Daily Life and Emergent Identities:

Western Britain in the Late Iron Age and Roman Period

Kieran O'Driscoll

Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield, Sheffield.

May 2011

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abstract

The archaeology of the late Iron Age and Roman period in western Britain has generally been studied separately from the south-east of England. This has led to the area being viewed as either a periphery, or alternatively as part of a separate 'Atlantic zone', with unifying characteristics which differentiate it from developments elsewhere. This thesis challenges the idea that western Britain should be seen in such a way. It examines the historical roots of this idea, and shows how notions of identity can only be understood in relation to the socio-political context in which they are produced.

An alternative methodology is proposed, one which places the body and its relationship to material culture at centre-stage, aiming to overcome a previous emphasis on settlement morphology. The focus is on the illumination of the daily lives of the inhabitants of the area, rather than seeking to encompass them in pre-conceived cultural groupings.

The analysis reveals the fallacy of trying to incorporate western Britain in any all-encompassing cultural structure. Instead, it demonstrates that notions of selfhood and identity are constructed in the context of complex people-object relationships. The idea of a unified 'Atlantic zone' is deconstructed but the gap that it reveals is not left empty – it is filled with fluid and emergent identities at both the local and regional level. It is suggested that western Britain should not be viewed as a unified cultural zone separate from areas further east. Rather it should be seen as a series of communities operating at a relatively autonomous level, with influences extending in all directions as opposed to primarily along the western seaboard.

Acknowledgements

There are a number of people I would like to thank for their support over the last few years.

First of all, my supervisor, Mike Parker Pearson, for his advice and encouragement.

My advisor, John Barrett, for his insightful comments.

My friends, Jon, Ken and Andrew, for their proofreading skills.

Paul, for all that stimulating intellectual debate over numerous pints of beer.

My mother, Margaret, and my late father Seán, who always supported and encouraged my studies.

And most importantly, Deirdre, for her tolerance and encouragement, as well as her computer skills.

Chapter One: Theoretical Background

What is 'Atlantic Britain'?

Introduction

This thesis seeks to explore the nature of the late Iron Age and early Roman period in western Britain. Specifically, it aims to challenge the idea that this area was part of a coherent cultural zone spanning the North-Western European littoral. It seeks a greater understanding of how this idea has emerged in archaeological discourse, and facilitates this by adopting a theoretical framework which offers an alternative way of viewing the archaeology of the region. The key issue addressed is the question of social identity, and whether the communities of the western seaboard viewed themselves as part of any wider cultural zone. Previous research has tended to focus on the plentiful settlement evidence in the region but the approach adopted here attempts to overcome this historical bias in archaeological research. The aims of the thesis are therefore both to examine the nature of society in this time period and how current views of it have emerged in archaeological discourse, as well as to provide an alternative approach to material culture through which an alternative reading of the data might emerge. These aims can be summarised as follows:

- To critically examine the idea of a culturally distinct western British society.
- To understand how such ideas have arisen in archaeological discourse.
- To overcome an historical emphasis on the settlement record in archaeological research by adopting a body-centred approach that integrates both settlement and material culture studies.
- To re-interpret the west of Britain in line with modern approaches to social identity.

The Idea of an 'Atlantic facade'

The concept of an Atlantic fringe in the Iron Age of Western Europe has been explored by various commentators. At its widest it is seen as stretching from western Portugal and north-west Spain right along the Atlantic littoral, being primarily based on peninsular north-west Europe, incorporating north-west Spain and Brittany as well as the British Isles (e.g. Cunliffe 2001; Henderson 2007). These areas are seen as having been connected by well-travelled sea-routes (e.g. Fox 1932; Crawford 1936; Bowen 1970). Within Britain this idea of an 'Atlantic zone' has variously been seen to include the entire archipelago of the British Isles (Rainbird 2007), or just the western seaboard of Britain and Ireland (e.g. Cunliffe 2001; Bradley 2007; Henderson 2007). However, it is not just a geographical conception but also a cultural one, comprising areas which are on the fringe of the developments of the European mainland, with its inhabitants looking westwards towards the ocean rather than to the land behind. In this sense, it is seen as an area united by the sea, with contacts extending along its coasts, creating a common mindset based on a similar geographical setting as well as the coastal contacts which facilitated the transfer of goods and ideas.

As can be seen, the Atlantic fringe is a fairly malleable concept, interpreted as spanning varying parts of the Atlantic littoral of north-west Europe. Its unity lies not in any specific geographical or cultural characteristics, but in a rather vague notion of being different from developments elsewhere and united at a very general level by its 'oceanic mentality' (Cunliffe 2001). It has therefore proven very difficult to either confirm, or deny, its existence. However, these attempts to look for cultural or geographic unity lie very much within a culture-historical approach to archaeology, one which has been largely discredited (Shennan 1994), and the lack of an ultimate unity in such a large and diverse geographical area should not be surprising. This has led its exponents to introduce other ideas in its defence, for example suggesting that, despite differences in material culture between areas, there are similarities in socio-economic structure which imply a certain recognisable 'directedness' in development (Henderson 2007).

For the purpose of this thesis I have chosen to limit my analysis to excavated sites from the western seaboard of Britain. This area occupies a smaller part of the wider

2

'Atlantic fringe' of Western Europe. However, given that it exists entirely on the western side of the same landmass, offshore from mainland Europe, it provides an opportunity to examine the arguments for the existence of a shared culture in a restricted geographical area. Western Scotland and south-west England face the open ocean, while western Wales is part of the littoral of the Irish Sea. The four study regions I have chosen are all either islands or peninsulas (Figure 1) and, with their adjacent areas, are ideal for examining the role of the sea and maritime contacts in the development of regional identity.
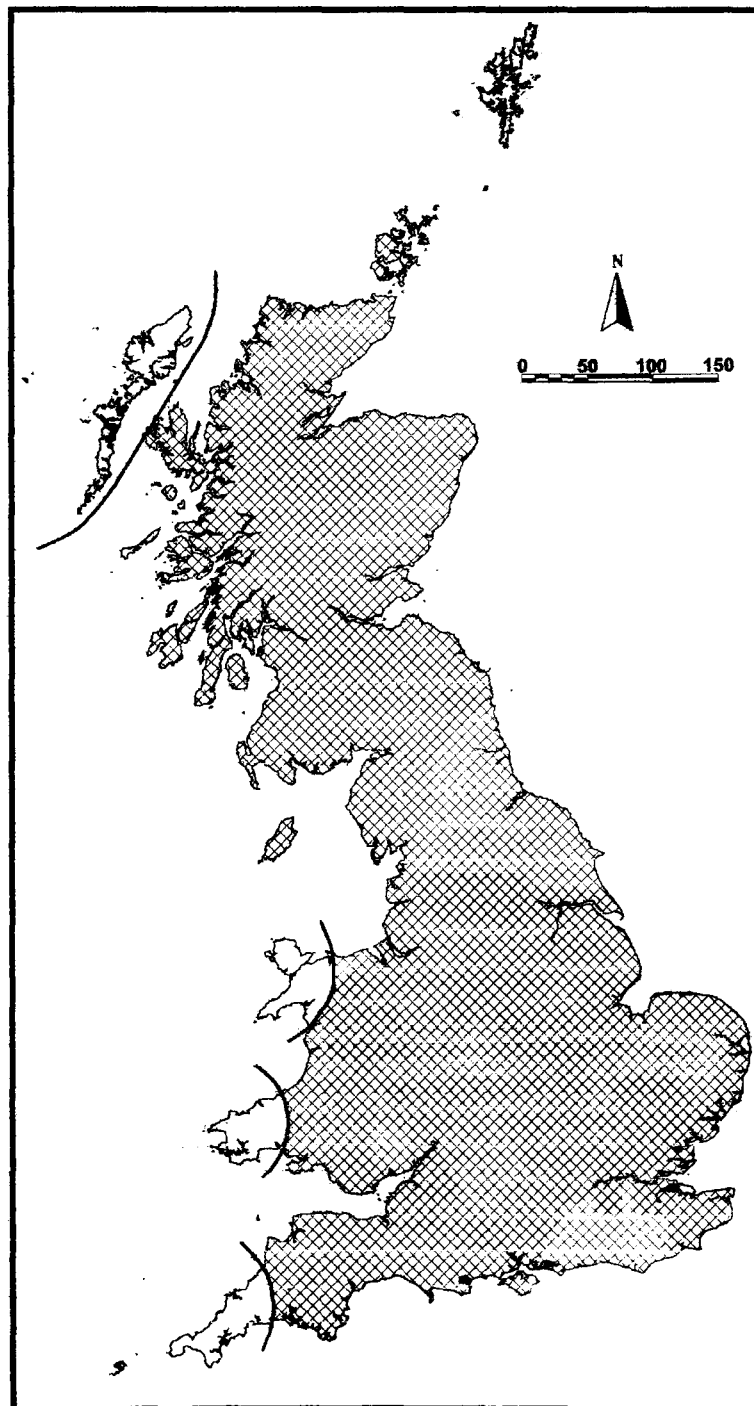
Figure 1 Study areas (indicated by lines on the west coast)

The idea of western Britain as a cultural entity is not new, but its earliest manifestations were not based on an idea of it possessing internally homogeneous characteristics. There is no indication that the inhabitants of the area in the time period in question viewed themselves as culturally related, and recent commentators, in seeking to create the area as such, are guilty of imposing an outsider's view on them. In the late Iron Age and Roman period the area was certainly outside of developments in south-east England, which was slowly becoming incorporated into a more Mediterranean-centred world, but this does not, in any way, mean that the area was a united coherent entity. Rather, any unity is based solely on its being an area excluded from developments elsewhere, which is really a modern conception of the ancient world based on a south-eastern 'core' and a western 'periphery'.

A key idea that has emerged in geography in the last couple of decades is that of 'Imagined Geographies', largely based on post-colonial critiques such as Edward Said's (1991) work on Orientalism and how the West constructed the East as its stagnant and backward Other. However, there has been less attention paid to the idea of colonial constructions of 'otherness' within western Europe, even though this is exactly where many of the first well-documented colonial conquests took place. In an article on the Norman conquest of Wales and Ireland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Keith D. Lilley (2002) has described how, in the medieval period, western Britain and Ireland were already being characterised as different, as part of a colonial attempt to justify territorial expansion. This may be one of the earliest attempts to construct western Britain as a homogeneous cultural zone, again not based on any particular inherent unity in the area, but rather simply as an area that exists 'beyond the pale'.

This idea of a non-urbanised, poverty-stricken western fringe was reinforced with an ethnic label in the eighteenth century. Simon James, in his work on the origins of the idea of the 'The Atlantic Celts' has shown how eighteenth and nineteenth-century nationalist discourse reinforced the idea of western Britain and Ireland as different from areas to the east (James 1999). This is tied in with the prior development of 'Celtic studies' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the medieval

4

manuscripts of Ireland and Wales and the 'Celtic' languages were being used to postulate the existence of a western 'Celtic' culture (Collis 2003). Even today this idea is still with us – the idea that medieval manuscripts and language similarities can be used as evidence for the existence of a shared culture on the western seaboard in the Iron Age (e.g. Karl 2008; 2010). However, the debate has not just been academic in nature; it was also taken up by the inhabitants of these areas in their attempts to populate the past with specific ethnic groups with whom they may have had resonance. For example, in Ireland all things Celtic were embraced as an emblem of difference in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, part of the wider movement known as the 'Celtic Revival' but with specific nationalist connotations in Ireland (Smiles 1994). In Britain the Celts were also being celebrated, with an explosion of interest in topics such as the druids, and their association with many well-known monuments such as Stonehenge (Morse 2005). The Celts were slowly coming to the forefront of public consciousness, seen as the indigenous Britons whose remnants now resided in the western regions of the British Isles. In these developments we can see how an area which was not necessarily a cultural unit slowly began to be characterised as different and how this difference was subsequently to take on an ethnic label.

In archaeological discourse in the early twentieth century the idea of western Britain being a peripheral fringe to a more dynamic south-eastern core was reinforced by Fox's (1932) seminal work on the 'personality of Britain'. Within an environmentally deterministic framework, Britain was divided into a highland and lowland zone. The highland zone, comprising western and northern Britain, was seen as inherently conservative in nature, with a largely pastoral economy. This idea was influential in furthering the conceptual idea of a different western Britain, united by geographical and economic characteristics in opposition to a lowland zone where the production of an agricultural surplus enabled the development of more complex societal structures. Research throughout the twentieth century focused on western Britain and its relationships with areas around the Irish Sea and along the western seaboard (e.g. Moore 1970; Thomas 1972), and although not all commentators were united in the belief of the existence of a unified Irish Sea cultural zone - or an Atlantic one - in the Iron Age (Alcock 1972), the direction of research was to focus attention on the interrelationships of communities along the western seaboard of Britain, at the expense of a consideration of how the area fits into wider British and European trends. The area

was seen as existing outside the sphere of influence of south-eastern Britain, and was deserving of study in its own right, with the main focus of attention being on the relationships and avenues of communication that may have existed in this area. Thus the idea of a unified cultural zone along the western seaboard, while not universally accepted, was allowed to flourish in the writings of some of its exponents (e.g. Bowen 1970; 1972), and affected the understanding of the archaeology of the region. This is exemplified in the writings of Barry Cunliffe (1974); in his seminal book on the 'Iron Age communities of Britain' he divided Britain in two, with the south and east comprising one region, and the west and north the other. Using a framework based on the existence of Iron Age 'tribes' in these regions, he examined the nature of Iron Age society throughout Britain, with a distinct emphasis on the south/east being the core area, and the west/north the periphery. He saw the nature of Iron Age society as being tied up with wider economic processes affecting the whole of western Europe, with continental trade and contact being a prime driving force behind social change (although his ideas were quickly challenged – see below, pgs. 31-32, for further discussion).

Modern perceptions

This idea of western Britain being different is still with us today. The writings of Barry Cunliffe are still particularly influential, with his emphasis on seeing the area as different from other areas and internally unified, based on the existence of 'small defended homesteads' along the western seaboard of Britain (Cunliffe 2005). Cunliffe has suggested the existence of a unified cultural zone spanning the entire littoral of Western Europe (Figure 2), spanning all periods of prehistory and history from the Mesolithic down to the present day (Cunliffe 2001). This, he suggests, is based on the common concerns and outlook of peoples inhabiting similar geographic settings, with those peoples who 'faced the ocean' sharing a similar oceanic mentality. Jon Henderson has applied this idea to a more restricted time and geographical area with his suggestion of a distinctive 'Atlantic Iron Age' (Henderson 2007). He has acknowledged that Cunliffe's work is ultimately environmentally deterministic, but, while emphasising that differences exist between the inhabitants of the north-west
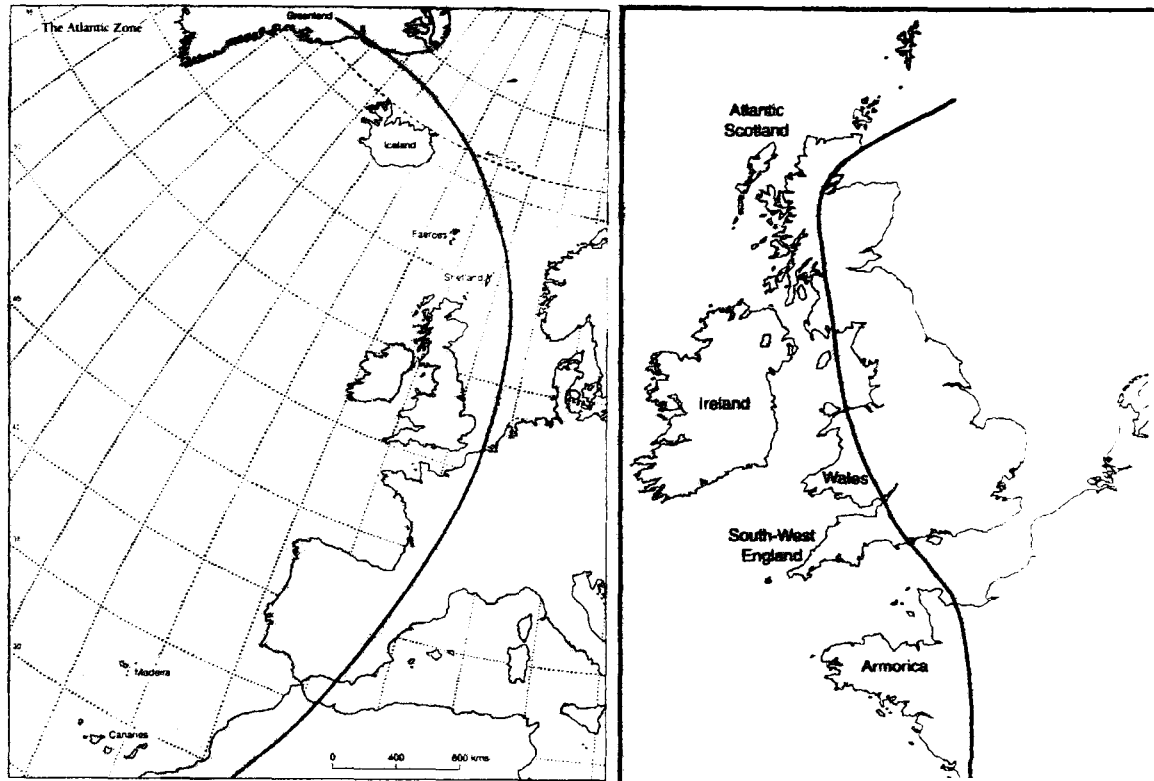
Figure 2 Views of the Atlantic zone (from Cunliffe 2001: 20; Henderson 2007: 4)

European littoral, he has still suggested that there is an overall 'directedness' in development, a sort of unity in diversity. He has suggested that similarities in the settlement and material culture records of Atlantic Scotland and Ireland, and south-west England and Brittany, demonstrate this, with regionally distinctive sequences occurring within a wider cultural zone which included western Wales. Settlements in this wider area, he suggests, show a common tendency towards monumental stone-built construction in the round, and longevity of occupation.

The work of Cunliffe and Henderson, among others, on the question of the existence of an Atlantic axis of contact and communication has been influential, and much recent work has begun to accept the existence of this zone as self-evident. In a recent synthesis of the prehistoric archaeology of Britain and Ireland, for example, it has been suggested that 'the tradition of building small but monumental enclosures along the west coast of Britain could...be accepted as part of a still-wider phenomenon extending southwards into Atlantic Europe' (Bradley 2007: 260-1). In the most recent synthesis of the settlement record from south-west England it has been suggested that the 'unique regional archaeology...owes much to [its] relationship with other maritime regions of the Atlantic seaboard' (Cripps 2007: 140). In Scotland, Mackie (2000) has questioned whether a desire to stress local developments is a reaction to previous

7

diffusionist frameworks which had been taken too far, and that genuine Atlantic contacts are being downplayed. Taken together, it can be seen that the idea of Atlantic maritime contacts is popular as an explanation for change on the Atlantic seaboard of Britain and north-west Europe, and that the idea of Britain as fundamentally divided between west and south-east is becoming entrenched in archaeological thought.

Maritime contacts

Most discussion of Atlantic maritime contacts is based on perceived cultural and material culture similarities, centred on a vibrant network of sea-routes spanning the western coastline (Figure 3). However, it has been pointed out that there is a complete absence of evidence for sea-going vessels in the Iron Age of western Britain (Rainbird 2007: 158). Admittedly, it is clear that maritime contacts did exist because of the existence of communities on offshore islands, although the actual evidence does not point to extensive maritime contacts in this time period, and the direct importation of exotic objects at this time was rare (Henderson 2007: 245). Indeed, artefact
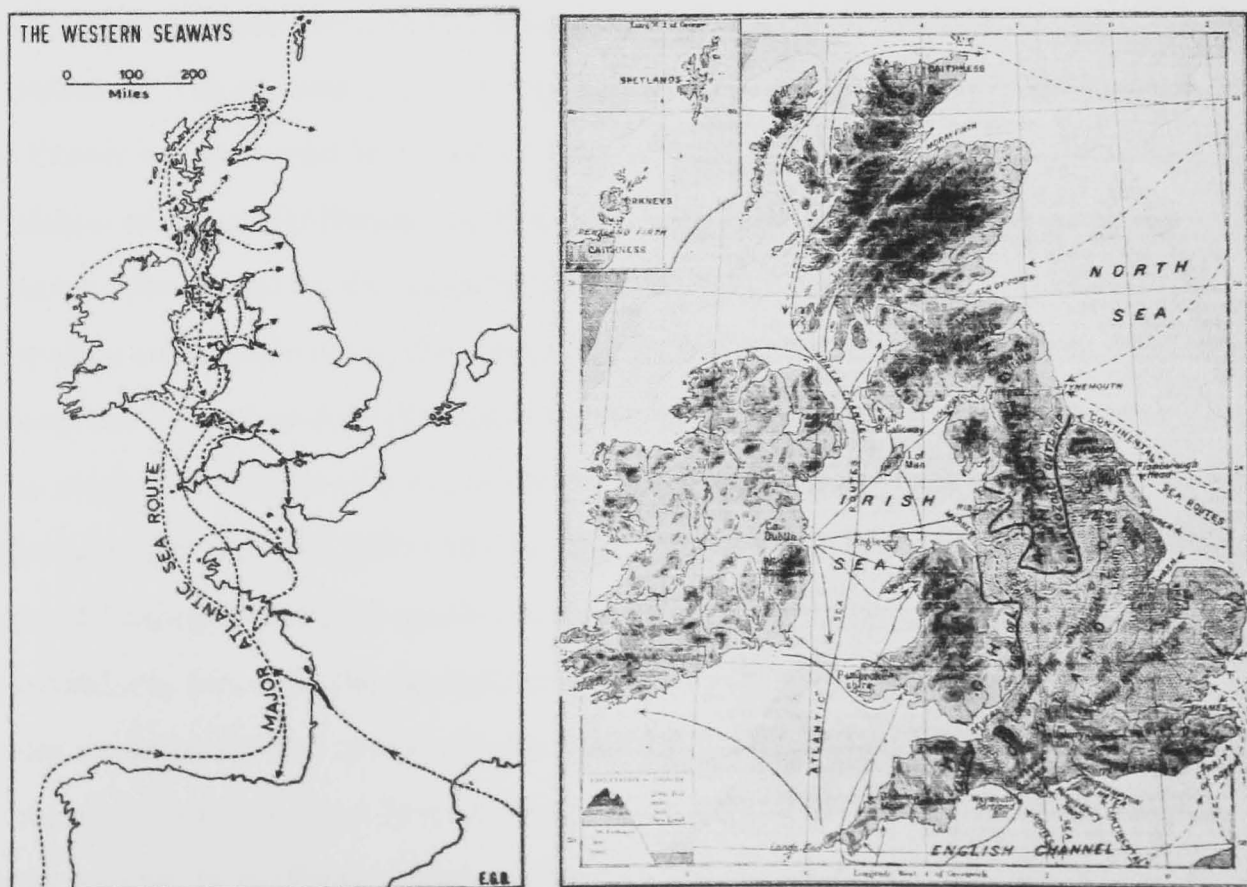
Figure 3 The western sea routes (from Bowen 1970: 19; Fox 1932)

8

distributions do not point to the existence of extensive or regular seaborne contacts, with the few artefacts with coastal distributions generally being fairly limited in geographical distribution, as is the case with VCP (very coarse pottery) in north Wales (Matthews 1999). It has been suggested that this lack of artefact distributions which indicate a clear western bias implies that 'specific areas across the Western Seaways may have exploited reciprocally their own political or diplomatic liaisons...and not necessarily just between immediately neighbouring regions' (Harding 2005: 48). It is clear from this that artefact distributions cannot be used to posit the existence of any unified cultural zone. Some commentators have suggested that this lack of evidence for long-distance trade along the western seaways is because the goods traded may have been made from perishable materials, and that the movement of goods was part of a system of down-the-line trade (Matthews 1999). There have been a few finds of coins along the western seaboard, as at the site of Meols on the Wirral peninsula and this has been given as evidence for this suggested scenario (ibid). However, to infer from these limited finds the existence of extensive trade networks is problematic in the extreme, and presupposes the use of coins as the medium of exchange in a monetary economy, which is not necessarily the case (Reece 1987).

Given the distinct lack of evidence for trade along the western seaboard of Britain, it is interesting to speculate if in this period the importance of maritime contacts has been overstated. The existence of Iron Age pottery of south-west French and Spanish origin at Exeter in south-west England has been interpreted as evidence for trade along the Atlantic seaways (Holbrook and Bidwell 1991). However, it is interesting to note that Caesar commented on the dangers of the Atlantic (Caesar 1917) and, while there was certainly some trade along the coasts of north-west Europe, it is possible that trade along the dangerous Atlantic coasts was more limited than has been assumed. Fulford has suggested that actually much pottery from these areas was transported overland through Gaul (Fulford 2007: 60). In Britain he goes further, noting that in the Roman period 'sailing around the south-western peninsula [of England] seems to have been avoided, so, too, does the navigation around the larger peninsula of Wales' with 'no clear evidence for the systematic transport by sea of archaeologically visible commodities of southern British origin' (ibid: 68). While he accepts the evidence for low-volume, long-distance trade along Atlantic coasts, he feels the negative evidence for the use of the western seaways by British merchants is very noticeable, with the

lack of Roman material culture in Ireland being remarkable. So, while it would be foolish to deny the existence of some trade and maritime-based contact along the western seaboard of Britain, it is very difficult to reconcile the remarkable lack of evidence for this with the suggestion that this area comprises a distinctive cultural zone.

The Construction of the West

Introduction

Archaeological approaches to the study of western Britain in the late Iron Age and early Roman period have reinforced the picture of western Britain as a distinct and different region. Various aspects of the archaeological study of the period, including the focus of research on certain settlement types and the elite elements of society, have combined to create a view of western Britain as a 'periphery' to a south-eastern 'core'. I propose that this dichotomous framework of difference has prevailed at the expense of a consideration of wider similarities, as superficial differences in settlement morphology and material culture, allied with an environmentally determinist framework and a preoccupation with an expanding Mediterranean-centred economy, have constructed western Britain as backward and stagnant, contrasting with the dynamic and forward-looking south-eastern areas of Britain. While there certainly were differences, with the south-east of Britain developing elements of complex monetary and social systems, the overall division of the island between south/east and west/north has prevented consideration of how the different regions of Britain really interacted with each other. This has allowed a perception of western Britain as a maritime Atlantic fringe to flourish.

'The personality of Britain'

Cyril Fox's (1932) influential publication on the personality of Britain is a good place to begin to address how western Britain has become separated from mainstream developments in research on the late Iron Age and Roman periods. Earlier work, including that of Haverfield (e.g. 1923), had already begun to focus on what were seen as the more interesting archaeological remains in the south-east, so the beginnings of this perception of western Britain as being somewhat different from areas to the east cannot be attributed solely to Fox. However, his characterisation of Britain as being composed of a highland and a lowland zone is a division which, in its simplicity, captured the imagination of subsequent researchers. This self-evident division of the country based on geographical characteristics, with subsequent implications for

societal organisation, dominated perceptions of the archaeology of this period throughout the twentieth century. The lowlands were those agriculturally prosperous regions which could sustain a large and expanding economy based on ease of communication and the production of surplus goods, whereas the highlands, to the west and north, were seen as backward, and culturally and economically stagnant. Western Britain, in the late Iron Age and Roman period, thus came to be seen as peripheral to developments in the core area of south-east England, with Wessex and the Thames valley dominating Iron Age studies, and Roman studies focusing on the 'villa zone' of lowland south-east England. This has resulted in a view of western Britain as consisting of impoverished communities, part of a broad 'Celtic fringe' with its cultural roots in a wider Atlantic province, missing out on the exciting new developments that were occurring in the south-eastern 'core'.

An Englishman's home is his castle

With few exceptions, the amount and quality of finds turning up on excavations in western Britain from sites of the Iron Age and Roman period was minimal in comparison with the south-east. This has led to a situation where interpretations of the archaeology of the region were based almost entirely on settlement morphology. Although there are obvious exceptions, including work on the pottery of south-west England (e.g. Peacock 1969), and the more plentiful material culture from the Scottish islands (e.g. Clarke 1970; 1971), research on western Britain has largely reinforced the idea that societal organisation can be inferred from the morphological characteristics of settlements and the resultant classificatory schemes that this approach entails. Early syntheses of the material from the west of Britain followed this approach, with a postulated hierarchical society based on differences in the size of settlements. For example, in the south-west of England the larger hillforts and cliff-castles were seen as the residences of an elite, with the smaller rounds occupied by their vassals, and landless bondsmen making up the lower orders of society living in unenclosed settlements (for synthesis of the archaeology of the region following this general paradigm see Cunliffe 2005; Fox 1964; O'Neill Hencken 1932; Quinnell 1986; Thomas 1966; Todd 1987). Cunliffe's (1974) seminal work on the Iron Age communities of Britain reinforced this emphasis on settlement morphology,

characterising the west of Britain as being an area comprised of 'strongly defended homesteads'. This focus on settlement, at the expense of material culture studies, continues to this day, with the most recent synthesis of the material from the south-west of England being written with the aim of gaining 'new perspectives from the settlement record', though admittedly with a view of society as heterarchical and not hierarchical (Cripps 2007). In other parts of western Britain a similar emphasis on the settlement record can be seen. Although certain other aspects of the archaeological record are addressed, including burials in south-west England (Whimster 1981) and 'exotic items' in Scotland (Clarke 1970; 1971), it is the relatively more impressive settlement sites which have been the centre of attention, with a prime example being the considerable debate surrounding the origin and development of brochs in Scotland (e.g. Armit 1990, 2002; Parker Pearson *et al.* 1996).

This focus on settlement studies has meant that superficial differences in settlement patterns have come to underpin interpretations of social organisation. For example, Cunliffe's (2005) emphasis on the difference between the western British zone of 'strongly defended homesteads' and the hillfort-dominated zone to the east of these settlements has meant that underlying similarities in settlement morphology have been ignored (Figure 4). Mattingly (2006: 411) describes a series of enclosures excavated in
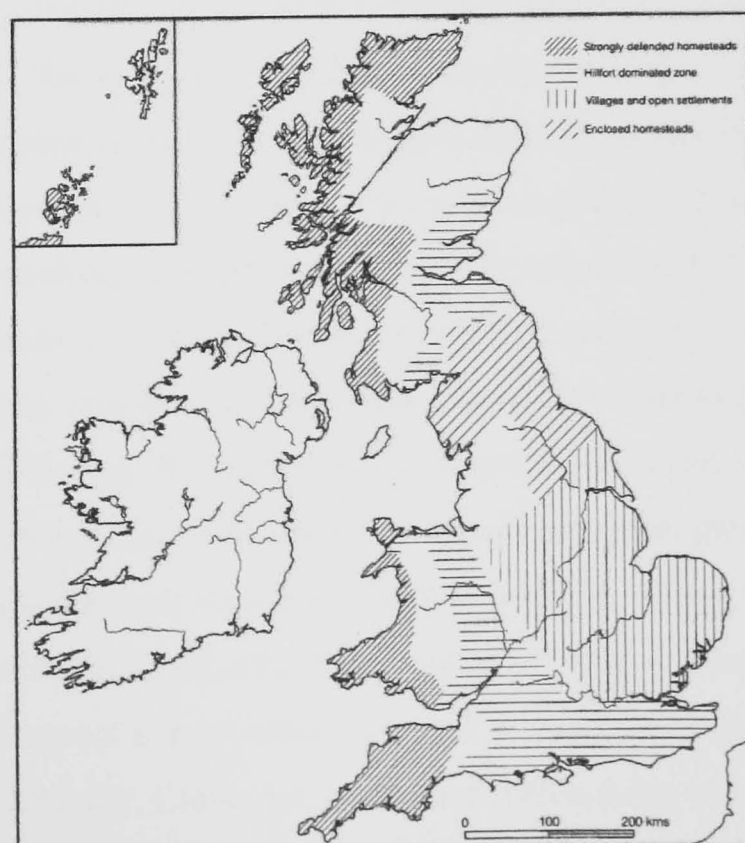
Figure 4 Settlement zones in Britain (Cunliffe 2007: 74)

13

south-west Wales as being comparable to the 'banjo enclosures' of Wessex, but these similarities at the supposed lower end of the social spectrum are ignored when stress is instead placed on the importance of the presence or absence of hillforts. Given the more recent interpretations of the possible role of hillforts as gathering places or symbolic focal points for the community as opposed to the pinnacle of a hierarchically organised settlement system (Hill 1996), an alternative interpretation of the evidence could lay stress on wider similarities in settlement morphology across Britain, with the differences between areas resulting from contrasting means of organising or expressing social identity. In the Outer Hebrides the focus of research on the wheelhouses and brochs means that this area has been seen as at odds with developments in the rest of Britain, despite the fact that it is also possible to see these impressive houses as simply 'forming one regional manifestation of the much wider tradition of substantial roundhouse building in Britain during the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age' (Armit 2002: 15; Barrett 1981).

Cult of celebrity

In the Iron Age, with the focus of research on supposed high-status settlements such as hillforts and territorial oppida, a view of social change as being inherently influenced and determined by considerations of elite behaviour became the norm (e.g. Cunliffe's work at Danebury). The visibility of the high-status archaeological remains, from hillforts to *La Tène* metalwork (Figure 5), helped to reinforce this bias in archaeological interpretation, with debate centred on explaining how this elite level of society controlled exchange and production for their own benefit. This can be seen in particular in relation to *La Tène*, or Celtic, art, which received a lot of attention from the nineteenth century onwards. This was part of a wider movement of (re)discovering ancient art styles, including the study of classical and Egyptian art styles and architecture, and in the British Isles the discovery of significant pieces of decorated metalwork, including the Tara brooch and Battersea shield, helped to ignite an interest in this particular field of study (Collis 2003). However, this was the time when debates surrounding what it meant to be 'Celtic' were still relatively in their infancy, and the birth of this object of study, Celtic Art, took place within these wider academic debates surrounding the nature of pre-Roman British society (Morse 2005). Hence, the name

14

Celtic was attached to this art style based on the commonly held assumption at the time, derived from linguistics, that the earliest inhabitants of Britain were 'Celts' (Collis 2003). The Celtic art of Britain Ireland was immediately seen to be an important sub-group of the wider continental *La Tène* art styles with distinctive objects as well as styles, such as Y-shaped pendants and spear-butts, and continuing beyond the heyday of the continental art styles, into the early medieval period (Harding 2007). Celtic art thus reinforced a view of Britain and Ireland as being different, part of a wider western European tradition, but with a particular regional manifestation. The west of Britain was part of this zone of Celtic art, with significant discoveries such as the hoard from Llyn Cerrig Bach in Anglesey (Fox 1945) and, more recently, the Iron Age mirror found with a burial on Bryher in the Isles of Scilly (Johns 2002-3).

The attention given to these finds and their place in the wider context of studies on Celtic art demonstrate the extent to which elite behaviour has come to determine our interpretations of the Iron Age and Roman period. While western Britain was clearly part of the trading network in elite metalwork, it is clear that these items would only have been used by a small percentage of the population. They have given rise to a picture of society dominated by horse-riding and weaponry and warfare, when this does not at all have to have been the case. This predilection for the study of the powerful and elite in society continued in Iron Age studies, particularly as this was also the time when individual actors became visible in the archaeological record of the south-east, in the numismatic evidence, and the writings of classical authors, with academic attention shifting an examination of the exploits of individually named actors. However, the west was largely forgotten as attention focused on Roman interactions with the supposed kings and leaders of the south-east. This preoccupation with the actions of individuals, though, is questionable even in itself; Grahame has suggested that these elites may not have even existed prior to Roman contact, proposing instead that 'agents of Roman power, like Agricola, altered native British society' and in fact 'an elite was *created* by Roman actions' (Grahame 1998: 8, emphasis in the original). Regardless of the process by which certain individuals amassed personal wealth and power, however, it is clear that explanations of social change in the period centred on the exploits and adventures of individuals.
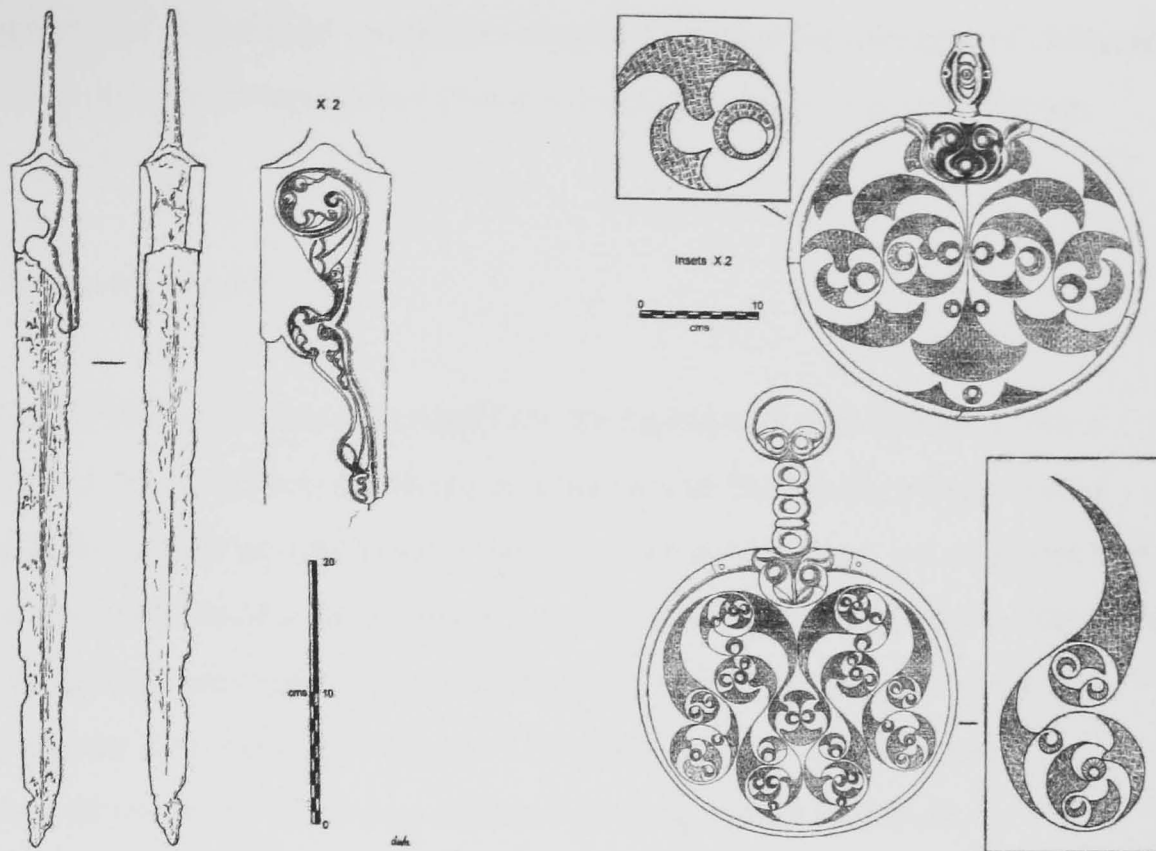
Figure 5 La Tène prestige metalwork (Harding 2007: 160)

This predilection for the study of the most visible and impressive remains, especially those with named historical connections, has created a situation whereby underlying similarities in modes of living for a large percentage of the population have been ignored in favour of a narrative based on the trappings of the elite members of society. Hingley (2005: 92) notes that

> 'until recently, the archaeology of the empire has been characterised by the close attention that has been paid to the settlements and monuments of the well connected, wealthy and powerful – the cities, towns, forts and frontier works, roads and villas. There has been a relative scarcity of concern with the native origins of the cultures that emerged under Roman control'.

This perspective, similar to that of the Iron Age, is based on the idea that the trappings of an elite Roman identity can be said to represent society as a whole. However, the situation was more complicated than this. Hingley (1989:60), in his review of rural communities in Roman Britain, has demonstrated that 'throughout Roman Britain non-villa settlements with two or more domestic dwellings are common' - what he terms a family farm. This indicates that large parts of the supposed core of the South-east were, in fact, populated by peoples who lived lifestyles similar to the inhabitants of western Britain. The fact that differences in the upper levels of society are emphasised

16

at the expense of underlying similarities simply reinforces the narrative of difference which underpins the interpretation of east-west relationships in Roman Britain.

It's the economy, stupid!

Greg Woolf (1993: 211) has described how the late Iron Age in Europe is often characterised 'as a period in which trade contacts with the Mediterranean world resulted in the growth of new kinds of society north of the Alps', but proposes that this is a misrepresentation of a more complex reality, seeking instead to stress 'the social and political fragmentation of the continent and the diversity of ways in which expanding Iron Age societies made use of a common stock of cultural and technological resources'. Iron Age studies have long sought to impose on archaeological interpretation a rather simple explanatory framework based on the idea that the expansion of trade with the Mediterranean world pulled the peripheral areas of north-west Europe into a wider system of trade and exchange. This in itself seems self-evident from the archaeological record with, for example, Cunliffe's excavations at Hengistbury Head showing the expansion of trade between Britain and the continent (Cunliffe 1987) - the problem arises when viewing society solely from this economic perspective (Figure 6). As a result, the diversity of ways of living in Iron Age Europe mentioned by Woolf is ignored in favour of a classification scheme based on the apparent level of integration into this new pan-European economy. Indeed, research on these apparently peripheral areas suffers as attention is focused on the seemingly more dynamic and interesting areas at the centre of this new economic model.

In Britain this dichotomous view of society in the late Iron Age and Roman period has resulted in the south-east of the country being characterised as a dynamic core area where economic and social changes were quick to take hold, in contrast to an economically stagnant and culturally backward western and northern fringe (Fox 1932). In his important work on the rural settlement of Roman Britain, Hingley (1989: 144-5) describes how previous research had seen the north and west of Britain as not being economically viable, with the inhabitants of these areas inhibited in their ability to produce an agricultural surplus and hence living in a condition of economic poverty and stagnation. This has meant that research has been primarily directed at the more
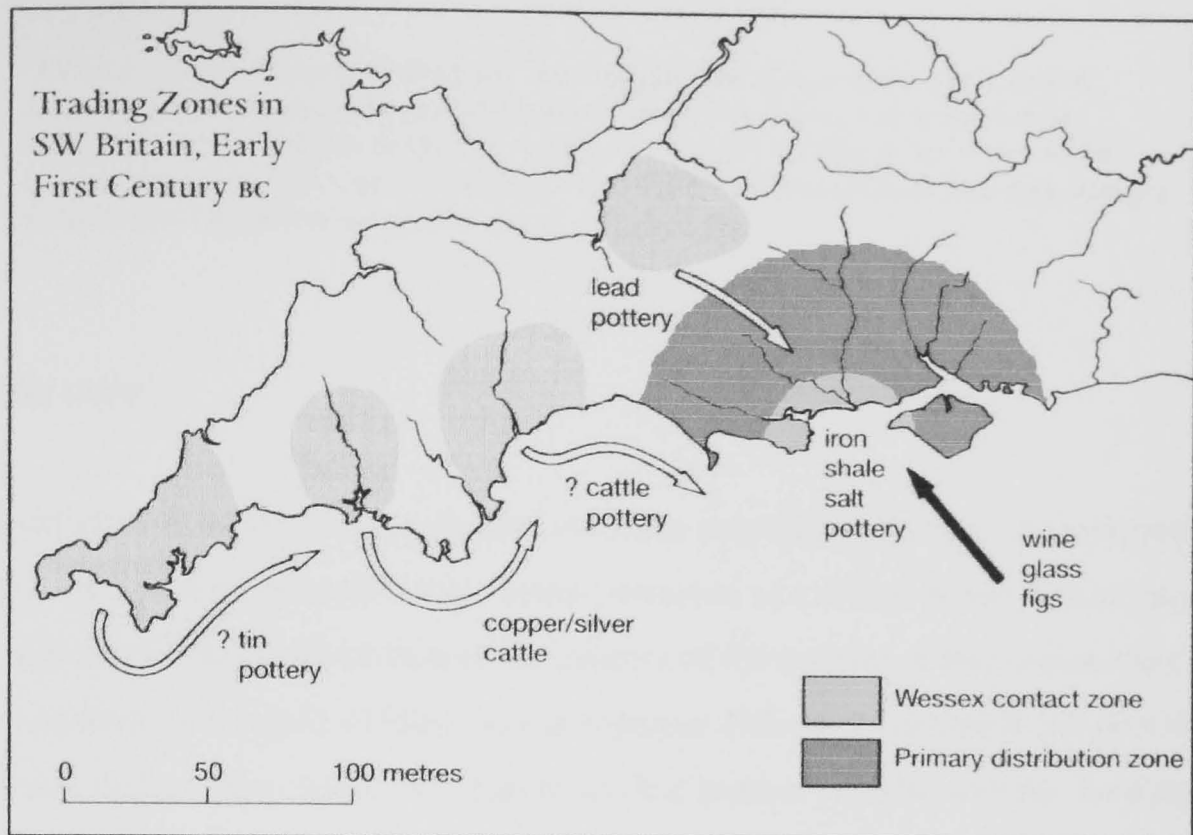
Figure 6 Trade in south-west Britain (from Cunliffe 2001: 404)

obvious Roman remains, and accounts of developments in the late Iron Age and Roman period generally ignore those parts of Britain which are seen to be peripheral to developments in the south-eastern core area. Western Britain in this period thus becomes a homogeneous area characterised as being 'beyond the pale', defined by the absence of characteristics of the core.

While there are obvious differences between regions stemming from contact with the continent, it has been suggested that we must 'recognise the dangers of analysing indigenous developments from the perspective of social and economic changes after the Roman conquest...[that] other equally important transformations may be completely overlooked' (Haselgrove *et al* 2001: 28). An alternative view, as outlined by J.D. Hill (2007), questions the traditional interpretation of the developments in south-east England as being part of a core-periphery relationship with an expanding Roman world-system. Instead, he suggests that these changes should be seen as part of wider social changes which were manifesting themselves across the British Isles, including the changing function of Wessex hillforts; the construction of brochs in the Northern and Western Isles; and the construction and use of 'royal sites' in Ireland. He suggests that

18

'Although all are different phenomena, they suggest that all over Britain and Ireland societies were facing broadly similar pressures that led to change and in some cases, transformation, even if the (attempted) solutions were quite different. Set in this wider perspective, a very local model invoking external causes to explain Late Iron Age changes in south-east England appears even less likely' (ibid: 37).

Identity crisis

With different strands of archaeological evidence combining to create an interpretive framework based on western Britain being perceived as a different and distinct region, it is only natural that explorations of the identity of the peoples of this region were based on these preconceived ideas. These apparent differences helped to support the argument that western Britain was part of the last bastion of Celtic culture, holding out against an onslaught of waves of Belgic, Roman and Germanic invaders (e.g. Laing 1979). The idea of a widespread Celtic culture spreading from its central European homeland to cover much of central and western Europe is something that has influenced much research on the European Iron Age (e.g. Green 1995). This has recently been critiqued on many counts, including its role in supporting a narrative centred on justifying the creation of nation states in modern Europe (James 1999; Collis 2003). However, prior to this critique it was an accepted part of a culture-historical framework which viewed later European prehistory and early history as being characterised by progressive invasions and movements of distinct peoples. Even today the suggestion that the Celts were not an ethnic grouping still engenders strong feeling (Megaw and Megaw 1996), and the interpretive framework which viewed the Celts as being a once-dominant European culture slowly pushed westwards by the Romans and Germanic tribes still influences academic thought. In this scenario western Britain was seen as being part of a larger cultural grouping, but within Britain it simply reinforced the idea that it was culturally distinct from areas to the east.

Within this Celtic paradigm, society was viewed as tribally and hierarchically organised, with the larger and more impressive settlement sites occupied by the upper echelons of society, the centres of tribal organisations. This belief in a tribally organised society in the Iron Age, subsequently visible in the *civitates* of the Roman period, meant that instead of seeing society as existing on a continuum, the physical

Figure 7 Tribes of Britain in the Roman period (from Frere 1967: facing pg 1)

evidence of the archaeological record was forced to fit into a neat tribal system (Figure 7), with a consequent need to interpret settlement and material culture as belonging to specific tribal units (e.g. see Howell [2006] for an analysis of the prehistoric archaeology of south-east Wales with reference to the Iron Age tribe the Silures). This contributed to a belief in the idea of homogeneous, bounded ethnic or cultural units, which is at the heart of the framework of difference constructed to separate the west of Britain from the east.

In the Roman period this construction of ethnic and cultural units which then form the elements for archaeological interpretation is central to the idea of romanization. The

20

dichotomy between 'roman' and 'native' which underlies the concept of romanization has contributed to the idea of the west of Britain being different. Even though it is envisaged that Iron Age Britain was inhabited by many different peoples at various levels of economic development, once the Roman period started the narrative changes and the evidence is viewed as being polarised between those who emulate Roman ways and those who do not; 'romanization constitutes an all-encompassing temporal boundary, which seemingly obliterates pre-conquest spatial differentiation' (Jones 1997: 34). Largely on the periphery of developments in the villa-zone of lowland south-east Britain, the western and northern parts of the country are by default conceptualised as 'non-Roman' or 'native', and are lumped together simply as peoples on or beyond the frontier of the empire, with their study now driven by a desire to see how 'native' and 'Roman' interacted (e.g. Harding 2004).

The Atlantic façade

These interpretive frameworks, based on a dichotomy between western and south-eastern Britain, have contributed to the construction of western Britain as different, an area on the edge of the major economic and social developments of this period. It has been created as an area with its own distinct regional characteristics, inhabited by communities that have more in common with each other than with their neighbours to the east; it is considered part of an Atlantic cultural zone (Henderson 2007). Cunliffe (2001: 565) goes further and suggests that 'the communities [of the maritime zone of Western Europe] will have looked to the sea...rather than the land behind'. He suggests that the differences which have been highlighted between inland and coastal regions could indicate that 'in times of stress the ethnicity of these regions might be strengthened by the development of cultural symbols – in architecture, art, dress and behaviour- to distinguish them from inland neighbours' (ibid: 567).

This idea of a maritime cultural zone is not new; it has influenced academic research in western Britain for much of the twentieth century. However, again it is part of an interpretive framework which highlights similarities within a specific geographical region at the expense of a consideration of larger cultural contacts across a wider geographical area, and then treats these aspects of material culture as being indicative

of cultural or ethnic unity which differentiates these areas from their neighbours. For example, Bowen, in his introduction to a volume on the 'The Irish Sea Province in Archaeology and History', suggested that

'...at certain periods in the past the lands bordering the Irish Sea basin were united under a single cultural stimulus. Such a unity would be possible only on the assumption that constant and uninterrupted communication existed across the seas that separated Ireland from mainland Britain. It is one of the achievements of pre- and proto-historic archaeology in the present century that such a situation of unity can be envisaged and can rest upon scientific evidence of the highest importance' (Bowen 1970: 13).

Assumptions such as this rest on the problematic assertion that increased contact leads to cultural unity, and that similarities in material culture indicate a shared culture or ethnic unity. However, one of the most damning critiques of research of this type is the one raised already, that this reading of the evidence requires a selective approach based on a desire to highlight difference. For example, Alcock suggested, in his paper summing up a conference on 'The Iron Age in the Irish Sea Province', that

'Among the features in which the Irish Sea Zone exhibits internal similarity and external dissimilarity three may be mentioned....First is the proliferation of small and even very small defended sites, and the corresponding scarcity of even medium-sized hillforts...Secondly there is a certain emphasis on wide-spaced ramparts, well known in south-west England and Wales...Thirdly, much of the Irish Sea Zone shares the common trait of not using pottery' (Alcock 1972: 107).

Even at the time of writing of this paper it was known that small enclosed sites were a common feature across much of Britain (Cunliffe 2005) and were not known at all in Ireland with its apparent lack of domestic habitation sites in the Iron Age (Raftery 1994). Wide-spaced ramparts were known primarily in south-west England and south-west Wales (Fox 1964), and pottery was known to be a very distinct part of the Iron Age in the south-west of England (Peacock 1969). To suggest that these features somehow contribute to an understanding of the area as a unified cultural zone can only be understood in the context of an already existing belief in the distinctiveness of the region. A mind-set based on this narrative of difference leads to a desire to selectively interpret the evidence as supporting an entity which generations of researchers have taken for granted.

Research today has become more critical with regard to accepting the existence of a unified Irish Sea Province, but the idea still captures the imagination of

22

scholars and is used as the basis for exploration of the archaeology of the region, with, for example, a recent volume on the 'The Neolithic of the Irish Sea' (Cummings and Fowler 2004). However, even with the rejection of a culture-historical approach in recent years, it is still possible to see its legacy in modern scholarship. Rainbird (2007) talks of an 'Atlantic Archipelago', and while his approach rejects seeing islands and coastal areas as distinct physical and social entities, he still suggests that 'there was something distinct about people involved in the sea, something which would allow the application of the label "maritime communities"' (ibid: 164). That there existed connections across the sea and along the coast is not in doubt, the question is simply how much weight to give to these aspects of a seemingly diverse and endlessly variable archaeological record. It is possible to question whether this 'Atlantic Archipelago' has any real cultural unity or whether it is an expression of people's desire to see a cultural unity which is ultimately based on the dichotomous framework of difference in which the research has been conducted. As Rainbird himself says:

> 'This archaeological landscape of islands at various periods can seem divided or extended to parts of the continent and it is the role of people's perception of the sea that has allowed fusion to occur in what otherwise at first sight may be regarded as a hopelessly fragmented landscape' (ibid: *162*).

The Identity of the West

Introduction

The previous discussion has highlighted how western Britain has been created as a separate and distinct region. Underpinning this, although not always explicitly recognized, is a belief in its cultural unity, an area where a similar environment and cultural contacts have combined to create in its inhabitants a shared conception of themselves as a distinctive community. However, identity itself is a relatively recent area of study in archaeology and it has not been an explicit concern of the archaeology of the Iron Age and Roman periods of western Britain. Rather, as the theoretical underpinnings of archaeology as a discipline have changed, so the identity of the peoples of western Britain has been approached differently, not explicitly as something worthy of study in itself, but rather with a changing emphasis on its role and importance depending on the current dominant theoretical paradigm. To understand how the construction of western Britain as a distinctive and coherent region has been created, it is necessary to consider how research in the region relates to wider theoretical concerns regarding identity. In this section I outline how archaeology as a discipline has approached identity and its implications for research on the archaeology of western Britain. Specifically, I address the main theoretical frameworks which have dominated archaeological thought during the last century and how these relate to the conceptions of western Britain which have already been discussed. I begin with a consideration of how a culture-historical approach has provided the main inspiration for researchers in western Britain. I then consider the impact of the New Archaeology of the 1960s, before moving on to address the impact that the more sophisticated approaches to identity of the 1980s and subsequent decades have had on archaeological research in the region.

Culture history: Kossinna, Childe and Clarke

Gustaf Kossinna, writing at the very end of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century, espoused a methodological approach known as 'settlement archaeology' (Veit 2000: 41). This involved the use of artefact typologies

to give chronological order to material remains. With the aid of distribution maps he attempted to demonstrate the existence of distinct archaeological cultures characterised by homogeneity of material remains and, especially, by sharp boundaries with neighbouring culture areas (Figure 8). In this he was attempting to order the archaeological record of material remains into discrete cultural entities, which he equated with distinct ethnic groups, writing that

'Sharply defined archaeological culture areas correspond at all times to the areas of particular peoples or tribes' (Kossinna, cited in Veit 2000: 41).

Kossinna based his approach to the data on an entirely racist paradigm, and sought to correlate the ancient groups that he identified with their modern descendants. He sought to reveal the ancestors of the German race in who was illustrated 'our earliest and most essential character pure and uncorrupted' (Kossinna, cited in Haussman 2000: 69).

