

## *The Romano-British Period in Herefordshire*

### **Introduction: an outpost of Rome?**

“Kenchester is likely to have functioned as the centre of a *pagus*. That it achieved a higher rank after the reign of Numerian (A.D.283-4) is improbable, both because of its small size and because of the low degree of romanisation attained in the surrounding countryside. Apart from Ariconium (Weston under Penyard), which was the centre of the iron mines of the Forest of Dean, the only other settlements known – Stretton Grandison, Blackwardine, and possibly Hereford – were little more than posting stations, and the general level of life was probably that represented at Sutton Walls, where a small community continued to occupy the Iron Age hillfort.”

A.L.F. Rivet, *Town and Country in Roman Britain*, 1964, 153.

This succinct view of the status of much of present-day Herefordshire in the political geography of the Roman province of Britannia was included in a discussion of the canton of the Dobunni. The far north of the county, for a long while part of the neighbouring county of Shropshire, was then and is still now regarded to have been part of the canton of the Cornovii, centred upon *Viroconium* (Wroxeter). As such, another ‘posting station’ settlement, that of Leintwardine (identified as the *Brano Genium* of the Ravenna Cosmography; Rivet and Smith 1983, 207; 275), can be included as existing within the present county boundaries (Figure 1, general location map, with key sites identified).

Arguably, little has changed in our understanding of the period from c.AD60 – 410 in Herefordshire, since Rivet wrote his thumbnail sketch in 1964. On the one hand, many more possible enclosures (approximating what Rivet and his contemporaries would have called ‘native farmsteads’) have been revealed from aerial photography. On the other hand, however, only one previously unknown site that might have even some modest claim to be denoted a ‘villa’ has been discovered, at Wellington in the Lugg valley north of Hereford.

However, what has changed to some degree in the intervening forty years is the way in which Roman Britain has come to be viewed by those studying its history and archaeology. While some archaeologists continue to see ‘Romanisation’ as the proper focus for study, many others now consider the key cultural and political themes to be instead those such as ‘domination and resistance’, and ‘colonialism and cultural diversity’ (see, for instance, Forcey, 1997; Laurence, 1999). Be that as it may, there is a growing realisation that the very idea of a single ‘Romano-British period’ across these four centuries is itself an unsustainable artifice historically. There were instead at least two distinct eras, with a break in the late second/early third century. Perhaps there were even as many as four recognisable periods, with the possibility of bracketing off also both the early ‘pacification period’ and the mid-fourth century onwards, as historically distinct.

In the context of writing about Herefordshire, Stan Stanford brought a new perspective to the story, suggesting the existence of a separate identity of Herefordshire as the land of the ‘Decangi’. He also stressed what he saw as the

consequences of the devastation and dislocation caused here by the Roman invasion and pacification, involving a continued impoverishment of the Wye basin area (1991, 89-95; 99-102). Stanford noted both the small size of Kenchester and lack of inscriptions from the town, but also the fact that it possessed a bastioned town wall and an immediate hinterland that included several villa-like farmsteads.

As such, Stanford recognised Herefordshire as a land of paradox, historically and archaeologically. Situated as it is athwart upland and lowland Britain this should not be considered surprising, nor was it so only in Roman times. However, the evidence for activity in 'the Roman centuries' in the county is in need of some re-appraisal, not least because neither the existing evidence nor the potential has always been accorded the weight it perhaps merits.

This has been brought strongly into focus in light of two of the earliest discoveries of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the county. The first is a fragment of a Roman inscription retrieved from a development site in Leintwardine in 2001. This records the dedication of an altar to Jupiter and the Imperial Numen (Figure 2; Tomlin, 2002). It may have come from within the precinct of an imperial posting station, hitherto only suspected here. The second is an apparently stone-founded water-mill, found slightly downstream from the Wellington 'villa', during quarrying operations early in 2003.

These finds illustrate on the one hand the linkage of this part of the province intimately into the infrastructure of empire-wide communications and travel, and on the other the investment of private resources into expensive elements of estate management. Each find points a significant finger towards the future. The potential of Herefordshire to provide new insights into the life of the Roman province(s) should not be underestimated.

The rest of this essay will review the existing evidence for the period in the county in reference to a number of different themes. I shall attempt to integrate the results of both recent and contemporary investigations and discoveries with those of past work. I shall also attempt to bring in towards the end of the account some revaluation of observations made by previous synthesisers, including Mortimer Wheeler in 1934.

### **The later pre-Roman Iron Age background**

In the later Iron Age, communities in Herefordshire were clearly linked into wider trading networks. As yet, we know little about farmstead-scale settlements, but there were both open and embanked sites of this type. The site investigation focus has so far been almost exclusively on the hillforts, but work in a variety of contexts is now beginning to change this situation. Many hillforts appear likely to have continued in occupation into the Romano-British period, but there is certainly a case for some such sites to have been abandoned some while before the end of the Iron Age (see Haselgrove, 1997, for a discussion of Croft Ambrey in this light).

In recent years, a number of small open or enclosed settlement sites have been investigated. These have included for instance Magna Castra Farm east of Kenchester (Wilmott and Rhatz, 1987), Huntsham (Taylor, 1998), Moorcourt Farm, Lyonshall (Guest, this volume), Wellington (Jackson, forthcoming), and Oxpasture, Leen Farm, Pembridge (White, 2003). It is significant that occupation at these sites appears to

begin in the period 100BC to 50AD, and continues without a break into the Roman period. This begs a number of questions about the mechanisms involved in creating settlement shift around 100BC, such as whether there is a general reason for the break with earlier patterns of occupation. That this does not result from a general process of abandonment of larger sites appears to be supported by evidence that so many of the hillforts apparently remain in unbroken occupation succession into the Roman period (see below).

Excavated finds of briquetage from these sites and from the larger defended enclosures (including 'hillforts') suggests that there was widespread use of salt derived both from Droitwich and from Cheshire (Morris, 1994). This reflects a wide range of contacts, and possibly also an independent status for the polity or polities in Herefordshire at the time. This may be borne out also by the distribution of coins, despite the suggestion that the presence of Dobunnic coins represents at least clientship (Hurst, 2001; van Arsdell, 1994; Ray, 2001).

## **Roman invasion and pacification**

### *A partial picture*

Herefordshire still lacks a coherent sequential framework for the Roman army's presence both in the initial stages of the conquest, and in the aftermath of at least two major uprisings that occurred locally in the first century AD. Graham Webster's (1981) account remains the most sustained effort to make sense of the available chronologies, but there are at least two outstanding problems.

The first concerns the geographical gaps in coverage of known forts and marching camps. For instance, the only forts or camps known in the Wye valley in the county are those at Clifford and (just over the border in Wales) at Clyro near Hay-on-Wye. Meanwhile, although a series of forts and camps are known at Walton west of Kington, there are no known sites on either the Lugg or the Arrow to the east. One aim of the recent programmes of aerial survey by Chris Musson in the county has been to determine whether these gaps are genuine, but so far no new sites have emerged in these 'blank' areas.

