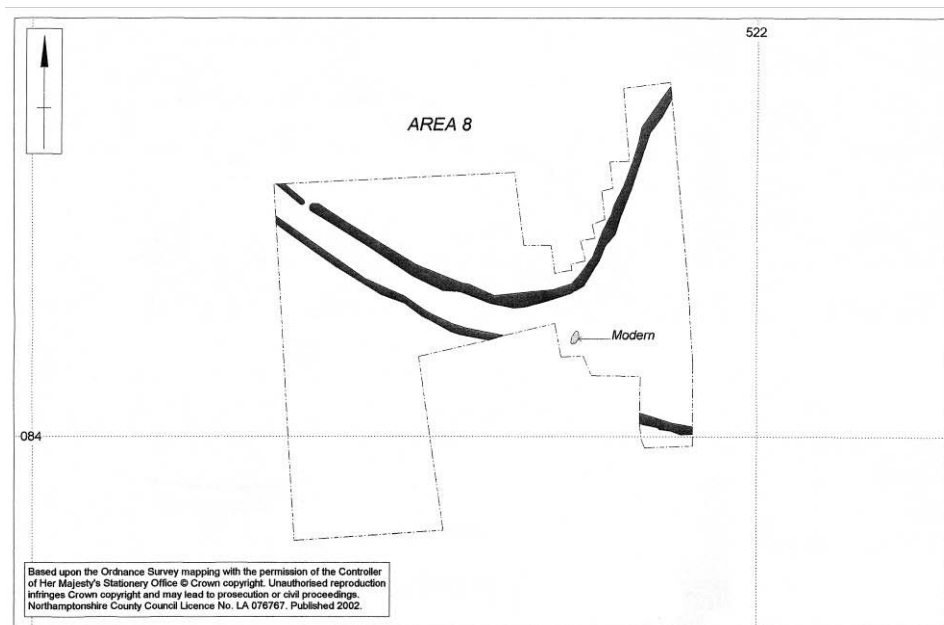


Figure 6.06. Area 8/E6 at Adwick-le-Street, S. Yorks., where a trackway opened out to the east in a pronounced funnel c. 50m wide. (Source: Upson-Smith 2002: fig. 9).

There was an apparent association between many funnels and river floodplains, with funnels either orientated towards the rivers and valley bottoms, so that trackways opened ‘out’ onto the flat low-lying areas, or were located close by, sometimes in conjunction with large enclosures or corrals (see below). A plausible inference is that floodplains and the slightly higher ground on either side often saw the movements of substantial numbers of livestock. Funnels were especially large and numerous on Sherwood Sandstone areas, where herding might have been particularly prevalent, and some households and communities may have concentrated primarily on pastoralism.

Races

These are narrow linear features normally less than two metres wide where individual animals belonging to different individuals, families and groups can be separated from larger herds or flocks of animals for counting, sorting, breeding, shearing or culling (Pryor 1996: 318, 1998: 103-105). They may be associated with ‘drafting gates’ that once separated from each other allowed animals to enter several different fields (Fig. 6.07). Races are harder to identify, especially as cropmarks, although there is a possible race on one side of the Marr Thick enclosure (Fig. 1.24). Some excavated ditches with a narrow gap between them might result from stratigraphic complexity and alterations over time, as may be the case with Enclosures A and D at Ferrybridge (Martin 2005: 90-91, 110-111, figs. 77-78, 97, 99). Great caution must be exercised in interpretation, but possible examples of races are detailed in Appendix D.

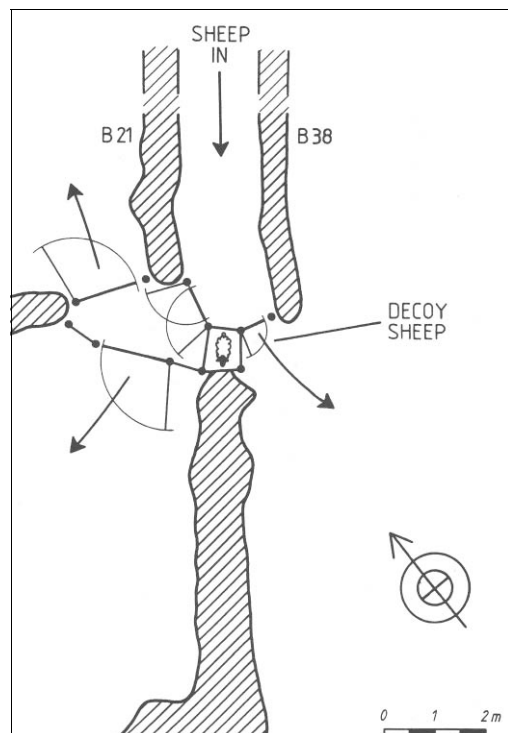


Figure 6.07. (left). *How a race and a drafting gate work. (Source: Pryor 1998: 104).*

Pens

Many enclosures had features such as pens or corrals that were likely to have been associated with handling livestock. I have drawn a rough distinction between ‘pens’, which I consider to be small regular enclosures generally (but not exclusively) less than 40m by 40m in size or less than 1600m² in area; and enclosures larger than this

but probably still associated with concentrating and confining livestock, which I have termed ‘corrals’. Pens were particularly associated with settlement enclosures, and corrals were often more isolated. I acknowledge that this is my own broad classification, and it should not be considered a formal typology, although as I suggest below there may have been functional differences between them. Alison Deegan has identified many examples of enclosures with associated outer compounds or pens (Deegan 2007: fig. 6.16). Pens might have been associated with animals belonging to particular households, rather than entire communities. Where they were located next to settlement enclosures, these might have served as byres where livestock could be over-wintered, castrated or sheared, or monitored for breeding or during births. Pigs were probably kept in pens within or next to settlement enclosures. Manure could also have been collected from these pens and byres.

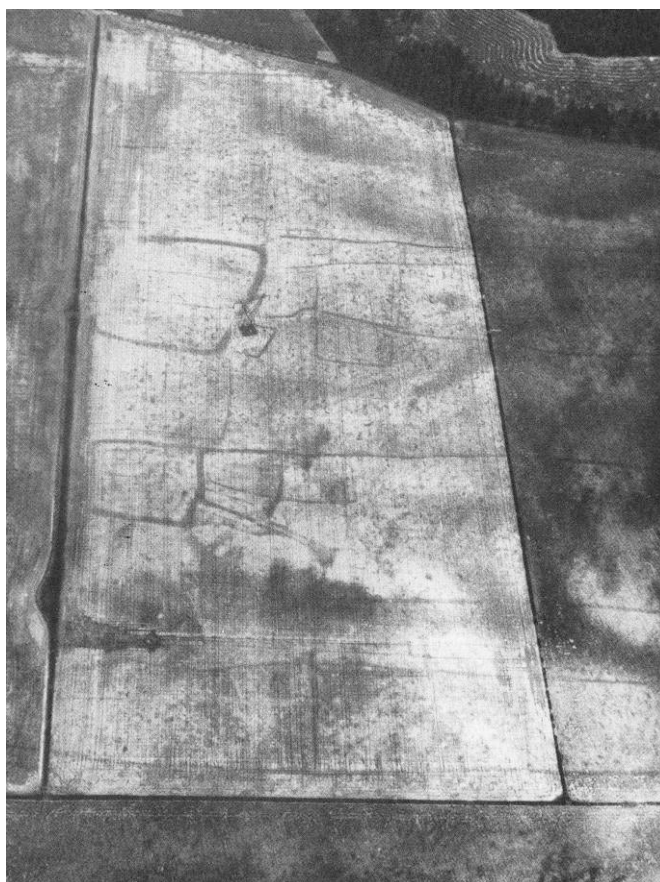


Figure 6.08. *The Romano-British enclosure complex at Dunston’s Clump, near Babworth, Notts., partly excavated after this photograph was taken (Garton 1987). One funnel-ended trackway approached the larger, northern Enclosure 1 from the west (not visible on this photograph), whilst another ran into the smaller southern Enclosure 3 from the south-east, by the centre of the image. Both enclosures had small pens on their eastern side, some linked by races. (Source: Riley 1980: 40).*

The eastern side of the enclosure complex at Dunston's Clump had four to six subrectangular pens up to 40-50m long and 50m wide (Riley 1980: 41, fig. 6). A series of gaps or races allowed movement from pen to pen. To the south, the main excavated enclosure (Enclosure 2) was approached from the south-east via a narrow trackway (Fig. 6.08), associated with five subrectangular pens. These pens and the trackway were not investigated during the 1987 excavations, but these did reveal evidence for pens within Enclosure 2, especially during Phase III (Garton 1987: 30-35, figs. 10-11). Further examples of probable pens are listed in Appendix D.

Corrals

I have defined corrals as features that appear to have been where much larger numbers of animals could be concentrated, or which existed in isolation. Some corrals might have been used by larger communities, rather than particular households. The vast majority were ditched enclosures, with some more irregular than many settlement enclosures. Examples are presented in Appendix D. A few closely resemble the 'banjo' enclosures found in southern England, where excavations have suggested that they had middle Iron Age origins, and to have been associated with livestock herding (e.g. Cunliffe 2005: 247; Fasham 1987: 8-9). Until recently, only a few had been identified within the study region (e.g. Deegan 1999b; Yarwood and Marriott 1988), but several other examples have been recorded as part of the Magnesian Limestone Project (AS WYAS 2006; Deegan 2007: fig. 6.13).

The corrals appear to have consisted of two groups. There were a small number on higher hilltops or plateaus, either as single enclosures as at Marr (though linked to other features); or in small clusters as at South Kirkby (Fig. 6.09), South Hiendley and at Wombwell Wood and Jump. The majority of the larger 'corrals', however, were closely associated with trackways and river floodplains (Fig. 6.10). In some cases they might have pre-dated field system boundaries, in others they were probably contemporary with them, but they were almost certainly linked to the movements of large numbers of animals. This corresponds with the evidence of trackways and funnels (see above). Prior to early modern drainage schemes, these low-lying areas

may have been almost semi-permanently flooded during winter and spring, but during the summer and autumn would have provided rich summer and autumn grazing.



Figure 6.09. (above). *Cropmarks of enclosures identified around the possible hillfort (just to the right and below centre) at South Kirkby, W. Yorks.*

Many of the enclosures were linked to trackways, and some were banjo-like forms. This complex was probably used during the summer for keeping animals on this elevated area. (Source: © WYAAS).



Figure 6.10. (right). *Trackway leading to a large, subrectangular enclosure or corral (just left of centre) on the floodplain of the River Poulter, near Bothamsall, Notts. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1147, SK 6745 7425).*

Pit alignments and floodplain occupation

During the late Iron Age and Romano-British periods, river floodplains across the study region were used for the seasonal grazing of large numbers of animals. These areas do not seem to have been enclosed to the same degree as the rest of these landscapes. At Hoveringham Quarry, Bottom Osiers, Gonalston in Nottinghamshire, the River Trent floodplain terrace and adjacent alluvial areas was divided up by a middle Iron Age boundary system, contemporary with the earliest enclosed settlements (Knight and Elliott forthcoming; Knight and Howard 2004: 100-101), but this was unusually early enclosure for the study region.



Figure 6.11. *Excavation of an Iron Age pit alignment at Fleak Close, Barrow-on-Trent, Derbyshire. (Source: Knight and Vyner 2006: 1).*

Some of the first land divisions on many of the floodplains were probably pit alignments. Elsewhere in Britain, these were mainly late Bronze Age or early Iron Age in date (John Thomas 2003, forthcoming; cf. Guilbert 2006). In the study region, the few excavated examples have often been difficult to date, but small quantities of coarse pottery were recovered at sites such as Besthorpe Quarry (Southgate, Garton, Morris and Priest 1998), and Aston Hill and Barrow-upon-Trent (Garton and Abbott

1998; Knight and Southgate 2001). A later Iron Age origin has been proposed for Trent Valley pit alignments (Knight and Howard 2004: 102-103), and at Moor Pool Close, Rampton (Fig. 6.15), Romano-British sherds were recovered from pits defining the eastern edge of the agglomerated settlement (Knight 2000a; Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 139). Away from floodplains, the pit alignments at Ferrybridge contained artefacts and human burials from the later Iron Age through to the twelfth or fourteenth century AD (Richardson 2005a). This suggests that some boundaries retained considerable social importance for extremely long periods. Further examples of pit alignments from the study region are presented in Appendix D.



Figure 6.12. *Sutton-on-Trent, Notts. A single pit alignment can be identified running from the centre of the photograph towards the bottom left. This formed a land division on the floodplain of the River Trent. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1321, SK 796 648).*

A few locales within the Trent Valley seem to have been foci for both more intensive and extensive occupation. Following Knight and Howard (2004: 100), I have called these *agglomerated enclosure complexes*. This term incorporates Whimster's separate categories of nucleated enclosure complexes, polyfocal enclosure complexes and

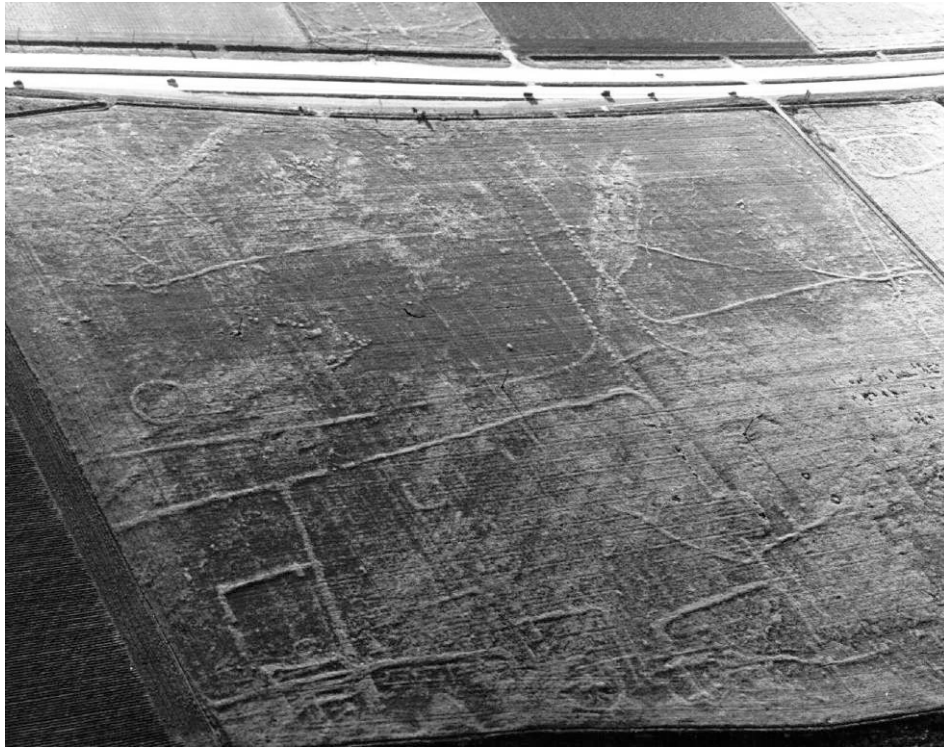


Figure 6.13. *North Muskham, Notts. Exceptional positive cropmark formation allows the identification of Bronze Age ring ditches or round barrows (centre left); and Iron Age or Romano-British fields, enclosures and even individual roundhouses (as at lower left). Crossing the photograph from upper centre to lower right are two parallel lines of pits, some of which seem to have been later recut to form part of a double-ditched trackway. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1314, SK 799 600).*

developed polyfocal enclosure complexes (Whimster 1989: 73-77); but I believe that these separate ‘types’ actually have much in common, and probably reflected similar social practices. At Low Marnham and Normanton-on-Trent (see Gazetteer, Appendix G), North and South Muskham (Figs. 6.13.-6.14) and at North Collingham (Fig. 6.16), large complexes of trackways, enclosures, corrals, pens and roundhouses have been identified (Whimster 1989: 73-77, figs. 51-54, 56-57). These complexes seem to have developed accretively over time, and they display considerable stratigraphic overlap. They were all located on the Trent floodplain at less than 5-10m OD, and include many features associated with the management of livestock.

Only a few of these sites have been investigated. At Moor Pool Close, Rampton, an extensive Iron Age and Romano-British settlement extended for up to six hectares across the gravel terraces (Knight 2000a; Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 139-140).



Figure 6.14. *South Muskham, Notts., where a complex of enclosures, fields and trackways can be seen at the lower centre of the photograph. Individual roundhouses can once again be identified, as within the enclosure just to the lower left of centre. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 859-19, SK 788 575).*

Stratified archaeological deposits preserved beneath alluvium contained large quantities of artefacts and material from domestic and industrial hearths. Occupation began in the early to middle Iron Age with an open settlement of a roundhouse and pits, but in the late Iron Age field system ditches and two large enclosures were constructed. These large enclosures were subdivided into smaller enclosures and pens (Fig. 6.15). The eastern boundary of the settlement may have originally been a pit alignment constructed parallel to a marshy palaeochannel of the River Trent. Numerous roundhouses were excavated (Knight 2000a, 2000b), in addition to several annular gullies that might have surrounded hay stacks or fodder ricks. *Tegulae* fragments and stone rubble suggest that Roman style buildings were also present.



Figure 6.15. *Moor Pool Close, Rampton. Plan of all excavated features at the centre of the complex. (Source: Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 141, fig. 6.16).*

Part of a similar settlement of late Iron Age date was excavated immediately north of Brough-on-Fosse (H. Jones 2002; Vyner forthcoming) (see Gazetteer, Appendix G), and again had enclosures, pens, roundhouses and annular gullies. At Ferry Lane Farm Collingham (Fig. 6.12), part of the agglomerated settlement (Whimster's developed polyfocal complex) was evaluated (Bourn, Hunn and Symonds 2000), and has been subsequently excavated. Late Iron Age and Romano-British enclosures, roundhouses and other structures were found. Unfortunately, to date only the evaluation has been published, and this utilised a rather unhelpful narrow trial trenching methodology that severely limited the amount of information about the development of the settlement. At Aslockton, on a low ridge next to extensive areas of floodplain, a nucleated group of trackways, funnels, enclosures and pens extended over approximately eight hectares (Hampton 1975; Knight and Howard 2004: 94-95). One evaluation trench found substantial ditches up to 6m wide and 2m deep, and the levelled remains of wide banks. There was occupation at Aslockton from the middle Iron Age through into the Romano-British period (Palmer-Brown and Knight 1993: 147).



Figure 6.16. *Ferry Lane Farm, North Collingham, Notts., where a complex of enclosures, fields and trackways can be identified at the centre of the photograph. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1364, SK 820 623).*

Near Cromwell, aerial photographs of the Trent floodplain have revealed at least four long pit alignments (Frere and St Joseph 1983: 199-200). Two pairs of converging lines of pits met at two separate foci, with a 100m wide gap in between (Whimster 1989: 79, fig. 59). They may have defined an approach to the river. Alternatively, the pits restricted the movements of people and animals before channelling them towards a specific part of the riverbank. The later agglomerated enclosure complex of late Iron Age or early Romano-British date partly overlay one pit alignment, and a Romano-British villa complex defined by double ditches post-dated these enclosures (Fig. 6.17). Interestingly, the later settlements lay in the gap between the two pairs of pit alignments, on low-lying land at only 5-7m OD.



Figure 6.17. *The agglomerated enclosure and villa complex at Cromwell, Notts., on the floodplain of the River Trent, which is visible running left to right across the top of this photograph. In addition to the enclosure and villa complex (centre right), one of the pit alignment boundaries is clearly visible running from left to right across the lower part of the image. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1331, SK 802 626).*

The specific locale at Cromwell defined by the pit alignments thus continued to be important long after the pit boundaries themselves had silted up and fallen out of use. This hints at a potentially lengthy time period for the continued significance of this particular place within the landscape, and the continued social and economic importance of floodplains. Like the possible villa site at Stancil (Whiting 1943), the economic success, wealth and status associated with these Roman-style buildings may have been generated through animal husbandry rather than arable agriculture, unlike Roman villa estates in central southern England.

There are few parallels for the continuity at Cromwell, but a similar situation might have occurred at Lockington in Leicestershire (Clay 2001: 9), where several long pit alignments located close to a stream formed the focus for later Iron Age and early Romano-British enclosure groups. Part of the complex was later partially overlain by a Roman villa, but the spatial relationships between them suggest that some enclosures and roundhouses were still occupied when the villa was constructed.

Pit alignments seem to have been caught up with ideas of tenure and access, but perhaps also memory and identity too. The potentially ‘permeable’ nature of their boundaries remains one of the most inexplicable factors about them, particularly for examples not apparently associated with any upstanding banks. It has been suggested that these boundaries reflected group rather than individual or kinship based claims of tenure, and were therefore not too restrictive (Pollard 1996: 110; John Thomas 2003: 84, forthcoming). The permeability could indicate a form of ‘loose’ tenure, with communal rights to resources and access to water and grazing, rather than direct ownership. Some pit alignments may even have been designed to flood, so that pools of standing water would heighten their visual or symbolic impact (Gardweb 1998; Rylatt and Bevan 2007: 221; John Thomas forthcoming).

The permeability of pit alignments may have been conceptually linked to ‘open’ earlier Iron Age settlements. Where pit alignments were recut and incorporated into ditched boundaries, this may have reflected a ‘hardening’ of tenure, and a shift towards the direct control of land by specific households or clans. In other parts of Britain this seems to have taken place in the middle or later Iron Age. The field system and enclosure ditches had no such permeability, and were thus much more definite statements about land allotment and land ownership. Rather than referring to the ties and obligations identity of larger communal groups, people were stressing their individual and family identities (R. Thomas 1997: 215-216). So although pit alignments within the region may have originated later than in other parts of Britain, they were sometimes extant for much longer periods, and formed the alignments of subsequent field system and trackway ditches. At Ferrybridge, the pits must still have been recognisable features in the landscape well into the historic period.

Some agglomerated settlements may have developed as seasonal sites associated with summer grazing on the floodplains, and their size and complexity suggests entire communities were using these sites, rather than individual households. They have many similarities with later Iron Age and Romano-British sites in the Upper Thames Valley such as Farmoor, Claydon Pike and Thornhill Farm that seem to have been specialist seasonal pastoral settlements (e.g. Jennings, Muir, Palmer and Smith 2004;

Lambrick 1992; Lambrick and Robinson 1979; Miles and Palmer 1990; Miles, Palmer, Smith and Edgeley Long forthcoming). Some Trent Valley sites became more permanent and prosperous in the pre-Roman Iron Age and Romano-British periods, and this prosperity was probably based principally on pastoralism. Nearby Roman towns such as *Ad Pontem*, Littlebrough (*Segelocum*), Little Chester (*Derbentione*) and Brough-on-Fosse (*Crococolana*) (see Chapter 2) may have stimulated the development of these floodplain settlements.

Lowland transhumance?

Schuyler Jones (2005) complained that transhumance and nomadic pastoralism are often confused in the ethnographic literature, and noted the clear connections in transhumance between permanent villages, arable agriculture and the seasonal movement of livestock. He also accepted that transhumance does not necessarily have to be undertaken between lowland and highland areas, and cited Evans-Pritchard's (1940) account of the Nuer, and their seasonal movements from grassy plains to elevated areas adjacent to the villages and cultivated fields (Evans-Pritchard 1940: 55-57). This related to a specific wet : dry season dynamic. In reverse though, this form of seasonal transhumance took place within the study region. The inter-commoning of livestock on fenland pastures in the medieval period might be a more apposite analogy, however (Darby 1940); and also the seasonal movements proposed for late prehistoric fen-edge communities (Evans and Hodder 2006: 3, 320-323).

At East Carr, Mattersey, around seventy rectangular structures were found on the River Idle floodplain, to the east of a complex of enclosures, pens and trackways (Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 128-129, fig. 6.8, 142, fig. 6.17; Morris and Garton 1998a). These features were 2-14m long and 2-4m wide, and defined by steep-sided but generally shallow gullies that were not beam slots as they seem to have been left open (Morris and Garton 1998b: 139) (Figs. 6.18.-6.19). The silts in these gullies contained a few Romano-British pot sherds, although Romano-British ditches truncated at least three of them so some could have been very late Iron Age. They

might have been rectangular versions of the annular gullies recorded at Rampton, Brough-on-Fosse and Ferry Lane Farm, Collingham in Nottinghamshire, and may have been hay or fodder ricks, turf stacks or used to store reeds, wood or withies (Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 128; Morris and Garton 1998b: 139).

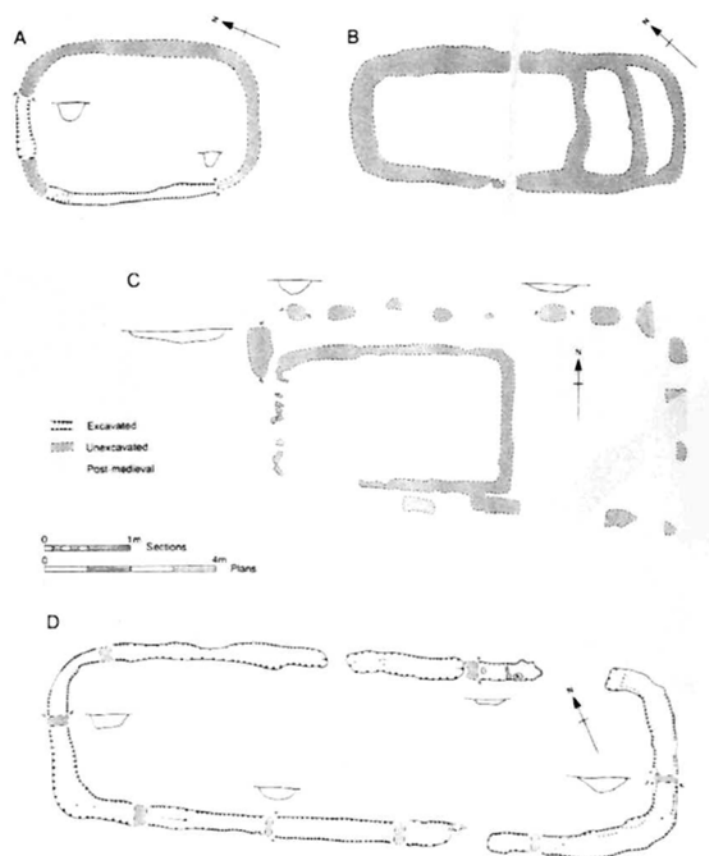


Figure 6.18. Plans of a few of the c. 70 subrectangular features excavated on the River Idle floodplain at East Carr, Mattersey, Notts. The larger examples might have been temporary structures. (Source: Morris and Garton 1998b: 139, fig. 2).

Not all of the gullies were continuous (*contra* Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 128), and there was also some evidence for compartmentalisation or re-modelling. In at least two instances, surrounding postholes formed an outer structure up to 14m long (e.g. Morris and Garton 1998b: 139, fig. 2C). Some of the larger examples, especially those associated with postholes, could have been drainage gullies around tents or shieling-like temporary buildings of peat, earth or turf. Their insubstantial nature, lack of hearths and domestic refuse suggests short-lived, transient occupation by people during summer. This was proposed in the archive report (Morris and Garton 1997: 6), though it seems to have been edited out of subsequent published accounts.



Figure 6.19. *One of the subrectangular gully features excavated at East Carr, Mattersey, cut by a Romano-British field ditch. (Source: Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 129, fig. 6.8).*

This is not an outlandish suggestion. Many shielings in the Scottish Highlands and Western Isles were turf, cob or peat-walled structures (Fig. 6.20); along with many of the *bathóg* or booleys in Ireland and *hafodydd* in Wales (e.g. Curwen 1946: 82-83; Horning 2001, 2004; O’Conor 1998, 2002; Ramm, McDowall and Mercer 1970; K. Roberts 2006; Ward 1997). In Iceland and parts of Scandinavia, shielings, barns, byres and even some farmsteads had turf-built walls well into the twentieth century (Sveinbjarnardóttir 1992; Vésteinsson, McGovern and Keller 2002) (Figs. 6.21-6.23). The ‘tents’ reported by Dio (*Epitome* 76. 12.1-5) may even record similar structures.

This use of the floodplain was likely to have been seasonal, but the sheer number of structures found at East Carr, Mattersey (whatever their function) must indicate short-lived but repeated occupation over time. The structures excavated at Mattersey are without clear regional or national parallels. At Ledston, two partly excavated rectangular structures were also defined by shallow gullies. Although neither was fully exposed in plan, both were about 6m wide, and the one most fully excavated was at least 11m long (Roberts 1995: 16-17, fig. 11). This latter example had one or two entrances, and the gullies were interpreted as slots for horizontal timber sleeper beams (Fig. 6.24). The nature and date of these structures is unclear, however.



Figure 6.20. (top left). Hebridean shieling of cut peat, boards and tarpaulin, photographed in the 1930s. (Source: Curwen 1946: plate x). **Fig. 6.21. (top right).** Turf-built early medieval shieling in Iceland after excavation. **Fig. 6.22. (bottom left).** The same buildings under excavation. **Fig. 6.23. (bottom right).** Restored nineteenth century Icelandic farmhouse, again built mostly of turves. (All Icelandic images source: author).

No internal features or artefacts were associated with the two structures excavated at Ledston, but they were *c.* 200m south-east of the main enclosure and pit complex, on a limestone shelf rather than on a floodplain. It is thus not clear if these were buildings or drainage structures around ricks, although the possible entrance in one does suggest a building. If so, the lack of hearths and domestic refuse may be evidence of seasonal occupation. Some broadly similar structures excavated at Swaythorpe in East Yorkshire were interpreted as bields or cattle shelters (Mackey 2001)¹. If some of the structures at Mattersey were temporary buildings, and the Ledston examples too, then their rectangular shape was different from the dominant roundhouse tradition of late Iron Age and Romano-British northern England (see Chapter 9). Many roundhouses in upland areas of Britain probably had peat, turf or earth walls (Pope 2003, forthcoming; cf. Reynolds 1979: 43), and may have been used on a seasonal basis. Some rectangular structures are known from Iron Age sites (Moore 2003), although most do not seem to have been domestic residences.

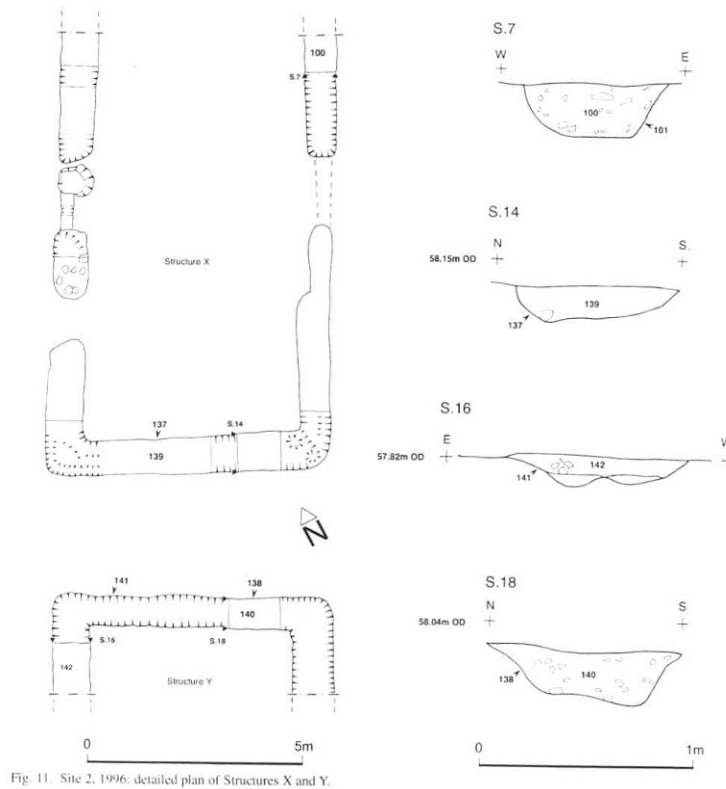


Fig. 11. Site 2, 1996: detailed plan of Structures X and Y.

Figure 6.24. *Rectangular structures of possible late Iron Age or Romano-British date excavated at Ledston, W. Yorks. (Source: Roberts 1995: 16-17, fig. 11).*

One possibility is that the rectangular shape reflected functional and social differences in how these buildings were inhabited. The seasonally-inhabited buildings of late Bronze Age and Iron Age date excavated on the Gwent Levels were rectangular, and many also lacked hearths and much artefactual evidence. The people who used them were taking livestock (predominantly cattle) to graze on wetland edge grasslands and salt marsh on the Gwent Levels during the summer months (Bell 2000; Bell, Caseldine and Neumann 2000; Gardiner et al. 2002; Locock 1999). It is likely that only certain members of the community would have been involved with these seasonal movements. The rectangular shape of these buildings may have reflected a subconscious, social ‘grammar’ that did not regard such structures as ‘domestic’ or household dwellings in the same manner as roundhouses.

Compelling evidence for the seasonal occupation of low-lying floodplain areas has come from Balby Carr, on the southern edge of Doncaster, where a series of investigations were undertaken in advance of the construction of a business park (L.

Jones 2002, 2005; O'Neill 2005; Richardson and Rose 2005; Rose and Roberts 2006). There were several phases of roundhouses, initially perhaps in an open settlement but later associated with trackways and rectangular fields or paddocks (Fig. 6.25). Late Iron Age artefacts were recovered, and a small quantity of Romano-British finds.

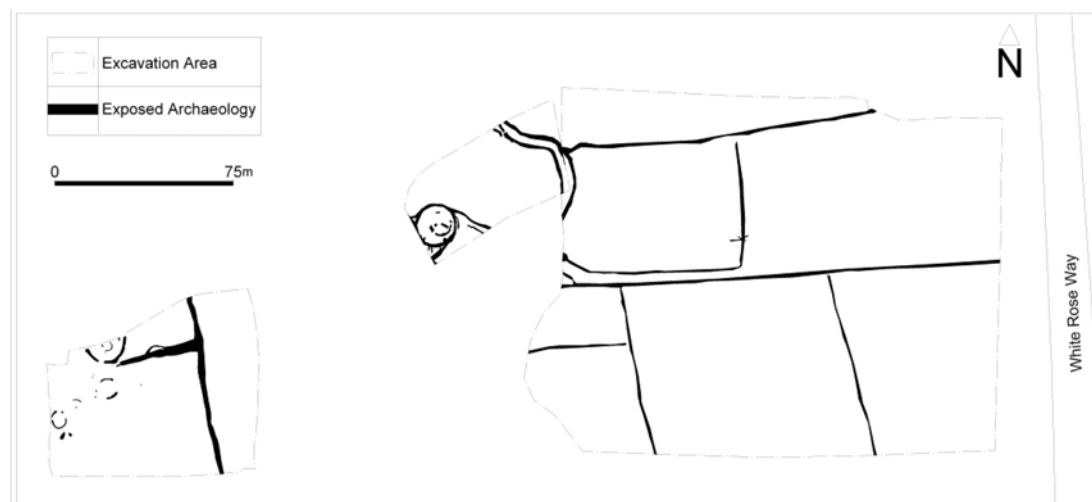


Figure 6.25. Excavated roundhouses, enclosures, trackways and fields at Balby Carr, Doncaster, S. Yorks. (Source: Roberts forthcoming).

The palaeo-environmental evidence at Balby from waterlogged wood, leaves, seeds and insect remains suggested quite a mixed landscape of alder and willow carr, with oak and beech on higher, drier ground nearby. Reed swamp of rushes, water crowfoot and sedges was indicated, but also areas of wet grassland with meadowsweet, sedge and marsh thistle; and drier meadows with buttercup, white clover and self-heal (Allen 2005; Carrott 2006; Carrott and Gardner 2006; Gale 2005; Greig 2005; Hall et al. 2005; Smith and Tetlow 2005). Insect and mollusc remains included those from standing and flowing water, but also grassland. Several of the beetle species are associated with the dung of large grazing animals. This occupation was likely to have been seasonal because of the generally wet and low-lying nature of the area, which would have partially flooded in winter and was still waterlogged marshland in the medieval and post-medieval periods. East of Doncaster at Sandtoft, a ‘considerable dung beetle fauna’ was recorded from late Roman palaeochannel deposits (Samuels and Buckland 1978: 72). This indicates the presence of large numbers of grazing animals, probably cattle.

Movement, trackways and inhabiting the landscape

Trackways linked some settlements, and allowed people to visit kin or to trade, and thus aided the spread of goods and ideas. Arguments and feuds were played out along them, but lovers and marriage partners travelled them too. Animals from one herd or flock could be taken to mate with those belonging to other groups. For both humans and animals, blood lines and lines on the land merged and mingled with one another. The digging of ditches to create trackways was the result of much embodied, socialised community-based labour. Trackways might sometimes have acted as neutral corridors through areas inhabited by different communities, but it is possible that some were created to control access and movement to or through certain areas.

In their routine movements, people and animals returned from communal grazing on river floodplains or heathland past or through large corrals and trackways, by more tightly bounded infields and into enclosures and pens that were much more well-defined expressions of individual or family/kin tenure and identities (q.v. Robbins 1998). Over time, ‘fostering’ settlements originally established as seasonal camps to exploit lowland pastures became more permanently occupied (Evans and Hodder 2006: 321), as perhaps happened at Gonalston (Elliott and Knight forthcoming).

Certain age-grades of people would have been associated with varied daily and seasonal movements, and different livestock would have required different directions and scales of movement. Proximity to water sources would have been necessary for cattle, which need large amounts of water daily. Sheep and goats require much less water, and can go without drinking for days at a time. They can also do well on poorer grazing. Upland hills and heath-covered ridges would have been more suitable locations for them. In some cases these would have been daily journeys, undertaken with the sunrise and the sunset. Where farmsteads were close to rivers and streams, cattle and horses could have been watered twice a day under the watchful gaze of a few people, perhaps older children. Daily movements may also have taken cattle, sheep, dogs and people from infields to outfields and back again. Pigs would have been kept much closer to settlements, but might have been driven to nearby areas

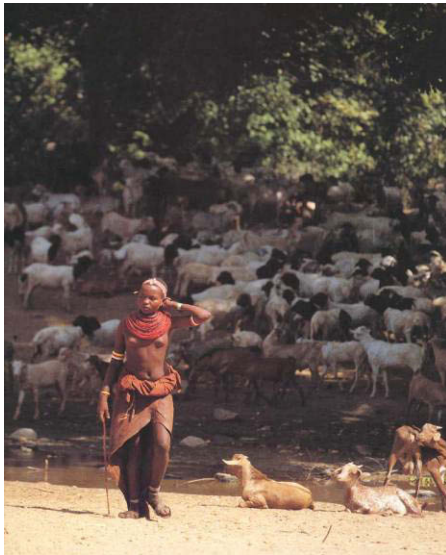
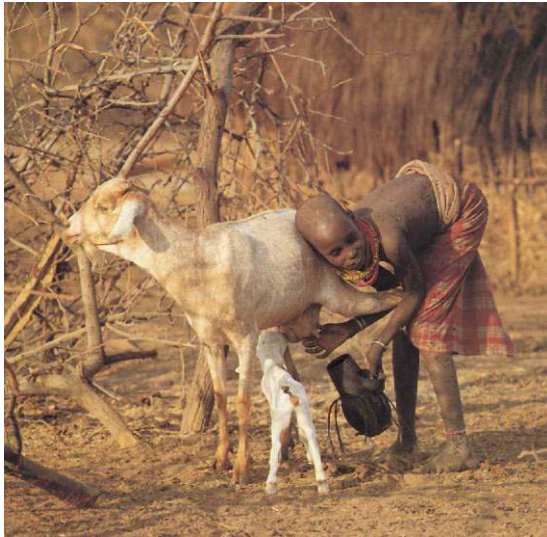


Figure 6.26. (top left). *Young Samburu girl milking a goat, Kenya. (Source: Pavitt 1991: 44).* **Fig. 6.27. (top right).** *Zumbahua sheep herders in the Andes, Ecuador. (Source: Mendell 2000: 39).* **Fig. 6.28. (centre left).** *Young Samburu woman with goats, Kenya. (Source: Pavitt 1991: 155).* **Fig. 6.29. (centre right).** *Young boy with pigs in the 1950s. (Source: Ward 1991: 23).* **Fig. 6.30. (bottom left).** *Feeding Highland cattle hay during winter in the 1930s, Scotland. (Source: Porter 2000: 268).* **Fig. 6.31. (bottom right).** *Samburu men driving cattle, Kenya. (Source: Pavitt 1991: 94).*

of heath, scrub or wooded copses for foraging. They may also have been used to strip vegetation from bracken-choked fields, bark from trees, and to break the earth on arable fields that had lain fallow for periods. Pigs are often quite difficult to control, especially boars, but sows and gilts are tamer, and as in some contemporary small-scale societies, young children or women might have been in charge of them.

During spring, cattle and sheep often find their own birthing places, but some pregnant animals were probably confined to infields or pens, so births could be monitored and assisted. People may then have brought young animals in to control feeding. In the autumn and early winter, people returned some animals to infields, folds and byres, and many pigs fattened since spring were slaughtered and their meat salted or smoked. There was perhaps alternation between winter household or family-held fields, and summer communal grazing. Households further away from river floodplains may have undertaken trips to and from grazing areas mostly during the summer months, and some people may have stayed with their animals for days or weeks in small satellite enclosures. Some corrals located next to valley bottoms were used to keep large numbers of animals at night to prevent straying or theft, and were places where their herders slept or sat on watch. This grazing is most likely to have involved cattle and horses more often than sheep, because of the latter's intolerance of damper conditions. Some hay cropping may have taken place too. On higher heath-covered ground, daily and seasonal movements with sheep and goats were probably important, with hilltop enclosures and corrals used to protect flocks overnight.

What size herds and flocks were the people in these communities maintaining? Some trackways, funnels and crushes and large corrals seem to have been designed to cope with the movements of hundreds of animals, although these animals may not have all belonged to one household resident at one farmstead. It is unlikely that most individual enclosed settlements had more than 10-30 cattle and 100-200 sheep (see Pryor 2006 for slightly larger figures though). Greater numbers of livestock would probably have required bigger settlements. Larger, agglomerated settlements including those that became villas may have kept many hundreds of animals, but these were probably exceptions for the region as a whole. If the floodplains were grazed in commons, large corrals were probably used by several extended households who

pooled their labour during drives and round ups. These would have been important social occasions, as with the Icelandic *réttir* where people round up and sort sheep or horses after summer grazing on open land (Aldred forthcoming).

At agglomerated floodplain sites such as Moor Pool Close, Rampton and Ferry Lane Farm, Collingham, people from several different households and lineages came together at certain times of the year. Linked to more distant settlements by trackways, these places had access to good grazing and allowed herders and their animals to keep close company for weeks or months at a time. Some buildings and settlements may have only been occupied during the summer months, like lowland versions of shielings or *hafodydd*. Individuals or families would have worked amongst each other and their animal charges, communal affiliations were reinforced through work and talk (Robbins 1998), and bonds between human and animal were strengthened.

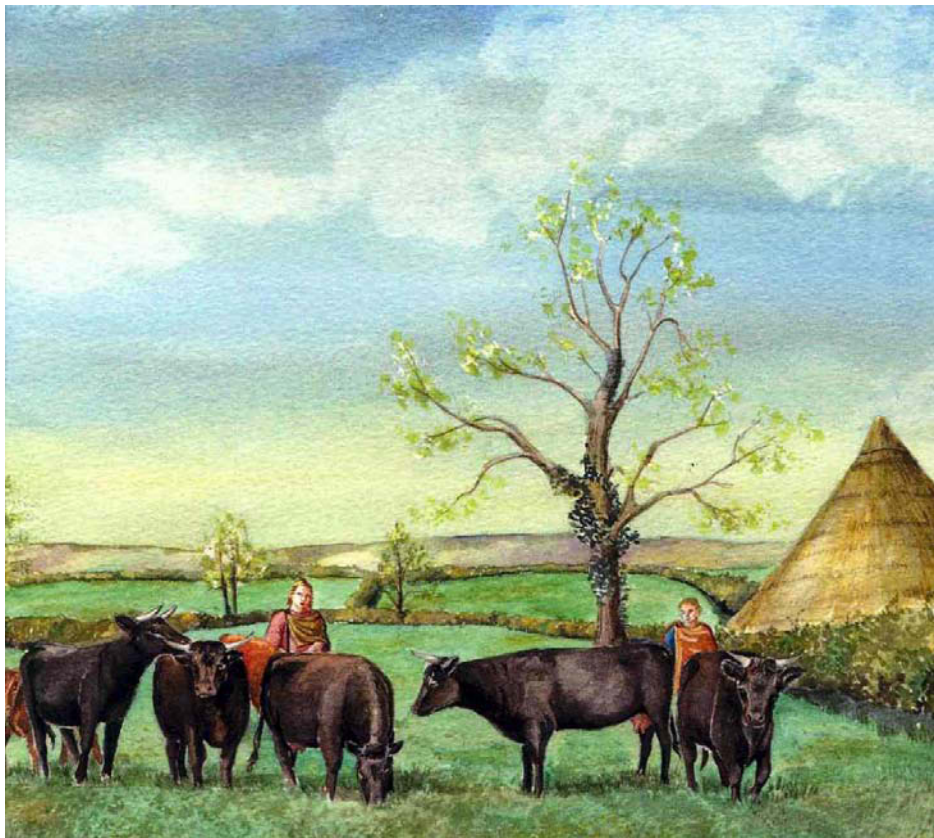
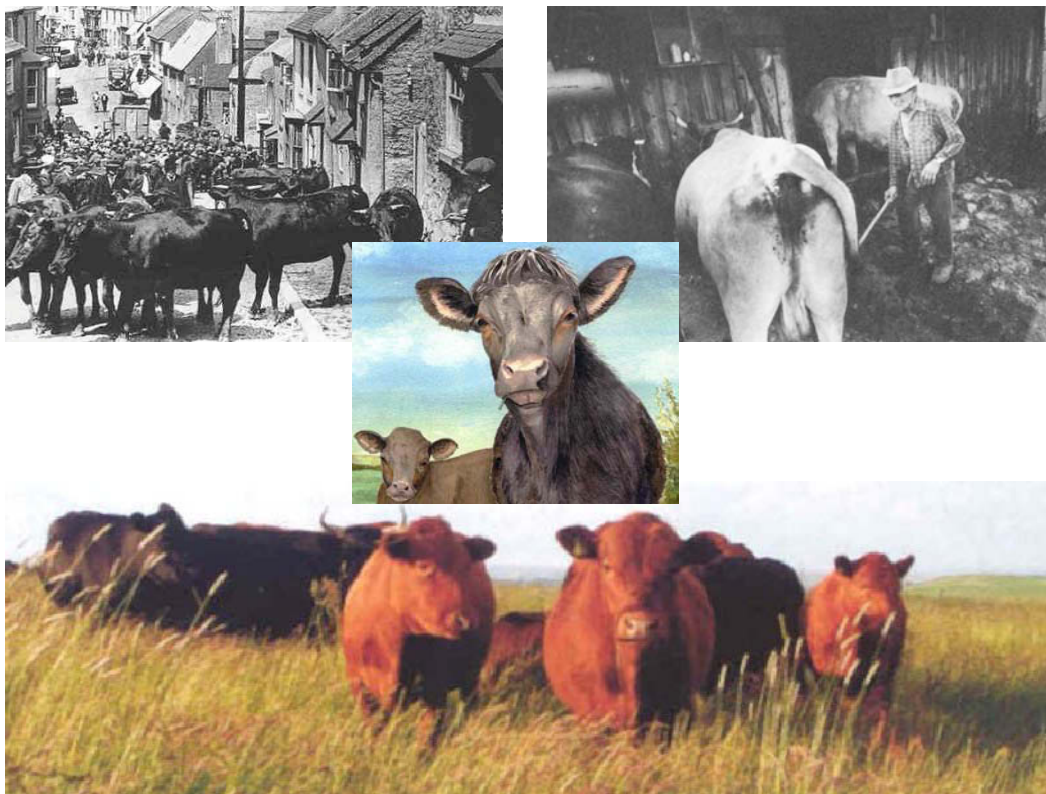


Figure 6.32. *Reconstruction of Iron Age cattle herding at a seasonal, floodplain-based settlement near the River Thames at Thornhill Farm, Fairford, Gloucestershire. (Source: Jennings et al. 2004, cover image).*

Ethno-historical accounts from Britain suggest that young women and men often accompanied sheep and cattle to temporary summer settlements (Arensberg and Kimball 1948; Davies 1984-5; Dodgshon 1981, 1992; Fenton 1976; Howell 1977; Ó Danachair 1983-4; O’Dowd 1981; Sayce 1956, 1957). Caution must be exercised in using such geographically varied and historically specific evidence, and some accounts undoubtedly over-romanticise such practices (Ward 1997). In many African herding societies, it is often young men who look after cattle and young women and children who tend sheep and goats (e.g. Dyson-Hudson 1973; Pavitt 1991). Whilst away from the main settlements young men and women may flirt or have sexual relationships. In the Western Isles of Scotland, it was mainly women and children who were away from the main settlements (Curwen 1946: 81-83), providing women with an opportunity to create or reinforce female social networks and to look after children without the presence of men.



Cattle husbandry. Figure 6.33. (top left). Cattle drove in Devon during the 1930s. (Source: Porter 2000: 112). Fig. 6.34. (top right). Tending stalled cattle in the French Alps. (Source: Berger and Mohr 1982: 24). Fig. 6.35. (centre). Cows I. (Source: Jennings et al. 2004, rear cover). Fig. 6.36. (below). Cows II. Dexter cattle. (Source: www.brambledexter.co.uk).

More widely dispersed households or kinship groups might have come together in spring or autumn to retrieve or store seed grain, to breed and exchange livestock, exchange news and goods, trade, and undertake sexual liaisons both approved and illicit. They remembered past journeys and meetings, and looked forward to future ones. Many landscape features held memories of dead relatives, times of sadness and of laughter; and in some cases may have been the focus for ideas about their ancestry and the past. Equally, some abandoned sites and boundaries might have elapsed from memory, and surviving traces of them may have evinced little interest.

But even for people who live in the same place for generations and work ‘within their knowledge’, there are always other places (real, or encountered through hearsay, story and imagination). The familiar topography gives way to the unfamiliar...How do people deal with the part-familiar or the unknown? Walking along seasonal pathways, a person part-knows the way, part-knows that each time of return there will be change and unfamiliarity; part-fears, part-revels in the chance encounter, the possible adventure. (Bender 2001: 83-84).

Memory and tradition were thus continually being caught up and reworked in journeys along trackways and relationships between people, animals and the land. Some journeys were taken into death. At Ferry Fryston² for example, if the carriage was part of a funerary procession this would have been a dramatic spectacle, as would at later dates the cattle driven along prior to their killing, butchering and consumption. Iron Age carriages might have been ‘technologies of power’ that compressed time and distance for those riding in them (Giles 2002). If so, then trackways could be conduits for such power. Significant places in the landscape and the journeys along trackways were thus vital to the social relations manifested through such practices.

Conclusions – journey’s end

I believe that there is still an unacknowledged tendency for some archaeologists to regard late Iron Age or Romano-British settlements as somewhat static places at the centre of resource catchment areas. These peoples and their landscapes were much

more dynamic, however, and journeys of different lengths and scales would have been very much part of their everyday lives. In one sense Piggott (1958) was right in stating the importance of livestock to these communities, but he saw them as primitive peripatetics pursuing an unsophisticated lifestyle compared to the more socially developed and complex Iron Age groups further south. Instead, the archaeological evidence from the region demonstrates that these people often had deep attachments to place, and to their long-term histories and genealogies. In their daily and seasonal taskscapes people were continuously reminded of previous generations, and in some cases they deliberately structured trackways to reference earlier features or vestiges of occupation. These daily and seasonal movements were hardly those of ‘primitive’ people. Instead, they reveal a sophisticated knowledge of landscapes and seasonality, and an acutely intuitive understanding of animal behaviour.



Figure 6.37. *Double-ditched trackway recently excavated at Normanton Industrial Estate, West Yorks. (Source: © AS WYAS).*

As outlined in Chapter 3, bodily movements and actions reproduce peoples’ identities and memories (e.g. Butler 1993; Connerton 1989; de Certeau 1988; Ingold 2000, 2004; Lefebvre 1991; Mauss 1973; Merleau-Ponty 1962). Identities are also based on the relationships between people and non-human beings, and with the landscape. Tim Ingold has drawn distinctions between transport and wayfaring (Ingold 2004, 2006).

Transport is a relatively modern experience, where a transported passenger (in a vehicle) has much less experiential contact with the world she or he moves *across*. For the wayfarer, speed is unimportant, for they are instantiated *within* the dynamics of the lived-in world. Ingold has stressed how in small-scale societies the world is ‘perceived through the feet’ (2004), where walking is vital to the construction of people’s notions of Self, place, tenure and memory. To follow a path is to remember the way (Ingold 2000: 147). Journeys take place not only as spatial and bodily movements, but also as paths between these memories, reflections and expectations (Chadwick 2004a: 20). People would have been negotiating relations of kinship and exchange through these movements and encounters (Bender 2001: 84), and were engaged in a continuous, recursive process of immersing themselves in the past, negotiating paths and practices in the present, and projecting themselves into futures as yet untravelled.

For the Foi people of Papua New Guinea, travelling from one place to another is never simply an uneventful journey between two nodal points:

Foi paths are the graphic effect of intentional, creative movement. They transform the ground, partition the earth and create human space...People pause to inspect trees for signs of fruiting, or for the spoor of animals. A length of good-quality rattan may be found, cut down, made into a coil, and placed in a string bag...In these and other casual ‘productive’ acts, Foi men and women truly turn these paths into conduits of inscribed activity. (Weiner 2001: 17-18).

The Foi live in a forested, montane landscape where gathering and hunting are still important, but these ideas are applicable to many rural communities. During the study period, if a broken fence or gate was seen, or a gap in a hedge, they would have been fixed on the spot wherever possible. Switches or staffs might have been cut from boughs along the way, honey collected from a newly identified bees nest, or edible mushrooms picked from the side of the trackway. Plants used in herbal medicines for people and animals would also have been gathered during such everyday journeys.

Animals would have remembered many of these same paths and trackways, and may often have taken themselves along them with little urging by humans or dogs, following older, more experienced animals (Gray 1999; Lorimer 2004), but these would not have necessarily been smooth, uninterrupted journeys. Sheep and cattle would have sometimes clustered in confusion, or lingered wilfully to browse on trees or hedges. Some animals would have responded well to the directions of people and dogs, but other individuals might always have been more obstreperous. Hedges and fences would have been breached, and crops trampled or eaten. Animals would have had preferred places for browsing, grazing and drinking, and favoured spots to scratch against rocks, posts or tree trunks, lie in shade, or shelter from wind, rain and snow.

Animals also partly shaped the boundaries, trackways, fields, funnels, gateways, enclosures and pens within these landscapes – the form of these features depended on people’s understandings of the behaviour of cattle, sheep and goats, pigs and horses. If a fence was not stout enough to withstand the concerted attentions of pigs, if cattle breached a hedge or bank and strayed or damaged crops, or if a gateway was in an unsuitable place, then it was animals who would have demonstrated this agency to their human herders. In a very real manner, people *and* animals created these landscapes together, through the interplay between animal agency and human agency, animal memories and human memories, animal movements and human movements.

Notes

1. I must thank Melanie Giles for drawing this reference to my attention. Cattle are not as robust as sheep, and often require shelter in bad weather, even during the summer months.
2. Although initially reported as the Ferrybridge carriage burial, this was subsequently re-named as the Ferry Fryston burial. This is more accurate, as the excavated square barrow is closer to the village of Ferry Fryston than it is to the settlement at Ferrybridge, and marks Oxford North’s desire to separate their scheme of A1-M1 works from those previously undertaken by AS WYAS. Interestingly though, it seems that this also reflected the desire of the local community who wished to assert their separate identity through the discovery of the carriage burial. Clearly, issues of identity and community and associations with past monuments are as relevant today as they were in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods.

Movement 6

Weaverthorpe

they know the rites of way:
my hand has only to flick
the swaying, high-boned hip,
to nudge the pendulous head,
set udders swinging between
hind legs patched with soil and shit.

by them I am known,
my herder's gait.
their names are my lineage,
their smell. warm turf,
sweat and hair-grease,
grass with the scent of cream to it,
rich on the lip,
 a bellyful.

each jaw longer than my handspan,
there is no tongue thicker
its curl crop rip.

I know too, the carving of breast from bone,
how each death holds the slather of birth.
the warm peel of hide and flesh, the blood
 a pulse,
rich and sticky, seeping into soil.
watering it,
 like the stream in flood
guzzles at gravel.

this surge is in every vein,
throbbing in the neck,
in the sweat and heft of ribs
and flank.

 the gape
of each body in spate,

rhythms of thigh and hip
and thirst.

we are made
through this slow stumble
and trip of hooves and feet.
the herd's rise and dip
where we have worn the chalk skin
 into scars.

so we mark the land's curve
with our dead, cut them into its bone.
they watch us come
and go.
our crossing of the land by their marks,
 watering at dawn
 the noon-day graze
 the herding home.

we are their thread, living and dead
woven each day
through our warp
 and weft.

Melanie Giles

From A.M. Chadwick (ed.) 2004. *Stories from the Landscape: Archaeologies of Inhabitation*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

CHAPTER 7

Land Tenure, Land Division, Land Use and Field Patterns

Bounding the land

Boundaries are of major significance in structuring existential space both in and between places and regions. Boundaries are to do with creating distinctions and marking out social oppositions, mapping social and cultural differences and Otherness. (Tilley 1994: 17).

In previous archaeological considerations of tenure, territoriality, land allotment, land division and land use, some authors have used such terms as if they are almost interchangeable (cf. Cunliffe 2005; Dark and Dark 1997; Earle 2000; Fleming 1998a; Fowler 2002), but to further considered discussion these must be defined more critically (Chadwick forthcoming). Tenure is an aspect of relations ‘which *constitutes* persons as productive agents and directs their purposes’, whereas territoriality is ‘an aspect of the means through which these purposes are put into effect under given environmental circumstances’ (Ingold 1986a: 130-131, his emphasis). *Tenure* is thus about social relations and engaging with the landscape. It may take many different forms in contemporary or historically-recorded communities (e.g. Adler 1996; Casimir and Rao 1992; Godelier 1978; Ingold 1986, 2000; Rochelau and Edmunds 1997; Ward and Kingdom 1995), which suggests that it was extremely variable in the past too. Tenure is not the same as *property* and *ownership*, which determine whether individuals or communities have exclusive rights to possess, use and/or dispose of objects or areas of land. Often linked to the idea of property is *territoriality*, where particular individuals or groups lay claim to certain areas.

Tenure, property and territoriality can be important components of human identity. On Whalsay, houses and fields are family ‘territories’ complete with their own histories and biographies (Cohen 1979: 259). In Highland New Guinea kin relationships determine complex, shifting rights of access to cultivatable land, with paths, fences and fields expressing networks of social relations and past ancestors.

Land disputes can thus be a fundamental challenge to people's identities (Sillitoe 1999: 350). In Fiji, Romania and parts of East and North Africa, land was divided into parallel plots or strips, the width and arrangement of which effectively 'maps' the numbers of generations and/or their kin relationships (Bessis et al. 1956; Riles 1998: 409-410; Shipton 1984: 615-618; Stahl 1980). How people allocate land and construct land divisions expresses identity, and individuals or communities may be judged on the appearance of walls, fences, and hedges, and the quality and maintenance of their land (Bevan forthcoming; Edmonds 2004; Lele 2006; Phillips 1984). *Land allotment* may be equal or unequal, allocated by social elites or divided communally, or passed down through patrilineal or matrilineal descent groups. Land allotment is thus a physical process and an outcome of social relations.

Land division refers to how people divide the land with fences, walls, ditches or hedges, although it might not involve any physical markers or boundaries and may depend on social memory, narrative history and the activities of the people and animals for whom they are recognised or experienced as such (Cohen 2000: 6-7; Ingold 2000: 193; Sillitoe 1999: 340). Land division and boundaries need not necessarily rigidly separate people, but instead may actually help frame and give shape to their interactions (Barth 2000: 28; Cohen 2000: 7). *Land use* spans activities from arable cultivation and livestock rearing through to hay cropping and the use of unimproved or unenclosed land for grazing. It might include quarrying earth or stone for construction, or extracting clay for pottery production. It can involve the coppicing or pollarding of trees, or the collection of gorse, bracken and reeds. It is considerably influenced by environmental factors such as altitude, geology, soil and climate, but social factors are still significant too. Different groups within a community, or even different communities, might claim tenure and rights of access to the same areas or resources (Godelier 1978; Johnston 2001; Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997). Some areas can be used by individual households at certain times, but at others utilised by the community as a whole. In historical Britain, for example, the practice of gleaning meant that before stubble was ploughed in, grain left in fields after harvest was collected by the wives or children of farm servants, or the parish poor. Johnston (2001: 101) and Kitchen (2001: 117-118) have outlined many possibilities of fluctuating tenure, access and land rights.

Land use is therefore *not* the same as land allotment or land division. Societies undertaking similar agricultural practices may have very different ideas about tenure, property and land allotment to one another. Two communities with apparently similar systems of land division might have dissimilar notions of tenure and land allotment. In addition, tenure, land allotment, property, ownership and land use may all be affected in varying ways by age, status and gender.

Land allotment and land division within the study region

Linear earthworks

Across the study region there is little evidence for the extensive systems of late prehistoric linear earthworks that have been investigated in areas such as Salisbury Plain, the Berkshire Downs and East Yorkshire Wolds. Some West Yorkshire linear earthworks have been investigated. The earthworks of Grim's Ditch were once thought to be the *agger* of a Roman road (Codrington 1918; Margary 1973; Pope 1958) (Fig. 7.01), but small-scale excavations and geophysical surveys established it was a linear earthwork (Brown 1995; Morris 1998, Webb 1997; Wilmott 1993). Faull (1981: 174) suggested it was part of the defences of the fifth to sixth century AD kingdom of Elmet. Becca Bank, South Dyke and The Rein are collectively known as the Aberford Dykes, and survive as earthworks and crop and soil marks (Fig. 7.02). These have been interpreted as Iron Age earthworks (Alcock 1954; Ramm 1980), or again as part of the defences of Elmet (Faull 1981: 171-172; Wilson and Hurst 1963).

These monuments were investigated during the M1-A1 Link Road scheme. Although artefacts were sparse, ¹⁴C dates and some Roman and medieval finds suggested that South Dyke and Becca Banks were built in the later Iron Age, possibly re-cut in the Romano-British period, and were still extant in the medieval period when Becca Banks was a township, parish and wapentake boundary (Wheelhouse and Burgess 2001: 137, 144, 148). Dating of samples from Grim's Ditch suggested an origin in the early or middle Iron Age, with possible redefinition and re-use as a boundary in the Roman period (Morris 1999; Wheelhouse and Burgess 2001: 129-131). Recent

investigations of another section of South Dyke in advance of pipeline construction found that the construction of the bank and ditch followed an earlier pit alignment, probably sometime during the middle to later Iron Age (Daniel and Noon 2007: 8-9). The South Dyke may have fallen out of use by the Roman period, although a curvilinear ditch of this date was dug broadly parallel to it. Clearly, these features may have had long, complex and locally variable histories, and it seems most unlikely that could have functioned effectively as defensive barriers, although they were undoubtedly implicated in conceptions of territoriality and identity.

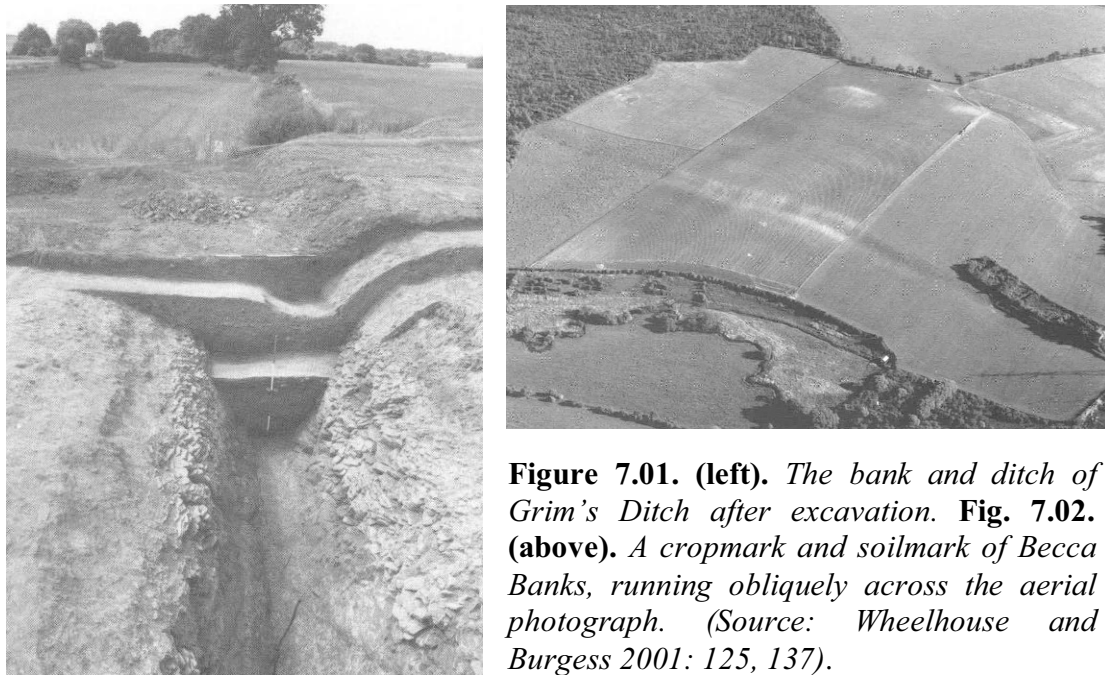


Figure 7.01. (left). *The bank and ditch of Grim's Ditch after excavation.* **Fig. 7.02. (above).** *A cropmark and soilmark of Becca Banks, running obliquely across the aerial photograph. (Source: Wheelhouse and Burgess 2001: 125, 137).*

In South Yorkshire, the Roman Ridge or Roman Rig was orientated south-west to north-east in two lines from Sheffield to Swinton Common and Mexborough, or *c.* 27km in total (Fig. 7.03), still undated despite several excavations (e.g. Atkinson 1994b; Greene 1950; Greene and Preston 1950b; Preston 1950b; Riley 1957), though Roman sherds were found in upper ditch fills. The two lines may not have been contemporary, and earlier ditches pre-dated at least one stretch (Atkinson 1994b: 47). A post-Roman date is also possible (Cronk 2004), linked to the kingdoms of Elmet, or Northumbria in the seventh to ninth century AD. Ashbee (1957: 256-265) suggested the Roman Ridge was built hurriedly in the first century AD by supporters of the Brigantian leader Venutius, as Alcock (1954) proposed for the Aberford Dykes. These banks and ditches are often linked to Wincobank hillfort and Caesar's Camp

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enclosure at Scholes Coppice as part of a ‘defensive network’¹, although once again this seems highly unlikely, and indeed the Roman Ridge does not always conform to a line that would make sense from a defensive ‘military’ perspective.

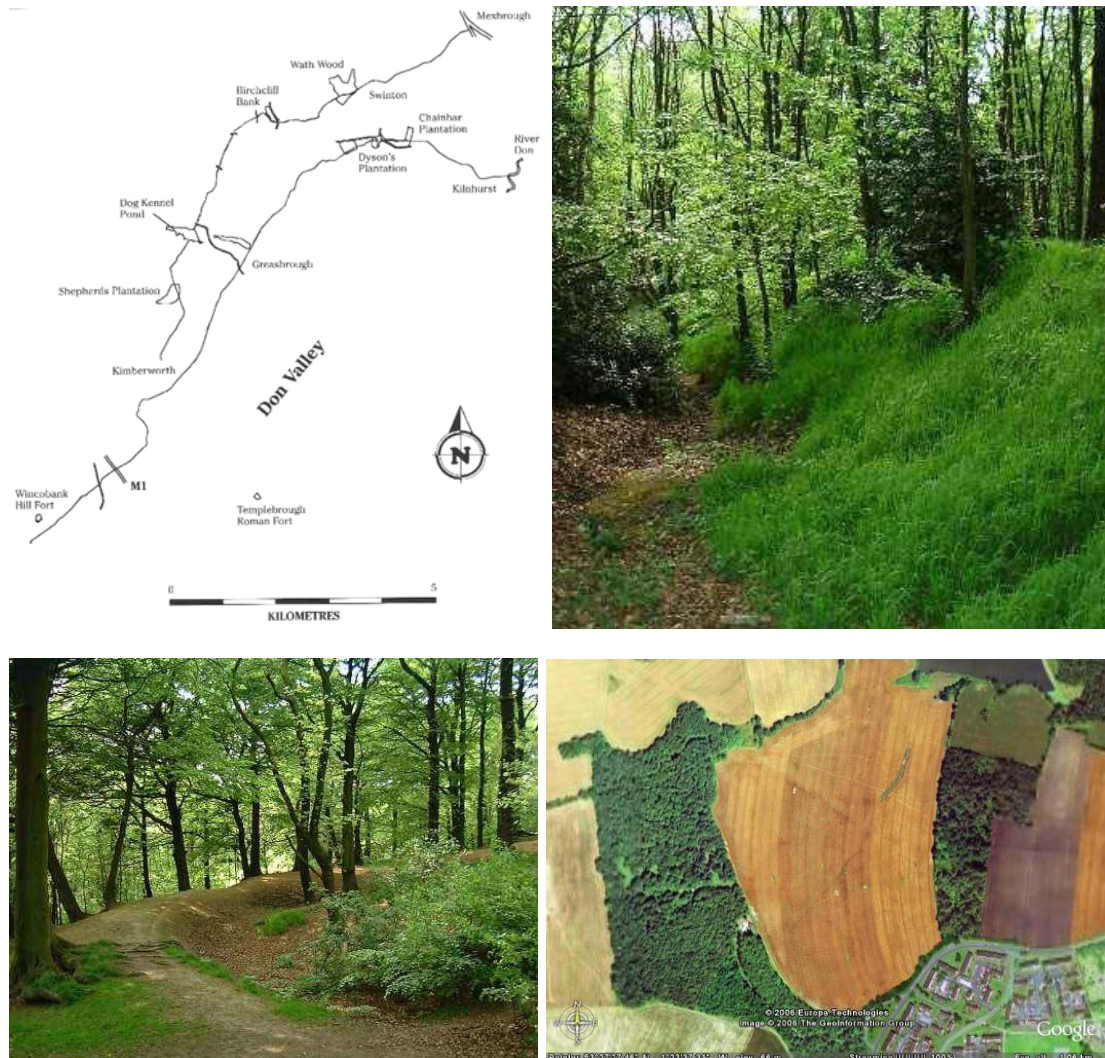


Figure 7.03. (top left). The extent of the Roman Ridge earthworks in South Yorkshire. (Source: Boldrini 1999: 102). **Fig. 7.04. (top right) and Fig. 7.05. (bottom left).** Surviving earthworks of the Roman Ridge in Wath Wood. (Source: World Wide Web <http://www.brigantesnation.com>). **Fig. 7.06. (bottom right).** The course of the Roman Ridge near Rotherham, appearing as a sinuous cropmark running from Rockingham Wood in the lower left of the image to Dog Kennel Pond in the top right. SK 4035 9580. (Source: © Google Earth).

Boldrini (1999: 103) favoured an Iron Age date for the Roman Ridge, but suggested that the banks and ditches were social and territorial markers rather than defensive barriers – the two ‘branches’ may even have delineated a liminal or neutral zone. Given the Iron Age dates from Grim’s Ditch and the Aberford Dykes, this seems a

likely origin for the Roman Ridge too, although it could still have been re-utilised in later periods. Whether this was a pre-Roman tribal barrier or a mid-first century AD response to the Roman presence south of the Rivers Don and Trent is not clear. If a feature of emerging Iron Age social groups, it is questionable whether these corresponded to Roman notions of the Brigantes and Corieltavi (see Chapter 2). Earthwork construction required considerable time and labour by a significant proportion of the population, and probably hierarchical authority too. How the Roman Ridge related to field systems and enclosures is unclear, although aerial photographic and stratigraphic evidence suggest Becca Banks overlay earlier field boundaries trackways and enclosures (Daniel 2007: fig. 17; Deegan 2001b: 25, fig. 8, 34, fig. 19; Wheelhouse and Burgess 2001: 139-141).

Typologies, terminologies and teleologies part 1

Riley (1980: 13) outlined some basic descriptions and categories of fields and field systems (Fig. 7.07). His most famous classification was of the so-called ‘brickwork’ fields, found on the Sherwood Sandstone areas of South Yorkshire and north Nottinghamshire, but in these areas and across Magnesian Limestone and Coal Measures areas, he suggested that field systems were either ‘nucleated’ around enclosures, or more ‘irregular’ in pattern. In recent detailed aerial photograph transcription work as part of the Magnesian Limestone Project, Alison Deegan has pointed out several inconsistencies with Riley’s scheme, not least of which is the fact that the ‘brickwork’ fields were not arranged in a truly brickwork pattern, as the short ‘cross’ boundaries were rarely staggered in alternating strips (Deegan 2007: 5-6). Riley’s ‘nuclear’ field category was illustrated with a group of cropmarks from Hesley Hall, near Rossington Bridge, but Deegan persuasively argues that the enclosure concerned was probably of a different date to the surrounding boundaries, and that to the east there was actually another block of fields on a slightly different orientation (see Fig. 7.07, no. 4). Finally, Riley’s ‘irregular’ category is rather an unsatisfactory grab-all type. This term also has unfortunate theoretical connotations, implying a lack of purpose or planning.

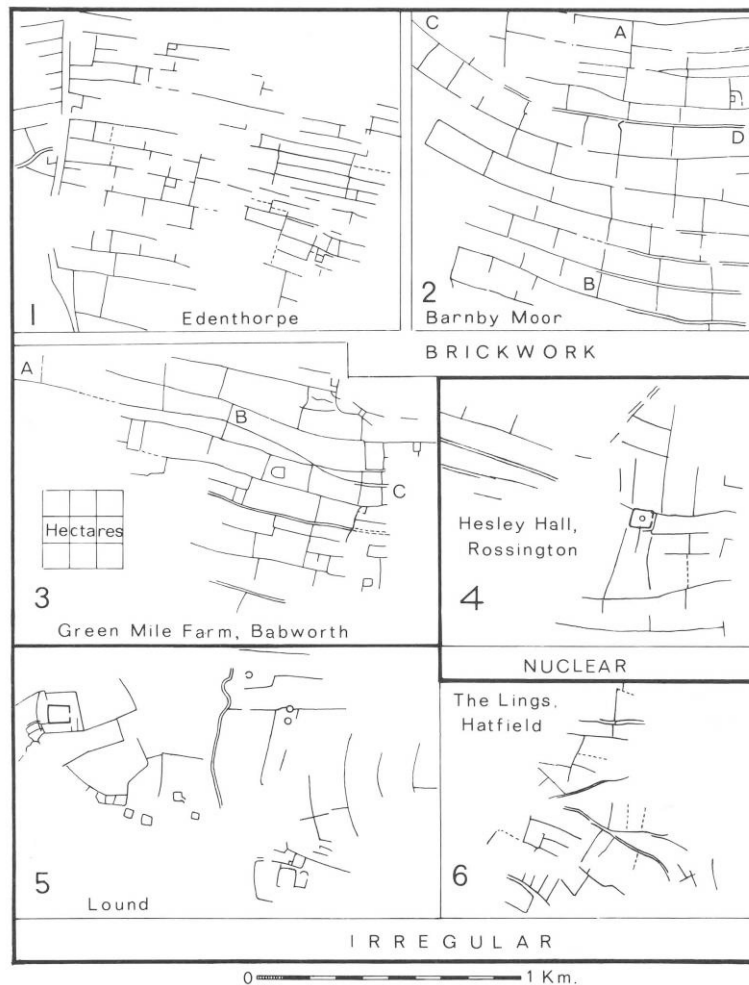


Figure 7.07. Riley's field classification scheme. (Source: Riley 1980: 13, fig. 3).

Deegan has proposed just two main types of field system. Her 'strip' fields consist of long boundaries at least 400m long and up to 100m apart with short cross boundaries, arranged in 'bundles' of four or more strips (Deegan 2007: 5, fig. 6.5, see Fig. 7.33-7.34). Sometimes these might also be a series of shorter strips arranged end-on. This type corresponds broadly to Riley's 'brickwork' fields, although Deegan also identifies such bundles of 'strip' fields between Adwick-le-Street and Bentley, and north of Adwick-le-Street near Barnburgh, all in South Yorkshire, but also on Went Hill, west of Aberford in West Yorkshire and as far north as the River Wharfe. As with Riley's 'brickwork' pattern, the implication is that the 'strips' were laid out as long boundaries and then subdivided by shorter cross boundaries. It is thus a broader category, and takes into account how the fields were probably created (q.v. Widgren 1990: 22). In contrast, 'mixed' field systems were much more variable in size, although sometimes fields of similar sizes seem to have clustered together (ibid.).

In a recent overview of Romano-British field systems and rural settlement across England, Taylor (2007: 59, 62-63) used the terms ‘cohesive’ (‘brickwork’) and ‘aggregate’ (‘nuclear’) strip fields to describe the differing patterns found south of the River Aire down to north Nottinghamshire and east to the Humber Wetlands, and down the Trent Valley. This introduces a third classificatory scheme and typology. I disagree with overtly typological approaches to field systems and enclosures, however. They often tend to be rather teleological, that is to say, the fields are sought to be somehow ‘explained’ by the particular function they served rather than the wider social processes and agricultural practices that led to their creation. Whilst I appreciate aspects of Deegan’s and Taylor’s more simplified categories, I feel that the term ‘strip’ fields may sometimes cause confusion with later medieval fields. It might also imply (no matter how inadvertently) that there was greater centralised planning and a shorter and simpler developmental chronology of the ‘strips’ than may have been the case. I will discuss co-axial fields in more detail later in this chapter.

In this thesis I use Riley’s term ‘brickwork’ fields to discuss the co-axial patterns on the Sherwood Sandstones only, and not co-axial blocks in the Trent Valley or on the Magnesian Limestone and Coal Measures areas of South and West Yorkshire. I also refer rather loosely to irregular or nucleated fields, but concur with Deegan’s criticisms, and do not propose these as formal categories. Both terms are often misleading, and in some instances a more apposite term might be ‘attenuated’, where long trackways and major linear boundaries appear to have been important structuring features. Again, however, I am not proposing a fourth typology of terms. Some fields could fit within several different categories, whilst others remain hard to classify. As I will discuss in this chapter, I am rather sceptical that some of these distinctions would have had much meaning to contemporary rural populations.

Irregular, nucleated, mixed or attenuated field systems

It is clear that outside areas of co-axial fields, long linear ditched boundaries or double-ditched trackways often formed the principal structuring features of these landscapes, and may have often been the earliest major constructions within them. Many major boundaries ran approximately north-south and east-west, as at Swillington Common, Parlington Hollins, Ledston, Barnsdale Bar, Lundwood,

Adwick-le-Street, Scawthorpe and Scabba Wood (Bishop 2004; Brown et al. forthcoming; Chadwick 1998; Deegan 2000, 2001b, 2001d, 2007; Meadows and Chapman 2004; Webb 2006). Minor field boundaries appear to have been inserted between the longer, more sinuous boundaries (see Figs. 7.08-7.09 below). Most of the few examples of ‘ladder’ or ‘clothes line’ enclosures within the study region have been identified on the Magnesian Limestone and Coal Measures (see Chapter 9 and Appendix H), again suggesting linear landscape developments².

Why many of the long boundaries on the Magnesian Limestone in particular seem to have been so sinuous is unclear. This might relate to the ditches having been dug along the lines of geological bedding planes and periglacial cracks in the underlying limestone bedrock. Alternatively, the linear boundaries may have followed the edges of cleared parcels of land, ‘intakes’ or ‘assarts’ to use medieval terms, and/or the edges of existing woodland (Roberts forthcoming; Roberts, Deegan and Berg 2007: 7). In some cases at least, it is likely that the meandering lines of some boundaries and trackways reflected the slightly erratic routes taken by livestock moving through the landscape. These irregular routes then became ‘hardened’ over time through repeated embodied movements by people and animals, as memory and tradition were inscribed upon the land through the passage of feet and hooves. Such informal routeways might have been used by people and livestock during the later Bronze Age and earlier Iron Age, and only became ‘formalised’ with double ditched trackways during the middle and later Iron Age (q.v. Fenton-Thomas 2003, 2005: 58-59).

Whatever the underlying reasons, there were also habitus-related practices behind this. People might have continued to construct boundaries in a traditional manner, as their ancestors had done. Another possibility is that the lengthier boundaries were constructed in sections by different households or extended families that nonetheless all belonged to the same clan or lineage. This might explain not only the variations, but also the great length of some of the boundaries that in many instances seem to be far more than those that a single extended family group would require.

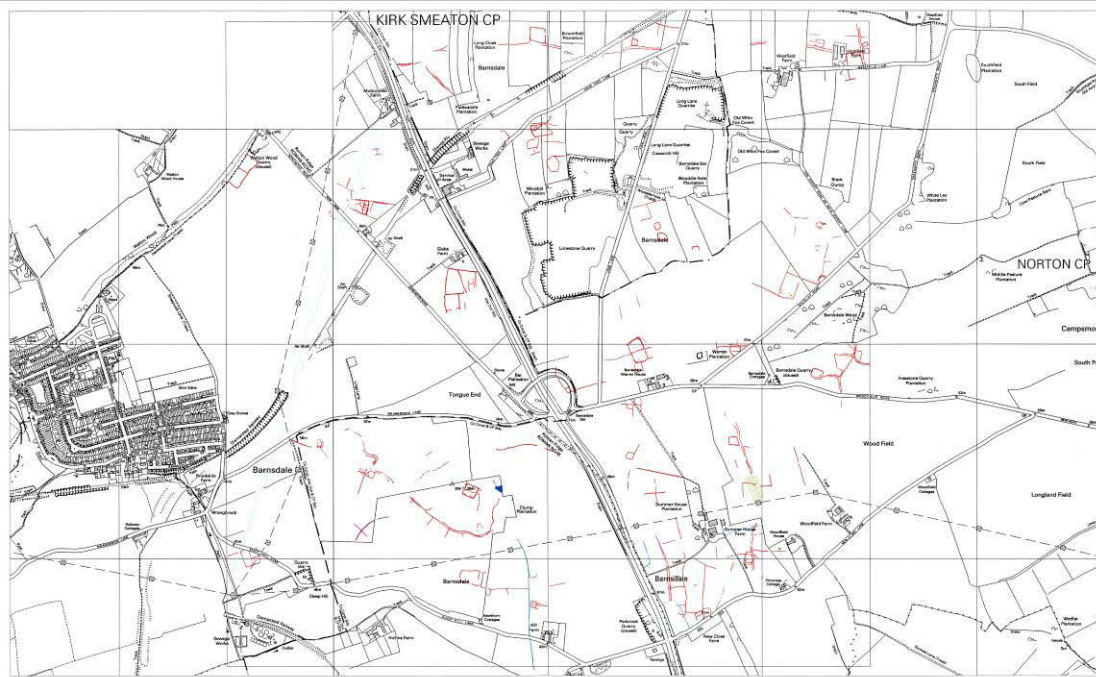


Figure 7.08. Cropmarks (red) of irregular and nucleated field systems near Barnsdale Bar and Kirk Smeaton, S. Yorks. (Source: Deegan 2000).



Figure 7.09. Cropmarks of 'attenuated' or more nucleated field systems, trackways and enclosures west of Aberford (a), north of Micklegate (b) and at Ledston (c), all in West Yorkshire. (Source: Deegan 2001b: 26, fig. 9).



Figure 7.10. *A trackway running across the photograph from upper left to lower right, forming the primary axis for enclosures and fields at Little Houghton, S. Yorks. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 125, SE 423 066).*

Enclosures or small groups of enclosures and pens were often prominent features within the attenuated landscapes, either appended to or respected by trackways or boundaries. In some cases they clearly formed a nucleated focus for later boundaries focused on them. This pattern also suggests that the establishment of enclosures may have taken place within largely open landscapes that subsequently became ‘infilled’ with additional fields and trackways over time; or in other instances that they were built next to existing routeways. Clusters of small fields or corrals associated with many enclosures suggest a basic infield : outfield arrangement, and might thus be indicative of mixed farming (see below and Chapter 4).

At Wattle Syke, Castle Hills and Micklefield, Ledston, Barnsdale Bar, Scawthorpe, Adwick-le-Street, Scabba Wood, Canklow Woods and Pastures Road, Mexborough, the principal trackways and boundaries followed the natural contours, either parallel to prevailing ridgelines and slopes or at right angles to them. Some ditches were hundreds of metres in length and may have constituted kinship or clan boundaries,

although these were probably not the equivalent of the ‘large terrains’ or ‘folk territories’ of Fleming (1998a: 51-52). Larger blocks of fields may have acted as the cores of such territories, although many field systems probably also had adjacent areas of undivided land that were used for grazing, fodder and bracken collection and other more communal practices.

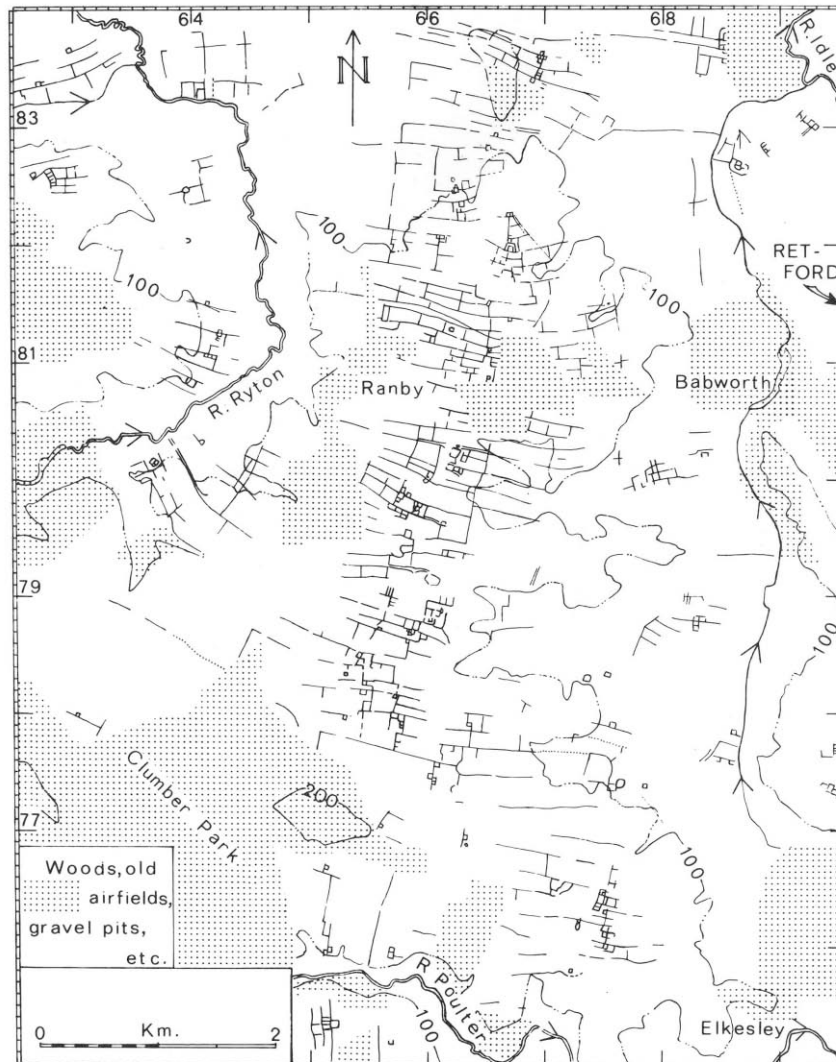


Figure 7.11. ‘Brickwork’ co-axial field systems and enclosures west of Retford, between the Rivers Ryton and Idle, Notts. (Source: Riley 1980: 65, fig. 11).

Co-axial complexities

The few published archaeological discussions of these field systems have focused on apparently more regular co-axial areas of fields (e.g. Branigan 1989; Buckland 1986; Chadwick 1997, 1999; Roberts forthcoming). These include the ‘brickwork fields

identified by Riley in extensive areas near Doncaster, Worksop and Retford; between the Rivers Don, Torne and Idle, and the Rivers Ryton, Poulter and Meden (Riley 1980: 13-14, maps 1, 14) (Fig. 7.11). The ‘brickwork’ fields extended as far eastwards as East Carr, Mattersey in the Idle Valley, and as far south as Ramsdale, approximately 10km north of Nottingham, but have not yet been identified in the Trent Valley (Garton, Southgate and Leary 2000; Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 141). More limited blocks of co-axial fields have been identified elsewhere though. In West Yorkshire, examples occur between Barwick-in-Elmet and Aberford and at Swillington Common (Deegan 2001b, fig. 4, 9a, 2007), and at Low Common near Castleford and Methley, between the Rivers Aire and Calder (Burgess and Roberts 2004; Deegan 1999b, 2007) (Fig. 7.13). Here the boundaries were more sinuous and the fields often less rectangular than ‘brickwork’ systems. The physical processes of laying out these ‘strips’ may have been similar, however (Deegan 2007: 5; Shipton 1984: 618; Widgren 1990: 18-19).



