Chapter 13
The Material Culture

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COTSWOLD WATER PARK ROMAN CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES IN THEIR REGIONAL CONTEXT *by Paul Booth*

Introduction

There have been relatively few attempts to summarise broad aspects of Roman pottery supply in the Cirencester area. Cirencester itself was included in a wider survey of early military assemblages by Darling (1977, 64-67), while more recently Cooper (1998) has provided a brief overview of quantified chronological trends for Cirencester, but based on a limited number of assemblages, which inevitably raises questions about the extent to which these can be regarded as representative of the town as a whole. At the same time, Timby (1998, 263-4) summarised briefly the pottery from Kingscote, well to the west of Cirencester, in its regional context, drawing principally on comparative quantified date from Uley and Frocester, both lying even further west, following this with another brief summary of pottery from the A417/419 Swindon to Gloucester Road Scheme sites in their wider context (Timby 1999b, 362-5). The following discussion is based largely but not entirely on assemblages for which quantified data are available, summary information for the most important of which is tabulated below (Table 13.1). All except one are from sites within 20 km of one or more of the Cotswold Water Park (CWP) sites discussed in this volume (see Chapters 2-11). Kingscote, which falls only just outside this definition, is included because of the size and importance of its assemblage. Occasional reference is also made to more distant sites, mostly in Oxfordshire to the east, which are not tabulated here.

The chronology of pottery supply

The regional late Iron Age ceramic tradition had two main components, leaving aside the question of how far material of middle Iron Age character remained in use at this time. The principal late Iron Age temper types were calcareous inclusions and argillaceous material, referred to here for convenience as grog (cf Trow 1988, 74). The former represented a continuation of earlier regional practices, while the latter can be seen as an intrusive tradition from south-eastern Britain. In their implementation in the region, however, there is no clear distinction between these traditions in terms of vessel shaping technology (both fabric traditions were used for wheel-thrown and hand-made vessels) or of repertoire of vessel forms (both were used for simple forms with middle Iron Age ancestry as well as for the more distinctive types, such as high shouldered jars and carinated forms, characteristic of the south-eastern 'Belgic' tradition). For the most part the sources of such material are unknown in detail, but one identifiable component, in a middle Iron Age ceramic tradition, was provided by Malvernian wares. These included both calcareous and igneous rock-tempered fabrics, the former usually considerably more common than the latter, though at Thornhill Farm (Fairford) both were quite well-represented, the calcareous fabric (C22) comprising 8% of sherds and the igneous rock and metamorphic fabrics (E71 and E82) 1.5%. Some 1.1% of sherds at Claydon Pike were assigned to fabric C22, but without a specific identification as Malvernian products (see Chapter 4). Four of the A417/419 sites, three to the north-west of Cirencester and one to the south-east, produced Malvernian limestone-tempered ware (Timby 1999a, 322-323) and it was also present at The Ditches, north of Cirencester (Trow 1988, 64). Other palaeozoic limestone-tempered fabrics are encountered in the region, such as C21, found at Somerford Keynes and alongside the Malvernian C22 at Thornhill Farm. Fabric C21 comprised 2% of the total sherds at Somerford Keynes (where C22 was not isolated) and may have included some sherds of Malvernian origin (see Chapter 9). Equally at other sites Malvernian products may not have been specifically distinguished from other limestone-tempered fabrics of middle-late Iron Age character. The Fairford area seems to mark the eastern limit of any significant Malvernian distribution; substantial middle-late Iron Age into early Roman assemblages from further down the Thames, such as Gravelly Guy (Stanton Harcourt) (Lambrick and Allen 2004) and Yarnton (Hey and Timby forthcoming), are characterised by an almost total lack of these fabrics. Their distribution was probably closely linked with that of Droitwich briquetage which, although not common, is better represented than Malvernian pottery in the Oxfordshire Upper Thames sites. This situation may also prevail in the middle Iron Age in the Water Park area – as is clearly the case at middle Iron Age Claydon Pike (see Jones, Chapter 3) –

Table 13.1: Sites not reported in this volume considered in CWP ceramic review

Site	*Type*	*Location*	*Distance from FCP*	*Chronology*	*Quantified assemblages*	*Principal pottery references*
Bagendon	'oppidum'	SP 0106	20 km WNW	1C	No	Fell 1961
The Ditches	enclosure/ 'oppidum'	SO 9909	23 km WNW	mostly mid 1C	Yes	Trow 1988
Cirencester	Civitas capital	SP 0201	17 km W	mid 1C-late 4C+	Some	Cooper 1998
Asthall	Small town	SP 2911	15 km NE	mid 1C-late 4C	Yes	Booth 1997, 104-134
Wanborough	Small town	SU 1985	14 km S	1C-4C	No, but extensive treatment	Seager Smith 2001
Birdlip Quarry	Roadside settlement	SO 9413	28 km NW	2C-4C	Yes	Timby 1999b
Kingscote Site 2	?estate centre	SO 8095	40 km W	late 1C-4C	Yes	Timby 1998, 239-267
Roughground Farm, Lechlade	Villa and associated settlement	SP 2100	3 km NE	?l 1C-4C	Some	Green and Booth 1993
Barnsley Park	'villa'	SP 0806	13 km NW	late 1C-late 4C	Little - W&S 1983, 168	Webster 1981, 63-77; Webster and Smith 1982, 147-169
Middle Duntisbourne	Enclosure	SO 9807	22 km WNW	mid 1C	Yes	Timby 1999a, 329-332
Duntisbourne Grove	Enclosure	SO 9906	21 km WNW	mid 1C	Yes	Timby 1999a, 332-335
Court Farm, Latton	Uncertain, quarry pits etc	SU 0995	11 km WSW	1C-early 2C	Yes (not all details in print)	Timby 1999a, 335-337
Weavers Bridge, Cricklade	Midden	SU1094	10 km ENE	late 2C-4C	Yes	Timby 1999a, 337-339
Langford Downs	Rural settlement	SP 2102	4 km NNE	1C	No	Williams 1946/7
Thornhill Farm	Rural settlement	SU 1899	1 km W	1C-?mid 2C	Yes	Timby 2004
Kempsford Multi-Agg Quarry	Field system etc	SU 1696	3 km SW	2C-4C	Yes	Forthcoming (see Digital section 8.4)
Watchfield	Rural settlement	SU 2590	10 km SE	?1C-4C (most 1C-2C)	Yes	Laidlaw 2002
Faringdon	rural settlement	SU 2894	10 km ESE	?1C-mid 4C (most 1C-2C)	Yes	Forthcoming
Ashton Keynes	rural settlement	SU 0694	14 km WSW	1C-4C	Very rough totals only	Coe *et al*. 1991; unpublished WA assessment report

whereas later it may have been reversed, with briquetage appearing in smaller quantities than the more durable pottery in the late Iron Age and early Roman periods.

The Malvernian fabrics represent a relatively unusual continuation of a ceramic tradition from the middle Iron Age into the early Roman period. In contrast, the most obvious examples of the introduction of new material from outside the region from the late Iron Age onwards are a range of imported wares. These include amphorae (see below), samian and Gallo-Belgic wares. Pre-conquest assemblages including both these last components occur at Bagendon and the nearby (and surely associated) sites of The Ditches (Trow 1988), Middle Duntisbourne and Duntisbourne Grove (Timby 1999a), while amphorae alone (?) are noted at Ashton Keynes (Coe *et al*. 1991) and a single example at Watchfield (Birkbeck 2002). Gallo-Belgic wares are also present at Cirencester, but here they belong to the early Roman military phase (Rigby 1977; 1988, 63), where they were associated with other early Roman imports characteristic of such assemblages.

Outside the Bagendon complex and Cirencester quantities of Gallo-Belgic and other early Roman fine wares are remarkably low and their significance in terms of trade networks and site character, if any, correspondingly difficult to assess. Five sherds of Lyon ware (fabric F41) and a note of Central Gaulish green glazed ware from Claydon Pike, for example, cannot be taken as indicative of a military association for the site in the mid 1st century (see Chapter 4). Military assemblages are clearly present at Cirencester and quite probably also at Wanborough, where the range of such material (Seager-Smith 2001, 299), and the 'entirely Roman character of the assemblage as a whole' (Anderson *et al.* 2001, 345) reflect the likely proximity of a military site and associated settlement, though no certain military features were recorded. Elsewhere in the area there is evidence for early military activity at sites such as Asthall, although this is not reflected clearly in the excavated pottery assemblage (Booth 1997, 149), and a fort has been suggested to the west at Rodborough Common (eg Swan 1975, 44), although this suggestion is rightly treated with caution (eg McWhirr 1981, 19). Here some aspects of the pottery assemblage (Rennie 1959, 36-42; Clifford 1964) may be consistent with military occupation (cf Rigby 1982a passim), but the general character of the published material, at least, is much more reminiscent of Bagendon than of early military Cirencester. Cooper's summary of the military phase assemblages at Cirencester (1998, 325-7) makes it clear that, even allowing for the potentially biasing effects of the Leaholme fort ditch group (Rigby 1982a, 179-87), these assemblages are dominated by imported wares, in line with a widely observed regional pattern (cf Darling 1977). The contrast with contemporary civilian assemblages is therefore very marked, although the occurrence in some of the latter of components normally considered to be of military character – such as the 'honey pots' from Claydon Pike (see Chapter 4) – still raises questions about the overlap of military and non-military supply networks. The principal distinctions between these two, however, are in relation to different requirements for fine wares and functionally specific vessel types, such as flagons and other liquid containers, mortaria and lamps, amongst others, met by the military either by importation or localised specialist production (Darling 1977; cf eg Timby 1990 fig 2, from Kingsholm). In this region it was possible for both military and civilian coarse ware requirements to be met largely by local or regional producers, in contrast to the position on some military sites further west where even coarse ware vessels had to be produced initially by incoming potters (eg at Usk, Greene 1993, 8, cf 50).

Two important local/regional production centres played a role in supplying pottery to the military and other markets from the every beginning of the Roman period (see Table 13.2). Known centres of the Severn Valley industry lie north-west and west of the CWP area, though it is certain that despite recent work (eg Evans *et al.* 2000) more of its production sites remain to be located. The Savernake industry lay some 35 km south of Claydon Pike, but had a direct major road access to Cirencester via Mildenhall and Wanborough. Both industries have been seen as post-Conquest developments (eg Webster 1976, 40; Swan 1975), but in both cases Jane Timby has suggested more recently that their origins lie in pre-Roman traditions (1990; 2001). The case for a pre-Conquest origin for Savernake ware is perhaps less compelling than for Severn Valley ware, but nevertheless appears to be good. It may be supported by the appearance of Savernake vessels at a number of low status late Iron Age/early Roman rural settlement sites in the Upper Thames where they are associated exclusively with other 'Belgic type' grog-tempered pieces of late Iron Age type. This is seen most clearly in the Period II and III assemblages at Linch Hill Corner, Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, considered by Harding as a type site for the late Iron Age ceramics of the Upper Thames (Grimes 1943, 53-6; cf Harding 1972, pl 70). The presence of Savernake ware (identified by the writer during inspection of the material in the Ashmolean Museum) in groups such as these seems insufficient evidence to insist on a post-Conquest date for the assemblages as a whole. There is no doubt, however, that military sites such as Mildenhall, Wanborough and Cirencester and beyond, including as far afield as Alcester, Warwickshire (Booth and Evans 2001, 306; Mudd and Booth 2000, 33), formed an important part of the market for Savernake wares (Timby 2001, 83).

While occurring together in early assemblages in the region the distributions of Severn Valley and Savernake wares are different – inevitably considering the very different locations of the sources in

Table 13.2: Representation of selected wares at FCP area sites (% of sherd totals)

Site	*SV wares (O40 etc)*	*Total oxidised coarse wares*	*Savernake wares (R95 etc)*	*Total reduced coarse wares*	*BB1 (B11)*	*Other BB wares including R34*	*Total sherds*
Bagendon	Y	?	Y				
Cirencester							
Asthall	1.0	9.7	4.0	57.8	13.4	0.5	11399
Wanborough							
Birdlip Quarry	24.5	30.5	0.7	14.4	39.3	0.2	16641
Kingscote Site 2	6.3	?	<1.0	?	24.5	7.8	468.65 EVEs
The Ditches, Roughground Farm, Lechlade, 1990	1.2	5.3	Y	59.5	21.1	0.4	2168
Barnsley Park	Y				Y		
Middle Duntisbourne	44.8	45.2	17.6	20.8	-	1.3	880
Duntisbourne Grove	30.9	33.4	17.0	21.0	0.2	2.4	1935
Court Farm, Latton	10.9	16.3	9.1	39.8	2.7	17.5	331
Weavers Bridge, Cricklade	0.1	4.7	0.1	45.8	13.1	-	781
Thornhill Farm	12.4	14.3	14.8*	15.8	0.1	0.5	11450
Claydon Pike	1.9	9.2	3.8	41.4	?18.4	3.8	35225
Whelford Bowmore	2.6	24.7	?2.2	54.4	0.3	8.9	3364
Stubbs Farm, Kempsford	-	19.0	1.4	35.9	39.2	2.6	906
Kempsford Multi-Agg Quarry	-	11.0	-	67.5	14.9	-	409
Watchfield	-	2.7	19.0	64.2	17.4	-	2954
Faringdon	-	9.9	2.9	71.0	1.9	0.1	3144
Ashton Keynes	Y	?	Y	?	Y	?	c 50000
Somerford Keynes	1.0	17.1	?1.5	44.3	6.5	7.5	10182

*includes fabrics not listed as 'R' wares

relation to the CWP area. Severn Valley ware concentrated in the north-western part of the area, and was a particularly significant component of the mid 1st-century assemblages from Middle Duntisbourne and Duntisbourne Grove. At Thornhill Farm, not occupied after the mid 2nd century, Severn Valley fabrics comprised some 12% of the total sherds but at nearby Claydon Pike they comprised only 2% of the Phase 2 assemblage and in subsequent phases also occurred at roughly that level. As with the Malvernian wares, Claydon Pike lies towards the eastern margin of significant Severn Valley ware distribution. So at Roughground Farm, just to the east, Severn Valley wares comprised 1.2% of the total sherds from the 1990 excavation (Green and Booth 1993, 135), while at Asthall the figure was less than 1% (Booth 1997, 116, 118). Less easily explained, however, is the apparently complete absence of Severn Valley Ware at both Kempsford sites, only 3 km distant from Claydon Pike.

Severn Valley ware generally increased in significance in more westerly sites, a point neatly illustrated by Timby's figures for Kingscote, Uley and Frocester, at 6.3%, 13.5% and 26.9% respectively (Timby 1998, 263, percentages of EVEs), while at Birdlip it comprised 24.5% of sherds (21.1% EVEs) (Timby 1999b, 341). The importance of Severn Valley ware at Cirencester itself is variable, but the figures given by Cooper show that Cirencester fabric 10 comprised 7.7% of EVEs in the early 2nd century (Cooper 1998, 330) while in subsequent phases the total never exceeded 4%. These figures seem to imply that Cirencester was not a major marketing centre for Severn Valley ware, even though circumstantial evidence has been taken to suggest the possibility of production relatively close by (Webster 1976, 38).

The principal local industries supplying the CWP area produced a range of fabrics that for the most part contrasted with Savernake and Severn Valley wares in being characteristically tempered with moderate to abundant fine sand inclusions. This tradition seems to have been established in two different areas. The first of these is in north Wiltshire, with known production sites at Brinkworth (Currie 1992), Purton (Anderson 1979, 5-6; 1980), Whitehill Farm (Anderson 1979, 6-9), Toothill Farm (Anderson 1979, 2), Westlea Down (Swan 1984, fiche 5.666) and Eastleaze Farm (Frere 1984a, 323) all in Lydiard Tregoze parish. At Brinkworth, ceramic production included tiles as well as pottery, and there is a possibility that this association also occurred at Minety some 7 km north of Brinkworth, but known principally for tile manufacture (McWhirr 1979, 181). Few of these sites have been published in detail.

A second likely centre of fine sandy ware production probably lay in west Oxfordshire, though the actual site(s) has yet to be located. The fabrics in

question, principally R37, are superficially very similar to north Wiltshire products, and there are also similarities in the repertoire of forms in the two industries. The distribution of R37 and related fabrics, however, does not suggest a north Wiltshire origin. These fabrics dominate the assemblages in the Akeman Street settlements of Asthall (eg Booth 1997, 117) and Wilcote (Hands 1993, 77, fabric 2, and probably including other Wilcote fabrics as well) and a number of nearby unpublished sites such as Gill Mill (Ducklington), as well as forming a significant component of assemblages from sites further east such as Yarnton. On the grounds of distribution alone a source in the Asthall/Wilcote area seems probable. A possible correlation with known kilns at Cassington has been suggested (Booth 1997, 133) but is now thought less likely (cf Evans 2001a, 354; Henig and Booth 2000, 171). Establishing the westward and south-westward extent of the distribution of products of this industry is problematic as it has only recently been recognised as distinct from its north Wiltshire counterpart, to which, indeed, it may have been related.

The interrelationship of the marketing areas of these two industries, which presumably overlapped in the Upper Thames Valley, therefore remains to be clarified in future work. This could include re-examination of assemblages such as that from Barnsley Park, equidistant between Asthall and the north Wiltshire kiln sites. A substantial number of the illustrated vessels have very close parallels at Asthall and Wilcote (Webster 1981, figs 20-7). These include tankards and a range of jars, some with rusticated decoration, and suggest at least the possibility that some of the pottery from this site, potentially from 'local kilns, as yet unknown' (Webster 1981, 63), may have derived from the west Oxfordshire source. Meanwhile, at sites such as Claydon Pike (also approximately equidistant between the two centres), potential west Oxfordshire products will have been recorded under the general codes (R35 and O31) for the north Wiltshire industry fabrics (see Chapters 4-6). It is likely, but not presently demonstrable, that the latter were dominant in these assemblages and that the core distribution area of the west Oxfordshire industry lay north of the Thames, along Akeman Street and in areas to the north of that road.