The second outstanding problem is the patchy programme of site investigations, that has seen several site investigations in the north of the county, but few elsewhere. This has occasionally also been exacerbated by a failure to publish the evidence recovered, or to publish fully. An example is the excavations that he at the isolated Monnow valley site at Castlefield, Kentchurch, which remain in effect unreported. This site has been so mutilated since the 1970s investigations there, that its future potential to provide evidence of date or organisation may be quite limited.

### *Identifying forts and camps*

The most important and best-known grouping of sites is that in the Leintwardine area. This area, around the confluence of the rivers Teme and Clun, has, it would seem, the largest known concentration of Roman forts and marching camps anywhere in the Welsh borderlands. There are a total of eight known locations hereabouts at which such installations were apparently created: at Brandon Camp, Jay Lane, Walford (2),

Buckton (2) and Brampton Bryan (2). Some have been the subject of investigation, including in projects undertaken by Stan Stanford (1968). Chris Musson can be credited with having discovered the latest recorded among these sites, near Brampton Bryan, from aerial photography in 1999. Paradoxically this was on a site at which a rectangular 'Roman camp' fortification was first recorded on Isaac Taylor's map of Herefordshire in 1754, the site being known locally for many generations as 'the bowling green'.

Besides the sites already noted in the Leintwardine area, at Clifford and at Kentchurch, there are further definite forts known from aerial photographs on the river Frome at Canon Frome, and at Blackbush Farm, Abbey Dore. Other forts or camps have been suggested at Ariconium (Walters) and at Kenchester (postulated beneath the town; Wilmott, 1980), and elsewhere, but none of the enclosures claimed from aerial photographs are convincing (Figure 3, distribution map). Another site in the Frome valley has been claimed only 2km west of Canon Frome, at Yarkhill (Stanford, 1991, 89).

Elsewhere, suspected sites have been disproven. An example is an enclosure at Cradley near the Malvern Hills claimed as a Roman military construction from aerial photography. This has been shown, upon investigation, to have been an Iron Age settlement (Hoverd, 2001). Many of the sites listed in the SMR as possible or probable camps or forts can likewise be dismissed as candidate forts, and are known now to have instead been enclosed farmsteads. Several such sites, as at Cold Furrow, Lyonshall (Guest, this volume), were clearly occupied as farmsteads during the Romano-British period, however. To the north-east of Bromyard, a further claimed site has also been the subject of exploratory excavation. This double-ditched 0.5 ha site, at Tedstone Wafer, is a possible minor camp, but little more is known about it than from a small trench (Webster, 1954). The finds (like those from the similar small enclosure at Clifton-on-Teme) could easily rather represent another civilian enclosed farmstead, since the most datable one is a sherd of 2<sup>nd</sup> century Severn Valley Ware (Webster, *ibid*; Stanford, 1991, 88; Stanford's suggestion that they are military rests upon their occupying ridge-top sites).

### *Towards a narrative*

The most concerted efforts of investigation have been the excavations at forts in the Leintwardine area. This Clun-Teme complex includes three sites of more than local significance. The first is a pre-Roman Iron Age fort (Brandon Camp) re-used as a military supply-base early in the campaign of conquest (Frere, 1987). The second is a colossal but undated marching camp covering 25.6ha (east of Brampton Bryan village). The third is a camp rebuilt in stone with corner towers and turreted gateways in the second century (Buckton fort: Stanford, 1968; 1991, 84-6; Figure 4: AP of Buckton fort, 1999).

The camp and fort sequence in the Leintwardine area reflects the time-depth and complexity of military operations in this area, and the continuing strategic importance of the Welsh borderlands for nearly a hundred years of the life of the Roman province. There should be more such evidence to come to light, and sites like that possibly located from place-name evidence north of Marden in the Lugg Valley (Richardson, 2000) would repay closer examination.

The narrative of the Roman invasion so far outlined (Webster, 1981; Frere, 1987; Stanford, 1991) suggests at least five major campaigns were conducted in the wider area, in 48-50 (Scapula), 52-57 (Gallus), 57-58 (Veranius) and 74-75 (Frontinus). The five marching camps among the Clun-Teme sites might belong to any of these campaigns, since none has been examined closely. The supply-base within Brandon Camp was in use between c.55 and 60 (Frere, 1987, 69). The timber fort at Jay Lane was in use by the 60s, and it seems likely that this fort had been replaced by the Buckton fort by the 80s. This was in turn refurbished in stone early in the C2nd, only being dismantled in the 140s. Stanford has suggested (1991, 86-8) that Leintwardine was a 'village-fort' belonging to the period after 160. This interpretation has since been contradicted, in view of the absence of evidence for military structures, and the apparent civilian character of the occupation (Brown, 1998, 554-65; but see below).

## **Rural settlement and agriculture**

### *Hillforts and their annexes*

There is a reasonable amount of evidence for continuity of occupation of some hillforts into at least the later first century AD. Besides Sutton Walls (Kenyon, 1954), such evidence has been forthcoming from within forts at Credenhill nearby (Stanford 1971), and from Dinedor and Aconbury (Kenyon, op.cit). Intensive occupation has been noted from excavations within Poston Camp near Peterchurch (Anthony, 1958). Further finds of Romano-British coins or pottery have been recorded from Iron Age hillforts. These latter include Herefordshire Beacon, Backbury Camp near Stoke Edith in the Frome Valley, Risbury Camp and Uphampton Camp west of Leominster. Further such sites include Gaer Cop, Hentland, Wall Hills, Ledbury (Walters, 1908, 193), Timberline Camp, Madley, and Capler Camp in the Wye Valley near Ross (Figure 5, early continuity of hillfort occupation).

Occupation within hillfort annexes is likely at Ivington Camp near Leominster, at Walterstone Camp in the far south-west (Weddell, 2000), and also possibly at Wall Hills, Ledbury. This tends to undermine the suggestion that Stanford has made that there was forcible eviction of the native population from such sites in the aftermath of the Roman conquest (1991, 91-4). The argument for forced removal is also to be questioned from recent reconsideration of the dating of occupation of Croft Ambrey. From the evidence of brooch chronology, it has been argued that the sequence there terminates well before the conquest (Haselgrove, 1997, 60).

### *Villas and farmsteads*

In contrast, few Roman villas or buildings featuring tiled roofs and carefully laid floors (with or without tessellated pavements) are yet known from the county. Those close to Kenchester will be discussed separately below, but sites known outside that area in the centre of the county cluster in the south and south-east (Figure 6, villa and farmstead settlements). Two villas at Putley and a complex at Donnington, for instance, represent a group in the Leadon valley that continues down towards Dymock and on into central Gloucestershire and the Severn valley.

