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IRON AGE AND ROMANO-BRITISH SOCIETY IN THE UPPER THAMES VALLEY: AN ANALYSIS OF SETTLEMENT DATA IN TERMS OF MODES OF PRODUCTION.

by Richard Hingley.

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

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Doctor of Philosophy

IRON AGE AND ROMANO-BRITISH SOCIETY IN THE UPPER THAMES VALLEY: AN ANALYSIS OF SETTLEMENT DATA IN TERMS OF MODES OF PRODUCTION.

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In this thesis, Iron Age and Romano-British society is analysed in terms of modes of production.

It is argued that settlement archaeology in the past has failed to justify itself as an academic discipline; its object has been the collection of data, rather than the interpretation of peoples and society.

Analysis of settlement data (mainly collected by the author) is utilised to support the proposition that two types of society existed in the Iron Age of the Upper Thames Valley. One form of society was based on the common ownership of property by a "tribal" community. These tribal communities appear to have been fairly egalitarian, and stable through time. The second type of community had a basis in the independence of the local lineage from society as a whole. These lineage based societies had a tendency towards the development of stratification, and from a historical perspective were unstable.

The influence of Romanisation in relation to these two forms of society is studied; and it is argued that lineage based societies were more susceptible to transformation than tribal communities. Transformation or lack of transformation is a consequence of the inherent structure of the societies.

Finally, the significance of these arguments to the analysis of settlement and society in other areas of Britain is assessed.

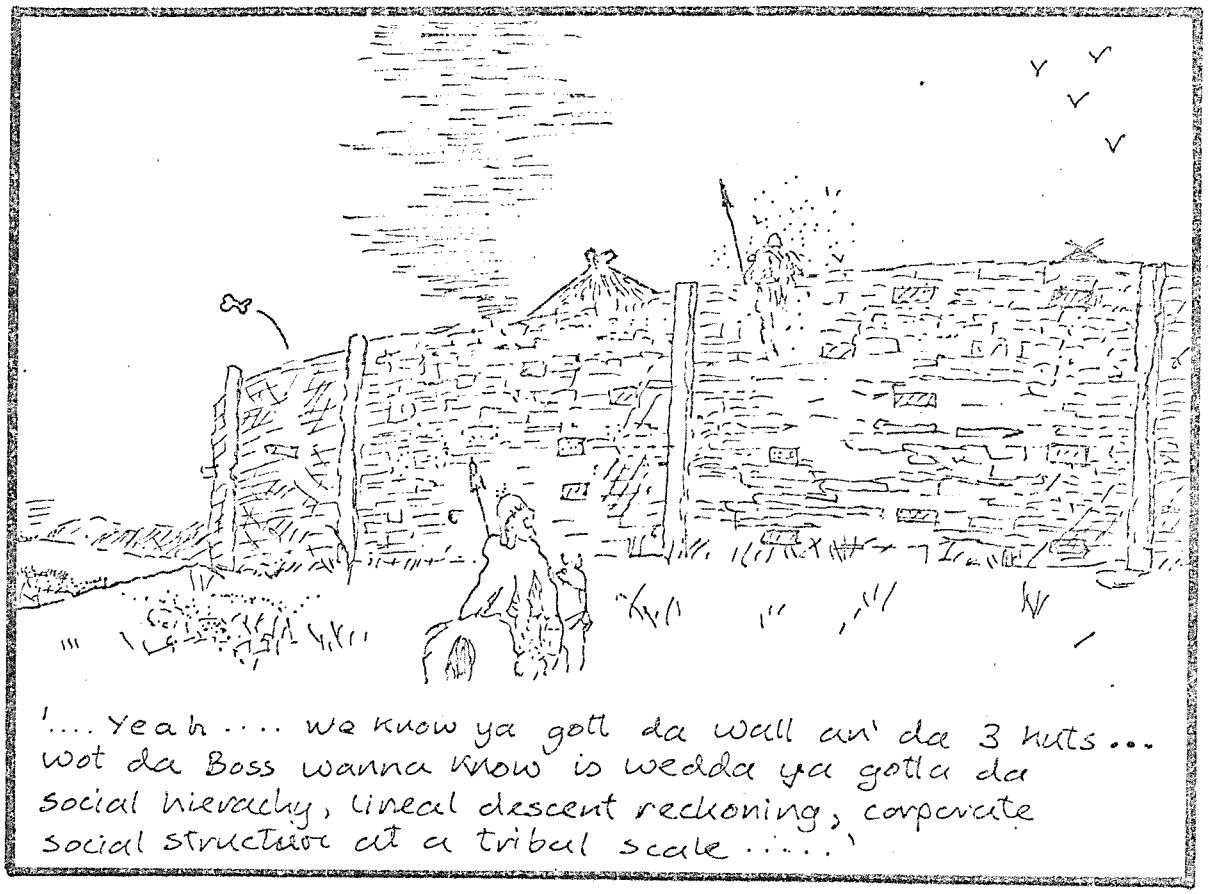


Figure 1: Material Data and Social Structure (after a drawing by Steve Dickinson).

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PART ONE:

CONCEPTS AND TECHNIQUES.

Chapter One:
Introduction.

In this Chapter an attempt is made to justify the approach that has been taken to the study of settlement and society in this thesis.

As a starting point it can be argued that settlement study in Iron Age and Romano-British archaeology has been sterile as an academic discipline. Much money is set aside by the Government and by private industry for the excavation and publication of archaeological sites; but the process of excavation and publication only results in the accumulation of data. Information on the structure of the settlement is collected, but there is little agreement over the purpose or function of such an activity. Settlement archaeology, in the scramble to retrieve data, has lost sight of people.

One premise on which this research was undertaken was that, while data recovery is a vital element in archaeological research, this research must be undertaken to provide an understanding of past peoples and their societies. The study of archaeology must aim to place the settlement in its social context.

The ideal behind this research project was to construct an ethnography of Iron Age and Romano-British society in the Upper Thames Valley. The aim is to understand the people who constructed the sites, and the societies of which they were part.

In an attempt to gain an understanding of people, social structure and the transformation of social structure through time, an approach based on the concept of the mode of production was adopted. This approach was not used through any deep felt conviction that a "Marxist" analysis was in any way "ideologically sound"; but because the concept of the mode of production directs the attention towards the analysis of certain factors. The analysis of modes

of production is only one approach among many within the social sciences; however the approach has certain specific advantages in the analysis of Iron Age and Romano-British society.

Before discussing the advantages inherent in the approach it is necessary for us to consider what is meant by the analysis of modes of production.

In orthodox Marxist thinking the concept of the mode of production is not rigorously defined. Marx and Engels believed that human society passed through five phases (Primitive Communism, Asiatic, Slave-Owning, Feudal and Capitalist) in the march towards Communism, and that each phase was characterised by its own unique mode of production. But the approach to the mode of production adopted in this thesis is rather more empirically based.

A great variety of structuring principles exist within pre-Capitalist society, and the concept of four pre-Capitalist phases does not do justice to this variety (Baran and Hobsbawm, 1961). In this study the concept is related to the unique structure of each individual society. The use of this more general version of the concept enables an analysis of more subtle and sophisticated variation between societies (see the articles in Crummey and Stewart (eds), 1981), and is also in keeping with recent usage of the concept by so-called Marxist anthropologists (Law, 1978; Copans and Seddon, 1978; Kahn, 1981).

The useful aspect of the concept of mode of production is the emphasis that it places on certain factors within the structure of society. The mode of production of a society combines the technical forces of production and social relations of production (Marx, 1857, 109). The technical forces of production are the direct labour processes by which material value is produced (this includes the activity of labour itself, and the tools that are utilised in this activity; eg Shaw, 1978; Wolpe, 1980 etc).

Social relations of production are the rules through which production is structured. These rules (following Shaw's discussion) include "work relations" and "property

relations" (1978, 28). Work relations are the social regulations through which work is structured. Property relations are the abstract rules that determine access, control and transmission of any form of resource susceptible to dispute (Godelier, 1979).

Of particular importance in the analysis of the mode of production of a society is the nature of the production of goods (or the appropriation of material value). Appropriation involves production, circulation and consumption of the product.

What is the particular advantage in adopting this perspective in the study of Iron Age and Romano-British society? I shall discuss first the structure of work relations, and then turn to property relations; the aim is to demonstrate that the concept of the mode of production focuses on significant factors in the Iron Age/ Romano-British transition in Southern Britain.

In terms of work relations, there is some evidence that the structure of appropriation of material value was communal in Iron Age Britain (Vinogradoff, 1904; Seebohm, 1913; Crumley, 1974). In other words "surplus" may have been produced and consumed "communally" in these societies (although at what level of scale the community was manifest is uncertain from the literature)

In contrast to the situation in the Iron Age it would seem that Romano-British society may have been typified by a greater emphasis on economic capital. Reece (1973) has argued that the spread of coinage to the countryside in the third/fourth centuries AD indicates a greater dependence by the rural peasant on the market for goods (the archaeological evidence for the spread of lowest order market centres may also indicate this, see 74). In other words the Romano-British farmer may have orientated production in terms of (economic) profit for himself, rather than towards the perpetuation of the communal structure of society.

For property relations the literature provides some evidence of primarily "communal" ownership in Celtic

society. By contrast the Classical literature indicates that the villa was the private estate of a single individual (or perhaps in some cases a local lineage, see 68 ; Percival, 1976 gives a summary of the Classical literature).

Thus there is evidence for the transformation of work and property relations during the transition from Iron Age to Romano-British society in Southern Britain. Clearly the Roman economy was not Capitalistic, but if the above trends were significant the concept of the mode of production provides a framework for the analysis of the transition. We may study society by concentrating on the factors outlined by Bradby (1975); particularly the role of property relations in production, and the production, circulation and consumption of (surplus and subsistence) goods.

This is the approach that will be followed: The success or failure of the study may indicate whether the approach has validity in the context. It remains for me to justify the selection of the Upper Thames Valley for analysis, and also the emphasis that has been placed upon settlement analysis.

To consider the reason behind the selection of settlement evidence as an object of study, I would argue in this context that settlement archaeology is almost synonymous with spatial archaeology (as envisiged by Clarke, 1977). This is because structures such as field systems and burials are virtually non-existent in the Iron Age record for the Upper Thames Valley. The emphasis on the spatial structure of the archaeological record is a consequence of the assumption that this record incorporates factors of social relevance.

The analysis of a society in terms of modes of production involves an understanding of the structure of that society. In order to understand the nature of work and property relations it is vital to understand the make up and functioning of various levels of spatial structuring within the society. This point was touched upon above when it was remarked that we do not understand the structure of

the "community" in Celtic society; was this corporate community a local lineage, a "clan", a "tribe" ... ? It seems possible that an analysis of the spatial structure of the landscape might enable an understanding of the scales at which significant (corporate) social groups existed within society (see Chapter 3).

Why the concentration on the Iron Age and Romano-British periods in the Upper Thames Valley? One reason for this emphasis was my familiarity with the archaeological evidence for the area; but an additional reason was the quantity and quality of the data for Iron Age (and also Roman) settlement in the area. At the start of the research project a swift examination of the settlement evidence indicated some interesting variations in settlement form (both in terms of the structure of settlements, and the distribution of population across the area) which could have been related to the structure of social relations of production.

At this point it is necessary to say something about the structure of this thesis. This research is a study of Iron Age and Romano-British settlement in a small area of Southern Britain. A fairly rigorous analysis has been undertaken of Iron Age settlement evidence (see Chapter 6, section ii). Roman settlement evidence is also discussed throughout the thesis, although this is not based on such a rigorous analysis of the data.

The thesis falls into three main parts. Part 1 is an extended introduction to the methods and aims of research, and includes three Chapters.

Chapter 2 is a general model for two types of society in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods. This model is derived mainly from literary and linguistic data, but is specifically orientated towards the types of society that it will be argued (in Part 2) existed in the Upper Thames Valley.

Chapter 3 is a discussion of some methods for interpret-

ing archaeological settlement evidence. These methods are specifically related to the study of Iron Age and Roman settlement evidence for the Upper Thames Valley.

Chapter 4 is a review of archaeological settlement research in Southern Britain. Settlement studies are reviewed in relation to the research orientations established in Chapters 2 and 3. This Chapter also provides background to the detailed case study as it seems clear that the previous work in Southern Britain has been of rather restricted value in relation to the research orientations of this thesis.

Part 2 of the thesis is a detailed case study of settlement and society in the Upper Thames Valley. In Chapter 5 the ecology of the region is discussed in some detail, and in addition the Upper Thames region is put in context in relation to the rest of Southern Britain.

Chapter 6 is a review of previous approaches to the analysis of Iron Age and Romano-British society in the Upper Thames Valley. In this Chapter a review is given also of the data collection methods and objectives of the survey.

Chapter 7 provides a site classification for all Iron Age, and some Romano-British settlements within the survey region. In the Chapter an attempt is made to establish the significance of different settlement forms, and the function of settlement types. In addition the distribution of settlement types across the survey region is discussed.

In Chapter 8 the material presented in Chapter 7 is analysed. This analysis is based on the model for two types of society (outlined in Chapter 2). The result is a discussion of the structure and transformation of four social groups within the survey region. An attempt is made to understand the historical development of these societies in terms of modes of production.

Finally, Chapter 9 has two sections. Section (i) is a synthesis of the arguments of Chapter 8. Section (ii) is a consideration of the relevance of the arguments of

the concluding section of Part 2 of the thesis to the discussion of regional patterns in Iron Age/Romano-British Southern Britain as a whole.

Part 3 of the thesis presents the data on which the speculation in Part 2 of the thesis is based. This Part of the thesis is organised in terms of a number of Appendices, and an Inventory. The Inventory is a record of Iron Age settlement evidence for the survey region. The Appendices contain details on Romano-British settlement sites, and discussion of detailed points relegated from the main text of the thesis.

Chapter Two:
A Discussion of Some Evidence for the Structure of Society in the Iron Age and Romano-British Periods.

In this Chapter an attempt will be made to discuss some evidence for the structure of later prehistoric society in Southern Britain; in addition the Chapter will include a discussion of the transformation of society in the Romano-British period.

The model has been developed in relation to evidence for social structure in the Upper Thames Valley (see Chapter 8). In fact much of the information considered in this Chapter is independent of the material collected during the case study; however the arguments have clearly been influenced by work on the Upper Thames Valley data. As a consequence the relevance of the arguments in this Chapter to society in other areas of Southern Britain is open to doubt. In Chapter 9 we shall see that there is no reason why some aspects of the argument in this Chapter should not have a more general relevance to Southern Britain as a whole.

Before proceeding with discussion it is necessary to say something of the source material from which the arguments have been developed. Of great importance for speculation are the literary accounts of Celtic society. These literary accounts include some Classical sources (Polybius, Caesar and Tacitus), and also indigenous Celtic accounts of society (the Irish and Welsh sources). The literary sources are restricted in value because of the limitations of the ancient authors' views of the world. In addition much ancient literature is heavily biased in its approach; and many of these accounts are restricted by the limited range of topics that are discussed. Nevertheless literary evidence is a very important source for speculation about Celtic society (see below).

A second source with much potential is linguistic evidence from the proto-Germanic, Germanic and Celtic languages (Friedrich, 1966; Barlau, 1976; Charles-Edwards, 1972). Such information can be of value in the reconstruction of kin relations within the societies concerned.

An additional body of information of potential significance is material evidence for human organization of the landscape. Material (ie archaeological) evidence has been little used in this Chapter, because the tools for the analysis of this material data in social terms are yet to be created (29).

In addition to these three sources of information, some speculation of academics concerned with the analysis of Germanic and Celtic society has been utilised (see particularly Tierney, 1960; Nash, Unpublished; Binchy, 1941 and Seebohm, 1913). Clearly a more rigorous analysis of such modern day speculation would be vital for the testing of theories; however in this thesis the concern is more with producing than testing theories (184).

A brief synthesis will be given of the structure of Bronze Age society. This synthesis is based, primarily, on the work of Rowlands' (1980 and Unpublished). Iron Age society will be considered in rather greater detail; and finally the structure of the Roman province, and the transformation of indigenous society will be discussed.

i) The Structure of Bronze Age Society.

Bronze Age society in Southern Britain was probably primarily un-stratified. For the Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age Rowlands has adopted some of Renfrew's (1974) arguments in order to propose that Wessex society represented the development of an ideology that symbolised the ranked status of individuals in material terms (Shennan, 1982; Rowlands, Unpublished). Utilising the discussion of Bradley (1980) and Barrett (1980A) Rowlands has argued that this "individualising" tendency continues throughout the Wessex period.

Social structure is envisiged to have involved stable status hierarchies created through control of the introduction and circulation of metalwork by an individual in authority. Status hierarchies (adopting the arguments of Levi-Strauss, 1969; Godelier, 1978A and Friedman, 1975) may have been asymmetrical alliance systems within a structure of generalised exchange; this hierarchical structure may have been a form of conical clan chiefdom (Barrett, 1980A; Rowlands, Unpublished).

For the Middle to Late Bronze Age Rowlands has argued that the collapse of the stable status hierarchies resulted in a new type of social structure. This new type of structure was characterised by "intermediary" Omaha reckoning systems (these intermediary structures are transitory between "elementary" and "complex" kinship structures; Levi-Strauss, 1969, xxxvi; Rowlands, 1980 and Unpublished).

Without giving a detailed discussion (which Rowlands provides; see also Levi-Strauss, 1965 and 1969, xxxv), systems characterised by Omaha reckoning are often expansionist, unstable, and highly adaptable to changing political and economic circumstances. Some ethnographic research indicates that the local household, or local lineage, is often the basic corporate group within society. The solidarity of this group may be expressed at the expense of any wider scale social grouping (eg "clan", "tribe") within society. The emphasis is often on expanding the lineage through alliance and the capture of women. Thus the situation results in conflict and competition; and such competition can result in intensification in all spheres of production.

ii) The Structure of Iron Age Society.

For the Iron Age no general model has been proposed, although Rowlands (Unpublished) has remarked on a similarity between the types of structures that he has discussed for Middle/Late Bronze Age Wessex, and some historically attested societies of the late first millenium BC/early

first millenium AD. The Iron Age societies that Rowlands considers are the trading/raiding chiefdoms of Germany.

These trading/raiding chiefdoms had ties of co-operation and solidarity based on the war leader. In addition the societies were expansive and competitive. In many cases such unstable societies appear to have been a consequence of the contact of less centralised social groups with a trading/exchange system which required a surplus of goods.

The model for Bronze Age Wessex may have some validity for the analysis of Iron Age society in Southern Britain; however in some areas it would appear that conditions varied from those envisaged by Rowlands for the Middle/Late Bronze Age in Wessex. In particular, certain areas would seem to have supported a fairly high density of population in the Iron Age (see Cunliffe, 1978A). In areas with a high density and stability of population a highly competitive and expansive system of social relations would seem of doubtful significance.

Barlau (1976) has argued, from the linguistic evidence for Germanic social structure, that a transition occurred within late proto-Germanic society from a situation typified by unilineal descent reckoning (with Omaha characteristics) to a society which was organised in terms of kindreds. In this context a kindred may be seen as an adaptive measure to resolve conflict in a social context in which a particular resource (especially land) is in short supply (Goodenough, 1955, 1970; Allen, 1971); kindred systems transform and perpetuate social cohesion with regard to a system of land-rights, rather than to a stable rule of descent (Levi-Strauss, 1969, 105).

It would seem possible to argue for two forms of society in Iron Age Southern Britain. I shall now attempt to discuss these social forms in greater detail.

Type A societies are similar to Rowland's Bronze Age Wessex examples. Such societies appear to exist in two forms which (if looked at from the scale of whole "peoples")

may be considered to be de-centralised and centralised.

In de-centralised type A societies the lineage forms the basic corporate unit within society. Possible examples of such societies are attested historically from Ireland and Wales (and possibly also from Germany at the time of Caesar).

The lineage appears to have had much significance in early historical Ireland and Wales. This social group seems (ideally) to have consisted of a kin group of four generations, and was defined via patrilineal descent (Charles-Edwards, 1972; Friedrich, 1966; MacNiocaill, 1972). The lineage was of much significance in relation to descent reckoning and inheritance. Membership of a lineage determined much of a man's rights and duties.

In Ireland the power of the "aristocracy" was extended beyond kin through the practice of cattle clientage. Such relations were established through the initial donation of a grant of cattle from a patron to a client. The client then gave an annual levy to the patron in exchange for the initial loan. In addition the client owed duties of loyalty to his patron, and the patron was bound to protect his client (MacNiocaill, 1972).

Similar forms of clientage may have existed in Germanic and Gallic society (Nash, Unpublished, 354). Relations in this form of clientage are based upon a mutual agreement over productive activities by the parties involved. The patron owns a larger number of cattle than he can exploit directly, and lends them to the needy client; the patron is then able to live (in part) from the activities of others. Clientage therefore enables the patron to extend relations of exploitation to non-kin. However the Irish evidence would appear to indicate that cattle clientage can be an element within a relatively de-centralised society.

The power of the "aristocracy" in Irish society may thus have been based on cattle clientage (Powell, 1958; MacNiocaill, 1972). In addition the institution of "kingship" existed in Ireland. Hamilton has shown that

the Irish kingship was not a centralised institution, and has suggested that the term "chieftainship" might be more suitable in the context (1969, 71).

The chieftain/king had significant ritual functions in relation to the land occupied by the tribe. In addition the king was considered sacred, and traced his descent from an ancestral deity (Binchy, 1941; Dillon and Chadwick, 1967; MacNiocaill, 1972). The Irish chieftain/king had well defined prerogatives in addition to his duties (Hamilton, 1968, 21), however they were not much more wealthy in material terms than the aristocracy (or even freemen; MacNiocaill, 1972, 59).

Irish society provides a fair example of a de-centralised type A society. The significance of the local lineage is fairly great; although ties of clientage that by-pass kin relations may have given the larger community, and the community leader (chieftain/king) a greater significance than in the Bronze Age Wessex example.

Centralised type A societies were rather different in form, even though they were derived from the same origins as the de-centralised examples. Centralised societies result from the integration of de-centralised groups into a regional trading/exchange system. The societies at the core of the exchange/trading system require a surplus from peripheral areas, and this leads to centralisation in the periphery.

There are many examples of centralised type A societies in later prehistoric Europe. Examples are known in Hallstatt Central Germany (Frankenstein and Rowlands, 1978), in Germany at the start of the first millenium AD (14) and possibly in Gaul (Nash, Unpublished).

Good examples of centralised type A societies are provided by the narrative of Caesar and Tacitus on Germany. Contact with the expanding world Empire of Rome (and the desire of Roman traders for slaves and raw materials) sent shock-waves through Germanic society in the first century AD (Wheeler, 1954; Thompson, 1965; Todd, 1975). Caesar's

and Tacitus' accounts demonstrate the de-centralised basis of Gallic society; however Tacitus' narrative presents a clear picture of the creation of mechanical social relations through the medium of the trading/raiding chiefdom.

The demand for slaves meant that trading was connected with raiding and warfare (Thompson, 1965; Nash, Unpublished). As a consequence of this demand, and the insecure nature of Germanic society, retinues formed around successful war leaders, and military clients/followers supported their patrons in battle (Tacitus, Germania, 13-14). In exchange for their support the followers received booty, and sometimes land, from their lord (Nash, Unpublished, 422).

The creation of the retinue may be a consequence of the growth in significance of one lineage within a de-centralised society. This lineage may have been able to attract non-kin followers and thus to build up a large military force. Such societies are founded on contradictions, as the maintanance of status quo within such societies necessitates the waging of continuous and successful warfare. Where several such societies exist in close proximity each can survive only at the expense of the others.

As well as profiting from warfare, successful chiefs gained aid from Rome. In many cases pro-Roman chiefs were encouraged with gifts and money (Dio, 47:5). Such gifts could add to the stability of the military regimes (Thompson, 1965).

In some cases we can see the material consequences of the creation of centralised chiefdoms. Cruptorix, a Frisian, appropriated an estate and built a "villa" on the tribal lands of his people (Tacitus, Histories, 5;23); while Maroboduus of the Marcomanni established a professional army, conquered several people and built a palace close to his stronghold (Tacitus, Annals, 2:62-3).

Literary and numismatic evidence indicate the significance of kings/chiefs in the Late Iron Age of Britain (see Allen, 1944; Rodwell, 1976). It is possible that these kings originated as war leaders; one of the most

powerful of these societies, the Catuvellauni, bore a name that appears to have meant "men good in battle" (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 305). In addition the literary sources provide evidence for the military nature of Southern British societies (see especially Caesar's account of his invasion of Britain).

By the time of the Roman invasion in 43 AD one large scale, centralised (?) state would seem to have emerged in Eastern Britain. The power of this state may have been a consequence of its position in relation to trade routes with the Mediterranean world (Haselgrove, 1982). "Territorial oppida" may have some significance in the discussion of Late Iron Age societies. Crummy (1980) has argued that territorial oppida (the best known example of which is Colchester) represent the estates of a "kingly" class (see 156). If this is so then British chieftains/kings were involved in an activity similar to Cruptorix (see above) in appropriating for private use land which was previously communal. The extent of the "estates" may indicate that the chieftains/kings could mobilise a large force of tenants/slaves for agriculatural activities.

Type B societies were rather different from type A examples. In type B societies descent groups were not clearly defined, and the main corporate group within society was the community. The kindred structure of such societies meant that rights to property were generalised throughout society. No corporate descent groups existed, and rights to land were overlapping. Land was, in effect, communally owned (see Friedman's discussion of the Naga of Highland Burma; Friedman, 1975), and through a process of "involution" the greater the pressure on the resource the more egalitarian the structure of society became (Geertz, 1963).

Type B societies were forms of social organisation in which the community as a whole determined the structure of the local kin group, rather than the kin group being the foundation of the structure of society (Lane, 1980, 195;

Goodenough, 1970, 39).

At this point we shall examine in greater detail the possible significance of kindred structure in relation to Celtic society; then we may consider the potential communal structure of type B societies in Southern Britain.

In a kindred the social group is defined by reference to living relations, rather than through ancestry. The kindred, in consequence, is not a descent group. In addition no corporate group is created on a local scale, as each individual has a unique group of kin, and this group overlaps with the kin of others (Goodenough, 1955; 1970, 46).

Unilineal schemes of reckoning may have an adaptive significance in competitively structured societies (as the creation of descent groups can promote high fertility; Lorimer, 1969). However, under conditions of resource scarcity a unilineal scheme of descent reckoning may be disadvantageous. Unilineally defined descent groups can fluctuate widely in size through time. This fluctuation can result in a very uneven distribution of land (some descent groups may come to have a claim to more land than they can manage, while others do not have as much as they need). In contrast in a kindred each individual is at the centre of a web of social relations; as a consequence land may be amicably redistributed (Goodenough, 1955, 1970; Allen, 1971). In addition competition through warfare is reduced as defined/corporate descent groups do not exist (Barlau, 1976). Finally fertility is reduced in a situation in which the individual is at the centre of a web of social relations, as contrasted to a society in which the lineage forms the basic social group (Lorimer, 1969; Macfarlane, 1978). These factors may all be advantageous in a society which is characterised by high levels of population in relation to resource potential.

If local descent groups do not exist within such societies can any other corporate levels be identified within the structure of society? Above it was suggested that

land was, in effect, communally owned; but what was the nature of this community?

The concept of the "tribe" was widely used in late nineteenth and early twentieth century writings on the Celts (eg Seebohm, 1913; Vinogradoff, 1904; Lang, 1900; Jollife, 1926). More recently the use of the concept has been challenged on specific anthropological grounds (Fried, 1969), and also on historical grounds (Jones, 1961A). However it seems possible to support an explicitly defined model for a social group which may be titled a tribe among the Germans and Celts of the first millenium BC.

Tribes may have represented significant (communal) corporate units, and they may have owed this structure to the communal nature of property ownership and labour relations.

Bonte has proposed a model for the structure of nomadic pastoralist societies (1974, 1977, 1981). In addition Bonte has shown that in discussing Germanic society Marx refered to two forms of property, one related to a "domestic" and one to a "communal" group (1857-1858). According to Bonte the structure for Germanic society is identical to the model for pastoral production.

In both cases "communal" ownership relates to "wild" resources (eg pasture/woodland), while "domestic" property relates to resources that have been domesticated through the input of energy (and the improvement of these resources; eg cattle, and where agriculture is significant, arable land). Domestic resources are domesticated because individuals and groups expend effort in their maintenance (Godelier, 1979; Lefébvre, 1979; Bonte, 1981).

It would seem possible that tribal solidarity among the Germans was related to the ownership and exploitation of certain "wild" resources which were vital to production and survival. The tribe was a corporate phenomenon through communal appropriation and defence of a communal resource.

There is evidence for the validity of this model in Celtic Britain. Seebohm (1913) derived a model for the

structure of the Celtic tribe from an analysis of Irish and Welsh law-tracts. The prime elements of this argument were the communal ownership of the territory by a large scale social group, and the subordination of arable to pastoral production (op cit, 203). This model bears a very close resemblance to the Marx/Bonte tribal model.

One possible problem in attempting to apply this to Celtic society in Southern Britain is that the balance of pastoral to arable production is partly ecologically determined. In other words fertile lowlands are liable to support a strategy with an emphasis on arable production, while agriculture in upland regions is liable to be more fully based on pastoral production.

A consideration of the evidence appears to indicate the significance of pastoralism (and also communal land ownership) even in lowland societies. Freeman, discussing social organization in North Western Europe, has argued that the typical structure over much of this area is territorial at base, and often highly corporate, and involves the management of resources (usually arable and pasture) by a group of neighbours (in addition numerous studies of individual communities demonstrate the recuring nature of the common ownership of pasture; see Joliffe, 1926; Prothero, 1912; Seebohm, 1913; Vinogradoff, 1904; Dahlman, 1980; Graham, Unpublished; Uhlig, 1961; Dobrowolska, 1961; Brandes, 1973; Chirot, 1976; Stahl, 1980; Netting, 1980 for examples).

This evidence indicates that in fertile lowland areas pastoral production had a vital function in agricultural activity. The corporate structure of the tribal (village, or whatever) community is therefore a consequence of the restricted and uneven distribution of resources.

The structure of the kindred system, and the tribal nature of the communal group in type B societies is a consequence of high population density in relation to agricultural resources. As was argued above (15) the form of the community determines the structure of the local kin group. It might seem possible that the spatial correlate of this type of society would be the division of the territory of the tribe into an area of arable and an area of pasture.

In conclusion two types of Iron Age society have been discussed (there seems no reason why there should not be a large number of other types of society in Southern Britain, but these two types will suffice for the purpose of this thesis). Type A societies can be centralised or de-centralised. De-centralised type A societies have relations of cooperation and solidarity based on the single lineage, or leader of the single lineage. Such social systems are expansive; and descent/inheritance may be structured through unilineal reckoning. In some cases the structure of alliegance may by-pass kinship ties through the practice of cattle clientage.

Examples of centralised type A societies also occur. These societies may originate through the contact of de-centralised type A societies with expanding trading/exchange systems. The demand of the expanding economic power (especially for slaves) led to the formation of centralised trading/raiding chiefdoms, with a structure based on ties of loyalty by a retinue to a war lord.

Type A societies, whether centralised or de-centralised, looked beyond their own territorial boundaries for subsistence and surplus. Both trading and raiding were significant activities, and these may be seen as alternative means of acquiring wealth.

By contrast, in type B societies population pressure in relation to agricultural resources was great. A connected factor was that kin relations were defined in terms of the kindred. The pressure on resources, and the kindred structure of society resulted in a situation in which resources were communally owned and appropriated. Societies of type B form were highly corporate at a tribal scale.

The high population density and corporate structure of the tribe would provide an effective force for countering an attack on the community from outside its boundaries; warfare in these societies was defensive rather than offensive. In addition resource scarcity created an emphasis on intensified agricultural production. In other words type B

societies looked inwards towards agricultural activity, rather than outwards towards other social groups, to obtain subsistence and surplus. Type B societies were self-sustaining; trade, like warfare, was an activity to be kept in isolation because of the potential disruption that it could cause to society (Meillassoux, 1960).

iii) Romanisation and Celtic Society.

We may consider Imperialism to be a consequence of the wish of one society to dominate another (Friedman and Rowlands, 1977; Hopkins, 1978; Ekholm and Friedman, 1979). The reasons behind Imperialism are the wishes of one society to extort tribute, and perhaps to control the flow of slaves and raw materials, from a corona of peripheral societies (see Diamond, 1974; Wallerstein, 1978; Ekholm and Friedman, 1979; Harriss and Harriss, 1979; Amin, 1976; Millar, 1967; Schneider, 1977; Kohl, 1975).

In the periphery of the Empire states are created by the central administration in order to enable efficient control of the system (Hopkins, 1978). The aim is to establish a high degree of local self-sufficiency amongst peripheral societies, in order to minimise the administrative cost of the Empire (Ekholm and Friedman, 1979).

Britain was incorporated into the Roman Empire as a surplus producing province, and this surplus was removed to Rome. The creation of the province involved the adaptation of indigenous institutions into the administrative mould of the Empire (Rivet, 1958, 64). The Lex Provinciae determined the constitution, legal status, privileges, laws and territories of the cities that formed the basis of Roman administration (Reid, 1913; Millar, 1967, 65). Where societies did not already possess the necessary institutions these were often created by the administration (as in the case of the Frisian tribes on the Continent; Tacitus, Annals, 9:19). The Romans established states in their new provinces; however every effort was made to utilise institutions that pre-dated Roman interference in these societies.

Within the "civitas" (state) a major town ("civitas-capital"/cantonal-capital) was established; one major town for each civitas within the province. Wherever possible the territories of the civitas represented the boundaries of a pre-existing political unit, and the major town was often on the site of the central place of the pre-existing political unit. The civitas had a large degree of self rule; while the major town was the centre of administration (including taxation, supplies for the troops and the maintenance of the Imperial post; Rivet, 1958, 65; Millar, 1967, 90).

In addition to their administrative function major towns appear to have represented important social centres (as the presence of baths, theatres and amphitheatres would seem to indicate). Major towns were also important economic centres; indeed the major town was the focus of long distance trade within the Empire (Crawford, 1970). In addition the major town may have had much significance in the trading of goods within the civitas.

It would seem quite possible that major towns controlled the distribution of goods imported into their territories. In addition money-flow (following the arguments of Crawford, 1970) may have been effectively monopolised due to the functions of major towns as the major centres of long distance trade, and the centres of taxation within the civitas.

Relations of the territory to the town, as of the periphery to the core of the Empire, were parasitical (see Millar, 1967, 83; Anderson, 1974, 19; Ste Croix, 1981, 15, 219). Parasitical relations at the level of both Empire and civitas were based on taxation and trade (Hopkins, 1980; Schneider, 1977). This is demonstrated at the scale of the Empire by the wealth of Rome and Italy at the expense of the periphery of the Empire, and on the scale of the civitas by the wealth of the major town at the expense of its territory.

In addition Roman intervention may also have had some positive influences on the development of British society.

Ekholm and Friedman have remarked that where Empires do not over-tax, and where they simultaneously maintain communication networks, they may tend to increase the possibility of production and exchange within their boundaries (1979, 52). In general, the incorporation of a new province into an Empire could result in increased possibilities for accumulation of capital by some individuals within the peripheral society.

Production, exchange and consumption are encouraged in a number of ways. Firstly, in order to function, an Empire must establish and maintain peace within its territorial boundaries. Peace removes many of the obstacles to the production and exchange of goods (Hodder and Ukwu, 1969). In addition the enforcement of peace may result in the reorientation of trading activities towards the production and exchange of goods (these may be seen as alternative methods of obtaining the same ends; DeJean, 1980, 110).

The central administration must also create an efficient administrative structure within the province. The construction of roads and creation of nodal administrative centres may encourage trade (see Hodder and Ukwu, 1969; Udo, 1966; Richards, 1977).

Also for the purpose of efficient administration a standard for taxation may be instituted. Although coinage thus has an administrative function, it may also take on a form of economic function. If the rural producer is required to pay tax in cash (as they were in the Roman Empire of the first two centuries AD: Levy, 1967; Finley, 1973), and can only obtain cash through trade, these factors may force the integration of the local into the national economy (Hopkins, 1980; Bohannan, 1967, 132; Ames, 1962; Bohannan and Dalton, 1962; Tseayo, 1973; Winter and Beidleman, 1970; DeJean, 1980; Jucker-Fleetwood, 1964, 200). In Roman Britain the rural farmer was forced into surplus production, and forced to trade with the major town in order to pay taxation.

Therefore, there should be some evidence for economic development in Roman Britain. From the archaeological evidence for the first two centuries AD this development would seem to have been somewhat lop-sided. The economic development of the major towns, with their public buildings and exotic imports, are clear (Collingwood and Richmond, 1969; Rivet, 1958; Wacher, 1974). In addition Roman rule led to some development in rural areas. The production of surplus in rural areas appears to have enabled some peasants to obtain luxury goods, and some industrial goods (eg pottery) on the market (Rivet, 1958, 68).

Romanisation involved the development of industries and the construction of Romanised buildings. Grigson and Ray (Unpublished) have argued that villas in the first two centuries AD were concentrated in proximity to major towns, and the same appears to have been true for the pottery industries (Fulford, 1977). In addition the size distribution for villas would appear to be concave (with a small number of large, and many small examples; Grigson and Ray, Unpublished). This "primate" size distribution may be mirrored by the evidence for the size distribution of major and minor towns (see 74).

Therefore industrial and agricultural development does occur in the early history of the province; however development was restricted by inherent and imposed factors in the political economy of the peripheral society. Economic development may have been restrained by two main factors; firstly, an inherent factor - because the economy remained partly embedded in social order within the province (Hodder, 1979); secondly, an imposed factor - because of the exploitative rules of the system of Imperial administration, which condemned Britain to a peripheral status.

In the third to fourth centuries the situation appears to have changed. At this time it would seem that administrative exploitation (taxation and recquisition) becomes more extreme (Levy, 1967; Jones, 1966). At the same time the administration of the Empire became more de-centralised

(the running costs were becoming greater than the financial rewards for Rome; Ekholm and Friedman, 1979). Taxes are now collected in material goods (food and supplies) for immediate use within the provinces. At the same time the trade system within the Empire becomes more balanced, as trade over long distances declines (Jones, 1966; Hopkins, 1980).

At the scale of the Empire, administrative de-centralisation is marked by the decline of Rome and Italy (Levy, 1967; Millar, 1967). At the scale of the civitas, administrative de-centralisation is demonstrated by the relative decline of the major towns within later Roman Britain (Collingwood and Richmond, 1969; Reece, 1980). Administration and taxation are conducted from more localised bases within the civitas (Frere, 1967, 236); while the economic dominance of the major town declines, and market centres develop at regular intervals across much of the province (see 74).

It is possible that the Later Roman economy in Britain was organised around the relatively free flow of commodities and cash in a system in which resources and wealth were (in contrast to the first two centuries) fairly evenly spread. Monetary exchange became significant within the countryside (previously it was only significant between country and town) as the rural economy became cash-orientated (Reece, 1973). This was partly a consequence of the nature of the value of cash; money became less significant as a medium of taxation and long distance trade, and more significant to local trade through a swift decline in its value (Levy, 1967, 87).

The development of industry (for instance the pottery industry; Fulford, 1977), villas (Grigson and Ray, Unpublished) and minor towns (74) may indicate a system in which the economics of production and exchange were rather more fully removed from the structure of administrative relations.

Due to the decline of the administrative structure Britain now shows many signs of economic development and

prosperity. If my arguments are correct this situation has two causes. Firstly, as argued above, the structure of administrative exploitation (with Rome profiting at the expense of its provinces) has collapsed. Secondly, the structure of social relations of production may have been less contradictory in the British economy than in the Mediterranean areas of the Empire (this point is too complex to discuss in detail in this thesis).

At this stage a discussion is provided of the varying influence of Romanisation over the Romano-British countryside.

Research into European influence in Africa has indicated that such influence has not had a unified effect on whole regions; It will be argued that the same was true of Roman influence on Britain. Two models exist for the influence of Capitalism through colonial contact in Africa. One model argues for the collapse of the traditional mode after a short space of time, and the replacement of this mode by a Capitalist mode (Marx and Engels, 1847-1848). The second model, which appears more realistic in many situations, is based on the opposition of the non-Capitalist mode to Capitalist penetration (Taylor, 1979; Wolpe, 1980). In the second case mechanisms exist which hinder the influence of contact.

The application of models which relate the influence of Capitalist on non-Capitalist formations is of dubious relevance in this context. Nevertheless one approach of potential value may be derived from this work; this involves the analysis of the articulation of modes of production within a peripheral society (Economy and Society, 1971; Bradby, 1975; Taylor, 1979; Wolpe, 1980). The idea is to produce a model for the mode of production of the indigenous society, and then to see how this indigenous mode articulates with the structure of Imperial exploitation.

We may review the influence of westernisation on some

Third World societies. Westernisation has promoted the individualisation of land tenure (Udo, 1965; Klein, 1980), and the accumulation of monetary capital (Tseayo, 1973). Within some African societies elite groups, with wealth based upon economic opportunities provided by colonialism, have arisen. "New Elites" have developed by escaping from a network of traditional social ties and responsibilities. In some societies "surplus" goods were traditionally utilised to express important social relationships (through feasts and gift giving). Unless such ties are by-passed a surplus of economic capital can not be accumulated. These new elites have profited by ignoring and breaking the web of social relations. This is so in Buganda (Richards, Sturrock and Fortt (eds), 1973), and also among the Plateau Tonga (Jones AD, 1966). Amongst the Bakonge of the Congo river social relations have prevented the rise of a new elite (Ballendier, 1973). This also appears to have been the case among the Lele (in contrast to their neighbours, the Bushong; Douglas, 1962), and the rural Wolof of Gambia (Ames, 1962). In Kabyle (Algeria) there is a dislike of peasants who have turned from the traditional ways; land is not considered as a raw material, but as an entity which must be treated with respect and paid dues (Bourdieu, 1977, 175).

The key to these societies failure to modernise lies in their social relations of production and ideology. Maximisation of production is meaningless without reference to the hierarchy of needs and values that are imposed on an individual within a society (Godelier, 1972, 308).

To examine these points in relation to Roman Britain we may discuss some views of the process of Romanisation. Vinogradoff (1904, 83) argued that Roman rule merely altered the structure of traditional Celtic society. He suggested that the institution of the villa (which involved private ownership of an estate), was foreign to the tribal structure of Britain. Consequently one might argue that it is the occurrence, rather than the absence, of villa

buildings that requires explanation (see the arguments of Albers, 1982). Collingwood, by contrast, argued that villas and "villages" represented two distinct economic systems (Collingwood and Myres, 1945, 210). Collingwood's discussion brings us back to a consideration of type A and type B societies (see above).

If we consider the significance of type A and type B societies in Roman Britain we might expect some evidence for uneven development over the province. It has been argued that the single competitive lineage is the basis of the type A society. Such a lineage would be in an advantageous position in relation to the process of Romanisation. Competition could be redirected from warfare to expanded agricultural production. In addition the lineage is relatively independent from the wider community (12), consequently the lineage can isolate itself from the wider social group in relation to property ownership and work relations (or production, circulation and consumption of goods). The consequence may be the individualisation of land tenure, and the production of a surplus of goods which can be retained (and accumulated) by the lineage.

By contrast in type B societies the basic social unit is the tribe. Within the tribe property and work relations are primarily communal. The individual, or local domestic group, would be unable to break away from the structure of social relations inherent in tribal solidarity. Consequently individualisation of land tenure will not occur, and any surplus of production is a communal asset.

In other words we might expect type A societies to become Romanised in form, while type B societies should remain stagnant throughout the Roman period. This proposition will be discussed in relation to information from a case study of settlement in the Upper Thames Valley in Chapter 8.

iv) Conclusions to Chapter 2.

Type A societies were outward looking and unstable.

The basic unit of society was the lineage; due to their structure these societies were in a constant state of creation and segmentation. Peripher-alisation in an expanding trading/exchange system provided new opportunities for leading lineages within these societies. Relations of exploitation (or association) could be extended beyond kin through military clientage (the institution of the retinue). Such centralised type A societies have a potential for expansion, but also a tendency to be unstable. Type A societies are expansive, and outlooking; they look beyond their own territorial boundaries to other societies for production (through trading and raiding).

Type B societies were self-sustaining and inward looking; such societies looked to their own territories through intensified agricultural activity for production. Due to this self-sufficiency trade is not a significant activity within such societies. The basic corporate group in type B society is the tribe; property and work relations within the tribe are communal. Type B societies appear to be characterised by dense population and a tribe-wide division of arable and pastoral resources.

Roman rule created self regulating and surplus producing states in the British province. Both types of society were utilised in the administrative structure. However, in terms of economic development and Romanisation, type A societies had an inherent advantage. Romanisation was built upon a tradition of class differentiation, private land ownership and access to economic capital through expanded production. The structure of type A societies was suited to the economics of expanded production, while the self-sustenance and equality inherent within type B social structure prevented Romanisation.

Chapter Three:
Some Bridging Arguments for Settlement Analysis.

The main aim of settlement archaeology must be to gain knowledge of past peoples from the material remains of their settlements. According to Chang the goal is not the system of sites, but the people and the activities that they conducted at these sites (1972, 9). Trigger (1968) has argued that settlement archaeology represents a major element in social archaeology.

Thus it is rather surprising that settlement archaeology suffers from an almost total absence of theory for interpreting material data in social terms (Parsons, 1972; Clarke, 1972, 1977). The blame for this state of affairs is commonly put on anthropologists (Parsons, 1972, 146; Clarke, 1977, 25); this is not altogether fair, as anthropologists possess a more direct measure of social form in the accounts and behaviour of their subjects. Thus it would seem that it is the duty of the archaeologist to produce methods for interpreting data concerning the spatial structure of the human landscape in social terms.

It is necessary for archaeologists to produce bridging arguments for interpreting the spatial form of material relics. However the archaeologist must also be aware of the potential fallacy of supposed general laws of human geography which have been produced.

As an example of such a fallacy we may consider the work of Hudson (1969). Hudson has produced a general law concerning the migration of settlement. The idea is that migration will result in resettlement in an area in which competition from other groups is minimal. This model, which is supposed to be of general cross-cultural significance, in fact formalises many factors operating in the selection of settlement location among certain western societies of the present and recent past.

Grossman has attacked Hudson's general law, and has shown the model to be culturally relative to societies in

which the individual has a high degree of freedom of choice, and in which raiding/warfare are insignificant. In a study of rural settlement in Iboland (Nigeria) Grossman has shown that settlements were deliberately located in proximity to social frontiers in order to prevent encroachment from neighbouring groups (Figure 2). This was true even when abundant and suitable land was available in proximity to the mother settlement (Grossman, 1971).

From this study Grossman has argued two points. Firstly each society has a unique method for structuring its spatial world, and secondly, in some societies the community and not the individual has control of matters relating to land tenure and allocation (15).

i) Corporate Social Groups and Spatial Order.

For a sociological study of material settlement data to be possible it is vital to gain an understanding of the manner in which a particular society structures space (for general discussions see Alexander, 1964; Hall, 1966; Goffman, 1972; Fletcher, 1977; for community studies see Fraser, 1968; Rappaport, 1969; Levi-Strauss, 1968, 128; Bourdieu, 1977; for single structures see Tambiah, 1968; Levin, 1971; Wagner, 1972; Cunningham, 1973; Sahlins, 1976, 33). In many non-Capitalist societies spatial structure is created according to a tradition of shared ideas concerning the world (15). According to Thornton, before space can represent anything at all there must be imposed upon it a structure of differentiation, or typology, which allows other relationships to be expressed in its terms (1980, 14).

While it is clear that human activities occur in space, and that space has a constraining influence on activity, space does not (in itself) represent a structuring principle. Space is not a structuring principle, but a method through which the principle is put into practice. In a segmentary lineage a geneological scheme of descent reckoning forms the structuring principle, while space is the medium through which reality is structured (Horton, 1971, 78; Richards,

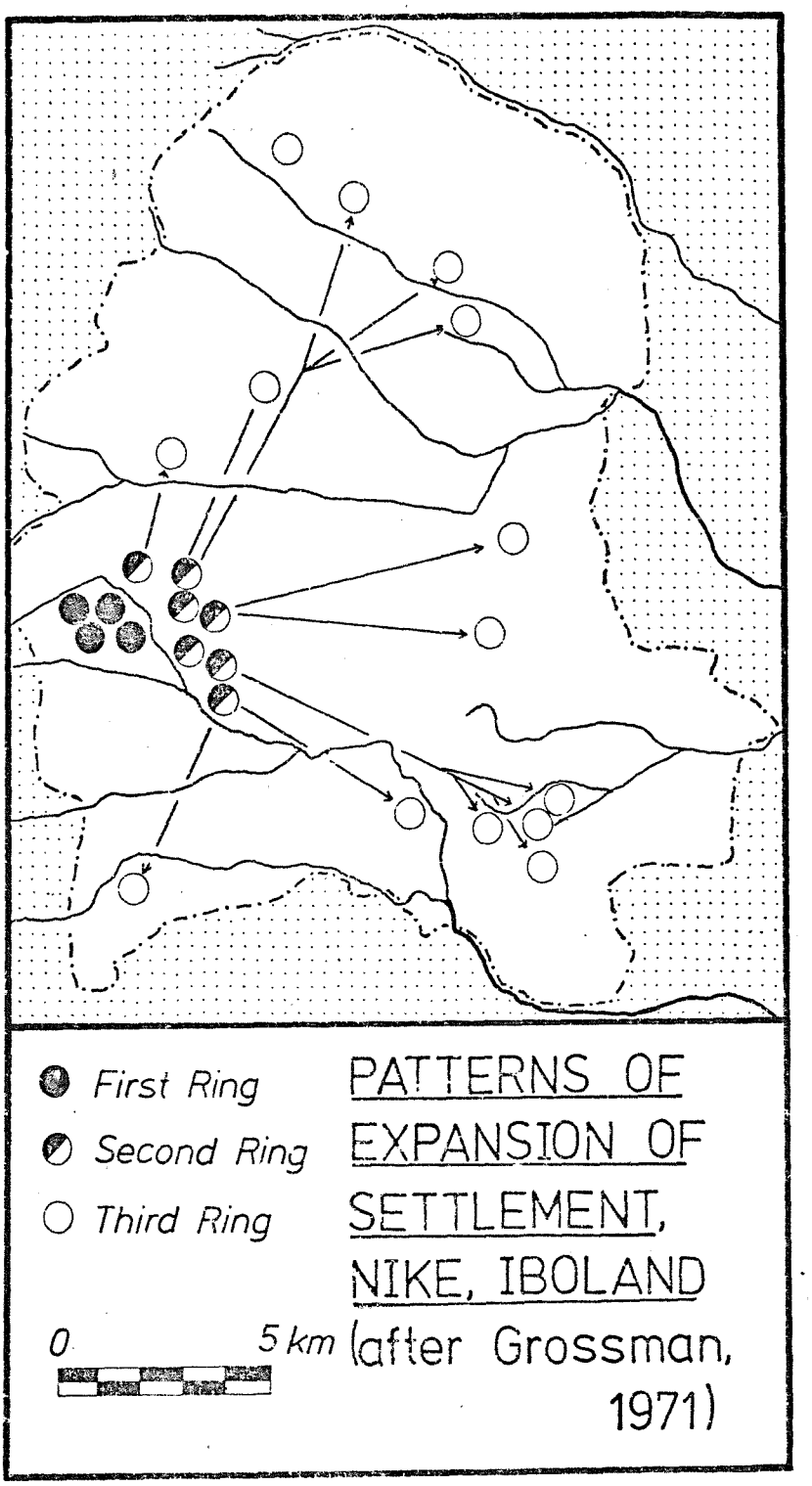


Figure 2: Patterns of Settlement Expansion in Iboland. (after Grossman, 1971).

1977). In a system in which communal rights to territory are significant, a communal division into areas of arable and pasture may represent a structuring principle (18), while space is once more a medium for the creation of this structure. In modern society Capital has reduced the structuring principle to least-cost considerations (according to Richards, 1977), and space is the medium for the creation of an "economic" landscape.

Therefore, in order to understand the signature of a society's spatial typology, we are required to understand that society as a whole. The best approach to the analysis of spatial relations from material data, is to analyse spatial structure in terms of what is known of social structure. Whether an analysis of spatial form alone can enable an understanding of structural principles in a society is doubtful (Douglas, 1972).

These factors go someway towards explaining the structure of this thesis; an attempt has been made to construct a model for Celtic society with which to approach the spatial data. At the same time, however, we may attempt to construct some bridging arguments to enable the testing and/or supplementation of the model. We shall now consider a bridging argument for the analysis of material data in the Upper Thames Valley. This argument is based on three principles.

Firstly, in a society in which men/animals are the main forms of traction, and communication networks are rudimentary, space will form an important constraint, and thus a major medium for the creation of social form (Horton, 1971, 78).

Secondly, that every society creates a typology of space, and that in order to create a typology this space must be bounded (Van Gennep, 1960; Gluckman, 1962; Soja, 1971; Leach, 1977; Stoltje, 1978).

Thirdly, that the bounded levels of the spatial typology will represent a hierachy of levels. An ideal model for a unilineally structured society might include a lineage, a tribe and a "people".

In an archaeological and historical study of land-units in the Hawaiian islands Cordy and Kaschko (1980) have suggested that variously hierarchically structured, spatially bounded levels exist within the archaeological record. These levels of scale are supposedly defined by "buffer zones". The size of the buffer zone is supposed to vary with the scale of the social group which is being bounded; buffer zones between households are narrow, between residence groups they are wider and between communities wider still (op cit, 419).

This model finds some support from ethnographic material. The existence of buffer zones bounding communities (particularly tribes/chiefdoms) is attested in the third world (Mitchell, 1956; Buxton, 1958; Scudder, 1962; Udo, 1963; Gleave, 1965; Agbolla, 1961; Hoffman, 1967) and also in Europe (amongst the German tribes; Caesar 23:1; and in Celtic Gaul and Ireland, Nash, Unpublished, 113; Filip, 1977). There is also support for the principle at the scale of the village/lineage/family; once again in the third world (Mitchell, 1956; Afigbo, 1980; Davidson, 1969, 59; Cordy and Kaschko, 1980) and in Europe (amongst the Germans; Tacitus, Germania, 16).

The model receives much support from ethnographic work; however we can not argue that it represents a general law. The concept of buffer zones is culturally relative. Ethnographic exceptions to the model at the scale of the community are known in the third world (Mitchell, 1956; Young and Fosbroke, 1960; Fried, 1969). In addition smaller scale social groups may exhibit little in the way of a buffer zone (in a kindred, for instance, descent groups can not be distingushed as society forms a network of overlapping relations, 16).

For the buffer zone argument to be utilised it is necessary to specify certain conditions that make the principle valid. For a clearly defined and spatially bounded group to exist probably necessitates that the group is corporate. If a social group owns access to certain resources this group may be corporate in terms of ownership/use/defence of these

resources. This corporate structure of the social group may be demonstrated by the creation of a clear spatial, or material, boundary around the group. If by contrast social groups form a network of ownership relations within a larger group, the small scale groups will not be corporate or physically/spatially isolated.

Utilising these arguments we may be able to understand the significance of spatial form. For an example of the principle in action we may consider some work by Udo on the Ibo of Nigeria (1963). A transition has occured amongst the Ibo in the Colonial and post-Colonial era from communal land holding associated with nucleated settlement to a situation of individual land holding associated with dispersed settlement. The model presented above would result in the interpretation of the nucleated settlements of the initial stage as corporate and co-operative groups (the unit has a wide buffer zone dividing it from other such groups, and only narrow buffer zones within). In the succeeding stage the corporate group has been reduced to the individual family (each domestic group is isolated by a relatively wide buffer zone from all others). With the prediction that a clear boundary in physical space represents the existence of a bounded corporate group, the model enables the reconstructruction of the transition from communal to private property, from material data alone.

Also related to this argument is a model for the significance of nucleated as opposed to dispersed settlement. Horton, in a discussion of stateless African societies, has suggested that dispersed settlement can indicate the significance of genealogical reckoning in the distribution of population. By contrast nucleated settlement should represent the creation of a deliberate social boundary (Figure 3; Horton, 1971).

Horton utilised the segmentary lineage to illustrate his suggestions for dispersed settlement. In a segmentary lineage the closer an individual in terms of kinship to "ego" the closer he/she will live in spatial terms; the

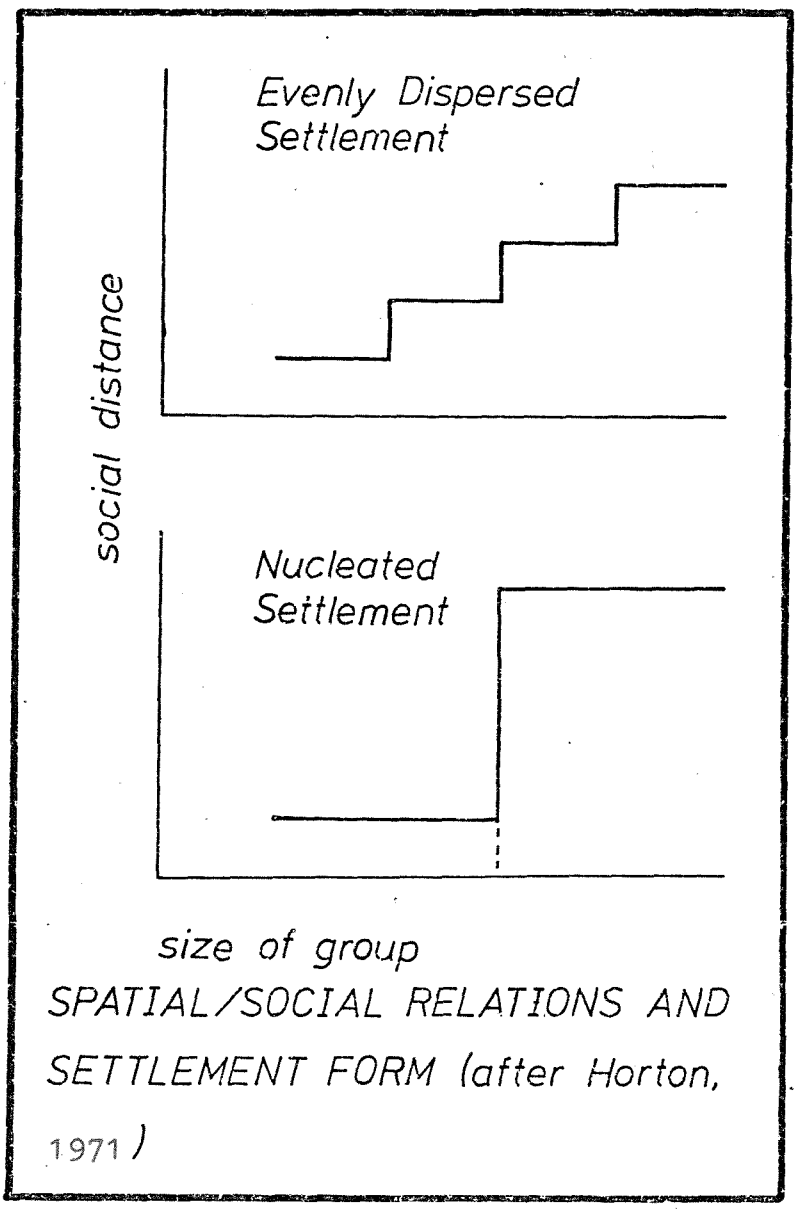


Figure 3: The Significance of Dispersed and Nucleated Settlement. (after Horton, 1971).

more distant the relationship the more distance will exist in spatial terms. In this situation there are no discontinuities in the spatial or the social landscape. Horton's model does not account for all societies with dispersed settlement patterns. It would seem possible that kindred systems may also encourage the dispersal of population in terms of nuclear families (Goodenough, 1970).

Horton argues that nucleation of settlement involves the creation of a clear cut spatial boundary; therefore he predicts a high degree of social cohesion within the boundary, and a low degree of interaction between communities so defined (1971). Horton appears to assume that nucleated settlement is less "natural" than dispersed, and that nucleation is the result of a need to defend people and resources. This will only be true if we consider the elementary family to represent the building blocks of social organization in human society (Lane, 1980). If instead we argue that a community with communal rights to an area of territory (or some other function leading to corporate groupings at a scale above that of the nuclear family) could represent an alternative building block for the structure of human society, then nucleated and dispersed distributions of population seem equally "natural".

However there is much support for the proposition that nucleated settlements represent corporate and relatively isolated social groups. Village solidarity and independence has been noted in the third world (Horton, 1971; Mitchell, 1956; Harris, 1965; Wolf, 1957) and in Europe (Stahl, 1980; Prothero, 1912; Graham, Unpublished; Jones, 1961A, 1961B).

Therefore we have a bridging argument for attempting to infer a structure of social order from spatial data. The model is not a general law; it is a culturally relative principle.

ii) The Sociological Relevance of Certain forms of Dwelling Structure.

In this section material will be provided on the social

significance of the permanence and nature of building form.

Temporary settlement structure may be a consequence of the instability of social relations. The Hadaza (Tanzania) are nomads, who have temporary residence structures. Social relations are very fluid; marriage is a very unstable institution. These factors find expression in the fluidity of settlement form among the Hadaza (Woodburn, 1972).

Social relations are also fluid amongst the Pastoral Fulani (Cameroon). This fluidity is demonstrated in material terms through the confused pattern of post holes related to the continuous adaptation and alteration of structures within the Fulani settlement (David, 1971).

Goody has argued, in a discussion of the LoDagaba, that it is far easier to allow for altered social relations in a mud hut (which requires annual rebuilding) than in a stone building (1959, 80).

Consequently, in some de-centralised societies building form may reflect, and perhaps in some cases reinforce, the egalitarian structure of social relations.

If these arguments are correct then the construction of a more substantial and permanent house may be a consequence, or even a representation, of the destruction of traditional egalitarian social relations. If newly acquired economic wealth is to act as a sociological factor, then it must be converted into visible signs of status (Mafeje, 1973, 218). The construction of stone walls, the use of cement and of tin roofing in the construction of a westernised dwelling in Africa is commonly an attempt by the elite to demonstrate their new found status. The westernised house is a symbol of status, firstly because of the implications of education and civilisation inherent in its construction, and secondly because of the expense in materials and time of its construction (see Jones AD, 1966 and Mafeje, 1973). In addition it seems possible that the permanence of a westernised house had some function in demonstrating the permanent nature of the new status-quo.

It may be of significance in relation to the social isolat-

ion of some African new elites (26), that this social isolation has a spatial correlate. These elites have gained economic profit by ignoring the traditional rules for the redistribution of surplus amongst kin/friends. In some cases the dwellings of these new elite individuals are spatially isolated from those of peasants who have retained a more traditional mode of organisation (Jones AD, 1966, 273).

Building structure may, therefore, reflect some aspects of social organisation. Buildings may be temporary if social relations are fluid; but buildings can also symbolise, and thus reinforce, the structure of status differentiation within a stratified society. This is an argument that will be utilised in relation to material data at a later stage in this thesis.

iii) Models of Regions as Homogeneous Entities.

The idea behind the attempt to construct models for regions as homogeneous entities involves the definition of a structure of social (or spatial) form that typifies a region, and then the contrasting of this defined homogeneous region with a second region in which a different structure exists. Such models are rather simplistic, for instance they stress variation between regions at the expense of variation within regions; however homogeneous region models find validity in the consideration that many generalisations in geography (archaeology/anthropology) arise from the comparison of two differing regional systems (Grigg, 1972).

If the limitations of archaeology in terms of the understanding of the typology of a society's structuring of space are accepted (30), it would seem that an approach that contrasts spatial patterns in varying regions might have some potential. It may be possible to understand something of a society's spatial typology by contrasting the structure of spatial form in that society with that of another.

Some useful research has been conducted into the analysis of regions as homogeneous systems, and an attempt will be made to utilise a form of homogeneous region in the case

study ( ). Some such studies have adopted an ecologically deterministic orientation: Ecological determinism is avoided in this thesis, as the approach is based on a simplistic notion that ignores the significance of the variation of human responses to an enviroment. By reviewing some approaches to the analysis of homogeneous regions an attempt will be made to demonstrate the necessity of studying developments from a historical perspective. By analysing regions in historical terms we may be able to understand the origin of regional patterns, and how social factors interacted with ecological factors in the development of the regions.

Sansom's discussion of Southern Bantu economies (1974) illustrates a deterministic principle. Sansom identified two ecological zones that supported different types of economy. Type A economies (or societies) have dispersed patterns of settlement, subsistence is confined to small areas of territory in proximity to the settlement, and chiefdoms in the area are small and de-centralised (Figure 4). This state of affairs is (supposedly) a consequence of the environmental diversity of the region. By contrast, type B societies occupy large villages, land is held in common, and the areas of arable, pasture and settlement were often distinct on a tribe-wide basis. Chiefdoms in this region are far more centralised. In this region resources are dispersed, and to be self-sufficient a community had to exploit a large region.

Coe has utilised an equally deterministic argument to explain the rise of trade and urbanism amongst the Classic Maya and the Khmer of Indo-China (1961); while Mencher has related nucleated and dispersed settlement form in the Kerala and Madras Provinces of India to the distribution of water (1966). Maggs (1975) has attempted to distinguish two distinct settlement types, and to relate these to ecological factors, for the Iron Age in the Sotho region of South Africa (Figure 5).

All of these studies leave something to be desired as the societies concerned are presented as relatively static and stable. No attempt is made to consider the origin of the system (in other words, why peoples settled in a certain region to begin with). We shall now consider some approaches

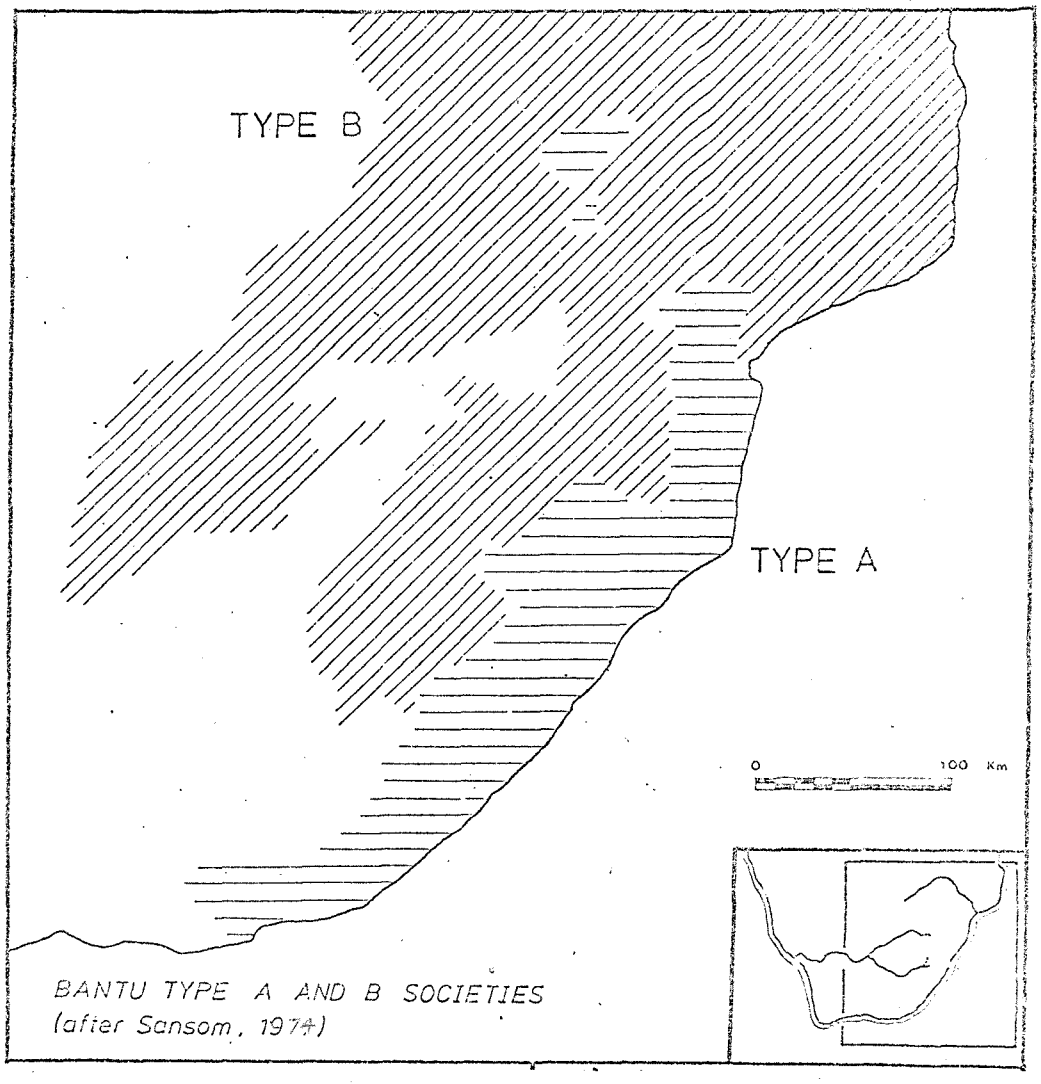


Figure 4: Types of Bantu Society (after Sansom, 1974).

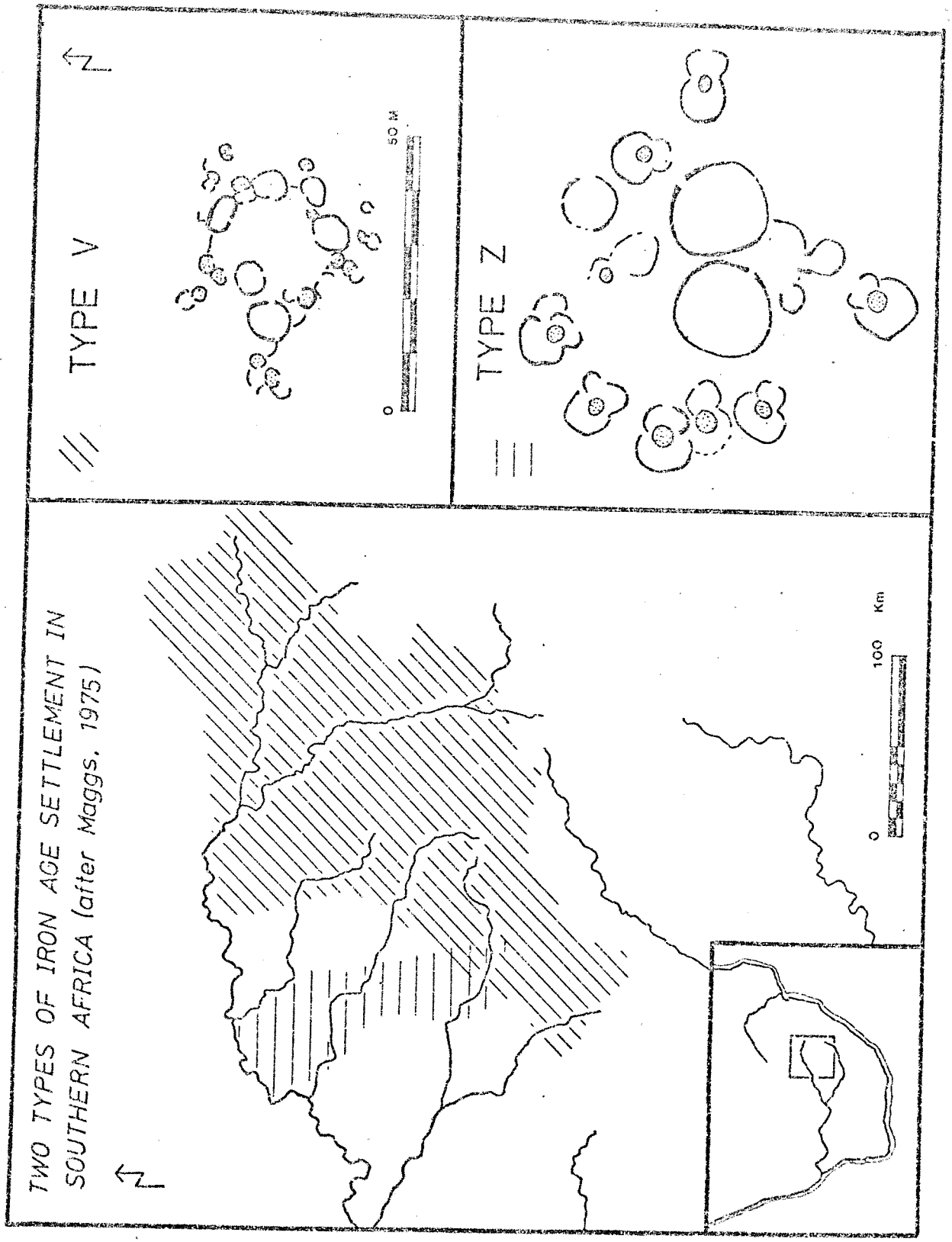


Figure 5: Two Types of Iron Age Settlement in Africa (after Maggs, 1975).

that incorporate a discussion of settlement history and the inter-relationship of social and ecological factors in the origin of regional patterns.

An example of such a work is Barth's study of ethnic groups in Swat State, North West Pakistan (1979). One group, the Pathans, are militarily dominant, and have driven the Kohistanis out of a physiographically defined region. This territory is an area which permits double-cropping. The Pathans have halted at the boundary of this region as the social relations of production on which Pathan society is founded necessitates a considerable surplus of production, and the Pathans are unable to wrestle such a surplus from an area that does not enable double-cropping. The Kohistanis are not restricted to this area, because of differing requirements for surplus, and varying agricultural strategies.

In this study, and in a further example by Leach (1964), social relations of production are not considered to be the consequence of ecological factors. Societies have differing needs, and consequently inhabit distinct ecological regions.

A study of the Mbembe by Harris (1965) involves a discussion of social factors and settlement history in addition to ecological factors. Harris has shown that settlement size varies among the three tribes that formed the Mbembe depending on the type of environment (wooded/open) in which the tribes existed, and also the type of pressure (slaving and conquest of land, or simply acquisition of land) to which they were exposed (Figure 6). Osopong settlements were relatively small and evenly spaced, as the Osopong lived in a broken and wooded landscape in which unified assault by their enemies was impractical. By contrast to the Osopong the Okum and Adun had large and physically isolated settlements: These tribes were under a far greater military threat from organised rivals, and lived in an open landscape. The response to this situation among the Okum and Adun was to nucleate settlement in response (see Rowlands, 1972).

One final work that is worth reviewing (because of its relevance to the case study of Iron Age and Romano-British settlement) is that of Everitt (1977, 1979) on the "pays" of Medieval England. Pays were regions; the prime division in Southern England was between the "fielden" societies of the river valleys, and the wood-pasture societies of the forest. Fielden societies were close kin communities organised in villages, and with communal relations of property and work organisation. Woodland settlements, by contrast, were the homes of isolated land owning families. It seems possible that the woodland settlements originated as the seasonal shielings of the fielden communities, and became permanent settlements due to population pressure in the area of the fielden communities.

Everitt argues that the existence of pays influenced almost every aspect of human life, and the areas could be considered to represent distinct "ethnic" regions. The particular value of Everitt's work in the context of this thesis concerns its relevance to the case study of Iron Age Romano-British society in the Upper Thames Valley (211); however, the study also provides a discussion of the historical development of varying groups.

In conclusion, it would seem that the homogenous region approach provides a valuable method for the analysis of human settlement and society. The cases studied demonstrate that ecological factors are significant in the creation of such regional patterns; however it also seems important to attempt to analyse the sequence of settlement history, and the interaction of social with ecological factors in the study of homogeneous regions. An attempt will be made to follow this procedure in the case study.

iv) Models of Regions as Heterogeneous Entities.

Models of regions as heterogeneous entities are of two forms. The simple model is one in which variation occurs within a bounded region, say between a core and a peripheral

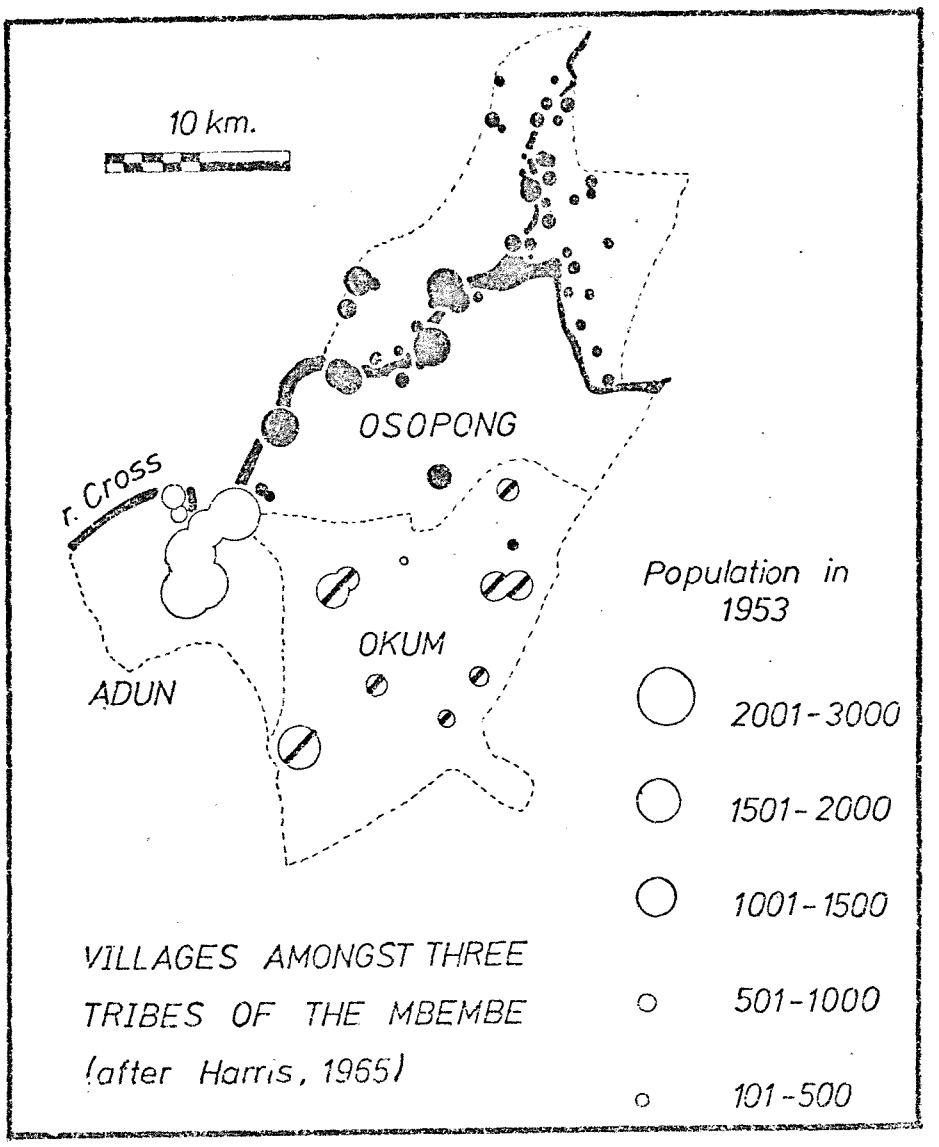


Figure 6: Villages amongst three Tribes of the Mbembe (after Harris, 1965).

area. The more complex model is hierarchical, and involves the concept of the regional system.

A simple core-periphery model is related to the structure of society amongst the Nduindui of the New Hebrides (Allen, 1971). In this society descent groups in the core of the population grouping have been converted through population/resource pressure into kindreds. Peripheral groupings, by contrast, have been able to retain a more traditional social form, consisting of agnatic lineages (this is a consequence of the fact that peripheral lineages can expand into un-occupied land). Consequently core descent groups are smaller, less clearly defined as corporate groups and more heterogeneous than the lineages of the periphery. The situation does not represent a regional system, as there is an absence of hierarchical relations between the core and the periphery.

Regional systems involve hierarchically arranged groups of descent units/sites, or whatever, integrated as nodes into a spatial network. Regional integration functions around the flow of goods (whether these goods are brides, prestige goods, exchange goods, tribute or tax) within the system.

Most explicit regional systems models are from analysis of stratified societies. Among the Chin of Burma population pressure has caused the development of a land owning aristocracy, and a division has developed between land owners and their dependent clients (Friedman, 1975). The same has occured amongst the Mandari of the southern Sudan (Buxton, 1957, 1958). In the Chin and Mandari cases we appear to have a spatial correlate for this social division in that the land owning lineages appear to be central to the tribe, while the clients are peripherally placed (although the accounts do not make it clear how distinct this tendency is in spatial terms).

In terms of the relevance of this ethnographic model, Irish and Gallic evidence indicates the acceptance of peoples in a client status and their settling on the tribal

boundaries. Maine (1861; quoted by Nash, Unpublished, I have been unable to find the original reference in Maine's book) recorded that tribes in Ireland had wide areas of waste on their borders where kinless clients could be settled. In addition Caesar records that the Aedui settled the Boii on their own borders, presumably as tributary people (1:28). It is possible that such a situation represents a stage in the development of a tributary mode of production.

Most explicit hierarchical models for regional analysis are borrowed from the disciplines of economics and economic geography. Most of these models are based on the relative autonomy and dominance of the economy within the social formation. Consequently the value of central place theory involving marketing ($K = 3$) and transport ($K = 4$) rules (Figure 7; Berry, 1964; Haggett, Cliff and Frey, 1977) may be limited in pre-Capitalist contexts (Crumley, 1976, 1979; for an alternative view see Smith, 1976A, 1976B).

A third variation on central place theory, the solar central place, is of greater potential value (Smith, 1976A). The significance of this system is that it models the flow of tax/tribute, and may be considered to represent an idealised model of the tributary state.

In the solar central place system centres are few and far between, and are dispersed in a rural landscape that lacks intermediate sized towns. The single major centre is located in a central position in a tributary hinterland, and all minor centres are connected to only this single major centre for trade and tribute (Figure 7). The system is organised in such a way because administrators cannot allow overlapping boundaries. The solar central place system is designed for efficient administration of a territory (Smith, 1976B).

Some examples of solar central place systems occur in Provincial/Colonial situations. Examples are known in Africa and Latin America (Nash, 1971; Smith, 1974, 1975), and if my arguments are correct (20) the tribal structure

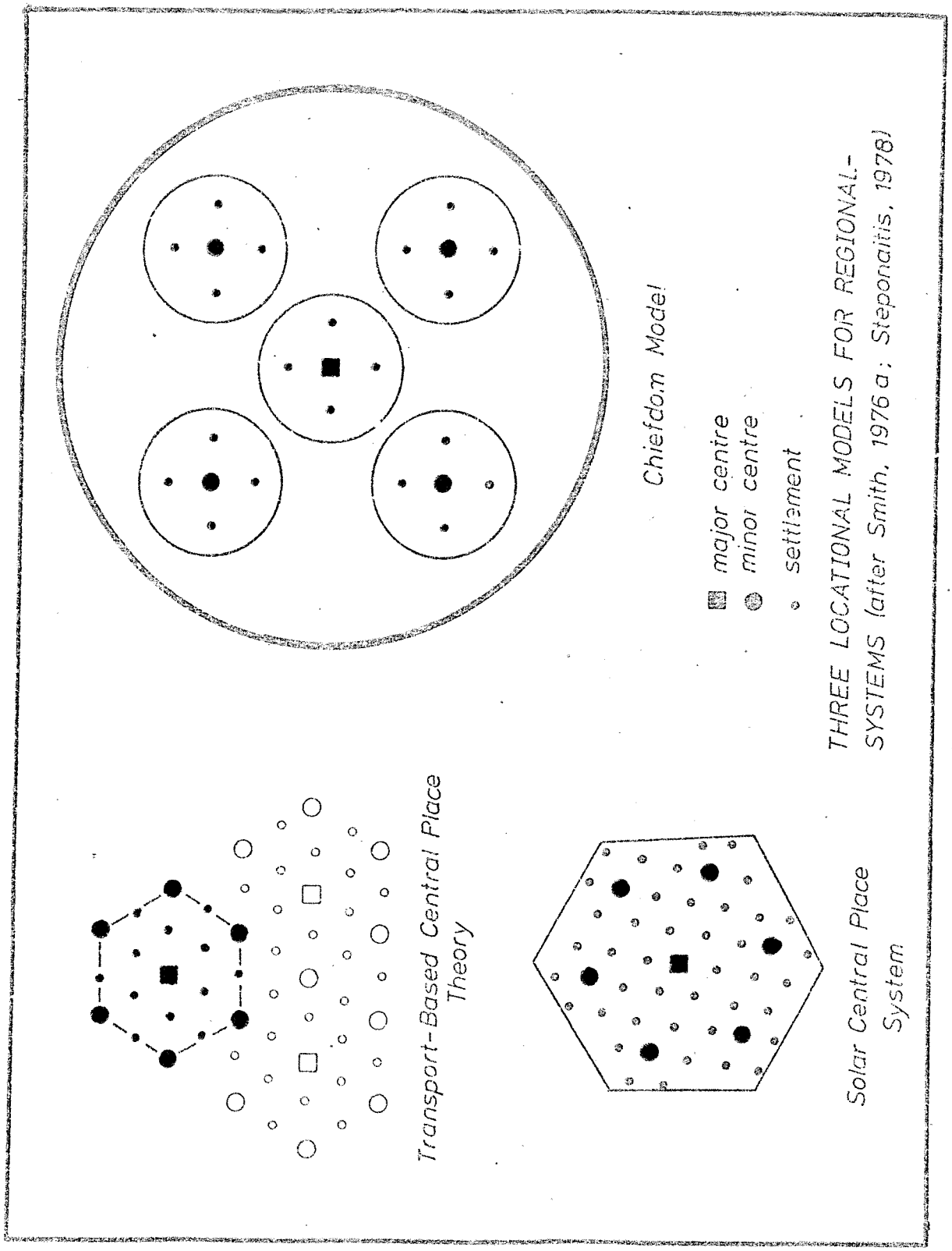


Figure 7: Three Types of Regional System (after Smith, 1976A and Steponaitis, 1978).

of Roman-Britain may have approximated to the solar central place model. In these cases the regional systems were deliberate administrative creations for the exploitation of a peripheral territory within an Empire. In such systems, in contrast to Smith's arguments, the market function is secondary to the administrative function (Frank, 1969).

Johnson has examined regional systems in relation to the rank-size rule (for previous attempts see Garner, 1967; Linsky, 1965; Haggett, Cliff and Frey, 1977). Johnson (1980) has argued that variation in the curve should be put down to degree of "system-integration". A "primate" (concave) curve (as in the solar central place system) occurs in systems that do not encourage a large degree of trade. A convex curve indicates low systems integration, this system is also inefficient in terms of trading. The most efficient market network will lie between the extremes in terms of the form of the rank-size curve.

Johnson has suggested that a decrease in the concavity of the curve, and an increase in trade, occured in the United States between 1750 and 1850 AD (1980, 237). I have argued for the possibility of a similar trend in Roman-Britain in the third century; in this case it would seem that the collapse of centralised Empire-wide administration resulted in a situation in which the significance of market exchange was greater (24). If this is true then the principles behind market/transport models for central place structure may be more valid for third/fourth century Roman-Britain (Hodder and Hassall, 1971; Hodder, 1972, 1975). It seems possible that a market landscape developed out of an administrative central place system (24).

One aspect of the development of economic forces is the extension of market trade to rural areas. Individual farmers may become dependent on the market for goods which are vital to production and consumption. If the rural dweller is dependent on the market a regular demand for goods may support a distinctive distribution of local market centres.

A model for such a situation predicts the development of lowest order market centres at approximately 10 km intervals across the landscape (Hodder, 1972, 905). The reason for the development of these centres is that agriculturalists will not travel more than 3 to 6 km for such basic necessities of life as are available at the local market (including agricultural goods, pottery, trinkets, clothes and so on) and consequently, given a standard demand, markets develop at regular 10 km intervals.

Empirical support for this model is widespread. Hodder and Ukwu have drawn attention to markets distributed at approximate 10 km intervals across Yorubaland (1969, 62). A further African example is Lagos (Nigeria), where 90% of local consumers in the local market came from a distance of less than five kilometres (Sada and McNulty, 1973). Markets developed at similar intervals in rural Korea (Parks, 1981). In addition markets in Medieval England seem to have been located at approximately 10 km intervals (Brush and Bracey, 1955; Dickinson, 1932, 22).

These market centres may be periodic; in addition they may fall into a market ring for the convenience of traders who move from market to market (Hodder and Ukwu, 1969; Smith, 1974). In the Medieval English cases a direct association commonly occurred between the position of the market, and a largish settlement (or town), although this point does not seem true for African societies (Hodder and Ukwu, 1969; Good, 1970; Hoffman, 1962).

The distribution of lowest order market centres may be influenced by two factors. Firstly they will only occur where local demand is sufficient; if no surplus for trade exists within the economy there will be no market network. Secondly some African evidence indicates the significance of population distribution to market density. Good (1970) has argued that the distribution of markets in east Africa falls off where population density is below about 30 persons per km^2. Hodder and Ukwu have suggested that the critical density, below which there are no markets, is about 6 to 7

persons per km^2.

These methods for heterogeneous region analysis have been swiftly discussed. Some of these models (for instance solar central place) are of general significance in this thesis; some of the models (particularly the model for lowest order markets) are of specific relevance and will be discussed in more detail below (74).

v) Summary of Chapter 3.

This Chapter was intended to provide bridging arguments to aid in the analysis of settlement data. The models discussed in this Chapter are tentative, as archaeologists have failed to utilise anthropological discussions of settlement structuring, and anthropologists have been slow in recognising the significance of space to social form (Bourdieu, 1977).

Initially we saw that archaeologists are in an unfortunate possition; the best approach to settlement analysis is to attempt an analysis of a society's spatial typology through a knowledge of the structure of the society itself. This approach is far more satisfactory than the attempt to work from the material data to a social model.

Nevertheless for Celtic society we have seen the potential of literary sources for enabling a social analysis of settlement form. In addition it would seem that some bridging arguments for the analysis of settlement data do exist.

The first method that was reviewed involved the principle that corporate groups are created and maintained by the construction of a boundary; and that this boundary may be spatial/physical in form. These corporate social groups can be at any level of scale within society.

A related argument was the significance of nucleated and dispersed settlement. On the basis of the above arguments it was suggested that dispersed settlement indicates a relatively unbounded social network, with small scale social groups as the basic social unit. By contrast nucleation of

settlement involves the definition of an arbitary spatial boundary to social space; this arbitrary boundary is connected to the creation of a large, corporate social group.

Further discussion involved the social significance of house/compound form. An attempt was made to link permanance/expense of house type to relations of social form.

A technique was introduced which involved the analysis of regions in terms of homogeneous social form. Explanations for homogeneous regional patterns have a tendency to be ecologically deterministic; and the importance of analysing social relations of production and settlement history was reviewed.

An additional technique is the analysis of heterogeneous regions. Of particular significance is the solar central place model, which represents an idealised spatial version of a tributary state. It seems that this model may be of some significance in the analysis of the Provincial system in Roman-Britain. I have attempted to demonstrate that such a regional system could collapse and leave its wake a market landscape, characterised by lowest order market centres.

Chapter Four:
An Analysis of Later Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement in terms of Social Structure.

The purpose of this Chapter is to review some of the archaeological research that has been conducted into later prehistoric and Romano-British settlement in Southern Britain. The review is intended to be critical of some of this work, but at the same time is constructive in that an emphasis is put upon arguments that seem of relevance to the structure of this research. This Chapter is intended to provide further background discussion to the case study, with two particular aims in mind. Firstly we shall review some of the propositions made in Chapters 2 and 3 in relation to the settlement data; secondly some gaps in the evidence for later prehistoric and Romano-British settlement will be considered.

Before proceeding with the Chapter I must introduce two important concepts that I will utilise throughout the remaining part of the thesis. These concepts are definitions of the terms "settlement" and "compound unit".

A compound unit is the residence of a domestic group (whether nucleated or extended), with any resource spaces and activity areas that are directly associated. In this thesis a totally arbitrary 20 m measure is utilised to distinguish the boundaries of distinct compound units.

A settlement represents a single/or multiple compound unit groups, which are spatially isolated from other such groups. An arbitrary 150 m measure is utilised to distinguish single settlements from others. This measure is derived from a series of studies of human settlement in diverse cultural contexts (Figure 8). The 150 m measure appears to represent the rough "hailing distance" beyond which community solidarity is lost (Uhlig and Lienau, 1972; Haggett, 1965).

i) Later Prehistoric Settlement Research at the Scale of the Region.

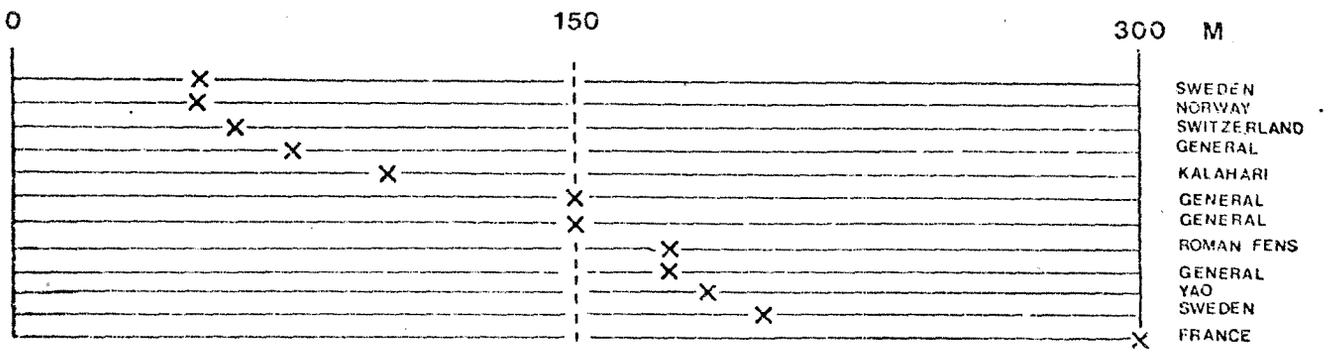


Figure 8: Measures for defining the boundaries of Settlements. (after Hallam, 1970; Haggett, 1965; Houston, 1963; Kuper, 1970; Mitchell, 1956; Stone, 1968).

Some approaches to regional analysis were considered in the previous Chapter. These approaches involved detailed analysis of the spatial structure of human societies, and the analysis of regions in terms of homogeneity and heterogeneity. If these are taken as the aims of regional analysis in archaeology, then prehistoric settlement research is very disappointing. In fact little in the way of analysis has been undertaken; research has been primarily descriptive.

In general the approach to later prehistoric settlement has been to distinguish "type sites", and to examine the distribution of these type sites through space and time. Practitioners of this approach have failed to escape from the straight jacket of the "site", and have failed to study variation effectively in terms of regions.

The type site approach was perhaps unavoidable when the historical development of Iron Age archaeology is considered. In particular, archaeological methodology was developed to deal with the single site (!). Also certain forms of Iron Age site were fairly distinctive; one particular type, the hillfort, was recognised to be of Iron Age date at an early date in the development of the subject (Hawkes, 1931). The excavation of Little Woodbury (Bersu, 1940) resulted in the creation of a second class of site. The Little Woodbury site was taken as typical of Iron Age rural settlement in Wessex and the south of England, and was used as a distinctive form in the definition of the "Woodbury-economy" (Bowen, 1961; Hodson, 1964; Bowen and Fowler, 1966).

This state of affairs is reflected in the classification utilised by the Ordnance Survey in their analysis of data for the map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age (1962). Their classification included oppida, hillforts, lake settlements, inhabited caves, but only two classes of open settlements of other form ("major open settlements" and "farms"/other minor open settlements).

By adopting and adapting the type site approach, several other attempts were made to produce a more detailed class-

ification of these major and minor open settlements. Data for this type of analysis have been derived mainly from aerial photography. Perry in his "preliminary sorting" of Iron Age settlement form on the Hampshire chalklands distinguished seven classes of site:

"sites of Little Woodbury type",
"other enclosures of over three acres",
"enclosures of the South Wonston farm type",
"enclosures of between one and three acres",
"enclosures of Bramdean type",
"rectilinear enclosures of probable Iron Age date",
"unenclosed settlements"(1969)

As Perry's analysis was primarily descriptive no attempt was made to explain the function of sites in terms of social or subsistence factors.

Research in recent years (eg Harding, 1972; Cunliffe, 1978B) has provided some support for Perry's framework by demonstrating that a great variety of types of sites exist in the settlement record. Palmer (1978; Hampton and Palmer, 1977) has even attempted to get away from the type site approach during an analysis of Iron Age sites on the chalklands of Hampshire and Dorset. Palmer (1977) computer plotted crop mark sites enabling the codification of 65 variables of settlement form. However, as Palmer himself records, such analysis results in rather complex descriptions of site form (1977, 180), rather than any type of explanation for the variation.

Three further attempts at regional analysis involve the use of data from excavation. Harding (1972, 1974) and Lambrick (1978) have attempted analysis of settlement patterns in the Upper Thames valley, while Drury (1978) discussed settlement in Essex.

Harding (1972; for a summary see 1974, 26) argued that settlements in the Upper Thames Valley are different from the Little Woodbury type settlements of Wessex (in fact Bradford first made this observation in 1942). In the Upper Thames Valley, particularly around the Lower

Windrush and Lower Evenlode areas, gravel extraction had produced evidence for multiple "open settlements". Each settlement, as clearly illustrated by the Lower Windrush multiple settlement, was characterised by one small ditched sub rectangular enclosure, pits and discontinuous lengths of linear gully. Harding suggested the existence of common pasture for the Lower Windrush sites on the flood-plain of the river Windrush, to the west.

In contrast to the Windrush region, Harding suggested that the area around Dorchester on Thames was typified by settlements surrounded by enclosures of defensive proportions (1974, 28), as at Allen's Pit, Dorchester. Harding argued that this second pattern was a result of cultural influences from the South East of England.

Lambrick (1978) reviewed the evidence for Iron Age settlement in the Upper Thames Valley in the light of recent work by members of the Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit. It would seem that Harding's account requires emendation due to the variety of settlement forms found (op cit, 112). In fact it would seem that Harding's model typifies only one ecological zone within a variety of enviroments on the Upper Thames gravels.

Lambrick's account thus shows that Harding's model is incomplete. However Lambrick's account does not proceed far beyond the description of the results of excavations. No alternative regional model is proposed as Lambrick's article is limited by the perspectives of the type site approach.

Similar points may be made in relation to Drury's work on Iron Age sites in Essex (1978). Drury describes change in settlement form through time (op cit, 45, 75), however no discussion of the significance of this change is presented. In addition, as with Lambrick's article, no attempt is made to assess the social or economic significance of settlement form, or the position of settlement sites within any regional system.

In terms of regional perspectives British prehistoric

settlement research has been disappointing. It remains to be demonstrated that a regional perspective is of value in the study. Above it was remarked that settlements in Wessex and the Upper Thames Valley differ markedly in form. Settlements in Wessex seem commonly (as at Little Woodbury) to lie inside an enclosure; by contrast settlements in the Upper Thames Valley are usually unenclosed, or open. Cunliffe has drawn attention to this dichotomy, and has discussed variation between the supposedly "village" based societies of the Midlands (including the Upper Thames) and the single family based societies of Wessex. While the actual significance of the terms used to describe local social groups in the two regions is open to discussion (241), Cunliffe's model does demonstrate the existence of patterns of homogeneous regional structuring in the southern British Iron Age.

In terms of the value of heterogeneous region models, several suggestions have been made. Cunliffe has argued that his so called "developed" hillforts of Wessex are central places in social and economic terms, and has attempted to model their territories (1976C, 1978B). No serious attempts have been made to apply variants of the solar central place model (46) to the later Iron Age settlement record, although there are indications that such models might have some validity. Cunliffe (1976C) has argued that minor political/economic centres are distributed in a corona around major centres. Hodder has suggested that oppida developed as nuclear points within societies on the periphery of the expanding economic system of the Roman Empire (1977). A systematic attempt to fit such models to the late Iron Age settlement record has yet to be made.

ii) Later Prehistoric Settlement Research at the Scale of the Site.

Some valuable research has been conducted into settlement forms of the Middle and Late Bronze Age. For this period there is much data from a series of high quality

excavations in Southern England. The settlement sites concerned were sometimes enclosed and sometimes unenclosed; and usually consisted, in terms of compound structure, of a small group of round huts.

Ellison has argued that a repeated module can be distinguished in the structure of these sites (1978, 1980). This module involves one large circular hut and one or two subsiduary storage huts along with additional storage structures. Ellison has argued that these compound units represent the homes of small kin groups. The lack of alteration of structures on the sites is thought to demonstrate short term occupation (1978, 36). Drewett (1979A, 1979B, 1980) argued that the small kin group recognised at the recently excavated site of Blackpatch was a "conjugal" (ie nuclear) family, with an additional element (parent or unmarried sibling).

Rowlands (1980) suggested that Ellison's modules are enlarged in size, rather than replicated, during the growth of the kin group. In addition Rowlands has argued that individual huts represent "multi-male" and "multi-female" units (in other words, according to Rowlands, each module has a pair of dwelling huts). Rowlands appears to be suggesting that these compound units represent social groups rather greater in size than the nuclear family. In fact, following Rowlands' discussion, we might see these compound units as the homes of patrilineally defined lineages of up to four generations (10).

An alternative to the Ellison/Drewett and the Rowlands' models, which may be more satisfactory, adopts Ellison's argument for modules and Rowlands' suggestion that the local domestic group represents a lineage rather than a nuclear family. This alternative view would see Ellison's module repeated within the single compound, rather than enlarged without alteration of the structure. In other words as the local lineage grows in size a single unit compound is converted into a multiple unit compound. If these suggestions are correct then mutliple unit compounds (or compounds with multiples of Ellison's single module) should characterise the settlement record. I would argue

that the settlement evidence supports this suggestion, and would interpret the excavated data as follows (Figures 9 to 12):

Single Unit Compounds:

Chalton (Hants; Cunliffe, 1970),

Itford Hill, stages/areas i and iv (Sussex; Burstow and Holleyman, 1957; Ellison, 1978),

Shearplace Hill (Dorset; Rhatz and ApSimon, 1962),

Plumpton Plain, enclosure ii (Sussex; Holleyman and Curwen, 1935).

Multiple Unit Compounds:

Blackpatch (Sussex; Drewett, 1979A, 1979B, 1980),

Cock Hill (Sussex; Ratcliffe-Densham and Ratcliffe-Densham, 1961),

Down Farm (Dorset; Barrett, Bradley and Green, 1979; Barrett, Bradley, Green and Lewis, 1981),

Itford Hill, stages/areas ii and iii (op. cit.),

Rams Hill (Oxfordshire; Bradley and Ellison, 1975),

South Lodge (Dorset; Barrett, Bradley and Green, 1979; Barrett, Bradley, Green and Lewis, 1981).

Thorney Down (Dorset; Stone, 1941).

Uncertain:

Newbarn Down (Sussex; Curwen, 1934),

Plumpton Plain, enclosures i, iii and iv (op. cit.),

Preshute Down (Wilts; Piggot, 1942).

These data may support Rowland's model for social structure in Middle/Late Bronze Age Wessex. The model was based on the fiercely independent, conflicting but internally corporate lineage. Status was a consequence of the size of the lineage in terms of man power (the larger the more powerful). The existence of the extended domestic group (the multiple unit compound) in the archaeological record may support the suggestion for domestic groups of lineage form (while the earthworks around some of the compounds could indicate the corporate structure of the lineage). That the situation was unstable is demonstrated by the relatively temporary nature of occupation on many of these sites, and also by the existence of single compound units, which may indicate the process of lineage fission.

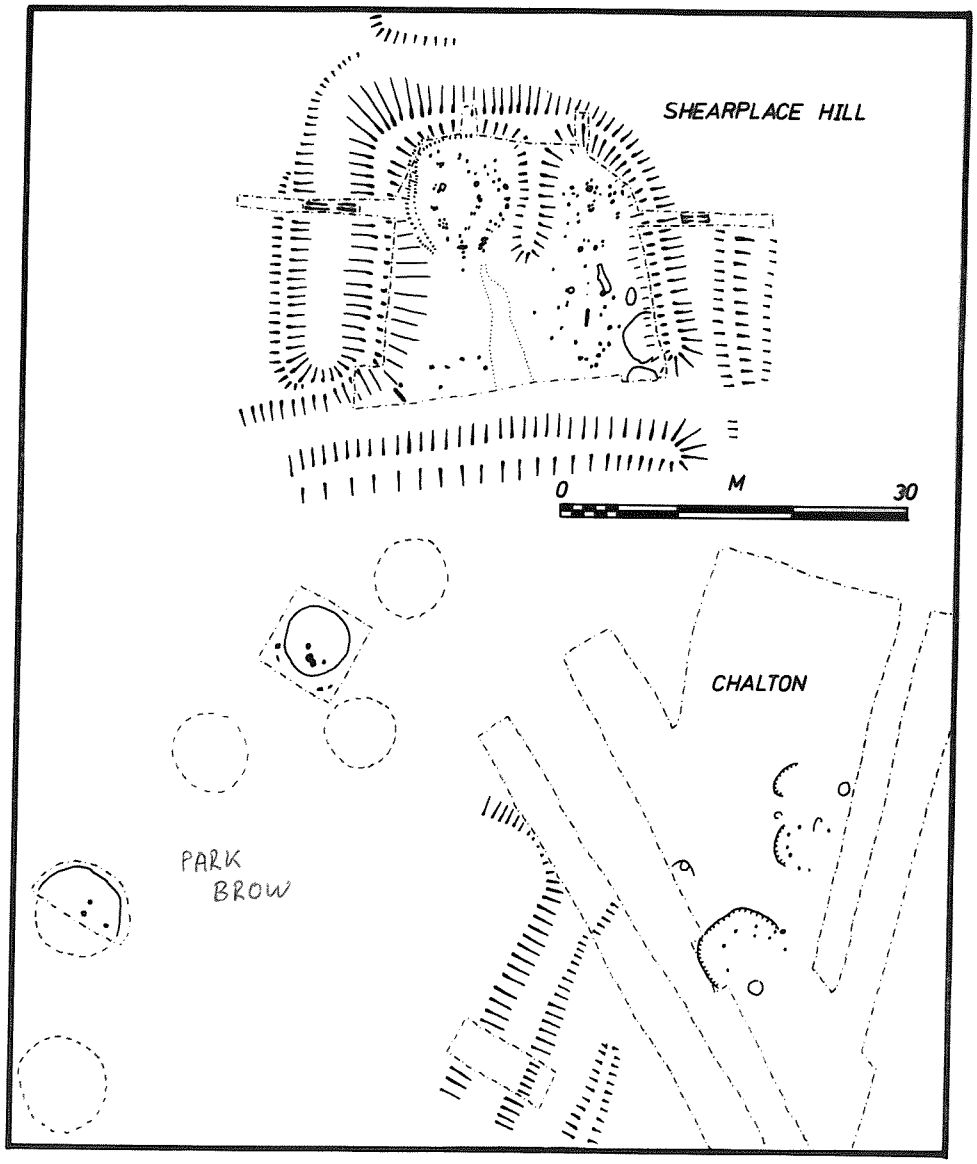


Figure 9: Bronze Age Compound Units in Southern Britain. (see the text for explanation).

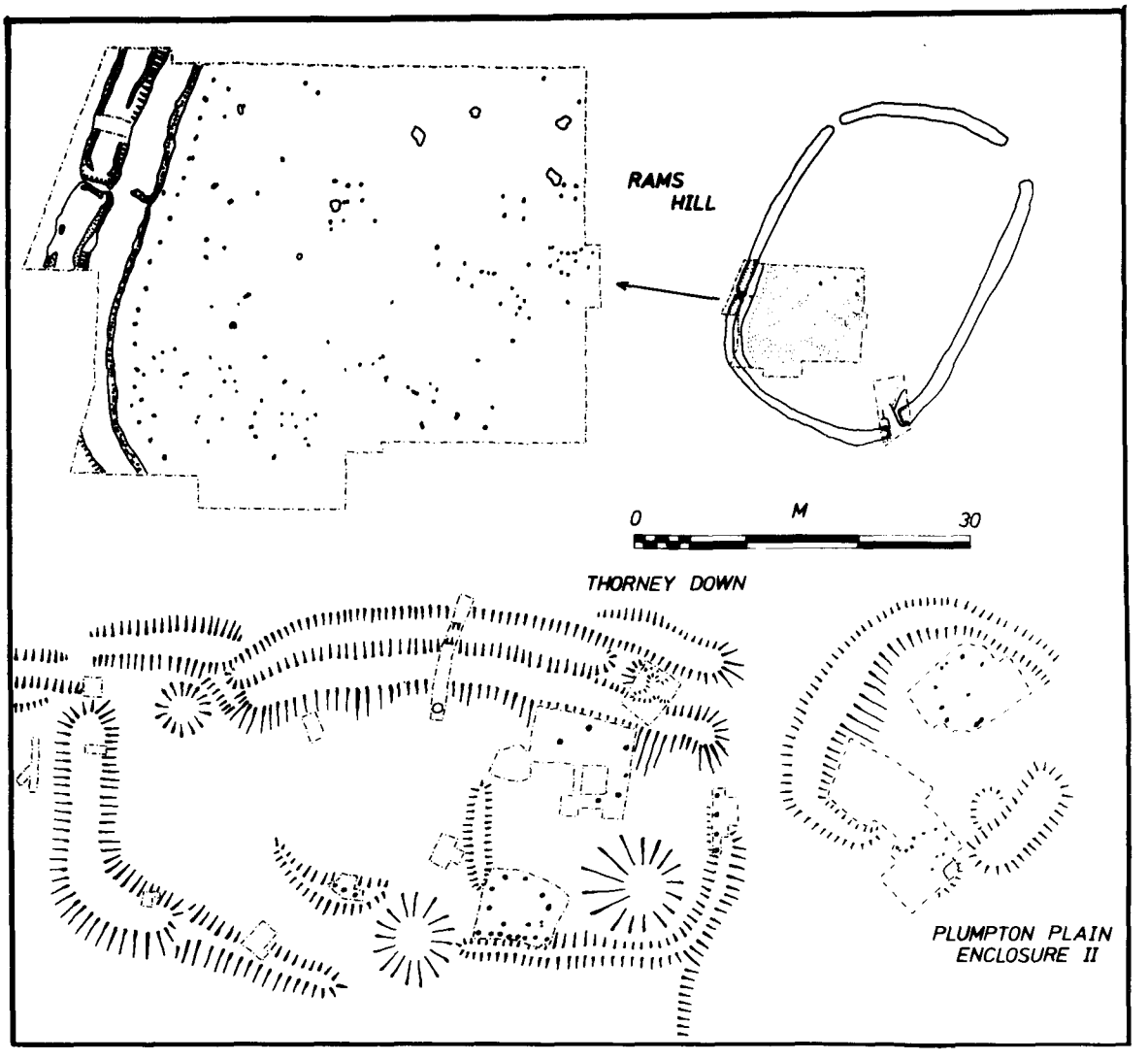


Figure 10: Bronze Age Compound Units in Southern Britain. (see text for explanation).

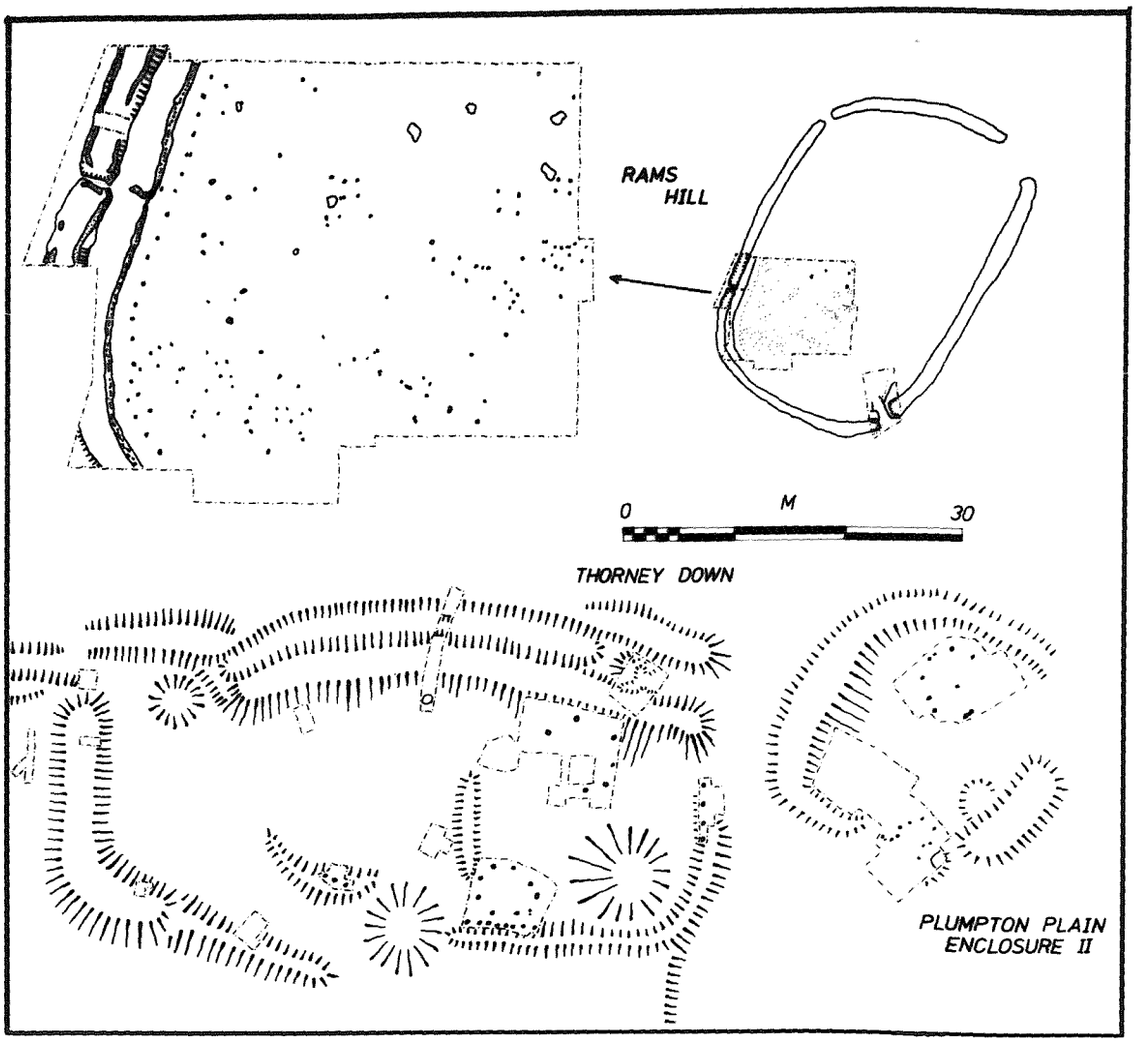


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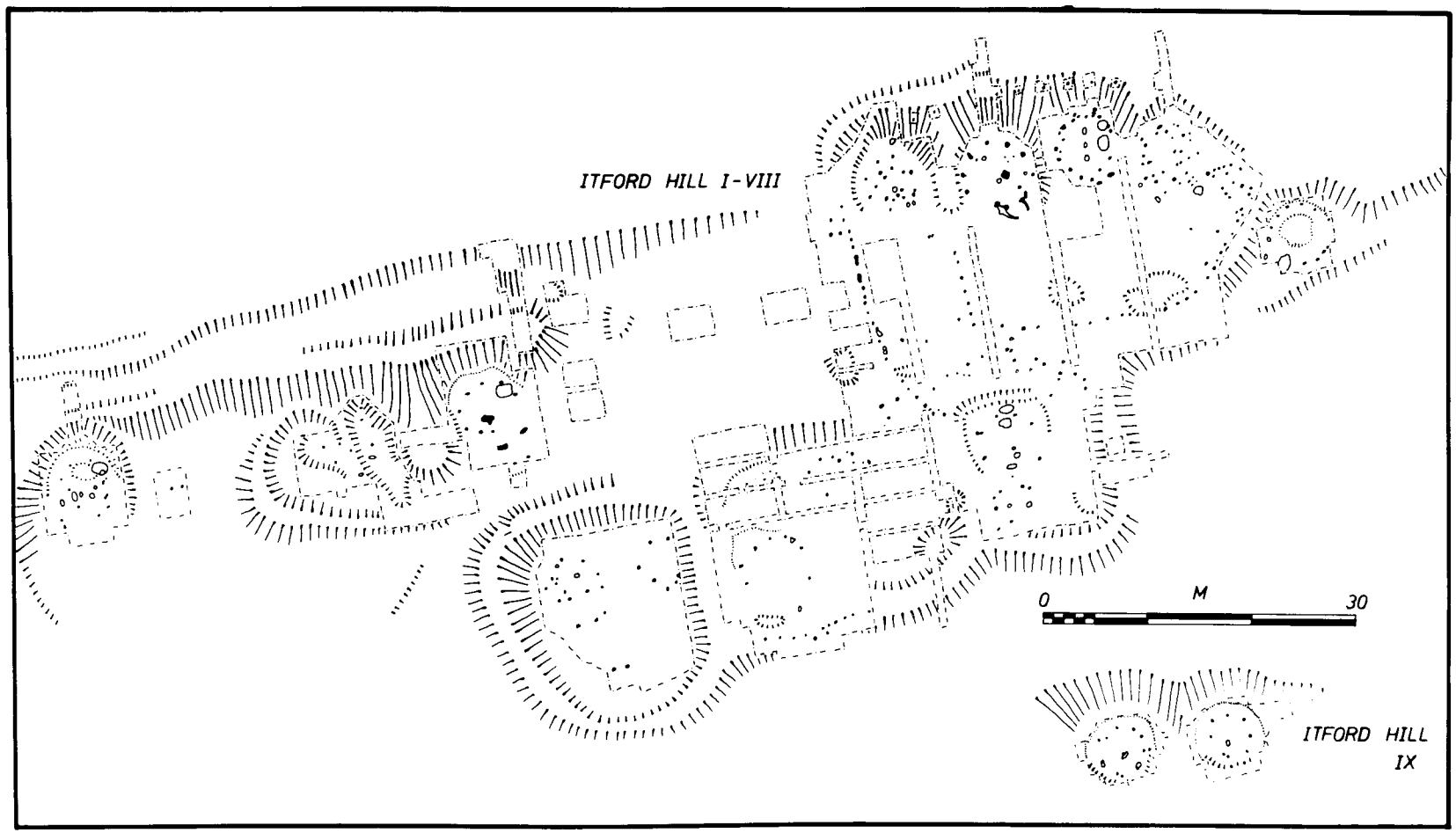


Figure 12: Bronze Age Compound Units in Southern Britain.
(see text for explanation).

By contrast to the evidence for Middle/Late Bronze Age settlement, information on the structure of Iron Age settlements is less clear. One important site is Glastonbury, where Clarke has identified a repeated module of a quite different kind from the Bronze Age structures (1972). In the case of Glastonbury the module consists of two large male huts facing a single female hut, with various associated storage structures and working areas. Clarke has interpreted the module in social terms as representing a polygamous family of about 20 persons organised according to the practice of polyandry (a group of patrilineally related men sharing a wife, or wives). Thus there is a strong possibility that the Glastonbury compounds (as in the Bronze Age examples) were the residences of local lineages.

However the Glastonbury module does not seem to form a general principle for the British Iron Age; little in the way of similar patterning is known on other Southern British Iron Age sites (although two sites with similar structures are Chysauster [Cornwall] with its courtyard houses [Hencken, 1933], and a single compound unit at the hillfort of Pilsdon Pen [Gelling, 1977]). In fact Clarke suggested that Glastonbury should not be seen as typical of Iron Age settlement in general. Clarke argued that the structure of the local group, and the clustering of four to seven such groups into a single settlement, was a consequence of the unique location of Glastonbury in the Somerset Levels (and the need for co-operation, for instance in drainage; 1972).

Elsewhere in Southern Britain modules are hard to define. On occasions round huts face one another, or are closely associated (examples include Wakerley [Northants; Jackson and Ambrose, 1978], Beckford [Worcestershire; Oswold, 1970], Salmonsbury [Gloucestershire; Dunning, 1976], and Claydon Pike [Gloucestershire; Miles and Palmer, 1982]). In general, however, such modules are rare. The reason for the difficulty experienced in defining modules may be that the single hut commonly represents the module on Iron

Age sites. A consideration of the ground plans of some extensively excavated Iron Age sites (for instance Ashville [Oxfordshire; Parrington, 1978], Danebury [Hampshire; Cunliffe, 1978B], Fengate [Northants; Pryor and Cranstone, 1978], Little Waltham [Essex; Drury, 1978B] and Moel y Gaer [Rhosemor; Guilbert, 1975, 1976]) could support this point (Figure 14). On these sites huts are commonly spaced relatively randomly in relation to each other, entrances commonly face in a single direction (often south east) and there is little variation in the size of the structures (which could indicate that huts had specialised functions). In some cases huts occur inside enclosures (examples include Hodd Hill [Dorset; Richmond, 1968], Strixton [Northants; Hall, 1971], Ardleigh [Essex; Erith and Holbert, 1970], Blackthorn [Northants; Williams, 1974] and Tollard Royal [Wiltshire; Wainwright, 1968]), in these cases single huts presumably do represent compound units (Figure 13).

The single hut may thus have been the typical module over much of Southern Britain in the Iron Age: Indeed the excavators have claimed this situation on the Late Bronze Age site at Aldermaston Wharf (Bradley et. al., 1980).

In terms of the arguments put forwards in Chapter 2, it would seem possible that the difference between a compound consisting of a number of huts, and a single hut compound demonstrates the existence of two systems; one in which descent was by unilineal reckoning, and one in which kindreds were significant (the lineage [as represented by the multiple unit compound] may have been typical of the unilineal scheme, and the nuclear family [isolated hut] of the kindred).

iii) Romano-British Settlement Research at the Scale of the Site.

Literary sources make it possible to identify a hierarchy of sites in the Roman period. In this thesis the concern will be with three types of Roman settlements: Villas, minor towns and (so-called) native settlements.

Villas have been defined in terms of their economic and

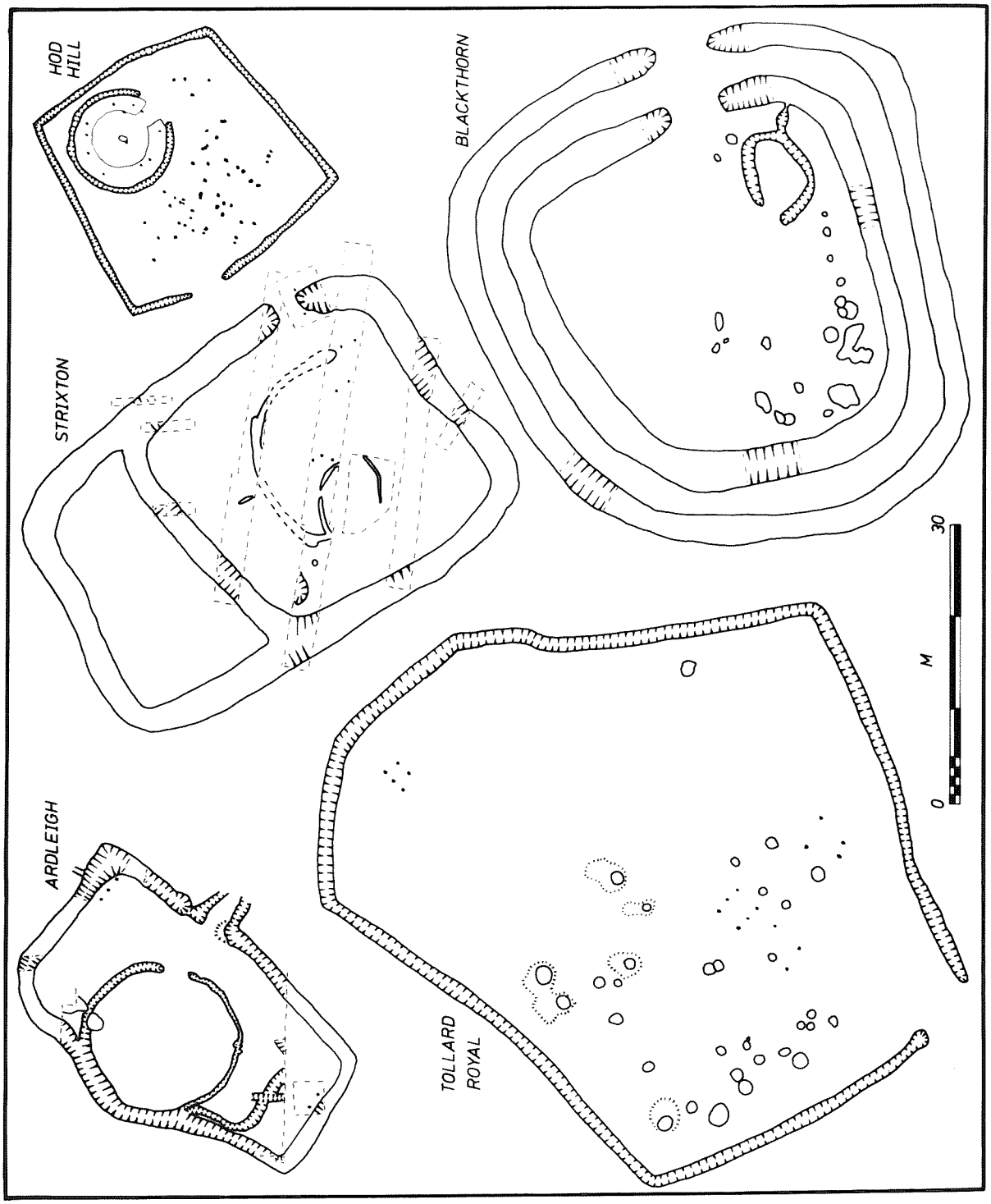


Figure 13: Iron Age Compound Units. (see text for explanation).

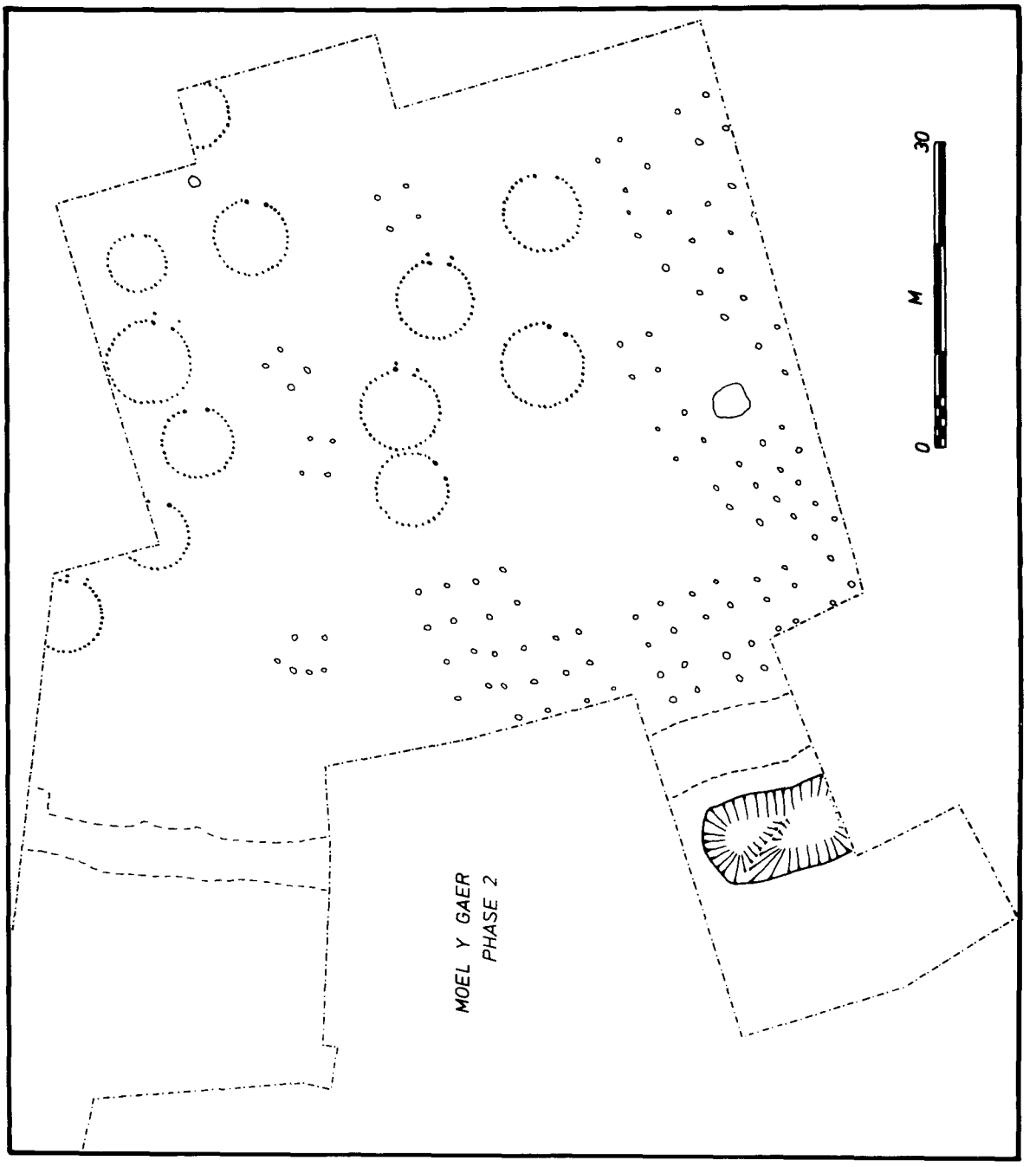


Figure 14: Iron Age Compound Units. (see text for explanation).

social context within the province, and also in terms of the physical structure of villa buildings. From an analysis of Classical literary material Rivet (1969) has defined a villa as a farm integrated into the economic and social framework of the Roman Empire. In contrast to this a definition by Collingwood concerns the physical structure of the buildings of the estate,

> "The villa ... is an isolated farm-house standing on its own land, not clustered with others into a village. Culturally it is more or less thoroughly romanized in architecture and furniture". (Collingwood and Myres, 1945 214).

Villas are usually considered to have been the homes of the tribal elite, whether such an elite developed directly from the pre-conquest situation (as possibly in Essex; Rodwell, 1978B), or from new conditions inherent in the Imperial situation (26).

By contrast to villas native settlements have been neglected in Roman studies. Native settlements are Romanised to a lesser degree than villas, although some Roman traits such as the construction of rectangular buildings and the usage of industrially produced pottery were adopted. Native settlements are commonly of village form, although farmsteads do occur. Works on native settlements include the excavations of a handful of sites: for instance Northfield Farm (Oxfordshire; Haverfield, 1899), Pitt River's sites on Cranborne Chase (Dorset; Hawkes, 1947), Chalton (Hampshire; Cunliffe, 1973) and Claydon Pike (Gloucestershire; Miles and Palmer, 1982).

Major towns have claimed much attention from Romanists (see Rivett, 1969; Wacher, 1974 etc). This is a consequence of the character of major towns firstly as the main administrative centres of the civitas, and secondly as the main centres of Romanisation. By contrast minor towns, which appear to have been very common within the province (24), have received little attention (Rivet, 1969; Todd, 1970; Frere, 1975; Webster, 1975). This lack of attention to minor towns is probably a consequence of the fact that the sites are unimpressive in material terms (with the excep-

tion of walled examples) and that the sites are harder to explain in terms of origin and function than are major towns.

It would seem that the tradition in Romano-British archaeology is to put emphasis on the Roman aspects of the province at the expense of the British. Villas and major towns, which are recognisably Roman institutions, receive attention at the expense of native settlements and minor towns. In addition an emphasis is put upon buildings and material culture (pottery, coins, metalwork), as if these are in some way more "Roman" than enclosures and field systems.

Many Romanists have recognised the unhealthy bias of such an approach; however the bias continues to be significant. In addition to this criticism I would argue that the traditional approach to Roman archaeology is based on the misuse of literary sources. Literary sources give some information on the origins and functions of major towns and villas (see Frere, 1967; Rivet, 1959, 1969; Percival, 1976), and some Romanists believe there to be little point in speculating further. Towns were a gift by the establishment to the natives, and an institution in the absence of which no civilization could exist. Villas were the homes of progressive individuals who were endowed with landed wealth and economic capital, these individuals naturally aspired to Roman ideals.

Many Classicists thus believe that Classical sources provide a mould into which material data should be forced (Frere, 1975; for an explicit formulation of this point see Rivet, 1969, 175). I would disagree on the basis firstly of the ideological content of the Roman sources, and secondly because of their irrelevance to the British scene. The idea that towns represented the generous gift of a liberal administration can be seen as propaganda aimed to justify the construction of an exploitative administrative system in the provinces (in a similar manner Tacitus discussing the creation of a civitas amongst the Frisians talks of the creation of the administrative structure, but

neglects to mention the imposition of taxation; Annals, 9:19). To visualise a villa owner as a wealthy individual who aspires to Classical Italian norms is only part of the story, for we may not visualise Imperialism as instantaneously transforming everything into a mirror image of itself (25). We shall see below that Britain remained distinctly British (why else study Roman Britain at all?), and research requires the analysis of social transformation in terms of the articulation of indigenous structures under Roman influence.

Given these criticisms of Romano-British archaeology we can turn to some approaches to settlement analysis that are interesting and enlightening. Firstly some approaches to the analysis of the single site will be reviewed, and then some attempts to account for regional patterns are discussed.

Applebaum (1958, 1963) has argued that basilican/aisled villas and villa outbuildings can relate to the existence of some form of headmanship. The argument is derived from a consideration of the antecedents of these aisled buildings; such buildings in Germany and Celtic Ireland/Wales seem commonly to have been the homes of groups of kin or associates under one leader (Hadman, 1978; Todd, 1975; Seebohm, 1913). The aisled villa may represent the existence of a group of kin/clients/slaves dependent on an individual who held rights to an estate. Applebaum has suggested that the situation in which a winged corridor villa is constructed alongside a pre-existing aisled building (eg Sparsholt; Johnson, 1978 and Winterton; Goodburn, 1978), and also the situation in which the headmans appartments within an aisled building are elaborated (as supposedly at Exning; Applebaum, 1963, 4) indicate increased inequality within the social system.

One interpretation for the function of the hall villa is that they represented the homes of the headmen of lineages, and that the hall of the villa was used for

communal gatherings and feasts (Percival, 1976, 135). In other words both aisled and hall villas could relate to the existence of lineage structure, and to the appropriation of an estate by the lineage head. Therefore, the presence of aisled/hall villas in some areas of Southern Britain, and absence in others, could be related to the presence and absence (respectivly) of lineage structure in society.

Aisled villas are fairly common in some areas of Southern Britain (Smith DJ, 1978). Of the few hall villas in Britain a concentration of about ten examples is known in Gloucestershire/Somerset (Smith DJ, 1978). Branigan (1973B) has sought the explanation for this concentration of hall villas in an influx of Gallic settlers into the Gloucestershire area in the third century AD. However, on the basis of the arguments above it would seem possible to suggest that the form of this small group of villas may indicate a different structure of kinship relations in this area, than elsewhere in Southern Britain.

If these points are valid, then the form of the Romano-British villa is partly a consequence of the structure of indigenous society. As a consequence we may conclude that the process of Romanisation of Britain involved the articulation of modes of production rather than the direct replacement of a Celtic by a Roman mode (25).

iv) Romano-British Settlement Research at the Scale of the Region.

Enough work has been conducted into the analysis of regional patterns of settlement distribution to indicate that the types of approaches considered in the previous Chapter might be of value; however, such studies are restricted in number. Some useful research has been conducted into the relationship between villas and villages. Collingwood produced a form of homogeneous region model for villa/village distribution. Collingwood argued that the relationship of villas to villages was not tenurial, but that regions in which villas and villages occurred represented distinct and

independent systems.

> "The village-economy was rigid and unprogressive because of the minute subdivision of land and the smallness of capital commanded by any individual made reform all but impossible. The more substantial and independent farmers ... were dwellers in isolated farms. These independent farmers, after the conquest, by degrees acquired Roman ways of living, and their farms became Roman villas ..." (Collingwood and Myres, 1945, 214).

Therefore villa regions (such as the Cotswolds) and village regions (for instance Cranbourne Chase/Salisbury Plain and the Upper Thames valley) occur (op cit, 217), and these represent distinct and independent systems (Figure 15).

An alternative model is rather more in the manner of a heterogeneous region model. Stevens (1966), utilising the work of Jones (1961A, 1961B, 1961C), has argued that Roman influence over the whole of Southern Britain was superficial. Stevens has attempted to use the Welsh law tracts to interpret settlement patterns.

One type of system involves free kin-holdings, in Welsh titled "gwely". These free kin groups owed rent and dues to the lord of an administrative district. Land, however, was owned by the gwely as a whole; and sons had equal rights to the lands of their father. The system tended, according to Stevens, towards dispersed settlement.

By contrast the tref gyfrif system involved groups of bondmen tied to land that was not their own. As in the gwely system, rent and dues were owed to the lord of the district. Groups of bondmen lived in hamlets and tilled land in common under this system of tenure.

Stevens argued, from a relatively superficial review of the settlement data, that in the South and East of Britain farmsteads predominated, representing a structure of multiple gwely units. In contrast to the North and West nucleated settlements and isolated farmsteads represent the homes of bond communities and the lords of the districts respectivly. Stevens argued that "wealthy" villas (courtyard villas and villas with exotic mosaics) tended to occur in

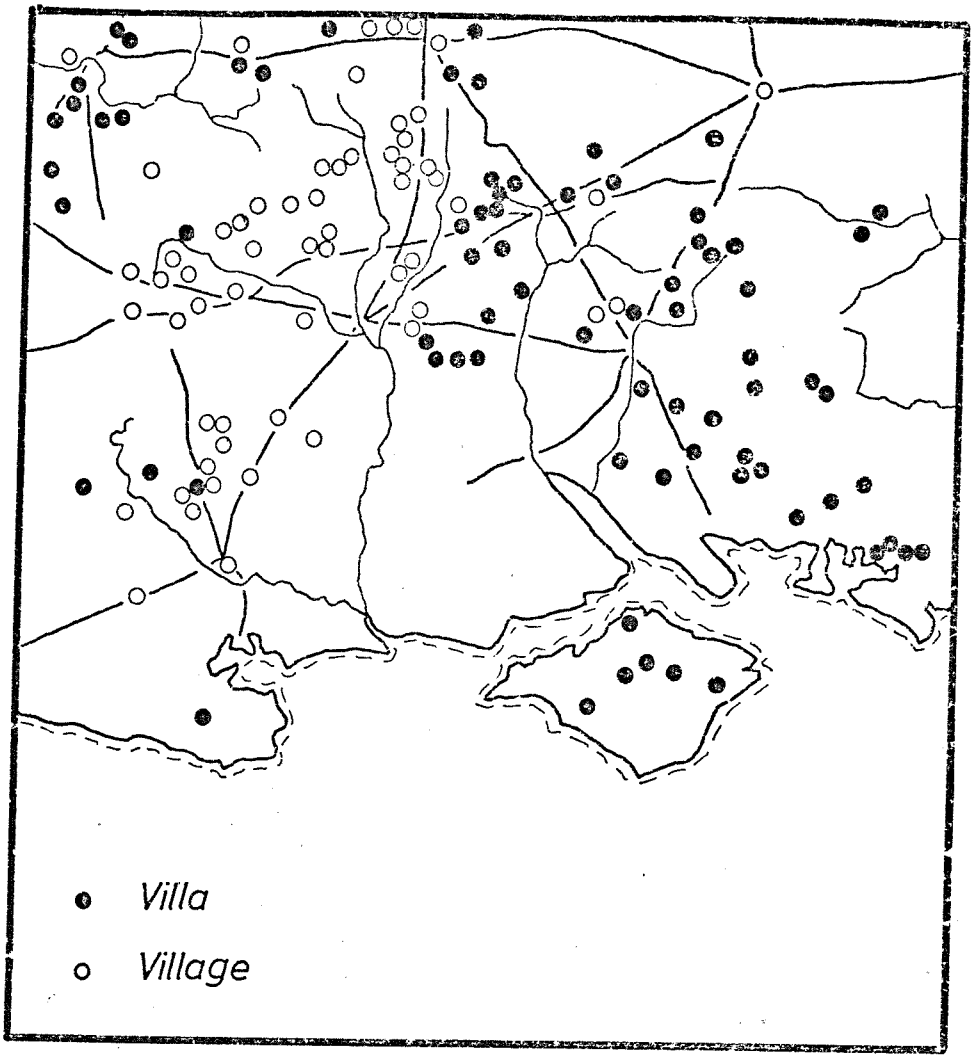


Figure 15: Villa/Village Distribution in Southern England (after Collingwood and Myres, 1945).

regions with tref gyfrif tenure, while in the South and East only "poor" villas develop from the gwely system.

The case study below would seem to support Collingwood's model rather than Stevens'. Two distinct social/economic zones appear to have existed in the Upper Thames valley; and there is much support for Collingwood's proposals that the density of population and the structure of society inhibited development in some regions.

However we must retain reservations over dismissing the concept of tenurial relations within Romano-British society. While it would seem that some of the less wealthy villas of Southern Britain could have developed without the exploitation of large numbers of slaves/bondmen, the extent and luxury of some villas must indicate large scale relations of tenure and slavery. Some direct evidence for estates is known in Gaul (Joulin, 1901; Fouet, 1969), and Applebaum has argued for similar "peripheral distributions" of holdings around villas in the Basingstoke region (1953, 127).

The model drawn from the Welsh law-tracts, and the "peripheral holdings" model represent heterogeneous region models (43). In addition such models have been applied in an attempt to reconstruct the structure of the Roman civitas. In Chapter 3 an attempt to apply central place theory to the Romano-British settlement evidence was reviewed. In addition Hodder and Millett (1980) and Grigson and Ray (Unpublished) have studied villa distribution in relation to towns.

Finally attempts have been made to fit the lowest order market centre model (24) to the data from Roman-Britain (see Hodder, 1972; Rodwell, 1975 and Hingley, Forthcoming B). It would appear that the distribution of such sites in Essex (Figure 16), and in the South Midlands (Figure 17) fit the model.

v) Summary of Chapter 4.

This review of later prehistoric and Romano-British settlement research has demonstrated the value of the single site and regional methods of settlement analysis reviewed in

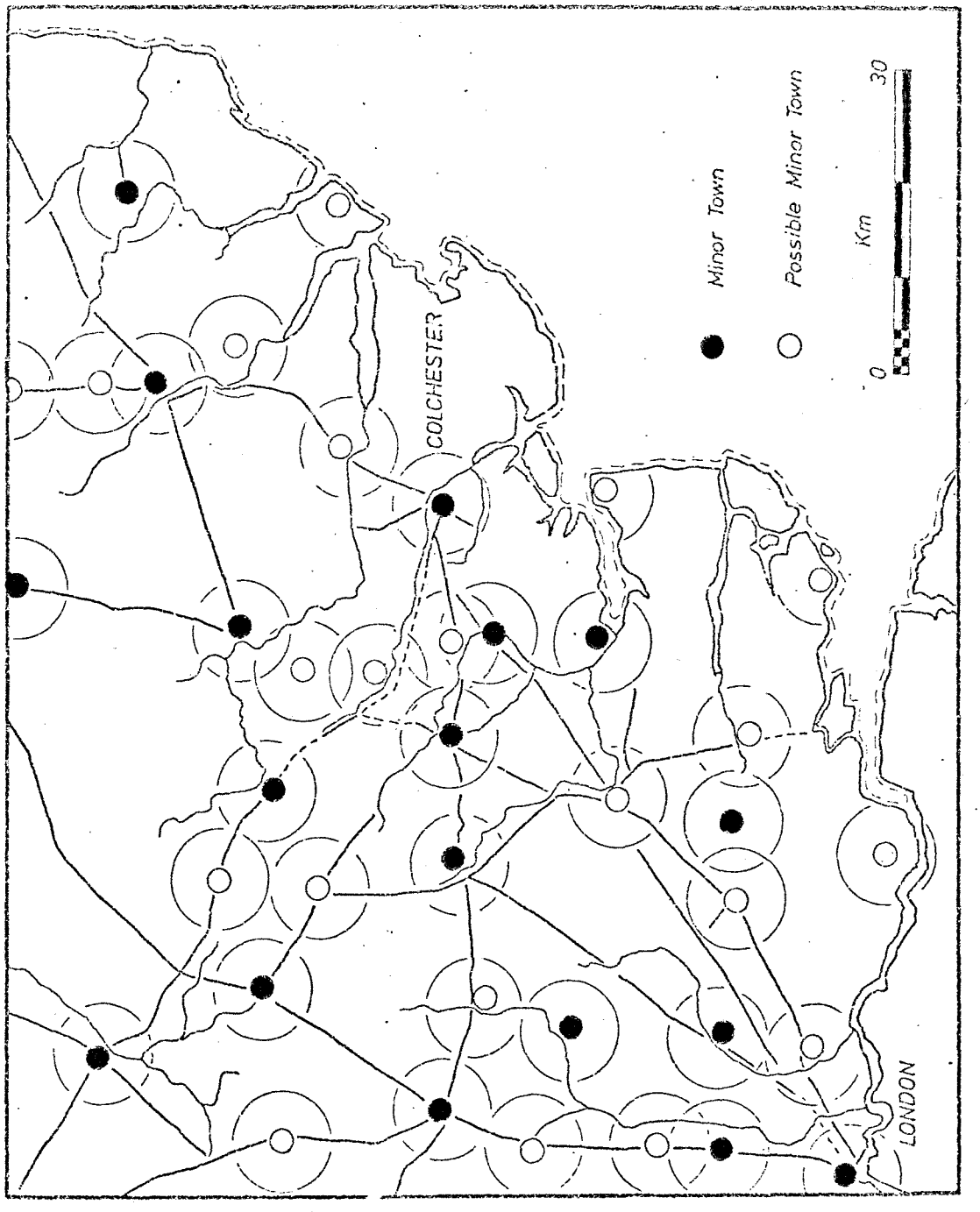


Figure 16: Roman Minor Towns in Eastern England (after Rodwell, 1975; circles show potential 5 km market territories).

