Beyond native and invader: a re-evaluation of the Romano-British period in Cumbria

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The 'native' population in Roman Cumbria, the majority of whom are thought to have lived in farmsteads in the countryside beyond the *civitas* at Carlisle, forts, and *vici*, continues to be defined by its difference to the 'invader'. This is not only a result of the nature of the artefactual record but of the history of research in the region which continues to influence the creation of archaeological narratives, with perhaps the most pervasive problem being a continuing reliance on analogies. Instead, by studying artefact assemblages from 'native' farmsteads on their own merits and taking a critical, self-reflective approach to their interpretation, it is possible to create a more dynamic model which posits that people and 'things' have the ability to move within and between two separate, yet co-dependent, 'spheres' of exchange. As expected, the process of analysis demonstrated that the material 'fingerprints' of pottery and glass assemblages are very different at farmsteads, forts, and *vici* in Cumbria. Existing narratives have tended to interpret this as either a result of the poverty or disinterest of the 'native', or that they were actively resisting the influence of the 'invader'. However, by taking into account the form and function(s) of 'things', it can be argued that their selection was an active choice, and that this was influenced by a range of different social, cultural, and individual factors. Taking the same approach to the study of a number of sites in the Pennines/Northumberland, North East Wales/Cheshire, and Droitwich demonstrated that, although the size of artefact assemblages might indicate a strict North:South divide, the forms of pottery and glass implies an intermediate zone around North East Wales/Cheshire. All of these results appear to indicate that the economy of Roman Britain was composed of multiple, overlapping systems, and that individuals and groups had the power to choose if and when they engaged with them. However, at the moment, the ability to discuss this idea in depth is restricted by the number of sites available for examination. The problem in Cumbria is that the same farmsteads have been repeatedly re-interpreted and although a handful have been excavated over the last decade, a recent trend towards large-scale community projects focused on *vici* means that there is a danger this practice will continue. To break out of this cycle of re-interpretation requires the creation of a research project dedicated to establishing a detailed chronology of pre- and post-Conquest rural settlements in Cumbria. Doing so will enable us to truly move beyond 'native' and 'invader'.

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For
Shirley Anne Peacock
and
Donald (Don) Whitfield

'In practice, it is fair to say that archaeology [in Cumbria] has been dominated by the investigation of the Roman military sites that are particularly common there, to the detriment of all other studies. To date, there has not been excavated a single site that has provided unequivocal evidence of occupation in the pre-Roman Iron Age, although a handful of cases have been put forward. The little we can surmise about the late prehistoric period is derived from pollen diagrams, small scale and often early excavations, fieldwork analogy with other areas, and a limited amount of historic information relating directly to the Conquest'.

(Higham and Jones, 1985: 3-4)

'The story of the native population [in the Hadrian's Wall region] is unwritten, only to be found on sites in poor material remains and especially artefacts, sites which it is impossible to date closely. At present they cannot be linked with the civil settlements, except by analogies with other frontiers, or with the tribes known from geographical sources but not named in the surviving historical documents. Our attention is therefore concentrated on the Wall as it can be known through written and unwritten evidence, while acknowledging that its story will never be complete until it can be set in the context of the peoples it controlled and divided'.

(Breeze and Dobson, 2000: 215)

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction to Research

This thesis will re-consider artefacts from 'native' settlements in Roman Cumbria and what they can tell us about everyday life, before reflecting on their significance within a larger, cross-regional context. It aims to challenge the assertion that the only way to understand them is to rely on 'analogies with other frontiers, or with other tribes' (Breeze and Dobson, 2000: 215). For centuries, archaeologists focused their attention on the examination of Hadrian's Wall and other military installations in the North of England, and as a result we have an incredibly detailed understanding of the 'invader'. However, the 'native' is all but unknown, and this is particularly evident in Cumbria. It is impossible to have a complete story until this is addressed, and it is clear that progress is slowly being made, for example in the near-complete University of Reading project titled *The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain*[1]. To facilitate the continuation of this process requires us to be critical of how we 'do' archaeology. This thesis will argue, for example, that bias towards the 'invader' is a result of both the nature of the material record and the history of research, and that we need to understand the roots of our assumptions if we are to have any hope of advancing the archaeological agenda in Cumbria. To do so requires us to create a new interpretative model, and this can only be achieved by undertaking a detailed evaluation of existing models and examining the theoretical concepts which underpin them. However, it is important to note that this process is not intended to result in the creation of a 'Grand Narrative'. At this moment in time, the constraints of the current dataset and absence of an adequate chronological framework means that it would be unwise to make any definite claims about the nature of interaction between 'native' and 'invader' in the region. Instead it is believed that, by creating and exploring a model which emphasises the potential for people and 'things' to move within and between separate (yet co-dependent) 'spheres' of exchange, it will be possible to identify questions and problems to be addressed in the future.

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[1] www.reading.ac.uk/archaeology/research/roman-rural-settlement

Chapter 1 will start the process by exploring how the work undertaken by antiquarian scholars shaped, and continues to shape, the way that we understand Roman Cumbria. It will demonstrate how, while the nature of the archaeological record is undoubtedly problematic, our greatest challenge is finding a way to break out of a research cycle which privileges either 'native' or 'invader', and that we can only achieve this by occupying an interpretative 'middle ground'.

Chapter 2 takes the form of an extensive literature review. It will outline how archaeologists have interpreted trade and exchange, material culture, and the impact of increasing interaction with the Roman Empire, and the way that this has changed throughout the history of the discipline. Doing so will demonstrate how current narratives tend to characterise the 'native' population as 'the Other', and that this has created a picture of Cumbria which suggests the region was entirely separate from the rest of Roman Britain. This process will highlight how, if we are to have any hope of addressing these problems, it is important for us to think far more critically about the nature of interaction between 'native' and 'invader', and that this can be achieved by engaging with recent postcolonial theory.

Taking inspiration from this process, Chapter 3 will outline the theory used to formulate an interpretative model which will, ultimately, be used in Chapter 6 to discuss the artefact assemblages of 'native' settlements in Cumbria. This model will propose that there were two distinct yet overlapping systems within which a 'thing' could circulate in Roman Britain, one characterised by 'trade' and the other 'exchange', and that the value of a 'thing' could shift as it moved within and between them. Chapter 3 will also argue that this process was facilitated by the existence of multiple communities which cut across the divide between 'native' and 'invader', and that the composition of these are likely to have changed over time.

Next, Chapter 4 will outline the 'things' which will be analysed in Chapter 6. This includes why they have been selected, a discussion of how they have been analysed and interpreted in the past, and the advantages and disadvantages of these

methods. Following this, Chapter 5 will set out and justify the rationale for the methodology which will be used, explain the creation of the catalogue, and finally consider some of the factors which might affect the final results.

Chapter 6 is primarily concerned with analysing the presence:absence of 'things' at 'native' settlements in Roman Cumbria. These results will be compared to observations made at *vici* in the region, other 'native' settlements in the North East of England and South East Scotland, and a number of different site types in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich, which will ultimately help situate the 'native' population within their wider, British context. Next, the results of analysis will be discussed with respect to the model set out in Chapter 3, which will ultimately help to create a new, 'middle ground' interpretation. The final part of Chapter 6 will draw on this interpretation in order to create a hypothetical narrative exploring everyday life in Iron Age Cumbria and how this changed, or indeed did not change, as a result of the Roman Conquest.

Taking all of these observations into account, Chapter 7 will set out some of the issues which should be tackled in future research, and argue that we will only be successful if we create projects which include targeted fieldwork (both invasive and non-invasive) at 'native' settlements. Despite the fact that archaeologists are starting to engage more with evidence pertaining to the non-military population in Roman Cumbria, the problem is that most of the current research projects are focused on *vici*. Chapter 7 will argue that, along with the biases created by the nature of commercial excavation in the region, the focus of these new projects has also been influenced by the way that archaeological research is funded, and the emphasis placed on Hadrian's Wall. Finally, it will suggest that the only way to move forward is to create a project concerned with exploring the nature of the 'native' population from the Iron Age through to the Roman period.
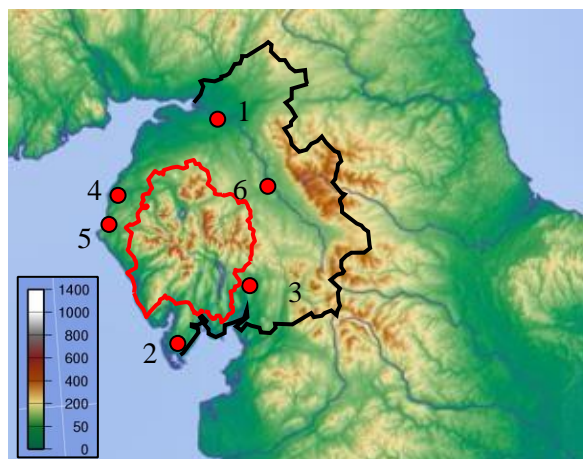
Fig. 1.1: County of Cumbria (approximate boundary - black), its 6 biggest towns (listed from 1-6 - 1: Carlisle; 2: Barrow-in-Furness; 3: Kendal; 4: Workington; 5: Whitehaven; 6: Penrith), and the Lake District National Park (approximate boundary - red)

1.2 Study Area: Cumbria

The primary study area for this thesis is the county of Cumbria, in the North West of England (see Fig. 1.1). A strict adherence to a modern county boundary might be viewed by some as inappropriate for an archaeological study concerned with the Roman period; however, this area has been deliberately selected because, in comparison to other parts of the North of England and Southern Scotland, it remains under-examined and under-theorised. Before considering the role played by the history of research in Cumbria (see Chapter 1.3-1.3.5) it is important to take the underlying geology into consideration as, along with 'temperature and rainfall…[and] the height above sea level and slope', this affects the climate, the length of the growing season, and the field capacity, which in turn:

'…determines the arable and grassland usage of the field, sowing and harvesting times, and the stocking capacity'.

