Building Monuments, Constructing Communities.

Landscapes of the first millennium BC in the central Welsh Marches.

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Chapter 7

The Colour Purple: 'Romanization' and the landscapes of the central Welsh Marches.

7.1.0 Introduction.

In this chapter I will examine how the communities of the central Welsh Marches were incorporated into the Roman Empire. The evidence relating to this process, together with a number of wider theoretical developments in Romano-British archaeology, now requires us to rethink some of the basic assumptions that have been made about the Roman conquest of this region. Many of the points I will make in this chapter are made with the forthcoming publication of the final results of two major new projects in mind. Full analysis and synthesis of the findings of the first of these – the Wroxeter Hinterland Survey (Gaffney *et al.* forthcoming) - lies beyond the scope of my own research. However, the broad aims and objectives of the project provide one of the points of departure in this chapter, as I believe that some elements are open to question. Secondly, the initial pilot study for the Portable Antiquities scheme in the West Midlands has now been successfully completed. Although not directly concerned with the majority of my study area, it has raised a number of question marks over our current understandings of the material culture of the Late Iron Age communities that inhabited this region. The results of both projects have effectively placed our perceptions of the archaeology of the 1st century BC/ AD in the central Welsh Marches in a state of flux. The comments I make in this brief chapter are, therefore, offered as an initial contribution to an ongoing and dynamic debate.

I will to begin by examining how the conquest period has traditionally been conceived of in this region. I will then consider the growth of debate about Romanization, and use this to examine the ways in which the social transformations that occurred over the course of the mid-late 1st century AD are currently perceived. Having done this I will present a number of proposals as to how research might proceed in the future.

7.2.0 In Caratacus' shadow: explanations of the Roman Conquest of the central Welsh Marches.

7.2.1 Introduction.

The arrival of Roman forces in south-eastern England in AD 43 has traditionally marked one of the major conceptual 'boundaries' in British (more correctly English) archaeology (although see Creighton 2001). Many now recognise that our perceptions of the conquest and incorporation of the southern part of the British Isles into the Roman Empire have been shaped by the way in which the archaeological evidence has traditionally been studied either side of this divide. As we saw in Chapter 2, since the middle of the 20th century British prehistorians studying the Iron Age have adopted a 'top-down' approach, whereby the evidence has been examined in direct relation to a gradually shifting set of theoretical frameworks. Thus, for instance, for those working with Hawkes' (1931, 1959) culture-history, ABC model of the period the archaeological residues they were investigating had to be related to an overarching interpretative scheme (i.e. the invasion hypothesis as it was applied in the 'Hawkesian' view of the Iron Age). Ultimately this scheme rested upon the nature of material evidence itself, although arguably Hawkes' work also involved "...the general application of a direct historical methodology..." (Evans 1998: 400).

This contrasts, to a large extent, with the way in which many students of Roman archaeology have approached the material evidence. As the 'handmaiden of history' archaeological evidence has traditionally been used as a means of extending the knowledge that could be gleaned from documentary sources (Jones 1991, Moreland 2001). Until recently, this resulted in an archaeological literature mainly concerned with debating "...the minutiae of the Roman occupation." (Branigan 1994:9). As Moreland has recently observed of 'historical archaeologies' in general: -

> "The basic facts of history, the historical framework, and the 'important' questions about the past were all established by historians from the written sources...The role of archaeology in the reconstruction of the past was restricted to presentation – it provided the objects which illustrated the pages of history." (2001: 10).

This produced a lack of interest in the role that archaeology could play in establishing the nature of society following the conquest, since this could be obtained from the documentary sources.

The intellectual boundary between these two branches of the discipline have began to dissolve over the past decade, such that scholars working on the Iron Age often take an active interest in the Romano-British period and visa-versa. I will discuss some of these changes in more detail later (see section 7.3.2). Before doing so, however, I want to examine how the Roman conquest of the central Marches has be conceived of in the past. These interpretations illustrate the nature of this conceptual divide, and also providing us with further examples of the ways in which the archaeology of this region has traditionally been perceived.

7.2.2 Caratacus and the hillforts of the central Welsh Marches.

As we saw in Chapter 2, the tradition of attempting to link certain hillforts with the site of Caratacus' last stand as described by Tacitus (Annals XII: 33-7) dates back to the earliest antiquarians. It remains a subject of interest for some of those working in the central Welsh Marches (e.g. Jones 1990, Webster 1981), and over the centuries various locations have been put forward and rejected. G. D. B. Jones argued that establishing the whereabouts of this site, and other such locations that Tacitus mentions (i.e. Mons Graupius) , "...is fundamental to problem-solving in the skeleton historical account which survives [from Tacitus]..." (1990: 57). I would suggest, however, that determining the place at which Caratacus fought his final battle against the Roman army is likely to remain an intractable problem. This is partly because we have been too willing in the past to take Tacitus' account at face value, rather than seeing it as an historically contingent text that had efficacy *in the past* (cf. Moreland 2001). As the son-in-law of Agricola, governor of Britain between AD 78-85, Tacitus had a vested interest in portraying the events surrounding the conquest of Britain in a favourable light. Similarly, he was writing for a particular audience (i.e. members of the Roman elite), which meant that the text was structured in a way that would be intelligible to that readership. For these reasons alone literal readings of Tacitus' account are likely to be highly problematic.

In this section I want to focus instead upon *why* such importance has been attached to identifying this site, and what effect this has had upon our perceptions of the archaeology of the central Welsh Marches. An early indication of the political nature of the search for the location of Caratacus' last stand comes in the work of Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709). Although today he is mainly remembered for his philological work, as keeper of the Ashmolean Museum Lhuyd also had an active interest in antiquarianism. He worked closely with John Aubrey, contributing notes on Pembrokeshire to the *Monumenta* in 1695 (Piggott 1989). He was, therefore, presumably aware of Aubrey's claim that Caer Caradoc near Clun, Shropshire, was the site of the battle. However, in his contribution to the 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia* Lhuyd maintained instead that a hillfort in Denbighshire, North Wales, was the setting for the events described by Tacitus (Piggott 1989:118). As a Welsh patriot (James 1999: 44), Lhuyd took the opportunity to provide the Welsh with another heroic figure who fought a militarily superior invader on their soil.

Hingley (2000) has considered the ways in which both Caratacus and Boudica of the Iceni were represented in Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries. Although he mainly focuses upon the latter, he argues that from the later 18th century onwards both figures "...were frequently selected as examples of heroic patriotism." (ibid.: 74). Consequently, Caratacus and Boudica were incorporated into wider discourses concerned with the definition of national (British) identity at a time when Britain's empire was expanding rapidly. Hingley suggests that the appeal of these figures extended beyond the English to encompass all of the groups that made up the United Kingdom, such that by the later 19th century

> "...Caratcus and Bodicea (sic) joined Arthur and Alfred not as native chieftains but patriotic heroes, staunch defenders of Britain against the evils that might beset it from outside." (2000: 76).

Hingley notes, however, that by this time Boudica's reputation had come to overshadow Caratacus', probably because of the parallels that were often drawn between her and Queen Victoria (Bodicea is the Celtic version of Victoria). He argues that Boudica was elevated to the status of an 'imperial heroine' in both contemporary poetry and prose. Like the site of Caratacus' last stand, the location of her burial place was the subject of some debate within the archaeological circles of the

time. Hingley draws parallels between this situation and that in France, where the oppida site at Alèsia was established as being the location at which Vercingetorix fought his final battle against Julius Ceasar's forces. Dietler (1998) has argued that that the general acceptance by 19th century scholars of the credential of this site has resulted in the development of a state sponsored 'memory factory', at which national origin myths became tied to a very particular locale within the landscape. Hingley (2000) speculates that, had the archaeological community reached a consensus on Boudica's burial place, the British might have created their own memory factory.

The 19th century accounts which dealt with the location of Caratacus' last stand established and reworked a slightly different set of connections with the landscape of the central Welsh Marches. As we saw in Chapter 2, Hartshorne (1841) felt that the whole of the border region had been caught up in the struggle between the Britons and the Romans.

> "It is a fact, pretty generally understood, that the whole of that part of England, bordering upon the Principality, was the chief seat of conflict between the Britons and the Romans..." (ibid.: 42).

He went on to discuss Tacitus' account of Caratacus' resistance in detail and rejected several hillforts as being the location of his last stand. In this account Cefn Carnedd near Newtown, Powys is put forward as the site of the battle. Anderson (1864) later reiterated many of Hartshorne's arguments but also suggested that many of the hillforts had played a part in Caratacus' campaign.

> "Pent-in among mountains, Caer Caradoc...reared its fortified crest far above the neighbouring summits, and stood as a centre of communication for all those border fortresses which Caratacus manned to stay the victorious progress of the Roman legions.".

Debate did, of course, continue across the later 19th and 20th centuries about the exact location of this site. Despite the fact that a consensus could not be reached on this particular issue, these accounts none-the-less promoted and reworked the perception of the Welsh Marches as a frontier or border region. Both Hartshorne's and Anderson's work illustrates the way in which, during the 19th century, many of the hillforts in the central Marches were thought to have been associated with this historical episode. Any of these sites could, potentially, have been used by Caratacus during his campaign, although only one of them could have been the place where he

made his last stand. Like the medieval castles, the hillforts were represented as monuments of a violent but romantic past. This image of the landscape of the study area became less explicit in the writings of twentieth century archaeologists, although it is sometimes present beneath the surface (see Chapter 2). Thus, whilst the ongoing search for the site of Caratacus' last stand has yet to tie down a single locale that could be used as a 'memory factory', it has played a highly significant part in shaping our perceptions of the region's archaeology. Indeed, this more diffuse representation of the landscape of the Welsh Marches has become so potent because it has quietly embedded itself in the literature.

7.2.3. Writing about hillforts and the Roman conquest in the later twentieth century.

Let us now consider the ways in what the excavated evidence from the hillforts of the central Welsh Marches has, until very recently, been used to support the notion that these monuments were used to actively resist the Roman army. As we saw in Chapter 2, O'Neil (1934) was amongst the first to relate the structural sequence from a hillfort in this region to the events surrounding the Roman conquest. He argued that the ramparts of Titterstone Clee were rebuilt in stone during his Period III in direct response to "...the renewed threat of war." (ibid. :24). He goes on to comment that: -

> "...it might be argued that the great renovation of the defences in Period III represents the preparations of a tribe or a confederacy against the advance of the Romans. It has to be admitted that there is not the slightest of evidence on the site; that little is known of the progress of the conquest in this area; and that the defences might have been raised in tribal disputes, as were many other works of this kind. Nevertheless, it may be remarked that the neighbouring tribe, the Silures, offered stubborn resistance to the Romans, and that at some hill-fort in the borders the last battle of Caratacus certainly took place." (O'Neil 1934: 30).

Despite his caution, O'Neil (1937) subsequently argued that the inhabitants of the Breiddin had been compelled to level the defences of their hillforts by the Roman army, possibly after they had offered resistance to it. Significantly, however, he argued against the suggestion that this may have been the site of Caratacus' last stand, stating that "...the matter is unlikely ever to be settled save by a happening akin to the miraculous." (ibid.: 127). O'Neil (1942) also maintained that the final

(Period V) phases of the main rampart at Ffridd Faldwyn represented a hastily constructed response to the threat posed by the advancing Roman army.

The notion that the final phases of hillfort defences in the central Welsh Marches were built in order to resist Roman forces can also be seen in Kathleen Kenyon's work. For instance, she (1942) tentatively suggested that the second phase of the ramparts on the Wrekin could have been built for this reason. Similarly, at Sutton Walls she (1959) asserted that the latest Iron Age (Phase C) occupation of the site had ended in a hasty attempt to repair the defences (Phase D). This was thought to have involved an attempt to re-dig the main ditch, as represented by a shallow flat bottomed re-cut that was found during the excavation of the western entrance. Within this re-cut were found the tangled remains of twenty four male skeletons, with more anticipated beyond the excavated area. The positioning of these bodies suggested that they had been thrown into the ditch and Kenyon also noted some:-

> "...rested on the base of the ditch, while a few are in shallow hollows, which may have been dug as graves, or may be the interrupted beginnings of a deepening of the ditch." (1942: 7)

Many of the corpses showed evidence of severe trauma. Some had been decapitated and they appear to have been naked when deposited. The grave pit was shallow; some of the skeletons higher up in the ditch show evidence of having been disturbed - Kenyon suggests by dogs or wolves - whilst the flesh was still on the bones. No firm dating evidence was found for this mass grave, since the exact find spot of the single sherd of Roman pottery that was reportedly found on or near the base of the re-cut remained uncertain (ibid:9). However, on the basis of this evidence alone she argued that they represented a mass grave of defenders killed during or immediately after a Roman assault on the hillfort.

By the early 1960s, therefore, the view that the majority of hillforts in the central Welsh Marches had been occupied down to, or at least hastily refortified immediately prior to, the Roman conquest had become firmly established. Yet we can now recognise that the evidence upon which this supposition rested was very weak. Without the aid of either large numbers of finds or absolute dating techniques O'Neil's and Kenyon's arguments concerning the final phases of rampart construction were little more than hypotheses. There can be little doubt that the skeletons from

the re-cut of the ditch at the western entrance of Sutton Walls represent the victims of an extremely violent event. In this respect the mass grave differs from the 'war cemetery' at Maiden Castle, which has been reinterpreted as a Late Iron Age cemetery that developed over a more extended period of time(cf. Sharples 1991:125). However, Kenyon's dating evidence is clearly indecisive and this 'deposit' could easily date to before or after the mid-first century AD. Only a thorough re-investigation of the find, involving radio-carbon dating of the surviving skeletons, would resolve this matter.

Despite this, however, Stanford went on to develop and elaborate this interpretation of the hillforts of the central Marches. As we saw in Chapters 2 and 6, he proposed that the majority of these monuments were permanently occupied until the conquest period. At the Wrekin he (1984) found deposits of burnt material that sealed the final phases of many of the later features on the site, which he viewed as evidence for a Roman assault on the site.

> "The burnt material on the terraces and in most of the final post- holes indicates that the hillfort was destroyed by fire *c.* A.D. 48...presumably by Scapula's legions in A.D. 48 or 50." (1984: 85)

Stanford (1980, 1984) used both of these points to put forward the view that the Roman conquest in the region led to a drastic re-organisation of the landscape. He maintained that the hillforts were forcibly cleared, which resulted in the establishment of the smaller enclosures. This was accompanied by a wider series of changes in the way in the management of the landscape.

> "Whereas the hillfort communities would have cleared most of the hilltops around their villages and probably much more distant land in the valleys, if only for rough grazing with glade pastures, the change in settlement pattern would have led to the clearance of the valleyward sites around the new homesteads and the reversion of the old fields around abandoned hillforts to scrub and then forest." (1980: 147).

As we saw in Chapter 3, forest cover had already been substantially reduced across the central Marches by the early first millennium BC. Likewise, we now know that a significant proportion of the smaller enclosure sites were consturcted in the later first millennium. Some of these monuments were occupied until the second century AD, with new sites probably continuing to be established after the middle of the first

century AD. Thus at least one component of Stanford's model is demonstrably wrong. Similarly, the dating of the final conflagration at the Wrekin, which Stanford used as evidence for a Roman assault on the site, rests on a single radiocarbon date of 1960 ± 90 BP (Birm-532). This gives a calibrated calendrical date (at the 2 sigma confidence level) of 200BC – AD 350, which clearly has too broad a range to support Stanford's assertion that the site was fired in *c.* A.D. 50 (1984: 85). It, therefore, represents another example of the weight he placed upon limited numbers of radiocarbon dates in his interpretations of the hillforts of this region (see Chapter 6.3.2).

An alternative view of the evidence was put forward by Webster (1991). He proposed that a 'king' of the Cornovii may have been amongst the eleven tribal leader that submitted to Claudius, which would mean that seat of conflict between Caratacus and Scapula lay further to the west, in Mid-Wales. On this basis he argued that Roman forces rapidly seized control of the central Marches in order to provide Scapula with a forward base of operations. Whilst conceding that some engagements may have been fought against localised pockets of resistance, citing the Wrekin as a possible example on the basis of Stanford's evidence, he maintained that

> "...the greater part of the territory of the Cornovii was held by the army, and this would have given little opportunity for resistance." (1991: 31).

Webster's interpretation represented an advance on the other models of the later first century AD because it suggested that the conquest had different effects in different parts of this region. However, it ultimately rests upon the same sorts of highly speculative arguments that I have criticised above.

Despite this, Webster's model has recently been revised by White and Barker (1998). Again, they suggest that the conquest of the central Marches would have been "...a routine affair..." (ibid. :38). Based upon the concentration of early military sites within the vicinity of the Wrekin, they proposed that the site was stormed by Roman army.

> "...it may have been chosen for attack since it was easily isolated and was the first major Cornovian hillfort that the army will have encountered. Given its prominence, the taking and burning of the fort there will have sent a huge literal and symbolic smoke-signal to the rest of the tribe, intimidating them and encouraging their surrender." (ibid: 39).

The recent discovery of two ballista bolts at the site is put forward as further evidence for this event. However, both of these artefacts represent casual finds, discovered many years apart in different parts of the hillfort (White and Webster 1994). Given that there is little detailed information about the contexts in which these objects were deposited, it seems equally feasible that these objects were fired by Roman forces during a training exercise. Sharples (1991c) has recently suggested was the case for the famous 'chieftain's hut' at Hod Hill, Dorset. White and Barker also use the sparse documentary sources to interpret the distribution of military sites in the region, which are then used to build up complex hypothesis about Roman military strategy. Thus, for instance, they adopt Jones' (1990) suggestion that the hillfort at Llanymynech may have been the site of Caratacus' last stand, to explain the presence of a cropmark vexillation fortress at Rhyn Park, Shropshire.

7.2.4. Summary.

In this section I have briefly reviewed some of the principal interpretations of the Roman conquest of the central Welsh Marches. Initially these explanations focused upon Tacitus' account of Caratacus' last stand, which was presumed to have been fought at one of the hillforts in this region. I argued that, whilst the lack of consensus about the exact location of this battle prevented the development of a site focused 'memory factory', the debate did lend further support to the image of the Marches as an eternal frontier zone. With the beginnings of more intensive archaeological survey and fieldwork in the first half of the twentieth century there was a change of emphasis. None-the-less, the explanations of much of the material evidence recovered during these projects were still based upon the *assumption* that the Roman military had conquered the region by force. In other words, uncritical use was being made of the archaeological residues to support a vague historical framework derived from the classical texts.

I should emphasis, however, that in critiquing these models I do not seek to 'pacify' the later Iron Age/ Romano-British transition in the central Welsh Marches. I simply wish to highlight the assumptions upon which prevailing interpretations of the sequence from the mid-late 1st century AD currently rest. The material evidence does

in fact suggest that the arrival of the Roman army *did* cause a significant dislocation in the lives of the communities that occupied this region (see section 7.4.3). I would, therefore, endorse White and Barker's view that "...for the local inhabitants it must initially have been an overwhelming and terrifying experience." (1998: 32). However, before turning to a more detailed consideration of the evidence I will consider the ways in which the Romanisation of this region have been considered.

7.3.0 'Romanisation' and the archaeology of the central Welsh Marches: some critical comments.

7.3.1 Introduction.

In the later 1st and early 2nd centuries AD the Roman army is thought to have maintained a heavy presence in the central Welsh Marches. After the initial conquest period a legionary fortress was established at Wroxeter (See Fig. 7.1), probably by *legio XIIII Gemina* which was later replaced by *legio XX* (White and Barker 1998). This unit was probably stationed there until the 90s AD, after which the legion moved to a new base at Chester (*Deva*). During this time smaller forts were established in other parts of the study area, notably at Forden Gaer (*Lavobrinta*) in north-western Powys, Leintwardin (*Bravonium*) in northern Herefordshire and Wall Town and Whitchurch (*Mediolanum*) in Shropshire (Webster 1991). The presence of the army is thought to have had a strong influence upon the communities that occupied the study area after the conquest period. Crucial to understanding the changes which occurred as a result is a consideration of the process of creolisation usually known as 'Romanization' . In this section I will examine the development and growth of this concept, since it has shaped the ways in which successive generations of archaeologists have approached the material evidence. I will begin by outlining the wider development of Romanization theory in Britian. Following this I will consider the ways in which Romanization is currently thought to have operated in the study area.

7.3.2 The development of 'Romanization theory' in Britain.

Notions of how the Roman Conquest may have effected indigenous communities have changed over time. In the 18th and 19th centuries a clear distinction was usually drawn between the Romans and the indigenous population. The former were thought to have occupied isolated stations that were surrounded by uncivilised hoards of 'natives'. Hingley (1989, 2000) has argued that this model was ultimately derived form the relations that existed between the colonial elite and indigenous populations within the British Empire, particularly in India. Drawing on colonial discourse theory, he argues that within this vision of Roman Britain members of indigenous communities fulfilled the role of 'Celtic subalterns'.

> "The Celtic subalterns can be defined...not in the guise of the subalterns in the British imperial army, but as those of an inferior rank who are subject to the hegemony of the ruling class." (2000: 10)

As we saw in Chapter 2 and above, the pre-Roman and Roman populations of Britain were often defined through a direct and literal reading of Classical texts. To the members of the British intellectual elite, who became deeply familiar with the classics as part of their education, these texts describe the Britons in ways that appeared analogous to the non-western populations within the British Empire. They portrayed the indigenous communities of Britain as unruly and barbarous, which Hingley argues led some members of the ruling classes to identify themselves with the Roman military and administrative elite. In other words, they perceived the Romans as 'us' whilst the indigenous population of Roman Britain was seen as 'other':-

> "The study of 'Roman' sites in Britain appealed to the landed gentry and to academics because they were seen as the homes of the military elite - individuals with whom the wealthy and educated of the British Empire felt a common identity." (1989: 2)

During the early years of the 20th century the highly influential works of Francis Haverfield stimulated a major shift in thinking. Hingley (2000) argues that his theories have formed the foundations of Romano-British studies for much of the past century. In his *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, the first edition of which was published in 1905, Haverfield rejected the predominant view of the Roman occupation. Instead he proposed the term Romanization to describe the process

whereby the indigenous population abandoned their traditional ways of life and adopted the trappings of the Roman civilisation. It was these Romanized Britons, he argued, who occupied the villas and towns.

Of particular relevance to the present study is the division that Haverfield (1905) drew between northern England, Wales and southern Scotland on the one hand and southern and eastern England on the other. Defining these as the 'military' and the 'civil' districts of Roman Britain, he argued that Romanization operated in different ways within these two zones (see Fig. 7.2). In the civil district the significant proportion of the indigenous population adopted Roman ways, which was reflected by the fact that it seemed to contain the majority of villas and had the most 'successful' towns. By contrast, the military district saw little Romanization beyond the *vici* settlements that grew up around the various military establishments. The Welsh Marches lay on the boundary between the military zone in Wales and the civil district in lowland England, with Wroxeter (*Viroconium*) acting as a frontier town. I contend that this bi-partite division of the British Isles was later naturalised and extended back into prehistory as Fox's (1932) 'Highland' and Lowland' zones (see Chapter 2).

Hingley (2000) also draws attention to the way in which Haverfield conceived of 'Roman' material culture. Haverfield proposed that the adoption and use of Roman artefacts, dress styles and architecture by the indigenous population demonstrated that they had become Romanized. As Hingley comments: -

> "This suggests that, for Haverfield, Roman culture carried with itself Roman identity. Romanisation had an almost spiritual quality and by adopting new items and new ideas the whole range of provincials aimed to become Roman and abandon his or her incoherent, uncrystallised, native identity." (2000: 120).

The adoption of Roman material culture was, therefore, seen as being 'for the best' – an essential step in the progress towards becoming Romanized. In Haverfield's account this process essentially involved the majority of people in the civil district regardless of their social status, leaving little room for the concept of indigenous resistance to Romanization. We might add that the presence of objects and buildings that were felt to be Roman in style could be used to measure the degree to which these communities had become Romanized. As we shall see below (see Section

7.3.3), this notion continues to underlie many discussions of Romanisation in the central Welsh Marches.

Although Haverfield's work laid the theoretical foundations of twentieth century Romano-British studies, the methodological framework was essentially provided by R.G. Collingwood from the 1920s onwards (e.g. Collingwood 1929). Collingwood's approach was characterised by the use of a mixture of archaeological evidence and classical documentary sources and inscriptions. This enabled him to construct a chronological and socio-political framework for the period. It also demonstrated conclusively that *coloniae, civitas* capitals and *vici* settlements had existed in Britain.

During the 1930s Collingwood's work on Romanization diverged from certain aspects of Haverfield's approach (Hingley 2000). He maintained that the urban centres played a vital role in Romanizing the indigenous population, and were responsible for creating a new set of class-based divisions within Romano-British society (Collingwood and Myres 1936). The inhabitants of the towns were thought to have become highly Romanized, whilst the surrounding rural communities remained backward and uncultured. Hingley argues that this component of Collingwood's work allows for the possibility of indigenous resistance to the process of Romanization. It was this notion that lay behind distinction that Collingwood drew between villas and 'villages' of the Romano-British countryside, where the highly cultured inhabitants of the villas provided a stark contrast with the un-Romanized peasantry who inhabited the 'villages'. He extended this argument by proposing that, whilst the populations of the villages might use Roman style ceramics and other objects, they made little progress towards civilisation. As Hingley comments: -

> "The characterisation of the spiritual connotations of Roman material which Haverfield produced...is entirely absent in these observations. Roman objects could be adopted without any intention to acquire a Roman identity on the part of the village-dweller." (2000: 134).

Within Collingwood's approach towns, villas and military sites were perceived to represent the key to investigating the process of Romanization. Hingley (1989, 2000) has demonstrated how this produced a bias towards the investigation of these sites, at the expense of 'lower order' non-villa settlements and smaller towns. This effectively skewed the data set in a way that merely confirmed the validity of the initial

hypothesis. We have already seen how the investigation of hillforts in the mid-twentieth century proceeded along similar lines (see Chapter 2 and 6). Hingley suggests that this has provided us with a distorted view of Romano-British society, with much more time being given over to the study of 'Roman' attributes compared to 'British' ones. Likewise, R. Jones (1991: 97) has also criticised this approach for the emphasis it tends to produce upon the identification of historical events in the archaeological record - an obsession he describes as the 'Hadrian slept here' syndrome.

In both Haverfield's and Collingwood's work, social change within Roman Britain is perceived to have progressed along a single evolutionary trajectory. They differ from one another in the sense that, whilst Haverfield felt that the majority participated in these processes, Collingwood felt that Romanization only really involved those near the top of the social hierarchy. Whilst the latter permits the possibility of indigenous resistance, this is still viewed in negative terms. Hingley (2000) maintains that a 'progressive' view of Romanization is evident in both approaches, since they portray these social changes as transformation from barbarism to civilisation. Consequently, research within this paradigm has remained focused upon those aspects of the material evidence which best illustrate this process. Hingley demonstrated how this approach has prevailed within the work of various scholars for much of the past century. In the remainder of this section, however, I will focus upon the developments that have occurred over the past decade, since these have called into question many of the old orthodoxies. To some extent these changes have been stimulated by theoretical developments in other branches of the discipline, and by criticism from scholars working on other periods. In addition, Millet (1990a) has argued that post-colonial attitudes have led many to view Roman imperialism in less favourable terms. Similarly, debate within the social sciences regarding the role played by anthropology and archaeology in providing justification for imperialism (cf. Barrett 1997), has led to renewed interest in the way in which indigenous populations influenced the character of the Roman Empire. Of equal importance is the growth of the data set relating to the non-villa settlements and the smaller towns in the light of rescue and developer funded excavations (Hingley 2000), which has enabled new questions to be asked of the evidence.

In his influential reassessment of the process of Romanization, Millet (1990a) asserted that the Roman administration was concerned with governing its territories at minimum cost to itself. This caused it to adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude towards indigenous society, which he proposes was achieved by imposing the *lex provincia* on a conquered elite. The elite retained their dominant social positions in return for assuming responsibility for tax collection and governing in accordance with Roman principles and laws. This encouraged those at the top of indigenous social hierarchies to adopt Roman material culture, which reinforced and legitimated their position because of its identification with "...the external power (and force) of Rome" (ibid. :38). It also provided indigenous elites with a series of status symbols, which they could use to symbolise their separation from other social groups. Millet agues that over time the use and manipulation of Roman material culture percolated down through the social hierarchy as other groups sought to emulate the elite.

Millet's (1990a) model is useful in the sense that it illustrates the effects that Roman occupation might have had upon indigenous socio-political relations. In particular it illustrates how material culture might have been employed by groups with authority to reinforce their dominance. However, as Hingley (2000) has argued, it also shares a number of the assumptions that underpinned Haverfield's notion of Romanization. He suggests, for instance, that Millet maintains a progressive view of Romanization, adopting Haverfield's notion that the use of Roman material culture automatically conferred Roman identity. Similarly, he also retained Collingwood's focus upon the social elite as the principle means by which Romanization was achieved. I would add that within Millet's model Romanization is essentially conceived of as a process of 'trickle down' economics, driven by the assumed desire of those lower down the social hierarchy to 'improve' themselves. This essentially conservative model of social change plays down the existence of social tensions between different interest groups. It leaves little room for the existence of different viewpoints and understandings created through the elite's attempts to create dominant readings of material culture (cf. Bender 1993, Barrett 1994.). As such Millet fails to recognise the ways in which Roman material culture was manipulated within pre-existing indigenous value systems, or the degree to which these might have influenced its adoption in the first place.

Similar criticisms can also be made of a slightly different model put forward recently by Branigan (1994). Reacting to the suggestion by some that the Roman occupation of Britain had little impact upon indigenous society (e.g. Millet 1990b), he argued that evidence for Romanization can be seen in a number of key areas. These included the establishment of an urban lifestyle in Britain, based upon the classical model, and a strong market based economy, as demonstrated by the significant amounts of coinage that were in circulation in the province by the 2nd century AD. This was accompanied by technological changes in farming practices, such as the adoption of the heavy plough and market gardening near the towns, that lead to an increase in agricultural productivity. Finally, Branigan argued that the spread of the use of mosaic floors beyond the boundaries of the *civitas* territories in which the various schools of mosaicists were established demonstrated that, by the 4th century AD, the indigenous land owning classes had a taste for "...highly Romanised furnishings..." (ibid.: 15).

Branigan's (1994) arguments are useful to us here because they demonstrate that the Roman occupation *did* have a significant impact upon indigenous society. However, criticisms can be made of the degree to which he emphasised economic factors. For instance: -

> "...the creation of nucleated market centres with specialised outlets for arable products...and the construction of a transport-network which allowed bulk produce to be transported to the market-place and relatively cheaply." (Branigan 1994: 13)

Amongst other things, such bald statements give us little impression of the *social* transformations that occurred within and between indigenous communities as a result of the conquest; how the structure of peoples taskscapes may have changed; or how the new 'market centres' and 'transport-networks' helped to sustain a new sets of values.

If we reject Millet's 'emulation' model and Branigan's economic model of Romanization, how then might we conceive of the changes which appear to have occurred in the patterning of peoples lives after the Roman conquest? Whilst Millet's work provided an early catalyst to debate on this subject, a thorough reappraisal of Romanization theory has taken place since the mid 1990s. Many of the assumptions behind Haverfield's and Collingwood's approaches have been called into question. In

their place researchers have put forward a range of suggestions about the nature of the social transformations that occurred in Britain after the Roman conquest. These are often based on new understandings of the nature of human society derived from other branches of the humanities and social sciences. Whilst a detailed review of these developments lies beyond the remit of this chapter (see Hill 2001 for an introductory summary), I want to briefly explore three of the contributions which I feel have the most to offer the present discussion.

Barrett (1997) has recently argued that the traditional categories of 'Roman' and 'native' no longer have anything to offer us. In their place he suggests that becoming Roman involved learning a new "...discipline of life which conformed with some overarching ideal and which was understood to do so by those who adopted it and by others." (ibid: 52). He also questions the dominant conception of the Roman Empire as a homogeneous, overarching totality. Instead Barrett argues that it was a 'construct', which aimed to "...hold together and give a feeling of coherency to numerous experiences and thus establish the grounds for effective action." (ibid. :58-9). The role of the Emperor was given legitimacy by being represented as crucial to the ordering of the world. This order was conveyed through a standardised set of architectural settings in which the Emperor was given a symbolic presence. To live within this order effectively represents a learning of a 'tradition of knowledge' which allowed one to adopt and recognise the correct

> "...bodily dispositions, movement, appearance, the occupation of places, relations of domination and the submission of the self to other authorities." (Barrett 1997: 42).

We might expand upon Barrett's thesis by taking into account some of the points made by Woolf (1997). He argues that we can now reject the hypothesis that Romanization involved the replacement of indigenous cultures with a single unified Roman one. Woolf suggests instead that the 1st centuries BC/AD saw the emergence of a new Imperial culture which transformed "...earlier Roman cultures just as much as it did the earlier cultures of indigenous peoples." (ibid.: 341). This resulted in a rapid shift towards 'Roman' style ceramics, cities and monuments across the Empire. By adopting this approach he suggests that it is possible to:-

> "...see Roman imperial culture as a structured system of differences that was highly differentiated, by region, class social locale, age and gender among other dimensions of variability. Such an approach enables us to admit both the unity and the diversity of Imperial culture." (1997: 341).

Hill (2001) elaborates upon this theme by arguing that the term Romanization, if it is to retain any validity at all, should be seen to describe the processes by which people acquired, reproduced and reworked their social identities over time. As we saw in earlier chapters, social identity is relational, contextually specific and reflexive (cf. Giles 2001). As a social construct it is both a component and an outcome of the relations that people share with others and with objects. Consequently, social identities are not fixed or given but are actively reworked by individuals across the course of their lives, as changes occur in both their perceptions of themselves and in the perceptions of others. The creation and use of material culture is intimately bound with the active monitoring and reworking of identity, which occurs on a continual basis in the course of day-to-day life as well as in formalised acts of ritual. Hill argues that the introduction of a broad range of novel forms of material culture (and peoples) into southern Britain with the Roman conquest created the potential for the construction of a broad range of new social identities. He, therefore, maintains that:-

> "...the changes that took place in Roman Britain need to be understood as diverse, experienced and enacted differently by different people and in different places. The product of these changes was neither Roman nor native but a *new* dynamic creation of new identities, or a constellation of graded entities." (2001: 14, author's emphasis).

That significant changes occurred in the landscape of Britain following the Roman conquest is a point which has been beyond dispute for many years. What Barrett's (1997), Woolf's (1997) and Hill's (2001) arguments allow us to suggest is that these fundamentally changed the ways in which people experienced and understood their worlds. These understandings and experiences will have been highly varied depending upon, amongst other things, the social background and regional and local situation of the agent. With specific regard to the central Welsh Marches, they demonstrate that the transformations that occurred in people's social identities may have been as significant as those that occurred in other parts of Britain. The key consideration, however, is that they would have occurred differently, producing a differently structured set of material residues as a consequence. By implication, this means that

we need to consider the evidence in its own terms, rather than seeking to measure Romanization in the central Marches through reference to other parts of the province. As Hill argues, these changes were not 'skin deep' but involved "...widespread changes in all aspects of daily life (not to mention social structure and political organisation)..." (2001: 15). I want to use these insights to provide some suggestion as to how we might reinterpret the material evidence from the region. Before doing so, however, it is vital that we give some consideration to the ways in which Romanization is currently thought to have operated in this region.

7.3.3. The Wroxeter Hinterland Survey and Romanization in the central Welsh Marches.

As I noted in the introduction to this chapter the final report on the Wroxeter Hinterland Survey is currently in the final stages of publication (Gaffney *et al.* forthcoming). Full synthesis and analysis of the results of this project, conducted over a five year period between 1994 and 1999, must await the appearance of this volume. However, it is important for us to briefly consider the general principles underlying the project here because they are likely to shape the way in which research into the Romano-British period in the central Welsh Marches progresses in the near future. The theoretical perspective, methodological procedures and some of the findings behind the survey have been published in interim form in various sources (e.g. Wroxeter Hinterland Project 1994a&b, White 1996, 1997, 1998, White and Barker 1998). These texts will form the basis of the following discussion.

The Wroxeter Hinterland Survey aimed to

> "...study the process of Romanisation through a quantitative investigation of the development of the Roman town of Wroxeter and the impact on its hinterland."
> (Wroxeter Hinterland Project 1994a)

The intention was to build upon the existing data set by imputing it into, and analysing it, within a computerised Geographical Information System (GIS). There were three other major component of the project: -

- A geophysical survey of Wroxeter itself.

- A field walking survey along three transects radiating outward from the Roman-British city of *Viroconium Cornoviorum* (Wroxeter) (see Fig. 7.3).
- Small scale, supplementary excavations.

The field walking survey was designed to examine the distribution of Romano-British ceramics across the landscape around the city, since it was thought that this would provide a measure of the 'impact' of Romanization in this region.

> "Analysis will...incorporate artefactual data as a quantitative indicant of hierarchical and social rank. This data can then be utilised within studies relating to marketing patterns, social change and settlement development to provide an insight into the overall nature of landscape development within the Wroxeter hinterland." (Wroxeter Hinterland Project 1994b).

I wish to stress at this point that the Wroxeter Hinterland Survey has produced a very important new body of data for the region, not only in terms of its Romano-British archaeology but also for the prehistoric, medieval and later periods. In addition, the geophysical survey of Wroxeter itself, conducted in conjunction with English Heritage, has transformed our understanding of the layout of the Roman city (White 1997, 1998). Projects that operate at the landscape scale are much needed in this region, and in this respect the results of the Wroxeter Hinterland Survey provide an invaluable foundation upon which future research can build. Similarly, the high degree of public involvement that was a feature of the project generated widespread local interest. In a climate where funding bodies increasingly favour research designs that incorporate high levels of outreach this project has created a lot of potential for future work.

I would argue, however, that so far the results of the Wroxeter Hinterland Survey have not been used to challenge and critically re-assess conventional understandings of the process of Romanization in this region. For instance, White and Barker (1998) conceive of Romanization as a largely economic phenomenon that progressed along a single narrow trajectory.

> "For most inhabitants, however, the greatest opportunities lay in the provision of goods and services...*Inevitably*, these local people will soon have picked up Roman working practices and techniques, thus starting the process of assimilation generally called Romanization." (1998: 52, my emphasis).

They continue by discussing the various ways in which the economy of the *Cornovii* – the indigenous tribal group traditionally thought to have occupied the central Welsh Marches - was transformed as a result of their adoption of Roman material culture. For example, in their consideration of the changes that occurred in the ceramic styles in the region, White and Barker assert that Severn-Valley Ware, common throughout the Marches, emerged from the pre-Conquest pottery traditions of the *Dobunni* (the *Cornovii's* southern neighbours). Dobunnic potters are held to have followed the Roman army into the central Marches, producing a range of pottery forms that appealed to the 'native market', as well as "…forms which catered for distinctly Roman tastes too…" (1998: 55).

White and Barker's (1998) model is, therefore, demonstrably built upon many of the notions that were criticised in the previous section. For example, the 'Romans' and the 'locals' (i.e. natives) are still conceived of as rigid, monolithic categories. Their arguments concerning the use of ceramics illustrates how these different groups of people are thought, at least initially, to have used different kinds pottery according to their 'tastes'. There is little discussion of the ways in which novel forms of material culture may have been incorporated into pre-existing value systems in order to construct new forms of social identity. Similarly, Romanization is seen to consist of the process whereby the indigenous population gradual acquired Roman goods and became integrated into the Roman economy. Like Branigan (1994), White and Barker discuss the Roman economy in terms synonymous with modern capitalist economics. For example, they suggest that a profit motive may driven the indigenous population's interaction with the Roman army (White and Barker 1998: 51). Likewise, they argue that Roman conquest may have significantly bolstered the fortunes of those in positions of social authority.

> "…it may be that those who controlled the tribe's wealth suddenly found themselves in possession of a *windfall* as the mutually-owned wealth of the tribe was converted overnight into *private wealth*." (1998: 52, my emphasis).

As we saw in Chapter 6, it seems likely that rights of tenure were held in common by the wider community prior to the conquest, which was almost certainly severely disrupted by the conquest. Yet, White and Barker conceive of these change in purely economic terms, rather than seeing them as part of a wider series of transformations in

the social relations. Ultimately, therefore, they retain a progressive view of Romanization because the adoption of Roman material culture is seen as as a positive step towards the adoption of capitalist economic relations.

I would argue that this model of Romanization underlies the ways in which the results of the Wroxeter Hinterland Survey have been interpreted to date. For example, the field walking survey revealed that scatters of Romano-British pottery were largely concentrated near to the roads that radiated out from Wroxeter. From this White concluded that: -

> "...there is little evidence that Romanised lifestyles penetrated deeply into the countryside...Isolated farms do not seem to have gone out of their way to acquire the most basic trappings of Roman civilization." (1996: 7)

Here ceramics are being used to give a crude measure of Romanization; the presence of Romano-British pottery indicates that the inhabitants of a site were Romanized, whilst its absence implies the opposite. This is essentially a restatement of Haverfield's notion that Roman material automatically conferred Roman identity upon those who possessed it. However, White (1996, 1997) also stresses that Wroxeter, as the fourth largest city in Roman Britain, appears to have been 'rich'. Thus, in terms of the overall understanding of the inhabitation of the landscape we are left with something akin to Collingwood's divide between the town and countryside. The occupants of Wroxeter and the surrounding settlements appear sophisticated and cultured when compared to the un-Romanized inhabitants of the wider hinterland (see Section 7.4.4 for some alternative explanations of these patterns).

These arguments sit uncomfortably alongside the findings from some of the sites that were excavated as part of the Wroxeter Hinterland Survey. At Whitley Grange I central Shropshire (see Fig. 7.1) the remains of a villa were uncovered over two seasons in 1995 and 1996. As White (1998) points out, this work was immensely important because this is the first of the known villa sites around Wroxeter to be excavated using modern archaeological techniques. The excavations revealed a small suite of rooms, one of which contained a polychrome mosaic, and a bath house surrounding a central courtyard. The evidence suggests that the sequence at the site began with the construction of a free standing bath complex, probably in the 2nd century AD. This was refurbished in the 3rd century, possibly in conjunction with the

construction of the other parts of the villa complex (White 1997). Two other structures were also found in an open area just beyond the 'west wing'. These consisted of a small four-post building and a spread of tile chippings "...within a possibly circular building.".

The interpretation of the buildings at Whitley Grange presented the excavators with something of a problem. The site yielded less than one hundred pottery sherds and a total of four coins – a very low number of finds for a site of this type by comparison with other parts of Britain. Similarly, White (1998) commented that the plan of the buildings is unusual in the sense that the villa does not appear to have had any 'living quarters'. He concluded that: -

> "Clearly it is not a farm. One possibility is that it was a hunting lodge or dacha: it is only half a day's journey from Wroxeter and it is visible from the main road, though separated from it by a stream." (1998: 12).

I would argue, however, that alternative readings of this evidence are possible. For example, the four-post structure and the floor surface from the possible circular building raise the possibility that other such ephemeral structures may have surrounded the masonry buildings. Significantly, these features are omitted from some plans of the site (see Fig. 7.4). Instead discussion of the villa revolves around the Romanized elements, particularly the mosaic floor and the bath suite. However, the existence of other kinds of structures on this site suggests that we cannot completely rule out the possibility that people lived at this locale on a permanent basis and that, in doing so, they inhabited a mixture of 'Roman' and 'vernacular' buildings. Similarly, the way in which pottery appears to have been used at this site raises the possibility that Romanized identity cannot simply be inferred on the basis of the presence or absence of Romano-British pottery. The scarcity of pottery at Whitely Grange recalls, I would suggest, the ways in which pottery was used on pre-conquest Iron Age sites (see Chapter 6). Further, this calls into question the basic premise behind White's interpretation of the pottery collected during the field walking survey. In other words, some people in the central Welsh Marches appear to have inhabited what would traditionally be referred to as highly Romanized buildings without also fully adopting the use of Romanized pottery. The implication is that Romanization was not the simple, progressive process envisaged by White and Barker (1998).

Instead it involved people selectively adopting different aspects of Roman material culture in their efforts to shape and rework their social identities.

7.3.4 Summary.

In this section I have briefly reviewed the growth of theories of Romanization. Drawing upon the work of Hingley (1989, 2001), I argued that Haverfield's and Collingwood's notions of Romanization continue to have an influence upon the way many commentators have interpreted the material evidence. I followed this with a brief discussion of some alternative conceptions of Romanization, suggesting that these might be useful in our examination of the evidence from the central Welsh Marches. Overall, this discussion informed my review of the prevailing approach to Romanization in this region. In doing so, I suggested that the way in which this process is currently thought to operate fails to take account of some of the patterns that are beginning to emerge in the material evidence. In particular, it does not provide an adequate explanation of the ways in which people used material culture in their construction of social identity.

7.4.0 Rethinking Romanization in the central Welsh Marches: some suggestions for future research.

7.4.1 Introduction

So far I have been almost exclusively concerned with evaluating current approaches to the material evidence from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. In this section I want to provide a number of suggestions as to how we might research this archaeology in the future, using some brief examples as case studies. I do not pretend that my coverage of the evidence is fully comprehensive; particularly since the main focus of this thesis is the first millennium BC. The comments I make below are offered in the hope that they might generate more discussion.

7.4.2. The latest Iron Age in the central Welsh Marches: some comments.

It has to be admitted that our current understandings of the nature of the communities that inhabited the Welsh Marches in the 1st century BC/AD is very sketchy. The emergence of new forms of evidence, in particular the recording of surface metalwork finds made by metal detectorists looks certain to lead to a further reappraisal of what little we do know.

It does seem increasingly likely that the communities in this area continued to progress along the social trajectories that I mapped out in Chapter 6. There is at present little evidence to suggest that society had become increasingly centralised or hierarchical prior to the conquest. In particular, the complex and ever shifting webs of social relations based around household groups residing in smaller enclosures appears to have continued into the 1st century AD. At the Collfryn enclosure (see Fig. 7.1), for instance, occupation appears to have persisted across this period (Britnell 1989). At the same time, however, there were also significant changes in the nature of the inhabitation of this site (see Fig. 7.5). Britnell noted that four-post structures continued to be built well into the 1st century AD. Yet, the evidence for residential structures was much more ephemeral and restricted to a number of poorly dated post-built structures associated with discontinuous gullies. In addition, the boundaries of the enclosure were not renewed and were allowed to gradually silt up. Both of these factors led Britnell to conclude that

> "...if the evidence as it stands is taken to indicate continued settlement into the 1st century AD and beyond, this was at a comparatively low social level." (1989: 119).

Romano-British pottery spanning the 1st - 4th centuries was present on the site in relatively low quantities (but see also Section 7.4.4), suggesting that occupation might have persisted at or near to the enclosure. Viewed in the relation to the comments I made about this site in Chapter 6, I would argue that these changes may have related to a the gradual decline in the social status of the household that occupied this site over a protracted period of time. However, the evidence from other enclosure sites in the region indicates that new enclosures continued to be established during the latest Iron Age. For example, Barker *et al.* (1991) suggested that the enclosure at Sharpstones Hill Site E in central Shropshire may have been established at this time.

A small-scale evaluation of a degraded enclosure site at Elsemere Road in Shrewsbury (see Fig 7.1) provided traces of activity that probably spanned the Late Iron Age and early Romano-British period (Oxford Archaeological Unit 1995). Similar evidence was also found recently at a small rectilinear enclosure at Heath Farm near Presteigne, Powys (Jonès and Owen 2000) (see Fig. 7.1). Thus, whilst some enclosures gradually went out of use others may have come into existence, as the fortunes of individual households waxed and waned as their composition changed with the passing of different generations.

As in Wessex, some hillforts may have fallen out of use well before the conquest period. Musson (1991: 180) argued that the evidence from the Breiddin suggests their was little activity at this site beyond the 2nd century BC. However, as we have already seen, occupation at this site may have been seasonal, or at least much more localised than previously suspected, even at its supposed height in the 4th and 5th centuries BC (Buckland *et al.* 2001). Other hillforts, such as Croft Ambrey, *could* have been occupied down to the conquest, although again the evidence is ambiguous. Willis (2001) has recently drawn attention to the fact that some of the pottery from Brandon Camp in northern Herefordshire appears to be similar to wheel turned Late Iron Age styles in use at this time further to the south (see Fig. 7.6). Investigating the nature of the inhabitation of the hillforts in the last two centuries BC must, therefore, remain a priority in future research. We should, I suggest, expect to find significant variation between sites. At some the boundaries probably continued to be reworked (e.g. Old Oswestry, Bury Wall, Bury Ditches), others may have been only occasionally visited in the company of stock, whilst yet others may have been continuously occupied. I should stress, however, that at present there is no evidence to suggest that any individual sites acted as a 'pre-conquest tribal capital'. Indeed, given the arguments I have made concerning the nature of the communities in this region the in the later first millennium BC, I feel that searching for such a site is a distraction from more pressing issues.

None of these sites have produced artefacts that suggest that people in central Welsh Marches received and used items of Roman material culture prior to the conquest of the mid-first century AD. This has led White and Barker to suggest that these communities were

> "...inward looking...[with] few opportunities for easy communication with the outside world." (1998: 38).