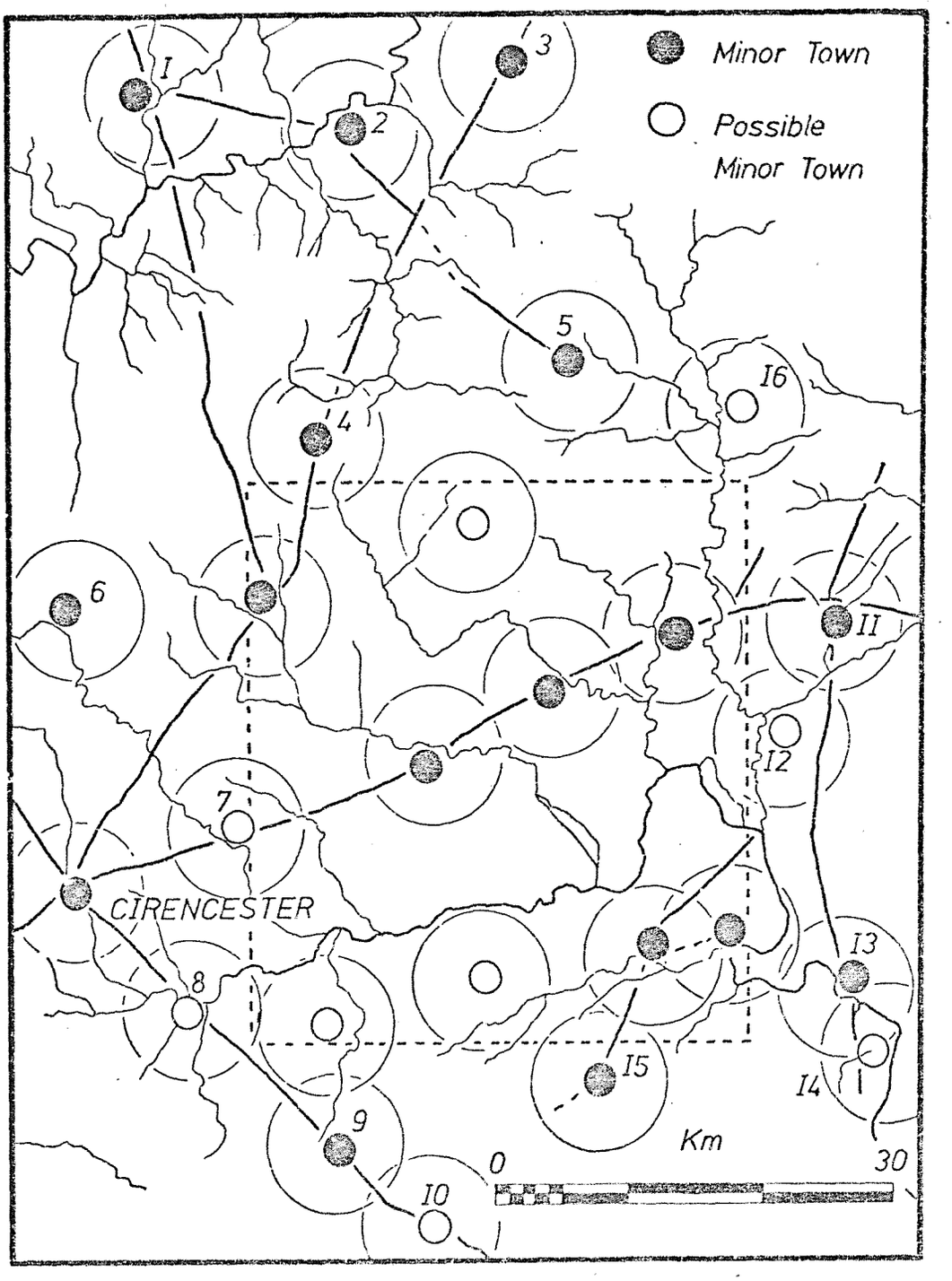


Figure 17: Roman Minor Towns in the South Midlands, (after Hingley, Forthcoming F).

Chapter 3.

No detailed attempt has been made to apply the theory of buffer zones, or the model for the social relevance of nucleated verses dispersed settlement, since the information is not available to test these models against the settlement record. However we have seen the potential of the sociologically motivated study of the use of space at the scale of the single settlement.

When examined in the light of the model for Celtic society reviewed in Chapter 2, the information considerd in this Chapter is of interest. It seems possible to propose that multiple unit compounds typify the lineage based societies of later prehistory, and that single unit settlements typify societies with kindred (or perhaps tribal) structure. In addition the existence of aisled and hall villas in Southern Britain in the Roman period may indicate the survival of lineage relations.

Regional models have also been studied in relation to the settlement evidence. Explicit attempts to utilise homogenous region models are rare, Collingwood's villa/village model providing the only obvious example. In addition heterogeneous region models have been briefly discussed. Particularly useful are the models that attempt to account for the structure of settlement distribution in terms of social and administrative factors.

PART TWO:

THE CASE STUDY.

Chapter Five:
The Natural Environment and Regional Context of the Survey Region.

The purpose of this Chapter is to introduce the survey region in terms of its context within Southern Britain, and also to discuss the natural environment/ecology of the region.

In Chapter 3 the significance of the environment was reviewed in terms of the constraints that it placed on human social systems. The section on the environment of Iron Age/Romano-British man in the Upper Thames Valley involves a discussion of factors such as soil type, climate, vegetation cover. In addition the context of a region is significant in that the position of a social system within a wider regional system of interaction does much to determine the structure of that social system (see Chapter 2). The section on the context of the region involves the analysis of social dynamics and the situation of the region within a broader context.

The survey region, with which this case study is concerned, lies in the Upper Thames Valley (Figure 18). The region is 35 km from east to west, and 40 km from north to south (a total of 1400 km^2 in area). The region includes the modern towns of Oxford, Witney, Chipping Norton, Woodstock, Faringdon, Lechlade, Highworth and Abingdon. The Eastern four-fifths of the survey region is in the modern county of Oxfordshire, while the Western edge includes parts of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire.

In terms of previous archaeological work, the survey region includes about half of the area discussed by Harding in his thesis (1972). I have not included the area on Harding's map (see Figure 43) to the East of the river Cherwell, or the Berkshire Downs in my survey.

One significance of this area is the river Thames, which runs from east to west across the region. The river may have been a major artery of communication in the Iron

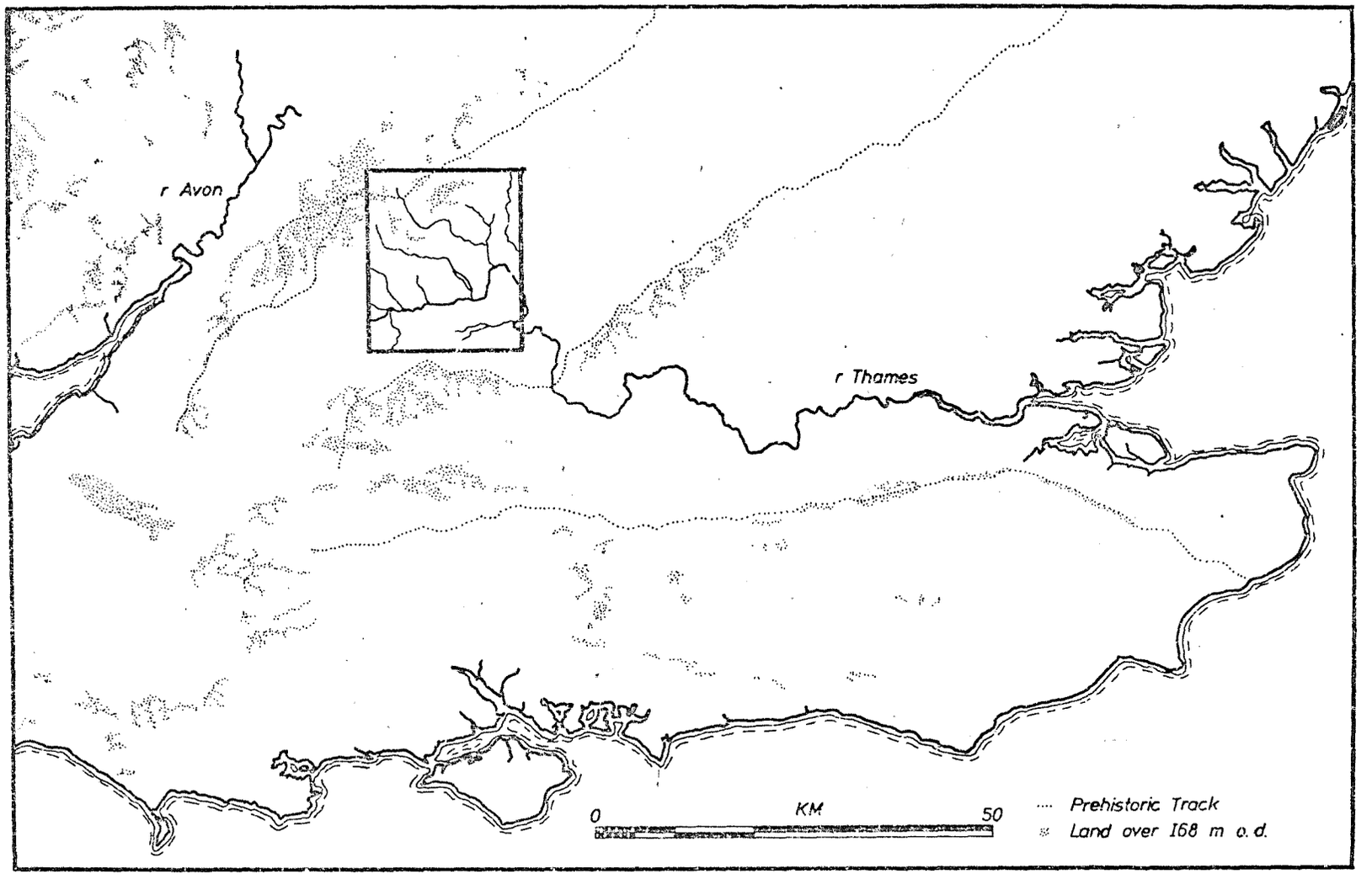


Figure 18: The Location of the Survey Region in Southern Britain.

Age/Roman periods. However, in contrast to Harding, no attempt has been made here to select a region with well defined natural boundaries (1972, 3). The approach in this thesis was to take a transect across a series of ecological regions, and try to establish significant social entities within the overall transect. The rectangular nature of the boundaries of the survey region indicates the arbitrary nature of the selection of boundaries.

i) The Natural Enviroment and the Distribution of Human Population.

Harding dealt fairly swiftly with the natural enviroment of the survey region (1972, 6-10); this was largely due to the paucity of the evidence relating to the Iron Age enviroment. However the significance of enviromental constraints to the structure of social systems (43) necessitates that we attempt to make the best of a bad set of data, in terms of a relatively protracted discussion.

Climate.

In order to put the Iron Age and Roman periods in context we shall consider climatic change from the Late Neolithic onwards. A general decline in temperature may, from pollen evidence, have began as early as 2400 BC; and this decline continued into the first millenium BC. It seems, however, that periods of warm, dry weather intervened in the general trend towards a colder, wetter climate (Tinsley and Grigson, 1981, 215).

The Early Bronze Age falls into this period of deteriorating climatic conditions; although at this time the climate was warmer than it is today. Wind-blown silts in the ditches of round barrows/ring ditches on the gravel at Stanton Harcourt and Cassington may indicate, i) drought, and also possibly ii) a lack of vegetation cover in this area due to intensive agricultural exploitation (Cornwall, 1953; Evans, 1975, 114).

A sudden and marked decline in temperature, and increased rainfall began towards the start of the first millenium BC,

and lasted for about 500 years. This wet and cold period would seem to have been followed by a drier period lasting from about 400 BC to AD 450 (Turner, 1981, 261).

Within the survey region the distribution of precipitation is closely related to relief. In general the gravel areas and the Corallian Ridge to the south of the region have less rainfall (<27·5 inches) than the uplands to the north of the region (<30 inches; Smith, 1954).

Geology.

The survey region lies across the central part of a band of Mesozoic rock which outcrops from Dorset north eastwards to the latitude of the Wash, and then to the Humber and Yorkshire. The solid geography of the area includes a large number of Jurassic and Cretaceous sediment sheets; these sheets have a dip of a few degrees to the south east. The sheets are tilted so that each disappears south east under the next overlying one (Edwards, 1954). The main series of deposits are the Jurassic system of clay vales and limestone uplands (Curtis, Courtenay and Trudgill, 1976).

Drift geology (Figure 19) follows solid geology, while the actual drift deposits in the area are glacial or alluvial. Plateau drift consists of erratic pebbles and boulders; these occur high on the sides of valleys and at interfluves (primarily in the north of the region; Sandford, 1954). Alluvial drift includes the four gravel terraces of the river Thames (Figure 20). The oldest is the Handborough (fourth) terrace, which lies about 40 m above the present level of the river Thames. The Wolvercote (third) terrace is about 15 m above the Thames. The Summertown-Radley (second) terrace is about 8 m above the Thames. The first terrace is just above the present level of the Thames, and is overlain in some places by floodplain gravels. These gravel terraces are derived from calcareous material which came from the limestones to the north of the survey region. The rivers that have brought the gravels (the Cherwell, Windrush and Evenlode) have created terraces of their own in restricted localities

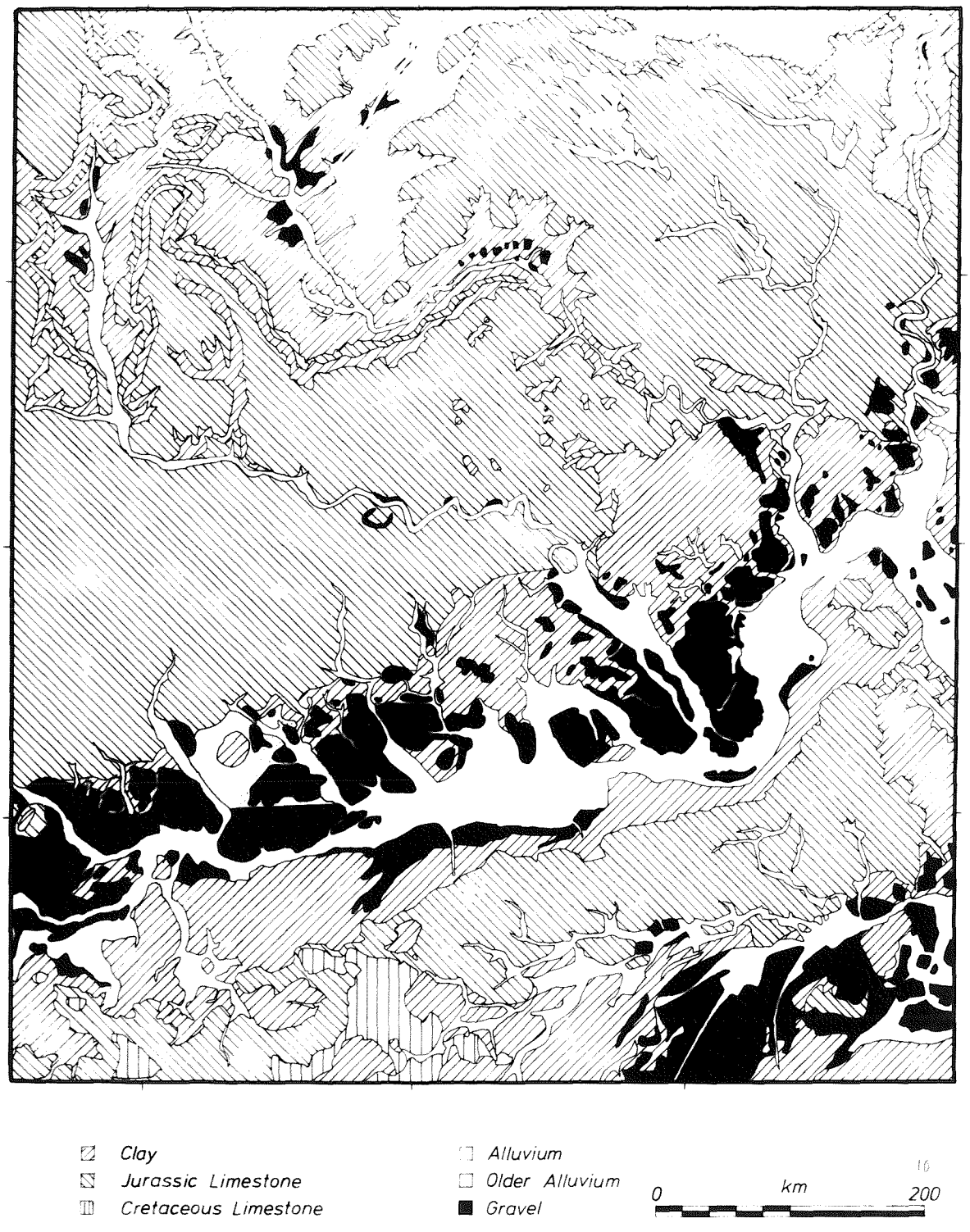


Figure 19: Drift Geology of the Survey Region.

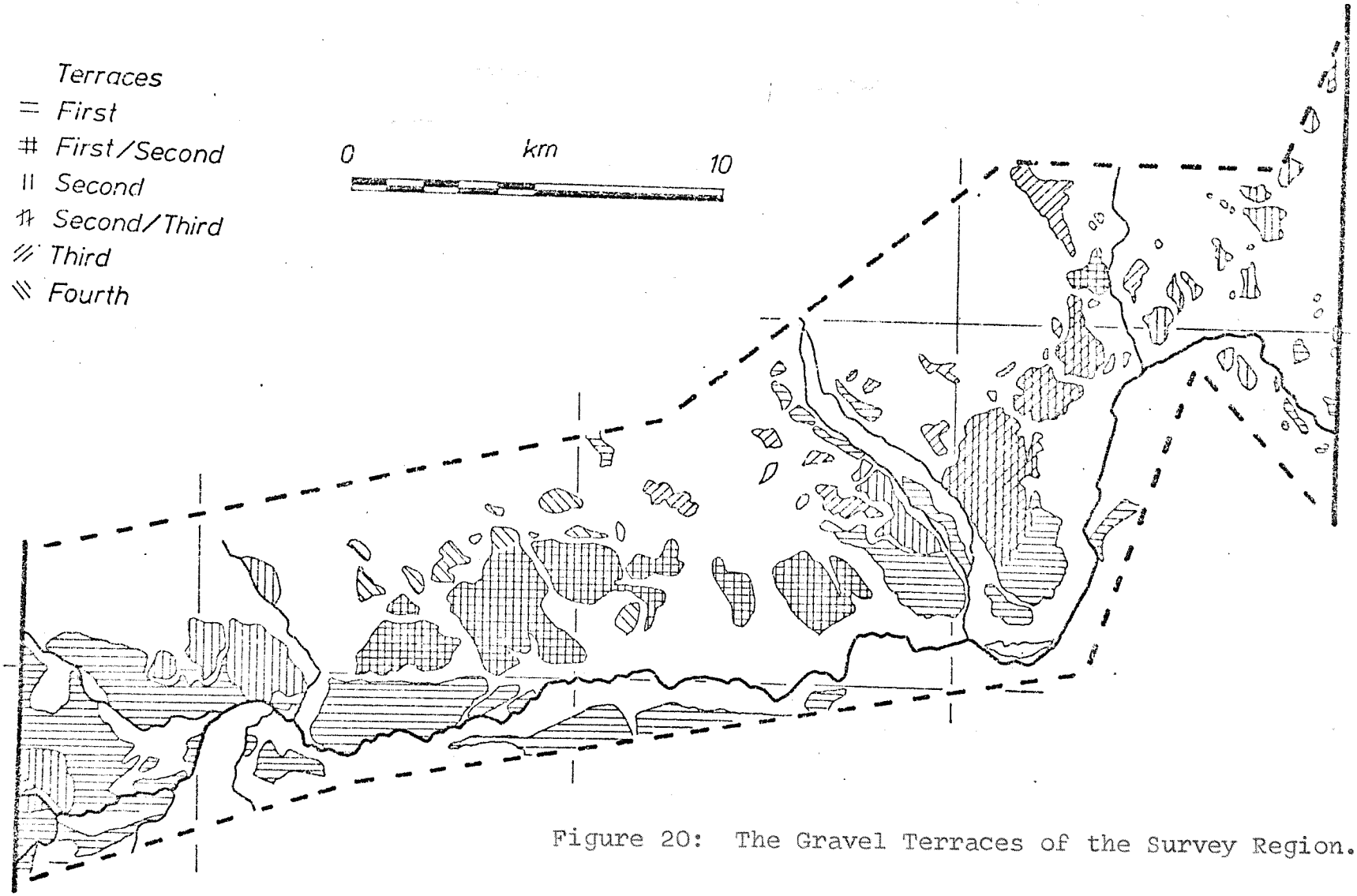


Figure 20: The Gravel Terraces of the Survey Region.

(Sandford, 1954). In addition the river Ock has laid down gravels to the south of the survey region in the Vale of the White Horse.

Relief and Drainage.

The survey region includes two limestone ridges and parts of two clay vales. To the north are the limestone uplands of the eastern Cotswolds/Oxford Heights (titled the Cotswolds in this thesis for want of a better term, although the main escarpment of the Cotswolds is to the west). This area forms a continuous range of hills, but is divided into a series of interfluves by rivers flowing south into the Thames.

To the south of the Thames is the Corallian Ridge. In the south west of the survey region the Ridge is divided into a series of steep sided hills; the Ridge is breached by the Thames to the south of Oxford at the Sandford Gap.

The Cotswold escarpment is divided from the Corallian Ridge by the clay vale of the river Thames. This vale, the Oxford Clay Vale, is relatively low lying, and soils vary from wet (clay) to light (gravels). To the south of the Corallian Ridge, in the south of the survey area, is the Vale of the White Horse. In this vale soils are again heavy where they are not overlain by gravel.

The region forms much of the catchment of the Upper Thames. An arbitrary boundary was selected to define the region on the west, as the Thames actually originates 15 km further to the west. All the major rivers in the survey area flow into the Thames. The Evenlode, Windrush and Cherwell flow south into the Thames from the north of the region. The Evenlode and the Windrush, together with their tributaries, have carved steep sided valleys into the oolitic limestone of the Cotswolds in the north of the region (Berkinsale, 1954).

In the south of the region the river Ock forms the main arterial drainage in the Vale of the White Horse. This river has a large catchment, but only a limited fall (Jarvis, 1973).

Soil Properties/Physiographic Regions.

Orr has provided useful accounts of the soils of the region (1916, 1918). Orr, along with Pizer (1931) and Jarvis (1973) have discussed soils in relation to drainage and fertility. In general soils on the Corallian Ridge and the Cotswolds are light, while soils in the two clay vales are heavy and hard to work. An exception to the connection drawn between valley soils and heaviness are the alluvial gravels of the rivers Thames and Ock.

A consideration of soils and soil properties enables the isolation of a number of physiographic regions in the survey area (Figure 21). These regions are derived from a consideration of land use in the historic past (prior to the advent of industrial farming). One major point of significance is the division between badly drained and freely drained soils, as this seems rather marked in the survey area.

In general, the soil divisions/agricultural divisions of the area coincide with the main geological formations, as influenced by local topography (Pizer, 1931, 62). Five regions can be defined:

i) The Vale of the White Horse,
ii) The Corallian Ridge,
iii) The Oxford Clay Vale,
iv) The Gravel deposits in the Oxford Clay Vale.
v) The Cotswold Uplands.

The soils of the Vale of the White Horse are mostly heavy and poorly drained. Jarvis has estimated that 90% present problems of drainage (1973). This is a consequence of the heavy nature of these clay soils combined with the limited fall of the river Ock between Baulking and Abingdon. The west of the region has been much used in historic times for pasture (Orr, 1918, 13). At the south west of the survey region gravels have been lain down at the junction of the Ock with the Thames; and historically farming has been more mixed (Jarvis, 1973 although a high water table makes the soils rather liable to flooding; Pizer, 1931).

The Corallian Ridge is an area of contrasting but, on

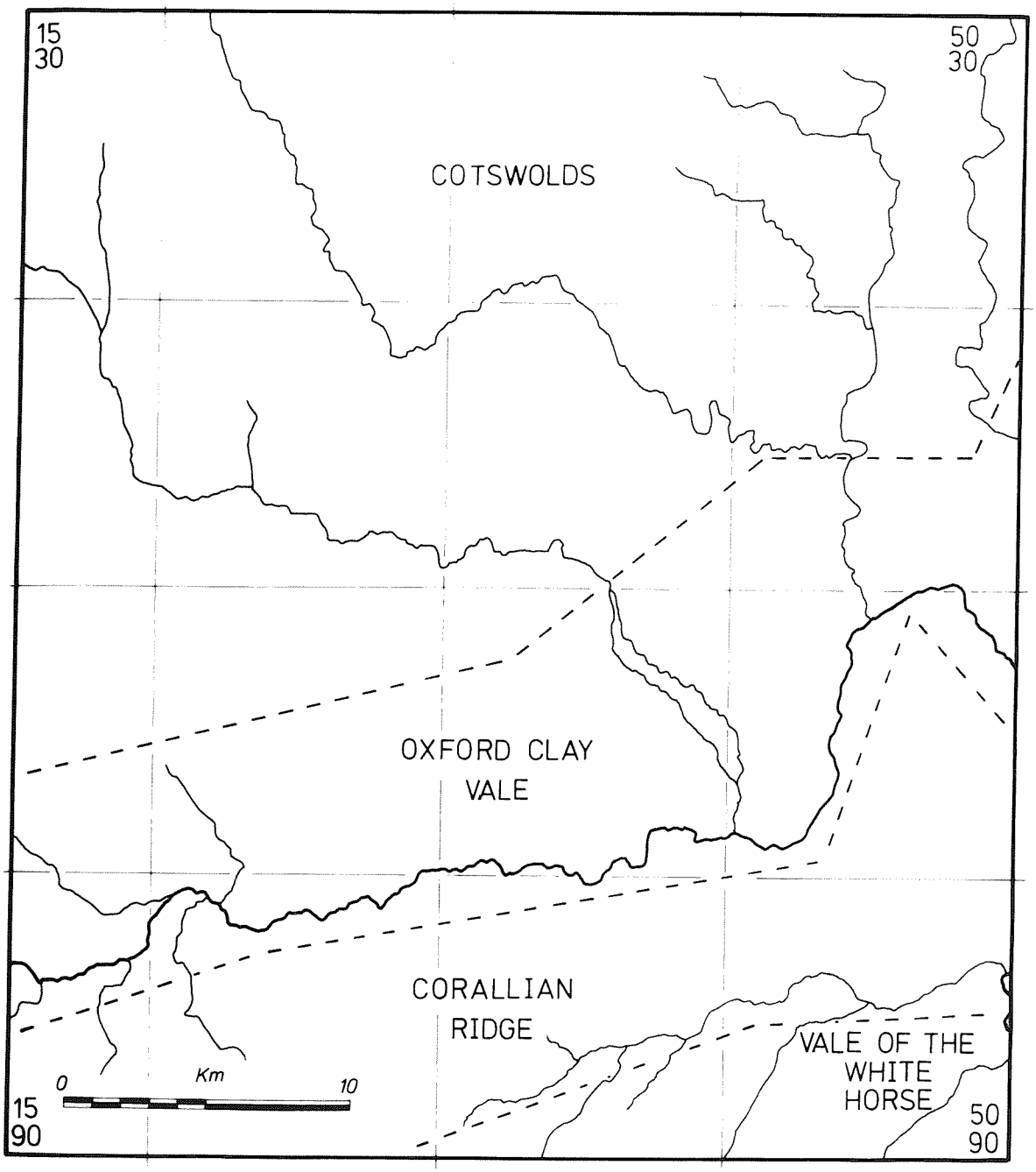


Figure 21: Physiographic Areas of the Survey Region.

the whole, fairly light soils. Historically arable agriculture has been significant (Orr, 1918; Jarvis, 1973). The water table is fairly low, and drought of crops is fairly common on some soils in the summer months. In the east of the region, near Wytham and Cumnor, the ridge becomes very hilly and sandy soils are common.

The Oxford Clay Vale is in two bands. To the south of the Thames, at the foot of the Corallian Ridge, is a band of clay. This band of clay is separated by a discontinuous band of gravel to the north of the river from a second band of clayland; this second band separates the gravels of the Vale from the Cotswold escarpment. The clay soils are poorly structured (Jarvis, 1973), and are also subject to regular flooding. The clays to the south of the Thames have severe drainage problems, those to the north are also wet and poorly drained. Orr records this land to have been mostly under pasture (1916, 45).

The Gravel deposits of the Oxford Clay Vale are, by contrast to the clays, valuable land for arable exploitation. These soils are mostly easy to work, freely draining and high in loam content. The second to fourth terraces are above the usual height of the Thames winter flood. These terraces were favoured sites for Medieval settlements. This was due to their agricultural productivity, and also because while well drained, they provide a ready supply of water. The second terrace is particularly favoured in these respects (Pocock, 1926, 127).

The floodplain gravel and first terrace gravels are liable to flooding, and were more so before the Thames was canalised (Orr, 1916; Pocock, 1926). Evidence from a round barrow/ring ditch at Kings Weir, Wytham (Bowler and Robinson, 1980) and a Beaker site at the Hamel, Oxford (Palmer, 1980) indicates a lower water table on the floodplain in the Bronze Age than today. The Hamel evidence also appears to indicate that the soil was more freely draining in the Bronze Age (Robinson, 1980). Evidence from Farmoor indicates that by the Middle Iron Age conditions on

the floodplain were more like those of today (Lambrick and Robinson, 1979).

In the Medieval period the floodplain and much of the first terrace was utilised as pasture (Orr, 1916; Sturdy, 1963). The floodplain pasture has a high watertable and this allows the grass to grow throughout the summer months without withering (Lambrick and Robinson, 1979, 125).

The Cotswold Uplands are separated sharply from the Oxford Clay Vale. In this area cornbrash soils predominate. In general the cornbrash is a valuable soil for crop production; although the soil in fact varies in quality from area to area. In some areas (particularly the north west of the survey region) much of the cornbrash is shallow and brashy (Orr, 1916, 49). Despite the quality of the cornbrash sheep seem to have been important on the Cotswolds. Arable agriculture seems to have taken second place over much of the area until this century (Orr, 1916; Curtis, Courtenay and Trudgill, 1976). In historical times the Cotswolds were relatively heavily wooded (97), with the vast area of the royal forest of Wychwood lying in the central northern part of the survey area.

Valley bottoms, particularly those of rivers that have cut deep valleys into the lower lias clay, provide valuable meadow land. The best arable in the Cotswolds is commonly on hill slopes (Barker and Webley, 1978).

The characters of the five physiographic regions provide constraints and opportunities for human social systems. However the environmental conditions are only operative if the potential resources are utilised. Thus it would seem that certain areas within the survey region were heavily exploited while others were hardly settled at all, and the explanation for this phenomenon is not purely ecological.

At this point we shall examine the sequence of landscape history, begining with the evidence for woodland clearance, then the evidence for agricultural exploitation and finally the evidence for the distribution of population.

Woodland Clearance.

Evidence for woodland clearance in the region is sparse (Figure 22). In the Mesolithic/Neolithic clearances over much of Southern Britain were small and temporary (Simmons, 1981, 266-7). The only evidence for Mesolithic activity in the survey region comes from Cothill Fen, where a possible clearance is indicated (Bradley and Ellison, 1975). For the Neolithic period evidence for some form of clearance came from the excavation of a long barrow at Ascott under Wychwood (Dimbleby and Evans, 1974; Evans, 1971). Evidence for the gravels and the Corallian Ridge is absent in this period.

Evidence for the Bronze Age is scarse. On the gravels at Ashville excavation of a ring ditch produced snails typical of a dry environment (Robinson, 1978). In addition hawthorn/blackthorn charcoal was found in a cremation pit and may indicate the existence of some form of transient agriculture, or thorny hedge rows in the area (Jones, 1978). At City Farm, Hanborough species of snail typical of open, grassy, fairly dry land were found in the fill of two ring ditches (Cain, 1964). The evidence of wind-blown sand deposits at Stanton Harcourt and Cassigton (92) probably indicates fairly full clearance of wood-land.

For the Iron Age the most complete evidence for conditions has been recovered from intensive archaeological research on the gravels. At City Farm, Hanborough mollusca indicate a grass-land environment, perhaps with patches of scrubb or copses in the Iron Age (Harding, 1972, 8). On the floodplain, at Farmoor the Middle Iron Age settlement was in a fairly open environment (Lambrick and Robinson, 1978), while at the floodplain site of Minge's Ditch there was a large quantity of scrubb like vegetation in the area around the site (Lambrick, 1978). Biological remains from peat at the Middle Iron Age site of Claydon Pike would seem to indicate a fairly open landscape, and it would appear that this landscape was primarily turned over to pasture (Miles and Palmer, 1982, 7).

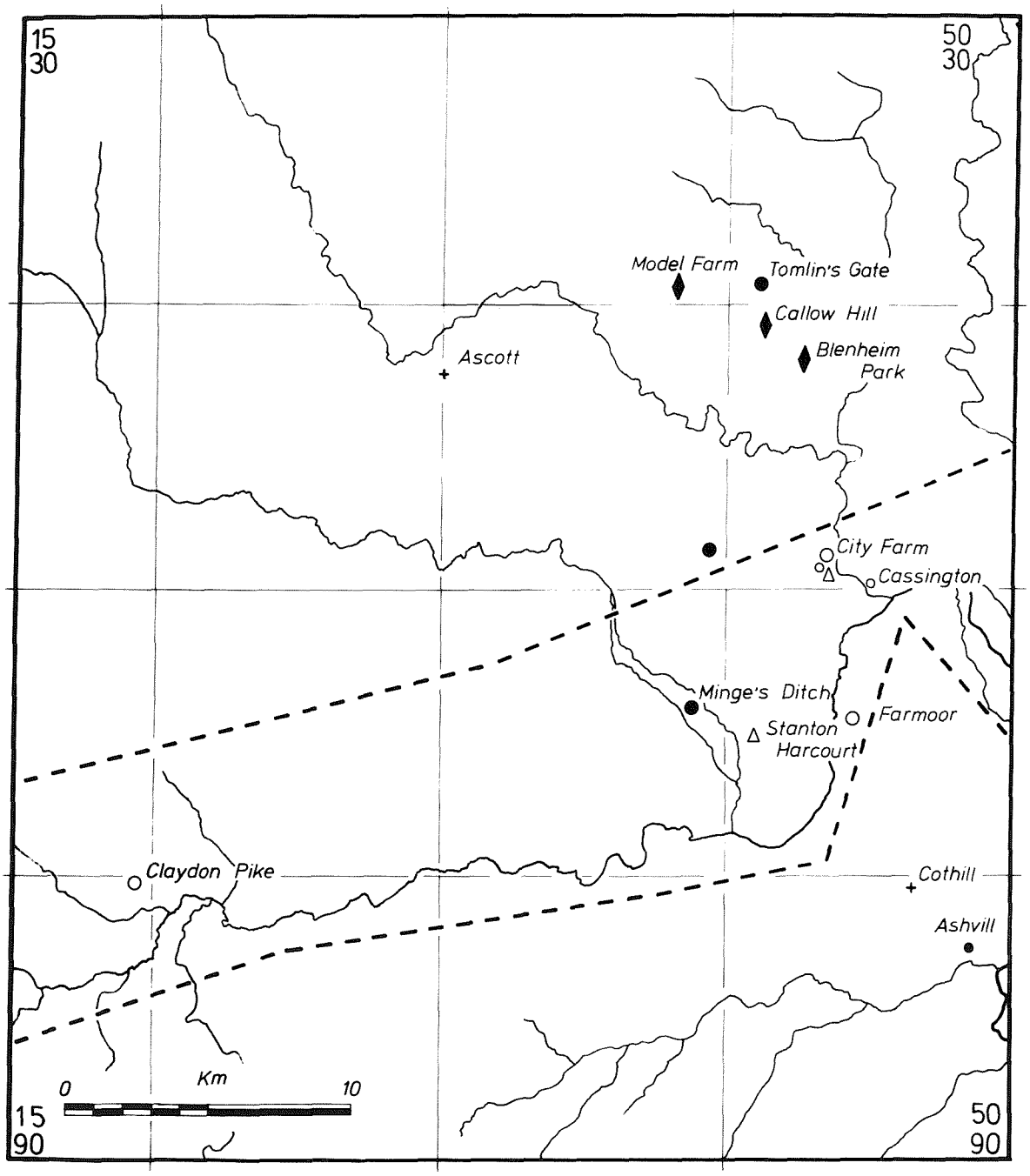


Figure 22: Evidence for Mesolithic to Iron Age Woodland and Woodland Clearance in the Survey Region.

The Bronze Age and Iron Age evidence would appear to indicate fairly open conditions on the gravel terraces, with open pasture and/or scrub on the flood-plain. In the one single case of pollen analysis on the clays of the Oxford Clay Vale quite different results were obtained. In this case the sample came from below the ramparts of a defended enclosure at Eynsham Hall Park, and the sample indicated an oak/hazel forest with some bracken (Woodell, 1972). This evidence may indicate that some of the clay lands of the Upper Thames Valley were heavily wooded in the later prehistoric period.

Little work of an archaeological nature has been undertaken on the Iron Age settlement of the Cotswold uplands. One site that has produced evidence is the middle Iron Age banjo enclosure at Tomlins Gate. A soil sample from the ditch of the enclosure produced mollusca suggesting wooded/shaded conditions (this sample was obtained by the author though excavation in 1981 and kindly examined by Mark Robinson). By contrast some evidence for wind blown silts sealed by the late Iron Age earthwork of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch could indicate extensive clearance and cultivation (these deposits were recorded during excavations at Model Farm and Blenheim Park; see Harden, 1937 and Thomas, 1957). At Model Farm this deposit overlay late Iron Age occupation which was in turn overlain by the bank of the earthwork.

Agriculture and Soils.

The earliest possible evidence for cultivation is on the Thames floodplain at the Hamel, Oxford. This evidence consists of possible plough marks of Bronze Age date (Palmer, 1980). At the Bronze Age site of Ashville at least two species of cereal were present (Jones, 1978). The evidence for wind blown sand deposits at Stanton Harcourt and Cassington could suggest intensive agriculture (Cornwall, 1953).

For the Iron Age there is evidence from a further ring ditch at Stanton Harcourt. The ditch produced wind blown sand containing charcoal flecks and fragments of Iron Age

pottery (Hamlin, 1963, 14). At Ashville cereal agriculture was highly developed in the Early Iron Age. By the Middle Iron Age weed impurities in the crop indicate the practice of double-cropping, and also that the nitrogen level in the soil had dropped from the Early Iron Age situation (Jones, 1978). Finally we have seen the evidence for possible crop production in the Late Iron Age of the Grim's Ditch area of the Cotswolds (92).

Recent work on the alluviation of the Thames and its tributaries has produced possible evidence for the clearance of trees and arable cultivation. At the Hamel a Beaker burial and settlement evidence was overlain by alluvium. Higher up the Thames, and in the Windrush Valley alluviation may be of a later date. At Farmoor a deposit of alluviation sealed a Middle Iron Age settlement (Lambrick and Robinson, 1979). Just to the south of Witney, in the Windrush Valley, a deposit of clay overlying gravel was dated to 2660 $\pm$ 85 years BP (by C^{14} dating of wood; Hazeldene and Jarvis, 1979).

The Distribution of Population.

I wish to combine the evidence for woodland clearance and land use with the archaeological evidence for the distribution of population; the distribution of population can be considered in terms of the five physiographic regions distinguished above. It should be stressed that this discussion can be taken as a provisional model only.

In the Vale of the White Horse evidence for settlement from the Mesolithic through to the Roman period is virtually a blank. Earlier prehistoric monuments are unknown (Figure 23), and later prehistoric/Roman sites are also rare, although a few are known on gravel islands to the east of the Vale.

Harding, following the arguments of Bradford and Goodchild (1939), has suggested that the Clay Vale may have been a no-mans-land, wet and heavily forested (1972, 7). There is no environmental evidence to support this proposition; however some data would seem to support Harding's suggestion. Firstly Cherbury Camp is situated to the

north of the Vale in a situation which may indicate that marshy ground formed an effective defence for the defended enclosure (Arkell, 1939; Bradford, 1940). In addition the Vale forms a border to the distribution of various later prehistoric pottery forms. That the Vale forms a boundary in terms of material culture could support the identification of the area as an area of waste land.

The evidence for the Vale as a boundary for ceramic styles and forms is as follows. Barrett (1980B) has shown that the Vale forms the cut-off point for certain decorative traits current in Wessex in the eighth century BC. In addition other Late Bronze Age ceramic forms, both fine and coarse, appear to respect this line (Barrett, 1975). The division between Cunliffe's "saucepan pot continuum" and his "bowl continuum" lies along this border (1978B, 45), as probably does the division between the Late Iron Age "Atrebatic" wares, and the eastern inspired ceramics of the Upper Thames Valley (Cunliffe, 1978B; Stevens, 1940).

Thus it would seem possible that the Vale marks a major social boundary throughout the first millenium BC. Above it was argued that buffer zones exist between major and competitive social groups (33). Nash has argued that such boundaries among the civitetes of pre-Roman and Roman Gaul followed geographical boundaries, wasteland, marshes and mountains (Unpublished, 113).

If this argument is correct there may have been very little in the way of communication between the Berkshire Downs area and the Corallian Ridge. There seem to be two likely directions in which any such communications might have passed. One route might have been along the Thames, where the gravels of the Oxford Clay Vale run to the foot of the Downs a few kilometres to the east of the survey region. In this area there is an apparent absence of Iron Age settlement on the gravel terraces, and also a series of east-west running boundaries (the major example of which is the Mongwell Grim's ditch; Hinchliffe, 1975). These boundaries may have prevented movement northwards, and thus

have extended the natural barrier of the Vale of the White Horse eastwards beyond the Thames (Figure 77, see 239).

The other main line of communication across the Vale follows a gravel ridge between Wantage (at the foot of the Berkshire Downs), and the Corallian Ridge, with a ford of the river Ock just to the west of the Noah's Ark Inn temple site. This route was followed in the Roman period by a road.

On the Corallian Ridge Neolithic and Bronze Age flint scatters seem quite common, although Neolithic monuments are absent (Figure 23). Round barrows/ring ditches occur, and are distributed mainly singly and in pairs along the length of the Ridge (Figure 24).

No pre Iron Age settlements are known on the Ridge. In fact the history of archaeological research on the Ridge is primarily one of neglect. A series of defended enclosures and a few chance discoveries of open settlements represented the only Iron Age sites available for discussion by Harding (1972, 7). It would now seem probable that sporadic settlement occurred along the Ridge in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, and was fairly dense on the Eastern Corallian Ridge by the Middle Iron Age (Figure 25). By the Roman period further settlement expansion had occurred, and in the third and fourth centuries AD settlement may have been almost continuous along the Ridge.

The clays of the Oxford Clay Vale have produced very little evidence of prehistoric or Romano-British settlement. It can be suggested that the clays, as in the Vale of the White Horse, formed a blank in the distribution of settlement.

By contrast the Gravels of the Oxford Clay Vale appear to have been heavily settled throughout the prehistoric and Roman periods. Major Neolithic monuments include several interrupted ditch systems (Hingley and Darvill, Forthcoming B) and also henges (Benson and Miles, 1974). Long barrows, by contrast, are scarse. Round barrows/ring ditches appear to have been common, and cluster in cemeteries

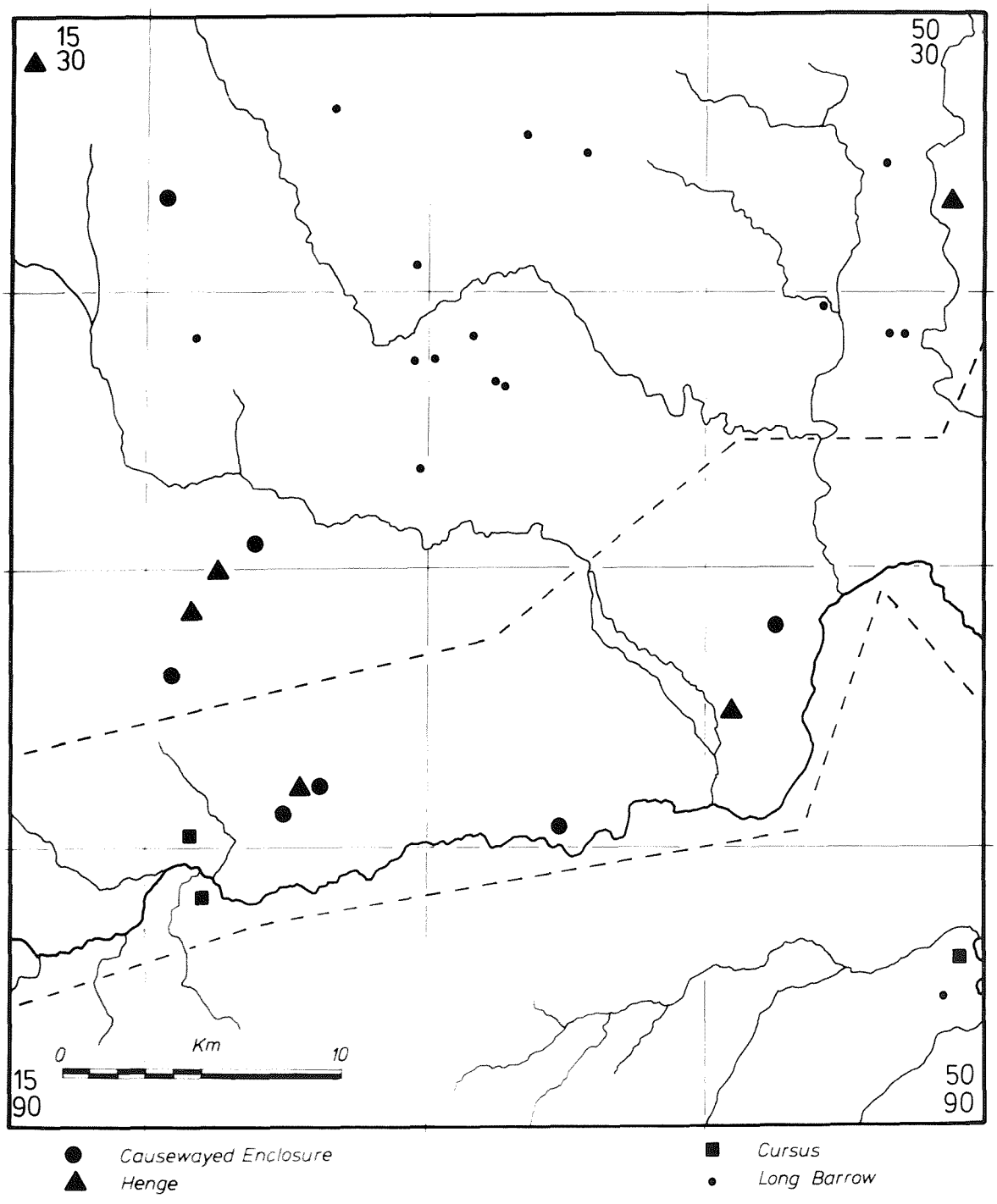


Figure 23: Earlier Prehistoric Monuments of the Survey Region.

(Figure 24). In contrast to these funerary monuments settlements of Bronze Age date are hard to identify (Case, 1963).

Settlement sites of the Iron Age and Roman periods are very common on the gravel. In fact much of the area of gravel terraces appear to have supported continuous settlement (Benson and Miles, 1974; Miles and Palmer, 1982). In contrast to the settlement evidence field systems seem scarce (this is probably because, on land with little in the way of a drainage problem and on which slopes are insignificant lynchets are not created; Miles, 1978). In addition to the gravel terrace settlement there is much evidence for seasonal usage of the floodplain.

In conclusion the gravel terraces were fairly heavily settled throughout the prehistoric and Roman periods (Figure 25).

On the Cotswold Uplands prehistoric settlement seems fairly scarce. For the Neolithic interrupted-ditch systems, henges and long barrows are known (Atkinson, 1948; Brown, 1979; Darvill and Hingley, Forthcoming B) and are fairly common in the west of the region (Figure 23). Round barrows/ring ditches occur singly or in pairs across the area (Figure 24). Settlement sites of the Bronze Age are again elusive.

A number of Late Bronze Age/Iron Age defended enclosures exist on hill tops in the region (Sutton, 1961; Marshall, 1978A). By the middle Iron Age a number of open settlements are known in the Woodstock area, and a gradual clearance of the landscape would seem to have started which continued into the Roman period.

The Cotswolds Uplands may have been fairly heavily wooded in the prehistoric and Roman periods. The earlier prehistoric sites may have been located in clearings in the woodland, while the cluster of Middle/Late Iron Age sites in the Woodstock area may have represented an island of cleared land in an otherwise wooded landscape. By the Roman period the woodland would seem to have been cut

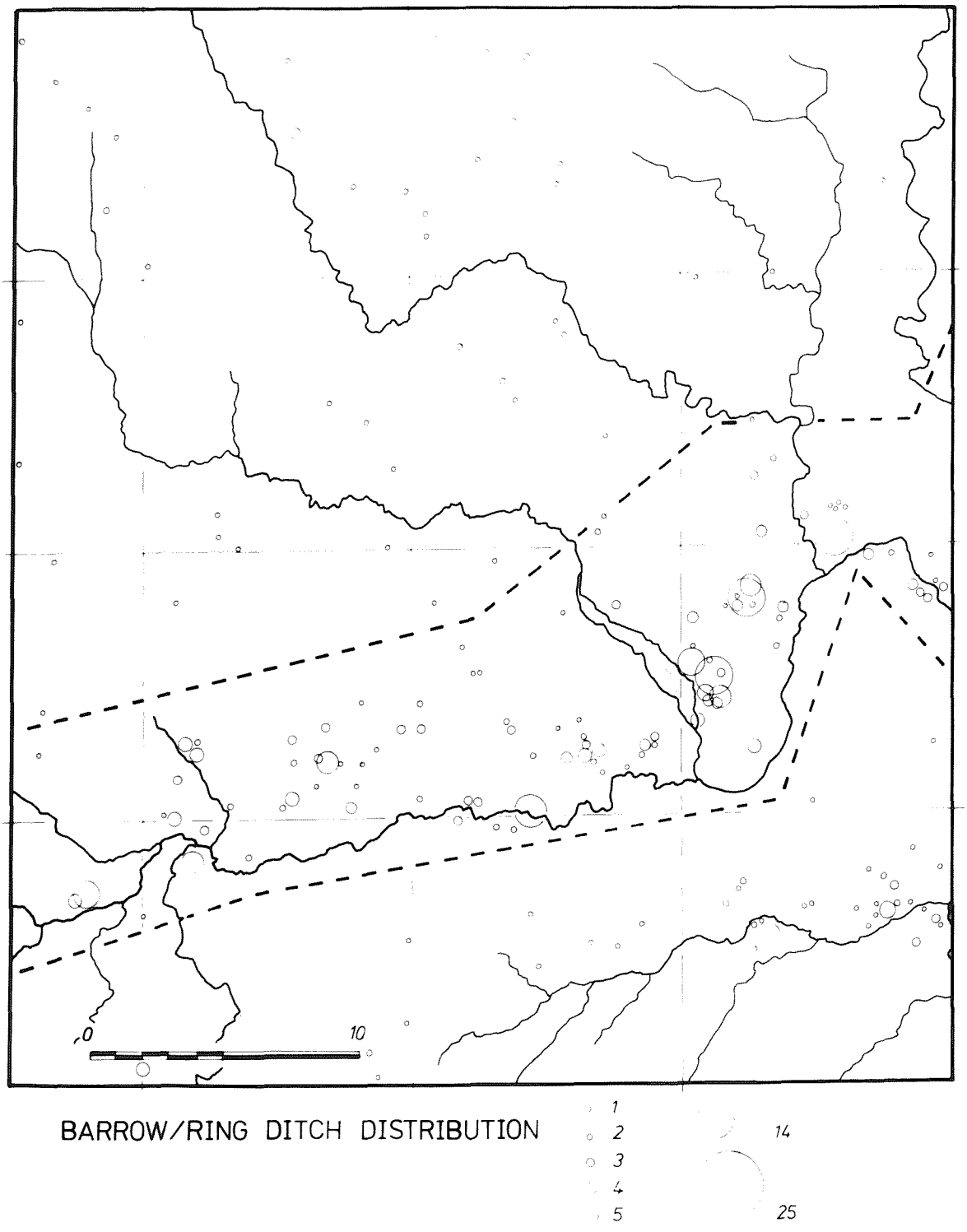


Figure 24: Round Barrow/Ring Ditch Distribution in the Survey Region (monuments within 150 m of each other are considered to be in the same cemetery).

back (Figure 25); however this woodland remained a significant feature of the landscape into the Saxon period (Hooke, 1978).

Communication in the Cotswolds would have been fairly easy, although the major rivers may in some cases have formed boundaries to contact. The Jurassic Way, a supposed prehistoric communication corridor connecting the south west of the country to Lincolnshire (Grimes, 1951) runs through the north western corner of the survey region. Roman roads include Akeman Street which runs east-west across the survey region.

Finally, one reason for the increased Iron Age exploitation of the Cotswolds could have been iron stone resources. Iron stone outcrops over a large area to the south and west of Banbury, and Case has suggested that this resource was being exploited in this period (1964, 51).

In conclusion, we can consider the distribution of population in the later prehistoric and Roman periods in greater detail. In the late Bronze Age settlement seems to have been fairly scarce (although see 199). By the Early Iron Age population density may have been fairly great on the eastern Corallian Ridge and on the gravel terraces (Figure 26). By contrast the western Corallian Ridge, the Vale of the White Horse and the Cotswolds provide little evidence for settlement. Settlements in these marginal (? wooded) environments are commonly isolated and defended.

By the Middle Iron Age settlements were being established in the woodland on the Cotswolds (Figure 26) in and around the Evenlode Valley. This process continued in the Cotswolds throughout the Later Iron Age and Roman period.

The Western Corallian Ridge was also probably colonised in the Roman period. Settlement perhaps became more dispersed as economic forces broke down social forces within society (24). As a consequence most of the area was settled by the third century AD (Figure 25).

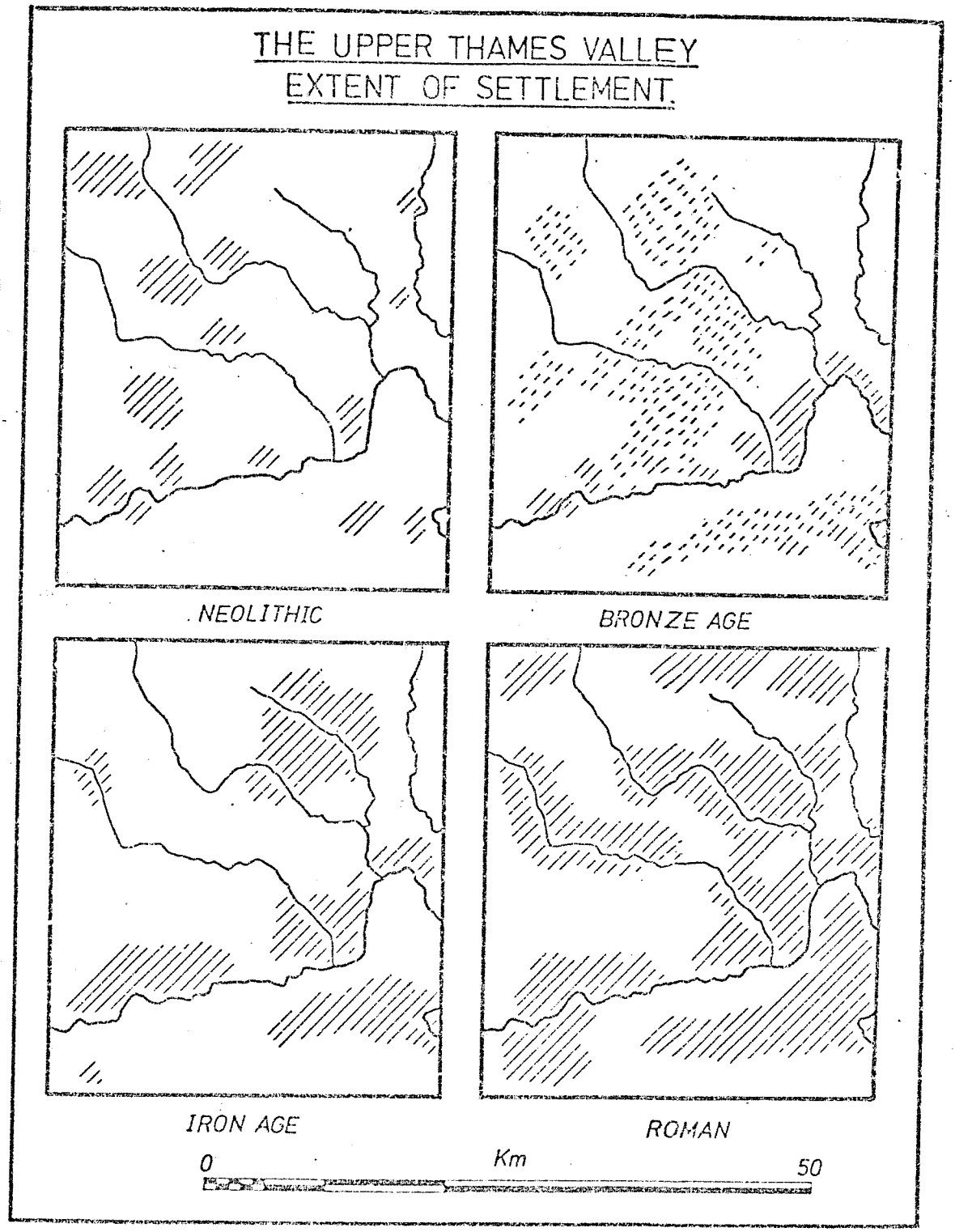


Figure 25: The Extent of Settlement in the Survey Region in the Prehistoric and Romano-British Periods.

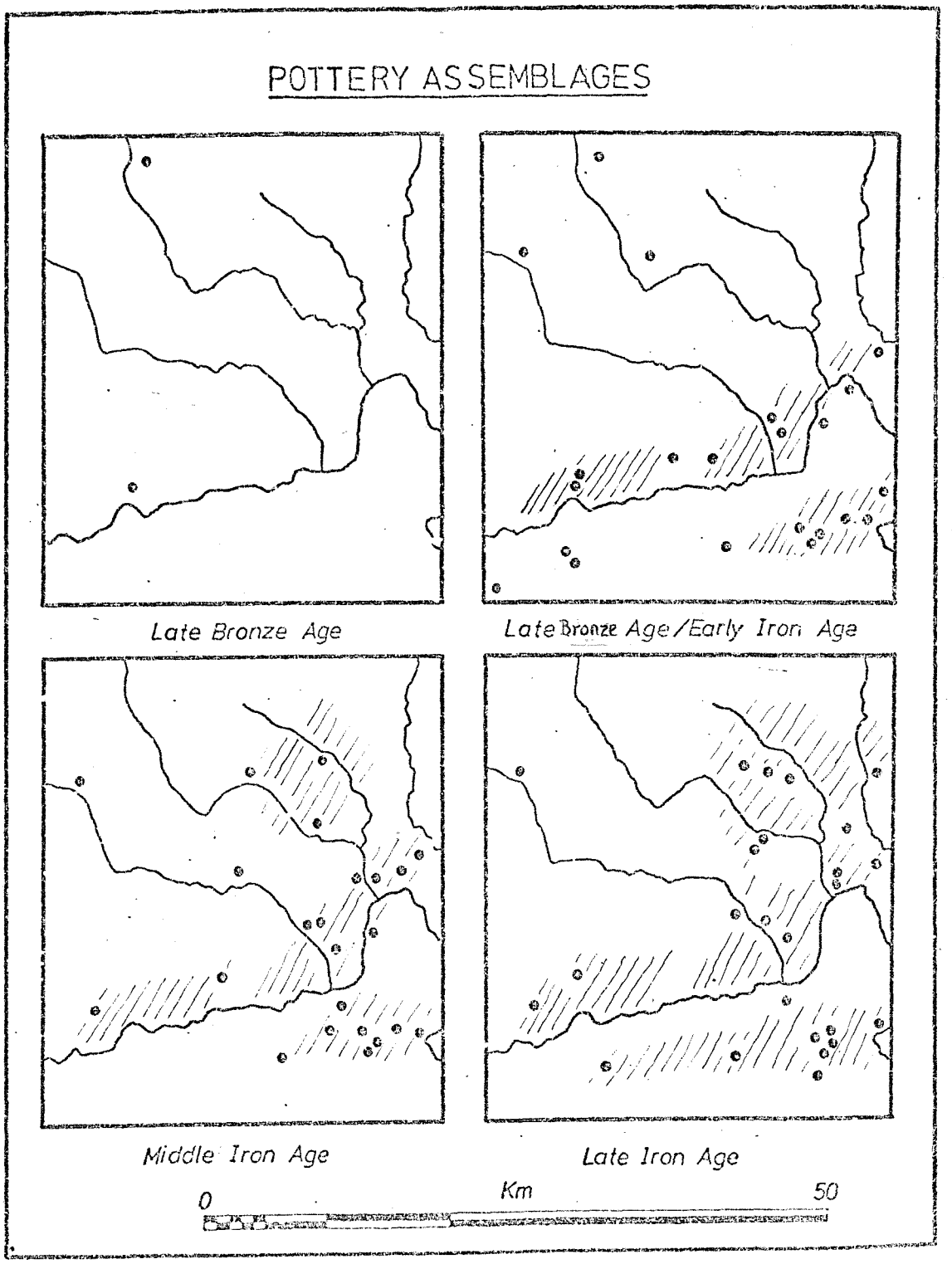


Figure 26: The Extent of Iron Age Settlement in the Survey Region (hatched lines show the evidence of aerial photography).

ii) The Context of the Upper Thames Valley in a Wider Regional Setting.

In this section Upper Thames Valley society will be put into perspective by examining the context of the area in a wider regional perspective. Discussion in this section is orientated towards a consideration of regional systems, and the place of the Upper Thames Valley in these systems.

In the Early/Middle Bronze Age on the gravels an argument can be made that stable status hierarchies were based on asymmetrical alliance systems within a structure of generalised exchange, and that this hierarchical structure formed a type of conical clan chiefdom (10). At this time the Upper Thames Valley would seem to have formed a core zone (as symbolised by the wealth of "Wessex" graves at Stanton Harcourt and Radley), with the Middle and Lower Thames forming the periphery of the system (Barrett, 1980A).

The core areas would seem to have profited in some from exploitation of the Middle/Lower Thames Valley. However in the Middle/Late Bronze Age the system would seem to have collapsed. This phase is marked by the rise of the former buffer zones to dominance (Bradley, 1980, 66). In this phase there is little evidence for settlement of any form in the survey area (Barrett, 1980B; although this may be illusory, 199), and this absence of settlement could be in part a consequence of the collapse of the earlier system.

Settlements are very common in the succeeding "decorated ware" ceramic phase of the Late Bronze Age. In fact settlements are so common on the gravels of the Upper Thames Valley at this time that it seems possible that some form of colonisation may have been occurring (Barrett, 1980B). This Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age phase on the gravels is followed by a phase of apparent population expansion and succeeding stability in the Early/Middle Iron Age.

The Middle Iron Age on the gravels appears to represent

a phase of settlement and population stability. On the whole trade/exchange relations do not seem to have been of great significance in Southern Britain at this time. Some contact between the south western peninsular/Dorset and the western shores of the Continent resulted in the development of trade centres such as Mount Batten (Clarke, 1971) and Hengistbury Head (Cunliffe, 1978C). Armorican coins spread inland as far as the survey area (Cunliffe, 1981A, Figure 11); but there is not much to indicate that these occurences had any influence on the structure of society in the Upper Thames Valley.

However, after Caesar's invasion, there were major changes in Southern Britain. One important development was the growth of a major polity in Hertfordshire (Partridge, 1981). The creation of this polity may represent the success of one group in gaining control of trade with Gaul and the rest of the Mediterranean world (Haselgrove, 1982). Elsewhere across Southern England peripheral groups may have developed in relation to this central polity. The polity may have traded luxury imports in exchange for raw materials and slaves.

In the early first century AD the Hertfordshire polity appears to be eclipsed by a new dominant group based on Camulodunum. This polity, under Cunobelinus, came to dominate a large area of Southern Britain, and clearly subordinated the Hertfordshire polity along with others. The growing dominance of Camulodunum seems to have been based on control of trade with the Rhineland and the Low Countries (Haselgrove, 1982).

Haselgrove has argued that an "inner-periphery" develops around the dominant eastern polity. This inner-periphery includes the Durotriges, Dobunni, Coritani and Iceni. Haselgrove has also argued for three main axes through which the polity obtained slaves and raw materials. The axis that concerns me reached up the Thames into the Cotswolds and to Wales and the South West. This transect runs through the survey area (Figure 27); in addition the survey area lies at the transition between the limit of Cunobelin's

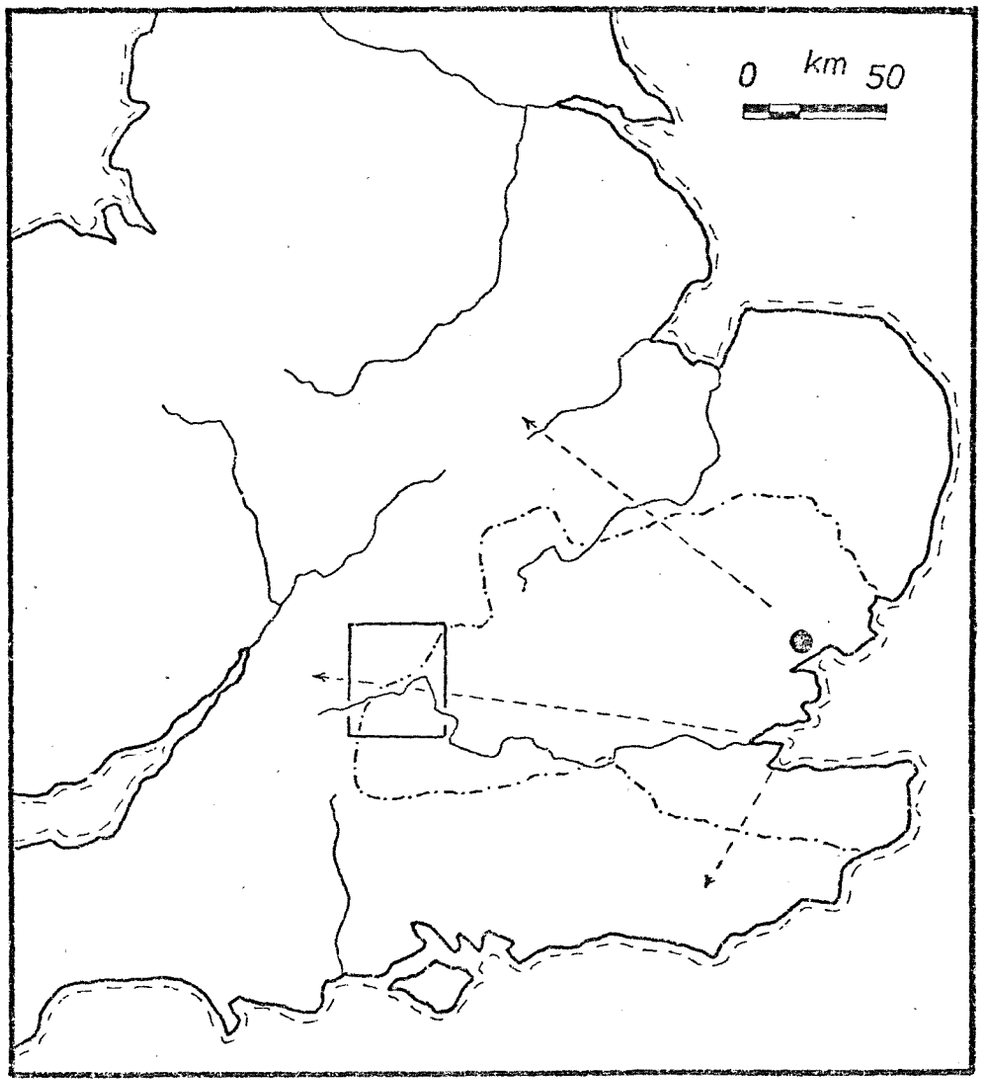


Figure 27: Three Axes of Contact (arrows) and the Extent of Cunobelins coin distribution. (after Haselgrove, 1982).

coin distribution and the inner-peripheral tribe of the Dobunni (Kimes, Haselgrove and Hodder, 1982).

This point is made even more clearly by a detailed analysis of the coin evidence. Figure 28 shows the survey area and an additional area to the east (including Dorchester on Thames and Wallingford). A transect taken from south east to north west across the area (the direction of Haselgrove's axis of contact) demonstrates the region's transitional aspect (see Appendix 1 and Figures 28 and 29).

In fact one of the most dense concentrations of gold coinage of Cunobelinus in the whole country occurs in the Dorchester on Thames region. Also Dorchester and Wallingford form the last points up the Thames at which large quantities of eastern coins are found (Rodwell, 1976). In addition early (?pre-Conquest) "imports" have been recognised in the material from Frere's excavations at Dorchester (Timby, Pers Com). It seems possible from this evidence that a polity of some importance existed in the Dorchester area (perhaps based on Dyke Hills, Dorchester). This polity of the inner periphery may have acted as a nodal point channeling goods to and from the dominant eastern polity(237).

The importance of this Dorchester "mini-polity" in this thesis concerns the significance of this centre to the societies of the survey region. It would seem that the survey region forms an exploited zone in the Late Iron Age, through trading and raiding from the Dorchester polity.

If these arguments are valid we should expect social formations in the survey transect to be adversely affected. Evidence from the north of the region would not support this suggestion (in fact the Late Iron Age is a period of expansion on the Cotswolds). However the settlement evidence may indicate the decimation of Corallian societies (more of this later, 223). The explanation for the adverse effects of eastern contact in the south, as opposed to the north of the survey region lies i) in the location of areas within the survey region in relation to the regional systems of which they are part, and ii) in the varying social

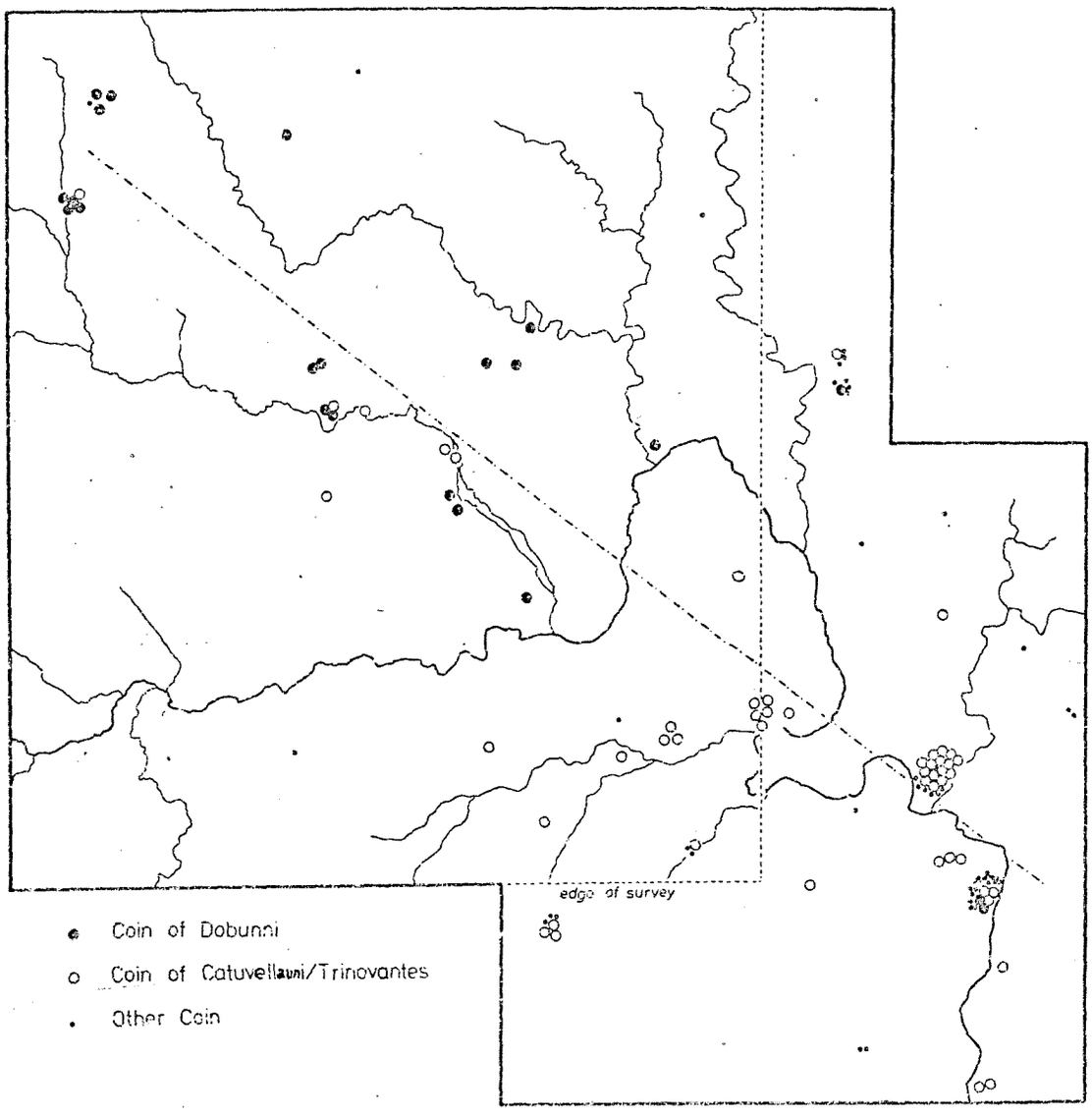


Figure 28: The Survey Region and Dorchester on Thames Area, showing the Iron Age coin distribution (for scale see the previous illustrations).

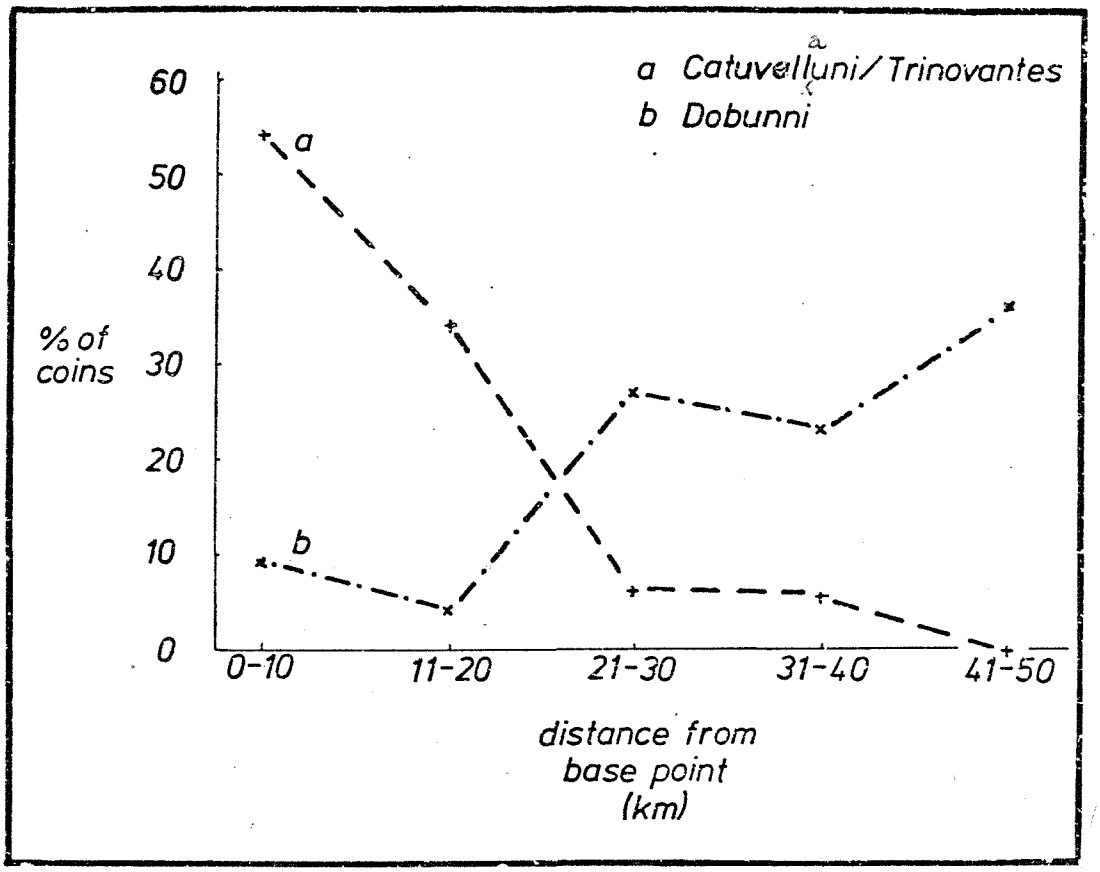


Figure 29: Coins of the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes plotted against those of the Dobunni (see Appendix 1; 0 km represents a point just to the south east of Wallingford, see Figure 28).

structure of the respective societies.

With the Roman conquest a network of civitates were established across Southern Britain. The Upper Thames Valley appears peripheral to the distribution of civitates (Figure 30). This peripheral location of the survey region is of little surprise, as in many ways the Roman system is an adaptation of Iron Age structures (20). The closest cantonal capitals to the region are those at Cirencester (about 15 km west of the survey region) and at Silchester (30 km to the south east). It has been argued that the Upper Thames formed a boundary zone between the Dobunni (to the north west) and the Atrebates (to the south east). If this is true, then the Vale of the White Horse may have formed the actual boundary.

Signs of direct administrative activity within the survey region are rare. No forts are known (the nearest is at Dorchester). Several Roman roads cross the area, and mansios existed at Wanborough and Bourton on the Water. Signs of wealth in the first to second century AD include early villas on the Cotswolds, and a massive temple complex with an amphitheatre at the Noah's Ark site, Frilford (Hingley, 1981B, Forthcoming A).

In the third to fourth centuries AD a network of minor towns develops over the South Midlands (Figure 17), and these are well represented in the survey area. Small villas are constructed on the Corallian Ridge, and large as well as small examples on the Cotswolds Uplands.

In conclusion, the region has a complex historical sequence. In the Early/Middle Bronze Age the Upper Thames seems to have been central to a regional system. In the Late Bronze Age the system collapses, and the Upper Thames becomes peripheral. In all succeeding phases the Upper Thames is peripheral to major political developments. In the Roman period the area is distant from the major administrative developments, however in the third to fourth centuries there is much evidence for economic wealth in the Upper Thames area.

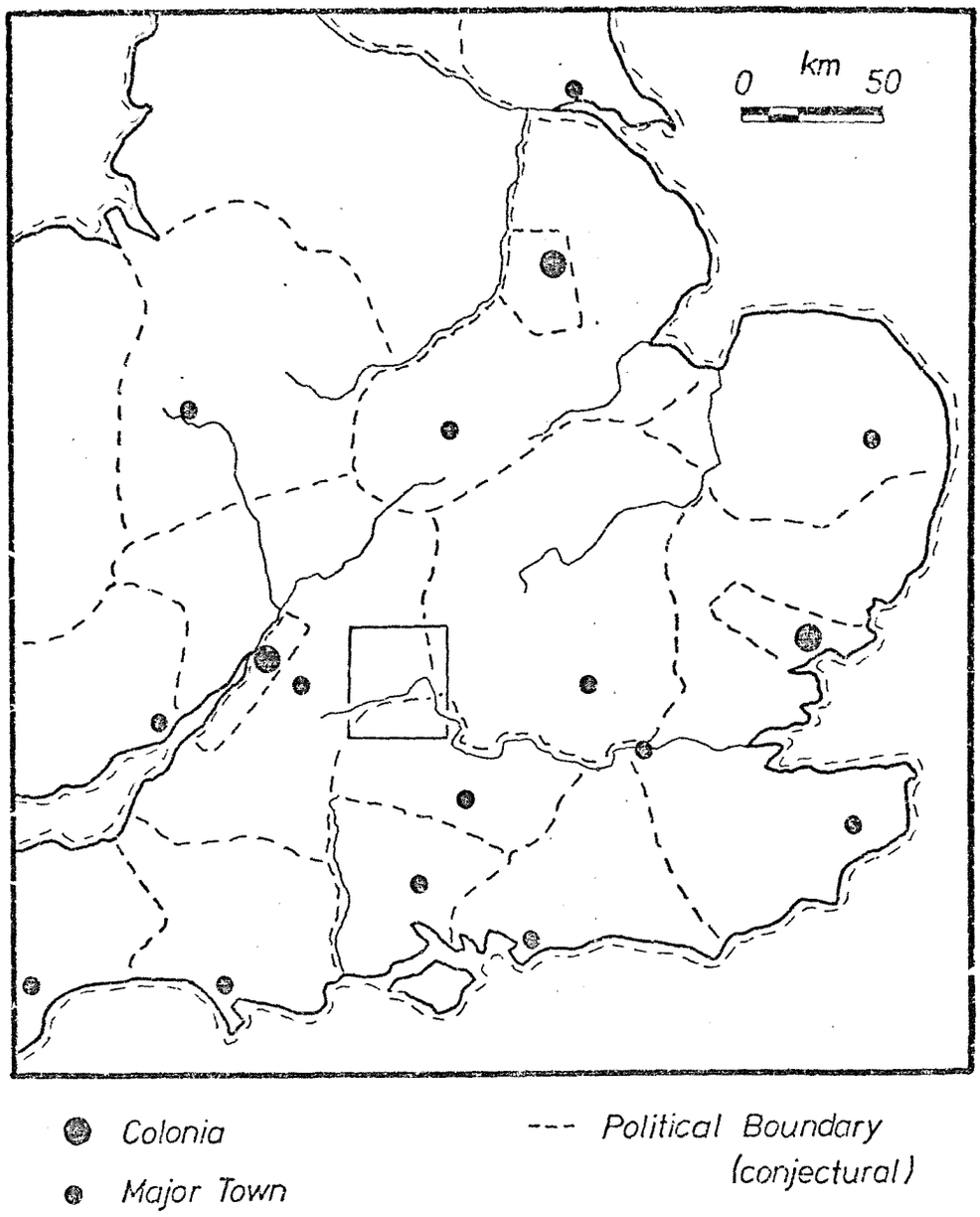


Figure 30: Roman Civitas Capitals and Conjectural Territories.

iii) Conclusions to Chapter 5.

The topics discussed in this Chapter have been rather diverse. Two specific topics of importance in the remaining part of this thesis are, i) the structure of the area in terms of the five physiographic regions and ii) the position of the survey area within wider regional systems.

The discussion of physiographic regions provides something of the ecological background to this thesis. We have considered the potential value of resources within these physiographic areas, and also the extent to which these resources appear to have been utilised.

In addition we have seen the significance of the location of the region to local developments in the later prehistoric and Roman periods.

Chapter Six:
The Data Base and Methods of Data Collection.

In this Chapter we will examine the attitudes and approaches of those who have tackled later prehistoric and Romano-British settlement research in the survey region before this survey. This is an important preliminary to any discussion of methods of data collection and analysis, as it seems clear that the past state of a research topic affects the present stage, both in terms of the data available for analysis and also in terms of the theory and approaches to that data.

The second section of the Chapter is a discussion of the methodology of data collection that I have adopted in order to attempt to avoid some of the problems and limitations considered in the first section.

i) A History of Research into Later Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement in the Survey Region.

This section is a presentation of discussion of previous research into the settlement record. Detailed discussion is restricted to a consideration of Iron Age settlement research, based on information collated in the Inventory.

Figure 31 shows the rate of excavations on Iron Age sites in the survey region between 1850 and 1982 (see Appendix 2). Excavations are recorded by ten year periods, and a division is made into major excavations (M), minor excavations (W) and Rescue/Destruction projects (D).

No real tradition of excavation existed in the region prior to 1850, although isolated archaeological activity included John Aubrey's examination of the hillforts of Berkshire (1665-93). When excavation began in the 1850's the trend gathered momentum slowly until a sudden peak in the number of excavations in the 1930's, which has been maintained until the present day (Figure 31 A).

1850-1930: Antiquarian Interest and Settlement Archaeology.

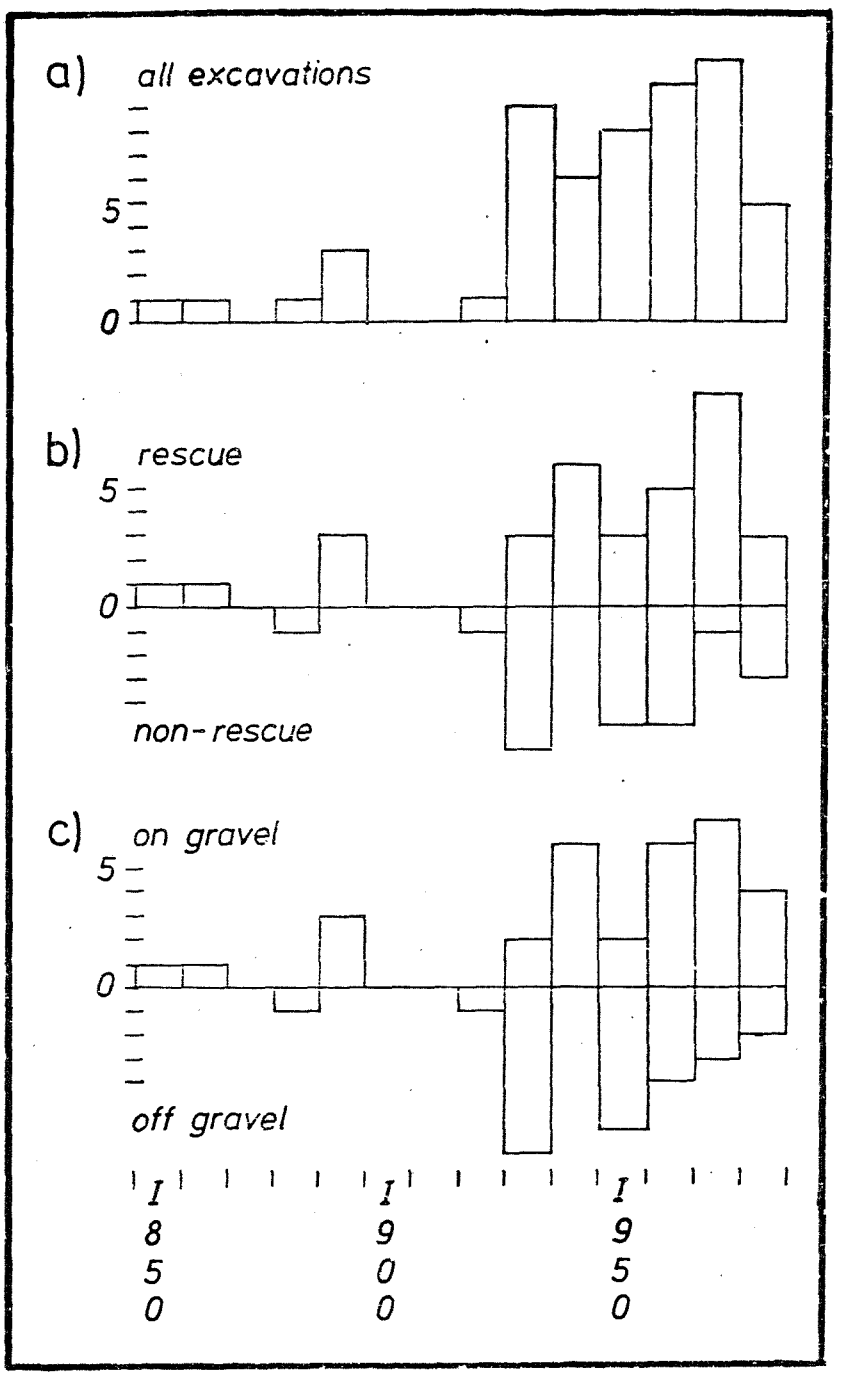


Figure 31: The Rate of Excavation per Decade in the Survey Region.

The earliest excavation in the survey region was remarkable for the insight of the excavator. Stephen Stone, in his excavation from 1857-1858 on a site threatened by gravel quarrying at Standlake, brought remarkably modern day methods and theory to the study of settlement. Stone left models of the four areas of the site that he excavated, and from these models a ground plan of the site can be restored (Figure 32). Stone kept detailed notes on the fill of features which unfortunately (along with most of the finds from the excavation) have been lost.

Stone was also very aware of the potential value and significance of his work.

> "if a collection of facts tending to elucidate an interesting but obscure subject be to him (the antiquary), as it ought to be, of greater importance than a mere collection of curiosities however valuable they may be - if the acquisition of knowledge be more his object than the acquisition of wealth, he may perchance reap a rich harvest here." (1857, 99).

Other excavations in the nineteenth century were far more limited in their aims and objectives. In 1861 Boyd Dawkins recovered pottery and bone from pits sectioned in a railway cutting at Yarnton (site code 4711; these four figure references are grid references - for an explanation see the Inventory, 301). Manning observed pits and recorded pottery and burials in 1894 at (4709) Wytham in the side of a quarry. Manning also observed pits and recorded pottery during gravel quarrying at (3203) Bampton in 1893-4.

Work by Price in 1881 at (2528) Chastleton Camp was intended to examine the chronology and function of the defended enclosure. Price considered the excavation to prove the Roman date of the structure because of deposits of bone and charcoal in the bank, which he argued demonstrated to readers of the "Agrimensores" the means by which they were accustomed to mark out the limits of land under Roman occupation (Price quoted by Leeds, 1931, 383-4)!

The first excavation of the twentieth century was by Leeds, once again at Chastleton Camp. In 1928-9 Leeds carried out fairly large scale excavations on the site.

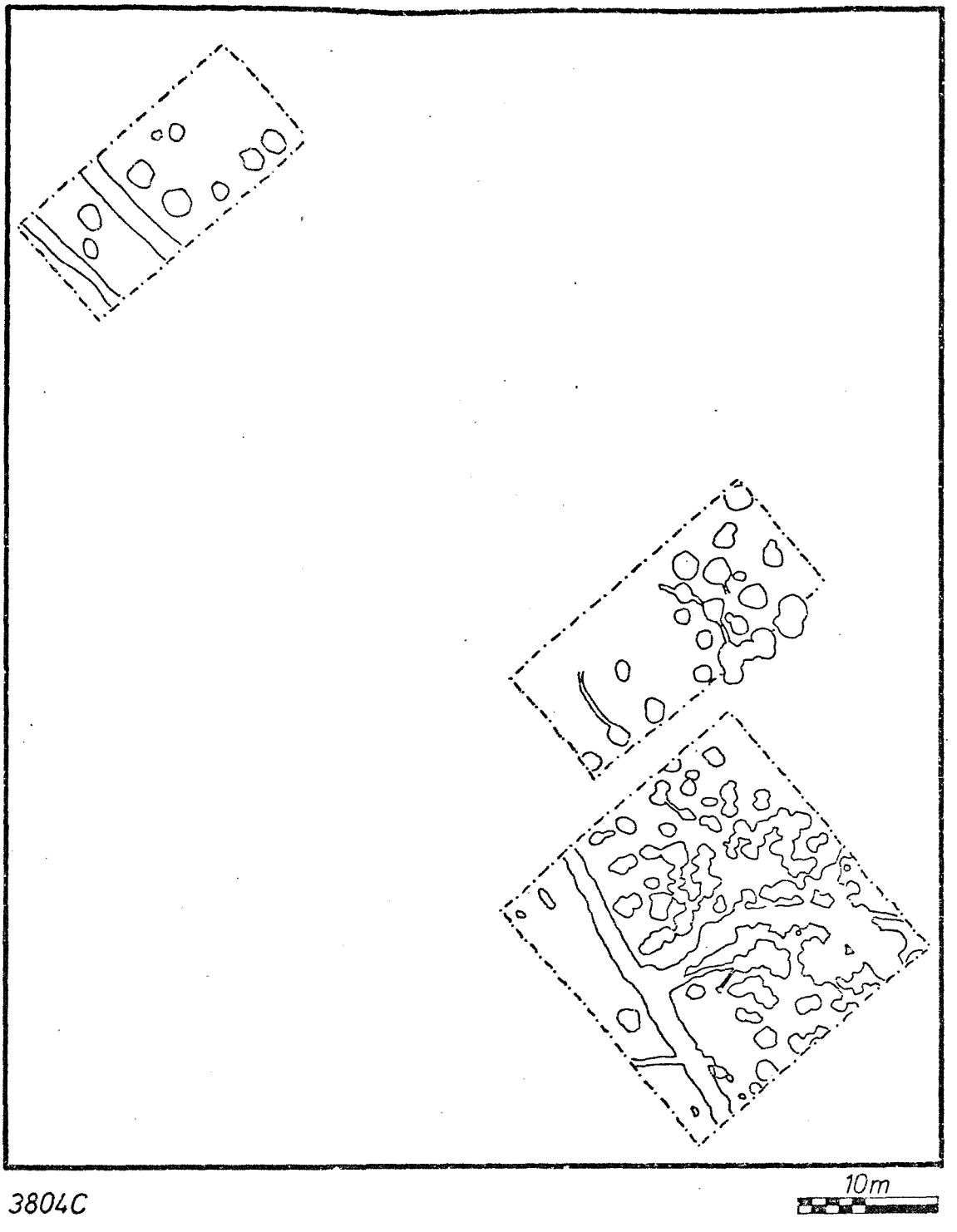


Figure 32: Stone's Excavations at Standlake (1857-8).

Leed's account, however, is defective in certain ways; for instance he appears to have produced no detailed plan of the excavations.

To put this research into context we may draw attention to Cunliffe's remarks that no solid framework existed for the examination of later prehistoric settlement and society prior to the 1930's (1978B, 4). By contrast Romano-British archaeology in the survey area was more developed. Important excavations had been carried out on villas at Stonesfield in 1712 and at North Leigh in 1813-1816 (Victoria County History, 1939), and also at a series of lesser establishments, for instance the Frilford villa in 1884 (Haverfield, 1897).

1930-1973: The Development of Iron Age Studies.

According to Cunliffe (1978B, 4) the theorising and consolidation of 1930 and 1931 (in particular the articles of Hawkes') focused British archaeological activity firmly on the Iron Age. This emphasis on Iron Age studies is demonstrated by a sudden peak in excavation activity within the survey region (Figure 31 A).

One emphasis in the 1930's was on the excavation of defensive structures. Dunning carried out excavations at (1720) Salmonsbury, while Bradford conducted an excavation at (3796) Cherbury Camp. In addition Harden trenched the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch at (3820) Model Farm and (4218) Blenheim Park and showed the structure to be Late Iron Age in date. As well as these excavations on defensive structures Grimes conducted excavations on a Late Iron Age settlement at (4104B) Stanton Harcourt, and an important excavation was undertaken on what pro-ved to be an Iron Age/Roman temple site at (4396/4496) the Noah's Ark Inn, Frilford.

Throughout the 1930's and 40's attention was attracted to gravel sites by the threat of gravel extraction (Figure 31 B and C). All excavations undertaken during the 1940's were to rescue information from sites in the gravel region (see Appendix 2). Of particular importance were the excavations by Williams at (2102) Langford Down and (4005)

Beard Mill. This period was important as the increased number of excavations was combined with improving standards of excavation and recording.

With the improvement of excavation techniques came two additional advances. Firstly from the 1930's through to the 1960's a regional pottery chronology was formulated. In addition a major advance was the discovery of the potential of aerial photography. In the 1930's Major Allen was active conducting aerial survey in the Upper Thames Valley, and he was succeeded by Derek Riley, who carried out useful work in the 1940's.

In addition to photographing a large number of sites Riley made a major contribution to the archaeology of the Upper Thames Valley by synthesising the information from his work. In 1943 Riley produced a gazetteer of crop mark sites in the Upper Thames Valley; this gazetteer remained significant as a source of material for 30 years. Riley also attempted analysis of crop marks by distinguishing functional and chronological features; this work also was not followed up until the 1970's.

Aided by the accumulation of knowledge a few archaeologists attempted to turn to the analysis of economic and social problems. Most noteworthy was John Bradford, who in 1942 attempted to assess the knowledge of settlement patterns in relation to the economics and structure of Iron Age society. Bradford considered factors of bias in the record, particularly the biasses of gravel working and the amount of archaeological research conducted from Oxford University. Bradford noted the density of Iron Age settlement on the gravel, and the apparent absence of settlement evidence from the Cotswolds and the claylands of the Upper Thames Valley (1942). Elsewhere Bradford considered the significance of the Corallian Ridge to an understanding of Iron Age society in the Upper Thames Valley (1940). In conclusion Bradford made it clear that new methods and techniques were required before the types of question that he was interested in could be asked. In particular Bradford

saw the need for i) the elimination of some of the bias in research towards the gravel, and ii) the large scale excavation of settlement sites as opposed to the limited excavation that typified the research of his day.

The 1950's and 1960's did not see the full realisation of Bradford's aims. Interest was reawakened in the defended enclosures of the region with limited work by O'Neil at (1720) Salmonsbury and by Baine at (2921) Lyneham Roundabout. This work led to regional syntheses of information on defended enclosures, by Cotton for Berkshire (1960) and Sutton for Oxfordshire (1966).

In the 1960's the threat to gravel sites resulted in the formation of the Oxford Excavation Committee within Oxford University (Benson and Miles, 1974, 22); this accounts for the swing back towards rescue excavation of gravel sites in the 1960's (Figure 31 B and C). Large scale excavations at Linch Hill Corner (4004), and (4311) City Farm did something to help in the realisation of Bradford's second suggestion.

The boom period for the taking of aerial photographs in the Upper Thames Valley ended with the war. Photographs continued to be taken after the war; particularly important were those taken by Professor St Joseph for the Cambridge Committee on Aerial Photography. However, there was no local individual or institution concerned with the dissemination of the results, so that no major additions were made to Riley's synthesis in the 1950's or 1960's.

Harding followed Bradford in attempting to synthesise the evidence for Iron Age settlement and society. This work was finished, in the form of a D Phil thesis, in 1969 and published in 1972. Harding attempted to consider all information relating to settlement and economy, as well as fully updating the pottery chronology.

In a chapter on types of enclosure and settlement structure Harding attempted an analysis of settlement types in terms of function, chronology and cultural affinity (1972, 11). We have already considered Harding's discussion of the distinction between defensive Allen's Pit type enclosu-

res (clustered around Dorchester on Thames) and the Beard Mill type enclosures which (supposedly) typify the "multiple settlements" of the Lower Windrush and Lower Evenlode (55 ; Harding, 1972, 13). In further Chapters Harding discussed house types, and their cultural/social implications. Harding's discussion makes clear, once again, the lack of large scale excavation, in that on only one of the settlement sites that he considered was more than a single round hut known (1972, 22). In addition Harding reviewed the evidence for economy and domestic crafts, for fortifications, religious structures and burial sites in the Upper Thames Valley.

Harding's thesis stressed the limitations of the data base. Indeed it would seem that Bradford's two recomendations still held. Harding's discussion (particularly in the Chapters on settlement) demonstrated the gross bias of excavation towards the gravels. Also some extensive excavations had been conducted in the intervening period, particularly at (4004) Linch Hill and (4311) City Farm, but these are difficult to accept as providing reliable ground plans because of heavy top soil stripping undertaken prior to excavation, and the rescue conditions under which the excavations were undertaken (130).

To conclude, Iron Age archaeology in the period 1930 to 1973 had suffered from a lack of planning. Excavation was still somewhat haphazard, and strategies for implementing research designs were absent. This situation improved for a time, first in the 1940's and then in the 1960's, but the state of research left much to be desired by 1972.

Significant work into Roman settlement continued in the period. Of particular significance was Radford's model excavation of the Roman villa at Ditchley (1936). In addition a major excavation at the Roman villa of Shakenoak began at the end of the period.

<u>1973-1981: The Centralisation of Research Designs for Iron Age Study, and some Persistent Problems of Research</u>.

The 1970's saw a more organised approach to the problems of later prehistoric settlement archaeology.

The Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit was established in 1973 as a response to the increasing threat of gravel extraction to Iron Age sites in the Upper Thames Valley. One consequence of the Unit's formation was a publication of crop marks on the Upper Thames gravels (Benson and Miles, 1974). This survey represented an attempt to bring together the results of over forty years of aerial reconnaissance. The survey was the first major synthesis of crop mark evidence since 1943. No typological analysis was undertaken in the Benson and Miles report, but the report did act as a basis for problem-orientated, excavation-based research.

The Unit's excavation policy has involved the large-scale excavation of a few sites, rather than the piecemeal observation of many. Detailed analysis has been conducted on biological remains, and Harding's pottery chronology has been improved (Lambrick, 1978, 104). The Unit has conducted large scale excavation on a number of sites; particularly at (4897) Ashville, (4405) Farmoor, (3805A) Minge's Ditch and recently at (1999) Claydon Pike. In addition excavations within the Upper Thames Valley, but outside the survey region, have been conducted at Appleford (SU 5293), Barton Court (SU 5198) and Mount Farm (SU 5896).

The information displayed on Figure 31 does not fully demonstrate the significance of archaeological centralisation. The excavations undertaken by the Unit have surpassed those of earlier times in quality, scale and objectives as well as numbers.

The Unit's excavation policy has been the result of rescue considerations: this fact has had two consequences on the structuring of research. One consequence has been the shift to rescue based excavation. The figure of rescue/non-rescue excavations has shifted first one way and then the other over the last 100 years (Appendix 2; Figure 31 B); however in general, prior to 1970, 22 of the 40 excavations conducted in the survey region (55%) were rescue digs, while in the 1970's 9 out of 10 excavations (90%) were rescue projects. This trend to rescue-based archaeology is

commendable as it represents the fusing of rescue and research.

The second trend seems inevitable, even if it is less satisfactory. The bias of archaeological research towards the gravel was noted above, and rescue considerations over the 1970's have exaggerated this trend to an even greater degree (Figure 31 C). Up to 1970 almost a half of the Iron Age sites excavated in the region (19 out of 40 or 48%) were on soils other than gravel, while in the 1970's only one sixth (2 out of 12, or 16%) were on non-gravel soils. When we consider that the gravels form less than 15% of the total survey region it may seem (ignoring rescue considerations) that gravel areas are receiving twelve times their due of attention.

At a time when excavation has been receiving great stimulus from the input of Government money and the destruction of sites, the number of air photographs taken over the country has increased almost exponentially (Palmer, 1978). Periodic surveys of crop marks, since the Benson and Miles survey of 1974, had resulted in the incorporation of some new sites into the County Record. In addition a survey of the Upper Thames Valley in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire was published in 1977 (Leach, 1977). However, in the absence of any detailed re-examination of crop mark data for the record after 1974, the information for crop marks in the County Record was rather incomplete by 1979.

David Miles recognised the potential value of crop mark evidence for the study of Iron Age society, and has produced a number of articles concerned with this topic (1978, Forthcoming; Jones and Miles,1979). However, in the absence of any attempt to produce a functional typology of sites for the area, the full potential of crop mark survey has not been realised. Crop marks continue to be used as indicators of areas of high potential for excavation rather than as material of value for research in themselves (54).

During the 1970's some surveys were conducted of rather

neglected areas of the Upper Thames Valley. The Berkshire Unit's survey of the Chalk Downs (Richards, 1978) demonstrated that settlements clustered within the Celtic Fields among the hillforts. A survey of the Gloucestershire Cotswolds (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1976) resulted in the location of some new sites, and produced a detailed record of Iron Age and Romano-British monuments.

Several trends are notewoworthy in the archaeology of the 1970's. Improving standards of excavation have resulted in the recording of more and better information, both in terms of site plans and biological/artefactual material. At the same time the regional survey has become a major element in research. These surveys have been stimulated by a quantitative explosion in the number of sites known, which is itself largely a result of the number of aerial photographs being taken. Three such surveys have been conducted in the Upper Thames Valley area, and two have included parts of the survey region. Two criticisms can be made of this survey-based approach.

Firstly, the surveys have had a tendency to be conducted on single physiographic regions (the gravels, the Cotswolds, the Berkshire Downs). As a consequence settlement patterns within a region are seen in vacuum. Also as a consequence some potentially significant areas of the Upper Thames Valley have been neglected (for instance the Corallian Ridge and the Cotswolds).

Secondly, the surveys have concentrated on description and not analysis of data. No real attempt is made in these publications to theorise about later prehistoric society.

A further, and connected, point is that the 1970's saw no major advance in one major, labour-effective, method of survey - fieldwork. Julian Richards conducted some fieldwork during his survey of the Berkshire Downs, and the RCHM examined field monuments within their area; but within the survey region the potential of fieldwork in conjunction with aerial photography has been neglected.

ii) The Data Collection Methods of the Survey.

Problem-orientated data collection has enabled some of the limitations noted above to be bypassed or avoided. In this section I will review the data collection methods of the survey.

In the previous section, and also in Chapter 4 (54) it was argued that past research had placed too much of an emphasis on excavation, and the description of single sites. In terms of the analysis of settlement evidence little use has been made of the other tools of archaeological survey.

For this reason an emphasis has been placed on aerial photography and fieldwork. My premise is that the use of these labour-effective techniques of survey should allow the construction and testing of theories concerning the structure of Iron Age/Roman settlement and society.

Because there are serious problems associated with all archaeological techniques it seems necessary to discuss the three techniques of archaeological survey (aerial photography, fieldwork and excavation) that have been utilised in this survey.

Aerial Photography.

The prime value of aerial photography is that it provides vast quantities of information on site structure for a small outlay of energy. Plotting of crop marks is a relatively swift process, and provides a plan of some form on which morphological analysis may be conducted (Riley, 1943; Hampton and Palmer, 1977).

However the use of aerial photography for settlement analysis is problematic because of a number of faults inherent in the method. In addition some biasses are imposed on the record through the way in which archaeological analysis is undertaken.

Limitations inherent within the method are serious. Firstly, at the scale of the single site, no crop mark plot (however many photographs it is based upon) can provide a complete plan (Hampton and Palmer, 1977, 167; Palmer, 1977, 141). An aerial photograph can never show all the

details of a site layout, and indeed we can never know (short of excavation) what sample of the layout of the site is provided by an air photograph plot. In other words an aerial photographic plan is merely an interim statement showing current knowledge (Figure 33).

A further limitation is that the conditions encouraging crop mark production are not fully understood, and consequently are hard to allow for. A change in the nature of the subsoil over a site may result in only part of the ground plan being recoverable through aerial photography. Also the climatic conditions giving rise to the production of crop marks are not fully understood. An additonal problem is that features post dating the site may obscure its existence. For instance a spread of alluvium, or features of the modern landscape (houses, roads, pasture, woods) may obscure the site.

Limitations imposed on the method through interpretarion are sometimes no less damaging. The visibility of crop marks, and their composition, varies with the angle of the aeroplane to the site (Palmer, 1978, 131). Thus, where possible, multiple photographs of a single site are always preferable to single shots. In addition to this point the subjectivity of the crop mark plotter must be considered. The interpretation of a site will depend on the archaeologist's presuppositions and theories. A site may be interoreted incorrectly, or non-archaeological features may be interpreted in archaeological terms (for examples of the latter see Wilson, 1975; Dassié, 1978, Photos 14-33 and Agache, 1970, Plates 81-90). As crop mark interpretations are often fairly difficult to check on the ground the importance of experienced and critically self-conscious air photograph interpreters should be clear.

Finally, inaccuracies can occur at the stage of the plotting of the air photograph. Figure 34 is a comparison of Major Allen's plot of Dyke Hills (Dorchester), with a plot of my own which utilises all available evidence. A comparison of the drawings indicates that Allen's drawing is

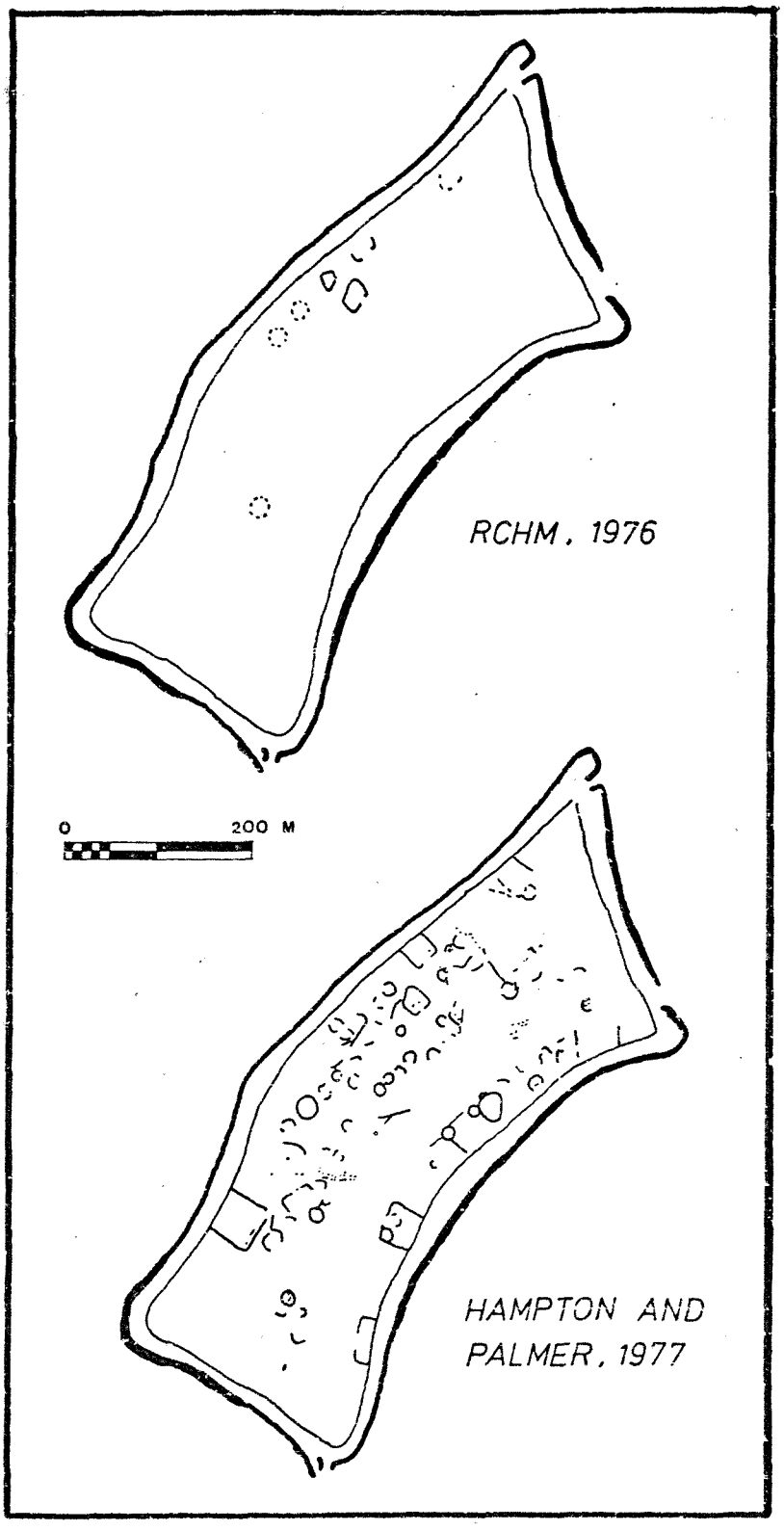


Figure 33: Uleybury (Gloucestershire), the Influence of Additional Aerial Photographic cover on Site Plans. (after Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1976; Hampton and Palmer, 1977).

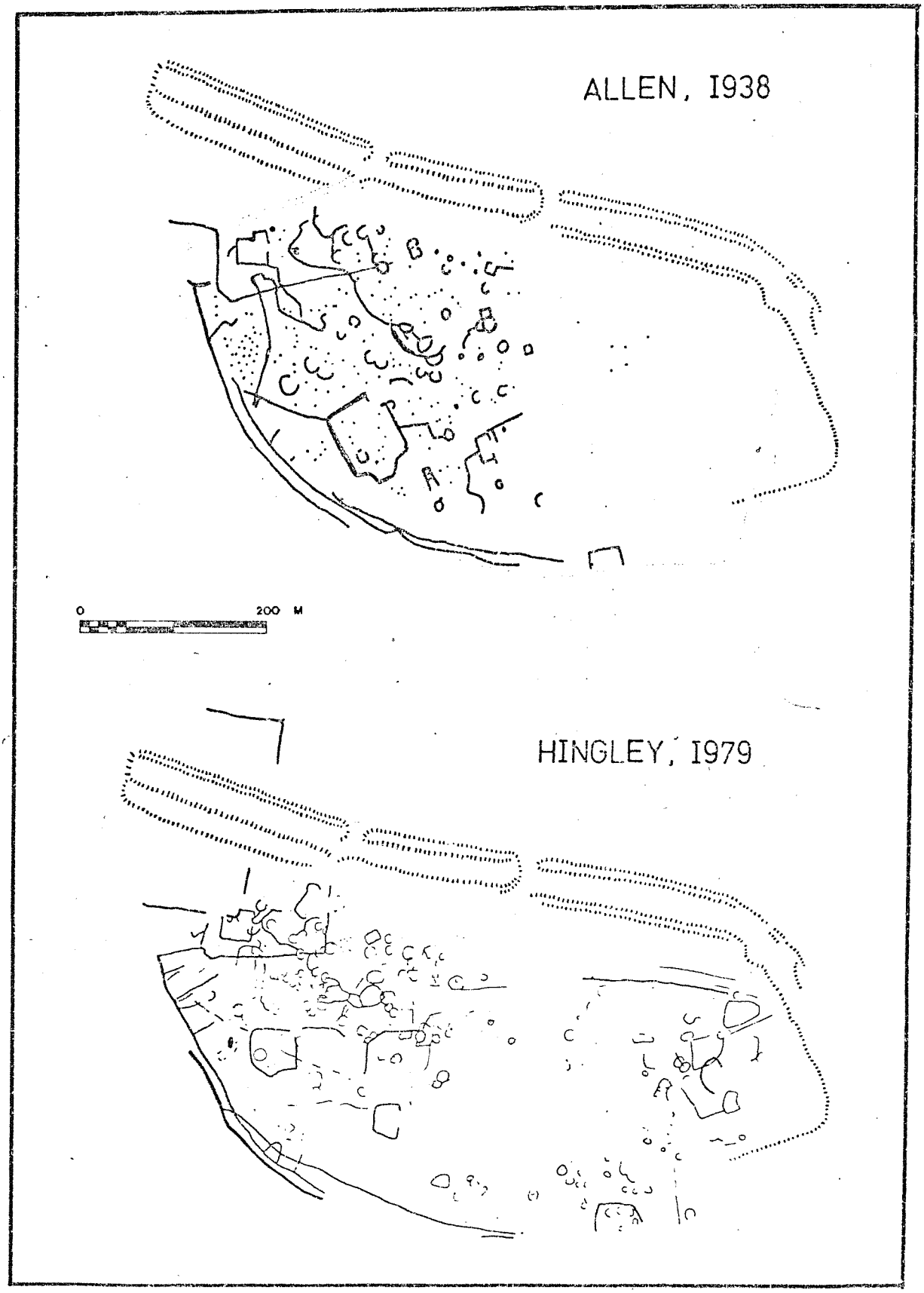


Figure 34: Dyke Hills (Dorchester; Oxon), the Influence of Inaccurate aerial photograph Plotting on a Site Diagram.

clearly rather inaccurate. Once an inaccurate plot has been published it is often hard to correct the bias. Cunliffe has recently utilised Allen's plot in a paper on Iron Age oppida (1976C).

Inherent bias is very serious when we move to the use of aerial photography at an inter-site scale. The problem of variation in sub-soil type is more damaging than at the scale of the single site. Light soils (limestones, gravels) provide much evidence for human occupation, while heavy soils (particularly clays) commonly do not.

Imposed bias is also significant at an inter-site scale. Thus the gravels of the Upper Thames Valley have been known for fifty years to be productive soils for aerial photography. The consequence is that the greatest effort in the Upper Thames Valley have always been expended on the gravels. Aerial photographers, on the whole, do not appreciate flying negative zones. More of a problem in the Upper Thames Valley has been the fact that aerial photographers have a tendency to follow the traditional trails; thus some areas of high potential have been ignored, simply because there is no tradition of work in the area. Thus prior to the 1970's few crop mark sites were known on the Corallian Ridge; recent work by the National Monuments Record has led to the recovery of a dense network of sites. In addition very little aerial photographic work has been conducted on the Cotswolds Uplands, although the work that has been done appears to indicate a high potential for aerial photography in this region (Hingley, 1981C).

A further imposed bias that accentuates the above problems is that most aerial photographers do not keep a record of flight-paths (for exceptions see Edwards, 1977 and Miles, 1977). The recording of flight-paths might enable a more accurate diagnosis to be made of blank zones in aerial photographic coverage.

Fieldwork.

Fieldwork is a useful technique, especially when utilised in combination with aerial photography. Surface colle-

ction can provide information on the dating of a crop mark or earthwork site. Surface collection can also act as an analytical device in itself through the recovery of structural data (eg daub, tile, building stone) or information relating to the extent of the site.

Fieldwork based on collection of surface material is a developing technique (see Cunliffe, 1973; Foard, 1978) and problems relating to the technique are not fully understood (Fasham, Shadla-Hall, Shennan and Bates, 1980).

Inherent biasses of the technique at the scale of the single site are significant. One point is that recovery rates of surface material appear to vary significantly with varying conditions (Hirth, 1978). This can be demonstrated by some fieldwork undertaken by the author on a banjo enclosure at (4120) Tomlin's Gate. On first examining the site only three sherds were found after three hours' work. On a second visit 16 sherds, and other artefacts, were located (Figure 35). This bias was at least partly imposed; the first visit was on a cold, wet autumn day, the second on a fine, warm summer day. Nevertheless I would argue that recovery rates vary independently of such imposed bias.

One occasion when data collection was clearly influenced by biasses inherent in the technique was in the examination of a hillfort at Blewburton (Oxfordshire). Surface collection in the 1940's produced only Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age material, while subsequent excavation demonstrated that a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age phase was succeeded by a Middle Iron Age phase (Collins, 1947). The reason for the presence of Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age material to the exclusion of Middle Iron Age material on the surface was that the fill of the earlier deposits on the site was softer than that of the Middle Iron Age deposits, and that burrowing animals avoided the harder deposits and brought an unrepresentative sample of material to the surface (Collins, 1947, 15).

A further and additional bias concerns the recognition

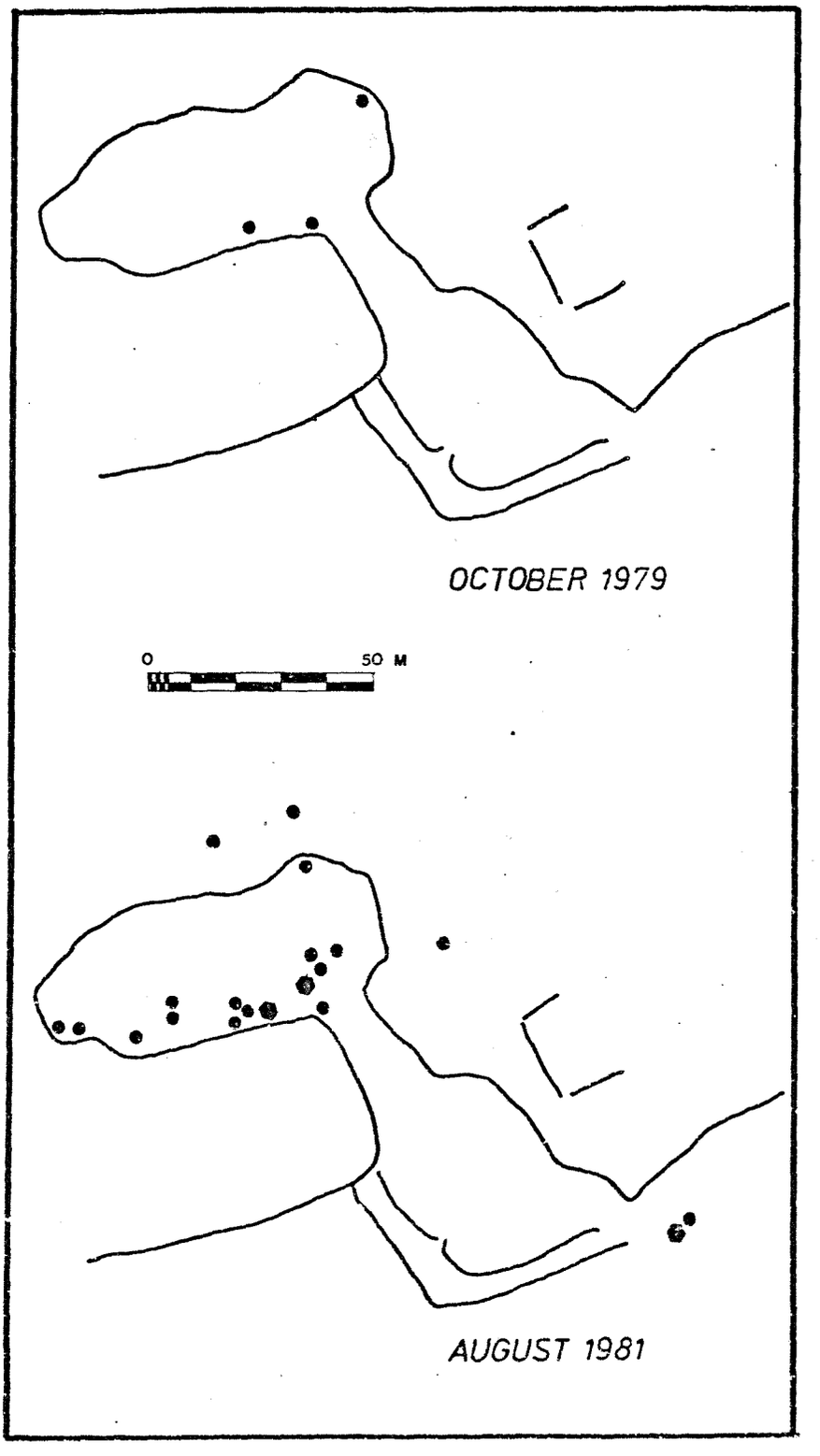


Figure 35: Tomlin's Gate (Oxfordshire), the Results of Fieldwork on Two Occasions. (dots = sherds).

of pottery. Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age forms and fabrics in the Upper Thames Valley are distinctive, while Middle Iron Age forms and fabrics are less so. Thus on a site with Early and Middle Iron Age occupation only the Early phase might be recorded from an analysis of surface material (the same appears to be true of excavated contexts with residual sherds; Lambrick pers. com).

Imposed bias is also significant in the examination of single sites. I have fieldwalked Roman sites and sub-consciously ignored Saxon pottery and also flints (located on subsequent examination of the site) due to the proliferation of Roman material.

Imposed bias necessitates that the individual worker should be fully conscious of, and familiar with, all the classes of material with which he is concerned; that the fieldworker should be conscious of all the potential biasses (inherent and imposed) in methods of field collection and that sites should be continuously rewalked under varying conditions.

Most of these problems exist also when one turns to fieldwork on a regional scale. One inherent bias that may be regionally specific concerns preferential decay of pottery under varying enviromental conditions. Rhodes has argued that on Chalk Downs pottery is more liable to erosion, and thus less likely to be recovered, than in low-lying valleys (1953, 60). If this is true then the problem may result in severe bias where surface collections span a variety of ecological zones.

An inherent bias at the regional scale is the impossibility of access to some areas (eg pasture, built-up areas, quarries, private land); this may cause problems in a regional survey.

A further practical problem is the expense, in time and money, of regional surveys based on sample collection. Such surveys have become popular in the United States (see Mueller (edt), 1976; Schiffer and Gummerman (edt), 1976). This is partly a consequence of the greater emphasis

on planning and conservation in America, and partly a consequence of the greater quantities of public money available for archaeological research.

Large scale fieldwork projects are commonly based on some form of sampling procedure (Binford, 1964; Cherry and Shennan, 1978). However such projects require centralised planning and funding, as they are expensive (Schadla-Hall and Shennan, 1978). On the whole British archaeology has been unable to face the problems of sample based regional surveying.

By contrast more localised surveys of restricted localities are proliferating (Cunliffe, 1973; Foard, 1978; Cowell, 1980; Hingley, 1980C, 1981B). I need do no more than restate Cherry and Shennan's point that the value of the results of such surveys is largely restricted to the small areas that are surveyed (1978, 25).

Excavation.

The problems inherent in excavation tend to be understressed. To the aerial photographer worried about the value of his aerial photographic plots one may remark that excavation plans are also incomplete; while to the field archaeologist worried by the bias in representation of his surface collection one might point out the biasses of artefact recovery, and site boundary definition in excavation. Excavation also has the inherent disadvantage that it is expensive and, as presenly conducted, is often of limited value for regional analysis (54).

At the level of the single site one inherent bias concerns the effects of ploughing on archaeological sites. Guilbert has demonstrated the effect that ploughing could have had if it had removed 24 cm depth of "natural" at Moel y Gaer (1975, Figure 4). This is a very serious bias, as it seems very hard to assess just what has been lost on a ploughed site, and it would appear that data loss is artefactual as well as structural (Hingley, Forthcoming C). It would also seem that information is lost through natural processes on unploughed sites (Atkinson, 1957, 228).

An inherent and imposed bias concerns boundary definit-

ion on archaeological sites. Archaeologists are often unable, or unconcerned, to locate the boundaries of the settlements that they excavate. Two examples from the survey region will illustrate this point; at (3804B) Standlake Down Riley was unable to record the total ground plan of an Iron Age settlement due to the fact that a quarry had cut across the site prior to its excavation (Figure 36), while at (4897B) Ashville an area of intensive Early/Middle Iron Age occupation was located, but the edges of the area were not recorded (Figure 37). The Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit have recently been conducting excavations aimed to locate this boundary. However even when the apparent boundary of an area of occupation is located this may merely represent the boundary of a compound unit, rather than of the site itself (see 52). Excavation on the gravel is seldom extensive enough for certainty that the whole settlement has been recorded: In fact the only examples of sites that have been fairly fully excavated are the Unit's excavations at Claydon Pike, Minge's Ditch and Farmoor.

An imposed bias on the recovery of site plans has been the mechanical removal of top soil on archaeological sites. Such a process in the past has often been undertaken for the convenience of contractors, not that of the archaeologist concerned; and the practice can lead to the loss of much of the information on a site that has survived the plough. At Ashville (Figure 37) the west of the excavated area was more heavily stripped than the east, and this may explain the lesser density of post holes to the west of the excavated area (Parrington, 1978)

Finally concerning imposed bias in the excavation of single sites Clarke (1979), writing on his work at Skara Brae, has demonstrated that the collection of artefactual material on excavated sites is severely biased by perception.

In terms of inter-site research an inherent bias is that only a very small proportion of all known sites can be excavated. This means that excavation can not be the

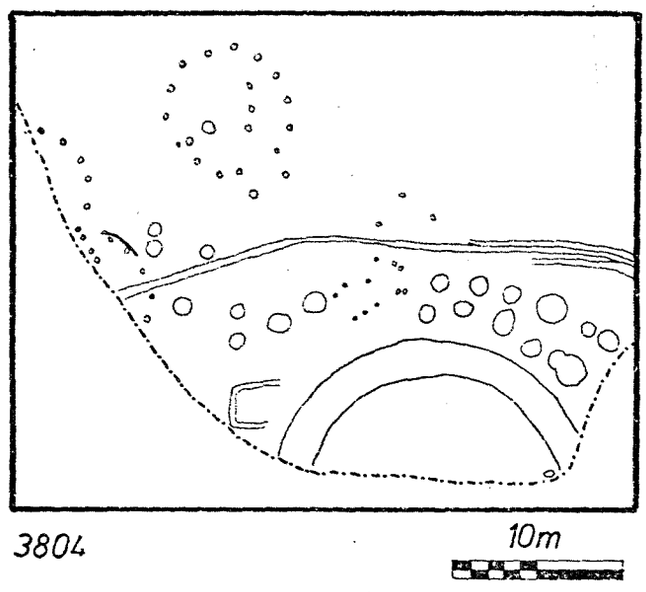


Figure 36: Riley's Excavations at Standlake Down (dotted and dashed line represents the edge of a quarry).



Figure 37: The Excavated Area at Ashville.

major tool of regional research.

I would argue that a further imposed bias in excavation is the concept of the "site"; the single site (or type site) approach makes the arbitrarily defined site, and not the region, the landscape or whatever, the unit of analysis (54). If the site is to be used as a unit of analysis we must learn far more about the significance and nature of the spatial structure of the human landscape, and adopt some standardised techniques to analyse that structure.

Despite all of these problems excavation does represent one of the major tools of regional analysis. Problem-orientated excavation can provide detailed evidence of chronology, and the spatial structure of the human landscape (particularly at the intra-site scale). However I would argue that excavation should be based on regional research designs, rather than the threat of destruction and the arguments of expediency.

Having considered the inherent and imposed biasses in the three major tools of regional research we may now consider the procedures followed in this research.

Aerial Photography.

Three important considerations conditioned the collection of aerial photographic information.

Firstly, there is a time-lag in the dissemination of information from the central aerial photographic data banks (the National Monuments Record, and the Cambridge Committee on Aerial Photography) to the provinces (Benson, 1975; Hampton and Palmer, 1977). One aim of the research was to update the record of aerial photography for the Upper Thames Valley (Hingley, 1980 B).

Secondly, I have demonstrated the gross bias in aerial photographic cover towards the gravels of the Upper Thames Valley (120); my survey was intended to lessen this bias.

Thirdly, there was no corpus of plans derived from aerial photography at a sufficient level of accuracy to enable morphological analysis of settlement data, and I intended to produce such a record.

My initial work, prior to undertaking research, was funded by the British Academy, with the intention that I should produce a record of all new crop mark coverage of the Upper Thames Valley. Due to the bias in research towards the gravels it was felt that the survey should be extended to cover the Corallian Ridge and the Cotswolds, as well as the gravels of the area. The area for which data was recorded initially was rather larger than that considered in this thesis.

The state of aerial photographic cover for the area in 1979 was as follows. The Benson and Miles survey of 1974 meant that the Oxfordshire Sites and Monuments Record was complete for photographic cover of the gravels up to 1972. For the gravels no systematic survey of aerial photographic cover had been conducted since 1974. In addition no detailed survey of other areas of the survey region (the Corallian Ridge, the Vale of the White Horse and the Cotswolds Uplands) had been conducted even in 1974.

The examination of Cambridge Committee and National Monuments Record photographs in September/November 1979 produced a large number of new sites of varying date. Information was transfered to the Oxfordshire Sites and Monuments Record.

The examination of aerial photographs taken with an archaeological purpose in mind enabled the extension of aerial photographic cover onto the Corallian Ridge. In addition to these archaeological air photographs a couple of County Council surveys taken for non-archaeological purposes were available for examination. These were the 1961 Fairey Air Survey of Oxfordshire, and the 1969 Fairey Air Survey of Berkshire. The 1961 survey was taken in the summer months and produced a series of previously unknown earthworks and crop mark sites, some of probable Iron Age date, in the north of the survey region (Hingley, 1981c).

Results of the survey for my region were as follows (Appendix 3). Figure 38 shows sites of probable Iron Age date (in other words those incorporated in the Inventory,

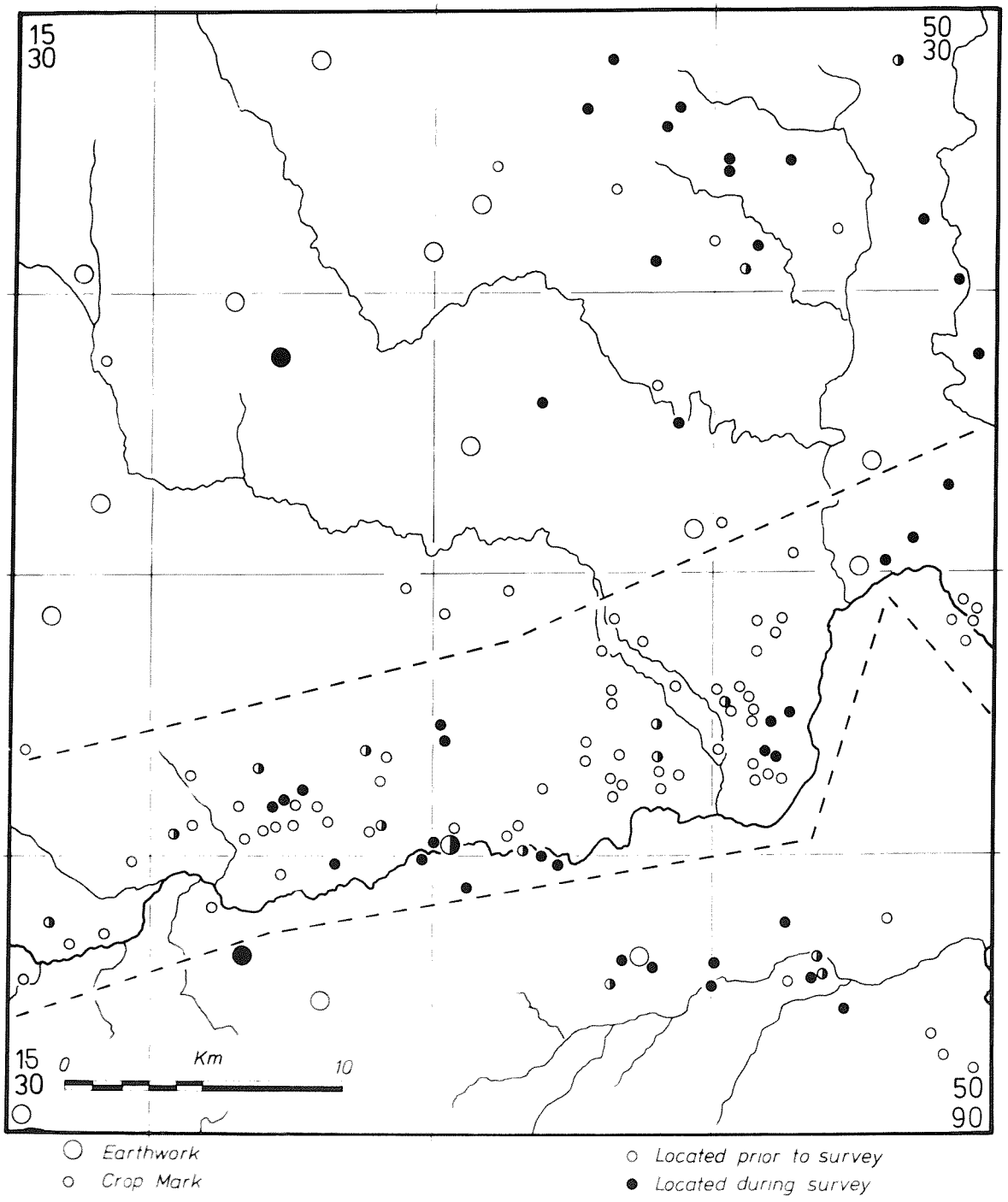


Figure 38: Sites of Probable Iron Age Date in the Survey Region Located Prior to, or During Survey (half filled circles are sites known prior to the survey but for which additional information has been collected).

300). 181 sites are shown on the plan; this figure includes those known prior to my survey (101 in number); sites known prior to the survey, but for which additional information has been recovered (32 in number); and sites first recorded during the survey (of which there are 48). The survey has provided an additional 27% in terms of the number of sites known in September 1979. For only 56% of the present total of sites was the information presented in the Inventory available in 1979 (Appendix 3).

Results include the fact that for one very well researched area of the gravels between Lechlade and Oxford about 30% additional data (measuring this time by the extent of crop marks) was recorded from the air between 1973 and 1979 (Figure 39). New sites include two settlements of probable Iron Age date within a few hundred metres of the famous crop mark complex at Linch Hill Corner, Stanton Harcourt; and also many "pastoral camps" (162) on the Thames floodplain (Hingley, 1981 C).

This new information is of even greater significance in some localised areas of the survey region. In the northernmost 15 km of the region 34 sites are recorded, and only 19 (56%) were in the Sites and Monuments Record in 1979 (Appendix 3). In addition most of these sites were defended enclosures; the survey has indicated that banjo enclosures, previously almost unknown to the north of the Thames (Perry, 1972), occur in some numbers on the Cotswolds.

To continue the discussion of the broad dichotomy between archaeological recovery on gravel and non-gravel soils (120), prior to the survey 99 of the 142 Iron Age sites (or 67%) were on gravel/alluvium. After the survey work the figures are slightly less extreme with 117 out of 181 (65%) on gravel. Perhaps of greater significance is the fact that the 18 sites located on the gravel represent 16% of the total of sites for the gravel region, while the 25 sites located off the gravel represent 39% of the sites in these regions (Appendix 3).

Recording of crop marks involved detailed plotting as

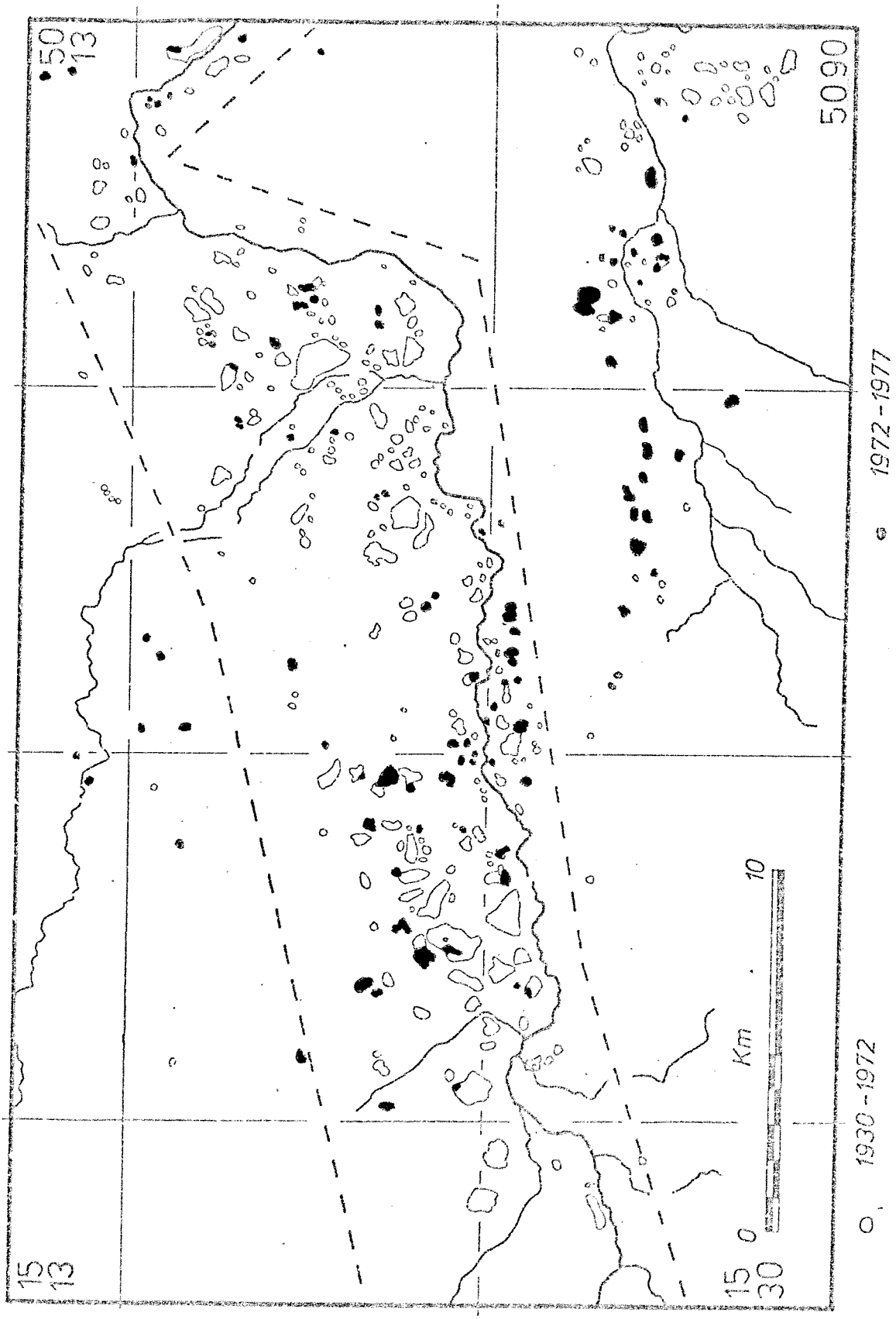


Figure 39: Crop Marks on the Gravels and Corallian Ridge of the Upper Thames Valley (after Hingley, 1980B).

morphological analysis can only be conducted on relatively accurate, large scale plots. Such analysis can not be conducted on the types of plots usually incorporated in Sites and Monuments Records, due to the small scale and inaccuracies of these plots.

Palmer suggests a scale of 1:5000 or 1:2500 for the plotting of settlements for morphological analysis. I have utilised a scale of 1:2000 (reduced to 1:3000 in the Inventory, 301) as this suited my purpose and means.

Scollar (1975, 1978A) and Palmer (1977) have discussed computer methods for plotting crop marks. I have adopted Scollar's manual "Mobius-Network" method, as there seems little to choose in terms of accuracy between the manual and computer methods, and I did not have access to a computer in my place of work.

I should stress that the aerial photograph plots presented in the Inventory do not represent primary data. For most of the sites illustrated in the Inventory these are the most accurate plots yet drawn; however more attention could have been paid to detail. In addition such plans should only be used as basic data by those who know their limitations (in other words those who have examined the photographs from which the plots have been made). In two cases I have been able to check the accuracy of my plots through excavation (at the Tomlin's Gate banjo and the Noah's Ark amphitheatre) and the drawings have been accurate to within 5 m.

To conclude, my three aims in collecting crop mark information were as follows; to collect new information on the region as a whole, to attempt to lessen the bias in the distribution of crop mark data, and to plot accurately all Iron Age sites at a standard scale.

Fieldwork.

I have noted that the most adequate regional survey techniques involve some form of random sampling strategy. However my resources during this field survey project were too limited to allow the undertaking of a major piece of fieldwork of this type. Consequently fieldwork was under-

taken in a problem-orientated manner.

Fieldwork was primarily undertaken to provide dating material for sites already known through aerial photography. In addition two detailed surveys of restricted localities were undertaken.

Fieldwork has been undertaken on 58 crop mark/earthwork sites within the survey area (Figure 40). All but two of the defended enclosures have been examined, and sizeable quantities of pottery located on the surface of the ramparts at (1591) Castle Hill, (2694) Badbury and (3796) Cherbury; in addition small quantities of pottery have been found at other defended enclosures (see Hingley, Forthcoming D). As the defended enclosures of the Upper Thames Valley are comparatively poorly known (Harding, 1972, 48) any possible evidence for dating is very valuable. During the survey notes were also kept on the conditions of preservation of these monuments (see Hingley, 1980A).

Thirty one crop mark sites have been investigated. These sites were primarily in areas for which excavation information is lacking (compare Figures 40 and 42). Some of the sites produced fairly large quantities of material from surface examination; for instance (2302) Langford, (3601) Cold Harbour Cottages, (3698) Cow Lane and (4120) Tomlin's Gate. On the majority of sites occupation material was not found in any quantity. Most of the sites fieldwalked were of Iron Age date, and relevant information has been incorporated in the Inventory.

The strategy behind single site field work was to examine site types for which little in the way of dating evidence existed, and to examine sites in areas where excavation cover was minimal. Fieldwork was concentrated on the Corallian Ridge, in the Cotswolds and in the area of gravel central to the east-west axis of the region.

In addition to single site fieldwork two regions were fieldwalked. One detailed survey of a 7 km^2 area at the Noah's Ark, Frilford was begun in 1977, and has continued every year since (Figure 41). The intention was to fieldwalk all fields under ploughed conditions, and to rewalk

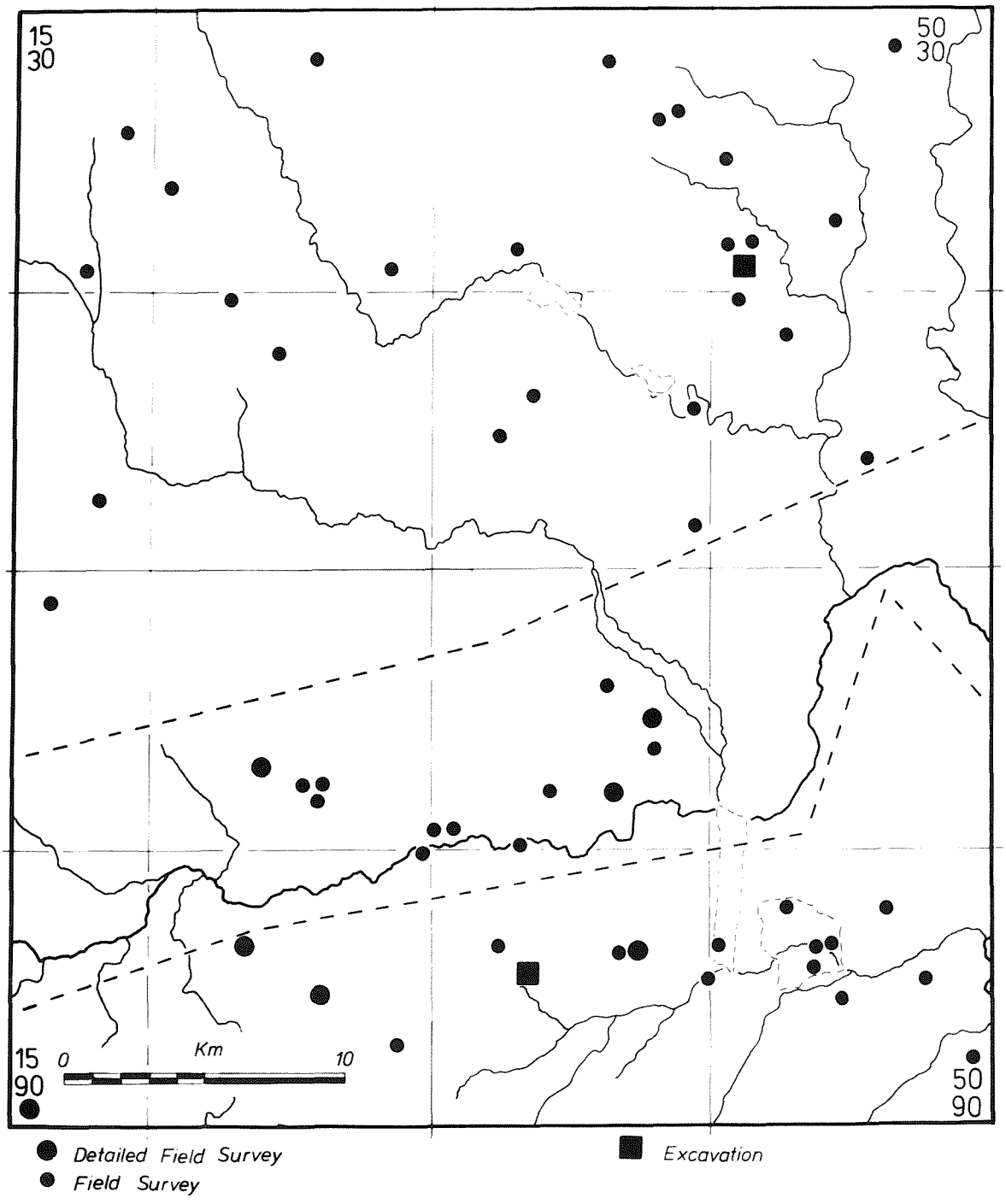


Figure 40: Sites Examined in the Field During the Survey (areas outlined by dashed lines are thòse that have been subjected to detailed field survey).

