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

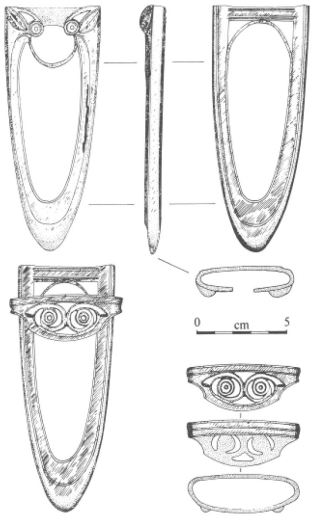
In comparison to regions such as East Anglia and even East Yorkshire, there do not seem to have been as many 'high-status' Iron Age metal artefacts manufactured or used within the study region. This might indicate some cultural differences between the communities inhabiting the areas of modern West and 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

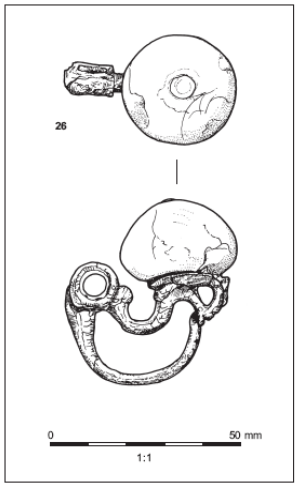
date found with the carriage burial (Boyle et al. 2007: 147; Duncan, Cool and Stead 2005: 154) (Figs. 10.05-10.06, see Chapter 11). A copper alloy involuted La Tène 2Cb brooch dating from between 300-100 BC is a metal detecting find from near Wentbridge (PAS 1997/1998) (Fig. 10.01), and other recent detectorist Iron Age finds include a copper alloy terret ring and several cosmetic pestles and mortars (SYAS).

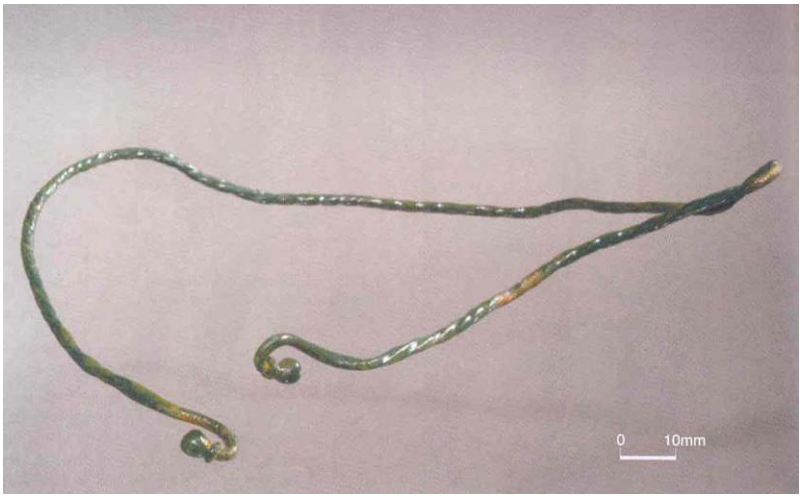
Figure 10.01. (left). *Recent metal detecting find of an involuted La Tène brooch from Wentbridge, W. Yorks. (Source: PAS 1998: 28).* **Fig. 10.02. (right).** *Some of the gold staters from the Silsden hoard, and the intaglio ring. (Source: © Bradford Museum).*

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 Attrebates. 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 Corieltauvian 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 Aulerci Eburovices 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 Corieltauvi 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, fertily, 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).

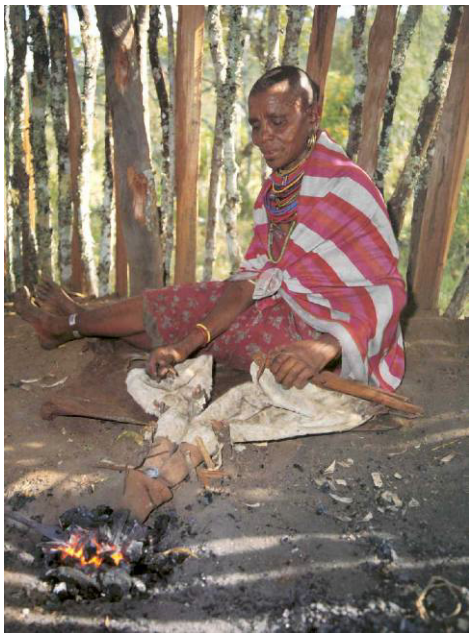


Figure 10.12. (left). *Amongst the Samburu of Kenya, as in many small-scale societies, iron working is practised by men, and the knowledge is passed down from father to son. The restricted knowledge is surrounded by many rituals and propitiations.* **Fig. 10.13. (right).** *Samburu iron working is undertaken 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 absolutes, 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 strategies[1]. Vessels of first century BC to AD date have now been identified at many sites across the region[2]. 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.