Certainly the evidence indicates that the use Malvernian pottery continued into the 1st century AD (Peacock 1965-7, Evans in Gaffney *et al.* forthcoming), and that the exchange of salt from the brine springs in Cheshire and Droitwich also persisted down to the conquest. Yet there is also growing evidence for change in the material culture of the latest Iron Age in this region. As noted above, wheel turned pottery vessels may have been in use in small quantities on some sites in the 1st centuries BC/ AD. Additional evidence to support this assertion comes from Collfryn, where Britnell (1989: 126, fig. 27) illustrates two vessels with Malvernian fabrics that have Late Iron Age, wheel turned forms (see Fig. 7.6). Morris commented that the 'Belgic' style of these vessels "...could be paralleled on pre-Conquest sites in the South-East and in Lincolnshire, but in the local context a post-conquest 1st century date is most likely." (1989: 34). This is certainly possible. However, it seems equally plausible that what we are confronting here is a pattern of ceramic use similar, in some respects at least, to that which prevailed in East Anglia in the 1st century BC/AD. Hill (2001) has recently suggested that the use of hand-made pottery persisted in this region into the Flavian period. Wheel-made pottery is present in very small quantities, however, suggesting that its use was highly restricted. Therefore, I would suggest that we should expect to find small quantities of wheel-made pottery in pre-conquest contexts in the central Welsh Marches. The challenge will be to unravel the way in which these vessels were used, and to assess the implications this has for the ways in which people were constructing their social identities at this time.

The reporting of discoveries of metal objects by metal detectorists also has the potential to alter our perceptions of the material culture of the 1st century BC/AD in the central Welsh Marches. As part of the Wroxeter Hinterland Survey local metal detecting enthusiasts were encouraged to report their finds and a significant quantity of later Iron Age metalwork has been recorded as a result (White and Barker 1998: 53, fig. 23, Gaffney *et al.* forthcoming). Similarly, finds of small numbers of Dobunnic coins have been reported by the Portable Antiquities scheme in all of the English counties within the study area except Shropshire. A small number of Dobunnic coins were found by Bushe-Fox (1916) at Wroxeter in early but somewhat

insecure contexts. It is possible, therefore, that small quantities of coinage were in circulation (as gifts?) in this region prior to the conquest. The extension of the Portable Antiquities scheme to cover all of counties in the West Midlands looks certain to increase the number of both metalwork and coinage finds. As with wheel-turned pottery, a priority for the future research will be to develop a firmer understanding of the contexts in which this material was being used and deposited.

I would argue that the changes that we are beginning to detect in the material culture in the Late Iron Age of the central Welsh Marches indicates that the communities of this region were not as parochial as White and Barker (1998) suggest. It is certainly true that these changes were not as marked as they were in other areas of Britain. The closely worked networks of social relations that I outlined in Chapter 6 may have provided few opportunities for the use of new forms of pottery and metalwork. Alternatively, these traditions may have rendered its use inappropriate or insignificant. Such suggestions may well explain the ways in which items of Romano-British material culture were adopted in the post-conquest period. At the same time it is possible that the heads of certain households were using this material to bolster or secure their social status, which may in turn imply that changes were occurring in the patterning of social authority at this time. Further evidence to support these assertions must await the results of further research. We must, however, seek to explain the subtle dynamics that were operating within these communities by viewing them in their own terms, rather than continuing to see them as 'impoverished' and static by comparison with those in the South-East. We also need to obtain a much better understanding of them before we attempt to 'measure' the degree to which this region became Romanized after the conquest.

7.4.3 The eagle has landed: reconceptualising the Roman conquest of the central Welsh Marches.

It seems likely that the relatively small-scale communities that inhabited the central Welsh Marches presented Roman forces with something of a problem. I have argued that social authority was probably vested in the heads of a shifting network of households (see Chapter 6). Combined with traditions of conflict involving feuding

and stock raiding these social relations were probably fairly volatile. This may have prevented the emergence of the kinds of 'tribal leaders' with whom Roman commanders were used to dealing in south-eastern England. Thus, whilst the initial conquest may have been easily achieved, maintaining order over the longer term may have been more difficult.

The arrival of Roman forces in the central Marches would have come as a huge shock to these communities, challenging many of the long-lived traditions around which life revolved. They undoubtedly reacted in varying ways, with some groups submitting without resistance whilst others held out against the odds. Stamping out resistance to the empire almost certainly required the use of physical violence. However, some of the acts of aggression that accompanied the conquest may also have been of a more subtle and symbolic nature. A number of temporary Roman military sites have now been found in the region which slight Bronze Age ring ditches. At Bromfield (Shropshire) three ring ditches, one of which contained the Iron Age inhumation discussed in Chapter 6, were enclosed within a Roman marching camp (Hughes in Hughes *et al.* 1995). Buteaux and Hughes argued that this may have been "...an act of desecration of a native cult centre, an act which would have sent out an unequivocal message." (1995:163). Elsewhere, at Brompton, in western Shropshire, a round barrow that survives as an upstanding earthwork appears to have been incorporated into the defences of one of a series of marching camps. At Craven Arms a bowl barrow and an anomalous cropmark enclosure were enclosed within another marching camp. Finally, at Brandon Camp (Herefordshire) the *praetoria* complex of a temporary military base was built over part of a Bronze Age round barrow enclosed within the defences of an Iron Age hillfort (Frere 1987). As suggested above, this site may have been inhabited at the time of the conquest. It entirely possible that this site was stormed by Roman forces, although much more evidence is required to support this assertion.

Future research into the Roman conquest of the central Marches must be based upon a critical reading of the material evidence. This must be used to construct a more subtle understanding of the means by which Roman control of this region was achieved. We must be prepared to acknowledge the acts of symbolic violence that this may have involved, and which were intended to demonstrate the ability of the

Roman empire to disrupt and control the histories of the communities in this region. Similarly, acts of physical violence against people and monuments must be conclusively demonstrated rather than simply being assumed.

7.4.4 Crossing the Rubicon: the central Welsh Marches in the later 1st and early 2nd centuries AD.

I have already made a number of suggestions as to how research might proceed in the early Romano-British period in the central Welsh Marches, particularly with regard to the ways we conceive of the process of Romanization. I want to briefly add to these suggestions in this section using a number of examples drawn from the material evidence.

As we have already seen, the Roman army maintained a series of installations throughout the region during the period under consideration. This appears to have been partly related to the extended series of campaigns that was fought in the areas to the west. Extramural settlements grew up rapidly around the edges of these sites. These developments are exemplified at Wroxeter itself, where the city of *Viroconium Cornoviorum* was eventually established. As I have already mentioned, a legionary fortress was constructed on the site at *c.*AD 58. A *canabae* seems to have become established to the north of the fortress during this period and, following the demolition of the fortress after *Legio XX* moved to Chester *c.*AD 90, the site was chosen as the civitas capital for the Cornovii. Rapid development occurred after the city's foundation, with timber structures erected over the top of the military demolition layers (Webster 1980). In turn, these structures were demolished in the early 2nd century and replaced by a new forum and baths complex located opposite each other on the main street in the heart of the rapidly expanding city. These developments presented a rapidly changing set of conditions in which new social identities could be constructed. This would also have been one of the places where members of the indigenous communities would have begun to acquire knowledge of the practices and routines that would have enabled them to act effectively within a significantly changed world.

James' (2001) recent arguments concerning the nature of Roman military organisation illustrates how Roman forces would have been distributed right across the landscape of the central Marches. He contends that the image of the Roman army as a ruthlessly efficient machine that maintained its distance from indigenous communities by confining itself to its bases is a modern construct. The evidence suggests that Roman forces interacted in complex ways with the surrounding communities and, more over, that these communities were vital to the army.

> "Non-combatants were intimately integrated into the life of soldiers and regiments, in a variety of capacities. While not on the roster of *milites* proper, servants could be *de facto* part of the regiment..." (2001: 80).

In addition, soldiers would have fulfilled a variety of other social roles beyond their military duties and these would often have taken place beyond military sites. As a result the very presence of the army in the region established the conditions under which a whole variety of different forms of interaction with pre-existing communities would have occurred. Again these would have resulted in the creation of a complex spectrum of different social identities, as people sought to account for their individual experiences of different groups. Future research in the central Marches must address the full complexity and diversity of the social relations that are likely to have arisen in the aftermath of the conquest.

These changes would have extend to the ways in which people perceived new forms of material culture. We must examine the ways in which people drew on different aspects of the material repertoire available to them in the construction of their identities. Amongst other things, this would have been reflected in the way in which activity was structured across the landscape. Evidence for changes in agricultural practices have been found at Duncote Farm in central Shropshire (see Fig. 7.1 & Fig. 7.7), where a sequence extending from the Iron Age through the Romano-British period was found (Jones 1994b). It began with a series of relatively ephemeral ditches that appeared to define a pre-conquest field system (Phase 1). Perhaps in the late 1st or early 2nd century, this field system was reorganised, and a series of ditches defining small rectilinear plots approximately 20m square was set out. Jones interpreted this as evidence for 'market gardening' to supply the growing city at Wroxeter, which lay *c.* 2km to the south-west. It certainly suggests that the

agricultural regimes that I have suggested persisted across much of the later first millennium BC underwent a series of transformations during the early Romano-British period. The laying out of the road network would, in itself, have acted as a catalyst to change, since these new channels of movement around the landscape may well have cut across traditional rights of access and disrupted long standing patterns of tenure.

Change is also discernable in the range of smaller settlement locales that grew up after the conquest. As I argued earlier, occupation of many of the traditional smaller enclosures (e.g. Collfryn, Sharpstone Hill Site E) persisted well into the 2nd century AD. Their inhabitants may have 'resisted Romanization' to a degree. However, the small quantities of Roman ceramics from these sites suggests that people were integrating some components of Romano-British material culture into their daily lives. Whilst, for instance, it is by no means clear that the Collfryn enclosure was occupied continuously across the Roman period, the overall number of pottery sherds recovered from this site is similar to that recovered from the villa site at Whitley Grange (Britnell 1989). At the same time unenclosed settlements were established in roadside locations. For example, at Meole Brace a roadside settlement began to develop from *c.* AD 150 (see Fig. 7.1 & Fig. 7.8), which possibly coincided with the abandonment of the nearby enclosure at Sharpstones Hill Site E (Hughes 1994b). The buildings at this site appear to have consisted of a series of relatively ephemeral rectilinear timber-built structures, which may suggest that by the mid-1st century AD some of those living in 'lower status' rural settlements had begun to live in 'Romanized' buildings. By extension, this in turn implies that the day-to-day lives of these communities were structured in very different ways to those of their Iron Age predecessors. Significantly, the roadside settlement at Meole Brace was not visible on aerial photographs of the site. Given that this is has been one of the principle means of identifying settlement locales in the central Welsh Marches it suggests that many similar sites await discover. Finally, the villa sites, of which only are handful are currently known in the study area, probably represent only one end of a complex spectrum of different settlement types. As we have seen, however, the ways in which certain aspects of Romano-British material culture were being manipulated at these sites requires careful consideration (see Section 7.3.3). It is overly simplistic to

suggest that the presence of masonry buildings implies that the inhabitants of a site had adopted a Roman identity.

7.4.5 Summary

In this section I have made a number of suggestions as to what the future research priorities should be for those investigating the 1st and 2nd centuries AD in the central Welsh Marches. I have argued that we need to establish a better understanding of the pre-conquest communities of this region, which must involve a re-assessment of the social relations that existed in the latest Iron Age. Similarly, I have argued that our explanations of the conquest itself must be grounded in a critical understanding of the material evidence. At the same time, however, we should anticipate that the subjugation of the central Marches by Roman forces may have involved acts of symbolic as well as physical violence. One of the greatest challenges facing those working on the later 1st and early 2nd centuries AD will be accounting for the full diversity of the communities that sprang up in the wake of the conquest. The use of binary oppositions such as Romanized/ unRomanized and Roman/ native to describe these groups is no longer sufficient. We need to tackle the complex range of ways in which material culture was used in the construction of novel forms of social identity. Part of this will come through the establishment of a better understanding of the changes in the patterning of routine activity across the landscape, of which we currently know very little.

7.5.0 Conclusion.

In this chapter I have argued that we need to re-think the way in which we currently approach the archaeological evidence from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD in the central Welsh Marches. I began by examining the deep-rooted tradition of linking particular sites in this region the with historical/ mythical figures mentioned in the classical texts. A consensus has not been reached on which particular sites match the descriptions that are provided in these accounts. None-the-less, these discussions have played a part in promoting an image of the landscape of the central Welsh Marches as a border region. I also demonstrated how the vague historical framework that the

documentary sources outline has formed one of the dominant influences upon the ways in which the material remains have been interpreted. Such 'event led' archaeology has resulted in an uncritical use of the evidence and has distracted us from investigating the impact that the Roman conquest had upon the lives of the majority of the region's inhabitants.

Following, this I critically examined the growth of theories of Romanization over the course of the past two centuries. I concluded this discussion with a brief summary of the ways in which an understanding of Romanization might be established in the future, and I used this to consider recent approaches to Romanization in the study area. Recent work has provided an exciting new data set which looks set to shape the way in which research develops in the future. However, the ways in which this data is currently being interpreted means that some highly important issues are not being fully investigated.

In the last section of this chapter I proceeded to outline some ways in which research into the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period might proceed in the future. These were based around the concerns that have emerged in the other discussion chapters in this thesis. If pursued, the proposals that I have made will allow us to gain a better insight into the daily lives of the communities that inhabited this region in the first two centuries AD. In the process it will allow us to better appreciate the degree to which the Roman conquest had a profound effect upon the histories of these groups.

Chapter 8

Conclusion.

8.1 Discussion

The hillforts of the central Welsh Marches have become a component of my own biography. I grew up in the shadow of Earl's Hill, and have visited the monument that occupies the summit of this great whaleback of pre-Cambrian rock over many years and in all seasons. From stories my father wove around the ramparts when I was a child, to the visits I made in the final stages of completing this thesis, I am still filled with questions about the communities who built this hillfort. This research has provided me with an opportunity to develop some answers.

I began by outlining what I see as the main problems with current interpretations of these monuments. These centred on a failure to deal satisfactorily with their temporality, the practices associated with their construction and their wider landscape context. I asserted that only by dealing with each of these points would we be able to move forward and develop new understandings of these monuments.

I examined how our current knowledge of the hillforts of the central Marches have arisen through a complex interplay of methods and theories, and the social relations that existed between successive generations of researchers. However, a number of recurrent themes can be discerned in the ways in which these monuments have been treated. For instance, from the outset these sites were assumed to have filled a martial function. I have suggested that whilst some of these sites may have had a defensive role at some points in their history, they also fulfilled a number of other functions. These may have been as important, if not more important, to the reproduction and transformation of social relations in the first millennium BC. Similarly, many commentators have portrayed the Welsh Marches as a later prehistoric frontier zone, fought over by successive cultural groups. I contend that we must abandon this approach, and recognise that medieval and modern political boundaries simply did not exist in later prehistory. Finally, the long association between some hillforts in this region and the legendary exploits of Caratacus have

unduly influenced interpretations of their role during the Roman conquest. I propose that we need to adopt a more critical approach to their use and inhabitation at this time.

I also contended that current approaches to these monuments are still influenced by the work of archaeologists of Hawkes' generation. This is, of course, inevitable, given that the fieldwork which these researchers carried out still forms one of our primary sources of evidence. I feel that we are still coming to terms with the results of the open area excavations of hillforts, which challenge many of the fundamental principles upon which invasionist explanations of hillforts were built. I argue that we must embrace the particular histories of inhabitation, which this work has revealed. This also requires us to view the archaeology of this region in its own terms, rather than imposing models upon it that have been developed in relation to the evidence from other parts of Britain.

I argued that we must situate the hillforts of the central Marches within a broader landscape context if we wish to develop new understanding of them. By viewing landscape as *process* we can write histories of the communities that built these monuments, which take account of how nested social relations were reproduced through various forms of material practice. This entails working with a number of lines of evidence in order to explore the spatial and temporal patterning of activities across the landscape. As a result, we have been able to move beyond earlier preoccupations with the form of the landscape, and examine how the inhabitation of these monuments articulated with other forms of practice.

In order to explore this approach to the evidence I began by outlining what the palaeoenvironmental sequence from the central Marches tells us about the structure of the landscape in the late second and first millennia BC. I argued that an increase in clearance activity after *c.*1500BC began to open up the park-like forest that had developed across the region after the end of the last glaciation. Through a complex interplay of landform processes and human agency, the gradual removal of forest cover also promoted hydrological change in the region's river systems. This resulted in the establishment of sinuous river channels and the deposition of alluvium on the floodplains, creating a set of seasonally abundant resources and the potential for new forms of practice. During the early first millennium BC the largely open landscape was further transformed through the procurement of timber for the construction of

the early hillforts. The patterning of resources, which the creation of these monuments helped to establish, prevailed across the rest of the millennium.

We can now recognise that during the late second and early first millennia linear boundary systems gradually appeared in a number of places in the central Welsh Marches. These were concerned with controlling access to a newly available resource - open land. It seems likely that household groups dwelt amongst these boundaries in dispersed 'open' settlements. Bound together by reciprocal ties generated through co-operation in agricultural tasks, these groups probably came together on a periodic basis to create and maintain the linear boundaries. This work probably played a vital role in renewing these group's rights of tenure over the land and it creating localised sense of community identity. The direction and provisioning of these projects may also have provided some groups with the means of securing social authority. Each 'cluster' of linear boundaries appears to have been surrounded by tracts of open country, where the character of the archaeological evidence suggests that different communities came into contact with one another. These areas may have held in common, providing resources that were unavailable within the bounded parts of the landscape. Mitigating the tensions and conflict that arose through the use of these areas may have bound these communities into reciprocal relations structured around feasting, and the exchange and deposition of items of material culture. It seems likely that it was these conditions that gave rise to the first hillforts, which also seem to have been located in areas where the existence of 'others' was more readily acknowledged. I have argued that the practices involved in the construction and inhabitation of these monuments probably resulted in the emergence of more closely defined broader community identities.

The creation of the hillforts in this region not only reworked the structure of the landscape, but also transformed the means by which tenure was defined. During the later first millennium the discourses surrounding the construction of enclosures was worked through into the spheres of household and localised community relations. Laid out in relation to the earlier land boundaries, the smaller enclosures were concerned with defining the rights of tenure over particular locales. Communities bestowed these upon households when they came together to build enclosures. At the same time, mustering the labour forces to undertake these projects provided households with the means of acquiring and asserting their social authority. These

monuments formed locales within agricultural taskscapes that saw significant movement of people and stock around the landscape. Thus the inhabitation of the smaller enclosures appears to have varied. Even if a site was 'permanently' occupied, the composition of the resident group probably fluctuated with the passing of the seasons. We can make similar comments about the hillforts of this period, where the ongoing elaboration of the ramparts now appears to have played a role in reinforcing both community and household identity. The materiality of these earthworks suggests these groups were able to trace their histories within them. Again, the construction and reworking of these monuments would have acted to reproduce these relations, no doubt sometimes creating or resolving tensions between the groups involved. Likewise, these projects would also have provided the conditions under which social authority could be asserted and/or resisted.

We must acknowledge that the Roman conquest brought about fundamental transformations in the patterning of these social relations. The new roads would have cross-cut traditional rights of access to the land, whilst the 'violence' inflicted upon some monuments may have disrupted the tenurial claims to some areas. The establishment of the forts and towns would have provided a range of novel spaces, where different forms of practices resulted in the emergence of new sense of identity. As result people would have reached differing understandings of the histories and values systems of which the Roman Empire was composed.

8.2 Suggestions for future research.

With these arguments I have attempted to explore the how hillforts of the central Welsh Marches formed an integral component of the biographies of the people who built them. Inevitably, this research has raised more questions than it has been able to answer, and many of the issues I have touched upon in this thesis urgently require more work.

The predominantly rural character of this region, together with the absence of large scale aggregates extraction or infrastructure developments, means that PPG 16 generated interventions have been mainly concentrated in the towns. At the same time, agricultural intensification over the past 50 years has resulted in unprecedented levels of destruction of earlier landscape features (Darvill and Fulton 1998). As a

result, a more co-ordinated approach to research in this region is now required. For these reasons, I endorse the recommendations that Haselgrove *et al.* (2001) make in their strategic overview of current research priorities for the British Iron Age. Likewise, the research agenda that English Heritage is currently developing for the West Midlands region provides us with an opportunity to adapt these recommendations to the conditions we face in this region. Although a detailed review of future research priorities lies beyond the remit of this thesis (although see Chapter 7), I will make a number of outline suggestions that I feel represent the main concerns which future work on the first millennium BC must address.

<u>General.</u>

- *Chronological issues* – we must obtain radiocarbon dates whenever possible during excavations of later prehistoric sites.
- *Palaeoenvironmental evidence* – we must endeavour to make the make the most of the abundant sources of palaeoenvironmental evidence in the central Welsh Marches, since these are likely to provide us with much greater insight into the organisation of the later prehistoric landscape.
- *Hillforts* – Whilst we there is a pressing need to excavate more of these monuments, significant advances could also be made through detailed topographic and geophysical survey, and inter and intra site viewshed analyses. Survey work in the areas around these monuments would also be advantageous.

<u>Late second/ early first millennium</u>

- *Settlement locales* – there is an urgent need to locate and characterise settlements belonging to this period. They should be actively looked for in the landscape and we should also expect to find them buried beneath the remains of sites dating to the later first millennium.
- *Linear land boundaries* – investigating the pit alignments of this region is a high priority. Absolute dating evidence is required and the relationships with other landscape features must be examined through excavation.
- *Burnt Mounds* – we need to investigate the areas around these monuments in order to define their relationship with other landscape features.

- *Metalwork* – undertaking research into the landscape context of metalwork find spots would add much to our understanding of the practices surrounding the deposition of this material (cf. Dunkin 2001). Further investigation of the location where the Broadward Hoard was found is a high priority.

<u>Later first millennium.</u>

- *Archive studies* - further detailed studies of the archives from a number of key sites is likely to be highly rewarding. In particular, the finds from the quarry ditch at Croft Ambrey would repay further work.
- *Smaller enclosures* – we must sample much larger sections of the earthworks during excavations of these sites. This is likely to yield more detailed information about their construction, and about depositional practices in this region.
- *'Open' settlements* – we need to determine whether open settlements existed in this region. The investigation of cropmark sites on the floodplain and survey work in the uplands is likely to offer us a way forward here.
- *Field systems* – we need to undertake more detailed work on the field systems that we know surround some of the cropmark enclosures, examining, amongst other things, their development over time.

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Table 4.1 – Summary of palaeoenvironmental evidence from the central Welsh Marches.

Site Name	County	Gird. Ref	Character of evidence	Reference
Berth Pool	Shropshire	SJ 429 235	Pollen core	Barber and Twigger 1987, Twigger and Haslam 1991
Birchgrove Pools	Shropshire	SJ 435 232	Pollen core	Barber and Twigger 1987, Twigger and Haslam 1991
Boreatton Moss	Shropshire	SJ 416 226	Pollen core	Barber and Twigger 1987, Twigger and Haslam 1991
Buckbean Pond	Powys	SJ 290 139	Pollen core and insect macro-fossils	Smith *et al* in Musson 1991, Buckland *et al* 2001.
Carneddau area	Powys	Grid sq. SN 99 99	Multiple pollen cores	Walker 1993
Carraghofa	Shropshire	SJ 248 211	Floodplain geomorphology and alluvial stratigraphy	Taylor and Lewin 1997
Clawdd Coch	Powys	SJ 249 120	Floodplain geomorphology and alluvial stratigraphy	Taylor and Lewin 1997
Crose Mere	Shropshire	SJ 430 305	Pollen core	Hardy 1939, Beales 1980
Fenemere	Shropshire	SJ 445 228	Pollen core	Barber and Twigger 1987, Twigger and Haslam 1991
Four Crosses, Site 1	Powys	SJ 270 189	Pollen from buried soil profile	Wimble 1986
Marton Pool	Shropshire	SJ 448 234	Pollen core	Barber and Twigger 1987, Twigger and Haslam 1991

Site Name	County	Gird. Ref	Character of evidence	Reference
Severn flooplain at Welshpool	Powys	Grid sq. SJ 21 04	Floodplain geomorphology and alluvial stratigraphy	Taylor and Lewin 1996
Top Moss	Shropshire	SJ 570 270	Pollen core	Leah *et al* 1998
Wellington Quarry	Herefordhire	SO 510 480	Alluvial stratigraphy and pollen samples	Dinn and Roseff 1992,
Fenn's/Whixall Moss	Wrexham/Shropshire	Grid sq. SJ 49 36	Pollen core and plant macro-fossils	Hardy 1939, Turner 1962, 1964
Wilden Marsh	Worcestershire	SO	Pollen core and alluvial stratigraphy	Brown 1988

Table 5.1 – Categories used in the analysis of the relationship between cross ridge dykes and pit alignments in the central Welsh Marches.

Variable	Category	Sub-category	Description
Height	1		50-100m
	2		101-150m
	3		151-200
	4		>201m
Relationship to topography	1	A	Runs *along* a watershed/axis of ridge.
		B	Runs *along* a watershed/axis of ridge & aligned upon a landscape feature.
	2	A	Runs *across* a watershed/axis of a ridge & aligned upon a landscape feature.
		B	Runs *across* a watershed/axis of a ridge & aligned upon a landscape feature.
		C	Crosses an area of level ground at an oblique angle.
	3	A	Runs away from a watershed/axis of a ridge at a perpendicular angle to the contours.
		B	Runs away from a watershed/axis of a ridge at a perpendicular angle to the contours & aligned on a landscape features.
	4	A	Runs *away* from a watershed/axis of a ridge at a oblique angle to the contours.
		B	Runs *away* from a watershed/axis of a ridge at a oblique angle to the contours & aligned on a landscape features.
	5	A	Runs parallel with the contours
		B	Runs parallel with the contours and aligned upon a landscape feature.
	6	A	Runs over an area of raised relief
		B	Runs between areas of raised relief
Relationship to drainage	1	A	Runs parallel to a river/stream channel.
		B	Runs perpendicular to a stream channel.
	2	A	Aligned upon the head of a valley
		B	Runs between valley heads
		C	Runs across the head of a valley
	3		Runs along a watershed
	4		Aligned upon another water source
	5		No apparent relationship with drainage.

Table 5.2 – Cross Ridge Dykes in the Central Welsh Marches.

SMR PRN	Name of monument	Description of monument	Easting	Northing	Height OD	Relationship to Topography	Relationship to drainage
199	High Park Cottage	Cross Ridge Dyke	344300	296700	4	2B	2B
251	Devil's Mouth	Cross Ridge Dyke	343900	294300	4	2B	2A
1253	Barrister's Plain	Cross Ridge Dyke	342600	292700	4	2B	2B
187	Stitt Hill 1 (Castle Ring)	Enclosure and Cross Ridge Dyke	340400	297800	4	2B	2B
188	Stitt Hill 2	Cross Ridge Dyke	340300	297500	4	2B	2B
189	Stitt Hill 3	Spur Dyke	340200	297800	4	2B	2A
3967	Stapeley Hill 1	Linear Earthwork	331100	298800	4	2B	2A
4122	Stapeley Hill 2	Linear Earthwork	331000	298300	4	2B	2A
N/A	Stapeley Hill 3	Linear Earthwork	330300	298900	4	2B	2B
N/A	Stapeley Hill 4	Linear Earthwork	330400	298400	4	2B	2A
N/A	Stapeley Hill 5	Linear Earthwork	330200	298300	4	2A	2C
1189	Upper Short Ditch	Cross Ridge Dyke	319300	287000	4	2B	2B
1199	Lower Short Ditch	Cross Ridge Dyke	322200	288100	4	2B	2B

Table 5.3 – Details of the pit alignments within the central Welsh Marches

SMR PRN	Name of monument	Description of monument	Easting	Northing	Height OD	Type of plot	No. of fields cropmarks are visible in.	Relationship with modern field boundaries.	Relationship to topography	Relationship to drainage
P 38025	Carraghofa 3 (Penarth)	Pit Alignment	325100	320700	1	RCHME	1	Oblique	4B	1B
P 38025	Carreghofa 4 (Penarth II)	Pit Alignment	325200	320700	1	RCHME	1	Oblique	4B	1B
P 02454	Carraghofa 2 (Carreghofa Farm 1))	Pit Alignment	325300	321000	1	RCHME	3	Oblique	6A	1B
P 38027	Carraghofa 1 (Ty-gwyn)	Pit Alignment	325600	321100	1	RCHME	2	Parallel	1A	1B & 3
02464	Llanymynch 1 (Walls Bridge)	Pit Alignment, Linear Feature, Field System	326100	320800	1	RCHME	2	Oblique	4B	5
02464	Llanymynch 2 (Walls Bridge)	Pit Alignment	326200	320900	1	RCHME	1	Oblique	3A	1B
P 06077	Four Crosses 1	Pit Alignment	326600	319100	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	2	Parallel	5A	1A* & 3
P 38100, P 50518	Four Crosses 2	Pit Alignment	327000	318900	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	3	Oblique	1B	1A*
P 38101	Four Crosses 4	Pit Alignment	327100	318900	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	1	Parallel	3A	1B*
P 38101	Four Crosses 5	Pit Alignment	327100	318900	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	1	Parallel	3A	5
P 38103	Four Crosses 6	Pit Alignment	327200	319000	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	1	Parallel	3A	1B*
P 38106	Four Crosses 8	Pit Alignment	327200	318900	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	1	Parallel	3A	5

SMR PRN	Name of monument	Description of monument	Easting	Northing	Height OD	Type of plot	No. of fields cropmarks are visible in.	Relationship with modern field boundaries.	Relationship to topography	Relationship to drainage
P 38029	Four Crosses 7	Pit Alignment	327300	319100	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	2	Parallel	3A	1B*
P 50521	Four Crosses 10	Pit Alignment	327300	318600	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	1	Parallel	4A	5
P 38107	Four Crosses 3	Pit Alignment	327400	319100	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	2	Partly parallel	2A	1B*
P 31826	Four Crosses 9	Pit Alignment	327400	319000	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	1	Parallel	3A	5
P 38104	Four Crosses 12	Pit Alignment	327500	319100	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	2	Oblique	4A	1B*
P 38109	Four Crosses 11	Pit Alignment	327700	319000	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	1	Oblique	4A	5
P 38124	Four Crosses 13	Pit Alignment	328300	319200	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	1	Oblique	4A	5
P38124	Four Crosses 14	Pit Alignment	328400	319100	1	Owen and Britnell 1989: Fig. 1)	1	Oblique	4A	5
03713	Crickheath 1	Pit Alignment	328500	323800	1	RCHME	1	Partly parallel	6A	1B
03713	Crickheath 2	Pit Alignment	329100	323600	1	RCHME	2	Partly parallel	6A	1B
04145	Crickheath 3	Linear Feature, Pit Alignment	329700	323700	1	RCHME	1	Parallel	1A	5
04387	Wallop Hall	Pit Alignment	331650	308250	4	RCHME	1	Oblique	2B	2B
?	Pentre Farm	Pit Alignment	334000	315200	1	RCHME	1	Oblique	4A	1B
04225	Knockin Hall	Pit Alignment	334300	321500	1	RCHME	1	Oblique	2A	2B
04345	Knockin Heath 3	Pit Alignment	335850	320800	1	Sketch	1	Parallel	3B	2A

SMR PRN	Name of monument	Description of monument	Easting	Northing	Height OD	Type of plot	No. of fields cropmarks are visible in.	Relationship with modern field boundaries.	Relationship to topography	Relationship to drainage
04254	Knockin Heath 2	Linear Feature, Pit Alignment	336000	320000	1	Sketch	1	Parallel	3B	2A & 4
02845	Lower Farm Shotatton	Pit Alignment	336270	323040	1	Sketch	1	Parallel.	5B	2A
04031	Knockin Heath 1	Pit Alignment	336600	320450	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	6A & 2B	3
02100	Cranmoor Gorse	Oval Enclosure, Pit Alignment	336900	322080	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	4B	4
3964	Moss Plantation	Pit Alignment	337100	322300	2	Whimster	2	Oblique	4B	5
02388	Coney Bank 1	Pit Alignment	337500	320100	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	5A	5
04212	Coney Bank 2	Pit Alignment	337700	320510	1	Sketch	3	Oblique	3B	2A
04450	New Pools Plantation 6	Linear Feature, Pit Alignment	342400	319100	1	Whimster	2	Oblique	4B	5
04449	New Pools Plantation 5	Pit Alignment	342700	319470	1	Whimster	1	Oblique	5B	1B
02454	Baschurch	Pit Alignment	342900	322200	1	Sketch	2	Oblique	1B	2A
02065	New Pools Plantation 3	Pit Alignment	342950	319580	1	Whimster	2	Oblique	5B	1A
02065	New Pools Plantation 3	Pit Alignment	342950	319580	1	Whimster	1	Partly parallel	3A	1B
04156	New Pools 4	Pit Alignment	343000	319300	1	Whimster	1	Parallel	3B	1B
00486	New Pools Plantation 1	Field System, Pit Alignment	343200	319900	1	Whimster	1	Oblique	3A	1A
01006	Pikes End Moss	Pit Alignment	343500	331850	1 & 2	Sketch	1	Oblique	1A	2A
4920	Meols Meadow Plantation	Multivallate Curvlinear Enclosure, Pit Alignment	346200	304200	2	Sketch	1	Oblique	3B	2A

SMR PRN	Name of monument	Description of monument	Easting	Northing	Height OD	Type of plot	No. of fields cropmarks are visible in.	Relationship with modern field boundaries.	Relationship to topography	Relationship to drainage
02196	Stapleton	Enclosure, Pit Alignment	346980	304930	2	Whimster	1	Oblique	3B	2A
02251	Merry Lane	Pit Alignment, Rectangular Enclosure	351120	321850	1	Sketch	1	Parallel	3B	1B
02315	Pitchford Hall	Pit Alignment	352500	304700	1	Whimster	1	Oblique	5A	1B
00143	Berwick Wharf	Pit Alignment, Rectangular Enclosure	354600	311400	1	Whimster	1	Oblique	6A	5
00051	Dollyfers 1	Field System, Pit Alignment, Rectangular Enclosure	355900	311900	1	Whimster	1	Oblique	3A	1B
00051	Dollyfers 2	Field System, Pit Alignment, Rectangular Enclosure	355900	311900	1	Whimster	1	Oblique	3A	1B
02269	Stanton Upon Hine Heath	Double Pit Alignment	357850	323380	1	Sketch	3	Partly parallel	4B	2A
00628	Newfoundland 1	Pit Alignment, Enclosure, Ring Ditch	358400	299250	1	Whimster	1	Oblique	4B	2A
00628	Newfoundland 2	Pit Alignment, Enclosure, Ring Ditch	358400	299250	1	Whimster	1	Oblique	4B	2A
00600	Pool House	Pit Alignment	358550	322110	1	Sketch	1	Parallel	5A	5
04390	Rodenhurst Hall	Pit Alignment	358560	315760	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	5A	1B
02243	Barkers Square 1	Linear Feature, Pit Alignment	358600	313500	1	Whimster	1	Parallel	5B	1A
02243	Barkers Square 2	Linear Feature, Pit Alignment	358600	313500	1	Whimster	1	Parallel	5A	1A

SMR PRN	Name of monument	Description of monument	Easting	Northing	Height OD	Type of plot	No. of fields cropmarks are visible in.	Relationship with modern field boundaries.	Relationship to topography	Relationship to drainage
00044	The Lees	Pit Alignment	358900	312600	1	Whimster	1	Parallel	6A	1B
02259	Ellerdine 1	Ditch, Pit Alignment	360530	321120	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	5A	5
02353	Isombridge 1	Field System, Pit Alignment	360610	313790	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	5B	1A
02270	Ellerdine 2	Pit Alignment	360750	321600	1	Sketch	1	Non	3A	5
04477	Ellerdine 3	Pit Alignment	361000	321000	1	Sketch	1	Parallel	1A	5
02355	Isombridge 2	Enclosure?, Field System, Pit Alignment	361100	314000	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	3A	1A
02355	Isombridge 3	Enclosure?, Field System, Pit Alignment	361100	314000	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	3A	1A
02303	Weobley	Pit Alignment	362100	326790	1	Sketch	3	Oblique	3B	2A
02301	Highway Farm	Pit Alignment	363500	323900	1	Sketch	3	Parallel	2B	2B
04475	Waters Upton	Pit Alignment	364100	319650	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	2C	5
02271	Bolas House 1	Pit Alignment	365580	322000	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	1B	3
02271	Bolas House 2	Pit Alignment	365580	322000	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	6A	2A
02193	Echoes Hill 3	Pit Alignment	373220	299220	1	Sketch	1	Parallel	5A	1A
02192	Echoes Hill 2	Pit Alignment	373510	299750	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	5A	1A
02191	Echoes Hill 1	Pit Alignment	373700	299850	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	2A	1A
02361	Cotsbrook Farm	Pit Alignment	374850	300800	1	Sketch	2	Partly parallel	5B	2C
?	The Bog 2	Pit Alignment	375000	297800	1	Sketch	1?	Oblique	3B	4
02198	Stableford	Pit Alignment	375150	298800	1	Sketch	1	Parallel.	2B	2A
02200	The Bog 1	Enclosure, Pit Alignment	375180	297790	1	Sketch	1	Parallel	3B	2A

SMR PRN	Name of monument	Description of monument	Easting	Northing	Height OD	Type of plot	No. of fields cropmarks are visible in.	Relationship with modern field boundaries.	Relationship to topography	Relationship to drainage
00431	Crowgreaves	Pit Alignment, Enclosure	375300	299400	1	Sketch	1	Partly parallel	5A	2C
02201	Cranmere S 1	Pit Alignment	375300	297000	1	Sketch	2	Oblique	2A & 6A	5
02201	Cranmere S 2	Pit Alignment	375300	796900	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	2A	2A
00434	Sandybank Plantation	Pit Alignment	375900	291700	1	Barker	1	Partly parallel	4B	2A
02204	Bradney 2	Pit Alignment	376340	295340	1	Sketch	2	Oblique	4A	2B
02204	Bradney 1	Pit Alignment	376850	295300	1	Sketch	1	Parallel	4A	2B
02202	Folley 2	Pit Alignment	377300	297600	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	2B	2B
02202	Folley 1	Double Pit Alignment	377400	297600	1	Sketch	2	Oblique	2A	2A
02203	Folley 3	Pit Alignment	377450	297200	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	5A	2C
02091	Woundale	Pit Alignment	377500	292700	2	Barker	1	Parallel	1B	2A
02319	Pickmoor Wood	Pit Alignment	378150	311700	1	Sketch	1	Oblique	5B	2A
02318	Forge Plantation	Pit Alignment	378600	308600	1	Sketch	1	Parallel	5B	1A
04488	Spoonleygate	Pit Alignment	381150	296000	1	Sketch	1	Parallel	3B	2A

Table 5.4 – Bronze Age metalwork hoards from the central Welsh Marches (Data – Peter Northover).

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 151	EBA	59	flat axe	developed	Aylesford	Titterstone Clee	Shropshire	359000	276000
		92	flat axe	developed	Whittington, Swinton and related				
H 164	EBA	106	flanged axe	long-flanged	Arreton and derivatives	Ebnal	Shropshire	331500	334600
		107	flanged axe	long-flanged	Arreton and derivatives				
		108	flanged axe	long-flanged	Arreton and derivatives				
		967	dagger / knife dagger						
		968	dagger / knife dagger						
		1107	spearhead		end-looped				
		1398	tool		trunnion				
		1443	tool		punches etc.				
H 148	MBA	90	flat axe	developed	Whittington, Swinton and related	Battlefield	Shropshire	351000	317000
		142	flanged axe	short-flanged	Caverton and related				
		222	unlooped palstave	Group I	Goytre				
H 160	MBA	489	looped palstave	Group IV	transitional	Edgebold Brickyard	Shropshire	348000	312000
		490	looped palstave	Group IV	transitional				
		1397	tool		trunnion				

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 130	LBA	531	looped palstave	Group V	late	Buttington Hall	Powys	325900	309100
		1251	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned				
		1377	tool		simple chisel				
H 134	LBA	532	looped palstave	Group V	late	Guilsfield	Powys	324700	311200
		533	looped palstave	Group V	late				
		534	looped palstave	Group V	late				
		535	looped palstave	Group V	late				
		536	looped palstave	Group V	late				
		537	looped palstave	Group V	late				
		538	looped palstave	Group V	late				
		539	looped palstave	Group V	late				
		540	looped palstave	Group V	late				
		541	looped palstave	Group V	late				
		542	looped palstave	Group V	late				

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 134	LBA	543	looped palstave	Group V	late	Guilsfield	Powys	324700	311200
		544	looped palstave	Group V	late				
		545	looped palstave	Group V	late				
		578	socketed axe		multiple mouth mouldings				
		579	socketed axe		multiple mouth mouldings				
		582	socketed axe		rope mouldings				
		1017	sword		Wilburton				
		1018	sword		Wilburton				
		1019	sword		Wilburton				
		1020	sword		Wilburton				
		1021	sword		Wilburton				
		1022	sword		Wilburton				
		1023	sword		Wilburton				
		1024	sword		Wilburton				
		1203	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1204	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1205	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1252	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned				
		1253	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned				
		1254	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned				
		1255	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned				

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 134	LBA	1256	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned	Guilsfield	Powys	324700	311200
		1257	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned				
		1258	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned				
		1259	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned				
		1260	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned				
		1261	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned				
		1262	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned				
		1267	spearhead		lunate opening				
		1268	spearhead		lunate opening				
		1313	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1314	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1315	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1316	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1409	tool		socketed gouge				
		1410	tool		socketed gouge				
		1445	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1446	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1447	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1448	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1449	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1450	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1451	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 134	LBA	1452	weapon accessory		long tongue chape	Guilsfield	Powys	324700	311200
		1453	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1454	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1455	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1456	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1457	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1458	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1459	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1460	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1461	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1462	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1463	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1464	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1465	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1466	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1467	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1468	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1469	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1470	weapon accessory		long tongue chape				
		1471	weapon accessory		short tongue chape				
		1472	weapon accessory		short tongue chape				
		1475	weapon accessory		rectangular chape				
		1481	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1482	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1483	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1484	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				

Association	Period	No.	Class		Group	Type	Site	County	Easting
H 134	LBA	1485	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule	Guilsfield	Powys	324700	311200
		1486	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1487	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1488	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1489	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1490	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1491	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1492	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1493	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1494	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1495	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1762	metallurgical		casting jet				
		1764	metallurgical		copper / bronze cake				
		1765	metallurgical		copper / bronze cake				
		1766	metallurgical		copper / bronze cake				
		1767	metallurgical		copper / bronze cake				
		1790	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1791	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1792	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1793	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1794	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1795	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1796	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1797	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1798	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1799	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 134	LBA	1800	metallurgical		"plate scrap"	Guilsfield	Powys	324700	311200
		1801	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1802	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1803	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1804	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1805	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1806	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1807	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1808	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1809	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1810	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1811	metallurgical		"plate scrap"				
		1821	casting waste etc.						
		1822	casting waste etc.						
		1843	fragment						
		1844	fragment						
H 139	LBA	813	socketed axe	ribbed	Breiddin	Cherrytree Bank	Powys	322200	308200
		814	socketed axe	ribbed	Breiddin				
		815	socketed axe	ribbed	Breiddin				
H 145	LBA	1937	object of gold			Cwmjenkin	Shropshire	323900	273300
		1938	object of gold						
		1939	object of gold						
H 146	LBA	1940	object of gold			Maes-melan	Powys	319400	258700
		1941	object of gold						

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 155	LBA	547	looped palstave	Group V	late	Eardington	Shropshire	372700	289900
		548	looped palstave	Group V	late				
H 150	LBA	1058	sword		Ewart Park and related	Bishop's Castle	Shropshire	335000	289000
		1059	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1060	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1061	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1215	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1216	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1217	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1269	spearhead		lunate opening				
H 154	LBA	1063	sword		Ewart Park and related	Broadward Hall	Shropshire	339000	276300
		1064	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1065	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1066	sword		Ewart Park and related				

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 154	LBA	1067	sword		Ewart Park and related	Broadward Hall	Shropshire	339000	276000
		1068	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1069	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1070	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1071	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1072	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1073	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1220	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1221	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1222	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1223	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1224	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1225	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1226	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1227	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1228	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1074	sword		Ewart Park and related				

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 154	LBA	1270	spearhead		lunate opening	Broadward Hall	Shropshire	339000	276300
		1271	spearhead		lunate opening				
		1272	spearhead		lunate opening				
		1276	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1277	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1278	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1279	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1280	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1281	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1282	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1283	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1284	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1285	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1286	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 154	LBA	1287	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate	Broadward Hall	Shropshire	339000	276300
		1288	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1289	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1290	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1291	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1292	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1293	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1294	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1295	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1299	spearhead		fillet-defined mid-rib				
		1300	spearhead		fillet-defined mid-rib				
		1301	spearhead		fillet-defined mid-rib				
		1302	spearhead		fillet-defined mid-rib				
		1326	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1327	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 154	LBA	1328	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.	Broadward Hall	Shropshire	339000	276300
		1329	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1330	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1331	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1332	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1333	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1334	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1335	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1336	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1337	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1385	tool		tanged chisel				
		1498	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1499	weapon accessory		tubular ferrule				
		1504	weapon accessory		waisted / expanded-foot ferrule				

Association	Period	No.	Class		Group	Type	Site	County	Easting
H 154	LBA	1505	weapon accessory		waisted / expanded-foot ferrule	Broadward Hall	Shropshire	339000	276300
		1638	harness-fitting		simple bugle-shaped object				
		1639	harness-fitting		simple bugle-shaped object				
		1654	harness-fitting		tubular ring				
H 157	LBA	840	socketed axe	ribbed	Croxton	Willow Moor	Shropshire	364300	308300
		1076	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1077	sword		Ewart Park and related				
		1229	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1230	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1231	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1232	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1233	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1234	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1235	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1236	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1237	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1238	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1239	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1240	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1241	spearhead		basic pegged				

Association	Period	No.	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing
H 157	LBA	1242	spearhead		basic pegged	Willow Moor	Shropshire	364300	308300
		1243	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1244	spearhead		basic pegged				
		1273	spearhead		lunate opening				
		1296	spearhead		barbed and barbed / lunate				
		1303	spearhead		fillet-defined mid-rib				
		1304	spearhead		fillet-defined mid-rib				
		1305	spearhead		fillet-defined mid-rib				
		1306	spearhead		fillet-defined mid-rib				
		1338	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1339	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1340	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1341	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1342	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.				
		1367	tool		socketed knife				

Table 5.5 – Bronze Age metalwork finds from the central Welsh Marches (Data – Peter Northover).