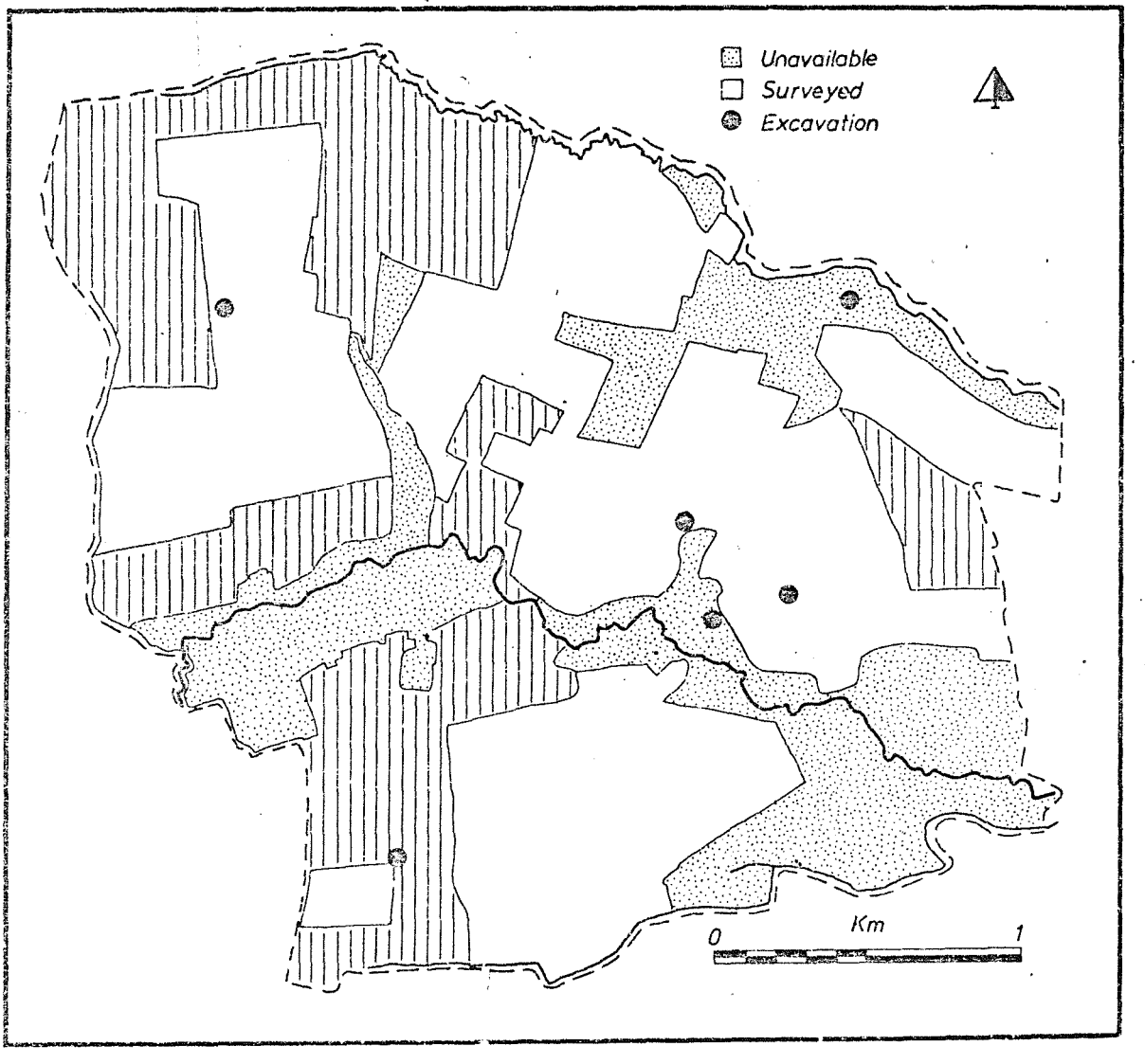


Figure 41: Field Survey at the Noah's Ark Inn (Frilford; Oxfordshire): Areas Surveyed and Excavations.

all fields as often as possible with the intention of recovering sites of all dates. I do not wish to discuss the methods of fieldwork in great detail, but the survey has recovered a palimpsest of sites of all dates.
——— the survey is acting as a check on the usage of aerial photography for site location, as a very complete aerial photographic record exists for this area.
——————— Ron Cowell has conducted a survey of much of Kingston Bagpuize parish, 1 km to the west of the Noah's Ark survey region (Cowell, 1980). We have here one of the most intensively surveyed areas of Southern Britain.

In addition a survey has been carried out on an area of about 1 km around Oaklands Farm in the Cotswolds Uplands. This survey was initially intended to be rather more extensive and to provide information on a little known area within the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch. Two kilometres further upstream along the river Evenlode Tim Copeland is conducting a survey of a similar area to the west of Chadlington (1981). These two surveys have produced Roman sites, but Iron Age sites seem to be absent from the areas.

Detailed surveys of this type are of some value for testing theories based on unsystematic archaeological survey; however the limitations of such surveys for a regional perspective have been noted (130).

My excuse for the limited nature of my fieldwork in this project is lack of funds and time. In addition I would support my approach to problem-orientated survey against claims of lack of methodological rigour, as one potential value for random sample based survey is to test theories, and this problem-orientated fieldwork is theory generating (184).

Excavation.

The contribution of excavation to the survey has been of two forms. Firstly, all data on excavations within the region (Figure 42) has been incorporated in the Inventory. All plans of excavated features have been reproduced at a scale of 1:225 (301).

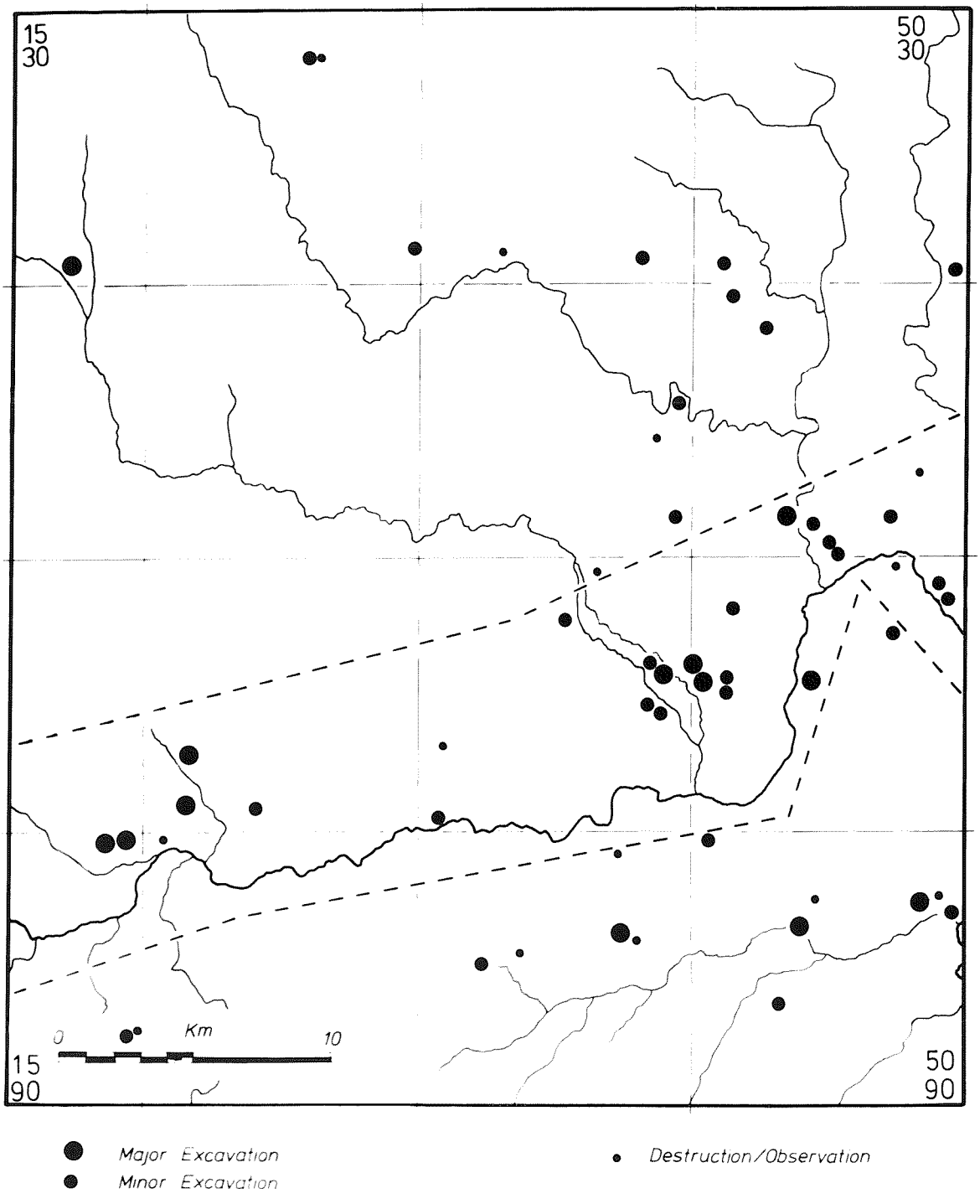


Figure 42: Excavations in the Area of the Survey Region.

Secondly, by way of the extension of fieldwork, a few small scale excavations have been conducted; these include excavations on the Corallian Ridge at (3395) Hatford and (4496) the Noah's Ark Inn, and in the Cotswolds Uplands at (4120) Tomlin's Gate. In addition the results of an excavation by Margaret Jones at (2199) Loders Field have been written up for publication (Darvill, Hingley and Timby, Forthcoming).

iii) Conclusions to Chapter 6.

In section (i) we examined previous approaches to data collection and analysis in the Upper Thames Valley. Certain failings of previous research were noted. Particularly significant was the overemphasis of research towards the gravel regions of the Oxford Clay Vale. Another major fault was the overemphasis on excavation as a tool in regional research. The emphasis on excavation may be valid if single site analysis is the aim of research, or if the project is aimed at collecting artefactual/botanical evidence. However if the aim of analysis is to be the reconstruction of regional patterns of settlement (and social form) then an alternative perspective is vital.

In section (ii) the methods of such an alternative perspective were considered. These methods involved a reorientation of research to analyse a range of enviroments. Also of importance was the use of aerial photography and fieldwork as survey techniques.

To contrast my approach to a rather more traditional method we may compare the map produced by Harding (1972) with a Figure showing the Iron Age sites discussed in this thesis (Figures 43 and 44). The majority of sites illustrated on Harding's map are those of excavations, and although it would be a slight exaggeration to say that "Major settlements" on the illustration are the sites of major excavations, while "Minor Settlements" represent the sites of small scale excavations, there is clearly some truth in the observation. By contrast to Harding's 26 sites I have been able to utilise information from 181 sites in my survey.

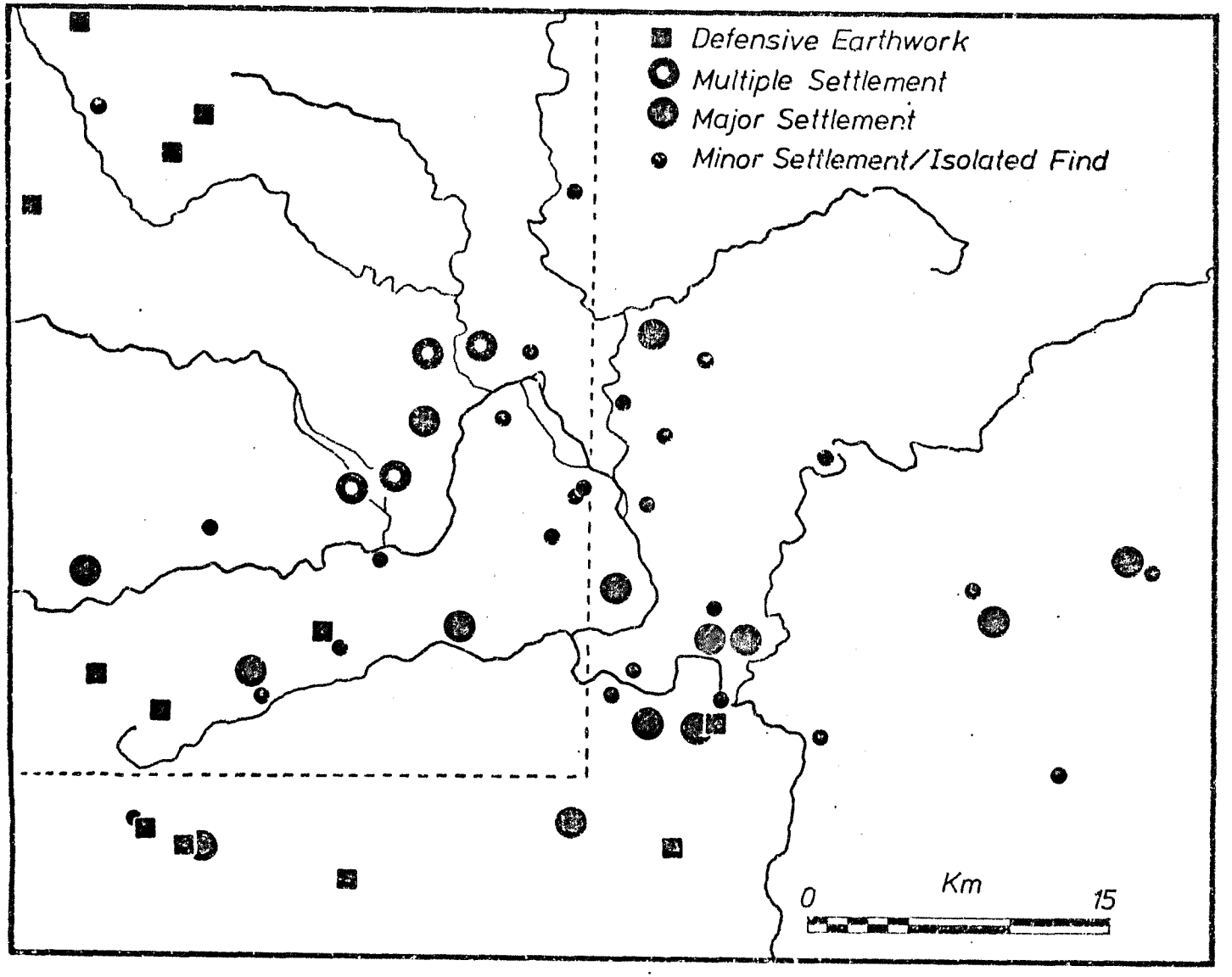


Figure 43: Harding's Survey Area (the area of Figure 43 is in the top north west corner).

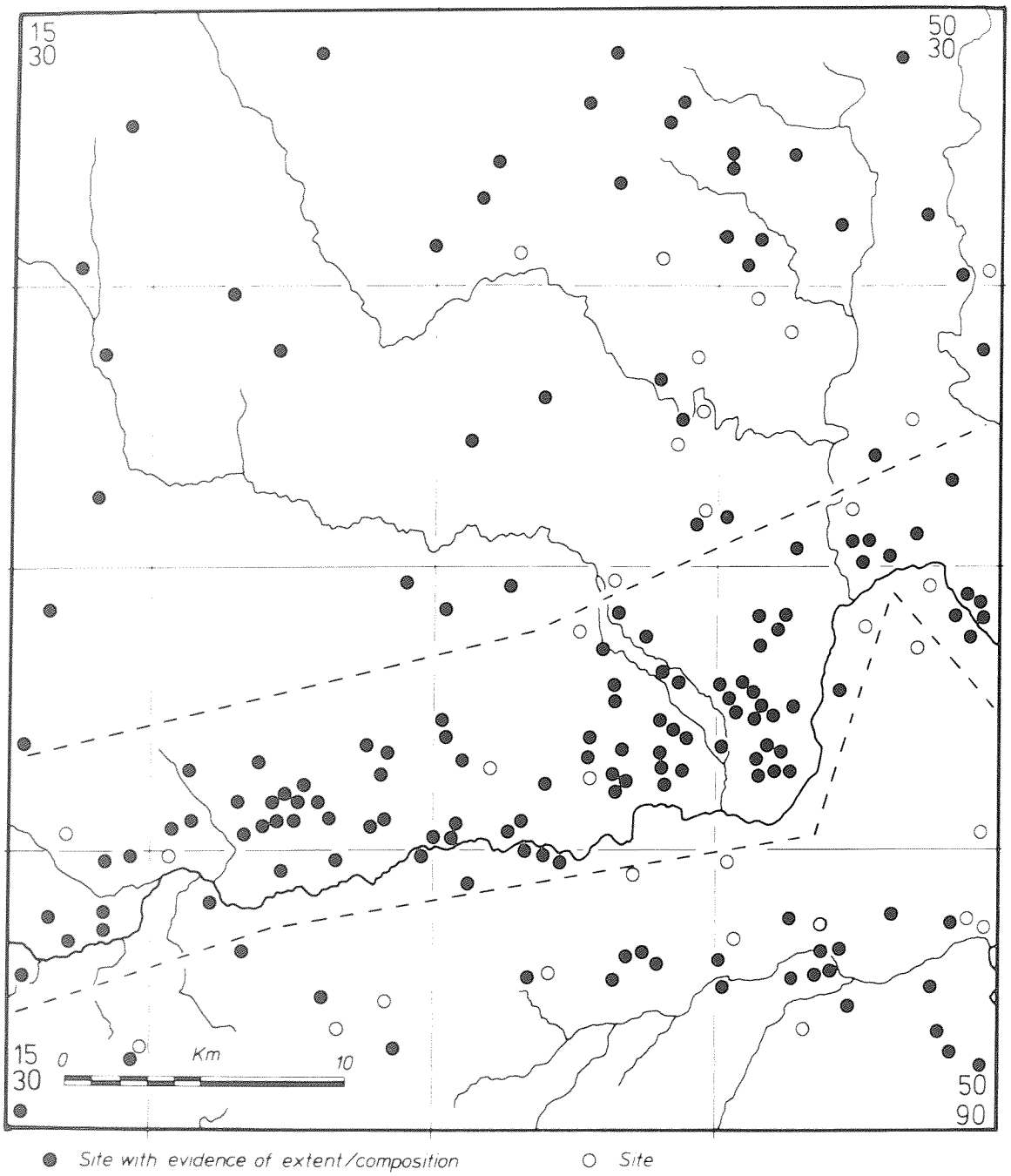


Figure 44: Iron Age sites in the Survey Region.

It remains for me to utilise this information to construct a convincing regional perspective on Iron Age/ Romano-British settlement in the Upper Thames Valley.

Chapter Seven:
Settlement Types and Settlement Distribution.

This Chapter has two main parts; section (i) is a classification of settlements and settlement components. A settlement component is one element within a complex of elements that go together to form a settlement. We shall see that similar elements can in some contexts represent settlements and in other contexts settlement components, and that there is a whole hierachy of settlement components from pits and post holes up through huts and enclosures. Section (ii) of the Chapter is a study of the distribution of settlement types and settlement component types over the five physiographic regions identified in Chapter 5.

Before proceeding with the classification certain points require stressing. The first point is that this research represents a detailed survey of Iron Age settlement: The data for Iron Age settlement is presented in the Inventory. In addition certain Romano-British settlement forms are classified in this section, but the analysis of Roman settlement evidence is selective, both in this Chapter and throughout the rest of the thesis. The Roman settlement evidence has not been studied with the same rigour as the Iron Age evidence.

Secondly, of the later prehistoric sites only those with clear evidence of extent and/or site composition have been considered. Given the research orientations of this thesis, the evidence of small quantities of pottery or the odd pit are of little interest in analysis.

Finally, it seems impossible in the current state of knowledge to draw a clear distinction between certain types of later prehistoric, and certain types of Romano-British settlement. Indeed it is clear that, with a high degree of settlement and population continuity attested, we should not expect a sudden and marked change in settlement form in 43 AD (25). To qualify as an Iron Age settlement a site has to possess one of the following characteristics:

i) Material evidence (ie pottery) related to structural data indicating an Iron Age date.

ii) Settlement components, or settlement form, typically characteristic of an Iron Age date (155). Particularly significant for classification via the second factor is the presence of penannular (round hut) gullies; such gullies are taken to indicate an Iron Age date for sites. Other characteristics that are taken to indicate an Iron Age date include certain distinctive forms of enclosure (303).

Before proceeding with an analysis of settlement form it seems advisable to consider settlement components in rather greater detail.

As stated above, settlement components are elements within the form of a site. Settlement components can be considered to form a ill-defined hierachy of levels, and a settlement component at one level of scale may be formed out of smaller components of its own. Settlement components vary from post holes which, as part of the structure of a hut are elements of composition, to a defended enclosure containing domestic occupation which represents part of a larger open settlement. In other words, settlement components form a variety of levels of scale and are classed together only because they do not represent settlements in isolation from other features (for the method of bounding a settlement see, 52).

At one level of scale pits and post holes are common elements of settlement composition. Pits are prolific on Iron Age settlements throughout Britain, although the number of pits can vary widely between settlements (Bowen and Fowler, 1966; Ritchie, 1971). Pits appear to represent a common indication of Early/Middle Iron Age occupation, and become rarer over much of Southern Britain in the Late Iron Age/Romano-British periods (Harding, 1972, 21; Lambrick, 1978, 118; Hawkes, 1947, 41). Generally pits seem to have had a variety of functions, although storage and rubbish disposal (? a secondary function) may have been two major

purposes (Cunliffe 1978B; Reynolds, 1979, 71).

Within the survey area pits occur on a number of Early to Middle Iron Age sites (Appendix 4).

Post holes are also a common type of Iron Age settlement component. Features created out of post holes include four post structures and huts. Four post structures are conventionally interpreted as granaries, although they may have had a whole variety of other functions (Ellison and Drewett, 1971). Four-and two-post structures are known at a few sites within the survey region (Appendix 4).

Round huts created out of post holes or wall trenches also typify Iron Age sites in this country. Quite a large number of huts are known from excavation in the survey region (Appendix 4).

Many of the round huts that are defined by wall posts are also surrounded by gullies, and it has been claimed that the hut gully in the survey region is a specifically Middle Iron Age phenomenon (Lambrick, 1978). Of the huts known in the survey region about 10 appear to be Early Iron Age, and all are gullyless. 26 of the huts appear to be Middle Iron Age, and 22 of these have surrounding gullies. Four examples are probably Late Iron Age, and one has a surrounding gully (Appendix 4). This information provides some support for the proposition that round huts with gullies are commonly a Middle Iron Age phenomenon.

In addition to their chronological significance hut gullies appear to occur in spatially restricted regions. Thus such gullies seem far more common on the gravels of Midland England than on the chalk soils of Wessex (Perry, 1969; Cunliffe, 1978B). In addition the information reviewed in the Inventory would appear to indicate that hut gullies do not occur with any frequency on the Cotswold Uplands.

Penannular gullies from aerial photography may represent a useful indication of Iron Age occupation in some parts of the survey region (particularly on the gravels and Corallian Ridge). It would seem (on the basis of rather inadequate

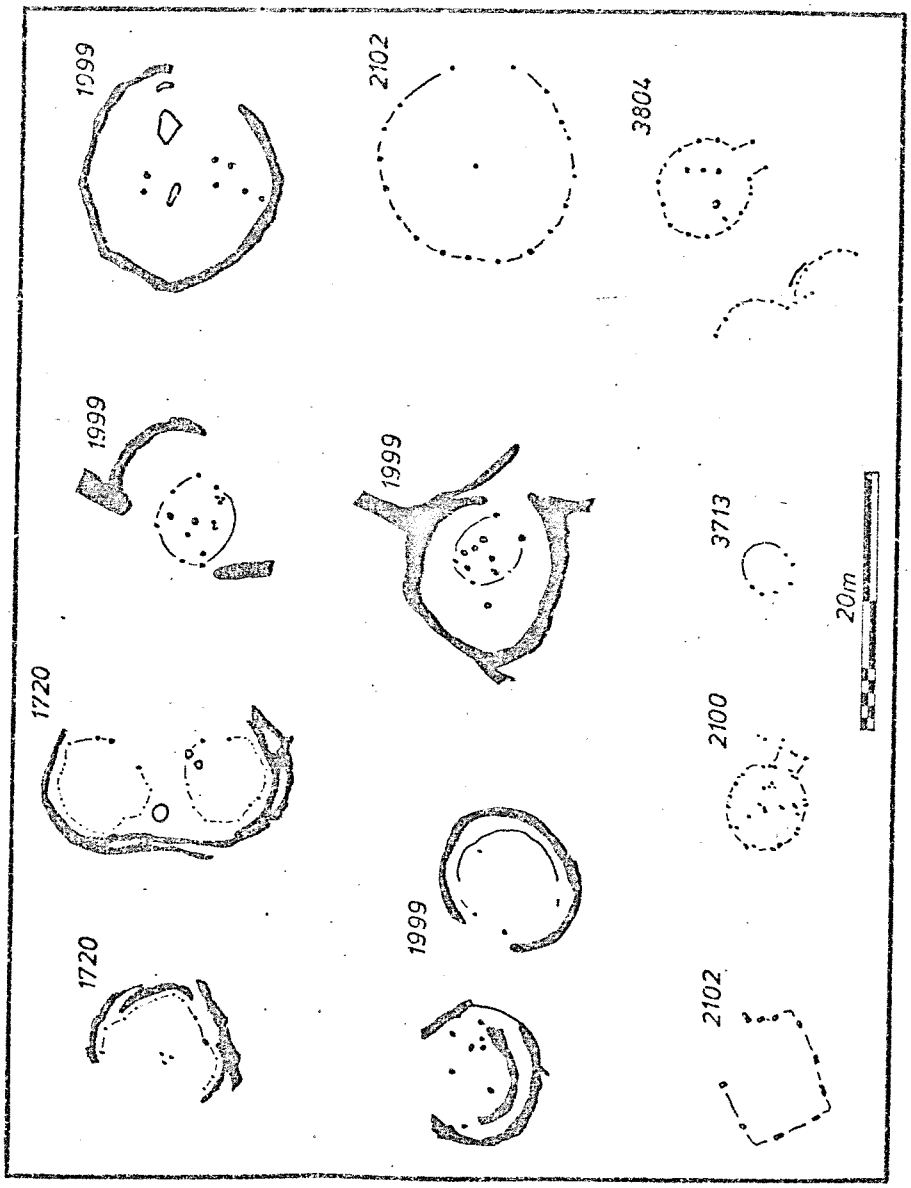


Figure 45: Round Huts in the Survey Region (see Appendix 4 for details).

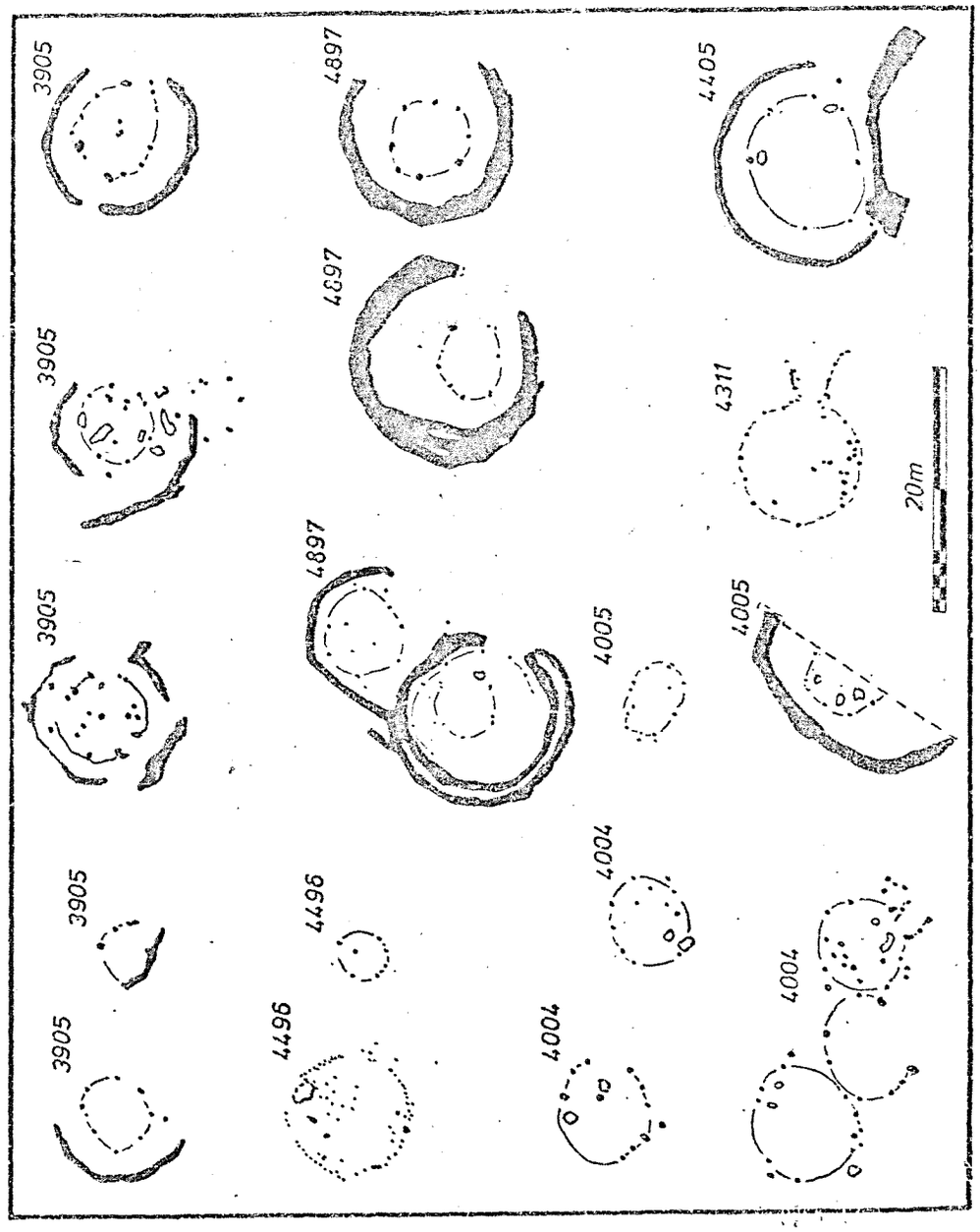


Figure 46: Round Huts in the Survey Region (see Appendix 4 for details).

evidence) that such gullies occur with rather less frequency around Late Iron Age huts. In addition in many areas of Britain in the Late Iron Age and Roman periods round huts appear to be replaced by rectangular ones (see Rodwell, 1978B). In fact a possible rectangular hut of Late Iron Age date is known in the survey area at (3905) Smith's Field, and a further possible example was excavated at (2102) Langford Down. In other words round huts may be broadly indicative of an Iron Age (perhaps even Early/Middle Iron Age) as against a Roman (perhaps Late Iron Age date) date for rectangular huts. However in some areas of the country round huts continue to be constructed into the Roman period (Little, 1964; Williams, 1976 and Rawes, 1981).

In conclusion round huts of post hole construction may be broadly indicative of an Iron Age date, while examples with surrounding gullies may commonly be of Middle Iron Age date.

Other features which occur with some regularity on Iron Age sites include lengths of discontinuous linear and curving gully. In some cases these may represent the remains of field boundaries and enclosures (Harding, 1972, 17). Particularly noteworthy is the system of enclosures at the Middle Iron Age site of (1999) Claydon Pike.

Other significant settlement components include enclosures of various forms. These enclosures can be of defensive or non-defensive type, and can occur as settlement components or as enclosures defining the boundaries of a settlement. Enclosures can be round, rectangular or irregular.

Probably first in the Late Iron Age some agglomerations of enclosures form complex-enclosure systems. Usually the enclosures within such systems appear to represent specialised areas within the settlement (gardens, paddocks etc) rather than the fields of the settlement (Miles, 1978; Lambrick, 1978, 118). At this time ditched trackways, presumably associated with stock, also begin to occur.

i) A Classification of Iron Age and Some Romano-British Settlements and Settlement Components.

The settlement classification adopted in this section is an adapted version of earlier schemes (Perry, 1969, 1972; Harding, 1972, 1974, see also 54). Settlements will be classified into six categories:

i) Defended Enclosures,

ii) Other Enclosures (probably with a demarcation rather than a defensive function),

iii) Open Settlements,

iv) Complex-Enclosure Settlements,

v) Villas,

vi) Minor Towns.

I shall discuss the significance (or functional relevance) of these six classes of settlement.

Defended Enclosures.

Defended enclosures have long been recognised as a site type for the Iron Age (Hawkes, 1931). In addition they form one of the most widespread settlement forms in the European Iron Age (Hill and Jesson, 1971; Avery, 1976; Harding (edt), 1976; Cunliffe, 1978B; Collis, 1975; Waterbolk, 1977; Harke, 1979). These sites are those in which an enclosure has been constructed to act as a defence against attack. Usually such sites are constructed with an eye to natural defences, and a broad division can be drawn between hill top and valley bottom locations.

Hillforts utilise contours for defence, while valley forts utilise marshes and streams. Both types of fortification are common in Southern England (eg Hingley, Forthcoming D).

Cunliffe, in his work on the Chalklands of Wessex, has provided the most detailed discussion of the development of defended enclosures. Cunliffe distinguished "early" hillforts, which will be titled "peripheral" defended enclosures in this thesis. Cunliffe argued that these sites had functions as defended food stores (of cattle, corn and people) and did not represent major centres of population.

These enclosures are often univalate in structure and Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age in date (Cunliffe, 1976C, 1978B, 268).

Cunliffe also distinguishes "developed" hillforts, which will be titled "central" defended enclosures in this thesis. Central defended enclosures were centres of nucleated population, and probably were sites with some form of central place function. These functions may have been economic (production, exchange, consumption) and possibly also religious and administrative. Central defended enclosures are often (although not invariably) Middle Iron Age in date, and were often multivalate in structure. Central defended enclosures were probably less common than peripheral examples, and often seem to have occurred in distinct territories (Cunliffe, 1978B, 271).

In the Late Iron Age, over much of Southern Britain, defended enclosures of the above types seem to have gone out of use, and are replaced by other forms of defensive structure. "Territorial Oppida" are vast enclosures that define an area of territory rather than moveable property/people (Cunilffe, 1978B, 286). In addition some central defended enclosures would seem to have survived into the Late Iron Age (these are Cunliffe's "Enclosed Oppida").

Defended enclosures can represent settlement components as well as settlement types. The evidence for defended enclosures as parts of large open settlements is assessed elsewhere (Hingley, Forthcoming C).

To conclude, peripheral defended enclosures may have been the homes of rather restricted social groups, and in Wessex they commonly seem to have functioned as communal foodstores/strongholds. Central defended enclosures, by contrast, appear to have represented large population nuclei. Central defended enclosures may have had specific administrative and economic functions in addition to their defensive functions. Territorial oppida are extensive systems of dykes related to control of a territory, and they may represent the estates of tribal chiefs (15). If this

is so the sites may be central to late Iron Age chiefdoms.

Other Enclosures.

An enclosure around a settlement or within a settlement can never form anything more than a settlement component; however a broad distinction can be drawn between enclosures that form the boundaries to an area of settlement, and enclosures that represent an area of specialised use within a larger settlement. Enclosures of both types are of a variety of forms.

Oval enclosures of one form or another are very common across Southern Britain. Perry (1969) recognised oval enclosures (sub-divided into three classes) to be a major form of settlement in Iron Age Wessex (55). Little Woodbury was for a time taken as the type site for the Southern British Iron Age (Bersu, 1940). Oval enclosures also occur in the Midlands and North (Riley, 1981), in Scotland (Welfare, 1980, Plate 4), in Wales (Hogg, 1966; Smith, 1977) and Cornwall (Thomas, 1966; Fowler, 1976). Oval enclosures also occur in Continental Europe (Agache, 1970, Plates 103-5).

The oval enclosure class subsumes a variety of types of structure. Examples of enclosures that bound settlements include Little Woodbury and Gussage All Saints (Wainwright, 1979). Some other examples represent specialised areas within larger settlements, as at Moulton Park (Northants; Williams, 1974) and Ryton on Dunsmore (Warwickshire; Bateman, 1976). In the second form the enclosures presumably had a specific function within the settlement; enclosures without internal settlement may represent cattle corrals, while enclosures with internal settlement (whether these are penannular hut gullies, or larger enclosures) may represent the equivalents of "tofts". Evidence of dating would seem to indicate a broadly later prehistoric date for oval enclosures. Clearly some examples are earlier prehistoric (eg Palmer, 1976), but oval enclosures in the Roman period appear to be relatively rare.

Rectangular enclosures are also fairly common in later prehistoric Europe. Some rectangular enclosures of Bronze

Age (59) and of Iron Age date (Perry, 1969) are known in Wessex. Rectangular enclosures also occur in the Northern Midlands (Riley, 1981), in Northern England (Jobey, 1965, 1966, 1976), in Wales (Smith, 1977) and in the south west (Fowler, 1976). Rectangular enclosures also occur on the Continent (eg Agache, 1970. Plates 99-101; Zurn, 1971; Sc-ollar, 1978B). As with oval enclosures, rectangular enclosures occur as settlement enclosures and as components within settlements. Examples as settlement enclosures include Orsett (Essex; Rodwell, 1974), Robin Hood's Arbour (Berkshire; Cotton, 1972), Ructstalls Hill (Hampshire; Oliver and Applin, 1978) and Holcombe (Devon: Pollard, 1974). Rectangular enclosures as settlement components include Ryton on Dunsmore (op cit) and Hod Hill (Richmond, 1968).

The functions of rectangular enclosures may thus have been similar to oval examples. It seems possible, however, that some of the larger examples had some form of status function. A rectangular enclosure requires a greater input of effort for the area enclosed than does an oval enclosure, and could thus represent conspicuous consumption of surplus labour. At Hod Hill Richmond has argued that a rectangular enclosure within a cluster of round huts in the hillfort represented the chieftain's residence (1968). At Holcombe (Devon; Pollard, 1974) and Barton Court (Oxfordshire; Miles, Forthcoming) rectangular enclosures of Iron Age date developedinto Roman villas. Evidence of dating would appear to indicate that examples are Middle Bronze Age through to Roman in date. Rectangular enclosures may become a rather more common occurrence in the Late Iron Age and Roman periods.

In conclusion oval/rectangular enclosures may represent settlement enclosures, or components within settlements (see Figure 47). Clearly the scale and nature of any social group can vary from site to site; however, the construction of an enclosure around a settlement or compound unit within a settlement may indicate a relatively bounded social network (34). In the cases some boundary can be drawn within

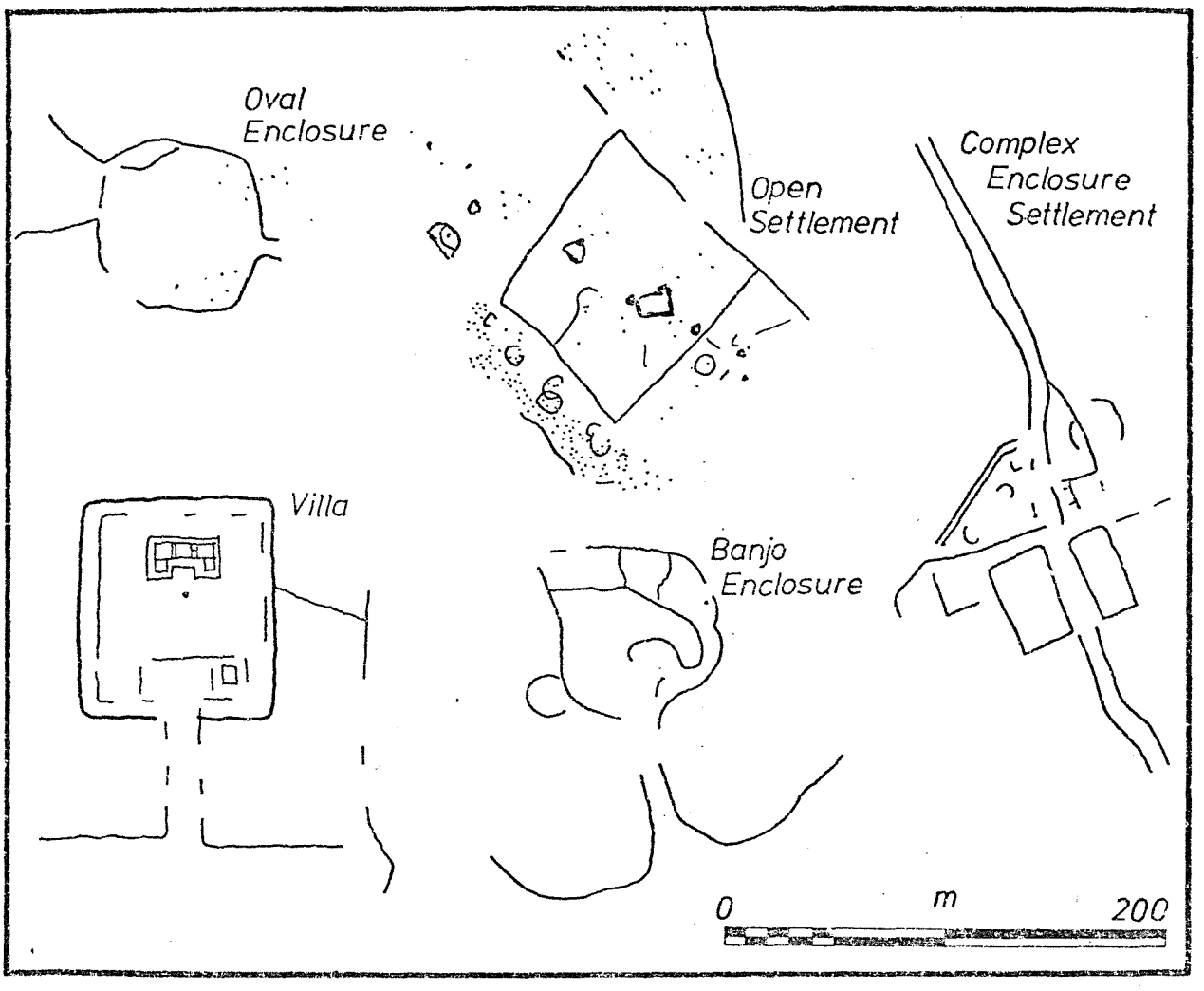


Figure 47: Some Settlement Types and Settlement Components in the Upper Thames Valley. The diagram shows the complexity of the scheme; the open settlement at the centre top includes a rectangular enclosure as a settlement component. The villa refers to the building, and not the banjo enclosure that surrounds it (see the text for further details).

the social group, whether the unit so defined represents a nuclear family, a lineage, a community or whatever.

A third class of non-defensive enclosure is the banjo enclosure. Banjo enclosures were first studied in detail by Perry (1969, 1972), and his work seems of value in classifying these sites. Perry underestimated the spatial distribution of banjo enclosures in Britain; it would now seem that they are characteristic of the Iron Age in North Oxfordshire as well as in Wessex (Hingley, 1981C; Darvill and Hingley, Forthcoming A). Banjo enclosures also occur in Northern and Western Britain (Smith, 1977; Cunliffe, 1978B, Plate 12:16) and on the Continent (Agache, 1970, Plates 101 and 120).

One problem is whether banjo enclosures represent specialised stock enclosures (as Perry seems to have believed), or mixed farms with an integrated arable and pasture element. Analogues exist which would support either interpretation. The "kites" of the Arabian desert bear resemblences to banjo enclosures, and they appear to represent specialised animal corralling enclosures (they are also associated with defended enclosures and linear boundaries: All three elements find parallels in the Southern British Iron Age; see Maitland, 1927; Rees, 1929 and Notes and News, 1954). These enclosures appear to date from the first millenium after Christ.

In Scandinavia there are some alternative parallels. These sites are interpreted as mixed farms with integrated infield and outfield (Myhre, 1973, 1974, 1978; Lindquist, 1974; Widgren, 1979), and seem to date from the late Roman Iron Age and Migration periods.

The interpretation for banjo enclosures as mixed farming settlements is convincing in some cases. One reason for accepting this interpretation is the presence of internal settlement evidence inside the enclosures of excavated banjo sites (at Bramdean; Perry, 1972, at Phase 1 of Owslebury; Collis, 1970, at Micheldever; Fasham, Forthcoming and at Tomlin's Gate; Hingley, 1981A). However this is not a

forceful argument since Huntingford (1934) has proposed from ethnographic research that the best way to protect cattle from raiding is to live in an enclosure with the cattle.

A more forceful point is the location of some banjo enclosures in the landscape. Owslebury, and at least three of Perry's sites (1972, 71) are located on hill slopes and facing downhill towards a stream; this is also true of the majority of banjo enclosures in North Oxfordshire. These enclosures are often located at the point where the light soils of the hills, and the heavy soils of the valleys meet (Collis, 1970). Wid-gren considers this to be the ideal location for arable cultivation (1979; see also Barker and Webley, 1978). In other words the arable land surrounds the enclosure, while the neck of the enclosure points into the valley where the pasture of the settlement lies. Arable is protected from livestock by linear boundaries running out from the entrance track (Figure 70).

Thus some banjo enclosures may represent the arable/pasture divisions of mixed farms. However there seems to be no reason why some such enclosures should not represent specialised stock corralling enclosures. Perry has noted the lack of surface finds from the area of the enclosure at Hamshill Ditches and Gussage Cowdown (1972, 72). In these cases the banjo enclosures are settlement components, and may represent specialised areas within a settlement. In other words banjo enclosures may have fulfilled both of the proposed functions; some may represent stock enclosures, and some may have been mixed farms.

Finally banjo enclosures commonly produce Middle Iron Age pottery (Perry, 1972; Collis, 1970; Fasham, Forthcoming; Hingley, 1981A). It seems probable that some banjo enclosures remained in use into the Roman period, and Roman settlements are sometimes closely associated with banjos (Perry, 1972, 72). In fact a Roman villa at Ditchley (Oxon) lies within a banjo enclosure (Figure 47). In general, however, it would seem probable that banjo enclosures date from a phase of settlement expansion in the Middle Iron Age,

and were often comparetively short lived settlements.

In conclusion, the size of the social group represented within a banjo enclosure could have varied greatly, although the small size of the average enclosure (Perry, 1972) might indicate a rather small scale social group. Banjo enclosures could represent mixed farms with an integrated arable and pasture system. However, when such enclosures occur as settlement components they may represent specialised cattle corrals.

Open Settlements.

The term was coined by Harding (1972) to refer to the Iron Age settlements of the gravel regions of the Upper Thames Valley. Open settlements are clusters of huts, and/or pits and sometimes gullies, which form a settlement that lacks an enclosing earthwork. These sites appear to represent the type site for the Middle Iron Age over much of Midland Britain (Cunliffe, 1978B, 169). In addition similar sites occur sporadically in Wessex (Perry, 1969), in Scotland (Welfare, 1980, Plate 4), in North West Wales (Stevens, 1966) and in the South West of Britain.

The distinctive factor is the absence of an enclosing boundary; although various forms of enclosure occur within these settlements (157), and in addition tenuous boundaries occur on some of these sites (Harding, 1972).

Botanical evidence from some of the Upper Thames Valley sites (for instance, 4897B, Ashville) would appear to indicate that some of the open settlements in the Upper Thames Valley were the homes of social groups conducting a mixed farming strategy. However, in the Upper Thames, a clear sub-division of the class of open settlements has been indicated by the recent work of Lambrick and Robinson at (4405) Farmoor. At this Middle Iron Age site on the floodplain of the river Thames botanical evidence indicated that the rich alluvium of the river Thames was utilised by herders living in specialised summer cattle camps (see Lambrick and Robinson, 1979). Therefore, it is possible to recognise two classes of open settlement, those on the

gravel terraces which may represent agricultural settlements occupied on a year round basis, and sites on the floodplain which represent cattle camps occupied on a seasonal basis.

In relation to the year round agricultural settlements it is difficult to see how cattle were kept from the crops during the growing season. This is because the open settlements lack a coherent system of enclosure ditches to prevent cattle from straying onto the arable. It is possible that some of the small enclosures that occur within the open settlements represent cattle corrals (157), but these can only be related to control, not to pasturing, of cattle. It would seem quite likely that cattle were kept well away from the fields of the open settlements during the growing season. Lindquist, in discussing Iron Age settlement on Gotland (1974), and McCourt, discussing Medieval Irish settlement (Unpublished, 45), have proposed that cattle were transhumed to seasonal pasture to remove them from the area of the arable fields. Seasonal transhumance away from the arable lands of the community may also have occurred in the Iron Age of the Upper Thames Valley.

In conclusion, open settlements would seem to be the homes of social groups at varying levels of scale. In terms of the structure of the settlement the absence of boundaries at a scale above that of the individual residence may indicate that social groups were not clearly defined or corporate (34), and perhaps that rights and duties created overlapping groups that could not be clearly bounded.

In terms of subsistence strategies a split occurs in the Upper Thames Valley between sites on the gravel terraces, which appear to represent mixed farms occupied year round, and sites of the floodplain which were seasonal pastoral camps.

Complex-Enclosure Settlements.

Open settlements are primarily an Early/Middle Iron Age phenomenon. In the Later Iron Age they appear to be succeeded in some areas of Britain by complex-enclosure settlements. As with the case of open settlements, complex-enclosure settlements occur across much of Southern Britain.

Examples are known in Wessex (Hawkes, 1947), in Essex (Drury, 1978), and on the gravels and uplands of the Midlands (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1976). In addition a similar trend from open to complex-enclosed settlement appears to occur in Scandinavia at about the time of Christ (Lindquist, 1974).

Complex-enclosure systems are distinguished from enclosures by classifying all aggregates of two or more enclosures, and all enclosure-complexes of three or more enclosures as complex-enclosure systems. An enclosure-aggregate exists where the enclosure that defines the edges of the enclosure system defines an irregular area, while an enclosure complex is a group of enclosures that form sub-divisions within a larger enclosure.

Enclosures within such settlements are presumably areas with specific functions, these functions requiring the areas to be marked off from others. It seems possible that the creation of an enclosure system represents the creation of some form of private right to property within the community. This property probably represents resources within the settlement area, rather than the arable and pasture areas of the community (154). Field systems remain invisible in the Late Iron Age/Roman settlement record as in the Early/Middle Iron Age record. The enclosures of complex-enclosure settlements therefore presumably represent house tofts, gardens and paddocks.

In addition to enclosures, trackways occur in association with complex-enclosure settlements. These trackways may indicate that cattle were becoming more fully integrated into the arable economy. No evidence for seasonal camps of Late Iron Age date has been recovered from the Upper Thames Valley, and it seems possible that the function of the cattle camp was absorbed into the year round gravel terrace settlements.

Finally, complex-enclosure settlements are a Roman as well as Late Iron Age phenomenon. Roman complex-enclosure settlements are the "native farmsteads"/"villages" of Roman archaeology (68).

In conclusion, complex-enclosure settlements vary in terms of the social group that they represent. The presence of enclosures and trackways may indicate that farming had become fully integrated into the single settlement; while private rights to areas may also have been a cause of the creation of these settlements.

Villas.

Villas are a specifically Roman type of settlement structure. Villas are farmsteads with stone walls and tiled roofs; and at the same time the concept of the villa involves the ownership of a private estate by an individual or a restricted social group (68). Villas are Romanised settlements, and this process of Romanisation may have involved some form of capital accumulation (4).

Villas occur across the whole of the south of the Roman Province, and as far north as Yorkshire and Durham (Richmond, 1969). Villas are prolific over much of the Roman Empire (Percival, 1976).

Above it was suggested that some villas may have been the homes of new elites of Roman Britain (26). It seems possible that the construction of a Romanised building might have significance in demonstrating new found economic wealth, and also (possibly) the permanence of new found status (37). Clearly villas, as innovations with an ultimately Mediterranean origin (Percival, 1976), acted as symbols of status.

Of possible significance to arguments over the significance of villas is that such structures usually occur in isolation from other settlements (68). In other words villas were the homes of small social groups. This isolation may have some relevance in relation to wish and the ability to accumulate and consume wealth (37).

In conclusion, villas are the homes of small and isolated social groups. In subsistence terms villas probably represented surplus producing farms (hence the ability to construct the building). The land of a villa is a private estate under the control of the villa owner; finally, the building itself is a symbol of the social status of its owner.

Minor Towns.

Roman minor towns are settlements of between 8 and 50 ha (they are usually about 20 to 30 ha in size). Evidence of settlement is usually fairly intensive within the bounds of the settlement, although breaks in the areas of occupation do occur. Within these settlements stone walled buildings are fairly rare; consequently minor towns are often almost invisible from the air (although some have extensive systems of back streets; Wilson, 1975). Most buildings within such settlements were of timber construction (Rodwell, 1975). Temples and mansios are sometimes associated with, and in many cases may be a cause of the growth of, minor towns (Frere, 1975). These settlements are often situated on Roman roads, commonly at river crossings (Rodwell, 1975, Figures 16 and 17). High levels of population are not indicated through archaeological evidence at these sites (Hingley, Forthcoming F), and the justification for the term "town" lies in the assumed function of these settlements.

Minor towns appear to occur at approximately 10 km intervals over much of Southern Britain (Figures 16 and 17). Many minor towns originate in the Late Iron Age/ Early Roman period; the settlements sometimes produce quantities of Early Roman imports and coins (see articles in Rodwell and Rowley (eds), 1975). However, in the Upper Thames Valley, and perhaps in Southern Britain as a whole, minor towns as extensive settlements appear to be third and fourth century AD in date (see the evidence for Frilford and Abingdon in Appendix 10). Above (74) it was suggested that such sites represented lowest order market centres, and indicate the extension of a market based economy to rural areas in Roman Britain.

In conclusion, minor towns may represent fairly large scale social groupings. Agricultural activities were probably conducted from minor towns, but minor towns had specific functions as lowest order market centres (some may also have had administrative functions; Frere, 1975).

ii) The Distribution of Settlement Types and Settlement Components in the Upper Thames Valley.

In this section the distribution of settlement types will be reviewed in relation to the physiographic regions distinguished in Chapter 5 (86).

Defended Enclosures.

Within the survey region peripheral defended enclosures are primarily an upland phenomenon. Peripheral defended enclosures are common on the hilly western section of the Corallian Ridge (Figure 48; Hingley, Forthcoming D) and the uplands of the Cotswolds region (Sutton, 1966). Enclosures are either hill top or hill slope in location, although a couple are situated in valley bottom locations (Appendix 5).

The enclosures vary between 0·7 and 5 ha in area; most of the enclosures appear to be univalate. Dating evidence for four of these eighteen enclosures is for a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age phase of occupation. One example (4519; Cassington) appears to have been of Late Iron Age date. Thirteen of the enclosures have produced no dating material at all, and it will be argued in the next chapter that some of the examples in the Cotswolds are Middle (or even Late Iron Age) in date (212).

In terms of shape, defended enclosures vary from oval to rectangular in shape.

Evidence for internal occupation within peripheral defended enclosures is sparse, although this may be a consequence of the lack of archaeological research into these sites. Areas of the interior of (2628) Chastleton have been excavated, and evidence has been recovered for post holes and hearths. In addition aerial photographic evidence for pits is available for (2219) Idbury, and evidence for pits and penannular gullies for (3000B) Burroway.

A comparison of the distribution of peripheral defended enclosures with Iron Age sites in general indicates that they tend to occur at the periphery of population groupings (Figure 45). They certainly do not seem to occur in the

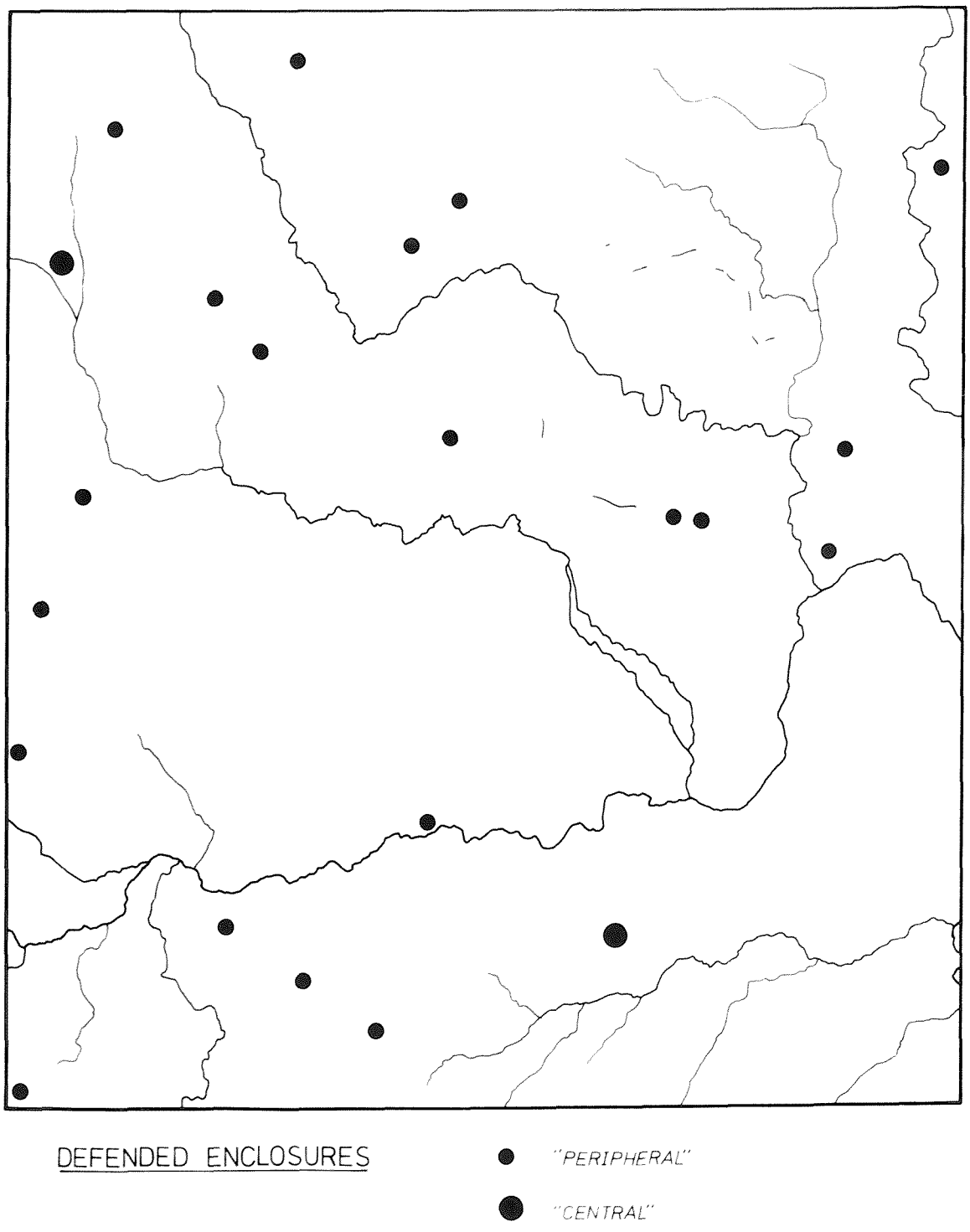


Figure 48: Defended Enclosures in the Survey Region.

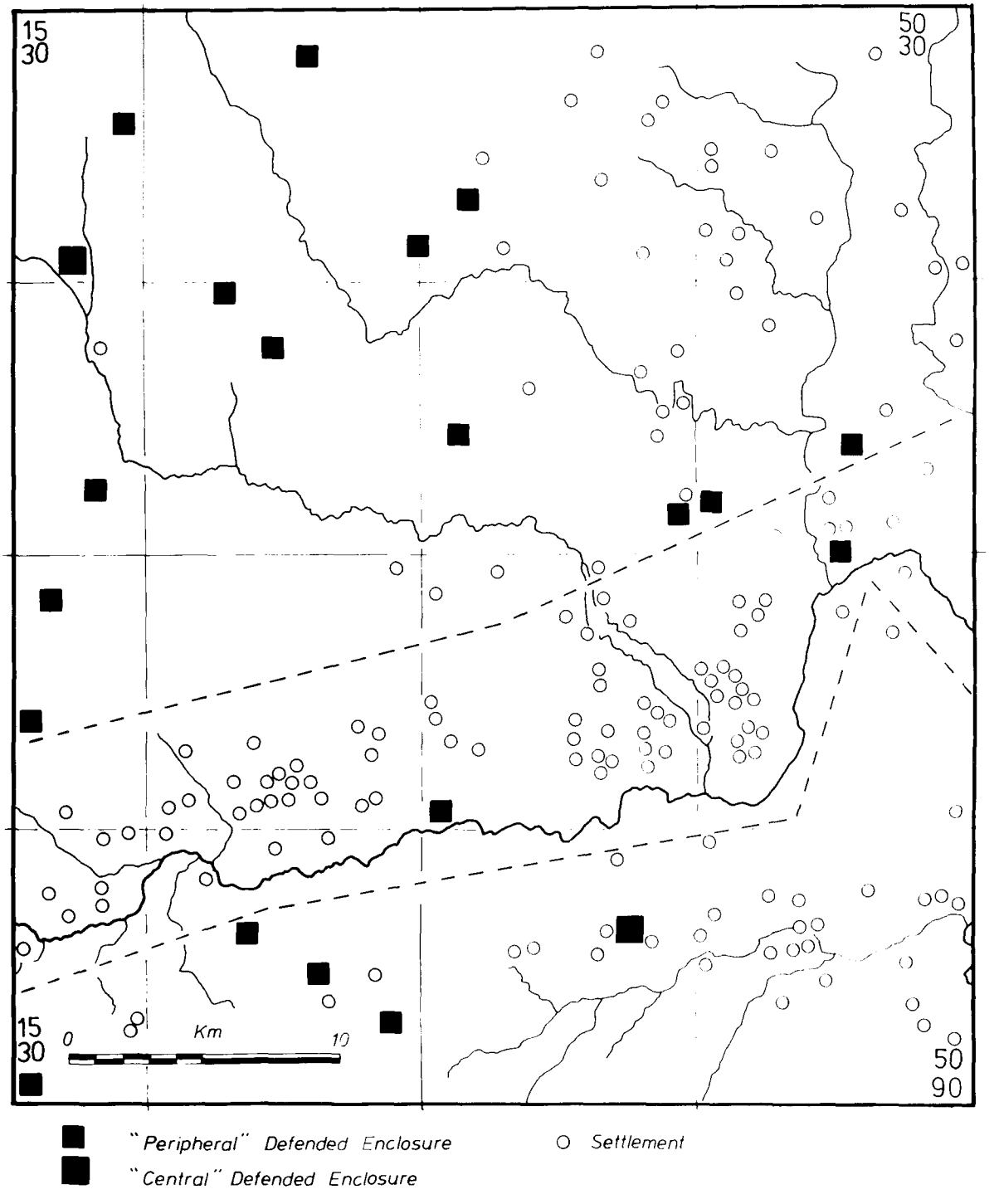


Figure 49: Defended Enclosures in relation to the Distribution of all other Iron Age Settlements.

densest areas of occupation (see further, 199 and 212).

Two possible central defended enclosures occur within the survey region (Appendix 5). Both sites are multivalate, are situated in valley bottom locations, and have produced evidence for Middle Iron Age construction and occupation (Appendix 5). Thus the dating and defensive characteristics of these sites are comparable, but the area of land enclosed by the defences at (3796) Cherbury is small in comparison to that at (1720) Salmonsbury (Appendix 5); However, both sites appear to represent major settlement concentrations. At Cherbury the area of the defended enclosure is about 4 ha, but a 10 ha open settlement lies about 300 m to the east (at 3696 in the Inventory). Although, in terms of my classificatory scheme (52) these represent distinct sites, they are in close enough association to suggest a connection. At Salmonsbury the defences enclose about 22 ha. The reason for the small size of the enclosure at Cherbury may be the nature of the location of the enclosure. At Cherbury the enclosure lies on an island of dry soil in the middle of an area of marshy soil; and the defences of the enclosure follow the edges of the island. The open settlement is on the next area of dry ground to the west of the enclosure (Hingley, Forthcoming D). The evidence of aerial photography indicates occupation in the interior of the Cherbury enclosure. At Salmonsbury small scale excavation of the interior has produced evidence for intensive settlement of Middle/Late Iron Age date.

Following the arguments reviewed in the previous section (156), it seems possible that these sites were social/political central places. As with the peripheral defended enclosures the sites are fairly marginal to areas of high population concentration (although Cherbury is not actually isolated; Figure 49).

One territorial oppidum occurs within the survey region; this is the 63 km^2 North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch (Figure 45). The Grim's Ditch is centred on the valley of the river Evenlode; and is discontinuous, consisting of a bank faced with a ditch (Harding, 1972; Fine, 1976). The earthwork

has been dated to the Late Iron Age by two excavations along its course (Harden, 1937), and by the excavation of an inner earthwork of similar form (Thomas, 1957).

No extensive settlement complex has been located within the enclosure. Above it was noted that the area was one of Middle/Late Iron Age population expansion (99), and evidence of possible intensive arable exploitation from excavation of the dyke has been noted (92).

In addition to the Grim's Ditch it is possible that there is an additional, rather less extensive, territorial earthwork (or possibly set of earthworks) in the survey region. At the Noah's Ark Inn, Frilford (on the Corallian Ridge) a linear earthwork cuts off an area between two streams. This area may be centred on the Iron Age/Romano-British temple site. The nature and context of this possible territorial earthwork will be discussed in greater detail below (224).

Other Enclosures.

Sixty three enclosures (excluding defended enclosures and hut gullies) of possible Iron Age date exist within the survey region. These enclosures include those that form the boundaries of a settlement area, and enclosures that occur as components in a larger settlement.

Some small enclosures (under 0·14 ha in extent) have no evidence of internal occupation (Appendix 6). In cases in which the apparent absence of internal occupation is a true phenomenon, these enclosures may represent cattle corrals. All such enclosures occur on the gravels of the Upper Thames Valley. Of the two excavated examples one is Early Iron Age, and one Middle Iron Age in date (Appendix 6).

In addition larger enclosures which contain huts, and permit room for additional activities, occur within the survey region. These enclosures are between 0·11 and 1·05 ha in area (Figure 50). This group can be sub-divided (following the arguments of the previous section) into oval, rectangular and banjo enclosures; however I wish to discuss a rather more complex typology related to regional

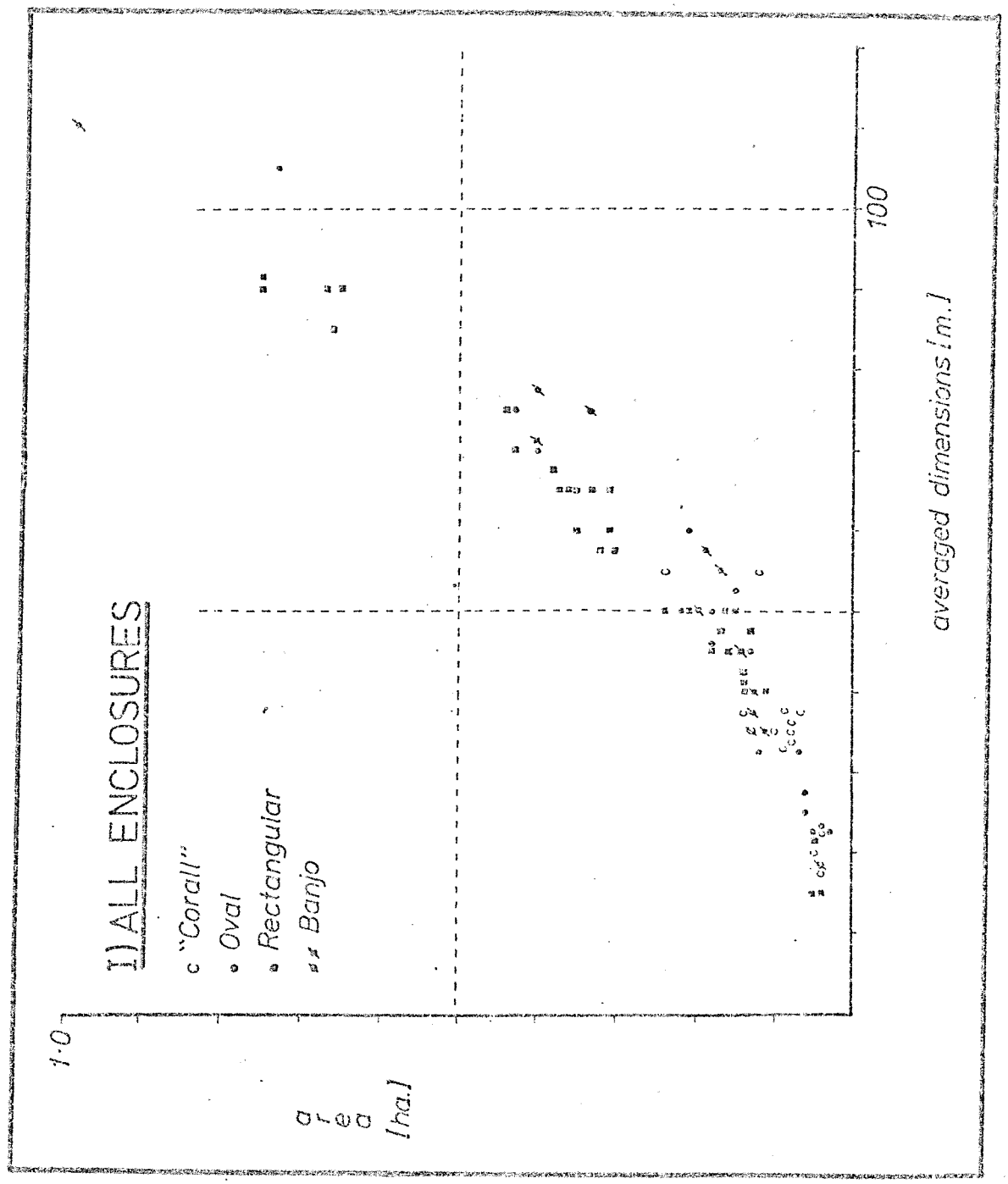


Figure 50: The Size Distribution of Enclosures in the Upper Thames Valley.

patterns of settlement distribution, and this is an element in the structure of the next Chapter (see 193 to 195).

Before completing this discussion of enclosures, one further distinction will be examined; this is the distinction between enclosures as boundaries to settlements, and as components in the structure of the settlement. The evidence appears to indicate a fairly consistent split (see Appendix 6 and Figure 51) between enclosures on the gravels of the Upper Thames Valley, and those on the Cotswolds. On the gravel 46 out of 51 enclosures (or 90%) have possible evidence for settlement within 150 m and thus may represent settlement components. By contrast on the Cotswolds 19 out of 20 enclosures (excluding defended enclosures) appear to represent the bounds to the area of occupation (Figure 51). In other words it seems possible that in 95% of the cases on the Cotswolds the enclosure forms the boundary to the settlement area. The Cotswolds evidence in fact seems less reliable than that for the gravel areas, as occupation areas are harder to recover from aerial photography in the virtual absence of hut gullies (151). My proposition concerning the nature of boundaries in the two areas needs to be tested through further work. A start has been made on this work through the excavation of (4120) Tomlin's Gate in the Cotswold area. At Tomlin's gate excavation and fieldwork indicated that the settlement area (as predicted) lay within the enclosure of the banjo structure.

It may be possible to draw a distinction between gravel societies (and possibly societies of the Eastern Corallian Ridge), for whom the enclosure formed an area defined for specific activities within a larger open settlement, and Cotswold groups for whom the enclosure seems often to have formed a boundary to the area of the settlement.

In terms of the dating of these larger enclosures little information is available. A banjo enclosure at (4120) Tomlin's Gate in the Cotswolds, and a related earthwork at Minge's Ditch on the Thames floodplain appear to be of

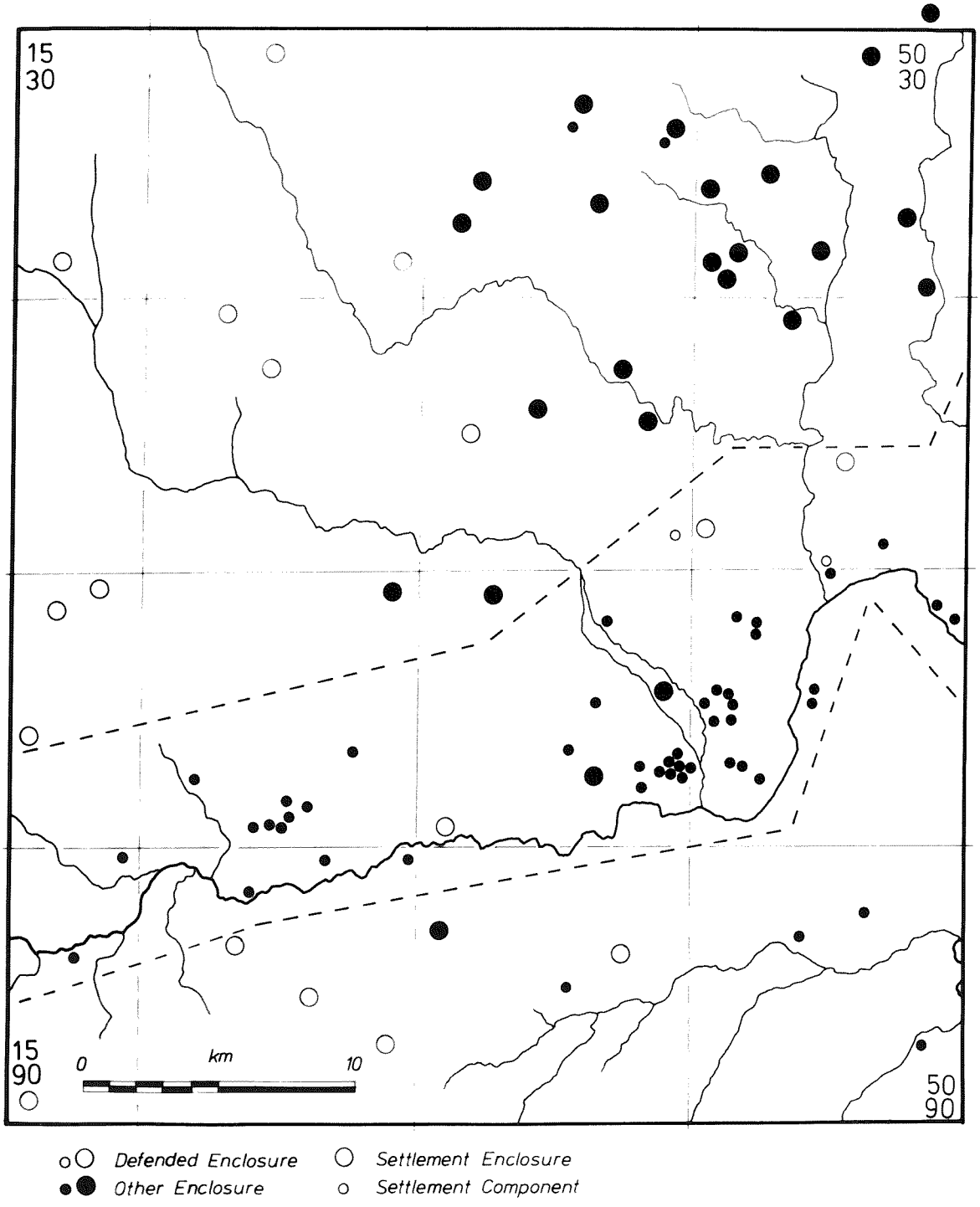


Figure 51: Enclosures as Settlement Enclosures, or as Settlement Components (see text for explanation).

Middle Iron Age date. Dating evidence for rectangular enclosures is sparse. One rectangular enclosure at (2930) Roulright Stones has recently provided information of Middle Iron Age dating from excavation. In addition a rectangular enclosure just outside the survey region at (SU 5196) Barton Court has produced Late Iron Age dating evidence (Lambrick, 1978; Miles, Forthcoming). On the gravel the context of rectangular enclosures, particularly in association with penannular gullies, could indicate a general Middle/Late Iron Age date for these settlement components. Rectangular enclosures at Ditchley and Callow Hill, on the Cotswolds, contained Roman villas. Information is rather inadequate, but it seems possible that rectangular enclosures are a Middle/Late Iron Age phenomenon. Such enclosures also occur in the Roman period. There is no dating evidence for oval enclosures within the survey region.

Open Settlements.

Open settlements are the type site for the Middle Iron Age on the gravels and the Corallian Ridge (Figure 52; Appendix 7). In some cases pits occur to the exclusion of penannular gullies, and it has been argued that this represents an Early Iron Age characteristic (151).

In the Middle Iron Age hut gullies become a common occurence (151), and aerial photography becomes a major tool for settlement analysis. Open settlements occur in a dense band along the gravels of the Upper Thames Valley, and in a more dispersed distribution on the Eastern Corallian Ridge (Figure 52). A very few open settlements occur on the Cotswolds. In the following Chapter we shall see that the concentration of open settlements on the gravel includes two major clusters of terrace gravel settlements, each with an associated area of seasonal pastoral camps (Figure 57, 187)

Concerning the evidence of excavation, most open settlements that have been excavated have produced evidence for Middle Iron Age dating.

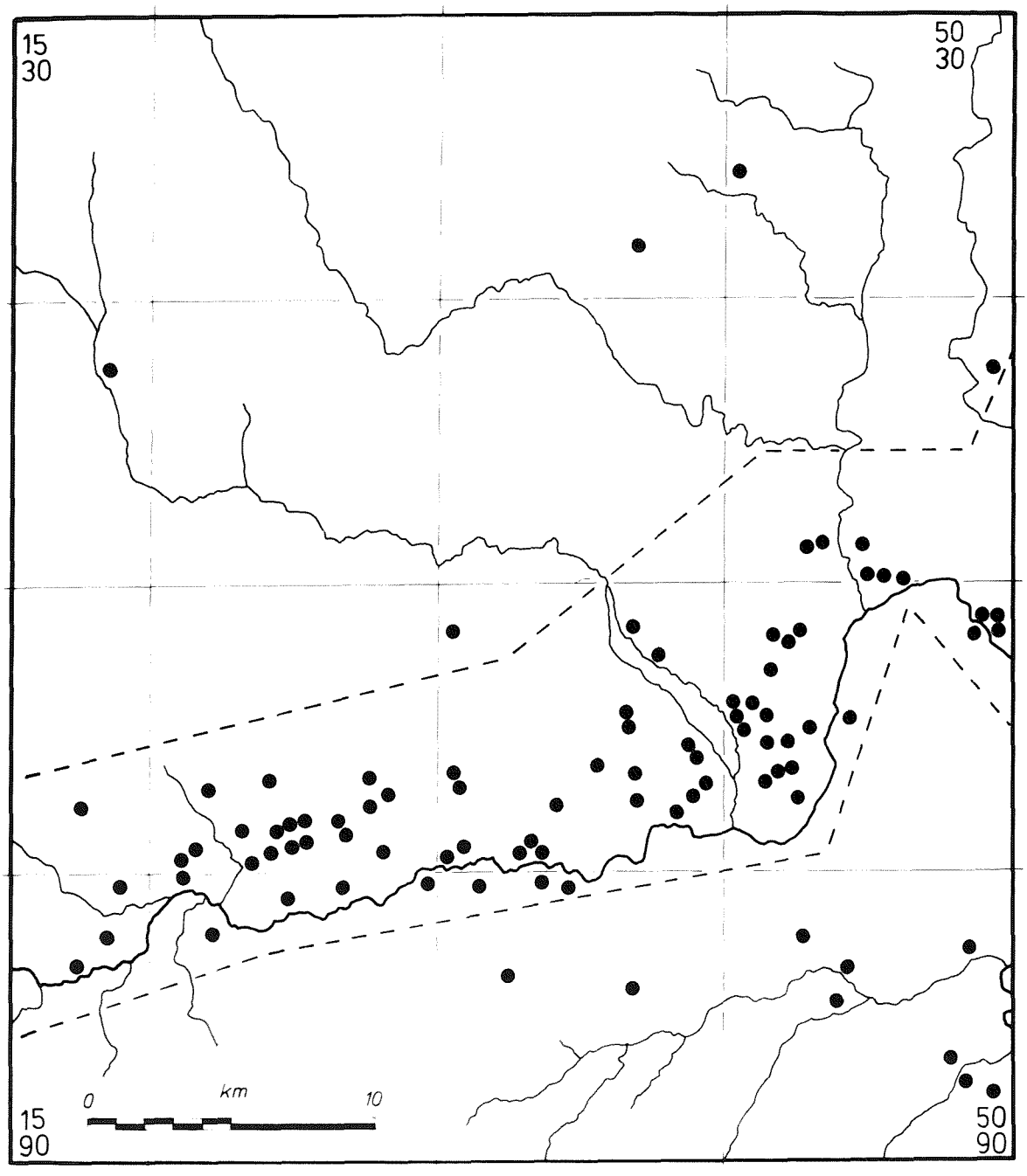


Figure 52: Open Settlements in the Survey Region.

Complex-Enclosure Settlements.

This class includes a wide variety of sites. In some cases (enclosure aggregates) the sites may have developed through progressive aggregation, while in other cases (enclosure complexes) the settlement enclosures may have been constructed in a single operation.

In order to limit the number of sites incorporated in the Inventory, only complex-enclosure settlements including round huts have been listed in the Inventory. The idea is to distinguish Iron Age from Roman sites; that this is an arbitrary and inadaquate basis for classification is clear, but the problem can not be avoided.

Complex-enclosure settlements occur on the Corallian Ridge, on the gravels and the Cotswolds Uplands (Figure 53; Appendix 8). The number of complex-enclosure settlements on the Cotswolds is very restricted. On the gravels and the Corallian Ridge the distribution is comparable to that of open settlements, although complex-enclosure settlements do not occur with any regularity in the areas of floodplain cattle camps.

Most examples of complex-enclosure settlements that have been excavated in the survey region are late Iron Age or Roman in date (the evidence is summarised in Appendix 8).

Villas.

Villas occur in one main zone, and in two apparent clusters (Figure 54; Appendix 9). The zone of villas is on the Cotswold Uplands; in this area a concentration of villas follows the limestone uplands from the south west of the area to the north east. Of the two clusters, one is on the gravel to the west of the survey region, the other is on the Eastern Corallian Ridge.

Villas may be considered in three main groups:

Class 1, information indicates the existence of a villa but the information is too incomplete to allow a more detailed classification to be made.

Class 2, small villas, particularly winged corridor villas. Additional structures, such as bath-houses and granaries, are often attested.

Class 3, wealthy villas: either buildings of a courtyard

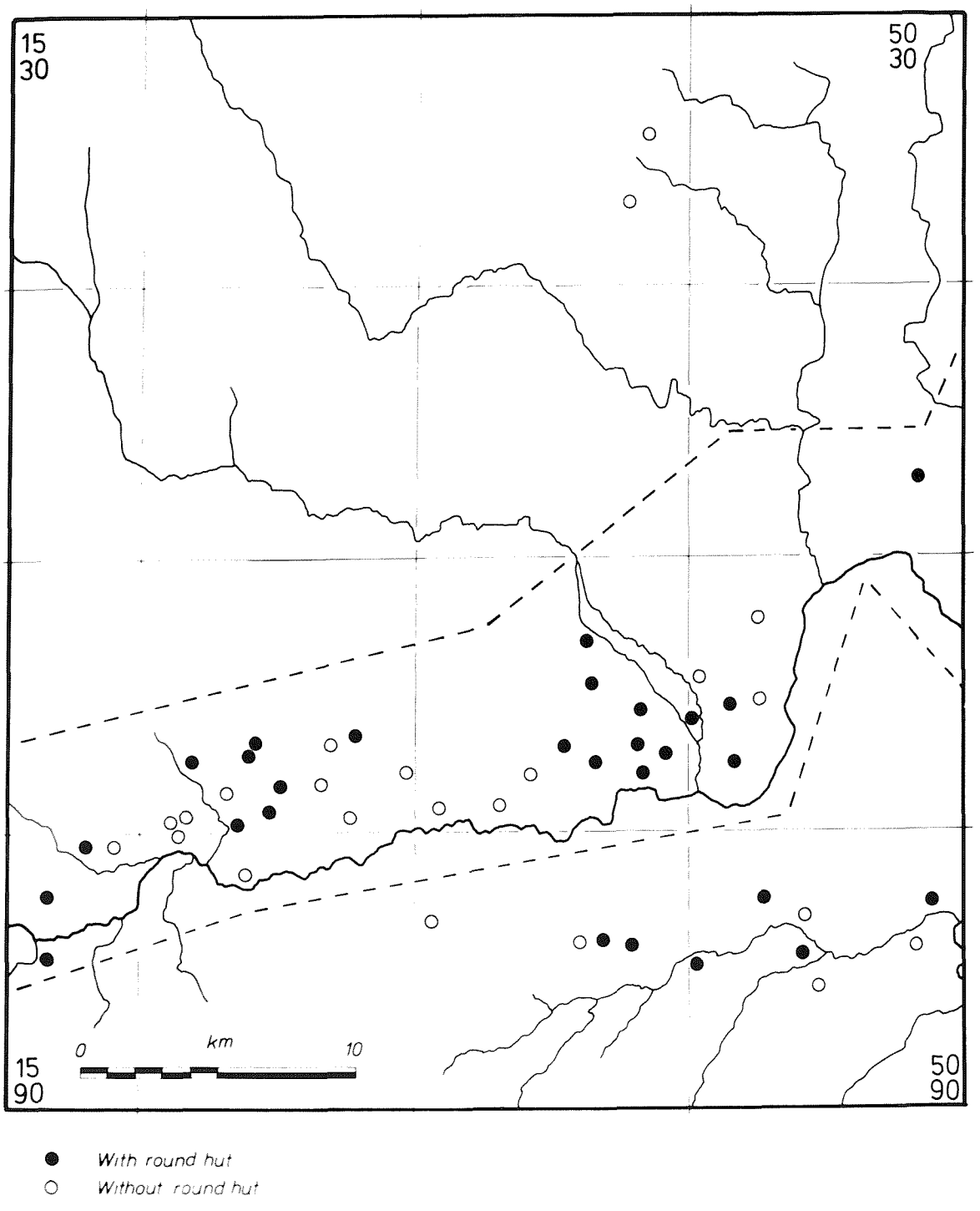


Figure 53: Complex Enclosure Settlements in the Survey Region (only those with round huts are incorporated in the Inventory).

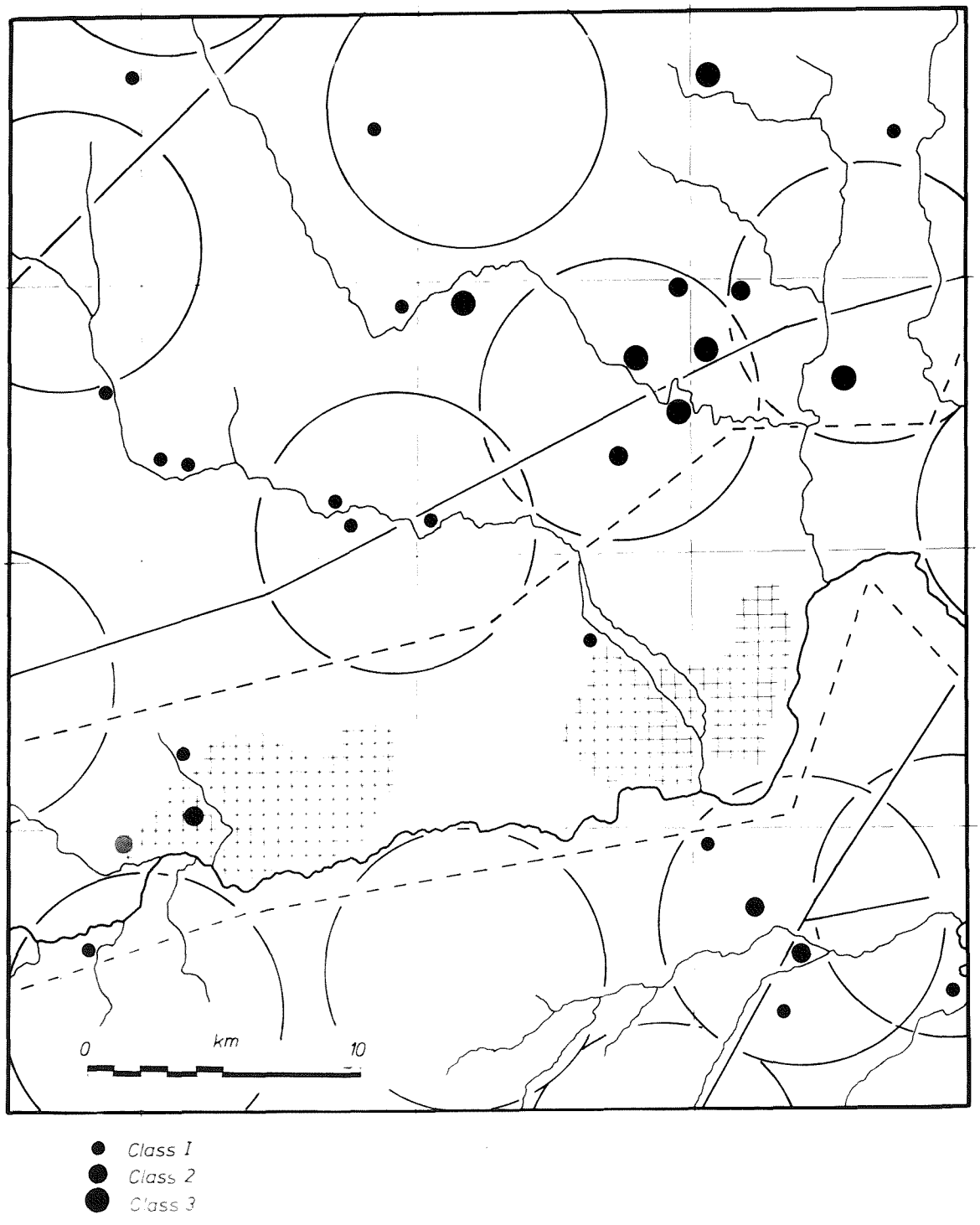


Figure 54: Villas in the Survey Region (the circles represent the possible market territories of minor towns; see text for explanation).

Class 3, wealthy villas: either buildings of a courtyard type, or high quality mosaics are attested.

Class 2 establishments are fairly common, and the majority of the Class 1 structures may in fact be Class 2 villas. Class 3 villas, in some cases (see North Leigh) appear to have developed from Class 2 origins.

Dating evidence for villas is incomplete. Class 2 villas at Shakenoak and Ditchley appear to be late first century AD, while a recently excavated example at Claydon Pike, and an example just outside the survey region at Barton Court, appear to be late third to fourth century AD. Class 3 establishments at Stonesfield and North Leigh appear to be late third or fourth century in date (Appendix 9).

Minor Towns.

Minor towns are dispersed across the area at approximately 10 km intervals (Figure 55; Appendix 10). In addition this distribution forms part of a wider distribution of minor towns in the South Midlands (Figure 17).

Minor towns occur in the north of the survey region, particularly along Akeman Street, and also along the length of the Corallian Ridge (Figure 55). There is a marked absence of minor towns from the gravel areas (see 214).

Structurally some of these minor towns have exceptional buildings. Bourton on the Water had a mansio, while Frilford had an extensive temple complex with an associated amphitheatre (see Appendix 10). At Asthall there is an extensive street system of back roads leading off Akeman Street. Asthall, Bourton on the Water, Abingdon and Frilford have produced evidence for first to second century AD occupation. At Abingdon and Frilford the extent of this Early Roman occupation has been assessed, and amounts to about three/four ha (Appendix 10). By the third to fourth centuries all these sites are far more extensive than the first to second century phases at Abingdon and Frilford.

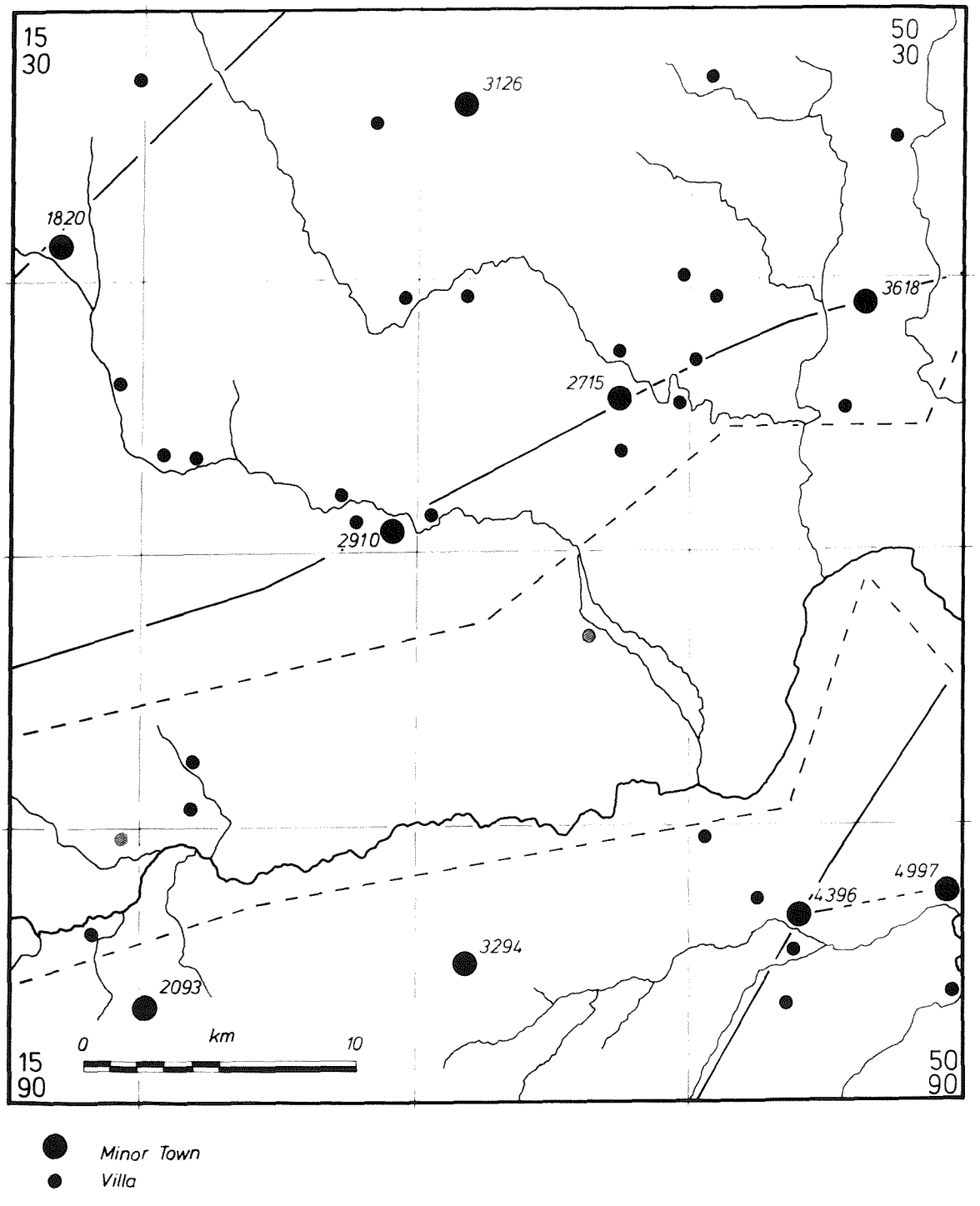


Figure 55: Minor Towns and Villas in the Survey Region (four figure references refer to enteries in the Inventory).

iii) Conclusion to Chapter 7.

I have established a site typology, and examined the distribution of sites in relation to the physiographic regions of the Upper Thames Valley. The Iron Age evidence would appear to indicate that four major concentrations of settlement can be distinguished. Two of these concentrations of settlement are on the gravels, one on the Corallian Ridge, and one on the Cotswold Uplands.

Utilising homogeneous regional models, three of the areas are typified by relatively high density settlement; and in the Middle Iron Age by open settlements. In the gravel and Corallian Ridge settlement clusters the occasional enclosures that occur represent settlement components.

By contrast the fourth major population/settlement concentration, on the Cotswolds, is characterised by isolated and enclosed settlements. The distinctive factor in this area is that the enclosure appears to form a definition of space around the settlement rather than a specialised area within the settlement.

By contrast to these three areas of relatively dense settlement, zones that are marginal to the distribution of population appear to have the defended enclosure as the typical type site (Figure 46). Even when defended enclosures occur in areas which appear to have supported relatively high density population (for instance as at Cassington and Burroway) these sites appear to be in border locations; this will be discussed in greater detail below (199).

In the Late Iron Age development in the Upper Thames Region involves the construction of territorial earthworks on the Cotswolds (in the valley of the river Evenlode) and on the Corallian Ridge (at the Noah's Ark Inn). These territorial earthworks may represent the appropriation of a private estate by an individual, or restricted social group (15).

In the Romano-British period, a series of villas develop

on the Cotswolds and Corallian Ridge, with a few examples also on the gravel. These sites probably demonstrate the appropriation of a private estate and also, possibly, the production of some form of agricultural surplus (165). The development of minor towns in the Cotswold and Corallian Ridge areas may indicate the production and marketing of an agricultural surplus (24).

Chapter Eight:
Settlement Patterns and Modes of Production.

In this Chapter the evidence for settlement patterns will be discussed in greater detail, with the aim of producing a model for the structure of society and the transformation of society through time.

Before beginning the discussion it is necessary to make a point concerning data bias and the patterns observed and described. The data that is utilised in this Chapter is inadequate in many ways (see Chapter 5), and I am exposing myself to criticism by adopting the approaches utilised in this Chapter. Many of the arguments are purely speculative, and more work is required on many of the topics discussed. However, it is hoped that, by being provocative, this work will inspire research aimed at confirming/disproving the arguments of this Chapter.

The Chapter begins with an analysis of settlement patterns on the gravel; the discussion then turns to Iron Age settlement and society on the Cotswolds. Transformation of Iron Age society through Roman influence in the two regions is then considered, and a general interpretative model for the structure of Iron Age society in the Upper Thames Valley is produced. Finally an attempt is made to understand the structure of society on the Corallian Ridge in terms of the arguments of the earlier sections of the Chapter.

i) Iron Age Settlement and Society on the Gravels of the Upper Thames Valley.

A Brief History of Settlement.

We have already seen something of the history of human settlement on the gravels; at this point we will discuss this history in rather greater detail. Neolithic and Bronze Age settlement of the gravel was comparatively intensive (95). In the Early/Middle Bronze Age the region

appears to have represented a Wessex "core-zone" (see 9). Case has produced a model for the structure of Early/Middle Bronze Age settlement and society on the gravels of the Upper Thames Valley (1963).

Case argued that the gravel terrace settlements (represented by their cemeteries) formed the "base-camps" in the transhumant cycle of pastoralist groups. Case proposed the existence of winter folds and huts, corn plots and burial places on the Summerton-Radley (second) terrace, and summer expeditions with cattle over the meadows and floodplains, sheep possibly being transhumed to the limestone uplands of the Cotswolds (1963, 51; for similar arguments concerning Bronze Age societies in other areas of Britain see Green, 1974 and Pryor, 1976, 41-2).

Evidence for Middle Bronze Age activity on the gravel (in terms of round barrows/ring ditches) is relatively prolific. In contrast evidence of Late Bronze Age settlement (as typified by finds of "plain-ware" pottery assemblages; Barrett, 1980B) appear to be rare in the Upper Thames Valley (Barrett, 1980A, 1980B). At the present time it is hard to tell whether this apparent absence of Late Bronze Age settlement is a genuine phenominon (it will be argued below that such settlements do in fact occur with some frequency, 199).

In any case the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age "decorated-ware" phase (Barrett, 1980B) witnesses a flo-rescence of settlement on the gravel (op cit, 308; see also Figure 56). It would seem that despite the evidence of these prolific pottery finds, that evidence of settlement structure is elusive for the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (see 151 ; primarily this evidence consists of pits and post holes).

Settlement would seem equally, or even more, dense in the Middle Iron Age (Figure 56; the Middle Iron Age in the Upper Thames Valley is distinguished by the occurence of new pottery forms and fabrics; Harding, 1972; DeRoche, 1978; Lambrick, 1978). In this phase the evidence for settlement form on the gravels is complex and variable,

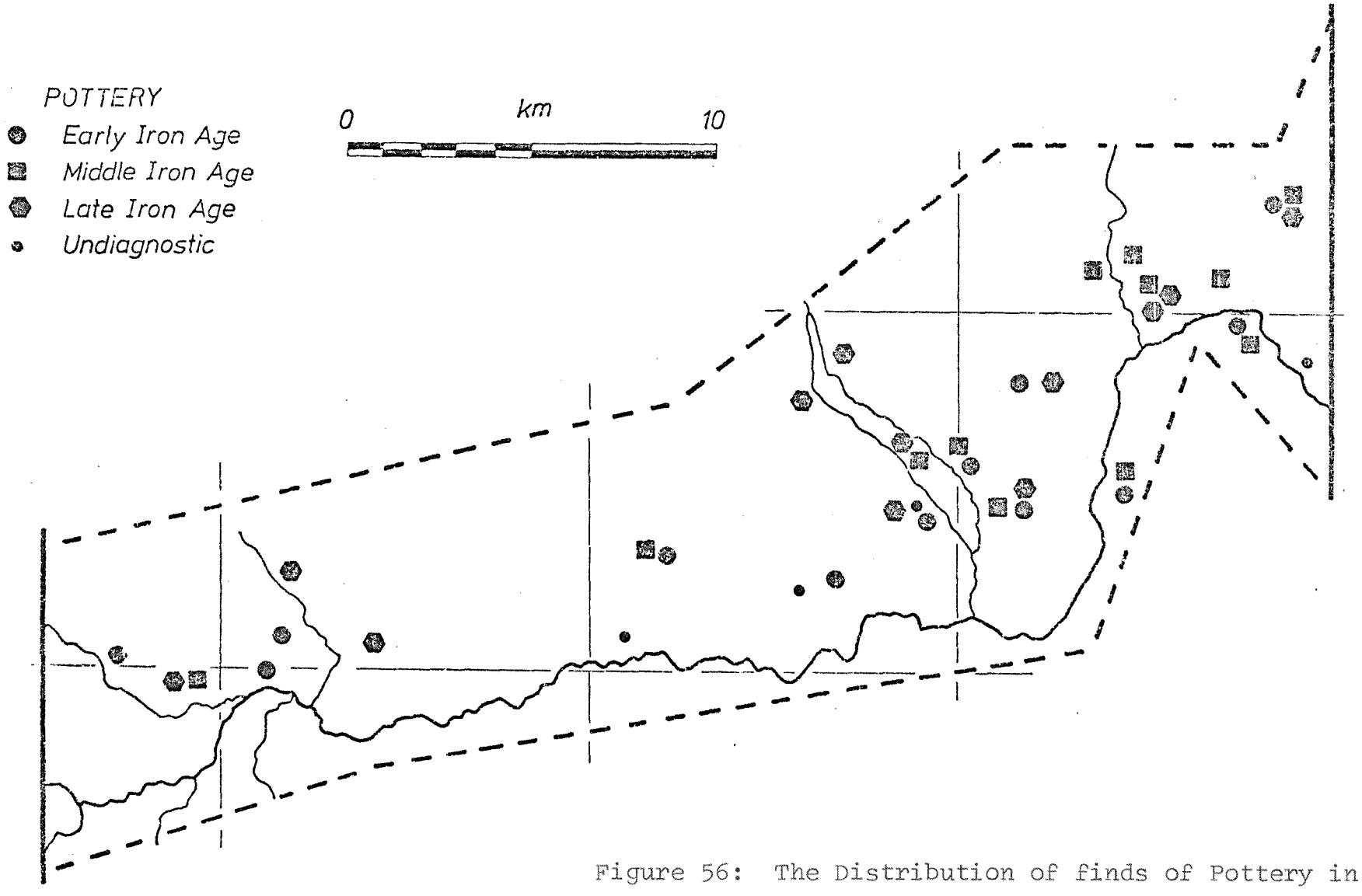


Figure 56: The Distribution of finds of Pottery in the Gravel Area.

but is characterised by open sites with round huts, pits and gullies (175). As we have seen, enclosures occur as settlement components.

The latest phase of the Iron Age (characterised in the region by necked-bowl assemblages; Harding, 1972; DeRoche, 1978) is one in which complex-enclosure settlements appear to represent the typical settlement form (177). Once again settlement is rather dense on the gravels of the Oxford Clay Vale (Figure 56).

In the Roman period settlement patterns do not seem to change very much. Again complex-enclosure settlements are common; villas seem rare (except in one area; Figure 54), and minor towns do not occur at all.

Observations on the Structure of Middle/Late Iron Age Settlement on the Gravel.

This represents a shortened account of the structure of Middle/Late Iron Age settlement, as the data is very complex. To simplify the account detailed discussion of some complex points have been relegated to Appendices.

For the Middle Iron Age in the gravel regions of the Upper Thames Valley there appear to be two population groupings, and these will be titled "tribes". Tribe A appears to illustrate a (fairly complex) principle of spatial patterning with some clarity; tribe B illustrates elements of the same principles, if with rather less clarity.

Within each tribe a split occurs between areas of gravel terrace settlement and areas of floodplain settlement (Figure 57). The gravel terrace settlements are the year-round homes of groups practising an arable strategy, while the floodplain settlements are seasonal settlements associated with pasturing of cattle (162).

The population groupings are the permanent settlements of the gravel terraces. Each tribe has an area of seasonally exploited pasture (with evidence of cattle camps) to its east (Figure 57). This tribe wide split is an example of the spatial correlate of tribal form (see 18). In addition, in relation to the origin of these social groups

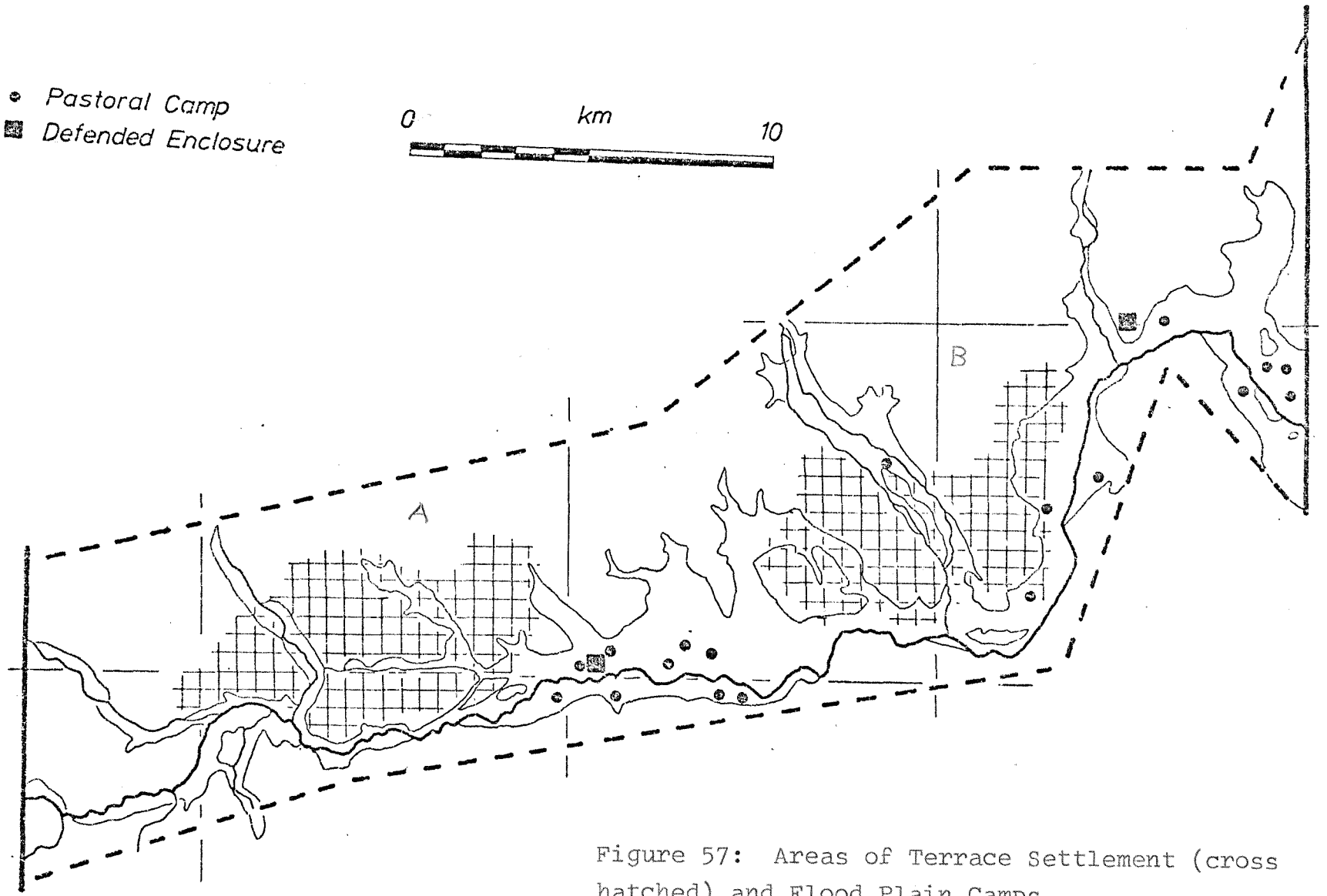


Figure 57: Areas of Terrace Settlement (cross hatched) and Flood Plain Camps.

it may be of significance that each population grouping is associated with an expanded area of floodplain pasture to its east (in other words it is possible that the existence of these groups is a consequence of the distribution of floodplain pasture; see 199).

In addition to the single area of pasture per tribe, each tribe has a single defended enclosure in the area of floodplain pasture (Figure 57). As argued above peripheral defended enclosures appear to occur in boundary locations (167).

To examine these tribal groupings in greater detail we may consider the structure of the Iron Age settlements. In the Middle Iron Age the settlement landscape is typified by the open settlement (with occasional enclosures occuring as settlement components). First we will discuss the nature of the compound in the settlement record (Appendix 11). Analysis of the distribution of single versus multiple unit compounds in tribe A indicates a core area of settlements typified by single unit compounds, surrounded by a periphery of settlements typified by multiple unit compounds (Figure 58; see Appendix 11 for explanation). The core in this distribution includes areas of gravel terrace settlement, while the periphery includes gravel terrace settlement and floodplain cattle camps (Figure 58). In tribe B there may be a tendency towards a aimilar distribution.

Examining the terrace gravel settlement other potentially significant levels of social scale can be distinguished. The significance of the level of scale of the settlement is uncertain, however a significant scale occurs in the phenomenon of the "section". The section appears to represent a structure that defined "infield" (the permanent arable land of a community) from the "outfield" (temporary arable, meadow and seasonal pasture; Figure 59 and 60). The section is a larger scale phenomenon than the settlement, but smaller in scale than the tribe (see the detailed discussion of sections in Appendix 12). The section involves a ring of settlement defining the edge of a

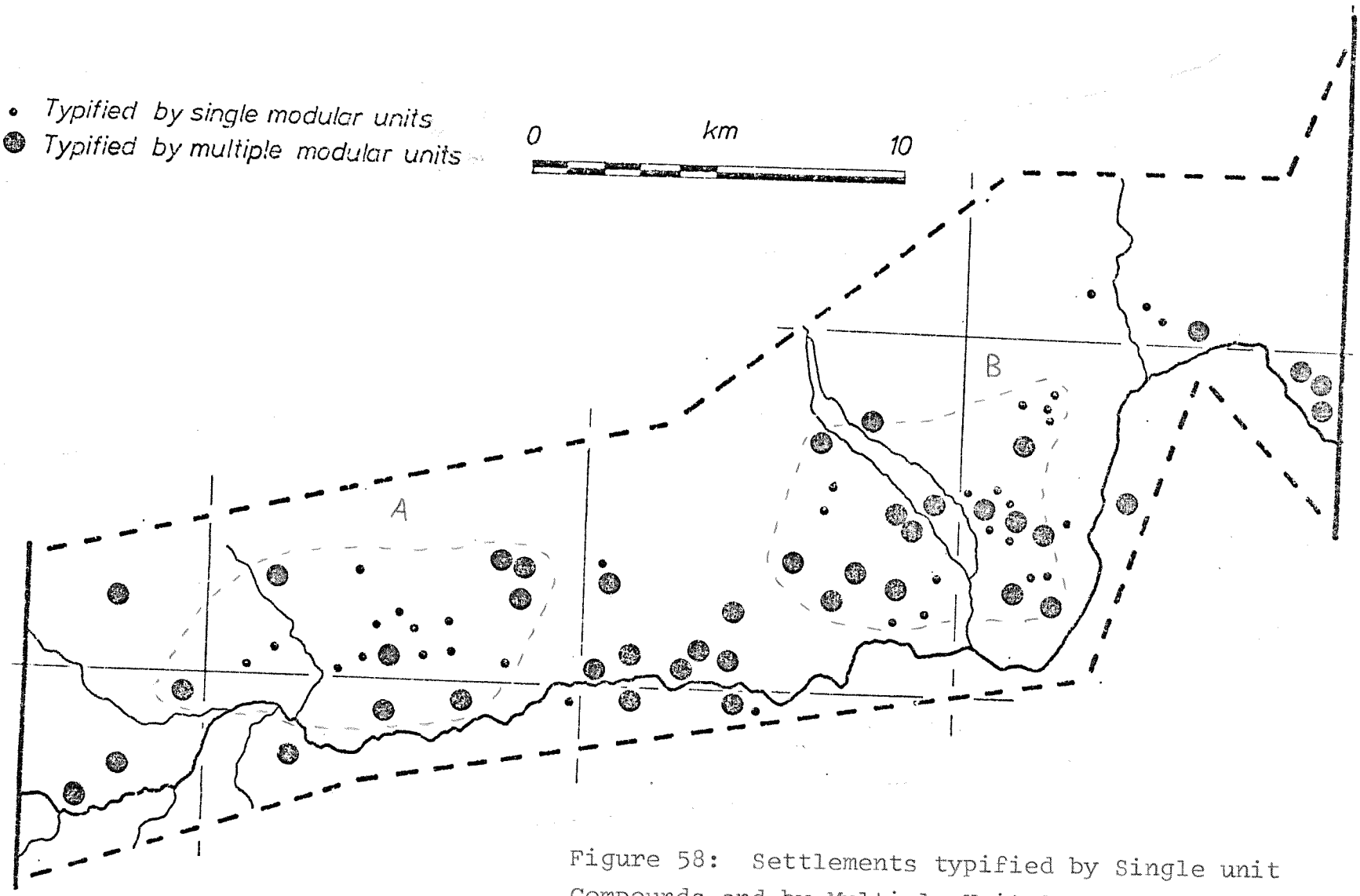


Figure 58: Settlements typified by Single unit Compounds and by Multiple Unit Compounds.

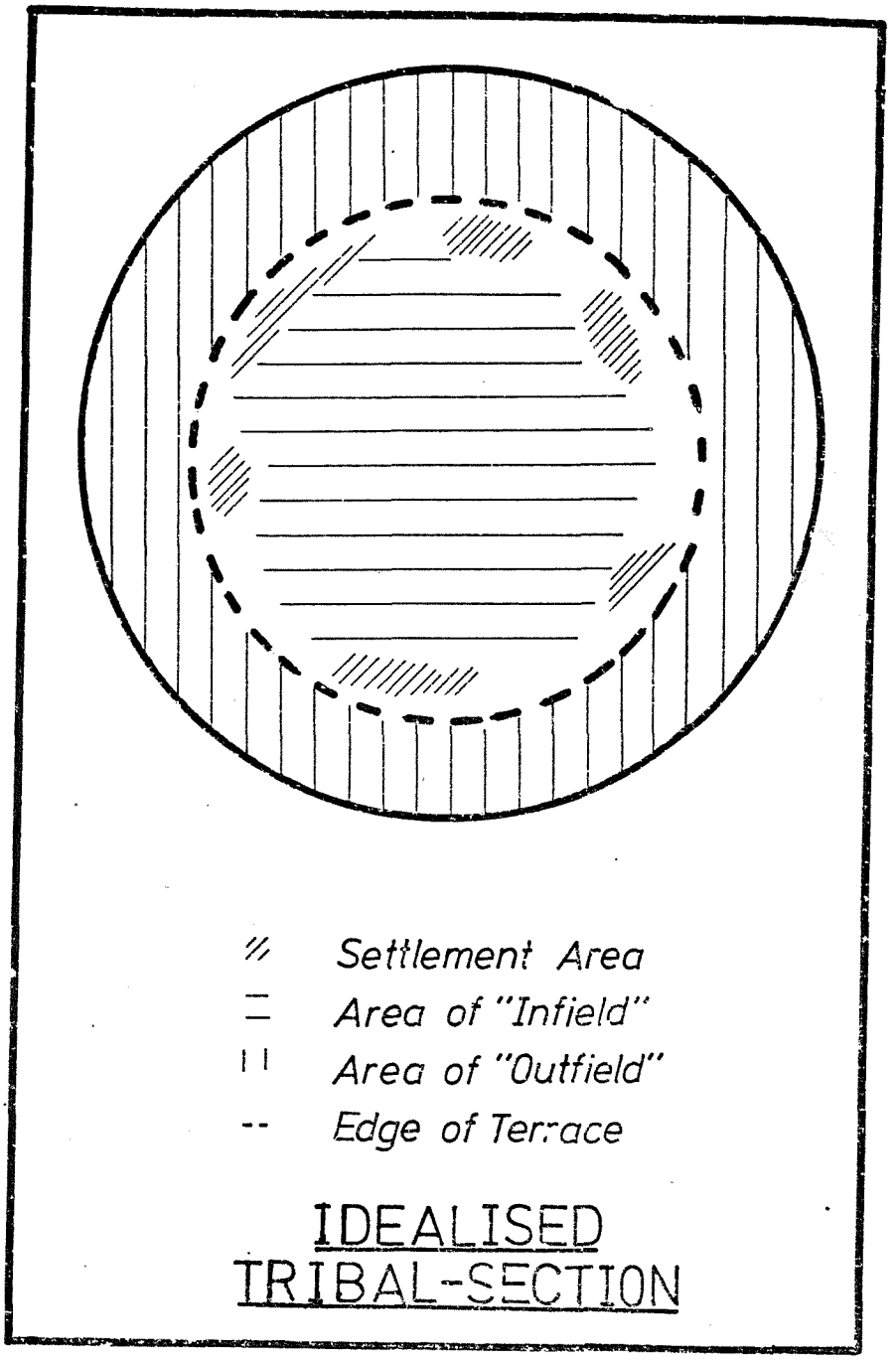


Figure 59: An Idealised Example of a Section.

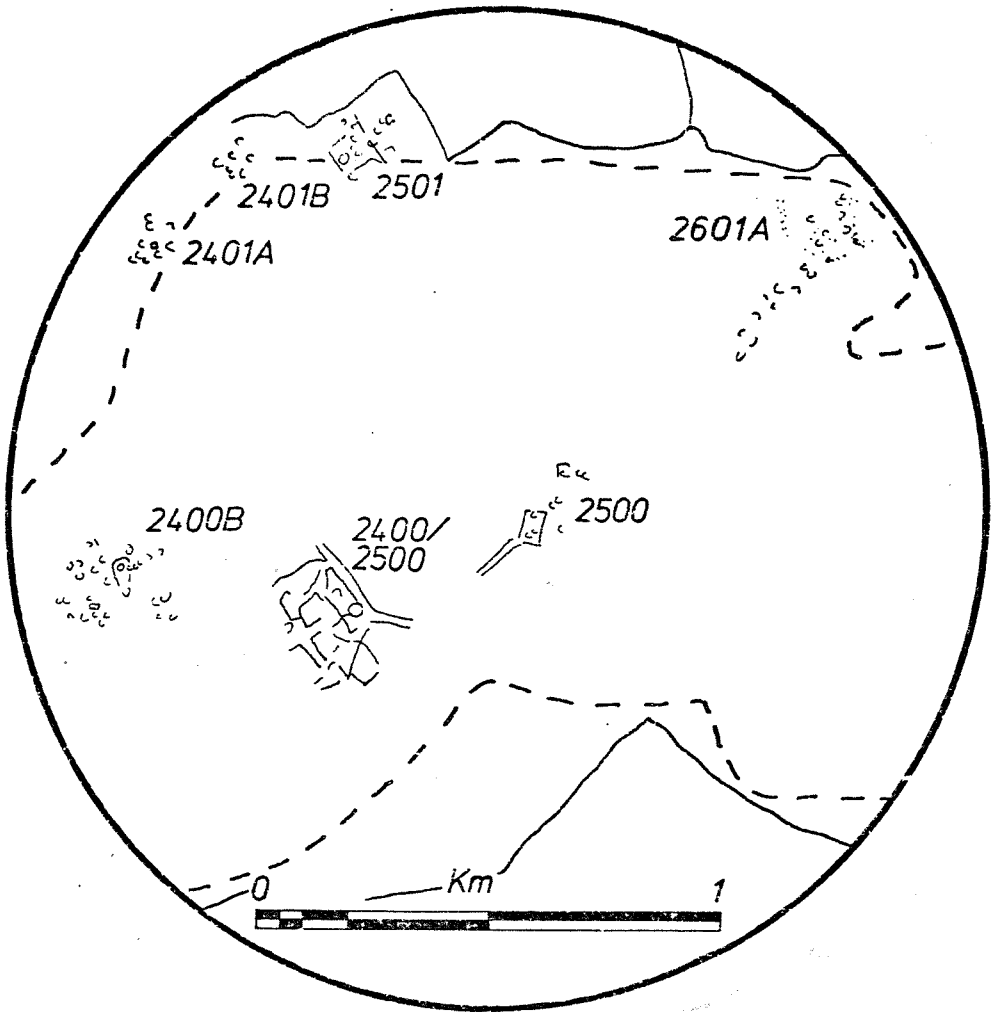


Figure 60: An Example of a Section, the Main Section of tribe A.

gravel terrace, often with the aid of streams and contours (Appendix 12). The infield so defined is on the gravel terrace, the outfield is on lower terraces, or the clay of the Oxford Clay Vale. There is an interesting parallel for the structure of the section in some settlements in Brittany (see Uhlig, 1961, especially Figure 1). The section probably represents a scale of community that had arable ownership rights. Therefore the section is a community within the community of the tribe.

The distribution of sections within tribes is of interest. One main section occurs within tribe A, and this section lies within the core area of the tribe in terms of the distribution of single/multiple unit compounds; Figure 61). An additional minor section occurs in tribe A, and is part of the peripheral distribution of multiple unit compounds in the tribe. The distribution of sections in tribe B is far more complex, although there may be some general connection of sections with single unit compounds.

The model for tribe A is therefore as follows. There is a tribe wide split into an area of arable and an area of pasture. At a scale below this there are a couple of corporate groups that held arable in common. The single major section was the core element within tribe A; this major section was surrounded by the gravel terrace settlements of the periphery. Was there any form of hierarchical relationship (in terms of a regional system, 46) between the core and peripheral elements in tribe A?

In relation to this problem the distribution of enclosures on the gravel can be considered. In Appendix 13 five classes of enclosures are defined in terms of the area enclosed by the structures. In Chapter 7 it was suggested that rectangular enclosures might represent an indication of high status (158); we shall now consider the distribution of class 4/5 enclosures (which also happen to be rectangular; Appendix 13) in relation to the structure of the tribe.

Of the 11 class 4/5 enclosures, 10 occur in association with sections or possible sections (see Appendix 12).

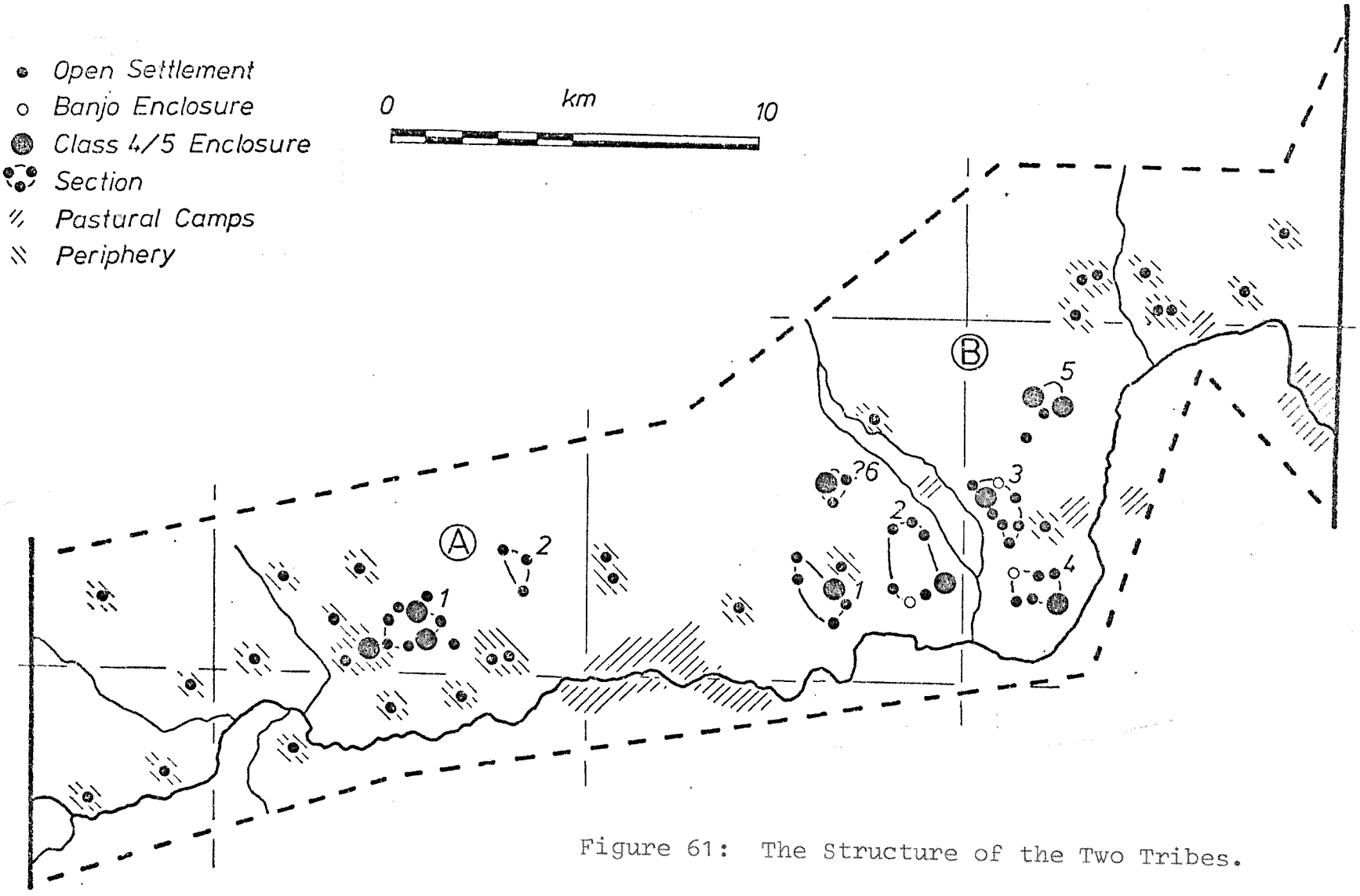


Figure 61: The Structure of the Two Tribes.

Seven of the eight sections in the two tribes have one or more class 4/5 enclosures (the section that does not has a class 3 rectangular enclosure). If it is true that rectangular enclosures were status indicating then it would appear that the dwellers in the sections had a high status in relation to those who lived in the periphery of the tribe. In contrast to class 4/5 enclosures enclosures of classes 1 to 3 occur in the periphery and in the floodplain, as well as in the core of the tribes. Class 1 to 3 enclosures are smaller in area than class 4/5 enclosures and can be oval, rectangular or banjo enclosures (see Figure 62 and Appendix 13).

It remains for me to provide some more detailed interpretations of the observations made above. For tribe A we appear to have three levels of corporate grouping, and we may attempt to explain these levels in terms of their significance.

The tribe was a corporate unit in relation to the communal ownership and exploitation of pasture. If Case's arguments are correct (185) this tribal structure may be derived from origins in the Bronze Age (see below). The tribe wide split of territory into areas of arable and pasture can be examined further by describing a potential agricultural cycle for the gravel tribes (Figure 63). In the spring cattle may have been driven to the seasonal floodplain camps in order to remove them from the area of the growing crop (this argument is derived from Irish and Scandinavian settlement history, see 163); we have seen that the floodplain represents very rich and valuable pasture (88). Sheep, by contrast may have been transhumed to the Cotswolds Uplands - these are traditional areas for the pasturing of sheep (89). During the growing season crops were cultivated on the infield of the sections, and around the isolated open settlements of the peripheral areas of the tribe. After the harvest, in the early autumn, livestock would be returned to graze off the arable land (Figure 63), and would, in turn, fertilise the area.

The section was a corporate group in relation to the

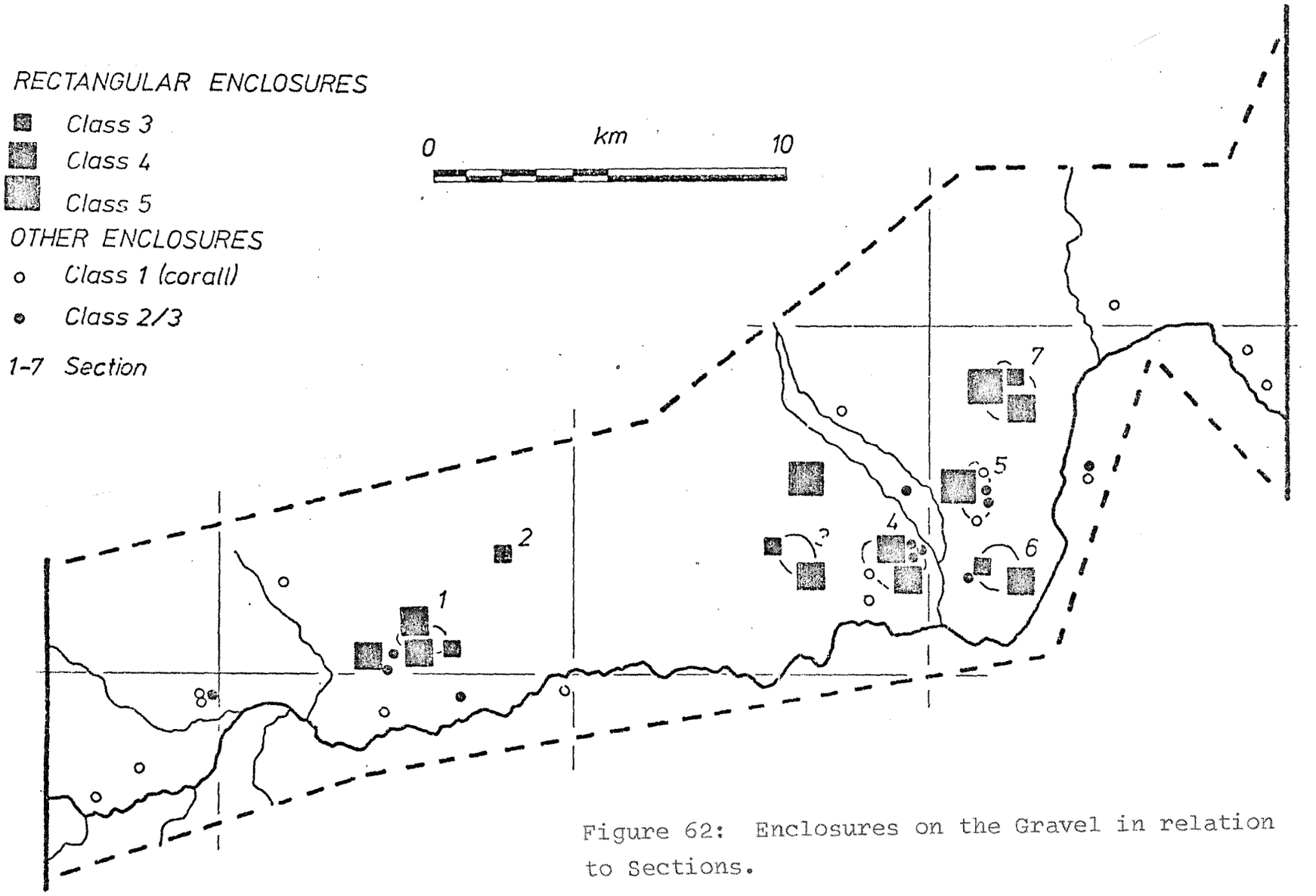


Figure 62: Enclosures on the Gravel in relation to Sections.

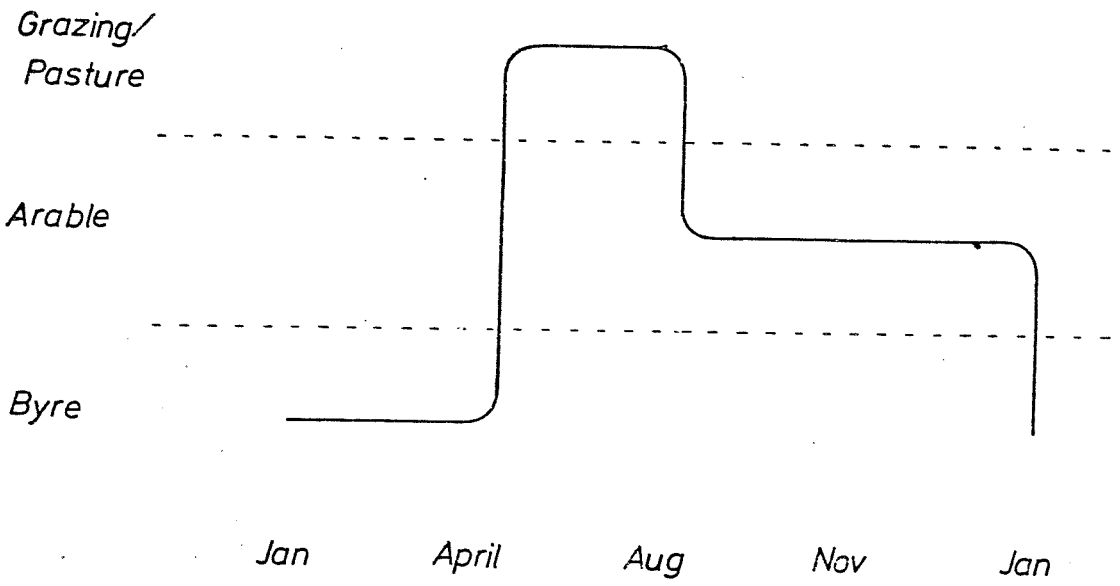


Figure 63: The Cycle of Agricultural Activities for the Gravel Tribes: The Movement of Cattle.

exploitation of arable land. Cattle could have been pastured on the outfield during the early spring (before the floodplains became available as pasture), and some stock could have been kept in proximity to the infield over summer.

Only the core settlements of the tribes are integrated into sections; and there is some evidence that these groups may have had some form of elite status. In Chapter 2 the significance of cattle clientage to Celtic society was reviewed (12). Evidence from the gravel may indicate that the distribution of cattle was controlled (at least in part) by the elite groups of the sections. The occurrence of rectangular class 4/5 enclosures in the sections could indicate the homesteads of a group at the pinnacle of the clientage system. By contrast, the existance of some settlements with no apparent form of enclosure (particularly in the periphery of tribe A) could indicate that some groups had no cattle at all.

Finally, a scale of corporate group is the domestic unit, as represented by the compound. Above it was noted that a division occurs between the core areas with single unit compounds, and peripheral areas with multiple unit compounds. The explanation for the variation in the form of the domestic unit may lie in the structure of the tribe. In the core population is dense, resources are scarce, and this results in a co-operative communal structure with the nuclear family as the basic local unit (in spatial terms these nuclear families are closely dispersed across the landscape, thus demonstrating the corporate structure of social relations, 33). By contrast, in the periphery resources are less scarce (firstly because population density is lower, and secondly because the peripheral groups can expand into unoccupied land; see the discussion of Allen's [1971] work on the Nduindui, 45) and as a consequence the co-operation of the tribal group is less significant. More emphasis exists on the strength of the domestic group, and this results in a pattern of extended families in the periphery of the tribes (see Allen, 1971; Netting, 1969;

Basehart, 1973). The defended enclosures of the tribal peripheries/floodplain may also have had a function in defending the more isolated social groups on the edges of the tribe.

In conclusion we have discussed in some detail the structure of the gravel tribe in the Upper Thames Valley. Although the model (Figure 64) is drawn from empirical analysis it can be seen from the case of tribe B that the model does not always exist in an idealised spatial form.

The Origin of the Middle Iron Age Pattern.

I have argued that Middle Bronze Age and Early Iron Age settlement in the area is dense (185). In addition it would seem that my model for the structure of Iron Age society bears many similarities to Case's discussion of Bronze Age society in the region (185). Therefore, it would be convenient to be able to claim continuity from one system to the other. The apparent Late Bronze Age break in the sequence of occupation in the Upper Thames Valley may in fact be illusory. It is beginning to appear that the Late Bronze Age sequence in Southern Britain is very complex. Work on the pottery from a site at Roughground Farm, Lechlade indicates that Late Bronze Age "plain-ware" phase occupation does occur on the gravels of the Upper Thames Valley (in addition the analysis of this pottery may enable other plain-ware phase assemblages to be identified on the gravels above Oxford; work in progress). Therefore the Later Prehistoric sequence on the gravels of the Upper Thames Valley may be characterised by continuity.

We might speculate that the Bronze Age settlement of the gravel involved two tribes, each located in relation to an extensive area of floodplain pasture. These tribes may have had a communal structure based on the exploitation of "wild" resources (17). Transformation of this structure in the Iron Age could be seen as a growth in the significance of arable production under increasing population and land pressure (Godelier, 1979). This growth

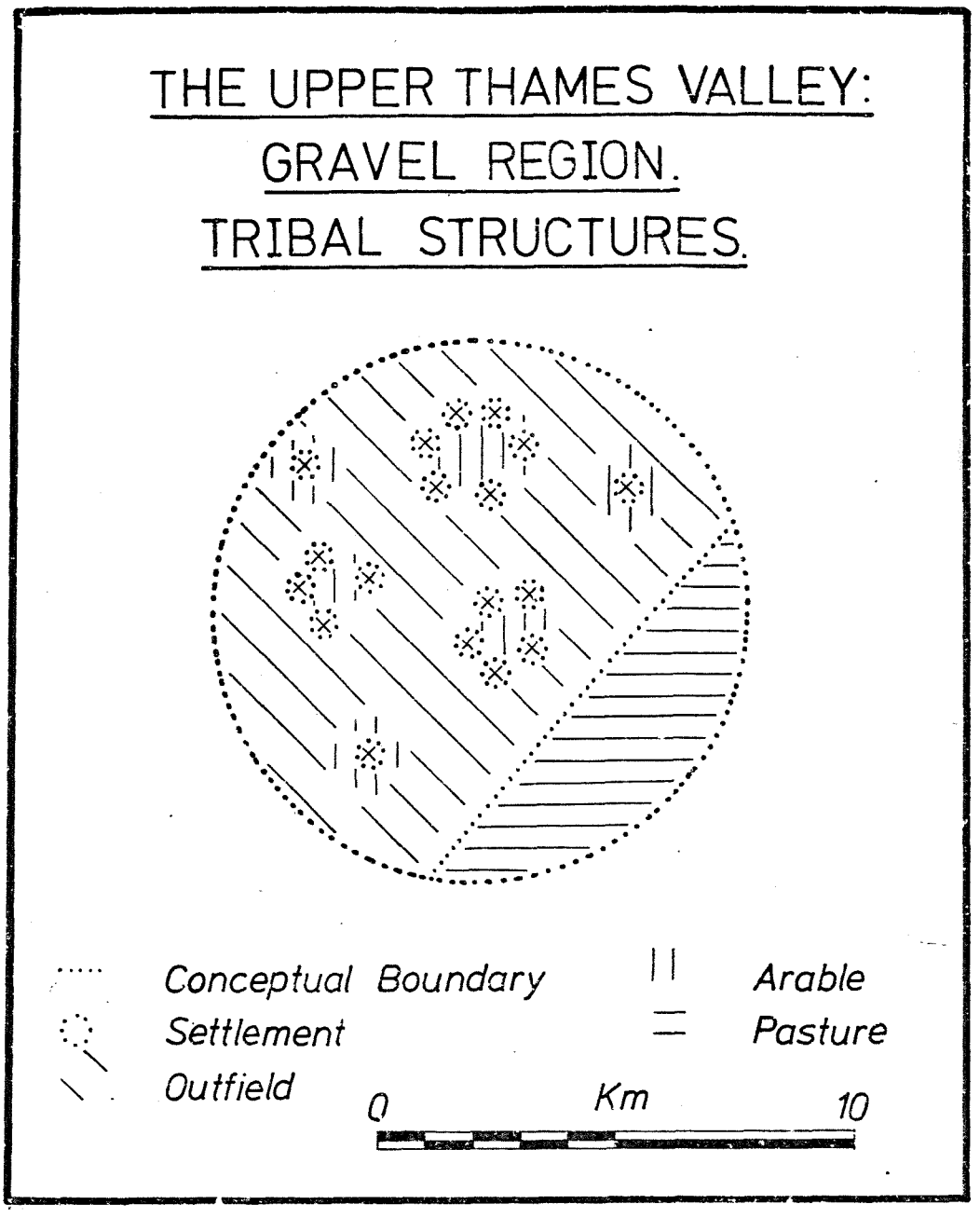


Figure 64: An Idealised Diagram of Tribal Structure.

of pressure might have resulted in the collapse of centralised chiefdoms (and the consequent abandonment of the practice of wealth demonstration in burial). Pressure might also have resulted in the development of section communities. However the tribal structure of society, as related to the ownership of pasture continued into the Iron Age, and is the key to the Iron Age/Roman sequence.

Late Iron Age Developments.

The late Iron Age is typified by the construction of complex-enclosure systems. Complex-enclosure settlements may demonstrate the growth of property rights to areas within the settlement, and the appropriation of these areas in the form of enclosures (163). If these arguments are correct this appropriation does not involve arable land; the enclosures represent hut enclosures, gardens and paddocks. Complex-enclosure settlements in some cases appear to lie on top of open settlements; and where complex-enclosure settlements are elements within sections (Appendix 12) they appear to lie at the edge of the infield.

There is some evidence for settlement nucleation on the gravels in the Late Iron Age/Roman period. Complex-enclosure settlements often appear to be multiple-compound units (or "villages"), the evidence is as follows. Firstly, complex enclosure settlements are far scarcer in absolute numbers than are open settlements; this may be a result of the nucleation of a number of open settlements into a single complex-enclosure settlement. In addition complex-enclosure settlements are commonly extensive and contain extensive areas of apparent domestic occupation (see Appendix 8 and the Inventory).

Nucleation in some cases may have involved the resettlement of groups within the sections. If we attempt to divide the evidence for complex-enclosure settlements into information for "village" (multiple compound unit settlement) and "farmstead" (single compound unit settlements) we get the following results. The evidence indicates 13 possible villages and 30 possible farmsteads. Of the 13 villages 9 are on the sites of former sections, and four

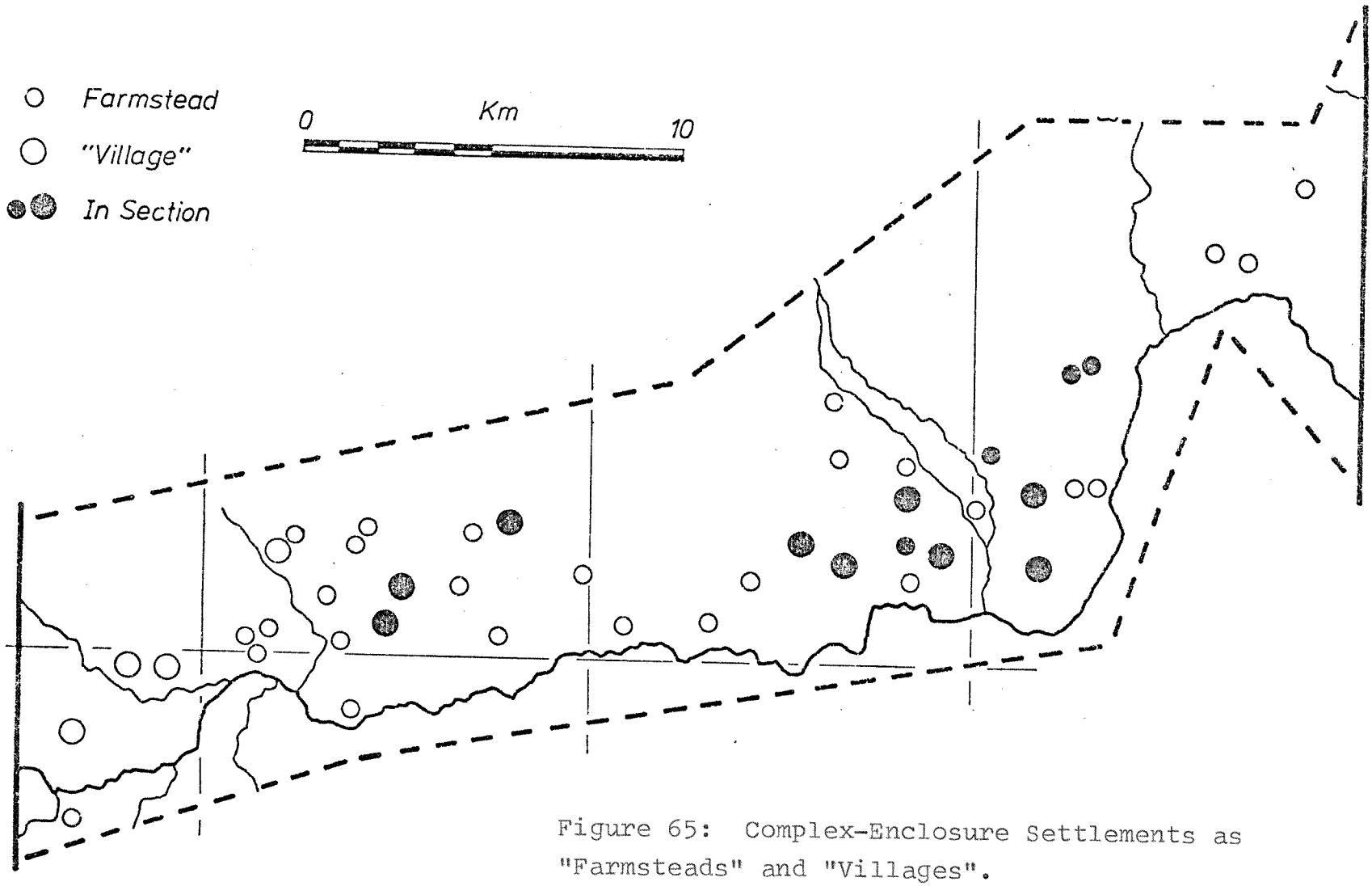


Figure 65: Complex-Enclosure Settlements as "Farmsteads" and "Villages".

outside. Of the farmsteads 26 are outside the areas of the sections, and only four within (Figure 65; in relation to this fact the west of the area around Lechlade would appear to be anomalous, with villages but no section). In conclusion the Roman period may see the nucleation of dispersed settlements in the former sections of tribe A and B into villages, while the domestic groups represented in the periphery of the tribes retained their autonomy within farmstead type complex-enclosure settlements.

ii) Iron Age Settlement and Society in the Cotswold Region of the Upper Thames Valley.

