

Chapter 4

Late Iron Age and Early Roman Activity at Longdoles Field (Phase 2)

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INTRODUCTION

During the early 1st century AD, a new area of occupation was established in Longdoles Field, approximately 120 m south-west of the middle Iron Age settlement (Fig. 4.1). Virtually all activity of this phase was located within the eastern part of the main excavated area (Trench 13; Fig. 4.2), although trial trenching and salvage work further to the south revealed linear boundaries and enclosures which may well have been of the same date.

A nucleated area (*c* 2400 m²) comprising a series of enclosures lay at the heart of the settlement, partly defined towards the end of the phase by a substantial boundary ditch (2502) along the western side. The interior of the nucleated area comprised a complex series of gullies, pits, small enclosures and boundaries. No clear evidence for buildings was recovered. Pottery, small finds and ironworking debris indicate occupation and industrial activity, while the environmental evidence suggests that enclosures were used for the herding of domestic animals that were grazed on the floodplain and islands of gravel terrace. Outside Trench 13, the only major excavated feature which may belong to Phase 2 was ditch 2930 to the west, which ran across the top of Trench 19 and into Trench 29 (Fig. 4.1). Additionally, faint traces of shallow linear gullies in Trench 19 were on the same axis as Phase 2 features in the south of Trench 13, which suggests some limited spread of activity from this area. To the south of the main settlement were a series of linear ditches showing as cropmarks, which appear to relate to the Phase 2 site, while to the north, in Warrens Field, were three enclosures that may also belong to this phase, although their chronology is far from certain.

The phase seems to have ended quite abruptly during the early 2nd century AD, with the imposition of the large rectangular enclosures and aisled buildings of Phase 3 at the Longdoles Field site (see Chapter 5).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

(Figs 4.2 and 4.3)

The stratigraphic and spatial relationships of Phase 2 features in Trench 13 indicated four sub-phases, dated on the basis of the pottery (Fig. 4.3).

Occupation appears to have lasted for approximately one century from *c* AD 25 to 125. Chronological divisions within this period are problematic and pottery from many features was sparse, and so the dating is therefore tentative.

Full stratigraphic descriptions of the features from this phase of Claydon Pike can be found in Digital section 2.3.

Phase 2a (Fig. 4.3a)

The earliest features in Trench 13 were generally quite insubstantial, comprising a sub-enclosure (SE 1) and a number of circular and linear gullies. Activity in this phase appears to have been concentrated in the north and east of the trench, and the predominant pottery from the features suggests a date from *c* AD 25 to 100.

Sub-enclosures

Sub-enclosure 1 was positioned on the north side of Trench 13 and formed a three-sided enclosure open to the east. The long axis measured 15 m north-south, with the two east-west arms being 8 m in length. The northern terminal had been truncated by Phase 4 feature E 22 and could not be definitely traced. The enclosure ditch was relatively broad with gently sloping sides, *c* 1.6 m wide and *c* 0.6 m deep. Finds were sparse, comprising pottery and a few iron nails. Over 130 animal bone fragments were also recovered, with horse being the most numerous of the identifiable species. Stratigraphically the enclosure was cut by north-south linear ditch 2602, and the east-west section of ditch 2502.

Linear boundaries

The earliest feature in the southern part of Trench 13 was ditch 644 (1 m wide, 0.6 m deep), which formed an arc with a 22.5 m diameter, open to the west and south. Two cuts were apparent in the ditch, with the later being much more substantial. Finds were few and included pottery, daub and intrusive window glass. In the eastern part of the trench, there appears to have been a rectangular plot formed by three gullies. The longest (592) was aligned in a straight line on a NE-SW axis for *c* 37 m along the eastern

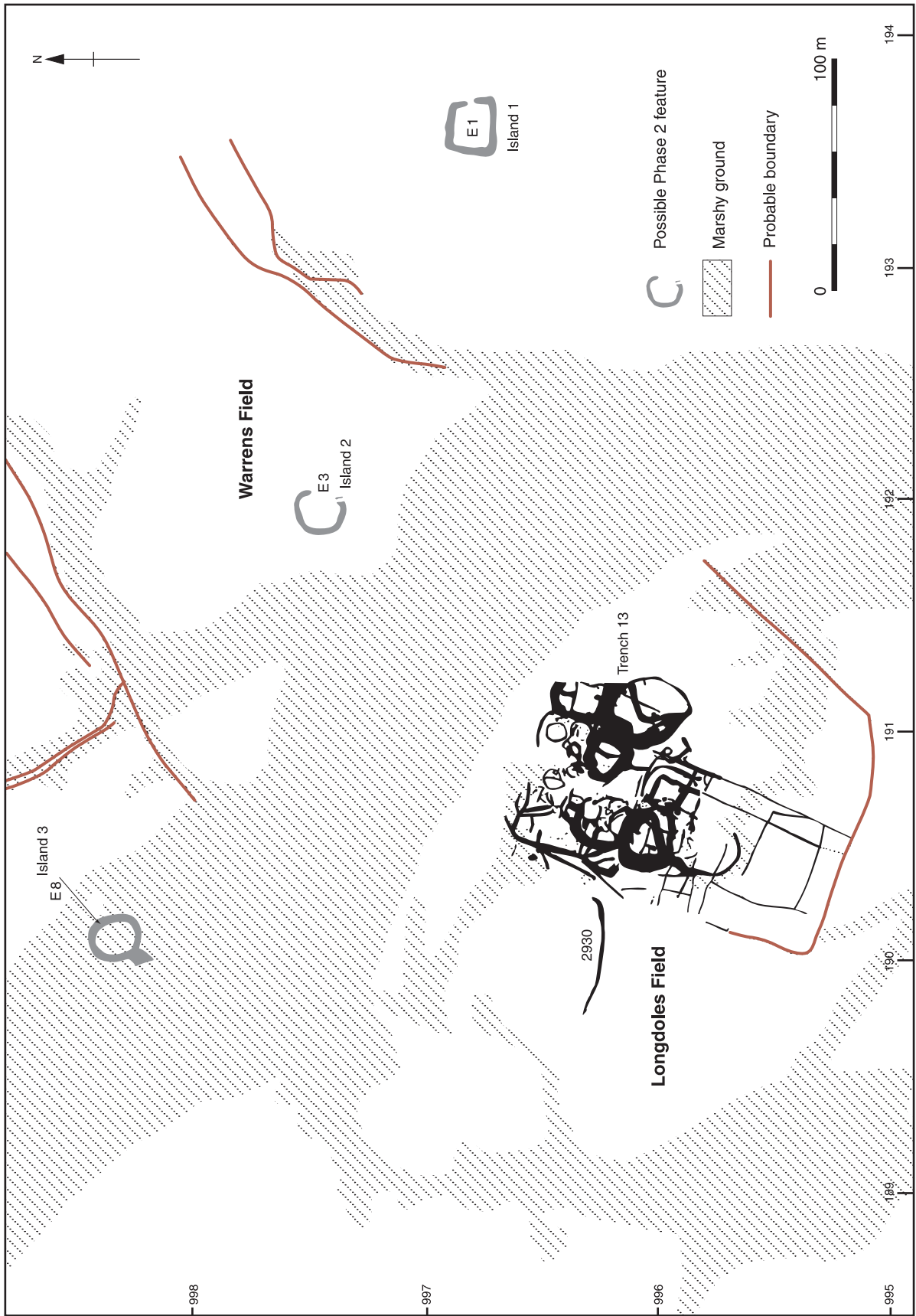


Fig. 4.1 Late Iron Age - early Roman settlement in Longdoles Field

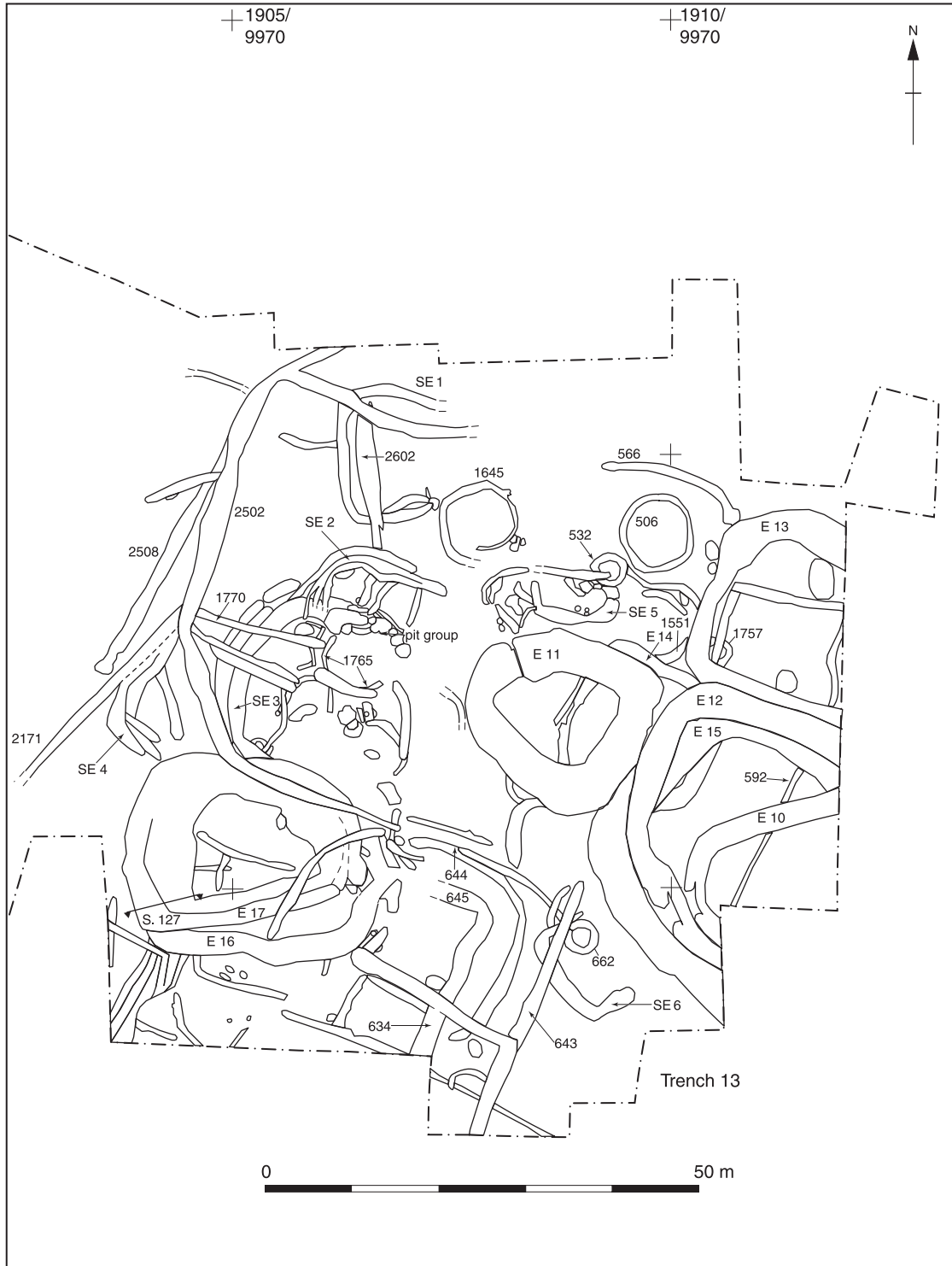
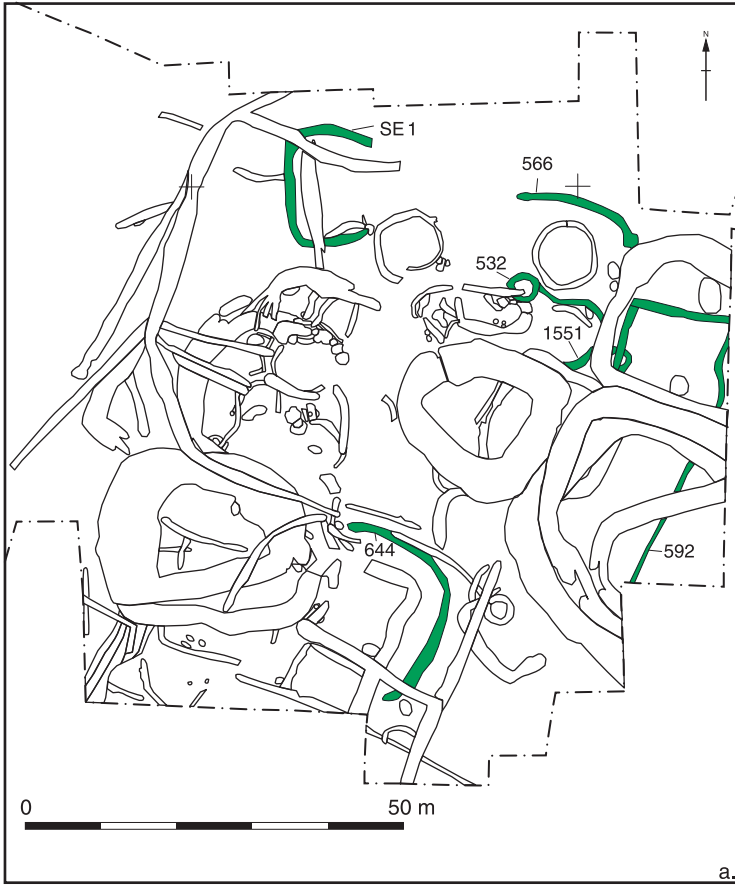
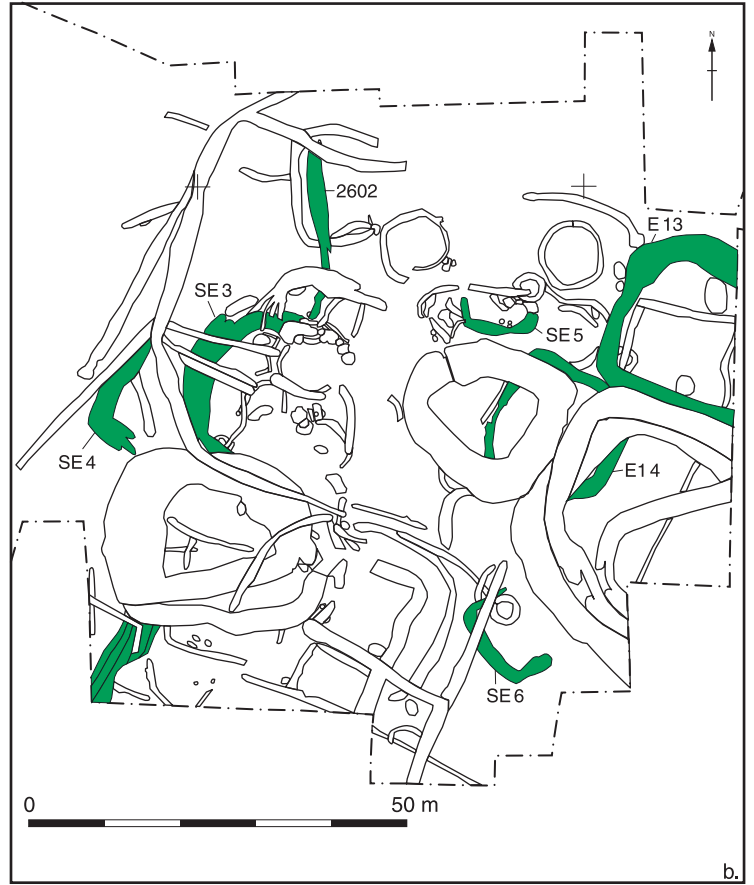


