CHAPTER 9

A Contextual Archaeology of Enclosures and Dwellings Within the Study Region

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

Typologies and teleologies

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

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

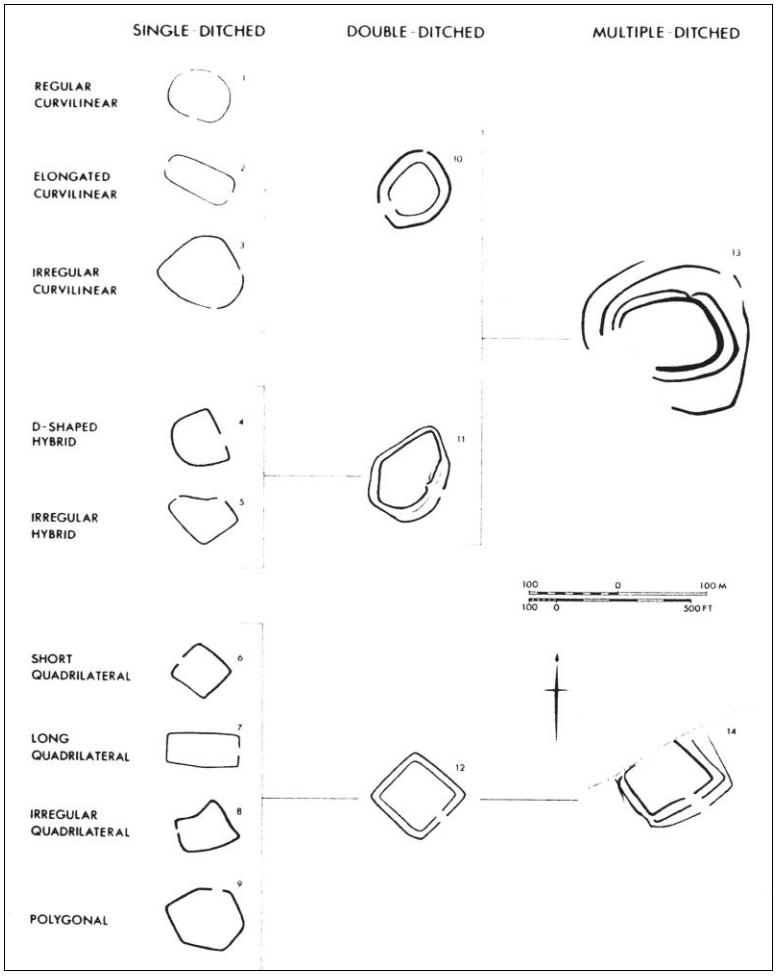


Figure 9.02. (left). *Whimster's morphological classification of cropmark enclosures. (Source: Whimster 1989: 29).*

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

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

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

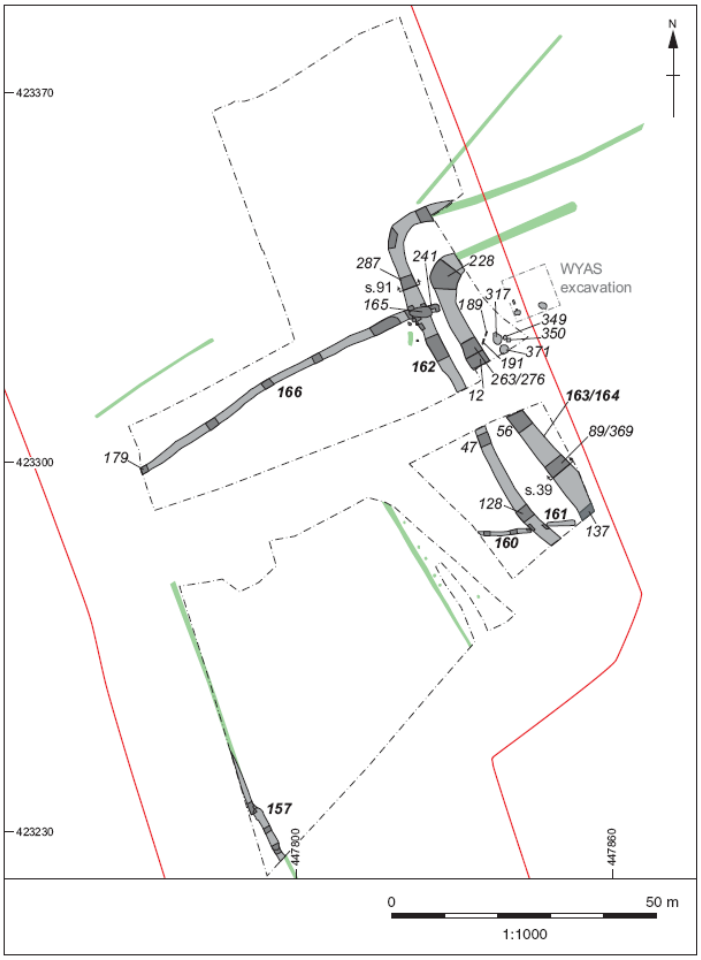


Figure 9.03. (left). *Site XX8 along the A1 (M) road corridor. This excavated double-ditched enclosure was probably constructed during the later Iron Age, but may have continued in use until at least the fourth century AD. (Source: Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennand 2007: 55, fig. 25).*

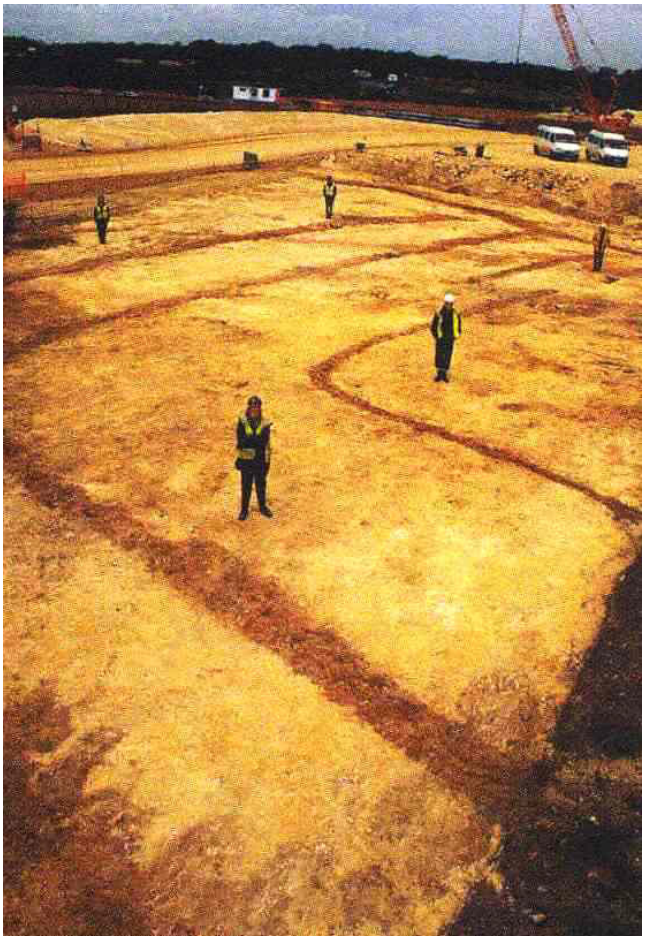


Figure 9.04. (right). *Oblique view of the triple-ditched Hook Moor Romano-British enclosure after soil stripping. (Source: Roberts, Burgess and Berg 2001: back cover).*

Hillforts and 'oppida'

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

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

Hillforts

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

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

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

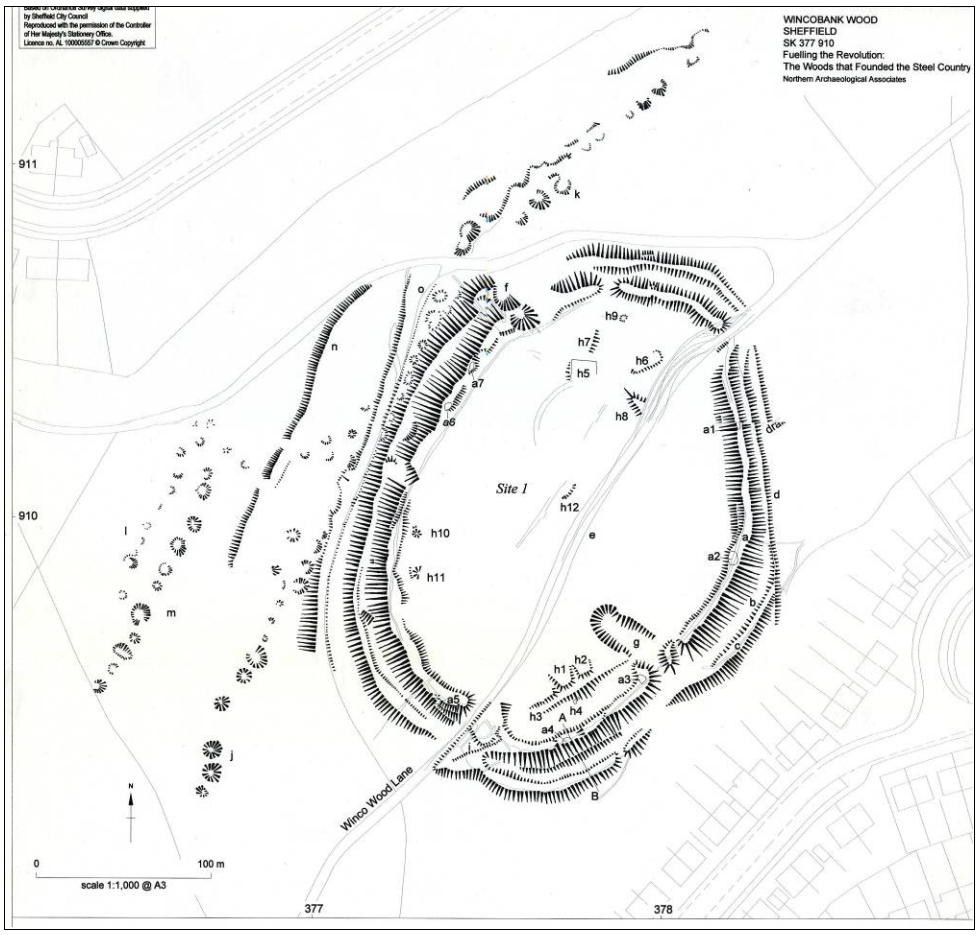


Figure 9.06. *Topographical survey of Wincobank hillfort, Sheffield, S. Yorks. The features to the north and west are early modern quarry pits. (Source: Pouncett 2001).*

Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Marsh forts' and multivallate enclosed sites

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

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

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

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

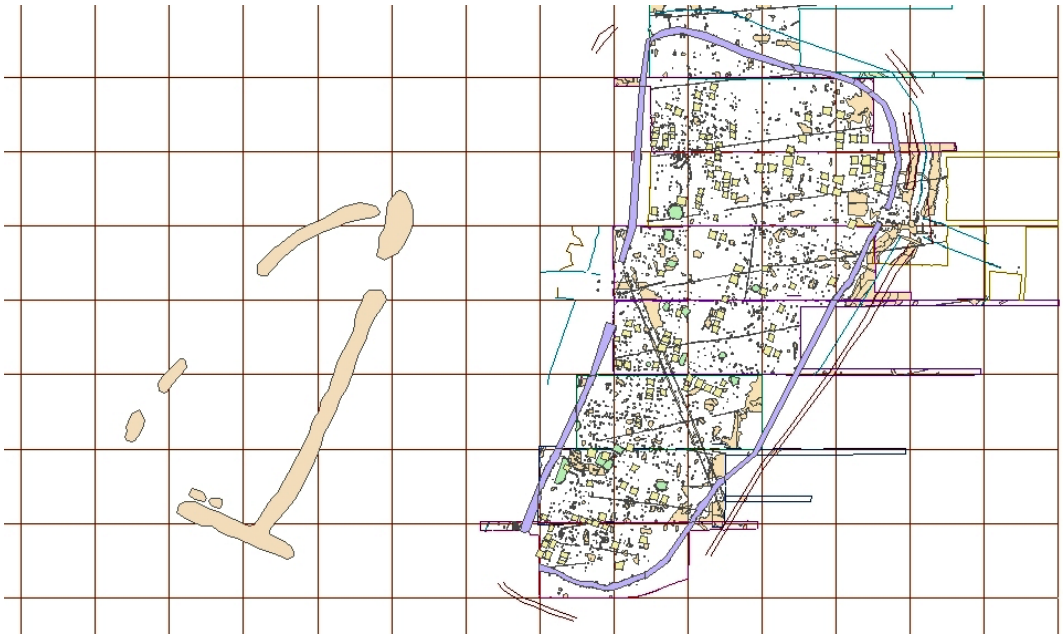


Figure 9.08. *Plan of Sutton Common from the recent investigations by the Universities of Hull and Exeter, showing the density of features in the larger eastern enclosure. (Source: Van de Noort, Chapman and Collis unpublished).*

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

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

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

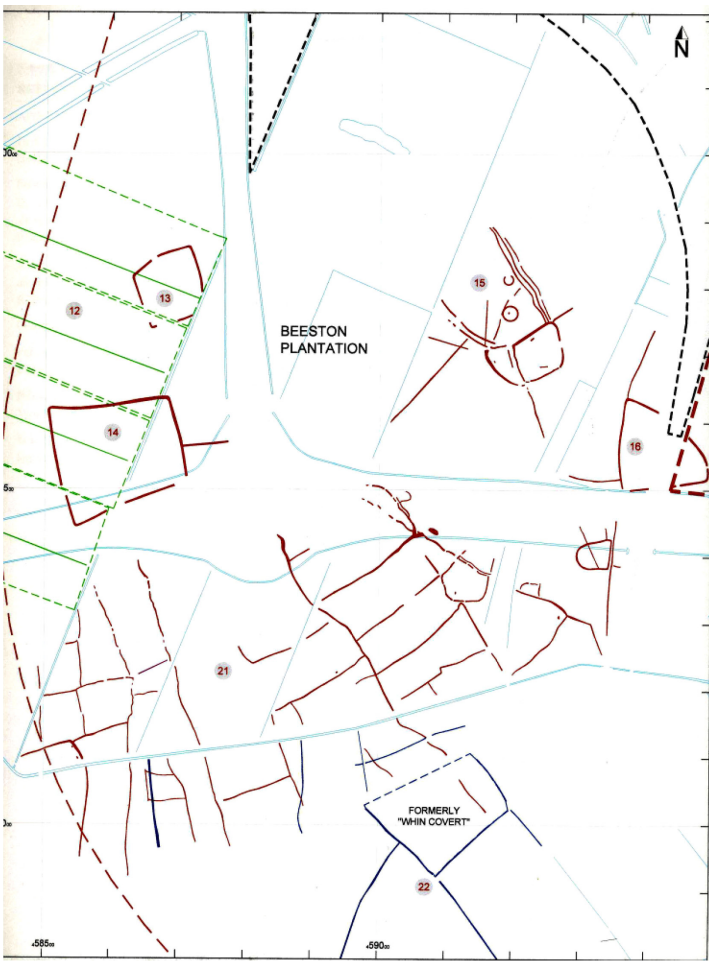


Figure 9.10. (left). *The multiple-ditched enclosure (upper right) and other probably later cropmarks identified at Potteric Carr, S. Yorks. (Source: Deegan 2004).*

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

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

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

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

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

Smaller enclosures – farmsteads

Earthwork sites

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

Ancient Woodlands with medieval or post-medieval plantings have preserved many earthworks of Iron Age or Romano-British date (Coutts 1999; Whiteley 1992) – some are detailed in Appendix G. The unusual site at Scratta Wood[1] was similar to enclosures at Whitwell in Nottinghamshire, Scarcliffe Park in Derbyshire, Horse Close Farm near Skipton in North Yorkshire; and 'courtyard' enclosures in Northumberland and Cumbria (Challis and Harding 1975: 136-137; Dark and Dark 1997: 80-82; Harding 2004: 45-53; Lane 1973). This may indicate longer-distance contacts. Alternatively, along with sites in Scabba Wood, Wombwell Wood and Edlington Wood in South Yorkshire, it is possible that there were more stone-walled

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

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

Cropmark sites

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

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

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

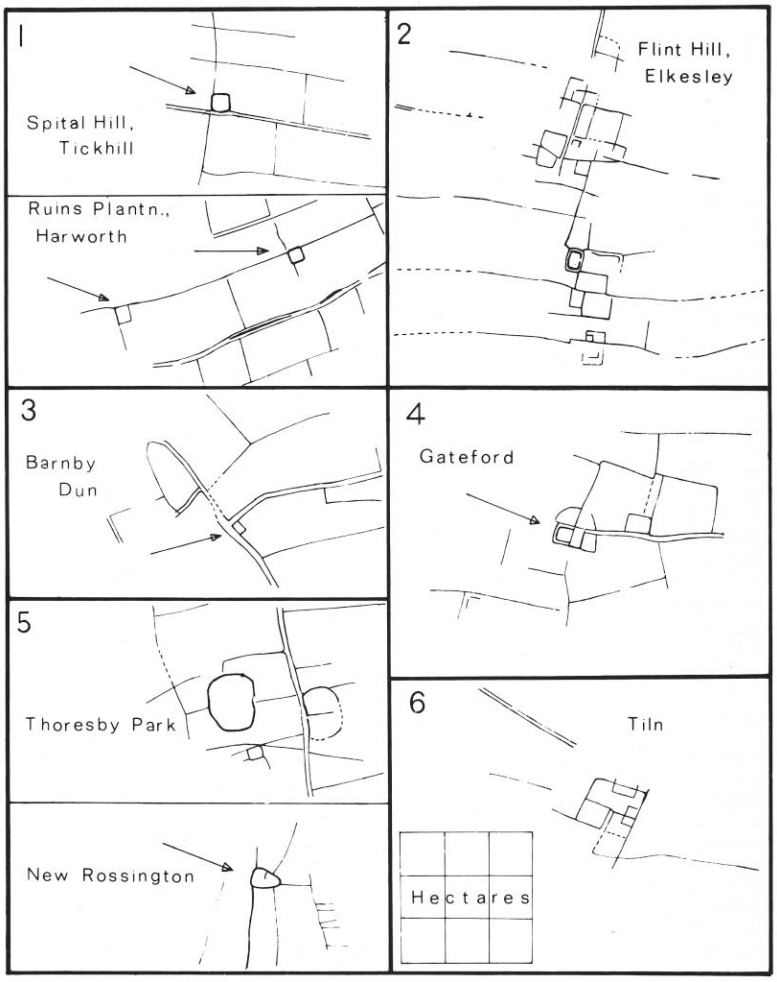


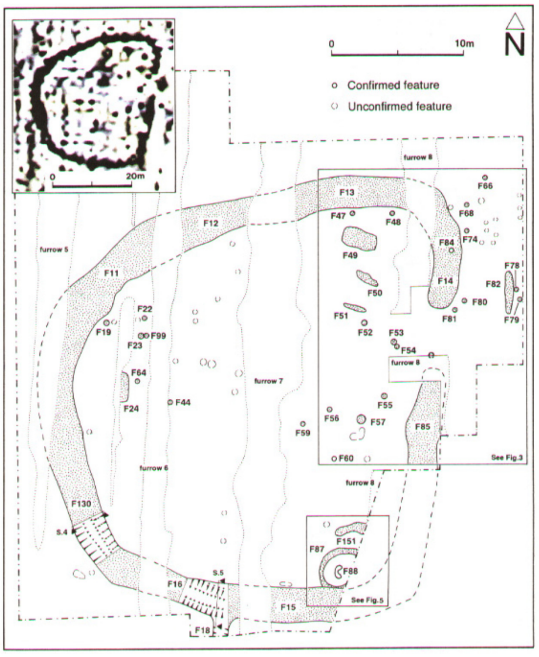
Figure 9.13. (left). *Riley's typology of enclosures, including rectangular, subrectangular, subcircular and more irregular forms. (Source: Riley 1980: 28, fig. 4).*

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

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

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

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



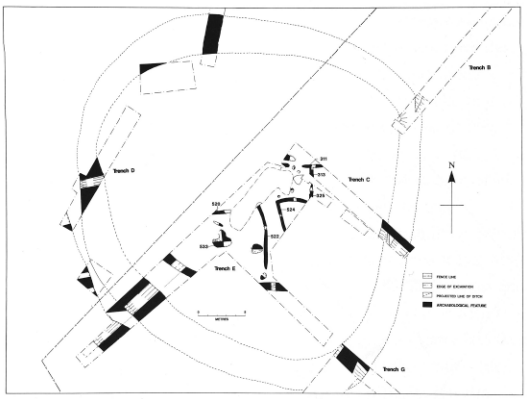


Figure 9.15. (left). *The D-shaped enclosure at Upton, W. Yorks. (Source: Roberts 1995: 11).* **Fig. 9.16. (top right).** *Warning Tongue Lane, Bessacarr, Doncaster, S. Yorks. (Source: Atkinson and Merrony 1994: 26).*

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

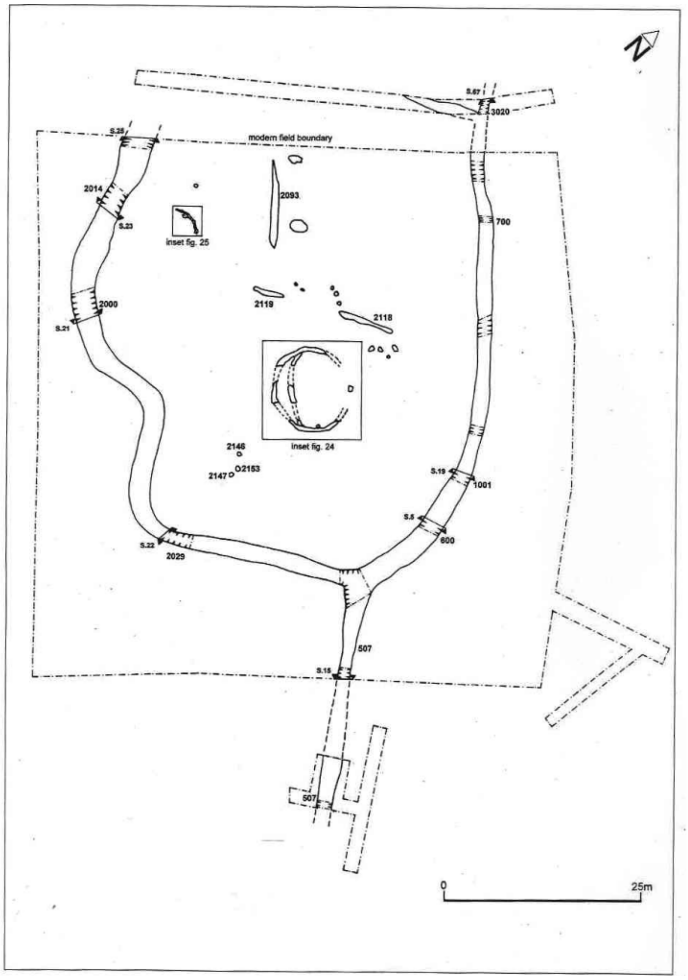


Figure 9.17. (right). *The Phase 1 enclosure at Whitwood Common, W. Yorks. Note the pronounced 'kink' on the south side of its enclosure ditch. (Source: Burgess and Roberts 2004: 29).*