Figure 7.12. *Classic ‘brickwork’ fields and enclosures near Rossington, S. Yorks., underlying modern boundaries. Note the double ditched trackway with a central holloway visible in the lower left side of the image. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 8346, SK 635 988).*

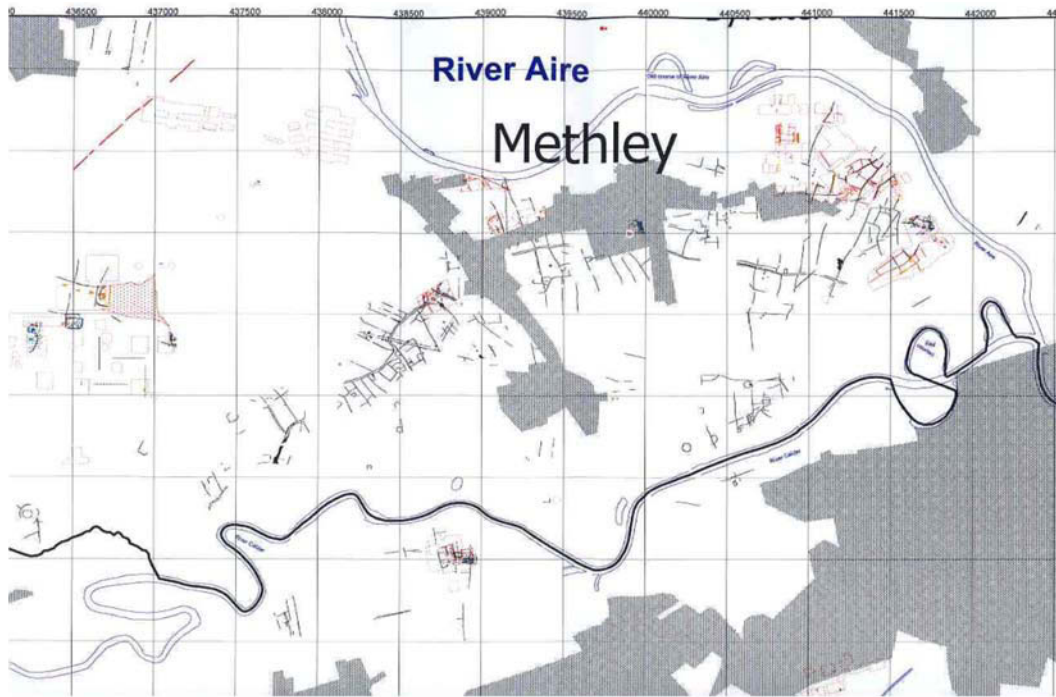


Figure 7.13. *Co-axial and more irregular fields on the Aire-Calder interfluvium near Methley, W. Yorks. (Source: Deegan 1999b).*



Figure 7.14. **(left).** *Cropmarks (red) of co-axial field systems at South Muskham, Notts. (Source: Whimster 1989: 81, fig. 60).*

In Nottinghamshire, there were co-axial fields in the Trent Valley north of Newark (Garton 2002; Whimster 1989: figs. 60-61), and similar fields underneath alluvium were investigated at Lamb's Close, Kelham (Knight and Priest 1998). Other co-axial fields have been noted at South Muskham (Garton 2002; Whimster 1989) (Figs. 7.14-7.15). In most instances, however, although these fields were rectangular in shape they varied more in size than many of the more consistent 'brickwork' fields.



Figure 7.15. *Co-axial fields and enclosures at South Muskham, Notts. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1300/12, SK 788 574).*

I will consider two areas of 'brickwork' fields in more detail, for they highlight key issues associated with the study region and across Britain in general. On the north-eastern outskirts of Edenthorpe, excavations north of Far Field Road discovered great variety in the fills and profiles of apparently regular co-axial field ditches (Atkinson 1994a). South of Far Field Road, cropmarks revealed part of a sinuous trackway with field boundary ditches laid out north and south of this (Riley 1980: 90, map 4). This initially appeared to be a relatively simple arrangement (Figs. 7.16-7.17).

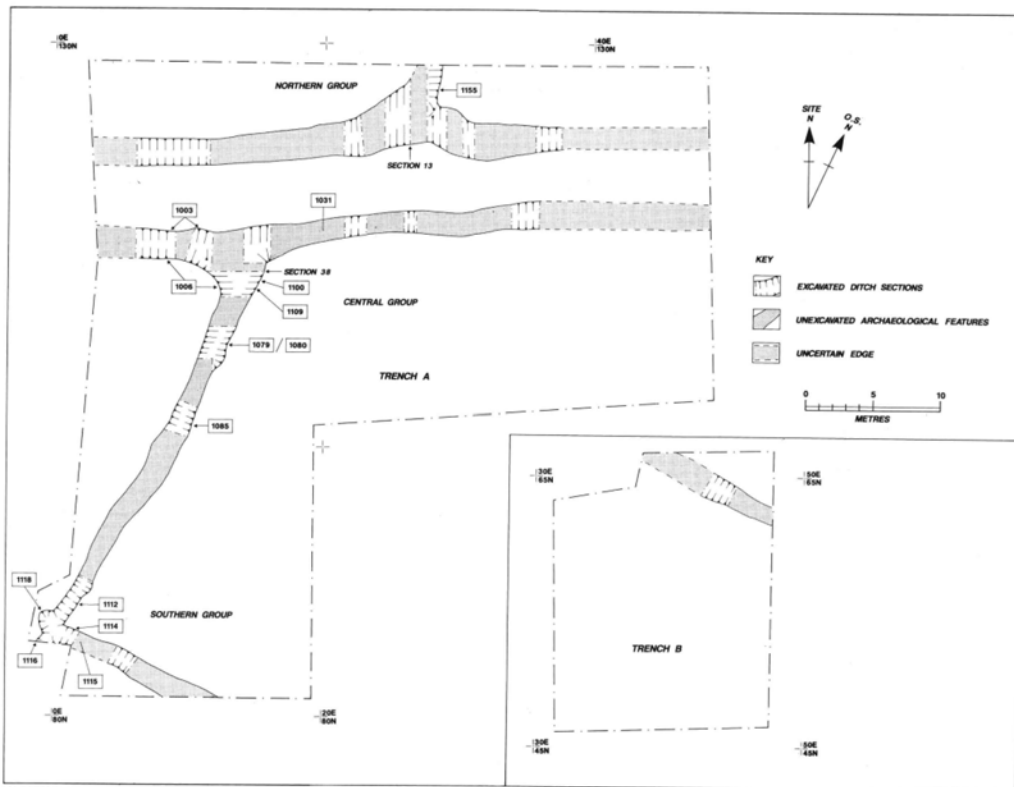
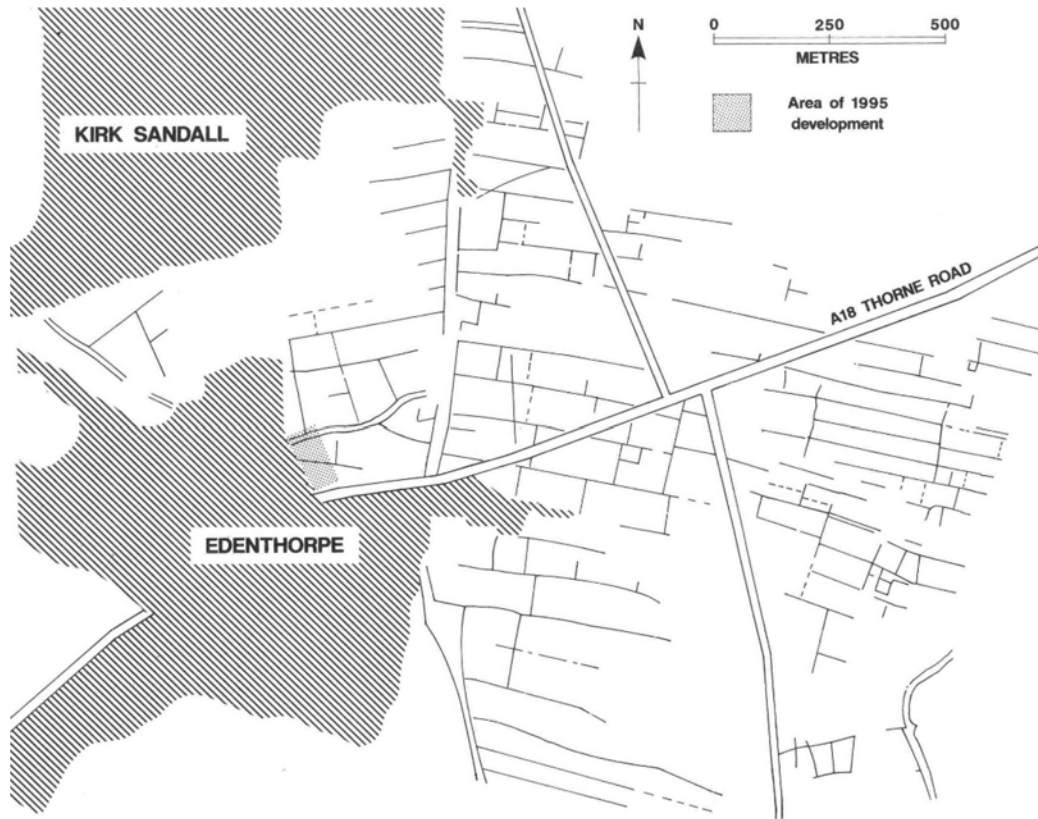


Figure 7.16. (top). ‘Brickwork’ fields near Edenthorpe, S. Yorks., showing the 1995 development area. (Source: Chadwick 1995b: 48). **Fig. 7.17. (bottom).** The excavation areas south of Far Field Road. (Source: Chadwick 1995b: 42).

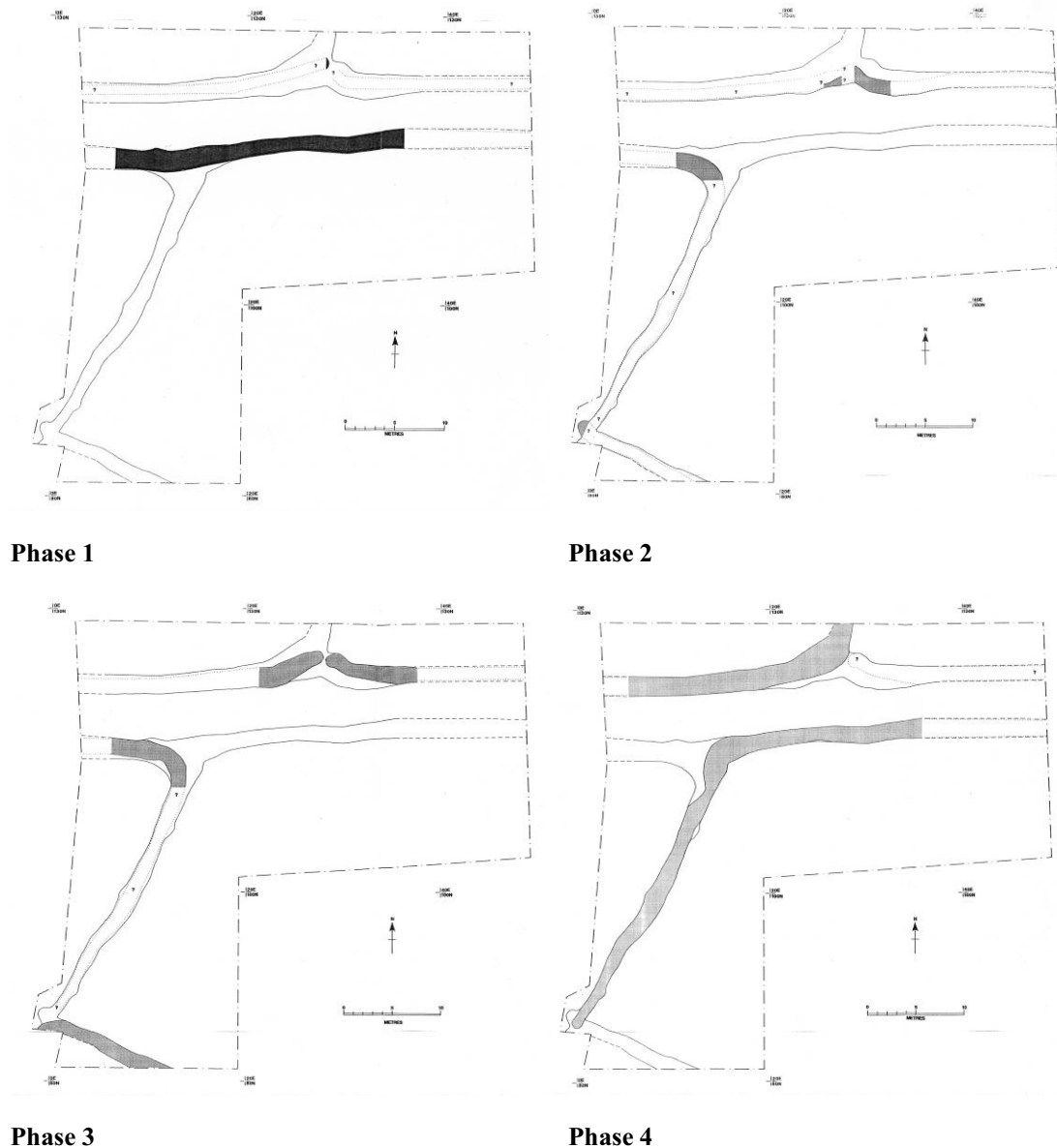


Figure 7.18. *Four major phases of activity identified in the northern excavated area at Far Field Road, Edenthorpe (Phase 1 the earliest), showing how large-scale recutting practices emphasised different boundaries and areas at different times, and also the changes in direction of this recutting. These indicated some major remodelling episodes in the landscape, but it is likely that many minor alterations also took place, in addition to relatively routine maintenance that left little archaeological trace. (Source: Chadwick 1995a: figs. 15-18).*

The excavation identified a complex sequence of recuts and changes in orientation, however, representing at least four different major phases of activity (Chadwick 1995a). There might have been a double ditched trackway only during *some* of these phases, and the regular cropmarks did not reflect this complex stratigraphic and social history. Due to the repeated recutting it is also likely that not all recuts were identified

(Chadwick 1995b: 45) (Fig. 7.18). Many ditches were recut only after they had largely silted up, a phenomenon noted elsewhere (Atkinson 1994a: 21; Cumberpatch and Webster 1998: 19). This suggests that recutting was often *not* routine ditch maintenance; and that the regular cleaning out of ditches might in fact often be archaeologically invisible. In some instances, ditches maintained regularly over time might contain only apparently simple silting sequences reflecting final abandonment (Chadwick 1999: 161; Magilton 1978: 72).

The most extensive investigations of 'brickwork' fields have taken place on the eastern side of Armthorpe. Here, although Riley had previously recorded relatively few cropmarks (1980: 61, map 9), more detailed photo analysis and geophysical survey in advance of developer-funded construction added more information (Deegan 2001a; Hale 1996). A series of evaluations and open-area excavations were subsequently undertaken by Archaeological Services WYAS (Burgess and Richardson 2003; Chadwick and Richardson 2007; Gidman and Rose 2004; Richardson 2001c, 2008; Rose and Richardson 2004), and other field units (Cumberpatch and Webster 1998; Hughes 1996; Rosenberg and Williams 1996). The open-area excavations in particular identified and recorded many additional archaeological features not previously visible on aerial photographs.

At Lincolnshire Way and West Moor Park East (Gidman and Rose 2004; Rose and Richardson 2004), approximately 500m of an east-west trackway was recorded, with field ditches arranged south and north of this (Gidman and Rose 2004). To the east at Lincolnshire Way, an apparently regular junction had trackways leading off in four directions (Area 2), the one to the north joining another north-west to south-east aligned trackway (Fig. 7.19). In the northern part of Lincolnshire Way (Area 1), part of another double ditched trackway and fields or enclosures were recorded (Rose and Richardson 2004). In plan and as large-scale illustrations, these ditches *seemed* to be very regular and laid out as part of a cohesive planned landscape, perhaps even in a single phase. This apparent simplicity of plan breaks down and becomes much more complex under detailed study, however.

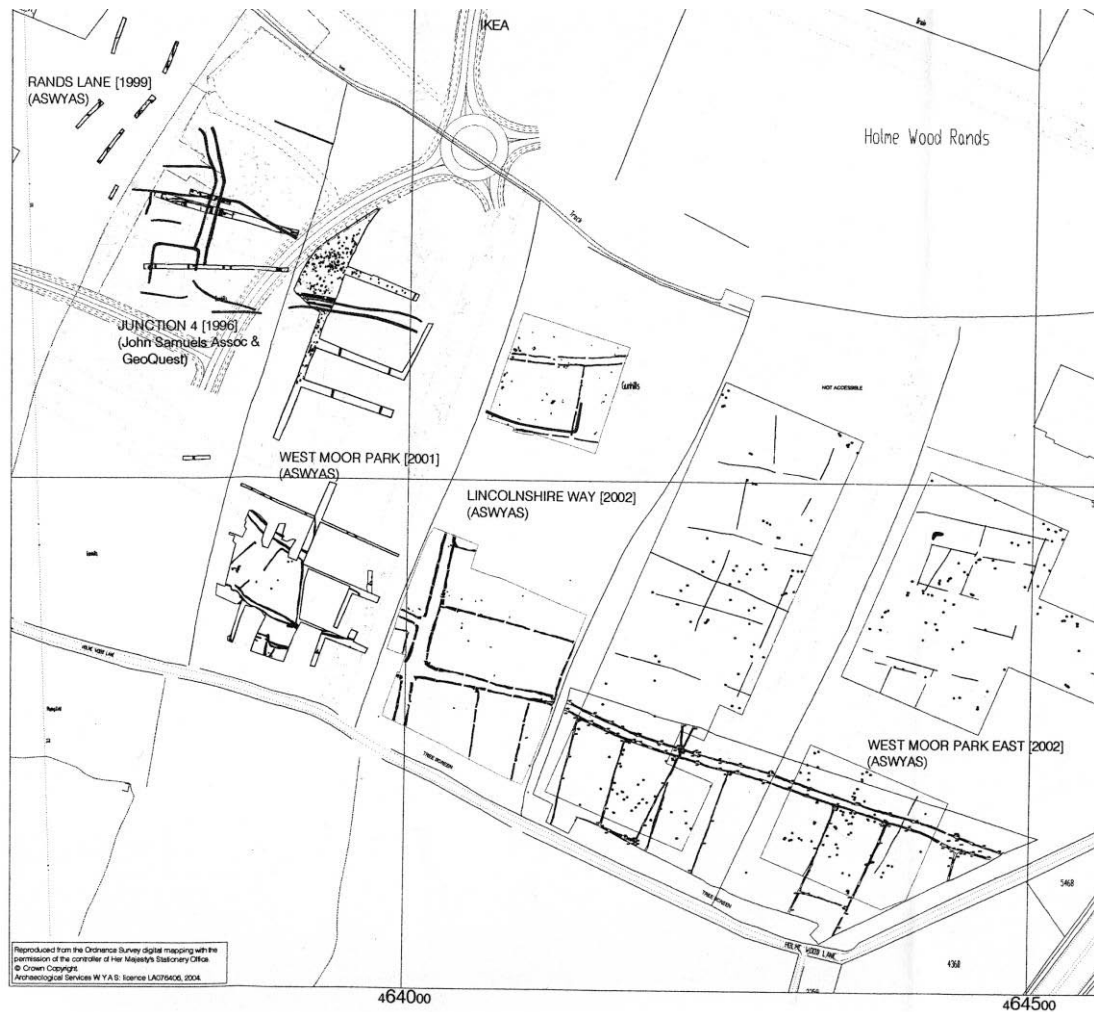


Figure 7.19. *The fields and trackways excavated at Armthorpe, S. Yorks. (Source: Rose and Richardson 2004: fig. 2).*

In Area 1 at Lincolnshire Way, for example, closer examination of plans and sections from the unpublished client report reveals that the western field ('enclosure' B) was added to an earlier eastern area ('enclosure' A) (Fig. 7.20). The double ditched trackway itself was only constructed in a later phase, when Ditch 1 was added parallel to a continuous recut (Ditch 2) of the northern boundaries of A and B (Rose and Richardson 2004: 4.6), which variations in ditch width and alignment along the length of ditches 1 and 2 also suggested. In Area 2 at Lincolnshire Way, ditch intersections again showed that fields were added to one another over time, and the four-way junction was 'staggered' and clearly not constructed in one phase (Fig. 7.21). Trackways might have become single units only in later recuts. Fields were thus added progressively to one another over time. This may also suggest that trackways were used as routes before they were 'formalised' with double ditches.

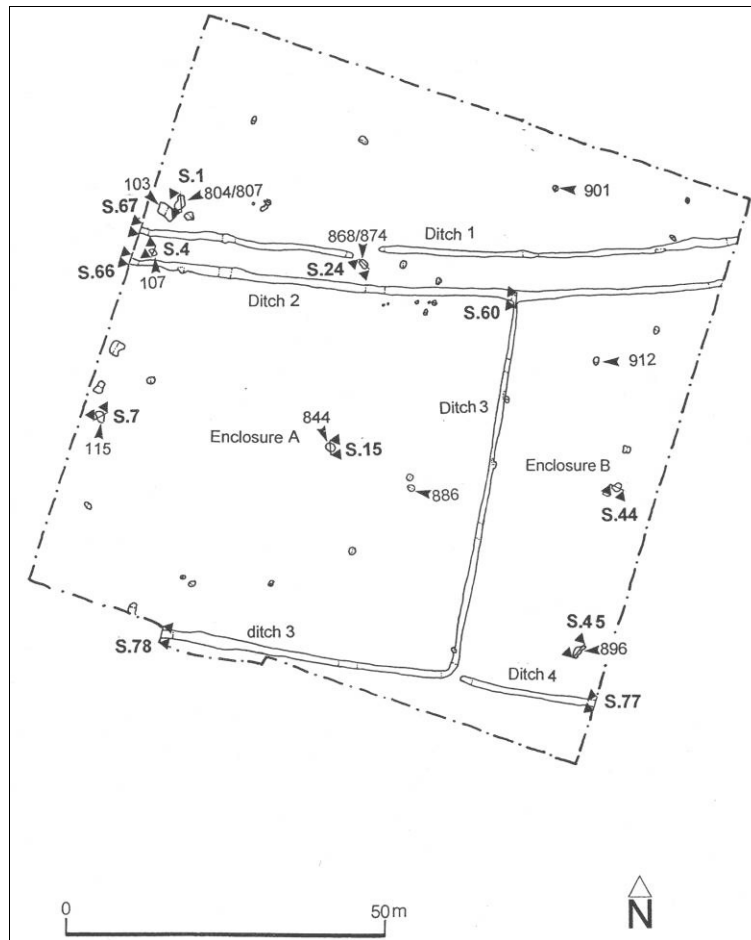


Figure 7.20. Area 1, Lincolnshire Way. (Source: Rose and Richardson 2004: fig. 4).

At West Moor Park East, some of the supposedly regularly spaced field boundaries were on slightly different alignments to one another, and some may even have been *later* additions. Ditches 3, 9, 10 and 12 (see Gazetteer entry for Armthorpe) appear in plan to have been progressive eastward extensions of the fields and the trackway ditch 2, although no clear relationships were identified in section. What were termed ‘localised distortions’ of the trackway ditch (Gidman and Rose 2004: 4.3.2) might have been tree root disturbance, suggesting perhaps that both the trackway and the later subdividing ditches were orientated to upstanding trees.

Furthermore, the trackways and field boundaries at Lincolnshire Way and West Moor Park East were themselves only later components in a long-lived landscape. Excavations further west at West Moor Park revealed a later Iron Age and early Romano-British trapezoidal enclosure with evidence from slags and hammerscale for significant metalworking (Cowgill 2001; Richardson 2001c). More nucleated fields

and trackways were focused around this enclosure. These developed in a more organic manner similar in some respects to the fields at Balby Carr, where a later Iron Age ‘open’ settlement of scattered roundhouses was incorporated into nucleated enclosures and a curvilinear trackway, which then developed into a more co-axial ‘brickwork’ landscape (L. Jones 2002, 2005; Rose 2003; Rose and Roberts 2006) (Fig. 6.25). These landscapes often appear regular only because people examine them at too broad a scale, and fail to note the many discrepancies evident in detail. This is the reason why the detailed recording and drawing of ditches in plan and section is necessary to try and identify such complexities.

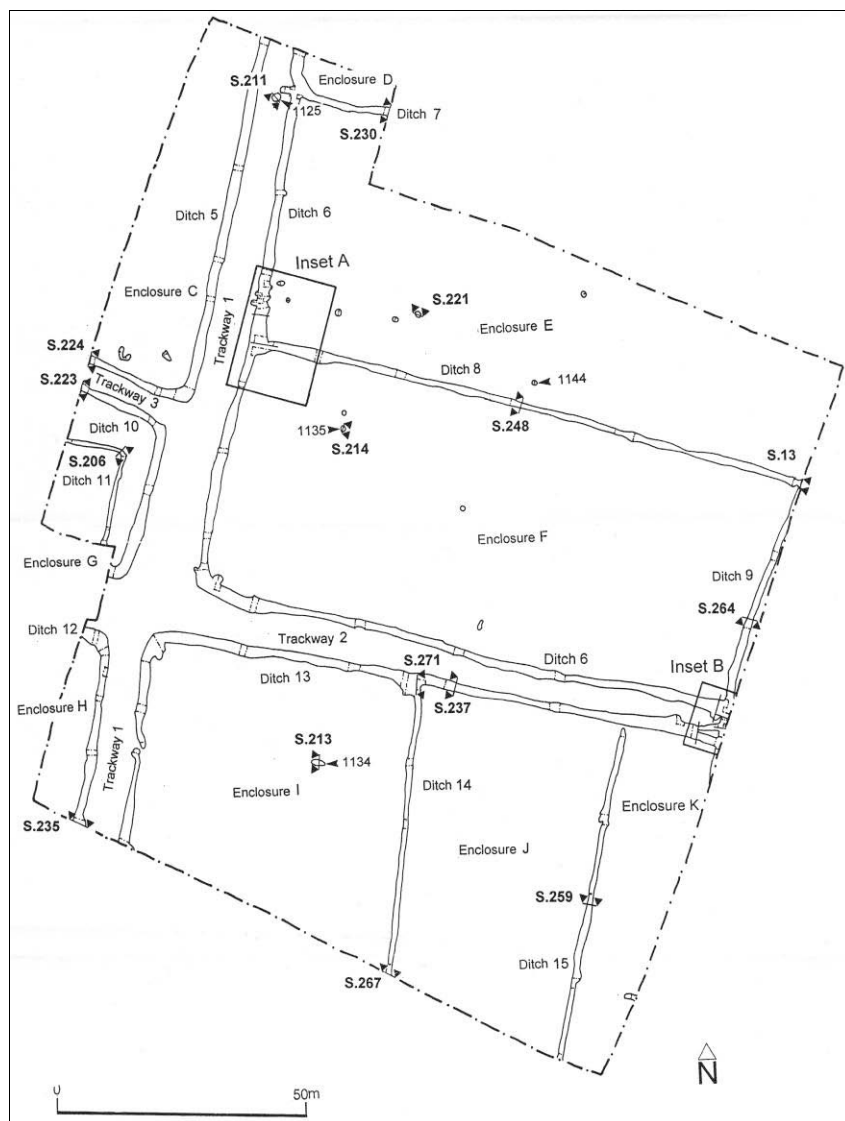


Figure 7.21. Area 2, Lincolnshire Way, Armthorpe. The ‘staggered’ nature of the junction and variations in trackway ditch width and alignment reveal multiple phases of field and trackway ditch digging (Source: Rose and Richardson 2004: fig. 7).

On Dartmoor and Salisbury Plain, co-axial fields have been described as ‘terrain oblivious’, with main boundaries not conforming closely to the natural topography of hills and valleys (e.g. Fleming 1987b: 190; McOmish, Field and Brown 2002: 53-55). Detailed consideration suggests that this assertion is far too simplistic (Johnston 2001a, 2005a; Wickstead 2007). Co-axial field systems were *not* inherently inflexible in their design (*contra* Fleming 1987b: 190). Within my study region, Alison Deegan and Graham Robbins have argued that many trackways and long boundaries within apparently regular co-axial field blocks were orientated towards rivers (Deegan 1996; Robbins 1998). An excellent programme of GIS analyses as part of the Magnesian Limestone Project highlights that field systems on Magnesian Limestone and Sherwood Sandstone areas were often *terrain sensitive* (Deegan 2007; A. Deegan and I. Roberts pers. comm.) (Figs. 7.22.-7.23). Trackways often made use of subtle folds of ground, as near Ledston where they ran down through a natural clough towards the enclosure and pit groups; or near Goldthorpe where a trackway followed another slight clough into a river valley (see Gazetteer Appendix H). Some trackways may have followed more intangible traces of previous movement – different vegetation, trampled ground and other ancestral marks (q.v. Giles 2007a: 109).

The work of the Magnesian Limestone Project has also demonstrated that most ‘brickwork’ fields were constructed so that they avoided river valleys, and were laid out to follow subtle ‘ridges’ and ‘peninsulas’ of slightly higher ground (Deegan 2007, fig. 6V.5) (Fig. 7.22). This striking pattern cannot simply be a result of alluviation and peat formation over fields within river valleys, although as work at East Carr, Mattersey (Morris and Garton 1998a, 1998b) and Finningley (see Gazetteer) demonstrates, sometimes floodplain areas were enclosed by ditches too. Similarly, many higher areas on the Magnesian Limestone and Coal Measures areas were not enclosed, with fields often occupying the land between hilltops and ridgelines, and valley bottoms. As with some Dartmoor fields therefore (Brück, Johnston and Wickstead 2003; Johnston 2005a), detailed excavation and analysis suggests that the apparent uniformity of even the most regular co-axial field systems in places such as Armthorpe is illusory. On the Sherwood Sandstones, individual fields, blocks of fields and trackways were added accretively to one another over time.

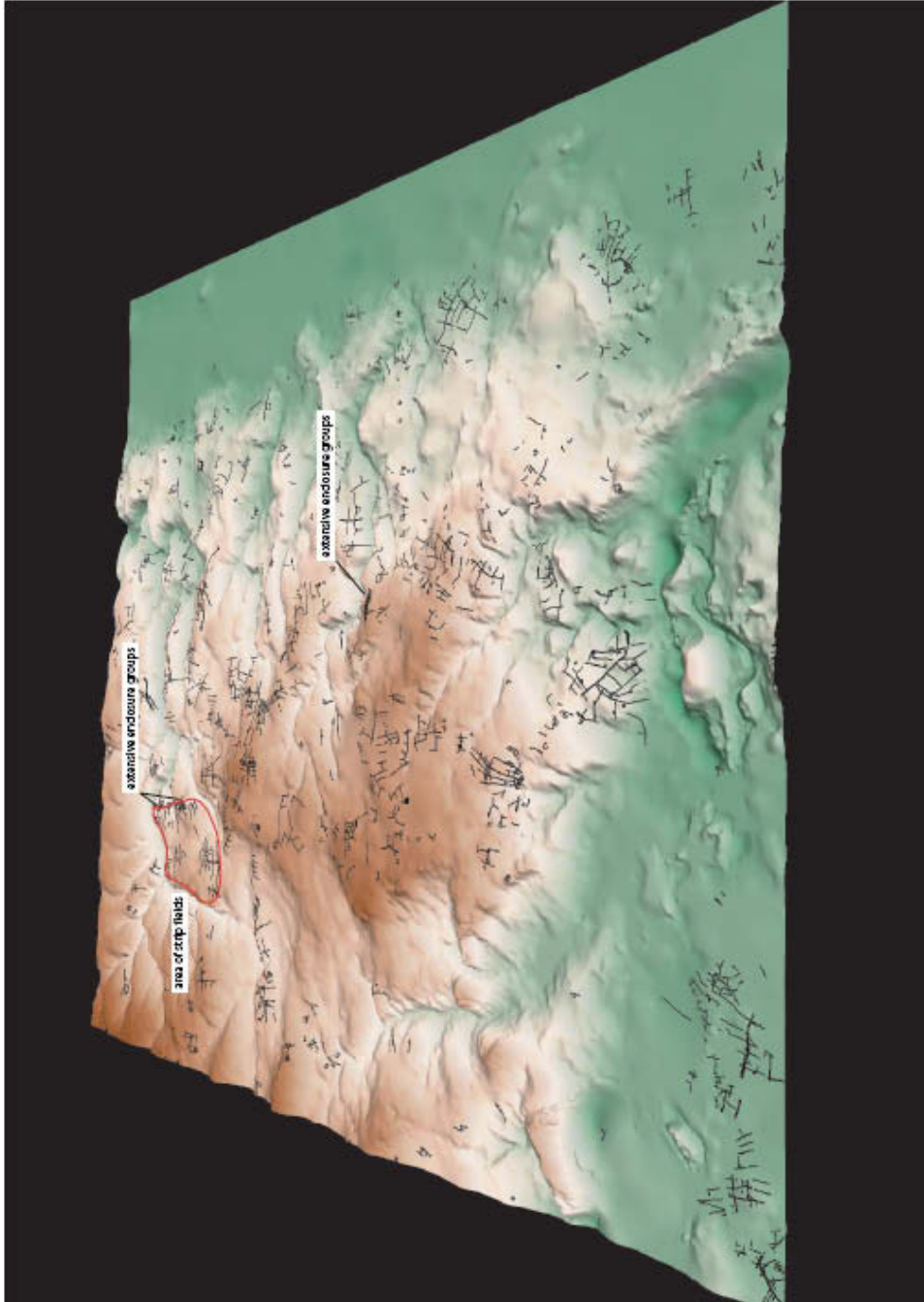


Figure 7.22. Contour model with air photo mapping of field systems on Magnesian Limestone areas of W. Yorks., looking north from Castleford towards Cock Beck. The Ledston trackway and enclosure complex is visible left of the centre of the image. (Source: Deegan 2007: fig. 6V.2).

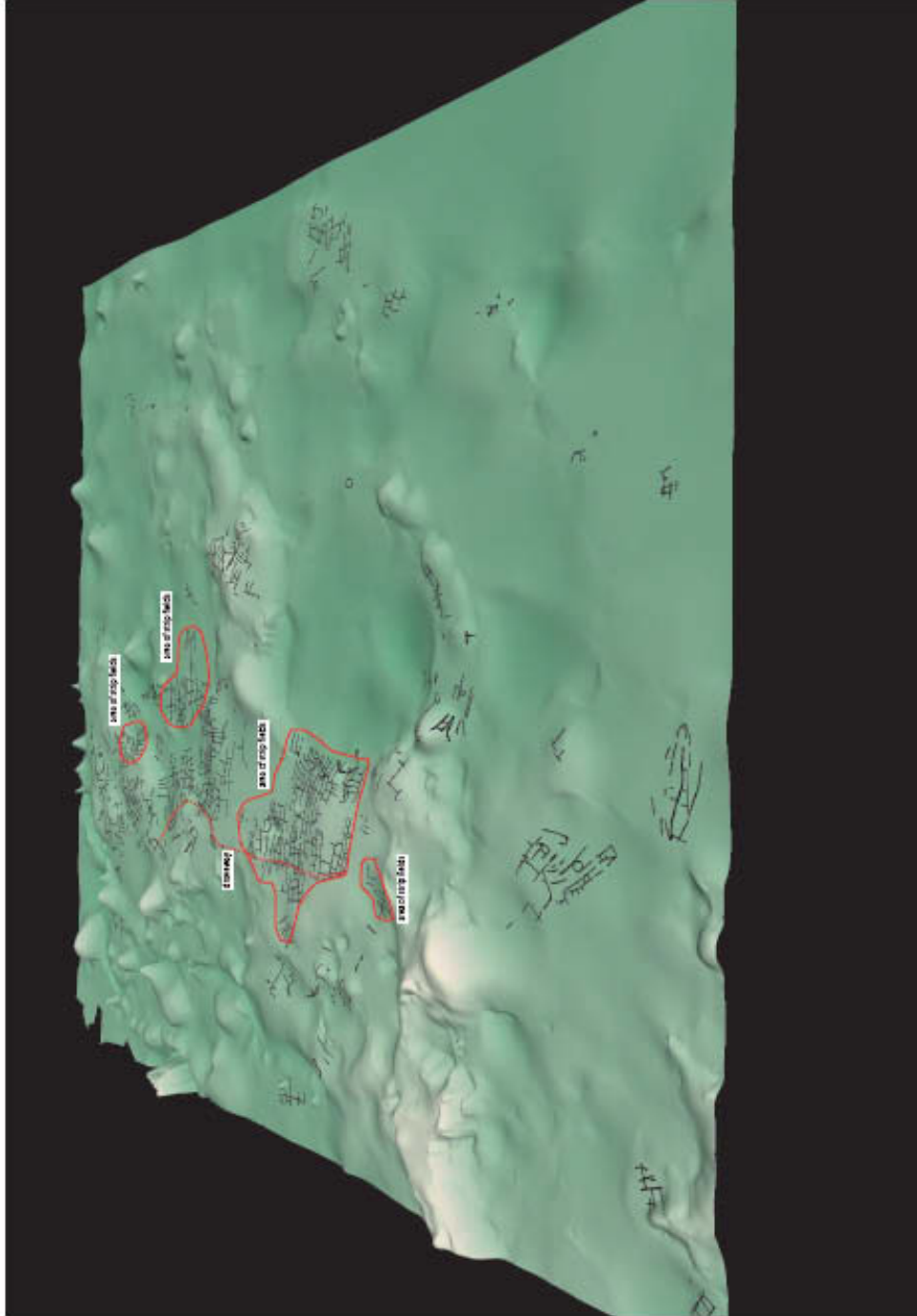


Figure 7.23. Contour model with air photo to mapping of field systems on Sherwood Sandstone areas of S. Yorks., looking north from Cantiley towards Sta inforth. The possible as trobleme near Rossington is visible at the centre of the image. (Source: Deegan 2007: fig. 6V.5).

Why co-axiality?

There has been much discussion as to why co-axial field systems developed in many different parts of Britain and Europe, and during different periods (e.g. Bradley 1978; Fleming 1985, 1987b, 1989, 1998a; Hayes 1981; Peterson 1990; Wickstead 2007; Widgren 1990). Peterson suggested that the idea of co-axial fields persisted throughout the prehistoric and historic past because it ‘met the needs of its users’ when it came to functional and practical considerations of relatively equitable land allotment (Peterson 1990: 590). Whilst not ruling out functional explanations, in a cogent article Fleming suggested that social reasons also lay behind the repeated but intermittent emergence of co-axial systems in different periods, and that they were powerful social concepts that may have been supported and perpetuated by oral tradition, ideology or even ritual specialists (Fleming 1987b: 197-198).

There is an inherent tension in these arguments between the possible planning role of hierarchical authorities and social elites, and communal discussion and organisation in small-scale communities. Apparently regular field systems developed progressively over time through relatively small-scale additions and accretions, yet still took place within a wider social project of future enclosure (Johnston 2005a). They were the result of traditional, communal practices based on shared seasonal and daily routines (q.v. Robbins 1998). If Hayes’ statistical analyses are accurate (Hayes 1981: 110-111), then the sizes of ‘brickwork’ fields in particular blocks were internally similar to one another, but slightly different from fields in adjacent groupings. These differences identified through cluster analysis appeared to be associated with particular enclosures, suggesting variations between different households, age grades or other social distinctions. Future GIS-based analyses may be able to pursue these questions further. As part of the Magnesian Limestone Project, Alison Deegan has shown the clustering of fields of different sizes within her ‘mixed’ field systems (Fig. 7.33), but also a more regular average size of fields within the co-axial ‘strip’ fields (Fig. 7.34). It would be interesting to extend such analyses across the entire study region.

It is likely that practical considerations of land allotment and land division in previously unenclosed areas of the landscape were also influenced by habitus – social notions of practice and the right ways of ‘going on’ in the world (see Chapter 3).

Whenever communities decided to enclose previously unbounded areas, co-axial field blocks allowed a relatively orderly and perhaps more equitable intake of these areas, even if enclosure took place over decades or generations rather than the rapid construction envisaged by some authors (cf. Fleming 1988: 107-108; Herring forthcoming). Fleming himself has wavered from hierarchical planning to communal decision making in his explanations of Dartmoor's reaves. In the study region, some long-term planning almost certainly took place by relatively few people such as elders, and perhaps by elites, though this seems less likely. Nevertheless, the variations within apparently regular field blocks suggest that construction took place at a local level, the result of discussions and negotiations amongst communities organised along kinship and clan lines or 'neighbourhood groups' (Fleming 1988: 108; Hannan 1972: 169). Once one or two households decided to take in land in such a manner, others might have followed suit. Communal rights, negotiations and endeavour were probably thus more important than centralised planning (Fleming 1994; Johnston 2001, 2005a; Robbins 1998; Wickstead 2007; Widgren 1990).

Explanations for co-axiality and the appearance of field systems within the study region are most likely to lie in changes of social and tenurial relations, rather than as purely functional adaptations to particular environmental conditions. The wide range of landscapes and periods in which co-axial fields appeared across Britain, and the fact they did not appear everywhere, suggests that they resulted from particular social conditions; and that they need not reflect either relatively rapid and centralised planning and construction, or the existence of hierarchical authorities and social elites.

Land use and land tenure within the study region

As I indicated in Chapter 4, I disagree with many of the reasons proposed so far as to why the 'brickwork' fields in particular could not have been associated with arable production. Nevertheless, I believe that the current limited evidence for cereal cultivation within them, however, coupled with their physical layout, does indicate that pastoralism was probably more important in these areas, as I suggested in

Chapters 4 and 6. Elsewhere, there were more mixed farming regimes. Again, this may also be indicated by the physical layout of field systems.

The archaeological patterns of a pastoral area should be different from those produced by much more mixed farming. In the latter case the need to separate crops and animals produces more complicated and nucleated patterns with stock enclosures around central huts from which droveways lead through an area of fields to pastures beyond. In a pastoral area we can expect not only sparser settlement but simpler patterns; one or two huts in a simple enclosure, isolated stock enclosures, and ranch boundaries (Ramm 1980: 31).



Figure 7.24. *Some of the more varied fields and enclosures recorded at Redhouse Farm, Adwick-le-Street, S. Yorks. (Source: Upson-Smith 2002: fig. 2).*

The field systems around Sutton, Lound and Babworth in Nottinghamshire; Dearne, Barnburgh, Sprotbrough and Adwick-le-Street in South Yorkshire; and Parlington Hollins and Ledston in West Yorkshire; all have features indicative of mixed farming (Figs. 7.08, 7.24-7.25). Mixed farming was undoubtedly taking place on the Magnesian Limestone and Coal Measures areas (Deegan 2007), and in the Trent

Valley. In contrast, co-axial ‘brickwork’ fields around Rossington, Edenthorpe, Hodsock and Torworth may have been predominantly for livestock (Figs. 6.05, 7.26), but it seems unlikely that *no* arable farming ever took place within them.

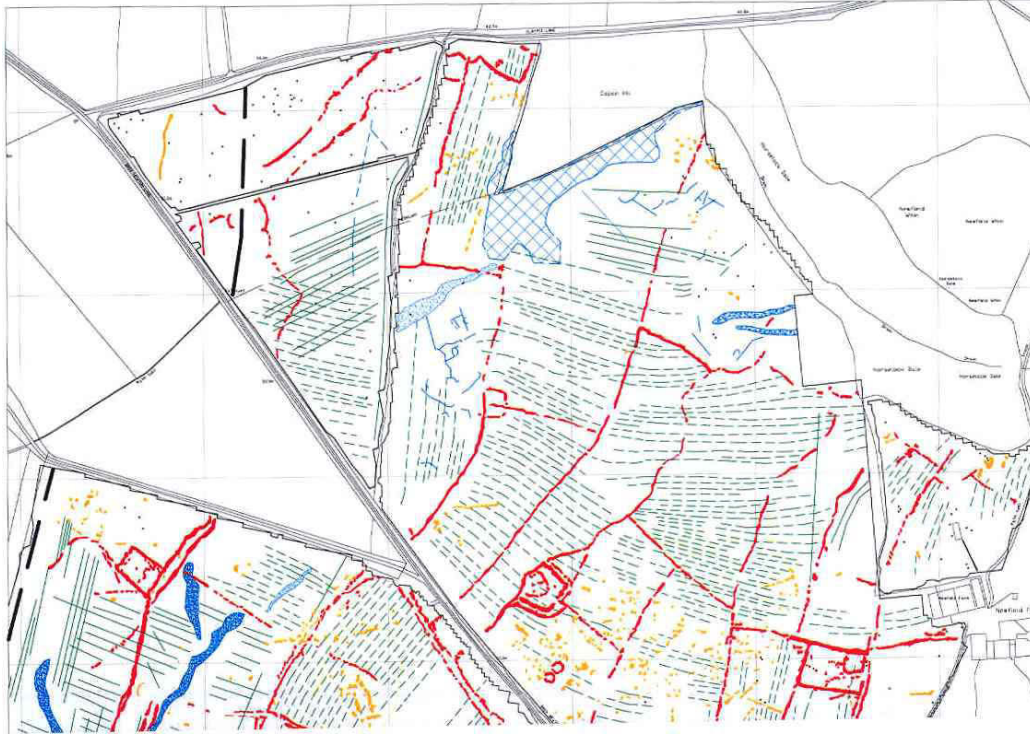


Figure 7.25. Part of the extensive area investigated through geophysical survey at Back Newton Lane, Ledston, W. Yorks, showing more varied fields and enclosures in red, and later features including ridge and furrow in green. (Source: Webb 2006).

There is no reason to assume, as Hayes (1981: 116-117) implied, that fields within a particular block were all in use at the same time. Some might have been used for arable cultivation, others may have lain fallow for several years. Tenurial rights of access and inheritance may have meant some fields were effectively abandoned for years or even decades (q.v. Giles 2007a; Sillitoe 1999). Fields may have rotated between arable, fallow and pasture, and manure would have been needed to maintain soil fertility. In Iron Age Scotland and the Northern Isles there is evidence for the careful stockpiling of midden material, which was then introduced into the soil (e.g. Guttman 2005; Guttman, Simpson and Davidson 2005). In the study region, this was more likely to have been through folding animals onto the fields. Rights of tenure may have fluctuated between different lineages and clans, or as land use passed down through the generations through marriage and/or systems of inheritance.

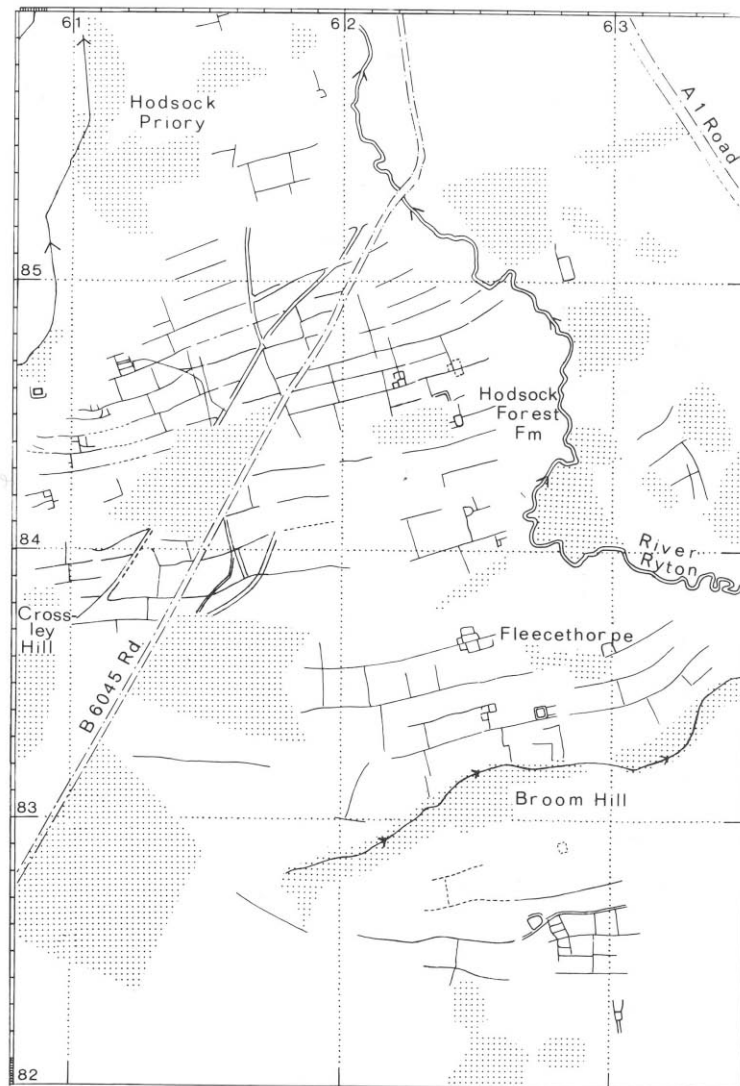


Figure 7.26. 'Brickwork' fields, enclosures and trackways near Hodsock, Notts. (Source: Riley 1980: 111, map 17).

'Colonisation' in the study region?

At Gonalston there was evidence for division of the Trent floodplain terrace by rectilinear boundaries in the mid-first millennium BC, roughly contemporary with the earliest enclosed settlements (Elliott and Knight 1998; Knight and Elliott forthcoming; Knight and Howard 2004: 100-101). This is unusually early for the Trent Valley. It is possible that during the earlier Iron Age, social groups did not claim particular low-lying areas. Instead, some members of these communities visited these areas on a successive basis with their herds of livestock (q.v. Godelier 1978:

400). For many substantially pastoralist groups, land itself has no intrinsic value but is perceived as a ‘territory’ whose resources belong to the wider community (Saltman 2002: 160). Sites on floodplains might have only been occupied during summer and autumn, but over time permanent settlements were established. This process may also have happened at Balby Carr near Doncaster. A similar model (though for a slightly earlier period) has been proposed for fen-edge communities in East Anglia (Evans and Hodder 2006: 320-322). Different groups might then have begun to claim specific areas of river valleys, and divided them up using pit alignments and ditches. Romano-British ditches on the River Idle floodplain at Mattersey (Morris and Garton 1998a, 1998b; Fig. 7.27) and the low-lying land south-east of Finningley (see Gazetteer) may have drained areas previously waterlogged during the winter.

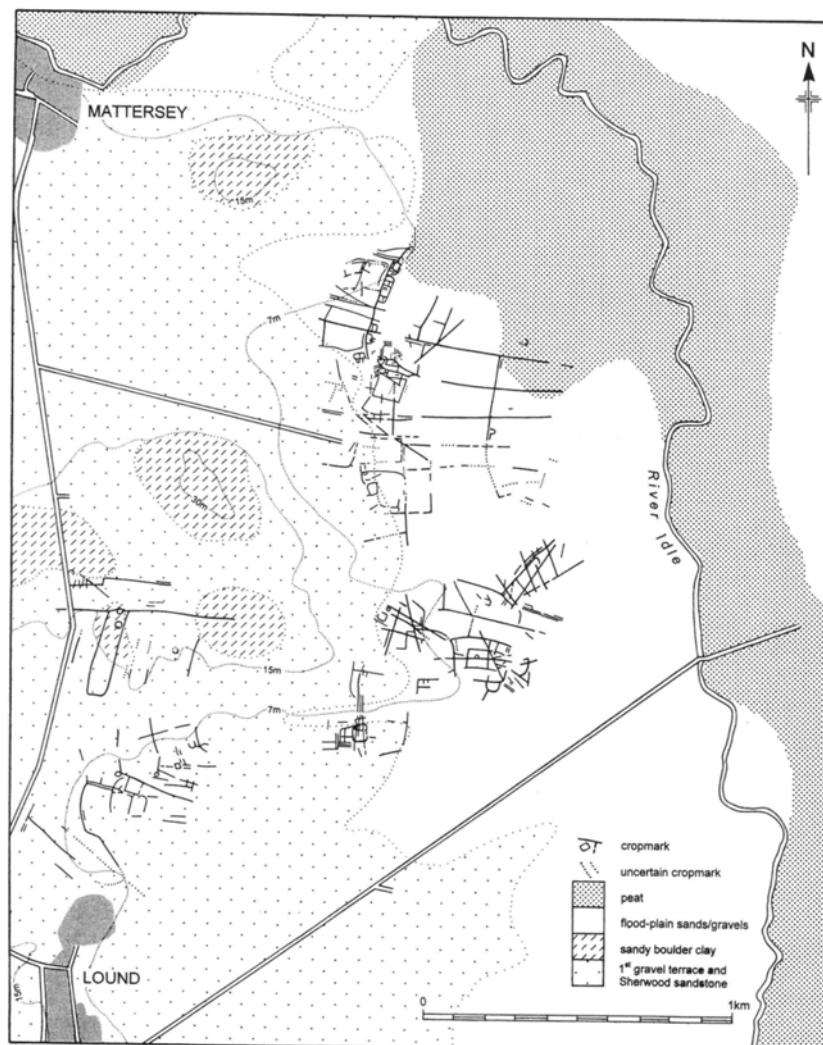


Figure 7.27. Cropmarks on the River Idle floodplain at East Carr, Mattersey, Notts. (Source: Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 142).

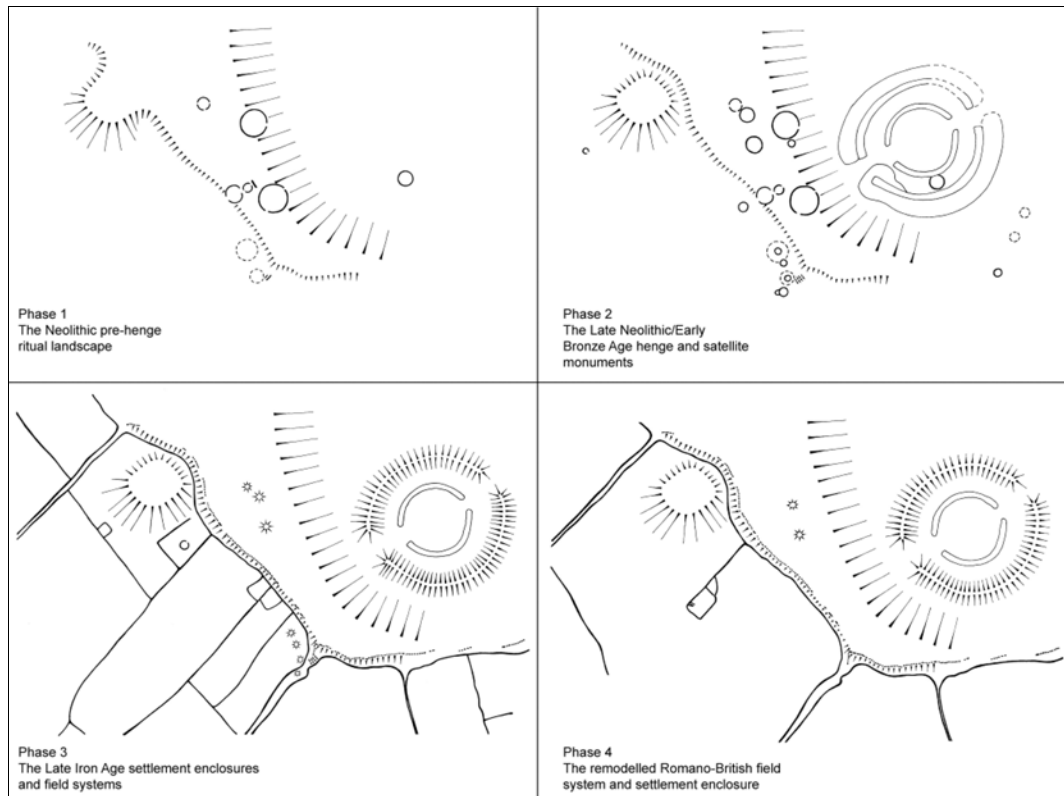


Figure 7.28. *Proposed major developments in the Ferrybridge landscape, including the Romano-British period (lower right) when many earlier field boundaries appear to have been removed. (Source: Roberts 2005a: 220).*

Excavation work along the M1-A1 road corridor in West Yorkshire suggests that some trackways and major boundaries were constructed in the early Iron Age, although there was an expansion of enclosure in the second and third centuries AD (Roberts, Burgess and Berg 2001: 287). Around Ferrybridge henge, late Iron Age co-axial fields were radically altered in the early second century AD. Minor boundaries were removed and a central enclosure was superimposed upon the earlier field system (Roberts 2005a: 216; Roberts forthcoming) (Fig. 7.28). At Armthorpe and Balby Carr, ‘brickwork’ fields associated with second or third century Romano-British pottery effectively ‘infilled’ and expanded upon more irregular, organic enclosures and fields of late Iron Age date (Chadwick and Richardson 2007; Gidman and Rose 2004; Richardson 2001c, 2004; Roberts forthcoming; Rose and Richardson 2004).

Although there were probably no major changes in agricultural production during the earlier Roman period in northern England (see Chapters 4 and 5, Appendix A), many colonial administrations prefer settled cultivators on particular areas of land to situations where different groups maintain varying seasonal or annual movements

with livestock, and tenurial rights are based on tradition and verbal agreements (e.g. Saltman 2002). Roman administrators would have tried to clarify, codify and simplify such practices. This might have led to changes in attitudes towards land and notions of property and ownership amongst indigenous communities. Some groups may have insisted on maintaining their herds, especially if these had associations of wealth and status, were part of social relations such as marriages and inter-group links, and were part of individual and group identities. Inevitably, this would have caused problems with available resources, and perhaps greater pressure on existing areas of enclosed and open land. In such circumstances, increased enclosure was perhaps inevitable, and the further development of networks of trackways.

In the Fenlands of East Anglia, there is some archaeological evidence for large imperial estates established by Roman officials, with administrative and market centres with large stone buildings (e.g. Jackson and Potter 1996; Potter 1989). Even in this region, however, this ‘historical narrative of imperially inspired colonisation’ interpretation has been questioned (Taylor 2000, 2007: 65). No such evidence exists within my study region, and the stratigraphic complexity of superficially regular co-axial fields indicates that they were *not* laid out as a centralised process. Re-organisations of the landscape occurred, but *not* wholesale expansion into ‘virgin’ areas, although some blocks of fields might have initially been new intakes cleared from grassland, scrub or wood. The archaeological evidence no longer supports simplistic suppositions concerning Roman policies of improvement and agricultural expansion (*contra* Branigan 1989; Fowler 2002; M. Jones 1989).

In some areas, the construction of boundaries in previously unenclosed areas was probably the result of middle to later Iron Age developments. In other places, these developments took place during the late Iron Age and Romano-British period, in others only after the Roman occupation. Although increased pressure on land caused by rising populations *may* have been one reason why additional areas were taken in and defined by boundaries, the fact that this occurred in different places at different times suggests that other reasons have to be taken into account. Roberts (2004: 34-36, 2005a: 216-217, forthcoming) has suggested that second and third century changes in field systems at Ferrybridge and near Whitwood and Methley were the result of developments in the rural economy stimulated by the Castleford *vicus*. Roberts
Adrian M. Chadwick

explains this as a form of ‘expansion’ or ‘rationalisation’, directly equating such changes with progressive Roman improvement. But as I have outlined above, there is little archaeological evidence from the study region for dramatic increases in agricultural production. It was the social *process* of the reorganisation of land holdings that was probably significant, as during this period traditional forms of tenure and inheritance might have changed, with much greater emphasis on the ownership of land by particular individuals and households. There might indeed have been consolidation of many land holdings, and land bought and sold as an alienable commodity for the first time (q.v. Kopytoff 1986), but this was part of these wider developments. For some communities, there might have been tensions between traditional seasonal movements and agricultural practices, and a greater degree of sedentism enforced by the Roman authorities. Although some agricultural extensification and intensification took place, perhaps due to taxation and expanding populations in urban areas, these were probably a consequence of such developments, and were certainly *not* the sole reasons behind them.

...colonialism above all involves the physical appropriation of land, its capture for the cultivation of another culture. It thus foregrounds the fact that cultural colonisation was not simply a discursive operation but a seizure of cultural (in all senses of the word) space...In colonialism, therefore, we often have a conflict between societies that do and do not conceive of land as a form of private property; at one level indeed, colonialism involves the introduction of a new notion of land as property... (Young 1995: 172).

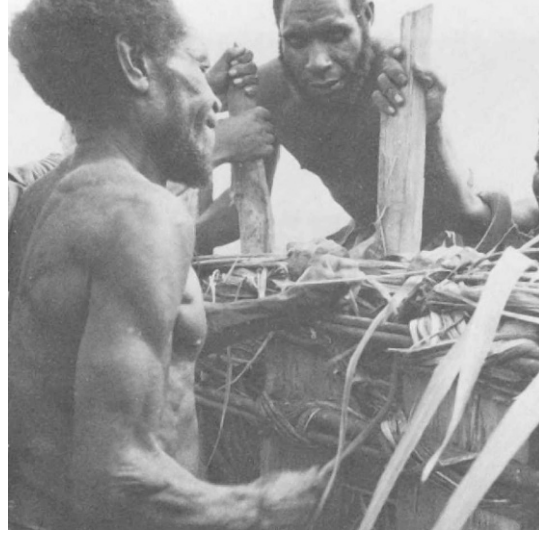
Some rural sites across the region such as Scrooby Top, Gonalston, Bullerthorpe Lane and Stile Hill, Colton were largely abandoned by the late third century AD (Davies et al. 2000: 45; Elliott and Knight 1998; Knight and Elliott forthcoming; Roberts 2004: 36, 2005a: 216), in the case of low-lying examples perhaps due to rising water tables, and in others possibly some soil exhaustion. At the same time, other settlements such as Dalton Parlours, Wattle Syke, Parlington Hollins, Garforth, Moor Pool Close, Rampton and Billingley Drive, Thurnscoe seem to have prospered (Bevan 2006; Holbrey and Burgess 2001; Knight 2000; Neal and Fraser 2004; O’Neill 2007; Owen 2000). It may be significant that many of these also appear to be the most ‘Romanised’ rural settlements in terms of their consumption practices (see Chapter

10). Other sites such as Raymoth Lane, Worksop, Dunston's Clump, Scratta Wood and Whitwood Common experienced major transformations in their occupation (Burgess and Roberts 2004: 36; Garton 1987: 67-68; Palmer-Brown and Munford 2004: 36), some probably ceasing to be 'domestic' settlements altogether. Some of these changes may have been linked to shifting foci of settlement over the generations, however, with occupation moving to other nearby enclosures (q.v. O'Neill 2001c: 277). Rather than necessarily reflecting the establishment of 'Roman estates' (*contra* Roberts 2005a: 217), these may all be linked to wider social and economic developments, particularly changes in tenure and/or ownership. Some archaeologists have suggested that the later third century AD was characterised by social upheavals and economic uncertainty (Faulkner 2000; Fowler 2002; Frere 1987; Petts 1998; Reece 1980; Webster 1969), although detailed discussion of this is outside the scope of this thesis. Whether settlements succeeded or failed may have depended to the extent in which they integrated into the wider Roman imperial economy.

Still digging

In these field systems, routine maintenance of ditches by cleaning out vegetation and silt could have been undertaken by a few individuals on a relatively prosaic basis. Other ditch digging involved the renewal of whole sections of boundaries and the construction of new ones. Households or kinship groups might have undertaken such 'reiterative gestures' (Giles 2000: 183), explicitly linked to tenure and identity, and some boundaries may even have been remembered as the work of particular individuals (q.v. Lele 2006: 65). Such work stressed and reinforced social bonds within families (Chadwick 1995b: 47, 1999: 163-164), but trackways and boundaries between blocks of fields might have been the shared work of different households, as neighbouring farmers co-operated on building or maintaining walls and hedges between their respective holdings (q.v. Arensberg and Kimball 1940: 74-75; Hannan 1972: 170; Phillips 1984: 237). These major digging episodes might have marked changing seasons, or may have been more irregular and linked to key moments in human biographies such as births, deaths and marriages. It is also likely that some represented major changes in ownership, access or tenure. Sometimes small-scale

placed deposits accompanied these acts of digging (see Chapter 11). There might have been tensions and stress too – disputes between neighbouring groups over access to grazing or water, or fears of loss of tenure or ownership.



Building boundaries and relationships. Figure 7.29. (top left). Communal building of a drystone wall. (Source: Garner 2003: 11). Fig. 7.30. (top right). Wabag men building a hurdle wall, Mount Hagen, New Guinea. (Source: Steensberg 1980: 167). Fig. 7.31. (below). Hurdle making. (Source: Porter 2000: 223).

Patterns of land division, land allotment and probably land use thus all varied greatly across the study region. Field systems ranged from more mixed or irregular, nuclear and ‘ribbon’ arrangements to co-axial and ‘brickwork’ groupings. The former were probably more often associated with mixed farming regimes. Some areas of co-axial fields resulted from an emphasis on large-scale animal husbandry, and these originated in the late Iron Age and expanded during the Romano-British period.

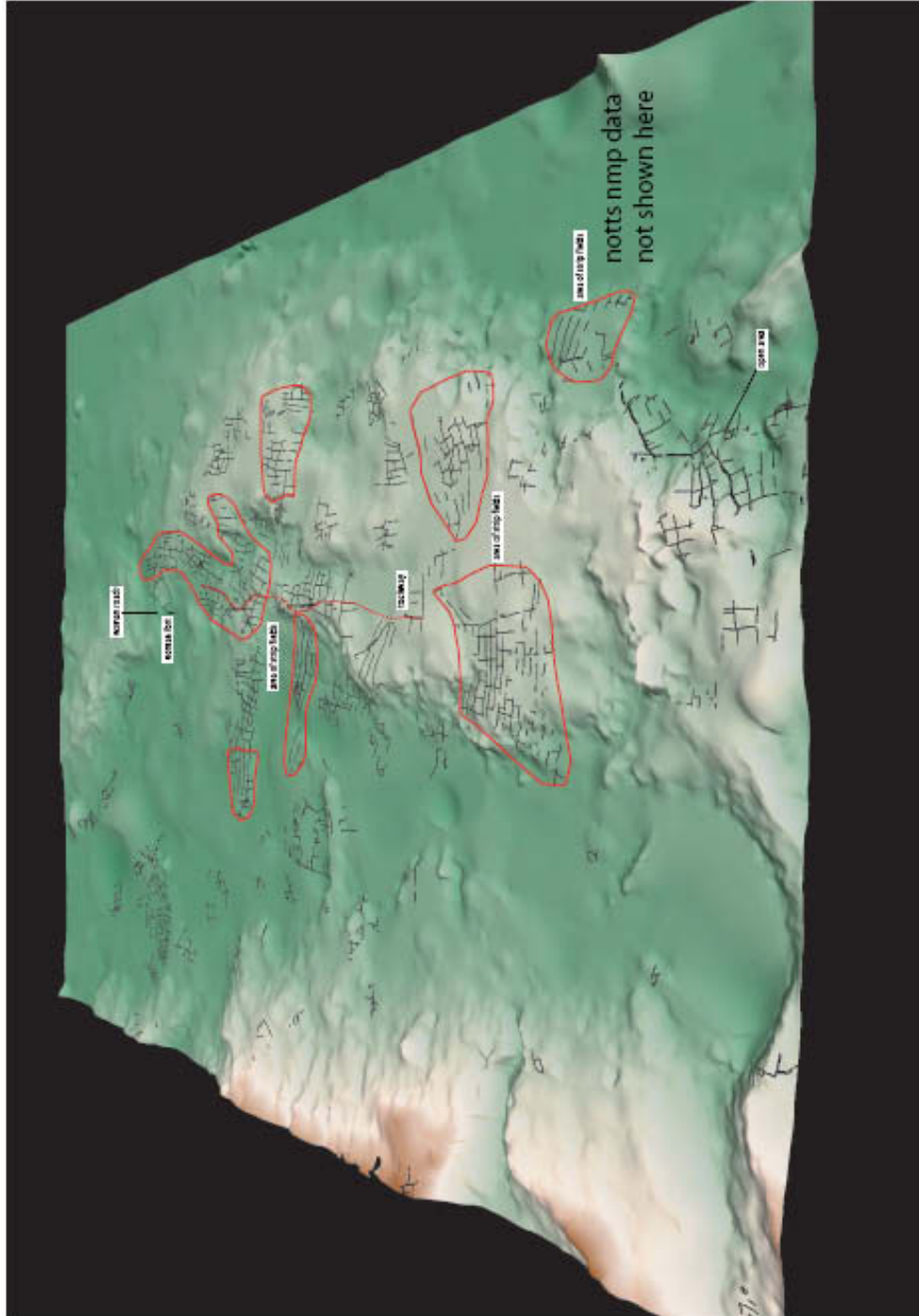


Figure 7.32. Contour model with air photo mapping of 'brickwork' fields in S. Yorks., looking north from Harworth to Stainforth. (Source: Deegan 2007: fig. 6V.6).

Although environmental and economic factors undoubtedly influenced these layouts, social factors were important too. Until the mid-twentieth century for example, there were varied patterns of drystone walling in different Yorkshire and Cumbrian dales (Bevan forthcoming), and such localised traditions of land allotment and boundary construction may have existed in the past, inculcated through the habitus. Alison Deegan has identified localised ‘clusters’ of fields and enclosures through GIS analyses (AS WYAS 2006; Deegan 2007) (see Fig. 7.32). Each of these clusters may have been established by particular clans or lineage groups.

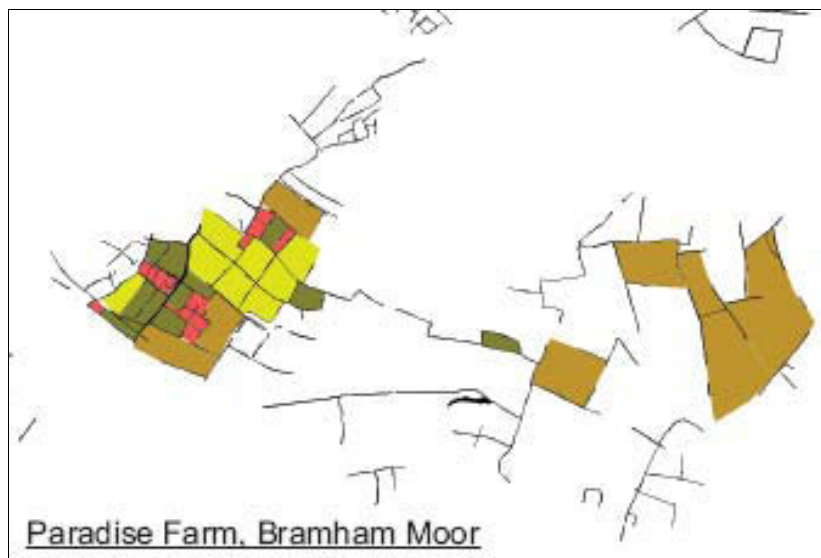


Figure 7.33 (above). ‘Mixed’ fields on Bramham Moor, W. Yorks., showing how there was some grouping of fields of similar sizes. **Fig. 7.34. (left).** ‘Strip’ fields near Edenthorpe, S. Yorks. Compare with Fig. 7.07 no. 1. (Source: Deegan 2007: fig. 6.5).

Field sizes: red <0.2ha
 green 0.2-0.5ha
 yellow 0.5-1ha
 brown >1ha

The more mixed, attenuated and nucleated field systems on Magnesian Limestone and Coal Measures areas *may* have reflected environmental factors such as thinner or heavier soils, and perhaps greater areas of surviving woodland (Roberts, Berg and Deegan 2007), but also suggest a longer and more piecemeal process of development, potentially from the early Iron Age through to the late Roman period (e.g. Fig. 7.33). In contrast, co-axial field blocks such as the ‘brickwork’ fields may have been more regular partly as a physical response to flatter and more open landscapes on the Sherwood Sandstones and within the Trent Valley, which probably facilitated greater lines of sight and simpler techniques of laying out fields (q.v. Wickstead 2002). They might also have been a means of dividing previously unenclosed land in a relatively equitable manner (Fig. 7.34). Although undoubtedly accretive over time, such co-axial fields nevertheless were probably created over fewer centuries – from the late Iron Age into the Romano-British period, with a likely increase in this process during the second and third centuries AD. This gradually emerging picture of diversity across the study region and within particular landscape areas shows that both functional and social factors must be taken into account when discussing field systems.

The reasons behind this expansion in field systems during the middle and late Iron Age are unclear. Rising populations and systems of inheritance may have contributed. There may also have been changes in tenure and access, with communities, clans and households laying claim to particular areas of the landscape. This might also have been linked to more widespread changes in kinship relations, which placed a stronger emphasis on individuals households and lineages rather than wider social networks, and a growing distinction between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ (q.v. Thomas 1997: 215-216). Along with these developments there might have been concomitant changes in agricultural practices.

The enclosure of some river floodplains and areas beside birch and alder carr woodland also took place at different times. In the Trent Valley near Gonalston it occurred during the middle Iron Age (Knight and Elliott forthcoming), at Balby Carr near Doncaster during the late Iron Age, whilst at Mattersey it might not have taken place until the Romano-British period (Morris and Garton 1998a, 1998b). Although originating in the later Iron Age, many co-axial field systems were particularly

associated with social and agricultural developments during the second and third centuries AD. They were *not* examples of centuriation though, and were *not* part of a centralised, pre-planned Roman colonisation of unused areas. Rather, they represented the gradual but progressive intake over time of unenclosed areas once utilised for communal grazing. This probably reflected changes in land tenure, including an increasing emphasis on land ownership by particular households. There may have been some extensification and intensification of agriculture within these fields as part of this process, but these processes were themselves not the principal reasons for the changes. Further detailed work such as the Magnesian Limestone Project will be invaluable for the future investigation of such questions.

History and tradition are important. In the case of land enclosure, people may use walls and fields to structure relationships among themselves, but they choose these areas because they already relate to them in their social lives, as with age or gender oppositions during the harvest, because they are familiar with them, and because the fields were themselves constructed as a means of social engagement in the first place and so have their own depth of meaning in the social domain. (J.G. Evans 2003: 29).

Notes

1. Given the fact that these monuments may well have been different in date, at least in terms of construction, it is thus very unlikely that they all represented key parts of a defensive system – an Iron Age ‘Maginot Line’. Wincobank hillfort might have been abandoned after 500 BC. If the Roman Rig was later in date, however, and comprised some sort of political or social boundary, then it is unsurprising that it may have referenced earlier monuments in the landscape such as Wincobank. These might have given it added legitimacy and an aura of antiquity, whether the linear earthwork was late Iron Age or post-Roman in date.
2. This phenomenon can be seen at Wattle Syke, where at least two of the three ‘lobes’ making up this enclosure complex appear to have been appended to sinuous linear boundary ditches. It is not yet clear if the sinuous boundaries were constructed in full before the enclosures, or were simply a product of enclosures being added to one another over time. The recent excavations at Wattle Syke (see Appendix G) are unlikely to shed light on this as the ‘backs’ of most of the enclosures were not investigated.

Movement 7

Fields

I Landfill

In ways the dead are placed
or how
they come to rest
I recognise myself
insomniac
arms
angled
or crossed:

children in skullcaps
soldiers with hob-nailed boots
or sandals placed like gifts
beside their feet...

Once
In rural Fife
and Angus
farmers held
one acre of their land
untilled
unscarred
to house this mute
concurrence with the dead
choosing from all their fields
one empty plot
that smelled or tasted right
one house of dreams.

They walled it in
and called it Gude Man's Land
or Devil's Piece

and some would say they guessed well every time
John Burnside

knowing the gist of the thing
the black in the green
of stitchwort.

Though I can't believe they thought
that tremor in the grass on windless days
was devil's work:

yet
where they found old bones
or spills of blood
where birdsong ceased
and darkness stayed till noon
they recognised some kinship with the dead
with bodies they had found

in nether fields
the faces soft
still lifelike
grass and roots
decaying in the gut.
They guessed it well
divined its mysteries
and left it to the pipistrelles
and jays....

John Burnside

Extract from *Fields. Part I – Landfill*. From J. Burnside (2000) *The Asylum Dance*.
London: Jonathan Cape.

CHAPTER 8

Aquatic Archaeologies

A world perceived through the paddle¹

This thesis is concerned with small-scale settlements, field systems and trackways – the world perceived through feet and through hooves (q.v. Ingold 2004). But the land was not the only medium for movement – the many rivers draining through the region would have been vital for longer-distance communication, especially the Trent, Idle and Don. The distribution of Iron Age Scored Ware pottery strongly suggests that it was moved along rivers (Elsdon 1992a), in exchange networks that might also have included salt, querns, glass beads and fine metalwork (Knight and Howard 2004b: 87). For many ‘hydraulic communities’ (q.v. Evans 1997a), water and movement along it would have been crucial to concepts of place and identity. Although watercourses such as the Don and Idle might have defined emerging territories, they were not physical barriers but rather vital arteries connecting people and places. Such aquatic archaeologies and fluid movements are worthy of closer examination.

Palaeo-environmental studies show that these aquatic environments were very dynamic and diverse (Knight and Howard 2004: 80). Major river channels would have shifted across floodplains within people’s lifetimes, incorporating different temporal rhythms. At one temporal level they were traditional routeways used repeatedly, at another they were constantly changing as banks collapsed, loops were cut through into straighter channels and oxbows created, and sandbars and mud flats formed. Prior to extensive post-medieval drainage there were a myriad of smaller channels shifting and reforming every year, with creeks, becks, reed beds, backwater swamps and flooded carr woods. Seasonality would have been crucial – some areas that flooded during winter would have been impassable during lower water levels of summer when rocks, submerged tree trunks and sandbars were hazards. Water and rivers may have been attributed agency and intent, sometimes even malice.



Figure 8.01. (top left). *Waterfowl and reeds at Fairburn Ings, W. Yorks. (Source: author).* **Fig. 8.02. (top right).** *Cattle and waterfowl at a mere on the River Aire floodplain, W. Yorks. (Source: author).* **Fig. 8.03. (below).** *The River Trent near Carlton-on-Trent, Notts. (Source: author).*

These were very different phenomenologies to land-based journeys – the rush or gurgle of water, the creak of wood and leather, the muted splashes of paddles and the muscular rhythms of paddling, the sudden slaps of beavers and the calls of otters, cranes and bitterns. Although many people in communities next to rivers and carrs may have been able to use boats along their local stretches of waterway, awareness of currents, whirlpools, and sandbars further along watercourses might have been limited to fewer people. Again, this could have been knowledge accumulated through embodied experiences and informal learning ‘at the paddle’s edge’ from an early age (e.g. Fig. 8.09). As in many contemporary and historically-recorded small-scale societies around the world, there may have been ‘riverfolk’ who specialised in longer-distance movements, acting as traders, fishers, go-betweens and carriers of news and information. Their social and political status might have been more neutral than others, allowing them to move greater distances between different communities.



Being-in-the-world, and Being-on-the-river. (clockwise, from top left). Fig. 8.04. Washing sheep using a coracle, Carmarthenshire, 1960. (Source: Ward 1991: 74). Fig. 8.05. Karawari riverside village, Papua New Guinea. (Source: www.galenfrysinger.com). Fig. 8.06. Women and children in a boat in Mali, West Africa. (Source: www.farm3.static.flickr.com). Fig. 8.07. Chacobo family in flooded forest, Bolivia. (Source: Scott-McNab 1994: 152). Fig. 8.08. Building an Amazonian dugout canoe. (Source: Scott-McNab

1994: 143). Fig. 8.09. Karawari boys in a dugout canoe, New Guinea. (Source: galenfrysinger.com). Fig. 8.10. Cree hunter in a canoe, Canada. (Source: Alexander and Alexander 1996: 74).

Sinking feelings

Across northern England, there have been finds of Bronze Age and Iron Age boats at Ferriby, Hasholme, Scotter, Appleby and Brigg in Lincolnshire and Humberside, at Clifton and Holme Pierrepont in Nottinghamshire, and at Argosy Washolme, Aston-upon-Trent in Derbyshire (Garton, Elliott and Salisbury 2001; MacCormick et al. 1968; McGrail 1981, 1987, 1990; Millett and McGrail 1987; Phillips 1941; Wright 1990; Wright et al. 2001). Many of the dugout canoes (often rather derogatively termed logboats) were large, well-made vessels. The stern of the Hasholme dugout canoe had carved oculi motifs, and there may have been carvings on the bows of the Brigg and one of the Holme Pierrepont dugouts (McGrail 1987; Millett 1999). These craft took great skill and time to produce, and might have had considerable status. The Hasholme dugout was made from an oak tree around 800 years old when it was felled, and which had stood at least 10 metres high before it had branched – a tree of considerable size. This would have been a significant landmark in the landscape, and may have been imbued with notions of ancestry and associations with the place from which it was derived. There may have been many smaller, lightweight craft similar to historical coracles made out of animal skins, for which no evidence has survived.



Figure 8.11. *The impressive size of the late Bronze Age or early Iron Age Brigg dugout, from an illustration of 1888. (Source: Van de Noort 2000: 166).*

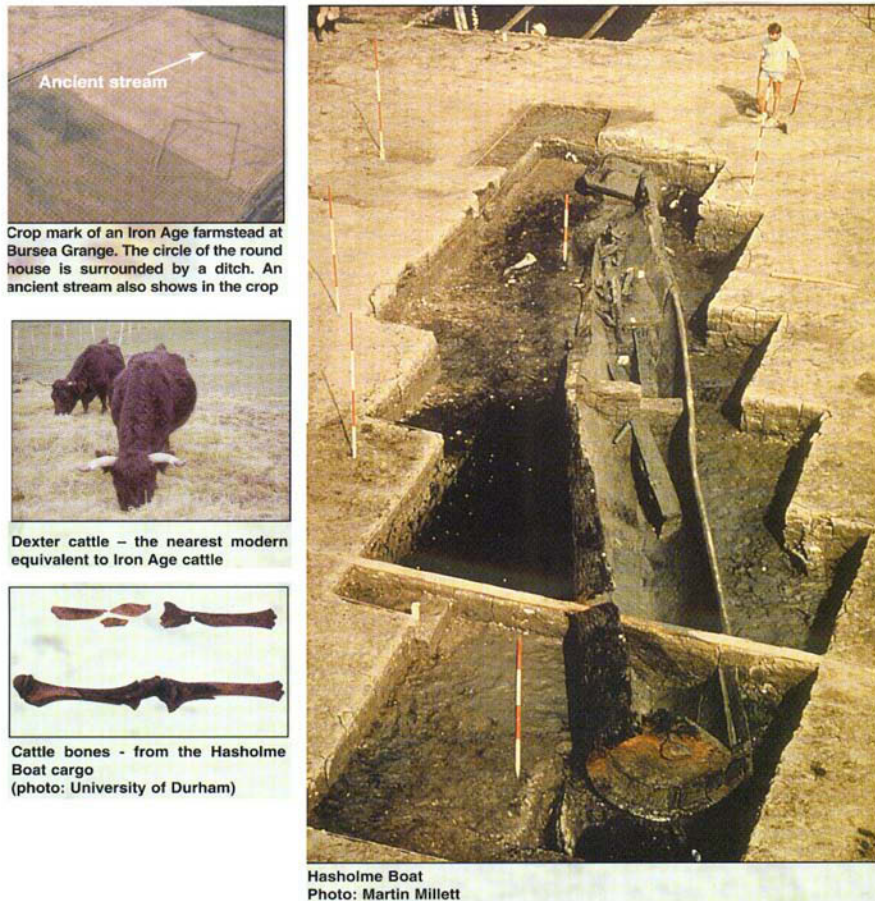


Figure 8.12. *The Hasholme boat as excavated (right). It was full of joints of cattle meat (lower left), in addition to remains of other animals. (Source: Halkon 1999: 9).*

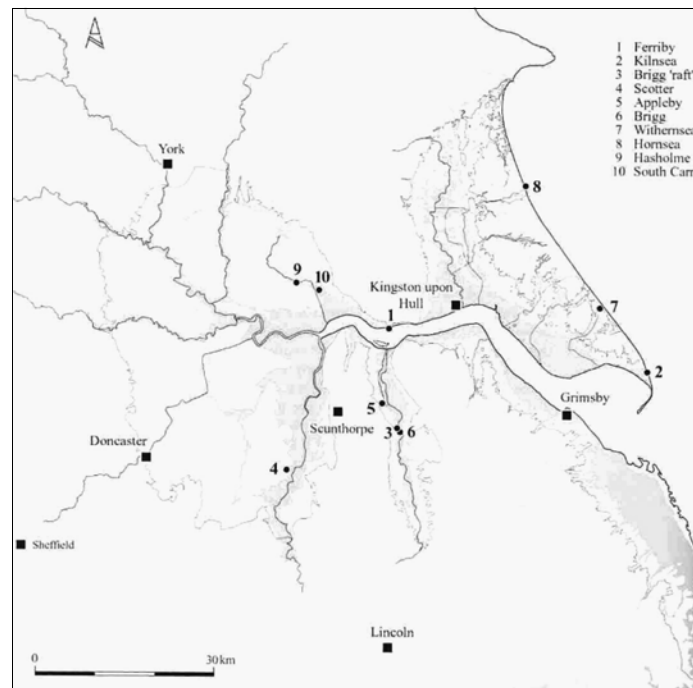


Figure 8.13. *Finds of late prehistoric plank boats and dugouts from the Humberhead Levels. (Source: Van de Noort 2004).*

The loss of these boats is normally attributed to accidental sinking. However, there is contextual evidence that the Hasholme vessel and perhaps one of the Holme Pierrepont examples were deliberately sunk, either through ‘decommissioning’ rites, or as votive offerings (Ransley 2002: 39-40). The Hasholme dugout contained a ‘cargo’ of animal remains from cattle, sheep, horse and deer, the vast majority from fully fleshed joints of cattle meat in addition to a complete sheep’s head (Stallibrass 1987: 141-143). The dugout was found in the River Foulness, close to a known Iron Age and Romano-British settlement (Millett and McGrail 1987: 70), and seems to have ‘foundered’ in what was actually fairly shallow water.

It simply does not seem likely that such a large boat, probably of some social importance, should have been unintentionally deposited complete with valuable ‘cargo’ in such a relatively accessible and unlikely backwater...If this boat was indeed deposited deliberately, so were the joints of meats, the animal parts and the timber. Indeed, such a hypothesis moves inextricably towards the conclusion that this may well have been a ritual act... (Ransley 2002: 39-40).

At Holme Pierrepont on the River Trent, three dugout canoes were found underneath gravel deposits 4.5m thick, and two were entangled with waterlogged oaks (MacCormick et al. 1968: 16-17). A large morticed beam recovered may have been part of a bridge or causeway. Boat 1 was radiocarbon dated to 410 BC-AD 60 (Musty and MacCormick 1973: 276), although this was from the sapwood and may overestimate the age (Knight and Howard 2004: 82). One of the boats was associated with a finely made wooden cart or carriage wheel dated to the later first millennium BC (Stead 1996: 79). In addition to a nearby Iron Age and Romano-British settlement (Guilbert, Fearn and Woodhouse 1994), timber piling has been identified in the same locale, and two early Iron Age swords were recovered from the Trent nearby, perhaps indicating the locale was used for placed deposits (Cowen 1967; Scurfield 1997: 35).

The context of the three dugouts suggested to the excavator that ‘they had been overwhelmed by flooding and came to rest only where further passage downstream was blocked by tree trunks’ (MacCormick et al. 1968: 26). Although their final resting place is indicative of a flood-created ‘log jam’, this need not have been a single event, and there are still questions about how the boats got there, and why the

one was so closely associated with a wheel. Were they just swept away during a flood, along with nearby disused timbers and a wheel, or were they lost whilst transporting these artefacts? Or were they deliberately set adrift carrying these objects? The dugout with the wheel had a longitudinal split in its stern, and attempts had been made to repair it – perhaps this particular vessel at least was being deliberately decommissioned. The association of the boat and wheel may be significant – not only may both be metaphors of journeys and travel, but the wheel symbol might have been associated with sun or sky gods (Green 1997: 41-47). Miniature metal wheels have been found in late Iron Age or Romano-British hoards in Britain, and were portrayed on some antefixes and metal fittings. Interestingly, a lathe-turned wooden disc was part of a series of placed deposits in the large waterhole at the centre of the Hoveringham Romano-British enclosure (Elliott and Knight 1998: 30; Chadwick 2004a: 98). This has resonances with the discovery of a wooden wheel-like object beside a pool or well at Milton Keynes (Williams and Hart 1990).

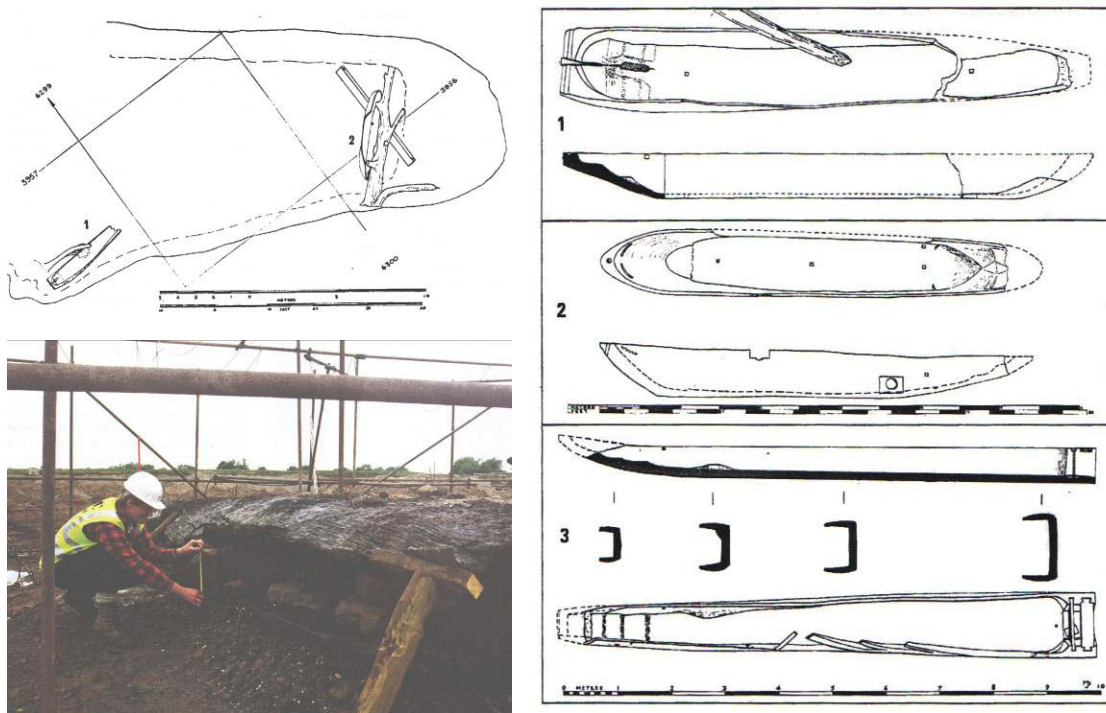


Figure 8.14. (top left). The context of the Holme Pierrepont boat finds (Source: MacCormick 1968: 17). **Fig. 8.15.** (right). Plans and sections of the three canoes recovered. (Source: MacCormick 1968: 20). **Fig. 8.16.** (bottom left). Middle to late Bronze Age dugout found at Argosy Washolme, Aston-upon-Trent, Derbyshire, containing a 'cargo' of sandstone blocks. (Source: Knight and Howard 2004a: 58).



Figure 8.17. *The Roos Carr animal-headed boat and figurines. One figure is now ^{14}C dated to 606-509 BC. They were found by workmen cutting a drainage ditch during the nineteenth century. (Source: © Hull Museum).*

Such watery depositional practices may have also included the Roos Carr early or middle Iron Age yew wood figurines from the Humber wetlands near Hull (Coles 1990, 1993) (Fig. 8.17), standing on a stylised boat. There is also an intriguing nineteenth century reference to a “statue of oak, black as ebony...carved in the habit of a Roman Warrior...” found in peat in between Misson and Haxey around the Isle of Axholme near Doncaster (Coles 1993: 19; Peck 1815: 8). A decorated late Iron Age shield boss was recovered from the River Trent at Redhill near its confluence with the River Soar (Watkin et al. 1976). Dryland contexts in the vicinity have produced Iron Age and Romano-British metalwork, and a temple may have been located there (Elsdon 1983; and see Chapter 11). At Fiskerton in Lincolnshire, Iron Age and Romano-British weapons and tools, jewellery, pottery and human and animal bones were all deposited from a timber causeway into a palaeochannel of the River Witham over an extremely long period of time (Field and Parker Pearson 2003). Two dugouts were recently been found at Fiskerton beside the timber causeway, and these may have been placed deposits – one containing animal remains was deliberately ‘staked’ down into river silts (J. Rylatt pers. comm.). These practices may have represented beliefs in water as a mysterious, ever-changing and liminal substance, an entrance to other worlds or different realms of being (Chadwick 2004c: 53).