(McCarthy, 2013: 27-28)

What is significant about this is that much of Cumbria is 200m or more above sea level (see Fig. 1.2). It has been observed that the fertile, habitable land is most common in lowland areas, and in particular around 'the coastal plains…and the valleys of the rivers draining into the Solway basin' (Higham and Jones, 1985: 1) and, with regards to the archaeological evidence, it has been argued that 'we can say that the better the soil is for agriculture (i.e. its workability) then the more likely it will have been used (and settled)' (Bewley, 1994: 66). This is clearly visible in the location of modern population centres, including the only city in the region (Carlisle) and (Chapter 5.5) will discuss how this, along with the creation of the Lake District National Park, for example (see Fig. 1.1), might have impacted on the distribution of known and/or excavated archaeological sites. It is hoped that, along with the creation of a new interpretative model (Chapter 3.5), this will help to establish a more balanced, 'middle ground' understanding of everyday life in Roman Cumbria.
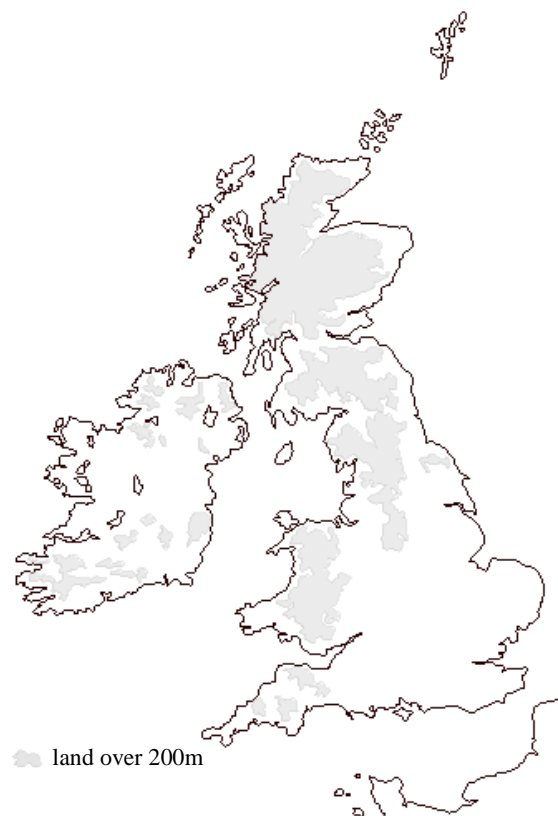
land over 200m

Fig. 1.2: Map of Britain and Ireland – land over 200m shaded (after Hill, 1995: 50: Fig. 2)

1.3. History of Research

The first step in the creation of a new interpretative model is to undertake a detailed evaluation of those models which came before, and which have ultimately shaped our understanding of everyday life in Roman Cumbria. Regardless of the scale of analysis (e.g. town, county, or country), the history of any given locale is always a product of the historians who study it (Marshall, 1974: 9), and this is what will be explored in the remainder of (Chapter 1).

1.3.1 Antiquarian Roots

From the 16th century onwards, antiquarians became increasingly fascinated with military sites in Roman Britain (Bidwell and Hodgson, 2009: 2). In the North of England, the physical dominance of Hadrian's Wall undoubtedly played a role in it becoming an early focus of excavation (Mason, 2009: xviii). However, it is important to note that the personal, educational, and professional backgrounds of the gentlemen scholars who sought to understand is equally likely to have played a role. Each of these antiquarians will have been thoroughly schooled in the Classics (Philpott, 2006: 59), and many likely had some connection to the military (Hingley, 2000: 39; Hingley, 2008: 434); it is possible to see these influences, for example, in the attention they afforded to studying the movements of individual legions, commanders, and Emperors, as well as their desire to excavate sites which would (dis)prove the accuracy of ancient texts such as Tacitus' *Agricola* and Ptolemy's *Geography* (e.g. Ferguson, 1890; Fishwick, 1894). It would be very easy to write about these antiquarians and say that, more than a century later, archaeology has transformed into a completely different discipline; one which uses methods far more rigorous, balanced, and scientific than those relied upon by our early academic forefathers. However, the reality is far more complex. Contemporary researchers are more cautious in their use of ancient texts, in particular because they were frequently written decades if not centuries after the events which they record (Mann and Breeze, 1987: 85), but (accompanied by evidence obtained through excavation) they continue to be used to create a detailed chronological framework against which the ever-shifting

network of roads, forts, and industrial workshops which came to criss-cross the North West of England (Shotter, 2004: Figs. 3.1, 4.1 and 5.1) are situated. These observations demonstrate how centuries of research have not only shaped, but indeed continue to shape, the interests of archaeologists working in the region. This thesis will argue that one of the most enduring legacies is that [a] the 'native' population is so poorly understood in comparison to [b] the 'invader'. Throughout the late 19th century it became increasingly common for antiquarians to draw parallels between the British Empire and the Roman Empire (Hingley, 1993: 23; Hingley, 2000: 26), and this played a role in the ways they characterised both [a] and [b] in Roman Britain. The nature of the archaeological record only served to emphasise the divide between these populations. Those individuals interested in the prehistory of Britain, for example, often sought to emphasise the extent to which they were 'civilised', and in order to do so they concerned themselves with the study of 'impressive monuments' and 'evocative material culture' (Hingley, 2005: 24; see Wright, 1892: 70). Unfortunately there was very little of this type of evidence in Cumbria and, as a result, this is sure to have emphasised the already-existing bias towards [b].

Following the outbreak of the First World War attempts to undertake research into the prehistory of the region all but 'died out' (Collingwood, 1933: 164). It is possible to see the legacy of this early tradition in contemporary archaeological narratives; in *Understanding the British Iron Age: an agenda for action*, for example, the authors categorised Cumbria as a 'black hole', a colloquial term which is used to describe a region 'where site types are still ill-defined or unknown' and there has been 'little modern research' (Haselgrove et al. 2001: 24-25). A number of small-scale aerial surveys have revealed that there are significant numbers of rural settlements scattered throughout the region (Bewley, 1994; Philpott, 2006: 61; Nevell, 2001), and the fact that planning authorities are now obliged to 'ensure that due consideration…[is] given to the archaeological potential of a site' before it is redeveloped means that some of these have been excavated since the 1970s (Cumberpatch, 2000: 225) (see Chapter 5.5: Fig. 5.4). However, the nature of the physical evidence means that we are unable to remove this label. It is incredibly difficult to make any meaningful chronological observation using relative methods

when artefact assemblages are small and lack diagnostic forms, and unfortunately this is the situation at most 'native' settlements in Cumbria (Haselgrove, 2002: 69; Shotter, 2004: 110; McCarthy, 2005: 64; Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 38); this means that without the use of absolute dating methods (e.g. radiocarbon (^{14}C) dating) it has often been impossible to say with any certainty whether a particular site was occupied before or after the Conquest, or whether they bridge this divide (Shotter, 2007: 237). The paucity of artefactual evidence has not only impacted on our chronological frameworks, but also on the way that archaeologists have interpreted the reality of everyday life in Roman Cumbria. It has led to the widespread assumption that the inhabitants of 'native' settlements lived in much the same way as their Bronze Age ancestors (Cunliffe, 1991: 110-12; Gooderson, 1980: 25; Hanson, 2002: 834; Harding, 2006: 79; Higham and Jones, 1985: 7; Higham, 1986: 140) and, moreover, has served to reinforce the long-lived bias towards detailed narratives concerned almost entirely with [b] the 'invader' (Bewley, 1994: 1; McCarthy, 2005: 4748; Philpott, 2006: 62; Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 61; Shotter, 2004: 104).

We might expect given the co-existence of [a] and [b] in Roman Cumbria that a great deal of time would have been spent exploring the nature of interaction between these two populations. However, the reality is that most narratives have focused on writing about either [a] or [b]. The next section will argue that this is not only a result of the nature of the archaeological record and the history of its examination, but of the mechanics of interpretation; a process which is undertaken in archaeology in order to overcome 'the distance between one frame of reference (the present) and another (the past)', with the final result the production of a discourse or narrative (Shanks and Tilley, 1992: 107). To facilitate the successful interpretation of archaeological evidence requires us to be contextually aware and have 'some prior or anticipatory understanding of the social totality in which the material culture acted as symbol, code, or structure' (Shanks and Tilley, 1992: 104; also Wylie, 2002: 165), and in order to understand this 'social totality' we are required to reconcile ourselves with:

(i)   our position working within the discipline of archaeology

(ii)   our position living within, and being influenced by, contemporary society

(iii)   our attempts to understand a culture which is so different from our own

(iv)   our attempts to transcend past and present

(Shanks and Tilley, 1992: 108)

The primary concern of this thesis is to re-analyse artefacts found at 'native' farmsteads. However, in order to achieve a balanced understanding of everyday life in the region, it is important to utilise an interpretative framework which allows us to discuss both [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader'. By undertaking a hermeneutic reading of past research concerned with Roman Cumbria, which means that it will stress the importance of being aware of 'what conditions make understanding of otherness, past or present, possible' (Johnsen and Olsen, 1992: 420), the remainder of this chapter will explore in more detail what has resulted in the divide between [a] and [b].

1.3.2 Regional Narratives

The interest of antiquarians in authors such as Tacitus and Ptolemy (see Chapter 1.3.1) did not only result in a focus on [b] the 'invader', but also in the creation of story-like narratives which were 'chronologically ordered and somehow unified…with a beginning, middle, and end' (Pluciennik, 1999: 654). It has been noted that the danger of viewing history in this manner is that we come to believe it is composed of periods of stability which are, from time to time, interrupted by 'short, possibly even catastrophic, periods of change' (Terrell, 1990: 17-18), and this may well have influenced the emphasis placed on the date of the Conquest (A.D. 43) in many early narratives concerned with Roman Britain (see Chapter 2.3.1). The fact that the first antiquarian excavations in Cumbria were intended to (dis)prove events recorded in ancient texts (see Chapter 1.3.1) is also important, as it appears symptomatic of a number of long-lived 'embedded assumptions about the effectiveness of the modes of inscription – particularly writing versus orality, imagery, and materiality'; that the 'production, decoration, and use of a pot', for

example, played less of a role 'in the production and reproduction of the structure of society' than a text which might explain in detail 'the rules and meanings of…[its] production and use' (Lopiparo, 2002: 70). This suggests that during the 19th century, a period during which 'the status and function of historical narratives tend…to be compared [negatively] with an ideal and valorised model of scientific explanation' (Pluciennik, 1999: 658), antiquarians held the following belief regarding the value of different 'modes of inscription'; that artefactual evidence < textual evidence < scientific evidence. Indeed, Wright stated that:

'In…new questions which are agitated by men of science, we must enter upon the study of the remote period of archaeology of which we have no practical knowledge, with a very profound knowledge of the subsequent historic period; whereas this new school of antiquaries prefer contemplating altogether the doubtful period speculatively from the utterly unknown period which preceded it, to going back to it from the known period which followed'.