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

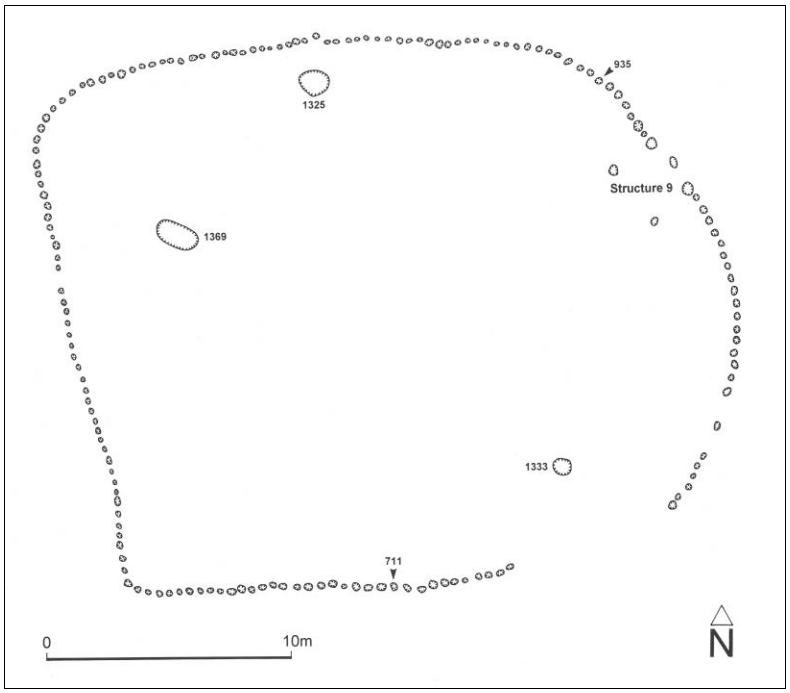


Figure 9.18. (left). *The unusual, D-shaped palisade enclosure excavated at Swillington Common, W. Yorks., thought to be middle Iron Age. The 'function' of this structure is unknown, although it may have held livestock. (Source: Howell 2001: 61).*

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

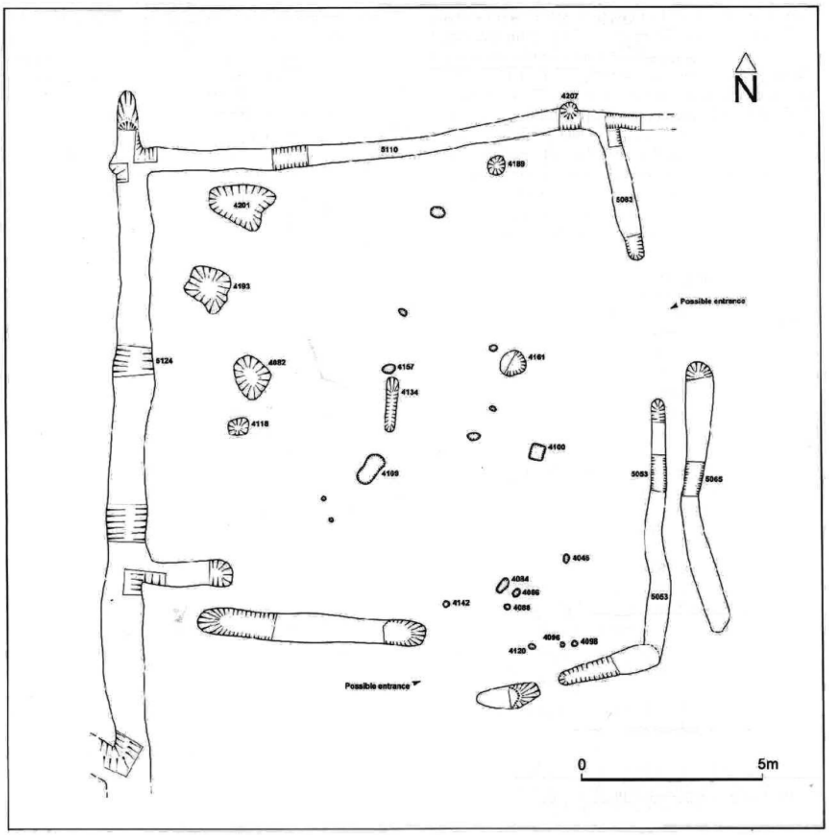


Figure 9.19. (right). *Enclosure C at Swillington Common, W. Yorks. The enclosure may have been defined by imperfectly aligned, short sections of banks and ditches, rather than a continuous ditched boundary. (Source: Howell 2001: 63).*

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

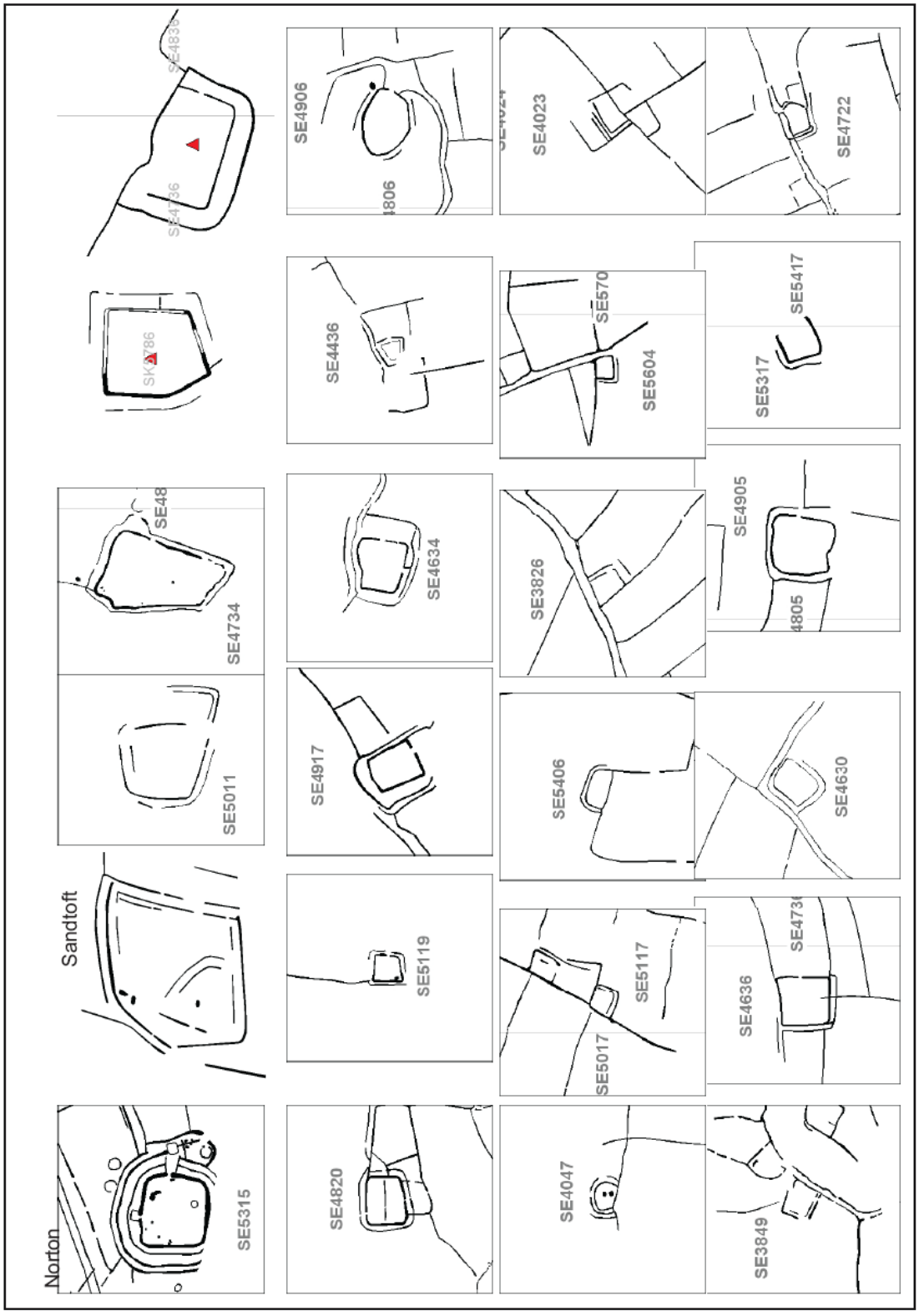


Figure 9.20. *Examples of cropmark enclosures with two or more ditch circuits, transcribed as part of the recent Magnesian Limestone Project (Roberts et al. 2009). Note the multiple-ditched enclosure described as being located at Norton in S. Yorks. (lower left) – this is actually the enclosed site at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

The purpose and meaning of enclosure ditches

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

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

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

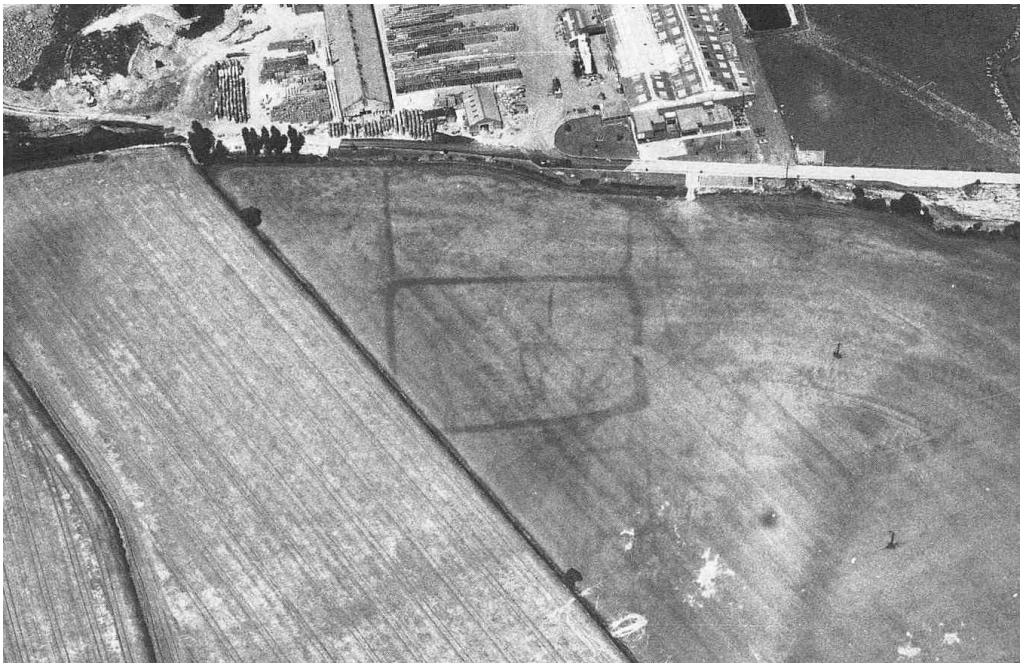


Figure 9.21. *Enclosures at Swillington Brickworks, Swillington Common, W. Yorks. The corners of the most prominent enclosure are wide and rounded from repeated recutting. SE 3855 3115. (Source: Yarwood and Marriott 1988a: 16).*

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ladder enclosures and extensive enclosure groups

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

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

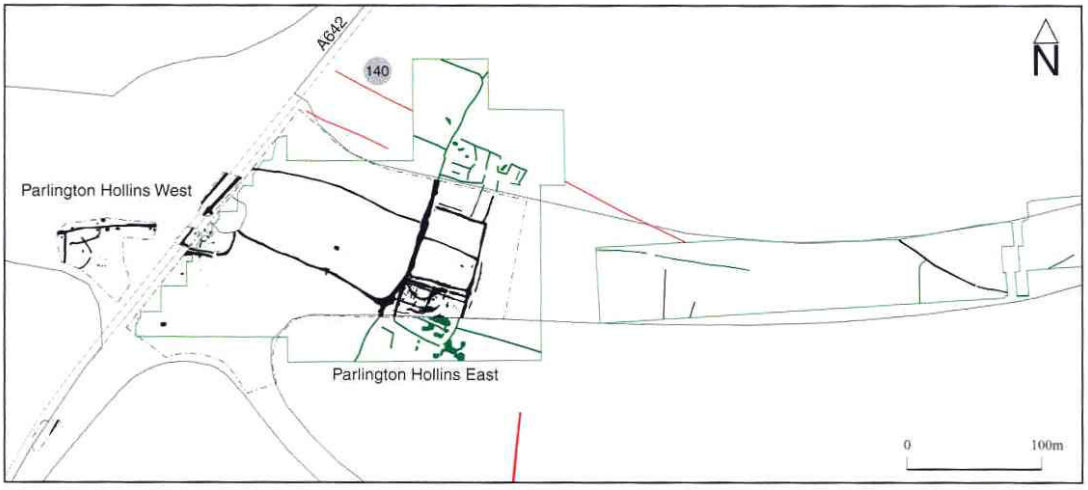


Figure 9.23. *The excavated ladder enclosure features at Parlington Hollins East in W. Yorks. (black), along with adjacent cropmark (red) and geophysical survey (green) data. (Source: Deegan 2001b: 33).*

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

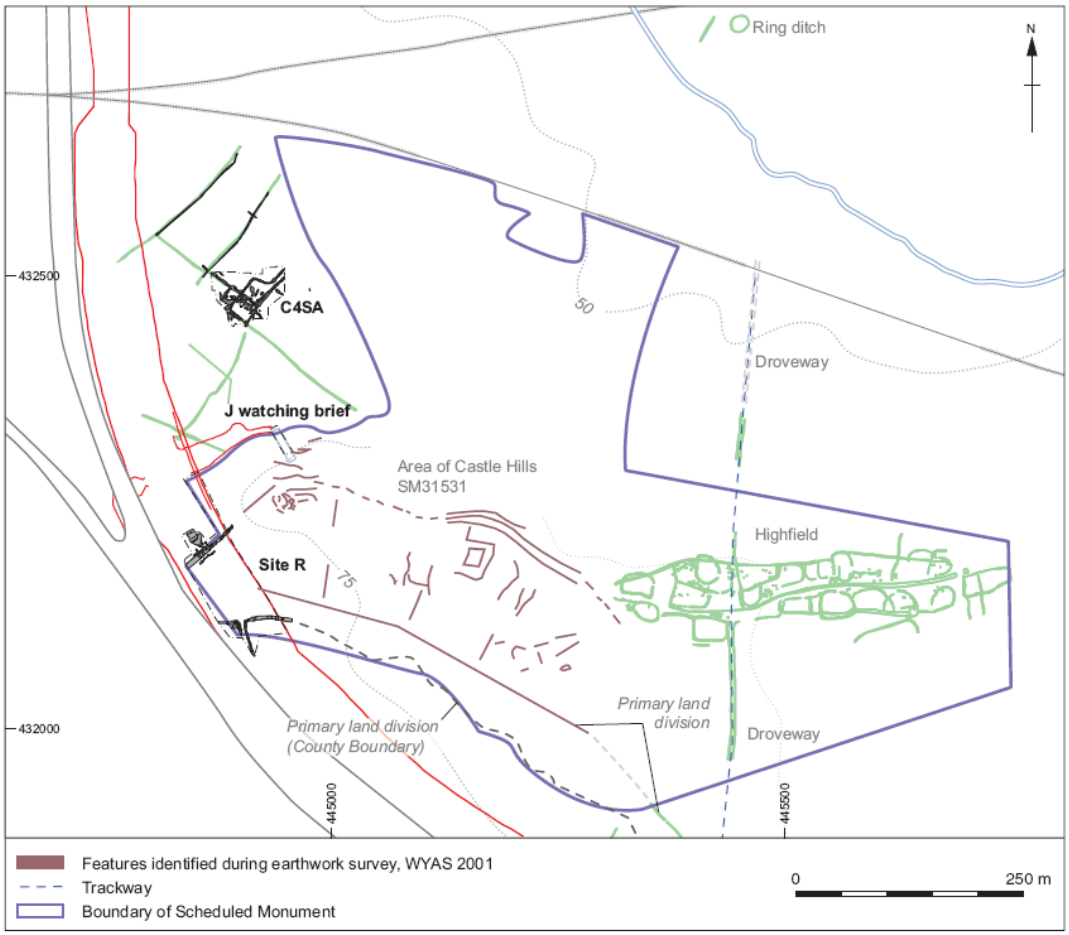


Figure 9.24. *Cropmarks (in green) of the unexcavated ladder settlement at Highfield and Castle Hills near Micklefield, the former in modern N. Yorks. And the latter in W. Yorks., along with nearby cropmarks and earthworks (in brown) of similar date, and sites that were excavated during the A1 (M) road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

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

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

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

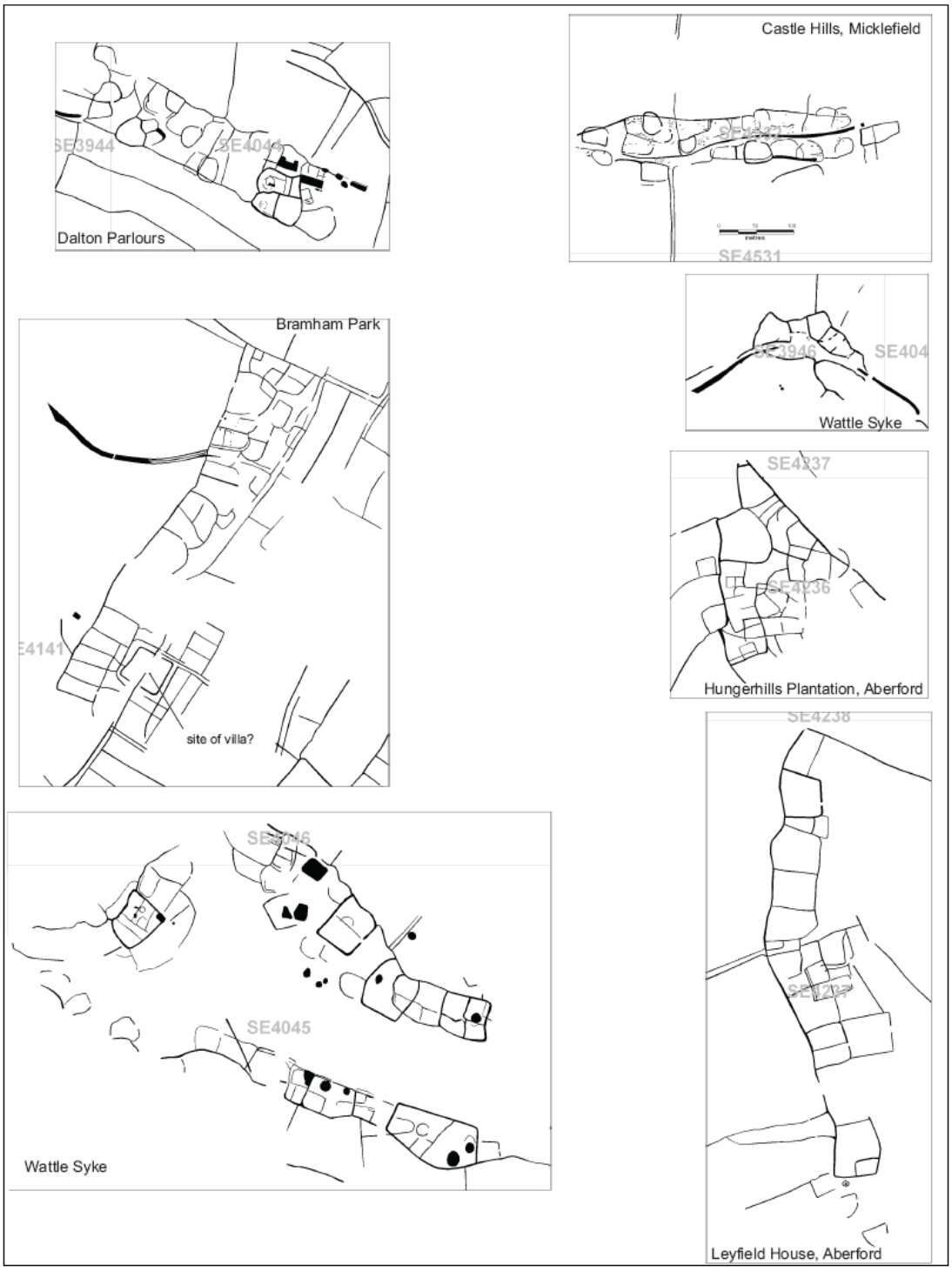


Figure 9.26. *The seven 'extensive enclosure groups' identified by Alison Deegan as part of the Magnesian Limestone Project. Although there were many variations in form, all seem to have been delineated by large and slightly sinuous boundaries, with larger enclosures 'hanging off' these ditches, and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

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

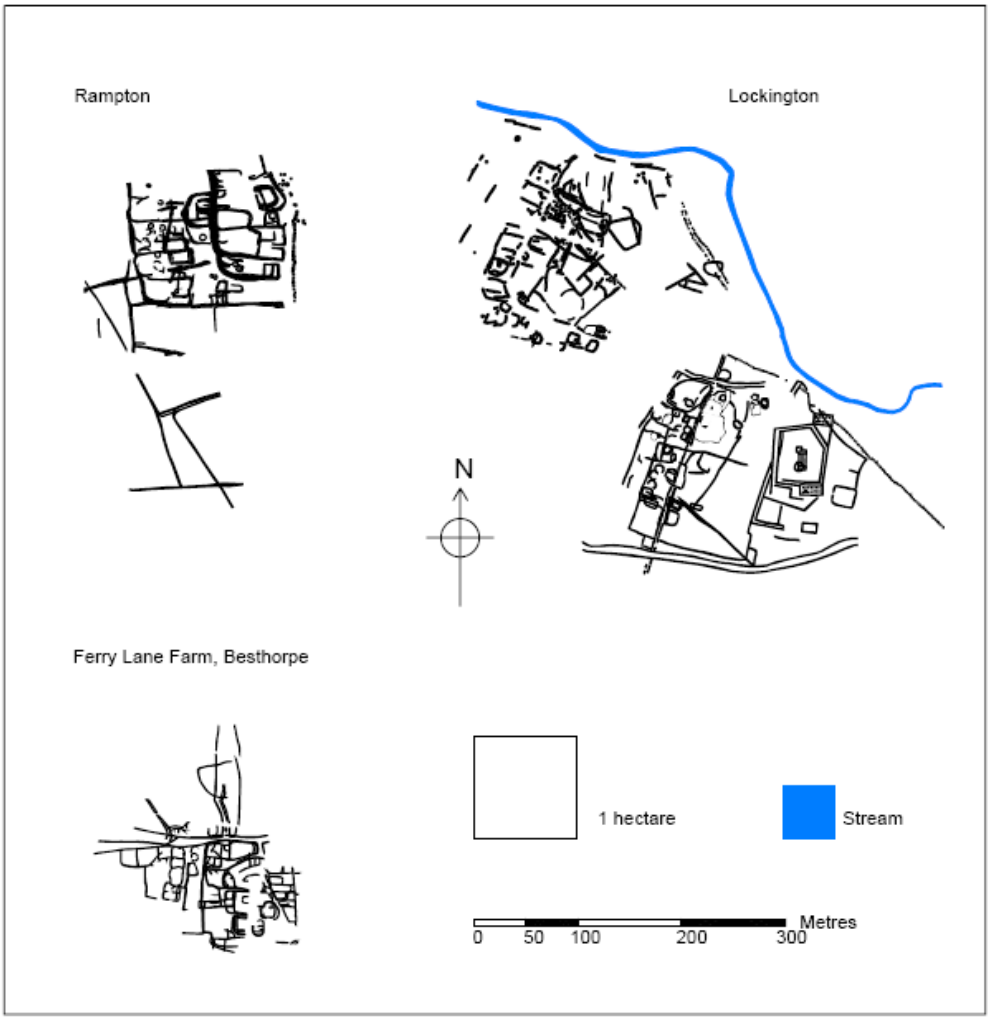


Figure 9.27. *Agglomerated enclosure groups from the Trent Valley. (Source: John Thomas 2005: 18).*