Kossinna's emphasis on discrete entities revealing themselves through a typological analysis of archaeological remains laid the foundations for the culture history school which dominated archaeology for much of the twentieth century, and which continues
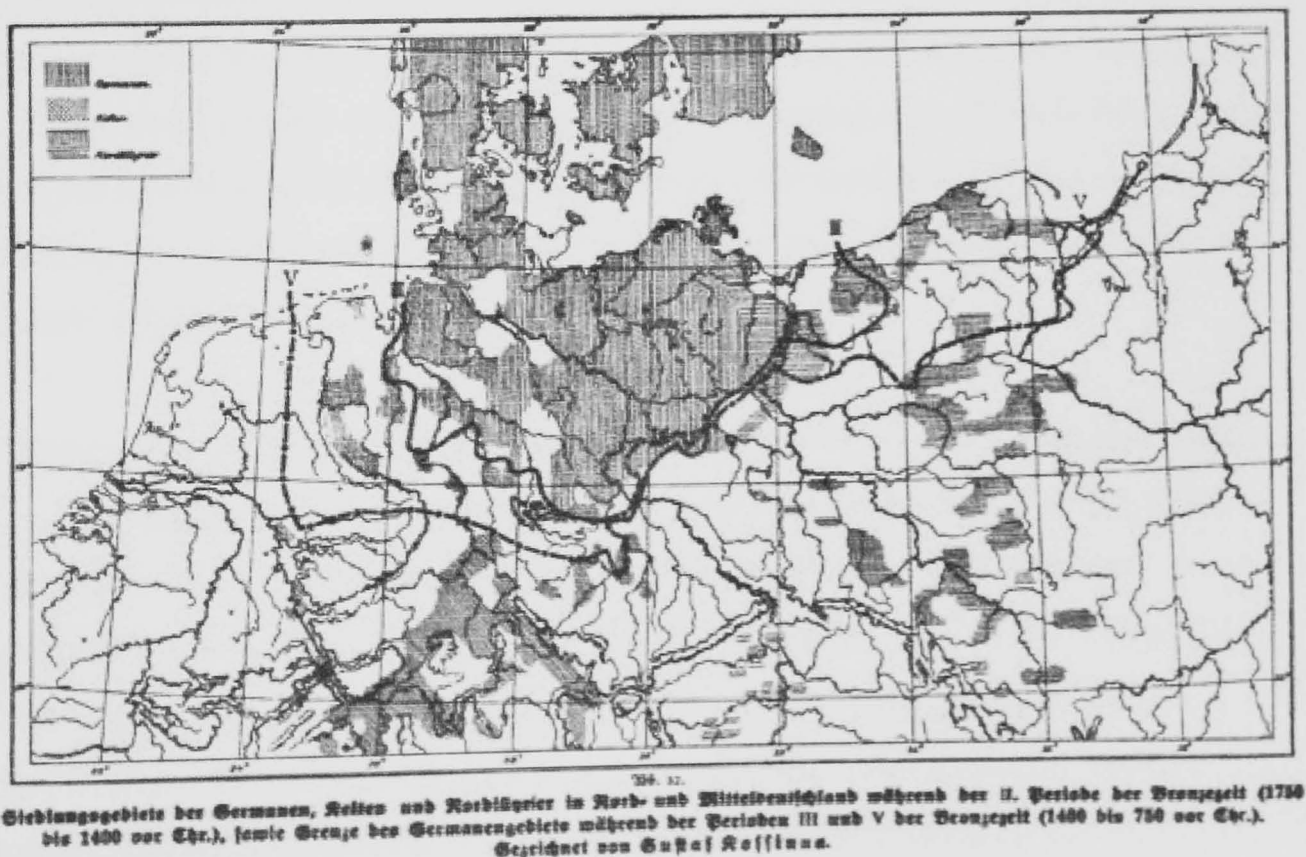
Figure 8 Kossinna's map of the Germani and adjacent peoples (Veit 2000: 48)

to underpin the assumptions of many archaeologists. Probably its most famous exponent in Britain is V. Gordon Childe and, in his writings, he adhered to this idea of the archaeological culture throughout his life, defining it as follows:

> 'We find certain types of remains – pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites and house forms – constantly recurring together. Such a complex of associated traits we shall term a 'cultural group' or just a 'culture'. We assume that such a complex is the material expression of what today would be called a 'people'. Only where the complex in question is regularly and exclusively associated with the skeletal remains of a specific physical type would we venture to replace 'people' by the term 'race'' (Childe 1929: v-vi).

Childe's writings are peppered with references to entities such as the Clyde-Carlingford Culture, the Boyne Culture and the Beaker Folk (Childe 1940). In his earlier work he writes with some of the same racist overtones as Kossinna, saying that 'the Aryans do appear everywhere as promoters of true progress' (Childe 1926: 211). However, as the obvious misuse of this approach by the Nazis unfolded in the 1930s, he managed to overcome Kossinna's legacy, and rejected the direct equation of archaeological cultures with ethnic groups or races. In his later writings he says that 'the boundaries of the several fields of culture do not necessarily coincide' (Childe 1951: 38). It is clear, though, that he did believe in the existence of distinct ethnic groups or peoples in the past, and that it was possible to approach them through archaeological means. Though not exactly congruent, he did recognise a strong link between these peoples and archaeological cultures, stating that although the individual was not available to the archaeologist, prehistory 'can recognise peoples and marshal them on the stage to take the place of the personal actors who form the historian's troupe' (Childe 1940: 2).

Childe's later work, emphasising the fact that archaeological cultures do not exactly coincide with other social groupings, leads logically to the work of David Clarke in the 1960s. Clarke, in his key text *Analytical Archaeology*, sought to place archaeology on a firmer theoretical footing (Clarke 1968). Although he attempted to give science a greater role, and in this sense was in the vanguard of the New Archaeology, Clarke was still writing very much within the paradigm of culture history. His book was focused on material culture, and was essentially a treatise on patterns in archaeology, shining a new light on an old concern - typology (Renfrew

Entities

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Attributes	1	X	X	X	X	X	X						
or	2	X	X	X	X	X	X						
artefacts	3	X	X	X	X	X	X						
	4	X	X	X	X	X	X						
	5	X	X	X	X	X	X						
	6							X	X	–	X	–	–
	7							–	X	X	–	–	X
	8							X	–	X	X	X	X
	9							–	X	–	X	X	–
	10							X	–	X	–	X	X

Monothetic group

Polythetic group

X Present
– Absent

Figure 9 A schematic view of polythetic groups (Clarke 1968: 37, 56)

1969). Clarke developed a hierarchy of archaeological entities, from the artefact through the cultural assemblage ending with what he termed the 'technocomplex'. However, his most significant contribution to the debate surrounding archaeological cultures derives from his view of cultures as polythetic entities (Figure 9). He suggested that socio-cultural groupings based on social, material, linguistic and genetic criteria did not coincide with each other (Clarke 1968: 361). Clarke advocated the study of archaeological entities in their own right. However, he still saw the ultimate task of the archaeologist as being the reconciliation of these entities with wider social groupings and, to this end, suggested the integration of ethnographic and historical evidence with the archaeological data (ibid: 365-98). Clarke's importance in this whole debate lies in the fact that he is symbolic of the move away from a simplistic equation of archaeological with other social entities. No longer could society and its development be seen as having been comprised of social groups interacting with each other within a diffusion and invasion-centred paradigm. Things were far more complicated than that, and archaeology as a discipline would have to address the question of what exactly the material culture groupings it had created actually meant, and how they could be reconciled with wider social groupings.

27

The cultural-history approach still shapes the views of many archaeologists working in western Britain today with, for example, a continued emphasis on Iron Age 'tribes' as the basis of social organisation in the late Iron Age and Roman period (e.g. Howell 2006; Laycock 2008). Material culture was associated with specific cultures and a picture of folk movements - Celtic peoples and invading Romans - was built based on the distribution of Celtic metalwork and early Roman finds (e.g. Wheeler 1925; Hencken 1932). As archaeology developed a firmer scientific footing it meant that new discoveries were incorporated into this pre-existing framework for the pre-Roman Celtic Iron Age and Roman period. This approach reached its apogee with Hawkes's (1959 [1931]) ABC scheme for the southern British Iron Age, with its culture regions and provinces, and its emphasis on external stimuli for change (although this was almost immediately criticised by Hodson [1964] who emphasised the cultural continuity in the British Iron Age). Research emphasised the need to correctly classify the data, rather than understanding how people lived their everyday lives. In this sense, it can be said that archaeology focused on the structures of people's lives, the cultures that they were part of, the economic systems through which goods were circulated, the wars and migrations that whole communities undertook. The individual was not visible to the archaeologist, and so it was group identity that was assumed and studied. This
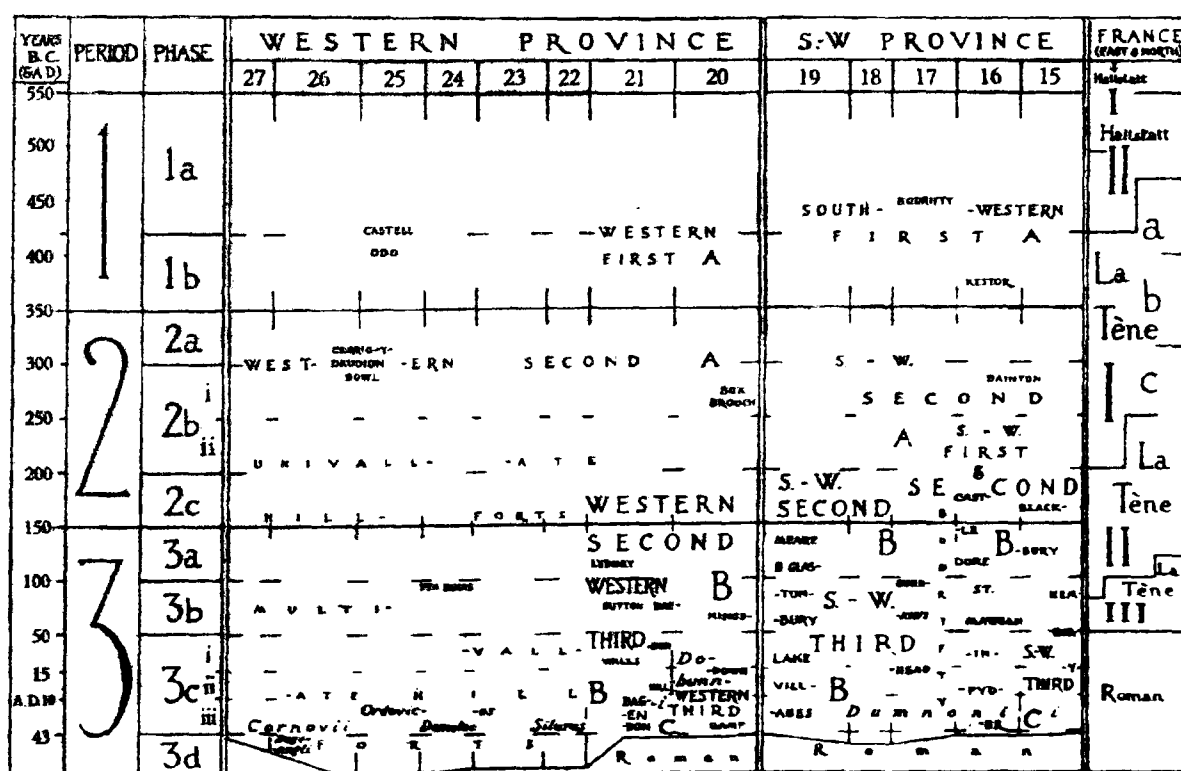
Figure 10 Hawke's ABC of the British Iron Age (Hawkes 1959: 78)

lack of concern with the individual and the everyday lives of people is characteristic of the cultural-history school of thought. Although identity is not addressed specifically, it is implied that history, as seen in the archaeological record, is based on great men (who wore the Celtic metalwork and lived in the Roman villas) and the distinct regional cultures of which they were a part (Belgic invaders, Celtic natives or Roman provincials).

This cultural-history approach has characterised most archaeological research in western Britain. Works of synthesis on the archaeology of these regions have been based around a simple dichotomy between pre-Roman Celtic peoples and Roman newcomers (e.g. Fox 1964; Pearce 1981; Todd 1987). Underlying this approach is a simplistic reading of material culture, one where ethnic identity can be read from the archaeological record with a simple correlation between discrete artefact types and ethnic groupings, and this view has persisted in archaeological discourse (see Quinnell 1986; 1993, for discussion of how distinctive material culture patterns may represent a distinct regional identity in Cornwall). Although researchers are becoming more aware of the complexity of people-object relations, and the all-encompassing structural schemes of the past are less prevalent, attempts to remove the preconceptions of previous approaches have proven difficult to accomplish, with, for example, Cunliffe's (1974; 2005) 'style zones' not differing significantly from 'cultures'. In his aforementioned work on the 'Iron Age communities of Britain', he persisted with his characterisation of the peoples of Britain as comprising 'tribes' which he grouped together in different zones – the south/east and the west/north – on the basis of a perceived similarity in settlement form and economic practice.

The New Archaeology and environmental determinism

With the advent of the New Archaeology in the 1960s an attempt was made to place archaeology on a more scientific footing. This involved a major shift in emphasis from the study of artefacts to the study of society as a whole (Renfrew 1973: 253). Integral to this was a view of society as a system, comprised of interconnected but separate sub-systems such as the economy and the environment (Figure 11). The focus of archaeological research became more concerned with examining the role of the various

29

ENVIRONMENT

TECHN OLOGY

ECONOMY

RELIGIOUS
PATTERN

SOCIAL
PATTERN

MATERIAL
CULTURE

TECHN OLOGY
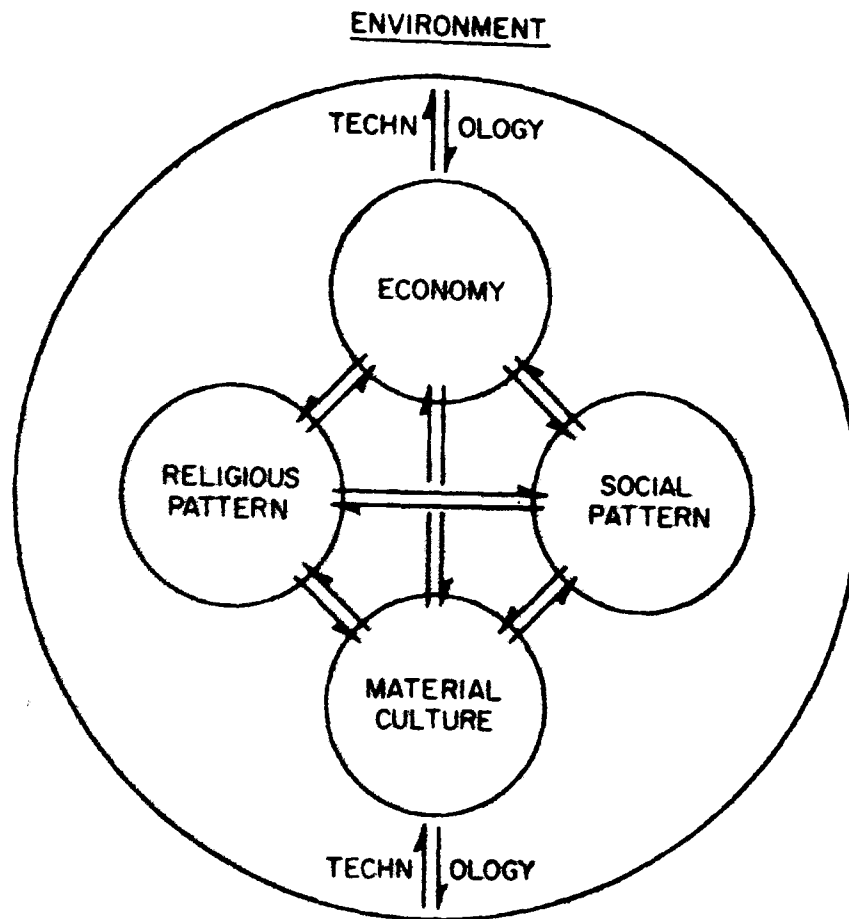
Figure 11 Society as a system (Clarke 1968: 103)

sub-systems and their relationship to the whole, with the homogeneous cultural units of the cultural-history school being broken up into a system of functional elements (e.g. Binford 1965). The New Archaeologists criticised cultural-history for being normative, adopting a view of the world where shared cultural norms existed outside of nature and, instead, advocated a view of man and society which did not rely on a dichotomy between man and nature (Binford cited by Flannery 1967: 120). This did have the beneficial effect of prompting archaeologists to see their work in a more holistic fashion, and led to an awareness of the need for an understanding of societies in relation to their environmental, economic and social contexts (e.g. Renfrew 1973), although there was a growing awareness of this even before the arrival of the New Archaeology, as Clark's work at Star Carr clearly demonstrates (Clark 1954) . The quest for new kinds of information to augment artefact-based analyses led to an emphasis on intensive regional surveys, considerations of land-use, on-site recovery of plant remains, and a new desire for ethnographic parallels (Renfrew 1973: 253).

However, in practice, a strongly functional and deterministic character pervaded the work of the New Archaeologists, where most aspects of the system, including material

culture and belief systems (identity) were relegated as means of adaptation. Where material culture variation, or 'style', was not seen as a direct adaptation to the environment it was instead interpreted as a means of information exchange, supporting 'other cultural processes, such as cultural integration, boundary maintenance, compliance with norms and enforcing conformity' (Wobst 1977: 335). Yet this view still emphasized the creation of group identity as aiding adaptation to the environment, through inter-group competition for resources. From the perspective of this thesis, the emphasis on society as a whole as the focus of study, and the search for functionalist interpretations of change, led to a situation where issues such as identity were scarcely considered, being relegated to the ideational sub-system which was seen, along with the rest of 'culture', as an extrasomatic means of adaptation (Binford 1965: 209).

Process and environment in the west

The advent of the New Archaeology in the 1960s led to a questioning of the static cultures enshrined in cultural-history. Instead there was an emphasis on process and how society was created in an ongoing system where each separate part interacted with others and contributed to an overall whole. However, the resultant emphasis on systems and sub-systems again left very little room for the individual. Indeed, it can be said that this approach suggested, like culture history, an image of the individual caught up in wider processes beyond his/her comprehension, or ability to control. Western Britain was very much relegated to the position of an unimportant periphery in this framework, in which research focused on explaining how the south-east of England was becoming incorporated in a European-wide economy (e.g. Cunliffe [1987], [1988] on the primacy of trade as the stimulus for change in the Iron Age of southern Britain; and Cunliffe [1983], [1995] on hillforts as centres of regional exchange networks). These ideas were questioned almost immediately however. John Barrett, addressing the nature of the Iron Age in southern Britain, questioned the artificial separation of economic, social and religious processes, suggesting that the economic models employed neglect the fact that '"economic" institutions are likely to have been embedded within other institutional practices' (Barrett 1981: 2-3). John Collis also addressed the use of models in the British Iron Age and, while accepting their heuristic utility, stressed that they should not lead us to look 'for *the*

31

interpretation of a site or phenomenon, but at a *range* of possible interpretations' (Collis 1977: 1, his emphasis).

Although the inter-connectedness of the various sub-systems was stressed, as can be seen from the above discussion the actual work tended to focus on what were considered the key sub-systems in the key areas, tending to reify them as the primary stimuli for change. The impact of these ideas on archaeological research in Wales and south-west England has been to stress the peripheral nature of the areas within a European-wide system of trade and exchange and, also, even more significantly in terms of understanding previous approaches to identity in western Britain, to stress the role of geography and environment in the constitution of society. The idea that people's relationship with their environment plays an important role in determining settlement patterns is a simple one and is accepted by most commentators. For example, with reference to the population of Anglesey in prehistoric times, Lynch (1991: 37) writes that the island was well-populated not only 'because of its fertility and openness in contrast to Snowdonia, but because of its central position in the Irish Sea'. Cunliffe (2001) has developed these ideas further in his formulation of the idea of a common oceanic mentality along the Atlantic seaboard, which he sees as being rooted in a similar maritime landscape. But there is a danger, of course, that this may result in an environmentally deterministic approach to interpretation. Human beings and their environment are certainly integrally and inseparably linked, but this relationship needs to be explored from the perspective that human-environmental interactions are a two-way process. The social fabric of society, including a sense of self and community, is certainly related to an understanding of the inhabited landscape, but is not determined by it. So, while an understanding of the role of the environment is central to interpretation, as seen in the recent emphasis on landscape studies (e.g. Fleming and Hingley's [2007] volume on prehistoric and Roman landscapes), research on the west of Britain, from Fox's characterisation of the region as a highland zone to Cunliffe's suggestion that it is part of an Atlantic maritime zone, has generally seen the environment as working in a controlling and deterministic fashion on human action.

Following Clarke's argument for the polythetic nature of societies, Ian Hodder embarked on fieldwork in Africa in an attempt to understand the spatial patterning of material culture in an ethno-archaeological context. This work was seminal in moving archaeology beyond both culture history and processualism, as it led to an understanding of the symbolic nature of material culture (Hodder 1982). He refuted the idea that material culture patterning might be related simply to such things as scales of production or degrees of interaction between groups (Hodder 1981: 89). In his work amongst the Lozi of western Zambia he showed that material culture could not be viewed in such a normative fashion, and that it does not passively reflect the social order. Rather, it has to be viewed in its social and economic context, and its symbolic nature must be considered. Even within individual villages, considerations such as rivalry between families could affect the patterning of material culture, with individuals choosing consciously to indicate difference from one another through, for example, pottery design, belying the previously held notion that proximity and interaction would lead to less variation in material culture (ibid: 95).

Hodder's observations on the spatial distribution of material culture led him to approach the issue of identity through material culture patterning. In his ethnographic work in Baringo in Kenya, Hodder again emphasised that contact between groups did not necessarily lead to a lessening of difference. His work showed that, where ethnic boundaries were clearly delineated geographically in terms of material culture, considerable movement of personnel across these boundaries did not necessarily dilute their relevance (Hodder 1978: 47). He suggested that the maintenance of boundaries must be related to the socio-economic context of the particular tribes in question, where competition between them led to the maintenance of particular identities (ibid). This argument that competition and stress leads to the creation and maintenance of identities was not just confined to between-group relations, however, and Hodder also observed that certain distributions of artefacts disrupted inter-tribal boundaries as they were related to the challenging of elders' authority by younger men and women. This was evident in the distribution of both spear and calabash styles (Hodder 1982: 185).

Hodder's work is crucial to the development of an understanding of identity through material culture patterning. He showed that the symbolic nature of material culture

must be understood in order to have any chance of interpreting its distributions. Moreover, he demonstrated that identities can form both within and between groups and that they must be understood in their social and economic context, as a mechanism for supporting economic and political strategies. An early application of his ideas in an archaeological context can be seen in his analysis of the distribution of late Iron Age Glastonbury pottery in southern England. He suggests that local concentrations of distinct pottery styles in south Somerset may be representative of distinct identity groups in a wider cultural area, and ties this in with increased economic competition in the area following economic decline after Caesar's invasion of Gaul and the cessation of cross-channel trade (Blackmore *et al.* 1979: 104). Here we can see his ideas of specific identity markers existing in a wider cultural area, possibly related to the creation and maintenance of local group identities in the face of economic difficulties.

Through this work, Hodder can be credited with making the break with processualism and culture history. He demonstrated that identity was not something that resided in homogeneous bounded ethnic groups, but rather was something that cut across them, and was embedded in economic and social structures. In the 1980s and 1990s a concept of identity as something that was socially constructed and tied to the symbolic use of material culture became widely accepted, and we are now at a point where we see identity as existing at many different levels. It is perceived to be fluid and continuously made and remade by active agents as they engage with the material world (e.g. see papers in Casella and Fowler [2004]). Hodder's work, demonstrating the inadequacies of previous explanations, initiated a search for new sources of meaning. People looked outside the discipline for inspiration, turning to the social sciences, and this new turn in archaeology came to be known as post-processualism. This movement led to the broadening of debate in archaeology and, within this milieu of competing ideas, debate on ethnicity flourished (e.g. Shennan 1994; Jones 1997).

The work of certain sociologists and anthropologists was particularly influential. Barth's (1969) work was central in ascribing self-definition on the part of the actors themselves to the concept of identity, and he was an important figure in the instrumentalist or social-constructionist approach which viewed identity/ethnicity as being related to differential socio-economic and environmental conditions (Jones

1996: 67). These ideas are evident in the early work of Hodder, and can be contrasted with the primordialist approach in which identity was viewed as being a common feeling shared by people as a result of real or imagined common traditions or experiences (Wells 2001: 23). Anthony Cohen developed some of these themes in his own work. He espoused the notion that communities were a symbolic construct (Cohen 1985). They did not exist in shared values, but rather were a symbol under which widely differing peoples could come together as a unit. This idea of the symbolic nature of community helped patch over the differences that were evident between people of supposedly the same identity/ethnicity, helping to account for the variety in the archaeological record. Bourdieu's idea of the *habitus* is another concept that was influential in archaeology, and many commentators began to utilize it in an attempt to explain the transmission of identity between individuals in a non-discursive sense (e.g. Jones 1997; Davey 2002). The *habitus* was seen as a structured set of dispositions which enabled people to live their lives in a way that was consistent with those around them.

As issues surrounding ethnicity and identity became more of a central concern in the social sciences, a number of publications dealing with nationalism and the construction of the nation state began to appear (e.g. MacDonald 1993; Gellner 1994). MacClancy showed in his study of identity in the Basque area of Spain that identity was accorded to those who earned it (MacClancy 1993). If you spoke the language, and engaged in efforts to support the Basque nationalist cause, then you were Basque. In this sense, a performative view of identity can be understood, but one which is very closely tied in with the speaking of a language. This preoccupation with language as an emblem of identity is also seen in the Gaelic revival movement in Scotland, where many people who had never spoken Gaelic took it up as a symbol of Scottish nationalism (MacDonald 1997). The impact of these debates on nationalism and the nation state in the 1980s and 1990s had a direct impact on archaeology, and this can be most clearly seen in the debate surrounding the putative Celtic identity of the peoples of western Britain and Ireland. Certain commentators (e.g. James 1999; Collis 2003) suggested that the notion of Celtic identity was largely a construct of the last few centuries. However, this engendered intense reactions from some, and it has been suggested that the modern preoccupation with the denial of ethnicity can be seen as simply a reaction

to the atrocities which have been committed under the flag of ethnicity and nationalism (Megaw and Megaw 1996: 25).

So, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, identity has become a hotly contested area of research. It has, however, become widely accepted that ethnicity/identity is not a fixed trait that can be observed in others or in the archaeological record, but rather is something fluid and contingent (see papers in Casella and Fowler [2004]). Emphasis has been placed on the relational aspects of identity, that it is constructed in relation to an 'other' (Wells 2001: 22). Also, recently the idea of an 'embodied archaeology' has come to the fore, breaking down the last vestiges of a human-object dichotomy (Mathews 2004: 120). This approach sees identity as being integrally linked with the day-to-day practices of human actors, and how they create and maintain their identities through action, as they go about their daily lives, interacting with the physical world around them.

The deconstruction of the west: a work in progress

Recent and more sophisticated approaches to identity are now beginning to be applied elsewhere in the study of Roman and Iron Age Britain. For example, is has been suggested that there is a move from a focus on group/ancestral to individual identity in late Iron Age and Roman Britian (Hill 1997; Jundi and Hill 1997). A more subtle understanding of identity is also apparent in Woolf's (1998) concept of 'becoming Roman'. In relation to Roman Gaul he suggests that while there are clearly regional differences in Gaul, there is a moment of convergence during the reign of Augustus (30BC– AD14) that needs explaining. This is a time when 'romanization' seems to be in its heyday, with the spread of imperial culture throughout the empire (MacMullen 2000). The explanation for this, he suggests, is the adoption of a certain subset of material culture by the elites of society, this opportunity for change provided by the severe disruption of Gallic society provided by the extension of imperial power into Gaul following the Gallic wars. However, this change, and the adoption of Roman ways, was primarily a status difference adopted by the elites of society, and was not cultural or ethnic in nature (Woolf 1998: Hingley 2005). In this sense, the changes in provincial society as these areas were incorporated into the empire were primarily

about the expression of privileged status rather than 'becoming Roman' in any normative fashion. In fact, while under the umbrella of imperial power, and its physical manifestation in Roman-style material culture, differences were highlighted and unique ways-of-living were created. 'Becoming Roman' was therefore about a broad level of convergence primarily at an elite level, but without an ethnic or cultural label and with wide regional differences.

These ideas have yet to be applied to western Britain however, where concern with identity has largely been limited to the recent debate on Celtic identity (Collis 2003; James 1999; Piccini 1999). In fact, recent syntheses on the archaeology of western Britain can still be seen to be influenced by considerations of the area as being part of an Atlantic cultural zone, with regionally distinctive characteristics that warrant its characterisation as being separate from areas to the east (Cunliffe 2001; Rainbird 2007). In light of the discussion above, with researchers elsewhere increasingly questioning the existence of homogeneous bounded cultural zones, it is time that western Britain should also emerge from the shackles of its 'Celtic', 'non-Roman', 'tribal', and 'Atlantic-facing' past. The overarching contrastive framework which has been the hallmark of research on western Britain could be shown to have its origins in a post-Enlightenment obsession with classification (Foucault 1994) and Cartesian dualities (Thomas 2004), or it may be understood within a universal human predisposition towards dichotomous thinking (Deliege 2004: 36), a 'dynasty of dichotomy' which has overshadowed much research in the social sciences (Gould 2003). However, regardless of the origins of this dichotomous framework of difference which has influenced so much research on the late Iron Age and Roman period in Britain, it is clear that a more reflexive archaeology allows us to question the analytical categories that have been created. An understanding that our conceptions may have their origins in realms other than objective archaeological reality should allow us to question the existence of western Britain and its creation (following Said's 1991 thesis on Orientalism) as the stagnant and backward 'other' to a dynamic and forward-looking 'core' in south-east England.

Chapter Two: Methodology

The Study Region

Introduction

Western Britain's location on the edge of the mainland British landmass, facing the ocean, has led many commentators to view it as a region apart, separate from the developments of the late Iron Age and Roman period which were occurring in the low-lying south-east of Britain. However, this contrast between a south-eastern core and western periphery belies the complexity of the topography of the region, with its numerous offshore islands, coastal uplands, low-lying regions and coastal plains. This thesis attempts to move away from the generalising and totalising views of the past, examining the way-of-life of the inhabitants of this coastal region in a way that is open to the diverse modes of living which may have existed. The regions chosen for study reflect the geographical diversity of the landscape, and also the varying extent to which the Roman colonisation impacted on this western part of Britain. The chronological focus is on the late Iron Age and Roman period, from about 300 BC to AD 300. The terminology surrounding the dating of these periods varies in different parts of Britain. While the Hawkes system of nomenclature and terms like 'Woodbury Culture' have largely ceased to be used as definite chronological horizons, there is still confusion surrounding the use of terms like 'Middle' or 'Late' Iron Age (Collis 1977: 6-7; Haselgrove *et al* 2001: 2). For the purpose of this thesis I have chosen to use a simple two-fold chronological division between the late Iron Age, c.300BC-AD50, and the Roman period, c.AD50-300, regardless of whether the regions were incorporated into the Roman province of Britain or not.

This general period has been seen as a time when western Britain was peripheral to developments in the core area of south-east England. This is true for both the Iron Age, which has been dominated by discussion of Wessex and the Thames valley, as well as the Roman period where, because of its peripheral location to the main villa-zone of lowland Britain, it has largely been excluded from discussions of 'Roman Britain'. The

number of published works treating the whole of Britain in an inclusive fashion is limited (exceptions include Cunliffe 2005; Hingley 1989; Hunter and Ralston 1999) and instead the archaeology of these areas has largely been studied independently (e.g. Fox 1964; Hogg 1966; O'Neill Hencken 1932; Pearce 1981), although still within the main intellectual frameworks dominating approaches to British archaeology (e.g. Fox's 1932 division of Britain into highland and lowland zones; Hawkes's 1959 ABC of the British Iron Age). This geographical division in research on the British Iron Age and Roman periods has led to a situation whereby ideas initially expressed in relation to the core areas of research only slowly trickle out to the peripheries, and in this context it can be seen that the regions of western Britain are lagging behind, exemplified in the recent debate on Celtic identity in British archaeology in which it was shown that these areas were still considered by many to belong to a Celtic Atlantic fringe encompassing western Britain and Ireland as well as the Atlantic façade of mainland Europe (see Collis 2003; Cunliffe 2001; James 1999, for further discussion on the nature of the Celtic periphery of Europe). Therefore, much of the debate which has revolutionised approaches to Iron Age and Roman study in Britain has centred primarily on the archaeology of southern and eastern Britain (e.g. cosmologies [Parker Pearson 1996], the ritual nature of deposition [e.g. Hill 1995], changing ideas of the concept of 'romanisation' [e.g. James and Millet 2001], and general critiques of archaeological approaches [e.g. Barrett 1989a; Hill 1989; Hingley 1991]). So while the study of this period in the core area of south-eastern Britain can generally be seen to be moving on from the invasion-centred paradigms of the past and embracing more diverse explanatory frameworks for the study of archaeological material (e.g. more emphasis on the individual [Hill 1997; Eckhart and Crummy 2006], gender relations [Hingley 1990b], practice [Giles and Parker Pearson 1999], and foodways [Meadows 1994]), the study of the perceived peripheral areas of western Britain has yet to adopt these more sophisticated approaches.

Geographical limits of the study (figure 12)

Ideally, the entire western seaboard of Britain should be included in the study, but archaeological research has varied considerably in its extent along the western coastline. So while some areas, like the Western Isles and Cornwall, with their
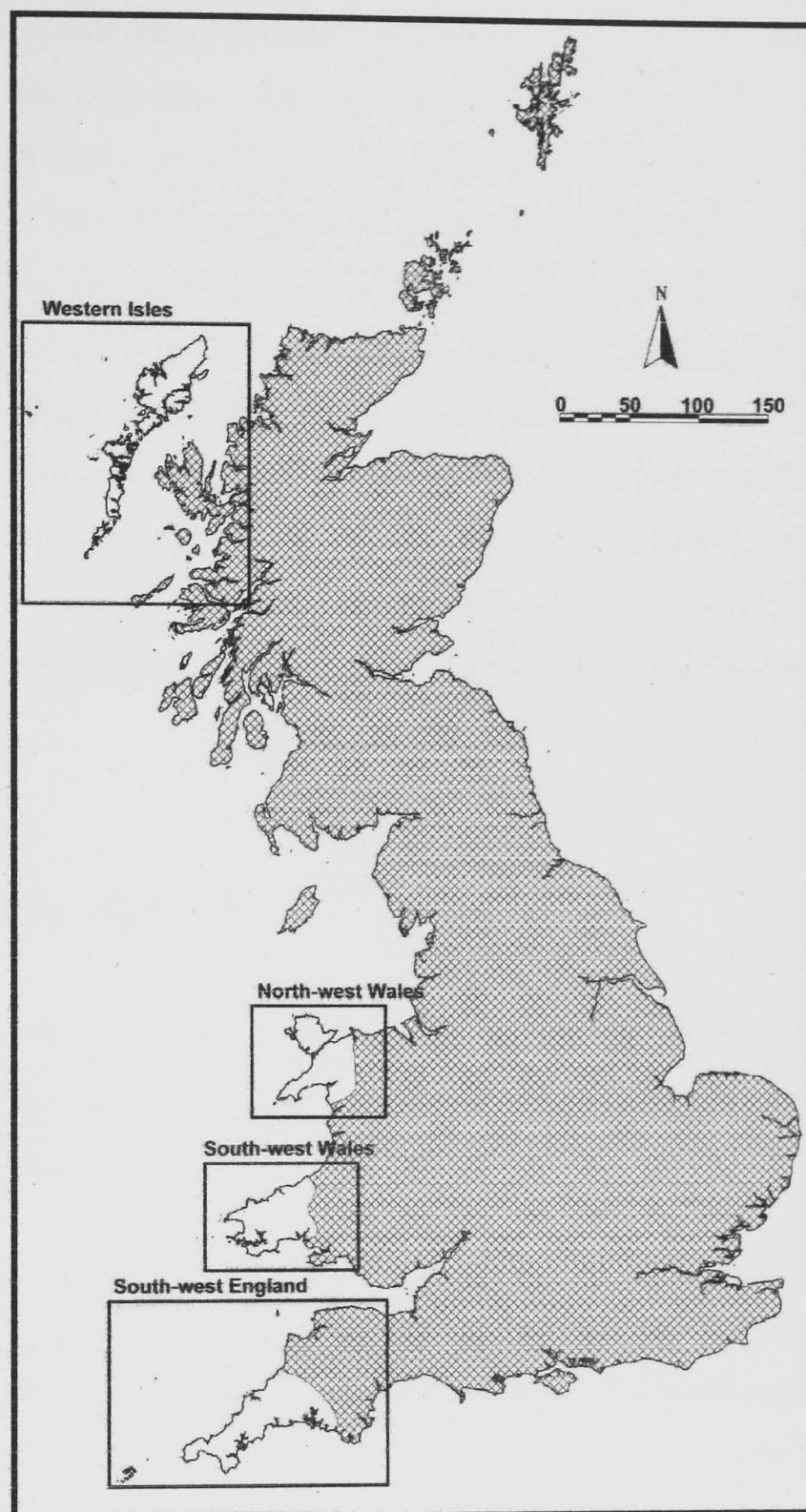
Figure 12 Study regions

distinctive settlements of wheelhouses and courtyard houses, have been the focus of much attention, other areas have not. The north-west of England, for example, has not received much interest, with the assumption that the area was thinly populated (Matthews 1999). While aerial photography is revealing that this was probably not the case (Bewley 1994), the area still lags behind in terms of the availability of published excavations. The south-west of Scotland has similarly been virtually ignored in most archaeological research (Banks 2002); and the Isle of Man has seen little research into

this time period, with the main exception being Bersu's excavations from his time spent on the island as a detained enemy alien during World War II (Bersu 1977). Of necessity then, this study has focused on those areas where evidence is plentiful: specifically south-west England, south-west Wales, north-west Wales and the Western Isles (Figure 12). This, however, does not in any way inhibit meaningful discussion of ways of life on the western seaboard. In fact, these areas, with their wealth of published research, offer an ideal mix of study areas with which to examine the notion of a maritime Atlantic fringe: they comprise primarily islands and peninsulas jutting into the western seas and all had different levels of interaction with the Roman military and civilian occupation of Britain. They therefore provide an excellent opportunity to explore the effects of living in a coastal environment, as well as an opportunity to examine how these communities reacted to varying levels of contact with the Roman world.

South-west England (figure 13)

'The south-west peninsula has a distinctive character unlike any other area of Britain. Bounded on three sides by the sea and separated from Wessex by the marshlands of Somerset, its communities have developed along individual lines influenced more by the structure and food-processing potential of the land than by external stimulus' (Cunliffe 2005: 275)

In this way Barry Cunliffe characterises the south-west peninsula of Britain. He emphasises its distinctiveness in comparison with other areas of Britain, focusing on its uniqueness and downplaying potential similarities with adjoining regions. Rather, a narrative of difference is created in which a determining role is played by geography and isolation, both combining to create a distinctive cultural entity in the south-west extremity of the British archipelago. However, though landward contacts may have been limited, he does suggest that certain similarities in settlement patterns exist linking the south-west with other regions on the western seaboard, where 'the landscape is dominated by small strongly defended homesteads' (ibid: 73). In his wider work on the Atlantic regions of Europe, Cunliffe has outlined his firm belief in the existence of a shared Atlantic culture, a region where 'for the most part the communities living within it will have looked to the sea before them, rather than the land behind' (Cunliffe 2001: 565).
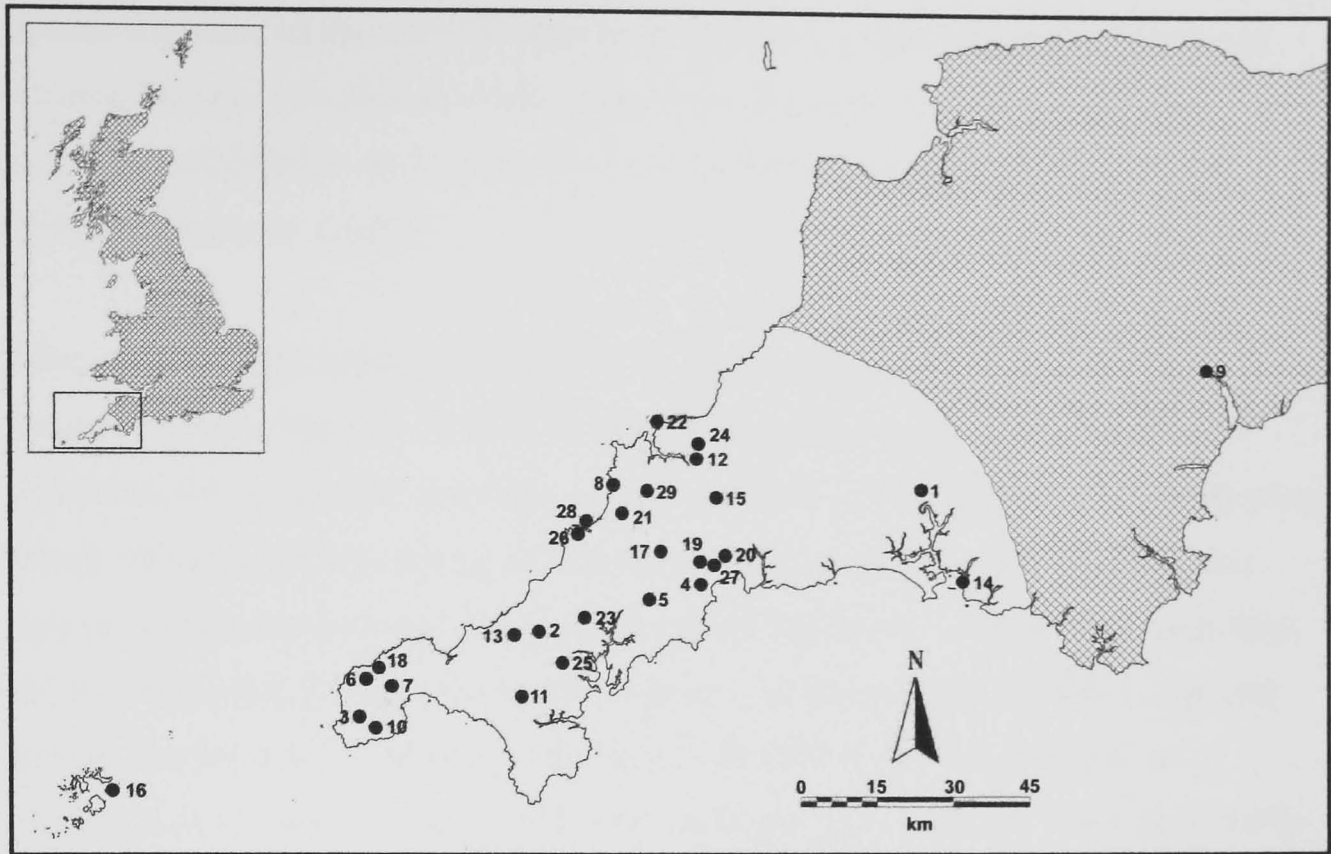
Figure 13 South-west England – sites discussed: 1 Calstock; 2 Carn Brea; 3 Carn Euny; 4 Castle Gotha; 5 Carvossa; 6 Chun Castle; 7 Chysauster; 8 Duckpool; 9 Exeter; 10 Goldherring; 11 Grambla; 12 Killibury; 13 Magor; 14 Mount Batten; 15 Nanstallon; 16 Nornour; 17 Penhale; 18 Porthmeor; 19 Restormel; 20 Prideaux Rings; 21 St. Maygan-in-Pyder; 22 The Rumps; 23 Threemilestone; 24 Tregilders; 25 Tremough; 26 Trethellan Farm; 27 Trethurgy; 28 Trevelgue; 29 Trevisker 2.

The seaboard of western Britain, including the south-west peninsula, is part of Cunliffe's Atlantic zone, and this idea of it being part of a wider Atlantic cultural entity is firmly entrenched in modern scholarship. Following Cunliffe's ideas of regional distinctiveness within a wider Atlantic setting a recent review of the settlement record in Cornwall and Devon has reiterated that the region's 'unique regional archaeology...owes much to [its] relationship with other maritime regions of the Atlantic seaboard' (Cripps 2007: 140). Jon Henderson, in his work on the 'Atlantic Iron Age', has also emphasised that 'the south-west peninsula has a distinctive settlement sequence which maintains an identity throughout the first millennium BC separate from that of the rest of Britain' (Henderson 2007: 214). Based on superficial settlement similarities, as well as the presence of promontory forts and souterrains in both areas, he links developments in south-west Britain with Armorica, although he admits that 'the similarities are not close enough to require the existence of large-scale trading contacts or population movements' (ibid). The main thrust of the argument rests on the idea of the south-west peninsula maintaining a settlement pattern which is

42

distinct from that of the rest of Britain, while suggesting links with other regions of Atlantic Europe. This places a clear emphasis on the settlement record and its supposed individuality, providing a foundation for the argument that south-west Britain is culturally distinct.

What previous approaches have failed to do is to incorporate an understanding of the realities of day-to-day life. Rather, the inhabitants of the region seem to be mere onlookers, the actors who have been called in to flesh out the skeleton of the settlement record. However, it is necessary to look at the details of how people lived: the way they prepared and consumed their food; the clothes they wore; the raw materials they utilised. When this is done, it becomes apparent that the inhabitants of Iron Age and Roman Cornwall led a distinctive and locally specific way of life, tied into an awareness and understanding of their own landscape. However, this is not necessarily based on geographic isolation, or links with a wider Atlantic culture. Rather, a picture emerges of communities which were aware of wider developments beyond their immediate region, but who chose to utilise the symbols and opportunities that this awareness offered in the creation of a regionally distinctive way of life, one which was integrally linked with an understanding of the landscape they inhabited, the past from which they emerged, and the political realities of their proximity to the Roman world. So, while research on the archaeology of south-west England (here defined as western Devon and Cornwall, primarily the area to the west of the Roman town of *Isca*, modern day Exeter) has focused mainly on the plentiful settlement evidence which characterises the region, there are other notable aspects of the archaeology of the region, including a distinctive burial tradition of inhumation in cists found in Cornwall (Whimster 1981), and a regional pottery type called South-western Decorated Ware which is found throughout the greater area of south-west Britain (Cunliffe 2005). The settlements include hillforts, cliffcastles, rounds and the courtyard houses of west Cornwall. Traditionally society has been seen as having been centred on the individual homestead, but within a broader hierarchical social system, with the larger hillforts and cliffcastles as the residences of an elite, the rounds occupied by their vassals, and landless bondsmen making up the base of society living in the unenclosed settlements (for introductions to the archaeology of the region following this general paradigm see Cunliffe 2005; Fox 1964; O'Neill Hencken 1932; Quinnell 1986; Thomas 1966; Todd 1987). The distinctive widely spaced ramparts of the Cornish hillforts may have

43

facilitated the protection of livestock, thought to be the mainstay of the pastoral economy (Fox 1964, 123).

This picture of a hierarchically organised society based on pastoral farming in south-west England has dominated the archaeological literature of most of the twentieth century and, although the occurrence of arable farming is becoming more accepted, the hierarchical nature of social organisation is still widely assumed (e.g. Rowe 2005). It has generally been considered that the Roman conquest of Britain after AD 43 had little impact on this traditional way of life with changes that did occur – such as hillforts going out of use and the construction of courtyard houses - not being a direct result of the Roman presence (Quinnell 1986: 120-1). This region is seen as having managed to maintain a distinct regional identity, even as the rest of southern Britain was incorporated into the villa-zone of lowland Britain, the idea being reinforced by the general lack of Roman sites, apart from a small number of forts and temporary camps, west of the Roman town of *Isca*. Recent work on the archaeology of the Iron Age and Roman period of south-west England has not changed the picture much with the idea of continuity being emphasised (Webster 2004a; 2004b), although the regionally distinctive nature of the evidence in the wider context of British archaeology has led to some speculation on the nature of social groupings in the area, and their localised sense of identity (e.g. Quinnell 1993; Cripps 2007).

Wales

Introduction

Early work on the Iron Age and Roman periods of Wales viewed the area as being dominated in turn by Celts and Romans (e.g. Grimes 1959; Moore 1959). It is really only with Hogg's (1966) article that the distinct regional archaeology of Wales began to be noticed, and he divided Wales into six areas with distinctive archaeological signatures: the south-west with its ringworks; the south-east with its villas; the north-west with its stone huts; with the central and north-eastern areas forming the remaining three regions but with little known of their settlement patterns. Cunliffe (2005) continued with this emphasis on the regional nature of the archaeological material and

44

divided the pre-Roman settlement of Wales on a roughly north-south basis. The south was broadly similar to the south-west of England with a society centred primarily on the individual homestead, the rath, within a settlement milieu also comprising hillforts and cliffcastles. He saw the south of Wales and the south-west of England as part of a similar settlement zone, as shown by the presence of hillforts with distinctive widely spaced ramparts in both areas, this architectural attribute indicating a similar economy based on cattle rearing. The north of Wales, on the other hand, was characterised by the presence of larger hillforts which most likely were the pinnacle of a more definitely hierarchical social system. The Roman impact on Wales was considerably greater than that on the south-west of England. The local people resisted the Roman advance and fighting continued for about thirty years, up to about AD75. Consequently the Roman military impact was substantial, with Tacitus (1970) recording many hillforts being attacked and destroyed. Some twenty-four forts were built throughout Wales, and the whole area was controlled by two legionary fortresses at Caerleon and Chester. The south-east of Wales around Caerleon was effectively incorporated into the villa-zone of lowland Britain. The presence of Roman military sites throughout Wales has meant that approaches to the archaeology of Wales in this period have followed the traditional polarised view of a society divided between native Celts and Roman newcomers (e.g. Moore 1959). It is only recently that more nuanced approaches to the idea of 'romanisation' have begun to be used (e.g. Hanson and MacInnes 1991) and the old Celtic frameworks begun to be abandoned (e.g. Piccini 1999).

South-west Wales (figure 14)

'The southern coastal area of Wales, stretching from the Usk valley to Pembrokeshire, was in many ways similar in its settlement pattern to the south-west peninsula of England, a similarity which can be explained, in part at least, by the geomorphological likeness of the two areas.' (Cunliffe 2005: 292)

The south-west peninsula of Wales has often been compared to the south-west peninsula of England, with a settlement pattern based on multiple-enclosure forts, promontory forts and small enclosed homesteads. However, given the indented nature of the coastline, the presence of promontory forts should not be surprising; and a landscape of small enclosed farmsteads is not uncharacteristic of large parts of the British Isles. This focus on settlement types has given rise to an over-emphasis on

45
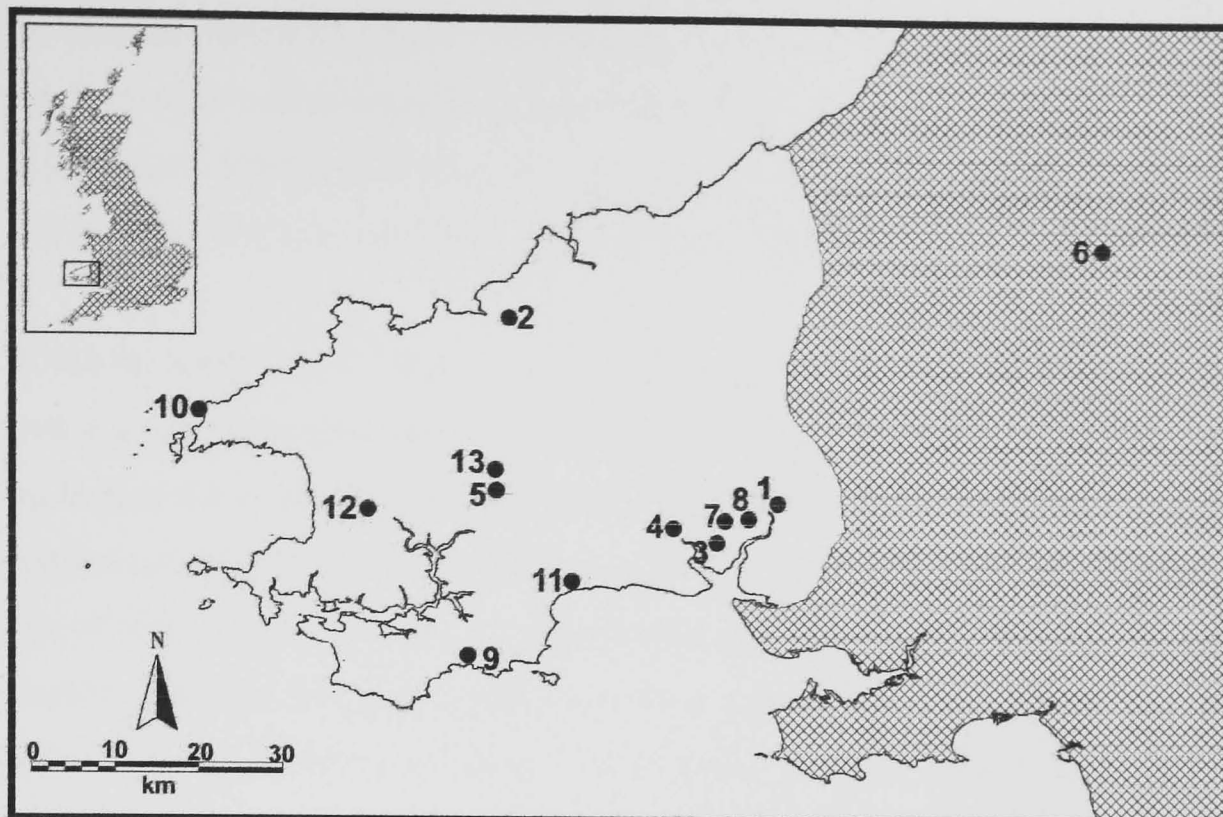
Figure 14 South-west Wales – sites discussed: 1 Carmarthen; 2 Castell Henllys; 3 Coygan Camp; 4 Cwmbwryn; 5 Dan-y-Coed; 6 Dolaucothi; 7 Llanynog II; 8 Pen-y-Coed; 9 Stackpole Warren; 10 St. David's Head; 11 Trelissey; 12 Walesland Rath; 13 Woodside.

superficial similarities in morphology, at the expense of a consideration of other aspects of material culture and their actual utilisation in society. Hogg's (1966) article on the regionality evident in the settlement patterns of Wales has been particularly influential in shaping subsequent interpretations of regionality. He characterised south-west Wales in the Roman period as being an area dominated by 'partly-romanised ringworks' and, given that the area was generally seen as being characterised by 'an Iron Age society with a thin veneer of romanisation… [with] settlement morphology …firmly rooted in that of the first millennium BC' (Williams 1990: 112), this idea of a landscape dominated by small enclosures was seen as characteristic of both the late Iron Age and the Roman period. This coincides with Cunliffe's view of western Britain as a zone of 'strongly defended homesteads' (Cunliffe 2005: 74), with similarities between the different areas, as in the case of south-west England and southern Wales, being highlighted. While this has meant that the earlier narratives of succeeding waves of Celtic and Roman invaders (e.g. Grimes 1959; Moore 1959) have been largely superseded by a more contextually specific appreciation of settlement patterns, it has also meant that differences in other aspects of material culture, such as ceramics, have been largely ignored. Instead, archaeological research has focused on

46

the characteristic settlements: small enclosures called raths, similar to the rounds of the south-west, as well as a number of smaller hillforts (see Wainwright [1971] and Williams and Mytum [1998] for examples of rath excavations; see Wainwright [1967] and Mytum [1999] for examples of hillfort excavations).