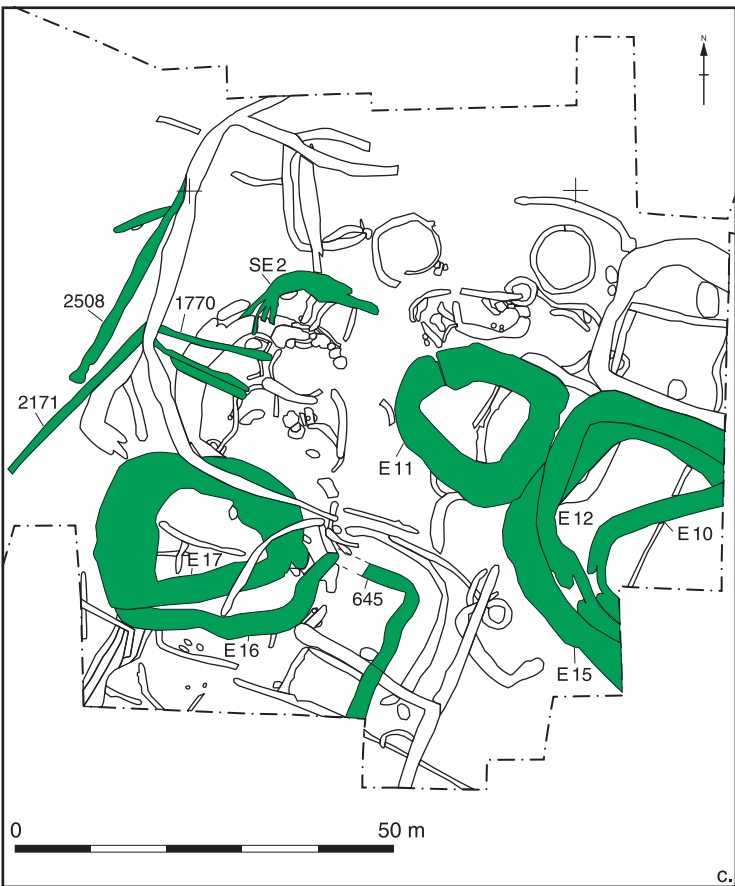
Fig. 4.2 Plan of Phase 2 site



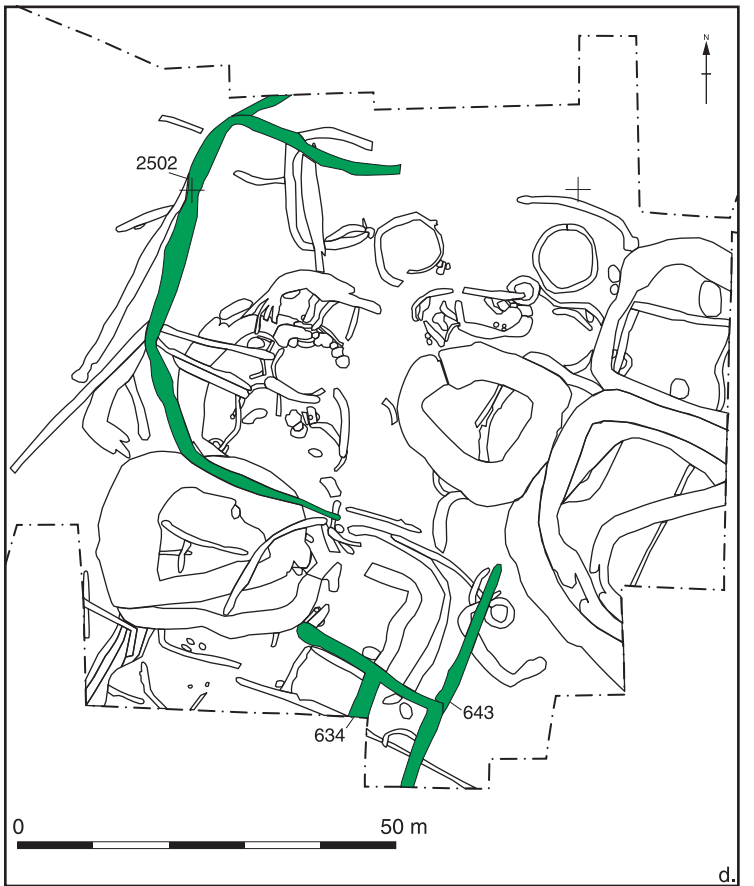
Phase 2a



Phase 2b



Phase 2c



Phase 2d

edge of Trench 13. It was 0.4 m wide and 0.2 m deep. No finds were recovered from any of the gullies other than a very small amount of pottery. To the north lay ditch 566, *c* 17 m in length and approximately 1 m wide. It appeared to be truncated by E 13. It may have enclosed a number of small pits and complete circular gully 506 to the south, although these could not be assigned to any specific sub-phase (see General Phase 2 features below; Fig. 4.2).

Circular gullies and gully arcs

Lying 10 m south of ditch 566 was small circular gully 532, 3.8 m diameter, varying from 0.5-0.9 m wide and 0.5 m deep. Small amounts of pottery and animal bone (including donkey) came from the gully fill. This would seem to be a stack ring similar to feature 662 to the south, and possibly 1757 to the east (Fig. 4.2; see circular gullies below). Possibly truncated by this feature to the east was an 8 m length of gully arc that continued into penannular gully 1551 (0.6-0.8 m wide, *c* 0.25 m deep), which defined an area *c* 8 m in diameter. The southern part of 1551 was truncated by Enclosures 11 and 14 and overlain by Aisled Building 3 (see Chapter 5), the western part was truncated by Enclosure 13 of Phase 2b.

Phase 2b (Fig. 4.3b)

This sub-phase was dominated by sub-enclosures, although a move to more substantial enclosures is indicated by the presence of E 13 and E 14 during this period. Few major linear boundaries were seen. The pottery from these features is generally mid to late 1st century AD in date.

Enclosures

Two enclosures (E 13 and E 14) lay in the eastern half of the excavated area, E 13 extending eastwards beyond the trench limits. Both enclosures were sub-rectangular in plan and *c* 16 m across internally, although E 13 appears to have been recut more times giving the ditches a wider profile. The depth of the enclosure ditches ranged from 0.5 to 0.9 m. An entrance (2.5 m wide) was found on the west side of E 14. No internal features could be related to either of the enclosures. Stratigraphically, they were the earliest of this feature type in the trench, and could well have been directly contemporary. Finds, although by no means abundant, were scattered consistently through the ditches of E 13, and included pottery, smithing slag and several iron nails. A small quantity of animal bone was also recovered. Only one small find was recovered from E 14, a piece of copper alloy wire, while other finds comprised pottery (1.1 kg) and animal bone (137 fragments).

Sub-enclosures

Four sub-enclosures could be assigned by sub-Phase 2b, on the basis of stratigraphy and ceramic dating. Sub-enclosure 3 (SE 3) lay in the western part of the trench, sealed beneath the masonry buildings of the Roman phases. The principal cut ran approximately south-north for 18 m before continuing 8 m to the east. It was a relatively large ditch, *c* 1.4 m wide and up to 1 m deep, and had a number of recuts. SE 3 was cut in Phase 2c by SE 2 and by a number of east-west linear boundaries, which were in turn cut by Phase 2d boundary ditch 2502. A series of pits also cut the northern terminals. The southern extent of the sub-enclosure could not be traced. SE 3 appears to define an area of activity to the east, although it is difficult to relate these pits, postholes and gullies to any particular sub-phase on a stratigraphic or ceramic basis, so no direct association can be demonstrated. Small finds from the sub-enclosure are few in number, and include fired clay, an iron nail, lead fragment and copper alloy brooch pin. Very small quantities of pottery and animal bone were recovered.

To the west of SE 3 and on the south-western edge of Trench 13 lay SE 4, represented by a number of separate ditch cuts. The sub-enclosure consisted of a 15 m NW-SE arm and a short 5 m east-west arm on the south side. The north side was truncated by Phase 2d enclosure ditch 2502 and later Phase 3 ditches. It is unclear whether it turned east. The largest cut of the sub-enclosure measured 1.4 m wide and 0.9 m deep. Like SE 3 it appeared to define an area to the east, but in contrast did not seem to be associated with any complexity of features. Finds are sparse apart from quantities of 1st-century pottery, an iron nail and fired clay fragments. A small amount of animal bone was recovered.

On the north-east side of Trench 13 was a small three-sided sub-enclosure (SE 5), just north of E 11. It measured 8 m east-west and had short north-south arms of 3 m. Two basic cuts were apparent, and in general the ditch was 0.8 m wide and 0.4 m deep. Stratigraphically SE 5 post-dated a sequence of gullies, including circular gully 532, but appeared to be interleaved with a series of pits. Quantities of smithing slag came from the fills of the sub-enclosure ditch and the pits. Spatially nearly all of the pits appear to be within the area defined by SE 5. It is reasonable to suggest that the sub-enclosure was associated with iron-working activity. Apart from small quantities of pottery other finds were sparse.

The final sub-enclosure of Phase 2b was SE 6, in the south east of Trench 13. It was three sided and formed by a single ditch cut. The long axis was aligned NW-SE and measured 11 m, with two shorter arms running for 6 m. The ditch itself was flat bottomed with gently sloping sides *c* 1.2 m in width and 0.6 m deep. Stratigraphically it was cut

by the Phase 2d boundary 643 but cut a number of smaller boundaries to the west. It was overlaid at one point by a spread of burnt limestone (context 658), but this did not appear associated with any *in situ* burning. Circular gully, 662, lay adjacent to the north arm, but with no relationship. Apart from small quantities of pottery finds were minimal.

Linear boundaries

Situated on the north side of Trench 13 and running north-south was ditch 2602. It ran southwards for 18 m from the northern axis of boundary ditch 2502. Two cuts were apparent, the latest being 1 m wide by 0.6 m deep. Stratigraphically, the ditch was cut by Phase 2d ditch 2502 to the north and Phase 2c SE 2 in the south, and cut Phase 2a SE 1. Finds were extremely sparse.

In the south-western corner of the trench several linear ditches were seen running NE-SW, with cropmarks indicating that they continued to the south-west of Trench 13. Due to the intercutting nature of the features it was difficult to define their extents in plan. Finds from the ditches were quite scarce but included fired clay, iron nails, animal bone (mostly cattle) and pottery.

Phase 2c (Figs 4.3c and 4.4)

Phase 2c saw a move to much more substantial circular enclosures in the east and south-west of Trench 13, and a number of linear boundaries in the south and west. Pottery from this phase was similar to that of Phase 2b, with a slight preponderance of Flavian era material (c AD 70-96).

