Conversion, Christianity, and the Late Roman transition in south-east Wales

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SUMMARY. It is currently widely accepted that the roots of Early Medieval Christianity in south-east Wales lay somewhere within the Roman late fourth century. The archaeological evidence when interpreted contextually, however, reveals a far more complex picture. In this paper a contextual interpretation of the conversion to Christianity, and Late Roman transition in south-east Wales, is constructed. It is proposed that the origins of Welsh Christianity lay within a context of social, political, and religious flux during the final years of Roman administration in Britain. Within this context knowledgeable agents sought to construct a new world order out of the remnants of their Late Roman past. Christianity and the Christian Church were instrumental in processes of the Late Roman transition and the creation of a Late Antique world order in south-east Wales.

A QUESTION OF FAITH: CHRISTIANITY IN ROMAN SOUTH-EAST WALES

In this paper I will explore the relationship between the creation of a 'Late Antique' society and the emergence of Christian communities in south-east Wales (the modern counties of Monmouthshire and Glamorgan) in the early fifth century. I will argue that the roots of Welsh Christianity lie not in the fourth century, but within the years during and following the withdrawal of Roman administration in the first half of the fifth century. I will also argue that the Roman withdrawal itself was instrumental in the creation of a 'Late Antique' Christian society in sub-Roman south Wales.

Traditional narratives on the history of the Early Medieval Church in Wales have sought to place the roots of Christianity within the mid to late fourth century.[2] From these fourth-century origins the Church is said to have grown slowly but steadily to become the dominant theological power of the Middle Ages.

If we accept this interpretation then we would expect to find at least some evidence of Christian communities and institutions in fourth-century south-east Wales. It would appear, however, that this is simply not the case, and indeed the evidence suggests quite the opposite—a polytheistic, pagan, presence in Late Roman power relations. In order to explore this further it is necessary to look at the archaeological and historical evidence for Christianity in Late Roman south-east Wales.

Julius and Aaron

Gildas, writing sometime in the mid sixth century, refers to the martyrs Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon who 'displayed the highest spirit in the battle-line of Christ' (*De Excidio* 10:2). David Petts has recently suggested that the martyrdoms of Aaron and Julius may have taken place under the persecutions of the emperors Decius and then Valerian in the 250s.[3] Ian McKee, in a recent article, has suggested that given their nature, it is most likely that the actual trials and executions of St Alban and the Caerleon martyrs would have taken place in London.[4] Jeremy Knight,[5] who has published extensively on these martyrs, has draw attention to the medieval chapel of SS Alban, Julius and Aaron which stood across the river from Caerleon alongside the road to Caerwent, on the fringe of the large Roman cemetery.[6] He has also noted a charter in the Book of Llandaff, dated to *circa* AD 864,[7] which records the grant of land attached to the church or shrine of Julius and Aaron to Bishop Nudd. The location of the possible

medieval church can be located on the ground today, and any investigation of this site would therefore be of great importance for developing our understanding of the origins of Christianity in south Wales. There are in fact a number of later medieval ecclesiastical foundations located on or close to former Roman sites in south-east Wales; examples include the churches of St Cadoc in Caerleon, St Tathyw in Caerwent, and the early medieval monastic sites at Llandough and Llantwit Major. Whether the later Christian use of these sites is evidence of continuity of the faith from the fourth century, or rather is representative of a more complex process is, in the absence of archaeological investigation, difficult to determine. This is particularly so in the light of what is known about sixth-century Anglo-Saxon reuse of former Romano-British Christian sites in England, for example at sites such as Canterbury.[8]