Figure 8.18. *Reconstruction of the landscape context of the Brigg boat in the Ancholme valley around 1000 BC. Settlements located by alder carr woodland at the edge of the Humberhead Levels were probably situated within very similar environments during the Iron Age too. (Source: Van de Noort 2000: 170).*

Several excavated settlements such as Topham Farm, Sykehouse and Balby Carr were situated on the edges of wetlands and carr woodland that was semi-flooded during the winter months (Roberts 2003; Rose 2003; Rose and Roberts 2006). At such locales, more specialised practices may have included the summer grazing of livestock. These people were not simply eking out a miserable existence in marginal areas, but as outlined in Chapter 7 had very sophisticated understandings of these dynamic landscapes involving networks of social contacts, and seasonal exploitation and journeys (q.v. Brown 2002; Evans 1987; Evans and Hodder 2004; Willis 1997b).



Figure 8.19. *Cropmark of the possible fortlet at Scaftworth, Notts., on the floodplain of the River Idle opposite modern Bawtry. (Source: Van de Noort et al. 1997: 410).*



Figure 8.20. *Another possible Roman fort recently identified as a subrectangular cropmark near Kirk Sandall on the floodplain of the River Don north of Doncaster, S. Yorks., SE 6042 0669. (Source: © SYAS).*

Roman riverine routes

Excavations at Redcliff on the River Humber in East Yorkshire have recovered Claudian period Roman fine and coarse wares and Gallo-Belgic pottery (Creighton 1990; Crowther, Willis and Creighton 1989), suggesting that it functioned as a ‘port of trade’ prior to the Roman conquest of the north (Willis 1996: 194). During and after the Roman conquest, rivers assumed even greater importance as communication and supply routes. Centres such as Castleford and Doncaster developed not just as crossing places but also as internal ports, and some Roman goods such as lava querns from Germany would probably have been brought directly upriver via these trade routes. There may have been other ports at Bawtry, Redhill and Carlton Mill (Palfreyman and Ebbins 2003; Whimster 1983), though much more work is needed to resolve these matters in the future. Recent finds near Bentley Ings suggest a possible later Roman port between the original site of the Doncaster fort and vicus, and a possible site recently identified at Kirk Sandall (Deegan 2007; P. Robinson pers. comm.). The Roman forts at Sandtoft, Roall and possible forts at Scaftworth, Carlton Mill and Kirk Sandall might not only have been guarding road bridges and fords across rivers, but may also have prevented raiders coming upstream during the troubled fourth century (Bartlett and Riley 1958; Bewley and MacLeod 1993; Samuels and Buckland 1978).

In addition to their increased use as transport and trade conduits, the possible temples at Castleford, Bawtry and Redhill illustrate the continuing symbolic significance of rivers during the Romano-British period (see Chapter 11). At such places, existing indigenous beliefs may have been adopted and/or reworked and reinterpreted.

Notes

1. I am extremely grateful to Jesse Ransley for her illuminating discussion of these topics, and for this wonderful phrase (q.v. Ingold 2004).

Movement 8

Fog

Winded, drifting to rest.

I'm rowing
between islands, between pewter water
and a gauze I'm unwinding that winds back
behind me in my flat wake.

At the tip
of each oar small vortices whorl
at each stroke's end...

...I'm rowing
where measure is lost, I'm barely moving,
in a circle of translucence that moves with me
without compass.

I can't see out or up into;
I sit facing backwards,
pulling myself slowly
toward the life I'm still trying to get at.

Philip Booth

In C. Merrill (ed.) (1991) *The Forgotten Language. Contemporary Poets and Nature*.
Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books.

CHAPTER 9

A Contextual Archaeology of Enclosures and Dwellings Within the Study Region

In Chapter 6 I considered the significance of animal husbandry and the movements of animals and people as part of routine, seasonal practices. These movements were often along trackways, and trackways lead to places of dwelling. In this chapter I examine the archaeological evidence for enclosures and households and the practices undertaken within them, and consider how embodied experiences of these domestic architectures were implicit in the construction of peoples' identities. I also use ethnography to assess recent arguments about the cosmological structuring of settlement architecture and the potential symbolic associations of enclosures and dwellings. I have presented much of the detailed data in Appendices E and H.

Typologies and teleologies

Archaeologists have traditionally classified enclosures and fields based on their shape and size (e.g. Cox 1984; Riley 1980; Wilson 1987). In his analyses of cropmarks in the Welsh Marches and the Trent Valley, Whimster followed supposedly objective criteria to create categories such as 'regular curvilinear', 'irregular curvilinear' or even 'irregular quadrilateral' (Whimster 1989: 28-32) (Fig. 9.02), similar to those used elsewhere in Britain (e.g. Stoertz 1997). This is thought to aid the recognition of regional and chronological variations, but to some extent these criteria are always inherently subjective, like those currently used in Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) studies (Chadwick 2008). There is a danger of creating static, highly teleological typologies, and of losing the relationships that enclosures had with other 'natural' and 'cultural' features within the landscape, along with all sense of these being inhabited places created and reproduced through human practice.



Figure 9.01. Map of the study region showing some of the enclosure sites discussed in the text, including hillforts, enclosures surviving as earthworks, and those identified from cropmarks and geophysical surveys. The distribution is considerably biased by the locations of development that have led to commercial archaeological fieldwork. (Drawn by A. Leaver).

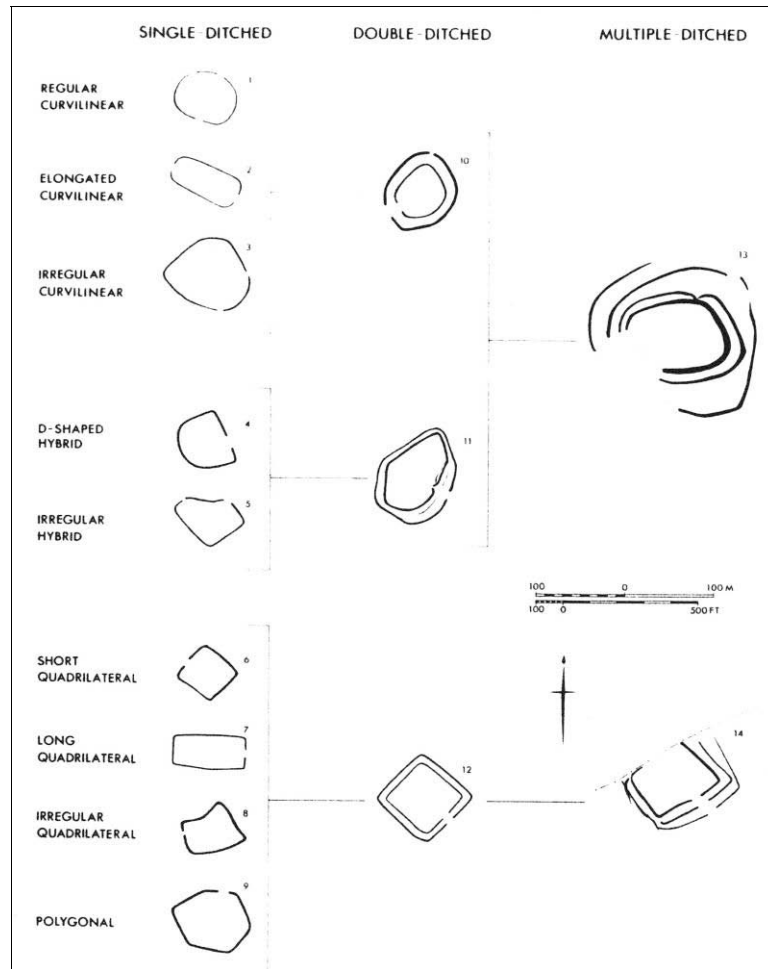


Figure 9.02. (left). *Whimster's morphological classification of cropmark enclosures. (Source: Whimster 1989: 29).*

Whimster wished to establish the structuring 'grammar' behind cropmarks (cf. Chadwick 1999: 157-158), and suggested that in the Welsh Marches the morphological characteristics of enclosures were important, along with their spatial relationship to others in 'tracts of otherwise 'empty' countryside' (Whimster 1989: 27). These were *not* empty landscapes though, but the settings for the many rhythms of complex taskscapes. Prominent natural features may have had names and stories associated with them, and routeways through the landscape might have resulted from centuries of rights of access, negotiations and conflicts, yet all of this is 'invisible' to aerial photography. Whimster did admit that in the Trent Valley:

...the complex interdependence of house sites, enclosures, trackways and linear boundary ditches suggested that morphological comparison of individual features, though possible in principle, would be less rewarding than analysis of the dynamic agricultural and settlement systems to which they belong. (Whimster 1989: 27).

It has been suggested that multi-vallate, irregular middle Iron Age enclosures became more regular and univallate in the late Iron Age, with single-ditched, subrectangular or rectangular forms common during the Romano-British period (Collens 1998). This hypothesis has yet to be comprehensively tested in my study region (Deegan 1998b), and the problems of dating cropmarks mean such an approach is questionable. Exceptions are already apparent. Some excavated univallate and subrectangular enclosures originated in the Iron Age. A triple-ditched Romano-British enclosure was excavated at Hook Moor (O'Neill 2001b: 118-119), although it is not clear if the ditches were contemporaneous. Site XX8 along the A1 (M) road corridor contained Iron Age pits, but the double-ditched enclosure continued in use until the fourth century AD (Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennand 2007: 54). The many differences in enclosure size and form, together with highly variable excavation results, would only produce simplistic typological analyses. The gazetteer (Appendix G) details enclosures from the study region, and what follows are general observations and theoretical discussions, illustrated with select examples.

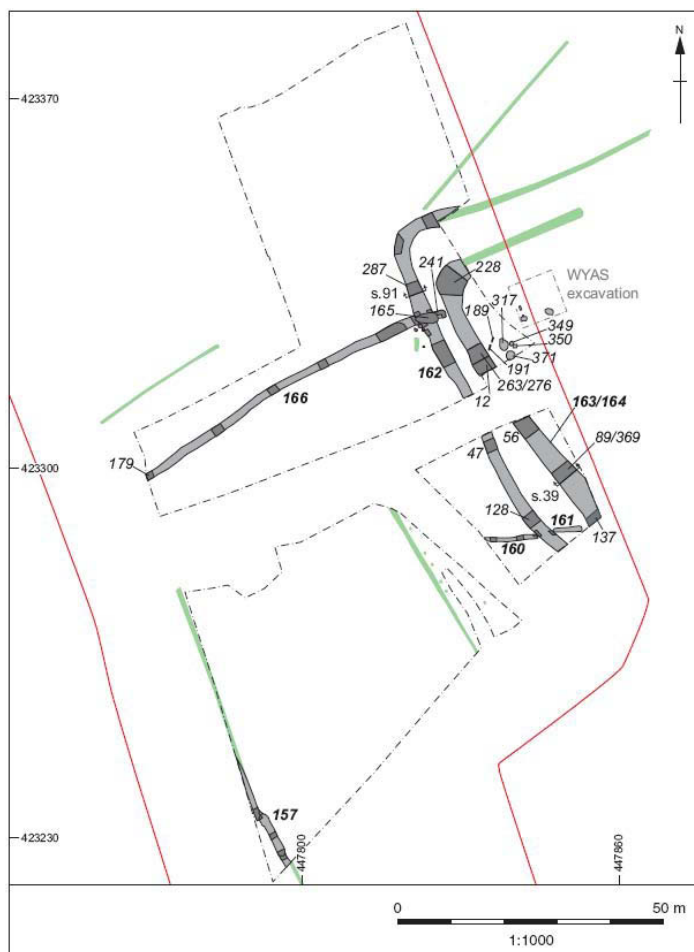


Figure 9.03. (left). Site XX8 along the A1 (M) road corridor. This excavated double-ditched enclosure was probably constructed during the later Iron Age, but may have continued in use until at least the fourth century AD. (Source: Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennand 2007: 55, fig. 25).

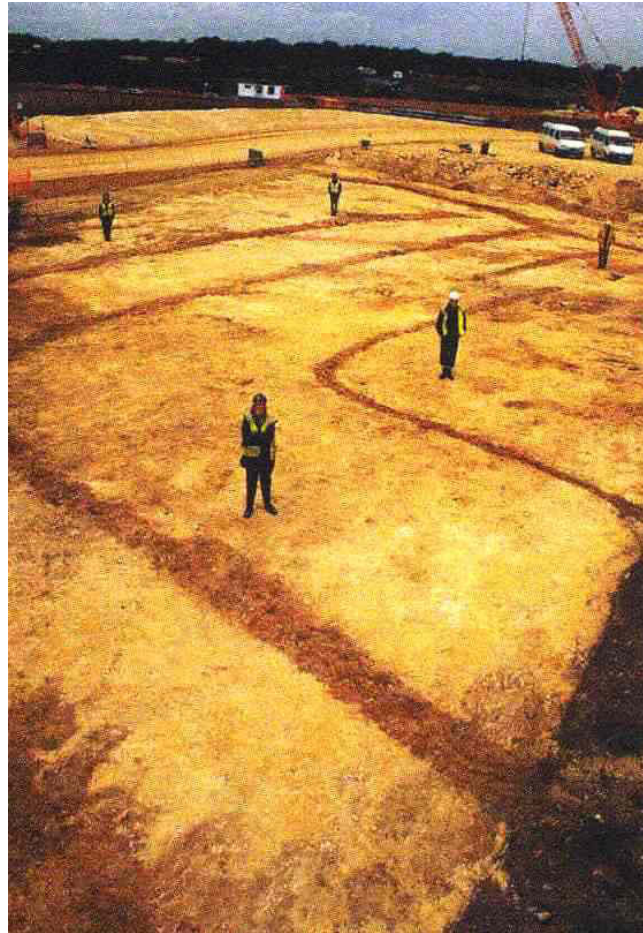


Figure 9.04. (right). *Oblique view of the triple-ditched Hook Moor Romano-British enclosure after soil stripping. (Source: Roberts, Burgess and Berg 2001: back cover).*

Hillforts and ‘oppida’

The lack of hillforts and *oppida* has frustrated attempts by archaeologists and historians to identify putative tribal centres (Challis and Harding 1975: 121, 124), and is one distinctive aspect of the prehistoric archaeology of the region. The extensive earthworks at Stanwick in North Yorkshire were long regarded as a Brigantian *oppidum*, and a base for one faction (of Venutius) in the putative tribal dispute that prompted the Roman advance after AD 70/71 (Creighton 2006: 33-34; Ramm 1980: 28; Wheeler 1954: 17-26). Archaeological work at Stanwick has revealed a long and complex sequence of activity (Haselgrove, Lowther and Turnbull 1990), but the primary phase of occupation seems to have begun around the mid-first century AD. The late Iron Age metalwork hoard found nearby in 1843 contained carriage fittings, horse harness mounts and weapons (Haselgrove, Turnbull and Fitts 1990: 11). Along

with the presence of Roman prestige imports, this does suggest that Stanwick was the centre (or at least one centre) of a group with close contacts to the Roman world that *may* have been the social elite of a client kingdom or chiefdom. York and Aldborough have been proposed as other *oppida* (Hartley 1980: 2), but there is no evidence for this. Within my study area no *oppida* have been discovered. This might suggest that in the late Iron Age such authority was constituted differently or did not leave visible remains, or more likely indicates a lack of centralising political authority.

Hillforts

Detailed descriptions of individual hillfort sites within my study area are given in Appendix G. In older culture-history narratives of the region, many were identified as tribal centres that were either destroyed by the Romans, or abandoned after the conquest of the north. Dating was often based on rampart typologies (e.g. Cotton 1954). As in southern England however, with further fieldwork, ¹⁴C dating and better pottery chronologies it became apparent during the 1960s and 1970s that most northern hillforts were occupied between 1000-500 BC, and rarely later.



Figure 9.05. *Aerial view of Castle Hill, Almondbury. (Source: Riley 1988: 32).*

The two largest West Yorkshire hillforts at Barwick-in-Elmet and Castle Hill, Almondbury (Fig. 9.05) have no accurate dates associated with them (Keighley 1981: 116), and at Barwick-in-Elmet it is possible that some banks and ditches reflect post-Roman and medieval occupation. At South Kirkby (Keighley 1981: 116), the western part of the site lies on a flat plateau overlooked by a hill, and its defensibility is questionable. The hillfort at Wincobank in Sheffield (Fig. 9.06) was excavated in 1899, and its dating too is thus problematic, with a single middle Iron Age ¹⁴C date from a more recent single narrow trench (Buckland 1986: 6; Coutts 1999: 78). On the Pennine fringe in Derbyshire, Mam Tor and Carl Wark might have had their origins in the later Bronze Age (Coombs and Thompson 1979: 16; Preston 1950a), but occupation beyond the middle Iron Age is unlikely at both sites. A small number of possible Iron Age defended enclosures have been identified on the northern edge of the Trent Valley, but the date and nature of occupation at these sites is also uncertain (q.v. Bishop 2001a: 3; Guilbert 2004).



Figure 9.06. Topographical survey of Wincobank hillfort, Sheffield, S. Yorks. The features to the north and west are early modern quarry pits. (Source: Pouncett 2001).

Discussion

Iron Age hillforts have long been regarded as elite residences and fortified bases to protect communities in the inter-tribal, internecine conflicts thought to have prevailed during the period. It was once supposed that all but the most exposed were permanently occupied. Military and defensive interpretations proved dominant from the later nineteenth century until the 1970s, partly due to the continuing influence of Classical authors, perhaps because many excavators such as Mortimer Wheeler had served in the military, and also perhaps because contemporary ethnographic studies were indicating widespread violence amongst ‘primitive’ societies (e.g. Chagnon 1968, 1988; Heider 1970). Processual explanations also sought to highlight the potential role of hillforts as political ‘central places’ within territories, and as production, storage and redistribution centres (e.g. Cunliffe 1978, 1984; Gent and Dean 1986; Grant 1986; Hogg 1975).

More recent interpretations have questioned such assumptions. There has been considerable debate within anthropology regarding warfare and violence and the many reasons for conflict in small-scale societies. Warfare has been explained in Darwinian terms, as increasing the reproductive fitness of groups and individuals (e.g. Chagnon 1988, 1990; Daly and Wilson 1988; Van der Dennen and Falger 1990; Wrangham and Peterson 1996), as an economic levelling mechanism (Fukui 1996), or as conflict over material resources (Ferguson 1984, 1990, 1992; Haas 1990). Prestige, feuds and revenge, and perceived violations of identity and territorial or tenurial rights might also be important (Heald 2000; Mascher and Reedy-Mascher 1998; Moore 1990; Redmond 1994; Schmidt and Schröder 2001; Sillitoe 1999). There are complex human emotional responses to conflict, which as well as fear and revulsion may also include feelings of ecstatic excitement, fulfilment and piety (Ehenreich 1997: 19-22).

These debates are still contentious, but there are some general points to be drawn from them. With some exceptions (e.g. Burch 1974; Fagan 1998: 141-142; Hurst Thomas 1993: 90), wars in small-scale societies are only occasionally fought in order to annihilate other social groups, and instead are often associated with younger men’s desires for status and wealth (see discussions in Abbink 2000; Baxter 1978; Heald 2000; Mascher and Reedy-Mascher 1998). Warfare is rarely ‘endemic’, but irregular

and episodic (Albert 1989; Lizot 1994). It might sometimes boil over into unrestricted lethal conflict, but at other times political strategies keep it in check (Heald 2000: 115). Warriorhood and martial display might be important to ideological and cultural practices, especially masculinist discourses (q.v. Treherne 1995), but this need not reflect everyday levels of violence. This is not to downplay the presence of very real, shocking moments of violence in the past, as in contemporary societies, and in addition to warfare we must also acknowledge the likely presence of inter-personal violence within communities and families, such as that directed against women for example (e.g. Boylston 2000: 367; Redfern 2008: 152-153). We do need to place armed conflict within its wider social context, however. There has been a resurgence in archaeological debates concerning the nature of warfare and violence in the past (e.g. Carman 1997; Carman and Harding 1999; Frayer and Martin 1998; Osgood, Monks and Toms 2000; Parker Pearson and Thorpe 2005). The scale and extent of Iron Age warfare is still poorly understood however, despite some initial discussion (Avery 1986; Dent 1983; Haselgrove 1992; James 2007; Sharples 1991).

Some researchers have stressed the social importance of the banks and ditches of hillforts in asserting ideas of power, status and community (Bowden and McOmish 1987: 81; Collis 1996b: 90-92; Hill 1992: 65-66, 1995c: 54-55, 1996a: 102-103; Hingley 1990: 100-101). These defined hillforts as 'non-farmsteads' (Hill 1996a: 108), emphasising their special status within the landscape. Hillforts were often carefully sited to be viewed and to view from, to visually dominate areas such as river valleys and passes, or to control people's movements. Façades, entrances and ramparts were concerned with display and visual presence, and whilst some hillforts were designed to blend in with natural contours, others were deliberately sited to contrast with them (see detailed case studies in Driver 2005, 2007; Hamilton and Manley 2001). Southern English evidence has shown that hillforts were not as frequently associated with high-status metalwork or specialist craft production compared to non-hillfort settlements (Hill 1995b: 68, 1996a: 99-106), making it less likely they were elite residences. Linked to critiques of ideas of Iron Age society as markedly hierarchical with powerful chiefs and warrior elites (see Chapter 2), more recent accounts have highlighted communal labour and social relations in hillfort

construction, rather than the centralised authority of individuals (e.g. Pollard, Howell, Chadwick and McFadyen 2006: 57).

Hillforts were *not* a uniform category of constructions. Detailed palaeo-environmental work and geophysical survey of hillforts in southern England and the Welsh Marches have demonstrated great variations in the character of occupation at superficially similar sites (Buckland, Parker Pearson, Wigley and Girling 2001; Campbell 2000: 57; Gosden and Lock 1998, 2007; Lock, Gosden and Daly 2005; Payne 2000: 31-33; Payne and Trow 1998). Some hillforts may have only been occupied on a seasonal basis (*contra* Cunliffe 1984, 1995), by different communities or groups within communities in different ways and at different times (Collis 1981).

‘Marsh forts’ and multivallate enclosed sites

At Sutton Common near Askern, two palisaded enclosures were situated on slightly raised ‘islands’ in wooded carr and reed swamp. A marshy watercourse called the Hampole Beck ran between them, and standing water partly surrounded them (Boardman 1997; Boardman and Charles 1997; Gearey 2007: 64; Hall and Kenward 2007a: 104-108). A substantial 9m wide timber causeway linked the two enclosures. Excavations by the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit and Sheffield University in the 1980s and early 1990s established that the complex was constructed and utilised between 550-200 BC (Parker Pearson and Sydes 1997: 229).

The Universities of Hull and Exeter undertook more recent excavations of the larger eastern enclosure in 1998-2003, and demonstrated that it had substantial box timber ramparts and impressive entrances to the west and east formed by very large timbers. Within the enclosure were numerous four-post granary structures and other small subcircular structures. Following a period of disuse when the ramparts rotted and partially collapsed, between *c.* 400-200 BC the eastern enclosure was the location of a series of small subrectangular enclosures apparently used for the secondary deposition

of cremated human and animal remains (Chapman 2003; Chapman and Fletcher 2007: 151-155; Chapman and Van de Noort 2001).



Figure 9.07. *Sutton Common, near Askern, S. Yorks., looking south in 1980 – the larger eastern enclosure has already been ploughed and levelled, and only the smaller western enclosure survives as an earthwork. (Source: Riley 1988: 22).*



Figure 9.08. *Plan of Sutton Common from the recent investigations by the Universities of Hull and Exeter, showing the density of features in the larger eastern enclosure. (Source: Van de Noort, Chapman and Collis unpublished).*

The director of the recent excavation was puzzled by the apparent absence of domestic occupation within the larger enclosure (English Heritage 2002; Van de Noort 2004: 67-68), but the locale may have had unusual status or ceremonial significance (q.v. Parker Pearson and Sydes 1997: 255). An otherwise utterly inadequate sample of the ditch terminals by the western entrance nonetheless found placed deposits including two human skulls (see Chapter 11). The eastern entrance was associated with a timber causeway, but unaccountably this was not excavated. The approach to the enclosure from this side was considered ‘impractical’ and the causeway interpreted as a jetty (Chapman 2003), but it is more likely to have been similar to structures at Flag Fen and Fiskerton (Field and Parker Pearson 2003; Pryor 1991, 2001). Sutton Common lies within a cluster of Bronze Age metalwork finds (Parker Pearson and Sydes 1997: 234; P. Robinson pers. comm.), and had this structure and surrounding stratigraphy been investigated, placed deposits might have been found. Only 10% of internal features were excavated (Chapman and Van de Noort 2007: 37), so despite its tremendous regional and national importance, much information was undoubtedly lost through the ill-conceived sampling strategy.



Figure 9.09. *The enclosure on a slight prominence at Moorhouse Farm, near Tickhill, S. Yorks., SK 609 928. Two or possibly three ditch circuits are visible. (Source: Riley 1980: 66, plate 15).*

At Moorhouse Farm, Tickhill, a double or triple-ditched enclosure now lies beneath a modern farm, but was also located on slightly higher ground (Riley 1980: 49) (Fig. 9.09). At Potteric Carr, a large (c. 0.4ha), irregular enclosure might have had up to three lines of ditches (Deegan 2004: 8, fig. 4) (Fig. 9.10). A site recently excavated near Finningley on a slight gravel prominence in an otherwise low-lying landscape consisted of two or three irregular circuits of narrow gullies or palisade slots (see Gazetteer, Appendix G). There might be other examples at Babworth, Bilby Farm, Flint Hill and Willow Holt (Riley 1980: 48-49), although a possible site at Crow Wood near Styrrup now seems less likely (Badcock and Symonds 1994).



Figure 9.10. (left). *The multiple-ditched enclosure (upper right) and other probably later cropmarks identified at Potteric Carr, S. Yorks. (Source: Deegan 2004).*

These sites have been given the sobriquet ‘marsh forts’ (Riley 1980: 66; Van de Noort, Chapman and Collis 2007), but this term is highly problematic. Although they could have acted as refuges, they did not project power in the same manner as hillforts. They were probably communal foci of some sort, or perhaps even ‘neutral’

centres for trade and exchange between different groups. Located north-east to south-west across South Yorkshire and north Nottinghamshire, this may have been a socio-political boundary between the limestone hills north and west of the Rivers Don and Idle, and gravel lowlands to the south and east (Haselgrove 1984: 16; Parker Pearson and Sydes 1997: 254; Preston 1950a: 91). It might indicate, albeit very broadly, the Brigantian and Corieltavian ‘frontier’, but this culture-history interpretation may be too simplistic (Chapter 2), and many sites might not have been contemporaneous.



Figure 9.11. *The multiple-ditched enclosure at Little Smeaton, N. Yorks. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 366, SE 536 158).*

These sites are similar to so-called ‘ring forts’ in East Anglia such as Arbury Camp, Wardy Hill, Stonea Camp and Borough Fen (Evans 1991, 1992, 2003), which were early or middle Iron Age in date. These too were initially interpreted in defensive terms, but this now seems a simplistic explanation. The sites within my study region might not be similar in date or function, but merely superficially alike. I describe them as ‘enclosed sites’ to differentiate them from ‘enclosures’ – features more integrated to the wider field system landscapes. The relationship of enclosed sites to their surrounding landscapes, particularly their ‘marginal’ location and close proximity to water, may have been significant. Another especially interesting site is located at Little Smeaton, just inside the modern North Yorkshire county boundary, on the low-

lying floodplain immediately north of the River Went (Manby 1988b: 26-27). This had four circuits of ditches (Fig. 9.11), and recent aerial photographic transcription has identified an elaborate entrance (Deegan 2007) (see Gazetteer, Appendix G). Little Smeaton's locale was similar to Sutton Common and Potteric Carr, but its shape and size were different. The investigation of these sites should be a research priority.

Smaller enclosures – farmsteads

Earthwork sites

In upland areas some enclosures survive as earthworks, along the Pennine fringe on the western edge of my study area or on isolated hilltops. There are too many to detail here, and summaries have been published elsewhere (e.g. Keighley 1981: 124-128). Most were subrectangular or subcircular in plan, with one or two circuits of banks and ditches. Some examples such as Oldfield Hill (Fig. 9.12) and Round Dikes are detailed in the Gazetteer in Appendix G. Many do not seem to have been directly associated with field systems and trackways, implying predominantly pastoral agricultural regimes or that tenure was not marked through archaeologically visible boundaries. The settlements and field systems on the Millstone Grit in the northern and western parts of West Yorkshire were different in character from those on Magnesian Limestone and Coal Measures areas and more lowland locales (Bevan 2004: 56-65; Keighley 1981: 121), and are not discussed further as part of this thesis.

Ancient Woodlands with medieval or post-medieval plantings have preserved many earthworks of Iron Age or Romano-British date (Coutts 1999; Whiteley 1992) – some are detailed in Appendix G. The unusual site at Scratia Wood¹ was similar to enclosures at Whitwell in Nottinghamshire, Scarcliffe Park in Derbyshire, Horse Close Farm near Skipton in North Yorkshire; and 'courtyard' enclosures in Northumberland and Cumbria (Challis and Harding 1975: 136-137; Dark and Dark 1997: 80-82; Harding 2004: 45-53; Lane 1973). This may indicate longer-distance contacts. Alternatively, along with sites in Scabba Wood, Wombwell Wood and Edlington Wood in South Yorkshire, it is possible that there were more stone-walled

enclosures on Magnesian Limestone areas that might have been functionally and/or socially distinct from enclosures and fields elsewhere. A rectangular enclosure in Marr Thick Wood survived as earthworks until the early 1960s (Buckland 1986: 57; Cox 1984), but this woodland was grubbed up for cultivation and the earthworks were levelled. Recent investigation has shown that most internal features and all but the bases of the ditches were destroyed (C. Merrony pers. comm.). An ovoid enclosure at Roe Wood in Sheffield was destroyed in 1922 (Coutts 1999: 75).



Figure 9.12. *Aerial view of Oldfield Hill near Meltham in W. Yorks., with light snowfall and oblique light picking out the bank and ditch and a possible entrance. SE 0875 1001. (Source: Yarwood and Marriott 1988a: 12).*

Cropmark sites

These enclosures form the vast bulk of the evidence for later Iron Age and Romano-British settlement within the study region. I cannot detail all the excavated examples here, but they are listed in the gazetteer. Due to the extremely large number of cropmark enclosures, I cannot present a full survey and list of these. Instead, Appendix G lists significant groups of cropmarks, and particularly interesting or striking examples. A comprehensive study of all of these would entail a separate research project in its own right, and would in any case repeat part of the work of the

Magnesian Limestone Project (AS WYAS 2006; Roberts et al. 2004, 2007). What follows is therefore inevitably a subjective, interpretative account of the evidence.

As Riley noted (1980: 27), the term enclosure is rather ambiguous, and he used it to mean a ‘ditched or embanked area used for some special purpose’, most notably ‘domestic’ occupation. This is the sense in which I have generally used the term, and I have tried to distinguish between enclosures, pens, corrals and fields. The latter have been discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Riley identified six different enclosure categories, including subrectangular forms associated with ‘brickwork’ fields or irregular or nuclear field blocks, rounded enclosures, and enclosure clusters. I do not wish to elaborate on or pursue such nomenclature. Most enclosures were small – out of 181 examples Riley identified in South Yorkshire and north Nottinghamshire, 120 or 66% were less than 0.4 hectares in area, whilst just a few (15%) were greater than 1ha in extent (ibid.: 31), although some of these were the so-called ‘marsh forts’ (see above).

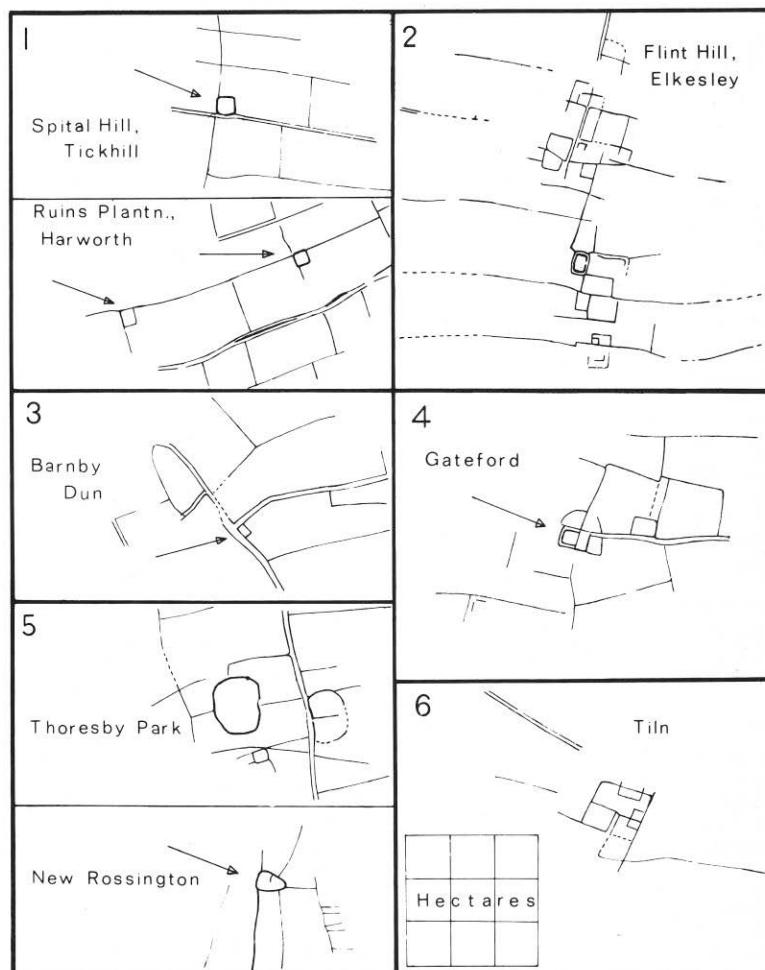


Figure 9.13. (left). Riley's typology of enclosures, including rectangular, subrectangular, subcircular and more irregular forms. (Source: Riley 1980: 28, fig. 4).

‘Clothes-line’ enclosures were appended to existing linear boundaries or trackways (English Heritage 1989) – ‘hanging off’ the boundaries, and usually post-dating them. This suggests that land division sometimes took place before settlement. In other cases, later linear boundaries linked isolated enclosures. English Heritage monument descriptions note them as later Bronze Age or early Iron Age, although in my study region most were probably Iron Age and Romano-British. Excavated examples include Roebuck Hill, Jump (Johnson and Robinson 2006), Pastures Road, Mexborough (D. Williams 2006), Enclosures E4 and E5 at Redhouse Farm, Adwick-le-Street and High Street Shafton (Burgess 2001d; Upson-Smith 2002), Enclosure F at Ferrybridge (Martin 2005: 124), and at Roman Ridge (O’Neill 2001a: 111).



Figure 9.14. *Three ‘clothes-line’ enclosures, including a double-ditched example, at Bolton upon Dearne, S. Yorks. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 195, SE 442 030).*

Subrounded or irregular enclosures that were isolated or in small groups were probably ‘corrals’ linked to stock herding (see Chapter 6). D-shaped enclosures, either isolated or integrated with field systems (Figs. 9.15-9.16), have been excavated at Upton, Parlington Hollins Enclosure B (Holbrey and Burgess 2001; Howell 2001; Roberts 1995); Enclosure E7 at Redhouse Farm, Adwick-le-Street, Engine Lane,

Shafton, Area E at Barnsdale Bar, Norton, and Warning Tongue Lane, Bessacarr (Atkinson and Merrony 1994; Burgess 2001e, 2001f, 2003; Grassam and Ford 2008; Meadows and Chapman 2004; Upson-Smith 2002). More are known as cropmarks.

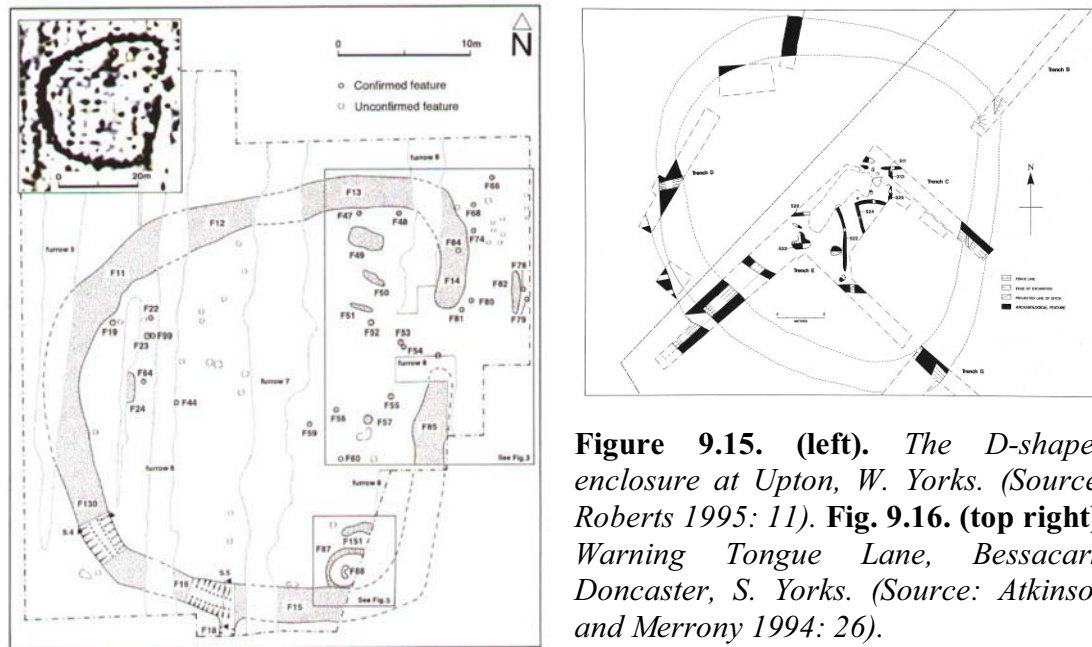


Figure 9.15. (left). *The D-shaped enclosure at Upton, W. Yorks. (Source: Roberts 1995: 11).* **Fig. 9.16. (top right).** *Warning Tongue Lane, Bessacarr, Doncaster, S. Yorks. (Source: Atkinson and Merrony 1994: 26).*

Where associated with field systems or ditched boundaries, D-shaped enclosures were often appended to them like ‘clothes-line’ enclosures (English Heritage 1989). Again, this classificatory distinction may be purely a product of modern typologies. The straight parts of the ‘D’ may reflect where enclosures were built up against existing boundaries. Where no such boundaries were present the reason for the D-shape is less obvious, although the straight axes might have been aligned along informal trackways that have left no archaeological trace (Roberts 1995: 21). Excavated examples have generally produced little evidence of domestic occupation, and many were probably associated with animal husbandry and/or small-scale ‘industrial’ activities. Individual histories undoubtedly varied – at Engine Lane, Shafton, an enclosure initially used for livestock was later adapted for habitation (Burgess 2003). Field corner enclosures have been identified as cropmarks, and many were probably linked to livestock management. ‘Banjo’ enclosures with funnel-shaped entrances and/or trackways at South Kirkby, Ackton and near Methley (e.g. Deegan 1999, 2007; Yarwood and Marriott 1988) might also have been associated with livestock.

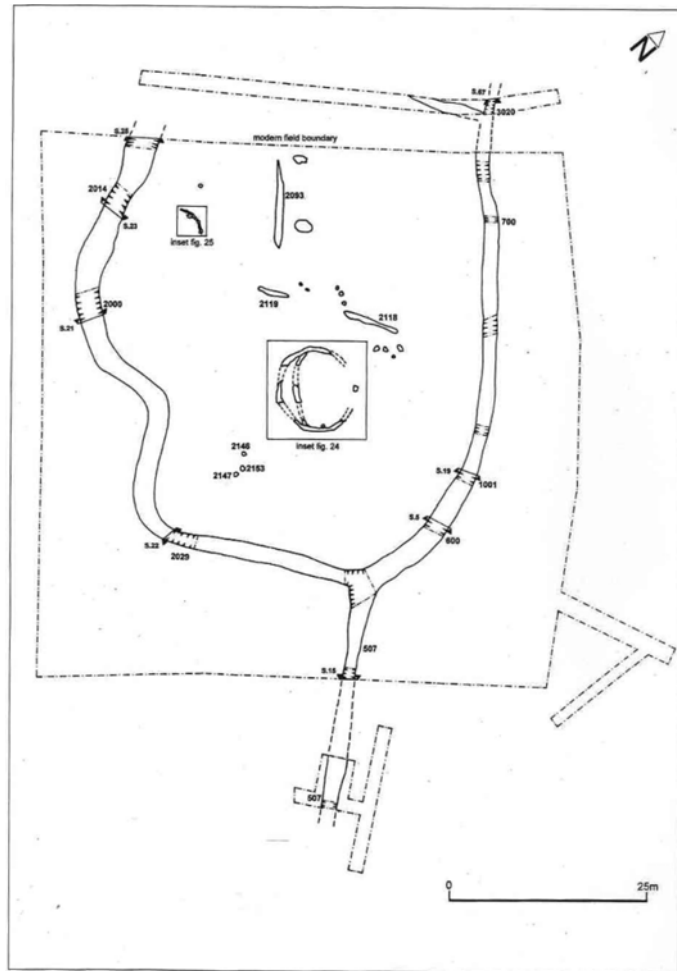


Figure 9.17. (right). *The Phase 1 enclosure at Whitwood Common, W. Yorks. Note the pronounced 'kink' on the south side of its enclosure ditch. (Source: Burgess and Roberts 2004: 29).*

A few enclosures were more irregular. At Whitwood Common (Burgess and Roberts 2004), and at Dale Lane South Elmsall (Burgess 1998), changes of orientation in the western ditches of both seem to have been to avoid pre-existing obstacles (Fig. 9.17), though no cut features or tree hollows were identified. This may indicate respect for significant local features, used as boundary markers prior to more formal land allotment. Alternatively, they might have been respecting the line of earlier boundaries or clearance edges (Burgess and Roberts 2004: 33). This might have also been the case for the Phase 1 enclosure at Methley (MAP 1996: fig. 5), and irregular cropmark enclosures near Micklefield and Garforth in West Yorkshire (Deegan 2001b: figs. 9b, 10f). Most of the enclosures associated with the co-axial 'brickwork' fields in south-eastern South Yorkshire and north Nottinghamshire were rectangular or subrectangular in plan (Riley 1980). The few subrounded enclosures may have been slightly earlier in date, and/or associated with stock herding.

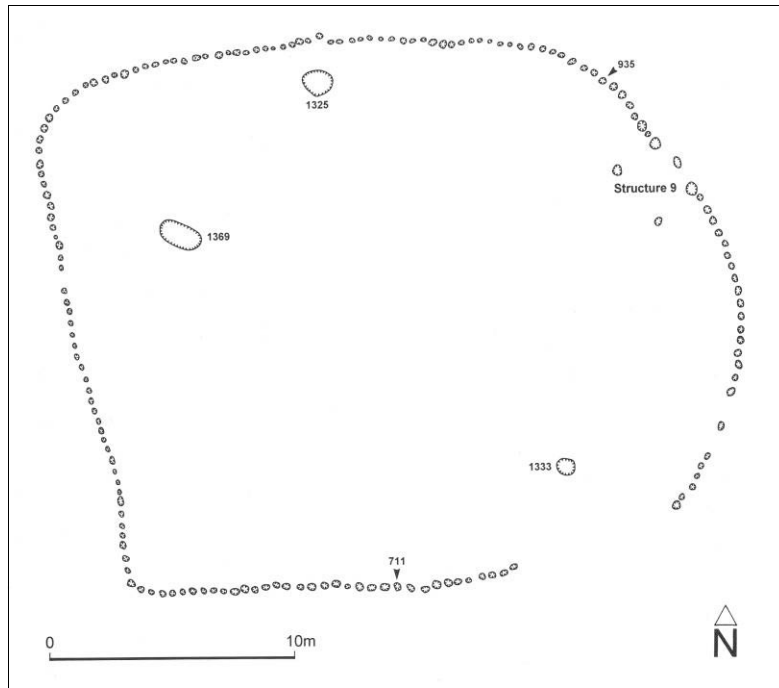
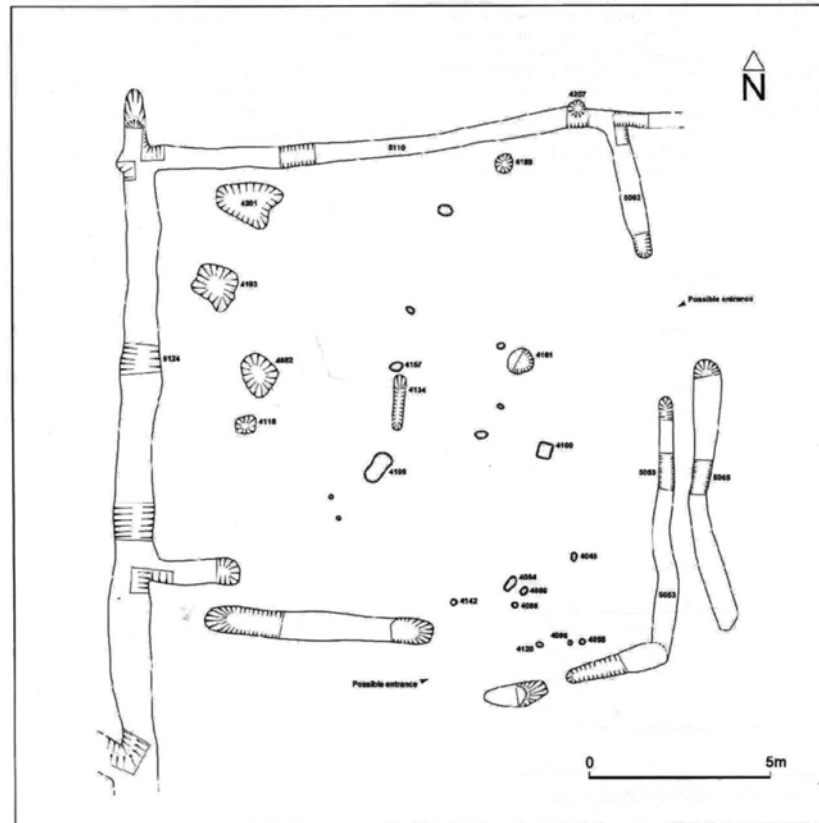


Figure 9.18. (left). *The unusual, D-shaped palisade enclosure excavated at Swillington Common, W. Yorks., thought to be middle Iron Age. The 'function' of this structure is unknown, although it may have held livestock. (Source: Howell 2001: 61).*

Most excavated enclosures or those recognised as cropmarks were identified through their enclosure ditches. A few enclosures invisible on aerial photographs were defined by palisades, with individual postholes as at Enclosure A at Swillington Common South (Howell 2001) (Fig. 9.18); or slots for upright timbers as at the equally unusual subrectangular enclosure at Area D South Elmsall (Howell 1998). Palisade slots were also found in Phase III of Enclosure 2 at Dunston's Clump (Garton 1987: 31-31, fig. 10), and in parts of the Phase 1 Enclosure A and most of the Phase 2 Enclosure B at Apple Tree Close, Pontefract (Wrathmell 2001: 5-6, fig. 2, plate 3). There may also have been an earlier, palisaded phase at Gamston (Knight 1992: 28). Swillington Common, South Elmsall and Gamston were constructed in the middle Iron Age, and some earlier palisade enclosures might have been replaced by ditched 'domestic' compounds. Pre-enclosure, 'open' phases of settlement have been identified at Topham Farm, Sykehouse, Balby Carr, Gamston, Bottom Ossiers, Holme Dyke and Gonalston Lane at Gonalston, at Fleak Close near Barrow-upon-Trent in Derbyshire (Elliott and Knight 2002, forthcoming; Knight 1992; Knight and Howard 2004b: 87; Knight and Southgate 2001; Roberts 2003; Rose and Roberts 2006), and at Dalton Parlours (cf. Wrathmell 1990: 275). Here, unenclosed middle or later Iron Age occupation was succeeded by enclosed late Iron Age and Romano-British settlement.

Figure 9.19.
(right). *Enclosure C at Swillington Common, W. Yorks. The enclosure may have been defined by imperfectly aligned, short sections of banks and ditches, rather than a continuous ditched boundary. (Source: Howell 2001: 63).*



Many of the ditches surrounding enclosures were substantial, sometimes 3-6m wide at the top and 1.5-2m deep despite subsequent plough truncation, which seems excessive if for drainage purposes alone (Knight and Howard 2004b: 93). In addition, upcast earthen and stone banks around the internal circuit of ditches would have further defined most enclosures. Sometimes ditches were dug in discontinuous, imperfectly aligned segments, as at Enclosure C at Swillington Common (Howell 2001: 62) (Fig. 9.19). The existence of banks is sometimes apparent from asymmetrical ditch fills, but at Enclosure C at Ferrybridge, remains of a bank 2.5m wide survived (Martin 2005: 102, fig. 90). Patterns of silting in some ditches suggest periodic slumps of bank material. On some sites, lines of postholes or narrow slots parallel to the inner edge of enclosure ditches suggests that there were timber revetments along the earthen banks, as at Enclosure A at Ferrybridge (ibid.: 96, fig. 77), Menagerie Wood near Worksop (Garton, Hunt, Jenkinson and Leary 1988), and an enclosure recently excavated at Wattle Syke near Wetherby (see Gazetteer, Appendix G).

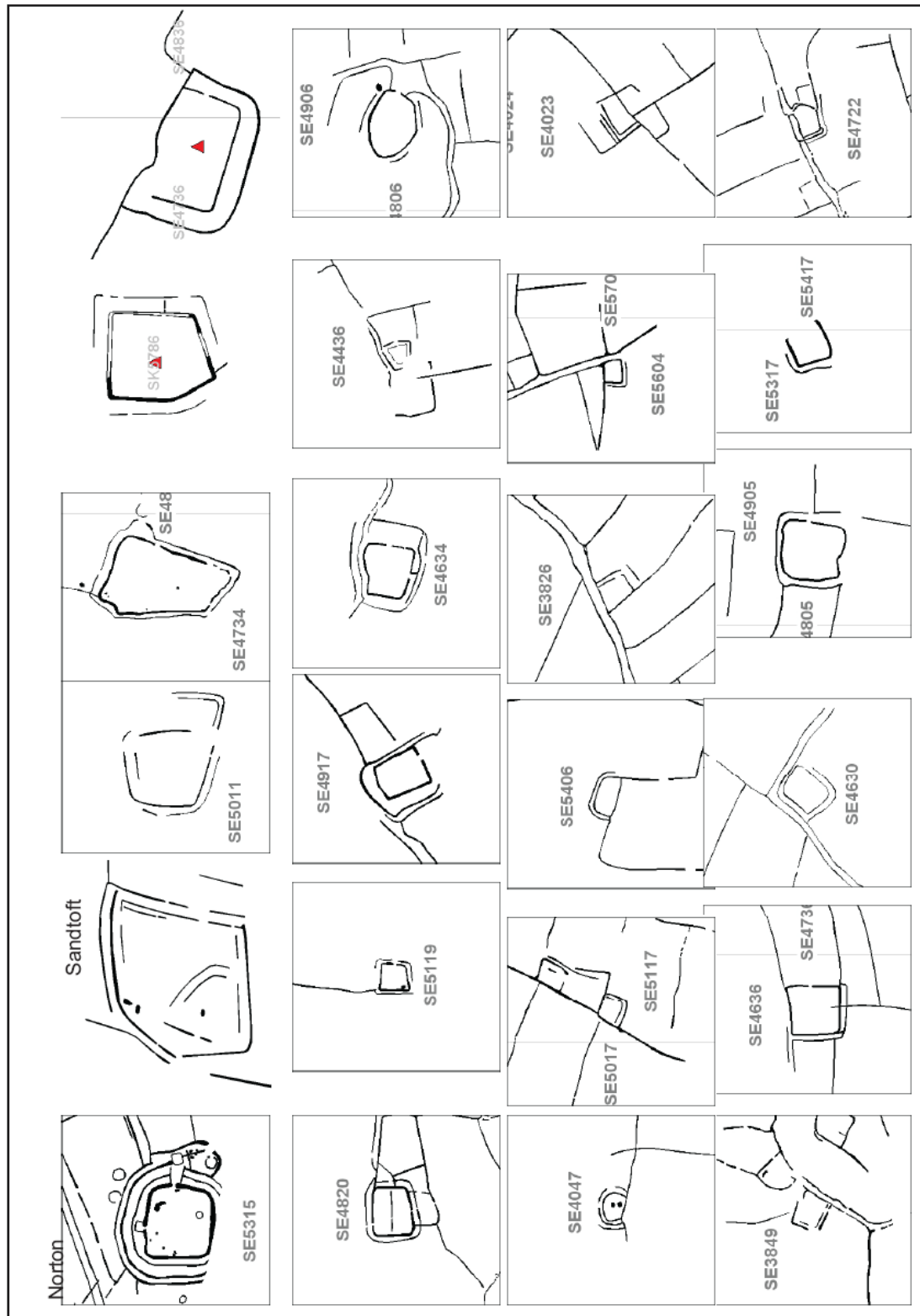


Figure 9.20. Examples of cropmark enclosures with two or more ditch circuits, transcribed as part of the recent Magnesian Limestone Project (Roberts et al. 2009). Note the multiple-ditched enclosure described as being located at Norton in S. Yorks. (lower left) – this is actually the enclosed site at Little Smeaton, located in the adjacent modern parish just across the county boundary in N. Yorks (Source: Deegan 2007: fig. 6.19).

The purpose and meaning of enclosure ditches

Most of the more regular enclosures associated with field systems had single ditch circuits, but some subrectangular examples with double ditches are known, such as an enclosure near the ‘hillfort’ at South Kirkby (Yarwood and Marriott 1998a: 18), an example on Bramham Moor south of Wetherby (see Gazetteer, Wattle Syke), Bolton upon Dearne (Fig. 9.14) and Flint Hill, Elkesley (Riley 1980: 45, plate 11). Several more examples have been identified as part of the recent Magnesian Limestone Project (Deegan 2007: fig. 6.19) (Fig. 9.20). In addition, some enclosures had double ditches along only one or two sides of the enclosure. In these instances, the two ditches might have been on either side of a central bank, or there may have been two banks. Possible examples that have been excavated include Enclosure D at Parlington Hollins (Holbrey and Burgess 2001: 94, fig. 70), on the north side of the enclosure; Sub-enclosure B on Low Common (Burgess and Roberts 2004: 11, fig. 10), around the northern and western sides of the enclosure; and at Hensall in North Yorkshire (Rose 2008 fig. 2), along the northern and eastern sides of the enclosure.

Double-ditched enclosures may reflect chronological differences between them and single-ditched examples, or these may have resulted from relatively small-scale status or identity differences. Perhaps two ditches were considered more impressive than one. It is curious that the enclosures with partial double circuits do not seem to have exhibited other signs of higher status occupation – Parlington Hollins Enclosure D and Hensall would otherwise appear to have been unremarkable field corner enclosures. There may have been a functional reason for this, although why this was so is hard to deduce. A notable feature of many enclosure ditches, particularly those around settlements or farmsteads, was that they were often repeatedly recut (Knight and Howard 2004b: 93). As with the field system ditches, however, the recutting episodes that are actually archaeologically visible might only have reflected more episodic ditch digging, rather than routine maintenance activities. Many recuts seem to have taken place when the ditches had nearly silted up completely. Such reinscriptive acts might have symbolised the identity and strength of the household or the community, or were linked to notable social or calendrical events and changes in tenure (q.v. Chadwick 1999: 163; Sharples 1999: 106). These may have been:

...reiterative, generational gestures which would have demonstrated respect for the place that had been inherited, and competence in caring for and tending the land. (Giles 2000: 183).



Figure 9.21. *Enclosures at Swillington Brickworks, Swillington Common, W. Yorks. The corners of the most prominent enclosure are wide and rounded from repeated recutting. SE 3855 3115. (Source: Yarwood and Marriott 1988a: 16).*

Some enclosure ditches (as with some field system ditches) do seem to have silted up quite quickly, and some enclosures may to thus have fluctuated between ‘open’ and ‘enclosed’ phases as a result, although presumably any associated ditches would still have survived as above-ground earthworks even if denuded through slumping and erosion. Clearly though, this suggests that enclosure ditches were not just functional barriers. Where re-cutting did take place, this often deepened and widened ditches, especially at enclosure corners (Figs. 9.21.-9.22). This is also evident at many excavated ditch butt ends, especially entrance terminals, suggesting a deliberate concern to emphasise them. In some cases, terminals were more like pits or may even have been preceded by pits, and they sometimes formed the focus for placed deposits of artefacts and human and animal remains (see Chapter 11). The substantial nature of many enclosure ditches and these concerns with corners, entrances and recutting may have been caught up with concerns of individual or household identity and status.

The restrictions of developer-funded archaeology mean that more subtle indications of recutting have undoubtedly gone unrecorded on some sites, and inexperienced staff members are often not encouraged or trained to identify re-cuts. It is gratifying, however, that after some of my earlier calls to excavate and record ditches in more detail and sample them at a greater scale, and pay more attention to episodes of recutting (Chadwick 1999: 160-164), such concerns are now being addressed across the study region (see Chapter 12), and in other parts of Britain (Rees 2008: 73-77).



Figure 9.22. *The right-angled corner of a rock-cut enclosure ditch recently excavated at Wattle Syke, W. Yorks., showing the wider shape in plan caused by re-cutting of the ditch (note the 2m scale). The 'steps' in the base of the ditch also reflect this activity – at least three major phases of recuts were identified. (Source: © AS WYAS).*

There is no conclusive evidence for what was present along the tops of banks, although at Balby Carr waterlogged remains of hedgerow plants such as hawthorn and buckthorn were recovered from the base of some ditches (Greig 2005: 13). In addition to hedges, some banks may have supported hurdle fences or timber palisades, with significant implications for local woodland resources. Many enclosures were inhabited and/or utilised for centuries, but others seem to have been in use for just a few decades. Some experienced periods of abandonment followed by later re-occupation, though not necessarily of the same character. Rather than trying to pigeonhole enclosures into specific typological groups, it is more productive to investigate their different biographies.

Some enclosures had internal sub-divisions containing dwellings, as at Enclosure A and perhaps Enclosure B at Ferrybridge (Martin 2005), Enclosure B in Apple Tree Close (Wrathmell 2001), Enclosure E1 at Redhouse Farm, Adwick-le-Street (Meadows and Chapman 2004), and Dunston's Clump (Garton 1987). Some enclosures were divided into two, as at Bullerthorpe Lane and Lingwell Gate (Roberts 2001c; Wheelhouse 2001), Enclosure E7 at Redhouse Farm, Adwick-le-Street (Upson-Smith 2002) and Engine Lane, Shafton Bypass (Burgess 2001e, 2003). These subdivisions consisted of gullies, in many cases probably to support fences, or lines of postholes or stakeholes from fences and palisades.

This 'architecture of closure' (Giles 2000: 186), allowed enclosures to be divided into a variety of functional and social zones. A few enclosures do not seem to have had entranceways through their surrounding ditches (and associated banks, timber fences or hedges), despite clear evidence of 'domestic' occupation. Access might have been via planks laid across the ditches. Examples include Parlington Hollins Enclosure D (Holbrey and Burgess 2001), Dale Lane, South Elmsall (Burgess 1998), Low Common Sub-enclosure B (Burgess and Roberts 2004: 11) and perhaps Whitwood Common; and Enclosure E8 at Redhouse Farm, Adwick-le-Street (Upson-Smith 2002) and Warning Tongue Lane (Atkinson and Merrony 1994). At Wattle Syke, a recently excavated enclosure ditch had four large postholes in one corner, possibly associated with an early phase bridge-like entrance structure (Chadwick pers. obv.). Again, in addition to its functional purpose this large wooden structure might have been part of a display of status.

Ladder enclosures and extensive enclosure groups

'Ladder' enclosures were a particular feature of later Iron Age and Romano-British settlements in East Yorkshire (Stoertz 1997). Some examples have been identified within my study region, however, but these tended to be much shorter and more irregular than the East Yorkshire examples, and were often appended to linear boundaries. In East Yorkshire, they have been generally associated with livestock management (Fenton-Thomas 2003, 2005: 60-61; Giles 2000, 2007b: 240-241), although Haselgrove (1984: 18) stated that they could also have incorporated small, cultivated fields. Some enclosures within these complexes were also the focus for

‘domestic’ occupation, and their frequent location alongside trackways strongly suggests that they were linked to animal husbandry, although few have been excavated in my study region. A notable exception was Parlington Hollins East, where the early Romano-British Enclosure C was progressively replaced by three enclosures, at least one of which was redefined and reorganised in the later Roman period (Holbrey and Burgess 2001: 90-102, figs. 64, 68, 70, 75) (Fig. 9.23). The faunal and archaeological evidence suggested that Parlington Hollins may have had a slightly different status to other enclosure sites (see Chapter 10).

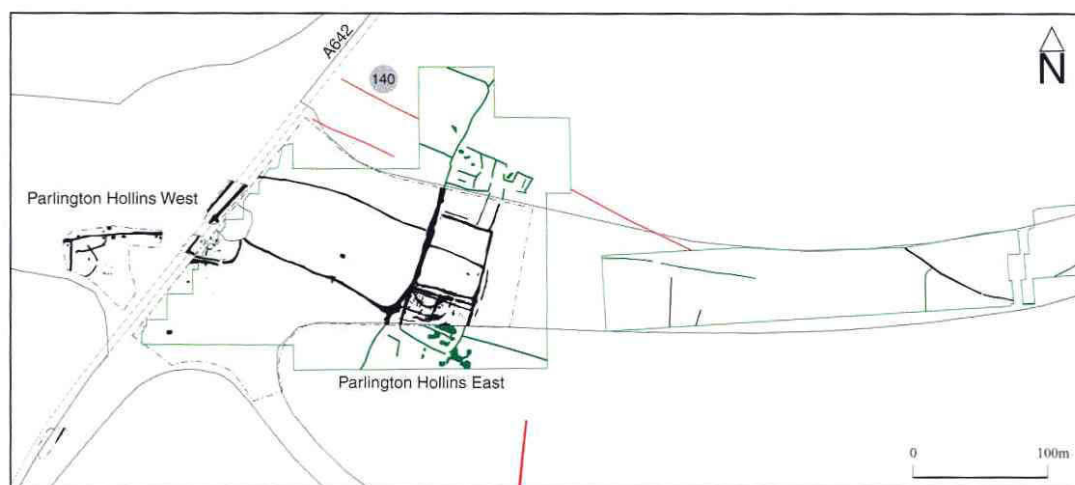


Figure 9.23. *The excavated ladder enclosure features at Parlington Hollins East in W. Yorks. (black), along with adjacent cropmark (red) and geophysical survey (green) data. (Source: Deegan 2001b: 33).*

The lack of overlap between some of the enclosures indicates that although they might have been added accretively to one another over time, several or all of the enclosures were ultimately in use simultaneously. They probably represented a level of social organisation ‘beyond the family unit’ (Deegan 2001b: 15), and their construction would indeed have taken considerable time and effort. They might have been used by several different households or kin groups, or were utilised by specific members of the community. They represent another form of ‘agglomerated’ settlement, similar in some respects to the examples found in the Trent Valley (see Chapter 6), but their exact purpose remains unclear, as does the reason why they should be distinct from other enclosure complexes.

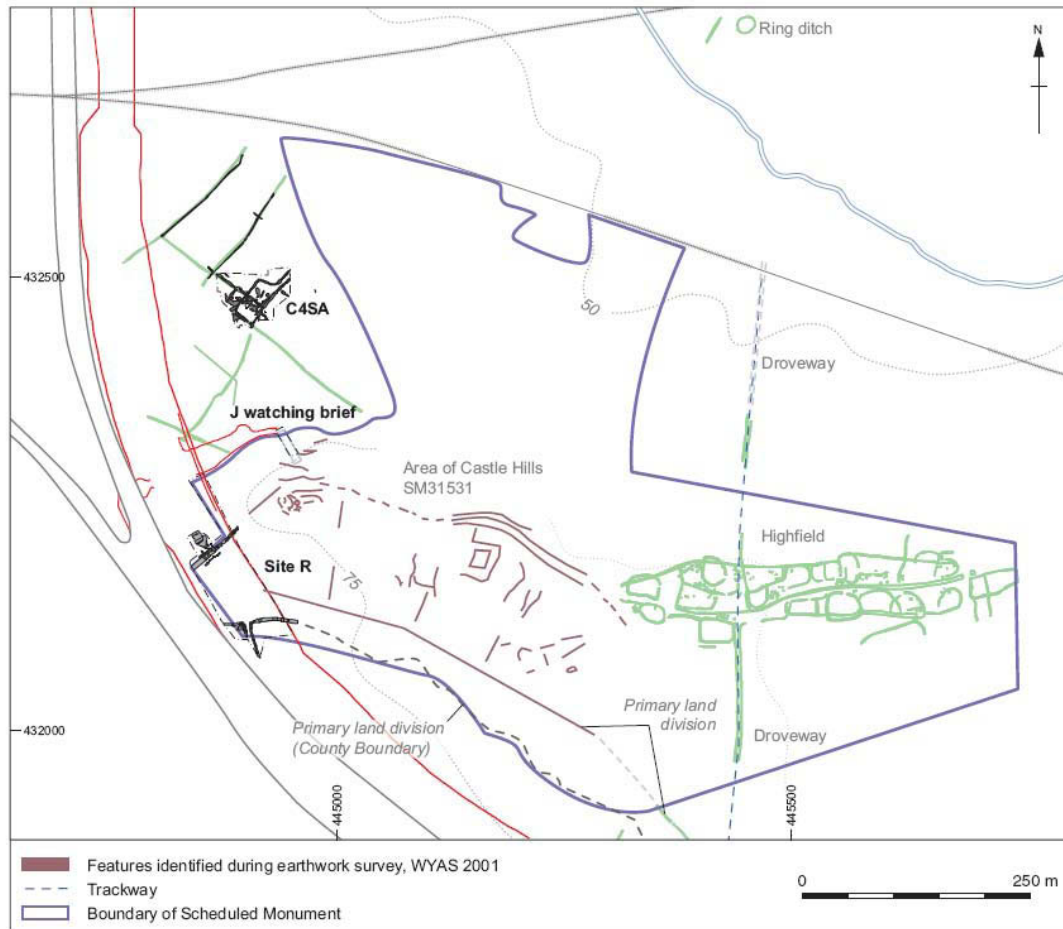


Figure 9.24. Cropmarks (in green) of the unexcavated ladder settlement at Highfield and Castle Hills near Micklefield, the former in modern N. Yorks. And the latter in W. Yorks., along with nearby cropmarks and earthworks (in brown) of similar date, and sites that were excavated during the A1 (M) road scheme. (Source: Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennand 2007: 106, fig. 69).

I have discussed agglomerated enclosure complexes in Chapter 6, as these sites were associated with river floodplains and seasonal movements of livestock (Fig. 9.27). Similar groups of enclosures were found in more elevated areas, but these were not 'ladder' settlements either, although they do appear to have developed accretively, albeit without clear axes of orientation. The almost subrectangular late Iron Age enclosure complex pre-dating the third century AD villa at Dalton Parlours is one example (Wrathmell and Nicolson 1990), as is another interesting complex at Bramham Park, also in West Yorkshire (Deegan 2007), which may also have seen high-status Roman-style occupation, perhaps even a villa. Other examples have been identified on aerial photographs north of Dalton Parlours, in the Aire-Wharfedale



Figure 9.25. *Part of a nucleated cropmark complex at Hungerhills Plantation to the west of Aberford, W. Yorks., showing a dense palimpsest of enclosures, pits and boundaries within a roughly subtriangular area defined by major linear ditch boundaries. SE 4241 3685. (Source: Deegan 2001b: 16).*

interfluvium (Yarwood and Marriott 1988b), north of Garforth and south-west of Aberford (Deegan 2001b: 15-16, figs. 6, 9a, 9b, 2007: fig. 6.12). At Hunger Hills Plantation near Aberford for example, and only *c.* 400m south of the Castle Hills ladder enclosure complex, there was a dense concentration of enclosures, pens, structures and pits within a broadly subtriangular area (Fig. 9.25-9.26). Like agglomerated enclosure complexes and ladder enclosures, such more ‘nucleated’ enclosure groups may have been the work of several related households. Some might again have represented the social and economic success of particular lineages or clans, and many were probably occupied over many centuries. In the recent Magnesian Limestone Project report, it has been suggested that the seven largest ‘extensive enclosure groups’ were a particular feature of the Magnesian Limestone area between the River Wharfe to the north and just south of Aberford (Deegan 2007: 15). This may reflect a localised response by late Iron Age and Romano-British communities to particular social and economic conditions.

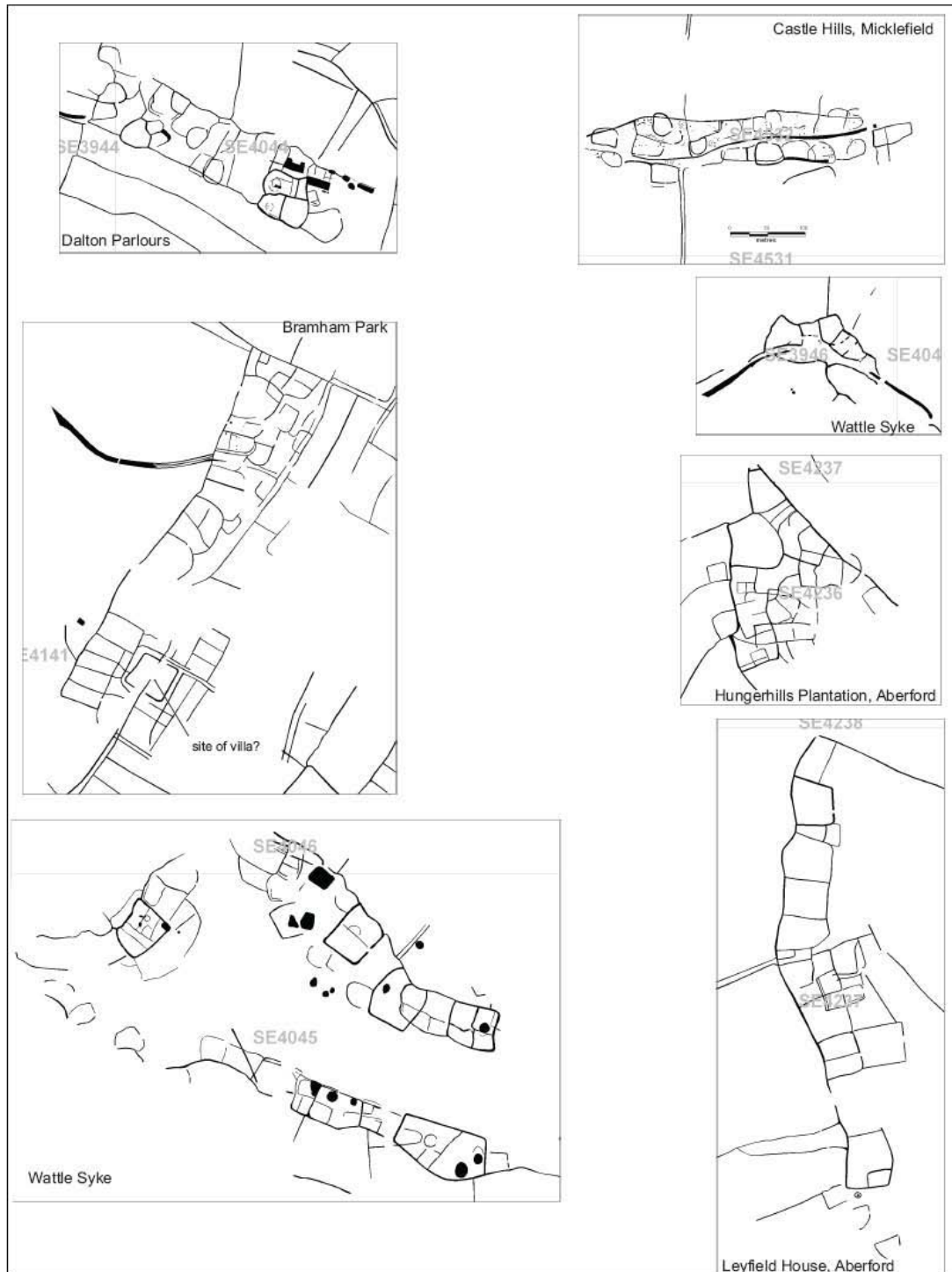


Figure 9.26. The seven 'extensive enclosure groups' identified by Alison Deegan as part of the Magnesian Limestone Project. Although there were many variations in form, all seem to have been delineated by large and slightly sinuous boundaries, with larger enclosures 'hanging off' these ditches, and then additional enclosures, pens and corrals were appended to them. Although the enclosure groups at Dalton Parlours, Bramham Park and Castle Hills are similar in plan, the subtriangular group at Hunger Hills Plantation, the 'three-lobed' enclosure complex at Wattle Syke and the lioner development at Leyfield House near Aberford were all unique. (Source: Deegan 2007: fig. 6.12).

There were two such complexes at Wattle Syke near Wetherby. The largest ‘three-lobed’ example was either a ‘ladder’ settlement, a ‘nucleated’ enclosure complex, a series of ‘clothes-line’ enclosures, or a uniquely hybrid form depending on one’s typological proclivities. It seems to have had a large open space within it. Recent excavations in 2007 recovered large quantities of Romano-British pottery, animal bone, quernstones and fire-cracked pebbles (see Gazetteer, Appendix G). This suggests a settlement of considerable size and social status.

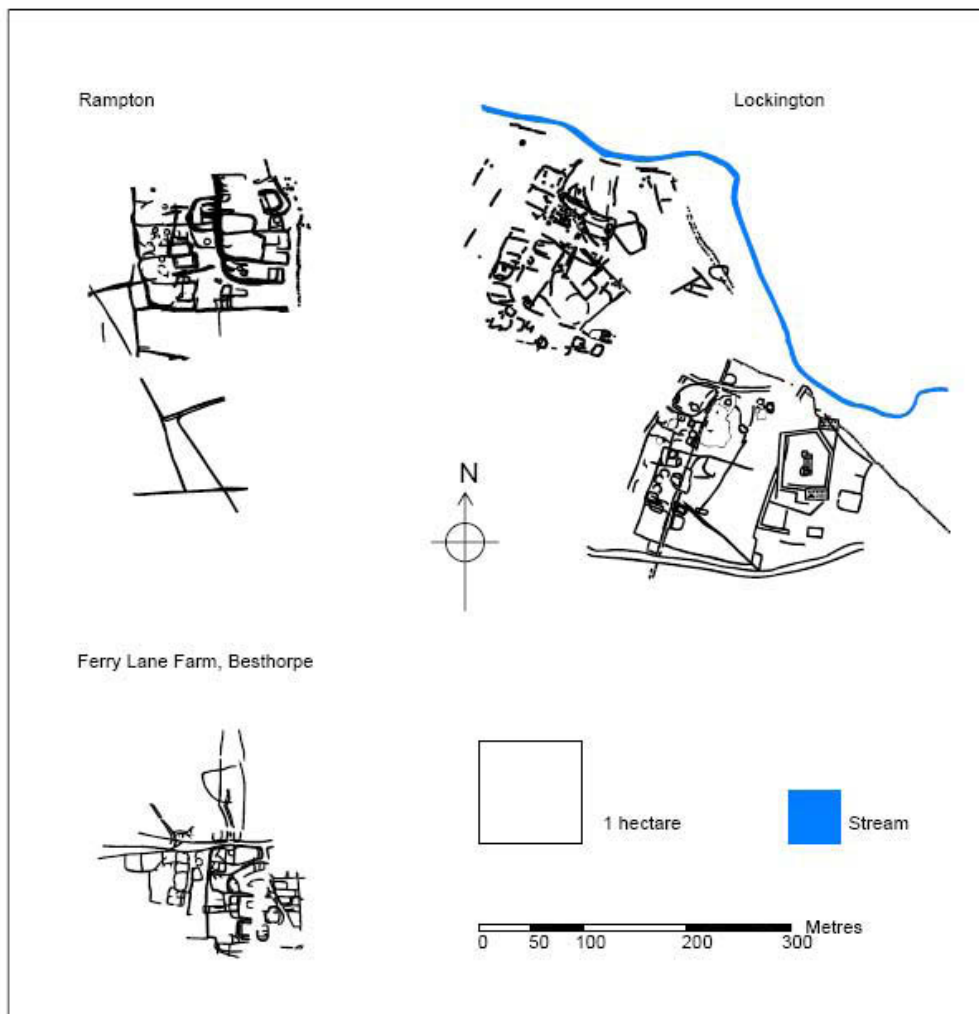


Figure 9.27. *Agglomerated enclosure groups from the Trent Valley. (Source: John Thomas 2005: 18).*

Although the examples identified by Deegan do seem to have had a very restricted distribution, they can be regarded as having many characteristics in common with the Trent Valley examples noted in Chapter 6. There were also wider regional

distributions of these enclosure groups – in addition to the agglomerated enclosures found within the Trent Valley, and similar settlements further south in the Thames Valley, a series of enclosure groups in Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire have been the focus for recent critical analysis (e.g. Thomas 2005; Woodward and Hughes 2007). Though superficially similar, there are important differences – the enclosure complexes at Humberstone, Crick and Stanwick may have originated in the late Bronze Age or early Iron Age, but those in the Trent Valley and Lincolnshire, which appear to have been more organised around trackways, seem to have been founded during the middle or later Iron Age, similar to the different trajectories for the enclosure of lowland river valleys. Reports of excavations on settlements including Crick and Humberstone are forthcoming, and will help to facilitate further study of this phenomenon.

‘Industrial’ activities within enclosures

There is evidence from some enclosures for small-scale, ‘industrial’ production, including metalworking. Traces of smelting and smithing consist of finds of tap slag and/or hammerscale, and sometimes crucible and/or furnace lining fragments as well. Hammerscale was undoubtedly missed on many earlier excavations, though some units such as AS WYAS now routinely test for it. In many instances, the small amounts of hammerscale recovered suggest that there was probably a basic knowledge of smithing amongst many different households. Evidence for more extensive and/or specialised metalworking is much rarer, however. Where it does occur, this may indicate individuals or family groups specialising in these practices, though still not necessarily on a full-time basis.

To date, however, there is little evidence for the manufacture of prestigious metalwork items within the study region during the Iron Age (see Chapter 10), and even Romano-British evidence for smelting rather than smithing is relatively scarce. Excavations at 10-12 High Street in Doncaster recovered considerable quantities of slag, hammerscale, hearth bottoms and tuyère fragments from late first to mid-second

century contexts (Burgess and Chadwick in prep.), but this was in an urban setting within the Doncaster *vicus*, and even at this site the actual smithy structures were not identified within the excavation area. In rural landscapes, enclosures might not have always the focus of metalwork production though. At Armthorpe there was evidence that many ‘industrial’ activities were dispersed across the landscape (Richardson 2001). This has important implications for the identification of archaeological remains, for it is often only enclosures and fields that are detected on aerial photographs, and small-scale metalworking might not even produce much of a distinctive signature on magnetometry geophysical surveys.

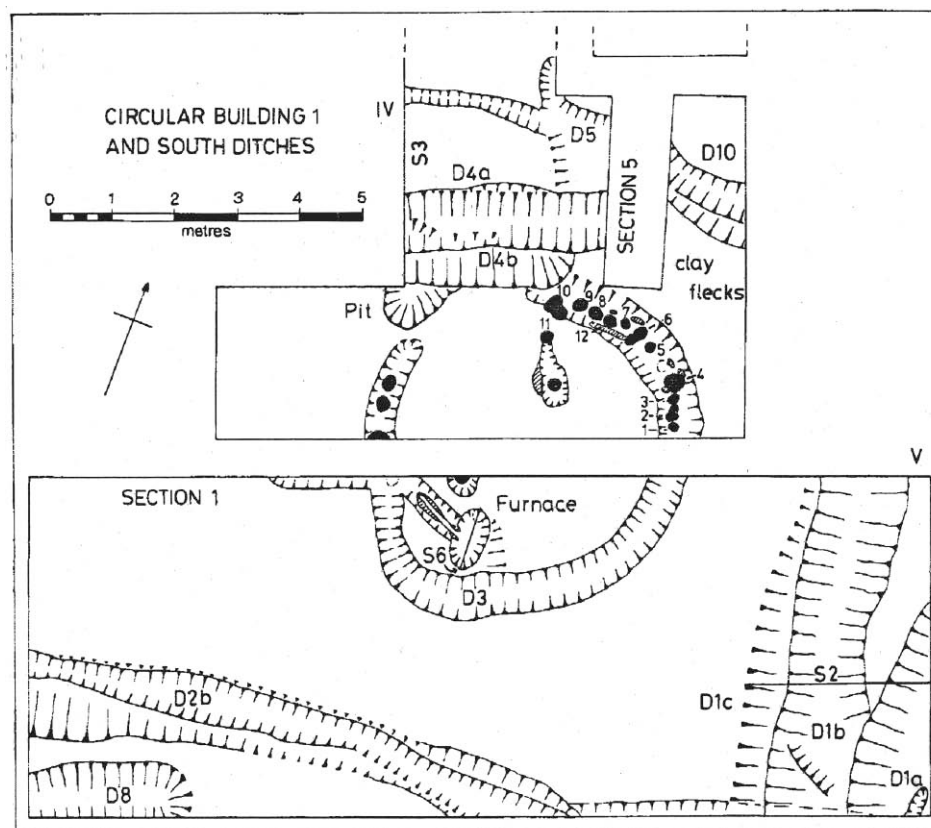


Figure 9.28. Plan of part of the excavations at Rampton, Notts., showing a roundhouse associated with a possible furnace or forge. (Source: Ponsford 1992: 97).

At Rampton, a subcircular late Iron Age or early Romano-British building may have contained an oval hearth with a clay tuyère (Ponsford 1992: 97-98, fig. 5), linked to a channel running outside the building underneath the wall, possibly an ash rake-out (Fig. 9.28). A bronze fragment was recovered, and several pieces of slag from the forge and surrounding features. The composition of the slag and the lack of evidence

for extreme heat suggested smithing rather than smelting (Bayley 1992: 119), though crucible fragments were found nearby. The site was not particularly well recorded, and it is not entirely clear if the building and the furnace actually belonged to the same phase of occupation. Further details of the evidence for metalworking on enclosure sites within the study region are presented in Appendix E.

Four-post structures

Square four-post structures (and similar five to nine-post structures) have been identified at many Bronze Age and Iron Age sites across Britain, and are interpreted as raised granaries (Cunliffe 1991, 1995, 2003; Fowler 1983; Gent 1983). The detailed data on examples in the study region is outlined in Appendix E. It has been argued that stored grain would have been too heavy for many such structures, and some might have functioned as chicken houses, tool stores, wood stores, haystacks and fodder ricks (Reynolds 1979: 81-82). Salted and/or smoked meat and fish might have hung within them. Some four-post structures might have supported small huts used by lovers, menstruating women, young initiates or ritual specialists, and some might have served as platforms for exposure of the dead (Carr and Knüsel 1997: 168; Ellison and Drewett 1971). Some may even have been the foundation posts for turf-built roundhouses. Although some four-post structures were almost certainly granaries, many probably had several functions during their existence, and this very ubiquity might itself have leant them a variety of social and symbolic meanings.

These structures were not present on many of the ‘domestic’ enclosure sites within the region, although taphonomic factors and later truncation might sometimes be significant. At Swillington Common (Howell 2001: 65), grain was probably stored in clay-lined pits, and although four-post structures, and the latter may have been hay or fodder ricks. They are less common on sites south and east of the Rivers Don and Idle, so cultural factors might have played a part too. Three pronounced groups of these features have been excavated to date – from late Bronze Age and earlier Iron Age contexts at Sutton Common and South Elmsall (Chapman, Fletcher and Van de

Noort 2007: 114-121; McNaught 2001), and at two sites at Swillington Common near Colton (Howell 2001: 64-65; Johnson 2003: 8, 2002: 36-41). The largest Swillington Common group were excavated by YAT and their interim report does not contain any radiocarbon dates, whereas some of those excavated as part of the M1-A1 road scheme produced middle to late Iron Age ^{14}C dates (Howell 2001: 64-65). Perhaps by the late Iron Age and Romano-British periods, on most small-scale rural settlement sites traditions of grain storage had changed.

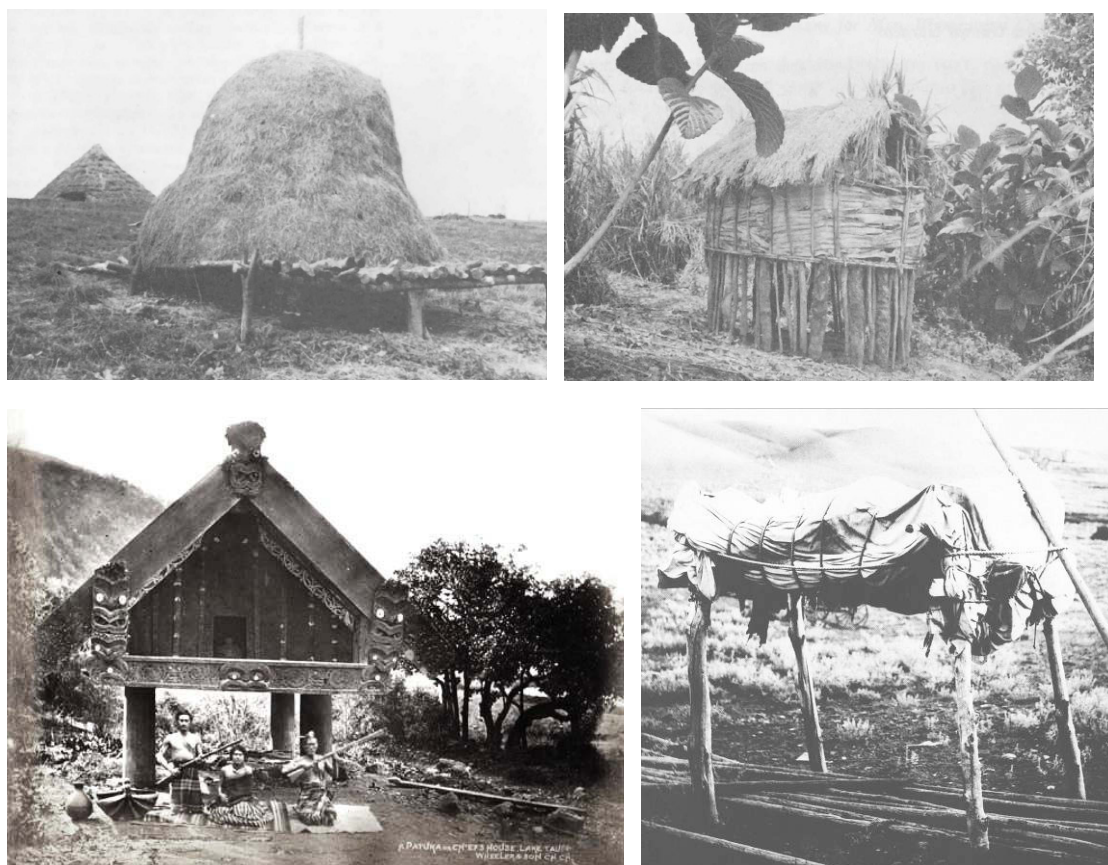


Figure 9.29. (top left). Posts used to support a hayrick, Butser Experimental Farm. (Source: Reynolds 1979: 81). **Fig. 9.30.** (top right). Raised hut used by women during menstruation and after childbirth, Alipe, New Guinea, 1968. (Source: Steensberg 1980: 177). **Fig. 9.31.** (bottom left). A Māori patukā or chief's house, Lake Tau, New Zealand in the nineteenth century. (Source: www.janesoecania). **Fig. 9.32.** (bottom right). Absarokee (Crow) burial platform, c. 1900, Montana, North America. (Source: Johnson 1999: 122).

These were not necessarily purely utilitarian structures. The elevated stores or *pu* of the Ainu of northern Japan were orientated along the same cosmological axes as their houses (Watanabe 1999: 199). In parts of Melanesia, raised storehouses for yams are

richly decorated, and occupy central places within villages (Malinowski 1935; Weiner 1988) (Figs. 9.33, 9.35-9.36). In Melanesia and West Africa, well-stocked yam houses symbolise wealth and prosperity, and convey prestige upon their owners (Barrau 1956; Coursey 1978; Coursey and Ferber 1979; Malinowski 1922). They are at the centre of complex kinship-based networks of reciprocity and gifts of food (Battaglia 1990; Munn 1986; Weiner 1988). After Melanesian yam harvests, the filling of storehouses involves much festivity and many ritual propitiations. The rotting smell emanating from an over-full yam store is not regarded as poor practice, but rather indicates the gardening success, surplus productivity and generosity of the owner.