A number of other important regional industries provided pottery to the CWP area and its surroundings. To the east the Oxford industry was significant as a supplier of colour-coated wares, mortaria and, to a less readily-quantified extent, other white wares, but the CWP area seems to have been generally outside the distribution range of the oxidised and coarse wares of this industry. Oxford mortaria reached the area from the 2nd century onwards, but the principal impact of this industry was not felt until the introduction of the late colour-coated ware repertoire in the mid 3rd century, after which Oxford dominated mortarium supply in the region as well as being the most important source of fine wares. To the west a widespread regional tradition of highly micaceous reduced coarse wares, generally defined as Gloucester TF5 (Ireland 1983, 101), suggests the existence of another important production centre or centres, although the location of this is as yet unknown. These wares were very important at the western margin of the wider study area, for example at Kingscote (Timby 1998, 263), from the 2nd century onwards, but are only encountered further east in small quantities (cf Allen and Fulford 1996, 262-3 for broad distribution). At sites such as Somerford Keynes they will have been subsumed under a general R30 ware code (though the *floruit* of these wares postdates the main phase of settlement here) and at Cirencester they generally comprise less than 1% of assemblages (on the basis of their absence from the list of major fabrics given by Cooper (1998, 325)). In the absence of quantified assemblages from sites between Somerford Keynes and Kingscote it is at present impossible to define the eastward tail-off in the distribution of these wares.

The regional industries discussed above were supplemented by one major coarse ware supplier from outside the area, other extra-regional sources of both coarse and fine and specialist wares being of relatively minor importance in quantitative terms. The exception was black-burnished ware, BB1 of south-east Dorset origin. The significance of this fabric in relation to Claydon Pike has been discussed at some length in Digital section 3.2 and some of the issues addressed there may be relevant to other sites. The principal problem relates to the reliability with which Dorset BB1 can be isolated from other black-burnished type fabrics. The latter include the early wheel-thrown fabric R34 (Cirencester fabric 5), but there are other black-burnished ware imitations as well, grouped as B10 (if handmade) or B30 (if wheelthrown). Most if not all of these fabrics may have been north Wiltshire products – their general sandy character is certainly consistent with other products of that industry.

The data in Table 13.2 show a considerable variety in the representation of Dorset and more local black-burnished type wares. A study by Allen and Fulford (1996) of the distribution of black-burnished ware in south-west Britain, including the CWP region, principally used data based on EVE and weight measurements. Comparative data on black-burnished ware both for the CWP region and other selected sites in Oxfordshire are therefore given in Table 13.3, showing representations by EVEs (strictly rim equivalents (REs) rather than values calculated on rim *and* base % data) as well as those based on sherd count. These figures demonstrate *inter alia* a rather different pattern of BB1 consumption east of Cirencester from that indicated by Allen and Fulford, whose analysis was based on more limited data in this area. Some aspects of the chronological complexity of the BB1 distribution here have already been discussed by Evans (2001a, 365). Nevertheless, Allen and Fulford's identifica-

Table 13.3: Representation of BB1 at FCP area and other Oxfordshire sites

Site	*% no. sherds*	*% EVEs (REs)*	*Other BB wares including R34*	*Total sherds*	*Total EVEs (REs)*
Bagendon					
Cirencester					
Asthall	13.4	13.6	Y	11399	149.61
Wanborough					
Birdlip Quarry	39.3	43.0	Y	16641	104.26
Kingscote Site 2	?	24.5	Y	?	468.65
The Ditches, Roughground Farm, Lechlade, 1990	21.1	18.0	Y	2168	32.10
Barnsley Park	?				
Middle Duntisbourne	-	-	Y	880	
Duntisbourne Grove	0.2	?	Y	1935	
Court Farm, Latton	2.7	?	Y	331	
Weavers Bridge, Cricklade	13.1	32.5	-	781	6.68
Thornhill Farm	0.1	0.7	Y	11450	77.54
Claydon Pike	18.4	16.9	Y	35225	404.56
Whelford Bowmore	0.3	0.5	Y	3364	25.70
Kempsford Stubbs Farm	39.2	21.4	Y	906	8.58
Kempsford QU	14.9	28.8	-	409	1.56
Watchfield	17.4	19.5*	-	2954	149*
Faringdon	1.9	?	Y	3144	
Ashton Keynes	?	?	?	c 50000	?
Somerford Keynes	6.5	15.0	Y	10182	74.02
Alchester 1991	5.0	4.6	-	36252	565.97
Hatford	-	-	-	1756	20.77
Old Shifford	3.6	?	-	3579	?
Gravelly Guy	0.3	?	-	10999	?
Yarnton	1.7	2.0	Y	8898	148.65
Wally Corner	3.2	5.3*	-	2319	285*

*Figures based on vessel count

tion of Cirencester as a focal point for distribution and consumption of BB1 in the region (1996, 244, 258, 266) clearly holds good, although the pattern of distribution to the east equally clearly reflects a complex interaction of factors including chronology, settlement type and communications networks. The latter aspect is emphasised by Allen and Fulford (1996, 266-7), whose conclusion is broadly supported by the present evidence, but it should not be considered in isolation.

Some of these variations can be explained by chronological or spatial factors; the low levels of all types of black-burnished wares at the Duntisbournes, Thornhill Farm, Faringdon (Weaver and Ford 2004), Hatford (Booth and Simmonds 2004) and Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen 2004) being related to the exclusively or largely early Roman date range of these sites, for example and the fact that some of these sites lie beyond the range of distribution of the early wheelmade BB1 fabric R34 (Cirencester 5). Relatively high levels of non-Dorset black-burnished wares are seen at sites such as Somerford Keynes (see Chapter 9) and Latton, which are amongst those closest to probable source of these wares in the north Wiltshire industry, though this interpretation does not work so well for Kingscote and Whelford Bowmoor. The Whelford Bowmoor assemblage is puzzling not only in this respect but in the almost total absence of Dorset BB1 (0.3% of sherds; Chapter 10), which contrasts markedly with the figure of 39.2% recorded from the closely contemporary assemblage of Stubbs Farm, Kempsford, barely 3 km to the north (Chapter 11; the comparative REs figures are 0.5% and 21.4% respectively, still a marked contrast, though not as extreme as in relation to sherd count). The high levels of BB1 at Stubbs Farm are in fact consistent with values from a group of sites in the area – Claydon Pike itself, the villa at Roughground Farm, Kempsford Multi-Agg Quarry and, rather further south, Watchfield, at all of which black-burnished ware comprised between *c* 17% and 29% of REs. In this context it is the figure for Whelford Bowmoor that is anomalous. Even making allowance for the local black-burnished wares in this assemblage this site is well short of the totals from its neighbours. In view of the proximity and close contemporaneity of these sites this anomaly only seems explicable in

terms of a marked functional peculiarity of the site, for which there is little supporting evidence, or a specific decision to exclude BB1, though whether by the inhabitants of the site or by external agencies is unknown (see Chapter 10 for discussion of site). It is notable that the pottery from this site is quite varied and the assemblage cannot be characterised as markedly anomalous in this respect when compared with nearby sites.

Elsewhere BB1 representation is highest at some of the major nucleated centres of the region (Cirencester and Birdlip, both with over 40% by EVEs), but at others, such as Kingscote, is no more numerous than in the Claydon Pike area. Other high or relatively high figures (at Somerford Keynes and Weavers Bridge) may reflect the marketing hinterland of Cirencester. BB1 representation at Asthall and further east at Alchester, while not high, is well above the levels proposed by Allen and Fulford (1996) and probably relates to a road based distribution which privileges the larger settlements. At both these sites, however, and at low status rural settlements equally distant from Cirencester, BB1 is hardly present before the mid 2nd century and does not appear on those (numerous) sites in the area (such as Hatford and Gravelly Guy) abandoned in the generation before that date.

Chronological trajectories of sites

The issue of general site chronology referred to above is of considerable interest for the region. Several different patterns of chronological development can be discerned. These are generally identified on the basis of ceramic evidence, but are also of relevance for understanding the evolution of ceramic assemblages within the region.

A small group of late Iron Age/very early Roman sites can be identified centred on Bagendon. These include Middle Duntisbourne and Duntisbourne Grove as well as Bagendon itself and The Ditches just to the north. These sites have distinctive ceramic signatures including the presence of significant (but variable) quantities of imported fine and specialist wares and high representations of Severn Valley wares. The exact chronology of Bagendon remains debatable, with particular interest centred on the date of its establishment, some favouring a largely post-conquest date (eg Swan 1975, 59-61) while the review of the samian ware suggests that most of this could belong in the 20 years or so before the Conquest (Dannell 1977), an assessment supported by a consideration of the Gallo-Belgic wares (Rigby 1988, 62). It seems most improbable that this site did not have its origins at this period, if not slightly earlier, and there are hints that The Ditches hillfort might have been a chronologically primary focus for the Bagendon complex (Rigby 1988). Nevertheless there is general agreement that the bulk of the excavated material from both Bagendon and The Ditches is probably of early post-conquest date (Trow 1988, 76).

A substantial number of settlements in the Upper Thames Valley can be shown to have occupation sequences running through the late Iron Age into the early Roman period. In some cases, as at Claydon Pike (Longdoles Field) these seem to be new establishments (see Chapter 4). In others, as at Thornhill Farm and particularly further east, both down the Thames Valley (at Gravelly Guy and Yarnton, for example) and in the Vale of the White Horse (at Watchfield, Faringdon and Hatford), these sequences involved some continuity from middle Iron Age activity, though often marked by a change in the physical characteristics of settlement. The other defining feature of this period is of course the change in ceramic tradition marked by the introduction of wheel-throwing technology and grog-tempering, though it is important to note that neither characteristic is completely dominant in late Iron Age assemblages. The date of introduction of these characteristics remains uncertain, as dating is dependent largely, and in most cases entirely, upon the ceramics, with the ensuing risk of circular argument. As already mentioned, however, the key assemblage from Linch Hill Corner, Stanton Harcourt, regarded by Harding as fundamental to the understanding of late Iron Age pottery in the region, produced Savernake ware from the earliest phase of the ceramic sequence. This could be taken to suggest (eg implicitly in Booth 1996, 81-2) that Savernake ware could have been associated with other 'Belgic type' wares from their first use in the region, and thus to indicate a fairly late pre-Conquest date for the arrival of these wares in the Upper Thames Valley (such an association, but with a very different conclusion, was noted by Swan (1975, 60) in relation to Bagendon). This assumption may be unwarranted, but cannot be disproved conclusively at this present.

At Langford Downs, near Lechlade, Harding's other key late Iron Age assemblage from the Upper Thames (Harding 1972, pl 71), Savernake ware was absent from the published pottery but was present on the site (unpublished material in Ashmolean Museum). The assemblage comprised mainly late Iron Age 'Belgic type' pottery with a little earlier (perhaps residual) pottery and Williams (1946-7, 58) commented specifically on the absence of Roman pottery. A few grey ware sherds are present amongst the Ashmolean material, however. It is quite possible that all these were unstratified, but it is less clear if the two extant Savernake ware rims belong with this group or with the 'fragments from other necked bowls... not illustrated' (Williams 1946-7) implicitly of late Iron Age date. The evidence from Langford Downs is therefore equivocal on the relationship between Savernake ware and other 'Belgic type' coarse wares, while the appearance of Savernake ware at Linch Hill Corner *may* indicate that this site should be assigned to the later part of the (ceramically defined) late Iron Age, rather than spanning the whole of that period. This would allow an earlier chronology for the arrival of

'Belgic type' pottery in the region, perhaps in the later part of the 1st century BC, but this remains speculative. It is clear that this material remained in use, though perhaps not in production, at least into the Flavian period.

Langford Downs is unusual in having no evidence for continuity of occupation past the 'late Iron Age', as defined by the pottery. Almost all the other sites known to be occupied at that time in the region, including Linch Hill Corner, show continuity of settlement at least into the early Roman period, indicated by the presence of 'Romanised' reduced wares and sometimes other products as well. In Oxfordshire a substantial number of sites then cease to be occupied, or see significant relocation of settlement, in the first half of the 2nd century AD. In fact a larger number of rural settlements in the Thames valley around Oxford have discontinuity of occupation at this time than continuity (cf Henig and Booth 2000, 106-9). Their pottery generally includes a large proportion of 'Belgic type' (E wares) material, which at sites like Gravelly Guy (Stanton Harcourt) dominates the assemblage, and are additionally characterised by early Oxford wares (including fine oxidised and reduced 'coarse' wares, some white wares and occasional mortaria) and a general absence of black-burnished ware and Central Gaulish samian ware.

The precise chronology of this settlement hiatus remains uncertain, and a major question relates to its nature – are we seeing evidence for a single distinct 'event' or for a rather longer drawn-out trend which may have extended through the entire first half of the 2nd century AD? The answer to this question has major implications for the explanation of the hiatus. On present evidence, however, there is a notable convergence of evidence suggesting the termination of occupation at a number of sites around the period *c* AD 120-30, for reasons as yet unknown.

This pattern appears to be less prevalent in Gloucestershire than in Oxfordshire. It can be seen at Thornhill Farm and perhaps at Court Farm, Latton, though here the assemblage is small and derived largely from gravel pits associated with road and track surfacing operations rather than from settlement. The chronology of the beginning of Phase 3 at Claydon Pike, with its radically new layout (Chapter 5), and the coeval change in settlement plan at Somerford Keynes (Chapter 9), is also compatible with this development. On pottery evidence a number of sites, including Whelford Bowmoor (Chapter 10) and Stubbs Farm, Kempsford (Chapter 11) appear *de novo* at about this time. The assemblages from these two sites, as would be expected, are characterised by a complete absence of E wares. The principal coarse ware categories are different at each, however, because of the marked contrast in representation of black-burnished ware between them discussed above. At Stubbs Farm BB1 was more common than reduced coarse wares, while the latter were dominant at Whelford; oxidised wares comprised a fifth to a quarter of both assemblages. A further chronological peculiarity of these two sites is that significant occupation at both appears to have ended in the early 3rd century, a characteristic apparently unique to them. Elsewhere, sites in occupation from the early to mid 2nd century, as well as the few, such as Weavers Bridge, Cricklade, at which activity may not have commenced until the later 2nd century, tend to continue to be occupied at least well into the 4th century. Characteristics of the Weavers Bridge assemblage include an almost total absence of Savernake and Severn Valley wares. In the first case the evidence reflects the chronological range of Savernake ware, production of which may have ceased by about the middle of the 2nd century (Timby 2001, 81). In the case of Severn Valley ware both chronological and geographical factors come into play: the site lies towards the south-east margin of Severn Valley ware distribution, but also in an area in which these wares are most strongly represented in the early Roman period, as at the Duntisbournes and Thornhill Farm (see above), rather than later.

The principal component of the Weavers Bridge assemblage was reduced coarse wares, supplemented by BB1 and an unusually high level of Oxford colour-coated ware (at least in terms of sherd count (20.5%), the representation by weight and EVEs being half this amount). The reduced wares will have included a large component of north Wiltshire products, but the chronology of the later phases of that industry remains uncertain. Most of the known production sites are dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, though there is some evidence for late 3rd-early 4th century production at Whitehill Farm (Anderson 1979, 9). Evidence from the consumer sites supports the suggestion of continued production at that time. At Wanborough, north Wiltshire grey wares were noted as very common in Phase 3B, dated AD 325-400+, though the interpretation of this was uncertain (Seager Smith 2001, 243-4), while at Cirencester it was only in the second half of the 4th century that north Wiltshire products were considered to be 'in decline' (Cooper 1998, 340; cf Keely 1986, 163). At Claydon Pike consistent levels of fabric R35 were maintained throughout the life of the site from the early 2nd century onwards and certainly suggest continued production into the early 4th century if not later. The end of production of the corresponding west Oxfordshire industry is also not well dated, though this industry may have been in decline after the early 4th century on the evidence from Asthall (Booth 1997, 117-8), while further afield fabric R37 was considered to be residual at Alchester in the 4th century (Evans 2001a, 353).

The identification of local and regional industries whose products replaced the north Wiltshire ones is not always easy. At Cirencester a late 'local gritty greyware' (fabric 117, Keely 1986, 163-4) was important in the second half of the 4th century, but had

many characteristics in common with earlier north Wiltshire fabrics (Keely 1986) and may represent a late development of that industry. Further west the micaceous Gloucester TF5 industry was important up to the end of the Roman period and in the north of the area the same was probably true of Severn Valley ware. The main non-local coarse ware type appearing *de novo* in the late Roman period was of course shell-tempered ware, perhaps mainly from the Harrold industry (Brown 1994). On many sites this was only ever a minor component of assemblages, but at The Beeches, Cirencester, for example, it comprised 20% of EVEs, while at Asthall shell tempered fabric C11 constituted 11% of sherds in the 4th century Phase 6 (Booth 1997, 119). At Claydon Pike fabric C11 accounted for 2.9% of the sherd count in Phase 4 (see Chapter 6) and similar figures (for 'calcite gritted ware') are observed in the latest phases at Barnsley Park (Webster and Smith 1982, 168), while at Birdlip late shell-tempered sherds comprised only 1.4% of the Phase 6 material (Timby 1999b, 349-50). Sites such as Wanborough seem to have lain at the margins of the distribution of this ware, for only 26 late Roman shell-tempered sherds were noted there (Seager Smith 2001, 249, fabric 85).