Enclosures

A total of six major enclosures were assigned to this sub-phase, although only a maximum of three of these could have been directly contemporary. In the south-east corner of the trench were a succession of three large enclosures (E 15, E 12 and E 10), all of which extended out of the excavated area.

Enclosure 15 was the earliest stratigraphically of this sub-phase, being cut by E 11 and E 12 (consequently also by E 10), but cutting Phase 2b enclosure E 14. The enclosure had an internal area c 25 m across, and had no evidence for an entrance, although this may have been obscured by E 12. Small finds included iron nails, a spindlewhorl and fired clay including oven plate fragments and daub. A small amount of pottery and animal bone was retrieved. Lying on a very similar alignment to E 15, and probably a later cut of this feature, was Enclosure 12, which measured c 22 m across internally. One phase of an entrance was located on the south-west side forming a causeway c 2.5 m wide. A multitude of cuts were in evidence, at least ten in some sections, but the homogeneity of the fills prevented a stratigraphic sequence from being built up. No deliberate infilling of ditch cuts was located although the occasional gravel band and darker fill suggest some interference with normal silting processes. Finds were extremely sparse with no apparent concentrations; small finds included vessel glass fragments and fired clay. A small amount of animal bone was also recovered. Enclosure 10 lay the furthest eastwards, and was stratigraphically the latest. It had at least four major cuts, the deepest and probably the earliest being c 0.9 m deep and 1.75 m wide. The truncated Roman ground surface of Phase 3 did not extend over the ditch and there is no evidence of infilling or consolidation. A narrow entrance of c 2.5 m is represented in an earlier phase on the west side but no trace of a late one was located. No features were recovered from the interior apart from two shallow scoops adjacent to the entrance. Almost 2 kg of pottery and 170 animal bone fragments were recovered from this feature.

Situated just east of the central area of Trench 13 lay E 11, forming a roughly circular enclosure, with maximum dimensions 10-14 m across internally. It barely intersected with E 12 to the east, but E 11 was thought to be later, although still within Phase 2c. A possible entrance relating to a later phase of use of E 11 was suggested by a terminus on the north-west

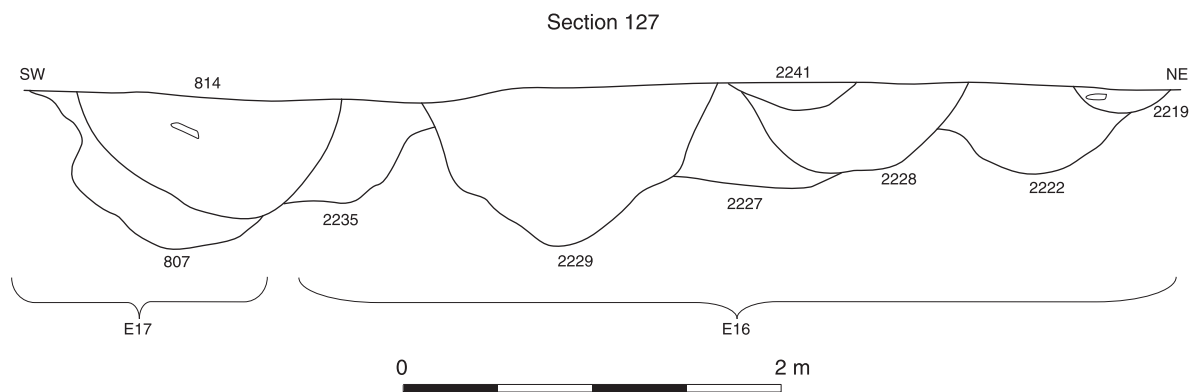


Fig. 4.4 Section 127 through enclosure ditches E 16 and E 17

side. At least five cuts showed from sections, the deepest and one of the earliest measured 1.1 m deep and *c* 1.6 m wide. Fills were of homogeneous orange brown sandy loam apart from that in a late cut (732) which underlay Aisled Building 3. This was much darker and contained relatively large amounts of limestone rubble, particularly in the uppermost layer, suggesting deliberate infilling. It also contained the highest concentrations of small finds from the ditch, including iron nails, fired clay, a copper alloy coin (dated AD 81–96), perforated copper alloy sheet, fire fractured flint and smithing slag. Small finds from the rest of the enclosure were limited to iron nails, fired clay fragments and a bone bobbin. A reasonable quantity of pottery (3.4 kg) and animal bone (311 fragments) were also recovered.

In the south-western side of Trench 13 were two substantial enclosures (E 16 and E 17), approximately concentric, and no doubt representing different phases of the same feature (see section, Fig. 4.4). E16 was the earliest, and its southern arm appears to have continued east for 12 m, before turning south as linear boundary 645. Internally it measured approximately 15 x 17 m. Two major cuts could be traced on the south-east and west sides, with maximum dimensions 3 m wide and 1.2 m deep (Fig. 4.4). The cuts of the northern side could not be separated from those of E 17. A possible entrance lay on the eastern side. E 17 was probably a recutting of E 16, although the southern side was foreshortened, ensuing that dimensions were smaller, internally *c* 20 x 12 m. The enclosure had substantially more ditch recuts than E 16, at least five showing in some sections and a typical deep cut size being 1.8 x 0.9 m deep. Debris and infilling in the top of the ditches of both enclosures indicate that some of the uppermost layers were open well into Phase 3. The northern side of the enclosure was overlain by the trackway ditch on the southern side of the Phase 3a enclosure. This trackway had successive layers of cobbling (2000, 2003) where it passed over these ditches (see Phase 3a).

There were no features within the surviving interior that are likely to be contemporary with the enclosures. Finds from the enclosure did suggest the proximity of domestic occupation, although these were most prolific from the upper levels, and may actually relate to the start of Phase 3. The small finds included a relatively large number of fired clay fragments including a loomweight and oven fragment, iron nails, sheet lead fragments, a lead weight, industrial slag, two copper alloy brooches, a bone pin, several glass fragments including vessel and window glass, and a whetstone. Large quantities of pottery (17.3 kg) and animal bone (1748 fragments), mainly cattle and sheep, were also found, nearly all within the upper layers. A total of four waterlogged samples were taken from the bottom of E16/17 enclosure ditch which indicated that it held stagnant water, while one sample (1528/A/3) also contained imported plant material (see Robinson below).

Sub-enclosures

The single possible sub-enclosure from this phase, SE 2, was located to the south of Phase 2a feature SE 1, and was made up of three principal ditch cuts. The east-west arm measured *c* 14 m and the NE-SW arm *c* 8 m. If treated as an arc the radius would be 7.5 m. The ditch cuts were relatively consistent in size, *c* 1.2 m wide and 0.4–0.5 m deep. Stratigraphically SE 2 cut Phase 2b SE 3 and was cut by Phase 4 E 21. The tops of the ditch cuts had been consolidated with limestone cobbling (1582) during the Roman phases. As with SE 3, it appears to define a concentration of pits, gullies and postholes to the south and east. There is a marked contrast in the density of Phase 2 features to the north and west, where they were quite scarce. Few finds were recovered.

Linear boundaries

Situated on the south side of Trench 13, and possibly associated with E 16 was ditch 645. It ran east from E 16, appearing to curve to the east from one of the southern cuts. It was truncated by post medieval ditch 500, but then seemed to continue east for 7 m before turning south for 19 m in similar fashion to Phase 2d boundary 634. Ditch 645 was cut by 634 but they ran down the same line towards the southern site triple-ditched boundary. Two main cuts were identified: a deep cut 1.4 m wide and 0.9 m deep and a shallow later cut 0.8 m wide and 0.4 m deep. Finds were very sparse.

Along the western side of Trench 13 were a series of substantial linear ditches which seem to define the western edge of the raised settlement. Ditch 2508 ran NE-SW for at least 25 m until it was lost running north, cut by Phase 2d ditch 2502. Its southern terminal was located approximately 7 m to the north-west of E 17. It was relatively broad (1 m), but flat bottomed and shallow (*c* 0.3 m). Few finds were recovered. Running to the east of ditch 2508, and on a similar alignment to it, was ditch 2171. It was traceable for at least 22 m before being cut away by the Phase 3 pit 2526 to the north, and boundary ditch 2162 to the south. Ditch 2171 ran west of but impinged on SE 4, although no relationship was retrievable. Two cuts were apparent; the earlier cut appearing to terminate alongside 2170 (SE 4). Dimensions were *c* 1.7 m across and *c* 0.5 m deep. Very few finds were recovered.

Three parallel ditches were seen running east to west from boundary ditch 2502 on the western side of the settlement nucleus. Ditch 1770 (*c* 0.8 m wide, 0.4 m deep) ran for 15 m, terminating just before circular gully 1765, while 3 m further south were two further ditch cuts. Stratigraphically they post-dated SE 3 and a series of gullies at their eastern end. Although cut by boundary 2502 they appear to respect its line. Finds were sparse.

Phase 2d (Fig. 4.3d)

Phase 2d was dominated by the enclosure of part of the western side by substantial boundary ditch 2502 to the west, and smaller ditches 634 and 643 to the south. The pottery from these features was predominantly late 1st to early 2nd century AD in date.

Enclosure Ditch 2502

Ditch 2502 defined the western limit of the nucleated area seen in Trench 13. It was formed of a north-south axis measuring 45 m, and two parallel east to west arms, the northern arm being 22 m in length, and the southern arm 24 m. On the northern, western and southern sides it defined the highest point of Trench 13. The southern side also coincided with the Phase 3a boundary (ditch 547). At least two main cuts of the ditch were revealed, the earliest continuing north out of the trench. The terminal of the northern east-west orientated arm was lost, cut away by post-medieval boundary ditch 500. The southern terminal was located just west of 500 and was cut by the terminal of Phase 3 ditch 547. On average the cut dimensions were 1.4 m wide and 1 m deep. Ditch 2502 was one of the latest features which could be assigned to Phase 2, cutting E 17 to the south and SE 3 and SE 4 to the west, and SE 1 to the north. It was overlain by Phase 3a Aisled Building 1, and there appeared to be no significant consolidation over the top of the ditch associated with the building.

Many of the finds were recovered from the topmost layers and thus are not securely related to the use of the ditch. These included quantities of fired clay (including oven fragments), personal items such as a copper alloy finger ring and brooch, an iron goad, vessel glass and some general debris such as nails. Pottery (11.13 kg) and animal bone (549 fragments) were present in reasonable quantity. The pottery was predominantly early second century in date (Fig. 4.5).

Ditches 643 and 634

Ditches 634 and 643 formed two phases of a linear ditched boundary running southwards from the excavation area. The earliest was represented by a 10 m east-west length of ditch (634) which turned south on the line of Phase 2c ditch 645. This early phase was represented by two large cuts 1.8 m across and 0.7 m deep. The later phase (1.2 m across, 0.4 m deep), continued east for a further 10 m before turning south on the line of ditch 643. An earlier cut of 643 continued north for 20 m, terminating just south of E 15. This was 1.4 m wide and 0.7 m deep. Both the cuts of 634 and 643 continued south to the triple ditched boundary, but their line is obscured by post-medieval boundary 500. Both phases of this boundary would appear to post-date E 16, and cut ditch 645. Finds included quantities of pottery (3.9 kg), animal bone (332 fragments), and pieces of fired clay and iron (Fig. 4.7, no.15).

General Phase 2 features (Fig. 4.2)

Throughout Trench 13 there were many features that could not be assigned to a particular sub-phase of Phase 2.

Linear boundaries, gullies and gully arcs

A number of linear boundaries could be seen throughout the trench, particularly around the southern periphery of the nucleated area, to the south and east of E 16 and E 17. There were also two concentrations of short or semi-circular arcs of gullies within the nucleated area. One was defined by SE 2 and SE 3 in the western part of the trench, and the other was located immediately north of E 11 and west of E 13. The more westerly complex included semi-circular, penannular arc 1765, the south-eastern terminal of which was believed to continue to curve round and enclose an area of 8 m diameter, open to the north-east. The pit group, which contained reasonable quantities of animal bone and pottery (see below), seemed to respect the northern extent of this feature, and may well have been associated. It is possible that the feature could have represented a domestic structure of some kind, although this interpretation is far from certain. Finds from gully 1765 included a mid 1st-century brooch (Fig. 4.6, no.1) and a small quantity of animal bone and pottery.

The north-eastern concentration of short gullies and curving gully arcs lay just north of E 11 and west of E 13. The gullies and pits of this area contained a sizeable amount of fired clay, including oven fragments, along with the highest concentrations of smithing slag on site (see pits below).

Circular gullies

Lying within the nucleated area or on its edge were positioned a series of circular gullies. These seemed to conform to two standard sizes: a small enclosure c 4 m in diameter and a larger enclosure c 8 m in diameter. The smaller gullies 532, 662 and possibly 1757 possessed gullies between 0.5 to 0.7 m wide and 0.2 to 0.5 m deep. Fills were very clean and not usually recut. Internally there were no associated features. These features may have functioned as 'stack rings' for the provision of animal fodder, and there are parallels in Trench 17 as well as at Somerford Keynes and Thornhill Farm (Jennings *et al.* 2004). The larger gullied enclosures, 506 and 1645 were positioned on the north side of the nucleated area, c 10 m apart. They were 8 m and 9 m in diameter respectively, but the gullies themselves were similar in dimensions to those of the above mentioned. Finds were similarly sparse but several nails, fired clay and a whetstone were found within gully 506. Gully 1645 contained the largest single concentration of charred plant remains within Phase 2 features, with grain predominating (see Straker *et al.* below).