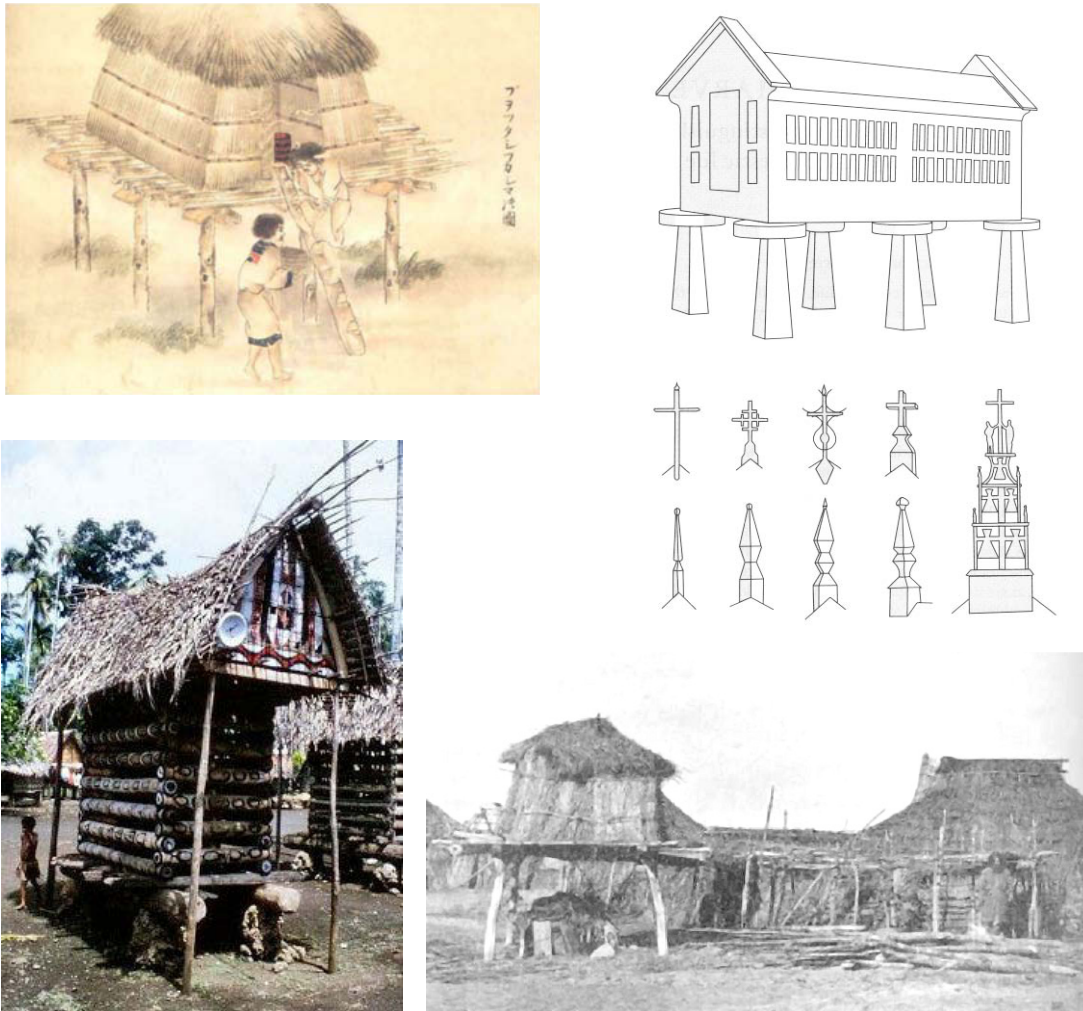


Figure 9.33. (top left). Ainu food store or *pu*, as depicted in an eighteenth century Japanese print. (Source: Kohara 1999: 207). **Fig. 9.34. (top right).** Galician *hórreo* and decorative motifs. (Source: Bradley 2005: 4). **Fig. 9.35. (bottom left).** Yam store in the Trobriand Islands, Melanesia. (Source: www.janesoecania.com). **Fig. 9.36. (bottom right).** *Pu* in front of a nineteenth century Ainu dwelling. (Source: Watanabe 1999: 198).

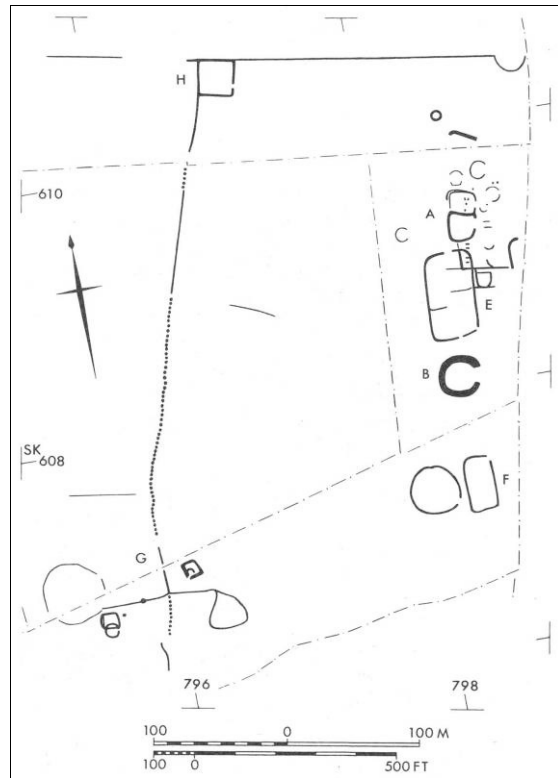
Several researchers have noted the raised storehouses or *hórreos* still in use today in parts of rural Spain (Fowler 1983: 183; Martínez 1975). Many *hórreos* are situated in prominent positions within farms and villages or along roads, and they are often decorated with wooden or stone carvings in broad, sub-regional styles (Bradley 2005: 4-6). Although some are built in stone and others of wood and thatch, many are surmounted by crosses and are similar in architectural form to houses and churches (Fig. 9.34). Other *hórreos* closely resemble stone tombs. In a rural society where the observances of the Christian year are closely connected to farming, these symbolic links may be important and ‘cannot have gone unremarked, even if it was not originally intended’ (Bradley 2005: 6). In the pre-Columbian Andes there were also architectural similarities between Inca storehouses or *qollqas* and the stone towers or *chullpahs* where human bodies were exposed, stored and dried. At certain times of the year these freeze-dried mummies were then carried through arable fields as part of ceremonies emphasising agricultural fertility and regeneration. This represented bonds between people, the land and agriculture (Sillar 1996: 282).

Although I do not wish to drawing direct ethnographic analogies from these particular examples, they do show how symbolic links between death and human remains, crops and the harvest, fertility and regeneration might have been expressed in the study period (q.v. M. Williams 2003). Four-post structures may not have been the plain, functional structures of interpretation drawings or ‘reconstructions’ of Iron Age life. They might have been highly carved and/or brightly decorated, and explicitly or implicitly associated with cosmological ideas. At Ledston in West Yorkshire, a possible roundhouse contained a four-post structure ‘within’ it pre- or post-dating the building (Roberts 2005: 11, fig. 5). A link might thus have been drawn between the household and agricultural production. Immediately to the north, a four-post structure was linked to a plank and post structure flanking a large pit with a flexed adult male skeleton within it (see Chapter 11). Both structures were near the centre of the dense complex of pits at Ledston. It is likely that the four-post structure was built after the burial and its associated timber monument, with symbolic links between fertility, regeneration and agricultural productivity made with a known ancestral figure of some importance.

Roundhouses

Individual roundhouses can sometimes be identified where cropmark definition is exceptional (e.g. Riley 1980: 54, plate 12) (Fig. 9.38), although great care has to be taken not to confuse them with round barrows or other circular constructions.

Figure 9.37. (right). *Cropmarks near Cromwell, Notts., including a hengiform monument (B), mortuary enclosures (E and F), a pit alignment (G), a ring ditch or round barrow (top right), and possible Iron Age or Romano-British enclosures and roundhouses (north-east of A and south-west of G). SK 798 608. (Source: Whimster 1989: 68).* **Figure 9.38. (below).** *Subrectangular enclosure with roundhouse and linked fence, east of Hesley Hall, near Rossington, S. Yorks., SK 626 957. An external droveway or race is also visible, leading to the enclosure entrance. Deegan (2007) suggests that the double ditches visible at the bottom centre of the image and apparently cutting across the enclosure were a Roman road to the fortress at Rossington Bridge. (Source: Riley 1980: 46).*



Construction techniques

Bronze Age post-built roundhouses in ‘open’ settlements at Swillington Common and South Elmsall Area C in West Yorkshire were up to 5.5m in diameter, with four to six postholes forming ‘porches’ (Howell 2001: 49-52, figs. 30, 36-37; McNaught 2001). It is not clear if the postholes were the outer walls of the roundhouses, or inner rings of roof supports (q.v. Drewett 1982: 326-328). The postholes were quite small, making it unlikely that they could have supported the weight of thatched or turf roofs, even with ring beams. If the walls were built of turfs, however, then the ‘porches’ might have lined passages through turf walls 1.5-2m thick, and these could have supported more substantial roofs (q.v. Pope 2003). Although the absence of eavesdrip gullies at Swillington Common and South Elmsall may have been due to plough truncation, this may be a feature of roundhouses of the period (q.v. Willis 1997b: 208-209). At South Elmsall Area D, two subcircular post-built buildings within a palisade enclosure were probably late Bronze Age or early Iron Age (Howell 1999), and the 6.6m diameter Structure 3 at Methley (MAP 1996) may be middle Iron Age.

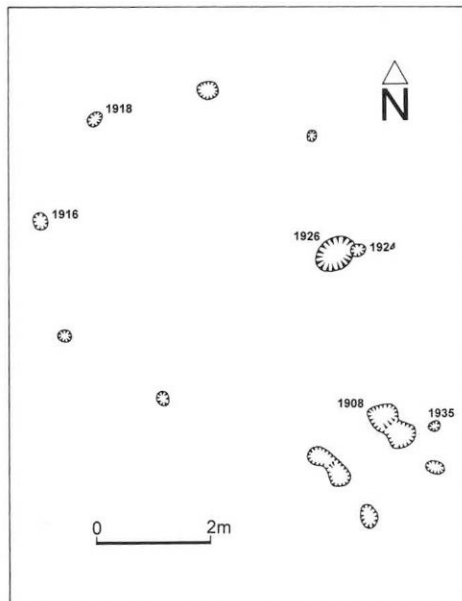


Figure 9.39. (left). *One of the early Bronze Age roundhouses (Structure 1) excavated at Swillington Common, W. Yorks., of post construction and with a ‘porch’ structure orientated to the south-east. (Source: Howell 2001: 54). No late Iron Age or Romano-British roundhouses were built in this manner within the study region.*

Later Iron Age or Romano-British roundhouses often only survive as a few traces of curvilinear gullies or partial arcs of postholes, with no floors or internal features like hearths due to truncation by later ploughing. Examples include Area B at South Elmsall (O’Neill 1998), Swillington Common Enclosure C (Howell 2001), Parlington Hollins Enclosure B (Holbrey and Burgess 2001), Ledston (Roberts 2005),

Ferrybridge Enclosure B (Martin 2005), High Street, Shafton (Burgess 2001), Billingley Drive, Thurnscoe (Neal and Fraser 2004), Balby Carr (Rose and Roberts 2006), Bottom Osiers, Gonalston (Elliott and Knight 1996, 1998) and Scrooby Top (Davies et al. 2000). The curvilinear eavesdrip gullies were probably shallow excavated scoops, although the decomposition of wattle and daub walls and small mammal burrowing can cause gully-like depressions (Reynolds 1995: 22-23). Rain running off the roofs of reconstructed roundhouses causes lush vegetation to grow around the buildings (some perhaps medicinal plants and herbs, see Chapter 4) and the root disturbance may create the impression of gullies (Reynolds 1979: 36).



Figure 9.40. *Enclosures and fields at South Muskham, Notts., including a possible roundhouse ring gully (left of centre), set within a larger penannular ditch. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1281, SK 775 569).*

Gullies were usually round or subcircular in plan, but sometimes more irregular as at Methley (MAP 1996) and Swillington Brickworks (Eyre-Morgan 1992; Vyner 1992). These examples may not have been dwellings though, but ancillary structures such as hay or fodder ricks. It has also been suggested that ring gullies might be evidence for raised hut platforms (Pryor 1983). Sometimes the ring gully of a roundhouse lay within an additional larger circular ditch, as at Balby Carr (Rose 2003; Rose and

Roberts 2006) (Fig. 9.41), Site M (Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennan 2007: 89, fig. 57) and perhaps Swillington Brickworks (Eyre-Morgan 1992; Vyner 1992). These may reflect status differences, but at Balby at least the damp landscape probably necessitated further drainage, as with the ‘hydraulic communities’ of the East Anglian Fens (Evans 1997). There is an unexcavated example at South Muskham (Fig. 9.40).

In West Yorkshire, deeper curvilinear features were more likely wall slots or bedding trenches of plank or wattle and daub walls rather than eavesdrip gullies, forming more impressive buildings. Structure 5 within Enclosure C at Ferrybridge was 12.5m in diameter, with a rock-cut, segmented ring gully and post-pits up to 0.50m deep (Martin 2005: 102-105, fig. 92). There was an internal ring of six posts that were additional roof supports or internal divisions (Figs. 9.42-9.43). Internal post rings might also have supported upper floors, galleries or lofts for sleeping or storage that were accessed by ladders (q.v. Armit 1997; D.M. Reynolds 1982) (Fig. 9.44). There is ethnographic evidence for this (see examples in Pope 2007: 220-221).

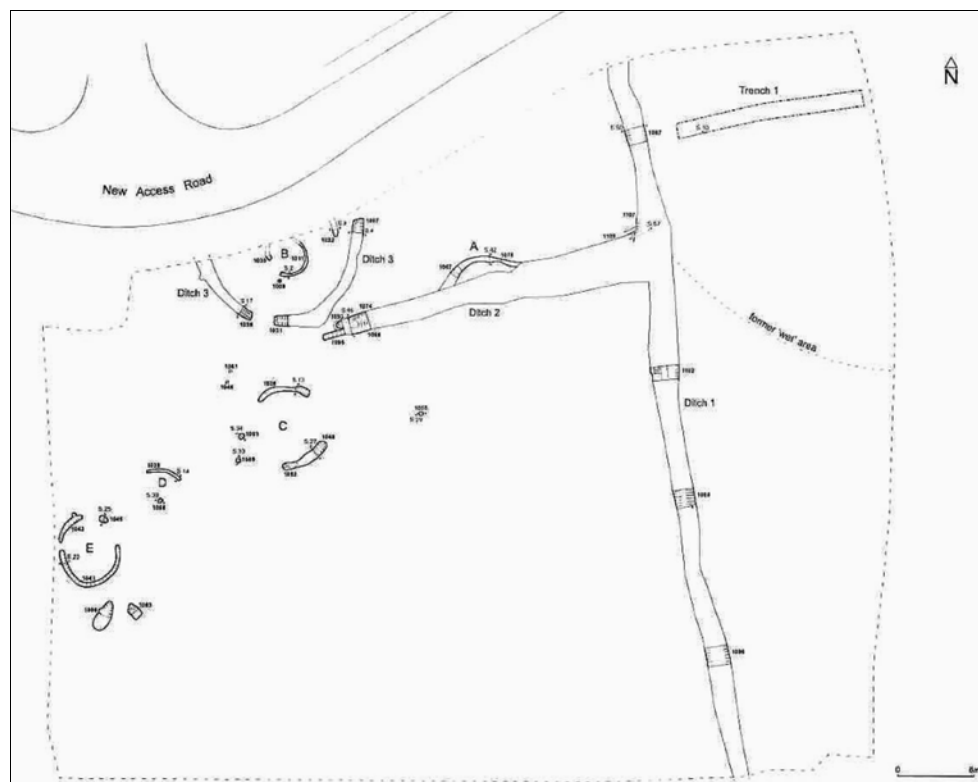


Figure 9.41. Ring gullies of four or five roundhouses recently excavated at Balby Carr, S. Yorks., including one example (upper left) set within a larger ditch. (Source: Rose and Roberts 2006).



Figure 9.42. *The wall slot and postholes of Roundhouse 5 visible during excavation at Ferrybridge, West Yorkshire. (Source: © AS WYAS).*

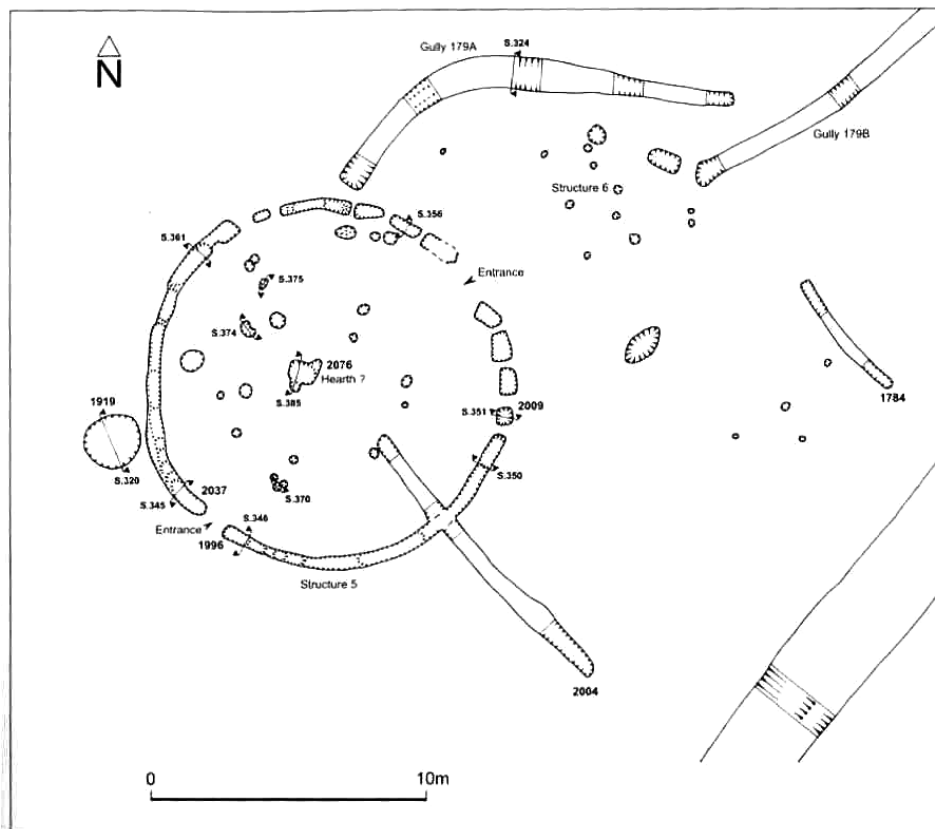


Figure 9.43. *Plan of the ring gully, postholes and other associated features of Structure 5, Enclosure C at Ferrybridge, West Yorks. (Source: Martin 2005: 105).*

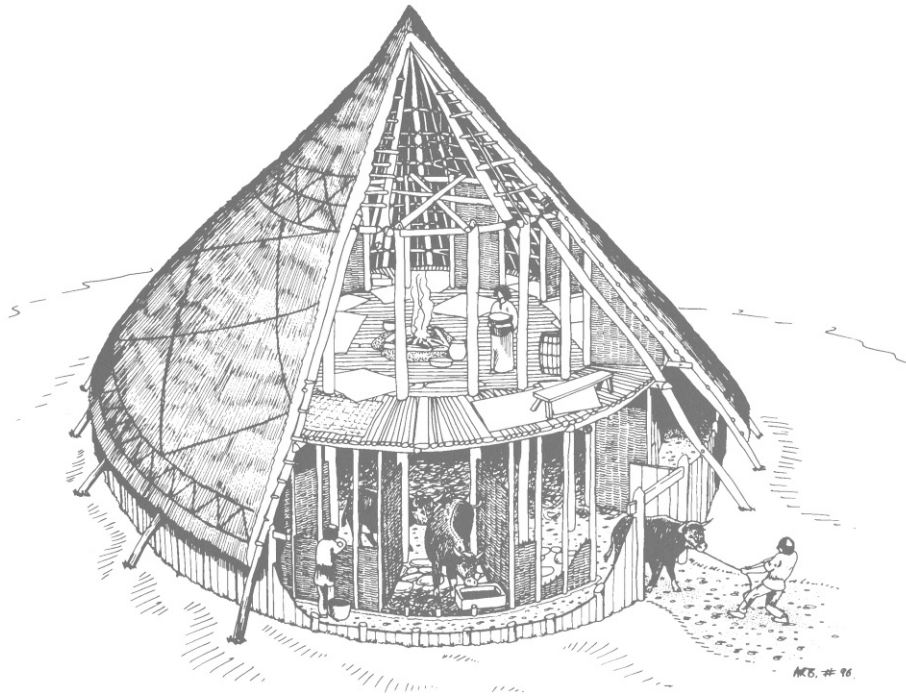


Figure 9.44. *Reconstruction drawing of a substantial Scottish Iron Age roundhouse with a proposed upper floor, although if such structures were present within larger roundhouses, it is perhaps more likely that these took the form of circular galleries, with open central spaces from the ground floor to the roof. (Source: Armit 1997: 33).*

Structures 1 and 2 in Enclosure A at Ferrybridge had posthole diameters of 6.7m and 7m, and both had inner post rings (ibid.: 93-95, figs. 80-81). Roundhouses 5 and 6 at Dalton Parlours were particularly large (17m and 13m respectively), and also had internal post rings (Sumpter 1990a: 19-24, figs. 19-20; Wrathmell 1990: 278, fig. 157). At Holme Dyke, Gonalston, the bedding trenches of two roundhouses 11m and 12m in diameter were superimposed on one another, and a later post-built roundhouse was constructed over them (Elliott and Knight 2002: 149; Knight and Howard 2004b: 98, fig. 5.14) (Fig. 9.45). Although in a central position within a late Iron Age subrectangular enclosure, the pottery suggested that the earliest phases were late Bronze Age or early Iron Age (but see Chapter 10 for an alternative explanation).

These more substantial ‘great houses’ (Evans and Hodder 2006: 278) might have represented the dwellings of higher status individuals and families, or larger co-resident groups. The proximity of the settlements to other features in the landscape may have sometimes been important too. At Ferrybridge, roundhouse 5 produced no pottery, but yielded a high proportion of animal bone, and it has been suggested that it



Figure 9.45. *The excavation of three substantial roundhouses superimposed over one another at Holme Dyke, Gonalston, Notts. (Source: Knight and Elliott forthcoming).*

fulfilled a more specialised social role (Roberts 2005a: 215) (and see Chapter 11). It may have had a large marker post next to it, similar to posts next to roundhouses at Haddenham in Cambridgeshire (q.v. Evans and Hodder 2006: 247-248). The Ferrybridge example may have been a shrine, or the lodge of particular age, gender or social groups such as moieties or initiatory societies that cross-cut kinship groups. The large, 13-18m diameter roundhouses at Moss Carr, Methley (Roberts and Richardson 2002) were possibly middle rather than later Iron Age, so some of the largest structures may have been earlier in date.

Some roundhouses had four large postholes within them, as with roundhouses 1-3 at Dalton Parlours (Sumpter 1990a: 10-15). There may have been constructional or symbolic links between these and elevated storage structures. It is even possible that some four-post structures were themselves roundhouses, for with turf walls and ring beams no additional postholes may have been necessary. Iron Age roundhouses in East Anglia and on the Thames gravels might have utilised turf (Evans 1992; Evans and Hodder 2006: 138-139; Lambrick and Robinson 1979: 138). At Dalton Parlours, roundhouses 1, 3 and 8 had post rings outside of the standing walls, either for roof timbers sloping down to the ground (Sumpter 1990a: 7-29, figs. 7, 12, 28), or

representing repairs. Central postholes were recorded in Roundhouse 3 at Dalton Parlours (Wrathmell 1990), Structure 4 at Scratta Wood (White 1966, n.d.), and perhaps in a small structure at Swillington Brickworks (Eyre-Morgan 1992; Vyner 1992). It is not clear if these were structural supports for roofs, or had other functions.

A number of excavated roundhouses at Dalton Parlours and Ferrybridge might have had double entrances (Martin 2005: 93, fig. 80, 95, fig. 82; Wrathmell 1990: 278, fig. 157), with the second entrances often more narrow. Other possible examples include one at Low Common (Burgess and Roberts 2004: 13, fig. 11), another (1492) at Site M along the A1 (M) road corridor (Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennand 2007: 87, fig. 56), and perhaps at Topham Farm, Sykehouse (Roberts 2003: 29, fig. 4). Sometimes these features were directly opposed, but often this was not the case. At Dalton Parlours, one possible entrance of Roundhouse 4 faced west, the other south-east. There has been little detailed discussion of this intriguing regional form, which is not recorded south of the Rivers Don and Idle. Without explaining the phenomenon, Harding (2004: 32, fig. 2.6) noted other examples from North Yorkshire, Cumbria and Dumfriesshire, indicating a northern distribution for this type of construction. Some North Welsh examples have also been recorded (Kenny 2007: 6-7).



Figure 9.46. *Roundhouse 3 in Enclosure I at Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks., showing its ring wall slot and possible opposed entrances. (Source: © AS WYAS).*

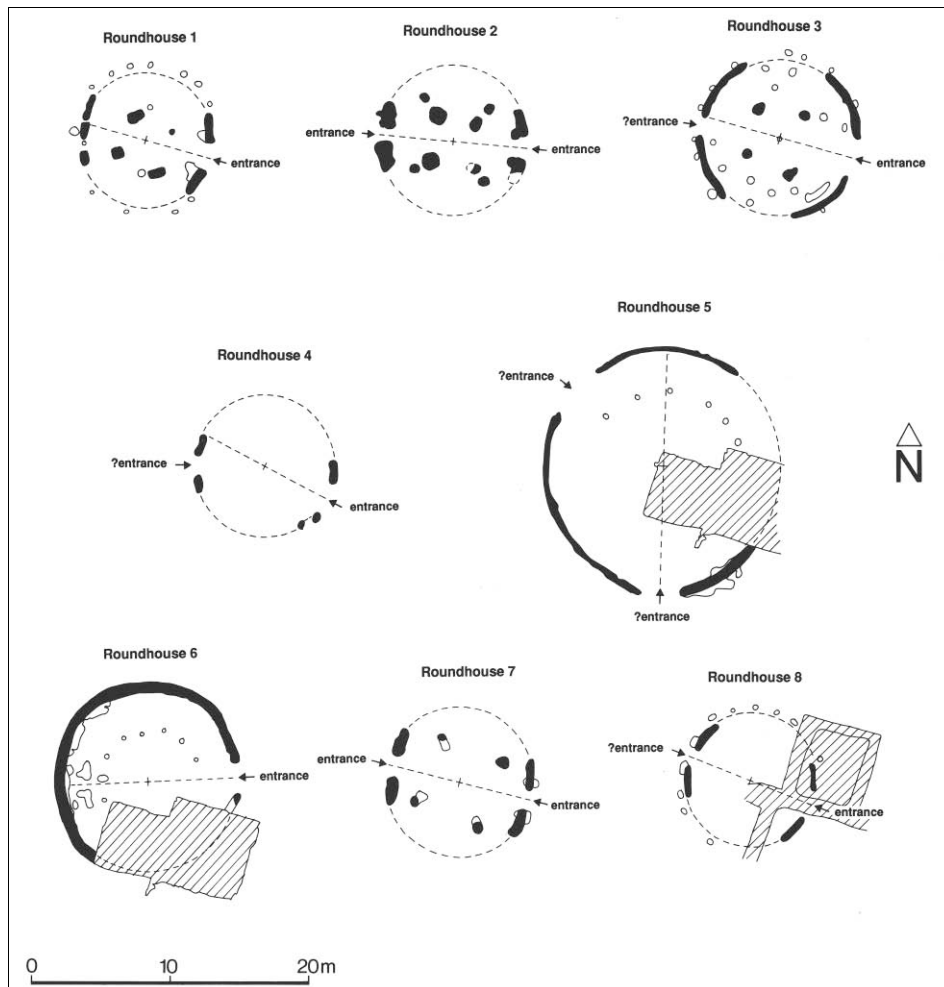


Figure 9.47. Plans of the roundhouses excavated at Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks., including some (1-3, 4-5, 7-8) with possible double entrances. (Source: Wrathmell 1990: 278).

Roberts (2005a: 214) noted that the ‘sanctuary’ at Thetford (Gregory 1991) had opposed doorways, and he therefore suggested that Structure 5 at Ferrybridge was possibly a shrine. Some examples do seem to have been inhabited structures, although what the character of this dwelling was is not certain. Having two entrances in a dwelling would have made them very draughty unless their doors fitted well, and this may have had deleterious effects on any internal hearths, either snuffing fires out or fanning them to dangerous proportions. It is not clear if paired postholes or gaps in roundhouse wall slots were always opposed entrances. In some examples such as Roundhouses 4, 7 and 8 at Dalton Parlours, and Structures 1 and 3 at Ferrybridge, the putative ‘entrances’ may reflect a concern with symmetry when erecting the major posts of the buildings, or changes in doorway orientation (Rhys 2008: 240).

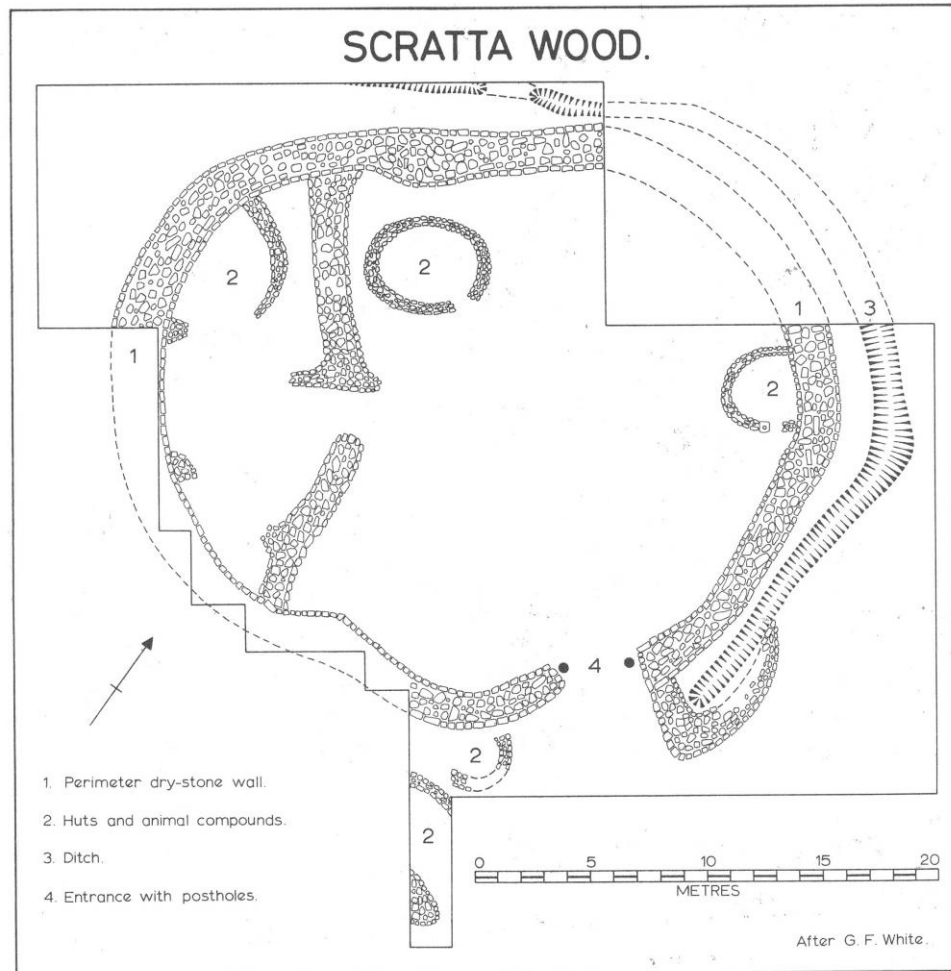


Figure 9.48. *The stone-walled enclosure at Scratta Wood, Notts., also showing a free-standing stone-walled roundhouse, and further examples built against the internal and external faces of the enclosure wall. (Source: Challis and Harding 1975).*

In contrast to the stone-built roundhouses of the Pennine uplands (Wilson 1997: 9), only a few stone lowland examples have been excavated in the study region. A subcircular building was excavated at Site C4SA along the A1(M) road corridor (Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennan 2007: 112-133, fig. 77), and a possible stone roundhouse at High Street, Shafton (Burgess 2001d). The stone-walled roundhouse at the villa at Barton-in-Fabis had a cobbled floor, and was probably an ancillary structure such as a threshing barn (Thompson 1951: 10), similar to one at Redlands Farm in Northamptonshire (Keevil and Booth 1997: 24-25). At Scratta Wood, the published and archive plans suggest low stone walls that would have supported timber roofs (White 1966, n.d.). One roundhouse was built into the enclosure wall, one was freestanding, and two were appended to the inner and outer faces of the enclosure

wall (Fig. 9.48). These were similar to Iron Age and Romano-British ‘hut circles’ and ‘courtyard enclosures’ from northern Britain (see examples in Challis and Harding 1975; Dark and Dark 1997; Hingley 1989; Jobey 1966; Pope 2003).

Floor surfaces of gravel or compacted earth survive in a few rare lowland East Anglian roundhouses, with reeds and rushes or even brushwood spread across them (Evans and Hodder 2006: 116, 145, fig. 5.20; Pryor 1984: 95-101). Considerable resources would have been necessary to build roundhouses. The 13m diameter roundhouse at Castell Henllys required the timber of thirty-four mature oak trees, 2000 bundles of water reed, and around fifteen tonnes of daub (Bennett 2001, 2002), whilst a similar-sized roundhouse at Butser needed even more timber, hazel rods from around eighty coppiced stools and three tonnes of reeds (Reynolds 1979: 38-39, 100). The 9m roundhouse at Haddenham required 1060 bundles of reed thatch, 4000 coppiced rods and eighty timber poles (Darrah 2006: 142-143). Large roundhouses thus could not have been built without considerable forward planning and management of woodland and reed beds. An extended family group would have been capable of building smaller structures (q.v. Percival 1980), but larger roundhouses (and enclosures) probably needed co-operative labour from several different households (Evans and Hodder 2006: 278; Sharples 2007: 179), reinforcing individual and communal relations. The beginning or end of building may have been important social occasions involving feasts and requiring offerings (see Chapter 11).



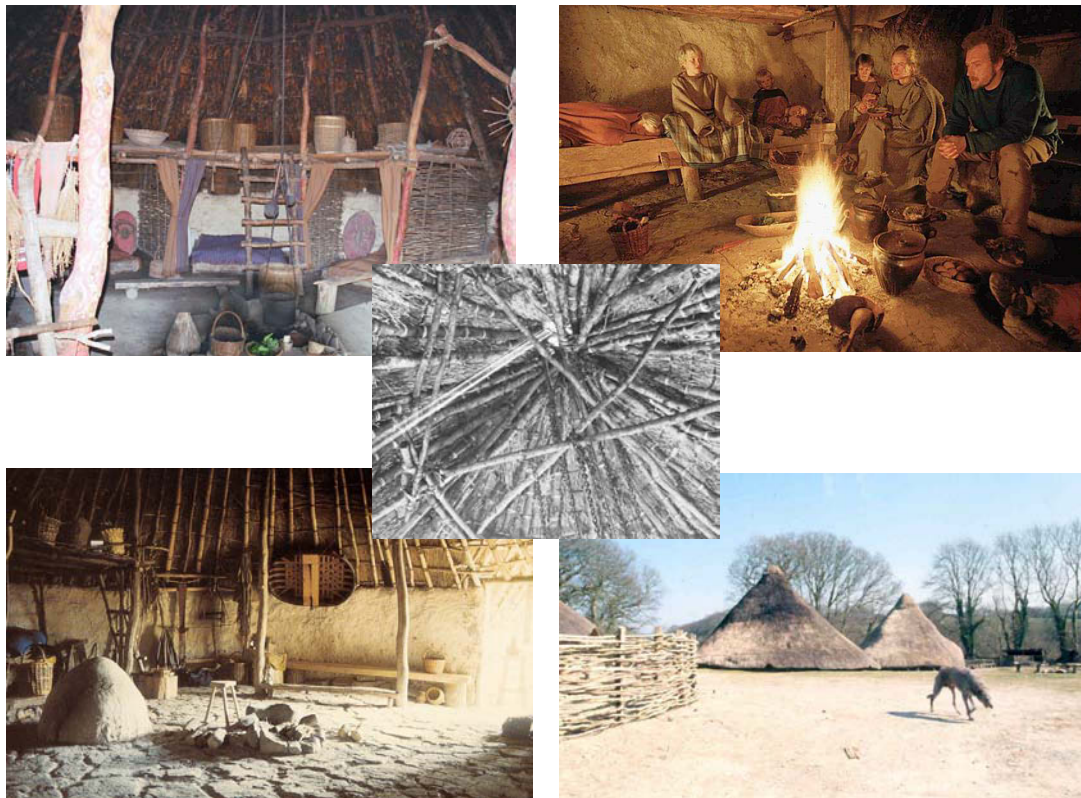
Figure 9.49. (left). *Daub associated with one of the roundhouses excavated at Balby Carr, S. Yorks., showing wattle impressions. Fine-grained evidence such as this rarely survives within the study region. (Source: Roberts forthcoming).*

Inhabiting roundhouses

There is still little evidence of internal furnishings and fixtures in roundhouses, the everyday practices within them and the nature of the social groups who lived in them. This partly results from preservation problems such as later plough truncation, but also indicates that most were kept quite clean whilst in use, and many objects were undoubtedly removed from them upon their abandonment (q.v. Lane 2006: 149). There may have been internal divisions within many buildings. At Gardom's Edge in Derbyshire, one excavated early Iron Age roundhouse had two lines of stakeholes within it reflecting what was probably a moveable hurdle partition (Barnatt, Bevan and Edmonds forthcoming; Bevan 2007: 254-255, fig. 3). Internal partitions might be indicated at Low Common within the roundhouse in Sub-enclosure B (Burgess and Roberts 2004: 13, fig. 11) and roundhouses 288 at Site Q and 126/1220 at Site M along the A1 (M) road corridor (Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennand 2007). At Whitwood Common, a linear gully was probably an internal partition rather than an earlier building (ibid.: 26, fig. 24), or a setting for a bed platform or bench. Internal partitions have been excavated elsewhere (e.g. Evans and Hodder 2006: 114-116), and further subdivisions could have been created with woven hangings.

Experimental reconstructions and ethnographic studies suggest that there were probably no smoke holes left in roofs, as this would have caused downdrafts and made fires burn too fiercely. Instead, the smoke probably percolated out through straw or reed thatched roofs, though this may have been more problematic with any turf-roofed structures. Layers of smoky air under the roof may have helped kill off insects and preserve the thatch (Percival 1980: 84; Pope 2007: 221), and might also have been useful for smoking and dry curing meat, fish or even human bodies. Lung and eye conditions such as emphysema and conjunctivitis might have been caused or exacerbated by this smoky atmosphere, especially in winter when many people may have been confined indoors for longer periods.

Even in summer daylight, much of the interiors of roundhouses would have been shadowed and lit only by light falling in shafts through the doorway or penetrating through tiny holes in walls or roofs. In the gloaming of winter or at night, only the



Reconstructing dwelling(s). **Figure 9.50. (top left).** Interior of a large reconstructed roundhouse, Castell Henllys, Wales. (Source: D. Roberts). **Fig. 9.51. (top right).** A fire-lit interior. (Source: © Lejre Experimental Centre. **Fig. 9.52. (bottom left).** Interior of a large reconstructed roundhouse, Museum of Welsh Life, St Fagan's, Wales. (Source: author). **Fig. 9.53. (bottom right).** Exterior of reconstructed roundhouses and other structures, Castell Henllys, Wales. (Source: author). **Fig. 9.54. (centre).** Interior roof apex of roundhouse, Butser Experimental Farm. (Source: Reynolds 1979: 99).

hearth's glow or firebrands would have provided illumination. People sitting back from the fire would have been in a dark 'space of voices without haptic or visually deictic anchoring' (Weiner 2001: 116). The fire might have been banked up only at certain times, in order to allow a heightened focus on the visual. Sound would have been an important component of social life. People may have been able to listen in and participate in other's conversations from different places within a house, or even within an enclosure (Helliwell 1992; Robin 2002). People on the inside of roundhouses might have caught partial glimpses and heard more noises from outside, whereas people on the outside of these structures would have heard less and seen little or nothing of the interior spaces.

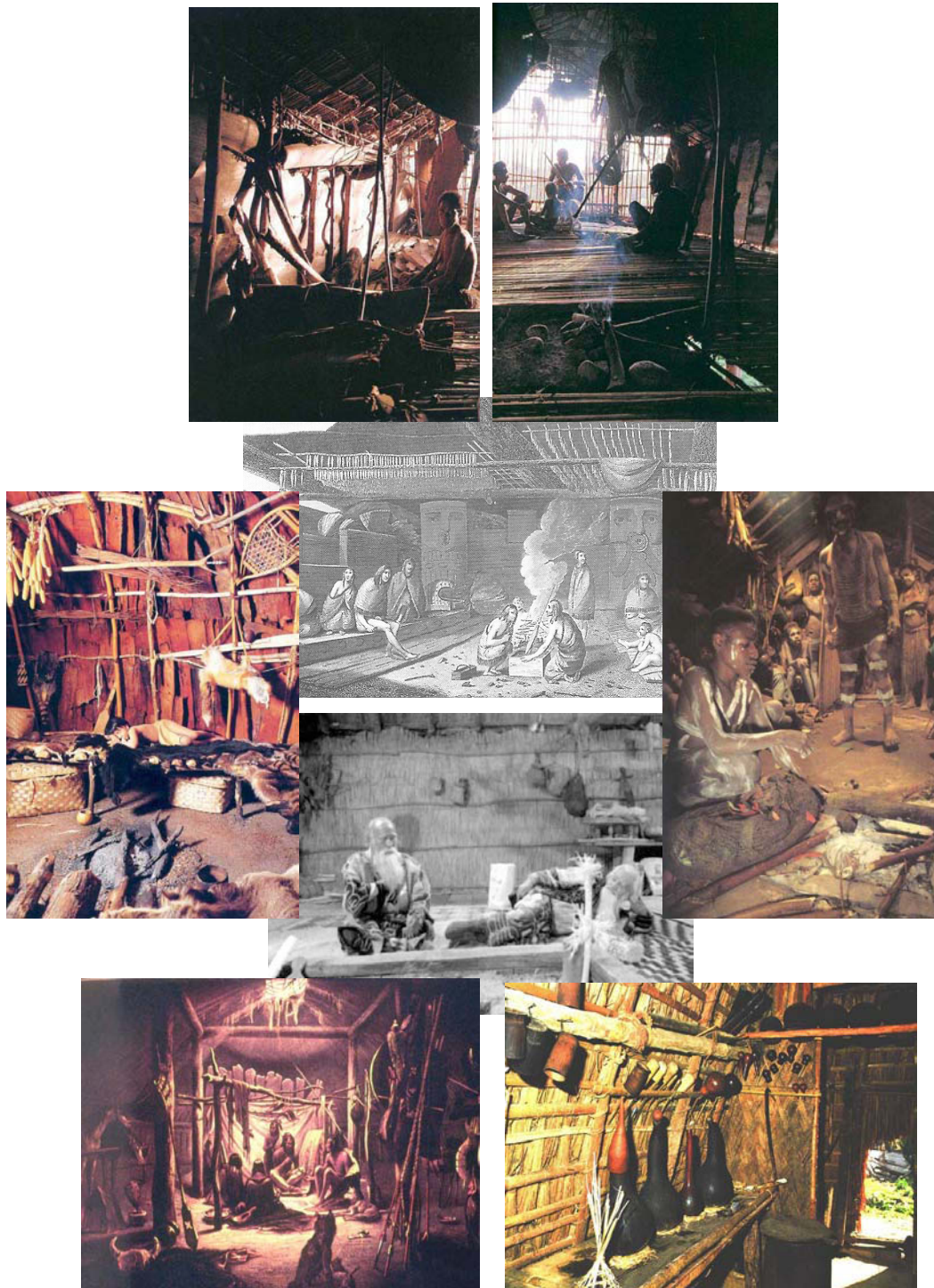


Figure 9.55. (top row). Interior of a Korowai house, Papua New Guinea. (Source: Steinmetz 1996: 38-39). **Fig. 9.56. (centre left).** Diorama of the interior of a Pequot longhouse, North America. (Source: © Pequot Heritage Centre. **Fig. 9.57 (centre top).** Nineteenth century illustration of the interior of a Nootka house, Vancouver Island, Pacific north-west coast, North America. (Source: Billard 1993: 213). **Fig. 9.58. (centre bottom).** Interior of an Ainu house, Hokkaido, Japan. (Source: Oginaka 1999: 280). **Fig. 9.59. (centre right).** Interior of a Gimi house, Papua New Guinea. (Source: Gillison 2002: 94). **Fig. 9.60. (bottom left).** Nineteenth century painting of the interior of a Mandan earth lodge, North America. (Source: Billard 1993: 283). **Fig. 9.61. (bottom right).** Interior of a Naga morung, Burma. (Source: Stirn and van Ham 2003: 64).

Throughout the year the smells of smoke, cooking, wood, earth and leather, and the bodies of people and animals would have been predominant. Such ‘smellscapes’ (q.v. Ehrlichman and Halpern 1988; Gade 1984; Schab 1990) would have been familiar and reassuring to many people. Their conceptions of privacy, as in many small-scale societies, would probably have been quite different from ours in modern Western Europe. Some roundhouses were probably rather warm and snug, others cold and draughty, but fleas and mites would have been prevalent in many.

Particularly on settlements with only one roundhouse, it is likely that dwellings would have held storage vessels of wood, leather, basketry and (especially in the Romano-British period) pottery. Tools, garments and a host of other objects may have been stored against walls or hung from external and internal rafters, racks, shelves or pegs (q.v. Lane 2006: 148-149; Pope 2007: 220). Sleeping areas might have been raised earth or timber platforms covered in straw or bracken, with woven blankets and/or furs. Without making direct ethnographic parallels, an idea of the potential richness of inhabited spaces within roundhouses can be seen in the interiors of African and New Guinea houses, Naga longhouses in Asia, and Iroquois longhouses and Mandan earth lodges in North America (e.g. Gillison 2002; Josephy 1995: 45; Lane 2006: 148; Steensberg 1980: 124-182; Stirn and van Ham 2000: 51-61, 2003: 52-69; White 1993: 215) (Figs. 9.56.-9.62.). Some of these structures also suggest possibilities for internal and external decoration or architectural elaboration for which there is no archaeological evidence (cf. C. Evans 1989).

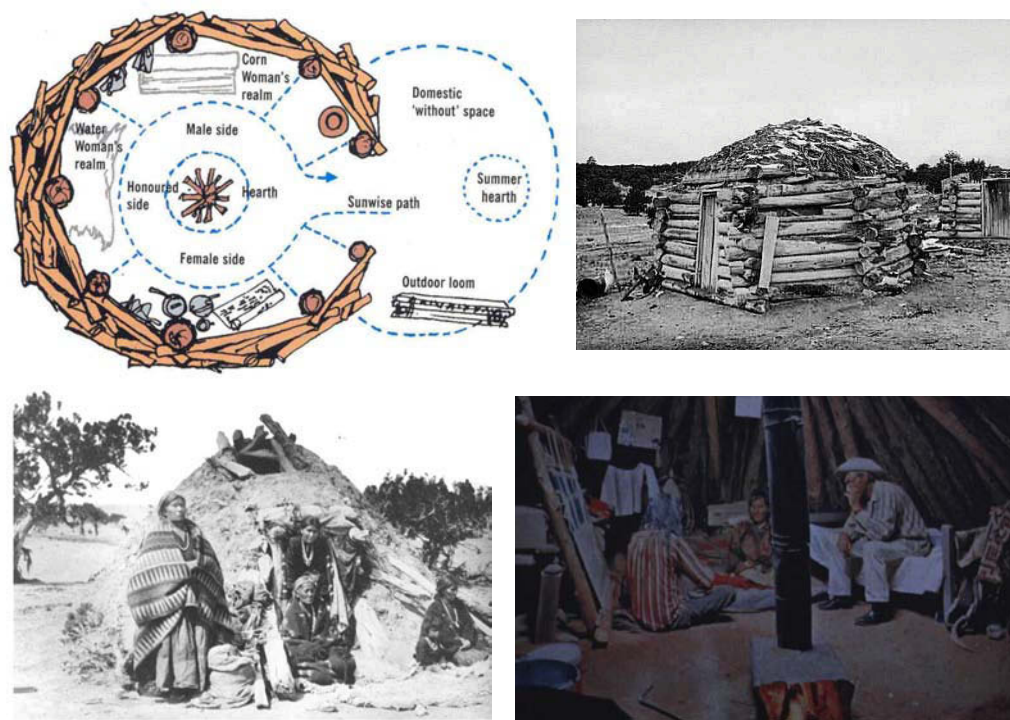
As outlined in Chapter 2, without any firm ideas of Iron Age social structure, determining the makeup of co-resident groups is difficult (Price 1999; Yanagisako 1979). Where there was only one roundhouse present along with evidence for *sustained* domestic occupation, it is likely that this building was inhabited by one extended family. Although in enclosures with two or more contemporary roundhouses the additional structures could have been ancillary buildings such as byres, it is also possible that some were occupied by other members of the same extended family, or close relatives from the same kinship group (Fewster 1999; Zubrow 2006). There might have been men’s houses and women’s houses, houses for young or senior men

or women, or for menstrual or post-natal seclusion. Where occupation of enclosures and roundhouses was episodic or seasonal, only certain age grades might have visited them during daily or seasonal movements with livestock. Such buildings may have required extra maintenance when people returned to them.

Entrance orientations and cosmologies

During excavations at Moel-y-Gaer hillfort, Guilbert noticed the marked symmetry of roundhouse structure and the many similarities of design and doorway orientation of all of the roundhouses he investigated (Guilbert 1975, 1982). Several other researchers during the 1970s and early 1980s also noted the predominantly south-east or east alignment of Iron Age roundhouse entrances in south-central England (Hingley and Miles 1984: 63; Knight 1984: 44; Lambrick 1978: 118), and attributed this to the avoidance of prevailing winds, and perhaps also a concern to maximise daylight for craft activities. In East Anglia with its mainly eastern winds, social factors or orientation towards particular landscape features was suggested (Boast and Evans 1986: 196; Pryor 1984: 213), as for parts of northern Britain (Reid 1989).

This shared orientation may have been to maximise light during the day, but Oswald proposed that many roundhouses were orientated more precisely towards the equinox or the midwinter sunrise (Oswald 1991, 1997: fig. 10.4) (Fig. 9.66). If maximising daylight was a concern, he argued, most roundhouses would have faced due south, and the fact this orientation often seemed to have been independent of slope and prevailing winds suggested to him that the direction took on symbolic meanings over time. He used ethnographic evidence from Mongolian yurts and Hopi hogans (e.g. Humphrey 1974; Oliver 1987) to suggest that cultural ideas regarding cardinal directions and male and female space might have been influencing factors. This was perhaps also linked to the easterly orientations of many Iron Age shrines and some burials (Wait 1985: 177). Discussions of round architecture also emphasised the importance of the central hearth, and of front : back and left : right oppositions in bounding domestic space (e.g. Yates 1989). Importantly though, Oswald also noted many regional and individual exceptions to these apparent 'rules' (1997: 91).



Ethnographies of household space 1. Figure 9.62. (top left). Model of social space in a Hopi Hogan. (Source: Planel 2000). Fig. 9.63. (top right). Hopi Hogan exterior. (Source: unknown Internet image). Fig. 9.64. (bottom left). Navajo Hogan exterior. (Source: Nabokov 1994: 310). Fig. 9.65. (bottom right). Hopi Hogan interior. (Source: unknown National Geographic image).

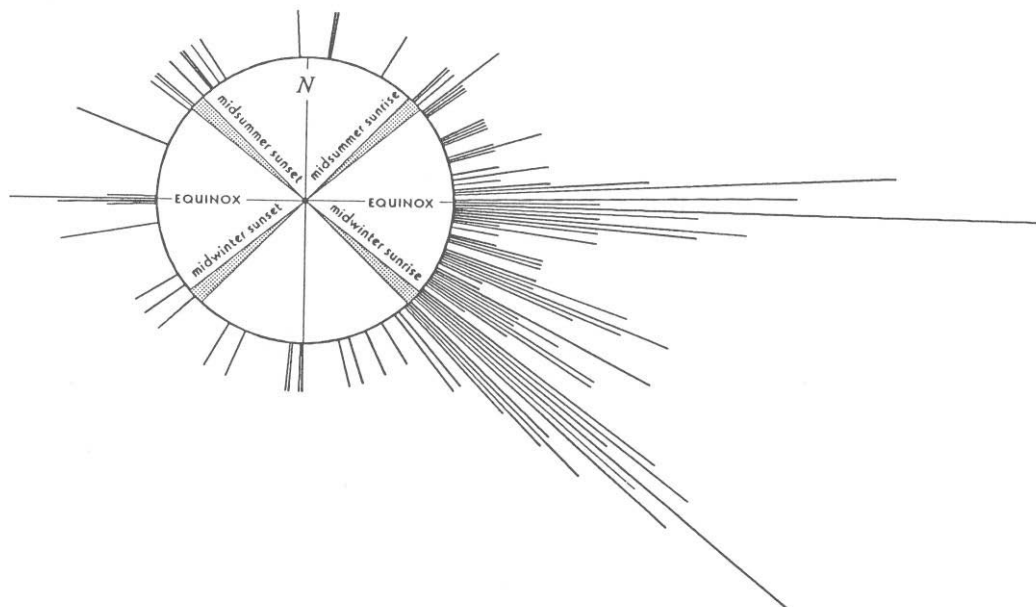


Figure 9.66. *Oswald's diagram of the entranceway orientations of 280 British roundhouses, according to their frequency and the cardinal directions. (Source: Oswald 1997: 90).*

Using previous ideas of central and peripheral areas within roundhouses (Cunliffe 1978: 175; Kelly 1988; Reid 1989), Hingley (1990b) proposed that within roundhouses central hearths were the foci for public space and food preparation, and peripheral spaces were private areas for food storage and sleeping. He suggested a series of symbolic binary oppositions possibly linked to this, including light : dark, cooked : raw, culture : nature and even male : female (Hingley 1990b: 132-133). These divisions were based on processual spatial analyses and structuralist anthropologies (e.g. Bourdieu 1973; Lévi-Strauss 1969, 1978).

Hingley had proposed that such conceptual divisions extended across entire Iron Age landscape patterns (Hingley 1984). Such structuralist dualisms have been extensively criticised within anthropology and archaeology (see critiques in Baker 1997: 184-185; Comaroff 1987; Lamphere 1997; MacCormack 1982; Moore 1988: 13-24; Pope 2007: 206-208; Price 1999; Robin 2002: 261). In particular, the association of women with the domestic, the passive and the negative, with 'dark', private areas and with 'nature' rather than 'culture' has been shown to be simplistic and the result of a series of androcentric assumptions by anthropologists and archaeologists.

This interest in the social and symbolic nature of houses and settlements formed part of the post-processual archaeologies of the late 1980s and early 1990s, and also derived from an influential 1989 seminar on the British Iron Age (Champion and Collis 1996). Ethnographic analogy and the recognition of spatial patterning, however, had also been associated with much earlier discussions of large southern English roundhouses (e.g. Chadwick 1960; Clarke 1972; Hawkes 1994; Quennell and Quennell 1922). Based on an excavated early Iron Age house in Berkshire and revisiting these older studies, Fitzpatrick suggested a binary left : right model for roundhouse space (Fitzpatrick 1994: 69-70, 1997a: 77-78; Fitzpatrick, Barnes and Cleal 1995). The northern half of the roundhouse was associated with sleeping, whilst the lighter, southern side was for eating and daily activities. He saw the passage of the sun around the roundhouse as immanent to the structure of social life, with the threshold and the sunwards orientation having particular symbolic significance.

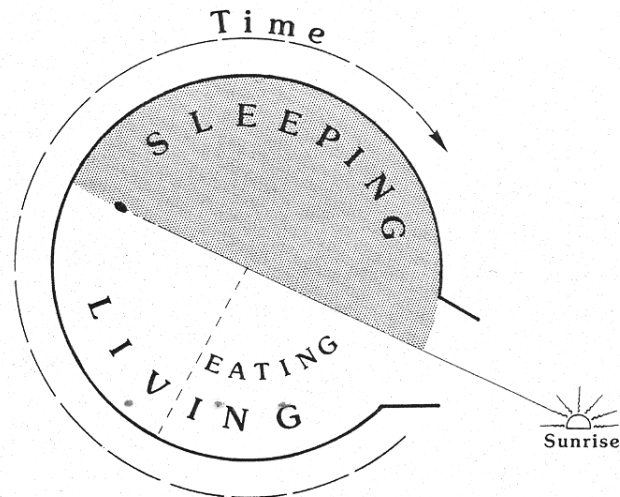


Figure 9.67. Fitzpatrick's model of roundhouse inhabitation. (Source: Fitzpatrick 1997: 78).

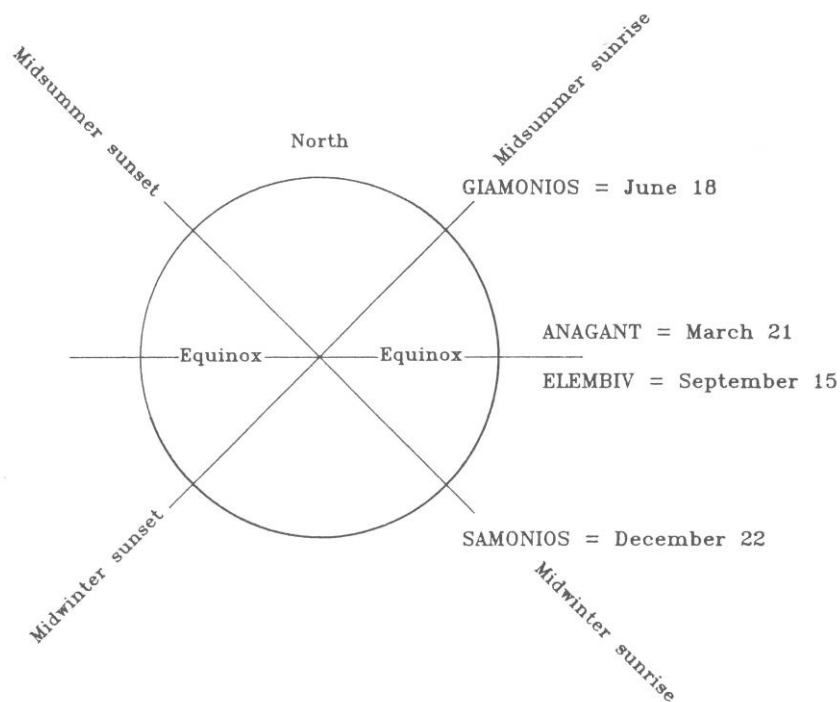


Figure 9.68. Possible Iron Age cosmological referents, based on the Gallo-Roman Coligny calendar of the late second or early third century AD. (Source: Fitzpatrick 1997: 74).

Hill examined roundhouse, enclosure and hillfort entrance orientations in southern England, and also found an apparent emphasis on east and south-east alignments (Hill 1996: 108-110), though also with significant westerly orientations too, especially for hillforts (which often had two main entrances). Like Evans (1988), he suggested that

the threshold was more important than the hearth in structuring internal space. Parker Pearson was interested in understanding the underlying structural ‘rules’ of social and symbolic systems (Parker Pearson 1996), and along with co-workers he expanded Fitzpatrick’s ideas into his ‘sunwise’ model of Iron Age domestic life.

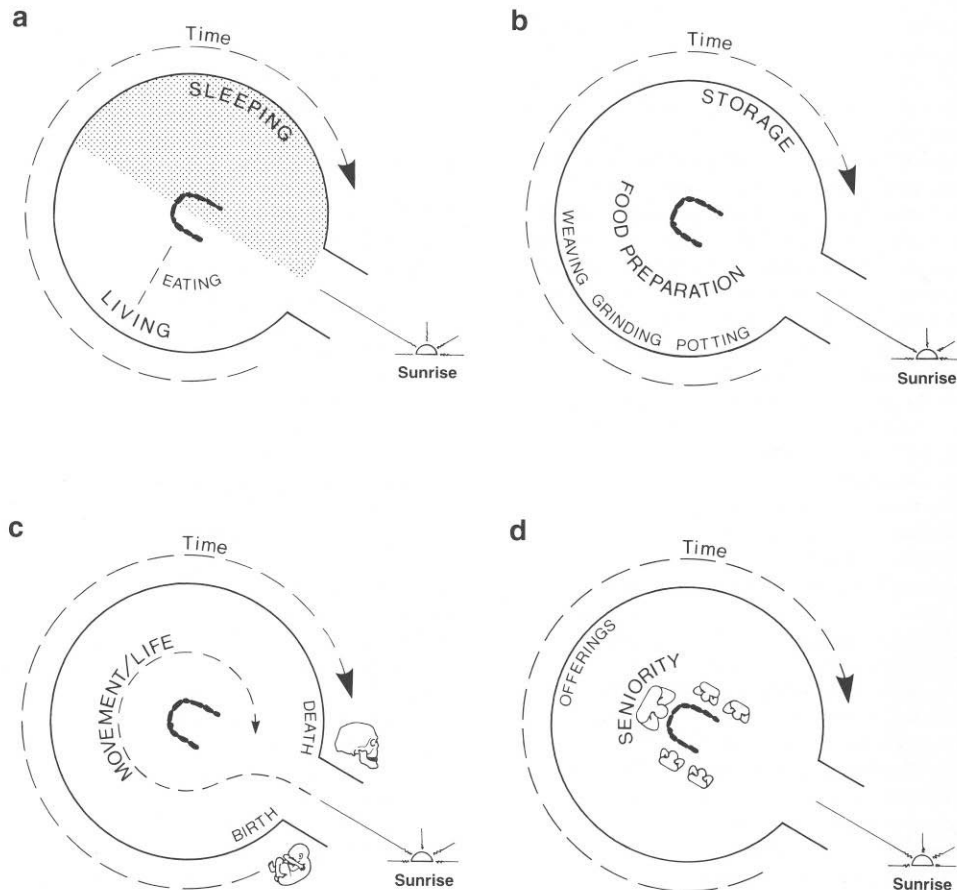


Figure 9.69. Potential further social and symbolic references incorporated in Iron Age round architecture. (Source: Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999: 21).

Drawing on ethnohistorical analogies, this model suggested that people’s movements around roundhouses took place in a sunwards or deseal manner (rather than widdershins or anti-sunwards), and as well as marking the passage of the day and year, this also symbolised the human life cycle (Parker Pearson 1999: 49-51, fig. 7; Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999: 20-21, fig. 1.10). The hearth was the social centre of the house, and its principal axis might also have reflected the seniority of people and where they sat. In using evidence from southern English roundhouses and Scottish brochs and wheelhouses, Parker Pearson was effectively proposing this as a

symbolic scheme for the whole of Iron Age Britain (Parker Pearson 1999: 60), and he downplayed human agency in favour of traditional social structures. Other researchers have suggested that the locations of deposits in Bronze Age round barrows and Bronze Age and early Iron Age roundhouses may have been conceptually linked, and that the entrance orientations of later prehistoric roundhouses and the layout of Neolithic henges and Bronze Age barrows may have drawn upon the same symbolic traditions (Bradley 1997, 1998: 152-158; Woodward and Woodward 1996).

Some of these ideas seem too rigid and structuralist, especially Hingley (1990b) and Parker Pearson (1999). Other researchers have argued that greater emphasis needs to be placed upon human agency and the contingencies of everyday life, rather than prescriptive cultural rules (Barrett 1997a; Webley 2003), and the different perceptions and diverse beliefs and embodied experiences of age, gender or status grades within all communities (q.v. Hingley 1999: 63; Pope 2007: 208; Sørensen 1996: 199). The large roundhouses of early Iron Age southern England, and the brochs and wheelhouses of Atlantic Scotland, may all have been inhabited and experienced in rather different ways to the generally smaller late Iron Age and Romano-British roundhouses. There are obvious dangers too in ‘reading off’ finds patterning as evidence of everyday practices. Many, if not most artefacts may have only reflected the abandonment of structures rather than their use, and many deposits in and around roundhouses might have been deliberately selected as ‘closure’ deposits (q.v. Chadwick 2004a; Hill 1995a; Webley 2007; Woodward and Hughes 2007).

In a recent account of late Bronze Age roundhouses at Cladh Hallan on South Uist, Parker Pearson and colleagues explicitly link eighteenth and nineteenth century Hebridean traditions of sunwards movement to prehistoric practices (Parker Pearson, Sharples and Symonds 2004: 196-198). Although there is some evidence for the long-term survival of beliefs (see Chapter 11), I would nevertheless urge caution. Are these really direct continuities of practice over four millennia, or much later re-workings and re-interpretations? Following critiques of pan-Celtic identities and traditions (e.g. Collis 2003; Hill 1996; James 1999), using ethnohistorical evidence from the Western Isles so directly is also questionable. Nineteenth century Hebrideans were not more ‘authentic’ and ‘Celtic’ than people elsewhere.

In her extensive consideration of evidence from later prehistoric and Romano-British roundhouses across north and central Britain, Rachel Pope (2003, 2007, forthcoming) has argued that the ‘sunwise’ pattern is not as neat as Oswald argued². She notes that his data set and iconic diagram (Fig. 9.66) excluded many roundhouses that did not reveal a marked east or south-east orientation, particularly examples from Wales, northern and south-west England (Pope 2007: 211). Furthermore, there may be chronological differences too, with late Bronze Age and early Iron Age roundhouses more likely to follow Oswald’s pattern, but later roundhouses less likely to do so. Pope also notes that compared to the ethnographic evidence of communities imbuing circular structures with cosmological significance, there are more societies where such symbolic divisions have not been recorded, including many traditional African roundhouses (Pope 2003, 2007: 209). Pope does not dismiss cultural factors altogether, but suggests pragmatic environmental concerns of light, slope and prevailing winds also have to be taken into account (Pope 2007: 212-214). She proposes a basic front : back, centre : periphery model, and has also stressed the likely importance of upper loft areas in larger double or triple-ringed structures (Fig. 9.70).

These arguments have become somewhat polarised, with claims that the ‘cosmological model’ has been ‘successfully deconstructed as a structuralist concept’ (Pope 2005). Such a statement may be overly polemical, particularly given the fact that some non-environmentally structuring principles regarding the social use of space and deposition in and around roundhouses do seem to have been in operation at many settlements (e.g. Kenny 2007; Woodward and Hughes 2007). People do *not* live out their lives rigidly moving around structures, settlements and landscapes with a series of prescribed social and ‘ritual’ meanings, but neither do people exist in a purely functional, rational world. A more subtle exposition of these ideas (Giles and Parker Pearson 1999: 220) stressed how improvisation and agency allowed cosmological understandings of the world to be reproduced, but also to be manipulated or changed. Traditions of architectural space, cosmology and inhabitation were naturalised and passed on down the generations and across different regions through the repeated, routine praxis of everyday, embodied movements.

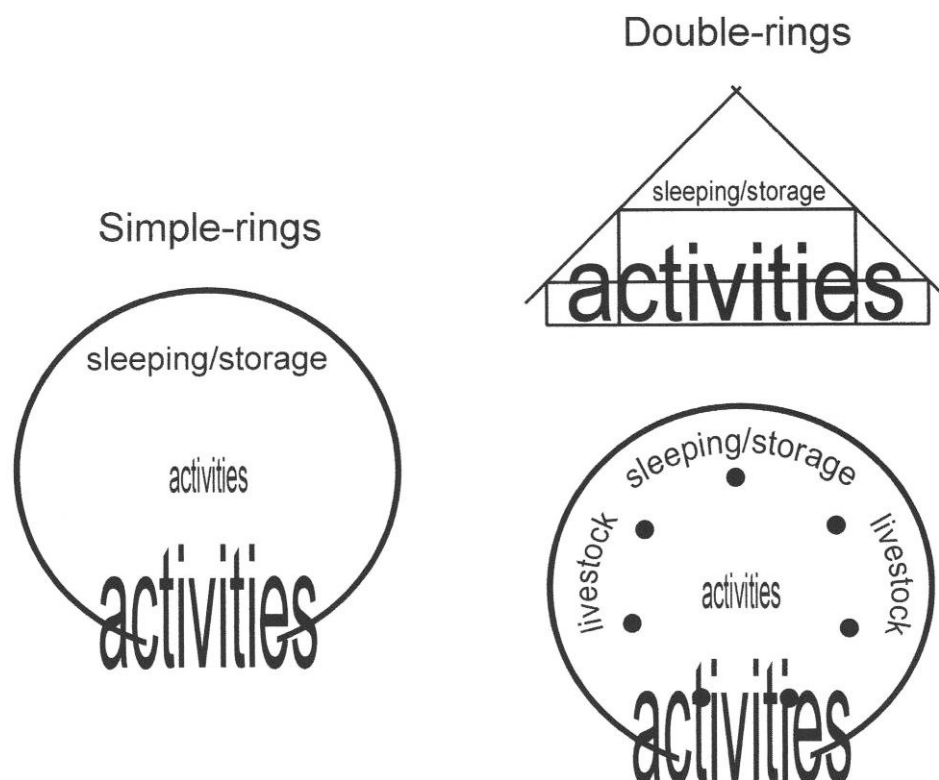


Figure 9.70. Pope's model of roundhouse domestic occupation. This has the advantage of stressing the use of vertical space as well. (Source: Pope 2007: 221).

Roundhouses helped to demarcate different experiences and social relationships of the immediate household, and were wider manifestations of contacts, places and times (Barrett and Fewster 2000: 31; Giles and Parker Pearson 1999: 225-228). They were the result of embodied and communal labour, and represented materials from many different areas of the landscape, solidifying these within their structures (q.v. Bennett 2002; Bloch 1995). Thatch came from reed beds or (less likely) from straw, small rods and sails from coppiced woodland or hedgerows, and large straight timbers from more mature trees and woodland. Routine, mundane practices around the taskscape were thus entangled with memories and biographies and the physical fabric of the house. There were spatial distinctions within them – not static, cosmological rules, but opportunities or conditions to act in certain ways (q.v. Baker 1997; Barrett 2000; Gero 2000). The lack of internal corners may itself have been important to social relations. Circularity may have stood for a variety of beliefs over time.

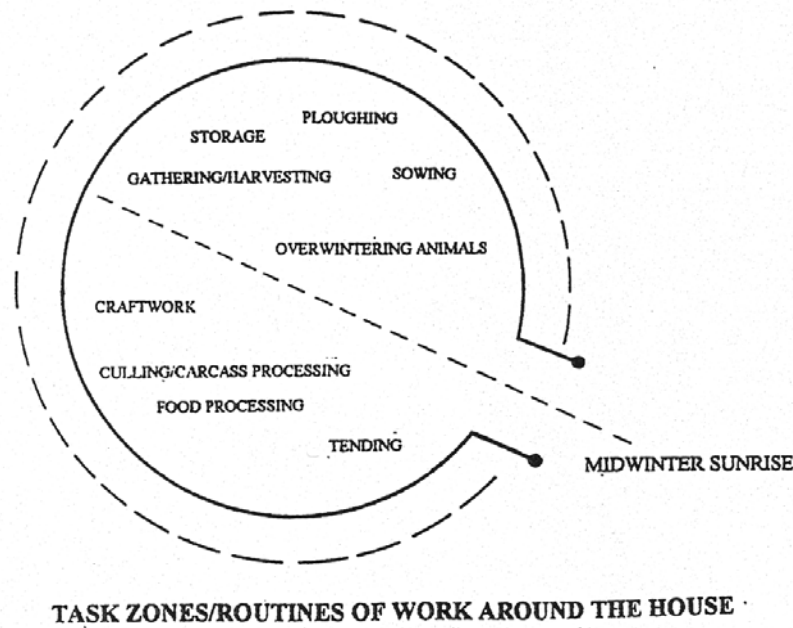


Fig. 9.71. *A more detailed model of potential Iron Age spatial, temporal and social practices within and around roundhouses. (Giles and Parker Pearson 1999: 225).*

Based on a survey of excavated Iron Age and Romano-British roundhouses from the East Midlands, Taylor (2001: 50-51, fig. 14) broadly concurred with Hingley and Fitzpatrick's ideas of spatial organisation, but suggested that in Northamptonshire Roman-period roundhouses were increasingly located in marginal positions within settlements and associated with craft activities or storage. With the exception of a stone roundhouse at Barton-in-Fabis (Thompson 1951: 9-10, fig. 1), within the study region roundhouses continued to be constructed as dwellings until the third or fourth centuries AD, as demonstrated by examples excavated at Bullerthorpe Lane (Wheelhouse 2001), Low Common (Burgess and Roberts 2002), Site Q along the A1 (M) road corridor (Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennan 2007), Billingley Drive, Thurnscoe (Neal and Fraser 2004) and at Staunton (Todd 1975).

Tradition was undoubtedly important. As Bourdieu showed with his concept of the habitus, and as Barth, Goffman and Mauss demonstrated with their ideas of how beliefs are reproduced over time and space, people and social groups develop their knowledge and identities through the observation of others, non-verbal communication and embodied performances (Bourdieu 1992; Goffman 1963; Mauss 1973). People often undertake practices in certain ways without any clear

understanding of why they are doing so, other than a sense of ‘it has always been done like this’. Yet at the same time, it is this very uncertainty about how or why some practices developed that enables changes in knowledge and practices over time, and allows the meanings of architectural and landscape features to alter too.

Long term structures provide the unseen background into which individuals are socialised and are felt rather than consciously known. Longer temporal patterns ensure a background of common assumptions about the world, which ensures intelligibility, but which is not itself directly intelligible. This is a level of human creativity beyond the individual, which allows for some coherence of action, but also for the originality which we call individual agency...Ritual and cosmology...are not just sets of conscious thoughts held in the minds of individual actors and recognised in individual instances...Cosmologies are hard to glimpse, being interwoven in archaeological material with evidence of the more general patterns of human action which made life intelligible at all. (Gosden 1997: 304).

Circular arguments?

Appendix E lists the diameters, absolute dates and structural features of sixty-four excavated roundhouses within the study region, with a total of eighty-two identifiable entranceways. Of these, thirty-eight roundhouses were from West Yorkshire, eighteen from South Yorkshire, and eight from Nottinghamshire; and fourteen had possible double entrances (thirteen from West Yorkshire, with one possible example from South Yorkshire). In some cases such as the agglomerated sites at Holme Pierrepont and Rampton, the only published or archive plans I was able to obtain at the time of analysis and table preparation were not sufficiently detailed to allow me to distinguish roundhouses from other circular features such as hay rick gullies. As Appendix E demonstrates, a few of the sixty-four roundhouses could also be such ancillary structures. Two of the West Yorkshire roundhouses were conjoined structures from Moss Carr, but the four entrances of these have been treated separately, as have all of the entrance orientations of possible double-entranced roundhouses.

Table 11 (Fig. 9.72) shows the combined entrance orientations of fifty single-entranced roundhouses including the two conjoined examples, in addition to the entrance orientations of fourteen possible two-entranced roundhouses. Tables 12-14

break these results down into their regional groupings. The results are not as marked as Oswald's findings (1991, 1997), though the majority of structures seem to have had doorways orientated to the east or south-east. Nevertheless, there was also another, smaller group of structures whose entrances generally faced north-east. These results broadly concur with some of Pope's (2003, 2007) findings. This suggests that there probably was a tradition or dominant social structure of roundhouse orientation, whether for practical and/or social reasons; and that this tradition was reproduced over time through habitus. Some structures (and people) appear to have diverged from this, however, showing that the situation was undoubtedly more complex. Some potential regional trends are also evident, with those structures from South Yorkshire generally more restricted in terms of their doorway orientation.

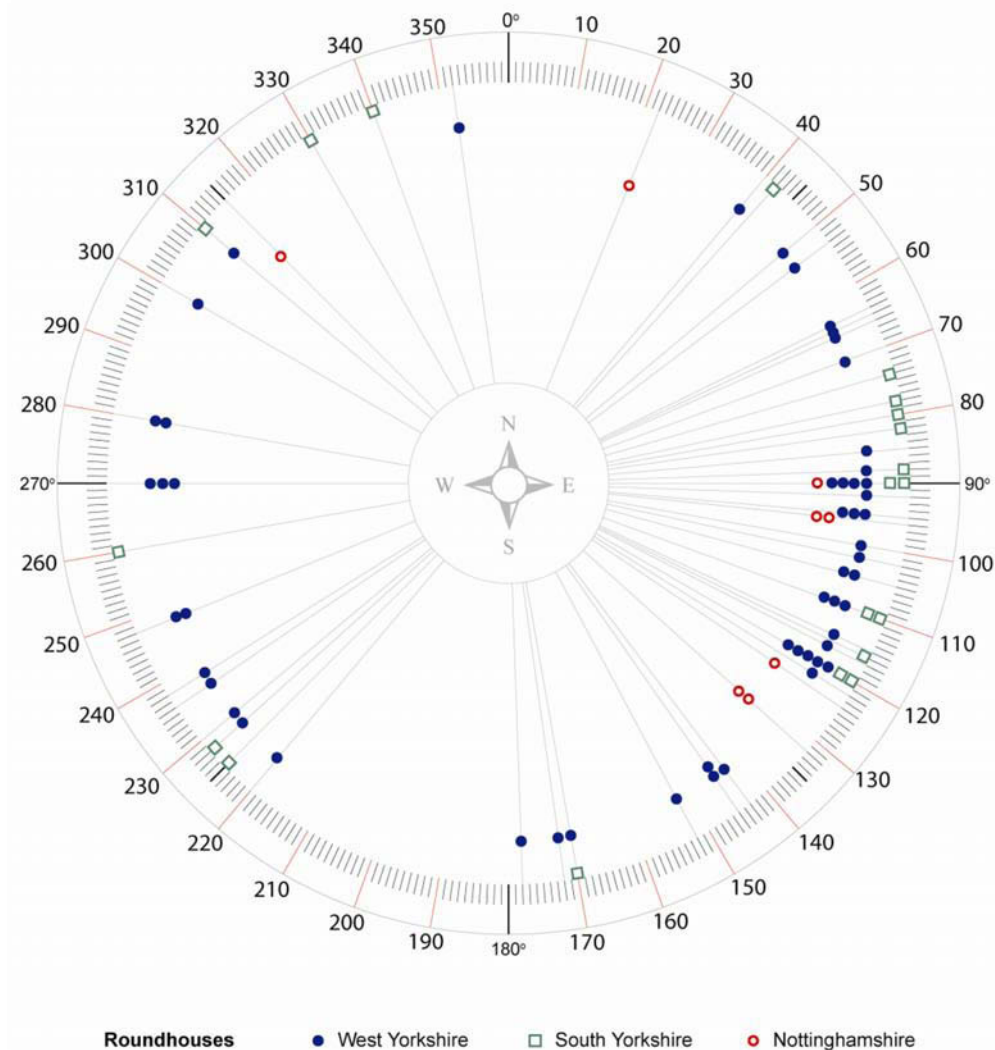


Figure 9.72. *The orientations of 82 identified entrances from 64 excavated roundhouses within my study region. (Drawn by A. Leaver).*

A notable result was that roundhouses with two possible doorways appear to have been a much more internally variable group (Appendix E, Table 15), although it may be significant that the majority of roundhouse entrances facing south-west or west were from structures with two entrances. This might suggest that roundhouses with two entrances had different functional, social and/or symbolic significance. If they were dwellings, then the people living in them might have had slightly different identities and social status from others in these communities.

Life cycles and life histories

It has been suggested that the construction, use and abandonment of Bronze Age roundhouses and settlements were linked to the life histories, marriages, inheritance or descent practices of their human occupants (Brück 1999a, 2000; Nowakowski 2001). This abandonment, construction or reconstruction work might have required the deposition of certain objects and materials at key moments (Bradley 1998; Brück 1999a, 2001; Webley 2007), in locations on or underneath roundhouse floors, in pits, or in ditches surrounding settlements. Many of these arguments are specific to the late Bronze Age or early Iron Age, however, and there is less evidence during the Iron Age for these deliberate dismantling, burning and abandonment practices (Pope 2003; Webley 2007). Nevertheless, most foundation or closure deposits from roundhouses in northern and central Britain date from *after* 400 BC, however, albeit in line with the dates of most of the excavated houses (Pope 2005), and these practices may have become more common in the north from around 800 BC.

I will address the evidence for structured deposits in and around Iron Age and Romano-British buildings in Chapter 11, but there are some other indications of the historicity of roundhouses, with some rebuilt repeatedly on almost exactly the same location. This was not the repair of existing structures but the repeated replacement of them, and hints at a need to retain attachments to very specific places. At Moss Carr, Methley Site 2 Enclosure A (Fig. 9.73), there were three overlapping phases of double roundhouses and perhaps one or two phases of a single roundhouse, with at least two different phases of roundhouses at Enclosure B (Roberts and Richardson 2002: figs. 4, 7). In Enclosure A at Ferrybridge there were three or four different overlapping

phases of roundhouse, one an almost direct replacement of another (Martin 2005: 92-95, figs. 79, 80-82), as at Holme Dyke, Gonalston where three roundhouses were closely superimposed on one another (Elliott and Knight 2002: 149; Knight and Howard 2004b: 98) (Fig. 9.45). At Topham Farm, Sykehouse, two groups of roundhouses overlay one another (Roberts 2003: 27-28, fig. 23), and at Swillington Brickworks several possible roundhouses also overlapped (Eyre-Morgan 1992; Vyner 1992). Elsewhere though, roundhouses may have been dismantled and/or abandoned within a few years or decades after construction. Many more need to be excavated in order to identify any statistically significant patterns.

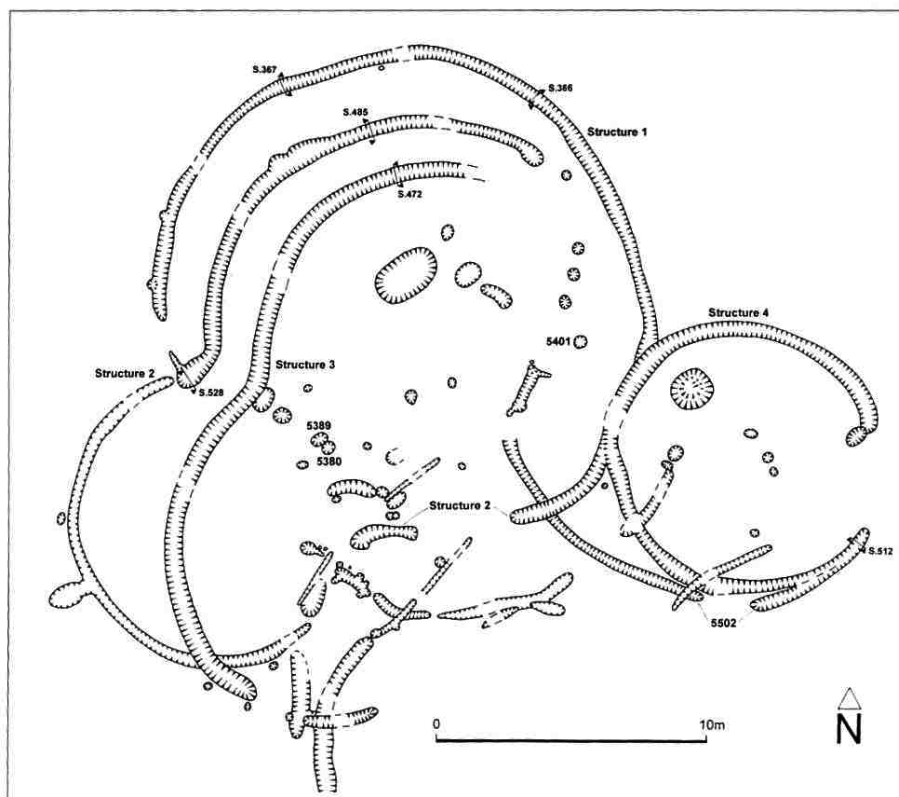


Figure 9.73. *A series of single and conjoined roundhouses closely superimposed over one another at Moss Carr, Methley Site 1. (Source: Roberts and Richardson 2002: 6).*

Drawing on theoretical discussions of the cultural biographies of material culture (Kopytoff 1986) and on the social meanings of domestic architecture (e.g. Bailey 1990; Bloch 1995; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Moore 1986; Parker Pearson and Richards 1995), Fokke Gerritsen proposed that over time prehistoric rectangular houses in the Netherlands accrued histories and a variety of social and symbolic meanings. Their construction and abandonment were closely related to living and

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deceased household members (Gerritsen 1999a, 1999b) (Fig. 9.74). Houses may have come to symbolise the continuity of households. Gerritsen's general approach ties in to some ethnographic evidence (e.g. Fewster 1999: 185-188). These social and political cycles are not fixed or predetermined, however, and it is important to emphasise the dynamic and contingent nature of household inhabitation, and questions of changing prestige and power. In many instances the biographies of houses were linked to the histories of households, and perhaps directly to the lives of some individuals – their social and economic success, or failure.

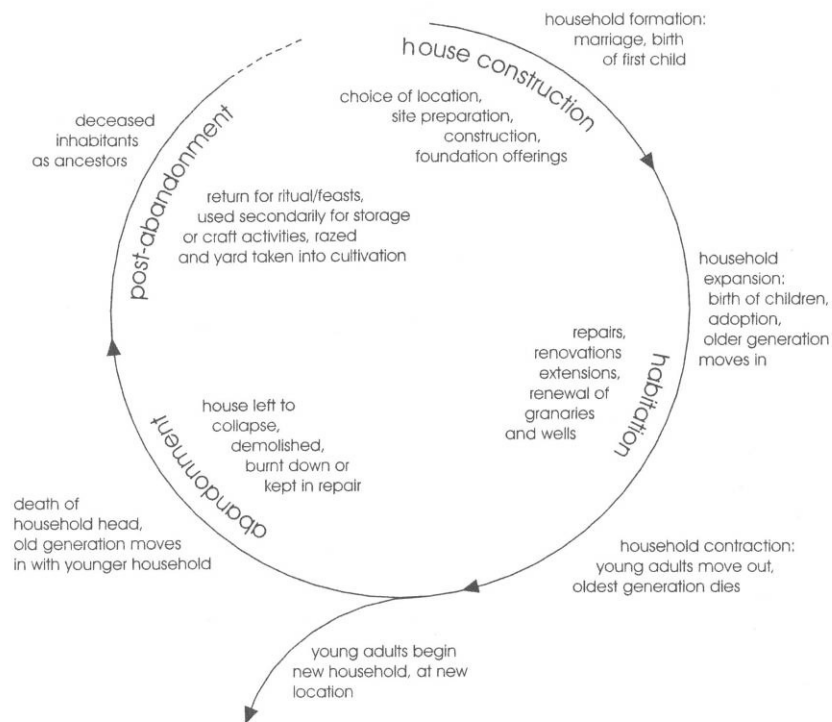


Figure 9.74. A model of the generational life cycles and cultural biographies of people and houses in the later prehistory of the Netherlands, where rectangular houses were generally built to last one generation. (Source: Gerritsen 1999a: 84).

At Moss Carr, Methley, the evidence does not allow close dating of the likely timespan of each building, other than a broad mid to late Iron Age date (Evans 2002: 26). Moss Carr may have been inhabited between *c.* 500-300 BC, but if this time period is divided up into the number of phases of construction, this suggests rebuilding may have taken place approximately every 50-70 years, or every two to three human generations. Each enclosure and roundhouse across the study region no doubt had its own particular biography, however.

In replacing these footings, re-encountering the traces and marks of other builders, people worked through a history of descent. They were grounded genealogically in place; literally and metaphorically raising foundations for a long-lived line. (Giles 2000: 123).

Although Iron Age and Romano-British roundhouses may have continued or reworked some cosmological references that henges and round barrows originally embodied, this should not be seen as direct transmission of ‘sacred lore’ through the ages, and apparent similarities might be misleading. Roundness may have stood for certain ideas about people and their world that themselves changed and were reinterpreted over time. The sheer ubiquity of roundhouses from the middle Bronze Age into the Romano-British period suggests that in addition to their robust practical qualities, they were also eminently suitable for cosmological understandings, inextricably woven together with the myriad, routine practices of everyday life. There were multiple experiences of these roundhouses – some based on age, gender, status and other aspects of human identity; and others implicitly linked to embodied human movements, mundane and ‘ritual’ practices, and ideas of renewal and rebirth. Births, deaths or other key events in people’s lives may have been commemorated in such ways. Roundhouses demarcated different spatial and temporal experiences, extending outwards into embodied taskscapes and socialised relationships with other people (Barrett and Fewster 2000: 31). The architecture and material culture of these communities were drawn into the lives and histories of animals and plants.

Rectangular buildings, villas and other structures

In a few rare instances, rectangular buildings can also be identified from the air (Fig. 9.75). Rectangular buildings were not necessarily linked to the Roman occupation. Although it is likely that most or all post-dated AD 70/71, the vagaries of some dating evidence mean that this cannot always be conclusively demonstrated. It is possible that the first phase rectangular building at Dunston’s Clump (Garton 1987) was earlier than AD 70/71, or (though rather unlikely) even AD 43, given the difficulties of

dating the hand-made pottery associated with the earliest phases. There is evidence for a limited number of rectangular buildings elsewhere in Iron Age Britain (Bell, Caseldine and Neumann 2000; T. Moore 2003: 55). In the same way that roundhouses have been compared to anthropological examples of round dwellings, ethnographic evidence from many Malagasy houses (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994: 14-15), Kabyle Berber houses (Bourdieu 1973), Atoni houses in Timor (Cunningham 1973), Barasana longhouses in South America (Hugh-Jones 1979) and Ainu *chise* in northern Japan (Nomoto 1999), amongst others, suggests that in addition to practical considerations, the location of doorways, windows and areas set aside for different activities might have been influenced by notions of cardinal or auspicious directions. I am again wary of drawing direct parallels with ethnographic evidence, particularly the more structuralist studies such as Bourdieu's investigation of the Kabyle, written before he developed his more nuanced theory of practice (Bourdieu 1977, cf. 1992). Nevertheless, we should not automatically assume that rectangular Romano-British houses were purely functional and had no social meanings.