A Brief History of Settlement.

Relatively little is known of the Cotswold region in the Neolithic/Bronze Age. Neolithic monuments are concentrated in the west of the region (Brown, 1978; Darvill and Hingley, Forthcoming B); round barrows/ring ditches occur in a dispersed distribution across the whole region (Figure 24). In discussing the ring ditch distribution it is difficult to assess the significance of the dispersed distribution of such monuments in relation to the nucleated cluster of such sites on the gravels. If Case's suggestions (see 185) are correct, then the Cotswold ring ditches/round barrows may represent burial in the area of summer sheep pasture. For an alternative interpretation: burial in the Cotswold region may have been intended to symbolise the individuality of the small scale social group (? the lineage). If so, this is in sharp contrast to the cemeteries of the gravel which may, in turn, symbolise the corporate nature of tribal society.

For the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age, several peripheral defended enclosures are known in the hilly western area of the Cotswold region. These sites may represent individual defended settlements, as no open or enclosed (non-defended) settlements are known in the area. The defended enclosures may have had the function of defending and protecting small scale social groupings in a zone that

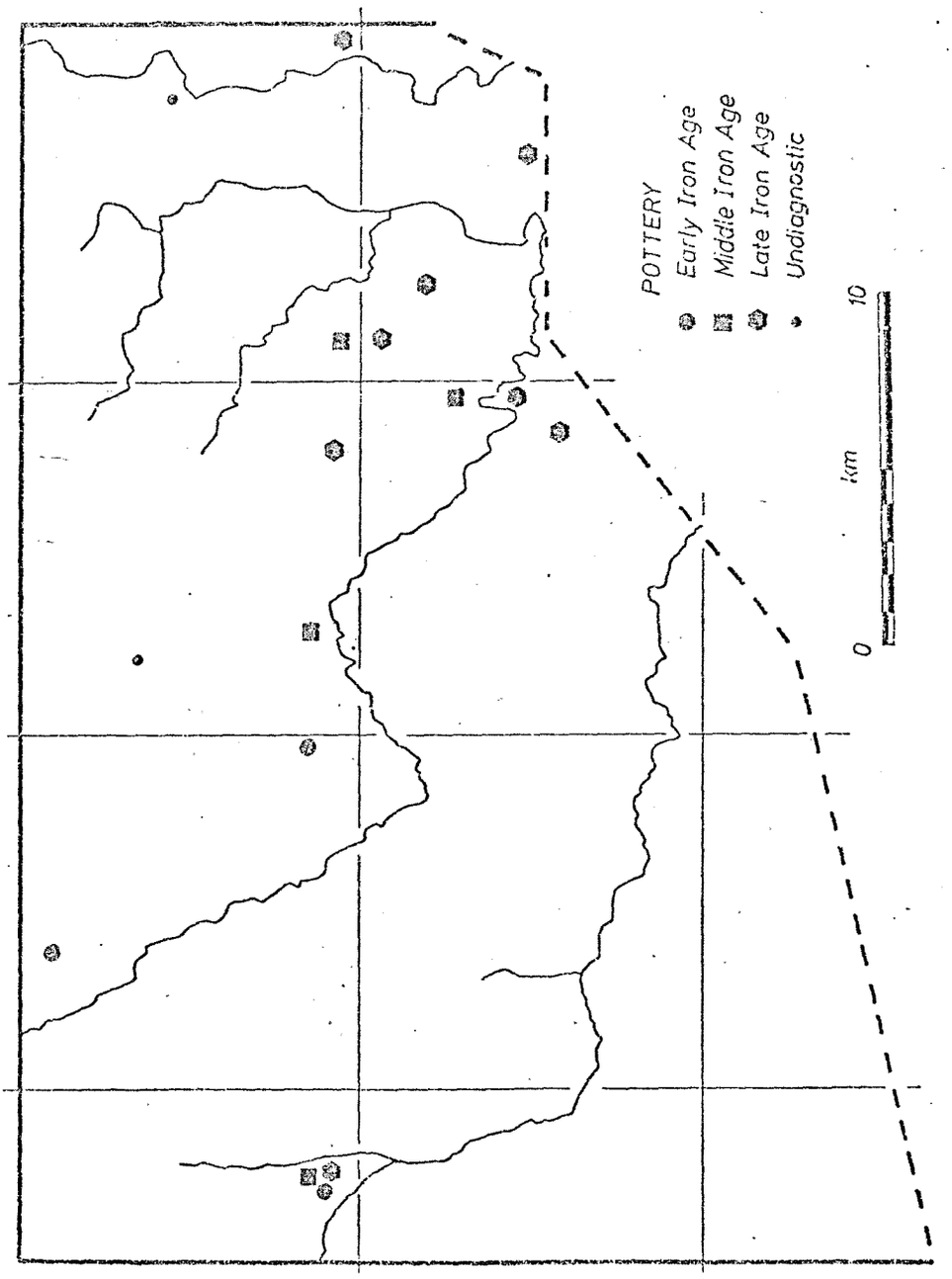


Figure 66: The Distribution of Pottery Finds in the Cotswold Area.

was marginal to settlement: also most of the enclosures are fairly weakly defended. By contrast some of the enclosures in the centre of the Cotswold Region are rather more efficiently defended (with more massive ramparts, or partial multivalation), and from arguments concerning their spatial distribution (see 212) may be of Middle Iron Age date.

From the Middle Iron Age onwards settlement evidence (from aerial photography, and to a lesser degree excavation) is more prolific (Figure 66). One central defended enclosure is known in the east of the region at Salmonsbury, but the main concentration of settlement is in the valley of the river Evenlode (Figure 67). The evidence from aerial photography and excavation indicates a marked clustering of settlements (primarily banjo and oval enclosures) in this area in the Middle/Late Iron Age. Settlement expands in the Cotswold region throughout the Late Iron Age and Roman periods (Figures 25 and 26): villas and minor towns occur across much of the region by the third/fourth century AD.

Observations on the Structure of Middle/Late Iron Age Settlement on the Cotswolds.

Settlements in the Evenlode Valley area are primarily enclosure forms (Figure 67). Banjo enclosures, oval enclosures and rectangular enclosures are all fairly common. In addition the cluster of Middle/Late Iron Age settlement in the region of the Evenlode Valley appears to be bounded on the north, south and west by a band of defended enclosures (to the east the river Cherwell may form the boundary to this area; Figure 68).

Concerning the structure of settlement in the Cotswolds, it was noted above that Cotswold enclosures usually appear to represent the boundary to the area of settlement (rather than, as on the gravels, specifically defined activity areas within a larger open settlement; see 173). When the evidence for the settlement boundary is combined with the evidence for the potential sociological significance of the isolation of most Cotswold settlements (33),

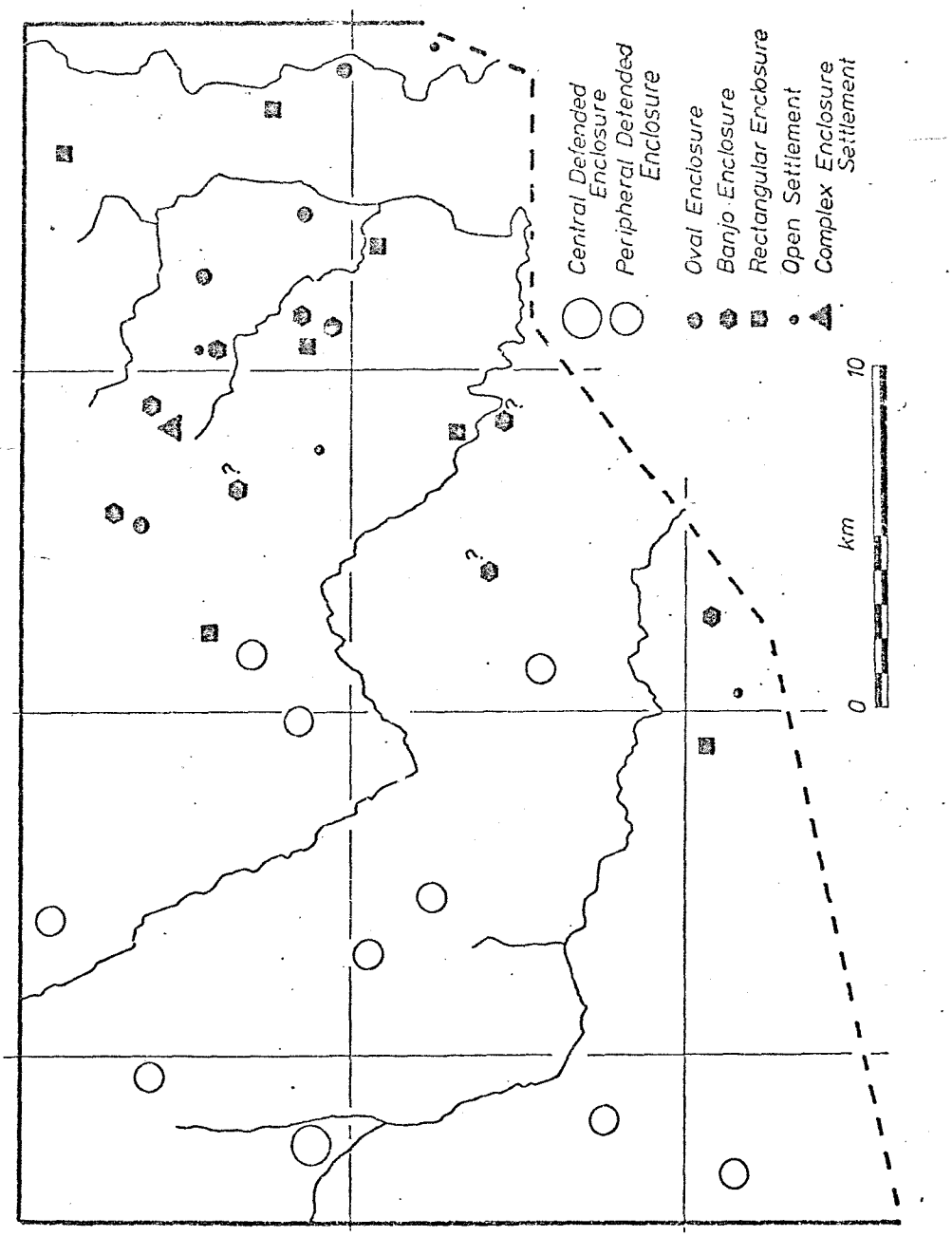


Figure 67: The Distribution of Settlement Types in the Cotswold Area.

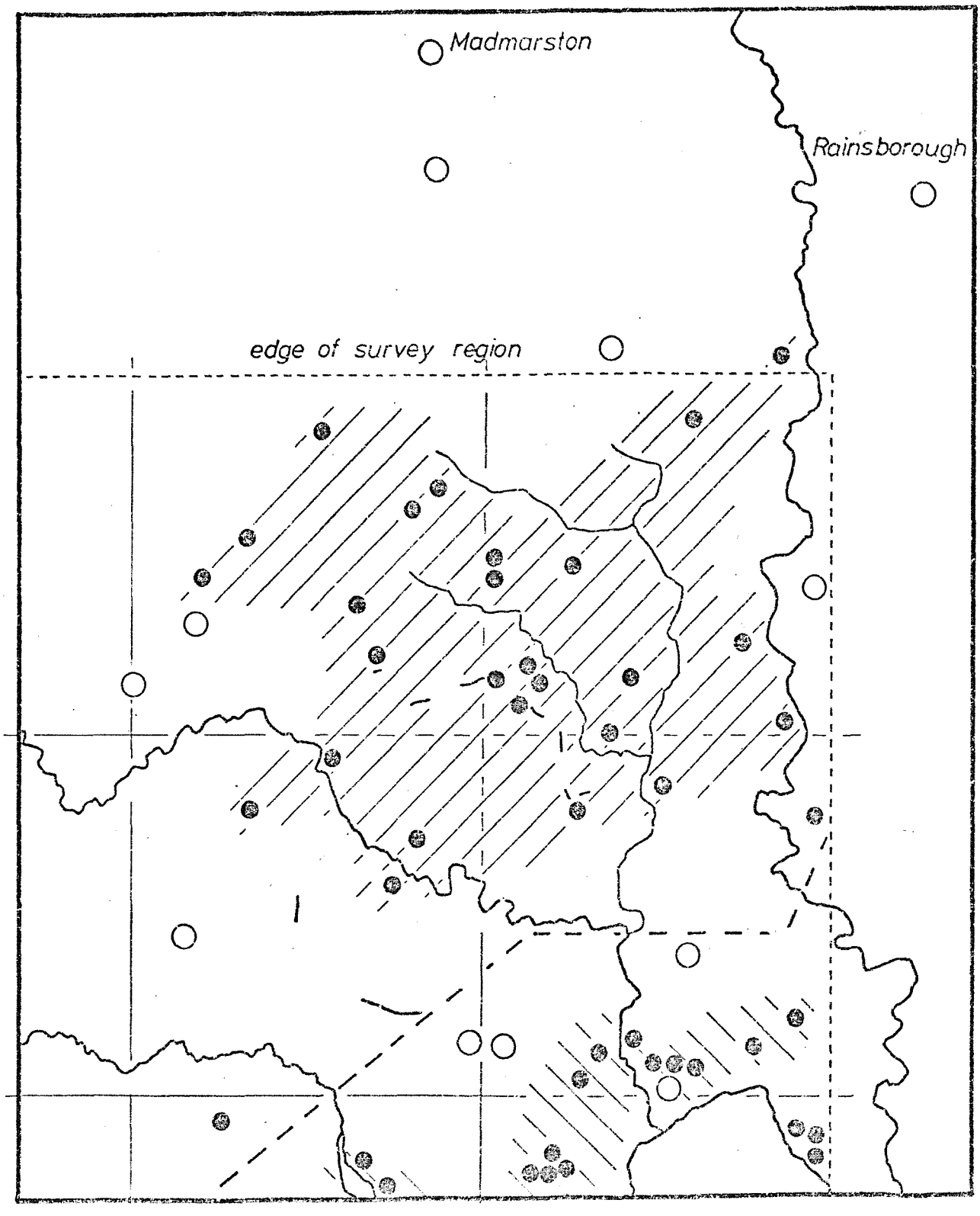


Figure 68: The Evenlode Valley Population Grouping.

it might be argued that Cotswold society was not organised according to corporate tribal rules. In fact society may have been structured in terms of more local scale social groups than was the case on the gravel. Thus in the Cotswold region the basic corporate unit within society may have been the individual local lineage (see the discussion of type A societies, 12). If this is so the size distribution of Cotswold enclosures (Figure 69) may have been related to the scale of the local lineage.

According to these arguments settlement on the Cotswolds, as on the gravels, directly reflects social form. On the gravel the corporate structure of the tribe is reflected by the division of the territory into separate areas of arable and pasture; while the corporate structure of social relations at a more localised level is reflected in the absence of significant spatial and physical boundaries in the settlement landscape (as demonstrated by the open nature of settlement, and the densely dispersed distribution of such settlement). By contrast in the Cotswolds subsistence production may have been focused on the single settlement, and this is reflected by the occurrence of marked spatial and physical boundaries in the settlement landscape (in this case settlements are bounded by earthwork enclosures, and wide spatial gaps exist between settlements). In addition the spatial structure of one of the major settlement forms in the Cotswold region may reflect this local self-sufficiency. In the spatial structure of the banjo enclosure a distinction is made at the scale of the single settlement between areas of arable and pasture (160). The banjo enclosure is an integrated arable/pasture farm (the division made at the level of the tribe in gravel society is in this case made at the scale of the single settlement; Figure 70).

The significance of the boundary around the Cotswold settlement is thus social. However the boundary may also have an enviromental significance. The enviromental factor relates to the heavily wooded nature of the Cotswolds (97),

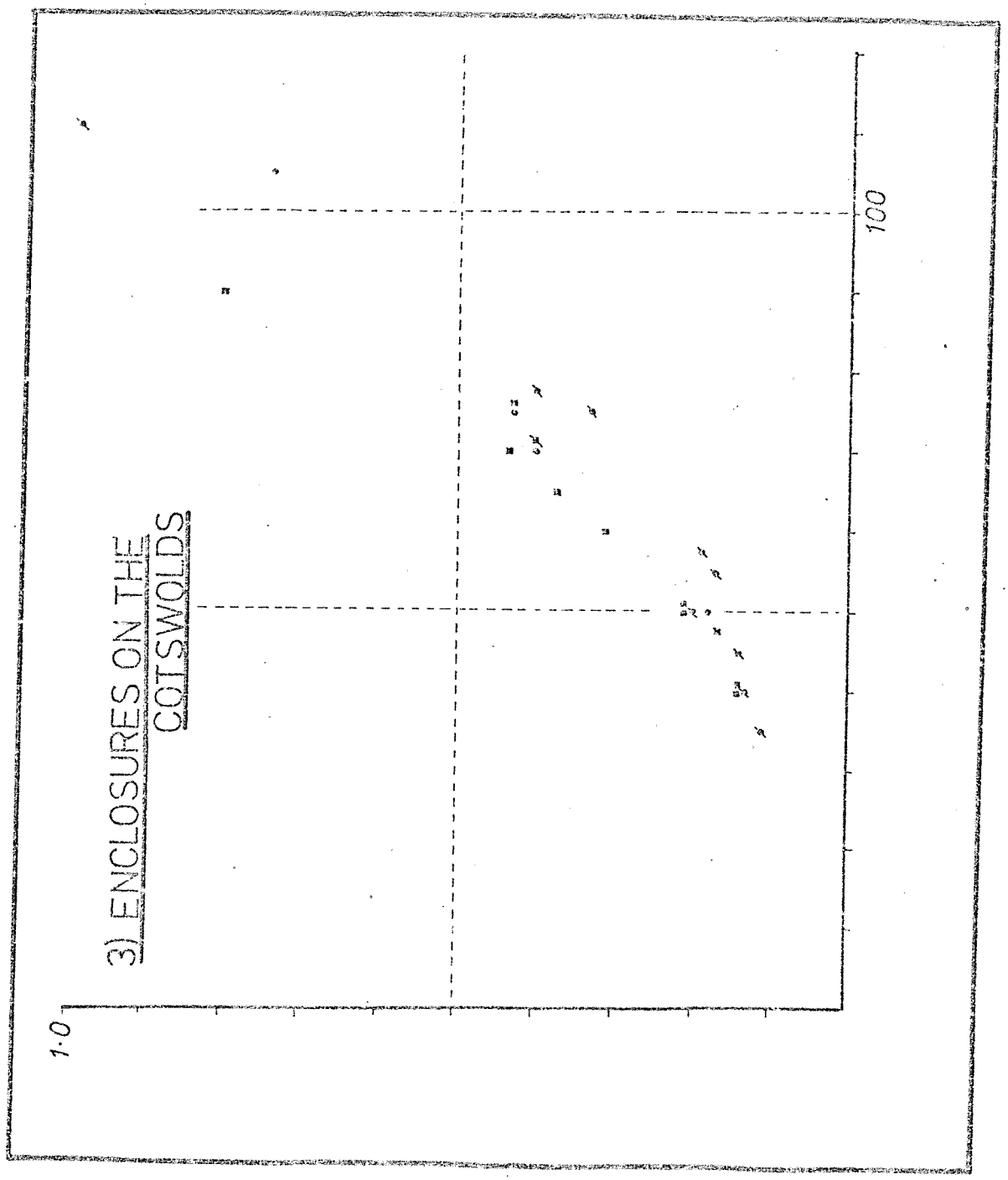


Figure 69: The Size Distribution of Enclosures in the Cotswold Area (see Figure 50 for key).

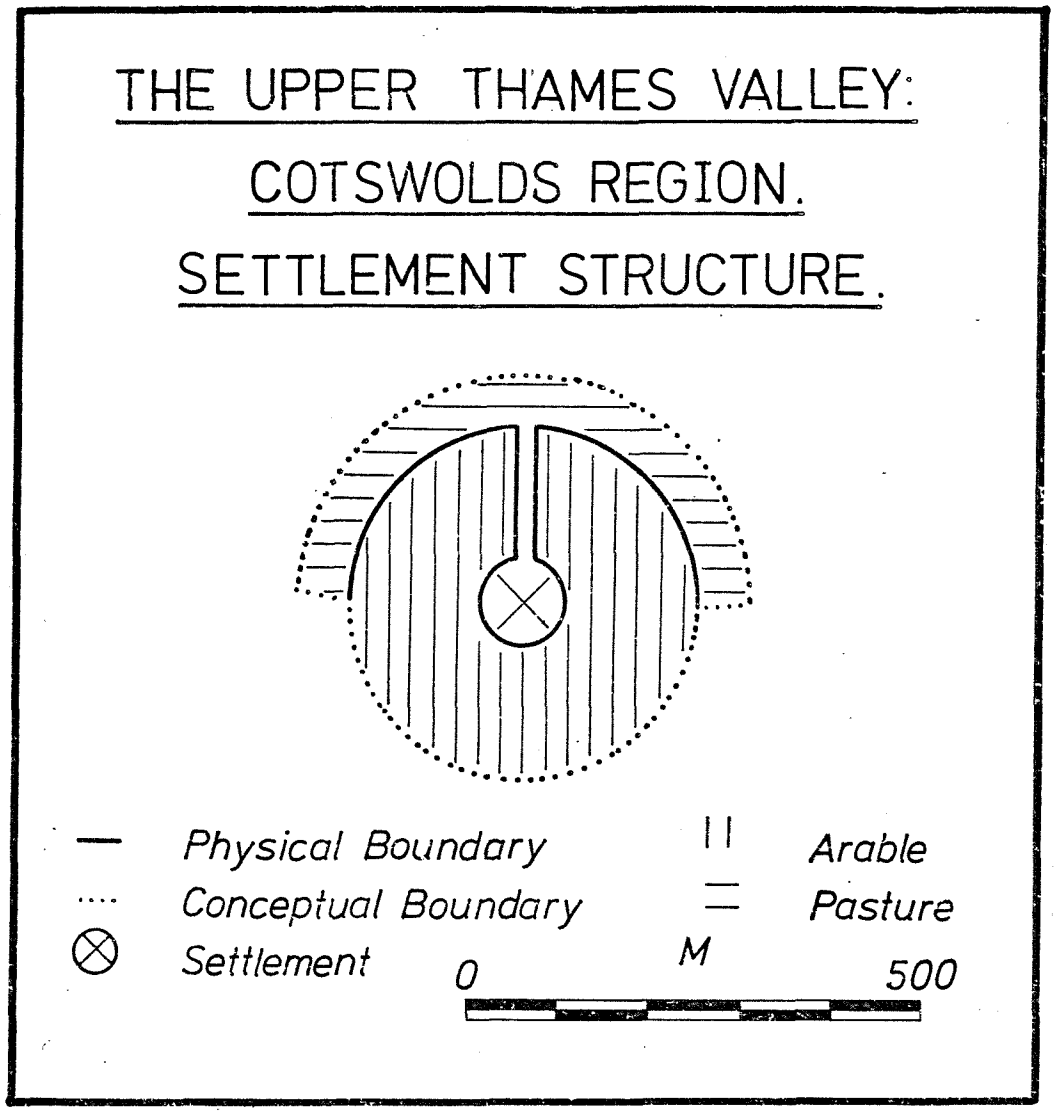


Figure 70: An Idealsied Diagram of Settlement Structure in the Cotswolds.

and is an argument that the ditched boundary is a necessity, to keep wild animals out of and domestic animals inside the settlement. Therefore the boundary to the area of the settlement in the Cotswolds probably has a dual significance; part ecological and part social.

Cotswold society may therefore represent a type A society, based on the isolation of the individual local lineage (12). How did such a situation come about? Two possible answers could be given to this question: either the structure is inherent within the Form and history of Cotswold society (eg ethnic), or the structure is a consequence of settlement history in the Cotswolds.

Is the variation between Cotswold and gravel society ethnic? It has been suggested that the distribution of round barrows/ring ditches could indicate a society in which the individuality of the local social group is stressed (203). In other words society on the Cotswolds in the Bronze Age, as in the Iron Age, may have consisted of isolated local lineages. Societies on the Cotswolds and on the gravels of the Upper Thames Valley may represent historically distinct, and ethnically different societies.

An alternative is that the structure of Cotswold society is a consequence of the conditions of its creation. In some contexts colonisation is known to have resulted in the settling of individual domestic groups in a previously sparsely occupied landscape (see Gleave, 1965 for Africa, and Everitt, 1977 and 1979 for the Saxon period in the Cotswolds). Everitt's discussion is of particular interest in this context (43); he has argued that a colonising movement from communal (in this case village based) societies on the gravel resulted in isolated kin groups as the typical social group in the Cotswolds (see also Ford, 1976). Therefore the development of the Cotswold society may have been a consequence of the migration of peoples from other areas. It has been proposed that gravel populations might have transhumed to the Cotswolds in the summer months (195); if this was so the establishment of

permanent mixed farming settlements on the Cotswolds might be a consequence of a developing shortage of resources on the gravel in the Middle/Late Iron Age (see Gleave, 1965 for a potentially parallel case in Africa).

If Cotswold society was created through colonisation, did this migration occur through the small scale movement of kin groups, or through large scale organised migration? The isolation of the Cotswold community may have been a consequence of the existence of centralised social relations. In other words migration and subsequent settlement history may have been organised through some centralised political system. Organised migration is recorded in the literary sources; Caesar recorded the story of Orgetorix of the Helvetii, who was chosen to make arrangements for the migration of his people (1:3). In general, it would seem that migration afforded an opportunity for the realisation of political ambition within Gallic society (Nash, Unpublished, 395).

This potentially centralised structure for society in the Evenlode Valley is a possible explanation for two further observations that have been made above. Firstly we shall discuss the distribution of defended enclosures in a corona around the area, and secondly the presence of a territorial oppida in the area.

Above it was suggested that the Evenlode Valley society was surrounded and defended by a corona of defended enclosures (see Figure 68). There is little evidence for the dating of these defended enclosures (although Madmarston, outside and to the north of the survey region [see Figure 68] produced evidence of Middle Iron Age fortification; Fowler, 1960) and excavation might prove some or most of the sites to be of Middle (or even Late) Iron Age date. If the Evenlode Valley society had anything in the way of centralised administration the enclosures might have fulfilled the function of protecting the borders of the group. Wright has discussed evidence for the distribution of defended enclosures in pre-Colonial Magagascar, and has

shown these sites to be the homes of relatively independent social groups established by a centralised authority with the aim of defending territorial borders versus incursions (Seminar in Southampton on State Formation, June, 1981; a further possible function for these sites would relate to a rather more decentralised social formation, and would be that the defences are a consequence of the peripheral and exposed location of the social groups in a boundary location).

In relation to the significance of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch, it has been suggested that the enclosure may have marked out the estate of a chief (15). The chief's ability to appropriate an estate may have been related to the control of dependent clients. It is possible that by the Late Iron Age in the Cotswolds social relations were based on the force of might, rather than traditional forms of social organization (as in the Germanic trading/raiding chiefdoms, see 14).

At present we do not know enough about the pattern of settlement within the Grim's Ditch to be able to test these propositions. The fact that the enclosure lies close to the edge of the area of the Evenlode Valley population cluster (see Figure 68) may be of significance in the understanding of the process of centralisation. In addition the evidence for intensive arable exploitation in the area (92) may be significant. We require much more information concerning settlement in this area; however two points can be made concerning the location of the territorial oppidum.

Firstly, the enclosure is centred upon the crossing point of Akeman Street and the river Evenlode. Akeman Street may have followed the route of a Late Iron Age road from the major centres at Bagendon and Camulodunum (an entrance gap in the Grim's ditch at Blenheim Park coincides with the location of the Roman road; Harden, 1937). Therefore the oppidum lies on a potentially important Late Iron Age communication route.

Secondly, an additional reason for the location of the oppidum (and for the growing concentration of settlement in this area in general) may have been iron stone resources (99). Case has discussed the potential importance of such resources to Iron Age societies (1964), and clearly their control would be of advantage to the Cotswold chiefdom. However there is no direct evidence that these resources were exploited at this time.

iii) Romano-British Settlement and Society on the Cotswolds and Gravels of the Upper Thames Valley.

The Roman period witnesses an uneven sequence of development in the Upper Thames Valley. There is much evidence of Roman influence in the Cotswold region. The pre-Roman route through the area was formalised as Akeman Street, and early Roman influence occurs along its length. At the Crossing of the Windrush early Roman material has come from Asthall (see Appendix 10); in addition an extensive early Roman settlement is known at Wilcote (Appendix 10). Winged corridor villas at Shakenoak and Ditchley are amongst the earliest examples known in this country (Appendix 9; Smith DJ, 1978, 120).

The area of the Cotswolds, particularly the valleys of the Windrush and Evenlode, continue this progressive development throughout the Roman period. Class 1 and 2 villas occur across the whole region (Figure 54), and in addition class 3 villas are fairly common. Minor towns are also fairly common in the Cotswold area (Figure 71).

By contrast on the gravel villas are scarce (Figure 54), and minor towns do not appear to occur at all (Figure 71). In addition an analysis of the distribution of Roman coinage would appear to indicate that coinage occurs with more frequency in the Cotswolds than on the gravel (especially when the density of Roman occupation on the gravel is considered; see Figure 72).

How can the differences of development in these two regions be explained? Above it was argued that villas

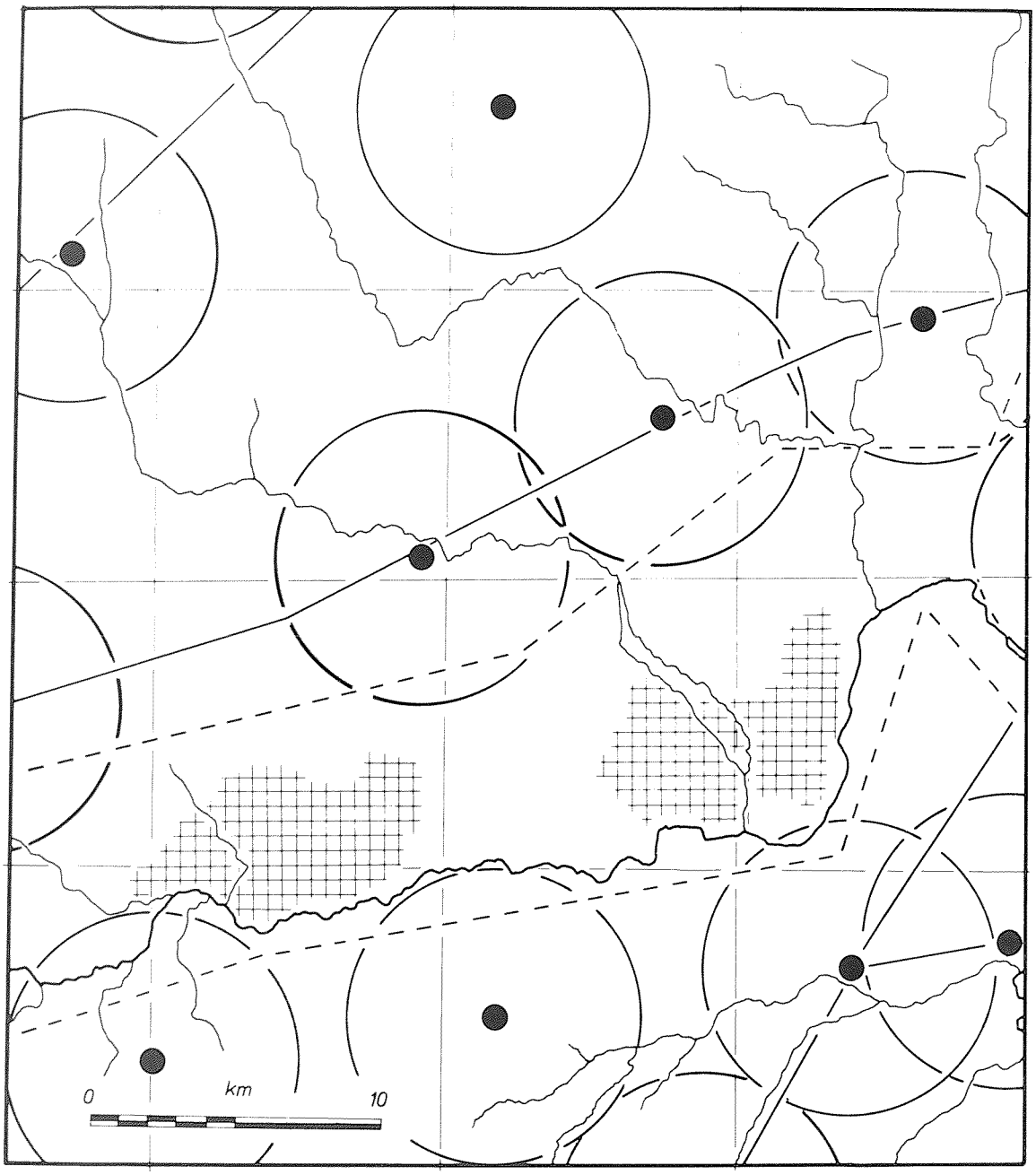


Figure 71: Markets and Market Territories in the Survey Region.

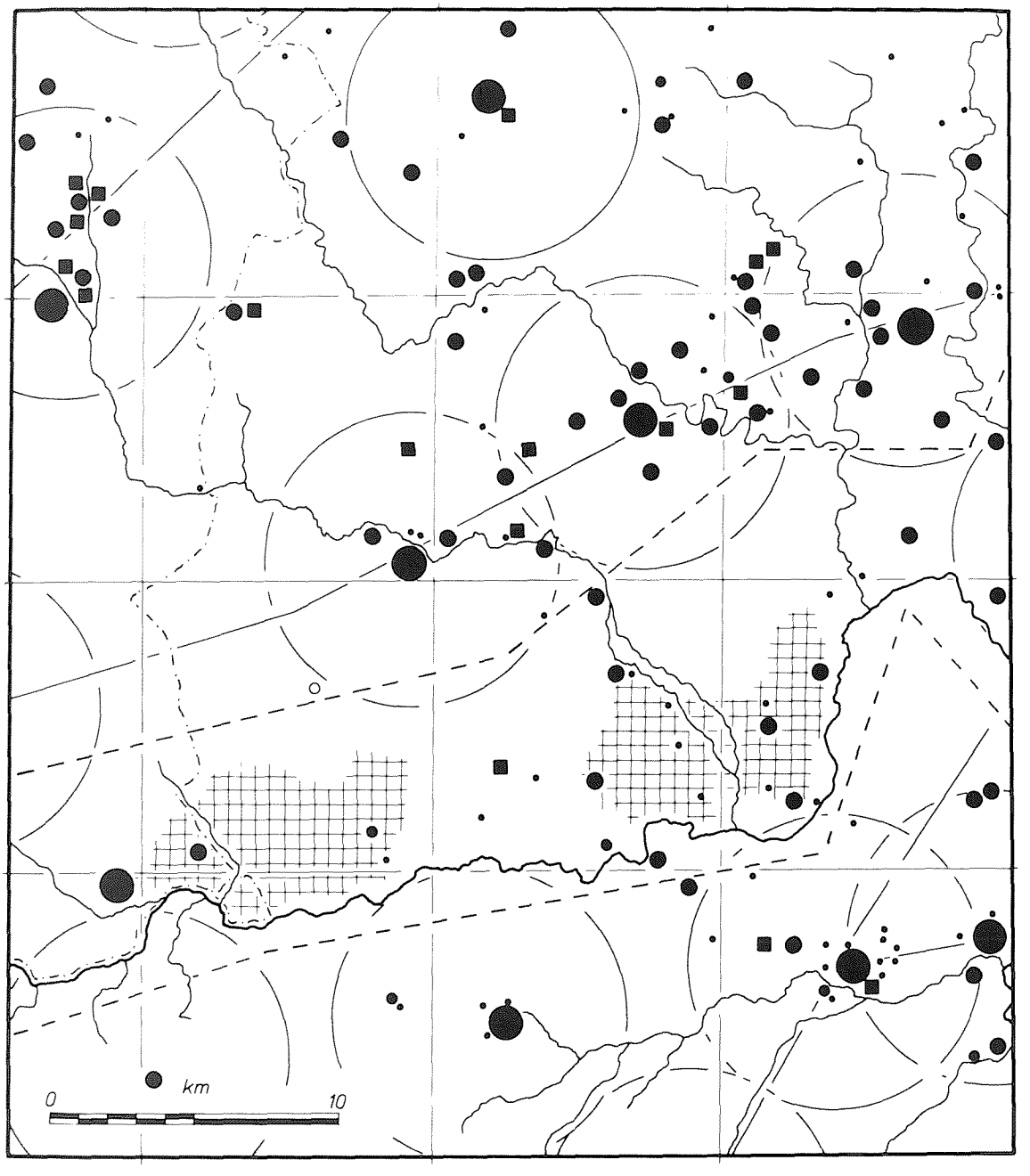


Figure 72: Roman Coinage in the Survey Region.

represented surplus accumulation and investment (165), while minor towns were lowest order markets (166). If coinage was one means of exchange within the local rural market (particularly in the third/fourth century, 24) then the three factors (villas, markets and coin distribution) may be connected.

To study this problem in detail we may discuss the structure of the varying social formations in terms of the articulation of modes of production (25). I have argued that in type B societies (as on the gravel) the basic social unit was the tribe, and that within the tribe property and work relations were primarily communal (195). As a consequence the individual was unable to break away from the network of social relations; property could not be alienated from the community, and surplus of material produce was a communal not a personal asset. Therefore, on the gravels the concept of surplus wealth did not exist; all worked for all, and the class of landless was small or non-existent. In addition the role of property relations in Romanisation was negative, communal ownership acted as a brake on the alienation of an estate (as was the case in the Asiatic village according to Marx; Marx, 1867; Krader, 1975; Bradby, 1975). Products circulated within society through a network of self-help relationships; in fact the concepts of the "market" and the "commodity" were alien to gravel society (see the discussion of Krader, 1975, 276).

By contrast the basic unit in Cotswold society (whether the society was an example of a de-centralised or centralised type A society) was the local lineage. The lineage was able to isolate itself from the wider community in terms of property and work relations. This resulted in the creation of private (lineage) property and the production and marketing of a material surplus (205).

Clientage may also have been of greater significance in the Cotswolds. It has been argued that the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch represented the estate of a chief, and that this chief may have been dependent on clients

and slaves to cultivate this estate. In addition early Roman villas at Ditchley and Shakenoak (Appendix 9) are associated with aisled out-houses, and Applebaum has argued that such aisled buildings in association with a villa are indicative of a group of clients/bondmen dependent on a lord (1961). Thus Ditchley and Shakenoak may demonstrate the significance of relations of clientage (or slavery) within first century AD Cotswold society. In the third/fourth century the construction of class 3 villas such as North Leigh and Stonesfield (Appendix 9) must indicate the domination of lords over a large number of tenants and slaves.

That a few villas do develop in the gravel regions is a consequence of the structure of the tribes. Four villas develop in the western periphery of tribe A, and a single possible example in the northern periphery of tribe B (Figure 54; Appendix 9). These villas all lie in situations that are clearly peripheral to the main centre of the tribes. It was argued above (198) that tribal solidarity was weaker in the periphery and that this was a consequence of the more isolated location of domestic groups in these areas (in the periphery the local social group/domestic group had a greater significance in relation to the structure of the tribe than in the core). This argument was used to explain the extended nature of peripheral social groupings and the construction of defended enclosures in the periphery; the argument can also be used to explain the construction of villas. In the periphery individual domestic groups were able to break away from the structure of social ties that bound their kinsmen in the core of the tribe, and thus became a tribal new elite (see 26).

In conclusion gravel and Cotswold societies differed markedly one form the other. We have seen that it is impossible to assess whether this variation was "ethnic" in origin, or the consequence of ecological factors and settlement history.

Cotswold society was of type A form; and was characterised

by the isolation of the local lineage. These local lineages may have been integrated into a chiefdom through centralised social relations. By contrast gravel societies were type B groups; and domestic groups were elements within a corporate community of tribal form.

With the commercialisation of the economy in the Roman period these societies develop unevenly. Cotswold society was more amenable to Romanisation because the process involved private ownership of land, the subordination of the many to the few and consequential capital accumulation by the few (this resulted in the construction of villas and the creation of local markets).

iv) Iron Age and Roman Settlement and Society on the Corallian Ridge of the Upper Thames Valley.

This section is concerned with the application of some of the concepts and models outlined above to a further region of the Upper Thames Valley, the Corallian Ridge. The evidence for this area appears to indicate that settlement patterns are rather different from either of the other two areas discussed above.

A Brief History of Settlement.

Monuments are absent from the Ridge prior to the Bronze Age (Figure 23), although Neolithic flint scatters have been recorded. In the Bronze Age the round barrow/ring ditch distribution is dispersed (Figure 24). The one cemetery on the Ridge could indicate the home base of a group of transhumant pastoralists, while the dispersed distribution could indicate areas utilised as summer pasture.

Early Iron Age settlements appear to occur with some frequency (Figure 73). Defended enclosures occur on the hilly Western section of the Ridge; on the Eastern section the settlement landscape is more like the gravel, with open settlements predominating. In the Middle Iron Age settlement seems to have been sparse on the West of the Ridge. In fact the settlement sequence on the West of

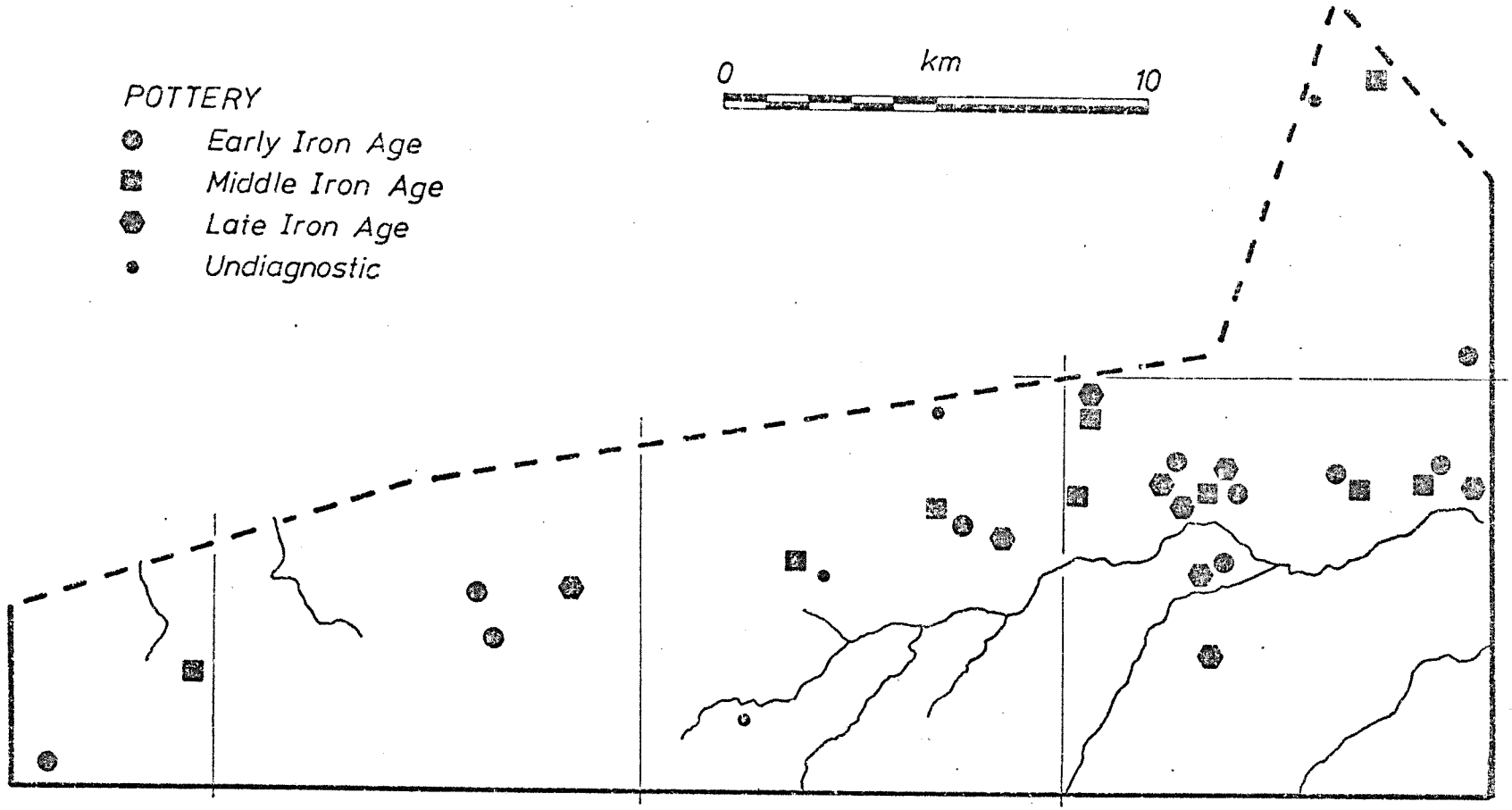


Figure 73: The Distribution of finds of Pottery on the Corallian Ridge.

the Corallian Ridge appears to have been somewhat similar to the Western area of the Cotswold Region throughout the Early and Middle Iron Age.

On the East/Central part of the Ridge a central defended enclosure is known at Cherbury Camp, and in addition a number of extensive open settlements seem to occur. In the Late Iron Age settlement may have expanded to occupy much of the Ridge, and by the third/fourth century AD occupation would seem to have spread right across the Ridge (Figures 25 and 26).

Observations on the Structure of Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement on the Corallian Ridge.

Nucleated settlements seem to occur on the Eastern Corallian Ridge in the Middle Iron Age. These nucleated settlements are fairly widely spaced; although the evidence for some of these settlements is fairly incomplete, possible examples can be identified at:

3796, Cherbury Camp,
4395A Nor Brook,
4297, Hamfield Barn,
4396/4496, Noah's Ark Inn,
4697, Cow Lane.

Other less certain examples occur at:

3395, Hatford,
4099, Kingston Hill Farm,
4897B, Ashville.

(the last site on the list lies on second terrace gravel, but on an escarpment which is continuous with the Corallian Ridge, and may therefore fall into this group). The nucleated sites are mainly on south facing slopes, close to the crest of the Ridge.

In addition to these nucleated settlements, more dispersed settlements (resembling sites on the gravel) are known (at 4096, Kingston Bagpuize and 4395B, Nor Brook; Figure 74).

In general the Corallian Ridge does not seem to be typified by the densely dispersed settlements of the tribal regions of the Upper Thames Valley. However settlements

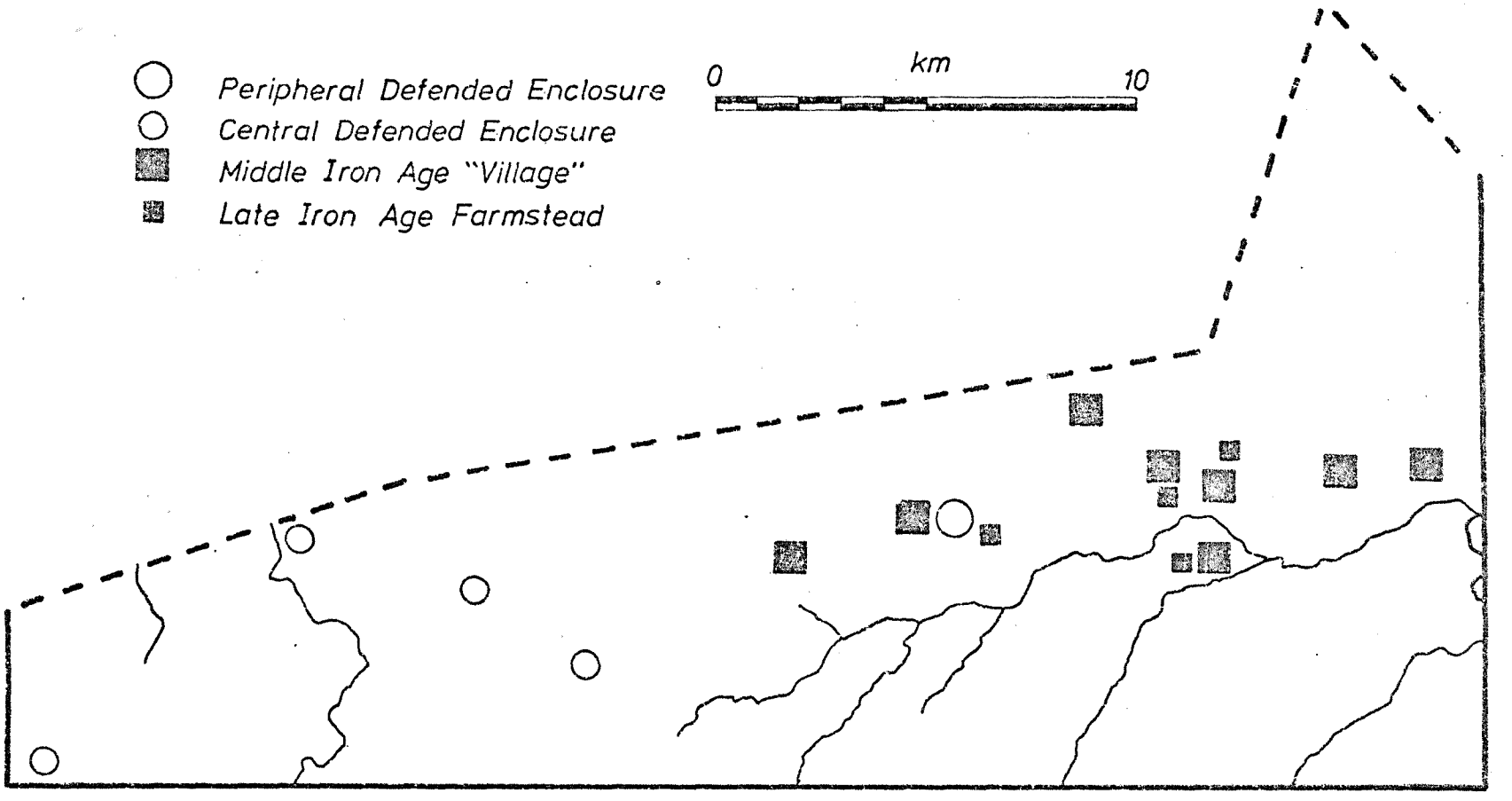


Figure 74: The Distribution of Settlement Types on the Corallian Ridge.

are not small scale and dispersed, as on the Cotswolds. Above it was suggested that the Vale of the White Horse was a social boundary zone between different "peoples" (94). It seems possible that the cause of nucleation of settlement on the Corallian Ridge was the boundary location of this area, and the need for defence (Rowlands, 1972).

In terms of the organisation of subsistence strategies, did communal or domestic appropriation characterise the economy of these settlements? It is difficult to analyse whether the nucleated settlements were agriculturally self-sufficient, or part of a larger scale social group. However, it would seem possible that the nucleated and isolated nature of some of these settlements might indicate that the settlements were corporate and independent. At Cherbury, Nor Brook, Hamfield Barn and Cow Lane extensive dyke and lane systems may have kept livestock from the settlement and crops. In other words it seems possible that the Corallian Ridge pattern is one of "village" settlements with a subsistence strategy based on the control of arable and pastoral farming by the individual community. This situation would differ from the system in both of the other physiographic regions (and approximates to the type of agricultural system typical of the Medieval period in the South of England, see Uhlig, 1961).

To continue this discussion of the Corallian Ridge sequence in a broad perspective, some form of catastrophe seems to have resulted in depopulation and probable social transformation in the Late Iron Age. Of the eight Middle Iron Age nucleated settlements several seem to have survived into the Late Iron Age, but as farmsteads not as villages (Figure 74). The only settlement on the Corallian Ridge that may have survived as more than a farmstead was the Noah's Ark temple site (see below). The type site for the Late Iron Age on the Corallian Ridge appears to have been the farmstead type complex-enclosure system.

Although the Late Iron Age farmsteads probably continue

the Middle Iron Age tradition of representing individual subsistence units, depopulation appears to be attested in the archaeological record. As it has been proposed that the Corallian Ridge was a major social boundary zone, it seems possible that such depopulation was the consequence of raiding of the zone.

Middle/Late Iron Age society on the Corallian may have represented a buffer zone between the developing centralised societies, the Catuvellauni (whose influence extended up the river Thames as far as Dorchester on Thames), and the Dobunni (centred possibly on the territorial oppidum of Bagendon). If this is so, then the Corallian Ridge represented a "shatter zone" rather similar to examples in pre-Colonial Africa (examples occured in the Uplands of Northern Nigeria, between the Hausa and Fulani Empires in the Middle Belt of Nigeria, and between the Ibo and Ibibio in Eastern Nigeria; Gleave, 1965; Agbolla, 1961; Udo, 1963).

Thus the Corallian Ridge may have formed a "shatter zone" between two late Iron Age chiefdoms/states. In contrast to the Corallian, population on the gravel appears to have remained relatively stable. On the gravel society was structured in terms of rather larger (? stronger) corporate units.

One important area for the understanding of this sequence of settlement history is around the Noah's Ark Inn (Figure 75). In this area I have conducted a detailed field survey over 7 km^2 of the landscape (see 140, and Figure 41). At the Noah's Ark Inn (4396/4496) excavation produced evidence for Iron Age and Roman ritual structures (Bradford and Goodchild, 1939; Harding, 1972). During the survey evidence was recovered for a complex of Iron Age and Roman structures in association with the temple. Fieldwork and aerial photography have produced evidence for a possible estate in the area in the Middle/Late Iron Age. A boundary earthwork cuts off a territory between two streams, to the west of the temple site (Figure 75). This boundary has traditionally been consid-

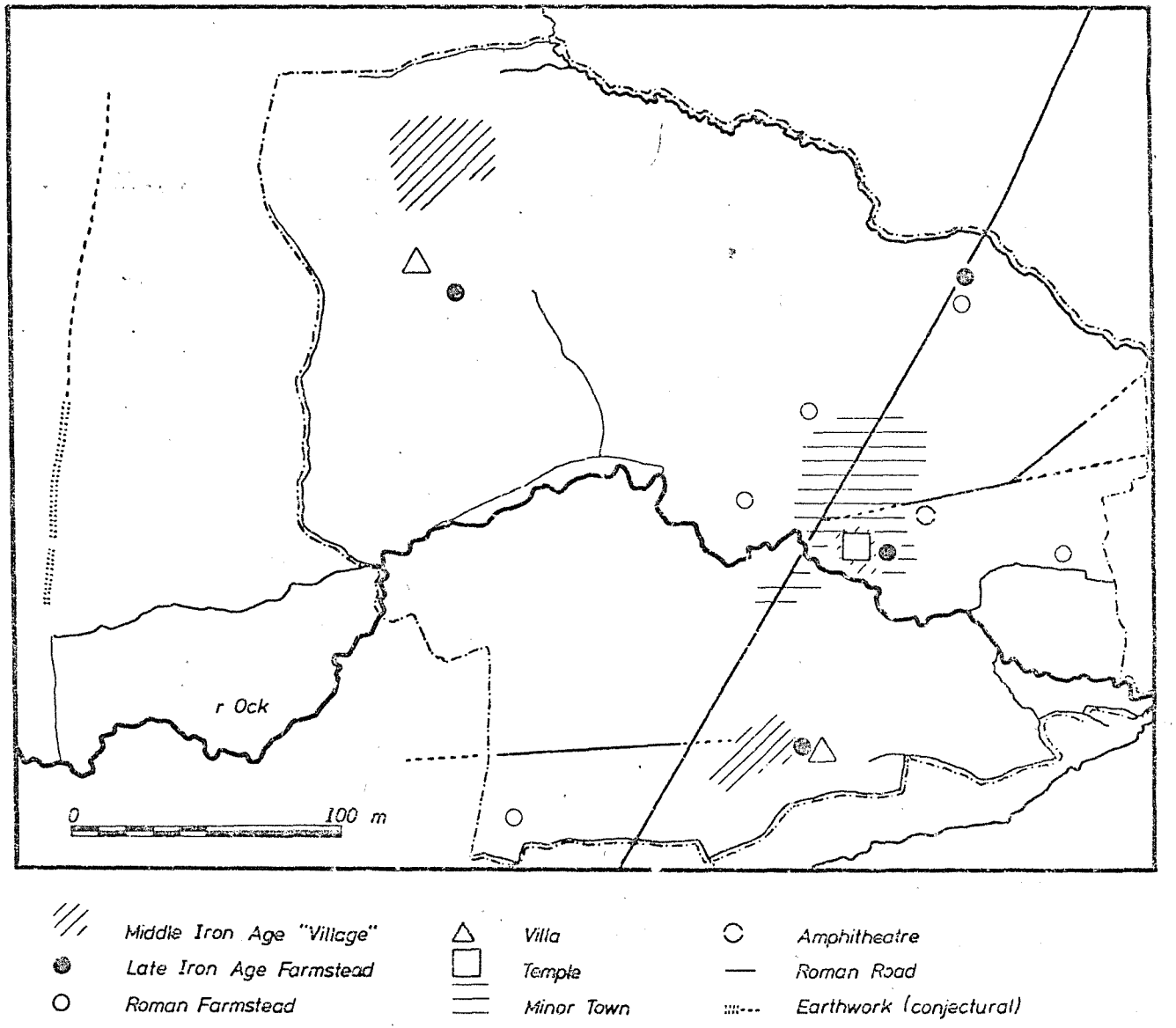


Figure 75: Iron Age and Roman Settlement at the Noah's Ark Inn.

ered to have been of Saxon date (Crawford, 1953, 240). However the earthwork appears to be overlain at one point along its course (SU 409962) by a sub rectangular enclosure that has produced Roman material from fieldwork (Hingley, Forthcoming F).

If this boundary is of Middle/Late Iron Age date, then we have at the Noah's Ark a situation very similar to the first dyke phase at Gosbecks, Colchester. At Gosbeck a linear ditch and bank cut off an area between two water-courses. Within this area was a major temple complex associated with a ditched rectangular enclosure (Rodwell, 1976, 340). In the Roman period Roman style temple buildings replaced the Iron Age structures, and a theatre was built in association with the temple (Crummy, 1980). The dyke, the temple complex rectangular enclosure are all paralleled at the Noah's Ark Inn; where, in the Roman period, a major temple complex was laid out and a sizeable amphitheatre constructed (Hingley, 1981B, Forthcoming A)

The main differences between the Gosbecks and Noah's Ark Inn sites would seem to be in their associations. At Gosbecks later dyke construction integrated the temple site into a territorial oppidum, which appears to have represented a major administrative centre for the dominant Eastern Polity of the Late Iron Age (15). This could indicate that at Colchester the administrative/political elite had gained some control over the religious elite (for this contradiction within Celtic society see Nash, Unpublished). At Frilford, by contrast, the temple, though central in religious terms, seems to have lain on a major social boundary; Frilford never became a major administrative centre (Hingley, Forthcoming F).

We may now discuss other sites within the 7 km^2 survey region at the Noah's Ark Inn. Within the area there is evidence for the depopulation of two Middle Iron Age "village" settlements (at 4397, Hamfield Barn and 4495A, Nor Brook). Late Iron Age farmsteads have been located close to both sites (Figure 75). The Noah's Ark site may have survived as a sizeable settlement from the Middle to

Late Iron Age. In the Roman period the temple continues to develop as a major religious centre, and from the first through to the fourth century a minor town of about 30 ha develops around the site.

In the area around the minor town infilling of settlement could indicate population increase (and the budding off of settlements), or in-migration from other regions of the Upper Thames Valley. One Late Iron Age/Early Roman and three Roman farmsteads develop in the area (Figure 75). At some unspecified stage Romano-British farmsteads on the former sites of the two Middle Iron Age villages were converted into winged corridor villas.

The development of these villas could have been encouraged by the presence of a local market at the temple site. One wonders whether they also held some form of tenurial first right over the land occupied by the infilling settlements; it seems rather too much of a coincidence that the two villas occur on the sites of the two Middle Iron Age villages, while none of the infilling settlements develop into villas. If these arguments are correct then there is evidence for a form of tenurial site hierachy, with social as well as economic relations being the causes of villa development.

From present evidence villas would appear rare on the Western Corallian Ridge. In contrast to villas minor towns appear to occur along the whole length of the Ridge (Figure 71). However more survey work will be necessary before the settlement sequence in this area is fully understood.

In conclusion, the Corallian Ridge would appear to present a more complex sequence of settlement history than the other two physiographic regions within the Upper Thames Valley. This may be in part a consequence of the disruption of local social groups through their location on a major social boundary. It may be possible to explain the structure of the Middle Iron Age landscape through considerations relating to the defence of the population of the Ridge. In addition the transformation of these

nucleated settlements may have been a consequence of raiding of the zone from a polity based somewhere in the Dorchester on Thames Region (see 237). The development of the Ridge in the Roman period seems to fit the pattern observed for the Cotswolds, with Roman influence resulting in the development of private property and surplus production.

v) Conclusions to Chapter 8.

This Chapter has been rather lengthy and complex. In the Chapter an attempt has been made to fit some of the theory and methods outlined in the introductory Chapters to the data available for Iron Age and Roman settlement in the Upper Thames Valley. The result is a complex model for the structure of society over the region. One purpose of the concluding Chapter of the thesis is to put these observations into a broader perspective; as a consequence the arguments of the Chapter do not require a review at this stage.

Chapter Nine:
The Upper Thames Valley and Southern Britain: Some Evidence for the Structure of Society.

The purpose of this Chapter is twofold; firstly to assess briefly the significance of the case study in terms of the theory and methods outlined in the introductory part of this thesis, and secondly to provide an account of some significant themes raised during the analysis of the case study to society and settlement in a broader perspective.

i) Theory and Data; Some Themes in the Analysis of the Structure of Society in the Upper Thames Valley.

In Chapter 3 it was argued that societies are structured in terms of a hierachy of levels of social scale, and that these levels may be bounded (physically or spatially) by buffer zones. The case study has enabled me to put these principles into practice, and it would seem that the principles have enabled me to supplement the social model discussed in Chapter 2.

The analysis of data has enabled the identification of four social groups at a regional scale within the Middle/ Late Iron Age settlement record (Figure 76). Outside these four main zones it would appear (from present evidence) that population was scarce. Some important settlements are known (for instance Salmonsbury), but these may have been isolated nucleated settlements.

The concept of the buffer zone has found some support in the evidence of population groupings. The four areas of dense population are isolated from each other by areas of unoccupied land, and by natural obstacles. The two gravel tribes are separated by an area of about 7 km; in addition a defended enclosure is situated on this boundary. The Eastern gravel tribe and the Cotswold population group are separated by a relatively unsettled area of about 7 km, and a cluster of defended enclosures. The Cotswold chiefdom was fairly isolated, with a corona of defended enclos-

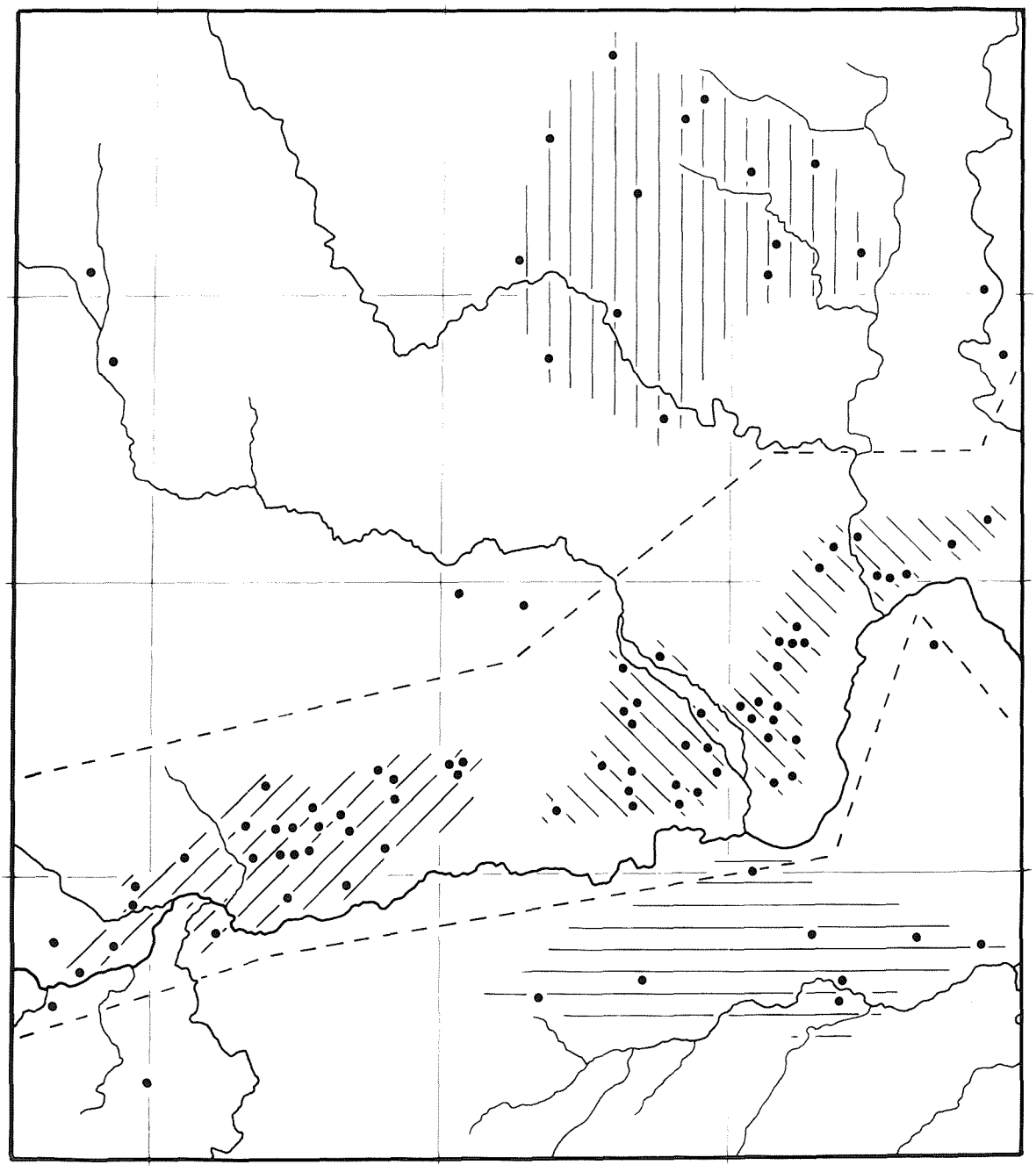


Figure 76: Four Possible Middle/Late Iron Age Population Clusters in the Survey Region (defended enclosures, cattle camps and stray finds of pottery are not shown).

ures on its west, south and north. The gravel and Corallian societies were separated by the physical boundary of the river Thames.

In relation to the significance of these population groupings we may attempt to find parallels in the pre-Roman "tribes" of Gaul and Ireland. In Gaul, by the first century BC, polities were large scale and in some cases highly centralised; however, Nash has argued that these polities were formed out of smaller scale units which initially represented distinct tribes/chiefdoms (Unpublished, 1976, 1978). In Ireland these small scale political units seem to have survived into historical times. The tuath was a small scale political grouping with its own king/chief (13).

It is possible that the four population groups isolated in this thesis represent the Upper Thames equivalent of the Irish tuath. In terms of the extent of these units in the Upper Thames an area of about 70 to 100 km seems typical (Figure 76). Although there is no reliable information we might guess at a population of about 700 people (10 per km^2) for the gravel tribes; by contrast the Corallian Ridge and Cotswold groups probably had rather lower populations.

Whether (as with the "pagi" of Gaul) these population groupings were elements within larger political units is uncertain. In terms of amorphous groups recognising common identity (which may be titled "peoples") it has been suggested that a boundary between peoples existed in the Vale of the White Horse. If this is so the four Upper Thames Valley societies may all be part of a single "people" (the Vale of the White Horse is the Northern boundary of Wessex, 94). However, whether there was any degree of political integration is another matter.

In the Late Iron Age, as the influence of contact with Rome spread across Southern Britain, it would seem that formerly independent social groups became integrated into larger units (as in Gaul; Nash, 1976). Discussion over

the location of major Late Iron Age political boundaries tends to place the Cotswold and gravel societies of the Upper Thames Valley within the orbit of the Dobunni. The Corallian society may also initially have been in the Dobunnic territory, and may have represented the Southern boundary with the Atrebates. However influence from the East of Britain in the Late Iron Age seems to result in the subordination of the Corallian society to a polity based on Dorchester on Thames (105). The nature of the possible trading/raiding polity at Dorchester will be discussed in detail below (237).

It would seem that the concept of the buffer zone may have some validity in the analysis of regional population groupings. In addition attempts have been made to isolate social groups at a more local level of scale, and to understand the structure of the four population groupings, and variation between these societies, through the construction of a homogeneous region model. If these attempts have any validity, then the concept of the buffer zone has a relevance at lower levels of scale within the human landscape.

In gravel society it would seem to be possible to distinguish significant steps of scale at three levels. The highest level of scale is the corporate tribe; below this is a community titled the section, and at the local level is the domestic group resident in the compound. Compound form appears to vary across the tribal landscape; in the core of the tribe single unit compounds may indicate nuclear families, while in the periphery multiple unit compounds may indicate extended families. In addition it has been argued that the form of the family may have some significance in relation to its function (where tribal solidarity is weak the family is extended; where solidarity is great the family is nuclear).

A further scale of relevance within the tribe is the section. The section may have had subsistence functions related to the ownership of arable, as demonstrated by the

common ownership of an area of infield. At a higher scale in the spatial hierachy is the tribe, which may have been a corporate group in terms of the ownership of pasture.

In the Cotswold Region units at the level of the settlement and possibly of the population grouping may have been of significance. We are not sure of the nature of the social group resident in the settlement on the Cotswolds; although it has been suggested that the group may have been a lineage. However, following arguments about the significance of space as a reflection of social form (32) it could be argued that the spatial isolation of the Cotswold settlement demonstrates the significance of the local lineage as a corporate group. It seems possible that the scale of the population grouping had some political significance by the Late Iron Age, as society may have been (or become) centralised under a chief.

On the Corallian Ridge the corporate village has been isolated as the prime social group. Within the village smaller social groups probably occured, but their significance may have been less great (due to the social significance of village form, 34) than was the significance of the domestic group on the gravel. On the Corallian Ridge there is little evidence for corporate tribal structure, and the isolation of the village in spatial terms could be a consequence of their social isolation from one another. In other words society may have been relatively de-centralised, and have consisted of a series of nucleated corporate groups placed just to the north of a major social boundary between the peoples of Wessex and those of the Upper Thames Valley.

This discussion indicates the potential value of the concept of the homogeneous region. It is clear that the structure of the ordering of space varies between the four regions. On the Corallian nucleated settlements are fairly isolated from one another by wide buffer zones, but

are integrated into some form of de-centralised population grouping. On the gravels domestic groups are dispersed in a dense distribution across the area of the tribe, buffer zones are narrow within the tribe and this demonstrates the corporate nature of the tribe. On the Cotswold settlements are small scale and isolated, buffer zones are wide which indicates the social isolation of the local lineage.

In conclusion, research based on the use of the concept of the buffer zone and the use of a homogeneous region model, has enabled the reconstruction and explanation of the function of scales of significance within the archaeological record.

A description of the varying structure of the spatial landscape between regions requires an explanation of the origin of such variation. The above picture is incomplete, as the origin of the Middle Iron Age situation has not been explained. On the gravel the tribes may be derived from origins as groups which cooperated over the exploitation and defence of pastoral resources. In other words the tribes may have originated in the Bronze Age. The transformation of society in the Iron Age could have involved a growing emphasis on arable production as a consequence of increased population.

On the Cotswolds the dispersed pattern of independent groups may have been a consequence of migration into the area. An alternative interpretation is that groups on the gravel and Cotswolds differed ethnically, and that Iron Age groups on the Cotswolds are the descendents of Bronze Age groups.

The origin of the Middle Iron Age communities of the Corallian Ridge is obscure. The few Early Iron Age settlements in the area may have been of restricted size, and the nucleated Middle Iron Age settlements may have been a response to external threat.

The structure of social organisation in the Upper Thames

Valley will now be reviewed in relation to the arguments put forwards in Chapter 2.

In Chapter 2 it was suggested that two types of society existed in Iron Age Britain. Type A societies were an adapted version of Rowlands' model for Late Bronze Age society in Wessex. The clear bounding of settlements on the Cotswolds (this bounding is both physical and spatial) could indicate that these societies were of type A form.

By contrast it was suggested that some Iron Age societies (type B societies) were structures with more stability than the lineage based examples. One ideal model for a type B society is derived from the structure of the kindred, in combination with some evidence for the form of the tribe amongst historic Celts of Wales and Ireland (19).

I have argued that settlement on the gravel is comparable with such a "tribal" society. The single hut appears to represent the typical compound unit in the core of the gravel groups. In addition the absence of marked physical or spatial boundaries in the settlement record, at a higher level of scale than the domestic group, may indicate the absence of any clearly defined divisions within society (36). The evidence for Middle Iron Age settlement on the gravel is quite compatible with a system in which rights and duties form a network of overlapping groups within society.

The Corallian population group seems to fall into neither of the two categories of society. In the Middle Iron Age nucleated settlement might indicate some form of cooperative (? kindred) scheme within the settlement. By the Late Iron Age social form may have been based around the single lineage.

I wish to discuss the evidence for social hierachy in Celtic society in relation to the data from the survey region. On the gravel it has been argued that the presence of rectangular enclosures could indicate social ranking, with a division occuring between cattle owning

and other (? client) groups on the gravel. In Ireland cattle clientage was an institution through which the aristocracy extended productive relations to non kin (the patron lent cattle to a client in exchange for an annual levy of produce). In Ireland the king (and also possibly some members of the aristocracy) was permitted to construct an enclosure (consisting of a rampart and a so called "ditch of vassalage") around his homestead (Binchy, 1941; Graham, Unpublished; Hamilton, 1968). The Crith Gablach specifies that this enclosure should be about 140 ft in diameter (Hamilton, 1968, 72). It is possible that the Upper Thames rectangular enclosures represent a similar tradition, although the evidence of multiple enclosures per section and multiple sections per tribe presumably indicate that the enclosures were the property of an aristocracy rather than an individual.

For the Cotswolds the estate of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch may indicate that a chief had appropriated an area of property (213). It may also be that the estate indicates class relations, as the chief must have been able to exploit much labour to have been able to cultivate this whole estate. The chiefs position could have been derived from his function as a war leader (14).

Finally for the Corallian Ridge, the possible estate to the west of the Noah's Ark Inn could indicate that a religious class had gained control of an estate (? and tenants). If this is so it would be interesting to know more of the process in relation to the transition from nucleated to dispersed settlement on the Ridge.

I now wish to discuss the evidence for social transformation in the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. For one area of the survey region there is evidence for rather dramatic change in the Late Iron Age. This area is the Corallian Ridge of the South of the survey region. It has been suggested that the de-centralised Corallian

societies formed a buffer zone between centralised societies. The evidence for de-population on the Ridge has been reviewed. Similar evidence would appear to be absent from the gravels, presumably because of the greater solidarity of these social formations.

The Corallian Ridge represents one society which was transformed through contact with the expanding Eastern polity; we shall now discuss another rather different case. This involves the Upper Thames Valley around Dorchester on Thames (to the east of the survey region). A consideration of this area is vital to an understanding of the settlement sequence in the survey region (the history of settlement was briefly reviewed in Chapter 5, 105, but a fuller discussion can be conducted at this stage in the light of information from the case study).

There is little in the Dorchester on Thames area in the Early/Middle Iron Age to distinguish it from the two tribal groupings on the gravel further upstream (Figure 77). The Dorchester area probably represents a further gravel tribe in the Upper Thames Valley. The tribal territory covers a similar area, and once again the open settlement is the typical settlement form (Figure 77). However there are anomalous factors in the settlement record of the Middle/Late Iron Age. Isolated rectangular enclosures appear in the settlement record, and one extensive central defended enclosure develops on the periphery of the population group (at Dyke Hills, Dorchester on Thames, see Figure 34). In spatial terms Dyke Hills is peripheral to the population grouping (as is the case with Salmonsbury, 205).

Material culture in the Dorchester on Thames Region in the Late Iron Age includes imported pottery (butt beakers, and possibly amphorae). By contrast such finds are rare within the survey region (where the Late Iron Age pottery assemblage is typified by the necked bowl; Harding, 1972). In addition we have seen that the coinage of Cunobelin (and other Eastern rulers) is common in the Dorchester area (see

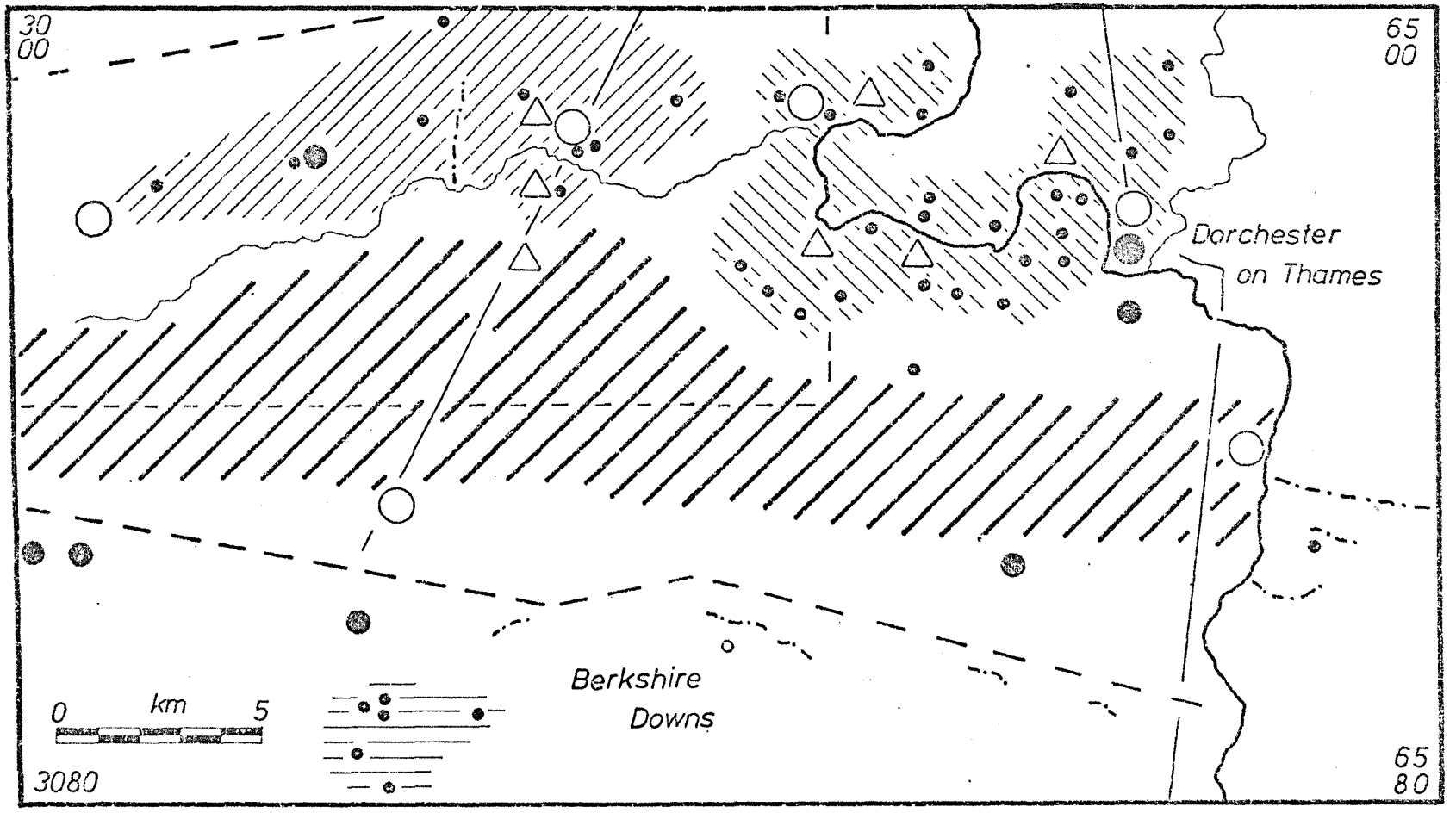


Figure 77: The Dorchester on Thames/Corallian Regions (the box at the North West = the survey region).

Figures 28 and 29). Finally for the Roman period villas, minor towns (Figure 77) and coinage are common on the gravels of this area.

It is possible that in this case we are witnessing the transformation of a tribally structured society through contact with the dominant Eastern polities (of Braughing and Camulodunum). It is possible that a centralised polity developed in the Dorchester area, with power based on the situation of the polity in relation to an axis of contact from the East of England into the Upper Thames Valley (Figure 27). The Dorchester polity may, therefore represent Haselgrove's "inner periphery". The reason for the transformation of the Dorchester polity (in contrast to the two gravel tribes of the survey region) is the situation of Dorchester in a regional system. If the Vale of the White Horse was a major social boundary in the Iron Age (94) the area of the Thames Valley around Dorchester may have been a bottle neck (or gateway) for communications.

In relation to the transformation of Celtic society under Roman influence I have attempted to utilise the concept of the articulation of modes of production in order to study the transformation of property and work relations.

On the gravels of the Upper Thames Valley the structure of social production meant that both labour and property were communally owned and appropriated. In this society products circulated through networks of self help relations, and the concept of the "commodity" and the "market" were alien. By contrast on the Cotswolds surplus labour was significant (as shown by the extent of the chief's estate, and also aisled structures at excavated villa sites, 218). In addition property and work relations were organised on the scale of the single settlement, which (it has been argued) may have represented the local lineage (208). As a consequence the development of private (lineage) property, and also surplus accumulation by the lineage, were tenable. In addition trade may have been more compatible with social

structure than was the case on the gravel, as local lineages were competitive (and trade represents an alternative means to raiding for accumulating surplus).

In other words, uneven development over the area of the Upper Thames Valley was a consequence of the structure of social forms within the region. Variation in the form of the two types of society led to differing developmental trajectories during the contact and invasion phases.

However an additional factor in the failure of gravel societies to develop was their location within the regional system. These gravel societies (in contrast to the Dorchester social group) were in isolated locations in terms of communication and trade networks (see especially the Roman road network; Figure 54). This factor has not been fully discussed, as my prime interest has been in the articulation of modes of production. However in relation to the Roman road network it seems probable that roads were constructed in areas where there was a military requirement for roads. In other words roads were constructed in areas that were liable to provide a military threat to the establishment. If there is any truth in this argument, then the absence of roads from the gravel is a consequence of social structure in these regions (not vice versa).

Regional development versus underdevelopment in the Upper Thames Valley has been characterised by the construction of villas and minor towns, and also by the greater quantities of coinage in circulation. The regions of development (the Cotswolds and Corallian Ridge) have villas, and a relatively even distribution of minor towns.

One further area of developemnt was on the western periphery of tribe A. In this area villa construction was a consequence of the ability of the domestic group to isolate itself from the corporate tribal structure of relations.

ii) Some Themes in the Analysis of the Structure of Society in Southern Britain.

How much validity do the arguments presented in this thesis have when examined in a broader context? In this section we shall attempt to examine the arguments in relation to some information for the structure of Iron and Romano-British society in Southern Britain.

In Chapter 2 it was argued that two types of society could be identified in Iron Age Southern Britain. Type B societies were structured in relation to communal ownership of a tribal territory. Due to their structure such societies had an emphasis on equality, and society was characterised by long term stability. In contrast type A societies were structured in relation to the lineage. Such societies were highly competitive, and as a consequence, unstable. Type A societies looked beyond their own boundaries through trading and raiding for surplus production.

Examples of both type of society appear to exist within the survey region; can similar patterns be identified elsewhere in Southern Britain? Data for detailed examination do not exist, but we can attempt to make some general observations.

Firstly, in relation to type B societies, possible examples are attested on Salisbury Plain/Cranborne Chase, and in the Warwickshire Avon. The settlements of the Iron Age in the Warwickshire Avon seem typically to be open (Webster and Hobley, 1964). In the Roman period villas and minor towns appear to be rare in this area.

On Cranborne Chase/Salisbury Plain Middle Iron Age settlement patterns may be rather similar to those on the Corallian Ridge of the Upper Thames Valley. On Cranborne Chase the typical settlement may be the nucleated village inside an enclosure (the discussion of the nature of Wessex settlements has swung from their interpretation as villages [by Collingwood, who believed the multiple pits which occur on these sites to be houses] to an interpretation as

farmsteads [following on from the work of Bersu at Little Woodbury where only a couple of huts were found in a large enclosure] and back now to an interpretation [following work on pit capacity at the recently excavated site of Gussage All Saints; Jefferies in Wainwright, 1978] of the sites as villages). The sites may, therefore, represent villages nucleated within enclosures. The settlements may have been corporate in relation to ownership of resources, and if this is so it is possible to explain the failure of the Cranborne Chase area to become Romanised (see the comments of Collingwood, above 72).

It seems clear that we do not understand the structure of type B societies in full. However in relation to the distribution of type B societies it is of interest that Nash has recently proposed a model for the division of Southern Britain into two areas. Nash (Forthcoming) proposes that the East of England was an area of raiding chiefdoms (ie type A societies, see below). If we consider the Midlands and South of Britain to be areas in which type B societies were common it may be possible to explain some factors of the spatial structure of these societies. We have already seen that central defended enclosures seem commonly to occur in areas that are the borders of settlement (237). These sites might be interpreted as ports of trade (after Polanyi, 1957B). The centres are located at the periphery of social groups in order to prevent the disruption of traditional social organisation. This may be an explanation for the location of Salmonsbury, Dorchester on Thames, Winchester (? in relation to Cranborne Chase/ Salisbury Plain) and Hengistbury Head (in relation to Wessex; Cunliffe, 1978C).

Type A societies result from and exploit conditions of social instability. Instability may be a consequence of the expansion (? as in the case of the Cotswolds) or disruption (as on the Corallian Ridge, in the Dorchester on Thames Region, and in Middle/Late Bronze Age Wessex) of

more stable forms of society. It can be argued that the expansive societies of Eastern Britain in the Late Iron Age were type A societies.

If we examine the so called oppida of Eastern and Southern Britain, some support is forthcoming for this proposal. Let us look first at the territorial oppida. Cunliffe (1978B, 286) considers the following sites to fall into this category:

Camulodunum,
Selsey,
Bagendon,
Silchester,
North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch.

A glance at the Ordnance Survey Map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age (1962) indicates that territorial oppida do not tend to occur in areas of dense Early/Middle Iron Age occupation. Let us examine these sites in greater detail.

At Camulodunum some Early and Middle Iron Age settlement is known in the area, but at present Later Prehistoric settlement does not seem to have been dense (Drury, 1978).

At Selsey, Later Prehistoric settlement on the Sussex Coastal Plain seems, in general, to have been scarce (despite the agricultural productivity of the area; Bedwin, 1978). Some Iron Age sites are now coming to light, and these appear, in general, to be of Middle/Late Iron Age date (Bedwin, 1978; Bedwin and Pitts, 1977). Bedwin believes that there was considerable settlement in the area by the Late Iron Age, and that Selsey may have formed a major political and economic centre (1978, 50).

At Bagendon, the information for Later Prehistoric settlement in the area of the enclosure is almost non-existent (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1976). In view of the density of settlement in the valley of the river Churn we might predict some Middle/Late Iron Age occupation, but this remains to be demonstrated.

At Silchester Late Iron Age occupation was probably scarce. The gravel plateau on which Silchester was built

is liable to drought and is not very fertile. Consequently Silchester appears to lie in an area marginal to settlement.

In the case of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch we have seen that the area was marginal in terms of Bronze Age and Early Iron Age settlement, but was colonised in the Middle/Late Iron Age.

Thus territorial oppida do not appear to develop in areas of dense and stable settlement. At Selsey, North Oxford (and possibly Camulodunum) the earthwork was probably constructed at a time of population expansion. At Bagendon and Silchester the earthwork would seem to have been marginal even in terms of Late Iron Age settlement.

Some evidence may indicate that Cunliffe's class of "enclosed oppida" and "unenclosed oppida" (1978B, 283) may have developed in similar circumstances (in fact it is open to debate to what extent enclosed oppida differ from the central defended enclosures reviewed above). At Verulamium a large area in the vicinity of the oppida was wooded and relatively empty of population in the "pre-Belgic" Iron Age (Saunders, 1971, 2; Frere, 1979, 273). By contrast settlements dating to the Late Iron Age seem fairly common in the area (and are concentrated around Wheathampstead and in the Welwyn district; Branigan, 1973B, 23). It is of interest to note that these settlements were usually enclosed (op cit, 44), and it may be possible to draw a comparison between society in this region and in the Cotswold region in the Late Iron Age.

There is some support from the settlement evidence for the idea that the Eastern societies of Late Iron Age Britain were type A societies. These societies might have resulted from the expansion of de-centralised type A or type B societies under conditions that have been reviewed above (13).

It is of little surprise that, on the conquest of Britain, the Romans established their local administrative centres near to territorial and enclosed oppida. This

occurred at Cirencester (Bagendon), Winchester, Chichester (Selsey), Verulamium and Camulodunum. This is a case of the administration expending as little effort as is possible on the creation of the provincial administrative structure (see 20).

PART THREE:

APPENDICES AND THE INVENTORY.

APPENDIX 1:

Late Iron Age Coin Distributions in the Upper Thames Valley.

An area including the survey region and an additional area around Dorchester-on-Thames was examined to assess the distribution of Late Iron Age coinage (see Figure 28). A transect base-line was created running from the south east of the region (around Dorchester) to the north west (around Stow-on-the-Wold), and numbers of coins were assessed in 10 km bands along this transect (taking the south eastern point as the base-mark (eg 0 km). Information on the distribution of coinage was obtained from Mack, 1953 and Haselgrove, 1978.

Late Iron Age coinage has been split into coins of the eastern tribes (Catuvellauni/Trinovantes), coinage of the Dobunni, and that of other tribes. The analysis concerns the distribution of coins of the eastern tribes in relation to those of the Dobunni.

	Eastern tribes.	Dobunni.
0-10 km	27 (54%)	2 (9%)
11-20 km	17 (34%)	1 (4%)
21-30 km	3 (6%)	6 (27%)
31-40 km	3 (6%)	5 (23%)
41-50 km	0 (--)	8 (36%)

The table shows the actual number of coins per 10 km band along the transect, and also the percentage of coins in the band in relation to the total of coins of the same category from the total area.

The results in terms of the percentage of the two coin types along the transect are shown in Figure 29 .

APPENDIX 2:

Information concerning the Rate of Excavation on Iron Age Sites in the Survey Area.

For the purpose of classification a division has been made of the excavation evidence into three forms;

Major Excavations (M): Large scale, well organized activities.

Minor Excavations (W): Smaller scale with limited aims, but at least tolerable standards of recording.

Rescue/Destruction (D): Small scale excavations with limited standards of recording/or limited recording of archaeological features in the process of destruction.

I have tabulated the information on the nature of the excavation for all sites of Iron Age date excavated within the survey area. I have also included notes on the decade in which the excavation was conducted, whether the excavation was a rescue (R) or non-rescue (N-R) operation and whether the excavation was on the gravels of the Upper Thames (G), or on non-gravel (N-G) soils.

Site	Date of Excavation.	Type of Excavation.	R	N-R	G	N-G
1992	1970	W	+	-	-	+
1999	1980	M	+	-	+	-
1720	1930	M	-	+	-	+
	1950	D	+	-	-	+
2199	1960	D	+	-	+	-
2100	1950	W	+	-	+	-
2102	1940	M	+	-	+	-
2400A	1970	W	+	-	+	-
2528	1890	D	-	+	-	+
	1920	W	-	+	-	+
2921	1950	W	-	+	-	+
3395	1930	D	+	-	-	+
	1980	D	+	-	-	+

Site	Date of Excavation.	Type of Excavation.	R	N-R	G	N-G
3796	1930	M	−	+	−	+
3895	1960	D	−	+	−	+
3000	1960	D	−	+	+	−
3103	1890	D	+	−	+	−
3507	1970	W	+	−	+	−
3608	1970	W	+	−	+	−
3804B	1940	W	+	−	+	−
3804C	1850	W	+	−	+	−
3905A	1970	W	+	−	+	−
3905B	1970	M	+	−	+	−
3814	1950	D	+	−	−	+
3911	1960	W	−	+	−	+
3915	1950	W	−	+	−	+
3820	1930	W	−	+	−	+
4099	1970	W	+	−	−	+
4393	1960	D	−	+	−	+
4396/4496	1930	W	−	+	−	+
	1960	W	−	+	−	+
4496	1980	W	−	+	−	+
4897A	1970	D	+	−	+	−
4897B	1970	M	+	−	+	−
4996	1970	W	+	−	+	−
4004	1960	M	+	−	+	−
4005A	1940	W	+	−	+	−
4104A	1930	D	+	−	+	−
4104B	1940	W	+	−	+	−
	1980	W	+	−	+	−
4108	1940	D	+	−	+	−
4405	1970	M	+	−	+	−
4908	1940	W	+	−	+	−
4019	1950	W	−	+	−	+
4218	1930	W	−	+	−	+
4311	1960	M	+	−	+	−
4410	1950	D	+	−	+	−
4411	1950	W	+	−	+	−

Site	Date of Excavation.	Type of Excavation.	R	N-R	G	N-G
4511	1930	D	+	-	+	-
4711	1850	D	+	-	+	-
4813	1940	D	+	-	+	-
4120	1980	W	-	+	-	+

The following table shows the rate of types of excavation per decade.

Decade	M	W	D	Total.
1850		+	+	++
1860				
1870				
1880				
1890			++	++
1900				
1910				
1920		+		+
1930	+++	+++	++	++++++++
1940	+	+++	++	++++++
1950		+++++	+++	++++++++
1960	++	+	++++	+++++++
1970	+++	++++++++	+	++++++++++++
1980	+	+++	+	+++++

The following table shows the rate of rescue verses non-rescue excavations, and the rate of excavations on gravel verses excavations on other soils.

Decade	R	N-R	G	N-G
1850	++		++	
1890	+	+	+	+
1920		+		+
1930	+++	++++	++	+++++
1940	+++++++		+++++++	

1950	+++++	+++	+++	+++++
1960	+++	++++	++++	+++
1970	++++++++++++		++++++++++	++
1980	++	++	+	+++

APPENDIX 3:

The Results of the Survey in terms of Information on Sites.

The table contains a list of the sites in the Inventory together with a note recording whether new information has been collected on the site during the survey. New information, where this has been forthcoming, concerns the structure and/or dating of sites.

+ indicates that no new information has been recovered on the site concerned.

- indicates that the site was located during the survey.

x indicates that additional information has been recovered which relates to a site known prior to the survey.

Site		Site		Site	
1591	x	2396	-	2500	x
1695	x	2499	+	2501	+
1697	x	2693	+	2502	-
1699	-	2694	x	2601A	+
1796	+	2699	-	2601B	+
1896	-	2892	x	2703	x
1897	+	2999	-	2800	-
1992	+	2000	x	2802	+
1999	+	2100	x	2803	+
1503	+	2102	+	2909	+
1608	+	2300	+	2219	x
1700	x	2301	+	2417	-
1702	+	2302	x	2528	+
1809	+	2303A	-	2921	+
1812	+	2303B	-	2930	-
1817	+	2400A	+	3197	-
1720	+	2400B	x	3198	-
1925	+	2400C	+	3395	x
2197	+	2401A	-	3499A	-
2199	x	2401B	-	3499B	-

3696	–	3315	–	4005C	+
3796	x	3713	+	4005D	+
3895	–	3815	–	4102A	+
3000A	–	3911	+	4102B	+
3000B	x	3915	+	4103A	–
3000C	x	3917	+	4103B	–
3003A	–	3123	+	4104A	+
3003B	–	3224	x	4104B	+
3008	+	3231	+	4105	+
3103	+	3426	–	4107	x
3200	+	3527	–	4108	+
3209	+	3623	+	4202	+
3300A	+	3721	–	4203	+
3300B	x	3820	+	4204	–
3302	+	3826A	–	4205	–
3503A	+	3826B	x	4207	x
3503B	+	4095	–	4208A	+
3507	+	4096	+	4208B	+
3601	+	4099	+	4405	+
3602A	+	4297	–	4707	+
3602B	+	4393	+	4808	+
3603	+	4395A	–	4908A	x
3605A	+	4395B	–	4908B	x
3605B	+	4396	x	4900	+
3607	+	4496	–	4011	+
3608	+	4596	–	4019	+
3707	+	4697	+	4210	+
3802A	+	4793	+	4218	+
3802B	+	4892	+	4311A	+
3802C	+	4897A	+	4311B	+
3804A	x	4897B	+	4410A	+
3804B	+	4992	+	4410B	+
3804C	+	4996	+	4411	+
3903	+	4003	+	4513	+
3905A	+	4004	+	4610	–
3905B	+	4005A	+	4711	–
3114	x	4005B	x	4813	–

4917	-	4121	-	4628	x
4024	-	4224	-	4820	-
4026	-	4422	x	4830	-
4120	x				

The table includes 181 sites which break down as follows.

+	101 sites,	56% of the total of sites.
x	32 sites,	18% of the total of sites.
-	48 sites,	27% of the total of sites.

Concerning the northernmost 15 km of the survey area 34 sites are listed in the inventory, and the figures are as follows.

+	13 sites,	38% of the total of sites.
x	6 sites,	18% of the total of sites.
-	15 sites,	44% of the total of sites.

Of the 181 sites 117, or 65% are on gravel. 19, or 16% of these sites were located during the survey. 64 sites, or 35% of the total of sites are on soils other than gravel, and 25 of these, or 39% were located during the survey.

	Gravels	Other soils.
+	79 (67%)	29 (39%)
x	20 (17%)	14 (22%)
-	19 (16%)	25 (39%)

APPENDIX 4:
Pits and Post Hole Structures on Iron Age Sites.

Within the survey region pits occur on Early/Middle Iron Age sites at:

1720, Salmonsbury	MIA
1992, Highworth	---
2199, Loders Field	EIA
2100, Roughground Farm	EIA
3395, Hatford	MIA
3804B, Riley's Site	EIA
3804C, Stone's Site	EIA
4396/4496, Noah's Ark Inn	MIA
4496, Noah's Ark Inn	EIA
4897, Ashville	EIA/MIA
4004, Stanton Harcourt	EIA
4005C, Beard Mill	MIA
4104A, Linch Hill	EIA
4108, Armstalls	EIA
4405, Farmoor	EIA
4311, City Farm	EIA/MIA
4311, City Farm	MIA
4410, Cassington	EIA/MIA
4410, Cassington	MIA/LIA
4411, Purwell Farm	EIA/MIA
4711, Yarnton	EIA
4813, Sandy Lane	MIA

Four post structures have occured at:

1999, Claydon Pike	MIA
3905, Minge's Ditch	MIA

Two post structures have occured at:

3804B, Riley's Site	EIA

Huts created out of post holes, or wall trenches are known from the following sites:

1720, Salmonsbury	MIA	3 examples
1999, Claydon Pike	MIA	about 10
2100, Roughground Farm	EIA	1 example
2102, Langford Down	LIA	2 examples
3804B, Riley's Site	EIA	4 examples
3805A, Minge's Ditch	MIA	5 examples
3805B, Smith's Field	LIA	1 example

3713, Shakenoak	?Roman	1 example
4396/4496, Noah's Ark Inn	MIA	2 examples
4496, Noah's Ark Inn	EIA	1 example
4897B, Ashville	MIA	4 examples
4004, Stanton Harcourt	EIA	?4 examples
4005C, Beard Mill	EIA/MIA	2 examples
4405, Farmoor	MIA	1 example
4311, City Farm	MIA	1 example

APPENDIX 5:
Defended Enclosures in the Survey Area.

All possible sites are included; those in brackets may not represent genuine sites.

Site	Region	Area Enclosed	Position	Date
1591, Castle Hill	CR	c 3 ha	P	EIA
(1503, Fairford	C	c 0·7 ha	H	-)
1698, Dean Camp	C	c 3·5 ha	P	-
1812, Windrush	C	c 1·2 ha	H	-
(1925, Stow-on-the-Wold	C	c 10 ha	H	-)
(2396, Bury Hill	CR	c 3·5 ha	P	-)
2694, Badbury	CR	c 3 ha	H	EIA
2892, Lyson's Camp	CR	? 2 ha	H	-
2219, Idbury	C	c 3·5 ha	H	-
2517, Hill Farm	C	c 1·1 ha	HS	-
2528, Chastleton	C	c 1·2 ha	H	LBA
2921, Lyneham Roundabout	C	c 2 ha	H	EIA
3000, Burroway	G	c 1·5 ha	V	-
3114, Lowbarrow	C	c 0·8 ha	HS	-
3122, Knowlbury	C	c 1·1 ha	HS	-
4011, Eynsham Hall Park	C	c 1·3 ha	H	-
(4012, Eynsham	C	c 0·7 ha	H	-)
4510, Cassington	G	c 5 ha	V	LIA
4513, Blaydon	C	c 1·2 ha	H	-
1720, Salmonsbury	C	c 22 ha	V	MIA/LIA
3796, Cherbury Camp	CR	c 4 ha	V	EIA/MIA

Under "region", CR represents Corallian Ridge,
G represents Gravel,
C represents Cotswolds.
Under "position", H represents hill top,
P represents peninsular,
HS represents hill slope.

V represents valley bottom.
Under "date", LBA represents Late Bronze Age,
EIA represents Early Iron Age,
MIA represents Middle Iron Age,
LIA represents Late Iron Age.

APPENDIX 6:
Enclosures in the Survey Area.

Enclosures are categorized into several classes in the text. In this appendix I will discuss the enclosures by regions and utilise these class distinctions.

Site	Dimensions	Area Enclosed	Shape	SC/SE	Date
a) Enclosures on the Corallian Ridge.					
4396	90x80 m	0 66 ha	R	SC	-
4697	50x45 m	0 13 ha	R	SC	-
b) Enclosures on the Gravel.					
i) Corrals (Class 1).					
1697	40x30 m	0 08 ha	O	SC	-
1796	40x30 m	0 08 ha	O	SC	-
2999	35x35 m	0 09 ha	R	SC	-
2102	40x25 m	0 09 ha	R	SC	-
3608	50x25 m	0 09 ha	O	SC	-
3802A	20x15 m	0 04 ha	O*	SC	-
4004	40x35 m	0 07 ha	R	SC	EIA
4005C	40x30 m	0 13 ha	R*	SC	-
4405	20x15 m	0 05 ha	O	SC	MIA
4808/4809	25x20 m	0 04 ha	R	SC	-
4908B	40x35 m	0 14 ha	R	SC	-
4410	30x10 m	0 05 ha	R	SC	-
(* represents that the enclosure is a banjo enclosure).					
ii) Hut Enclosures (Class 2).					
1999	25x20 m	0 04 ha	O	SC	MIA
2699	25x18 m	0 09 ha	R	SC	-
3903	25x25 m	0 06 ha	O	SC	-
3903	25x30 m	0 06 ha	O	SC	-
3903	30x35 m	0 07 ha	O	SC	-
4104A	15x15 m	0 05 ha	R	SC	-
4104B	30x15 m	0 04 ha	R	SC	LIA
4405	15x15 m	0 04 ha	R	SC	MIA

iii) Enclosures with Huts: Small (Class 3).

2300	50x35 m	0 12 ha	O	SC	-
2400A	45x45 m	0 13 ha	O	SC	-
2400B	70x35 m	0 15 ha	O	SC	-
2601	50x35 m	0 13 ha	R	SC	-
2703	45x45 m	0 16 ha	R	SC	-
3503	50x50 m	0 16 ha	R	SC	-
3608	70x50 m	0 21 ha	O	SC	-
3905	50x50 m	0 22 ha	O*	SE	MIA
4103	50x30 m	0 11 ha	R	SC	-
4208A	60x40 m	0 24 ha	R	SC	-
4103	45x30 m	0 13 ha	O*	SC	-

(* represents that the enclosure is a banjo enclosure or related enclosure).

iv) Enclosures with Huts: Medium (Class 4).

2400A	80x50 m	0 35 ha	R	SC	-
2500	70x60 m	0 31 ha	R	SC	-
2501	70x50 m	0 35 ha	R	SC	-
3602	70x60 m	0 32 ha	R	SE	-
3903	70x65 m	0 38 ha	R	SC	-
3903	70x60 m	0 36 ha	R	SC	-
4202	65x50 m	0 32 ha	R	SC	-

v) Enclosures with Huts: Large (Class 5).

3605	110x70 m	0 65 ha	R	SC	-
4005B	100x80 m	0 75 ha	R	SC	-
4108	100x80 m	0 67 ha	R	SC	-

c) Enclosures on the Cotswolds.

i) Oval.

3426	80x60 m	0 40 ha		SE	-
4224	60x40 m	0 18 ha		SE	-
4422	80x70 m	0 43 ha		SE	-
4820	110x100 m	0 74 ha		SE	-

ii) Banjo.

3209	45x45 m	0 14 ha	R	SE	-
3315	50x30 m	0 13 ha	O	SE	-
3527	120x100m	1 00 ha	O	SE	-
3623	40x30 m	0 11 ha	O	SE	-

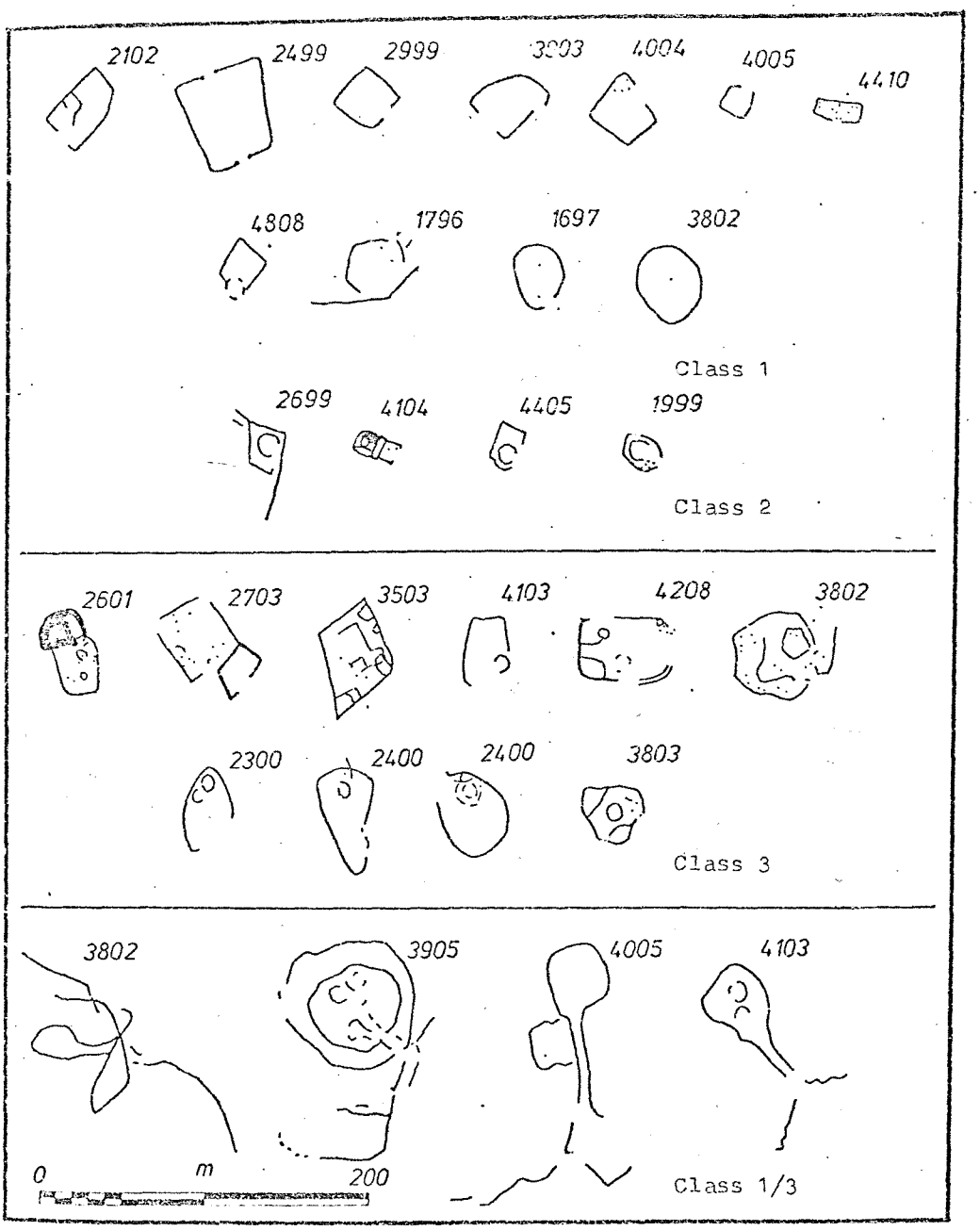


Figure 78: Enclosures (classes 1 to 3) on the gravel.

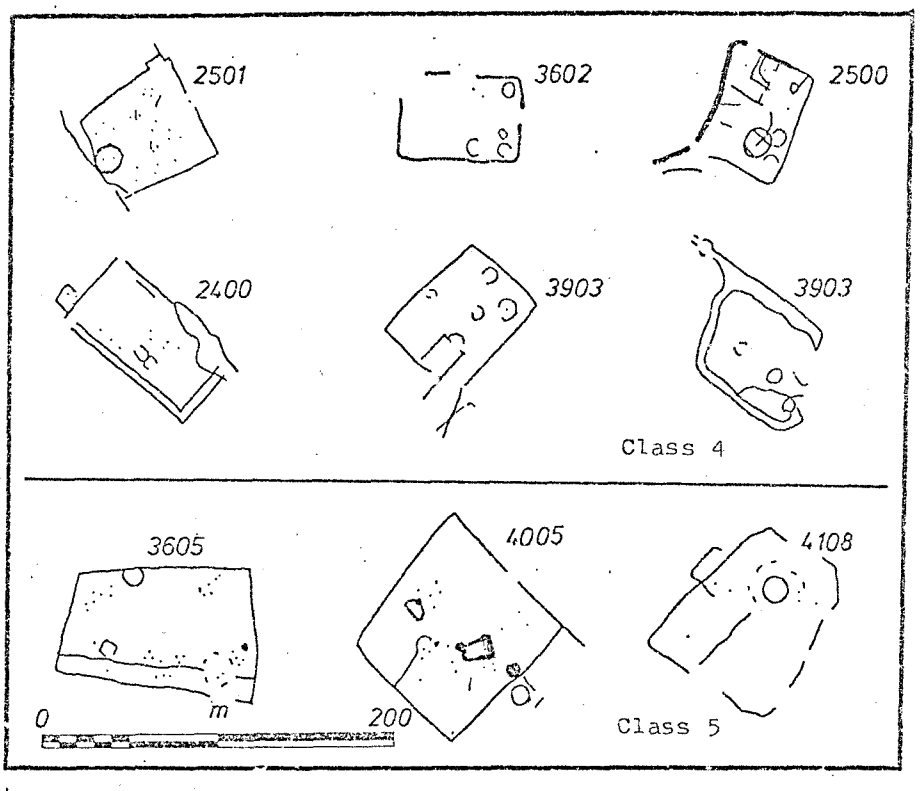


Figure 79: Enclosures (class 4 and 5) on the gravel.

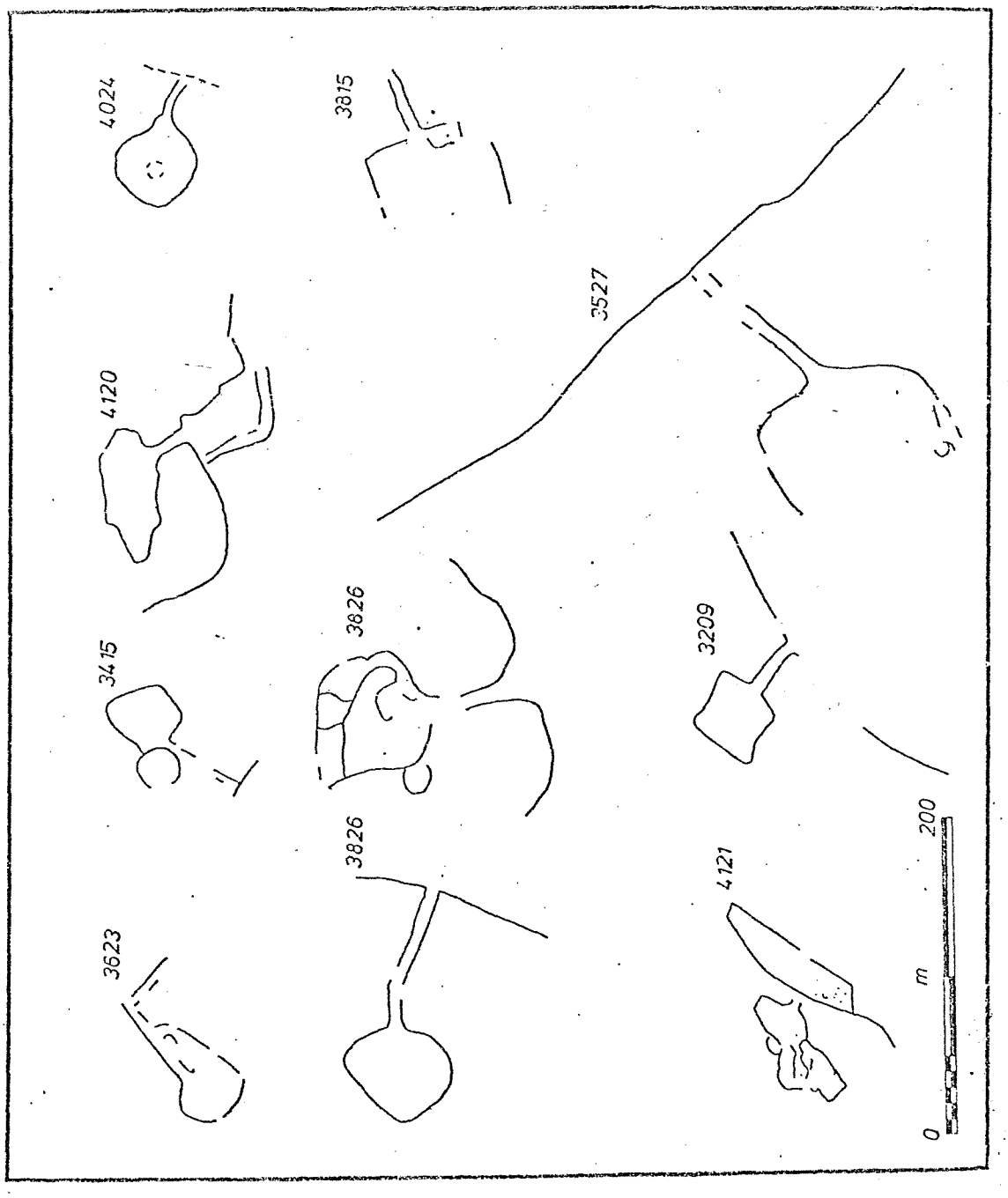


Figure 80: Enclosures on the Cotswolds.

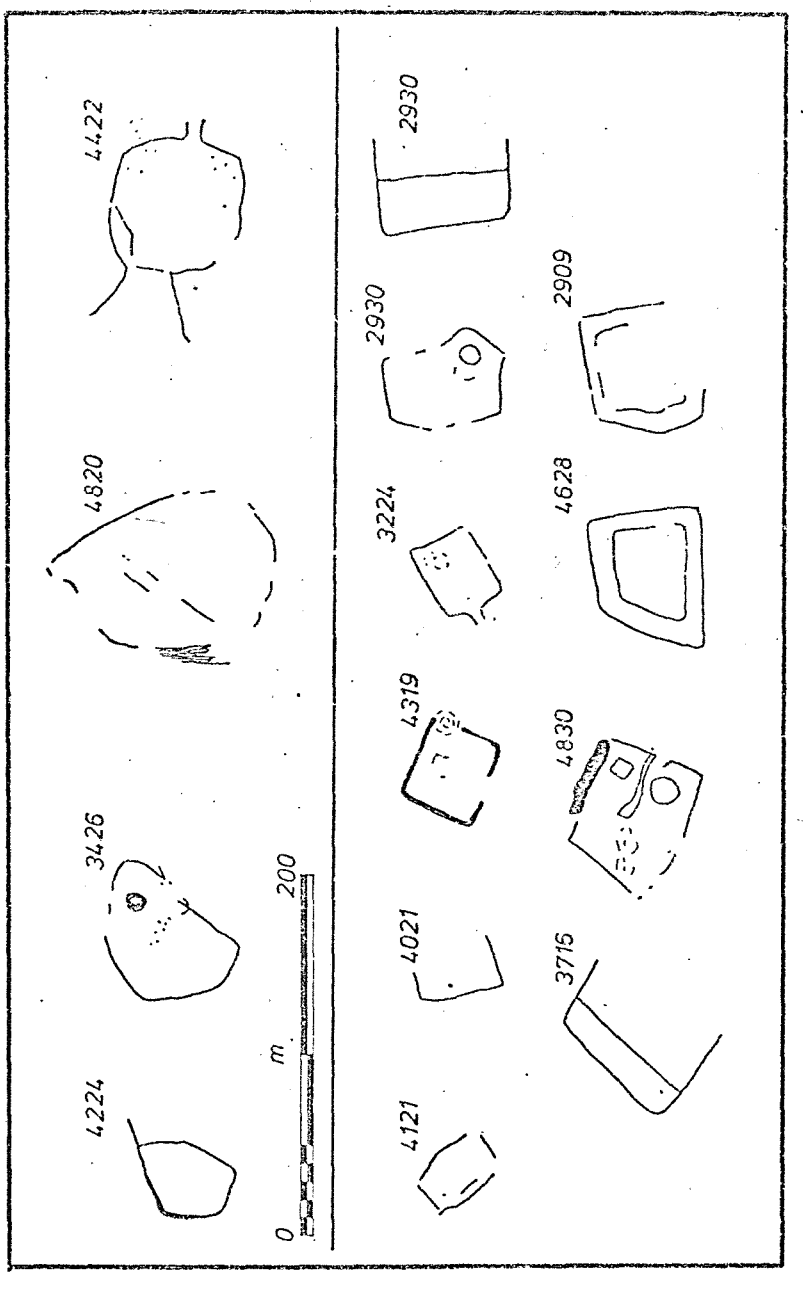


Figure 81: Enclosures on the Cotswolds.

3815	80x60 m	0 40 ha	R	SE	-
3826A	80x75 m	0 40 ha	O	SE	-
3826B	80x70 m	0 33 ha	O	SC	-
4024	50x50 m	0 20 ha	O	SE	-
4120	80x35 m	0 19 ha	O	SE	MIA
4121	80x30 m	0 17 ha	O	SE	-
iii) Rectangular.					
2909	50x50 m	0 21 ha		SE	-
2930	70x50 m	0 31 ha		SE	MIA
3224	45x35 m	0 14 ha		SE	-
3231	100x80 m	0 80 ha		SE	-
4628	50x45 m	0 17 ha		SE	-
4830	70x60 m	0 37 ha		SE	-

Under "shape", R represents rectangular,
O represents oval.
Under SC/SE, SC represents site component,
SE represents settlement enclosure.

APPENDIX 7:
Open Settlements in the Survey Area.

Details of the structure of compound-units within open settlements are given only for the gravel areas.

Site.	Terrace/ Floodplain.	No of Huts.	No of Compounds.	Huts per Compound.
a) Open Settlements on the Corallian Ridge.				
3395				
3696				
4297				
4395A				
4395B				
4396/4496				
4697				
b) Open Settlements on the Gravel.				
1796	T	4	2	22
1897	T	13	5	12135
1999	T	22	8	11113447
1702	T	4	3	211
2197	T	3	2	12
2499	T	7	4	1123
2699	T	16	10	1111112223
2999	T	1	1	1
2000	T	18	12	111111111126
2100	T	1	1	1
2300	T	4	4	1111
2301	T	3	2	12
2303A	T	5	5	11111
2400B	T	23	15	111111111222233
2400A	T	9	8	11111112
2401A	T	7	6	111112
2401B	T	9	7	1111122
2500	T	7	6	111112
2501	T	7	6	111112

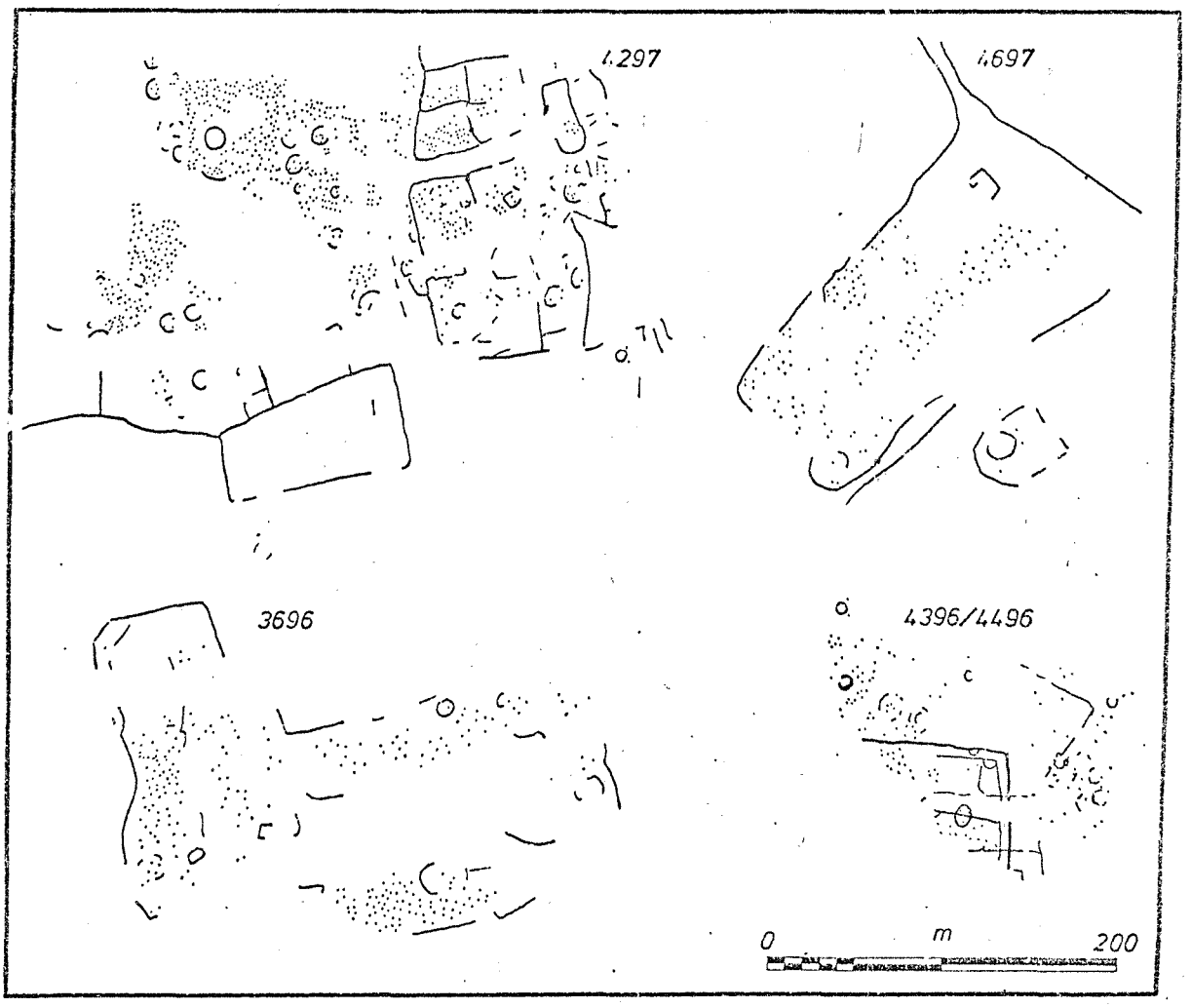


Figure 86: Open Settlements on the Corallian Ridge.

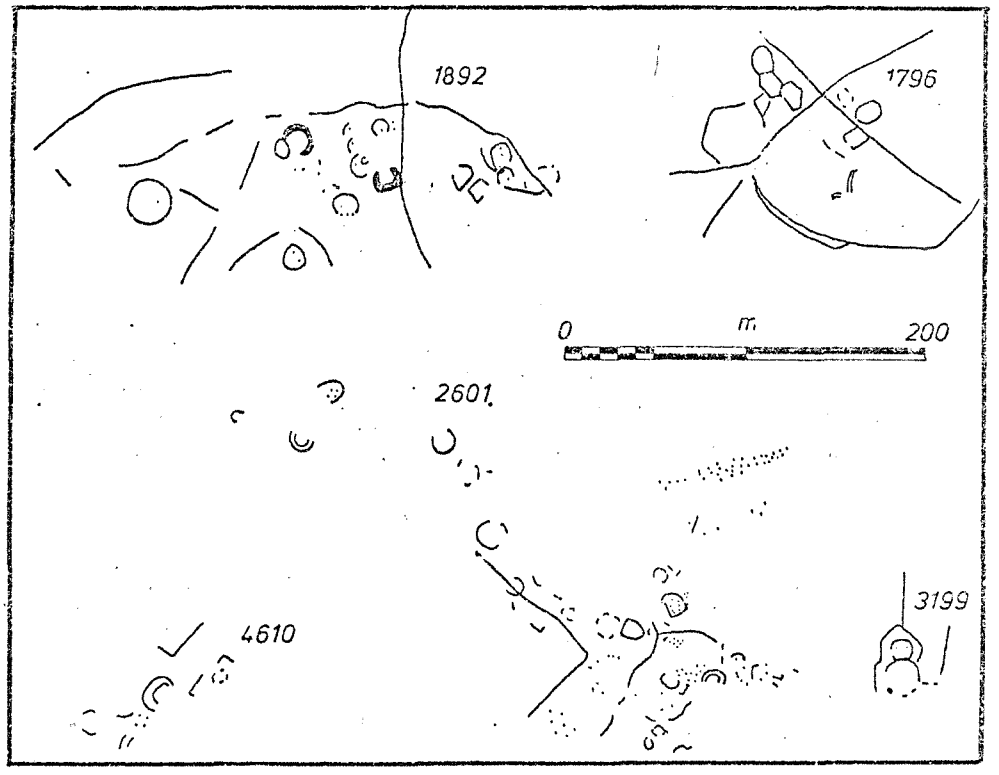


Figure 82: Open Settlements on the Terraces of the gravel.

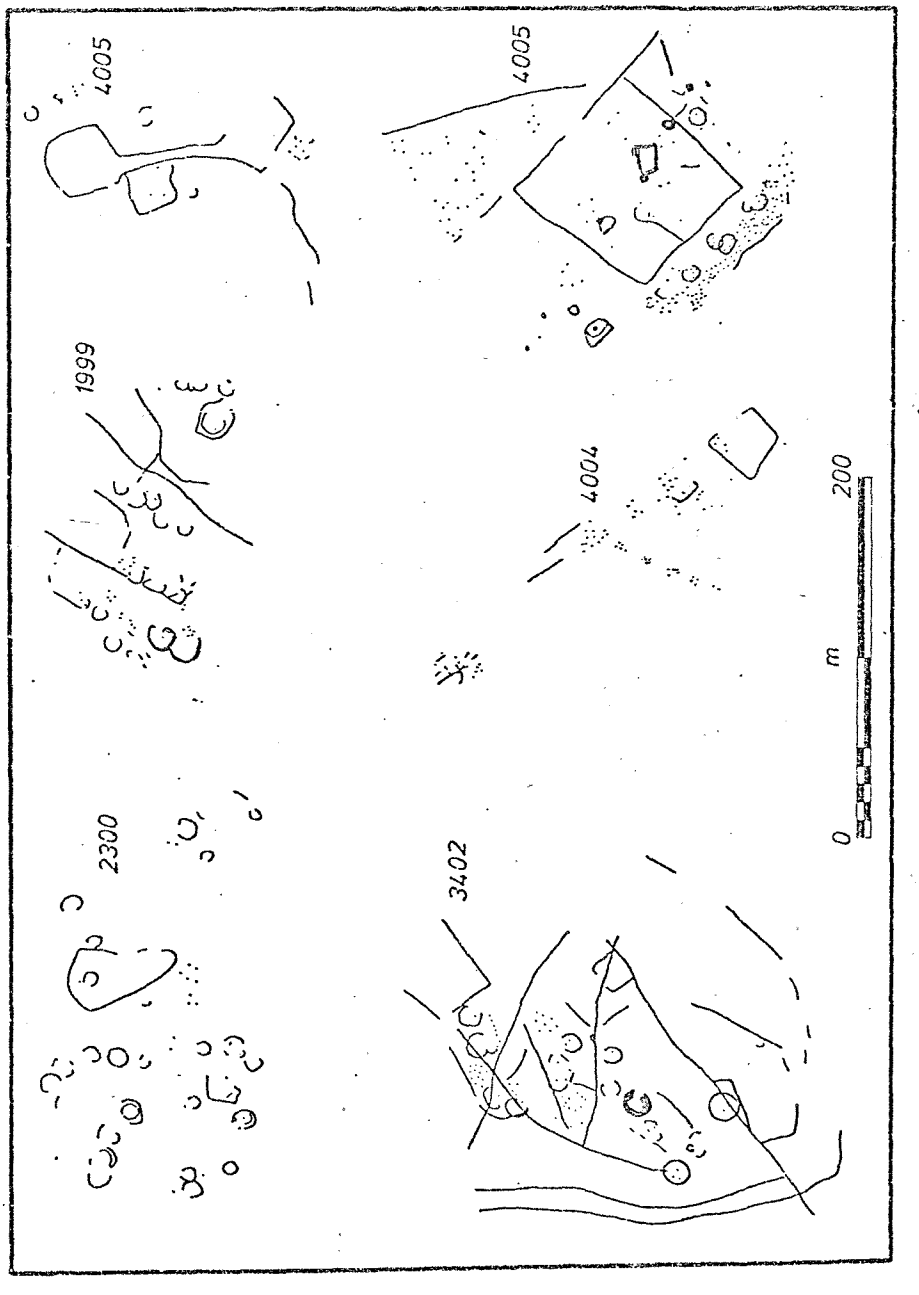


Figure 83: Open Settlements on the Terraces of the gravel.

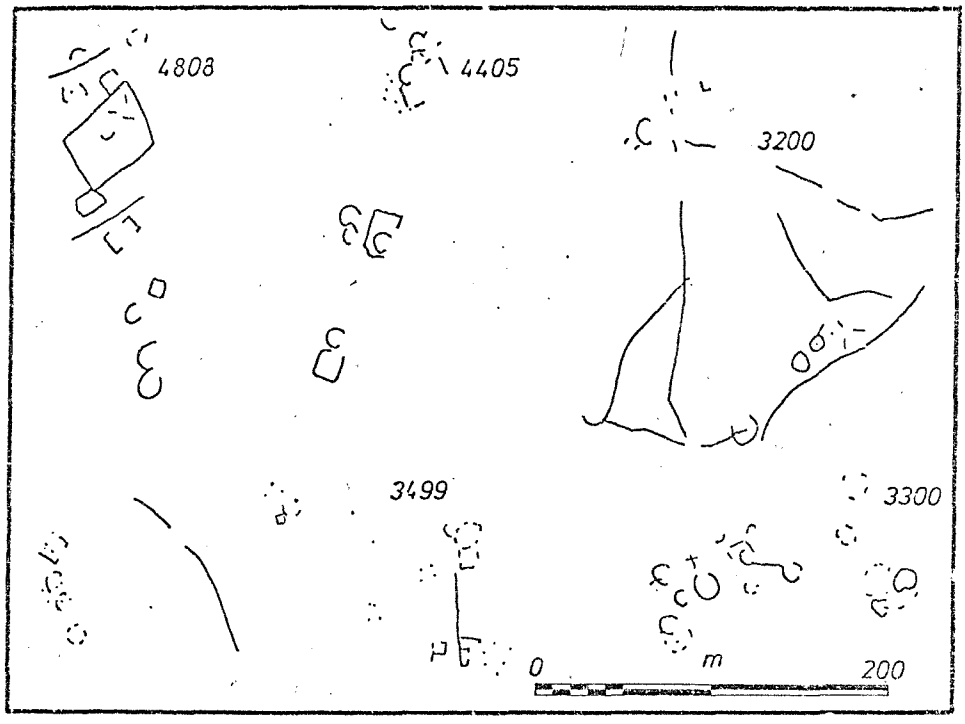


Figure 84: Open Settlements on the Floodplain of the Thames.

2601A	T	17	13	1111111111223
2601B	T	5	4	1112
2703	T	10	7	1111222
2800	T	4	4	1111
2802	T	12	8	11111223
2803	T	2	1	2
3199	FP	2	1	2
3499B	FP	1	1	1
3499A	FP	5	3	113
3000A	FP	4	2	13
3000C	FP	16	11	11111112223
3003A	T	3	1	3
3003B	T	2	2	11
3200	FP	8	5	11124
3300A	FP	6	4	1122
3300B	FP	13	9	111112222
3302	T	11	7	1122222
3503	T	3	2	12
3602	T	4	3	112
3603	T	4	2	22
3605A	T	6	6	111111
3605B	T	2	1	2
3607	T	3	2	21
3608	T	3	2	21
3707	T	3	2	21
3802A	T	2	1	2
3802B	T	31	26	1111111111111111 1111122222
3804B	T	4	2	13
3804C	T	1	1	1
3903	T	24	20	1111111111111111 2222
3905B	FP	6	1	1
4004	T	2	2	11
4005A	T	2	2	11
4005B	T	10	6	111223
4005C	T	3	3	111
4103A	T	3	3	111
4103B	T	2	2	11

4103C	T	9	6	111222
4104A	T	4	4	1111
4104B	T	4	3	112
4105	T	3	2	12
4107	T	6	1	6
4108	T	2	2	11
4202	FP	4	3	112
4204	T	4	3	112
4205	FP	3	3	111
4208A	T	4	4	1111
4208B	T	4	4	1111
4405	FP	6	3	123
4808	FP	11	7	1112222
4908A	FP	6	3	123
4908B	FP	9	5	12222
4311	T	1	1	1
4410	T	1	1	1
4411	T	1	1	1
4610	FP	4	3	112

c) Open Settlements on the Cotswolds.

1817
3721
4026
4917

Under "Terrace/Floodplain", T represents terrace,
F represents floodplane.

Number of huts is the number of penannular gullies for each site.

For the method of distinguishing compounds see the text.

Under the number of huts per compound each number represents the number of individual huts within a distinct compound.

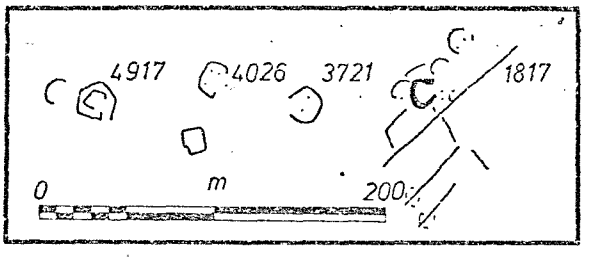


Figure 85: Open Settlements on the Cotswolds.

APPENDIX 8:
Complex-Enclosure Settlements in the Survey Area.

This list includes only the sites incorporated in the inventory (see 303). Some sites discussed in the text are not included in this list. Settlements have been classified as "farmsteads" or "villages" depending on their extent and morphology.

Site.	Type.	Date.
a) Complex-Enclosure Settlements on the Corallian Ridge.		
3895	F	LIA
4095	V	-
4297	?	-
4395	F	?LIA
b) Complex-Enclosure Settlements on the Garvel.		
1695	F	-
1697	V	-
2102	F	LIA
2300	F	-
2302	F	?LIA
2400C	V	-
2502	V	-
2703	?	-
3503	V	-
3601	V	-
3607	F	RB
3804A	V	?LIA
4003	?	-
4005	F	-
4102	V	-
4104A	?	-
4813	F	?LIA
c) Complex-Enclosure Settlements on the Cotswolds.		
3826B	F	-

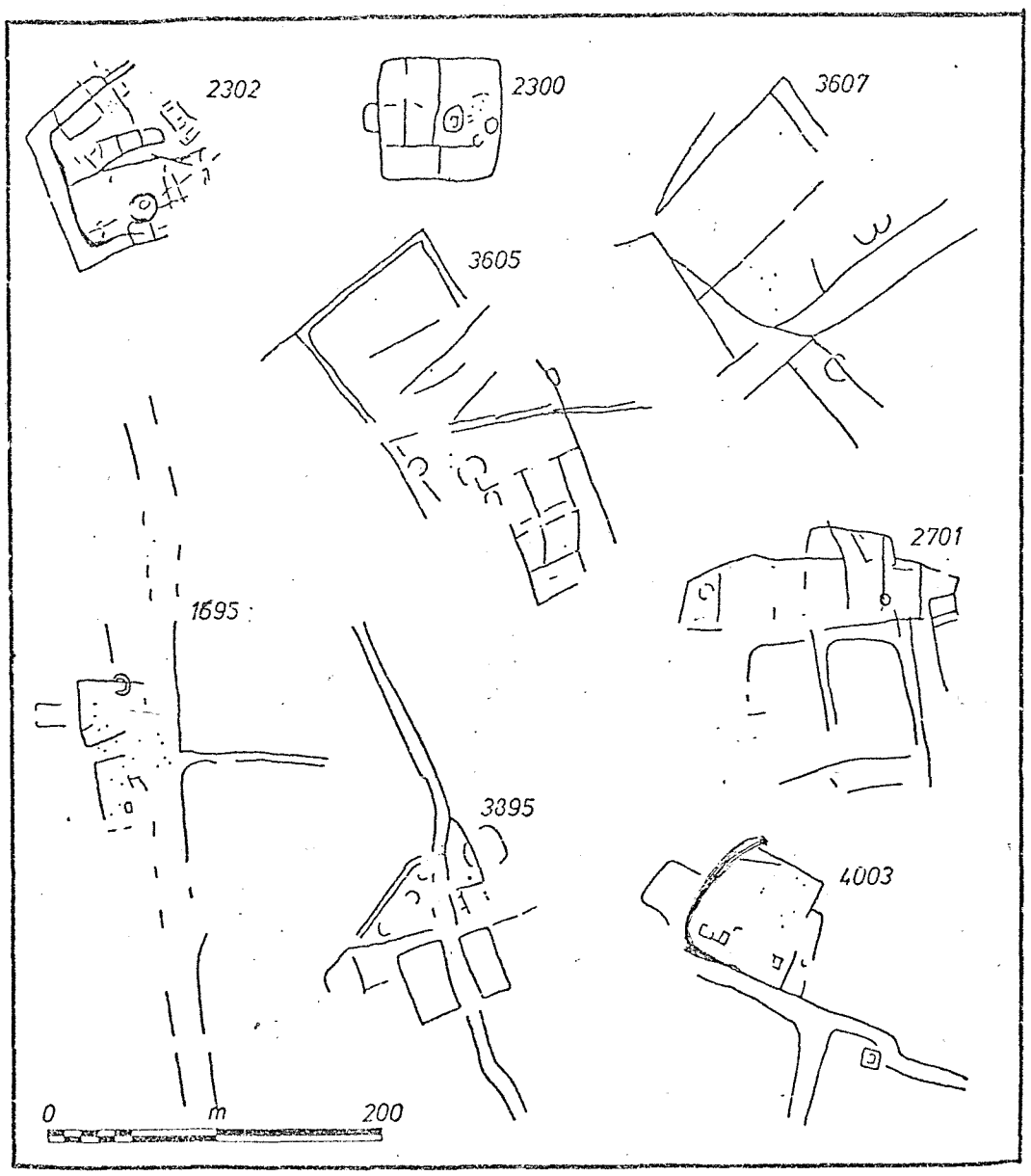


Figure 87: Complex-Enclosure Settlements ("farmsteads") on the gravel and Corallian Ridge.

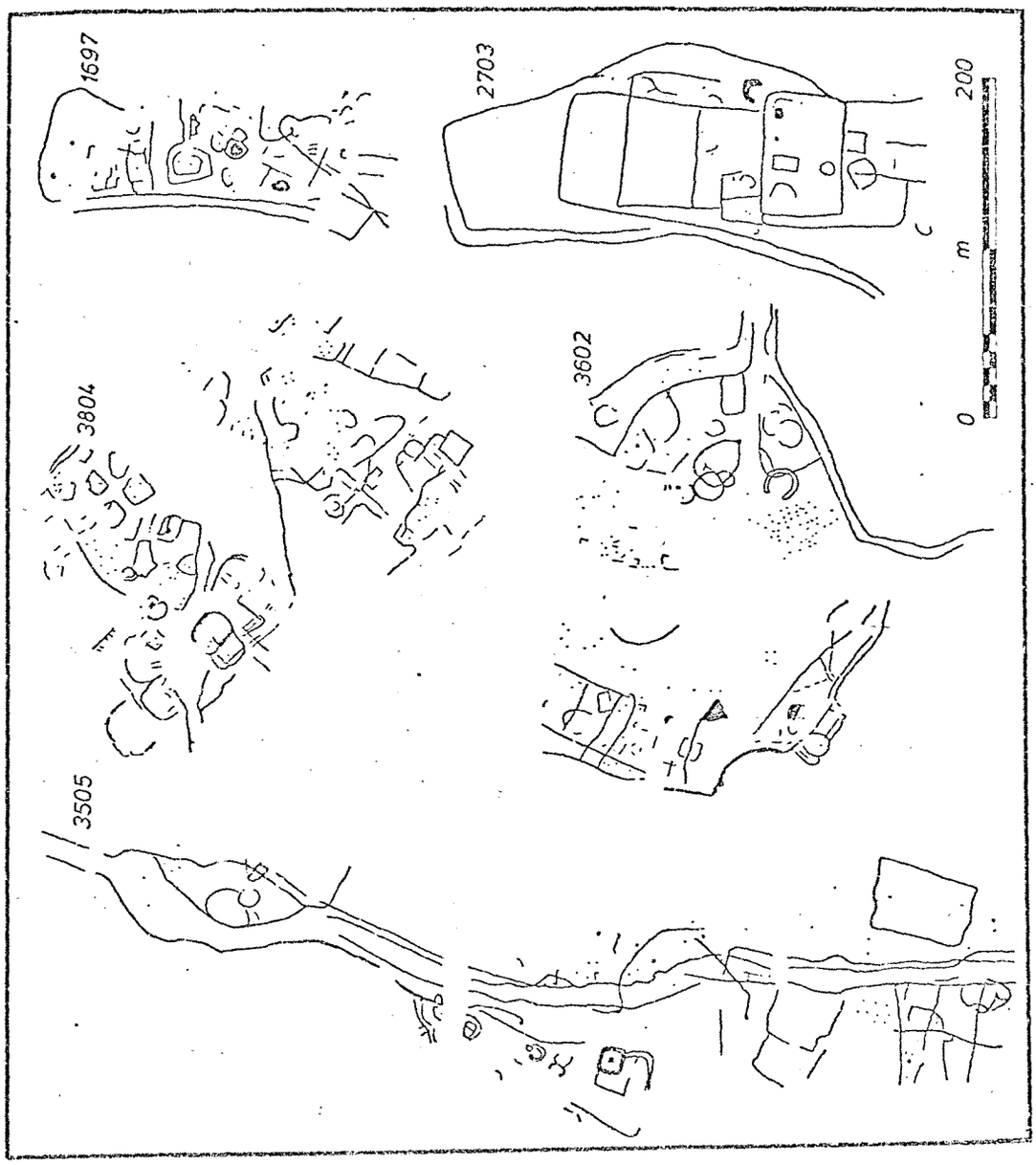


Figure 88: Complex-Enclosure Settlements ("villages") on the gravel.

APPENDIX 9:
Villas in the Survey Area.

1895, Hannington Wick. Class 1.

Partial excavation of this site in 1890 produced part of a red and white tessellated pavement, painted wall plaster, bricks, flue-tiles and so on. A large building, perhaps a courtyard structure, appears to be represented. (Goodard, 1891).

1999, Claydon Pike. Class 2.

A small villa, appearently a winged-corridor structure, succeeded a village type complex-enclosure settlement on this site. The villa had stone walls and a tiled roof, and is probably of late third or early fourth century AD date.
(David Miles and Simon Palmer, pers com).

1816, The Chessels. Class 1.

The site is a roughly rectangular platform, about 80 by 25 m and up to just over one m high. Building stone lies scattered on the mound, in addition roofing-slates, fine and coarse tesserae, opus signinum and Roman pottery have been collected at the site.
(RCHM, 1976, Great Rissington (1), 59).

1927, Broadwell. Class 1.

The building lies on a north east facing slope 200 yards from the Fosse Way. The site was partially excavated in 1923, when a wall was uncovered which formed the western side of two chambers. At least two phases of construction were represented as a tiled floor overlay wall plaster. Much red and white wall-plaster, tesserae and pot were collected.
(Taylor and Collingwood, 1922; RCHM, 1976, Broadwell, (1), 26).

2100, Roughground Farm. Class 2.

Parts of three small buildings were represented by foundations of walls and floors. The building to the east had several phases, and in the final phase had two or three heated rooms. This building appears to date from after 150 AD, and tesserae and painted wall plaster were recovered during the excavation. There were at least two further buildings in close proximity to this building, and other masonry structures may have existed in the vicinity of the site. In 1772 a building with a tessellated hypocaust was discovered about 400 m south west of the main site.
(RCHM, 1976, Lechlade (4)-(5), 73-5).

2102, Great Lemhill Farm. Class 1.

The site is a roughly rectangular mound about 55 by 30 m and about one m high. The villa was trenched in 1937 although it does not appear that detailed excavation records were kept. Building material from the site includes roof tiles and tufa; in addition pottery has been collected at the site.
(RCHM, 1976, Lechlade (7), 75).

2013, Barrington Park. Class 1.

A building situated on a gentle south facing slope was partially excavated in 1882. The excavation produced evidence for a length of masonry wall and a plunge-bath. Roof-slates, tiles and pottery were also recovered.
(RCHM, 1976, Barrington (1), 12).

2113, Barrington. Class 1.

An area of settlement extends over about 2 ha of flat alluvial terrace. Limited excavation has produced evidence for the remains of a building with stone footings and a tessellated pavement. Finds from the site include tile, tesserae and wall plaster.
(RCHM, 1976, Barrington (2), 12).

2711, Flat Barn. Class 1.

Traces of stone foundations along with tiles, iron-work, Roman pottery and three Roman coins were ploughed up in 1970.
(Oxford City and County Museum, PRN, 5301).

2712, Widford. Class 1.

A fragment of tessellated pavement is preserved in the chancel of a village church. The site may be that of a villa as Roman finds have been made in the church-yard and adjoining fields.
(Victoria County History, 1939, 320).

2919, Ascott-under-Wychwood. Class 1.

Tesserae, tile, wall plaster, pottery and a brooch have been recorded during ploughing of a field.
(Oxford City and County Museum, PRN, 5559).

2825, Churchill Grounds Farm. Class 1.