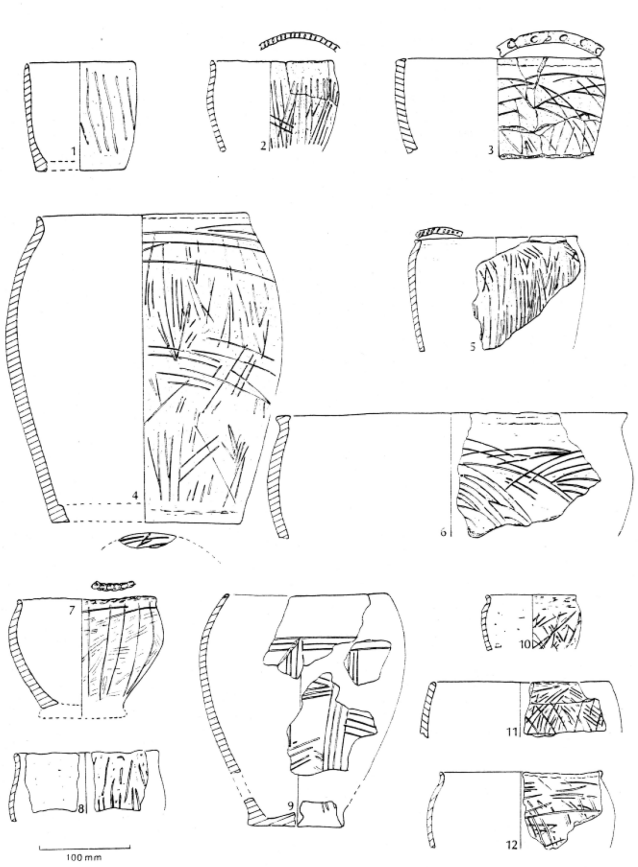
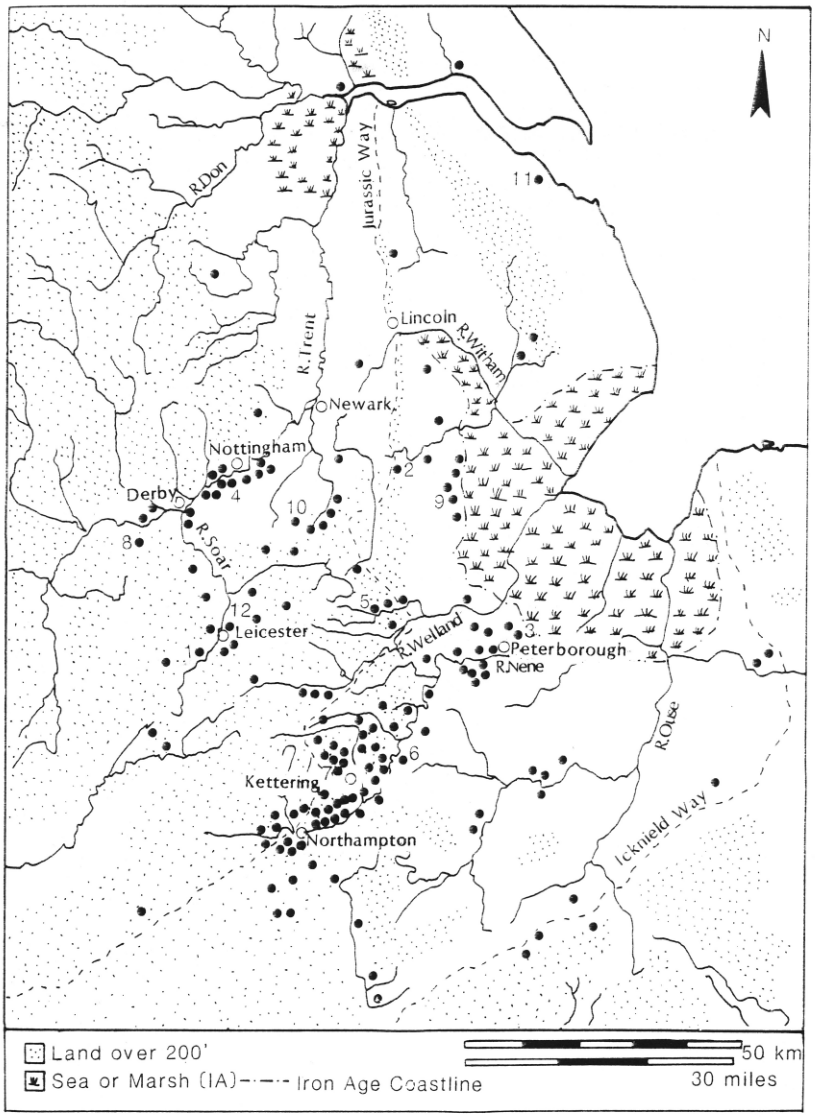


Figure 10.16. (right). *East Midlands Scored Ware vessels. (Source: Elsdon 1992a: 87).*

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
. Enderby, 2. Ancaster, 3. Fengate, 4. Holme Pierrepont, 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