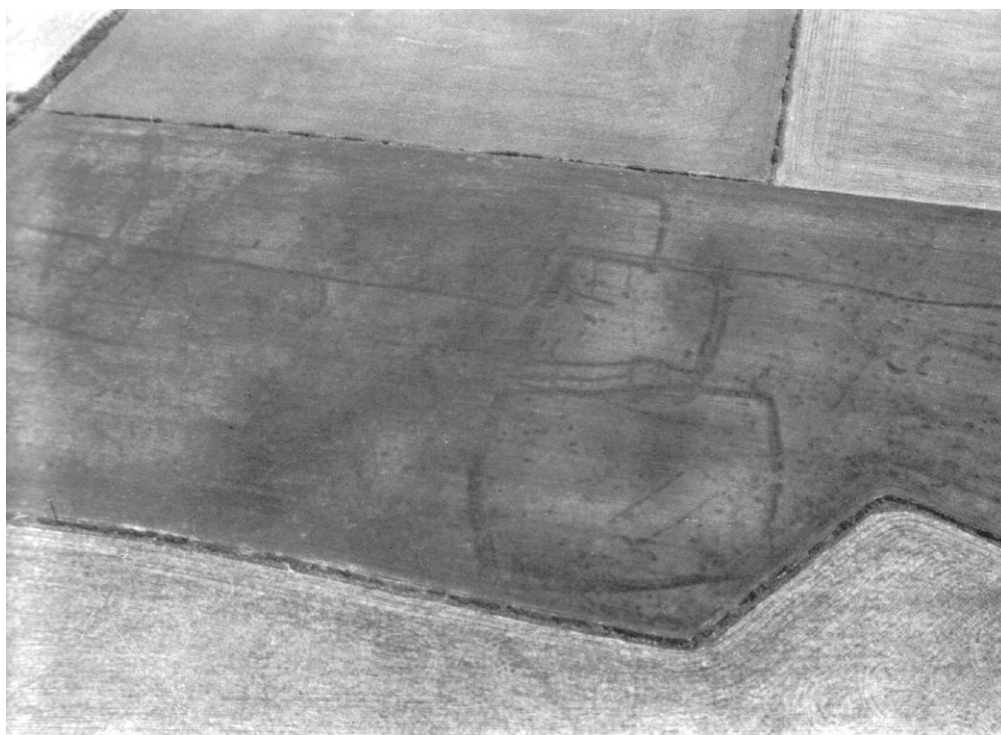
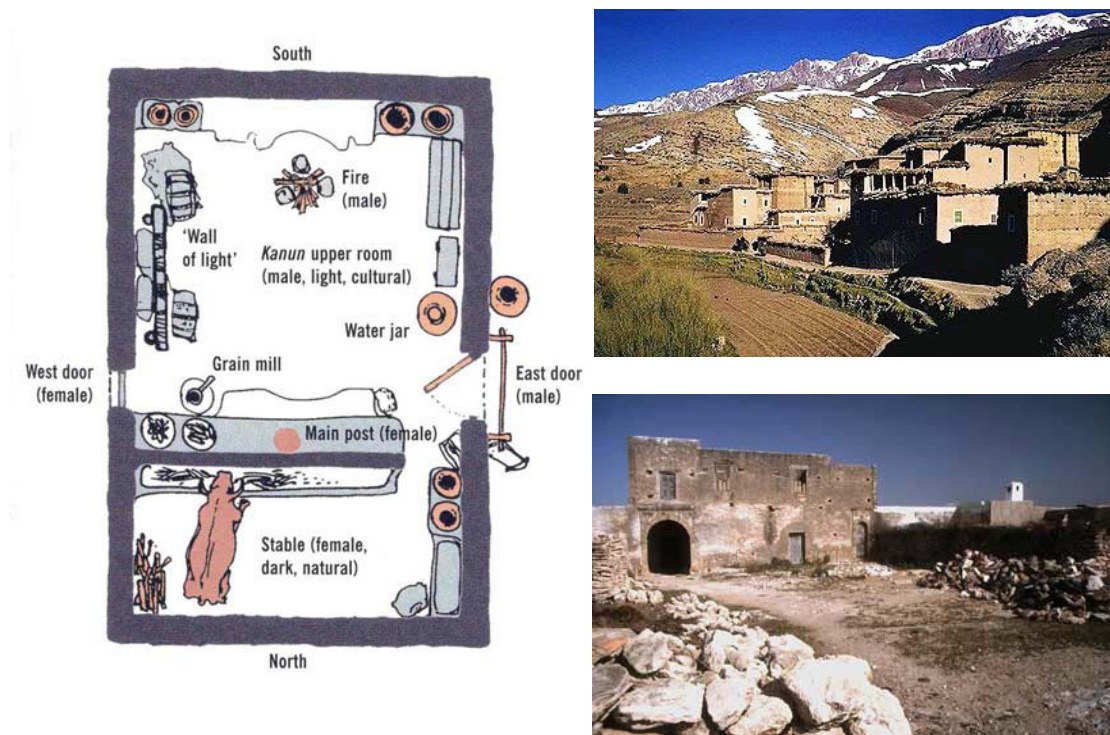


Figure 9.75. Enclosures, fields and trackways at South Muskham, Notts. At the lower right of the image, the large subrectangular enclosure contains a rectangular structure apparently defined by beam slots (or robbed stone footings). It is, however, on a different alignment to the main entrance of the enclosure, and may therefore pre- or post-date it. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1284, SK 780 565).



Ethnographies of household space 2. Figure 9.76. (left). Bourdieu's structuralist (and highly androcentric) interpretation of social space in Kabyle Berber rectangular houses. (Source: Planel 2000). Fig. 9.77. (top right) and Fig. 9.78. (bottom right). Berber houses. (Source: unknown Internet images).

With the exception of some larger stone examples, in many cases associated with villas, rectangular Romano-British buildings within the study region were mostly wooden structures. Examples are listed in Appendix E. They survive as postholes or stakeholes for probable wattle and daub walls, or linear slots for walls or horizontal timber beams, and only a few had stone footings. Some buildings have left little structural evidence – at Moor Pool Close, Rampton, only tegula hearths and clay floors survived later ploughing (Knight 2000a: 10). Most were probably single-storey structures, and some might have had standardised construction techniques (e.g. Goodburn 1991, 1995). The timber framing used in many allowed the pre-fabrication of frames that could be erected and assembled into buildings. These were relatively light and required less earthfast support, yet some might have been as long-lived as larger roundhouses, and many phenomenological experiences of them would have been similar (q.v. Helliwell 1992; Robin 2002; Weiner 2001). Timbers would have

creaked, smoke would have accumulated under roofs, and little light may have reached corners. Although some traditions of wattle and daub continued, the Romano-British period saw many changes in carpentry and joining techniques, and the increasing use of iron nails, hinges and other fastenings and fixtures, although these are often absent (perhaps re-used) from rectangular structures within the study region. For the first time, some buildings had doors with iron locks and keys, reflecting changing notions of privacy and ownership and perhaps creating new ‘crimes’ of trespass and breaking and entering.



Figure 9.79. *Building M at Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks. This aisled hall within a larger villa complex was probably in use during the late third and early fourth centuries AD. (Source: Tindall 1990: 48).*

Few aisled houses have been excavated within my study region, although Structure M at Dalton Parlours was the largest, most well-preserved building in the villa complex (Tindall 1990: 47-58) (Fig. 9.79). Others are known from Epperstone in Nottinghamshire (Whitwell 1982: 110-114), and slightly further afield, from Ockbrook and Roystone Grange in Derbyshire (Hodges 1991: 74-77, fig. 55; Palfreyman 2001). Many more are known from the south midlands (Hingley 1989: 39-45). Hingley proposed a model for the transformation of Iron Age roundhouse space into Romano-British rectangular buildings and aisled houses (Hingley 1990b: 135-139, fig. 6.2), again based on a conception of public : private zones. Taylor’s

examination of aisled and developed-aisled buildings in Northamptonshire suggested that there were shared traditions of spatial praxis, with features such as hearths, corn driers and entrances repeatedly located in the same positions (Taylor 2001: 51-52, fig. 14). During the second and third centuries AD everyday agricultural or craft activities were frequently undertaken within aisled buildings, but during the later third and fourth centuries domestic areas seem to have been increasingly separated from working spaces. This might have reflected changing social attitudes to ‘domestic’ and ‘work’ space. This subdivision and elaboration can be seen at Dalton Parlours Structure M (Tindall 1990: 47-58), where the initial ‘open’ aisled building had later extensions added, including a bathhouse suite with a hypocaust. Like Hingley, Taylor proposed that ‘hybrid’ spatial discourses developed from existing indigenous traditions, rather than the slavish adoption of ‘Roman’ architecture. This may be further evidence of a more complex dialectic between native and Roman practices and material culture than presented in more traditional accounts of ‘Romanisation’.

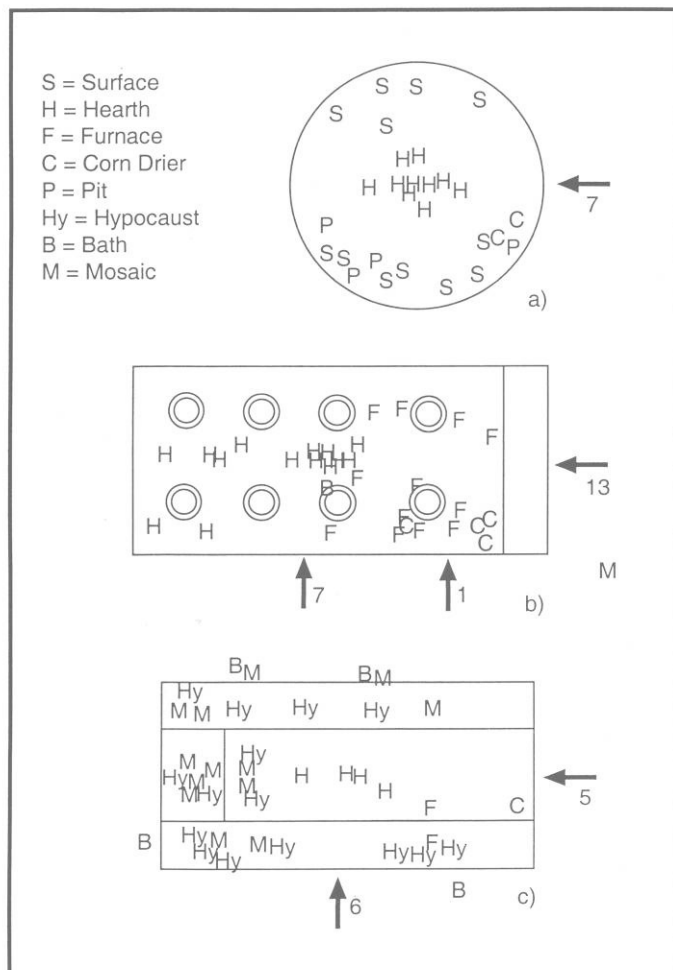


Figure 9.80. (left). Taylor’s model of architecture and social space in midlands Iron Age roundhouses and Romano-British aisled dwellings. (Source: Taylor 2001: 51).

Appendix E lists the entrance orientations, dimensions and structural features of twenty-six rectangular buildings within the study region. This is a very small sample, but itself notable compared to the much higher number of roundhouses. Only thirteen had recognisable entrances – Table 16 demonstrates the entrance orientations of these. There was much greater variation in doorway orientation than with roundhouses, which might indicate that there were no predominant beliefs about orientation, and/or that many were either built by ‘Roman’ colonisers, or ‘native’ people for whom traditional practices had changed. Some entrances that faced south-west or west show that ‘practical’ considerations of maximising daylight and avoiding prevailing winds were not always followed even in supposedly ‘rational’ Roman-style dwellings.



Figure 9.81. *Reconstruction of a Romano-British rectangular, single-storey dwelling made of timber and wattle and daub, Upton Country Park, Dorset. (Source: World Wide Web <http://www.boroughofpoole.com>).*

Villas

Villas are a classic ‘Roman’ type-site, and the apparent lack of them within the study region has been part of the discussions regarding its degree of Romanisation and its perceived marginality. Yet this lack of villas is only problematic for researchers who are more familiar with southern England, and whose thinking is dominated by simplistic culture-history and core : periphery approaches. I will only summarise the

regional evidence for villas, as my thesis focuses primarily on small-scale rural settlements and field systems.

Roman-style villas were indeed rare within my study region, and like northern England as a whole were a relatively late development, mostly dating to the third and fourth centuries (Branigan 1980, 1984; Wilson 1997). In West Yorkshire, there may have been villas near Bingley, Birstall, Bramham Park and Ossett (Deegan 2007; Faull 1981: 147), but only Dalton Parlours has been excavated (Procter 1855; Wrathmell and Nicolson 1990). This was probably inhabited during AD 200-370 (Wrathmell 1990: 279). The winged-corridor Structure J and the aisled Structure M were the main buildings (Fig. 9.82), and army-style metalwork including *lorica squamata* might suggest military connections (Cool 1990: 86), though this may have been over-stressed (Creighton 1992). Tiles with the Sixth Legion mark suggest a link to the garrison at *Eburacum* (York) (Betts 1990: 170; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 140). The Medusa mosaic from the apsidal-end of Building J might also have martial connotations (Cookson 1990: 150) (Fig. 9.83).



Figure 9.82. *Reconstruction of the Dalton Parlours villa complex, showing the winged corridor villa Structure J (lower left) with its apsidal-ended west wing, and aisled rectangular building Structure M (upper left), which were both probably contemporary with one another. Other buildings include the hypocaust-heated Structure B (to the right). (Source: © WYAAS).*

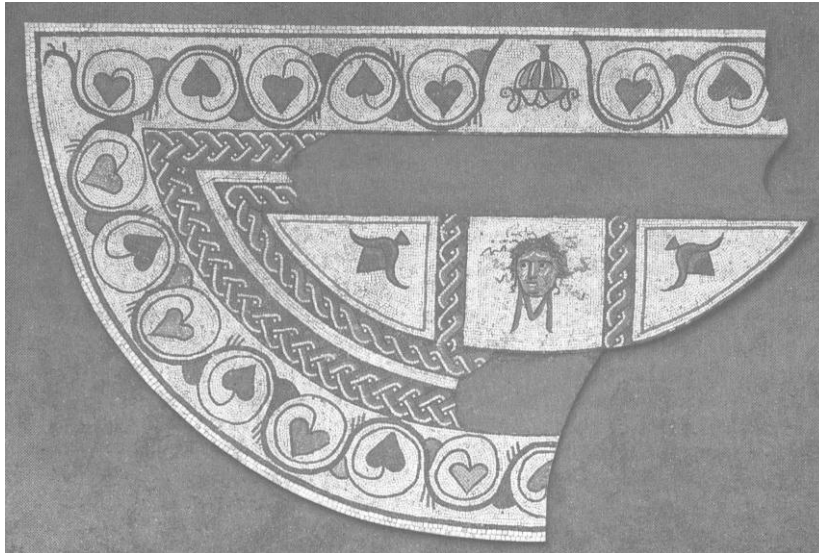


Figure 9.83. *Medusa mosaic from the apsidal-ended west wing of Structure J, Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks. (Source: Cookson 1990: 147).*

In South Yorkshire, excavations on a possible villa site at Stancil villa were very poorly recorded, although several phases of a bathhouse with a hypocaust were discovered (Whiting 1943: 263). Two possible villas may have been located at Conisborough and Oldcoates (Buckland 1986: 38), whilst artefact finds also hint at the presence of high-status sites at Loversall and Brodsworth (Cumberpatch 2004a, pers. comm.; P. Robinson pers. comm.). At Braithwell, a Roman stone building was examined in the 1950s but these investigations were again very poorly recorded (Buckland 1986: 38), whilst a bathhouse found recently at Hazel Lane Quarry, Hampole was possibly part of a villa complex (Pine and Taylor 2006: 72).

In Nottinghamshire, the intriguing villa complex on the River Trent floodplain at Cromwell included a main building within a double-ditched enclosure, along with several aisled halls or barns (Whimster 1989: 78-79; Wilson 1974) (Figs. 9.84-9.85). Large villa complexes have also been excavated or identified at Southwell (Daniels 1966; Whitwell 1982: 101-102) and Mansfield Woodhouse (Oswald 1949). Other probable villas include Barton-in-Fabis (Thompson 1951), Newton (Appleton et al. 2004; Todd 1969: 12), Car Colston, Shelford and Bingham (Todd 1969: 71-73); and Norton Disney in Lincolnshire (Oswald and Buxton 1937). The latter site was associated with a large enclosure and impressive monumental entranceway. A possible villa at Redhill has been re-interpreted as a *mansio* – part of a larger

settlement complex that might have included a temple, craft workshops and cemeteries (Elsdon 1982; Palfreyman and Ebbins 2003).

The villas at Newton, Shelford, Bingham and Car Colston were concentrated around the small town of *Margidunum* on the Fosse Way (Appleton et al. 2004; Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 137), whilst the villa at Norton Disney was close to *Crococalana*. The access of villas to high status artefacts may be partly explained by their location to nearby towns, but also implies close social and economic links. The produce of villa estates may have been going to these larger settlements. Similarly, West Yorkshire villas were near roads and had access to York, Castleford and Wetherby (Faull 1981: 148). South Yorkshire villas were generally close to *Danum* (Doncaster) and the Doncaster-Lincoln road. However, *Segelocum* (Littleborough) was an extensive small town, yet no villas have yet been identified around it (Bishop 2001b: 5). Many more local factors must therefore be taken into account.



Figure 9.84. *The multi-period complex at Cromwell, Notts., showing pit alignments and the agglomerated enclosure complex, but also villa buildings just left of centre. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1332, SK 802 625).*

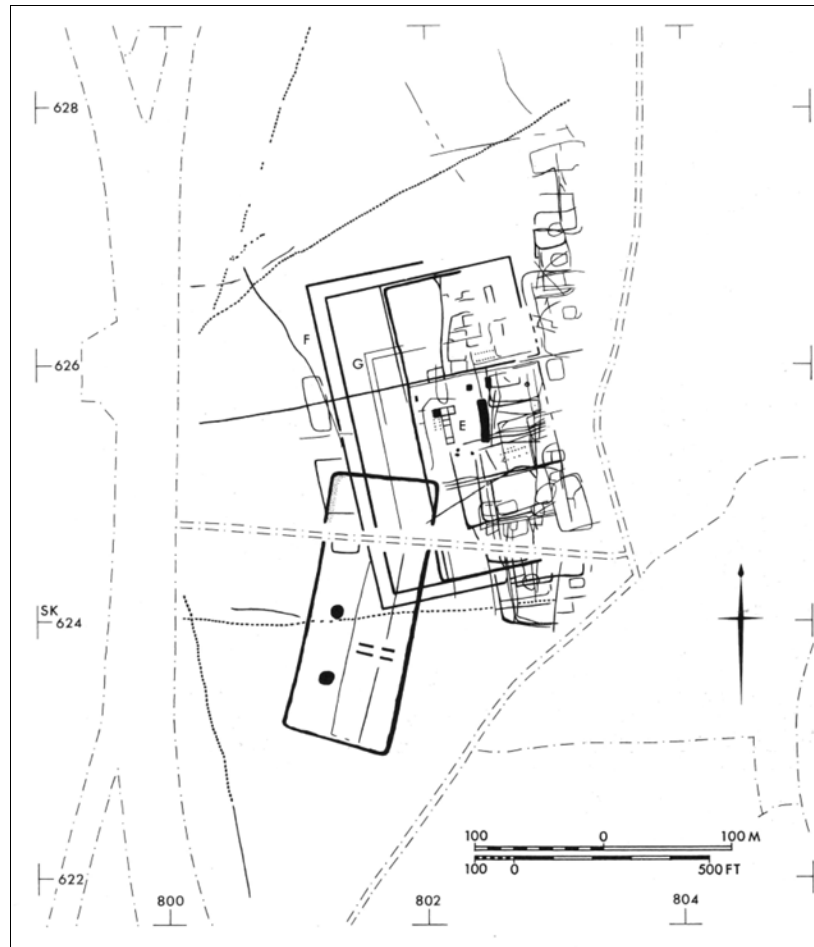


Figure 9.85. Plot of the cropmarks at Cromwell, showing villa buildings at E, including one darker room that may be evidence of a collapsed hypocaust. There is also a possible pool to the east. Two different phases of double-ditched villa enclosure boundaries may be visible at F and G. (Source: Whimster 1989: 79).

Larger villas were associated with complexes of other buildings (Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 136), some probably housing workers and/or slaves, but others appear to have had little impact on their surrounding landscapes. The villa at Stancil was not closely associated with any field systems (e.g. Riley 1980: 92-94, maps 7, 8), and at Dalton Parlours the villa was a focus for boundaries and trackways that reflected considerable continuities from the Iron Age (Yarwood 1990: 273, fig. 155). This suggests that in the study region villas were established within existing patterns and practices of land tenure. Nevertheless, although extensive villa complexes have been identified in south-central England (e.g. Dark and Dark 1997; de la Bédoyère 1993), and there have been attempts to identify the actual outer boundaries of villa estates (e.g. Miles 1986), no convincing examples of such features have actually been excavated or identified to date, even in south-central England (Dark and Dark 1997:

73-74; S. Scott 2004: 54). Although many villas were clearly associated with some form of tenurial control, land-ownership and centralised control of wealth from the land, and perhaps land owner and tenant relationships; it is possible that complex patterns of land tenure existed which mean that such clear cut boundaries may never be identified (Dark and Dark 1997: 74; Millett 1990: 203).

Villas have been traditionally interpreted as economic units in a Romanised capitalist economy (e.g. Branigan and Miles 1987; Rivet 1969), and as expressions of status and wealth. Millett (1990) regarded villas as the products of financial and social success by a Romanised class of native elites. Roman style houses should not always be directly equated with wealth, however (q.v. Taylor 2001: 49). Other households might have chosen to invest and display their wealth in amounts of livestock and arable land, in portable material culture, or through feasts (Hingley 1989: 159). The elaborate reception rooms of ostensibly rich villa owners might have sometimes ‘masked’ financial problems (Samson 1990b: 175), whilst *nouveau-riche* people might have had more richly furnished rooms than established wealthy families. Some villas may have had differential and multiple occupancies with several resident households and/or families, or households of different status within them (Creighton 1992; J.T. Smith 1978, 1998), though this suggestion is disputed (Clarke 1990).

Earlier first and second century villa plans in Britain were quite simple, generally consisting of single storey, rectangular complexes. In the later second and third centuries many were elaborated with corridor facades, ‘wing’ rooms, additional reception rooms; and internal embellishments such as painted plaster, tessellated floors and mosaics (Black 1994; Branigan 1982; Dark and Dark 1997; de la Bédoyère 1993; Neal 1982; S. Scott 1994, 2004; J.T. Smith 1998). Boundaries around villas presented messages about status and identity, and may have had legal connotations too in relation to the movements of slaves and/or bondsmen (Bodel 1997; Samson 1990b: 178). Like Hingley’s argument for the development of aisled houses (Hingley 1990b), Eleanor Scott suggested that earlier villas with their few large rooms were transmogrifications of late Iron Age social space. Later elaborations were a response to major social and economic changes in Roman Britain, perhaps including an increasingly market-based monetary economy (E. Scott 1990: 164-165; S. Scott 2004:

54) (see also Reece 1980; J.T. Smith 1978). The new architecture controlled the access of growing numbers of visitors concerned with commerce, taxation and administration. Villa enclosures, elaborate gateways, inner courtyards and the increased ‘depth’ of access to inner rooms reflected a growing emphasis on privacy and private property. Eleanor Scott thought that villas represented desires to enter the wider, market-driven Roman Empire, but at the same time also paradoxically reflected anxieties about strangers and the outside world.

A critique of Scott’s paper questioned how monetarised in modern terms the Romano-British economy was, and highlighted the importance of master and servant/slave relationships (Samson 1990b). It argued for a more complex series of everyday ideological and power structures and discourses between different classes and genders inhabiting villas, and between them and others in wider society. In his florid phenomenological analysis of Pompeian town houses, Knights (1994) proposed that they reflected Roman cosmology and ideas of the natural world, with movement through buildings and across thresholds analogous to the passage between the world of humans and the realms of the gods. Some of his insights are applicable to villas, and doorways in particular held especial significance in parts of the Roman world (Mac Mahon 2003). Martin (2005) took a more agency-based approach, arguing that architectural variations between villas marked the emergence of consumer choice amongst the villa owners. Villas have also been seen as arenas for social performances during formal gatherings such as dining (q.v. Ellis 1995; S. Scott 1994).

Clearly, ideas concerning status, display and power, and the connection between villas and discourses of ‘Romanisation’ are interesting, and the links proposed between the elaboration of villas in the third and fourth centuries with wider social and economic changes within Roman Britain, including a period of relative economic prosperity (e.g. de la Bédoyère 1999; Fulford 1989; Millett 1990; Whyman 2001). Villas were not simply rationalised economic impositions, the country estates of retired soldiers, or the slavish emulations of Roman culture by aspirant native elites. Branigan (1980: 18) noted that the majority of northern Romano-British villas were located east of the Pennines, and within the area of East Yorkshire considered to be the territory of the Parisi by culture-history approaches. He suggested that continued unrest in northern

England, especially a postulated rebellion around AD 150 (Breeze and Dobson 1976: 105-108), meant that villas were only established around occupied forts and secure urban centres, or were built in times of peace. Branigan attributes the lack of villas in the other areas of northern England to a 'positive aversion to the Roman way of life' (Branigan 1980: 20). This might be seen as similar to the unconscious or deliberate 'native resistance' to Roman material culture proposed by Hingley (1996, 1997).

Branigan's simplistic analysis was based on limited evidence, but he did identify the core archaeological issues. Why were villas not more common within the study region, and why did so few of those built have re-organised estates? Although active or passive resistance to 'Roman' culture may be one reason, villas were likely to have been linked to concepts of identity. For those who followed existing expressions of wealth and status, Roman-style buildings perhaps had less symbolic value and appeal (Hingley 1989: 146-147), even for 'native' individuals and families of higher status. Given the generally decentralised settlement pattern and the similarities between farmstead sites, there were probably few indigenous 'elites' and little emphasis on high status metalwork, fine pottery and 'exotic' items of material culture. Traditional patterns of tenure may have created resistance to wide scale land re-organisation.

In contrast, East Yorkshire *may* have had more well-defined Iron Age elites with high status artefacts, some of whom might subsequently have wished to express status differences through Roman-style architecture, although such analyses (cf. Ramm 1978) might well be too simplistic (q.v. Giles 2007b: 239; Whyman 2001: 198). The comparatively low number of urban centres in my study region would have meant fewer local markets for the products of villa estates, and where clusters of villas did occur, these were close to York, Castleford, Doncaster, *Margidunum* and their road networks. These factors meant that farmsteads continued to be the normal forms of settlement. The past emphasis on trying to establish overarching explanations for the presence or absence of villas was derived from overwhelmingly culture-historical and economic approaches. Although some social and symbolic interpretations are valid, they often do not adequately explain why villas were sited in particular places.

Future research on villas within my study region (and others) should examine their local landscape contexts, and investigate the specific biographies of the individual villas themselves. I have described some of these sites in such greater detail in the Gazetteer (Appendix G). I will just briefly refer to one here.

Stancil in South Yorkshire was situated on the north-eastern end of a low gravel 'island' or ridge between 5-10m OD in the otherwise extremely low-lying floodplain of the River Torne. Although described as a villa by Whiting, it was not necessarily a villa *per se*, although the remains of the bathhouse he excavated indicate that it was obviously a high-status, Romanised site (Whiting 1943, see Gazetteer). The nearby cropmark of a funnel-ended trackway (see Appendix D) suggests that there was grazing of livestock on what would have been seasonally-flooded lowlands, but no other cropmarks have been identified in the immediate vicinity. Either this high-status site was not associated with any field boundaries, or alluvium and peat have masked Romano-British floodplain land division of the sort seen at Finningley 7.5km to the north-east, or at Mattersey approximately 12km to the south-east.

Whiting noted the remains of a wattle and daub structure (Whiting 1943: 268), which he interpreted as being part of a medieval cottage, although given the poor quality of the excavations this could also have been of prehistoric or Romano-British date. Given its landscape location, it is feasible that the high-status site at Stancil was the product of a successful local late Iron Age lineage, and an Iron Age site may lie underneath the Roman-period remains and those of the modern farm. Perhaps these were native 'cattle barons' who made a fortune supplying beef to the garrison at the fortress of Rossington Bridge, only 3.5km to the north-east. Alternatively, given this short distance to the fortress, this site was established by a serving Roman officer or a retired legionary. The possible north-south aligned Roman road recently identified by Alison Deegan (Roberts, Deegan and Berg 2007: 17-18, fig. 8.4) was only 1.75km east of the Stancil site, and this may have been another important reason behind its landscape location.

Memory and history

Sometimes specific physical associations seem to have been made where an enclosure entrance was sited over a previous roundhouse, or vice versa. These appear to be deliberate architectural references, as at Cromwell and North Muskham (Fig. 9.86), though aerial photographs are unable to prove the sequences. Examples elsewhere in Britain include Frocester in Gloucestershire and Copse Farm, Oving in West Sussex (Bedwin and Holgate 1985; Price 2000). At Holme Dyke, Gonalston, three phases of roundhouse were built over the corner of earlier enclosure D (Knight and Elliott 2002, forthcoming), and were then succeeded by the corner of Enclosure E; whilst the ditch of Enclosure A cut across the middle of an earlier structure (Fig. 9.87). At Gonalston Lane, a right-angled ditch within Enclosure B was dug across two earlier round structures, the angle of the ditch located precisely within the centre of one, and across the centre of the other. There were similar relationships at Normanton-on-Trent and Carlton-on-Trent (Whimster 1989: 70-71, figs. 43-44, 46-47).



Figure 9.86. *Enclosure at Cromwell, Notts., showing one roundhouse stratigraphically above or below the enclosure entrance. Other roundhouses are also visible. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1310, SK 792 610).*

It may sometimes have been important to mark the sites of previous structures. Former dwellings might have left traces of daub, charcoal and ash, and worn bone, flint and pottery. Such marks and subtle remnants etched onto the surface of the land might have reflected the gradually waning memories of people and the significance of past events. Later acts of architectural referencing might have been a ‘terse requiem’ to the previous inhabitants (Weiner 2001: 18), part of an active process or art of forgetting (Forty 1999: 7, 15; Küchler 1987, 1999: 60-61) or an affirmative aesthetics of decay (Trigg 2006). These specific locales had a numinous charge of history. Such close physical links suggest a concern with maintaining direct genealogical histories (q.v. Gosden and Lock 1998: 8-9).

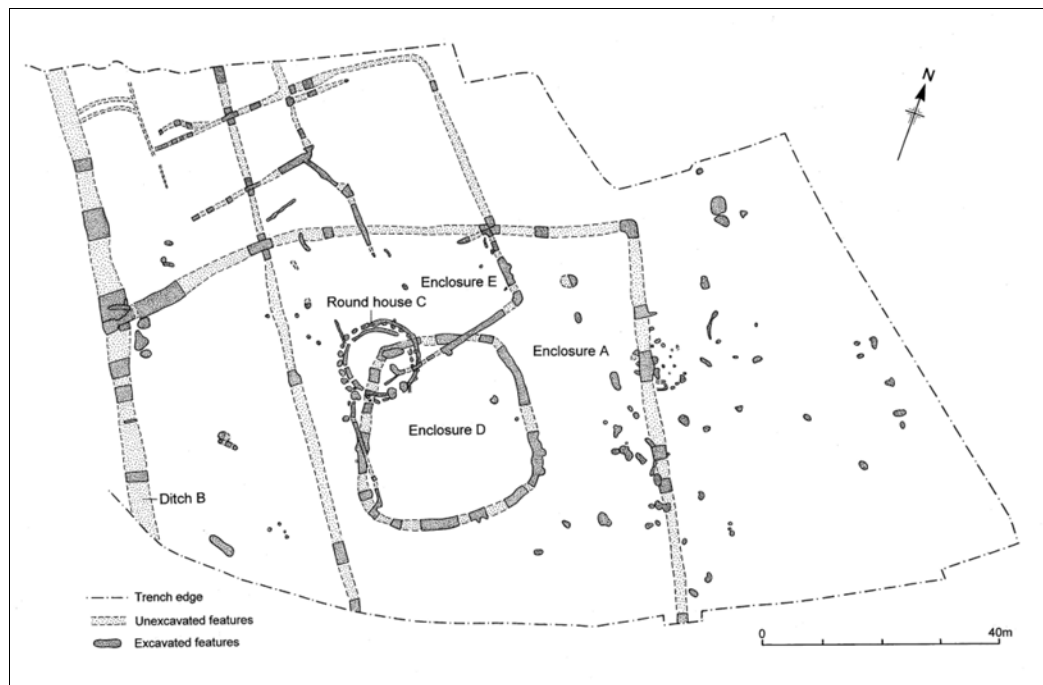


Figure 9.87. *The enclosure complex at Holme Dyke, Gonalston, Notts., showing the extremely close spatial and stratigraphic relationships between three phases of roundhouse C, and enclosures D and E. (Source: Knight and Elliott forthcoming).*

Sometimes enclosures referenced much earlier features within the landscape. At Woofa Bank, panels of rock art on earthfast boulders seem to have been deliberately incorporated into the enclosure bank (Fig. 9.88). At Cromwell, small enclosures and roundhouses were sited close to late Neolithic mortuary enclosures and a late Neolithic or early Bronze Age hengiform monument (Whimster 1989: 68-69, figs. 39-41) (Figs. 9.37-9.38), whilst other boundaries respected or deliberately incorporated



Figure 9.88. *Panel of rock art apparently incorporated within the enclosure bank at Woofa Bank, W. Yorks. (Source: World Wide Web <http://www.megalithic.co.uk>).*

possible Bronze Age ring ditches or barrows (ibid.: fig. 54). Similar referencing of a Neolithic cursus and Bronze Age ring ditches occurred at Aston-upon-Trent in Derbyshire (Gibson and Loveday 1989; Loveday 2004) (Fig. 9.89). Enclosure B and perhaps enclosure E at Ferrybridge were constructed over earlier ring ditches (Martin 2005: 99, fig. 86, 124, fig. 107), and the Iron Age and Romano-British pit alignments and the orientation of fields and trackways respected the earlier henge and round barrows (Roberts 2005a: 210) (see Chapter 11).

With the post-PPG16 growth in large-scale developer-funded archaeological fieldwork, compelling evidence for such deliberate referencing of earlier features in the landscape is emerging from many different areas of Britain (e.g. Cooper and Edmonds 2007; Ellis 2004; Maloney et al. 2003; John Thomas 2008). Sometimes this referencing may have been the result of long-term processes of social memory and myth making (see Chapter 11). At other times, these close juxtapositions of features were not necessarily the result of direct continuities of social memory or practice, but may nevertheless still reveal something about how these Iron Age and Romano-British communities constructed their own senses of identity and history.

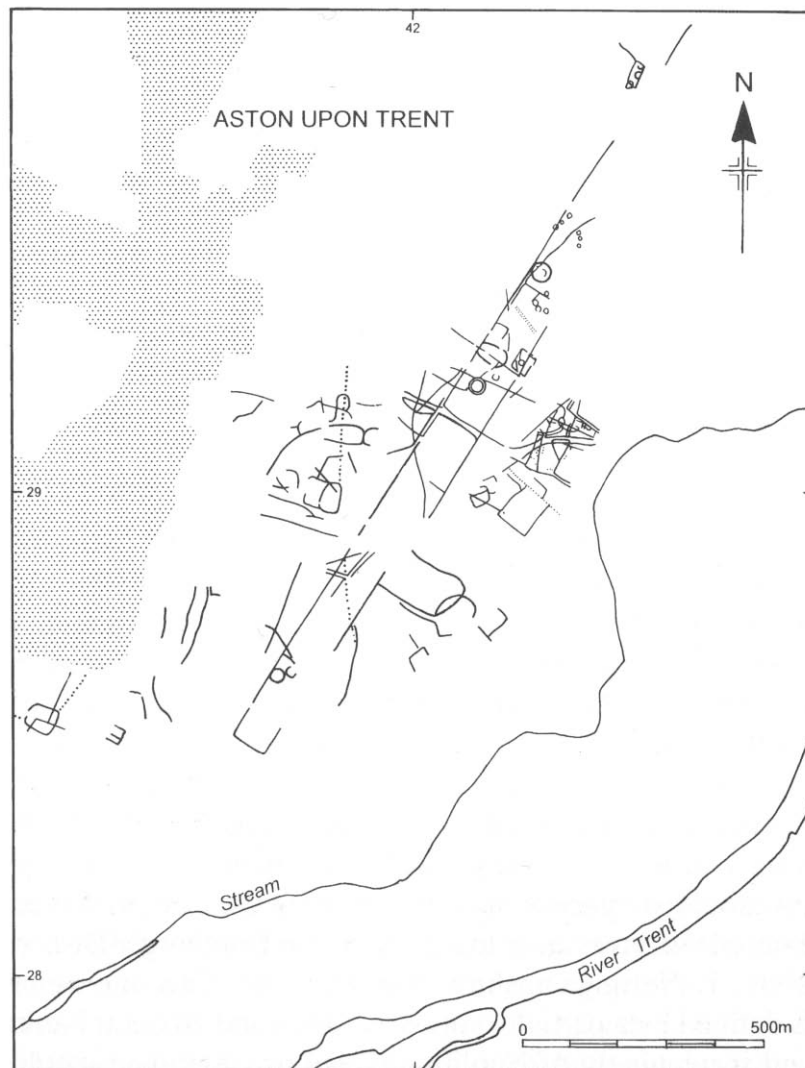


Figure 9.89. *Cropmarks of the Neolithic cursus and Bronze Age ring ditches or round barrows at Aston-upon-Trent, Derbyshire, also showing later trackways and enclosures apparently respecting the earlier monuments. (Source: Knight and Howard 2004a: 64).*

Architectural grammar and embodied movements

During the 1970s and 1980s, semiotic analyses of architecture suggested that buildings are often constructed and experienced based on implicit ‘syntactical’ rules imbedded within societies (Broadbent 1980; Eco 1980; Hillier, Leaman, Stansall and Bedford 1976; Rapoport 1969, 1982). These are the ‘deep structures’ of Chomsky and Giddens, and part of the habitus of Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1977; Chomsky 1965; Giddens 1984). Such studies led to a series of influential inter-disciplinary

publications on social space (for a small sample, see Grøn, Engelstad and Lindblom 1991; Hillier and Hanson 1984; Kent 1990; Locock 1994; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994; Rapoport 1994; Samson 1990a). Sally Foster used access analysis to examine the social construction of space in Iron Age broch settlements on Orkney (Foster 1989a, 1989b), arguing that the increasing complexity of social space, with greater subdivision of enclosures and buildings and where people had to pass through more entrances and thresholds, reflected growing social hierarchies. People living in the innermost social spaces may have had the highest social status. In an earlier article I proposed that field and enclosure ditches could be regarded as active, architectural constructions with concomitant social meanings (Chadwick 1999: 156-158; cf. Lele 2006) (see Chapter 7). Enclosures too might be considered in such terms, but I have not undertaken formal access analyses as these approaches have been criticised for ‘reading off’ social relationships from architectural forms (Grenville 1997: 20). Cross-cultural approaches may also make many assumptions about power and gender relationships within households (Çevik 1995: 40; Ilcan 1996: 34-35; Price 1999: 38-39), ignoring the variability of social relationships within societies and the complex, historically and socially contingent nature of households themselves.

What is clear is that those entering enclosures often had to pass through a series of graded spaces and thresholds, and there were concerns with channelling and restricting the movements of people and/or animals. On some settlements roundhouses and sub-enclosure inner spaces were screened from view, but at others they were deliberately framed – examples are presented in Appendix E. Most enclosure entrances varied between 3-6m in width, but were sometimes much more restricted. Sometimes the routes into enclosures were rather circuitous, taking people and animals through several different changes of direction. Examples of this can be seen at Scrooby Top, Dunston’s Clump and at Bottom Osiers, Gonalston (Davies et al. 2000; Elliott and Knight 1996, 1998: 32, fig. 1; Garton 1987). For strangers, or those of lesser status, this might have reinforced the position of the person(s) within that settlement, or those who were resident compared to those who were not. Routes in and out of enclosures sometimes led past animal pens, perhaps as discourses of display and prestige associated with the numbers and/or quality of livestock.

Although many features were undoubtedly useful in controlling the movements of livestock, they also reflected a deliberate desire to formalise and restrict the movement of people, and to make the entrances to enclosures appear impressive. Complex ideas of power, surveillance, display and concealment were thus played out through enclosure architecture and household space (q.v. Foucault 1979). Such aggrandisement was at a relatively small scale, but might nevertheless have resulted from heterarchical or minor hierarchical differences, or may have marked out particular enclosures and roundhouses as having special status.

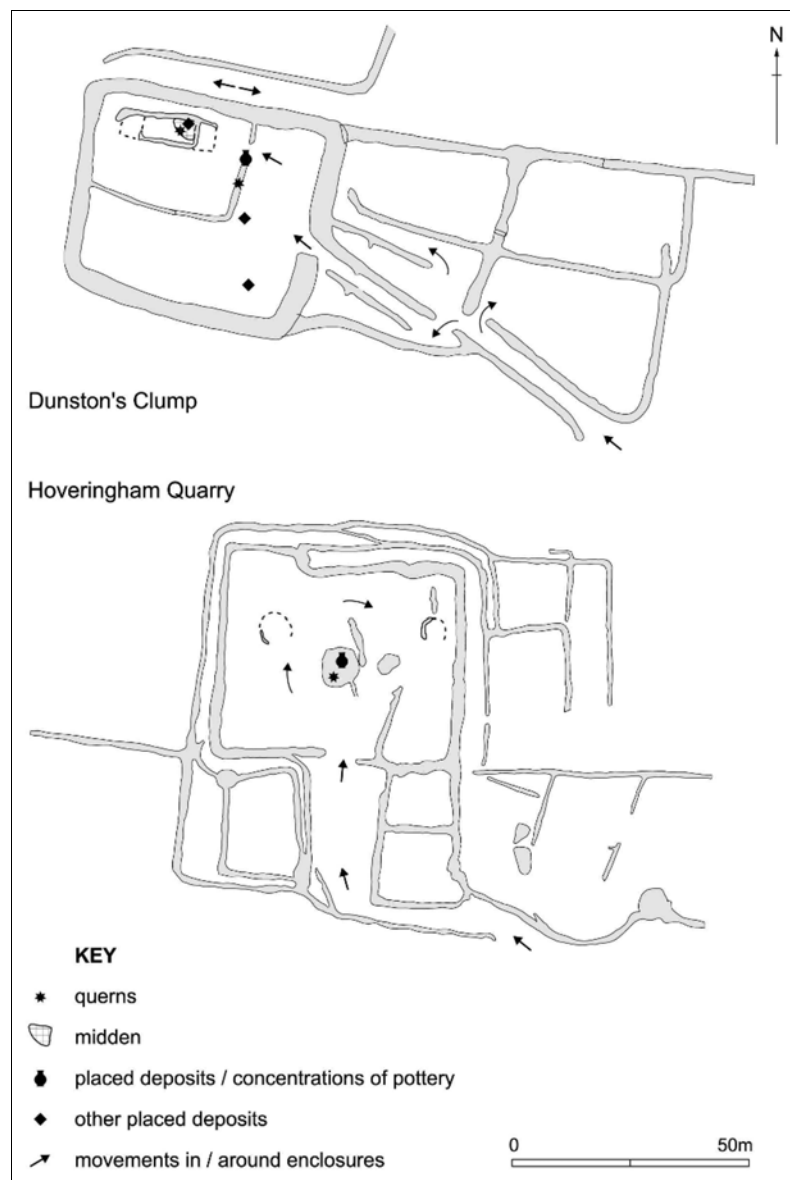


Figure 9.90. *Restricted movements into and around the enclosures at Dunston's Clump and Bottom Osiers, Gonalston, Notts., together with possible placed deposits. (Drawn by A. Leaver, from Chadwick 2004a: 99).*

At Moss Carr, Methley, Enclosure A was probably the main focus for domestic inhabitation (Roberts and Richardson 2004: 38); whilst Enclosure B may have been used for livestock or some other purpose, yet several phases of roundhouses within the enclosure had palisade gullies leading towards them, suggesting display (Fig. 9.91). This might mean that Enclosure B was used by particular age, gender or other social grades, and could have had a specialised, non-utilitarian role.



Figure 9.91. *Excavating roundhouses at Enclosure B, Moss Carr, Methley, Site 1, showing the different phases of palisade gullies leading towards the structures. (Source: Roberts and Richardson 2002, back cover).*

Re-entering the entrance debate

The orientations of one hundred and twelve excavated Iron Age and Romano-British enclosure entrances are listed in Appendix E, and shown in Fig. 9.92. This counts the total number of entrances rather than enclosures, to take into account those with more than one entrance. It includes enclosures that had clear ‘domestic’ inhabitation, and some that were probably stock pens and corrals. Of the total, sixty-eight were from West Yorkshire, thirty from South Yorkshire, and fourteen from Nottinghamshire – once again, some sites were not included as the only plans available to me were not sufficiently detailed. Diagrams (Tables 17-20) suggest that enclosure entrances were

more varied in orientation than roundhouse entrances, which might imply that there were less restrictive social mores or unspoken conventions concerning this, and/or that there was no strong functional and utilitarian purpose behind their layout. The majority were nevertheless still orientated between ENE to SSE, with peaks due east and south-east. There was also a small group of enclosures with entrances orientated north-east, however, and others that were aligned to the south-west. GIS analysis of enclosure locations might reveal significant trends in the setting and aspect of enclosures, but the evidence from this limited study of excavated examples initially suggests that most were constructed on gentle south or south-east facing slopes or flat areas, perhaps an unsurprising preference.

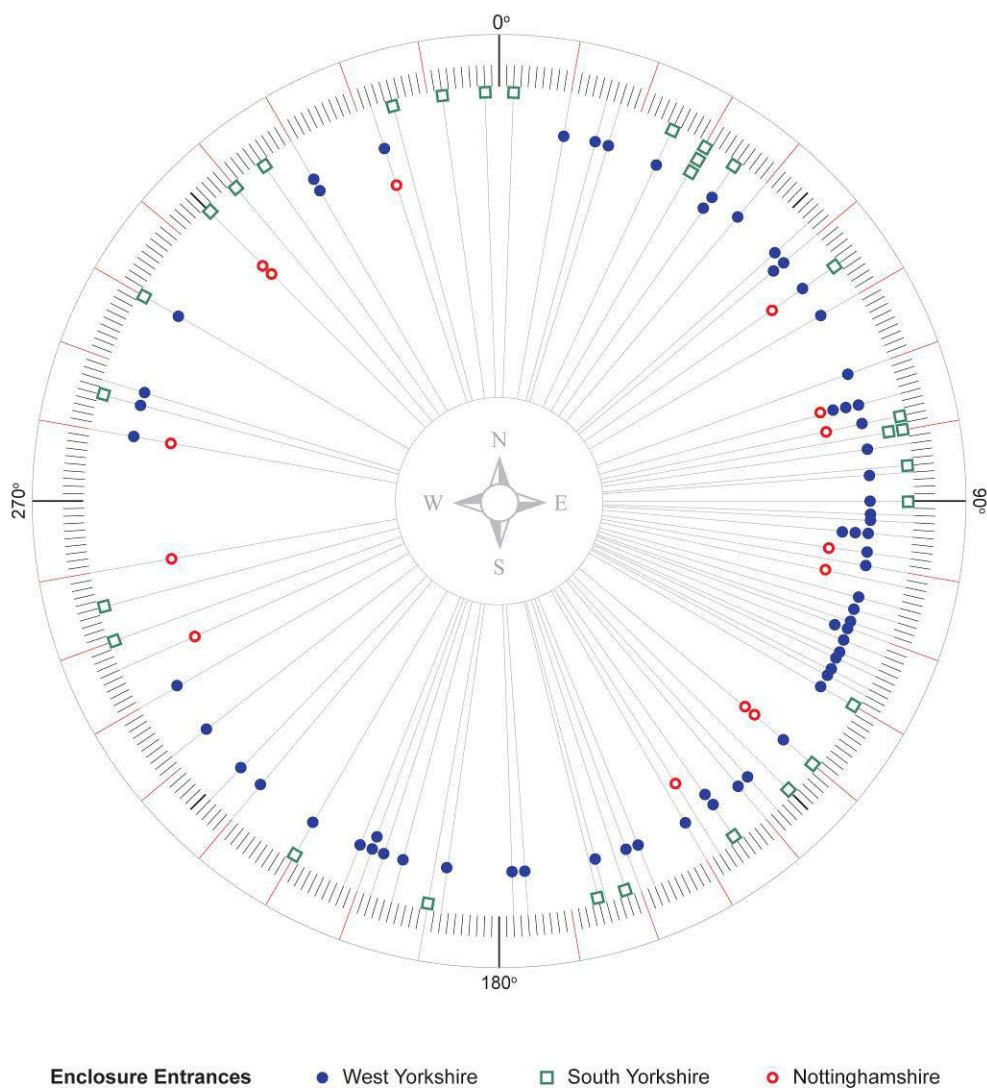


Figure 9.92. *The entrance orientations of 112 excavated enclosure entrances within the study region. (Drawn by A. Leaver).*

Inhabiting enclosures and buildings

Smaller enclosures probably represented individual farmsteads – household ‘compounds’ in other words (Hingley 1989: 55). *If enclosure size is a guide to social status, then the fact that many of these enclosures were similar in area (>0.4ha, Riley 1980: 31) may indicate relatively undifferentiated communities. This is not to suggest that social differences did not exist, but that these were not expressed through elaborate architecture and material culture during the later Iron Age. The appearance of more ubiquitous and more durable material culture forms before and following the Roman invasion of the north may have allowed greater expression of status variations, yet even here care must be taken not to equate the amount of material culture such as pottery with status. For the majority of people status differences might not have been marked, perhaps equivalent to the variations recorded within medieval and contemporary ‘peasant’ or small-scale societies (see discussions in Dobrowolski 1971; Fryde 1996; Rigby 1995; Saul and Woods 1971; Stirling 1965). These enclosures may each have been home to one family or co-resident group, but larger examples may have supported extended families, or several different households from the same kinship group or lineage (Fewster 1999: 186-187; Hingley 1989: 60; Yanagisako 1979: 197-198). The larger agglomerated settlements seen on the Magnesian Limestone of West Yorkshire and the Trent Valley of Nottinghamshire might have reflected the communal work of particular clans, but as some may have served more specialised and/or been occupied on a seasonal basis functions these should not be considered as ‘villages’.*

Archaeology focuses on settlements as specific ‘sites’ (Carman 1999: 21), but farmsteads cannot be considered in isolation from the fields, trackways and other areas of the landscape, and might instead be seen as ‘congealed’ fields of discourse (q.v. Barrett 1988), where particular movements, identities and social relations were concentrated. They were entangled nodes within different practices, competencies and routines, where the materiality of the landscape was manipulated (Robbins 1998). The wood and thatch of dwellings, the banks and ditches of the enclosures, and the identities, everyday lives and taskscapes of human and non-human inhabitants all intersected and interconnected with wetlands, pastures, woods, fields and trackways

in the wider landscape. Different types of wood or its source may have held different symbolic connotations, for example (Bloch 1995: 68-69; J. Knight 1998: 206-207). People's ideas of 'domestic' space might have extended out, across and through the warp and weft of relational links and agencies (Ingold 2000: 186-187). The landscape was represented, referenced and respected in the routine materialities and practicalities of everyday life, and these tangible physical links may have been drawn upon to establish metaphorical, metonymical and cosmological associations (q.v. Tilley 1999). These quotidian spaces and experiences were a mixture of:

...the historical and the lived, the individual and the social, the real and the unreal, a place of transitions, of meetings, interactions and conflicts... (Lefebvre 2002: 47).

Many features of enclosures such as subdivisions, restricted entrances and fences screening or leading to areas may have represented social anxieties over the unrestricted movements of people from place to place (q.v. Foucault 1979; Lefebvre 1991a). These architectural devices do not occur even in all enclosures likely to have served as domestic farmsteads, but in comparison with late Bronze Age and early Iron Age open settlements, enclosures were experienced very differently by people. Instead of being able to approach settlements from many different directions, people (and animals) had to move towards them from particular directions, through a series of thresholds during which their movements had the potential to be monitored, challenged and blocked. Within and around enclosures and houses, people's daily movements were constrained and regimented by these constructions. Further out into pens, paddocks and fields, people's paths would have become more dispersed and meandering rhizomic routeways, although trackways and gates would have still restricted some of these paths. This demarcation of space facilitated the 'micropolitics of everyday social practices' (Sandywell 2004: 173) – the physical and social separation of activities, and this might have reproduced (and itself contributed to) the separation of tasks by age, skill, gender and status; and the way in which people's identities came into being and were performed, constrained or enabled. It affected and was itself affected by the reproduction of household power relationships and functional and seasonal variations in patterns of movement and social organisation (see discussions in Cutting 2006; Ilcan 1996; Keira and Keira 1999; Price 1999).

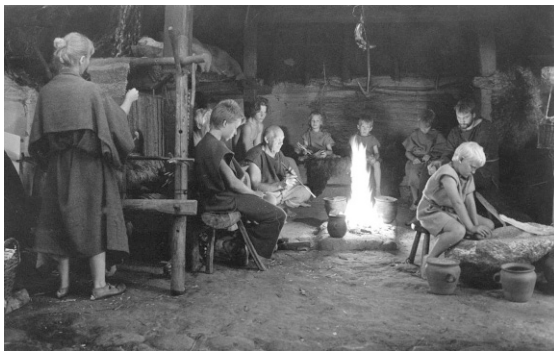
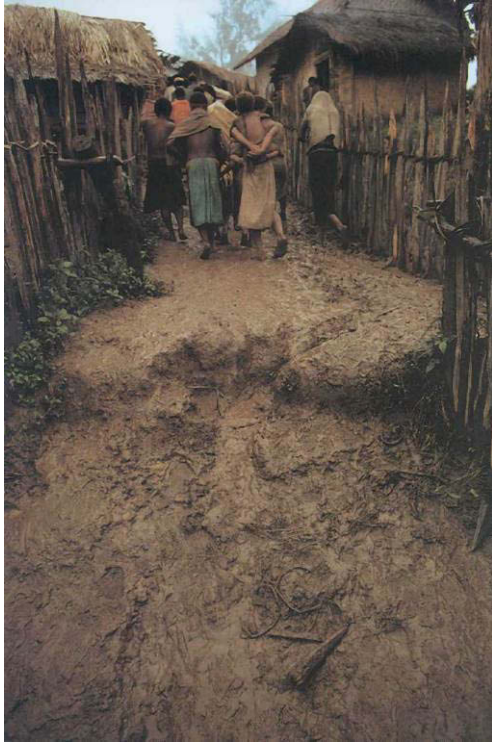


Figure 9.93. (top left). *Gimi people walking along a muddy trackway between buildings, Papua New Guinea.* (Source: Gillison 2002: 58). **Fig. 9.94.** (top right). *Man atop a stile at Alipe, Kaugel valley, New Guinea.* (Source: Steensberg 1980: 116). **Fig. 9.95.** (second row right). *Ainu women pounding grain outside a dwelling, Hokkaido, Japan.* (Source: Keira and Keira 1999: 239). **Fig. 9.96.** (third row left). *Reconstruction of extended family life inside a prehistoric dwelling.* (Source: © Lejre Experimental Centre). **Fig. 9.97.** (bottom left). *Trackway between fences, Kum river region, Mount Hagen, New Guinea.* (Source: Steensberg 1980: 114). **Fig. 9.98.** (bottom right). *Yanomami woman carrying firewood.* (Source: Chagnon 1973: 175).

Although simplistic structuralist and androcentric ideas of public : male and private : female dichotomies must be avoided (q.v. Pope 2007; Sørensen 2006), nonetheless in many small-scale societies much of women's work focuses around households and settlements, whereas men's everyday activities may take place within a wider spatial domain (e.g. Moore 1986; Munn 1986). In fetching water, firewood and other materials vital to households, women in small-scale societies regularly travel great distances from settlements and often undertake the bulk of daily work, however, whereas men may remain around settlements for much of the day. It also does not mean that 'domestic' activities should be associated solely with dwellings (q.v. Moore 1988: 30; Price 1999: 3-35; Yanagisako 1979: 191-198). Everyday life was probably not strictly segregated into inside and outside, private or public, and artefacts and practices from dwellings would have been directly linked to those outside. Furthermore, although women and men may perform different, spatially separated tasks during the day, many are interdependent. At different times of the year, the tempo of everyday tasks would have shifted from certain areas of these enclosures and the landscape to others; and from enclosures and gardens to outfields and 'industrial' areas. During the harvest, men, women and children, would have worked together in the fields, and as outlined in Chapter 6, some people were probably absent for days or weeks at a time during the summer when animals were taken to graze on hilltop heath or down onto river floodplains. In these cases, many women might well have had more extensive taskscapes as well. The fluidity in use of these landscapes and the locations of many activities outside of them in the wider landscape suggest that we should be cautious about over-emphasising the importance of the enclosure as a focus for everyday practices.

Dwellings *may* have formed the focus for cooking and eating, and perhaps on larger settlements each co-resident group retired to their own houses at dusk. External hearths have been found on many of these Iron Age and Romano-British settlements though. Especially during the summer months, these are where most food might have been cooked (Fewster 1999: 185), and were gathering places and social foci for people. Alternatively, different foods might have been prepared on different hearths – bread might have been baked in large quantities in external ovens, but individual family meals were prepared indoors. This might have been the case if some foods

were regarded as more polluting than others, or if different age, gender or status groups were cooking. Ethnography suggests many possibilities.

Some houses and spaces within enclosures might have been the prerogative of only women or men, or senior men and senior women. Children might not have been raised in some dwellings (Yanagisako 1979: 189), or were denied access to some areas. Certain people may have had greater capacities to act knowledgeably *upon* these taskscapes than others, structuring principles that were actively maintained through ways of moving and acting, seeing and feeling (Barrett 2000: 65). In many small-scale or peasant societies there is a strong tendency towards shared cultural and ideological values, despite minor differences in social and economic status (Dobrowolski 1971: 291). The unspoken ‘rules’ of these communities, however, could also be unthinkingly or even deliberately subverted, ignored, flouted or forgotten (cf. Gero 2000; Lazzari 2003; Moore 1986). These also reflected wider discourses concerning the human body and defining social identities, and the demarcation of space through the creation of enclosures and trackways (Giles 2000: 179) and large-scale land division (Chadwick 1997, 1999: 163). The Roman conquest and occupation of northern England probably saw the emergence of new social discourses concerning the human body and individual and group identity (Carr 2001; Hill 1997, 2001). At a few settlements, some of these changing discourses were expressed (sometimes unknowingly, at other times explicitly) through novel architectural forms such as rectangular and aisled houses and villas, and the different embodied performances and practices these permitted.

Boundaries may have held great social significance above and beyond their functional attributes as drainage channels or barriers to livestock and wild animals (Bowden and McOmish 1987; Hill 1996; Hingley 1984, 1990a). As well as constructing enclosures and field systems with ditches, banks and fences, people were thus also constructing social identities (Gosden 1997; Lele 2006; Robbins 1998; Sharples 1999; Taylor 1997). To structure space like this meant:

...to mark out boundaries and directions in the given world, to establish lines of force, to keep perspectives in view...a system of meanings outwardly expressive of the subject's internal activity. (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 112).

During the middle and later Iron Age, there was a trend across Britain towards enclosed settlements, possibly related to increased concerns with relatively tightly-bound family groups (D. Knight 2007: 197; Robbins 1998; R. Thomas 1997: 215). Rather than the large communal gatherings of the earlier Bronze Age and very long-distance metalwork networks of the middle and late Bronze Age, people's everyday social networks seem to have contracted. Longer-distance exchange of materials and artefacts still took place (q.v. Knight 2002: 137-140; Moore 2007: 80-83, and see Chapter 11), but more often at a regional rather than an inter-regional or pan-European level. The decline in 'open' settlements and the rise of small enclosed settlements also suggests that extended families became the focus of social life, perhaps followed in importance by kinship groups and clans. In the very late Iron Age this might have begun to change once more, where the emergence of *oppida* and centres such as Dragonby, Old Sleaford and Leicester suggests wider networks developing once more (Haselgrove and Millett 1997: 283). Stanwick was a centre for extensive exchange (Haselgrove, Turnbull and Fitts 1990; Willis 1996), but for most settlements in the study region although ceramic and quern distributions suggest intra-regional links (Chapter 10), there is little evidence for very long-distance networks until the Romano-British period.

Some buildings and activities within settlements were partially or fully screened from the eyes of those outside. This *may* have reflected an increased emphasis on privacy (q.v. Hingley 1990b), although probably not in a modern sense. The most propitious location for dwellings may have sometimes been decided through divination or 'reading' signs on the ground (Black 1973), and the outer walls of buildings may have been part of a series of spatial divisions and arrangements (Sørensen 2006: 198). Rather than a rigid public : private dichotomy, the people and activities of individual households became more sequestered (Giles 2000: 187). This created 'insides' of containment, restricted vision, hearing and motion, contrasted with 'outsides' of graded exterior spaces that gradually opened up into wider vistas and movements.



Figure 9.99. (top left). Fence of stakes with narrow 'creep', Alipe, Papua New Guinea. (Source: Steensberg 1980: 115). **Fig. 9.100. (top right).** Building a stake fence, Crater, New Guinea. (Source: Gillison 2002: 62). **Fig. 9.101. (middle left).** Decorated Haida internal plank partition for a chief's house, Pacific north-west coast, North America. Exit through the belly of the screen's central figure signified rebirth. (Source: Crowell 1988: 207). **Fig. 9.102. (middle right).** Fence of logs with stile and gate, Mendim, Mount Hagen, New Guinea. (Source: Steensberg 1980: 116). **Fig. 9.103. (bottom left).** Akha spirit gate at a village entrance, northern Thailand. Such structures formally demarcate the human and spirit worlds around Akha villages, and are rebuilt and renewed annually in ceremonies directed by ritual specialists. (Source: de la Paz n.d.). **Fig. 9.104. (bottom right).** Carved wooden gate or kharu at a Magam Naga village, northern India. The designs reflect the valour and martial prowess of the clan dwelling within, and also have apatropaic and other magical properties. (Source: Stirn and Van Ham 2003: 187).

Social conventions may have prohibited people from entering or peering into sub-enclosures and houses (q.v. Robin 2002: 254). Interiors were gradually disclosed, as part of a revelation of social knowledge (Weiner 2001: 120). Strangers or people from different kin groups or clans had to pass through a series of controlled spaces, perhaps being made to pause at gates and doors. These developments may have been linked to growing distinctions between ‘outsiders’ and ‘insiders’ and between households and wider populations (Taylor 1997: 203; R. Thomas 1997: 215).

Only close kin might have been routinely invited into houses, and there might have been formal greeting rituals to be followed in order to enter these spaces. Such rituals have been recorded in many small-scale societies (e.g. Ohnuki-Tierney 1999: 241), and are a vital part of the maintenance of face-to-face relationships (q.v. Barrett 1994; Giles 2000; Sørensen 1997). It is here too that some of the different techniques of bodily idiom would have been expressed (q.v. Goffman 1963, 1969; Mauss 1973). Differences in these competencies of movement, gesture and word would have marked out outsiders as readily as accents and dialects. Nonetheless, although highly formal on occasion, particularly with ‘outsiders’, for the most part such practices were all very much part of everyday life. The elaboration of enclosure and sub-enclosure entrances with timber structures or deeper ditches and through repeated re-cutting, and patterns of artefact deposition, all suggests that these graded boundaries and the portals through them had great social and symbolic significance.

...there was a very different phenomenology of day-to-day life...Sound must have acquired greater importance in this enclosed landscape; muffled movements along tracks, voices behind fences, sudden arrivals, the sound of gates unlatching and falling to. (Giles 2000: 187).

The spatial praxis of daily and seasonal routines and movements was enriched by wider ideas concerning boundaries and thresholds, identity and community, cleanliness and pollution, and fertility and regeneration. What was ‘functional’ and what was ‘symbolic’ for these people cannot be easily disentangled from this dense weave of relationships, and they were unlikely to have recognised such distinctions.

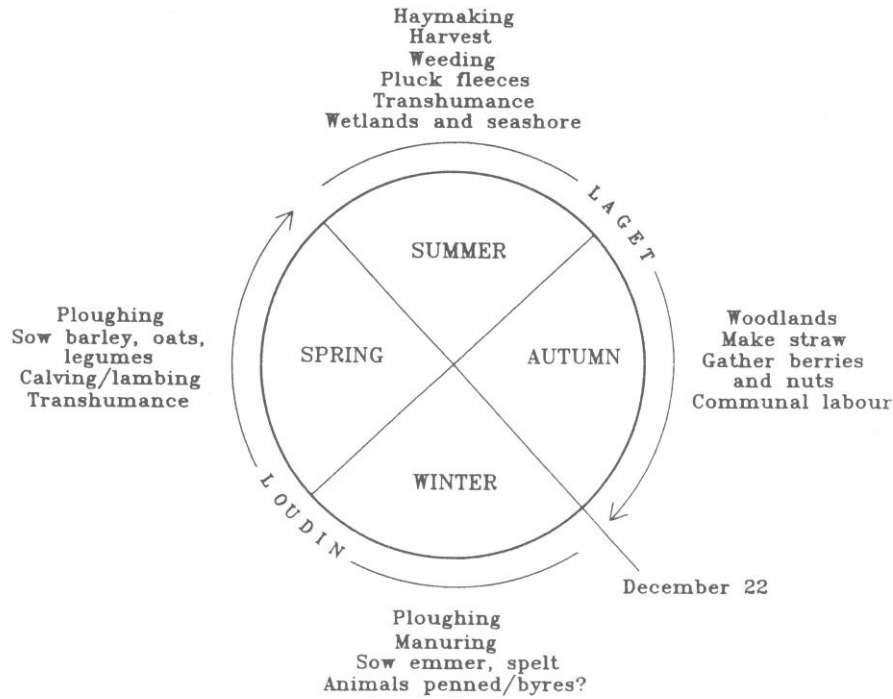


Figure 9.105. Possible seasonal activities for an Iron Age farmstead. (Source: Fitzpatrick 1997: 74-75).

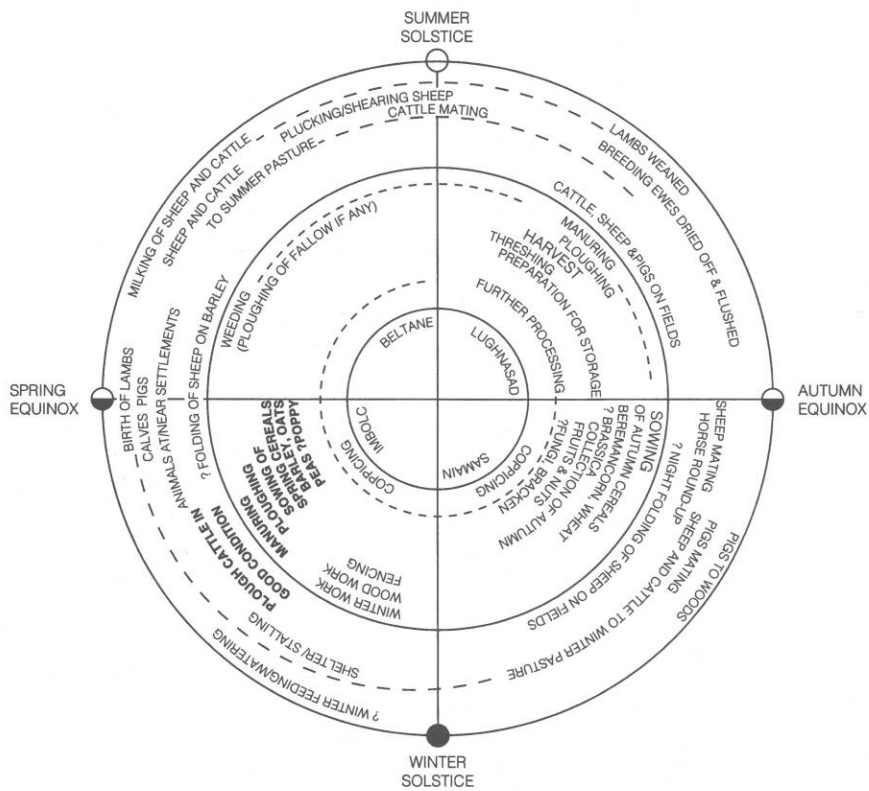


Figure 9.106. A more developed model of Iron Age seasonal practices, based on the evidence from Danebury and its environs. (Source: Cunliffe 2003: 120).

These practices were linked to continuous social and individual dialectics between structure and agency (Barrett 2000, 2001; Dobres and Robb 2000; Giddens 1984), the everyday lifeworld of the habitus (Bourdieu 1992), and social memory (Barth 1987; Connerton 1989). People's habitual bodily movements or 'muscular consciousness' (q.v. Bachelard 1969; Lave 1988) would have inscribed and re-inscribed these metaphors, metonyms and cosmological references, through trampled turf, dusty or muddy yards, paths, wear hollows and trackways.

Experiences of dwellings and enclosures would have varied enormously. Temporary shieling-like structures in or near stock enclosures were dissimilar to more established, richly textured dwellings within settlements. In and around enclosures, the odours of middens, animal and human urine and faeces, decaying flesh and plant matter would have fluctuated according to wet, dry or warm weather, as would smells of hay and fodder, flowers and food, dogs and livestock. In winter, harsh frosts caused timbers to creak, and cold crept in under doors or through cracks. Heavy falls of snow may have blanketed the cold roofs of unheated buildings encouraging them to sag or collapse, whilst the warmer thatch or tiles of heated buildings or the roofs of beast-filled byres would have steamed in the cold air. In the spring, rain and the passage of human and animal feet may have turned some yards and paths to mud. These may have been baked and trampled into hardness again during summer. Slight wear hollows that have not survived on the majority of sites might have defined preferred routes. This materiality directly linked human and animal bodies through the many embodied experiences of houses and enclosures to patterns of the seasons, the cycles of life and death, and cycles of enclosure, inhabitation and abandonment.

Notes

1. Graham Robbins gained access to the Scratta Wood archive held at the Creswell Crags Visitors Centre in 1997 when he was working on his PhD thesis at the University of Sheffield. He went through the daybooks of White and other excavators and compiled extensive notes, and through exhaustive work was able to rationalise the many different plans from the

haphazard excavations. Regrettably, Graham abandoned his thesis but very generously gave me his files of notes and transcriptions, which I have gratefully drawn upon for my own work.

2. In her much larger data set from 1178 excavated later prehistoric and Romano-British roundhouses, where doorway orientation could be determined in 72% of the 1178 examples, Rachel Pope (2003) found that the majority (63%) of structures were orientated between north-east to south-east, with a clear preference for due east, east-south-east and east. She also detected interesting chronological changes, with the south-east being emphasised in the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, and then a shift towards the east until the end of the Roman-British period. Pope claims that this reflected a worsening climate in the early first millennium BC with a greater concern for maximising shelter as well as light (Pope 2007: 214). This would seem to be an overly deterministic explanation though, particularly given that her examples were from both highland and lowland locales, and that arguments for marked climatic deterioration during this period are simplistic and over stated (q.v. Tipping 2002; Young and Simmonds 1995, 1999).

It is worth noting too that Pope herself excluded two sites from her data set – Moel y Gaer and Garton/Wetwang Slack, because “...both had high numbers of structures with standardised orientation and thus the potential to distort real patterning” (Pope 2007: 212). Although this is possibly valid on statistical grounds, she seems to largely ignore *why* this marked uniformity in doorway orientation should have been present at both settlements. This may illustrate habitus manifested through architecture, albeit at a much more localised, communal level than that claimed by Parker Pearson (1999).

Movement 9

Up There

On Cotswold edge there is a field and that
Grows thick with corn and speedwell and the mat
Of thistles, of the tall kind; Rome lived there,
Some hurt centurion got his grant or tenure,
Built farm with fowls and pigsties and wood-piles,
Waited for service custom between whites.
The farmer ploughs up coins in the wet-earth time,
He sees them on the topple of crests gleam,
Or run down small furrow; and halts and does let them lie
Like a small black island in brown immensity,
Till his wonder is ceased, and his great hand picks up the penny.
Red pottery easy discovered, no searching needed....
One wonders what farms were like, no searching needed,
As now the single kite hovering still
By the coppice there, level with the flat of the hill.

Ivor Guerne

From P.J. Kavanagh (ed.). (1984) *Collected Poems of Ivor Guerne*. Oxford University Press.

CHAPTER 10

Materiality Matters: Artefact Production, Exchange and Consumption, and 'Acculturation'

In this chapter, I consider the production and distribution of different Iron Age and Romano-British artefacts within the study region. Instead of a solely functional or economic approach, I examine the contextual nature of the evidence, and the *materiality* of objects – the properties of things as constituted through their physical qualities *and* the social and symbolic meanings of them that emerge out of people's engagements with them (q.v. Dant 2007; Godelier 1986b; Miller 1985, 2005; Tilley 1999, cf. Ingold 2007). As artefacts have been used as indices of 'Romanisation', I also consider previous models of the social impact of the Roman conquest and the development of Romano-British 'culture', and discuss alternative possibilities.

Iron Age artefacts and their associations

Metalwork

In comparison to regions such as East Anglia and even East Yorkshire, there do not seem to have been as many 'high-status' Iron Age metal artefacts manufactured or used within the study region. This might indicate some cultural differences between the communities inhabiting the areas of modern West and South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, and those in adjacent regions. Nevertheless, some more recent finds are beginning to add more detail to a previous paucity of information. In West Yorkshire, a Hallstatt sword was found in a palaeochannel of the River Aire at Temple Newsam, and two possible iron sickles found near Brackenhall Green and a bronze horse cheek-piece found near Ackworth were also recorded (Keighley 1981: 131). The provenance and date of two putative gold torcs found at Billing and Ilkley is very uncertain, and both are now lost. There have been recent developer-funded finds at Ferrybridge and Ferry Fryston, including a twisted bronze torc at the former and an involuted copper alloy brooch with a glass stud of third to second century BC

date found with the carriage burial (Boyle et al. 2007: 147; Duncan, Cool and Stead 2005: 154) (Figs. 10.05-10.06, see Chapter 11). A copper alloy involuted La Tène 2Cb brooch dating from between 300-100 BC is a metal detecting find from near Wentbridge (PAS 1997/1998) (Fig. 10.01), and other recent detectorist Iron Age finds include a copper alloy terret ring and several cosmetic pestles and mortars (SYAS).



Figure 10.01. (left). Recent metal detecting find of an involuted La Tène brooch from Wentbridge, W. Yorks. (Source: PAS 1998: 28). **Fig. 10.02. (right).** Some of the gold staters from the Silsden hoard, and the intaglio ring. (Source: © Bradford Museum).

As noted in Chapter 2, Iron Age coinage was rare north of the Rivers Don and Idle, and there do not seem to have been many coins minted in this part of the study region. Some finds do suggest the movement of some coinage from other areas. A scatter of finds found near Silsden by a metal detectorist in 1998 consisted of 27 gold staters; nineteen of Cunobelin who is thought to have ruled over the Catuvellauni and the Trinivantes from c. AD 10-40 (DCMS 1997/1998; Hartley 2001: 35-37). These were struck in or near the tribal capital of Camulodonum, now modern Colchester. One stater was of Epaticcus, thought to have been the brother of Cunobelin and the ruler of the Atrebatas. The remaining coins may have been Corieltauvian issues. Horses and ears of wheat featured prominently on these coins. A first century AD Roman iron ring with an intaglio of an athlete with a strigil might also have been part of this possible hoard. Only two hoards of Corieltauvian coins have been previously found in West Yorkshire, at Honley near Huddersfield and at Lightcliffe near Halifax, but these included some first century AD Roman coins in association with them, the Honley hoard having a *terminus post quem* for its deposition of AD 71. A Brigantian

gold coin from Halifax may have been part of the Lightcliffe hoard (Allen 1960: 14-15; Hartley 2001: 38; Keighley 1981: 132). Along with the Silsden find, these have been interpreted as safekeeping hoards of refugees fleeing north from the Roman advance after AD 43, or during the Roman conquest of the north after AD 71 (Hartley 2001: 38). It is possible, however, that the Silsden discovery related to votive deposition at a shrine site (Edwards and Dennis 2006: 256). These hoards may have been a reaction to the invasion – perhaps a plea to the gods for intercession.



Selected Iron Age metalwork finds from West and South Yorkshire. Figure 10.03. (top left). The Dinnington bronze torc, S. Yorks. (Source: © Sheffield City Museums). Fig. 10.04. (top right). Bronze scabbard chape and mount found near Sprotbrough, S. Yorks. (Source: Buckland 1986: 5). Fig. 10.05. (bottom left). The involuted bronze brooch found in the Ferry Fryston carriage burial, W. Yorks. The large decorative glass stud may have originally been red in colour. (Source: Boyle et al. 2007, 147, fig. 104). Fig. 10.06. (bottom right). Bronze torc from the ditch of Enclosure C, Ferrybridge, W. Yorks. (Source: Duncan, Cool and Stead 2005: 154).

In South Yorkshire, a bronze sword chape from near Sprotbrough, three Corieltauvian coins and a fine copper alloy torc from Dinnington were the only recorded Iron Age artefacts many years, and these were chance or metal-detecting finds (Beswick et al. 1990; Buckland 1986: 6). A copper alloy tankard handle, and an enamelled linch-pin, horse harness toggle and terret ring were metal detecting finds from Rossington Bridge (O'Connor 2001: 91). A fragment of gold bracelet or ingot was found with a metal detector at Sutton Common on the last day of the recent project in 2003, in trench backfill (DCMS 2003: fig. 26; Hill 2007: 160-161). It is not closely dateable, but was probably older than 200-100 BC, and is further evidence of the unusual, perhaps high-status nature of the Sutton Common site. Its location suggests that it was deposited near the western side of the main enclosure, close to some of the small mortuary enclosures. Another notable recent find is a gold stater from Bawtry (PAS).



Figure 10.07. (left). *Late Iron Age gold stater of 'northern type' found near Bawtry. (Source: PAS database, <http://www.finds.org.uk/>).*

Figure 10.08. (far left). *The gold bracelet or ingot from Sutton Common; 73mm long, 9mm wide and 1.25mm thick. (Source: DCMS 2003: fig. 26).*

In Nottinghamshire, the few Iron Age metalwork finds include two Hallstatt-derived bronze swords and a La Tène shield boss from the River Trent at Holme Pierrepont and the Trent-Soar confluence near Redhill, in addition to a decorated linch-pin and a late Iron Age 'bird-brooch' (Bishop 2001a: 5; Hawkes and Jacobsthal 1945; Knight and Howard 2004b: 83; Laing and Ponting 2001; Watkin et al. 1976). There have also been some recent metal detectorist finds of Iron Age brooches, horse harness gear and a beaded torc (PAS). Corieltauvian coinage seems to have been distributed mostly to the east and south of the Rivers Trent and Humber (May 1994; Whitwell 1982).



Figure 10.09. (top left). *Bronze Gaulish coin found near Mansfield, Notts.* **Fig. 10.10. (top right).** *Gallo-Belgic gold quarter stater found near Bingham, Notts.* (Source: PAS 2006: 35). **Fig. 10.11. (left).** *Silver Corieltavian coin from Walkeringham, Notts.* (Source: PAS 1998: 31).

Two rare Gallo-Belgic coins have been found by metal detectorists in Nottinghamshire, amongst the most northerly known in Britain. A bronze coin of the Carnutes or Aulerici Ebuovices from 50-20 BC was found near Mansfield, and a gold quarter stater from northern France or Belgium dating to around 80-60 BC (PAS 1997-1998: 35) (Figs. 10.09.-10.10). Recent finds of Corieltavi coins suggest that they were more common than once thought, and include a hoard of over seventy found at Walkeringham near the Rivers Idle and Trent (PAS 1997-1998: 31).

Items of prestigious metalwork may have had potent ‘charges’ or auras of power, prestige and magical associations – a ‘forged glamour’ (Giles 2000: 154). The red enamel on items such as the terret ring, linch-pin and horse-harness toggle from Rossington Bridge and the red coral on the Granby linch-pin might have had powerful symbolic associations. Red coral was rarely used on British Iron Age artefacts, but was employed on some metalwork objects associated with East Yorkshire burials (Stead 1979: 87). The coral came from the Mediterranean (Champion 1985) or fossil sources in East Yorkshire chalk (Giles 2000: 157). The large glass stud on the brooch found in the Ferry Fryston carriage burial may also have originally been red (Boyle 2007: 147). Red is a colour associated with poisonous berries and fungi, blood and menstrual fluid; all regarded as extremely powerful in many societies (e.g. Héritier-Augé 1989a: 167-168). As Melanie Giles has noted, this striking colour may have leant these objects added potency. Their smooth surfaces, lustre and sheen and raised

or incised decoration gave them further sensual characteristics uncommon to most everyday objects. They might have been employed in competitive displays of status – a form of ‘psychological warfare’ (Giles 2000: 159), and might have been only worn or revealed at communal gatherings or ceremonies, emphasising their special nature.

In general though, ‘prestige’ or high status metalwork was comparatively scarce within the study region, and with the exception of the Ferry Fryston carriage burial was rarely placed with inhumations. Most people did not have access to weaponry, brooches, cauldrons and similar artefacts as some individuals did in other regions. The stylistic similarities of the Ferrybridge scabbard to examples from Wetwang Slack and Kirkburn in East Yorkshire (Stead 2005: 231) suggest that at least some of the metalwork objects found within in the study region were made in other areas, which may have added to their cachet (q.v. Helms 1988). Many objects may have been produced from ironstone in the Cleveland Hills and Coal Measures sources, or as bog iron (q.v. Crew 1991), found as iron pan in the Humberhead Levels (q.v. Halkon 1997, 1999; Halkon and Millett 2000, 2003). Although basic iron smelting and smithing probably took place at many settlements (see Appendix G), just a few highly skilled individuals or households may have produced high-status metal objects.

Ethnographic studies of iron and bronze production (e.g. Harris 2001; Harris and Ogasawara 1990; Herbert 1993; Schmidt 1996, 1997; van der Merwe and Avery 1987) suggest that it may not have been a purely technical process during the Iron Age and Roman-British periods, but could have been restricted knowledge surrounded by rites and proscriptions, the latter including age and gender restrictions. There may have been symbolism and metaphors associated with food, fertility, sex and reproduction. Those individuals most skilled at metalworking might have held considerable power and perhaps ambiguous social status (Aldhouse-Green 2002: 16; Budd and Taylor 1995: 139; Giles 2007: 398-399; Hingley 1997b: 12). Although some smelts might have been social occasions (q.v. David and Kramer 2001: 331-344), the need to undertake some work in darkened places or at twilight and night in order to judge the correct temperature of charcoal, ores and metals may have led some metalworkers to be feared rather than admired (q.v. Chadwick 2004d: 224).



Figure 10.12. (left). *Amongst the Samburu of Kenya, as in many small-scale societies, iron working is practised by men, and the knowledge is passed down from father to son. The restricted knowledge is surrounded by many rituals and propitiations. Fig. 10.13. (right).* *Samburu iron working is undertaken within particular clans, however, and elderly women are also involved with the process, often working the bellows, itself a skilled task. This demonstrates how in small-scale societies gendered roles are never absolute, and many tasks are often interdependent. (Source: Pavitt 1991: 202-203).*

Pottery

The lack of early or middle Iron Age pottery from the region is particularly problematic (Willis 1997b: 209), although ceramics of this date have recently been recovered from road schemes (Burgess 2001c: 262-263; Cumberpatch, Walster and Vince 2007: 224-234), from excavations at Sutton Common (Cumberpatch, Vince and Knight 2007: 143-144), and from several sites in the Trent Valley such as Holme Dyke, Gonalston (Elliott and Knight 2002). Later material too is scarce. For nearly a decade, fragments from Pickburn Leys (Sydes 1993: 39-41; Sydes and Symonds 1985) were the only identifiable late Iron Age pottery from South Yorkshire, whilst West Yorkshire assemblages from Ledston and Dalton Parlours were surprisingly small (Runnacles and Buckland 1998, 2005). In Nottinghamshire, the large agglomerated sites at Aslockton, Holme Pierrepont and Moor Pool Close, Rampton have produced more substantial quantities of Iron Age pottery (Knight 2000a: 17; Palmer-Brown and Knight 1993: 146).



Figure 10.14. (left). *A late Iron pottery vessel from Pickburn Leys, S. Yorks. (Source: author, courtesy of Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery).* **Fig. 10.15. (right).** *Middle to late Iron Age pottery sherds from Site M, A1(M) road corridor, W. Yorks. (Source: Howard-Davis, Lupton and Boyle 2005: 8).*

There are several reasons for this paucity of ceramics. Some Iron Age pottery from the region was coarse, poorly fired and fragile, and where organic or shell tempers were used these have often leached out leaving voids. Many sherds thus do not last long in ploughsoil to be identified during fieldwalking, and might not survive even in stratified contexts (Cumberpatch and Robbins n.d.; Cumberpatch and Webster 1998; Garton, Leary and Naylor 2002). Excavation and retrieval methodologies are sometimes still inadequate (Cumberpatch 1993: 56). Pottery also seems to have been deposited in specific places, and may be missed where the iniquitous time pressures of competitive tendering mean that large features such as ditches and pits are sampled rather than being fully excavated. Even recent excavations at Sutton Common investigated less than 10% of the features (Chapman and Van de Noort 2007: 37).

It may be that Iron Age pottery is also misidentified. Some Iron Age vessel forms continued to be produced well into the first and second centuries AD (Cumberpatch and Robbins n.d.; Darling 1995, 2004), and secure dates for many are still lacking. Even Scored Ware (see below) may have persisted into the early Roman period (Elsdon 1992a: 86). The situation has improved greatly in recent years, partly due to the sheer volume of developer-funded excavation now undertaken, but also because of better sampling strategies¹. Vessels of first century BC to AD date have now been identified at many sites across the region². Archaeologists in local units are now aware

that particular areas of enclosures sites such as ditch terminals are more likely to produce artefacts (see Chapter 11). Nevertheless, Iron Age pottery is still uncommon, and this scarcity is also a feature of Derbyshire and the Cheshire Plain (Bevan 2000: 147; Matthews 1997, 1999: 176); and parts of Wales and Scotland (e.g. Hingley 1992; Lynch, Aldhouse-Green and Davies 2000: 201-202).

Core : periphery models (e.g. Cunliffe 1991) have used such evidence to suggest that the south and east of England were more culturally and technologically advanced. In the context of the Iron Age of the British Isles as a whole, however, it could be argued that it is the southern and eastern areas that were unusual. The production, exchange and use of pottery seems to have been limited within the study region, and many settlements may have been largely aceramic in the first centuries BC and AD, with most artefacts used for cooking, storing and presenting food made of wood, leather, basketry and other normally perishable items. Organic vessels might have been richly decorated (q.v. Coles and Minnit 1995), but alternatively there might have been proscriptions on the decoration of some wood, bone and other organic materials (C. Evans 1989, 1999; Evans and Hodder 2006: 196-197; M. Taylor 2006).

Iron Age ceramic traditions

Some middle and late Iron Age pottery in the region was East Midlands Scored Ware, a diverse grouping first identified in the 1940s and 1950s (Gurney and Hawkes 1940: 235-239; Kenyon 1950). The surfaces of these vessels were brushed with twigs, or scored with vertical or curving lines using knives or bones, with more regular or comb decoration in later vessels (Elsdon 1992a: 84; Knight 2002: 133-134). The scoring might originally have been to make vessels easier to handle (May 1976: 138), but this became elaborated and forgotten over time. The tree species of the twigs or the origin of other objects used to score the surface might have had some significance. This tradition originated in the late fifth or fourth centuries BC (Challis and Harding 1975: 58-62; Elsdon 1992a: 89; Knight 2002: 134). Normally occurring as jars or barrel-

shaped vessels, some were hand-made but finer forms were wheel thrown, and sometimes there was fingertip or incised decoration on the rims.

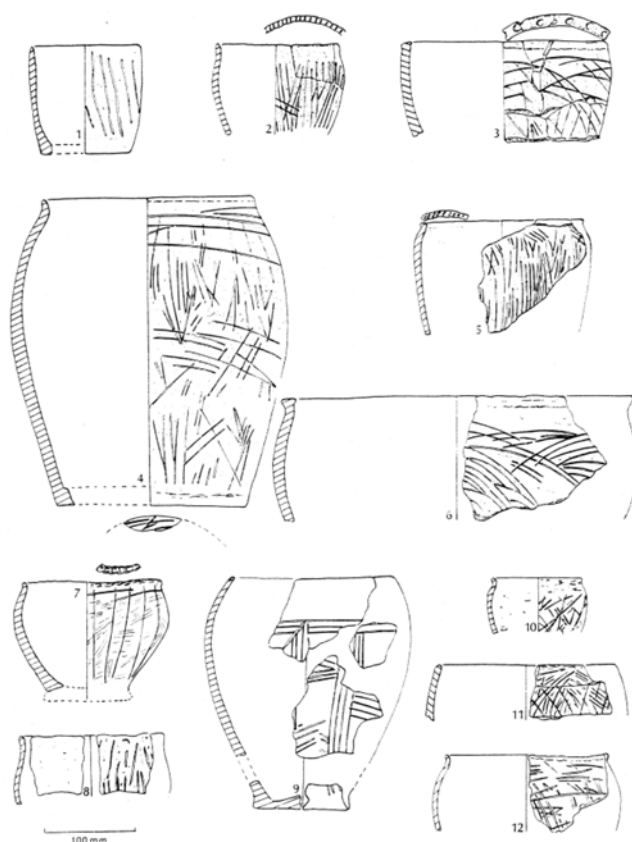
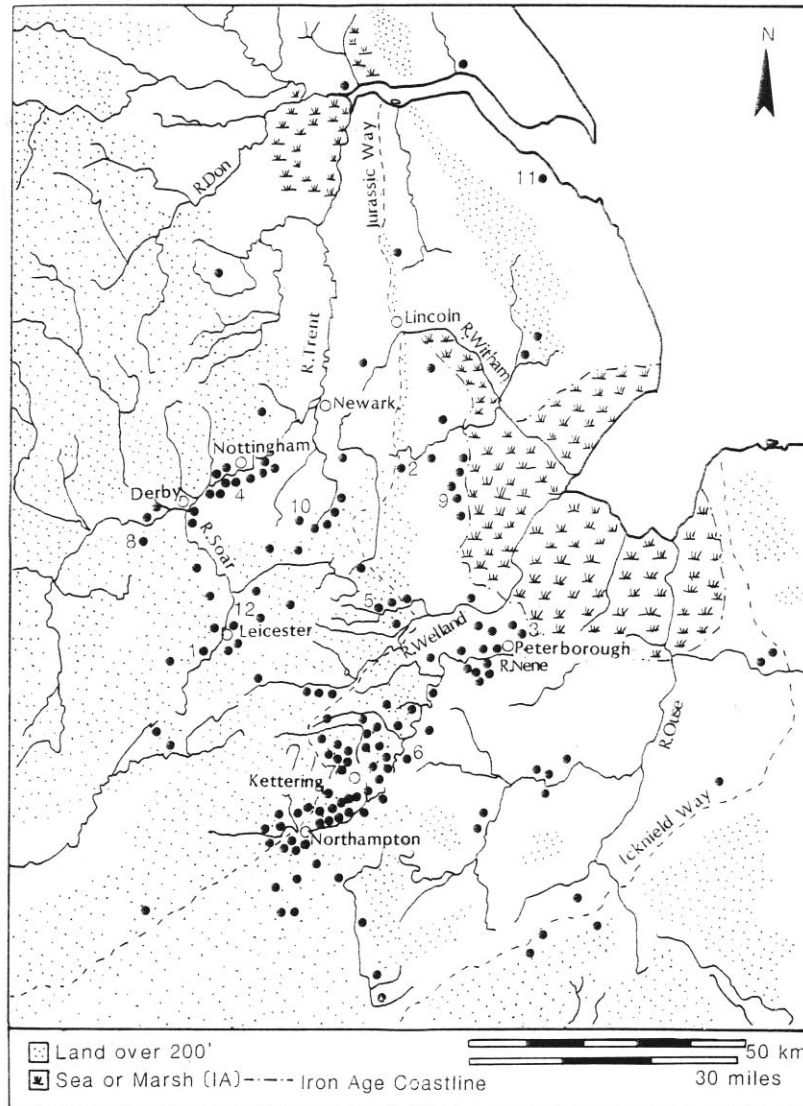


Figure 10.16. (right). *East Midlands Scored Ware vessels.* (Source: Elsdon 1992a: 87).