An overall decline in the proportion of coarse ware fabrics in most late assemblages is generally compensated for by an increase in colour-coated wares, particularly from the Oxford industry and to a lesser extent from its Gloucestershire 'clone' (fabric F59, Cirencester fabric 105), sometimes known as South-west brown-slip ware (cf Cooper 1998, 340: Evans 1994, 147-8). These products were supplemented by small amounts of New Forest and Nene Valley wares.

Site status and function

Pottery evidence can shed considerable light on aspects of site status, function and general character. A useful indicator of status can be the representation of what have been termed 'fine and specialist wares' (see Digital section 3.2 for definition of these). This category was defined in the study of a sample of Warwickshire sites (Booth 1991), an approach that has since been applied to a number of sites in the Upper Thames Valley (Booth forthcoming; the results summarised in Henig and Booth 2000, 173-5 and fig 6.11 – in some cases there are differences between the figures given there and those used here, reflecting the use of interim data in the earlier publication). The simple (and unoriginal) premise is that there is a broad correlation between the incidence of fine/specialist wares and site status or character, the interpretation of which may depend upon social and/or economic factors. Meaningful examination of this correlation is only possible with quantified data, however. In addition, site chronology is an important factor in determining variation in the occurrence of some major ware groups and it is therefore important for the purposes of comparison that assemblages are broadly contemporary. At the very least, early and late Roman assemblages have to be considered separately. Subdivision of assemblages into century date brackets is preferable, but some assemblages are insufficiently large to provide meaningful data when divided on this basis, and many phasing schemes are not expressed in these terms, so this approach has not been followed here.

As can be seen in Tables 13.4 and 13.5, there is an increase from early to late Roman periods in the baseline level of fine/specialist ware representation, resulting principally from the widespread distribution of Oxfordshire colour-coated wares across the region. Direct comparison of 1st- to 2nd-century and later 3rd- to 4th-century groups is therefore invalid. Since, however, the histories and phasing schemes of the sites considered do not usually fall into neat chronological blocks there is inevitably some blurring of definition and some overlap between the datasets summarised in Tables 13.4 and 13.5. Assemblages from Kempsford Quarry, Watchfield and Faringdon, have been placed in their entirety in the early Roman table. In all cases there is a small 'tail' of later Roman material, but it was thought that separation of this material would make no significant difference to the figures presented, nor would it result in the generation of late Roman data in sufficient quantity to be meaningful. Cirencester is not included in the tables, principally because of a lack of data quantified in a manner comparable with the figures given here. The selected data based on EVEs measurement presented by Cooper (1998) demonstrate, as would be expected, that Cirencester was 'different' from other sites, particularly in the 1st and 2nd centuries, but they also show that there was considerable potential for variation in fine/specialist ware representation between individual sites in the town. Such potential also exists in the sites from which the assemblages tabulated here derive, and it cannot always be assumed that the recorded pottery samples are representative of those from complete sites. This is shown in the discussion of spatial variation within Claydon Pike (see above and Chapter 4) and is also clearly demonstrated by the contrasting late Roman assemblages from different parts of the Roughground Farm settlement.

The 17 sites in Tables 13.4 and 10 in Table 13.5 are arranged loosely in geographical sequence starting in the north-west of the study area and ending beyond its eastern margin with Oxfordshire Thames Valley sites, with a cut-off at Yarnton, upstream from Oxford. Late Iron Age to early Roman and solely post-Conquest sites have been grouped together in Table 13.4. They show a variation in fine/specialist ware representation from 0.2% to 11.5% of sherds. Within this range the 'bottom' five sites, from Old Shifford (0.2%) to Yarnton (2.8%) were all occupied in the late Iron Age as well as later. These may be considered to represent typical rural settlements on which the

Table 13.4: CWP area and selected Oxon sites, percentages of total sherds in major ware groups, early Roman

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*
	Mid 1C	*mid 1C*	*1-2C*	*1-2C*	*1-e 2C*	*mainly 2C*	*mainly 2C*	*mainly 2C*	*1-e 2C*	*e 2-e3C*	*m 1-e 3C*	*mainly 1-2C*	*mainly 1-2C*	*1-e/m 2C*	*1C*	*1-e/m 2C*	*1-2C*
Ware group																	
S	0.3	0.2	2.1	1.5	0.1	4.4	1.7	1.5	1.4	4.4	3.2	3.1	0.7			0.1	0.3
F	6.0*	0.4*		+		+	0.1	1.7	1.4	0.2	0.4	0.1	1.6	0.3			0.8
A	0.6	0.9	1.8	0.3	0.2	5.6	0.6	1.2	0.9	0.2	0.4	+			0.1		+
M				0.3	+	1.4	0.8	0.7	0.4	1.0	0.3	0.2	0.1				0.2
W	2.4	1.6		0.2	0.2	+	0.1	0.5	3.6	1.5	1.5	5.1	1.7	4.8	0.1	0.5	1.2
Q	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.2		0.1	0.1	0.2	1.0	0.2	1.4						0.2
Fine & specialist ware subtotal	9.8	3.9	4.5	2.5	0.5	11.5	3.3	6.4	8.7	7.5	7.1	8.6	4.1	5.1	0.2	0.6	2.8
E	2.5	3.3	3.6	17.4	36.5	0.3		0.7	23.2	1.1	5.1	7.1	9.1	56.6	99.0	66.2	41.1
O	47.5	33.4	16.3	17.2	14.3	24.7	19.0	11.0	10.3	4.0	12.2	2.7	9.9	0.7	0.1	0.6	3.5
R	20.8	21.0	49.8	43.1	15.8	54.4	35.9	67.5	27.5	72.8	72.3	64.2	71.0	37.7	0.7	32.3	43.0
B	1.3	2.6	20.2	14.1	0.1	9.1	41.8	14.9	13.6	12.4	2.8	17.4	2.0			0.3	0.6
C	17.0	32.9	0.3	4.5	32.5				16.8	1.1	0.4		4.0				9.0
Unclassified	1.2	2.8	5.1	1.2	0.3				+	1.1							
Total sherds	880	1935	331	10174	11450	3364	906	409	4971	523	2457	2954	3144	1756	893	10999	4240

*Includes fine imported oxidised and reduced wares not in OA coding system

Key for sites
1. Middle Duntisbourne
2. Duntisbourne Grove
3. Court Farm
4.Somerford Keynes
5. Thornhill Farm
6. Whelford Bowmoor
7. Stubbs Farm, Kempsford
8. Multi-Agg Quarry, Kempsford
9. Claydon Pike Phase 2
10. Rough Ground Farm 1990
11. Asthall Phases 2-4
12.Watchfield
13. Faringdon
14. Hatford
15. Old Shifford
16. Gravelly Guy
17. Yarnton

impact of specialised 'Roman' ceramics (as opposed to the 'Romanisation' of coarse ware technology) was fairly minimal. At both Somerford Keynes and Yarnton, sites occupied through the 2nd century, the principal fine/specialist ware was samian, but this was barely represented at Gravelly Guy and Thornhill Farm and was completely absent at Old Shifford.

The majority of sites with fine/specialist ware levels in the middle of the range, bracketed by the two Kempsford sites, with 3.3% and 6.4% fine/specialist wares respectively, may also be assigned to this category. Of these, Faringdon, Hatford and perhaps Court Farm showed continuity from late Iron Age settlement, the Kempsford sites were certainly or probably post-Conquest foundations and Duntisbourne Grove has a restricted date range around the middle of the 1st century AD and in this and other respects is associated with Middle Duntisbourne, which had a rather higher fine/specialist ware representation. At Hatford, from which samian ware was completely absent, the fine/specialist ware component consisted almost entirely of white wares. The disparity in fine/specialist ware representation between the two closely adjacent Kempsford sites may not be statistically significant, but the higher figure from Kempsford Multi-Agg Quarry could reflect the slightly later date range of this site and/or its closer association with a nearby site containing buildings with stone foundations.

The early Roman sites with the highest fine/specialist ware representation (from 7.1% to 11.5%) are a more heterogeneous collection. They include a small town (Asthall) and part of a villa complex (Roughground Farm) and, with even higher levels of fine/specialist wares, four less readily characterised settlements, Claydon Pike Phase 2 and Watchfield, Middle Duntisbourne and Whelford Bowmoor. Asthall is somewhat isolated geographically from the rest of the group, but the fact that its fine/specialist ware levels are comparable with those of some non-nucleated rural settlements is interesting. In the wider context of Oxfordshire sites it is notable that this characteristic applied also in the early Roman period to Alchester, albeit for material derived from extra-mural settlement at this small town (cf Henig and Booth 2000, 173, fig 6.11). Contrasting 'urban' values are presumably indicated by figures from Cirencester Insula VI, where three phase groups from late 1st to mid 2nd century have successively 18.2%, 23.8% and 30.1% of fine/specialist wares (percentages of EVEs, Cooper 1998, 328-31), although the late 2nd-century

Table 13.5: CWP area and selected Oxon sites, percentages of total sherds in major ware groups, late Roman

	Birdlip	*Ashton Keynes*	*Weavers Bridge*	*Barnsley Park Phases 5-10*	*Claydon Pike Phases 3-4*	*Rough Ground Farm 1990*	*Rough Ground Farm East*	*Asthall Phases 5-6*	*Old Shifford*	*Yarnton*
	m-l 2-4C	m 2-4C	l 2-4C	m-l 4C	e-m 2-4C	3-4C	l 2-4C	m 1-e 3C	mainly 4C	3- 4C
Ware group										
S	2.4	1.5	0.8	?	3.3	3.2	4.5	7.0	0.6	1.1
F	7.0	7.1	21.0	4.7	6.7	4.3	15.5	4.9	10.5	3.9
A	1.4	0.3	0.4	?	1.7	1.0	0.2	1.5	0.3	+
M	1.2	0.9	1.3	2.0	1.2	1.2	2.5	0.7	2.2	1.2
W	0.5	?	1.8	0.7	1.7	0.6	1.0	1.1	3.9	0.8
Q	0.5	?		?	2.2	0.8	0.9	0.4		0.2
Fine & specialist ware subtotal	12.7	9.8+*	25.2	7.4**	17.0	11.1	24.6	15.6	17.5	
7.2										
E	0.6	?			1.8	0.5	0.3	0.2	6.6	14.7
O	30.5	?	4.7	13.1	9.3	5.7	4.4	9.0	1.0	6.6
R	14.4	?	45.8	48.5	44.8	55.4	40.5	53.9	61.5	53.5
B	39.5	?	13.1	28.8	24.1	24.4	22.8	16.9	4.8	3.3
C	0.5	?		2.1	2.9	2.7	6.7	4.3	8.5	14.6
Unclassified/ Misc	1.7	90.2-*	11.1		0.2	1.1	0.7	0.2		+
Total sherds	16641	48987	781	13022**	28409	1645	5599	8853	2686	3090

*No data are given for white or white-slipped wares. These would increase the overall F&S representation

**Total excludes samian and amphorae, for which no quantities are given

(Phase 4) group there takes a curious (and unexplained) drop to 10.9% before reviving to 30% in the early 3rd century (Cooper 1998, 332-3).

The rural sites with high fine/specialist ware levels in the CWP area are notable for their general lack of structural evidence to provide further pointers to site character – with the obvious exception of Roughground Farm. They also have differing chronological ranges. Middle Duntisbourne is dated around the middle of the 1st century AD and its pottery stands out as a high status assemblage, particularly in view of the early date. The neighbouring site of Duntisbourne Grove, with the same date range and some of the same material (though less well-represented) should be seen with it, and both must have been associated with contemporary developments at nearby Bagendon. Whether this means that the occupants of these sites were themselves of high status, as opposed to benefiting from a very locally based redistribution network for imported ceramics, is a different question, however. Of the other three sites, Watchfield Area 10 had a notably rectilinear layout from the late Iron Age onwards (Birkbeck 2002, 232-7), but with no indication of structures. At Claydon Pike (Phase 2) (Chapter 4) and Whelford Bowmoor (Chapter 10), however, there are no characteristics of plan or other aspects of site layout to distinguish these sites from others, geographically as far apart as Somerford Keynes and Yarnton, with much lower fine/specialist ware levels. On this evidence it is clear that, if fine/specialist ware representation is to be correlated with status at all, it is not necessarily linked to forms of status display expressed in (archaeologically recovered) structural terms. The Whelford Bowmoor assemblage is the most surprising of all. This had the highest levels of samian ware and amphorae of any of the quantified groups in this period. It is unlikely that the figures are skewed by the continuation of activity on the site into the early-mid 3rd century. The unusually high amphora levels may indicate the presence of a number of well-fragmented pieces, but the quantity of fine/specialist wares expressed as a percentage of EVEs is almost identical to the figure based on sherd count. Altogether, this is an unusual assemblage, as the remarkably low quantities of black-burnished ware in it have already been commented upon. Together these data may suggest a distinctive functional characteristic of the site which could be status-related.

Ordering of the late Roman assemblages on the basis of their fine/specialist ware representation produces a sequence which raises more questions in terms of correlating these figures with site status. The range of variation remains wide (from 7.2% to 25.2%), but is less extreme than in the early Roman period. As already indicated, the presence of Oxfordshire colour-coated ware (fabric F51) is primarily responsible for the enhanced levels of fine/specialist wares. The occurrence of F51 is far from consistent, however. It is lowest at Yarnton, the site nearest to the source in the present sample and highest (20.5% of all sherds) at Weavers Bridge, on Ermin Street south of Cirencester, though it is possible that it is over-represented in terms of sherd count (cf Timby 1999a, 338, Table 7.13). The late Roman assemblage at Yarnton clearly includes a high proportion of residual material (eg 14.7% E wares), which has the effect of depressing the fine/specialist ware figure. Allowing for this could result in an overall fine/specialist ware figure of more than 10%, and possibly nearer to the 17.5% observed at Old Shifford, some 13 km up the Thames from Yarnton (a site also producing residual E wares in the 4th century but to a lesser extent), though a lower figure is likely. There is no clear indication of a specialised distribution network for F51 based on centres such as Cirencester. While the fabric is generally common within Cirencester itself (eg forming an estimated 23% of vessel count in the ceramic phase 7 group from the cemetery site, and 16.4% of EVEs from The Beeches in the second half of the 4th century; Cooper 1998, 338-40) its representation is not clearly different from that in some other sites in the area. In addition, F51 is surprisingly poorly-represented at Barnsley Park, only *c* 7 km from Cirencester, which should have been comfortably within the reach of any Cirencester-based distribution.

The Barnsley Park fine/specialist figure of 7.4% excludes residual samian and amphorae, for which there are no published data, but even with these is unlikely to have passed 10%, still leaving it close to the bottom of the late Roman fine/specialist ware range. This figure is quite comparable to that from the 1990 excavation at Roughground Farm, a site which can be defined unequivocally as a villa, unlike Barnsley Park. In complete contrast is another assemblage from Roughground Farm, a rather larger group of material from the 'native' settlement just to the east of the villa, and clearly related to it (Allen *et al.* 1993, 89–110), which had a fine/specialist ware component of 24.6%. This material does not seem to have suffered the selective discard that affected the assemblages from the earliest years of excavation at the site which, together with the reasonable size of this group, suggests that the figures can be considered with some confidence. It may give a more reliable picture of pottery supply to Roughground Farm than the data from the 1990 excavation, perhaps simply based on insufficient material. However other factors may also be at work, including genuine intra-site assemblage variations. Late Roman Claydon Pike, also loosely within the 'villa' category, at least in Phase 4, has a fine/specialist ware representation midway between those of the two Roughground Farm sites.

It is notable that the two nucleated sites in this sample, Birdlip and Asthall, both have fine/specialist ware levels in the middle of the range. As with Cirencester (but for different reasons), this does not suggest that these sites had a particularly

well-developed redistributive role for such wares in the local economy, although such a role might be suggested for Alchester and (particularly) Dorchester-on-Thames in relation to the products of the Oxford industry. Sites such as Birdlip and Asthall are generally characterised by a wider range of fine/specialist wares than is seen in the rural settlements, but not necessarily by greater overall quantities of these wares.

The variation in fine/specialist ware representation in late Roman settlements in the area therefore does not form readily recognisable patterns. The principal (though by no means the only) components of this group are Oxford wares, including colour-coated ware, parchment and other white wares and mortaria, and it may be reasonable to suggest that there is a close link between the mechanisms for the distribution of these particular wares and the observed range of fine/specialist ware values across a variety of site types. A straightforward pattern of road based distribution using nucleated settlements as intermediate market centres does not seem to be supported by the available evidence. A river based distribution network would explain high Oxfordshire (and hence fine/specialist) ware levels at Old Shifford, Claydon Pike and even Weavers Bridge and perhaps Cirencester itself, but equally does not account for low levels at Yarnton or the widely contrasting figures from the two Roughground Farm sites. On the whole, however, the latter model works better than the former in this area (and would certainly explain low Oxford ware quantities at sites such as Barnsley Park). Nevertheless there appears to be room for other factors affecting late Roman fine/specialist ware distribution, probably seen most clearly at Roughground Farm. Invocation of negative evidence to explain otherwise unresolved problems is always unsatisfactory, but it is possible that at Roughground Farm east, Oxford colour-coated ware represented the 'top of the range' dining service in the lower status settlement attached to the villa, while in the main villa complex itself the equivalent was vessels of glass and metal, leaving Oxford wares a relatively minor, subsidiary role. The incomplete nature of the archaeological record in respect of these recyclable materials is generally more of a problem in relation to higher status sites, as they can be assumed to be largely or even entirely absent on other settlements. The problem of the unquantifiable role of organic containers to complement the ceramic assemblage remains for sites of all types and status, however.