What then do the martyrdoms of Julius and Aaron tells us about the origins of Christianity in south-east Wales? Firstly, it is clear that in the post-Roman and medieval period there was a cult of Julius, Aaron and later Alban near to Caerleon. However, whether this medieval cult is of Roman origin, or is a sub-Roman creation of the cult is more difficult to determine. The presence of the post-Roman church in a Roman cemetery is supportive of the former; however, it is also possible that the medieval church was located on a previously abandoned Romano-British shrine; archaeological investigation of the site of the medieval church is therefore highly desirable. What is clear is that there were at least some Christians in Roman Wales, and that the faith was not entirely unknown in the region before the first archaeological evidence of its appearance. The significance that Julius and Aaron have for wider debates on the origins of Welsh Christianity is uncertain, however. There is no reason to assume that martyrdoms were not just isolated examples of the Christianity in the third-century Roman West, and if the martyrdoms took place within a military context before the Peace of the Church in AD 313, their occurrence need not necessitate a Christian community in the region in the fourth century; although the re-emergence of their cult in the Early Medieval period would suggest that some form of Christian continuity was possible. In conclusion it would seem that at present the sixth-century reference to the martyrdom of Julius and Aaron at Caerleon is not evidence enough in itself to prove outright the existence of substantial Christian communities in fourth-century south-east Wales.

Small finds

The relationship between religion and material objects is far from straightforward, and always dependent upon context. Material objects cannot be considered as passive reflections of faith;[9] to quote David Petts, 'the decision to deploy a Christian image may have been governed by many factors. It is not safe to assume that just because an object appeared with a religious symbol it was either made or used by Christians'.[10] Although we must always bear in mind the difficulties of ascribing religious affiliation to material culture, and the possibility that we may simply not be able to recognise the religious significance of certain artefacts, the artefactual evidence for Christianity in fourth-century south-east Wales, and indeed Wales in general is very slight. Firstly, a silver spoon inscribed with a Chi-Rho symbol was found somewhere in Monmouthshire. The spoon has no archaeological context, however, and is therefore of little use in providing evidence of fourth-century Christian communities in south-east Wales.[11]

The only other piece of artefactual evidence for Christianity in fourth-century south-east Wales is a set of vessels including a late fourth-century (*c.* +AD 370) pewter bowl inscribed with a blundered Chi-R graffito from Caerwent. The assemblage was excavated from Room 17 of House IX.7N.[12] The late George Boon, who discovered the Chi-R graffito on the pewter bowl many years after the assemblage was first discovered, interpreted the assemblage as an *agape* set. The *agape* was an early Christian supper celebrated within the houses of high-status members of the community after the Eucharist. Boon attributed specific functions to all the items and suggested that the Chi-R inscribed bowl formed the

'common cup'.[13] Some scholars[14] have used this assemblage as evidence of an organised Christian community in Caerwent in the final quarter of the fourth century.

The function of these vessels as an *agape* set is disputed by Frances Mawer, however, in her book on the small finds evidence for Christianity in Roman Britain.[15] She argues that the Chi-R graffito is blundered and inconspicuous; it could also simply be a mark of identification. She also notes that Boon himself admitted that not all the items were deposited at the same time and that associated functions cannot be assumed. A further point of significance, as will become apparent later, is the exact date of the vessels, and whether the assemblage belongs to the late fourth or early fifth century. Nevertheless, the find is important and at least hints at the presence of a Christian minority within the communities of Late Roman Caerwent.

Churches?

Let us now turn to another class of evidence which has been used to identify a Christian community in Late Roman south Wales; actual church buildings. Although examples are known from England—for example, churches have been speculatively identified in excavations at St Paul-in-the-Bail in Lincoln—there is very little evidence of church buildings in fourth-century Wales. The only possible example has been proposed in Caerwent also by the late George Boon;[16] although a possible church has tentatively been identified by geophysical survey at Wroxeter.[17] Boon argued that a group of chambers centred on Room VII, to the north side of House XXII in Insula V, were adapted into a house church in the later fourth-century. Arnold and Davies consider Boon's interpretation to be speculative, however.[18] Boon had no artefactual or iconographic evidence to support this interpretation, and his argument was based entirely upon loose analogy with garrison churches in the Rhineland, some of which were constructed later than the possible Caerwent example in any case. The possible Caerwent house church lacks the explicitly Christian iconography present at the more certainly identified Romano-British house church at Lullingstone Villa (Kent); and with only analogy to the Rhenish churches as evidence, Boon's identification of a house church at Caerwent must remain speculative.[19]

Cemeteries

We must now turn to cemeteries, the final piece of evidence which has been used not only to argue for the presence of Christians in Roman Wales, but also to argue for the continuity of their faith from the Roman into the post-Roman period. As with material culture the relationships between burial practices and religion in Roman and Early Medieval periods are highly contentious and far from straightforward.[20] With this caveat in mind let us now consider the burial evidence for Roman and post-Roman Wales.