No.	Period	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Nothing	Association	SMR
14	LN - EBA	flat axe	thin-butted	Growtown	R. Severn, Ironbridge	Shropshire	367200	303300		669/SCC
15	LN - EBA	flat axe	thin-butted	Growtown	The Wrekin	Shropshire	366400	308400		000/SCC
16	LN - EBA	flat axe	thin-butted	Growtown	Aston Hall	Shropshire	332500	327300		000/SCC
1096	LN - EBA	halberd		Tonfannau	Wroxeter	Shropshire	365000	308000		

No.	Period	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing	Association	SMR
136	EBA	flanged axe	short-flanged	Caverton and related	Ardley Moor	Herefordshire	338000	274400		
88	EBA	flat axe	developed	Whittington, Swinton and related	Mellington Hall	Montgomeryshire	325700	292000		
127	EBA	flanged axe	intermediate	Llangadfan	Welshpool	Montgomeryshire	322000	307000		
89	EBA	flat axe	developed	Whittington, Swinton and related	Downton	Radnorshire	321700	262100		
93	EBA	flat axe	developed	Whittington, Swinton and related	Asterton Prolley Moor	Shropshire	339700	292500		1883/SCC
143	EBA	flanged axe	short-flanged	Caverton and related	Ludlow	Shropshire	349000	277000		
144	EBA	flanged axe	short-flanged	Caverton and related	Aston all	Shropshire	332500	327200		
145	EBA	flanged axe	short-flanged	Caverton and related	Preeswood	Shropshire	356500	332500		
965	EBA	dagger / knife dagger			Robin Hood's Butt	Shropshire	349000	277000	Grave	
1749	EBA	metallurgical		mould	Walleybourne	Shropshire	343500	304300		Flat axes
1845	EBA	fragment			Barrow 3, Racecourse	Shropshire	349500	277500	Grave	

No.	Period	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing	Association	SMR
273	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group II	Chepstow	Deerfold	Herefordshire	339100	266900		
274	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group II	Chepstow	Leintwardine	Herefordshire	340000	274000		
279	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group II	Chepstow	Glansevern	Montgomeryshire	319500	300000		
280	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group II	Chepstow	R. Severn	Montgomeryshire	329000	316000		

No.	Period	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing	Association	SMR
297	MBA	unlooped palstave		Llandrinio	trederwen Farm	Montgomeryshire	327000	315800		
408	MBA	looped palstave	Group III	low-flanged	Glansevern	Montgomeryshire	319500	300000		
1006	MBA	dirk / rapier		Group IV	Corndon Hill	Montgomeryshire	330200	296200		
431	MBA	looped palstave	Group III	low-flanged	Upper Woodhouse Farm	Radnorshire	330600	272200		
985	MBA	dirk / rapier		Group II	Dolbedwyn Farm	Radnorshire	320500	249100		
188	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group I	Llandderfel	Great Ness	Shropshire	339500	319500		541/SCC
189	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group I	Llandderfel	Haugmond Fields	Shropshire	353800	314600		
223	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group I	Goytre	Garreg Llwyd	Shropshire	329700	328900		337/SCC
224	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group I	Goytre	Northwood	Shropshire	346000	332600		
255	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group I	Acton Park	Titterstone Clee	Shropshire	359000	278000		572/SCC
256	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group I	Acton Park	Knockin Castle	Shropshire	333500	323300		2604/SCC
257	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group I	Acton Park	Asterton Prolley Moor	Shropshire	339900	292000		1883/SCC
258	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group I	Acton Park	Pontesbury	Shropshire	340000	306000		
260	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group I	Acton Park	Wroxeter	Shropshire	356000	308000		
295	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group II	Liswerry	Brades Farm	Shropshire	354000	332900		2684/SCC
300	MBA	unlooped palstave		Llandrinio	Oxon Farm	Shropshire	345700	313700		
310	MBA	unlooped palstave	unclassified		West Felton	Shropshire	334600	326000		
337	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group III	low-flanged	Buildwas	Shropshire	364000	304000		
432	MBA	looped palstave	Group III	low-flanged	Builwas	Shrophshire	364500	304400		571/SCC
433	MBA	looped palstave	Group III	low-flanged	Builwas	Shrophshire	364500	304400		571/SCC

No.	Period	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing	Association	SMR
434	MBA	looped palstave	Group III	low-flanged	Ollerton	Shrophshire	364400	324400		
435	MBA	looped palstave	Group III	low-flanged	Ercall Quarry	Shrophshire	364500	309500		718/SCC
436	MBA	looped palstave	Group III	low-flanged	Whixall Farm	Shrophshire	349000	335500		1572/SCC
445	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group III	South-Western	Buildwas	Shropshire	364500	304400		571/SCC
446	MBA	unlooped palstave	Group III	South-Western	The Wrekin	Shropshire	364500	308400		
488	MBA	looped palstave	Group IV	transitional	Stapeley Hill	Shropshire	333100	299100		1872/SCC
491	MBA	looped palstave	Group IV	transitional	Wolverley	Shropshire	347400	332400		
986	MBA	dirk / rapier		Group II	Wroxeter	Shropshire	356000	308000		
988	MBA	dirk / rapier		Group II / III hybrid	Church Farm	Shropshire	338100	330500		
1007	MBA	dirk / rapier		Group IV	Caradoc Hill	Shropshire	347500	295100		
1148	MBA	spearhead		side-loooped (leaf-shaped blades)	Dayhouse Moor	Shropshire	366000	319000		
1149	MBA	spearhead		side-loooped (leaf-shaped blades)	Petton	Shropshire	344300	326500		
1150	MBA	spearhead		side-loooped (leaf-shaped blades)	Hunkington Farm	Shropshire	356700	313700		
1151	MBA	spearhead		side-loooped (leaf-shaped blades)	Wheathill Farm	Shropshire	358700	310400		

No.	Period	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing	Association	SMR
1363	LBA	tool		socketed knife	Lyonshall	Herefordshire	333000	256000		
619	LBA	socketed axe	faceted	short/broad	Hen Domen	Montomeryshire	321300	298100		
812	LBA	socketed axe	ribbed	Breiddin	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314500		
931	LBA	socketd axe	fragments	unclassified	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314500		
1048	LBA	sword		Ewart Park and related	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200		
1049	LBA	sword		Ewart Park and related	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200		

No.	Period	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing	Association	SMR
1145	LBA	spearhead		side-loooped (leaf-shaped blades)	Trelystan Barrows	Montgomeryshire	326000	306000		
1202	LBA	spearhead		basic pegged	Llanymynech Hill	Montgomeryshire	326000	322000		
1250	LBA	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned	Lomg Leasowe	Montgomeryshire	325300	292500		
1263	LBA	spearhead		lozenge-sectioned	Welshpool	Montgomeryshire	322000	307000		
1312	LBA	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1364	LBA	socketed knife		socketed knife	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1378	LBA	simple chisel		simple chisel	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1413	LBA	socketed gouge		socketed gouge	Welshpool	Montgomeryshire	322000	308000		
1441	LBA	socketed hammer		socketed hammer	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1524	LBA	tweezers			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1548	LBA	pin			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1549	LBA	pin			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1550	LBA	pin			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1551	LBA	pin			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1552	LBA	pin			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1553	LBA	pin			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1554	LBA	pin			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1555	LBA	pin			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1556	LBA	pin			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1557	LBA	pin			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1582	LBA	ring			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1596	LBA	armlet / bracelet			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1626	LBA	stud / button			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	
1744	LBA	metallurgical		mould	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	"plate scrap"
1745	LBA	metallurgical		mould	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	Sword/cla

No.	Period	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing	Association	SMR
1746	LBA	metallurgical		mould	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	Pins/clay
1747	LBA	metallurgical		mould	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	Frags./cl
1752	LBA	metallurgical		crucible	Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	Frags.
1820	LBA	casting waste etc.			Breiddin	Montgomeryshire	329500	314200	Settle	Dross
577	LBA	socketed axe	Bag-shaped		Oswestry	Shropshire	329000	329000		
653	LBA	socketed axe	plain		Hadley	Shropshire	367000	312000		
782	LBA	socketed axe	ribbed	Sout Welsh - Main Series	Upper House Farm	Shropshire	361500	279500		
817	LBA	socketed axe	ribbed	Breiddin		Shropshire	339000	334000		
818	LBA	socketed axe	ribbed	Breiddin	Swan Hill	Shropshire	339700	334800		
819	LBA	socketed axe	ribbed	Breiddin	Winston Farm	Shropshire	339000	331300		
821	LBA	socketed axe	ribbed	Breiddin	Shrewsbury	Shropshire	349000	312000		
822	LBA	socketed axe	ribbed	Breiddin	Twyford	Shropshire	334800	326200		
846	LBA	socketed axe	ribbed	Llanarth	Child's Ercall	Shropshire	339000	327000		
847	LBA	socketed axe	ribbed	Llanarth	Glebe Farm	Shropshire	339000	337000		
864	LBA	socketed axe	ribbed	other	R. Severn	Shropshire	364000	304000		
865	LBA	socketed axe	ribbed	other	Greenfields	Shropshire	349000	312000		
887	LBA	socketed axe	decorated	Rib - and - Pellet and other	Market Drayton	Shropshire	367000	334000		
932	LBA	socketd axe	fragments	unclassified	Wrekin	Shropshire	362000	308000		
1062	LBA	sword		Ewart Park and related	R. Severn	Shropshire	363000	304000		
1075	LBA	sword		Ewart Park and related	Tetchill	Shropshire	339200	332700		
1078	LBA	sword		Ewart Park and related	Lower Berghill Farm	Shropshire	336200	330500		
1086	LBA	leaf-shaped sword		Miscellaneous unclassified	R. Severn	Shropshire	373700	290800		
1087	LBA	sword		Gundlingen and related	The Boat	Shropshire	368000	303000		
1088	LBA	sword		Gundlingen and related	Brogyntyn	Shropshire	327800	312000		
1218	LBA	spearhead		basic pegged	Coxall Knoll	Shropshire	336500	273400		
1219	LBA	spearhead		basic pegged	Child's Ercall	Shropshire	366000	325000		
1245	LBA	spearhead		basic pegged	Ruyton Moss	Shropshire	339000	322000		

No.	Period	Class	Group	Type	Site	County	Easting	Northing	Association	SMR
1307	LBA	spearhead		fillet-defined mid-rib	West Felton	Shropshire	334000	325000		
1325	LBA	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.	Bromfield	Shropshire	348000	276000		
1343	LBA	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.	Wrekin	Shropshire	362800	308200		
1344	LBA	spearhead		miscellaneous and frgs.	?Oswestry	Shropshire	329000	329000		
1366	LBA	socketed knife			Grange Farm	Shropshire	339900	329900		
1386	LBA	tanged chisel			?Brogyntyn	Shropshire	327800	331200		
1512	LBA	shield			Baggy Moor	Shropshire	339000	327000		

Table 5.6 Burnt mounds in the central Welsh Marches.

Site No.	Name	Easting	Northing	Comment
SA 1568	Felton Moor	333420	324220	
SH 66	Rednal 1	336960	328330	Dense scatter c7m in diameter located on a "...gravel ridge surrounded by wasted peat.".
SH 67	Rednal 2	337070	328250	Dense scatter c20m in diameter located on a "...gravel ridge surrounded by wasted peat.".
SH 50	Gravelpits Wood 3	337570	327990	Dense scatter of burnt stone c7m diameter. NWWS teamed noted that the site is "...set on a gravel ridge surrounded by wasted peat."
SH 48	Gravelpits Wood 1	337650	328110	Dense scatter of burnt stone c15m diameter. NWWS teamed noted that the site is "...set on a gravel ridge surrounded by wasted peat.".
SH 49	Gravelpits Wood 2	337660	327940	Site very similar in size and setting to SH 48.
SH 84	Springs Brook 1	338280	329770	Dense scatter c30m in diameter.
SH 85	Springs Brook 2	338350	329420	Dense scatter c10m in diameter.
SH 86	Springs Brook 3	338530	329230	Dense scatter c20m in diameter.
SH 62	Bagley Marsh	339360	328160	Site consisted of a scatter of burnt standstone and "...slag-like material..." situted on a small hillock.
SA 3171	Rowton Grange	339820	280000	
SA 259	Botley Stones	340000	289900	Location on the main ridge of the Long Mynd suggests that this site could be a barrow.
SH 104	Stanwardine Park	340060	324970	
SH 107	Bromley 1	340080	326780	Small scatter. Possibly part of a mound still largely covered by peats.
SH 68	Bromley 2	340100	326000	
SH 148	Smithy Moor 1	340800	331000	Burnt mound c15m in diameter.
SH 151	Kenwick Park 1	341120	329630	Scatter of burnt stone, c10m in diameter, "...set within a dark soil matrix...".
SH 152	Kenwick Park 2	341150	329690	Scatter of burnt stone, c20m in diameter, "...set within a dark soil matrix...".
SH 60	Westonwharf 1	341250	325060	Site c10m in diameter. Set on a gravel ridge surrounded by wasted peat.
SH 63	Westonwharf 2	341400	325650	Scatter of burnt stone blocks and pieces of burnt bone measuring c10m in diameter.
SH 140	Smithy Moor 2	341550	330880	Scatter c10m in diameter.
SH 147	Kenwick Park 3	341600	329350	Burnt mound c15m in diameter.
SH 123	Smithy Moor 3	341780	331810	Scatter c10m in diameter.
SH 61	Westonwharf 3	342750	325780	Scatter of burnt stone measuring c20m N-S and 10m E-W. The NWWS team comment that it is "...not entierly convincing..." as a site.
SH 143	Eyton	343730	322890	Burnt mound c10 in diameter.
SA 4121	Petton	344450	326260	
SA 1906	Cwms Cottage	347920	294990	
SA 4719	Grove Farm	348400	305250	
SA 1610	Withington	357520	312610	
SA 1612	Wheathill Farm	359010	310720	

Site No.	Name	Easting	Northing	Comment
SA 1556	Rough Marl 1	359300	316500	
SA 1557	Rough Marl 2	359400	316370	
SA 1558	Rough Marl 3	359770	315990	
SA 1380	Cruddington	361780	317660	
SA 716	Brucotgate	361970	310450	
SA 714	Orleton Park 1	363080	311480	
SA 713	Orleton Park 2	363280	311630	
SA 717	Shawbirch	364680	314000	
SH 157	Eyton Moor 1	365140	315270	Burnt mound c20 in diameter.
SH 96	Sidney Moor 1	365650	317020	Scatter surrounded by wasted peats. c4m in diameter.
SA 777	Dayhouse Moor	365670	318820	Could not be identified by NWWS team.
SH 97	Sidney Moor 2	365790	317160	Scatter of c10m diameter. Surrounded by wasted peats.
SH 141	Eyton Moor 2	365800	315240	First of two concentrations, c10m in diameter, set within a more diffuse scatter of burnt stone.
SH 98	Sidney Moor 3	365870	316880	Sparse scatter covering an area c50m in diameter.
SA 782	Rodway 3	365900	317750	Field visit by NWWS team reported fininding a "...dense scatter of burnt stone on the peat edge...".
SA 781	Rodway 2	366110	317670	
SH 142	Eyton Moor 3	366120	315130	Second of two concentrations, c10m in diameter, set within a more diffuse scatter of burnt stone.
SH 103	Wrockwardine Moor	366380	316240	Could be SA 783. Small scatter c5m diameter located on a low ridge surrounded by wasted peats.
SA 780	Rodway 1	366420	317730	
SA 783	Kynnersley 1	366600	316180	Could not be identified by NWWS team.
SH 65	Rodway 4	366790	318420	Dense scatter c10m in diameter.
N/A	Rodway 5	366980	318830	Excavated by Shropshire County Council
SH 64	Rodway 6	367010	318850	Dense scatter c10m in diameter.
SA 786	Preston Moor 1	367310	315590	Described by the NWWS team as being a "Scatter of burnt stone on a low ridge...".
SH 83	Preston Moor 2	367340	315690	Sparse scatter set on "...a mineral soil ridge surrounded by wasted peat...". c10m in diameter.
SH 2	Wall 2	367450	317950	NWWS team suggested that site is partially covered by peat.
SA 772	Conquermoor Heath 1	367460	319090	
SA 773	Conquermoor Heath 2	367520	318990	Largest burnt mound on the Weald Moors. Field visit by the NWWS team found that the site was still c30m in diameter despite decades of ploughing.
SA 698	Hadley Castle	367710	313000	
SA 784	Kynnersley 2	367730	316740	
SH 82	Preston Moor 3	367880	315690	Dense scatter c15m in diameter.
SH 3	Wall 3	368370	317700	

Site No.	Name	Easting	Northing	Comment
SA 779	Wall 1	368590	317640	Described as a "...substantial..." mound by NWWS team.
SA 1383	Wall 1a	368600	317600	
SH 33	Tibberton Moor 1	368760	318430	Burnt mound c30m in diameter. NWWS report that the site is surrounded by wasted peat.
SH 101	Buttery Farm 1	368780	317560	Brunt mound c20m in diameter. NWWS team noted that it was set on ridge of mineral soils surrounded by wasted peats.
SH 34	Tibberton Moor 2	369010	318600	Still largely peat covered.
SH 102	Buttery Farm 2	369380	317490	Sparse scatter.
SA 774	Oxford Bridge	369440	319070	
SH 6	Osierbed Covert	370120	317500	Possible burnt mound identified by NWWS team due to scatter of burnt stone present in the upcast alongside a dyke.
SA 732	Priorslee	372100	310000	
SA 1724	Woodcote Hill	376380	314840	

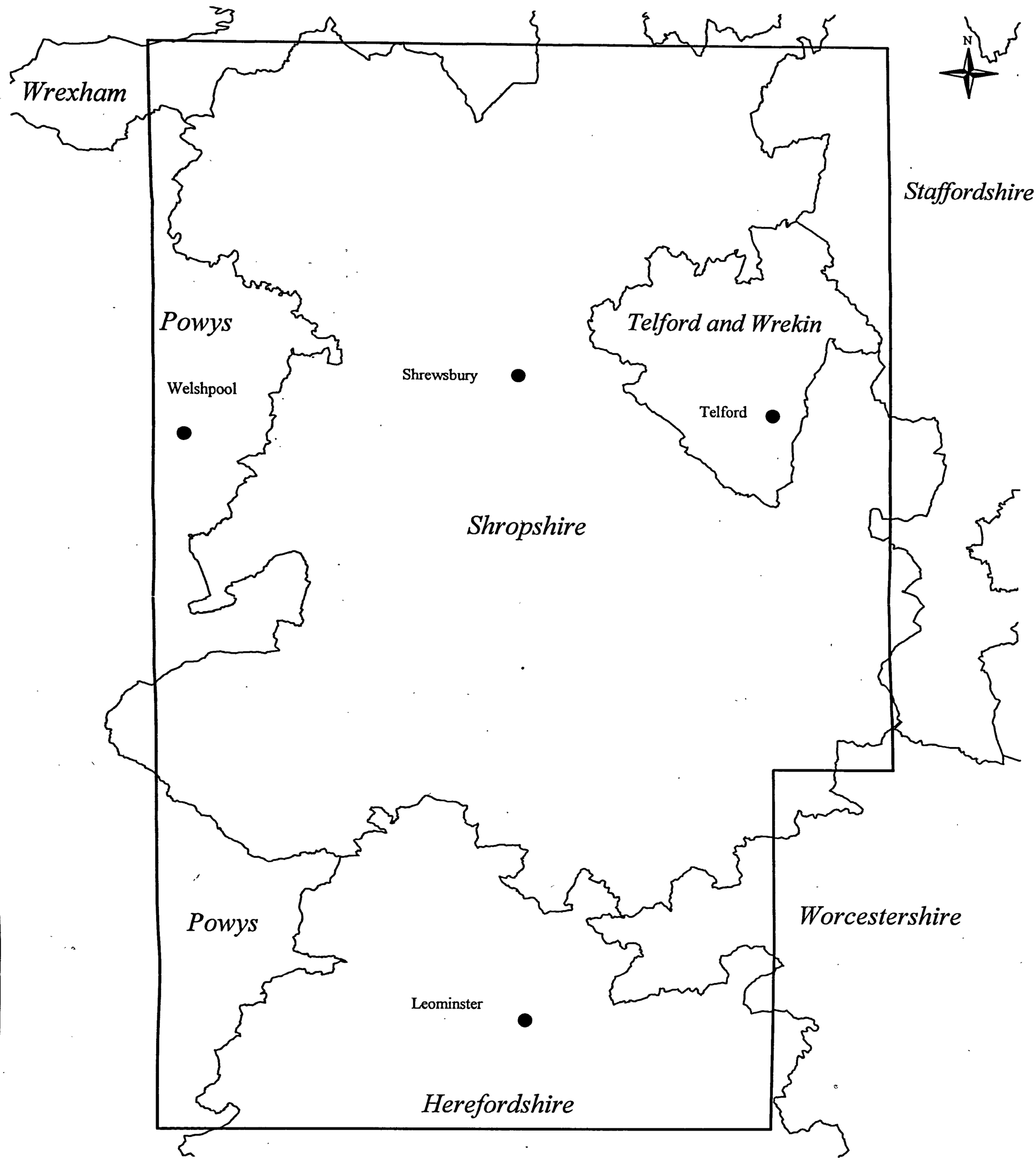


Figure 1.1 - Political map of the central Welsh Marches.

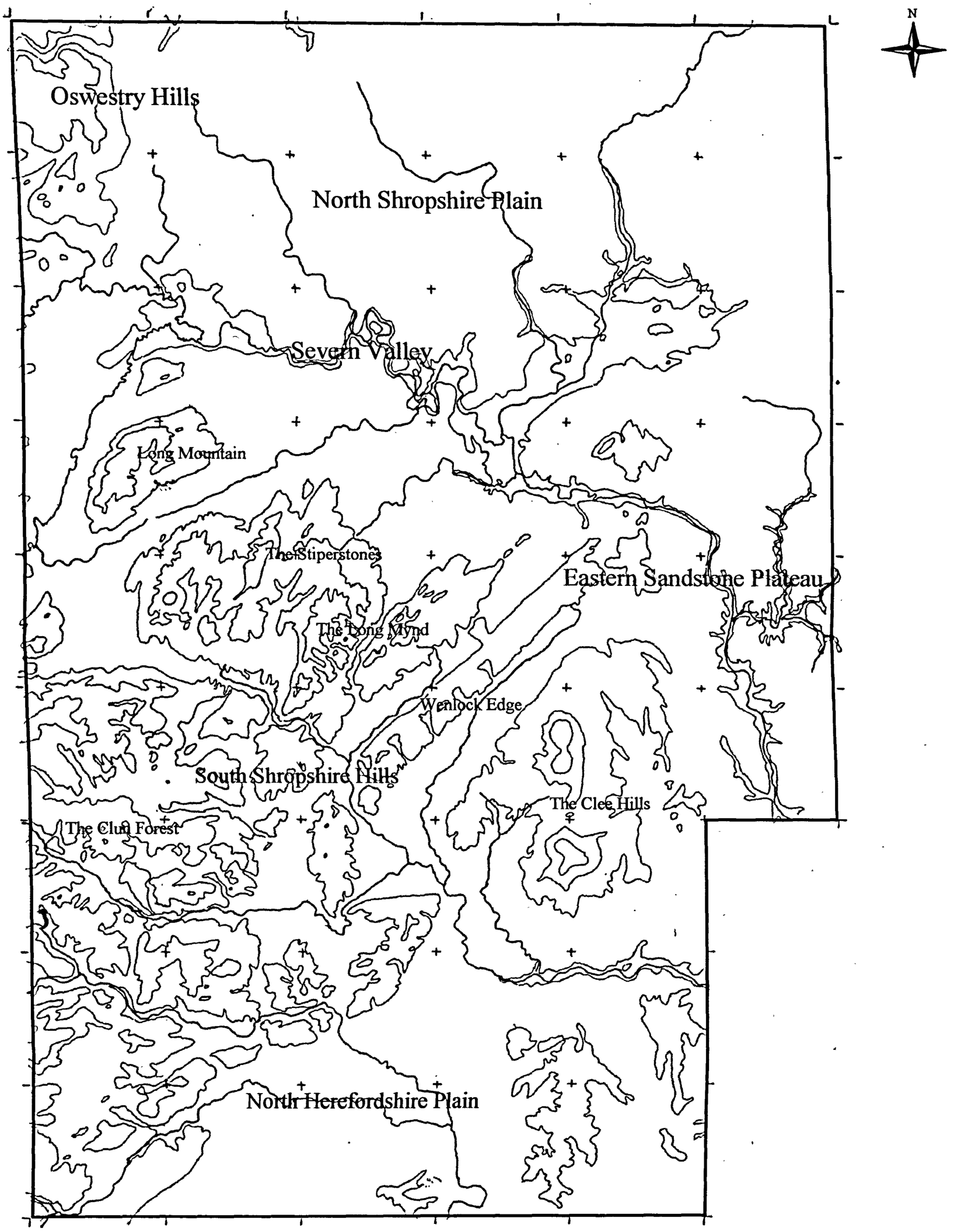


Figure 1.2 - Topographical map of the central Welsh Marches.

Figure 1.3 – Map showing the hillforts of Wales and the Marches (source: Musson 1991: 2, Fig. 1).

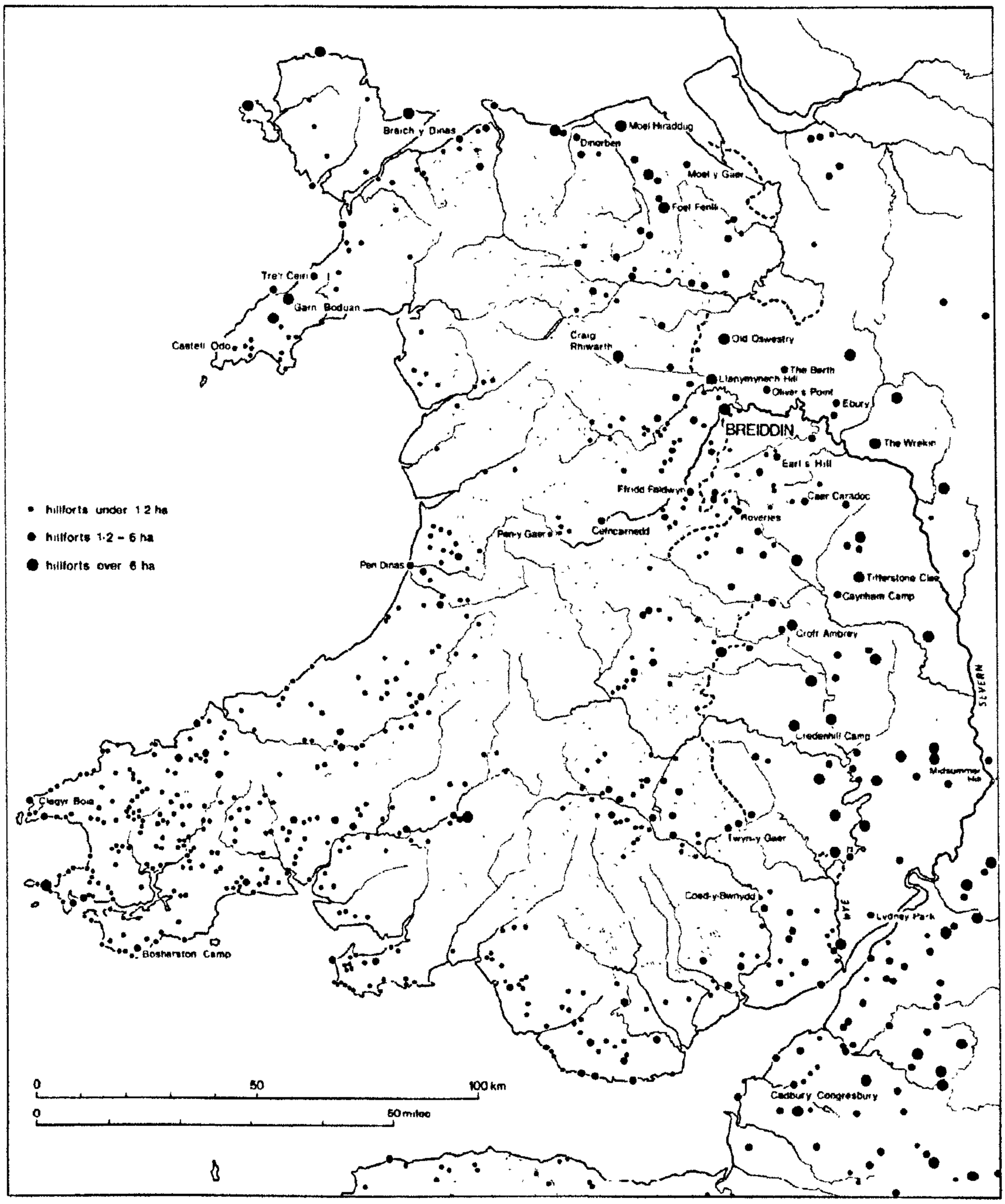
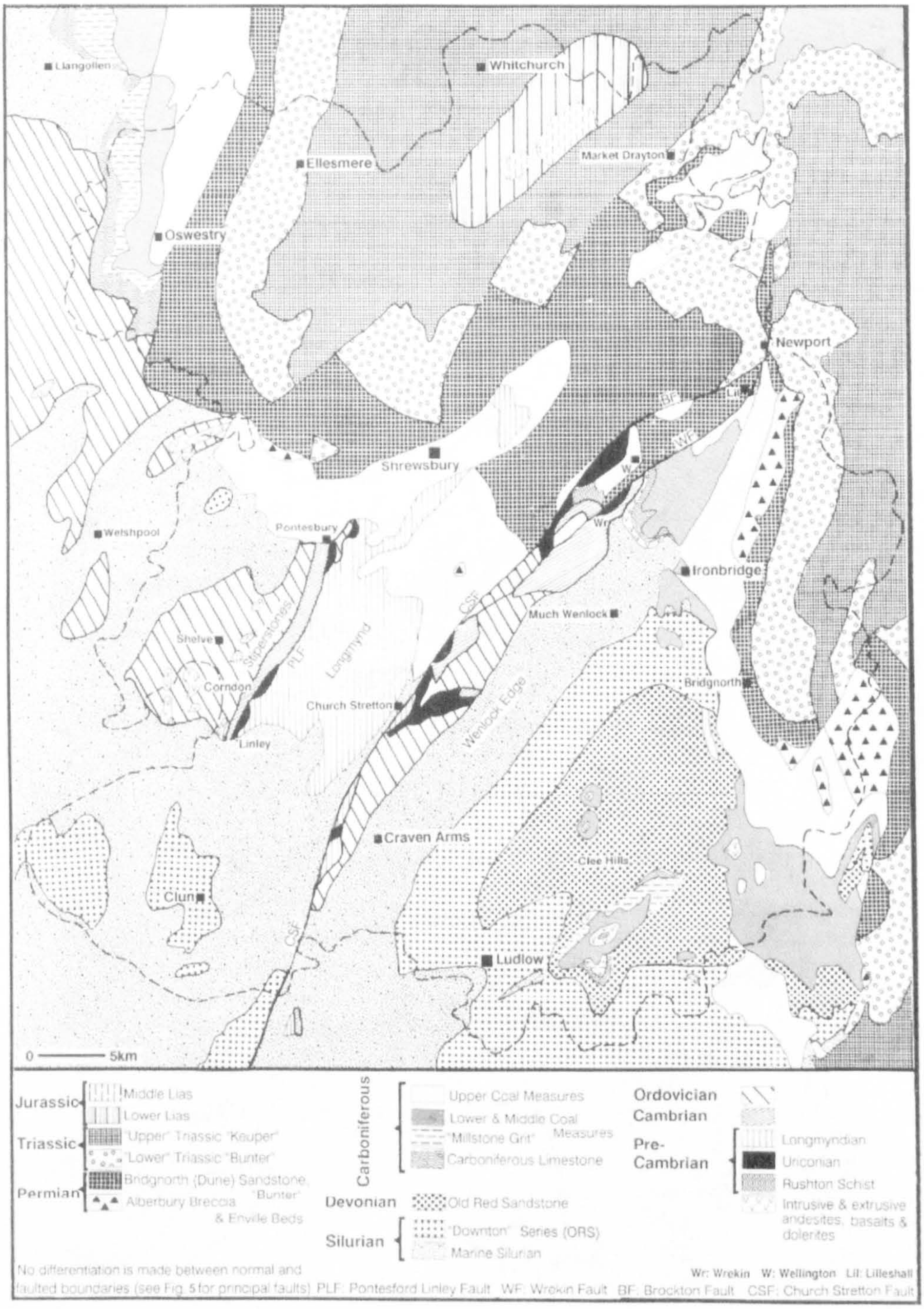


Figure 1.4 - Geological map of the central Welsh Marches. (source: Toghill 1990: 12, Fig. 4).



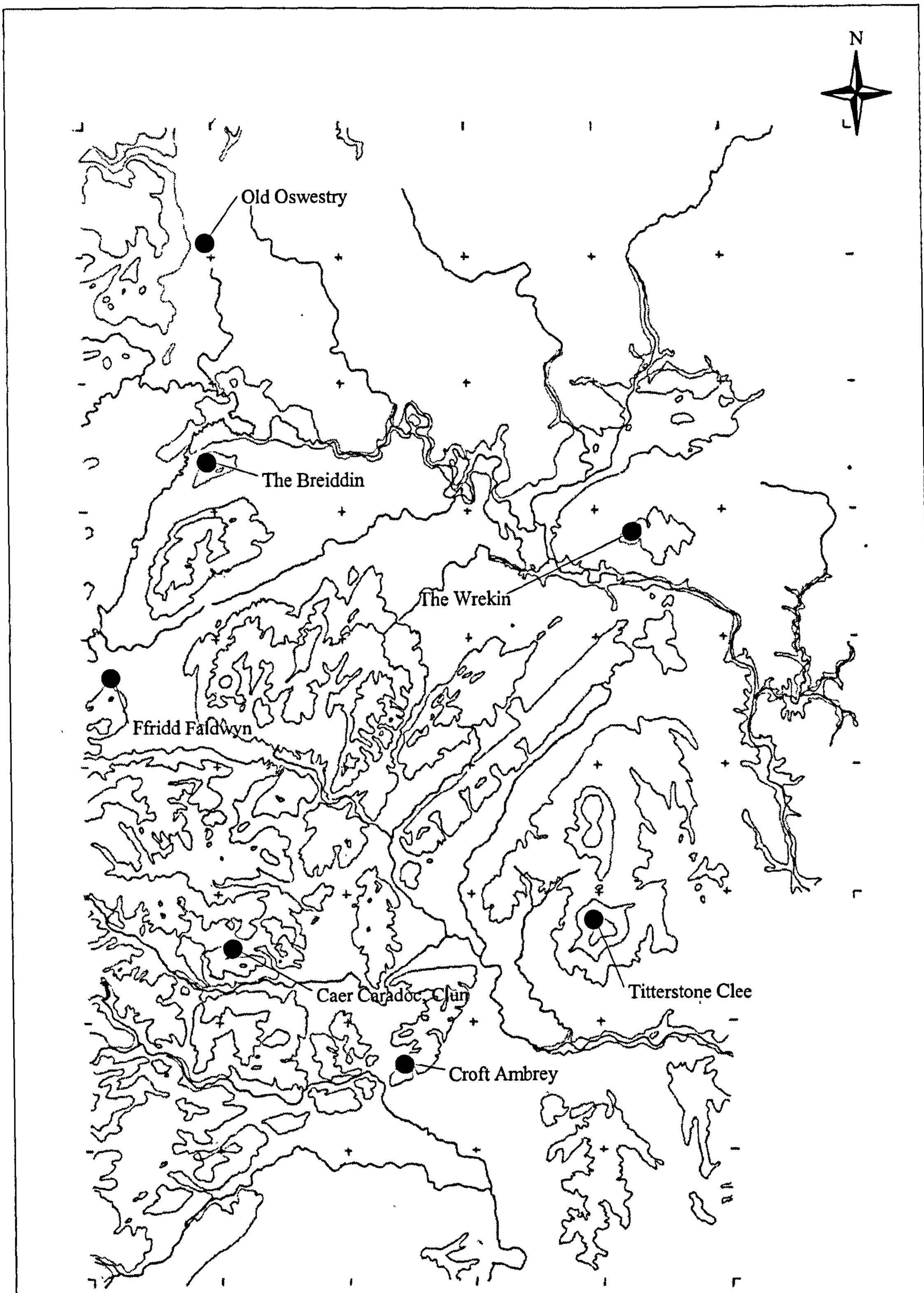


Figure 2.1 - Key sites in the central Welsh Marches discussed in Chapter 2.

Figure 2.2 - John Aubrey's copy of William Dugdale's sketch of Caer Caradoc, Clun (source: Aubrey 1980 [1626-97]: 315).

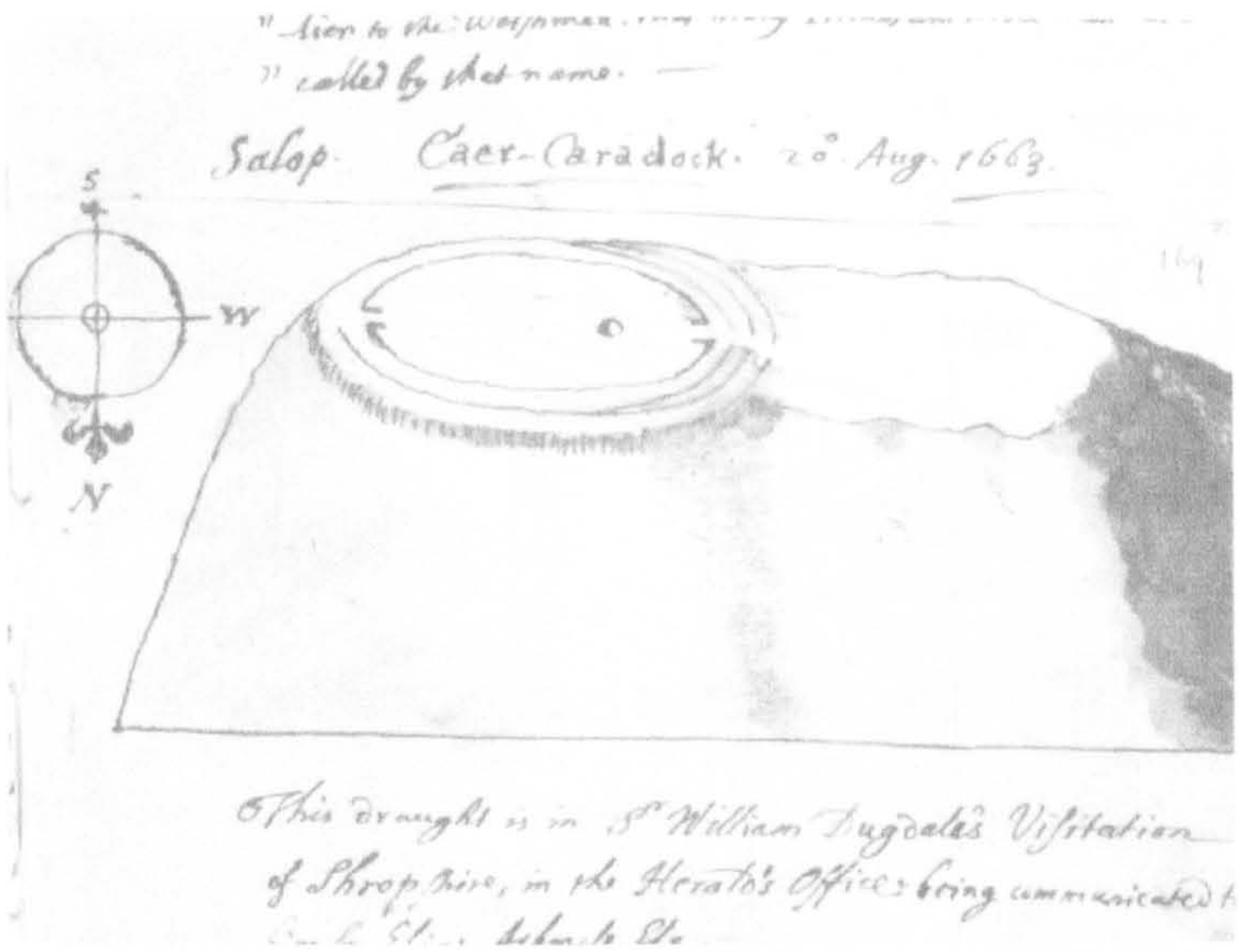


Figure 2.3 - Pitt Rivers' plan of the Herefordshire Beacon (source: Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club 1877-80).

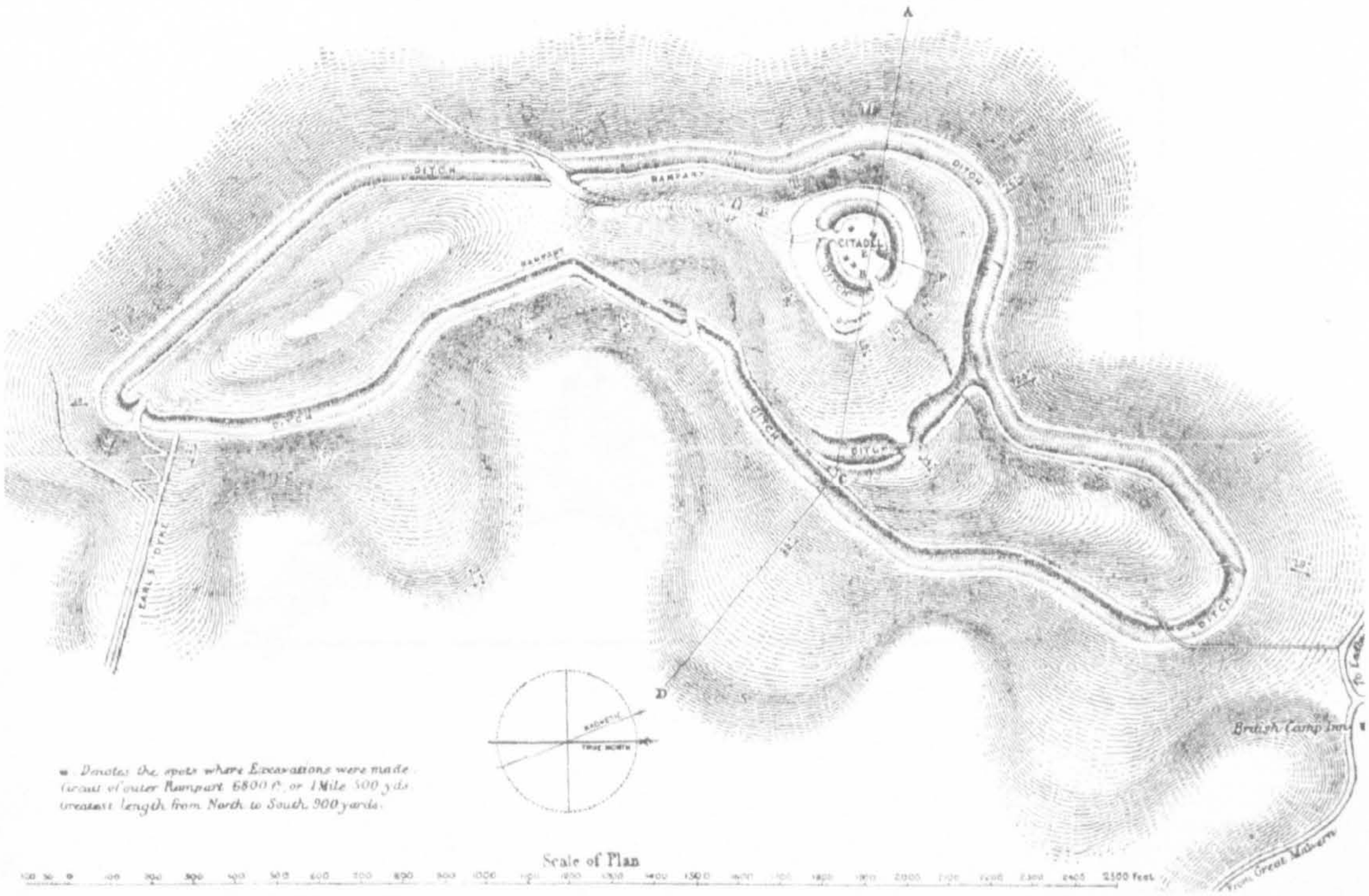


Figure 2.4 – Reconstruction drawing of a section of the Late Bronze Age Rampart A at Cadbury Castle (source: Alcock 1972: 122, Fig. 18). Note the presence of a breastwork and crenellation.

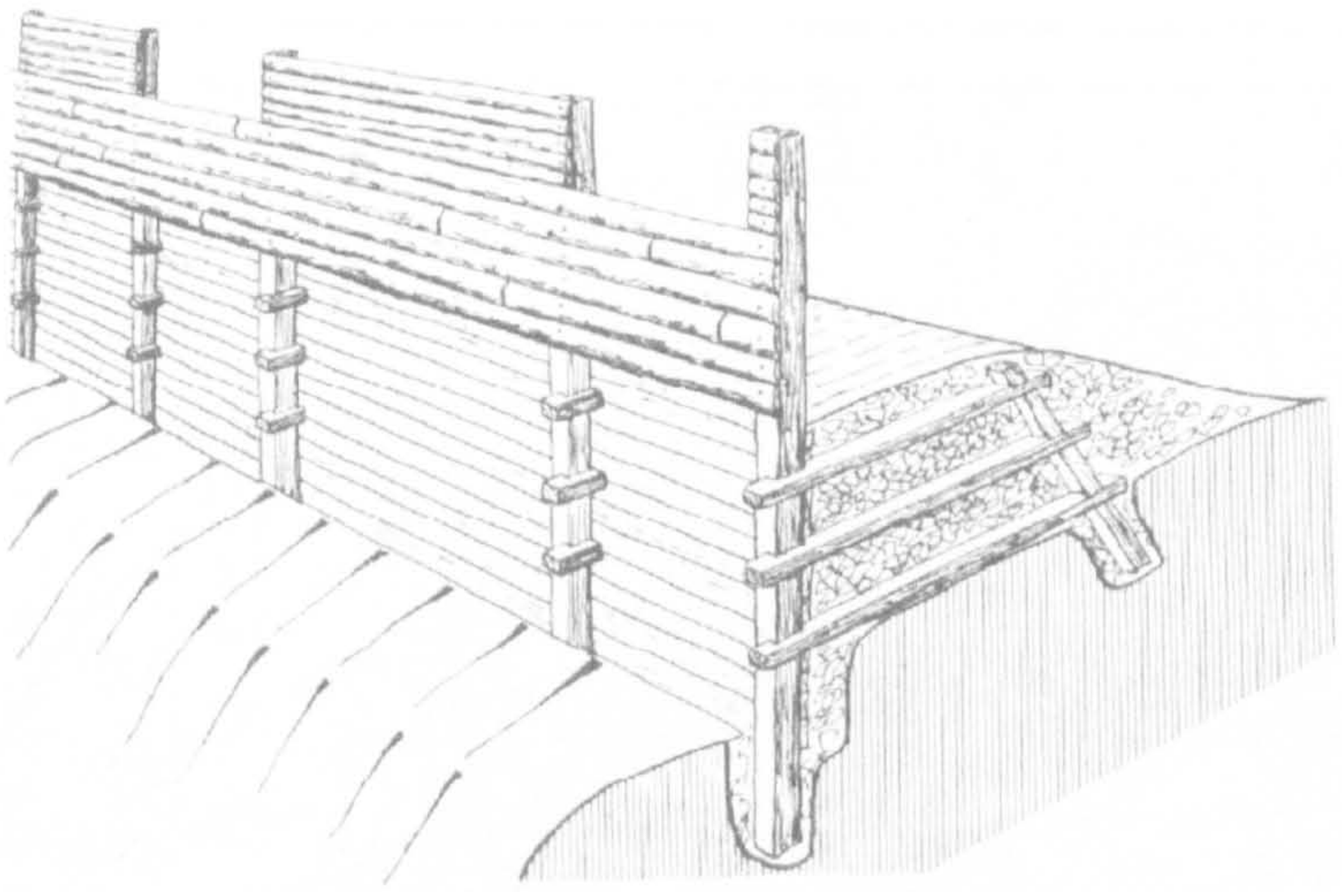


Figure 2.5 – Hawkes' first map of his Iron Age B (source: Hawkes 1932: 78, Fig. 9).

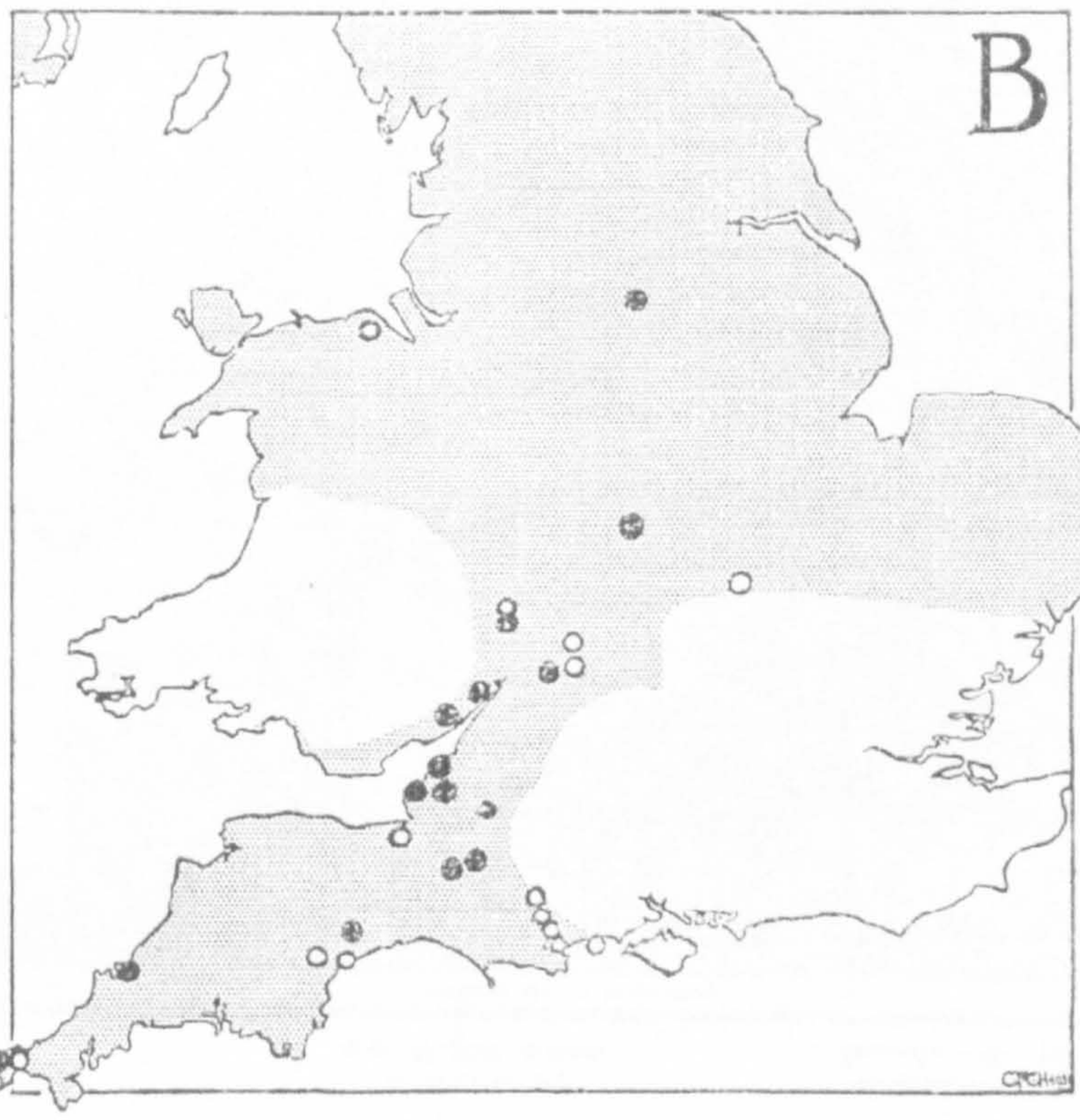


Figure 2.6 – Fox's map of Britain showing his Highland and Lowland Zones (source: Fox 1952, Map B).