These vessels were locally produced but the decorative tradition was centred around the Nene, Welland, Soar, lower Trent and Ouse valleys (Elsdon 1992a; Knight 2002), extending northwards to Staffordshire, Derbyshire and South Yorkshire, eastwards to Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire, and southwards to Leicestershire and Hertfordshire. Distribution plots of Scored Ware reveal its close association with river valleys (e.g. Elsdon 1992a: 87, fig. 2) (Fig. 10.17), suggesting that these were conduits for the movement of these vessels and/or knowledge of this tradition (although Jeremy Taylor (pers. comm.) has suggested that this pattern may also be an effect of PPG16-funded fieldwork, in particular the gravel quarry sites along the Trent Valley). During the middle Iron Age, seasonal movements of people with livestock to unsettled areas of pasture along river valleys allowed this tradition to spread. Scored Ware has been found in quantities at Holme Pierrepont, Whatton, Moor Pool Close Rampton, Gamston; and Holme Dyke, Gonalston (Elliott and Knight 2002; Elsdon

1996; Knight 1992, 2000a; O'Brien 1979; Platt 2005). It has been found at Fisherwick in Staffordshire, Willington in Derbyshire; and at Redhouse Farm, Adwick-le-Street (Cumberpatch 2004b: 17; Elsdon 1979; C. Smith 1979), but it still appears to have been concentrated mostly within southern Nottinghamshire (Bishop 2001a: 4-5).



2. Distribution of Scored Ware
 1. Enderby, 2. Ancaster, 3. Fengate, 4. Holme Pierrepoint, 5. Whitwell, 6. Twywell, 7. Weekley, 8. Breedon-on-the-Hill,
 9. Billingborough, 10. Harston, 11. Weelsby Ave., Grimsby, 12. Burrough Hill, Leics

Figure 10.17. *The distribution of Scored Ware in 1992. Although recent extra finds have been made, including more northerly sites such as Adwick-le-Street in South Yorkshire, the basic pattern remains the same, including the marked correspondence with river valleys. (Source: Elsdon 1992a: 85).*

Wheel-thrown La Tène decorated later Iron Age pottery similar to ceramics from Lincolnshire centres such as Dragonby and Old Sleaford (e.g. Elsdon 1997; May

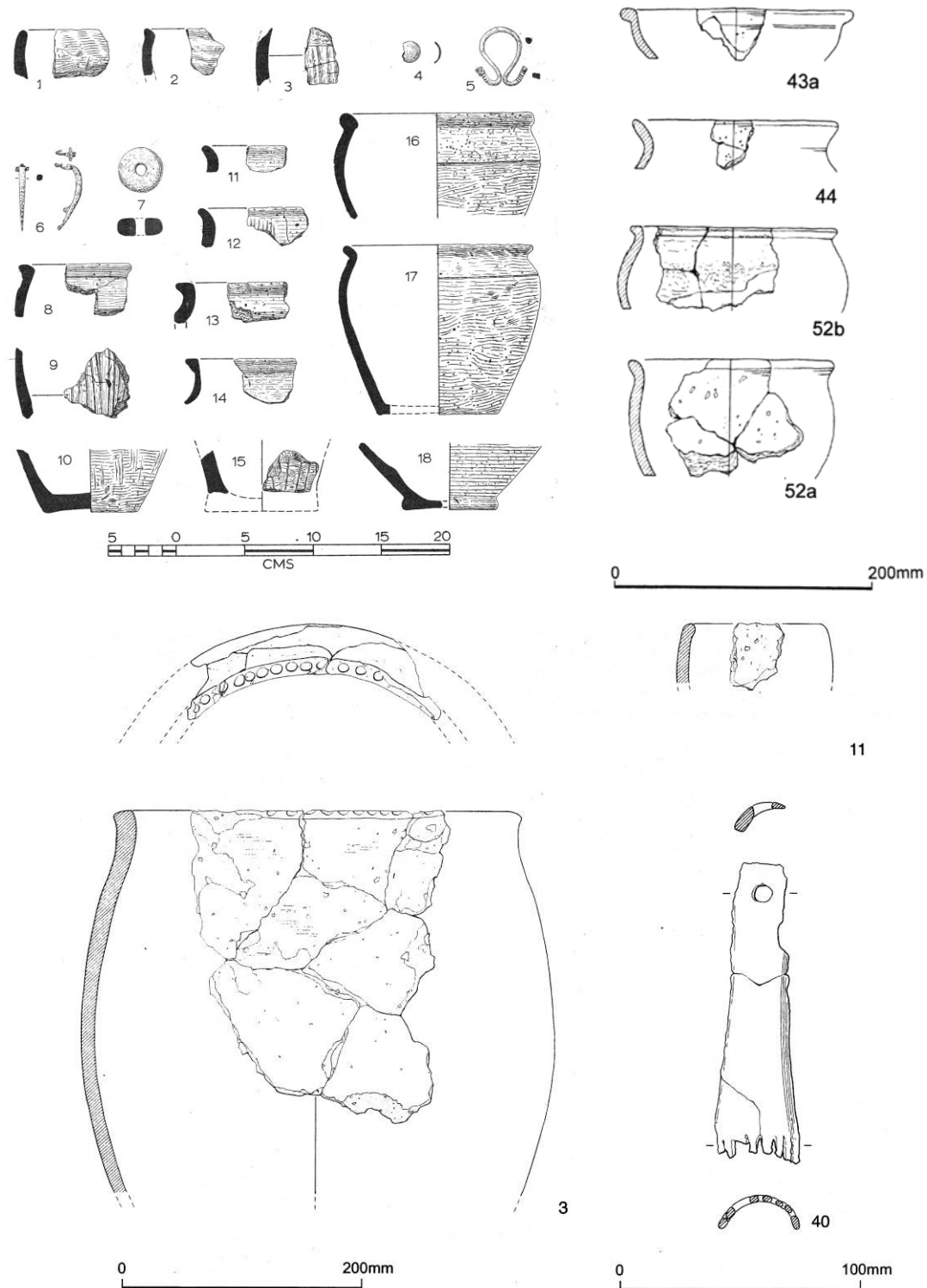
1996) also occurred at Collingham, Gamston and Harby in Nottinghamshire (Knight 1997, 2002: 139, fig. 12.5), and at Ferrybridge in West Yorkshire (Evans, Wild and Willis 2005: 135). Some later Iron Age vessels found in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire with stamped and rouletted decoration, and/or igneous inclusions as temper, may indicate vessels traded from the Mountsorrel area in Leicestershire, probably via the Soar and Trent valleys (Knight 2002; but see discussion below). Later Iron Age vessels with Aylesford-Swarling associations have been recorded in Nottinghamshire at Gamston, Holme Pierrepont, Rampton, Dunston's Clump, Dorket Head and Scratta Wood (Challis and Harding 1975: 94; Elsdon 1996; Knight 1992; Leary 1986, 1987; C. Turner 1992; Turner and Turner 1997).

Late Iron Age lug-handled vessels have been found at Dorket Head in Nottinghamshire (Elsdon 1996), and perhaps at Sykehouse in South Yorkshire (Cumberpatch 2003: 19). Also significant were Iron Age Shell Tempered Wares, usually hand-made, and derived from a source or sources in Lincolnshire and/or around the Humber estuary. They have been found at Topham Farm, Sykehouse; Enclosure E1 at Redhouse Farm, Adwick-le-Street; and perhaps at Pickburn Leys, all in South Yorkshire (Cumberpatch 1985, 2003, 2004b, 2005, 2006; Sydes 1993); and in West Yorkshire at Ferrybridge and from Site M (Cumberpatch, Walster and Vince 2007; Evans, Wild and Willis 2005: 135). In Nottinghamshire it has been found at Aslockton, Whatton and Flawborough (Elliott and Malone 2005; Palmer-Brown and Knight 1993; Platt 2005). This pottery is especially fragile and prone to fragmentation. The source(s) of the fabric and its dating are still problematic, although as with some Scored Ware, Shell Tempered Ware in late Iron Age forms continued into the first and second centuries AD (Cumberpatch 2004b: 18-19; Evans, Wild and Willis 2005: 135). Shell tempered pottery from Ledston and Dalton Parlours also contained large quantities of limestone, and were possibly derived from more local clays (Buckland, Runnacles and Sumpter 1990; Runnacles and Buckland 2005: 20).

Quartz tempered sherds from hand-made Iron Age pots, including some with a distinctive soapy texture, have been recovered from Topham Farm, Sykehouse; Moss Carr, Methley; Ledston, and Sites M and CFAT (Cumberpatch 2004b; Cumberpatch, Walster and Vince 2007; Evans 2002; Runnacles and Buckland 1998, 2005). The

Vale of York and/or the Humber estuary are two possible sources for these clays. Calcite-gritted fabrics have been found at Bullerthorpe Lane, Dawson's Wood, Ferrybridge, and Sites M and C4SA (Cumberpatch, Walster and Vince 2007: 230; Evans 2001b: 155; Evans, Wild and Willis 2005: 136), characteristic of East Yorkshire vessels from the Vale of Pickering. Some hand-made pots at sites such as Nutwell Lane, Armthorpe were produced using sand or sandstone tempers, and the former may have been manufactured locally (Cumberpatch and Webster 1998: 21), whilst some of the latter, found at several sites along the A1(M) corridor, were probably from clay sources in the Vale of York (Cumberpatch, Walster and Vince 2007: 233). Other locally-made vessels that probably extended in date from the late Iron Age through into the early Romano-British period include grog-tempered wares recovered from West Moor Park, Armthorpe, and Rossington Bridge (Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: 79; Cumberpatch 2001a; Evans 2001c). Grog was derived from older, broken up ceramic vessels, and if these were associated with particular individuals and/or events this may have established or reinforced familial and symbolic links between old and the new (q.v. Hill 2002: 152; Woodward 2002: 109).

Distinctive slag-tempered Iron Age vessels were found in middle or later Iron Age contexts at West Yorkshire sites including Dalton Parlours (Fig. 10.21), Ledston, Ferrybridge and Swillington Common (Buckland 1992; Buckland, Runnacles and Sumpter 1990; Evans 2001b: 154, 158, 173; Runnacles and Buckland 1998, 2005). This slag is likely to have come from smelting rather than smithing (Dugmore 1990: 134), and was unlikely to have been an incidental inclusion (Burgess 2001c: 268). This might have been linked to ironstone working in the Cleveland Hills, or itinerant metal workers (Buckland, Runnacles and Sumpter 1990). There may have been metaphorical associations established with the incorporation of iron slag in pottery, including ideas of transformation, fertility and regeneration (q.v. Hingley 1997b: 11). These vessels might have been used by a particular age or status group including metalworkers, or may have had other significance – amongst the Bambara of the Niger Delta, women potters usually marry male metal smiths (Gallay et al. 1996), so perhaps the union between clay and slag signified social bonds too. It might have reflected wholly unconscious choices (q.v. Cumberpatch 1997a).



Selected Iron Age ceramic forms from the study region. **Figure 10.18. (top left).** Finds from Scratta Wood, Notts. (nos. 4-18), with pottery including Scored Ware. (Source: Challis and Harding 1975, fig. 17). **Fig. 10.19. (top right).** Iron Age vessels from Topham Farm, Sykehouse, including quartz-tempered wares (nos. 43, 52). (Source: Cumberpatch, Leary and Willis 2003: 23). **Fig. 10.20. (bottom).** Finds from excavations at Ledston, 1975-76, including a bone comb and sherds from a large shell-tempered vessel (no. 3), and from a sandstone-tempered vessel (11). (Source: Runnacles and Buckland 2005: 21).

Across the study region, the fact that some vessels seem to have been manufactured locally whilst others were imported from different areas, and that apart from Scored Ware neither local nor imported wares were usually distinctively decorated, might suggest that pottery was not a marked indicator of group identity, although it might have had household and lineage associations. Like metalworking, pottery production may not have been an isolated technical process but was connected to other activities, and its manufacture might also have influenced by many symbolic ideas and associations (q.v. Barley 1994; Gosselain 1999; Sillar 1997). Pottery making too can be surrounded by proscriptions and taboos – pregnant women may not be allowed to touch the clay, or senior men may not be permitted close to the firing (e.g. Stirn and van Ham 2003: 137).

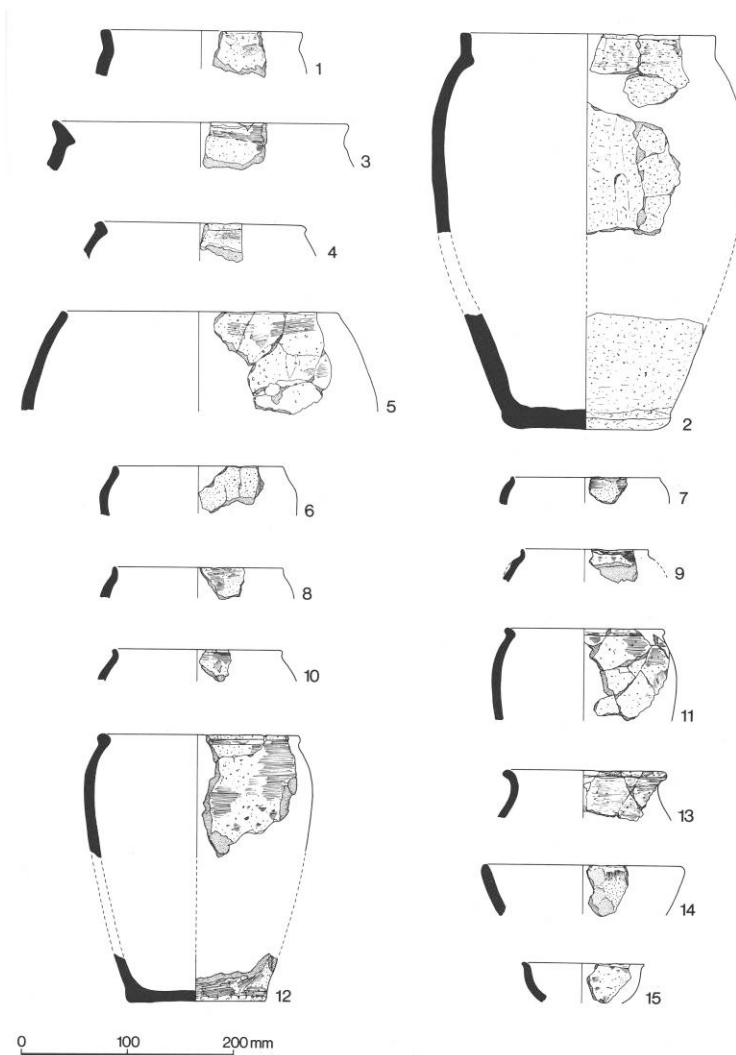


Figure 10.21. Iron Age pottery from Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks., including some vessels tempered with crushed slag (nos. 1 and 5). (Source: Sumpter 1990: 129).

Most Iron Age pottery vessels were ‘closed’ forms such as jars, although a few bowl forms have been identified (e.g. Cumberpatch 2003: 23, nos. 43a, 43b, 45). This implies that they were utilised primarily for the preparation and storage of food rather than its serving and consumption, for which wood and leather vessels and basketry may have been employed. A few jars were very large vessels, and would have been difficult to transport even when empty (*ibid.*: 19). Together with its scarcity and restricted patterns of deposition (see Chapter 11, Appendix I), this all suggests that pottery was not a primary medium of everyday food production and consumption practices for the majority of households during the Iron Age.

Most hand-made ceramics were probably made by localised producers at a domestic scale. In small-scale societies where men manufacture pots (usually wheel-thrown vessels), women nevertheless participate in every stage of production from processing clays to decoration and distribution (Kramer 1997). In many societies though, women produce hand-made pots (see discussions in Arnold 1984; David and Hennig 1972; Gallay et al. 1996; Herbich 1987; Stirn and van Ham 2003; Tobert 1988). This is a likely situation for the study region during the Iron Age. Pottery production might have taken place within the household on a seasonal basis (q.v. DeRoche 1997; Morris 1994), perhaps when people were tending herds on floodplains during the summer – many alluvial clays would have been ideal for potting. Furthermore, the small numbers of pots produced by individuals might have had well-known biographies and associations with those who had made them that could have been remembered (Hill 2002: 153; Willis 1999: 90), especially where pots were physically marked by the fingertips and nails of their makers (q.v. Giles 2007b: 242).

Some pottery vessels were thus made locally in West and South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, with vessels (or at least styles and/or clays) also transported up the Trent and Soar river valleys, others coming from northern Lincolnshire or Northamptonshire and some from the Humber estuary, the Vale of Pickering and the edges of the Wolds and the Cleveland Hills. The region is interesting because of these diverse production, procurement and consumption traditions. Many ceramic distributions overlapped (Elsdon 1992a, 1996), and are different from the ‘tribal’ areas proposed by culture-history approaches. This again suggests that mention of ‘Brigantes’ or ‘Corieltauvi’ is probably much too simplistic. Clearly, people in

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different places within the study region were drawing on disparate contacts – communities in Nottinghamshire and parts of South Yorkshire may have had regular contacts with individuals or groups from Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire, and whilst some communities in West Yorkshire maintained contacts with Lincolnshire too, they also had links to East and North Yorkshire. The paucity of ceramics and the variety of their distributions might nevertheless indicate that in parts of the study region pottery vessels were incidental additions to existing exchange or social networks. Pots were probably also moved through networks of kinship and alliance (Hill 2002: 153), and patterns of seasonal lowland transhumance (q.v. Evans and Hodder 2006: 321). It is possible that some pottery vessels accompanied marriage partners in exogamous partner networks, or that women marrying into patrilocal potter's households were taught manufacturing and decorative techniques by mothers-in-law, sisters-in-law or co-wives (Herbich 1987: 198-202).



Figure 10.22. (left). *Amongst the Samburu of Kenya, potters are rare, and are all women belonging to one clan. (Source: Pavitt 1991: 205).* **Fig. 10.23. (right).** *A Phom Naga woman moulding a pot using a wooden shaping stick, Burma. (Source: Stirn and van Ham 2003: 136).*

The chronology of Iron Age pottery production, distribution and consumption is still poorly understood, despite several initial syntheses (Elsdon 1996; Evans 1995b; Knight 2002; Runnacles and Buckland 1998). Future work must involve independent

means of scientific dating being used to ascribe closer dates to the pottery, rather than the pottery being used to date the site as is more normally the case (Cumberpatch, Walster and Vince 2007). Clearly, a detailed comparative study of prehistoric ceramic forms and fabrics from across the region would be highly desirable. The few thin-section studies that have taken place have tended to be site or project specific, limiting their usefulness for wider comparative purposes.

Briquetage or coarse ceramic salt containers were manufactured near brine springs in Cheshire (Matthews 1999: 178) and traded along river routes reached sites such as Gamston (Knight 1992: 65), and perhaps Sykehouse in South Yorkshire (Cumberpatch and Roberts 2003: 24), although a Lincolnshire source of coastal salterns is more likely for the latter. Pottery vessels may have been transported along with briquetage. Salt was a tremendously important substance during later prehistory, and probably had great social value. It was vital for preserving meat and ensuring the health of livestock, and there were extensive coastal and inland trade routes for it (e.g. Morris 1985; 1994). It is likely that Iron Age and Romano-British communities along the Lincolnshire coast and Humber estuary were producing salt at specialist seasonal salterns away from settlement sites (Lane and Morris 2001; Willis 1997: 211).

Pax and pots Romana

Only limited numbers of pre-Claudian Roman artefacts are known from the study region. Around two hundred Republican coins and twenty-two coins of Caligula (AD 39-41) were found along with eighteen Corieltauvian gold staters in a ceramic vessel near Lightcliffe in West Yorkshire (Allen 1960: 14-15; Keighley 1981: 132), and another coin hoard near Honley contained Republican and Imperial issues of 209 BC-AD 71. An Aucissa-type brooch of *c.* AD 40-60 was found at Scabba Wood (Buckland et al. 2002: 19), and at Rossington Bridge there were finds of Republican and early Imperial coins and mid-first century AD brooches, including an Aucissa-type (Lloyd Morgan 2001: 16; O'Connor 2001: 91).

At Ferrybridge, pre-Flavian artefacts included south Gaulish samian, ‘Belgic’ wares and an eggshell carinated cup from north-eastern Gaul, all dated to 15 BC-AD 70 (Evans, Wild and Willis 2005: 135, 142). There was also a rare Alésia brooch, one of only six found in Britain, and in use on the continent between the mid-first century BC to the early first century AD (Duncan, Cool and Stead 2005: 153-154, fig. 116 no. 6). Some ceramics shared features with those from Stanwick (Evans 1995b), and may have been derived from Lincolnshire centres such as Old Sleaford and Dragonby.

The coins and metalwork items in particular may have already been of great age before being deposited, but some might have been traded items or diplomatic gifts from Romans south of the Trent-Don-Humber frontier. The concentration of pre-Flavian finds at Enclosures A and B at Ferrybridge suggest that an individual or community dwelling there enjoyed higher social status, and/or that the practices undertaken here were of special significance – some artefacts were placed deposits (see Chapter 11). At Redcliff on the River Humber, finds of Gallo-Belgic pottery and Claudian period Roman coarse and fine wares suggest that this site was some kind of trading centre (Creighton 1990; Crowther, Willis and Creighton 1989). At the possible *oppidum* of Stanwick in North Yorkshire samian, fine wares and amphorae were more prominent (Willis 1996), perhaps indicating diplomatic gifts from Romans to local native elites. Further south and east, pre-Claudian Roman pottery reached native centres at Leicester and Old Sleaford, with smaller quantities at Dragonby.

In general, the first Roman-style artefacts across much of the region were linked to the Roman army – some of the Rossington Bridge finds were probably associated with soldiers based at the vexillation fortress, although this does not fully explain the context of their deposition. Mid-first century AD pottery was found in a beam slot underneath the rampart of the fort at Thorpe in Nottinghamshire (Willis 1996: 193). Given that local ceramic producers were only making small quantities of coarsewares, the army would have initially imported much of their pottery from southern England or the continent, and they also established military *figlinae* or fired clay workshops (Swan 2002: 35). Some early *figlinae* were set up at Grimescar Wood near Huddersfield during the later first century AD, supplying ceramic tiles and vessels to the forts at Slack and Castleford (Betts 1998; Purdy and Manby 1973), the pottery

including bowls, cooking jars, flagons and mortaria (Fig. 10.24). At Templeborough, May identified several mid to late first century AD vessels including wasters that might indicate production inside or immediately outside of the fort (May 1922: 235-237; Swan 2002: 35, fig. 1). Stamped tiles of the *cohors IV Gallorum* were produced there by the late first century or early second century (Stephens 1986: 20), a practice more widely adopted during the reign of Trajan (AD 98-117).

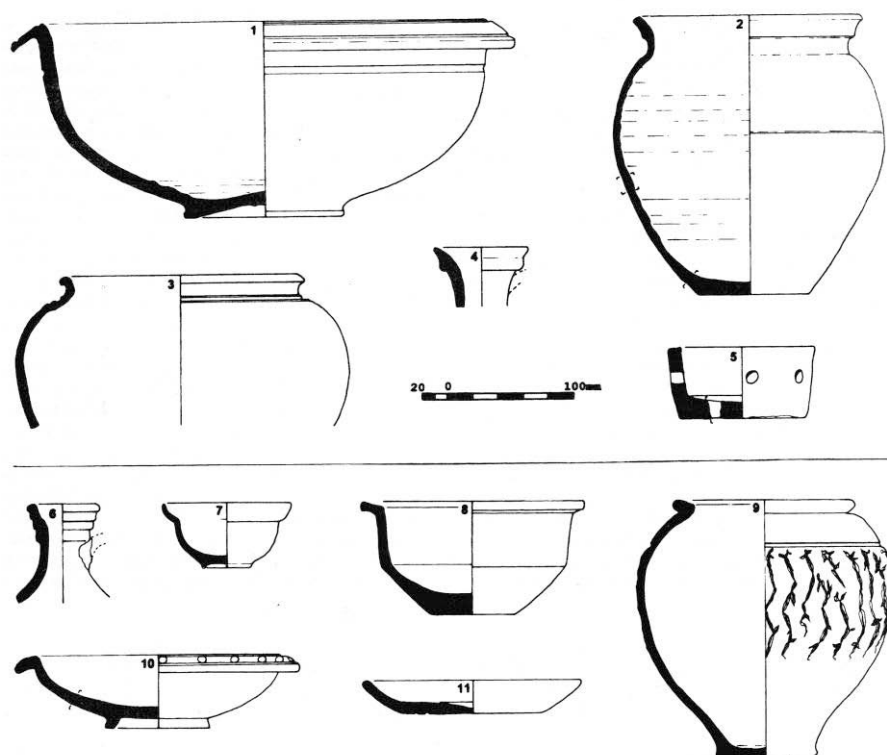


Figure 10.24. Products of pottery workshops serving early Roman military sites. Nos. 1-5 from Grimescar Wood, W. Yorks.; nos. 6-11 from Templeborough fort, S. Yorks. (Source: Swan 2002: 36).

A small kiln at Kiveton Park might have produced jars, bowls, beakers and flagons for military use between AD 80-130 (Radley and Plant 1969a: 159). Other important tile and pottery workshops and kilns were established in Aldborough and York in the late first century (Swan 2002). Some second century York vessels may reflect production by skilled North African and Germanic potters (Swan 1992, 2002). What is notable is the restricted distribution of these earlier ceramics. They were made by and for the military, but according to the classic ‘trickle-down’ theory of Romanisation, it might

be expected that these artefacts would have reached local settlements, firstly on *vici* and then outwards into the countryside. This does not appear to have been the case.

In the early to mid second century AD, a series of pottery kilns were established south-east of Doncaster at Beesacarr, Rose Hill, Cantley, Branton, Blaxton and Rossington Bridge (Annable 1960; Buckland 1976; Buckland and Dolby 1980; Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001; Cregeen 1956, 1957; Gilmour 1954, 1955, 1956). At least sixty kilns have been excavated, and others located through fieldwalking and geophysical survey. The quality of the excavation work has been extremely variable though. The earliest identified kilns from Rossington Bridge were in production from around AD 135-170 until the early third century (Buckland, Magilton and Dolby 1980: 146); and some Cantley kilns may date to AD 110-170 (Annable 1960). The Blaxton Quarry kilns may date from AD 160-250 (Buckland and Dolby 1980: 35).

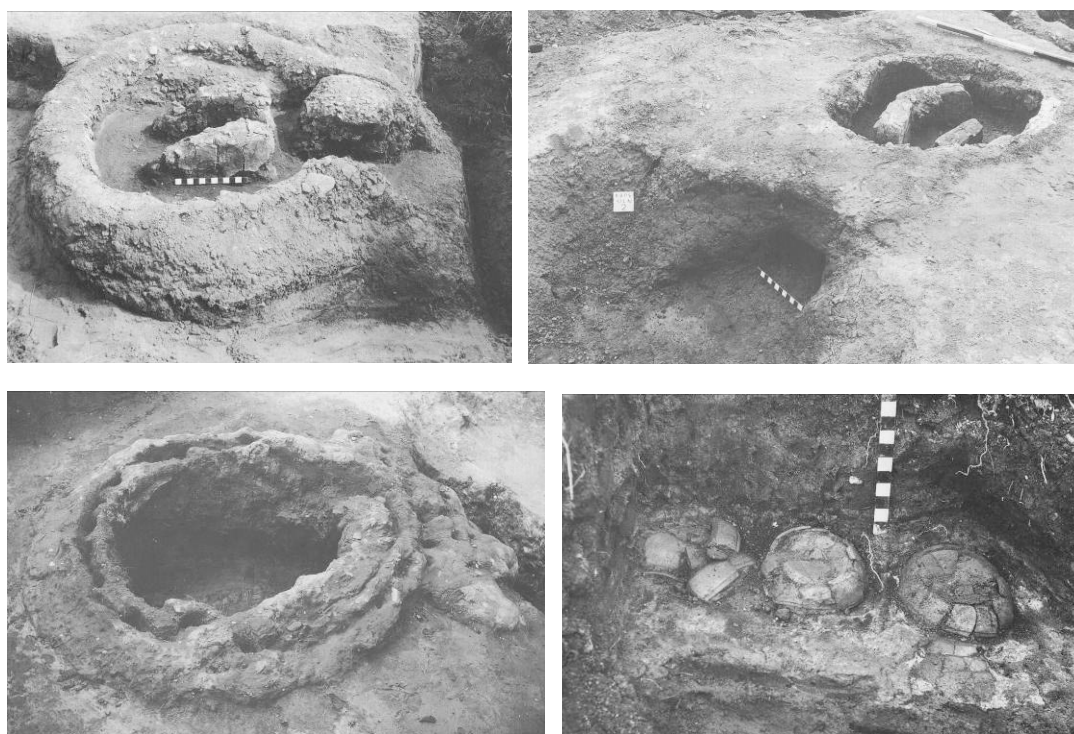


Figure 10.25. (top left). *Rossington Bridge Pumping Station kiln 1. Fig. 10.26. (top right).* *Rossington Bridge Pumping Station kiln 2, showing well preserved flue from stokehole. Fig. 10.27. (bottom left).* *Rossington Bridge Pumping Station kiln 4, showing stakeholes behind chamber wall and a relining layer. Fig. 10.28. (bottom right).* *Rossington Bridge Pumping Station. Evidence for the clamp or bonfire firing of Black Burnished Ware vessels, lying inverted in situ on a burnt surface. All scales in inches. (Source: Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: plates 4, 6, 12, 14).*

The small kiln excavated at Raymoth Lane, Worksop that was associated with a domestic enclosure was probably in production from AD 60-110 to the late second century (Darling 2004: 42-43). There were other significant regional kilns at Little London, Torksey (Oswald 1937) and Market Rasen (Darling forthcoming) in modern Lincolnshire, and at Derby Racecourse (Brassington 1971, 1980). Similarities in some forms produced at Worksop, South Yorkshire and Market Rasen suggest connections between them (Darling 2004: 42). A pottery kiln is also recorded from Newark, and tile kilns at Sookholme and Bulcote (Bishop 2001b: 6).



Figure 10.29. (left). *The mortaria stamps of Rossington producers, including Sarrius and Secundua. (Source: Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: 40).*

Much of the output of the South Yorkshire and Raymoth Lane kilns consisted of jars, dishes and a variety of bowls in greyware and shell-tempered fabrics, with apparent continuities in form with late Iron Age ceramics visible in the Worksop vessels. Mortaria were also produced in large quantities, many stamped SARRIVS, SETIBOCIVS and SECVNDVA (Sarrius, Setibocius and Secundua) (Fig. 10.29). Sarrius was a potter associated with the Mancetter/Hartshill area of Warwickshire

(Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: 86-87). This may have been to supply the army in the first instance, with products of the South Yorkshire kilns being taken from the Doncaster and Rossington area up to the Antonine Wall. It might have been a revival of production from even earlier, as yet unidentified kilns (Swan 2002: 57).

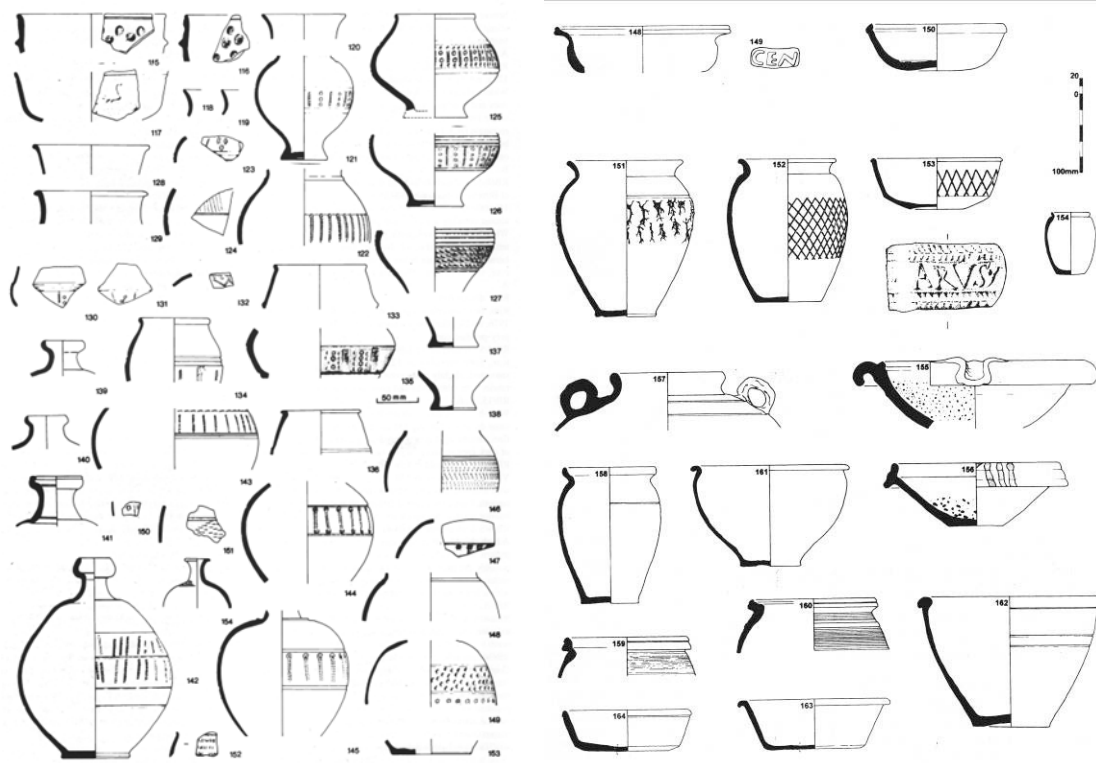


Figure 10.30. (left). *Rossington Bridge pottery. Nos. 115-117 are Black Burnished Ware bowls, whilst nos. 118-154 are 'Parisian ware' vessels. (Source: Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: 64). Fig. 10.31. (right).* *Typical products of South Yorkshire potteries in the Doncaster area, including greyware bowls and dishes, jars, rusticated and Black Burnished Ware cooking pots, and mortaria. (Source: Swan 2002: 54).*

Many early products of South Yorkshire kilns were so-called 'Parisian wares', the name derived from the tribe believed to inhabit East Yorkshire where this pottery was first identified. Some of these stamp-decorated forms may have been derived from pre-Roman types, perhaps a deliberate attempt to make vessels more appealing to local markets (Elsdon 1992b), though others disagree with this notion (Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: 56; Swan 2002: 58). Many were beaker and flagon forms – skeuomorphs of metal tableware designs, and may have elements in common with vessels being produced in Aquitania in the late first and second centuries AD. Some featured 'ears of corn' motifs (Buckland 1986: 45), perhaps symbols of the

agricultural cycle. Production of these had probably ceased by the end of the second century (Buckland, Magilton and Dolby 1980: 157), and they are rare on local sites, suggesting that most were exported out of the region. Second century Black Burnished Ware and rusticated greyware jars were also products of South Yorkshire kilns (Figs. 10.30-10.31). By the third and fourth centuries most production at South Yorkshire potteries had ceased, perhaps because military demand had ended, or these potters had lost the supply contracts. The repertoire of South Yorkshire kilns such as Cantley then began to resemble those of small rural suppliers. Shortages of fuel may also have become a problem (q.v. Fulford 1990: 29) – in the open landscapes of the study region, timber may have become an increasingly scarce resource.



Figure 10.32. *Fields south-east of Cantley, S. Yorks., with Cantley at the top of the photograph and the M18 under construction at the bottom. From the electricity pylon at the lower centre, at least four relatively small ovoid and subcircular features are visible extending to the upper right. Although not identified, these might be small enclosures associated with pottery production, particularly as some of the excavated kilns lay just on the other side of Cantley. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 2486, SE 627 025).*

The wider landscape context of the South Yorkshire kiln sites is not clear. Due in part to the poor quality of most early excavations, no clear settlement evidence was associated with them, and most cropmarks of the area are not informative (but see Fig. 10.32). The kilns do not appear to have been part of significant nucleated settlements, but were distributed within a landscape of fields and enclosures relatively indistinguishable from the wider agricultural landscape. An enclosure, field ditches and a trackway adjacent to known kilns was recently excavated at Cantley (Daley 2005; Johnson 2006). Unfortunately, many aspects of this project were problematic, but pottery wasters and fragments of kiln structure and kiln furniture were found as dumps within a ditch, indicating pottery production taking place close by during the late second to mid third centuries AD. This production seems to have been organised at the household level, rather than as part of a centralised ‘industry’.

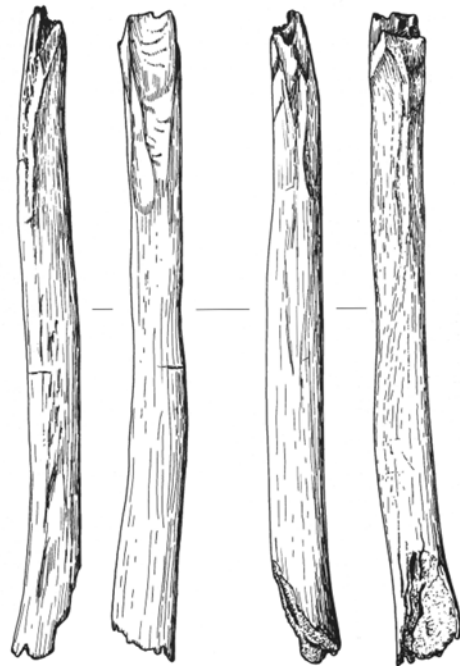


Figure 10.33. (right). *Human left humerus found during excavations at Rossington Bridge Pumping Station in 1958-61, apparently modified into a wedge-ended tool. (Source: Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: 83).*

Some human bones recovered during poorly recorded excavations at Rossington Bridge in the 1950s had signs of deliberate disarticulation and defleshing. One had been modified when the bone was still fresh to form a possible wedge-shaped ‘tool’ (Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: 82) (Fig. 10.33). This may have been casual re-use of an unidentified bone from ‘a disturbed burial’, but this seems unlikely as it was a humerus – a relatively recognisable human limb element. The bones came from dump deposits thought to be discard from nearby Romano-British pottery kilns, and if

the modified bone was a tool, it might have been used to decorate pottery. The potential symbolic association between the dead and pots may have been significant.

There might have been important shifts in the social and gendered nature of pottery production. Prior to the Roman invasion this may have been undertaken at a household level, perhaps mainly by women. Following the conquest, in both military and civilian production centres it might have been men undertaking the work. At smaller kilns such as Raymoth Lane or Warning Tongue Lane women may still have been part of the process, but otherwise control of production and distribution might have passed to men. The persistence of Iron Age ceramic forms into the second century AD could represent a desire for independence by ‘native’ potters in the face of new techniques and practices, and even resistance from women who perceived them as an attack on their identities and status. Potters such as Sarrus, Verrinus and Secundua may have been independent, entrepreneurial craftsmen (Bevan 2006: 17; Swan 2002: 58), but they were ‘outsiders’ to the region. The social status of other workers might have been quite low, although both freedmen and slaves were probably involved in production (Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: 87; Peacock 1982).

Romanisation, creolisation or acculturation?

As the historical record is made up, who is dropped out, when, and why? (Spivak 1999: 237-238).

‘Romanizing’ (Mommsen 1885) and ‘Romanization’ (Haverfield 1905, 1912) refer to the cultural process by which Britain became assimilated as a Roman Imperial province. Others have ably documented theories of Romanisation³ during the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries (Forcey 1997; Freeman 1996, 1997a; Hingley 1994, 1996, 2000), and the links of some with discourses of improvement and British imperialism of the period. In general, views of Romanisation have fallen into two main groups. Authors such as Haverfield saw it as a progressive and essentially benign civilising process, ‘wrought for the betterment and happiness of the

world' (Haverfield 1915: 10). Roman material culture and lifestyles were adopted by conquered peoples as they were self-evidently beneficial and superior to anything that the 'natives' of north-west Europe had previously enjoyed. Furthermore, there is some literary evidence that the Roman administration directly encouraged the construction of Roman-style buildings in urban centres, and tribal elites to adopt Roman education, dress and manners (e.g. Tacitus *Agricola* 21). Haverfield's ideas influenced many subsequent scholars through to the late twentieth century (e.g. Collingwood and Myres 1937; Frere 1987; Salway 1981). Another early work proposed an alternative view in which Roman culture was a thin veneer over a basically unchanged native society, particularly in northern England and rural areas (Vinogradoff 1911). This view too was influenced by wider prevailing social discourses, in this case emerging Welsh and Irish nationalism and 'Celtism' (Forcey 1997: 16).

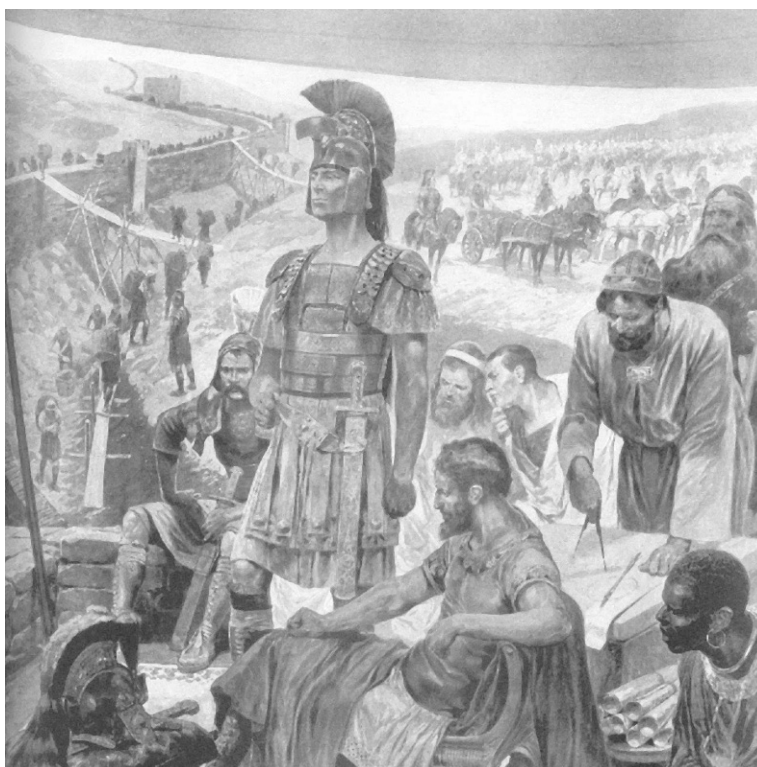


Figure 10.34. *The progressive, civilising face of Romanisation? Illustration from a 1911 British school text book. Cultural and racial stereotypes are much in evidence. (Source: Hingley 2000).*

In the later twentieth century, many views proposed that indigenous people had a greater contribution. Burnham (1995) and Cunliffe (1995) both took the thin veneer approach, whilst Brunt and Millett argued that tribal elites adopted aspects of Roman

culture to reinforce and expand their own social status, particularly through Roman-style material culture (Brunt 1974; Millett 1990: 36-38). Nevertheless, this was still essentially a process of emulation that then ‘trickled down’ the social hierarchy. Hanson (1994, 1997) proposed that there was direct ‘top down’ imposition of Roman urban planning and mores, but also that local self-governing social hierarchies were encouraged, whilst for Whittaker the ‘cultural assimilation’ of rural dwellers happened through ‘osmosis’ from the aristocracy and urban centres (Whittaker 1987: 155). Smith and Reece both suggested that the form of villas in Britain owed more to native social structures (Reece 1980, 1988b; Smith 1978), and that Romanisation had largely failed in Britain by the third century AD, especially in urban areas. But for de la Bédoyère, this was actually Roman Britain’s ‘Golden Age’ (de la Bédoyère 1999).



Figure 10.35. *The thin veneer of Romanisation? Cartoon by Simon James. (Source: Reece 1988b: i).*

More recent theoretical approaches to the study of Roman Britain have used three key concepts to explore the dialectical relationship between conqueror and conquered; namely power (or hegemony), agency and identity (e.g. Barrett 1997c, 1997d; Forcey 1997; Freeman 1996, 1997a, 1997b; Hingley 1996; Scott 1993; Woolf 1993, 1995). Alternative terms used to describe these complex cultural processes include

‘syncretism’ (Webster 1997b) or ‘discrepant experience’ (Mattingly 1997), the latter a phrase originally derived from Said (1993). Post-colonial theories, especially the writings of Said (1978, 1993) and Spivak (1988, 1999) have proved extremely influential. Spivak’s notion of ‘subaltern’ positions or voices (1988) and James Scott’s idea of ‘hidden transcripts’ (J.C. Scott 1990) both refer to those who are usually denied representation, and to their muted or secretive responses to, feelings and interpretations of hegemonic discourses. The concept of social or cultural ‘resistance’ within sociology and anthropology (e.g. Kaplan and Kelly 1994; Ortnor 1995; Scott 1985) also became popular within studies of ‘Romanisation’ (e.g. Hingley 1997a; Webster 1997b).



Figure 10.36. *Roman and native interactions in the study region were likely to have been extremely complex, and the occupiers themselves were changed by the process as much as those who were being occupied. (Source: © Lejre Experimental Centre).*

The basic standpoint of these more critical approaches is that ‘Romanisation’ and Roman imperialism were complex and took different forms across the Empire, and that there were always multiple understandings and interpretations of it. They have stressed how the Roman Empire was not a monoglot or monolithic power but socially and ethnically diverse, and power and sexuality were exercised and portrayed in many different ways throughout the Empire (q.v. Ferris 1994; Young 1995). Some accounts also take into account the diverse identities within the Roman military and administration (e.g. Gardner 2001, 2006), and the presence of the Roman military as a

powerful coercive force *inside* the boundaries of the Empire (Hanson 1997: 68-69; James 2002: 37-38). Furthermore, occupied peoples may themselves have wrought subtle changes upon the occupiers, and their diverse power structures and agencies must also be examined. Sometimes the differences between indigenous elites and peasant farmers may have been nearly as great as those between the farmers and Roman occupiers. For all the dominance of material culture and other traces of the Roman Empire which archaeologists recognise, there might have been ‘subaltern’ voices that are harder to identify, that of slaves, women, children and many indigenous peoples. These largely hidden experiences are minority discourses, part of the ‘contentious perplexity’ of the living (Bhabha 1990: 307).

Historians and archaeologists in North America and the Caribbean use the term ‘creolisation’ to describe cultural interactions between European colonists, slaves and former slaves of African ancestry and indigenous Native American populations. It refers to the complex relations between these people during the post-medieval and early modern period and the active processes by which selective elements of language, culture and identity were adopted through a fusion of influences to emerge as new languages, ideas and cultural practices. This term has been adopted by some Iron Age and Roman scholars (e.g. Carr 2003; Webster 2001), but has provoked heated debate, as at TRAC in 2002⁴.

The term ‘creolisation’ is very culturally and historically specific. This process involved the forced enslavement and transport of millions of people from Africa to colonial plantations, the genocide through war and disease of indigenous populations in the Caribbean and North America, later social, sexual and linguistic fusions between slaves, ex-slaves, Native Americans and European colonists, and the adjustments of these people to the New World. Most of these conditions were unlike Roman-native interactions in Britain or north-west Europe. Although in this thesis I have used the term ‘Romanisation’ in inverted commas as convenient shorthand, I favour the more neutral term ‘acculturation’ (q.v. Clarke 1996; Okun 1989; A. Woolf 1999), which also has the advantage of suggesting this was potentially a complex two-way process, rather than overwhelming cultural hegemony on the part of Rome.

Merely replacing a ‘Romanist’ interpretation of progressive change with a ‘nativist’ viewpoint of enthusiastic emulation or cultural resistance is inadequate, and archaeologists must move beyond such limited terminology (Barrett 1997d: 60; Woolf 1995: 341), although for simplicity I have used terms such as ‘native’ in a qualified manner. The conquest of the north saw new social identities and new hegemonies created through dialectical acculturation, and Roman expansion itself led to greater social complexity throughout the Roman Empire (Woolf 1995: 345). Elites and administrators, farmers and soldiers, slaves and freedmen would not only have had different capacities to act upon and engage with their landscapes and the material world, but probably perceived themselves and their landscapes in very varied ways (q.v. Gardner 2003: 8).

Recent approaches to the Roman occupation of Britain have largely dispensed with the term ‘Romanisation’ altogether (Creighton 2006; Gardner 2002, 2006; Hill 2001; Huskinson 1999; James 2001a, 2001b; Mattingly 1997, 2006), and have viewed ‘identity’ and agency as far more useful theoretical concepts. Although this trend has not escaped criticism (cf. de la Bédoyère 2006), I believe that it allows for greater flexibility when considering how different individuals and communities responded to the Roman invasion and occupation, and the subsequent diverse range of social, political and economic interactions.

An archaeology of the Roman Empire...will treat that empire as a multitude of voices which were differentially empowered. Those voices found their effectiveness through their inhabitation of the material conditions which archaeology recovers. That material does not itself define the reality of the past...Instead we might seek to understand the diversity of inhabitation of the ancient world and begin to grasp the range of life which was made possible in that context. This will recognise no absolute testimony for the truth of the past, although such absolutes are always the claim of political and economic authority. Instead those claims may be set beside other voices expressing other truths. Regionalised and less forcefully expressed as these voices may have been, they too had their history and it is for us to understand the places those histories inhabited. (Barrett 1997c: 7).

Cosmetics and grooming

Cosmetic grinders and sets of toilet instruments have been identified as key signifiers of changing identities in late Iron Age and early Roman Britain (see Carr 2003; Hill 1997, 2001; Jackson 1985), purportedly signifying a concern with hair removal and personal grooming. ‘Traditional’ or ‘native’ appearance might have been more hirsute for men, women might not have routinely used cosmetics, and there may have been painted, scarified or tattooed designs on the skin of men and women. There is little archaeological evidence for this, although the Lindow III bog body had copper or iron pigments in the skin perhaps indicating tattoos (Stead, Bourke and Brothwell 1986). Recently, it has been rather bizarrely claimed that woad designs painted or tattooed on the skin could have acted as camouflage (Carr 2005).



Toilet and grooming instruments found during excavations in Castleford, W. Yorks. Figure 10.37. (left). An enamelled chatelaine set. Figure 10.38. (top right). A cosmetic mortar and spatula. Figure 10.39. (bottom right). Tweezers. (Source: © AS WYAS).



Figure 10.40. (left). *Cosmetic mortar of first century BC-first century AD date found by a metal detectorist near Cottam, Notts. (Source: PAS 2005-2006: 37).*

An enamelled bronze chatelaine set was found at Castleford (Cool 1998b) (Fig. 10.37), and cosmetic grinders, tweezers, scoops, probes and nail cleaners at Castleford and Doncaster. They occur in very limited numbers on rural sites such as the villa complex at Dalton Parlours, or as isolated metal detector finds (Buckland 1986: 27; Cool 1990; Dearne and Parsons 1997: 73, fig. 9). A cosmetic mortar was found at Edlington Wood (Corder 1951: 90, fig. 17: 9), but toilet and grooming instruments are otherwise rare on rural settlements. This might indicate that outside urban centres and ‘Romanised’ settlements, there was less concern to maintain ‘Roman’ identities through shaving and other personal grooming. On the other hand, brooches were more common, and these might have been Roman-style artefacts that had more resonance with existing local material traditions and expressions of identity (see Chapter 11).

Querns

Beehive and flat quernstones were manufactured from the Millstone Grit stone outcropping at Wharnccliffe Crags near Sheffield (Challis and Harding 1975: 23-25; Wright 1988: 74; Wright and Brown 2000: 42); and perhaps also from outcrops along the Rivelin Valley. Many querns were distributed widely across the study region, probably as roughouts to be finished elsewhere (Wright 1988: 74-75). The site was surveyed and partially excavated in 1950-1960 though this work remains unpublished, but as noted in Chapter 4 part of the quern manufacturing site was surveyed in more detail in 1999 (Fig. 4.17). Over 2300 quern roughouts were identified, of which 1960 were flat disc querns, and 272 beehive forms (Pearson and Oswald 2005). These different types had varying distributions, with flat disc ‘blanks’ occurring across the site, but the beehive roughouts located mostly along the eastern margins, perhaps

reflecting chronological trends in quern working. Across the study region, older beehive forms persisted in use well into the third century AD. And whilst many ‘native’ sites would have carried on using beehive querns, it must also be borne in mind that some beehive querns have been found in Roman military contexts in northern England, and in the past it has even been claimed that there was a ‘Legionary Type’ (Curwen 1937, 1941). Such typologies have been challenged though (Caulfield 1977), and a major study of Yorkshire querns was underway by Donald Spratt (Buckley and Major 1998: 241), although it is not clear if this will ever be published following his death in 1992.

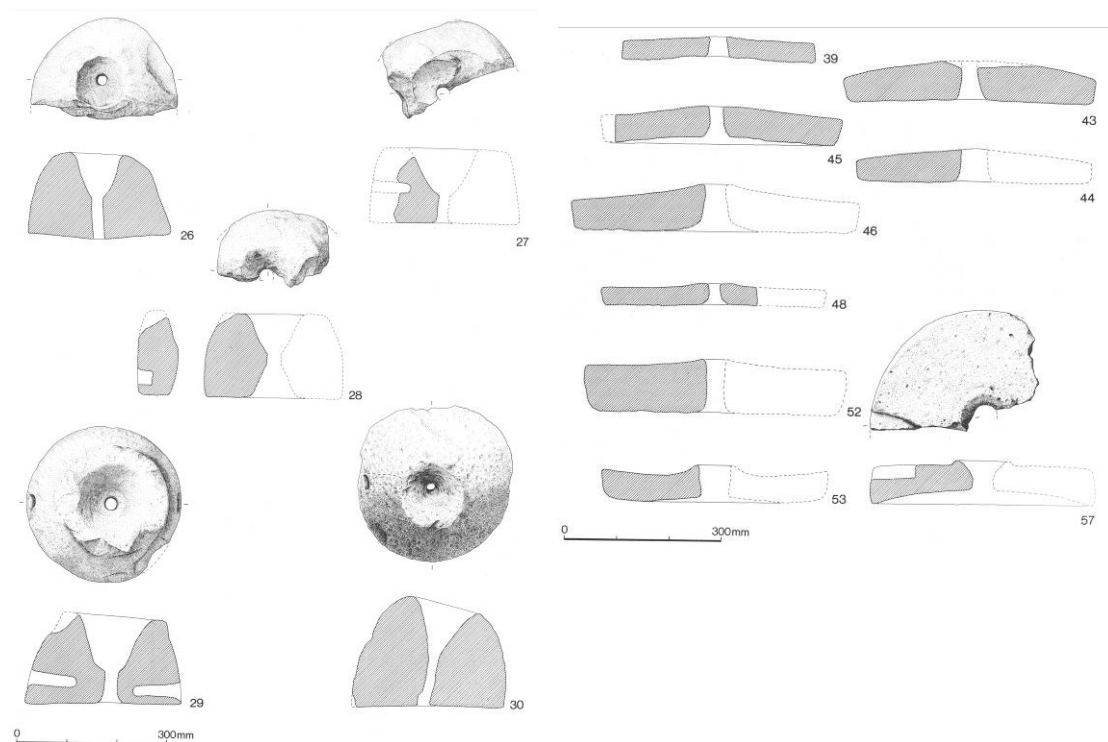


Figure 10.41. (left). *Beehive querns found at Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks.* **Fig. 10.42. (right).** *Flat querns found at Dalton Parlours, including one of Mayen lava (no. 39).* (Source: Buckley and Major 1990: 113, 115).

Although Wharnccliffe querns reached West Yorkshire sites, more local sandstone Coal Measures sources included outcrops near Moss Carr, Methley; at Woolley Edge near Normanton, at Thornhill Rock on the west bank of the River Aire near Leeds; and occasionally from Millstone Grit outcrops further away at Harrogate and Spofforth (Heslop and Gaunt 2002: 31-32, 2004: 20; Wright 1988). Nottinghamshire quern sources comprised outcrops of Coal Measures sandstones along the Trent

Valley, Lake District and Welsh lavas and gabbros possibly derived from boulders in glacial drift, granodiorite from outcrops at Mountsorrel in Leicestershire, and Millstone Grit from Derbyshire (Wright 1988; Wright and Firman 1992).

Specific social groups may have used larger quernstone ‘quarries’, producing querns when not engaged in agriculture or other subsistence tasks; or there may have been specialist communities or individuals concentrating mostly on stone working. Manufactured querns were then traded with other communities in order to obtain extra agricultural produce, commodities such as salt and/or items of material culture. Alternatively, although particular social groups may have controlled access to quern working sites, others may have had rights to work stone in them (q.v. Ballard 1996; Sundstrom 1996). Gaining access to quern working sites might have been achieved through ‘payments’ to the controlling group. Production required skill, but might also have been associated with particular rites to ensure the co-operation of the stone and the future efficacy of the querns. Granodiorite from outcrops at Mountsorrel on the eastern edge of Charnwood Forest in Leicestershire occurred as temper in some Iron Age pottery at sites such as Gamston (Wright and Firman 1992: 71), which Knight (1992: 84; 2002: 139) has interpreted as evidence of direct trade in ceramics. This might have been derived from broken-up querns, however (Knight 1992: 84; Woodward 2002: 111), in which case it was querns or temper that had been traded, not pots. Although this might have involved old, worn-out querns and the fortuitous use of available temper, it may have established metaphorical and symbolic links between different materials used in the production and preparation of food.

In the Romano-British period, flat basalt lava quernstones were imported from the Niedermendig quarries in the Mayen region of Germany, and may initially have been associated with the Roman military (Buckland 1986; Buckley and Major 1990; Crawford and Röder 1955). In the south and east of England they became part of civilian trade, especially in areas where there was no suitable local stone for quern production, but in the north their distribution was more restricted. They may have come into the region as ballast for lighter cargoes (Buckland 1986: 22), perhaps with colour-coated wares imported from the Rhineland. Whilst many were found at Castleford and Doncaster in fort and *vicus* contexts (Buckland 1986: 22; Buckley and

Major 1998: 243-245), only a few fragments were recovered from the villa complex at Dalton Parlours (Buckley and Major 1990: 117), despite its possible military associations. In contrast, some Mayen lava querns were found at Parlington Hollins East (Heslop 2001a: 201), which may again hint at a more ‘Romanised’ status for this place. The import of querns from outside of the region may have disrupted and undermined traditional stone-working practices and exchange. Similarly, the social and symbolic ‘meanings’ of querns might have changed for some indigenous people, and those moving into the region might not have shared these ideas at all.



Figure 10.43. Roman lava flat querns such as these from the fort at Ilkley were imported into the study region from the Niedermendig quarries in the Mayen region of modern Germany. (Source: author, courtesy of the Manor House Museum, Ilkley).



Figure 10.44. (left). Beehive querns persisted in use, even on ‘Romanised’ settlements. This example was excavated from the vicus at Ilkley. (Source: author, courtesy of the Manor House Museum, Ilkley).

Changes in consumption

As noted above, with a few exceptions Roman-style pottery and other artefacts do not appear on rural settlements across the study region until the early and middle second century AD. The use of coinage seems to have been relatively limited, particularly during the late first and second centuries⁵. Ceramic use too did not become widespread until the late second and third century, although it was often still limited on many rural settlement sites (Cumberpatch, Leary and Willis 2003: 20; Garton, Leary and Naylor 2002: 30; Samuels and May 1980: 73-81). There was a predominance of jars in most ceramic assemblages, followed by bowls and dishes. Many had sooting on the outside, typical of northern Romano-British rural sites (Cool 2006: 39; Evans 1993). This suggests pottery was used mainly for cooking and storing food, although greyware bowl forms may have gradually replaced wooden vessels used for eating. Sooting was often most pronounced on pot rims, suggesting that the bases of vessels were imbedded in accumulated ash within hearths (Cool 2006: 39).



Figure 10.45. *A selection of Black Burnished Ware vessels manufactured at kilns in Dorset. Vessels like these were imported into the region. (Source: © Exeter Museum).*

Imported samian vessels from south-central and eastern Gaul reached some sites in small numbers from the first century AD onwards, including Stanwick, Redhill, Parlington Hollins East and Ferrybridge (Evans 2001b: 159; Evans, Wild and Willis

2005: 139-141; Willis 1997a: 42), but also Topham Farm, Sykehouse (Cumberpatch, Leary and Willis 2003: 21). East Gaulish samian eventually superseded these vessels. On many small-scale rural sites, decorated samian was disproportionately represented (Willis 1997a: 39-41). At Dalton Parlours, decorated bowls but no plain wares were recovered (Sumpter 1990: 130), although I cannot identify this trend elsewhere. Nevertheless, decorated samian may have been attractive to ‘native’ people because it was so different in colour and texture to any ceramics they had experienced before. Black Burnished Ware from Dorset, Nene Valley colour-coated vessels, Mancetter-Hartshill wares, vessels from Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire, mortaria from the Radlett-St Albans area and amphorae from Spain were all imports into the region (e.g. Buckland 1986: 25), but usually in very small amounts and they were uncommon on most rural settlements.



Figure 10.46. *Romano-British pottery forms, including greyware jars and bowls, and also colour-coated beakers and a samian bowl. (Source: © The British Museum).*

In the third and fourth centuries AD, South Yorkshire kiln products declined considerably, whilst pottery from Crambeck, Derbyshire (Dales ware) and East Yorkshire (proto-Huntcliff and Huntcliff-type wares) became more common within the region. Some sites such as Parlington Hollins East, Lincolnshire Way, Armthorpe, and Holme Hall Quarry demonstrate the use of relatively ‘Romanised’ suites of artefacts (Bevan 2006: 31; Evans 2001b; Leary and Willis 2004; O’Neill 2007), but beakers, flagons, cups, plates and dishes were rare or absent altogether on most rural settlements. The faunal evidence from Castleford indicates that on some urban sites at least, there were major changes in animal slaughtering and butchery practices (Berg

1999: 232-234; Cool 2006: 89-91). The Romano-British period therefore did see some transformations of indigenous food preparation and consumption (q.v. Cool 2006: 170-171; Meadows 1994: 137, 1997: 33), though this was a complex and uniquely British process and by no means a slavish emulation of Roman-style practices.



*Roman-style finds from fort and vicus contexts at Ilkley, W. Yorks. These included amphorae, mortaria and large bowls, shown in **Figure 10.47. (top left)**, and samian vessels, greywares, flagons, Crambeck ware and colour-coated vessels in **Fig. 10.48. (bottom left)**. (Source: author, courtesy of Manor House Museum, Ilkley).*



For some people, within just a few years or decades of Roman occupation their experiences of material culture, eating and drinking would have been transformed. In many small-scale rural settlements, however, it took decades for even greyware vessels to be routinely used, and some households never have had more than one or two pots at any one time. Consumption practices may have remained relatively unchanged.

In the Roman Empire, emmer wheat and barley were used to make a gruel or porridge called *puls* or *pulmentus*, which was a staple for poor rural and urban dwellers (Renfrew 1985: 22). A light, leavened bread or *artophites* was also made from bread wheat, and recipes by Apicius show this was used in other dishes (Flower and Rosenbaum 1958; Wilson 1991). It is likely that there would have been similar Iron Age foods, but wholemeal bread may have been the main staple in Iron Age and Roman Britain (Braun 1995: 37). Tooth wear on many excavated Romano-British skeletons is consistent with a coarse-grained bread-based diet (Cool 2006: 75; Farwell

and Molleson 1993: 182-183). Social distinctions might have been made and reinforced between those people who ate spelt wheat bread, and those who ate barley cakes. Barley cakes were seen as very low status, although they may have been eaten on a widespread basis in northern England (Braun 1995: 33-34). Hilary Cool has suggested that settlements in the study region such as Dalton Parlours and Parlington Hollins which had noticeably higher wheat to barley rations than sites such as Swillington Common were expressing higher status and more 'Romanised' identities not only through their material culture, which featured more imported and finewares, but also through their food and diets (Cool 2006: 79).

Although wealthier households might have been able to buy some flour already milled, on most sites within the study region this would have been unlikely. The production of enough hand-ground flour for the household would have been an arduous chore undertaken on a regular if not daily basis, using beehive querns (see above) and during the Romano-British period flat rotary quernstones as well. The querns probably sat upon or were set into floors, those using them either sitting or squatting alongside. It was probably mainly women and female children girls who carried out this work, and they may have developed skeletal and muscular problems later in life as a result (Cool 2006: 74). Interestingly, analysis of skeletons from the Romano-British cemetery at Poundbury indicated that three times more women than men showed traces of 'squatting facets' on their bones (Farwell and Molleson 1993: 182-183); perhaps indicative of exactly this sort of work. Daily taskscapes may thus sometimes have inscribed themselves quite literally upon people's bodies.

In many societies where animals have great social as well as economic importance, meat might more often be eaten at special occasions such as feasts (e.g. Evans-Pritchard 1940; Lucas 1989; Parker Pearson 2000; Pavitt 1991). Secondary products such as butter, cheese, yoghurt, milk or blood are often more important. In nineteenth century Wales and Ireland, butter and biscuits formed staples (Howell 1977; O'Dowd 1981). Lipid analysis would be a means of testing for this, but 'strainers' and 'presses' in some Romano-British ceramic assemblages were probably also used to prepare cheese and yoghurt. They were produced by some of the South Yorkshire potteries, but always seem to have been quite rare vessels (Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001:

70; Cool 2006: 95-96; J. Evans 2003; Leary and Willis 2004; Swan 2002). Wide-mouthed jars and flanged bowls would also have been suitable, but prior to the Roman occupation organic containers were probably used. The faunal evidence suggests that ‘Roman’ people consumed greater quantities of milk and beef in Britain and north-west Europe than was the case in the Mediterranean (Chapter 5).



Figure 10.49. *In the late Iron Age, many vessels used for the preparation, presentation and consumption of food may have been made of wood, leather or basketry, with very limited numbers of ceramic vessels in any household. (Source: © Lejre Experimental Centre).*

It is thus likely that native people used some items of ‘Roman’ material culture for the preparation and storage of foodstuffs in traditional ways, rather than newer Roman-style meals. Mortaria often form disproportionately common elements of Romano-British rural assemblages, as at Parlinton Hollins (Evans 2001b: 162). In some cases this may have been for ‘traditional’ products such as yoghurt or cottage cheese rather than the preparation of Roman-style dishes (Oswald 1943: 36; Reece 1988b: 27). They were made in variety of sizes, with some late first to mid-third century examples far too large and heavy to hold, and some late Crambeck mortaria as small as 112-120mm in diameter (Cool 2006: 43-44). Along with the fact that some were produced in coarse, cream-coloured fabrics and others were produced in samian and colour-

coated wares, this suggest that they were used for a variety of purposes with some serving quite specialised functions (Cool 2006: 44; Hartley 1973: 41).

At Scrooby Top, most samian sherds were burnt and sooted before breakage (Robbins 1997, 2000: 77-79), suggesting that it was used for cooking, contrary to the accepted view of it as tableware. Although samian vessels often had higher levels of repair and graffiti on them suggesting they were perceived differently to other wares (Willis 1997a: 39), but research suggests that they were more ubiquitous than some archaeologists have thought. Wear patterns on samian cups, for example, suggest that they were not simply used for wine drinking, but people may have eaten yoghurt and porridge out of them, and also used them for grinding up herbs and spices and mixing ingredients (Biddulph 2002: 13, 2007: 99). Pots and other material culture were likely to have been ‘semantically promiscuous’ (Barley 1994: 76), and modern distinctions between coarse and fine wares and their presumed uses may not accord with how ceramics were perceived and used in the past (Allison 1999: 72; Meadows 1997: 24).

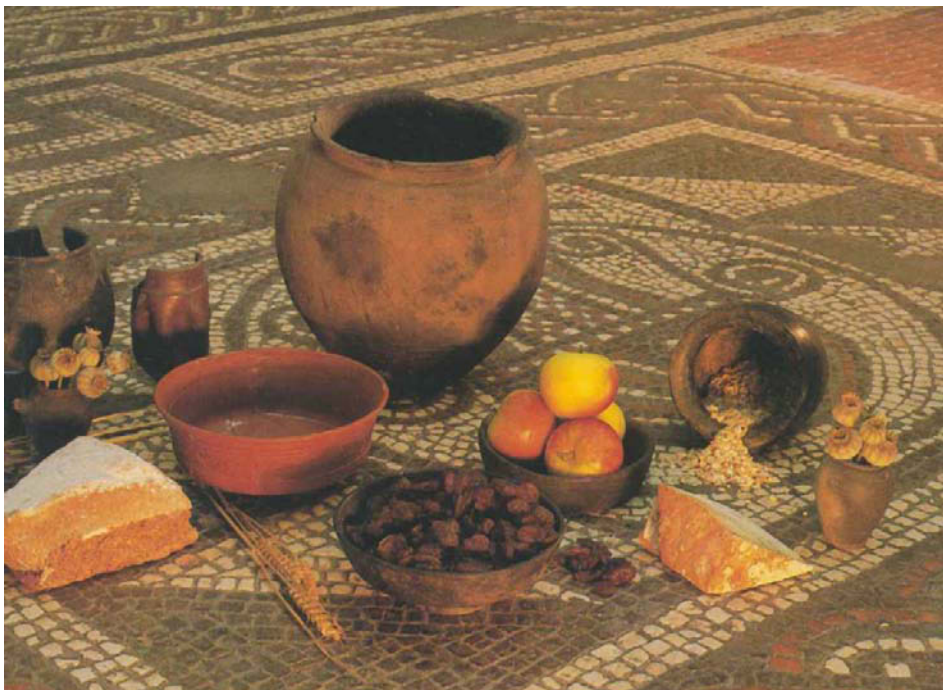


Figure 10.50. *The Roman occupation of northern England may have seen the introduction of novel material forms, foods and consumption practices. But for many indigenous people on small-scale rural settlements, existing material culture and foods continued to be important. (Source: R.J.C. Smith 1993: front cover).*

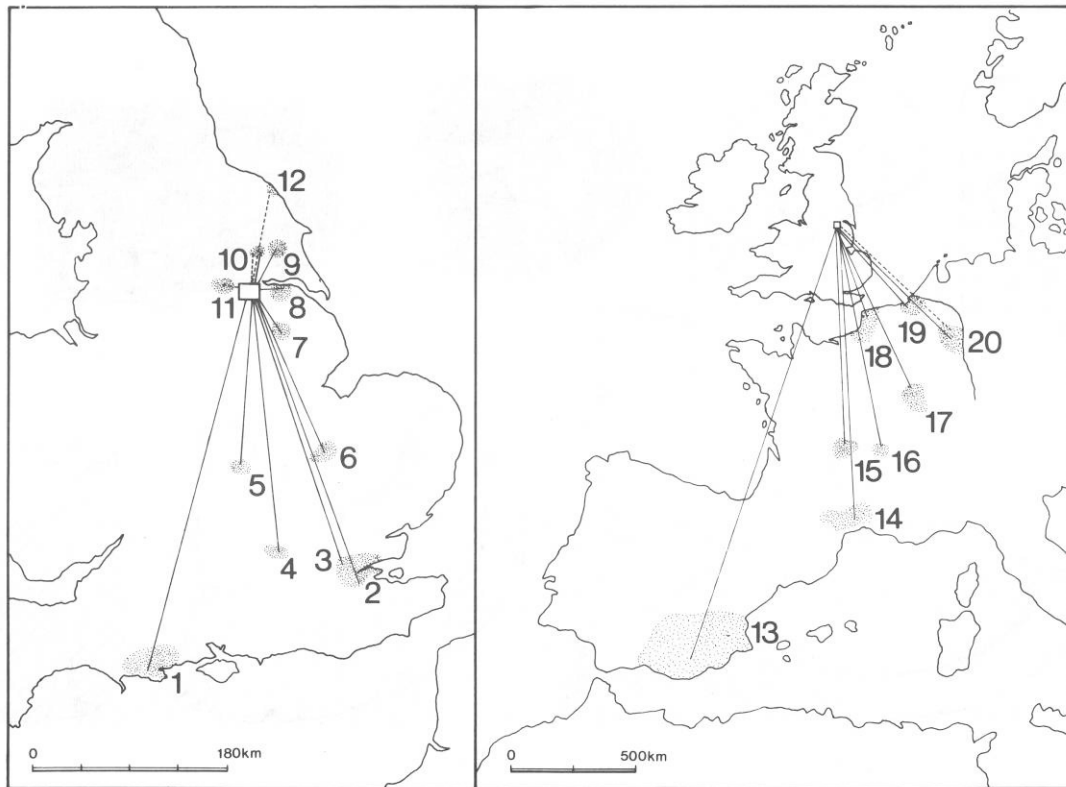


Figure 10.51. *The origins of some Roman imports into part of the study region (South Yorkshire). 1. Black Burnished Ware from Dorset, early second to fourth centuries AD. 2. Pottery vessels from kilns in the London area and Thames Estuary. 3. Mortaria from kilns around Radlett and St Albans, late first century. 4. Pottery from Oxfordshire kilns, fourth century. 5. Mortaria from the Mancetter-Hartshill kilns. 6. Colour-coated pottery from the Nene Valley around Peterborough. 7. Mortaria from kilns in the Lincoln area. 8. Later Roman Dales Ware from kilns in Lincolnshire. 9. Late Roman fine wares and jars from the Crambeck kilns in north Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire. 10. Tiles and pottery from kilns in York. 11. Millstone Grit from the Pennines. 12. Whitby jet. 13. Amphorae from the province of Baetica in south-east Spain, filled with olive oil, wine, garum (fish paste) and dried fruit. 14. South Gaulish samian, later first century. 15. Central Gaulish samian, second century. 16. Lyons ware, later first century. 17. Late Roman Argonne samian. 18. Mortaria from northern Gaul, late first century. 19. Colour coated vessels from the Rhineland, second century. 20. Niedermendig lava querns. (Source: Buckland 1986: 24-25).*

Roman material culture probably did not project an abstract idea of ‘Roman’ identity (Freeman 1993: 444; Hingley 1997a: 85; Reece 1988b: 11), and was derived from many parts of the Empire – sometimes samian might have been considered ‘Gaulish’ and amphorae ‘Iberian’, though such labels are themselves problematic (Barrett 1997d: 51). The ethnic and dietary diversity of the ‘Roman’ occupiers must also be taken into account. Amongst legionary and auxiliary units, the varied backgrounds of the soldiers would have influenced the foods that particular cohorts ate and how foods

were prepared, and retired soldiers and civilians settling in northern England were also drawn from across the Empire. They would have brought their own traditional recipes and ways of preparing and consuming food with them (Swan 1992, 2002: 52). One informative avenue of research involves the detailed analysis of pottery assemblages via sherd count, weight and vessel representation, in order to identify meaningful patterns of discard *within* and around settlement sites; changes over time, and also analyses of patterns *between* different settlements (e.g. Cooper 2000; Evans 1995a, 2001a; Gwilt 1997; Meadows 1997; Robbins 1997, 2000; Willis 1997b). One interesting study of Roman-period rural settlements in North Africa identified variations in the proportions of different vessels that were used and discarded (Fincham 2002a: 39-41), linked to differences in status between the inhabitants.

Similar detailed analyses of sites from the regional may highlight potential functional or social differences between enclosures, and would be worthy of a separate research project (see Chapter 12). There are some interesting trends apparent in the published data from the M1-A1 Link Road sites. For example, although Bullerthorpe Lane produced only 242 sherds of Roman pottery, of which 1.2% by count was ‘fine wares’, it had quite high proportions of bowls (13%), dishes (19%) and mortaria (13%) (Evans 2001b: 155-161). Parlington Hollins produced 582 sherds of which 4.5% were fine wares, and imported samian and amphorae sherds may indicate it was more ‘Romanised’ than Bullerthorpe Lane, but it had fewer bowls (7.7%), dishes (10.8%) and mortaria (9.2%). It also had a higher percentage of jars than Bullerthorpe Lane (66.2% as opposed to 56%). Despite its apparently more ‘Romanised’ status therefore, Parlington Hollins had more vessels for production and storage, and less for food consumption. This may indicate differences in consumption practices, social identities or seasonal and subsistence routines between the two sites.

Feasts and feasting

In feasts, the types of food provided and consumed, the distribution of this food amongst the participants, and the quantity of food and drink provided can convey messages about identity, especially status. This is true of those hosting and providing

the feast, and for those others taking part. Similarly, in the competitive feasting of Goodenough Islanders, the Siuai of Guadalcanal or the Kwakiutl of the north-west coast of North America, information about status, worthiness and political influence were indicated by variations in the amount of food and valuables distributed, destroyed or consumed (Codere 1950; Jonaitas 1991; Oliver 1955; Young 1971). In many societies rowdiness, adultery and fighting may also take place on such occasions, often fuelled by excessive drinking (e.g. Eigeland 1973: 187; Marshall 1990: 12-13), but to some extent these may be socially sanctioned or accepted behaviours and outbursts, a valuable letting off of steam, especially in societies where there are otherwise very formal and polite social mores.

Traditional accounts of Iron Age Britain and Europe stress the ‘Celtic’ love of feasts (e.g. Cunliffe 1995, 1997: 105-107), ideas derived rather uncritically from early medieval accounts, particularly from Ireland) and ‘Celtism’. Nevertheless, there is considerable archaeological evidence on the continent for the importance of indigenous and imported artefacts used in the consumption of food and drink. In southern England, late Iron Age feasting practices included imported samian, amphorae and metal vessels (see evidence outlined in Carver 2001; Cunliffe 1988; Fitzpatrick 1985, 2003; Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002; Haselgrove 1982; Williams 1989), which were also buried in apparently high-status graves. Social elites might have used these ‘exotic’ artefacts and wine to gain and maintain social power through extravagant feasts in which political and social alliances were created. Other accounts suggest these imports were luxuries used solely by elites and not essential to social hierarchies (Woolf 1993: 18), and emphasise the importance of native vessel forms and indigenous consumption practices (Pitts 2005; Sealey 1999). Ale might have been far more prevalent than imported wine, for example. Many of these items came from Gaul where people in south-east England maintained social contacts, and may not have been considered as especially ‘exotic’ (Willis 1994: 145). Indeed, they may have been desirable because they were *not* seen as ‘Roman’ in origin.

Detailed studies of assemblages reveal variations across different pre and post-conquest sites that suggest complex cultural processes and differences between social groups (Pitts 2004, 2005). Feasting episodes were a key arena in which identities could be expressed (Ralph 2005), and some people may have fostered new identities

and social relations through ‘Romanised’ food preparation and consumption practices, and the material culture in which it was served (see discussions in Cool 2006; Meadows 1994, 1997). Roman-style material culture was likely to have been re-interpreted and employed in indigenous communal drinking and feasting (Pitts 2005; Ralph 2005), whilst feasts held in a ‘traditional’ style with traditional artefacts may have emphasised implicit or explicit resistance to Roman influences, or at least identities different from stereotypical culture-history expectations of Romano-British life. There is much less depositional evidence for large-scale feasting within my study area, and this may suggest that in the late Iron Age and following the Roman occupation there was much less desire for such material culture, and perhaps some of the practices that may have accompanied it (Cool 2006: 171). A cauldron chain was found at Rossington Bridge (Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001) (Fig. 10.52-10.53), and part of a flesh hook was recovered from the enclosure ditch at Roman Ridge East (O’Neill 2001a: 111), along with animal bone, charcoal and pottery sherds. This deposit may have been discard from a feast, but was also perhaps a tangible record of the event, a mnemonic practice. Nevertheless, the large quantity of butchered animal bones, charred cereal and Iron Age pottery found in the evaluation at Aslockton (Palmer-Brown and Knight 1993: 147) suggests large feasting episodes.

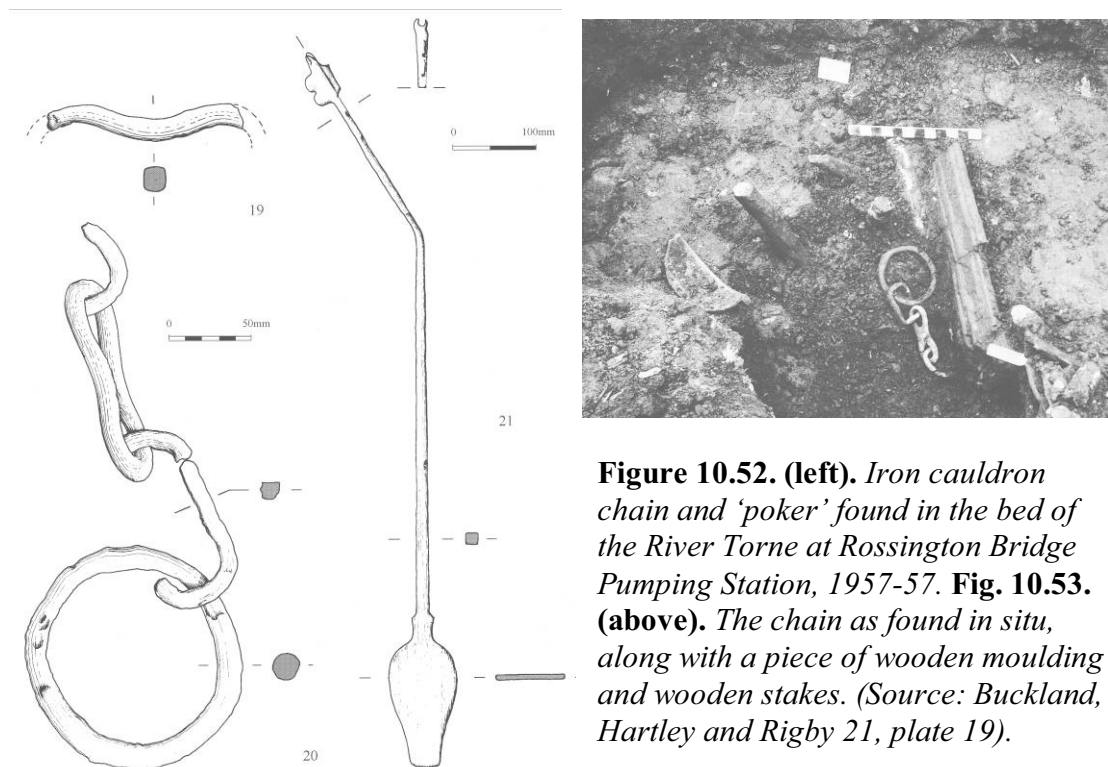


Figure 10.52. (left). *Iron cauldron chain and ‘poker’ found in the bed of the River Torne at Rossington Bridge Pumping Station, 1957-57. Fig. 10.53. (above).* *The chain as found in situ, along with a piece of wooden moulding and wooden stakes. (Source: Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 21, plate 19).*

Some of the pit deposits found at Site M, Ledston and Ferrybridge might have commemorated individual feasts, and the carriage inhumation burial at Ferry Fryston was probably accompanied by feasting, in addition to feasts held centuries afterwards. The burnt and heat-shattered stones often found in large amounts on Iron Age and Romano-British rural sites within the region may also be testimony to feasting episodes⁶. The size of these stones, often large river cobbles, also does not suggest their relatively small-scale use as ‘pot-boilers’. Instead, some at least may represent the residues from large ‘pit roasts’. There is no regional evidence that ‘exotic’ material culture was usually a component of feasting, however, and most feasts were probably much smaller in scale compared to some in southern and eastern England, if only because they were fewer large-scale settlements during the late Iron Age. This may in turn indicate that for most communities social and political networks were less marked by display and conspicuous consumption than groups in southern Britain.

AD 71 and all that

The period of transition following the Roman occupation of the midlands in the mid-first century AD and the subsequent invasion of the north remains extremely difficult to identify on many rural sites within the study region. Iron Age ceramic forms and fabrics continued to be made and used until the early second century AD. At the same time, Roman pottery was not widely used on rural settlements until the early to mid-second century (Brennand et al. 2007: 403; Cool 2006: 205; Robbins 2000: 84), with the exception of a few sites such as Enclosures A and B at Ferrybridge (Evans et al. 2005). There was thus a significant time lag between the invasion of the north in AD 71 and the uptake of Roman pottery around AD 120-130 – a gap of two or three human generations.

Even during the second and third centuries AD, however, pottery use was by no means universal. Whilst some households and communities appear to have readily consumed Roman-style goods, at most rural settlements the use of fine wares, coinage and metal and glass artefacts remained uncommon. Some sites have produced very

low quantities of ceramics – at Whitwood Common, only 56 sherds were excavated from deposits spanning over three centuries of Iron Age and Romano-British inhabitation (Evans 2004: 32; Burgess and Roberts 2004: 33). Even allowing for a proposed hiatus in occupation, such a low count implies that just a few pottery vessels were in use there during every human generation. Some sites were probably not permanent settlement foci in any case but more specialist seasonal task sites, but this evidence nevertheless demonstrates that pottery use was still far from ubiquitous during the Romano-British period. Even an urban settlement such as Doncaster has produced Romano-British pottery assemblages which, bar a few imported vessels, have a signature much more similar to some ‘rural’ sites than urban areas in southern England (R. Leary pers. comm.).

This could be taken as evidence that these small-scale communities were impoverished and marginal, and not particularly integrated into the Romanised economy (cf. A. Woolf 1999: 118). Judging the relative ‘wealth’ and social status of households and communities using artefacts is problematic, however, particularly through using ceramics. Pottery was a relatively cheap commodity (Millett 1990: 157), and by the third and fourth centuries AD mass-produced vessels would not have been beyond the means of most people. This suggests that cultural factors were partly responsible for the continued reluctance of some people to adopt Roman material culture, and that notions of individual and communal identity and habitus were key to which settlements used and consumed particular items of Roman-style material culture, and which did not (q.v. Cool 2006; Finchham 2002a; Meadows 1997). Attempts to model economic cycles within the region through coin and pottery use (q.v. Going 1992; Reece 1980) are a long way off given the limited data.

In addition, there were a limited number of objects in circulation which were much more closely identifiable with ‘Roman’-style material culture. These consisted of some personal items such as brooches, bracelets and rings, and variety of decorative mountings and handles. These were very different to the material culture used on an everyday basis by the majority of rural people, and as such might have had a value to their owners out of all proportion to their intrinsic noble metal content or cost of purchase. Some were clearly more Classical in style rather than a fusion of indigenous

and Roman traditions. Many of these items may have been lost through accident, incidents which might have been bemoaned by their owners; but it is increasingly apparent that some items at least were deliberately deposited, either as part of hoards or as single objects (see Chapter 11). In addition to numerous coins and brooches, some other notable items are shown (Figs. 10.54.-10.57.). South Yorkshire finds have included a Roman silver key ring from Cantley, a Roman decorated terret ring found near Doncaster, and a copper alloy strainer from Marr of the mid-second to third century AD (DCMS 1998-1999; PAS 2005-2006: 49). Strainers were used to serve wine and were sometimes placed in burials, but by the third century AD they were often part of hoards of kitchen utensils, suggesting their social context had changed. In some places they may reflect a taste for infused ale (Cool 2006: 144-145). More artefacts are becoming archaeologically visible thanks to the work of the Portable Antiquities Scheme in recording metal detecting finds, although sadly it is likely that many more are found which are never shown to archaeologists and museum curators.



Figure 10.54. (top left). *A copper alloy Roman key handle in the form of a recumbent lion with the head of a ram in its jaws, found at Winthorpe, Notts., near the River Trent. (Source: PAS 2006: 49). Fig. 10.55. (top right).* *A tinned copper alloy ring of second to third century AD date from Brough, Notts. (DCMS 2003: fig. 39.1). Fig. 10.56. (centre left).* *Roman gold marriage ring found near Bawtry, S. Yorks. (DCMS 1999: fig. 21).*



Fig. 10.57. (bottom left). *Strainer handle from Marr, S. Yorks. (Source: PAS database, <http://www.finds.org.uk/>).*

Changing bodies, changing identities

I have outlined above how the appearance of new forms of grooming instruments might have been linked to Roman occupiers, but also changing appearances and thus social identities amongst some indigenous people within the region. In most instances, these dialectics between ‘native’ and ‘Roman’ forms of dress and identity must remain as archaeological speculation, but there is some direct archaeological evidence from just outside my study region that new people did move into northern England. Unpublished isotope analysis and craniometric studies of Romano-British skeletons excavated at Trentholme Drive in York suggest that whilst all of the women buried in the cemetery were local in origin, many of the men buried there had been born and raised in North Africa (M. Holst pers. comm.). This supports the ceramic evidence for North African potters in the legionary fortress at York (see above, Swan 1992). These men would surely have had their own forms of dress, bodily idiom, social and culinary customs and cosmological beliefs, partly influenced by their origin, but also by the military ‘society’ of the Legion II in which many of them must have served. Many of these men would have been black or Arabic in appearance.

At the same time, some more traditional dress and identities apparently persisted. In 1884, a carved stone was found in Ilkley built into a rubble wall unearthed behind the Rose and Crown Inn (Woodward 1925: 316-317). This was the tombstone of Vedica, a woman of the Cornovii who had moved from the area of what was probably modern Cheshire or Shropshire and across the Pennines. This might have been to accompany a husband based in the fort, and she may have been the daughter of a tribal leader. Was her journey the result of a union of two important lineages, or a noble ‘native’ family joining with a Roman officer? The garrison at Ilkley was possibly from the *Cohors II Lingonum*, these men hailing from the Lingones of Gaul in the modern Marne region (ibid.: 309-310). This might have been a Gallo-British union.

The inscription on her tombstone read ‘To the spirits of the departed and to Vedica, thirty years old, daughter of Virico of the Cornovii, she lies here’ (Collingwood and Wright 1965: 639). What is most notable about her tombstone is that although this

was a Roman-style monument with a corresponding Latin dedication, the sculptor depicted a seated woman with two long braids reaching down to her lap. She wears some kind of apron or a short-sleeved cloak on top of a long dress or skirt, in what seems to be ‘native’-style dress. It is now unclear what the figure had once held in her left hand – perhaps a mirror? These were potentially objects of great symbolic or even magical power in the late Iron Age (Giles 2007: 408), and some of these meanings may have carried through beyond the Roman occupation. One can only speculate about the biography and background of this woman, but they were probably extremely interesting. This was perhaps a woman of considerable social standing, who might have exercised power and status in her own right, at least back in her homeland. She may have been very proud of her inheritance and lineage.



Fig. 10.58. (left). Photograph of the tombstone of Vedica of the Cornovii, in the Manor House Museum at Ilkley. (Source: author, courtesy of the Manor House Museum, Ilkley). **Fig. 10.59. (right).** Laser scanned image of the same tombstone, showing more details of the woman's hair style and dress. (Source: www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk).

Conclusions

I have shown in this chapter and elsewhere in this thesis that the Roman invasion and occupation of the north did not significantly alter some aspects of the everyday lives of people in rural communities. There were many continuities in settlement form and pattern (Bishop 2001b: 4-5; Ottaway 2003: 140), and in routine social and subsistence practices. This was nevertheless a more complex process of acculturation than I have alluded to in some previous writing (e.g. Chadwick 1999: 164), and there undoubtedly were some changes, particularly in the consumption of food and ceramics. The adoption of Roman material culture at both the individual and household levels was likely to have been highly variable, however. Roman-style artefacts were not necessarily worn, displayed, used or understood in the same manner and contexts as in Rome and Italy, and this no doubt varied from person to person, household to household, and across the region. Rural dwellers acted within a developing social framework that was partly imposed upon them through Roman conquest and control, but which was also a product of their own responses and actions. During the Romano-British period, some people at least were incorporated into much wider networks of exchange, and had more regular contact with a much greater range of objects used to negotiate their varying identities and agencies. For others, their very lack of such material culture might have formed part of their identities. These materialities mattered. And people themselves became embodied assemblages (q.v. Probyn 2000) of much more diverse materialities.