Understanding of assemblage character through examination of the range of vessel types present is less easily achieved in the CWP area because of a relative shortage of appropriately quantified assemblages. In a number of cases, such as most of the A417/419 sites, fabrics have been quantified in detail but vessel types, even at a general level suitable for broad-brush analysis, have not, or the assemblages are too small for such data to be very meaningful. The following discussion is therefore more tentative than the preceding one. Overall there are more data for the early Roman period than for later, as seen in relation to fine/specialist wares.

As with the representation of fine/specialist wares, the figures in Tables 13.6 and 13.7 show a broad and well-understood chronological pattern in which early Roman sites, and particularly lower status rural settlements, have assemblages completely dominated by jars, the percentages of which then decline gradually through time. The larger nucleated settlements usually follow the same general pattern but start with more diverse vessel type assemblages and therefore with lower proportions of jars. Although there are no useable published data for Cirencester it is presumed that the town would show an extreme form of this pattern. This is demonstrable in the Leaholme fort ditch group in which 69% of vessels were in fabrics which would not have been used for jar forms (Cooper 1998, 326, table 18), but this remarkable group cannot be taken as representative of all military assemblages in Cirencester, which is why it has not been used in relation to the discussion of status above, though providing important pointers to aspects of these assemblages.

The early Roman sites presented in Table 13.6 show a range of jar representation (including class D – uncertain jar/bowl types – on the basis that these are usually more likely to be jars than bowls) from 59.2% to 91.9% of REs (Watchfield has 92.3% jars, based on vessel count). The six sites with over 80% of jars in this period (Claydon Pike, Yarnton, Thornhill Farm, Hatford, Gravelly Guy and Watchfield (in ascending order of jar representation – the last three over 90%) all have late Iron Age origins. As already seen, Claydon Pike Phase 2 has significant fine/specialist ware levels, but it is notable that the vessel type data indicate that this is essentially a typical rural assemblage at this time, though the jar dominance characteristic of such sites is less pronounced than in those lying east of the CWP area. A slight difference between Claydon Pike and Yarnton, on the one hand, and Hatford, Gravelly Guy and Watchfield on the other, is in the bowl-dish representation, which for the first two sites is 11-12% while it does not exceed *c* 5% for the others. This may suggest a subtle difference in character between these two groups of sites.

Three assemblages, Somerford Keynes, Stubbs Farm (Kempsford) and Asthall, group together with jar levels between 71.9% and 73.9% (the RE data from Kempsford Quarry are unfortunately too few to be usable). The bowl-dish levels at these sites are comparable with those seen at Yarnton and Claydon Pike, so the types which increase in importance in this group are those associated with storage and consumption of liquids (amphorae, flagons, beakers, cups and tankards) and also miscellaneous types, notably lids (4.9%) at Asthall and, unhelpfully, unidentified types (5.9%) at Somerford Keynes. Like the sites with the highest levels of jar

Table 13.6: CWP area and selected Oxon sites, percentages of major vessel classes (REs), early Roman

	Somerford Keynes	*Thornhill Farm*	*Whelford Bowmoor*	*Stubbs Farm, Kempsford*	*Claydon Pike Phase 2*	*Asthall Phases 2-4*	*Watchfield*	*Hatford*	*Gravelly Guy*	*Yarnton*
	1-2C	1-e 2C	mainly 2C	mainly 2C	1-e 2C	m 1-e 3C	mainly 1-2C	1-e/m 2C	1-e/m 2C	1-2C
Vessel class										
A	1.4	0.3								
B	3.0	1.8	1.4	6.1	1.0	1.8	0.7		0.9	1.9
C	60.6	86.7	58.3	69.3	81.8	68.4	92.3	90.2	91.9	81.2
D	11.3	0.8	0.9	2.8		5.5		0.3		2.1
E	2.7	1.3	1.2	4.2	0.1	1.9	4.0	4.8	0.1	1.6
F	1.7	0.1	8.4		1.7	1.0			0.1	0.2
G	0.4	1.9		2.4	2.1	1.4			0.8	0.2
H	9.4	5.0	15.5	3.8	10.6	5.9		0.4	5.1	8.3
I	1.6	0.4	1.3	2.2		2.7		0.3		1.7
J	1.0	0.7	2.2	7.0	1.4	5.8	3.0	2.8		1.4
K	0.3		4.5	2.1	0.2	0.4				0.5
L	0.7	0.9	3.0		0.2	4.9			0.5	0.3
M	0.1	0.1								
Z/Unclassified	5.9		3.2		0.7	0.1		1.1	0.8	0.6
Total REs	74.02	77.54	29.40	8.58	44.26	38.48	149*	17.59	117.03	67.76

*Vessel count

representation discussed above, Somerford Keynes was occupied from the late Iron Age, but its vessel assemblage shows a number of small and perhaps significant differences from that of its nearest (approximate) contemporary, Claydon Pike: fewer jars, more liquid-related vessels and more unidentified types as already mentioned. It is possible that the difference in jar representation reflects the slightly different chronological range of these sites, with Somerford Keynes occupied through the 2nd century (Chapter 9) while Phase 2 at Claydon Pike ended in the early part of the century (Chapter 4), but this is not certain.

In contrast with these assemblages, that from Whelford Bowmoor stands out as somewhat anomalous. The jar representation (classes C and D together), just less than 60%, is significantly lower than in contemporary sites. Again it can be argued that the emphasis of the chronological range is later than that of some other sites in this group and that following the general trend this might have resulted in lower jar representation. This should not be overemphasised, however, for Stubbs Farm, Kempsford effectively has an identical date range but a number of differences in character. Both sites have broadly similar representation of liquid-related vessel classes. That from Stubbs Farm is actually the highest of all the early Roman sites considered, but this broad similarity conceals a significant difference, which is the (relatively) very large quantity of cups at Whelford, amounting to 8.4% of the assemblage. The great majority of these vessels, here as elsewhere in the region, were in samian ware (mostly form 33). The main differences between the assemblages are in jar representation (fewest at Whelford) and bowls, which were particularly well-represented at Whelford – dishes at Whelford occurred at much the same level as in the other assemblages in this group. Some 3.2% of REs at Whelford were of unidentifiable types, but even allowing for this the representation of 'other' types was the highest seen in any of these assemblages. Here this grouping comprised lids and mortaria – the latter, at 4.5%, being substantially better-represented at this site than any other. The reasons for this are not clear, but in combination with other characteristics discussed above again identify the Whelford assemblage as a rather unusual one. The high figures for cups and bowls-dishes suggest an above-average emphasis on food consumption at this site (see discussion, Chapter 10).

Only a very small sample of late Roman sites provide useful data on the incidence of vessel types and only one of these, Yarnton, can be regarded as a relatively typical lower status rural settlement. Here the incidence of jars (classes C and D combined) had declined by about 10% to 74.4%, still a high figure. The other two rural sites in the group, Claydon Pike (Phases 3-4) and Roughground Farm 1990 (the 2nd-century vessel types have been included with the later ones here to produce a viable sample), had 65.4% and 55.4% of jars respectively, the other principal difference between them relating to the occurrence of bowls-dishes, which constituted a remarkable 29.7% of the Roughground Farm assemblage while at Claydon Pike they were a much more typical 17.1%. The vessel class figures for later Roman Asthall and for Birdlip, of broadly compa-

Table 13.7: CWP area and selected Oxon sites, percentages of major vessel classes (REs), late Roman

	Birdlip	*Weavers Bridge*	*Claydon Pike Phases 3-4*	*Rough Ground Farm 1990 all phases*	*Asthall Phases 5-7*	*Yarnton*
	m-l 2-4C	l 2-4C	e-m 2-4C	2-4C	m 1-e 3C	3- 4C
Vessel class						
A	1.1		0.6		0.1	
B	4.6		2.9	1.5	2.9	0.3
C	58.8	60.2	65.4	55.4	58.0	72.8
D			0.1		3.3	1.6
E	1.8	4.3	3.5	5.0	2.9	3.3
F	0.5		2.1	1.3	1.9	0.3
G	2.3		1.6	1.2	0.5	0.8
H	12.4	7.3	12.1	16.6	9.7	9.2
I			0.1	6.0	4.9	2.0
J	14.0	20.7	4.9	7.1	7.3	4.5
K	4.2	7.5	3.1	2.5	1.7	3.4
L	0.2		1.4	2.1	6.1	0.8
M			0.2			0.3
Z Unclassified	0.1		2.1	1.2	0.8	0.7
Total EVEs	104.19	6.68	339.15	32.10	111.13	51.03

rable character, fall approximately between those for Claydon Pike and Roughground Farm, with jars at 61.3% and 58.8% and bowl-dishes at 21.9% and 26.4% respectively. It is notable that the high representation of lids seen at Asthall in the early Roman period is maintained later. This is most likely to reflect an unusual emphasis on the production of this type on the part of the local sandy reduced ware (fabric R37 etc) potters. All these four sites have a consistent representation of vessels associated with liquid storage and consumption, while at Yarnton the corresponding figure (4.7%) is rather lower, the difference being caused mainly by smaller quantities of flagons and cups (but not beakers) in the Yarnton assemblage. In this respect Yarnton is closely comparable to Weavers Bridge (with a rather smaller assemblage), but other aspects of the Weavers Bridge assemblage, in particular the representation of jars and bowls-dishes, are very similar to Birdlip. The comparable roadside location of Birdlip and Weavers Bridge may be relevant here.

Unfortunately the lack of data means that it is impossible to tell if Yarnton is representative of low status rural sites in the region in this respect, but Evans (2001b, 29-30) has shown that rural sites in the Severn Valley region generally have quite strong representation of drinking vessels (presumably reflecting a high incidence of tankards), in contrast with south-west British rural settlements. Yarnton fits the pattern of the latter quite neatly.

More generally, comparative data (using vessel count) on vessel types have been compiled by Evans (2001a, 376; cf 2001b, 27) comparing Alchester, to the east of the CWP area, with a series of other Midlands assemblages. The Alchester figures show a decline in jar representation from a 1st-century high (87%, interpreted by Evans as indicating a 'rural' assemblage at this time) to 'urban' values by Period 6 (*c* AD 180-240). From this point onwards the basic jar and bowl/dish levels remain remarkably consistent through to the end of the Roman period; there is no further significant shift in the ratio between the two class groupings. With the exception of the Alchester data themselves, however, Evans' approach does not define chronological variation clearly. It is argued that such definition would enhance the value of this kind of analysis substantially. This can be seen from examination of Figure 13.1, in which two chronologically distinct groups of data form overlapping clusters. Without at least broad chronological definition the significance of these is lost. For example, Yarnton and Asthall produce effectively identical vessel class breakdowns, until it is realised that it is early Roman Asthall and late Roman Yarnton that coincide. In this case the contemporary assemblages retain the distinctions that separated them in the early period.

Amphorae

Amphorae can be a particularly sensitive indicator of assemblage character (cf Evans 2001b, 33). They were distributed widely across the CWP area, but rarely occurred in substantial quantities. Some amphorae reached the area well before the time of the Roman conquest. A particularly important assemblage of 31 sherds, including fragments of Dressel 1 (at least 3 examples, one stamped), Dressel 1/Pascual 1 and a Catalonian Dressel 2-4, comes from Ashton Keynes (cf Coe *et al.* 1991, 46), but it is not clear if these were associated with any other

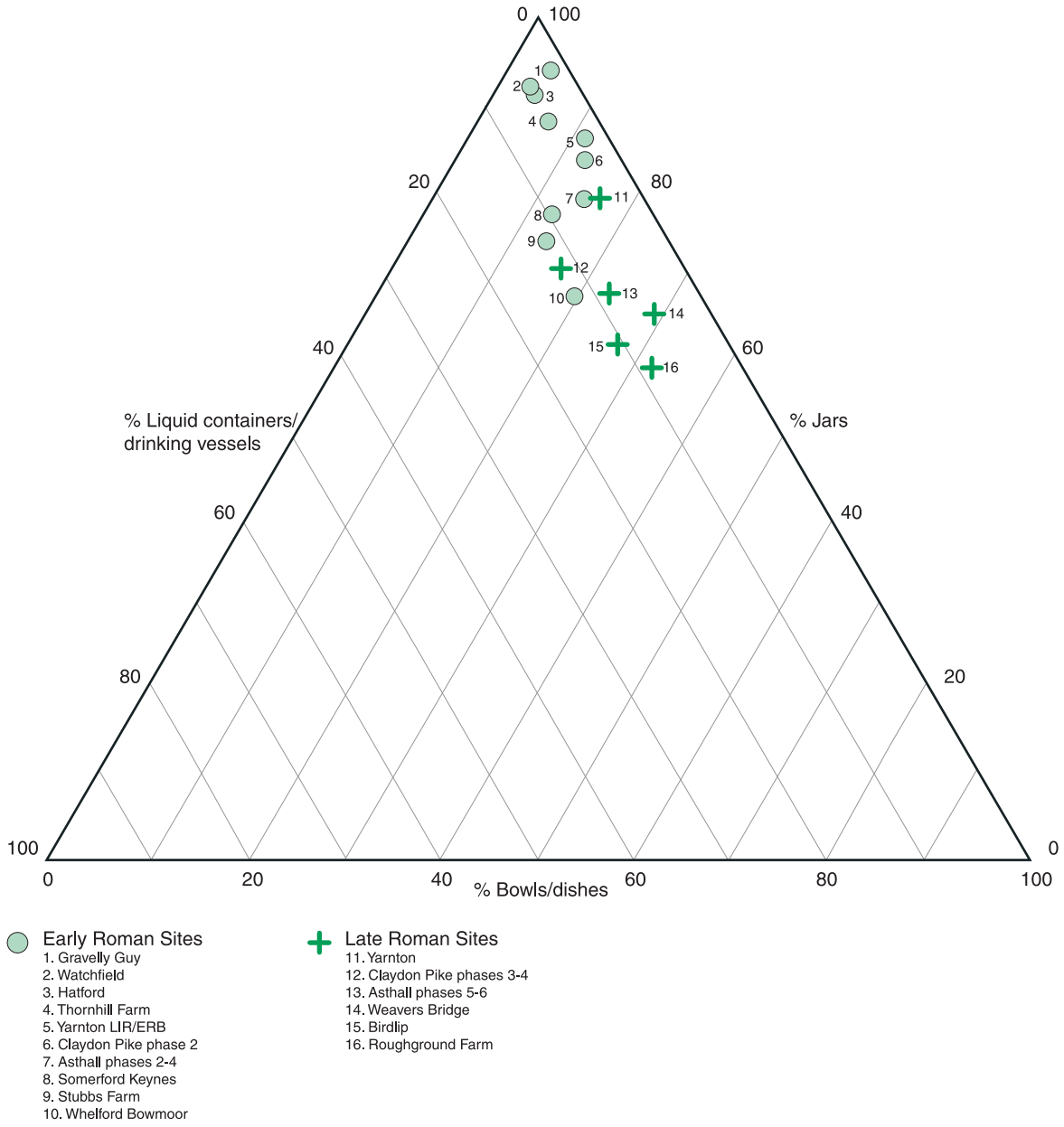

Fig. 13.1 Proportions of ceramic vessel types within early and late Roman sites in the Upper Thames Valley

imported ceramics or simply found alongside standard late Iron Age material of local origin. In passing, the presence of another stamped Dressel 1 amphora, of type 1b, may be noted at Watchfield (Laidlaw 2001, 255).

Two other areas within the region produce relatively diverse amphora assemblages. The Bagendon region, unsurprisingly, is one of these, though the quantities of material noted at Bagendon itself are small (Fell 1961, 230; Peacock 1971a, 180-1). The dating of Bagendon means that it is coeval with an 'early Imperial' phase of importation of amphorae into Britain post-dating the period in which Italian Dressel 1 was the principal type imported (cf Fitzpatrick 2003b, 13). The Bagendon fragments are supplemented by finds from The Ditches (only Dressel forms 7/11 and 20 were represented here (Trow 1988, 63), and from the relatively small assemblages from Duntisbourne Grove and Middle Duntisbourne. Both the Duntisbourne sites produced South Spanish vessels probably of the late Republican/early imperial form Camulodunum 185A/Haltern 70 and sherds of Dressel 2-4 of Italian origin (Williams 1999). A wider range of amphora fabrics and forms was encountered at Claydon Pike, but in a period covering the first two centuries AD; there are no certain examples of pre-conquest amphorae here (see Chapters 4 and 5). The anomalous sherd of Campanian Dressel 2-4 at nearby Thornhill Farm may represent a vessel

(perhaps already in a fragmentary state) redistributed there from Claydon Pike, along with slightly larger quantities of Dressel 20 sherds in what was otherwise a very conservative assemblage. Dressel 2-4 amphorae from Campania or other parts of Italy are indicated by small numbers of sherds only at Claydon Pike, Thornhill Farm, Middle Duntisbourne, Duntisbourne Grove and Bagendon, as well as at Cirencester (Rigby 1982a, 157, fabric 39).