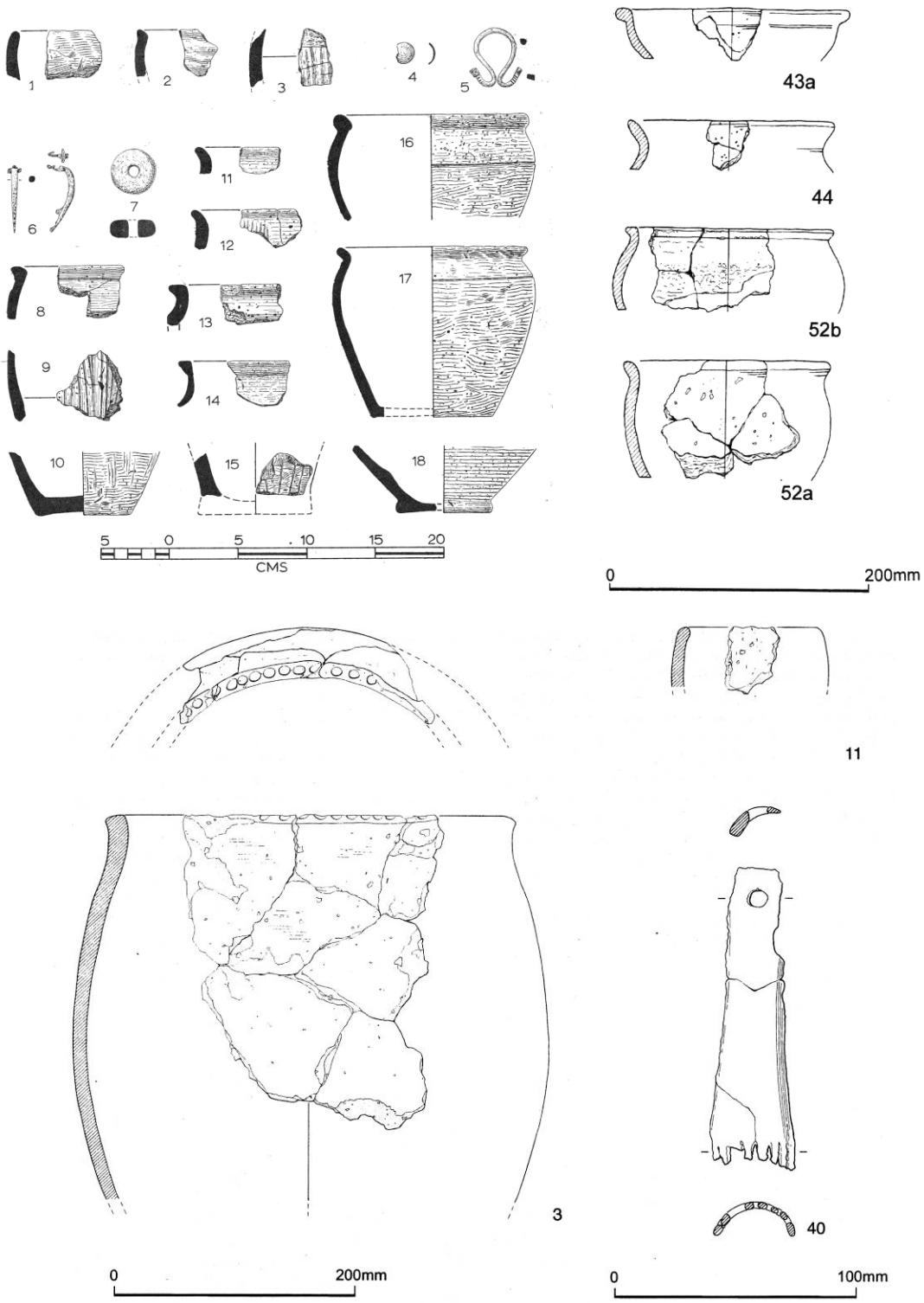
1996) also occurred at Collingham, Gamston and Harby in Nottinghamshire (Knight 1997, 2002: 139, fig. 12.5), and at Ferrybridge in West Yorkshire (Evans, Wild and Willis 2005: 135). Some later Iron Age vessels found in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire with stamped and rouletted decoration, and/or igneous 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).