Another group is located between Ross and Monmouth in the Wye valley. This scatter includes the excavated villa complex at Huntsham near Goodrich that intriguingly was apparently contained within its own precinct wall (Taylor, 1998). Other sites nearby that also featured stone-built structures include Sellarsbrook at Ganarew and Hadnock by Monmouth.

A variety of enclosures, many of which are broadly rectilinear or rectangular in form, have been demonstrated by excavation to contain Romano-British farmsteads. Again in the south of the county these include the oval earthwork enclosure at Lord's Wood, Whitchurch (Taylor, 2000), and the crop-mark sites at Foxhall, Weston-under-Penyard (Walters, 1987; Jackson, forthcoming). In the north of the county, the recently-examined enclosures at Moorcourt Farm and Cold Furrow near Lyonshall (Guest, this volume), and sites at Middle Field and Oxpasture, Leen Farm, Pembridge (White, 2003) can now be added to this fast-growing assemblage.

Further enclosures of this kind are known from aerial photographs and have been established by fieldwalking as featuring pottery of the period. Such sites include those located just to the north of Hereford at St. Donat's Farm, Burghill (Jackson, et al. 1999) and near Wellington Court in the same area.

A perhaps higher status but apparently unenclosed site is located in the valley of the Little Lugg at Liglok Field, Westhild (White, 2001). This site raises the question of site condition, since the remains examined as part of a recent *Herefordshire Archaeology* plough-damage study were recorded in the 1950s as being relatively well preserved, with intact wall-footings. By 2001, the base of a corn-drying oven was the only feature to survive in situ recognisably. This situation mirrors that revealed in 2000 at Coed Lank, Garway, where the only significant trace of a former farmstead found within arable traversed by a new Transco pipeline was again the base of a corn-drier.

Nor is the enclosure examined in woodland near Whitchurch the only known sub-circular or rectilinear (and likely Romano-British) farmstead enclosure known in the county. A square earthwork enclosure has long been known to exist high on the south-eastern flank of Garway Hill. A group of three such enclosures was recorded in the 1970s by the Ordnance Survey on Bircher Common, north of Leominster. During a survey here in 2001, a further possible enclosure was added (Ray and Hoverd, 2003). The sites are situated on the south-facing hillside along the 200m contour, and seem to be separated by a regular distance of 500m. Two of these sites feature pendant field enclosures also of squared or rectangular form.

Recent woodland survey by *Herefordshire Archaeology* has produced further examples of rectangular settlement enclosures surviving as earthworks. One of these is in the north of the county at Wigmore Rolls, near the Leintwardine area Roman camps and forts. The second is at Yarsop near Hereford. The latter site again features an attached field system (Hoverd, 2003), and again, this appears to be attached to the south-west of the settlement enclosure.

### *Field systems*

Field systems that are clearly dateable to the Romano-British period are of course extremely difficult to locate. However, given the numbers of surviving field systems now being traced in the county, there seems little doubt that some will eventually be proven to be of this antiquity. Some systems approximate closely the size and scale of the better-documented 'Celtic fields' of central southern Britain. An example is the group of lynchets forming a field system recorded as part of the Malvern Hills Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty archaeological survey at Whitman's Hill Coppice, Storridge, Cradley (Hoverd, 2003).

### **The environs of Kenchester**

#### *A settled landscape*

Such a discussion leads naturally into consideration of the evidence for the organisation of whole landscapes. Probably the optimal location for demonstrating such organisation will prove to be the environs of Kenchester (Figure 7). This is in part a reflection of the concentration of known sites in the area, and their apparent relative status. However, it is also hinted at from study of the field patterns that are indicated by surviving boundaries in the area, and that have been studied as part of the Herefordshire Historic Landscape Characterisation project (Ray and White, 2003).

The concentration of high-status farms in the vicinity of Kenchester is unparalleled in the county. These sites are nearly all to be found within a two-kilometre radius of the walled settlement. For instance, the multi-phase site just to the east of Magna Castra Farm at Kenchester was located adjacent to the Roman Road only 500m east from Kenchester (Wilmott and Rhatz, 1987). Besides the high status nature of pottery and other finds made at the site, the complex also featured stone-founded buildings with tiled roofs and mortared floors, wall-paintings, imported stone columns and even (from one phase of activity at the site) a fragment of a lead tank.

#### *Exotic rural residences*

While rich, the Magna Castra site was not especially remarkable in terms of the scale or distinctiveness of its structures. Others close by were, however, exotic in these terms also. For instance, the villa discovered during the building of the new rectory at Bishopstone in 1836 featured one of the largest mosaics ever discovered in Roman Britain. This 10m square mosaic featured geometrical designs, and appears to have been located at the centre of a complex at least 200m by 200m in extent. (RCHME, 1934, 17; and Plate 88).

Nor is this the only site with such pretensions in the area. Overlooking the Wye at New Weir, the remains of a stone-built bastioned artificial terrace appear to have supported another lavish structure that includes rooms with mosaic floors (Shoemith, 1980; Barber and Walker, 1995). Further enclosures or other remains point to the existence of similar complexes on two neighbouring sites: one across the Wye near Canon Bridge, and another on the north bank near Old Weir. Further finds indicative of a wealthy site have been found at Brinsop, while yet another enclosure of likely Romano-British date, and further finds at a different location, have been noted close to Credenhill village.

*An elite focus?*

What this combines to suggest is that the Kenchester area was special in some way. Perhaps it was deliberately chosen as a focus for residence by a sub-tribal elite that dominated at least the central area of the county around the Wye above its confluence with the Lugg. Such rural seats as appear to have existed here were thereby placed in close proximity to the presumed market at Kenchester, to the Roman Road system with links in all the cardinal directions, and to the Wye itself. Such a focus of power and wealth in turn attracted the importation of fine materials and no doubt provisions, from across the province(s). The area of focus appears to lie on both banks of the Wye, although it is only the area north of the river that is well known.

It is therefore of interest to note that, at New Weir, there is good evidence for the pre-existence of intensive farming in the form of terracing along the slopes overlooking the Wye (and intersected by the Roman Road extending northwards from its crossing-point). Moreover, what were probably in origin late prehistoric axial field systems appear to have been reconfigured here both north and south of the Wye (and both east and west of Kenchester). Following the re-orientation, they formed a pattern perpendicular to the line of the adjacent Roman Roads. This is the only area of the county where such re-orientation appears to have occurred, despite the very extensive passage of the Roman Roads system through the county (Ray and White, 2003, 36).