David Petts has recently identified two broad sets of burial rites which were practiced in post- and sub-Roman Britain, both of which he argued were performed within a Christian milieu.[21] The 'central rite' predominant within central England consisted of highly organised cemeteries of mostly unaccompanied, west/east aligned, supine inhumations.[22] There are many sub-Roman examples of this burial rite from across central England: examples include Henley Wood and Cannington (Somerset), Poundbury (Dorset) and Ashton (Northants.).

David Petts[23] has argued, following the work of Peter Brown, that this 'central rite' was adopted as a consequence of the Church's influence within Late and sub-Roman municipal secular politics. The Church's prominent position within fourth-century power relations may have encouraged it to attempt to suppress the pre-existing native burial rites and funerary rituals in favour of the more standardised 'Christian' rite. The standardised 'Christian rite', with its aligned and unaccompanied burials, prevented high-status secular families from using burial ritual as a focus of social display, and as an area for jostling for power, both with other families, and the Church itself.[24] The adoption of the 'central rite', however,

does not have to imply that all those interred were Christians; rather, it may simply be a graphic display of ideological influence of the Church as a political and ideological institution within Late and sub-Roman society.

In the Celtic areas west of the 'central rite' a significantly different, but still Christian, burial rite was practiced in the post-Roman period. As with the central rite, burials of the 'western rite' were laid supine, orientated west-east, and tended not to include grave-goods. The physical organisation of the cemeteries, however, was in complete contrast to those of the 'central rite'. Cemeteries of the 'western rite' contain focal graves and distinct clusters of burials, as at sites such as Plas Gogerddan (Dyfed) and Towyn Capel (Anglesey). Such focal and clustered layouts have been interpreted as representing kinship or household groups.[25] It would seem, therefore, that although still buried within a Christian context, the Church's influence on the western rite only extended as far as the grave side. The emphasis on family grouping would suggest that in the Celtic West the early Church was structured in such a way to act parallel to the pre-existing kinship structures, rather than simply replace them. This was in contrast to the 'central rite' where kinship relationships were actively suppressed by the Church's influence over the burial rite. Petts has argued that the reason for this regional variation relates to the way in which Christianity was institutionalised within these two communities. The important point for us, however, is that it seems most likely that the post-Roman cemeteries of Wales were Christian.

Returning to the Late Roman period in south-east Wales, the presence of cemeteries displaying elements of the 'western rite' has often been used as evidence of Christian communities in this region.[26] This is, however, a highly speculative interpretation. Firstly, although there are a small number of cemeteries which may contain elements of the 'western rite' in Roman south-east Wales, for example the cemetery overlying the Roman villa at Llandough and the Atlantic Trading Estate (Barry), these practices are not common, and the number of Late Roman cemeteries in south-east Wales is low. Secondly, the number and precision of radiocarbon dates available for the Late Roman cemeteries in south-east Wales are insufficient to demonstrate that the western rite was practiced widely in the fourth century.

Both Llandough and the Atlantic Trading Estate developed into examples of Petts' 'western burial rite'; a rite which we have argued was practiced under the influence of the Christian Church. I would like to argue, however, that continuity of burial practice does not prove continuity of belief; just because elements of Romano-British burial practices were taken up by the Church in the sub-Roman period, for largely political reasons, this does not mean that we can, in the absence of any other evidence, retrospectively project a Christian belief onto burials which otherwise cannot be demonstrated as Christian. To quote the excavators of the Eastgate cemetery at Caerwent, 'using the cemetery as evidence of Christian continuity in order to demonstrate the Christian nature of the cemetery is to employ a circular argument'.[27]