(1892: 22)

These ideas also appear to have affected the scale at which archaeological evidence was synthesised and subsequently interpreted; evolutionary models are concerned with large-scale patterns and, correspondingly, they tend to have viewed 'the fine-grain of the everyday..[as] irrelevant, or worse'(Joyce with Preucel, 2002: 34-35). It can be argued that, broadly speaking, the synthesis and interpretation of archaeological evidence can take place on three distinct levels (the local, the regional, and the national), and that these are 'nested' within each other (see Fig. 1.3). This clearly underpins the assertions, made about Iron Age Britain, 'that no single [study] area can be considered entirely in isolation' (Haselgrove et al. 2001: 1), and that if we do we are in danger of overlooking those smaller-scale differences which play an important role in the way that people understand 'the world around them and their place in it' (Bevan, 1999: 3). Of these levels, 'the regional' clearly dominates narratives concerned with Cumbria, and perhaps one of the most significant results of a failure to integrate 'the local' and 'the national' is that the North is often

characterised as just that; 'the North'. The following discussion will argue that the North:South divide, which originated with early antiquarians and was fossilised with the publication of *The Personality of Britain* by Fox in 1932 (Harding, 2000: 2; Salway, 1981: 4), has played a particularly important role.
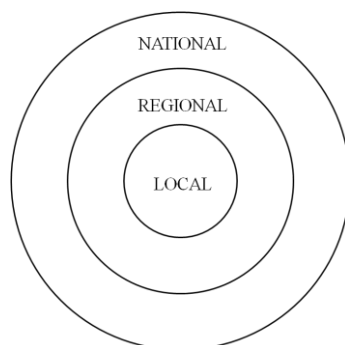
Fig. 1.3: 'Nested' levels of analysis

Today, the North is portrayed in literature, film and television as 'peripheral'; its inhabitants, landscapes, and industries are defined by stereotypes which set them apart from the 'core' of the South (see Russell, D. 2004), and this thesis will argue that these contemporary characteristics have influenced how archaeologists have written about its ancient 'native' inhabitants. This idea will be discussed in further detail in (Chapter 2.4.3). However, for the purpose of this discussion, it is important to note that the fact they continue to be portrayed as the 'Other' is not only a product of their archaeological footprint but centuries of research. After all, contemporary narratives do not exist in temporal isolation; instead they are 'scripted and rescripted from previous fragments' of writing and other disciplinary practices (Joyce, 2002: 7). Moreover, this assertion can be extended to narratives concerned with other chronological periods. The majority of early, large-scale projects concerned with Iron Age sites, for example, were based in the South East of England (Bevan, 1999: 1; Harding, 2000: 2; Haselgrove et al. 2001: 23), and as a result the most well-known interpretative models came to be formulated on the basis of archaeological evidence from this region (Robbins, 1999: 46). These models were subsequently applied to other regions. Any correlation resulted in the group under examination being interpreted as 'normal' and, if the material 'signature' did not match, the group came

to be defined as the 'Other'. The result was that with more programmes of excavation, more discussion, and dissemination to a wider audience, archaeologists became caught up in a research cycle which privileged 'exceptional' sites, artefacts, and activities associated with [a] 'native' Iron Age groups in the South and East of England, to the detriment of those in the North and West (Fig. 1.4). Their characterisation as the 'Other' only becomes more conspicuous after the Conquest and in Cumbria, with its archaeological record and history of research, this has served to emphasise the focus on [b] the 'invader'

[b]   [a]

| SETTLEMENTS AND ARTEFACTS IN THE SOUTH AND EAST OF ENGLAND | SETTLEMENTS AND ARTEFACTS IN THE NORTH AND WEST OF ENGLAND |

EXCEPTIONAL — EVERYDAY

INCREASE IN INTEREST — LIMITED INTEREST

PROCESS OF SYNTHESIS

FURTHER INVESTIGATION/ EXCAVATION

MORE MATERIAL EVIDENCE
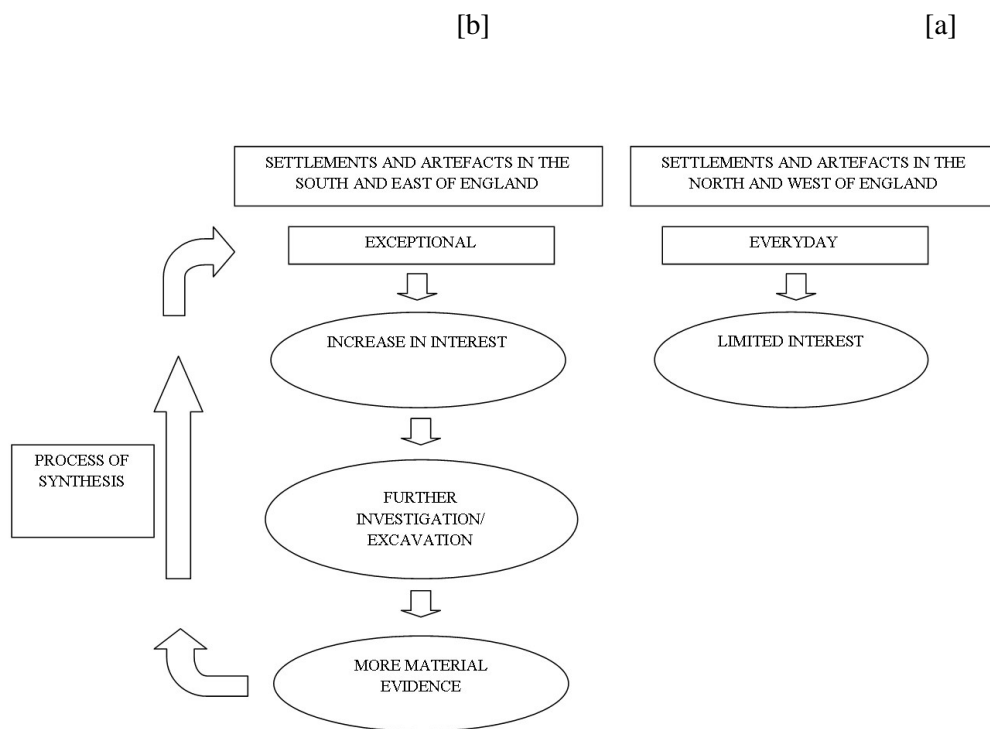
Fig. 1.4: Research cycle in Britain

1.3.3 Analogies in Archaeology

The process of archaeological interpretation is a complex one, and is particularly difficult in materially-'poor' regions such as Cumbria. In the following sections, it will be argued that is suggestive of a more deep-rooted problem; that, largely a consequence of the temporal distance which lies between us and the

producer(s) and/or consumer(s) of the 'things' we study, it has become common for us to rely on analogies to understand them. Shanks and Tilley, for example, have stated that:

'One cannot understand anything about the meaning of material culture-patterning in the past (or the present) unless one is willing to make conceptualised interventions by means of using social, ethnographic or other starting points about the manner in which the past social totality was constituted'.

(1992: 104)

It has been argued that, in archaeology, analogies:

'...always consist of an equation between a modern (mostly ethnographic) 'source' and an archaeological 'subject'. Source and subject share some characteristics, while usually many other traits may be known for the source but not for the subject. The unknown elements are the goal of the analogy. The assumption is that if characteristic traits a, b, c are similar in source and subject, then traits m, n, o, which are only known for the source side, will be equally typical for the subject side'.

(Bernbeck, 2000: 143)

The following discussion will demonstrate how a reliance on analogies has led to the stagnation of interpretation in Cumbria. As noted at the start of this thesis, archaeologists working in the region have tended to emphasise [a] 'native' or [b] 'invader', instead of giving them an equal 'voice'. Unfortunately, this results in a hermeneutic cycle (Fig. 1.5) which can be explained in the following manner:

'When [a] dominates archaeological narratives [b] tends to be afforded less attention and so, with increasing dissatisfaction in [a], there is a shift towards [b] which, ultimately, results in the dominance of [b] and a reduced interest in [a], and so on'.

(Peacock, 2016: 23)
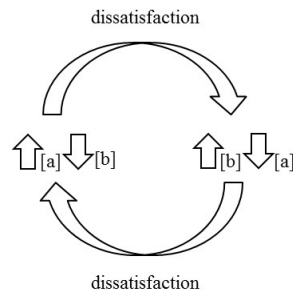
Fig. 1.5: Hermeneutic cycle of interpretation (Peacock, 2016: 23; Fig. 6)

1.3.4 Top-down Models

The most basic type of analogy is illustrated in (Fig. 1.6).
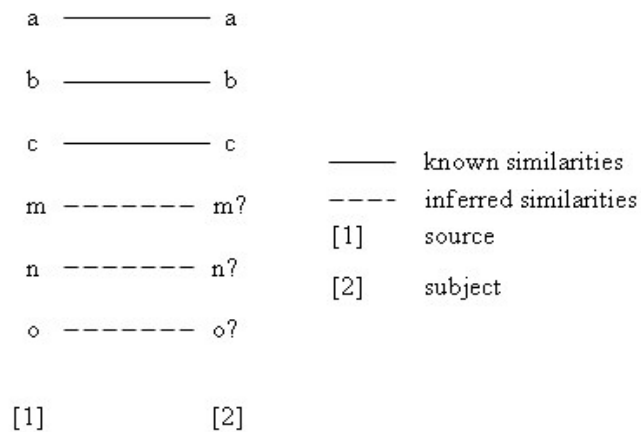
Fig. 1.6: Archaeological analogies (Peacock, 2016: 21; Fig. 1)

This is a single-tier model of analogical reasoning composed of temporal elements; in this instance, (Fig. 1.6) might illustrate the identification (and inference)

of similarities between [1] a (near) contemporary economy and [2] the economy of Roman Britain. A two-tiered analogical model is more complex because it incorporates spatial elements and, therefore, (Fig. 1.7) involves the addition of a further archaeological 'subject' [3]. This has been utilised in Cumbria where, given the paucity of diagnostic artefactual evidence on 'native' settlements, archaeologists have relied on analogies drawn from other parts of the Roman Empire to explain, for example, the mechanics of its economy after the Conquest. This can be explained in the following manner:

'[Fig. 1.7] illustrates known similarities [a] and inferred similarities [b], [d] and [e]. In the case of [b], similarities between [2] and [3] are inferred because [a] is shared between [1], [2] and [3]. There are also known similarities between [a1-a2] and [b1-b2]. The difference in [Fig. 1.8] lies in the inclusion of [c] and [f]; [c] is a scenario in which dissimilarities are shared between 'source' and both 'subjects' (i.e. [1], [2] and [3]). Once again [1] is a (near) contemporary economy, but in this case [2] is the economy in the South of *Britannia*, and [3] in the North of *Britannia*. The assumption is that, because some traits (it is important to note that these can be similarities or dissimilarities) are shared between [1] and [2], and between [2] and [3], that [1] is analogous to [3]'.