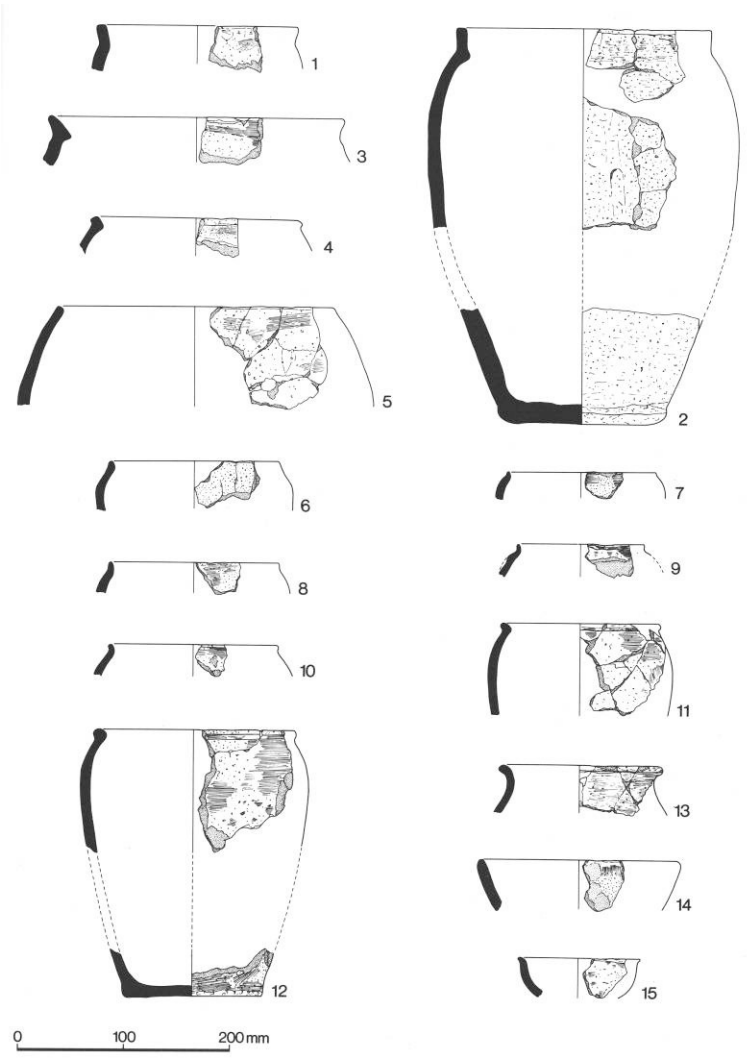


Figure 10.21. *Iron Age pottery from Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks., including some vessels tempered with crushed slag (nos. 1 and 5). (Source: Sumpter 1990: 129).*

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

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).

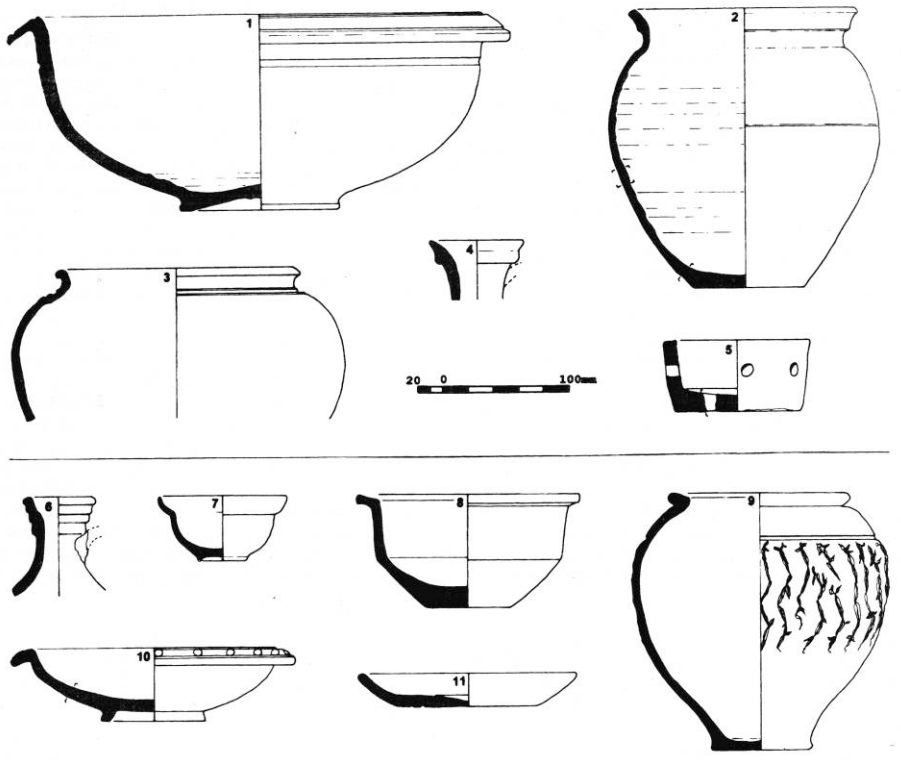


Figure 10.24. *Products of pottery workshops serving early Roman military sites. Nos. 1-5 from Grimescar Wood, W. Yorks.; nos. 6-11 from Templeborough fort, S. Yorks. (Source: Swan 2002: 36).*

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).