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

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

'Industrial' activities within enclosures

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

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

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

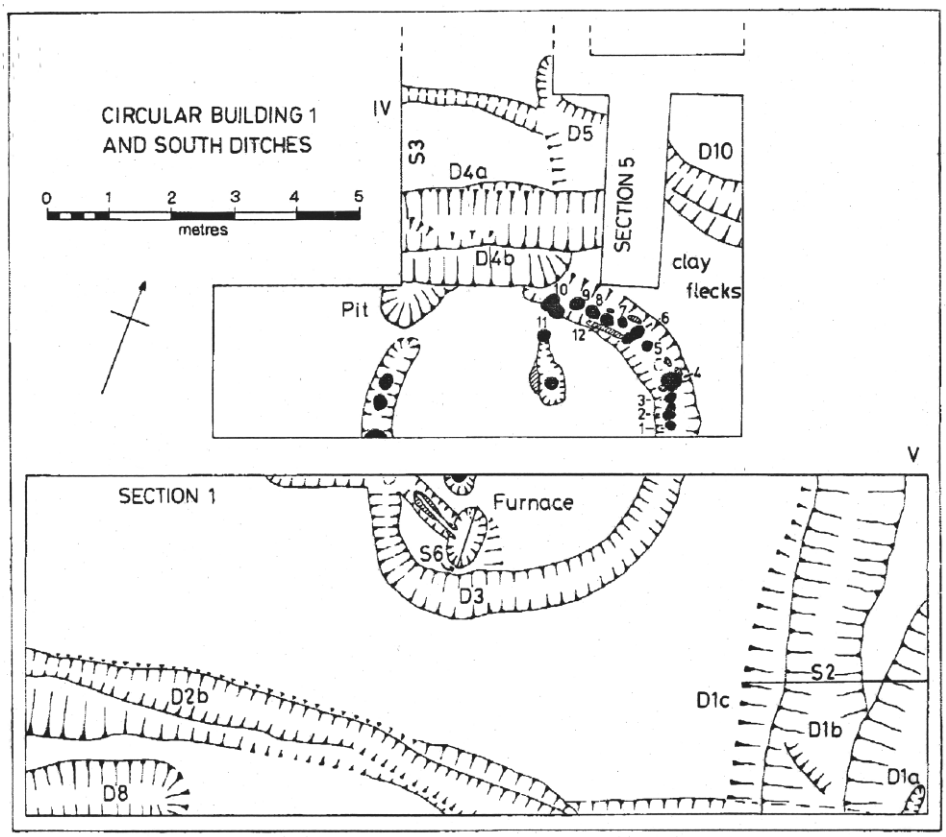


Figure 9.28. *Plan of part of the excavations at Rampton, Notts., showing a roundhouse associated with a possible furnace or forge. (Source: Ponsford 1992: 97).*

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

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

Four-post structures

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

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

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

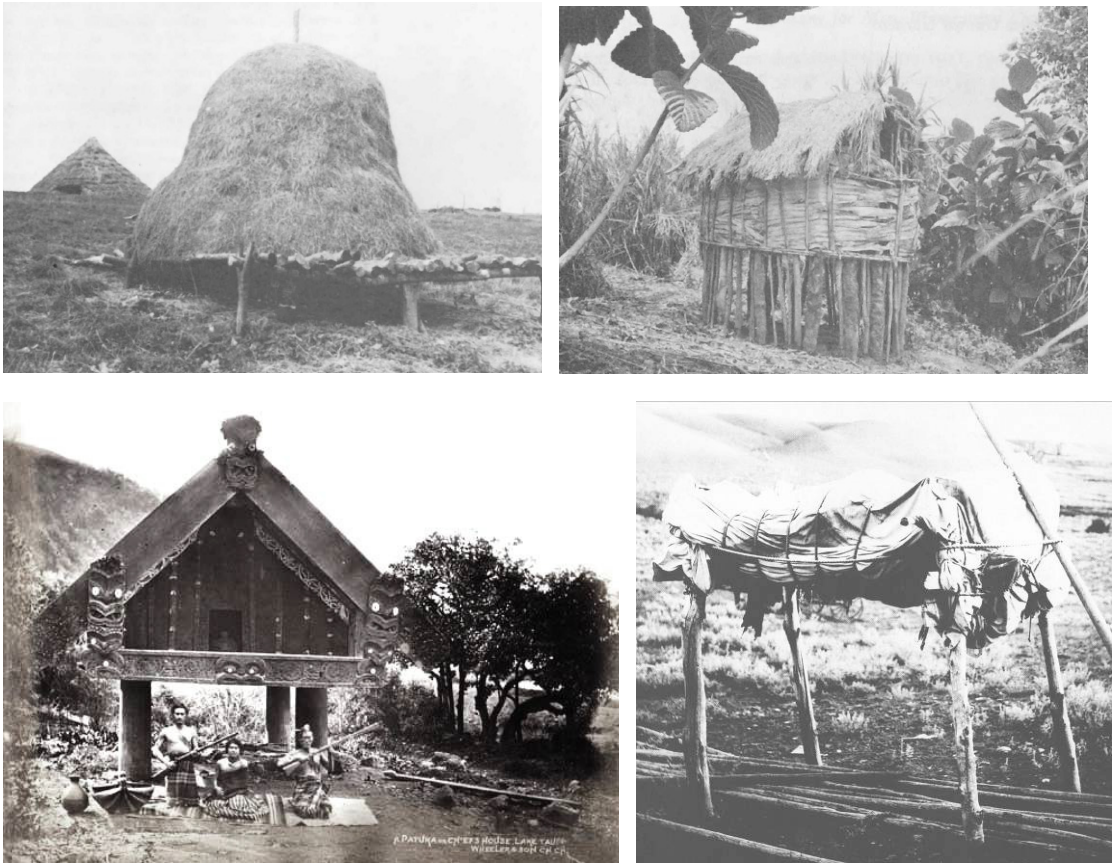
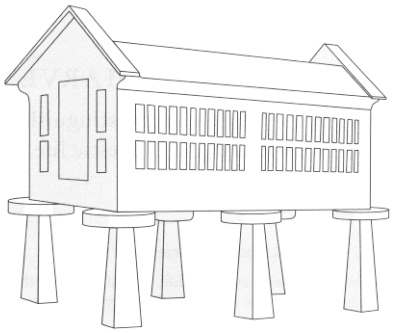
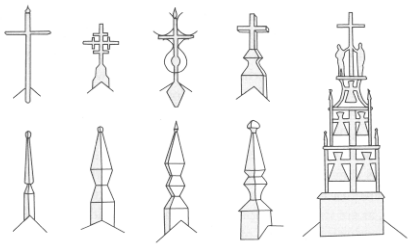


Figure 9.29. (top left). *Posts used to support a hayrick, Butser Experimental Farm. (Source: Reynolds 1979: 81).* **Fig. 9.30. (top right).** *Raised hut used by women during menstruation and after childbirth, Alipe, New Guinea, 1968. (Source: Steensberg 1980: 177).* **Fig. 9.31. (bottom left).** *A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

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

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





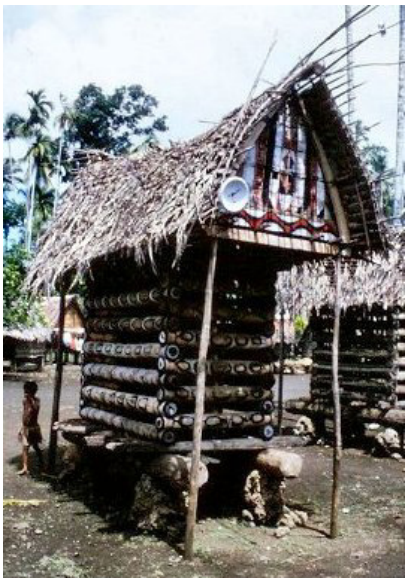


Figure 9.33. (top left). *Ainu food store or pu, as depicted in an eighteenth century Japanese print. (Source: Kohara 1999: 207).* **Fig. 9.34. (top right).** *Galician hórreo and decorative motifs. (Source: Bradley 2005: 4).* **Fig. 9.35. (bottom left).** *Yam store in the Trobriand Islands, Melanesia.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

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

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

Roundhouses

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

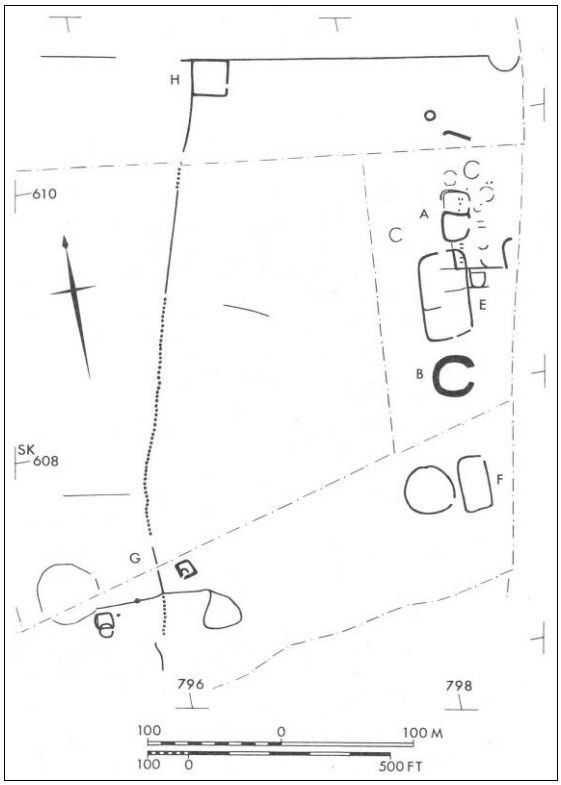


Figure 9.37. (right). *Cropmarks near Cromwell, Notts., including a hengiform monument (B), mortuary enclosures (E and F), a pit alignment (G), a ring ditch or round barrow (top right), and possible Iron Age or Romano-British enclosures and roundhouses (north-east of A and south-west of G). SK 798 608.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

Construction techniques

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

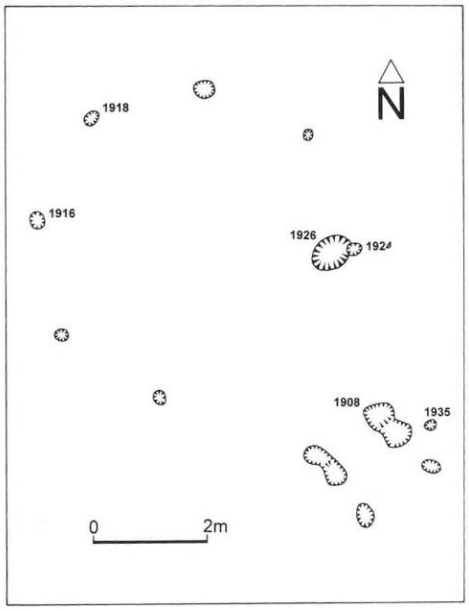


Figure 9.39. (left). *One of the early Bronze Age roundhouses (Structure 1) excavated at Swillington Common, W. Yorks., of post construction and with a 'porch' structure orientated to the south-east. (Source: Howell 2001: 54). No late Iron Age or Romano-British roundhouses were built in this manner within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

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

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

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

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

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

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

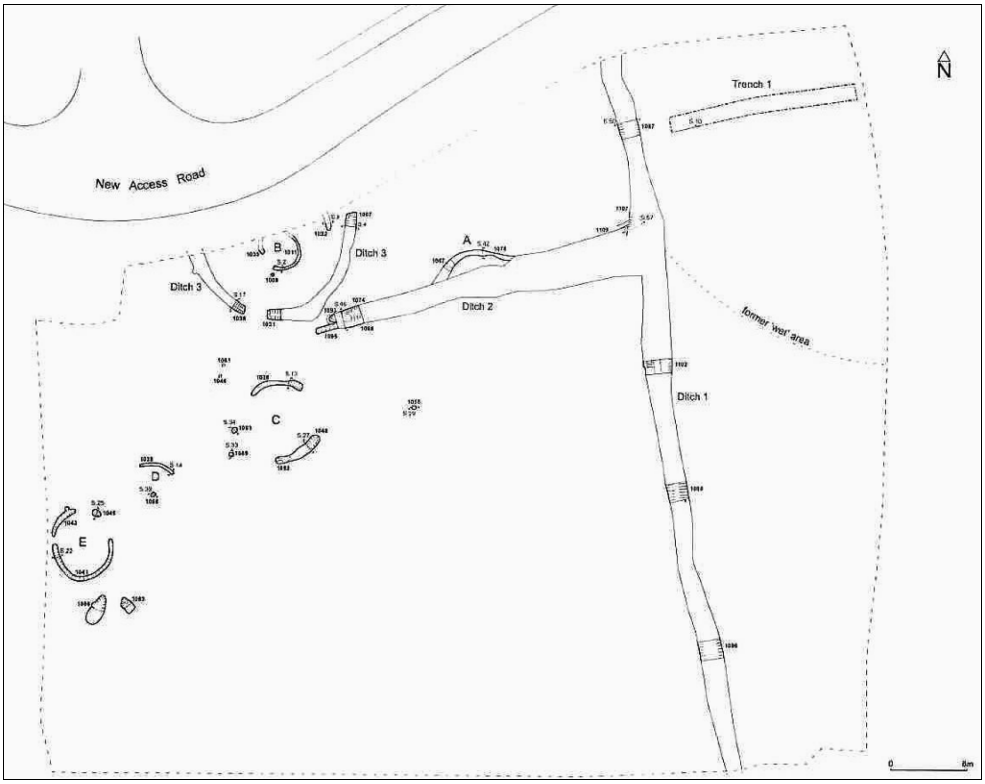


Figure 9.41. *Ring gullies of four or five roundhouses recently excavated at Balby Carr, S. Yorks., including one example (upper left) set within a larger ditch. (Source: Rose and Roberts 2006).*

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

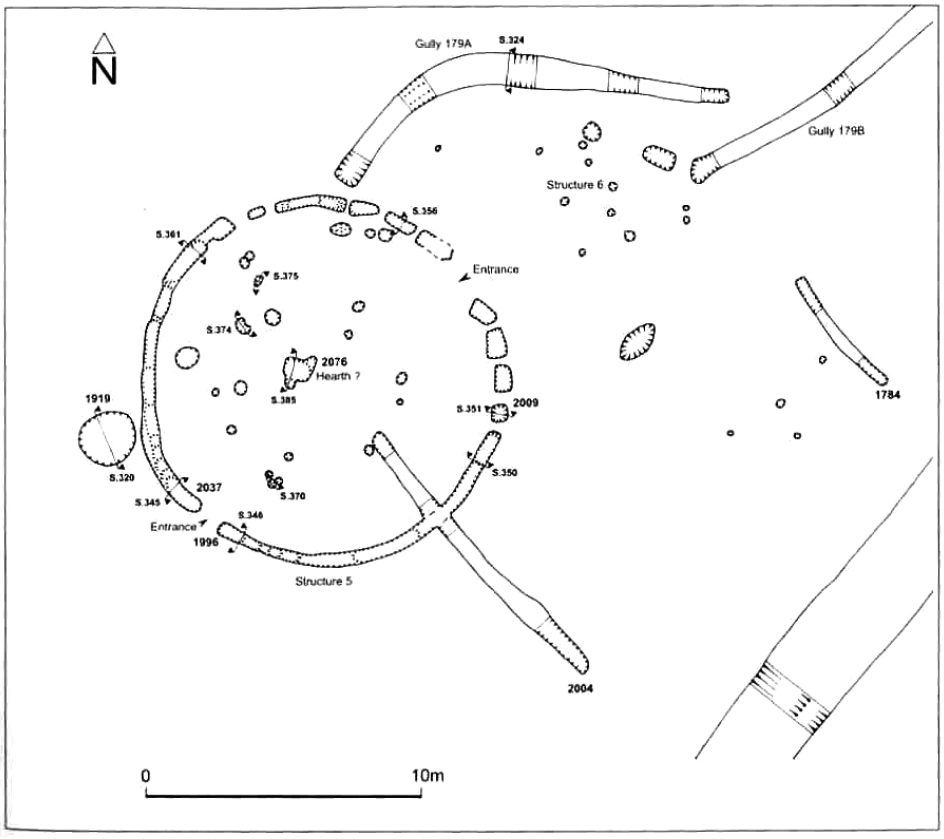


Figure 9.43. *Plan of the ring gully, postholes and other associated features of Structure 5, Enclosure C at Ferrybridge, West Yorks. (Source: Martin 2005: 105).*

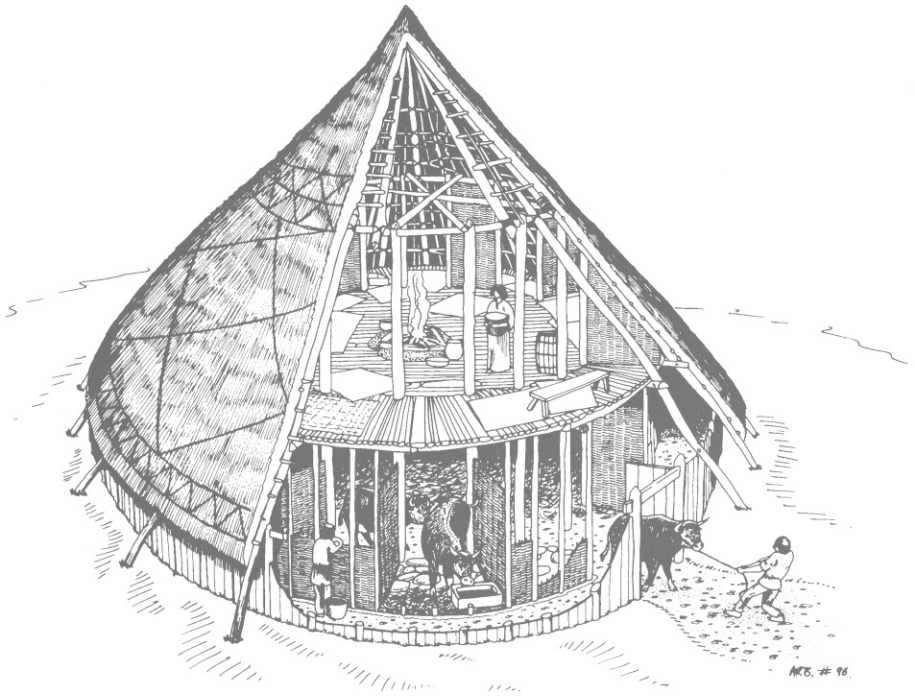


Figure 9.44. *Reconstruction drawing of a substantial Scottish Iron Age roundhouse with a proposed upper floor, although if such structures were present within larger roundhouses, it is perhaps more likely that these took the form of circular galleries, with open central spaces from the ground floor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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

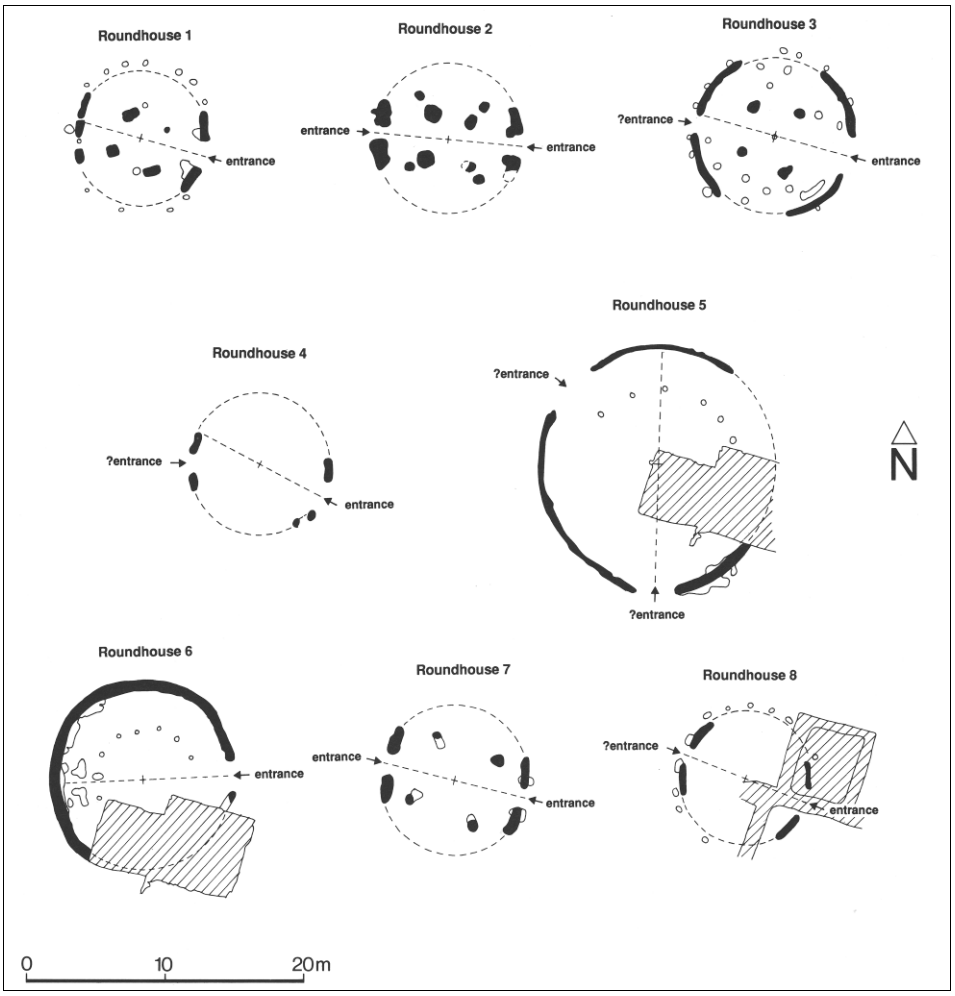


Figure 9.47. *Plans of the roundhouses excavated at Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks., including some (1-3, 4-5, 7-8) with possible double entrances. (Source: Wrathmell 1990: 278).*

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

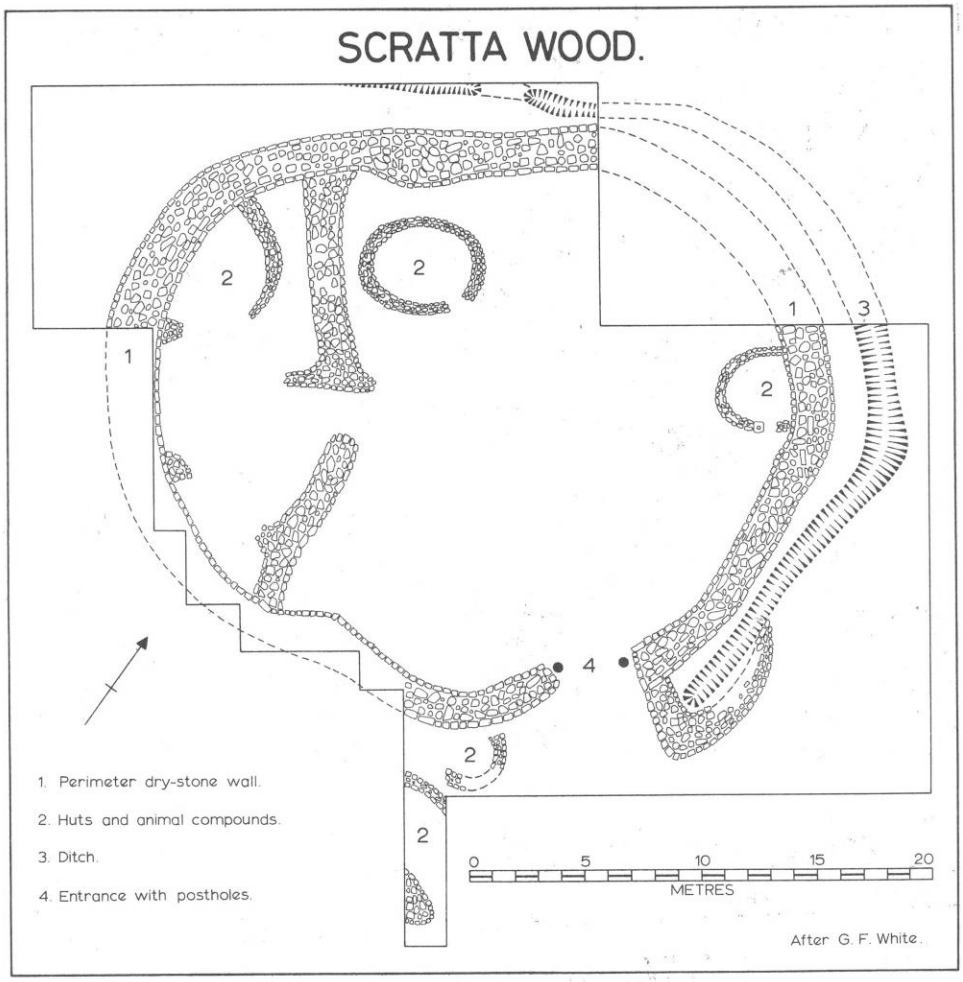


Figure 9.48. *The stone-walled enclosure at Scratta Wood, Notts., also showing a free-standing stone-walled roundhouse, and further examples built against the internal and external faces of the enclosure wall. (Source: Challis and Harding 1975).*