As I have argued, the dating evidence for the 'western rite' cemeteries in Wales places them more comfortably in the fifth century or later. This is perhaps significant as there is also a proliferation of these cemeteries across the whole of Wales at this time, and examples include Capel Eithin, Tandderwen, Arfryn, and Llandegai.[28] This is particularly interesting as from the fifth-century inscribed stones were also being erected throughout certain parts of Wales. Some of these stones, but no means all of them, display Christian iconography and formulae.[29] Although these so-called Early Christian Monuments are largely absent from south-east Wales, there are later literary references to post-Roman monastic communities in this area, and examples include Llandough, Llandaff, Llantwit Major, and Caerwent.[30] The recently published excavations at Llandough have also proven that the Early Medieval monastery at this site post-dated the Romano-British villa.[31]

In summary, the evidence for Christianity in Late Roman south Wales is therefore a lot weaker than has previously been thought. I am not arguing that there were no Christians, the Caerleon martyrs and

less certainly the Caerwent *agape* set should indicate some Christian presence. However, I am suggesting three things: firstly the Christian presence in fourth-century Wales was small; secondly, the Church, as an institution, was underdeveloped in Late Roman Wales; and thirdly, the first firm evidence for widespread Christianity in Wales belongs to the sub-Roman period, when we see the Church starting to exert its influence over the burial rite, and the foundation of ecclesiastical houses such as the monastery at Llandough.[32] Indeed, the presence of a pagan temple adjacent to the forum/basilica complex at Caerwent, constructed in *c.* AD 330 and which was in use long enough to be modified on at least one occasion, suggests there may have been a strong pagan influence in fourth-century south-east Wales.[33]

Given that the first firm archaeological evidence for Christianity in south Wales dates to the sub-Roman period, is it a coincidence, therefore, that these individuals and communities only chose to express a Christian identity in the fifth century after the fall of Roman administration in this region? With this question in mind I will now consider the relationship between the Late Roman transition and the conversion to Christianity.

A CRISIS OF FAITH: THE LATE ROMAN TRANSITION IN SOUTH-EAST WALES

I would like to argue, following the recent work of Martin Henig,[34] that in contrast to the 'military zone' of fourth-century north and west Wales the communities of south-east Wales considered themselves to be 'Roman'. Although we must be careful not to impose too rigid a definition of what comprised a 'Roman' identity; the Romano-British communities of south-east Wales lived in a Roman world; they lived in a landscape of villa estates and towns similar to that of Gloucester and Somerset.[35] Their Roman identity was brought into being through their involvement in the Roman state, and the use of Roman materialities such as coins, pottery, metalwork and artwork. However, if the communities of south-east Wales were constructing their lives in a Roman manner in the fourth century, this was certainly not true of the fifth century. The material conditions of life in post-Roman Wales were very different to those of a hundred years before. Although we have severe problems with dating, Caerwent and Caerleon, and the villas and farmsteads of south Wales appear to have been abandoned, or were no longer serving their previous function by at least the second quarter of the fifth century.[36]

Let us consider this pattern of decline in relation to the withdrawal and rejection of Roman administration in Britain. By the mid to late fourth century the Western Roman Empire was in economic crisis; although a gross over-simplification of a very complex process, it would seem that the Western Empire was becoming unable to raise the taxes to pay for its defence against the ever-increasing migrations, invasions, internal civil wars, and attempted usurpations.[37] In relation to Britain the evidence suggests that by the mid fifth century Romano-British administration had ceased to function in much, if not all, of Britain. The collapse of the Roman military and administrative presence in south-east Wales in the first half of the fifth century would have had serious consequences for the sub-Roman communities of this area; the Romanised systems of social reproduction, the social foundations on which the Romano-British communities of this area had stood for the preceding centuries, had been removed.

Let us now consider the Roman withdrawal in relation to the beginning of the conversion to Christianity in south-east Wales; a process which the archaeological evidence suggests did not take place until after the end of Roman administration in Britain. Conversion is an 'infinitely complex process',[38] and may take place through many passive and active dynamics. In relation to sub-Roman south Wales I believe that it is possible that one of the many dynamics behind the conversion was the social stresses brought about by the withdrawal of Roman administration. To expand on this point: within the western dioceses in the fourth century the Church had started to fill administrative voids in the Late Roman

municipal state. These voids were left when the secular elites, who had traditionally played major roles in provincial politics, began to retreat from these duties due to the increasing financial and legal burdens that they carried.[39] It is therefore possible that with the secular elements of the Roman state in ruins, the Church may have been looked upon as a source of authority and the natural ideological heir to Rome.