While the south-west of Wales may be broadly similar to the south-west of England, with a society centred primarily on the individual homestead, the rath, within a settlement milieu also comprising small hillforts and cliffcastles, this picture of cultural unity has been created at the expense of a more subtle understanding of the role of material culture in society. The Roman military impact on Wales, too, has been largely subsumed within this narrative of an essentially untouched Iron Age society with a 'thin veneer of romanisation'. This is based on the fact that in the western parts of Wales there is little obvious evidence for a direct Roman impact on the local way of life: the pre-Roman settlement pattern based on the small enclosures, raths, seems to have survived the conquest largely unscathed, albeit with evidence of Roman influence in the appearance of rectangular plans and the use of drystone walling (Williams 1990). The larger defended enclosures seem to have generally fallen into disuse, with some exceptions although, as in the south-west of England, this pattern does not necessarily seem to have been related to the Roman conquest. However, recent work has emphasised the traditional nature of archaeological research in this region, with study dominated by the 'native' small enclosures and the 'Roman' forts, and it has been suggested that the settlement record is biased by the visibility of these sites (Murphy 2003), as well as there being a general lack of understanding of the processes of interaction between 'native' and 'Roman' (Plunkett Dillon 2003). But, the development of a *civitas* capital at Carmarthen is testament to a Roman presence in the landscape that cannot be denied. Rather than just assume that the local population continued to live their Iron Age lifestyles unhindered, it is more pertinent to ask just how exactly the people of the region lived alongside what would have been an obvious intrusive presence.

North-west Wales (figure 15)
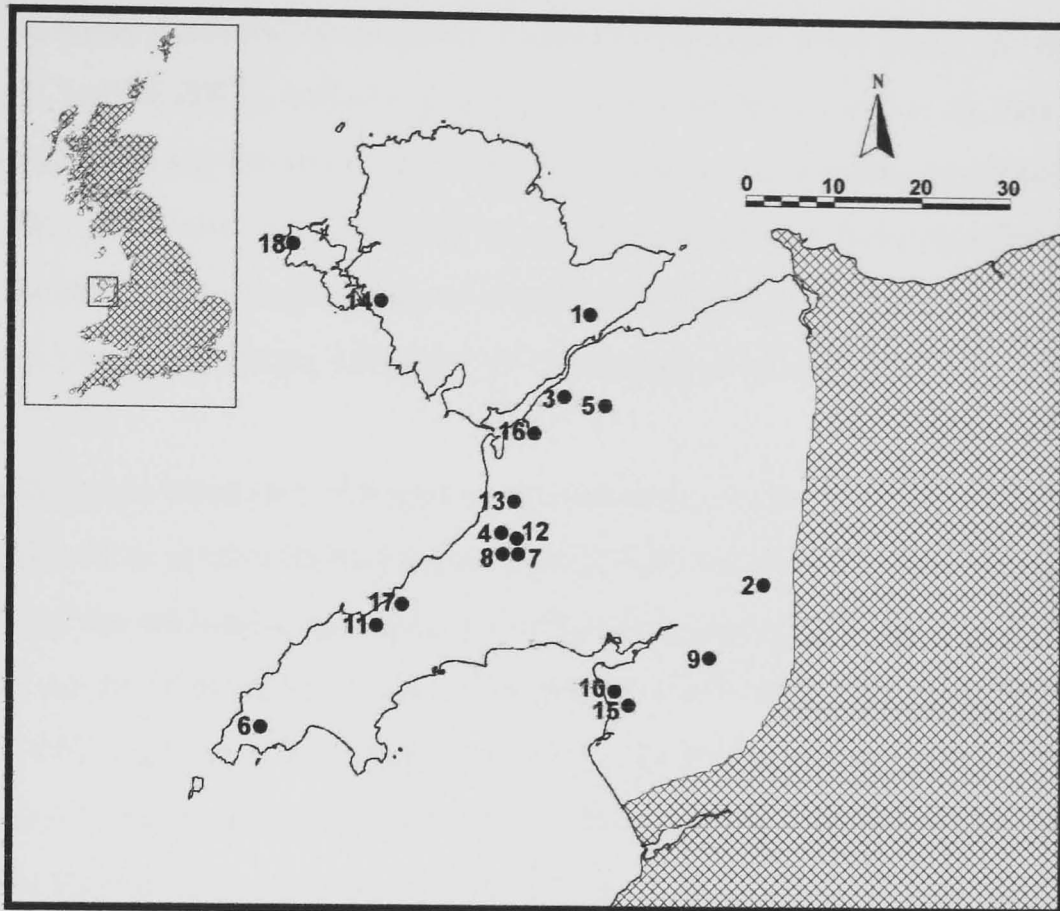
Figure 15 North-west Wales – sites discussed: 1 Bryn Eryr; 2 Bryn-y-Castell; 3 Bush Farm; 4 Caerau; 5 Cae'r Mynydd; 6 Castell Odo; 7 Cefn Graeanog; 8 Cefn Graeanog II; 9 Crawcwellt West; 10 Erw Wen; 11 Garn Boduan; 12 Graeanog; 13 Llwyn-du-Bach; 14 Llyn Cerrig Bach; 15 Moel y Gerddi; 16 Segontium; 17 Tre'r Ceiri; 18 Ty Mawr.

The north-west region of Wales, including the north-western extent of the Snowdon massif, the Lleyn peninsula and Anglesey, has long been considered to be regionally distinctive because of the presence of a large number of stone-built huts (the use of the word 'hut' is retained throughout the thesis as it is the term in general usage in research on the archaeology of the region; although it should be stressed that it refers to a variety of stone-built structures, many of which would correspond to the 'houses' of other regions), both enclosed and unenclosed and often associated with terraced fields. Because of their physical presence in the modern landscape much work has focused on them and, since Hogg's seminal article on the regions of Roman Wales where he characterised the settlement pattern of the north-west as being dominated by 'stone huts and terraced fields', they have come to be representative of the region and used to justify seeing its developmental trajectory as different from other Welsh regions. There is much terminological confusion surrounding their classification

48

(Smith 1974; 1999), but the landscape is seen as having been dominated by a multitude of these small farmsteads, both enclosed and unenclosed; it forms part of Cunliffe's zone of 'strongly defended homesteads' together with other areas along the western seaboard (Cunliffe 2005). Initially they were viewed as originating in the Roman period, possibly being the result of an attempt to colonise a sparsely populated area (Hogg 1966: 33). However, it has now been demonstrated that these sites have their roots in the pre-Roman Iron Age, most of them continuing into the Roman period (for a review of these settlements see Kelly 1990; Longley *et al.* 1998b; Smith 1999).

These homesteads were part of a settlement landscape which also included some larger hillforts as well as open settlements and isolated huts which, with their roots in the Iron Age, formed the settlement backdrop to the Roman campaigns in north-west Wales. The attack on the 'druidic sanctuary' of Anglesey in AD 60 was reported by Tacitus (Tacitus 1970), and the island's importance is reinforced by the existence of the votive site of Llyn Cerrig Bach, which is conventionally associated with the druids (Fox 1945). The Roman campaigns throughout Wales are chronicled by the numerous forts and marching camps which dot the landscape, with the large fort at Segontium dominating this region. The north-west of Wales, then, provides an excellent example of an apparently regionally distinctive settlement sequence, with Roman influence being largely military in nature, though recent work in the area has moved beyond the old focus on the forts themselves to encompass research on the environs of the forts which will hopefully give a more holistic picture of the forts and their associated *vici* settlements (Hopewell 2005). Still, there is a lack of obviously civil settlements and instead the particular opportunity offered by the archaeology of this region is to facilitate an examination of a regionally distinctive settlement sequence in the context of what must have been primarily a Roman military influence.

Western Isles (figure 16)

The settlement record of Atlantic Scotland in the late Iron Age (c. 200BC - AD300, sometimes known in Scotland as the Middle Iron Age, but to avoid confusion I have kept the terminology used for southern Britain) has long been recognized as having a distinctive regional signature. The duns and brochs and wheelhouses, still dominating

Figure 16 Western Isles – sites discussed: 1 A' Cheardach Bheag; 2 Bac Mhic Connain; 3 Cnip; 4 Cnip 2/3; 5 Dun Bharabhat; 6 Dun Carloway; 7 Dun Vulan; 8 Kildonan; 9 Kilpheder; 10 Loch na Berie; 11 Sollas.

parts of the landscape even today, were called a 'castle complex' by Childe (1935). The Western Isles specifically have some distinctive aspects to their archaeology which have set them apart from developments in other parts of Atlantic Scotland. While the ubiquitous brochs and crannogs and duns and promontory forts are present, it would seem that there are differences. Specifically, brochs seem to have arrived in a fully developed form (Harding 2004: 129), without evidence for simple substantial roundhouses which seem to be their predecessors in the Northern Isles. Indeed, because of the seeming antecedents to the fully developed broch tower, as at Bu in Orkney, some commentators have suggested a northern origin for them (Mackie 2005:16). They would then have arrived in the Outer Hebrides as a fully developed type, suggesting that they were taken on as a symbol by the inhabitants of this area, without having gone through any evolutionary process there; and the lack of the associated 'village' settlements found around the Orcadian brochs shows that they may

50

have served a different role in the society of the Western Isles. The wheelhouses of the Western Isles are a very distinctive architectural form, with their characteristic radial stone piers separating corbelled bays arrayed around a roofed central area, and their distribution is limited primarily to this region with only a few outliers in the Northern Isles. Their lack of concern with outward display sets them apart in a landscape where outward expressions of status seem to have been paramount (Armit 1990). Early research in the Western Isles focused on wheelhouse excavations (Beveridge 2001 [1911]), and so set archaeological research in this region on a different path to other areas of Scotland. More recent research has again concentrated on the Western Isles as an area worthy of study in its own right (e.g. Armit 1992; Harding 2000; Parker Pearson *et al* 1996), with the focus of research rarely extending to include the region in syntheses of the wider Scottish Iron Age. The Hebridean tradition of making decorated hand-built pottery (Lane 1990; Topping 1987), which is not seen elsewhere in Scotland, also serves to reinforce this sense of differentness, as does the limited Roman impact on the Western Isles. Few items of Roman material culture have been found, and there is an almost complete absence of Roman pottery which is more common in lowland Scotland. It seems that the region was largely unaffected by the Roman conquest of Britain.

Atlantic Scotland, it seems, maintains coherence as an entity only at the rather vague level of being an area where monumental houses in stone were the norm. When one looks at the regional manifestations of this phenomenon there are wide disparities in terms of how similar symbols like the broch were actually incorporated into day-to-day life. In Orkney it is possible that they could have been seen as symbols of a larger community identity in their use as the focal point for villages whereas, in contrast, in the Western Isles they remained isolated in the landscape and could have been part of an expression of independence and self-sufficiency. Other aspects of the material culture of the Western Isles would support this view of regionality. Food procurement strategies were rooted in the particular opportunities that the distinctive environment of the Outer Hebrides offered (e.g. wild resources: Mulville 2005); the inhabitants of the region showed an apparent disregard for imported items in general (Henderson 2007: 200); and networks of exchange seem primarily local in nature (e.g. pottery: Topping 1987). On the whole, it seems that the Western Isles present a picture of a distinctive regional society, rooted in an awareness of its past and its environment, but with wider

connections to other parts of Scotland and Britain underlying this seemingly unique society. It is this distinctiveness, coupled with a rich history of archaeological investigation and its location on the western seaboard of Britain, which warrants its inclusion as a study area in this thesis.

The Study Material

Study region and sites

The starting point for this thesis is the idea that there are certain aspects of material culture, in particular settlement types, which are distinctive to the west coast of Britain in the late Iron Age and Roman periods. In the middle of the twentieth century this idea of distinct regional groupings was firmly embedded in archaeological discourse. Fox (1964) described the rounds of Cornwall and Devon, the courtyard houses of West Penwith, and the widely spaced ramparts of the hillforts of south-west England. In Wales, Hogg (1966) divided the country during the Roman period into six regions based on settlement form, with the two western peninsulas having clearly defined distinctive settlement types: the south-west with its raths; the northwest with its hut-groups. In Scotland Mackie (1965a; 1965b) described the forts, brochs and wheelhouses of the Hebridean Iron Age. This idea of distinct material culture patterns in western Britain has become widely accepted and has driven archaeological research (including this thesis) to the extent that it is organised around these pre-existing cultural regions. Although most commentators today would be reluctant to equate archaeological distributions with social entities, research is still very much focused on this cultural-history approach. These areas are seen as deserving of study in their own right (see Cripps [2007] for an up-to-date account of south-west England; see Arnold and Davies [2000] for the Welsh evidence described on a regional basis; see Armit [1992] for the Western Isles; see Cunliffe [2005] for the west of Britain described in relation to Iron Age tribal groupings), and thus their existence as cultural regions is unwittingly created as archaeological truth. However, I do not wish to be seen as criticising other researchers for adopting a culture-historical approach. Dialogue must be entered into with the data in some way, and the existence of 'self-evident' material culture groupings is the obvious place to begin. A problem only arises when these material cultural distributions become 'truths' which cannot be questioned.

It is therefore the aim of this thesis to explore these 'self-evident' archaeological groupings with a view to examining their possible relationship with social groupings and identities. The choice of these regions (south-west England; south-west Wales;

north-west Wales; the Western Isles) has been driven by the structure of previous research. And the choice of sites for further detailed study has effectively been limited to those which can provide sufficient data with good chronological resolution, and which have been excavated to a sufficient standard. This was accomplished through an extensive literature search, The approach adopted in this thesis did not necessitate exhaustive analysis of all excavated sites from the region (i.e. extensive analysis of the 'grey literature' through contacting archaeological units and individual archaeologists). Rather, the aim was to understand how previous interpretations of the study regions arose in an historical context, with the primary focus being on a re-interpretation of those sites which have informed previous discussion on the subject of an 'Atlantic identity', certain site types having received considerably more attention than others in the archaeological literature as they have been seen an indicative of particular regional 'cultures'. Therefore, I have also given more attention to these sites, with the choice of illustrations reflecting this (e.g. courtyard houses in Cornwall; raths in south-west Wales; brochs and wheelhouses in the Western Isles). Highlighting these supposed manifestations of regional traditions and contrasting them with other aspects of material culture will hopefully help to understand how these ideas have arisen in archaeological discourse. This approach is without doubt biased, being constrained by previous patterns of research which privileged certain areas and higher status sites, as well as by the subjective definition of what is a 'good' or 'sufficiently well excavated' site. However, it is my hope that, through a careful examination of a wide variety of sites, I can contribute to the ongoing and expanding debate on the nature of late Iron Age and Roman society by examining and questioning the basic categories which we, as archaeologists, create to give order to our datasets.

Categories of analysis

Traditionally, work on the British Iron Age and Roman periods has focused on explaining the data in economic and military frameworks, assuming that these were the prime movers behind social change. Cunliffe's (1988) work at Mount Batten exemplifies this, with its emphasis on the importance of cross-channel trade (but see Barrett [1989] for a criticism of the stress placed on economic matters in the Iron Age). However, this view of the Iron Age in terms of an economic-social dichotomy is

possibly a result of our own modern views of economics being foisted upon the Iron Age material, resulting in a very familiar Iron Age, and has excluded the possibility that the period may been very different from how we have come to describe it (Hill 1989). The Roman impact on Britain has also been viewed through a very simple lens, with much study of the period centred on the idea of Romanization and a simple division of the country into 'Roman' and 'native' (see previous discussion on identity, pgs. 19-21).

This desire to divide up archaeological material into simple and easy-to-use categories also extends into the ideational realm (which is usually separated from the economic sphere for the purpose of analysis). A recent book on approaches to identity in archaeology demonstrates this clearly, with the material being divided up into chapters on gender, age, status, ethnicity and religion (Diaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005). The use of 'obvious' categories like this certainly has a role to play in archaeological interpretation. For example, it is clear that art styles can be utilised in the expression of identity, both individual and group. But it is also clear that there is a danger in separating out functional and stylistic aspects of object manufacture and design (Sackett 1985; 1990). So, while the importance and influence of these things as structuring elements of daily life is undeniable, it is also equally clear that any attempt to separate them from the complex and intertwining social contexts in which they are created can at best be viewed simply as an analytical heuristic tool, and should not be seen as suggesting that these concepts exist independently of each other. Michel Foucault has suggested that post-Enlightenment western thought has been characterised by a desire to objectify concepts, thereby making them objects of study and creating them in the same process (Foucault 1992; 1994; 2001). The separation of these things which have been so defined into ideational and non-ideational realms, so prevalent in archaeology, can also be seen to have its roots in post-Enlightenment thought, as a result of a particular modern way of viewing the world based on Cartesian mind-body dualism (Thomas 2004). It is possible then that a desire to classify things, based on a mind-body dichotomy, is a hallmark of modern thought; this can be seen in the tendency to examine 'ritual' separately from other aspects of society, as in a recent book on Cornish prehistory where the region was examined under the headings of 'settlement', 'trade and technology' and 'ritual' (Rowe 2005).

Identity can be expressed in infinite ways. Ethno-archaeologists and anthropologists have, in many different studies, illustrated this. In Bali, the anthropologist Clifford Geertz demonstrated that cockfights were an integral part of the creation and maintenance of group relations, and that male identity was tied up with and expressed through the birds they groomed to fight (Geertz 1993). In Kenya, Ian Hodder (1982) showed that different items of material culture could be used to claim and contest authority, both within and between groups. It should be possible to travel around the world and take examples of different and unique expressions of identity from every place that one visits. The sheer variety of ways to express oneself is endless, and the only wonder is that at times people consciously limit themselves to so few. But it is precisely this journey around the world which should prove so useful in understanding how identity is expressed, because it is really only in its local manifestations that identity can be understood, as it is created and maintained in the daily practices of people (see Hodder 1982; Geertz 1993 for an emphasis on the local and contextual; Jones 1997; Hall 1997 for a discussion of the creation of identity with reference to an 'archaeology of practice'). So, it can be seen that the idea that there are cross-cultural ways of expressing identity is being discredited; but, although specific usages of material culture are always particular, it is possible that there are some underlying realities of human processes of perception which may affect all people equally, as in the tendency towards a preference for symmetry in decorative style noted by Washburn (1989).

My approach

An archaeological approach to social identity must be primarily rooted in an attempt to understand the use of material culture in the creation and maintenance of identity groups. But, if expressions of identity are contextually specific, then it has to be asked whether there is any general framework that can be used in its analysis? While I do not believe that there is any one particular way of examining this subject that can be considered 'best practice', I would suggest that previous approaches based on such things as status, religion and ethnicity have created a situation where these concepts have been reified as universals of human behaviour which affect all people across time and space. In order to balance this, and explore the implications of this view, I suggest

56

that it is appropriate to look at identity from a different perspective, in order to examine whether previous approaches have given an accurate picture of how identity groups are created and interact with society as a whole. I think that an approach based on the most basic elements of analysis open to us would be the easiest to justify. Specifically, this means taking the human body as the starting point and examining the body's interactions with its material world. While this is an approach rooted in the apparent basics of human existence I wish to emphasise that the idea that food and shelter can act as cross-cultural universals of human behaviour cannot be justified, as the idea of an individual caring for his or her body, feeding it and sheltering it carefully, is a view of humanity constructed on the basis of the sanctity of the body and refuted by human behaviours such as anorexia and suicide. An emphasis on the body still has utility though. It is something which can be easily understood. The care of the body cannot be taken as a universal human need or drive, but the existence of the human body is about as absolute as you can get, and does not necessitate the pre-existence of social categories such as religion, status, or economy. This is an approach which was utilised by Barrett *et al.* (2000) in their work on the hillfort of South Cadbury in south-west England. For the purpose of analysis they divided the material culture under headings such as 'clothing and decorating the body', 'feeding the body', 'the body as agent', and also looked at the inhabited landscape from the perspective of an individual's perceptions of occupying the site. While the choice of headings under which the artefacts were analysed was admitted to be always essentially arbitrary, it was suggested that admitting this and 'getting on with it' is more of an accurate reflection of the ambiguities of meaning that characterise all human-object relationships, and is a better approach than attempting to get at unambiguous meanings of objects. K.N. Chaudhuri, in his work on the civilisations of the Indian Ocean, also views the idea of feeding and sheltering the body as being one of the basics of human existence, and a worthwhile starting point for analysis (Chaudhuri 1990). Following Fernand Braudel, he follows the theory that 'food and drink, together with clothing and housing constitute the ground floor of material life, a level of history that changes only slowly over time' (ibid, 151) (Figure 17). On the basis of his work and that of Barrett *et al.* above, I feel that taking the human body as a basic building block of society and examining how it is fed and sheltered, and how it interacts with the landscape that it inhabits, is a good starting point for examining the idea of social identity and how it manifests itself and affects people's lives.
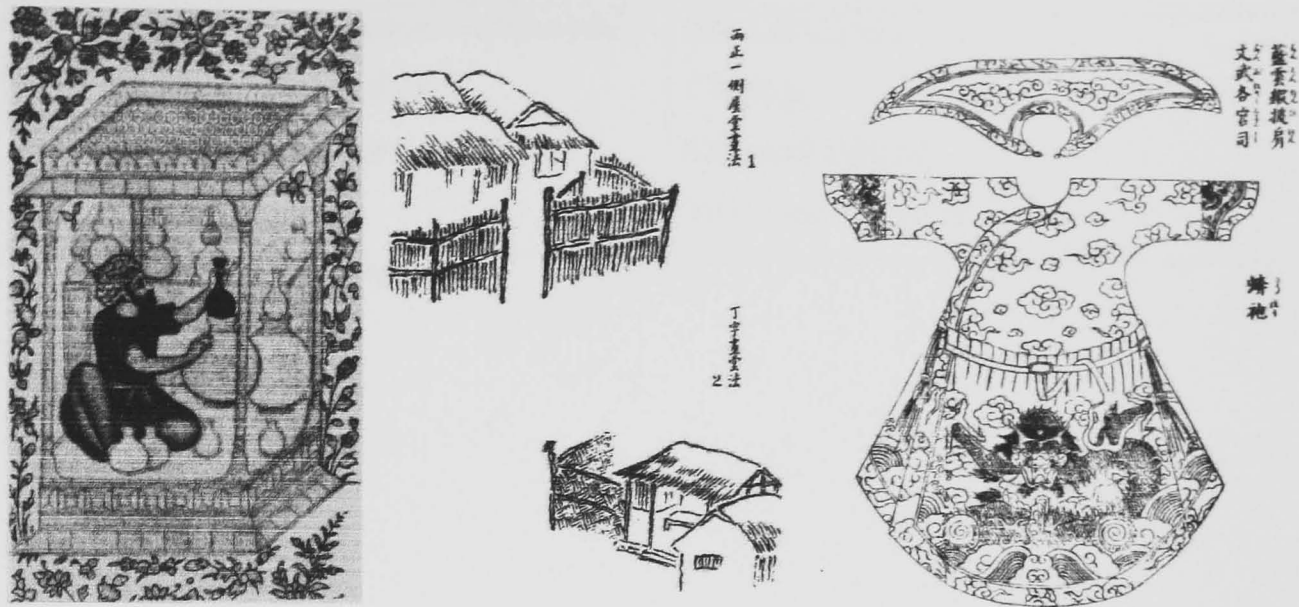
Figure 17 Images of food, architecture and clothing from the Indian ocean (Chaudhuri 1990: 179, 189, 209)

This approach is rooted in recent concerns in the social sciences with issues such as how clothing (e.g Eicher 1995; Tarlo 1996), food (e.g. Parasecoli 2005; Parker Pearson 2003), architecture (e.g. Abel 1997; Allison 1999) and landscape (e.g Darby 2000) are utilised in the construction of social identities. The implications of this approach are quite straightforward: the material culture from the study areas will be synthesised and integrated, focusing on food and drink, clothing, housing/architecture, landscape, craft and industry, and trade and exchange (Table 1). This approach, showing how people both create and inhabit their own world emphasises day-to-day life and material interactions, as opposed to constructing a narrative based on the morphological characteristics of settlements. This will allow an understanding of how people engage with the material world and construct their social identities in relation to issues which are cross-culturally fundamental to day-to-day life, and will provide an opportunity for analyses of material culture without being constrained by previously dominant archaeological discourses of identity groups and ritual/profane dichotomies. But, while dividing the material into manageable categories is a pre-requisite for analysis, it must be remembered that these categories are just analytical tools, and the inter-relationships of the chosen categories will hopefully demonstrate that material culture should be viewed as a whole and not compartmentalised.

58

Settling the Land	Living on the Land
Building the Land: Houses and Architecture	Food and Drink
Controlling the Land: Landscape Organisation	Clothing
	Craft and Industry
	Trade and Exchange

Table 1 Material culture categories

My Approach to Identity

The social construction of identity

Michel Foucault (1992; 2001) has suggested that seemingly everyday concepts such as madness and sexuality cannot be taken as absolutes, and instead must be seen as having arisen within discourse, and that discourse itself must be seen in the context of the relationships of power in which it is produced. Identity must be seen in the same light. It is a concept that has no intrinsic merit. Rather, it must be examined as it is used, and in a modern context it is used as a tool to explain the social organisation of culture difference (as in the title of Barth's seminal publication on ethnicity in 1969). However, for the purpose of this thesis I wish to emphasise the folly of attempting to adopt any cross-cultural definition of identity. Such attempts can only lead to the reification of cultural laws, as opposed to the historical specificity of human action, and I would see this as tantamount to the imposition of 'laws of development' as an explanatory framework for the development of human society. This political approach has led to a twentieth century scarred by wars and ethnic hatred and has been criticised for denying agency and free will to individual human beings (Popper 2002).

In archaeology, recent approaches to identity have shown the difficulty of correlating such concepts with the 'facts on the ground', the artefacts and ecofacts which are the dataset of the archaeologist. The old concept of the archaeological culture has been firmly rejected as inadequate (Shennan 1994), and the old assumption of territorial correspondence between languages, archaeological cultures and ethnic identities has been demonstrated to be more of a desire than a reality (see James [1999] for a deconstruction of the 'Atlantic Celts'). This decline of the culture-historical approach within archaeology has led to an emphasis on process, and the creation of humanity through 'practice'. This is of relevance to identity too, as it reinforces the idea that identities, like other aspects of culture, are not objective traits which can be read from the archaeological record but rather are things which are created in the day-to-day lives of individuals as they interact with the physical world which they inhabit (see Jones 1997 for a discussion of the creation of identity in the context of Bourdieu's *habitus*). In this sense, identity can be seen as something which is created within the specificities

60

of an individual's interactions with the material world, and not as an abstract and fixed thing which is imposed upon them. We cannot take identity as something which exists in the world pre-discursively, which is then used as a building block of interpretation. The sociologist Rogers Brubaker has exhorted researchers to try to understand ethnicity without recourse to 'groupism' and I think his comments are relevant here. He says that 'ethnicity [and] race are fundamentally ways of perceiving, interpreting...they are not things *in* the world, but perspectives *on* the world' (Brubaker 2004: 17, his emphasis).

But how can something that has no 'real' existence have such a profound effect on society? This question leads to the basic premise of the approach I wish to adopt, that identity must be seen as existing primarily in the minds of individuals, as a heuristic device for the organisation of cultural difference, the variety of which would otherwise be incomprehensible to the human intellect. Identity should be seen as a symbol under which diversity can unite. This approach follows closely the work of Anthony Cohen (1985) who has emphasised the symbolic construction of community. However, I do not wish to follow his problematic assertion that

> 'culture - the community as experienced by its members – does not consist in social structures or in 'the doing' of social behaviour. It inheres, rather, in 'the thinking' about it. It is in this sense that we can speak of the community as a symbolic, rather than a structural, construct' (ibid, 98).

This artificial separation of 'thinking' from 'doing' can be addressed by an emphasis on 'practice' (see also the discussion of Renfrew below in relation to the privileging of discourse above material interactions). However, I do not think it negates Cohen's basic premise, that community identity should be approached from the perspective of seeing it as a symbolic construct. The importance of symbolism has also been mentioned by Barth (1994):

> 'One major impetus to ethnicity arises if people can be made to join in creating the *appearance* of discontinuity by embracing a few neatly contrasting diacritica, rather than the variable and inconstant whole of culture. An imagined community is promoted by making such diacritica highly salient and symbolic, that is, by an active construction of a boundary' (ibid, 16).

Barth emphasises the appearance of discontinuity whereas Cohen emphasises the symbolic construction of similarity. Both make the same point in different ways, that

the cultural world we inhabit has neither homogeneous groupings of people and things nor discrete boundaries. Thus, it is in people's minds that identity exists, in their adherence to symbols through which they can compare and contrast themselves to others in a world which would be otherwise incomprehensible. However, I would hope that this approach does not fall foul of any tendency towards law-like generalisation. While the idea that identity is embedded in human understanding of culture difference can be seen as a cross-cultural 'truth', the forms that this will take cannot be predicted and can only be understood within the contextual specificities of each individual's interaction with the material world that they inhabit.

Archaeological implications

The basic question an archaeologist must answer, even if he/she is dealing with an idea, is whether his/her object of study has a material manifestation and whether this will leave a material trace. For example, no-one doubts the existence of the Roman Empire, its material footprint is still very visible throughout its former territories; however, the idea of the Roman Empire as a coherent entity has increasingly come to be questioned, and in fact it could very well be seen as 'an image or model which we and others have constructed out of our desires to give tangible form and coherency to historical processes, events and outcomes which would otherwise bewilder us with their complexity' (Barrett 1997, 52). The old view of culture-contact and colonialism as the interaction of two discrete ethnic groups does not hold up to scrutiny. For example, the variety of pre-Roman cultural groupings in Gaul has been emphasised, and also the fact that the process of contact/colonisation was a two-way process, with both the coloniser and the colonised being transformed by their interactions (Woolf 1997). In this sense the Roman Empire can be seen as a symbol of identity, uniting the cultural diversity that existed within its boundaries. And the question that must be asked is whether there are any archaeological remains that can be associated with the symbol of the Roman Empire, as opposed to the totality that the symbol purported to represent?

To turn briefly to an example from the south-west of England, it has been suggested that, in the late Iron Age of Dorset, there existed an 'identity-conscious group', and

that, within a wider context of regional interaction, 'some artifacts are held back from wider dispersal because they symbolise this group' (Blackmore *et al.* 1979, 93). It may be that certain items of material culture were used in the process of identity creation and maintenance, but it is necessary to be careful to avoid simply following a culture-historical approach on a subset of material culture. Identity was created in practice, in the day-to-day lives of ordinary people. It may have been expressed in material objects, but it was first and foremost embedded in the doing of things:

> 'there are polite and impolite *positions for the hands at rest.* Thus you can be certain that if a child at table keeps his elbows in when he is not eating he is English. A young Frenchman has no idea how to sit up straight; his elbows stick out sideways; he puts them on the table, and so on' (Mauss 1973, 73).

I think this example of the differences between the behaviour of children from different countries illustrates two things. Firstly, that identity is created in action, and that a view of the archaeological record encompassing this is necessary, possibly as an arena that enabled action, rather than as a passive reflection of that action. Secondly, it is necessary to point out that identity cannot be pigeon-holed as ritual or functional. It has to be seen as intertwined with all aspects of living. Some recent archaeological case studies have highlighted this, with a recognition of the 'ritual' nature of seemingly innocuous things like rubbish disposal (Hill 1995), or the structuring nature of cosmologies that encompass all aspects of life (Parker Pearson 1999).

To sum up, identity is embedded in cultural difference. As people and things clearly differ across space and time it is apparent that identity, as it is defined as the social organisation of culture difference, cannot help but come into being as people interact with their physical world. For me, it is this material interaction which is the primary driving force behind identity. Renfrew (2001: 130) has suggested that certain symbols, such as the concept of money, can only be understood in the context of having a pre-existing material thing to serve as their referent, that the concept is meaningless without the actual substance. With this in mind it is clear that cultural difference exists and is encountered before it is articulated in language, and that therefore the discursive realm should not be privileged in the formation of the concept of identity. Identity, then, is the mechanism by which people make sense of an otherwise bewildering array of cultural diversity, through a process of symbolising sameness and difference, but rooted in human interactions with the material world. It can operate at any number of

levels, from age and gender sets, to community and individual identity. But, from an archaeological perspective, it is necessary to abandon the idea that these groupings will have a coherent material signature. Instead, only a small number of material items and non-material ideas and behaviours may be utilised in the symbolic construction of similarity and difference. This idea also extends to the utilisation of the past as a symbol in the construction of identity. This is readily apparent in recent centuries when archaeological discoveries have been utilised in nationalist discourse (an example being the contested nature of many holy sites in Jerusalem), and archaeologists, as scholars of the past, must be aware that the artefacts and ideas which they use in their research may take on the mantle of ethnic referent. Indeed, the very study of the past can be tied into modern discourses on identity and ethnicity, resulting in the construction of a familiar and easily understood past based on modern concerns. Therefore, we need a framework that recognises both the historical specificity of expressions of identity, as well as the way that modern scholarship arises from the past and does not stand in splendid objective isolation. The archaeological record is not simply a reflection of past activities. Rather, it is composed of the material traces of the world in which they took place, and its interpretation is tied in with our own modern concerns and perceptions.

An example: 'house societies'

The manner in which the symbolic aspects of identity relate to material culture is illustrated in Levi-Strauss's concept of 'house societies'. The house itself is an integral part of day-to-day life. It is central to many social activities and has been shown to reflect the cosmologies of its occupants (Bourdieu 1970). It also plays a role in areas of social organisation such as the division of labour, and can be seen to mediate between those that live in it and the outside or 'natural' world. In this sense it is intimately tied into a body-centred view of the world: the body interacts with the architecture of the house, it structures activities, and can become associated with the identity of the people who inhabit it. This can be seen in the architectural elaboration of many houses, as well as the association of particular architectural features with cultural groups. Levi-Strauss's concept of 'house societies' has been used to show how expressions of self and community can become attached to the house with the house itself, rather than any

particular individuals, taking on the status of a moral person. This shows how identity, material culture and social organisation are intertwined, and a focus on them as a collaborative whole does more justice to the actual organisation of societies than viewing them separately. Houses are not mere objects in a landscape which reflect social organisation, they both structure and are structured by those that inhabit the landscape.

Initially, Levi-Strauss introduced the term 'house' because of the inability of anthropologists to understand the kinship structures of some societies. The house itself was the term used by the indigenous peoples to explain their social structure, an understanding of which had confounded those anthropologists researching them due to the use of seemingly contradictory social ties, and an inability to use the traditional anthropological kinship structures to explain them. He states that

> 'the house is therefore an institutional creation that permits compounding forces which, everywhere else, seem only destined to mutual exclusion because of their contradictory bends. Patrilineal and matrilineal descent, filiation and residence, hypergamy and hypogamy, close marriage and distant marriage, heredity and election: all these notions, which usually allow anthropologists to distinguish the various types of society, are reunited in the house, as if, in the last analysis, the spirit...of this institution expressed an effort to transcend, in all spheres of collective life, theoretically incompatible principles' (Levi-Strauss 1982: 184).

Levi-Strauss initially saw the house as occupying a place between societies in which kinship was the primary structuring principle, and more complex societies. He based his work on an examination of communities in the Pacific north-west of America, as well as the feudal houses of Europe, California and Japan. However, this view of the house as occupying a certain stage in an evolutionary scheme has increasingly been abandoned (Gillespie 2000: 22). Instead Susan Gillespie has suggested that it is more pertinent to take the view that 'the dynamic quality of kin-like, economic, ritual and co-residential relations...are enacted within the physical and symbolic framework provided by the house' (*ibid*: 42). An oft-quoted definition of the house is:

> 'a corporate body holding an estate made up of both material and immaterial wealth, which perpetuates itself through the transmission of its name, its goods, and its titles down a real or imaginary line, considered legitimate as long as this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or affinity and , most often, of both' (Levi-Strauss 1982: 174).

65

In this sense the house is seen as a social actor in its own right, and its longevity can be seen as a defining feature; it only comes to light as a dynamic institution in the long-term. This is because the membership of the house can change; it is not defined by the people that associate with it, rather its existence comes to light when its durability is seen despite changes in those that identify with it. The language of kinship and affinity is used as a means to justify its existence, primarily because this is the social context from which it has arisen.

This is pertinent to an understanding of social organisation in western Britain. The regions of western Britain remained relatively unaffected by the economic and social changes which were occurring in south-east Britain and this has led many commentators to suggest that the nature of society precluded an easy incorporation into the Roman Empire. Previously 'Celtic' kinship ties were suggested as being prevalent, with partible inheritance explaining the evolution of the landscape and the spread of small enclosures (e.g. Fasham *et al*. 1998). However, this is only one possible explanation, based on an out-dated view of western Britain as being part of a hierarchical Celtic society. In fact, in Cornwall it has been noted that there is a distinct lack of evidence for formal hierarchy, and instead a heterarchical social organisation has been suggested, where inequality would have operated horizontally amongst relatively autonomous small social groups (Cripps 2007). Levi-Strauss's concept of house societies can be used to further explore the nature of social organisation in the region, not as an attempt to place it within any particular evolutionary social trajectory, but as an attempt to elucidate the nature of the inter-relationships between the people who inhabited the area and the houses they built. Work in north-west Iberia has already shown that an appreciation of house societies can help to shed light on the nature of social organisation on the fringes of the empire, with evidence that the house and territory may have been more important than kinship (Gonzalez-Ruibal 2006).

A focus on the house as a social institution allows an understanding of the variable ways in which people interact with architecture and the landscape. It does not suggest that this is a particular type of social organisation unique to western Britain. Indeed, the development of particular dynasties in south-east Britain with an emphasis on titles and their hereditary transmission in this time period shows that it may also be possible to view this area from the perspective of 'houses'. In the south-east this would have taken

on the more traditional hierarchical form, with specific houses coming to dominate the social system. However, research on societies in south-east Asia has shown that houses can also exist in more egalitarian societies (Waterson 1995), and this is of relevance to western Britain where society seems to have been less hierarchical in nature. But it must be emphasised that the concept of the house is not an attempt to construct a new social structure. Rather, it is an attempt to elucidate the social organisation of a region which has defied previous attempts at explanation, with the concept of a house society allowing an exploration of architecture, identity and the body without being confined by strict kinship or social structures. It is this general linkage between bodies and architecture, and the idea that a 'focus on the house as the basis and metaphor for various kinds of social groupings might play a more central role in social analysis' (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 36) that is of relevance to this thesis. It shows how expressions of identity can be bound up with, and expressed symbolically through, material culture.

Chapter Three: Settling the Land

Building the Land

<u>South-west England</u>

Introduction

> 'The most striking feature of the Iron Age in the south-west is the appearance of a wide range of enclosed forms spanning several traditional monument classes, including circular enclosures (known locally as rounds), promontory forts (cliff-castles), souterrains (fogous), multiple enclosure forts, courtyard house settlements and a handful of small hillforts' (Henderson 2007: 215)

This emphasis on the settlement record has historical roots. Early work focused on the hillforts of the region, with the multiple enclosure forts being seen as a regional type, albeit with parallels in south Wales (Fox 1964:141). These forts, with their distinctive widely spaced ramparts and annexes have been seen as analogous with examples in Brittany and north-west Spain (ibid: 142; Thomas 1966: 77). As mentioned above, this idea has been reinforced by reference to the Atlantic distribution of promontory forts and souterrains. Charles Thomas, in his review of 'the character and origins of Roman Dumnonia' focused almost exclusively on the settlements of the region, emphasising a cultural poverty in comparison to other areas of southern Britain (ibid). He stressed that the Roman period in this region had its roots firmly in the preceding Iron Age. Although rounds assume a more dominant position in the settlement system, and with courtyard houses also having their origins in this time period, he ultimately proposed that 'the Dumnonii, then, unused to the concept of money, hardly able to compete with the cornbelt further east, slow even in tin output, may just have been left to their own harmless devices' (ibid: 85).

This idea of a region with a plethora of small 'defended' settlements, left largely to its own devices as the Romans focused their attention on areas further east, has become the dominant image of late Iron Age and Roman-period Cornwall. Henderson has emphasised the monumentality inherent in the construction of the defences of some of

68

these sites, with Chun Castle in West Penwith being given as an example, and has suggested that these may be related to some of the stone forts on the west coast of Ireland (Henderson 2007: 234). However, while monumentality may have been a consideration in their construction, this is a feature which is not restricted to western Britain. In the Iron Age and Roman period, enclosure and the symbolism of boundaries is a consideration which comes to dominate settlement construction throughout Britain (Hingley 1990a), and is probably best exemplified in the complex and monumental constructions of the entrances of some hillforts, such as Danebury and Maiden Castle. So while some of the enclosures in the landscape of the South-west may have been quite strongly defended, the overall pattern is one of small enclosures, which is replicated throughout Britain. In a survey of the enclosures of the region, Johnson and Rose (1982) have demonstrated the variety of ground plans that these enclosures may take, but the overall impression is of the dominance of curvilinear enclosures (Figure 18). Some rectilinear examples, as at Grambla and Tregilders, generally seem to belong to a later date, but the sheer variety of plans which have been demonstrated to exist throughout the period in question precludes the simple equation of rectilinear ground plans with Roman influence.
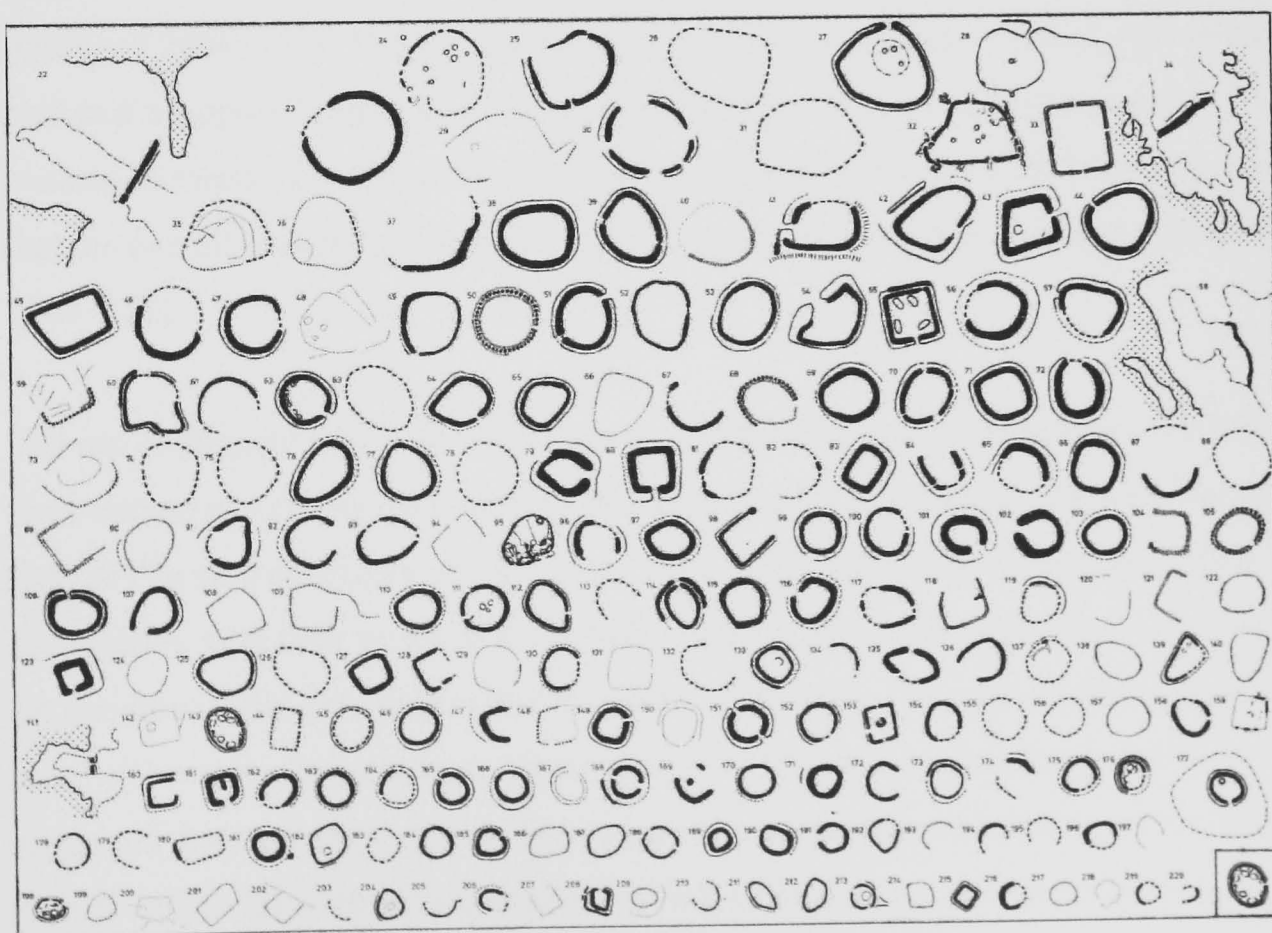
Figure 18 Cornish rounds (from Johnson and Rose 1982: 191)

Rounds, then, can be seen as the dominant settlement form in Later Iron Age and Roman Cornwall, although they do seem to have been more numerous in the Roman period. Henrietta Quinnell has specifically pointed to a seeming juncture in the second century AD when many new rounds were built, and has postulated a possible disruption in settlement patterns at this time (Quinnell 2004: 215). Prior to this, having their roots as early as the fourth century BC, it would seem that rounds shared the landscape more equitably with the larger multiple-enclosure forts (ibid: 214). This time, the last few centuries BC, should be seen as a period of transition, before the smaller enclosures came to dominate the landscape. The settlements supposedly characteristic of the Iron Age, the hillforts and cliffcastles, show little evidence for use beyond the first century BC. For example, based primarily on pottery, specifically the paucity of cordoned ware and later types, it seems that the hillfort of Killibury (Miles 1977) and the cliffcastle at The Rumps (Quinnell 1986) went out of use around the first century BC/AD. It would seem that by this time rounds were the dominant settlement form in Cornwall, and their importance and numerical preponderance in the landscape was probably steadily increasing in the preceding centuries. Initial estimates of their numbers gave a figure of about 750, giving a density of about one for every three square kilometres (Thomas 1966). However, their density varies geographically and, in the area around Trethurgy, this reaches about one site per square kilometre (Quinnell 2004: 213). The Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Mapping Project, part of the National Mapping Programme, has identified over one thousand new cropmark enclosures throughout Cornwall (National Mapping Programme 2008), and it is likely that the overall number of rounds in Cornwall may be about one thousand (Quinnell 2004: 211).

The one settlement type with which rounds certainly shared the landscape of the first three centuries AD was the courtyard house, examples of which are the well-known sites of Chysauster (Figure 19) and Carn Euny in West Penwith. These distinctive settlements, with their series of stone-built rooms arrayed around an inner courtyard, are geographically restricted to the far west of Cornwall. They are certainly a regional type, with no exact parallels anywhere else in Britain or the continent. It has been suggested that they show similarities in spatial organisation with Italian atrium houses (Cripps 2007: 151). However, attempts to link these unique structures with Rome,
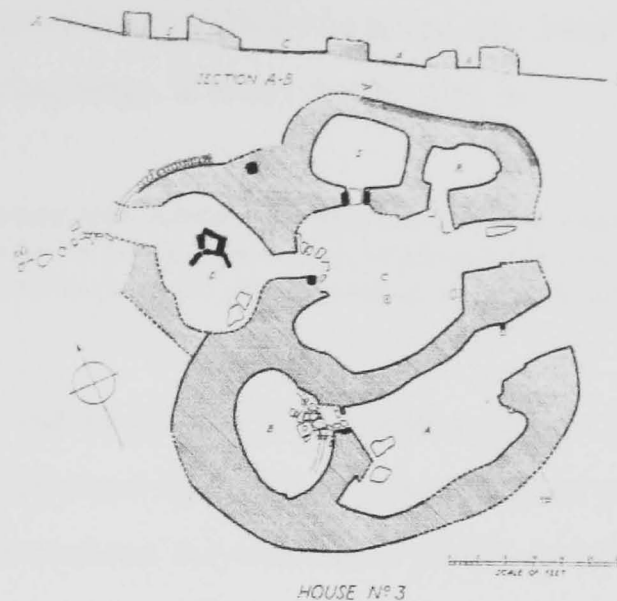
Figure 19 Chysauster - house 3 (from O'Neill Hencken 1933: 250)

'whereby courtyard house communities sought to forge stronger links with an expanding 'Roman' world' (ibid: 153), fail to recognise that their geographical proximity to the continent, at the extreme south-west of Britain, does not necessarily justify the hypothesis. The notoriously difficult seas of Lands End would make it one of the least likely places for links like this to develop, and indeed, Barry Cunliffe, through his excavations at Mount Batten in Devon, has shown that any maritime trade between Cornwall and the continent was far more likely to have been channelled through ports of trade centred on the safer bays and inlets to the east (Cunliffe 1988). It is probably better to see Courtyard houses as a local development, possibly suited to the more extreme windswept conditions of the far south-western reaches of Britain (Quinnell 1986: 120), but also integrally related to the particular socio-economic conditions of the peninsula.

Trethurgy and the architecture of rounds

The usual field definition of a round, as a typically curvilinear enclosure under one hectare in size, with ditches of a depth of two metres or less and a simple entrance (Quinell 2004: 213), is problematic, in that this simple class of field monument cannot be seen as specific to this time period nor necessarily be said to always have had a similar function. With regard to offering a definition that focuses on rounds as representing a specific late Iron Age and Roman period phenomenon, it has recently

71

been suggested that a better interpretation of a round, one which does not focus solely on elements of field archaeology, is to say that a round is

'a permanent settlement with substantially built houses whose inhabitants merited the distinction of a formal bound or enclosure, which may have held significance for their status beyond its provision of protection or defence' (Quinnell 2004: 213).

The round at Trethurgy can be taken as representative (Figure 20). It had a ditch, which varied in depth between 0.8m and 1.5m, and a rampart, probably about 1.5m high originally and with evidence for revetting in places, encompassing an area of 0.2 hectares. The entrance, about 3m wide, was closed by a gate which seemed to have been opened regularly, and the interior had circular and oval structures positioned around the edge of the rampart with evidence for a central working area.

In the late Iron Age the circular house form, in common with the rest of Britain, was widespread throughout Cornwall. At Threemilestone round, for example, occupied in the last centuries BC, the houses, as defined by small penannular gullies, are circular (Schwieso 1976). By the Roman period however, large oval houses became the norm, and 'it has become apparent that large oval buildings replaced roundhouses in Roman Cornwall, and that these formed a regional building tradition' (Quinnell 2004: 186). At Trethurgy there is some evidence for internal divisions and it may be that this development is linked with the need for separate space in the context of a heightened awareness of individuality (as discussed later with reference to pottery). At this site the
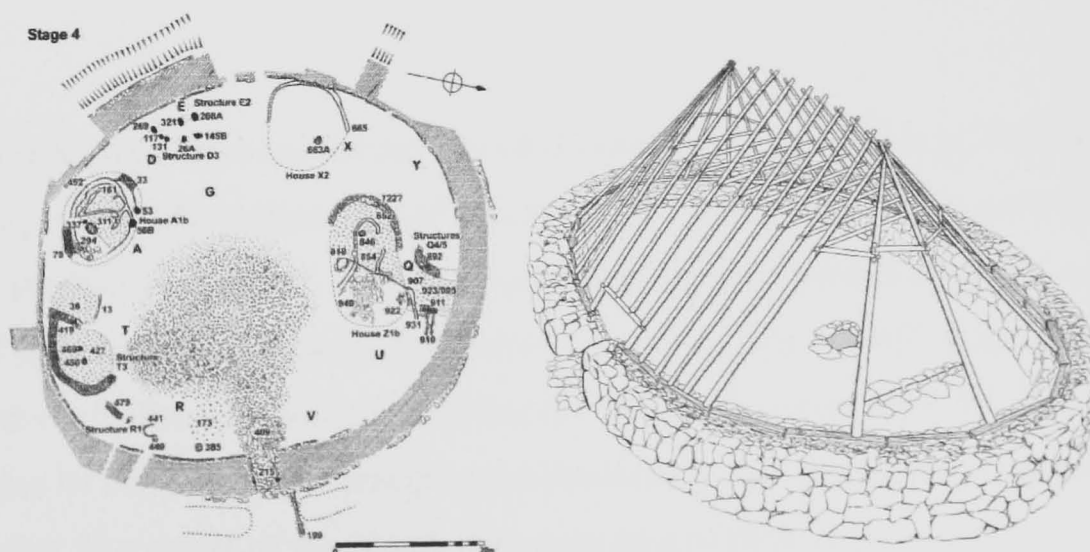
Figure 20 Trethurgy plan and suggested reconstruction of an oval house (Quinell 2004: 171, 195)

72

entrances of the houses face the central working area and do not seem to follow any particular trend in orientation, in contrast to the general eastward orientation of doorways noted at other British late prehistoric sites (Parker Pearson 1996), although the entrance to the enclosure itself faced east and this may be of relevance. At other rounds where the complete groundplan is known, the entrance to the enclosure is generally to the east, including the sites of Trevisker 2 (Apsimon and Greenfield 1972), Goldherring (Guthrie 1969) and Castle Gotha (Saunders and Harris 1982), although there are exceptions, as at Porthmeor where it was to the south (Hirst 1937).

Another architectural feature of rounds which seems to imply the existence of a regional tradition is the use of hearth pits, as opposed to the more usual hearths which are common features of most British roundhouses. Considering that the hearth is the centre of communal life, where cooking took place and as a focus of communal activity, it is clear that its form would have been of particular importance to the structuring of daily life. At Trethurgy it seems that hearth pits were the norm in the oval houses, placed centrally in the floor. This seems to be replicated at other rounds, although hearths are also found. At Reawla it is interesting that the hearths were all of oval plan (Appleton-Fox 1992), which may be connected to the overall architecture of the houses It is suggested that hearth pits provided seating for cooking vessels which would have been covered with ashes allowing for a slow-cooking method (Quinnell 2004:185). Although the range of forms of cooking vessels in Cornwall is broadly similar to that found elsewhere in the South-west, it may be that hearth pits played a role in a more local cooking tradition, as they appear to be a distinctively Cornish phenomenon, not occurring in Devon or elsewhere along the western coastline (ibid: 232)

One other notable aspect of the architectural layout of the settlement at Trethurgy is the four-poster at the western end of the site, as this type of structure is not common on sites in south-west England. This was presumably for food storage although, on the basis of its positioning at the highest point on the site, it was initially interpreted as a watch-tower by the first excavators of the site (ibid p.203). However, this placement could also be explained by drainage considerations. It existed as a four-post structure for the first four stages of the round, then as an area of paving, presumably with a superstructure. There was a pit next to it with an apparent deliberate deposition of a

73

quern, which is further suggestive of its use for food storage. It is possible that when it went out of use, around AD 375-400, it was replaced by another structure, positioned slightly down-slope. This structure is very unusual though, and a tentative interpretation of it as a shrine has been put forward, based on its unusual orthostatic construction and D-shape, as well as the deliberate deposition of some unusual objects, including a Trethurgy bowl, in the backfill between its walls and the edge of the cut in the slope which was created for it. It was also deliberately sealed when it went out of use. However, if this was solely in use as a shrine, then, with the four post structure also out of use, there would have been no obvious facility for food storage. With this in mind it is possible that it served both for food storage and also as a ritual focus. The importance of a secure food supply for the round's occupants would in fact make it likely that the two would have been integrally linked. Although dating to after the main chronological period examined in this thesis, having originated in the fourth century AD, this shrine/foodstore points to a linking of ritual with everyday activities and serves as a warning to the archaeologist against any artificial separation of the two.

South-west Wales

Introduction

The settlement pattern of the south-west of Wales is characterised primarily by the presence of large numbers of small homesteads, known locally as raths. The supposed settlement milieu that includes multiple enclosure forts, promontory forts, hillforts and unenclosed settlements is a terminological confusion and the distinction between them is blurred (Cunliffe 2005: 298). The term hillfort is especially problematic, with many supposed 'hillforts' in Wales being less than 0.4 hectares in area and the majority of these smaller sites being found in the south-west (Mattingly 2006). The landscape was comprised of, essentially, a plethora of small enclosures of various forms and in various locations. But it is exactly this view of the settlements, as being part of Cunliffe's zone of 'small defended homesteads', that has led to the suggestion of links with other western regions; and it should be noted that, while the overall category is of relevance, there are morphological differences evident, some of which may show affinities with areas to the east. At Llawhaden, for example, a series of so-called 'banjo

enclosures' have been excavated, and these have been paralleled with similar enclosures in Wessex (Mattingly 2006: 411). Their form, with outworks extending from the entrance, has been suggested, like the multiple enclosure forts, to relate to the control of livestock, 'suggesting the existence of economic practices similar to those seen further east' (Henderson 2007: 244). James (1990) has identified these enclosures as being part of a western Welsh distribution of what he terms 'concentric antenna enclosures'.