Figure 2.7 – The circularity of the 'Hawkesian' approach to hillfort earthworks.

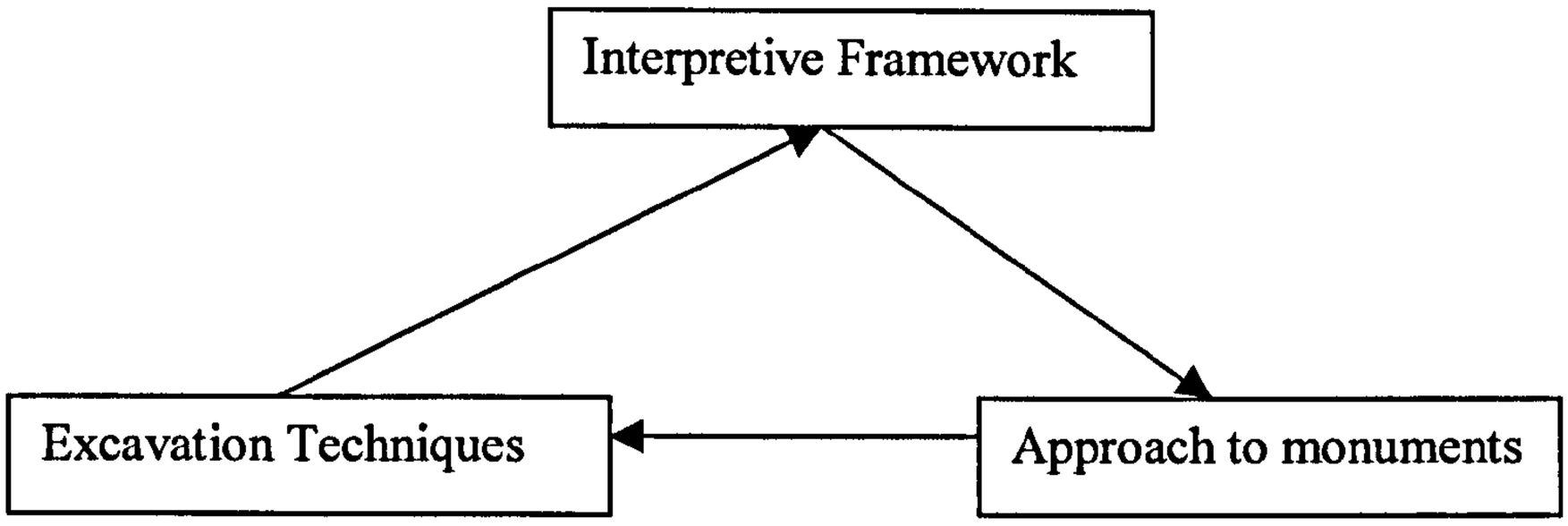


Figure 2.8 – Hawkes' map of Iron Age provinces and regions (source: Hawkes 1959: 173, Fig. 1)

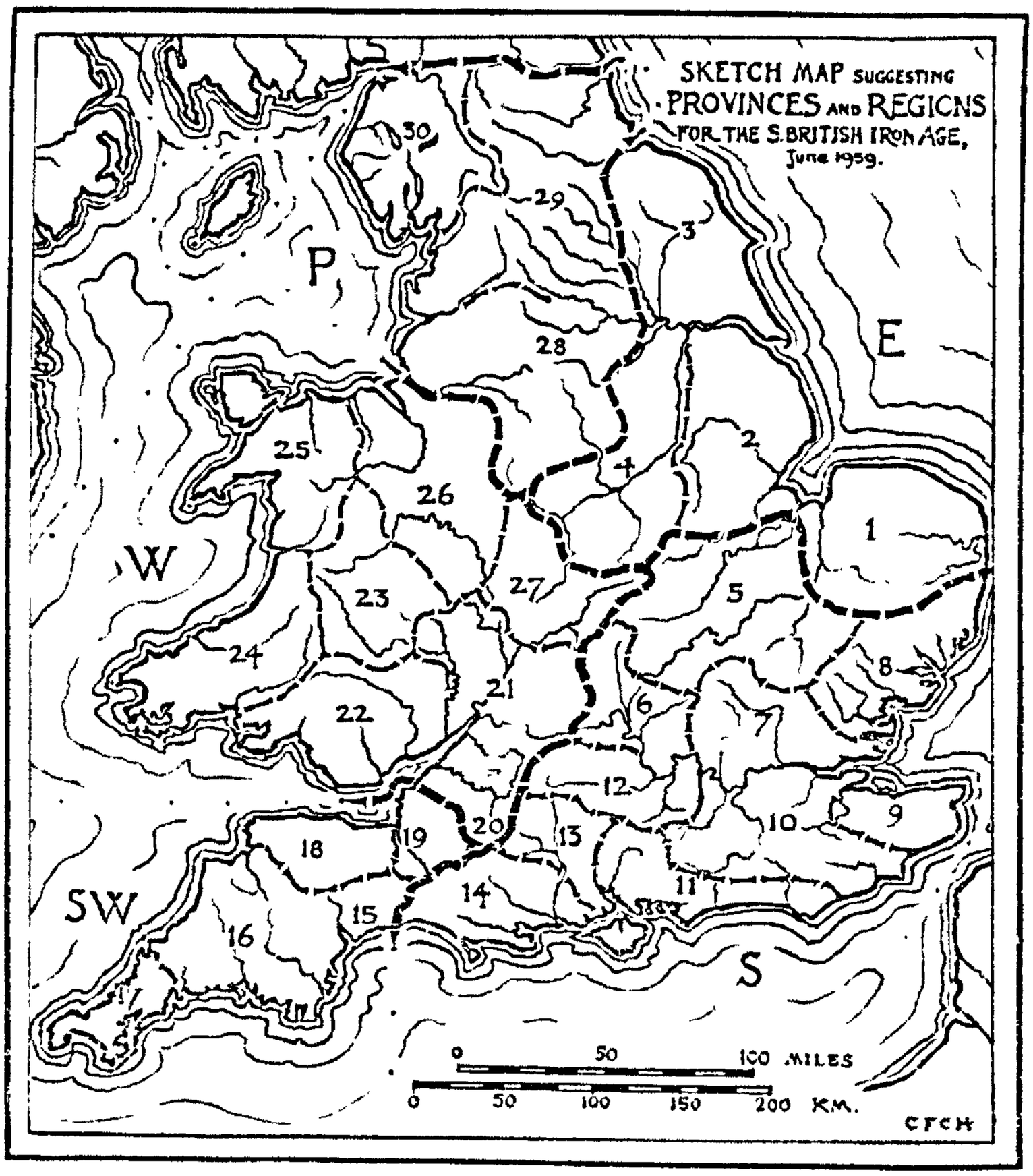


Figure 2.9 – Hawkes' revised ABC framework for his Western and South-Western Provinces (source: Hawkes 1959: 178, Fig. 3).

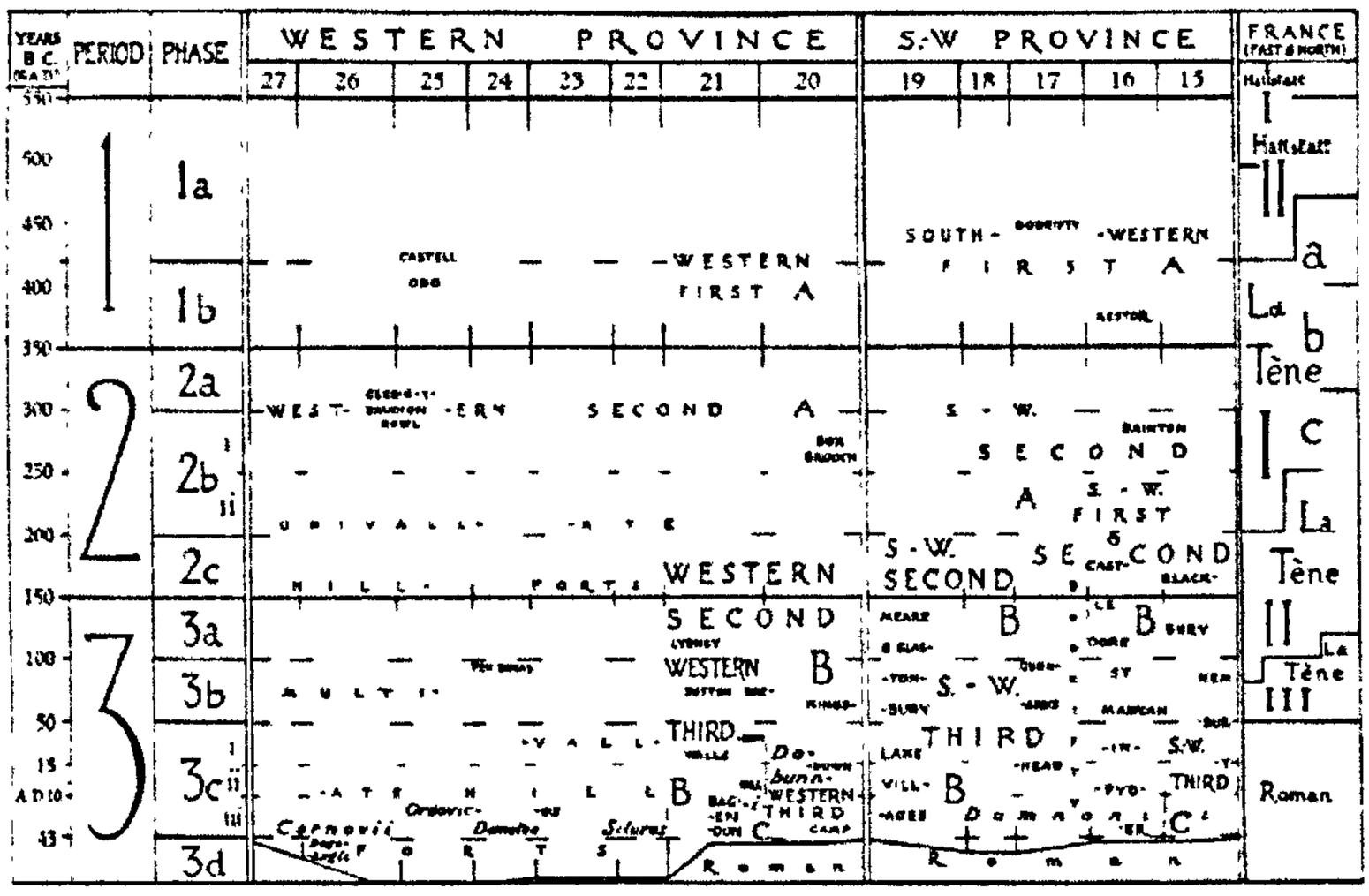


Figure 2.10 – Hodson's proposed culture groups for the British Iron Age (source: Hodson 1964: 108, Fig. 1).

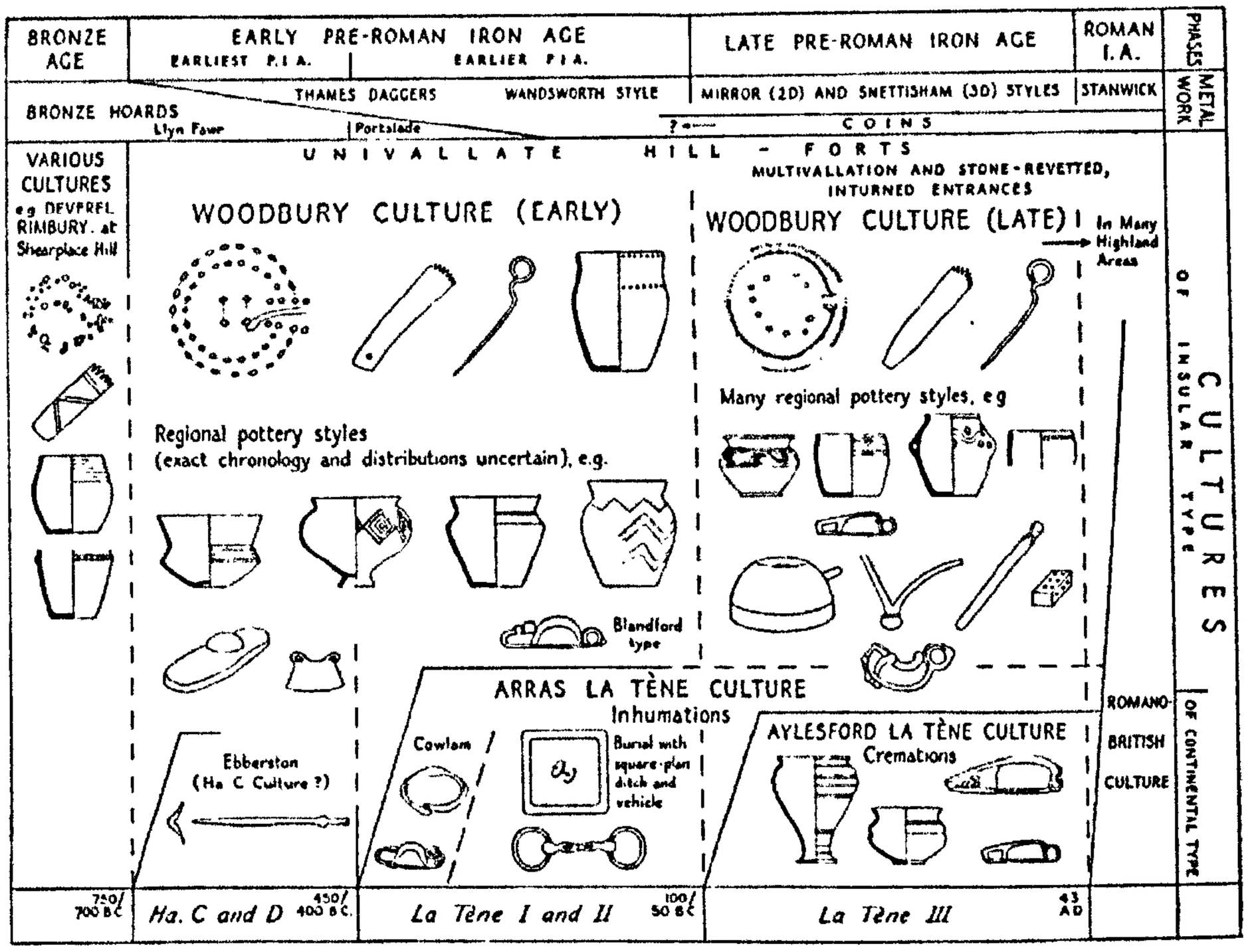
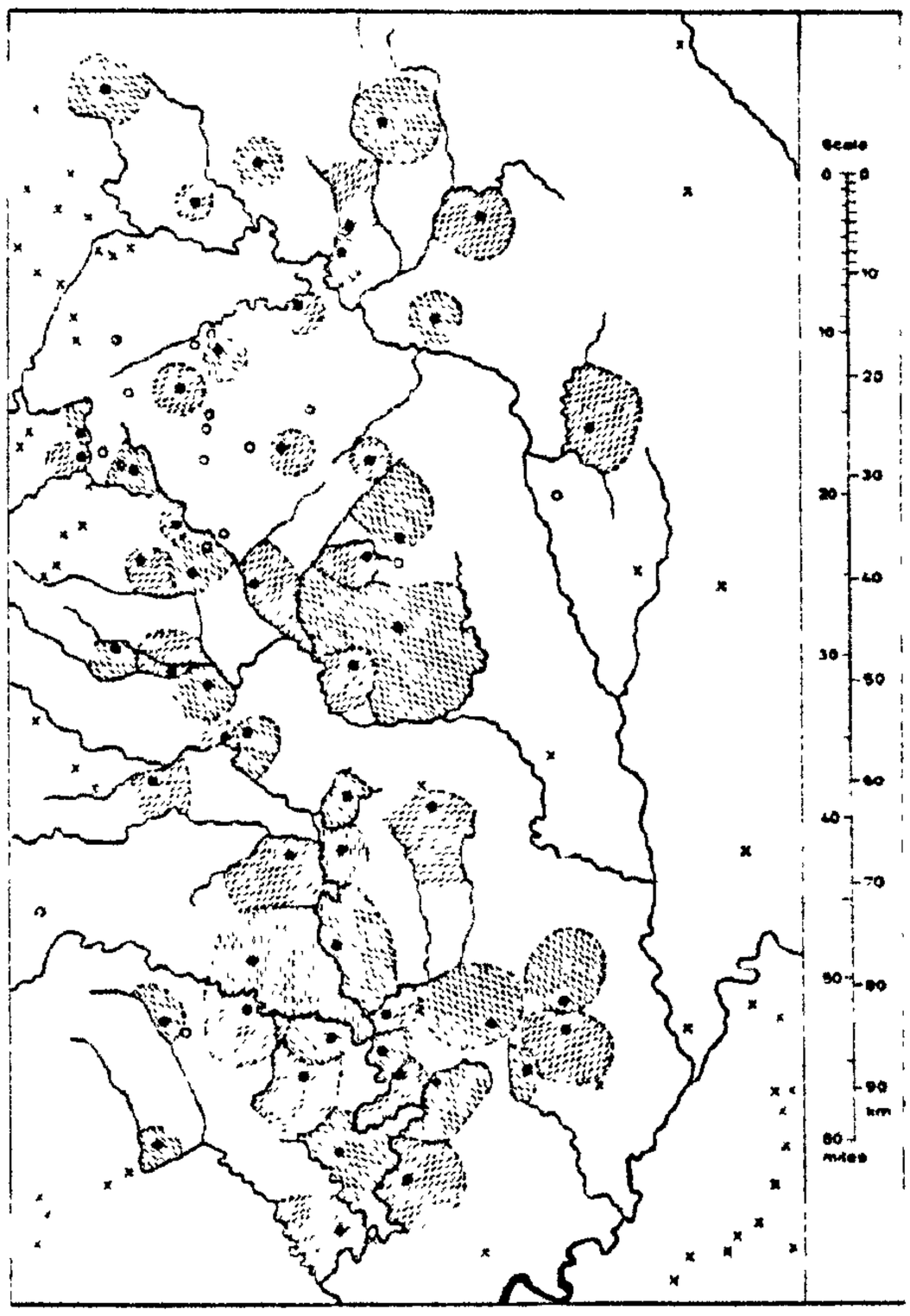


Figure 2.11 – Stanford's proposed hillfort territories in the Welsh Marches (source: Stanford 1972: 314, Fig. 3).



2.12 – Cunliffe's models of hillfort society at Danebury (source: Cunliffe 1984: 561, Fig. 10.5).

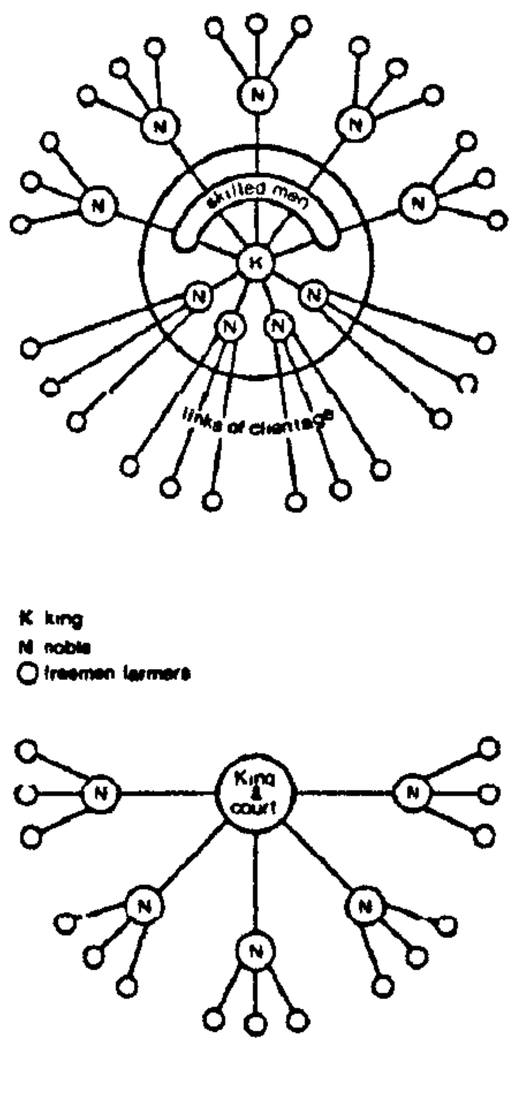


Figure 3.1 - Jackson's size graded distribution map showing the three zones defined through his analysis (source: Jackson 1999: 201, Fig 12.2).

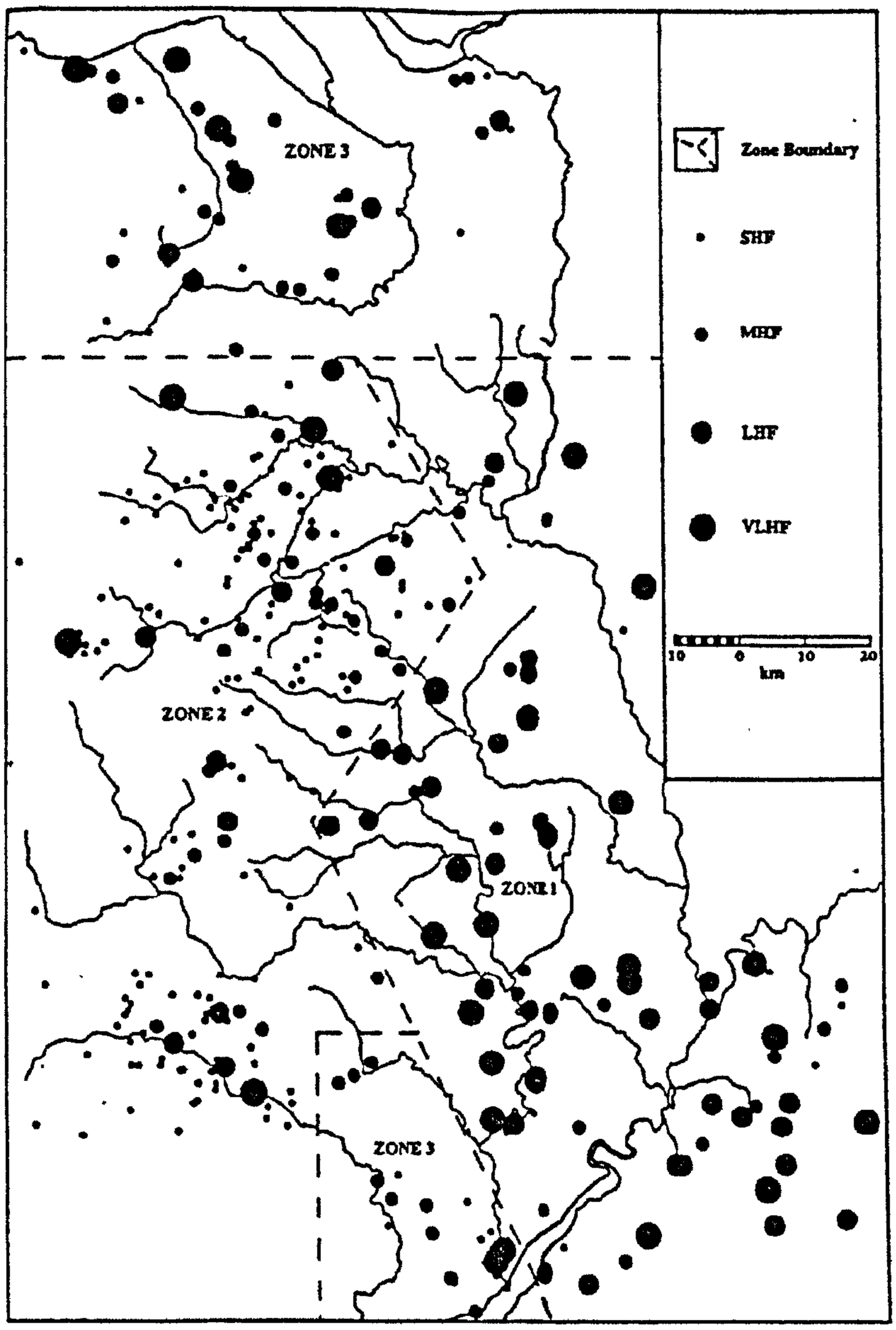


Figure 3.2 - Plan of Bury Ditches, Shropshire (source: Forde-Johnston 1977: 28, Fig. 7).

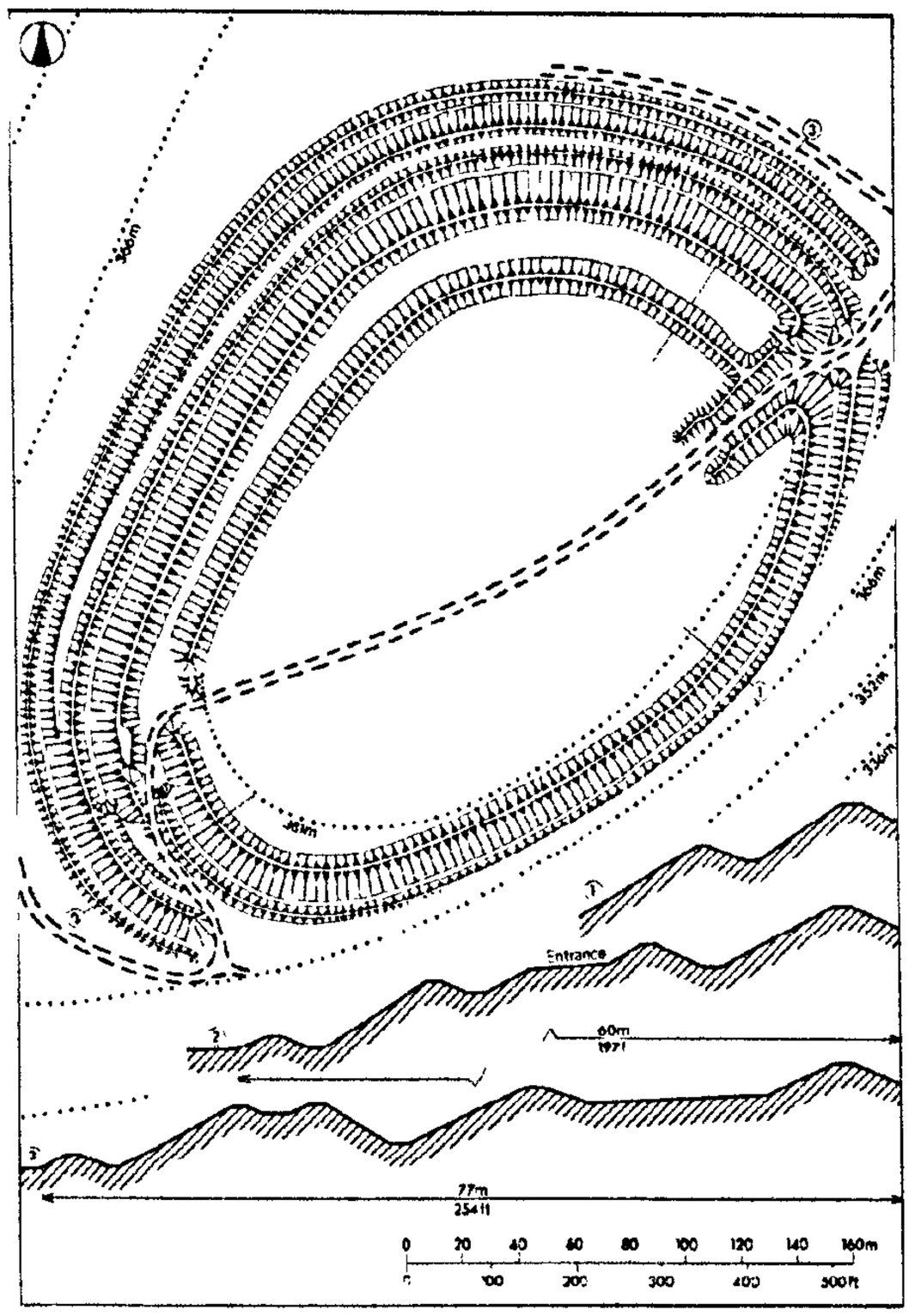


Figure 3.3 - W. J. Varley's proposed development sequence for Old Oswestry (after Varley 1948).

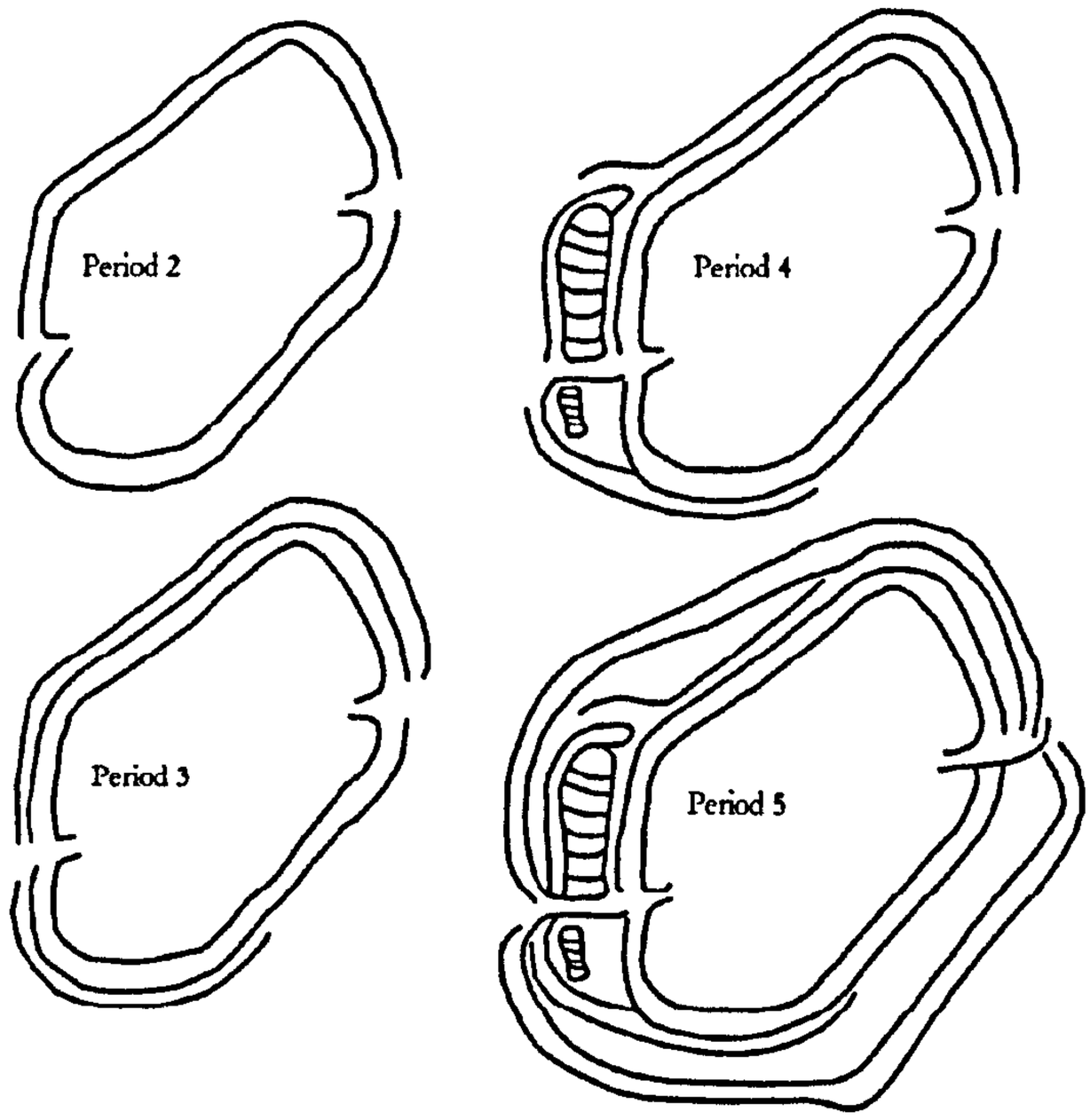


Figure 4.1 – Map showing the distribution and extent of wetlands in Shropshire (source: Leah *et al* 1998: 8, Fig. 4).

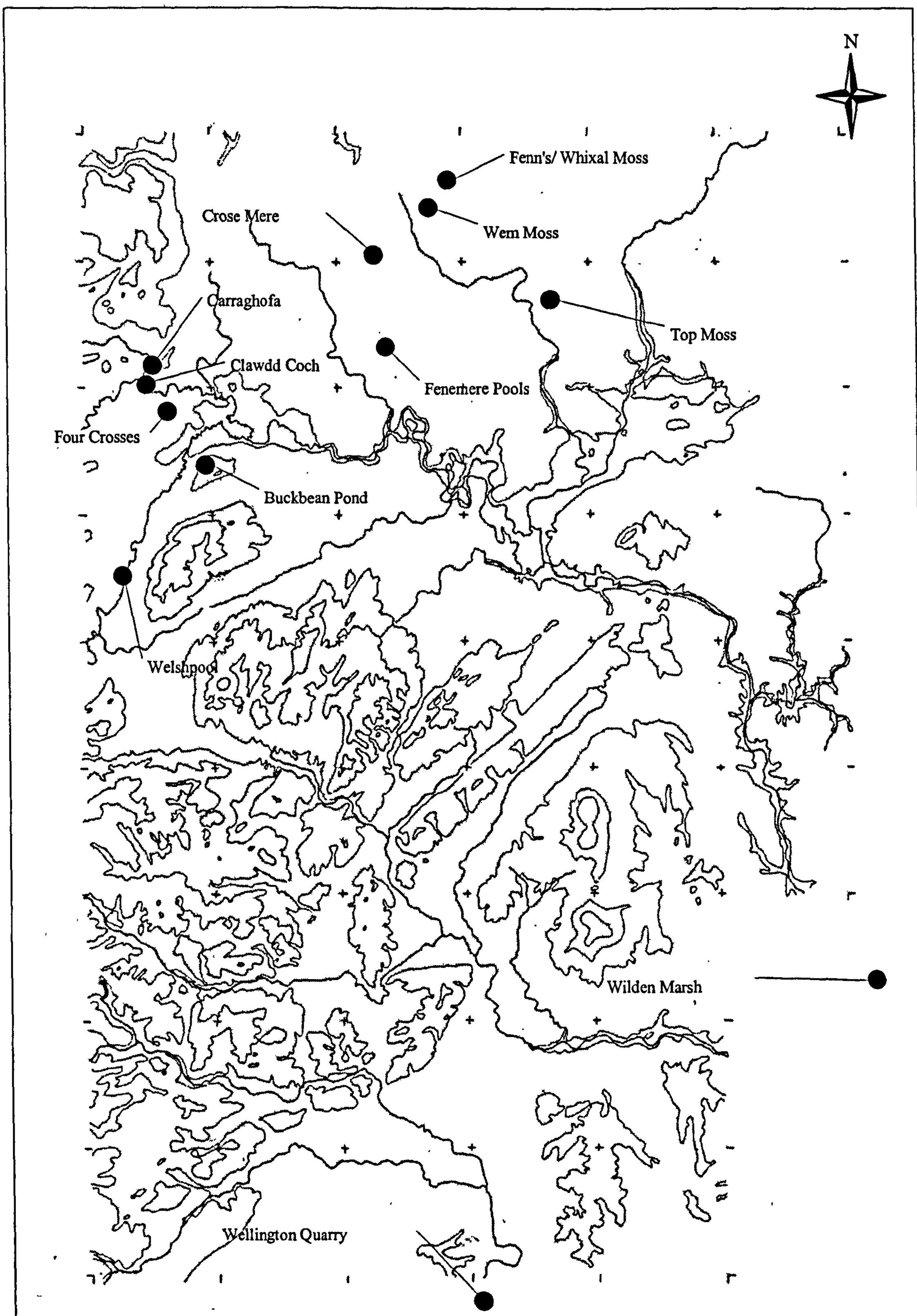
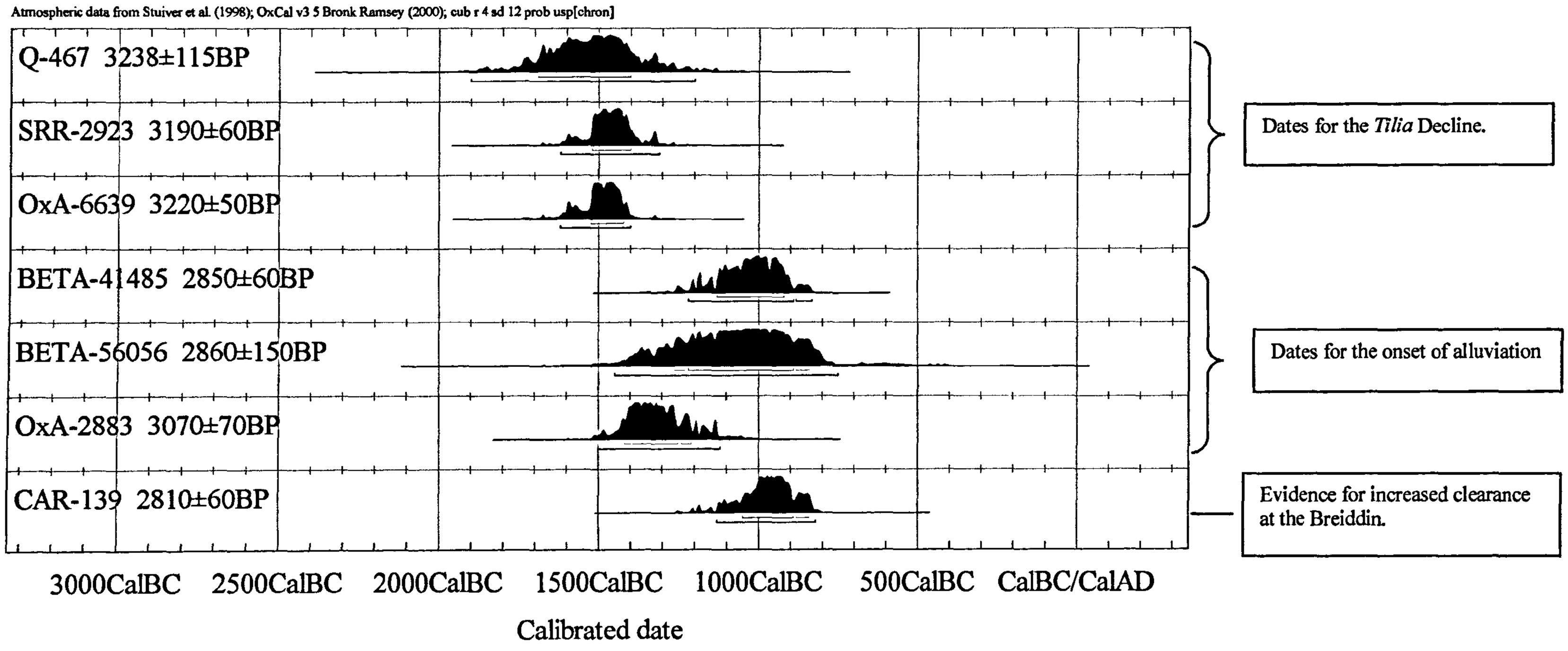


Figure 4.2 - Sources of the main palaeoenvironmental sequences discussed in Chapter 4.

Figure 4.3 – Key radiocarbon dates from the palaeoenvironemantal sequence for the late second and early first millennium BC in the central Welsh Marches.



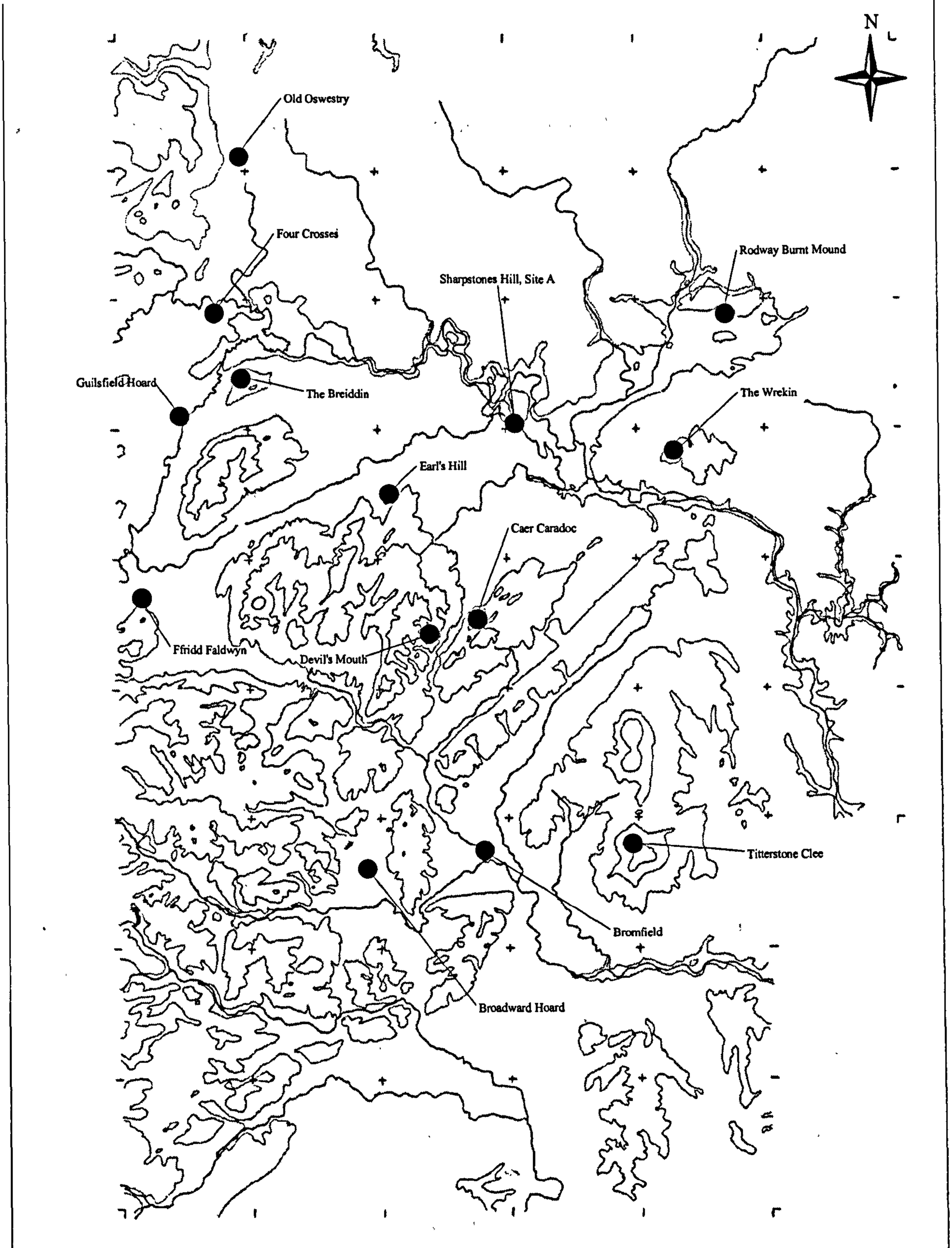


Figure 5.1 - Key sites in the central Welsh Marches discussed in Chapter 5.

Figure 5.2 – Plan of the Glanfeinion roundhouse (Source – Britnell *et al* 1997: 181, Fig. 1).

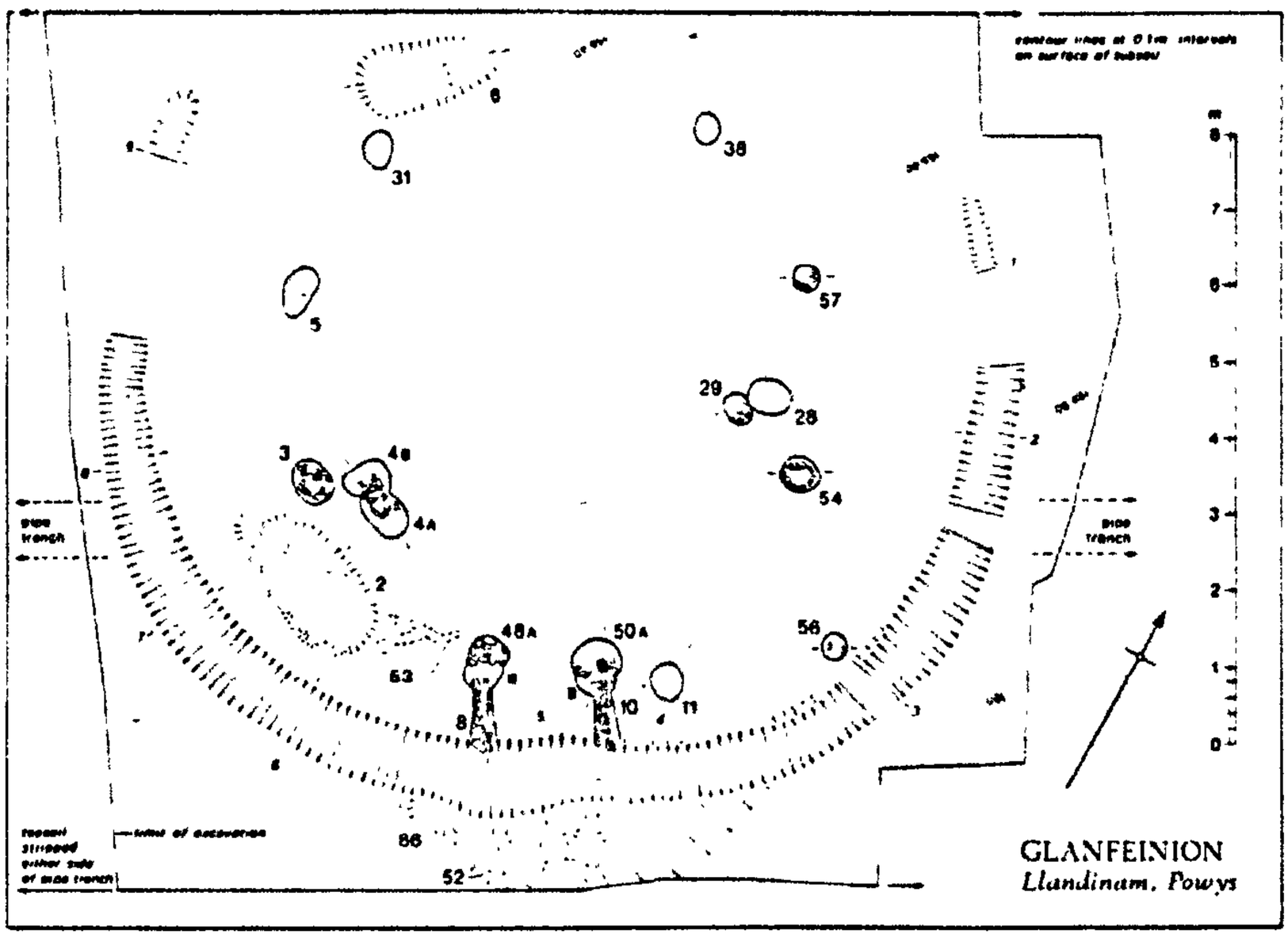


Figure 5.3 – Key radiocarbon dates cited in Chapter 5.