Stone walls, tiles, pottery and burials were found during ploughing and subsequent digging in 1981. The finds indicate that the building concerned had a hypoc-aust. Pottery from the site spans the entire Roman period.
(Miles and Harman, 1981).

3607, Ducklington. Class 1.

Excavation and fieldwork produced evidence for a substantial Romano-British site. Part of a field system was excavated during the construction of a by-pass, and evidence of limestone roofing slates, tegulae and box tile fragments may indicate that the site was a villa.
(Chambers, 1975).

3011, Worsham Bottom. Class 1.

A building was excavated in 1917 and demonstrated various phases of reconstruction. In an early phase

the building appears to have functioned as a bath-house, and included a tessellated floor. In the final phase the building appears to have been converted into a dwelling house, and much painted plaster came from this dwelling structure. The pottery from the building was second to fourth century AD in date, and a few late coins were also found. A second villa building appears to exist in an adjoining field to the west.
(Victoria County History, 1939, 319-320).

3119, Chilson. Class 3.

Aerial photographs indicate the location of a possible courtyard villa of about 65 by 60 m in diameter. Fieldwork has produced slates, stone, hypocaust tiles, pottery, a brooch and metalwork.
(Oxford City and County Museum, PRN, 5654).

3713, Shakenoak Farm. Class 2.

Excavation from 1960 to 1971 revealed a complex of buildings dating from the first to fourth centuries AD. A few pre-Flavian finds occured although structural evidence was elusive. In the Flavian period a corridor house was constructed; this house, which underwent alterations, survived into the mid third century. At the start of the second century an aisled barn was constructed to the south of the villa. When the villa building was demolished this building became the dwelling house. The second building underwent modification and survived into the fourth century AD.
(Brodribb, Hands and Walker, 1973).

3717, Fawler. Class 3.

In 1865 a tessellated pavement was located; a second similar pavement was found during the construction of a railway line. Further excavation produced evidence of Roman occupation in the vicinity. The evidence indicates a large and elaborate house.

(Victoria County History, 1939, 318-319).

3915, North Leigh. Class 3.

The site, situated on a south east facing slope, was excavated in 1813-1816, and again in 1910-1911. The evidence for the history of the courtyard structure is not fully understood although several phases are indicated. The building began as a small rectangular building and grew into a large courtyard villa with elaborate tesselated floors.
(Victoria County History, 1939).

3920, Ditchley. Class 2

This small winged corridor villa had four phases of development. Phase 1, in about 70 AD was a rectangular timber framed structure situated inside a rectangular enclosure. Phases 2 to 4 were sequences in the development and elaboration of the winged corridor villa, and are all probably of second century date. In front of the house, and within the enclosure was a work area with a threshing floor and well, beyond this was an aisled building and a granary. The enclosure appears to have been utilised for domestic occupation in the third and fourth centuries, after the villa had been demolished. (Radford, 1936; Brodribb, Hands and Walker, 1972).

4099, Kingston Hill Farm. Class 1.

Excavation produced a ston-y deposit post-dating late Iron Age material. Roman finds in the deposit included second to fourth century pottery and tesserae, as well as building materials. The building was probably a villa. (Cowell, 1979).

4297, Frilford. Class 2.

A small winged corridor villa was excavated in 1884. The villa was lop-sided as it only had one wing. In one room traces of a tessellated pavement and coloured plaster

were found. Some way to the north east a small bath-house of two chambers was uncovered.
(Haverfield, 1897).

4393, East Hanney. Class 1.

Fieldwork and a geophysical survey in 1967 revealed a platform. Excavation resulted in the discovery of two buildings, one with stone walls. Finds from the site were first to fourth century AD in date.
(Archaeological Notes, 1968).

4395, Nor Brook. Class 2.

Aerial photography and fieldwork produced evidence for a small winged corridor villa. Fieldwork produced stone, tile, a coin and first to fourth century pottery. Possible traces of a further building were found just to the north of the villa.
(Fieldwork by the author, 1978, 1979).

4993, Dropshort. Class 1.

In 1962 stone foundations, tile and pottery were brought up by the plough. Subsequent investigation by the farmer produced evidence for mosaic pavements. The site was further investigated in 1966.
(Oxford City and County Museum, PRN 1857).

4017, Stonesfield. Class 3.

A large villa with elaborate mosaic pavements was excavated in 1712. The pavements were drawn by William Lewington, but nothing else survives from the excavation. On the site is a platform of about 70 by 50 m. The pavements are paralleled at Woodchester and Northleigh, and are fourth century in date.
(Victoria County History, 1939, 315-6).

4019, Callow Hill. Class 2.

Aerial photography has produced evidence for a small winged corridor villa and possible subsiduary buildings

within an enclosure of about 2 ha. Pottery and tesserae have been collected on the surface, and a mosaic floor was broken up on the site in 1916. Excavation of the enclosure ditch in 1950 indicated an initial construction phase in the late first century AD, and the ditch appears to have been of defencive proportions.
(Victoria County History, 1939, 313, 315; Thomas, 1957).

4027, Beaconsfield Farm. Class 3.

Traces of an extensive courtyard building have been uncovered at intervals since 1810. Traces of a bath building and of much of one wing of the house have been uncovered.
(Victoria County History, 1939, 320-321).

4725, Steeple Aston. Class 1.

A mosaic was located in 1658, and traces of a possible bath-house have also been recorded. It would seem possible that a large villa is indicated.
(Victoria County History, 1939, 309-310).

APPENDIX 10:
Minor Towns in the Survey Area.

1992, Highworth.

Roman finds have occured over an area of at least 20 ha to the north of the modern town. Finds have included traces of buildings, inhumations, coins and pottery. The site may represent a Minor Town, although more information on the extent and nature of the site is required. (Trowbridge Museum, PRN 301-306).

1720, Bourton-on-the-Water.

Finds of Roman material have occured over an extensive area around the crossing point of the Fosse Way over the river Windrush, and east to the Iron Age site at Salmonsbury. Excavation and disturbance in this area has produced material of first to fourth century AD date. The settlement appears to have been at least 60 ha in extent, although buildings may have been dispersed except in the area of the river crossing. Evidence for timber and stone walled buildings is abundant; one building just to the west of the crossing point of the Roman road over the Windrush may have been a mansio.
(RCHM, 1976, Bourton on the Water (1a) to (2c), 19-20).

2911, Asthall.

Intensive Roman occuaption covers an area of about 40 ha to the south west of the crossing point of Akeman Street over the river Windrush. Aerial photography has produced evidence for a series of back streets running from Akeman Street, and stone walled buildings are also in evidence. Excavation of an area of the settlement in 1947 indicated occupation of the site from the mid first century BC; hearths, walls and floors were uncovered. (Cook, 1955).

3194, Stanford-in-the-Vale.

Mrs Stevenson in 1903 recorded Roman finds from Chinham Farm. These finds included pavements of hard stone, bones and a very large number of bronze and silver

coins. In recent years further Roman buildings have been located on the east of the site. Additional fieldwork will be necessary to discover whether the site really represents a Minor Town, and to examine the nature and extent of the site.
(Stevens, 1903).

3715, Wilcote.

Roman material has been found over an area of 20 or more ha. The settlement appears to have included some stone walled structures. Coins are quite common and include Claudian as well as later Roman examples. The site is almost certainly that of a Minor Town.

3126, Chipping Norton.

Roman material has been found over an extensive area to the south and east of the modern town, particularly in the vicinity of Glyme Farm. This material includes much late Roman pottery and coinage, and also patches of mortar and large stones. The possible Minor Town may cover 20-30 ha.
(Eddershaw, 1972; K Rodwell, 1975).

4396, Frilford.

An intensive area of Roman occupation covers an area of about 35 ha on either side of the crossing point of a Roman road over the river Ock. Excavation has produced evidence for a Roman temple in association with a major complex of buildings and an amphitheatre. The Minor Town appears to have been about 8 ha in extent in the first to second century AD, and to have expanded to its full extent in the third and fourth centuries.
(Hingley, 1981B, Forthcoming A).

4997, Abingdon.

A concentration of finds of Roman material occurs in an area to the north of the junction of the river Ock with the Thames. The site appears to have covered about 5 ha in the first to second century, and expanded to 30

ha in the third to fourh centuries. Excavation has produced much evidence for ditches and pits, and a stone walled building was partially excavated in 1865.
(K Rodwell, 1975, 33; Thomas, Unpublished).

4619, Sansom's Plat.

A settlement of 10 ha or more was located by field-work and partially excavated in 1972. Surface finds include building material, pottery and coins. The excavation produced two pits containing Roman pottery on the west of the site, and evidence for a stone walled building to the east. The building overlay pits and ditches and appears to have been constructed in the early third century AD. Finds from the building included painted wall plaster and fragments of box tile.
(Chambers, 1978).

APPENDIX 11:
The Structure of the Compound Unit in the Iron Age Open Settlements of the Gravel.

The information presented in the Inventory was analysed in terms of (i) the number of huts per settlement, and (ii) the size/number of compound units per settlement.

If we consider the (i) number of huts per settlement (this is based on a count of penannular gullies) it would seem, in general, that the western population grouping is made up of larger settlements than the eastern (Figure 89).

If we analyse the (ii) size and number of compound units per settlement (a compound is defined arbitrarily via a 20 m spatial gap from other hut structures) the picture is rather complex (see Figure 90; on this diagram compound units are represented by circles, where compounds fall into the same settlement the circles join at the edges).

See Appendix 7 for details of the number of huts per settlement, and the number of compounds/size of compounds per settlement. See the text (189) for a discussion of these observations.

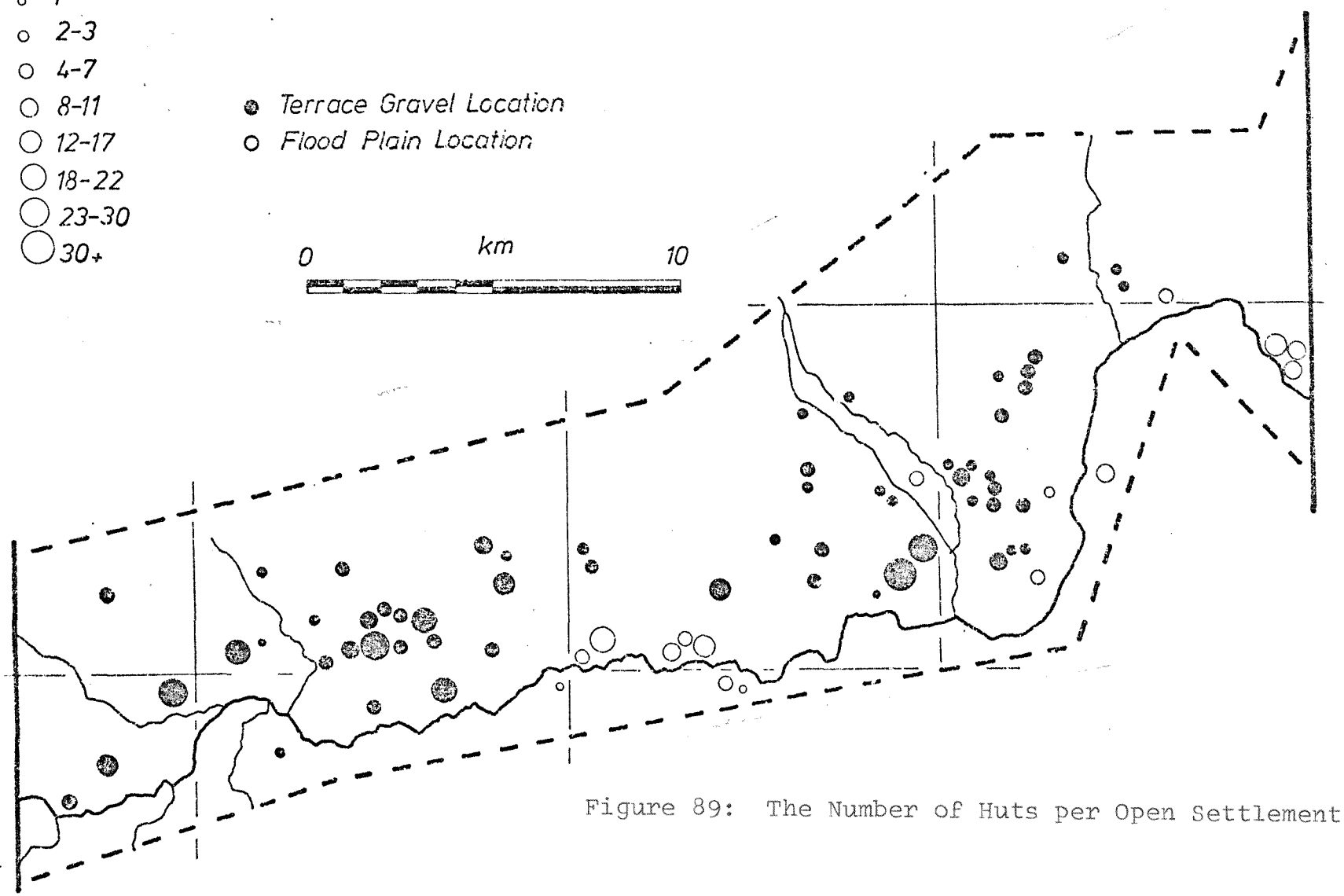


Figure 89: The Number of Huts per Open Settlement.

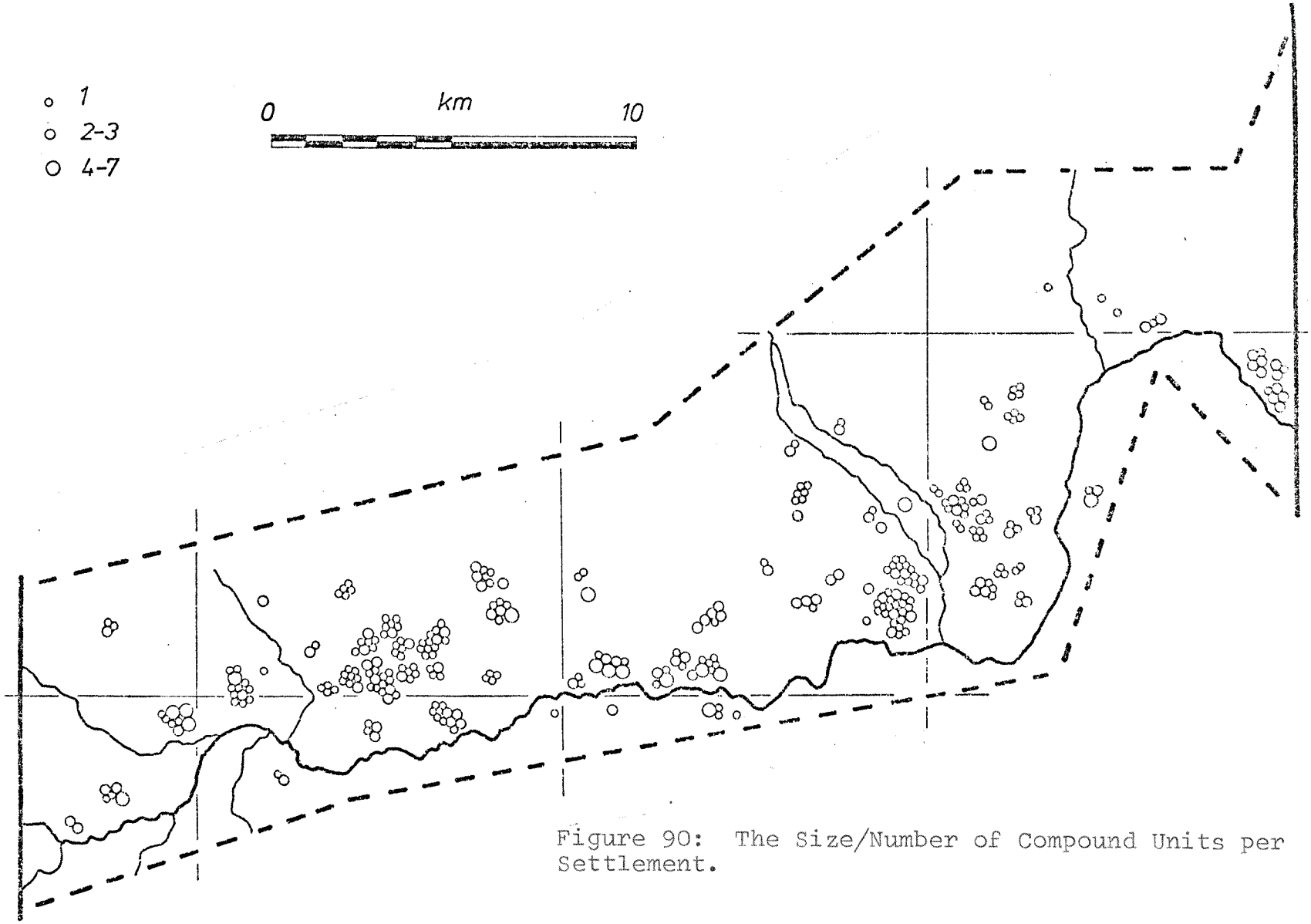


Figure 90: The Size/Number of Compound Units per Settlement.

APPENDIX 12:
Sections within the Gravel Tribes.

The Upper Thames Valley sections vary in terms of the number of settlements that are incorporated, and also in terms of the amount of infield that is enclosed.

Tribe A has two sections.

Section A:1 (Figure 60) consists of a ring of 7 settlements defining an infield with the aid of streams to the north and south. Two of the open settlements incorporate class 4 (rectangular) enclosures, and the infield is an area of about 1·3 km^2.

Section A:2 (Figure 91) involves three settlements, which define an infield with the aid of streams to the east and west. One settlement appears to incorporate a class 3 rectangular enclosure, and the infield is about 0·8 km^2 in area.

Tribe B has five or six sections.

Section B:1 (Figure 92) involves five settlements defining an infield of about 1·8 km^2 with the aid of streams. An isolated example of a class 4 enclosure represents one of the sites.

Section B:2 (Figure 93) includes six settlements defining an infield of about 3 km^2. One open settlement includes two class 4 enclosures.

Section B:3 (Figure 94) consists of eight settlements that define an infield of about 1·2 km^2. One settlement includes a class 5 enclosure.

Section B:4 involves four or five settlements defining an infield of about 1·5 km^2. One settlement includes a class 4 rectangular enclosure.

Section B:5 (Figure 96) consists of three settlements defining an infield of 0·5 km^2. A class 5 rectangular enclosure lies to the west of the section.

A sixth possible section includes sites at 3605A and 3605B; a class 5 rectangular enclosure is possibly associated.

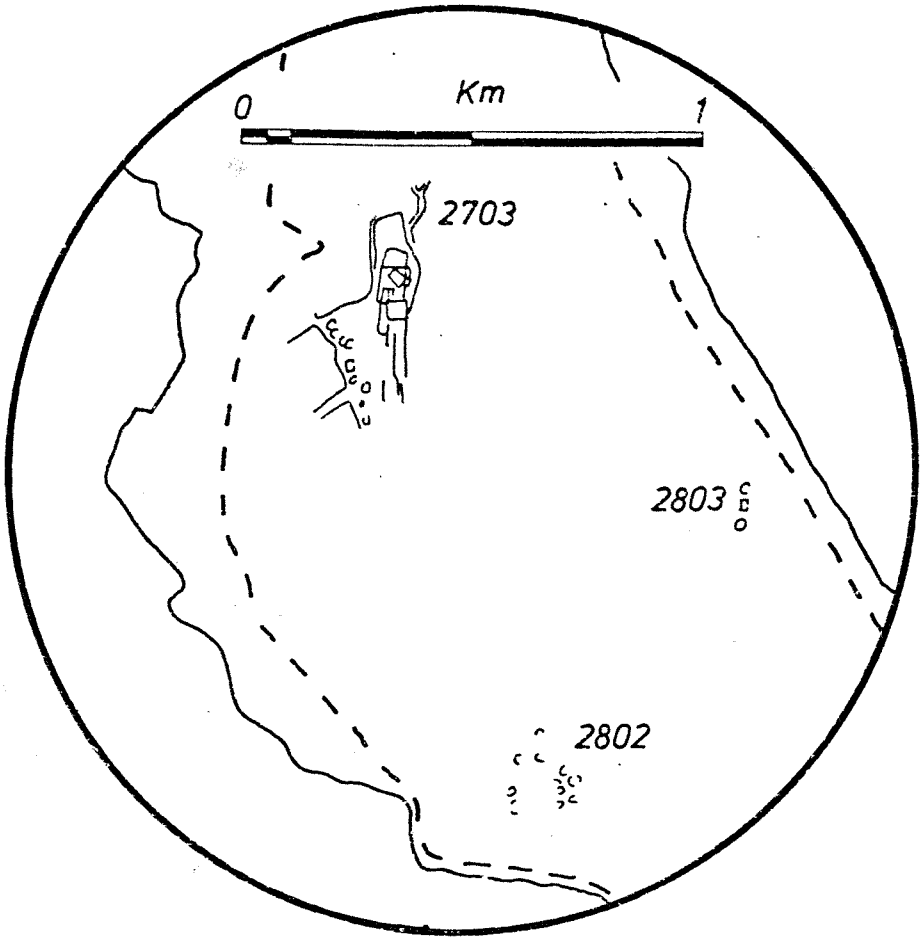


Figure 91: Section A:2.

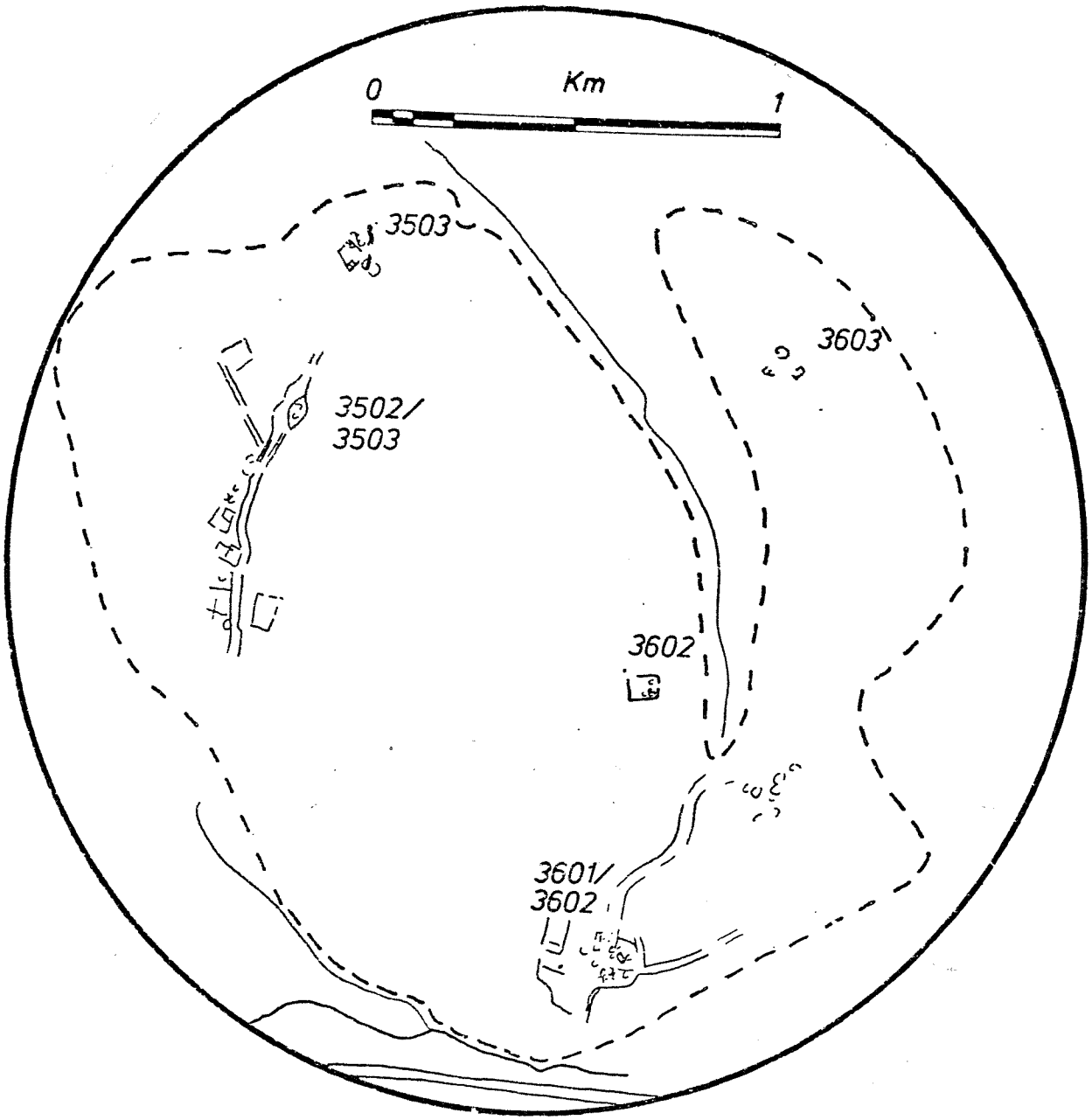


Figure 92: Section B:1.

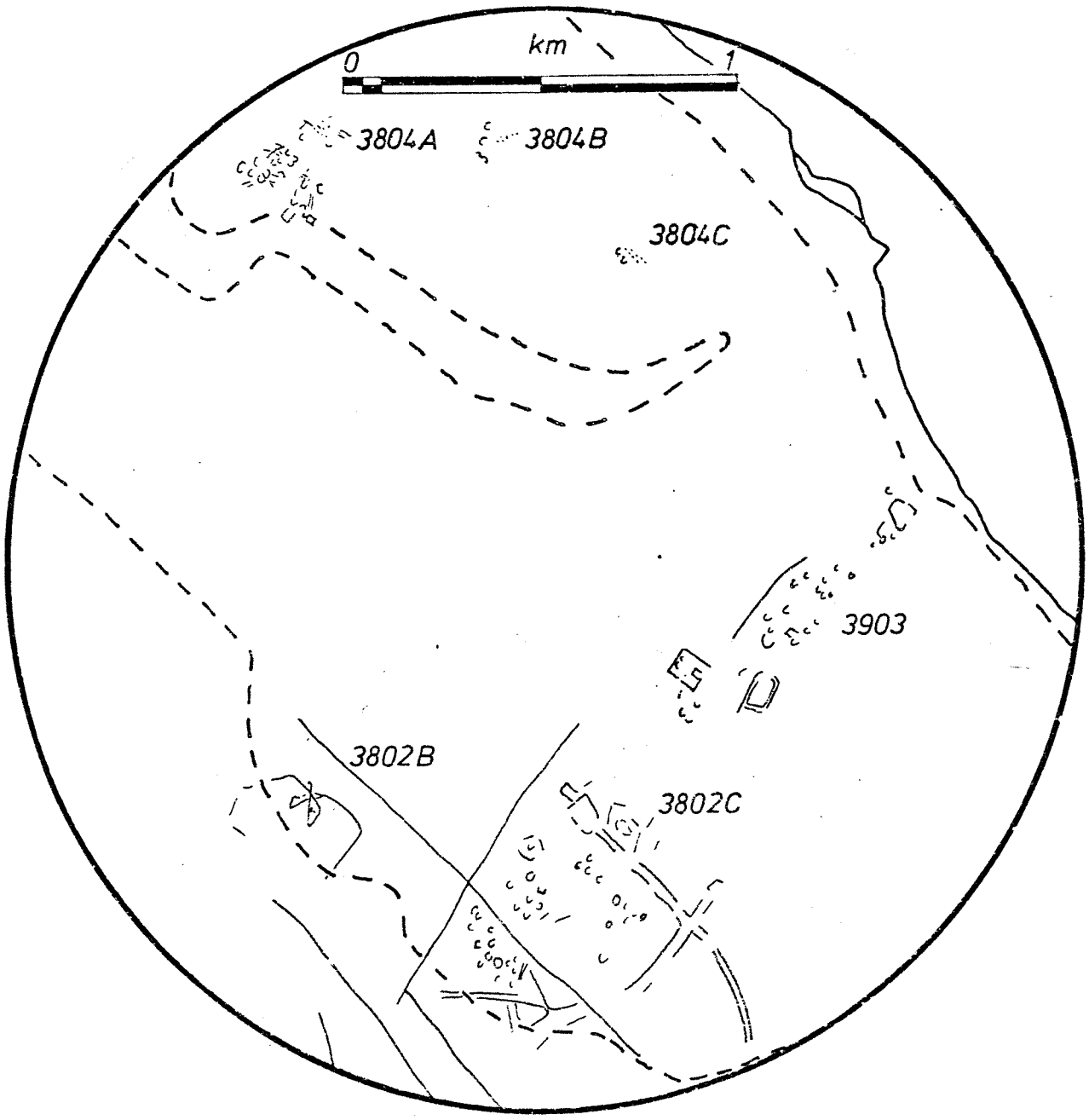


Figure 93: Section B:2.

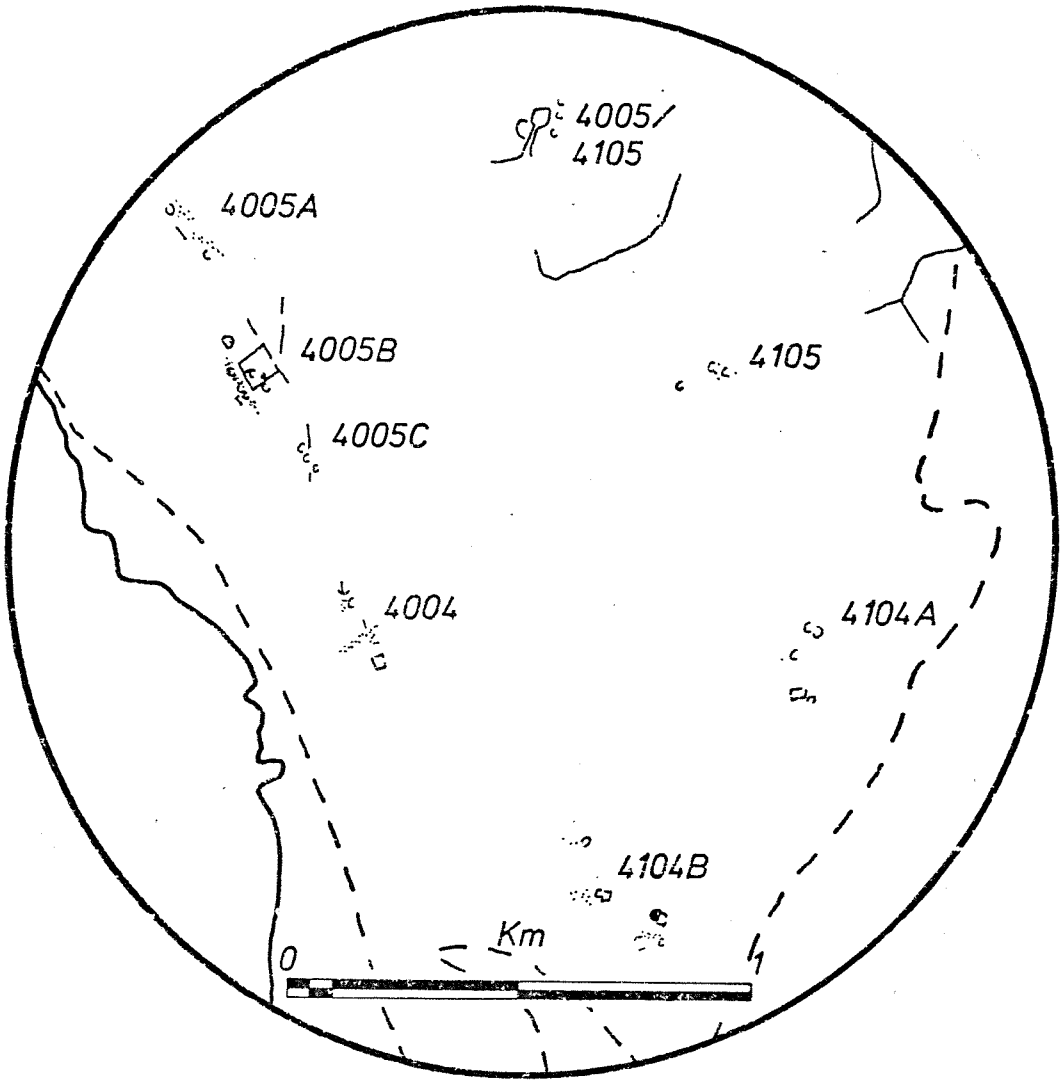


Figure 94: Section B:3.

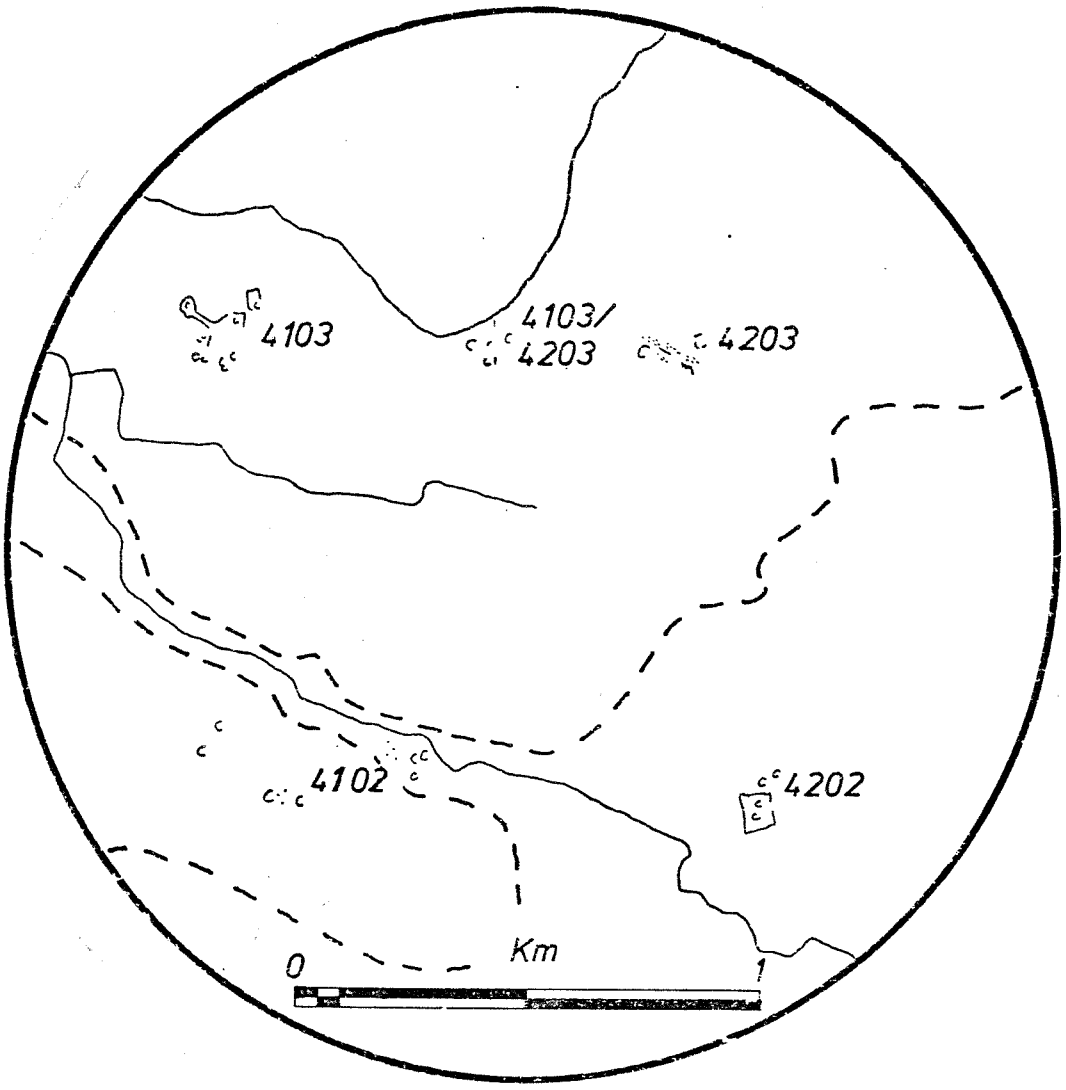


Figure 95: Section B:5.

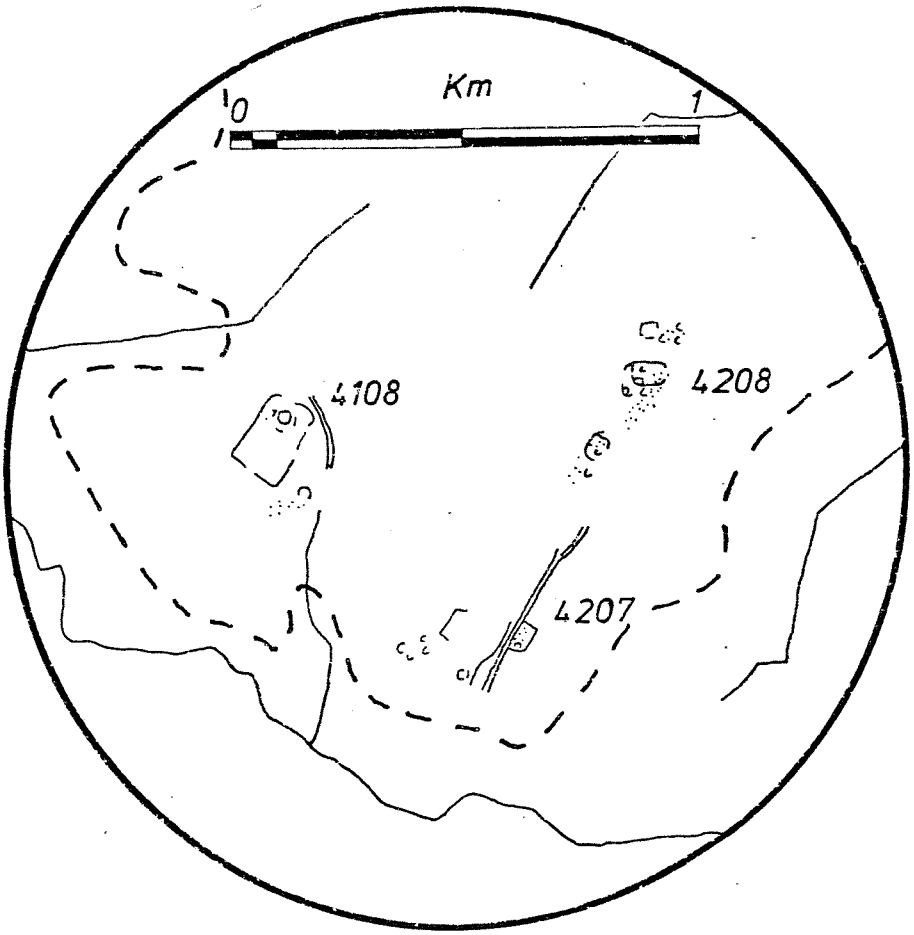


Figure 96: Section B:5.

In three of the Sections of tribe B (2, 3 and 4) a single banjo enclosure faces into the infield of the section. It would seem that these banjo enclosures may have been corraling devices for cattle feeding on and manuring the infield in the winter and early spring.

APPENDIX 13:
Analysis of Enclosures on the Gravel.

Five classes of enclosure can be defined on the basis of form and size: These classes are as follows (see Figure 97)

Class 1, Cattle Corrals (see 171).

Class 2, Hut Enclosures (these are enclosures which contain huts, but are below 0·07 ha in area).

Class 3, Small Enclosures (these enclosures contain huts, and are between 0·11 and 0·24 ha in area; see Figure 97)

Class 4, Medium Enclosures (these enclosures contain huts and are between 0·31 and 0·39 ha in area).

Class 5, Large Enclosures (these enclosures contain huts, and are between 0·66 and 0·72 ha in area).

These classes (bar 1) have been distinguished purely on the grounds of dimensions and area enclosed (on Figure 97). It may be of some significance that, while class 1 to 3 enclosures can be oval, rectangular or banjo in form, classes 4 and 5 are all rectangular/sub-rectangular (see 193 for discussion).

The details for these enclosures are given in Appendix 6).

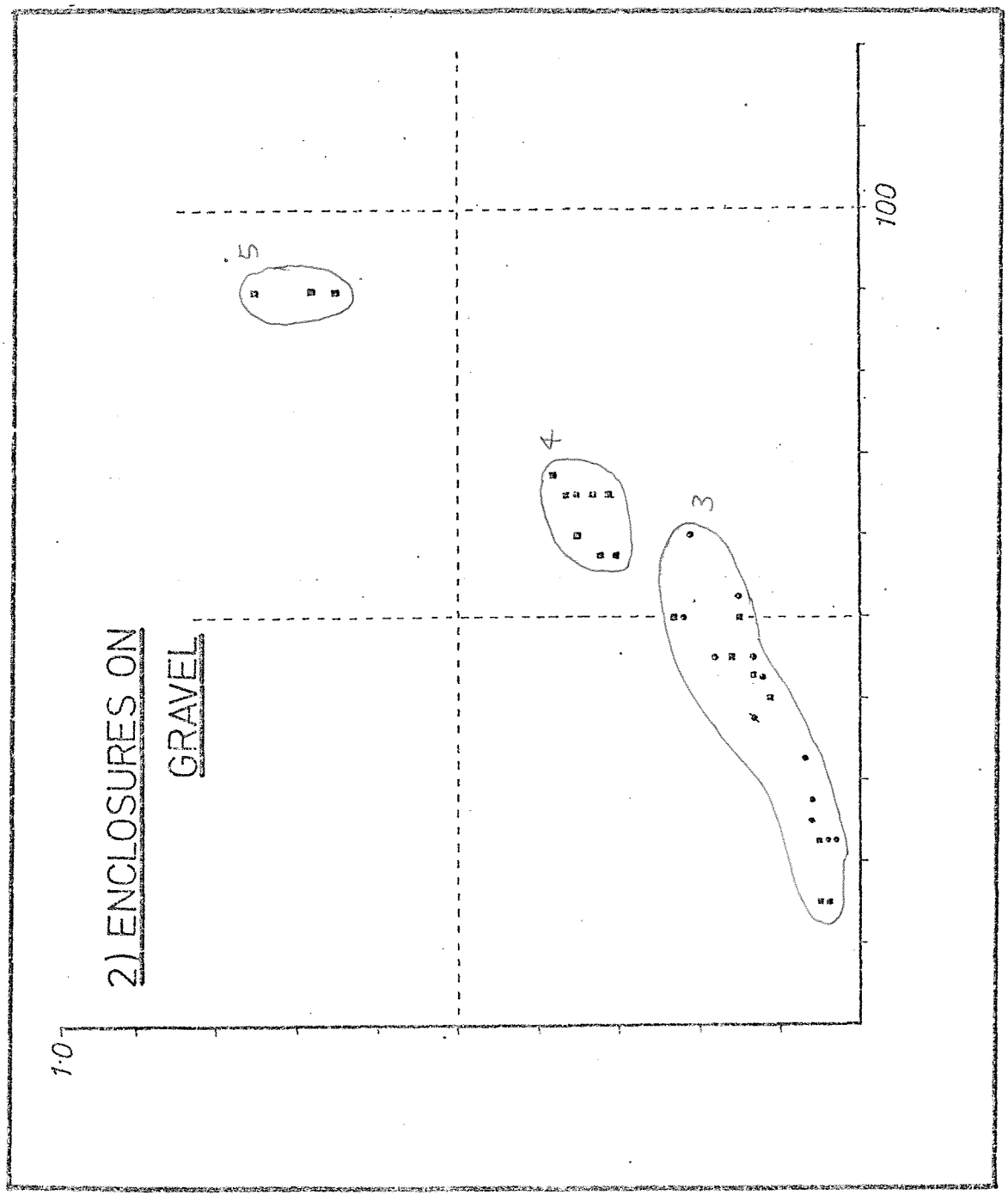


Figure 97: The Size Distribution of Enclosures on the Gravel (see Figure 50 for key).

AN INVENTORY OF IRON AGE SETTLEMENTS IN AN AREA OF THE UPPER THAMES VALLEY.

The Inventory is intended to contain information on Iron Age settlements within the survey region. Following the terminological usage of the concept of settlement in the main body of the thesis, only sites with evidence of domestic occupation are considered. In relation to this point, pits are taken as evidence of domestic occupation, as their association with hut structures seems common. Stray finds of single artefacts, or small quantities of pottery have not been incorporated into the Inventory, unless the quantity of material indicates a settlement site.

In the absence of material dating evidence from many of the crop mark sites included in this Inventory the presence/absence of certain distinctive forms of settlement components have been used to classify these sites (see 149). Of particular importance is the occurrence of penannular gullies, or of distinctive enclosure forms (eg defensive enclosures, banjo enclosures and oval enclosures).

Concerning the classification of individual sites, the identification of distinctive site types from crop mark data is problematical, and it is accepted that the classificatory scheme adopted in the Inventory is not fullproof. In some cases the distinction of a site code (see below) may be incorrect, and re-classification may be necessary if and when further work is conducted on some of these sites. In addition the information for individual sites has been simplified to the extent that it is not always possible to explain the reasons for the classification of a site in a certain way (for instance it is sometimes difficult to distinguish open settlements from complex-enclosure settlements). It was necessary to simplify the information in order to reduce the Inventory to manageable proportions

The Inventory is primarily pictorial; in other words information is presented in illustrated form wherever possible. The Inventory has the following elements.

Firstly base maps show Iron Age sites in relation to contours (dashed lines; the contours are at 25 ft intervals) and modern villages (hatching; these may show something of the bias in the distribution of sites). The following symbols are used for sites on the base maps:

⊛ represents the extent of a site.

represents an earthwork enclosure.

\+ represents stray finds of material.

represents a linear earthwork.

The base maps represent 5 km squares (half width in the case of the western transect). There are 16 base maps, and the location of the base maps in relation to the survey region is shown on Figure 98.

Iron Age sites are shown on the base maps. Within each 5 km square every km square has a unique four figure grid reference. If a single site occurs within the km square this site has been given the four figure reference; if two or more sites occur within a single square then the sites are sub-titled A, B and so on (eg 3000A/3000B). Following the conventions of the grid reference scheme sites are recorded from the south west corner of the base map nothwards along the western transect of the map. Once the north south transect is completed the next transect to the east is begun.

Sites within the 5 km squares are recorded primarily pictorially. The record for individual sites involves illustrations on two scales. Scale 1 (1:3000) is utilised for illustrations of whole sites (a few sites were very extensive and have been illustrated at 1:6000). Scale 2 (1:225) is used to illustrate structures within sites that have been excavated.

On the scale 1 site diagrams the following conventions are used:

···· represents a boundary in the modern landscape.

represents a positive crop mark.

— represents a negative crop mark.

represents an earthwork.

= represents a stream/river.

Northpoints are to the top in these diagrams. On the scale 2 plans northpoints (where not to the top) are shown on the proceeding scale 1 diagram.

As stated above, the Inventory is primarily pictorial. In addition each site, whether illustrated or not, is described by a series of coded captions. Within the caption categories of information are separated by the symbol "/".

The caption contains the following classes of information,

Four Figure Reference, (site name)/a descriptive code/any dating evidence/details concerning the site/(additional information on the dating of the site, references to publications concerning the site, *references to relevant aerial photographic cover).

(brakets indicate that the information is given for some sites but not others).

In the case of the four figure site references, site names are optional (and are only given for important sites).

Descriptive codes for sites are as follows:

DE = Defended Enclosure,
ES = Enclosed Settlement,
OS = Open Settlement,
CES = Complex-Enclosure Settlement,
- = Uncertain Type.

For dating evidence:

LBA = Late Bronze Age (only included when EIA also occurs on same site),
EIA = Early Iron Age,
MIA = Middle Iron Age,
LIA = Late Iron Age,
RB = Romano-British (only included when IA also occurs on same site).
- = Absence of dating evidence.

Details concerning the site involve four pieces of information (+ = the presence of the information for the

site, - = absence).

Point 1 = plan of settlement at scale 1,

Point 2 = plan of settlement at scale 2,

Point 3 = excavation conducted on the site,

Point 4 = fieldwork conducted on the site.

The final category of information is related to details of site form. Firstly, for some sites dating evidence is briefly discussed. Secondly references to publications for individual sites are given (RCHM = Royal Commission on Historical Monuments). Finally references are given to any relevant aerial photographic coverage (in this case the record is preceded by an asterisk).

In relation to the sources of aerial photographic information the following conventions have been used:

FAS = Fairey Air Survey, vertical survey of the County of Oxfordshire, 1961.

Allen = air photographs by Major Allen (Ashmolean).

Riley = air photographs by Derick Riley (Ashmolean).

Baker = air photographs by Arnold Baker (National Monuments Record).

RAF = Royal Air Force photographs.

OAU Slides = air photographs by the Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit.

CUAP = air photographs by the Cambridge Committee on Aerial Photography.

NMR = air photographs by the National Monuments Record.

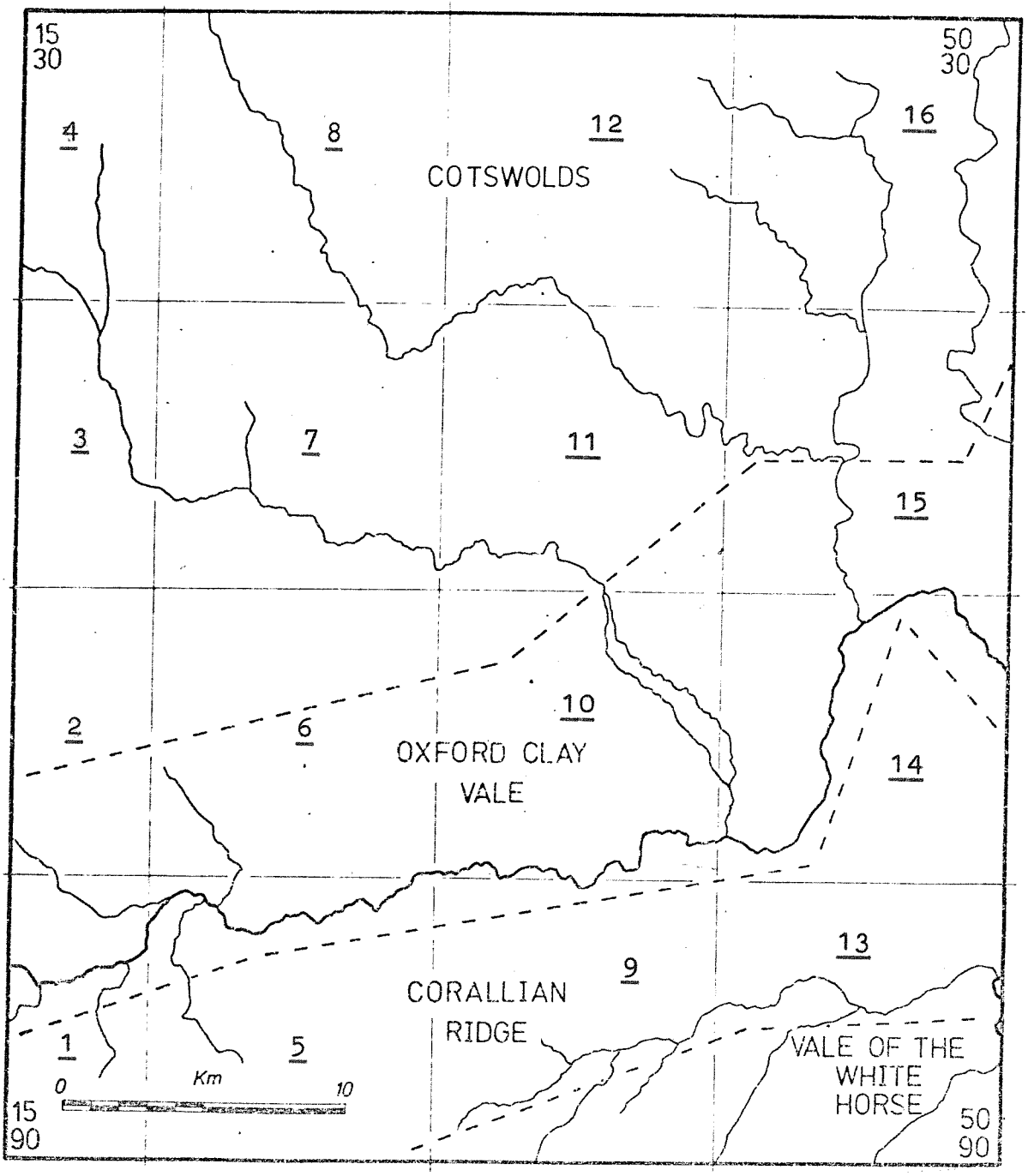
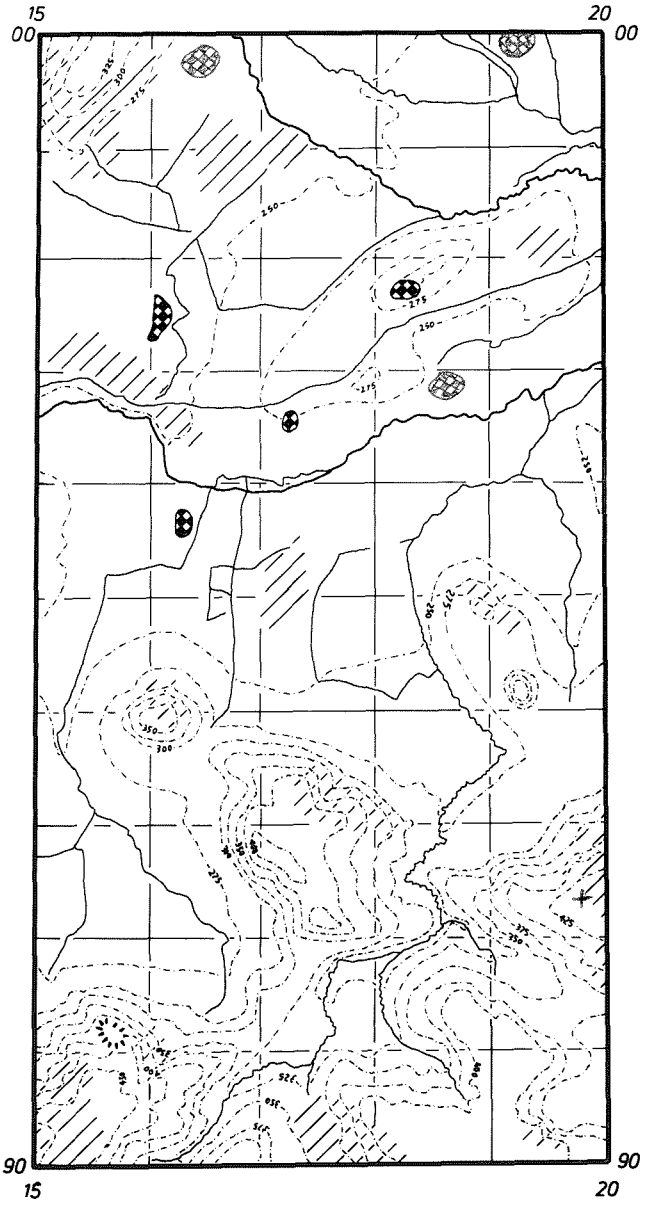
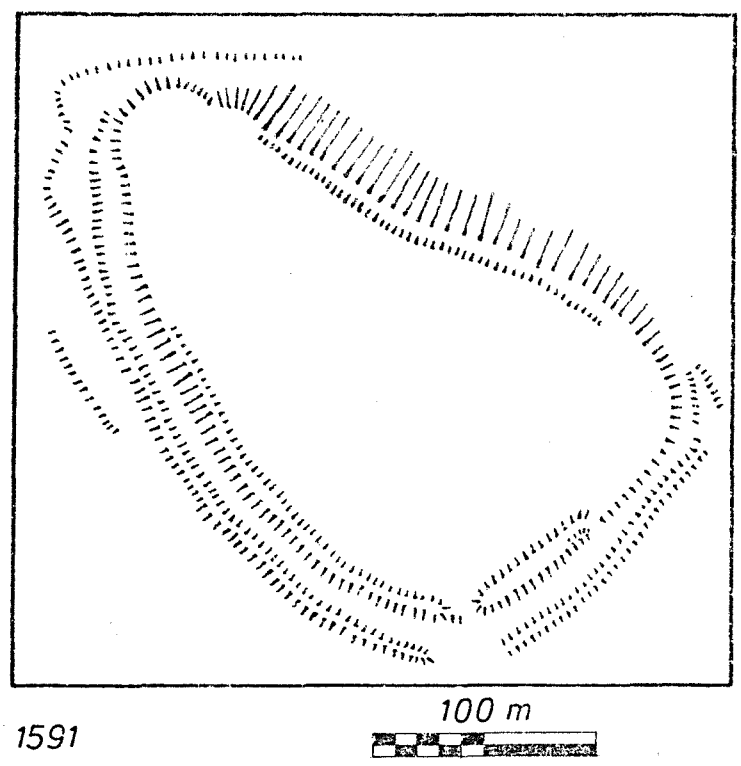


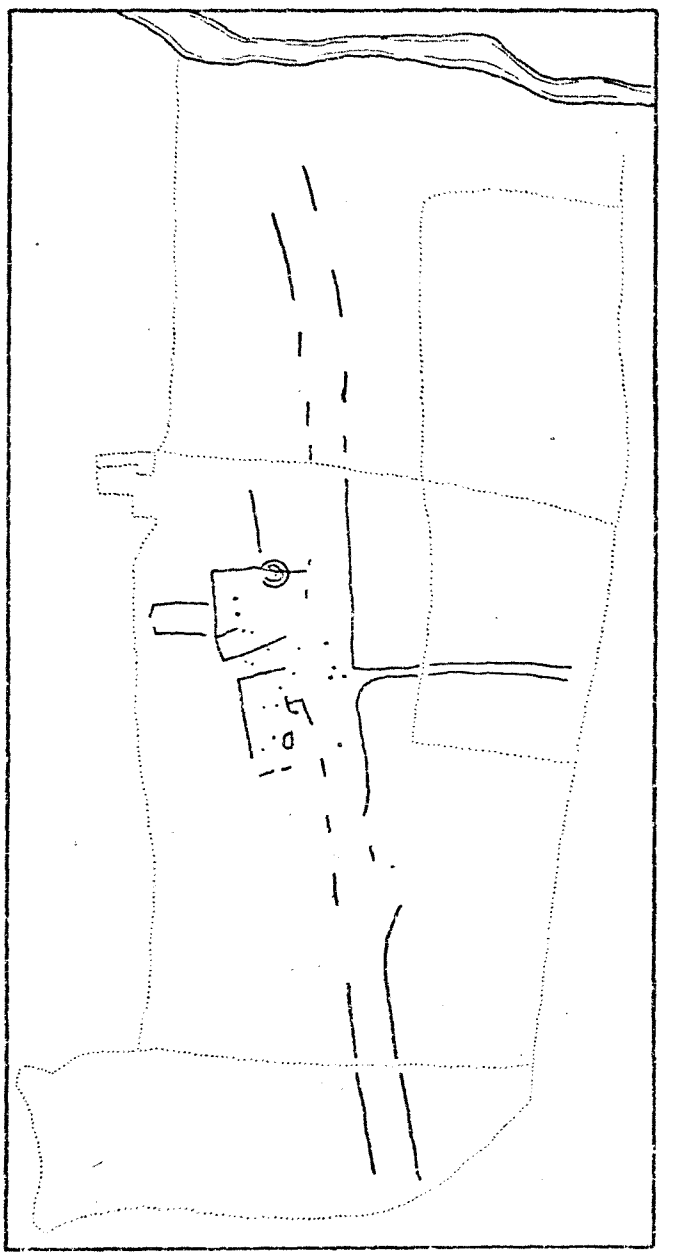
Figure 98: Base Maps in Relation to the Survey Region.



Base Map 1.

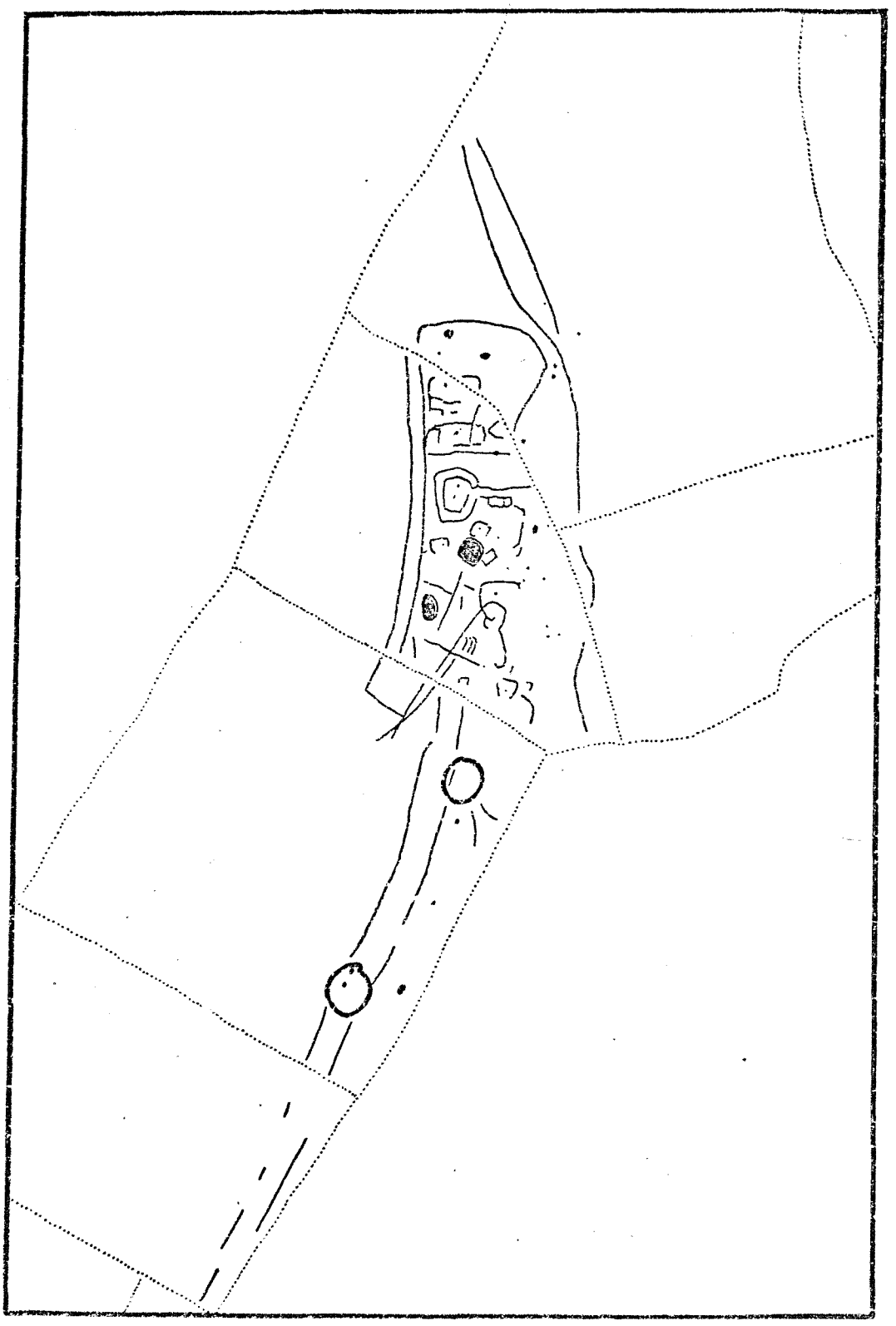


1591, Castle Hill/DE/EIA/+--+/Fieldwork by the author has produced Early Iron Age Material; Hingley, Forthcoming, D.



1695

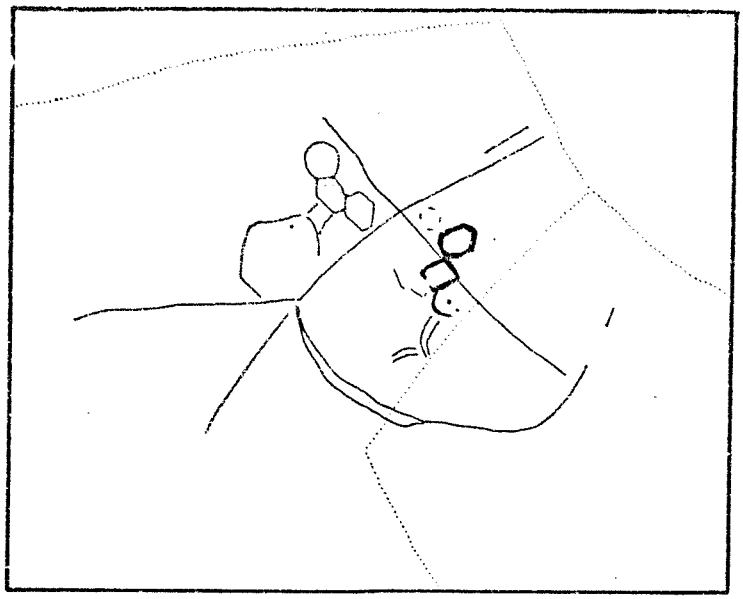
1695/CES/-/+---/*NMR SU 1595:6:49-51.



1697

1697/CES/-/+---/*NMR SU 1796:3:36-47.

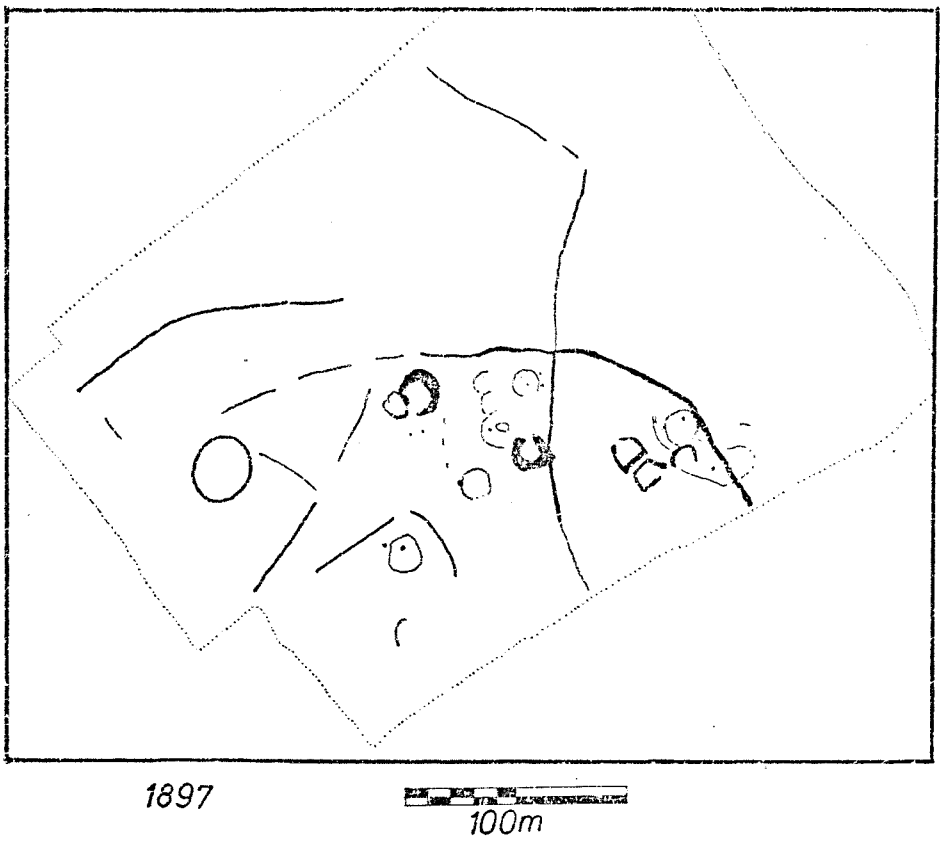
1699/?OS/-/----/RCHM, 1976, Kempsford (5), 68.



1796

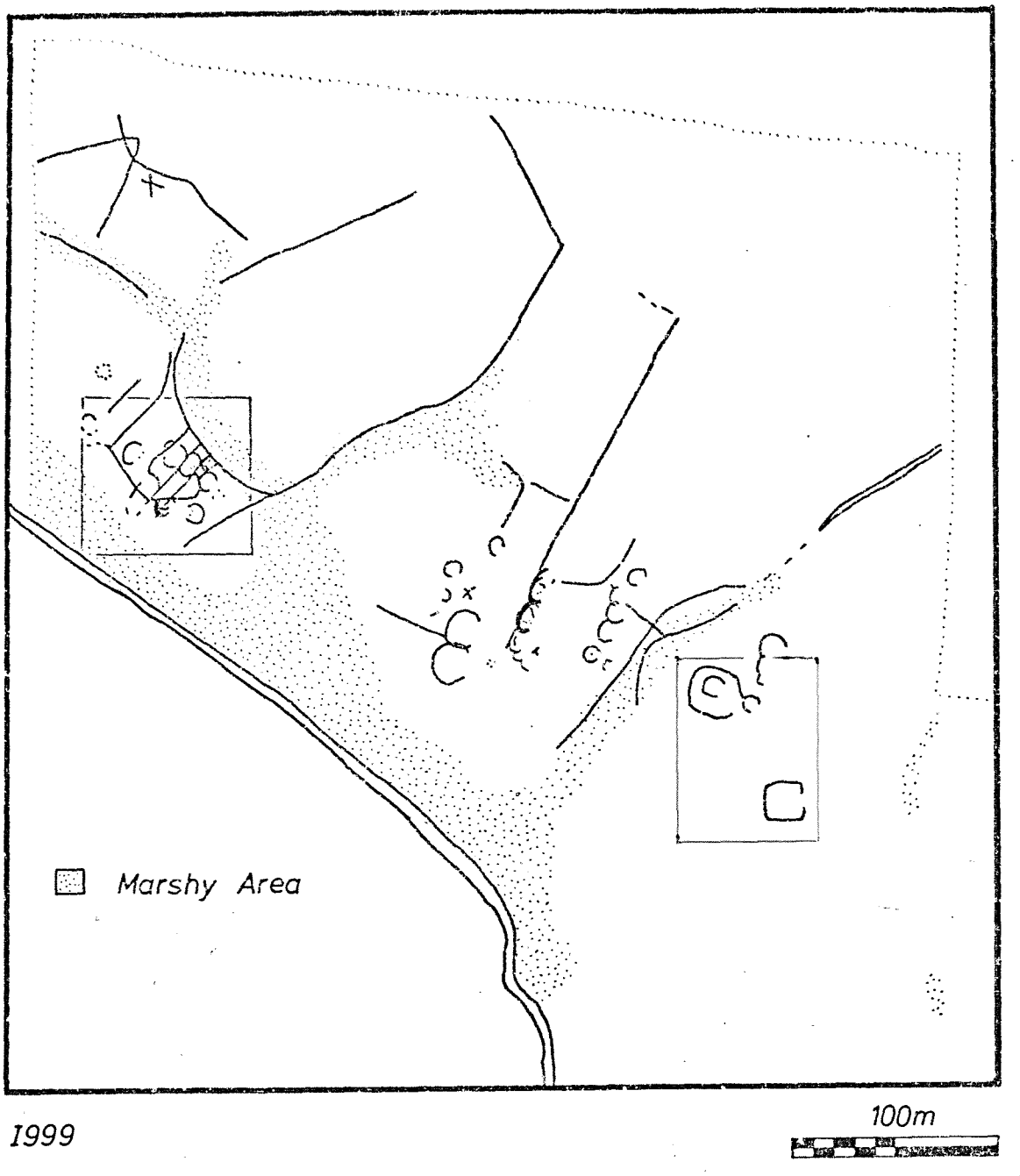
1796/OS/-/+---/*NMR SU 1796:3:41.

1896/CES/-/----/RCHM, 1976, Kempsford (7), 69.

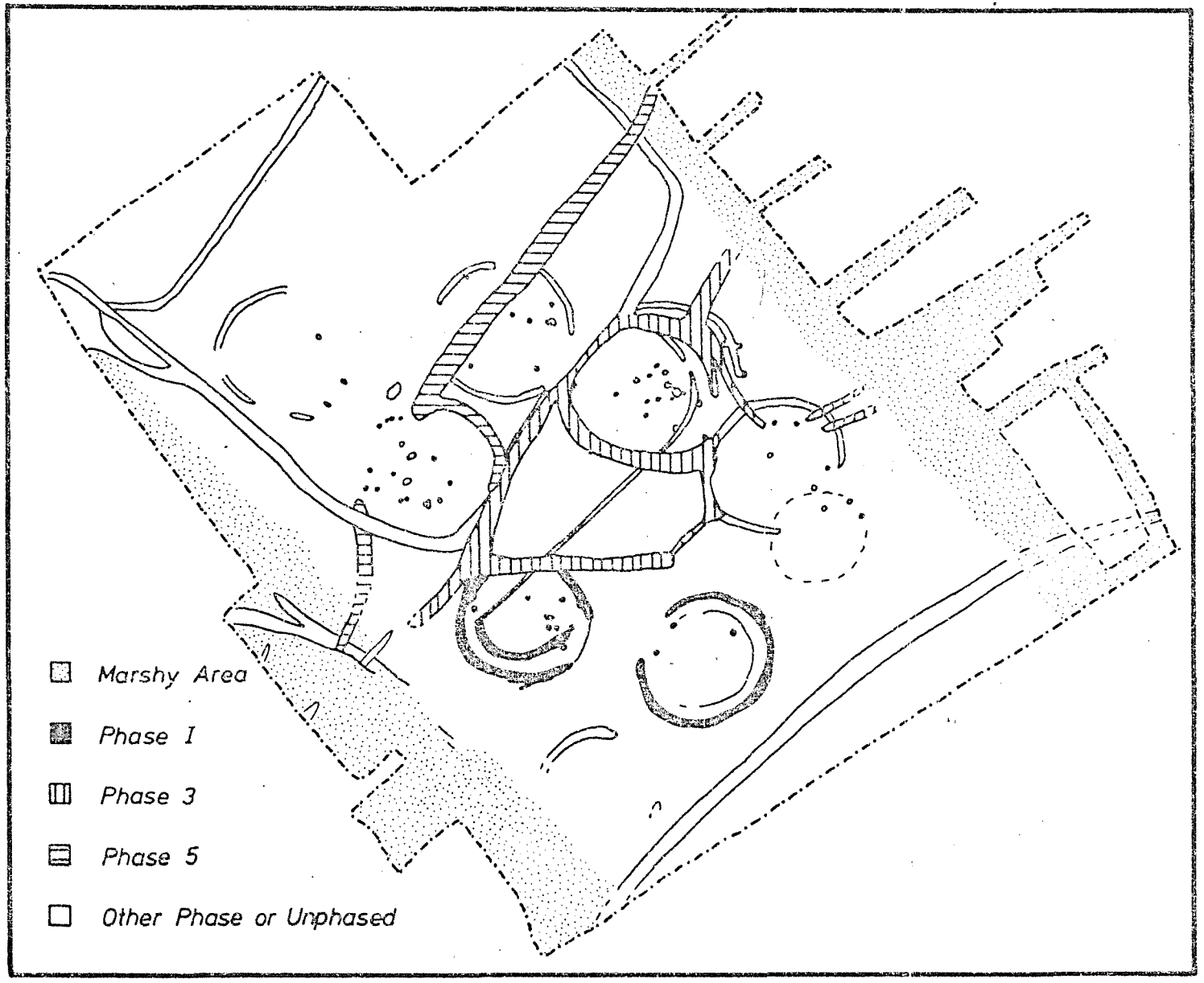


1897/OS/?MIA/+--+/Fieldwork by Simon Palmer produced a few possible Middle Iron Age sherds, Pers. Com.; *CUAP LY 86-7, AYI 2-3.

1992/-/-/---+-/Wiltshire Archaeological Register, 1972, No 54; 1976, No 73 etc.

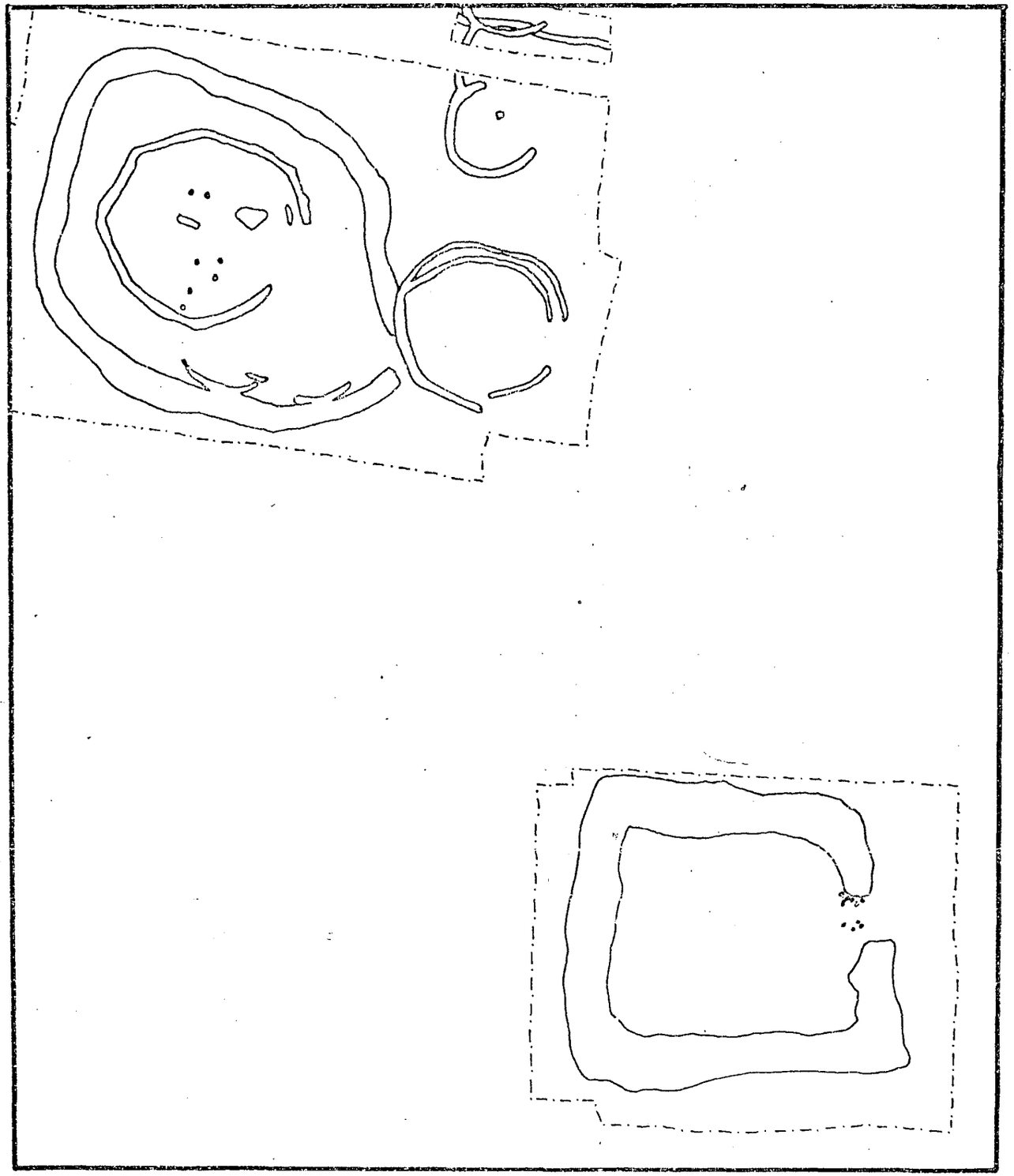


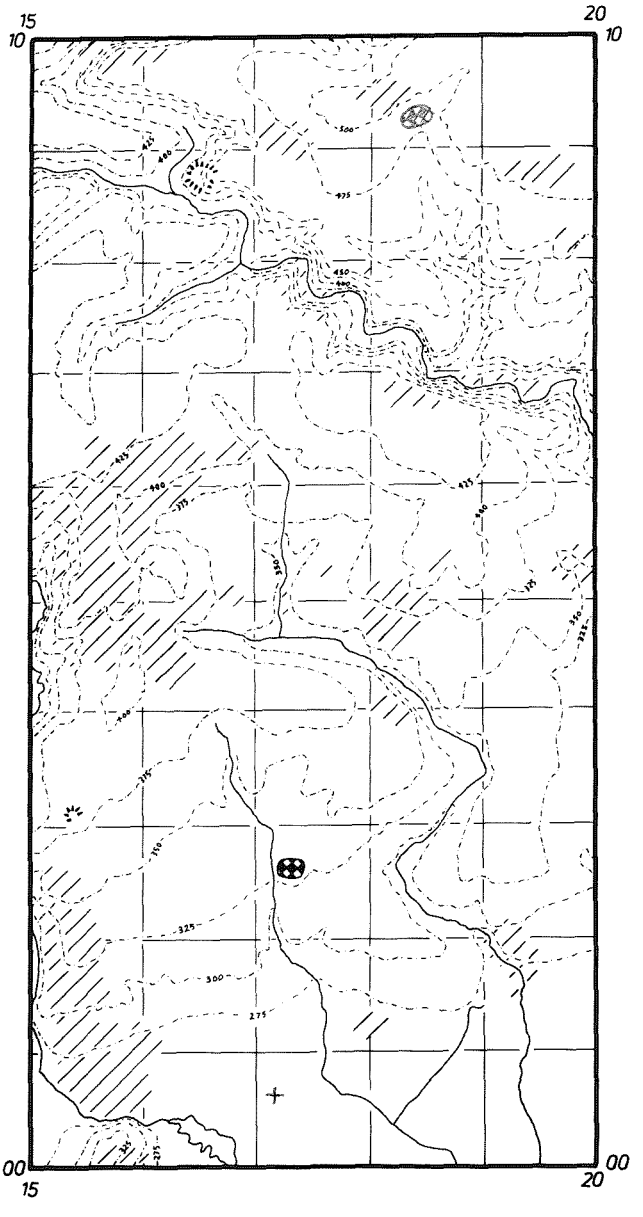
1999, Claydon Pike/OS/MIA/+++-/Large scale excavation of the extensive site has produced evidence for Middle Iron Age settlement; Miles, 1980, Miles and Palmer, 1981 and 1982.



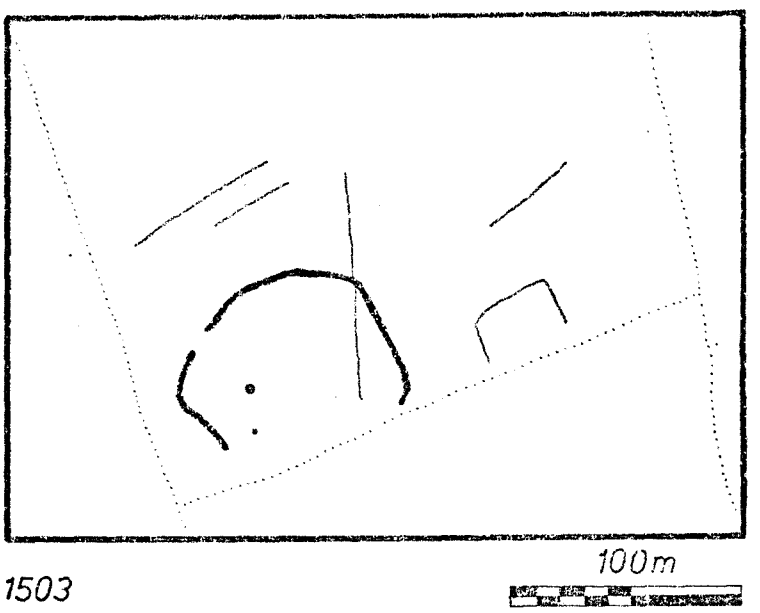
1999

10m

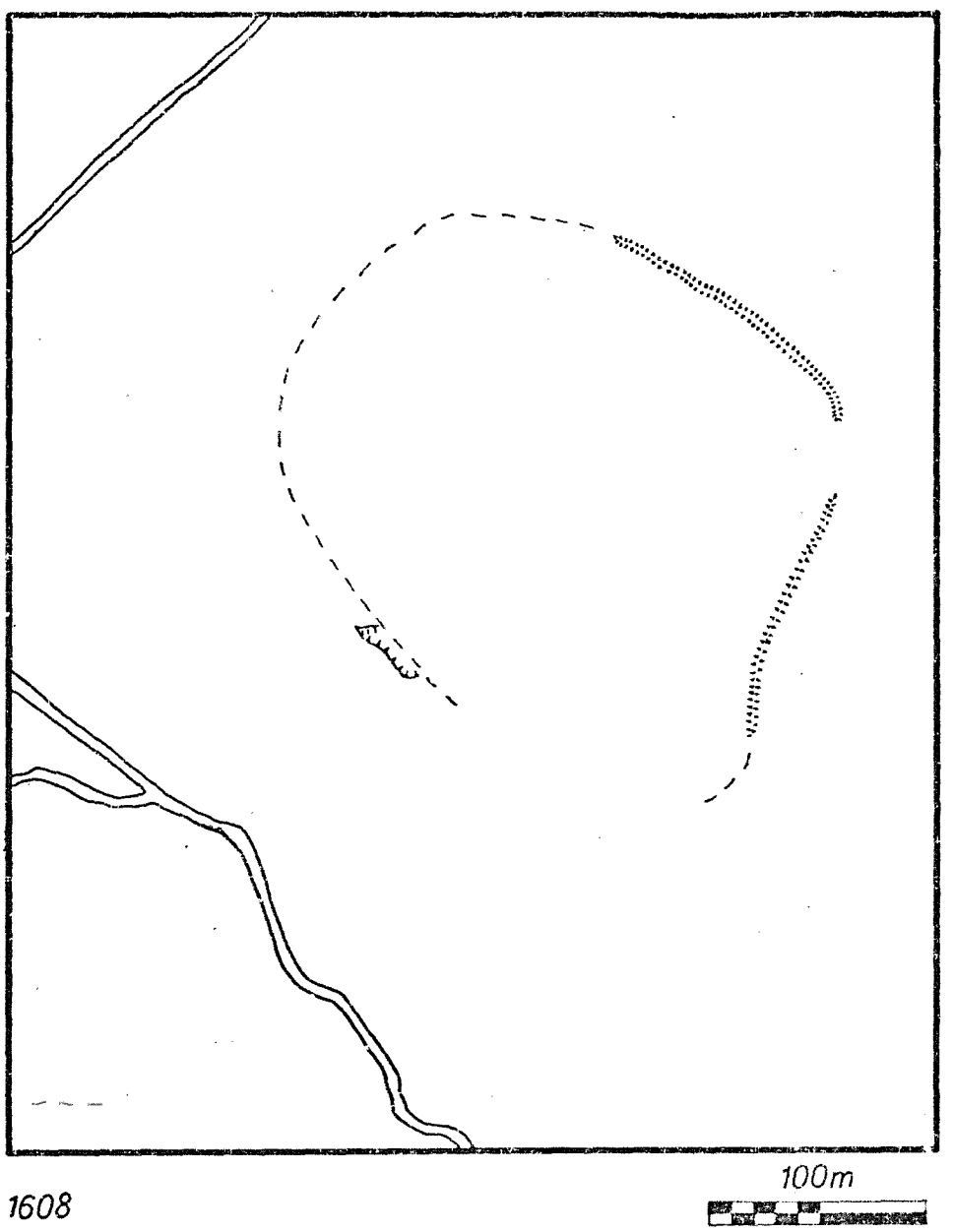

1999
10m



Base Map 2.

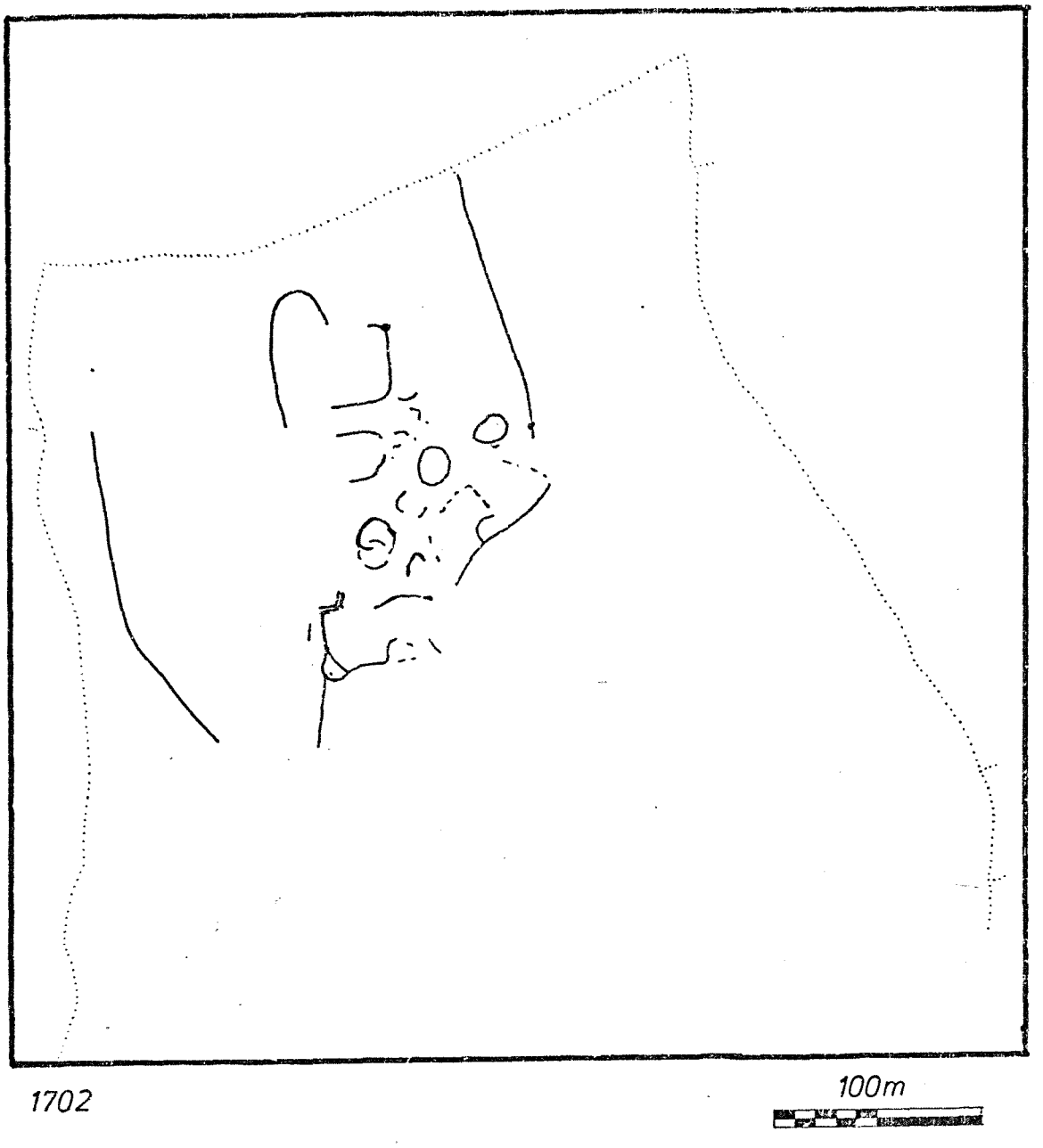


1503/?DE/-/+---/RCHM, 1976, Fairford (2), 55; *CUAP ASM 61.

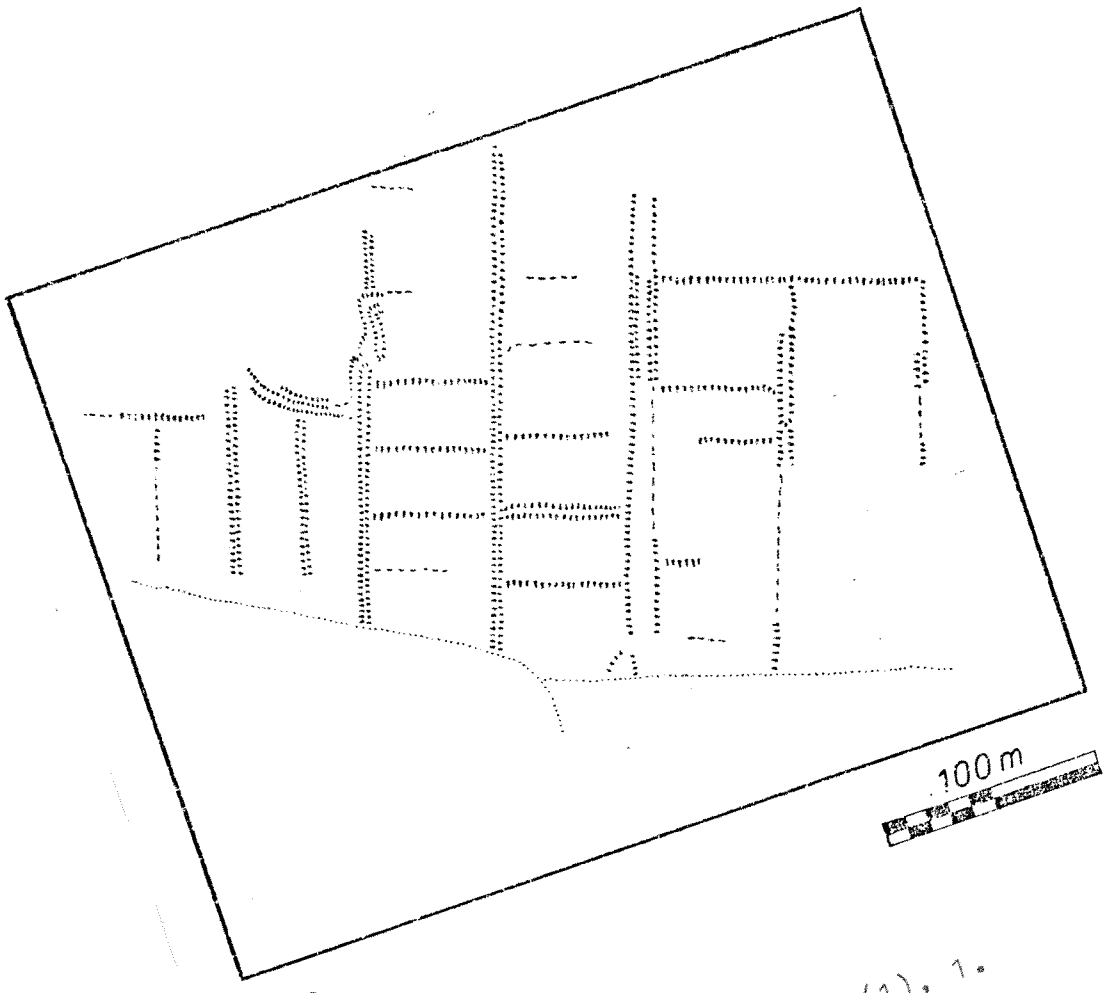


1608, Dean Camp/DE/-/+---/RCHM, 1976, Coln-St-Aldwyns (1), 36.

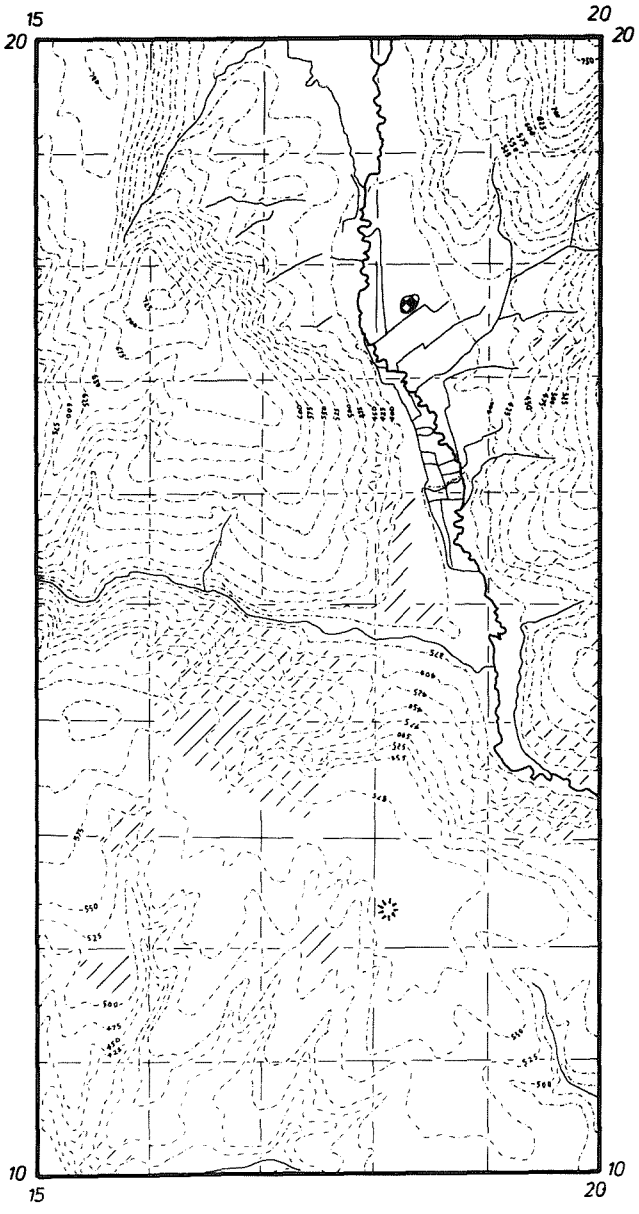
1700/-/EIA/----/Early Iron Age pottery from quarrying, RCHM, 1976, Fairford (introduction), 54.



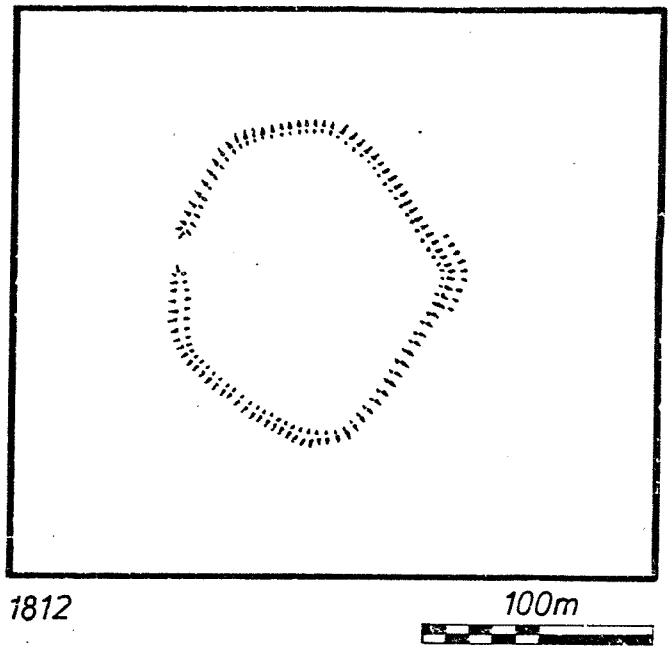
1702/?OS/-/+---/RCHM, 1976, Hatherop (1), 64; *CUAP AYI 9-10.



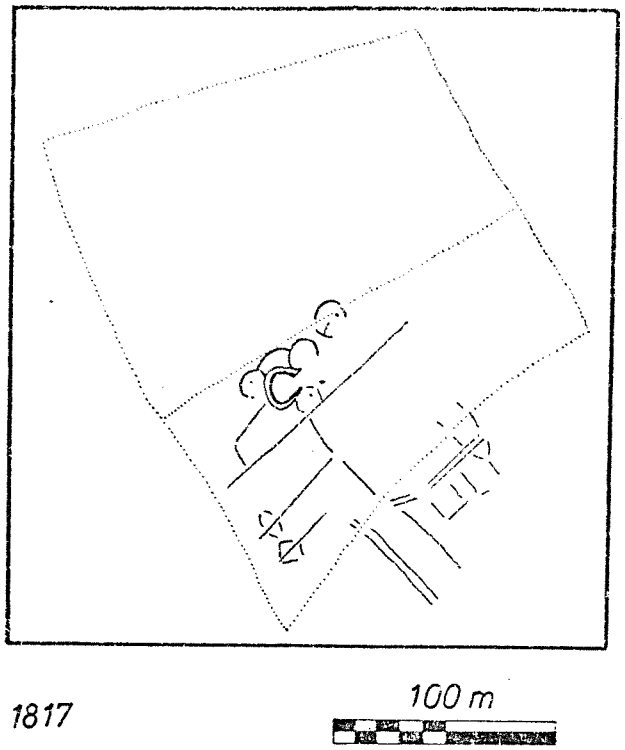
1809/ES/-/+---/RCHM, 1976, Aldsworth (1), 1.



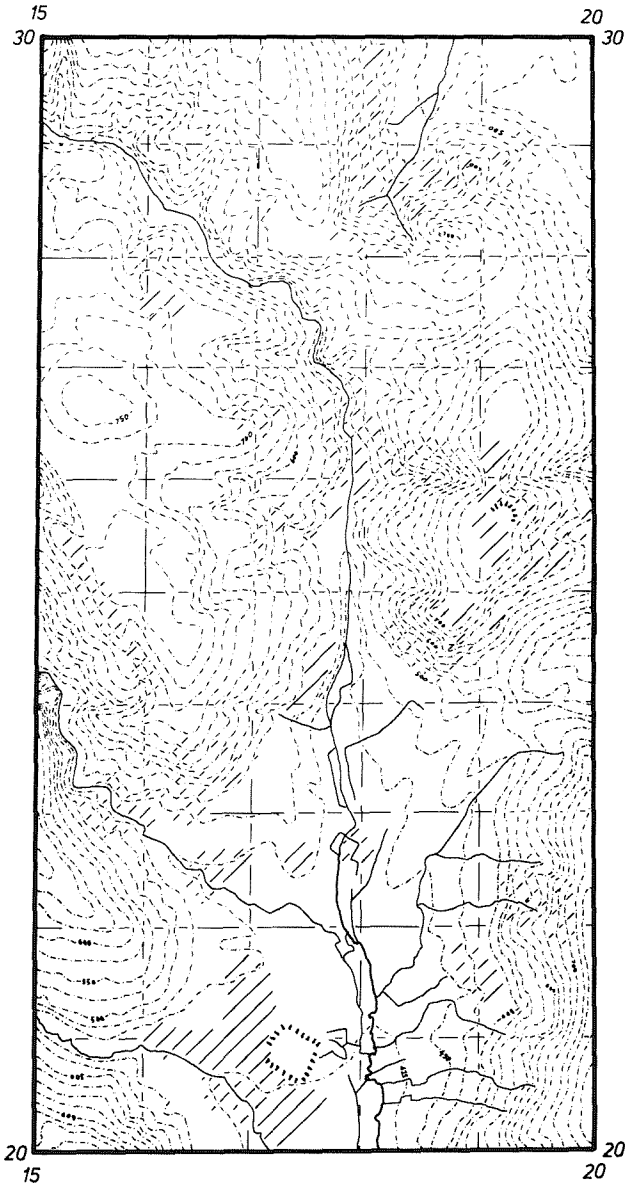
Base Map 3.



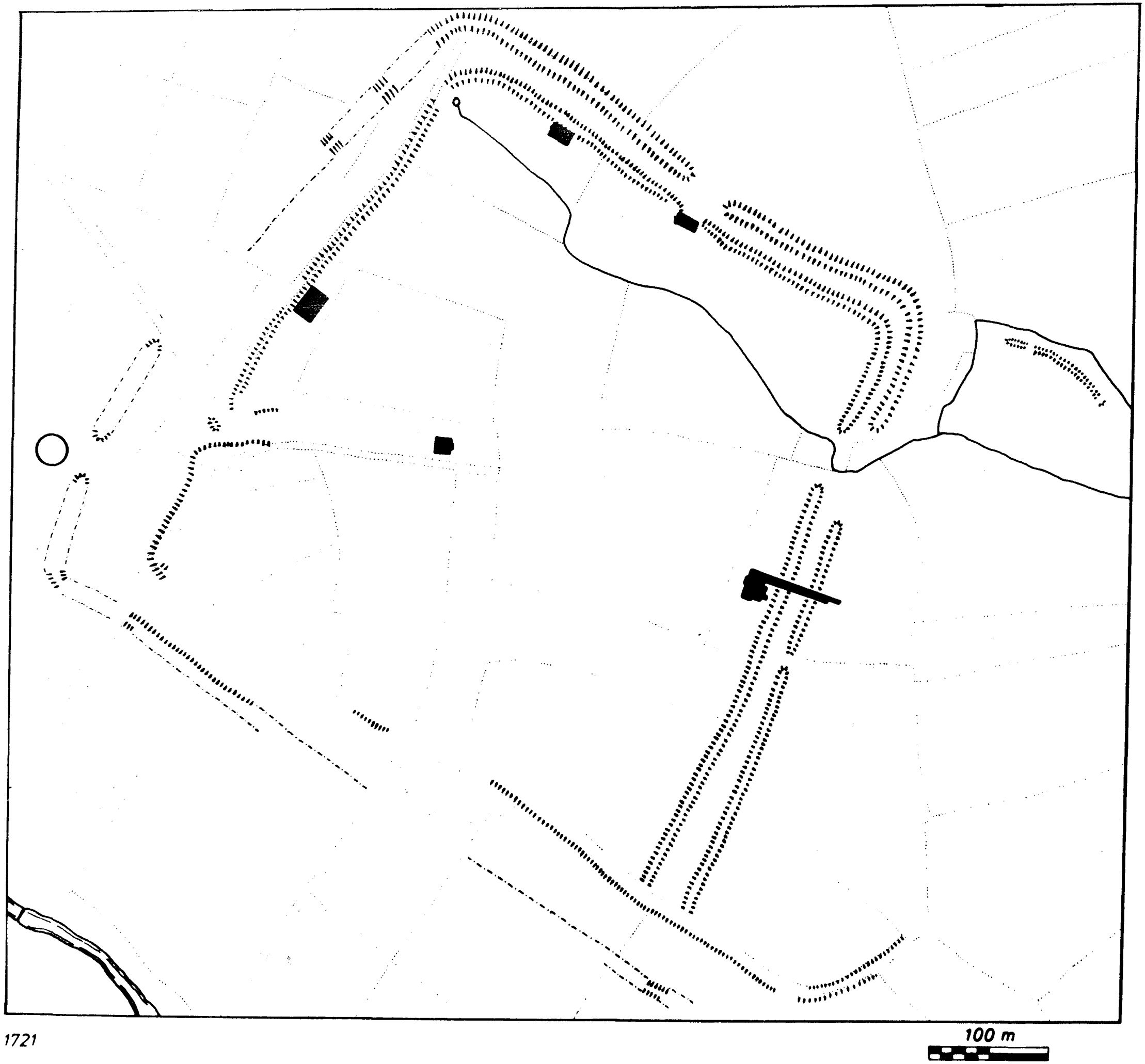
1812/DE/-/+---/RCHM, 1976, Windrush (1), 130.



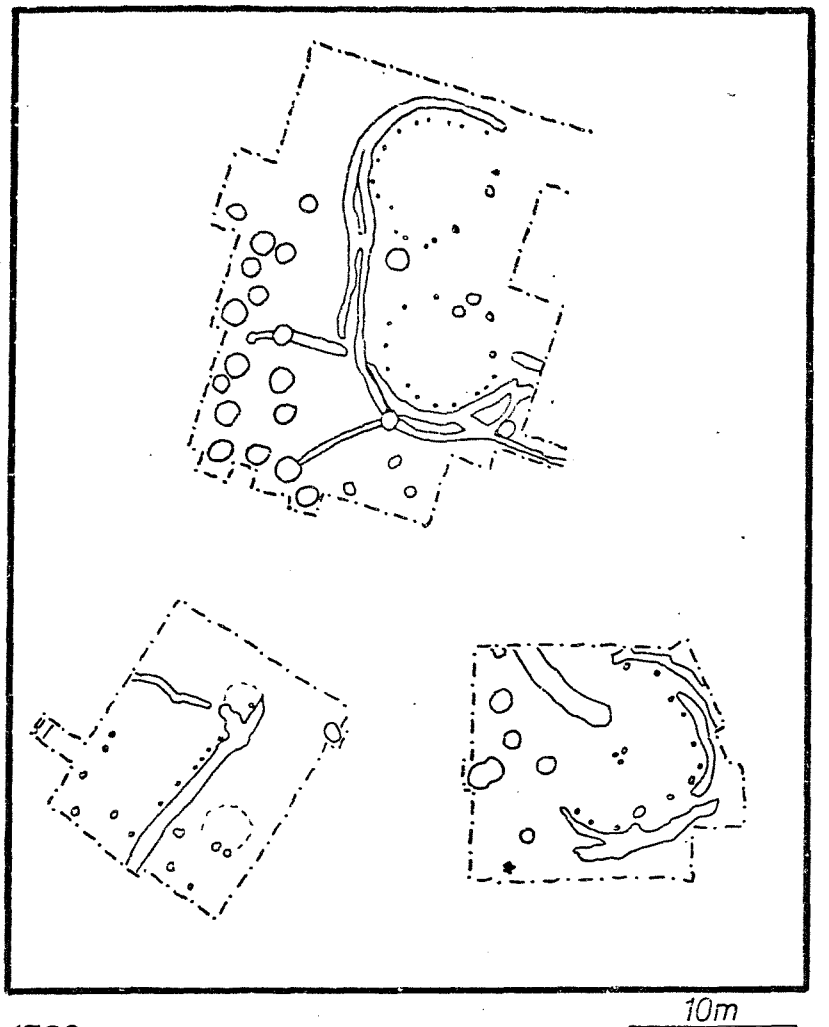
1817/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 1817:1-6, 1818:1.



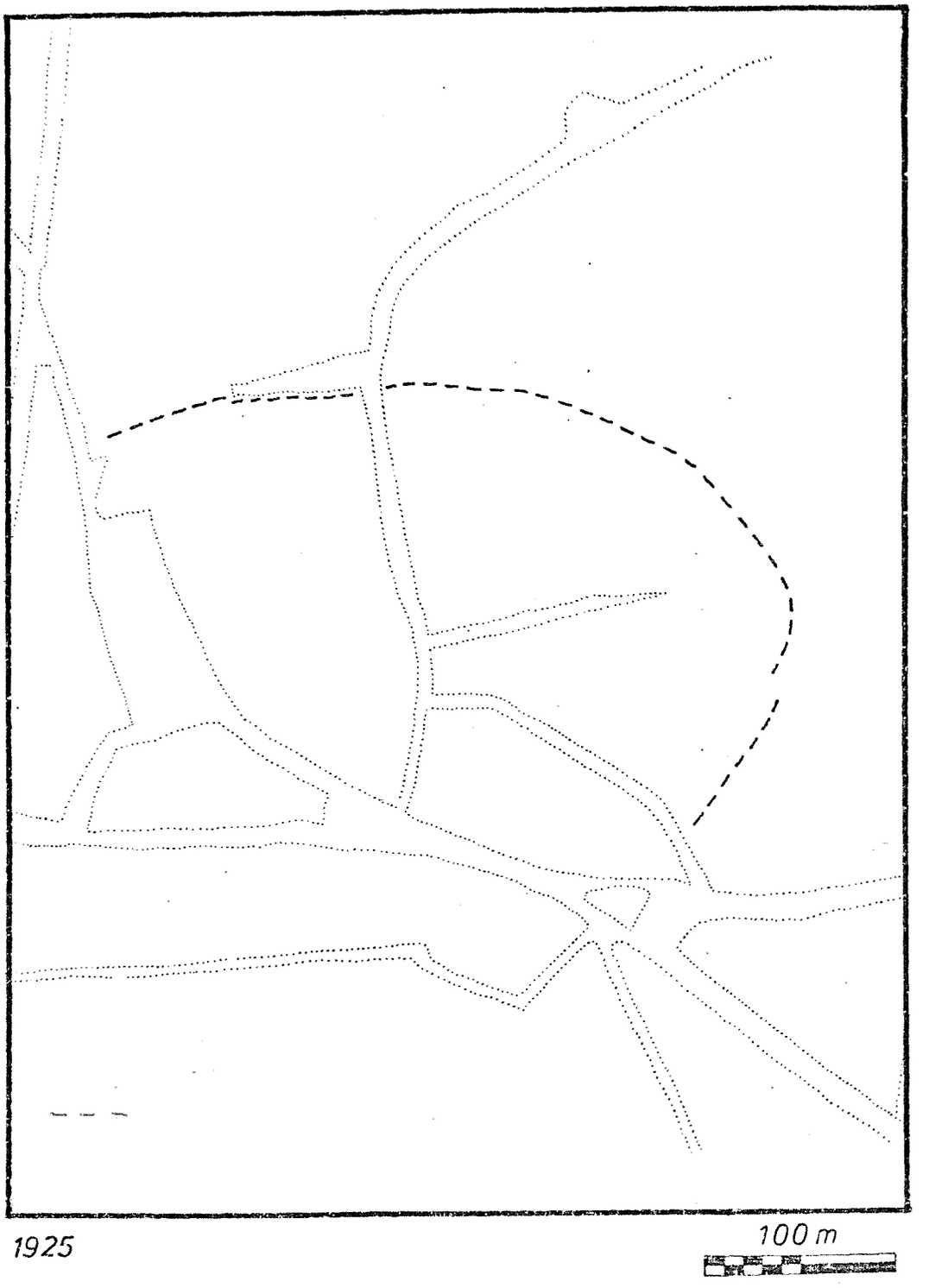
Base Map 4.



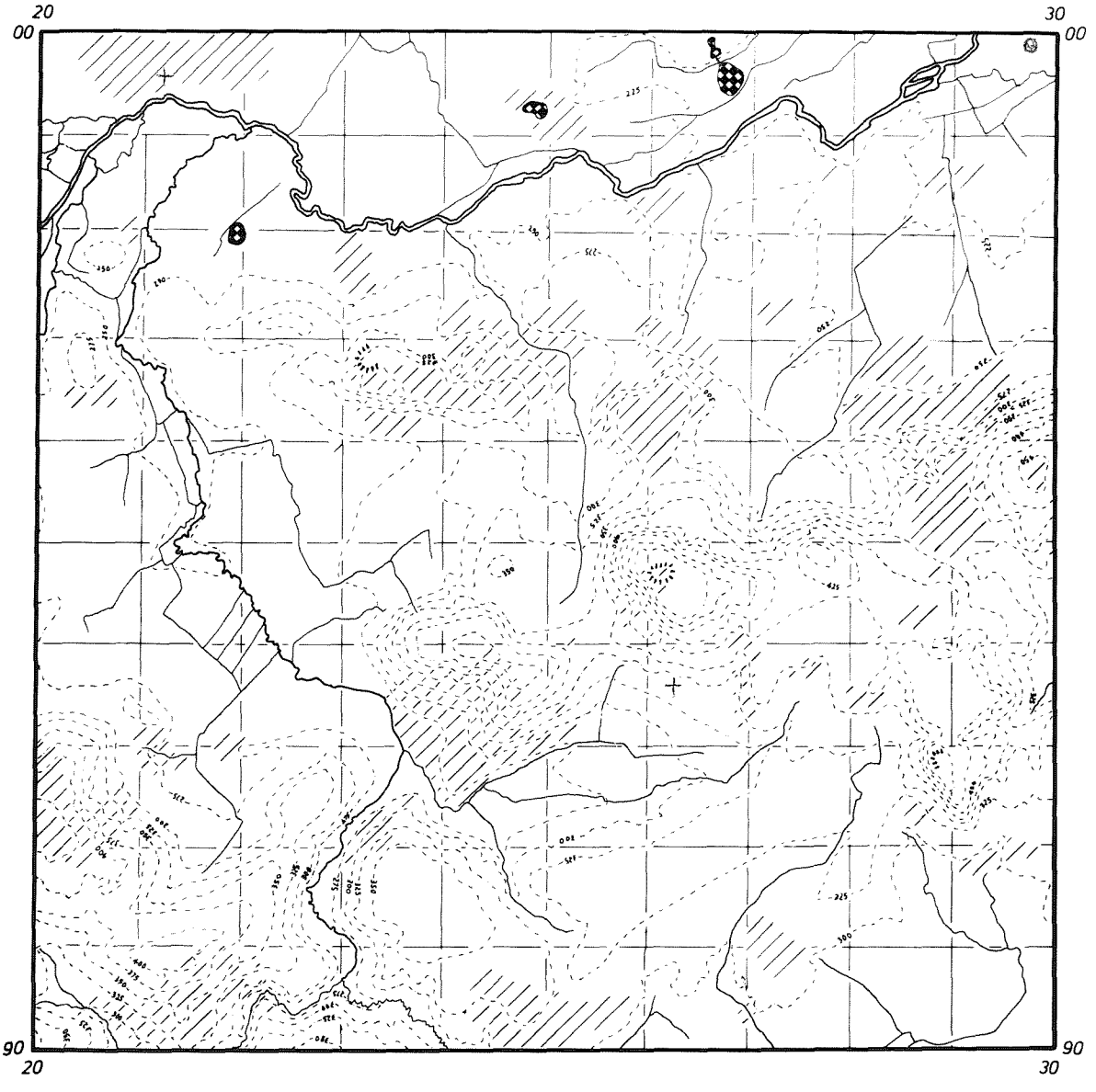
1720, Salmonsbury/DE/EIA:MIA:LIA/++++/Excavation produced evidence for Middle Iron Age defences, Early and Late Iron Age occupation; Dunning, 1934, 1976; O'Neil, 1977.



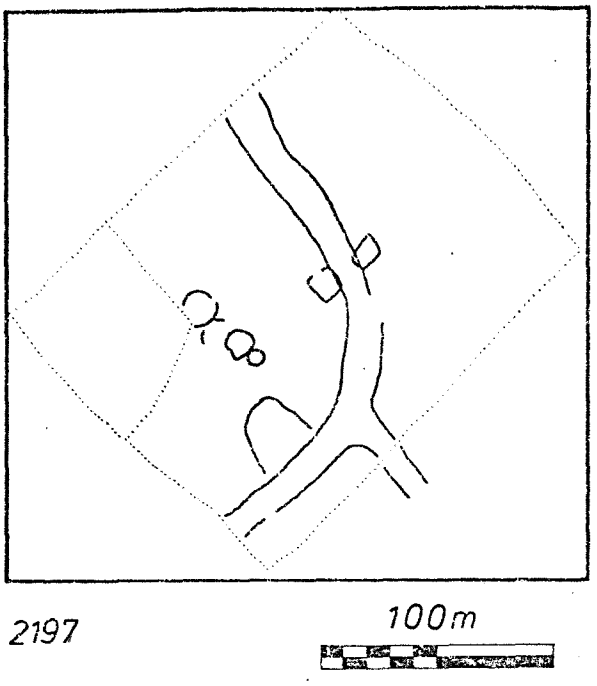
1720



1925, Stow-on-the-Wold/?DE/-/+---/Crawford, 1933.

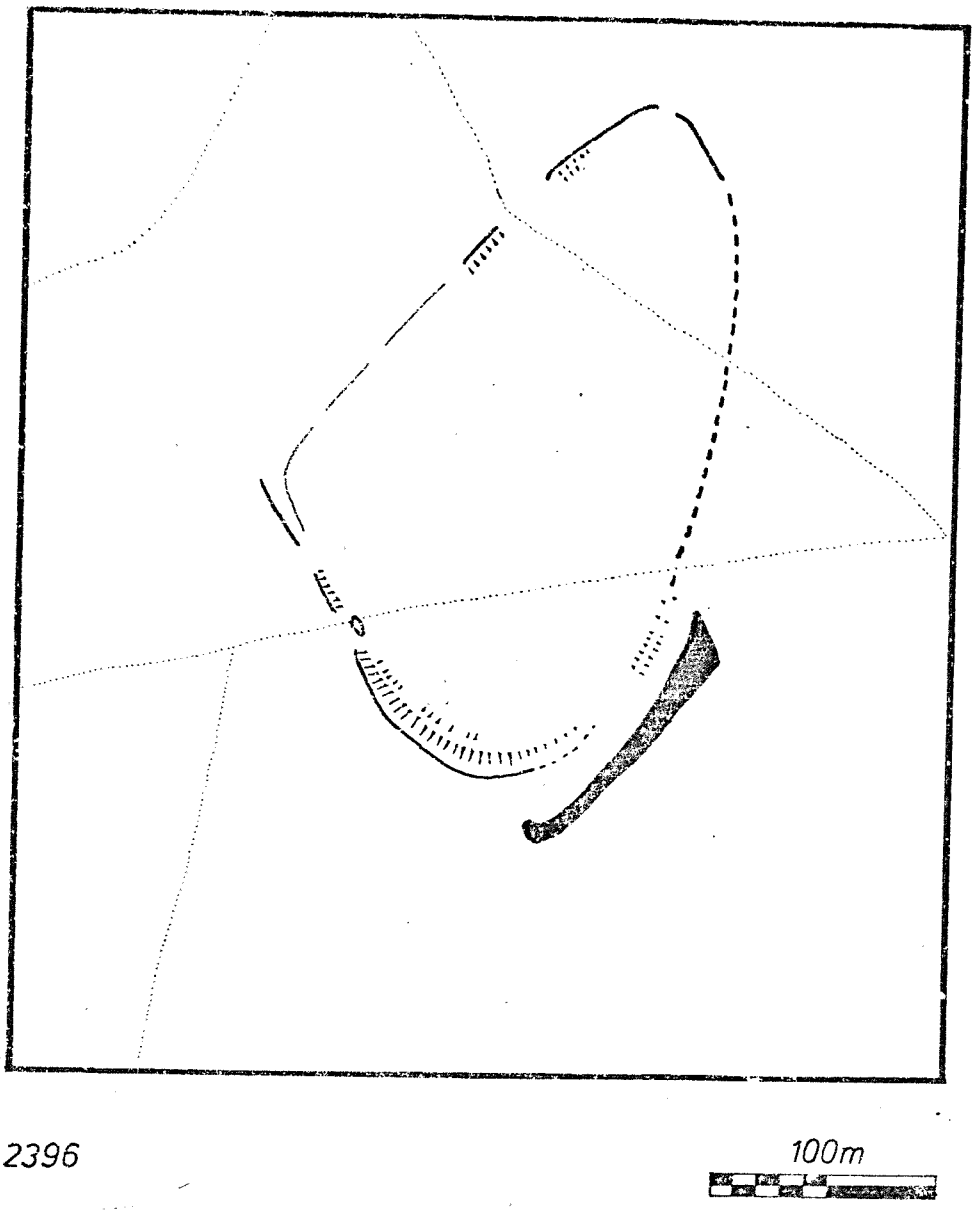


Base Map 5.

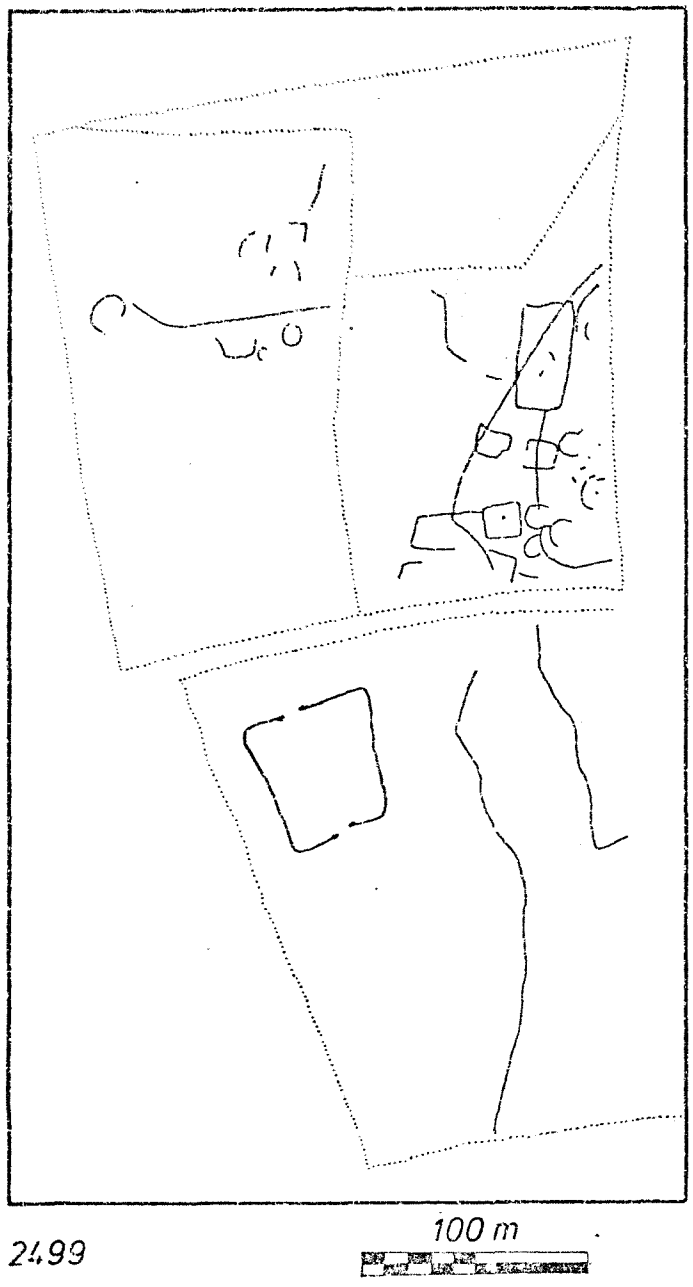


2197/OS/-/+---/*NMR SU 2198:1:428.

2199, Loders Field/?OS/EIA/--+-/Early Iron Age pits containing pottery discovered during construction work, Darvill, Hingley and Timby, Forthcoming.

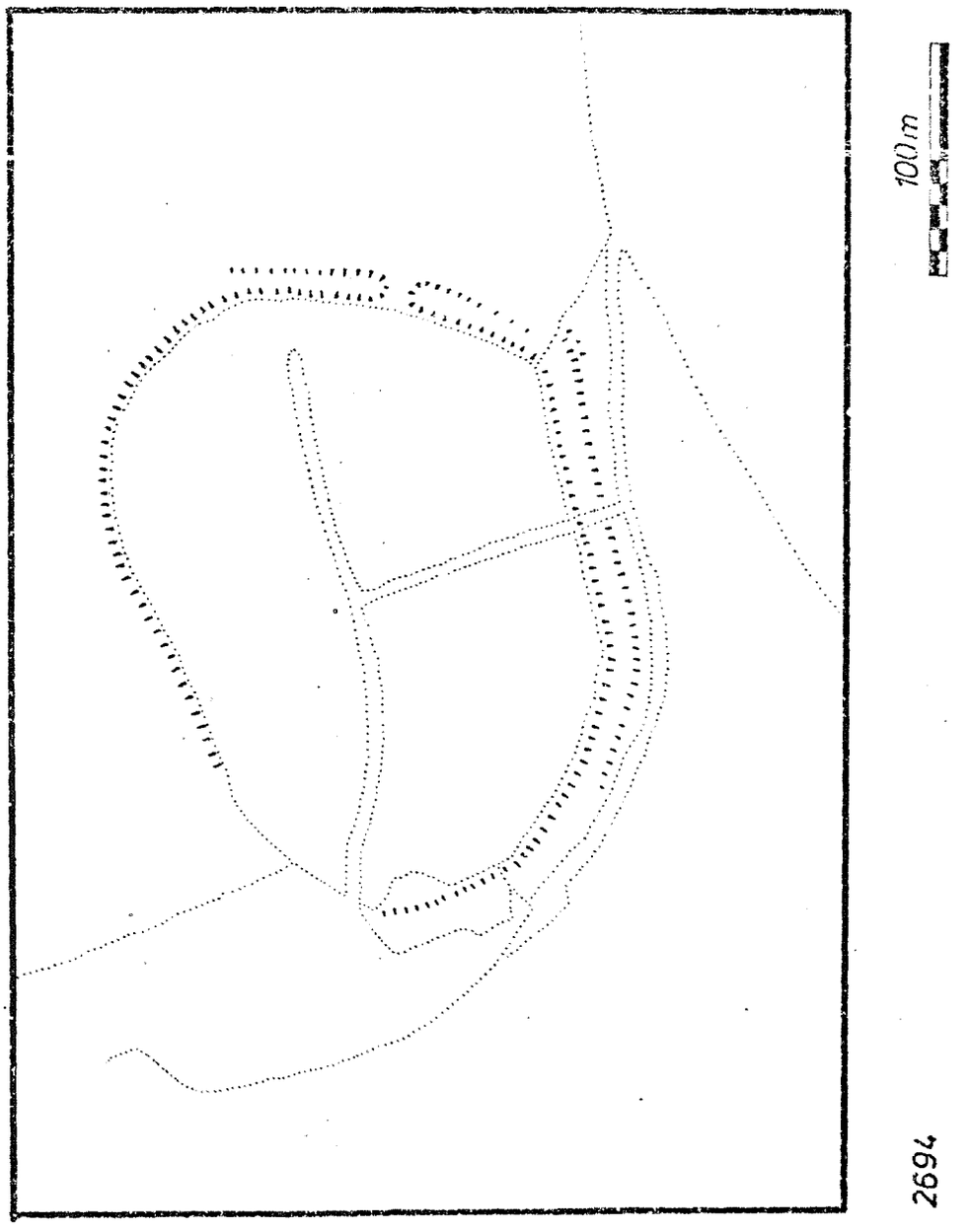


2396, Bury Hill/?DE/-/+--+/Hingley, Forthcoming D.

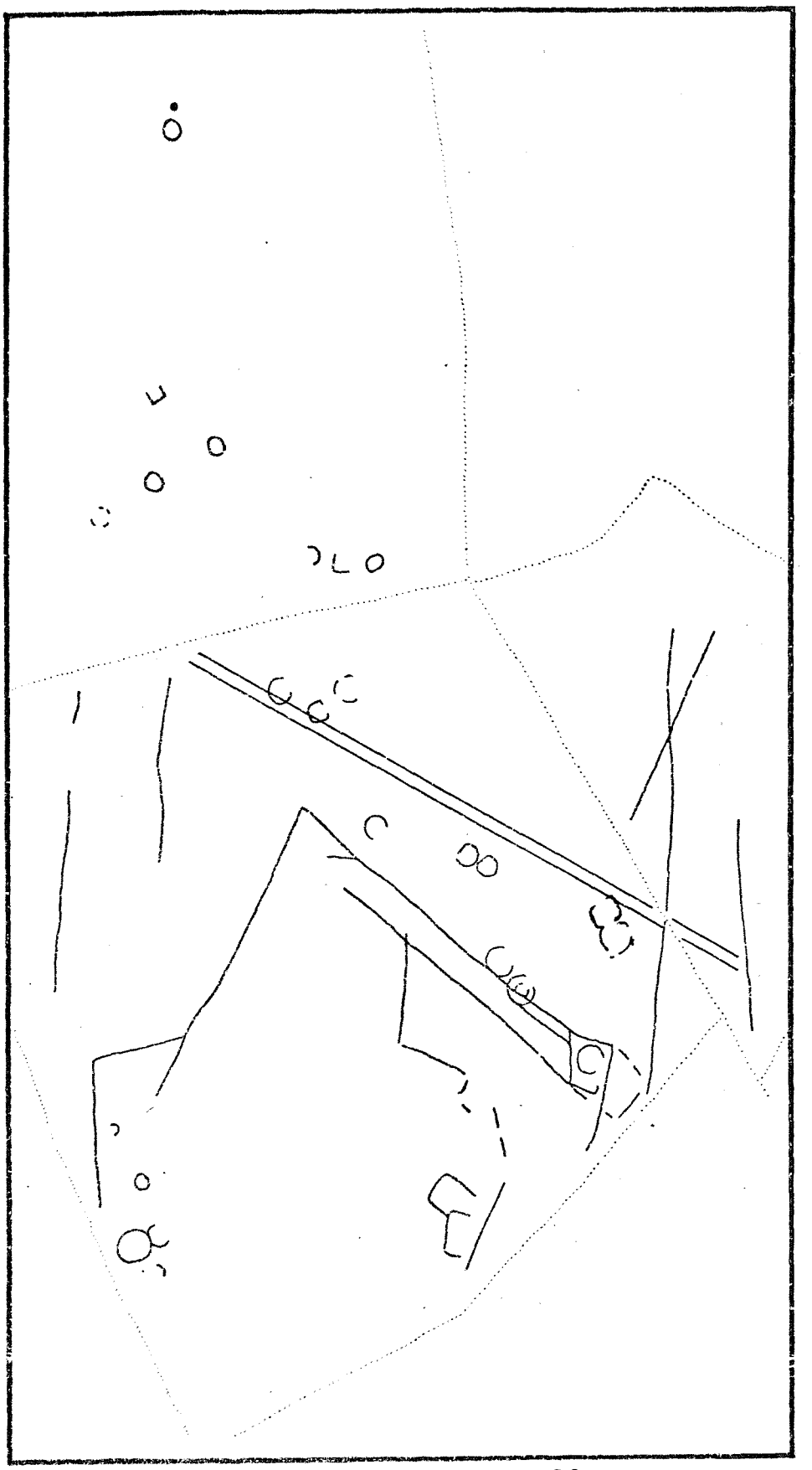


2499/OS/-/+---/*Riley 5/4-5; NMR SU 2499:9:466-8.

2693/-/EIA/---+/Field work produced Early Iron Age sherds, Edwards, Gould, Miles and Wright, 1980.



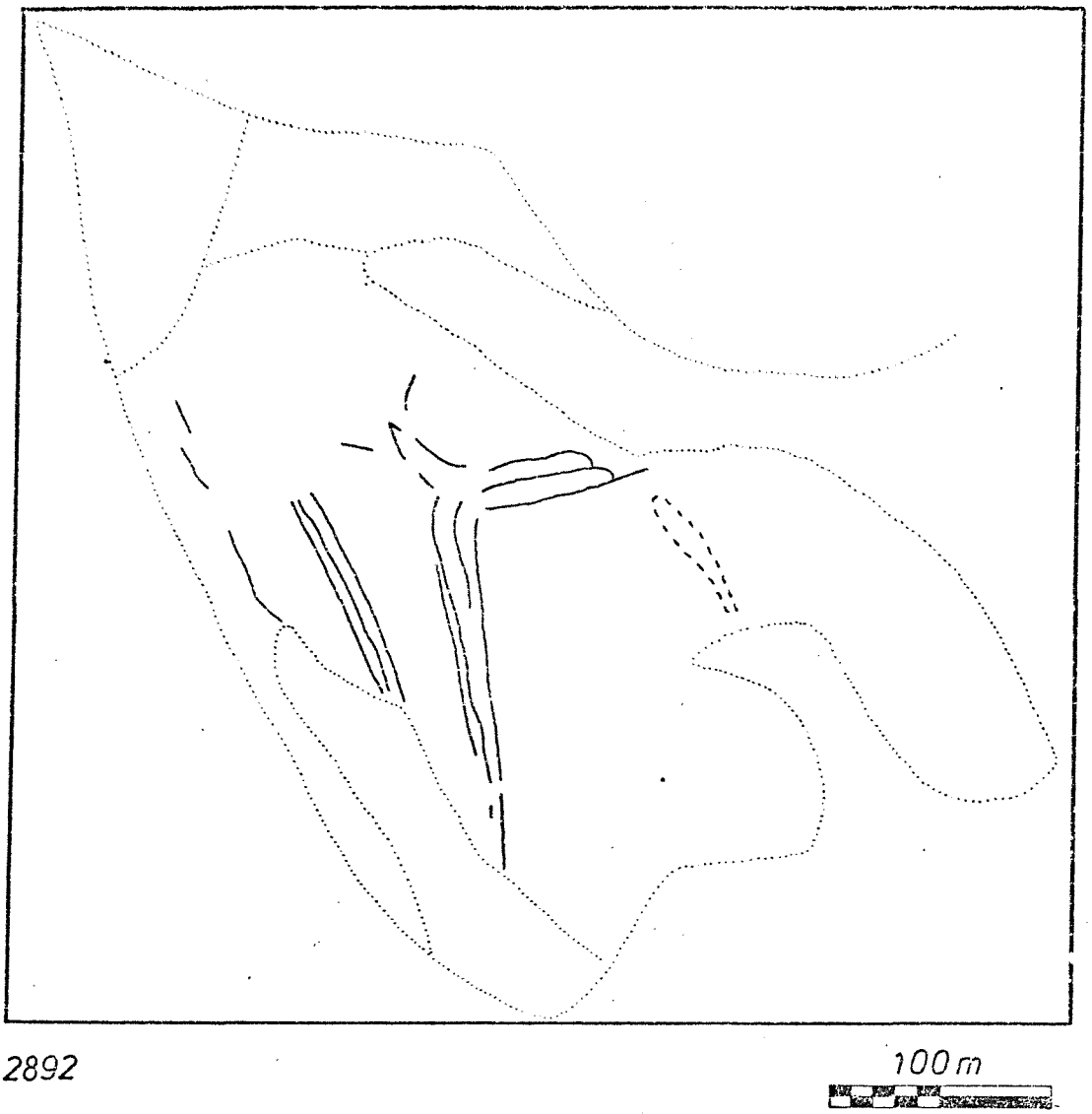
2694, Badbury/DE/EIA/+--+/Fieldwork by the author has produced Early Iron Age material; Hingley, Forthcoming D.



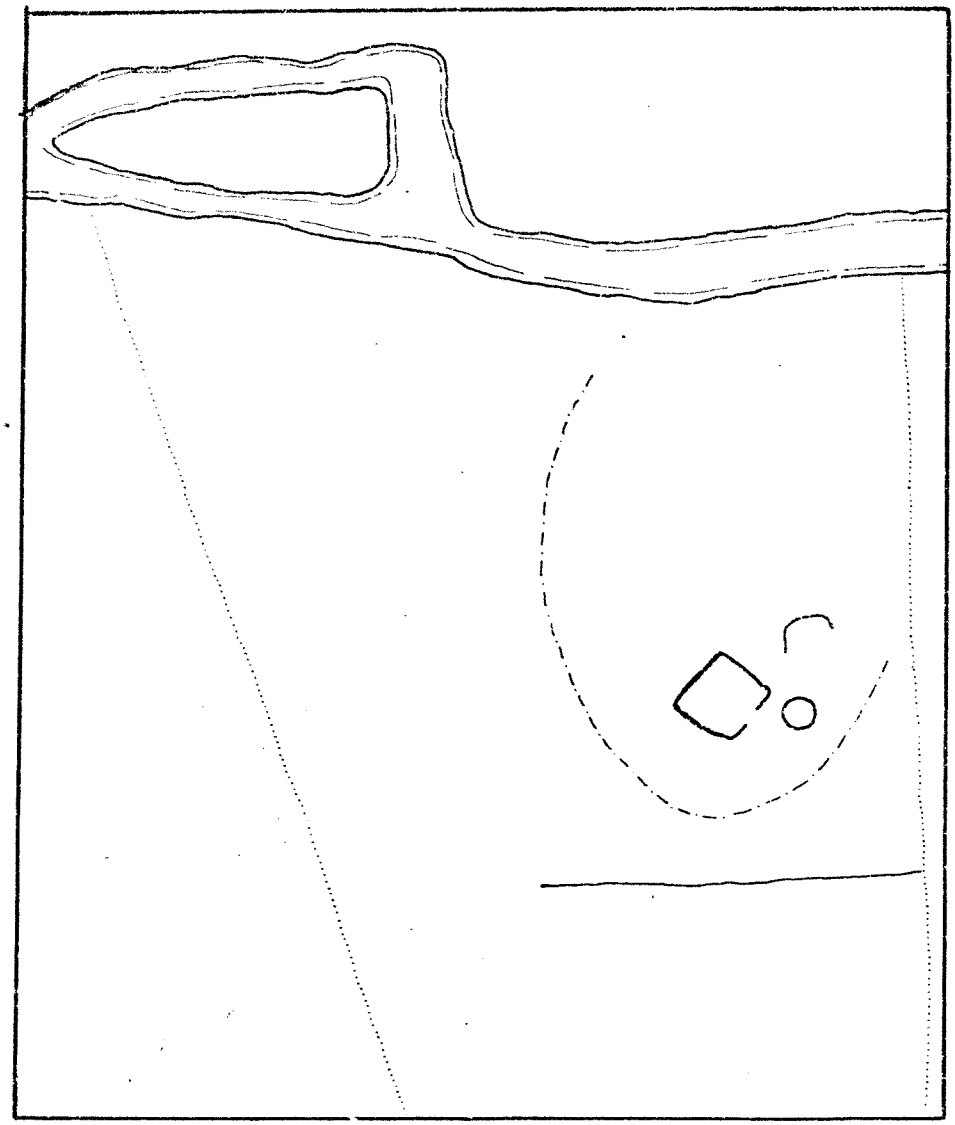
2699

100 m

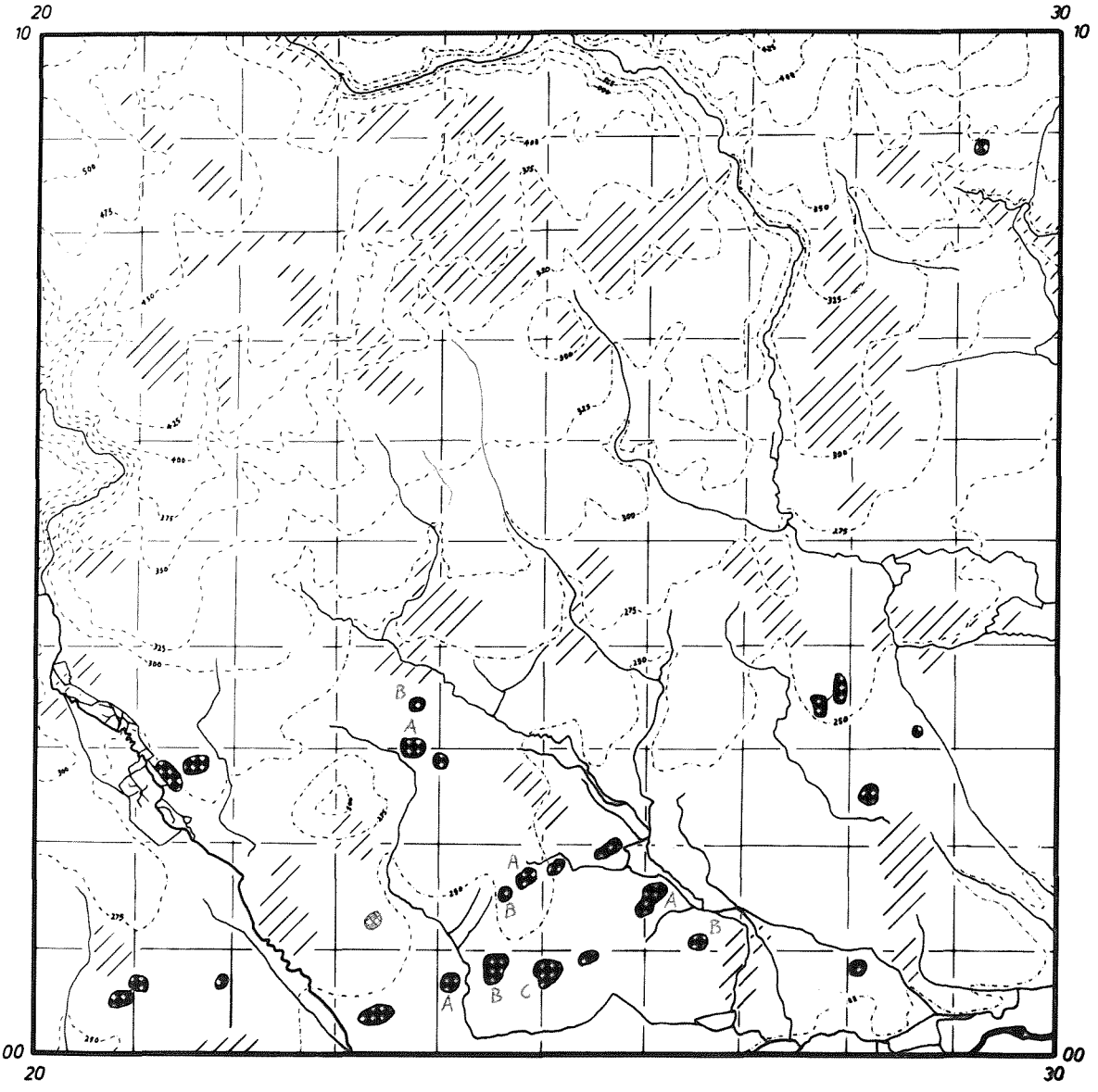
2699/OS/-/+---/*FAS 6125-11017; NMR SU 2699:4:246-51.



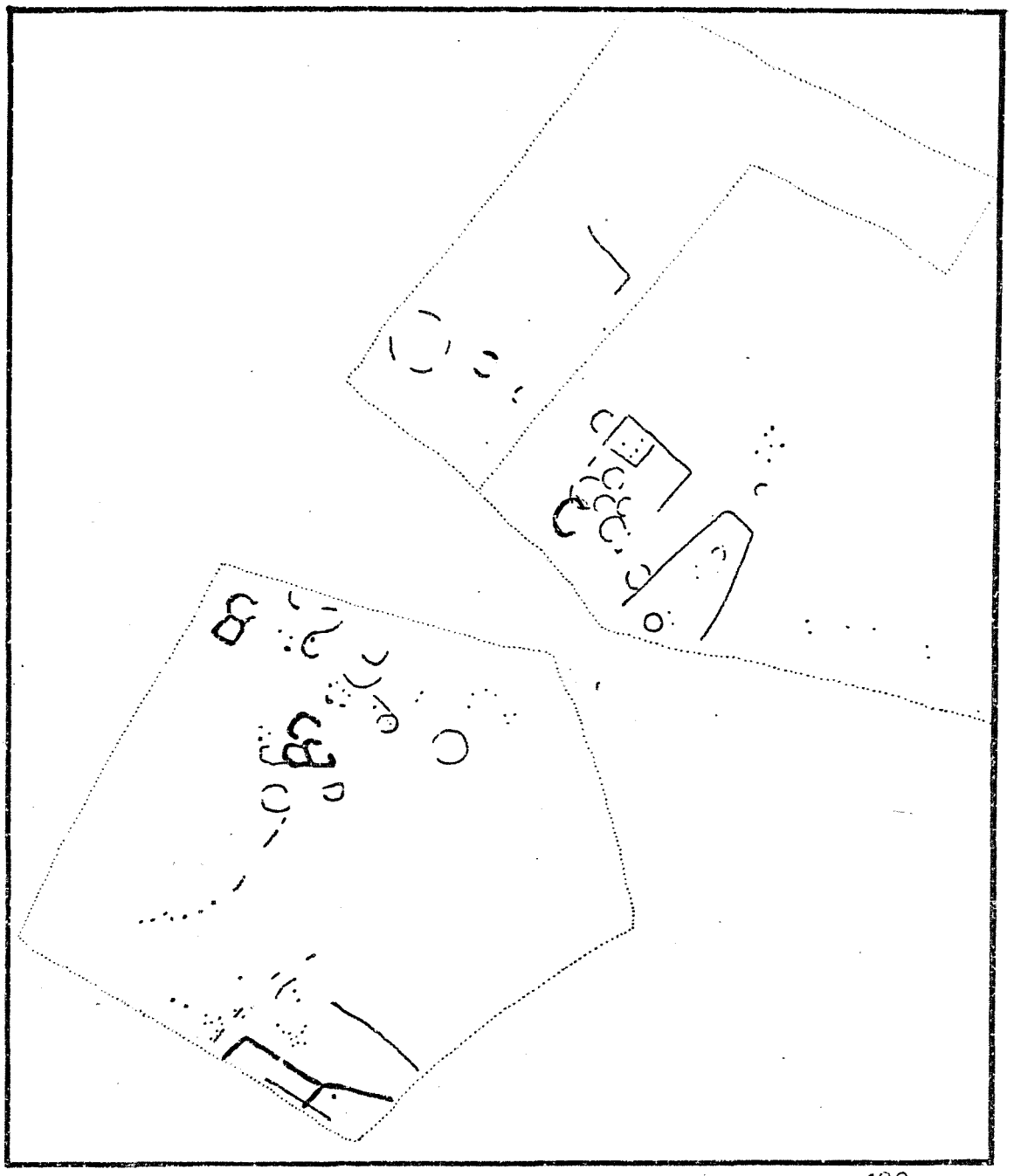
2892, Lyson's Camp/DE/-/+--+/Huntingford, 1936; Jope, 1949, Cotton, 1960.