(Peacock, 2016: 20)
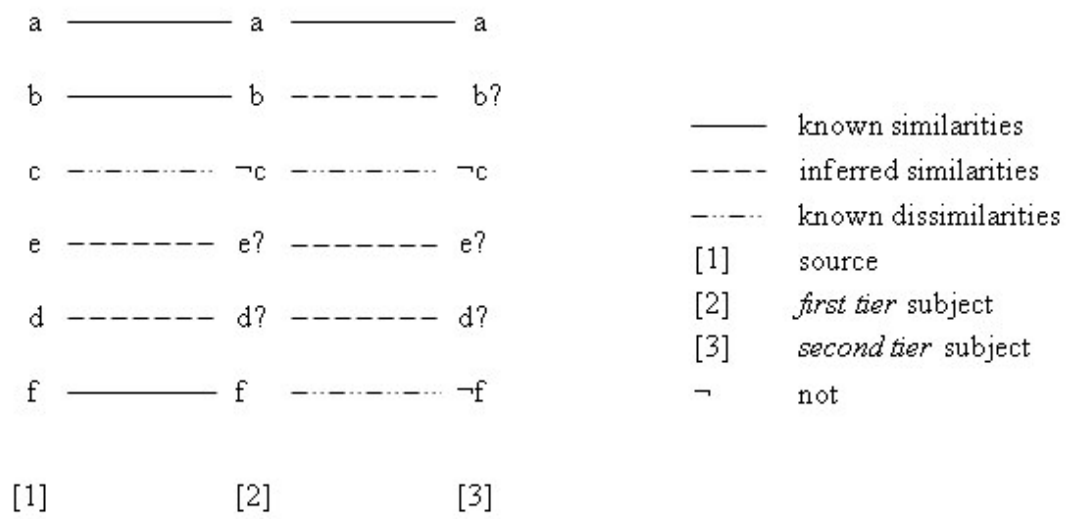
Fig. 1.7: Two-tiered archaeological analogies (Peacock, 2016: 21; Fig. 2)

The addition of another tier complicates the issue further (Fig. 1.8).
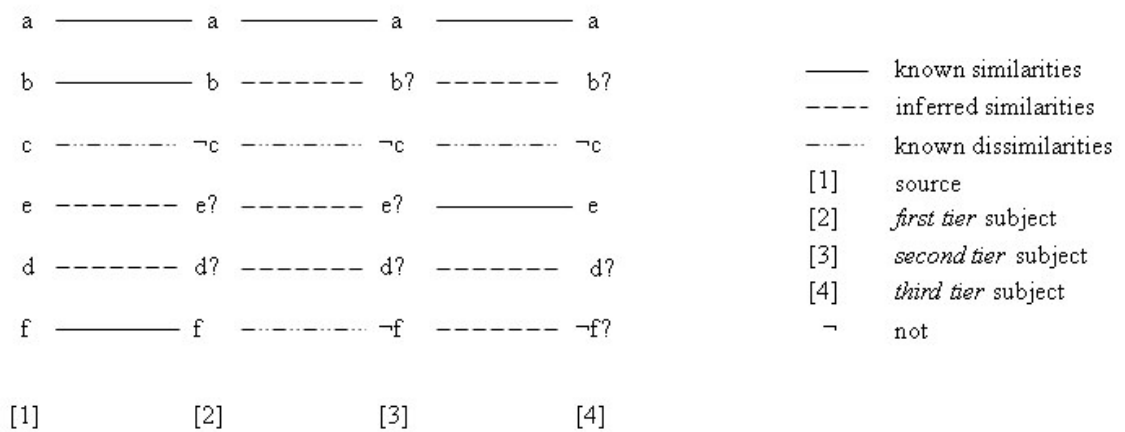
Fig. 1.8: Three-tiered archaeological analogies (Peacock, 2016: 21; Fig. 3)

This:

'Might…illustrate the analogical reasoning which underpins debates concerning the economic impact of the Roman Conquest; in this case [1] is a (near) contemporary economy, [2] the economy of the Roman Empire, [3] the economy of *Britannia*, and [4] the economy of Roman Cumbria'.

(Peacock, 2016: 21)

The history of this concept (i.e. 'Romanisation') will be discussed in more detail later (see Chapters 2.3.1-2.3.2; 2.5-2.5.3). However, it is important to note at this juncture that, in earlier narratives, the recovery of 'Roman' artefacts from 'native' sites tended to be seen as evidence for the inhabitants trying 'to emulate Roman behaviour and fashions' (Mattingly, 2006: 472); this can be seen, for example, in the way that archaeologists first interpreted the presence of imported commodities associated with the consumption of food or drink in 'elite' burials (Hill, 1997: 97-98) (see Chapter 2.4). Correspondingly, it was assumed that contact with the Roman Empire would stimulate a change in the identities of these groups so that they would gradually become more civilised until, finally, they became 'Roman' (Hingley, 2008: 438; Jones, 1997: 33; Woolf, 1997: 339). One problem with the top-down inferences illustrated in (Fig. 1.8) is that they are primarily concerned with elites who accounted for a small percentage of the overall population and, moreover, did not necessarily have 'an unerring desire to adopt Roman architecture, manners and graces' (Mattingly, 2006: 367). These interpretations emphasised how existing 'indigenous political divisions and tendencies' were exploited by the Roman Empire (Haselgrove, 1984: 6; also Jones, 1997: 35) and argued that, by allowing elites to retain and build upon their existing power, it was far easier to conquer and occupy new provinces (James, 2001: 193; Millett, 1990a: 58). The problem in the North West of England is that there is limited archaeological evidence to suggest the existence of a materially-distinct elite; while there is a tradition of 'elite' chariot burials in East Yorkshire, for example (see Dent, 1999; Greenwell, 1906; Stead, 1965; Stead, 1989), there is no

comparable practice in Cumbria. Instead, it has been suggested that wealth and status may have been articulated through a different medium, for example the ownership, trade and consumption of cattle, sheep and horses (Cunliffe, 1991: 112; Piggott, 1958: 14-16 and 18; McCarthy, 2005: 59-60; Sargent, 2002: 225); however, the lack of adequate bone assemblages means that it is almost impossible to test this hypothesis (Philpott, 2006: 69; Stallibrass, 2009: 142). This North:South divide becomes more visible after the Conquest. The continued occupation of 'native'-style farmsteads and absence of villas in the North West has often been viewed as indicative of a shallow social hierarchy (Hingley, 2004: 339; Jones, 1984: 76; McCarthy, 2002a: 114-116; Nevell, 2001: 65; Shotter, 2004: 136), and although there is a 'villa' at Eatonby-Tarporley (Cheshire) it is situated at the southernmost edge of the 'military' zone (Philpott, 2006: 75) and can therefore be viewed as an 'exceptional' example (see Fig. 1.9).
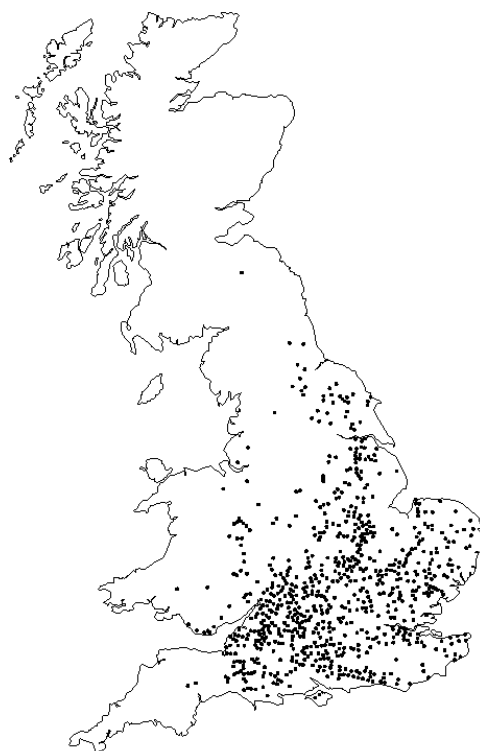
Fig. 1.9: Approximate distribution of villas and other 'substantial buildings as shown on the 5th Edition of the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain (after Sargent, 2002: 222; Fig. 3)

In the South of England there was also a visible shift towards life in urban settlements (Mattingly, 2006: 291), with many eventually becoming self-governing (Clarke, 1958: 29; Hingley, 2004: 327), and while some changes took place in the North of England the process appears to have been much more gradual; administrative power was transferred to civilians in North Yorkshire, the West Midlands, and Wales in the 2nd century A.D. (Sargent, 2002: 225), while Carlisle (*Luguvalium*) did not become a 'town and *civitas* capital' of the Roman Empire until the 3rd century A.D. (McCarthy et al. 1982: 79). It has been suggested that urban settlements were rare in the North West because the economy was primarily driven by, and therefore centred around, 'the immediate military presence' (Sargent, 2002: 220). Interestingly, despite the lack of evidence pertaining to the Iron Age, many researchers continue to argue that the changes in the region must have been facilitated by elite, asserting that their invisibility is a consequence of the fact that they became fully 'Romanised' and are therefore archaeologically indistinguishable from the remainder of the civilian population living in the *vici* associated with forts, or otherwise the *civitates* at Carlisle and Chester (Higham and Jones, 1985: 52; McCarthy, 2005: 66; Philpott, 2006: 71; 73-4; Shotter, 2004: 111).

Moreover, it is important to note that most military sites are found in the North and West while there are 'comparatively few [found] in the South and East', and that the pattern appears to be reversed for civil settlements (Sargent, 2002: 220) (see Fig. 1.10). This and the limited evidence for an elite who, as stated above, might have served to facilitate the process of integration, means that it is widely accepted that a permanent garrison was required in order to control the local population (Mattingly, 2006: 128). As a consequence the North of England has come to be viewed as a frontier region whose 'character and extent' was shaped by the ongoing military presence (Hingley, 2004: 338) and it can be argued that this, along with the relative paucity of finds on 'native' farmsteads, has resulted in a research cycle which is primarily concerned with [b] the 'invader' (Bewley, 1994: 1; McCarthy, 2005: 47-48; Philpott, 2006: 62; Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 61; Shotter, 2004: 104) (Fig. 11).
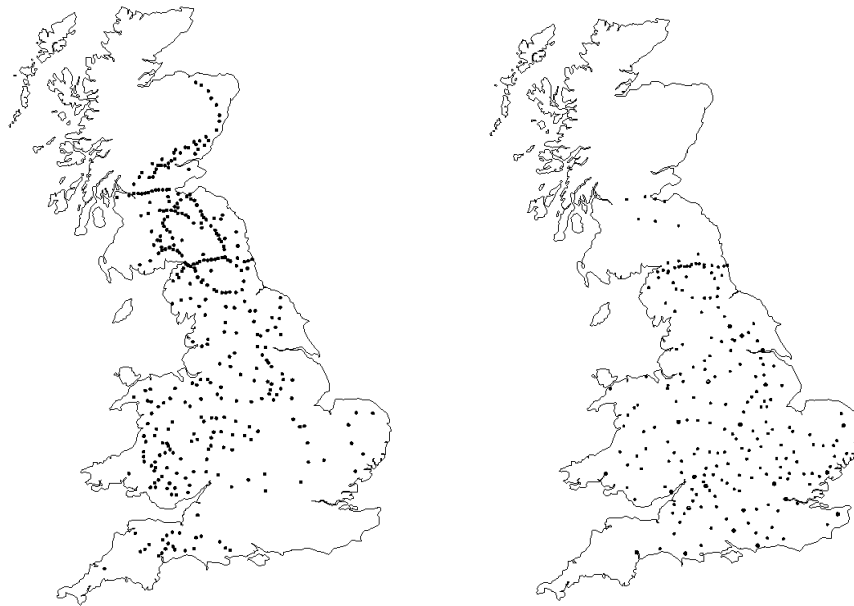
Fig. 1.10: Approximate distribution of military sites (left) and civil settlements (right) as shown on the 5th Edition of the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain (after Sargent, 2002: 220-221; Figs. 1 and 2)
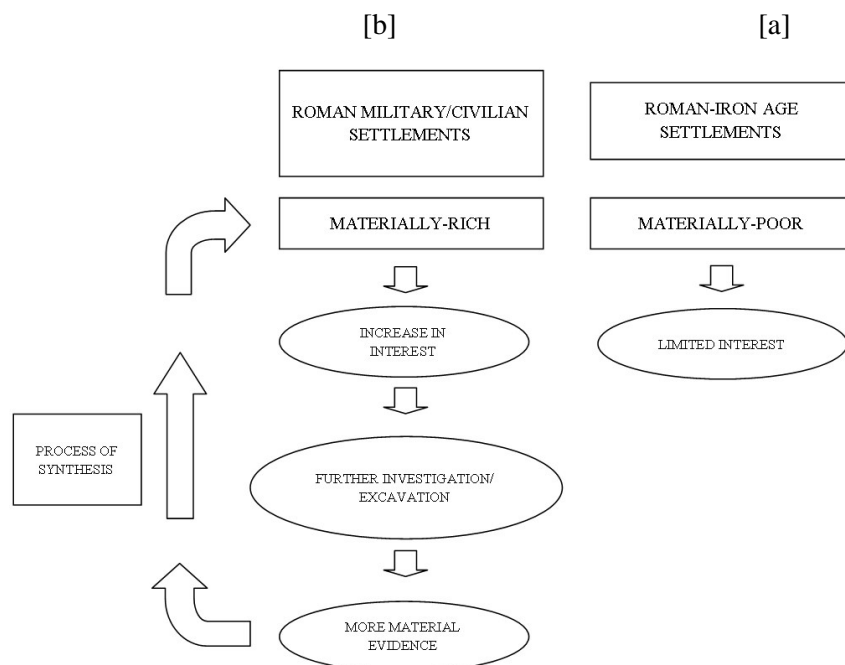
Fig. 1.11: Research cycle in Cumbria (based on Robbins, 1999: 46)