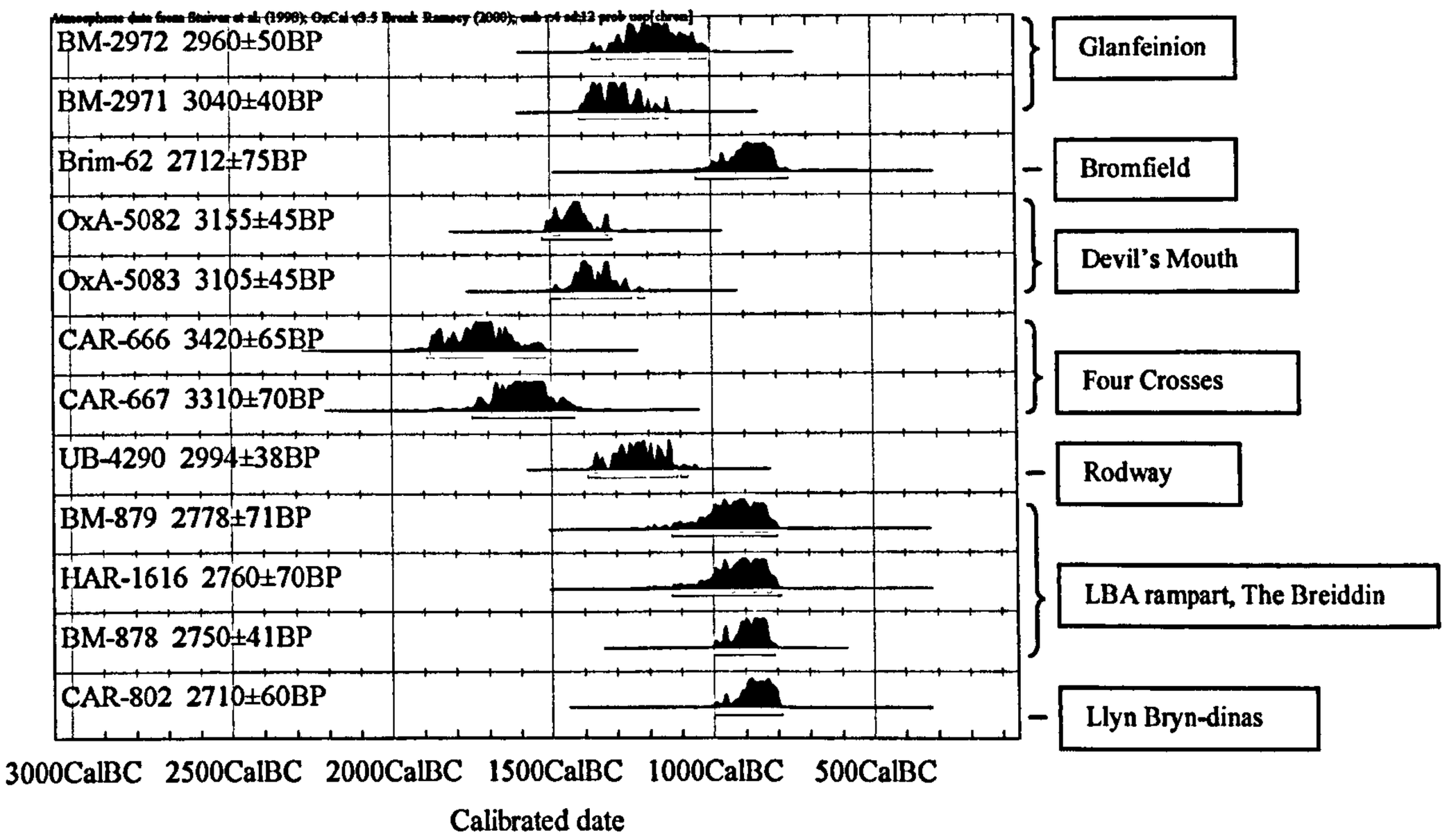


Figure 5.4 – Plan of Sharpstones Hill, Site A (Source – Barker *et al* 1991: 22, Fig. 7).

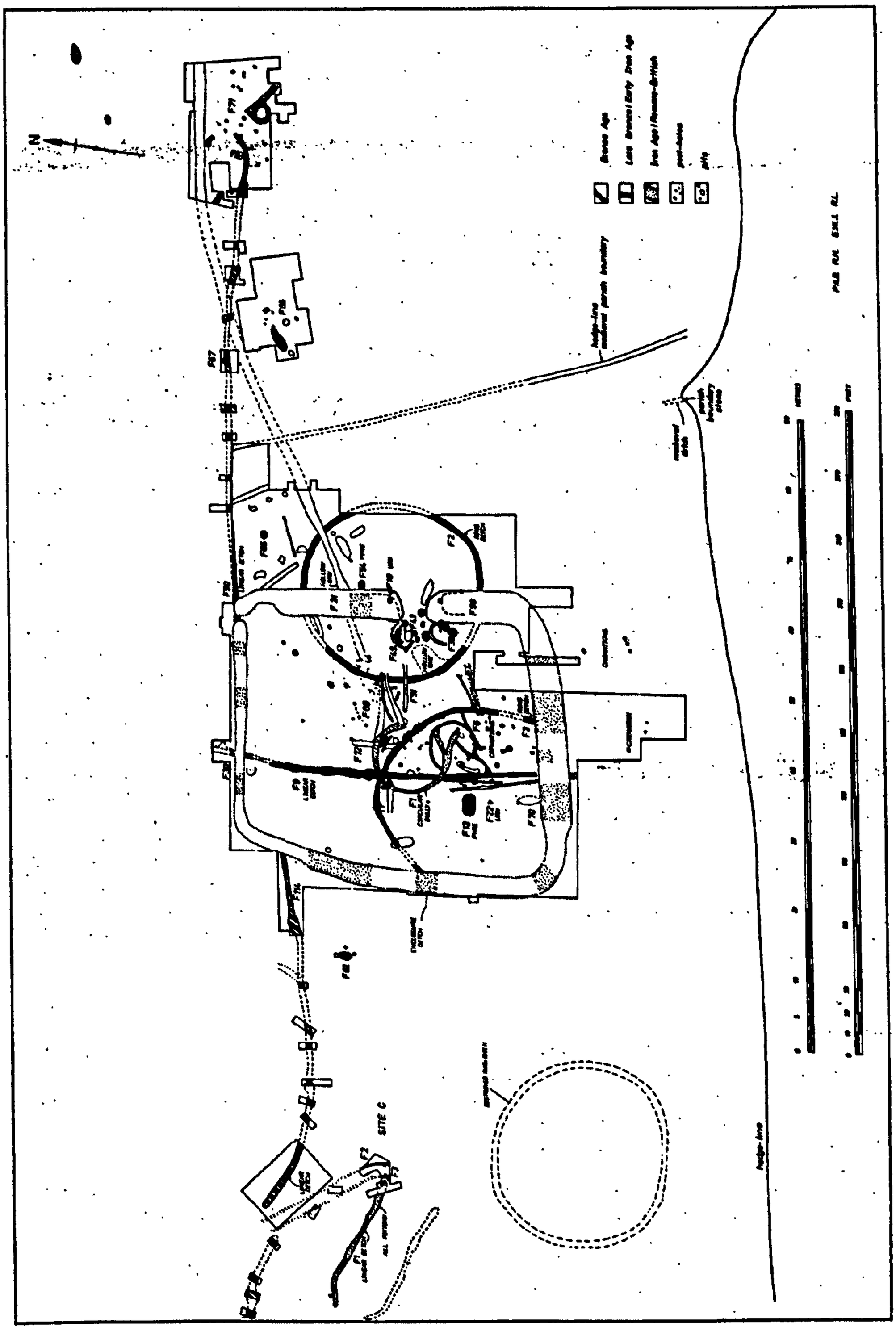
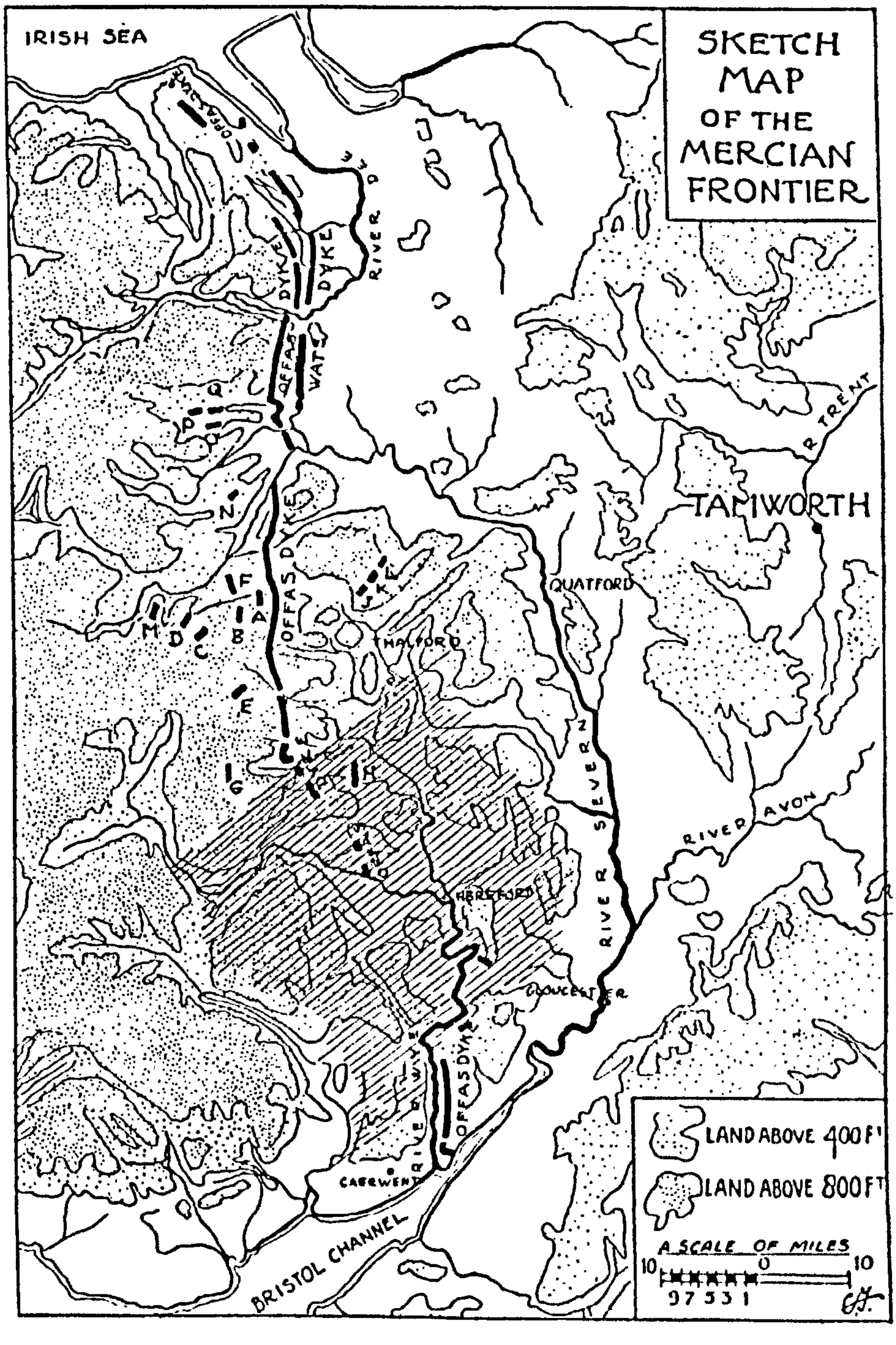


Figure 5.5 – Fox's proposed 'Mercian Frontier' showing various cross ridge dykes in the Welsh Marches (Source Fox 1955: 166, Fig. 70).



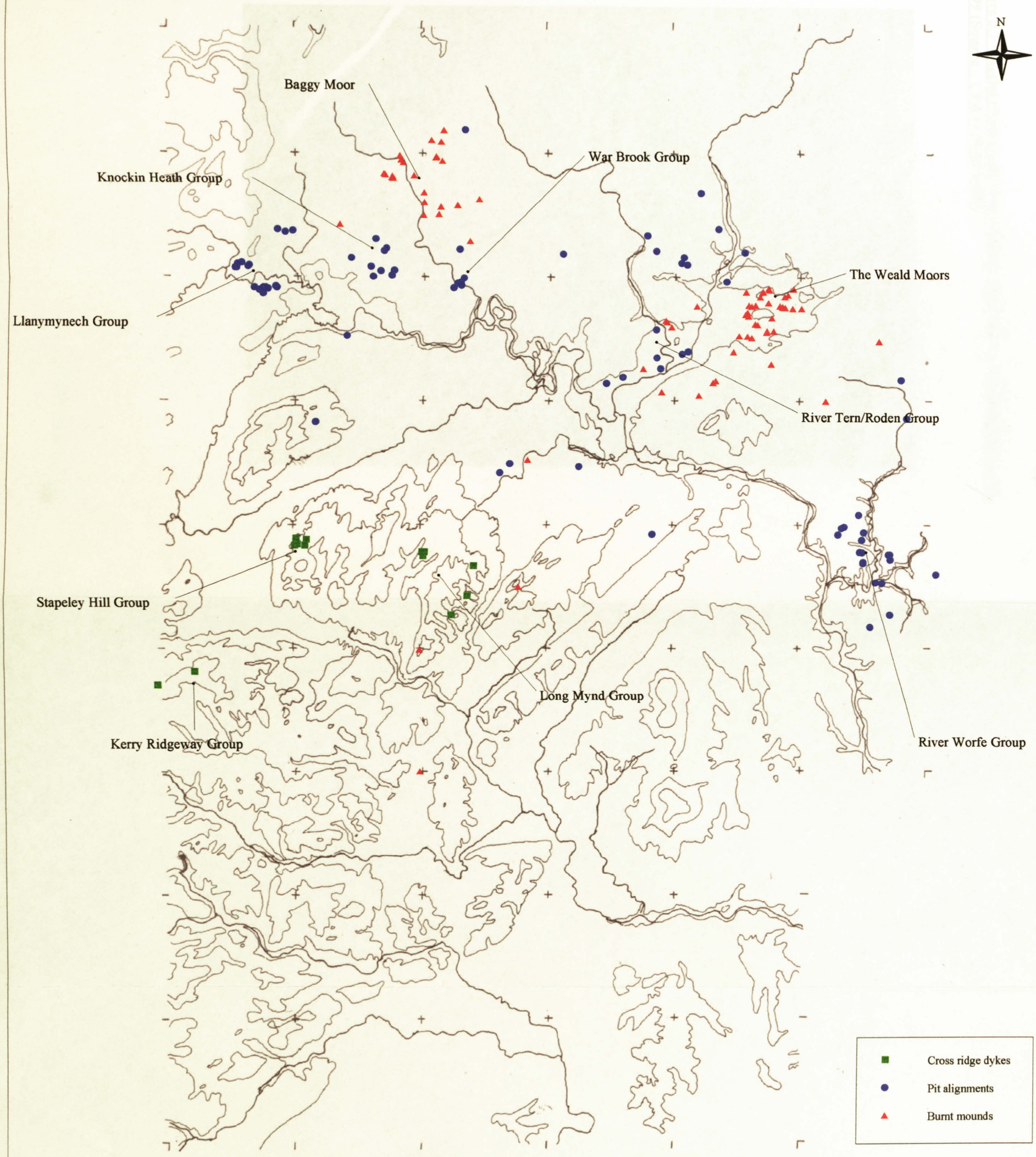


Figure 5.6 - Distribution of cross ridge dykes, pit alignments and burnt mounds in the central Welsh Marches.

Figure 5.7 – Aerial photograph of the High Park Cottage Cross Ridge Dyke, SA 00199 (Source – CPAT©95-MB-0395

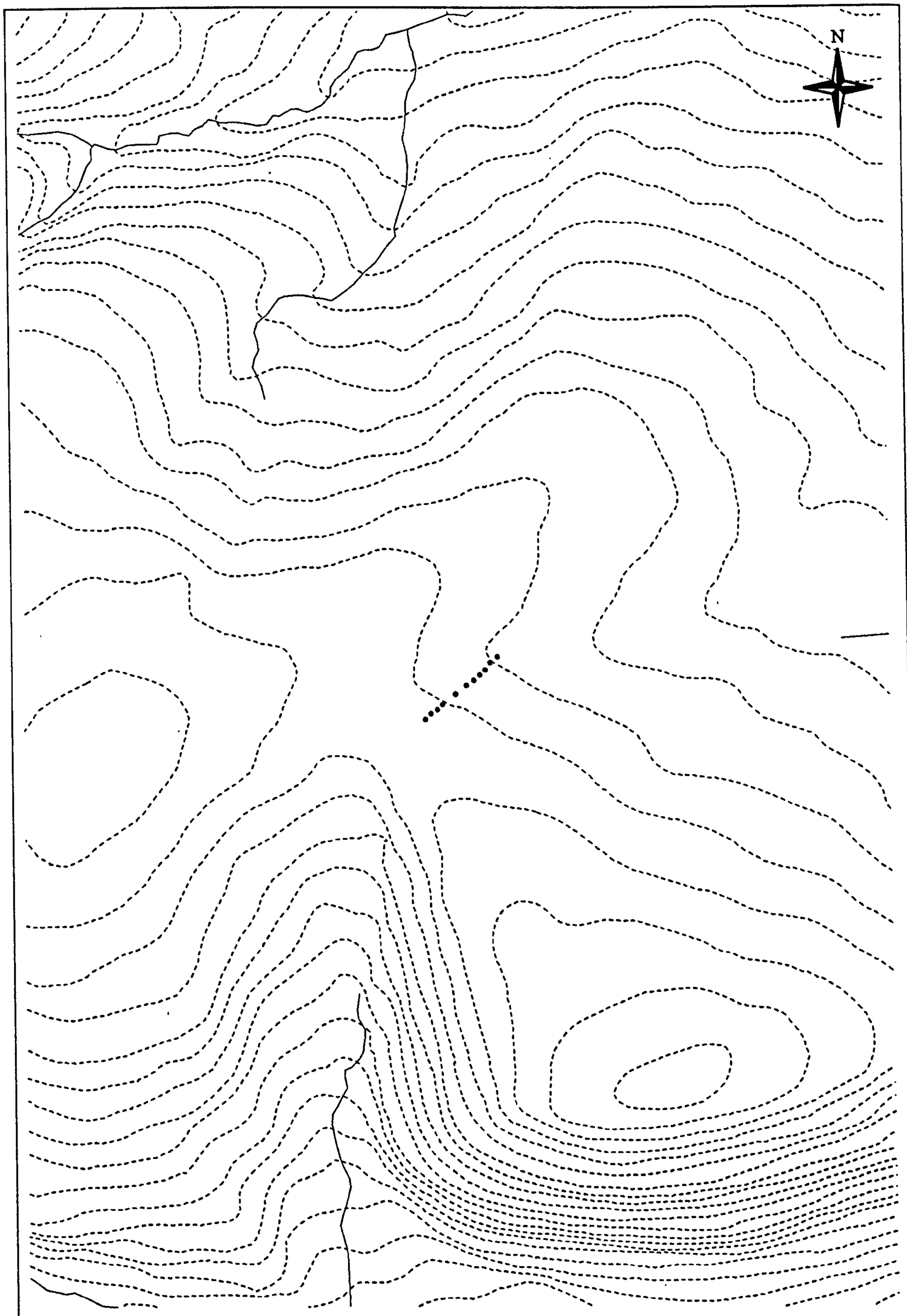


Figure 5.8 - The Wallop Hall pit alignment.

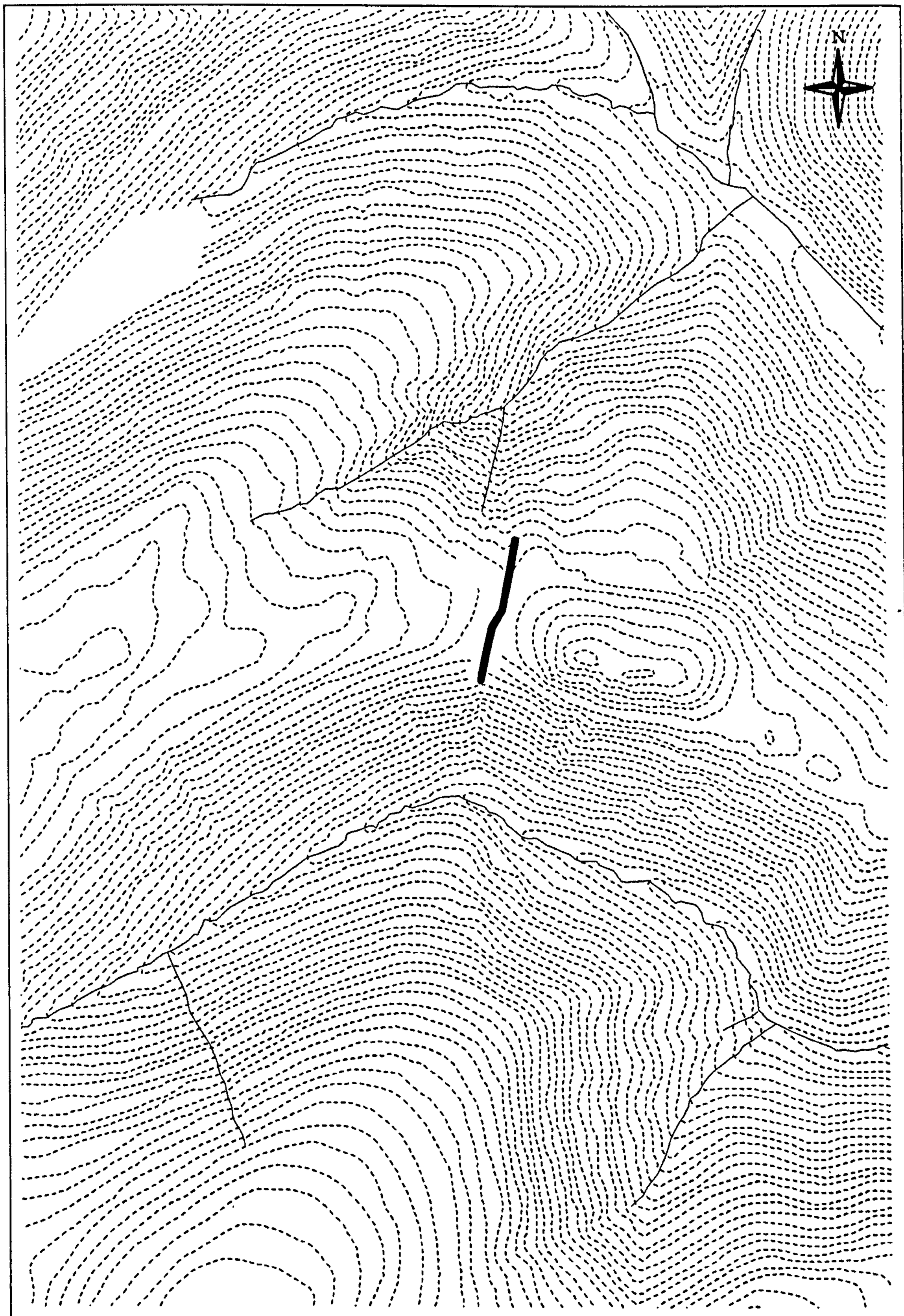


Figure 5.9 - The Devil's Mouth cross ridge dyke.

Figure 5.10 - The Lower Short Ditch

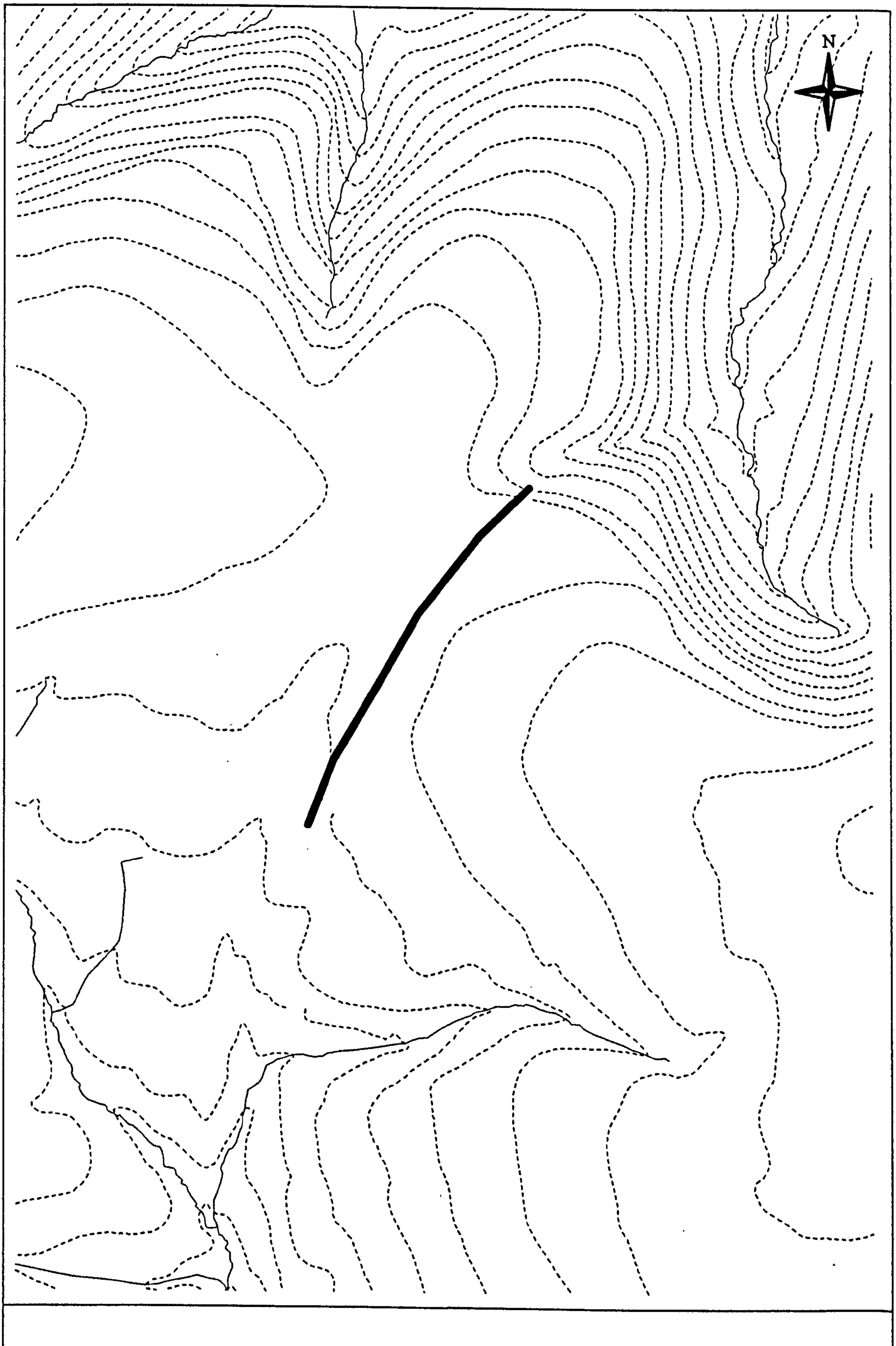


Figure 5.11 - The Upper Short Ditch

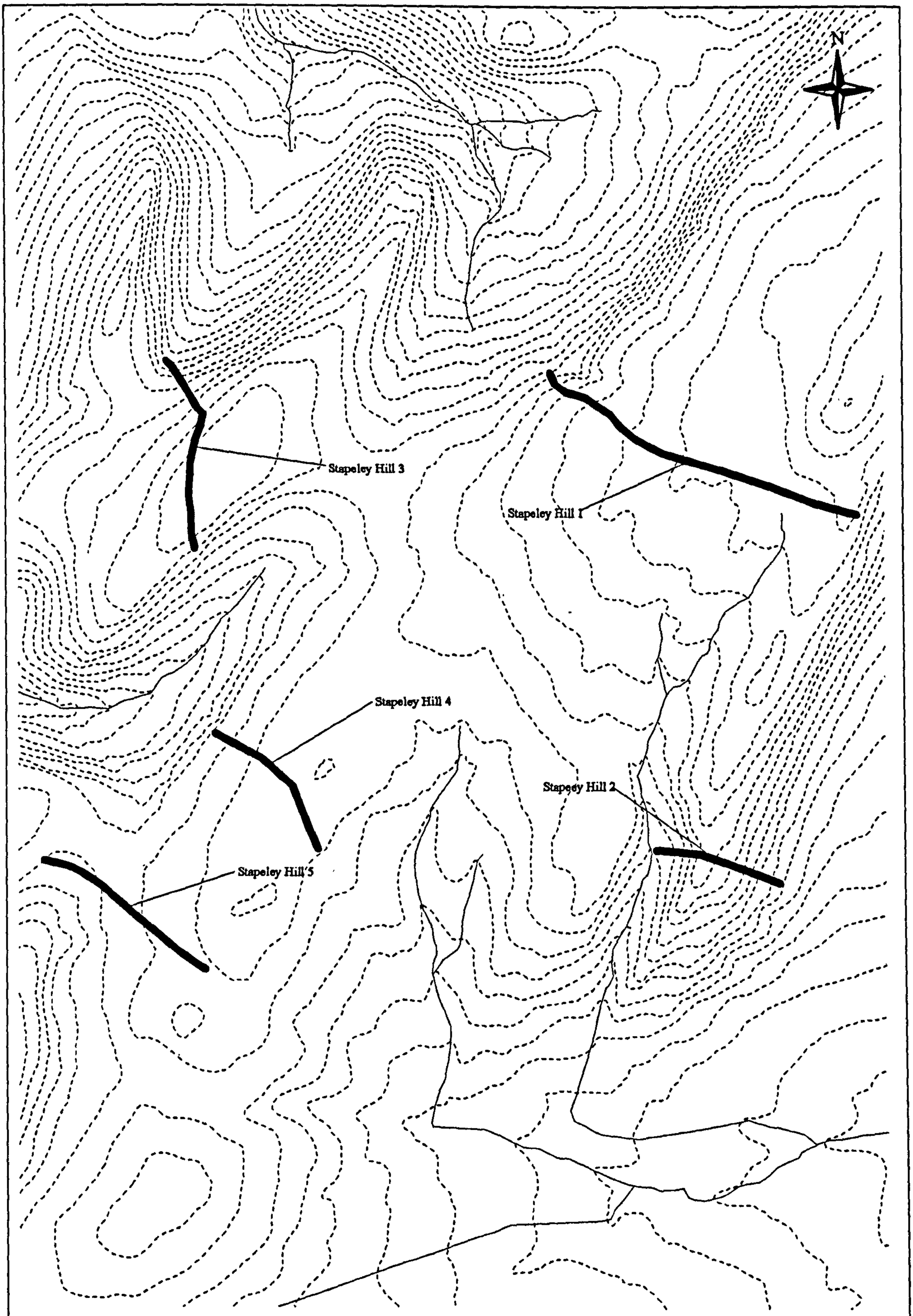


Figure 5.12 - The Stapeley Hill Group of linear earthworks.

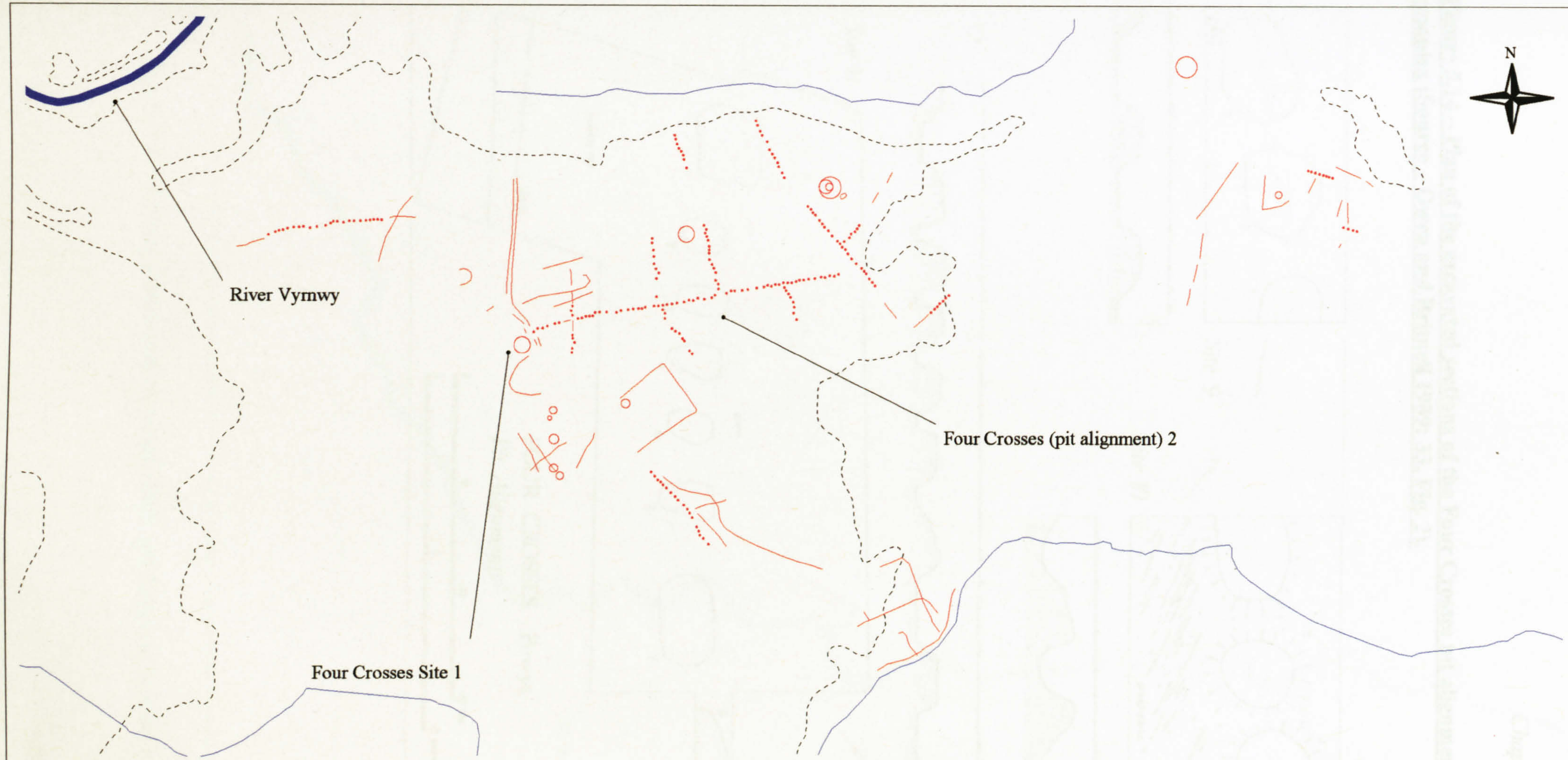
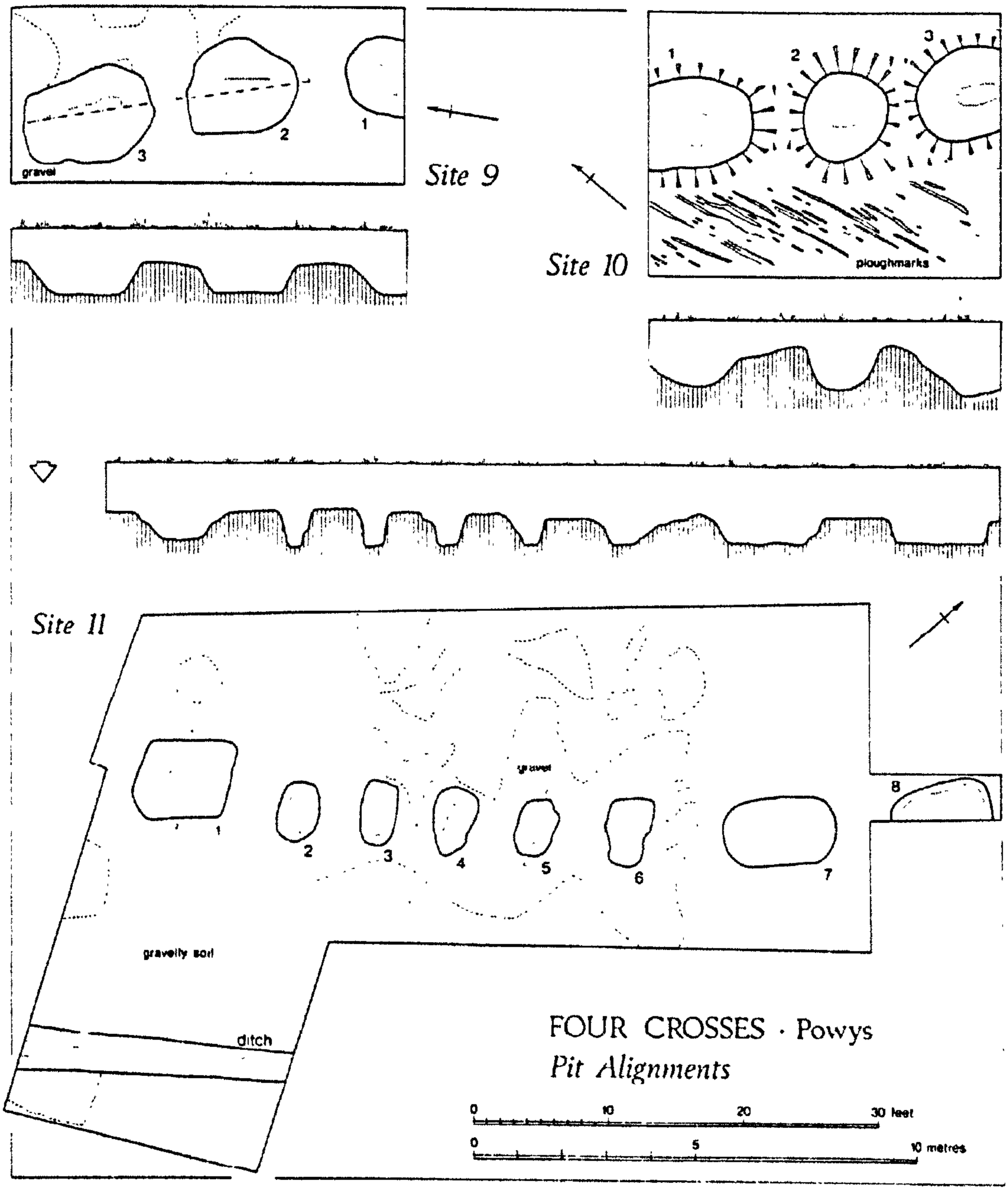


Figure 5.13 - The Four Crosses pit aligment complex.

Figure 5.14 – Plan of the excavated sections of the Four Crosses pit alignment complex (Source – Owen and Britnell 1989: 33, Fig. 2).



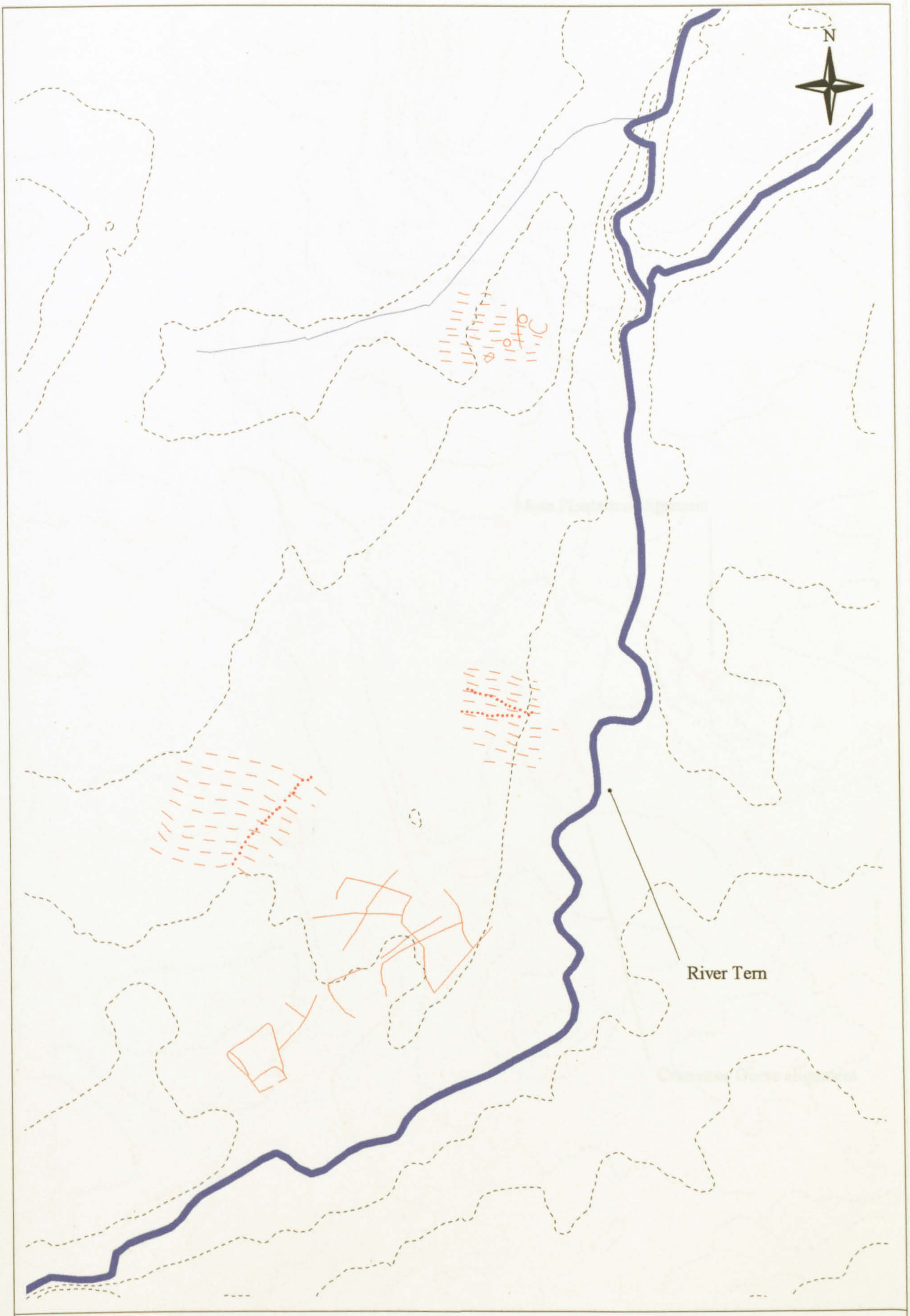


Figure 5.15 - Pit alignments and cropmark ridge and furrow at Isombridge.

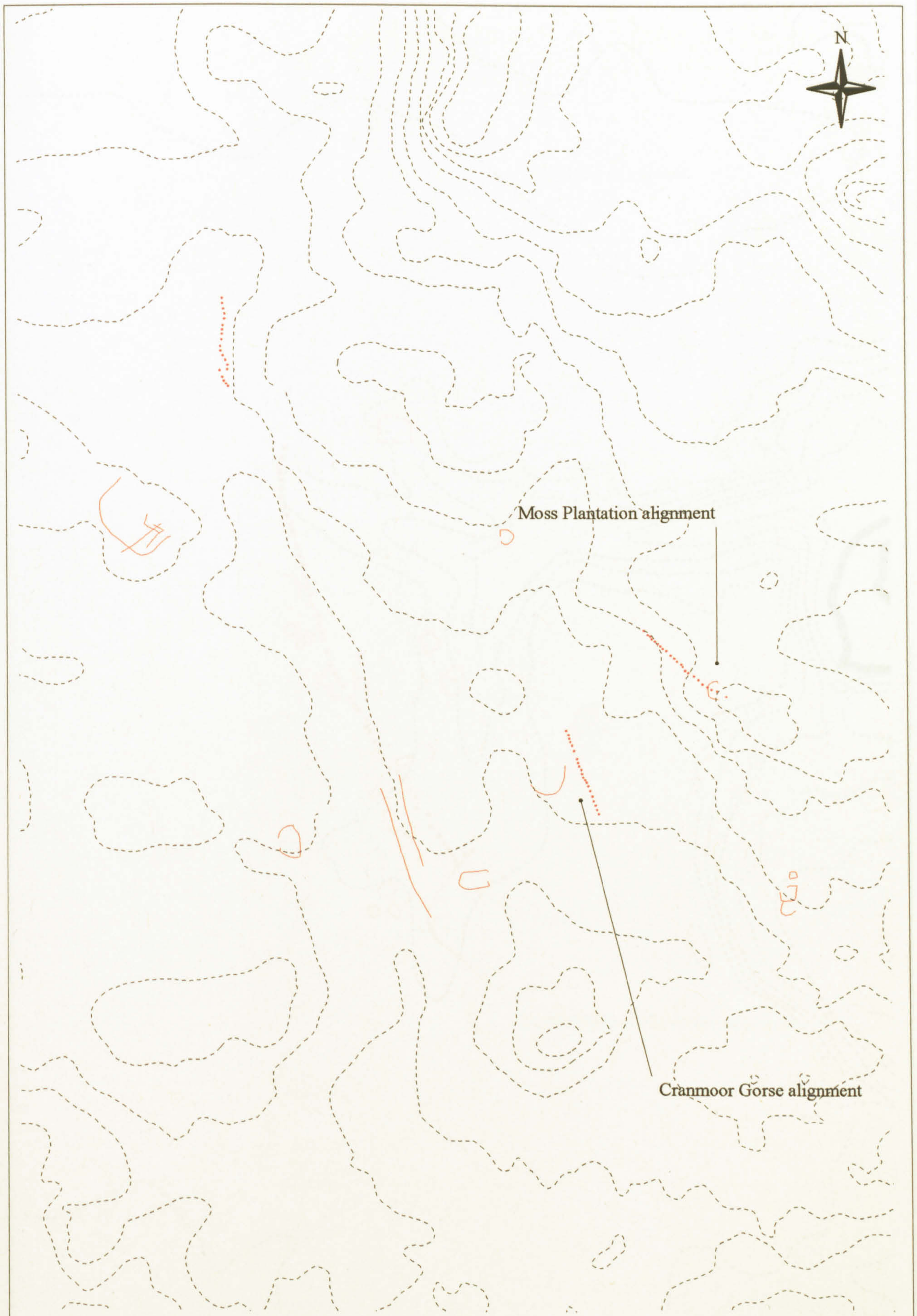


Figure 5.16 - The Moss Plantation and Cranmoor Gorse pit alignments

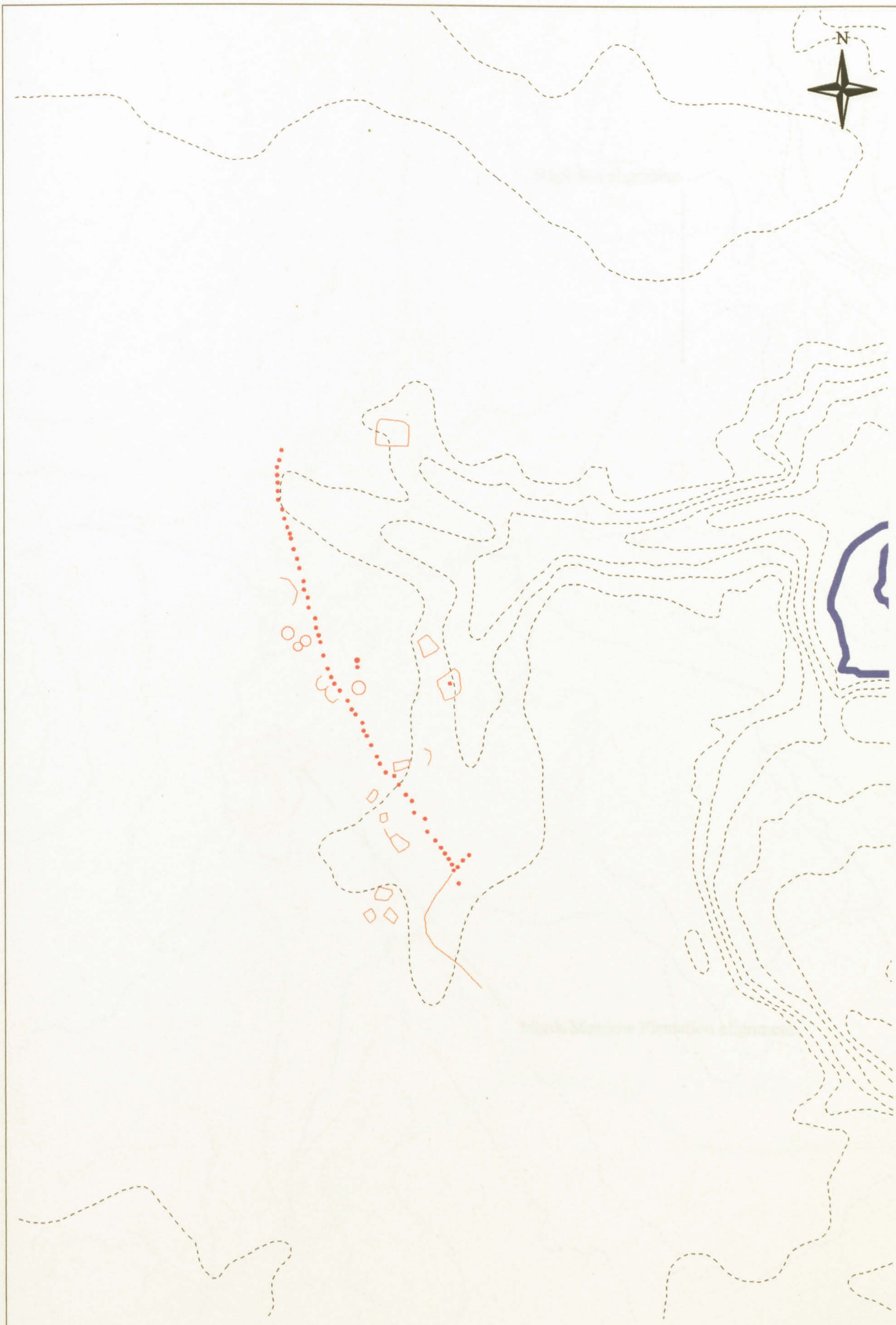


Figure 5.17 - The Cotsbrook Farm pit alignment.