While the overall settlement landscape may be characterised as being one of dispersed homesteads, there do seem to be some geographical and chronological differences. The raths concentrate in the low-lying regions of western Dyfed, while in the upland parts of the region, in the north and east, sites are fewer and larger examples are more frequent, sometimes being of the more classic hillfort type (Williams and Mytum 1998). Castell Henllys, for example, is an Iron Age hillfort with evidence for extensive occupation in the form of roundhouses and four-posters, and a substantial gateway which probably had a large timber tower (Mytum 1999; 2002). Its size and impressive nature are demonstrated by the fact that a later Roman-period farmstead overlay its northern defences. This change in the nature of occupation of the site may be related to the Roman conquest of the region, and there are a few other tantalising indications of Roman influence. For example, at Walesland Rath (Wainwright 1971), Dan y Coed and Coygan Camp (Williams and Mytum 1998), rectangular buildings were built in the Roman period. On the whole, though, the settlement patterns seem to have survived the Roman conquest largely unscathed, with the population continuing to live in the farmsteads of the pre-Roman Iron Age. It is only at a very small number of sites, in the vicinity of Carmarthen, that direct Roman influence can be inferred. At Trelissey (Thomas and Walker 1959) and Cwmbwryn (Ward 1907) rectangular buildings with Roman tiles and slate were found, although both were constructed in earlier rath enclosures. There are only a few other tentative suggestions of the Roman impact in the region; one example being the slighting of the entrance at Dan-y-Coed in the period immediately following the conquest (Williams and Mytum 1998: 30).

75

WALESLAND RATH
PLAN OF FEATURES
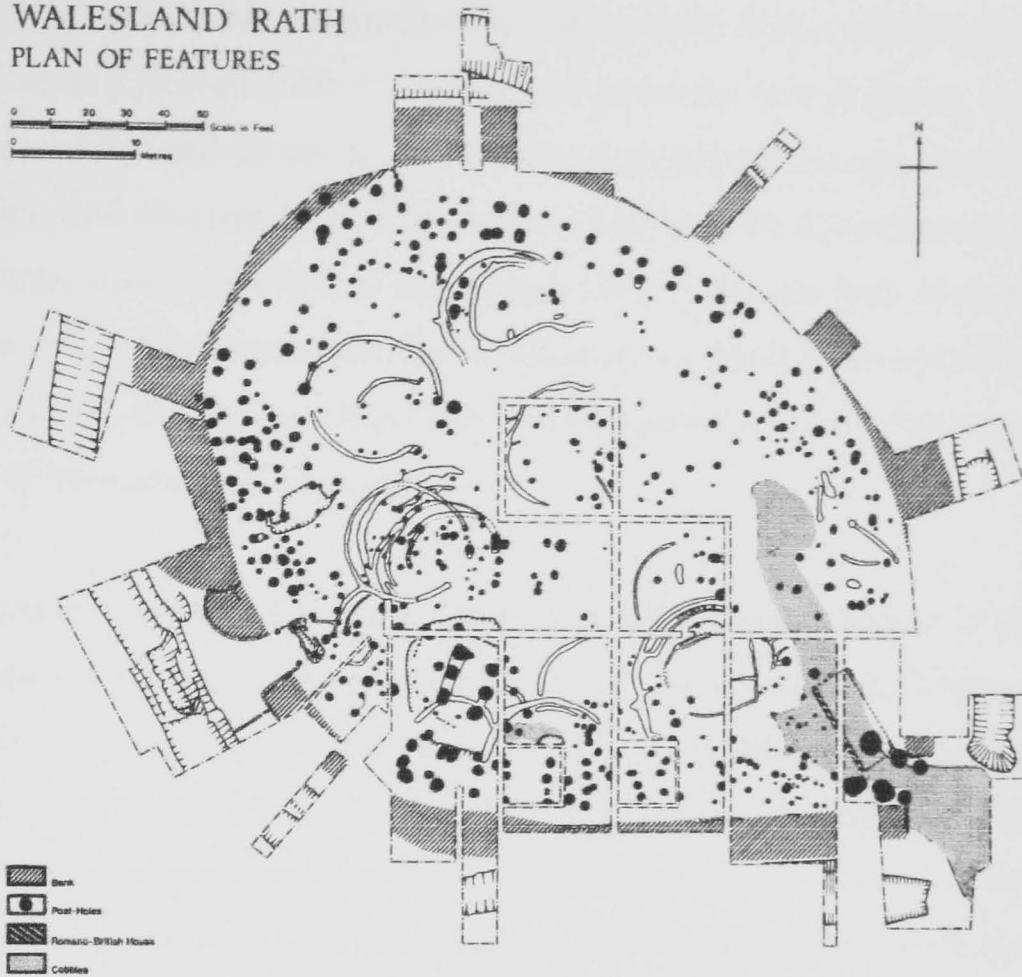
Figure 21 Plan of Walesland rath (Wainwright 1971)

Raths and their architecture

Raths were the dominant settlement type of south-west Wales in the late Iron Age and Roman period. The type-site for many years was provided by the total excavation of Walesland Rath (Wainwright 1971) (Figure 21). There, an oval enclosure, measuring 64m by 49m internally, was defined by a bank and ditch which had two entrances, to the south-east and south-west. The interior was densely packed with roundhouses, which were the normal house form in both the Iron Age and Roman period of south-west Wales; and numerous four-posters lined the inside of the bank, although these four-post structures had originally been interpreted by the excavator as being a continuous range of buildings. The site was probably constructed in the third century BC, and continued in occupation until the third century AD, and this is the pattern replicated at most rath sites, with construction in the late Iron Age and subsequent occupation in the Roman period. In contrast to south-west England, where many new enclosures were constructed in the second century AD, there is as yet no evidence for construction of the Welsh raths after the late Iron Age, and this difference in

76

chronology has been used to argue for a de-linking of the Welsh raths from the Cornish rounds (Quinnell 2004: 214). However, given the lack of pottery in the region, which is generally used for dating, it has been suggested that the apparent hiatus in construction, and occupation, of 'defended' enclosures in the Roman period may be more apparent than real (Williams and Mytum 1998). Given the lack of alternative settlement sites in the Roman period, it is indeed likely that Roman-period occupation, and construction, of raths has simply not been recognised on many sites where obvious elements of 'romanisation' are lacking.

Excavations at Llawhaden (Williams and Mytum 1998) have enriched our knowledge of Iron Age and Roman-period occupation of these small enclosures. There is evidence at some sites for pre-rampart occupation; at Dan-y-Coed this took the form of a roundhouse, and At Drim there was a palisaded enclosure or roundhouse, although its links with the subsequent enclosed phases is not clear. It would seem that, in some cases, the small enclosures were not envisaged from the outset and that they developed organically from earlier periods of unenclosed settlement. When the enclosures were built in the late Iron Age they followed similar patterns of development, all being densely occupied by roundhouses, many with surviving hearths, and four-posters. At Woodside there were even conjoined roundhouses, which seemed to have developed by accretion rather than being planned from the outset. If this is related to population increase it is interesting to note that the inhabitants of the enclosure seemed happy to occupy an increasingly densely populated enclosure, rather than leaving to found a separate settlement. The internal layouts of the enclosures show some evidence for division on the basis of function, with roundhouses and four-posters occupying separate areas and the rest of the site remaining empty. At Woodside, because of the presence of heavily trampled deposits of rampart collapse, it has been suggested that this 'empty' area was used for animal penning. This simple tri-partite division would seem to imply a strong level of cooperation between the occupants of the enclosure, and that it was not divided between differing smaller family groups.

In the early Roman period there is some evidence for changes in architecture, with a move from circular to sub-rectangular house plans; this is seen most clearly at Dan-y-Coed. It is precisely this increase in the frequency of rectilinear plans that has generally been seen as providing evidence for Roman influences in the region, with the move to construction in stone being seen as occurring in tandem. However, given the existence of rectangular building plans throughout Wales in the late Iron Age, the rectangular earthwork at Llanynog II being one example (Avent 1973; 1975), it cannot be assumed that the take-up of this new building method was a direct influence of the conquest. The move to construction in stone is similar, seen at Walesland Rath and Dan-y-Coed, in that it certainly does seem to have been the tendency to construct more in stone in the Roman period but, given that construction in stone was so common in other parts of Wales, such as the north-west, it does not make sense to attribute it directly to the Roman conquest. The only sites which can be said to be classically Roman in nature are a couple of small villas in the vicinity of Carmarthen (Figure 22). At Cwmbrywn (Ward 1907), for example, a substantial rectilinear building, built on stone wall footings and found in association with Roman building materials, was built within the bank and ditch of an earlier rath. This occurrence of a 'romanised' building
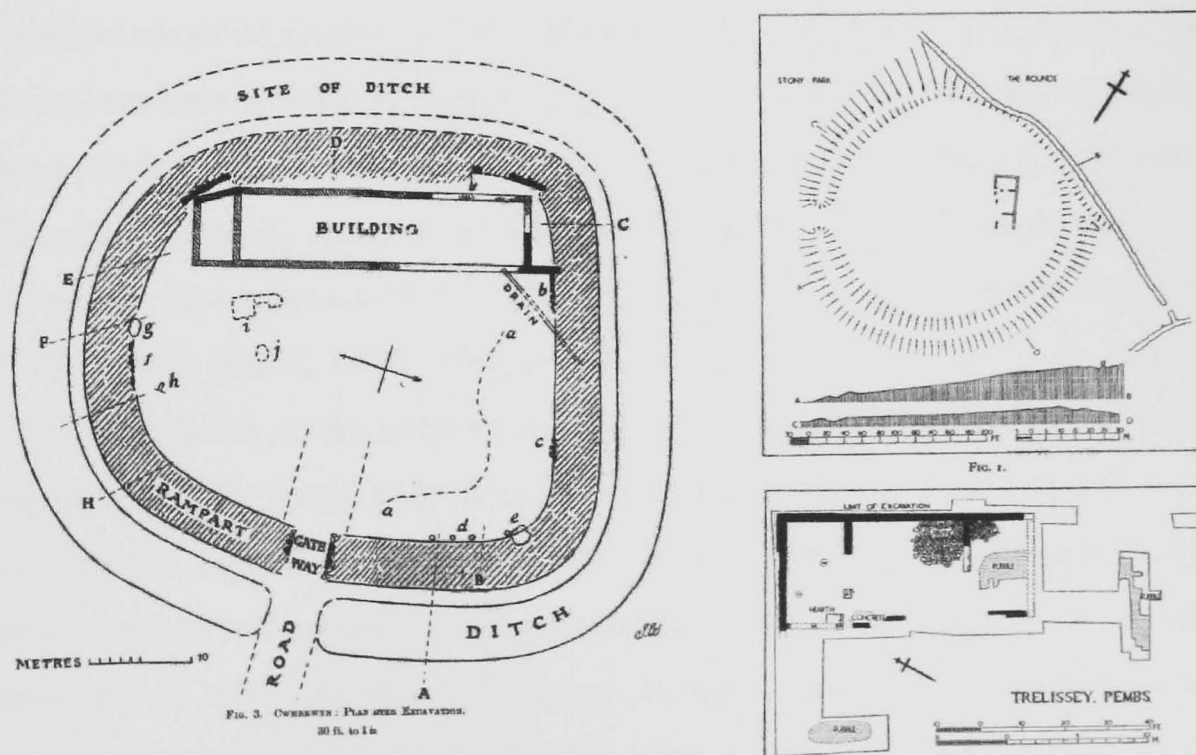
Figure 22 Cwymbryn, on left, and Trelissey (from Ward 1907: 180, 181; Thomas and Walker 1959: 297)

within an earthwork enclosure typical of the Iron Age is also to be seen at Trelissey (Thomas and Walker 1959). These do not seem to be the purpose-built villas which are characteristic of the civil zone of Roman Britain. Rather, it is clear that developments occurred with a distinctly local flavour. So, while it seems that there are certain architectural developments in the Roman period, in the occurrence of rectilinear plans and construction in stone, it is clear that their direct attribution to Roman influence is simplistic. These developments are simple in nature and, if it wasn't for the desire to somehow account for the Roman presence in the region, would probably have been seen as 'natural' development, or related to interactions with other parts of Wales, such as the north-west, where these forms are more common in the late Iron Age. That said, the Roman presence in the landscape is undeniable, in the form of the *civitas* capital of Carmarthen; what is most interesting is that, given its close proximity to the pre-existing settlements of the region, an obvious uptake of Roman building traditions did not occur.

North-west Wales

Introduction

The drystone settlement record of north-west Wales has been characterised as part of a general northern Atlantic settlement sequence (Cunliffe 2005; Henderson 2007), with its emphasis on small 'defended' homesteads. The Royal Commission has variously attempted to classify them, with variations such as: huts not associated with enclosures; huts associated with enclosures; concentric circles; huts associated with terraced fields (Smith 1999), while an early attempt at computer-aided analysis grouped them into seven morphological classes (Smith 1974). However, given the problems inherent in any attempt at absolute classification of such a varied phenomenon, especially when considerations of survival in highland versus lowland areas are taken into account, it has been easier to view these hut group settlements as essentially all belonging to a multifaceted but similar developmental sequence. And it is this approach which has legitimised the view of these sites as part of a general western British phenomenon, with 'the general picture being dominated by enclosed farmsteads...carrying out mixed agriculture' (Smith 1999: 42). This picture of an
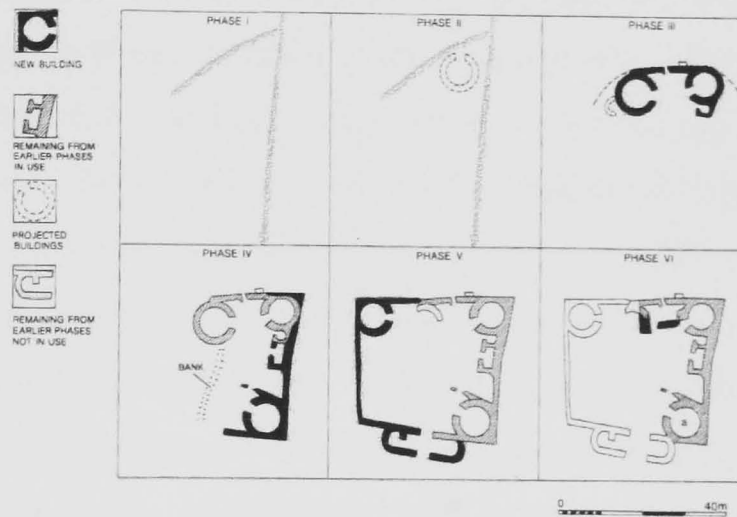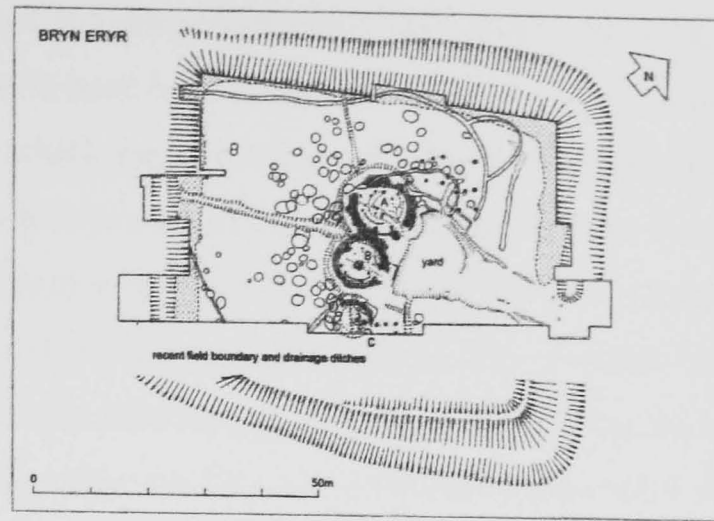
Figure 23 Bryn Eryr - top, and Graeanog (from Longley *et al* 1998b: 186; Fasham *et al*. 1998: 10)

intensively settled agrarian landscape is consistent for both the Later Iron Age and the Roman period. Though the hut groups were initially viewed as part of a Roman attempt to colonise a sparsely populated landscape (e.g. Hogg 1966: 33), they have now been demonstrated to have their roots in the Iron Age (Kelly 1990). The vast majority of sites have produced evidence for occupation in the Roman period but it is now acknowledged that, given the aceramic nature of the late Iron Age in the region, earlier periods of occupation may have been missed, and indeed more recent excavations, as at Graeanog (Fasham *et al*. 1996) and Bryn Eryr (Longley 1998a), point to the origins of these settlements lying in the last few centuries BC, with evidence for continuity on some sites into the post-Roman period (Figure 23).

Although the hut settlements were the dominant aspect of the settlement system, there were other sites which were occupied throughout this time period. There are a number of large hillforts, seen as characterising the Iron Age elsewhere in Britain. Garn Boduan, for instance, shows periods of occupation in the Iron Age with limited re-

occupation in the post-Roman period, while Tre'r Ceiri, with its dense concentration of round houses, seems to have been occupied throughout the Roman period (Hogg 1960). Another site which seems to show affinities with areas elsewhere is Llwyn-du-Bach; it has a characteristic plan of concentric enclosures and outworks which is mirrored in other sites in south-west Wales (James 1990). Rectangular earthworks such as Bryn Eryr have been compared to similar sites in south Wales, like Whitton (Longley 1998a). Roman forts too are a notable feature of the landscape, although they were occupied mainly in the late first and early second centuries, with only Segontium definitely occupied after this date (Davies 2003). Their role in the overall settlement system is hard to gauge, however, due to a lack of excavation, although a project on Roman Fort Environs in this area did produce evidence for *vici* associated settlements outside some of them. None of the *vici* outlived the occupation of the forts themselves, mostly terminating in use by about AD140, and so cannot be said to have had any lasting impact on settlement systems in the area (Hopewell 2005). Overall, it seems that the settlement patterns in north-west Wales show strong continuity between the Later Iron Age and Roman period. The intense period of military activity in the late first and early second centuries AD does not seem to have had any lasting effect, with no noticeable disjuncture in settlement patterns. But the region remained dominated by a large fort at Segontium until the late fourth century, and this long-lived Roman presence in the landscape cannot be ignored.

The hut-circles of north-west Wales

The form that the hut-circle settlements of north-west Wales take is extremely diverse and there is evidence that they changed considerably over time, with the extant remains representing their final Roman-period form. At Moel y Gerddi, for example, the principal occupation occurred in the mid-first millennium BC, being a timber roundhouse surrounded by a circular timber palisade, and probably represents a mid-first millennium period when construction in timber, rather than stone, was the norm. This is seen at other sites where stone structures were preceded by a timber phase, such as Castell Odo (Alcock 1960), Caerau (O'Neil 1936) and Cae'r-mynydd (Griffiths 1959), and is now seen as representative of the region as a whole, with the reasons for this given as probably being related to the declining availability of suitable roofing

timber in an intensively settled and exploited landscape (Kelly 1988). By the late Iron Age, substantial enclosures also seem to become more important; at Bryn Eryr, for example, the substantial rectangular enclosure replaced a simple timber stockade (Longley 1998a); and at Castell Odo an undefended settlement of timber roundhouses was enclosed by two earth banks, probably in the third century BC (Alcock 1960). This pattern is replicated across Britain, where the symbolism of enclosure was becoming of paramount concern by this time (Hingley 1990a). The replacement of timber with stone structures and the increasing concern with substantial enclosures seems to have occurred about the same time, in the late Iron Age, and stone structures existed on many sites prior to the Roman conquest. For example, excavations at Moel y Gerddi and Erw Wen have demonstrated that timber phases existed prior to the construction of the stone structures, whilst the stone-built phases began in the late Iron Age (Kelly 1988). This means that a Roman impetus for construction in stone can be discounted; with the declining local availability of timber given as an alternative explanation (Smith 1999: 44).

Within the enclosures, and also in the unenclosed sites, it seems that circular houses were the norm. Rectangular plans did exist though and seem to have become more common in the Roman period. This has been seen by some commentators as evidence of Roman influence (e.g. Cunliffe 2001: 415) but, considering that the idea of utilising a rectangular or polygonal building is not uniquely Roman, it is unlikely that this development was linked solely to the Roman conquest. In the context of north-west Wales, it is possible that their occurrence may have more to do with a need to conserve building materials in an environment where timber for building was becoming scarce, rather than any desire to emulate Roman building styles (Smith 1999: 47). In this area, where an expanding population possibly necessitated an expansion in floor space, the lack of suitable timber for roofing would have precluded a simple expansion in the circumference of the roundhouse; instead the basic roundhouse form would have been 'stretched', with the retention of rounded corners in many 'rectangular' houses indicating that this was the case, with the rafter construction of thatched roofs still the norm (Kelly 1990). However, this change is still not that simple; rather than seeing the take-up of new building styles as being related to either Roman influence or timber scarcity, it must be remembered that cultural factors also played a role. The rectangular buildings were predominantly small structures and so were more likely to serve some

subsidiary function such as storage rather than being used as dwellings, and it is therefore interesting to speculate that

> 'the continued use of round houses as dwellings when rectangular structures were also in use, may therefore have been a matter of status as well as being a conservative and "un-Roman" style' (Smith 1999: 47).

Western Isles

Introduction

The landscape of the Western Isles in the late Iron Age can be characterised as one dominated by brochs and wheelhouses, but also including numerous other settlements from hut sites to duns and promontory forts. However, attempts to classify the diverse settlement archaeology of Atlantic Scotland have proven quite controversial (e.g. Parker Pearson *et al* 1996; Armit 2005). While the wider 'Atlantic roundhouse' tradition of building substantial stone dwellings and enclosures can be seen to be part of a distinct cultural continuum, it is in trying to differentiate different structural types within this wider cultural phenomenon that problems arise. On the basis of his fieldwork in the Outer Hebrides, and in an attempt to overcome the inherent problems of classifying sites on visible surface morphology alone, Armit (1992) introduced the concept of the 'Atlantic roundhouse'. However, while the utility of this concept in classifying extant architectural remains may be obvious, it also serves to mask differences between structures that may be apparent on excavation. If it can be shown that a distinct class of monuments (such as developed broch towers) exist but that within this newly introduced nomenclature they are obscured within a new category that includes structures which, although part of the wider 'Atlantic roundhouse' continuum, are clearly not broch towers, then its wider applicability to the architectural record of Atlantic Scotland must be questioned. Field survey should not create a social reality of a landscape of 'Atlantic roundhouses' when excavation has shown that the divisions within this category were as relevant, if not more so, than the existence of the wider category alone. Armit is right to point out the problems of using the term broch when so many of these structures may not be visible in the field (Armit 1992). The excavation of Dun Bharabhat clearly showed this, with the complex nature of the site

becoming apparent within hours of initial clearance of the site, and in defiance of the excavators' expectations of a 'simple' Atlantic roundhouse structure (Harding and Dixon 2000). However, this does not mean that broch towers are not a distinctive phenomenon in themselves, and we should not let a structural typology developed for fieldwork alone serve to mask differences which are subsequently revealed by excavation. In this thesis I will therefore use the term 'Atlantic roundhouses' to refer solely to the wider Atlantic tradition of building substantial stone dwellings. But where the nature of the structure is apparent then I think that keeping the older terminology such as broch, wheelhouse and galleried dun, is of more pertinence for an examination of the actual relevant social factors which may have influenced the lives of the inhabitants of these areas.

Brochs and wheelhouses

Very broadly speaking, it is possible to see the brochs and wheelhouses, and the assorted duns and other roundhouses, as part of a wider late Iron Age trend of substantial roundhouse construction. This emphasis on the architectural form of the house is noteworthy, as it contrasts with an emphasis on enclosures in other parts of Britain (Hingley 1990a). Indeed, the brochs, with their dominating presence even in the modern landscape, have been the perennial backdrop to the study of the Iron Age in Scotland. The broch tower of Mousa in Shetland still stands to thirteen metres in height and demonstrates the skills in construction that the local population developed. In the Western Isles the broch of Dun Carloway (Tabraham 1977) is a typical example, with all the hallmark features including hollow walled construction, intramural cells, low-lintelled entrance passageway, guard chamber, and scarcement for first upper floors. Early work in the Western Isles, though, focused on the wheelhouses (e.g. Beveridge 2001 [1911]), and these show a level of architectural complexity and impressiveness which parallels that of the brochs. They are named for their distinctive spoke-like pattern in plan, with stone piers radiating from the central area towards the walls; sometimes the piers reach the walls, and sometimes they stop short leaving a passageway along the inside of the wall. Generally they are revetted into the coastal machair, when just their roofs would have been visible above ground, but there are several free standing examples known. Considering that their floor areas can exceed

84

one hundred square metres and the height of their roof internally can be up to seven metres, it is clear that they form part of the same monumental building tradition as brochs; albeit with an inward focus to their monumentality that contrasts starkly with the impressive outward appearance of brochs. And given that their distribution is almost exclusive to the Western Isles, it is clear that they represent a distinct regional variation in the tradition of monumental construction in stone.

As might be expected, excavation in the Western Isles has focused on the brochs and wheelhouses (Figure 24), and they form the basis of any attempt to understand the nature of Iron Age life in the Western Isles, with their alternative emphases on external and internal monumentality. The late dating of some brochs, with Dun Vulan likely to have been constructed in the late second or first century BC (Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999: 45), and increasingly early dates for wheelhouses, with Cnip probably constructed sometime in the last centuries BC (Armit 2006: 221), seems to imply their contemporaneity in the landscape. Otherwise, if we followed the suggestion that brochs and wheelhouses were broadly consecutive (Armit 2005), we would need to account for an entire regional grouping of people moving from explicit outward
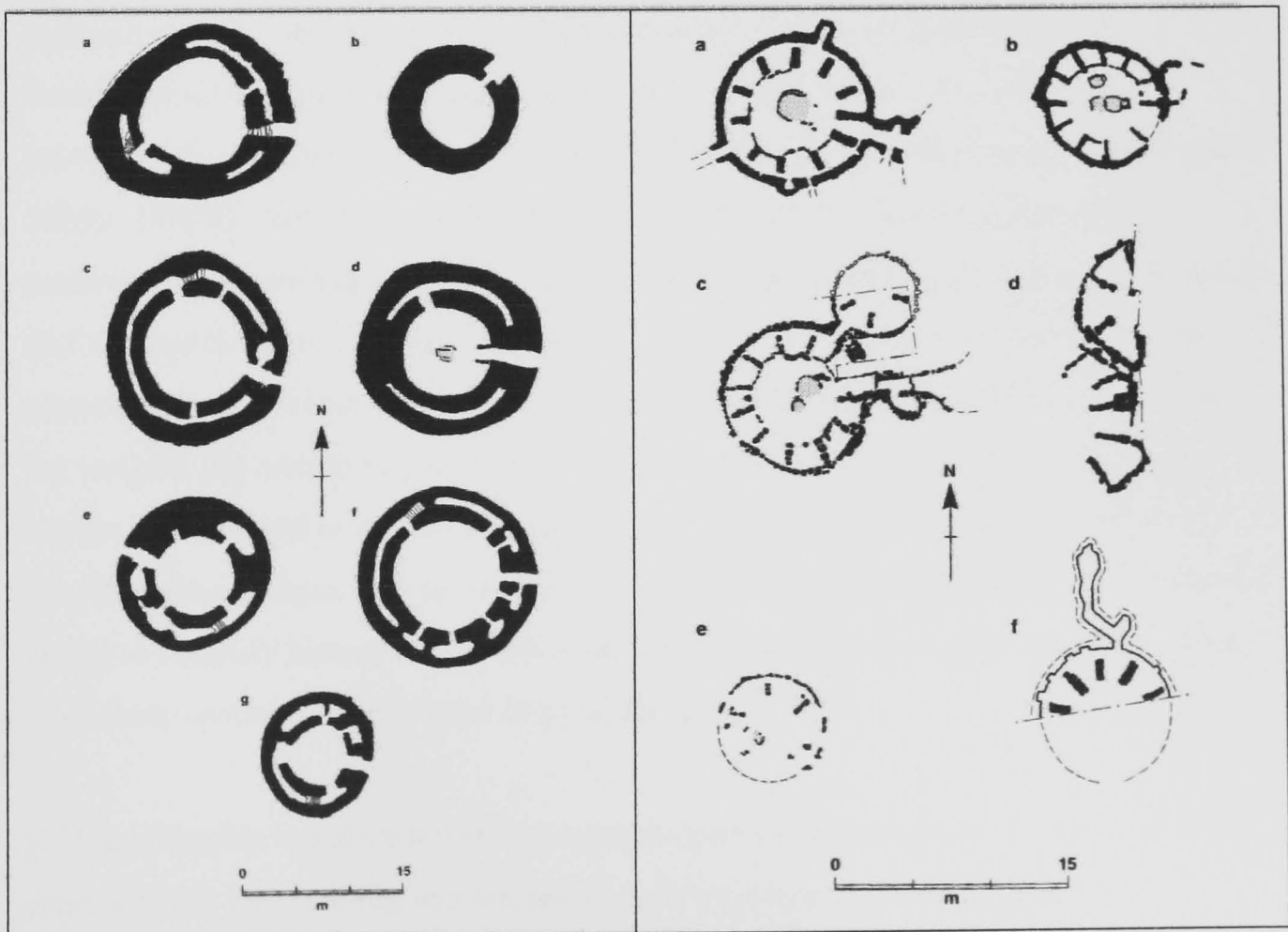
Figure 24 Brochs - left, and wheelhouses (from Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999: 4, 5)

monumentality at a period in time which is at odds with other parts of Scotland and Britain. For example, in south-west England and western Wales the late Iron Age sees the development of substantial earthwork and stone enclosures which, like in the Western Isles, seem to emphasise the status and independence of the individual settlement. It is probable that the Western Isles was part of this very broad pattern of development which affected the whole of Britain, albeit with its own unique manifestations. This idea of the power dynamics of society at that time being based on control of outward displays of power and status would tie the Atlantic Zone into the wider British Iron Age with its substantial roundhouses and enclosures. While the abandonment of outward monumentality does occur at a later period, with the advent of cellular buildings in Scotland, the evidence is simply not there to advocate that it happened independently in the Western Isles at an earlier date.

Building from the past

Atlantic Scotland at first glance, then, gives the impression of being a coherent cultural entity on the fringes of north-west Europe; however, it is not that simple. Early research rightly emphasized its distinctiveness but sought the impetus for this development in diffusionist frameworks, with invaders from southern England providing the stimulus for the development of its regional architectural forms (Mackie 1965a; 1965b). The very specific nature of brochs and wheelhouses, however, necessitates an explanation rooted in the particular contextual environment of northern and western Scotland, but at the same time cannot be divorced from developments elsewhere in the British Isles. A problem with previous research has been in the search for 'origins', in attempting to look for definitive answers to questions which really cannot be answered in any simple way. To assign credit for the origin of brochs to a specific group of invaders, or even to see them as solely a local development, belies a desire to simplify history to a series of discrete chronological events which take place in discrete spatial units divorced from wider society.

Richard Hingley has shown just how complicated are the processes involved in searching for the meaning and origins of settlement types; reacting against the diffusionist frameworks of previous research, he has demonstrated how late Iron Age

society in Atlantic Scotland was rooted in an understanding of the past, with the re-use of Neolithic chambered cairns in the Iron Age and, at times, the re-use of the site and material from the cairns in the construction of houses (Hingley 1996a). This shows how in the late Iron Age people were actively reusing ancient monuments in the construction of contemporary identities, demonstrating the contextual specificity of the developments of the late Iron Age in Scotland. The construction of settlements in this period was tied in with specific local concerns, related to places of significance in the landscape and ideas of the importance of the ancestors. Ian Armit has also drawn attention to the question of structured deposition in Atlantic roundhouses and wheelhouses, with human remains regularly turning up on these settlements, usually as foundation deposits. He suggests that, while the practices of deposition are diverse and essentially local, 'certain concerns appear common to wider areas, and some, for instance the special treatment accorded to the head, have resonances far beyond Iron Age Britain' (Armit and Ginn 2007: 113). So it can be seen that late Iron Age developments in Atlantic Scotland are tied into an understanding of the past and the ancestors, an understanding which has a unique regional signature but which is not divorced from wider British, and even European, concerns.

Isolated or integrated?

Developments in Atlantic Scotland should be seen as a particular regional manifestation of processes that were occurring in other parts of Britain at broadly similar time periods, with the construction of substantial roundhouses from the early Iron Age (Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999), and a concern with control of outward monumentality. J.D. Hill has suggested that previous approaches to the Iron Age have over-emphasised the dichotomy between a south-eastern core and western periphery in the British Iron Age, and that a broader level of continuity can be seen in phenomena as diverse as the changing use of Wessex hillforts, the construction of brochs in Atlantic Scotland and the construction and use of 'royal sites' in Ireland (Hill 2007: 37). Other commentators have suggested different influences on Atlantic Scotland at different times. While Mackie's idea that English migrants fleeing Caesar's aggression being responsible for the construction of brochs has now been largely discredited (Lane 1987), many researchers still see Atlantic Scotland as being part of a wider

87

Atlantic fringe incorporating western Britain, Ireland and peninsular north-west Europe (Cunliffe 2001; Henderson 2007). In this framework, supposed similarities between Atlantic Scotland and these other areas are emphasised at the expense of wider British similarities as outlined above. Henderson (2000; 2007) has suggested that superficial similarities in settlement morphology between Atlantic Scotland and some of the western stone forts of Ireland might indicate shared cultural traditions. However, he acknowledges that the similarities are vague at best and that there is a distinct lack of evidence for Iron Age construction of the Irish forts. He therefore suggests that the similarities are part of a general trend towards monumentality and display in the round (Henderson 2000: 141), but, as seen above, these particular architectural changes are not confined to the Atlantic west but are part of a wider British trend. The main feature that links western Ireland and Scotland is construction in stone, but to give undue weight to this is not wise given the wide availability of building stone in these areas. There is no evidence to suggest that this is a significant cultural factor linking the archaeological records of these areas. Indeed, Claire Cotter of the Discovery Programme, which has led research on the Irish stone forts, has noted that similarities between the Irish forts and the Scottish brochs and wheelhouses are slight – there is very little evidence of occupation of the Irish sites in the Iron Age, they being primarily late Bronze Age or Early Medieval in date, and it is significant that the Scottish structures represent elaboration of the domestic dwelling while the Irish forts' most conspicuous feature is the enclosing wall (Cotter 2000).

The Iron Age of Atlantic Scotland is distinctive in terms of architecture, with the extant broch towers being some of the most impressive monuments from prehistoric Europe, but it can be seen that, within this superficial cultural complex, there are regional variations, with wheelhouses, for example, being a particularly distinctive monumental settlement type largely confined to the Western Isles. Regional variation, then, is a feature which complicates any attempt to create a unified development history of Atlantic Scotland, and maybe this should not be attempted. Atlantic Scotland is not simply a peripheral zone of north-west Europe where a distinctive monumental settlement record developed in isolation. Neither is it part of a unified Atlantic cultural zone in terms of monumental stone-built architecture. The complicated processes underlying the development of society in Atlantic Scotland show a confusing mix of continuity, change, diffusion and innovation. At various levels it can be seen to be tied

into wider British developments, as well as maintaining a strong link with its own regional past, and this is probably the best way to view it. I would suggest that there are underlying currents in Atlantic Scottish society which reflect wider north-west European cultural concerns, but that these have developed in a unique local fashion. We should not discount links with other parts of the British Isles but neither should we reify them as being culturally diagnostic.

Conclusion

Settlement types

The general perception of western Britain as an area dominated by 'strongly defended homesteads' in contrast to other regions has to be questioned. Firstly, it is clear that such a broad descriptive class does not in any way convey an image of the sheer variety of settlement which exists along the western seaboard. Secondly, for the western coast of Britain to be seen as culturally distinct it would have to be quite obviously different from other regions, and this does not seem to be the case. To address the first question, it is clear that settlement along the western seaboard varies considerably region by region. In south-west England the sheer variety of enclosure types has been demonstrated by Johnson and Rose (1982), and any simple linking of this area with south-west Wales has been questioned, with apparent chronological differences in the construction of raths and rounds (Quinnell 2004). Postulating cultural affinities on the basis of the existence of promontory forts in the two regions is particularly problematic, as this site type is essentially simple in concept and occurs in most topographically suitable landscapes. And the courtyard houses of the extreme west of Cornwall are an example of a regionally distinctive settlement form, though early commentators compared them with the hut groups of north-west Wales. In these hut groups of north-west Wales there are many unenclosed examples which is at odds with the idea of western Britain being characterised by 'defended enclosures', and in the Western Isles, while the outward monumentality of the brochs might imply defensive considerations, it is clear that they were not necessarily defensive structures at all, possibly being built with the symbolic strength of the family grouping in mind rather than with any overt defensive intent; the wheelhouses too are not obviously

defensive in nature. It seems that any attempt to classify western Britain as being culturally homogeneous on the basis of settlement form is doomed to failure; the variety of settlement types is just too great. There are areas of similarity between regions, such as construction in stone in north-west Wales and the Western Isles, or the emphasis on the enclosure which is evident in south-west Wales and Cornwall, but it is certainly not clear that these imply any cultural links between the areas, at least in any sense of having a knowingly shared sense of identity.

For any shared sense of identity to exist, it would need to be demonstrated that the western seaboard shared some identifiable cultural traits which separated it from the rest of Britain. However, this does not seem to be the case. For example, the emphasis on small enclosures seen in the raths and rounds of south-west England and Wales is seen as linking these two areas, but the increased importance of enclosure and boundaries in the late Iron Age is a trend which is shared with large parts of Britain (Hingley 1990a). Indeed, it could be said that actually the similarity between the two areas is that the earthworks still survive in the landscape today, rather than their having been different in the Iron Age or Roman period. Work in the Welsh Marches, an area traditionally seen as dominated by hillforts, has shown that many smaller enclosures did exist but have been destroyed by farming. The differences between these areas would not be a simple contrast between a hillfort-dominated zone and a zone of small enclosures (*pace* Cunliffe 2005); rather, settlement in both regions would have centred on small enclosures, and it is the existence of the hillforts which would seemingly separate them. And, given more recent re-interpretations of the role of hillforts in society (Hill 1995; 1996), with them seen as gathering places or symbolic centres of power, in contrast to the more traditional interpretation of them as elite residences, as at Danebury (Cunliffe 1983), in fact both areas would have been zones of 'small defended homesteads', but with contrasting mechanisms of social interaction. That the Later Iron Age was essentially dominated by small enclosures right across Britain is shown by the discovery of these enclosures even in areas where unenclosed settlement was previously held to be the norm, such as parts of eastern Scotland (Davies 2007). And in the Roman period, Richard Hingley has shown that individual farmsteads remained the dominant settlement type in large parts of Britain (Hingley 1989).

Overall, western Britain can be described as an area of 'small defended homesteads' only in very broad terms. This description masks the variety of settlement in the region, with contrasting emphasis on enclosure between areas, different chronological patterns, and unique elements in the settlement record right along the western seaboard. There is no over-arching internal unity between the four study regions, and the elements of similarity that do exist are shared with most parts of Britain. One of the main differences between western Britain and areas to the east is in the lack of the larger hillforts which traditionally have been seen to characterise the Iron Age. However, these are not ubiquitous across Britain, and there are other areas where they are similarly lacking. It would seem that the settlement patterns of western Britain have been forced to fit into a framework of difference, where they are used to justify the separation of this area from developments in regions to the east. However, on close scrutiny this does not hold up. While the south-east in the late Iron Age and Roman period certainly shows the development of a more complex society, with territorial oppida and villas, the rural settlement pattern of individual farmsteads does not cease and a large proportion of the population continues to live in these sites. I would suggest that in the Iron Age the settlements of western Britain show marked similarity to large parts of the British Isles, and while the differences in settlement pattern that do become more obvious in the Later Iron Age and Roman period certainly exist, this is more the result of the south-east's integration into a more Mediterranean and Roman-centred economy rather than any intrinsic difference or unity existing along the western seaboard.

House types and architecture

The house types and architecture of Wales and south-west Britain in the late Iron Age follow general British trends, with an emphasis on the roundhouse as the basic domestic structure, accompanied by smaller non-domestic structures and occasionally four-posters. The Western Isles, with brochs and wheelhouses, are obviously different, and represent a regionally distinctive settlement type. However, any unity between areas is superficial at best. The occurrence of four-posters varies geographically, with their being most numerous in south-west Wales, but only found occasionally in other regions and entirely absent from the Western Isles. Changes to the basic domestic

91

unit, the roundhouse, are apparent in the late Iron Age and Roman period. In south-west and north-west Wales there is a definite increase in rectilinear house (although they may have been non-domestic structures) plans by the late Iron Age, with the north-west also seeing a wholesale change from construction in timber to stone. This increase in the number of rectilinear and sub-rectangular structures is noteworthy, but its occurrence is unlikely to be a direct result of the Roman conquest, except in areas, such as around Carmarthen, where demonstrable Roman-type villa buildings are constructed. Also, where rectilinear buildings are present on sites of the Roman period it seems to be the case that they generally served subsidiary functions with the roundhouse continuing to serve as the main domestic unit. This would seem to indicate that rectilinear building plans were not adopted in any simple attempt at emulation of Roman ways. In Cornwall, in the Roman period, a tradition of building substantial oval houses developed and would seem to suggest a distinctive regional architectural tradition which is not paralleled in either adjacent regions or elsewhere along the western seaboard. The courtyard houses of the far west of Cornwall would also seem to be a very distinctive aspect of this region's architectural traditions. The Western Isles, too, seems to have had an almost unique architectural tradition in the construction of wheelhouses, with only a couple found outside this island chain.

Overall, it would seem that what unity that did exist between these regions existed only in the use of the roundhouse as the basic domestic structure in the late Iron Age. However, this is paralleled right across the British Isles and cannot be said to be distinctive of western Britain. By the late Iron Age, certain changes were occurring, including the adoption of rectilinear building plans and the use of stone in construction. By this time period a wide array of house-building traditions existed: Cornwall had its large oval houses, and courtyard houses in West Penwith; in south-west Wales traditional wood and clay roundhouses continued to be inhabited, alongside definite villa-type structures in the vicinity of Carmarthen; in north-west Wales stone-built huts became the norm; and in the Western Isles brochs and wheelhouses dominated the landscape. There was certainly no unity between the regions. Instead, it is possible to see different communities utilising the resources at their disposal, both material and symbolic, in different fashions. It is possible that, in these differing approaches to domestic architecture, an incipient regional identity may have been developing. It is pertinent to note that many of the changes which did occur,

such as the adoption of rectilinear plans, happened at a time period when similar changes were occurring in south-east Britain as it became incorporated into a more Mediterranean-centred world. This would seem to indicate that these regions of western Britain were not isolated, but were developing along similar trajectories to other parts of Britain. It is also possible to see varying reactions to the intrusive Roman presence. In Cornwall the general lack of villas and the development of a distinctive oval house may have been part of this region's growing sense of awareness in the face of the Roman conquest, while in south-west Wales the development of a *civitas* capital and the construction of some definite villa-type settlements indicates that some people were engaging with the new Roman presence more than others. In north-west Wales, where the military impact of the conquest was greatest, the settlement patterns seem to almost consciously ignore the Roman presence, with little change at all. And in the Western Isles, it also seems that its distinctive regional architecture continued with little or no regard for happenings on the Scottish mainland and southern Britain. In these varying reactions to the Roman presence it is possible to see that the communities of western Britain existed separately from each other and responded to events in regionally distinct ways. There is definitely no over-arching unity along the western seaboard. Instead, it is possible to envisage communities which were aware of happenings elsewhere, and were to an extent tied in with developments further afield, but who subsequently reacted to events in distinctive and local ways.

Controlling the Land

South-west England

The question of how the different settlement types related to each other is important. Traditionally, the focus has been on typological approaches, with settlements ranked according to size in a supposedly hierarchical system. Earlier commentators followed this system rigidly with the larger hillforts and promontory forts typified as the residences of the elite and the smaller enclosures and open settlements comprising the residences of the lower strata of society. This can be seen in the early works on the period (e.g. Fox 1964; Thomas 1966) but it is also still evident in some scholarship today. Cunliffe, for example, suggests that

> 'The most appropriate model would seem to be a simple three-tier structure with the major enclosures representing the residences of the elite while the minor enclosures were the homesteads of their vassals. Below these would have come the unfree living in the unenclosed settlements.' (Cunliffe 2005: 290).

These ideas were based on a wider perception that Iron Age society throughout the British Isles and mainland Europe was broadly similar, being 'a hierarchical society based upon a predominantly agricultural economy' (Rowe 2005: 135). Though regional differences are allowed, the overall belief in this hierarchical 'Celtic' structure to society has impacted on interpretations of settlement patterns right into the twenty-first century. A classic example of this approach saw the cliffcastles and hillforts of West Penwith as representing discrete territories controlled by an elite, with changing territorial boundaries as the elites competed against each other (Herring 1994).

A major development in Iron Age archaeology, which has impacted on this hitherto unquestioned belief in the hierarchical nature of society, is the questioning of the prevailing assumption that hillforts were at the pinnacle of the social system. Hill (1996) has pointed to a lack of evidence for agricultural storage capacity or specialist craft working in Wessex hillforts, such as Danebury, which was suggested to set them apart from other supposedly lower-status settlements like Gussage All Saints. This critique can be applied to the south-west peninsula too. At the major hillfort of Carn Brea, for example, the hut circles and Iron Age pottery would not be out of place on

any later prehistoric site in the region, although the dating of this site has been complicated by the mixing of Neolithic and later assemblages (Mercer 1981). Conversely though, excavations at the promontory fort of Trevelgue, as yet unpublished, are reported to have produced evidence for large scale iron working (Cripps 2007: 146) so, although it is clear that the larger enclosures, the hillforts and cliff castles, do not fulfil a simple role as the residences of the elite in a hierarchical system, their role in the organisational structures of society cannot be easily or simply understood. It is probably better to see these larger sites as fulfilling a range of functions related to the wider organisation of society, possibly as communal gathering places, or sites where certain technologies could be controlled. For example, it is suggested that, in the landscape surrounding Trethurgy round, 'the Later Iron Age would have seen the construction of small enclosures, some housing round communities …which would have looked to Prideaux Rings [multiple-enclosure hillfort] as a central communal place' (Quinnell 2004: 215). The failure of past interpretations has been to see the construction of such large earthworks, and their utilisation in some cases as centres of craft production, as necessitating the existence of an elite. Society, however, need not have been structured within such a simple framework.

If the presence of an elite is not readily apparent in the settlement archaeology of Cornwall, then how did the settlements of the region relate to one another? Cripps (2007) has argued for both social identities and social power being centred primarily on the individual household or small social group. Based on her presumption that rounds and courtyard houses represented distinct communities, she argues for 'a more complex and localised organisation of communities for whom any inequalities operated horizontally within an overarching "heterarchical" social structure (ibid: 153). This is an idea which certainly goes some way to explaining the settlement pattern, and does not, like previous explanations, rely on dubious analogies with the more obviously socially complex regions of south-east England. However, while the overall impression of the settlement pattern is certainly one of relative equality between settlements, Quinnell (2004) has drawn attention to a few sites, like Carvossa and St Mawgan-in-Pyder which, based on their substantial earthworks and relatively rich range of finds, do seem to fall outside this simple settlement pattern. She postulates a late Iron Age with power centred in sites such as these, giving way to a more

egalitarian Roman period when these sites go out of use and there is an increase in the number of rounds. As usual, what is clear is that there is no simple answer. Society is complex and cannot be characterised by reference to simple and overarching social structures, either hierarchical or heterarchical. On the whole, it does seem that the late Iron Age and Roman period in Cornwall were times when hierarchical inequality, as it inevitably arose to some extent from human interactions, was not symbolised overtly in settlement patterns, and that the basic building block of the settlement landscape in that time period, the round, should be seen as a relatively autonomous unit.

The nature of the social structure in Roman Cornwall is something which has continually preoccupied scholars of the period. Nominally part of the *Civitas Dumnoniorum*, with its capital at *Isca*, modern day Exeter, it has never been clear just how exactly the Roman governance of the peninsula was organised. While villas are known in the vicinity of Exeter, and Exeter itself developed into a sizeable settlement on the site of the Roman fortress, the further west one goes the less obvious are the signs of Roman influence. In Cornwall, for many years the only known fort was at Nanstallon, occupied briefly in the first century AD (Fox and Ravenhill 1972), although recently two more forts have been identified through survey and trial excavation, at Restormel and Calstock (Hartgroves and Smith 2008). The fort at Restormel, about five miles from Nanstallon, seems to have been occupied, on the basis of stray finds, from the first to the early fourth centuries AD. There is only one small villa, at Magor, which, with its less than true angles, does not conform to typical patterns of villa construction (O'Neil 1933). Cornwall has traditionally been seen as barely existing within the civil zone of Roman Britain, with Iron Age society surviving largely unscathed into the Roman period (Thomas 1966). Quinnell (2004) has suggested that it may not have been the case that a single unitary authority, based in Exeter, covered the administration of both Cornwall and Devon, and this would account for the vastly differing impacts that the Roman conquest had in the region around Exeter in contrast to those areas further west. What this would imply is that the Roman governing authorities viewed the extreme south-west of Britain as being different. The lack of overt attempts to control the peninsula hint at this too, and suggest that the area had a social system which either posed no direct threat to Roman authority or which the Romans found difficult to incorporate within their approach to colonisation, which usually, as in the south-east of Britain, focused on the

manipulation of existing power structures. This is in keeping with the ideas expressed above; the South-west can be seen as an area without clear elite-level actors, who may have coordinated resistance to Roman rule. This led the Roman military to see the area as less of a threat, which may have prevented its easy incorporation into the structures of Roman colonial rule.

South-west Wales

'The dense concentrations of small enclosures in inland south-west Wales...may thus be the equivalent in some respects of the hillforts, representing the fragmented settlement of a ruling elite, although still acting to some extent as central places. Sibling rivalry combined with the Celtic system of partable inheritance may also have played a role in these developments.' (Williams and Mytum 1998: 144)

Older interpretations of social organisation in Wales were influenced, like other areas, by the dominant narrative of a hierarchical Celtic social structure with an elite based in the hillforts and larger enclosures (e.g. Grimes 1959; Laing 1975); and in the quote above we can see that, even in more recent research, the settlement pattern of south-west Wales has been placed within this interpretive framework. However, given that south-west Wales is essentially a region of morphologically varied, but in essence similar, small enclosures, it seems difficult to support this argument. There does seem to be a contrast between the lower lying south-west of the region, where concentrations of smaller enclosures are particularly dense, and the upland north and east where they are fewer and often larger in size (Figure 25). It has been suggested, in combination with the presence of some large promontory forts on the coast, that 'in upland and coastal areas the maintenance of larger populations and the production of surpluses may have allowed the evolution of more sophisticated social structures' (Williams and Mytum 1998: 5). However, this is an interpretation which equates social ranking with settlement size, and seems to be based on preconceived expectations of social hierarchy. This approach has been discredited in other regions, such as Wessex, where views of hillforts as the residences of the elite have been critiqued (Hill 1995; 1996). Rather, it is probably best to see south-west Wales as simply being a region where small enclosures, raths, were the normal settlement unit, with occasional larger promontory forts and hillforts. There is little evidence for social hierarchy in settlement morphology, and the differences between lowland and upland
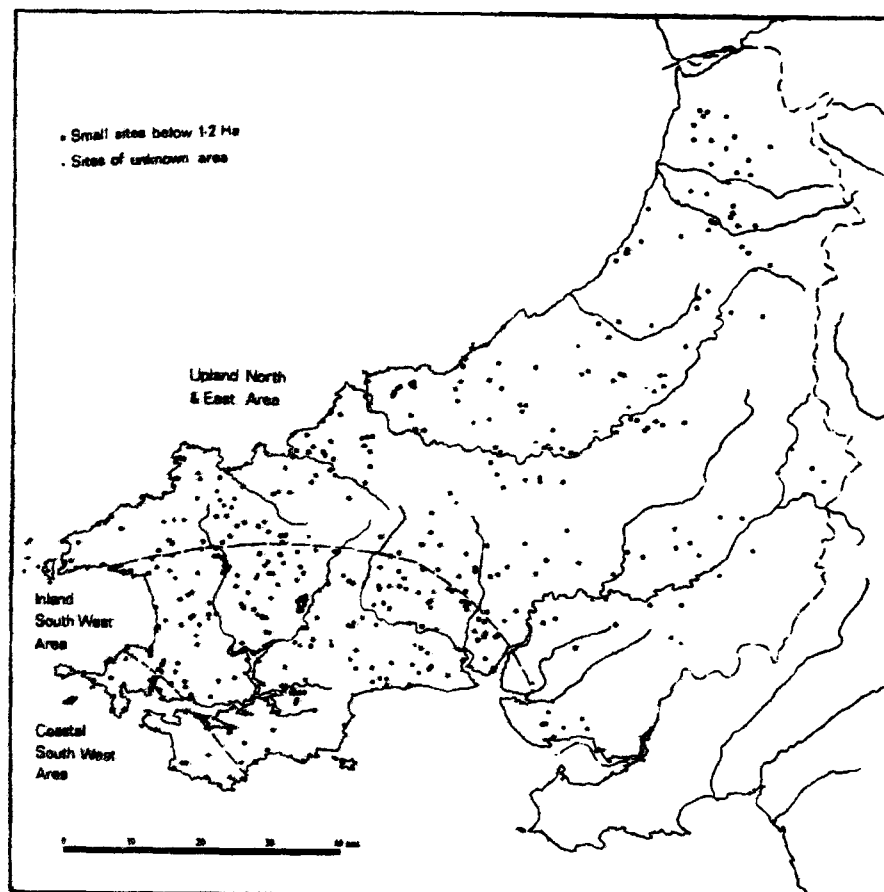
Figure 25 Settlement zones in south-west Wales (from Williams 1988: 31)

areas were probably related to the agricultural potential of the land, with settlements concentrated on the better soils of the low-lying areas.

The Roman period saw little change in overall settlement patterns. Raths continued to be the primary settlement type, although, as outlined above, there is little evidence for their construction after the Roman conquest. However, this may be related to the problem of differentiating between Iron Age and Roman-period occupation, as pottery is generally used as the primary determining factor and many sites in the region were aceramic. The main development of the Roman period was the construction of the *civitas* capital at Carmarthen, on the site of a Roman fort. Although small for a *civitas* capital, at 13.2 hectares, it clearly would have been a dominating presence in the east of the region. What is unusual, then, is that it did not inspire the development of a 'romanised' hinterland. Other than a couple of small villa-type sites in its immediate vicinity, at Trelissey and Cwmbrwyn, there really is very little evidence for a wider impact on the landscape and its organisation; and even these two sites were situated in Iron Age rath enclosures. Although Carmarthen possessed all the hallmarks of a *civitas* capital, with its planned layout, baths and amphitheatre, they have been described as

'provincial in style, homespun in appearance, and relatively late in date...[with a] slow, even intermittent, development of town life' (James 2003: 21). It would seem that the local influence on Roman town planning was as great, if not more so, than any influence the Romans may have had on the settlement patterns of the local population.