1.3.5 Bottom-up Models

One way that archaeologists have attempted to address the bias towards top-down models is by interpreting archaeological evidence from the bottom-up. These more recent narratives have explored the idea that the 'native' population in the North West of England may have chosen not to incorporate 'Roman' goods, along with their associated social and cultural ideas, into their everyday lives (see Hingley and Willis, 2007; Loney and Hoaen, 2005). Although this is compatible with recent developments in the 'Romanisation' debate (see Chapter 2.5-2.5.3), and in particular the fact that a straightforward progression from 'native' to 'Roman' was unlikely, the presence of 'Roman' artefacts at some 'native' settlements suggests that these studies are merely sitting on the 'native' side of the [a] 'native'-[b] 'invader' dichotomy.

This is particularly apparent in the tendency for these bottom-up studies to focus on objects of personal ornamentation. Early research concerned with these objects (e.g. Curle, 1913) noted the existence of both Iron Age and hybridised 'Romano-British' types, and utilised an approach which appears to be inspired by late 19th century evolutionary typologies (see Lucas, 2001: 74-80). Given the developments in method and theory since, it is perhaps surprising that a number of recent studies undertaken in Northern England and the Southern Scottish Borders have categorised objects of personal ornamentation in a very similar manner; that is, as either 'native' or 'Romano-British' (Ross, 2009; Ross, 2011; Wilson, 2010). Although neither author claims to be influenced by evolutionary approaches, this kind of strict periodisation (i.e. division and sub-division of archaeological assemblages on the basis of temporal differences) which is 'integral to the evolutionary paradigm' (Lucas, 2001: 109), suggests that these ideas underpin their interpretations. There are a number of problems with evolutionary models, which are discussed in greater detail elsewhere in this thesis (see Chapter 2.3.1), yet these issues have not been taken into account. Instead, Ross (2009; 2011) and Wilson (2010) concerned themselves with attempting to identify distinct, socio-cultural groups on the basis of a 'checklist' of particular artefacts. Why might this be?

Once again, the problem is in how archaeologists use analogies and, in particular, how they are used to interpret 'things'. It has been argued that objects have no inherent meaning and that, instead, meaning emerges as a product of an ongoing dialectic between an object (e.g. a pot) and the subject (i.e. the consumer) (Shanks and Tilley, 1992: 111). The manufacturer of that pot, for example, will likely have intended it to fulfil a particular function, and this will have influenced its shape, whether or not it had a slip, how it was decorated, etc. Given this, the production process is 'both stimulated and limited by the demand for that artefact', and we can argue that demand is 'an active response' to the utilitarian and/or symbolic need of the consumer (Howard, 1981: 5) (Fig. 1.12).

Intended function

↓

Demand

Raw material   Skill

Production

↓
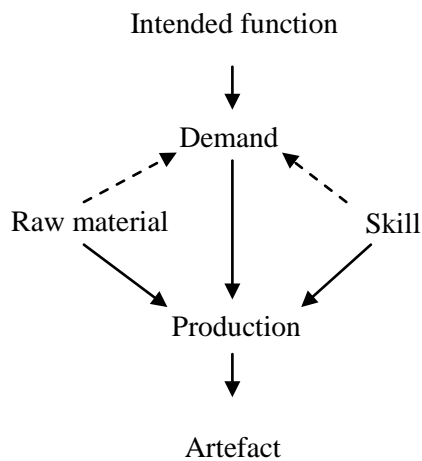
Artefact

Fig. 1.12: Simplified model of artefact production (after Howard, 1981: 5: Fig. 1.1)

However, a 'thing' cannot tell us about its intended use; at best it allows us 'to say that its production was intended within a pre-existing socio-hegemonic and behavioural framework' (David, 2004: 67-68). Let us consider, for example, the mortarium. As a result of a reliance on a range of textual sources and physical characteristics (especially the presence of trituration grits and pouring spout) archaeologists have tended to assume that it is 'an unproblematic part of... pottery assemblage[s]' (Cool, 2004: 30), yet recent research has begun to challenge these long-lived assumptions. The analysis of plant and animal lipid residues from British and German mortaria, for example, has demonstrated that instead of being used for a

single purpose (the processing of herbs and oil) they were occasionally adapted in order to process a far wider range of ingredients (Cramp et al. 2011: 1341). This suggests that although the producer might have intended it to fulfil a specific role, this may well have shifted depending on the consumer. However, while Cramp et al. noted that 'sooting or burning…has been observed on sherds from a range of sites' (ibid: 1340-1341), it is interesting that they do not discuss in any detail whether this suggests they might have been used as cooking vessels. While this challenges the assertion that archaeologists are only able to make 'inferences about an artefact's function…by resorting to analogy' (Krieger, 2006: 88), it is clear that analogies continue to play a central role in interpreting of 'things'. In order to address these imbalances it is important to be critically-aware of the ways that we relate to a) the past and b) the present (Insoll, 2007: 9-10), and that the interpretative process is influenced by our position within a society which is very different to the one which we are studying; more specifically, our assumptions regarding the function of a mortarium may have been influenced, for example, by the modern pestle and mortar.

The situation becomes more complicated when studying a single artefact type (e.g. a mortarium) as part of a larger assemblage. Over the last two decades, archaeologists have drawn heavily on structuralist literature which characterises 'material culture as 'text', or an encoding of the symbol systems that ordered the lives of those people who created…material culture' (Watson and Fotiadis, 1990: 614). This kind of approach strives to facilitate interpretation by applying 'a framework of linguistic concepts' to the examination of non-linguistic situations which, within the discipline of archaeology, means that an artefact assemblage is seen as being analogous to sentence structure (despite the fact it is unlikely they were intended to produce 'language-like meaning effects') (Wylie, 2002: 127-128; see Fig. 1.13). The fact that '*texts*, including material culture... cannot be taken at face value' (Salmon, 1992: 236) serves to emphasise how 'reading' artefact assemblages requires us to translate the 'language' used, which is difficult given the temporal distance between archaeologists and the people we study. The most common technique used to facilitate this 'translation' is the application of analogies and, therefore, we can characterise

structuralism as a second type of multi-tiered analogical model, perhaps best described as a 'nested' analogy; in this situation, we are:

'…in the first instance drawing comparisons between [1] sentence structures and [2] artefact assemblages, in the second these are between [ii] the material 'language' used (which is the inference between [1] and [2]) and [i] a comparable (likely ethnographic) analogy'.

(Peacock, 2016: 22)
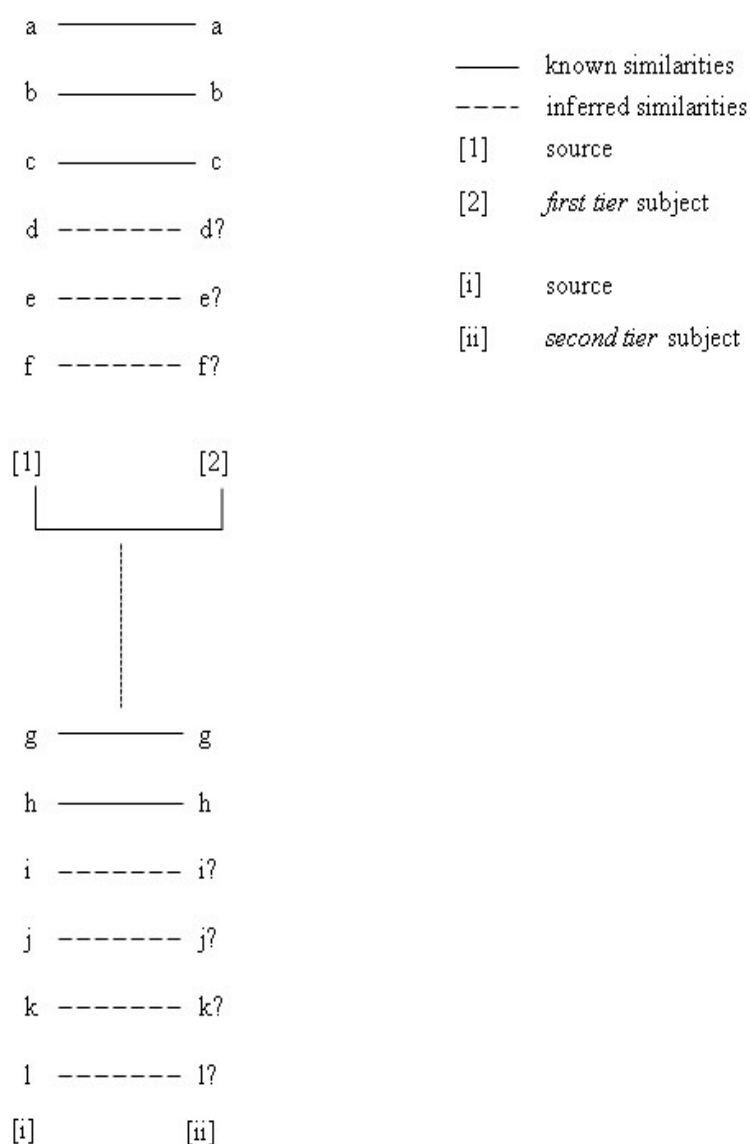
Fig. 1.13: 'Nested' analogies – structuralism (Peacock, 2016: 22; Fig. 4)

The problem is that:

'…a reduction in the number of shared known similarities (or differences)…corresponds with…an increase in the complexity of inferred similarities (or differences). Ultimately, with each additional tier, the value of the analogy between subject[s] and source becomes weaker, which results in a far less reliable interpretation of the archaeological evidence'.