2999/OS/-/+--+/*CUAP BVV 28-30, 37.

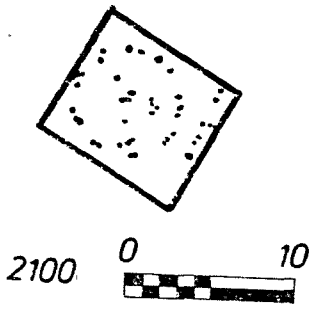


Base Map 6.

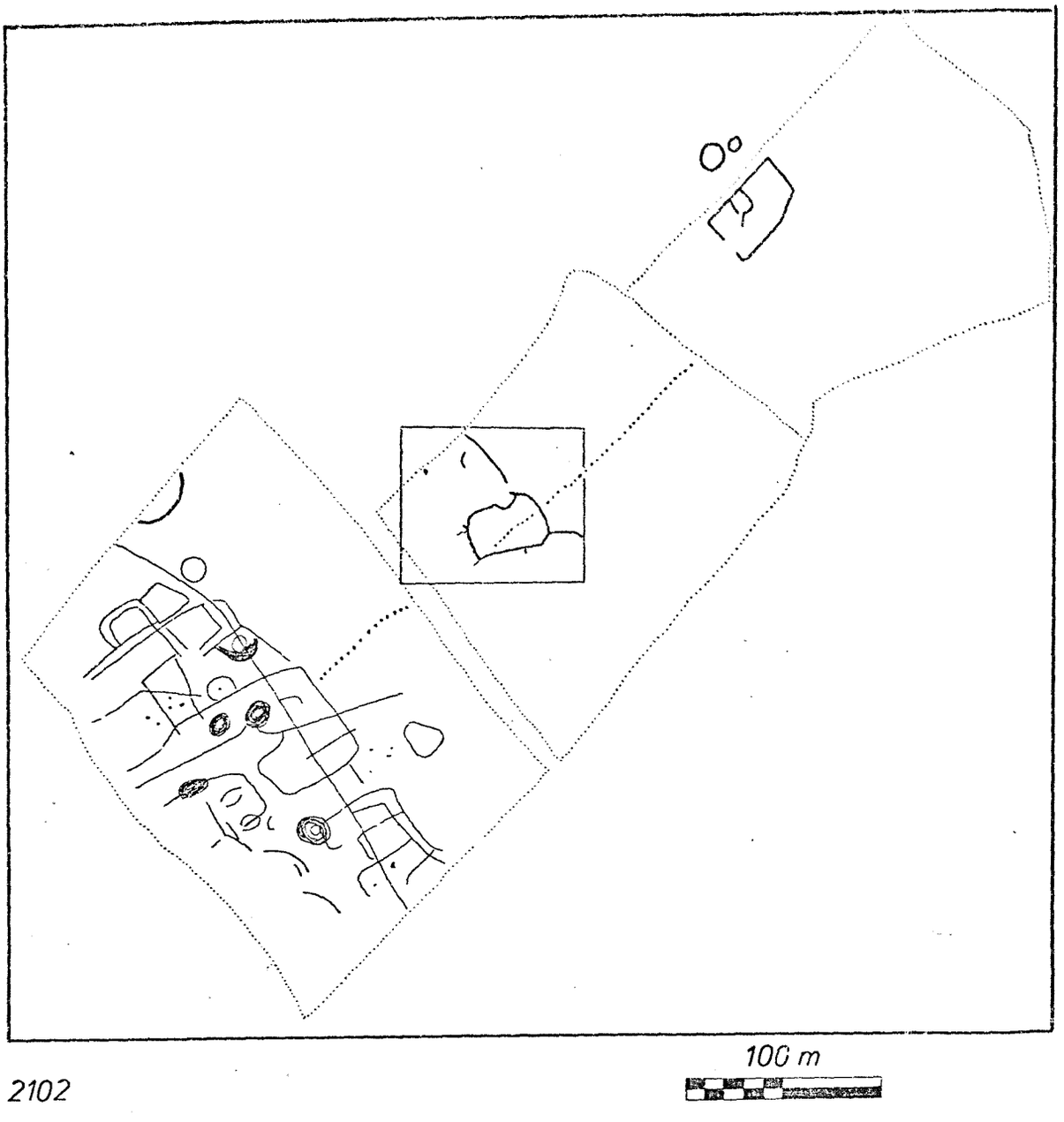


2000

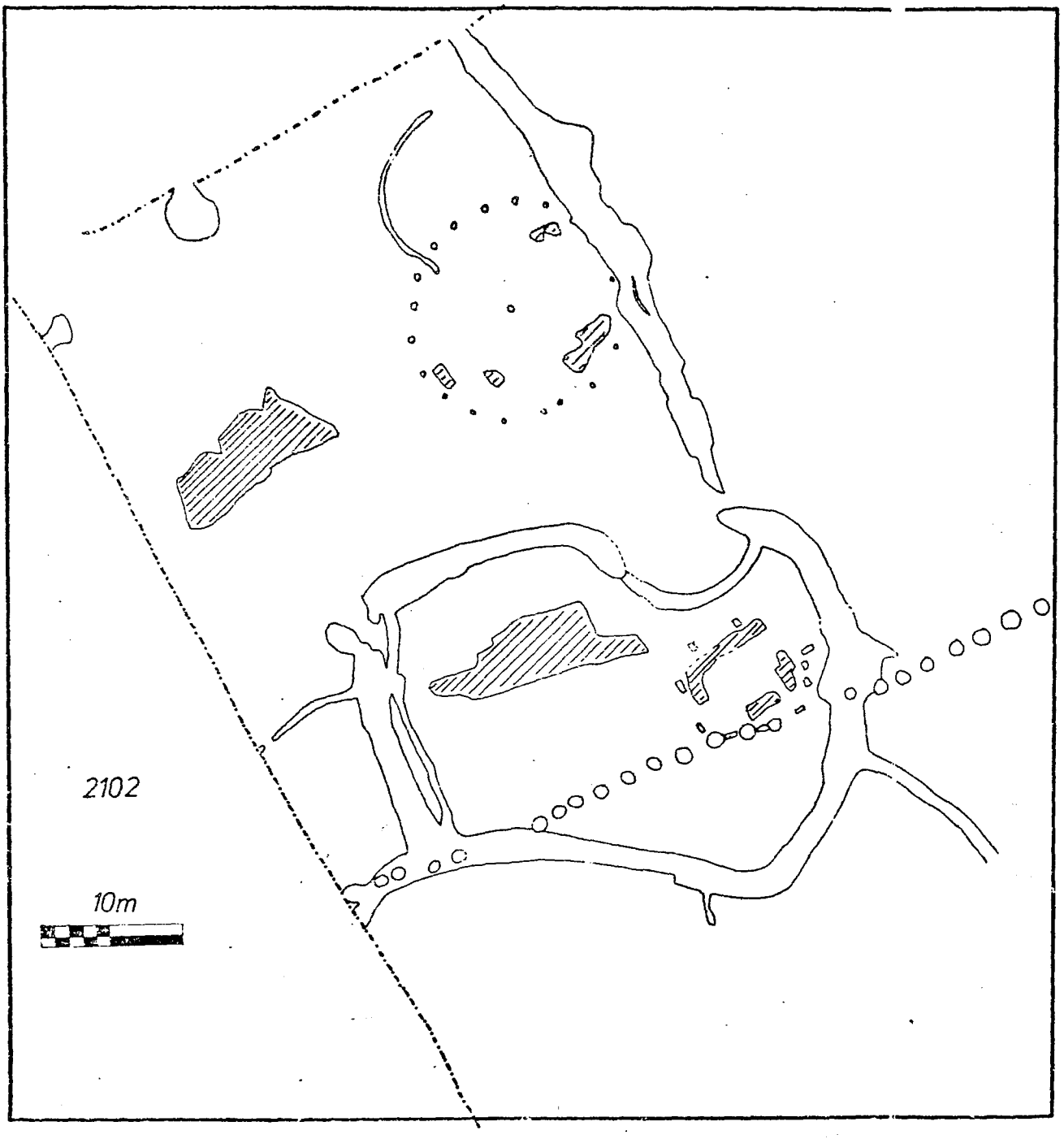
2000/OS/-/+---/*CUAP AFV 23, AYG 57; NMR SP 2100:36:50.

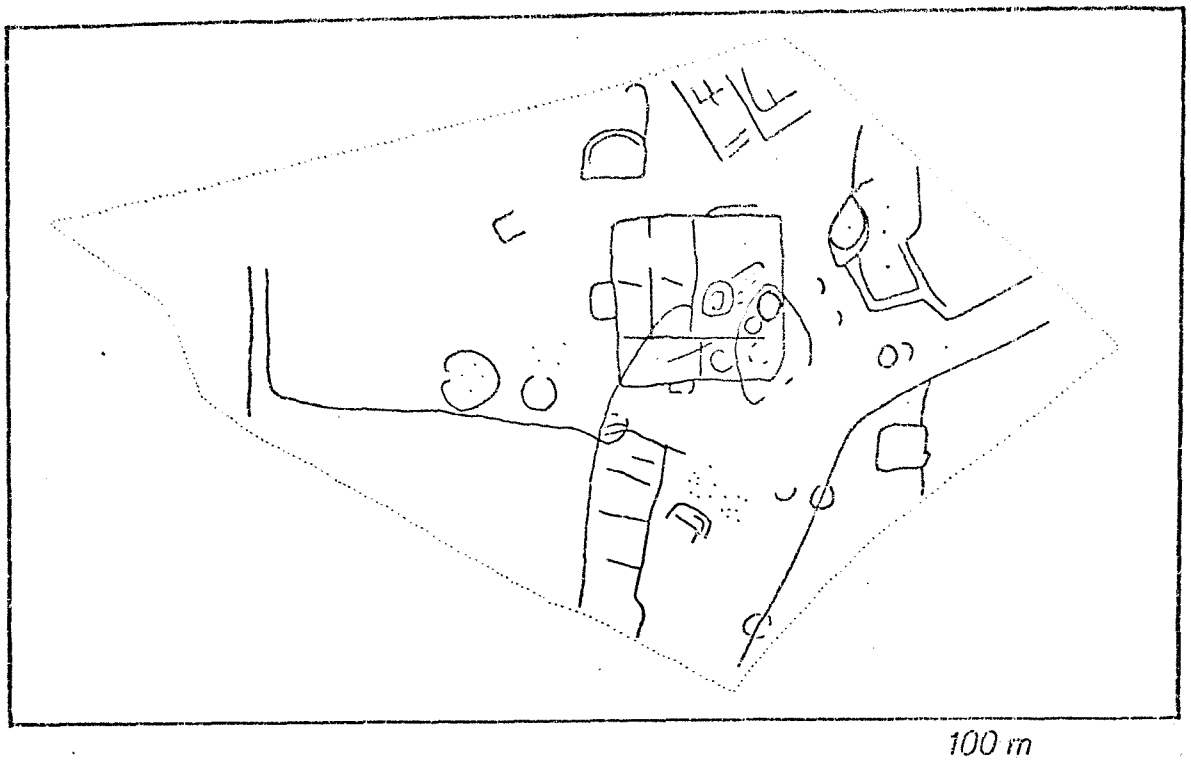


2100, Roughground Farm/OS/EIA/-++-/Excavation produced evidence for a round hut and post holes of Early Iron Age date; MU Jones, 1978; Harding, 1972.



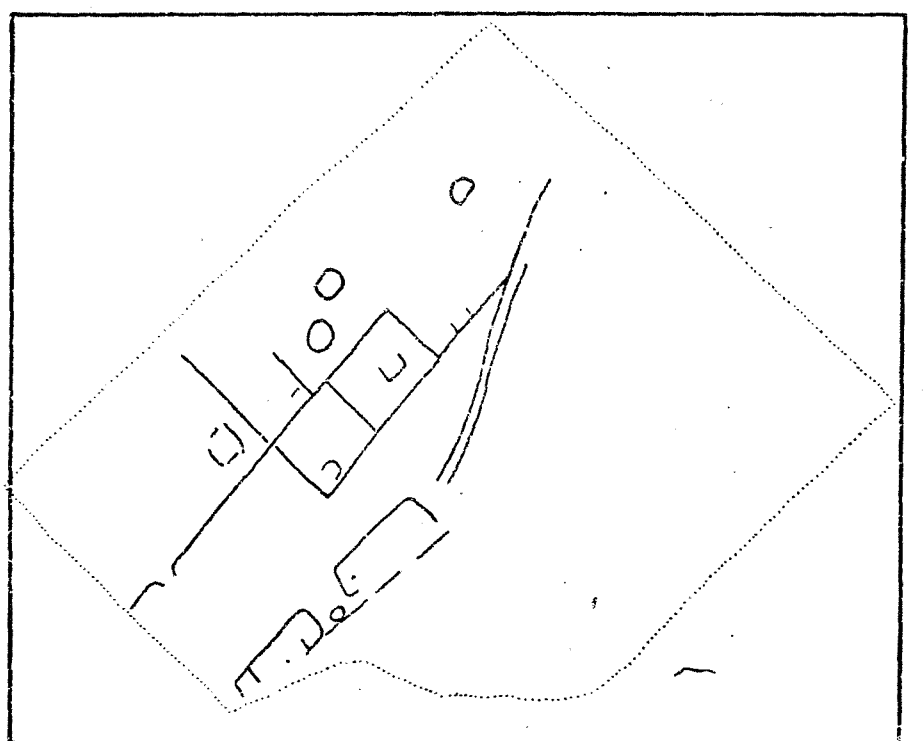
2102, Langford Down/CES/LIA/+++-/Excavation produced evidence for enclosures and hut structures of Late Iron Age date; Williams, 1946; *Riley 8:12; CUAP VM 17.


2102
10m



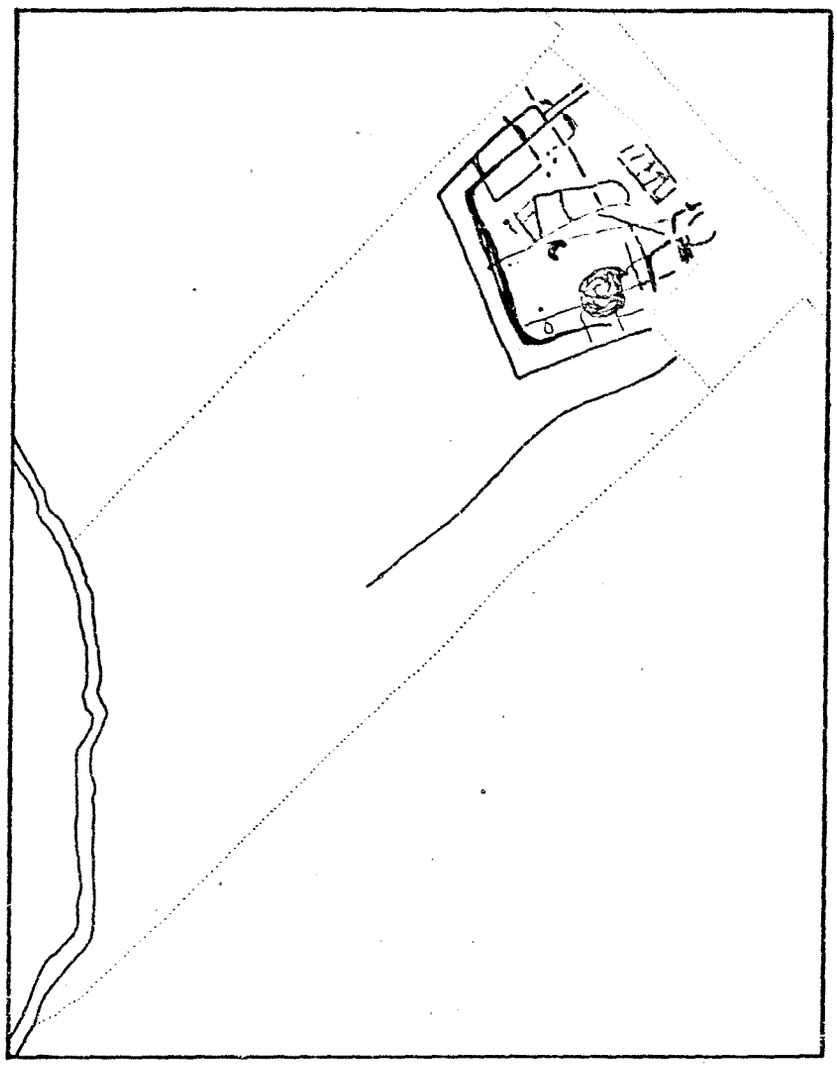
2300

2300/OS/-/+---/*Allen 725; CUAP VM 4, ZH 87; NMR SP 2300:2, :8:443-6.

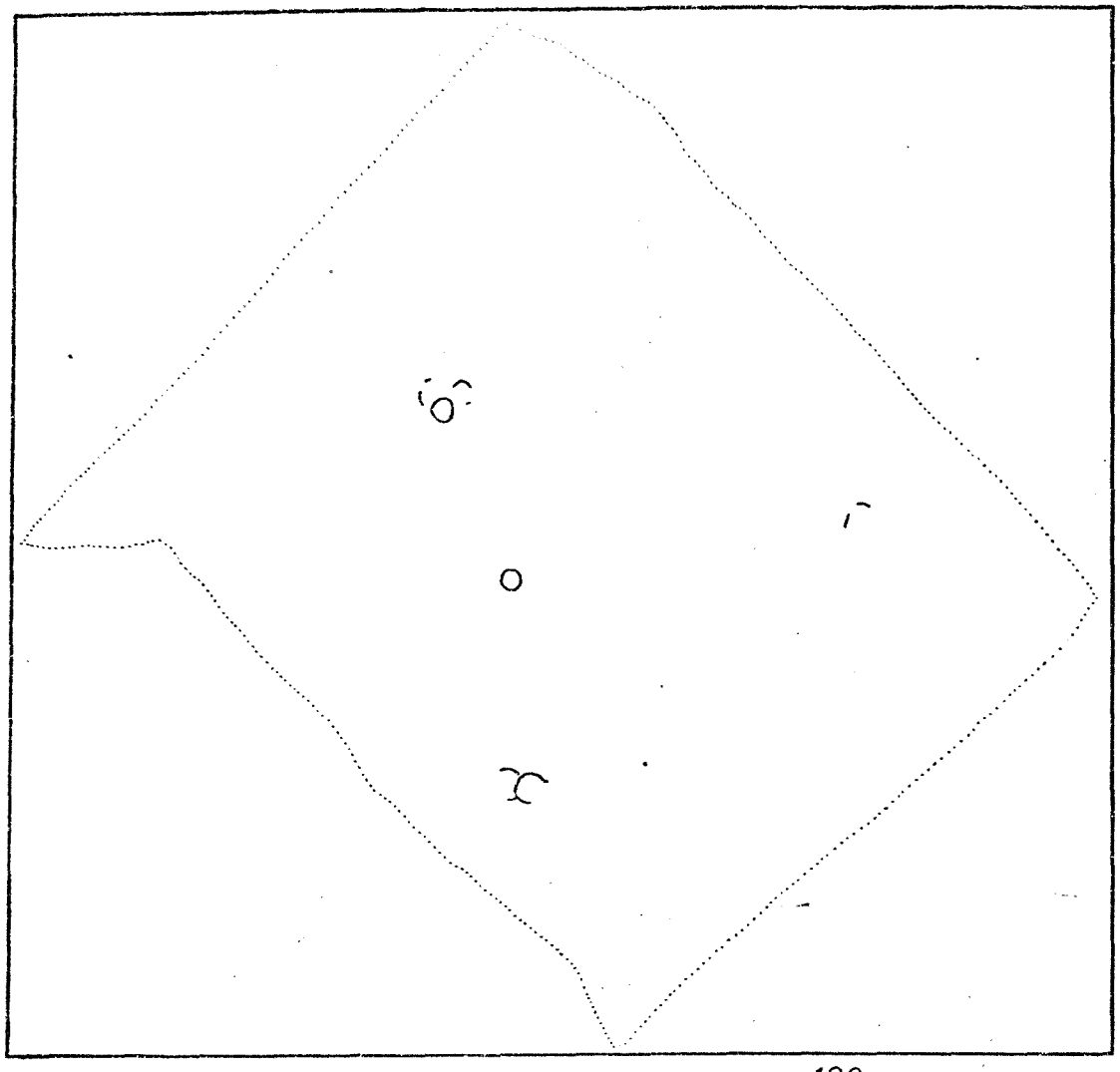


2301

2301/?OS/-/+---/*CUAP AYI 22; NMR SP 2301:2.

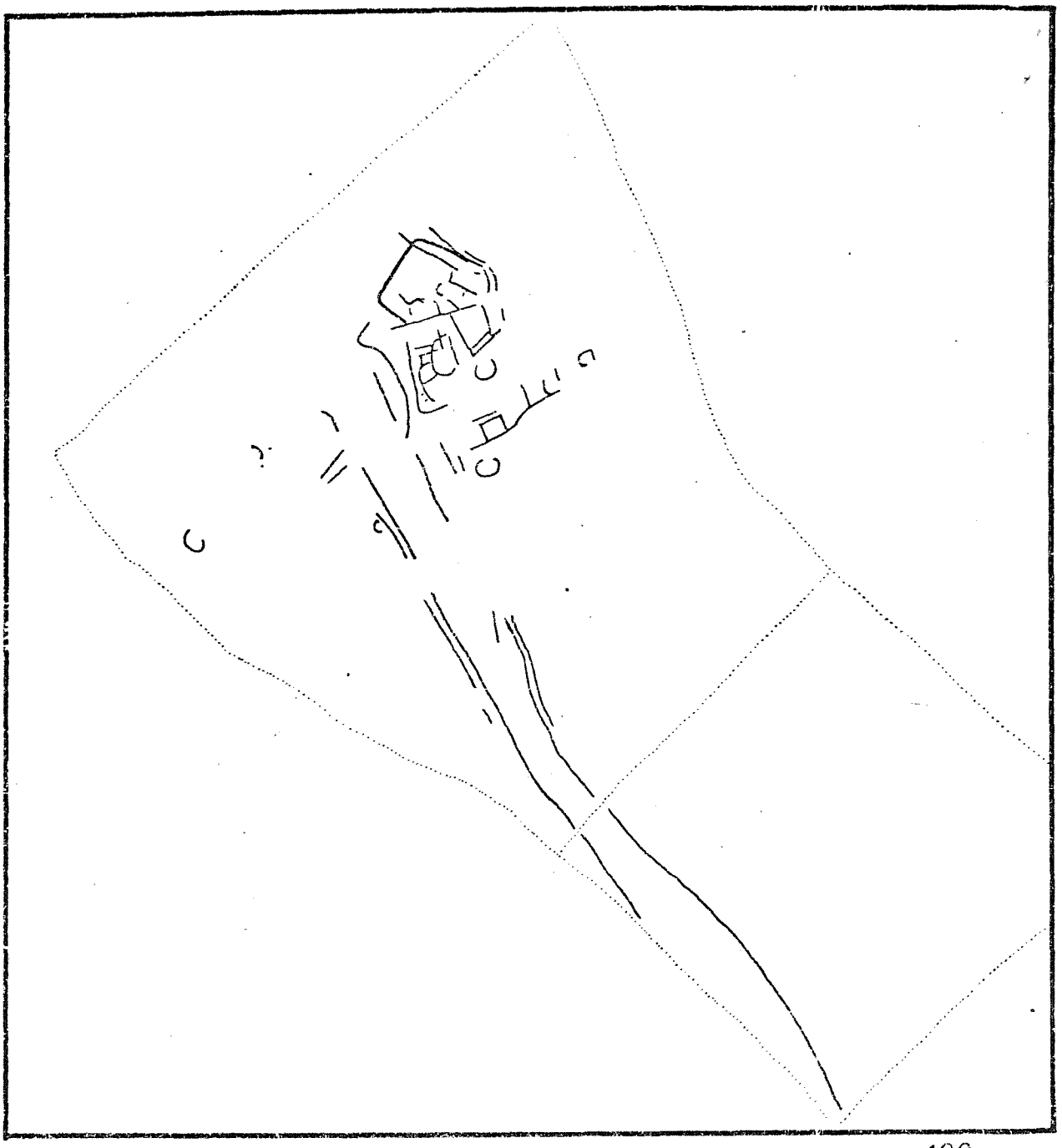


2302/CES/?LIA:RB/+--+/Fieldwork by the author has produced possible Late Iron Age and Roman material; *NMR SP 2302:1:38, 2302:3:40.



2303

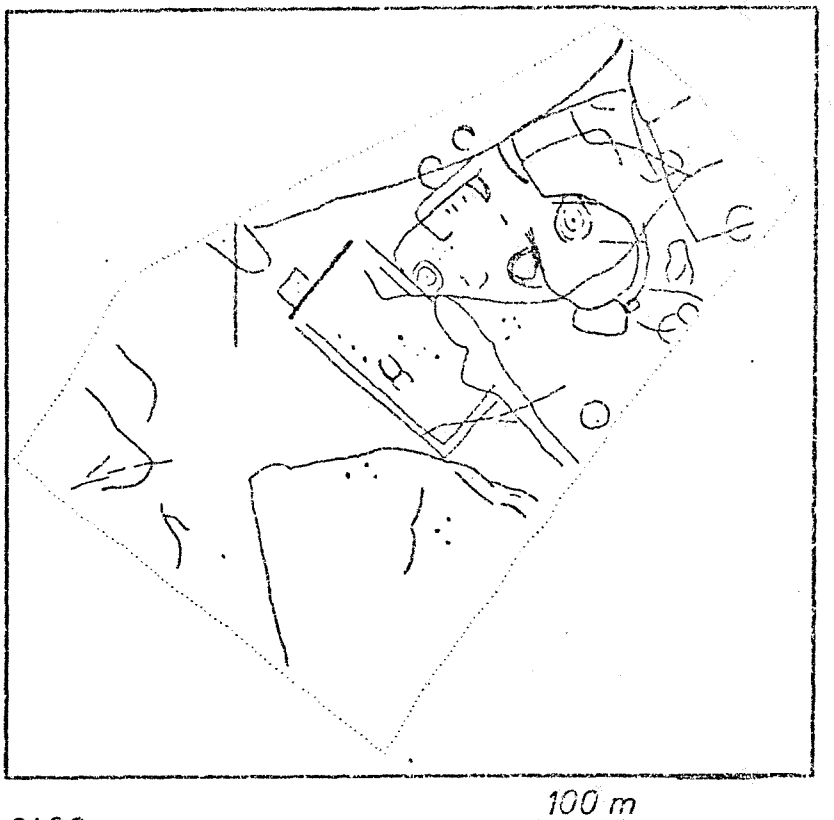
2303A/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 2302:1:38, 2303:3:40.



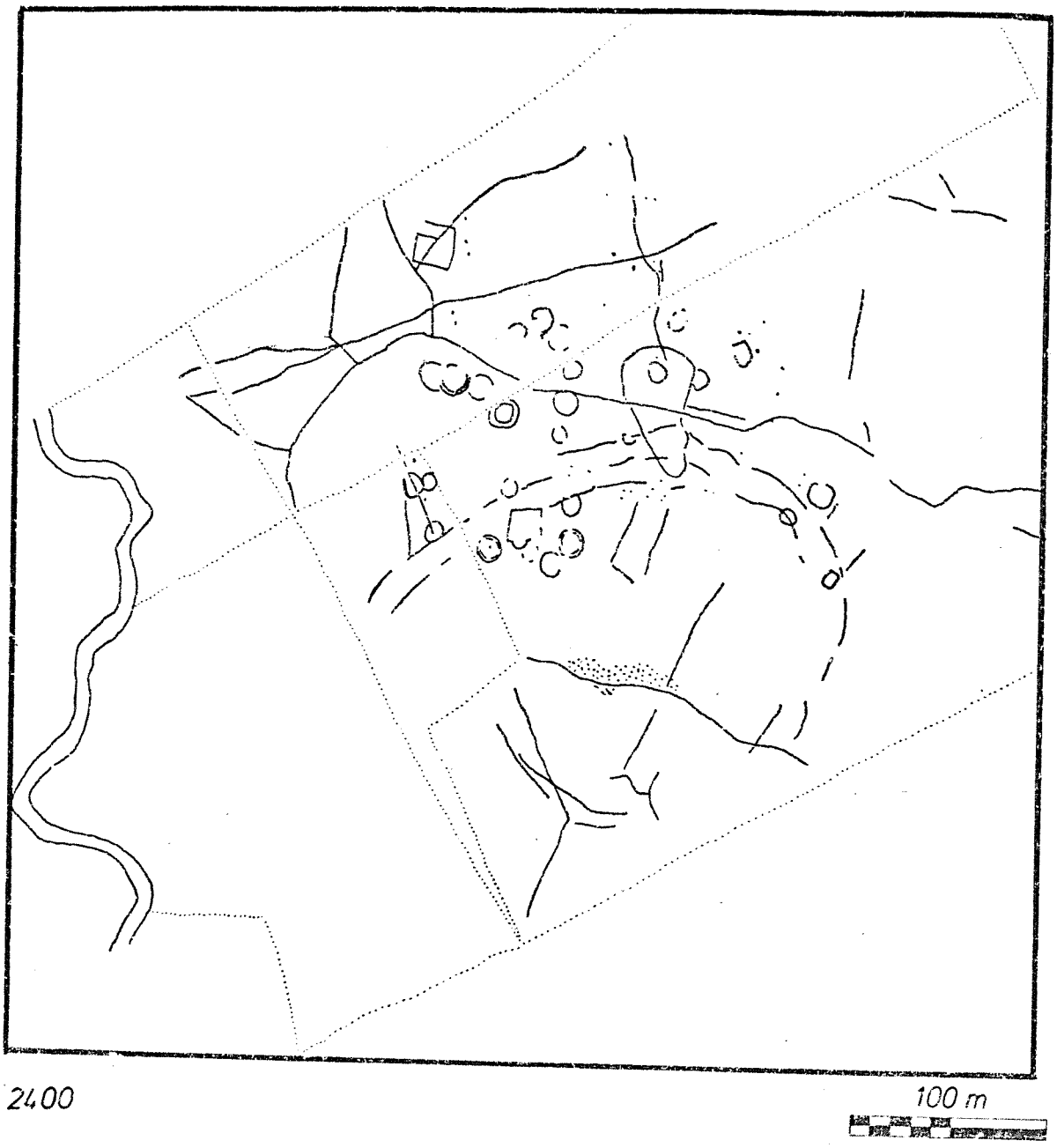
2303

100 m

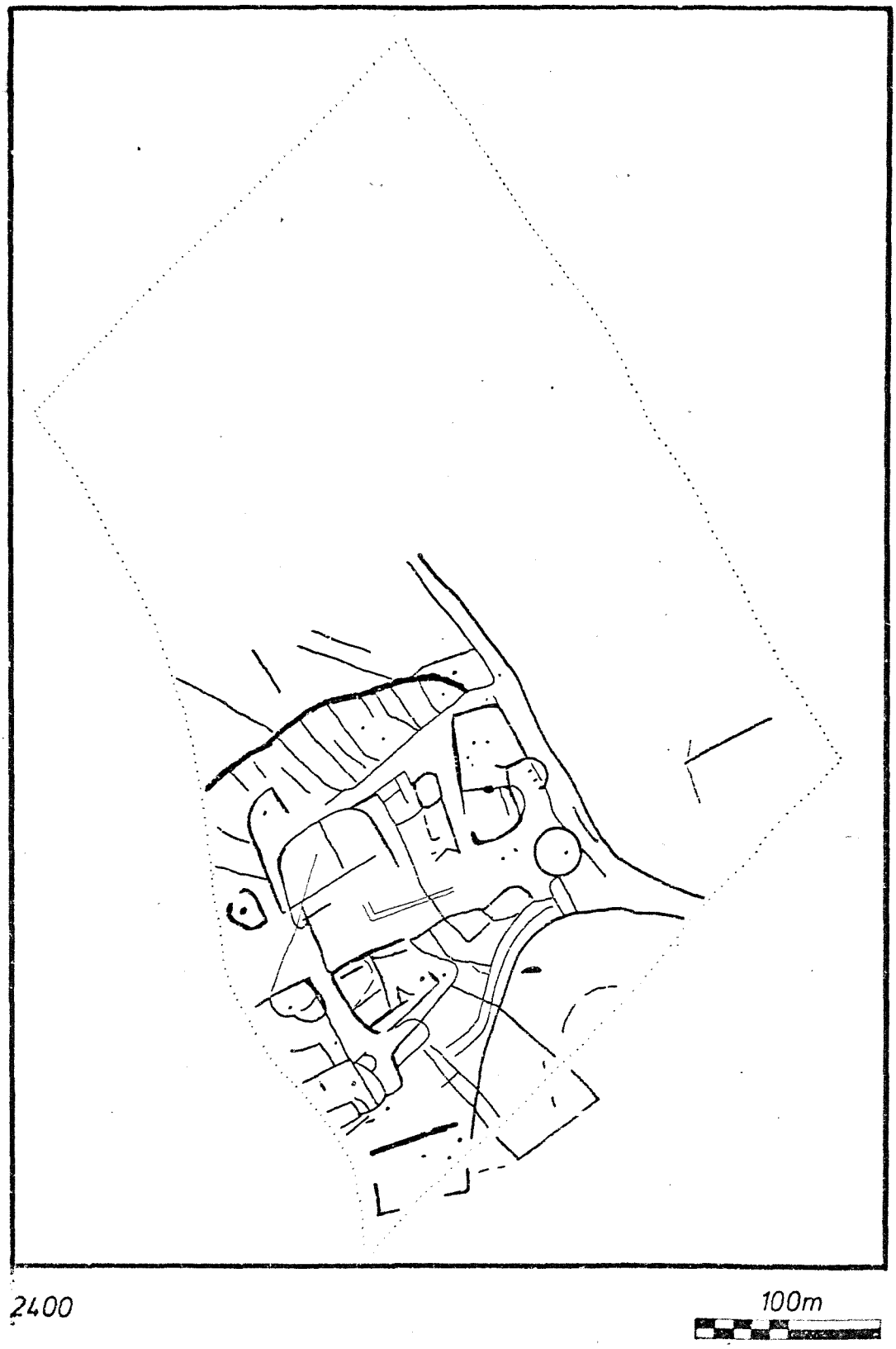
2303B/CES/-/+---/*NMR 2303:1:38, 2303:3:40.



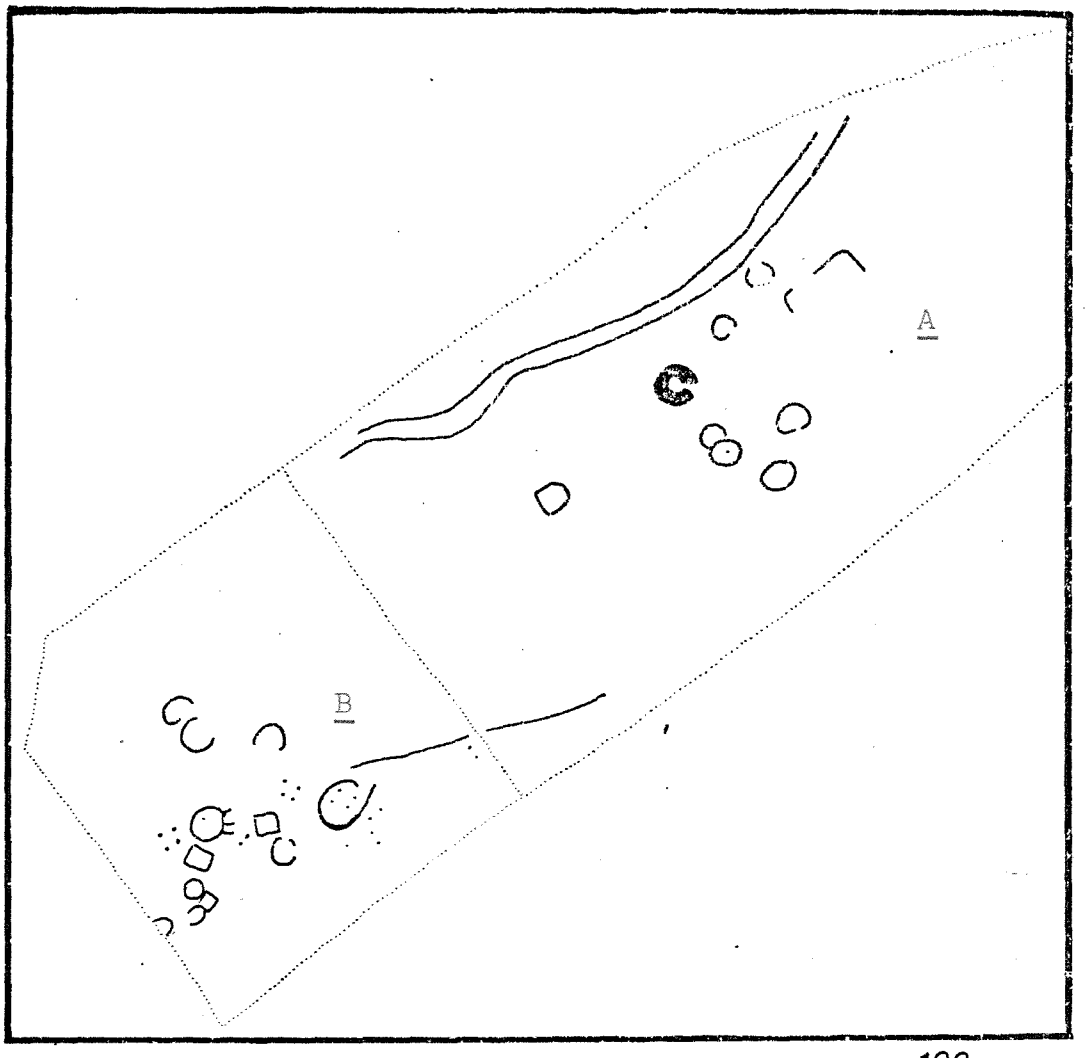
2400A/OS/LIA:RB/+-+-/Excavation produced evidence for Late Iron Age and Roman dating; Chambers, 1979; *Riley 6:8-10; CUAP VM 1, ZH 81-3; NMR SP 2400:7-11.



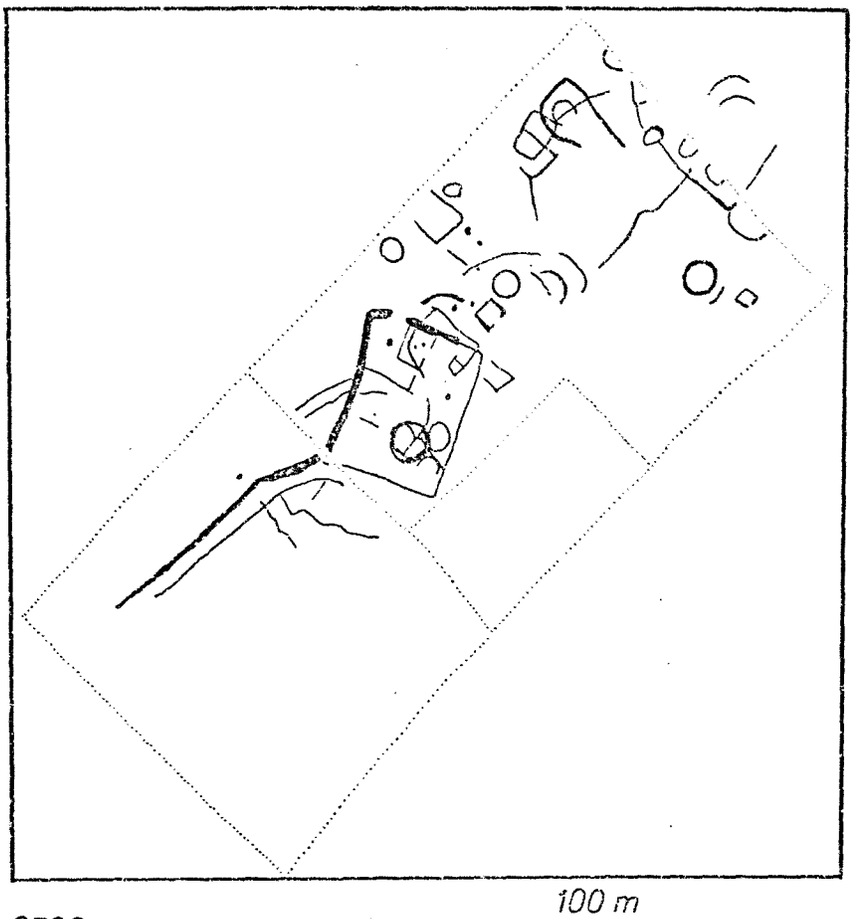
2400B/OS/-/+---/*CUAP HW 58, ZR 14, AYI 26.



2400C/CES/-/+---/*NMR SP 2400:7-11, 2500:10-11.

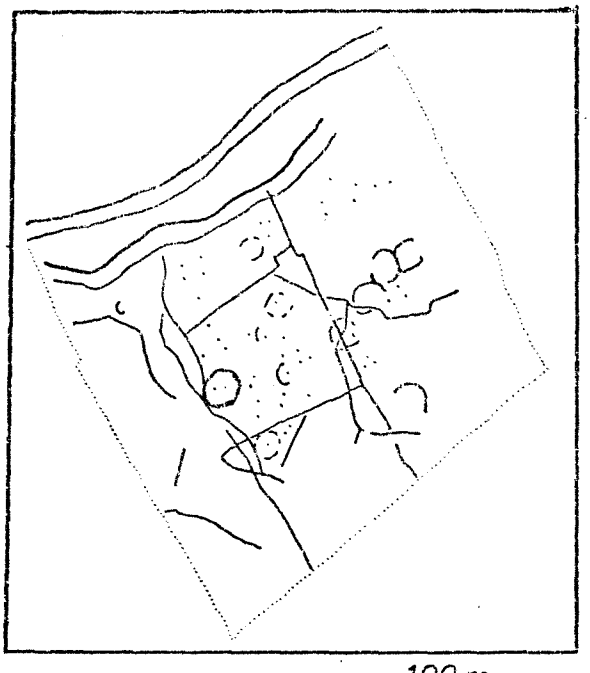


2401A/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 2401:287.
2401B/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 2401:287.



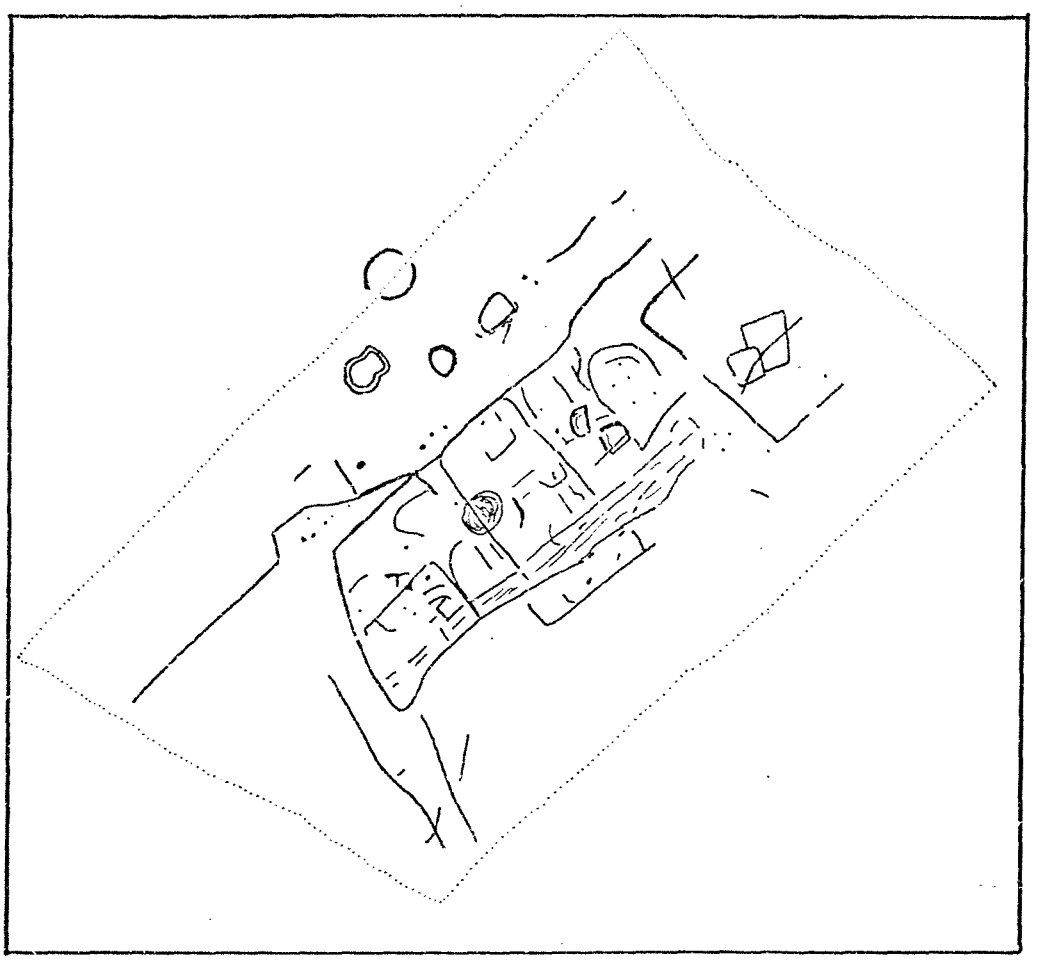
2500

2500/OS/-/+---/*CUAP VL 89, ZH 73-4.



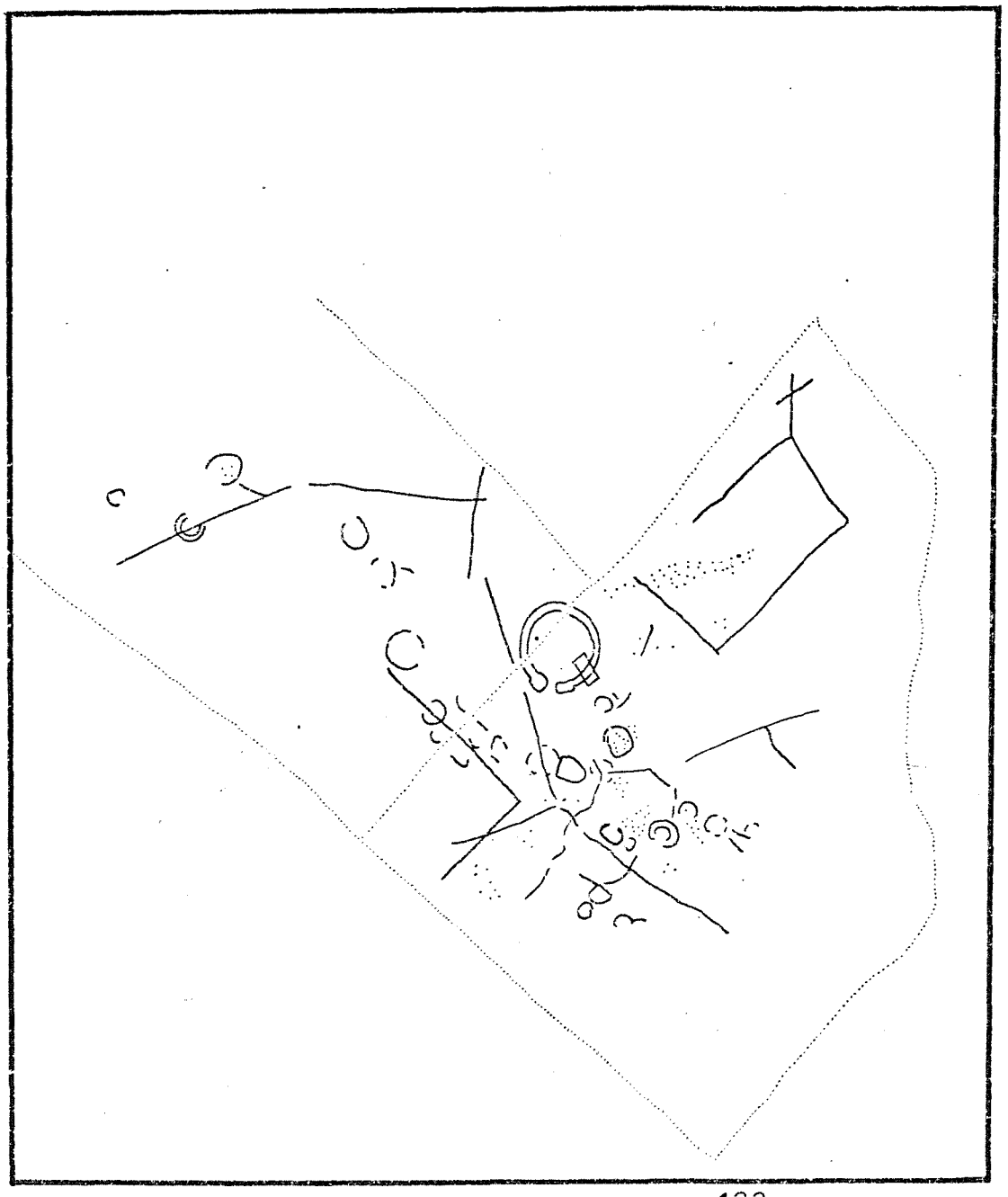
2501

2501/OS/+---/*CUAP VQ 46-8, BCR 61.

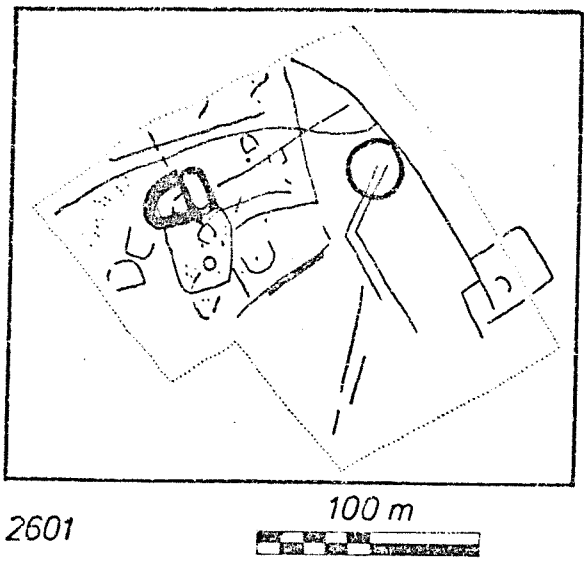


2502

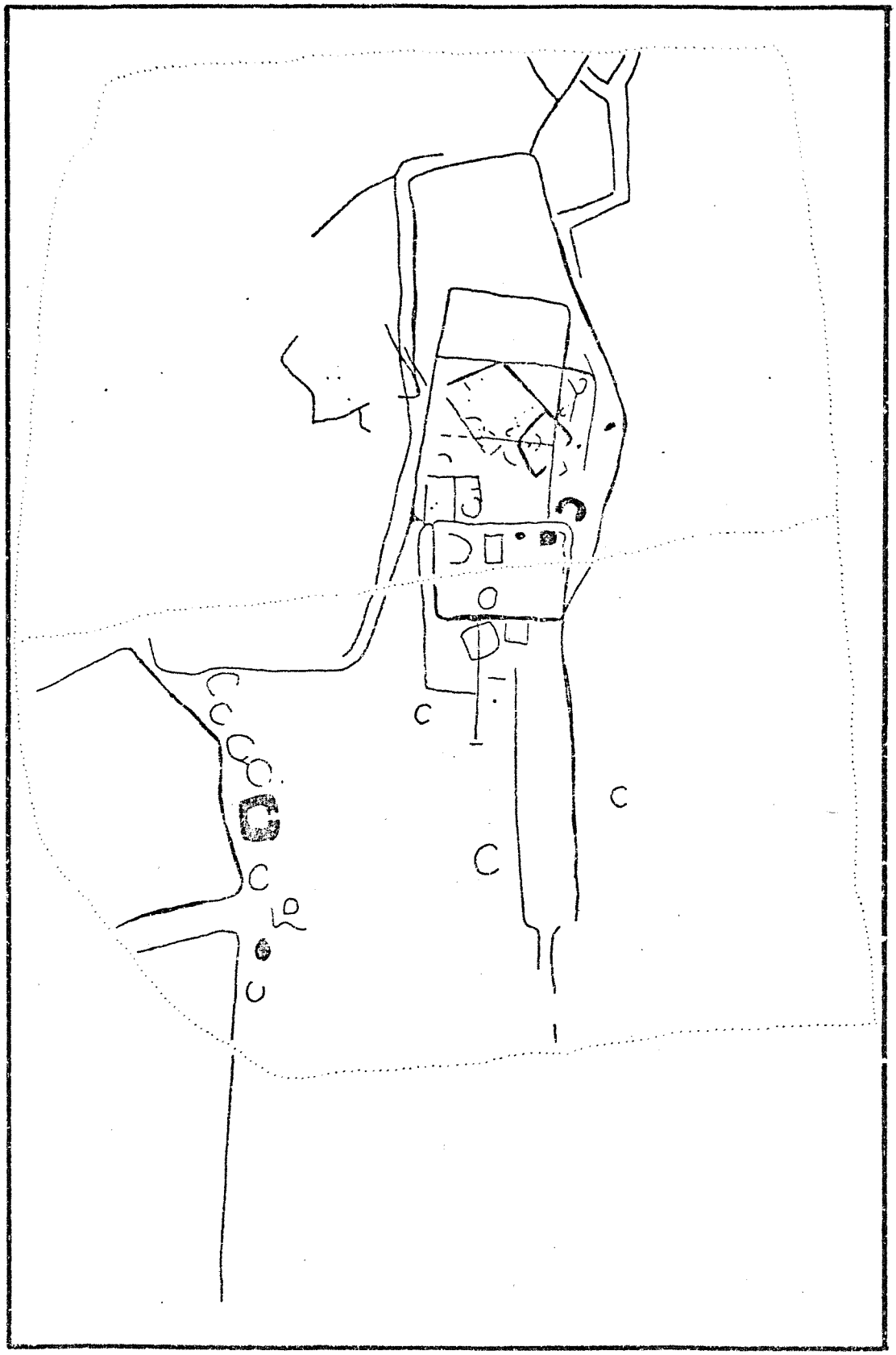
2502/CES/-/+---/*NMR SP 2502:2:9-11.



2601A/OS/-/+---/*CUAP VQ 43, 49, ZH 72.



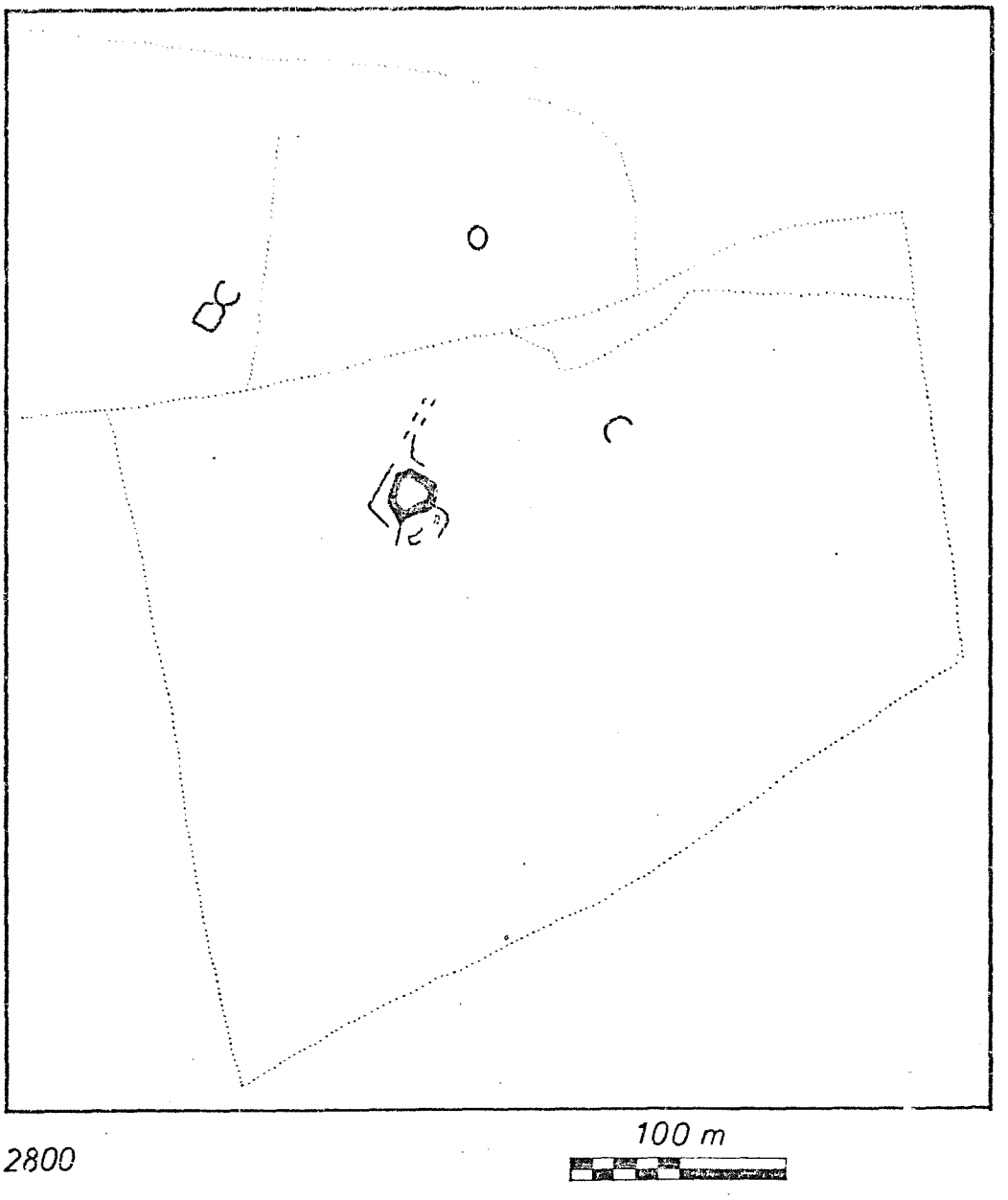
2601B/OS/-/+---/*Riley 6:20; CUAP AYI 32, BKB 54-6; NMR SP 2601:3, 2601:10-12.



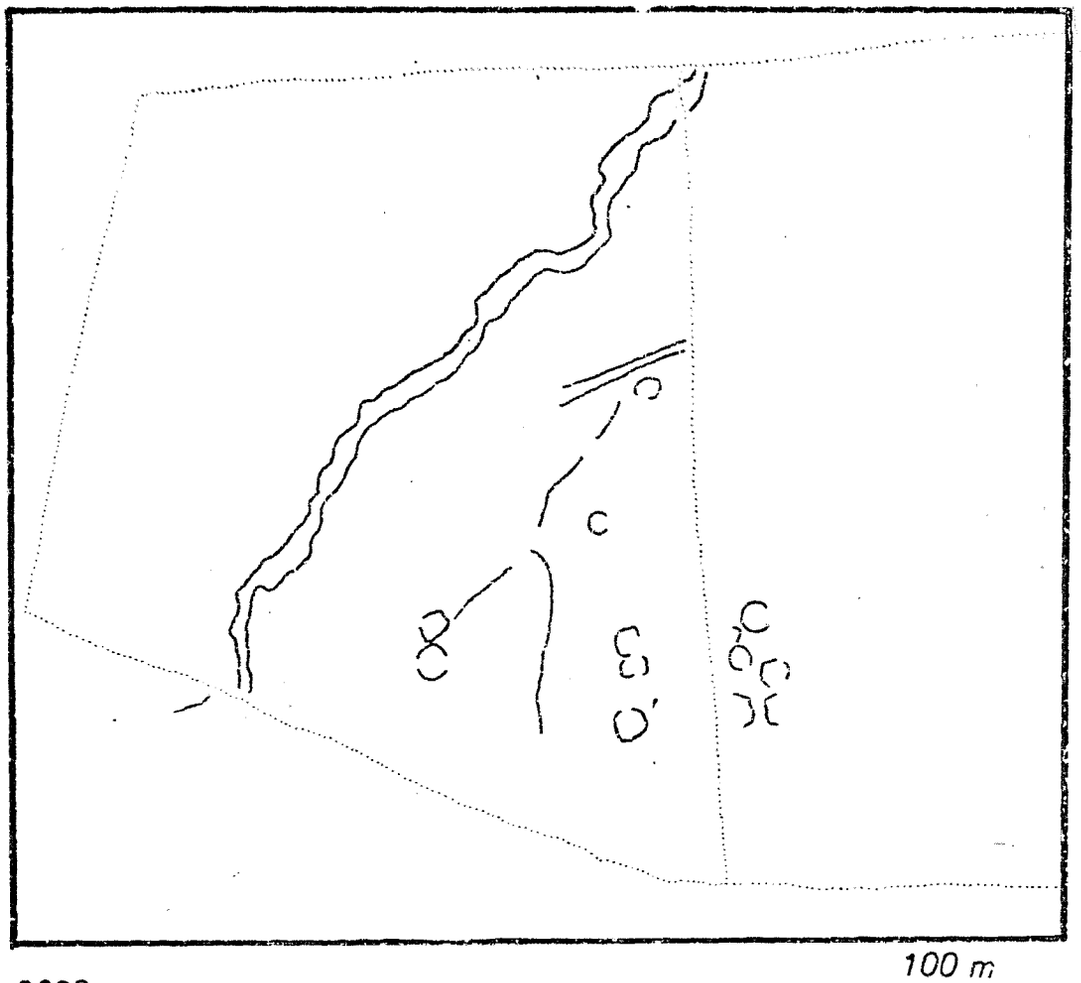
2703

100m

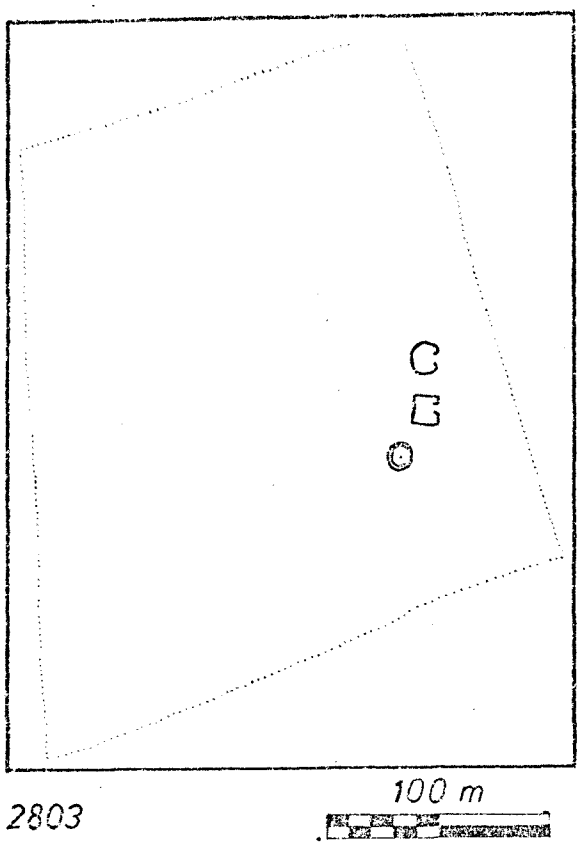
2703/OS -CES/-/+---/*CUAP AYI 32, BKB 54-6; NMR SP 2703:6:34.



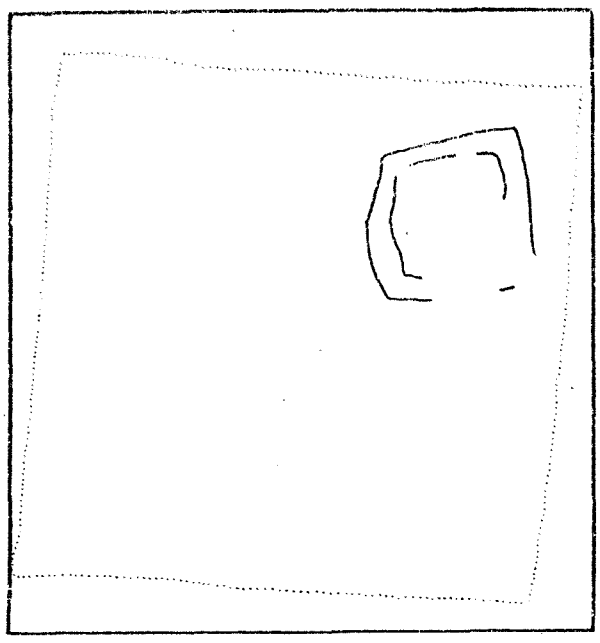
2800/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 2700:1, 2700:4:406, 2800:1.



2802/OS/-/+---/*CUAP ASI 51.

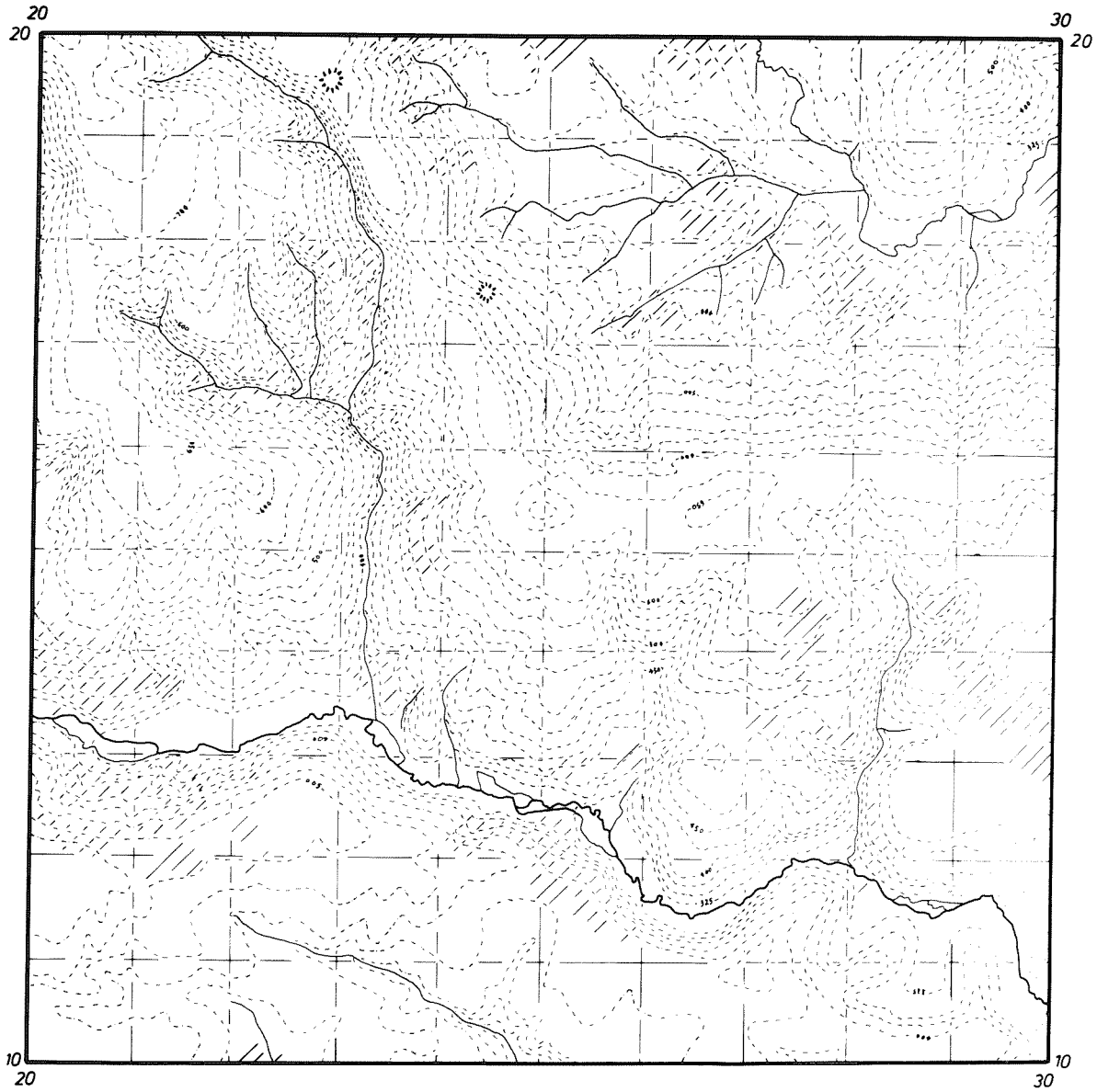


2803/OS/-/+---/*Allen 384; CUAP ARX 58.

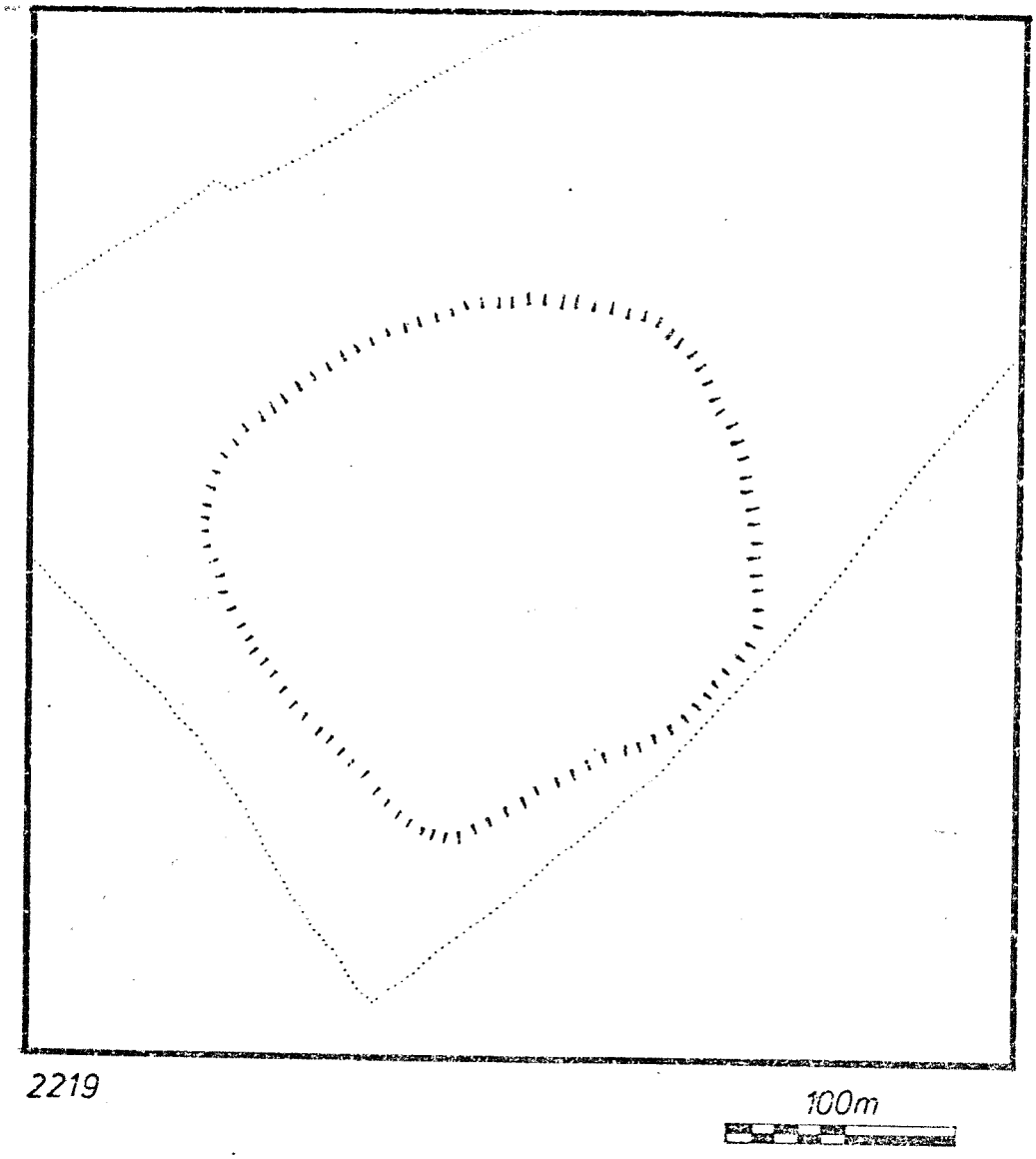


2909

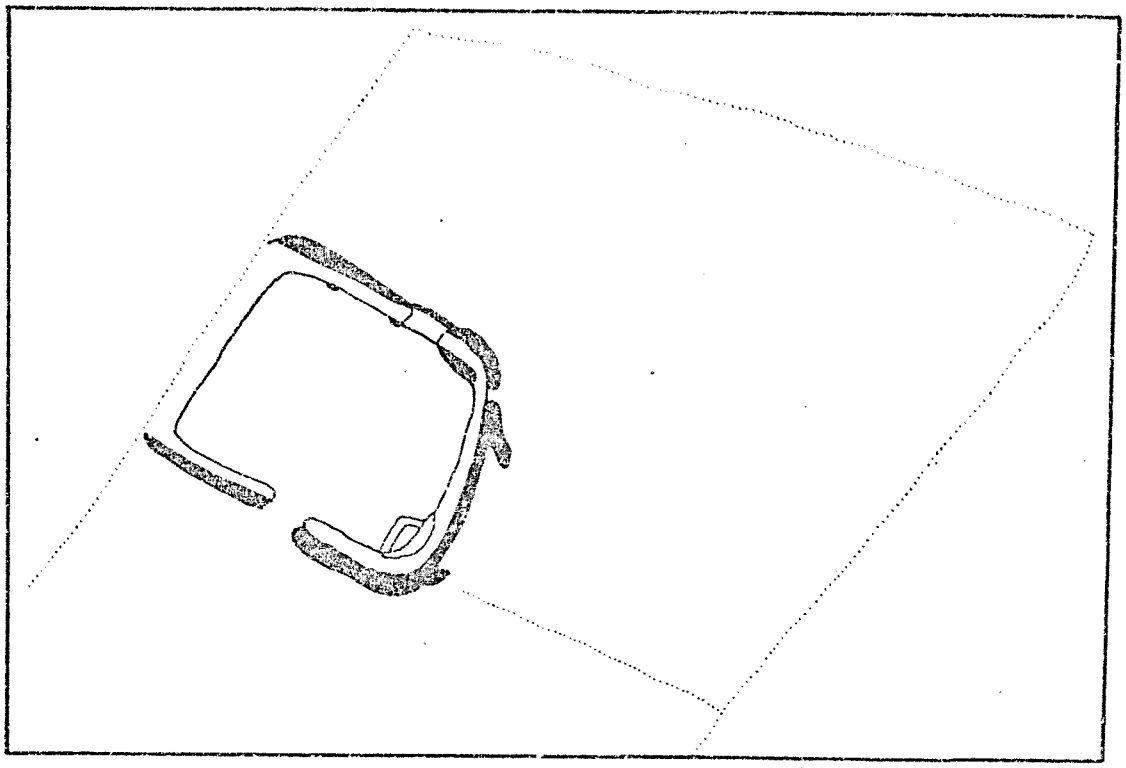
2909/ES/-/+---/*NMR SP 2909:1:170-172.



Base Map 7.

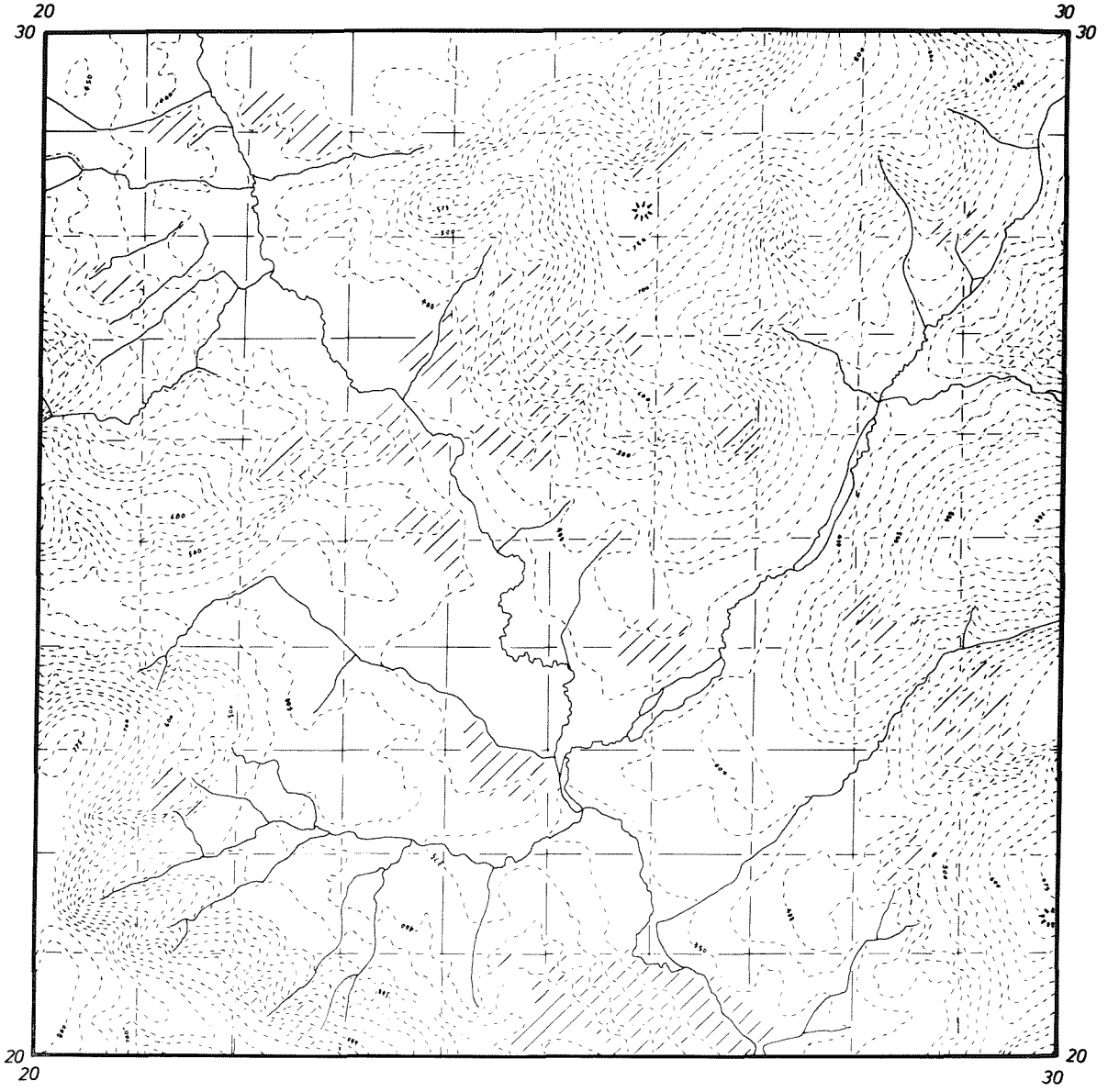


2219, Idbury/DE/-/+--+/Sutton, 1966.

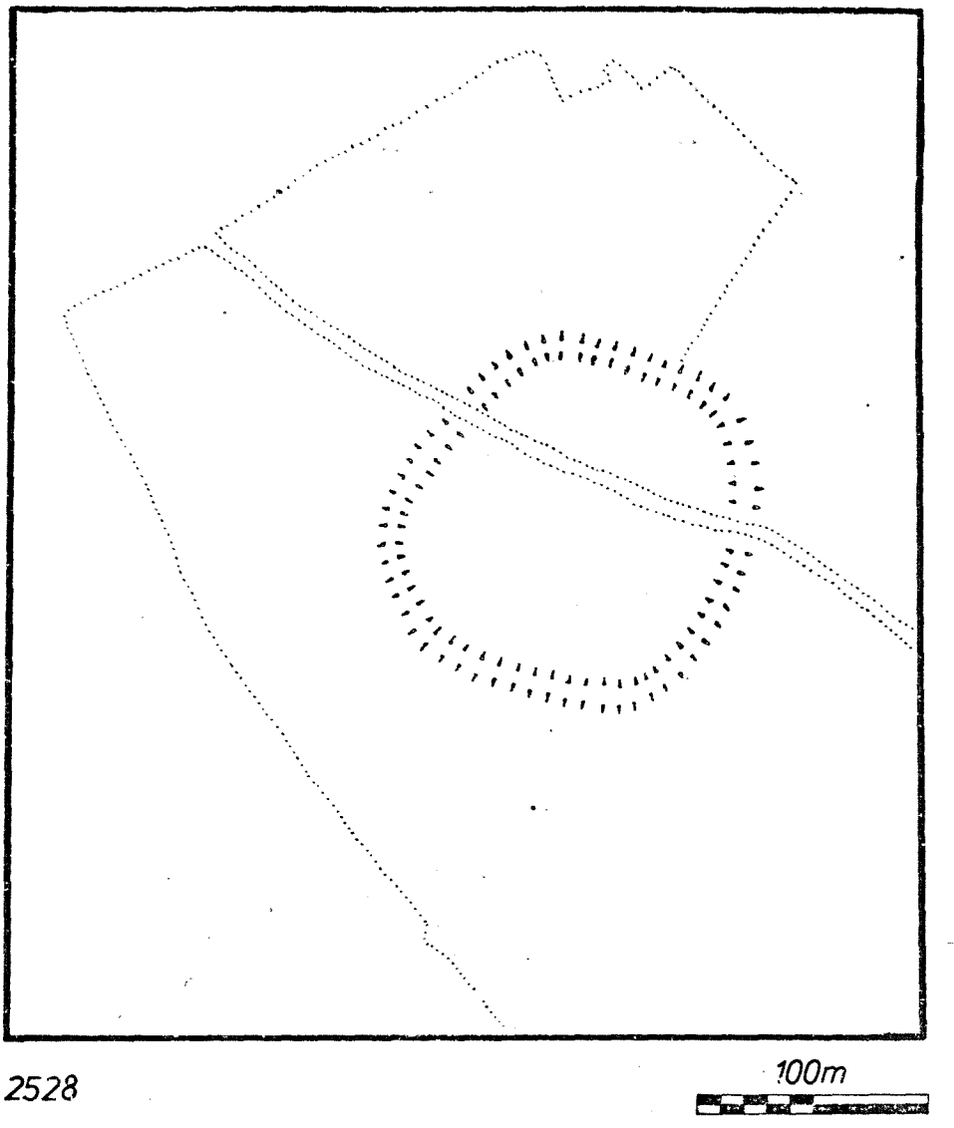


2417

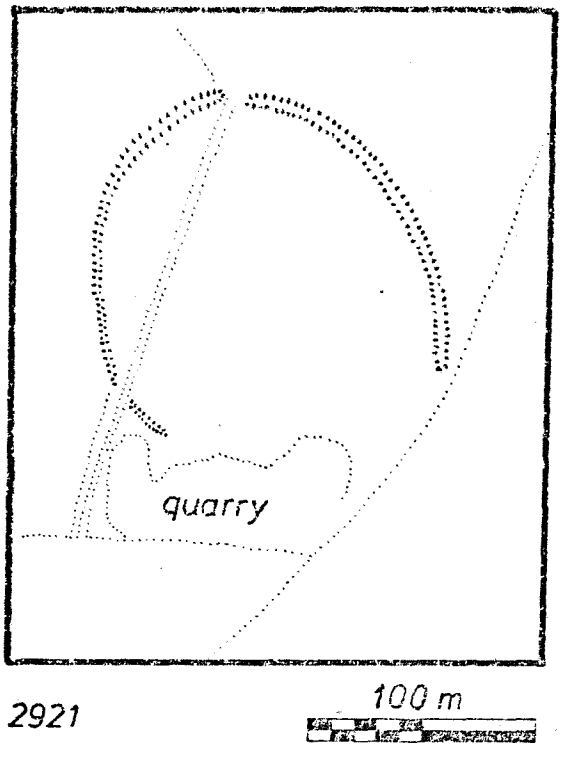
2417, Hill Farm/?DE/-/+--+/Hingley, Forthcoming E.



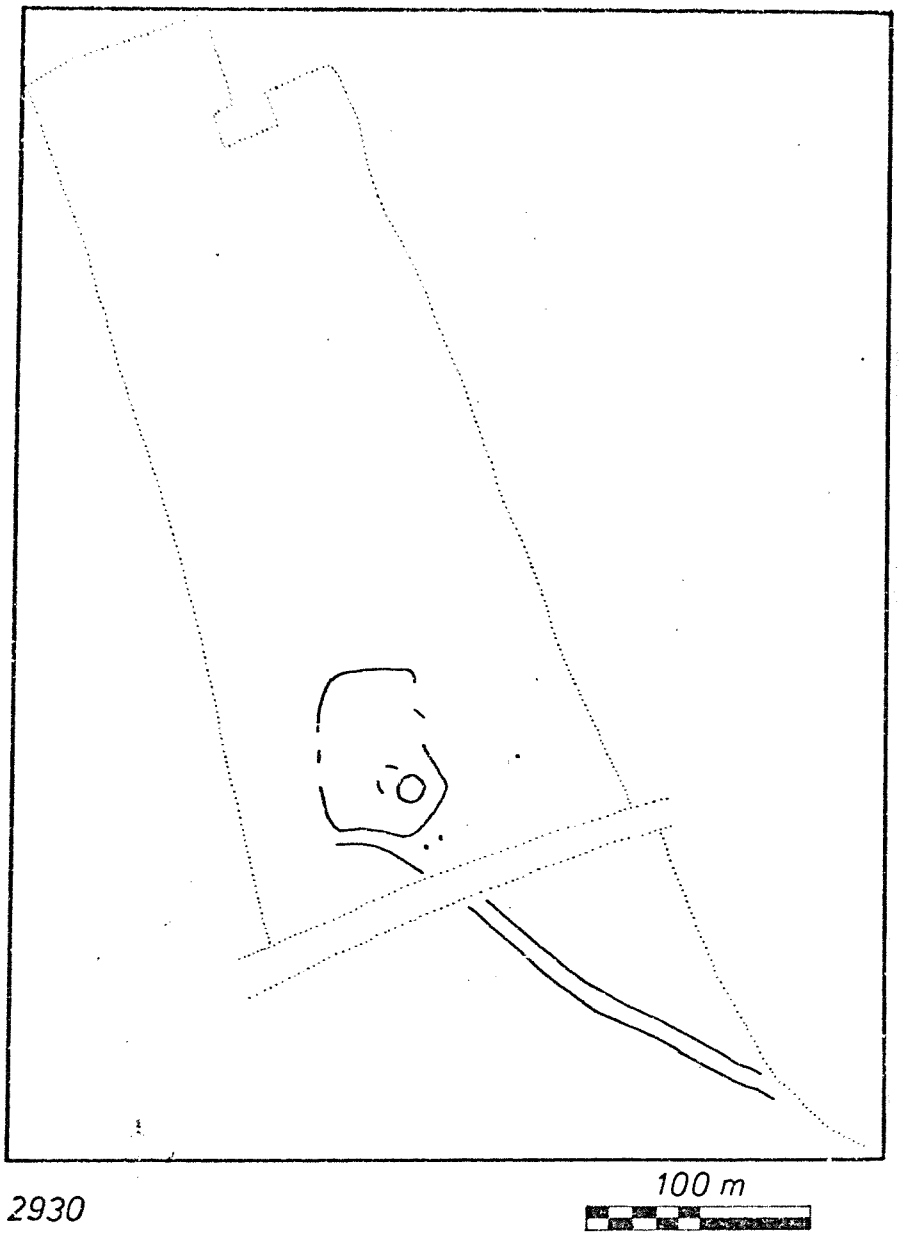
Base Map 8.



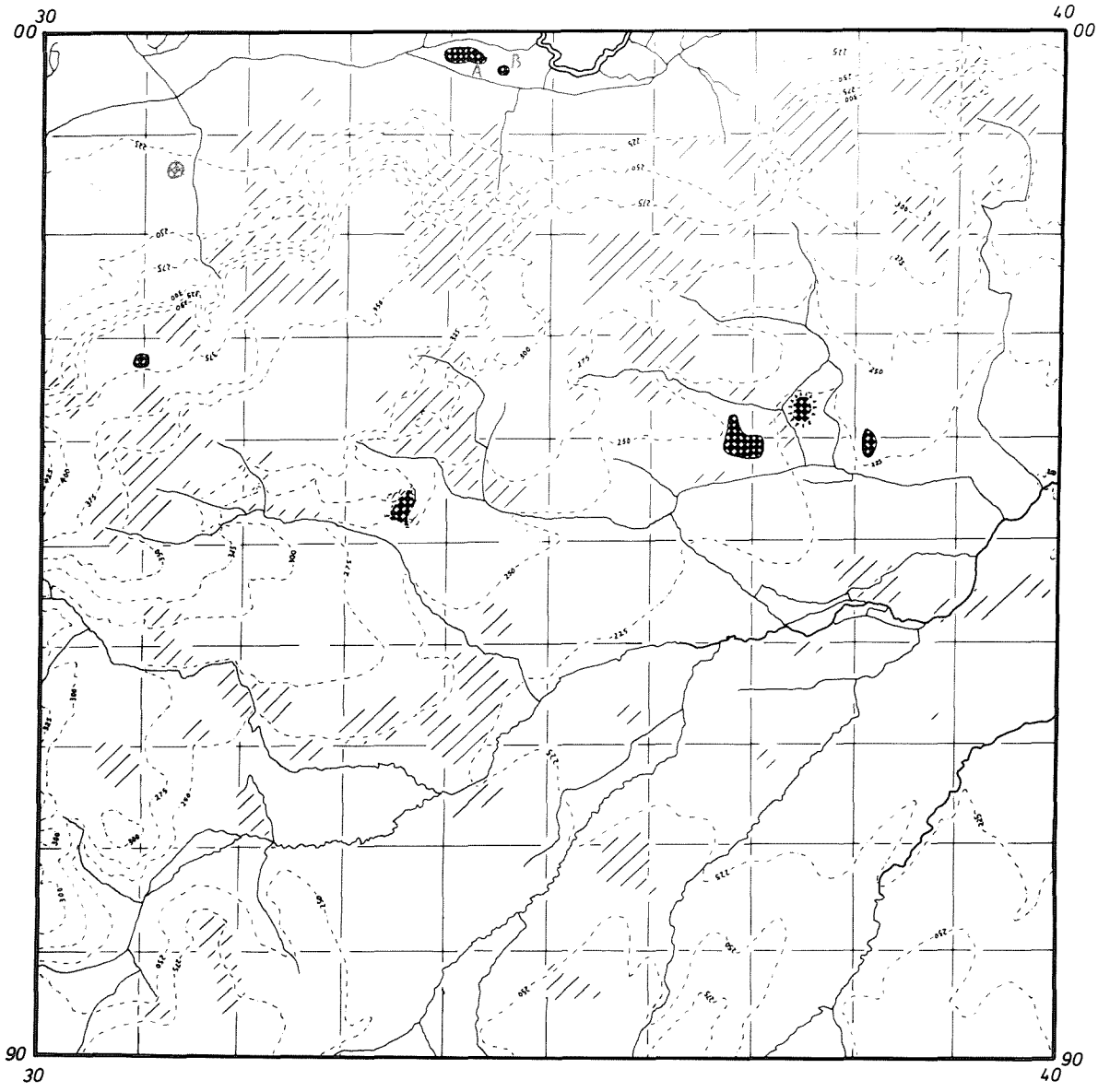
2528, Chastleton/DE/LBA; ?EIA/+-+-/Excavation produced Late Bronze Age and possible Early Iron Age pottery; Leeds, 1931; Harding, 1972; Hingley, work in progress.



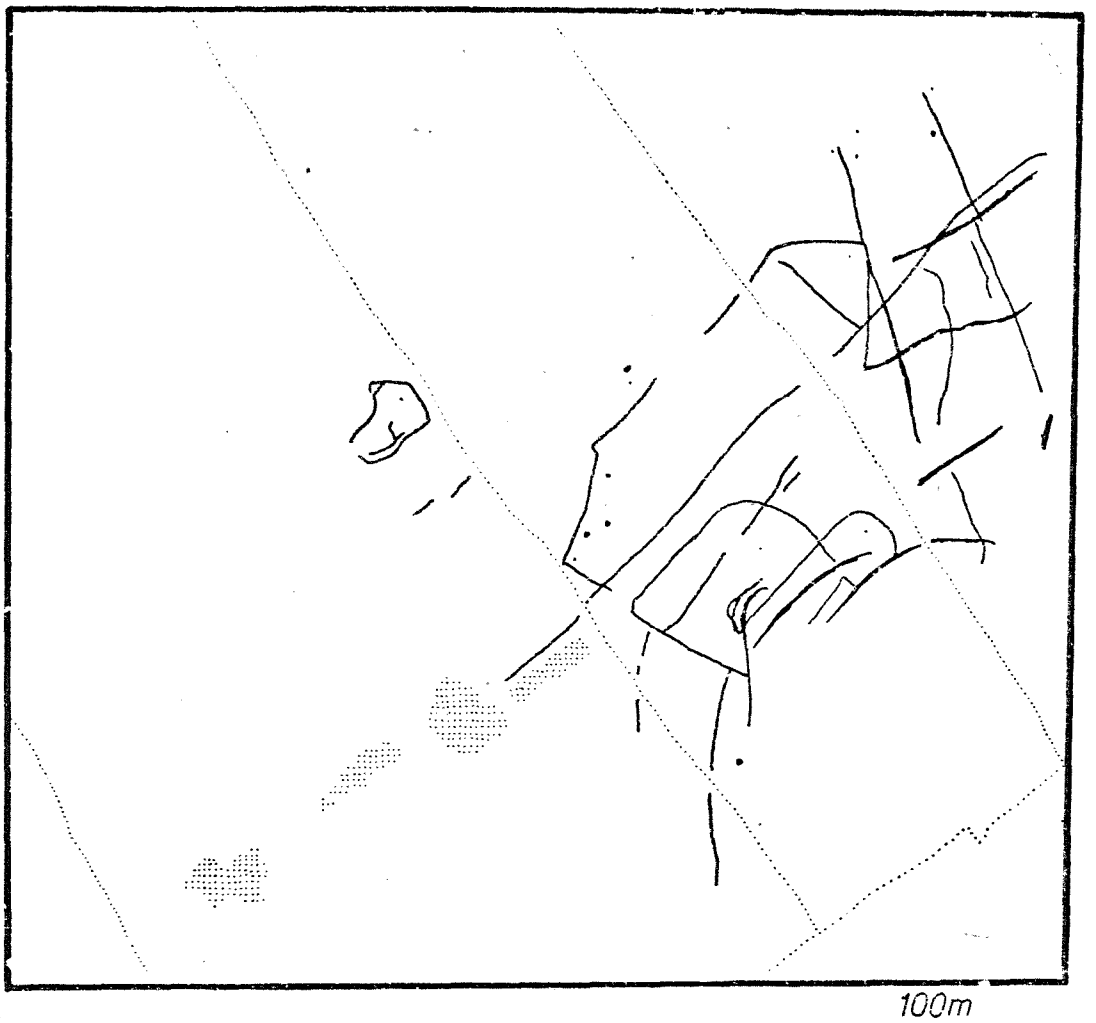
2921, Lyneham Roundabout/DE/EIA/+-+-/Excavation produced Early Iron Age material; Bayne; Bayne, 1957; Sutton, 1966.



2930, Rolright Stones/ES/MIA/+-+-/Excavation by George Lambrick produced evidence of Middle Iron Age date, pers. com; *FAS 6125-14135, 15010.

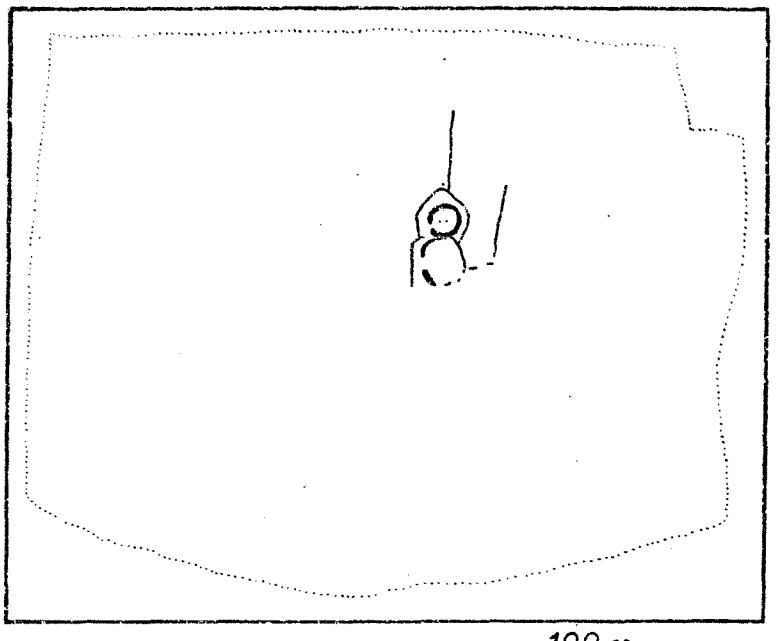


Base Map 9.



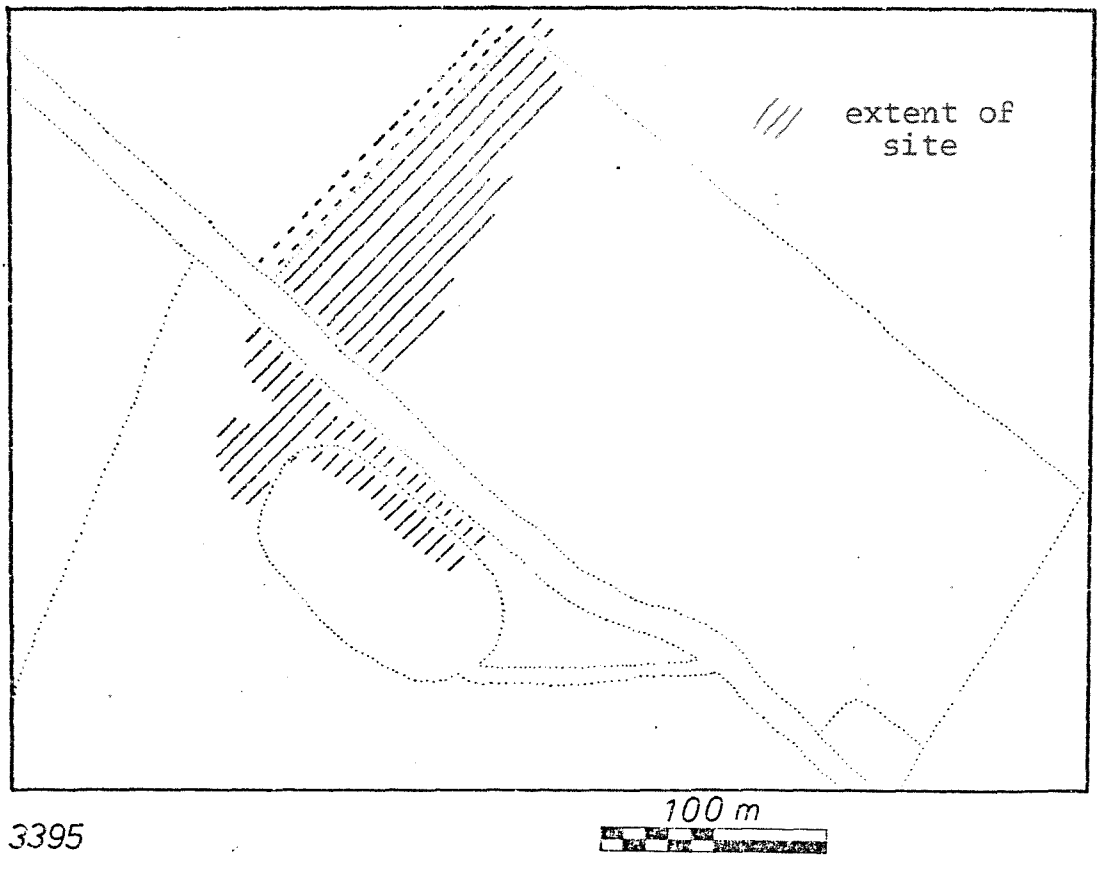
3196

3196/?OS/-/+---/*NMR SU 3096:3:52.

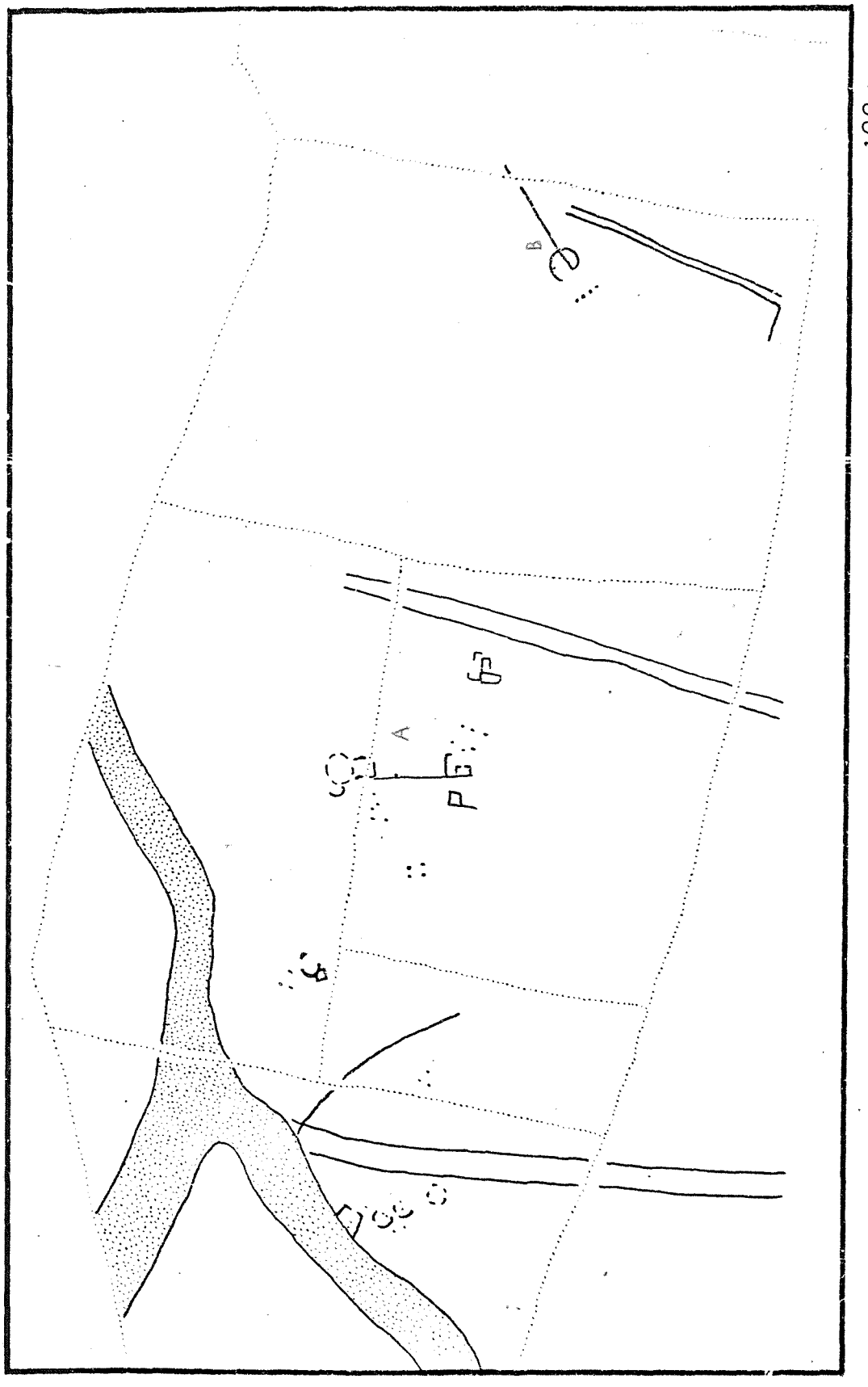


3198

3198/OS/-/+---/*CUAP BVV 021.

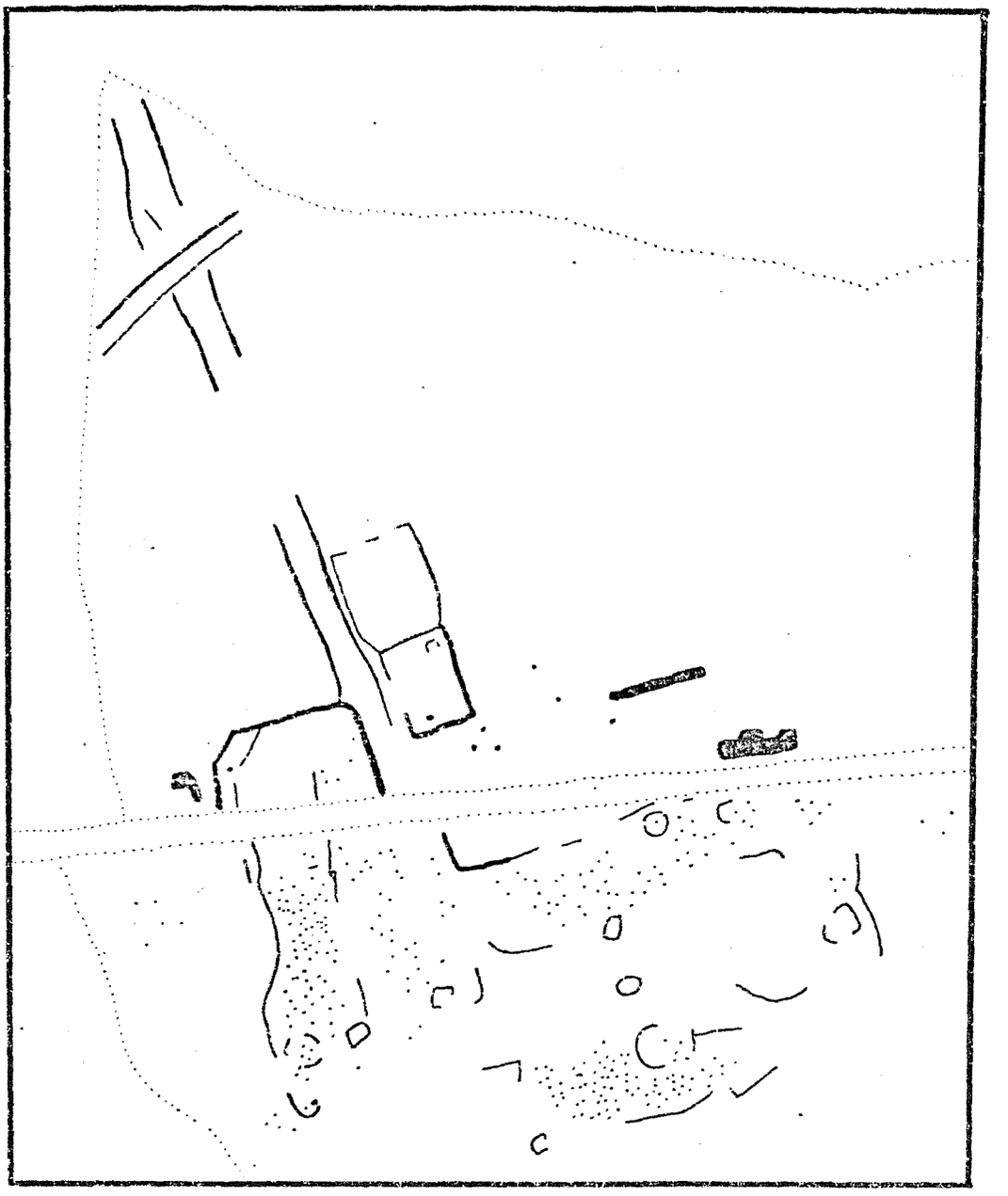


3395, Hatford/?OS/MIA/+-+-/Excavation during quarrying has produced evidence for occupation over an extensive area; Hingley, Forthcoming G.



3499A/OS/-/+---/*CUAP CEI 3-4.

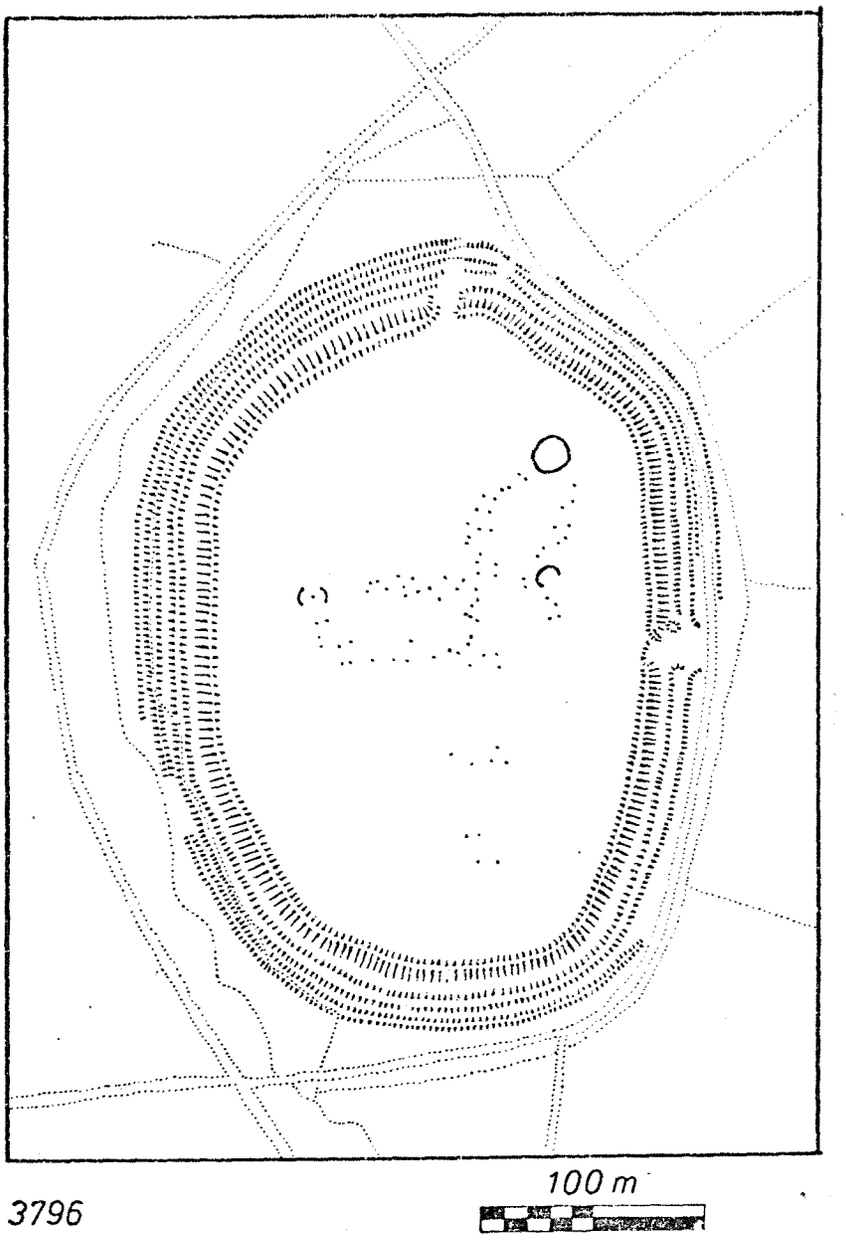
3499B/OS/-/+---/*CUAP CEI 3-4.



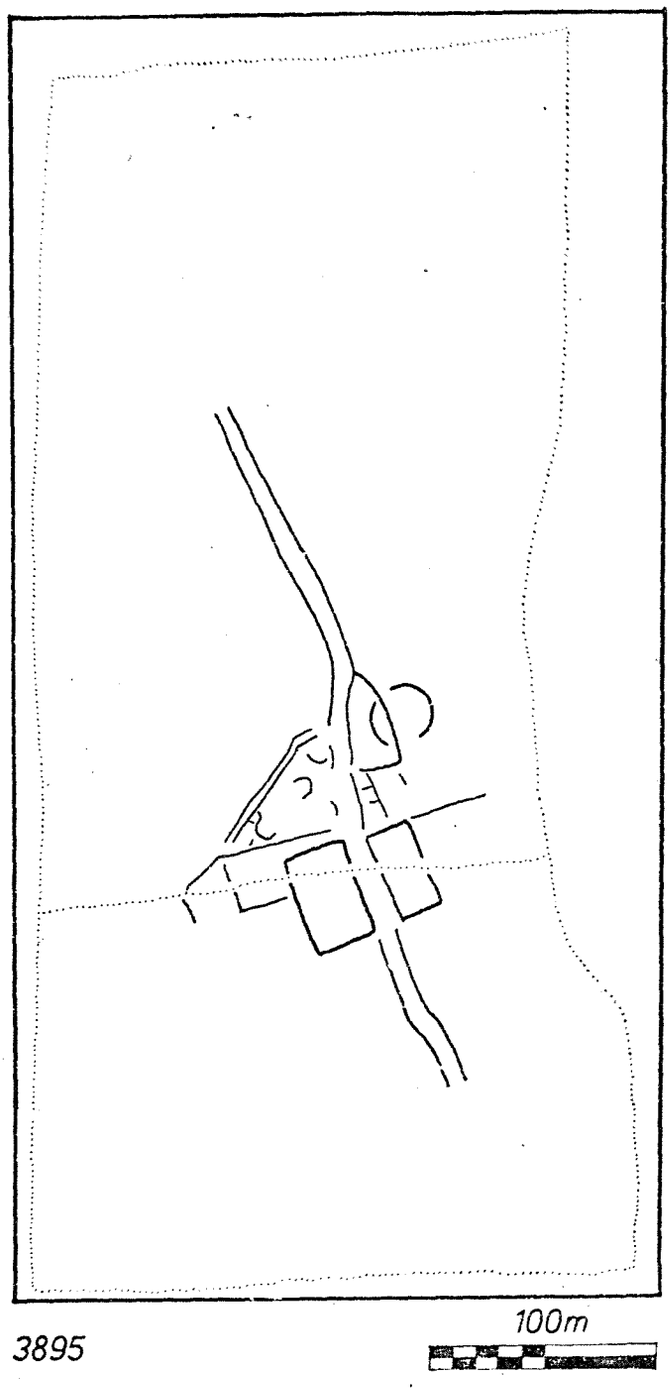
3696

100m

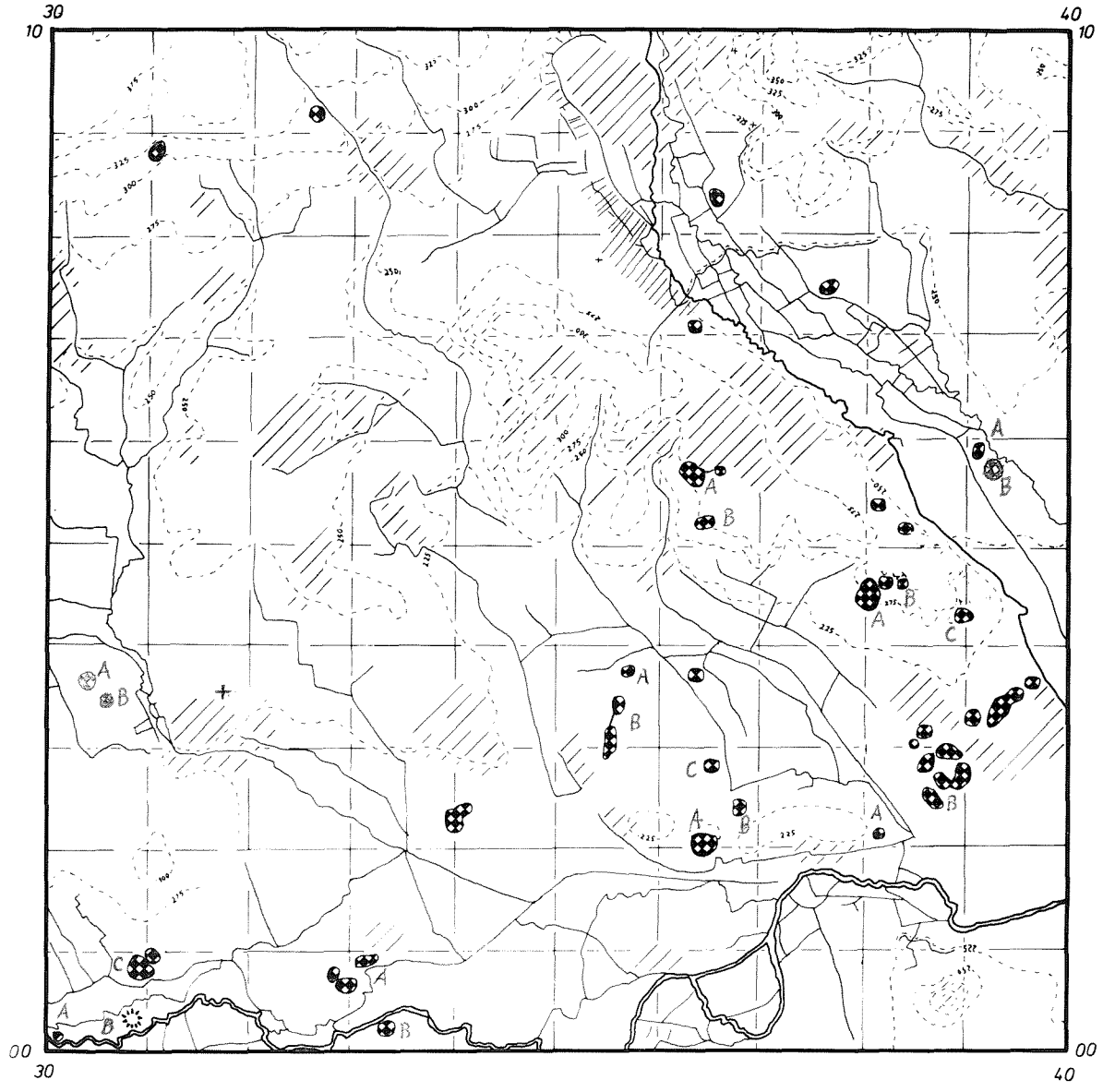
3696/OS/-/+--+/*NMR SU 3696:3:64.



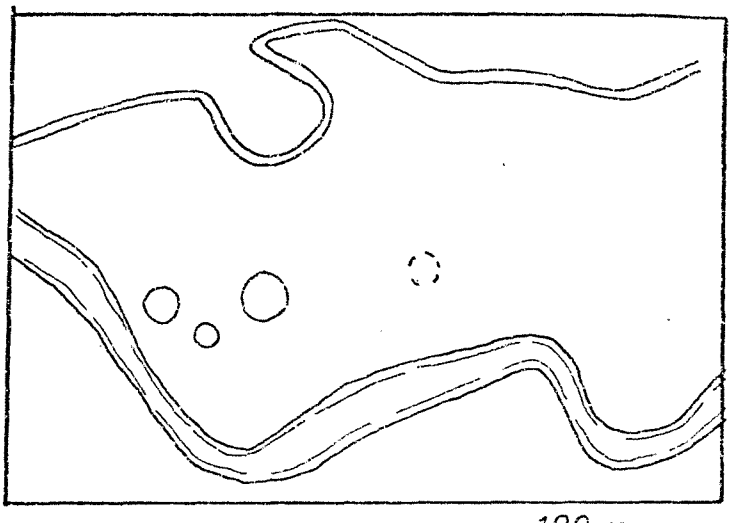
3796, Cherbury Camp/DE/EIA:MIA/+-++/Excavation produced evidence for a Middle Iron Age construction phase, Fieldwork has produced quantities of Early Iron Age material; Arkell, 1939; Bradford, 1940; Harding, 1972; Hingley, Forthcoming D.



3895/CES/LIA:RB/+-+-/Limited excavation by Gordon Maclean produced evidence for Late Iron Age and Roman occupation; Maclean and Harding, Unpublished; *NMR SU 3895: 2:215, 3896:3:284, 3896:4:287.



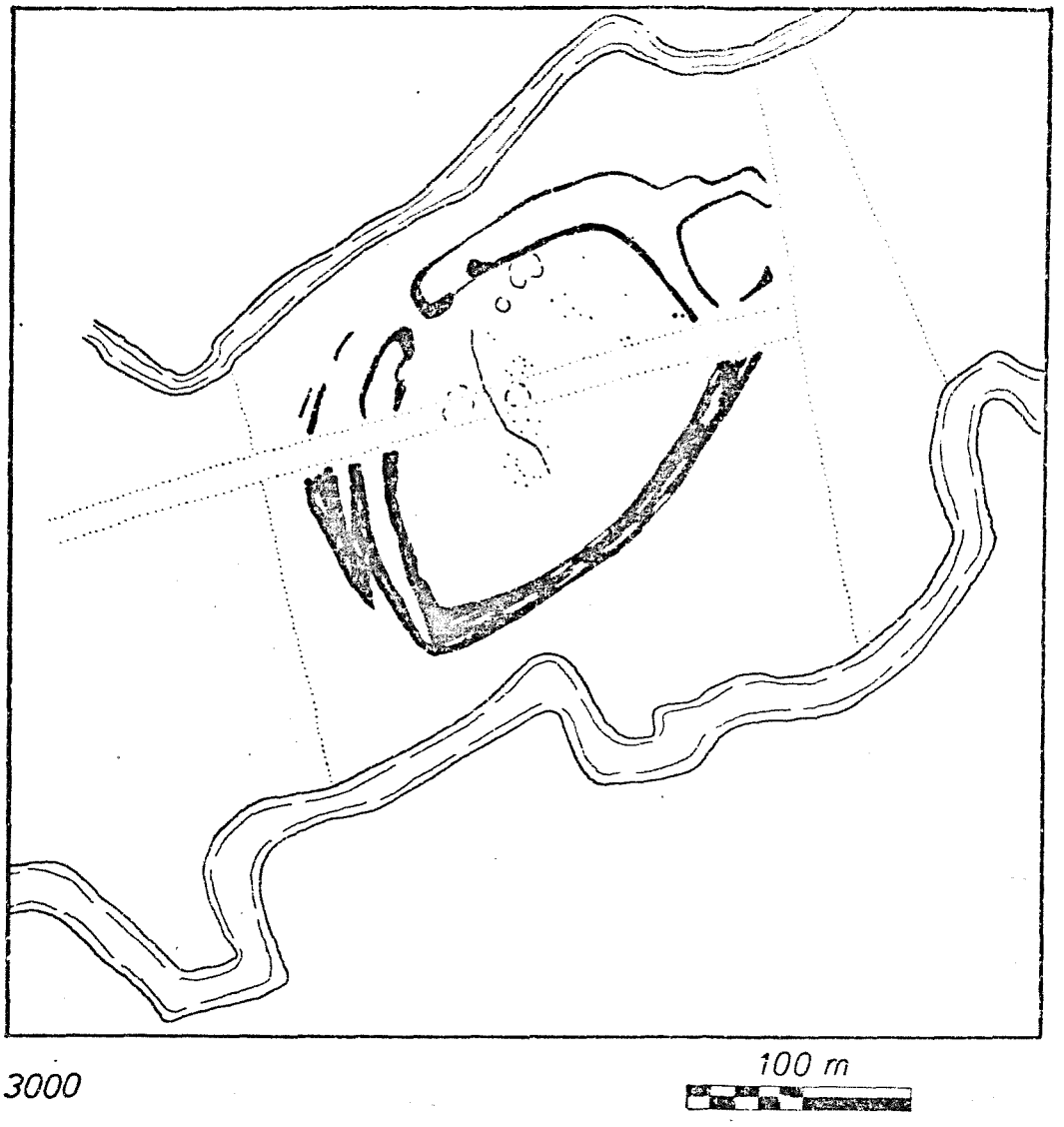
Base Map 10.



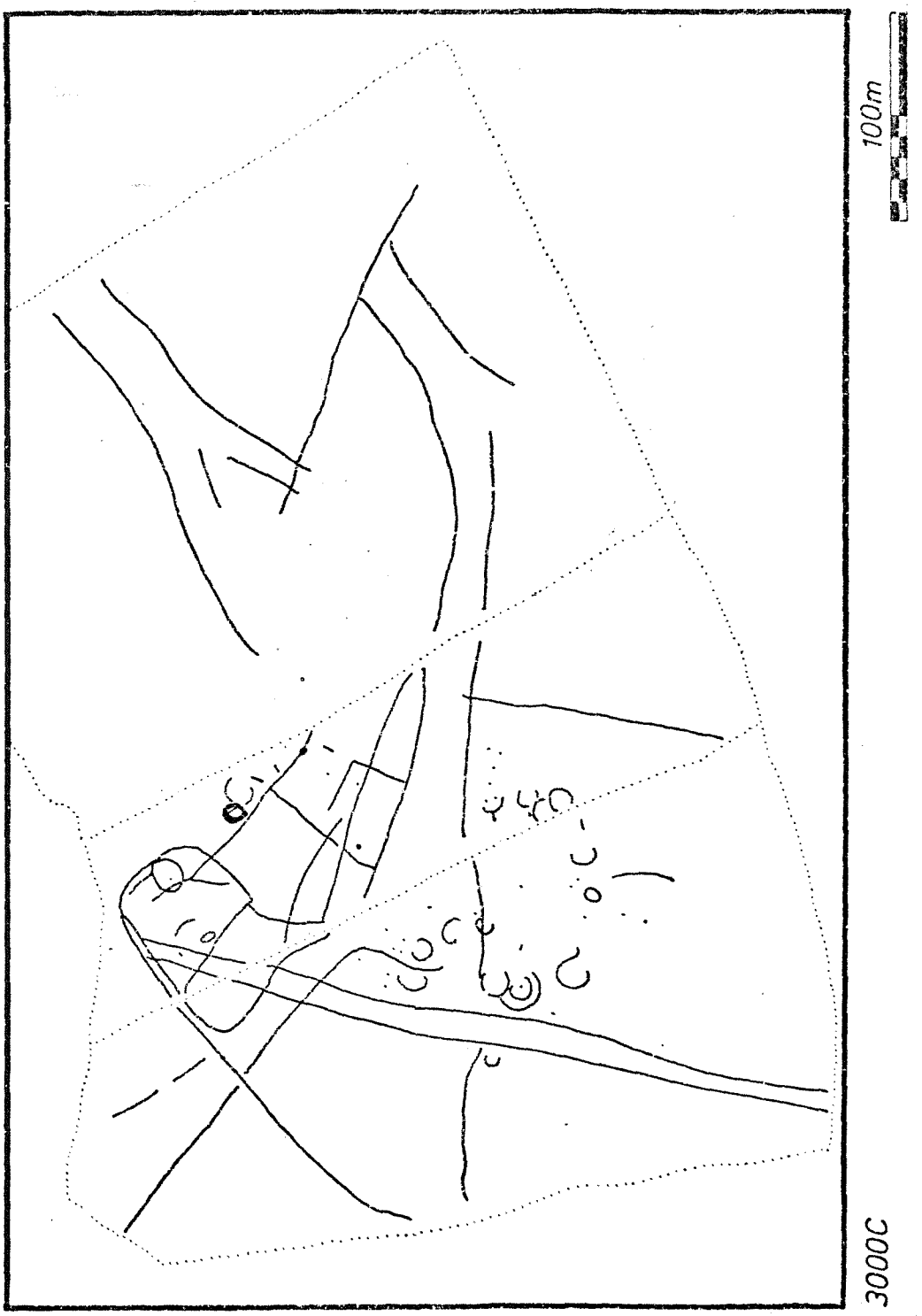
3000

100 m

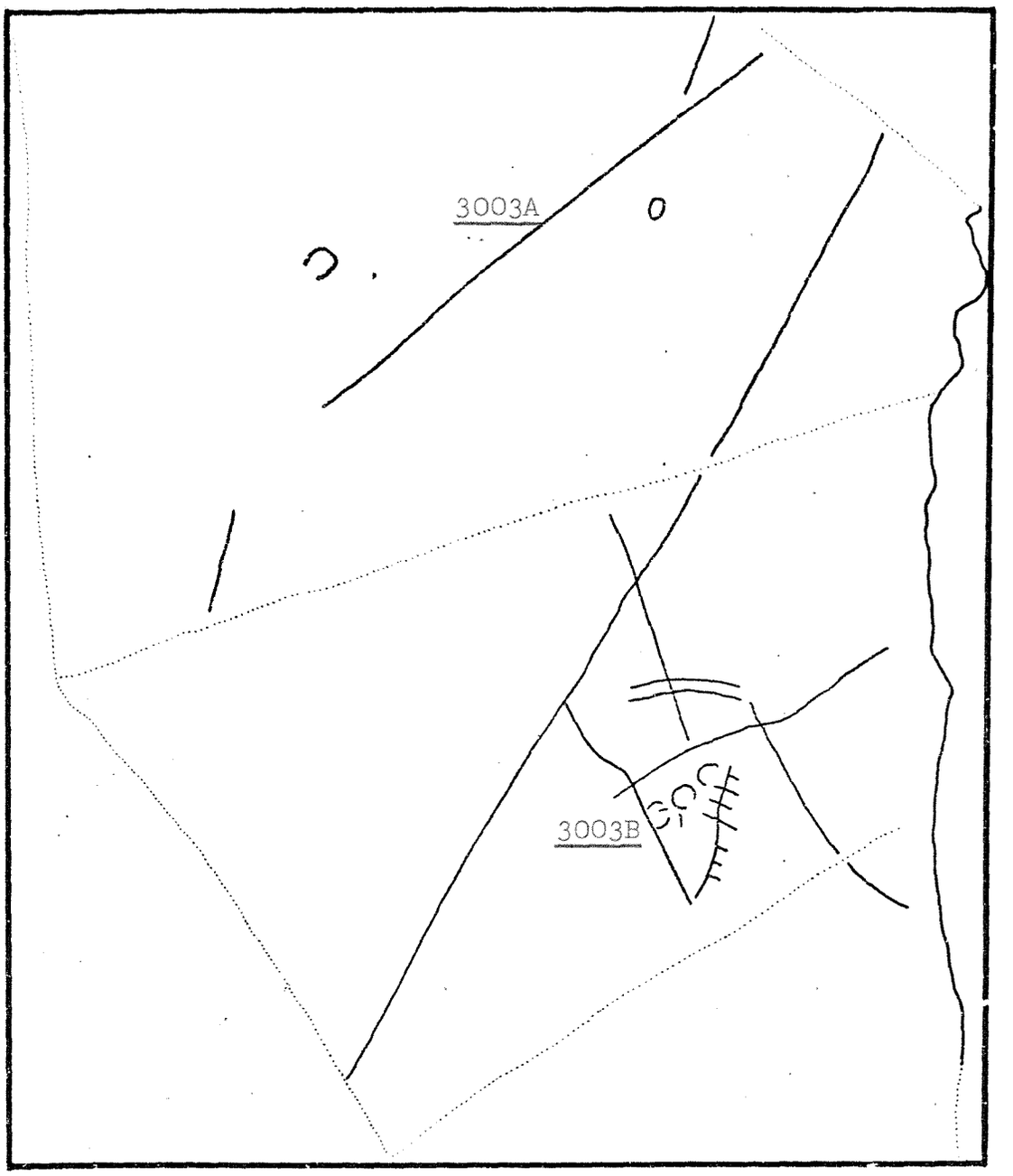
3000A/OS/-/+--+/*CUAP



3000B, Burroway/DE/-/+--+/Fieldwork by the author produced some sherds of probable Iron Age date; Hingley, Forthcoming D.



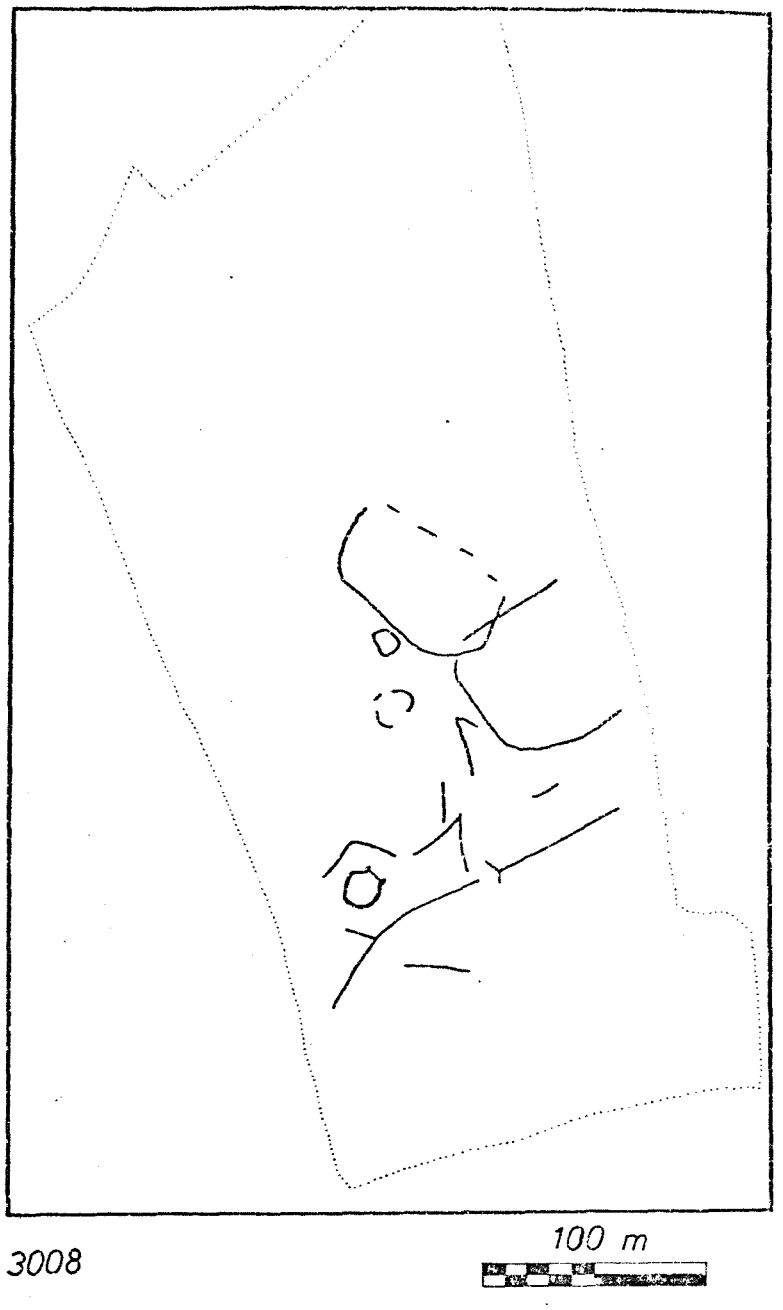
3000C/OS/-/+--+/Fieldwork by the author produced a few sherds of possible Iron Age date, *CUAP BNE 54; NMR SP 3000:6:22.



3003

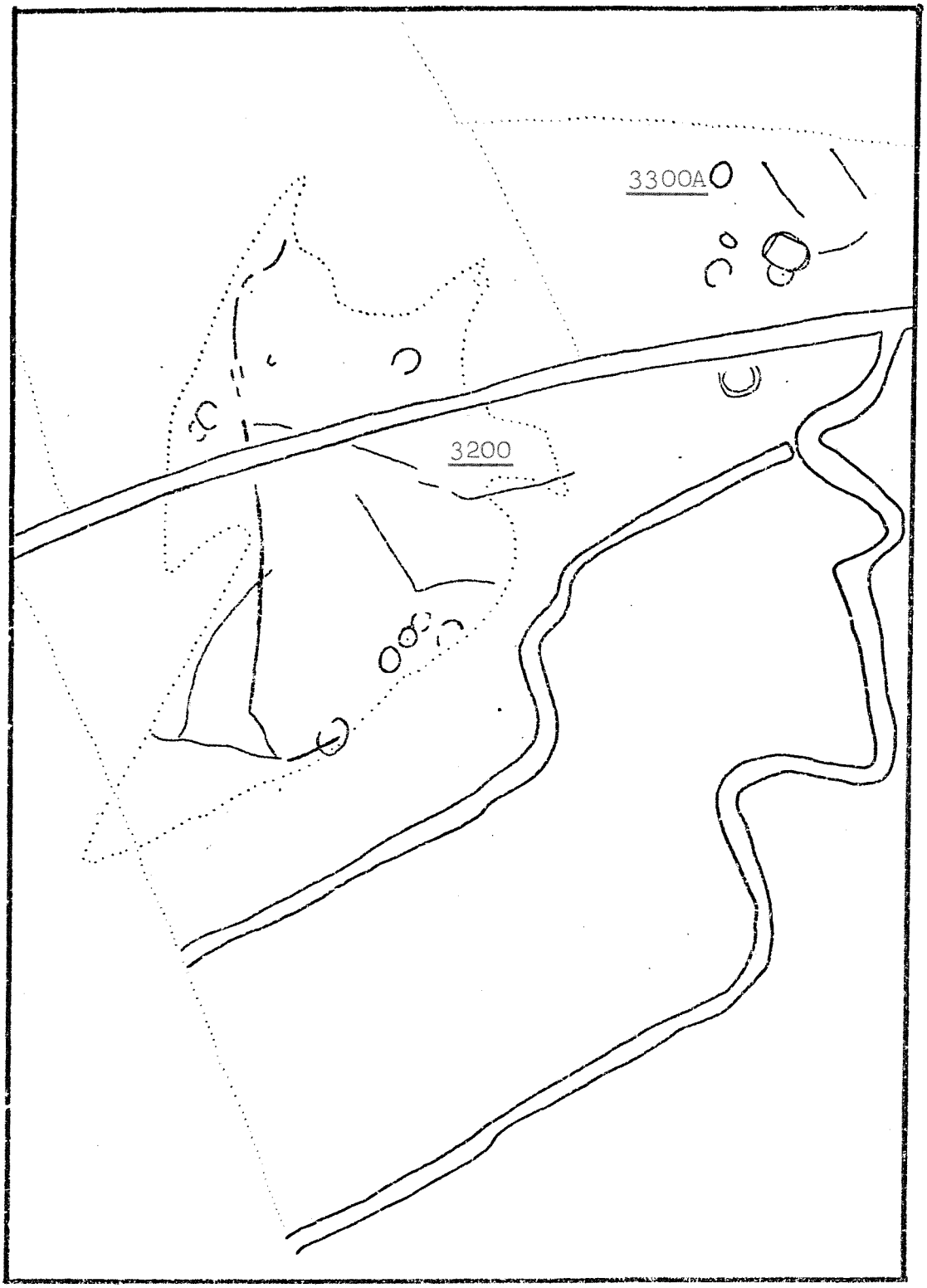
3003A/OS/-/+---/NMR SP 3003:1.

3003B/OS/-/+---/NMR SP 3003:1.



3008/OS/-/+----/*NMR SP 3008:1.

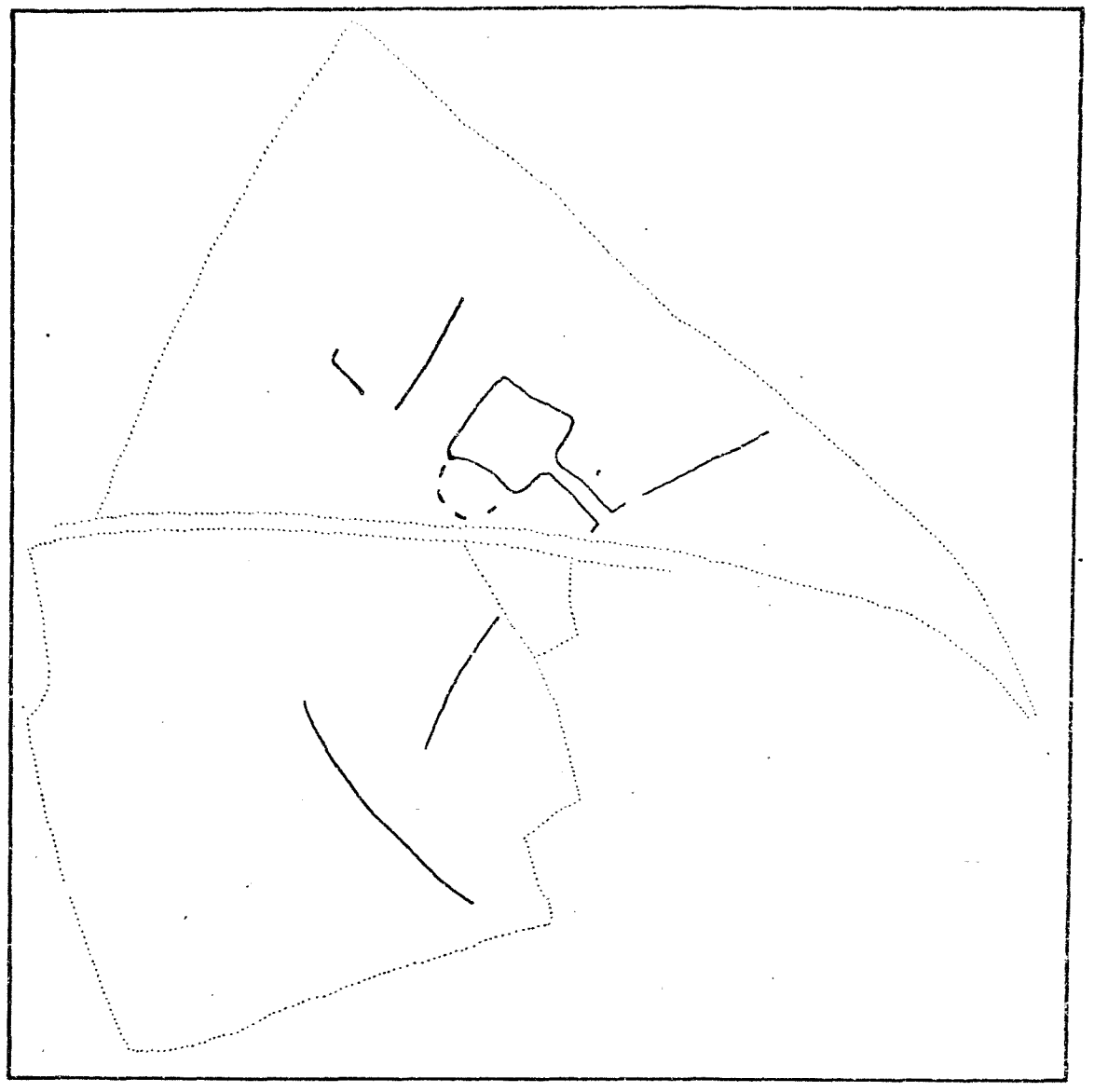
3103/-/EIA:MIA/-----/Quarrying produced Early and Middle Iron Age pottery; Manning, 1898.



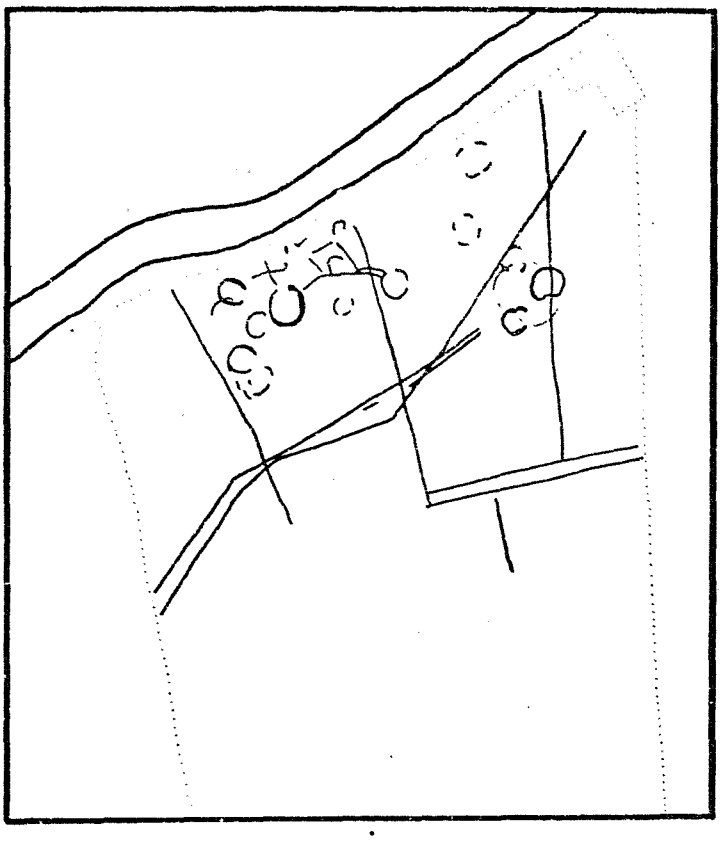
3200 : 3300A

3200/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 3200:1:418, 3300:1-3.

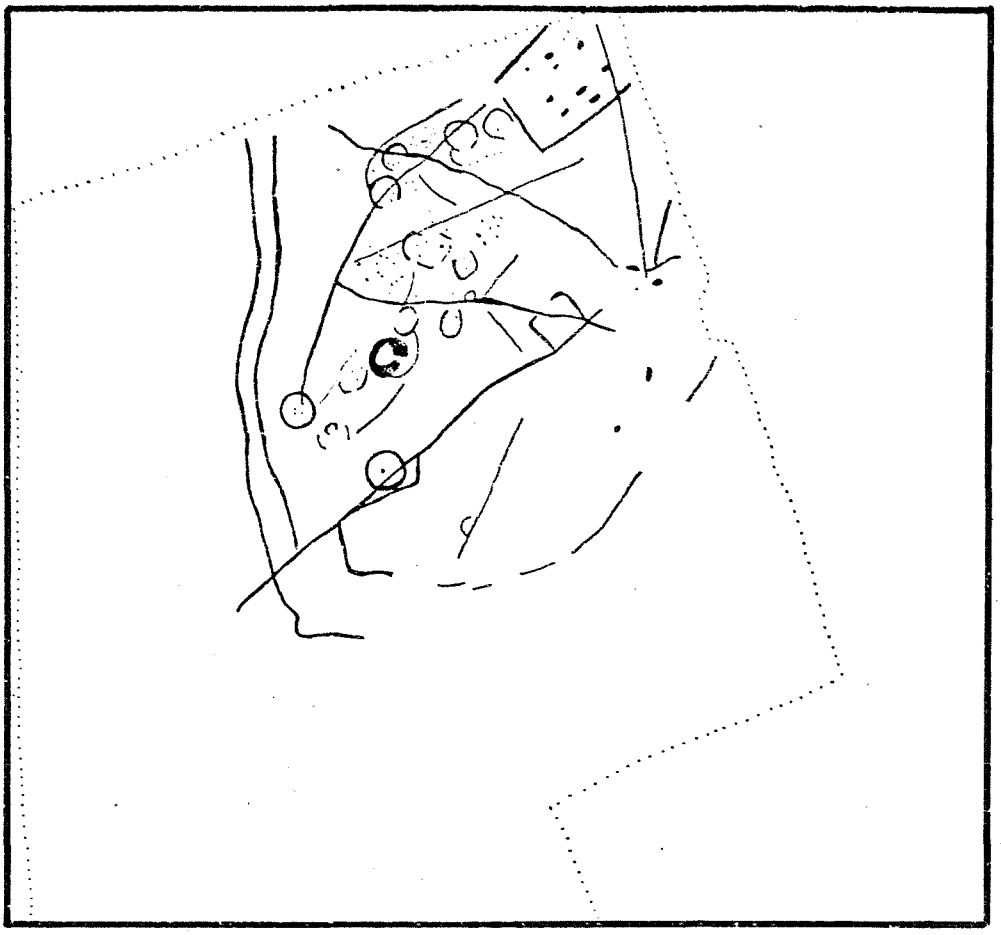
3300A/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 3200:1:418, 3300:1-3.