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

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

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

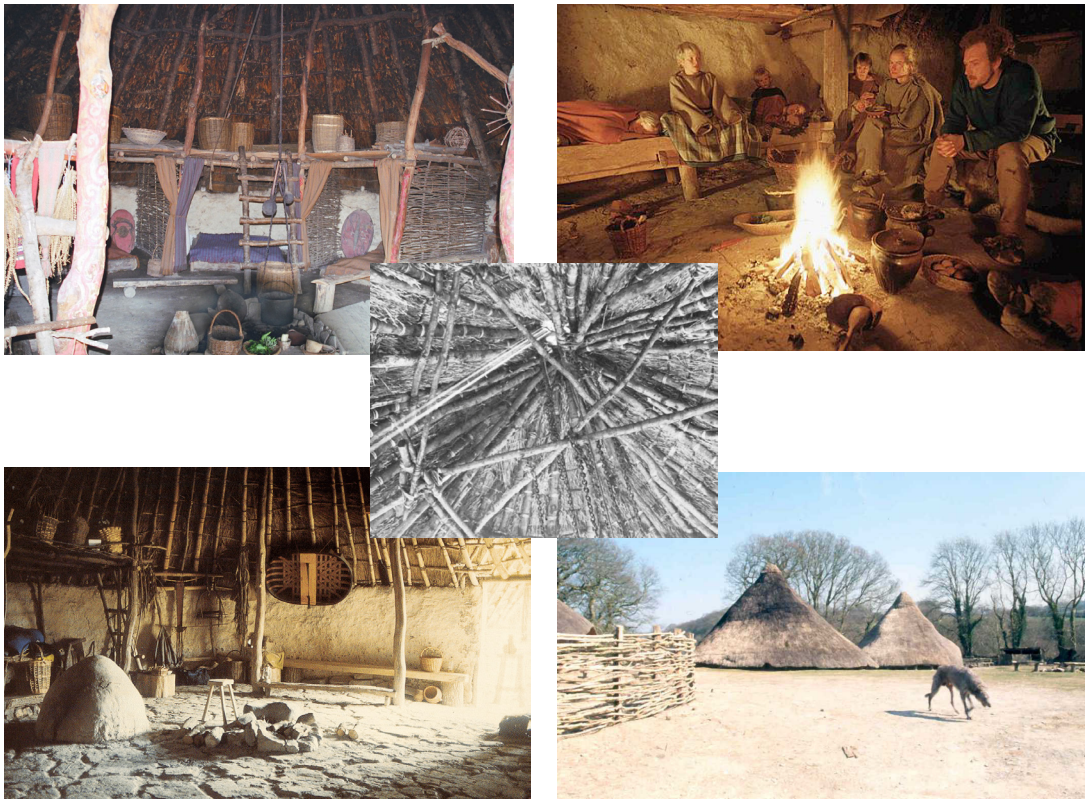
Figure 9.49. (left). *Daub associated with one of the roundhouses excavated at Balby Carr, S. Yorks., showing wattle impressions. Fine-grained evidence such as this rarely survives within the study region. (Source: Roberts forthcoming).*

Inhabiting roundhouses

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

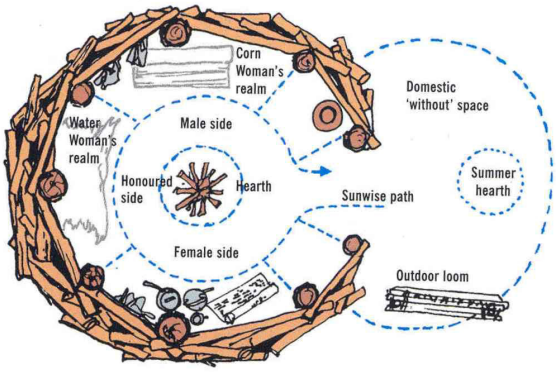
As outlined in Chapter 2, without any firm ideas of Iron Age social structure, determining the makeup of co-resident groups is difficult (Price 1999; Yanagisako 1979). Where there was only one roundhouse present along with evidence for *sustained* domestic occupation, it is likely that this building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

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

Entrance orientations and cosmologies

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

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



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

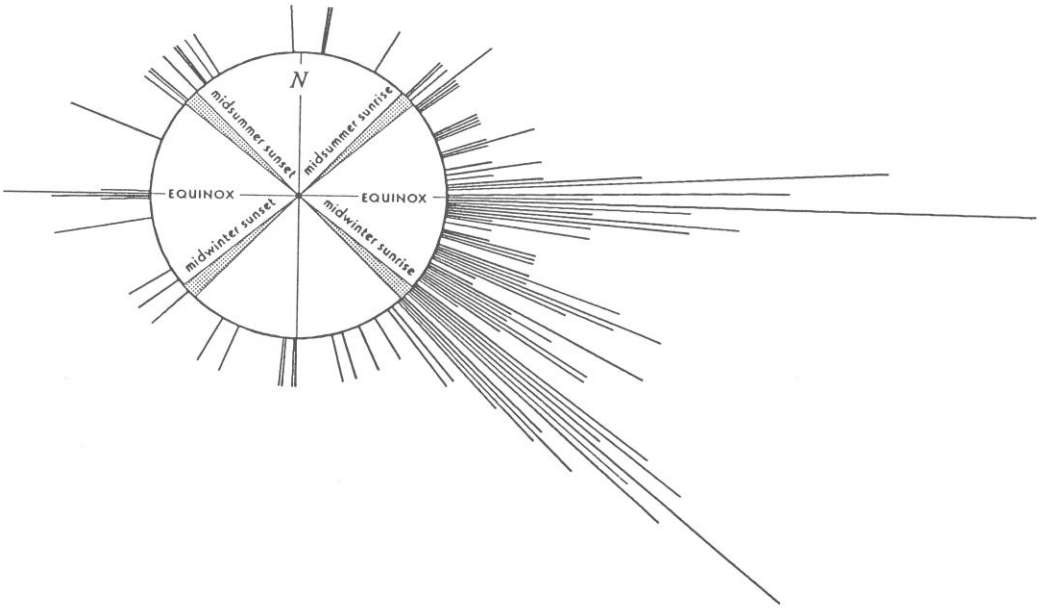


Figure 9.66. *Oswald's diagram of the entranceway orientations of 280 British roundhouses, according to their frequency and the cardinal directions. (Source: Oswald 1997: 90).*

Using previous ideas of central and peripheral areas within roundhouses (Cunliffe 1978: 175; Kelly 1988; Reid 1989), Hingley (1990b) proposed that within roundhouses central hearths were the foci for public space and food preparation, and peripheral spaces were private areas for food storage and sleeping. He suggested a series of symbolic binary oppositions possibly linked to this, including light : dark, cooked : raw, culture : nature and even male : female (Hingley 1990b: 132-133). These divisions were based on processual spatial analyses and structuralist anthropologies (e.g. Bourdieu 1973; Lévi-Strauss 1969, 1978).

Hingley had proposed that such conceptual divisions extended across entire Iron Age landscape patterns (Hingley 1984). Such structuralist dualisms have been extensively criticised within anthropology and archaeology (see critiques in Baker 1997: 184-185; Comaroff 1987; Lamphere 1997; MacCormack 1982; Moore 1988: 13-24; Pope 2007: 206-208; Price 1999; Robin 2002: 261). In particular, the association of women with the domestic, the passive and the negative, with 'dark', private areas and with 'nature' rather than 'culture' has been shown to be simplistic and the result of a series of androcentric assumptions by anthropologists and archaeologists.

This interest in the social and symbolic nature of houses and settlements formed part of the post-processual archaeologies of the late 1980s and early 1990s, and also derived from an influential 1989 seminar on the British Iron Age (Champion and Collis 1996). Ethnographic analogy and the recognition of spatial patterning, however, had also been associated with much earlier discussions of large southern English roundhouses (e.g. Chadwick 1960; Clarke 1972; Hawkes 1994; Quennell and Quennell 1922). Based on an excavated early Iron Age house in Berkshire and revisiting these older studies, Fitzpatrick suggested a binary left : right model for roundhouse space (Fitzpatrick 1994: 69-70, 1997a: 77-78; Fitzpatrick, Barnes and Cleal 1995). The northern half of the roundhouse was associated with sleeping, whilst the lighter, southern side was for eating and daily activities. He saw the passage of the sun around the roundhouse as immanent to the structure of social life, with the threshold and the sunwards orientation having particular symbolic significance.

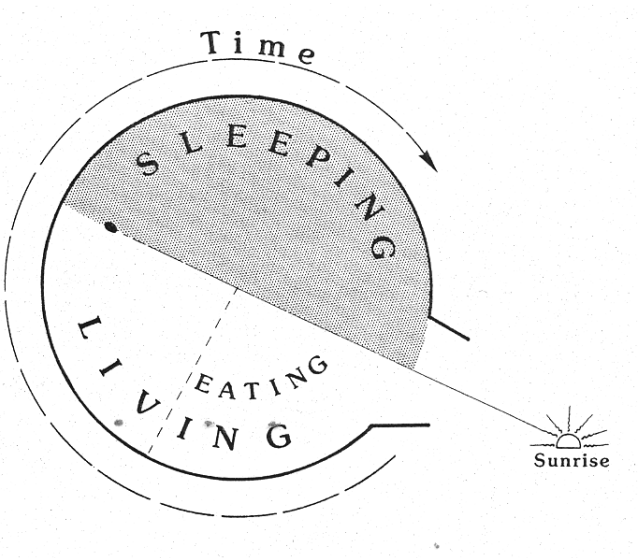


Figure 9.67. *Fitzpatrick's model of roundhouse inhabitation. (Source: Fitzpatrick 1997: 78).*

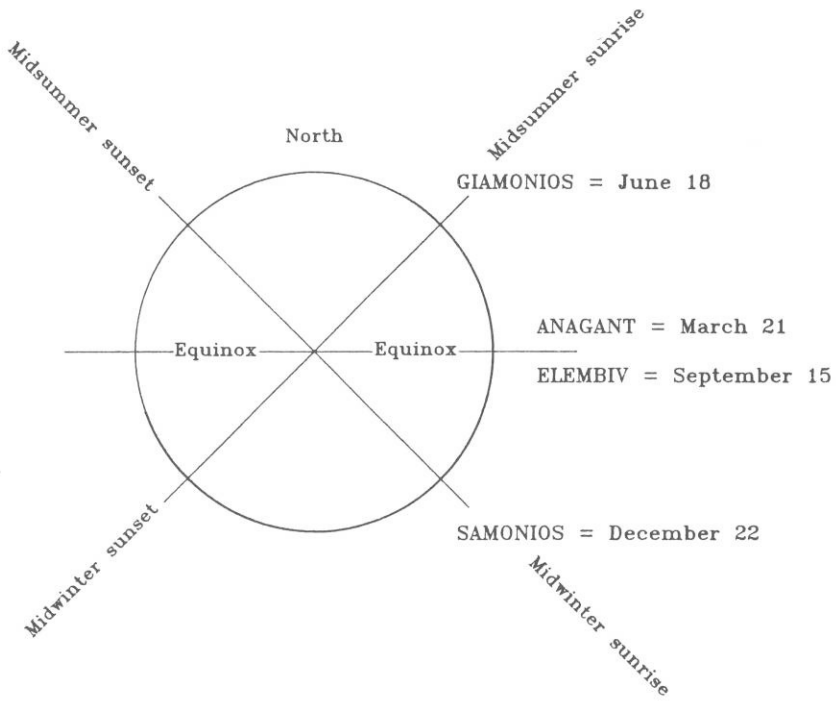


Figure 9.68. *Possible Iron Age cosmological referents, based on the Gallo-Roman Coligny calendar of the late second or early third century AD. (Source: Fitzpatrick 1997: 74).*

Hill examined roundhouse, enclosure and hillfort entrance orientations in southern England, and also found an apparent emphasis on east and south-east alignments (Hill 1996: 108-110), though also with significant westerly orientations too, especially for hillforts (which often had two main entrances). Like Evans (1988), he suggested that

the threshold was more important than the hearth in structuring internal space. Parker Pearson was interested in understanding the underlying structural 'rules' of social and symbolic systems (Parker Pearson 1996), and along with co-workers he expanded Fitzpatrick's ideas into his 'sunwise' model of Iron Age domestic life.

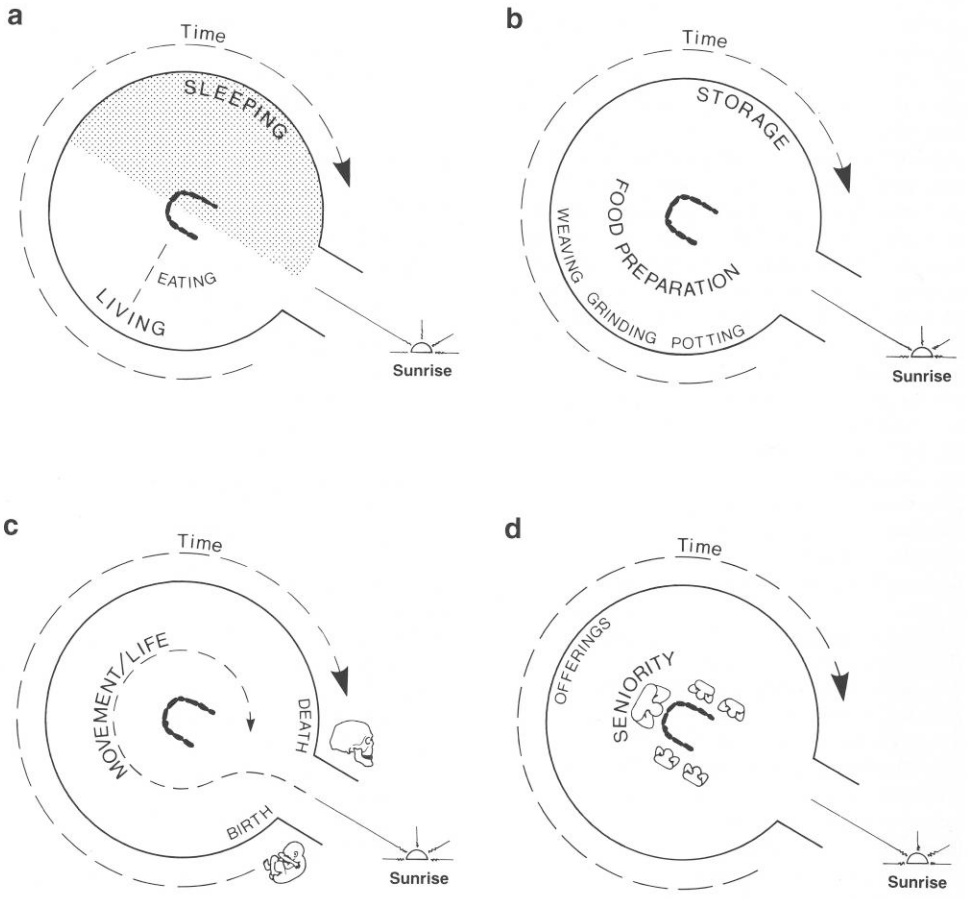


Figure 9.69. *Potential further social and symbolic references incorporated in Iron Age round architecture. (Source: Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999: 21).*

Drawing on ethnohistorical analogies, this model suggested that people's movements around roundhouses took place in a sunwards or deseal manner (rather than widdershins or anti-sunwards), and as well as marking the passage of the day and year, this also symbolised the human life cycle (Parker Pearson 1999: 49-51, fig. 7; Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999: 20-21, fig. 1.10). The hearth was the social centre of the house, and its principal axis might also have reflected the seniority of people and where they sat. In using evidence from southern English roundhouses and Scottish brochs and wheelhouses, Parker Pearson was effectively proposing this as a

symbolic scheme for the whole of Iron Age Britain (Parker Pearson 1999: 60), and he downplayed human agency in favour of traditional social structures. Other researchers have suggested that the locations of deposits in Bronze Age round barrows and Bronze Age and early Iron Age roundhouses may have been conceptually linked, and that the entrance orientations of later prehistoric roundhouses and the layout of Neolithic henges and Bronze Age barrows may have drawn upon the same symbolic traditions (Bradley 1997, 1998: 152-158; Woodward and Woodward 1996).

Some of these ideas seem too rigid and structuralist, especially Hingley (1990b) and Parker Pearson (1999). Other researchers have argued that greater emphasis needs to be placed upon human agency and the contingencies of everyday life, rather than prescriptive cultural rules (Barrett 1997a; Webley 2003), and the different perceptions and diverse beliefs and embodied experiences of age, gender or status grades within all communities (q.v. Hingley 1999: 63; Pope 2007: 208; Sørenson 1996: 199). The large roundhouses of early Iron Age southern England, and the brochs and wheelhouses of Atlantic Scotland, may all have been inhabited and experienced in rather different ways to the generally smaller late Iron Age and Romano-British roundhouses. There are obvious dangers too in 'reading off' finds patterning as evidence of everyday practices. Many, if not most artefacts may have only reflected the abandonment of structures rather than their use, and many deposits in and around roundhouses might have been deliberately selected as 'closure' deposits (q.v. Chadwick 2004a; Hill 1995a; Webley 2007; Woodward and Hughes 2007).

In a recent account of late Bronze Age roundhouses at Cladh Hallan on South Uist, Parker Pearson and colleagues explicitly link eighteenth and nineteenth century Hebridean traditions of sunwards movement to prehistoric practices (Parker Pearson, Sharples and Symonds 2004: 196-198). Although there is some evidence for the long-term survival of beliefs (see Chapter 11), I would nevertheless urge caution. Are these really direct continuities of practice over four millennia, or much later re-workings and re-interpretations? Following critiques of pan-Celtic identities and traditions (e.g. Collis 2003; Hill 1996; James 1999), using ethnohistorical evidence from the Western Isles so directly is also questionable. Nineteenth century Hebrideans were not more 'authentic' and 'Celtic' than people elsewhere.

In her extensive consideration of evidence from later prehistoric and Romano-British roundhouses across north and central Britain, Rachel Pope (2003, 2007, forthcoming) has argued that the 'sunwise' pattern is not as neat as Oswald argued[2]. She notes that his data set and iconic diagram (Fig. 9.66) excluded many roundhouses that did not reveal a marked east or south-east orientation, particularly examples from Wales, northern and south-west England (Pope 2007: 211). Furthermore, there may be chronological differences too, with late Bronze Age and early Iron Age roundhouses more likely to follow Oswald's pattern, but later roundhouses less likely to do so. Pope also notes that compared to the ethnographic evidence of communities imbuing circular structures with cosmological significance, there are more societies where such symbolic divisions have not been recorded, including many traditional African roundhouses (Pope 2003, 2007: 209). Pope does not dismiss cultural factors altogether, but suggests pragmatic environmental concerns of light, slope and prevailing winds also have to be taken into account (Pope 2007: 212-214). She proposes a basic front : back, centre : periphery model, and has also stressed the likely importance of upper loft areas in larger double or triple-ringed structures (Fig. 9.70).

These arguments have become somewhat polarised, with claims that the 'cosmological model' has been 'successfully deconstructed as a structuralist concept' (Pope 2005). Such a statement may be overly polemical, particularly given the fact that some non-environmentally structuring principles regarding the social use of space and deposition in and around roundhouses do seem to have been in operation at many settlements (e.g. Kenny 2007; Woodward and Hughes 2007). People do *not* live out their lives rigidly moving around structures, settlements and landscapes with a series of prescribed social and 'ritual' meanings, but neither do people exist in a purely functional, rational world. A more subtle exposition of these ideas (Giles and Parker Pearson 1999: 220) stressed how improvisation and agency allowed cosmological understandings of the world to be reproduced, but also to be manipulated or changed. Traditions of architectural space, cosmology and inhabitation were naturalised and passed on down the generations and across different regions through the repeated, routine praxis of everyday, embodied movements.

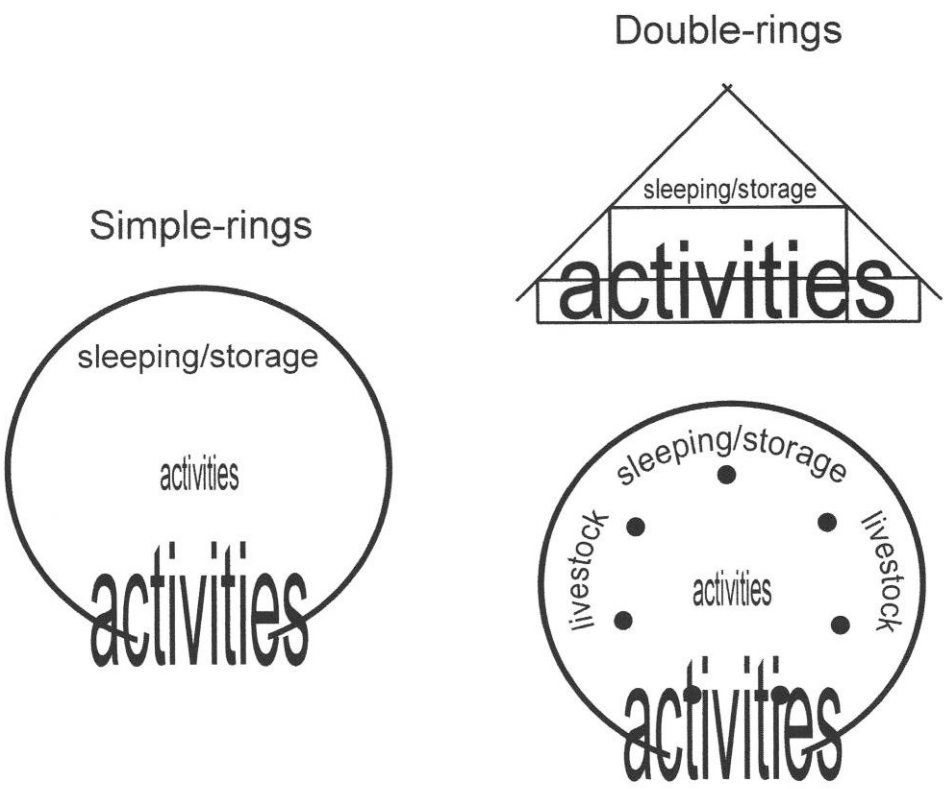


Figure 9.70. *Pope's model of roundhouse domestic occupation. This has the advantage of stressing the use of vertical space as well. (Source: Pope 2007: 221).*

Roundhouses helped to demarcate different experiences and social relationships of the immediate household, and were wider manifestations of contacts, places and times (Barrett and Fewster 2000: 31; Giles and Parker Pearson 1999: 225-228). They were the result of embodied and communal labour, and represented materials from many different areas of the landscape, solidifying these within their structures (q.v. Bennett 2002; Bloch 1995). Thatch came from reed beds or (less likely) from straw, small rods and sails from coppiced woodland or hedgerows, and large straight timbers from more mature trees and woodland. Routine, mundane practices around the taskscape were thus entangled with memories and biographies and the physical fabric of the house. There were spatial distinctions within them – not static, cosmological rules, but opportunities or conditions to act in certain ways (q.v. Baker 1997; Barrett 2000; Gero 2000). The lack of internal corners may itself have been important to social relations. Circularity may have stood for a variety of beliefs over time.