Notes

1. Some curatorial archaeologists are now insisting upon more rigorous sampling procedures, in part due to critiques of previously limited methodologies (see such criticisms in Chadwick 1997, 1999, 2004; Cumberpatch 1993; Cumberpatch and Robbins n.d.).
2. In West Yorkshire, enclosures at St Aidan's Remainder, Methley (Barkle 1995), Willow Grove, Methley (Yarwood and Marriott 1988), Wattle Syke (Buckland 1998), Whitwood (J. Evans 2004: 32-33); Moss Carr, Methley (J. Evans 2002: 26), South Elmsall (Howell 1998; Robbins 1998); and Manor Farm and Parlington Hollins (Evans 2001b) have all produced hand-made, first century BC or AD ceramics. In South Yorkshire, late Iron Age or conquest

period sherds have been recovered at Church Field, Rossington (Atkinson 1998); Nutwell Lane and West Moor Park, Armthorpe (Cumberpatch 2001a, Cumberpatch and Webster 1998; Evans 2001c), Edenthorpe (Darling 1995), Hellaby (Holbrey and Webb 1998), Redhouse Farm, Adwick-le-Street (Cumberpatch 2004b), Barnsdale Bar (Burgess 2001f), Balby Carr (Rose 2003; Rose and Roberts 2006); and Topham Farm, Sykehouse (Cumberpatch, Leary and Willis 2003: 18-19). In Nottinghamshire, in addition to sites that have produced identifiable Iron Age pottery such as Scored Ware, coarse sherds recovered from Dunston's Clump (Garton 1987: 43-44), Holme Pierrepont (Guilbert, Fern and Woodhouse 1994: 22), South Muskham (Garton 1998; Garton, Leary and Naylor 2002: 30), Priest Ings (Knight and Priest 1998), Scrooby Top (Robbins 1997, 2000: 84) and Raymoth Lane, Worksop (Darling 2004: 37-38) were all likely to be late Iron Age or belong to the immediate pre and post-Roman periods.

3. I prefer this spelling of the word.
4. The Theoretical Roman Archaeology Group Conference.
5. For example, the excavations at Ferrybridge recovered just four Roman coins (Sitch 2005), whilst only thirteen were found during the whole of the M1-A1 investigations (Sitch 2001), including six from Parlington Hollins East, and five from Roman Ridge West. This might suggest a greater degree of 'Romanisation' at these two settlements, although of course what is being detected is coin *loss* rather than coin *use*. The contexts of some of these coin finds also suggest placed deposits (see Chapter 11). Nevertheless, it also highlights the fact that even these sites were probably not fully integrated into a monetary economy. In contrast, eighty-seven coins were found at Dalton Parlours, mostly mid-third to fourth century in date (Pirie and Mattingly 1990). Though still far below the quantities recorded at military sites, this does suggest that coin use was more frequent at Dalton Parlours, and that the villa complex was more fully integrated into the Roman monetary economy.

Although I was not able to undertake any detailed analysis as part of this thesis, one productive research project may be to plot all known coin finds from the three counties including hoards and metal detecting finds on a GIS, in order to identify any patterns in their distribution in relation to archaeological and landscape features such as watercourses. My contention would be that many coin deposits were *not* the result of chance loss, or hoards where the owners could not return to claim them.

6. Sadly, on many excavated sites such stones are seldom noted, collected or counted. Yet at Scrooby Top (Davies et al. 2000), the distribution of stones by weight was used to identify areas of cooking activity. The recent excavation project at the Wattle Syke 'ladder' settlement attempted to quantify burnt stone by weight on site, and considerable quantities of burnt stone were deposited in many pits, gullies, postholes and ditches (Chadwick pers. obv.). For example, just one 4m wide section through the corner of an enclosure ditch produced nearly 115kg of burnt and heat-shattered stones, including very large cobbles. If these stones were linked to cooking, then large-scale feasting was indeed taking place. During post-excavation,

it was the intention to plot stone weights according to location and phase, and then compare these results with pottery and animal bone deposition, in order to identify possible chronological trends in consumption practices and even feasting episodes. Sadly, this attempt at the quantification of burnt stone by context at Wattle Syke ceased when another project officer took over the project for two weeks whilst the author was on paternity leave, and this unfortunately invalidated the previous rigorous sampling strategy.

Movement 10

The Land

(‘Friendly Brook’ – A Diversity of Creatures)

When Julius Fabricius, Sub-Prefect of the Weald,
In the days of Diocletian owned our Lower River-field,
He called to him Hobdenius – a Briton of the Clay,
Saying: “What about that River-piece for layin’ in to hay?”

And the aged Hobden answered: “I remember as a lad
My father told your father that she wanted dreenin’ bad.
An’ the more that you neglect her the less you’ll get her clean,
Have it jest *as* you’ve a mind to, but, if I was you, I’d dren.”

So they drained it long and crossways in the lavish Roman style –
Still we find among the river-drift their flakes of ancient tile,
And in drouthy middle August, when the bones of meadows show,
We can trace the lines they followed sixteen hundred years ago.

Then Julius Fabricius died as even Prefects do,
And after certain centuries, Imperial Rome died too.
Then did robbers enter Britain from across the Northern main
And our Lower River-field was won by Ogier the Dane.

Well could Ogier work his war-boat – well could Ogier wield his brand –
Much he knew of foaming waters – not so much of farming land.
So he called to him a Hobden of the old unaltered blood,
Saying; “What about that River-bit; she doesn’t look no good?”

And the aged Hobden answered: “’Tain’t for *me* to interfere,
But I’ve known that bit o’ meadow now for five and fifty year.
Have it *jest* as you’ve a mind to, but I’ve proved it time on time,
If you want to change her nature you have *got* to give her lime!”

Ogier sent his wains to Lewes, twenty hours’ solemn walk,
And drew back great abundance of the cool, grey, healing chalk.
And old Hobden spread it broadest, never heeding what was in’t. –

Which is why in cleaning ditches, now and then we find a flint.
Ogier died. His sons grew English – Anglo-Saxon was their name –
Till out of blossomed Normandy another pirate came;
For Duke William conquered England and divided with his men,
And our lower River-field he gave to William of Warenne.

But the brook (you know her habit) rose one rainy Autumn night
And tore down sodden flitches of the bank to left and right.
So, said William to his Bailiff as they rode their dripping rounds:
“Hob, what about that River-bit – the Brook’s got up no bounds?”

And that aged Hobden answered: “Tain’t my business to advise,
But ye might ha’ known ‘twould happen from the way the valley lies.
Where ye can’t hold back the water you must try and save the sile.
Hev it jest as you’ve a *mind* to, but if I was you, I’d spile!”

They spiled along the water-course with trunks of willow-trees,
And planks of elms behind ‘em and immortal oaken knees.
And when the spates of Autumn whirl the gravel-beds away
You can see their faithful fragments, iron-hard in iron clay.

Georgii Quinti Anno Sexto, I, who own the River-field,
Am fortified with title-deeds, attested, signed and sealed,
Guaranteeing me, my assigns, my executors and heirs
All sorts of powers and profits which – are neither mine nor theirs.

I have rights of chase and warren, as my dignity requires.
I can fish – but Hobden tickles. I can shoot – but Hobden wires.
I repair, but he reopens, certain gaps which, men allege,
Have been used by every Hobden since a Hobden swapped a hedge.

Shall I dog his morning progress o’er the track-betraying dew?
Demand his dinner-basket into which my pheasant flew?
Confiscate his evening faggot into which the conies ran,
And summons him to judgement? I would sooner summons Pan.

His dead are in the churchyard – thirty generations laid.
Their names went down in Domesday Book when Domesday Book was made;
And the passion and the piety and prowess of his line

Have seeded, rooted, fruited in some land the Law calls mine.
Not for any beast that burrows, not for any bird that flies,
Would I lose his large sound counsel, miss his keen amending eyes.
He is bailiff, woodman, wheelwright, field-surveyor, engineer,
And if flagrantly a poacher – ‘tain’t for me to interfere.

“Hob, what about the River-bit?” I turn to him again,
With Fabricius and Ogier and William of Warenne.
“Hev it jest as you’ve a mind to, *but*” – and so he takes command.
For whoever pays the taxes old Mus’ Hobden owns the land.

Rudyard Kipling

From A. King and S. Clifford (eds.) (1998) *Field Days. An Anthology of Poetry*.
Green Books.

CHAPTER 11

Deposition, ‘Ritual’ and Mortuary Practices

In Chapter 10 I explored the evidence for artefact production and exchange, and for consumption practices including the use of ceramics. I discussed changes in these practices from the late Iron Age into the Romano-British period. In this chapter, I examine the evidence for the discard of artefacts and animal remains, including debates over ‘structured deposition’, and I also consider animal and human burials.

Theories of ‘ritual’

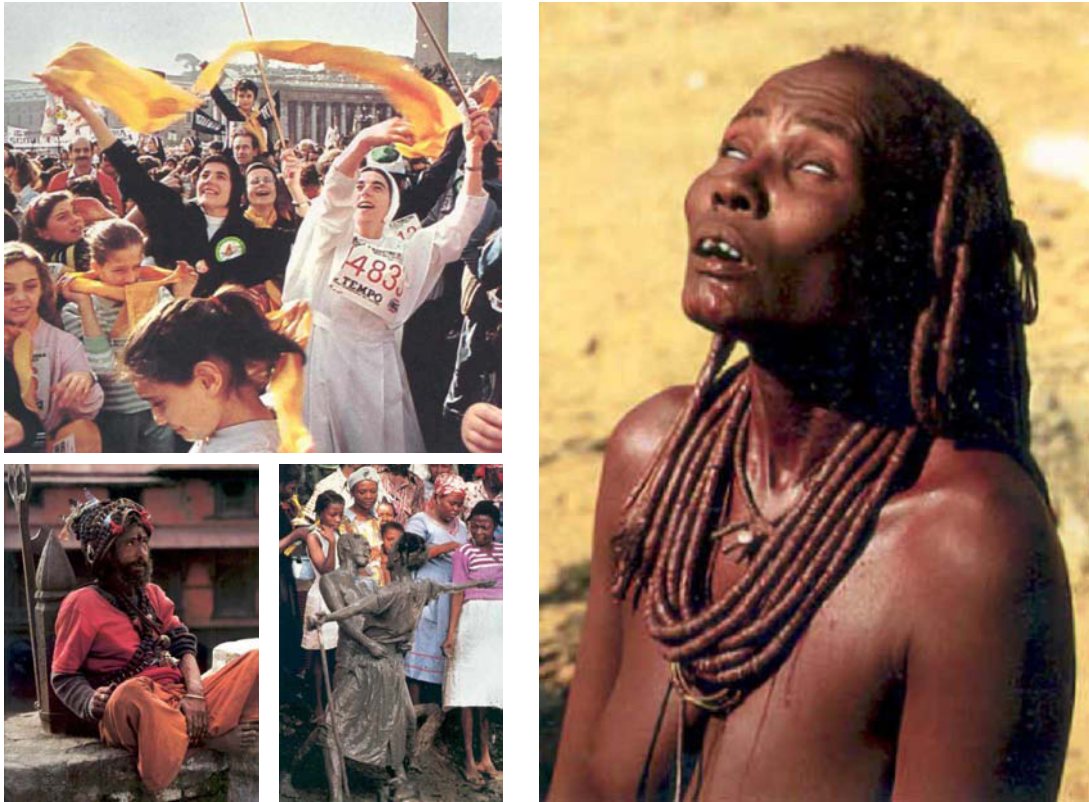
Space precludes me from detailing what has been an extensive and complex subject within cognitive psychology, archaeology, and particularly anthropology and ethnography (Douglas 1960; Durkheim 1965 [1912]; Durkheim and Mauss 1963 [1903]; Eliade 1957; Evans-Pritchard 1965; Geertz 1973; Goody 1961; Turner 1966), which has re-emerged as a matter of intense recent debate (Ahern 1979; Barth 1987; Bell 1992; Bowie 2000; Lewis 1980; Rappaport 1984, 1999; Tambiah 1979). There are conflicting elements to these different discussions, but useful common themes too.

Emile Durkheim proposed that religion is a bridge between the sacred and profane, the world of everyday experience and an extraordinary, often unknown world outside of that experience, a series of collective beliefs and ideals generated, experienced and affirmed by individuals and communities (Durkheim 1965: 51). It is a dialectical exchange (Bell 1992: 23). Rituals reflect a society’s moral, spiritual and aesthetic beliefs or worldview (Geertz 1973: 95-97, 143-144), and thus often reproduce dominant social discourses by manipulating symbols and ideology, but conversely may be the basis of ideological arguments or deliberate subversions of social norms (Bell 1992; Braithwaite 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1982).

Many researchers have seen rituals as a highly formalised ‘performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances’ (Rappaport 1999: 24). There is often an order and sequence to ritual acts (Lewis 1980: 7), and this formulaic nature may help transmit lore through time, as social memory often depends on repetition inculcated through embodied movements (see Connerton 1989; Fentress and Wickham 1992; Smith 1987; Werbner 1989). Rituals may be *perceived* as synchronic, continuous and traditional or timeless, as opposed to diachronic, changing and historical (Tambiah 1970). Many rituals may include deliberate inversions of ‘normal’ social behaviour through comic, violent or obscene words, gestures and acts, elaborate or strange postures and utterances that help to distinguish them from everyday ‘technical’ actions (Rappaport 1999: 50-51; Tambiah 1968). Ritual behaviour may involve ecstatic states, trances or other altered forms of consciousness (Figs. 11.01-11.04). Some objects, structures and spaces associated with rituals may be regarded as outside normal experience (Bell 1992: 91-92; Eliade 1959: 20-22; Turner 1975: 69; Smith 1987: 74-96). The processes of ritualising may emphasise particular activities or areas of the landscape through embodied practices.

Ritual can thus be considered a staged experience, a literal acting out of beliefs (Tambiah 1979: 119-121), and a few researchers have explored connections between ritual and drama as metaphors, or equivalent psychosocial processes (see, for example, discussions in Geertz 1977, 1983; Schechner 1985; Turner 1982). In such accounts, ritual specialists are often regarded as manipulating and/or deliberately misleading their audience. For Marxists and cultural ecologists, ideology and ritual mask social inequalities and may be deliberately used by secular or religious elites to reinforce their hegemony, legitimise inequalities and control surplus resources and labour (e.g. Hayden 2004: 268; Marx and Engels 1972; Shanks and Tilley 1982). Bell (1992: 41-42) argues that it may thus be difficult to distinguish ritual from drama at all, although Rappaport does so (Rappaport 1999: 134-137). The idea of ritual as performance and staged theatre has been criticised, however, for denying indigenous people’s beliefs that ritual actions have very real outcomes (Ahern 1979: 12-15).

During the 1960s there was a loss in confidence in ritual as a formal category of experience and analysis (e.g. Goody 1961; Leach 1968). Some authors stressed the ritualistic aspects of repetitive or routinised everyday washing, dressing and social



Ecstatic or altered states of consciousness. (Clockwise from upper left). Figure 11.01. Christian worshippers in ecstatic states whilst witnessing and hearing the Pope preaching in St. Peter's Square, Rome. (Source: unknown National geographic image). Fig. 11.02. A Himba healer entering a trance, prior to her exorcising evil spirits from another woman, Namibia. (Source: (Beckwith and Fisher 2002: 331). Fig. 11.03. Voudoun celebrants ridden by the loa of a particular spirit, Haiti. (Source: unknown National Geographic image). Fig. 11.04. Nepalese holy man in a trance. (Source: Mendell 2000: 78).

meetings, and of secular public or civic ceremonies (e.g. Goffman 1967, 1969; Moore and Myerhoff 1977). Others have argued that this approach devalues ritual as an analytical concept – all that is formal is not ritual (Rappaport 1999: 37). For example, Rappaport asserts that although in some Christian traditions the act of crossing oneself is a component of ritual; it does not itself constitute a ritual act. Ritual may employ the same categories and generative principles used in everyday life, but in more potent and affecting ways (Traube 1984; J. Turner 1992; Lewis 1980).

I discussed in Chapter 3 how the human body may form a locus for cosmological beliefs (q.v. Bourdieu 1977; Tuan 1977; Turner 1966). Bell suggests that there is a 'natural logic of ritual', unconsciously embodied in the physical movements and orientations of the body (Bell 1992: 99), and the phenomenological aspects of ritual

are also important. The form or colour of ritual paraphernalia, the sound of ritual words, incantations and music, the smell of special herbs or incense, the sight and smell of blood or even the smell of rotting or burning animal and human flesh – all these differentiate rituals from more prosaic practices, and create powerful, heightened aesthetic and sensual effects for participants (see the many examples discussed in Gell 1977; Howes 1987; Lewis 1980; Siegel 1983). There may be fear, awe, excitement and ecstasy, but also exhaustion and boredom; and individual, embodied experiences of rituals ensure that there are multiple interpretations of events (Asad 1979; Barrett 1991, 1997a, 1997b). There are always ambiguities, equivocations, misunderstandings and imperfect renditions of words and acts. Rituals are contingent, creative and provisional, although they may be perceived as traditional and timeless (Barth 1987: 78-81; Bell 1992: 91). It is more productive to examine strategies of ritualisation – ways of acting that differentiate ‘ritual’ acts from others. These are context specific, and often remain as rudimentary and implicit as possible (Bell 1992: 90). The difference between a ritual and an everyday act depend on what practices are employed to mark the latter as special and render it symbolically dominant to its prosaic counterpart.

People engage in ritualisation as a practical way of dealing with specific circumstances, and it is never simply or solely a matter of routine, habit, or the ‘dead weight of tradition’. (Bell 1992: 92).

The distinctions often drawn between ritual and everyday practical activities, between religious and secular ritual and between private and communal ritual may ignore, undermine or alienate indigenous understandings (Bell 1992: 69-72). In many non-Western, small-scale societies *all* activities, both ritual and secular, may be intended to have practical outcomes (Barrett 1989a: 115; Brück 1999: 320-322). Magic, ritual and religion are all attempts like science or philosophy to make sense of the world, and to establish a framework of explanation as reassurance or protection from the random, chaotic and often frightening character of existence – ‘life lived towards death’ (q.v. Heidegger 1962). Furthermore, the same people who undertake everyday activities are also usually those who carry out or at least participate in rituals (Barrett 1991: 6). Indeed, ritual emerges out of these same social structures.

Defining what is ritual or mundane has proven problematic for archaeologists, and has often been influenced by post-Enlightenment logical positivism. Some have criticised the tendency for ritual to be relegated to an extraneous, non-utilitarian category regarded as ultimately unknowable (Barrett 1989a: 115; Brück 1999: 323; Hill 1995a: 97). Furthermore, certain periods are seen as more ritualised than others and whilst post-processual accounts of the Neolithic and Bronze Age have stressed the importance of ideology and ritual (e.g. Barrett 1989a, 1989b, 1994; Thomas 1991b, 1999), until relatively recently discussions of the Iron Age and Romano-British periods have been dominated by considerations of agricultural production and technological progress (e.g. Bradley 1984; Dark and Dark 1997; Drewett 1982; Fowler 1983, 2002). This is most apparent in accounts of Roman Britain, where ritual is discussed in the context of temples and shrines but has rarely been acknowledged in terms of rural settlements and routine existence. This may be partly explained by the ways in which Roman archaeology developed within wider nineteenth and twentieth century social discourses (q.v. Hingley 2000).

Ritualisation is a dynamic social practice rather than a prescribed, unvarying series of highly formalised acts. Informal embodied actions, gestures and invocations and small-scale deposits may be as much a part of ritual behaviour as more organised rites controlled and led by ritual specialists. Furthermore, in many instances ‘sacred spaces’ are rarely completely removed from the profane realm. Instead, ritualisation emphasises certain locales over others – ‘natural’ places such as springs, boundaries; or areas in and around fields, settlements and dwellings. These might form part of people’s subconscious routine experiences but continue in memories and can re-assert themselves at particular times or be drawn upon in creative ways (see discussions of this in Fentress and Wickham 1992).

Archaeologists can *never* know the meanings of past ritualised practices. Through examining material patterns of inhabitation and deposition, however, we can begin to understand how such practices were structured in time and space. It might be apposite to abandon the term ‘ritual’ altogether, and instead to talk of ‘social practice’. Some social practices would have been almost entirely ‘technical’ in nature, and some almost completely ritualistic, but any distinctions between the two would often have been blurred. In both the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, we must thus try to

envisage the possibility of very different rationalities, whereby invoking the help of spirits, gods or ancestors may have been as important as ‘functional’ acts such as correctly planting and tending crops.

The rituals of daily life exist always, they cannot be simply accepted when lived out in relation to ancestors and gods, and rejected when lived out in relation to agriculture and fertility. (Barrett 1989a: 115).

Mundane magic

In Kachin customary procedure the routines of clearing the ground, planting the seed, fencing the plot and weeding the growing crop are all patterned according to formal convention and interspersed with all kinds of technologically superfluous *frills and decorations* which make the performance a Kachin performance and not just a simple functional act. (Leach 1954: 12, my emphasis).

Here, Edmund Leach was trying (albeit rather patronisingly) to explain how non-technical but everyday practices may also define ritual. For the Kachin and many societies around the world such conventions are not mere ‘frills’, and they do not make distinctions between the efficacy of so-called technical and magical or ritual acts (see examples in Descola 1994; Fortune 1932; Goody 1961; Hviding 1996; Leach 1968; Te Awekotuku 1996). These are informal practices that do not take place at special structures such as temples, and are part of routine, everyday activities rather than more organised occasions such as calendrical festivals. At certain points during cultivation the Swahili of East Africa make offerings or plant ‘medicine’ in the ground to ensure the fertility of the land (Caplan 1997: 71-72), including meat and blood from sacrificed cattle. The Gawa of Papua New Guinea bury bespelled stones and leaves prior to clearing and planting (Munn 1986: 81), and the Baruya bury sow uteri in earth-dug ovens in order to satisfy the earth (Godelier 1986: 182). The Angkaiyakmin of New Guinea have numerous spells, invocations and ritualised practices surrounding taro cultivation (Crook 1999: 231-232), whilst the Kiwai added male semen and female vaginal secretions to taro palms to promote growth (Landtman 1927: 350-352). The Wixárika or Huichol of the Mexican Sierra Madre mountains sacrifice wild deer and sprinkle the blood on their maize crops to ensure

growth (Allen 2000: 196). For the Inca, before planting a new crop of maize the best seeds from the previous year's crop were chewed by the women in order to produce fermented *chicha* beer (Hemming 1970: 60). Men drank this and uttered prayers to the gods, prior to hoeing and planting. This practice is still carried out today by modern Peruvian peasant farmers. A second group of ritual practices may be identified in the ethnographic literature that take place at longer intervals and are more often communal rites, such as the Female Spirit rite at Mount Hagen in Papua New Guinea (Strathern and Stewart 1998: 241-242), or the eight to twenty year ritual cycle of the Maring of New Guinea, which includes the ritualised planting of *rumbim* plants around boundaries (Rappaport 1984).

On the island of Hirta (St Kilda) off the north-west coast of Scotland, there was a 'stone of knowledge' near the centre of the settled area, a translucent rock valued for its supernatural properties; whilst at the end of the valley where cattle were grazed in summer there was the Well of Virtues where various offerings were made (Fleming 2001: 7-9). Cattle were 'sained' with salt, water and fire when they were moved from one pasture to another; and milk from the first spring milking was poured onto the 'milking stone' for the *gruagach* or brownies. These supernatural powers and other worldly beings were everywhere, though often associated with particular natural features, and 'had to be constantly engaged with' (ibid.: 14). This is similar to some medieval and early modern Icelandic beliefs (e.g. Wyatt 2004).

Certain key themes emerge from these examples. Individuals or families often undertake these practices, which do not necessarily require the presence of ritual specialists, although older men and women with the most knowledge are often turned to on such occasions. There are usually spoken prayers, invocations or blessings; sometimes accompanied by small offerings of food and/or particular plants, libations, and/or the consumption of particular drinks or foods. Such deposits would leave few tangible archaeological remains except in exceptional circumstances. These practices are normally associated with specific points in the agrarian cycle such as planting, and/or with particular places in the landscape intrinsic to these activities. They are regular practices occurring every year, and woven into the fabric of everyday life. They are special and ritualised, yet are also familiar and routine.



Mundane magic. **Figure 11.05. (top left).** An AINU man making an offering to the tree he is about to cut down, Hokkaido, Japan. (Source: Oda 1998: 124). **Fig. 11.06. (top middle).** Apa Tani shamans making offerings of eggs and chicks prior to planting, northern India. (Source: Stirn and van Ham 2000: 102). **Fig. 11.07. (top right).** Gawa man burying bespelled leaves next to a house post to bring good luck, Papua New Guinea. (Source: Munn 1986: 93). **Fig. 11.08. (bottom left).** A Chukchi boy with a fireboard, Siberia. Fire and fireboards are sacred guardians of the household. (Source: Serov 1988: 244). **Fig. 11.09. (bottom middle).** Gimi men and boys making a doll of leaves and twigs, to be used in a story about the transformation of a child into a wood spirit, New Guinea. (Source: Gillison 2002: 86). **Fig. 11.10. (bottom right).** AINU boy making an offering to the influenza god using a carved tree stump and inaw or shaved sticks, Sakhalin. (Source: Walker 1999: 104). **Fig. 11.11. (centre).** Rengma Naga offerings of roasted pork and rice beer to spirits of the harvest and gods of fertility, north India. (Source: Stirn and van Ham 2003: 92).

There are Classical references to similar acts. Ovid's poem *Fasti* describes offerings of flowers, grain and salt before sowing (Ovid 1989 1: 337-353). Cato mentioned offerings of wine and meat to Jupiter and Vesta (Grant 1957: 34). In the Republican period, agricultural rituals marked the lustration of the fields (*Ambarvalia*), sowing of seed (*Sementivae*) and protection of crops (*Robigalia*); and there was a festival of Ceres, the goddess of corn (Beard, North and Price 1998: 45, 50). Some of these rites were very formal, but others probably undertaken at a local and more informal level.

Boundaries

Boundaries, whether physical constructions or social and symbolic in nature, play a key role in the construction of individual and communal identities, and are also heavily implicated in people's understandings of tenure and ownership (e.g. Barth 1969, 2000; Phillips 1984; Sillitoe 1999). They may be a source of considerable anxiety, and can become surrounded with a variety of cosmological meanings. The boundaries of Roma Gypsy campsites, and to a lesser extent their caravans, demarcate their social space from the polluting, corrupting *Gorgio* or non-Gypsy world (Okely 1983: 76). For the Akha of northern Burma, spirit gates erected at the entrances to their villages formed symbolic boundaries between the human world and that of the spirits (Diran 1997: 92) (Fig. 9.103). For the Maring, the ritualised planting of *rumbim* defines their territory and identity (Rappaport 1984: 148, 150).

Around the world, boundaries may be associated with ritual practices designed to assuage these social tensions and anxieties, and to protect the people, animals and crops dwelling within. There are Classical examples too. Roman processions including the Lupercalia, a form of 'beating of the bounds' (Beard, North and Price 1998: 261). Cato noted in his treatise *On Agriculture* that farmers seeking the favour of Mars led sacrificial animals around their estates to ward off disease, disasters and infertility (Derks 1999: 356-357). Mars was associated with the arable land and property of the *fundus*, whereas Hercules was more closely linked to animal husbandry, herds and flocks. Many Roman military sites in Britain have also produced evidence for unusual deposits in or near their ditches and ramparts (e.g. Hingley 2006). 'Romans' as well as indigenous peoples in northern England would thus have had a variety of socially inculcated beliefs about boundaries.

Theoretical approaches to discard and deposition

Until the 1960s many archaeologists regarded broken pottery sherds, animal bone, quern fragments and other such material as rubbish – the unwanted debris and detritus from 'domestic' occupation, disposed of through processes of unstructured dumping.

Some aspects of refuse disposal are undoubtedly determined by economy of effort, the minimisation of hindrance, the retention of recyclable materials, and taphonomic factors. Processual archaeology investigated such processes in detail during the 1970s and 1980s, often through ethnoarchaeological research (e.g. Binford 1980, 1981a, 1981b; Hayden and Cannon 1983; Schiffer 1987). But ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological work also suggests that ‘ordinary’ household waste and its disposal may be subject to complex cultural rules and proscriptions. All cultures have imbedded notions concerning what is dirty and clean, right or wrong, appropriate and inappropriate, but these ideas change and develop over time. Such studies were pursued by archaeologists in the 1980s and early 1990s interested in more symbolic and structuralist and post-structuralist approaches to the past.

The Mesakin Nuba in Sudan will cook and eat surrounded by their own refuse (Hodder 1982: 157-163), whilst the Akan of Ghana often tolerate a wide distribution of human faeces around living areas (Van der Geest 1998). Roma Gypsies draw clear distinctions between areas, utensils and substances used to wash the outer body and clothes, and those used for food preparation and consumption (Okely 1983: 76-78). Rubbish and faeces are dumped outside their trailers and around the margins of their campsites, areas regarded as *mochadi* or polluted by *Gorgio* or non-Gypsies. Many of these practices bring them into conflict with non-Gypsy communities (ibid.: 79).

For the Endo Marakwet of Kenya, different waste materials are deposited in different places in the landscape determined by age and gender groupings (Moore 1986: 108-110). Ash is thrown behind houses, but the ash from different houses must not mix. Chaff accumulates near compound edges where women have been winnowing, whilst animal dung is swept away from livestock pens. Ash and dung are not mixed, and only women remove the ash from their hearths. A variety of symbolic meanings may be attached to different waste substances. Dung represents male fecundity and livestock, whereas ash may be associated with the hearth and female nurturing, but is also a potentially destructive substance linked to female sexuality. Women have a strong association with chaff, and are often buried near where winnowing takes place (ibid.: 110). These social ‘rules’ may be flouted or ignored, however, and so the actual situation is far more complex. For the Ilchamus of Kenya, ash from domestic hearths is associated with compounds and with the colour white; and also with

women, milk and healing. Unlike general rubbish disposed outside compounds, women usually discard ash behind their dwellings (Hodder 1987). But if taken outside compounds by men, ash may become associated with cursing and death, and the bone ash from ceremonial feasting and other rites is discarded with animal dung in the area where cattle are kept (Fig. 11.12).

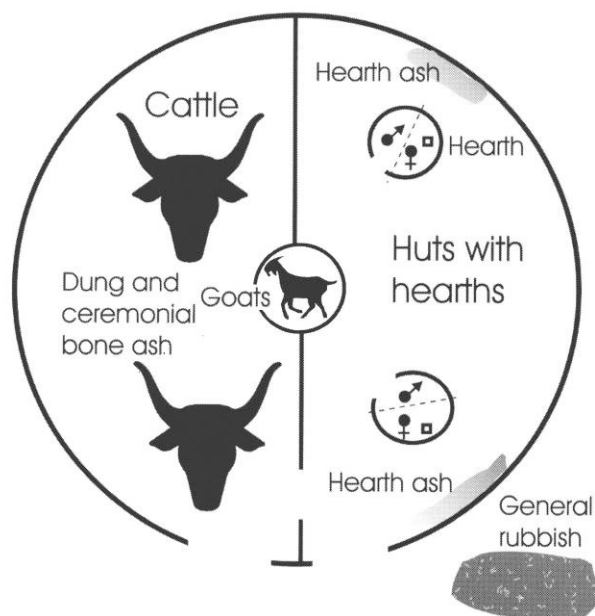


Figure 11.12. *Spatial model of Ilchamus discard practices, Kenya.* (Source: David and Kramer 2001: 109, after Hodder 1987 fig. 9.1).

Without proposing simplistic binary symbolism or structuralist divisions, such evidence demonstrates that even mundane activities such as refuse disposal can be influenced by wider ideas of cosmology, class or status, gender or age (e.g. Cumberpatch 1997b; Miller 1985; Yates 1989). Since the late 1980s there has been considerable discussion of depositional practices within earlier prehistory (e.g. Pollard 2001; Richards and Thomas 1984; Thomas 1991b). The idea of ‘special’ deposits has been discussed within Romano-British studies (e.g. Aitchison 1987; Clarke 2000; Fulford 2001; Merrifield 1987; Millett 1994; Reece 1988a; Woodward and Woodward 2004), mainly focused on coin or metalwork hoards and ritual deposits in urban contexts, although some critical analyses of depositional patterns in and around settlements have drawn upon these ideas (Evans 1995a, 2001a; Willis 1997b). Parallel to this have been books on so-called ‘Celtic’ ritual practices, often conflating the earliest Iron Age through to the early medieval periods¹.

J.D. Hill's study of depositional practices on Iron Age sites in central southern England has been highly influential (Hill 1995a). Unusual features of Iron Age deposits of artefacts and human and animal remains had been noted and discussed before (e.g. Cunliffe 1984, 1992; Grant 1984b, 1991; Wilson 1992), but using detailed statistical analyses of different classes of archaeological material Hill suggested that much if not all material on Iron Age sites resulted from 'structured deposition', a term originally coined for Neolithic practices (Richards and Thomas 1984). Hill defined structured deposition as purposeful and symbolically ordered (Hill 1995a: 96), but drawing on the same technologies and social structures as more mundane activities. He proposed that ritual formed part of 'discursive consciousness', an overtly symbolic but irregular series of practices that he distinguished from everyday activities (Hill 1995a: 98-100; q.v. Bell 1992; Giddens 1984). He concluded that deposition in pits was not part of everyday refuse disposal, although some of this material was likely to have been 'rubbish'. Rather, these were a series of intentional practices that took place episodically and according to culturally and cosmologically predetermined sequences, as components of Iron Age rituals.

Hill's study has been misunderstood and misrepresented. As he himself noted (Hill 1995a: 95), structured deposits and rituals are not necessarily the same thing, and demonstrating the existence of the former does not assume the latter. He was *not* suggesting that every pot sherd or animal bone on an Iron Age site was the result of ritual activity, nor was he suggesting that only structured deposits were the result of cosmological beliefs. In effect though, he suggested that *all* deposition was structured to an extent, as it was all selected and deposited according to certain social rules.

In my study region, such detailed comparative studies can never be possible, as bone often does not survive. There are also some theoretical and methodological problems with Hill's ideas. Although he found associations between different classes of finds, Hill claimed that "...such deposits, often separated by many years, were not a result of the daily disposal of refuse, but were made during irregular rituals which engraved a cosmology into the physical setting and daily lives of Iron Age people" (Hill 1995a: 126). Whilst he admitted that the distinction between prosaic and ritual practices may often have been blurred, I feel that he still erects an unhelpful division between the two. Many depositional practices might not have been irregular, but would have taken

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place at specific, reoccurring times such as sowing and harvesting. I also do not accept that there would have been no ‘refuse’ at all in the past.

Hill focused on pit deposits, yet with notable exceptions these were not a feature of many Iron Age and Romano-British settlements in the study region, and unlike southern England everyday and religious practices do not seem to have been clearly spatially separated (*contra* Hill 1995a: 124, fig. 12.1). Although there were possible temple and shrine structures (see below), most ‘ritual’ activities took place within the same places as more mundane practices. Instead of transposing Wessex evidence and models directly to my study region, thereby replacing culture-history caricatures of Iron Age and Romano-British communities with new generalisations (q.v. Cumberpatch, Walster and Vince 2007: 234), I wish to study the regional evidence on its own terms (q.v. Brudenell and Cooper 2008: 20; Robbins 1999: 46).

Placed deposits

I prefer the term ‘placed deposits’ instead of ‘structured deposition’ (*pace* Hill 1995a), to refer to materials that were more carefully selected and deposited in particular contexts (Chadwick 2004: 98). The term ‘structured deposition’ implies (no matter how unintentionally) a far too rigid set of beliefs. There might not have been formal cosmological rules governing how material should be deposited, but rather a suite or palette of conventions that could be drawn upon in a strategic manner depending on context, a more fluid tradition that allowed variations over time and space. These differences resulted from imperfect memories of previous rites, from improvisation, and deliberate manipulations of tradition to meet specific social circumstances or novel materialities. These practices were not part of a separate ‘ritual’ sphere of practice, separate to the discard of domestic refuse, but all were linked by the same underpinning logic. I have used the following criteria to identify possible placed deposits within my study region, based on those used in post-excavation analysis of a Bronze Age settlement and cemetery site at Westhampnett in West Sussex (Chadwick 2006), in consultation with Lorraine Mephram, the finds manager of Wessex Archaeology. Placed deposits may consist of:

- The burial of whole, substantially whole or articulated animal remains in contexts near dwellings, within enclosures or in the ditches surrounding them that suggests the disposal of diseased animals was not the priority;
- Complete or substantially complete pottery vessels;
- Substantial pieces of single vessels, where these fragments appear to have been deliberately selected;
- Whole quernstones, or fragments of querns, where these occurred in or near dwellings, or within ditches, gullies, palisade slots and postholes associated with enclosure and sub-enclosure entrances;
- Personal items such as brooches and bracelets where associated with dwellings, enclosure ditches, or enclosure entrances;
- The burial of whole or substantially whole human remains, remains that were probably once articulated, or selected remains, in specific non-grave contexts such as the terminals of ditches by entrances.

The relationships that were drawn between the objects may have been important to these deposits; in addition to the social practices they were part of and the contexts in which they were used prior to deposition.

The evidence for depositional practices within the study region

Due to the nature of the regional evidence and the relatively small number of excavations, it is not possible to undertake the detailed statistical analyses of artefact and faunal assemblages undertaken by Hill and others. I have summarised some of the evidence in tables, but inevitably I have required a more discursive approach in order to develop contextual interpretations. Much of the evidence is therefore outlined in more detail in Appendix F. What follows in this chapter are more general

discussions of different depositional practices and the different categories of materials incorporated within them, illustrated with some specific examples.



Figure 11.13. Map of the study region showing some of the sites discussed in this chapter, including the locations of possible Classical-style or 'formal' temples or shrines; and also some of the rural sites discussed in the text with possible evidence for placed deposits. (Drawn by A. Leaver).

'Non-placed' deposits?

In recent years, several studies have examined the spatial and temporal distribution of artefacts across excavated Iron Age enclosure sites, and more rarely, Romano-British examples. This work has shown that there were patterns to this discard (e.g. Hingley 2006; Willis 1997; Woodward 2002). At Scrooby Top, Graham Robbins noted:

The distribution patterns shown by the various ceramics suggest that the spatial location of activities within the enclosure, and around the vicinity, were structured by common understandings of appropriate use of domestic space and the division of the domestic sphere from the wider agricultural landscape. What is *not* being proposed...is either that the deposition pattern is somehow tied to a spurious 'ritual' sphere of social life, or that the communities which inhabited this enclosure were rule-bound. The proposition is rather that the everyday activities of people, their organisation of space, their association of tasks, [were] prefaced upon culturally-specific understandings of the way-to-do-things, what is appropriate, where and when... (Robbins 2000: 87, his emphasis, my addition in parentheses).

People were exercising distinct choices about where to deposit artefacts, and there is a marked tendency on excavations for even neighbouring features to produce very different amounts of material (q.v. Cumberpatch 1993; Cumberpatch and Robbins n.d.). The evidence for this is presented in Appendix F. Although less structured than 'placed' deposits, these patterns nevertheless reflect some of the beliefs concerning boundaries, cleanliness and pollution, and what were considered the appropriate places to dispose of this material. It is in such utilitarian and implicit, unconscious practices that some of the social structures of a society may be apparent and most archaeologically visible (q.v. Cumberpatch 1997a).

Animal burials and animal remains

It has become a truism amongst anthropologists and archaeologists that animals 'are good to think with and good to prohibit' (q.v. Tambiah 1969). Animals may form part of elaborate schemes of categorising the world and of classifying different foods and ways of preparing them (e.g. Descola 1994; Douglas 1960; Ingold 2005; Lévi-Strauss 1969; Shanklin 1985; Tambiah 1969; Turner 1966). As I outlined in Chapter 3, animals may be important components of totemic beliefs, and individuals, lineages, clans, age grades or other social groups may identify themselves with particular

animals, and/or the perceived positive and negative attributes of particular species. In addition to their economic and subsistence value, livestock may be indicators of wealth, prestige and status (Parker Pearson 2000) and many small-scale societies maintain intimate relationships with animals that are seen in terms of mutualism rather than simply economic exploitation (Ingold 2000; Pálsson 1996).

Around the world, animals are an integral part of 'ritual' activities. These practices may involve the killing of livestock as offerings to gods, spirits or ancestors in order to bring fertility and good luck (Figs. 11.14-11.22). Animals might also be sacrificed to accompany human dead into the afterlife, as part of funeral feasts and marriage ceremonies, seasonal celebrations, rites of passage, blood payments for compensation, or following violent and/or inauspicious deaths. The animals might be chosen on the basis of their sex, colour, age or other perceived auspicious qualities. Sometimes the act of killing may be highly ritualised, even deliberately violent (e.g. Abbink 2000: 87; Mawson 2006: 349), and might take place in particular places and involve special artefacts. The death throes or the entrails of animals may be examined for divinatory purposes, and their flayed hides worn by those involved in the rites, or used to bind structures. The meat from sacrificed animals is often distributed amongst the wider community. The possible symbolic meanings of animals in Iron Age and Romano-British societies have been explored elsewhere (Grant 1984a, 1991; Green 1992; Hill 1995a, 1996b; Smith 2005), but it is worth noting some salient points.

In Iron Age Britain and Europe, iconography suggests a particular regard for wild boar, deer, and more rarely, horses and domestic cattle, especially bulls (Green 1992); yet deer and wild boar bones are rare on Iron Age settlements (Grant 1981; Hambleton 1999). Where deer remains have been found, these are sometimes curated antler frontlets, or decorated antler weaving combs, perhaps indicating ambiguous beliefs (Aldhouse-Green 2004: 41; Hill 1995a: 108). The domestic pig and dog would have had still extant wild counterparts in wild boar and wolves, adding further ambiguities, whilst feral horses *may* have existed in the Pennine uplands, and there might have been myths and legends about the last wild cattle. Some animals might therefore have been placed under taboos, and even for common domesticated animals there may have been restrictions on when they could be killed. In parts of post-medieval England, animals were rarely slaughtered when the moon was waning as it



Sacrificing animals. Figure 11.14. (top left). Nuer sacrifice of an auspicious white bull, Sudan. (Source: www.dlib.indiana.edu). Fig. 11.15. (top middle). Goat sacrificed to ensure the safe passage into the afterlife of a dead man's spirit, Togo, West Africa. (Source: Beckwith and Fisher 2002: 390). Fig. 11.16. (top right). Nuer sacrifice of an auspicious white bull, Sudan. (Source: www.dlib.indiana.edu). Fig. 11.17. (middle left). Hupa White Deerskin ceremony, Pacific North-west coast, North America. (Source: Richardson, Fleming and Luskey 1986: 209). Fig. 11.18. (centre). The host of a Bedouin wedding proudly brandishing the heads of two goats to show the abundance of meat and his largesse, Jordan. (Source: Keohane 1994: 45). Fig. 11.19. (middle right). Ainu bear sending ceremony, Hokkaido, Japan. (Source: Akino 1999: 251). Fig. 11.20. (bottom left). Goat sacrificed on a Dogon village altar, Mali, West Africa. (Source: Gordon 1997: 81). Fig. 11.21. (bottom middle). Water buffalo sacrificed in a ritual enclosure as part of Toroja funeral rites, Sulawesi, Indonesia. (Source: www.trekearth.com). Fig. 11.22. Cattle sacrificed during a Mahafaly ceremony to initiate a new headman, Madagascar. (Source: Jolly 1987: 178).

was believed the meat would shrink during cooking (Baker 1974: 68-74). Cattle may have been perceived as sharing many social attributes with humans (see Appendix B), in addition to which the strength and fecundity of bulls would have been highly admired, and the productivity and importance of milk cows. Horses might have had connotations of long-distance movement, speed and hunting, and along with the time and resources needed to breed, train and maintain them, together with their comparative rarity, this would probably have given them high status associations too.

Certain Classical gods and demi-gods were associated with particular animals – Mercury with cockerels, Diana with deer and hunting dogs, and Hercules with cattle (Derks 1997; Green 1992). In Republican times, the Fordicidia ritual needed the sacrifice of a pregnant cow to Earth (Tellus), and to make crops prosper the festival of the October Horse required a horse sacrificed to Mars (Beard, North and Price 1998: 45, 47). The *suovitaurlia* ritual involved the sacrifice of equal numbers of cattle, sheep and pigs, and took place in both official public and private contexts to commemorate the dead and to purify fields (Toynbee 1996: 134; Wilkens 2004: 73). Marcus Porcius Cato (*On Agriculture* CL) describes how prior to harvests pigs were sacrificed (Cato 1957) – this *porca praecidanea*, with cakes and wine, was offered to Ceres, Janus, Jupiter and Juno (Grant 1957: 34-35). Cato also mentions that before sowing, wine and roasted meat was offered to Jupiter and Vesta, and that a *suovitaurlia* was necessary to purify land, usually involving suckling animals. The physical appearance and sex of the sacrificed animals was often important (Lauwerier 2004; Toynbee 1996) – the Iguvium Tables from one area of pre-Imperial Italy detail some of these (Brunaux 1988; Poultenay 1959). Different parts of carcasses were treated differently, and there were complex rules for the deposition of animal remains depending on the species and the deities involved (Beard, North and Price 1998: 36). In the Mithraic religion animal sacrifices were important too, especially domestic fowl (mainly cockerels), and the meat was eaten in communal feasts afterwards (Beck 2000; Lentacker, Ervynck and Van Neer 2004; Ulansey 1989).

Cato wrote around 160 BC, and some of these customs were archaic even then, but this shows that the occupiers of Britain ('Romans' from Italy and peoples from all over the Empire) would have brought with them their own cosmological beliefs regarding fertility, crops and livestock, to add to and mingle with existing native ideas. In Classical religious traditions cattle were considered pleasing to the gods (Jameson 1998: 93-8). Cattle are the most numerous animals thought to derive from ritual or sacrificial activity in Iron Age faunal assemblages (Woodward 1992: 80), and they featured more often as animal burials within my study region (see Appendix F). Campbell proposed a cosmology for the treatment of animal remains from the Iron Age wheelhouse at Sollas on North Uist in the Hebrides. Although many aspects of his evidence are particular to Atlantic Scotland, he made the interesting suggestion



Figure 11.23. (top left). *Partially articulated cattle bones from at least two animals in a pit at Parlington Hollins, W. Yorks., dated to between 400 BC–AD 52.* (Source: Holbrey and Burgess 2001: 90). **Fig. 11.24.** (top right). *Planning an Iron Age cow and calf burial, Site M, Darrington to Dishforth A1 (M) project, W. Yorks.* (Source: Howard-Davis, Lupton and Boyle 2005: 11). **Fig. 11.25.** (bottom left). *Recording a Romano-British cow burial from a ditch at Enclosure 8, Redhouse Farm, Adwick-le-Street, S. Yorks.* (Source: Upson-Smith 2006: 5). **Fig. 11.26.** (bottom right). *Iron Age pit from Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks., with an articulated dog skeleton surrounded by sheep and pig limb and foot bones.* (Source: Berg 1990a: 177).

that mature cattle were treated differently to younger animals (Campbell 2000: 195). Most of the cattle burials in the study region were of mature animals. Elsewhere in Britain, sheep too (both lambs and mature animals) seem to have been important components of late Iron Age and Romano-British rituals (Beech 2006; Levitan 1993). Animal burials associated with boundaries, entrances and buildings have now been found at many Roman period sites in Britain and the continent (Brunaux 1988: 116–117; Lauwerier 2004; Scott 1991: 117–118). As in many pastoral or herding communities today, it is possible that animals were not usually eaten on a daily basis (see Chapter 5), but were consumed mostly during particular feasts or following sacrifices, as in Classical Greece (Detienne and Vernant 1989) and modern Nepal (Pettigrew and Tamu 2006).



Perhaps the most spectacular sequence of animal deposits in the study region has been discovered during recent excavations at Wattle Syke near Wetherby, W. Yorks., where a fully articulated adult sheep was found in the upper fill of a ditch, minus its skull which had been truncated by ploughing, although the lower mandibles survived. It may have been associated with lamb bones, and lay on top of an earlier mass of butchered cattle bone. Extension of the section to the south-east revealed two complete, articulated pig skeletons, one crouched and the other supine, with a crushed cattle skull and neck vertebrae and other disarticulated skeletal elements nearby. These remains too were all above butchered cattle bones – as yet, it is not clear if the latter were all from one individual animal. Underneath the cattle bone was a near complete and sooted pottery vessel, broken in situ. At a later date, a human infant was buried in a small pit cut into the side and the fills of the ditch next to the large stones adjacent to the cattle skull. Approximately 0.5m north-west of the sheep burial, the base of the ditch had evidence for a large posthole cut into it, perhaps for a marker post. To my knowledge, this deposit is without precedent in northern England. **Figure 11.27. (top left).** Oblique view of the two pig skeletons and the cattle skull, looking south-west. **Fig. 11.28. (top right).** The two pigs and cow skull looking south-east along the line of the ditch. **Fig. 11.29. (middle left).** The articulated sheep burial. **Fig. 11.30. (middle right).** The complete but crushed cattle skull with neck vertebrae, and other cattle bone. **Fig. 11.31. (bottom left).** The crouched pig looking south-east. It may have been carefully tucked around the heat-shattered cobbles. **Fig. 11.32. (bottom right).** The supine pig looking north-west, with its head on the ditch edge. (All images source: © AS WYAS).

In many cultures dogs have a socially ambiguous status, being valued aids to hunting and herding and trusted companions to people, or an admired food. In tandem with these beliefs, however, they may be seen as dirty and polluting due to their indiscriminate dietary and toilet habits (e.g. Akino 1999; Olowo Ojoade 1990; Serpell 1995; Tambiah 1969). In some societies they are regarded as links between the human realm and the spirit world, and during the Roman period in lower Germany dogs were attributes of the goddess Nehalena, in addition to being associated with hunting and healing (Lauwerier 2004: 66). The Ainu of northern Japan used to honour sacrificed dogs in ‘sending’ ceremonies or *iwakte*, and these were deified and treated with respect. Dogs were also sacrificed when people were seriously ill, to avert epidemic diseases, or when a new house was built (Akino 1999: 252-253; Wada 1999: 263, fig. 37.3) (Fig. 11.27). The Koryak of Siberia used to surround their villages with sacrificed dogs displayed on poles with grass collars (Serov 1988: 250-252, fig. 342). Whilst they needed live dogs to guard against wolves, bears and human enemies, they also required spirit dogs as protection from malevolent spirit entities (Fig. 11.34). Dogs were also sacrificed during funeral rites, and at the burial places of the deceased. As a healing cure, the Itelmen of Siberia used to suspend dog entrails between poles, through which the sick person walked or was carried (ibid.).



Figure 11.33. (left). *Ainu dog sending ceremony, Sakhalin. (Source: Wada 1999: 263).* **Fig. 11.34. (right).** *Koryak dogs sacrificed in order to protect a village against evil spirits, Siberia. (Source: Serov 1988: 252).*

Some Iron Age and Romano-British dog burials may represent respect and affection for honoured hounds; others the remains of animals sacrificed to accompany people into the afterlife, as offerings to gods and spirits, or to prevent or cure diseases. The association of dogs with healing in some cultures may be significant (Green 1992:

198), given the dog remains and representations of dogs excavated at Romano-British temple complexes such as Lydney and Springhead. Associated with the god Nodens, the lick of temple dogs may have been believed to have healing, protective or good luck properties. Occurrences of Iron Age and Romano-British dog burials across Britain and their associations with other animal remains and artefacts have been outlined elsewhere (Black 1983; Hill 1995a, 1996b; Merrifield 1987; Smith 2005).

Corvid bones from ravens, crows and jackdaws have been regarded in Britain as possible Iron Age and Romano-British placed deposits, especially in wells, shafts and pits (Coy 1984; Grant 1984b; Ross 1968; Woodward and Woodward 2004). Their association with death, carrion and as defleshing agents of exposed human corpses may be significant, and amongst Native Americans, Ainu, indigenous Siberian groups and medieval Scandinavians, they were seen as messengers, agents or even extensions of gods, able to pass between the everyday and the supernatural realms (e.g. Hawthorn 1994: 29; Oginaka 1999: 281; Price 2000: 70; Serov 1988: 242-243; F. Turner 1977: 89). In the Roman period ravens were thought to have oracular powers (Green 1992: 177-180); and were sacrificed during some divination practices.

Animals as people?

It is impossible to prove whether or not people in these later Iron Age and Romano-British rural communities had any sense of animals as fellow cognitive beings. The special treatment of some animal remains could suggest that these were favoured beasts honoured after their deaths, messengers or offerings to gods or ancestors, or 'stand-ins' for people. The latter might imply some recognition of equivalence. The cremated animal remains from Iron Age burials at Sutton Common (Chapman 2003) could have been food offerings for the funeral pyre or travelling companions for the afterlife (q.v. Pettigrew and Tamu 2006: 395), but might have represented the formal cremation of other cognate beings (Van de Noort 2007a: 164). The ethnographic literature summarised in Chapter 3 suggests that in many small-scale societies where animal herding is practised, animals might not be regarded as exact equivalent to humans but as dependants or children, and are respected and cared for accordingly. Given the evidence for the extent of animal husbandry outlined in Chapter 6 and the

special treatment of some animal remains outlined in Appendix F, it is possible that similar beliefs existed in the Iron Age and persisted into the Romano-British period.

Pottery

Across the study region, Iron Age pottery was relatively scarce, and where it is found this is often in specific contexts (q.v. Cumberpatch and Robbins n.d.). It is extremely rare to have a 'background' scatter of Iron Age sherds near settlements. At Pickburn Leys no pottery was associated with the roundhouses (Sydes and Symonds 1993), and at Site M, very little pottery was recovered from around the structures, where it might be supposed that it would be discarded (Brown, Howard-Davis and Brenand 2007: 90). Iron Age pottery either consists of a few worn and abraded sherds, or large numbers of sherds forming complete or substantial portions of vessels found in pits, ditch terminals and roundhouse gullies. Ceramic consumption and discard within the study region also seems to have differed from practices elsewhere in Britain. Iron Age pottery was uncommon as everyday domestic vessels; and where present ceramics often occurred as placed deposits linked to the individual biographies of the pottery vessels and those who had made or used them, and/or perhaps also revealing symbolic ideas linking pots to the human body (q.v. Gosselain 1999: 32-33; Hoskins 1998).

Although Romano-British pottery was more common across settlements and fields, especially during the third and fourth centuries AD, there were major variations in how and where it was deposited too. There were often larger quantities in eastern, south-eastern or southern enclosure ditches, and an emphasis on ditch intersections, terminals and entrances. In some places Romano-British pottery was spread across the landscape in small quantities through manuring practices, but this often does not seem to have taken place. At South Muskham, fieldwalking of 209ha of ploughed fields across a dense cropmark landscape found less than 100 Romano-British sherds (Garton, Leary and Naylor 2002: 27). Only one of the four scatters of material coincided with an enclosure (Fig. 4.15), different from areas of 'brickwork' field systems in north Nottinghamshire, where scatters of Romano-British pottery and fire-cracked stones were focused upon enclosures (ibid.: 35; Garton and Leary 2008). At West Moor Park, Armthorpe, a small and otherwise unremarkable length of field ditch distant from domestic occupation contained one or more large dumps of pottery,

including several near complete vessels (Evans 2001c). The varied date of the sherds indicated that many had lain or been curated elsewhere prior to their deposition. Elsewhere at Armthorpe, substantial portions of pottery bases or rims were found as isolated deposits in ditches, in some instances ‘nested’ within piles of burnt stones² (Figs. 11.35.-11.36). Such patterns clearly represented differences in artefact deposition, but do not easily fit functional, ‘common-sense’ explanations of refuse disposal and casual discard, or ideas of very formally structured ritual deposits either.



Figure 11.35. (left) and Fig. 11.36. (right). Possible placed deposits or localised but structured dumps of Romano-British pottery, excavated at West Moor Park II, Armthorpe, S. Yorks. (Source: Chadwick, Powell and Richardson 2007, plates 1-2).

Pottery may have signified a human presence within the landscape, and this may account for the importance sometimes afforded it within depositional practices, but perhaps within people’s subconscious ideas too. There have been attempts to model practices of material disposal and manure incorporation (e.g. Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988; Gaffney and Tingle 1991; Schiffer 1987), but these do not explain all aspects of these activities. It is possible, for example, that this mixing of materials from the household with the wider landscape may have conveyed a series of implicit and subconscious statements about ties to the land, and perhaps identity (Evans 2003: 141-143), and pottery’s associations with food preparation, storage and consumption might have been significant too. This form of dispersed deposition may have been a deliberate ‘entexturing of the ground’ (ibid.: 126) or of ‘signing the land’, and the occasional concentrated dumps of material found in field ditches may have been linked to notions of boundaries, tenure and identity. Such dumps could also have

marked changes in household occupancy or rights of access and tenure, and might therefore have added meaning and historicity to people's everyday activities in the landscape. People at work in fields, taking animals along trackways or digging ditches would have come across these traces of past occupation, events and individuals; re-encountering these past fragments of everyday life (Giles 2000: 194).

There has been a recent cogent critique of the criteria by which structured or placed deposits of prehistoric material including pottery are defined and identified (Brudenell and Cooper 2008). This study has also highlighted the potential complexities of the processes by which sherds from different vessels in different states of wear and fragmentation may have been accumulated and discarded within features in or around settlement sites. I accept the main point made by the authors that it is not necessarily helpful to define placed deposits according to specific or rigid criteria, and that it is more productive to analyse assemblages from individual features in their entirety to generate contextually specific histories of depositional practice (ibid.: 33). As noted in Chapter 12, the detailed quantified analysis of pottery assemblages recovered from excavated Iron Age and Romano-British sites in the study region was not possible partly due to considerations of time, but also the quality of the recorded information from those excavations. Only a few developer-funded projects within the study region have been used as the basis for such studies (e.g. Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennand 2007: 93-97; Cumberpatch, Walster and Vince 2007; Robbins 2000). In future, however, such detailed spatial, statistical and contextual consideration of depositional practices should become a routine part of post-excavation analyses.

Weapons, torcs and other metalwork, brooches and bracelets

The detailed contextual evidence for metalwork finds from within the study region is presented in Appendix F. Much of the late Bronze Age metalwork from Nottinghamshire consists of finds from the River Trent, a pattern repeated across Britain (e.g. Bradley 1990). Many Iron Age metalwork finds in the region were also associated with rivers and watery places. Ritual deposition in rivers continued in the Iron Age, though with a more restricted range of artefacts than during the later Bronze Age (Fitzpatrick 1984), and this is reflected in other concentrations of Iron Age metalwork across the wider region, as in the River Witham (Davey 1973; Field and Adrian M. Chadwick

Parker Pearson 2003; Hawkes 1946). Some of the regional evidence, however, consists of deposition in or near earlier monuments within the landscape, and in ditches and wells. The deliberate destruction and/or watery deposition of much metalwork may have reflected offerings to gods or ancestors for their intercession, but might also have been a means of reinforcing or acquiring individual status.



Figure 11.37. (left) and Fig. 11.38. (right). *'Reconstructions' of prehistoric depositional practices in watery places.* (Source: © Lejre Experimental Centre).

The deposition of torcs in Britain has also been seen in ritual terms (Davies 1996: 72; Fitzpatrick 1992; Stead 1991), and some torcs would have been objects associated with status or with particular individuals, which may have given them additional meanings. The association of brooches with late Iron Age and Romano-British ritual sites and deposits has been noted (Simpson and Blance 1998). Certain types of brooches were particularly associated with temples and shrines, human and animal burials, pit deposits and occasionally, with wells (e.g. Allason-Jones and McKay 1985; Casey, Hoffman and Dore 1999; Harker 1980; King and Soffe 1998; Wickenden 1992; Woodward and Leach 1993). Snake jewellery also seems to have had some votive connotations during the Romano-British period (Cool 2000b). Although these more specific associations and acts of deposition have been commented upon, there has been a lack of discussion of their occurrence in other contexts. The implicit assumption often seems to be that when brooches are found in enclosure or field ditches, roundhouse ring gullies or postholes, and other mundane domestic or agricultural contexts; then was the result of chance loss. In addition,

broken and/or worn brooches are seen as rubbish, thrown away once their functional usefulness had ended. This assumption should be questioned.



Figure 11.39. (top left). Romano-British enamelled 'chicken' brooch found in Castleford, W. Yorks.; found in a modern context but probably of second century AD date. (Source: © AS WYAS). **Fig. 11.40.** (top centre). Romano-British brooch found near Egmanon, Notts. (Source: PAS). **Fig. 11.41.** (top right). Unstratified enamelled bird brooch, probably also of second century date, found by metal detecting during salvage excavations at Chainbridge Lane, Notts. (Source: © Jen Eccles). **Fig. 11.42.** (middle left). Enamelled dragonesque brooch recovered during excavations at Holme Hall Quarry, Stainton, S. Yorks. (Source: Bevan 2006: 31). **Fig. 11.43.** (middle centre). Brooches recovered as metal detecting finds within S. Yorks. (Source: Dearne and Parsons 1997: 47, fig. 3). **Fig. 11.44.** (middle left). Romano-British trumpet brooch found near Barnsley, S. Yorks. (Source: PAS). **Fig. 11.45.** (bottom left). Enamelled Romano-British headstud brooch found near Darrington, W. Yorks. (Source: PAS). **Fig. 11.46.** (bottom centre). Enamelled Romano-British trumpet brooch found at Norwell, Notts. (Source: PAS). **Fig. 11.47.** (bottom left). Romano-British trumpet brooch found at South Elmsall, W. Yorks. (Source: PAS).

Most brooches were worn externally as fastenings, and were thus liable to becoming accidentally detached when pins broke or sprang open, but were accidental losses always the case? It is notable that very few metalwork objects, including brooches, are recovered from excavations. When they are found in such contexts it is usually in specific parts of ditches or in other occupation contexts. It thus seems unlikely that they would have been overlooked and missed unless they were buried very quickly. Brooches retrieved by fieldwalkers and metal detectorists also seem to occur in distinct clusters within the region, as for example with a series of late Iron Age and Romano-British brooches found on Magnesian Limestone areas of South Yorkshire, and another group found at Rossington Bridge (Dearne and Parsons 1997; O'Connor 2001). Many have been found away from known enclosure sites³. This suggests that most brooches were not lost or discarded in the areas where people actually lived, and this may suggest previously unknown depositional practices.

In the late Iron Age and early Roman period, there was a significant increase in the styles and numbers of brooches worn and deposited across Britain, perhaps reflecting changes in how people expressed their Selves (Hill 1997; Jundi and Hill 1998). Individual rather than communal identities may have become more important for some people by the first century AD, signified through brooches and other personal ornamentation, toilet sets, and a growing trend in some regions for more visible burials (q.v. Jundi and Hill 1998: 129-130; see below). Dragonesque brooches and some other forms may have even been a means of expressing non-military allegiance during the years immediately following the Roman conquest. Native people would have exercised choices as to which brooch forms to adopt, but in general many Roman-style brooches might have had resonance with existing traditions of personal ornamentation. If brooches were important as expressions of people's identities, then their deposition might have sometimes been for propitiary or apotropaic purposes.

The brooch, an article of personal adornment directly associated with individuals, had been given the right to be placed in ritual contexts. Assuming that artefacts offered for ritual must be of importance to the donor, the conscious act of choosing particular brooches *must* show their increased importance. (Jundi and Hill 1998: 130, original emphasis).

The apparent association of glass and shale bracelets with roundhouses within the study region also seems significant (see Appendix F). Again, it could be argued that such personal items were more likely to have been lost in or around dwellings, but conversely they were also more likely to have been found and retrieved in such contexts. When excavated, bracelets are normally fragmentary, but the fragmentation process is poorly understood, and may not have been due to taphonomic factors alone. For instance, it is rare that more than one fragment from each single bracelet is found. It is possible that the fragments themselves may have been valued (Cool 2003). Bracelets were also personal items worn by specific individuals. Perhaps different pieces from individual bracelets were allotted to different people following the death of the owner of the bracelet; or when people married into other clans and communities and moved away; or to symbolise other close links between people. Rachel Pope has suggested that jewellery associated with abandonment or decommissioning acts might have directly linked personal identities with houses (Pope 2005).

Querns

Logan shook the girl. “What’s this place? Why come here for rocks?”...” What’s so special about Mow Cop?” Logan shouted.

“It’s the netherstone of the world,” she said. “The skymill turns on it to grind stars...The rock is sacred to the flour of heaven.” (Garner 1973: 103).

There is growing evidence from across Britain that querns often formed part of placed deposits during the Iron Age and Romano-British periods (e.g. Brown 1994; Buckley 1979, 1991; Hill 1995a; Hingley 1992; Willis 1999). Sometimes whole querns were apparently discarded despite little evidence for use and wear. Others were highly fragmented and many of the fragments are not recovered, so it is unclear where the other fragments were deposited⁴. Some may have been broken up and used as temper in ceramic fabrics (Woodward 2002: 111). Querns may have served as metaphors for the agricultural cycle, and might even have been considered as ‘teeth’ in some way⁵. Turning querns and grinding grain might have had associations with cycles of the sun and moon, and although I am *not* suggesting continuities of belief, in post-medieval and early modern Britain it was considered unlucky to grind grain in a widdershins manner. Jams, sauces and soups were also stirred *deseal* or sunwards, lest the food

spoil or become poisonous (Harman 1997: 242; Hole 1940: 65). This may indicate some of the potential beliefs regarding rotary movement. In the study region, some quern fragments were buried in pits or postholes within structures. This might simply reflect the use of stone fragments as pads or packing for upright timbers, but they seem to have been used mainly for entrance posts or prominent internal supports.

Although quernstone fragments could have been used merely as packing, it is equally possible that there is a deliberate choice involved in the reuse of an artefact that could have been a symbol of re-creation or transformation. (Downes 1997: 150).

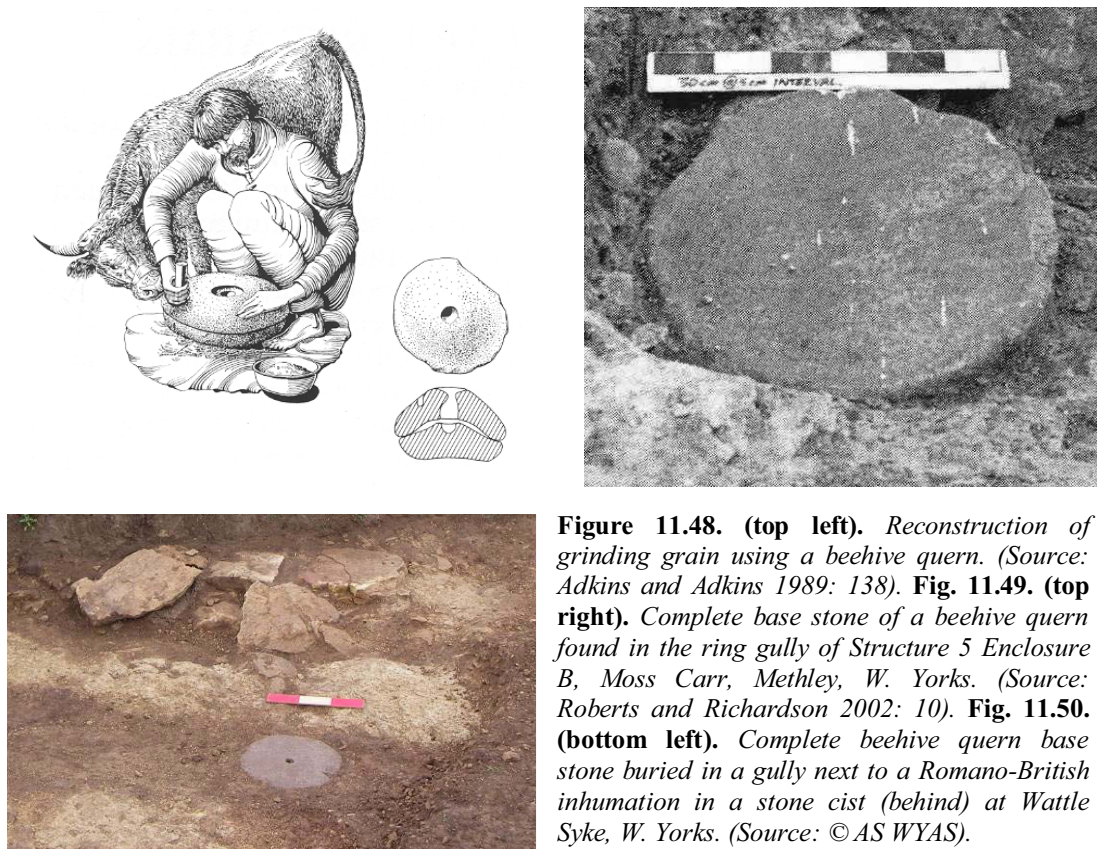


Figure 11.48. (top left). *Reconstruction of grinding grain using a beehive quern. (Source: Adkins and Adkins 1989: 138).* **Fig. 11.49. (top right).** *Complete base stone of a beehive quern found in the ring gully of Structure 5 Enclosure B, Moss Carr, Methley, W. Yorks. (Source: Roberts and Richardson 2002: 10).* **Fig. 11.50. (bottom left).** *Complete beehive quern base stone buried in a gully next to a Romano-British inhumation in a stone cist (behind) at Wattle Syke, W. Yorks. (Source: © AS WYAS).*

In other cases, whole querns or quern fragments were deposited in the ring gullies of roundhouses, or were associated with pits, postholes and slots that were near or part of enclosure and sub-enclosure entrances and entrance structures (see Appendix F). They were also components of placed deposits in pits and wells. They are often found in topsoil or the uppermost fills of cut features, suggesting that they were sometimes tertiary or closure deposits. Many querns have been found with heat reddening and/or iron deposits on their surfaces, indicating their possible re-use as anvils. A purely

functional explanation is that large, hard stones with flat surfaces were ideal for smithing, but it is also possible that quern stones, once no longer suitable for grinding, may have still lent any tools or weapons forged on them a variety of efficacious and symbolic qualities, especially if these were objects linked to agricultural production such as sickles or shears (q.v. Hingley 1997b, 2006). This may have also been linked to ideas concerning transformation through fire (q.v. Aldhouse-Green 2002; Herbert 1993; Hill 1995a: 108), which both flour and iron share. At Manor Farm, a large stone mortar recovered from a late Iron Age pit had apparently been used for the crushing of iron ore to produce a ferruginous powder, possibly as a pigment to be used as decoration for people, animals or structures (Cowgill and Heslop 2001: 201-202). This iron pigment could have had perceived beneficial medicinal, symbolic or spiritual properties.

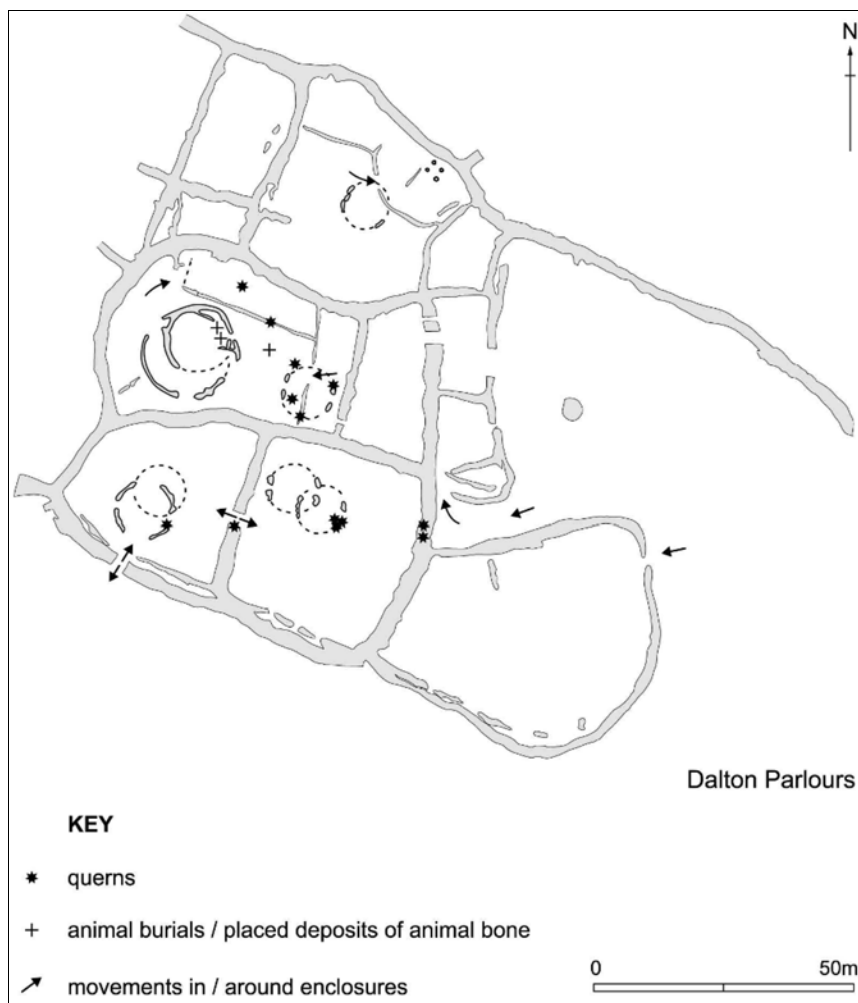


Figure 11.51. Possible placed deposits associated with the Iron Age phases of the Dalton Parlours enclosure complex, including the locations of quernstones. (Source: Chadwick 2004a: 100, drawing by A. Leaver).

Querns might have been linked with households, and their deposition in and around dwellings may have reflected and reinforced such beliefs, making querns visible around enclosures and placing humans at the symbolic centre of the agricultural cycle (Williams 2003: 242). The decision to bury querns as whole objects or as fragments must have been important. One possibility is that querns were deposited whole when they were foundation or closure deposits for particular dwellings, or used in offerings designed to bring fertility and providence; but when worn out, they had to be fragmented. This fragmentation may have been symbolic destruction, to demonstrate to others the seriousness of the offering and to take these objects out of commission, or it might have been undertaken to release some perceived force from within them. It may reflect the ‘killing’ of objects that held great power and value.

Shoes

Leather shoes have been recovered from several wells within the study region (see Appendix F and Gazetteer). This association is intriguing, and reflects similar evidence elsewhere in Britain, including the 2005 find of a waterlogged Iron Age shoe at Whitehall Quarry near Wellington in Somerset (BBC News 2005), which was recovered from a hollowed tree trunk placed in a natural spring to form a ‘well’ shaft. Carol van Driel-Murray (1999) has examined the symbolism of feet and shoes during the Roman period, and has suggested that footwear was used in rites of commencement and termination. It was more often left shoes that were used, and footwear would have quite literally borne the imprint of the wearer, a highly personal feature perhaps considered equivalent to a signature (van Driel-Murray 2006: 244). If some of these deposits were associated with rites of closure or departure, then this disposal of footwear might have been a material metaphor for a journey about to be undertaken, either physical movement or the journey into the afterlife. If only one half of a pair of shoes was represented, then perhaps this may have meant that part of the wearer was staying behind in spirit with the settlement that was being departed.

Alternatively, the shoes may have had apotropaic properties – in the post-medieval and early modern periods for example, in many parts of Britain shoes were sometimes hidden in rafters or under floorboards within people’s houses to act as personal ‘decoys’ for any malign spirits and acts of witchcraft (Baker 1974; Hole 1940). This

does not of course reflect direct continuities of belief, but may show continued tensions regarding such highly personal artefacts. During recent excavations at Mill Mount in York, a short ditch or gully was found to contain a pair of hobnailed boots, a third hobnailed boot and a cattle humerus (Spall and Toop 2005: 17), possibly all part of a placed deposit, and a total of nine boots were recovered in total. This ditch was open and next to a small Romano-British cemetery, and its later backfill contained disarticulated human bone. This might indicate further shoe symbolism, linked to the death of the wearers.

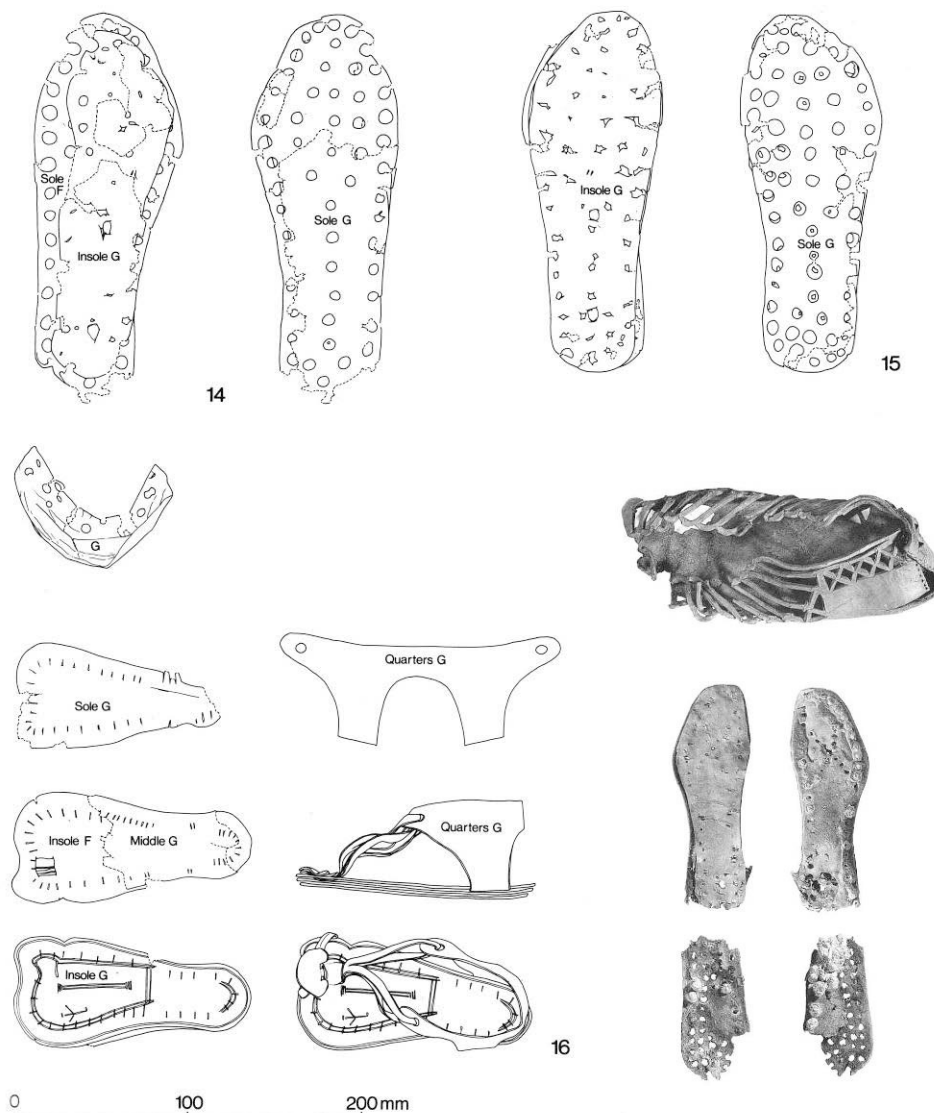


Fig. 11.52. Leather shoes (Nos 14 and 15) and sandal (No. 16); G = grain, F = flesh. Scale 1:3

Figure 11.52. Romano-British leather shoes found in the well excavated at Dalton Parlours (line drawings); and from waterlogged contexts at Castleford (photographs), W. Yorks. (Sources: © AS WYAS; Mould 2001: 234).

Plant deposits

The evidence for poisonous and/or medicinal plants from wells and pits is presented below and in Appendix F. The postpipes of twenty-five of the four-post structures at Sutton Common contained charred spelt and emmer wheat grains. As the upright posts had themselves survived as a consequence of the waterlogged conditions, the cereals could not have been the result of accidental fires, and are now interpreted as handfuls of grain placed in the postholes during the construction of the elevated granaries (Van de Noort and Chapman 2007: 38) (Fig. 11.53). These are crucial evidence of the small-scale and informal ritual practices discussed above.

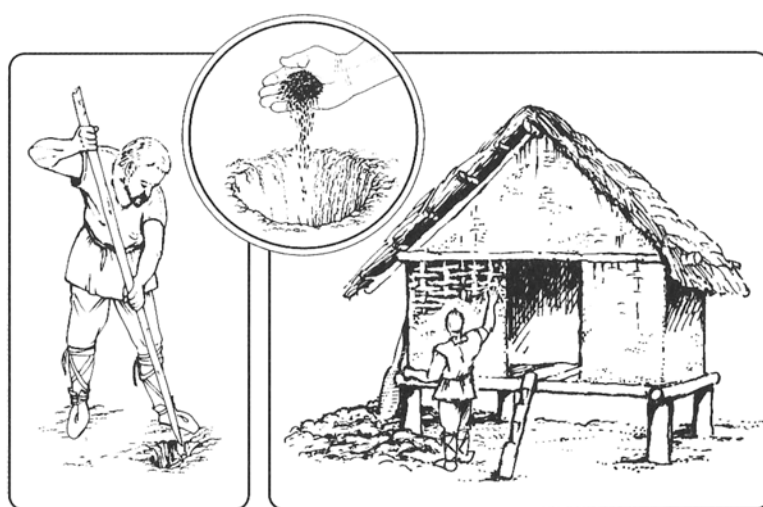


Figure 11.53. (left). *Mundane magic at Sutton Common, South Yorkshire. Handfuls of charred cereal grains were added to the postholes of four-post granaries during their construction. (Source: Van de Noort and Chapman 2007: 39).*

Pits and pit alignments

In general, the pit groups and complex pit deposits of south-central England (Hill 1995a) were not usually a feature of the region, with the exception of some isolated pits. These examples are presented in Appendix F. At a few sites in West Yorkshire however such as Ledston, Ferrybridge, and Site M near Micklefield, large complexes of pits formed the focus for some placed deposits of artefacts and animal and human remains (Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennan 2007: 93-97; Richardson 2005a: 54-70; Roberts 2005b: 32-33). People were returning to these pits, in some cases disturbing earlier material and then re-depositing other materials. This implies knowledge of the position of the pits, perhaps indicated by wooden markers, shallow depressions or more lush vegetation, and at Ferrybridge the pit boundary that itself

referenced earlier monuments was later recognised for many centuries (Richardson 2005a: 70; Roberts 2005a: 210). This conscious respect by late Iron Age and Romano-British communities of earlier features has been noted elsewhere (e.g. Ellis 2004; Maloney et al. 2003; Meade 2004; John Thomas 2008; Williams 1998a).

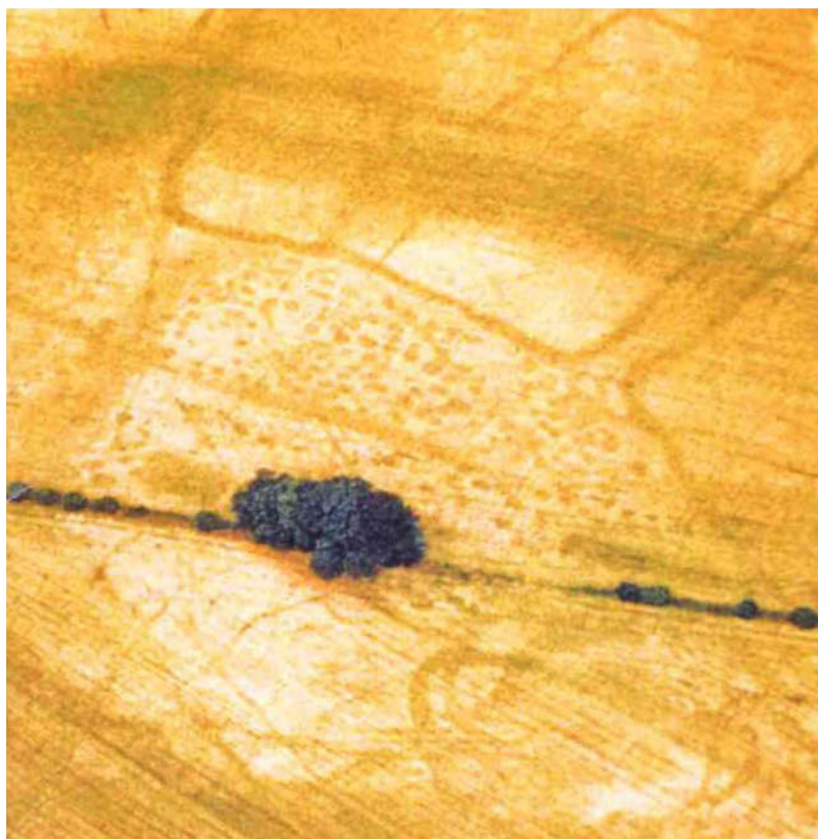


Figure 11.54. *Cropmarks at Ledston, W. Yorks., showing several trackways running from the top of the photograph towards a dense concentration of pits (centre) and a double-ditched enclosure (bottom right). (Source: Roberts 2005b: front cover).*

There is no conclusive evidence that these pit groups were used as storage pits, unlike in southern England. Although some were a focus for placed deposits and/or animal and human burials, this does not ‘explain’ the majority where little or nothing is found. It is possible that some were extraction pits for the production of lime, spread on to fields to enrich the soil. The link between some being used for placed deposits and their role in agriculture could thus be appropriate. The care that was often taken over their form and the lack of inter-cutting suggests that they were not quarry pits. Most were probably not originally ‘rubbish pits’, though refuse was later discarded in some. Many of the Ferrybridge examples formed boundaries, but here too there were also clusters of pits. It is possible that each pit may have represented the embodied

actions of particular individuals or households. If so, then each pit might have signified a particular feast, calendrical festival or other ritual, in which the very act of digging or inscribing the landscape may have been important. Some pits were selected to be receptacles for offerings of food, discard from feasts, and placed deposits of metalwork, pottery and animal and human remains. Pit clusters may represent the same practices carried out again and again, on a seasonal, annual or intermittent basis. Locales such as Ledston and Ferrybridge may have served as communal foci for different households or lineages, or wider social groupings.

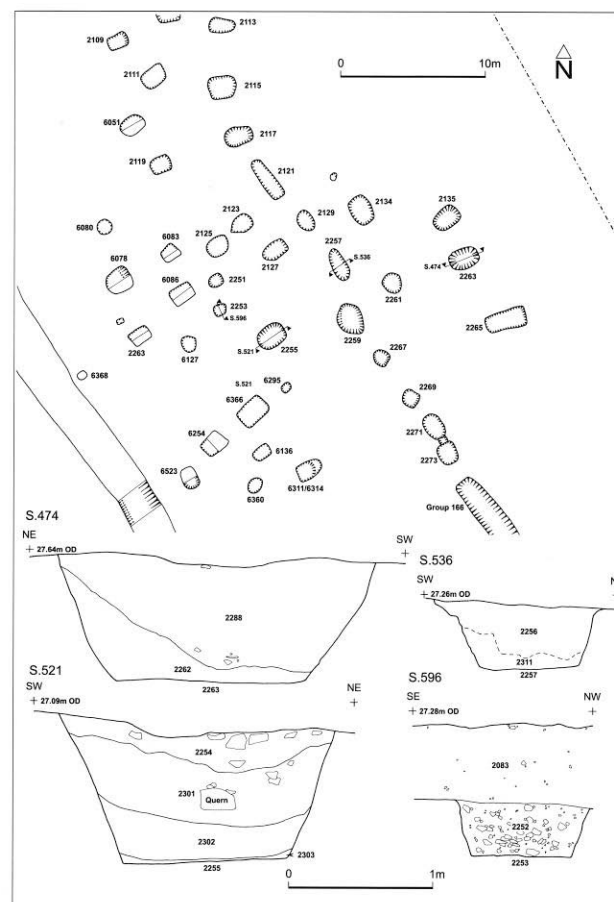


Figure 11.55. *One of the most notable concentrations of pits excavated at Ferrybridge, located close to the henge and with pit alignments running off to the north-west and south-east. The Ferrybridge pits contained late Iron Age and Romano-British artefacts; but also human burials of Iron Age, Romano-British and early medieval date. (Source: Richardson 2005a: 57).*

The post-Roman burials in the Ferrybridge pit alignments might have simply made pragmatic re-use of partially open pits, but the significance of the pits and earlier monuments was probably important. This could indicate memories and meanings persisting for 1600-2000 years, an incredible length of time, although there is

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evidence from the River Witham for the deposition of metalwork and other objects from the late Bronze Age through into the medieval period (Field and Parker Pearson 2003). This also has some parallels with the burial of a ninth century AD woman in a Romano-British trackway ditch near Adwick-le-Street (Speed and Rogers 2004). Perhaps this merely reflects later reworking and reinterpretation of the meanings of these features, however, in the same way that early medieval people based stories and myths on prehistoric barrows and other monuments, and re-used them as burial and execution sites (e.g. Fenton Thomas 2005; Reynolds 1997; Williams 1998b).

Wells and waterholes

Wells and waterholes in the region often had complex depositional sequences and contained large quantities of animal bone and artefacts, some the result of everyday prosaic activities, others dumps from demolition and abandonment; but also some derived from more ritualised practices possibly marking rites of closure and termination. Detailed data concerning well deposits from the study region are outlined in Appendix F. Many Romano-British wells across Britain have contained deposits of whole animals or selected remains such as heads/skulls, human remains, complete ceramic vessels and metal objects, in addition to poisonous and/or medicinal plants (e.g. Fulford 2001; Poulton and Scott 1993; Woodward and Woodward 2004). Dog remains were particularly common, sometimes perhaps a reference to Cerberus, guardian of the underworld (Woodward and Woodward 2004: 78).

In East Yorkshire, a waterhole excavated at Shiptonthorpe contained partially articulated animal remains and skulls (Halkon and Millett 2003: 306; Millett and Taylor 2006: 56-57, figs. 15.4-15.6). There were also quern fragments, most of the decorated samian sherds found at the site, leather shoes, an iron knife blade, a copper alloy lion-shaped handle, and the remains of wooden writing tablets (Allason-Jones 2006; King, Millett and Dickinson 2006; van Driel-Murray 2006). The latter may have originally had votive dedications (q.v. Derks 1995). After the pond was backfilled it still formed a focus for human and animal burials (Millett and Taylor 2006: 314-316). There was pollen evidence for the presence of holly and mistletoe. These 'evergreen' species may have had special importance – mistletoe was found in

the stomach of Lindow Man (Scaife 1986: 132). Many of the plant species found in wells such as Dalton Parlours have ambiguous qualities – in small amounts they may have been effective as painkillers or other remedies, but were deadly poisonous in larger quantities. Why they were deposited in wells and pits is not clear.