Gully 506 was complete; there was some uncertainty over gully 1645, as it had been truncated by

the post-medieval boundary ditch 500. The southern edge became shallow and west of ditch 500 it was lost. The function of these features is uncertain, although penannular gully arc 1765 (see above) was of similar dimensions, and this may well have belonged to a domestic structure of some kind, especially given the concentration of charred grain in circular gully 1645.

Pits

There were many pits within Trench 13 that on the basis of pottery or stratigraphy, have been assigned to Phase 2. One concentration of pits datable to this phase was seen south of SE 2 and east of SE 3, an area that was also noted for the concentration of short gully segments and gully arcs (see above). A smaller concentration was seen in the area of SE 5. A further thin scattering of pits were spread sparsely across the rest of Trench 13.

The pit concentration on the western side of the trench lay along the eastern arm of SE 3, and may be spatially related to penannular gully arc 1765 (see general Phase 2 features above). The pits were predominantly circular in plan, although of varying size, the most common being 1.6 m in diameter. The quantities of pottery and animal bone recovered from those relative to that from the large enclosures to the east suggest that they were utilised at least secondarily for dumping domestic refuse. In general those pits to the south of 1765 contained much higher quantities of animal bone and pottery than those to the north.

The pits in the north-east corner of the nucleated area were located west of penannular gully 1551 and did not impinge on its area. The contents of pits contrasted with those of the westerly concentration, with less pottery and animal bone debris, but with reasonable amounts of smithing slag, ash and fired clay. The indications are that this area was utilised for light industrial purposes in contrast to the more domestic style occupation evidenced by the gullies and pits within the area adjacent to SE 3.

Enclosures from Warrens Field (Fig. 4.1)

Three enclosures to the north in Warrens Field appear to be late in the stratigraphic sequence and may well relate to Phase 2 activity in Longdoles Field. Enclosure 8 was situated to the west of the main area of middle Iron Age activity in Island 3, and was oval in plan with no apparent entrance causeway. The internal measurements were *c* 16 m x 14 m, the width of the ditch was an average of 3 m, the depth 0.9 m. Surviving to the west on the outside of the ditch was a low gravel bank. The dating of the enclosure is uncertain, but it is clear that it remained an earthwork for quite some time. Early Roman pottery and post-medieval material were recovered from the top fill.

Enclosure 3 was located in Trench 8, in Island 2, and clearly cut middle Iron Age Enclosure 4 to the

north. It had an internal diameter of *c* 16 m, with a 3 m entrance gap on the north-east side. Sections through the ditch indicated at least three major cuts with a maximum width was 2 m, and a depth of 0.9 m. Three sherds (34 g) of middle Iron Age pottery were recovered from the ditch, plus small quantities of horse and cattle bone. One bone from the lower layers produced a radiocarbon date of AD 310 (1640+70 HAR 5409), although this date probably reflects contamination by Roman and post-medieval disturbance.

Situated in the south-east of Warrens Field (Island 1), ditch 6 formed a rectangular enclosure (E 1) *c* 25 m x 22 m externally, with an internal area of *c* 260 m². An entrance causeway 3 m wide lay on the east side. Excavation showed two major cuttings of the ditch, with the later larger cut having a width of between 2 m and 3 m and a depth of 1 m. The interior contained no archaeological features but the entrance was marked by a series of possibly paved postholes. Few finds were recovered from the enclosure ditch suggesting that it was not primarily utilised for occupation. The ditch contained middle Iron Age and Roman pottery, suggesting a late Iron Age / early Roman date, and it obviously survived as a hollow until quite recent times (in contrast to the middle Iron Age features) given the amounts of post-medieval debris in the top layer of silt.

THE FINDS

The finds from the late Iron Age/early Roman settlement included large quantities of pottery (*c* 100 kg), as well as a range of small finds, including brooches, coins, vessel glass and iron nails. There is clear evidence for differential distribution patterns in certain find types, which suggests functional zoning within the site.

Full reports and catalogues on all the finds from this phase of Claydon Pike can be found in Digital section 3.

Pottery (Fig. 4.5) *by Paul Booth*

The recorded pottery assemblage reflects the archaeological situation in that nearly all of the late Iron Age or 'native' ceramics were restricted to Trench 13. Here there were marked concentrations of material belonging to a regional late Iron Age/early Roman tradition, exemplified by the E ware group ('Belgic' type wares), and most particularly E80 (grog-tempered fabrics), which was found almost exclusively in Trench 13 (Table 4.1). The same is true of many of the early calcareous fabrics such as C15, C22, C24, C32 and perhaps R77 (though this last fabric is not so clearly confined in date to the 1st century), which appear predominantly or only in Trench 13. The principal occurrence of these fabrics, as would be expected, was in contexts of Phase 2, but they are encountered in later phases. In the case of fabrics such as E80, C22, C24 and perhaps C15, such occurrences must be

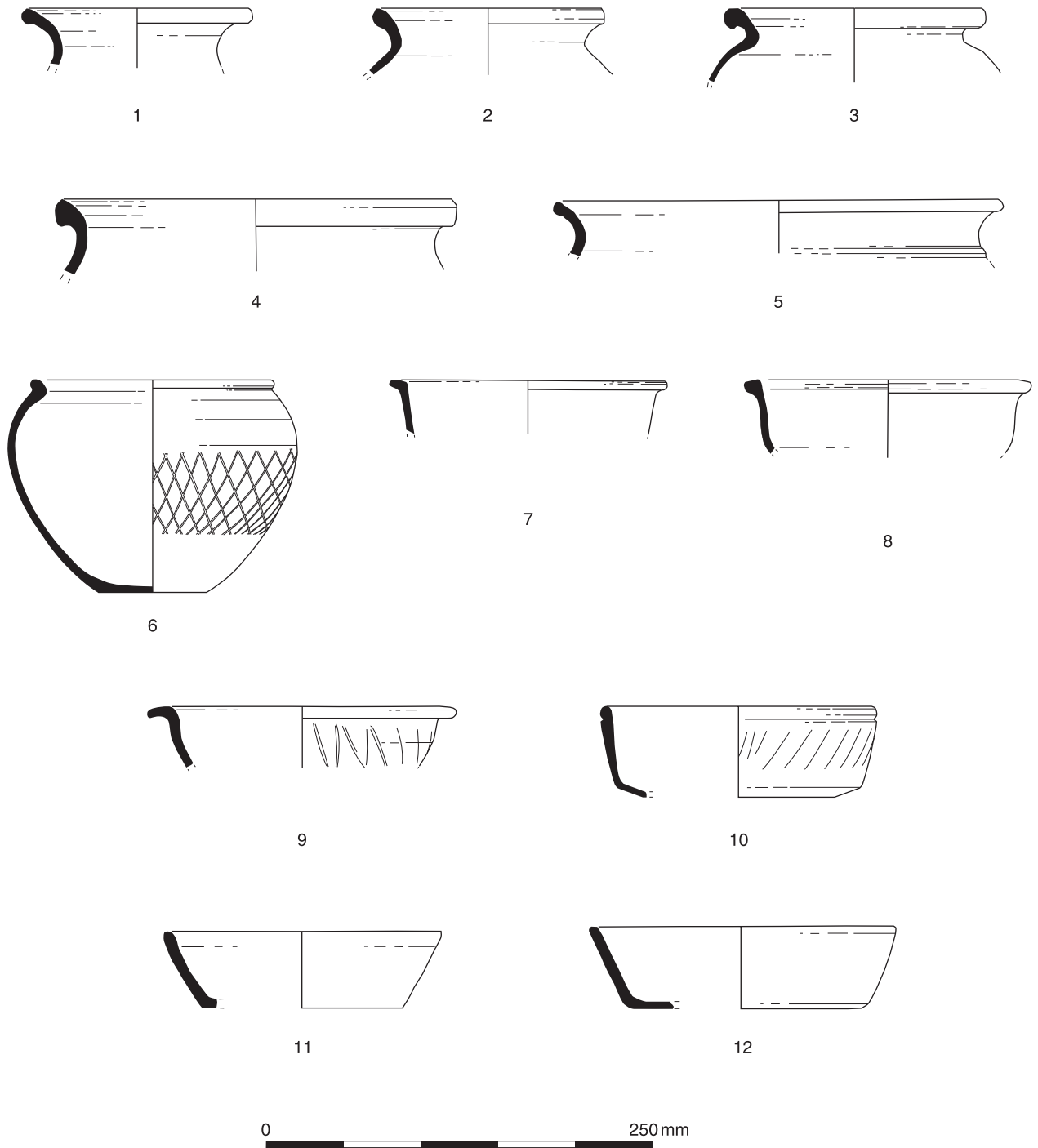


Fig. 4.5 Group 1 pottery from Phase 2d Ditch 2092

residual because none of these fabrics is likely to have remained in use after the late 1st century AD at the latest. E and C ware groups together accounted for 40% of the Phase 2 sherd total but only just over 5% of the material from Phase 3. In effect, as the pottery indicates, activity of Phase 2 was confined to the area of Trench 13.

Of the *c* 100 kg of pottery from Phase 2 contexts, just over 63 kg was fully recorded as a representative sample (Table 4.1). A wide range of fabrics is encountered in this assemblage, reflecting the duration of this phase into the early 2nd century. By this time a substantial component of the assemblage was formed by locally produced 'Romanised' oxidised and reduced coarse wares. A further significant element in the assemblage was black-burnished ware or black-burnished type ware. The occurrence of this material was at a level above what would be expected given that the very end of Phase 2 coincides with the time at which the widespread distribution of Dorset BB1 commences

Table 4.1 Summary quantification of major fabrics from fully recorded groups in Phase 2 (sherd count)

Major fabric group	sherd no.	% of Phase 2
Samian (S)	69	1.4
Fine wares (F)	71	1.4
Amphorae (A)	45	0.9
Mortaria (M)	18	0.4
White Firing Wares (W)*	177	3.6
White slipped wares (Q)*	50	1
Early 'Belgic type' wares (E)	1151	23.2
Oxidised 'coarse' wares (O)	514	10.3
Reduced coarse wares (R)	1364	27.4
Black-burnished wares (B)	678	13.6
Calcareous tempered wares (C)	833	16.8
Total	4970	100

* except mortaria

Table 4.2: Major vessel types in Phase 2 (RE)

	Rim equivalents (RE)	% of Phase 2
Flagons (B)	0.44	1
Jars (C)	36.29	82
Beakers (E)	0.04	0.1
Cups (F)	0.75	1.7
Tankards (G)	0.93	2.1
Bowls (H)	4.67	10.6
Dishes (J)	0.62	1.4
Mortaria (K)	0.09	0.2
Lids (L)	0.09	0.2
Unknown (Z)	0.31	0.7
Total	44.26	100

(ie *c* AD 120). In terms of vessel form, jars are by far the most prolific (81%); with quantities being significantly higher than in Phase 3 or 4 (Table 4.2). Bowls the next best represented (10.6%), while other forms are represented by very few examples.

It is clear that intrusive material is present in this phase. This is most obviously demonstrated by the presence of fabrics such as Oxford colour-coated ware (F51) which, while not in production before *c* AD 240, accounted for 1.1% of the sherds in Phase 2. Fine ware fabrics F52, F53 and F63, all of later date, were also present, albeit in small quantities. The intrusive material was generally from the tops of features (particularly ditches) reasonably assigned to Phase 2, but the fact that these uppermost fills were often not distinguished in excavation makes it impossible for them to be separated off from the other fills certainly of Phase 2 date. This factor almost certainly accounts for the presence of other 'late' fabrics and forms noted in this phase assemblage, amongst which some of the black-burnished ware should probably be placed. The problem is that the extent of the phenomenon cannot be quantified with confidence. In the specific case of black-burnished ware it is clear that some of this material was reaching sites such as Cirencester as early as the end of the 1st century AD (Rigby 1982b, 168), though a 'local' black-burnished ware (Cirencester fabric 5) was consistently more common there at that time. The latter, however, was used mainly for imitations of Gallo-Belgic wares (eg Cooper 1998, 327) and is specifically equated with the present fabric R34, so should not be what is in question here. The black-burnished ware fabric group, however it is interpreted, comprised a substantial 13.6% of sherds in Phase 2.