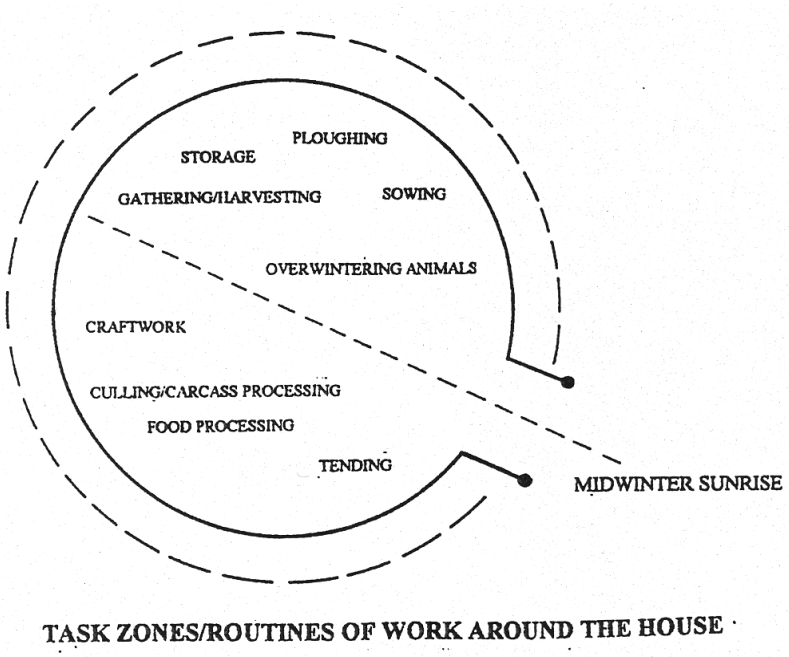


Fig. 9.71. *A more detailed model of potential Iron Age spatial, temporal and social practices within and around roundhouses. (Giles and Parker Pearson 1999: 225).*

Based on a survey of excavated Iron Age and Romano-British roundhouses from the East Midlands, Taylor (2001: 50-51, fig. 14) broadly concurred with Hingley and Fitzpatrick's ideas of spatial organisation, but suggested that in Northamptonshire Roman-period roundhouses were increasingly located in marginal positions within settlements and associated with craft activities or storage. With the exception of a stone roundhouse at Barton-in-Fabis (Thompson 1951: 9-10, fig. 1), within the study region roundhouses continued to be constructed as dwellings until the third or fourth centuries AD, as demonstrated by examples excavated at Bullerthorpe Lane (Wheelhouse 2001), Low Common (Burgess and Roberts 2002), Site Q along the A1 (M) road corridor (Brown, Howard-Davis and Brennand 2007), Billingley Drive, Thurnscoe (Neal and Fraser 2004) and at Staunton (Todd 1975).

Tradition was undoubtedly important. As Bourdieu showed with his concept of the habitus, and as Barth, Goffman and Mauss demonstrated with their ideas of how beliefs are reproduced over time and space, people and social groups develop their knowledge and identities through the observation of others, non-verbal communication and embodied performances (Bourdieu 1992; Goffman 1963; Mauss 1973). People often undertake practices in certain ways without any clear

understanding of why they are doing so, other than a sense of 'it has always been done like this'. Yet at the same time, it is this very uncertainty about how or why some practices developed that enables changes in knowledge and practices over time, and allows the meanings of architectural and landscape features to alter too.

> Long term structures provide the unseen background into which individuals are socialised and are felt rather than consciously known. Longer temporal patterns ensure a background of common assumptions about the world, which ensures intelligibility, but which is not itself directly intelligible. This is a level of human creativity beyond the individual, which allows for some coherence of action, but also for the originality which we call individual agency…Ritual and cosmology…are not just sets of conscious thoughts held in the minds of individual actors and recognised in individual instances…Cosmologies are hard to glimpse, being interwoven in archaeological material with evidence of the more general patterns of human action which made life intelligible at all. (Gosden 1997: 304).

Circular arguments?

Appendix E lists the diameters, absolute dates and structural features of sixty-four excavated roundhouses within the study region, with a total of eighty-two identifiable entranceways. Of these, thirty-eight roundhouses were from West Yorkshire, eighteen from South Yorkshire, and eight from Nottinghamshire; and fourteen had possible double entrances (thirteen from West Yorkshire, with one possible example from South Yorkshire). In some cases such as the agglomerated sites at Holme Pierrepont and Rampton, the only published or archive plans I was able to obtain at the time of analysis and table preparation were not sufficiently detailed to allow me to distinguish roundhouses from other circular features such as hay rick gullies. As Appendix E demonstrates, a few of the sixty-four roundhouses could also be such ancillary structures. Two of the West Yorkshire roundhouses were conjoined structures from Moss Carr, but the four entrances of these have been treated separately, as have all of the entrance orientations of possible double-entranced roundhouses.

Table 11 (Fig. 9.72) shows the combined entrance orientations of fifty single-entranced roundhouses including the two conjoined examples, in addition to the entrance orientations of fourteen possible two-entranced roundhouses. Tables 12-14

break these results down into their regional groupings. The results are not as marked as Oswald's findings (1991, 1997), though the majority of structures seem to have had doorways orientated to the east or south-east. Nevertheless, there was also another, smaller group of structures whose entrances generally faced north-east. These results broadly concur with some of Pope's (2003, 2007) findings. This suggests that there probably was a tradition or dominant social structure of roundhouse orientation, whether for practical and/or social reasons; and that this tradition was reproduced over time through habitus. Some structures (and people) appear to have diverged from this, however, showing that the situation was undoubtedly more complex. Some potential regional trends are also evident, with those structures from South Yorkshire generally more restricted in terms of their doorway orientation.

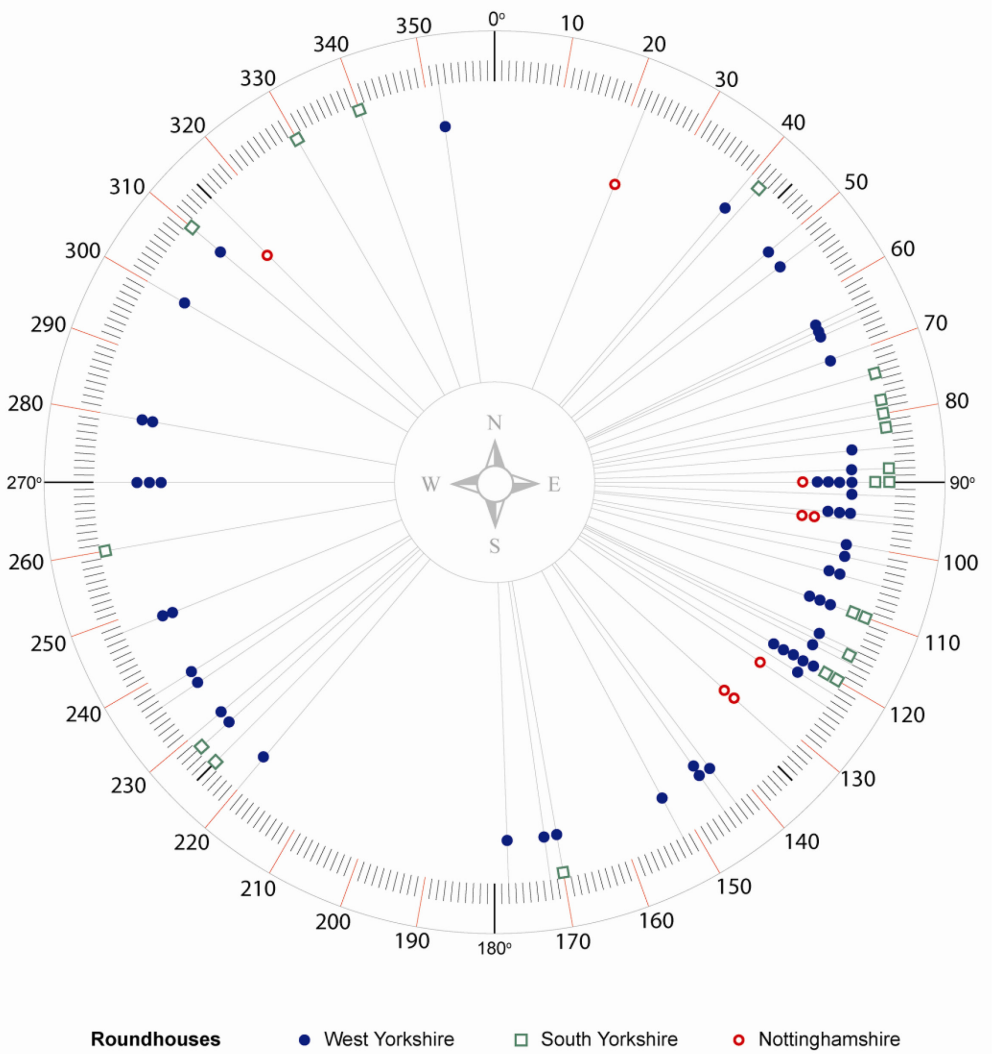


Figure 9.72. *The orientations of 82 identified entrances from 64 excavated roundhouses within my study region. (Drawn by A. Leaver).*

A notable result was that roundhouses with two possible doorways appear to have been a much more internally variable group (Appendix E, Table 15), although it may be significant that the majority of roundhouse entrances facing south-west or west were from structures with two entrances. This might suggest that roundhouses with two entrances had different functional, social and/or symbolic significance. If they were dwellings, then the people living in them might have had slightly different identities and social status from others in these communities.

Life cycles and life histories

It has been suggested that the construction, use and abandonment of Bronze Age roundhouses and settlements were linked to the life histories, marriages, inheritance or descent practices of their human occupants (Brück 1999a, 2000; Nowakowski 2001). This abandonment, construction or reconstruction work might have required the deposition of certain objects and materials at key moments (Bradley 1998; Brück 1999a, 2001; Webley 2007), in locations on or underneath roundhouse floors, in pits, or in ditches surrounding settlements. Many of these arguments are specific to the late Bronze Age or early Iron Age, however, and there is less evidence during the Iron Age for these deliberate dismantling, burning and abandonment practices (Pope 2003; Webley 2007). Nevertheless, most foundation or closure deposits from roundhouses in northern and central Britain date from *after* 400 BC, however, albeit in line with the dates of most of the excavated houses (Pope 2005), and these practices may have become more common in the north from around 800 BC.

I will address the evidence for structured deposits in and around Iron Age and Romano-British buildings in Chapter 11, but there are some other indications of the historicity of roundhouses, with some rebuilt repeatedly on almost exactly the same location. This was not the repair of existing structures but the repeated replacement of them, and hints at a need to retain attachments to very specific places. At Moss Carr, Methley Site 2 Enclosure A (Fig. 9.73), there were three overlapping phases of double roundhouses and perhaps one or two phases of a single roundhouse, with at least two different phases of roundhouses at Enclosure B (Roberts and Richardson 2002: figs. 4, 7). In Enclosure A at Ferrybridge there were three or four different overlapping

phases of roundhouse, one an almost direct replacement of another (Martin 2005: 92-95, figs. 79, 80-82), as at Holme Dyke, Gonalston where three roundhouses were closely superimposed on one another (Elliott and Knight 2002: 149; Knight and Howard 2004b: 98) (Fig. 9.45). At Topham Farm, Sykehouse, two groups of roundhouses overlay one another (Roberts 2003: 27-28, fig. 23), and at Swillington Brickworks several possible roundhouses also overlapped (Eyre-Morgan 1992; Vyner 1992). Elsewhere though, roundhouses may have been dismantled and/or abandoned within a few years or decades after construction. Many more need to be excavated in order to identify any statistically significant patterns.

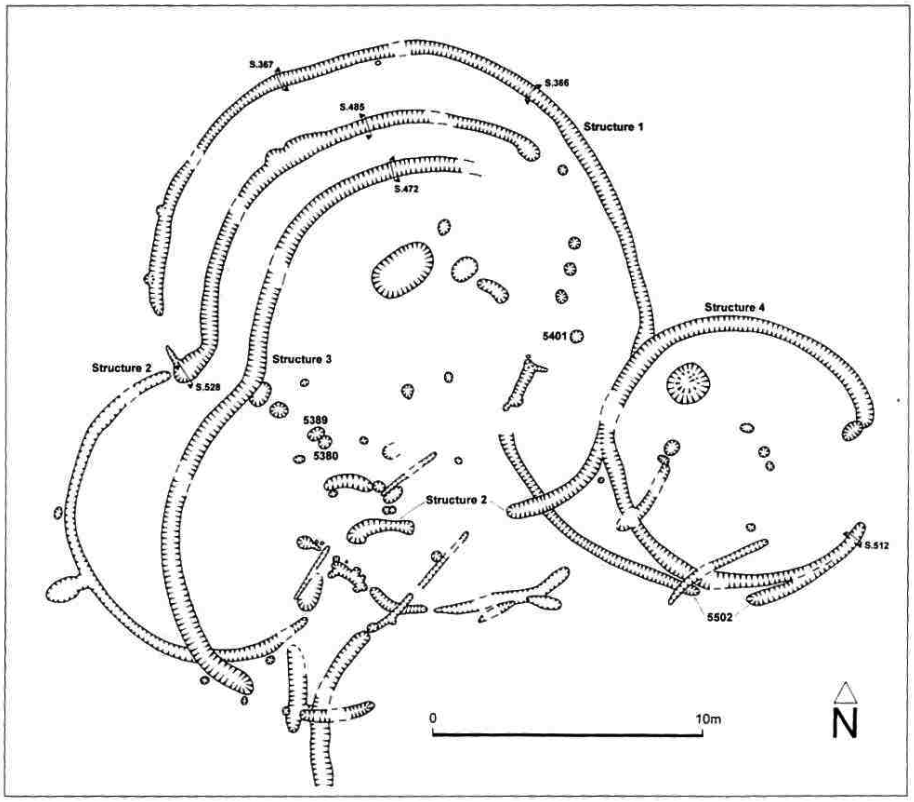


Figure 9.73. *A series of single and conjoined roundhouses closely superimposed over one another at Moss Carr, Methley Site 1. (Source: Roberts and Richardson 2002: 6).*

Drawing on theoretical discussions of the cultural biographies of material culture (Kopytoff 1986) and on the social meanings of domestic architecture (e.g. Bailey 1990; Bloch 1995; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Moore 1986; Parker Pearson and Richards 1995), Fokke Gerritsen proposed that over time prehistoric rectangular houses in the Netherlands accrued histories and a variety of social and symbolic meanings. Their construction and abandonment were closely related to living and

deceased household members (Gerritsen 1999a, 1999b) (Fig. 9.74). Houses may have come to symbolise the continuity of households. Gerritsen's general approach ties in to some ethnographic evidence (e.g. Fewster 1999: 185-188). These social and political cycles are not fixed or predetermined, however, and it is important to emphasise the dynamic and contingent nature of household inhabitation, and questions of changing prestige and power. In many instances the biographies of houses were linked to the histories of households, and perhaps directly to the lives of some individuals – their social and economic success, or failure.

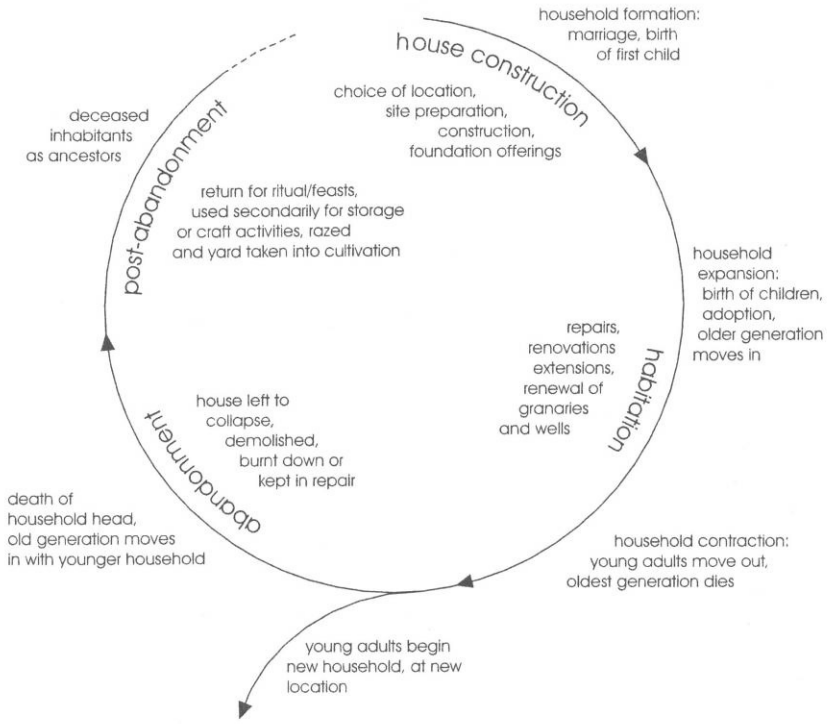


Figure 9.74. *A model of the generational life cycles and cultural biographies of people and houses in the later prehistory of the Netherlands, where rectangular houses were generally built to last one generation. (Source: Gerritsen 1999a: 84).*

At Moss Carr, Methley, the evidence does not allow close dating of the likely timespan of each building, other than a broad mid to late Iron Age date (Evans 2002: 26). Moss Carr may have been inhabited between *c*. 500-300 BC, but if this time period is divided up into the number of phases of construction, this suggests rebuilding may have taken place approximately every 50-70 years, or every two to three human generations. Each enclosure and roundhouse across the study region no doubt had its own particular biography, however.

> In replacing these footings, re-encountering the traces and marks of other builders, people worked through a history of descent. They were grounded genealogically in place; literally and metaphorically raising foundations for a long-lived line. (Giles 2000: 123).

Although Iron Age and Romano-British roundhouses may have continued or reworked some cosmological references that henges and round barrows originally embodied, this should not be seen as direct transmission of 'sacred lore' through the ages, and apparent similarities might be misleading. Roundness may have stood for certain ideas about people and their world that themselves changed and were reinterpreted over time. The sheer ubiquity of roundhouses from the middle Bronze Age into the Romano-British period suggests that in addition to their robust practical qualities, they were also eminently suitable for cosmological understandings, inextricably woven together with the myriad, routine practices of everyday life. There were multiple experiences of these roundhouses – some based on age, gender, status and other aspects of human identity; and others implicitly linked to embodied human movements, mundane and 'ritual' practices, and ideas of renewal and rebirth. Births, deaths or other key events in people's lives may have been commemorated in such ways. Roundhouses demarcated different spatial and temporal experiences, extending outwards into embodied taskscapes and socialised relationships with other people (Barrett and Fewster 2000: 31). The architecture and material culture of these communities were drawn into the lives and histories of animals and plants.

Rectangular buildings, villas and other structures

In a few rare instances, rectangular buildings can also be identified from the air (Fig. 9.75). Rectangular buildings were not necessarily linked to the Roman occupation. Although it is likely that most or all post-dated AD 70/71, the vagaries of some dating evidence mean that this cannot always be conclusively demonstrated. It is possible that the first phase rectangular building at Dunston's Clump (Garton 1987) was earlier than AD 70/71, or (though rather unlikely) even AD 43, given the difficulties of

dating the hand-made pottery associated with the earliest phases. There is evidence for a limited number of rectangular buildings elsewhere in Iron Age Britain (Bell, Caseldine and Neumann 2000; T. Moore 2003: 55). In the same way that roundhouses have been compared to anthropological examples of round dwellings, ethnographic evidence from many Malagasy houses (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994: 14-15), Kabyle Berber houses (Bourdieu 1973), Atoni houses in Timor (Cunningham1973), Barasana longhouses in South America (Hugh-Jones 1979) and Ainu *chise* in northern Japan (Nomoto 1999), amongst others, suggests that in addition to practical considerations, the location of doorways, windows and areas set aside for different activities might have been influenced by notions of cardinal or auspicious directions. I am again wary of drawing direct parallels with ethnographic evidence, particularly the more structuralist studies such as Bourdieu's investigation of the Kabyle, written before he developed his more nuanced theory of practice (Bourdieu 1977, cf. 1992). Nevertheless, we should not automatically assume that rectangular Romano-British houses were purely functional and had no social meanings.

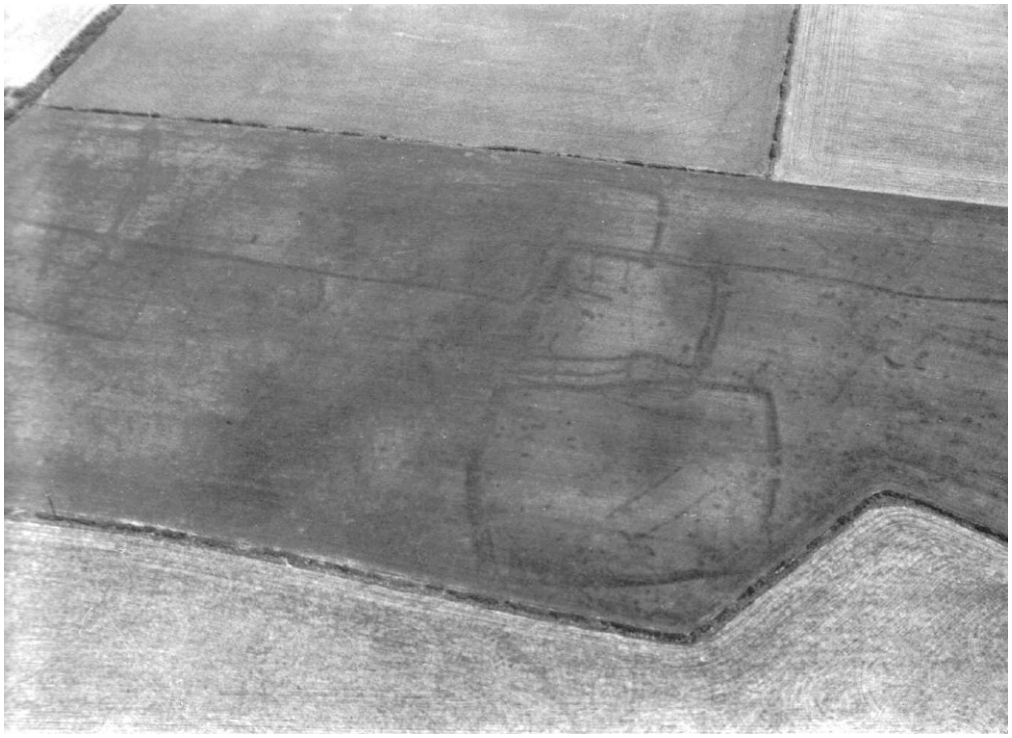
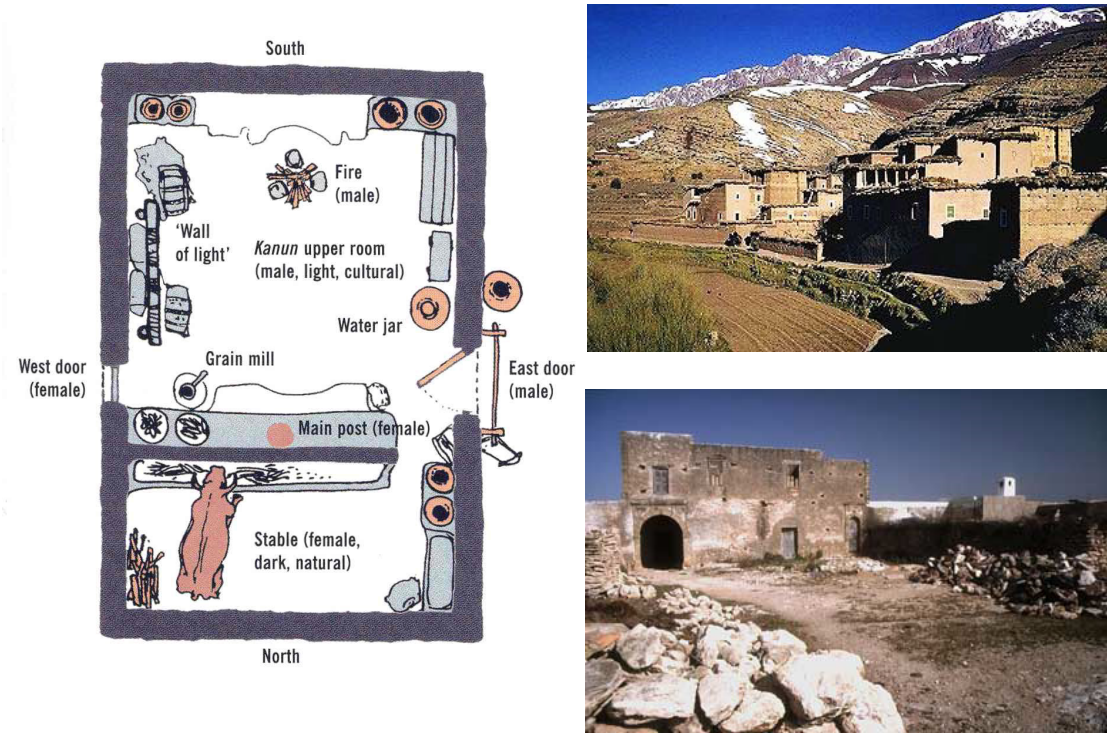


Figure 9.75. *Enclosures, fields and trackways at South Muskham, Notts. At the lower right of the image, the large subrectangular enclosure contains a rectangular structure apparently defined by beam slots (or robbed stone footings). It is, however, on a different alignment to the main entrance of the enclosure, and may therefore pre- or post-date it. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1284, SK 780 565).*



Ethnographies of household space 2. **Figure 9.76. (left).** *Bourdieu's structuralist (and highly androcentric) interpretation of social space in Kabyle Berber rectangular houses. (Source: Planel 2000).* **Fig. 9.77. (top right)** *and* **Fig. 9.78. (bottom right).** *Berber houses. (Source: unknown Internet images).*

With the exception of some larger stone examples, in many cases associated with villas, rectangular Romano-British buildings within the study region were mostly wooden structures. Examples are listed in Appendix E. They survive as postholes or stakeholes for probable wattle and daub walls, or linear slots for walls or horizontal timber beams, and only a few had stone footings. Some buildings have left little structural evidence – at Moor Pool Close, Rampton, only tegula hearths and clay floors survived later ploughing (Knight 2000a: 10). Most were probably single-storey structures, and some might have had standardised construction techniques (e.g. Goodburn 1991, 1995). The timber framing used in many allowed the pre-fabrication of frames that could be erected and assembled into buildings. These were relatively light and required less earthfast support, yet some might have been as long-lived as larger roundhouses, and many phenomenological experiences of them would have been similar (q.v. Helliwell 1992; Robin 2002; Weiner 2001). Timbers would have

creaked, smoke would have accumulated under roofs, and little light may have reached corners. Although some traditions of wattle and daub continued, the Romano-British period saw many changes in carpentry and joining techniques, and the increasing use of iron nails, hinges and other fastenings and fixtures, although these are often absent (perhaps re-used) from rectangular structures within the study region. For the first time, some buildings had doors with iron locks and keys, reflecting changing notions of privacy and ownership and perhaps creating new 'crimes' of trespass and breaking and entering.