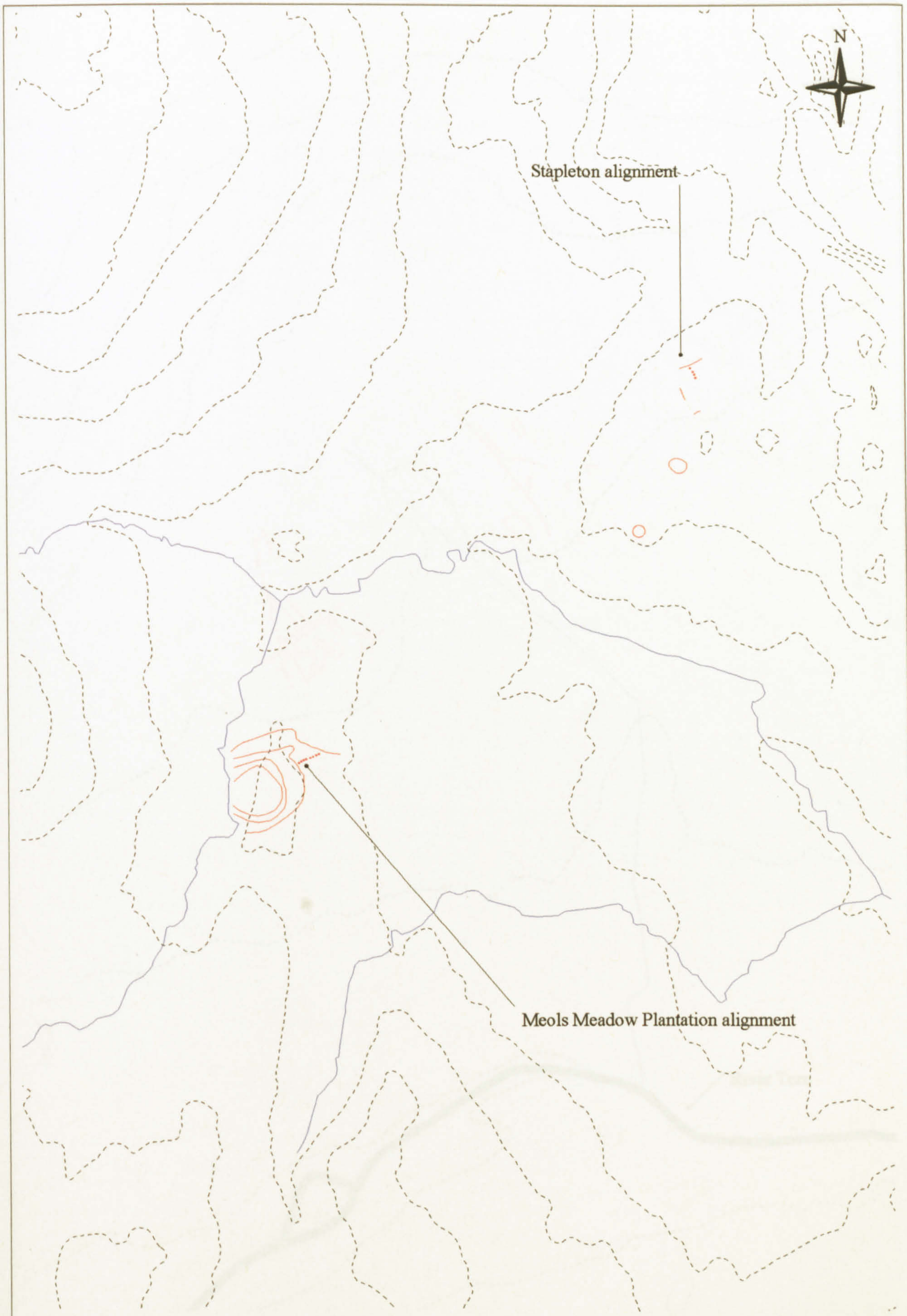


Figure 5.18 - The Stapleton and Meols Meadow Plantation pit alignments.

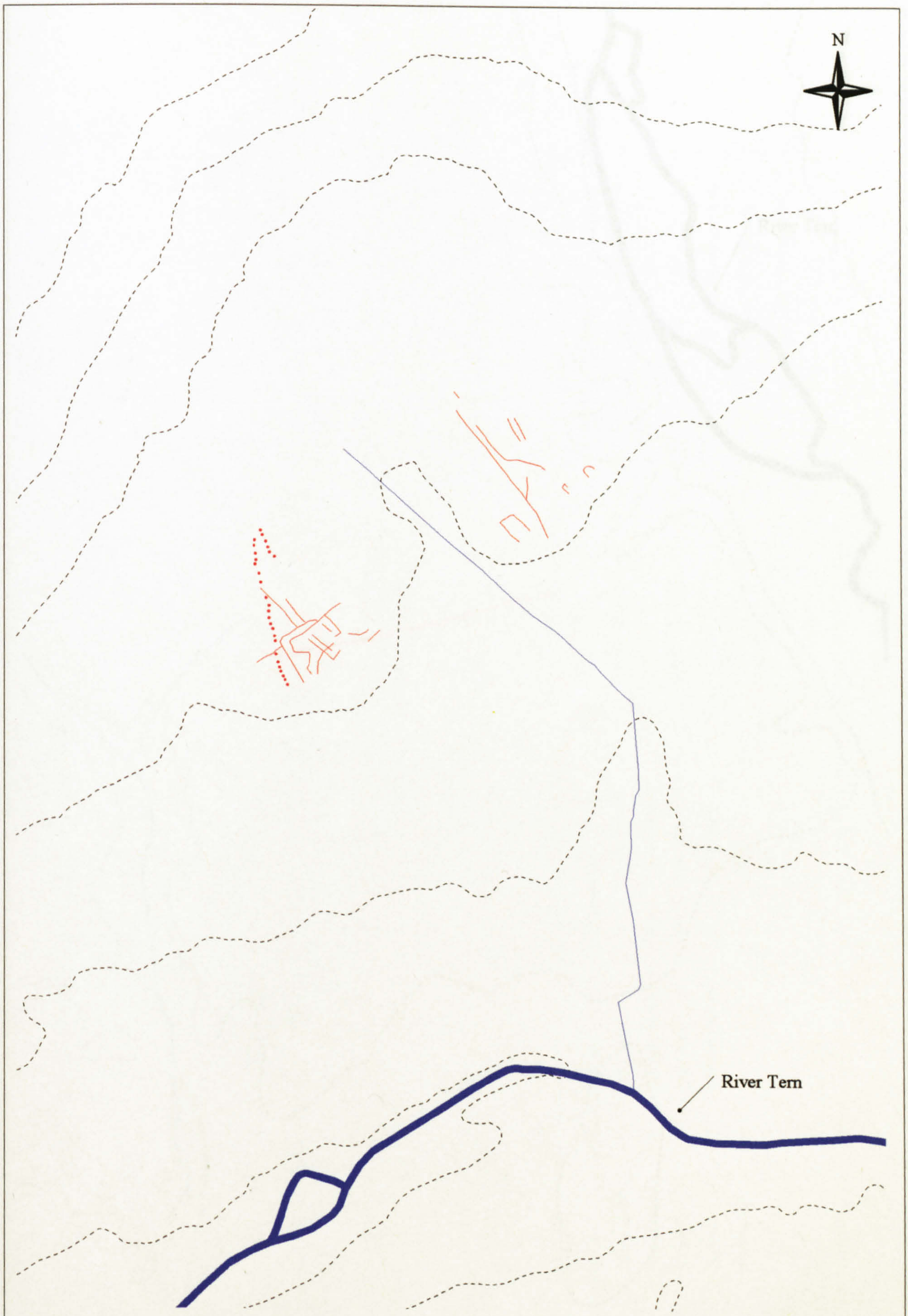


Figure 5.19 - The Dollyfers pit alignment.

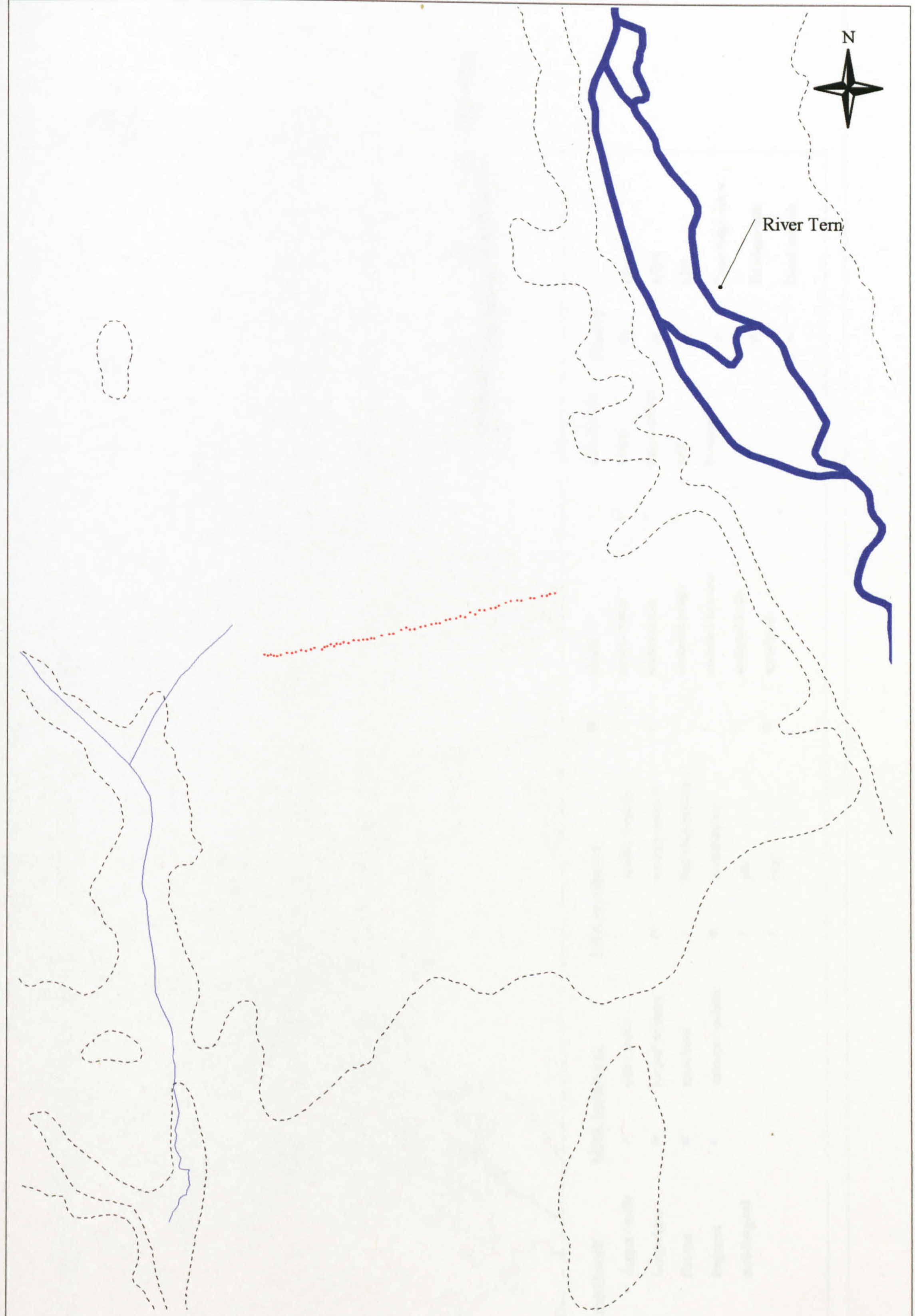


Fig. 5.20 - The Highway Farm pit alignment.

Figure 5.21 - The distribution of Bronze Age metalwork finds in the central Welah Marches.

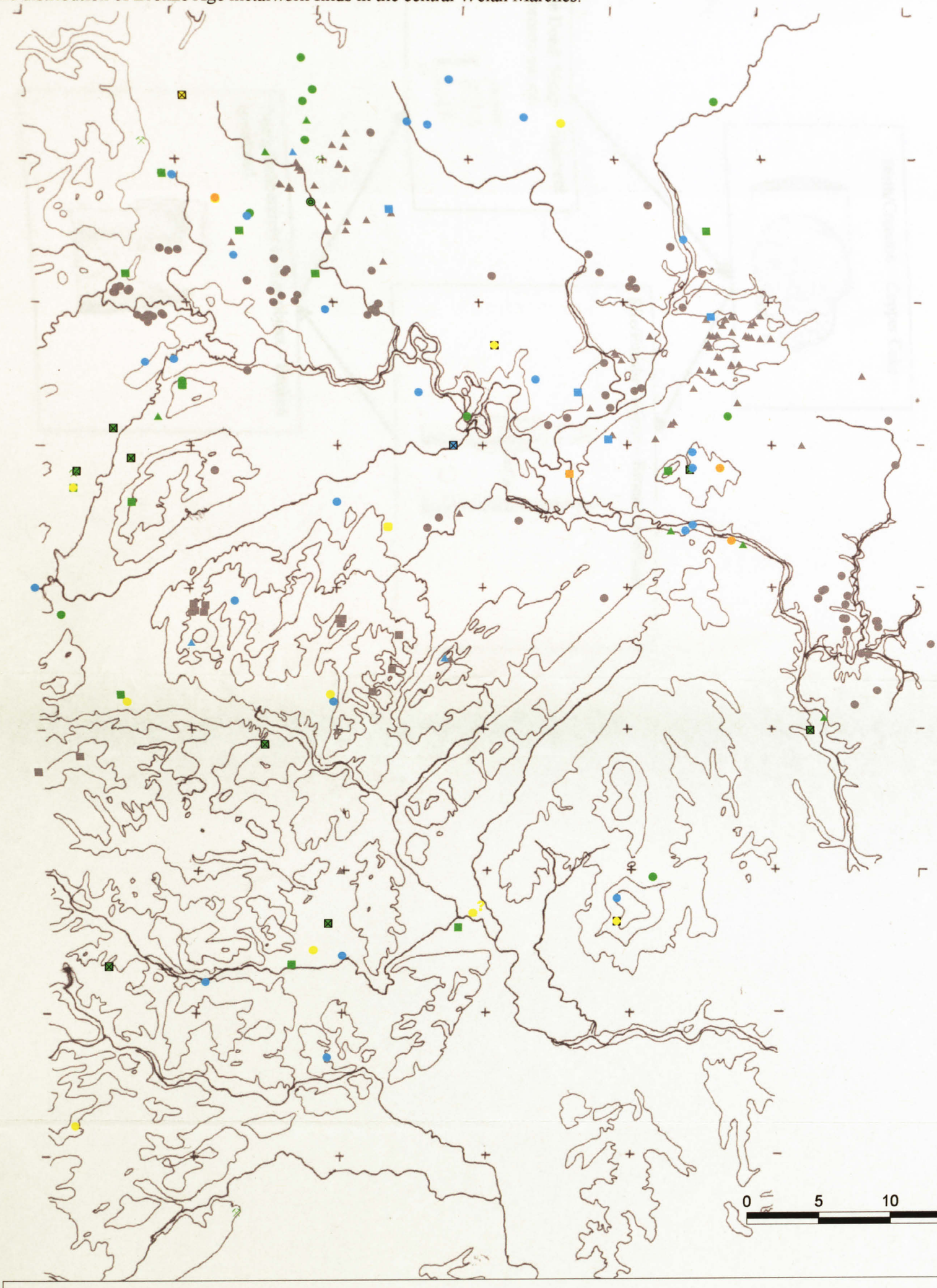


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Figure 5.22 – The life cycle of bronze metalwork as illustrated by the contents of the Guilsfield Hoard (Not to scale - After Savory 1965).

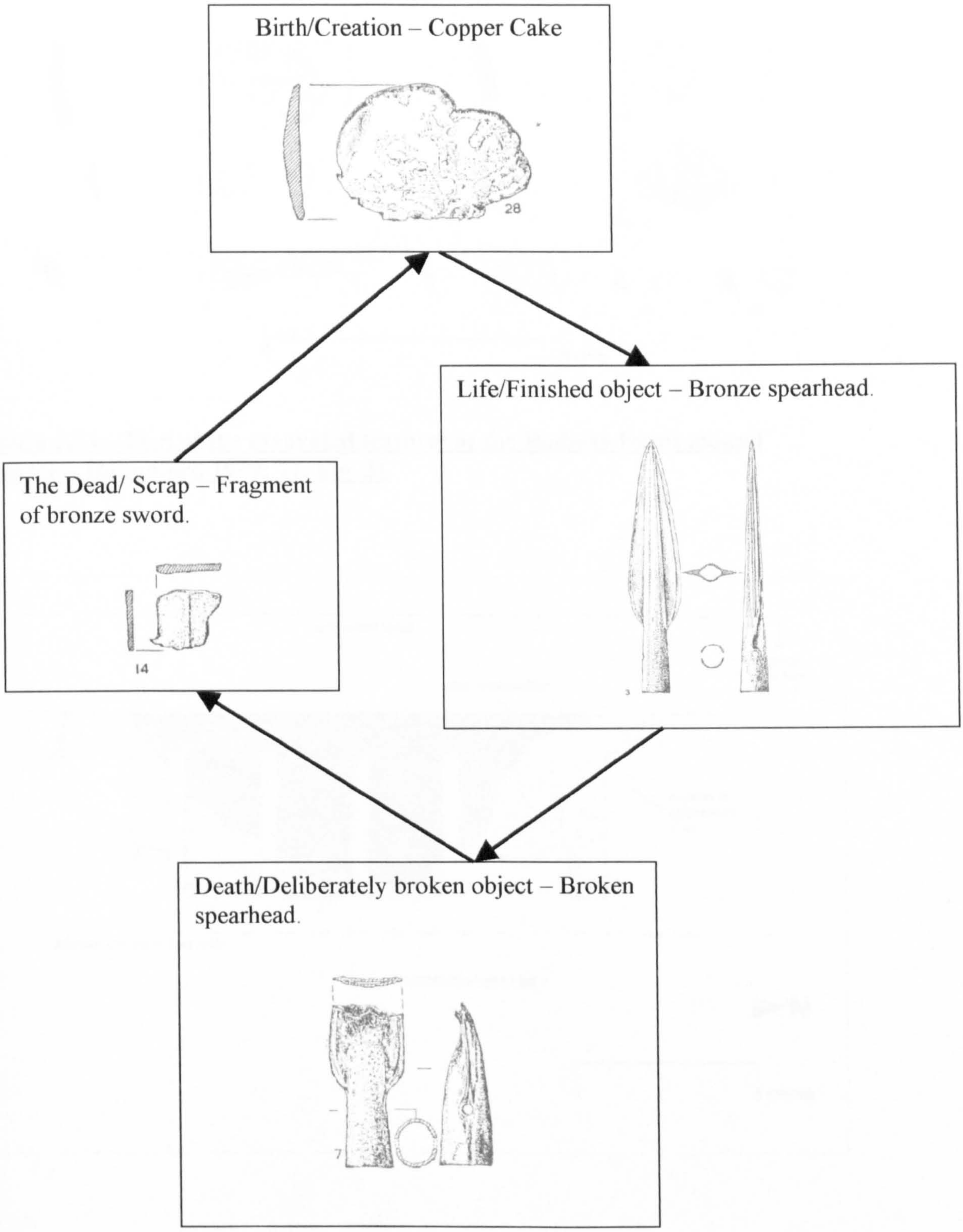


Figure 5.23 – Late Bronze Age pottery from Musson's excavations at the Breiddin (Source Lynch *et al* 2000: 198, Fig. 4.24).

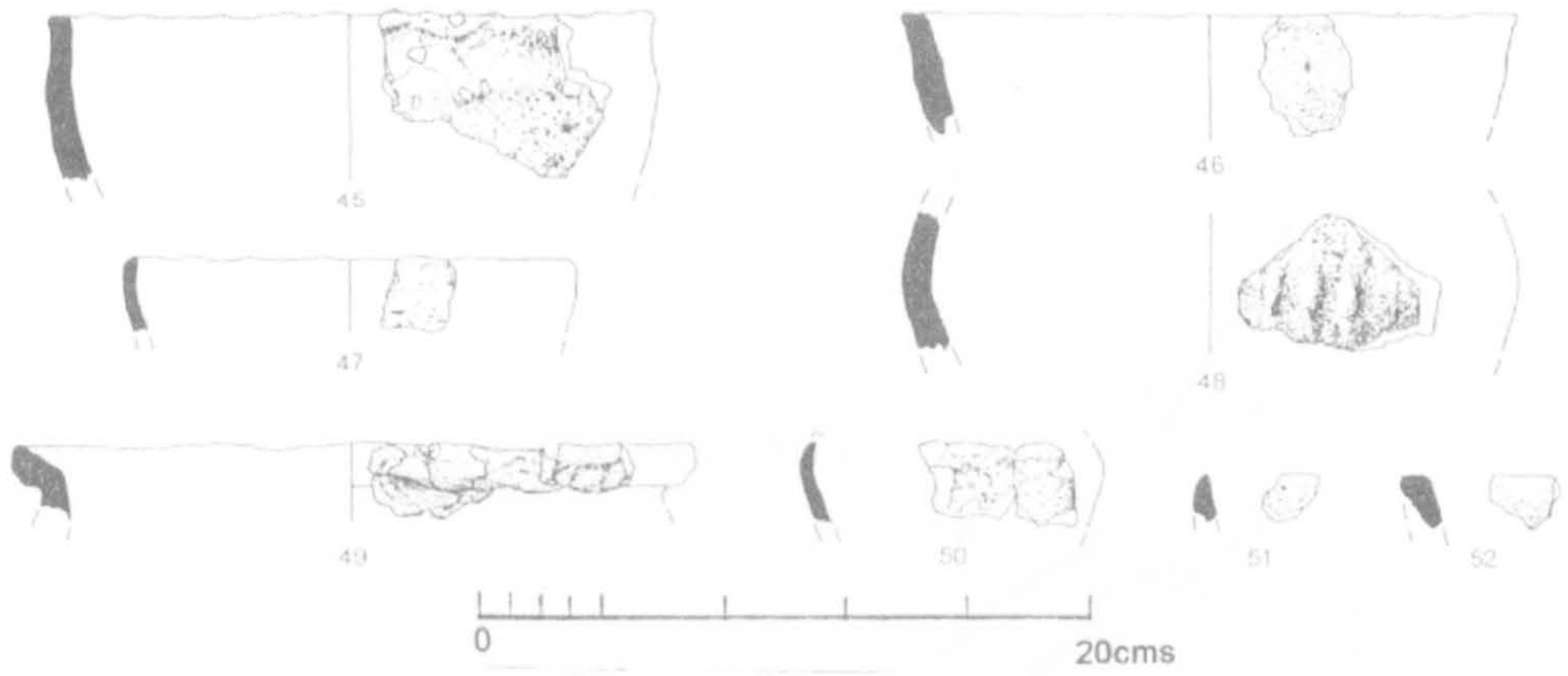


Figure 5.24 – Plan of the excavated features at the Rodway burnt mound (Source – Hannaford 1999: 71, Fig. 3).

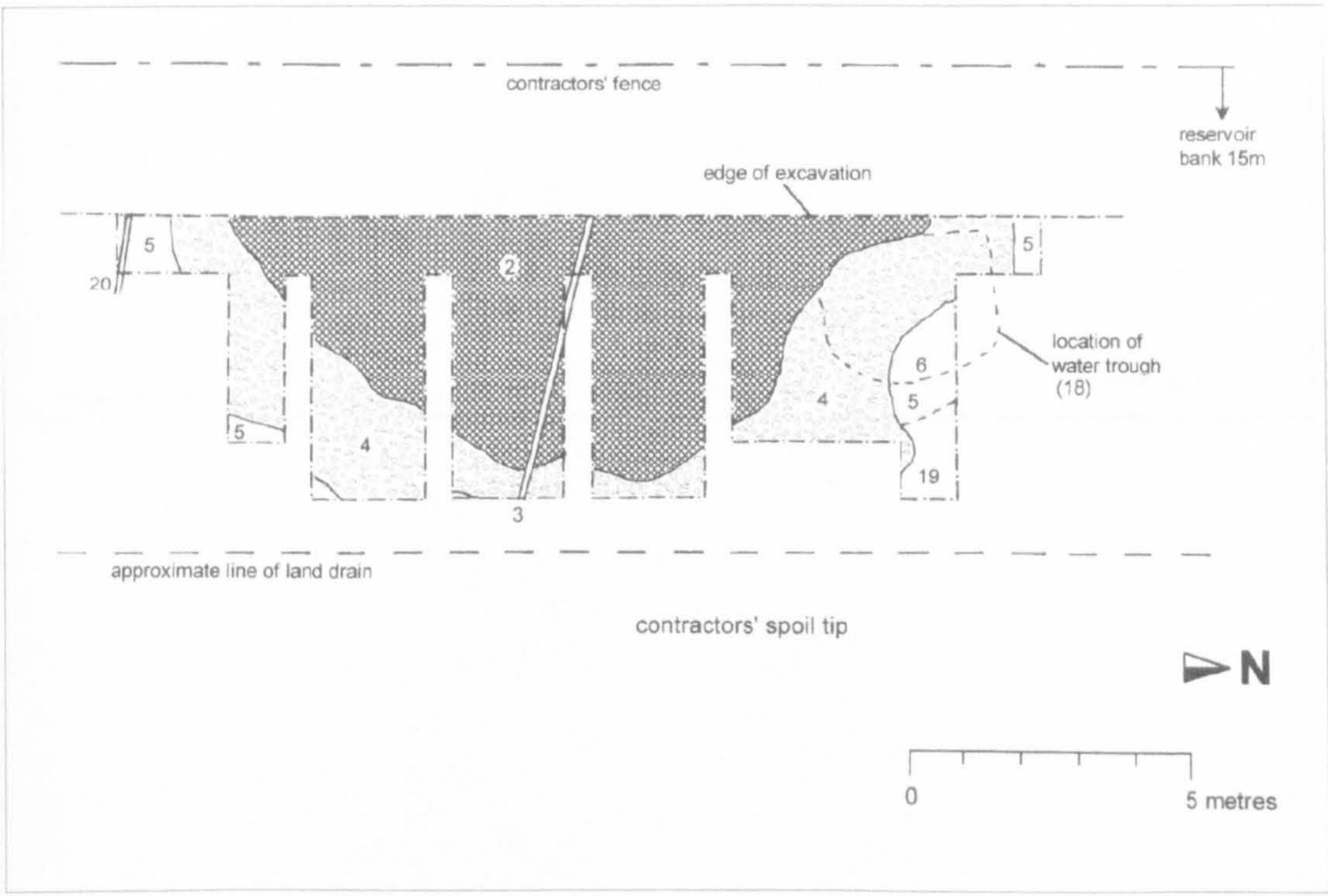


Figure 5.25 – Plan of the Breiddin hillfort (Source – Buckland *et al* 2001: 53, Fig. 2).

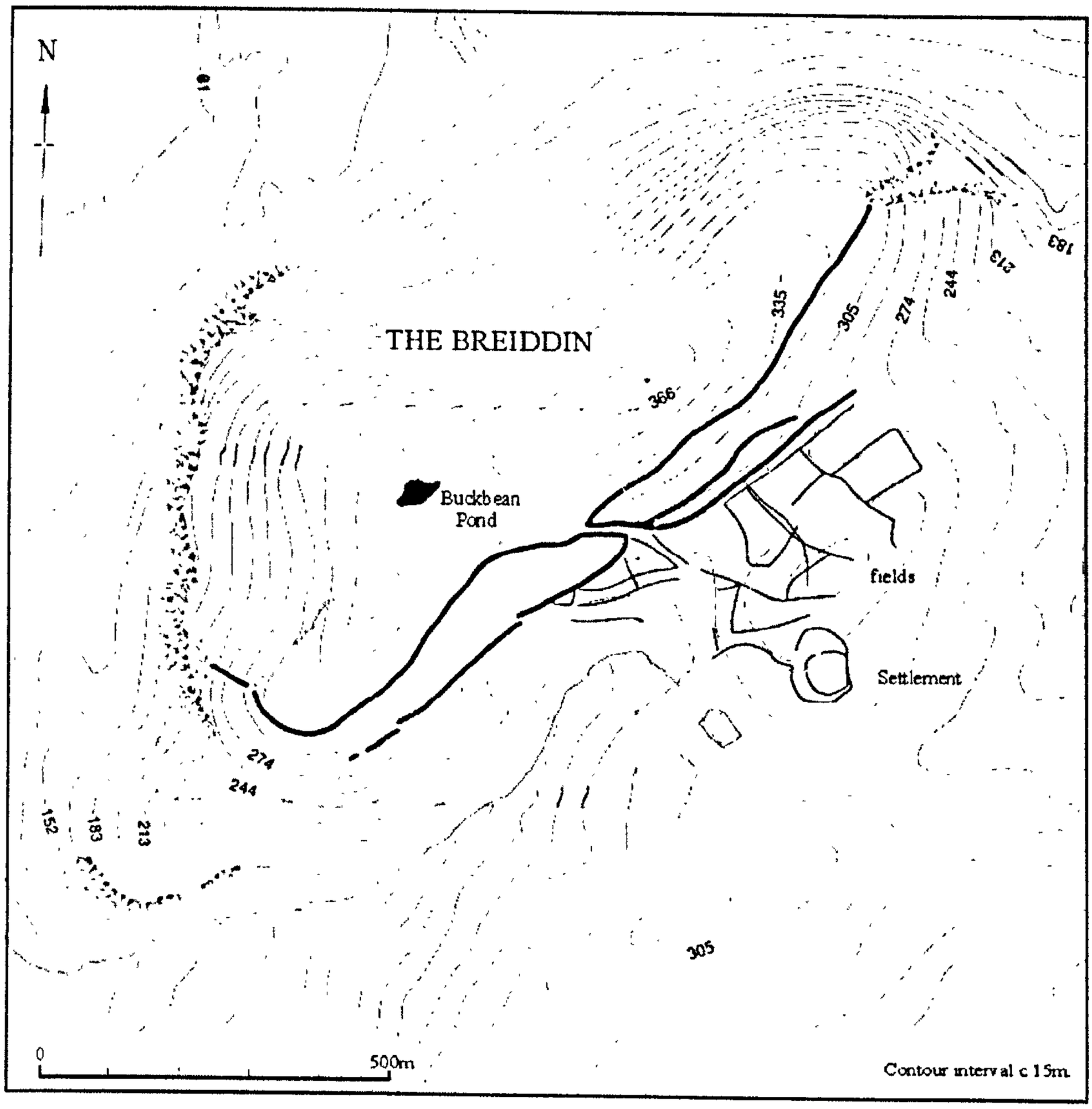


Figure 5.26 – The early rampart at the Breiddin with associated features to the rear (Source – Musson 1991: 20, Fig. 8).

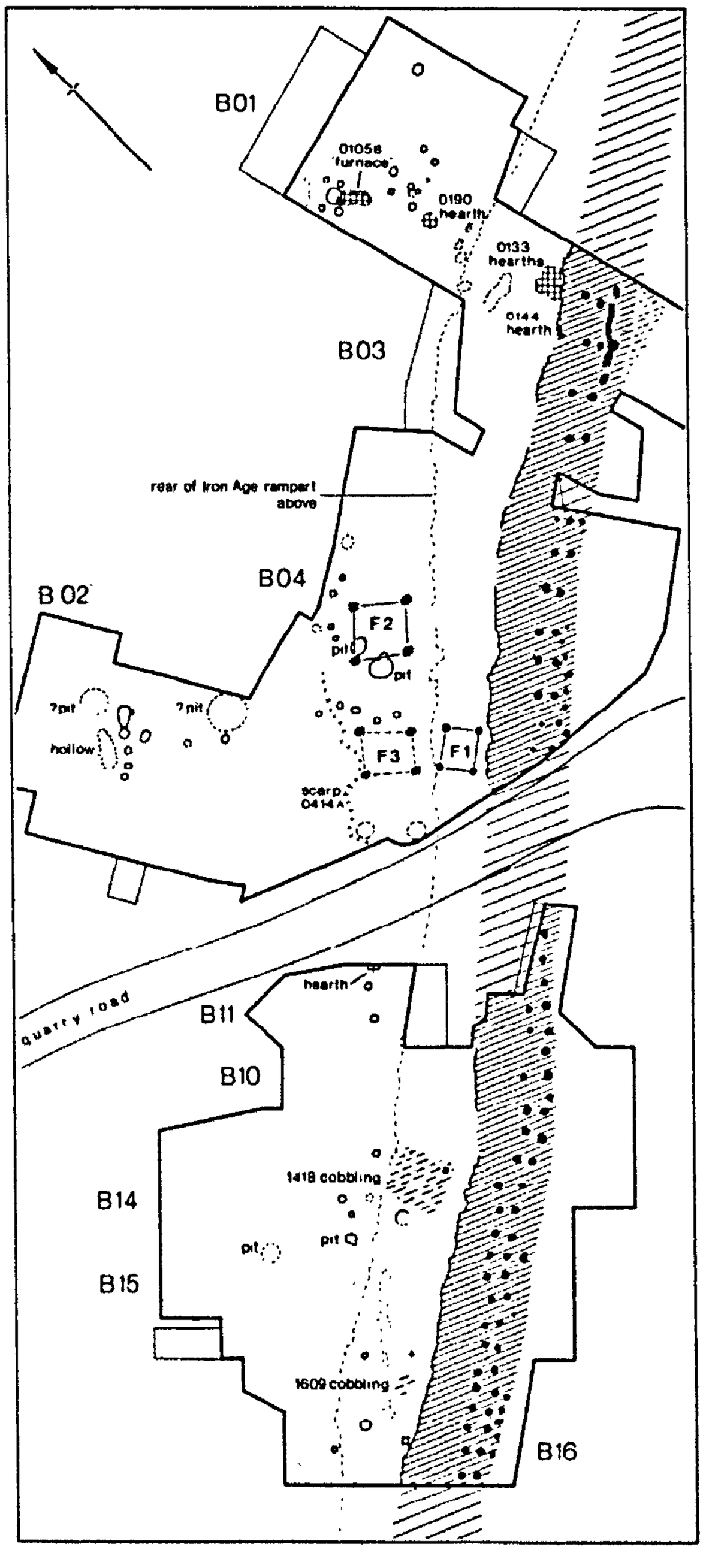


Figure 5.27 – Plan of Ffridd Faldwyn (Source – Guilbert 1981: 21, Fig. 6).

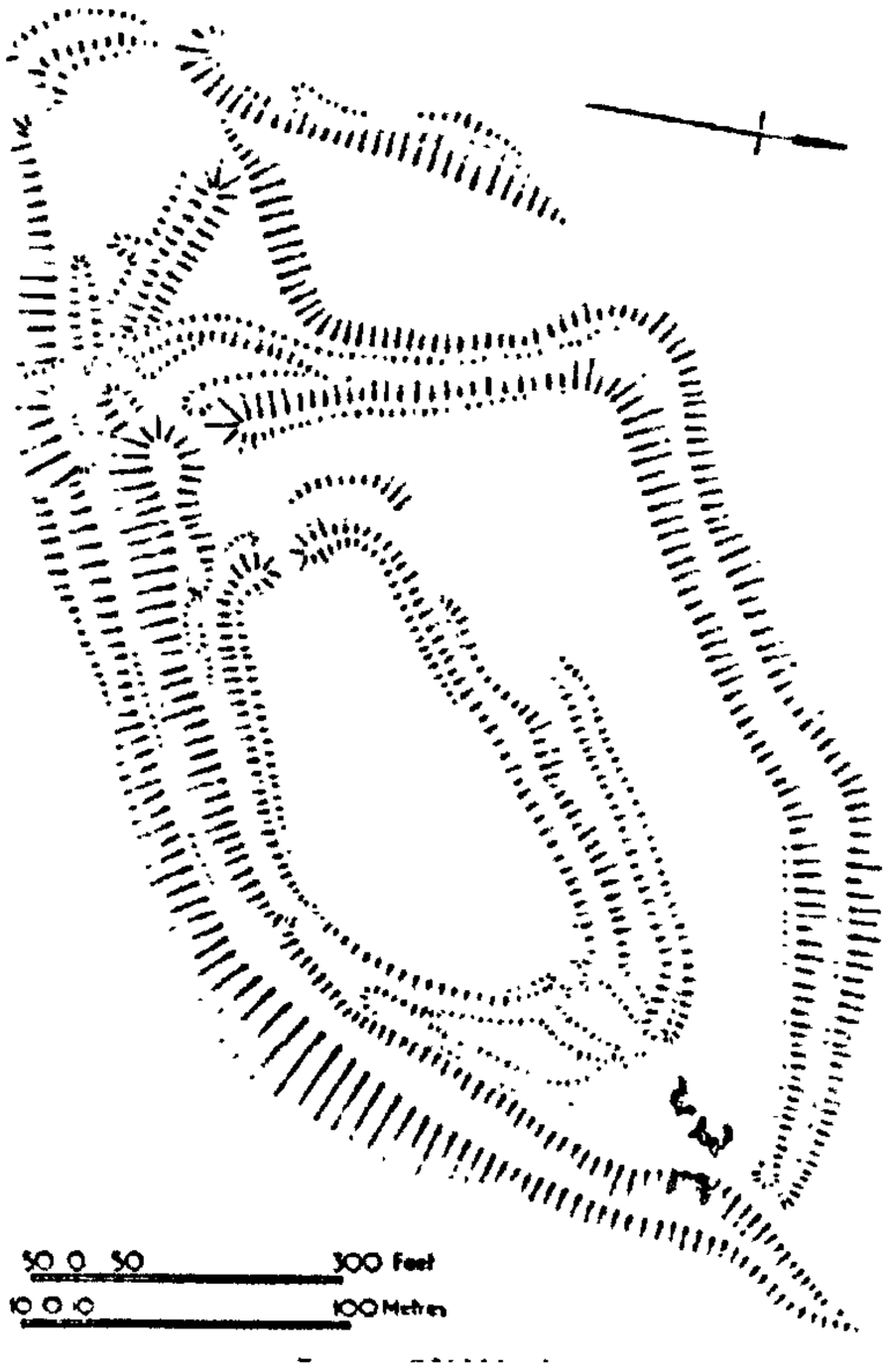


Figure 5.28 – Plan of Old Oswestry showing location of Varley's trenches (Source Hughes 1991: Fig. 1)

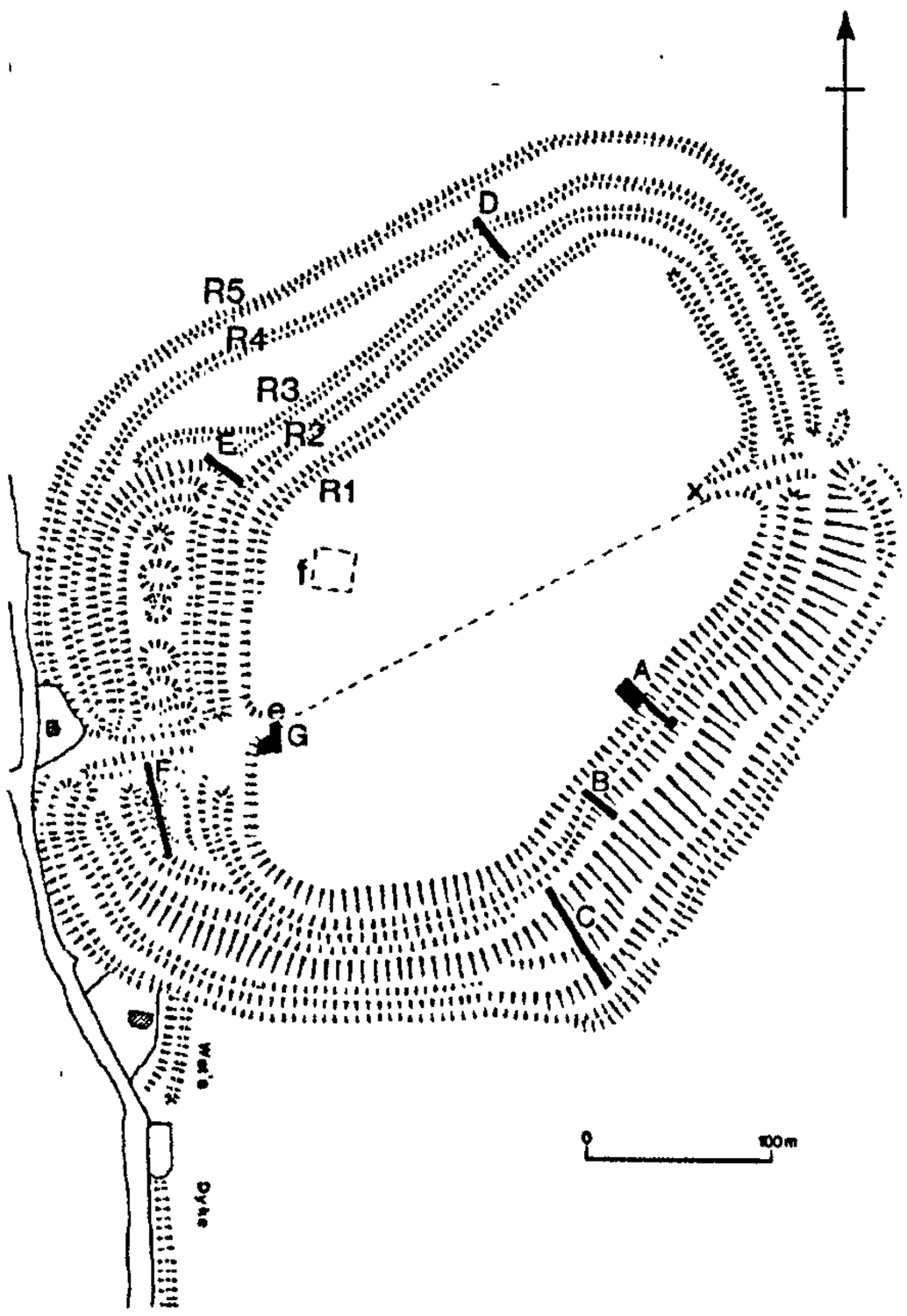


Figure 5.29 – Plan of Llwyn Bryn-dinas (Source – Musson *et al* 1992: 266, Fig. 1).

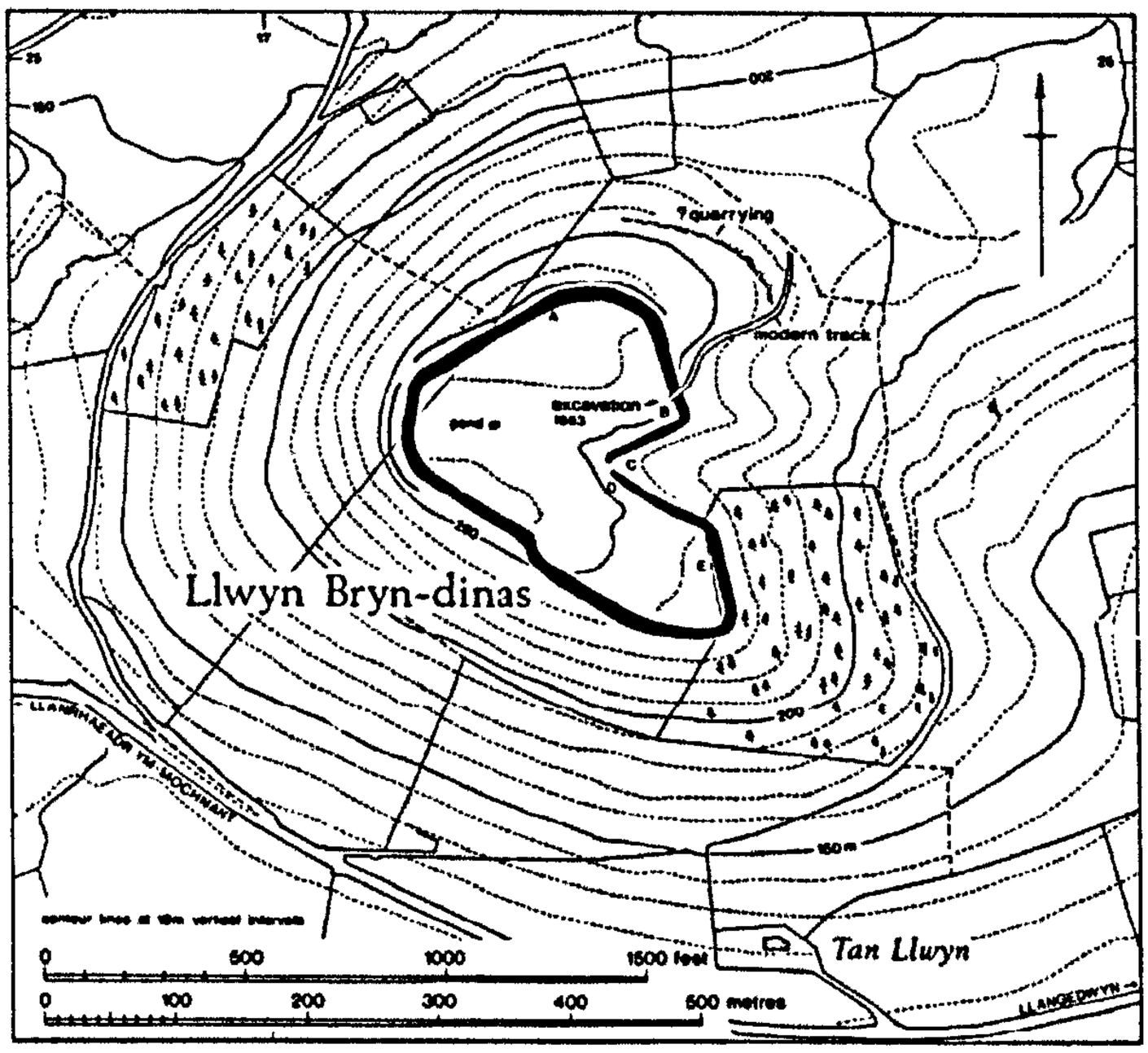
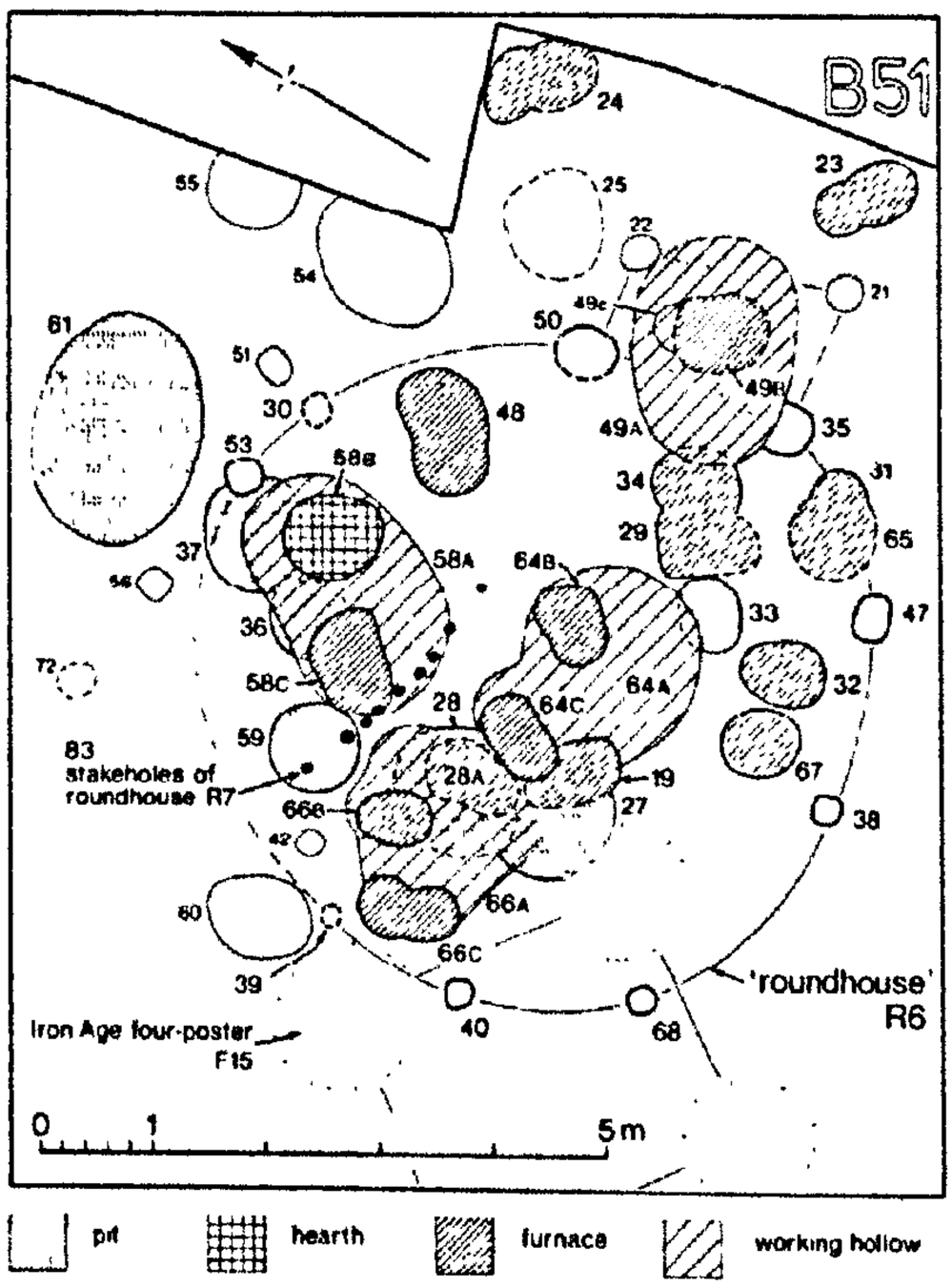


Figure 5.30 – Structure associated with metalworking activity at the Breiddin (Source Musson 1991: 58, Fig. 32).