**Other settled landscapes***In the Lugg valley*

Fascinating though it is, the Kenchester area is not the only part of the county across which it is becoming possible to perceive, however dimly, the existence of a functioning Romano-British landscape. Another such area is being examined in tandem with the most extensive gravel quarrying being undertaken in Herefordshire, in the lower Lugg valley. At Wellington Quarry, the villa or farmstead was sited on an island of higher ground in a landscape in which water management was clearly at a premium (Jackson, forthcoming). The investment involved in digging major channels, draining marshy areas, and constructing elaborate milling complexes speaks for the development of an organised system of estate management in the central areas of the county at least.

A field evaluation at nearby St. Donat's Farm has adduced the existence of another enclosed farmstead (as noted above; Jackson et al, 1999). However, it also featured the discovery of the remains of what appears to have been a paved service linking that farmstead, and the Wellington villa, with the major Roman Road ('Watling Street West') at Portway. What is being glimpsed here is the construction of a whole transport infrastructure connecting estate centres with local markets, and beyond this, with the wider province and empire. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that further such 'branch roads' existed and will in time be found elsewhere in the county, connecting the more major routes.

*In the Arrow valley*

The field studies that have taken place in the Arrow Valley, a short way to the north-west from the lower Lugg Valley, and to the west of Leominster, are also beginning to show a pattern of landscape development – at least up until the third century AD. The sites at Moorcourt Farm and Cold Furrow near Lyonshall (discussed in detail in this volume by Peter Guest) represent two rectangular enclosed sites within a short distance of each other, but markedly different in character. The former, just over half a kilometre to the north of the latter, is seemingly an enclosure with low-status ceramics, and a single circuit of deep enclosing ditch. It may have been used seasonally, or as a stock enclosure.

Cold Furrow, on the south-facing slope of a hill to the north, contains higher status (including imported) ceramics and features a double-ditched enclosure with relatively shallow ditches. This seems quite likely to have been the site of a farmstead residence. Significantly, both sites were shown to have immediate pre-Roman origins and appear to go out of use c.200AD.

Meanwhile, the sites sample-excavated in 2003 at The Leen Farm, Pembridge - around 4km to the north-east of Lyonshall – appear to repeat this pattern (White, 2003). One to the west, at Oxpasture, was found to contain low status ceramics and a single circuit of deep ditches. The second enclosure, at Middle Field, was located half a kilometre to the north-east within a pattern of contemporary enclosing fields. It features double shallow ditches and higher status (including imported) ceramics. Again, it would appear that both sites had immediate pre-Roman origins. The lower status site almost certainly went out of use c.200AD, while the apparently higher status double-ditched enclosure may have continued on into the fourth century.

#### *In the lower Wye region*

Other recent studies have begun to reveal features of landscape organisation in the Weston-under-Penyard area by yet another series of routes into the evidence. This has involved an aerial photographic transcription study, a pipeline watching brief, site investigations by N.P. Bridgewater and more recent studies by Mark and David Walters and the Dean Archaeology Group. Robin Jackson of the Worcestershire County Archaeological Service has brought together the results of these disparate works in 2001-2 (Jackson, 2000). The conclusions of this synthesis are best considered in relation to the development of the iron industry, in the following section.

### **Ariconium and Romano-British rural industry**

#### *The Weston-under-Penyard/Bromsash complex*

The concentration of iron-working activity in the Weston-under-Penyard/Bromsash area has long attracted comment. This activity has now been shown to extend back into later Iron Age times. However, it was during the Roman period that the scale of this activity increased, with the systematic exploitation of the Dean ore-bearing areas. The resulting complex of settlement and industrial activity has been characterised in interim reporting of the Ariconium study (Jackson, 2000).

It is clear that there was a focus of settlement activity on a ridge near Bromsash, some 6km east of Ross-on-Wye, and that this included several substantial buildings. However, it is also evident that the layout of roads and tracks linking the different settlement complexes in the vicinity was quite haphazard. In this way, the area involved appears to have possessed more the nature of a so-called ‘territorial oppidum’ of the later pre-Roman Iron Age in southern Britain, with dispersed centres of activity within a loosely-defined precinct than a narrowly drawn and densely-set Roman town.

The industrial reason for this was well characterised by Stanford (1991, 101): ‘This open settlement, close to iron ore in the Forest of Dean, was devoted to industry requiring ample space for work and waste disposal’. Besides building foundations and remains that included evidence for plastered walls and mortared floors, Bridgewater uncovered several areas with furnace remains and working-hollows (Bridgewater, 1965). Meanwhile, considerable quantities of slag were found in two otherwise ‘domestic’ enclosures 1km to the north of the main complex at The Great Woulding (Walters 1999).

Robin Jackson has argued that the core area at Bromsash does constitute a ‘small town’. He notes that “At the peak of settlement in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries several town houses occupied the western side of the hilltop where several roads converged.” On slopes to the south and west, several small enclosures can be seen to extend alongside the roads, within and around which “a wide area was probably occupied by timber houses and other buildings with associated yards and pits” (Jackson, 2002, 13.2).

At least four principal ironworking areas have been isolated in the Bromsash/Weston area (Jackson, *ibid*). The largest of these, excavated by Bridgewater, contained six furnaces together with slag pits and working hollows, and traces of timber buildings. One of these was identified as a charcoal store. Indications of iron smithing were also present. The site was in active use for a period of around a century from c. AD 135 before it appears to have been deliberately sealed, and was then covered by a domestic rubbish deposit.

#### *Other ironworking and industrial locations*

Further evidence of ironworking has come from sites that have otherwise been regarded as villas or farmsteads. An example is the claimed villa at Whitchurch, which produced considerable quantities of slag (Walters, 1908, 197). More dramatic still is the site at Cinders Grove, Peterchurch, from which it is recorded that many tons of slag and ironworking waste were removed. Nearby, on Peterstow Common, Roman coins and pottery were found within a slag deposit over 4m deep (*ibid*, 193).

In contrast to ironworking, the evidence for pottery production within the confines of the historic county is thin. No certain kiln sites have been found, despite claims for them, for instance at Marley Hall, Ledbury. Here, Watkins had been shown pottery fragments that he believed must be wasters. However, Jack was of the opinion that instead, the pottery simply represented the site of another farmstead (Woolhope Club Transactions, 1932, lxxiii). Other pottery production centres have been suggested at Cradley (near the known West Malvern kiln sites in Worcestershire), and at Grendon

Green near Bromyard, but they have yet to be confirmed. The Severn Valley pottery industry is becoming better known, and the Malvernian kilns must have supplied a wide area, but it would be surprising if there were no kilns in Herefordshire.

## **The road network, and associated settlements**

### *Greater and lesser roads*

The Roman road network, at least as it has survived in the landscape into the present century, is relatively well understood. It is moreover recorded clearly in place-names such as ‘Stretton’ (Stretton Sugwas, Stretton Grandison) Stretford’ (both east and west of Leominster, on different roads) and ‘Street’ (Kingsland). However, attempting to establish exactly how such a system operated and why the roads are located where they are is more problematical. Several attempts have been made to trace roads that did not survive coherently in the landscape. One way in has been to trace documentary references to now vanished roads. An example is the mention of a road as a boundary in an Anglo-Saxon charter for Staunton-on-Arrow (Lewis, n.d.). Moreover, excavation has shown that the picture may be significantly more complex than has previously been realised. In this context, the ‘link’ or service road traced at St. Donat’s Farm in the Lugg valley has already been noted.