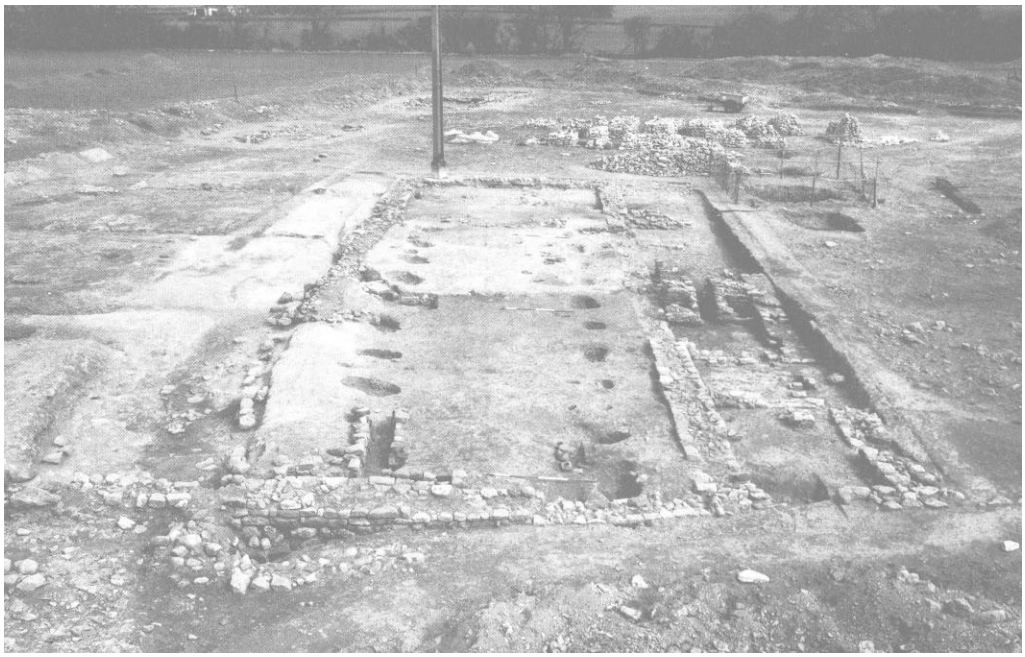


Figure 9.79. *Building M at Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks. This aisled hall within a larger villa complex was probably in use during the late third and early fourth centuries AD. (Source: Tindall 1990: 48).*

Few aisled houses have been excavated within my study region, although Structure M at Dalton Parlours was the largest, most well-preserved building in the villa complex (Tindall 1990: 47-58) (Fig. 9.79). Others are known from Epperstone in Nottinghamshire (Whitwell 1982: 110-114), and slightly further afield, from Ockbrook and Roystone Grange in Derbyshire (Hodges 1991: 74-77, fig. 55; Palfreyman 2001). Many more are known from the south midlands (Hingley 1989: 39-45). Hingley proposed a model for the transformation of Iron Age roundhouse space into Romano-British rectangular buildings and aisled houses (Hingley 1990b: 135-139, fig. 6.2), again based on a conception of public : private zones. Taylor's

examination of aisled and developed-aisled buildings in Northamptonshire suggested that there were shared traditions of spatial praxis, with features such as hearths, corn driers and entrances repeatedly located in the same positions (Taylor 2001: 51-52, fig. 14). During the second and third centuries AD everyday agricultural or craft activities were frequently undertaken within aisled buildings, but during the later third and fourth centuries domestic areas seem to have been increasingly separated from working spaces. This might have reflected changing social attitudes to 'domestic' and 'work' space. This subdivision and elaboration can be seen at Dalton Parlours Structure M (Tindall 1990: 47-58), where the initial 'open' aisled building had later extensions added, including a bathhouse suite with a hypocaust. Like Hingley, Taylor proposed that 'hybrid' spatial discourses developed from existing indigenous traditions, rather than the slavish adoption of 'Roman' architecture. This may be further evidence of a more complex dialectic between native and Roman practices and material culture than presented in more traditional accounts of 'Romanisation'.

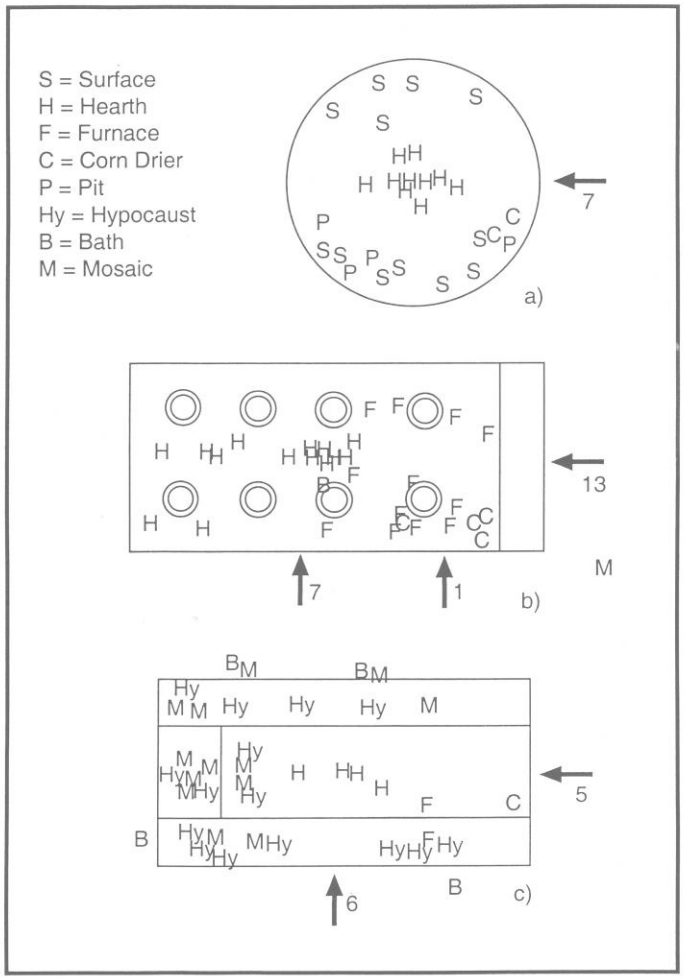


Figure 9.80. (left). *Taylor's model of architecture and social space in midlands Iron Age roundhouses and Romano-British aisled dwellings. (Source: Taylor 2001: 51).*

Appendix E lists the entrance orientations, dimensions and structural features of twenty-six rectangular buildings within the study region. This is a very small sample, but itself notable compared to the much higher number of roundhouses. Only thirteen had recognisable entrances – Table 16 demonstrates the entrance orientations of these. There was much greater variation in doorway orientation than with roundhouses, which might indicate that there were no predominant beliefs about orientation, and/or that many were either built by 'Roman' colonisers, or 'native' people for whom traditional practices had changed. Some entrances that faced south-west or west show that 'practical' considerations of maximising daylight and avoiding prevailing winds were not always followed even in supposedly 'rational' Roman-style dwellings.

Figure 9.81. *Reconstruction of a Romano-British rectangular, single-storey dwelling made of timber and wattle and daub, Upton Country Park, Dorset. (Source: World Wide Web http://www.boroughofpoole.com).*

Villas

Villas are a classic 'Roman' type-site, and the apparent lack of them within the study region has been part of the discussions regarding its degree of Romanisation and its perceived marginality. Yet this lack of villas is only problematic for researchers who are more familiar with southern England, and whose thinking is dominated by simplistic culture-history and core : periphery approaches. I will only summarise the

regional evidence for villas, as my thesis focuses primarily on small-scale rural settlements and field systems.

Roman-style villas were indeed rare within my study region, and like northern England as a whole were a relatively late development, mostly dating to the third and fourth centuries (Branigan 1980, 1984; Wilson 1997). In West Yorkshire, there may have been villas near Bingley, Birstall, Bramham Park and Ossett (Deegan 2007; Faull 1981: 147), but only Dalton Parlours has been excavated (Procter 1855; Wrathmell and Nicolson 1990). This was probably inhabited during AD 200-370 (Wrathmell 1990: 279). The winged-corridor Structure J and the aisled Structure M were the main buildings (Fig. 9.82), and army-style metalwork including *lorica squamata* might suggest military connections (Cool 1990: 86), though this may have been over-stressed (Creighton 1992). Tiles with the Sixth Legion mark suggest a link to the garrison at *Eburacum* (York) (Betts 1990: 170; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 140). The Medusa mosaic from the apsidal-end of Building J might also have martial connotations (Cookson 1990: 150) (Fig. 9.83).

Figure 9.82. *Reconstruction of the Dalton Parlours villa complex, showing the winged corridor villa Structure J (lower left) with its apsidal-ended west wing, and aisled rectangular building Structure M (upper left), which were both probably contemporary with one another. Other buildings include the hypocaust-heated Structure B (to the right). (Source: © WYAAS).*

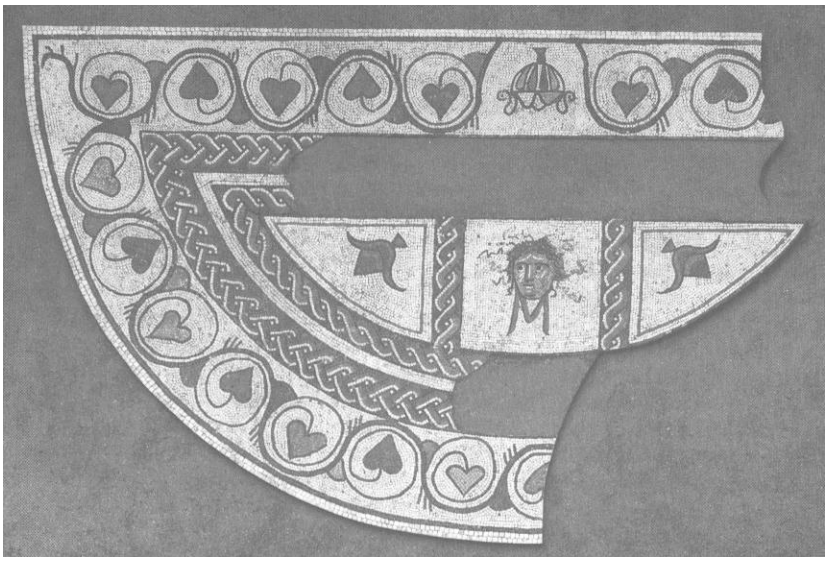


Figure 9.83. *Medusa mosaic from the apsidal-ended west wing of Structure J, Dalton Parlours, W. Yorks. (Source: Cookson 1990: 147).*

In South Yorkshire, excavations on a possible villa site at Stancil villa were very poorly recorded, although several phases of a bathhouse with a hypocaust were discovered (Whiting 1943: 263). Two possible villas may have been located at Conisborough and Oldcoates (Buckland 1986: 38), whilst artefact finds also hint at the presence of high-status sites at Loversall and Brodsworth (Cumberpatch 2004a, pers. comm.; P. Robinson pers. comm.). At Braithwell, a Roman stone building was examined in the 1950s but these investigations were again very poorly recorded (Buckland 1986: 38), whilst a bathhouse found recently at Hazel Lane Quarry, Hampole was possibly part of a villa complex (Pine and Taylor 2006: 72).

In Nottinghamshire, the intriguing villa complex on the River Trent floodplain at Cromwell included a main building within a double-ditched enclosure, along with several aisled halls or barns (Whimster 1989: 78-79; Wilson 1974) (Figs. 9.84-9.85). Large villa complexes have also been excavated or identified at Southwell (Daniels 1966; Whitwell 1982: 101-102) and Mansfield Woodhouse (Oswald 1949). Other probable villas include Barton-in-Fabis (Thompson 1951), Newton (Appleton et al. 2004; Todd 1969: 12), Car Colston, Shelford and Bingham (Todd 1969: 71-73); and Norton Disney in Lincolnshire (Oswald and Buxton 1937). The latter site was associated with a large enclosure and impressive monumental entranceway. A possible villa at Redhill has been re-interpreted as a *mansio* – part of a larger

settlement complex that might have included a temple, craft workshops and cemeteries (Elsdon 1982; Palfreyman and Ebbins 2003).

The villas at Newton, Shelford, Bingham and Car Colston were concentrated around the small town of *Margidunum* on the Fosse Way (Appleton et al. 2004; Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 137), whilst the villa at Norton Disney was close to *Crococalana*. The access of villas to high status artefacts may be partly explained by their location to nearby towns, but also implies close social and economic links. The produce of villa estates may have been going to these larger settlements. Similarly, West Yorkshire villas were near roads and had access to York, Castleford and Wetherby (Faull 1981: 148). South Yorkshire villas were generally close to *Danum* (Doncaster) and the Doncaster-Lincoln road. However, *Segelocum* (Littleborough) was an extensive small town, yet no villas have yet been identified around it (Bishop 2001b: 5). Many more local factors must therefore be taken into account.

Figure 9.84. *The multi-period complex at Cromwell, Notts., showing pit alignments and the agglomerated enclosure complex, but also villa buildings just left of centre. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1332, SK 802 625).*

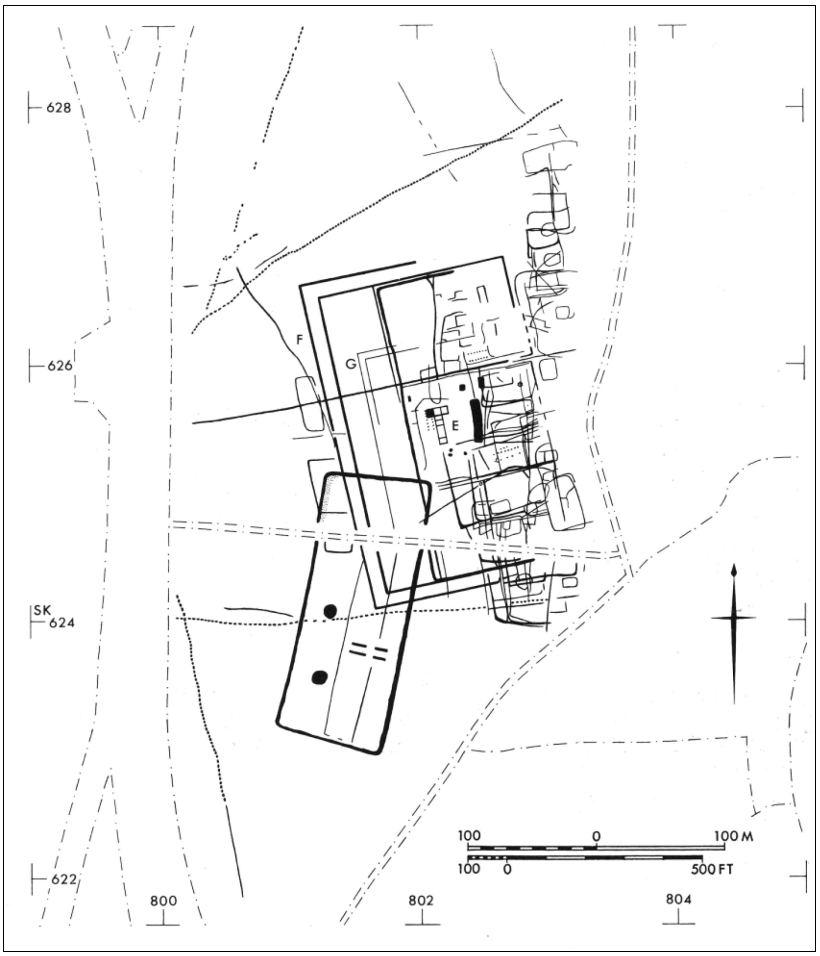


Figure 9.85. *Plot of the cropmarks at Cromwell, showing villa buildings at E, including one darker room that may be evidence of a collapsed hypocaust. There is also a possible pool to the east. Two different phases of double-ditched villa enclosure boundaries may be visible at F and G. (Source: Whimster 1989: 79).*

Larger villas were associated with complexes of other buildings (Knight, Howard and Leary 2004: 136), some probably housing workers and/or slaves, but others appear to have had little impact on their surrounding landscapes. The villa at Stancil was not closely associated with any field systems (e.g. Riley 1980: 92-94, maps 7, 8), and at Dalton Parlours the villa was a focus for boundaries and trackways that reflected considerable continuities from the Iron Age (Yarwood 1990: 273, fig. 155). This suggests that in the study region villas were established within existing patterns and practices of land tenure. Nevertheless, although extensive villa complexes have been identified in south-central England (e.g. Dark and Dark 1997; de la Bédoyère 1993), and there have been attempts to identify the actual outer boundaries of villa estates (e.g. Miles 1986), no convincing examples of such features have actually been excavated or identified to date, even in south-central England (Dark and Dark 1997:

73-74; S. Scott 2004: 54). Although many villas were clearly associated with some form of tenurial control, land-ownership and centralised control of wealth from the land, and perhaps land owner and tenant relationships; it is possible that complex patterns of land tenure existed which mean that such clear cut boundaries may never be identified (Dark and Dark 1997: 74; Millett 1990: 203).

Villas have been traditionally interpreted as economic units in a Romanised capitalist economy (e.g. Branigan and Miles 1987; Rivet 1969), and as expressions of status and wealth. Millett (1990) regarded villas as the products of financial and social success by a Romanised class of native elites. Roman style houses should not always be directly equated with wealth, however (q.v. Taylor 2001: 49). Other households might have chosen to invest and display their wealth in amounts of livestock and arable land, in portable material culture, or through feasts (Hingley 1989: 159). The elaborate reception rooms of ostensibly rich villa owners might have sometimes 'masked' financial problems (Samson 1990b: 175), whilst *nouveau-riche* people might have had more richly furnished rooms than established wealthy families. Some villas may have had differential and multiple occupancies with several resident households and/or families, or households of different status within them (Creighton 1992; J.T. Smith 1978, 1998), though this suggestion is disputed (Clarke 1990).

Earlier first and second century villa plans in Britain were quite simple, generally consisting of single storey, rectangular complexes. In the later second and third centuries many were elaborated with corridor facades, 'wing' rooms, additional reception rooms; and internal embellishments such as painted plaster, tessellated floors and mosaics (Black 1994; Branigan 1982; Dark and Dark 1997; de la Bédoyère 1993; Neal 1982; S. Scott 1994, 2004; J.T. Smith 1998). Boundaries around villas presented messages about status and identity, and may have had legal connotations too in relation to the movements of slaves and/or bondsmen (Bodel 1997; Samson 1990b: 178). Like Hingley's argument for the development of aisled houses (Hingley 1990b), Eleanor Scott suggested that earlier villas with their few large rooms were transmogrifications of late Iron Age social space. Later elaborations were a response to major social and economic changes in Roman Britain, perhaps including an increasingly market-based monetary economy (E. Scott 1990: 164-165; S. Scott 2004:

54) (see also Reece 1980; J.T. Smith 1978). The new architecture controlled the access of growing numbers of visitors concerned with commerce, taxation and administration. Villa enclosures, elaborate gateways, inner courtyards and the increased 'depth' of access to inner rooms reflected a growing emphasis on privacy and private property. Eleanor Scott thought that villas represented desires to enter the wider, market-driven Roman Empire, but at the same time also paradoxically reflected anxieties about strangers and the outside world.

A critique of Scott's paper questioned how monetarised in modern terms the Romano-British economy was, and highlighted the importance of master and servant/slave relationships (Samson 1990b). It argued for a more complex series of everyday ideological and power structures and discourses between different classes and genders inhabiting villas, and between them and others in wider society. In his florid phenomenological analysis of Pompeian town houses, Knights (1994) proposed that they reflected Roman cosmology and ideas of the natural world, with movement through buildings and across thresholds analogous to the passage between the world of humans and the realms of the gods. Some of his insights are applicable to villas, and doorways in particular held especial significance in parts of the Roman world (Mac Mahon 2003). Martin (2005) took a more agency-based approach, arguing that architectural variations between villas marked the emergence of consumer choice amongst the villa owners. Villas have also been seen as arenas for social performances during formal gatherings such as dining (q.v. Ellis 1995; S. Scott 1994).