The problem raised by the identification of intrusive material in Phase 2 is exacerbated in relation to material which could have been contemporary in this phase, but might nevertheless have been intrusive from Phase 3 contexts. It is assumed here, however, that amphorae and early mortarium fabrics consistent with the date range of Phase 2 were genuinely present on the site at that time. Some Dressel 20 forms which could be dated from roughly the middle of the 1st century are present in Trench 13, although not stratified in contemporary contexts. Mortarium fabrics such as M11 and M12, both of which can date from the middle of the 1st century, were also present. It is notable that sherds of imported mortarium fabrics (M11, M12, M14-M16) are with a single exception confined to Trench 13 (though not, of course, all in Phase 2 contexts). This is consistent either with their arrival on the site in Phase 2 when activity was confined to this area, and/or with their association with the relatively high status focus established here in Phase 3. More reassuring is the fact that in Phase 2 contexts South Gaulish samian was twice as common as Central Gaulish material, though again some of the latter (and a single sherd of East Gaulish samian) was presumably intrusive. It is notable, however, that

very little if any of the samian is necessarily pre-Flavian in date (see samian report for details, Digital section 3.2). Two other imported fine wares – namely Lezoux and Lyons (fabrics F41 and F42) were confined to Trench 13. Both these fabrics are present in minute quantities in the earliest phase. Apart from the diverse but numerically scarce range of genuine imports there are occasional copies of imported forms in local fabrics, such as a single example of a Hofheim type flagon in a white ware of unknown but presumably British provenance. Overall, however, Gallo-Belgic wares are conspicuous by their absence.

In the original phasing of the site a distinction was made between a late Iron Age phase and the earliest Roman phase, with activity in both confined to Trench 13 and the cut-off point between the two falling in the Flavian period. The issue of military ceramics formed part of this interpretative framework and was potentially linked to the introduction of Romanised building forms. With the redating of the end of Phase 2 to the early 2nd century the interpretation of aspects of the ceramic assemblage which might have military associations becomes even more difficult. Some such components have been mentioned above and include (regardless of the phase of deposition of the material) early Dressel 20 forms, some imported mortaria (for example with parallels at military sites such as Kingsholm) and Lyons ware. Local coarse wares such as Savernake ware are of course found in both military and civilian contexts, but one coarse ware form, the so-called 'honey jar' (classified here as a narrow mouthed jar, CC v), does have close military associations. Five certain examples of this form were recorded, all from Trench 13 (two from Phase 2 contexts and the rest from Phase 3). All were in oxidised or white-slipped fabrics. Good parallels from Cirencester and Kingsholm are definitely military in context and pre-Flavian on the basis of association with samian ware and other early types (Rigby 1982a, 184-5; Hurst 1985, 67-8; see Booth, Chapter 13) and there is no particular reason to doubt that this is the date of the Claydon Pike examples. In contrast with this indication, however, is the more or less complete dearth of pre-Flavian samian at Claydon Pike. Conventionally this would suggest that any sort of military presence here before that date was very unlikely. The potential ceramic indicators of a military presence are therefore contradictory in their chronological emphasis, with limited indicators consistent with such a presence in the pre-Flavian period, but lacking the expected contemporary samian ware and with no structural correlates. Thereafter, fabric and form types with demonstrable military associations cannot be distinguished from the remainder of the assemblage.

There is no meaningful indication of the chronological development of the pottery assemblage through Phase 2, partly because of contamination issues and partly because the assemblages from

individual sub phases (defined on stratigraphic criteria) were insufficiently large to produce reliable data (figures in Digital section 3.2).

The ceramic assemblage does suggest that activity may have spread into other trenches during the later part of Phase 2. In Trench 29, for example, there are indications perhaps of low level activity (compared with Trench 13) with fewer fabric and form types represented. Fabric E39, which can be dated to the latter half of the 1st century, is well represented on Trench 29 – it appears to have a later date range than that of most of the other E wares – and an early beginning to activity in this area is also suggested by a relatively high proportion of South Gaulish samian, although the overall quantities are modest.

Figure 4.5 presents a selected group of Phase 2 pottery from Trench 13 context 2092, a cut of ditch 2502. A full catalogue of illustrated sherds can be found in Digital section 3.2.

Catalogue of illustrated pottery (Fig. 4.5)

1. O42, CC. 2092/2
2. R95, CD. 2092/A/2
3. R95, CD. 2092/2
4. R35, CD. 2092/1
5. O42, CD. 2092/1
6. B11, CH. 2092/1
7. R34, H. 2092/1
8. R34, HB. 2092/1
9. B11, I, with faint traces of acute angle lattice decoration. 2092/1
10. B11, JA, with faint traces of acute angle lattice decoration. 2092/A/2
11. W24, JA. 2092/A/2
12. R35, JA, with small hole drilled in base. 2092/1

Coins by Cathy King

Only nine coins came from Phase 2 contexts in the Longdoles Field, Claydon Pike, and seven of these must be intrusive. The remaining two comprise an As/dupondius of Domitian (AD 81-96) and a Republican denarius (152 BC), both from E 11. Out of the assemblage as a whole there were seven coins dating to the 1st century AD, with a further 19 that have a general 1st/2nd century date. Whilst certainly not as high as Somerford Keynes, this is a reasonable assemblage for a settlement of this period. Two silver Dobunnic coins were also recovered, but both were unstratified.

Metal and glass small finds (Figs 4.6-7)

by Hilary Cool

A total of 107 identifiable small finds came from Phase 2 contexts, with a further 25 from Phase 2/3 (Table 4.3). However, as with much of the material from Claydon Pike, some of these were obviously intrusive, while other items dating to this period were residual in the later phase contexts (see Digital section 3.4). Aside from building materials, it was

Table 4.3: Small finds from Phase 2 and Phase 2/3 according to functional category

Function	Phase 2	Phase 2/3	Total
Personal	12	4	16
Textile	1	-	1
Household	-	1	1
Writing	1	-	1
Building	72	14	86
Tools	-	1	1
Fasteners	5	1	6
Agriculture	1	-	1
Miscellaneous	15	4	19
Total	107	25	132

personal items that formed the largest single finds category (12) from Phase 2, with brooches accounting for 58% of the objects. Personal ornaments can be a very good indicator of how people present themselves to the world. Those which typologically belong to Phase 2 suggest quite a conservative rural society. The brooches are on the whole typical of what is to be expected in a native population in this region as many are local forms. There are occasional examples of brooches from more distant sources such as the Kragenfibel (1045) and the Birdlip brooch (1279) but these are in a distinct minority. Following the Conquest the community was happy to adopt certain new types but only where those types filled pre-existing needs. Thus Hod Hill brooches were adopted but the women did not adopt new hairstyles nor did the community apparently embrace new styles of footwear. Other Phase 2 personal items comprised two finger rings, two beads and a hair pin.

On the whole the material culture that can be associated with this phase of activity is relatively modest. Apart from personal ornaments the only functional categories represented are fasteners, textile working, writing and agriculture. It is possible that the population were using more objects than the figures suggest as it should not be forgotten that 15% of the objects considered in this report were unstratified. There is nothing in that material, however, that considered from a typological point of view must belong to this phase of activity. As is to be expected Trench 13 has the largest number of 1st-century items but the figures for Trench 17 were also quite significant (Table 4.4). They suggest activity here prior to the Phase 3 re-organisation of the landscape.

As with the other finds, there are problems in exploring the use of vessel glass at Claydon Pike using the phased contexts because quite a high proportion of the more closely dateable material appears to be either intrusive or residual. The most common 1st century form in the assemblage is the blue/green pillar moulded bowl, of which eight

Table 4.4: Distribution of closely dateable finds (1st-mid 2nd century AD) across the trenches

Date range	27	29	13	17	19	Total
0-50	-	1	7	-	-	8
0-100	-	-	5	1	1	7
50-100	1	-	2	1	-	4
50-150	-	5	19	5	-	29
Total	1	6	33	7	1	48

fragments were recovered, none stratified earlier than Phase 3. Two examples of the typical glass cup of the mid 1st century (the Hofheim cup) were present in Trench 13, while an unguent bottle fragment from a Phase 3 context may also belong to this period.

The common Flavian range of vessels consisting of globular and conical jugs, collared jars and tubular rimmed bowls is represented by three examples, all probably of the forms that went out of use in the first quarter of the 2nd century. A number of blue/green square and cylindrical bottles came from the site, which become common in the later 1st century AD. The cylindrical form went out of use during the early 2nd century so was probably in use during Phase 2, while the square form continued in use until the 3rd century AD so could belong to either Phase 2 or 3.

Figures 4.6-7 present a selected group of small finds either from Phase 2 contexts or else dating to this period. A full illustrated catalogue can be found in Digital section 3.4.

Catalogue of selected small finds: Phase 2 Brooches (Fig. 4.6)

- 1765 SF 1045 *Kragenfibel*. Copper alloy. In general known from the mid 1st century BC but most are found in contexts of the end of the 1st century BC and into the 1st century AD. This example is unusual because it appears to be hinged and this is only encountered rarely (Hattatt 1987, 31), Feugère (1985), 245 type 10. Length 63 mm, width spring cover 11 mm. Trench 13, Phase 2
- U/S SF 193 *Colchester*. Copper alloy. Hattatt (1989), 24. Early to mid C1. Length 78 mm, spring width 23 mm. Trench 13
- 687 SF 635 *Strip bow*. Copper alloy. Hattatt (1985), 68. Early to mid C1. Length 53 mm, width of hinge 14 mm. Trench 13, Phase 3
- U/S SF 1279 *Birdlip*. Copper alloy. Hattatt (1989, 20) and Mackreth (1998, 131). Early to mid C1. Length 61 mm. Trench 17
- U/S SF 646 *Aesica*. Copper alloy. Hattatt (1987, 54). Mid C1. Length 39 mm, width of spring cover 19 mm. Trench 13
- U/S SF 1430 *Colchester Derivative*. Copper alloy. Hattatt (1987, 88-92). Mid C1 into C2. Present length 35.5 mm, width spring cover 16.5 mm
- 1200 SF 674 *Light Polden Hill*. Copper alloy. This is a

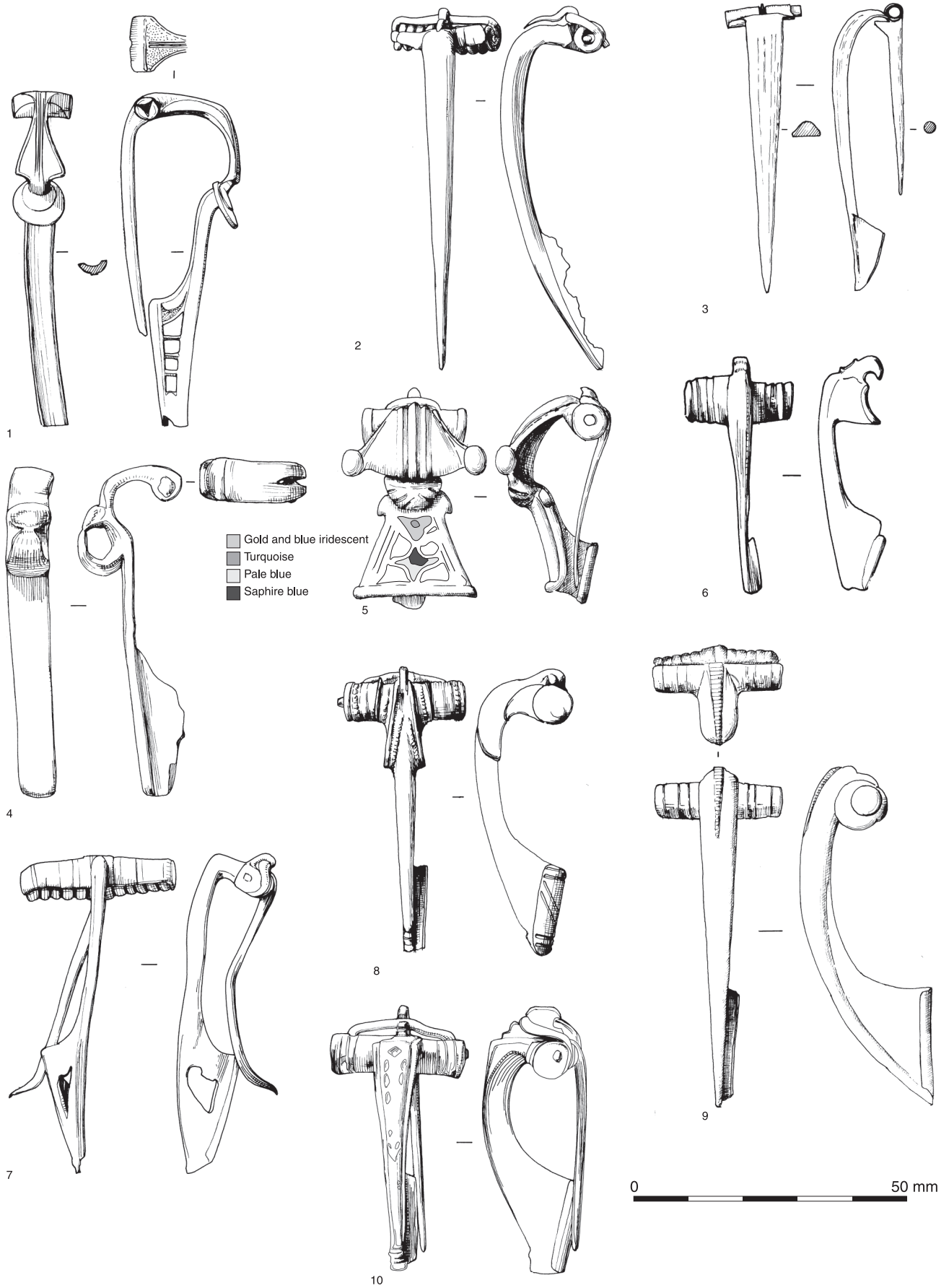


Fig. 4.6 Phase 2 brooches

mid 1st-century form with a distribution stretching from South Wales through the middle Severn Valley to Wiltshire. Length 59 mm, wing width 29 mm. Trench 17