How the roads were laid out and the surfaces were made in the county is a subject soon to receive some specific attention. It has for been suggested that a section of ‘Roman Road’ between Stretton Sugwas and Holmer, east of Kenchester, may have deliberately been sited across a Bronze Age round barrow (Patrick et al, 2002). At any rate, as part of a highway upgrading scheme soon (2004) to be underway, it is intended that several lengths of the road will be carefully excavated. This will follow up Ground Penetrating Radar survey transects that indicate the likelihood of multiple surfaces and extensive repair of the road in this area.

### *Roadside settlements*

The settlements along the road system have, with the exception of Kenchester and Leintwardine, received remarkably little systematic attention. The site near the present bridge over the Teme at Leintwardine that produced the Roman inscription in 2001 is part of a complex featuring a sizeable bath-house, presumed by the excavator to have served a Roman fort here (Stanford, 1968). However, in another part of the same complex, parts of Roman stone columns have been found, and this hints at the existence here of a *mansio* complex. It has been suggested that the totality of the evidence so far retrieved from Leintwardine can be re-interpreted as coming solely from a walled civilian wayside settlement, given the absence of pieces of demonstrably military gear (Brown, 1998).

Some focal settlements on known roads came to light during early infrastructure works. An example is Blackwardine at Stoke Prior east of Leominster. Here, finds were made when the Bromyard to Leominster railway line was being built, and a deep cutting was made. The place name of the site is also of course suggestive. It occupies a level location near Humber church, with wide views westwards over north Herefordshire. It is located on a north-south road that runs broadly parallel with, but

some way to the east of, Watling Street West. Finds include both structures and pits, that have produced a rich assemblage of material (Brown, 1990).

Another settlement that was located early on at Stretton Grandison (more properly, Canon Frome) was found largely as a result of the construction of the Gloucester and Hereford Canal. It is located near an apparent crossroads between two Roman roads. One is a north-south road that may be the same road that goes through Blackwardine, crosses the Frome here, and continues on southwards to Dymock, Newent and presumably ultimately Gloucester. The settlement debris here appears to cover a wide area (Buteux, 1996), but no structures have yet been located. The site has been claimed as the *Eposessa* of the Antonine Itinerary, but although it seems possible from its place in the Ravenna Cosmography that it was within the county, this is by no means certain (Rivet and Smith, 1983, 207, 361-2).

Beyond this, there are several likely or probable Romano-British settlements in Herefordshire that may have been beyond the size of individual farmsteads. There are, for instance, the enigmatic remains partially investigated by Shoesmith at Bredwardine (Shoesmith, 1981). Another possible site is under Hereford itself, where there are somewhat enigmatic clues to the former existence of a settlement of some kind. Not surprisingly, this evidence comes mostly from the area by the former river crossing. The earliest find was of an altar from St. John Street, but substantial pieces of two further altars were found during the excavations at Victoria Street (Shoesmith, 1982, 1985). Yet another suspected complex nearby is at Lugwardine. Certainly, the co-existence of –wardine (OE ‘enclosure’) elements and Roman finds appears to be a consistent one across the county.

Meanwhile, at Leominster, finds from two locations indicate the possible former existence of a modest settlement complex at the crossing of the Lugg in the vicinity of Broad Street. The first was a claimed discovery of a mosaic floor behind a building on the north side of Burgess Street in 188..() This might have been regarded with some scepticism, were it not for the discovery in 1962 of several large sherds from a central Gaulish Samian ware vessel dating to 150-170AD found by the bridge over the Kenwater (a branch of the river Lugg) on the site of the old gasworks.

Finally, there is a location that has so far produced only rumoured metal-detector finds, at the crossing of the Stretford Brook south-west of Leominster. It is certainly the case that significant settlements might be suspected at the crossing by Watling Street West either of the Stretford Brook or the Arrow west of Leominster. However, so far, there is little direct evidence to support this.

### **Kenchester: a bi-polar settlement?**

#### *Characterising the Kenchester walled settlement*

The minor status of Kenchester as a nonetheless walled settlement seems at first glance to be well established. This status has been seen as evinced in the apparently haphazard planning of streets and buildings, in the unusual (but by no means unique) eccentricity of plan of the walled area, and above all, in the small size of the area contained within the walls. It has figured in many accounts of small towns (for

instance, Burnham and Wachter, 1990), and it has even been suggested that it may have achieved a 'full' cantonal centre status.

The excavations carried out early in the twentieth century (Jack and Hayter 1917; 1926) focussed upon stone-founded structures, and uncovered several mosaics. However, they also demonstrated the construction of a collonaded and plausibly public building facing onto the main street of the settlement, and the apparent construction of 'strip' buildings on narrow plots with street frontages – emphasising the commercial nature of the settlement, at least at its zenith, c.250-300AD.

The development of Kenchester from an open settlement to one defined by an earthen walled area, with a later inserted town wall, and then added bastions, overtly seems assured. However, it may be that a more complex model for the evolution of the settlement can in time be built up, with the possibility of shift of the centre of activity westwards through time (Wilmott, 1980).

Kenchester is nonetheless one of those sites that, the more study is made of it, the less certain the whole nature of the settlement becomes. Moreover, there are parallels in the design of the settlement, at least in its later phases (from the late third into the fourth century) that link it into a much wider emerging pattern of provincial organisation than even 'western Britain'. One source of such a view is the almost uncanny similarity of the plan of the defences and internal layout of the settlement, between Kenchester and Water Newton/Chesterton in Cambridgeshire (Figure 8).

#### *'Kenchester South' ?*

All the investigation and survey work that has so far gone into the study of Kenchester (including in Wilmott's 're-appraisal') has proceeded on the assumption that the area contained within the walls was at least the nucleus of the town. However, what no one until now appears to have considered is the possibility that Kenchester was a *polyfocal* settlement.

In 2001, the possibility emerged that *another* focal settlement existed within a kilometre of the walled site. This is the site immediately north of the crossing of the Wye at Old Weir. It comprises a focus around the Roman road ('Watling Street West') as it approaches the north bank of the Wye, with a scatter of buildings to its west, and a series of deep 'cisterns' flanked by causeway areas to its east (Figure 9).

Moreover, geophysical survey by *Herefordshire Archaeology* in 2002 revealed that the road as it approaches the north bank of the Wye features a central drain. This is the same as within (but not outside) the walled area at Kenchester. Such an extravagant claim is nonetheless so far supported by relatively little evidence, and further site investigation needs to be made a priority at this location.