(Peacock, 2016: 21-22)

The uncritical and indiscriminate use of analogies has resulted from a failure to appreciate that we cannot reduce the past 'to a single procedure or set of procedures which can be reproduced by others in the manner of a rote formula or recipe' (Shanks and Tilley, 1992: 107). This thesis is centred on the idea that boundaries between populations are not fixed and impermeable, and there is no single way of being 'native' or 'Roman'. It also argues that if we occupy a reflexive position, accept that 'archaeological research and the social milieu in which it is practiced' are entangled with one another (Trigger, 1984: 356), and that it is impossible to divorce ourselves from our 'position in history and society', then we must also embrace the idea that it is impossible to write objectively about the past (Burke, 2009: 6). This and the previous section have highlighted the importance of occupying an interpretative 'middle ground' and that, if we want to be able to write a more objective account of everyday life in Roman Cumbria, one way to do so is to accept that 'analogies do not bridge the gap between 'us' (in the present) and 'them' (in the past)' (Peacock, 2016: 20).

1.4 Moving Forward: Occupying an Interpretative 'Middle Ground'

The picture of everyday life during the Iron Age and Roman periods in the North West of England is far less nuanced than in other parts of Britain (Haselgrove et al. 2001: 25: Table 3). All of the problems which this thesis has so far highlighted

have been accentuated by a lack of excavation at 'native' settlements (Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 65; see Chapter 5.5). When studied they tend to be published in local journals (e.g. Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society) and, if incorporated into nation-wide syntheses, they usually occupy a distinctly marginal position (Bevan, 1999: 3). Although archaeologists have highlighted the potential for complex relationships between 'native' and 'invader' in the region, the paucity of artefacts available for analysis on the handful of excavated sites appears to have restricted the application of these kinds of interpretative models. This is suggestive of a prioritising of quantity over quality; however, the problem does not lie solely in the nature of the archaeological record. Instead, as the previous sections have illustrated, this is just as much a product of its perceived incompatibility with models formulated on the basis of sites, artefacts, and practices in the South of England. The result is that 'native' groups in Cumbria have almost exclusively been discussed in terms of their 'Other-ness'. As such, the only way that we can hope to test the reality of these assertions is to break out of the cycle of research which dominates the region (Fig. 1.14).

[b]   [a]
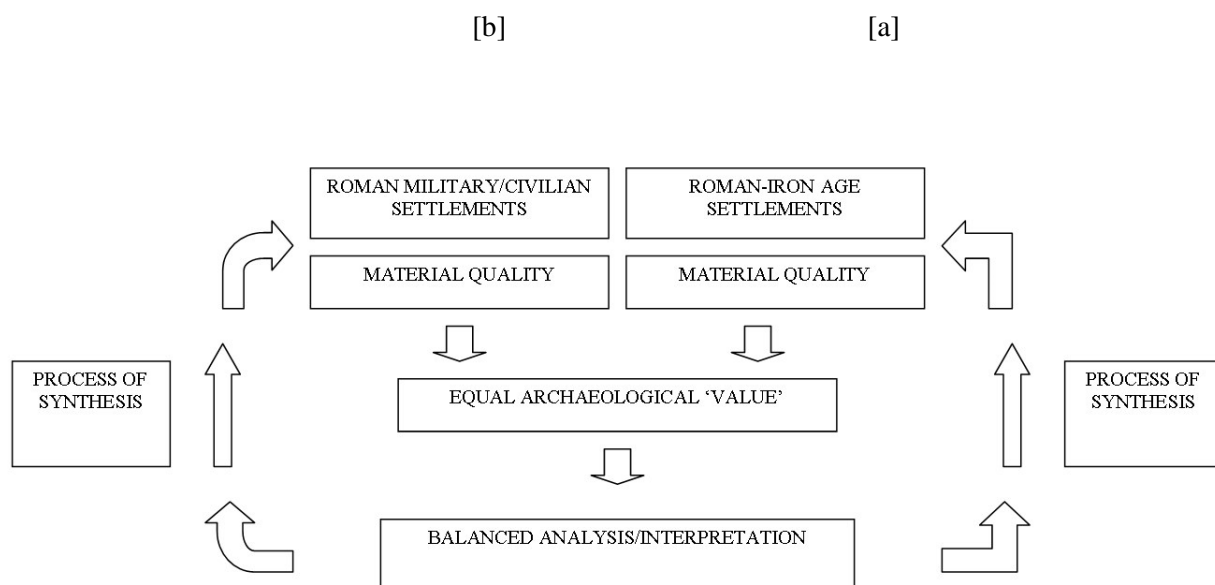
Fig. 1.14: Projected impact of a new research cycle in North West England

26

This chapter has demonstrated how, while the transition between the Iron Age and Roman periods in the North West is interesting because it differs to other parts of England, it cannot truly be understood until its archaeological record is examined on its own merits; that is, we have to explore the 'native' population 'in terms of the archaeological evidence, rather than the theoretical model of Romanisation' (Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 70). It has argued that the application of a reflexive, self-critical methodological and theoretical framework (see Hodder, 2003), and the examination of material culture from a standpoint which allows us to link different scales of analysis as 'nested sets of relations' (Knappett, 2011: 146), can help us to advance our understanding of the region. Doing so will help to clarify the range of complex sociocultural practices (and, by extension, interactions) which existed in Roman Cumbria, and between this region and others in Britain. This will be particularly valuable as many contemporary studies have concentrated on individual regions, or England, or Scotland, or Wales, often without actively acknowledging that the boundaries between them are often relatively modern. In *Understanding the British Iron Age: an agenda for action*, for example, it has been noted that North East England and South East Scotland:

'...share a similar geography in their uplands and lowlands, while their Iron Age records display many features in common…[and that] Adherence, therefore, to the modern national boundary is questionable'.

(Haselgrove et al. 2001: 81)

Moreover, although there are problems with the studies undertaken by Ross (2009; 2011) and Wilson (2010), they have undoubtedly served to illustrate the value of cross-regional analyses. At the same time, by affording so much attention to the distinctiveness of the North of England they have served to overlook the incredible variability of day-to-day life in *Britannia*. It might be tempting to concentrate on small details when studying marginal regions, and to strive to give the 'native' population a more active 'voice'; however, in doing so, there is a danger that we reduce the rest of the province to a homogenous, 'Romanised' whole. The crux of the problem is that:

'... a particular point, a publication or authoritative if not definitive statement which stands as a new school solution until challenged'.

(Breeze, 2003: 14)

1.5 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated how most studies concerned with Roman Cumbria have been undertaken from either the top-down or the bottom-up. This has led to the continuing dominance of dialogues which divide the Iron Age ('native' and 'rural') and Roman ('invader' and 'military') populations (Fig. 1.15). However, if we trace the history of research in the region, it becomes apparent that these dichotomies are as much a product of the period of study and the background of individual scholars as the nature of the archaeological record, as there is evidence to suggest that there was some degree of interaction between these groups. This is indicative of a problem within the discipline of archaeology; that practitioners have, in many cases, become far too concerned with 'fighting ideological wars between competing epistemological standpoints' (Fahlander, 2001: 12-14) which has only served to 'obscure much common ground' (Wylie, 1992: 269). In order to identify this 'middle ground', the next chapter will take the form of a detailed literature review of the economic and social theory which has been used in the study of Roman Britain. Ultimately, this process will help to create an interpretative model which is centred on the ongoing relationships between people and 'things', and it is hoped that this will, in the end, start to bridge the artificial divide between 'native' and 'invader' in Roman Cumbria.

Fig. 1.15: Dichotomies in the study of Roman Cumbria

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore how archaeologists have interpreted trade, exchange, the movement of artefacts, as well as the way they have discussed the nature of interaction between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader'. As highlighted in the previous chapter, the problem in Cumbria is that there is no evidence to suggest that there was an elite who set themselves apart through the consumption of 'things' and, as a consequence of this and the relative paucity of evidence at 'native' settlements, the majority of narratives are concerned with the 'invader'. Although some archaeologists have created bottom-up interpretations which are clearly meant to empower [a] the 'native', this chapter will explore in more detail how, by doing so, they are only serving to emphasise their 'Other-ness'. It will argue that, by critiquing the theory underpinning those narratives concerned with either [a] 'native' or [b] 'invader', we can ultimately produce a more balanced, 'middle ground' interpretative framework which is appropriate for use in the study of Roman Cumbria.

2.2 Theorising Trade and Exchange

'Archaeologists have… realised that the reconstruction of exchange systems can be critical in understanding the social and political as well as economic relationships within a group and the group's relationship with other groups'.

(Fry, 1979: 494)

This statement highlights how important the study of trade and exchange is to the creation of archaeological narratives. Indeed, it has even been suggested that the emergence of these processes should be appreciated as a ubiquitous stage in human evolution (Oka and Kusimba, 2008: 340). Unfortunately this type of examination has been, and this thesis will argue continues to be, inherently flawed. In the first instance, the terms 'trade' and 'exchange' have come to describe two very different processes

despite the fact that their mechanisms are in essence the same (McGuire, 1989: 45). A useful starting point is their dictionary definitions:

Trade: n. the *buying* and *selling* of goods and services
Exchange: n. an act of giving one thing and receiving another in return

Buy: v. get something in return for *payment*
Sell: v. hand over something in exchange for *money*

(my emphasis: Oxford English Dictionary)

These suggest that the fundamental difference between trade and exchange is how reimbursement is achieved. 'Trade' in a modern context implies 'profit as a motive for exchange' (Matthews, 1999: 183), so it is often used to describe a movement of goods between a) buyer and b) seller where a) reimburses b) with payment equivalent to their agreed value; in this regard, trade appears to be a unique feature of a fully monetised economy. Reimbursement is achieved in an 'exchange', on the other hand, by goods or services of equal value (Temin, 2001: 171), which in turn implies that the individuals involved were not motivated by profit.

However, by focusing on definitions alone we unfortunately emphasise the differences between two activities which, at their core, are the same. With regards to both 'trade' and 'exchange', 'things' pass between two or more individuals and, in order for this transaction to be successful, all of the individuals involved have to understand the appropriate 'balance or equivalence between what is given and what is received' (Renfrew, 2005: 93); that is, their value. Anthropological studies have played a major role in making it apparent to archaeologists that 'trade constitutes only one form of exchange' (Kohl, 1975: 43), but a major shortcoming of many narratives is that they are informed by the idea that different types of exchange are indicative of different developmental stages. These evolutionary models argue that economies developed from 'simple barter' to the large-scale centralised production of goods which were desirable for trade and, finally, to the 'production and use of metal

currency' (Greene, 1990: 46; also Bang, 2007). They also assert that the interpersonal relations underpinning the movement of 'things' changed accordingly (Temin, 2001: 171). It has been observed that personal interactions are required to facilitate most transactions (although it is important to note that these need not occur face-to-face) (Granovetter, 1985: 482; Stewart, 1989: 66); however, in many narratives, there is an unmistakable divide in the way that these are described in relation to 'trade' and 'exchange'. While reciprocal exchange, for example, tends to have been viewed as a social process which served to create (and thereafter maintain) alliances between people, trade (both barter and sale) is an impersonal transaction between individuals who do not necessarily know one another, and which does not serve to create social bonds (Comber, 2001: 73). (Fig. 2.1) illustrates how archaeologists traditionally characterised these economic 'types'; that economic behaviour was deeply rooted in social relationships before the emergence of markets and, after this development, their importance steadily declined (Granovetter, 1985: 482).