Cirencester inevitably received a variety of amphorae in different periods, and presumably served as a regional distribution point for such vessels and their contents at least from the later 1st century AD. This distribution was, however, largely confined to the ubiquitous Dressel 20 and, to a lesser extent, to south Gaulish wine amphorae such as Gauloise 4. These two types accounted for all of the amphora sherds from Birdlip, Weavers Bridge and the two Kempsford sites, for example. This was probably also true of the Roman assemblage at Ashton Keynes (as opposed to the late Iron Age group mentioned above) and perhaps Whelford Bowmoor, though here a number of amphora fragments were only assigned to a general fabric category (A10) that includes the standard Baetican Dressel 20 fabric (A11). Even at substantial local market centres such as Asthall there was only a single amphora sherd (out of 141 sherds) that certainly could not be assigned to one of these categories (Booth 1997, 114). There was variation within the area, however: sites such as the villa at Roughground Farm, where amphorae were not particularly numerous, nevertheless produced a greater variety of fabrics than places like Asthall. East of the CWP area some of the lesser rural sites (such as Coxwell Road, Faringdon (Cook *et al*. 2004)) produced no amphora sherds at all, reflecting a situation seen more commonly a little further down the Thames Valley, where amphorae are characteristically extremely scarce or non-existent in a number of low status rural assemblages. Unfortunately, the less common fabrics typically occur as small body sherds which are rarely attributable to specific vessel forms and/or sources.

In the light of this background the amphora assemblage at Claydon Pike is not completely unexpected, but its relative size and diversity of sources is notable. Also notable is the fact that while the assemblage, as on other sites, is dominated by south Spanish fabric A11, the south Gaulish fabric A13, typically the second most common amphora fabric in the region, is completely absent here. The reason for this absence is uncertain, but might indicate a quirk of the supply network that provided amphorae to Claydon Pike. The explanation cannot lie in the slightly later chronological range of Gauloise 4 compared with Dressel 20, for example, since the site was occupied continuously through the Roman period and the dated parallels for the examples of Dressel 20 from Claydon Pike, while concentrating in the 1st-mid 2nd century, did include some later examples as well.

COTSWOLD WATER PARK COIN ASSEMBLAGES IN THEIR REGIONAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXT *by Cathy King*

Introduction

The Cotswold Water Park (CWP) coins all come from a relatively small geographical area located approximately between Cirencester to the west, Cricklade to the south, and Lechlade to the east. The objectives in examining the different assemblages together are to assess how they relate to one another, and to see how they relate to other sites from the same geographical area and sites from other parts of Britain. Recent work on coin finds in Roman Britain, based on excavated material and casual losses, have concentrated initially on establishing a general pattern of British coin loss, starting from the hypothesis that this pattern would reflect the numbers of coins supplied to Britain and/or locally produced pieces that circulated in the province (Reece 1996, 342). This pattern is now well-enough established for Reece to argue that within fairly roughly defined parameters it is possible to say what coins will turn up on almost any site in Britain before it is excavated (Reece 1996, 342 and note 3).

Reece's current research has focussed on identifying a specific profile for different types of sites, eg temples, villas, rural settlements etc and attempting to analyse whether there is regional variation within these groups (Reece 1991; 1993; 1995; 1996; Reece and Guest 1998). In other words, is it possible to distinguish, for example, differences between the patterns of coin loss between temples located in eastern Britain from those in the west? He has produced a methodology which has evolved over the years which is relatively easy to apply to groups of data and it has yielded some interesting results. The data have been re-examined by Lockyear using two more formal statistical methods that have allowed him to demonstrate that the potentially highly variable quality of the data is no barrier to effective analysis (Lockyear 2000, 413-9).

A somewhat different approach to the analysis of coin finds from the Cotswold Water Park sites has been attempted here, which has objectives that are similar to those of Reece. The first is to see whether the pattern of coin loss from all of the various sites is the same, closely similar or different. If different, can the sites be formed into subgroups? Secondly, what sort of relationship does the Cotswold Water Park sites have to other sites of the same type as loosely classified by Reece. Thirdly, can any significant geographical differences be identified between sites of the same type in eastern or western Britain or more narrowly within the area in the west roughly encompassing Gloucester, Bath, Cirencester, Alcester, Asthall, and Alchester?

In order to analyse these potential similarities and differences, the coinage has been examined in somewhat smaller and differently defined groups

from those used by Reece. Because the coins from Somerford Keynes (Chapter 9), for example, seem to have a higher percentage of early coins and a reasonable, if small, proportion were silver, it seemed worth assessing in the first instance how many silver coins were retrieved from the other CWP sites to see if any showed a similar pattern. Equally, as the number of bronze coins recovered from the first and second centuries was relatively large, it was decided to assess how many of the CWP sites showed a similar pattern. Finally the patterns of loss from what Reece correctly defines as peak periods: (AD 260-96, AD 330-48, AD 348-64, AD 364-78, AD 388-402) were calculated to see how the CWP sites compared with one another (Table 13.8). It also seemed worth examining how comparable the CWP sites were with others of the same type and/or from the same loosely defined, geographical area, and the periods of peak coin loss for these sites are presented in Table 13.9.

The additional sites chosen for analysis consist of three civitas capitals, Cirencester, Gloucester and Colchester. The small towns and settlements comprise: Asthall and Wilcote in Oxfordshire, Kingscote, Coln St. Aldwyns, Dorn and Wycomb in Gloucestershire, and Catsgore and Camerton in Somerset. Villas include Chedworth and Great Witcombe in Gloucestershire and Bancroft in Buckinghamshire. The military sites are Alchester in Oxfordshire and Alcester in Warwickshire while temple sites include Hayling Island in Hampshire, Harlow in Essex, Nettleton in Wiltshire and Bath in Bath and Avon. Finally, two sites which have been classified as 'miscellaneous', as they do not fit readily into the standard classifications of site types, are Fishbourne in Sussex and Hod Hill in Dorset.

One of the more striking features of the CWP sites was their different chronological coin profiles despite their geographical proximity. A clear example is the different chronological patterns of the settlement and the shrine at Claydon Pike (see Chapters 4-6). It was for this reason that coins from larger sites, such as Gloucester and Colchester, included separate areas within the total complex, since they can also yield dissimilar chronological profiles.

Reece, and Lockyear both rejected sites they found to be aberrant since they can conceal or distort the general pattern of British coin loss. Reece, for example, has justifiably not included early post-conquest sites that end in the first century AD as they cannot give an overall picture of British coin loss from the 40s AD to AD 402. Lockyear excluded Fishbourne, again a site with large numbers of early coins since it distorted the graphical representation of the chronological and geographical picture he was trying to construct on the basis of correspondence analysis using Reece's 140 sites (Lockyear 2000, 407; Reece 1991). The 'miscellaneous' sites included in Table 13.9 were included precisely because they were aberrant in having such a high concentration of early material. They present a different profile and as such are useful in comparative terms when analysing the significance of the early coins from CWP sites.

The interrelationship of the Cotswold Water Park sites

One of the more interesting aspects of the coinage from the Cotswold Water Park sites, to which Roughground Farm can be added, since it is in the Lechlade area, is their apparent dissimilarity to one another in terms of their coin loss patterns, despite the fact that all of the sites are ostensibly rural and in relatively close proximity to one another geographically. One way in which they are alike is in the predominance of coins from the later third and fourth centuries but as that is true of most British sites, it is not particularly helpful. Six of the

Table 13.8: Periods of peak loss within Cotswold Water Park sites

	AD 260-296		*AD 330-348*		*AD 348-364*		*AD 364-378*		*AD 388-402*	
Site	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Neigh Bridge, Somerford Keynes	54	19.4	36	12.9	45	16.2	10	3.6	1	0.3
Warrens Cross	3	16.6	4	22.2	0	0.0	1	5.5	0	0.0
Kempsford Mill	34	80.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Whelford Bowmoor	6	25.0	2	8.3	2	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Claydon Pike (All)	142	19.4	171	23.3	71	9.7	157	21.4	21	2.9
Claydon Pike (shrine)	10	4.0	47	18.9	35	14.1	108	43.5	10	4.0
Claydon Pike (settlement)	132	27.2	124	25.6	36	7.4	49	10.1	11	2.2
Campfield	0	0.0	3	13.6	3	13.6	13	59.1	0	0.0
Leaze Farm	24	9.6	56	22.5	38	15.2	64	25.7	17	6.8
Wigmore	24	43.6	16	31.4	3	5.8	2	3.9	0	0.0
Cottage Fields	10	27.0	15	40.5	3	8.1	2	5.4	2	5.4
Buscot	0	0.0	1	25.0	2	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Roughground Farm	9	18.3	17	34.7	11	22.4	1	2.0	1	2.0

Table 13.9: Periods of peak coin loss in other sites

	AD 260-296		AD 330-348		AD 348-364		AD 364-378		AD 388-402	
Site	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Civitas Capitals										
Cirencester 1998 All	732	21.7	799	23.7	514	15.2	380	11.3	609	18.0
Cirencester 1982	1	2.9	0	0.0	1	2.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
Glos. Kingsholm 44/72	9	22.5	2	5.0	1	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Glos. Kingsholm 9/83	24	22.0	27	24.7	3	2.7	5	4.6	0	0.0
Glos. Kingsholm 81/73	0	0.0	1	6.6	1	6.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Colchester Lion Walk	181	31.1	117	20.1	33	5.6	38	6.5	49	8.4
Colchester Balkerne L.	393	35.2	213	19.0	28	2.5	31	3.7	39	3.5
Colchester Cups H.	64	22.0	162	56.0	14	4.8	8	3.8	4	1.4
Colchester Butt Road	36	5.9	228	37.5	168	27.6	89	14.6	24	3.9
Colchester Middlebor.	75	54.7	14	10.2	4	2.9	4	2.9	2	1.4
Small towns/Settlements										
Asthall	2	4.6	13	30.2	6	13.9	7	16.3	0	0.0
Wilcote 1990-1992	7	23.3	3	10.0	2	6.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Wilcote 1993-1996	1	4.1	3	12.5	1	4.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Wilcote Quarry	2	1.6	82	65.6	20	16.0	1	0.8	0	0.0
Wilcote 1993-96 SF	22	31.4	18	25.7	8	11.4	8	11.4	0	0.0
Kingscote Site Finds	367	31.0	340	28.7	98	8.2	100	8.4	8	0.6
Kingscote 1	85	16.3	173	33.0	61	11.6	160	30.5	8	1.5
Kingscote 2	369	33.3	315	28.5	122	11.0	12	1.1	2	0.2
Kingscote 1976	61	17.0	163	45.5	64	17.8	1	0.3	0	0.0
Coln St. Aldwyns	254	18.2	471	33.8	93	6.6	219	15.7	53	3.8
Dorn	13	14.1	15	16.3	6	6.5	17	18.5	13	14.1
Wycomb 1	11	4.5	115	47.7	55	22.8	41	17.0	6	2.5
Wycomb 2	15	5.6	63	23.7	63	23.7	49	18.5	26	9.8
Camerton	342	57.2	114	19.0	27	4.5	10	1.6	0	0.0
Catsgore	117	21.8	119	27.2	27	6.3	22	5.0	4	0.8
Villas										
Chedworth	73	19.9	71	19.3	36	9.8	115	31.3	1	0.2
Great Witcombe	57	25.3	44	19.5	25	11.1	47	20.8	6	2.7
Bancroft 1973-1978	19	9.1	91	43.7	12	5.8	18	8.6	10	4.8
Bancroft 1983-1986	52	8.1	280	43.9	78	12.2	85	13.3	13	2.0
Bancroft Mausoleum	2	3.2	15	23.5	7	11.3	14	22.5	11	17.7
Bancroft Shrine	0	0.0	7	24.1	5	17.3	7	24.1	10	34.5
Military sites										
Alchester	3	37.5	1	12.5	1	12.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Alcester ALB 75	2	13.3	4	26.6	2	13.3	4	26.6	1	6.6
Alcester AES 76-7	43	41.7	15	14.5	9	8.7	2	1.9	4	3.9
Alcester ALC 69	4	26.6	2	13.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Alcester ALC 72/3	10	43.5	1	2.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.3
Temples										
Nettleton	283	13.9	448	22.1	220	10.8	507	25.0	196	9.7
Bath	1930	15.3	1332	10.5	761	6.0	257	2.0	42	0.3
Hayling Island	38	11.5	58	17.5	22	6.7	28	8.5	7	2.1
Harlow	35	7.0	33	6.6	2	0.4	13	2.6	1	0.2
Miscellaneous										
Hod Hill	1	1.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Fishbourne	75	28.2	1	0.3	1	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0

survey sites have yielded fewer than 50 coins in total and the finds from two of them (Kempsford Mill and Campfield) seem to be small bronze hoards of the years AD 260 to 296 and *c* AD 330 to 378 respectively (see Chapter 12). Thus it is unsurprising that no silver or bronze coins of the early empire were recovered from either of them. The assemblage from Buscot consists of only four coins, three of which were produced between AD 330 and 360, and is too small a group to interpret with any degree of certainty, but again there were no silver or early bronze coins. Of the remaining sites, Wigmore and Cottage Field have similar coin loss profiles for the later empire although Wigmore has a higher proportion of coins (43.6%) from the period AD 260 to 296 than Cottage Fields (27%) does. Both sites were apparently active throughout much of the 4th century and their coin loss peaked with coins of the years AD 330 to 348 and declined thereafter. The latest coins from Wigmore date to the years AD 364 to 378 but Cottage Fields has two coins (5.4%) from AD 388 to 402. The proportion of early coins from both sites is small and the only 'silver' coin from Wigmore is the bronze core of a plated denarius. The proportion of early bronze coins is also negligible at both sites consisting of illegible 1st- or 2nd-century pieces.

Despite the small number of coins from Whelford Bowmoor (Chapter 10) and Warrens Cross (Chapter 12), they both have a higher proportion of early coin than the other small sites. However the actual number of early coins retrieved is very small, since they had only one bronze coin each, and the one 'silver' coin from Warrens Cross was a plated denarius of the years AD 193 to AD 260. Whelford Bowmoor had two genuine denarii and the core of a plated denarius from this period as well. The coins from the later empire are moderately well-represented in the period AD 260 to 296 at both sites and they exist in reasonable numbers at Warrens Cross as well in the years AD 330 to AD 348 but then decline. At Whelford Bowmoor there are few 4th-century coins and the latest are from the years AD 348 to 364. If the smaller Cotswold Water Park sites are looked at as a group, the few silver coins that have been found all come from the years AD 193 to 260 and a significant proportion of them are plated or consist of the bronze core of plated pieces while the 1st- and 2nd-century bronzes from these sites tend to be few and illegible. In this regard the smaller sites fit the pattern observed by Lockyear for rural sites but they differ in not having a high proportion of coins of the late fourth century (Lockyear 2000, 415-6, fig. 14).

Claydon Pike is a rural settlement site with a 4th-century shrine and villa (Chapter 4-6). Coin loss from villas tend to peak between AD 330 and 378 while religious sites peak in the years AD 348 to 364 and/or AD 364 to 378. Some rural sites can also peak in the years AD 388 to 402 (Lockyear 2000, 416-7, figs. 14-16). The coin loss pattern for Leaze Farm in the later third century (Chapter 12) approximates that at Claydon Pike and both have about the same proportion (8%) of earlier coins minted before AD 260. In terms of the periods of peak coin loss, Claydon Pike has a higher proportion of coins from the years AD 260 to 296 and lower ones in the periods from AD 348 onwards. The pattern of coin loss at Leaze Farm in the peak periods between AD 260 and AD 402 is much more like that of the shrine at Claydon Pike than the settlement although the shrine has a significantly higher proportion of coins from the years AD 364 to 378. This similarity of pattern could support the view that Leaze Farm may also have some sort of ritual function but it is not sufficient on its own to sustain the theory.

The coin loss pattern at Roughground Farm, also a villa site, is compatible with other villa sites but contrasts with the Claydon Pike settlement area (Chapter 6) and Leaze Farm (Chapter 12) in having higher proportions of coins from the mid-fourth century (AD 348 to 364) and very few from the years AD 364 to 378. Only two of the 48 coins (4.1%) were minted before AD 260 and the single silver coin is a clipped siliqua of Arcadius. The site at Somerford Keynes is unique among this group in having so many coins (35%) minted before AD 260 and does not fit the pattern of rural, temple, or villa sites (Chapter 9). It fits better within the patterns established for early military or civitas capitals although there is nothing to suggest that there was a significant early military presence or that the site was a 'small town' however that is defined.

The Cotswold Water Park sites in a British context

Attempting to set the Cotswold Water Park sites into a broader context within Britain gives rise to a number of difficulties both of definition and methodology. The most obvious way of analysis is to compare and contrast them with other sites of the same or potentially related types. Before this can be achieved however, it is necessary to identify not only the sort of site type the various Cotswold Water Park groups represent individually and/or collectively, but also to define what features are included in the category. Reece (1991) grouped his material from 140 sites in Britain into five categories: 1) certain and possible civitas capitals, 2) villas, 3) military sites, 4) temples, and 5) rural sites not otherwise classified. Some of the sites Reece placed in the rural sites category have been classified by others as towns (Dorn, Wycomb, Kingscote) roadside settlements (Coln St. Aldwyns), major settlements, minor settlements, villages (Catsgore) etc. and there is considerable discussion, for example, as to what features a settlement has to have in order to be considered a town (eg Timby 1998, 3-5; 429-33; Booth 1997, 158-9).

It can be argued that the rigorous application of categories like town, major settlement, etc. to the sites under discussion here and more generally obscures rather than illuminates their nature since

most are not identical in function or character. For that reason the writer have chosen to adopt Reeces's category of 'rural sites not otherwise classified', and to modify his description by referring to them as small towns/settlements (Table 13.9). This allows the inclusion of a variety of sites like Asthall, Wilcote, Kingscote, Dorn, Coln St. Aldwyns, Wycomb, Camerton and Catsgore which can be variously described as towns, roadside settlements etc. within a single category. However it is important to note that none of the settlements in this group, which are sometimes classed as towns or small towns, have the status or complexity of structure and function of the civitas capitals and their pattern of coin loss differs from such sites.