8. 871 SF 733 *Polden Hill*. Copper alloy. A lower Severn Valley type, see Hattatt (1987, 102). Later C1 – mid C2. Length 52.5 mm width spring cover 22 mm. Trench 13
9. 832 SF 755 *Polden Hill*. Copper alloy. Hattatt (1987, 96). Second half C1. Length 62 mm, width wings 24 mm. Trench 13, Phase 2
10. 573 SF 183 *Polden Hill*. Copper alloy. Mid C1 – into C2. Length 48 mm, width wing 25 mm. Trench 13, Phase 2

Other Phase 2 small finds (Fig. 4.7)

11. U/S SF 103 *Bangle*. Glass. 'D'-sectioned. Translucent deep blue with four translucent blue and opaque white right-hand twist cables – two placed centrally and one on each side. C1. Section 11 x 7 mm, Length 27 mm. Trench 13
12. 1627 SF 855 *Bead*. Glass. 'D'-sectioned annular. Translucent deep blue. Outer surface decorated with bands formed from one strand of translucent deep blue and one strand of opaque white cable twisted together and marvered into surface. Diameter 33 mm, Thickness c 19 mm, Perforation diameter 12mm. C1 BC– early C2. Trench 13, Phase 2

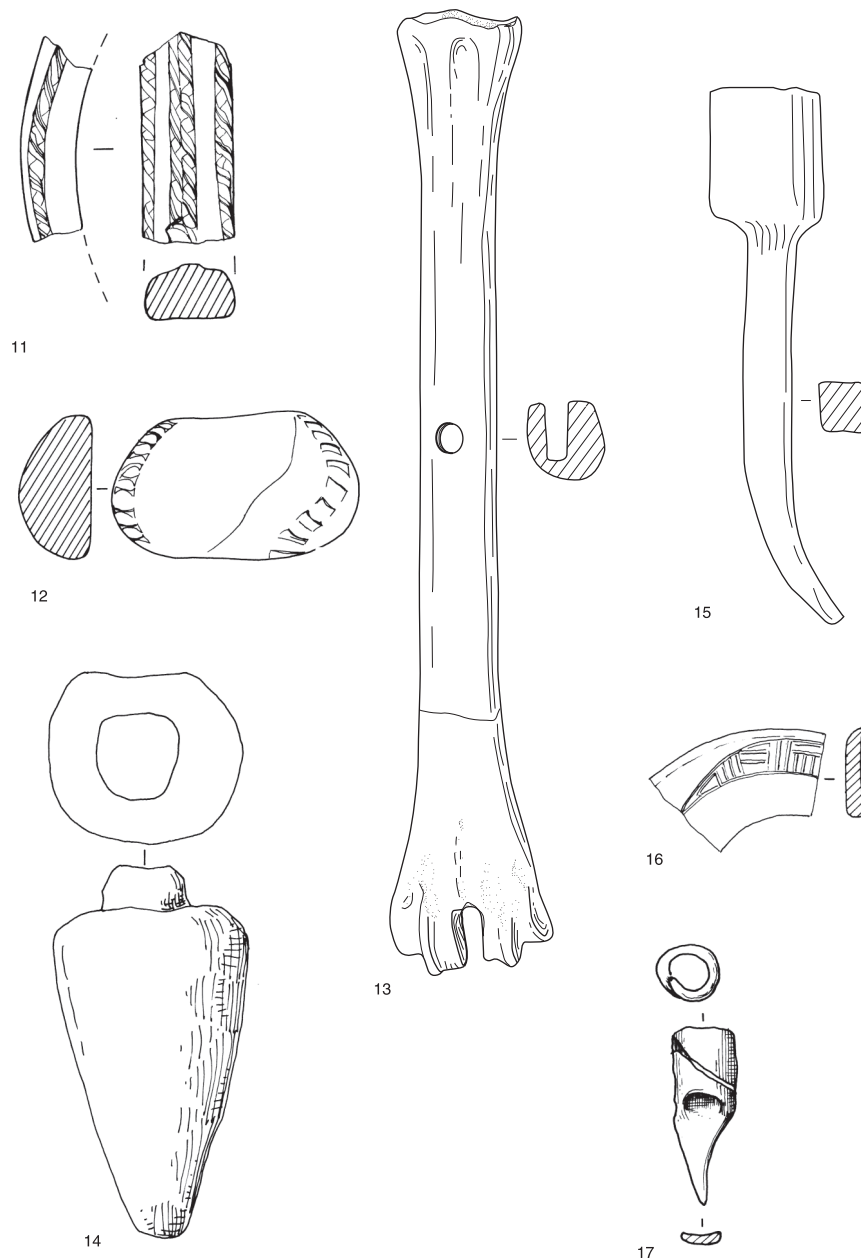


Fig. 4.7 Other Phase 2 small finds

13. 859 SF 846 *Bobbin*. Bone. Ovicaprid tibia or metapodal? Centrally perforated. In two joining fragments. Probably a textile tool, see Greep (1998, 283). Late Iron Age/early Roman. Length 125 mm. Trench 13, Phase 2
14. 809 SF 5498 *Plumb bob*. Iron. Trench 13, Phase 2
15. 643 SF 401 *Retaining pin*. Iron. Square-sectioned shank with slightly bent end; square expanded block. Length 76 mm. Trench 13, Phase 2
16. U/S SF 2775 *Belt fitting*. Copper alloy. Edge of cast circular disc, with bevelled edge; upper face retains part of scroll end infilled with basket work matting. The decoration on this fragment is very similar to that on Celtic mirrors (see for example Fox (1958, 95, fig 60)) but the original diameter indicates it cannot have come from such an item. This decorative pattern is very rare on post-conquest metalwork and so a late pre-Roman Iron Age date would be appropriate. Late C1 BC/early C1 AD. Dimensions 23 x 12 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, original diameter *c* 60 mm. Trench 13.
17. 2092 SF 5323 *Goad*. Iron. Trench 13, Phase 2

Worked stone by *Fiona Roe*

The only objects of worked stone from Phase 2 contexts are two whetstones, a single spindlewhorl, and an unshaped slab of Oxford clay with some evidence for wear on one flat side, possibly used as a smoother. One of the whetstones is made of Kentish Rag, which is likely to have come from around Maidstone, while the other is a fine-grained, red, slightly micaceous sandstone from the Forest of Dean. It is in the form of a regular rectangular block worn along the sides. No quernstones were found associated with this phase, although some of the unstratified examples could well belong to this period. Another Kentish rag whetstone came from Phase 2/3 contexts.

Fired clay by *Alex Smith*

A total of 124 fragments of fired clay were recovered from Phase 2 contexts in Trench 13, although 98 of these are featureless fragments. The remainder comprise 15 oven fragments and an oven plate, 6 pieces of daub, 2 crucible fragments, a piece of briquetage and a possible loomweight. There appears to have been a slight concentration of oven fragments in the area of SE 5 to the north-east of the site (Fig. 4.2), where there is also the greatest concentration of iron slag. This seems to have been the industrial focus for the site (see discussion below and Fig. 4.8). The daub fragments could well have come from domestic structures and many of the undiagnostic and unstratified pieces of fired clay could also have come from buildings that have otherwise gone unrecognised (see Discussion below).

THE ENVIRONMENT

Full environmental reports from this phase of Claydon Pike can be found in Digital section 4.

Animal bone by *Naomi Sykes*

All of the Phase 2 animal bone remains were recovered from Trench 13 of the Longdoles Field site at Claydon Pike (Table 4.5). Preservation is better than for the middle Iron Age material – of the 6455 specimens recovered, 34% (2200 fragments) are identifiable to taxon. Most of the remains came from domestic mammals (cattle, caprines, pigs, equids, dogs and cat), with domestic birds making up 1% of the identifiable material. Although a small range of wild species was identified, most of the animals (field vole, frog, blackbird and raven) probably represent commensals. It is possible that the weasel, quail and pigeon were deliberately hunted or trapped by the inhabitants but the two red deer specimens, both being antler, need not represent the exploitation of the living animal, since they could have been collected when shed. It is noteworthy that a donkey specimen – a metacarpal from context 532 – was amongst the identified remains. This species is not native to Britain and is believed to have been imported whilst Britain was under Roman occupation (Luff 1982). Donkey remains have been recorded on a small number of Romano-British sites (Ewart 1911; Noddle 1979; Hamshaw-Thomas 1993; Bendrey 1999) but the specimen from the Longdoles Field site is the earliest example recorded to date.

Nearly all (99.7%) of the remains derived from ditches, gullies or pits (Table 4.5). Some inter-feature variation in taxa ratios is apparent, with caprines being better represented in pits and gullies (42%) than in the ditches (30%), the latter deposits being dominated by cattle remains (45%). These patterns are consistent with the findings of Maltby (1985a) and Wilson (1999). They argued that, due to inter-taxa variation in carcass processing and bone preservation, larger animals are better represented at the settlement peripheries, whereas the remains of smaller animals are more numerous in central zones of activity. Despite these inter-feature differences, each context demonstrates broadly similar patterns. Aggregated results show that cattle (47%) are the dominant taxon followed by sheep/goat (36%), horse (9%) and then pig (8%). Again, these ratios conform to regional trends, supporting the idea that the Upper Thames Valley was suited to cattle husbandry. The slight rise in cattle frequency also fits the national evidence for a mid to late Iron Age increase in the representation of this taxon (Hambleton 1999).

Rise in cattle frequency was accompanied by a considerable drop in the average age of cattle slaughter. Dentition-based cull-patterns show that over 50% of the herd were killed before 15-26 months of age, a situation suggestive of meat and leather production. Under such a regime it would be expected that most of the slaughtered young individuals were surplus bullocks, an idea supported by the sexing information, which indicates a dearth of adult males and a preponderance (90%) of females. Sheep/goat cull-patterns

Table 4.5 Quantification of species in Phase 2 by feature type

	Ditch		Gully		Pit		All contexts	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Cattle	705	44.93	157	43.13	101	39.45	965	43.86
Sheep	469	29.89	151	41.48	103	40.23	727	33.05
Pig	126	8.03	30	8.24	12	4.69	173	7.86
Horse	142	9.05	17	4.67	27	10.55	186	8.45
Dog	9	0.57	4	1.10	0	0.00	13	0.59
Domestic fowl	6	0.38	0	0.00	2	0.78	8	0.36
Other bird*	13	0.83	3	0.82	11	4.30	27	1.23
Donkey	0	0.00	1	0.27	0	0.00	1	0.05
Cat	1	0.06	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.05
Frog	94	3.02	0	0.00	0	0.00	94	4.27
Field vole	2	0.13	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.09
Weasel	0	0.00	1	0.27	0	0.00	1	0.05
Red deer	2	0.13	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.09
Total	1569	100.00	364	100.00	256	100.00	2200	100.00
Indet.	3115		712		420		4255	
Total	4684		1076		676		6455	

* Includes duck, blackbird, pigeon, goose and raven

indicate a move towards the maintenance of older animals. Few individuals (8%) were slaughtered by 6-12 months and a greater percentage (32%) surviving beyond 3-4 years of age, indicating management for secondary products, such as wool and manure. Insufficient ageing data were available to allow consideration of pig mortality profiles but it is clear that most individuals were slaughtered before 21-27 months, unsurprising considering the animals status as a meat animal. Pigs were the only Phase 2 domesticated to be represented by foetal specimens, indicating that this animal at least was being raised on site. Ageing evidence for the equids suggests a situation opposite to that for pigs, with no animals under the age of 3-5 years being represented. It must be assumed that their main role was as transport since there is no indication that their flesh made an important contribution to the diet. As in the Phase 1 assemblage, horse remains were not processed to the same extent as those of the other domesticates, with only two specimens showed skinning marks. Because many of the horse bones were complete it was possible to estimate withers height: eight specimens produced a shoulder height range of 1.23 m-1.57 m and an average height of 1.32 m. A 100 mm increase in average height suggests that some stock improvement had occurred since Phase 1. Again this contradicts Harcourt's (1979) theory that individuals were selected from feral herds. Metrical data were also available for Phase 2 cattle and caprines. Their size is comparable to animals from other contemporary sites in the region, with cattle having an average wither height of 1.09 m and sheep/goat 0.58 m.

Charred plant remains by Vanessa Straker, Martin Jones and Ann Perry

A total of 40 samples were analysed from 10 circular gullies, 17 ditches, 3 pits and 1 layer which comprised what was thought to be a nucleated settlement, though no directly structural remains were identified from it (Table 4.6). This may be reflected in the very small assemblages and low concentration of macrofossils, with only the assemblage from gully 1645a of more than 50 items. Cultivated plants include emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*), spelt (*Triticum spelta*) and breadwheat (*Triticum aestivum* sl) and the wild species are all from open and disturbed habitats. They include field madder (*Sherardia arvensis*), sheep's sorrel (*Rumex acetosella* agg.), and brome (*Bromus*, probably *B. mollis* or *secalinus*), clover (*Trifolium* sp.), and self heal (*Prunella vulgaris*). However, the range of wild plants is smaller than in both the middle Iron Age and later in the Roman period. The impression, with the exception of gully 1645 where grain predominates, is of occasional discarding of waste from the later stages of crop processing where small chaff such as glume bases and weed seeds predominate.