North-west Wales

North-west Wales can be characterised as an area inhabited by communities dwelling in a variety of small farmsteads (Figure 26), with a mixed farming economy based on stock rearing and arable farming. They would have inhabited a predominantly open landscape, with terraced fields and enclosures surrounding many of the settlements. The archaeological visibility of these remains has led to the area being labelled as a distinctive regional settlement system. However, it is a matter for debate whether this is just a question of archaeological survival, with similar settlement systems existing elsewhere in Wales and Britain simply not having the same visibility as the drystone settlements of north-west Wales. Whether there was any hierarchical element incorporated into the settlement system is also open to question. It has been suggested,
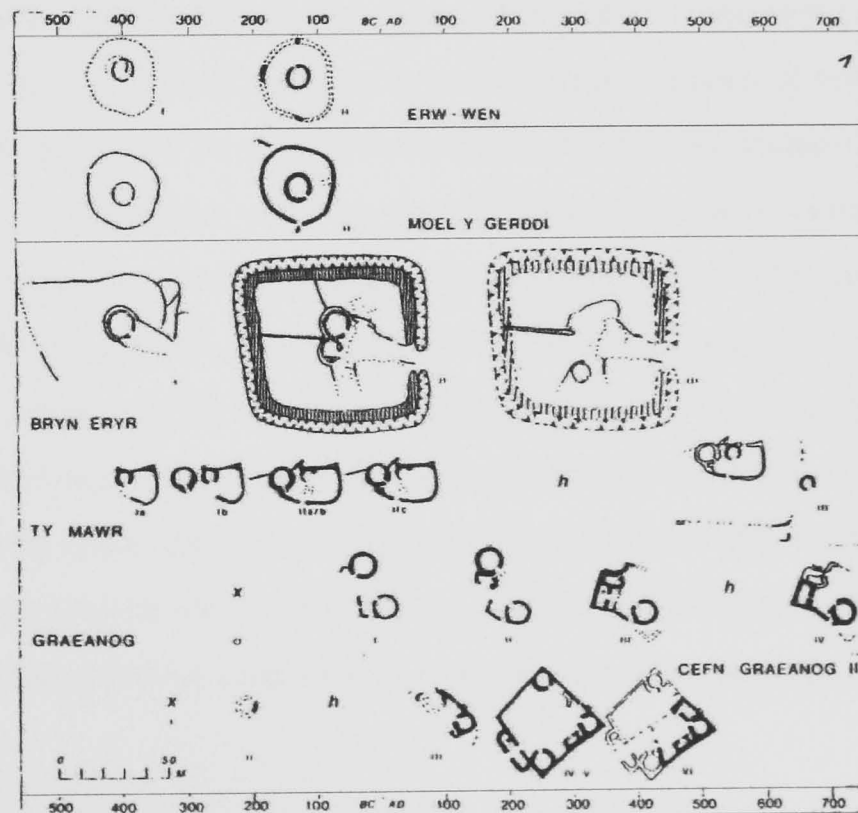
Figure 26 Hut groups of north-west Wales (from Kelly 1990: 108)

99

for example, that sites such as Bryn Eryr, with its rectangular ditched enclosure and relatively rich artefact assemblage, occupied the middle rungs of a hierarchy based on size and status (Longley 1998a: 271). In this postulated hierarchical settlement system, the large hillfort settlements, unusual for western Britain, may have formed the upper stratum of society, with Tre'r Ceiri and Garn Boduan being examples of this type of site (Hogg 1960). However, given recent reinterpretations of hillforts in other parts of Britain (e.g. Hill 1996) it is not at all clear that such a hierarchical system existed in this region. At the Breiddin hillfort in north Wales, for example, even though it had evidence for roundhouses and four-posters in its interior, a re-evaluation of the environmental evidence points to land utilisation centred on the grazing of livestock, and only intermittent human activity on the site (Buckland *et al.* 2001). Given the multitude of different site types extant in north-west Wales, it may not be expedient to attempt to infer societal organisation from such a confusing array of morphological variations. Indeed, Longley's suggestion that Bryn Eryr is part of such a settlement system is based on the explicitly stated assumption that the region was part of an hierarchical and inegalitarian Celtic social system (Longley 1998a: 270). On the Graeanog ridge, too, the sequence of enclosure construction has been interpreted as indicating population expansion within a Celtic system of partible inheritance (Arnold and Davies 2000: 69). Given recent re-interpretations of the existence of such a 'Celtic' society in western Britain (e.g. James 1999), there is, however, a danger that the data are being forced to fit into a preconceived understanding of how society was organised. Little can really be said for definite about the social systems prevalent in the region at the time. The variety of site types may have been related to function more than social stratification. Isolated and unenclosed huts, for example, are generally positioned on higher ground, presumably having been involved more with pastoral farming. The existence of the rectilinear enclosures, such as Din Lligwy and Bryn Eryr, does appear to be a distinctive phenomenon though, and some of these sites do have considerably richer artefact assemblages. So, while a definite hierarchical social system cannot be proven, there were certainly differences between settlements, and, as might be expected, a certain level of social inequality can be envisaged.

Western Isles

The overriding impression given by the brochs and wheelhouses of the Western Isles is of a landscape dominated by individual homesteads. Though there is evidence for outbuildings at some sites, such as Dun Vulan and Dun Bharabhat, they are generally later than the primary roundhouse and are not present on all sites. The nucleation of settlement seen at some broch sites in Orkney is not evident in the Western Isles, although, given the wealth of settlement on the machair plains, it should not be surprising if some grouping of sites were to occur, and indeed could be expected. The close proximity of the Cnip wheelhouse and Beirgh broch on Lewis, together with evidence for an industrial area of activity at Cnip 2/3 (Armit and Dunwell 1992) suggest that this indeed is the case. At Kildonan (Cil Donnain) in South Uist there were many stone buildings and field walls in the surrounding landscape and, though undated, it was felt that the excavated wheelhouse may have been just one building in a larger group, probably part of an Iron Age hamlet (Zvelebil 1991; Parker Pearson pers. comm.). Sheffield University's surveys of the machair on South Uist revealed a level of clustering of sites in some areas, and, in the vicinity of Dun Vulan broch, twenty-one sites dating broadly to the Iron Age were located (Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999). This would seem to suggest that the brochs and wheelhouses were part of a landscape which was densely occupied, but that the level of nucleation of settlement did not reach that seen in other areas of Scotland or southern Britain.

The question of how the brochs and wheelhouses related to each other is obviously crucial to an understanding of the organisation of the wider landscape. Hingley has suggested that an overtly hierarchical basis to the settlement pattern is unlikely, and that the overall impression is of a society where 'substantial houses' projected various and overlapping concerns, including: the status of a particular household; the symbolism of the social isolation of that group; and an opposition between interior cultural space and the outside world (Hingley 1995). However, he does not exclude the possibility of hierarchical relations at a local level and, indeed, excavations at Dun Vulan have provided a glimpse of how these may have manifested themselves. There, the excavators suggested that the high proportion of pig bones reflected the high status of the site, particularly given its location in an environment unsuitable for pig keeping (Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999: 274); and this emphasis on front leg joints of pig

at Dun Vulan ties it in with wider British expressions of status in the Iron Age (Parker Pearson 1999). Ian Armit, however, disputes the level of hierarchy in the Iron Age of the Western Isles, preferring to see the area as being essentially egalitarian with the brochs as the farmhouses of the time (Armit 1996). But, even in a society that was generally egalitarian, it is likely that some level of social differentiation would occur. Though the brochs and wheelhouses, on the basis of their material culture and environmental evidence, were clearly the centres of self-sufficient and autonomous farming communities, this does not have to preclude all forms of social complexity and it is possible to see this in the differing attitudes to meat consumption.

A tenet of the argument for an egalitarian society in the Isles is the assumption that brochs and wheelhouses were largely chronologically exclusive (Armit 2005). However, as argued above, this is not necessarily the case, and there is a substantial body of evidence to indicate that they were contemporary features of the Iron Age landscape. Taking the evidence for pig consumption at Dun Vulan as suggestive of differences between brochs and wheelhouses, there would appear to be two main scenarios: if the wheelhouses were successive to brochs in time then this difference would be chronological in nature, but if they were contemporary features of the Iron Age landscape then an explanation based on differing utilisation of food resources would be more appropriate, and would imply some level of social differentiation. If the former is correct then it would necessitate an explanation of social organisation where one settlement type, radically different in construction, replaced another; with different parts of the landscape utilised and different approaches to food consumption adopted. This would have to be seen as a radical disjuncture from previous times. I would suggest, in keeping with the concept of 'wholeness' (Hodder 1982), that it is far more likely that brochs and wheelhouses were contemporary settlement types in the Iron Age landscape. They were contrasting expressions of an Iron Age society's conceptions of the importance of monumental display and the utilisation of specific architectural symbols. The exclusive distributions of brochs and wheelhouses, with the wheelhouses concentrated on the machair and the brochs on marginal land (Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999:10), reinforces this idea, providing evidence for the utilisation of all parts of the landscape. So, while the idea of a broadly egalitarian society is probably correct, with brochs and wheelhouses being the relatively

autonomous settlements of individual households, it is not necessary to disregard all evidence for social differentiation.

Conclusion: landscape organisation

Traditional views of western Britain have seen society as hierarchical and unequal in nature. This is primarily based on historical 'Celtic' views of late prehistoric society, with an elite based in hillforts and larger enclosures, ruling over their clients living in the smaller enclosures and unenclosed settlements (e.g. Cunliffe 2005). However, this view of society has come to be questioned, with the place of hillforts as the pinnacle of the settlement system particularly so (e.g. Hill 1995; 1996), and in western Britain, too, more emphasis has recently been placed on the seemingly autonomous nature of the individual settlements (e.g. Armit 1990; Cripps 2007). The Roman conquest has been seen, contrastingly, as either an all-encompassing temporal shift (Jones 1997), or else as something that went largely ignored in the west. These views, of both late Iron Age and Roman period society, are totalising in nature, seeking to incorporate western Britain into narratives of society which are primarily based on the settlement record of the south-east of Britain, where there is greater evidence for social hierarchy and subsequent Roman domination. Western Britain is seen as either following patterns which exist elsewhere, or as a cultural backwater which remained relatively unaffected by these developments.

The evidence from the four study regions does not indicate the existence of any overarching social hierarchy in the late Iron Age. The larger hillforts which characterise the Iron Age elsewhere are generally lacking, and instead the landscape is dominated by smaller enclosures. These form the basic settlement unit, although their form varies considerably regionally. It would seem that society was largely organised around the idea of the individual, self-sufficient and relatively autonomous settlement unit, in the form of the round in south-west England, the rath in south-west Wales, the stone-built hut-group in north-west Wales, and the broch and wheelhouse in the Western Isles. Indeed, this idea of the projection of the autonomy of the individual family unit can be seen as exemplified in the monumental stone roundhouses of the Western Isles. There is some evidence for the existence of differences between

103

settlement types; rectangular enclosures for example, seem to form a distinctive element of the settlement system in north-west Wales, and in the Western Isles the brochs and wheelhouses seem to be complementary elements of the same social system, occupying different environmental niches in the landscape. The courtyard houses of the far west of Cornwall would seem, on the other hand, to be a distinct localised development; they do not appear to be related to the rounds but exist separately in geographical isolation. But, while there are differences in settlement form and location which may relate to the status of the site's occupants, there does not seem to be any clear hierarchical system operating across all levels of society. In the Roman period this does not change. While there are a few villa-type structures built in south-west Wales and Cornwall, they are very rare and do not represent the adoption of a villa-centred form of landscape organisation as seen in parts of south-east Britain.

It is clear that the settlement systems of the four regions indicate that the individual farmstead was the key element in the social structure, with little evidence for any entrenched forms of social differentiation at this level. In the adoption of regionally distinctive settlement forms, it is possible to see an awareness of a shared way of life at a local level, but this does not necessarily imply any forms of social organisation at this wider level. As suggested for south-west England (Cripps 2007), it may be more pertinent to see any differences operating laterally rather than vertically: implying a heterarchically, as opposed to hierarchically, organised society. However, it is, as usual, simplistic to attempt to categorise things in any absolute way. There do seem to be differences in the distribution of settlement forms, and it is probable that some form of social inequality would result from differential access to resources. What is clear, though, is that landscape (and by inference, societal) organisation was not obviously hierarchical in the late Iron Age, and that the Roman conquest did not introduce any obvious elements of social differentiation either. The landscape throughout this time period seems to have been dominated by the individual farmstead, probably representing a relatively small family grouping. In this sense, the four study regions do show similarity, but it is also clear that this is primarily a result of their being outside developments in the south-east, rather than showing any internal coherency as a western region. Indeed, the differences between the four regions with diverse settlement types occupying specific environmental niches, and regional morphological variations, indicates a complex society where subtle differences certainly operated.

albeit within a broadly egalitarian framework. Again, it is only at a very broad level that the west of Britain can maintain any semblance of social coherency; at a regional level there are obvious differences which were probably of more relevance to the region's inhabitants than any broad similarities with other areas of the western seaboard.

Chapter Four: Living on the Land

Feeding the Body

South-west England

Traditional views of south-west Britain saw the economy of the region as being predominantly pastoral. The wide-spaced ramparts characteristic of the region were seen as '[providing] a defended dwelling place for a chieftain and his kin in the innermost enclosure, with accommodation for stock in the outer enclosures, secure against cattle raiders' (Fox 1964: 142). Cunliffe also felt that 'the elite...[were] more concerned with wealth in the form of livestock', but with the vassals in the smaller enclosures tilling the land and providing grain in tribute (Cunliffe 2005: 290). The lack of four-posters and storage pits in the South-west reinforced this idea of a primarily pastoral economy, with little evidence for the agrarian Little Woodbury style economy that was supposedly characteristic of Wessex. However, while it is true that storage pits and four-posters are not found in any great numbers in the South-west, with Trethurgy being the only round with evidence for four-posters, the evidence for a mixed farming economy is becoming more evident with the advent of sieving programmes in more modern excavations. So, for example, excavations at Reawla (Appleton-Fox 1992) have produced evidence, in the form of plant macrofossils, for emmer, spelt, oats and barley; and at Tremough, a site with features from the late Iron Age and Roman period, the same range of cereals was found, together with legumes in the form of the Celtic bean (Gossip and Jones 2007). It is becoming clear that, alongside evidence for stock rearing in the form of items like spindle whorls and leather working implements, as found at Trethurgy, there is ample evidence that cereal cultivation was common in late Iron Age and Roman Cornwall, and that mixed farming was the basis of the economy.

The cereals that were grown were ground in both saddle querns and rotary querns. Rotary querns were probably introduced about 200 BC, in keeping with their introduction across the rest of southern Britain, but what is unusual about Cornwall is

that their appearance did not imply an abandonment of the saddle quern, and these continued in use throughout the Roman period (Quinnell 2004: 151). It is tempting to link this continued use of saddle querns with the appearance of stone mortars in the Roman period, with the tradition of grinding foodstuffs by hand continuing in a new form. In fact, it has been suggested that there may have been a Roman period Cornish stone-working tradition which centred on the production of Cornish stone mortars and so-called Trethurgy bowls (Figure 27), a larger version of the stone mortars with skeumorph handles (Quinnell 1993). The Cornish stone mortars copy Roman pottery mortaria which were introduced into Cornwall by the Roman army and are found on sites of the first and early second centuries AD (Quinnell 2004:138). After this, pottery mortaria are rare in Cornwall, and stone mortars become more common. This pattern is seen in the absence of stone mortars from the earlier site of St. Mawgan-in-Pyder, and the presence of both pottery mortaria and stone mortars from Carvossa, which spanned the first to third centuries AD. Almost all the examples of these distinctively Cornish stone artefacts were made from elvan (a local name for quartz-porphyry or felsite) and greisens (an altered granitic rock), both being distinctive local rock types which are largely restricted to Cornwall (Quinnell 1993: 31). While it is to be expected that local items will naturally be made of local raw materials it is notable that in this particular time period, elvan and greisen were virtually exclusively used for the production of this group of artefacts, and these are largely restricted in distribution to west Cornwall. Specifically in relation to greisen, which is not as widely available as elvan, it is possible that its distinctive look and feel is what may have made it attractive to those that shaped and used it. Quinnell suggests that 'the silver-grey greisen of the best sources may have been highly valued for its similarity to metal, the prestige of control of its source(s) considerable' (ibid: 40).

If the preparation of food can be seen to be tied into a wider perception of one's place in the world, then its consumption certainly can too (as Cool's [2006] work on eating and drinking in Roman Britain has ably demonstrated). In late Iron Age and Roman Britain it is clear, from the presence of imported pottery, that people were coming into contact with a wide range of foodstuffs and different ways of presenting them. In Cornwall, although imported wares are not as common as in areas further east, finds of pottery from a wide range of Continental and Mediterranean sources are certainly not uncommon, but their uses may not have been those intended by their makers. The long
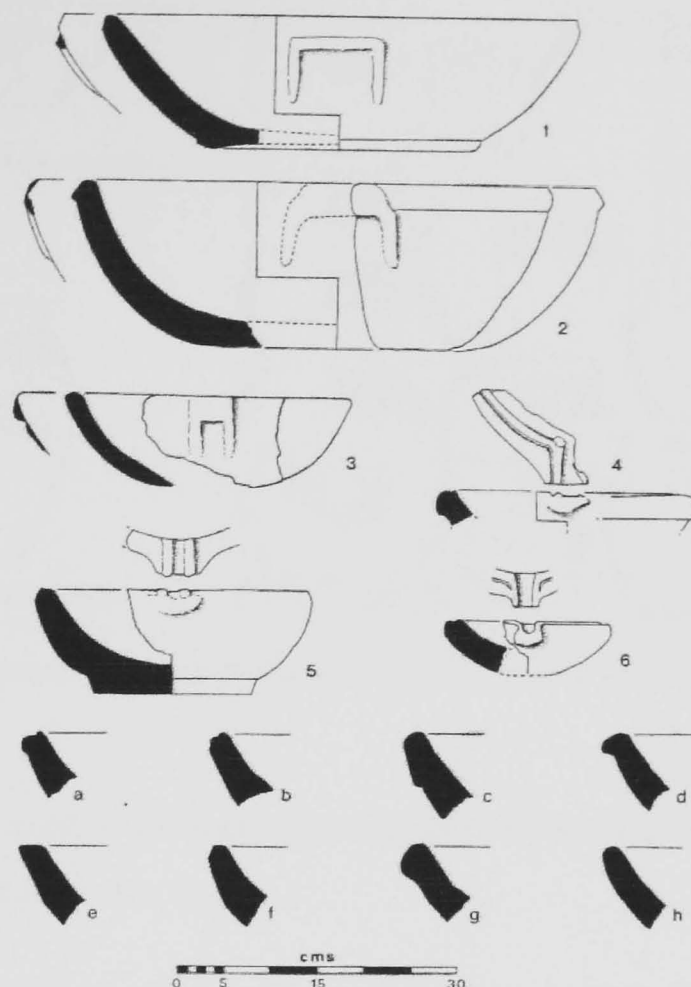
Fig 2 Nos 1 and 2 Elvan Trethurgy Bowl, Trethurgy; No 3 Greisen Trethurgy Bowl Calartha, St Just; No 4 Elvan Cornish Mortar, Exeter; No 5 Elvan Cornish Mortar, Trethurgy; No 6 Elvan Cornish Mortar, Trevisker. Cornish Mortar rim forms: a) bead-rim; b) grooved; c) collared; d) out-turned; e) flat-topped; f) chamfered; g) bulbous; h) rounded

Figure 27 Trethurgy bowls (from Quinnell 1993: 32)

survival rate of Samian ware has been noted at a number of sites in Britain and it seems that Samian was preserved and used for up to a couple of centuries after its manufacture (Shopland 2005). Similarly, at Trethurgy Lezoux colour-coated ware is deposited in contexts dating up to two hundred and fifty years after its manufacture. This different utilisation of imported wares may, in part, be explained by their superior quality, but it must also be borne in mind that the physical separation of these objects, for whatever reason, will create in the mind of the user an idea of separation between the local and non-local.

In the late Iron Age and Roman period, however, the dominant pottery fabric on nearly all Cornish sites is that made from the gabbroic clays of the Lizard peninsula. Peacock (1969) has shown that this was the case in the Iron Age when a particular variant of South-west Decorated Ware (Figure 28), with a distribution confined to south-west England, was made from this particular clay source. In the Roman period this dominance of pottery made from clay from the Lizard continues, with it being usual

108
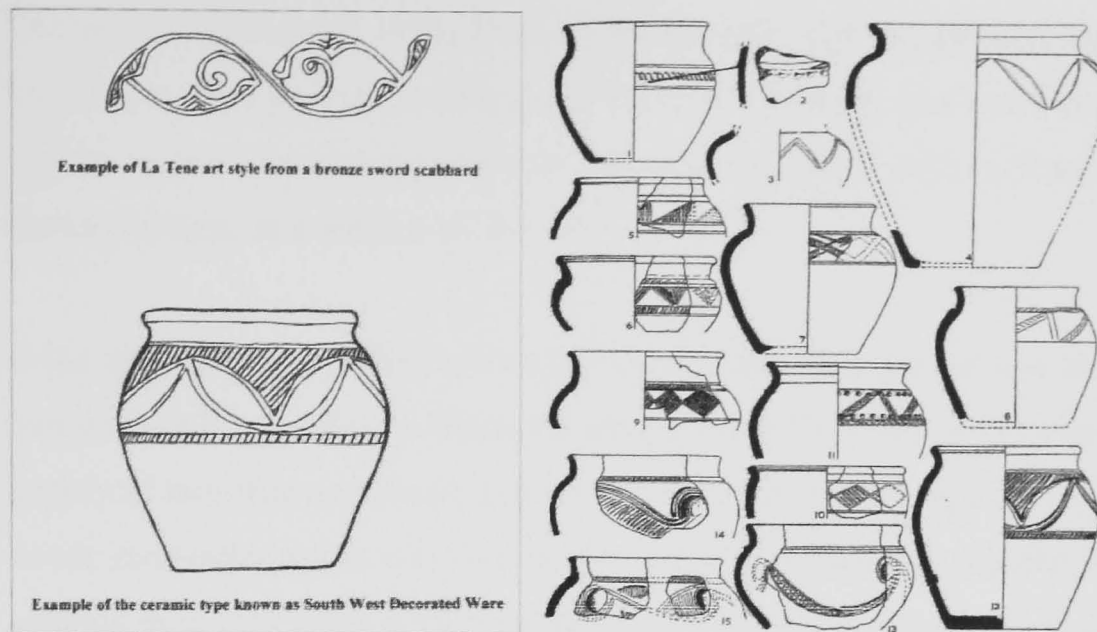
Figure 28 South-west decorated ware (from Rowe 2005: 122; Peacock 1965: 45)

for around ninety percent of the assemblages from Cornish sites to be made from it (Quinnell 2004). Quinnell says that

> 'the gabbroic pottery of any particular period is visually and tactually so similar that it appears a single fabric. It may be presumed that, whatever the source(s) of the pottery, the clays were selected to produce pottery which looked and handled in a similar way' (ibid: 108).

D.F. Williams describes gabbroic wares, saying that 'the consistent feature of the fabric is the high content of small white feldspar fragments which protrude through the surfaces' (quoted in Quinnell 2004: 108). It is evident, then, that excavators' usual categorisation of pottery on the basis of form, fabric, decoration and origin may not reflect the ways that contemporary users of these pots actually saw and understood them. They may have been chosen for other characteristics, such as colour or texture, suggesting that a more holistic understanding of pottery is called for, one that doesn't take the finished product as the sole basis for comparison. Rather it is necessary to consider how an object was made and used and how the choices that went into its manufacture, including the selection of clay and temper, were part of a social system in which expressions of identity may have played a part (see papers in Lemonnier [1993] for a consideration of the importance of technological processes in the manufacture of material culture). In this sense it is interesting to speculate on the importance attached to the gabbroic fabric by those who used it, especially considering its limited distribution in the late Iron Age and Roman period. Although the earlier south-west decorated wares had a wider distribution throughout the south-western peninsula

109

(Holbrook and Bidwell 1991: 183), by the late Iron Age the gabbroic fabric seems to have had a largely west Cornish distribution. Is it possible that users of gabbroic pottery in this area were consciously choosing this fabric, with its visual and tactile distinctiveness, as a marker of identity?

Other differences in pottery use may also be noted, although for now the reasons must remain largely speculative. Black-burnished wares from Dorset have been noted to be largely of late third and fourth century AD variants at Trethurgy, with conical flanged bowls and cooking pots with obtuse lattice dominant, and flat-rimmed bowls and cooking pots with acute or right-angled lattice of the late second and early third centuries AD notably absent (Quinnell 2004: 105). The excavator felt that this pattern, which is replicated in Cornwall as a whole (Quinnell 1986: 128), may simply be due to the fact that more pottery survives from later contexts at Trethurgy as well as other Cornish sites. However, I feel that it is worth pointing out that this absence of second century flat-rimmed bowls of black burnished ware occurs at the time immediately after a suggested change from communal to individual eating habits. 'The adoption of bowls with external grooves and cordons in the late 1st century indicates new habits of eating requiring individual serving vessels' (Quinnell 2004: 121-2), and this was followed in the second century by Quinnell's Type 20 at Trethurgy, bowls and dishes in local fabric with flat rims, which eventually resulted in the distinctive 'Cornish flanged bowl' of the third century. It is suggested that the flat rims were more practical than the preceding bowls with external cordons, as the rim would provide a surface on which to place inedibles like gristle (ibid).

This apparent move to individual eating habits is replicated throughout Britain, with similar bowls and dishes appearing in black-burnished wares across a similar time period (Holbrook and Bidwell 1991). It is generally assumed that these changes are a result of exposure to new customs and traditions of eating associated with Rome. However, this should be seen in the context of a more general trend towards the constitution of the idea of the individual in southern Britain in the first century AD, which has been discussed in relation to the use of toilet instruments (Hill 1997) and brooches (Jundi and Hill 1998). It is something which has also been examined in the context of the Roman Empire as a whole, where it has been suggested that an emerging idea of the self, based on practices of caring for the self, led to the constitution of the

individual as an object of study, and created him/her in the same process (c.f. Foucault 1990). Is it possible that this growing awareness of the idea of the individual is relevant to the eating habits of the people of Cornwall two thousand years ago; that they were part of a wider movement in which clothing, eating and personal habits were changing as a nascent awareness of the individual was emerging from a previously more communally oriented society?

It can be seen that, at a time when it is possible that people in southern Britain were becoming more aware of Roman ideas of the individual, people in Cornwall were adopting eating habits which, for the first time, required individual eating vessels. But, although similar vessels were being made in regional pottery traditions, indicating that this process was not confined to Cornwall alone, it was in locally produced wares that the people of Trethurgy and Cornwall chose to display their new-found awareness of their individuality. Is it possible that, as foreign wares may have been tied up in expressions of difference through curation and longevity of use, that local wares too were part of a regional expression of identity within a wider development of ideas of individuality throughout southern Britain and the wider empire?

Pottery can be seen to express difference through the different uses of local, regional, and foreign wares, as well as the development of different forms and decoration. These all contribute to a changing concept of society. However, it is questionable whether these developments should be seen simply as a reflection of social changes. Rather than see the change to individual eating habits as being firstly in the minds of the inhabitants of the round and secondly displayed in their new choice of wares, it could also be said that this happened in the reverse order, that, as new forms of material culture became known to people through their contact with the Roman world, people were made aware of themselves in a different way through their use of this new and alien material. It is possible that it was through their use of new pottery forms and toilet instruments, and the expressions of identity manifest in the wearing of brooches, that people's ideas were affected by the material culture they used. In this sense, it is suggested that material culture is not a passive reflection of ideas, but is an active participant in the creation of individuals. This idea of the active nature of material culture has become accepted in recent years (e.g. Hodder 1982), and has begun to be

111

applied in the context of Roman archaeology in Britain. Grahame (1998), drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1977), suggests that

> 'if individuals are brought up in differing social and physical environments, their vision of the world will also differ. Identity becomes implicated because different visions of the world form the basis for the construction of gender, class, ethnic and other social differences. If the material world is so integral to the constitution of identity then a change to the material world must imply a change to the social practices through which identities are created' (Grahame 1998: 4).

South-west Wales

South-west Wales has traditionally been associated with pastoral farming, with the earthworks of the multiple enclosure forts and banjo enclosures related to the control and movement of livestock. Some commentators have seen a divide between the low-lying south-western part of the region, with its multitude of smaller enclosures, and the upland north and east, where enclosures were generally larger (Williams 1988; 1990). In this scenario the economic emphasis in the uplands would have been on pastoral farming. Indeed, it is now accepted that cereals were being grown in the south-west (Arnold and Davies 2000), with evidence for arable farming also including some field systems, as at Stackpole Warren (Benson *et al.* 1990) and St David's Head (Murphy 2001), and the four-posters which have been found on all recent rath excavations. However, there are clues that, in the Iron Age at least, there may have been a pastoral emphasis to the economy, and the site of Pen-y-Coed (Murphy 1985) provides a reminder that four-posters need not have been used solely for grain storage; there, a rath with roundhouse and four-poster was excavated but, despite waterlogged conditions and plentiful environmental evidence, there was a distinct lack of arable indicators. At Llawhaden, too, it was felt that the economy was basically pastoral, but with an increase in arable production in the Roman period, with spelt wheat and possibly hulled barley being the most important crops. This was based on the general lack of querns, with only two being found from all the excavated sites, combined with an increase in cereal production at Dan-y-Coed in the second century AD. It is possible that the Roman presence had a stimulating effect on the arable economy of the region (Williams and Mytum 1998: 146). This increase in the number of querns in the Roman period has been noted as characteristic of the region (Williams 1988); at Castell Henllys querns were only present in the Romano-British period, and at Coygan Camp

112

querns came principally from the Romano-British phases (ibid: 45). Overall, it can be suggested that arable and pastoral farming may have varied regionally in terms of their contribution to the economy, but with a general increase in the practice of arable farming in the Romano-British period.

South-west Wales in the Iron Age was largely aceramic. At Castell Henllys a few sherds of stamp-decorated ware can be paralleled with pottery from south-west England (Mytum 1999: 172; Henderson 2007: 243), and at Walesland Rath there are about twenty sherds of Iron Age jars and bowls (Wainwright 1971: 84). These finds indicate that pottery was not unknown in the area, and so its absence cannot simply be seen as a question of geographic isolation from pottery producing areas. In the Roman period pottery usage becomes more widespread, which would seem to be related to the development of the town of Carmarthen and an awareness of Roman eating habits, but, in fact, this does not seem to be the case. At Llawhaden the excavators have shown there were substantial differences between the assemblage there and the pottery available at Carmarthen. The majority of the pottery was Black Burnished ware, with Severn valley ware and Malvernian wares also common; there was very little samian. They have suggested that this indicates that pottery was sourced mainly from the English side of the Severn Estuary and probably imported through sea routes, with the Roman fort and town at Carmarthen having little impact on the local usage of pottery (Williams and Mytum 1998: 146). Throughout south-west Wales this pattern is replicated. Though pottery usage was generally on the increase in the Roman period, it is primarily the British regional wares that were in demand. Samian is rare, and on those few sites where it is found in any numbers its use seems to have been atypical. At Coygan Camp, for example, there was a samian assemblage of the second century AD, far bigger than the coarse pottery assemblage. There was a high proportion of decorated bowls, in particular Dr. 37, a form which has been suggested to have served as a communal drinking bowl in north-west Wales (Longley et al 1998b). The usage of samian at this site was certainly atypical, and may have had its roots in local communal drinking traditions, or a predilection for the display of new and exotic goods. At Walesland Rath an unusual pattern of consumption is similarly evident, with the identifiable samian sherds again being predominantly of one form, in this case Dr. 31 (Wainwright 1971: 84-6).

North-west Wales

Food production strategies in the north-west of Wales, from a material culture perspective, are difficult to evaluate. Four-poster structures are lacking, with only a few examples being suggested at Ty Mawr and Bryn Eryr, and there is also a virtual absence of storage pits, with only small examples being present, as for example at Llwyn-du-bach (Bersu and Griffiths 1949). Although storage facilities are, therefore, not evident in the archaeological record, it is clear from the presence of terraced field systems surrounding many of the stone-built settlements of the north-west that arable farming was practiced. This is backed up by charred cereal remains from Cefn Graeanog II which indicates that the site was a producer of grain (Mason and Fasham 1998: 48). Also, quern stones and mortars are a frequent find throughout the region, indicating the on-site processing of grain. There does appear to be a trend towards the use of rotary querns in the Roman period. Only saddle quern were present at the Iron Age sites of Erw Wen and Moel y Gerddi, while rotary querns increasingly became more common in the Roman period, being present at Ty Mawr, Graeanog and Cefn Graeanog. However, it is likely that saddle querns and mortars also continued in use into the Roman period. Because of the acid soil conditions of western Wales, direct evidence for pastoral farming in the form of animal bone assemblages is generally lacking, but there is indirect evidence for the presence of animals, including the occurrence of spindle whorls. It seems that the people of north-west Wales practiced mixed farming, with the emphasis between the arable and pastoral components varying depending on site location (Kelly 1990: 106). Only at one site, Ty Mawr, on the coast of Anglesey is there any evidence for utilisation of marine resources. There, an extensive shell midden indicated that collection of shoreline sea molluscs was a part of the diet, but the calorific value of these suggests that they formed a relatively minor part of the overall diet of the site's inhabitants, probably supplementing a diet that was centred on land-based resources (Smith 1987).

The consumption of food, however, is an aspect where north-west Wales seems to follow a particular regional trajectory. The lack of pottery implies that the use of non-ceramic containers for the storage and consumption of foodstuffs was the norm; however, given the presence of VCP and a small amount of Iron Age pottery, this may have been a question of choice in the Iron Age, a conscious decision to indicate

difference from other areas, rather than a local tradition which evolved largely because of geographical isolation. The occurrence of two dozen late Iron Age sherds from Bush Farm comparable to material from the Breiddin hillfort (Longley *et al.* 1998b: 204-6) reinforces the view that pottery was not an entirely unknown quantity in north-west Wales, and explanations for its absence have to be understood in the context of such presences and absences being part of conscious social decisions on the part of people seeking to express their social identities in their day-to-day lives, rather than simply being a question of geography and supply.

In the Roman period there was an uptake in the use of pottery, presumably because of the presence of the nearby Roman fort at Segontium. However, this was not universal, with Ty Mawr in the far west of Anglesey remaining aceramic in the Roman period. It may be that proximity to Segontium had an influence on the uptake of pottery, but it is not that simple; cultural considerations will have obviously influenced the utilisation of pottery in the region. At Cefn Graeanog II, for example, the earliest ceramics in use were Flavian finewares, specifically south Gaulish Samian; the sherds were mainly small and abraded but there were at least two platters in the assemblage. Considering that these date to a time when it is presumed that storage and cooking vessels on the site were made of wood, metal and leather, it is interesting to note that display seems to have been a consideration in the choice of ceramics. Given that there is also evidence for careful curation of pottery at this site, in the form of riveted sherds, it is clear that the pottery was valued by the site's inhabitants (Mason and Fasham 1998: 31). It was only in the third century AD that cooking pots became more common (ibid: 32). It seems that the underlying modes of food preparation and storage were slower to change, with pottery initially being a highly visible symbol for use in the consumption of food. At Bryn Eryr too, south Gaulish samian accounted for a higher percentage of the early assemblage, at 19%, than would be expected (Longley *et al.* 1998b: 207). At this site there was a preponderance of the Samian form 37, probably a communal drinking bowl (Longley 1998: 246), indicating a possible predilection for the use of this new material in a traditional fashion. The presence of mortaria at sites such as Bush Farm, Bryn Eryr and Graeanog all seem to have been a late development, despite their availability at Segontium. At Bush Farm and Bryn Eryr, Mancetter-Hartshill mortaria of the third to early fourth centuries AD were present, while at Graeanog the mortaria sherds were most likely of the second century or later (Kelly 1998: 142). It

would again seem that modes of production and preparation of food were slower to change than consumption. In the initial period after the Roman conquest, pottery - where it was used - was an exotic novelty to be used for display, while the underlying modes of preparation and storage continued in traditional fashion.

Western Isles

Wild and domestic resources

The economy of the people who inhabited the brochs and wheelhouses of the Western Isles was predominantly one of mixed farming. Barley was the crop of choice, and sheep were raised along with cattle and pigs. However, there were a few distinctive aspects of the economy of the Western Isles which seem to set it apart from the rest of Britain. Recent work from stable isotope analysis has shown that marine resources were little utilised in the rest of southern Britain, even where the sites sampled were situated directly on the coast (Jay 2008; Jay and Richards 2007). In the Outer Hebrides, however, it is clear from the huge midden deposits of winkles, cockles and limpets that marine resources were a larger part of the diet of the people of the area, even if just as a buffer against famine when crops failed (Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999: 21). This utilisation of wild resources, in contrast to the rest of mainland Britain, is further evidenced in the contribution of red deer to diet there. It is clear that deer played a special role in the Western Isles, with representational motifs found on pottery from Kilpheder (Cille Pheadair) wheelhouse in South Uist (Lethbridge 1952), and a deer jaw bone hearth at A'Cheardach Beag (Fairhurst 1971). Red deer bones are found in all assemblages from the Western Isles although there are clear differences between assemblages, and it may be that there were cultural considerations at play in the utilisation of red deer (Mulville and Thoms 2005). When it is considered that there is little variation in the use of domestic species in the Western Isles, with the ranges of sheep, cattle and pig generally falling within the expected ranges for Britain as a whole (ibid), it is clear that it is in the utilisation of wild resources that the Western Isles are set apart from other areas of Britain.

The material culture of the Atlantic province has generally been seen as utilitarian and rather restricted in composition (Henderson 2007: 198). However, as Clarke (1971) pointed out this is generally because attention has focused on the 'exotic' items, with the mass of material being treated as a constant, unworthy of detailed analysis, ultimately leading to cultural groups being defined by the abnormal rather than the normal. Even within a culture-historical approach this runs counter to Childe's (1929) definition of culture groups and has resulted in a situation where long-range contacts have been suggested, based on a tiny subset of material culture (e.g. Mackie 2000). In the case of Atlantic Scotland this is particularly problematic given that the vast majority of material turning up on sites is exactly this 'uninteresting' material. However, in comparison with other regions, Atlantic Scotland is certainly not lacking in material culture and most excavations reveal a vast amount of 'mundane' material culture made of stone, bone and antler (Figure 29). In fact, this material demonstrates the existence of a society with a wealth of portable objects for use in the manufacture of objects and processing of food. Rather than lament the lack of more 'interesting' objects, it should be noted that Atlantic Scotland has a variable and distinct material culture which allows detailed insights into the inhabitants' way of life. A typical Iron Age site in the Western Isles, for example, might have stone weights used in fishing, implying an importance of marine resources which is further demonstrated by the occurrence of whalebone artefacts. These argue for the possibility of whaling, although it is more likely that they were scavenged from beached cetaceans (Hallen and O'Neil 1994). Arable farming, too, is indicated by the presence of querns and quern handles. Overall it is clear that the so-called utilitarian and mundane stone, bone and antler objects of the Western Isles offer a picture of daily life which is unparalleled in most neighbouring regions, with the considerable utilisation of marine resources being a distinctive feature of the Western Isles.

To turn briefly to the evidence from the quern stones, it is clear that there are indications of contact with other regions too, with the local move from saddle to rotary querns about 200BC (Caulfield 1977) mirrored in most regions throughout the British Isles. The distinctive discoid rotary querns of the Western Isles have often been seen as suggestive of contacts along the Atlantic seaways, being different from the '*La Tène*'
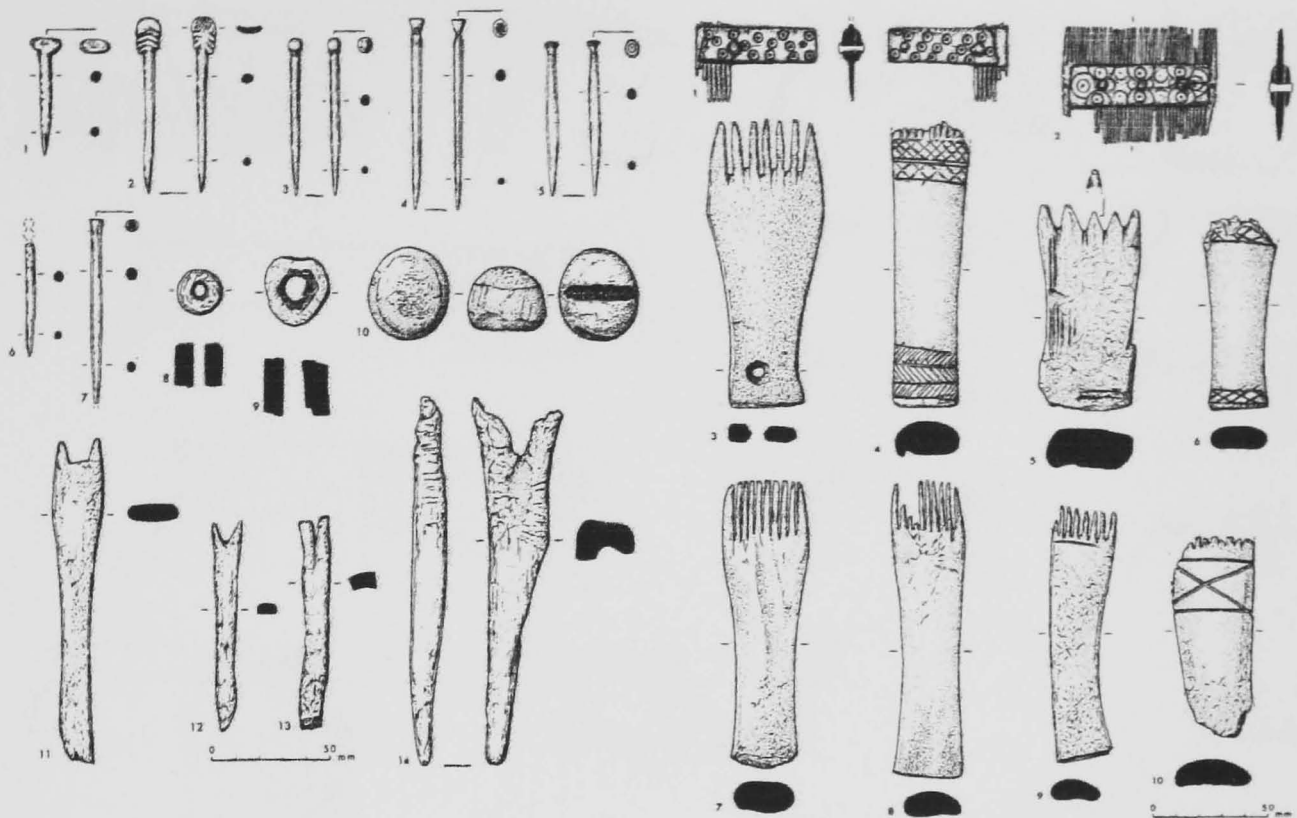
Figure 29 Pins, combs and other objects made of antler and bone (from Haalen and O'Neill: 212, 223)

querns of southern Scotland, northern England and northern Ireland (Harding 2005),
but possibly related to similar querns found in Brittany and Iberia (Mackie 2000).
However, due to their size and weight, they are clearly unlikely to have been traded. It
is interesting to note, therefore, that it is the suggested links with Atlantic areas that
have been emphasised. The rapid adoption of the rotary quern in common with most
areas of the British Isles has been downplayed, probably assumed as a simple case of
technological expediency, but it means that the implied links with other regions of
Britain have been largely ignored.

Pottery

One of the most distinctive aspects of the Western Isles material culture is the presence
of a strong tradition of hand-built pottery which is absent from adjacent areas of the
mainland (Figure 30). Many late Iron Age sites produce large amounts of decorated
pottery which is regionally distinctive, although it has proven difficult to demonstrate
the chronological or spatial importance of individual traits. There seems to be a broad
trend from incised vessels with weak rims to sharply everted rims with channelled and

118
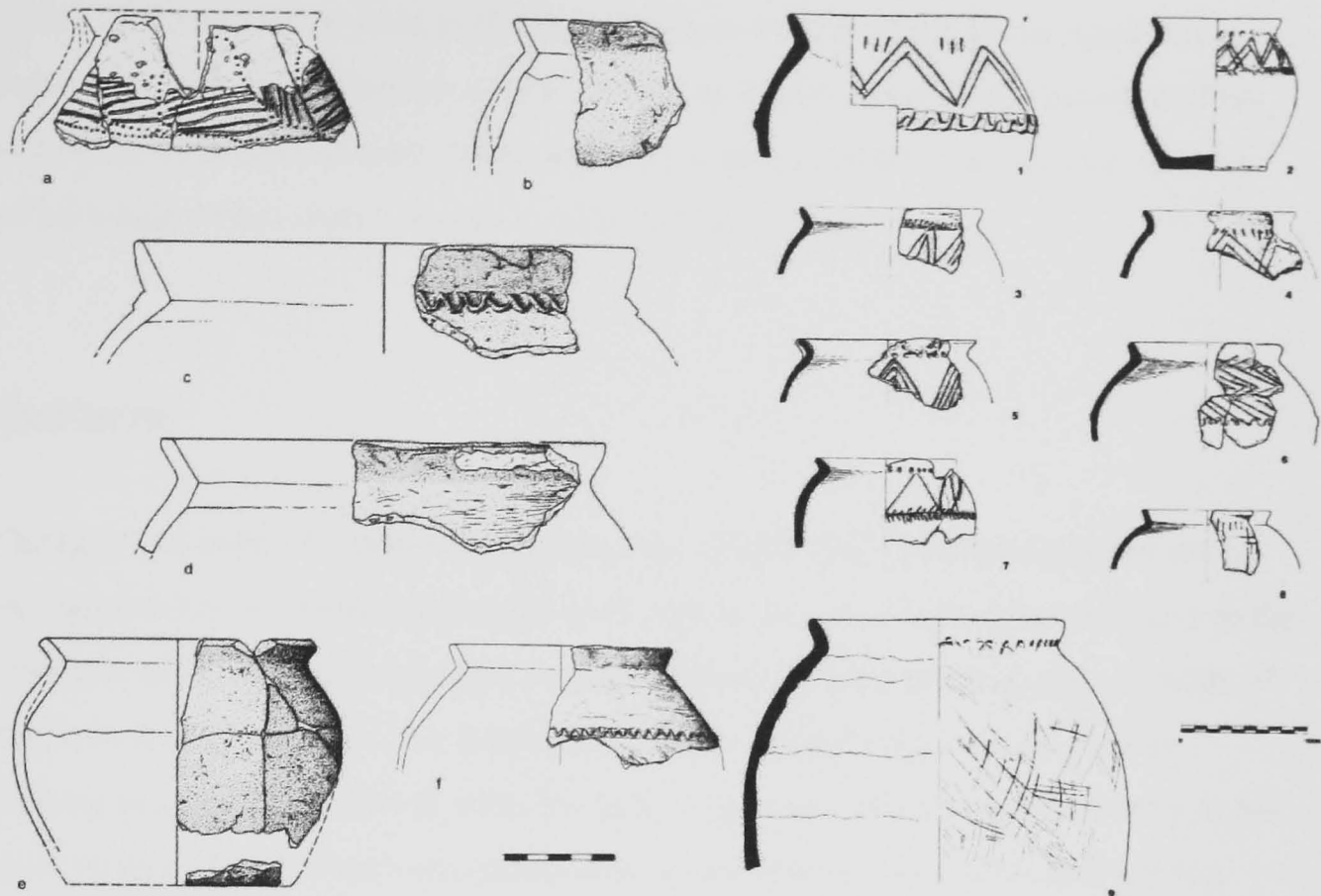
Figure 30 Hebridean pottery (from Armit 2006: 112; Harding and Dixon 2000: 86)

arcaded decoration, followed by plain vessels with long flaring rims (Campbell 2002: 141). Differences between the Northern and Western Isles testify to regional cultural variations (Harding 2000), with the pottery of the Western Isles being more highly decorated. At Sollas wheelhouse, on the basis of exterior sooting and interior residues, it has been demonstrated that all types of vessel, including the more finely decorated examples, were used as cooking pots (Campbell 1991: 150), again contrasting with a slow increase in the number of tablewares in the late Iron Age ceramic repertoires of southern Britain (Rigby and Freestone 1997). In this sense it can be seen that preparation and consumption of food followed particular regional trajectories. That pottery manufacture was tied in with particular local ways of life is also apparent in Campbell's (1991:155) suggestion from his analysis of the Sollas pottery, that 'the radial symmetry of the wheelhouse is matched by the radial symmetry of the arcades of triangular motifs around the vessels'. He further suggests that the lack of decoration on late Iron Age Hebridean vessels might be related to the abandonment of these radially symmetric buildings such as brochs and wheelhouses (ibid). His suggestions are interesting and they demonstrate that all aspects of material culture should be considered in relation to wider society, again related to Hodder's concept of

119

'wholeness' (Hodder 1982). This would suggest that attempts to isolate individual pottery traits and relate them to distant cultures in southern England or mainland Europe (e.g. Mackie 2000) miss the point that material culture is best understood not as a series of individual traits which arrive by a process of diffusion, but as part of a social whole which must be understood in its local context.

Conclusion

The highland zone of western Britain has, since Fox's (1952) seminal publication on the 'personality of Britain', generally been seen as an area where a pastoral basis to the economy predominated, in contrast to the arable and surplus producing settlements of the more fertile lowlands. The inhabitants of these upland regions were seen as existing at a subsistence level, with this lack of agricultural surplus contributing to the maintenance of a relatively unsophisticated social structure. It is clear that this is a gross simplification, however, with pockets of fertile lowland soils existing in many areas, such as the low-lying island of Anglesey. In fact, in such a varied topographical zone, with its highlands, islands and coastal plains, it might be expected that communities would have sought to exploit a variety of environmental niches. This does seem to have been the case, with no obvious inter-regionally comparable food-producing strategies employed. And this complexity, in contrast to Fox's simple caricature, is further evidenced in the varied and regionally specific approaches to food consumption: for example, pottery was used in some areas but not in others, and the communities of the different regions interacted in locally specific ways with the new developments in food preparation and consumption that were emanating from the Mediterranean-influenced south-east of Britain.

In terms of general food-producing strategies the communities of the western seaboard varied considerably. In contrast to Fox's expectations, it seems that arable agriculture was practiced in most regions and that, instead of living their lives like 'Celtic cowboys' (Piggott 1958), most communities practised a mixed farming regime based on individual and relatively autonomous farming units. This general picture is more complicated regionally, however, with a varying emphasis on pastoral or arable farming. While it might be expected that pastoral farming would have been more

important in upland areas, the evidence from the low-lying parts of south-west Wales seems to suggest that this region was more focused on arable farming in the late Iron Age. In the Western Isles there is also a definite, and considerable, contribution to dietary requirements from wild and marine resources. This is not the case elsewhere, which might be considered unusual given the coastal location of the study regions. However, in general, it would seem that the communities of western Wales and south-west England relied primarily on land-based resources for their food, and did not look to the ocean in terms of being a bountiful provider. This is a pattern replicated across Britain in the Iron Age, with little evidence for the consumption of fish, although there is considerable evidence for the consumption of seafood in Roman towns (Willis 2007). This lack of evidence for the utilisation of marine resources even in the Roman period, other than in the Western Isles, may be related to the fact that these western regions were less integrated into the newly emerging 'Roman' ways of life, or it may have been part of a conscious rejection of these, with traditional Iron Age modes of agricultural production continuing.

Food consumption is another area in which the contrasts between the different regions of the western seaboard are highlighted. Pottery was manufactured and used on a large scale in both Cornwall and the Western Isles but was virtually absent from western Wales in the late Iron Age. But, while both Cornwall and the Western Isles produced their own regional decorated pottery styles, it is clear that the place of this industry in society contrasted sharply between the two areas. In Cornwall, the vast majority of the pottery was produced from a single clay source on the Lizard peninsula, implying centralised manufacture and distribution. In the Western Isles, though, it was manufactured at site level from locally sourced clays. The forms of the pottery remained more traditional in the Western Isles too, with bowls and jars dominating assemblages throughout the Iron Age and Roman period, whereas in Cornwall the forms evolved in tandem with the neighbouring black-burnished ware industry of Dorset, with more tablewares entering the repertoire. Also in Cornwall, Roman methods of food preparation, in the use of mortaria, seem to have been more influential, with a distinct local tradition of manufacture of these objects in stone developing; although this also indicates that the inhabitants of the region sought to incorporate Roman ideas in highly idiosyncratic ways. In Wales, pottery was adopted in the Roman period, but also in unusual ways, with certain highly decorated styles

favoured initially; it does not seem that local methods of food consumption were influenced greatly until the adoption of more utilitarian pottery assemblages in the late second and third centuries AD. Overall, it would seem that the communities of the western seaboard must have had very different methods of food preparation and consumption, with varying use of pottery and varying reactions to changes which were occurring elsewhere.

Again, it would seem that attempts to characterise western Britain as a relatively homogeneous area, as is seen in Fox's use of the phrase 'highland zone', are too generalising and totalising. Looking at the evidence in more detail highlights differences, between and within regions, in terms of food production and consumption. The communities of the region interacted with their environment in distinctive local ways. They were tied to a general conception of society as a series of autonomous farming units practicing mixed agriculture, but also managed to express their individuality in slight changes in emphasis on the components of that farming regime; and where the environment may have dictated a need, as in the Western Isles, were happy to turn to the exploitation of wild and marine resources to augment what their farms produced. Their approaches to food preparation and consumption, primarily in terms of their utilisation of pottery, suggests a series of communities who reacted to outside influences at a local or regional level. There is nothing to suggest that these communities were operating within any wider cultural framework, except at the most general level. Their decisions were not made with regard to other regions on the western seaboard, but with a more local audience in mind; their gaze seems to have been more to the landward east than the coastal west.

Clothing the Body

South-west England

In Cornwall in the Iron Age there is very little evidence for clothing and dress at all, other than finds of spindle whorls and loom weights, which show that clothing was being made from wool at the level of the individual settlement. In the Roman period there is one notable change, when hobnails became relatively common; they are found, for example, at the rounds of Trethurgy and Penhale. This would seem to indicate that people were aware of new fashions in footwear elsewhere. Improved footwear utilising hobnails would probably have been a distinct improvement on what had been worn before and can probably be seen as a simple utilitarian development. However, wearing footwear in the Roman fashion would no doubt have reminded the people of the area of their links with the wider world, without necessarily being evidence of 'romanisation'; though people wilfully took up the use of this new style of footwear, in the context of a lack of other items of Roman adornment it is unlikely that this was part of a wider adoption of Roman dress styles.

Brooches from Iron Age and Roman Cornwall show an interesting pattern. Their use in the Iron Age is testified by the general pattern of a single brooch accompanying burials at the inhumation cemetery of Trethellan Farm (Nowakowski 1991). The two found at Trethurgy were both of types which were common in the first century AD, a pattern which is replicated at both Carvossa and St. Mawgan-in-Pyder where the brooches, of which large numbers were found, were also mostly of first century type. However, both of these sites, St. Mawgan-in-Pyder and Carvossa, have periods of intense occupation spanning the first and early second centuries AD, whereas the primary occupation at Trethurgy only begins in the mid second century. Brooches were relatively common throughout Roman Britain in the first and second centuries but, whereas in other parts of Britain new types were subsequently developed in the second and succeeding centuries, in Cornwall this did not happen (Quinnell 2004, 71). This is presumably why so few brooches were found at Trethurgy, and the two that were found were both of first century type. The fact that they were present at all indicates the continued use of these brooches for considerable periods after their manufacture, as both were found in late fourth century, or later, contexts. Based on this pattern it can

123

be suggested that brooches in Roman Cornwall may have been preserved as prestigious items long after they would ordinarily have gone out of use, replicating the pattern seen in relation to imported pottery. It may be that these items held some special meaning, which would have warranted their careful preservation for much longer periods than might otherwise have been expected.

Other items to do with dress and bodily adornment also seem to have been absent during the early Roman period. Finds like glass beads and shale bracelets, common enough on sites throughout south-west Britain, seem to be either Iron Age or later Roman in date. Fragments of nine shale bracelets were found at Trethurgy, presumed to be made of Kimmeridge shale from Dorset. Objects made from this shale are found throughout south-west Britain, and have been found at Exeter (Holbrook and Bidwell 1991) and South Cadbury (Barrett *et al*. 2000). Four of the nine bracelet fragments from Trethurgy came from post-Roman contexts, and the rest were from probable fourth century or later contexts. There were no shale finds from the earlier site of St. Mawgan-in-Pyder and only three bracelet fragments from Carvossa, seeming to reinforce Quinnell's view that they were not common in Roman period Cornwall (Quinnell 2004:144). At Carvossa the nine glass beads which were found were all from later Roman contexts, or of a type that spanned a long time period. At St. Mawgan-in-Pyder only two beads were found, one of Iron Age type and the other undated. At Trethurgy the four glass beads found were of late Roman type.