Reece's remaining site-type categories do not, on the whole, need any modification of definition, but there can be difficulties establishing to which category a given site belongs, or whether a site can belong in more than one group. This latter problem has particular relevance to the potential overlap between military sites and towns, including civitas capitals (see Digital section 3.3). It is clear that towns like Cirencester, Gloucester, Colchester and Alchester have coin loss patterns that are characteristic of military sites as well as those of towns. The question arises in this context of whether when defining and interpreting coin loss patterns coins from individual excavations from the same site should be combined or analysed separately. The answer to this question is dependent on whether one wishes to emphasise the differences between various areas of a given site or present an overall picture. In the case of Alchester, combining the early and late groups flattens the first century of the coins found in the area of the fortress and to a lesser extent, the dominance of coins of the later third and fourth centuries leaving a gap in the middle.

The data presented in Table 13.9 represents a mixture of the total site approach and specific excavation analyses. The material from Gloucester has been presented in the form of specific excavations while at Cirencester, the sites published in 1998 are treated as a whole although the 1982 excavations are in the form of a separate entry. Data from Colchester has been compiled for separate areas made up of several individual excavations. Alcester regarded by Reece as a 'rural site' has been listed under military sites in Table 13.9 and the individual excavations given separate entries. The classification is based largely on the basis of its high proportion of 1st-century bronze coins minted in the Flavian period. However, the different excavations have a different balance between coins of the early and late empire and it may be more appropriate to consider Alcester as a site that does not fit easily into a single category.

The temples included in Table 13.9 (Nettleton, Bath, Hayling Island, and Harlow) have, with the exception of Nettleton, a large proportion of early coin and disproportionately low numbers of late coins when compared to Reece's 141 sites which are accepted here as representative of the usual pattern of coin loss. The 'aberrant' sites were specifically chosen because they had significant amounts of early coin, silver and Iron Age pieces. Consequently their coin loss pattern contrasts with that of Reece rather than conforming to it. The tabulated villa sites (Chedworth, Great Witcombe and Bancroft) conform to the general pattern of coin loss for villas identified by Reece, with Bancroft being chosen because it had a rural shrine and was potentially useful in comparative terms with Claydon Pike.

Finally, there is the category which has been labelled miscellaneous containing only two sites (Hod Hill and Fishbourne). These sites were selected because they are clearly aberrant in having very high proportions of early coin and low amounts of late coin. Fishbourne was characterised by Reece as a site that did not conform to the normal British pattern and was excluded by Lockyear in his analysis of Reece's 141 sites on grounds that it seriously distorted the coin loss pattern in Britain (Reece 2002, 101; Lockyear 2000, 407). Hod Hill, an early Roman fort that was not included by Reece in his 141 sites, has a very high concentration of bronze coins of the first century AD, most (83%) of which was produced between AD 36 and 68, a few coins of Trajan, one Antoninianus of Gallienus and no 4th-century coins. It is significant since it gives a picture of the loss pattern from an early military site, and it can usefully be compared with the early temple sites of Harlow and Hayling Island. Fishbourne is neither a military nor a religious site, despite having a military component, but it does have a high proportion of early coins and again virtually no 4th-century material. It appears to end with a fairly high percentage (28%) of coins minted between AD 260 and 296. Fishbourne, like Hod Hill, is interesting because it has quite a high proportion of 1st-century bronze coins (32%) from the years AD 36 to 68.

Cotswold Water Park Sites compared with British 'rural' (town/settlement) sites

Lockyear has described the parameters of the British coin loss pattern for rural (town/settlement) sites as follows: 1) rural sites do not tend to have much if any early coin, and 2) they have above average amounts of later 4th-century coins, particularly those dated between AD 388 and 402, and to a lesser extent, those dated between AD 378 to 388 (Lockyear 2000, 415 and fig 14). If the survey sites of Campfield and Kempsford Mill are excluded on grounds that they are hoards (Chapter 12), and Somerford Keynes because of its different coin loss pattern and proximity to Cirencester (Chapter 9), the incidence of early coinage from the remaining sites meets Lockyear's first criterion. None has amounts of 1st- and 2nd-century bronze coinage that exceeds 6% although seven have percentages ranging from 4% to 6%. However, the CWP sites do not altogether match his second criterion. Claydon Pike and Leaze

Farm peak slightly earlier in the 4th century between AD 364 and 378 while Whelford Bowmoor and Wigmore peak in the late 3rd century and Cottage Field and Roughground Farm between AD 330 and 348. However, it must be reiterated that Reece's sites do not always have above average numbers of very late 4th-century coins. If the coin loss pattern from the CWP sites is compared with that of the rural (small town/settlement) coins in Table 13.9, which are largely composed of sites in Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, it is clear that most of the sites in both groups have small numbers of early coins compared with very high proportions, often in excess of 70%, of coins minted between AD 260 and 402. Again, most of the additional sites meet Lockyear's first parameter for a rural site but not the second since only Wycomb (9.8%) and Dorn (14.1%) have relatively high percentages of very late coins.

One of the reasons that the CWP and other regional sites do not fit well into the 'rural' (town/settlement) category is that they may have had more than one function during the course of their existence. Claydon Pike, for example, can be classed as a 'rural' settlement but it also had had a villa and shrine built in the 4th century (see Chapter 6). All three of these categories have somewhat different coin loss patterns and consequently Claydon Pike may not fit precisely into any one of them. However, if the coins from the shrine at Claydon Pike are analysed separately, their peak between the years AD 364 and 378 does match the pattern described by Lockyear (Lockyear 2000, 415, figs. 15, 16). The coins from the Bancroft shrine also peak in the years AD 348 to 378 (41.4%) but the largest individual group (34.5%) is that from the years between AD 388 and 402 (Davies 1994, 276). This high number of very late 4th century coins does not conform to the coin loss pattern for temples identified by Lockyear. The coins from the Bancroft Mausoleum are also predominantly 4th-century in date with a peak in the years AD 330 to 348 and another between AD 364 and 378, together with a high number of coins from AD 388 to 402 (*c* 18%). The coins from the two excavations at Bancroft villa conform generally to Lockyear's pattern for this type of site, but peak between AD 330 and 348 declining thereafter as do the coins from the Chedworth and Great Witcombe villas.

Cotswold Water Park sites compared with civitas capitals and military sites

Lockyear has shown that both military sites and civitas capitals have significant proportions of early coinage and civitas capitals, in particular, are dominated by coinage of the years beginning before AD 41 to 138. Military sites tend to have higher proportions of coins minted before AD 260 apart from 'Saxon Shore forts', which have large numbers of later 4th-century coins (Lockyear 2000, 413-416, figs. 12-13). In addition, on the basis of the data he has used, some civitas capitals are relatively well-represented in all periods. It is clear from the preceding discussion that the only Cotswold Water Park site with a high proportion of early coin is Somerford Keynes. As it does not fit the pattern for rural sites, it may be useful to examine the extent to which its coin loss pattern conforms to that of the military sites and three civitas capitals, two of which are in Gloucestershire (Cirencester and Gloucester) and one in Essex (Colchester).

If the sites within Cirencester from the 1998 excavations are considered as a whole, the percentage of silver coin is very low (1.5%) compared with Somerford Keynes (8.6%) despite the fact that they are less than 3 km apart and one would normally expect a rural settlement to have small numbers of early coins. The percentage of silver from the 1982 Cirencester excavations is not much larger (2.1%), although this may in part be related to the fact that only 34 coins were recovered in total. The Roman coins from Gloucester from the Kingsholm site consist of three groups representing different areas of the site. Two of the sites have silver coin percentages of 7.5% and 6.4% respectively (Kingsholm 44/72 and Kingsholm 9/83), all of which are earlier than AD 36 and the third had no silver coins at all. The Kingsholm 9/83 site (a 'native' site) is most like Somerford Keynes in having Iron Age and Republican silver coins while silver coins from the Kingsholm 44/72 site (the fortress) are Republican or early imperial in date. By contrast with the Kingsholm sites, the silver coinage from Somerford Keynes is more broadly distributed chronologically (see King, Chapter 9).

The five Colchester sites (Lion Walk, Balkerne Lane, Cups Hotel, Butt Road and Middleborough) represent more than one type of coin loss profile. The 'area' sites are composed of a number of individual excavations whose coin finds are grouped together to form a single total. Some of them like Lion Walk and Balkerne Lane have percentages of silver coin comparable to Somerford Keynes overall but peak in the years AD 193 to 260, which is later than their peak at Somerford Keynes. All of the Colchester sites have a much higher proportion of coins from the periods of peak coin loss overall than Somerford Keynes (52.4%) although the Kingsholm, Gloucester sites have less. In the case of Balkerne Land and Butt Road, the high proportion of 4th-century coins may be linked to the fact that there was a temple and possible shrine outside the main gate (Balkerne Lane) and a church in Butt Road where a large number of coins were recovered (Faulkner 1994, 111).

Within the coin loss pattern for silver at the military sites, Alchester has a relatively high percentage (16.6%) based on a small coin sample (24). Only one of the three Alcester sites (76-7) has any silver coin (2.9%) and it is spread over the 1st to the 3rd centuries, up to AD 260. An examination of the comparative material from other site types shows that of the early temple sites Hayling Island has the highest percentage of silver (26.7%)

dominated by the Iron Age coins (*c* 20%); the 36 Roman silver pieces are all imitations as are more than half of the Iron Age coins which makes this site unusual in a British context. Harlow Temple has a much smaller proportion of silver (3.2%), again dominated by Iron Age pieces but none are imitations. Hod Hill and Fishbourne, which have been characterised as 'miscellaneous' sites, have silver percentages of 15.3% and 4.9% respectively with coins of the Republic up to AD 36 predominating. The Hod Hill silver coins end in the 2nd century AD while Fishbourne silver continues into the 3rd century. The amount of silver coin recovered from Bath is less than 3% ranging in date from the Iron Age to the later 4th century AD.

The amount of bronze coins of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD is a significant determinant of the amount of early coin found on British sites. It is therefore worth examining the proportion found at Somerford Keynes from these years in the context of the numbers retrieved from civitas capitals, military sites, early temples and miscellaneous sites in order to see if similar patterns of coin loss occur (see Chapter 9). In this context it is important to remember that the civitas capitals used in this analysis have an early military establishment. The percentage of bronze coins at Somerford Keynes minted between the years AD 36 and 192 is 26.6%. This is significantly lower than that for the Cirencester 1982 excavations (88.2%) and the Kingsholm, Gloucester sites which range from 32.9% (Kingsholm 9/83) through 62.5% (Kingsholm 44/72) to 86.6% (Kingsholm 81/73). The Somerford Keynes total is closer to the Colchester sites of Balkerne Lane (24.4%) and Lion Walk (17.7%). The Cirencester 1998 figure (6.9%) which is based on the total of all the excavated sites published in that year is much lower than that at Somerford Keynes and is closer to the Colchester sites of Middleborough (8.7%), Butt Road (4.6%) and Cups Hotel (3.8%). Overall, it is clear from these figures that the coin loss pattern of 1st- and 2nd-century bronze coins from Somerford Keynes does not fit very well with that of the civitas capitals apart from the occasional individual excavation. But given the fact that Somerford Keynes was not a civitas capital, there is no particular reason why the pattern from the two sites should match closely.

The high incidence of bronze coins on British sites minted before AD 68 is a good indicator that the site is early and may have had some sort of military connection, even if brief, in the conquest period or immediately thereafter. If the years AD 36 to 68 are examined separately, Somerford Keynes has a much smaller proportion of coins from this early period (4.3%) than the Cirencester 1982 excavations (61.9%), Gloucester Kingsholm 81/73 (86.6%) or even Gloucester Kingsholm 9/83 (29.3%). The Somerford Keynes total is much nearer that of the Cirencester 1998 excavations (2.2%) and the Colchester sites. If the fortress at Alchester with its very high proportion of bronze coins (62%) minted in the years between AD 36 and 68 is regarded as a paradigm of an early military site, then the coin loss pattern at Somerford Keynes is not indicative of military activity. However, as previously discussed, the identification and behaviour of military sites or those with a military component is more complex than it seems. This problem is exemplified by the roadside settlements of Asthall and Wilcote in Oxfordshire. Both are listed in the 'rural' (town/settlement) category in Table 13.9 and both lie on Akeman Street, as does Alchester. Asthall has been identified as a small town with a Roman camp nearby, with no previous Iron Age settlement, situated where Akeman Street crosses the Windrush (Booth 1997, 3-5; 158-9). Its three silver coins can be dated to the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD (before AD 260) and its bronze coinage (11.6%) begins in the Flavian period and ends in AD 161. The coin base is small (43), which may in part explain why, despite the presence of an adjacent Roman camp, there is no evidence of early 1st-century bronze coinage. Another possibility is that the area containing early Roman coin may not have been excavated.

Wilcote, which is 9 km east of Asthall, is an even more difficult site to interpret. The pottery and presence of early Roman coin support the probability of an early settlement but there are no substantial structures (they are mostly timber) of any date (Hands 1998, 1). As with Alchester there are two groups, consisting of early and late coins, with very little 'middle' material. The two excavations (1990-1992 and 1993-1996) produced early coins from areas adjacent to one another (Hands 1993; 1998); the earlier of 1990 to 1992 yielded no silver coins but those of 1993 to 1996 produced three (including an imitation) all of 2nd- or early 3rd-century date as did. Unlike Asthall, Wilcote has a high proportion of early bronze coin from both excavations, mostly produced in the years between AD 36 and 138. There is a strong component of bronze coins from the years AD 36 to 68 and a slightly smaller one for the Flavian period. There are also a significant number of imitations of the coinage of AD 36 to 68. Thus, the coin pattern strongly suggests an early military presence without any substantial structural evidence to support it. The excavator has suggested that the origins of Wilcote lay either in the availability of stone for building Akeman Street or the army's need for staging posts at regular intervals along the road (Hands 1998, 1). The group of coins from the quarry at Wilcote are predominantly 4th century in date, peaking in the years between AD 330 and 348 (Table 13.9). There is also a group of stray finds, also of the later empire, that peak in the years between AD 260 and 296 but with a strong 4th-century component ending in AD 378. Neither the coin loss pattern from Asthall nor that of Wilcote is really close to that of Somerford Keynes, yet all seem to have possibly similar functions in some respects. Once again, the problem arises of classifying sites into categories in any meaningful way in functional terms.

Conclusions

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that analysis of the settlement and other site types is complex and that 'rural' (small town/settlement) sites in particular, as Jane Timby argues, 'defy compartmentalised classification' (1998, 435). Settlements can have different origins, function, evolution, and length of existence that depend on a variety of factors not all of which may be clear to us today. That being said, the settlement picture in the Cotswolds that has emerged in the light of recent excavations and published research is certainly more complex than was thought in earlier years, with a hierarchy of settlement types clearly seen in the region. Timby (1998) has suggested that there was a heterogeneous mix of local centres in the Cotswolds, which probably acted as markets for the region, and that town and country had a symbiotic relationship. It is into this framework that the Cotswold Water Park sites must be fitted and the context in which the coins have been discussed here.

It should come as no surprise, therefore, that if the settlements are so heterogeneous in nature their coin loss patterns do not always match very closely those of supposed 'similar' sites. Thus the diversity of the CWP sites is in the end less striking than it appears at first sight. But as Faulkner has appositely remarked 'no straightforward relationship between coin loss and human activity can be assumed for….any site' (Faulkner 1994, 111). What is heartening, however, is the extent to which certain types of site do conform to the British pattern of coin loss as established by Reece and supported by Lockyear's statistical analysis. This pattern can provide parameters within which we can at least try to compare individual sites set in a broader provincial context. What has yet to be established, however, is distinct regional patterns of coin loss within Britain. Although Reece has in recent years attempted to define differences in coin loss pattern between eastern and western towns in Britain, Lockyear's analysis has failed to substantiate it (Lockyear 2000, 418-9).

The pattern of coin loss in Britain must in some way be related to how and when coin was supplied to the province and the mechanisms by which coin entered circulation and ultimately left it. In an ideal world it would be possible to link these processes to the economy of individual sites, specific geographical areas and then the province and the empire at large. But until the processes themselves are better understood and more clearly formulated, and the nature and functions of different sites can be defined more precisely, we will have to live with a more generalised picture of how military, geographic, and economic factors may have influenced the pattern of coin loss on British sites.

THE SMALL FINDS IN THEIR REGIONAL CONTEXT *by Hilary Cool*

Introduction

In total nearly 1,500 coins and over 5,000 other items have been studied as part of the Cotswold Water Park (CWP) project. The digital reports (Digital section 3.4) provide detailed considerations of this material on a site by site basis; and the precise details of typology and dating will be found in those. The detailed reports also consider the biases in the assemblages, often brought about by the way in which the artefacts have been collected. This is a particular problem at Somerford Keynes, where the assemblage is also biased by the poor survival of bone (see Chapter 9). Despite some shortcomings, the assemblages provide a good base on which to explore the broad patterns in the use of objects on rural sites in this area. The aim of this overview is to bring together certain themes that have emerged from the detailed work. The sites lie towards the northern boundary of an area that had a very distinctive suite of material culture during much of the Roman period. This manifested itself in many ways from regional styles of jewellery (Hattatt 1987, 100-3 and fig 36; Cool 1990, 175-6) and toilet equipment (Crummy and Eckhardt forthcoming), to a marked preference for using stone mortars (Cool forthcoming(a)) compared to the rest of the country. The finds from the CWP sites show many aspects of this regional style; but they have also highlighted some hitherto unsuspected habits which further research in the area should be able to explore in more detail.