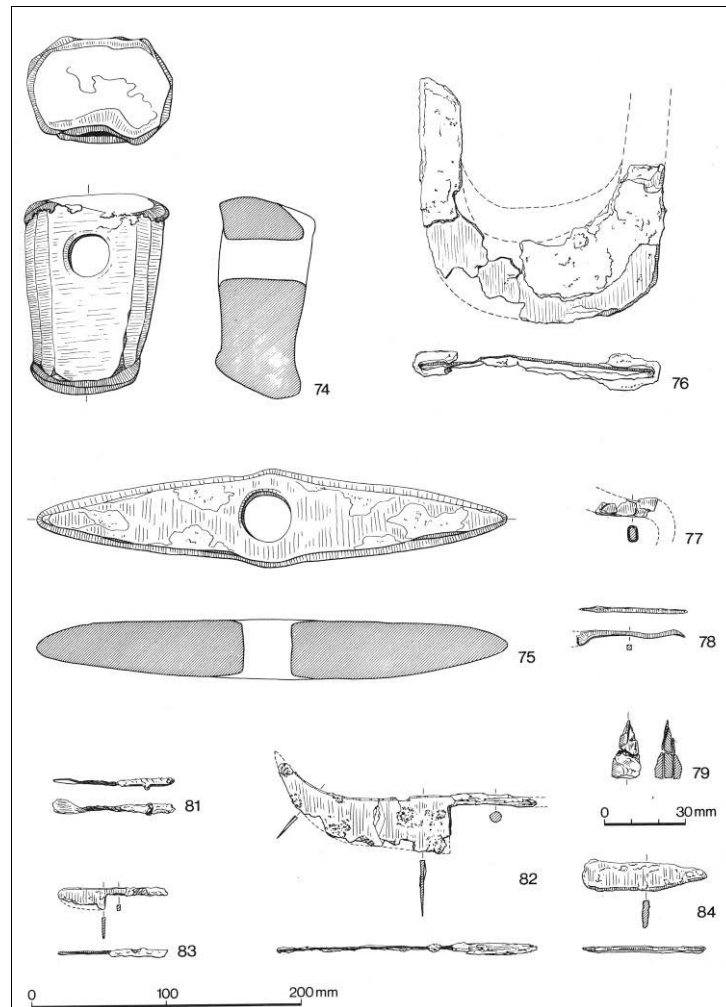


Figure 11.56. Some of the Romano-British iron objects recovered from the excavated well at Dalton Parlours, including a sledgehammer or block anvil (no. 74), a mason's pick (75), a spade shoe (76), part of a reaping hook (77), an ox-goad (79) and knives (82-84). Hingley (2006) has highlighted the possible symbolism of iron objects associated with agricultural and household activities. (Source: I.R. Scott 1990: 204).

In Graeco-Roman rituals, shafts were considered to be links to the underworld and the dead, and were used for the disposal of sacrificial animal remains, vessels used for offerings and libations and special votive objects (Merrifield 1987: 44; Webster 1997a: 139). Some researchers have argued that similar deposits date back to the Iron Age, equating them with ritual pits and 'shafts' (e.g. Ross 1968: 255-285; Wait 1985: 51-82). These interpretations have been challenged, however, partly because there are

few securely dated Iron Age well deposits, but also because of the biases of culture-history expectations of ‘Celtic’ practices and an over reliance on early medieval literary sources (Webster 1997a: 136-137). Placed deposits in wells might have been a novel post-conquest phenomenon, in which native beliefs concerning water, pits and deposits were combined with, transformed by and themselves transformed existing Roman traditions of chthonic rites and deposition. Hingley (2006: 238) has proposed that iron objects were mainly placed within boundaries in later prehistory, but that during the Romano-British period the focus switched to wells and deep pits.

Feasting residues

In Chapter 10 I outlined the likely social importance of feasts to Iron Age and Romano-British communities, but also the limited evidence on most sites within the study region for such large-scale consumption. Nevertheless, even relatively small-scale feasts would have resulted in residues such as ash and charcoal, burnt or heat-shattered stones, butchered and/or burnt animal bone, broken ceramics and other materials, which might have been dumped relatively unceremoniously in ditches or pits. Such remnants may have marked these events and household and communal boundaries. Sometimes particular objects and materials might have been selected for inclusion to commemorate specific events, and such subtle depositional distinctions may be very hard to identify archaeologically (q.v. Brudenell and Cooper 2008).

Middens

Spreads of midden material have been identified on several sites including Scrooby Top, Dunston’s Clump; and perhaps at Lingwell Gate (Davies et al. 2000: 34-35, 47; Garton 1987: 33; Roberts and Johnston 2001: 291). As well as producing organic material for enriching soils, middens might also have been symbolic resources. In the later Bronze Age and early Iron Age, extensive middens were created at sites as All Cannings Cross, East Chisenbury and Potterne in southern England (Cunnington 1923; Lawson 2000; McOmish 1996), Llanmaes in South Wales (Lodwick and Gwilt



Feasting practices, forging relations. **Figure 11.57. (top left).** Young Samburu men roast an ox as part of rites prior to their circumcision ceremony, Kenya. (Source: Pavitt 1991: 82). **Fig. 11.58. (top middle).** Three fowl roasting in a Puya-kira'go earth oven for a farewell feast, Papua New Guinea. (Source: Steensberg 1980: 201). **Fig. 11.59. (top right).** Distributing pork amongst a Tifalmin village, New Guinea. (Source: Wheatcroft 1973: 71). **Fig. 11.60. (bottom left).** Naga sacrifice of mithun or wild cattle, as part of a feast of merit, Burma. (Source: Stirn and Van Ham 2003: 98). **Fig. 11.61. (bottom right).** Samburu boy sucking marrow from the leg bone of a freshly slaughtered ox. (Source: Pavitt 1991: 123).

2004), Whitchurch in Warwickshire (Waddington and Sharples 2007) and Girton in Nottinghamshire (Kinsley 1998). At such sites very complex taphonomic processes and stratigraphic sequences suggest discard from extensive feasting events, interdigitated with human bone and placed deposits of pottery, metal objects and items associated with weaving and metalworking. Material from earlier deposits was itself reworked and redeposited. Together with smaller middens, such deposits could be understood in terms of regeneration and control over fertility (Hill 1995a, 1995b; Parker Pearson 1996), links between soil, blood and identity (q.v. Bauman 1992), and settings for the negotiation of personal, communal and inter-communal identities and social memories (Waddington 2008: 178-179). Middens may even have had connotations of wealth and status.

At Scrooby Top, people entering the enclosure would have had to tread through a churned up layer of broken pottery, heat-shattered stones and ripe smelling organic detritus, the odour occasionally neutralised to some extent by ejections of ash and charcoal from hearths (see Fig. 11.81 below). People not only lived in this settlement but were apparently relatively well off. Here were very different ways of being-in-the-world than that normally depicted in conventional reconstructions of ‘improved’ Romano-British life. Recent excavations at Wattle Syke near Wetherby in West Yorkshire found interesting evidence for such depositional practices. A natural hollow where metalworking activities were being carried out was subsequently filled with dumps of material including large quantities of burnt stone, animal bone, quern fragments and pottery. In addition, however, a Romano-British copper-alloy bow brooch, three silver coins and several copper-alloy coins were also found in a relatively small area within this series of deposits, and it seems unlikely that these all resulted from accidental loss or casual discard.

Temples and shrines, gods and goddesses

Only a few probable Romano-British temples are known from the study region, all closely associated with rivers – at Redhill in Nottinghamshire, close to the confluence of the Rivers Soar and Trent, and at Castleford at the confluence of the Rivers Aire and Calder (Cool 1999; Elsdon 1983; Palfreyman and Ebbins 2003). Another possible site has recently been identified at Bawtry, next to the River Idle (Berg and Major 2006). There have also been isolated finds of altars and statues (Bishop 2001; Buckland 1986; Faull 1981). This data is outlined in Appendix F. There are also a series of small Iron Age timber structures or ditched enclosures that might have been shrines, again described in Appendix F. There are considerable theoretical and methodological problems in distinguishing small structures of unknown, possibly utilitarian function from small, informal shrines; but these very ambiguities suggest that some shrines drew on existing architectural traditions and social beliefs. They were part of everyday life and practices, not rigidly separated sacred spaces, although through processes of ritualisation they could become imbued with enhanced meanings at particular times.

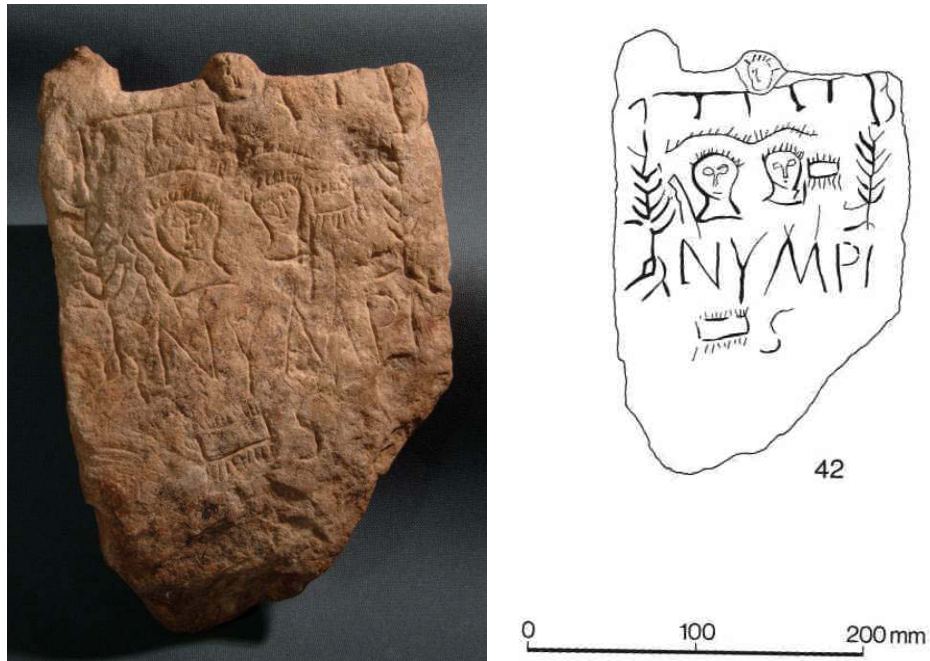


Figure 11.62. (left) and Fig. 11.63. (right). *Inscribed stone tablet excavated in Castleford, W. Yorks. There are two female heads depicted with trees and combs, and below them the writing in crude capitals reads: NYMPIS, a vulgar Latin form of “To the nymphs”. (Sources: © AS WYAS; Tomlin 1998: 353).*

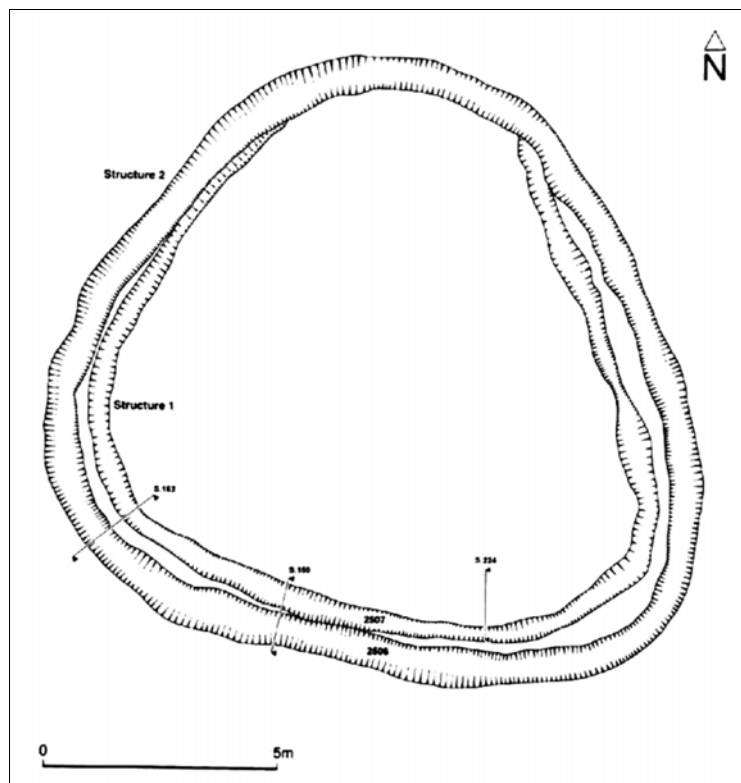


Figure 11.64. *The unusual subtriangular features excavated at Manor Farm, W. Yorks. They were constructed on top of six small pits and postholes containing cremated bone of early to middle Iron Age date, and a ^{14}C date of 380 BC – AD 20 was obtained from the second phase gully. (Source: Burgess 2001a: 80).*

Across central and northern England there are further examples of such ambiguous structures, some associated with unusual deposits. John Thomas (2005: 69-70) has outlined some of these, but they include a small enclosure at the agglomerated late Iron Age settlement at Humberstone in Leicestershire (Charles, Parkinson and Foreman 2000), and a likely shrine within the remains of a Bronze Age round barrow close to the agglomerated settlement at Stanwick in Northamptonshire (Crosby and Muldowney forthcoming). A 'hengiform' feature recently excavated in Lancaster did not seem to be Neolithic or early Bronze Age in date, but produced Iron Age and Romano-British pottery from its multiply-recut ditches (OA North 2006). Its hilltop situation may have been significant. In the future, it is likely that more of these unusual, small-scale structures will be encountered and recognised.

Human burials and human remains

It may reflect post-Enlightenment thinking to treat human remains separately from other objects that formed part of depositional practices, especially animal remains. In the past, combinations of human and animal remains with other materials might have been important aspects of many practices. As I outlined above, there are indications that animals were treated as non-human persons or as stand-ins for people. Nevertheless, as the treatment of human remains included formal burial rites, as well as other perhaps more informal practices, I have treated them separately.

The Iron Age

Until recently, there was little evidence for Iron Age burial practices within the study region, due to the lack of excavated sites and problems with bone preservation. Elsewhere in Britain, from the late Bronze Age onwards most people 'disappear' from the archaeological record (Brück 1995), and the majority of people were possibly excarnated, exposed on timber platforms or on the ground surface (Carr and Knüsel 1997: 170-171). Disarticulated human remains are found on many Iron Age settlement sites, and some at least seem to have been selected and circulated amongst the living. In the middle Iron Age southern England had inhumation burials within storage pits and other contexts such as ditches, but these were still only a handful of

the living populations. East Yorkshire had the square barrow rite. Only in the later Iron Age did cremation and inhumation rites become more visible again, predominantly in southern England (Pearce 1997). Much of northern England was once regarded as having isolated pit or cist burials (Whimster 1981). As elsewhere in Britain though (Haselgrove et al. 2001: 12), further evidence of Iron Age burials has emerged within the region through recent developer-funded excavations and the routine radiocarbon dating of human remains.



*Recently excavated Iron Age crouched burials from W. Yorks. **Figure 11.65. (left).** In a field ditch at Site Q, and **Fig. 11.66. (right)** in a pit at Site M. (Source: Howard-Davis, Lupton and Boyle 2005: 10-11).*

The main Iron Age burial tradition within West Yorkshire (though still rare) seems to have been crouched or flexed inhumations within individual pits in corners of enclosures, or isolated graves just outside of them. Some had simple artefacts such as iron rings associated with the bodies. This data is outlined in Appendix F. This burial rite persisted right through the Romano-British period. At Manor Farm the cremated remains of early to middle Iron Age individuals were also recovered, and at Sutton Common a previously unknown middle to late Iron Age cremation burial rite was also identified (Burgess 2001a: 78; Chapman and Fletcher 2007: 151-156). No Iron Age burials have been identified in Nottinghamshire though (Bishop 2001: 5).

The Ferry Fryston carriage burial in West Yorkshire was a spectacular and unique find, but was widely reported as an example of the East Yorkshire rite, and even English Heritage suggested it might have marked a hitherto unknown expansion of the Parisi (e.g. N. Redfern in Wainwright 2003). This glossed over the significant

differences between it and the Wolds carriage burials, where the carriages were disassembled for example, and where cattle bones were not so closely associated with burials. This may reflect a slightly imperfect local rendition of an East Yorkshire ritual, but this argument has clear core : periphery and culture-history connotations. There are associations between the sword scabbard deposited in the Ferrybridge henge ditch and some of the pottery from Ferrybridge and Site M with East Yorkshire material (see Chapter 10). Given the variations in the rite and the equivocal isotope results, however, it is equally likely that the man himself was from North Yorkshire or Scotland. Despite this, the idea that he came from East Yorkshire persists:

The high levels of strontium might indicate an origin in Scotland, or even Scandinavia, but at present there are insufficient data on the influence of drift of Scandinavian origin to biosphere values in East Yorkshire, and it is not possible to rule out that the man spent his early childhood in East Yorkshire. (Boyle et al. forthcoming).



Figure 11.67. (left). *The Ferry Fryston Iron Age carriage or cart burial, showing the skeleton of the man placed across the yoke, probably in the carriage ‘box’.* **Fig. 11.68. (right).** *Excavating some of the cattle bone deposited in the square ditch surrounding the burial. (Source: © Oxford Archaeology North).*

There was a considerable period of 200-400 years between the primary carriage inhumation and initial deposition of cattle bone, and the recommencement of feasting

episodes focused on the burial (Boyle et al. 2007: 158). By this date, the mound and ditch would not have been obvious landscape features, and so it is possible that local communities must have retained some persistent memory of the original unique burial. Stories or myths were undoubtedly implicated in the subsequent events, which took place many human generations after the burial itself. The life and deeds of this man must have been recalled in some way, no matter how distorted this genealogical history eventually became.

Stories, songs and epic poems can certainly be powerful media for the transmission of such histories (Vansina 1965). The man may have held great political and/or spiritual status, and his death may have been especially unlucky or tragic (Chadwick 2007: 142). The gap of many centuries between his death and later feasting episodes may suggest that honouring an ancestor and re-establishing a link to the past was linked to issues of communal identity, perhaps at a time of social crisis such as the Roman invasion of the north or the troubled late Roman period. This harked back to an idealised past and to a founding ancestor⁶. These feasts would have been powerful phenomenological experiences – the death bellows of animals, the sight and smell of blood and guts, the smell of charred flesh and the consumption of large quantities of meat and perhaps alcohol, the gathering together of kinfolk. Through the repetition of such events within the landscape, people's memories and identities were actively maintained and re-created (q.v. Connerton 1989; Fentress and Wickham 1992).

Whitehouse (1992) has discussed 'incorporating' mnemonic practices, whose efficacy depends on infrequent (though perhaps still regular) rites involving dramatic sensual impacts upon participants. Zerubavel (2003) examined the structure of collective memories in many modern and historical societies, and found that commemorative rituals and festivals cluster in two temporal nodes – one associated with dramatic social and political events within or just outside 'living' memory, or well attested by written histories (such as wars, revolutions and the founding of states), and much more distant events that many centuries or millennia ago, and which assume mythical status, such as the births and deaths of religious leaders (Zerubavel 2003: 31-33). This seems to be an innate way in which human memories operate, and 'memory work' such as this may offer some explanation for the close connections drawn over such extensive time spans across the Ferrybridge landscape. Creighton (2006) has argued

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that the Folly Lane burial influenced the subsequent layout of the Roman town of Verulamium. This was the deliberate creation and structuring of genealogical time, and illustrates the continued power and agency of the ancestral dead amongst the living (q.v. Bauman 1992; Gosden and Lock 1998; Lehmann and Myers 1993).

Mention must also be made of the square enclosure 30m to the south-west of the carriage burial, defined by a shallow ditch and lines of postholes with possible entrances on the west and east sides. This was probably an unroofed, palisaded structure. Although no dating evidence was found, this was possibly either a mortuary enclosure to lay out the body for public display, conduct the necessary rites, and prepare the body through washing, anointing and dressing; or a slightly later shrine (Boyle et al. 2007: 158-159). Smaller square and rectangular structures were excavated at Westhampnett in West Sussex, associated with an Iron Age cremation cemetery (Fitzpatrick 1997b: 12-18, figs. 6-10). A similar sized square enclosure was found at Kirkburn in East Yorkshire, close to square barrow burials, but like Ferry Fryston also referencing nearby earlier monuments (Stead 1992: 25-28, fig. 24).

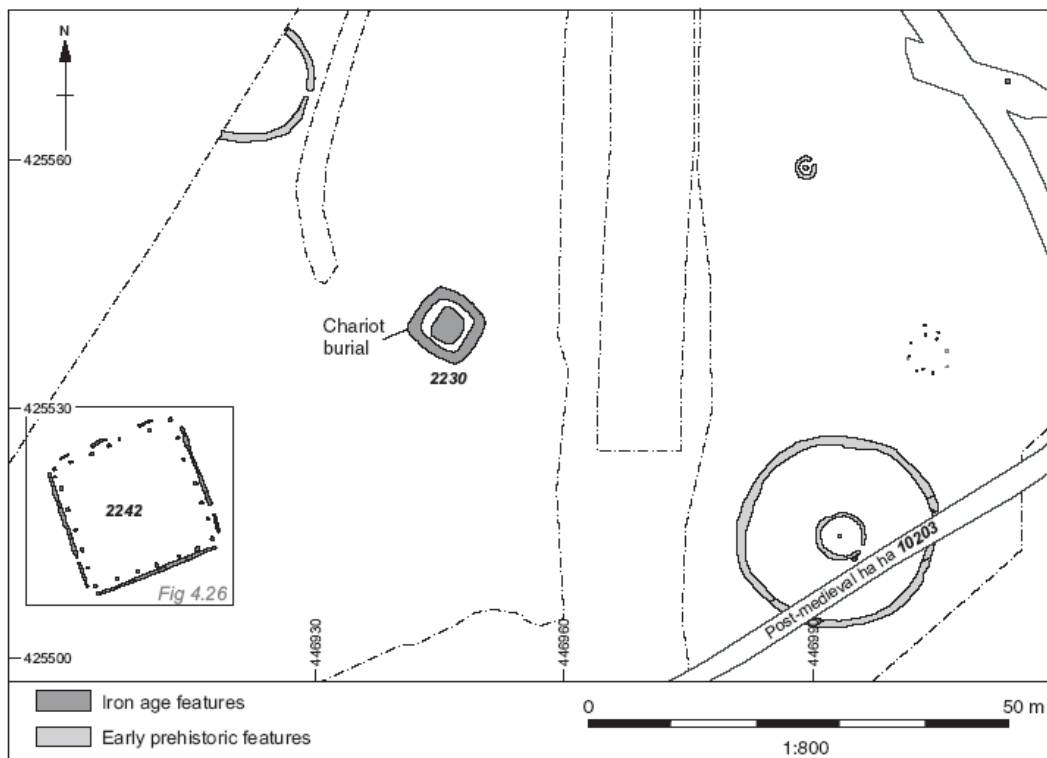


Figure 11.69. *The immediate landscape context of the Ferry Fryston carriage burial, showing its close relationship to the square palisaded enclosure and Bronze Age ring ditches. (Source: Boyle et al. 2007: 121, fig. 83).*

Romano-British burials

Few cemeteries have been excavated within the region, and on rural settlements small groups of burials were the norm. Romano-British inhumations were often within enclosures, with graves located in corners or parallel with boundaries, and occasionally lined with stone slabs. They occurred singly or in small groups, and although the crouched rite sometimes persisted, most bodies were flexed or extended. Most inhumations also did not have artefacts, although sometimes brooches, partial pottery vessels and possibly associated animal remains have been found. Though relatively more frequent, it is still clear that many dead people are still missing from the archaeological record. Taphonomic factors may have sometimes play a part – at Billingley Drive, Thurnscoe, seven rectangular pits were identified, one of which produced a complete third century red-slipped imitation samian bowl, but otherwise they contained no artefacts or bone. Nevertheless, the location of the pits and their regular shape suggested that they were possible grave cuts, but human bone had simply not survived (Neal and Fraser 2004: 88). Similar regular but ‘empty’ pits have been excavated at other sites, including Methley (MAP 1996: 19-20, fig. 10).

Some Romano-British burials continued Iron Age traditions such as the crouched position of bodies and the location of some in or next to ditches, consistent with practices elsewhere in Britain, and there were also many infant burials in ditches (Esmond Cleary 2000; Philpott 1991). The graves cut into ditches suggest that, despite silting up, enclosure boundaries were liminal zones that remained symbolically potent after they had ceased to be functional barriers (Esmonde Cleary 2000: 138). It might have reflected the use of the dead to protect the living, and to reiterate notions of tenure and ownership through ancestral legitimation. The preponderance of infant burials may be further evidence of this liminality – infants may not have been fully socialised members of Iron Age communities, and in Roman legal codes neonates and infants were not regarded as individuals like older children and adults (Scott 1991). Placing neonates and infants in the base or upper fills of ditches may reflect this ambiguous social status, but this need not suggest infanticide or a lack of care for the deceased. On the contrary, it might actually have demonstrated great love and affection, whilst at the same time reinforcing the notion of enclosure ditches as communal boundaries.



*Inhumations of probable Romano-British or post-Roman date from Wattle Syke, W. Yorks. **Figure 11.70.** (top left). A group of three burials, probably of related or closely linked individuals. **Fig. 11.71.** (top right). One of the inhumations in this group of three. This person was buried with an iron brooch. **Fig. 11.72.** (second row).*

*Another person in the group of three inhumations was buried with the base of a greyware pot near the feet. Other sherds of this pot in the grave fill might indicate that the vessel was broken by the graveside. **Fig. 11.73.** (second row right). Excavating a stone-lined grave. **Fig. 11.74.** (third row left). A cattle astralagus near the feet of one person. Post-excavation analyses will have to determine if such deposits were deliberate small-scale rites. **Fig. 11.75.** (third row right) and **Fig. 11.76.** (bottom left). Stone-lined graves. (All images source: © AS WYAS).*



Figure 11.77. (left). *Two neonates buried on top of secondary deposits at the side of an enclosure ditch in Area E, Wattle Syke, W. Yorks. These babies may have been twins who had died during or soon after birth, or who might have been abandoned exposed if twins were regarded as an ill omen. Archaeologists must never lose sight of the tragedy of past events represented by such remains.* **Fig. 11.78. (right).** *Another neonate or infant buried under a small informal 'cairn' of stones within a ditch in Area A, Wattle Syke. A flint blade found nearby may have been a curated item placed close to this burial. (Images source: © AS WYAS).*

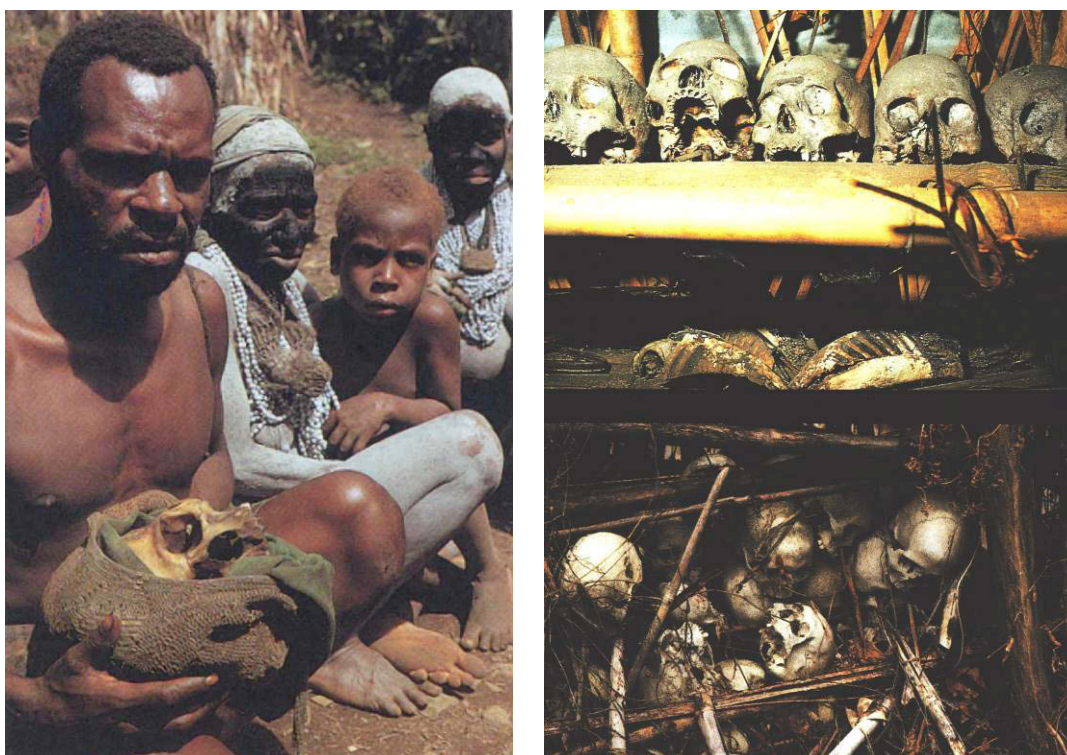
At Wattle Syke near Wetherby, recent excavations found infant burials carefully tucked against the sides of ditches, within small pits cut into ditch fills and sides, or placed underneath small stone cairns within ditches (Figs. 11.77-11.78; Appendix F). Here, the infant burials were marking the edges of domestic space, defining the boundary between the familial world and that outside, and reinforcing communal identity. People cared about these dead babies. At Raymoth Lane, one pit within the enclosure contained five partial neonate skeletons (Palmer-Brown and Munford 2004: 30), and this seems to have been a special place set aside for the very young.

Cremation became a more common rite in the study region during the Romano-British period, with some human remains buried in pottery vessels, usually jars. It has been suggested that there were metaphorical links between ceramics associated with food and drink consumption, and their use as containers for the bodies of people 'consumed' by the fires of the pyres (Philpott 1991: 35; H. Williams 2004: 419). The vivid visual, auditory and olfactory experiences of cremation and the stages of preparing the pyre and the body, the cremation and the retrieval of some or all of the bone, ash and artefacts may have intensified processes of remembering and forgetting the dead (q.v. Downes 1999; Fitzpatrick 1997b; McKinley 2000; Pearce 1998). It is

not clear, however, why some individuals were cremated and others buried. This may reflect individual, family or community preferences, or varied religious beliefs.

Disarticulated remains

During the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, fragmentary remains of the dead were sometimes dispersed across settlements or incorporated into pits and boundary ditches, or underneath buildings (Esmonde Cleary 2000: 136; Philpott 1991: 97-102; Scott 1991; Wait 1985). Many bones may have been residual remains, but a few might have been deliberately collected and curated as mementos of the deceased, or as more general ancestral relics (Figs. 11.79-11.80). Sometimes the dead may have been used to assert claims of tenure, or to intercede with the living in other ways. As there are still far too few recorded Romano-British burials for the likely population, it may be that on rural settlements some people continued to be exposed as a funerary rite.



Keeping the dead close. Figure 11.79. (left). For the Gimi people of Papua New Guinea, after a young man dies some of his bones are kept close to his family and his old haunts for a time. (Source: Gillison 2002: 67). Fig. 11.80. (right). Human skulls and other human and animal skeletal remains associated with Naga fertility beliefs, exhibited in central places within their villages in northern India and Burma. (Source: Stirn and van Ham 2003: 130).

There have also been finds of disarticulated human remains on sites within the study region, and this data is presented in Appendix F. As noted in Chapter 10, at Rossington Bridge some human bones showed evidence of cut marks from defleshing (Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: 82), and one modified bone may have been used to decorate pottery. It might also be significant that the pottery kiln at Raymoth Lane was backfilled during the late second century AD with disarticulated human remains (Palmer-Brown and Munford 2004: 40).

Conclusions

From the middle Iron Age through into the fourth century AD, enclosures, ditches and some pits were the focus for acts of patterned deposition. In most instances, these were everyday episodes of refuse disposal, but still influenced by ideas concerning cleanliness and pollution, identity and the social and symbolic importance of boundaries and thresholds. Many deposits marked the limits of household space, the edges of fields, or the entrances of enclosures and dwellings. These acts may have been undertaken with little conscious thought, as part of the everyday embodied lifeworld of the *habitus*. Other deposits were the result of informal small-scale acts by individuals, intended to bring good luck to themselves or their households, ward off evil, or ensure that crops and animals grew strong. The deposition of brooches, coins and perhaps quern stones might have been linked to many of these concerns.

There were also more specific, perhaps more formalised ceremonies and propitiations, sometimes involving entire households, lineages and clans. These ensured the continuing fertility of crops and animals, the favour of the gods and the helpful intercession of ancestors, and marked important events such as human births, marriages and deaths, spring livestock births or the autumn culling of animals, and sowing and harvesting. They reinforced the ties between people, place, land and soil, and between people and animals. At different times, these acts involved animal burials, or the placed deposition of human and animal bone, metalwork including coins and brooches, quern stones or quern fragments, and whole or substantially complete pottery vessels, or specific pottery sherds. Most of the artefacts were objects

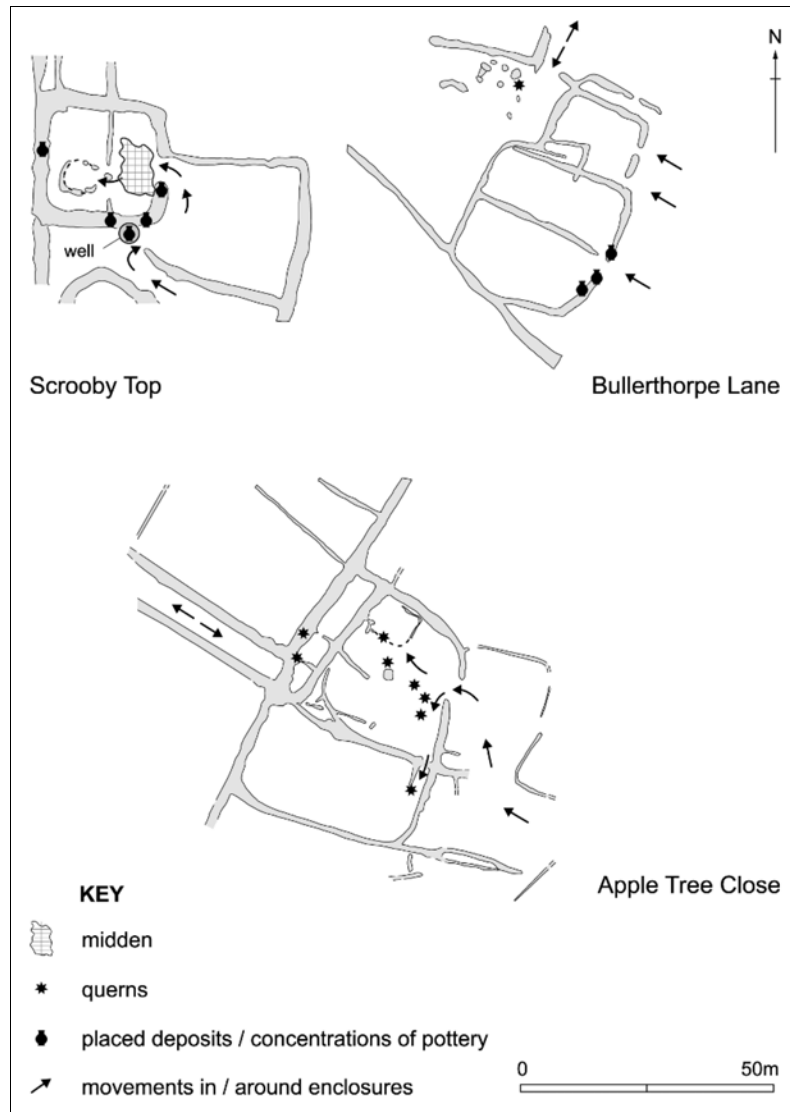


Figure 11.81. *Movements in and around the enclosures at Scrooby Top, Notts., and Bullerthorpe Lane and Apple Tree Close, W. Yorks., showing the locations of possible placed deposits. (Source: Chadwick 2004a: 97, drawn by A. Leaver).*

that had already seen use in a variety of practices, and which might have had their own histories and biographies (q.v. Hill 1995a: 109). Through the process of ritualisation, these everyday associations could nevertheless be incorporated with more structured actions of heightened cosmological and spiritual meaning.

Many depositional episodes represented direct continuities of pre-existing Iron Age 'native' practices, though the substance of the deposits themselves may have changed (Fulford 2001: 214), expressed through new materialities such as more ubiquitous pottery, and perhaps in new contexts such as wells. Others resulted from newer

‘Roman’ beliefs, such as those regarding the doorways of buildings (Mac Mahon 2003). Many were complex fusions between old and new, and it is most unlikely that this was simply a process of diffusion from a core to a periphery (*contra* King 1990). These practices were not part of a separate ‘ritual’ sphere of activity, separate to the discard of everyday domestic refuse, but were different points on a rich continuum of belief. Both ‘ritual’ and everyday refuse deposits were linked to ideas concerning boundaries, pollution, fertility, seasonality, regeneration and the agricultural cycle (q.v. Isserlin 1994; Parker Pearson 1996; Williams 2003), and were perhaps attempts to create ‘timeless’ practices. Such deposits maintained the productivity of land and livestock through offerings to spirits, ancestors or deities (Brück 1999: 336). There were countless overlaps and interdigitations – refuse from a midden collected up and reused as part of a placed deposit, or a single coin or brooch tossed into a field ditch terminal, which then became incorporated into a dump of household refuse, placed here because of the social distinctions between the household and the potentially threatening world outside.

These beliefs and practices were part of a ‘native epistemology’ (Barth 1987: 79); a social structure that created powerful traditions of practice but at the same time allowed for active local reinterpretations of them – a “...condensed accumulation of beliefs handed down from various past time horizons, scrambled by the free play of metaphor, distortion and misunderstanding” (Fleming 2001: 18). It is most unlikely that a single overarching cosmology was in place throughout the later Iron Age and Romano-British periods across Britain (*pace* Parker Pearson 1999). There were many variations in these practices, and these differences occurred at inter-regional and intra-regional scales, and across time. Beliefs were constantly reworked and rediscovered, part-forgotten, and then half-remembered or reinterpreted once more.

Although there would have been many direct continuities of belief amongst these small-scale rural communities following the Roman conquest, the occupiers would have brought their own ideas regarding fertility, crops and livestock, gods, thresholds and foundation offerings. As these ‘Romans’ themselves hailed from Italy, Spain, North Africa, Gaul, Germany and other parts of the Empire, such beliefs were highly diverse, and these would have been creatively combined with native ideas (q.v.

Webster 1997b). These dynamic processes permitted existing cosmological ideas to be expressed in novel ways, and created the potential for different understandings.

Notes

1. These range from the supposedly scholarly but rather uncritical (e.g. N. Chadwick 1971; J. Davies 2000) to the mystical and ‘fringe’ (e.g. Fries 2003; Matthews and Matthews 1996).
2. On many Iron Age and Romano-British settlements, burnt stone is ubiquitous, especially heat-shattered pebbles and cobbles. Sometimes referred to as ‘pot boilers’, these are popularly believed to have been used to heat liquids after being placed in fires, but many cobbles were far too big for this. Perhaps these were used for cooking in pits, or for brewing beer. Burnt stones are rarely quantified, yet as Graham Robbins demonstrated at Scrooby Top, recording their distribution according to weight and context can highlight areas of settlements where cooking or heating activity was most pronounced (Robbins 1997, 2000).

The recent excavations at Wattle Syke near Wetherby recorded burnt stone by context and weight, and prodigious quantities of burnt stone were discovered – one 4m wide enclosure ditch section alone produced nearly 115kg of this material, deposited at the top of secondary deposits as a series of discrete dumps (from baskets?). Very large-scale heating events must have been taking place, and if this was not for ‘saunas’ (cf. Barfield and Hodder 1987; Buckley 1990; Ó Drisceoil 1988), then it could have been for substantial feasting episodes. Although apparently dumped into ditches, gullies and pits, onto middens and used as packing within postholes, sometimes burnt stones seem to have formed part of placed deposits of artefacts and/or animal remains. In such instances, these materials were all possibly residues of particular feasts.

3. Chris Cumberpatch first drew my attention to this intriguing phenomenon.
4. I am indebted to John Chapman for this valuable observation.
5. Miranda Aldhouse-Green made this interesting suggestion in a research seminar.
6. I am very grateful to Melanie Giles for our discussions of this. Interestingly, at the very end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries AD there seems to have been a trend in Britain for the manufacture and use of superficially similar ceramic and brooch forms to those used a few decades earlier, but in a more restricted range of colours and decorative forms (Cool 2000a; K. Dark 2004: 287). These widespread trends may not only reflect the beginnings of a shared Late Antique British identity, but might also show a conscious desire to hark back to the past. Perhaps the later feasting episodes at Ferry Fryston can be viewed in a similar light.

Movement 11

The Dead

The life of another house
is what they seem,
the wind in a stranger's tree
at the end of the suburb,
a doorway filling with light
and the whisper of snow,

and I think they are still passing through:
weavers and children, and women with songs in their
 heads
held on the air like an echo of bells or water;
I know who they are, condensed in the brick-dust and
 nettles,
I know how they lose their names
in the motionless earth

and how they return on these autumn
mornings, through the taste of smoke and loam,
a slow weight that shifts in my hands, a moment's
 warmth
the glimmers of an afterlife deferred
for the promise that must be fulfilled
in the shaping of language.

John Burnside

From J. Burnside (1991) *The Myth of the Twin*. London: Jonathan Cape.

CHAPTER 12

Pasts, Presents and Futures

We should remember ...that archaeology and prehistory have as their object *human action* in the past. Their object is *not* the recording and chronological calibration of patterns of soil deposition or pottery distributions. (Cumberpatch and Robbins 1995, their emphases).

In this final chapter, I briefly review the limited evidence regarding the Late Antique and early medieval transition in these landscapes. I then present a self-critique of the limitations of this thesis, and outline potentially productive future research themes, methodologies and publication policies, including many that should be incorporated within developer-funded archaeology. I summarise the broad chronological development of these field systems and settlements in different parts of the study region, and conclude with some final thoughts regarding archaeologies of the everyday, and the importance of these field systems, trackways and enclosures in framing the everyday embodied lives of the people and animals that dwelt within these landscapes during the Iron Age and Romano-British periods.

The afterlife of the field systems

It has long been considered that the end of Roman occupation in Britain involved the abandonment of much agricultural land and subsequent woodland regeneration, a shift to subsistence agriculture and small-scale exchange in the fifth century AD (Esmonde Cleary 1989; M.E. Jones 1996; Reece 1980), or some localised continuities in north-east England with woodland regeneration later in the sixth or seventh centuries (J. Turner 1979, 1981), though these views have been challenged (Bell 1989; Dark 1994, 2000). Recent pollen analyses indicate land abandonment in the far north of England, perhaps due to the collapse of agriculture geared to military supply (K. Dark 2000:

194-199, 2004: 286; P. Dark 1996, P. Dark 1999: 265), and there are indications of some woodland regeneration in West Yorkshire (Richardson 2001b: 248).

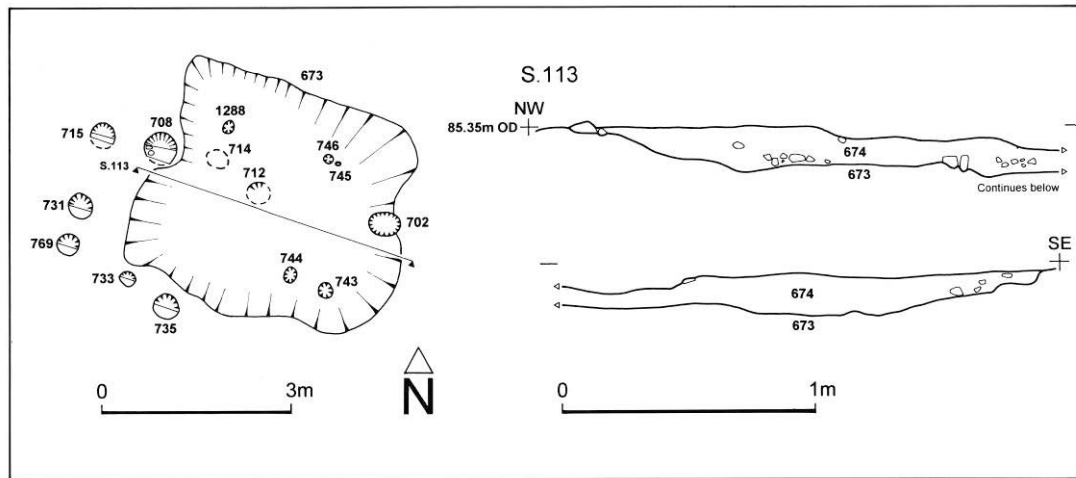


Figure 12.01. Sunken-featured building 7010 from Parlington Hollins, one of two such features recorded at this site. (Source: Holbrey and Burgess 2001: 103).

This overall impression is partly challenged by recent excavation evidence. At Parlington Hollins, two sunken-featured buildings and three post-Roman burials were found, whilst at Ferrybridge, three post-Roman or early medieval burials were identified (Holbrey and Burgess 2001: 101-103; Martin 2005: 121; Richardson 2005a: 70). There was a sunken-featured building and post-Roman pottery at Garforth (Garner 2000: 15-16; Owen 2000: 6-7). Recent evaluation work and full-scale excavations at Wattle Syke recovered some post-Roman or Anglo-Saxon pottery, and some of the rectangular sunken-floored buildings may have continued in use into the late fifth and sixth or seventh centuries (Chadwick pers. obv.; Signorelli 2005). Post-excavation work will have to confirm this. One silted up or backfilled sunken-floored structure had a later grave cut into it, and this contained an adult, probably male, with an iron knife at his shoulder – normally an Anglo-Saxon rite. There have been post-Roman or early medieval burials found at Dalton Parlours, Castleford and other West Yorkshire locales (e.g. Crockett and Fitzpatrick 1998: 58; Wrathmell and Nicolson 1990: 285-287; Roberts 2005a: 218).

For some people, especially those in rural communities, the end of Roman administration probably had little immediate impact on everyday life and tenure, and

smaller, subsistence-orientated settlements may have been best placed to survive major economic and social changes. Castleford and Wetherby possibly had post-Roman occupation (Abramson et al. 1999: 305; Unwin 1986: 3-6), linked to the Kingdom of Elmet (Roberts 2001: 281-283, 2005a: 218), whilst in Doncaster an Anglo-Scandinavian *burh* may have been centred on the Roman fort (Buckland and Magilton 1986; Buckland, Magilton and Hayfield 1987; S. Webster 1995), though as yet there is no definitive artefactual or stratigraphic evidence to support this notion (Chadwick, Martin and Richardson 2008).

Waterlogged wooden structures associated with a pond or water channel at Wellgate, Conisbrough produced ¹⁴C and dendrochronological dates of AD 425-573 (May and O'Neill 2006: 57). Unless these were re-used timbers, this might suggest some potential continuities of occupation. Peter Robinson of Doncaster Museum has noted that in areas around some of the Romano-British settlements on Magnesian Limestone areas of South Yorkshire such as those in Edlington Wood and Pot Ridings Wood, there have been casual and metal detecting finds made of early Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian artefacts (P. Robinson pers. comm.). This could either imply that some of the more prosperous local farmsteads were taken over by immigrants, or (and perhaps more likely) that some well-to-do local families or clans were able to remain in place and even continued to prosper despite the changes around them.

In a few cases it seems that some boundaries too persisted in the landscape. At Site R near Micklefield along the A1(M) road corridor, one ditch of a Romano-British trackway is depicted on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map of 1842-3 and is still visible today as a linear holloway (Brennand et al. 2007: 107-109). This formed the township boundary between Ledston and Micklefield from the Norman period (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, map 15). At Back Newton Lane, Ledston, some medieval ridge and furrow cut across Iron Age or Romano-British enclosures and field boundaries (Webb 2006) (see Chapter 7, Fig. 7.25), but other later medieval ploughing actually respected some of the earlier boundaries. At Armthorpe, some co-axial field boundaries at West Moor Park East were on the same orientation as early modern fields (Gidman and Rose 2004), suggesting the latter followed the alignment of pre-existing earthworks. Some field boundaries may thus have survived as hedges and/or

banks and ditches for considerable periods, although this need not indicate direct continuity. Rather, the weathered traces of earlier occupation, the ‘lines on the land’, would have influenced later generations of ditch diggers and hedge layers.

Nevertheless, it is the case that over most of the study region, the medieval and the Iron Age and Romano-British landscapes of settlements and field systems have very different orientations and distributions. This indicates a major rupture or shift in both the social and physical fabric of everyday life. Most parts of the study region probably saw the widespread abandonment of trackways and field systems during the fifth century AD. In the Trent Valley, medieval churches and villages were established away from floodplains on slightly higher and drier gravel terraces, perhaps as a response to flooding and soil degradation in the later Roman period (Elliott, Jones and Howard 2004: 154, Knight and Elliott forthcoming, Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 119). Cropmarks of ridge and furrow and early maps indicate that medieval and post-medieval field systems were usually very different in overall plan and orientation to later Iron Age and Romano-British landscapes, and apart from some of the specific exceptions outlined above, there is generally little evidence for continuity of boundaries into the post-Roman and earlier medieval periods (O’Neill 2001c; Unwin 1983), although detailed GIS analyses are needed to confirm this.

Near Adwick-le-Street the burial of an adult woman dating to the ninth century AD was discovered, with grave goods including two Viking-style oval bronze ‘tortoise’ brooches, a bronze bowl, an iron knife and a latch-lifter (NAA 2001; Speed and Rogers 2004) (Figs. 12.02-12.05). Her grave was cut into the backfill of a Romano-British trackway ditch containing third and fourth century pottery. This suggests that the trackway was still visible in the landscape and remained a well-used routeway, and also retained social and symbolic importance. Isotope analysis indicated that the woman spent her childhood either in north-east Scotland, or more likely, Norway. Recent developer-funded excavation work by ARCUS at Adwick-le-Street early in 2008 has uncovered around 40 graves of probable Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian individuals in a small cemetery (R. O’Neill pers. comm.). Isotope analyses of their remains should prove extremely interesting.

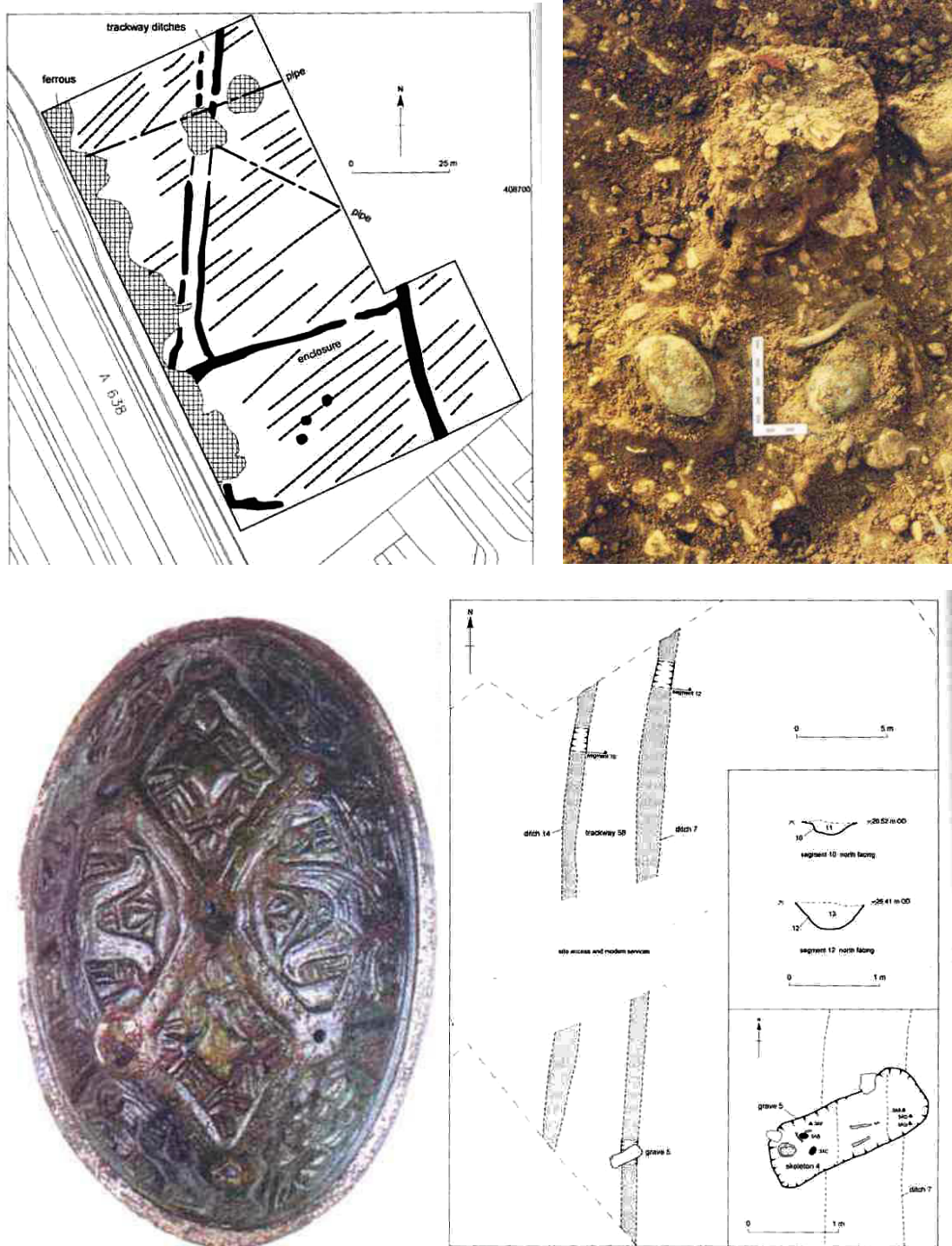


Figure 12.02. (top left). Geophysical survey plot of Redhouse Park Sewer, Adwick-le-Street, S. Yorks., showing a field or enclosure, and the double-ditched Romano-British trackway. (Source: NAA 2001). **Fig. 12.03. (top right).** The excavated woman showing the poor bone preservation, but also the two copper-alloy 'tortoise' brooches on her chest. (Source: British Archaeology). **Fig. 12.04. (bottom left).** One of the two brooches after conservation, showing the fine Viking-style decoration. (Source: Saich and Matthews 2005: 110). **Fig. 12.05. (bottom right).** Detail of the trackway and grave cut, and the burial. (Source: NAA 2001: fig. 4).

Limitations of this study

When I began this thesis, I hoped to use a GIS-based computer package and relational database to map all cropmarks liable to be Iron Age or Romano-British in date, and compare enclosure and field type and size to geology, topography, slope, soils and other environmental factors; in order to establish any patterns of inhabitation across the different areas of my study region. I also wanted to plot finds of Iron Age and Romano-British coins and metalwork in order to assess any patterning to their distribution, such as relationships to watercourses. Unfortunately, there were no readily available GIS resources at University of Wales Newport, and the software and hardware were too expensive for me as an individual. Of the three counties in my study region only Nottinghamshire has been fully mapped as part of the National Mapping Project. This data was only available in raster format, for which English Heritage wished to charge £15 per map sheet. I would then have had to re-digitise the printed plots. In retrospect I realise that mapping all aerial photo evidence would have taken far too long, and in any case would have replicated much of the rigorous work of the Magnesian Limestone Project (AS WYAS 2006; Roberts et al. 2004, 2007).

I had also hoped to study several settlements from different geological and topographic zones in more detail, through examining spatial and temporal variations in artefact distributions (q.v. Cooper 2000; Evans 1995a, 2001a; Fincham 2002a; Gwilt 1997; Meadows 1997; Robbins 1997, 2000; Willis 1997b). Regrettably, I have not been able to undertake such quantitative analysis. With the exception of Scrooby Top, this information is not included in published or archive reports, and I would have had to carry out extensive archive analysis and teach myself Iron Age and Roman fabric types. In addition, some archives are in a very disorganised or incomplete state, as with the Chainbridge Lane material. Such a study should form PhD or post-doctoral research in its own right, and I hope to pursue this further in the future. Instead, in this thesis my methods have been qualitative and evaluative, and my approach much more reflective and interpretative than it might otherwise have been. I feel that this has been an advantage though, and has led me to write a much more nuanced and engaged account, one in which my own writing, the poetry and

illustrations have all been constitutive of more subtle considerations of the everyday lives and embodied experiences of people and animals.



Figure 12.06. *Complex cropmark palimpsest on playing fields surrounded by suburban housing developments, Scawthorpe, S. Yorks. A square double-ditched enclosure with rounded corners seems to have been redefined by (or itself redefines) a slightly larger single-ditched rectangular enclosure, but also pre- or post-dates a trapezoidal single-ditched enclosure. Further ditched boundaries are also evident to the left of the image. Two possible ring ditches are visible – one within the area of the trapezoidal enclosure at the centre of the image, the other in the upper part of the grassed area. More recent marks from the lines of a football field can also be seen towards the bottom of the playing field. SE 5585 0564 (Source: © AS WYAS/NMR).*

An agenda for future research directions within the region

In this section, I present some ideas for future research on Iron Age and Romano-British landscapes, which I hope will stimulate further discussion and debate, and perhaps influence future archaeological work. I have tried to propose ideas that could be incorporated within the routine, developer-funded investigations that form the majority of the fieldwork undertaken on these field systems and settlements. Some of the research aspects of this further work should, however, receive support from English Heritage, and the Aggregates Levy and similar initiatives.

- There remains a considerable and on-going threat from agriculture, quarrying and development to cropmark features across the study region. Utilising the results of the NMP programme for Nottinghamshire, the Magnesian Limestone Project (Roberts et al. 2007) and commercial work undertaken by Alison Deegan, GIS-based mapping with an associated relational database would be an invaluable tool for the mitigation of future development within the study region, and for research. Examining past aerial photographs, and monitoring cropmarks closely in the future, should be used to assess the damage to cropmarks. It may become necessary through agricultural stewardship initiatives and agreements to halt further plough damage to particular cropmark complexes, and ROMP (Renewal of Old Planning Permissions) mineral extraction proposals must be resisted in some instances. Future GIS-based research could include statistical analyses to discern any wide-scale patterns of site location, field patterns and other factors.



Figure 12.07. *Subrectangular enclosure near Huddleston, W. Yorks., (just below centre), threatened by both ploughing and quarrying. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 230, SE 459 320).*

- The Magnesian Limestone Project (Roberts et al. 2007) and other GIS-based analyses should be used to target particular areas and sites for further research-led investigative work, as a series of linked stages. This could include intensive geophysical survey over selected enclosure and villa complexes.
- Following non-intrusive investigations, targeted research excavations should be undertaken on particular sites, *including* Scheduled Ancient Monuments, in order to obtain better dating and palaeo-environmental evidence. Poorly understood sites where such work might be fruitful include ‘hillforts’ such as South Kirkby; low-lying multivallate enclosed sites such as Little Smeaton, Moorhouse Farm and Potteric Carr; enclosure and/or villa complexes such as Aslockton, Cromwell, Stancil, Scabba Wood, Wombwell Wood and Micklefield/Castle Hills; and possible ritual centres at Redhill and Bawtry.
- Finds distributions from developer-funded excavations should be routinely listed and plotted in archive and publication reports. These should record the positions of finds such as quernstones and brooches, and the quantity of pottery and burnt stone by context and sherd count and weight. This is now made simpler with digital surveying and illustration techniques. At present, few reports incorporate such information (but see Davies et al. 2000). Curatorial archaeologists must insist in their briefs that contract field units regularly incorporate this recording within excavation and post-excavation work, and the costs of this need to be passed on to developers. Developer-funded reports should also be routinely regularly placed on the Internet via the Archaeological Data Service, making the information within them accessible to many more researchers.
- Detailed statistical and contextual analysis of the spatial patterning of artefacts on sites is urgently needed (q.v. Brudenell and Cooper 2008). It may then be possible to identify statistically valid patterns of deposition for the whole study region, as well as possible intra-regional and inter-site variations. At present, poor on-site recording and data presentation hamper this.

- Thin-section petrological analyses of late prehistoric ceramics must be undertaken as a matter of routine whenever stratified groups of this material are identified, in order to identify patterns of production and distribution. Thermoluminescence dating of prehistoric ceramics should be explored (Haselgrove et. al. 2001: 6, 18). Again, curators must incorporate this in briefs and insist that costings for such work are incorporated within the project designs and tenders submitted by field units.
- There is a pressing need for volumes that collate and interpret the results from different projects within particular areas, and the costs for this must be built into projects as they progress. For example, work by several different field units at Armthorpe has investigated a large area of field systems, trackways and enclosures; but as different developers funded the various phases, it is now questionable whether these will ever be synthesised and published in one volume. Developers must not be allowed to shirk their ethical responsibilities for adequately publishing fieldwork results, and financial provision for future publication *must* be made a condition of their planning consent.



Figure 12.08. *Excavating one of the ditch terminals by the main eastern entrance into the large enclosure, Sutton Common, W. Yorks. A much greater length of these important parts of the enclosure ditch should have been sampled, in order to recover more artefacts and evidence for depositional practices. (Source: World Wide Web <http://projects.ex.ac.uk./suttoncommon/>).*

- When sites are stripped of topsoil prior to excavation, it is often the case (particularly on Sherwood Sandstone sands and gravels) that they need to be left for a week or more before archaeologists record and excavate them, allowing time for archaeological features to ‘weather out’ and become more obvious through the effects of rain and sunshine. On clayey soils though, features need to be recorded and marked as soon as possible, and subsequently areas may need to be dampened to allow the identification of further features.
- On-site sampling techniques need to be improved. Excavation staff should be encouraged to take innovative, self-critical and reflexive approaches to excavation and recording (q.v. Chadwick 2003), and they require much more information about the potential of enclosure and field entrances and/or features near these to contain placed deposits; and the potential of artefact distributions to provide valuable information about everyday practices in the past.

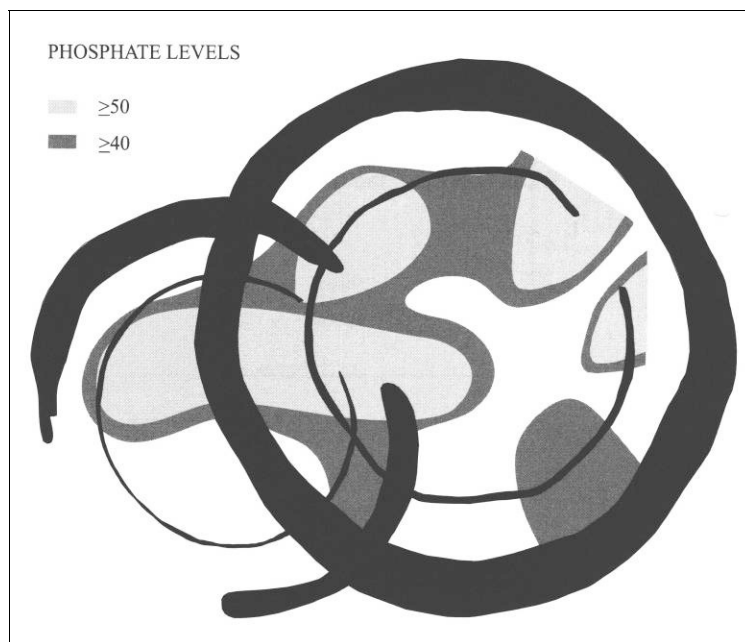


Figure 12.09. *The varying phosphate levels across Buildings 4 and 6, Haddenham V Iron Age enclosure, Cambridgeshire. Such sampling should occur as a matter of routine on prehistoric and Romano-British buildings within the study region. (Source: Evans and Hodder 2006: 146).*

- More sections through enclosure ditches are needed, and instead of limited 2-3m wide sections it is more productive near enclosure entrances and corners to employ 4-6m wide sections instead. It is promising that some curatorial

archaeologists in the region are now insisting upon at least 20-25% sampling of field and enclosure ditches and the complete excavation of roundhouse ring gullies and other structural features, rather than the much more limited 2-4% investigations which have prevailed in the past¹. The *total* excavation of enclosure ditches in spits by machine after hand-dug sections have been excavated, in order to recover additional artefacts and animal bone, is a recent curatorial idea that is having very beneficial outcomes. Such briefs are having positive results – the concentrated dump of Romano-British pottery found at Armthorpe might not have been recorded without more intensive ditch sampling; nor might some of the evidence for depositional practices at the site of Wattle Syke, where animal burials and human neonates and infants were recovered from ditches there. The greater the length of ditches excavated, the more chance there is that such deposits will be encountered, and thus that we may be able to better understand depositional practices.

- All samples should be tested for the presence of hammscale, and soil micromorphology, phosphate, magnetic susceptibility and other geochemical analyses need to be regularly undertaken to investigate patterns of inhabitation within enclosures and roundhouses (e.g. Evans and Hodder 2006: 106-107, 145-146, 272-273; Parker Pearson, Sharples and Symonds 2004: 72). Routine ¹⁴C dating needs to take place on material from excavated sites, including *all* human and animal burials, but also suitable carbonised material from contexts such as ditches where artefactual evidence has not been forthcoming. This should also incorporate AMS dating of burnt bone and Bayesian statistical modelling techniques (q.v. Haselgrove et al. 2001: 12-13). Curatorial archaeologists must insist on these procedures, and the costs must again be passed on to developers.
- When machining across suspected ‘domestic’ enclosures, some topsoil or subsoil could be left in place and intensively sampled by hand and metal detector for artefacts that might otherwise be machined away. Possible middens and artefact spreads might be detected in this way, and if the results proved disappointing the remaining soil could always be machined down to

undisturbed natural subsoil as usual. When excavating funnel-shaped entrances, trackways on slopes or those surviving as holloways, once again some topsoil or subsoil could be left in place, perhaps in strips 5-10m wide. These strips could then be hand excavated in order to find any wheel ruts or animal hoof prints that might survive.



Figure 12.10. *Excavating Enclosure A at Ferrybridge, W. Yorks. (Source: © AS WYAS). Large-scale investigations of this sort are providing invaluable information concerning later Iron Age and Romano-British field systems and enclosures. Nevertheless, the restrictions of developer-funded archaeology, particularly for post-excavation analyses and publication, still hamper research.*

- Curatorial archaeologists in each county could select one or two Iron Age and Romano-British enclosures and field blocks for longer-term research projects undertaken in conjunction with local commercial field units *and* regional university archaeology departments. This would not only stimulate research into these landscapes, but would provide welcome opportunities for creative dialogues between ‘academic’ and ‘unit’ archaeologists.
- One or more enclosures could be selected for the total excavation of *all* identified features, including an entire enclosure ditch for example. Such work may provide valuable data regarding artefact consumption and discard

patterns, and potentially more refined palaeo-environmental information, but would also inform sampling strategies on future developer-funded projects.

- Such projects could serve as community and open access projects, allowing members of archaeology societies, school groups *and* the general public to take part in archaeological excavation and research within their areas. Educational and outreach projects such as the Romans on the Don (e.g. Bevan 2006) should be actively encouraged and supported. People within the region have been denied knowledge of these once-extensive landscapes of fields, trackways and enclosures for too long. ‘Popular’ publication in the form of booklets, CD-ROMs and on the Internet should also be undertaken.

Towards archaeologies of the everyday

...how can we make adequate drama from the daily doings of shopping, eating, sleeping, and urinating?...

Shall I promise to pay attention to the little, accumulating events of daily life and not treat them as nothing against the rare and grandiose moments of history? (Gould 1996: 131-132).

There has been recent critical theoretical interest in the quotidian dimensions of human life, and its everyday experiences, contingencies and rhythms, much of this stemming from earlier phenomenological explorations (e.g. Bachelard 1969; de Certeau 1984; Lefebvre 1991a, 2002; Merleau-Ponty 1962). The everyday has been notoriously difficult to theorise, however, and there is potential irony in trying to explicitly articulate and critically examine much of what is normally implicit, unspoken, pre-reflective and pre-theoretical (Sandywell 2004: 169). Indeed, everyday life has often been regarded in terms of ‘what it is not’ (Lefebvre 1991b: 97). Within archaeology, this has usually meant simply what is ‘left over’ in considerations of societies once topics such as economy, ritual and identity have been explored. It has thus normally been characterised merely in terms of subsistence practices.

I have previously called for archaeologies that examine the ‘minutiae of the mundane’ (Chadwick 2004b: 9), and this thesis is an attempt to write just such an account. Everyday life is no banal nothing-ness, but rather a richly textured lifeworld through which the ‘totality of the real’ (Lefebvre 1991b: 97) is brought into existence by the routine interactions of plants, animals and people within a meaning-*full* landscape. This was as true in the past as it is today.



Land, life and livestock – how people and animals inhabit the world. Figure 12.11. (top left). Old quarryman with terrier. (Source: Porter 2000: 187). Fig. 12.12. (top middle). Taking winter feed out to cattle by sledge through the snow, Yorkshire Dales. (Source: Porter 2000: 215). Fig. 12.13. (top right). Old lady, Switzerland. (Source: Berger and Mohr 1982: 217). Fig. 12.14. (centre). Ploughed field, Vaud, Switzerland. (Source: Berger and Mohr 1982: 225). Fig. 12.15. (bottom left). Team of draught oxen. (Source: Porter 2000: 193). Fig. 12.16. (bottom right). Taking Irish horses to Brough Hill Fair. (Source: Porter 2000: 113).

I do not wish to suggest that the ordinary and the mundane are ‘this-worldly’ and restricted to commonsense knowledge and practical activities (q.v. Sandywell 2004: 162-163; Seigworth and Gardiner 2004: 147-148), or see such acts as belonging to a timeless continuum of ‘peasant’ practices. On the contrary, for Iron Age and Romano-British people temporality and historicity were immanent within complex interconnected flows and fluxes of materiality, identity, sociality and ideology. Their awareness of history can be seen in the physical and material links they established

with older features in the landscape such as cursus monuments, henges and round barrows at places such as Ferrybridge and Aston-upon-Trent. In their active engagements with materialities from earlier periods, previous phases of occupation and older artefacts, and the animal and human bones resulting from these, people's lives were entangled with the lives and histories of the dead who had gone before.

Conclusions – fields *for* discourse

In this section I wish to summarise the main chronological trends in land allotment and land division across the study region, and concomitant social practices. There is comparatively little archaeological evidence across the study region for Bronze Age occupation, with no extensive field systems or major linear boundary divisions such as those in south-west and southern England, or eastern Yorkshire. Some ring ditches likely to represent Bronze Age round barrows have been identified on aerial photographs, and in some areas such as Ferrybridge in West Yorkshire they have been subject to excavation, yet overall it seems that early to middle Bronze Age settlement left little by way of permanent constructions. It seems unlikely from the palaeoenvironmental evidence that most of the region was still wooded by this period. Rather, although steeper slopes and upland areas might have retained some tree cover, there were probably large expanses of open grassland and floodplain. Such areas might only have been visited on a seasonal basis, however.

Some late Bronze Age and early Iron Age occupation is now becoming apparent at 'open' settlement sites such as Swillington Common and South Elmsall in West Yorkshire, and apparently more specialised sites such as Sutton Common in South Yorkshire. With the exception of the latter site, however, these remains were largely unanticipated discoveries made during extensive excavations, and features of this date remain virtually impossible to detect on aerial photographs of cropmarks and on geophysical survey plots. To date, such finds seem exceptional, and settlement during this period may have been rather sparse. Some limited form of land allotment and boundary construction saw the development of small fields defined by irregular and intermittent lengths of shallow gullies, but these were nowhere near as extensive as

the later field systems defined by larger ditched fields and trackways. Some of the floodplain pit alignments in Nottinghamshire and South Yorkshire may date to this period, however, perhaps reflecting seasonal use of river valleys. The nature of inhabitation at sites such as Sutton Common and the palisaded enclosure at South Elmsall is far from clear, but these do not seem to have been permanently occupied 'domestic' foci. Instead, they may have seen seasonal communal gatherings, perhaps controlled or mediated by specific clans, families or emerging social elites. Other multi-vallate sites at Little Smeaton, Moorhouse Farm, Potteric Carr and near Finningley might also date from this period.

From the early to middle Iron Age, a few areas of the study region such as the Trent Valley do seem to have been more regularly occupied, perhaps initially on a seasonal basis, but then with relatively permanent ditched boundaries and ultimately enclosures following in areas such as Gonalston. Certain families, kinship groups or clans might have begun to claim particular areas of land as their own, and the admittedly limited evidence from the distributions of artefacts such as Scored Ware suggests that social links were maintained and expanded along river valleys. Some areas of the Magnesian Limestone also seem to have been settled more permanently, and the first ditched boundaries and enclosures were created in relatively dispersed and 'attenuated' patterns. In West Yorkshire, there may have been contacts and/or movements between communities around areas such as Ferrybridge and other groups in East Yorkshire, and/or with groups in northern England or Scotland, although faint hints of these are only just beginning to emerge through artefactual and isotope data. Some hillforts and large linear bank and ditch boundaries may have been established in this same period, mostly in the more undulating areas of West and South Yorkshire, possibly reflecting tensions over tenure and land allotment, and emerging senses of territoriality. Nevertheless, relatively few such constructions were ultimately built, and judging by the admittedly limited excavation evidence hillforts were not occupied and elaborated over lengthy periods, unlike examples in southern England and Wales. This suggests that warfare, or at least overtly martial and masculinist discourses, were not a major feature of these communities.

In South Yorkshire, during the middle Iron Age sites such as Balby Carr and Topham Farm, Sykehouse were established on the edge of the Humber Wetlands, adjacent to areas of alder carr, peat bog and floodplains that became meres during winter and spring. These were initially ‘open’ settlements, though during the later Iron Age and Romano-British periods they were increasingly enclosed within expanding areas of ditched meadows, paddocks, fields and trackways. Similar low-lying areas were occupied on the River Aire floodplain around Methley in West Yorkshire, and some of these settlements may again have initially have consisted of ‘open’ groups of roundhouses and small scattered enclosures or pens. Small penannular gullies may have been for haystacks or fodder ricks, but some examples may have formed the focus for more specific acts of deposition related to cosmological beliefs.

The gradual enclosure of these landscapes might have reflected changes in tenure from communal access to increasing claims by particular clans, families or individuals. The floodplain at East Carr, Mattersey in Nottinghamshire may have been seasonally occupied during the late Iron Age, and this saw the creation of subrectangular gullies, some again perhaps for hay or fodder, but others perhaps dug around turf-built or tented shieling-like structures. At East Carr, during the Romano-British period this floodplain was then divided up by a series of large drainage ditches into regular, rectangular blocks of land, each perhaps claimed by particular individuals or kinship groups.

On Magnesian Limestone areas, the more irregular, attenuated and nucleated field systems might have reflected environmental factors such as thinner soils and perhaps greater areas of surviving woodland, but these patterns also suggest longer and more piecemeal processes of development, potentially from the early to middle Iron Age right through to the late Roman period. In contrast, more regular co-axial field blocks such as the ‘brickwork’ fields may have been physical responses to flatter and probably more open landscapes, particularly those on the Sherwood Sandstones and within the Trent Valley. These areas might have facilitated greater lines of sight and simpler techniques of laying out fields (q.v. Wickstead 2002). Such regular fields, probably laid out in strips and then subsequently subdivided, may also have been a means of dividing previously unenclosed land in a relatively equitable manner, and

although undoubtedly accretive over time, nevertheless were probably created over fewer centuries – from the late Iron Age and on into the Romano-British period. In areas such as Armthorpe, blocks of fields represented accretive but probably progressive enclosure over time, and the claims by particular individuals or families over what had previously been open, possibly communally accessed land. Blocks of fields often occupied the land between the hilltops and ridgelines, and the low-lying valley bottoms. This makes functional sense, although in terms of tenure and access the higher ground and low-lying floodplains may still have been used on a communal or inter-communal basis.

Nevertheless, this enclosure did not take place at once, and was not part of some grand planned overall scheme, although it would have involved considerable physical and social effort on behalf of the families and communities that created them. Many higher areas on the Magnesian Limestone and Coal Measures areas never seem to have been enclosed at all, or at least not to the same degree. At locations such as South Kirkby and South Hiendley in West Yorkshire; and the series of sites close to one another at Wombwell Wood, Woodhead Opencast Site and Jump in South Yorkshire, there were clusters of enclosures linked to trackways, with some enclosures similar in form to ‘banjo’ enclosures of southern England. Many of these probably functioned as upland livestock corrals, and although few have been excavated they do not seem to exhibit the sort of evidence for sustained domestic occupation that might have reflected year-round inhabitation. A few herders or shepherds might have stayed in them overnight or for a few weeks with their animal charges, but not all year round.

Some of these enclosure ‘clusters’ such as South Hiendley never seem to have been enclosed to any great degree, whereas at other locales such as South Kirkby there was later enclosure, but in an apparently piecemeal fashion over time. Some of the more elevated enclosures such as Ackton in West Yorkshire and Pastures Road, Mexborough in South Yorkshire had very wide, pronounced trackways or droveways approaching them. These might have had a role in livestock movements, although such ‘avenues’ may also have been caught up in discourses of display and power.

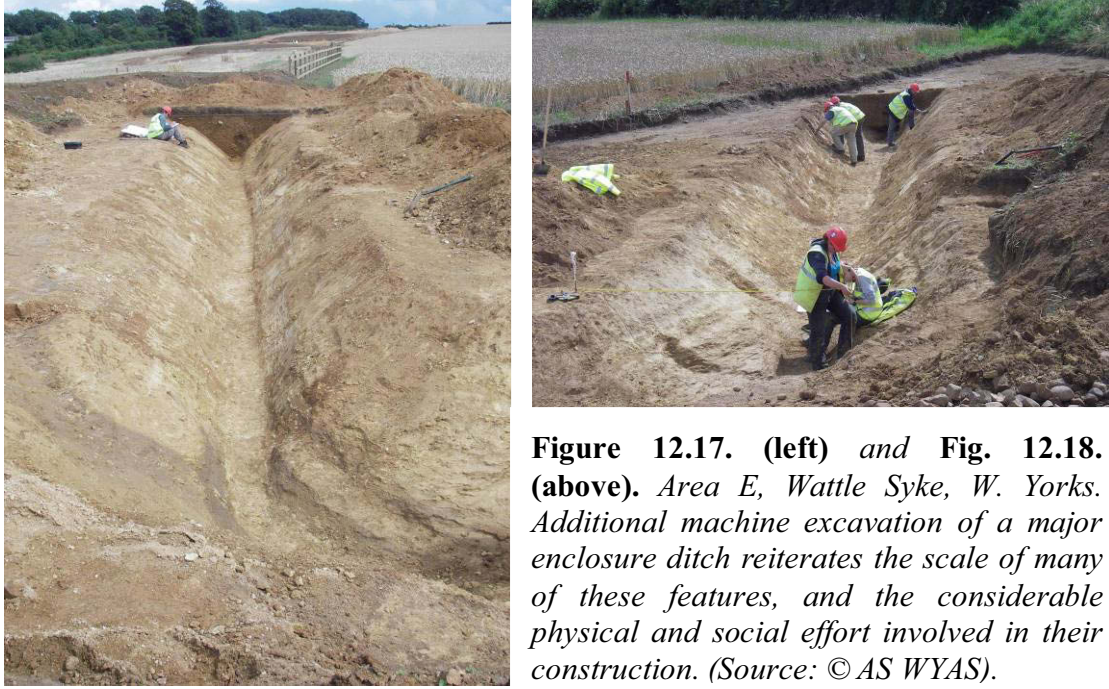


Figure 12.17. (left) and Fig. 12.18. (above). *Area E, Wattle Syke, W. Yorks. Additional machine excavation of a major enclosure ditch reiterates the scale of many of these features, and the considerable physical and social effort involved in their construction. (Source: © AS WYAS).*

The lifeworlds of people and animals were intimately connected to each other and their landscapes through complex networks and routines of everyday, seasonal and annual movements, and physical engagements with fields, trackways and settlements. These mundane movements and experiences were, in the alternative sense of the word ‘mundane’², worldly and grounded pathways of place. The inhabited, enculturated landscape was a complex mosaic of named and remembered places, paths, trackways and constructions, and pragmatically re-used or forgotten features. There were intricate geographies of interlocking or overlapping kinscapes and clanscapes of tenure, interwoven with personal and family biographies and genealogies. Individual and communal identities and ideas of historicity may have been linked to notions of land, blood and soil, boundaries and the health and well-being of animals (q.v. Bauman 1992; Gray 1999: 450; Lele 2006: 65-66), and this could be a source of personal or kinship pride, or alternatively of despair and the ridicule of others.

Aspects of people’s identities such as gender, age and status were also reproduced through everyday activities, both ‘practical’ subsistence and more ritualised acts. Identity had to be worked at and brought into being, emerging within the same fields of discourse as these prosaic practices. Children would have grown up through the habitus of unwritten and often unspoken social conventions and habituated embodied

practical tasks. Different age and gender grades were likely to have had different but overlapping and interconnected taskscapes, so that the embodied experiences of a young girl might normally have been in contrast to those of an adult man, for example. Communal identity was maintained through larger social gatherings such as feasts, in addition to practical agricultural work such as harvests or inter-commoning on river valley pastures. Household and community identity was also reinforced through the physical work and social co-operation necessary in the creation, upkeep and tenure of fields and enclosures. The ditches, banks, hedges and fences of the field systems, trackways and enclosures both physically imposed habitual patterns and constraints on the embodied movements of people and livestock (q.v. Ingold 2000: 204; Jackson 1989: 146), but these features also emerged out of those very same movements and taskscapes. Earlier traces of occupation and older monuments within the landscape such as round barrows and henges were sometimes used as ‘anchoring points’ for identity work and the depositional practices, stories, songs and myths associated with this.

How were these social identities actually configured? It is likely that during much of the Iron Age at least, these were relatively unstratified communities, where differences in social status were relatively minor, or certainly not expressed through material expressions of wealth such as larger and more imposing settlements, or richer and more varied material culture. Family, kinship and clan probably mattered far more than any more widespread notion of ‘tribal’ identity. These were probably heterarchical rather than hierarchical societies, with a much ‘flatter’ social structure rather than a pyramid of power stretching up from a base of farmers to some small social elite. A few key individuals such as the man buried with a carriage at Ferry Fryston seem to have been of higher social status, but this was possibly a result of their origins in other regions of Britain and/or their achievements in life rather than their birth into stratified social elites. Some agglomerated settlements in the Trent Valley and on the Magnesian Limestone of West Yorkshire nevertheless do seem to have represented particular families or clans that had achieved economic, political and social success by the very late Iron Age.

Following the Roman conquest and occupation, the majority of the people and the rural settlements within the study region seem to have remained at a relatively undifferentiated level. In terms of many social activities therefore, particularly those to do with everyday and seasonal plant and animal husbandry and depositional practices, I believe that there *was* a marked measure of continuity in people's practices and identities across the first centuries BC and AD. Indeed, away from Roman forts, roads and towns; the rural landscapes, settlements and practices of the third century AD might have been broadly identifiable and familiar to people from the first century BC. This partly explains the time lag in the uptake of Roman pottery across much of the study region, the paucity of pottery use even in the third and fourth centuries on many sites, and also the subsequent lack of small towns, villas and other highly 'Romanised' sites in the areas to the north and west of the Rivers Don and Idle.

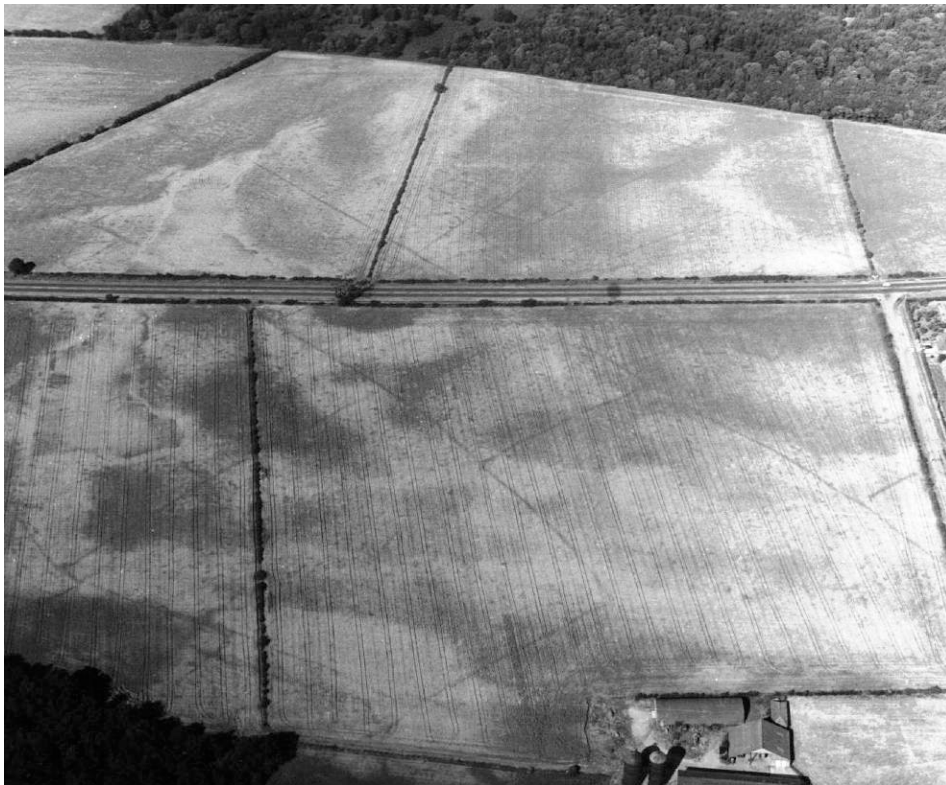


Figure 12.19. *'Brickwork' co-axial fields near Rossington, S. Yorks. Individual entrances into fields can be identified. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 8350, SK 635 988).*

It would be a mistake, however, to portray these landscapes as timeless, and the people who dwelt within them as living in some ahistorical rural idyll, and I have tried to avoid doing so in this thesis. Romano-British lifestyles and identities were *not*

simply a ‘thin veneer’ pasted across traditional, indigenous or ‘native’ people. Particularly following the Roman invasion and occupation of the north, some people’s identities were reworked to produce novel Romano-British ways of being in the world, though these were often different from more popular characterisations of Roman life with cultural clichés of heated floors, bathhouses and more ‘sophisticated’ practices of eating and drinking. Sometimes these changes were manifested through purposive personal agency, with some traders and farmers who prospered from the new, wider economy and with those who became merchants and the owners of some of the rare villas or other high-status sites within the region. Sometimes change took place against people’s wills, such as those who may have become slaves, tied labourers, or whose smaller subsistence holdings led to agricultural failure and personal and economic disaster. Totally novel social identities also appeared and were performed and transformed within the region – Roman administrators, North African, Gaulish and Breucian auxiliaries, serving and retired legionaries, professional potters and other craftspeople.

Although many of the fields, trackways and boundaries established in the later Iron Age persisted well into the Romano-British period, the appearance of forts and a few towns and villas, particularly in the Trent Valley and other areas of Nottinghamshire, would have completely transformed the experience of some places. Native people’s understandings of materiality would have changed through the appearance of new forms of pottery, metalwork and other artefacts. Some of the agglomerated settlements that represented successful late Iron Age lineages continued to prosper during the Romano-British period, whilst from the later second century some farmsteads around centres such as Doncaster, Castleford and Margidunum seem to have enjoyed larger quantities of Roman-style material culture and higher levels of consumption. Some of these still relatively small-scale settlements may have been established or taken over by retired legionaries and government officials.

There was probably extensification of agriculture during the second to fourth centuries AD, particularly pastoral production, and perhaps some intensification of arable cultivation too, although the archaeological evidence for these remains largely intangible. Some areas once only used for pasture might have been taken under

cultivation. In some areas this may have led to greater rain runoff and soil erosion. There is no evidence for any radical transformations of production processes, however, and these changes probably built on existing plant and animal husbandry practices. Changes in notions of tenure and ownership saw the intake by individuals or family groups of increasing areas of floodplain and grassland or heathland grazing previously held or accessed by communities as a whole. Such changes also enabled some localised processes of landscape reorganisation, as seen in places such as Ferrybridge, and the gradual expansion of blocks of fields seen at Armthorpe. These processes were already in place in many areas prior to the Roman invasion of AD 71, but they accelerated with the emergence of new social and economic demands, and the development of new communal and individual identities.

Despite all this, much of the region remained an essentially rural landscape. Yet these fields, enclosures and trackways were simply not a static, functional backdrop to the dull miasma of people's rustic existences, but instead held great social, historical, political and symbolic significance. Archaeologists should not simply concentrate on hillforts, villas and towns, or more spectacular 'ritual' deposits, and ignore the ordinary lives and taskscapes of the majority of people in this region. Many aspects of everyday life were undoubtedly harsh, as rural existence has been for many people across the centuries, but we must not equate a lack of material culture and 'high status' sites with a poverty of social organisation or symbolic beliefs. We also *cannot* simply relegate their beliefs and endeavours to dry, functional accounts of agricultural production. Furthermore, prehistoric and Romano-British people were not able to calculate population growth or measure climatic fluctuations. Although they would have been aware of some of the effects of these processes, given the length of time over which these changes operated the people who inhabited these landscapes were unlikely to have understood any potential problems in such terms. It is therefore unreasonable to use these alone as archaeological explanations, as this tells us nothing about the dynamics of the societies involved. Although people in the past might have been some of the causes of these major landscape changes in land allotment, land division and land use, I believe that social factors were equally if not more likely to have been crucial.

Given the problematic nature of the evidence it is difficult to investigate these landscapes and the lives of those who dwelt within them, and harder still to write about this, but we must continue to pursue our research into the quotidian, the everyday and the routine. These ordinary landscapes of fields, trackways and enclosures were the settings for a myriad of daily dramas. In this thesis, I have tried to focus on this ordinary dwelling, and ‘dwell on this ordinariness’.

...I want to dwell on this very ordinariness. I want to ask what is not considered important enough by the hidden parts of the discipline, hidden only because they are too well known in their typicality to be of any interest to anyone engaged in the retrieval of knowledge. (Spivak 1999: 238).

Notes

1. Unfortunately, these attempts at more rigorous sampling by curators and some contractual units are often undermined by archaeological consultants working for developers who try and minimise the amount of archaeological investigation and post-excavation analyses that take place in order to save time and money for their clients. Some consultants have tried to reduce the sampling of field system ditches from 20% to 10% or less (A. Burgess pers. comm.; C. Fenton-Thomas pers. comm.), whilst at a meeting one particularly notorious consultant (now deceased) once voiced the opinion that archaeologists did not need to excavate more small-scale rural Iron Age and Romano-British enclosure sites, as we already know everything there is to know about them! Such short-sighted and ethically compromised opinions, introduced by consultants as ‘specialist advice’, do much to undermine the efforts of other archaeologists to develop and implement more rigorous research-orientated methodologies.
2. **mundane.** 1. dull, routine. 2. of this world; worldly. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (9th edition 1990). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 779.