### **Temples, shrines, and the 'sacralisation' of Iron Age sites**

#### *Temples in the landscape*

Religion always seems to be treated as a 'residual' or ancillary category in the archaeology of Roman Britain. However, to so marginalise religious practice is to

misunderstand the centrality of the unseen in the lives of 'romanised' Britons across the three and a half centuries of Roman Imperial rule. The evidence is nonetheless often at best vestigial - at least in part because shrines and casual cult locations are rarely identified through pot-scatters in ploughed fields or

Besides the new inscription evidence for a temple of Jupiter in association either with the fort or mansio at Leintwardine, there are some further indications of the presence of temples in the county. For instance, there have been finds indicative of a temple on a hilltop at Stretton Grandison (Walters, 1908, 195). Again (and perhaps not surprisingly) this is in close proximity to a roadside settlement. There is also a suggested temple at Ariconium (Jackson, 2002).

The altars at Hereford itself represent a remarkable concentration of shrine or temple furniture, and it has been suggested therefore that there was some kind of ritual focus near the crossing of the river Wye here (Shoosmith, 1980). At Broad Street in 2000, during the renewal of a main by Welsh Water, observations were made of stone rubble apparently containing also *opus signinum*, sealed below medieval levels. This rubble might therefore represent the remains of significant collapsed Roman buildings.

A find that has been dismissed as indicative of the existence of a shrine or temple was the figure of Mercury found at Staunton-on-Arrow. This stone carving was found during the clearing of a rockery in the vicarage, and it is possible that it had been imported into the site by the rector, a known local antiquary (Painter, 1967). This may be the case, but other finds of Romano-British pottery have been made nearby, and the current residents also say that they have found Roman coins in the garden in recent years (P. White, pers comm).

The evidence for less formal worship is thinner still. An example is the two carved stone heads was found in the 1980s near Stretton Grandison during drainage works (O'Donnell, 1986).

### *Roman Christian Herefordshire*

The scant evidence for Christianity in the county has been reviewed recently (Ray, 2001). A strap-end found by chance at Kenchester conforms to a type well-established as having Christian connotations (ibid, 106; Mawer, 1995, 124). Meanwhile, at Upton Bishop, the building of a vestry in the nineteenth century resulted in the uncovering of medieval carved stones, and an enigmatic fragment of what appears to be a Roman tombstone (Figure 9). It has been suggested that the two figures in adjacent niches on this stone may be portrayals of early Christians at prayer, given the similarity of the treatment of vestments between the Upton Bishop figures and the well-known Lullingstone frieze figures (Ray, 2001).

Part of the reason that the Upton Bishop stone may be significant to the story of Christianity in Roman Herefordshire is that the best evidence for organised Christian communities comes from just this area. This is in the documented existence of Dubricius, as a bishop of the early church in the Ariconium/Archenfield area just to the south of Upton Bishop.

### *A 'sacred' hillfort ?*

Perhaps the most remarkable indications of religious ritual and practice nonetheless come from an abandoned hillfort. Croft Ambrey, north of Leominster, appears to be Herefordshire's most complex Iron Age hillfort. However, Stanford's excavations in the 1960s added a further dimension to this, relating to activity there after the site was abandoned. Stanford saw this abandonment as having taken place following the Roman conquest, but on the evidence of the brooch sequence as noted earlier, the site was long since abandoned (Haselgrove, 1997).

Stanford also mis-interpreted as an annexe, the southern area of the original hillfort (Ray and Hoverd, 2003, 23-5). In this area, he excavated a large platform and associated mound, that was found to have a complex developmental history, and produced many finds including pins and brooches. This material all dated to the Romano-British period, and the sequence indicates that the site was a shrine in use over a considerable time-span (Stanford, 1974).

The assumption has been that this was an isolated feature, representing occasional visits to the site by a displaced population. The archaeological survey carried out across the Croft estate included a detailed study of the fort (Ray and Hoverd, *ibid.*). As a result, two further locations with such shrine sites were noted. One of these had a remarkable row of ten or more structures arranged in a line – one feature among which produced calcined bone and another Romano-British tile and mortar.

What this indicates is not just a phenomenon like the alleged 'pagan revival' that led to hillforts like Maiden Castle in Dorset having shrines placed inside them. Rather, this may represent a wholesale 'sacralisation' of a major Iron Age centre.

### **Cultural and historical patterns, and local identity**

Questions of locality and identity are beginning to come to the fore in Romano-British studies. This may have much to do with the generally increasing amount of development-led and other archaeological fieldwork across the country. In the case of Herefordshire, as noted above, we are still some way off reaching a detailed appreciation of localised or sub-regional patterns of development. We are however beginning to glimpse the possibility of such patterns emerging.

One example is via the work on farmsteads, noted above. So it is that in the Arrow Valley in north-west Herefordshire there appears to be an emerging pattern comprising paired farmstead enclosures, one of relatively low-status and one of high-status, with the latter defined by double ditches. The higher status is nonetheless otherwise only registered in the quality of imported vessels, and appears not to be translated into the use of stone or tile in the construction of buildings. Meanwhile, in the lower Lugg and lower Frome valleys, a contrasting pattern may be emerging, with more substantial buildings.

We have already noted the distinctiveness of settlement around Kenchester, and the nature of the materials used in the structures here again points a contrast in respect of non-local linkages. This is because, although not uniquely here, but here in more

quantity, there is imported high-quality stonework, to produce colonnades and other ‘Classicising’ architectural features.

Another characteristic pattern may exist in the environs of Ariconium, and yet another in the lower Wye valley and around Monmouth. All these areas were heavily engaged in iron-working. It may be instructive therefore to compare how the different areas north of the Forest of Dean developed this industry, and their civil society, in reference to their ‘embeddedness’ within the provincial economy.

### **Climate and landscape change**

The subject of the climate and vegetation of regions of Roman Britain is often discussed at the beginning of a chapter such as this. As such, it is often regarded as a ‘backdrop’ for a reconstruction of the contemporary environment. However, close study of the development of river-valleys has considerable further potential to enable the gauging of environment change and its impacts on human activity.

This has been looked at in the recent Arrow Valley project, by a team from the University of Wales at Aberystwyth (Macklin et al, 2003). One phenomenon noted in the study that was of particular interest was the frequency with which Romano-British material was associated with flooding and bank erosion events. Another was variability in sediment deposition. A high point traced in the depositional regime appears to have been c.200AD.

This is particularly noteworthy for its apparent correlation with the archaeological evidence from the field system excavated in 2003 at Middle Field, Leen Farm, Pembridge (White, 2003). Here it seems that there was a marked intensification of land division (and perhaps therefore also of arable cultivation) at exactly the same period – perhaps therefore causing greater run-off from the arable area into the nearby river.