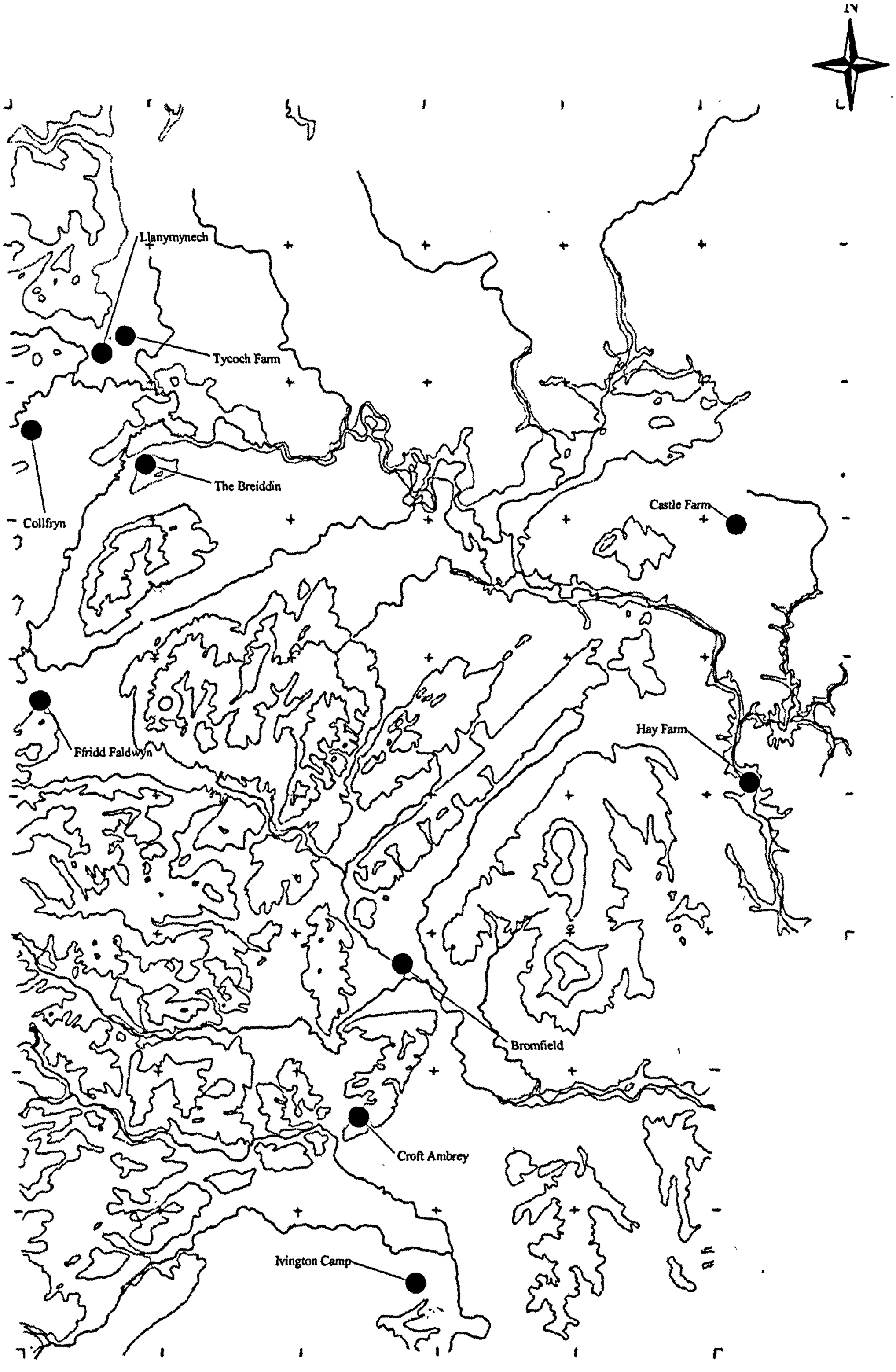


Figure 6.1 - Key sites in the central Welsh Marches discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 6.2 – Comparison between a small 'hillfort' and a multivallate cropmark enclosure.

Walton Camp (SA 01361) on Long Mountain, western Shropshire (Source – CPAT©93-MB-0174)

The Osbaston cropmark enclosure (SA 01401) in north-western Shropshire (Source – CPAT©84-MB-0253).

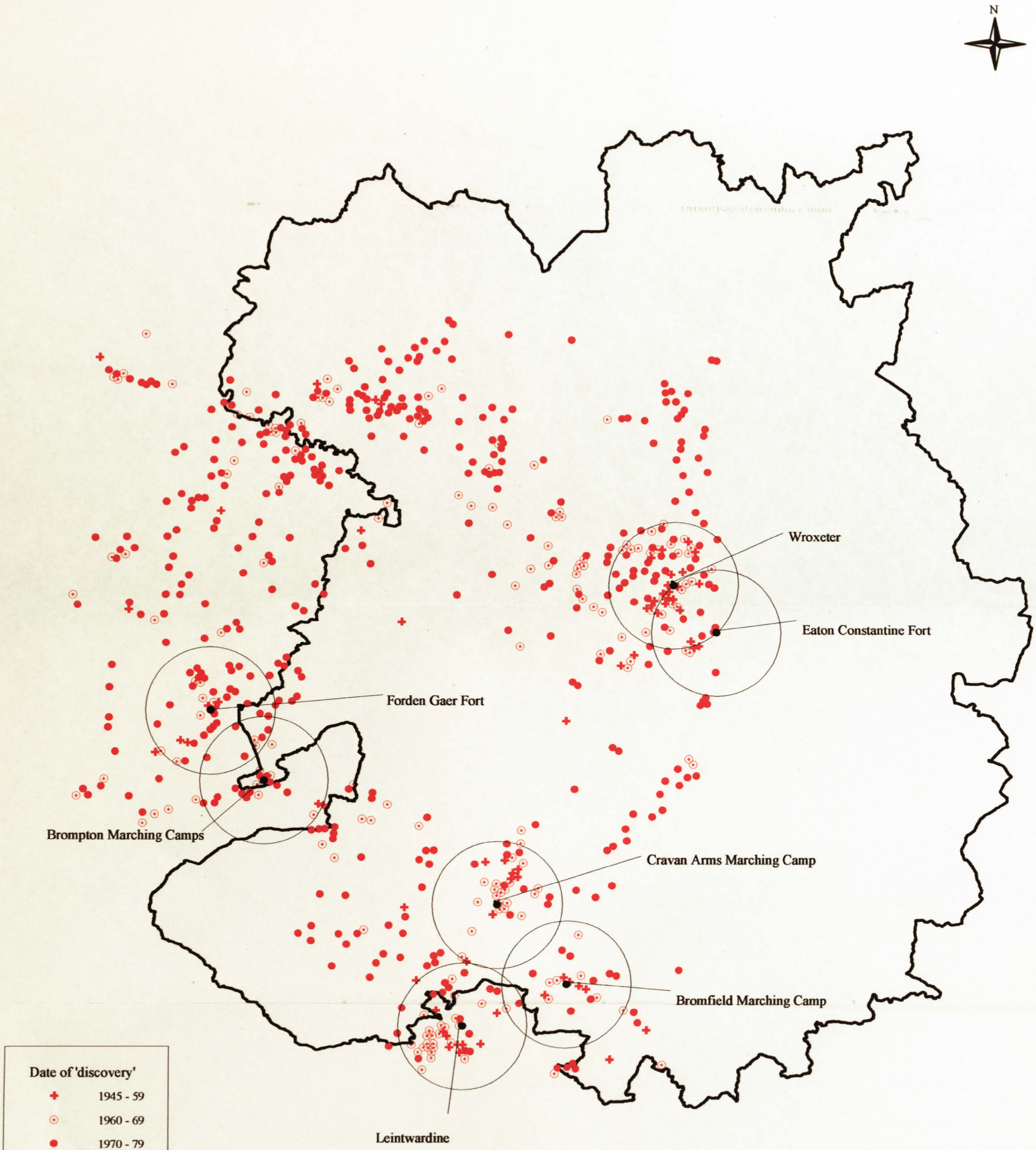


Figure 6.3 - Analysis of distribution patterns of cropmark 'discovery' (1945-79) against seven well known Roman sites (after Whimster 1989: 14, Fig. 5).

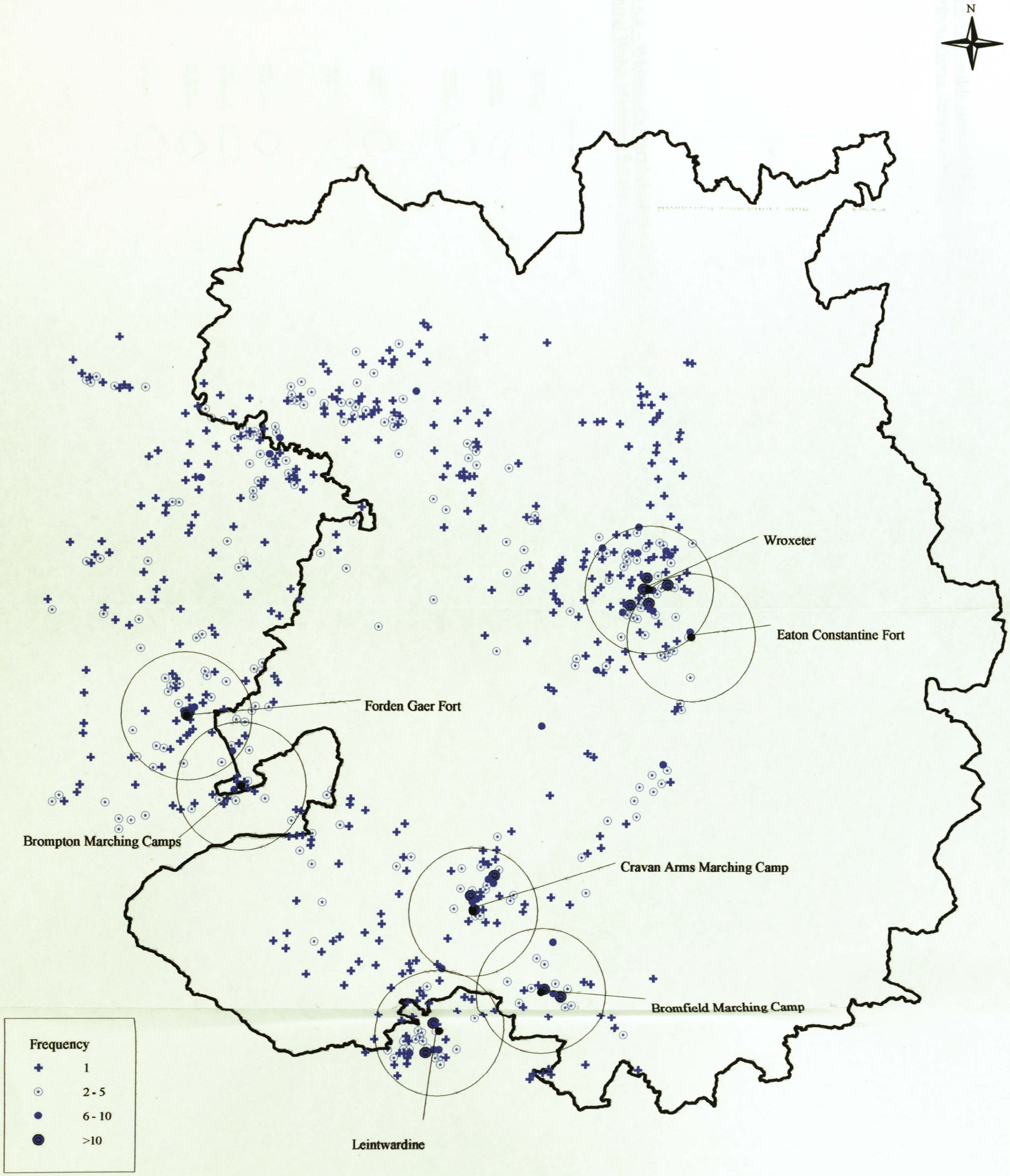


Figure 6.4 - Analysis of distribution patterns of cropmarks (1945-79) by frequency of photography against seven well known Roman sites (after Whimster 1989: 15, Fig. 6).

Figure 6.5 – Possible open settlement on the floodplain of the Severn at Llandrineo, Powys (Source – Whimster 1989: 61, Fig. 37).

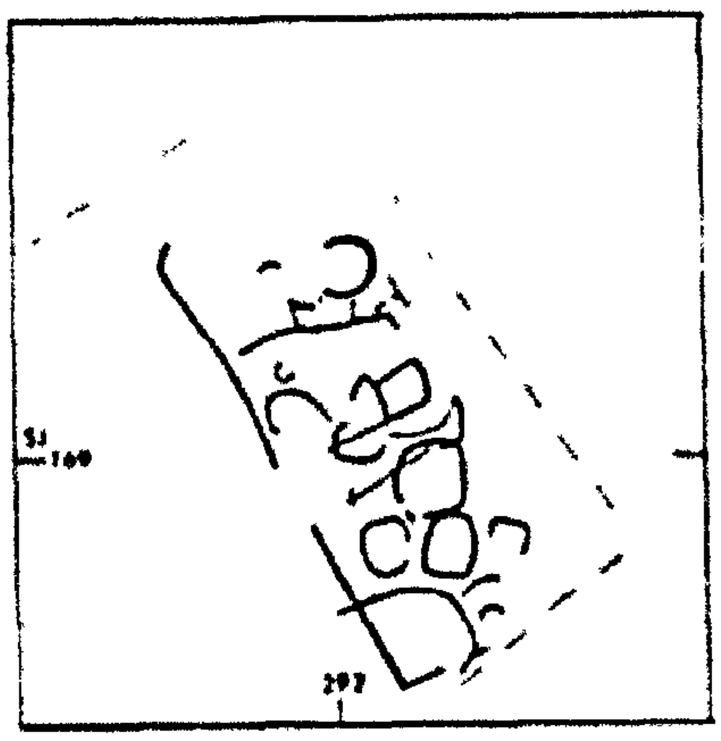


Figure 6.6 – Whimster's morphological classification of cropmark enclosures in the central Welsh Marches (Source – Whimster 1989: 29, Fig. 19).

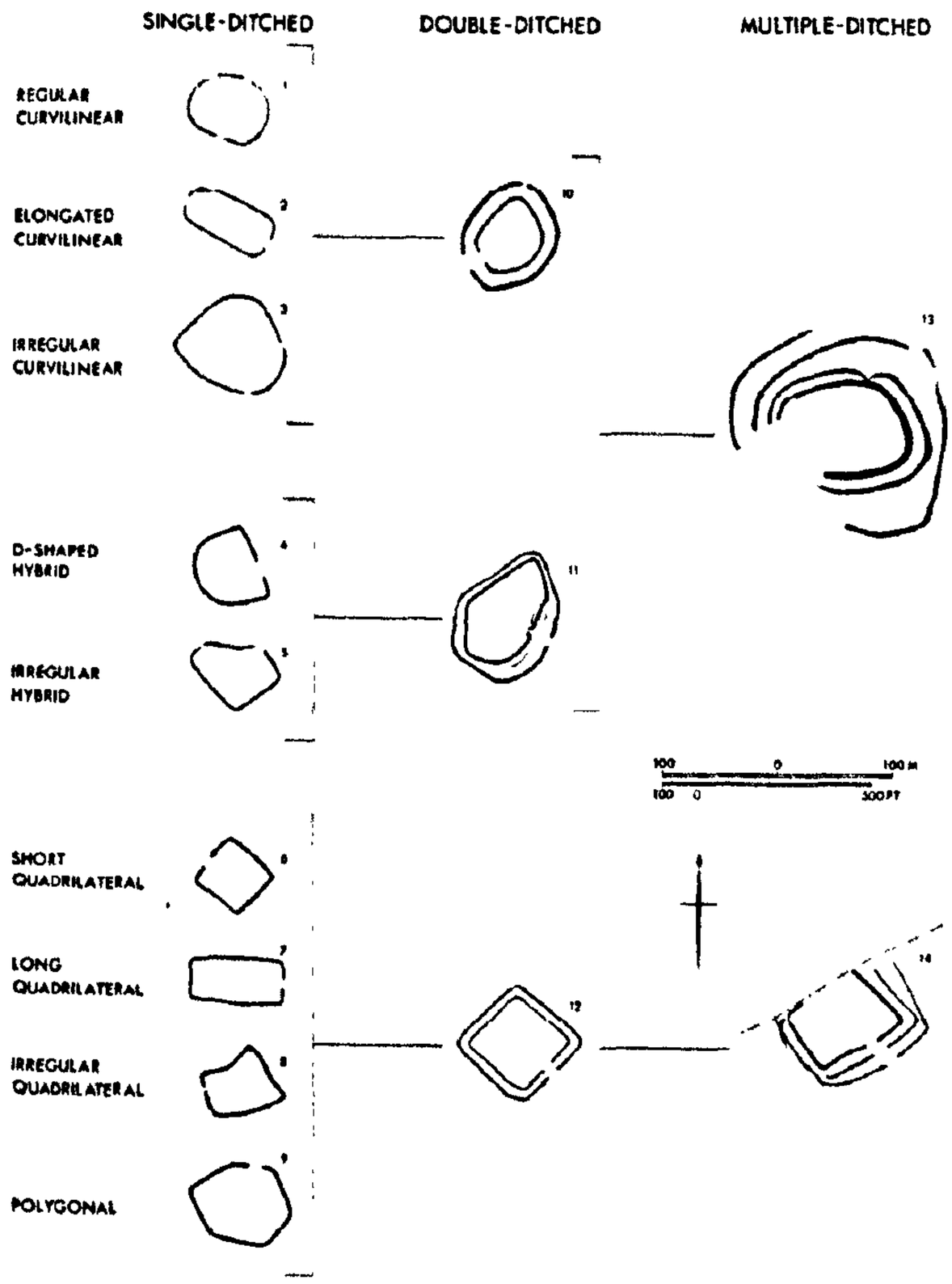


Figure 6.7 – Two of Hingley's idealised settlement landscapes (Source – Hingley 1984: 80, Fig. 5.7).

Dashed lines represent the boundary of corporate social groups.
a = dispersed enclosed settlement (e.g. Oxford uplands)
b = open settlement (e.g. Oxford Clay Vale)

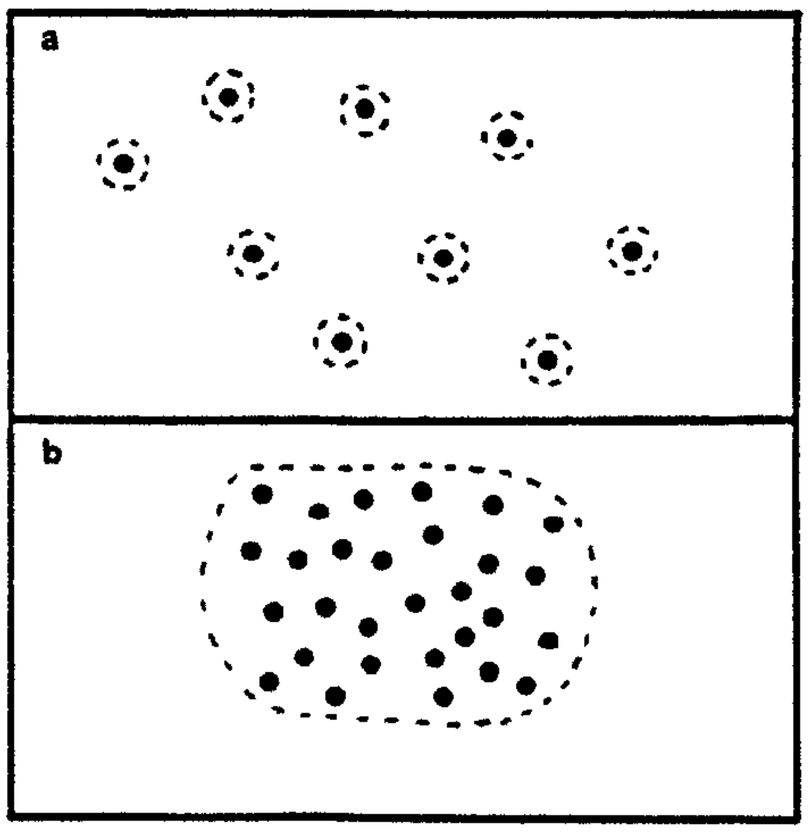


Figure 6.8 – Map of the Danebury Environs Programme study area (Source – Cunliffe 2000: 177, Fig. 4.27).

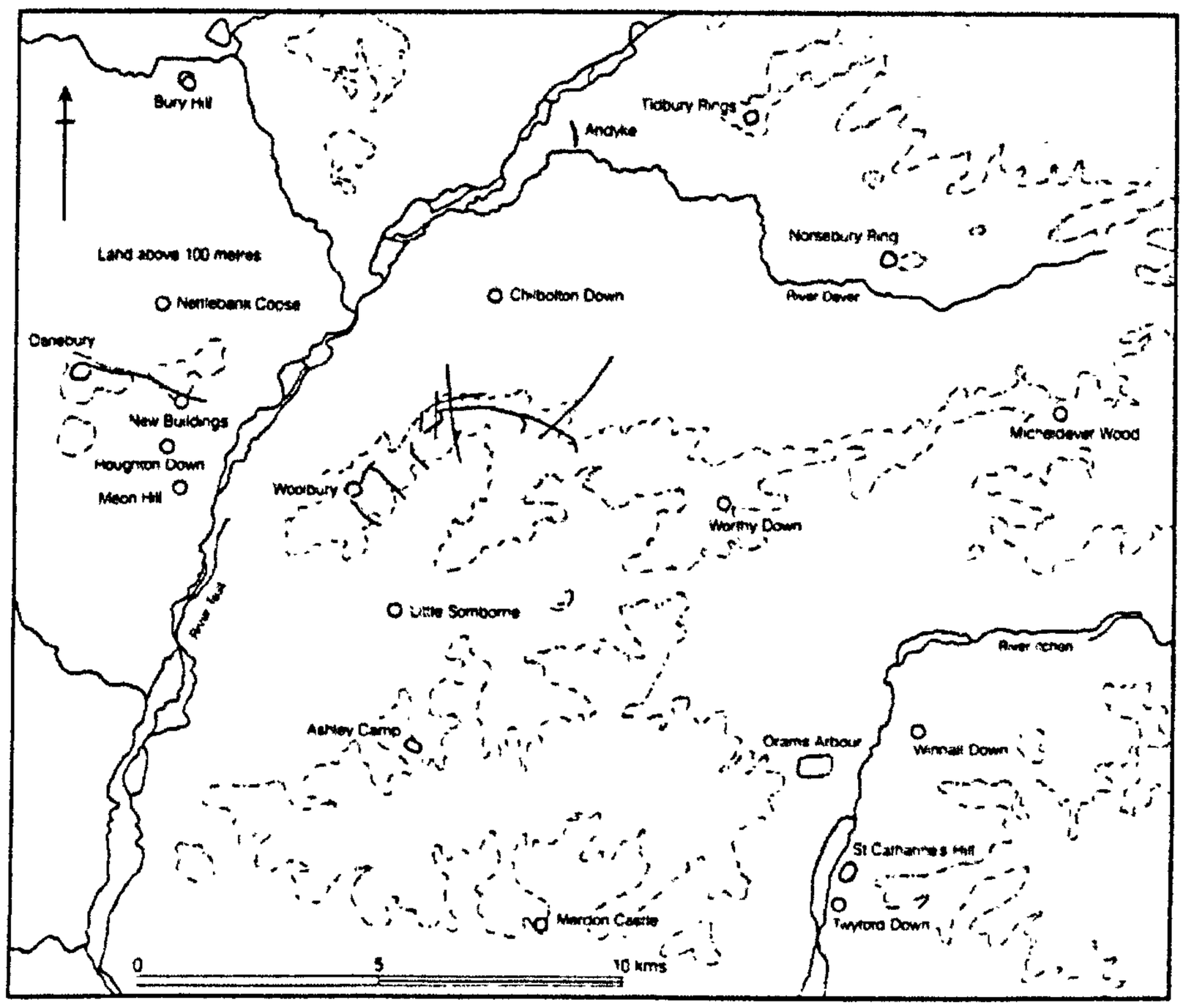


Figure 6.9 – Campbell and Hamilton's model of the Iron Age farming year (Source – Campbell and Hamilton in Cunliffe 2000: 58, Fig. 3.10).

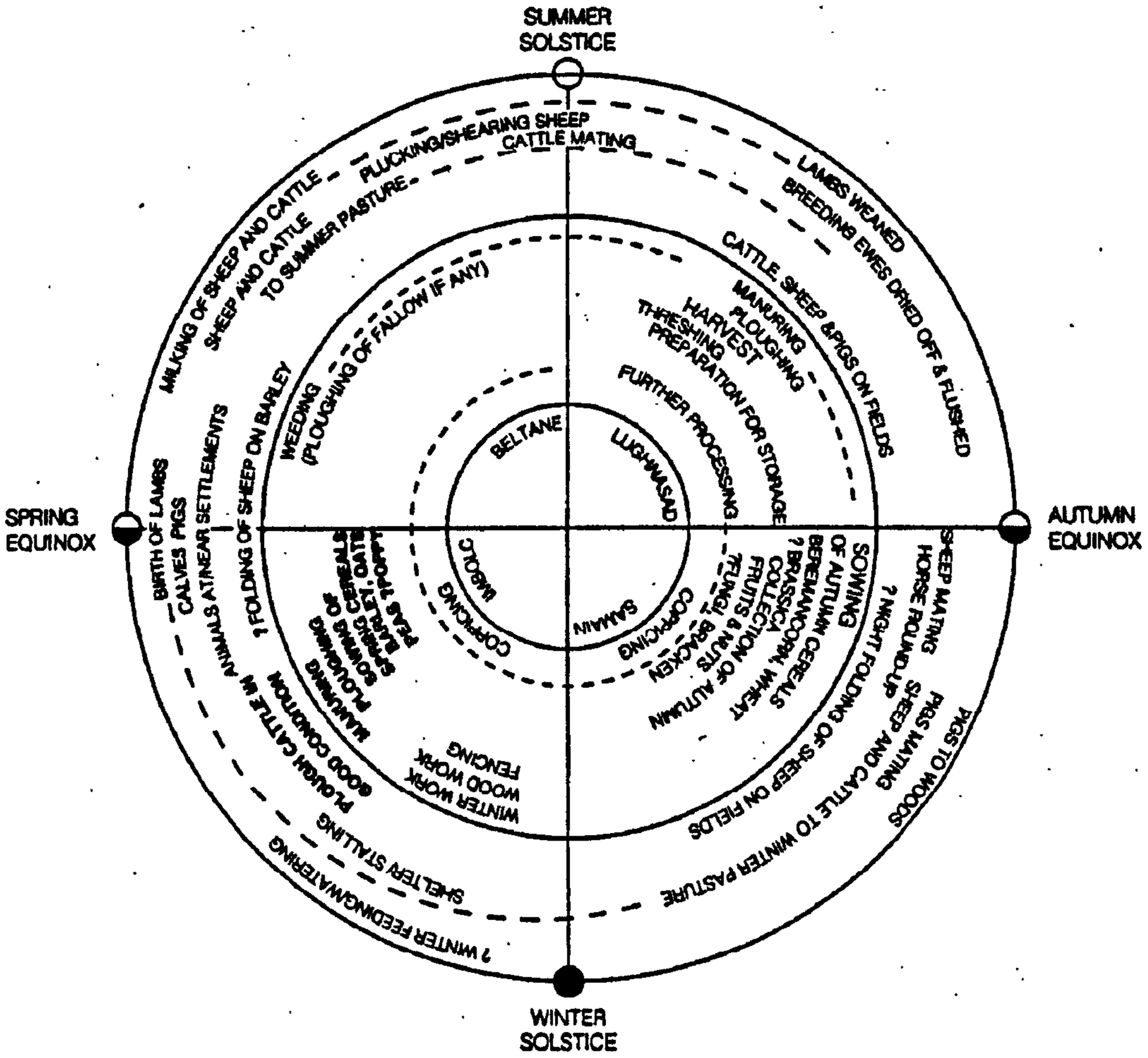


Figure 6.10 – Plan of the Bromfield enclosure (Source – Stanford 1995: 102, Fig. 3).

Stippled areas represent early medieval burials.

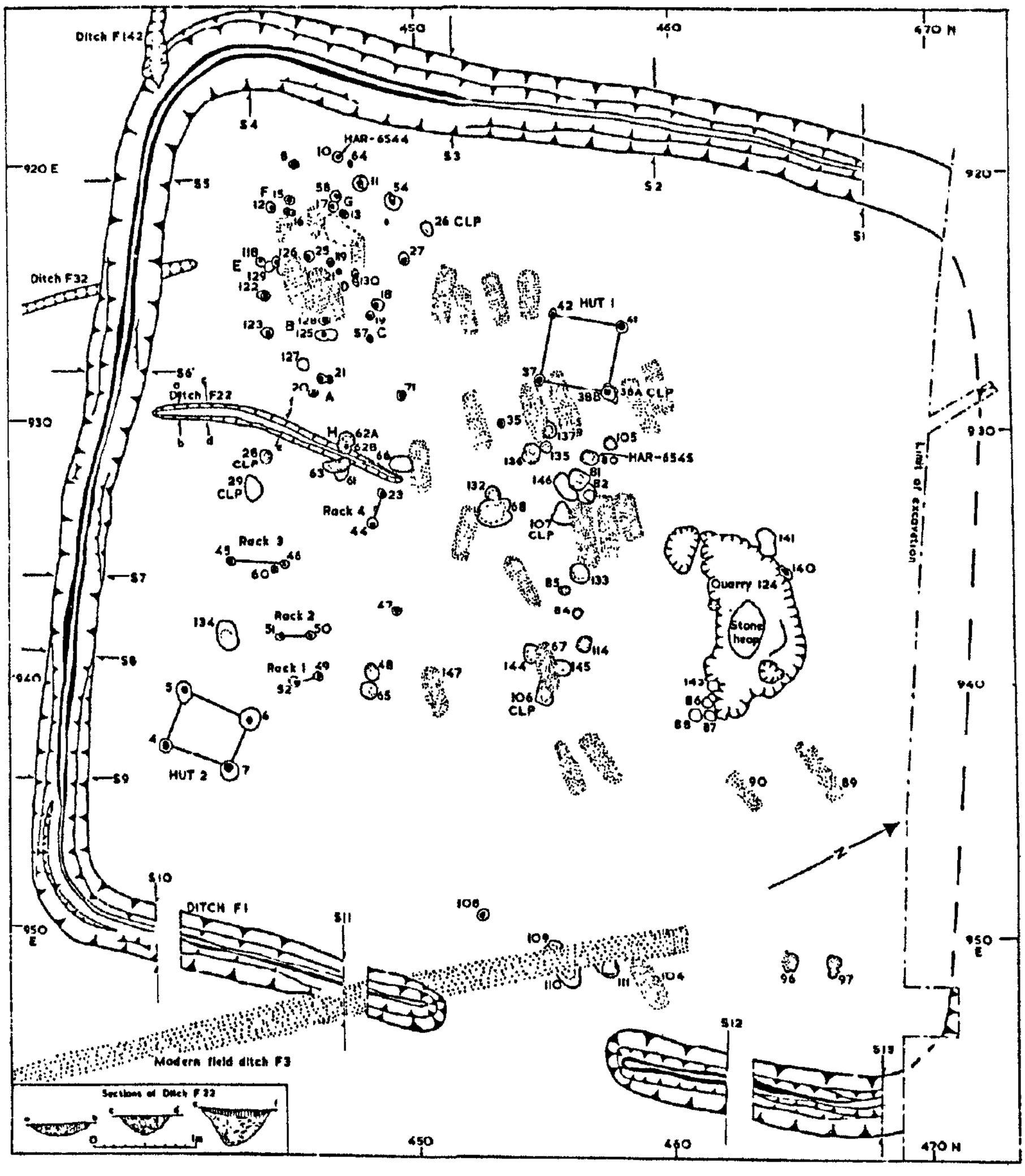


Figure 6.12 – Sharpstones Hill, Site E (Source – Barker *et al* 1991: 32, Fig. 12).

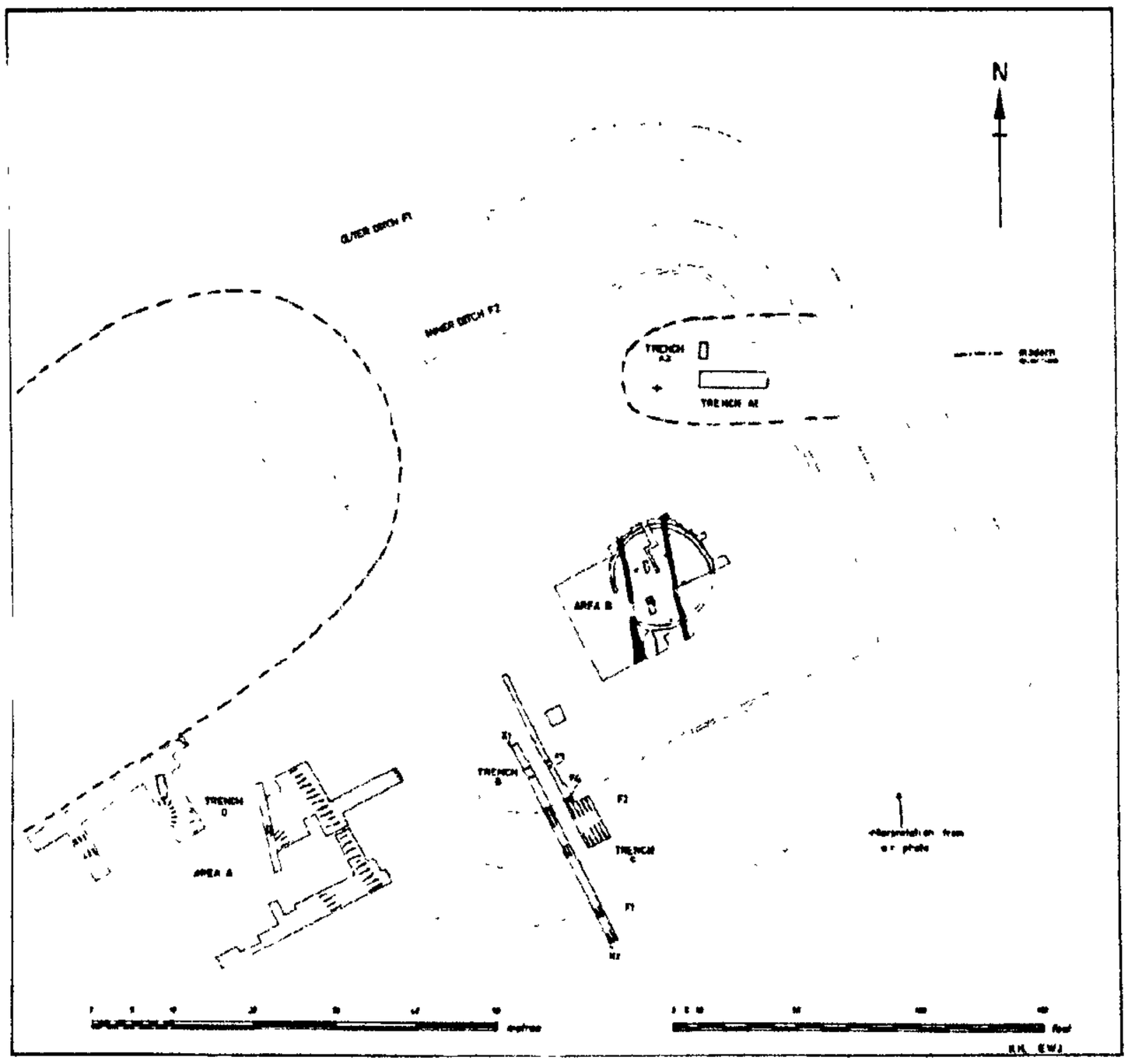


Figure 6.13 – The Tycoch Farm enclosure (Source Hannaford 1993: Fig. 7).

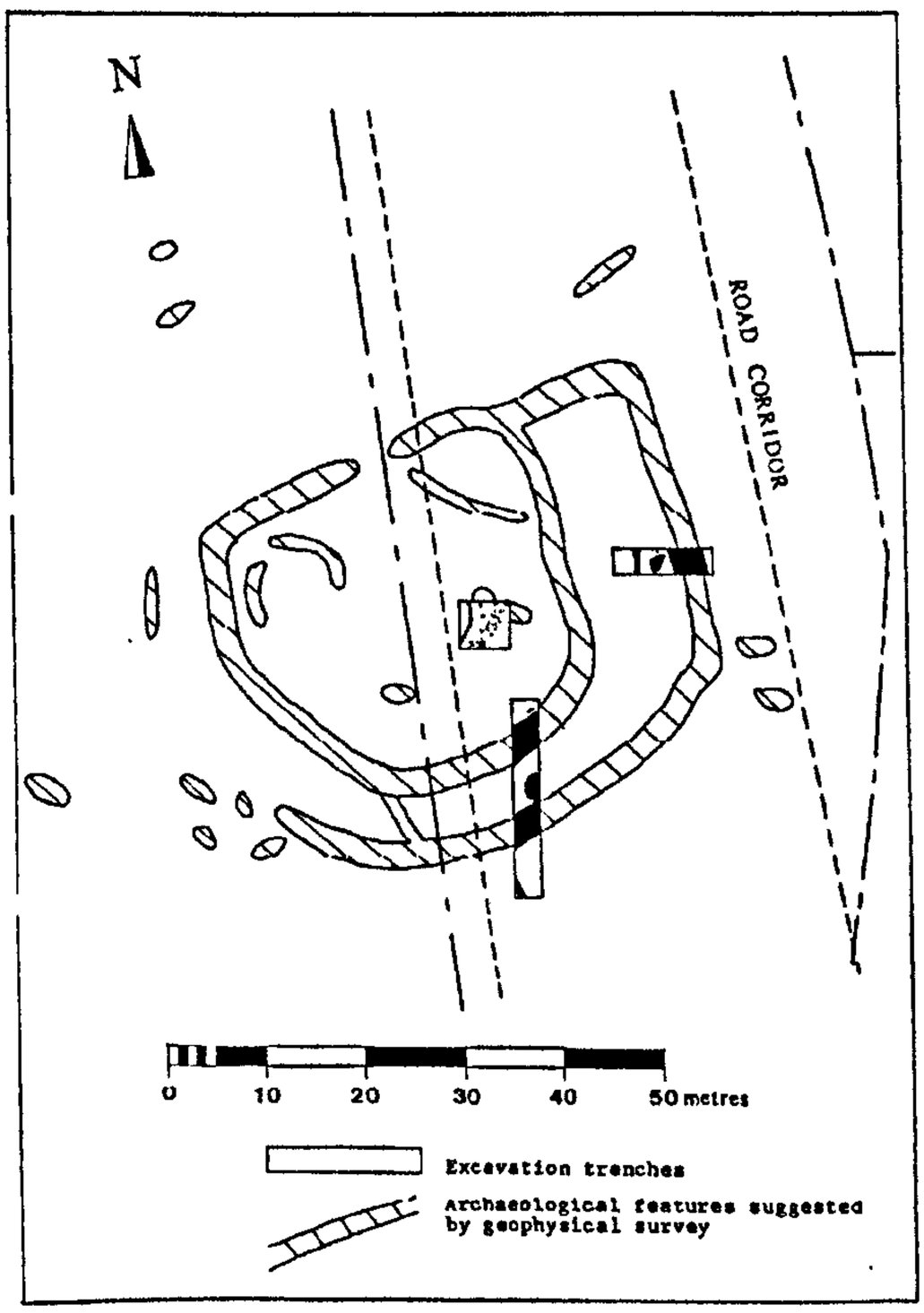


Figure 6.14 – The Collfryn hillslope enclosure (Source – Musson 1991: 188, Fig. 75).

A – Enclosure earthworks in the earlier Iron Age phases (i.e. 3rd-2nd centuries BC).
B – Enclosure earthworks in the later Iron Age phases (i.e. 1st century BC +).

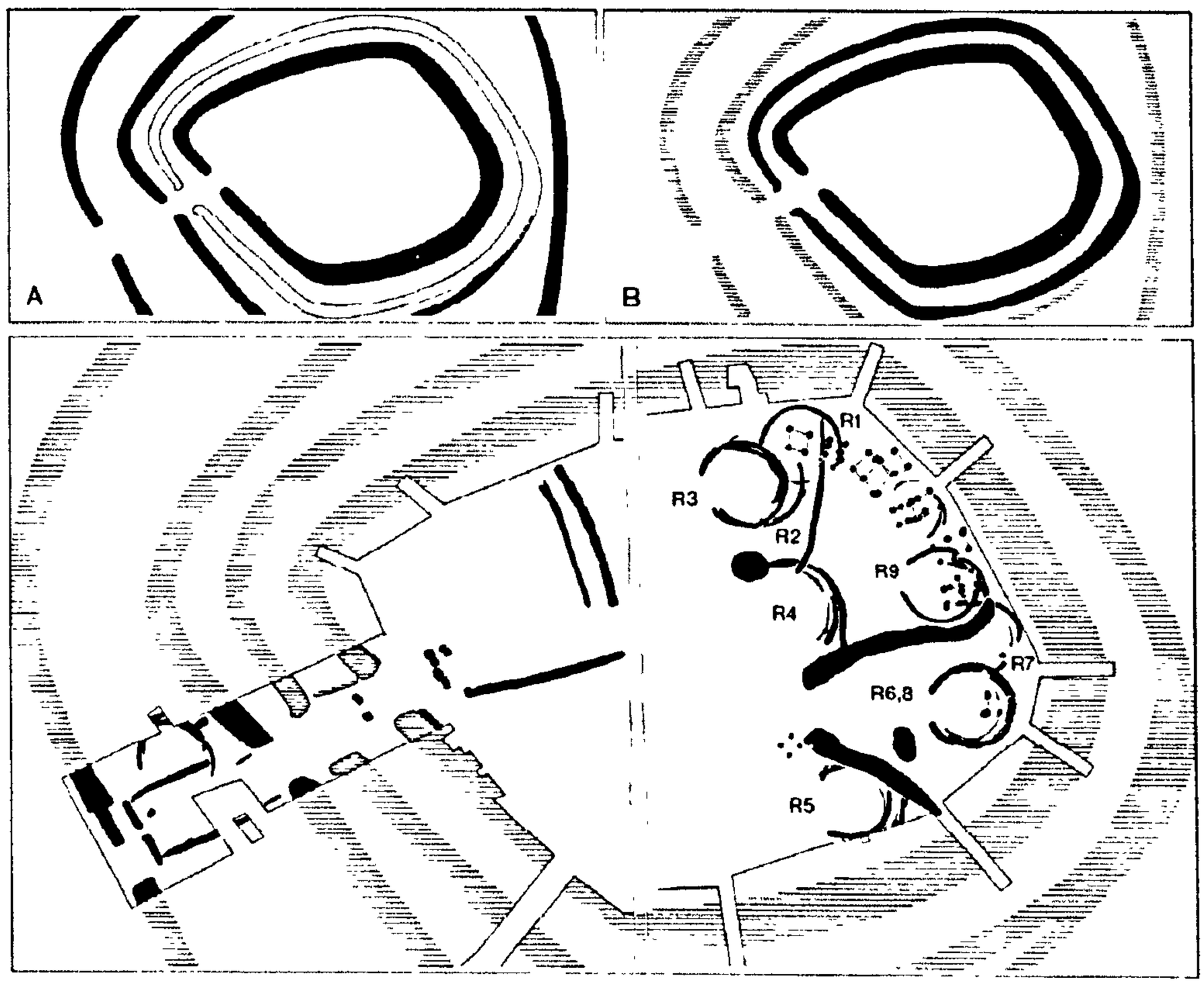


Figure 6.15 – Section of the enclosure ditch at Castle Farm showing lozenge shaped slots in the base of the ditch (Source – Roe: 73, Fig24).

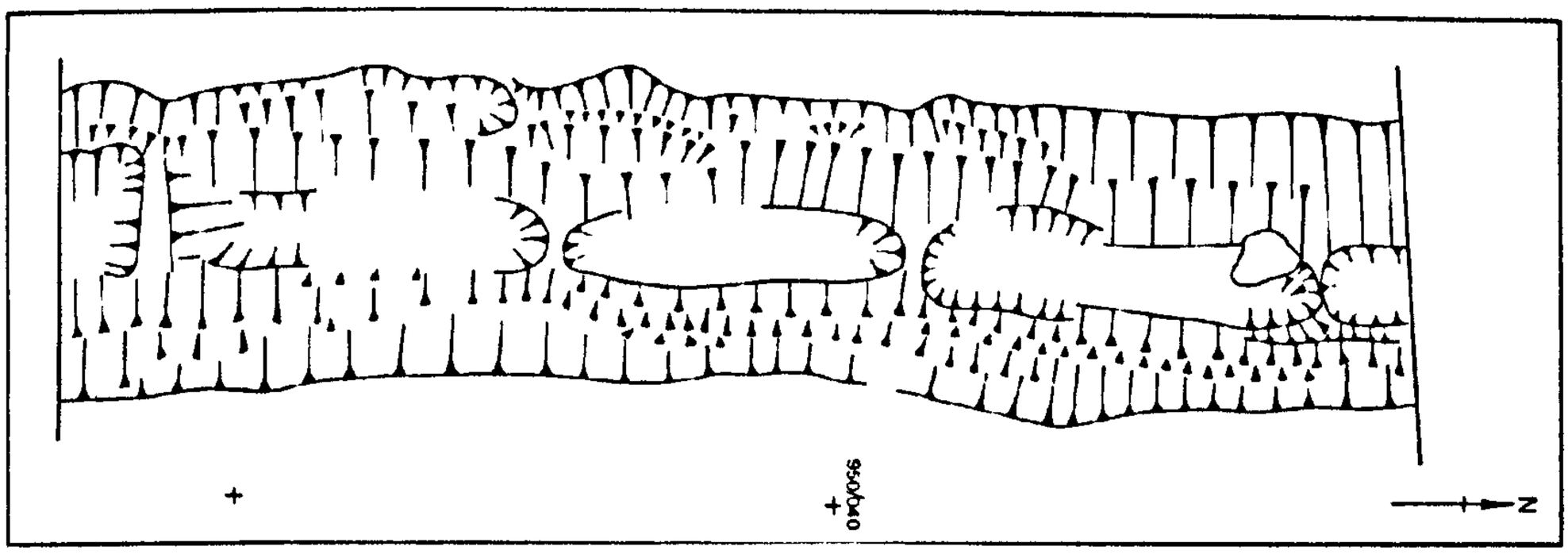


Figure 6.16 – Plan of Croft Ambrey (Source – Stanford 1974, Fig. 1).

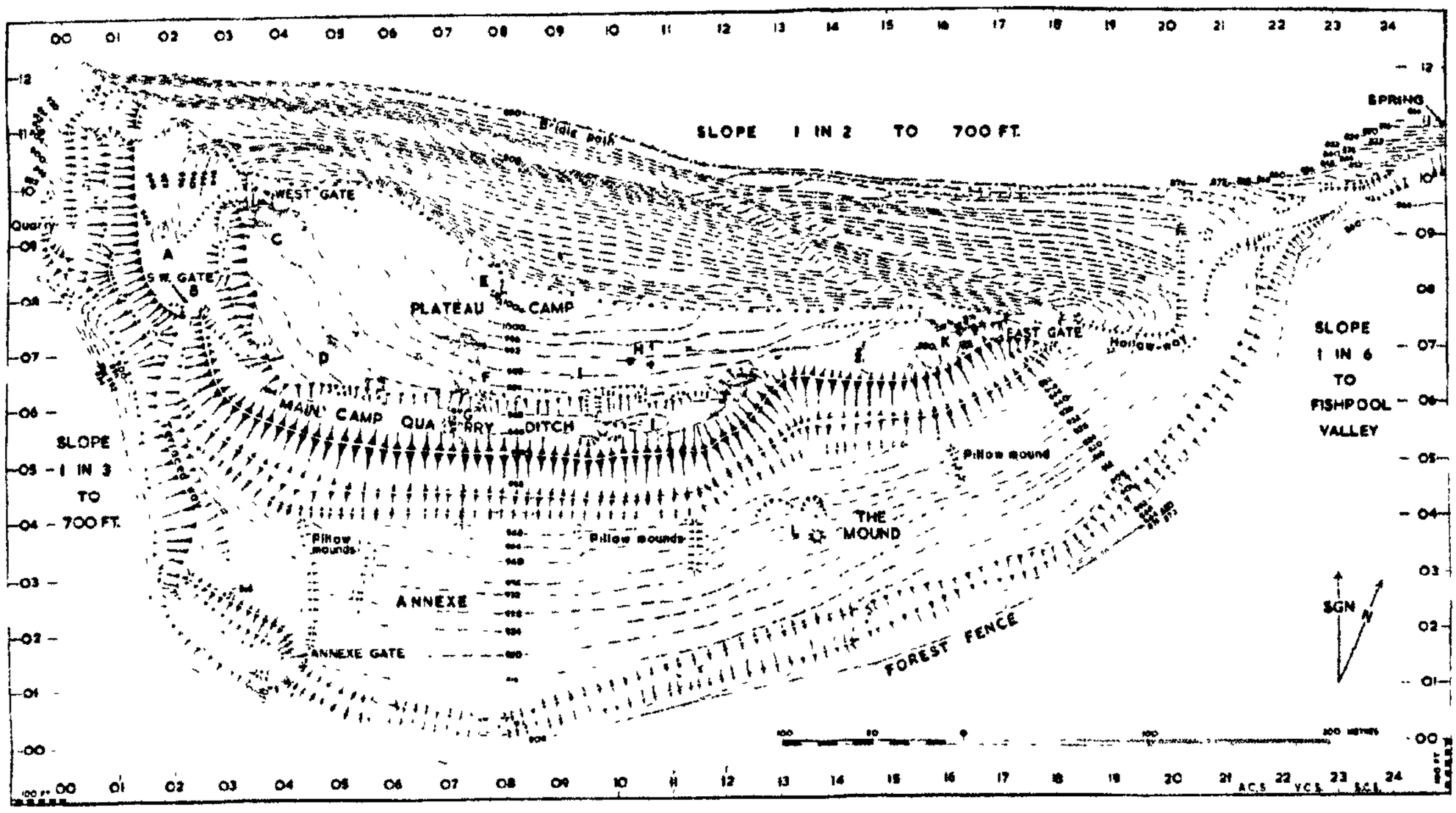


Figure 6.17 Plan of Ivington Camp (Source – Dalwood *et al* 1997: 5, Fig. 1).