Waterlogged plant remains by Mark Robinson

Four waterlogged samples were investigated from the bottoms of early 1st- to early 2nd-century AD enclosure ditches (E 16/17) at Longdoles Field, Claydon Pike (samples 577/A, 577/N/4, 1528/A/3, 1704/C15). Other samples came from a ditch just to the south of these enclosures (sample

Table 4.6: Phase 2 charred plant taxon presence by phase

			Phases	2 (Gen)	2A	2B	2C	2D
			No. of samples	17	2	4	13	4
Crops								
<i>Triticum cf dicoccum</i> Schübl.	emmer type	Grain	1 (2)	0	0	1 (1)	1 (1)	
<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	emmer wheat	glume bases	0	0	0	2 (2)	1 (1)	
<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	emmer wheat	Spikelet forks	0	0	0	1 (1)	0	
<i>Triticum cf spelta</i> L.	spelt type	Grain	2 (4)	0	2 (3)	0	1 (2)	
<i>Triticum spelta</i> L.	spelt wheat	glume bases	5 (10)	0	0	2 (3)	0	
<i>Triticum cf dicoccum/spelta</i>	emmer/spelt	Spikelet forks	0	0	0	1 (1)	0	
<i>Triticum cf aestivum</i>	bread wheat type	Grain	3 (4)	0	0	1 (1)	0	
<i>Triticum</i> sp.	wheat	Grain	6 (45)	2 (1)	1 (1)	6 (9)	3 (5)	
<i>Triticum</i> sp.	wheat	Sprouted grain	0	0	0	0	2 (7)	
<i>Triticum</i> sp.	hulled wheat	glume bases	6 (22)	1 (1)	3 (5)	3 (11)	0	
<i>Triticum</i> sp.	hulled wheat	Spikelet forks	1 (1)	0	0	0	0	
<i>Triticum</i> sp.	free threshing wheat	tough rachis internodes	0	0	0	1 (1)	0	
<i>Triticum/Hordeum</i> sp.	wheat/barley	Grain	1 (1)	0	0	2 (2)	0	
<i>Hordeum</i> sp.	barley	Straight grain	5 (9)	0	2 (2)	2 (2)	0	
<i>Hordeum</i> sp.	barley	Twisted grain	2 (4)	0	0	0	3 (3)	
<i>Hordeum</i> sp.	barley	Indeterminate grain	9 (49)	1 (1)	3 (6)	6 (11)	3 (5)	
<i>Hordeum</i> sp.	barley	hulled grain	0		0	2 (2)	0	
<i>Hordeum</i> sp.	barley	Internodes	0	0	0	2 (10)	0	
<i>cf Avena</i> sp.	cf oats	Grain	0	0	1 (1)	0	0	
<i>Avena</i> sp.	oats	Grain	2 (2)	0	0	0	1 (1)	
<i>Avena</i> sp.	oats	awn fragments	1 (1)	0	0	0	0	
<i>Avena/Bromus</i> sp.	oats/brome	Grain	0	0	1 (2)	0	0	
Cereal sp.	cereal indet.	Grain	2 (16)	1 (1)	2 (2)	1 (1)	0	
Cereal sp.	cereal indet.	rachis fragments	1 (1)	0	0	2 (2)	0	
Wild species			Habitat range					
<i>Raphanus raphanistrum</i> L.	wild radish, charlock	Da	0	0	0	1 (0)	0	
Caryophyllaceae	campion family		1 (1)	0	0	0	0	
Chenopodiaceae/ Caryophyllaceae			0	0	1 (1)	0	0	
Chenopodiaceae	goosefoot family		0	0	0	1 (2)	0	
<i>Chenopodium</i> sp.	goosefoot	V	1 (1)	0	0	0	0	
<i>Chenopodium rubrum</i> L.	red goosefoot	D Da						
Leguminosae	clover, pea family	V	1 (1)	0	0	2 (3)	0	
<i>Vicia/Lathyrus</i> sp.	vetch, tare	Da M G S W	0	0	0	3 (3)	0	
<i>Lathyrus/Pisum</i>	vetch, pea	Da, G C	2 (7)	0	0	0	0	
<i>Medicago cf lupulina</i> L.	cf black medick	G	0	0	1 (1)	0	0	
<i>Trifolium</i> sp.	clover	V	1 (2)	1 (2)	0	1 (2)	0	
<i>Trifolium cf. pratense</i> L.	red clover	G	1 (1)	0	0	0	0	
<i>Fallopia convolvulus</i> (A.) Löve	black bindweed	Da	1 (1)	0	0	0	0	
<i>Rumex</i> sp.	sorrel, dock	Da G M S W	3 (3)	0	1 (1)	2 (2)	1 (1)	
<i>Rumex acetosella</i> agg.	sheep's sorrel	Da G	4 (4)	0	0	0	0	
<i>Euphrasia</i> sp./ <i>Odontites verna</i>	eyebright, red bartsia	Da G	2 (2)	0	1 (2)	0	1 (1)	
<i>Lycopus europaeus</i> L.	gypsywort	V (wet)	0	0	1 (3)	0	0	
<i>Prunella vulgaris</i> L.	self heal	G	0	0	0	1 (1)	0	
<i>Plantago major</i> L.	great plantain	Da G	1 (1)	0	0	0	0	
<i>Plantago lanceolata</i> L.	ribwort plantain	Da G	1 (1)	0	0	0	0	
<i>Sherardia arvensis</i> L.	field madder	D Da	3 (3)	1 (1)	0	1 (1)	0	
<i>Galium</i> sp.	bedstraw	Da M G S W	3 (5)	0	0	0	0	
<i>Galium cf. aparine</i> L.	cleavers	Da V	2 (6)	0	0	1 (2)	0	
Cyperaceae	sedge family	A M G	2 (2)	0	0	2 (2)	0	
<i>Eleocharis</i> sp.	spike rush	A M G	0	0	0	0	0	
<i>Eleocharis palustris/uniglumis</i>	spike-rush	A M G	1 (1)	0	2 (2)	1 (1)	0	
<i>Carex</i> sp.	sedge	V (mainly wet)	3 (5)	0	1 (1)	1 (1)	0	
<i>Carex</i> spp.	sedges	V (mainly wet)	0	0	1 (1)	0	0	
Gramineae	grass family		2 (2)	1 (1)	1 (1)	3 (10)	1 (1)	
Gramineae culm node	grass family		1 (1)	0	0	0	0	
<i>cf. Poa</i> sp.	cf poa	G						
<i>Poa</i> sp.	poa	G	1 (1)	0	0	1 (2)	0	
<i>Bromus S. Eubromus</i>	brome, chess	Da G	2 (2)	0	0	3 (9)	0	

2490), an isolated enclosure (sample 6) and a water-hole or sump on the floodplain in the Warrens Field site (sample 962/A), which may have been early Roman in date. The features all seem to have held stagnant water which supported various water plants such as *Ranunculus* S. *Batrachium* sp., *Nasturtium officinale*, *Apium nodiflorum* and *Lemna* sp., small water beetles particularly *Helophorus* cf. *brevipalpis* and *Ochthebius minimus*, and slum aquatic molluscs. The waterlogged plant and invertebrate remains which had their origins beyond the limits of these features mostly seem to have entered the deposits via various natural agencies although Sample 1528/A/3 also contained imported plant material. The enclosures were sufficiently small that there was a strong element within the assemblages reflecting conditions beyond the immediate environs of these features as well as that reflecting more local conditions.

The 1st/early 2nd-century AD enclosures at Claydon Pike had much in common with Iron Age settlements on the Thames floodplain and will be compared with them. The enclosures were used for the herding of domestic animals that were grazed on the floodplain and islands of gravel terrace. The increasing wetness of the floodplain was probably exacerbated by the trampling of the stock impeding the drainage of the soil even on the areas of gravel terrace. Similar conditions, of ill-drained pastureland with rush tussocks and disturbed areas with nutrient-rich mud supporting *Chenopodium rubrum*, *Rumex maritimus* etc also existed around Iron Age enclosures elsewhere on the Thames floodplain at Port Meadow and Farmoor Enclosure 3 (Lambrick and Robinson 1988, 65-71) as well as nearby at Thornhill Farm (Robinson 2004). The evidence from the dung beetles does not indicate which species of domestic animal were grazed at Claydon Pike. However, wet conditions on the site and the presence of the snail *Lymnaea truncatula*, which is the intermediate host of the sheep liver fluke, would suggest that it is more likely that cattle or horses were the main stock rather than sheep. This is corroborated by the generally high proportion of cattle remains within the faunal assemblage (see Sykes above).

The Coleoptera provide little evidence of the presence of human settlement or buildings on the site. However, the 'intensity' of human occupation on other Iron Age sites that have been investigated in the Upper Thames Valley was insufficient to be reflected by the beetle evidence. There was no evidence that the enclosures experienced flooding during the late Iron Age or early Roman period. The islands would therefore have been suitable for permanent habitation. In this way Claydon Pike is more similar to Port Meadow, where the Iron Age settlements were also on top of gravel islands on the floodplain, rather than Farmoor, where the settlements were on the floodplain and experienced flooding. However, the frequent realignments shown by the enclosure ditches and the absence of

any more permanent boundaries in the form of hedges suggest that the life of each phase of an enclosure was short.

A very small quantity of waterlogged spelt wheat chaff was identified from the 1st-century AD deposits, but the carbonised plant remains provide better evidence for the use of cereals on the site. It is possible that they had been imported from elsewhere. Bracken was brought to the site, perhaps for use as bedding. While it is by no means certain what the bracken was used for, the importation of bracken seems to have been a normal activity on Iron Age sites in the Upper Thames Valley (eg Robinson 1981, 261). Unlike the subsequent Roman phases of the site, there was no evidence for horticultural crops from these samples. This too seems usual for Iron Age sites in the region. However, various wild plants were present which could have been used as green vegetables, for example water cress (*Nasturtium officinale*).

DISCUSSION by Alex Smith

The establishment of a settlement in the Longdoles Field site at Claydon Pike in the early 1st century AD was part of a regional pattern of expansion that has been widely observed in the region (see Chapter 16; Lambrick 1992; Henig and Booth 2000). At sites such as Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen 2004), Old Shifford Farm (Hey 1995) and Thornhill Farm (Jennings *et al.* 2004) settlements were either established or re-established during this period, sometimes succeeding earlier settlements. In the case of Claydon Pike, as at Thornhill Farm, there may well have been a chronological gap between the abandonment of the middle Iron Age site and establishment of the later Iron Age settlement, although this may in part be because of the difficulties in ceramic dating (see Chapter 3).

Interpretation of the Phase 2 settlement at Claydon Pike is fraught with difficulties, primarily because of the lack of many coherent stratigraphic sequences, together with an unquantifiable contamination of finds from later phases. Nevertheless, the quantity and quality of data is sufficient to be able to allow some detailed analysis of settlement form, development and function, especially when viewed alongside the contemporary pastoral site at nearby Thornhill Farm.

Settlement organisation and development

The earliest phase of activity at the Longdoles Field site has been divided into four sub-phases, ranging approximately from the early 1st century AD to the early 2nd century AD (Fig. 4.3), although nowhere is there a complete and coherent structural sequence. Most activity during this phase was confined to Trench 13, which was the highest gravel island in the area, and therefore the most suitable for permanent habitation. The earliest features on the site (Phase 2a), as defined both stratigraphically

and by ceramic dating, are mainly confined to the northern and north-eastern areas, and comprise a number of circular and linear gullies. Fired clay from these features does suggest the presence of structures, although these cannot be discerned archaeologically (see 'Domestic zone' below). It is likely that around the middle of the 1st century AD (Phase 2b), the settlement expanded to cover most of Trench 13, probably along with further areas immediately to the east and south, which are shown as cropmarks (Fig. 4.1). It is in this sub-phase that there is a move to substantial enclosures and sub-enclosures that bear striking similarities to those at Thornhill Farm, which are of a similar date. Both the Thornhill Farm and Claydon Pike enclosures were intensively redefined, which suggests that they were spatially limited to areas of higher ground which were more free draining and not prone to flooding. The life of each phase of enclosure was seemingly quite short, and as there appear to have been no more permanent boundaries (eg hedges), it was probably not an ideal site, despite the lack of flooding. The Claydon Pike enclosures were generally confined to the eastern part of the trench, although during the following sub-phase (2c) they did spread further west (E11, E16 and E17). It would seem that only a maximum of three enclosures would have been in existence at any one time.