Clearly, ideas concerning status, display and power, and the connection between villas and discourses of 'Romanisation' are interesting, and the links proposed between the elaboration of villas in the third and fourth centuries with wider social and economic changes within Roman Britain, including a period of relative economic prosperity (e.g. de la Bédoyère 1999; Fulford 1989; Millett 1990; Whyman 2001). Villas were not simply rationalised economic impositions, the country estates of retired soldiers, or the slavish emulations of Roman culture by aspirant native elites. Branigan (1980: 18) noted that the majority of northern Romano-British villas were located east of the Pennines, and within the area of East Yorkshire considered to be the territory of the Parisi by culture-history approaches. He suggested that continued unrest in northern

England, especially a postulated rebellion around AD 150 (Breeze and Dobson 1976: 105-108), meant that villas were only established around occupied forts and secure urban centres, or were built in times of peace. Branigan attributes the lack of villas in the other areas of northern England to a 'positive aversion to the Roman way of life' (Branigan 1980: 20). This might be seen as similar to the unconscious or deliberate 'native resistance' to Roman material culture proposed by Hingley (1996, 1997).

Branigan's simplistic analysis was based on limited evidence, but he did identify the core archaeological issues. Why were villas not more common within the study region, and why did so few of those built have re-organised estates? Although active or passive resistance to 'Roman' culture may be one reason, villas were likely to have been linked to concepts of identity. For those who followed existing expressions of wealth and status, Roman-style buildings perhaps had less symbolic value and appeal (Hingley 1989: 146-147), even for 'native' individuals and families of higher status. Given the generally decentralised settlement pattern and the similarities between farmstead sites, there were probably few indigenous 'elites' and little emphasis on high status metalwork, fine pottery and 'exotic' items of material culture. Traditional patterns of tenure may have created resistance to wide scale land re-organisation.

In contrast, East Yorkshire *may* have had more well-defined Iron Age elites with high status artefacts, some of whom might subsequently have wished to express status differences through Roman-style architecture, although such analyses (cf. Ramm 1978) might well be too simplistic (q.v. Giles 2007b: 239; Whyman 2001: 198). The comparatively low number of urban centres in my study region would have meant fewer local markets for the products of villa estates, and where clusters of villas did occur, these were close to York, Castleford, Doncaster, *Margidunum* and their road networks. These factors meant that farmsteads continued to be the normal forms of settlement. The past emphasis on trying to establish overarching explanations for the presence or absence of villas was derived from overwhelmingly culture-historical and economic approaches. Although some social and symbolic interpretations are valid, they often do not adequately explain why villas were sited in particular places.

Future research on villas within my study region (and others) should examine their local landscape contexts, and investigate the specific biographies of the individual villas themselves. I have described some of these sites in such greater detail in the Gazetteer (Appendix G). I will just briefly refer to one here.

Stancil in South Yorkshire was situated on the north-eastern end of a low gravel 'island' or ridge between 5-10m OD in the otherwise extremely low-lying floodplain of the River Torne. Although described as a villa by Whiting, it was not necessarily a villa *per se*, although the remains of the bathhouse he excavated indicate that it was obviously a high-status, Romanised site (Whiting 1943, see Gazetteer). The nearby cropmark of a funnel-ended trackway (see Appendix D) suggests that there was grazing of livestock on what would have been seasonally-flooded lowlands, but no other cropmarks have been identified in the immediate vicinity. Either this high-status site was not associated with any field boundaries, or alluvium and peat have masked Romano-British floodplain land division of the sort seen at Finningley 7.5km to the north-east, or at Mattersey approximately 12km to the south-east.

Whiting noted the remains of a wattle and daub structure (Whiting 1943: 268), which he interpreted as being part of a medieval cottage, although given the poor quality of the excavations this could also have been of prehistoric or Romano-British date. Given its landscape location, it is feasible that the high-status site at Stancil was the product of a successful local late Iron Age lineage, and an Iron Age site may lie underneath the Roman-period remains and those of the modern farm. Perhaps these were native 'cattle barons' who made a fortune supplying beef to the garrison at the fortress of Rossington Bridge, only 3.5km to the north-east. Alternatively, given this short distance to the fortress, this site was established by a serving Roman officer or a retired legionary. The possible north-south aligned Roman road recently identified by Alison Deegan (Roberts, Deegan and Berg 2007: 17-18, fig. 8.4) was only 1.75km east of the Stancil site, and this may have been another important reason behind its landscape location.

Memory and history

Sometimes specific physical associations seem to have been made where an enclosure entrance was sited over a previous roundhouse, or vice versa. These appear to be deliberate architectural references, as at Cromwell and North Muskham (Fig. 9.86), though aerial photographs are unable to prove the sequences. Examples elsewhere in Britain include Frocester in Gloucestershire and Copse Farm, Oving in West Sussex (Bedwin and Holgate 1985; Price 2000). At Holme Dyke, Gonalston, three phases of roundhouse were built over the corner of earlier enclosure D (Knight and Elliott 2002, forthcoming), and were then succeeded by the corner of Enclosure E; whilst the ditch of Enclosure A cut across the middle of an earlier structure (Fig. 9.87). At Gonalston Lane, a right-angled ditch within Enclosure B was dug across two earlier round structures, the angle of the ditch located precisely within the centre of one, and across the centre of the other. There were similar relationships at Normanton-on-Trent and Carlton-on-Trent (Whimster 1989: 70-71, figs. 43-44, 46-47).

Figure 9.86. *Enclosure at Cromwell, Notts., showing one roundhouse stratigraphically above or below the enclosure entrance. Other roundhouses are also visible. (Source: D. Riley, SLAP 1310, SK 792 610).*

It may sometimes have been important to mark the sites of previous structures. Former dwellings might have left traces of daub, charcoal and ash, and worn bone, flint and pottery. Such marks and subtle remnants etched onto the surface of the land might have reflected the gradually waning memories of people and the significance of past events. Later acts of architectural referencing might have been a 'terse requiem' to the previous inhabitants (Weiner 2001: 18), part of an active process or art of forgetting (Forty 1999: 7, 15; Küchler 1987, 1999: 60-61) or an affirmative aesthetics of decay (Trigg 2006). These specific locales had a numinous charge of history. Such close physical links suggest a concern with maintaining direct genealogical histories (q.v. Gosden and Lock 1998: 8-9).

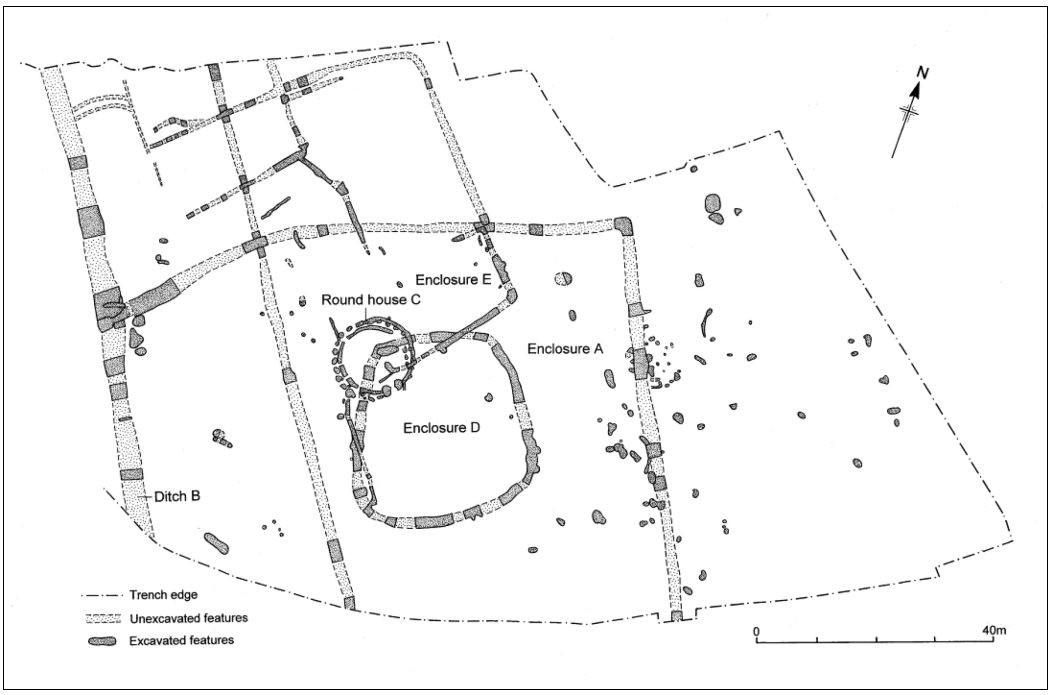


Figure 9.87. *The enclosure complex at Holme Dyke, Gonalston, Notts., showing the extremely close spatial and stratigraphic relationships between three phases of roundhouse C, and enclosures D and E. (Source: Knight and Elliott forthcoming).*

Sometimes enclosures referenced much earlier features within the landscape. At Woofa Bank, panels of rock art on earthfast boulders seem to have been deliberately incorporated into the enclosure bank (Fig. 9.88). At Cromwell, small enclosures and roundhouses were sited close to late Neolithic mortuary enclosures and a late Neolithic or early Bronze Age hengiform monument (Whimster 1989: 68-69, figs. 39-41) (Figs. 9.37-9.38), whilst other boundaries respected or deliberately incorporated

Figure 9.88. *Panel of rock art apparently incorporated within the enclosure bank at Woofa Bank, W. Yorks. (Source: World Wide Web http://www.megalithic.co.uk).*

possible Bronze Age ring ditches or barrows (ibid.: fig. 54). Similar referencing of a Neolithic cursus and Bronze Age ring ditches occurred at Aston-upon-Trent in Derbyshire (Gibson and Loveday 1989; Loveday 2004) (Fig. 9.89). Enclosure B and perhaps enclosure E at Ferrybridge were constructed over earlier ring ditches (Martin 2005: 99, fig. 86, 124, fig. 107), and the Iron Age and Romano-British pit alignments and the orientation of fields and trackways respected the earlier henge and round barrows (Roberts 2005a: 210) (see Chapter 11).

With the post-PPG16 growth in large-scale developer-funded archaeological fieldwork, compelling evidence for such deliberate referencing of earlier features in the landscape is emerging from many different areas of Britain (e.g. Cooper and Edmonds 2007; Ellis 2004; Maloney et al. 2003; John Thomas 2008). Sometimes this referencing may have been the result of long-term processes of social memory and myth making (see Chapter 11). At other times, these close juxtapositions of features were not necessarily the result of direct continuities of social memory or practice, but may nevertheless still reveal something about how these Iron Age and Romano-British communities constructed their own senses of identity and history.

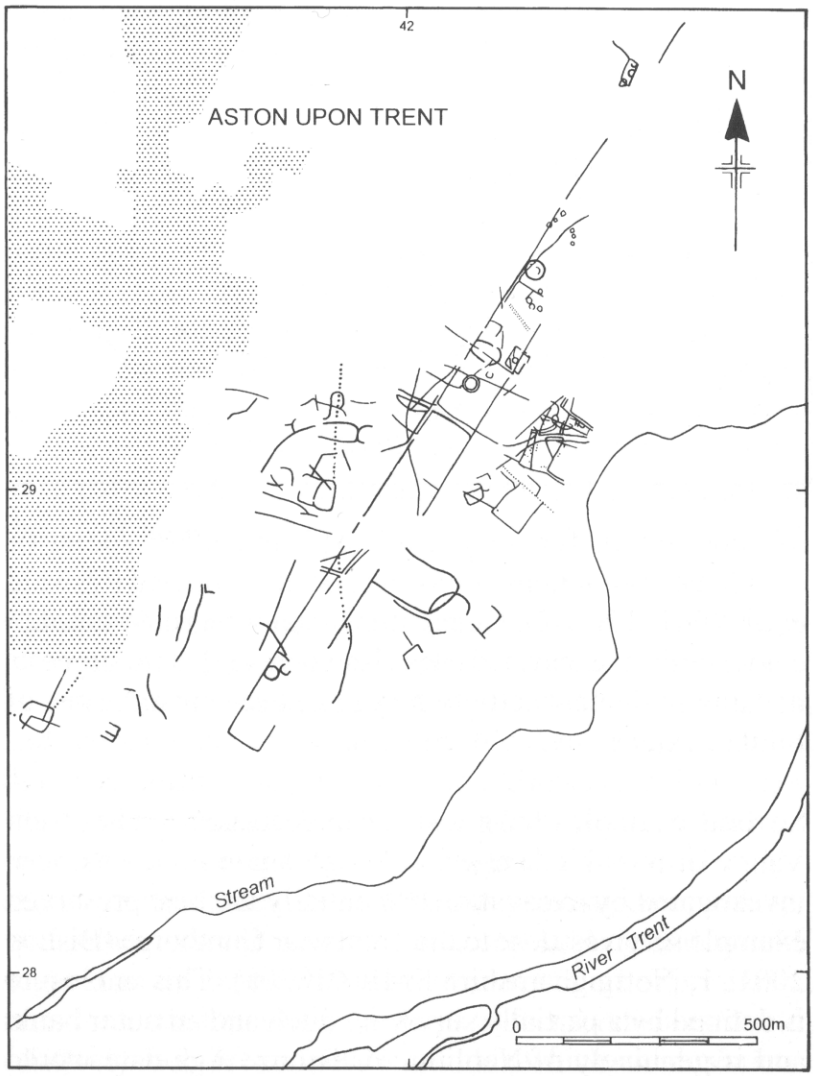


Figure 9.89. *Cropmarks of the Neolithic cursus and Bronze Age ring ditches or round barrows at Aston-upon-Trent, Derbyshire, also showing later trackways and enclosures apparently respecting the earlier monuments. (Source: Knight and Howard 2004a: 64).*

Architectural grammar and embodied movements

During the 1970s and 1980s, semiotic analyses of architecture suggested that buildings are often constructed and experienced based on implicit 'syntactical' rules imbedded within societies (Broadbent 1980; Eco 1980; Hillier, Leaman, Stansall and Bedford 1976; Rapoport 1969, 1982). These are the 'deep structures' of Chomsky and Giddens, and part of the habitus of Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1977; Chomsky 1965; Giddens 1984). Such studies led to a series of influential inter-disciplinary

publications on social space (for a small sample, see Grøn, Engelstad and Lindblom 1991; Hillier and Hanson 1984; Kent 1990; Locock 1994; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994; Rapoport 1994; Samson 1990a). Sally Foster used access analysis to examine the social construction of space in Iron Age broch settlements on Orkney (Foster 1989a, 1989b), arguing that the increasing complexity of social space, with greater subdivision of enclosures and buildings and where people had to pass through more entrances and thresholds, reflected growing social hierarchies. People living in the innermost social spaces may have had the highest social status. In an earlier article I proposed that field and enclosure ditches could be regarded as active, architectural constructions with concomitant social meanings (Chadwick 1999: 156-158; cf. Lele 2006) (see Chapter 7). Enclosures too might be considered in such terms, but I have not undertaken formal access analyses as these approaches have been criticised for 'reading off' social relationships from architectural forms (Grenville 1997: 20). Cross-cultural approaches may also make many assumptions about power and gender relationships within households (Çevik 1995: 40; Ilcan 1996: 34-35; Price 1999: 38-39), ignoring the variability of social relationships within societies and the complex, historically and socially contingent nature of households themselves.

What is clear is that those entering enclosures often had to pass through a series of graded spaces and thresholds, and there were concerns with channelling and restricting the movements of people and/or animals. On some settlements roundhouses and sub-enclosure inner spaces were screened from view, but at others they were deliberately framed – examples are presented in Appendix E. Most enclosure entrances varied between 3-6m in width, but were sometimes much more restricted. Sometimes the routes into enclosures were rather circuitous, taking people and animals through several different changes of direction. Examples of this can be seen at Scrooby Top, Dunston's Clump and at Bottom Osiers, Gonalston (Davies et al. 2000; Elliott and Knight 1996, 1998: 32, fig. 1; Garton 1987). For strangers, or those of lesser status, this might have reinforced the position of the person(s) within that settlement, or those who were resident compared to those who were not. Routes in and out of enclosures sometimes led past animal pens, perhaps as discourses of display and prestige associated with the numbers and/or quality of livestock.

Although many features were undoubtedly useful in controlling the movements of livestock, they also reflected a deliberate desire to formalise and restrict the movement of people, and to make the entrances to enclosures appear impressive. Complex ideas of power, surveillance, display and concealment were thus played out through enclosure architecture and household space (q.v. Foucault 1979). Such aggrandisement was at a relatively small scale, but might nevertheless have resulted from heterarchical or minor hierarchical differences, or may have marked out particular enclosures and roundhouses as having special status.

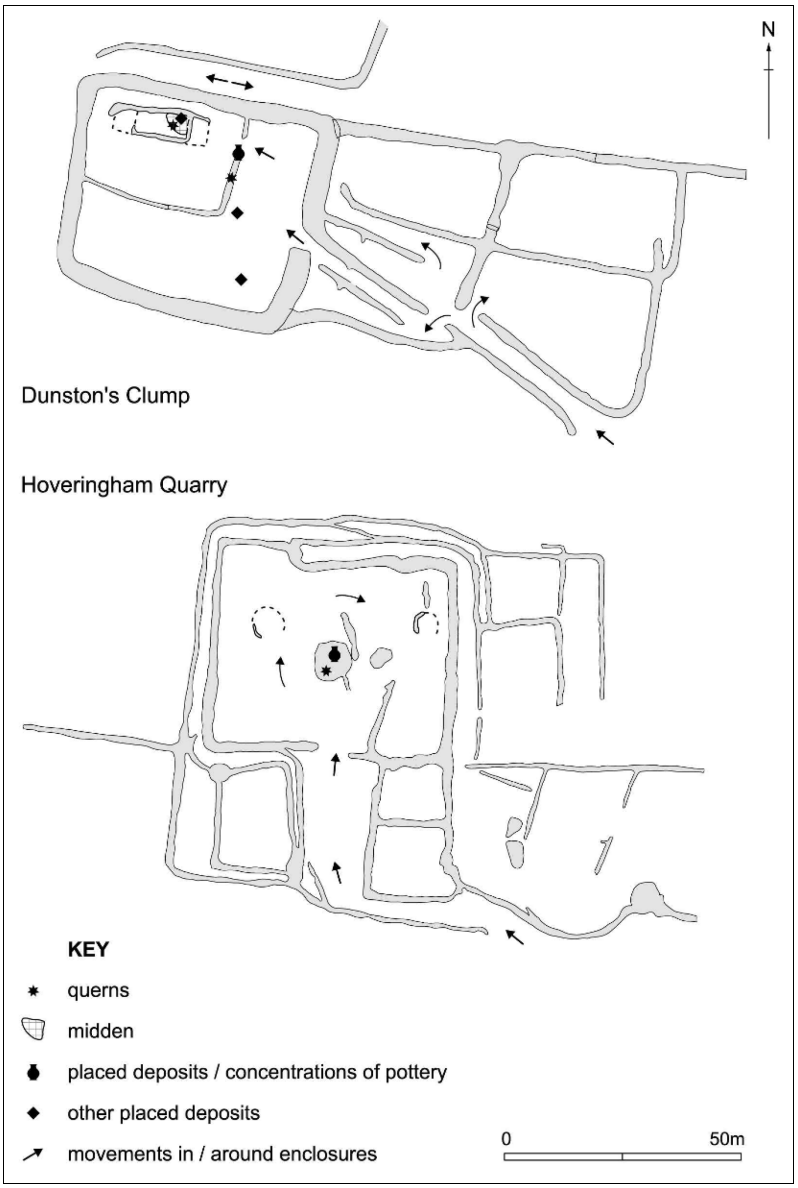


Figure 9.90. *Restricted movements into and around the enclosures at Dunston's Clump and Bottom Osiers, Gonalston, Notts., together with possible placed deposits. (Drawn by A. Leaver, from Chadwick 2004a: 99).*

At Moss Carr, Methley, Enclosure A was probably the main focus for domestic inhabitation (Roberts and Richardson 2004: 38); whilst Enclosure B may have been used for livestock or some other purpose, yet several phases of roundhouses within the enclosure had palisade gullies leading towards them, suggesting display (Fig. 9.91). This might mean that Enclosure B was used by particular age, gender or other social grades, and could have had a specialised, non-utilitarian role.

Figure 9.91. *Excavating roundhouses at Enclosure B, Moss Carr, Methley, Site 1, showing the different phases of palisade gullies leading towards the structures. (Source: Roberts and Richardson 2002, back cover).*

Re-entering the entrance debate

The orientations of one hundred and twelve excavated Iron Age and Romano-British enclosure entrances are listed in Appendix E, and shown in Fig. 9.92. This counts the total number of entrances rather than enclosures, to take into account those with more than one entrance. It includes enclosures that had clear 'domestic' inhabitation, and some that were probably stock pens and corrals. Of the total, sixty-eight were from West Yorkshire, thirty from South Yorkshire, and fourteen from Nottinghamshire – once again, some sites were not included as the only plans available to me were not sufficiently detailed. Diagrams (Tables 17-20) suggest that enclosure entrances were

more varied in orientation than roundhouse entrances, which might imply that there were less restrictive social mores or unspoken conventions concerning this, and/or that there was no strong functional and utilitarian purpose behind their layout. The majority were nevertheless still orientated between ENE to SSE, with peaks due east and south-east. There was also a small group of enclosures with entrances orientated north-east, however, and others that were aligned to the south-west. GIS analysis of enclosure locations might reveal significant trends in the setting and aspect of enclosures, but the evidence from this limited study of excavated examples initially suggests that most were constructed on gentle south or south-east facing slopes or flat areas, perhaps an unsurprising preference.