The removal of Roman-British administration in south Wales would have created a power vacuum and period of social flux. Within this context of social uncertainty the sub-Roman communities of south-east Wales may have looked upon and sought out the Church and the range of identities it offered as the Late Antique heir to Rome; to quote Martin Henig in the sub-Roman period, 'to be Christian was coming to be seen as the same thing as being Roman'.[40] I would like to suggest that the former Romanised pagan communities of south Wales sought to construct a new world order and identity for themselves after the rejection of Roman administration in Britain. They created for themselves a 'Late Antique' identity, distinct from, but drawing on elements of, their Roman past. For this new identity they drew upon potent ideologies; amongst them the Christian Church, which until now had been of minor significance in this area.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, I have argued that the evidence for early Christianity in south-east Wales suggests that a more complex process than has previously been proposed existed. In this process the rejection of Roman administration in Britain engendered a 'crisis of faith' within secular society; this was because the very basis on which society had stood for the preceding centuries had been removed. Within this crisis the former Roman and largely pagan communities of south Wales sought to realign their identity, and construct a new world order: a Christian Late Antique world order. This realignment of identity was expressed through the establishment of ecclesiastical foundations, often in juxtaposition to high status secular sites, for example at Dinas Powys and Llandough, and by the creation of Christian burial grounds.

This paper does, however, raise a number of questions concerning the Late Roman transition in this and neighbouring regions of western Britain. For example, do we now have to re-examine the evidence for Romano-British Christianity in the south-west Midlands, particularly at Wroxeter and the Herefordshire and Gloucester region? We must also reconsider the region to the south of south-east Wales across the Severn Estuary in Somerset and west Devon, as given the ease of water-borne transport, these areas must have been in close connection with one another through the Roman and sub-Roman periods.

NOTES

1. This paper is a revised and expanded version of papers presented at the Exeter meeting of the Theoretical Archaeology Group in December 2006, and the Cardiff meeting of the Early Medieval Wales Archaeological Research Group in February 2007.

2.   M. Redknap, *The Christian Celts: Treasures of Late Celtic Wales* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1991), 26; N. Edwards, 'Identifying the archaeology of the early church in Wales and Cornwall', in J. Blair and C. Pyrah (eds), *Church Archaeology: Research Directions for the Future* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1996), 49–62; C. Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London: Batsford, 1981), 351; R. Howell, 'From the fifth to the seventh century', in M. Aldhouse-Green and R. Howell (eds), *The Gwent Country History Volume One: Gwent in Prehistory and Early History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 259–61; J. Knight 'The early Church in Gwent: the Early Medieval Church', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 9 (1993), 1–18; G. C. Boon, 'The Early Christian Church in Gwent: the Romano-British Church', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 8 (1992), 11–24; N. Edwards and A. Lane (eds), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1992).

3.   D. Petts, *Christianity in Roman Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003), 31; J. Knight, 'Britain's other martyrs: Julius, Aaron and Alban at Caerleon', in M. Henig and P. Lindley (eds), *Alban and St Albans: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art, and Archaeology* (London: Maney, 2001).

4.   Knight 1993 op. cit. (note 2), 2; I. McKee, 'Gildas: lessons from history', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 51 (2006), 1–36.

5.   Knight 1993 op. cit. (note 2); Knight 2001 op. cit. (note 3); J. Knight, 'Society and religion in the Early Middle Ages', in Aldhouse-Green and Howell 2004 op. cit. (note 2); J. Knight, 'The early Church in South-East Wales', in J. R. Kenyon and D. Williams (eds)*, Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff* (London: Maney, 2006).

6.   Knight 2001 op. cit. (note 3).

7.   W. Davies, *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1979), 121.

8.   D. Hinton, *Archaeology, Economy and Society: England from the Fifth- to the Fifteenth Century* (London: Seaby, 1990), 27–9.

9.   D. Petts, 'Burial, religion and identity in sub-Roman and early medieval Britain AD 400–800', unpublished PhD thesis, Reading University (2001), 31–2; F. Mawer, *Evidence for Christianity in Roman Britain: The Small-Finds*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 243 (Oxford, 1995), 1.