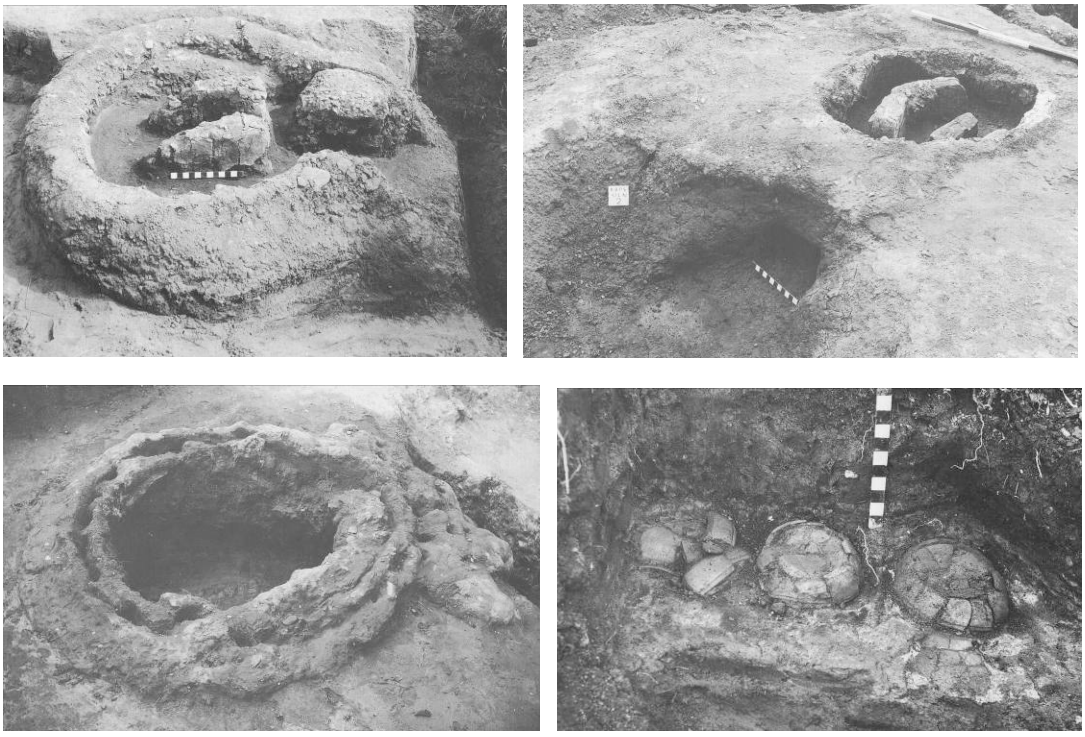


Figure 10.25. (top left). *Rossington Bridge Pumping Station kiln 1.* **Fig. 10.26. (top right).** *Rossington Bridge Pumping Station kiln 2, showing well preserved flue from stokehole.* **Fig. 10.27. (bottom left).** *Rossington Bridge Pumping Station kiln 4, showing stakeholes behind chamber wall and 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).

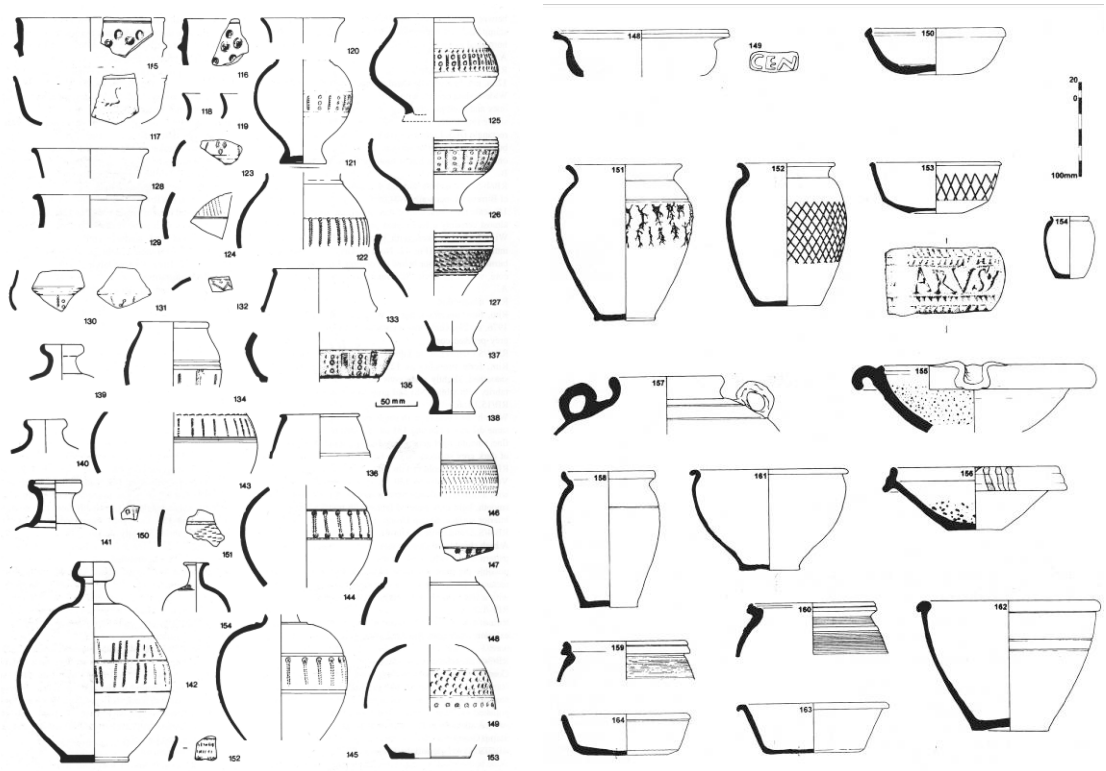


Figure 10.30. (left). *Rossington Bridge pottery. Nos. 115-117 are Black Burnished Ware bowls, whilst nos. 118-154 are 'Parisian ware' vessels. (Source: Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: 64).* **Fig. 10.31. (right).** *Typical products of South Yorkshire potteries in the Doncaster area, including greyware 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 Aquitainia 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'.