3209/ES/-/+---/*NMR SP 3209:1:114-21.

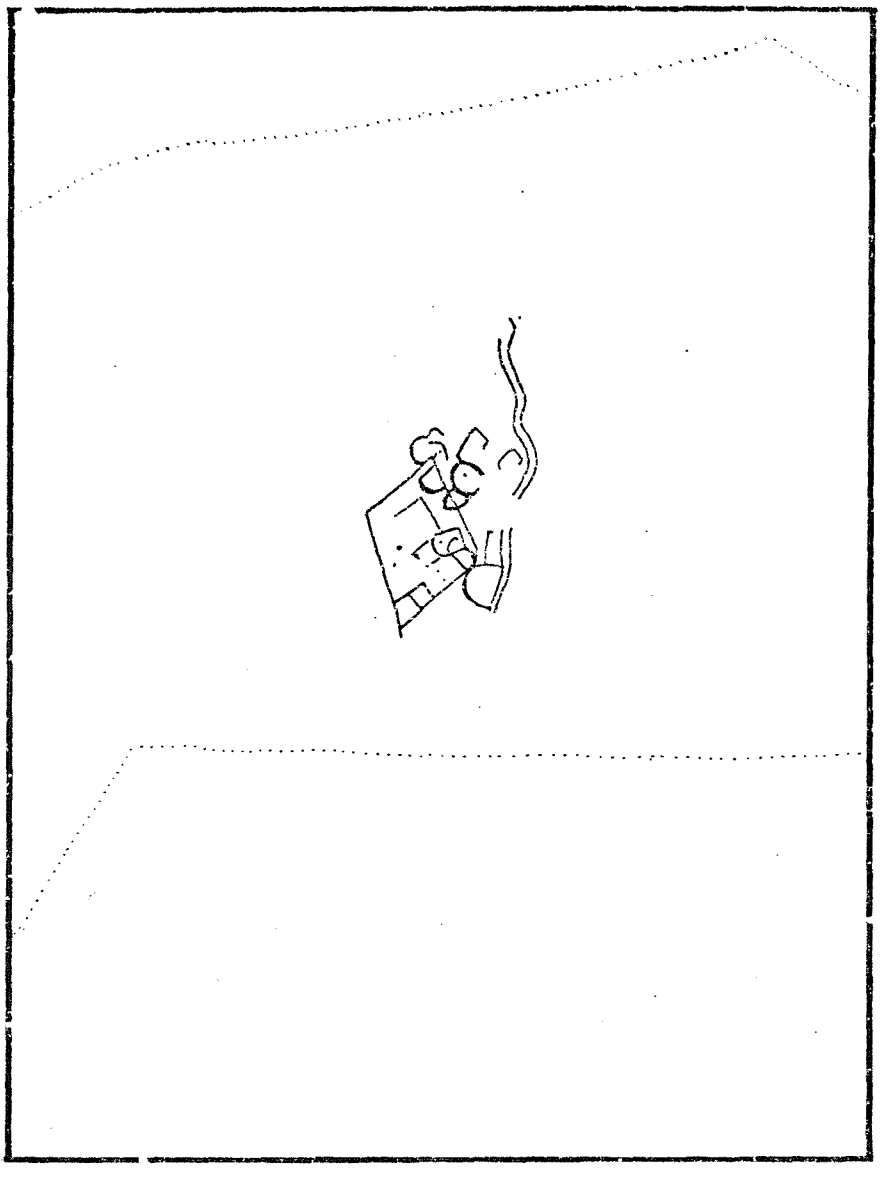


3300B/OS/-/+--+/Fieldwork by the author produced one possible Middle Iron Age sherd; *NMR SP 3300:7: 360, 3300:10:373, 3300:19:444.

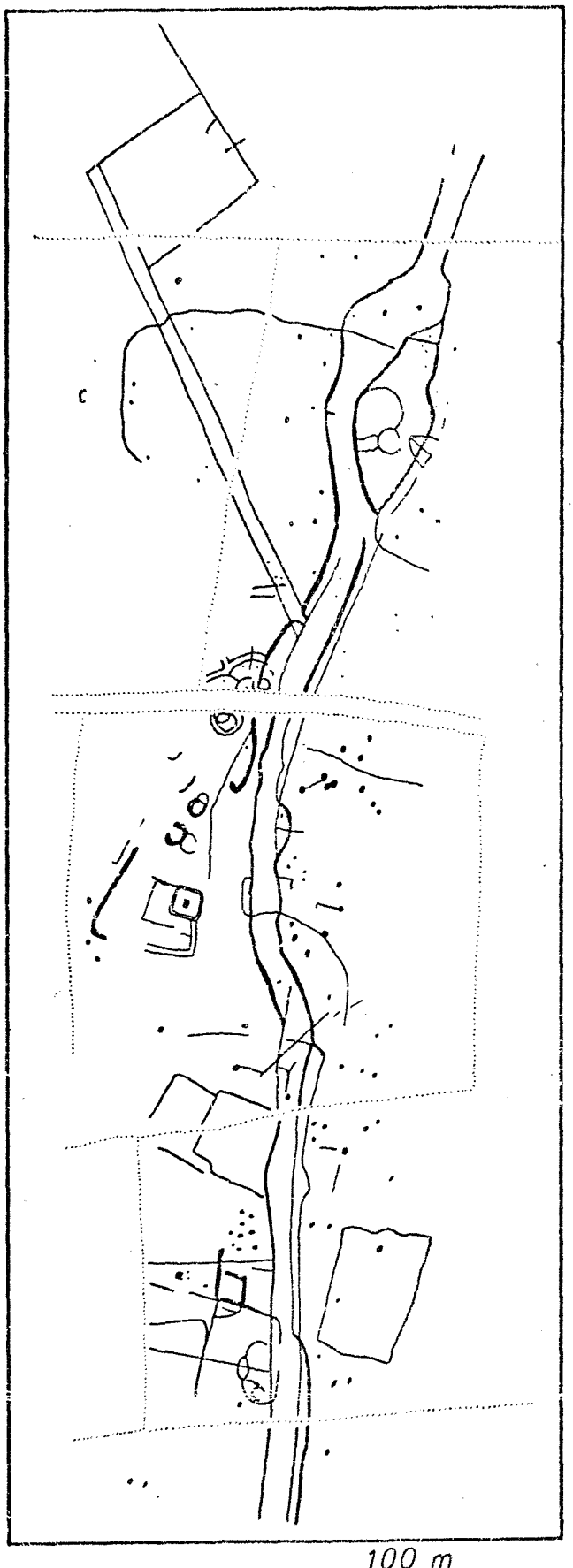


3302

3302/OS/-/+---/*CUAP YM 56-9, ZH 55-7, BKB 69; NMR SP 3402:3:6.



3503A/OS/-/+---/*CUAP OQ 60, VL 60-1, ZH 47.



3503 B

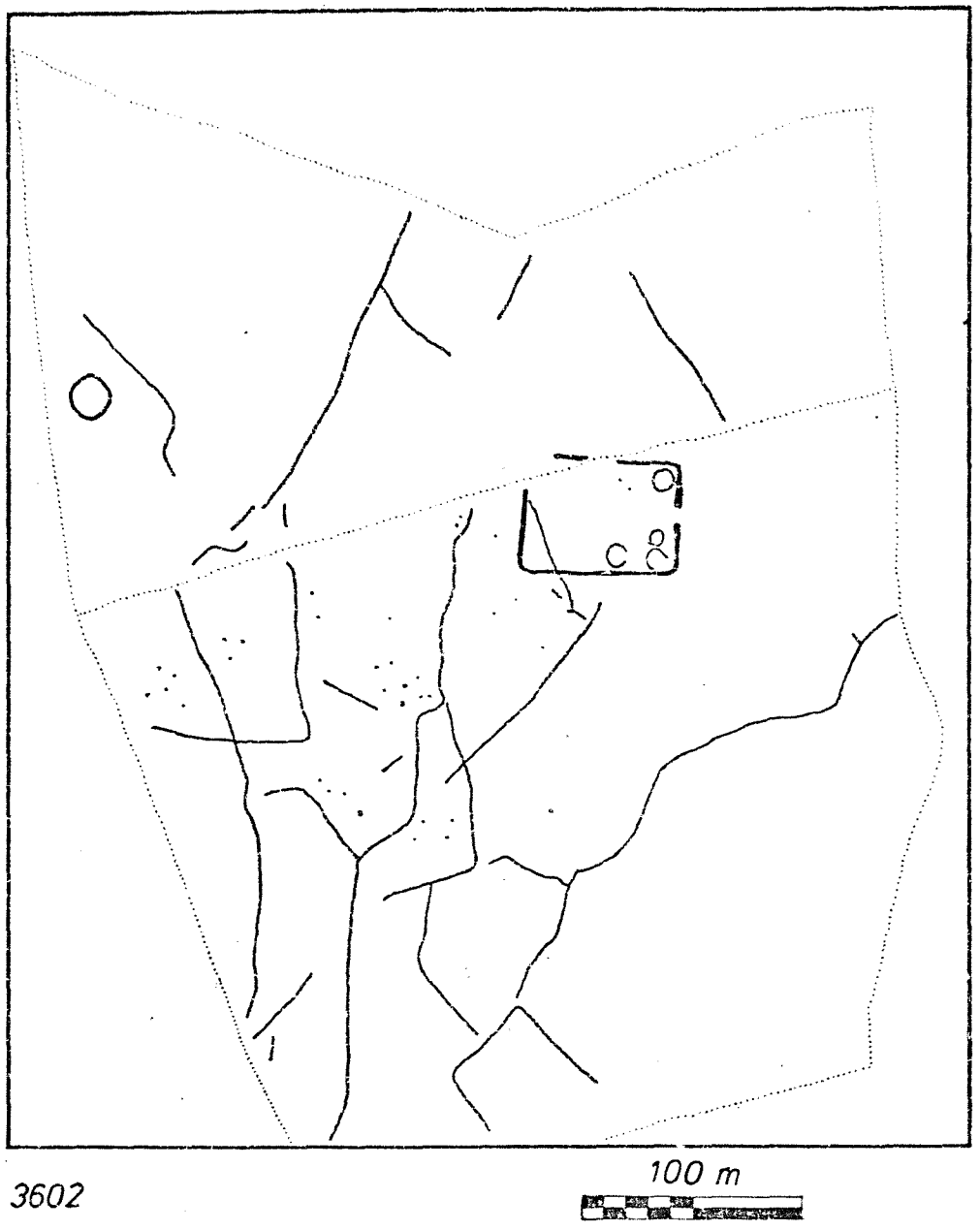
B
3503/CES/-/+---/*Allen 377; CUAP YM 60-1, AYI 67-80, BKB 74, BNE 49; NMR SP 3503:2:1-2.



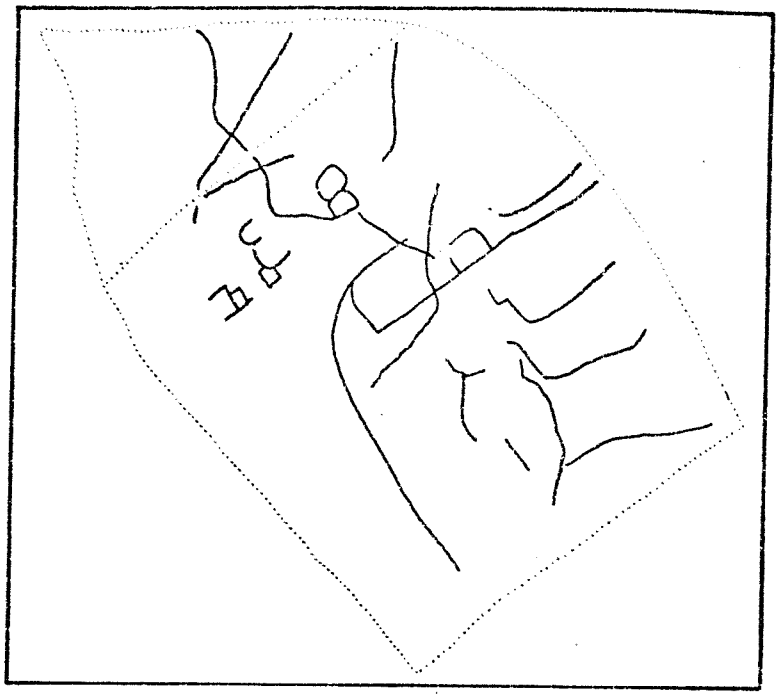
3601/3602: 3602

3602A/CES/EIA:MIA:RB/+--+/Fieldwork by the author produced Early and Middle Iron Age material; *NMR 3602:10-16, 11:115.

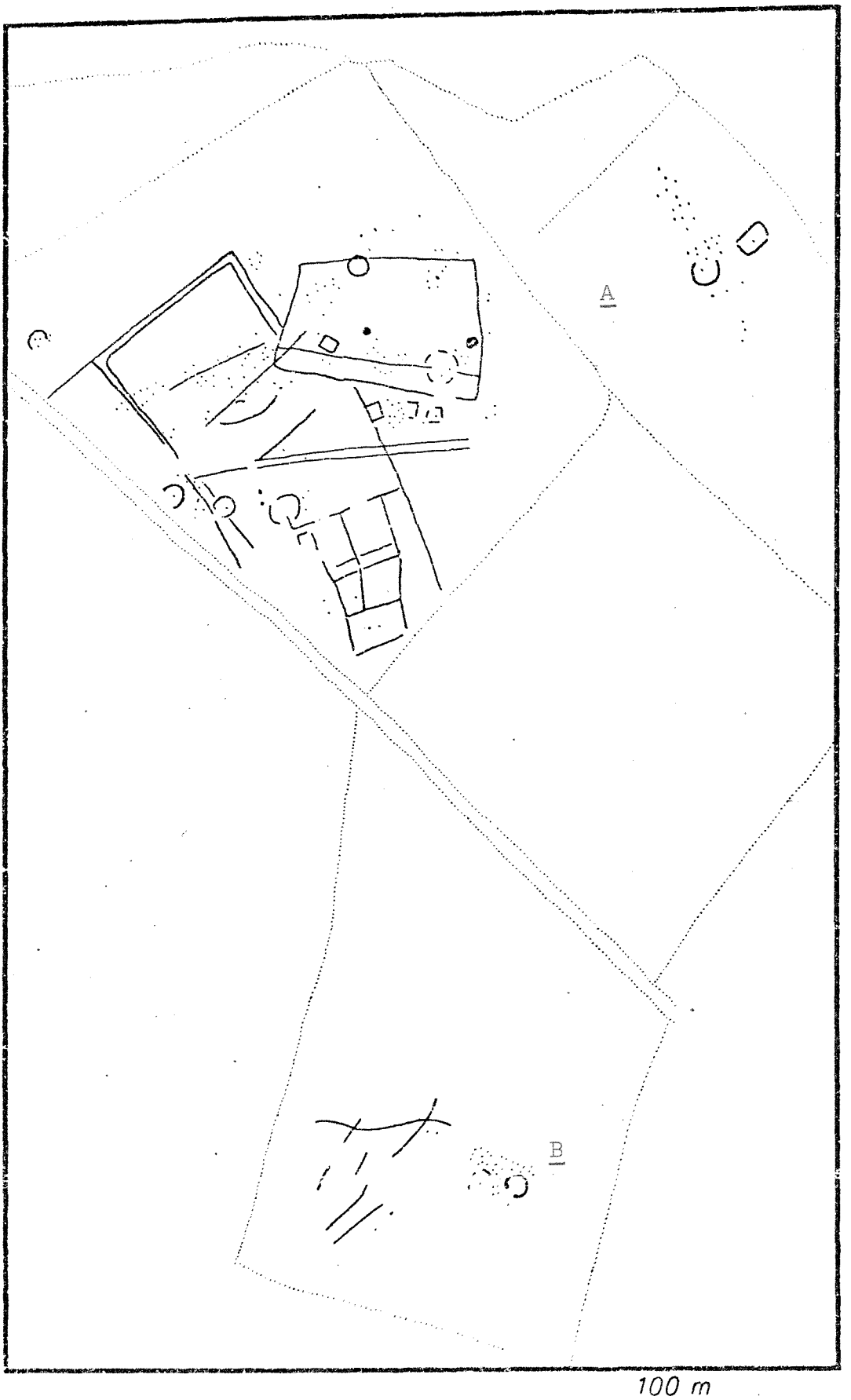
3602B/OS/-/+---/*CUAP AYI 73; NMR SP 3602:17.



3602C/ES/-/+---/*CUAP BKB 78, NMR SP 3602:8:1, 3602:9:3-4, 3602:28:215, 3608:30:220-221.



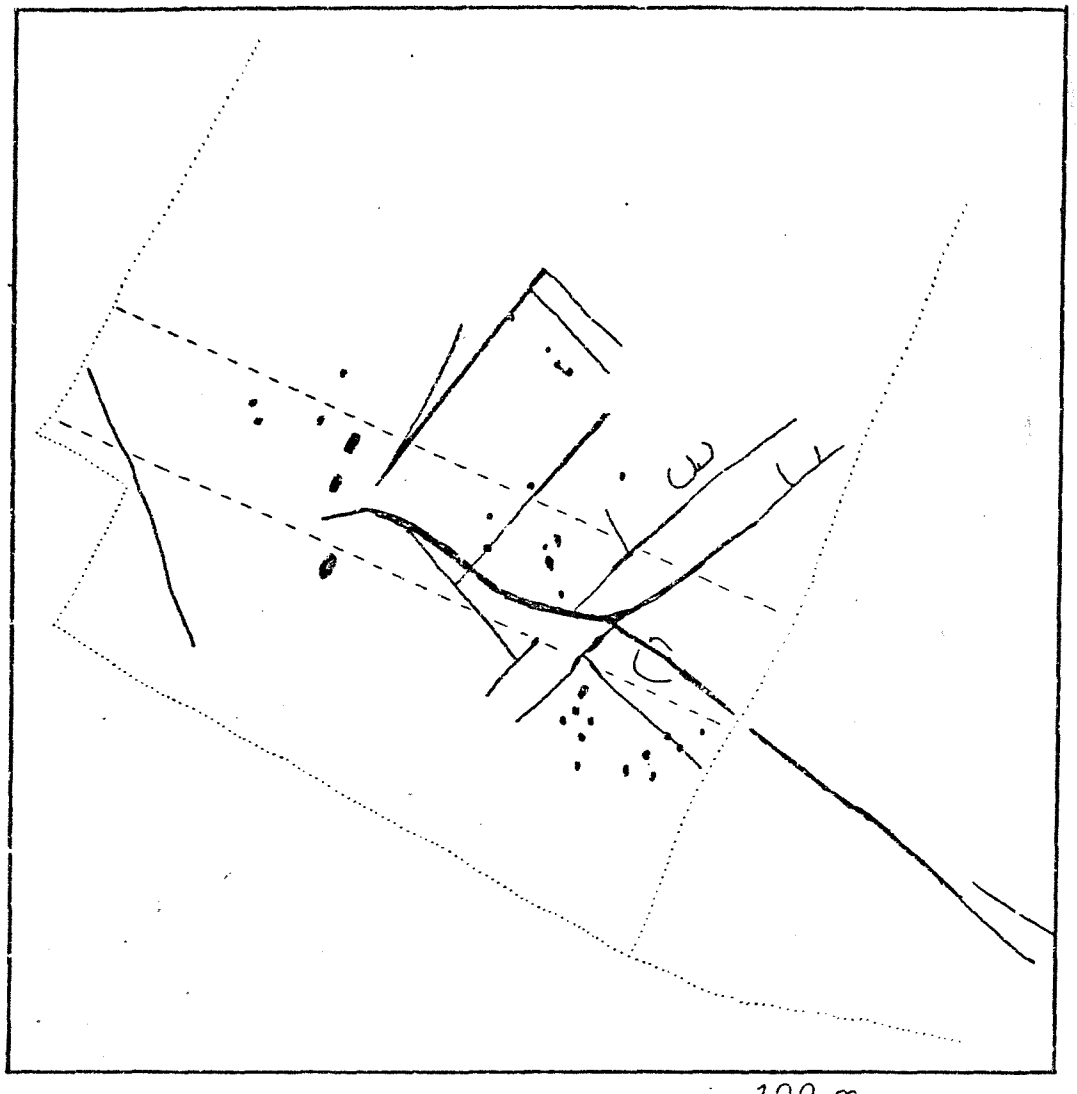
3603/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 3603:1, 3603:4:230-2, 3603:9-10.



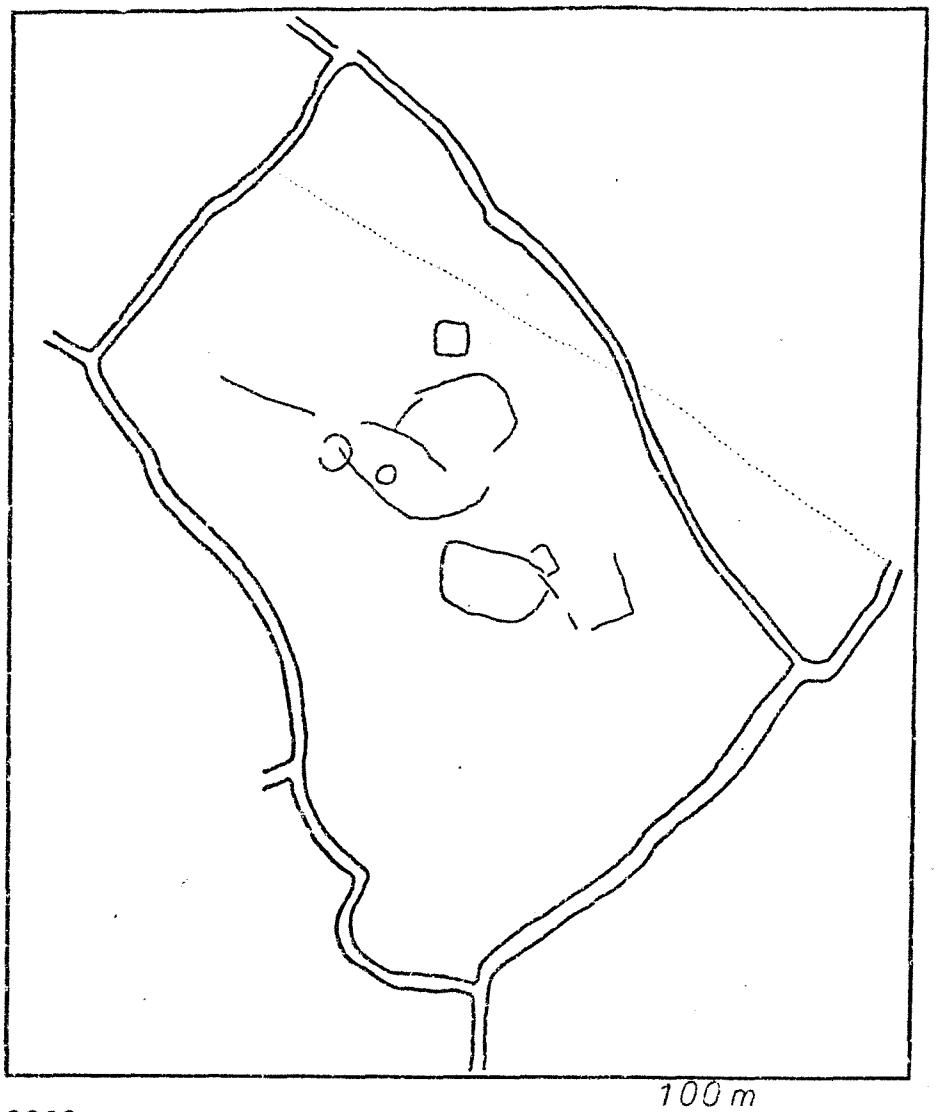
3605A: 3605B

3605A/OS/-/+---/*CUAP AYI 65-7; NMR SP 3605:17, 20-3.

3605B/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 3605:14-22, 187-230.

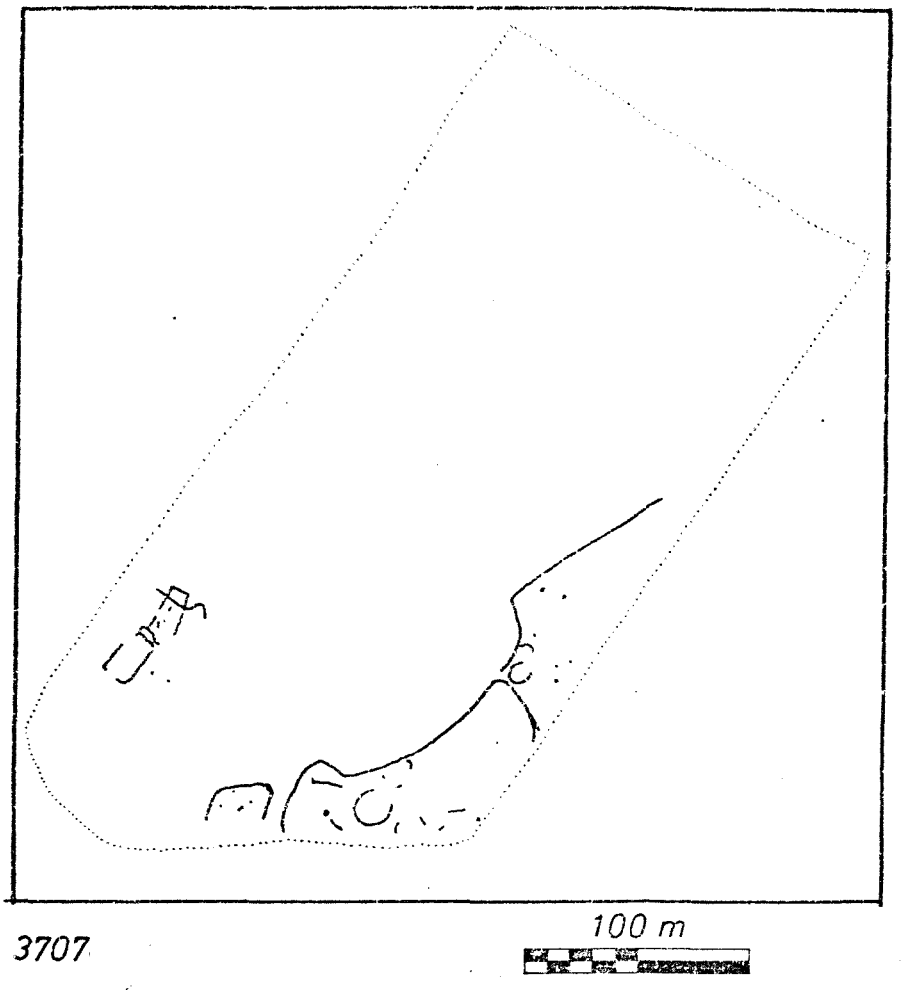


3607/CES/?LIA:RB/+-+-/Excavation of corridor across centre of site (marked by the dashed lines) produced evidence for Romano-British dating; Chambers, 1976A; *NMR SP 3707:1:1, 3707:1:10-11.

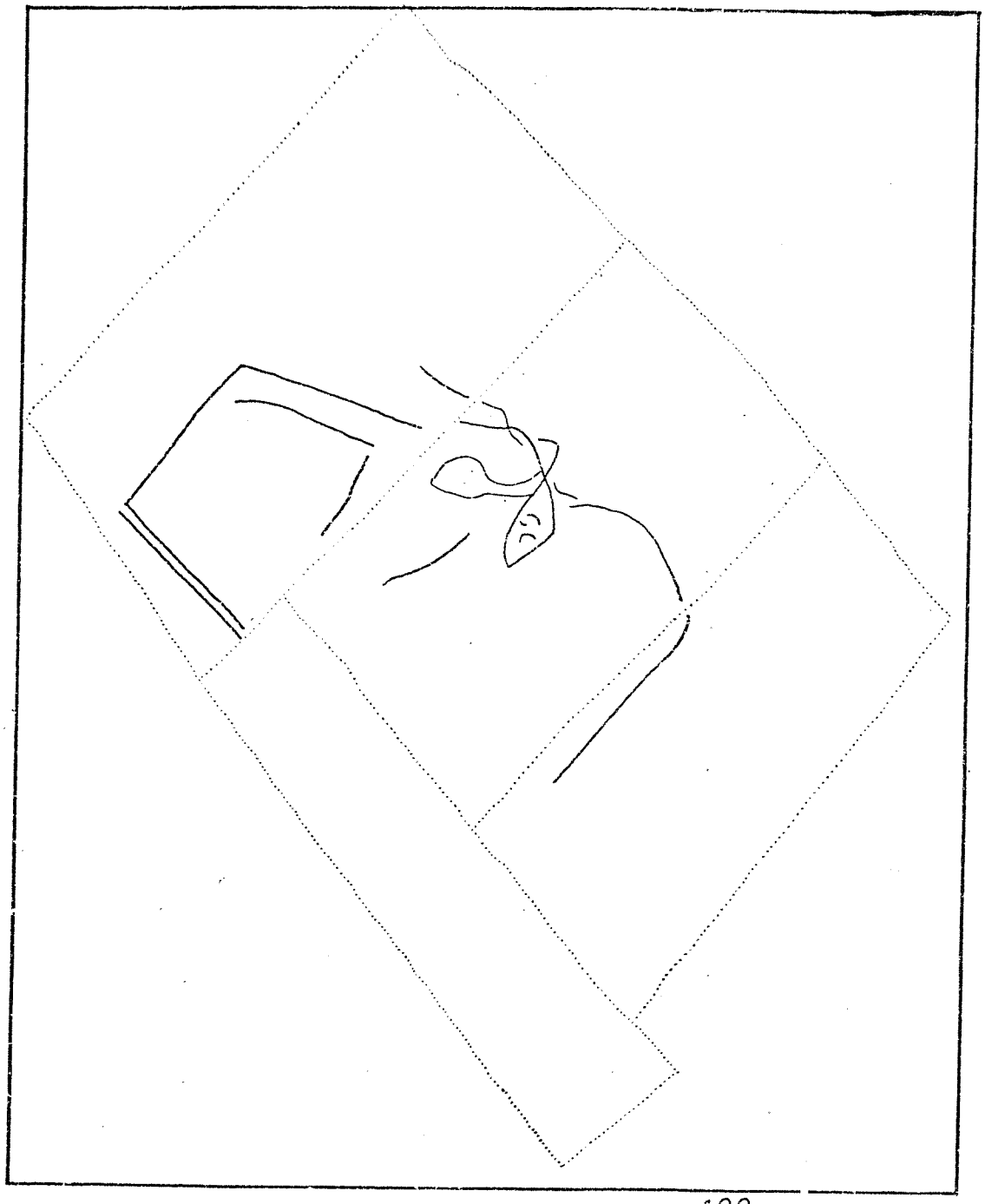


3608

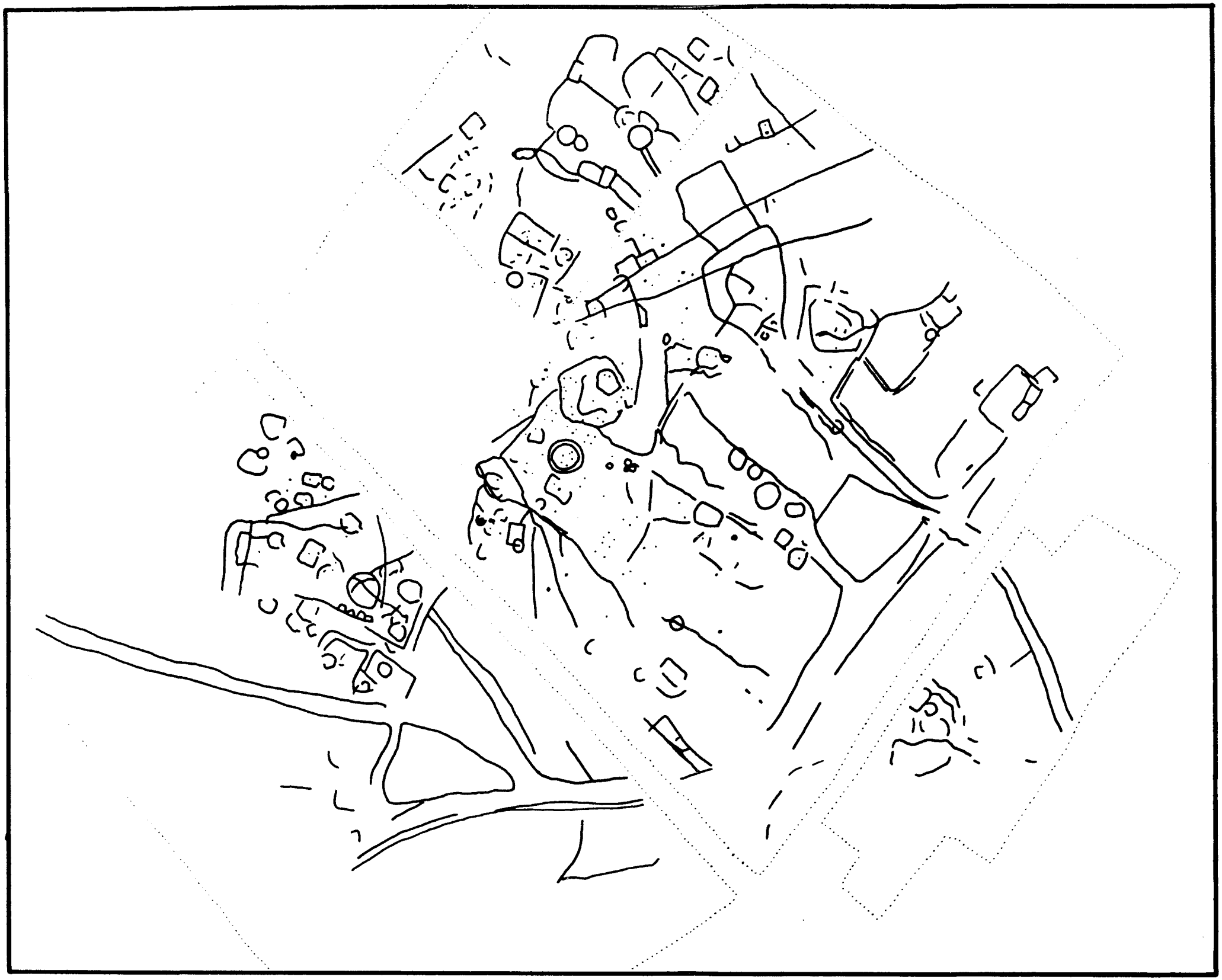
3608/?OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 3608:1-3.



3707/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 3707:1:1, 3707:1:10-11.

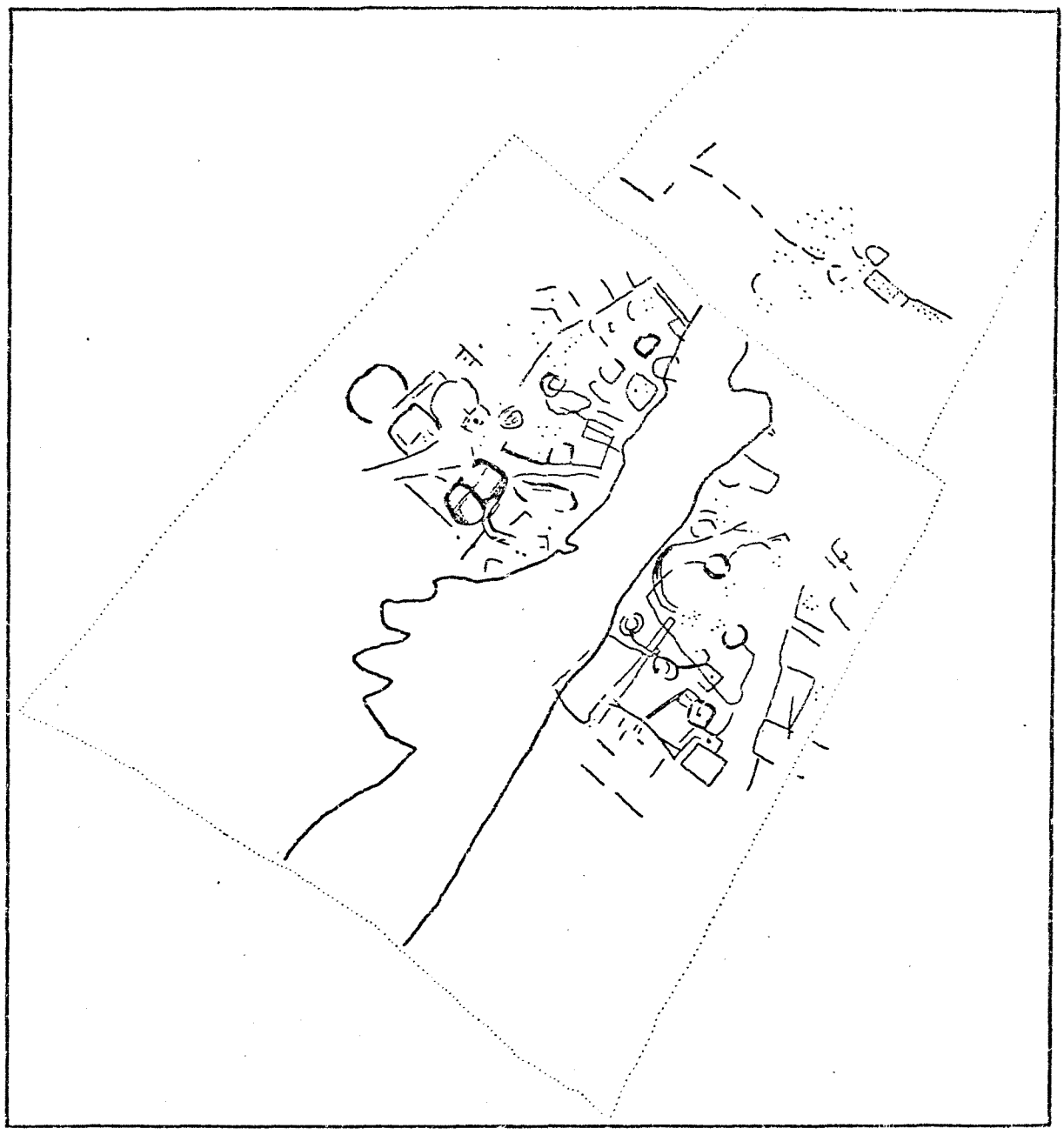


3802A/OS/-/+---/*Riley 5:24-5; NMR SP 3802:7.



3802

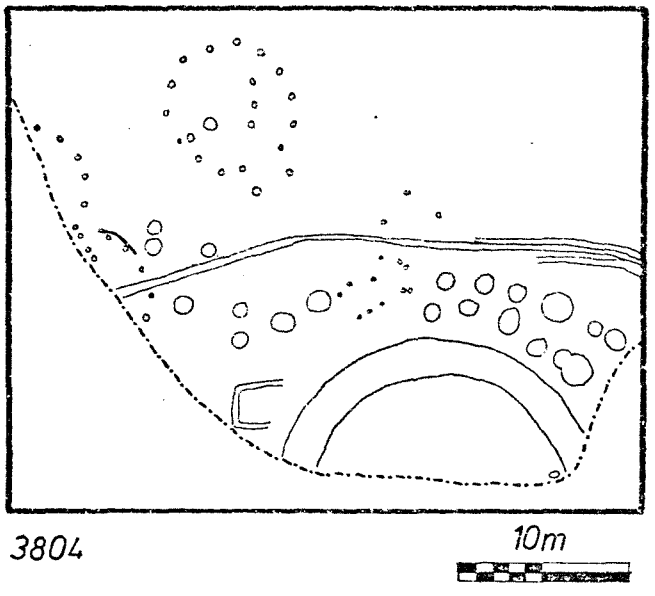
3802B/OS: CES/-/+--+/Fieldwork has produced Iron Age material; Armstrong, 1979; *Riley 5:24-5; NMR SP 3802:7.



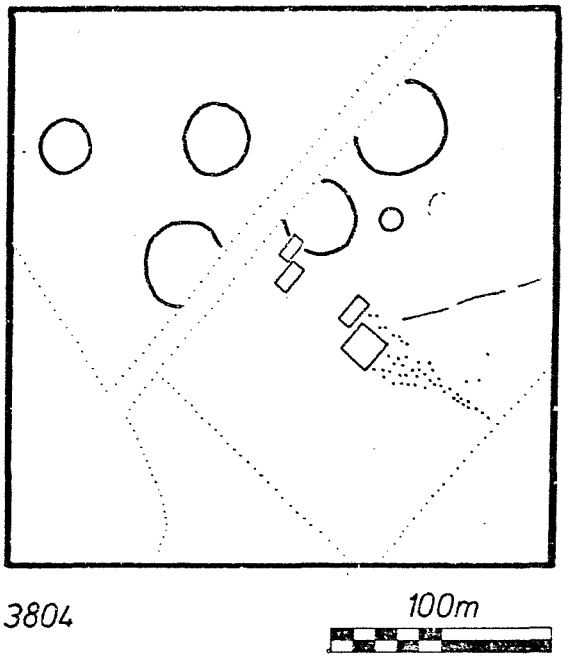
3804

100 m

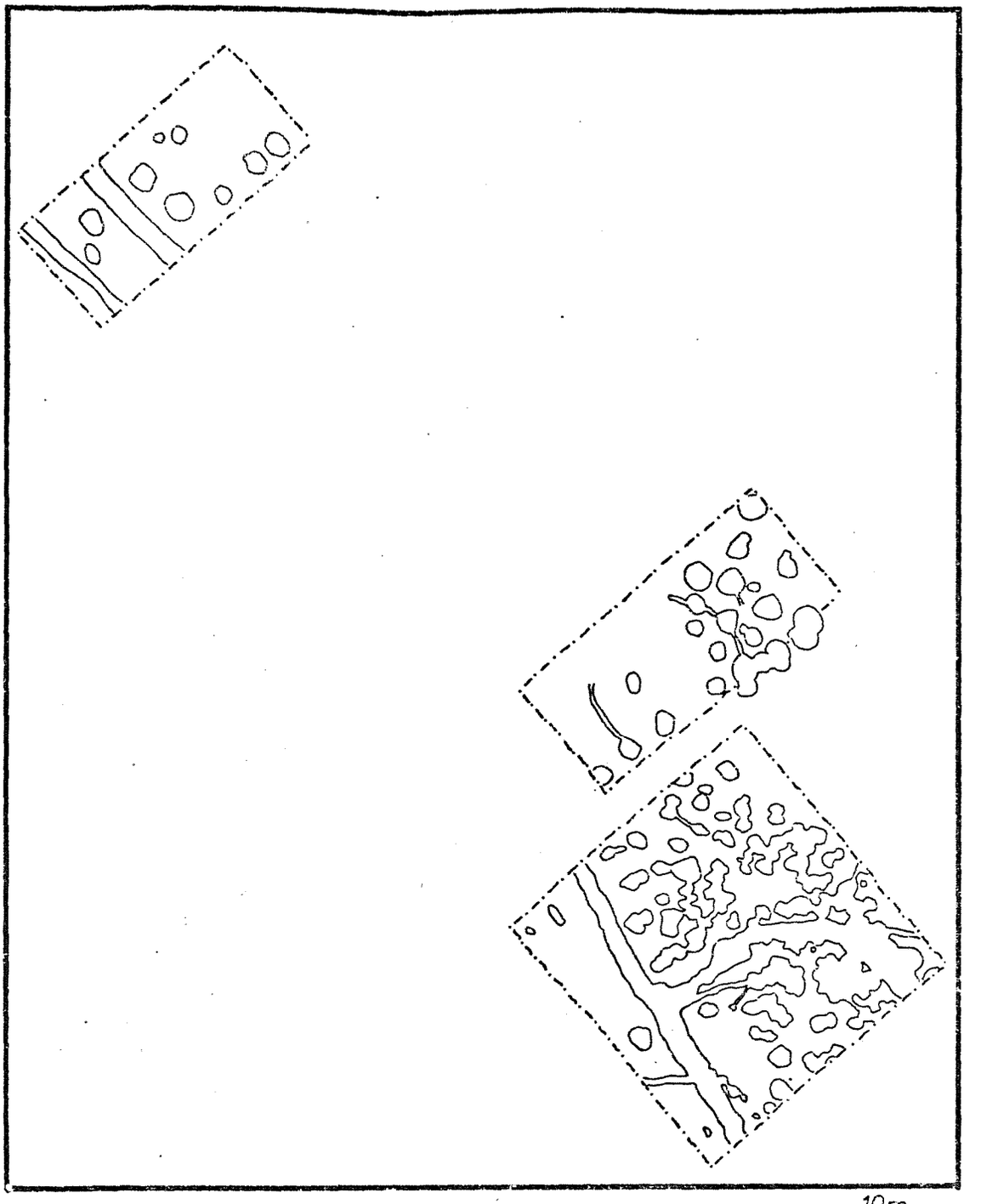
3804A/CES/?LIA:RB/+--+/Fieldwork by the author and Louise Armstrong produced possible Late Iron Age and Romano-British material; *CUAP VL 52, ARX 61-2; NMR SP 3804: 14:233-7.



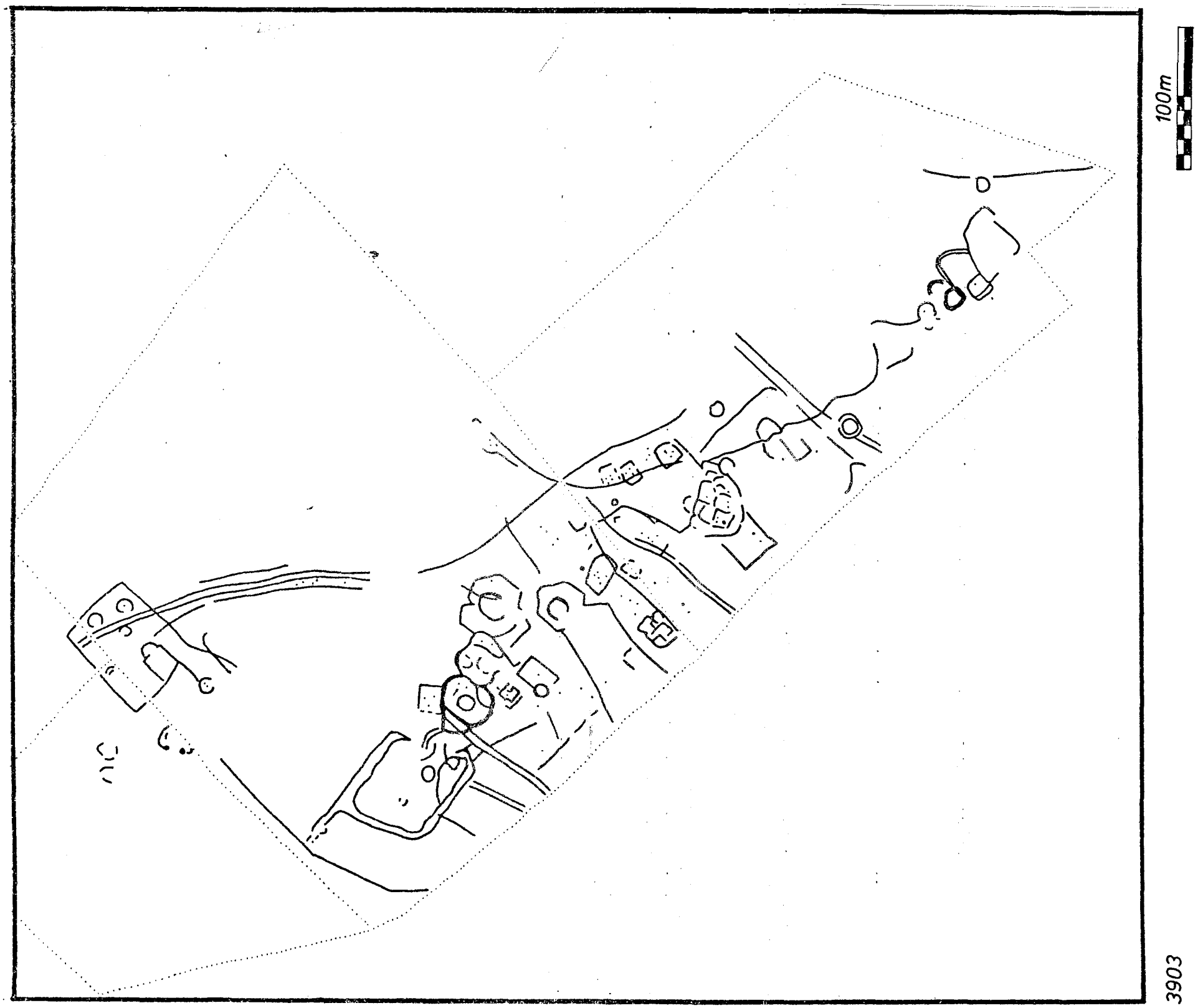
3804B, Riley's Site/OS/EIA/-++-/Excavation produced evidence for huts and pits of Early Iron Age date; Riley, 1946.



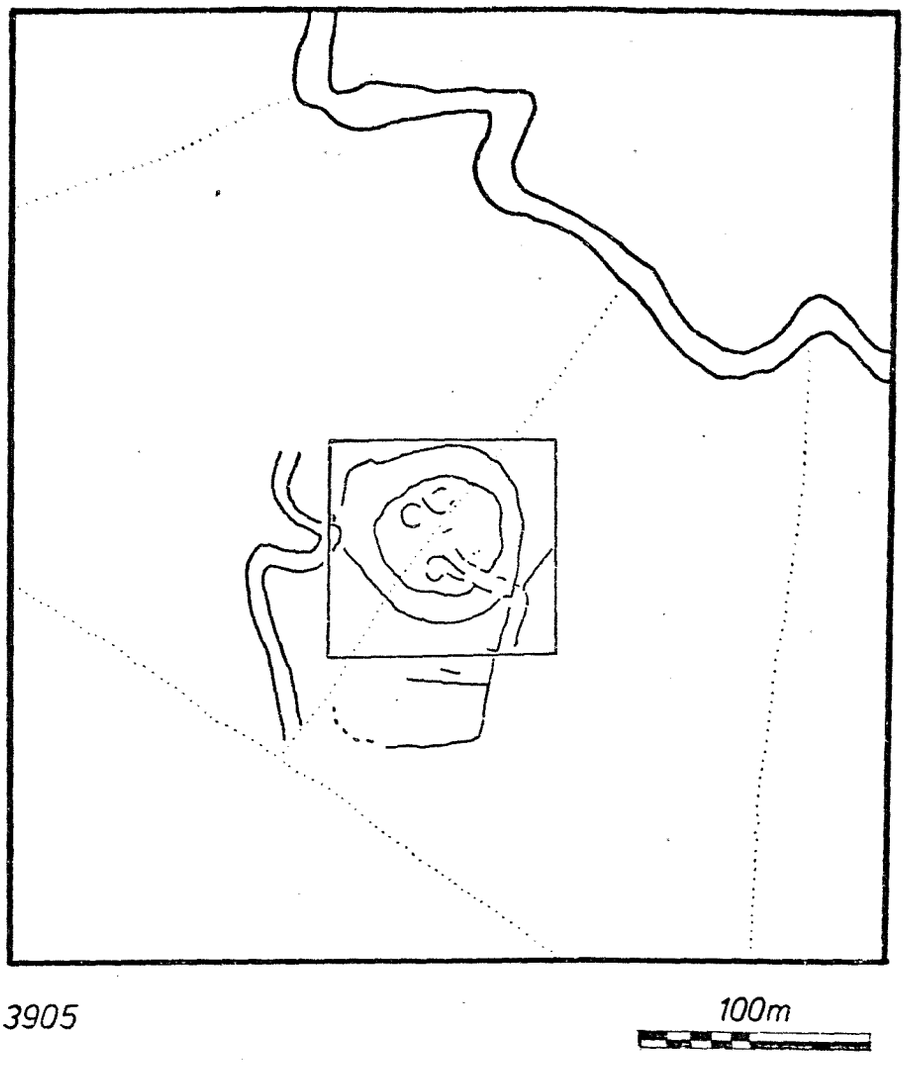
3804C, Stone's Site/OS/LBA:EIA/+++-/Excavation produced evidence for pits and gullies of possible Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age date; Stone, 1857, 1858; Bradford, 1934; Brown, 1973.



3804C



3903/OS/-/+--+/Fieldwork has produced Iron Age material; Armstrong, 1979; *Allen 1108-9; Riley 5:28-9; CUAP DX 70, BNE 26-31; NMR SP 3903:15-16.



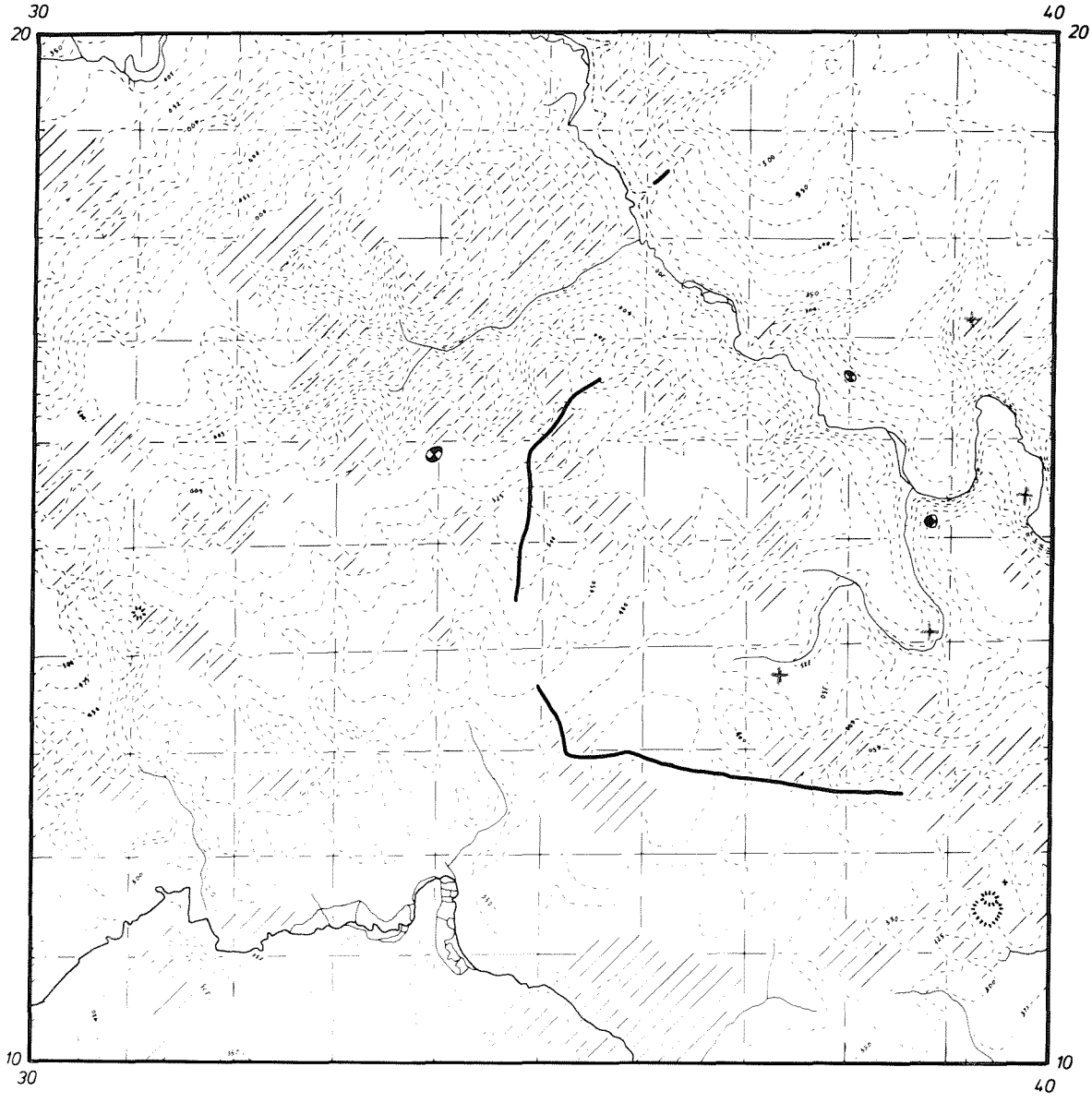
3905A, Minge's Ditch/ES/MIA/+++-/Excavation produced evidence of Middle Iron Age dating; Robinson and Allen, 1978; Allen and Robinson, 1979.

3905B/CES/LIA/--+-/Excavation produced evidence for a settlement of Late Iron Age date; Allen pers. com.

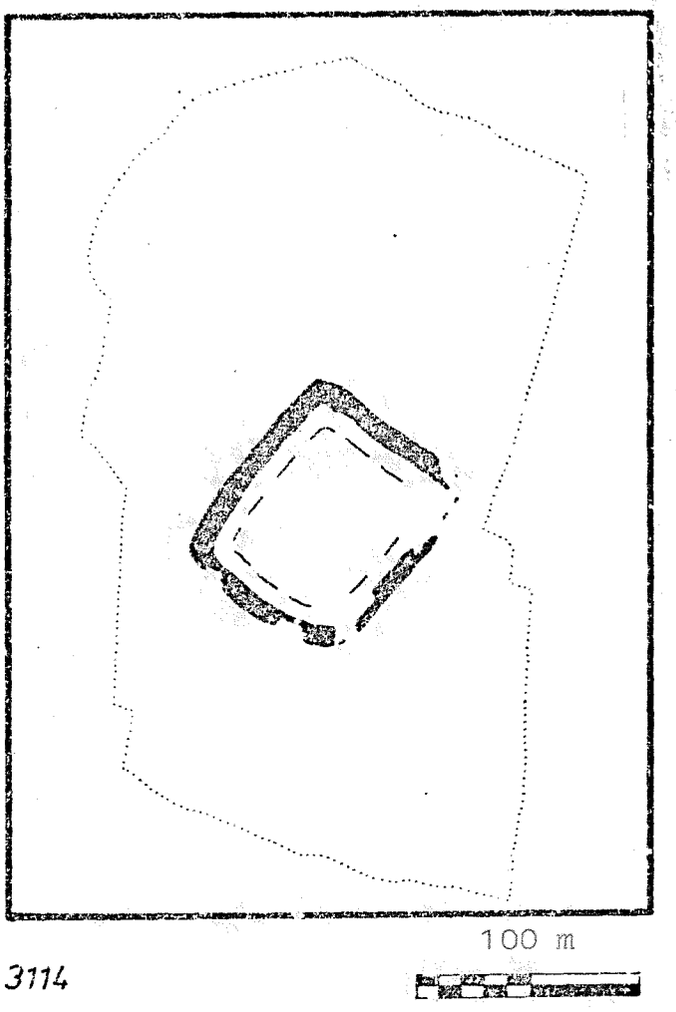


3905

10m

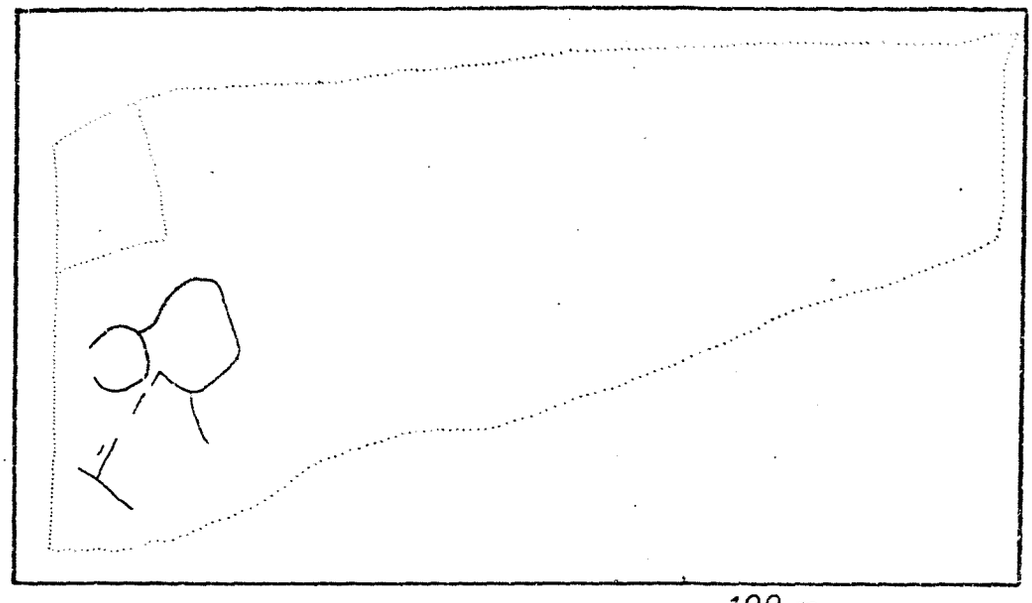


Base Map 11.

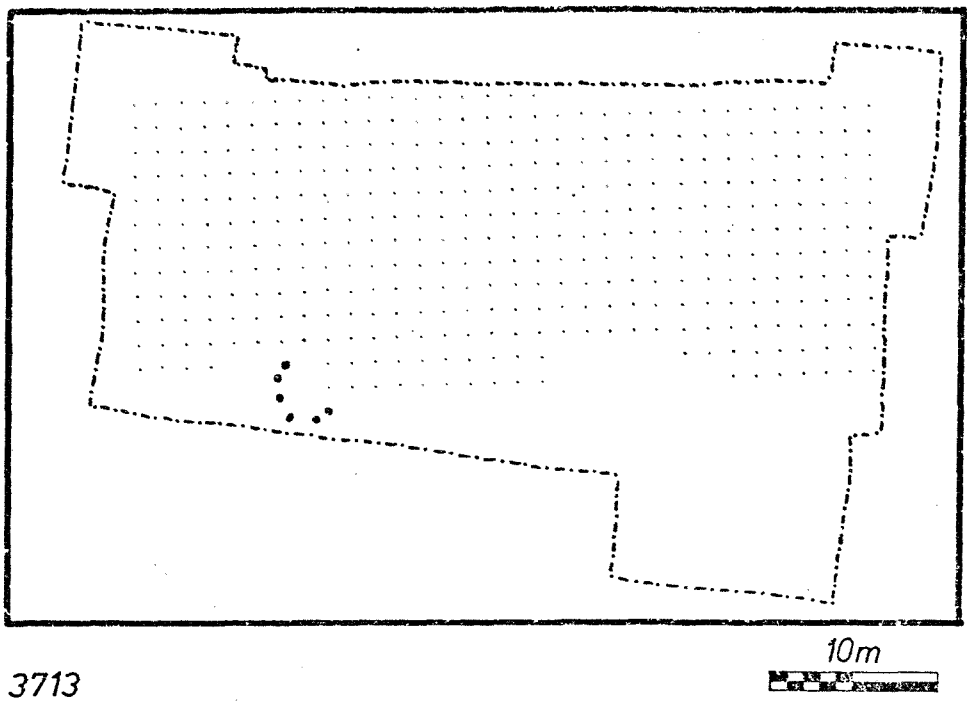


3114

3114, Lowbarrow/?DE/-/+---/Sutton, 1966; *Allen 558;
FAS 6125-6088.

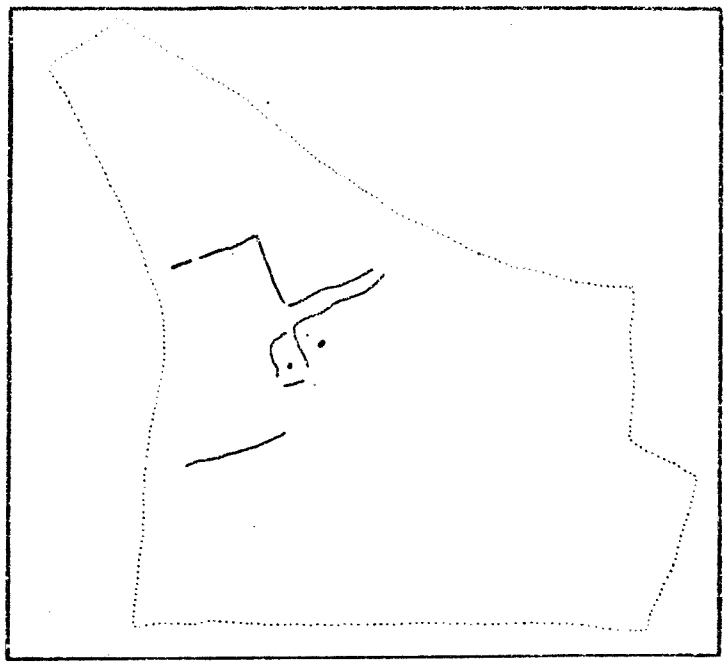


3315/ES/-/+---/*OAU Slides.



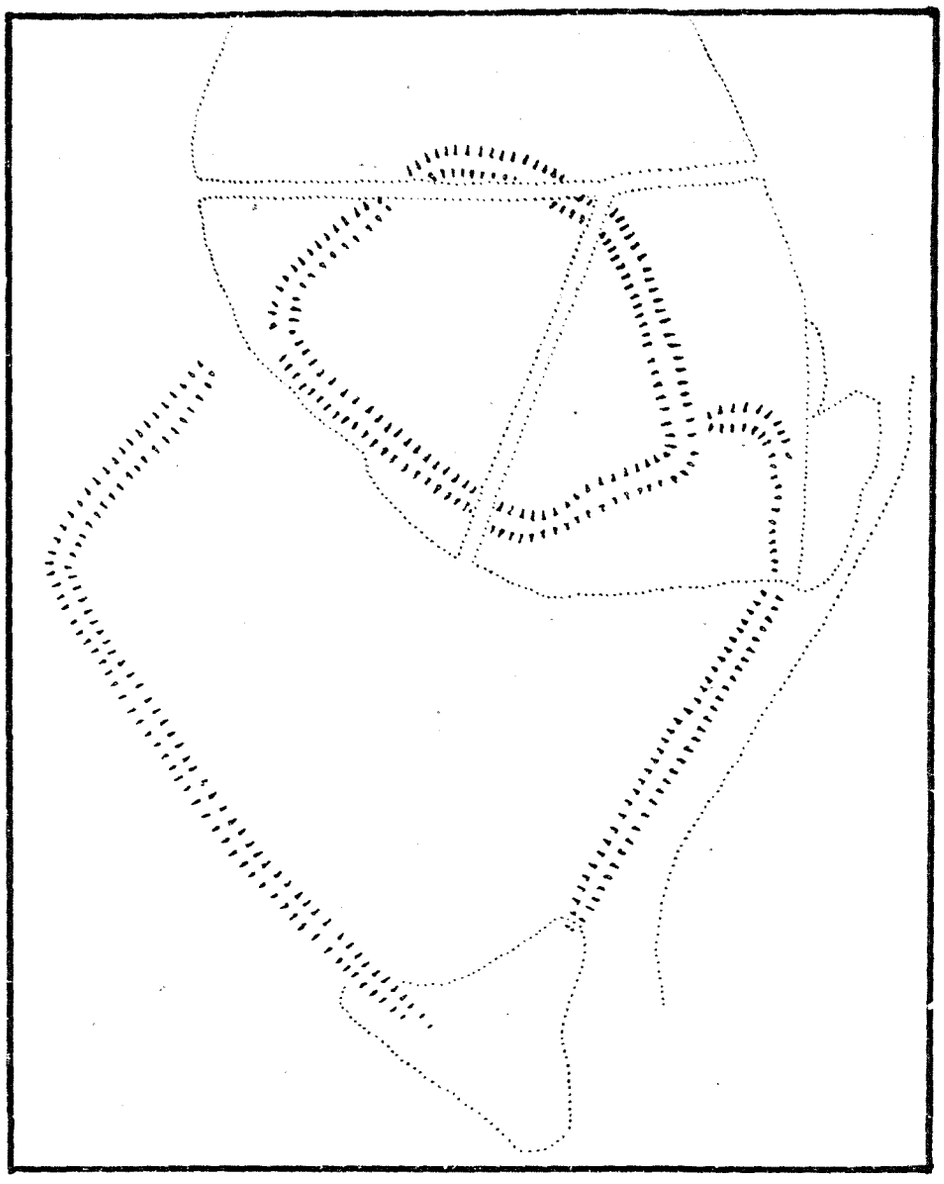
3713/-/LIA or RB/-++-/Excavation on the Villa site produced a circular post hole structure predating the villa; Brodribb, Hands and Walker, 1972.

3814/-/LIA/--+-/Late Iron Age material found during quarrying; Notes and News, 1958 and 1959.



3815

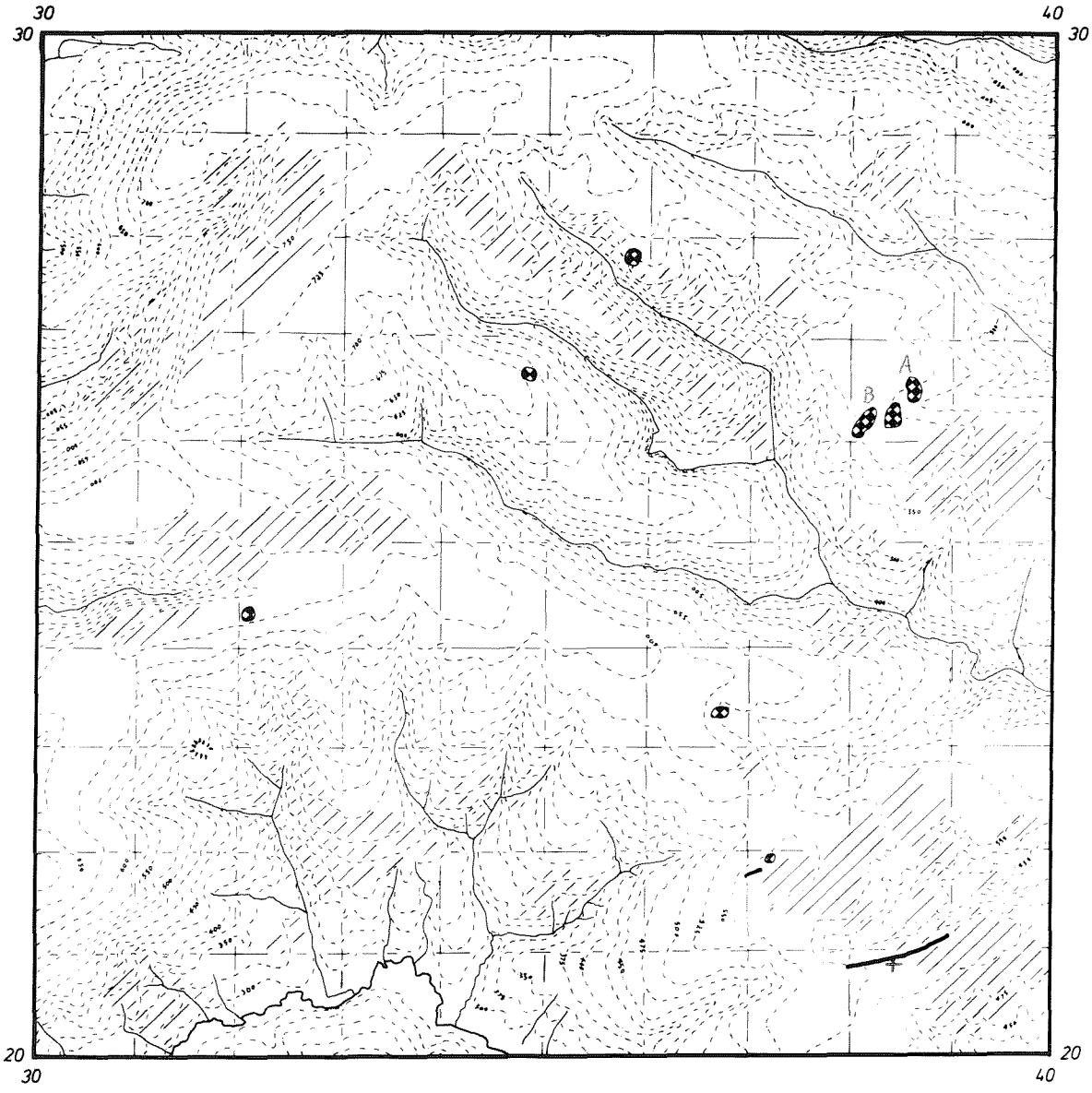
3815/?ES/-/+--+/*FAS 6125-6100.



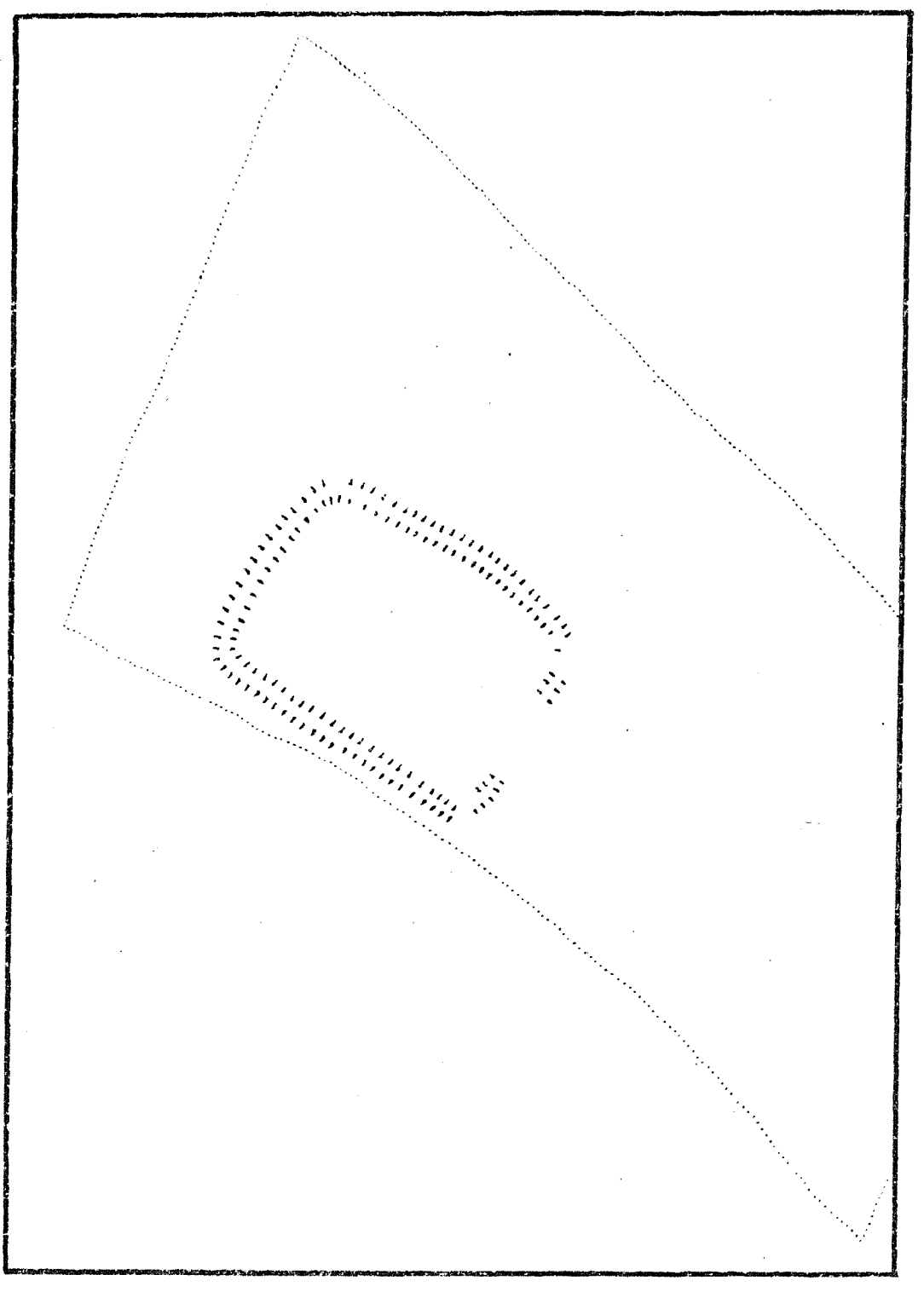
3911, Eynsham Hall Park/DE/-/+-+-/Excavation across the bank produced no finds; Sutton, 1966; Woodell, 1972.

3915/-/LIA/---+-/Excavation on the Villa site produced Late Iron Age material.

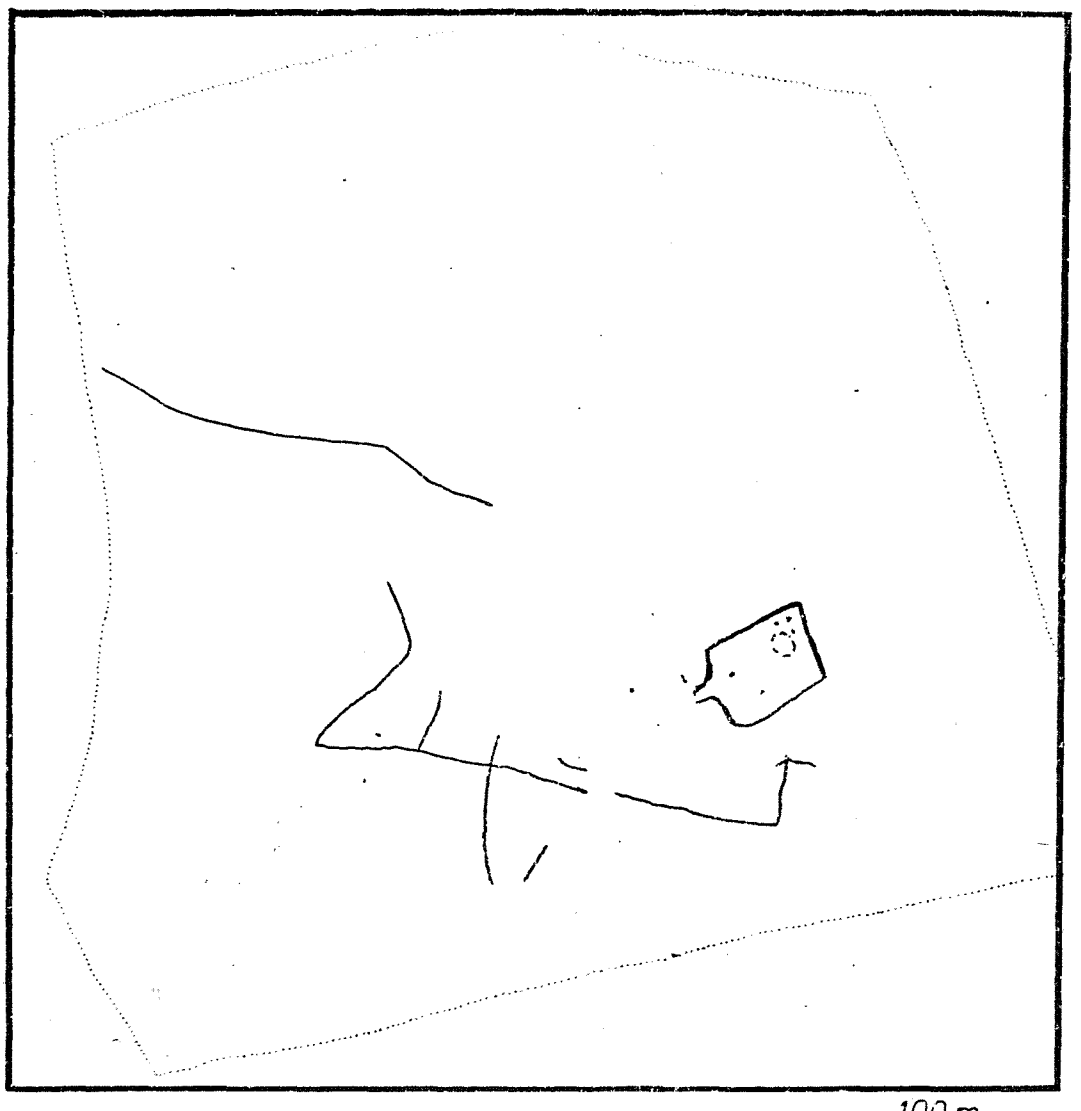
3917/-/MIA/----+/A Find of Middle Iron Age pottery; Notes and News, 1966.



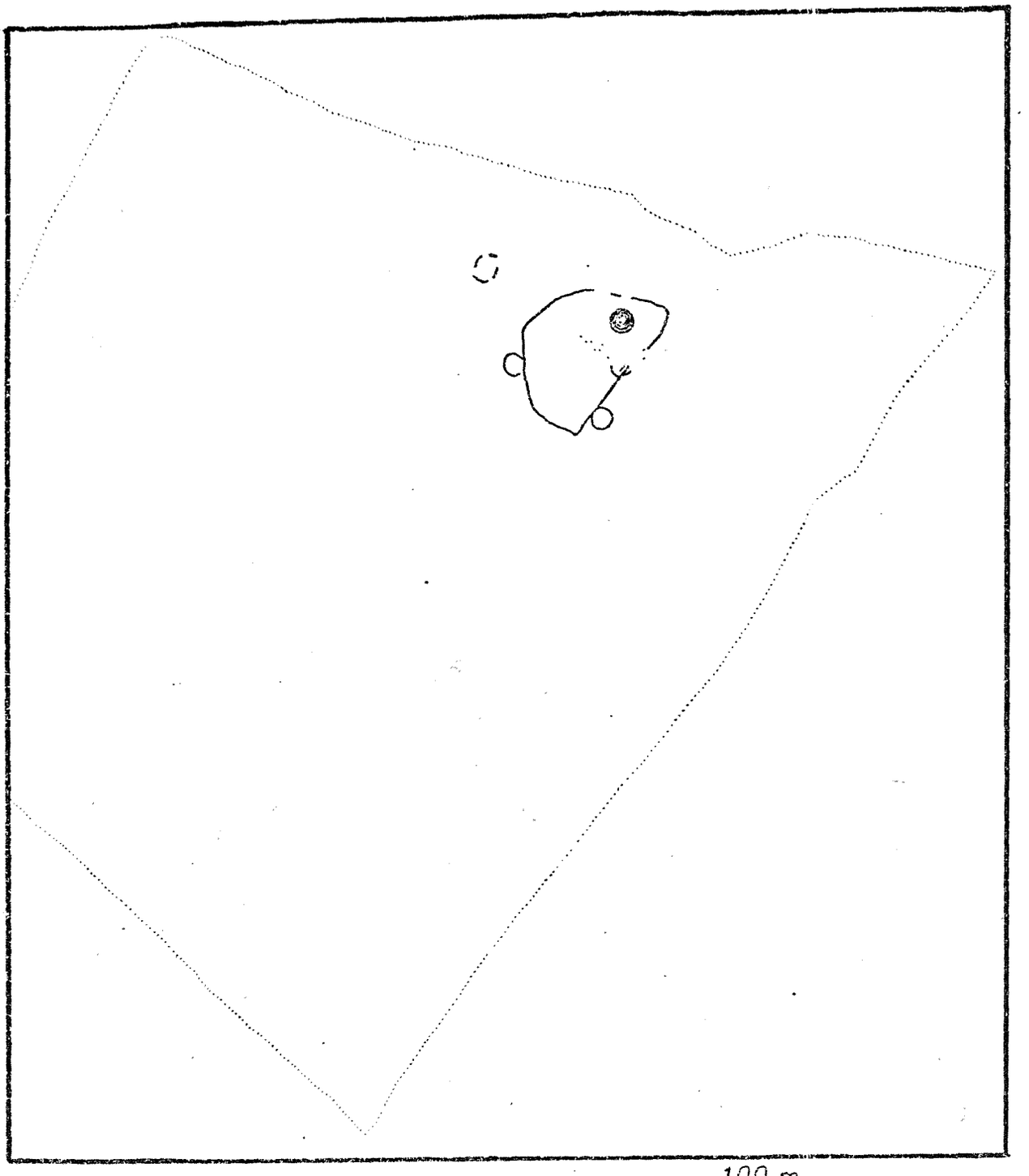
Base Map 12.



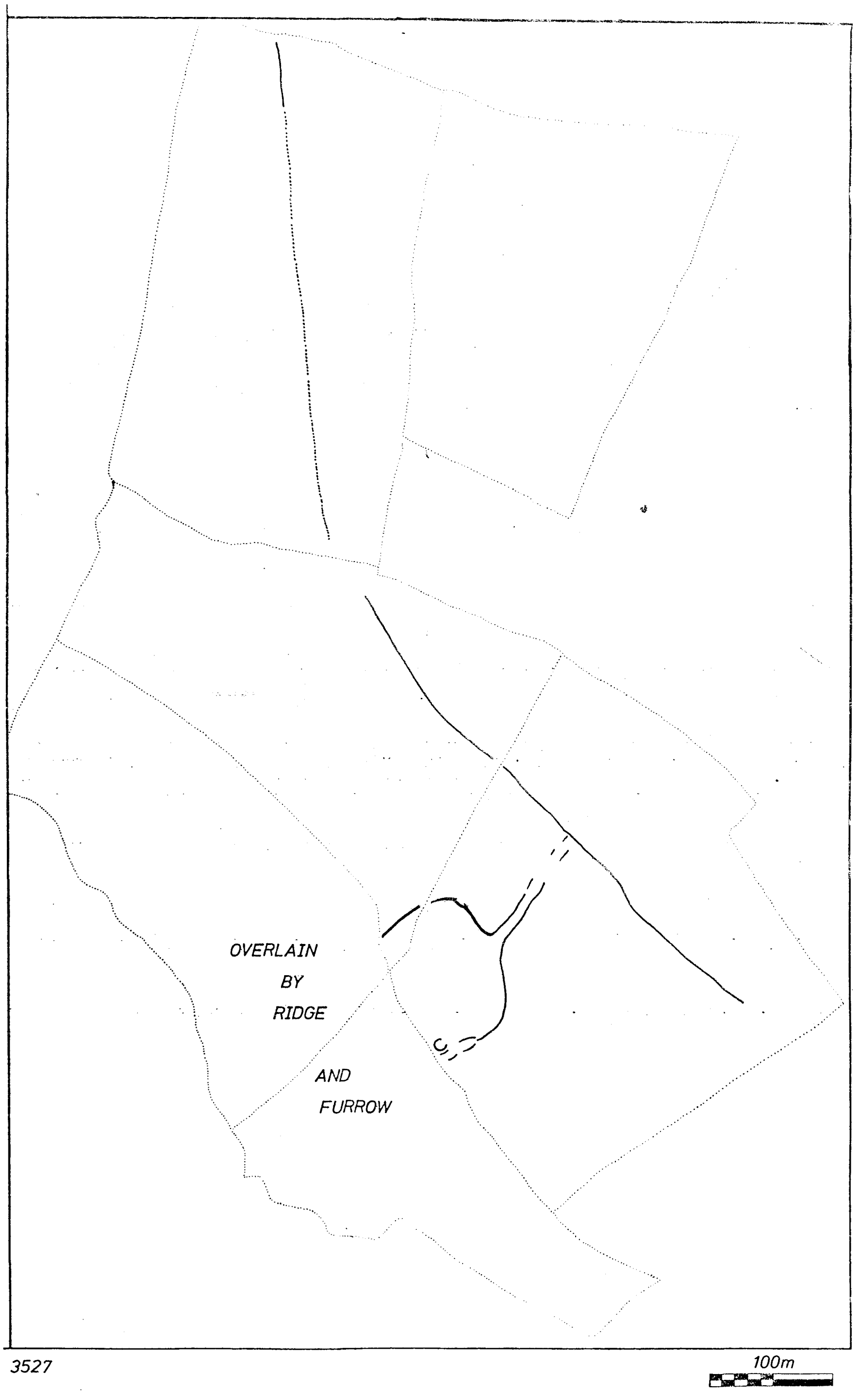
3122, Knowlbury/DE/-/+--+/Sutton, 1966.



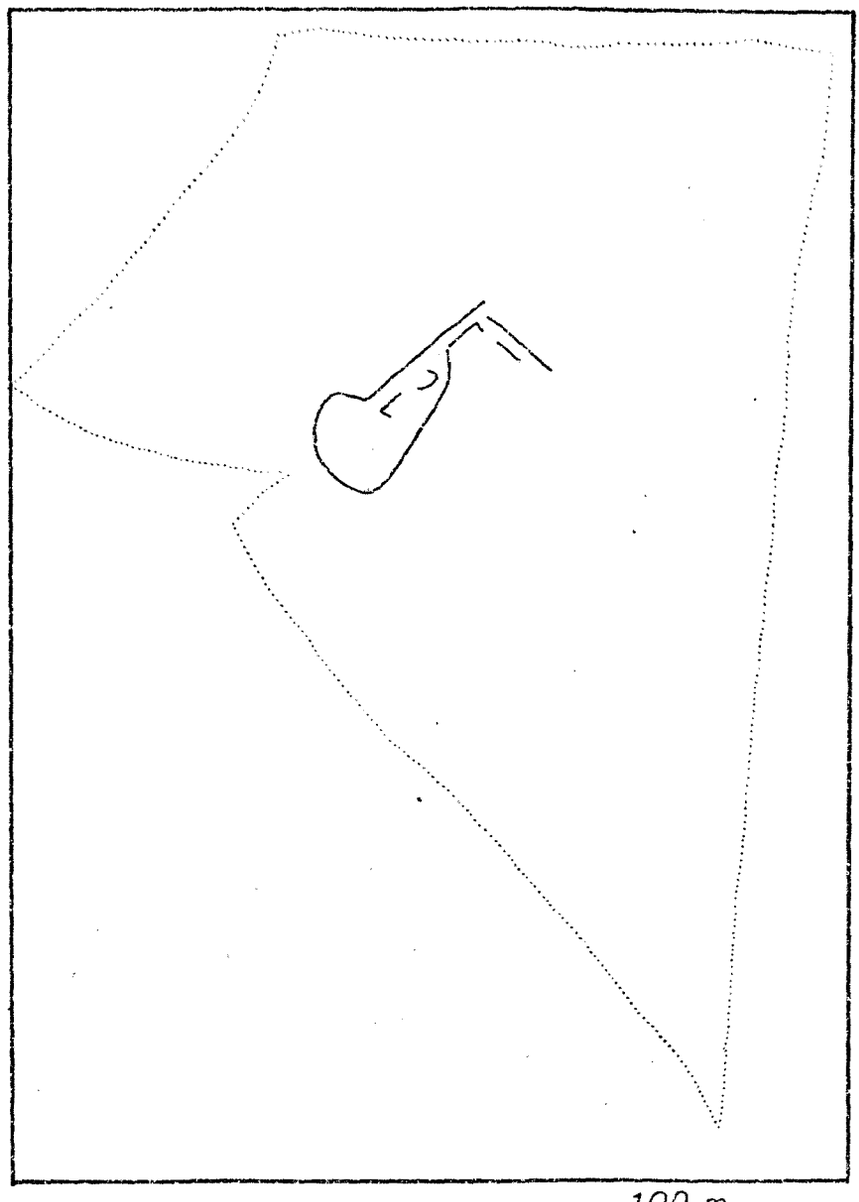
3224/ES/-/+---/*FAS 6125-13054; Allen 305.



3426/ES/-/+---/*FAS 6125-13107.

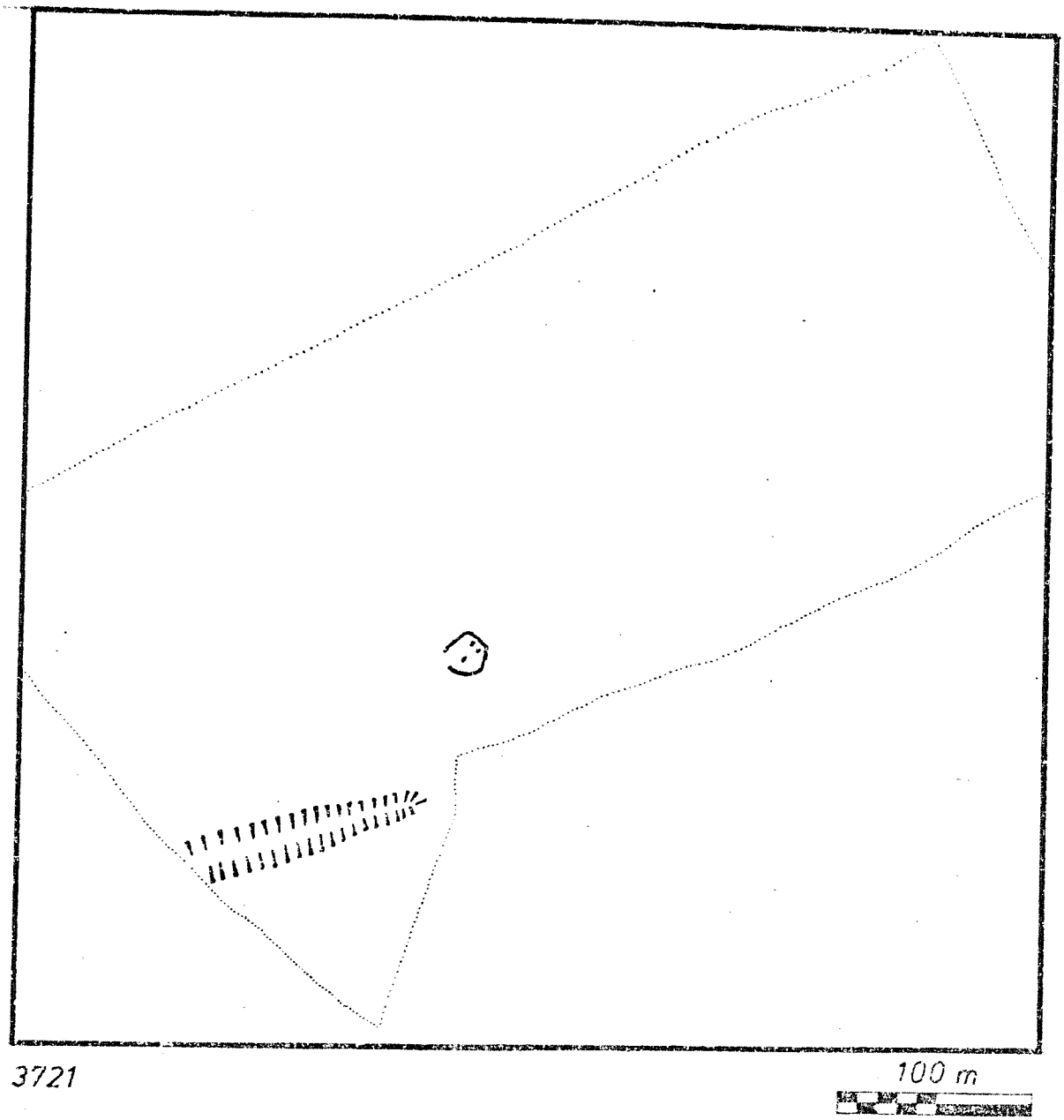


3527/ES/-/+--+/*FAS 6125-14033.



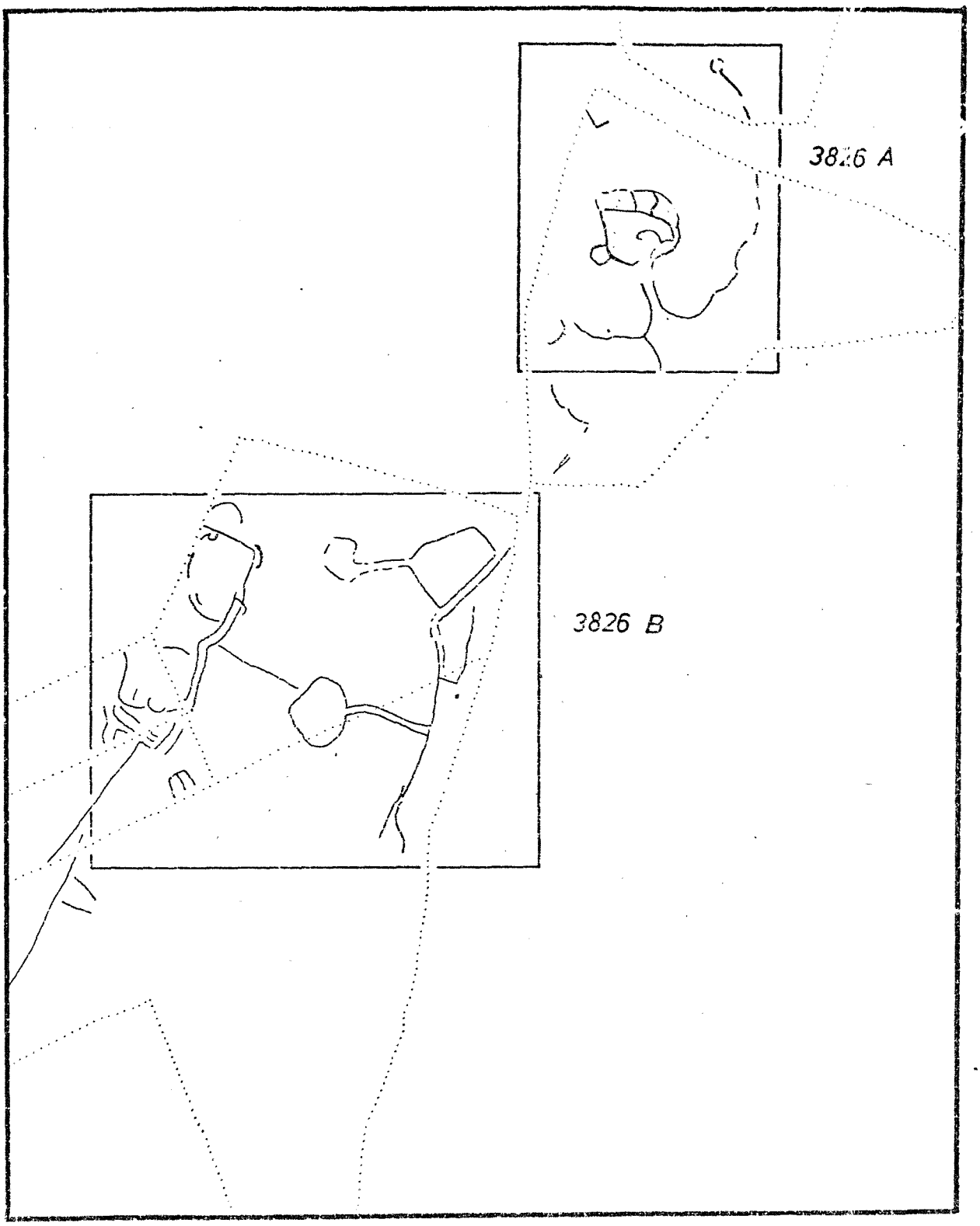
3623

3623/?ES/-/+---/*FAS 6125-12082, 6125-13048.

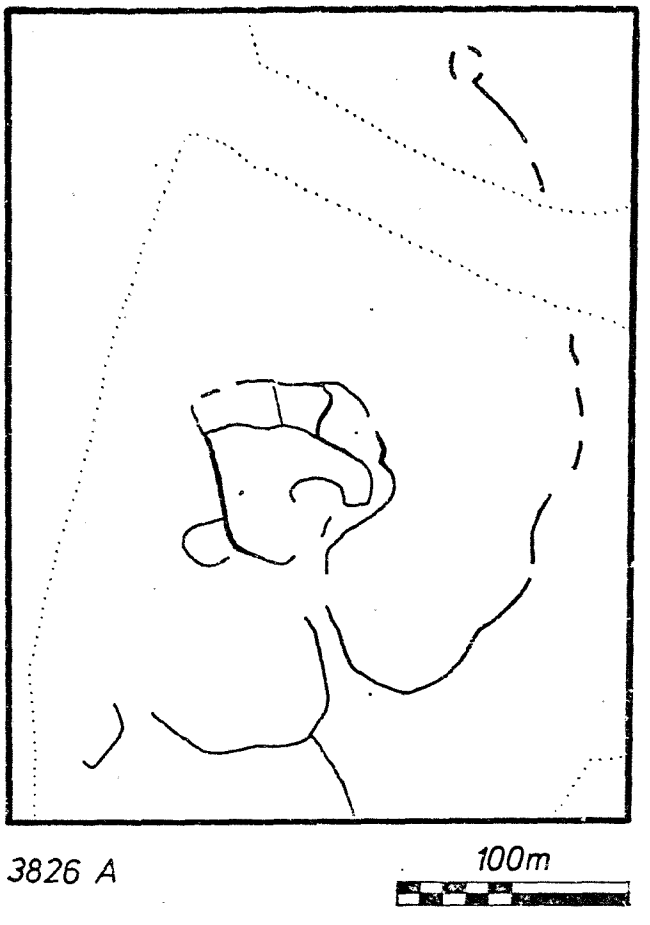


3721/?OS/-/+---/*FAS 6125-12042.

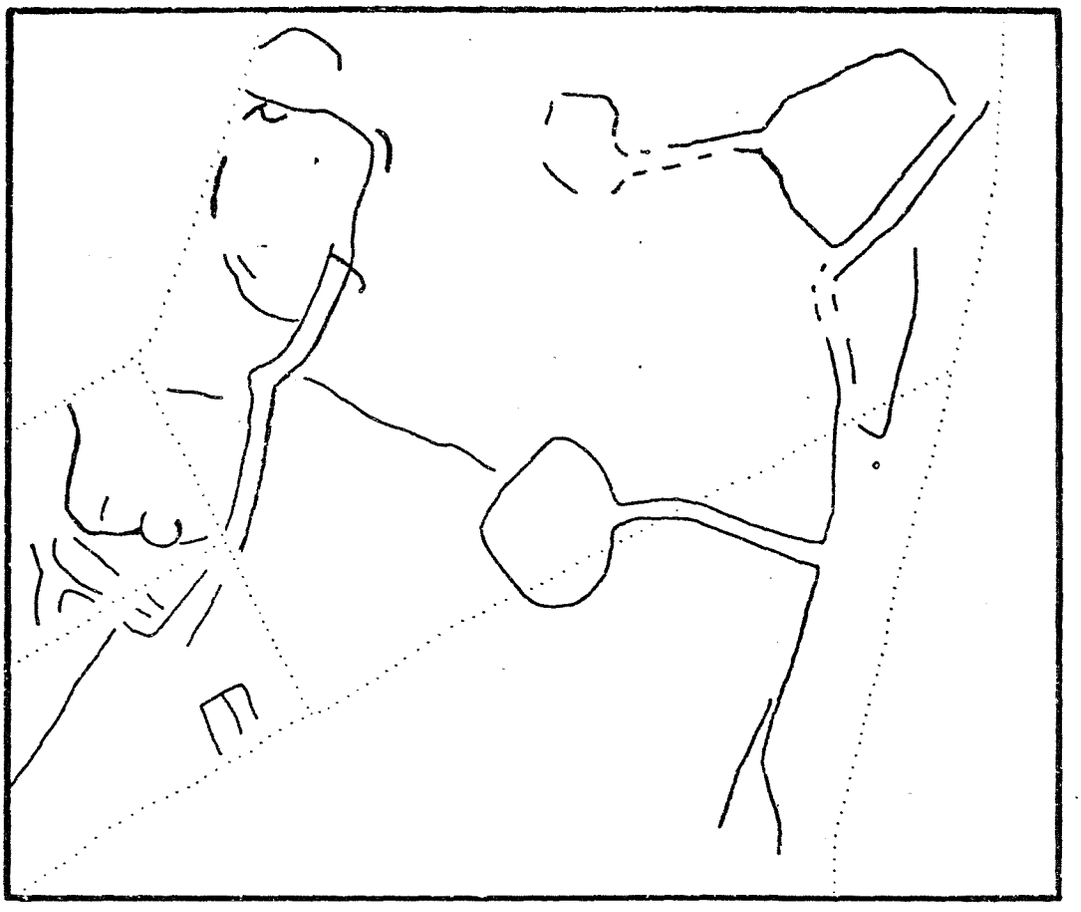
3820/-/LIA/--+-/Excavation of Grim's Ditch produced evidence for Late Iron Age occupation; Harden, 1937.



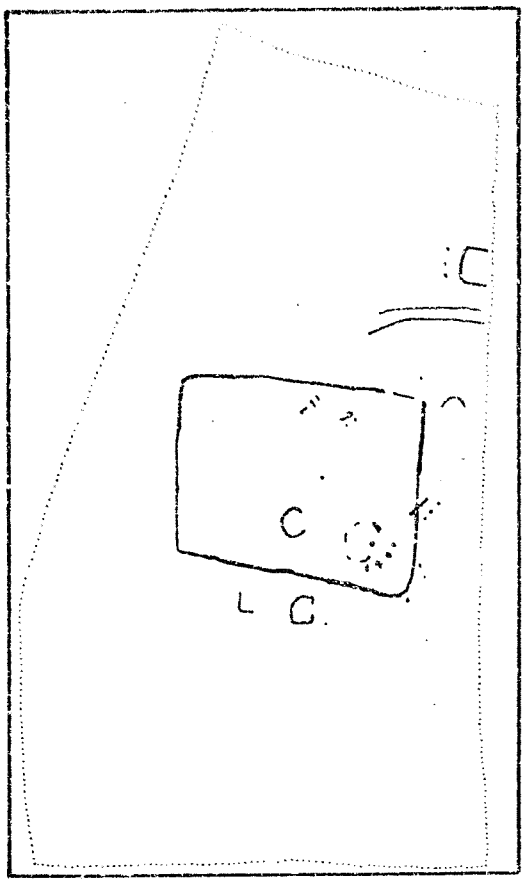
3826 A, 3826 B.



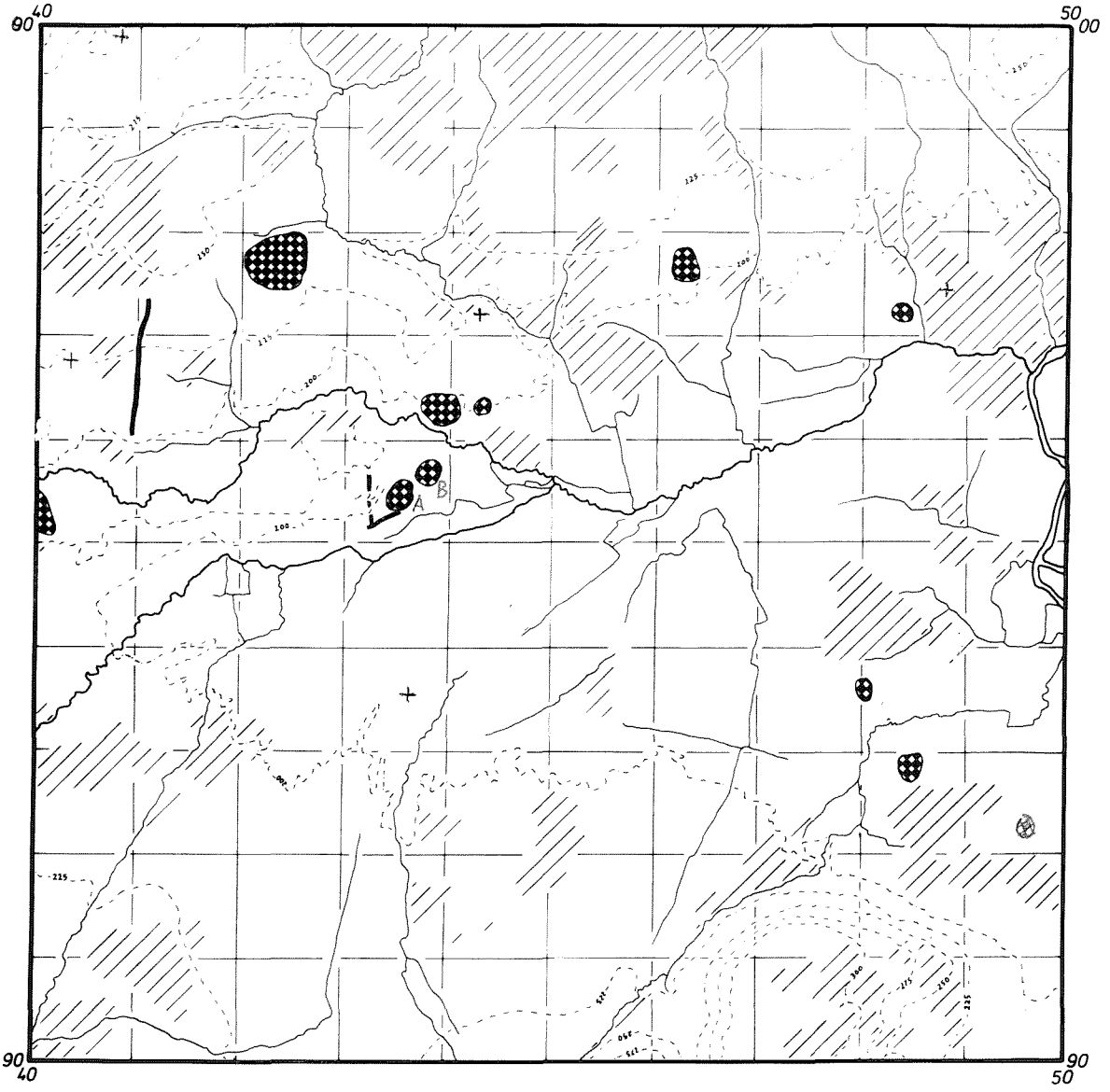
3826A/ES/-/+--+/Fieldwork by the author produced a few possible Middle:Late Iron Age sherds; *FAS 6125-13048.



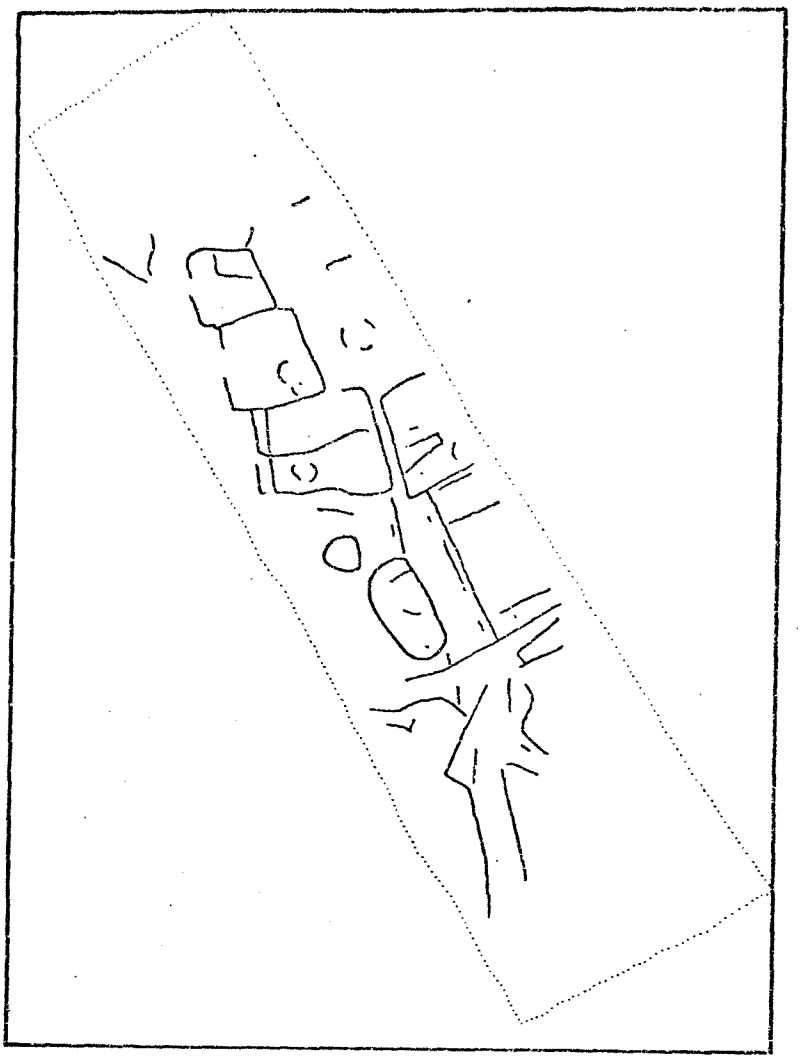
3826B/CES/-/+---/*FAS 6125-13048, 6125-13164.



3231/ES/-/+---/*FAS 6125-15014.



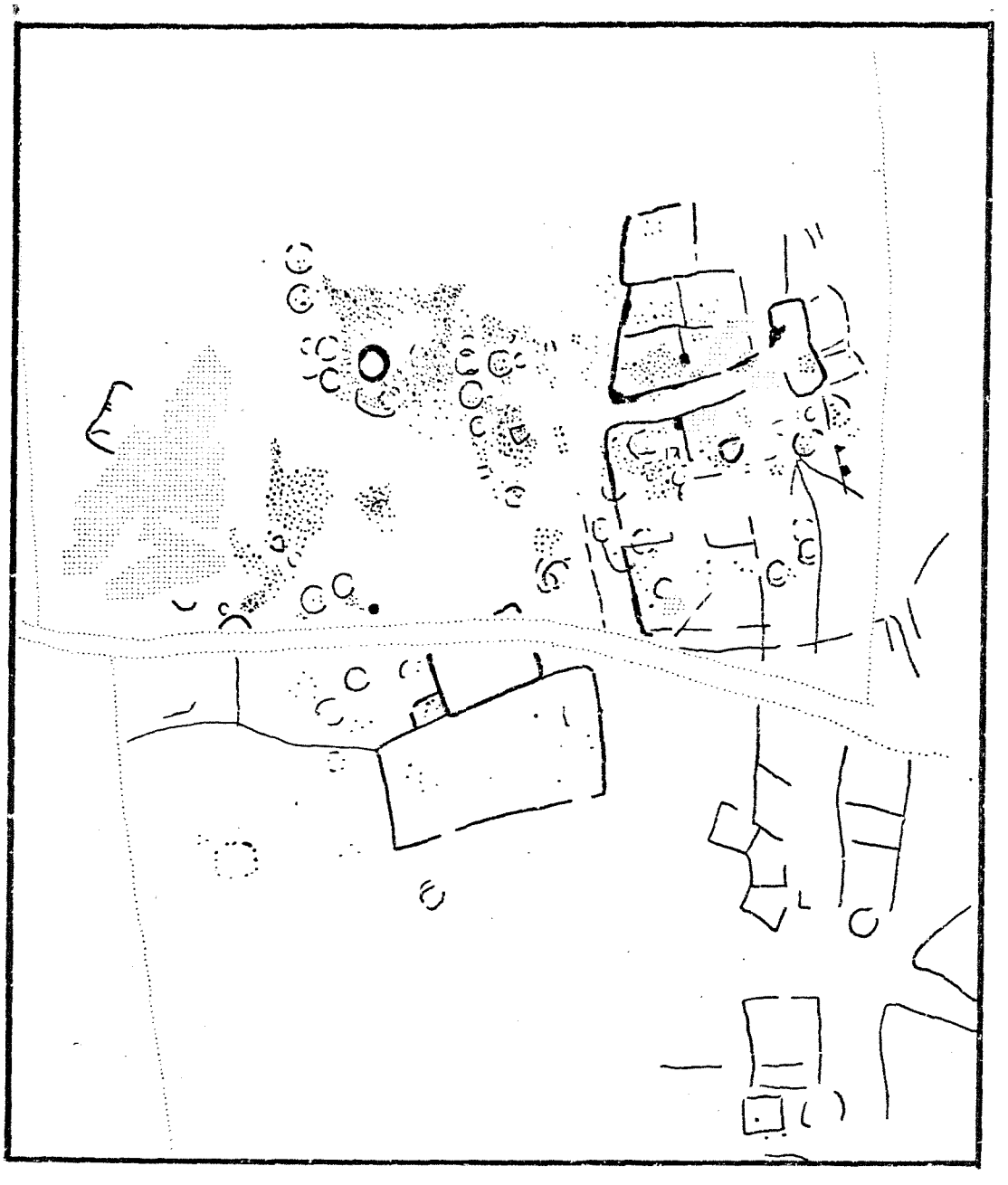
Base Map 13.



4095/CES/-/+---/*NMR SU 4095:1:204, 4095:4:222.

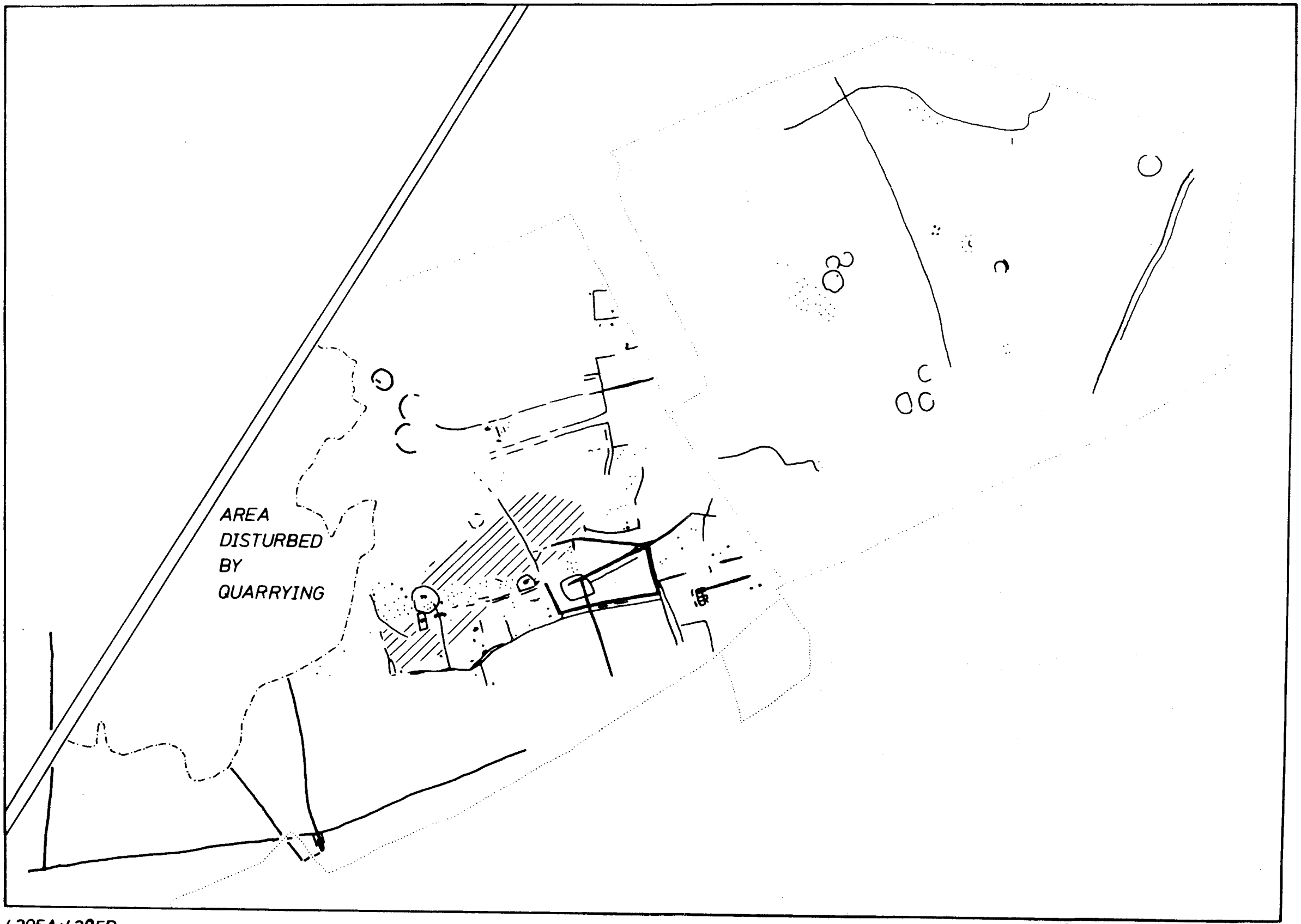
4096/-/MIA/---+/Fieldwork produced a quantity of Middle Iron Age pottery; Cowell, 1980.

4099, Kingstonhill Farm/-/MIA:LIA/--++/Fieldwork and Excavation have produced Middle and Late Iron Age material; Cowell, 1979, 1980.



4297, Hamfield Barn/OS/EIA:MIA/+--+/Fieldwork by the author has produced Early and Middle Iron Age material; *OAU slides; NMR SU 4297:6:208, 4297:24:131.

4393/-/LIA/--*-/Late Iron Age pottery found while excavating Villa; Archaeological Notes, 1967.

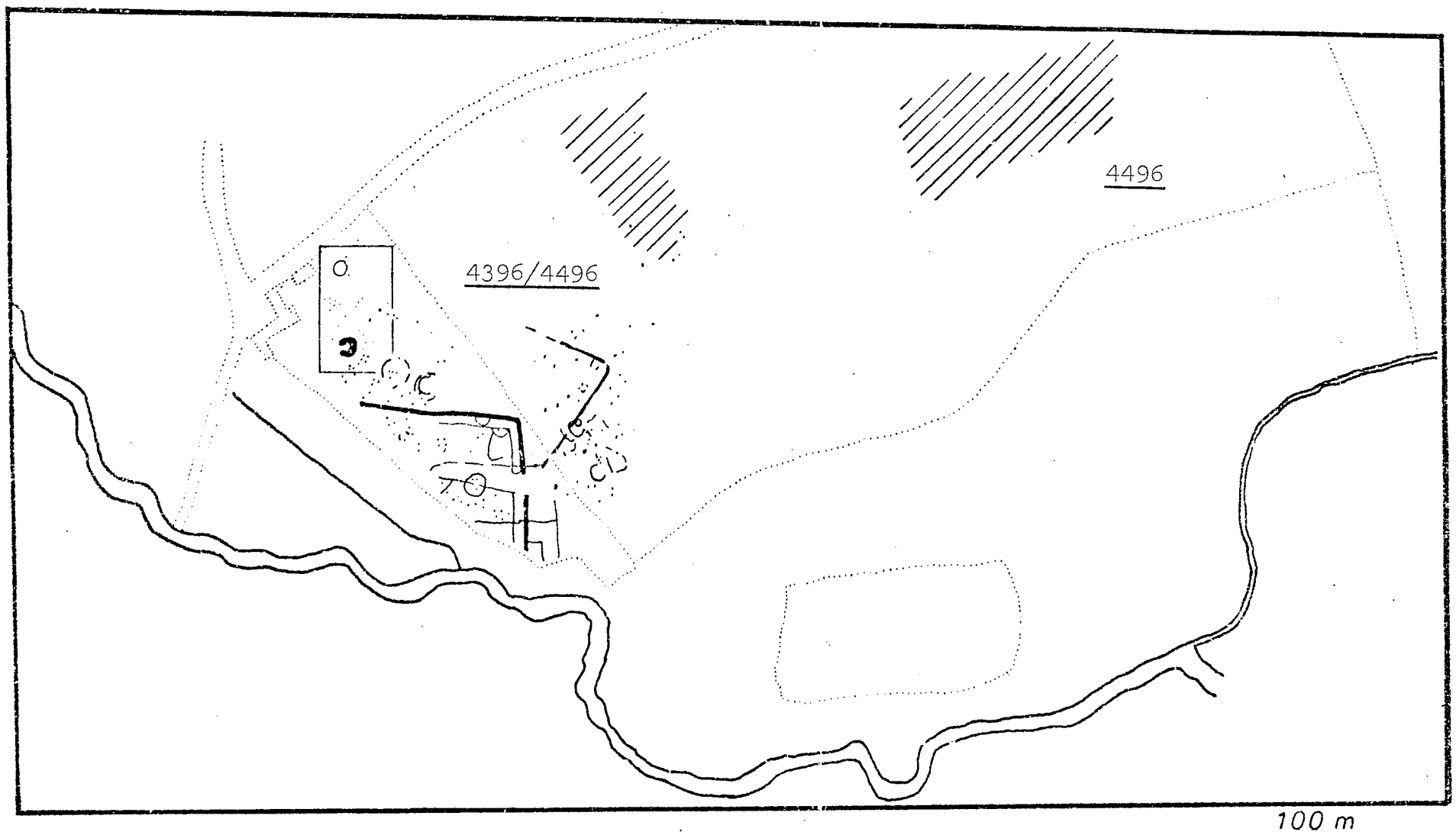


4395A:4395B

100 m

4395A/OS/EIA:MIA/+--+/Fieldwork by the author produced Early and Middle Iron Age pottery; *NMR SU 4395:2:45, 4:47-8, 16:136.

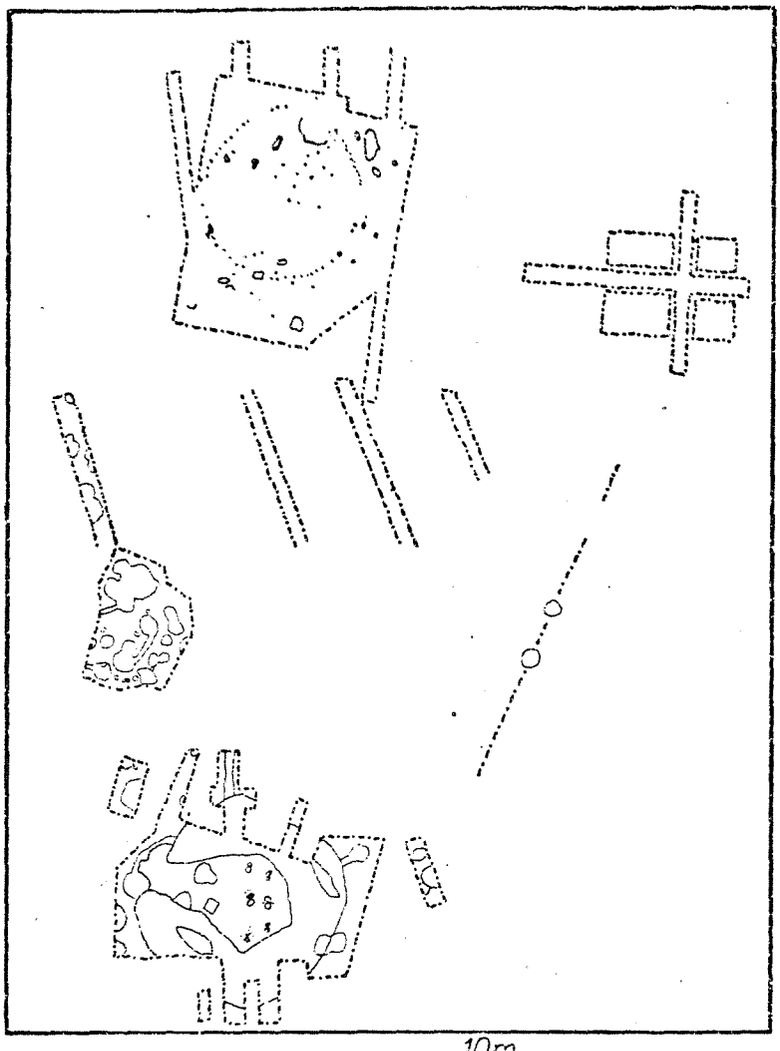
4396B/OS/-/+--+/*NMR SU 4395:3:50, 4:78, 7:179, 13:375.



4396/4496:4496

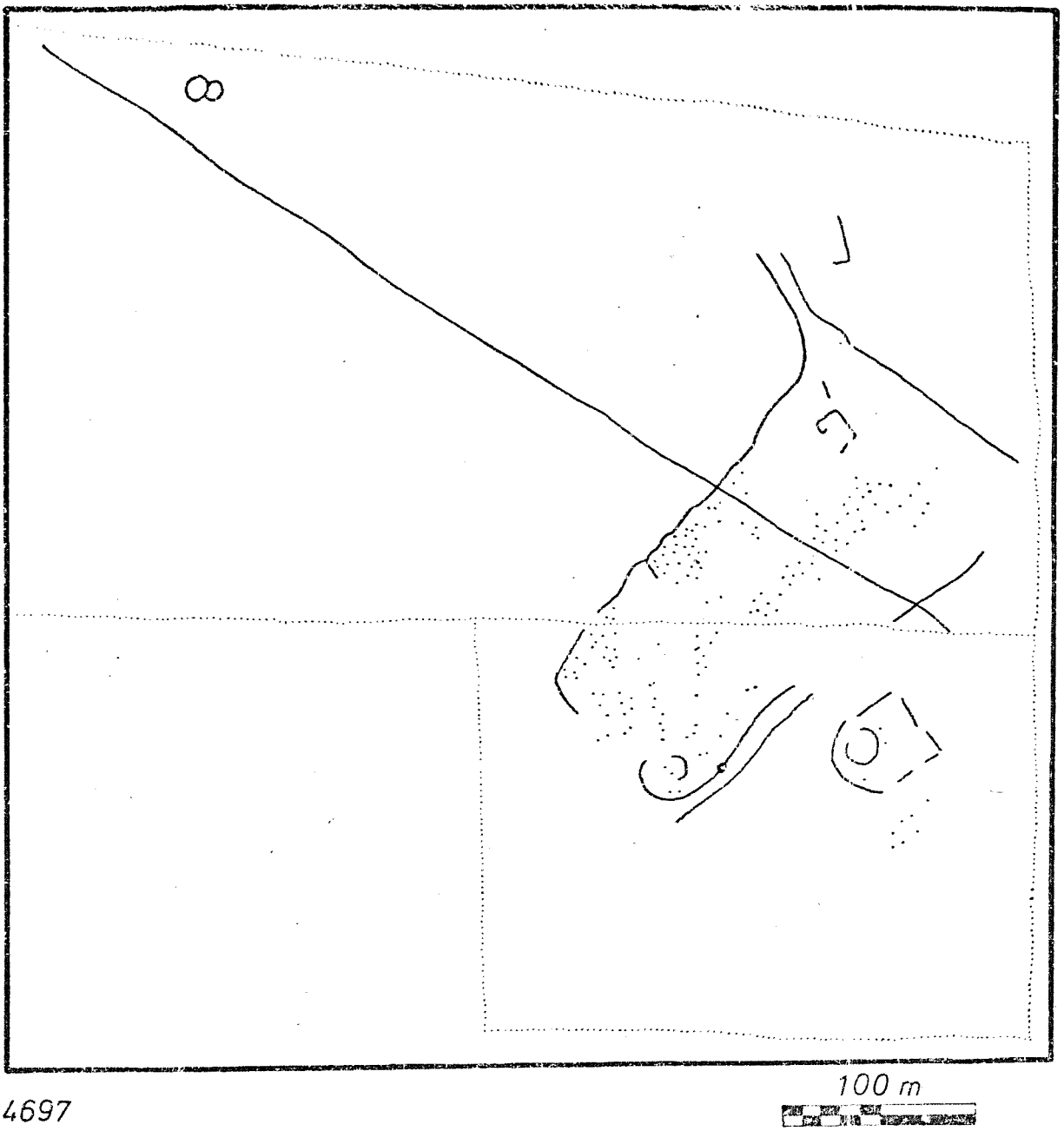
4396:4496, Noah's Ark Inn/OS/EIA:MIA:LIA/++++/Excavation and fieldwork have produced evidence for Early to Late Iron Age settlement and ritual structures; Bradford and Goodchild, 1939; Harding, 1972; Hingley, 1980C, Forthcoming A.

4496/?OS/EIA/+-+-/Excavation and fieldwork produced evidence for Early Iron Age settlement; Hingley, Forthcoming F.

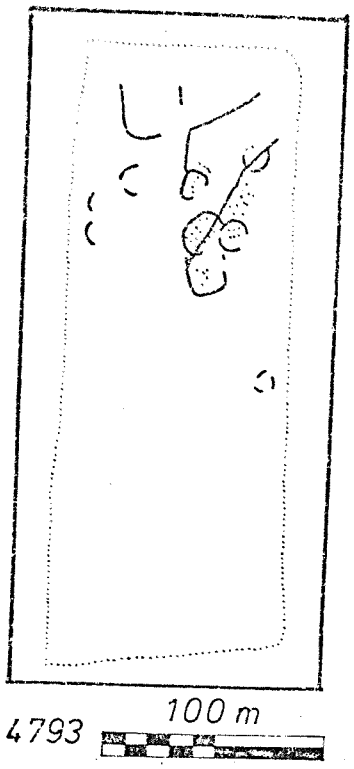


4396/4496

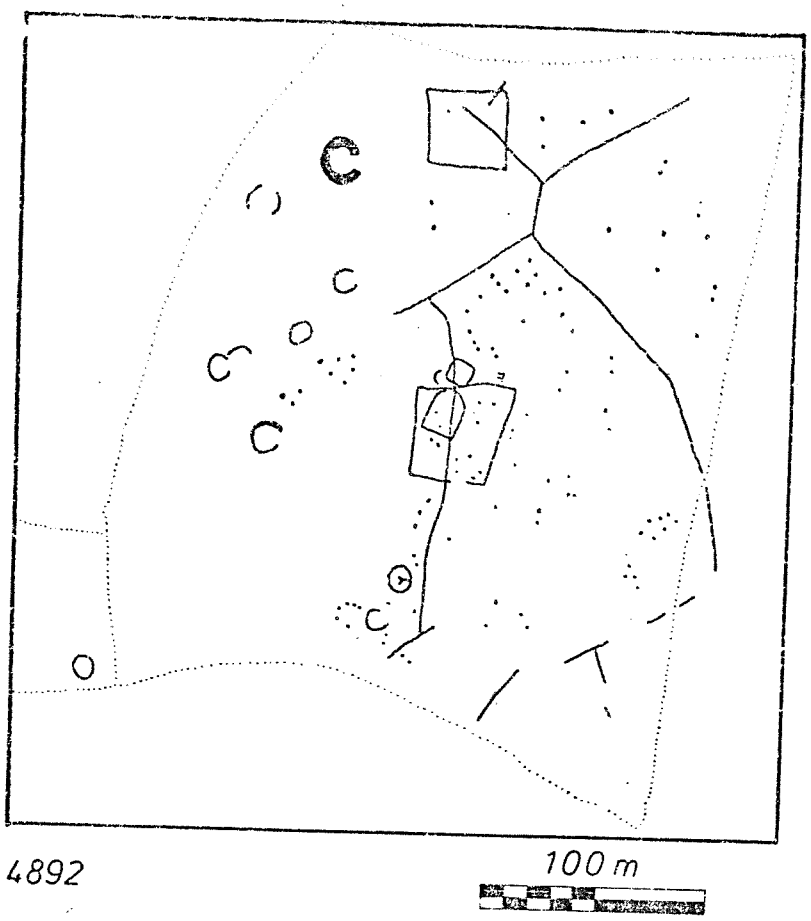
4497/-/LIA/----/Late Iron Age pottery found during construction work; Note in Ashmolean Museum.



4697, Cow Lane/OS/EIA:MIA/+--+/Fieldwork by the author has produced evidence for Early and Middle Iron Age dating; *CUAP AYI 81; NMR SU 4697:2:46.

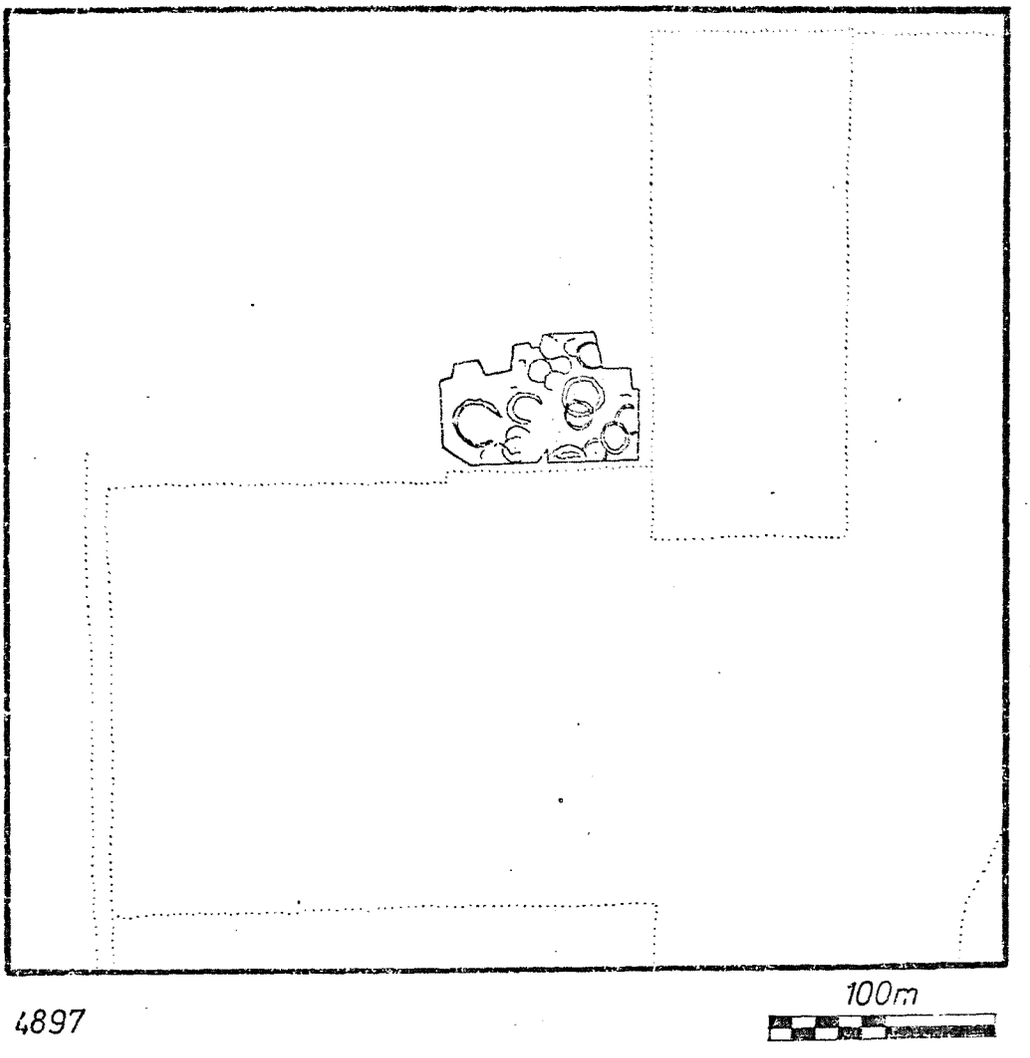


4793/OS/-/+---/*NMR SU 4793:2-3, 4893:9:66.

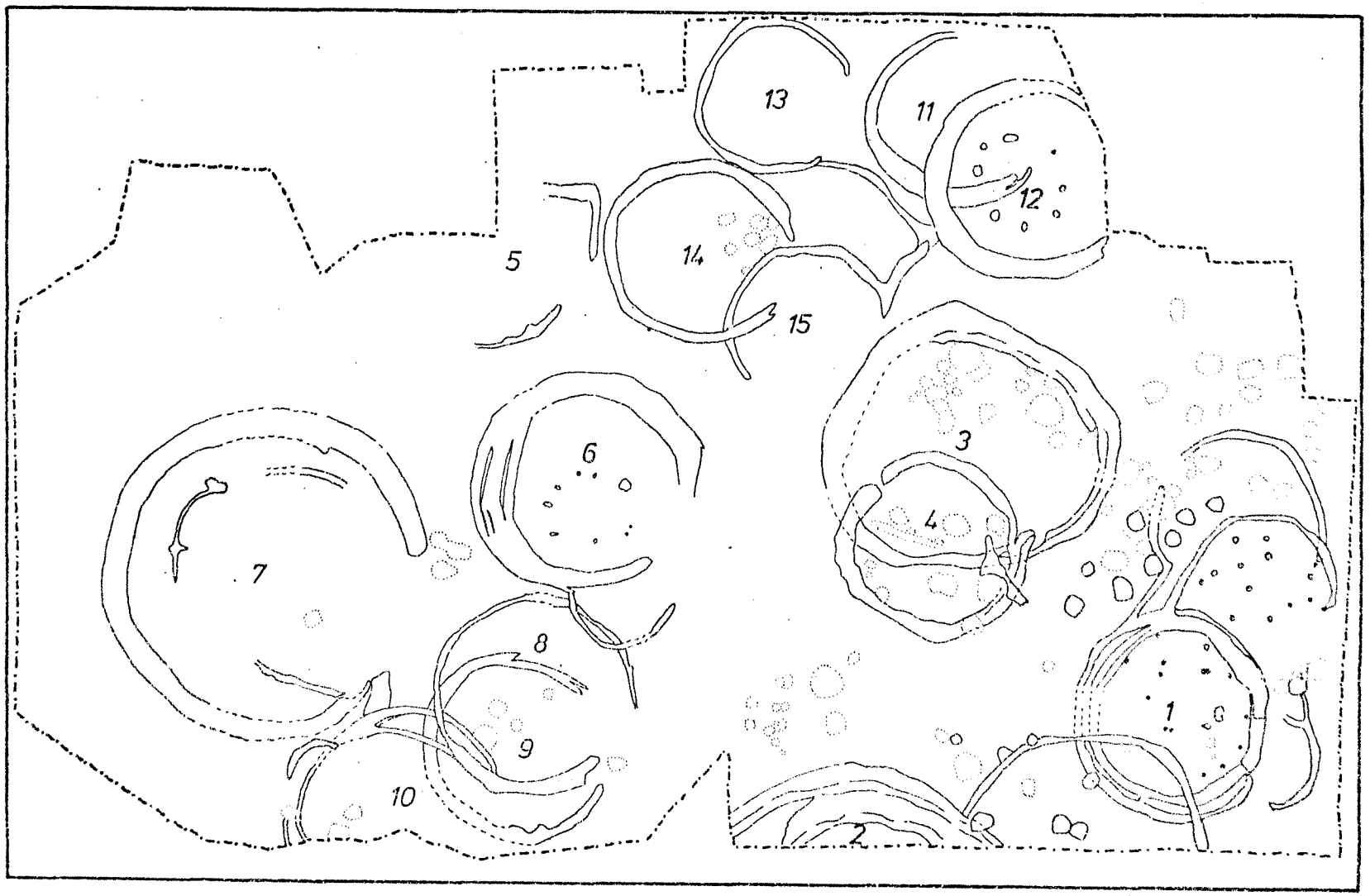


4892/OS/-/+---/*NMR SU 4892:1:174, 4892:3:173, 4892:5:125.

4897A/-/EIA/----/Notes and News, 1972.

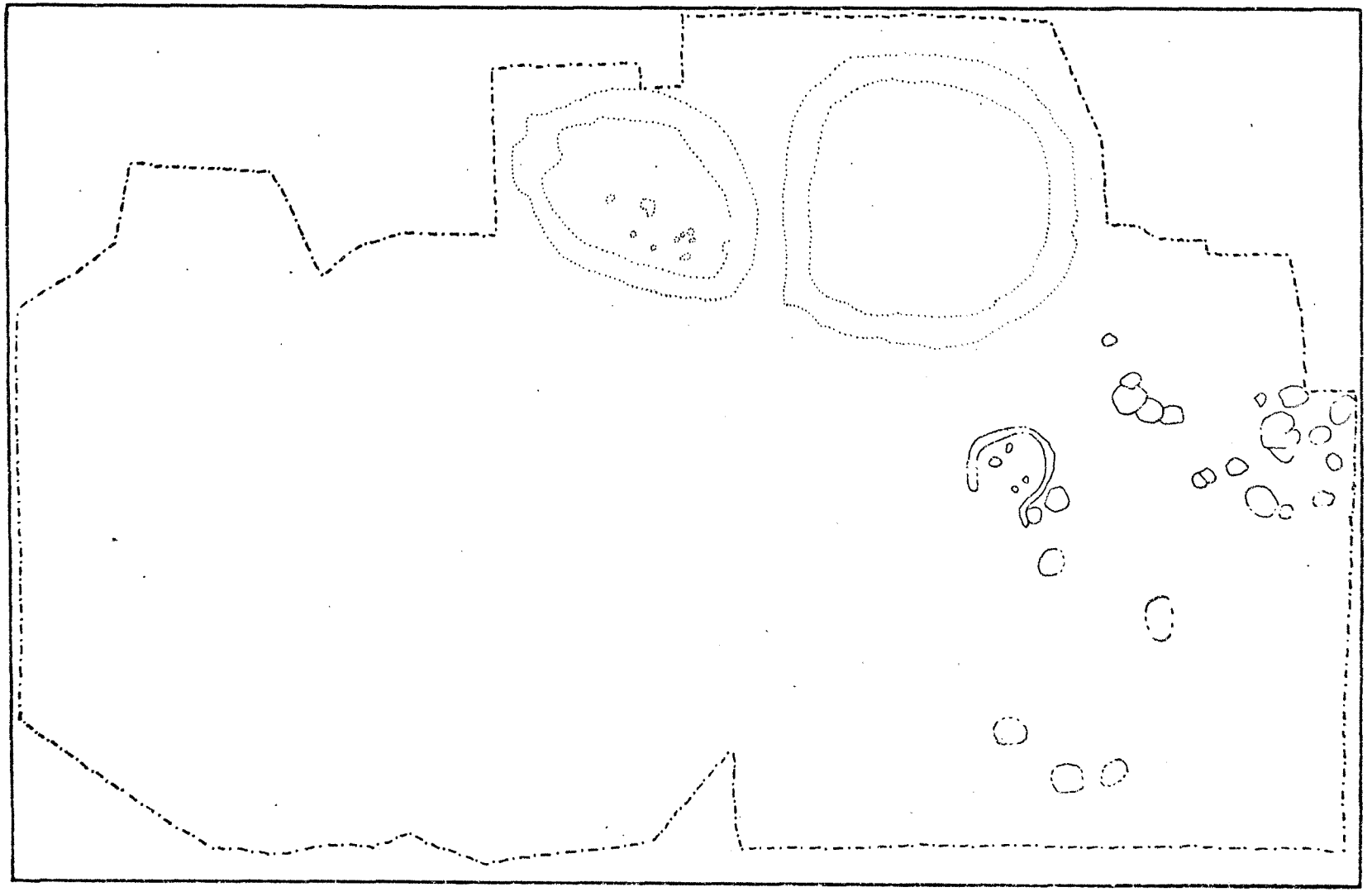


4897B, Ashville/EIA:MIA/+++-/Excavation produced evidence for Early and Middle Iron Age settlement; Parrington, 1978.