Although the samples are small, and interpretation therefore largely speculative, it would seem that some objects indicate the continued importance of Iron Age traditions, including brooches and glass beads, while most others, such as the Kimmeridge shale bracelets and some glass beads, are dated to the fourth century or later. This is noteworthy, as it would seem that, in the intervening time period of the second and third centuries, visible items of personal adornment looked more to the regional past, before again looking outward in the fourth century. The one notable development of the period, the use of hobnails in footwear, could not be said to be part of any overt outward trend in the display of clothing fashion. So, for a period of a couple of centuries after the Roman conquest, the inhabitants of the region chose to continue to reference their own past in the choice of items of personal adornment. The fact that they adopted Roman styles of footwear shows that they were not unaware of

wider developments; their choices were conscious and deliberate and not simply a result of innate conservatism.

South-west Wales

Evidence for clothing and accessories in the late Iron Age of south-west Wales is sparse. There are a few glass beads, as at Walesland Rath, Pen-y-Coed and Llawhaden, which may be late Iron Age or very early Roman-period, but, given the longevity of many of these glass bead types, it is difficult to be certain. Two *La Tène* style bronze bracelets from Coygan Camp have been cited as evidence of Atlantic maritime contacts, along with a few other stray finds from the region (Henderson 2007: 245). In general though, the paucity of securely dated artefacts makes any attempt at inferences about dress styles difficult, other than to say that clothes and clothing accessories must largely have been made from perishable materials. The presence of spindle whorls on many sites, along with the postulated pastoral base of the economy in the region, suggests that homespun materials were common and that fashions were generally not influenced by the range of items of personal adornment, including brooches and bracelets and rings, which were common elsewhere in Britain

Roman Carmarthen has produced numerous items of personal adornment. With reference to brooches the excavators suggest that 'these seem to be brooches of the native, civilian population with evidence of some localised manufacture, probably in south-east Wales whence the Carmarthen examples may be derived' (James 2003: 289). It is clear that the indigenous population of the region came into contact with Roman-influenced ways of living, or at least had the opportunity to do so. However, in general the picture of a general absence of archaeologically visible items of adornment persists from the pre-Roman Iron Age. As mentioned above, some of the glass beads found on excavated sites belong to types that had a long life span so it is possible that their use continued into the Roman period. Two copper alloy brooches have been found at the Romano-British period farmstead at Castell Henllys (Mytum 2002), and a possible iron fibula from Iron Age/ Roman-period contexts at Stackpole Warren (Benson *et al* 1990: 228). At Llawhaden there were three bow brooches of late first/early second centuries AD date (Williams and Mytum 1998:87). Coygan Camp is

the exception to this general trend of a dearth of Roman-period items of personal adornment, with numerous items found, including bracelets, finger rings and belt clasps, but no brooches (Wainwright 1967). This site seems quite exceptional, however, with evidence for a period of reoccupation in the second century AD, followed by a period of use as a counterfeiting centre in the late third century ((ibid; Arnold and Davies 2000). The lack of any structural indications of 'romanisation' there would seem to support the view that its inhabitants did not wish to broadcast their presence. The few brooches that have turned up on sites in south-west Wales are of types belonging to the first and second centuries AD, with a distinct lack of types of the later Roman period, despite their availability in Carmarthen. Even at Coygan Camp, with its large material culture assemblage from the third century AD, there are no brooches. It may be that nearly two centuries after the Roman conquest the inhabitants of the area were again choosing to reassert their identities through the rejection of Roman material, or at the very least, it would seem to imply that the fashions current in Carmarthen had little influence on communities further west.

North-west Wales

The Iron Age in north-west Wales is characterised by a paucity of artefactual remains in general, so it is hard to build up a picture of clothing fashions current in the centuries preceding the Roman conquest of the area. At the Iron Age sites of Erw Wen and Moel y Gerddi, for example, there were no items of personal adornment found at all. The few finds that do exist, however, point to wider regional contacts, with, for example, a fragment of a jet or lignite bracelet from Castell Odo bearing a resemblance to similar bracelets from the Glastonbury lake village (Alcock 1960: 162). There is a notable absence of other clearly Iron Age objects, such as glass beads and brooches, which are commonly found throughout Britain. At Cefn Graeanog, for example, the eleven glass beads found could all safely be placed in a date range of the first and second centuries AD, although some of them are of a long-lived type and may conceivably date back to the first century BC (Mason and Fasham 1998). However, the excavators noted that one of the glass beads may have been made from the wasters involved in the manufacture of Roman glass vessels and, as they also suggest that the late Roman glass ring from the site probably came from the nearby fort at Segontium.

It is not unreasonable to suggest, therefore, that - in the use of glass at least - the military garrison may have been the catalyst for the adoption of some forms of ornamentation in the early centuries AD, since there is no definitive evidence for the use of glass in the north-west of Wales prior to the Roman conquest.

It seems clear then that items of personal adornment were exceedingly rare in the few centuries preceding the Roman conquest, with a notable upturn in their archaeological visibility from the first century AD. This may have been a simple question of supply, thereby relating directly to the Roman conquest and the new sources of raw materials which the Roman presence in the landscape entailed. However, it is fashions which may have been current in the preceding centuries elsewhere in Britain which were aped, with items like brooches and glass beads becoming more common; there is no simple emulation of Roman fashions. In southern Britain, for example, it is clear that brooches were becoming relatively common by the late Iron Age with their relatively sudden uptake being described as the 'fibula event horizon' (Jundi and Hill 1998); glass beads, too, are relatively common finds throughout Britain in the Iron Age, as demonstrated by Guido's study of prehistoric and Roman glass beads (Guido 1978). The lack of these items in the north-west Wales in the late Iron Age is noteworthy, and is more apparent because of their adoption in the Roman period. At Bryn Eryr, for example, a site spanning the late Iron Age and Roman period, a head-stud brooch of probable second century AD date was found, as well as a glass bangle of the first/second centuries AD (Longley *et al* 1998). At Bush Farm, a brooch of second century date was also found. At Cefn Graeanog there were eleven glass beads, those which could be dated with any certainty belonging to types of the first century AD; there was also a brooch of the 'Polden Hill Derivative' class, dated from the Flavian period (first century) to the mid-second century. The most obvious instance of the adoption of Roman styles of clothing is in the use of hobnails, which turn up with some frequency on sites after the Roman conquest, and seem to indicate the adoption of Roman styles of footwear. Other than that, direct emulation of Roman fashion seems not to have occurred, although a possible toiletry item from Bryn Eryr indicates that Roman concepts of personal hygiene may also have been known to the wider population.

It is apparent from this brief outline of finds related to clothing and fashion that it is only in the first century AD that these items became archaeologically visible. It can be assumed that, prior to this, clothing and accessories were made entirely of perishable materials. That items of clothing were manufactured on site is evidenced by the finding of spindle whorls on many sites of the Iron Age and Roman period. It must therefore be assumed that, for whatever reason, forms of expression through personal adornment were largely limited to items which do not readily survive in the archaeological record. This does not have to be seen as indicative of poverty in the wider population; the people of this area were certainly not unaware of wider developments beyond their immediate region but, for some reason, chose not to adopt the more conventional forms of expression which were current elsewhere in Britain. The new-found visibility in clothing accessories after the Roman conquest is interesting because it begs the question of whether new sources of supply, and the ability to market surplus agricultural products, enabled the region's inhabitants to adopt items of dress which hitherto may have been beyond their means. However, I would suggest that this is a deceptively simple scenario, and one which places economic considerations as central to human behaviour. As mentioned above, other than hobnails, the forms of personal adornment adopted seem to point more to an association with a wider British Iron Age past than to a simple emulation of Roman fashion. Considering the nature of the conquest in this part of Wales, with its probable considerable loss of life and social disruption, and the continued military presence in the landscape, it is equally possible to read the archaeological evidence as suggesting that the people of the area chose to express their allegiance to a putative time when the Romans were not an uncomfortable reality on their doorstep. Also, it is in the century or so immediately after the Roman conquest that experimentation with new fashions is most obvious. At Segontium, brooches continued in use into the third and fourth centuries with the typically late 'crossbow brooches' (Casey *et al.* 1993: 166). There were also a variety of other items of personal adornment including rings, earrings, bracelets and pendants (ibid: 168-170). In the countryside, however, either these new clothing accessories ceased to be used or the earlier items of the first/second centuries were curated and used in subsequent centuries, possibly as family heirlooms. As seen elsewhere, this pattern is replicated in the take-up of pottery immediately after the Roman conquest, with highly visible and easily utilised items accepted into the native repertoire of living in the immediate aftermath of the conquest.

As also suggested in relation to the Roman pottery, Roman artefacts seem to have been incorporated into the fabric of local life in a particularly local fashion. That it is the portable objects that were used by the local population indicates that this may have been simply an experimentation period with a new repertoire of material culture, specifically the more easily transported elements of it. Alternatively, as suggested above, this may have been a deliberate attempt to use new items of material culture in a way that referenced an indigenous past in opposition to the Roman colonial presence. The apparent subsequent rejection of these items in succeeding centuries may indicate that deep-rooted modes of adorning the body were not affected substantially, and that these new objects were either simply a thin veneer of apparent 'romanisation' over an essentially unchanged native mode of living, or else were part of a deliberate but relatively short-lived attempt to express opposition to Rome. This possible opposition to Rome may have become less strong in the succeeding centuries as the Roman garrisoning of the province was largely reduced, and many of the forts abandoned. What is clear, however, is that 'native' and Roman' did not exist in isolation from each other. There was contact, not in a pattern of slow romanisation, but in a manner which allowed the local indigenous population to interact with the new Roman material culture that was arriving on their doorstep in a way that enabled them to consciously construct their own particular mode of living based on the acceptance, rejection or transformation of these new forms of material culture.

Western Isles

'Everyday' dress

Some of the large array of stone, bone and antler items found on sites in the Western Isles were presumably used in the manufacture of clothing, with spindle whorls, polishing tools, pins, pinheads and points all being fairly regular finds (Hallen and O'Neil 1994). Overall, though, the evidence for items of everyday dress is relatively sparse. It is possible that in the period of use of brochs and wheelhouses there was less of a concern with personal adornment, as the individual house was the locus for expressions of social status (Sharples 1998). This may be seen in an increase in items

of personal adornment in the later stages of occupation at some sites, with the glass beads at Dun Bharabhat, for example, primarily coming from secondary contexts (Harding and Dixon 2000: 28-29). However, given the evidence for extensive cleaning of the interior of settlements, it is not clear whether this is a real pattern or simply a result of the greater likelihood of survival in later contexts. Still though, there does seem to an increase in the quantity of items of personal adornment accompanying the demise of the monumental stone built structures of Atlantic Scotland, with the individual body possibly becoming the new locus for the expression of competitive social display (Armit 1997:252-3). However, this has been disputed: Hunter (2007) suggests that the origins of this trend lie earlier and that, already by the second century BC, there was an increasing range of pins, beads, and brooches which were absent in the Early Iron Age. This does not have to negate the argument, however, as it is also possible that the beginnings of a trend towards increased personal adornment of the body in the Middle Iron Age may have been a contributory factor in the eventual demise of the tradition of monumental roundhouse construction. A similar pattern of increased adornment of the body can be seen in Hill's (1997) 'fibula event horizon' in southern Britain, suggesting that the Scottish Iron Age was not divorced from wider British trends in the way the body was being understood in this time period.

'Exotic' items

Following Clarke's (1970; 1971) papers challenging the invasion hypothesis in the Scottish Iron Age and Lane's (1987) paper firmly rejecting the idea of many new artefacts being introduced in this time period it has become acceptable to view the material culture of Atlantic Scotland as ultimately of local derivation. However, thequestion still remains as to whether other exotic items can be seen to indicate a regional cultural identity, or whether they are part of a wider Atlantic cultural continuum with a distinctive local character as suggested by some (Henderson 2007; Mackie 2000). It must be stressed that these items are few in number and their relevance to wider issues of cultural contact should not be over-emphasised. However, it is also immediately clear that the Western Isles contrast strongly with other parts of Britain. Finds of metalwork are very infrequent, with very few of the more common items found on southern British sites, such as brooches. Other items are equally scarce,
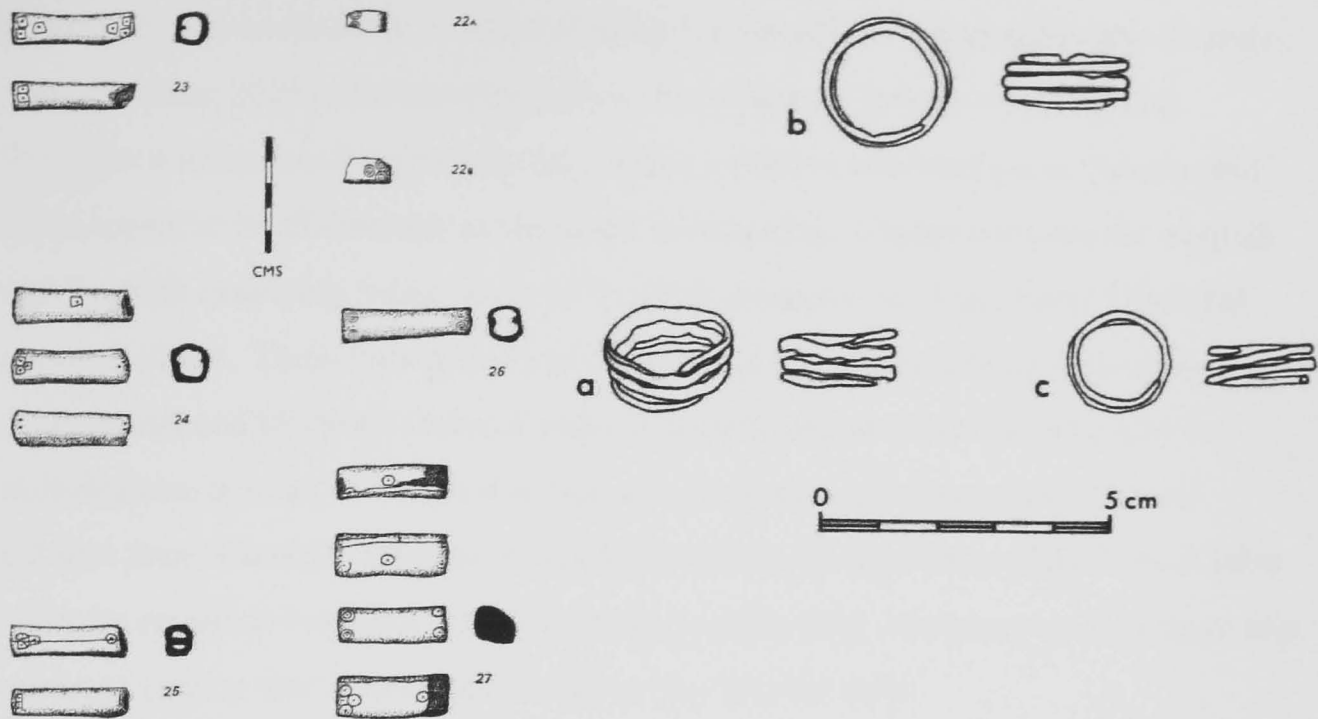
Figure 31 Bone dice – left, and spiral finger rings (Clarke 1970: 225; Clarke 1971: 27)

with just a few metal finger rings (Figure 31) and pins from the entirety of the Outer Hebrides. Roman goods are equally rare, with it being very rare to find items like the brooches from Kildonan (Zvelebil 1991) and Kilpheder (Lethbridge 1952), which are, interestingly, two sites in close proximity. There are very few other Roman finds from the Western Isles and it is possible that the inhabitants of the area had little inclination to acquire Roman goods, or were excluded from them by geographic isolation (Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999: 22). Yet it is interesting that the few Roman items are generally singular and of a relatively high quality, reflecting Mattingly's (2006: 437) observation that, in areas outside direct Roman control, finds are often of unique artefacts rather than of mixed groups.

Turning to the more commonly cited examples of Atlantic Scottish exotica the evidence for contact with southern Britain or along the Atlantic seaboard is quite limited. Guido's (1978) yellow Class 8 beads do have a primarily western distribution. Antler and bone combs are found concentrated in southern England and Scotland, but may have arrived in Scotland via Hadrian's Wall (Tuohy 1999:95). Spiral finger rings have been discounted as having any diagnostic utility given their wide chronological and geographical range (Harding 2005; Henderson 2007). Projecting ring-headed pins

131

have an almost exclusively Scottish distribution but are not restricted to the Atlantic zone (Harding 2005). Parallel-piped bone dice (Figure 31) have a distribution throughout Ireland and western Britain with a notable concentration in Orkney, but there appear to be differences in the mode of numerical display between the English and Scottish examples, while many of the Irish examples are from Early Medieval contexts (ibid) . These examples should show that the apparent links with other regions as demonstrated by exotic items of material culture are so varied as to be almost meaningless, at least with regard to demonstrating the existence of any discrete cultural zone. Contacts between Atlantic Scotland and other parts of the British Isles are to be expected but there is no prevailing trend in their occurrence, nor is there any group of exotica that is restricted solely to the Atlantic zone.

Conclusion

Clothing styles are notoriously difficult to discern, given that perishable materials do not usually survive in the archaeological record. For this reason most attempts to understand social identity from the perspective of clothing and fashion have centred on brooches and other items of personal adornment which do survive (e.g. Carr 2006; Hill 1996), but these studies have focused on the more plentiful evidence from south-east Britain, the general paucity of similar objects from the west precluding comparable studies in this region. The lack of a formal burial tradition in most of parts of Britain in the Iron Age has also hindered any attempts to address the issue, as it is usually from the study of grave goods that individual associations can be ascertained. In south-west England, where a tradition of extended inhumation did exist, it does seem that brooches were relatively common, as a majority of burials at the excavated site of Trethellan Farm were accompanied by a single brooch (Nowakowski 1991). But comparable evidence is lacking elsewhere along the western seaboard and for this reason any attempt to understand clothing and fashion in the Iron Age and Roman period must remain largely speculative; there is simply not the evidence for any definitive conclusions to be drawn.

There do seem to be tentative patterns which emerge from the data, however. In south-west England it seems that Iron Age traditions maintained their importance in the

132

Roman period, with evidence for the curation and long-use of Iron Age style brooches. The only definite evidence of Roman influence is in the adoption of footwear manufactured using hobnails, but considering this is a relatively utilitarian development, which does not necessitate any outward display of affiliation, it does not necessarily indicate any public display of association with Roman clothing styles. This is also the case in north-west Wales, where hobnails also became relatively common in the Roman period. However, in this region there is an almost complete lack of items of personal adornment from Iron Age sites. It is only in the Roman period that items such as glass beads and brooches became more common. There are very few items of definite Roman manufacture though, and instead it seems that the items which were sourced through the Roman supply network were more of an indigenous type, possibly indicating that the people of the region sought to reference their non-Roman affiliations even if the items they obtained came from the *vici* attached to the Roman forts. But it must be remembered that, even though the initial military garrisoning of the province was with non-local soldiers, the indigenous population would not have been uninvolved in the commerce and trade that developed in tandem with the colonisation. In south-west Wales, in Carmarthen, it is clear that the brooches found were items of the local population and may have been manufactured in south-east Wales. This would seem to imply that, even though the Roman authorities were nominally in charge, the local populations were the driving force behind much of the local commercial activities, and did not necessarily adopt Roman ways unthinkingly. In the Western Isles it is clear that Roman ways remained relatively unknown, with only a very few items of the Roman period, such as brooches, turning up on excavations. This is the one region along the west coast which did have a very different regional signature in terms of clothing and accessories, with items such as spiral finger rings and projected ring-headed pins not occurring in the other study regions. However, these items are found in other regions of Britain and Ireland and cannot be said to be a distinctive Atlantic phenomenon.

Even considering the relative scarcity of items associated with clothing and fashion, it is still possible to draw a few general, if tentative, conclusions. There do not seem to be any artefacts which represent a distinctive west coast cultural area in either the late Iron Age or Roman period. The Western Isles, in particular, seem to be quite different from the other regions in terms of items personal adornment, as well as an almost

complete rejection of imported items of Roman origin. The brooches, glass beads and items of shale, which are relatively common on southern British sites in this time period also occur in south-west England, but appear extremely rare in western Wales until the Roman period. It is possible that the Roman presence did foment some existential angst amongst the communities of these regions which was expressed in the uptake of items of personal adornment in the Roman period, as it is the more 'Iron Age style' items which were adopted, possibly in an attempt to reference an indigenous past in defiance of the Roman military presence. In south-west England it is possible that a similar thing was occurring, with the continued use of Iron Age items, maybe even passed down as family heirlooms to promote a sense of the past, or romanticise it, in opposition to the reality of the Roman conquest.

Working with the Body

South-west England

The settlements of Iron Age and Roman Cornwall would have been largely self-sufficient in terms of food production and manufacture of everyday items. This can be seen in the wide array of finds relating to these activities, from spindle whorls and loom weights to whetstones and the presence of slag. At Trethurgy there was an unfinished elvan mortar, indicating that the manufacture of these objects took place on site. At Castle Gotha a mould for a penannular brooch was found, pointing to on-site bronze casting. The evidence for ironworking is a bit more complex; at Trethurgy minor smithing activities certainly took place, but there is no evidence for on-site smelting. Considering the high temperatures needed and the inherent dangers in the production of iron, this should not be surprising, and it seems that, throughout Cornwall, sites like Trethurgy would have relied on specialist smelting/smithing centres, with only small-scale smithing and the repair of objects taking place on site (Quinnell 2004: 83). The fact that most of the metal objects found at Trethurgy were of a small size, with evidence that some were deliberately cut up, is consistent with the suggestion of on-site repair work. This picture of small-scale, on-site craftwork is mirrored on rural sites across Britain. What is notable, however, is the suggestion of specialist smelting/smithing centres for Cornwall as a whole, with, as mentioned above, Trevelgue promontory fort being a possible example of such a site. Duckpool, on the north Cornish coast is another example of a specialist metalworking site, with evidence for the casting of lead, pewter and possibly copper alloy objects (Ratcliffe 1995). Finds of iron slag from the Roman fort at Restormel have been seen as suggesting a possible Roman interest in the production of iron in the region, although these have not been definitively proven to have been related to the occupation of the fort (Hartgroves and Smith 2008).

Further evidence for the existence of specialist industrial centres in Cornwall is offered by a consideration of the pottery found on sites of the period. As already mentioned, it seems that, in the late Iron Age and Roman period, the dominant fabric in use was derived from clay sources located on the gabbro of the Lizard peninsula, with upwards

135

of ninety per cent of Cornish assemblages generally being of this fabric. Although these centres have not been located, petrographic work has shown that this indeed is the most likely source for the clays (Quinnell 1987), and this would imply the existence of specialist potters. In the Iron Age this was just one of a number of centres for the production of south-west decorated wares (Peacock 1969), but in the Roman period, even as black burnished wares became the dominant fabric in large parts of southern Britain (Tyers 1999), the manufacture of pottery in western Cornwall was still almost exclusively based on the extraction of clay from the Lizard. The forms of the pottery followed trends evident in black burnished wares, showing that the potters were certainly not unaware of wider developments; but the fabric remained distinctively local, and may have encouraged a sense of difference in the minds of both its manufacturers and consumers.

The manufacture of objects in Cornwall occurred primarily at the level of the individual settlement, but, from the above discussion in relation to both ironworking and pottery production, it is clear that certain items would have had to have been obtained from specialist craft workers. Specifically in relation to the distribution of pottery, with the prominence of gabbroic fabrics being a particularly western Cornish phenomenon, it is clear that certain items would have engendered a feeling of belonging to a wider community, contrasting with a way of life which otherwise emphasised self-sufficiency. In the focus on the utilisation of a regionally distinctive clay type it is possible to see a nascent awareness of participation in a wider social grouping, one which emphasised its distinctiveness in contrast to areas further east.

South-west Wales

Other than the usual finds of spindle whorls, indicating the on-site manufacture of clothing, the evidence for craft and industry in south-west Wales is very limited. Mineral deposits, characteristic of the mountainous regions of Wales, are notable for their absence (which may be one of the reasons for the Roman's seeming lack of interest in the area); although the gold mines at Dolaucothi, lying just outside the region to the north-east, were exploited by the Romans (Arnold and Davies 2000). Iron is very rare, and there is little suggestion that, as seen in other areas, its

136

procurement and manufacture contributed in any way to the structuring of society. At Walesland Rath, a few crucibles were found, and some whetstones, but finds such as slag and scrap metal are virtually non-existent on the rural sites in the region. Thus, the evidence for local production of iron is very limited, and there is also no indication of any regional trade in iron, with no evidence for specialised production centres as seen in other regions. What manufacturing activity that did go on would have been centred in Carmarthen in the Roman period; there was a probable pottery kiln located there (Arnold and Davies 2000: 106), querns were probably also manufactured there, and there is ample evidence for ironworking (James 2003). But, whereas the Roman military stimulated local industry in other regions, with, for example, pottery producers in the south-east of Wales producing forms that were not available in black burnished ware (Webster 1990), in the south-west this did not happen. Other than the suggested increase in the arable component of the local agricultural economy, as suggested above, it does not seem that the Roman town of Carmarthen stimulated any existing, or new, local industries. This is unusual, as is their lack in the first place, given the close proximity of the town, and the region's relatively easy access to wider trade networks. It would seem that the inhabitants of the region produced what they needed themselves, within the local community, and did not engage in any large-scale manufacturing enterprises. The one exception to this is the site of Coygan Camp which, in the third century AD, seems to have become a centre for the manufacture of counterfeit coins (Wainwright 1967; Arnold and Davies 2000). However, this is clearly exceptional and its existence about 20km to the south-west of Carmarthen is suggestive of the fact that the civil authorities' influence did not extend much beyond the town.

North-west Wales

In the Iron Age, the evidence for industrial activity suggests limited on-site manufacture of everyday items such as clothing, indicated by the presence of spindle whorls on many sites. Iron working was also conducted on-site, with slag being regularly found, as at Caerau (O'Neil 1936) and Castell Odo. At Graeanog, a crucible, furnace or smithing hearth linings, and iron bloom point to very limited smelting (Kelly 1998: 13). Whilst in general it can be assumed that on-site metalworking was

limited to the repair of tools and implements, Peter Crew's work at Crawcwellt West and Bryn-y-Castell has shown that north-west Wales also had a significant iron production industry at an industrial level in the late prehistoric period, with these specialist sites producing evidence for the smelting of iron on a large scale (Crew 1989; 1990; 1998). Given the lack of finds of trade iron from contemporary sites, it is hard to definitively prove that these production sites supplied the needs of the region. Yet, it seems likely that iron smelting was conducted at just such specialist sites, and that a regional distribution network existed. The finds of three hundred kilograms of iron and steel objects from Llyn Cerrig Bach (Fox 1945) has also been reinterpreted as further evidence for local iron production, with blacksmiths' tongs and currency bars being part of the assemblage at this wetland votive site (Crew 1998: 34).

In the Roman period production of iron at these sites mostly, with only limited further activity at Bryn-y-Castell in the late second and third centuries AD. It would
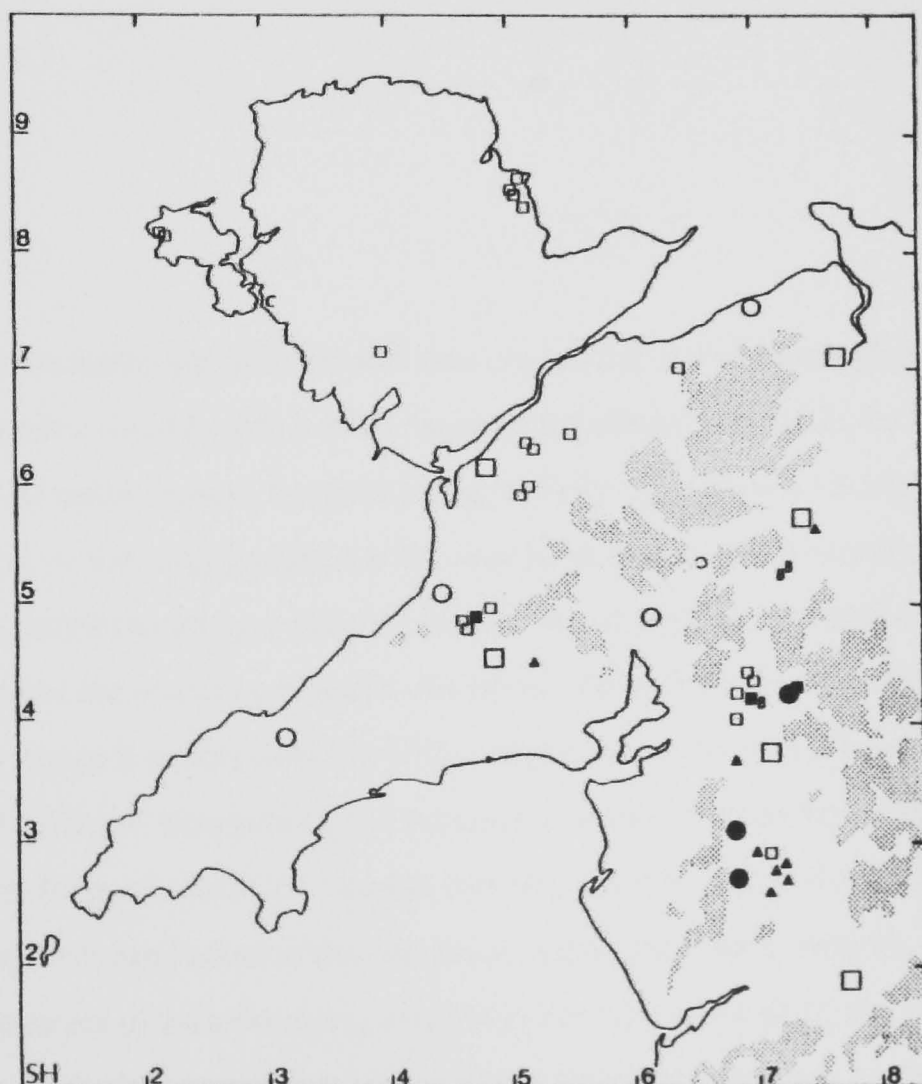
Figure 32 Iron-working sites in north-west Wales: solid circles = primary production; open symbols = smithing or uncertain; circles = prehistoric; large squares = Roman forts; small squares = Romano-British; triangles = bloomeries of uncertain date (after Crew 1990: 151)

138

seem that, despite the demand for iron that the Roman army would have created, iron production at this level, at least in native hands, was disrupted by the Roman conquest. However, it is generally assumed that the mineral wealth of the region would have been a primary target for the colonial authorities, and the distribution of copper ingots, with their concentration in Anglesey, would seem to support this hypothesis (Arnold and Davies 2000). Economic activity at this level, however, seems to have remained the preserve of the Roman army or was, at least, directly related to its presence. The distribution of pottery, for example, seems to have been routed through the Roman supply network, native access presumably having been obtained at the *vici* attached to the Roman forts. There is little further evidence for industrial activity at a regional, specialised level in the Roman period. In the Iron Age industrial activity seems to have been centred on iron production. It is therefore apparent that manufacture of everyday items was almost entirely conducted at a local level, with any wider regional specialist sites having been severely disrupted by the Roman conquest, and denied the opportunity to start afresh due to the subsequent Roman stranglehold on mineral exploitation.

Western Isles

It is clear that manufacture of items and most industrial activity took place primarily at the level of the household, with a wide range of the ubiquitous stone, bone and antler tools relating to some form of manufacturing activity: spindle whorls are evidence for spinning; some of the long-handed combs may have been used in weaving; points and other piercing implements may indicate the sewing of textiles; and polishers of stone and bone suggest the working of hides. An antler stamp from the site of Bac Mhic Connain may suggest leatherworking with a degree of decoration (Hallen 1994). Most broch and wheelhouse excavations have also produced evidence for on-site metal working in the form of crucibles, moulds and slag (Figure 33). It would seem that metal working was conducted within the local community, with even the more dangerous elements of metalworking occurring near the settlement; the site of Cnip 2/3 had evidence for both domestic activity and metalworking, and was located just a short distance from the wheelhouse at Cnip (Armit and Dunwell 1992). The evidence for pottery manufacture supports this hypothesis of communities that were almost entirely
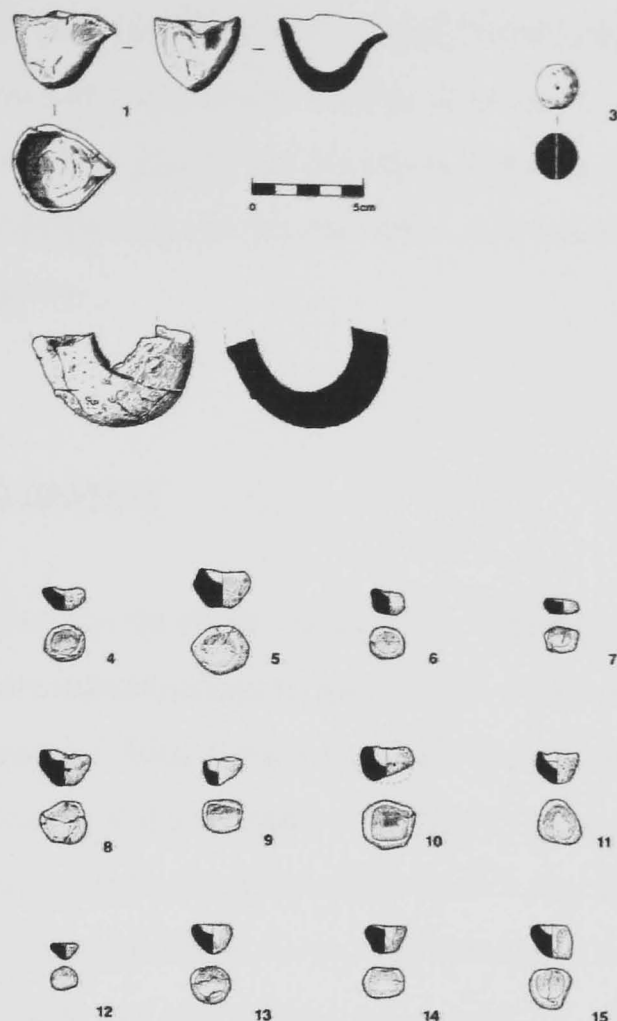
Figure 33 Crucibles and other ceramics (from Harding and Dixon 2000: 82)

self-sufficient. The clays were predominantly of local derivation, and the decoration, while within a broad Hebridean tradition, demonstrates considerable inter-site variability (Topping 1987), with little evidence for the existence of specialist potters who may have been expected to be responsible for a more consistent pattern of decoration between sites. It would seem that centralised pottery manufacture, as known in other parts of Britain, was unknown in the Western Isles, and that individual families would have made their own pottery.

Overall then, there is little evidence for industrial activity at a level beyond that of the household. We can envisage communities which seemed to be almost entirely self-sufficient in terms of the procurement of raw materials and on-site manufacture of everyday objects. The very small numbers of objects with an obvious origin beyond the Western Isles supports this view, as does the relatively small numbers of iron objects which may have been expected to be tied in with the regional procurement of iron ores. So, while the actual breakdown of work between the different elements of a family grouping is unclear, we can be reasonably certain that the daily life of the

140

inhabitants of the brochs and wheelhouses involved the manufacture of clothing and pottery, as well as the smelting of iron and casting of bronze objects and their repair. This fits nicely with the earlier suggestion that the architecture of the house itself may have been related to the projection of both the status, and social independence and isolation, of the social group.

Conclusion: Craft and Industry

Craft and industry are tied into the fabric of local life. Whether things are sourced from specialist producers or are manufactured as part of day-to-day life would have an impact on how people viewed them. Certainly, things brought from afar, imported items, may have been seen as different and exotic. In this sense, the nature of industrial activity and the existence, or not, of craft specialisation would have a bearing on how people viewed the world they inhabited. In western Britain, in both the late Iron Age and Roman period, it is clear that the farming settlements were largely self-sufficient, but there were items which were manufactured on a regional basis, and these differed from region to region. In this sense, it is possible to visualise communities living different lives, where some things, which may have been available locally in some areas, were part of a controlled manufacturing process in others, and in other areas may not have been available at all.

One of the key areas of difference along the western seaboard is in the manufacture of iron objects, in terms of the smelting of iron ores as well as any subsequent repair work and minor smithing activities. Given the wholesale changes in society that are apparent in the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, with the decline of elite-based trading networks and the rise of an entirely new industry and associated mechanisms of control of this new technology, it is clear that that the production of iron, as well as other metals, were an important part of the social fabric of this time period (Barrett 1989b). It is interesting, then, to note that the importance of iron production varied so much regionally. In south-west Wales and the Western Isles, iron objects are scarce, while in Cornwall and north-west Wales there is evidence for specialised production centres, though these went out of use in north-west Wales after the Roman conquest. It seems that on-site iron-working was restricted to limited

smithing and repair work in these areas. In the Western Isles it is clear that on-site casting of bronze was certainly taking place and that industrial activity was not a specialised activity. This lack of specialisation in the Western Isles is also seen in the local production of pottery, in contrast to the assumed centralised manufacture of gabbroic pottery somewhere in the vicinity of the Lizard peninsula in Cornwall.

Again, there does not seem to be any overall coherency between the different regions of the western seaboard. The use of iron varies regionally, with it being quite scarce in some areas, and with centralised production in others. Pottery production, too, shows distinct regional variations: it is more or less unknown in the Iron Age of western Wales, subsequently being sourced through the Roman supply network; in Scotland it is produced locally; and in Cornwall it is manufactured and distributed on a regional basis. It is quite clear that the different regions differed in their ability to sustain regional distribution networks. Why this is so is less clear. It is possible that the lack of an agricultural surplus prevented trade in certain of the areas, but considering that the exchange of goods can occur for other reasons, including as part of the exchange of partners, this does not seem an entirely satisfactory explanation. Instead, it is likely that cultural factors played a large role in controlling the exchange of goods. In Cornwall, for example, it is possible that the use of gabbroic pottery may have been tied into an expression of local identity, whereas in the Western Isles a similar expression of local identity may have been based primarily on the isolation and independence of the household, as the monumental stone architecture has been suggested to symbolise, and, in this scenario, the independent production of goods may have been part of this worldview.

Trade and Exchange

South-west England

Cornwall was located on an apparent Atlantic axis of trade, and the presence of continental and Mediterranean pottery and metalwork, on virtually every Cornish site of the Iron Age and Roman period, is indicative of the interactions that its inhabitants had with other communities. But it is not clear if the level of direct trade was that high; most of the evidence for contact between southern Britain and the continent points to the main axis of contact lying further east, with sites such as Mount Batten and Hengistbury Head probably being the ultimate sources of many of the items found on Cornish sites. An obvious exception, though, is the site of Nornour on the Isles of Scilly, with its wide variety of Roman and continental brooches and other artefacts. But, considering that this has been suggested as a place where passing ships may have anchored and paid their respects to the gods (Butcher 2000-1), it may actually reinforce the idea that the sea crossings around the extreme south-western tip of Britain were seen as dangerous, and generally avoided in favour of safer anchorages further east.

The actual evidence for trade and exchange with areas far beyond its borders is not all that common in the extreme South-west. Although present on most sites, imported pottery generally comprises only a small percentage of a site's overall pottery assemblage. At Trethurgy there were also Roman coins and a tin ingot. The ten coins found on the site, nine of which came from a single hoard of brass sestertii, were minted in the second century AD and probably deposited in the middle of the third century AD; they were deposited at a time when the face value of these coins was below their bullion value, and their deposition in hoards was therefore common practice, and in this sense they fit within the larger British pattern of hoard deposition (Quinnell 2004: 67). However, given the general paucity of coin finds from Cornwall in contrast to areas further east, it is clear they are not indicative of participation in a wider monetary economy; they may have been obtained solely for the purpose of paying taxes to the Roman authorities. The tin ingot was found in a midden, dating

from AD 375-400, but it is possible that it was deliberately deposited there at a later date than this.

Whereas the coins and the tin ingot suggest Cornish involvement in wider trade/exchange networks, it is also apparent that there was considerable economic activity on a local scale too. Pottery manufacture and ironworking are activities which were carried out at a more industrial level; and these products primarily supplied the region to the west of Bodmin Moor. With this in mind, the find of a stone weight from Trethurgy is particularly interesting. It is dated to AD 260-325, and has been suggested to be a part of the distinctive Roman-period Cornish tradition of stone artefact production mentioned above (Quinnell 1993). Similar weights, dating from the third and fourth centuries, have been found on other Cornish sites, but are unparalleled elsewhere in Roman Britain. The use of stone weights is known for the Iron Age of southern Britain, but the idea of a surviving Iron Age tradition is unlikely because no such weights have been discovered on Iron Age sites in Cornwall (Quinnell 2004: 140). These weights provide evidence for a system of weights and measures existing in Roman Cornwall, possibly part of a regional system of trade and exchange, one which does not conform to the patterns seen elsewhere in Britain.

South-west Wales

In the Iron Age the evidence for regional contacts and trade is limited, but what indication there is suggests that contacts were not uni-directional, with four-posters and banjo enclosures suggesting links with areas to the east, and multiple enclosure forts and promontory forts suggest links with south-west England. In the Romano-British period imported pottery suggests links with areas of England on the far side of the Severn Estuary, and it is clear that the area was not separate from developments elsewhere. The apparent economic poverty of the area cannot then be simply a result of geographical isolation, and it has been suggested that the lack of Roman influence should not be seen in these terms but can be explained with reference to inherent local factors (Williams and Mytum 1998: 146). These local factors need not necessarily be environmental or economic, but could also be related to social conservatism and resistance to outside influences (James 2003: 27). It is also possible that in the south-

west, being a society without obvious centres of power, the economy was still embedded in the pre-Roman social structure, with exchanges and trade taking place at seasonal fairs, and that 'such networks…account for the sparse finds of imported pottery, jewellery and coinage from such sites' (ibid: 24). Excavations at Carmarthen have reinforced this idea, with it seemingly having served as the market centre for a very restricted area, probably within a 15-20 mile radius, and 'most Roman material found on native sites west and north is likely to have arrived there either through coastal trading or alternative processes of exchange' (James 2003: 22). The evidence for coastal trading networks is, however, limited in the extreme. Henderson (2007: 244-245) lists a number of finds from Wales that may be indicative of Atlantic trading routes, but they are very few in number, and he mentions none from the south-west, which suggests that this picture of seaborne trade may be exaggerated. In conclusion, it seems that trade and exchange operated at a local level in the late Iron Age. In the Roman period there is increased evidence, in the form of imported pottery primarily but also a few finds of Roman coins, for the region's participation in wider systems of trade and exchange. The supposed counterfeiting centre at Coygan Camp also implies that certain of the region's inhabitants were engaging with the Roman monetary system. It might be expected that this increased participation in regional trading networks would be centred on the town of Carmarthen, but the picture does not seem to have been so simple. Indeed, the evidence described above, from pottery types and their distribution, suggests that the town was largely by-passed and that it served as the focus of trade only for a very limited area in its immediate vicinity.

North-west Wales

The evidence from north-west Wales paints a picture of small communities interacting primarily at a local level. There are few definite imports, with most settlements seeming to operate at a basic subsistence and self-sufficient level. However, given the general lack of finds from sites in the area, it is interesting that one of the largest votive sites in Britain was located at Llyn Cerrig Bach, on Anglesey. It is tempting to relate this to the site of Lisnacrogher in northern Ireland, with apparent links stretching across the Irish Sea. But, as mentioned above, Crew has reinterpreted some of the material as being related to local metalworking; in his initial publication on the

material, Fox (1945: 46) also indicated that he felt most of the deposited material came from inland regions to the south-east, and not from Atlantic coastal areas. Lynch (1991) has also demonstrated the wide links implied by the assemblage from Llyn Cerrig Bach, with material indicating British and continental affinities, as well as some which seems to be distinctive to north Wales. The material from this votive site on a Welsh island cannot, therefore, be used to propose the existence of extensive maritime routes in the late Iron Age; rather it is part of the wider north-west European phenomenon of production and deposition of high-status, elite metalwork. Its deposition in a votive context on the island of Anglesey is probably more related to the concerns of local society, albeit within a wider European context. But it is also clear that, given the general lack of diagnostic artefacts of the Iron Age from excavated sites in the region, the Llyn Cerrig Bach material demonstrates that the answer to this conundrum is not simply a general poverty of material culture, but is more likely related to specific cultural practices related to the manufacture, utilisation and deposition of such objects.

Given the island and peninsular character of the region, it is interesting to note that most of the evidence for trade and distribution points not to contact through coastal trading networks, but rather to the existence of land-based distribution networks, though admittedly with the short crossing to Anglesey being of crucial importance. Like south-west Wales, the area was largely aceramic in the late Iron Age. Yet the occurrence of salt containers on sites such as Bryn Eryr (VCP) indicates that this lack of pottery may not have been simply a problem of supply. Interpreted as a community above the basic level of subsistence in the Iron Age (Longley 1988: 271), Bryn Eryr's VCP indicates that the site was part of a regional trade network involving the transportation of salt from south Cheshire and the Malverns (ibid: 244). The existence of these wider trading networks belies the interpretation of this part of Wales as being a peripheral fringe, excluded from interaction with pottery-producing areas elsewhere in Britain, and the specialist iron producing sites of Crawcwellt West and Bryn-y-Castell, mentioned above, supplement this picture, providing further evidence of wider contacts at a regional level in the form of specialist distribution networks. In the Roman period, however, there is a marked decline in evidence for wider regional contacts between native communities, and this should probably be seen in the light of the disruption caused by the military campaigns in the area. The inhabitants of the area

did interact with Roman supply networks though, probably sourcing pottery from the *vici* attached to the forts. However, a general lack of coins from excavated sites would seem to preclude any extensive interaction with the Roman economy. Coins have generally only been found on sites with, for the region, atypically rich assemblages, such as Din Lligwy on Anglesey (Baynes 1908; 1930); although there are a number of coin hoards from the region (Arnold and Davies 2000).

Western Isles

In keeping with the idea of the social independence and isolation of individual households, it could reasonably be expected that the evidence for wider trade and exchange would be minimal. And indeed, this does seem to be the case. So, while wider links and connections may be apparent in architecture and pottery, the actual mechanisms of contact are unclear. As discussed above, the range of non-local items found in the Western Isles is very limited, and there is an almost complete lack of items relating to the Roman occupation of Britain. Instead, we should envisage sporadic and small-scale contacts between the islands and other areas, with trade and exchange probably being conducted through mechanisms such as barter or reciprocal kinship obligations. The dissemination of ideas certainly did take place, as the brochs are testament to; but in the development of wheelhouses we can see that this took on a very distinctive regional form. In this scenario, trying to relate the Western Isles to a wider Atlantic culture or trade area does not seem appropriate. It would be foolish to deny the existence of wider links, but it would be equally foolish to reify them in the formation of a distinctive Atlantic culture. It is tempting to interpret developments as being related in a simple manner to geography, but, as we have seen, the people of the islands were probably not unaware of what was happening in other regions of Scotland and Britain. Whereas it might be expected that small-scale contacts would result in the haphazard adaptation of elements from adjoining regions, it is hard to reconcile this with the development of such complex architectural forms as brochs. Instead we see a society with a coherent approach to architecture and other elements of social life, which together form a complex social whole, related to happenings elsewhere but with a distinctive regional expression. In terms of trade and exchange then, all that can really be said is that the inhabitants of the Western Isles were clearly not living a life

of isolation. They chose to adopt certain items of material culture, and in their adaptation demonstrated that the flows of knowledge between areas did not have to be hindered by geography. But, it is equally clear that the inhabitants of the region were not tied into any easily recognisable systems of exchange, instead focusing on autonomy and self-sufficiency, so the actual mechanisms of contact remain unclear.

Conclusion

Given that many commentators have seen the western seaboard of Britain as being an area 'facing the ocean' rather than being integrated with areas to the east, it might be expected that mechanisms of trade and exchange would show a bias towards seaborne trade along the western seaways. However, this does not seem to have been the case. There is very little evidence that the seaways were a primary route of communication, although given the island and coastal nature of the region a certain amount of travel by boat has to be envisaged; but there is no evidence that the regions of the western seaboard formed any coherent cultural entity linked by coastal communication routes. In fact, it is interaction with the east that is most in evidence.

In Cornwall it seems that most imported items probably arrived from ports further to the east, like Mount Batten and Hengistbury Head, with the dangerous navigation of Land's End generally avoided. The postulated trade in tin, which has generally been seen as the primary evidence for the region's links with an Atlantic trading network, is not supported by very much evidence, although there are some tin ingots from the region and it is possible that earlier tin workings would have been destroyed by later activity. There is a general lack of obviously imported items in western Wales, whilst in the Western Isles the exotic items point to links with regions of Britain to the east, as well as Ireland, and not to any obvious Atlantic trading network. In fact, in most of the coastal regions, it is contacts with inland regions to the east that are most in evidence: including VCP from the Malverns in north-west Wales, and pottery from the far side of the Severn estuary in south-west Wales. While these items may have been imported through coastal trading networks, they do not point to links along the western coastline, but rather to links leading inland along the estuaries and river valleys. In the Western Isles there is little evidence of direct trading links at all, although

148

commonalities in material culture between the islands and the mainland do indicate some shared cultural background, specifically in the shared tradition of monumental stone roundhouses. The general lack of finds of Roman coins from these regions seems to indicate that they did not participate widely in the Roman monetary economy. In fact, the series of Roman period stone weights found in Cornwall would suggest that the area had its own system of weights and measures and exchange.

Overall, it would seem that, while a certain amount of seaborne trade may have occurred, it was internal mechanisms of trade and exchange, as well as limited contacts with areas to the east and the Roman world, which were the primary mechanisms by which people interacted with their neighbours. Seaborne trade no doubt existed - and the construction of docks in Roman Chester indicates its importance to the colonial authorities - but for the indigenous peoples of western Britain the coastal trading networks, to whatever extent they existed, were not of paramount concern. Rather, we should envisage a series of communities, who were in no way ignorant of coastal communications, but who chose to focus inwardly primarily, with contacts to the east being of secondary importance, and links along the coastal sea routes probably intermittent, and not taking a central place at all in terms of their interaction with other communities or their conception of themselves.

Chapter Five: An Atlantic 'Culture'?

Introduction

The previous chapters have given an overview of the material culture patterns that exisedt on the western seaboard of Britain. This chapter aims to give a brief glimpse of the nature of society that may have existed in these regions in the time period in question. Previous research has adopted a relatively uncomplicated explanatory framework, one where a simple relationship between material culture and identity is assumed. Before turning to more modern theoretical approaches to identity it is therefore pertinent to ask whether the patterns that do exist in the data can be said to indicate the existence of a wider Atlantic culture. To this end, an attempt is made to paint a picture of everyday life in western Britain, and to ask what broader patterns may have existed in the data, in terms of both the relationship that the communities of these regions may have had with their physical environment as well as the possible existence of wider self-aware cultural groupings.

A Picture of Everyday Life

South-west England

The overwhelming impression given by an analysis of the material culture, in the broadest sense of the phrase, of Iron Age and Roman Cornwall, is of a society dominated by self-sufficient and relatively autonomous small settlements. The larger sites, the hillforts and cliffcastles, were probably not the dominant settlements of the elite as envisaged by early researchers. Instead, beginning in the fourth century BC, we see the development of rounds, with larger sites probably functioning as some sort of communal gathering centres and central focuses in a landscape of dispersed settlements. The inhabitants of the smaller enclosures were aware of the wider world, with pottery and coins indicating this; but interactions with the wider world were controlled to the extent that only certain new developments were embraced. The reasons for this are unclear; the area was certainly neglected by the Roman colonial authorities, but whether the continuation of indigenous traditions indicates an innate conservatism or conscious acts of resistance is unclear. Although the Iron Age, with its cliffcastles and souterrains and widely spaced ramparts, has been seen by some commentators as being separate from the rest of Britain, it is clear that there were similarities as well, in the form of a predilection for the circular houses common throughout Britain, as well as the use of brooches and pottery forms which have a distribution throughout south-western Britain. It is in the Roman period, specifically beginning in the second century AD, that a number of developments occurred which were unique to the furthest reaches of the south-west peninsula, beyond the areas of direct Roman control: oval houses became the norm; clothing styles seem to have referenced the regional past; a regional system of trade in gabbroic pottery developed; and a distinctive stone working tradition allowed the adoption of Roman ideas in a distinctly local way.

South-west Wales

The south-west of Wales, like other regions on the west coast of Britain, is characterised primarily by a landscape densely packed with small enclosures. Roundhouses were the norm, in both the Iron Age and Roman period, and most excavations have produced evidence for settlements with roundhouses and four-posters occupying different sections of the enclosure. Banjo-type enclosures and multiple ramparts are relatively common and may have been related to the control of livestock. Indeed, it seems that pastoral farming may have been the dominant component within a mixed farming economy, at least in the Iron Age; in the Roman period the importance of arable agriculture seems to have increased. The region was largely aceramic in the Iron Age, with an increase in pottery usage in the Roman period; although, given that the consumption patterns of pottery seem to indicate that it was seen as an exotic item and used in unusual ways, it is probable that the food-producing strategies, and modes of consumption, remained little changed from the preceding period. The overall patterns of settlement, and ways of living, seen in the Iron Age seem to have continued relatively unaltered into the Roman period, with only tantalising suggestions of Roman influence. This is despite the construction of a large fort, and later *civitas* capital, on the eastern fringe of the region. The development of this town, at Carmarthen, does not seem to have impinged in any dramatic way on the lifestyles of the people of the region, with little suggestion that it controlled an extensive hinterland. Rather, it seems that the influence of the town was felt mostly in its immediate vicinity, with the appearance of a small number of villa-type settlements. The communities beyond this seem to have operated exchange networks, in pottery at least, which bypassed the town.

North-west Wales

Similar to other areas along the western seaboard, the communities of north-west Wales in the late Iron Age seem to be essentially small-scale in nature. It is part of the zone of large hillforts which stretches from central southern Britain through the Welsh Marches to northern Wales, but there is little evidence to support the view that these served as the centralised seats of power of a dominant elite. Instead, it is the smaller

enclosures which dominate any discussion of social organisation in the area, with little to support the view of a rigidly hierarchical basis to society, though the morphological variety of the settlements of the area may, and probably does, mask a certain degree of social inequality. The larger, rectilinear enclosures found on the fertile and low-lying soils of Anglesey seem the prime candidate for any wealthier groupings of people, whereas other differences in settlement form are probably related more to the varying subsistence base of their inhabitants in a geographically varied region. As a generalisation, it is clear that mixed farming was the norm, with evidence for arable agriculture at most sites, but a pastoral element to the farming regime would have been more or less significant, primarily dependent on local topographical factors. Overall, a series of relatively autonomous family groupings and communities can be envisaged, carrying out the sort of farming and small-scale industrial activities which would be common on Iron Age sites throughout Britain. Other than the apparently distinctive form of the settlements, with their emphasis on stone-built huts and field systems, there is little to differentiate the peoples of the region from other areas of Iron Age Britain. Nor is there much to indicate a strongly shared sense of identity, with - other than a regional iron-producing industry - little evidence of interaction at a regional level. The form of the settlements too, usually taken as indicative of a distinct regional settlement type, does not differ much from what would be expected elsewhere in Iron Age Britain: roundhouses were the norm, and enclosure becomes more important in the Later Iron Age. The changes that do occur, such as the adoption of more rectilinear house and enclosure forms, and the ubiquitous use of stone, seem more related to the adaptation of the communities to specific environmental conditions, but within a specific cultural framework. The continued use of roundhouses as the principal house type, with rectilinear buildings serving as barns or byres, seems to indicate strong underlying structuring principles in the organisation of daily life.