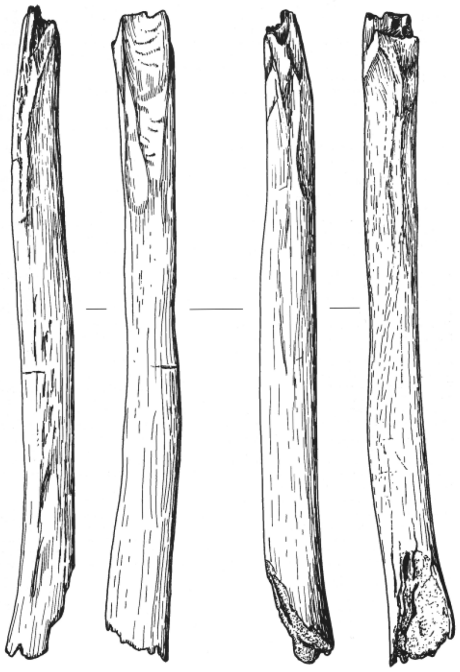


Figure 10.33. (right). *Human left humerus found during excavations at Rossington Bridge Pumping Station in 1958-61, apparently modified into a wedge-ended tool. (Source: Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 2001: 83).*

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 Sarrius, 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 Romanisation[3] 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).

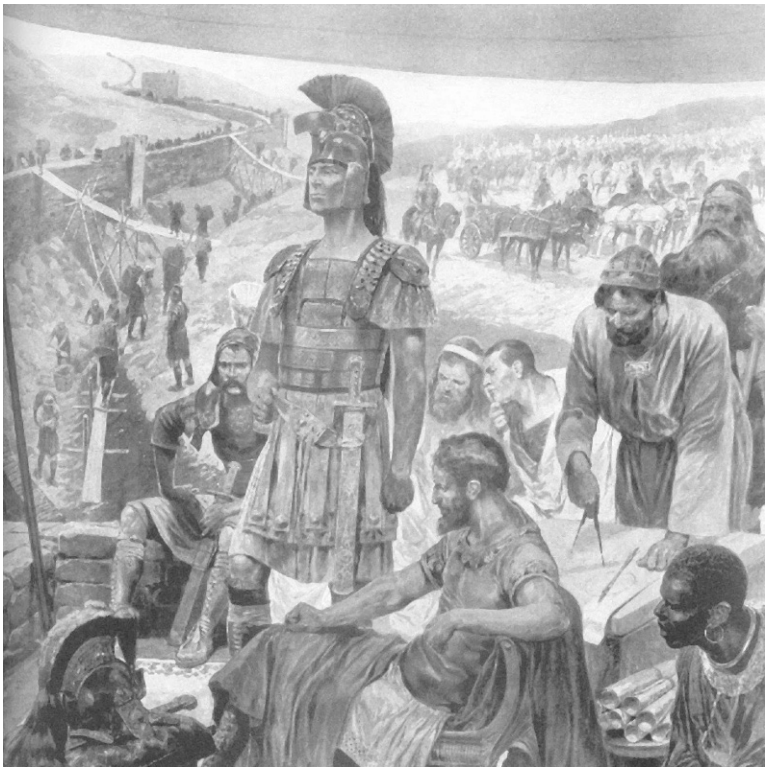


Figure 10.34. *The progressive, civilising face of Romanisation? Illustration from a 1911 British school text book. Cultural and racial stereotypes are much in evidence. (Source: Hingley 2000).*

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; Ortner 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 2002[4].

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.

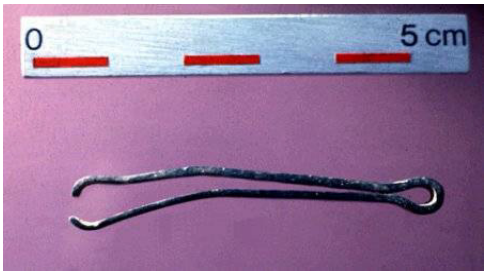
Merely replacing a 'Romanist' interpretation of progressive change with a 'nativist' viewpoint of enthusiastic emulation or cultural resistance is inadequate, and archaeologists must move beyond such limited terminology (Barrett 1997d: 60; Woolf 1995: 341), although for simplicity I have used terms such 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 solders, 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.* **Fig. 10.38. (top right).** *A cosmetic mortar and spatula.* **Fig. 10.39. (bottom right)**.*Tweezers. (Source: © AS WYAS).*

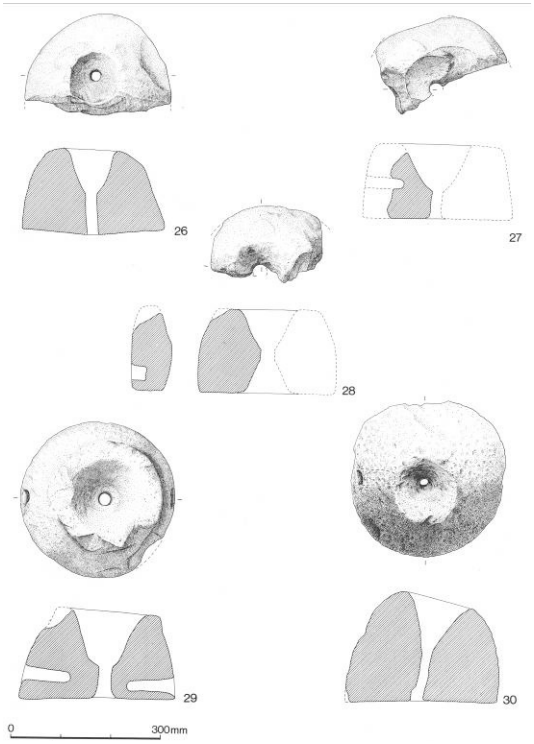
Figure 10.40. (left). *Cosmetic mortar of first century BC-first century AD date found by a metal detectorist near Cottam, Notts. (Source: PAS 2005-2006: 37).*

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 Wharncliffe 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.