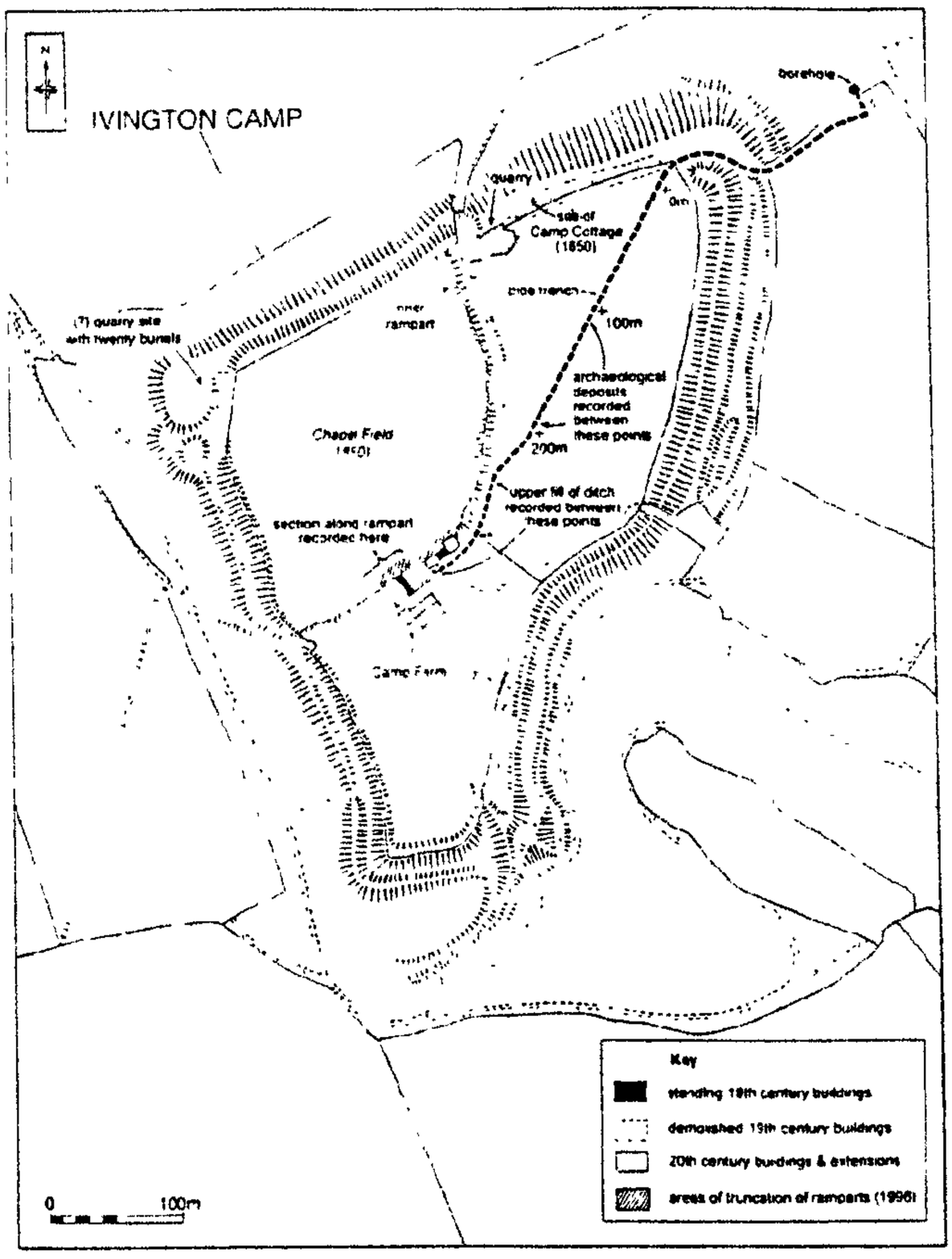


Figure 6.18 – Longitudinal section through the inner rampart at Ivington Camp showing postholes from the rampart timbers (Source – Dalwood *et al* 1997: 11, Fig. 3).

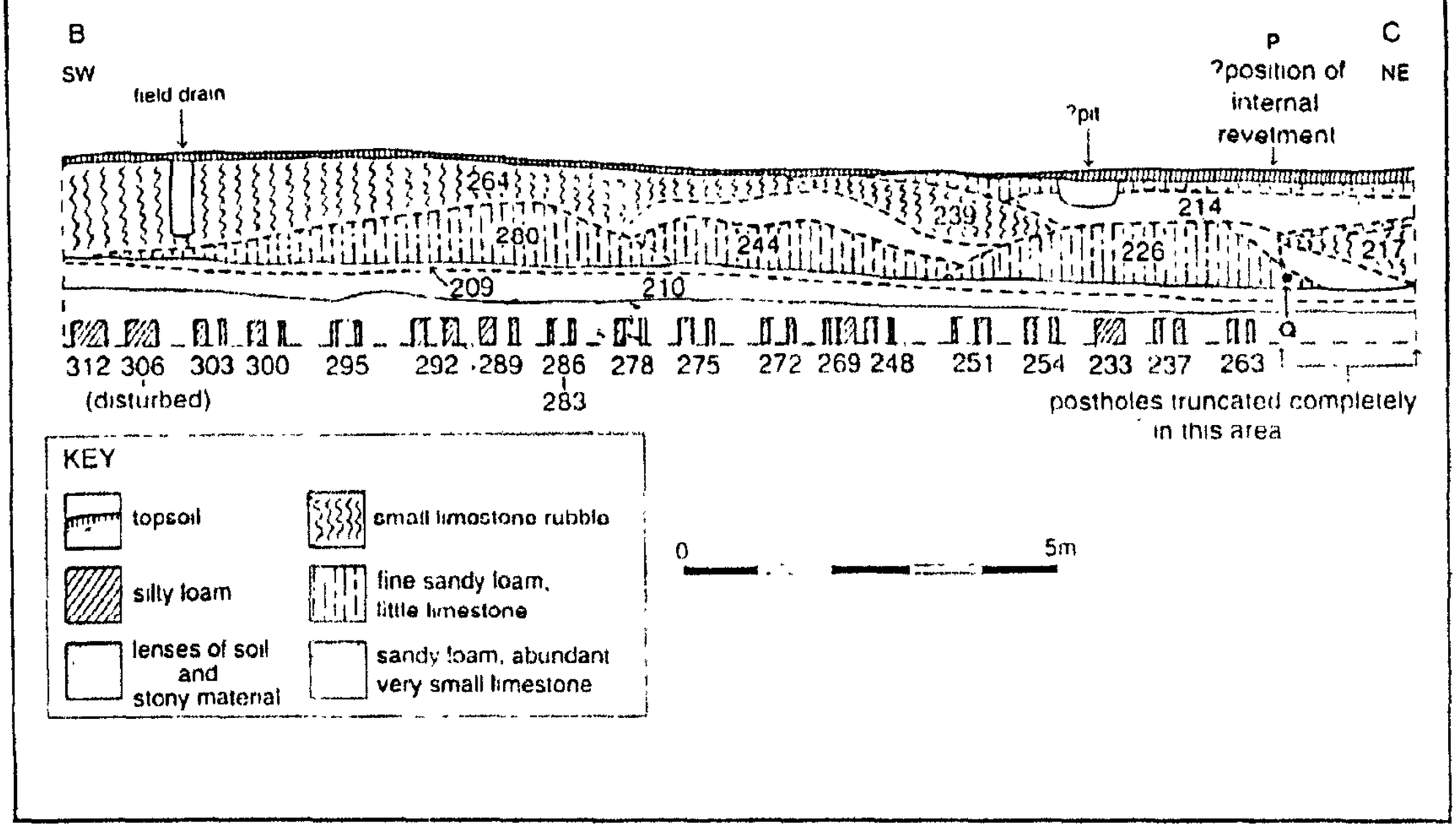


Figure 6.19 – Iron Age rampart at the Breiddin (Source – Musson 1991: 40, Fig. 21).

The small arrows along the rear revetment of the rampart denote possible 'gang breaks'. Two multiphase roundhouses and four four-posters are also visible in the lee of the rampart.

Figure 6.20 – Section through the Main Rampart at Croft Ambrey (Source – Stanford 1974, Fig. 10).

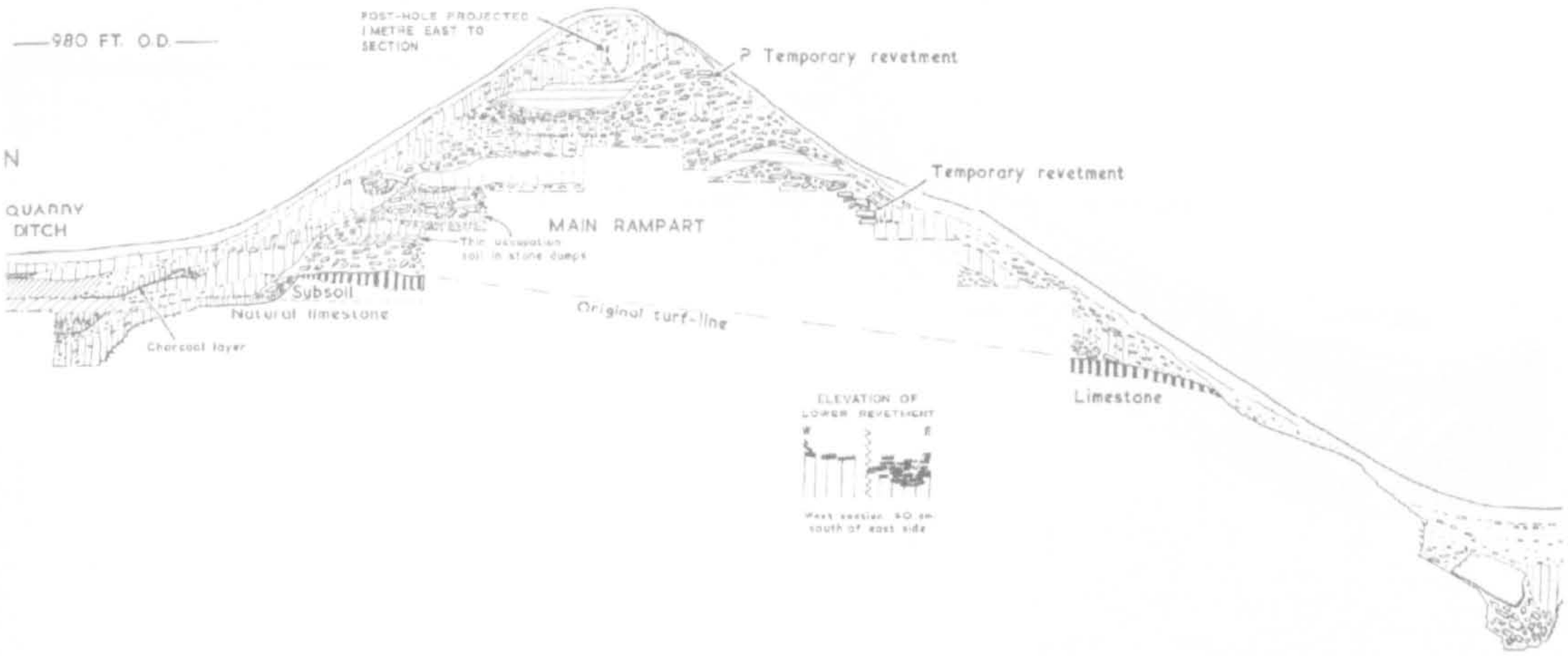


Figure 6.21 – The sequence from the south-west gate at Croft Ambrey (Source – Stanford 1974: 45, Fig. 12).

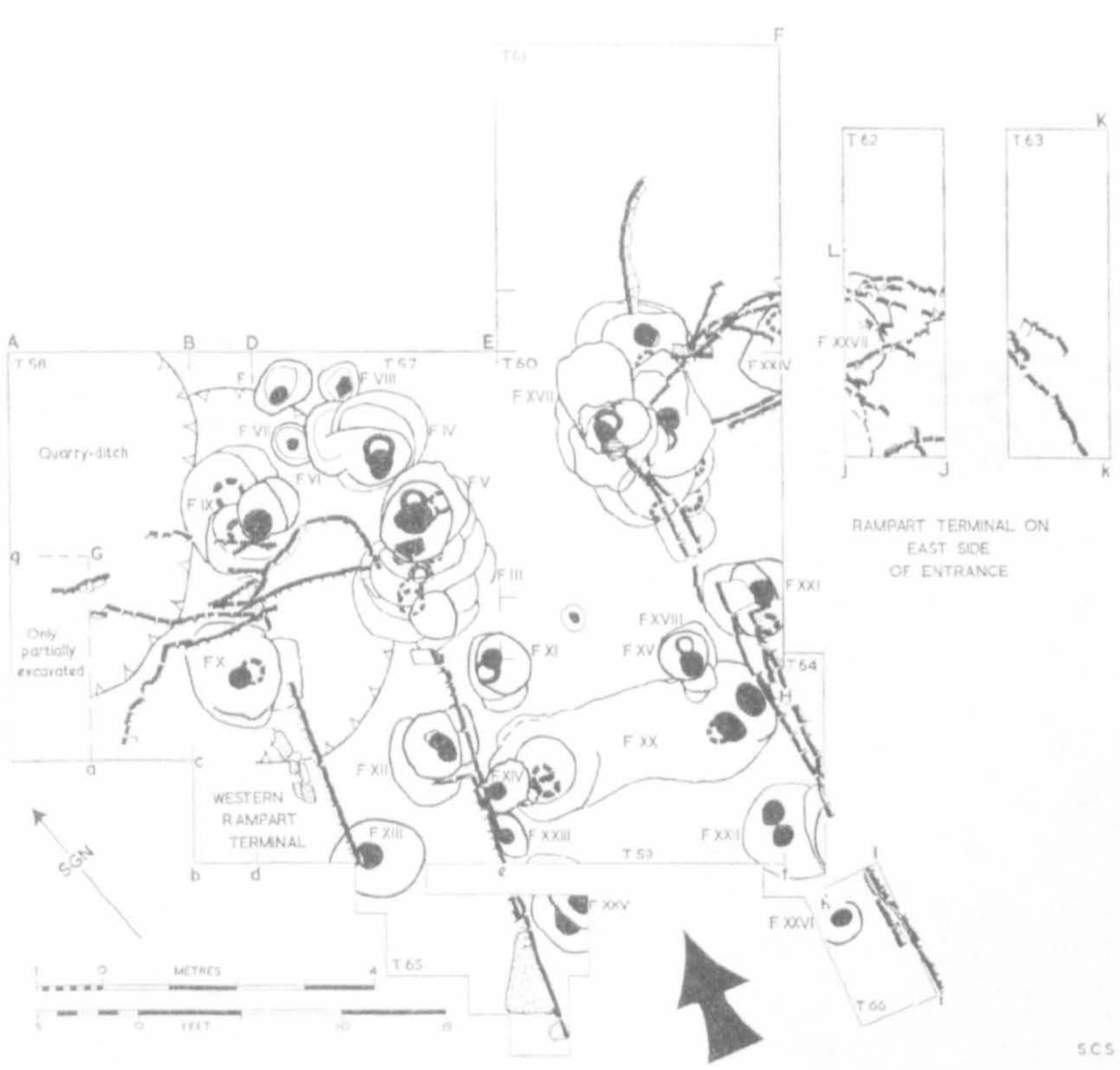


Figure 6.22 – O'Neil's Section A through Rampart III at Ffridd Faldwyn (Source – O'Neil 1942, Fig. 3).

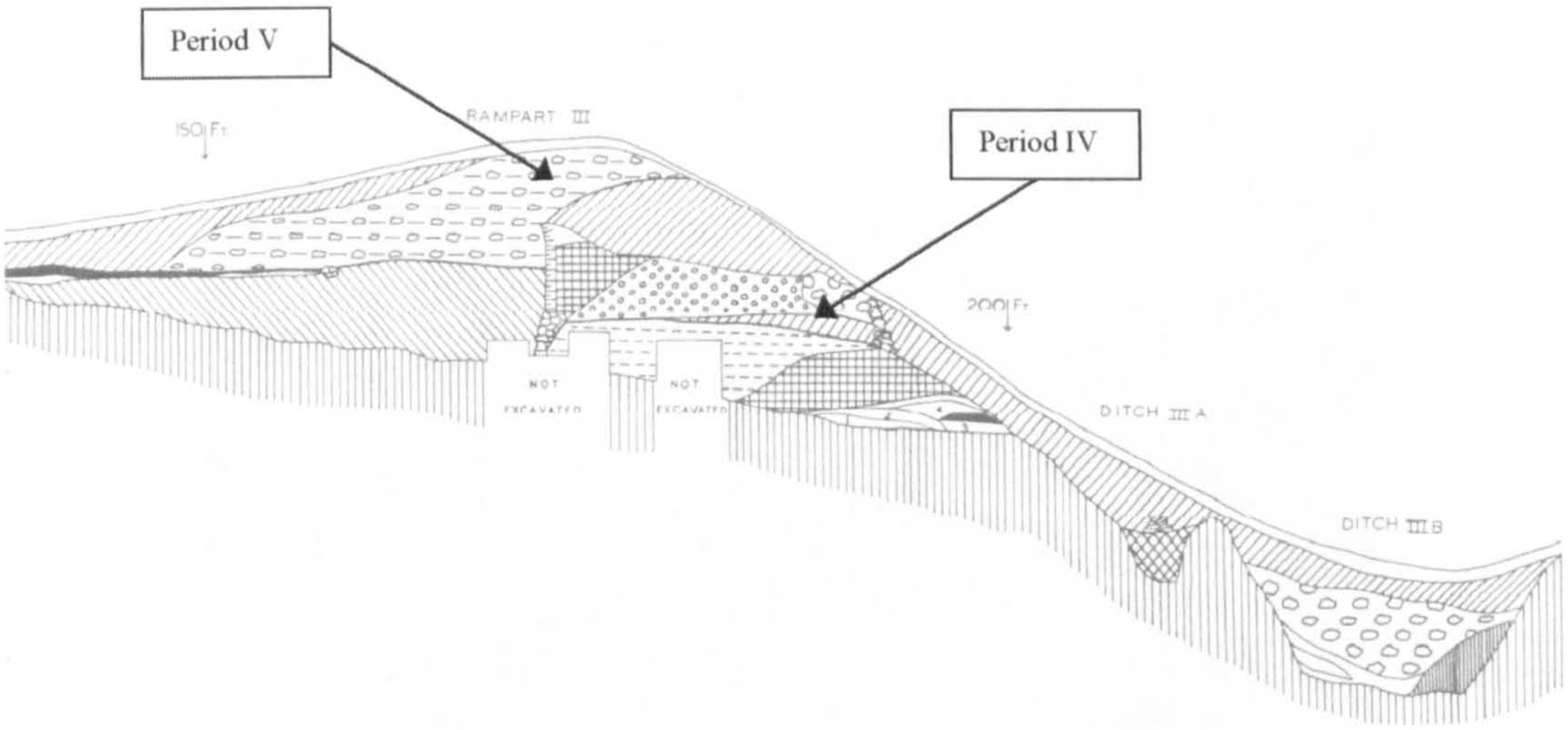


Figure 6.23 – Wooden sword from Buckbean Pond on the Breiddin (Source Musson 1991: 165, Fig. 67).

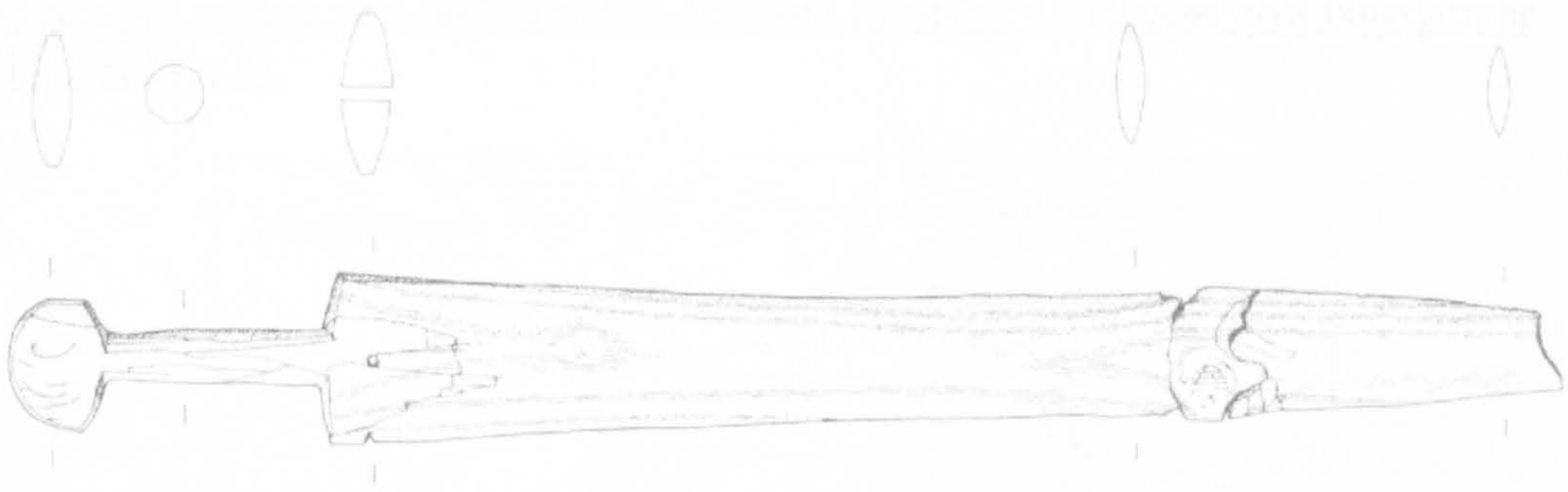
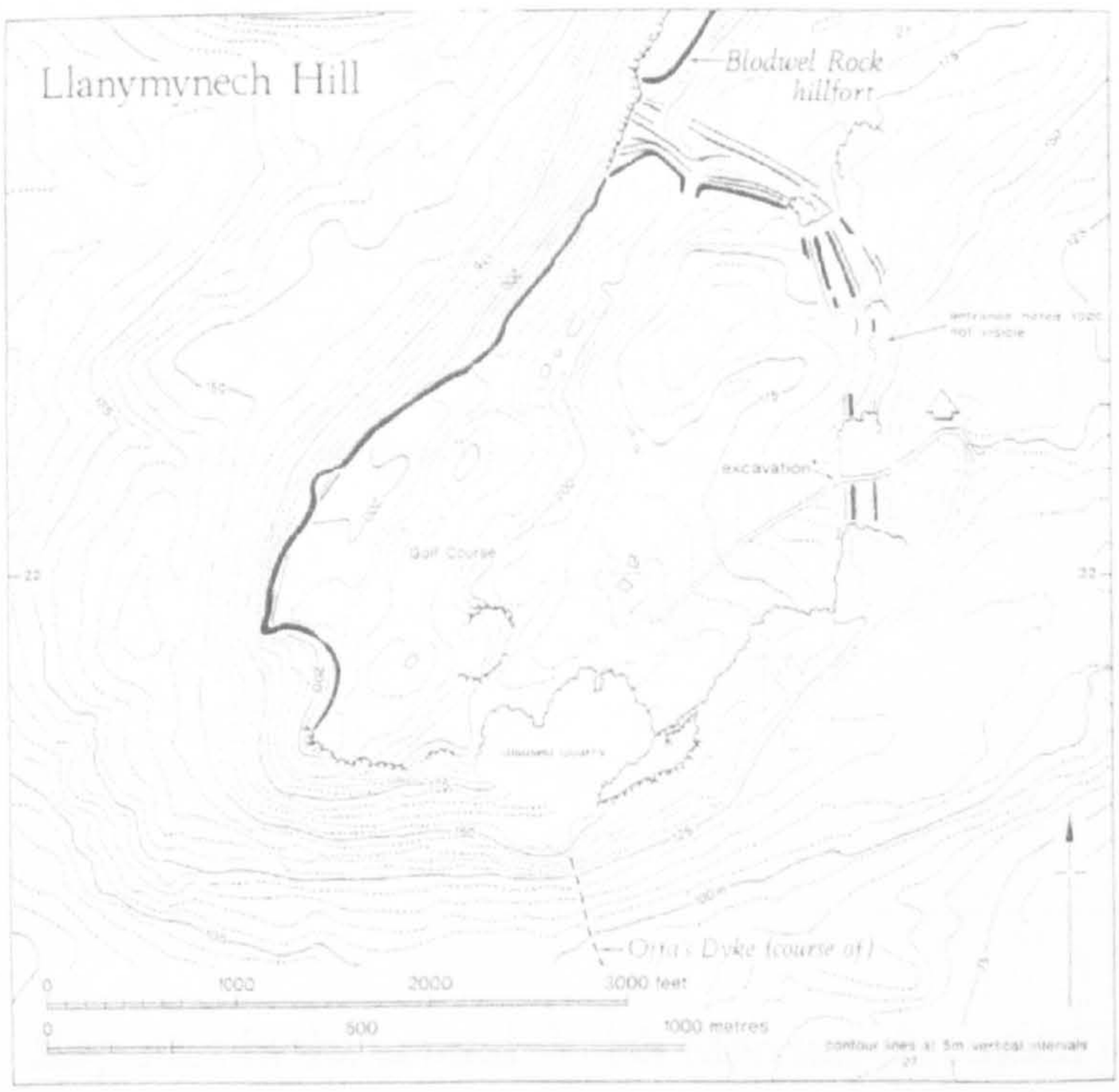


Figure 6.24 – Burial of a goat skeleton in the quarry ditch at Croft Ambrey (Source – Stanford: XIB).

Figure 6.25 – Plan of Llanymynech Hillfort (Source – Musson and Northover 1989: 16, Fig. 1).



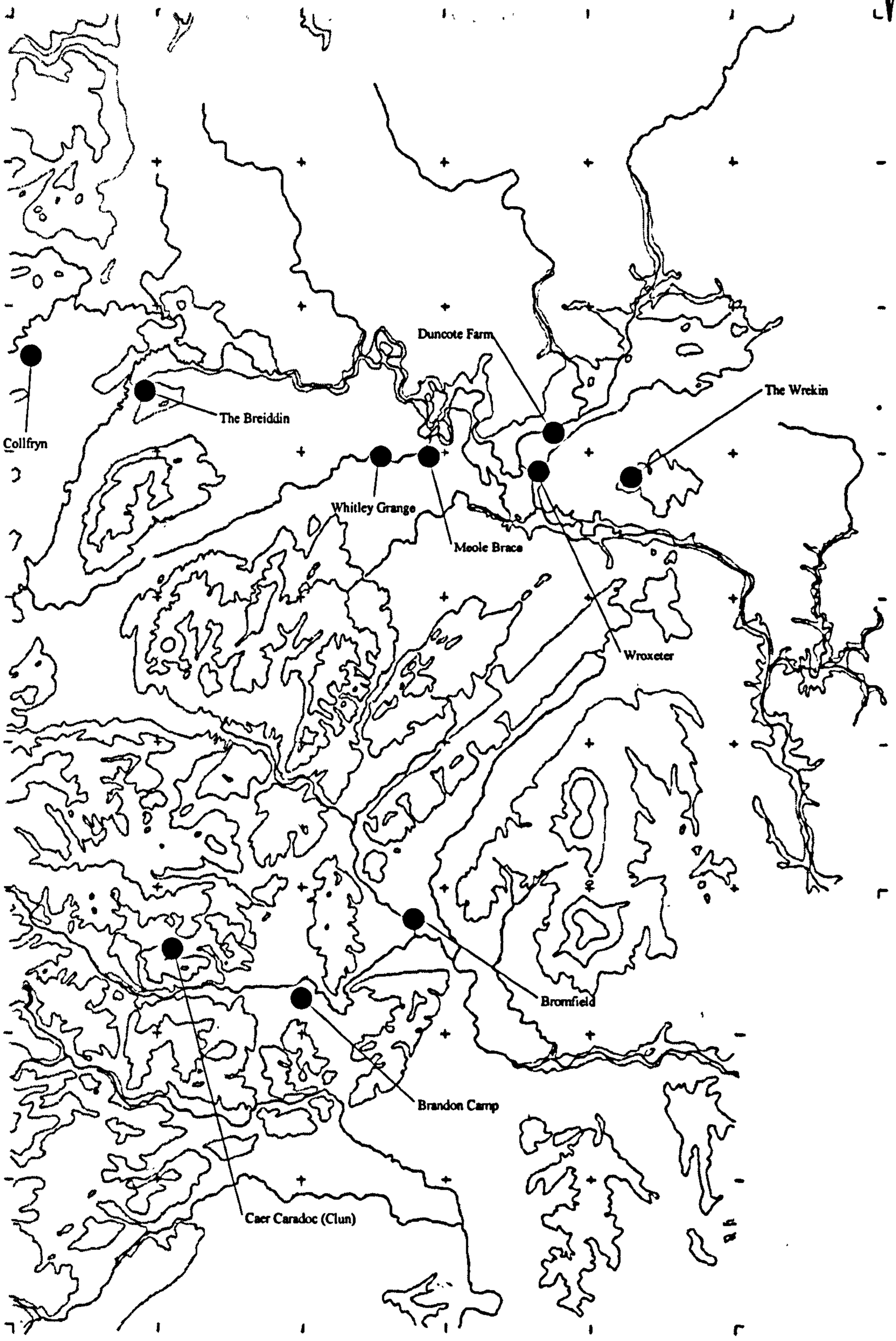


Figure 7.1 - Key sites in the central Welsh Marches discussed in Chapter 7.

Figure 7.2 – Haverfield's Military (a) and Civilian (b) Districts (Source: Hingley 2000: 127, Fig. 9.3).

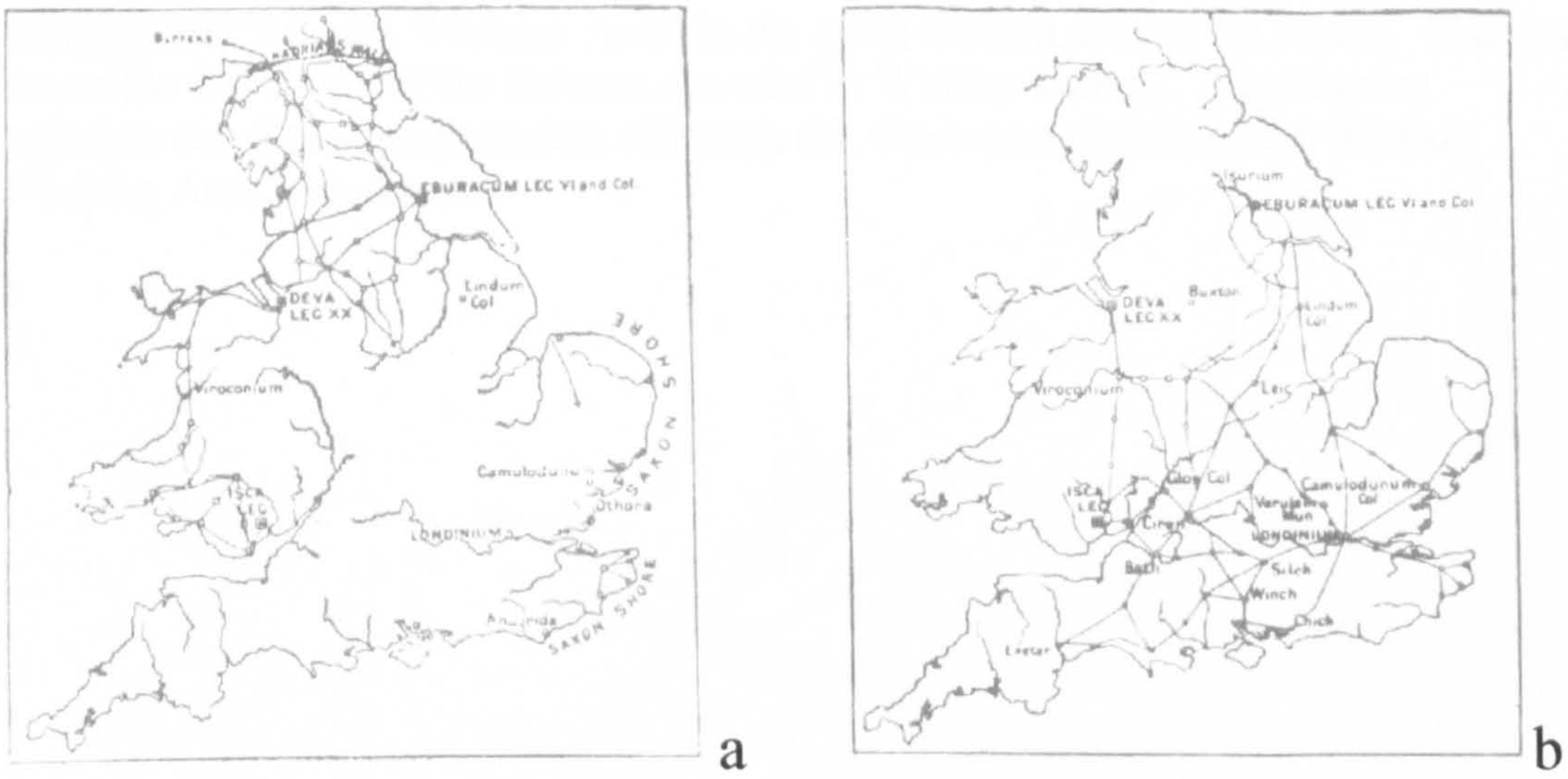


Figure 7.3 – Map showing transects used during the Wroxeter Hinterland Project (Source: White 1997: 2, Fig. 1).

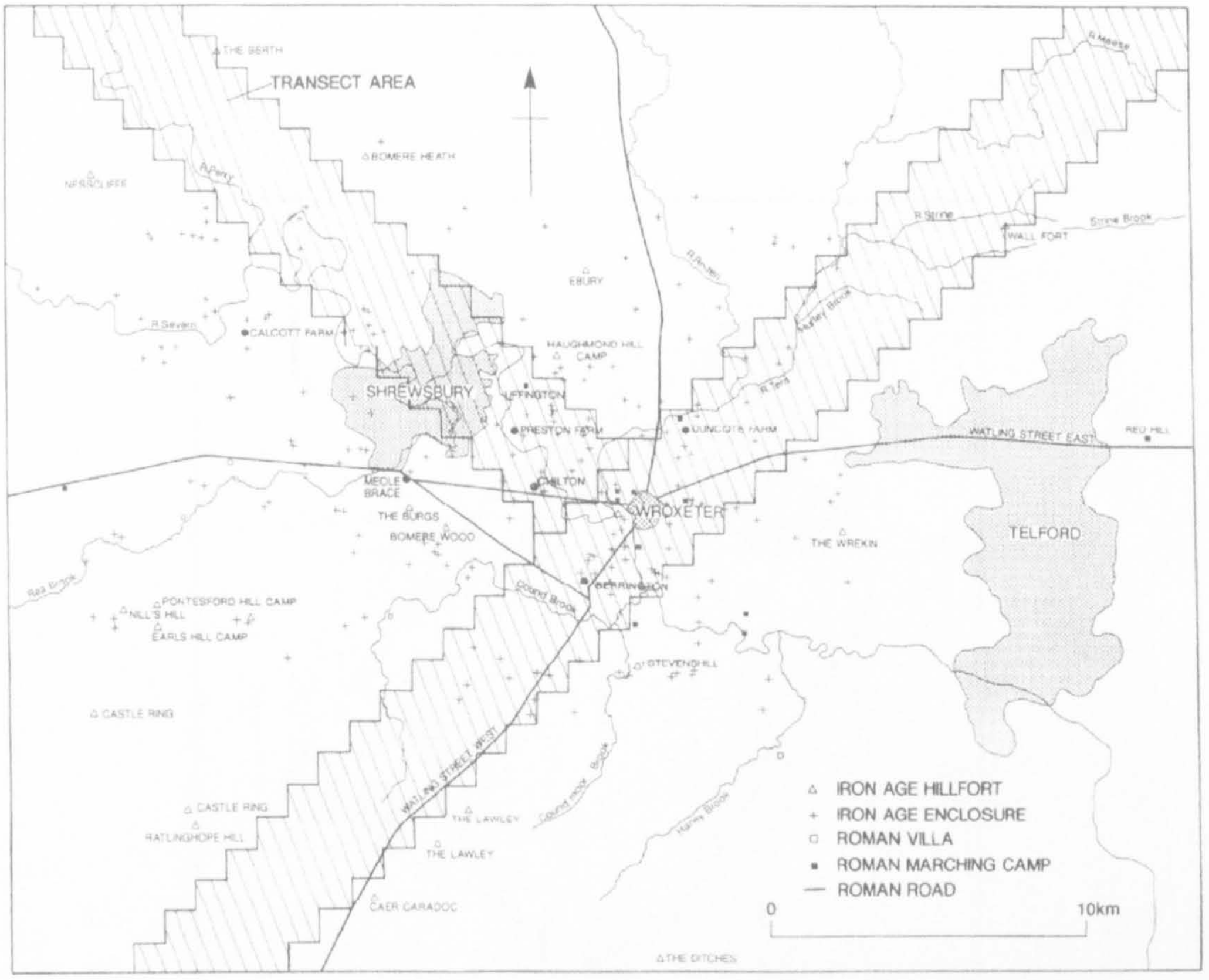
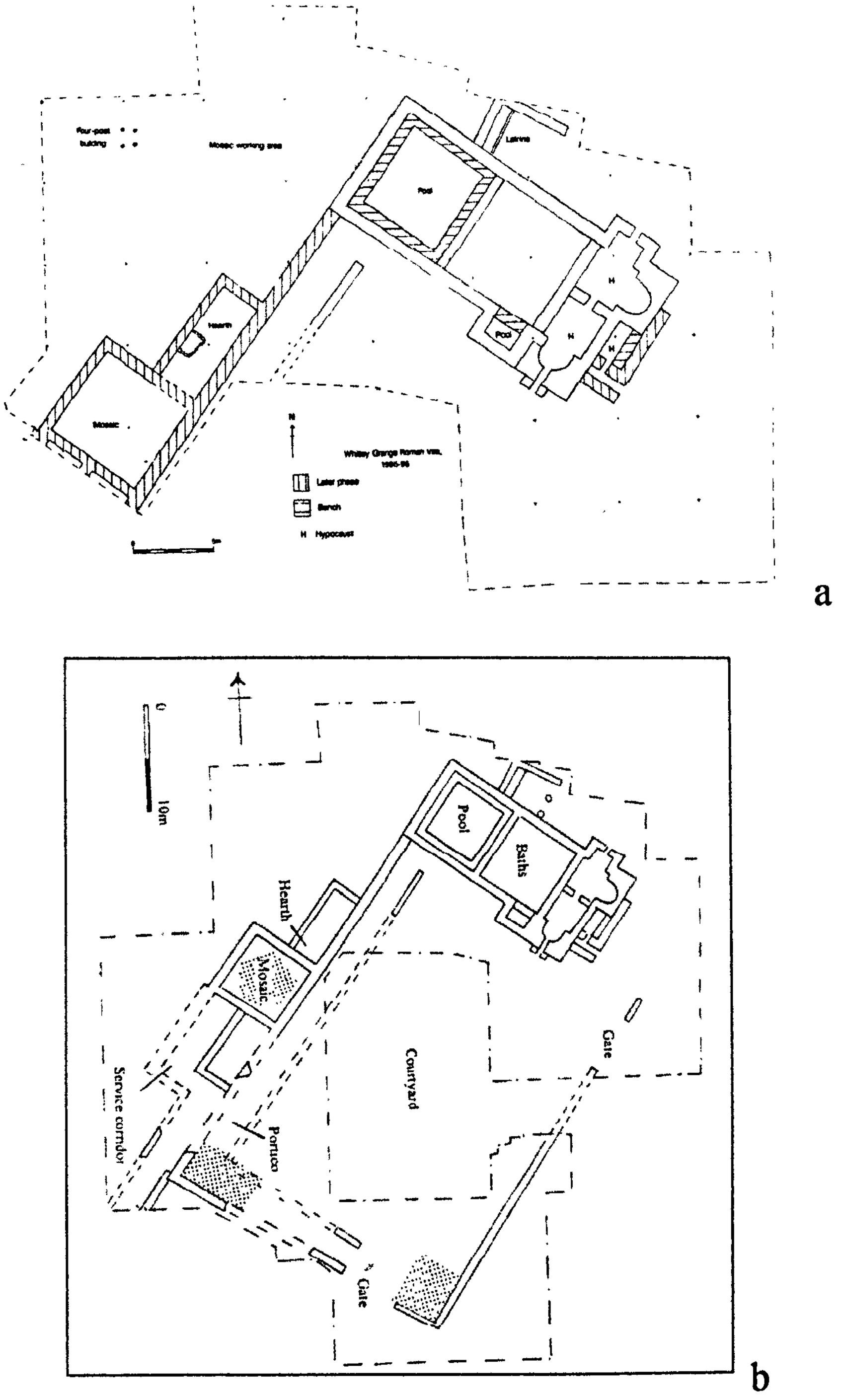


Figure 7.4 – Site Plans of the villa complex at Whitley Grange (Source: (a) White 1997: 3, Fig. 2; (b) White and Barker 1998: 110, Fig. 57).

Plan (a) shows the extent of the 1995-6 excavation of the villa. Note the 'Four-post Building and 'Mosaic Working Area' in the north-eastern area of the trench. Plan (b) shows the full extent of the features revealed at Whitley Grange. Toned areas represent sub-Roman occupation, although the 'Four-post Building and 'Mosaic Working Area' are absent.



a

b

Figure 7.5 – Plan of the latest Iron Age and Romano-British features at the Collfryn enclosure, Powys. (Source: Britnel *et al* 1989: 123, Fig. 24).

Figure 7.6 – Possible Late Iron Age wheel turned pottery from the central Welsh Marches. (Soruce: (1-3) Frere 1987: 86, Fig. 20; (5 & 6) Britnell *et al* 1989: 126, Fig. 27).

1-3 were recovered from Brandon Camp, 5 & 6 are from Collfryn.

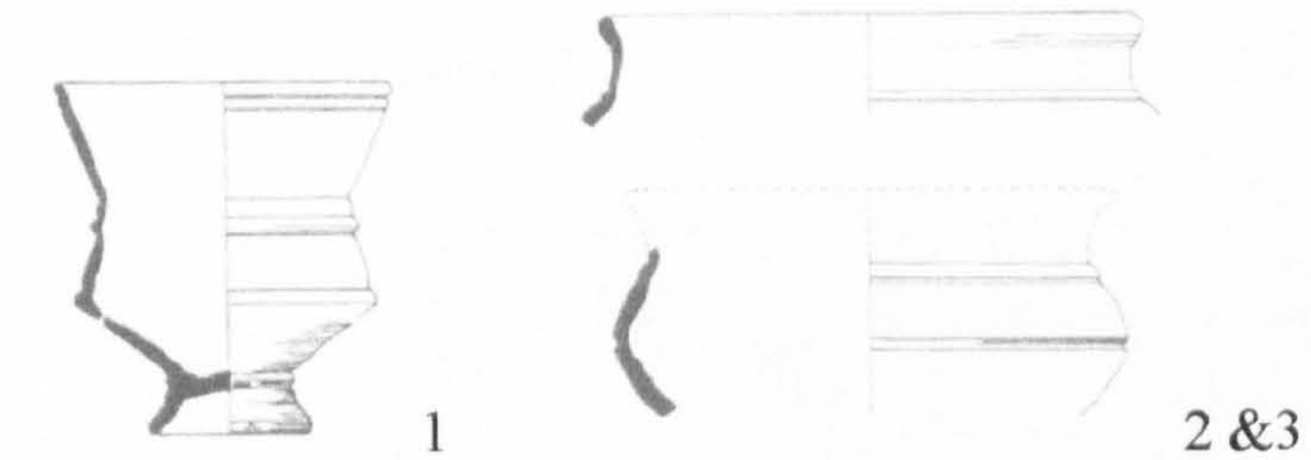


Figure 7.6 – Plan of the excavated sequence from Duncote Farm, central Shropshire (Source: Jones 1994b: 60, Fig.32).

Phase 1 – Iron Age, Phase 2 – 2nd Century AD, Phase 3 & 4-5 – late 2nd century +.

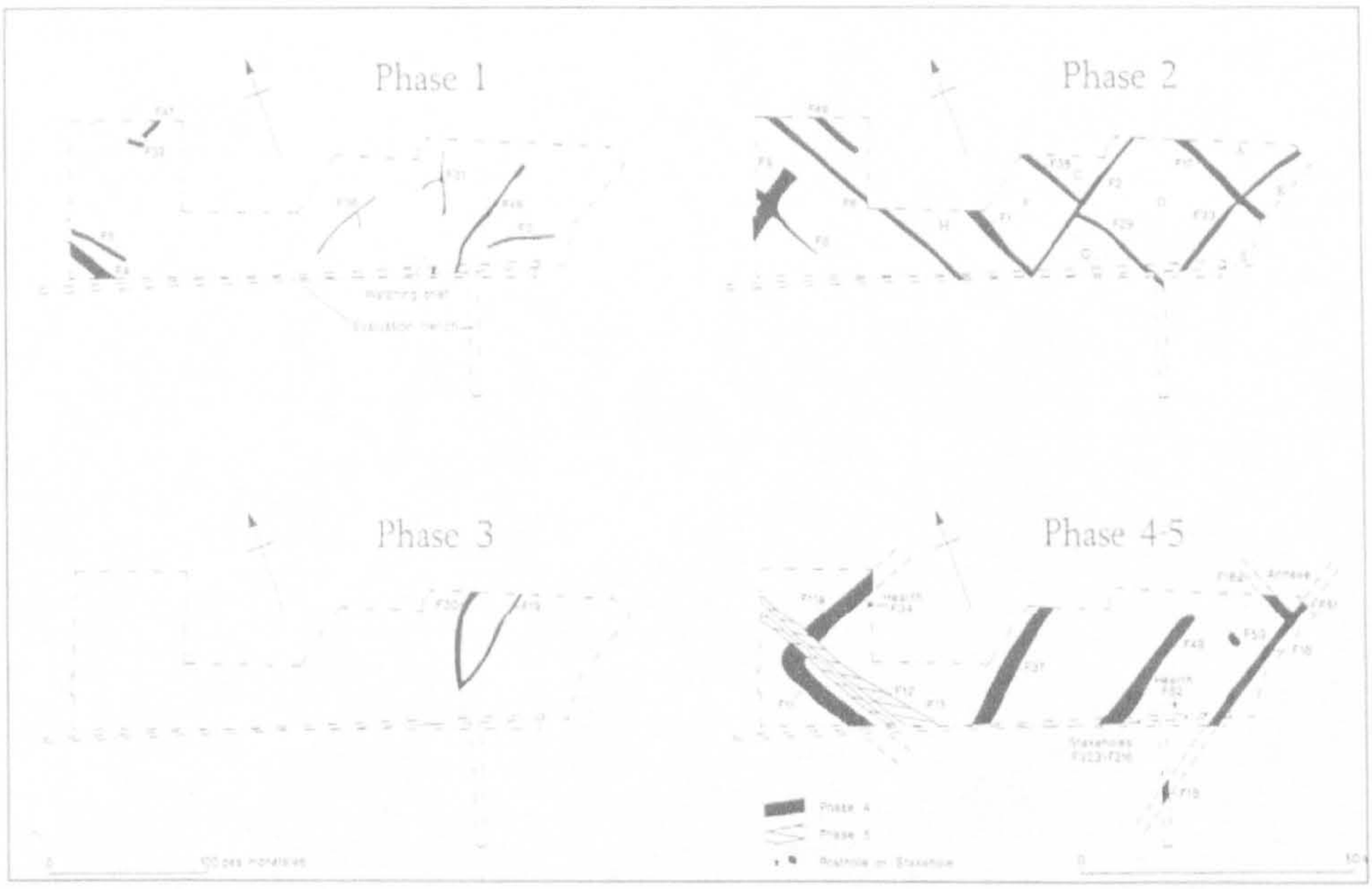


Figure 7.7 – Plan of the sequence at the roadside settlement, Meole Brace, central Shropshire. (Hughes 1994b: 35, Fig. 17).

Phase 1&2 – AD 70 – 200, Phase 3 – AD 200, Phase 4 – AD 200-250, Phase 5 – 250-300, Phase 6 – AD 300+