Economy	Interaction	Movement of Goods
1. Reciprocal	Social process	Takes place between groups or individuals of similar identity or status
	Related to exchange and gift-giving	
2. Redistributive	Based on equivalence	
	Less direct or personal than (1)	Movement towards a centre and then outwards to a wider population
	Society may or may not use coinage	
3. Market	Some craft specialisation	
	Central ruling power controls goods	
	No need for social relationships between participants	Goods are transferred between 'hands'
	Prices are fixed	
	Based on supply and demand	

Fig. 2.1: Economic 'types': (based on Greene, 1990: 46-47; Polanyi, 2001: 250)

(Fig. 2.1) suggests that archaeologists have tended to concern themselves with three types of economies; 'reciprocity', 'redistribution', and 'markets'. These have often been reduced to points on a checklist and are, subsequently, used to identify the level of socio-cultural complexity (i.e. evolutionary stage) reached by society in the past. Studies have also considered why these developments occurred. Marxist-inspired interpretations, for example, have proposed that the exchange of goods between individuals first occurred by chance and that the repetition of this process resulted in it eventually becoming a normalised social practice (Marx, 1990: 182). But what leads to it being repeated in the first instance? Earlier narratives emphasised the role played by particular individuals, religious organisations, and political institutions in the diffusion of ideas. Increasing political complexity tended to be viewed as directly proportional to the power of 'elites'; these individuals had the means by which to access, and perhaps more importantly control access to, goods and resources (Hirth, 1996: 205), as well as to act as patrons for craft specialists (Hirth, 1996: 204; Patterson, 2005). In these interpretations, social complexity and intellectual progress is seen as a direct result of such influential institutions. More recent critics have argued that such views are outdated (Trigger, 2003: 338); that socio-political complexity cannot and should not be assumed to be 'a precondition for trade' (Oka and Kusimba, 2008: 341), that although power is dependent on 'control over particular resources' we should not assume that those with the capacity to do so always exercised that power (Lively, 1976: 6), and that if they did, the way control was achieved likely varied 'tremendously from society to society' (Hirth, 1996: 214).

These new studies began to challenge the questionable reduction of different 'types' of economies to steps on an evolutionary ladder; models in which tribal societies occupied at the lowest point on the scale and centralised, hierarchical societies the highest (Haselgrove, 1984: 16). They argued that this kind of approach only served to exaggerate differences between a) 'uncivilised' and b) 'civilised' groups (Polanyi, 2001: 47), and assumed that contact between a) and b) somehow stimulated the development of the economy of a). Moreover, the economic typologies illustrated in (Fig. 2.1) group together exchange types (i.e. reciprocity) with exchange institutions (i.e. redistribution) (Smith, 2004: 84), and overlook the fact that the types

of interactions which are seen as characteristic of different 'stages' can, in reality, be found in all of them (Polanyi, 2001: 253-54). This is indicative of an oversight in those studies which suggest that social interactions and interpersonal relationships are less important at each evolutionary 'stage'. Instead, it seems far more likely that the movement of 'things' incorporates 'a combination of commercial, social political, and ideological interests, regardless of the mechanism used' and that, while some may have played a more important role at different times, '*all* are [in fact] present' (my emphasis: Oka and Kusimba, 2008: 366), and that these factors also influenced the adoption and/or adaptation of new 'things' (Kelly, 1997: 363). Moreover, it is important to be aware of the fact that Marx did not see a direct correlation between capitalism and civilisation (Gosden, 2004: 9). Living as we do in the modern world, it is all too easy to forget that the rise in popularity of certain objects or 'things' is not only driven by commercial desire and that, even today, economics is entangled with the cultural aspects of daily life (Loomba, 1998: 24).

2.2.1 Trade, Exchange, and Elites

Many archaeological studies concerned with trade and exchange have been undertaken from the top-down. By considering how hereditary elites, or those with equivalent political power, were able to acquire particular commodities and then control their circulation, researchers have written detailed accounts of their role in the emergence of 'civilisations'. Based on the idea that material culture is one tool that individuals or groups use to articulate their connectedness to others (Hodder, 1979: 95), they have argued that long-distance trade played a central role in the emergence of political power (Trigger, 2003: 342); that it promoted communication between different groups, reduced the chance of conflict or mitigated conflict when it did occur, and helped to establishing the social and political status of an individual, family, or larger social unit (Stewart, 1989: 67). Any change in the flow of commodities might threaten this equilibrium and it has been argued that, in order to maintain it, new infrastructures would have been put into place (Hirth, 1978: 35-36). The examination of luxury goods has been used to demonstrate how the trade of 'things' and the control of these new frameworks served to emphasise the divide

between rich and poor, and how this increased the rate at which societies became internally stratified. It has been argued that elites used rare objects in order to display their status (Dalton, 1977: 197) and, correspondingly, that the sites they controlled played a key role in the movement of exotica as well as large volumes of high quality 'mundane' goods (Fry, 1979: 498); that, as single nodes within wider social networks, they may well have served as ''gateway communities' or 'importation centres'' which allowed elites to access and control their movement (Comber, 2001: 87). These individuals had the means to participate in this kind of trade (Oka and Kusimba, 2008: 341) and, thereafter, to employ full-time craft workers to create new goods which would guarantee this monopoly (Trigger, 2003: 373). Many of these debates have focused on 'high value' materials (e.g. silver and gold), which are viewed as being worth 'the high transportation costs' they inevitably accrued (Cleere, 1982: 125-126; also Hodder, 1974: 346). However, such interpretations fail to address why these materials were 'worth' that kind of expenditure, which demonstrates how far less attention has been afforded to what motivated the adoption of exotica (Kohl, 1975: 47). This has impacted upon our understanding of everyday 'things' as, although top-down interpretations have helped to advance our understanding of the trade of high value 'elite' commodities, in doing so they have overlooked the exchange of those objects which appear 'mundane' in comparison (Fry, 1979: 494).

The resultant models argue that their exchange over long distances was only worthwhile and possible once the existing, elite-established networks were stable, successful and sustainable (Smith, 1999: 109), and this assumption clearly underpins many studies concerned with Iron Age and Roman Britain. It is generally accepted, for example, that cross-Channel networks, through which stone, shale, iron, and copper alloys were exchanged, had their roots in prehistory (Cunliffe, 1984: 3; Cunliffe, 1994: 77; Cunliffe, 1997: 51; Cunliffe, 2005: 446; Cunliffe, 2007; Millett, 1990a: 39; Sargent, 2002: 226). Those studies concerned with the economy of Iron Age Britain have tended to base their arguments around the fact that these long-lived relationships served as the foundation for changes which took place in the South of England before and after the Conquest (A.D. 43). The identification of small quantities of imported 'Roman' pottery in deposits dating to the 1st century B.C. has

been interpreted as evidence for indirect or down-the-line acquisition (Fitzpatrick and Timby, 2002: 161), while the fact that these are often found in association with the so-called Aylesford- and Welwyn-type burials (see, for example, Foster, 1986; Niblett, 1992; Niblett, 1999) has linked them to elites (Cunliffe, 1984: 15; Haselgrove, 1984: 15; Pearce, 1997: 174). Two important socio-anthropological observations have shaped the interpretation of these patterns; the fact that tribal societies often use luxury goods 'as weapons of exclusion' (Douglas and Isherwood, 1996: 95), and that social distinctions are often articulated through practices of competitive consumption (Sassatelli, 2000: 215). In Bronze Age and Iron Age Britain, for example, this was often achieved by depositing prestige metalwork in watery contexts (Bradley, 1998: 39; Cunliffe, 2005: 566-67). Later, the acquisition of 'Roman' pottery and its subsequent removal from circulation (e.g. through deposition in burials) enabled individuals to establish and thereafter maintain their status, which means that this practice became thoroughly embedded in exchange systems (Cunliffe, 1994: 82). New 'Roman' pottery associated with fine dining (Cooper, 1996: 86; Fitzpatrick and Timby, 2002: 163-164; Hill, 2007: 27), and individual rather than communal consumption (Hill, 1997: 103), became increasingly common in the South of England throughout the 1st century B.C. (Cunliffe, 2005: 474). This resulted in the 'debasement' of the social value of these 'things' (Sealey, 2009: 14) so that, by the end of the century, elites had to find new ways to create and maintain their status, for example through the control of long-distance trade networks (Cunliffe, 1994: 82; Haselgrove, 1984: 15-16). Such interpretations are influenced by the idea that 'the distribution of power in a network of social ties…limit[s] opportunities for exchange' (Macy and Flache, 1995: 75) and that, during the Iron Age, individuals were monopolising the circulation of new commodities including amphorae and fine tablewares (Fitzpatrick and Timby, 2002: 163-164). The fact that they are so prevalent at centralised sites such as hillforts, oppida, and so-called 'emporia' has resulted in them being characterised as 'gateway communities' which controlled these newly-established trade networks (Cunliffe, 1994: 73; Cunliffe, 2005: 601; Renfrew, 1977: 85).

In the South of England, a great deal of emphasis has been placed on Hengistbury Head (Dorset), which is recognised as having been a major port during the Late Iron Age (Cunliffe, 2005: 476-479; Tyers, 1996a: 49-50). A number of archaeological investigations have identified evidence for an increase in occupation, along with the swamping of local products by Continental imports, at the site during the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. (Cunliffe, 1984: 4; Cunliffe, 1994: 78; Cunliffe, 1997: 28-29; Cunliffe, 2005: 476). The earliest Amorican imports found at Hengistbury Head, for example, had an incredibly restricted distribution (Cunliffe and Brown, 1987: 319), while later copies produced by local specialists with the knowledge and expertise necessary to wheel-throw pottery are found as far afield as the Mendips (Cunliffe, 1997: 29; Cunliffe and Brown, 1987: 319); together, this evidence has resulted in the widespread opinion that Hengistbury Head was a centre of craft specialisation from c. 100-50 B.C. (Cunliffe, 1984: 8-9). This, along with the logic of evolutionary frameworks which regard high density occupation, in addition to evidence for the accumulation and redistribution of a surplus, as a catalyst for the emergence of craft specialisation (Berdan, 1989: 81), means that Hengistbury Head is frequently characterised as a 'central place'.