### **The character of Romano-British Herefordshire, 1895-2003**

At the start of this chapter, reference was made to the succinct view of Roman Herefordshire provided by Rivet in his *Town and Country in Roman Britain* volume, which is perhaps the most effective review of awareness of the geography Roman Britain before or since (Rivet, 1964). Mortimer Wheeler’s view (1934) was only a little less succinct, but it contained two significant differences. The first is that, for Wheeler, there was no doubt that Herefordshire was straightforwardly part of the ‘civil zone’ of Roman Britain. He wrote: “if by a border-country we think instinctively of moor and moss and the piping curlew, then it were well not to fit the conventional phrase to that comfortable and fertile shire which, in Roman times as today, was essentially integral with the English plain” (1934, xlix). Herefordshire was “a land of peace, of small country-towns, (and) industrial villages and farmsteads” (ibid).

The second difference is that Wheeler understood that the material that was available in the 1930s from which to write the history of Roman Herefordshire provided only a hint of what it might be possible to uncover, with a little effort. “Herefordshire cannot

complain of its share of Romanisation – a share which, when the moment arrives, could easily and substantially be increased by a little judicious exploration” (ibid, liv). Perhaps the problem is, that we have waited rather a long time for that ‘moment’ to arrive.

## **Conclusions**

Rather than summarise the preceding sections, this conclusion will focus on the future, both the more immediate and the more distant. On the face of it, Herefordshire is not an obvious place in which to consider doing research into Roman Britain. The settlement(s) at Kenchester, for instance, appear strikingly anomalous within the emerging picture of urbanisation. I hope to have shown that Kenchester certainly in reference to its highly developed immediate hinterland, cannot be fitted into a generic framework, within a category such as ‘walled village’.

However, the importance of Herefordshire within the Roman world may lie in the fact that it was neither wholly Romano-British nor British. As such, it contained both areas closely linked into the ‘political geography’ of the province (especially in the multi-provincised later Roman period), and areas that remained stubbornly ‘Iron Age’ in character throughout the four centuries concerned. Moreover, it was in this area that one of the few definable post-Roman and essentially rural Christian bishoprics emerged, headed by the cleric ‘Dubricius’. In this way a key element of the cultural nexus of western Britain in the following six centuries was (with the additional complication of the advent of the Normans) forged in this region.

The future will see further development projects in the environs of Hereford and Leominster, and in Leintwardine, that may throw more light on the development of these places in Roman times. As noted above, among the more specific additions to such knowledge will be the investigation of both the Roman road, and at least one associated rural settlement, before and during the construction work for the upgrading of the A4103 east of Stretton Sugwas in the period 2003-4. It can, moreover, be anticipated that further features of the Romano-British landscape of the lower Lugg valley will emerge as a result of work associated with minerals extraction not only at Wellington Quarry, but also at the Moreton-on-Lugg depot close by.

However, it may be that the most significant advances will be made elsewhere. Among these it is anticipated will be the continuing programme of research into rural settlements being carried out by Peter Guest for Cardiff University in north Herefordshire (see Guest, this volume). However, other projects will proceed in parallel. These will hopefully include further work undertaken in partnership between Herefordshire Archaeology and The National Trust at New Weir and in its vicinity, to attempt to define more closely the nature of some of the Wye-side settlements.

In a completely different direction, the extension of the Portable Antiquities Scheme to Herefordshire and Shropshire has begun in 2003, with a Finds Liaison Officer based at Ludlow Museum. Hopefully, this will amplify the trickle of information, particularly on metalwork finds, that Judy Stevenson has managed to attract to Hereford Museum since 1998 (Stevenson, 2001).

Further new discoveries will be made as a result of the sustained and new programmes of survey now underway in the county, and some of these finds will no doubt be attributable to the Roman period. These surveys include an extensive series of woodlands and historic parkland surveys, and sustained aerial archaeological reconnaissance survey. For the latter, given at least one summer in which optimal conditions prevail for a month or more, it might also be possible to locate some of the elusive forts and marching camps.

Also with funding from English Heritage, the programme of valley-based archaeological and historic landscape surveys forming part of the European Union/DEFRA funded Herefordshire Rivers LEADER+ project will hopefully continue on from the Arrow Valley project that has already taken place in 2003. Further investigations of the impact of arable farming have been carried out, including limited ‘ground-truthing’ investigations of more enclosure sites, and as noted above, this has already added to the assemblage of proven enclosed farmsteads.

What is not planned on any scale, but would be an important contribution to research into the economic place of the Wye valley and adjacent areas in the Romano-British period, is extended research into the ironworking industry. More locally, any excavation of a pottery production site in the county would enable some idea to be gained about the local contribution to the ‘Severn Valley Ware’ industry. Some sustained investigation of the larger settlements would be useful, and particularly the enigmatic sites at Blackwardine and Stretton Grandison/Canon Frome.

Perhaps what is needed most, however, is some research into Kenchester itself, provided that it takes in the environs also. In the wider context of Roman Britain, the potential of sites like Kenchester, unburdened by later development, and only to a limited extent ‘sampled’ by early excavations, is widely appreciated. The form and distribution of later buildings is accessible to some degree from aerial photographic study, and the number of photographs of the site now available makes this a feasible future exercise. However, to achieve a better understanding of the development of the town, and especially of the contribution of timber buildings, will require more investment of effort:

“Although every chance needs to be taken to enhance the available data base, the time must now be ripe for a more co-ordinated research approach, particularly at those greenfield sites which afford the opportunity of combining cost-effective, non-invasive surveys with judicious excavations in key areas to elucidate the early plan. The current Wroxeter project and the ongoing work at Silchester and Aldborough offer a useful working model for other sites like Kenchester or Caister by Norwich.”

Burnham, Collis, Dobinson, Haselgrove and Jones, 2001, 72.