The native world

Finds other than pottery only start to occur in any quantity towards the end of the 1st century BC. Earlier material is very scarce and tends to be made of stone. The earliest item is a possible smithing tool of Beaker date from Somerford Keynes (SF 812; Chapter 9); and saddle quern and rubber fragments were associated with the middle Iron Age occupation at Warrens Field, Claydon Pike (Chapter 3) and possibly also at Somerford Keynes (see Roe Digital section 5.3). No diagnostic items of metalwork of this period have been recovered, though a few scraps of copper alloy and a possible knife blade fragment were found stratified in the middle Iron Age contexts at the Warrens Field site.

The earliest independently dated item of metalwork is an involute brooch of the 3rd to 1st century BC from Somerford Keynes (SF 321; Chapter 9), but this stands alone; and, in the main, activity is seen starting in the late pre-Roman Iron Age around the beginning of the 1st century AD. The brooches, which are very common on the CWP sites, show this very well. It is possible to group types into those that were in use in the early to mid 1st century; and those that appear to have developed soon after the conquest, and which then had

varying lifespans into the later 1st or 2nd centuries. Table 13.10 shows the early to mid 1st-century brooches from the two most prolific sites studied in the project (Claydon Pike and Somerford Keynes; Chapters 4-6 and 9) compared to the brooches from other relatively local sites with sizeable brooch assemblages at Cirencester, Kingscote and Frocester Court. In each case the total is shown as the percentage of all 1st- to 3rd-century brooches (excluding penannular ones). As can be seen, on the sites where other classes of evidence such pottery provide undoubted late Iron Age occupation prior to the Roman period (Claydon Pike and Frocester Court), the early to mid 1st-century types form a quarter of the assemblage. In the sites with a Roman period foundation (Cirencester and Kingscote) the proportion drops markedly.

The observed pattern has important implications for the period when activity started at Somerford Keynes as the very large brooch assemblage from the site clearly belongs to the pre-Roman foundation pattern; whereas the pottery merely hints at the possibility of this, and most pottery in the Phase 1 features is of late 1st to early 2nd century (Brown, Chapter 9). The pattern of the brooches seems to be matched by the coins as King (Chapter 9) has drawn attention to the unusually high number of pre-Conquest silver coins at Somerford Keynes. She points out that generally they tend to be rare, apart from on early sites with military connections. The finds assemblage has produced nothing indicative of early military activity with the possible exception of a wide cuff bracelet (SF 5142) which recent work has suggested may be a form of military *armilla* (Crummy forthcoming). Early military sites generally have quite a distinctive vessel glass assemblage (see for example, Price and Cool 1985; Price forthcoming), and there is no sign of this at Somerford Keynes. On balance, therefore, activity on the site is likely to have started early in the 1st century AD and to have been a native development. The brooch assemblage from Whelford Bowmoor (Chapter 10) is small (10 items), but also suggests occupation in the earlier 1st century, again earlier than the pottery. The pattern of brooches apparently pre-dating the period of activity suggested by other classes of artefacts has been noted before on sites in the region (Cool 1998, 221). There is, of course, the possibility that what are normally thought to be early to mid 1st-century forms, continued in use much later in this part of the world than they do elsewhere; but the pattern seen in Table 13.10 would suggest that they are, indeed, reflecting early to mid 1st-century activity.

There is a problem in exploring the pre-Conquest use of material culture on the CWP sites because so much of it has been found unstratified. Dating the material has to be done on typological grounds, and that naturally biases dates to the post-Conquest period. Typological dates are developed from studying associations with more closely dated items, and there is a very large increase in the availability of the latter, in the form of coins and samian pottery, after the conquest. Typological dates are also developed by examining the occurrence of items on sites which are known to have short periods of occupation. Again there is an explosion of such sites in the form of short-lived military establishments after the conquest. It is possible to develop a pre- and post-conquest typology for brooches because they are found in such large numbers. The dating for other classes of material found in smaller quantities such as toilet equipment, tends to be more sparse, but it is clear that that this class of artefact too had developed prior to the conquest and was part of a native regime of personal care (Crummy 2001, 3). Toilet equipment is very common on the CWP sites, and that from Somerford Keynes (Chapter 9) and Leaze Farm (Chapter 12) includes forms that were certainly in use in the third quarter of the 1st century,

Table 13.10: Early to mid 1st century brooches in selected Upper Thames Valley/Cotswolds sites

Brooch aame	*Somerford Keynes*	*Claydon Pike*	*Cirencester (Viner 1998, table 14)*	*Kingscote (Mackreth 1998)*	*Frocester Court (Price 2000, 33-41)*
La Tène III	-	-	7	-	9
Nauheim derivative	23	4	1	10	-
Strip bow	5	3	-	2	5
Continental	1	1	-	-	-
Langton Down	12	-	1	1	1
Rosette	3	1	2	1	2
Colchester	13	3	2	4	5
Birdlip	-	1	-	2	1
Total (early to mid 1st century)	57	13	13	20	23
Total brooches	222	49	96	151	56
As percentage of total brooches	26%	27%	14%	13%	41%

and which might be suspected to have developed in the pre-conquest period (SF 5027, SF 210 and SF 709; SF 294).

Amongst other items at Somerford Keynes for which a pre-conquest date is likely there are items that have both a local regional distribution such as the looped toggle (SF 306), and ones that are clearly imports such as the patera foot (SF 1055). The early to mid 1st-century brooches also show a mix of local types and those from further afield. The pattern is summarised in Table 13.11 where forms such as the Durotrigian strip bow and the Atrebatic Nauheim derivative form Hull Type 10D which seem to be on the edge of their distribution range are summarised as possible imports, and ones that are much commoner in eastern England (Langton Down, Birdlip) or are of definite Continental origin are classified as imports. As can be seen in both cases; though the bulk of brooches are either local or non-regional forms, a substantial proportion appear to be non-local. This pattern can also be seen at Frocester and Kingscote (see Table 13.10). In general, therefore, the pre-conquest society in this area seems regularly to have been acquiring items from the central and eastern parts of Britain as well as occasionally from the Continent. Again this observation can be used to put the Somerford Keynes assemblage in context. In the detailed report it was noted that there were regular occurrences of items that were outside of their normal range of distribution, and it was suggested (Cool, Digital section 5.3) that this might have been because the site was attracting people from outside of the area. We can now see that this pattern may be regarded as normal on sites in this region. It is just more visible at Somerford Keynes because of the size of the assemblage.

It seems reasonable to regard the pre-conquest society in this area as one which was interested in acquiring and using objects; unlike, for example, the population in the north which showed little interest in this aspect of behaviour. There is evidence that distinctive regional types were already developing, but that people were also acquiring material from elsewhere. In this area in the mid 40s the Roman army and authorities would thus have encountered a society that was already consumer orientated. How did people respond to the new types of goods that became available?

Table 13.11: origins of the early to mid 1st century brooches at Somerford Keynes and Claydon Pike

Origin	*SK*	*CP*	*Total*
Local or not regional	34	7	41
Possible import	10	4	14
Import	13	2	15
Total	57	13	60

The coming of Rome

It is interesting to speculate when people living on the CWP sites would have noticed they were part of a new political reality. Apart from the possible military *armilla* noted above and a cavalry pendant from Claydon Pike (SF 124; see Chapter 4), the sites provide no evidence in the form of military equipment, for the presence of soldiers in the conquest period. There is an unusually high level of early Roman coinage at Somerford Keynes (see King above), but perhaps that is best seen as a continuation of the deposition / loss habits that led to the unusually high levels of British pre-conquest coinage at the site. The first question to be asked is whether, in the decades following the conquest, the finds provide any evidence that being part of the Roman Empire was having an effect on the lives of the of the people who lived at the CWP sites?

There were changes in the way people ornamented themselves at about the time of the conquest, but it is open to question whether this had anything to do with people responding to political change by asserting certain visual identities. It has been pointed out that during the later 1st century BC to 1st century AD brooches became increasingly visible (Jundi and Hill 1998, 129). Nauheim Derivatives and even Colchester brooches provided little scope for decoration, and were generally left in the colour of the alloy they were made from. Some pre-Conquest forms such as the Langton Down, the Rosette and the Birdlip do offer a larger area for decoration, but as can be seen from Table 13.10, these forms were distinctly in the minority in the region. Hod Hill brooches are definitely a foreign fashion that arrived with the conquest, but were relatively short-lived, going out of use during the later 1st century with some variants disappearing earlier. They were much more decorative both in their shape, and in the fact that they were frequently tinned; they would have been very shiny and eye-catching. Table 13.12 shows the incidence of all the brooches that belong to the mid to late 1st century or the mid 1st to 2nd century. As can be seen, Hod Hill brooches were adopted at all the sites but it is noticeable that they generally form a small part of the assemblage compared to Colchester Derivatives. These were a native post-conquest development that were often more highly ornamented than the earlier Colchester brooches. It could be argued that the post-conquest developments in native brooch types were just the continuation of trends that had started well before the conquest. The new Hod Hill brooches would have been acquired by some people because they fitted into these trends, but they do not appear to have been particularly favoured. The evidence for the adoption of other, more specifically Roman fashions, seems to post-date the 1st century on these sites; which also suggests that fundamental changes did not occur in the mid 1st century.

An interesting feature of Table 13.12 is the fact that at Cirencester, the only military/urban site included, Hod Hill brooches form a much higher proportion of

the assemblage than they do on any of the rural sites. The distinctive Lower Severn T-shape forms also appear to be absent at Cirencester, though well represented elsewhere. A note of caution has to be expressed because the Cirencester figures as published are a summary table, rather than a proper report; and inspection of the online archives of the Corinium Museum (http://www.cotswold.gov.uk/museum/Roman.asp) reveals some Lower Severn T brooches amongst the antiquarian finds, presumably from Cirencester. However, if the figures as published can be taken at face value, they offer the intriguing possibility that in this part of Gloucestershire, urban and rural populations may have favoured visually very distinct brooch types in the mid to later 1st century. If this is correct, then there might be grounds for thinking that the changes seen in the brooches on the native sites were indeed just the result of continuing trends in brooch fashion, rather than any attempt to emulate Roman ways. Whether one should go beyond that, and suggest that either the population at Cirencester, or the native population in the rural sites, were actively manipulating their appearances so as to distinguish themselves from each other, is a matter of personal choice; but it is a possibility. It has been suggested that the growth of Cirencester was as a result of activities of the pre-Roman elite in the area (Clarke 1996, 81). If this was so, there should be no marked differences in the brooch assemblages between it and the surrounding sites; but currently there appears to be one which cannot explained simply by the short-lived military phase.

One element of the finds assemblage that can be explored quite closely for change in the post conquest period is the vessel glass assemblage. Glass vessels were extremely rare in Britain prior to the conquest, and mid 1st-century forms are very distinctive. Unlike coins which continued to circulate for a considerable time after their minting, glass vessel are unlikely to survive for any great length of time. So the presence of a mid 1st-century vessel indicates use on the site during that time, whereas mid 1st-century coins could have arrived many decades later. At these sites, it is only Claydon Pike that has mid 1st-century glass in the form of a drinking cup and an unguent bottle (Chapter 4). At both that site and Somerford Keynes (Chapter 9), however, glass vessels do not really start to be used with any regularity until later in the 1st century when the inhabitants adopted glass bowls and the contents of whatever was commonly shipped in the ubiquitous blue/green bottles. This bowl/bottle dominated assemblage is something often observed on rural sites of the later 1st century, and again hints that serious changes in the material culture used were not happening for some decades after the conquest.

The 2nd and 3rd centuries

Of the CWP sites, it is only Claydon Pike that provides a sufficiently large stratified assemblage to be able explore the changes with time without having to rely on the typological dates of the items (see Chapter 5). There, it is clear that major changes

Table 13.12: mid 1st to 2nd century brooches in selected Upper Thames Valley/Cotswolds sites (Key as Table 13.10)

Brooch name	*SK*	*CP*	*Ciren*	*Kings*	*Froc*
Aesica	4	1	-	1	1
Eye	1	-	-	-	-
Aucissa	3	-	1	4	1
Bagendon	1	-	-	-	1
Hod Hill	27	4	34*	15	5
Colchester Derivative	74	19	36	40	14
Lower Severn T-shape	19	3	-	20	3
Plate-headed T-shape	2	2	-	-	1
Backworth Trumpet	7	-	3**	3	1
Chester Trumpet	11	1	-	9	1
Headstud	1	-	2	1	-
Keyhole	1	-	-	1	-
Equal-ended plate	-	1	-	-	-
Total (mid 1st into 2nd century)	151	31	76	94	28
Total brooches	222	49	96	151	56
As percentage of total brooches	68%	63%	79%	62%	50%

*Includes Hod Hill / Aucissa types unspecified

** all trumpet types

take place between Phase 2 and Phase 3, which would place the transition from a native to a Romano-British way of life to a period after the early 2nd century. The change becomes visible at the time of a major re-organisation of the landscape, and so the timing may be site specific; but many aspects of Phase 3 assemblage at Claydon Pike can be recognised on the other sites, and there are hints that on those too it was happening in the 2nd century.

It is during the 2nd century that specifically Romanised fashions can start to be detected. This is most obvious at Claydon Pike where hairpins and hobnails are not found stratified until Phase 3 (Chapter 5). The former are indicative of women wearing their hair in new fashions, and the latter of the adoption of Roman style shoes made of properly tanned leather. It is possible to show that the hobnail distribution is highly unlikely to have come about by chance (see Digital section 3.4), and so this change in lifestyle seems a real one. Hints can be picked up of something similar happening at other sites. At Somerford Keynes hairpins are seriously under-represented because of biases in collection and survival, but the only hairpin present is of 2nd-century date (Chapter 9). At Whelford Bowmoor the only stratified hobnail belongs to Phase 2 (Chapter 10). A similar pattern emerges at Frocester Court (Price 2000) and Wilcote (Hands 1993; 1998) where the hairpins are concerned. Unfortunately, hobnails are not reported on in sufficient detail at either site for their chronological distribution to be examined. At Frocester Court brooches are regularly recorded as coming from 1st-century contexts (13 out of a total of 61 items), whereas hairpins are not recorded from unequivocal 1st century ones; the earliest comes from a late 1st- to 2nd-century deposit, there is also one from an early 2nd-century context and two from 2nd-century ones (out of a total of 58 items). A similar pattern occurs at Wilcote. Eight of the 44 brooches reported have associations suggesting a 1st-century date; whereas of the 49 hairpins a single example comes from a later 1st- to mid 2nd- century context and 19 have 2nd-century associations. If it is indeed the early 2nd century when Roman fashions and forms of material culture start to become acceptable, then this may have implications for our understanding of the dating of some sites in the area. We might expect sites to become more visible chronologically when their inhabitants start to use more obviously Romanised material, and so in this area that would be the early 2nd century. Sites that apparently start to be occupied then, may have more complex histories. Whelford Bowmoor seems to provide an example of this. It is viewed as primarily a 2nd-century site on the basis of a pottery assemblage that has been described as having a relatively tight chronological range with an unusually high proportion of samian and amphorae (see Brown, Chapter 10). The brooch evidence though, suggests earlier occupation.

An intriguing aspect of the jewellery assemblage at this period is the number of penannular bracelets that have been recovered. Ten were recovered from Somerford Keynes, four from Claydon Pike and two from Whelford Bowmoor. None come from stratified contexts, but where it is possible to suggest dates on typologically grounds, it seems likely they were a 2nd-century development. One from Whelford Bowmoor (SF 225) can be placed within a Roman milieu in that it appears to have the typical mouldings representing an Asclepian snake and thus belongs to an international style of jewellery; though one that seems only to have been adopted in Britain after the mid 2nd century (Cool 2000a, 33). The other penannular bracelets do not belong to international styles and are clearly indigenous, some having very limited distributions in the south-west. In Britain as a whole, bracelet or armlet wearing is unusual in the 2nd or 3rd centuries, and so the regular occurrence of such bracelets on these sites suggests a style of ornamentation that is local. It may hint at the development of specific clothing fashions as, for these bracelets to be appreciated, at least the forearms would need to have been bare. It has to be stressed again that the dating evidence for these objects is not strong, but there does appear to be some hints here that at the same time that people were adopting Roman fashions, new indigenous ones were also developing in this area. Judged by the number of these bracelets that have been found in Cirencester (for example six fully decorated and two with leaf snake's head – data from Cool 1983), this was a fashion shared by the inhabitants of town and country. We are not, therefore, simply looking at the emulation of Roman ways; but rather at a more complex evolution of new identities in the area.

One of the characteristics of the Roman period compared to the later Iron Age or the post-Roman period was that iron was much more widely available than before. This had implications for many aspects of life such as building methods, craft activities and household furnishings. The occurrence of highly specialist tools in the form of crozes used for barrel making at Claydon Pike (Chapter 5) and a metal-working file from Somerford Keynes (Chapter 9), in addition to the normal run of smith's punches, carpenter's chisels and saws etc, shows that these sites developed very sophisticated craft traditions during the Roman period. At Claydon Pike the effect of the increasing amounts of iron can be seen first in building methods with nails and other types of structural fittings appearing in Phase 2 contexts, but the greatest impact is seen in Phase 3 when not only do structural fittings increase tenfold, but there is also an explosion in the quantity and range of craft tools, knives etc (see Chapter 5 and Digital section 3.4). This is also the point at which keys and other security fittings, light fittings etc start to appear. Something similar can be seen at Frocester Court where the occasional iron tool was recovered from a 2nd-century context, but far more came from 3rd-century contexts which was

also the time when security fittings first appeared (Price 2000, 65-84; eight tools and three security items from 3rd-century contexts). More data from well-dated stratified contexts are needed to explore this change; but there are hints that iron did not become plentiful on some rural sites in this area until well into the Roman period.