Western Isles

The food procurement strategies of the inhabitants of the Western Isles can be seen to have broad parallels with the rest of Iron Age Britain, in being based primarily on a mixed farming economy with the cultivation of barley and the rearing of cattle, sheep and pigs. This ties in with the earlier observation on architecture that, at a very general

level, society in the Atlantic regions of Scotland is part of a wider north-west European trajectory, and not just an Atlantic one. However, again, this wider trajectory has very specific local manifestations. Wild resources contributed a substantial amount to the diet of the people of the area, with the utilisation of marine resources and the hunting of deer being of particular significance. The material culture of the region is regionally distinct, and in its focus on stone, bone and antler tools 'is not comparable to Iron Age assemblages found elsewhere in Europe' (Henderson 2007:201). Again it has been suggested that the closest parallels are with parts of Ireland (ibid) but these suggestions are bedevilled by problems with the dating of the Irish assemblages, and cannot be relied upon. Indeed, asserting wider cultural similarities based on utilitarian stone tool assemblages is particularly problematic given that the material culture of Atlantic Scotland is so clearly related to a specifically local utilisation of marine and other wild resources. Also, the clear differences between these areas in terms of pottery manufacture cannot be ignored, especially given how the adoption and use of material culture in Atlantic Scotland seems to be related to a conception of society that is purely local in derivation (as suggested in relation to pottery decoration and architectural forms above). The wider links that do exist do not point to any particular bias in channels of communication between Atlantic Scotland and other parts of the British Isles. Atlantic Scotland was part of a wider and extremely general cultural continuum which incorporated all parts of these islands, and may well have included parts of the north European mainland, but there was no dominant cultural influence and it developed in its own unique way.

Conclusion: simple but complicated

Any attempt to characterise the day-to-day life of the communities of the western seaboard is of course going to be a gross simplification, but in their attempts to do this, based on geography and supposed coastal trading networks, many commentators have been guilty of this (e.g. Bowen 1970; Cunliffe 2001; 2005; Fox 1932; Henderson 2007). Other than noting that the peoples who inhabited this area were generally small-scale farming communities, there is really very little to indicate any shared way of viewing the world. Similarities were at a very general level, such as the predilection for living in roundhouses, and were shared with large parts of the British Isles.

Differences were more apparent in all the categories chosen for analysis, from settlement types and the organisation of the landscape, to food procurement strategies and the role of craft and industry in society. In their varied reactions to the Roman conquest, too, the different communities demonstrated diverse ways of reacting to the new reality of a colonial presence in Britain: they adopted or rejected Roman modes of living to varying degrees, and in some cases utilised new types of material culture in surprising ways. It is curious that, from this diverse range of material culture, previous commentators have sought to justify viewing the west of Britain as being a cultural area in its own right, in contrast to regions further east. The explanation for this lies in a conception of the area as a geographical entity, part of Fox's 'highland zone' and linked together by Bowen's 'western seaways'. Cunliffe (2001) has suggested that the peoples of these coastal areas 'faced the ocean', and would have been united by a shared 'oceanic mentality', and Henderson (2007) has described the archaeology of the region, in the Iron Age at least, as being 'Atlantic' in nature. The two basic tenets of this argument are that, firstly, these regions were united by their proximity to the western seas, with the ocean being an important part of their cultural existence, and, secondly, that their social identity, their sense of themselves, was in some way tied to this broader 'oceanic mentality'. It is, therefore, these two issues which are crucial to an understanding of the place of the western seaboard in Iron Age and Roman period society, and I will address each of them in turn.

Facing Which Way?

South-west England

It seems that the people of the region were choosing exactly which items of Roman material culture they would adopt, and incorporating them within their existing traditions. Overt displays of association with the new Roman authorities were not the norm; the few items that seem to have been adopted and used without a regard for local traditions, such as hobnails, would not have been very visible in day-to-day life. Other items, such as imported pottery, were adopted, but were utilised in new and different ways. The ideas behind pottery mortaria, especially, were embraced, but reformulated in a manner which referenced the local landscape and past. Their form was produced in stone which had a locally restricted origin, and, in this sense, it would seem that the tradition of grinding foodstuffs in stone mortaria was adopted from the Romans but re-invented in a manner which seemed to imply a local origin for the practice (see Hobsbawm and Ranger [1983] for the idea of 'the invention of tradition'). The manufacture and distribution of gabbroic pottery would also seem to reinforce this idea of the inhabitants of Iron Age and Roman Cornwall being somehow rooted in their landscape and past. The wider distribution, in the Iron Age, of gabbroic wares was reduced to the further reaches of the south-western peninsula in the Roman period, but the utilisation of the clay sources on the gabbro of the Lizard peninsula continued. Similar to the utilisation of distinctive local rock types in the manufacture of stone mortars and Trethurgy bowls, it is apparent that the utilisation of these particular clay sources in the manufacture of pottery had particular resonance for the inhabitants of western Cornwall. It would seem that an awareness of the landscape, and the utilisation of its resources, played a role in the development of a conception of their difference in the minds of the inhabitants of the region. Again, whether they consciously chose to reject outside interference, by constructing a regional identity, is unclear; it is also possible that interactions with their landscape and past resulted in their conception of themselves as different.

South-west Wales

The people of south-west Wales lived in a farming landscape and focused their attention on the products of the land. Other than the harvesting of marine molluscs at some coastal sites, such as Stackpole Warren, they do not seem to have lived with a daily awareness of the sea. This can also be seen in the lack of imported items, which may have been expected to enter the region from coastal trade networks. Coastal promontory forts have been suggested to be liminal places, symbolically important as an interface between the land and sea (Cunliffe 2001), but their role as coastal trading centres has long been questioned and, given that they occur in nearly all areas with a suitably indented coastline, they cannot be used as evidence for a shared maritime culture between south-west England and south-west Wales. The overall impression given by the landscape of south-west Wales is, rather, that of a people who focused their attention on the utilisation and control of the land, not the sea, with no evidence of any systematic exploitation of marine resources The layout of the settlements, with outworks, and dense concentrations on the better low-lying soils, is further proof of this, with their location and morphology seemingly indicative of a focus on farming. Though, in the lack of utilisation of the resources of the land, the clays and iron ores, it seems that the communities of south-west Wales lived their lives without the detailed knowledge of their environment that seems evident in other areas, such as south-west England.

North-west Wales

The Roman military impact on the landscape of north-west Wales is more in evidence than elsewhere along the western seaboard. However, its cultural impact is less clear, as the settlement pattern seems to have continued largely unaltered, with any changes that did occur around this time, such as the increased use of rectilinear building forms, unrelated to the Roman conquest. In the decline of the iron industry though, it is possible to see an emerging colonial stranglehold on the industry of the region, and it is possible that any regional interactions would have been stifled as the Roman military consolidated its hold on the area. In this sense, in contrast to south-west England, it is possible that control of natural resources did not play such a big part in

any local sense of identity, with the raw materials of the region firmly in the hands of the colonisers. However, in the utilisation of new forms of portable material culture, presumably made available through the Roman supply network, it is possible to envisage a certain resistance to the Roman presence. The uptake of this material does not follow any simple pattern of 'romanisation'; instead the items chosen and the manner of their adoption into the local symbolic repertoire, seems to indicate that the people of the region were more interested in expressing their own cultural concerns, rather than simply emulating Roman fashion. This may be seen as an act of resistance, or just indifference. But, given the undoubted Roman military impact on the region, it is most likely that this would be referenced in some way. Even if overt acts of resistance or defiance were unwise, it may be that a continued predilection for 'non-Roman' modes of living, as indicated by clothing styles and foodways, expressed a non-acceptance of the new occupying power. Given the almost complete lack of items of personal adornment, or pottery, in the late Iron Age, it is interesting to speculate that their increased archaeological visibility in the Roman period is tied in with the creation of new identities utilising a newly acquired material culture repertoire. That this material may have been 'Roman' in outward appearance does not imply simple social emulation of the Roman way of life. It is possible, and seems more likely, that the local communities were utilising their easier access to consumer goods to obtain items through which they could express their own regional and individual identities. Given the lack of any obvious civil Roman presence in the region, it seems that the people were not 'becoming Roman' at all, but were staying, or becoming, 'not-Roman'.

Western Isles

Nearly all broch and wheelhouse excavations have produced evidence for communities that are living primarily at a local level. The evidence in Atlantic Scotland points to the utilisation of local clays for the manufacture of pottery, and in a distinctively local style, with no evidence for specialist pottery production centres (Topping 1986; 1987). It can therefore be assumed that pottery was produced and distributed primarily at the level of the household or extended family grouping. Most broch and wheelhouse excavations have also produced evidence for on-site metal working in the form of crucibles, moulds and slag. Again, it would seem that production was conducted

primarily within the local community. Even apparently specialist industrial sites such as Cnip 2/3 need not have served more than the immediate community, which is in contrast to other areas along the Atlantic seaboard, such as Wales and Cornwall, where there is evidence for specialised industrial production of iron. The general lack of iron objects on sites in the Western Isles reinforces this view. Most objects were made from stone, bone and antler which would have been available locally. The communities of Atlantic Scotland would therefore seem to have been largely self-sufficient, producing most of those items that they needed within the environs of the site. While regional contacts throughout the Western Isles are of course expected, it would seem that organisation of manufacture and trade existed at a different level to other areas along the Atlantic seaboard.

The inhabitants of the Western Isles in the late Iron Age were very much rooted in a local understanding of their environment; they used the resources, wild domestic and marine, that were available. In this sense they differ to other communities in Iron Age Britain, whose modes of subsistence seemed to be related more specifically to a mixed farming economy, with the emphasis firmly on domesticated animals and crops. In their apparent rejection of imported objects, this view of society is reinforced, and in the development of a regionally specific settlement type - the wheelhouse - they demonstrated their independence from other areas. The wheelhouse, as it is usually revetted into the coastal machair, shows that the people of the region were, quite literally, tied to their local environment. Middens, too, in their accumulation around the settlements without seeming to have been used to fertilise the land (Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999), further demonstrate the extent to which the communities of the Outer Hebrides were literally living in what would have been an expression of their environment and its resources. But in their construction of brochs they show their awareness of, and participation in, a wider Scottish tradition; so while most elements of their society seem to emphasise independence and self-sufficiency we should not forget that they were aware of developments beyond their region, and utilised symbols which may have originated elsewhere. It seems best to view the communities of the region as being more maritime-oriented that communities in other parts of Britain; but this is not just a matter of their island setting, it is rather in their utilisation of marine resources and their incorporation of their coastal setting in the creation of their society.

Conclusion: tied to the land or the sea?

Based on previous commentators' views of the nature of the contacts and interactions along the western seaboard, it might be expected that the four study regions would exhibit a tendency to focus on the coastal nature of the environment they inhabited, with a view more of it as a seascape, dominated by the wild ocean to the west. However, in general terms at least, this does not seem to have been the case. The communities which inhabited these regions were essentially small-scale farming communities, with their attention focused primarily on exploiting the agricultural potential of the land.

In south-west England and Wales, the evidence for the exploitation of marine resources is sparse, and while coastal contacts certainly existed, linking offshore islands with the mainland, it is hard to see this as having any dominant role in the lives of anyone other than the inhabitants of the islands themselves. These islands, such as Scilly and Anglesey, displayed close cultural affinities with the adjacent mainland, in settlement form and material culture, although in the Western Isles it is certainly possible to see a more obvious awareness of the coastal setting in the form of exploitation of marine resources. However, there is no evidence that these island communities, as might be expected, participated more directly in any Atlantic trading network. If anything, it seems that geographic isolation was of more relevance to the communities which inhabited them, and in the Western Isles it is possible to see distinct local traditions emerging, in the construction of wheelhouses and the distinctive local pottery tradition, but which are situated firmly within a wider Scottish milieu rather than a specifically Atlantic one. In Cornwall, too, the distinctive local traditions that emerged, including the manufacture of pottery from gabbroic clays and the local stone-working industry, point to a tendency to use distinctive local resources as the basis for regional traditions. In this sense it is possible to see that daily life in these areas was related to an understanding of the local landscape and its products, rather than any putative relationships with other coastal areas. Indeed, the trading networks that did exist point more to landward contacts, with Cornwall and western Wales obtaining pottery and other goods from the south-eastern centred supply networks. The one obvious exception to this pattern is the site of Nornour on the Isles of Scilly, with its extensive finds of brooches, and this reminds us that coastal trade

160

was certainly a reality, but that it probably did not have the central place in people's lives that seems to be envisaged by some researchers. Indeed, the existence of this unique site, with its possibly votive offerings, might point to the fear felt by sailors who were forced to navigate the dangerous waters around Land's End, and would go some way towards explaining why it is the safer anchorages to the east, such as Mount Batten and Hengistbury Head, which have most evidence of continental contacts.

Despite the extensive coastline it does not seem that the sea was such an important influence in the lives of the inhabitants of the western seaboard, but this varied geographically, and in island communities, such as the Western Isles and Scilly, it is apparent that marine resources and coastal trading would have figured more prominently. Primarily, though, the lives of people would have centred on the land and its products and the yearly agricultural cycle, in common with most parts of Britain. So, while the coastal geography of the west coast of Britain may be significant to the modern researcher with his maps, it does not seem to have been such a significant factor in the minds of the people who lived there. They certainly would have been aware of the sea, and may have irregular contact with sailors and traders, but to suggest that this was of overriding importance to them cannot be upheld. Their lives would have essentially focused on their own immediate locales, the landscape they inhabited, and while marine resources and coastal contacts would have been more important to some, there is simply no evidence to suggest that the communities of the western seaboard would have had any general conception of themselves as occupying a coastal and ocean-centred world.

A Sense of Belonging: Social Groupings

South-west England

The question that remains to be asked is: how did the people of the region actually view themselves? The evidence points mainly to self-sufficiency and autonomy. But the presence of imported pottery does indicate that the region had some contact, albeit probably indirect, with continental Europe; and settlements types such as hillforts and promontory forts, as well as souterrains, also point to possible relationships with areas further afield. There is not one particularly dominant axis of contact for these things though, with links to the east as well as along the coast and towards mainland Europe evident. It would therefore seem best to state that the inhabitants of Cornwall in the late Iron Age and Roman period did not live in isolation; they had links, though not necessarily conscious awareness of these links, with surrounding regions, both landward and seaward. If one leaves aside settlement morphology however, the evidence from the utilisation of material culture at a more local level provides a much richer picture of daily life. What becomes apparent is that those elements of material culture which seem to indicate a possible regional identity are restricted in distribution to the south-west; there is no evidence that they emanate from the region's existence in a putative Atlantic cultural zone. So, aspects like the occurrence of oval house forms, or regional distribution networks in gabbroic pottery, or the manufacture of stone mortars and Trethurgy bowls, all seem to indicate a particular regional conception of identity that is not tied in with any other regions along the Atlantic seaboard. If anything, there is more evidence, in the form of the existence of a wider south-west decorated ware pottery tradition and the adoption of Roman styles of footwear, that links with the east were as important. While equating material culture with identity is always problematic, it is at least possible to say that the manufacture and trade of certain items of material culture in Cornwall seems to imply that regional trends in architecture, clothing and food consumption did exist, but with a wider awareness of events in southern Britain and continental Europe. Whether the people of the region identified with these items of material culture is another matter, but it is clear that they render problematic any attempts to label the region as culturally impoverished, or conservative, or part of a wider Atlantic culture.

162

It seems that rather than through an intricate awareness of their local landscape, as in south-west England, that it is in their reaction to the Roman military, and later civil, occupation of Wales that we can see a fledgling sense of difference that may have been felt by the local communities. Roman ways of life were largely ignored, and this seems to be intentional given that most of the people of the region would have lived in relatively close proximity to the town at Carmarthen, and could easily have developed closer ties if they chose to. Considering the town's existence, it should not be assumed that the Roman authorities of Britain simply ignored this distant region. As in other areas where a *civitas* capital developed, it would seem that an attempt was made to incorporate the region within the civil zone of lowland Britain, but that, for reasons other than simple distance and isolation, this was not successful. It might be speculated therefore that the people of this part of Wales did not seek to 'become Roman' in the same way that other peoples may have.

The question that arises then is: on what basis did the people of south-west Wales see themselves as different? Were they part of a wider Atlantic culture which rejected Roman ways? It seems clear that the limited contacts which the region's inhabitants did have with other areas did not extend solely along the seaboard. In fact, most evidence points to the opposite, with influences from further east predominating. The evidence that these communities belong to an Atlantic cultural zone is therefore very flimsy. It has been suggested that significant differences can exist along the Atlantic seaboard; that regionality can exist within a broader Atlantic cultural milieu (Henderson 2007). However, in the case of south-west Wales, I would suggest that this is based more on a desire to view the evidence in this light, an 'imagined geography' (Lilley 2002) of an Atlantic fringe. The modes of living in south-west Wales in this time period, based on small enclosed farmsteads in a mixed farming economy, can be found to have parallels throughout the British Isles; but there are also differences: in settlement morphology, food production techniques and responses to the Roman conquest. It is better to envisage a series of communities who lived primarily with an awareness of their own local world. While their knowledge of the Roman presence is obvious, and links with areas beyond their region apparent in material culture, it would seem, in their apparent lack of interaction in wider trade networks and their rejection

of Roman ways of life, that the people of the region did not see themselves as part of any wider social grouping. Their sense of themselves was rooted primarily in the local community, and at most probably extended to a view of their region as being separate from the more 'romanised' areas further east.

North-west Wales

It is this last point which is of most relevance to an understanding of how the communities of the region interacted with and viewed each other. While some commentators have seen a sense of commonality between the communities of the western seaboard on the basis of a distinctive settlement form, I would suggest that there is a strong argument for this not to be the case in north-west Wales. In the Iron Age at least, there is little to differentiate the settlements of the region from comparable subsistence-oriented settlements elsewhere in Britain. The supposedly distinctive nature of the regional settlement pattern, with its emphasis on construction in stone, must be seen in the light of the declining availability of timber going in hand with a plentiful supply of building stone. This gives the appearance of difference and, while the inhabitants of these settlements may, over time, have come to associate the use of stone with their communities (Henderson 2007), it is hard to suggest that this would have resulted in a sense of association with other areas along the western seaboard where building in stone was also the norm. The commonalities of living in circular houses in small enclosed settlements are equally pertinent, and are shared with communities throughout the British Isles. Beyond this superficially similar settlement form, there is really little else to indicate the existence of any organised regional community grouping in north-west Wales. However, this may simply be a result of the non-survival of items of material culture in the acid soils of north-west Wales. The increased incidence of items of durable material in the Roman period gives a better insight into the organisation of day-to-day life, and it is interesting that a continued way of living with a very local flavour is expressed through the use of non-local items. Given the lack of comparable items from the late Iron Age, however, it is unclear if this expressed a continued sense of belonging and association with regional traditions in defiance of the Roman presence, or whether this defiance/resistance is what engendered a sense of place and belonging in the first place.

There is evidence for social hierarchy in the Western Isles, but not on the scale that is seen in other areas of mainland Britain; the focus of settlement was the individual homestead, seemingly indicating that people's awareness of their communities was very much locally centred, with allegiances probably being focussed on the individual family unit. In their utilisation of the architectural symbol of the broch, it is possible that communities were aware of their links with regions further afield, but in their development of the wheelhouse it seems clear that any sense of participation in wider social groupings was most likely focused on the Western Isles. The existence of a distinctive Hebridean pottery tradition would seem to reinforce this view; although in the local manufacture and differing decorational motifs between settlements it is likely that the household was first and foremost in the minds of its users, with any broader allegiances secondary. The seeming rejection of imported items is further suggestive of communities who did not have any need, or desire, to look beyond the confines of their immediate community. Rather, it would seem that the occupation of this landscape was one which centred on a very local understanding of life in a coastal setting. An awareness of the proximity and power of nature was probably of more immediate relevance to those who lived there, with their lives revolving around the exploitation of all the resources it had to offer, and preparation for its challenges. The landscape of the Western Isles is very different to other areas of Britain, and the settlement of the area must be seen as a very locally specific adaptation to the prevailing environmental conditions; albeit not in any deterministic way.

Conclusion: shared traditions?

The main question which this thesis has sought to address is whether there is any justification for seeing the existence of a shared Atlantic identity amongst the disparate communities of Britain's western seaboard. Previous commentators have attempted to justify this proposed 'oceanic mentality' with reference to an Atlantic axis of communication and the dissemination of ideas along the western seaways. However, I would question whether any such shared sense of identity existed at all. The equation of material culture patterns with ethnic or group identity is problematic in itself, and

presupposes a simple relationship between material culture and identity. Yet, even if this was the case, the sheer variety of material culture along the western seaboard does not seem to support this view.

The primary picture which emerges from a consideration of the archaeological evidence is one of a series of autonomous and self-sufficient farming communities along Britain's western seaboard. It would seem that most people probably knew little of the world beyond their immediate locales. While a small amount of imported goods did find their way to the regions, most items would have been manufactured and used locally, and, in the Roman period, when imported items became more common, these items were used in distinctive non-Roman ways and at times were incorporated into particular regional modes of living, such as in the manufacture of Cornish stone mortars and Trethurgy bowls based on Roman pottery mortaria. Where craft specialisation and regional trading networks did exist, it would seem that they were restricted to the regions in question, and did not form part of any wider system of coastal trading contacts. The differences between the regions do not suggest any shared approach to living either, with the monumental roundhouses of the Western Isles and the courtyard houses of Cornwall particularly vivid examples, and it is likely that any shared sense of identity engendered by these structures would have been restricted to the regions in which they were constructed. As usual, the similarities between the regions are very general, with, for example, Henderson (2007) suggesting that construction in stone may have been an Atlantic trait. However, given the chronological disparity between the construction of many of these stone structures, as well as the seemingly local derivation of their basic concepts, this does not hold up to scrutiny either, and, if construction in stone is a cultural trait which might engender some sense of a shared worldview, then cultural connections between wide geographic areas could easily be postulated. Indeed, the differences between these stone structures, in terms of basic plan and architectural detail, are far greater and, on the basis of this argument, could be expected to foment differences between these western communities instead.

In the Roman period there is evidence for the development of a number of traditions which may be related to the expression of identity. The distinctive oval houses of Cornwall are an example, as is the increased use of items of personal adornment in

north-west Wales. However, these developments are regionally based and, if anything, suggest the development of incipient group identities in opposition to the Roman colonial presence. They are contextually specific, however, and represent the activities of regional groupings of people; they are not part of any co-ordinated western British opposition to Roman rule. On this basis, it may be suggested that the communities of western Britain did have a conception of social groupings beyond their immediate neighbours, but that these were groupings which extended inland and not along the western seaways. Most of the evidence for this occurs in the Roman period, though, and it may be that the Roman conquest created the context for the development of group identities rather than provoking responses from pre-existing social groups. Overall, I would suggest that the communities of western Britain lived primarily at a local level, and there is little evidence for wider social groupings, and certainly not extensively shared Atlantic cultural traditions. The evidence of certain items of material culture, such as gabbroic pottery, may possibly suggest the existence of wider social groupings, but these distribution patterns are equally likely to be commercial in nature. In western Wales there is little evidence for larger social or political groupings beyond basic similarities in settlement form. This general pattern of a lack of social awareness does show signs of changing in the Roman period however, possibly as a response to the Roman conquest of southern Britain.

Chapter Six: Discussion

Introduction

This thesis set out to examine critically the idea that the western areas of Britain were somehow culturally distinct in the late Iron Age and Roman period. It has explored how the idea of an Atlantic zone is evident in archaeological discourse, and how this may have arisen as a product of the historical contingencies in which the discipline of archaeology operates. In an attempt to overcome a previous emphasis on settlement typology, an approach focusing on all aspects of material culture was adopted, with a view towards incorporating an awareness of the day-to-day life of the inhabitants of these areas in the interpretive framework. To this end published excavations from four regions were examined in detail, with a focus on providing a new synthesis that was not biased towards settlement typology. Discussion then centred on understanding the inter-relationship of material culture and identity, in line with more modern approaches to social identity. This chapter seeks to draw together the recurring and important themes which have emerged from this analysis. It also draws attention to the implications of the research for the archaeology of western Britain, highlights the potential problems inherent in the approach adopted, and suggests further avenues of exploration.

Themes of the Thesis

Totalising tendencies

The desire to create a simple and all-encompassing narrative is inherent in most attempts at synthesis. As a heuristic measure this is understandable. However, sometimes the entities created emerge as reified cultural groupings with specific mindsets and ways of being, and an associated material signature. Roland Barthes (2000) describes how the Romans, in a contemporary film, are all depicted as wearing fringes, indicating with certainty to the viewer that the person is Roman. For the sake of adopting a simple and easily understood referent, the diversity of ways of being which would have been current in such a vast and disparate entity as the Roman Empire are ignored. This is not a modern phenomenon of course – Roman writers did much the same, characterising those who lived beyond their civilised borders as homogenous in being wild and savage (Cunliffe 1997). It is this desire to portray people as sharing some simple unifying element which is central to this thesis. It can be seen in the creation of the concept of the 'Atlantic Celts', and in Cunliffe's proposal of a shared 'oceanic mentality' along the Atlantic littoral. However, it is not restricted to the depiction of cultural groupings. It can also be seen at work in the descriptions of processes which lead to the creation of these groupings. A clash of two opposing homogenous and bounded entities is easier to conceptualise than a vast array of conflicting and subtle differences. So, in the Iron Age, a model of core and periphery has held sway for many people seeking to explain the nature of social change in Britain, with the south-east being the Mediterranean-influenced 'core' and the north and west the 'periphery' (Haselgrove *et al* 2001). In the Roman period this process was suggested to have continued but under the new name of 'romanisation'. These ideas all combine to create a simple narrative of cultural groupings and social change, with a resultant 'imagined geography' of either a western periphery or an independent Atlantic zone. They have begun to be critiqued (e.g. *ibid*; Jones 1997), allowing a more nuanced picture of regionality to emerge, one in which the possibilities of regional or local identities are not subsumed in wider, all-encompassing economic or cultural frameworks. In other areas of archaeology, post-processual approaches have aided this greatly, with a focus on allowing voices to emerge which may have been suppressed

by previous approaches to archaeological interpretation. This is tied in with the wider movement of postmodernism, with its focus on the decline of the grand narrative and its replacement with an emphasis on diversity and the local (Sarup 1993). This thesis has attempted to re-interpret the archaeology of western Britain in line with these aims.

Power/knowledge and the politics of identity

In order to attempt this re-interpretation it has been necessary to understand how the tendency to view western Britain in such a way has emerged in archaeological discourse, and it is the relationship of archaeology with power and politics that best offers a glimpse of how this occurred. Michel Foucault (1980) describes a concept which he calls 'power/knowledge', describing how the production of knowledge cannot be separated from the contexts of power in which it is produced. He argues that history cannot be seen as an objective description of past events, rather it is written from the perspective of the present and must be seen in this light. Pierre Bourdieu has addressed how this manifests itself in the production of the idea of a region. He sees regionalist discourse as performative in nature, with struggles over classification central to attempts 'to impose the legitimate definition of the divisions of the social world and, thereby, to *make and unmake groups*' (Bourdieu 1991: 221, emphasis in the original). In the context of western Britain, this can be seen most clearly in attempts to impose a view of the region as a 'Celtic' periphery, related primarily to the nationalist discourse of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this way a tradition can be seen as invented, with modern views of the region as part of a Celtic heartland being imposed on the past in support of a political aim. This is not unique to the present however, and it is possible to see similar processes at work within the regions and time period being studied: in Cornwall, for example, Roman methods of preparing food were adapted for local use in the form of Trethurgy bowls, which could be seen as an attempt to invoke a local origin for an imported object.

This battle over the legitimate classification of past events is a central theme of this thesis, but it is wrong to blame individual agents for pursuing a political agenda. The proponents of a particular viewpoint are simply working within a particular context and their views of the past are being coloured by the present. Indeed, in his essay *The*

Death of the Author, Roland Barthes has expounded the idea that the concept of an individual author has little place to play in the wider power-dynamics that constitute society (Barthes 1977). Foucault, too, has suggested that 'man', as we define him in humanistic terms, is an invention of relatively recent date, with the possibility that he – meaning our current conception of ourselves – could 'be erased, like a face drawn in sand at the edge of the sea' (Foucault 1994: 387). The implications of this are that we need to look beyond simple ideas of what constitute peoples and cultures, and instead adopt a more holistic framework which incorporates an understanding of the structural whole of society.

The structures of everyday life

Much previous archaeological research has centred on the belief in a mind-body dichotomy, with roots in Cartesian dualism (Thomas 2004). This has meant that cultural aspects of society (such as religion and identity) are separated from those things which act upon them, (such as economic systems). In archaeology this has been challenged, with the suggestion that categories such as 'economic' or 'social' are erroneous, and need to be replaced with an attempt to understand their inter-relationship in a structural whole, as exemplified by Parker-Pearson's (1999) work on cosmologies. However, it has been noted that some structural schemes have a tendency to relegate the individual to the status of mere observer, and that the role of agency must be accommodated in any attempt at analysis. In the social sciences Anthony Giddens (1984) has attempted to overcome this dichotomy between structure and agency with his theory of 'structuration', suggesting that while there are societal structures which constrain human action, the actions of humans in turn act back upon these structures in a reflexive fashion. This debate is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it has informed the methodological approach adopted. In an attempt to overcome the previous bias in work on western Britain, which saw typologies of settlement patterns dominating discussion, an approach emphasising the structures of day-to-day life which cross-cut the previous categories of 'economy' and 'society' was adopted. This approach focuses on the actions of agents in their local environment, while still allowing for the existence of overall generative schemes. The result is that an alternative reading of the data emerges, serving to illustrate how the interpretive

171

framework has a bearing on the results - it can even be seen as tied in with contemporary views on the nature of society. While the exact categories of analysis will always be somewhat subjective in nature, the approach adopted in this thesis aimed to highlight that viewing society from the perspective of day-to-day activities, rather than abstract theoretical categories, has a contribution to make in archaeological interpretation. As outlined in the methodology chapter this approach was inspired primarily by Chaudhuri's (1991) work on the societies of the Indian Ocean, and a comparable archaeological example from the excavations at Cadbury Castle, Somerset (Barrett *et al.* 2000). The relevance of such an approach can also be seen in the work of Fernand Braudel who, in his book *Civilization and Capitalism*, sought to understand how the economic structures of society intertwined with what he called 'material life', his analysis covering categories such as eating, drinking, clothing, housing and technology (Braudel 1981).

Interacting with the body

This emphasis on day-to-day life has implications for how social interactions are perceived. It places the individual at centre-stage, albeit within a structural framework that acts upon him/her. This idea can be seen in Foucault's (1991) concept of 'docile bodies', through which he shows how bodies are manipulated and trained to reflect certain social conditions, as in the case of a soldier learning the correct military bearing which he must maintain. However, this approach sees the body as an object of culture, acted upon rather than acting itself. In archaeology this has been called an 'archaeology of the body' and has been contrasted with an 'archaeology of embodiment' which, following Heideggers's idea of 'being-in-the-world', sees the body as the subject of culture which, through dwelling in the world, comes to recognise itself within a subject-object framework (Hodder and Hutson 2003). Phenomenological approaches to archaeology have followed this path. They have sought to overcome the structure/agency debate with a focus on bodily interactions as the basis of experience, suggesting that it is from this 'material existence of the human body in the world [that]...all our experience, understanding and knowledge of the world flow (Tilley 2004: 2).

This thesis has focused on the body as the basic building block of interpretation. Theorising the body in this way has been neglected in archaeology, but has recently begun to receive more attention (e.g. Boric and Robb 2008). Some studies have also begun to address this topic in Britain with, for example, the impact of toilet instruments on concepts of personal grooming addressed (Eckardt and Crummy 2008), and the use of items such as brooches, hairpins and tattoos in the creation of hybrid identities (Carr 2006). This thesis has applied these ideas to western Britain, an area that has been mostly ignored in previous work. The emphasis on diet, clothing, work and architecture and their place in the wider landscape provides an opportunity for looking at the issue of social identity from the perspective of the individual going about his/her daily life, rather than their being subsumed in pre-supposed cultural groupings. This focus on the body has allowed an alternative view of the archaeology of the region to emerge – one in which the body and material culture are seen as intertwined, the creation of identities not being imposed in any simple fashion but being part of wider processes of living in the world. It is this reflexive relationship between material culture and the body which is central in any attempt to understand the creation of wider social groupings in western Britain.

Material culture and identity

In the past the relationship between material culture and identity was seen in simplistic terms. Childe's culture groups are an example of this, with specific cultures having a recurring material signature. The legacy of this is still felt today and it has been suggested that 'belief in the conventional wisdom can constrain the search for new interpretations' (Parker Pearson 1995: 205). This is certainly the case with western Britain; with a residual belief in the area as distinct from areas further east still dominating research in the region. However, in wider archaeological discourse it is clear that an understanding of the complicated inter-relationships between people and objects is becoming more widely understood. Some people have even suggested that 'meanings and values, histories and biographies, even personhood and agency can be attributed to material things' (Dobres and Robb 2000: 12). This idea that objects have a life of their own shows that 'objects do not just provide a stage setting to human action; they are integral to it' (Gosden and Marshall 1999: 169). In relation to the study

173

of identity this has led to a more critical appreciation of the role of material culture in its formation; identity is seen as negotiated through various material media, with change, fluidity and mutability being characteristic, as opposed to any simple and stable meaning (Casella and Fowler 2004).

The issue of the inter-relationship between people and material culture in the formation of identity has been poorly addressed in western Britain. The approach in this thesis highlights that a simple correlation between settlement typology and cultural groupings does not do justice to the complicated processes at work. One of the key things to emerge is that material culture must be understood contextually. Attempts to impose grand narratives on such a geographically and culturally varied zone can have the effect of masking the underlying reality that human-object interactions occur in a local setting – specific objects can be seen to be adapted for use in different ways by different people. It is only through viewing them as having a cross-culturally stable meaning that commonalities between disparate regions can be said to exist. However, it is also clear that certain items can take on the role of identity-marker; there may not be an all-encompassing material culture package but some items will be used in a manner designed to differentiate between people, or groups. The use of material culture in this way may be conscious or unconscious. For example, in south-west Britain, it may be possible to see an incipient awareness of individuality arising from engagement with new eating wares designed for individual use or, as in north-west Wales, new objects may have been consciously chosen for use in pre-existing patterns of communal consumption. These examples highlight that material culture must be understood in its local context, with the key issue of its changing use addressed at both a temporal and spatial level.

Time: the pace of change

In the context of people-object interactions it is clear that identities will form and change. This idea of changing identities is central in rebuffing any attempt at imposing an over-arching cultural unity on western Britain. Instead of viewing the area as peripheral, maintaining an Atlantic identity over millennia, it must be understood that communities will form, coalesce and diverge over time. For a sense of unity to be

174

maintained in such a wide area would require it to be a single entity, responding uniformly to outside influences .This view has been questioned in the case of 'romanisation', with both the idea of the Roman empire as a singular and uniform entity being questioned, as well as the idea that those communities it came into contact with would have responded with uniform and universal change (e.g. Barrett 1997; Hingley 1996b). Instead, it is more pertinent to address the nature of change from the perspective of it being neither uniform nor universal, but rather seeing it as localised and fragmentary, its pace dependent on both external influences and the predispositions of those for whom it has relevance. In this sense it can be seen that identities, as reflected in the uptake and use of material culture, will form and change at different rates in different locales. This can be seen in the work of Fernand Braudel on the Mediterranean, where he rejects the idea of seeing it as a single unchanging entity, but rather viewing it as in a state of constant flux. He sees change as occurring at three different levels: the first being geographic time; the second that of social and cultural history; and the third being that of events (Lecht 1994: 91). This tri-partite division of time is characteristic of the *Annales* school of structural history, and is useful in archaeology because archaeology can document all three levels and seek to understand the interactions between them (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 136).

For western Britain the relevance of Braudel's work is simply that it demonstrates that change must be seen as occurring at different rates, with things such as geography, culture and individual events all inter-related but operating on different time-scales. In this sense it can be seen that the uptake of new social norms, or identities, does not have to follow any uniform pattern – some aspects of culture will change faster than others. The approach adopted in this thesis supports this. Different aspects of material culture are taken up and change at different speeds in different areas. So, while eating practices may have been slowly changing in the south-west of England from the late Iron Age due to the influence of new imported wares, it is only in the second century AD that a new architectural form, the oval house, is adopted. In north-west Wales, imported pottery is found on sites from shortly after the conquest, but fine wares account for a disproportionate amount and it is only in the third century AD that cooking pots begin to be found in any numbers – this may imply a more conservative approach to food preparation than food consumption. It can be seen that change in the utilisation of material culture does not follow the pattern of any uniform process of

175

acculturation. Rather, it is clear that material culture is used differently in different spheres of life and that, depending on how such things as architecture and food consumption are inter-woven with people's sense of identity, they may change independently.

Space: the extent of change

Related to the question of how change occurs through time is obviously the issue of how change occurs across space. Similarly, it is clear that different aspects of material culture will vary geographically. This thesis has shown that there is no over-arching unity along the western seaboard – some things occur at a local level, while others display a regional trend. Childe's culture groups are a fallacy; instead we are confronted with a vast array of material culture which displays contrasting and cross-cutting distributions, with links seemingly extending in all directions. In south-west England, for example, south-west decorated ware is found throughout the peninsula whereas oval houses have a distribution confined to Cornwall. In Scotland wheelhouses are restricted almost exclusively to the Western Isles whereas brochs have a far wider distribution, being found throughout the mainland as well as Orkney and Shetland.

Barth (1994) advocates that, in seeking to understand the formation of ethnicity, three inter-penetrating levels should be looked at: a micro, median and macro level. The micro level is the level of personal experience, the median level is the level at which groups and collectivities are formed, and the macro level is the level of state policies. A similar approach is rewarding in viewing the material culture patterns along the western seaboard. At the micro level it can be seen that material culture is utilised in a wide variety of different ways, possibly related to the creation of identities at the local level. An example of this is the locally specific utilisation of particular types of imported pottery in Wales. At the median level, particular items may show a wider and similar pattern of usage, such as the manufacture of items of gabbroic pottery in Cornwall. However, at the macro level it is more difficult to discern repeated patterns other than at a very general level – for example, if one considers a circular house plan to be culturally diagnostic then it is possible to suggest they are an Atlantic

phenomenon (e.g. Harding 2009: 297). However, this is a great generalisation and neglects the divergent forms of architecture evident at a more local level along the western seaboard. What this shows is that the specific items of material culture that one chooses to study, as well as the level at which one analyses them, will have a bearing on subsequent interpretation. This thesis has emphasised that a focus on bodily experience can serve as the basic building block of interpretation. However, material culture patterns going beyond this will emerge. Given that their distribution varies across both space and time, the question that has to be asked is how they can be related to the issue of cultural groupings and identity.

Social organisation and cultural groupings

One of the overriding themes of this thesis is the deconstruction of the idea of a unified Atlantic zone. The material culture patterns that have emerged from the data reinforce this, with little direct evidence for contacts or similarities along the western seaboard of Britain. Instead, links eastward have been demonstrated to have been at least as important, if not more so. It may be impossible to know exactly how the people and communities of these regions viewed themselves and their neighbours, but it can be said that their sense of themselves would have been intimately tied into their local worlds and these local worlds, as can be seen through the differential use of material culture, have been shown to be vastly different along the western seaboard. Attempts to link these disparate communities can only succeed at a very general level. However, there is a need to avoid ending up in a post-modern quandary, where fragmentation and difference are emphasised at the expense of a concept of unity, and the denial of the existence of objective 'facts' leads to a situation where little can be said (Insoll 2007). It is clear that there are material culture patterns, at both a local and regional level, in western Britain which can be interpreted in relation to a concept of identity. It may be the case that these patterns are also economic in nature, or the result of Roman military influence, or have some other explanation, but these do not have to be exclusive from their utilisation in expressions of individual or group identity.

The approach to material culture that was adopted in this thesis has highlighted that previous attempts at understanding the nature of cultural groupings in western Britain

have failed to appreciate the complex nature of bodily interactions with material culture. A focus on the body has allowed a picture of human-object interactions to emerge which is not beset by the difficulties that other approaches have experienced; namely their emphasis on simplistic, and historically constructed, interpretations of the relationship between material culture and identity. Instead, a view of day-to-day life along the western seaboard has been the focus, without reference to pre-conceived social groupings. However, while any direct and simple relationship between material culture and identity has been denied, it is possible to see the use of material culture being bound up in expressions of identity in a more symbolic fashion. This focus on identity as a symbolic construct is reinforced by the findings of this thesis – with the evidence for cross-cutting and divergent distributions of objects implying that only some of them would have come to take on the status of identity markers. Although it cannot be known with certainty how different items were viewed by those who used them, it is still possible to see incipient understandings of both individual and group identity emerging along the Atlantic seaboard, always with reference to a local or regional context. This is in keeping with the suggestion that identities are more fluid than any over-arching framework allows. Instead we see a picture of individual and possible regional group identities in constant flux, where different items of material culture are used as referents, different aspects of day-to-day life change at variable speeds, and people's responses to external influences are diverse and opportunistic.

Implications for the Archaeology of Western Britain

A crumbling edifice: the old west

The idea of bounded, homogenous cultures is slowly being discredited in archaeology, and this has profound implications for conceptions of identity in western Britain. The simple narrative of natives and invaders, Celts and Romans, which previously dominated views of the region, is being affected by the realisation that identities are formed in a far more complex fashion. But, whilst an awareness of the diversity of ways of living that did exist along the western seaboard of Britain is becoming more widely accepted, the archaeology of the region is still subsumed within over-arching cultural frameworks. This can be seen in the idea of an 'oceanic mentality' (Cunliffe 2001) or the suggestion that the communities of the region followed a similar 'directedness' in development (Henderson 2007). This thesis has shown that these new ideas were still constructed within historically constituted conceptions of the region as being peripheral and different and, in this sense, differ little from previous attempts at synthesis. There is still a need to move away finally and completely from these outdated conceptual frameworks. What this means is that it is necessary to view the archaeology of western Britain in its own right, rather than forcing it to fit pre-conceived ideas of the nature of social organisation in the region. This does not imply that the communities of this region were unaffected by happenings elsewhere; it is simply the case that their conceptions of themselves were not bound up in any absolute fashion with wider European-wide processes of change. It also does not imply that people and communities are unaffected by their local environment, but it does suggest that an overly environmentally-deterministic framework, where geography exerts an undue influence on people's conceptions of themselves, does not take account of the complexities of people's interactions with the material world.

A new approach: daily life in western Britain

Old approaches involving settlement typology and bounded cultural groupings have failed to explain the nature of society in western Britain in the late Iron Age and

Roman period. This thesis has highlighted the fact that a new approach is needed; it suggests that an approach founded on the body as the basic building block of interpretation is useful in overcoming biases inherent in attempting to classify people on the basis of pre-conceived theoretical categories. Instead, a focus on 'material life', allied with the deconstruction of a monolithic 'Atlantic zone', allows scope for understanding the plural and changing nature of the identities which arise in the context of complex people-object relationships. These identities are bound up with people's daily lives and, in this sense, any approach must take account of day-to-day activities, from eating and drinking to the manufacture and wearing of clothes and the construction and inhabitation of houses.

The multi-faceted nature of identity formation can thus be addressed in a more holistic manner. Previous attempts at synthesis focused simplistically on seeing the region within a dichotomous framework of similarity and difference. Similarities were stressed internally, and differences externally. This can be seen in the way that superficial similarities in settlement patterns were alluded to, such as the occurrence of circular house-plans, construction in stone, and the presence of promontory forts. These were then contrasted with areas further east where social complexity was seen as greater, as indicated by the presence of hillforts and oppida. However, this approach is clearly very subjective, with the distributions of specific aspects of material culture allowing various interpretations. The approach adopted here has demonstrated that differences between areas along the western seaboard were as great, if not greater, than differences with areas further east. This is because rather than choosing particular aspects of material culture to study, an attempt was made to include all aspects of daily life in the analysis. This has allowed a far more complex picture to emerge, where different aspects of material culture can be used variably in the construction and maintenance of identities.

The new west

The idea of identity being neither singular nor static does not negate attempts to understand the nature of society in western Britain. Instead, it opens up possibilities for understanding how identities are created and maintained in the context of day-to-day

life. The analysis of material culture in this thesis has shown incipient identities emerging at both the local and regional level, but in a more complex fashion than most previous research has allowed for. To take pottery as an example, in north-west Wales it can be seen that individual households were choosing specific imported pottery types for use in food consumption, which may be related to expressions of household identity. In south-west Wales pottery was generally sourced from supply routes which avoided the town of Carmarthen, suggesting a deliberate avoidance of contact with the local civil authorities. In south-west England a specific clay source was used for the manufacture of pottery; a distinctive style of decoration was used and the wares were distributed regionally and may have been part of a larger sense of group identity. In the Western Isles, a distinctive regional style of decoration was in use, but the pottery was manufactured locally with specific decorational motifs occurring in a local context. This may indicate a stronger sense of individual or household identity occurring within a regional tradition. So, in the case of pottery, it is possible to see various manifestations of identity occurring in the context of both acceptance of new forms as well as resistance to them, tied in with diverse expressions of both local and regional senses of identity.

This awareness of the variety of ways that people can use material culture, and be affected by it, allows a more nuanced understanding of the nature of society in western Britain. However, the purpose of this thesis was not to provide a definitive new interpretation of social groupings in western Britain. Rather, it was to demonstrate that this is actually the wrong way to approach the subject. Material culture cannot be seen to equate with identity in any direct sense. Rather, it must be understood that identity exists in the minds of people. It manifests itself in the interactions between people and objects, as the body encounters the world in the course of day-to-day life. Specific items may come to take on the status of identity marker, but the overall relationship is one of symbolism, whereby an individual or group may reference a bigger and more complicated idea through the use of certain materials or objects. As discussed in the methodology chapter, Levi-Strauss's concept of 'house societies' is a good example of this. The house may present an outward face of unity but it is 'more productive to examine the dynamic quality of kin-like, economic, ritual and co-residential relations that are enacted with the physical and symbolic framework provided by the house' (Gillespie 2000: 42). In this sense, it is important to be aware that identities in western

181

Britain did not exist in some absolute way that can be accessed easily through an analysis of material culture patterns. Rather, the reflexive nature of the relationship between people and objects must be accounted for and, instead of attempting to provide narratives of relatively static cultural groupings, we must search for uses of material culture which may relate in a symbolic fashion to a variety of individual and group identities. In this way a picture of a fluid and diverse identities emerges for western Britain, rather than the fixed and singular ones of the past.

Potential problems with this approach

This lack of fixed meaning might be seen as a problem with the approach adopted here. If identities are multiple and fluid then what exactly can be said about their existence in the past? The choice of categories for analysis too, can be seen to be subjective – both the regions chosen for study, and the organisation of material culture for analysis. This can be said to have an effect on subsequent interpretation. However, it must be recognised that attempts to find fixed meaning in objects are problematic and 'a more subtle approach would be to recognise that meanings of things are open and that no description will ever be able to tell us everything' (Barrett *et al*. 2000: 45). Similarly, Parker Pearson (1995: 205) says that 'the overdetermination of facts by interpretive frameworks has been recognised for some time in archaeology', and suggests that it is more realistic to allow for competing interpretations of the archaeological evidence. This is the approach adopted here. The choice of categories for analysis may be ultimately arbitrary, but if it is recognised that the archaeological record allows for multiple interpretations, then an approach that focuses on the 'material life' of the inhabitants of western Britain will allow for greater scope in interpreting the resulting material traces. This follows what Barrett (2000:67) calls an 'archaeology of inhabitation', which he describes as being 'fundamentally concerned with the situated context of action'.

Another potential problem with this approach can be seen in its critique of the manner in which previous interpretive frameworks have been tied into wider historical processes. How, then, can this approach be seen as any different? Whilst this is a seemingly intractable problem, it should not prevent an attempt to move away from

182

approaches which are seen to be flawed. It must simply be accepted that interpretation is intrinsic to the practise of archaeology as a discipline. Julian Thomas, writing about post-processual archaeology, said that 'the most important development of the past twenty years has been the collapse of the belief that there can be a single royal road to knowing the past. The post-processual era has not seen the emergence of a new kind of archaeology, so much as a new kind of discourse within archaeology' (Thomas 2000: 18). Similarly, Barrett (2000: 67), in addressing the idea of agency, states 'that interpretation does not set out to discover what meaning archaeological material may have had, as if they were the authored statement of some earlier agency which it is our task to understand'. Rather, he suggests that 'interpretation involves an engagement with the possibilities of a human agency which could occupy the material worlds we recover archaeologically' (ibid). In this light, it can be seen that the aim of the approach adopted in this thesis is not to provide a new paradigm for understanding western Britain; rather, its aim is to open up the possibility of new interpretations and new understandings of how people construct their worlds in the context of their daily lives.

Future direction

The focus of this thesis has been on illuminating the diversity of day-to-day life in western Britain. However, the deconstruction of western Britain as being part of an 'Atlantic zone' should not mean a descent into the local at the expense of the bigger picture. While it is misleading for the area to be subsumed into grand narratives of culture change, it is also wrong to approach the study of the area independently from happenings elsewhere. Lecht (1994: 93), addressing Fernand Braudel's work on the Mediterranean, says that 'the Mediterranean cannot be understood independently from that which is exterior to it. Any rigid adherence to boundaries is a way of falsifying the situation', and this is also the case with western Britain. The approach adopted in this thesis has highlighted that communities on the western seaboard existed primarily at a local, self-sufficient level but that there were contacts with adjacent regions and areas further afield, and that these contacts extended in all directions.

Recent work in other parts of Britain has begun to demonstrate that, similarly to the west, other regions have also suffered from interpretation based primarily on settlement morphology. For example, work in the Welsh Marches has shown that there existed a plethora of smaller enclosures in a landscape that was previously thought to have been dominated by hillforts (Wigley 2007). In eastern Scotland it has been revealed that there is considerable evidence for enclosed settlement in an area where unenclosed settlement was thought to be the norm (Davies 2007). It is clear that previous approaches based on settlement morphology and typologies have failed to account for the complexity of daily life at a local level. Hill's (2007) work on the dynamics of social change in eastern and south-eastern England has also questioned the utility of core-periphery models, and has demonstrated that developments in this region need to be set in a broader regional context. As mentioned previously, he suggests that changes in south-eastern England in the late Iron Age were part of a broader series of changes across Britain and Ireland, which manifested themselves differently in different areas. This is also how the archaeology of western Britain should be approached, with the idea that changes occurring within the region can only be addressed properly once they are placed in a wider context.

In a broader academic context, there has been a resurgence of interest recently in the idea of the 'Celts' and the idea of an 'Atlantic culture', driven by new research in the areas of linguistics and genetics (e.g. Cunliffe and Koch 2010). While beyond the scope of this thesis it does show how the issues highlighted here still have resonance in a wider field, both academic and public. However, from the perspective of this thesis, this recent debate again stresses the importance of an archaeological approach. Work in the field of genetics, for example, has shown how the majority of the populations of the British Isles derive their DNA from the original post-glacial settlers of the islands, with little evidence for a substantial impact from later migrations (Oppenheimer 2006). Indeed, it has been stressed that the contribution of DNA studies will always be constrained by the nature of academic debate, the word 'Celtic' itself being an inherently non-genetic term, with 'geneticists...invariably [being] forced to depend on the definitions and syntheses provided by archaeologists, historians and linguists' (Royvrik 2010: 102). In the field of linguistics too, recent work has again sought to relate identity and language, backed up by reference to medieval Irish and Welsh historical sources (e.g. Karl 2008). However, this returns us once again to the

simplistic equation of language with culture, when in fact there is not necessarily any direct correlation between these two things, a position reiterated by Collis (forthcoming) in a paper in which he emphasises the dangers inherent in this debate, i.e. making analogies between medieval literature and Iron Age societies and the assumption that language can be equated with culture. He suggests instead that, while linguistics has a role to play in the debate surrounding the nature of the communities of Atlantic Europe, there is a need for all disciplines to move beyond a narrow focus on specific aspects of a putative 'Celtic' identity, and look at the wider picture, both synchronically and diachronically.

These recent debates have resonance for this thesis, because they again emphasise the need to approach the data set with an open mind, unconstrained by narrow viewpoints and previous approaches. From an archaeological perspective, what is needed now is a reappraisal of the nature of identity formation throughout the British Isles that does not rely on discrete geographical zones and bounded cultures, following an approach such as the one adopted in this thesis, which includes both spatial and temporal depth. It is necessary to extend the analysis further and to seek to situate social change and the construction of identities in a wider setting, one which might allow a greater understanding of the diverse nature of the influences that affected identity formation. In this way research on western Britain can completely disentangle itself from the constraints imposed upon it by previous conceptual frameworks. Instead, the multiple and diverse identities that emerged in the context of day-to-day life in western Britain can be allowed to emerge and it can be attempted to understand their place in a wider setting, where connections and interactions at various levels can be seen without requiring their incorporation in grand narratives of cultural change or stasis.

Appendix: Sites discussed in the text

The following is a list of the main sites discussed in the thesis, in alphabetical order. It gives the name of the site, a brief description of the evidence for the late Iron Age and Roman Period, and the main references used.

1. A' Cheardach Bheag

Description: Two interconnected wheelhouses, possibly occupied successively. Occupied for up to four centuries.

Refs: (Fairhurst 1971)

2. Bac Mhic Connain

Description: Wheelhouse., with adjoining circular chamber. Early excavation by Erskine Beveridge. Finds included samian, and knife handle with ogham inscription.

Refs: (Hallen and O'Neil 1994)

3. Bryn Eryr

Description: Substantial rectangular enclosure, preceded by Iron Age timber stockade. Bank and ditch not functional in Roman period. Rich find assemblage.

Refs: (Longley *et al* 1998a; 1998b)

4. Bryn-y-Castell

Description: Hillfort, with evidence for substantial iron working. In uses in late Iron Age, hiatus around Roman conquest, re-use in $2^{nd}/3^{rd}$ centuries AD.

Ref: (Crew 1990)

5. Bush Farm

Description: Unenclosed clay walled round house and terraced fields. Replaced by stone walled house in Roman period. Rich find assemblage.

Ref: (Longley *et al* 1998b)

6. Cae'r Mynydd

Description: Enclosed 'hut-group' and terraced fields. Houses both circular and rectangular in plan.

Ref: (Griffiths 1959)

7. Caerau

Description: Hut group and field system. Two enclosed hut groups, one circular and one polygonal. Occupied in second and third centuries AD.

Refs: (O'Neil 1936)

8. Calstock

Description: Recently discovered Roman fort. Very little published information.

Refs: (Hartgroves and Smith 2008)

9. Carmarthen

Description: Roman fort, occupied c. AD 75-110. Developed into Roman town, *Moridunum, civitas* capital of the *Demetae*. Occupied until mid-late fourth century AD.

Refs: (James 2003)

10. Carn Brea

Description: Hillfort, interior densely packed with round houses. Occupied in late Iron Age based on pottery.

Refs: (Mercer 1981)

11. Carn Euny

Description: Courtyard house settlement. A number of courtyard houses and round houses, with associated fogou. Late Iron Age and Roman Period occupation.

Refs: (Christie 1978)

12. Carvossa

Description: Substantial sub-rectangular earthwork, with roundhouses. Very rich artefact assemblage, indicating occupation from the first to the fourth centuries AD.

Refs: (Carlyon 1987)

13. Castell Henllys

Description: Iron Age Hillfort, with rare example of cheveaux-de-frise in western Britain. Roman period farmstead built across ramparts.

Refs: (Mytum 1999; 2002)

14. Castle Gotha

Description: Round, with timber buildings and one stone-walled oval house. Occupation centred on the first century AD, with overlap into centuries before and after.

Refs: (Saunders and Harris 1982)

15. Castell Odo

Description: Enclosed hut group. Two concentric circular enclosures with round houses, preceded by unenclosed phase. Considerable assemblage of Iron Age pottery, rare in north-west Wales

Refs: (Alcock 1960)

16. Cefn Graeanog

Description: Enclosed 'hut-group', preceded by unenclosed timber buildings. Sparse finds. Occupation lasted until fourth century AD.

Refs: (Hogg 1969)

17. Cefn Graeanog II

Description: Enclosed 'hut-group'. Started as single unenclosed round house in second century BC, followed by an oval enclosure, then a rectangular enclosure occupied from the first to fourth centuries AD.

Refs: (Mason and Fasham 1998)

18. Chun Castle

Description: Substantial stone enclosure with walls 14-15 feet thick, surrounded by smaller outer wall and ditch. Numerous small 'huts' in interior.