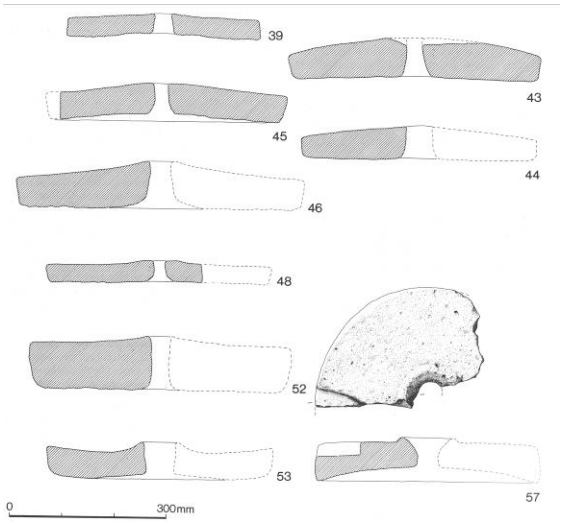


Figure 10.41. (left). *Beehive querns found at Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks.* **Fig. 10.42. (right).** *Flat querns found at Dalton Parlours, including one of Mayen lava (no. 39). (Source: Buckley and Major 1990: 113, 115).*

Although Wharncliffe 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 centuries[5]. 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 disproportionally 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 Parlington 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).

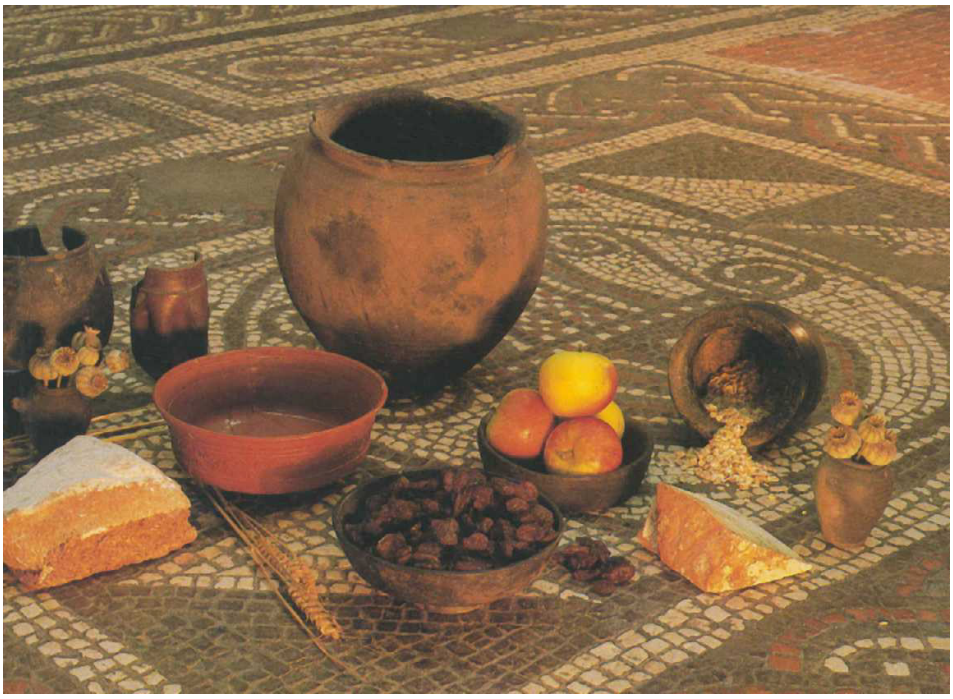


Figure 10.50. *The Roman occupation of northern England may have seen the introduction of novel material forms, foods and consumption practices. But for many indigenous people on small-scale rural settlements, existing material culture and foods continued to be important. (Source: R.J.C. Smith 1993: front cover).*