## References

- Anthony, I.E. (1958) *The Iron Age at Poston*. Woolhope Club.
- Barber, A. and Walker, G. (1995) *The Weir Garden, Swainshill, Hereford and Worcester: Archaeological Fieldwork 1991-1995*. Cotswold Archaeological Trust Report 95298.
- Bridgewater, N. P. (1965) Romano-British ironworking near Ariconium. *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 38, 179-191.
- Brown, D.L. (1990) The Romano-British Settlement at Blackwardine (HWCM 737). *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 61, 390-406.
- Brown, D.L. (1998) The Roman Small Town of Leintwardine: Excavations and other Fieldwork 1971-1989. *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 48, 1996, 510-572.
- Burnham, B.C. and Wachter, J.S. (1990) *The Small Towns of Roman Britain*. Batsford.
- Burnham, B.C., Collis, J., Dobinson, C., Haselgrove C., and Jones, M. (2001) Themes for urban research, c 100BC to AD200, in James, S., and Millett, M., eds, *Britons and Romans: advancing an archaeological agenda*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 125.
- Buteux, V. (1996) *An Archaeological Assessment of Stretton Grandison Roman Settlement, Hereford and Worcester*. Central Marches Historic Towns Survey, Archaeological Service, Hereford and Worcester County Council, Report 347.
- Forcey, C. (1997) Beyond 'Romanisation': Technologies of power in Roman Britain. In Meadows, K.I., Lemke, C., and Heron, J. (eds) *TRAC 96: Proceedings of the sixth annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Sheffield 1996*. Oxford: Oxbow Monographs.
- Frere, S.S. (1987) Brandon Camp, Herefordshire. *Britannia* 28, 49-92.
- Haselgrove, C. (1997) Iron Age brooch deposition and chronology in Gwilt, A. and Haselgrove, C. (eds) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies: New approaches to the British Iron Age*, 51-72. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 71.
- Heys, F.G., and Thomas, M. (1962) Excavations on the defences of Kenchester. *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 37, 149-78.
- Hoverd, T. (2001) *Ridgeway, Cradley: An Iron Age enclosure*. West Midlands Archaeology 43, 2000, 45-6.
- (2003) *An Archaeological Survey of Woodlands in the Malvern Hills Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, 2000-2002*. Herefordshire Archaeology Report.

Hurst, D. (2002) Dobunnic Tribal Centres, Commodities and Trade: the South Worcestershire Hoard, Salt and Pottery, in Watt, S. (ed) *West Midlands Archaeology* 44, 2001, 84-93. Birmingham: Council for British Archaeology.

Jack, G.H., and Hayter, A.G.K. (1916) *Excavations on the site of the Romano-British town of Magna, Kenchester, 1912-13*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.

Jack, G.H., and Hayter, A.G.K. (1926) *Excavations on the site of the Romano-British town of Magna, Kenchester, 1924-25. (Volume II)*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.

Jackson, R. (2000) *The Roman Settlement at Ariconium, near Weston-under-Penyard, Herefordshire: An Assessment and synthesis of the Evidence*. Archaeological Service, Worcestershire County Council, Report 833.

Forthcoming, *Wellington Quarry, Herefordshire: Site investigations 1985-1995*.

Jackson, R., Buteux, V., Hurst, D., and Pearson, E. (1999) *Evaluation at St. Donat's Farm, Burghill, Herefordshire*. Archaeological Service, Worcestershire County Council, Report 723.

Kenyon, K.M. (1954) Excavations at Sutton Walls, Herefordshire, 1948-1951. *Archaeol J.* 110, 1-87.

Laurence, R. (1999) Theoretical Roman Archaeology. *Britannia* 30, 387-90.

Lewis, B. (n.d.) Boundary Landscapes (undated MS).

Morris, E. (1994) Production and Distribution of Salt in Iron Age Britain: a Review. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 60, 371-393.

O'Donnell, J. (1986) Two Celtic Heads. *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 45, 501.

Painter, K.S. (1967) A Roman Stone Relief from Staunton-on-Arrow. *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 39, 152-3.

Patrick, C, Griffin, L. Mann, A., and Pearson, E. (2002) *Archaeological Evaluation of the Route of the A4103 Roman Road Improvements, Herefordshire*. Archaeological Service, Worcestershire County Council, Report 1000.

Ray, K. (2001) Archaeology and The Three Early Churches of Herefordshire. In Malpas, A., Butler, J., Davis, A., Davis, S., Malpas, T., and Samson, C. (Eds.) *The Early Church in Herefordshire*, 99-148. Leominster.

(2002) Iron Age Settlements in Herefordshire, in Watt, S. (ed) *West Midlands Archaeology* 44, 2001, 77-84. Birmingham: Council for British Archaeology.

Ray, K. and Hoverd, T. (2003) *Croft Castle Estate: an Archaeological Survey, 2001-2*. Herefordshire Archaeology Report, 49.

Ray, K. and White, P. (2003) *Herefordshire's Historic Landscape: A Characterisation*. Hereford: Herefordshire Studies in Archaeology, Volume 1 (Herefordshire Council).

Richardson, R. (1996) Field-Names with possible Roman Connections. *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 48, 453-69.

Rivet, A.L.F. (1964) *Town and Country in Roman Britain* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn). London: Hutchinson.

Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England. (1934) *Herefordshire, Volume III*. London.

Shoesmith, R. (1980) The Roman Buildings at New Weir, Herefordshire. *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 43, 134-54.

(1982) *Hereford City Excavations, Volume 2: Excavations on and close to the defences*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 46.

(1985) *Hereford City Excavations, Volume 3: the finds*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 46.

Stanford, S.C. (1968) The Roman Forts at Leintwardine and Buckton, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 39, 222-326.

(1971) Credenhill Camp, Herefordshire: An Iron Age Hill-Fort Capital. *Arch. J.* 127 (1970), 82-129.

(1991) *The Archaeology of the Welsh Marches*. (Second, revised, edition). Ludlow, privately published.

Stevenson, J. (2001) Recent acquisitions and activities in Herefordshire Heritage Services. *West Midlands Archaeology* 44, 100-102.

Taylor, E. (1998) Report on the excavation of Huntsham Romano-British Villa and Iron Age Enclosure 1959-1970. *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 48, 1995, 224-81.

(2000) Excavation of a Ring-Ditched Enclosure with Romano-British Pottery. *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 49, 1997, 28-32.

Tomlin, R.S.O. (2002) A Roman inscription from Leintwardine, Herefordshire. *Britannia*, 33.

Van Arsdell, C. (1994) *The Coinage of the Dobunni: Money Supply and Coin Circulation in Dobunnic Territory*, with a Gazetteer of Findspots by Philip de Jersey. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 38 (Studies in Celtic Coinage, No.1).

Walters, B. (1999) *The Forest of Dean Iron Industry: 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> Centuries AD*. Dean Archaeology Group Occ. Publ. 4.

Weddell, N. (2000) St. Ailworth: A Celtic Saint in the Black Mountains? *Arch. Camb.* 116 (1997), 79-100.

Webster, G. (1954) A Trial Trench Across the Defences at the Roman Fort at Tedstone Wafer, Herefordshire. *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 34, 1954, 284-7.

(1981) *Rome Against Caratacus*. Batsford.

White, P., (2001) The impact of potato-growing on archaeological sites in Herefordshire: a preliminary study. *West Midlands Archaeology* 44, 63-7.

(2003) *The Arrow Valley, Herefordshire: Archaeology, Landscape Change and Conservation*. Hereford: Herefordshire Studies in Archaeology, Volume 2 (Herefordshire Council).

Wilmott, A.R. (1980) Kenchester (Magnis): A Reconsideration. *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 43, 116-33.

Wilmott, A.R., and Rahtz, S.P.Q. (1985) An Iron Age and Roman Settlement outside Kenchester (Magnis), Herefordshire: Excavations, 1977-79 *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 45, 36-185.