A recurrent aspect of the finds from the CWP sites is the recovery of lead fittings used to repair pottery. They were present on every site apart from one of the survey sites, and have frequently been found in large numbers. The study of pottery repair on Roman sites is normally the province of the pottery specialists, who have developed measures which look at the number of rivet holes compared to number of sherds to provide an index by which sites can be compared. Riveting rates of *c* 0.05 to 0.2% have been noted in a variety of lowland sites while a higher rate (2.5%) was noted in a highland zone farm in Gwynedd. Normally it is samian that shows the highest level of riveting. Different patterns emerge from the CWP sites. Comparing the pottery and the lead repairs produces riveting rates of 0.12% at Claydon Pike (including records in pottery database which are separate from the small finds); 0.32-0.45% at Somerford Keynes and 0.62% at Whelford Bowmoor. It is possible that the Somerford Keynes figure is inflated because so many small finds were recovered during survey rather than excavation (see Chapter 9), but the Whelford Bowmoor figure suggests high rates may not be exceptional in the area. What is also clear is that it was not only samian vessels that were being curated. At Claydon Pike, for example, sufficient of the pottery was preserved in 22 cases for the fabric to be identified. In ten cases the vessels riveted were made in Black-burnished ware compared to eight cases of samian vessels. There were also seven other coarse pottery vessels with evidence of repair compared to only one item of fine ware and three mortaria (see Booth, Digital section 3.2). Coarse pottery as well as samian was also being repaired at Somerford Keynes.

Elsewhere in the region the repair of both coarse pottery and samian is recorded at Asthall (Booth 1997, 123) and Wilcote (Hands 1993 and 1998, samian nos. 2, 30, 250, 256, 298, 315, 390, 342, 416; coarse pottery nos. 949, 1068, 1108, 1518, 1987). As published at the latter site, more samian than coarse pottery appears to be riveted, but the coarse pottery is probably under-represented because undiagnostic riveted sherds would not have been noted. At Kingscote repair is not an aspect of the pottery that has been studied, but the published lead clamps which retain pottery were clearly repairing coarse pottery vessels (Redknap 1998, 112 nos. 23-4), and rivet holes were noted in the samian (Timby 1998, 37, 241). Pots were clearly being repaired at Frocester Court (Price 2000, 87 nos. 9 -16), but again there is no consideration of this in the pottery report, and so it is not possible to say what types of vessels were being treated in this way.

Because pottery repair is very erratically recorded in the published literature, it is difficult to evaluate the evidence of repair presented by the CWP sites and others in the vicinity. It would appear that the level of coarse pottery repair is unusual, and it is to be suspected that overall the amount of pottery being repaired is high within a broad Romano-British context. Certainly, in my experience of dealing with non-ferrous metal assemblages from comparable rural sites around the country, I have never encountered them so regularly, and in such large numbers, as I have done when working on the CWP sites. The phenomenon clearly starts in the 1st to early 2nd century as repairs have been found in contexts of that date at both Claydon Pike and Asthall. At Claydon Pike very few of the repairs are stratified but small numbers occur in both Phase 3 and 3/4 (Chapter 5). The fact that later Roman vessels such as an Oxford white mortarium in fabric M22 and Oxford Colour-coat ware (F51) were being repaired also indicates the practise was of long duration. At Asthall too it was noted that most of the repairs came from late Roman contexts.

Normally it is assumed that high levels of pottery repair indicate that it was not easy to replace the vessels. This seems unlikely in the case of these sites. They do not appear to be particularly impoverished; they are in an area of abundant pottery supply; and at Claydon Pike the type preferred for riveting (Black-burnished ware) is one of the dominant fabrics at the site, so the vessels are not likely to have been particularly rare. It might be suspected that the reasons for the repair might not have been purely utilitarian, but could have been part of a pattern of behaviour that saw certain vessels being singularised by society. There is a brief, but intriguing aside in the Kingscote report which notes a quarry fill dated to the later 3rd century having a particularly high level of drinking vessels and repaired samian (Timby 1998, 37). Deposits such as this might provide clues as to how the riveted vessels were used; but until there is a more systematic recording of the repair phenomenon, it will be difficult to study it in any detail.

The evidence of the styli suggests that as early as the 2nd century at least some parts of the population on the CWP sites became literate. At Somerford Keynes two styli were recovered from 2nd-century Phase 2-3 contexts (Chapter 9), whilst at Claydon Pike one was found in Phase 3 context with three others being found unstratified (Chapter 5). Evidence for the use of styli on other rural sites in the region in the 2nd to 3rd centuries is also found at Kingscote and Wilcote. At the former site two copper alloy examples were found in a quarry pit fill of the later 2nd to early 3rd centuries (Viner 1998, 187 nos. 2-3); at the latter three examples were recovered from contexts dated to the 2nd century (Hands 1993, 38 no. 16) and the mid to late 2nd century (Hands 1998, 58 nos. 57-8). Other evidence for literacy at the sites includes a possible wax

spatula from Somerford Keynes (Chapter 9) and a part of a wax writing tablet from the Survey site Green Farm (Chapter 12), neither of which come from stratified contexts.

This evidence for literacy should perhaps be viewed alongside large numbers of weights that have been found, mostly for steelyards but also for equal-armed balances. The need to measure commodities accurately might well imply there was a need to record the quantities and keep accounts as well. There were six weights from Somerford Keynes (Chapter 9), five from Claydon Pike (Chapter 5-6) and a total of five from the Survey sites (Chapter 12). On all these sites, therefore, there was a regular need to measure quantities, indicative of commercial or exchange relationships. Unfortunately none of the weights come from stratified contexts, and so it is not possible to trace whether this interest in weighing and measuring was contemporary with the introduction of writing and the paraphernalia that accompanied it. An intriguing find was a weight from an equal-armed balance found at Somerford Keynes as the markings and extant weight are consistent with it being intended to weigh a *sextans* (two *unciae*). This piece explicitly indicates the adoption of Roman standards for weights and measures, in a way that steelyards do not. Though the steelyard itself is a Roman style introduction, there would be nothing to stop a user calibrating it to a native standard. The weight measured by a steelyard relies not simply on the weight of the weight itself; but on the position of the weight on the arm, and which of the two fulcra was being used. For equal-armed balances, by contrast, the weight alone governs the amount measured.

Another interesting feature of the finds assemblage is the presence of military equipment of the later 2nd to 3rd century at both Somerford Keynes (Chapter 9) and Claydon Pike (Chapter 5), and possibly also at one of the Survey sites (Cottage Field, Lechlade (LCF); Chapter 12). Similar material from Cirencester (Paddock 1998, 306) can be fitted into Bishop's model of dispersed military units in towns carrying out policing and similar duties (Bishop 1991). It is possible that when it is found in smaller towns or roadside settlements such as Asthall (Lloyd-Morgan 1997, 80 no. 13) it might also represent such dispersed units. When it is regularly found on rural sites such as the CWP ones, it is perhaps worth questioning whether it is actually reflecting soldiers on active service, and if it is, then it implies a very actively policed countryside (see Chapter 16). Another model, however, might be that advanced by Black (1994) that these items represent the property of retired soldiers returning home after a period of service in the army. In his paper Black used all types of military equipment including weapons and armour as well as belt and other strap fittings. It is a vexed question as to the extent to which a soldier 'owned' his equipment, and could remove it from military control when he was discharged; rather than it going back into a common pool. Helmets, for example, have provided epigraphic evidence not only of reuse by different individuals, but also that they were owned by the unit and not an individual soldier (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 46). There is evidence from graves that belts and their fittings might well have been personal possessions as people are found buried with them. Graves with late 2nd- to 3rd-century belts have been found in a number of provinces (eg Wheeler 1985, 269 no. 15; Petculescu 1995). The later 2nd- to 3rd-century military equipment found on the CWP sites are the types of fittings that come from belts and baldrics; so it is possible that it could be the property of retired soldiers. If we follow the retired soldier model; then the regularity with which the material is found in these sites might suggest that quite a few people in this area could have had the experience of military life in different parts of the province or even empire.

Late antiquity

Late Roman artefacts are only found in quantity at Claydon Pike (Chapter 6). It is clear from the pottery, coins and small finds that there was some 4th-century activity at Somerford Keynes (Chapter 9); but it was on a much reduced level in comparison to the pre- and early to mid Roman activity there; even if allowance is made for the possibility that 4th-century artefacts are under-represented at that site because of the recovery methods. At Claydon Pike, for example, a considerable number of 4th-century bracelet fragments were recovered; but these are the type of find that metal detecting is bad at locating. For the 4th century, therefore, the CWP sites do not provide the range of data across the sites that has allowed more general trends to be picked out for the earlier periods, other than for one curious feature which concerns the incidence of late Roman military equipment.

At Somerford Keynes this material consists of two strap ends, a belt plate, and fragments of a buckle frame and a buckle plate. At Claydon Pike there is a buckle fragment and at Leaze Farm there are two strap ends. All of this material can be dated to the second half of the 4th century and in some cases into the 5th century. In addition a mid 4th-century crossbow brooch found at Somerford Keynes should probably be viewed alongside this material as such brooches appear to have been part of the uniforms for the military and administrators (Swift 2000, 3-4). Gold ones for example were given out by the Emperor as gifts (see for example RIB II.2 no. 2421.43). As with the later 2nd- to 3rd-century material, the question needs to be asked whether this 'military' material reflects an active military presence on the sites (see Discussion, Chapter 17).

There is a very large mount of such equipment at Cirencester which Paddock (1998, 307) has suggested indicates a continuing military presence in the city. It has to be noted, however, that such

fittings are found very commonly on sites in the region where there is no other evidence of a military presence such as at the villa at Frocester (Price 2000, 57 no. 350; 63 no. 475) and the small town at Wanborough (Hooley 2001, 84 nos 51, 53-4). It is also noticeable that some of the belt-fittings in the south-west appear to have developed into forms that did not have a military connection (Swift 2000, 213). The question to be asked is whether this late 'military' equipment indicates troops, or whether it was a fashion statement by the south-western elite who might have taken on late military trappings as part of their costume. It is possible that the presence of cross-bow brooches might be a more reliable indicator of official activity. On sites with an undoubted late military presence such as Caister-on-Sea, Norfolk (Butcher 1993a, 74 nos. 5-12) and Richborough (Hull 1968, 91 nos. 76-83), crossbow brooches tend to occur in some quantity alongside the belt fittings. This is not always the case in sites in CWP region. Cirencester does have a quantity of crossbow brooches (Viner 1998, table 14), and there is also one from Somerford Keynes; but they are missing at Frocester, Wanborough and Claydon Pike despite large quantities of 4th-century finds at these sites. The combination of the belt equipment and crossbow brooch at Somerford Keynes might suggest some form of official presence at the site during the middle of the 4th century, and the coin evidence has a mid 4th-century peak which might support this (see King above and Chapter 9). The belt equipment, however, appears to have *comparanda* that places it slightly later in the century and into the 5th century; a period when the coin evidence is dropping off steeply. It has to be said that the case cannot be proven for a late 4th-century official presence at Somerford Keynes and it could well be that here, as elsewhere in the CWP sites, the belt equipment is reflecting elite fashion rather the presence of the official military.

Conclusions

As will have become apparent in this discussion, the CWP sites show a great deal of uniformity in their material culture, a uniformity they share with other sites in the area. The differences in the scale of work at the different sites, and the different methodologies used, make direct detailed comparison between the assemblages of limited value; but it is informative to compare the large assemblages from Claydon Pike and Somerford Keynes. This is done in Table 13.13 where the late Iron Age and Roman finds are tabulated by function excluding structural and miscellaneous items. The table includes the worked stone artefacts, but excludes the vessel glass fragments and coins. The sites are not directly comparable as Claydon Pike appears to have more sustained occupation in the later Roman period. There are also problems from the various biases in the Somerford Keynes assemblage where for different reasons neither bone nor iron survived well.

Table 13.13: A comparison of the late Iron Age and Roman assemblages from Somerford Keynes and Claydon Pike

Function	*Somerford Keynes*	*%*	*Claydon Pike*	*%*
Personal	315	63	355	44
Toilet	42	8	17	2
Textile	3	1	13	2
Household	13	3	67	8
Recreation	-	-	5	1
Weighing	6	1	8	1
Writing	6	1	6	1
Transport	3	1	11	1
Tools	19	4	93	11
Bone working	-	-	6	1
Metal working	-	-	11	1
Fasteners	72	14	193	24
Agriculture	4	1	8	1

The first thing to notice is the large size of the Somerford Keynes assemblage. Given this was salvage recording over a much smaller area than at Claydon Pike, the quantity recovered is considerable and the number of brooches found were exceptional even in this area of very high brooch use. As the table stands there is a far more domestic feel to the Claydon Pike assemblage with noticeably higher percentages of items being recorded in the household, tools and fasteners categories. The difference in the tools might be due to the problems with the survival of the iron, but the other biases should not materially affect the other categories. Personal equipment, in the form of jewellery and toilet equipment, forms a much higher proportion of the assemblage at Somerford Keynes. Superficially this seems to reflect the normal pattern seen on Roman sites where it is not unusual for personal ornaments to make up two-thirds of a small finds assemblage (see for example Viner 1998, table 17; Cooper 1999, fig 110). Originally, however, the assemblage may have been dominated by them to an even greater extent. Had bone survived, many bone pins could have been expected. At Cirencester, for example, 16% of the personal ornaments were bone pins (Viner 1998, table 17, 297 – excluding shank fragments), while at Claydon Pike, the figure is 7%. It is also likely that large though the brooch assemblage at Somerford Keynes, it is smaller than might have been expected if it had been acquired under more controlled circumstances; penannular brooches, disc brooches and those made of iron are undoubtedly under-represented. Though no penannular brooches were found at Claydon Pike, this does not seem to be the normal pattern in the area. At both Cirencester (Viner 1998, table 14) and Kingscote (Timby 1998, 114-49), for example, penannular brooches make up 9% of the assemblage; whilst at Frocester Court they formed 18% (Price 2000, 33-41). At Somerford Keynes they made up

less than 2% reflecting the difficulty of locating them via metal detecting (see Chapter 9).

The very high incidence of personal equipment at Somerford Keynes is therefore, notable and may give a clue as to some of the activities being carried out on the site. It is precisely this category of find that is often found forming a large part of votive deposits on religious sites (Woodward and Leach 1993, 332, table 20). If it was some type of formal depositional activity that led to the large numbers of personal items here, it could explain the unusual composition of the toilet equipment, where tweezers form a significant proportion – much higher than is normally found on sites in the area. Different types of equipment often seem to have been preferred at particular shrines. At Lydney, for example, large numbers of bracelets were recovered (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 82-4), whilst at Great Walsingham, Norfolk, seal boxes formed an important part of the ritual (Bagnall-Smith 1999, 40). If there was a tradition of coming to this site to make offerings, then it would also provide a context for the unusually high levels of native and early Roman coinage found on the site as coins are often another type of votive find. A place where people come and go for particular devotional practices, would also explain the mismatch between the picture painted by the pottery and vessel glass of a relatively modest rural settlement; and the picture painted by the small finds and the coinage of a richer community. People may never have lived at the site in any great numbers, instead they could have visited it from time to time; and the focus of their visit may well not have been a built shrine but rather sacred woods or the like.

The finds from the CWP sites have told us much about the occupation at the different sites, but possibly more importantly they provide various patterns that would be well worth further more systematic research. The people in this area became voracious consumers of brooches in the late Iron Age and the brooch wearing habit continued well into the 2nd century. The brooches include many types that appear to have strongly localised distributions; detailed study of these might well provide a useful aid for understanding the relationships between the different communities in the area. The possibility that there was a noticeable difference between those worn by the urban population at Cirencester and those in the surrounding rural sites is particularly intriguing. As the 1st century progressed, brooches became increasingly showy and decorative. They would have been a fairly obvious visual sign to the observer. Who wore what and when may well have gone beyond the whims of fashion; it could have been related to age, sex, tribe, clan or any combination of these factors. There can clearly be quite major differences between assemblages over relatively short distances. The variant of the Polden Hill Hull 98 that is so common at Somerford Keynes, for example, is relatively rare at Claydon Pike. We cannot start to explore this until we have a good understanding of the distribution of the different variants. Such a survey might also help to identify sites that had a pre-Roman origin, given the frequent mis-match in dating evidence between the pottery and the brooches. The curation of pottery vessels in this area is also something that needs investigation. At a basic level we need to know the types of vessels and wares that were being repaired and they types of associations they have. Was this part of everyday life, or were they for special rites for which only particular vessels could be used? Are the large numbers of lead repairs found at Somerford Keynes, for example, another clue to the fact that it was a focus of devotional activity.

The possibility that one of the indicators of ritual activity in this area might be the incidence of lead pottery repairs is, admittedly, a strange one; but it shows what may emerge if there is the possibility of studying a large range of finds from a variety of sites in the same area as has been possible here. The quality of the data has been variable, but useful patterns have emerged. Our understanding of how material culture was manipulated in Roman Britain would benefit greatly if we had more area surveys like this one.