The western limits of the settlement appear to have been originally defined by a number of sub-enclosures (SE 2, SE 3 and SE 4), which were all recut many times (Fig. 4.2). In the latter part of this phase (2c and 2d; Fig. 4.3), there were also a series of long linear boundaries running along the length of this western side, including substantial ditch 2502, which was stratigraphically the latest feature of this phase. It ran along the edge of the lower lying area between the main trenches, on a very similar alignment to the Phase 3 boundaries, thereby providing one of the few structural indications of continuity. Also belonging to the later stages of Phase 2 were a number of substantial ditches (643, 634) running southwards, possibly towards part of the triple ditched boundary, lying c 70 m distant (Figs 4.1 and 4.3). Although the dating of these features is far from secure, they may represent a trackway leading from the south into the heart of the late Iron Age/early Roman settlement.

Activity areas within the settlement (Fig. 4.8)

The identification of specific activity areas is made difficult by the stratigraphic and taphonomic problems already mentioned (see above). Additionally, there are many complicating factors concerned with how artefacts and ecofacts ended up in the archaeological record, in particular the differentiation between primary (discarded at its location of use) and secondary (material removed from location of use) refuse (Schiffer 1972). The general paucity and condition of finds from this phase of Claydon Pike ensure that this differentia-

tion is not always that evident. Nevertheless, it does appear that – aside from metalworking debris – most find types exhibited little evidence for specific spatial patterning that might suggest 'structured deposition' (Hill 1995), and it therefore seems that they were probably deposited close to their place of use. In general, the overall distribution of archaeological features and finds strongly suggests that there were a number of activity areas which relate to different aspects of life within the settlement. In particular, these are concerned with domestic, industrial and agrarian activities.

Domestic focus

The definition of domestic zones is dependent upon identifying specific groups of finds or 'tool kits', along with – if possible – supporting structural features. Unfortunately, the Phase 2 settlement at Claydon Pike has very little evidence for actual domestic structures, although this is a fairly typical situation for this period within the Upper Thames Valley, presumably associated with a change in construction techniques (Henig and Booth 2000, 82; Allen 1990, 81). Meadows (2001, 58) has recently reiterated how this lack of evidence for actual buildings has had a direct effect upon the way 'households' in the region can be defined in the archaeological record. It is important that in the absence of the houses themselves, all other evidence of habitation is taken into account, especially the deposition of material culture within features within and around the settlement. The primary 'tool kit' for domestic activity would seem to be pottery, animal bone and items of personal adornment (see 'material culture' below), and as a group these do show some distinctive distribution patterns within the Phase 2 settlement at Claydon Pike. Whilst pottery and animal bone were recovered from most features on site, there were greater concentrations in central and southern areas, suggesting that throughout most of this phase, domestic activity was apparent in these areas (see Fig. 4.8). There is slight evidence for differentiation between the two find types, with 35% of animal bone coming from pits and gullies, as opposed to just 13% of pottery, most of which was found in ditches. This may in part be due to the apparent redeposition of some material within certain features at the end of the phase (see below), although it is possible that certain organic waste was disposed of differently.

Of particular significance with regard to finds distribution was a group of pits and gullies within the central part of the trench, which contained comparatively large quantities of animal bone and pottery, especially to the south of curving gully 1765 (Fig. 4.2). This gully, along with an arc of pits just to the north, defined an open circular area, and provides the best evidence for a domestic structure within this phase. A rare late Iron Age brooch (Fig. 4.6, no. 1) and a small quantity of pottery and animal bone were recovered from this feature, but in general it seems to have been kept clear of refuse,

with the majority of such material seemingly being deposited immediately to the south. The small amount of fired clay daub from this phase is enough to suggest the presence of buildings, but cannot be specifically associated with this feature. Two other ring gully features (506 and 1645) of similar dimensions (c 8-9 m dia) were located to the north (Fig. 4.2), and it is possible that these also represent structures of some kind, although they do not have such a high concentration of domestic debris in the vicinity.

Two of the larger groups of domestic material within Phase 2 derive from E16/17 and the long western boundary ditch 2502 (Fig. 4.2). This not only includes substantial quantities of pottery and

to a lesser extent animal bone, but also many of the 'domestic' small finds from this phase (vessel glass and personal items). It is uncertain if this represents a genuine pattern of primary discard, especially as most came from spreads in the upper layers, and probably represents material that was redeposited just prior to the structural developments of Phase 3, or even Phase 3 material itself. This lack of primary association seems even more likely when it is considered that most of the other large enclosures and western boundary ditches contained very little domestic refuse, and these features are not thought to be directly connected with occupation.

The evidence points to the main area of occupation at the site lying within the central western part



Fig. 4.8 Main functional zones within Phase 2 site

of Trench 13 (Fig. 4.8). Further domestic zones may well have existed further north, perhaps associated with the earliest occupation on site, and possibly also further south, where there were more pits and gullies. Unfortunately, a more detailed distribution analysis is very difficult due to the overall small number of stratified objects and the apparently high level of residuality.

Industrial focus

A far clearer picture emerges for the distribution of industrial debris within the settlement. This material comprises iron smithing slag and fired clay oven fragments, and is concentrated within a group of pits and gullies in the north-eastern part of the site, bounded to the south by Sub-enclosure 5 (Fig. 4.8). One of the larger ring gullies (506) was located just to the north of these features and may represent an associated structure (Fig. 4.2). None of these features can be readily assigned to any specific sub-phase within Phase 2, and the material is not of sufficient quantity to suggest that metalworking activity was occurring on anything more than a very low scale, as would be expected for a farmstead of this type. Nevertheless, it is clear that this activity was deliberately segregated from the main domestic focus, and was towards the periphery of the settlement. This situation was mirrored at the late Iron Age-early Roman settlement at Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen 2004).

Agrarian focus

The most visually dominant features of the Phase 2 settlement comprised the large intensively redefined sub-rectangular enclosures, most of which were located to the east of what is presumed to have been the main occupation area (Fig. 4.8). As at Thornhill Farm, most of these appeared to be non-domestic in function and can probably be interpreted as seasonal pens used in stock management (see Economy and material culture below). The much larger quantities of domestic debris from some of these enclosures (E 16 and E 17) are unlikely to represent *in situ* primary refuse deposits (see above), and it is likely that these were also stock enclosures. In addition to the large enclosures, there were two or three small circular enclosures termed 'stack rings', which were also located in the eastern half of the site. These are a well known feature from Thornhill Farm, and are interpreted as fodder stands for the provision of animals.

Overall, as illustrated on Figure 4.8, the pattern of finds distribution together with the spatial organisation of features at the site suggests that the primary area of domestic habitation during Phase 2 lay in the central western part of Trench 13, defined by a series of gullies and pits. It was bordered on its western side by a series of linear boundary ditches, while to the east lay a cleared space and then a number of substantial enclosures, probably connected with the corralling of animals at certain

times of the year. A further area of specialised metalworking was observed to the north-east on the periphery of the settlement.

Economy and material culture

The quantity and quality of environmental data from the late Iron Age-early Roman phase at Claydon Pike provides a fairly good insight into the nature of the economy practised there. Furthermore, the evidence from material culture is able to give some illumination on matters of social expression, status and identity, at this crucial and transitional period.

The gravel terrace and floodplain comprised largely open grassland, used for animal grazing (see Chapter 14 for environmental overview of the region). It appears that the increasing wetness of this landscape was made worse by the trampling of animals, which ensured poor drainage and probably much localised flooding. This is similar to situations on other sites on or near the floodplain (eg Port Meadow and Farmoor Enclosure 3; Lambrick and Robinson 1988, 65-71), and suggests that the grassland was not well managed at this time. Even the gravel islands seem to have had drainage problems, although they would have provided more suitable areas for permanent habitation, and there is no reason to suspect occupation at Claydon Pike was of a transhumant nature. The charred plant and waterlogged remains both indicated a low residential population on the site, probably consisting of one or two family groups. There is no evidence for crop growing in the vicinity, although some processing of emmer, spelt and breadwheat certainly occurred, suggesting that this material was brought into the site from further afield. Whether this was from areas under control of the residents of Claydon Pike, or else represents trade with other settlements, is not known. Unlike later phases, there is no evidence for the growing of horticultural crops on the site, which is typical of Iron Age sites in the region (see Robinson, Chapter 14).

The main economic basis of the settlement would appear to be pastoral in nature, much the same as other floodplain and 1st terrace sites in the Upper Thames Valley (see Chapters 14 and 16). The large enclosures would probably have been used for the corralling of animals that grazed on other gravel islands and the floodplain, probably at specific times of the year. Analysis of the animal bone remains has indicated that all main domesticates were present, although cattle were dominant suggesting that they formed the main economic basis of the settlement, much the same as at Thornhill Farm (see Plate 4.1 for an artist's impression of this pastoral regime). The kill-off age was quite low and 90% were female, suggesting that meat production was of primary importance. It seems that these animals were reared, butchered and consumed on site, pointing to a largely subsis-



Plate 4.1 Reconstruction of late Iron Age/early Roman pastoral activity in the Claydon Pike/Thornhill Farm area

tence economy. However, the range of imported crops and other goods does indicate the presence of wider networks of exchange, indeed far more so than at neighbouring Thornhill Farm. The presence of donkey within the animal bone assemblage – assuming it is not intrusive – may be another reflection of such exchange networks, as these animals were only introduced after the Roman conquest, and may well have been regarded as ‘exotic goods’. The small numbers of horses on site were probably used for transport, although no doubt some breeding did occur in order to maintain the population. There appears to have been no noticeable break in the economic structure of the settlement during this phase, suggesting that the Roman conquest had little impact in this regard, as was the case at most other sites in the region (see Chapter 16).

Social structure and identity

Any attempt to use the archaeological record to facilitate our understanding of past social structure is always fraught with difficulties. Nevertheless, there have been many studies in recent times that have successfully used aspects of settlement organisation and material culture to such an effect (eg Jundi and Hill 1998; Hingley 1990a-b; Meadows 2001; Greene 2002). These studies have used a variety of indicators in their attempts to discern social meaning from the archaeological record, and these essentially equate to the following:

The physical structure and spatial organisation of the site

Aspects of the material culture relating to eating and drinking

Aspects of the material culture relating to personal appearance and identity

All of these can be very useful indicators of social status, both on an intra-site (internal differentiation between social groups) and inter-site (relations between different settlements) basis, although as their meaning and social value is never likely to be universal, any interpretation must be firmly rooted within the local context. It is when a combination of evidence is available that we are best able to study past social structure, and despite the many problems of stratigraphy and residuality already discussed, the Phase 2 settlement at Claydon Pike has sufficient indicators to be broadly defined in terms of its social status within a regional context. Further more, it appears that there may have been a genuine increase in the social status of the inhabitants during this phase, especially when compared to their nearest neighbours at Thornhill Farm.

Certain indications of social structure rely upon an understanding of the physical organisation of the site, and in this case the concept of the boundary is a key element. In Hingley’s (1990a) study of the boundaries surrounding Iron Age and Romano-British settlements, he suggested that in addition to any perceived defensive value, they may also have acted as symbols of social exclusion and status,

especially in times of social stress between neighbouring communities. At Claydon Pike, there is a genuine development towards enclosing what appears to have been the primary domestic focus (see Fig. 4.8), and this seems to have become more pronounced in the later 1st century to the early 2nd century AD (Phase 2c/d; Fig. 4.3). This must certainly have been a period of social upheaval and stress in the region (see Chapter 16), and it is possible that the increased emphasis on enclosure at Claydon Pike may have been a measure of its increasing status, perhaps also indicating greater competition between neighbouring social groups. In this respect, there are certainly many differences with nearby Thornhill Farm, where the main domestic focus of this phase appears to have remained unenclosed. Indeed, it may be significant that the most pronounced physical boundary at Claydon Pike faced towards its western neighbour.

There are further indications that Claydon Pike was developing to higher social levels than many of its contemporary sites on the floodplain and lower terraces of the Upper Thames Valley, despite the fact that many appeared to share a similar pastoral economy. Karen Meadows (2001) has examined the social contexts of a number of sites in the region in terms of the consumption of food and drink, and in this respect Claydon Pike appears quite anomalous compared with other non-villa sites. Although most of the pottery comprises typical local grog-tempered wares, there is a comparatively large assemblage of Dressel 20 amphora and imported mortaria which

indicates an increasing move towards Roman style food consumption. Furthermore, the percentage of ceramic finewares and glass vessels, although small, far surpasses that of Thornhill Farm. The original suggestion that this ceramic assemblage was associated with a 1st century AD military presence has been largely discounted (see Booth above), and instead it is more likely to further indicate an increasing differentiation in status of the inhabitants at Claydon Pike. This is not however to suggest that the presence of finewares and imported goods represents a conscious social strategy to adopt Roman ways, but rather that they may have become part of the package of symbolic referents within local society, by which the status of individuals or communities could be maintained or increased. As Greene (2002, 247) has recently proposed, it is likely that imported goods formed part of a chain of ceremonial gift giving which cemented the bonds of a hierarchical society.

In slight contrast to the ceramic assemblage, the limited quantity of small finds suggests quite a conservative rural society within the settlement, with nothing for example to indicate new styles of hair or dress. Personal items did form one of the larger groups of material, and mostly comprised brooches, which is directly comparable to Thornhill Farm. During the late Iron Age brooches became increasingly common, and even though this continued into the early Roman period, it can be seen as an essentially 'non-Romanised' phenomenon (Jundi and Hill 1998, 134).