Refs: (Leeds 1926)

19. Chysauster

Description: Courtyard house settlement. Eight separate courtyard houses comprising the best known example of this site type in Cornwall.

Refs: (O'Neill-Hencken 1933)

20. Cnip

Description: Wheelhouse, providing evidence for the early construction of this site type, being constructed somewhere between the fourth and first centuries BC.

Refs: (Armit 2006)

21. Cnip 2/3

Description: Industrial site, possibly associated with nearby wheelhouse. Evidence for bronze and iron working.

Refs: (Armit and Dunwell 1992)

22. Coygan Camp

Description: Inland promontory fort, occupied in late Iron Age. Re-used in late third century AD, with a rich artefact assemblage and a possible counterfeiter's hoard.

Refs: (Wainwright 1967)

23. Crawcwellt West

Description:

Upland settlement site consisting of oval enclosures and associated circular and rectangular buildings. Evidence for substantial iron working. Out of use by the time of the Roman conquest.

Refs: (Crew 1989; 1998)

24. Cwmbwryn

Description: Oval enclosure with stone built villa-type building. Finds indicate occupation from the second to the late third/early fourth centuries AD.

Refs: (Ward 1907)

25. Dan-y-Coed

Description: Rath, with preceding unenclosed phase. Round and rectangular houses and four-posters in interior. Occupied around second/first century BC to mid-late century AD.

Refs: (Williams and Mytum 1998)

26. Dolaucothi

Description: Gold mine. Controlled in Roman period by nearby Roman administrative complex.

Refs: (Arnold and Davies 2000)

27. Duckpool

Description: Industrial site which, in the Roman period, seems to have focused on secondary metal working, with evidence for the casting of lead and pewter, and possibly copper, objects.

Refs: (Ratcliffe 1995)

28. Dun Bharabhat

Description: Broch, on island in lake, approached by causeway. Later cellular phase. Initial construction in second half of first millennium BC.

Refs: (Harding and Dixon 2000)

29. Dun Carloway

Description: Broch, one of the best surviving examples with walls still standing to 9m in height.

Refs: (Tabraham 1977)

30. Dun Vulan

Description: Broch. Constructed in last two centuries BC. Associated outbuildings built in second or third centuries AD.

Refs: (Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999)

31. Erw Wen

Description: Late prehistoric circular stone enclosure, with central circular stone round house which replaced an earlier timber roundhouse.

Refs: (Kelly 1988)

32. Exeter

Description: Legionary fortress, founded c.55 AD. Developed into town, *Isca*, the capital of the *Civitas Dumnoniorum*.

Refs: (Holbrook and Bidwell 1991)

33. Garn Boduan

Description: Hillfort, interior densely packed with round houses. Two periods of Iron Age construction, with a smaller enclosure constructed in the late/post Roman period.

Refs: (Hogg 1960)

34. Goldherring

Description: Round and terraced field system. Circular enclosure with circular and rectangular stone buildings. Dated to first to fourth centuries AD, but with period of abandonment in second century.

Refs: (Guthrie 1969)

35. Graeanog

Description: Enclosed 'hut-group'. Initially two unenclosed round houses in late Iron Age, developing into enclosed homestead by late third or fourth century AD.

Refs: (Kelly 1998)

36. Grambla

Description: Round, rectilinear in plan with oval houses. Constructed in second century AD.

Refs: (Saunders 1972)

37. Kildonan

Description: Wheelhouse. Finds included a plate-headed knee brooch, a rare find in the Outer Hebrides.

Refs: (Zvelebil 1991)

38. Killibury

Description: Hillfort, with timber buildings in interior including four-posters and a round house 9m across. Pottery indicates late Iron Age occupation.

Ref: (Miles *et al* 1977)

39. Kilpheder

Description: Wheelhouse. Finds included a Romano-British trumpet brooch, a rare find in the Outer Hebrides.

Refs: (Lethbridge 1952)

40. Llanynog II

Description: Rectangular enclosure, with internal platforms but little other structural or artefactual evidence. Occupied in the second century AD.

Refs: (Avent 1973; 1975)

41. Llwyn-du-Bach

Description: Circular enclosure. Two concentric stone walls surrounding a central stone round house.

Refs: (Bersu and Griffiths 1949)

42. Llyn Cerrig Bach

Description: Hoard of metalwork. Extensive deposition of metalwork in a lake, some with La Tène decoration. Possible votive site.

Refs: (Fox 1945)

43. Loch na Berie

Description: Broch, with later cellular phase. Earliest levels unexcavated but certain occupation from second century AD.

Refs: (Harding and Gilmour 2000)

44. Magor

Description: Roman villa. A small winged corridor villa, abandoned c. AD 230-40, with re-occupation up to the end of the third century.

Refs: (O'Neil 1933)

45. Moel y Gerddi

Description: Late prehistoric circular enclosure, with central circular house. Initial timber palisade and house replaced in stone.

Refs: (Kelly 1988)

46. Mount Batten

Description: Port. Major point of entry for goods from continental Europe in the Iron Age, continuing in use into the Roman period.

Refs: (Cunliffe 1988)

47. Nanstallon

Description: Roman fort, occupied only briefly from c. AD 60-80.

Refs: (Fox and Ravenhill 1972)

48. Nornour

Description: Prehistoric settlement with deposition of substantial numbers of brooches, coins and other items in the Roman period. Possible votive site.

Refs: (Butcher 2000-1; Butcher *et al* 1978)

49. Penhale

Description: Round, with three enclosing ditches. Circular structures in the interior. Occupied from first century BC to third century AD.

Refs: (Johnston, Moore and Fasham 1998-9)

50. Pen-y-Coed

Description: Rath. Late Iron Age farmstead with impressive entrance and large round house. Smaller roundhouse built on decayed bank in Roman period.

Refs: (Murphy 1985)

51. Porthmeor

Description: Courtyard house settlement. Two courtyard houses and a round house, with associated fogou. Occupation suggested in early centuries AD.

Refs: (Hirst 1937)

52. Prideaux Rings

Description: Multiple enclosure hillfort. Visible from Trethurgy round and suggested 'central place' in the locality.

Refs: (Quinnell 2004)

53. Restormel

Description: Recently discovered Roman fort. Finds from fieldwork indicate occupation from first to fourth centuries AD.

Refs: (Hartgroves and Smith 2008)

54. Segontium

Description: Roman fort. The main fort controlling north-west Wales. Constructed AD 77-83 and occupied until the late fourth century.

Refs: (Casey, Davies and Evans 1993)

55. Sollas

Description: Wheelhouse, and associated circular building, Dated to first or second century AD.

Refs: (Campbell 1991)

56. St. David's Head

Description: Field system. Rectangular fields delineated by stone walls. Adjacent to promontory fort.

Refs: (Murphy 2001)

57. St. Mawgan-in-Pyder

Description: Substantial enclosure with circular 'huts' in interior. Very rich artefact assemblage indicating a high status settlement of the first and second centuries AD.

Refs: (Threipland 1956)

58. Stackpole Warren

Description: Field system and associated settlement. Rectangular fields delineated by stone walls, dating from late Iron Age. Occupation debris indicates occupation of the site into the Roman period.

Refs: (Benson, Evans and Williams 1990)

59. The Rumps

Description: Promontory fort (cliff castle), with timber round houses. Pottery indicates occupation from fourth century BC to first century AD.

Refs: (Quinnell 1986)

60. Threemilestone

Description: Round. Circular enclosure with a second outer ditch, and a circular house in the interior. Seems to have gone out of use before the Roman conquest.

Refs: (Schwieso 1976)

61. Tre'r Ceiri

Description: Hillfort, interior densely packed with round houses. Founded shortly before Roman conquest and continues in use to third or fourth century AD.

Refs: (Hogg 1960)

62. Tregilders

Description: Round. Sub-rectangular enclosure with living area outside the bank. Possibly associated with nearby hillfort at Killibury, with a probable trackway between them.

Refs: (Trudigan 1977)

63. Trelissey

Description: A circular enclosure with a small villa-type building. Occupied from early second to late third century AD.

Refs: (Thomas and Walker 1959)

64. Tremough

Description: Extensive settlement, with enclosures and field systems, including an unusual C-shaped enclosure. Occupied in late Iron Age and Roman period.

Refs: (Gossip and Jones 2007)

65. Trethellan Farm

Description: Cemetery, in use from third century BC to first century AD, consisting of twenty-one inhumation pits.

Refs: (Nowakoswki 1991)

66. Trethurgy

Description: Round, occupied from the second to the sixth century AD. Only complete excavation of a round interior.

Refs: (Quinnell 2004)

67. Trevelgue

Description: Promontory fort (cliff castle), with evidence for large-scale iron working. Pottery indicated occupation in the late Iron Age and Roman period.

Refs: (Cripps 2007)

68. Trevisker 2

Description: Round. A smaller enclosure replaced by a larger one, both with timber round houses. Occupied from the second century BC to the second century AD.

Refs: (Apsimon and Greenfield 1972)

69. Ty Mawr

Description: 'Hut-group'. Eight distinct homesteads, both enclosed and unenclosed. Not all in use contemporaneously. Occupation over extended time period, up to a millennium over the Iron Age and Roman period.

Refs: (Smith 1984; 1985; 1986; 1987)

70. Walesland Rath

Description: Rath, with round houses and four-posters. Occupied in the late Iron Age and Roman period, with a rectangular building built in one of the two entrances in the Roman period.

Refs: (Wainwright 1971)

71. Woodside

Description: Rath, with round houses and four-posters. Occupied from the second or first century BC, going out of use soon after the Roman conquest.

Refs: (Williams and Mytum 1998)

Bibliography

Abel, C. 1997. *Architecture and Identity: Responses to cultural and technological change*. Architectural Press. Oxford.

Alcock, L. 1960. Castell Odo: An Embanked Settlement on Mynydd Ystum, near Aberdaron, Caernarvonshire. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 109, 78-135.

Alcock, L. 1972. The Irish Sea Zone in the Pre-Roman Iron Age. In C. Thomas (ed) *The Iron Age in the Irish Sea Province*, 99-112. CBA Research Report 9. London.

Allison, P.M. (ed) 1999. *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. Routledge. London.

Appleton-Fox, N. 1992. Excavations at a Romano-British round; Reawla, Gwinear, Cornwall. *Cornish Archaeology* 31, 69-123.

Apsimon, A.M. and Greenfield, E. 1972. The Excavation of a Bronze Age and Iron Age Settlement at Trevisker, St. Eval, Cornwall. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 38, 302-381.

Armit, I. (ed) 1990. *Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh.

Armit, I. 1992. *The Later Prehistory of the Western Isles of Scotland*. BAR British Series 221. Oxford.

Armit, I. 1997. Cultural landscapes and identities: a case study in the Scottish Iron Age. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies: New approaches to the British Iron Age*, 248-253. Oxbow Monograph 71. Oxford.

Armit, I. 2002. Land and Freedom: implications of Atlantic Scottish settlement patterns for Iron Age land-holding and social organisation. In B. Ballin Smith and I. Banks (eds) 2002. *In the Shadow of the Brochs: The Iron Age in Scotland*, 15-26. Tempus. Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Armit, I. 2005. Land-Holding and Inheritance in the Atlantic Scottish Iron Age. In V.E. Turner *et al.* (eds). *Tall Stories: 2 millennia of brochs*, 129-143. Shetland Amenity Trust. Lerwick.

Armit, I. 2006. *Anatomy of an Iron Age Roundhouse: The Cnip Wheelhouse Excavations, Lewis*. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Edinburgh.

Armit, I. and Dunwell, A. 1992. Excavations at Cnip, Sites 2 and 3, Lewis, 1989. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 122, 137-148.

Armit, I. and Ginn, V. 2007. Beyond the Grave: Human Remains from Domestic contexts in Iron Age Scotland. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 73, 113-134.

Arnold, C.J. and Davies, J.L. 2000. *Roman and Early Medieval Wales*. Sutton Publishing. Stroud.

Avent, R. 1973. Excavations at Llanynog II, 1972. *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary* IX, 33-52.

Avent, R. 1975. Excavations at Llanynog II, 1974. *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary* XI, 21-53.

Banks, I. 2002. Always the bridesmaid: the Iron Age of south-west Scotland. In B. Ballin Smith and I. Banks (eds) 2002. *In the Shadow of the Brochs: The Iron Age in Scotland*, 27-34. Tempus. Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Barrett, J. 1989a. Further Problems in the Iron Age of Southern Britain. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 6, 1-3.

Barrett, J. 1989b. Food, Gender and Metal: questions of social reproduction. In M.L.S. Sorensen and R. Thomas (eds) The Bronze Age – Iron Age Transition in Europe, 304-320. BAR British Series 483. Oxford.

Barrett, J. 1997. Romanization: a critical comment. In D.J. Mattingly (ed) *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, 51-64. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series, No. 23. Porthsmouth, Rhode Island.

Barrett, J. 2000. A thesis on agency. In M.A. Dobres and J. Robb (eds) *Agency in Archaeology*, 61-68. Routledge. London.

Barrett, J. *et al.* 2000. *Cadbury Castle Somerset: The later prehistoric and early historic archaeology*. English Heritage Archaeological Reports 20. London.

Barth, F. (ed) 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The social organisation of culture difference.*. George Allen & Unwin. London.

Barth, F. 1994. Enduring and emerging issues in the analysis of ethnicity. In H. Vermeulen and C. Gavers (eds) *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries'*. Het Spinhuis. Amsterdam.

Barthes, R. 1977. *Image, Music, Text*. Fontana Press. London.

Barthes, R. 2000. *Mythologies*. Vintage. London.

Baynes, E.N. 1908. The Excavations at Din Lligwy. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 63, 183-210.

Baynes, E.N. 1930. Further Excavations at Din Lligwy. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 375-393.

Benson, D.G., Evans, J.G. and Williams, G.H. 1990. Excavations at Stackpole Warren, Dyfed. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 56, 179-245.

Bersu, G. 1977. *Three Iron Age Round Houses in the Isle of Man*. Manx Museum and National Trust. Isle of Man.

Bersu, G. and Griffiths, W.E. 1949. Concentric Circles at Llwyn-Du-Bach, Penygroes, Caernarvonshire. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 100, 173-206.

Beveridge, E. 2001 [1911]. North *Uist*. Birlinn. Edinburgh.

Bewley, R.H. 1994. *Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement in the Solway Plain Cumbria*. Oxbow Books. Oxford.

Binford, L.R. 1965. Archaeological Systematics and the study of culture process. *American Antiquity* 31(2), 203-210.

Blackmore, C., Braithwaite, M and Hodder, I. 1979. Social and Cultural Patterning in the Late Iron Age in Southern England. In Burnham, B. and Kingsbury, J. (eds.) *Space, Hierarchy and Society*, 93-111. BAR International Series 59.

Boric, D and Robb, J. (eds) 2008. *Past Bodies: Body-Centred Research in Archaeology*. Oxbow Books. Oxford.

Bourdieu, P. 1970. The Berber House or the World Reversed. *Social Science Information* 9, 151-70.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Polity Press. Cambridge.

Bowen, E.G. 1970. Britain and the British Seas. In D. Moore (ed) *The Irish Sea Province in Archaeology and History*, 13-28. Cambrian Archaeological Association. Cardiff.

Bowen, E.G. 1972. *Britain and the Western Seaways*. Thames and Hudson.

Bradley, R. 2007. *The Prehistory of Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Braudel, F. 1981. *Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century Volume 1: The Structures of Everyday Life*. Collins/Fontana Press. London.

Brubaker, R. 2004. *Ethnicity Without Groups*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Buckland, P.C., Parker-Pearson, M., Wigley, A. and Girling, M.A. 2001. Is There Anybody Out There? A Reconsideration of the Environmental Evidence from the Breiddin Hillfort, Powys, Wales. *Antiquaries Journal* 81, 51-76.

Butcher, S.A. 2000-1. Roman Nornour, Isles of Scilly: a reconsideration. *Cornish Archaeology* 39-40, 5-44.

Butcher, S.A. *et al* 1978. Excavations at Nornour, Isles of Scilly, 1969-73: the Pre-Roman Settlement. *Cornish Archaeology* 17, 29-112.

Caesar, J. 1917. *The Gallic War*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Campbell, E. 1991, Excavations of a wheelhouse and other Iron Age structures at Sollas, North Uist by R.J.C. Atkinson in 1957. PSAS 121, 117-73.

Campbell, E. 2002. The Western Isles pottery sequence. In B. Ballin-Smith and I. Banks (eds) 2002. *In the Shadow of the Brochs: The Iron age in Scotland*, 139-144. Tempus. Stroud.

Carlyon, P.M. 1987. Finds from the Earthwork at Carvossa, Probus. *Cornish Archaeology* 26, 103-141.

Carr, G. 2006. *Creolised Bodies and Hybrid Identities: Examining the Early Roman Period in Essex and Hertfordshire*. BAR British Series 418. Oxford.

Carsten, J. and Hugh-Jones, S. 1995. Introduction: About the House – Levi-Strauss and Beyond. In J. Carsten and S. Hugh-Jones (eds) *About the House – Levi-Strauss and Beyond*, 1-46. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Casella, E.C. and Fowler, C. 2004. *The Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities: Beyond Identification*. Springer.

Casey, P.J., Davies, J.L. and Evans, J. 1993. *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort, 1975-1979*. CBA Research Report 90, London.

Caulfield, S. 1977. Quern replacement and the origin of the brochs. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 109, 129-139.

Chaudhuri, K.N. 1990. *Asia before Europe: Economy and civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Childe, V.G. 1926. The *Aryans: A study of Indo-European origins*. Kegan Paul, Trench and Trubner. London.

Childe, V.G. 1929. *The Danube in Prehistory*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Childe, V.G. 1940. *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*. W & R Chambers. London.

Childe, V.G. 1951. *Social Evolution*. Watts. London.

Christie, P.M.L. 1978. The Excavation of an Iron Age Souterrain and Settlement at Carn Euny, Sancreed, Cornwall. *Proceeding of the Prehistoric Society* 44, 309-433.

Clark, J.G.D. 1954. *Excavations at Star Carr, an early mesolithic site at Seamer, near Scarborough*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Clarke, D.L. 1968. *Analytical Archaeology*. Methuen. London.

Clarke, D.V. 1970. Bone Dice and the Scottish Iron Age. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 36, 214-232.

Clarke, D.V. 1971. Small Finds in the Atlantic province: Problems of Approach. *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 3, 22-54.

Cohen, A.P. 1985. *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. Routledge, London.

Cohen, A.P. 1994. *Self Consciousness: An alternative anthropology of identity*. Routledge. London.

Coles, B. and Coles, J. 1986. *Sweet Track to Glastonbury: The Somerset Levels in Prehistory*. Thames and Hudson. London.

Coles, J. and Minnit, S. 1995. *Industrious and Fairly Civilised: The Glastonbury Lake Village*. Somerset Levels Project and Somerset County Council Museums Service.

Collis, J. 1977. An Approach to the Iron Age. In J. Collis (ed) *The Iron Age in Britain: A Review*, 1-7. Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield. Sheffield.

Collis, J. 2003. *The Celts: origins, myths and inventions*. Tempus. Stroud.

Collis, J. forthcoming. 'Reconstructing Iron Age Society' revisited. In T. Moore and X.L.Armada *Atlantic Europe in the First Millenium BC*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Cool, H.E.M. 2006. *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Cotter, C. 2000. The Chronology and Affinities of the Stone Forts along the Atlantic Coast of Ireland. In J.C. Henderson (ed) *The Prehistory and Early History of Atlantic Europe*, BAR Int series 861, 171-179. Archaeopress. Oxford.

Crawford, O.G.S. 1936. Western Seaways. In L.H.D. Buxton (ed) *Custom is King: Studies in Honour of R.R.Marett*, 181-200. Hutchinson's scientific and technical publications. London.

Crew, P. 1989. Excavations at Crawcwellt West, 1986-89: A Late Prehistoric Upland Iron-Working Settlement. *Archaeology in Wales* 29, 11-16.

Crew, P. 1990. Later Iron-Age and Roman iron production in north-west Wales. *Trivium* 25, 150-160.

Crew, P. 1998. Excavations at Crawcwellt West, Merioneth, 1990-1998: A late prehistoric upland iron-working settlement. *Archaeology in Wales* 38, 22-35.

Cripps, L.J. 2007. Re-situating the Later Iron Age in Cornwall and Devon: new perspectives from the settlement record. In C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, 140-155. Oxbow Books. Oxford.

Cummings, V. and Fowler, P. (eds) 2004. *The Neolithic of the Irish Sea: Materiality and traditions of practice*. Oxbow. Oxford.

Cunliffe, B. 1974. *Iron Age Communities in Britain: An account of England, Scotland and Wales from the seventh century BC until the Roman Conquest*, first edition. Routledge. London.

Cunliffe, B. 1983. *Danebury: Anatomy of an Iron Age Hillfort*. Batsford. London.

Cunliffe, B. 1987. *Hengistbury Head, Dorset. – Vol. 1: The prehistoric and Roman settlement, 3500BC-AD500*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 13. Oxford.

Cunliffe, B. 1988. *Mount Batten, Plymouth: A Prehistoric and Roman Port*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 26. Oxford.

Cunliffe, B. 1995. *Danebury, An Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire, Vol 6 A hillfort community in perspective*. CBA Research Report 102. York.

Cunliffe, B. 1997. *The Ancient Celts*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Cunliffe, B. 2001. *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and its Peoples 8000BC-AD1500*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Cunliffe, B. 2005. *Iron Age Communities in Britain: An account of England, Scotland and Wales from the seventh century BC until the Roman Conquest*, fourth edition. Routledge. London.

Cunliffe, B. and Koch, J.T. (eds 2010. *Celtic from the West: Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language and Literature*. Oxbow. Oxford.

Darby, W.J. 2000. *Landscape and Identity: Geographies of Nation and Class in England*. Berg. Oxford.

198

Davey, P. 2002. *The Archaeology of the Clay tobacco Pipe XVI*. BAR International 1042. Archaeopress. Oxford.

Davies, J.L. 2003. A Research Framework for the Archaeology of Wales: Northwest Wales – Roman. *http://www.archaeoleg.org.uk*. Created 10/8/2008, last accessed 10/8/2008.

Davies, M.H. 2007. Dominated by unenclosed settlement? The Later Iron Age in eastern Scotland. In C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, 266-285. Oxbow Books. Oxford.

Deliege, R. 2004. *Levi-Strauss Today: An Introduction to Structural Anthropology*. Berg. Oxford.

Diaz-Andreu, M. *et al* 2005. *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. Routledge. London.

Di Martino, V. 2003. *Roman Ireland*. The Collins Press. Cork.

Dobres, M. and Robb, J. (eds) 2000. *Agency in Archaeology*. Routledge. London.

Eckhart, H. and Crummy, N. 2006. 'Roman' or 'Native' Bodies in Britain: The Evidence of Late Roman Nail-Cleaner Strap-Ends. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 259(1), 83-103.

Eckardt, H. and Crummy, N. 2008. *Styling the body in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain: a contextual approach to toilet instruments*. Monograhpies instrumentum 36. Editions Monique Mergoil. Montagnac.

Eicher, J.B. (ed) 1995. *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time*. Berg. Oxford.

Fairhurst, H. 1971. The wheelhouse site at A' Cheardach Bheag on Drimore Machair, South Uist. GAJ 2, 72-106.

Fasham, P.J., Kelly, R.S., Mason, M.A., and White, R.B. 1998. *The Graeanog Ridge: The Evolution of a Farming Landscape and its Settlements in North-West Wales*. Cambrian Archaeological Association. Aberystwyth.

Flannery, K. 1967. Culture history v. culture process: a debate in American archaeology. *Scientific American* 217, 119-122.

Fleming, A. and Hingley, R. (eds) 2007. *Prehistoric and Roman Landscapes*. Windgather. Macclesfield.

Foucault, M. 1980 *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. Pantheon Books. New York.

Foucault, M. 1990. *The Care of the Self: The History of Sexuality 3*. Penguin. London.

Foucault, M. 1991. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Penguin. London.

Foucault, M. 1992. *The Use of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality 2*. Penguin. London.

Foucault, M. 1994. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. Vintage. New York.

Foucault, M. 2001. *Madness and Civilization*. Routledge. London.

Fox, A. 1964. South-West *England*. Thames and Hudson. London.

Fox, A. and Ravenhill, W. 1972. The Roman Fort at Nanstallon, Cornwall. *Britannia* 3, 56-111.

Fox, C. 1932. The *Personality of Britain: Its influence on Inhabitants and Invaders*. National Museum of Wales. Cardiff.

Fox, C. 1945. *A find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey*. National Museum of Wales. Cardiff.

Fox, C. 1952. *The Personality of Britain*, fourth edition. National Museum of Wales. Cardiff.

Frere, S. 1967. *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*. Routledge. London.

Fulford, M. 2007. Coasting Britannia: Roman Trade and Traffic Around the Shores of Britain. In C. Gosden, H. Hamerow, P. De Jersey and G. Lock (eds)

Communities and Connections: Essays in Honour of Barry Cunliffe, 54-74. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Geertz, C. 1993. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. Fontana Press. London.

Gellner, E. 1994. *Encounters with Nationalism*. Blackwell. Oxford.

Giddens, A. 1984. *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration*. Polity. Cambridge.

Giles, M. and Parker Pearson, M. 1999. Learning to Live in the Iron Age: dwelling and praxis. In B. Bevan (ed) *Northern exposure: interpretative devolution and the Iron Ages in Britain*, 217-231. Leicester Archaeology Monographs 4. Leicester.

Gillespie, S.D. 2000. Levi-Strauss: Maison and Société a Maison. In R.A. Joyce and S.D. Gillespie (eds) *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies*, 22-52. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia.

Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. 2006. House societies vs. kinship-based societies: An archaeological case from Iron Age Europe. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 25, 144-173.

Gosden, C. And Marshall, Y. 1999. The cultural biography of objects. *World Archaeology* 31(2), 169-178.

Gossip, J. and Jones, A.M. 2007. *Archaeological Investigations of a Later Prehistoric and a Romano-British Landscape at Tremough, Penryn, Cornwall*. BAR British Series 443. Archaeopress. Oxford.

Gould, S.J. 2003. *The Hedgehog, the Fox and the Magister's Pox: Mending the Gap Between Science and the Humanities*. Three Rivers Press. New York.

Grahame, M. 1998. Redefining Romanization: material culture and the question of social continuity in Roman Britain. In C. Forcey *et al* (eds) *TRAC 97: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Nottingham 1997*, 1-10. Oxbow. Oxford.

Green, M.J. (ed) 1995. *The Celtic World*. Routledge. London.

Griffiths, W.E. 1959. The Excavation of an Enclosed Hut-Group at Cae'r-Mynydd in Caernarvonshire. *Antiquaries Journal* 39, 33-60.

Grimes, W.F. 1959. Later Prehistory and the Coming of the Celts. In A.J. Roderick (ed) *Wales Through the Ages*, 18-25. Llandybie.

Guido, M. 1978. *The Glass Beads of the Prehistoric and Roman Periods in Britain and Ireland*. The Society of Antiquaries of London. London.

Guthrie, A. 1969. Excavation of a Settlement at Goldherring, Sancreed, 1958-1961. *Cornish Archaeology* 8, 5-39.

Hall, J.M. 1997. *Ethnic identity in Greek antiquity*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Hallen, Y. and O'Neil, M. 1994. The use of stone and antler at Foshigarry and Bac Mhic Connain, two Iron Age sites on North Uist, Western Isles. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 124, 189-231.

Hanson, W.S. and MacInnes, L. 1991. Soldiers and Settlements in Wales and Scotland. In R.F.J. Jones *Roman Britain: Recent Trends*, 85-92. J.R. Collis Publications. Sheffield.

Harding, D.W. 2000. The Hebridean Iron Age: Twenty Years' Research. *Occasional Papers Series* 20. University of Edinburgh, Department of Archaeology.

Harding, D.W. 2004. *The Iron Age in Northern Britain*: Celts and Romans, Natives and Invaders. Routledge. Oxford.

Harding, D.W. 2005. The Atlantic Scottish Iron Age: External Relations Reviewed. In V.E. Turner *et al.* (eds). *Tall Stories: 2 millennia of brochs*, 32-51. Shetland Amenity Trust. Lerwick.

Harding, D.W. 2007. *The Archaeology of Celtic Art*. Routledge. London.

Harding, D.W. 2009. *The Iron Age Round-House: Later Prehistoric Building in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Harding, D.W. and Dixon, T.N. 2000. *Dun Bharabhat, Cnip: An Iron Age Settlement in West Lewis, Vol. 1.*. University of Edinburgh, Department of Archaeology. Edinburgh.

Harding, D.W. and Gilmour, S.M.D. 2000. *The Iron Age Settlement at Beirgh, Riof, Isle of Lewis, Volume 1: The Structures and Stratigraphy*. University of Edinburgh, Department of Archaeology. Edinburgh.

Hartgroves, S. and Smith, J. 2008. A Second Roman Fort is Confirmed in Cornwall. *Britannia* 39, 237-239.

Haselgrove *et al.* 2001. *Understanding the British Iron Age: An Agenda for Action*. English Heritage. Salisbury.

Haussmann, H. 2000. Archaeology in the 'Third Reich'. In Heinrich Harke (ed) *Archaeology, Ideology and Society: The German experience*. Peter Lang. Frankfurt. 65-139.

Haverfield, F. 1923. *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. Clarendon. Oxford.

Hawkes, C.H. 1959. The ABC of the British Iron Age. *Antiquity* 33, 170-182.

Hencken, H. O'Neill 1932. *The Archaeology of Cornwall and Scilly*. Methuen. London.

Henderson, J.C. 2000. Shared Traditions? The drystone settlement records of Atlantic Scotland and Ireland 700BC-AD200. In J.C. Henderson (ed)*The Prehistory and Early History of Atlantic Europe*, BAR Int series 861, 117-154. Archaeopress. Oxford.

Henderson, J. C. 2007. *The Atlantic Iron Age: Settlement and Identity in the First Millenium BC*. Routledge.

Herring, P. 1994. The cliff castles and hillforts of West Penwith in the light of recent work at Maen Castle and Treryn Dinas. *Cornish Archaeology* 33, 40-56.

Hill, J.D. 1989. Re-thinking the Iron Age. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 6, 16-24.

Hill, J.D. 1995. *Ritual and rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex : a study on the formation of a specific archaeological record*. BAR British Series 242. Tempus. Oxford.

Hill, J.D. 1996. Hill-forts and the Iron Age of Wessex. In T.C. Champion and J.C. Collis (eds) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, 95-116. Sheffield.

Hill, J.D. 1997. 'The end of one kind of body and the beginning of another kind of body'? Toilet instruments and 'Romanization' in southern England during the first century AD. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies: new approaches to the British Iron Age*, 96-107. Oxbow Monograph 71. Oxbow. Oxford.

Hill, J.D. 2007. The dynamics of social change in Later Iron Age eastern and south-eastern England. In C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, 16-40. Oxbow Books. Oxford.

Hingley, R. 1989. *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*. B.A. Seaby Ltd.. London.

Hingley, R. 1990a. Boundaries Surrounding Iron Age and Romano-British Settlements. In C. Forcey *et al* (eds) *TRAC 97: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Nottingham 1997*, 96-103. Oxbow. Oxford.

Hingley, R. 1990b. Domestic Organisation and Gender Relations in Iron Age and Romano-British Houses. In R. Samson (ed) *The Social Archaeology of Houses*, 125-147. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh.

Hingley, R. 1991. Past, Present and Future – The Study of the Roman Period in Britain. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 8, 90-101.

Hingley, R. 1995. The Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland: searching for the meaning of the substantial house. In Hill and Cumberpatch (eds) *Different Iron ages: studies on the Iron age in temperate Europe*, 185-194. Tempus. Oxford.

Hingley, R. 1996a. Ancestors and Identity in the Later Prehistory of Atlantic Scotland: The Reuse and Reinvention of Neolithic Monuments and Material Culture. *World Archaeology* 28, 231-243.

Hingley, R. 1996b. The 'legacy' of Rome: the rise, decline, and fall of the theory of Romanization. In J. Webster and N. Cooper (eds) *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives*, 35-48. Leicester Archaeology Monographs No 3. Leicester.

Hingley, R. 2005. *Globalizing Roman Culture*. Routledge. Oxford.

Hirst, F.C. 1937. *Excavations at Porthmeor, Cornwall, 1933, 1934 and 1935*. Reprint from the Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, Appendix II. Truro.

Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds) 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Hodder, I. 1978. The maintenance of group identities in the Baringo district, northern Kenya. In I. Hodder (ed) *The Spatial Organisation of Culture*, 47-73. Gerald Duckworth. London.

Hodder, I. 1981. Society, economy and culture: an ethnographic case study amongst the Lozi. In I. Hodder, G. Isaac and N. Hammond (eds) *Patterns of the Past: Studies in honour of David Clarke*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Hodder, I. 1982. *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological studies of material culture*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Hodder, I. And Hutson, S. 2003. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, third edition. Cambridge Universiy Press. Cambridge.

Hodson, F.R. 1964. Cultural Grouping within the British pre-Roman Iron Age. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 30, 99-110.

Hogg, A.H.A. 1960. Garn Boduan and Tre'r Ceiri, Excavations at Two Caernarvonshire Hill-forts. *Archaeological Journal* 117, 1-39.

Hogg, A.H.A. 1966. Native Settlement in Wales. In C. Thomas (ed) *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, 28-38. CBA Research Report 7.

Hogg, A.H.A. 1969. Cefn Graeanog, Caernarvonshire: A native Site of the Roman Period. *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, 8-20.

Holbrook, N. and Bidwell, P.T. 1991. *Roman Finds from Exeter*. Exeter Archaeological Reports 4. Exeter City Council and The University of Exeter.

Hopewell, D. 2005. Roman Fort Environs in North-West Wales. *Britannia* 36, 225-269.

Howell, R. 2006. *Searching for the Silures: An Iron Age Tribe in South-east Wales*. Tempus. Stroud.

Hunter, F. 2007. Artefacts, regions and identities in the northern British Iron Age. In C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, 286-296. Oxbow Books. Oxford.

Hunter, J. and Ralston, I. (eds) 1999. *The Archaeology of Britain: An Introduction from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Industrial Revolution*. Routledge. London.

Insoll, T. 2007. *Archaeology: The Conceptual Challenge*. Duckworth. London.

James, H. 2003. *Roman Carmarthen, Excavations 1978-1993*. Britannia Monograph Series No. 20. London.

James, S. 1999. *The Atlantic Celts: ancient people or modern invention?* University of Wisconsin Press. Wisconsin.

James, S. and Millett, M. 2001. *Britons and Romans: advancing an archaeological agenda*. CBA Research Report 125. Council for British Archaeology. York.

James, T. 1990. Concentric Antenna Enclosures – A New Defended Enclosure Type in West Wales. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 56, 295-298.

Jarrett, M.G. and Wrathmell, S. 1981. *Whitton: An Iron Age and Roman Farmstead in South Glamorgan*. University of Wales Press. Cardiff.

Jay, M. 2008. Iron Age Diet at Glastonbury Lake Village: The Isotopic Evidence for Negligible aquatic Resource Consumption. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 27(2), 201-16.

Jay, M. and Richards, M.P. 2007. British Iron Age Diet: Stable Isotopes and Other Evidence. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 73, 169-190.

Johns, C. 2002-3. An Iron Age sword and mirror cist burial from Bryher, Isles of Scilly. *Cornish Archaeology* 41-42, 1-79.

Johnson, N. and Rose, P. 1982. Defended Settlement in Cornwall – an Illustrated Discussion. In D. Miles (ed) *The Romano-British Countryside: Studies in Rural Settlement and Economy*, 151-209. BAR British Series 103. Oxford.

Johnston, D.A., Moore, C. and Fasham, P. 1998-9. Excavations at Penhale Round, Fraddon, Cornwall, 1995/1996. *Cornish Archaeology* 37-8, 72-120.

Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing identities in the past and the present*. Routledge. London.

Jundi, S. and Hill, J.D. 1997. Brooches and Identity in First Century AD Britain: more than meets the eye? In C. Forcey *et al* (eds) *TRAC 97: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Nottingham 1997*, 125-137. Oxbow. Oxford.

Karl, R. 2008. Random Coincidences, Or: the return of the *Celtic* to the Iron Age Britain. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 74, 69-78.

Karl, R. 2010. The Celts from Everywhere and Nowhere: a Re-evaluation of the Origins of the Celts and the Emergence of Celtic Cultures. In B. Cunliffe and J.T. Koch (eds) *Celtic from the West: Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language and Literature*, 39-64. Oxbow. Oxford.

Kelly, R.S. 1988. Two Late Prehistoric Circular Enclosures near Harlech, Gwynedd. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 54, 101-51.

Kelly, R.S. 1990. Recent Research on the Hut Group Settlements of North-West Wales. *Trivium* 25, 102-111.

Kelly, R.S. 1998. The Excavation of an Enclosed Homestead at Graeanog, 1985, 1987 & 1988. In M.A. Mason *The Graeanog Ridge: The Evolution of a Farming Landscape and its Settlements in North-West Wales*, 113-168. Cambrian Archaeological Monographs No 6. Aberystwyth.

Laing, L. 1979. *Celtic Britain*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. London.

Lane, A. 1987. English Migrants in the Hebrides: 'Atlantic Second B' revisited. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 117, 47-66.

Lane, A. 1990. Hebridean Pottery: Problems of Definition, Chronology, Presence and Absence. In I. Armit (ed) *Beyond the Brochs: Changing perspectives on the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland*, 108-130. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh.

Laycock, S. 2008. *Britannia the Failed State: Tribal Conflicts and the End of Roman Britain*. The History Press. Stroud.

Lecht, J. 1994. *Fifty Key Contemporary Thinkers: From structuralism to postmodernity*. Routledge. London.

Leeds, E.T. 1926. Excavations at Chun Castle, in Penwith, Cornwall. *Archaeologia* 76, 205-240.

Lemonnier, P. (ed) 1993. *Technological Choices: Transformations in material cultures since the Neolithic*. Routledge. London.

Lethbridge, T.C. 1952. Excavations at Kilpheder, South Uist, and the problem of Brochs and Wheel-houses. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* New Series 18, 176-193.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1982. *The Way of the Masks*. University of Washington Press. Seattle.

Lilley, K.D. 2002. Imagined Geographies of the 'Celtic Fringe' and the Cultural Construction of the 'Other' in Medieval Wales and Ireland. In D.C. Harvey, R. Jones, N. McInroy and C. Milligan (eds) *Celtic Geographies: old cultures, new times*. Routledge. London.

Longley, D. 2008. A Research Framework for the Archaeology of Wales: Northwest Wales – Later Prehistoric. *http://www.archaeoleg.org.uk.* Created 10/8/2008, last accessed 10/8/2008.

Longley, D. *et al.* 1998a. Bryn Eryr, an enclosed settlement of the Iron Age on Anglesey. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 64, 225-73.

Longley, D. *et al.* 1998b. Excavation on Two Farms of the Romano-British Period at Bryn Eryr and Bush Farm, Gwynedd. *Britannia* 29, 185-246.

Lynch, F. 1991. *Prehistoric Anglesey: The Archaeology of the Island to the Roman Conquest,* second edition. Anglesey Antiquarian Society. Llangefni.

MacClancy, J. 1993. At Play with Identity in the Basque Area. In S. MacDonald *Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe*, 84-97. Berg. Oxford.

MacDonald, S. 1993. *Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe*. Berg. Oxford.

MacDonald, S. 1997. *Reimagining Culture: Histories, Identities and the Gaelic Renaissance*. Berg, Oxford.

Mackie, E. 1965a. Brochs and the Hebridean Iron Age. *Antiquity* 39, 266-278.

Mackie, E. 1965b. The origin and development of the broch and wheelhouse building cultures of the Scottish Iron Age. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 31, 93-146.

Mackie, E. 2000. The Scottish Atlantic Iron Age: Indigenous and isolated or part of a wider European world? In J.C. Henderson (ed) *The Prehistory and Early History of Atlantic Europe,* BAR Int series 861, 99-116. Archaeopress. Oxford.

MacMullen, R. 2000. *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*. Yale University Press. New Haven and London.

Mason, M.A. and Fasham, P.J. 1998. The Report on R.B. White's Excavations at Cefn Graeanog II, 1977-79. In M.A. Mason *The Graeanog Ridge: The Evolution of a Farming Landscape and its Settlements in North-West Wales*, 1-112. Cambrian Archaeological Monographs No 6. Aberystwyth.

Mathews, S.G. 2004. Conclusion: Wither to, ethnicity? In S.E. Hakenbeck and S.G. Mathews *Reconsidering Ethnicity: Material culture and identity in the past.* Archaeological Review from Cambridge. Cambridge.

Matthews, K.J. 1999. The Iron Age of North-West England and Irish Sea Trade. In B. Bevan (ed) *Northern exposure: interpretative devolution and the Iron Ages in Britain*, 173-195. Leicester Archaeology Monographs 4. Leicester.

Mattingly, D. 2006. *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC – AD 409*. Penguin. London.

Mauss, M. 1973. Techniques of the body. *Economy and Society* 2(1), 70-88.

Meadows, K.I. 1994. You Are What You Eat: Diet, Identity and Romanisation. In S. Cottam *et al* (eds) *TRAC 94: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 1994*, 133-140. Oxbow Oxford.

Megaw, J.V.S. and Megaw, M.R. 1996. Ancient Celts and modern ethnicity. *Antiquity* 70, 175-181.

Mercer, R.J. *et al* 1981. Excavations at Carn Brea, Illogan, Cornwall; 1970-73 – A Neolithic Fortified Complex of the Third Millennium bc. *Cornish Archaeology* 20, 1-204.

Miles, H. *et al* 1977. Excavations at Killibury Hillfort, Egloshayle, 1975-6. *Cornish Archaeology* 16, 89-121.

Moore, D. (ed) 1970. *The Irish Sea Province in Archaeology and History*. Cambrian Archaeological Association. Cardiff.

Moore, D. 1959. Roman Wales. In A.J. Roderick (ed) *Wales through the Ages*, 26-33. Christopher Davies. Llandybie.

Morse, M.A. 2005. *How the Celts Came to Britain: Druids, Ancient Skulls and the Birth of Archaeology*. Tempus. Stroud.

Mulville, J. and Thoms, J. 2005. Animals and Ambiguity in the Iron Age of the Western Isles. In V.E. Turner *et al*. (eds). *Tall Stories: 2 millennia of brochs*, 235-245. Shetland Amenity Trust. Lerwick.

Murphy, K. 1985. Excavations at Penycoed, Llangynog, Dyfed. *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary* 21, 75-112.

Murphy, K. 2001. A Prehistoric field System and Related Monuments in St David's Head and Carn Llidi, Pembrokeshire. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 67, 85-99.

Murphy, K. 2003. A Research Framework for the Archaeology of Wales: Southwest Wales – Later Prehistoric. *http://www.cpat.org.uk/research/*

Mytum, H. 1999. Castell Henllys. *Current Archaeology* 161, 164-172.

Mytum, H. 2002. Castell Henllys: Iron Age Settlement and Native Settlement of the Roman Period. *http://www.york.ac.uk/depts/arch/castellhenllys/web/pages/resumrep.html*, last updated Jan 13th 2002.

National Mapping Programme 2008. Flying Through Cornwall's Past. *http://www.flyingpast.org*. Created 10/7/2008, last modified 10/7/2008.

Nowakowski, J.A. 1991. Trethellan Farm, Newquay: The excavation of a lowland Bronze Age settlement and Iron Age cemetery. *Cornish Archaeology* 30, 5-242.

Oppenheimer, S. 2006. *The Origins of the British: The New Prehistory of Britain and Ireland from Ice-Age Hunter Gatherers to the Vikings Revealed by DNA Analysis*. Robinson. London.

O'Neil, B.H.St.J. 1936. Excavations at Caerau Ancient Village, Clynnog, Caernarvonshire, 1933 and 1934. *Antiquaries Journal* 16, 295-320.

O'Neil, B.H.St.J., 1933. The Roman villa at Magor Farm, near Camborne. Cornwall. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 39, 117-75.

O'Neill-Hencken, H. 1932. *The Archaeology of Cornwall and Scilly*. Methuen. London.

O'Neill-Hencken, H. 1933. An Excavation by H.M Office at Chysauster, Cornwall, 1931. *Archaeologia* 83, 237-284.

Parasecoli, F. 2005. Food: identity and diversity. In D. Goldstein and K. Merkle (eds) *Culinary cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*. Council of Europe Publishing. Strasbourg.

Parker Pearson, M. 1995. Tombs and territories: Material culture and multiple interpretation. In I. Hodder *et al.* (eds) *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding meaning in the past*, 205-209. Routledge. London.

Parker Pearson, M. 1996. Food, Fertility and Front Doors in the First Millennium BC. In T.C. Champion and J.C. Collis (eds) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, 117-132. Sheffield.

Parker Pearson, M. 1999. Food, Sex and Death: Cosmologies in the British Iron Age with particular reference to East Yorkshire. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9.1, 43-49.

Parker Pearson, M. 2003. Food, Identity and Culture: An Introduction and Overview. In M. Parker Pearson (ed) *Food, Culture and Identity in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age*, 1-30. BAR International Series 1117. Archaeopress. Oxford.

Parker Pearson, M. *et al* (1996) Brochs and Iron Age Society: a reappraisal. *Antiquity* 70, 57-67.

Parker Pearson, M. and Sharples, N. 1999. *Between Land and Sea: Excavations at Dun Vulan, South Uist*. Sheffield Academic Press. Sheffield.

Peacock, D.P.S. 1969. A contribution to the study of Glastonbury Ware from South-Western Britain. *Antiquaries Journal* 49, 41-61.

Pearce, S.M. 1981. *The Archaeology of South West Britain*. Collins. London.

Picinni, A. 1999. Welsh Celts or Celtic Wales? The production and consumption of a (not so) different Iron Age. In B. Bevan (ed) *Northern exposure: interpretative devolution and the Iron Ages in Britain*, 51-63. Leicester Archaeology Monographs 4. Leicester.

Piggott, S. 1958. Native economies and the Roman occupation of North Britain. In I.A. Richmond (ed) *Roman and Native in North Britain*, 1-27. Thomas Nelson & Sons. Edinburgh.

Plunkett Dillon, E. 2003. A Research Framework for the Archaeology of Wales: Southwest Wales – Roman. *http://www.cpat.org.uk/research/*

Popper, K. 2002. *The Poverty of Historicism*. Routledge. Oxford.

Quinnell, H. 1986. Cornwall during the Iron Age and Roman Period. *Cornish Archaeology* 25, 111-134.

Quinnell, H. 1987. Cornish Gabbroic Pottery: the development of a hypothesis. *Cornish Archaeology* 26, 7-12.

Quinnell, H. 1993. A sense of identity: distinctive Cornish stone artefacts in the Roman and post-Roman periods. *Cornish Archaeology* 32, 29-46.

Quinnell, H. 2004. *Trethurgy: Excavations at Trethurgy Round. St Austell: Community and Status in Roman and Post-Roman Cornwall*. Cornwall County Council.

Raftery, B. 1994. *Pagan Celtic Ireland: The Enigma of the Irish Iron Age*. Thames and Hudson. London.

Rainbird, P. 2007. *The Archaeology of Islands*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Ratcliffe, J. 1995. Duckpool, Morwenstow: A Romano-British and early medieval industrial site and harbour. *Cornish Archaeology* 34, 81-171.

Reece, R. 1987. *Coinage in Roman Britain*. Seaby. London.

Renfrew, C. (ed) 1973. *The Explanation of Culture Change: models in prehistory*. Duckworth. London.

Renfrew, C. 1973. *Before Civilisation: The radiocarbon revolution and prehistoric Europe*. Jonathan Cape. London.

Renfrew, C. 2001. Symbol before Concept: Material Engagement and the Early Development of Society. In I. Hodder (ed) *Archaeological Theory Today*, 122-140. Polity Press. Cambridge.

Rigby, V. and Freestone, I. 1997. Ceramic Changes in Late Iron Age Britain. In I. Freestone and D. Gaimster (eds) *Pottery in the Making: World ceramic Traditions*, 56-61. British Museum Press. London.

Rowe, T. 2005. *Cornwall in Prehistory*. Tempus. Stroud.

Royvrik, E.C. 2010. Western Celts? A Genetic Impression of Britain in Atlantic Europe. In B. Cunliffe and J.T. Koch (eds) *Celtic from the West: Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language and Literature*, 83-106.Oxbow. Oxford.

Sackett, J.R. 1985. Style and Ethnicity in the Kalahari: A Reply to Wiessner. *American Antiquity* 50(1), 154-159.

Sackett, J.R. 1990. Style and ethnicity in archaeology: the case for isochrestism. In M. Conkey and C. Hastorf (eds) *The uses of style in archaeology*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Said, E. 1991. Orientalism: western conceptions of the Orient. Penguin. London.

Sarup, M. 1993. *An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and Postmodernism*, second edition. Harvester Wheatsheaf. Hemel Hempstead.

Saunders, A. and Harris, D. 1982. Excavations at Castle Gotha, St. Austell. *Cornish Archaeology* 21, 109-153.

Saunders, C. 1972. The excavations at Grambla, Wendron, 1972: interim report. *Cornish Archaeology* 11, 50-2.

Schwieso, J. 1976. Excavations at Threemilestone Round, Kenwyn, Truro. *Cornish Archaeology* 15, 51-67.

Sharples, N. 1998. *Scalloway: A Broch, Late Iron Age Settlement and Medieval Cemetery in Shetland*. Oxbow Monograph 82. Oxford.

Shennan, S. 1994. Introduction: archaeological approaches to cultural identity. In S. Shennan (ed) *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity* 2nd ed, 1-32. Routledge. London.

Shopland, N. 2005. *Archaeological Finds: A Guide to Identification*. Tempus. Stroud.

Smiles, S. 1994. *The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination*. Yale University Press. New Haven and London.

Smith, C. 1984. Excavations at Ty Mawr Hut-circles, Holyhead, Anglesey: Part I. *Archaeolgia Cambrensis* 133, 64-82.

Smith, C. 1985. Excavations at Ty Mawr Hut-circles, Holyhead, Anglesey: Part II. *Archaeolgia Cambrensis* 134, 11-52.

Smith, C. 1986. Excavations at Ty Mawr Hut-circles, Holyhead, Anglesey: Part III. *Archaeolgia Cambrensis* 135, 12-80.

Smith, C. 1987. Excavations at Ty Mawr Hut-circles, Holyhead, Anglesey: Part IV. *Archaeolgia Cambrensis* 136, 20-38.

Smith, C.A. 1974. A Morphologcal Analysis of Late Prehistoric Romano-British Settlements in North West Wales. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 40, 157-169.

Smith, G. 1999. Survey of Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement in North-West Wales. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 148, 22-53.

Tabraham, C. 1977. Excavations at Dun Carloway broch, Isle of Lewis. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 108, 156-167.

Tacitus, C. 1970. *The Agricola and The Germania*. Translated by H. Mattingly. Penguin. Harmondsworth.

Tarlo, E. 1996. *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*. University of Chicago Press. Chicago.

Thomas, C. (ed) 1972. *The Iron Age in the Irish Sea Province*. CBA Research Report 9. London.

Thomas, C. 1966. The character and origins of Roman Dumnonia. In C. Thomas (ed) *Rural settlement in Roman Britain*, 74-98. Council for British Archaeology. London.

Thomas, J. 2000. Introduction: The Polarities of Post-Processual Archaeology. In J. Thomas (ed) *Interpretive Archaeology: a reader*, 1-18. Leicester University Press. London.

Thomas, J. 2004. *Archaeology and Modernity*. Routledge. London.

Thomas, W.G. and Walker, R.F. 1959. Excavations at Trelissey, Pembrokeshire, 1950-1. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 18(3), 295-303.

Threipland, L.M. 1956. An Excavation at St. Mawgan-in-Pyder, North Cornwall. *Archaeological Journal* 113, 33-81.

Tilley, C. 2004. *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology*. Berg. Oxford.

Todd, M. 1987. The *South-West to AD1000*. Longman. London.

Topping, P.G. 1986. Neutron activation analysis of later prehistoric pottery from the Western Isles of Scotland. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 52, 105-129.

Topping, P.G. 1987. Typology and chronology in the later prehistoric pottery assemblages of the Western Isles. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 117, 67-84.

Trudigan, P. 1977. Excavation at Tregilders, St. Kew, 1975-6. *Cornish Archaeology* 16, 122-128.

Tuohy, T. 1999. *Prehistoric Combs of Antler and Bone* (2 Vols.). BAR British Series. Oxford.

Tyers, P. 1999. *Roman Pottery in Britain*. Routledge. London.

Veit, U. 2000. Gustaf Kossinna and his concept of a natural archaeology. In Heinrich Harke (ed) *Archaeology, Ideology and Society: The German experience*. Peter Lang. Frankfurt. 40-64.

Wainwright, G. 1979. *Gussage All Saints: An Iron Age Settlement in Dorset.* Department of the Environment Archaeology Reports 10. Her Majesty's Stationery Office. London.

Wainwright, G.J. 1967. *Coygan Camp: A Prehistoric, Romano-British and Dark age Settlement in Carmarthenshire*. Cambrian Archaeological Association. Cardiff.

Wainwright, G.J. 1971. The Excavation of a Fortified Settlement at Walesland Rath, Pembrokeshire. *Britannia* 2, 48-108.

Ward, J. 1907. Roman Remains at Cwmbrwyn, Carmarthenshire. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 62, 175-212.

Washburn, D.K. 1989. The property of symmetry and the concept of ethnic style. In S. Shennan (ed) *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. Routledge. London.

Waterson 1995. Houses and hierarchies in island Southeast Asia. In J. Carsten and S. Hugh-Jones (eds) *About the house: Lévi-Strauss and beyond*, 47-68. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Webster, C.J. 2004a. South West Archaeological Research Framework: Recent Work on the Iron Age: Version 1. *http://www.somerset.gov.uk/somerset/cultureheritage/heritage/swarf/*

Webster, C.J. 2004b. South West Archaeological Research Framework: Recent Work on the Roman Period: Version 1. *http://www.somerset.gov.uk/somerset/cultureheritage/heritage/swarf/*

Webster, P. 1990. Pottery and Trade in Roman Wales. *Trivium* 25, 138-149.

Wells, P.S. 2001. *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians*. Gerald Duckworth. London.

Wheeler, R.E.M. 1925. *Prehistoric and Roman Wales*. Clarendon Press. Oxford.

Whimster, R. 1981. *Burial Practices of Iron Age Britain: a discussion and gazetteer of the evidence c.700 B.C.-A.D. 43* (2 Vols). BAR British Series 90. Oxford.

Wigley, A. 2007. Rooted to the spot: the 'smaller enclosures' of the later first millennium BC in the central Welsh Marches. In C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, 173-189. Oxbow Books. Oxford.

Williams, G. 1988. Recent Work on Rural Settlement in Later Prehistoric and Early Historic Dyfed. *Antiquaries Journal* 68, 30-54.

Williams, G. 1990. Recent Work on Rural Settlement in South-West Wales. *Trivium* 25, 112-122.

Williams, G. and Mytum, H. 1998. *Llawhaden, Dyfed: excavations on a group of small defended enclosures, 1980-4*. BAR British Series 275. Archaeopress. Oxford.

Willis, S. 2007. Sea, coast, estuary, land and culture in Iron Age Britain. In C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and beyond*, 107-129. Oxbow. Oxford.

Wobst, H.M. 1977. Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange. In C.E. Cleland (ed) *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin*, 317-342. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Anthropological Papers 61. Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Woolf, G. 1993. The social significance of trade in Late Iron Age Europe. In C. Scarre and F. Healy (eds) *Trade and Exchange in Prehistoric Europe*, 211-218. Oxbow. Oxford.

Woolf, G. 1997. Beyond Romans and Natives. *World Archaeology* 28(3), 339-350.

Woolf, G. 1998. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Zvelebil, M. 1991. Kildonan: Interim Report 1991. Internal Report for SEARCH. Sheffield.