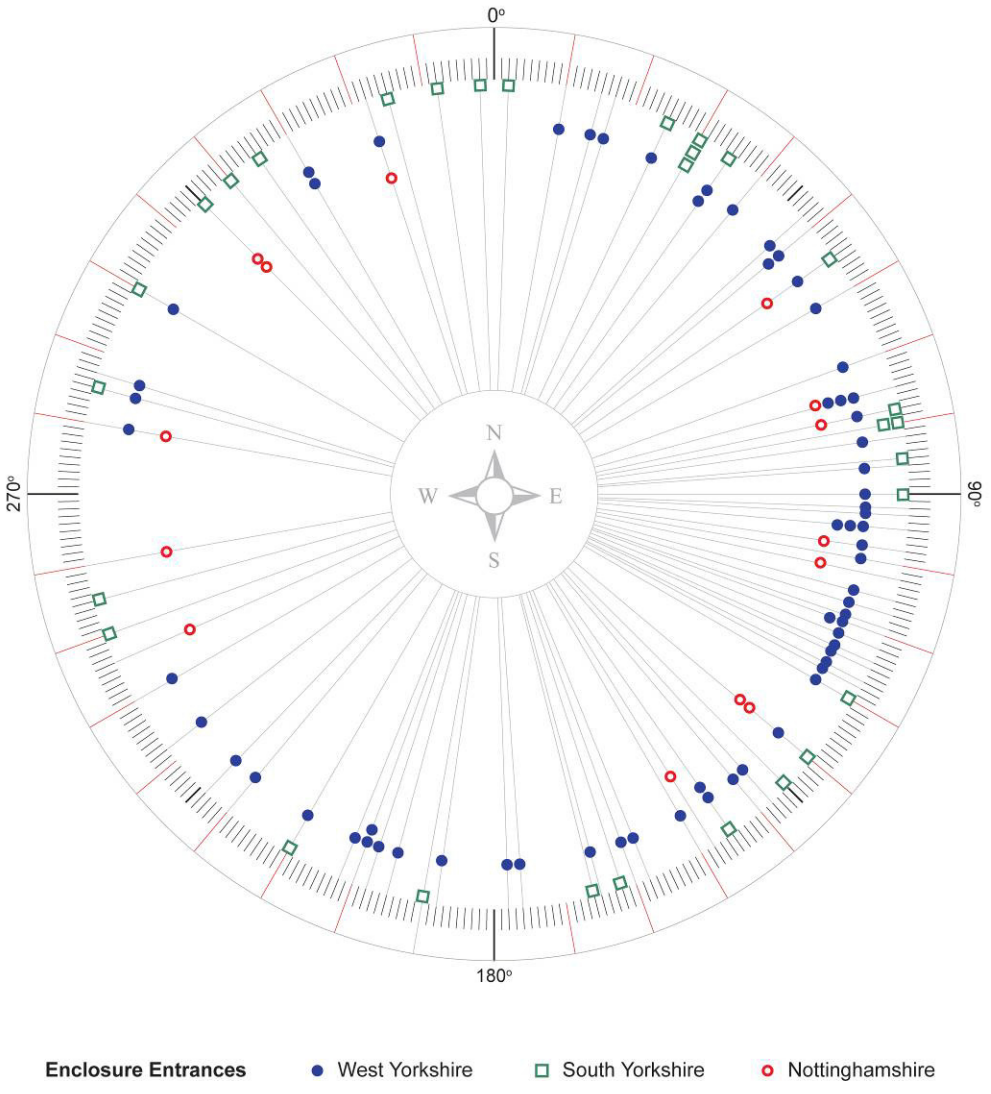


Figure 9.92. *The entrance orientations of 112 excavated enclosure entrances within the study region. (Drawn by A. Leaver).*

Inhabiting enclosures and buildings

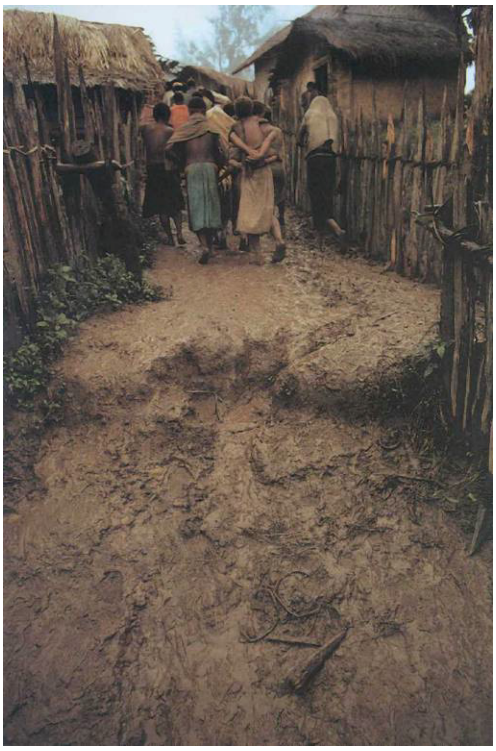
Smaller enclosures probably represented individual farmsteads – household 'compounds' in other words (Hingley 1989: 55). *If* enclosure size is a guide to social status, then the fact that many of these enclosures were similar in area (>0.4ha, Riley 1980: 31) may indicate relatively undifferentiated communities. This is not to suggest that social differences did not exist, but that these were not expressed through elaborate architecture and material culture during the later Iron Age. The appearance of more ubiquitous and more durable material culture forms before and following the Roman invasion of the north may have allowed greater expression of status variations, yet even here care must be taken not to equate the amount of material culture such as pottery with status. For the majority of people status differences might not have been marked, perhaps equivalent to the variations recorded within medieval and contemporary 'peasant' or small-scale societies (see discussions in Dobrowolski 1971; Fryde 1996; Rigby 1995; Saul and Woods 1971; Stirling 1965). These enclosures may each have been home to one family or co-resident group, but larger examples may have supported extended families, or several different households from the same kinship group or lineage (Fewster 1999: 186-187; Hingley 1989: 60; Yanagisako 1979: 197-198). The larger agglomerated settlements seen on the Magnesian Limestone of West Yorkshire and the Trent Valley of Nottinghamshire might have reflected the communal work of particular clans, but as some may have served more specialised and/or been occupied on a seasonal basis functions these should not be considered as 'villages'.

Archaeology focuses on settlements as specific 'sites' (Carman 1999: 21), but farmsteads cannot be considered in isolation from the fields, trackways and other areas of the landscape, and might instead be seen as 'congealed' fields of discourse (q.v. Barrett 1988), where particular movements, identities and social relations were concentrated. They were entangled nodes within different practices, competencies and routines, where the materiality of the landscape was manipulated (Robbins 1998). The wood and thatch of dwellings, the banks and ditches of the enclosures, and the identities, everyday lives and taskscapes of human and non-human inhabitants all intersected and interconnected with wetlands, pastures, woods, fields and trackways

in the wider landscape. Different types of wood or its source may have held different symbolic connotations, for example (Bloch 1995: 68-69; J. Knight 1998: 206-207). People's ideas of 'domestic' space might have extended out, across and through the warp and weft of relational links and agencies (Ingold 2000: 186-187). The landscape was represented, referenced and respected in the routine materialities and practicalities of everyday life, and these tangible physical links may have been drawn upon to establish metaphorical, metonymical and cosmological associations (q.v. Tilley 1999). These quotidian spaces and experiences were a mixture of:

> …the historical and the lived, the individual and the social, the real and the unreal, a place of transitions, of meetings, interactions and conflicts… (Lefebvre 2002: 47).

Many features of enclosures such as subdivisions, restricted entrances and fences screening or leading to areas may have represented social anxieties over the unrestricted movements of people from place to place (q.v. Foucault 1979; Lefebvre 1991a). These architectural devices do not occur even in all enclosures likely to have served as domestic farmsteads, but in comparison with late Bronze Age and early Iron Age open settlements, enclosures were experienced very differently by people. Instead of being able to approach settlements from many different directions, people (and animals) had to move towards them from particular directions, through a series of thresholds during which their movements had the potential to be monitored, challenged and blocked. Within and around enclosures and houses, people's daily movements were constrained and regimented by these constructions. Further out into pens, paddocks and fields, people's paths would have become more dispersed and meandering rhizomic routeways, although trackways and gates would have still restricted some of these paths. This demarcation of space facilitated the 'micropolitics of everyday social practices' (Sandywell 2004: 173) – the physical and social separation of activities, and this might have reproduced (and itself contributed to) the separation of tasks by age, skill, gender and status; and the way in which people's identities came into being and were performed, constrained or enabled. It affected and was itself affected by the reproduction of household power relationships and functional and seasonal variations in patterns of movement and social organisation (see discussions in Cutting 2006; Ilcan 1996; Keira and Keira 1999; Price 1999).



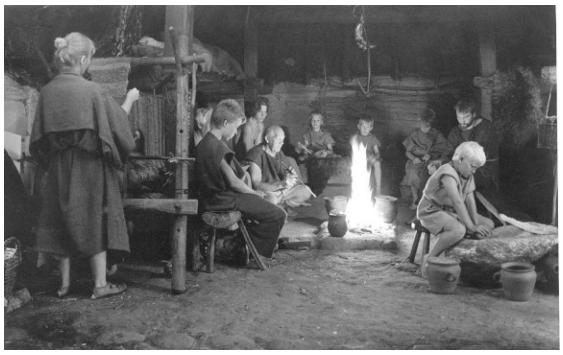


Figure 9.93. (top left). *Gimi people walking along a muddy trackway between buildings, Papua New Guinea. (Source: Gillison 2002: 58).* **Fig. 9.94. (top right).** *Man atop a stile at Alipe, Kaugel valley, New Guinea. (Source: Steensberg 1980: 116).* **Fig. 9.95. (second row right).** *Ainu women pounding grain outside a dwelling, Hokkaido, Japan. (Source: Keira and Keira 1999: 239).* **Fig. 9.96. (third row left).** *Reconstruction of extended family life inside a prehistoric dwelling. (Source: © Lejre Experimental Centre).* **Fig. 9.97. (bottom left).** *Trackway between fences, Kum river region, Mount Hagen, New Guinea. (Source: Steensberg 1980: 114).* **Fig. 9.98. (bottom right).** *Yąnomami woman carrying firewood. (Source: Chagnon 1973: 175).*

Although simplistic structuralist and androcentric ideas of public : male and private : female dichotomies must be avoided (q.v. Pope 2007; Sørenson 2006), nonetheless in many small-scale societies much of women's work focuses around households and settlements, whereas men's everyday activities may take place within a wider spatial domain (e.g. Moore 1986; Munn 1986). In fetching water, firewood and other materials vital to households, women in small-scale societies regularly travel great distances from settlements and often undertake the bulk of daily work, however, whereas men may remain around settlements for much of the day. It also does not mean that 'domestic' activities should be associated solely with dwellings (q.v. Moore 1988: 30; Price 1999: 3-35; Yanagisako 1979: 191-198). Everyday life was probably not strictly segregated into inside and outside, private or public, and artefacts and practices from dwellings would have been directly linked to those outside. Furthermore, although women and men may perform different, spatially separated tasks during the day, many are interdependent. At different times of the year, the tempo of everyday tasks would have shifted from certain areas of these enclosures and the landscape to others; and from enclosures and gardens to outfields and 'industrial' areas. During the harvest, men, women and children, would have worked together in the fields, and as outlined in Chapter 6, some people were probably absent for days or weeks at a time during the summer when animals were taken to graze on hilltop heath or down onto river floodplains. In these cases, many women might well have had more extensive taskscapes as well. The fluidity in use of these landscapes and the locations of many activities outside of them in the wider landscape suggest that we should be cautious about over-emphasising the importance of the enclosure as a focus for everyday practices.

Dwellings *may* have formed the focus for cooking and eating, and perhaps on larger settlements each co-resident group retired to their own houses at dusk. External hearths have been found on many of these Iron Age and Romano-British settlements though. Especially during the summer months, these are where most food might have been cooked (Fewster 1999: 185), and were gathering places and social foci for people. Alternatively, different foods might have been prepared on different hearths – bread might have been baked in large quantities in external ovens, but individual family meals were prepared indoors. This might have been the case if some foods

were regarded as more polluting than others, or if different age, gender or status groups were cooking. Ethnography suggests many possibilities.

Some houses and spaces within enclosures might have been the prerogative of only women or men, or senior men and senior women. Children might not have been raised in some dwellings (Yanagisako 1979: 189), or were denied access to some areas. Certain people may have had greater capacities to act knowledgeably *upon* these taskscapes than others, structuring principles that were actively maintained through ways of moving and acting, seeing and feeling (Barrett 2000: 65). In many small-scale or peasant societies there is a strong tendency towards shared cultural and ideological values, despite minor differences in social and economic status (Dobrowolski 1971: 291). The unspoken 'rules' of these communities, however, could also be unthinkingly or even deliberately subverted, ignored, flouted or forgotten (cf. Gero 2000; Lazzari 2003; Moore 1986). These also reflected wider discourses concerning the human body and defining social identities, and the demarcation of space through the creation of enclosures and trackways (Giles 2000: 179) and large-scale land division (Chadwick 1997, 1999: 163). The Roman conquest and occupation of northern England probably saw the emergence of new social discourses concerning the human body and individual and group identity (Carr 2001; Hill 1997, 2001). At a few settlements, some of these changing discourses were expressed (sometimes unknowingly, at other times explicitly) through novel architectural forms such as rectangular and aisled houses and villas, and the different embodied performances and practices these permitted.

Boundaries may have held great social significance above and beyond their functional attributes as drainage channels or barriers to livestock and wild animals (Bowden and McOmish 1987; Hill 1996; Hingley 1984, 1990a). As well as constructing enclosures and field systems with ditches, banks and fences, people were thus also constructing social identities (Gosden 1997; Lele 2006; Robbins 1998; Sharples 1999; Taylor 1997). To structure space like this meant:

> …to mark out boundaries and directions in the given world, to establish lines of force, to keep perspectives in view…a system of meanings outwardly expressive of the subject's internal activity. (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 112).

During the middle and later Iron Age, there was a trend across Britain towards enclosed settlements, possibly related to increased concerns with relatively tightly-bound family groups (D. Knight 2007: 197; Robbins 1998; R. Thomas 1997: 215). Rather than the large communal gatherings of the earlier Bronze Age and very long-distance metalwork networks of the middle and late Bronze Age, people's everyday social networks seem to have contracted. Longer-distance exchange of materials and artefacts still took place (q.v. Knight 2002: 137-140; Moore 2007: 80-83, and see Chapter 11), but more often at a regional rather than anointer-regional or pan-European level. The decline in 'open' settlements and the rise of small enclosed settlements also suggests that extended families became the focus of social life, perhaps followed in importance by kinship groups and clans. In the very late Iron Age this might have begun to change once more, where the emergence of *oppida* and centres such as Dragonby, Old Sleaford and Leicester suggests wider networks developing once more (Haselgrove and Millett 1997: 283). Stanwick was a centre for extensive exchange (Haselgrove, Turnbull and Fitts 1990; Willis 1996), but for most settlements in the study region although ceramic and quern distributions suggest intra-regional links (Chapter 10), there is little evidence for very long-distance networks until the Romano-British period.

Some buildings and activities within settlements were partially or fully screened from the eyes of those outside. This *may* have reflected an increased emphasis on privacy (q.v. Hingley 1990b), although probably not in a modern sense. The most propitious location for dwellings may have sometimes been decided through divination or 'reading' signs on the ground (Black 1973), and the outer walls of buildings may have been part of a series of spatial divisions and arrangements (Sørenson 2006: 198). Rather than a rigid public : private dichotomy, the people and activities of individual households became more sequestered (Giles 2000: 187). This created 'insides' of containment, restricted vision, hearing and motion, contrasted with 'outsides' of graded exterior spaces that gradually opened up into wider vistas and movements.






Figure 9.99. (top left). *Fence of stakes with narrow 'creep', Alipe, Papua New Guinea. (Source: Steensberg 1980: 115).* **Fig. 9.100. (top right).** *Building a stake fence, Crater, New Guinea. (Source: Gillison 2002: 62).* **Fig. 9.101. (middle left).** *Decorated Haida internal plank partition for a chief's house, Pacific north-west coast, North America. Exit through the belly of the screen's central figure signified rebirth. (Source: Crowell 1988: 207).* **Fig. 9.102. (middle right).** *Fence of logs with stile and gate, Mendim, Mount Hagen, New Guinea. (Source: Steensberg 1980: 116).* **Fig. 9.103. (bottom left).** *Akha spirit gate at a village entrance, northern Thailand. Such structures formally demarcate the human and spirit worlds around Akha villages, and are rebuilt and renewed annually in ceremonies directed by ritual specialists. (Source: de la Paz n.d.).* **Fig. 9.104. (bottom right).** *Carved wooden gate or kharu at a Magam Naga village, northern India. The designs reflect the valour and martial prowess of the clan dwelling within, and also have apatropaic and other magical properties. (Source: Stirn and Van Ham 2003: 187).*

Social conventions may have prohibited people from entering or peering into sub-enclosures and houses (q.v. Robin 2002: 254). Interiors were gradually disclosed, as part of a revelation of social knowledge (Weiner 2001: 120). Strangers or people from different kin groups or clans had to pass through a series of controlled spaces, perhaps being made to pause at gates and doors. These developments may have been linked to growing distinctions between 'outsiders' and 'insiders' and between households and wider populations (Taylor 1997: 203; R. Thomas 1997: 215).

Only close kin might have been routinely invited into houses, and there might have been formal greeting rituals to be followed in order to enter these spaces. Such rituals have been recorded in many small-scale societies (e.g. Ohnuki-Tierney 1999: 241), and are a vital part of the maintenance of face-to-face relationships (q.v. Barrett 1994; Giles 2000; Sørenson 1997). It is here too that some of the different techniques of bodily idiom would have been expressed (q.v. Goffman 1963, 1969; Mauss 1973). Differences in these competencies of movement, gesture and word would have marked out outsiders as readily as accents and dialects. Nonetheless, although highly formal on occasion, particularly with 'outsiders', for the most part such practices were all very much part of everyday life. The elaboration of enclosure and sub-enclosure entrances with timber structures or deeper ditches and through repeated re-cutting, and patterns of artefact deposition, all suggests that these graded boundaries and the portals through them had great social and symbolic significance.

> …there was a very different phenomenology of day-to-day life…Sound must have acquired greater importance in this enclosed landscape; muffled movements along tracks, voices behind fences, sudden arrivals, the sound of gates unlatching and falling to. (Giles 2000: 187).

The spatial praxis of daily and seasonal routines and movements was enriched by wider ideas concerning boundaries and thresholds, identity and community, cleanliness and pollution, and fertility and regeneration. What was 'functional' and what was 'symbolic' for these people cannot be easily disentangled from this dense weave of relationships, and they were unlikely to have recognised such distinctions.

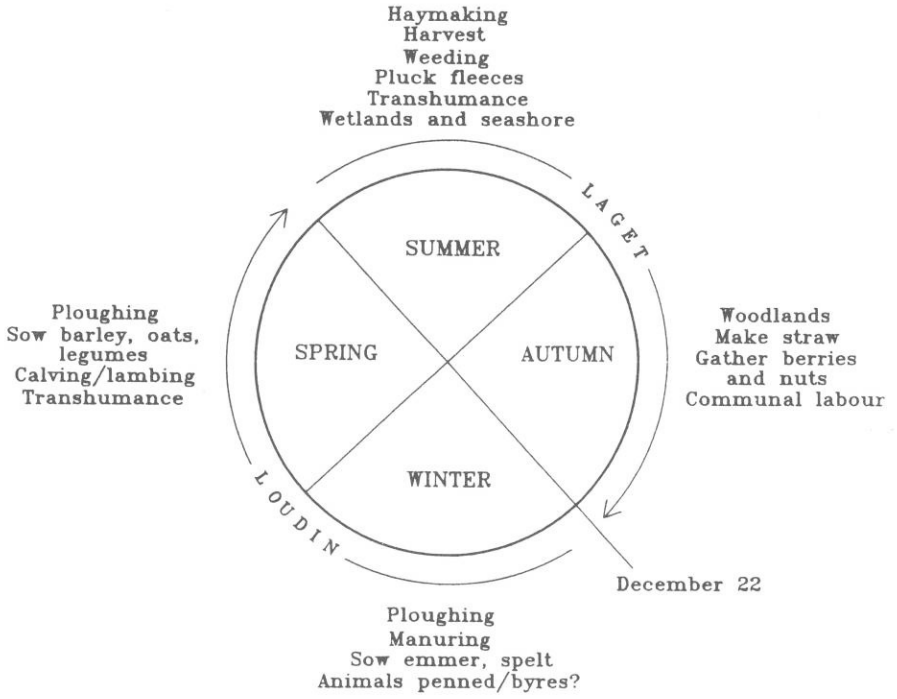


Figure 9.105. *Possible seasonal activities for an Iron Age farmstead. (Source: Fitzpatrick 1997: 74-75).*

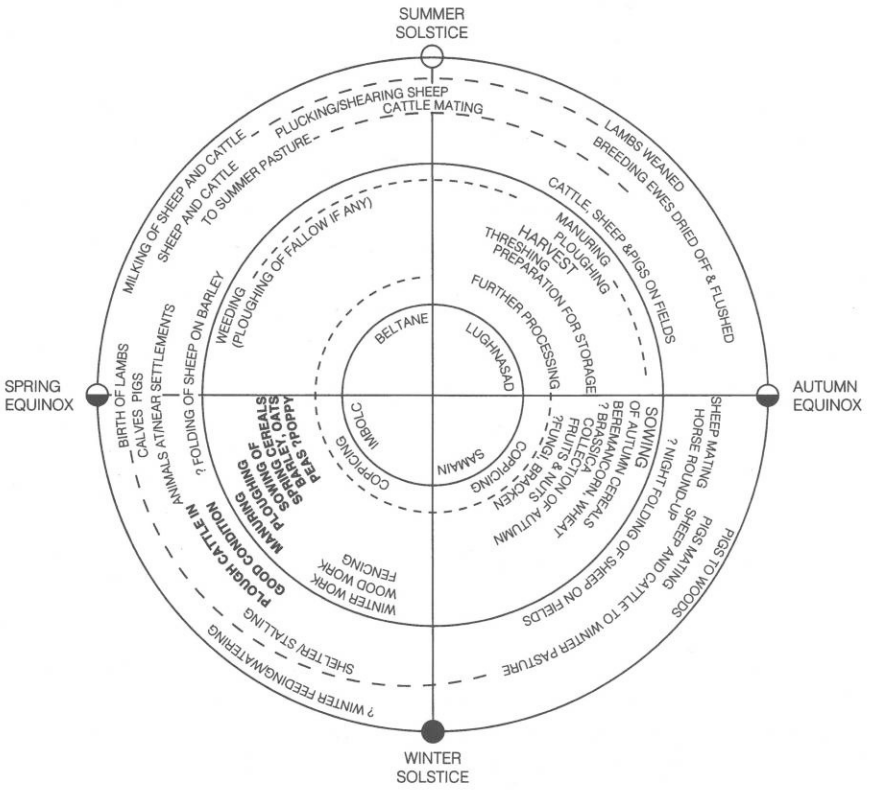


Figure 9.106. *A more developed model of Iron Age seasonal practices, based on the evidence from Danebury and its environs. (Source: Cunliffe 2003: 120).*

These practices were linked to continuous social and individual dialectics between structure and agency (Barrett 2000, 2001; Dobres and Robb 2000; Giddens 1984), the everyday lifeworld of the habitus (Bourdieu 1992), and social memory (Barth 1987; Connerton 1989). People's habitual bodily movements or 'muscular consciousness' (q.v. Bachelard 1969; Lave 1988) would have inscribed and re-inscribed these metaphors, metonyms and cosmological references, through trampled turf, dusty or muddy yards, paths, wear hollows and trackways.

Experiences of dwellings and enclosures would have varied enormously. Temporary shieling-like structures in or near stock enclosures were dissimilar to more established, richly textured dwellings within settlements. In and around enclosures, the odours of middens, animal and human urine and faeces, decaying flesh and plant matter would have fluctuated according to wet, dry or warm weather, as would smells of hay and fodder, flowers and food, dogs and livestock. In winter, harsh frosts caused timbers to creak, and cold crept in under doors or through cracks. Heavy falls of snow may have blanketed the cold roofs of unheated buildings encouraging them to sag or collapse, whilst the warmer thatch or tiles of heated buildings or the roofs of beast-filled byres would have steamed in the cold air. In the spring, rain and the passage of human and animal feet may have turned some yards and paths to mud. These may have been baked and trampled into hardness again during summer. Slight wear hollows that have not survived on the majority of sites might have defined preferred routes. This materiality directly linked human and animal bodies through the many embodied experiences of houses and enclosures to patterns of the seasons, the cycles of life and death, and cycles of enclosure, inhabitation and abandonment.

Notes

1. Graham Robbins gained access to the Scratta Wood archive held at the Creswell Crags Visitors Centre in 1997 when he was working on his PhD thesis at the University of Sheffield. He went through the daybooks of White and other excavators and compiled extensive notes, and through exhaustive work was able to rationalise the many different plans from the

haphazard excavations. Regrettably, Graham abandoned his thesis but very generously gave me his files of notes and transcriptions, which I have gratefully drawn upon for my own work.

2. In her much larger data set from 1178 excavated later prehistoric and Romano-British roundhouses, where doorway orientation could be determined in 72% of the 1178 examples, Rachel Pope (2003) found that the majority (63%) of structures were orientated between north-east to south-east, with a clear preference for due east, east-south-east and east. She also detected interesting chronological changes, with the south-east being emphasised in the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, and then a shift towards the east until the end of the Roman-British period. Pope claims that this reflected a worsening climate in the early first millennium BC with a greater concern for maximising shelter as well as light (Pope 2007: 214). This would seem to be an overly deterministic explanation though, particularly given that her examples were from both highland and lowland locales, and that arguments for marked climatic deterioration during this period are simplistic and over stated (q.v. Tipping 2002; Young and Simmonds 1995, 1999).

   It is worth noting too that Pope herself excluded two sites from her data set – Moel y Gaer and Garton/Wetwang Slack, because "…both had high numbers of structures with standardised orientation and thus the potential to distort real patterning" (Pope 2007: 212). Although this is possibly valid on statistical grounds, she seems to largely ignore *why* this marked uniformity in doorway orientation should have been present at both settlements. This may illustrate habitus manifested through architecture, albeit at a much more localised, communal level than that claimed by Parker Pearson (1999).