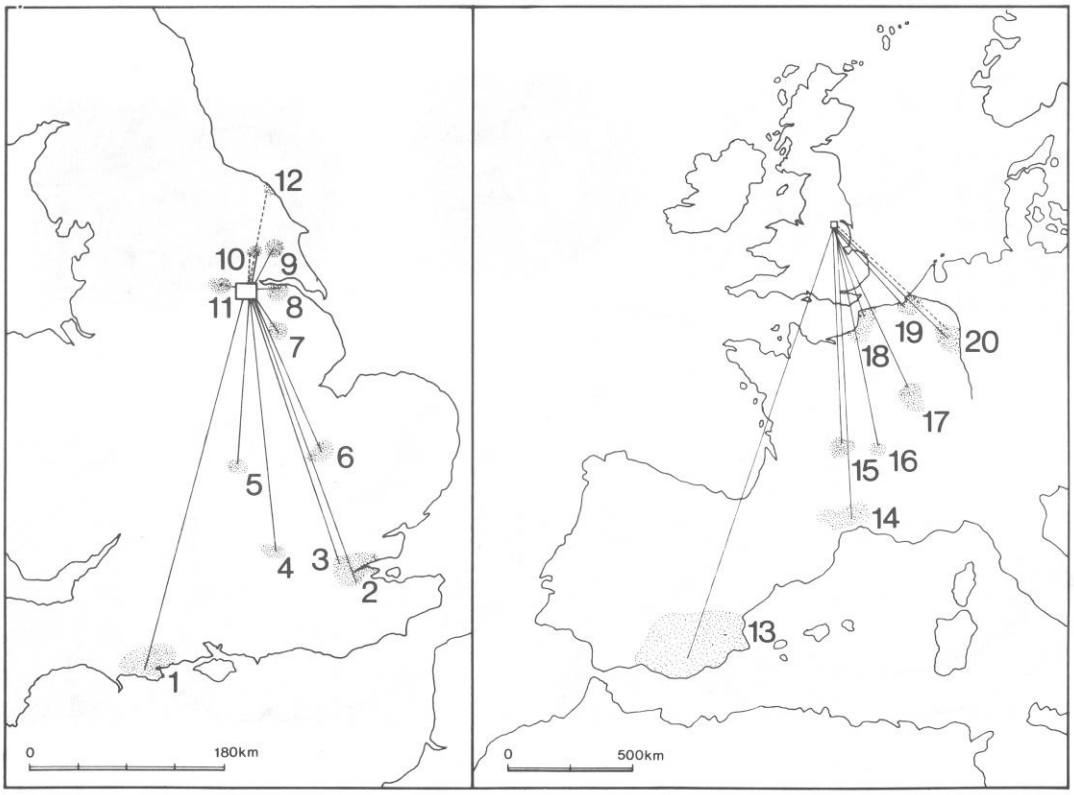


Figure 10.51. *The origins of some Roman imports into part of the study region (South Yorkshire). 1. Black Burnished Ware from Dorset, early second to fourth centuries AD. 2. Pottery vessels from kilns in the London area and Thames Estuary. 3. Mortaria from kilns around Radlett and St Albans, late first 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 vessles 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

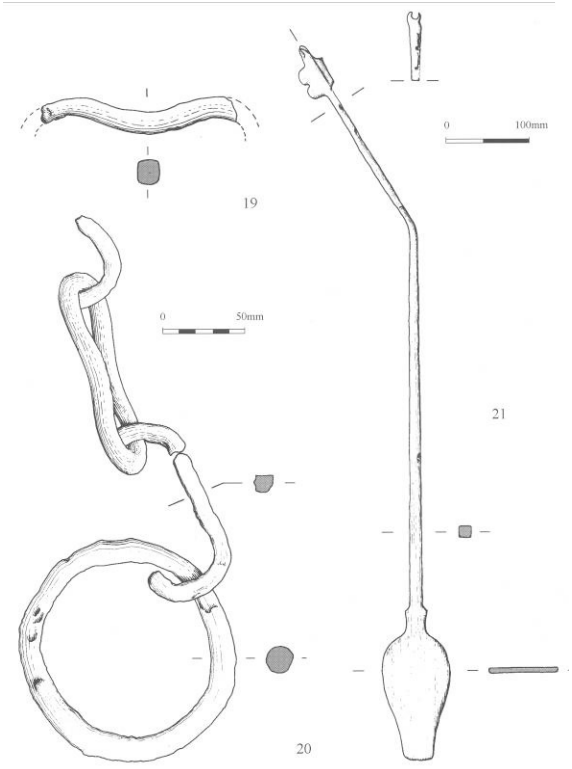
In feasts, the types of food provided and consumed, the distribution of this food amongst the participants, and the quantity of food and drink provided can convey messages about identity, especially status. This is true of those hosting and providing

the feast, and for those others taking part. Similarly, in the competitive feasting of Goodenough Islanders, the Siuai of Guadacanal 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.



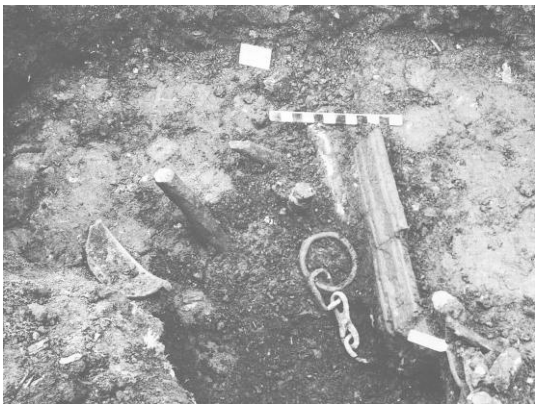


Figure 10.52. (left). *Iron cauldron chain and 'poker' found in the bed of the River Torne at Rossington Bridge Pumping Station, 1957-57.* **Fig. 10.53. (above).** *The chain as found in situ, along with a piece of wooden moulding and wooden stakes. (Source: Buckland, Hartley and Rigby 21, plate 19).*

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 episodes[6]. 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.