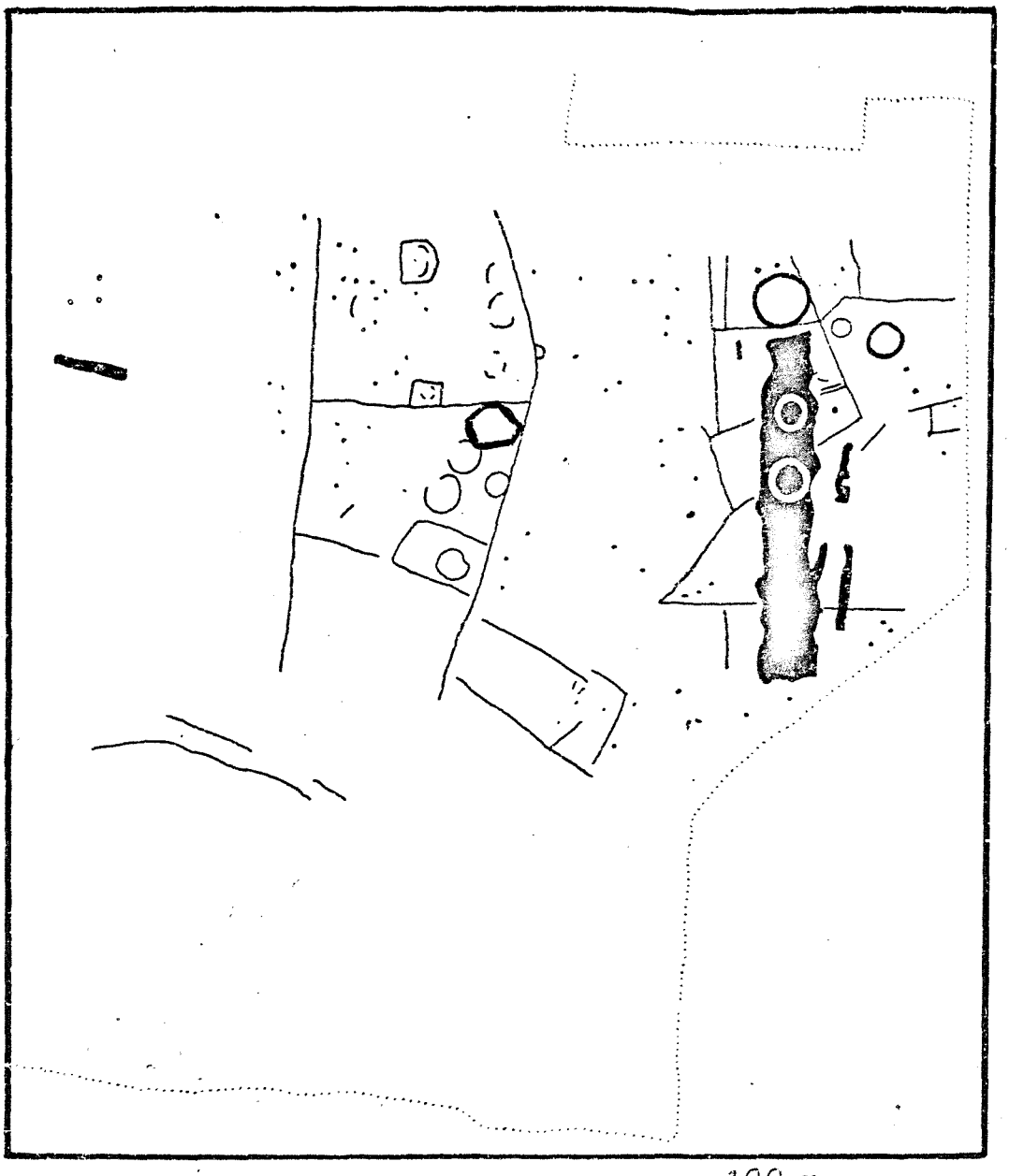


4897 Middle Iron Age (—) and some undated Features (····)

10m

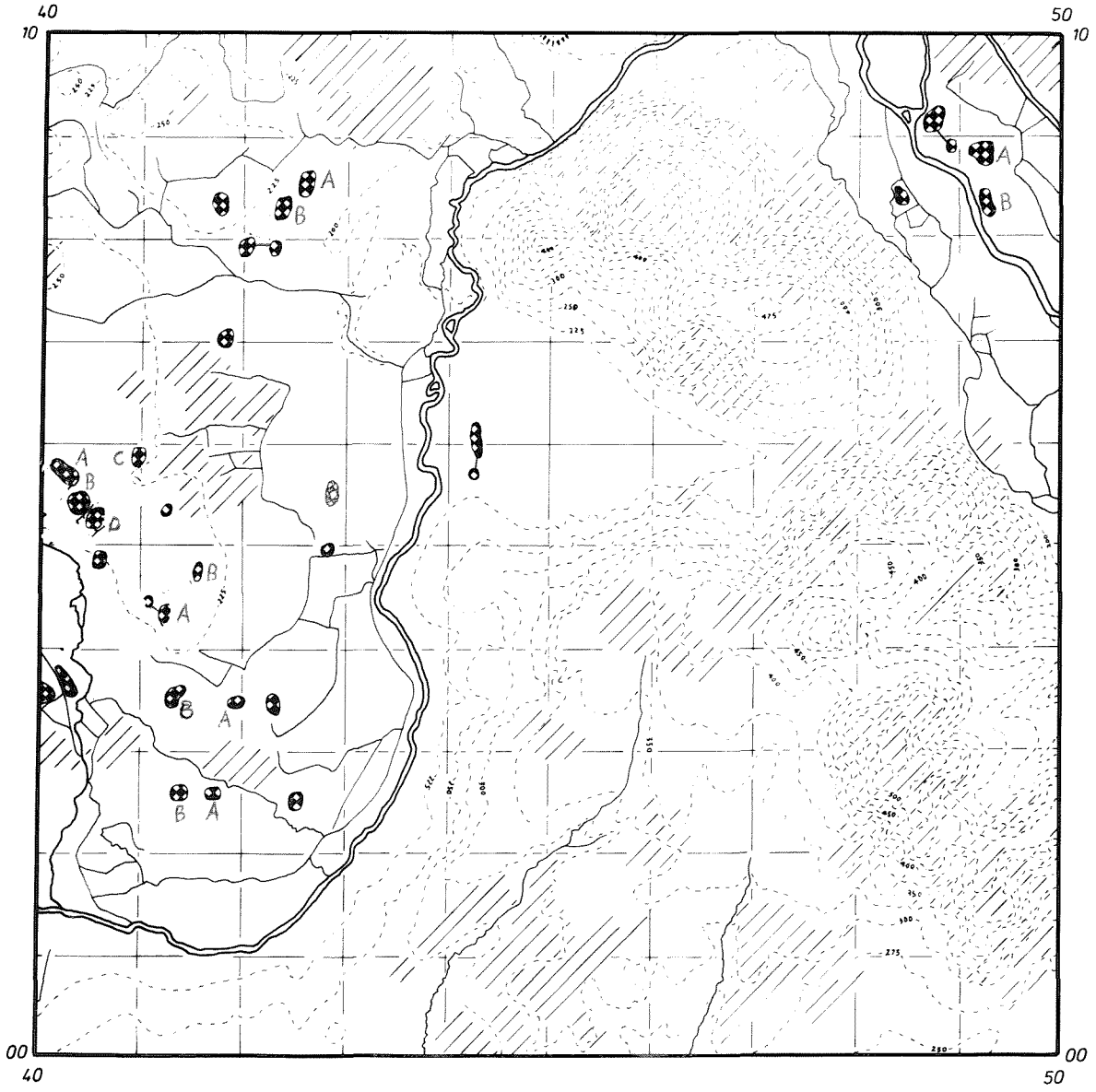


4897 Bronze Age (—) and Early Iron Age Features (—)

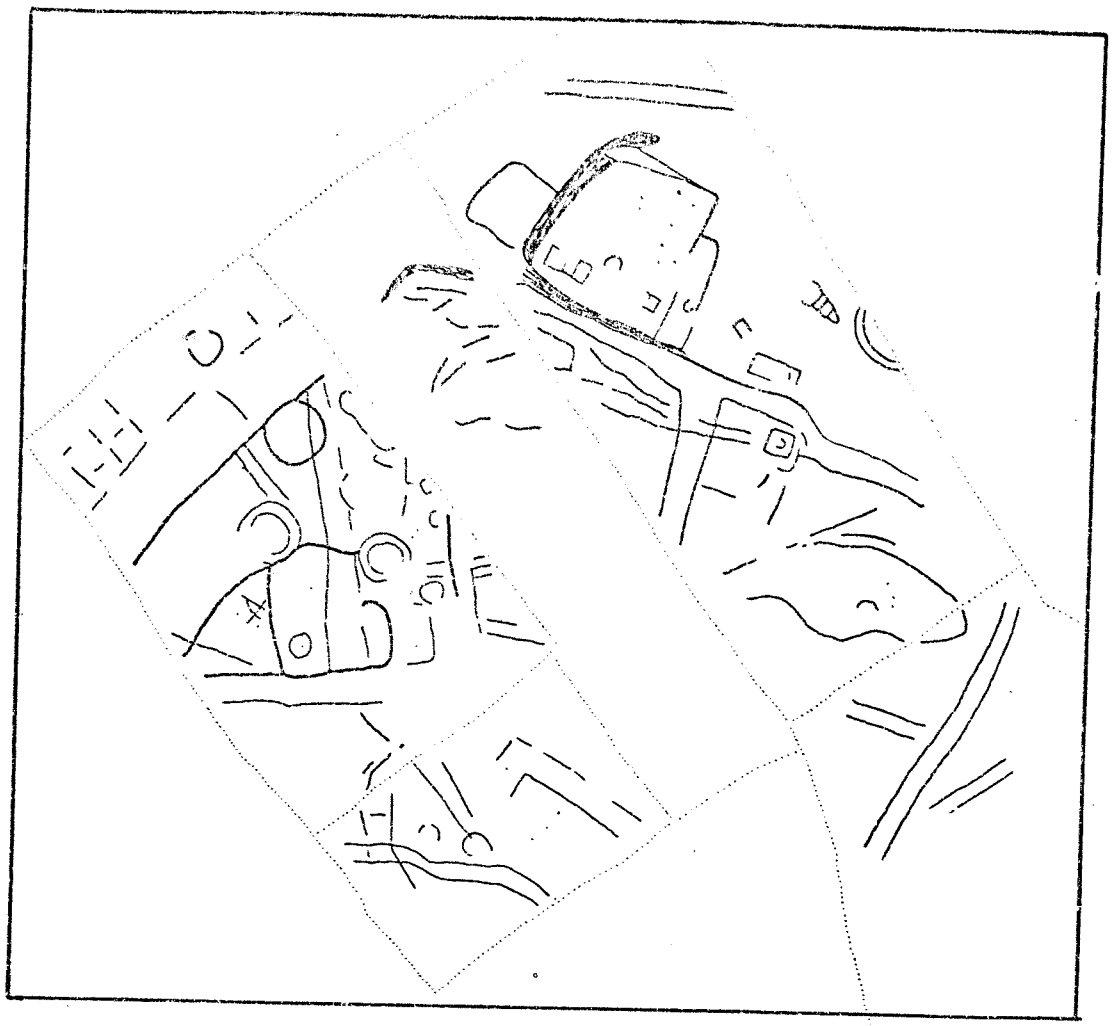


4992/OS/-/+---/*CUAP AFT 87-8, AYH 13, BCQ 74-5, BTT 61-5; NMR SU 4992:2:9.

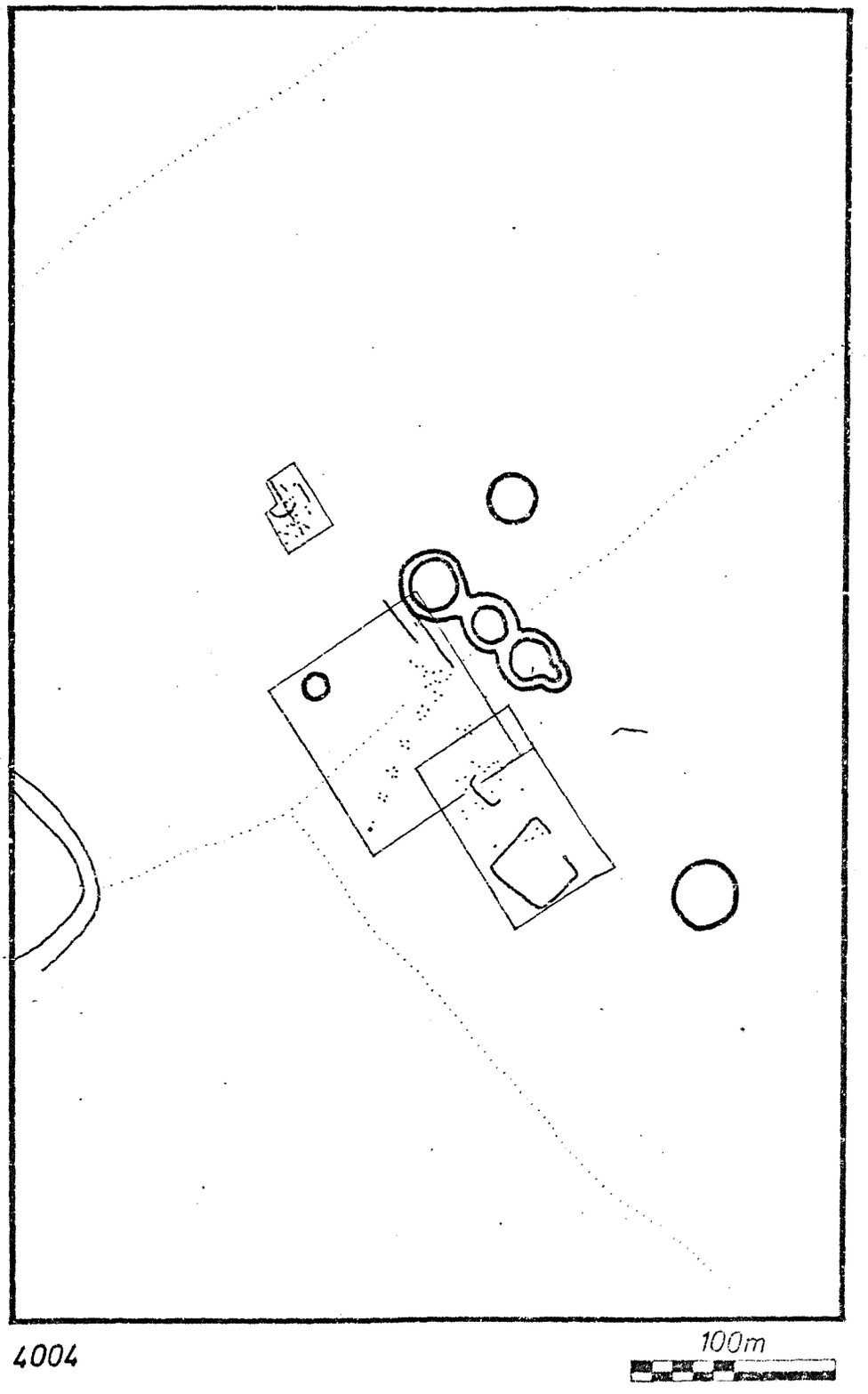
4996, Abingdon/-/EIA:LIA/--+-/Miles, 1975; Thomas, Unpublished.



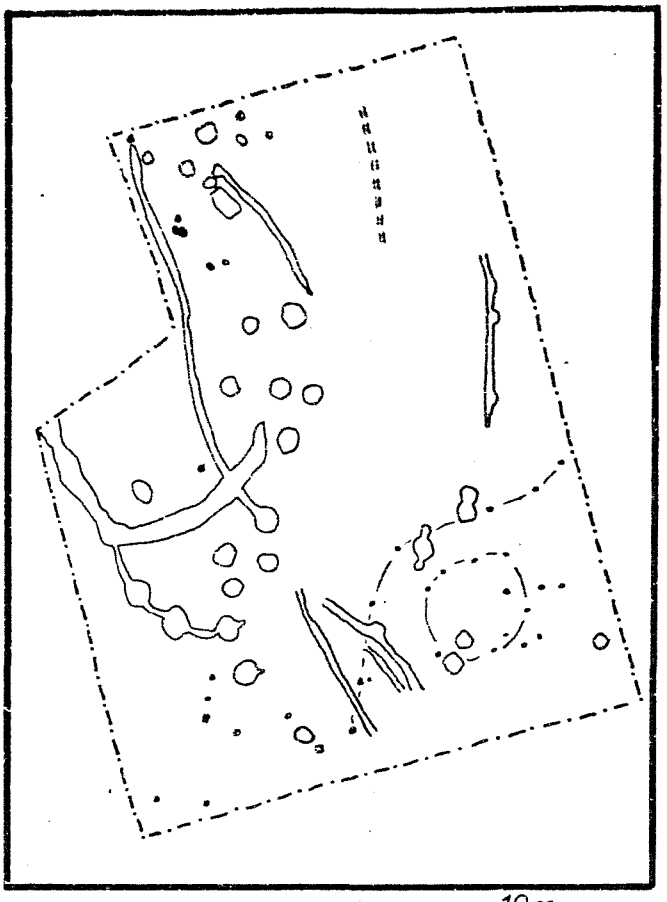
Base Map 14.



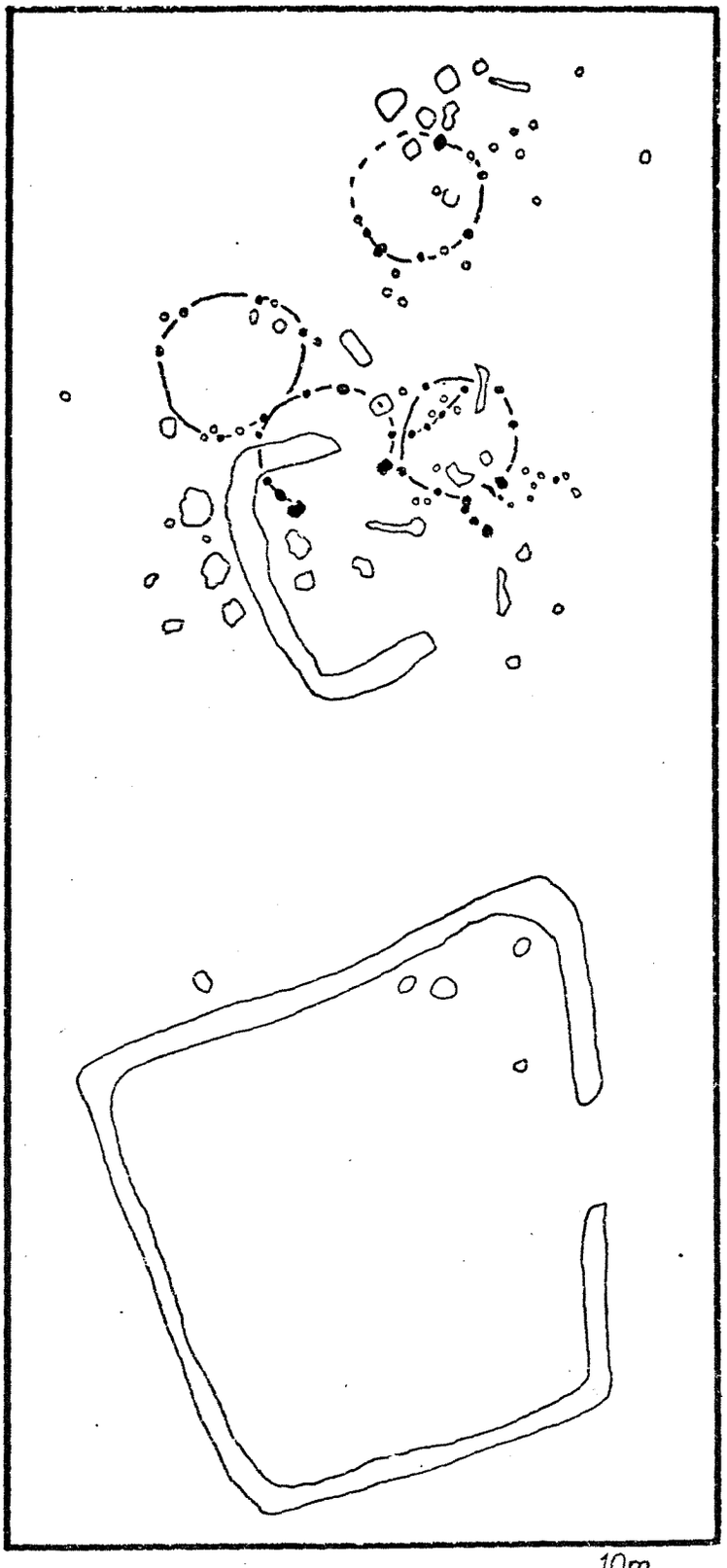
4003/CES/-/+---/*Baker 2378-86; NMR SP 4003:1, 4003:4.



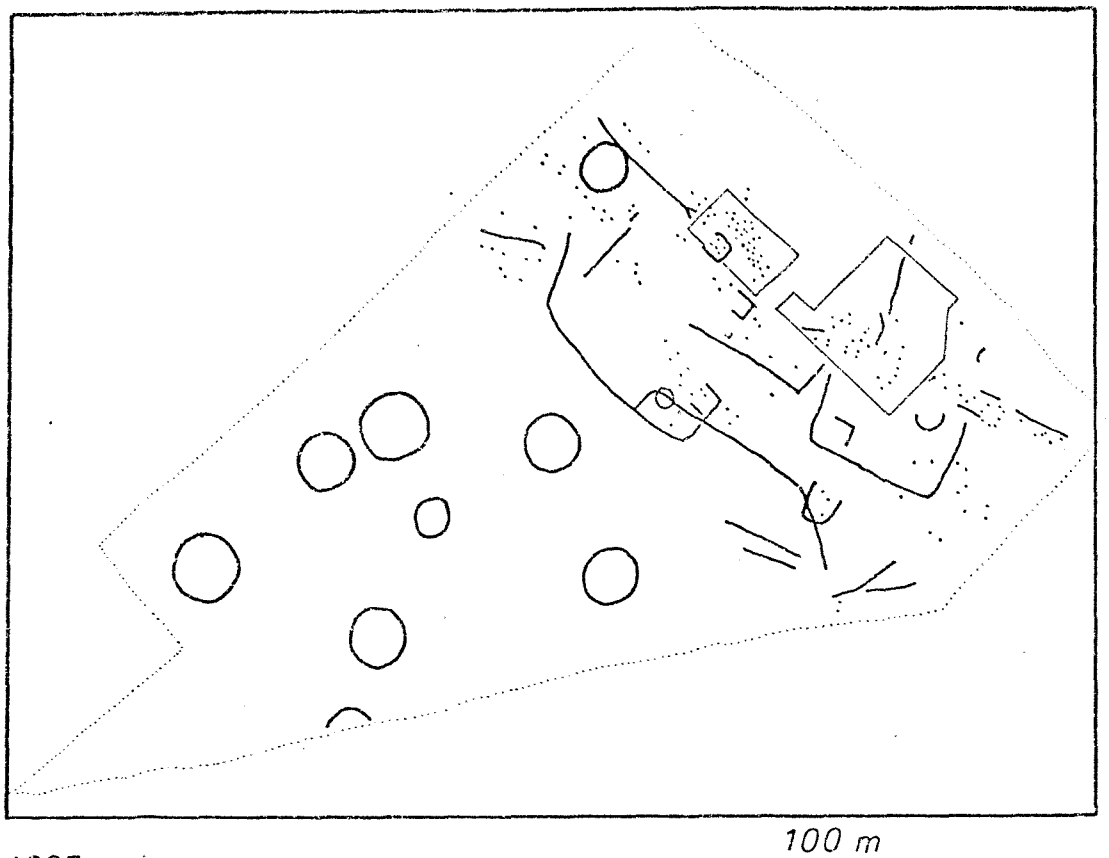
4004, Hamlin's Site/OS/EIA/+++-/Excavation produced evidence of Early Iron Age occupation; Hamlin, 1963, 1966.



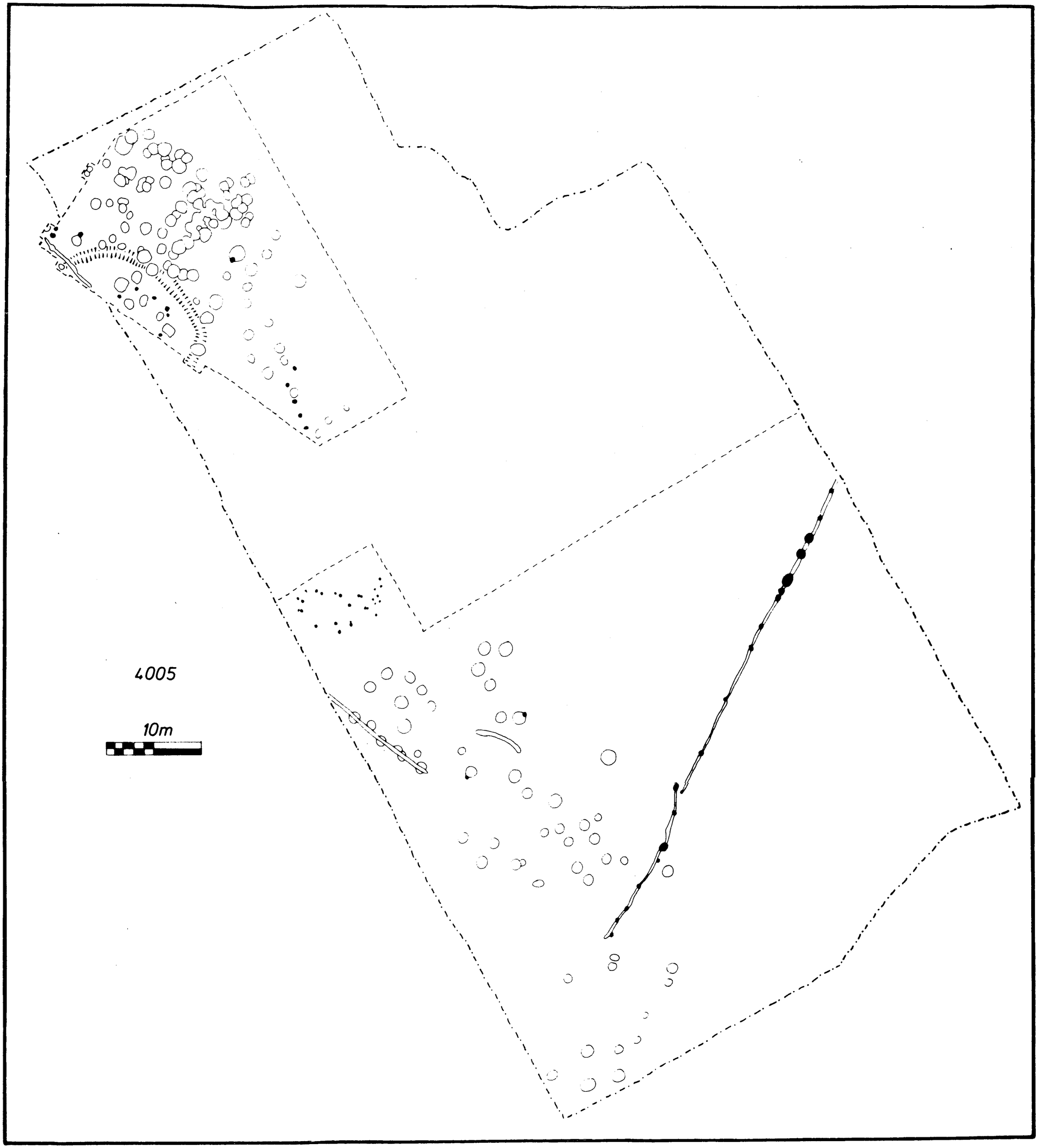
4004

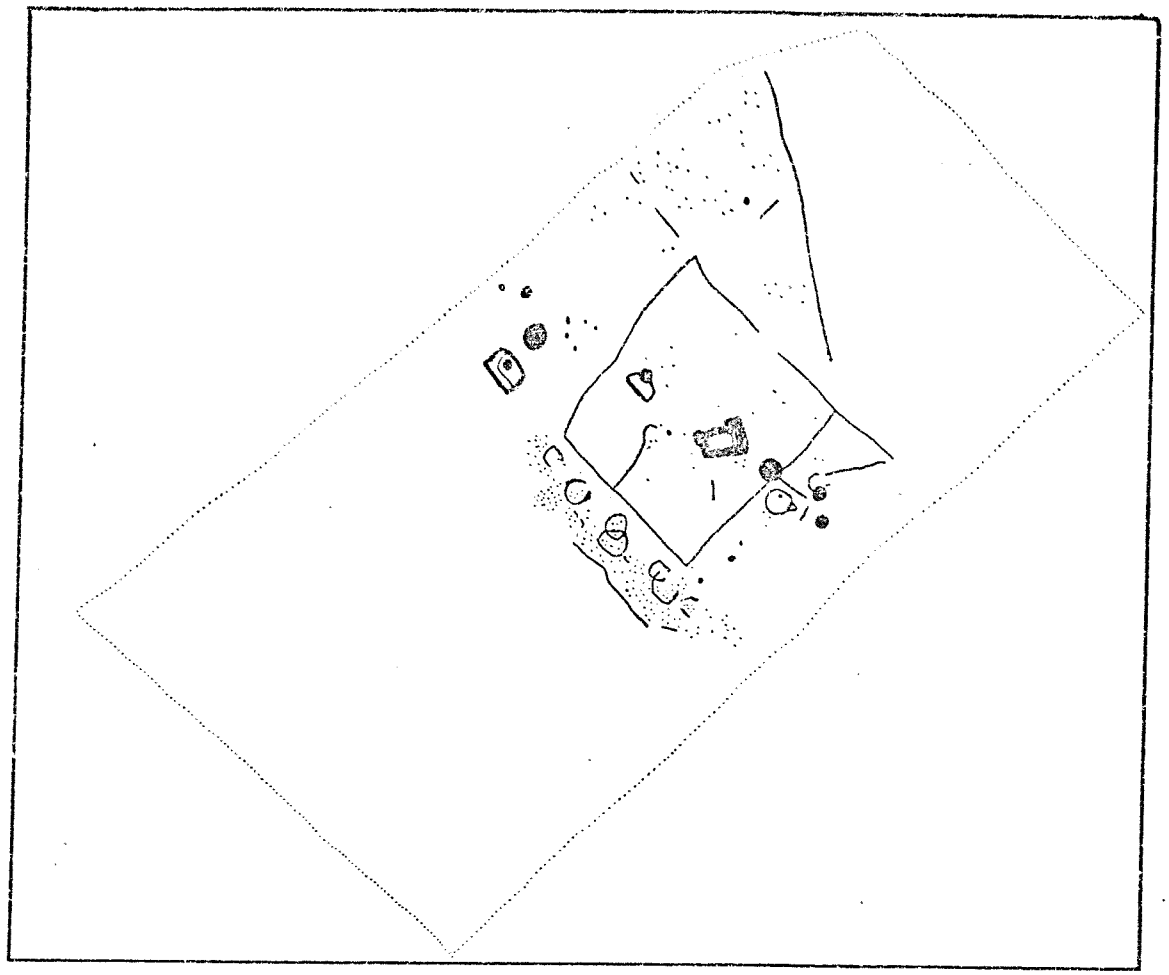


4004

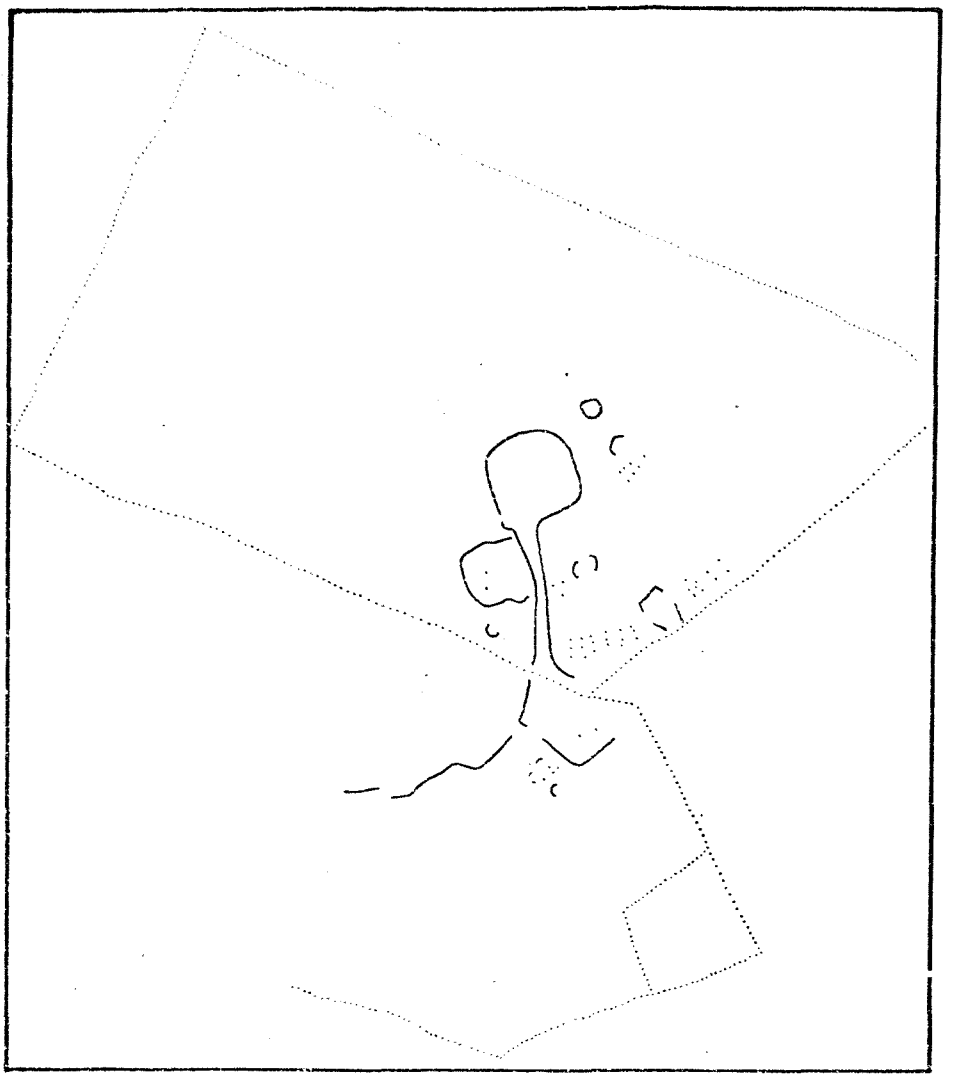


4005A, Beard Mill/OS/EIA:MIA/+++-/Excavation produced evidence of Early and Middle Iron Age settlement; Williams, 1951; *Allen 1131-3.


4005
10m

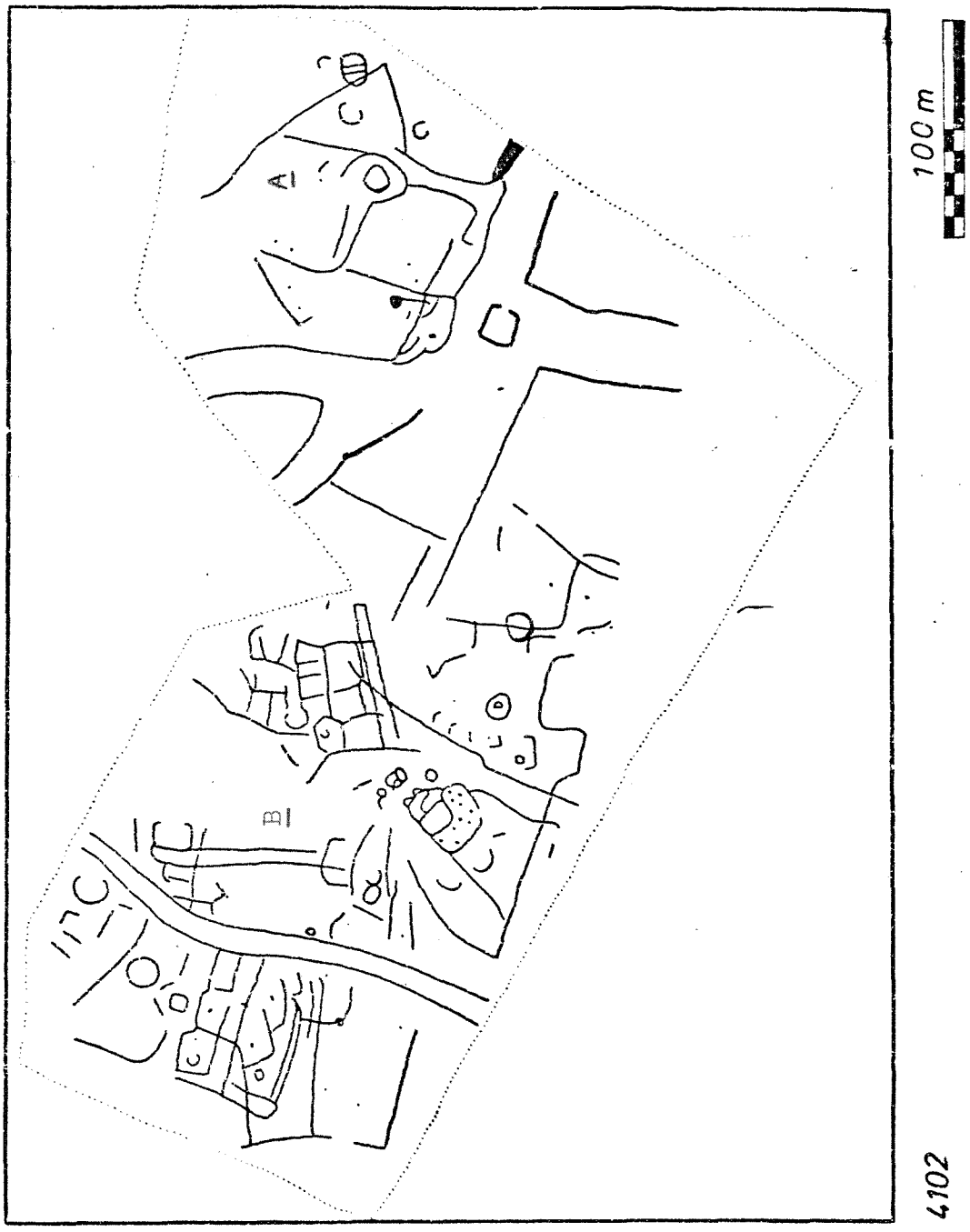


4005B, Gravely Guy/OS/-/+--+/Fieldwork by George Lambrick produced little in the way of finds; pers.com; *Riley 8:12-14; CUAP ALE 87-8, BCQ 86, CGJ 62-7; NMR SP 4005:11, 4005:39:109-114.



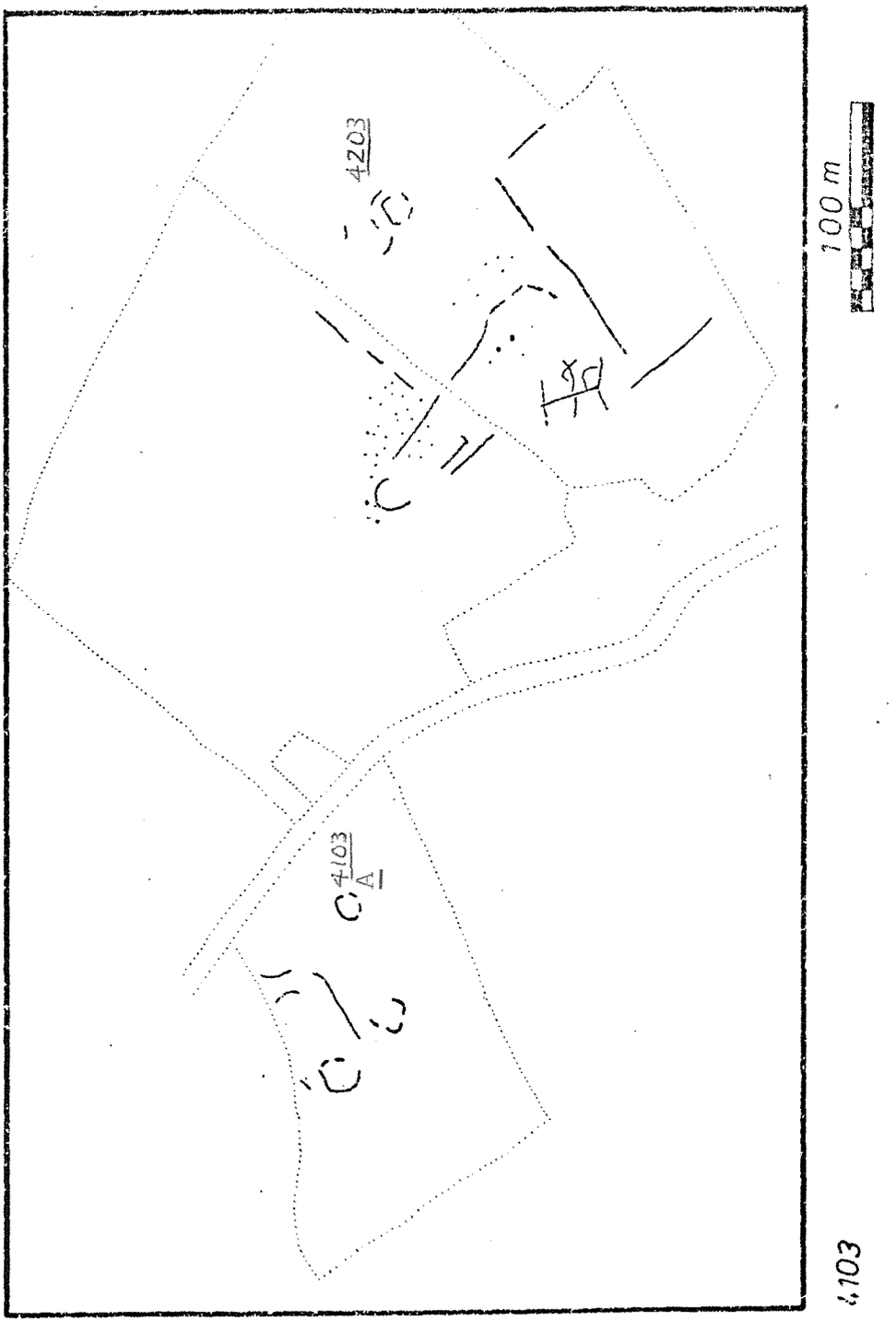
4005C/OS/-/+---/*Allen 1149; Baker 1733; CUAP BCQ 90-1; NMR SP 4006:3.

4005D/OS/-/----/*Allen 1127.



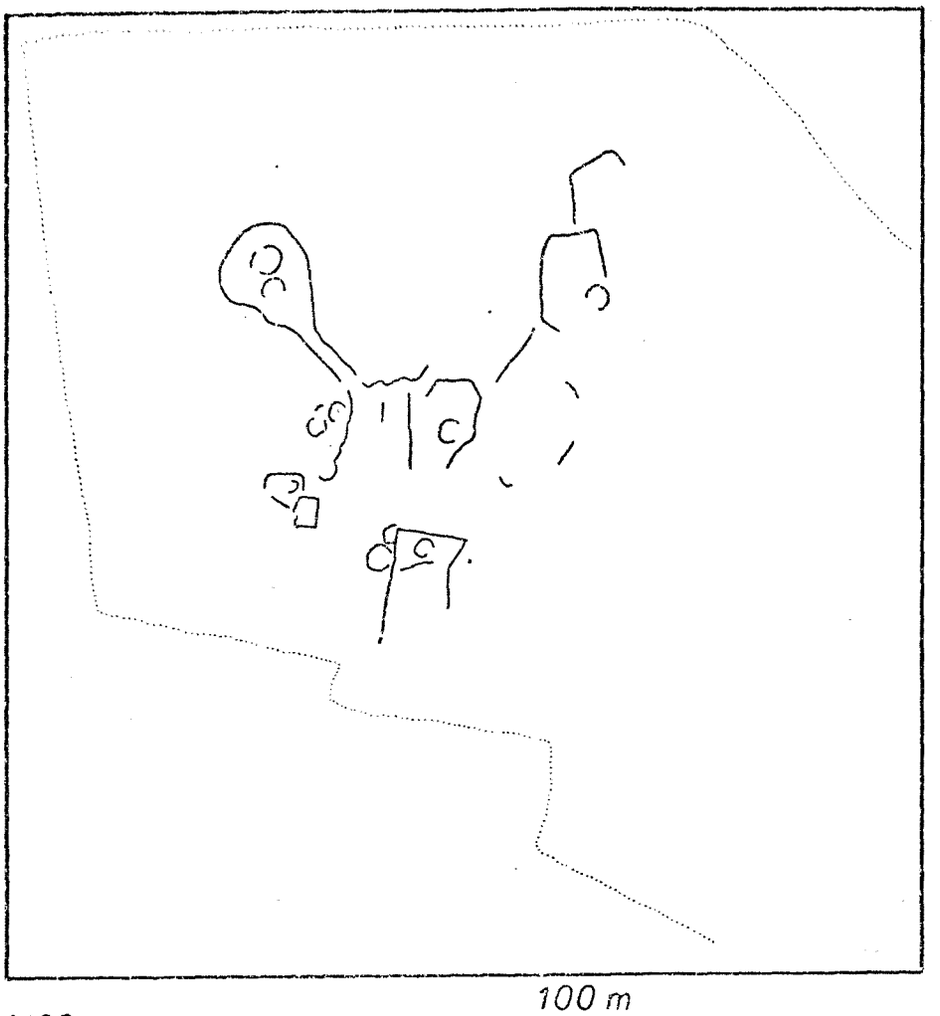
4102A/CES/-/+---/*Baker 2883; CUAP BCQ 81-6; NMR 4102:2 4102:19-24.

4102B/?OS/-/+---/*CUAP BCQ 81-6.



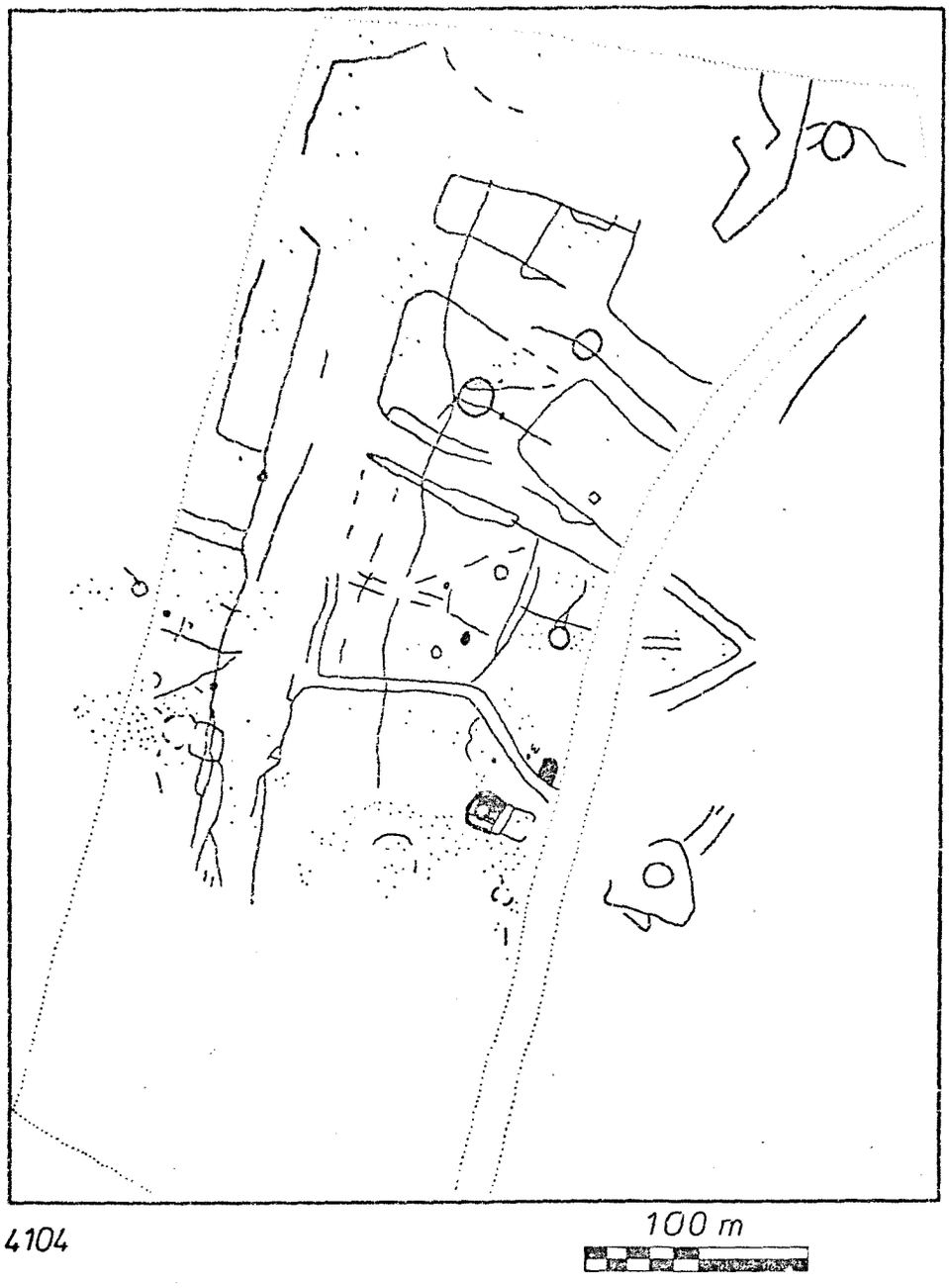
4103A/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 4203:3:297-8, 4203:4:299-300.

4203 /OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 4203:3:297-8, 4203:4:299-300.

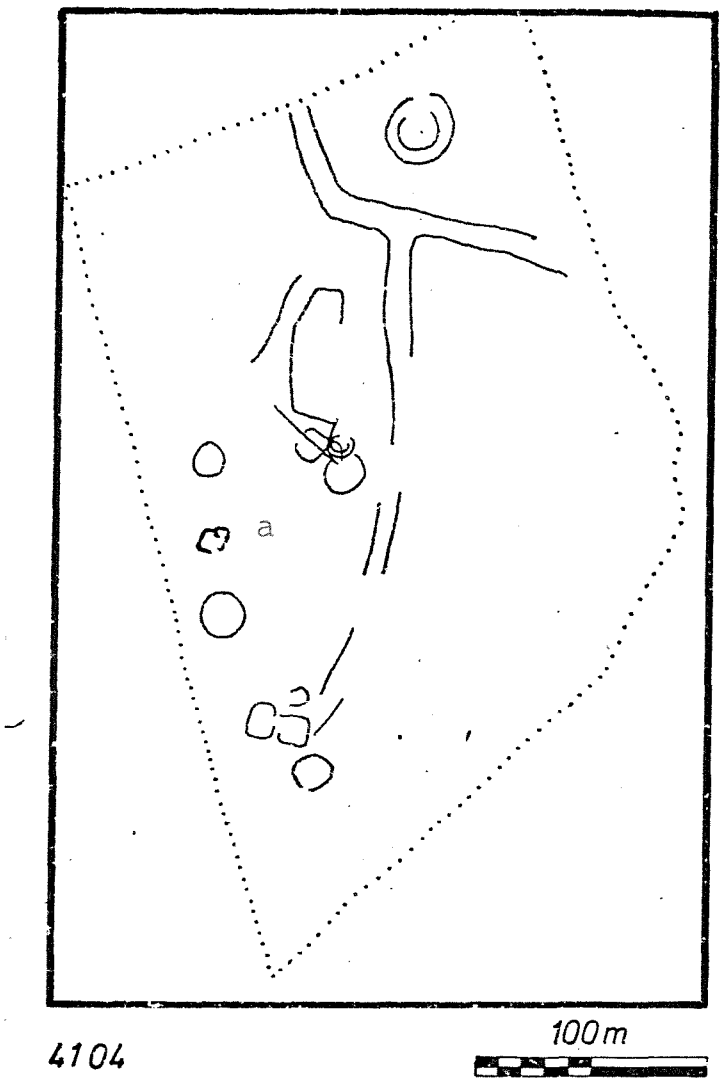


4103

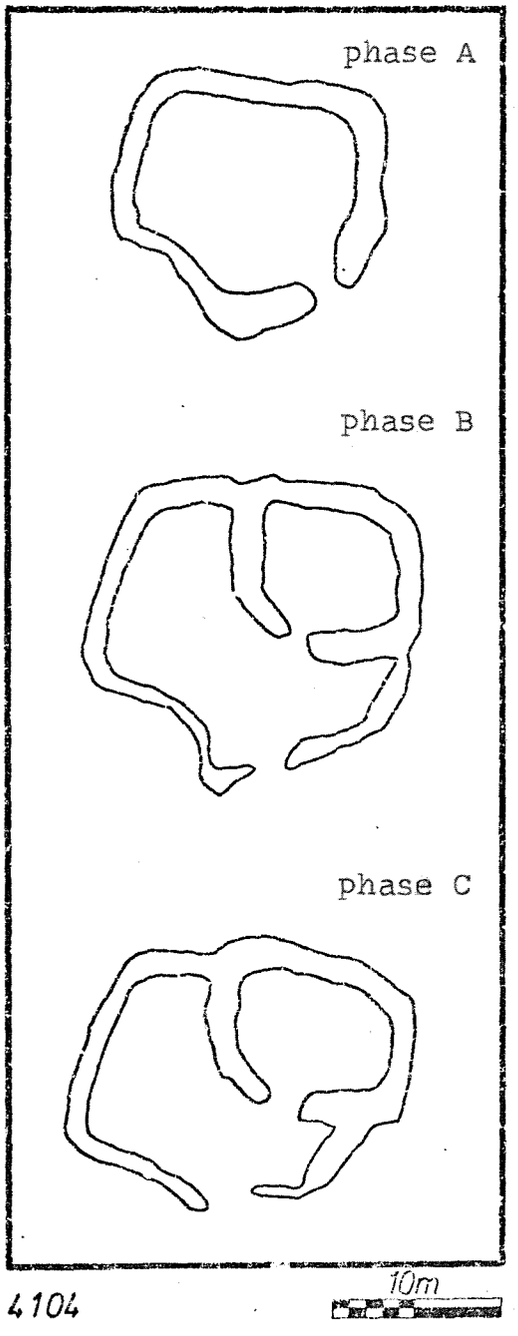
4103B/OS/-/+---/*Riley 10:8; NMR SP 4103:3, 4103:4:1-5, 4103:6:2.



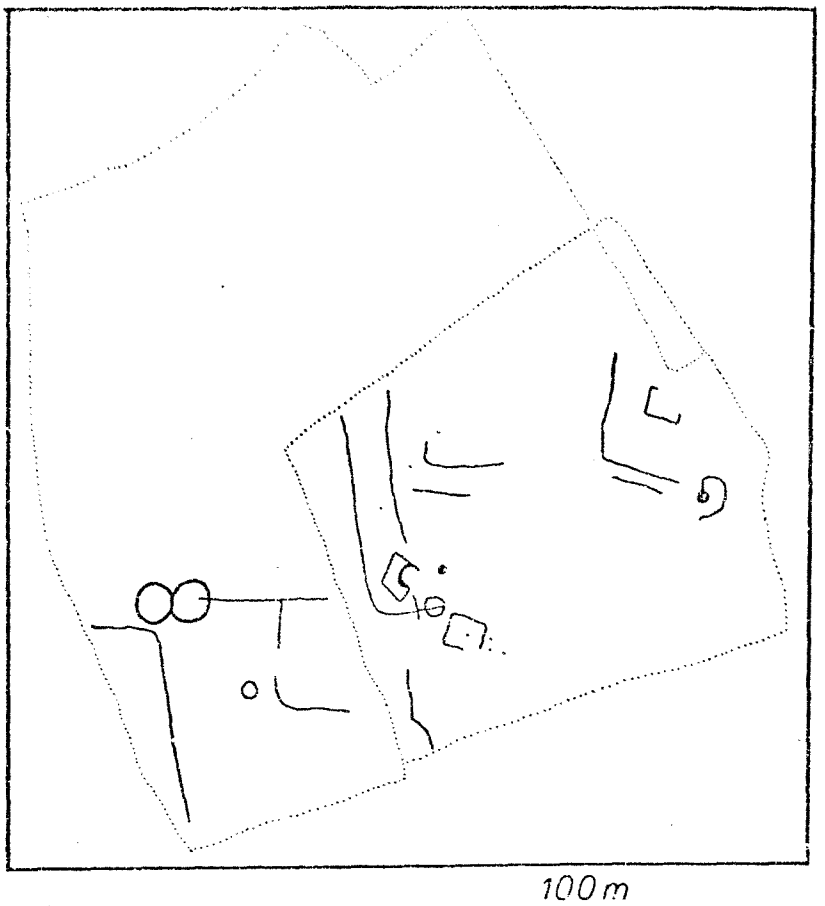
4104A/OS/?EIA:MIA/+-+-/Excavation of pits in this area produced Early and Middle Iron Age material; Bradford, 1942; *Allen 1121-2, 1143.



4104B, Linch Hill Corner/OS/LIA/+++-/Excavation has produced evidence for a three phase Iron Age structure (a on Figure and following Figure), and further Late Iron Age enclosures; Grimes, 1943; Mytum and Taylor, 1981; *Allen 1120, 1129.

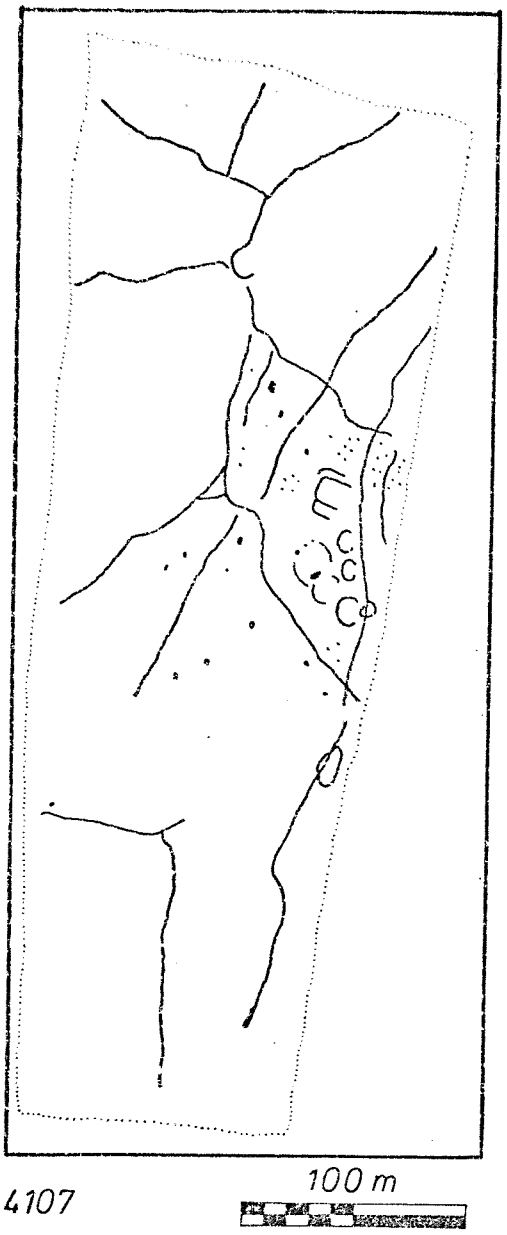


4104

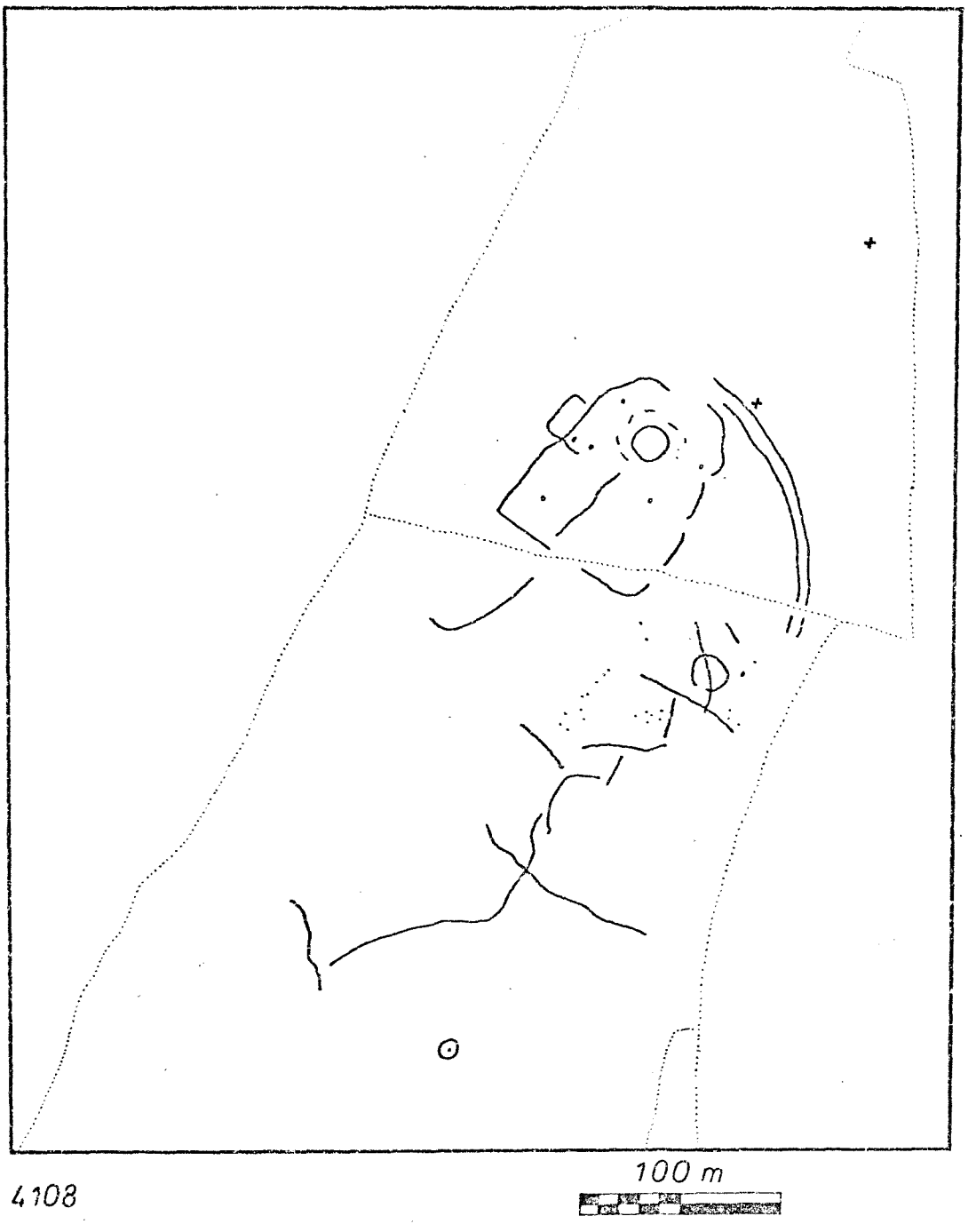


4105

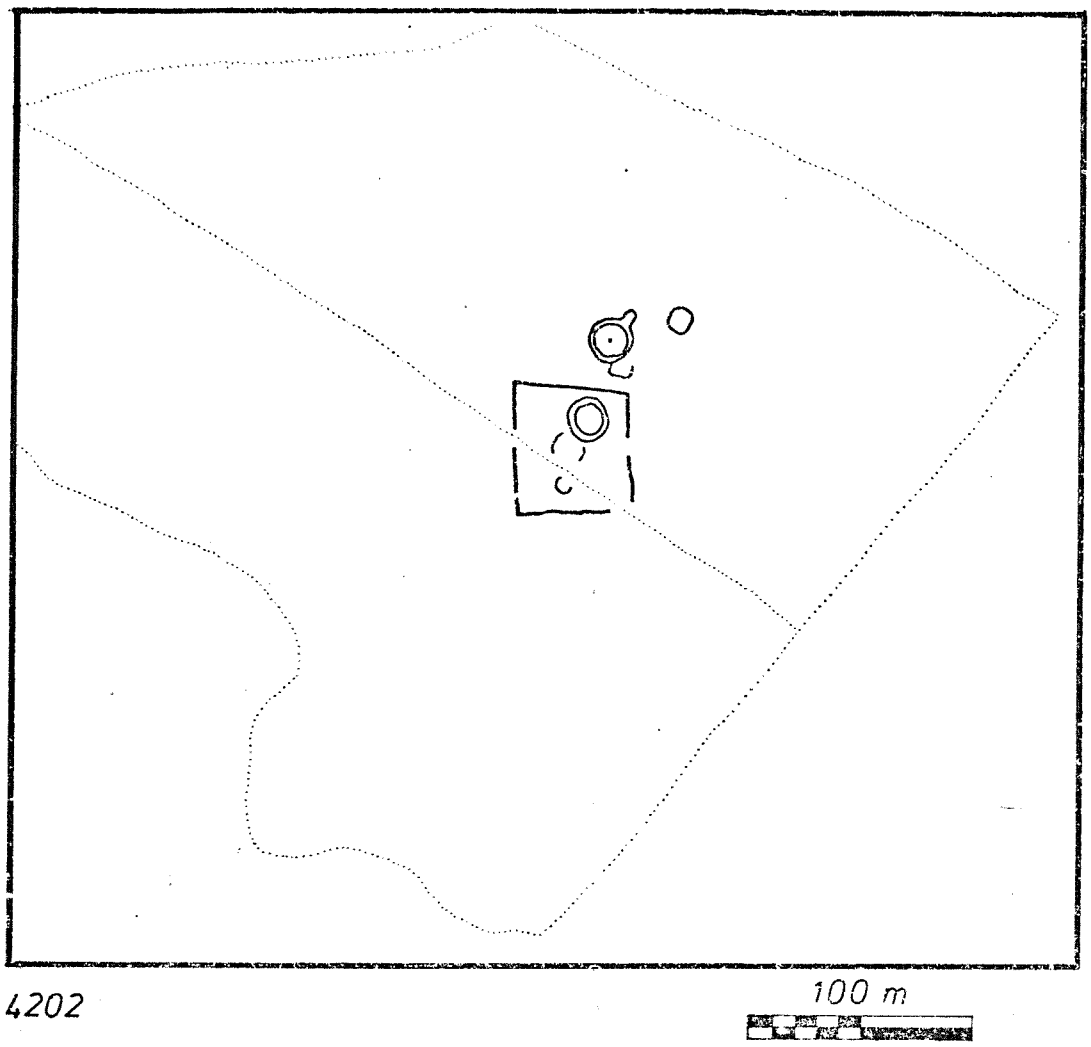
4105/OS/-/+---/*Allen 1119, 1128.



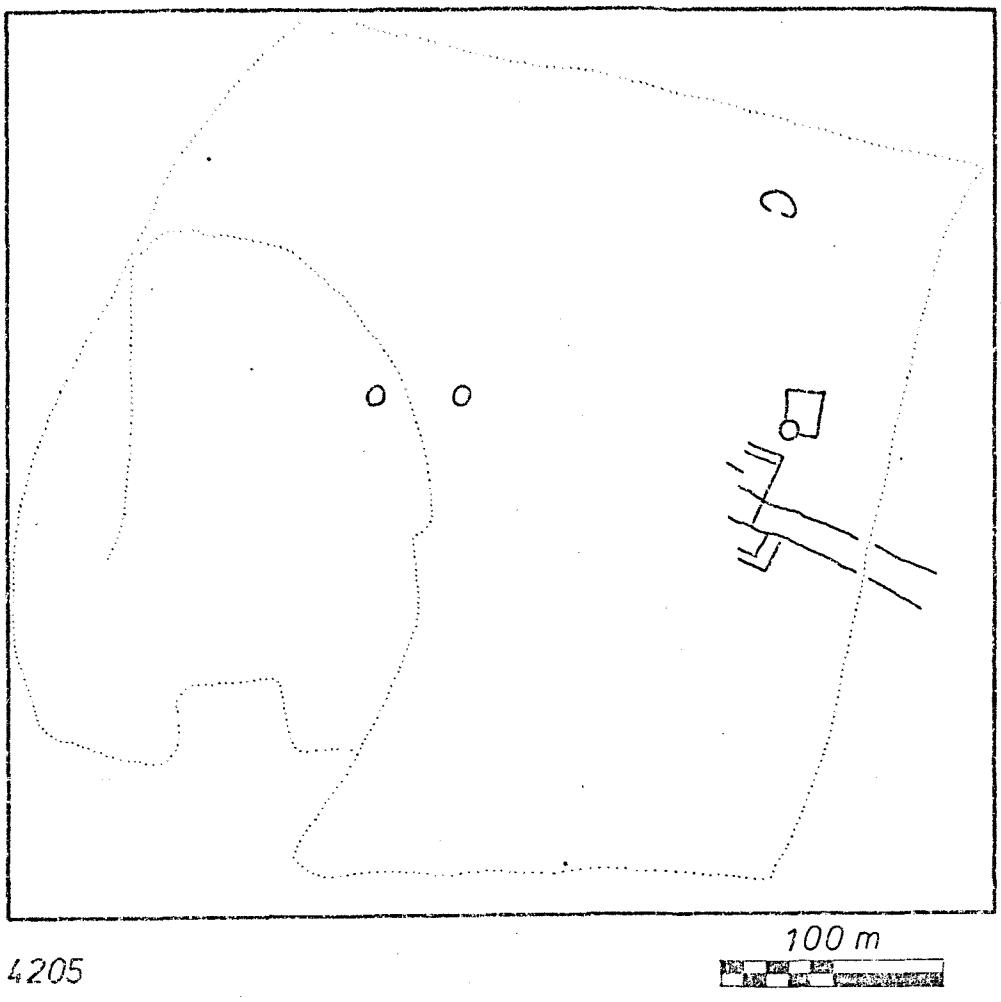
4107/OS/-/+---/*Allen 513; Riley 16:33; CUAP CEI 125.



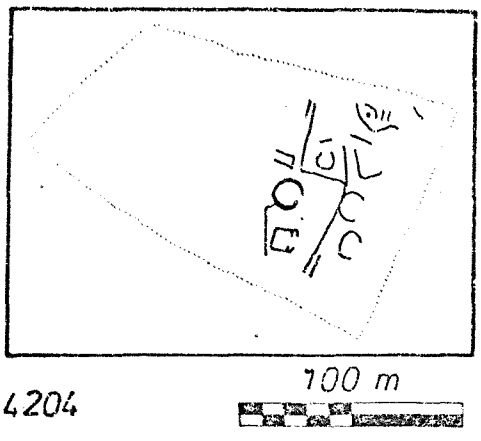
4108/OS/?EIA:MIA/+-+-/Excavation of pits north west of site (+ on Figure) produced Early and Middle Iron Age pottery; Bradford, 1942; *Baker 1742; CUAP CGK 3; NMR SP 4108:3-4.



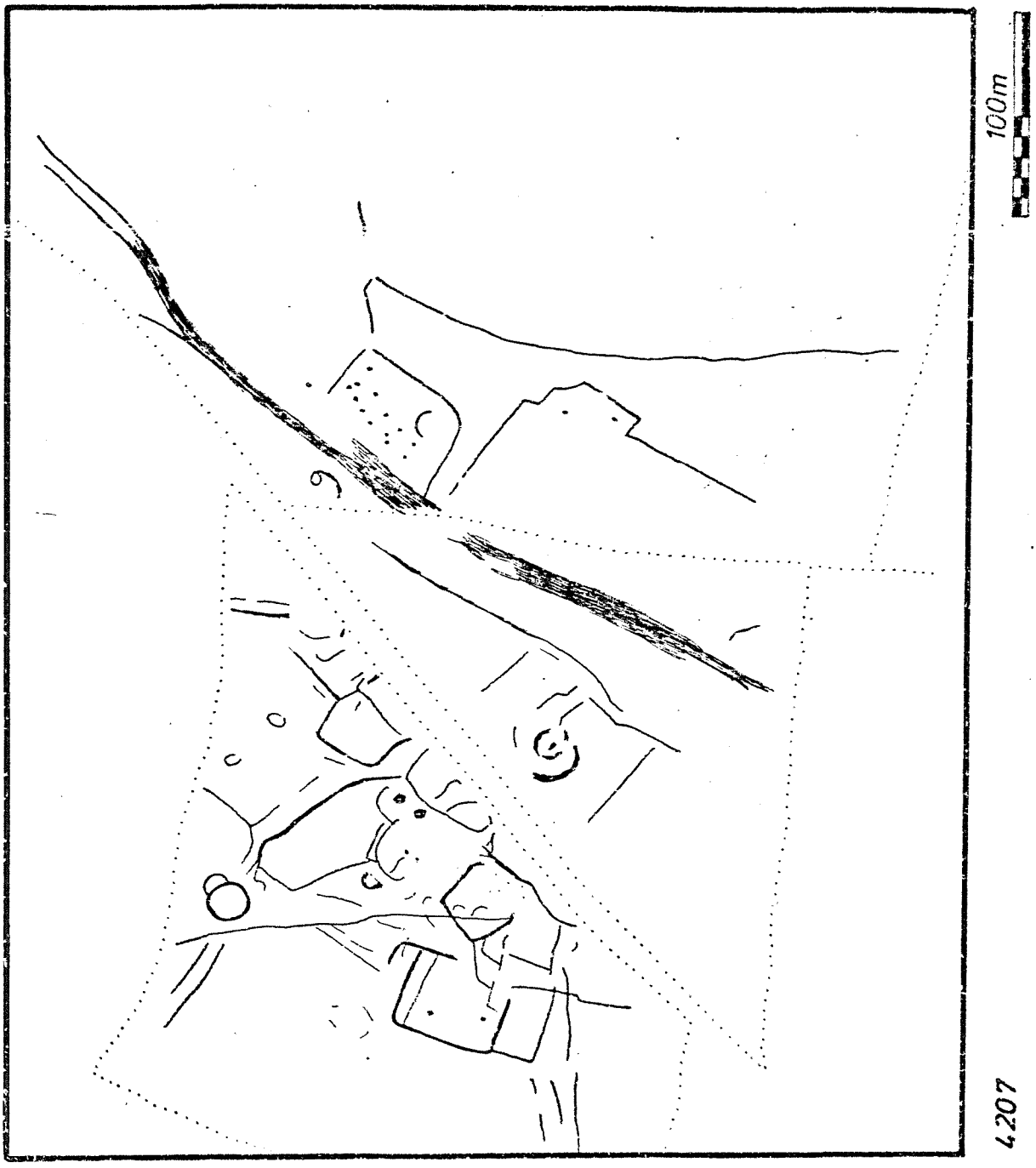
4202/OS/-/+---/*Allen 864; NMR SP 4202:2.



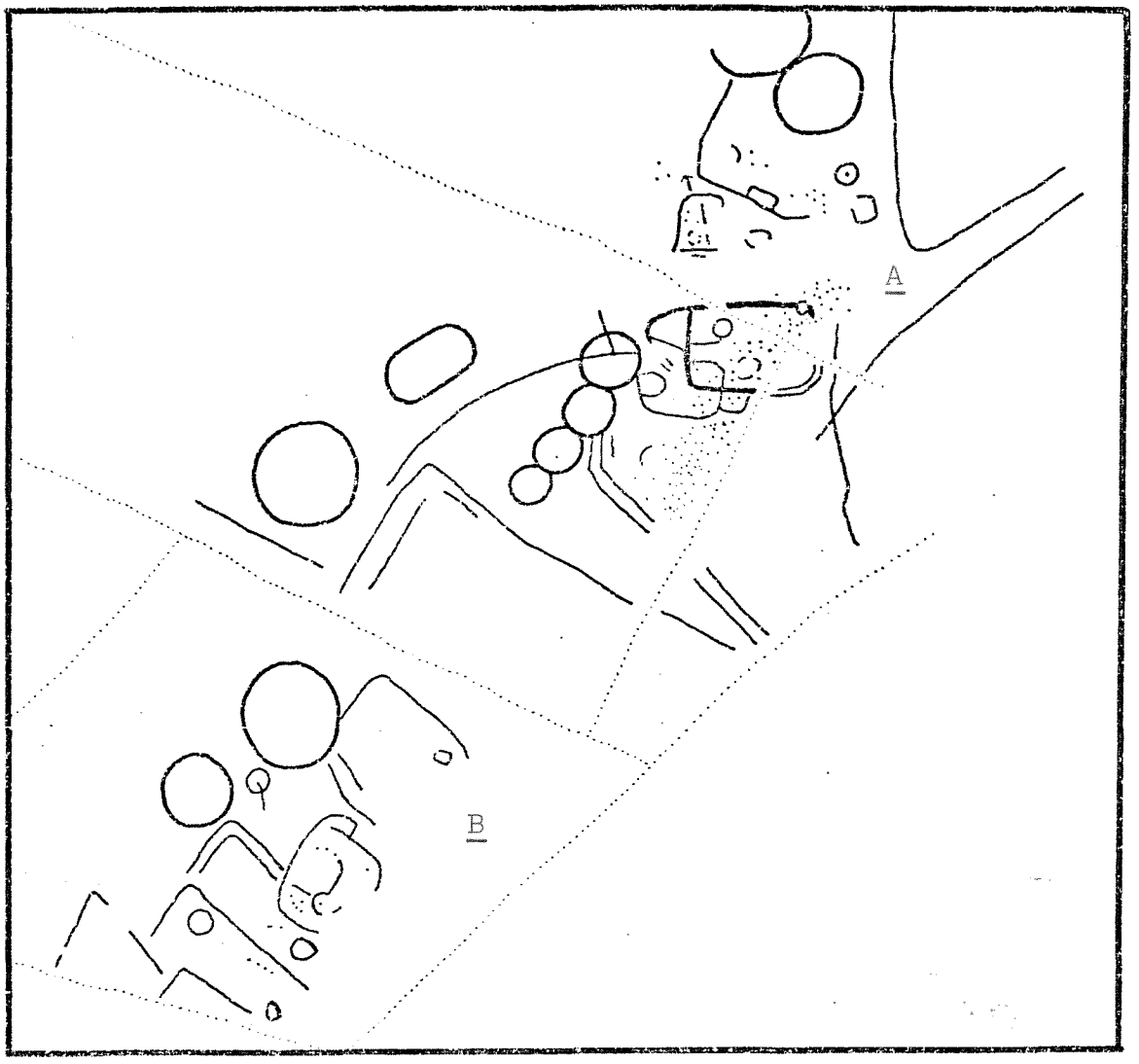
4205/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 4205:7:303-8; 4205:10:313-6.



4204/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 4204:8:295.



4207/CES/-/+---/*CUAP CHC 47-8, JYM 33-7; NMR 4207:13:237
-9.

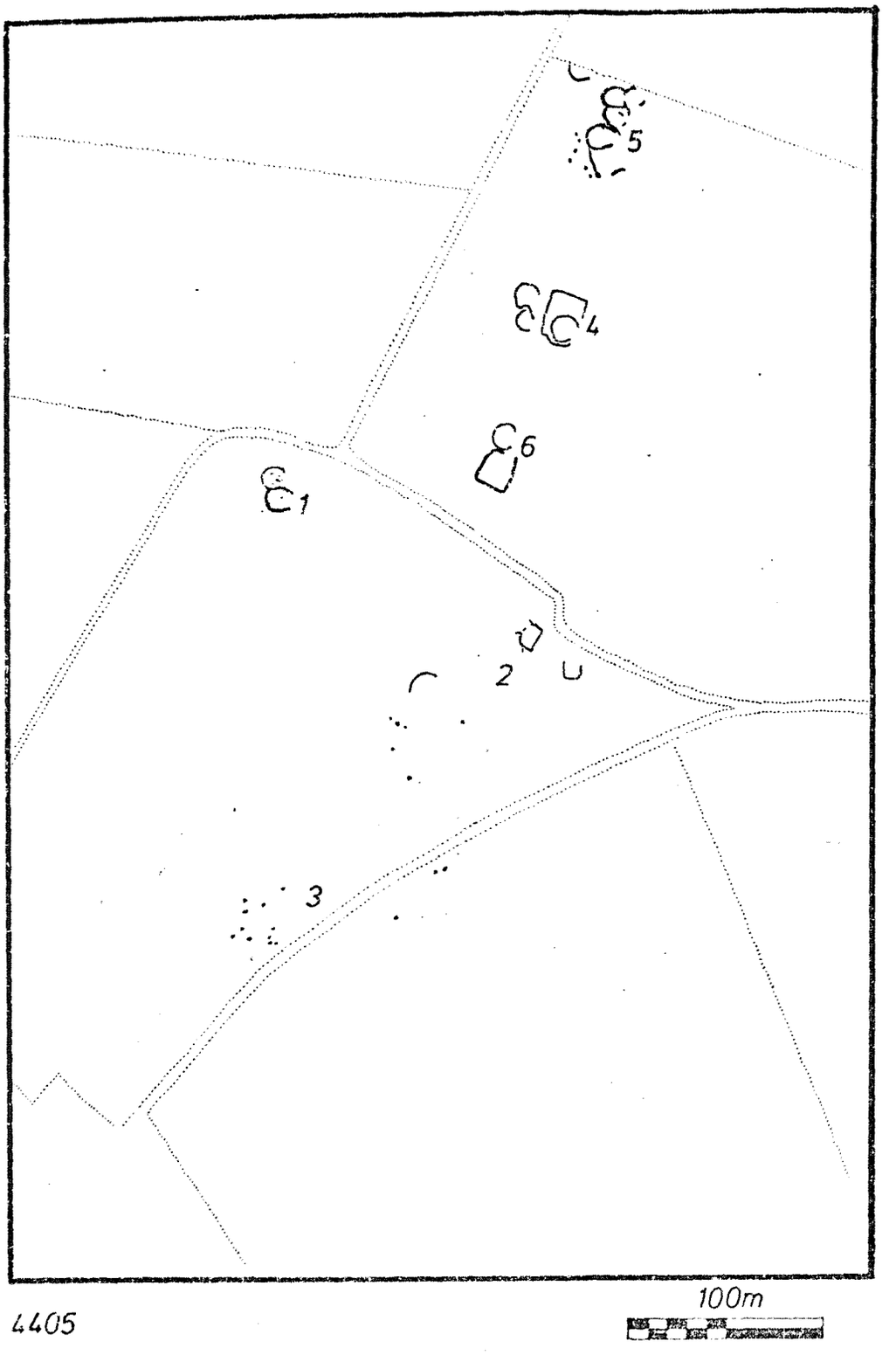


4208A : 4208B

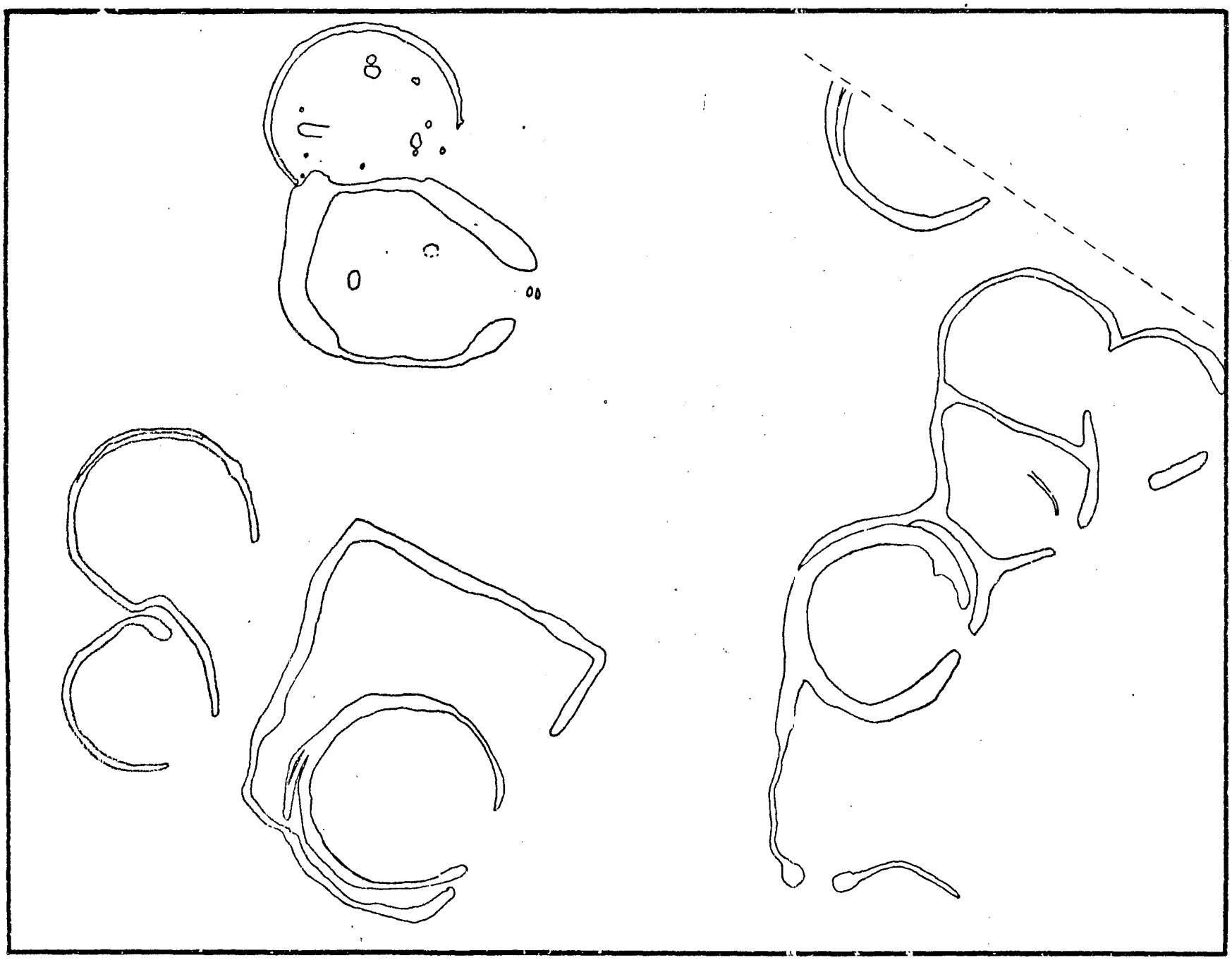
100m

4208A/OS/-/+---/*Allen 520-8; CUAP YM 39-40, AYI 96;
NMR SP 4208:1.

4208B/OS/-/+---/*Allen 520-8; CUAP YM 39-40, AYI 96;
NMR SP 4208:1.



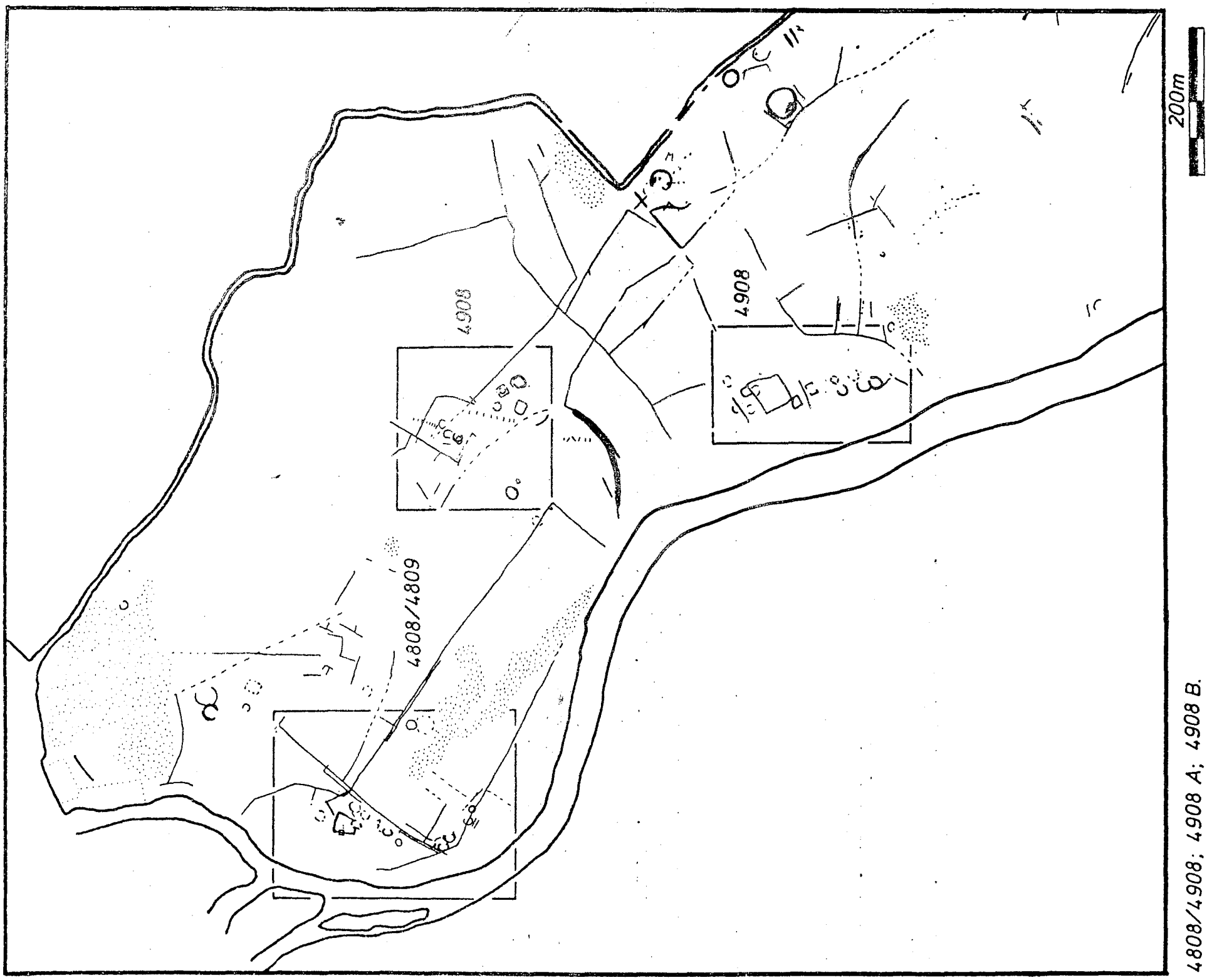
4405, Farmoor/OS/MIA/+++-/Excavation produced evidence for a series of Middle Iron Age settlements; Lambrick and Robinson, 1979.



4405

10m

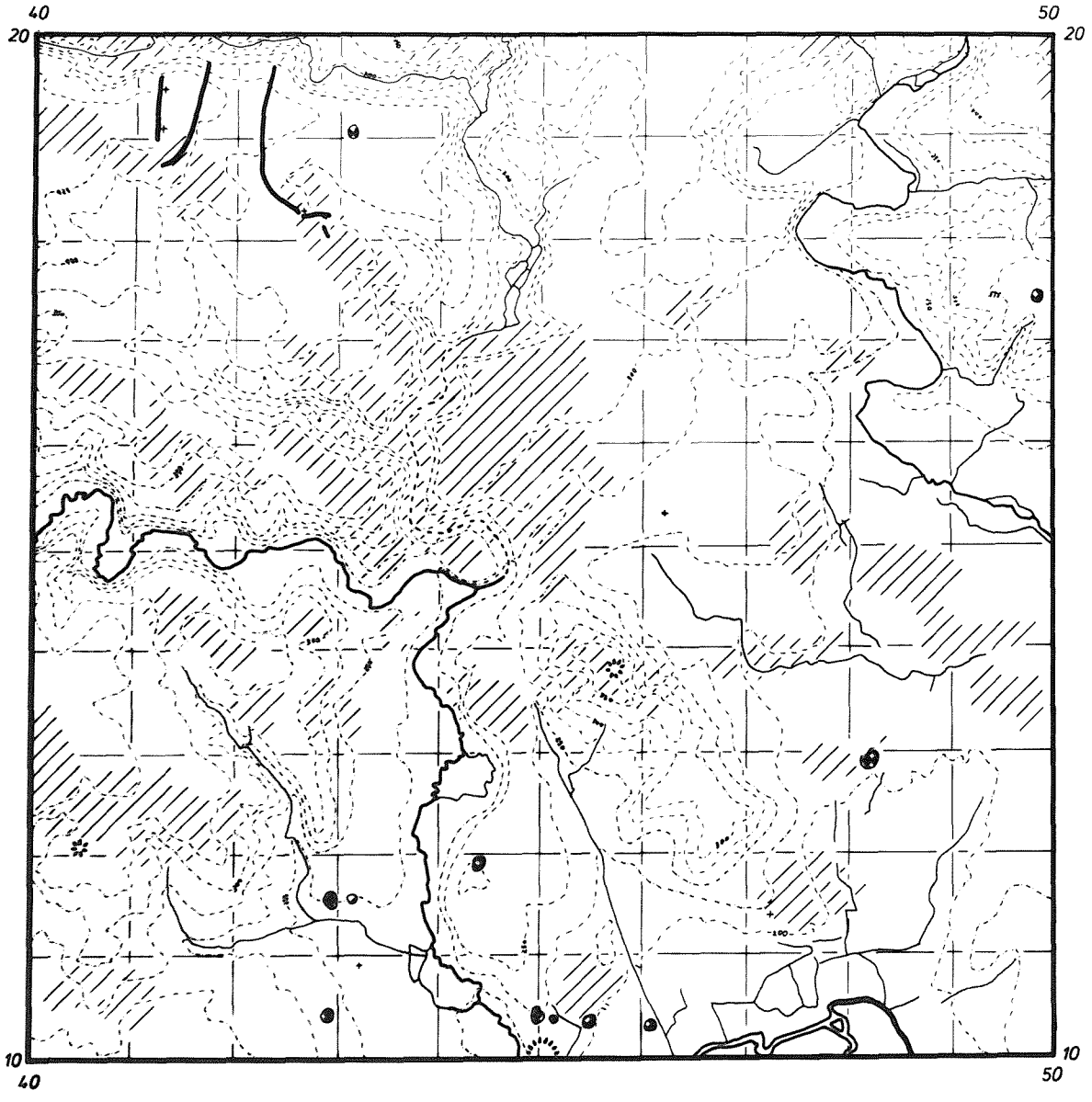
4808/OS/-/----/*Allen 157; RAF Photos.



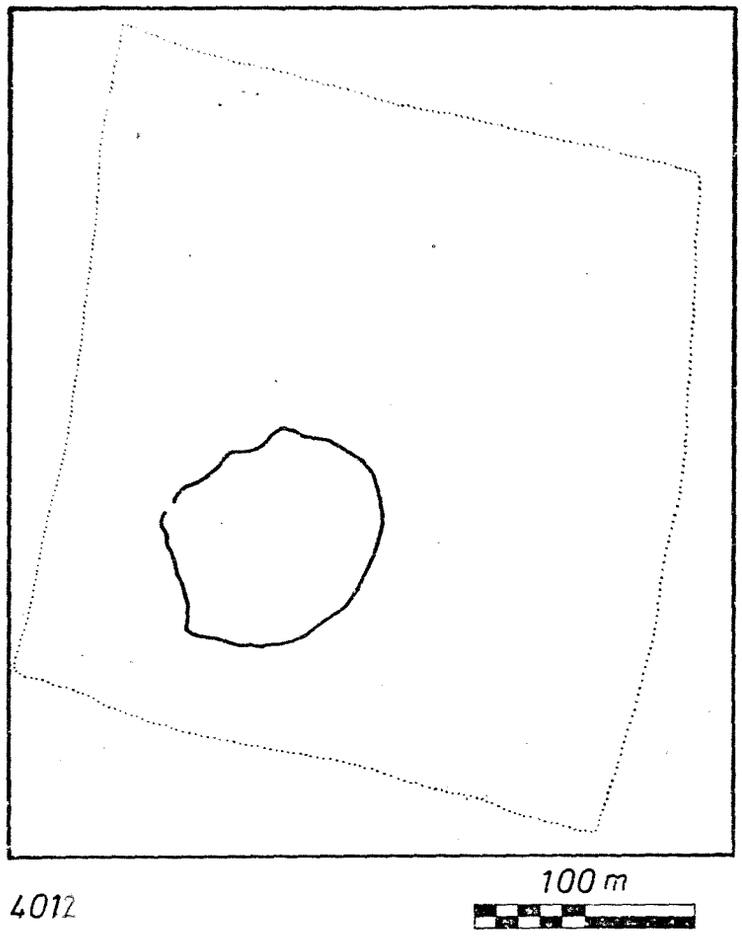
4808/4908, Port Meadow/OS/-/+--+/*RAF Photographs; CUAP BVV 116-7, CBO 51-4; NMR SP 4808:7:178.

4908A, Port Meadow/OS/-/+-++/Limited excavation produced Iron Age material; Atkinson, 1942; *RAF Photographs; CUAP CBO 51-4.

4908B/OS/-/+--+/*Riley 9:37; RAF Photographs; CUAP CBO 51-4; NMR SP 4808:7:175.

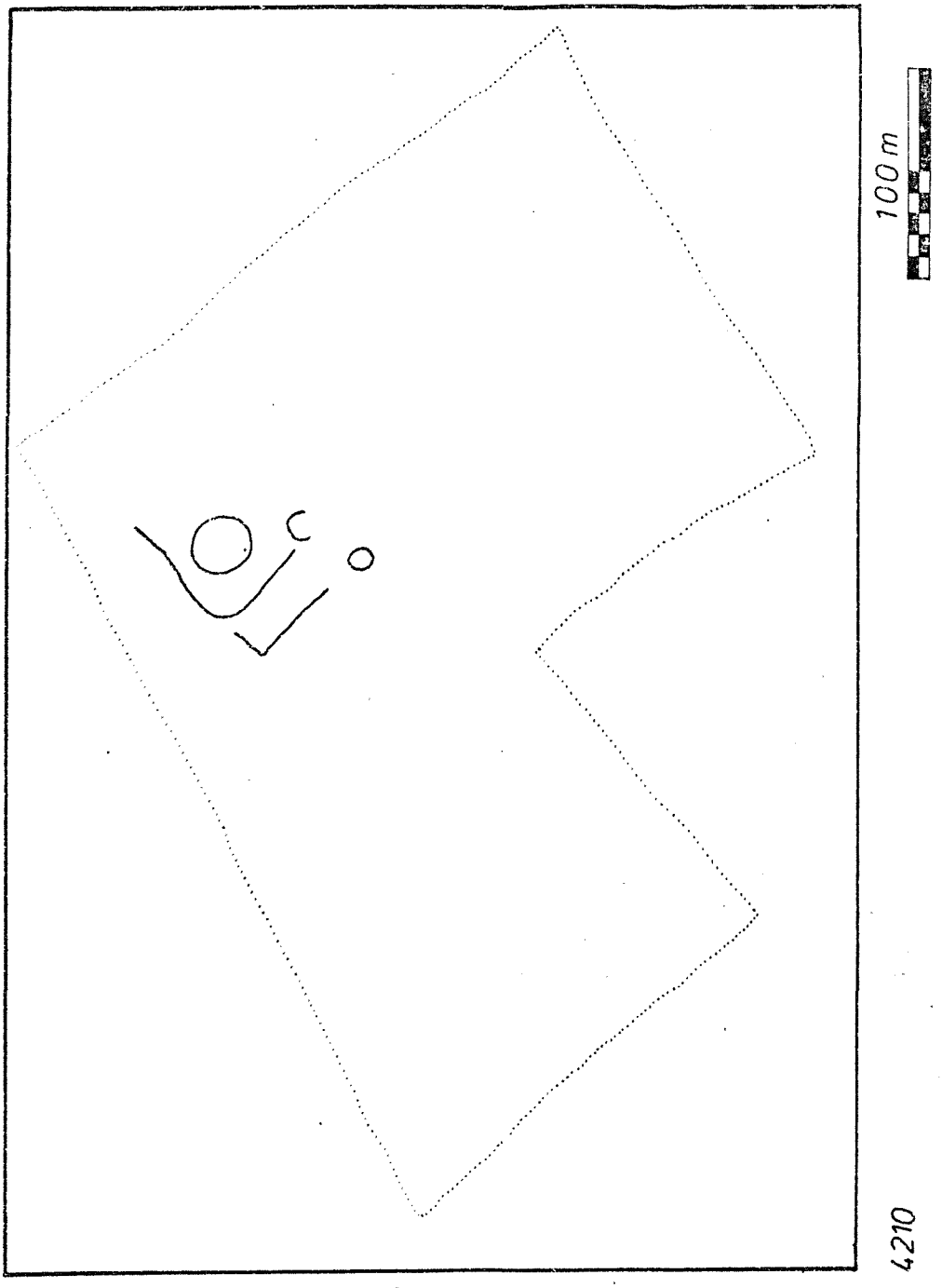


Base Map 15.

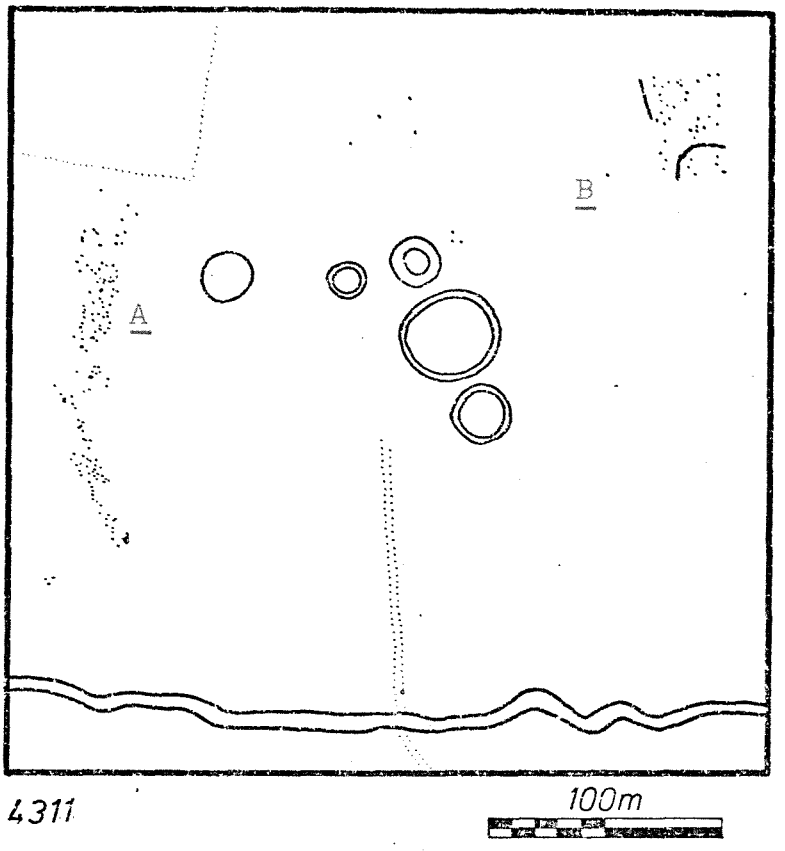


4012/?DE/-/+---/Victoria County History, 1939, 335;
*Allen 536-7.

4119, Callow Hill/-/LIA/--+-/Excavation of Grim's Ditch produced evidence of Late Iron Age occupation;
Thomas, 1957.

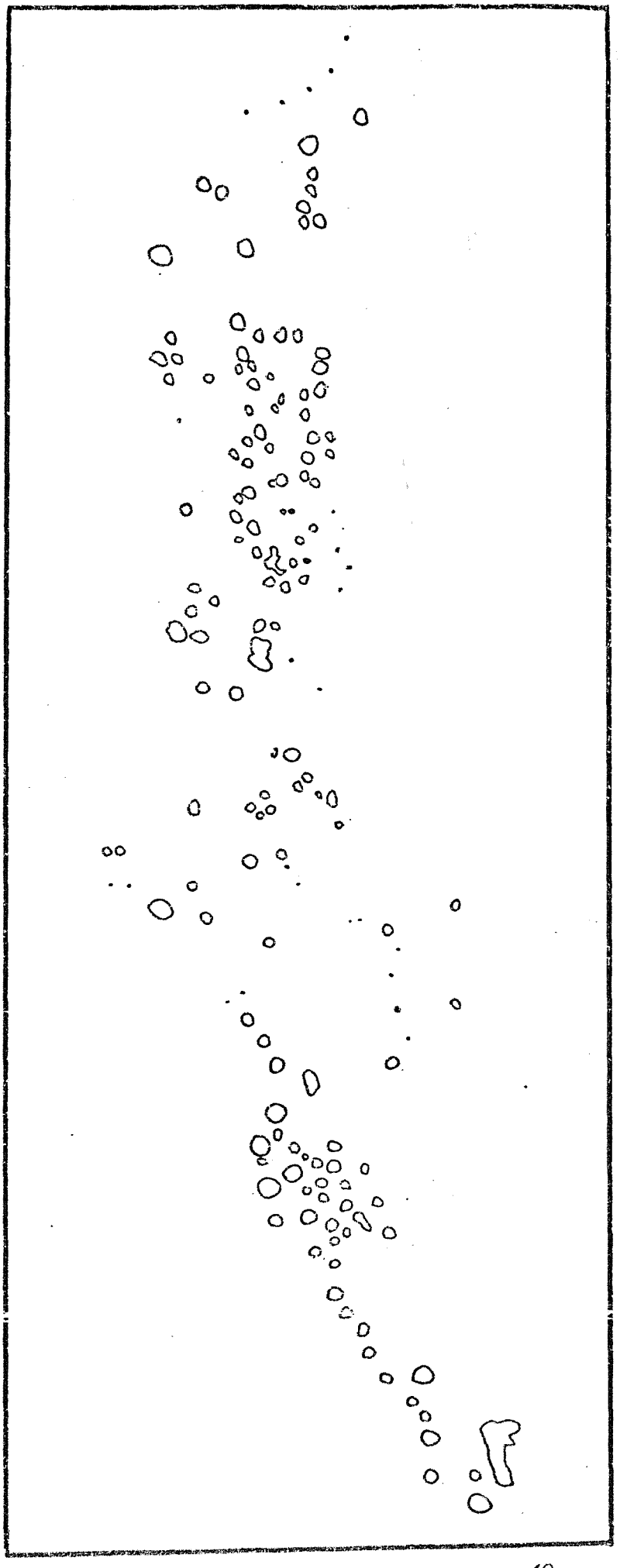


4210/?OS/-/+---/*Allen 532; Riley 8:38; NMR SP 4310:2.



4311A/City Farm, West/OS/MIA/+++-/Excavation produced evidence for Middle Iron Age pits and pottery; Case, 1964.

4311B/City Farm, East/OS/MIA/+++-/Excavation produced evidence of Middle Iron Age occupation; Harding, 1972.



10m

43II A



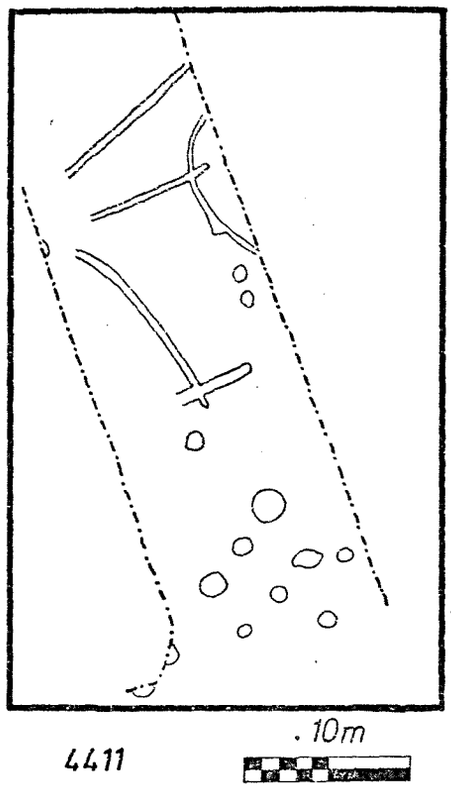
4311 B



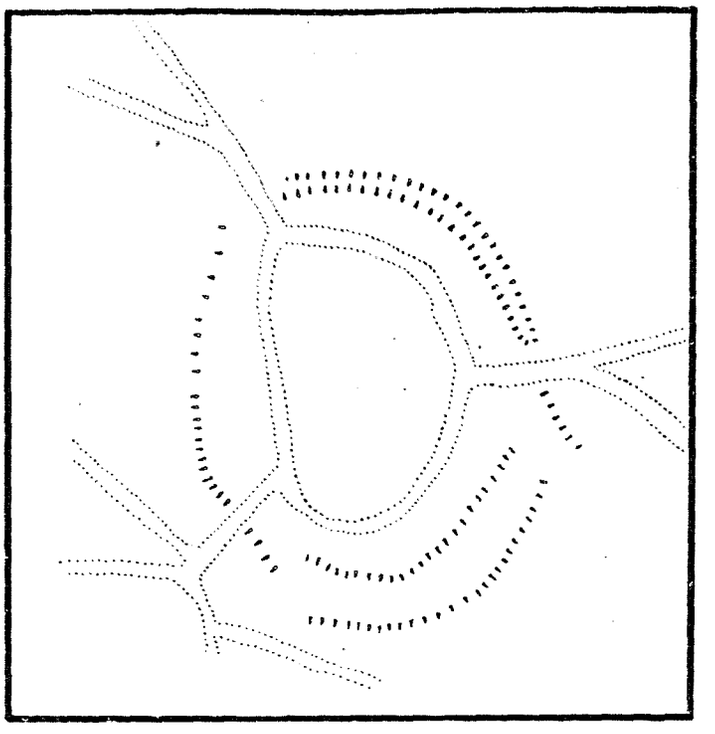
4410A, Cassington/DE/LIA/+-+-/Excavation produced evidence of a Late Iron Age date for the fortification, Case, Forthcoming.

4410B/OS/?MIA/+-+-/Excavation produced evidence for possible Middle Iron Age dating, Leeds, 1935.

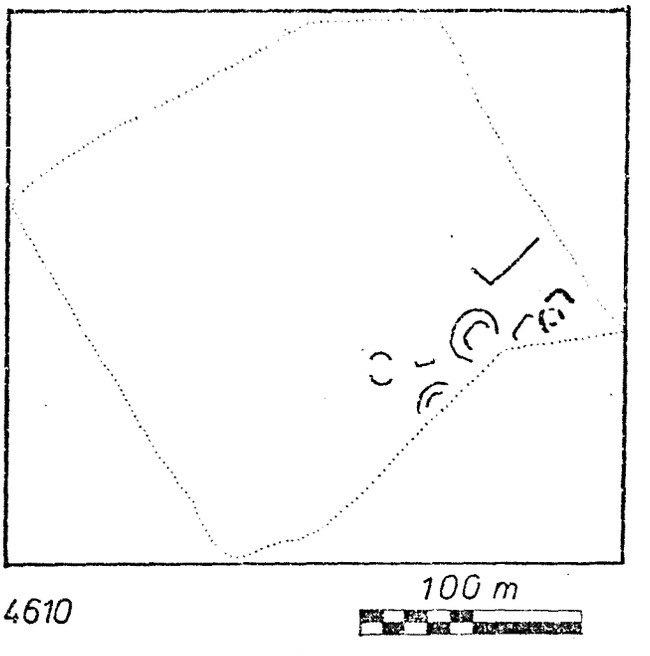
4510/OS/MIA:LIA/+-+-/Excavation produced evidence for Middle to Late Iron Age dating, Harding, 1972.



4411, Purwell Farm/OS/MIA/-++-/Excavation has produced Middle Iron Age material; Dawson, 1961.

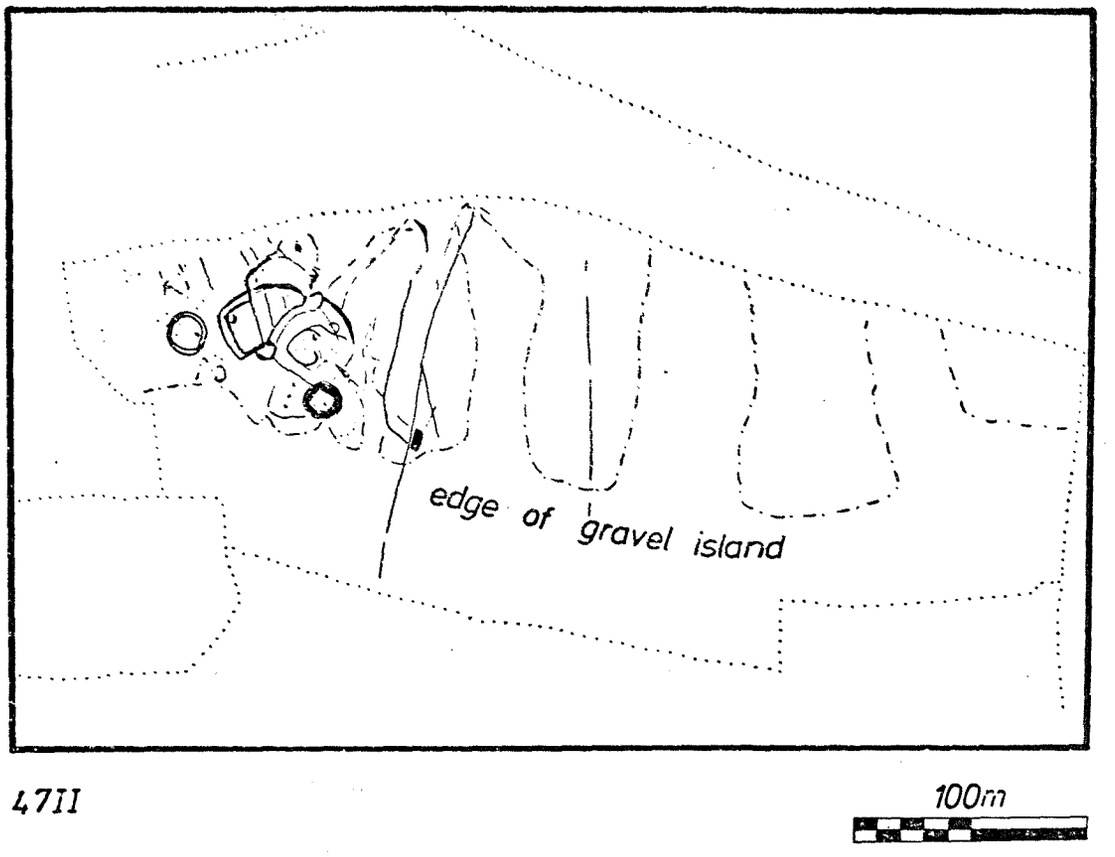


4513, Blaydon Round Castle/DE/-/+---/Sutton, 1966.

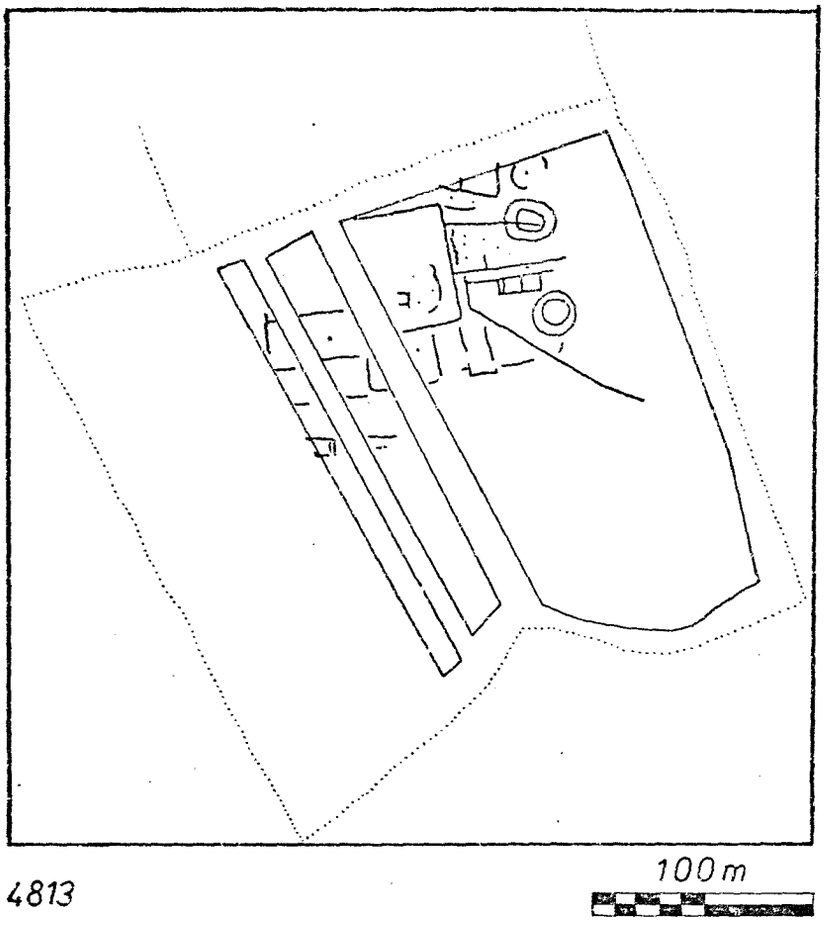


4610/OS/-/+---/*NMR SP 4610:4:145.

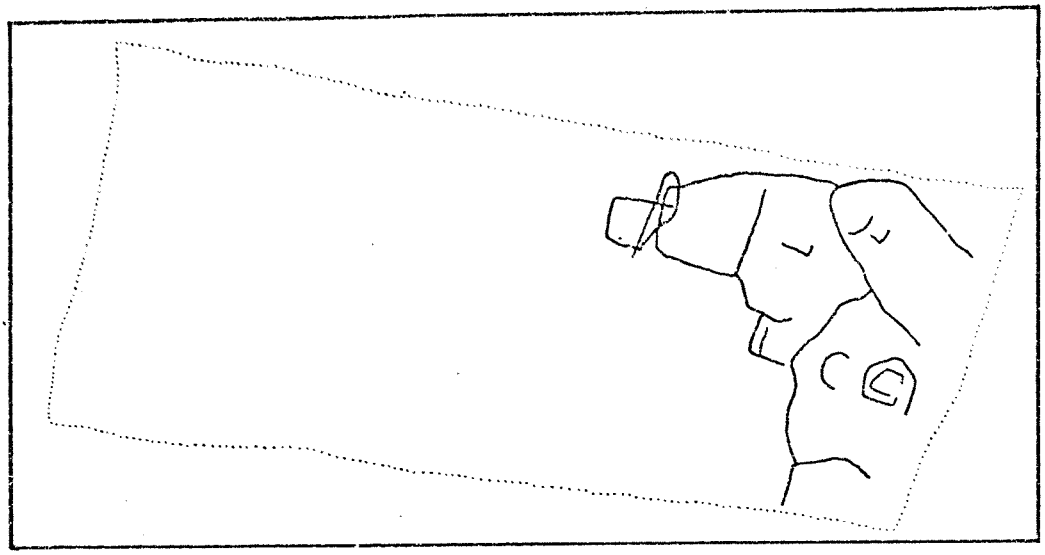
4615/-/LIA/--+-/Excavation has produced possible Late Iron Age material; Woodstock Museum Record Card.



4711/CES/MIA/+-+-/Excavation has produced Middle Iron Age Material; Dawkins, 1860.



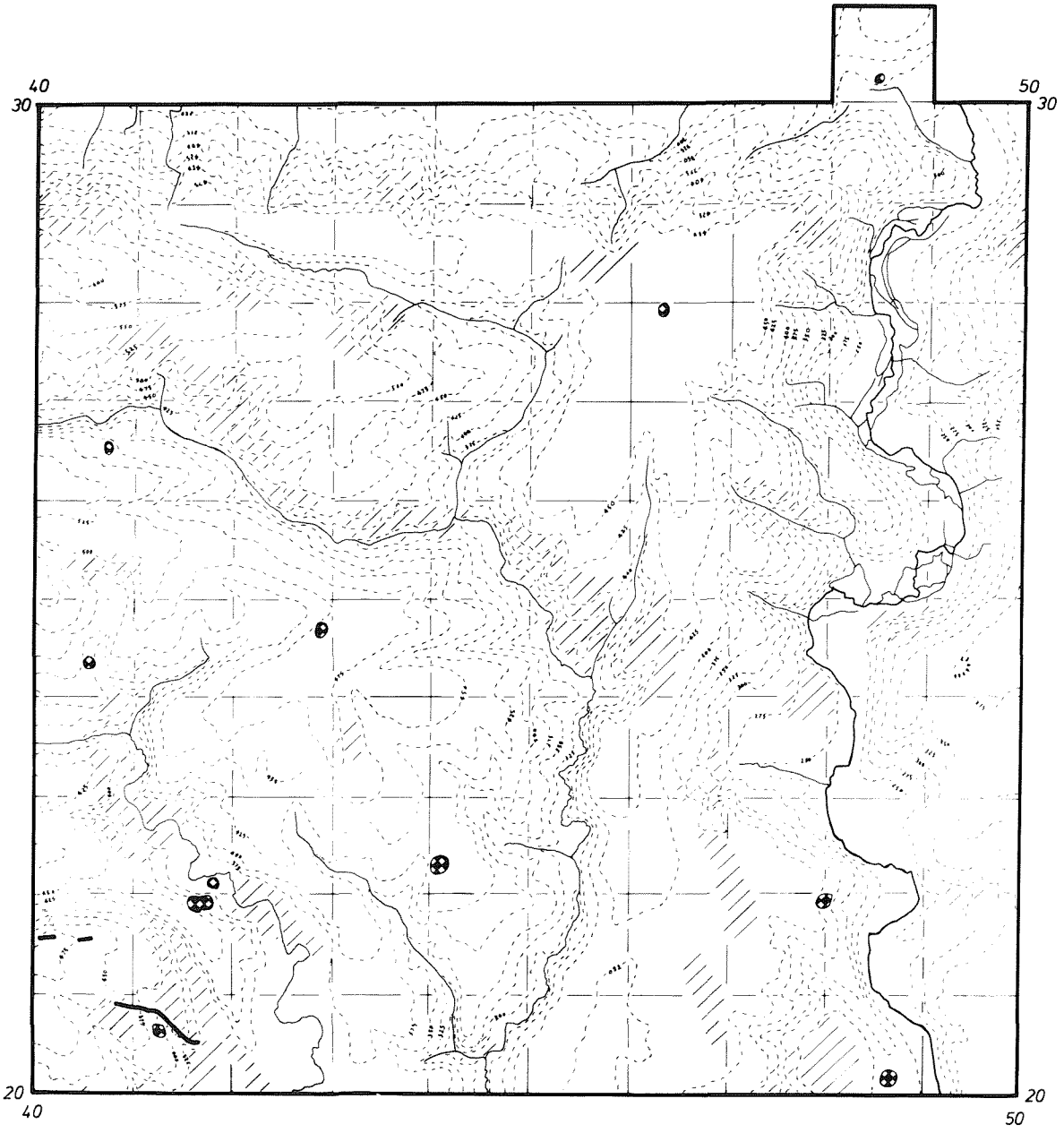
4813/CES/MIA:LIA/+-+-/Excavation during quarrying produced Middle and Late Iron Age material; Bradford and Lowther, 1946; *NMR SP 4813:1:347-50.



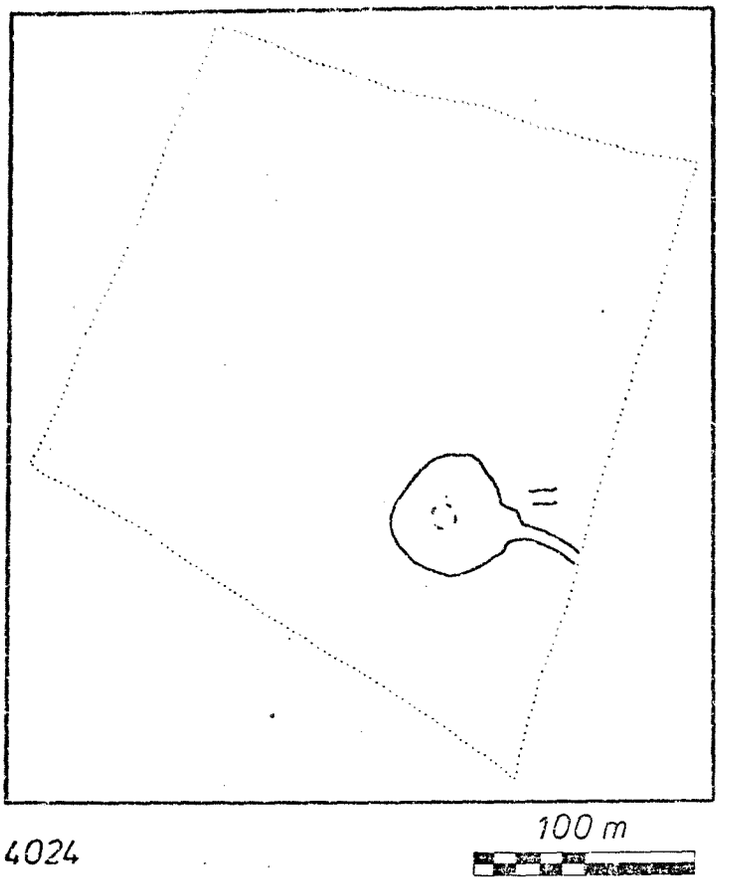
4917

100 m

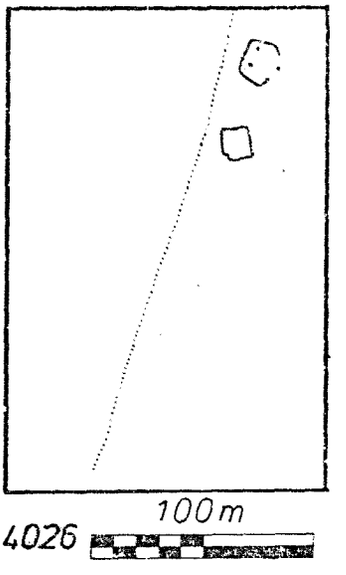
4917/OS/-/+---/*FAS 6125-9143.



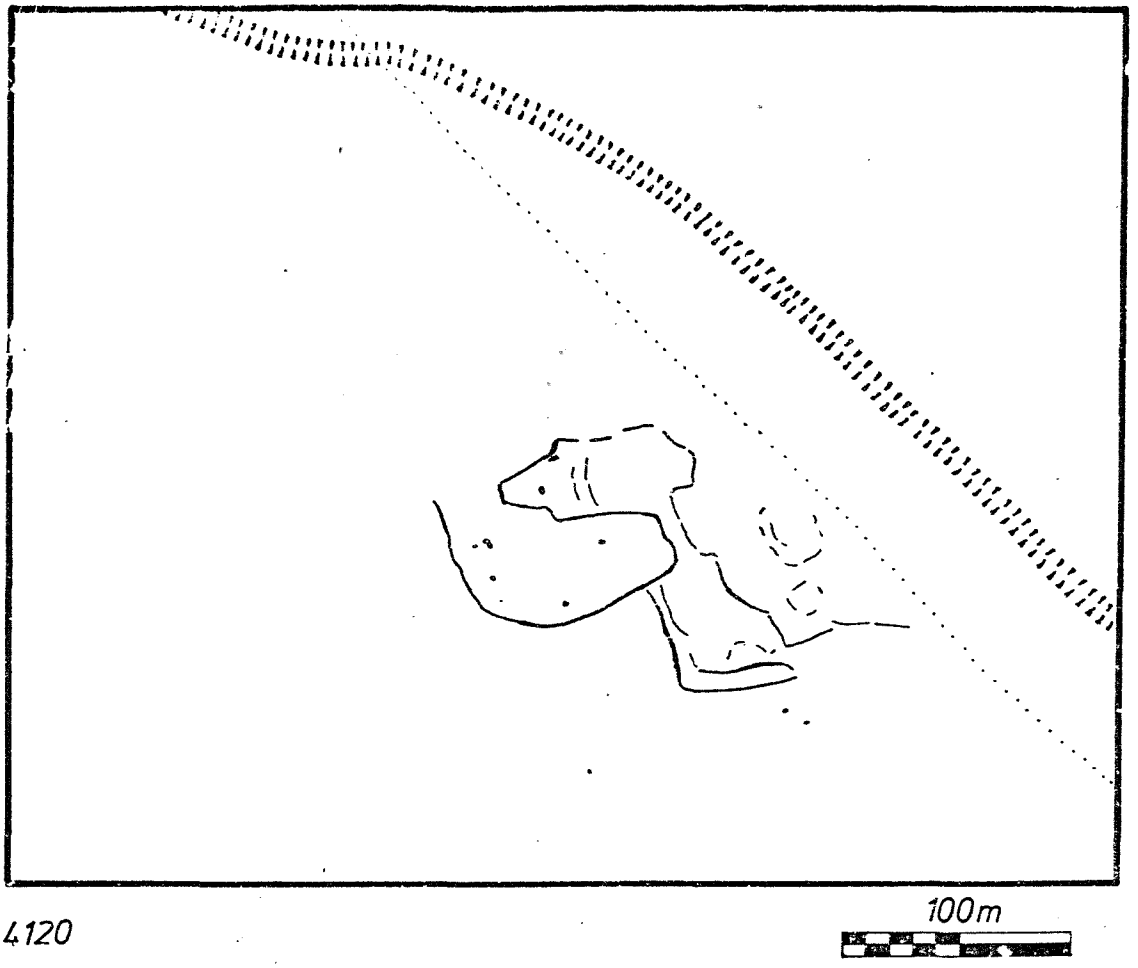
Base Map 16.



4024/ES/-/+---/*FAS 6125-13043.



4026/OS/-/+---/*FAS 6125-13043.

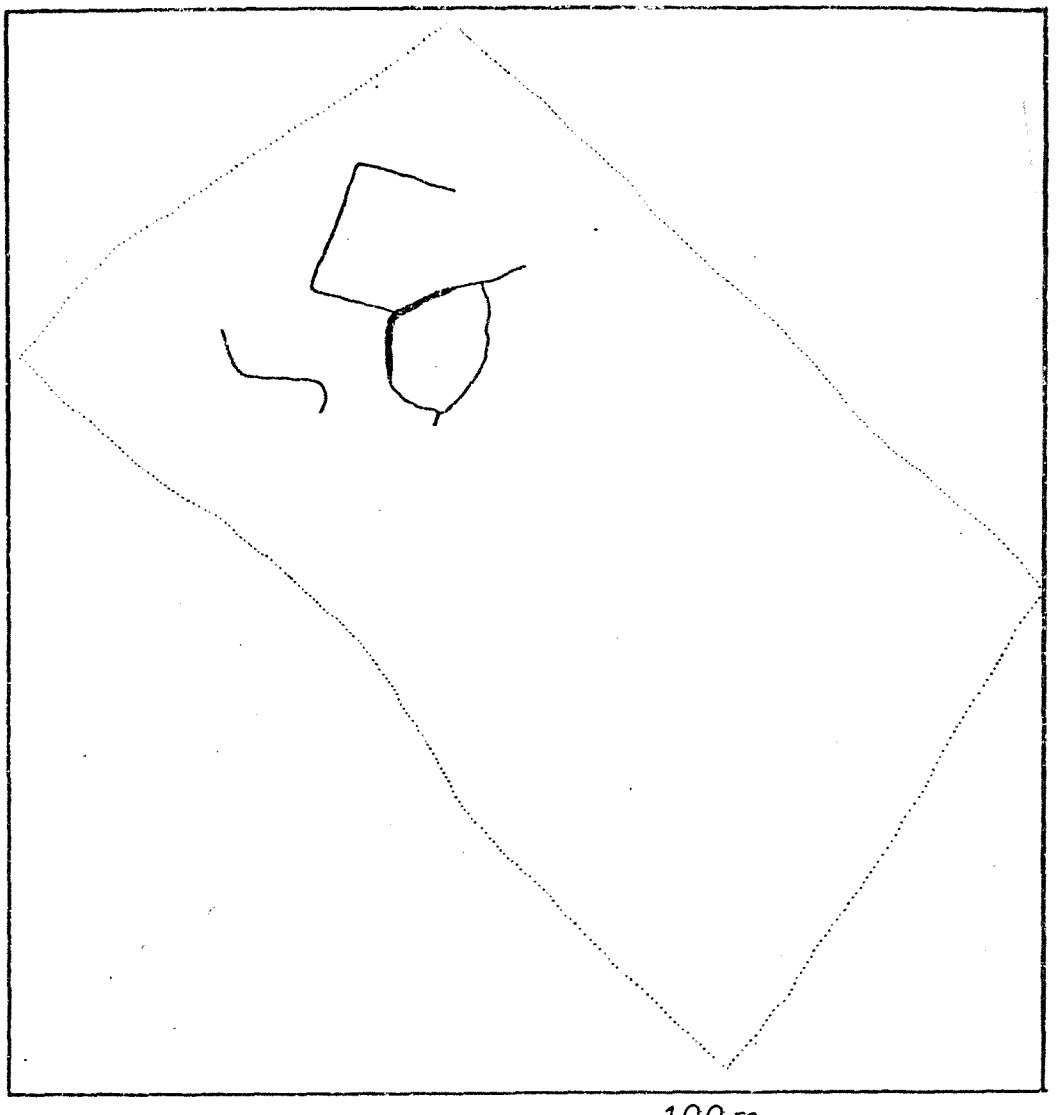


4120, Tomlin's Gate/ES/MIA/+-++/Excavation by the author produced evidence for possible Middle Iron Age dating, Hingley, 1981A.

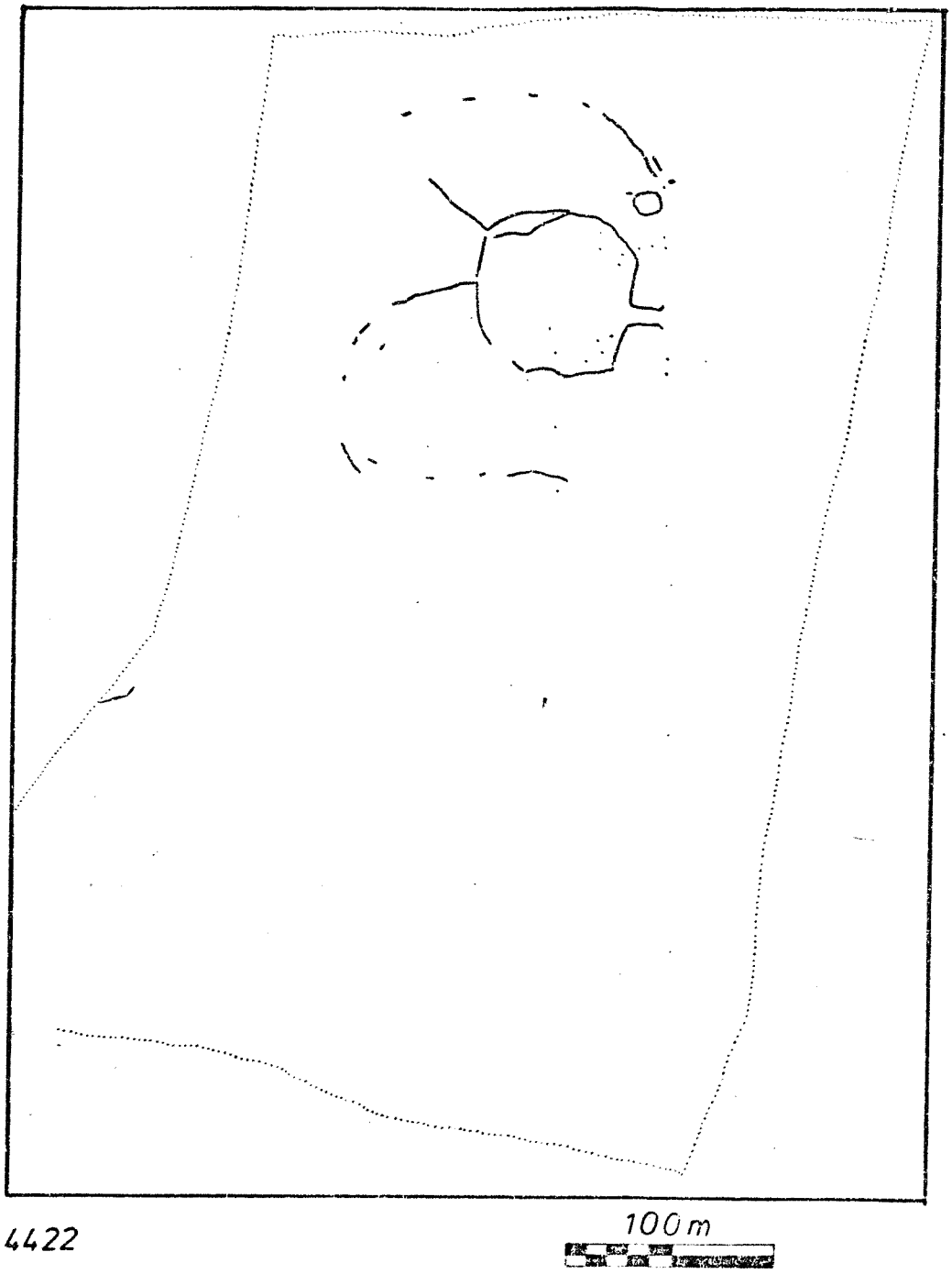


4121

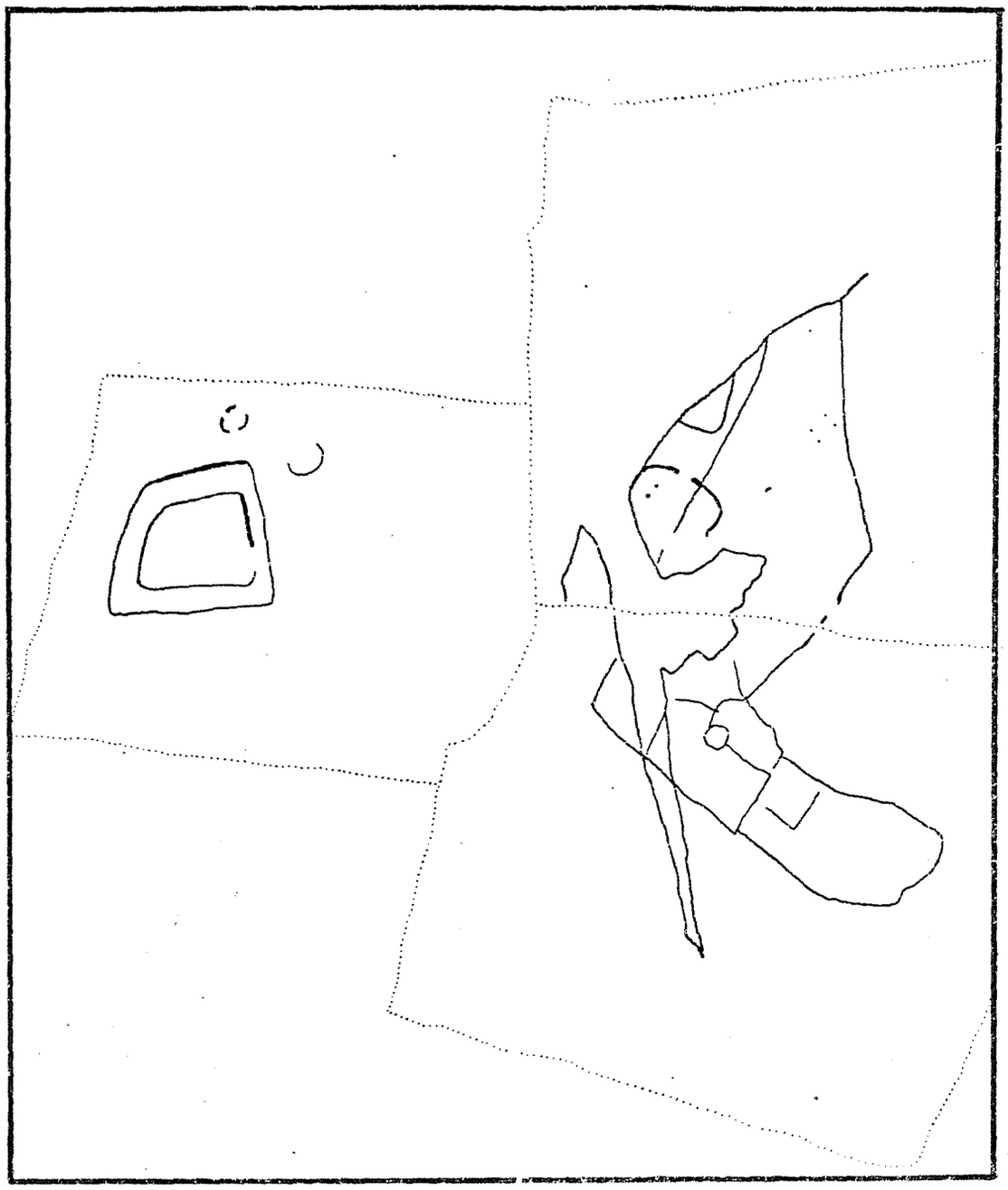
4121/ES/-/+--+/*NMR SP 4121:1-3.



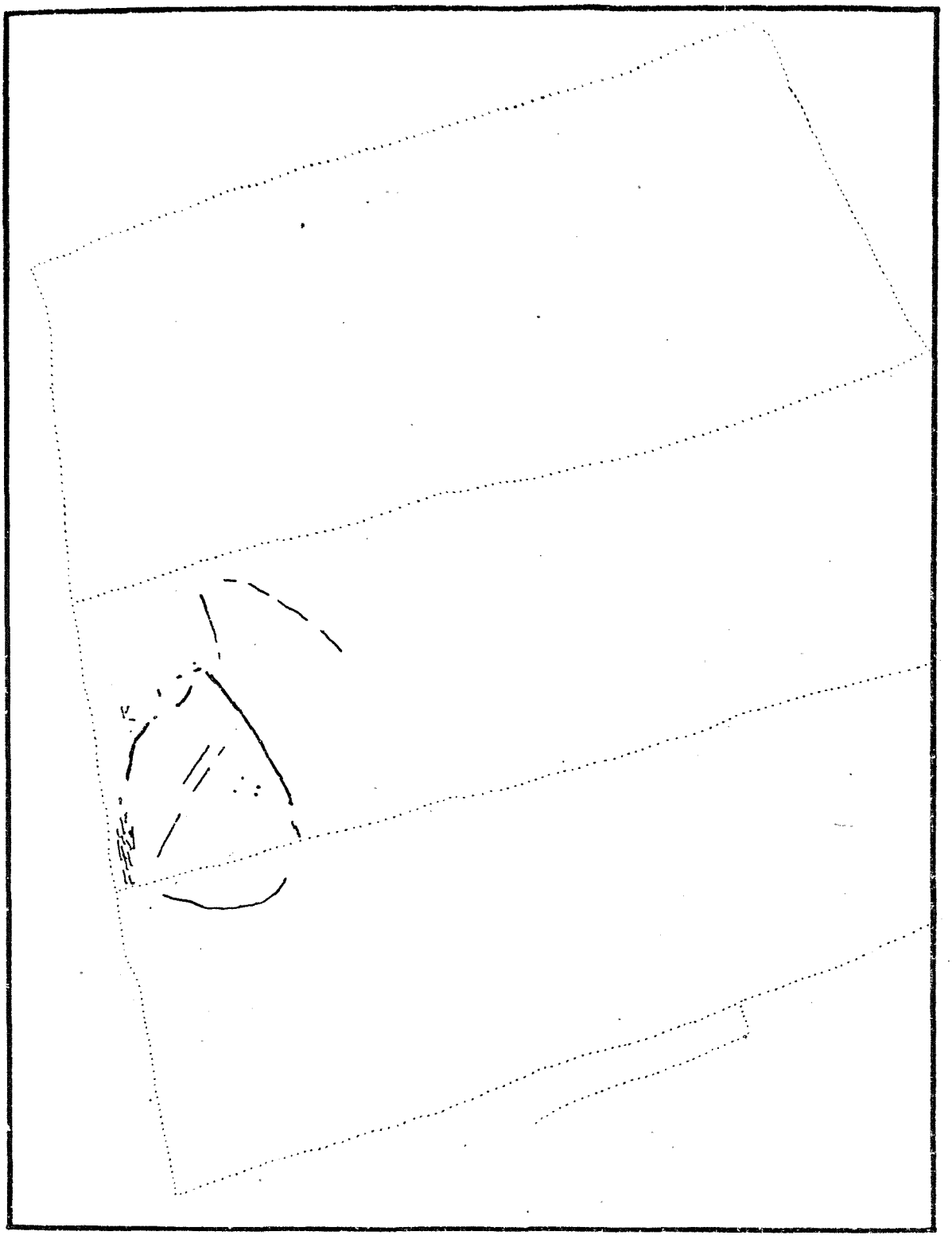
4224/ES/-/+---/*OAU slides.



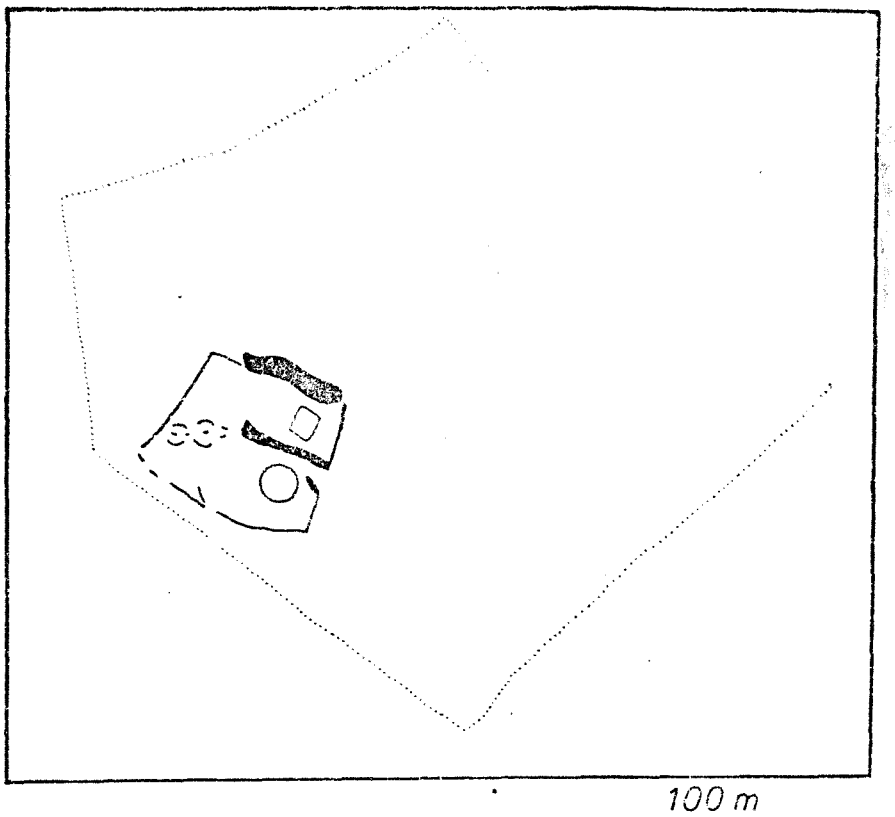
4422/ES/-/+---/*FAS 6125-12092-3.



4628/ES/-/+---/*FAS 6125-14018; slides in Woodstock Museum.



4820/ES/-/+--+/*FAS 6125-11073, 11074.



4830

4830/ES/-/+---/*FAS 6125-14108, 14109.

PART FOUR:

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