10.   Petts 2003 op. cit. (note 3), 107.

11.   C. J. Arnold and J. L. Davies, *Roman and Early Medieval Wales* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), 132.

12.   J. Knight, 'Basilicas and barrows: Christian origins in Wales and Western Britain', in M. Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North — Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe A.D. 300–1300* (York: York Medieval Press, 2003), 121; Edwards 1996 op. cit. (note 2), 50.

13.   G. Boon op. cit. (note 2), 17–18.

14.   e.g. Knight 2003 op. cit. (note 12), 122; Knight 2004 op. cit. (note 5); Edwards 1996 op. cit. (note 2), 50; Arnold and Davies op. cit. (note 11), 121–2; R. Brewer, 'The Romans in Gwent', in Aldhouse-Green and Howell 2004 op. cit. (note 2).

15.   Mawer op. cit. (note 9), 19.

16.   Boon op. cit. (note 2), 18–19.

17.   P. Barker and R. White, *Wroxeter: Life and Death of a Roman City* (Stroud: Tempus, 1998), 107.

18.   Arnold and Davies op. cit. (note 11), 132.

19.   Ibid., 132.

20.   M. Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999); Petts 2003 op. cit. (note 3), 137; G. Halsall, *Early Medieval Cemeteries: an Introduction to Burial Archaeology in the Post-Roman West* (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1995), 63.

21.   Petts 2001 op. cit. (note 8); D. Petts, 'Burial and gender in Late- and sub-Roman Britain', in C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne and R. Witcher (eds), *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1997); Petts 2003 op. cit. (note 3).

22.   Petts 2001 op. cit. (note 9), 143.

23.   Petts 2003 op cit. (note 3), 138, 146; P. R. L. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 31.

24.   Petts 2003 op. cit. (note 3), 148–9; Petts 1997 op. cit. (note 21), 120.

25.   Petts 1997 op cit. (note 21), 117.

26.   Arnold and Davies op. cit. (note 11), 132; N. Edwards 1996 op. cit. (note 2), 50; E. Campbell and P. MacDonald, 'Excavations at Caerwent Vicarage Orchard Garden 1973: an extra-mural post-Roman cemetery', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 142, (1993), 74–98, 90.

27.   Campbell and MacDonald op. cit. (note 26), 91.

28.   K. Dark, *Britain and the end of the Roman Empire* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000), 39.

29.   N. Edwards, 'Early Medieval inscribed stones and stone sculpture in Wales: context and function', *Medieval Archaeology* 45 (2001), 15–40.

30.   N. Edwards and A. Lane, *Early Medieval Settlements in Wales AD 400–1100* (Bangor and Cardiff: University College Bangor and Cardiff University, 1988); Knight 2006 op. cit. (note 5); W. Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Leicester University Press, 1982), 142.

31.   N. Holbrook and A. Thomas, 'An Early-Medieval monastic cemetery at Llandough, Glamorgan: excavations in 1994', *Medieval Archaeology* 49, (2005), 1, 86.

32.   J. Knight, 'From villa to monastery: Llandough in context', *Medieval Archaeology* 49 (2005), 93–108.

33.   R. Brewer, *Caerwent Roman Town* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1993), 45–6; Brewer op. cit. (note 14), 224–5.

34.   M. Henig, 'Roman art and the culture of South-East Wales', in Kenyon and Williams op. cit. (note 5), 1.

35.   Ibid., (note 35), 1.

36.   Edwards and Lane op. cit. (note 30), 34–8; Arnold and Davies op. cit. (note 11); Dark op. cit. (note 28).

37.   B. Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome: and the End of Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); M. Millet, *The Romanization of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

38.   Petts 2001 op. cit. (note 9), 34.

39.   Millett op. cit. (note 37), 137; Petts 2003 op. cit. (note 3), 148–9; J. Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London: Book Club Associates, 1995), 42.

40.   M. Henig, 'Remaining Roman in Britain: AD 300–700', in R. Collins and J. Gerrard (eds), *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300–700,* British Archaeological Reports, British Series 365 (Oxford, 2004), 18.