First formulated by geographers the 'central place' model has a long history of use in narratives concerned with Iron Age Britain; it consists of a 'featureless landscape' with:

- an even population distribution
- a constant and uniform demand for goods and/or services
- consumers who always shop at their nearest marketplace
- equally unproblematic transportation in all directions

(Plattner, 1989a: 182)

There are a number of problems with this model; firstly, it is composed of criteria which cannot exist in reality (Hirth, 1978: 43) and, secondly, it fails to take into account that change was equally likely to have been influenced by a range of

different 'geographic, religious, social, and political factors' (Berdan, 1989: 84). However, despite an increasing awareness of these issues and Iron Age archaeologists becoming increasingly critical of 'central place' models over the last two decades, it appears as though they are continuing to influence interpretations in the North of England. Why is this? One reason might be that there is a desire to challenge the widespread assumption that, at best, the economy in the region can be described as marginal (Nevell, 2001: 59), and that at worst it was primitive. The oppidum at Stanwick (North Yorkshire), for example, is one of the most well-known 'central places' to the East of the Pennines, and as a result of a long history of research has frequently been characterised as a 'node' of social and economic importance (Clarke, 1958: 34-36; Piggott, 1958: 14). More recently, excavation at the emporium at Meols (Cheshire) has revealed material which suggests it played a major role in drawing the West into long-distance exchange networks (Griffiths et al. 2007; Rippon, 2008: 86), and archaeologists have argued that Meols was the focus for elite-controlled exchange between the *Cornovii,* the *Deceangli,* and the *Brigantes* before the Conquest (Griffiths et al. 2007: 383; Hodgson and Brennand, 2006: 57; Shotter, 2007: 238). The problem is that this is a single, 'exceptional' site and the archaeological evidence is composed solely of unstratified finds (Griffiths et al. 2007: 25), while more recent research has argued that we need to think far more critically about the role of particular site 'types'; this is seen, for example, in the case of 'oppida' in Late Iron Age Britain (Moore, 2012). Moreover, the relative homogeneity and paucity of 'native' material culture, along with the absence of large centralised settlements, might instead be more suggestive of a society which was composed of 'small kin groups' (McCarthy, 2005: 63). Although these differences appear to emphasise a North:South divide and support the assertion that, while the South and East of England were 'open to new, continental influences', the North and West were comparatively conservative (Collis, 1999: 33), it is important to appreciate that long distance exchange is not necessarily indicative of a commercial economy (Woolf, 1992: 284). Trade can take place without an elite (Oka and Kusimba, 2008: 356) and furthermore, even when different social groups were in contact with one another, this does not guarantee that they always exchanged 'things' in the same manner; while in some cases economic processes might have been deeply 'embedded in the political and social institutions of the state' (Berdan,

1989: 81), in others they might have been entirely separate (Oka and Kusimba, 2008: 359; Trigger, 2003: 354).

2.2.2 Trade, Exchange, and Rome as Civilisation

The term *humanitas* ('civilisation') dominates early interpretations of the Roman Empire (Webster, 2001: 210). It suggests that its army moved through the Mediterranean, North Africa and Europe, unifying disparate and uncivilised peoples under central governance, bringing to them new goods, ideas, and ways of living in a process which has come to be termed 'Romanisation' (Hingley, 2005: 15; see Chapters 2.3.1-2.3.2; 2.5-2.5.3). These views are clearly influenced by anthropologists who observed that new commodities are often used by people 'to objectify a sense of the nation-state' (Miller, 1995: 149). Moreover, the increasing availability of new commodities was seen as evidence for the supremacy of the Roman Empire and, perhaps more significantly, that a change in the way that 'things' were exchanged was inevitable. As a result:

'The importance of Rome as a focus of change, whether intended or not, has been enshrined in the application of core-periphery models'.

(Mattingly, 2006: 56)

Many studies have sought to identify the structures and mechanisms which facilitated the exchange of goods across the Roman Empire. They have also attempted to trace how these changed over time and, if they did, what it was that compelled these transformations. In Britain this tends to have been viewed as a cumulative process which began with a gradual increase in the frequency of production and the scope of exchange (Haselgrove, 1996: 82; Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 70; Salway, 1981: 184), and ultimately ended with the commercialisation of trade and the emergence of a monetary economy (Hopkins, 1980: 102). In order to explore this, archaeologists have created and tested models supporting (or opposing) the idea that a 'true' market economy emerged as a result of contact with the Roman Empire. Irrespective of the

interpretative standpoint occupied by individual researchers it is clear that most narratives have, to some extent, discussed the impact which this process had on the 'native' population (Piggott, 1958: 25; Higham, 1986: 226). Some have suggested that this new economy was actively imposed onto each province, while others questioned whether increasing contact with the Continent and Mediterranean subtly stimulated their development in Britain (Haselgrove, 1996: 82; Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 70) or, instead, if a new market economy could have co-existed with a traditional system based around exchange (see Woolf, 1992). Unfortunately, there is little evidence to indicate the nature of the economy in Iron Age Cumbria. If there were elites in the region they may have articulated their status in ways which are archaeologically invisible or, otherwise, society may have been less hierarchical than earlier models might suggest (see Chapter 1.3.4). This uncertainty has only served to emphasise the role of the 'invader' in the economy of Roman Cumbria. The archaeological evidence suggests that most of the new pottery, for example, was either produced by military workshops (Higham, 1986: 217; Higham and Jones, 1985: 114) or otherwise acquired through military contacts (Higham and Jones, 1985: 114; McCarthy, 2005: 64). It has also been argued that the construction of new roads helped to influence the extent to which these newly-available goods were (re)distributed (Gillam, 1958: 85; Gooderson, 1980: 25-6; Salway, 1981: 235), while the fact they are relatively rare outside forts, *vici*, and the *civitas* at Carlisle (Crow, 2004: 115; Philpott, 2006: 86) has ultimately resulted in the military population (along with its dependents) being characterised as a new 'market' (Shotter, 2004: 103).

There is a long tradition of archaeologists viewing the increasing number of coins in circulation in Britain after the Conquest, in particular lower denomination bronze issues, as indicative of the development of a fully monetised market economy (Greene, 1990: 50; Temin, 2001: 173). However, while the presence and use of money might indicate an alienated, detached, and 'impersonal society' in a modern capitalist context (Hart, 2005: 167), this was not necessarily the case in the past. With regards to Iron Age Britain, for example, it has been suggested that the distribution of the earliest gold coins likely indicates they were used to articulate 'quite narrow and specific social relationships' and that, later, there was a shift to the use of silver and

struck bronze coins to fulfil 'more cash-like roles' (Hill, 1995: 80). However, it is important to be aware that these observations are based solely on evidence from the South of England (see Fig. 2.2), and, likewise, that there is as little evidence for the use of coins at 'native' settlements in the North after the Conquest as before; this absence means that archaeologists have relied upon post-Conquest inscriptions and written accounts to map the 'territories' of groups in this region (Harding, 2006: 65; Higham and Jones, 1985; Higham, 1986: 147; Hodgson and Brennand, 2006: 56; McCarthy, 2005: 49). As such, and for the purpose of this thesis, the significance of 'money' lies in the fact that it is a socio-cultural construct; that, whatever its form, it must 'function as a medium of exchange and as a common measure of value' (Dalton, 1977: 197).
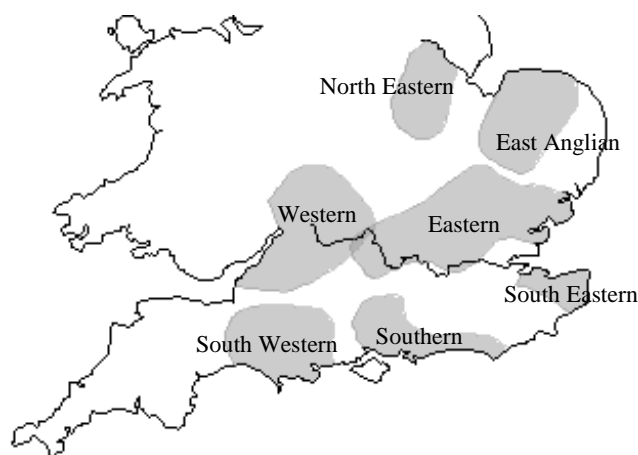
Fig. 2.2: The main coin distribution zones of Late Iron Age Britain (after Hill, 1995: 81, Fig. 9)

Moreover, while the mechanisms of exchange in a market economy are driven 'by market prices and nothing but market prices' (Polanyi, 2001: 45), and the main goal of the individuals involved is 'profit maximisation (on the part of the sellers) and utility maximisation (on the part of the buyers)' (Smith, 1999: 111; also Whitehouse and Wilkins, 1989: 114), there are nevertheless a number of problems with using this kind of model when discussing Roman Britain. Firstly, it is a hypothetical 'marketplace' (Plattner, 1989b: 210; Steiner, 1954: 122); within it the law of supply

and demand is absolute and, because human agency is removed from the equation, individuals are reduced to the status of 'seller' (who requires 'things') or 'buyer' (who supplies 'things') (Berdan, 1989: 102). Secondly, it fails to take into account that price is not the only factor which determines the acquisition of a particular commodity (Rush, 1997: 58). Finally, the fact that discussions concerned with the ancient roots of 'markets, taxes, and foreign trade' often use anachronistic terms (Berdan, 1989: 78-81), and there is a continuing focus on the way that centralised 'institutions or other economic forces affect[ed] prices, quantities, and related variables', indicates a continuing focus on large scale trends (Temin, 2001: 169; also Chibnik, 2011: 31). Correspondingly, larger (regional) patterns are often characterised as being more important than smaller (local) ones (Hunter, 2007: 287), which in turn privileges the examination of artefact assemblages on a particular scale; this appears to be evidence for the existence of a rift between micro- and macro-scale analyses in archaeology, as well as the fact that researchers are becoming more and more selective about the types of interactions they study (Knappett, 2011: 25-26). Many existing assertions also fail to take into account that economic theoreticians have observed instances in which the arrival of money did not have an effect on a prehistoric economy (Polanyi, 2001: 61). Moreover, when archaeologists have cited ancient sources which observe market-based exchange in the Roman provinces, they often do not consider that these are official records concerned with institutional processes, and so do not allow for the possibility that some individuals might have relied on different, smaller-scale mechanisms in order to acquire goods and services (Temin, 2001: 178-180). In the North West of England, the result is that the relative paucity of 'Roman' goods on 'native' settlements has often been viewed as an indication that their inhabitants had 'limited interaction' with the new market (Philpott, 2006: 86), or that the process of 'Romanisation' had somehow failed (Higham, 1986: 178), when in fact it might be more appropriate to conceptualise the Roman Empire as consisting of a vast 'conglomeration of interdependent markets' (Temin, 2001: 180-181).

2.2.3 Material Bias: Pottery as Proxy

This section will argue that the persistence of these top-down models in Cumbria has been influenced by archaeologists focusing on the study of a single material type: pottery. There is a widespread assumption that pottery is one of the materials which can best 'demonstrate trade and marketing patterns' (Fulford, 1978: 59); this is due to its prevalence in most archaeological assemblages (Cooper, 1996: 85; Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 86; Rush, 1997: 55; Swan, 1980: 7), the ease of dating particular forms and fabrics (Cool, 2000:47), and the fact that petrological analyses and the excavation of kiln sites can permit these goods to be traced back to the source of their production (Rush, 1997: 55). Together, these factors have permitted the identification of complex networks of trade, and patterns of supply and demand, across the Roman Empire. These studies are dominated by three types of pottery; samian ware (*terra sigillata*), amphorae, and mortaria. Some have suggested that amphorae are 'the best guide to patterns of production, exchange and consumption in the ancient world' (Woolf, 1992: 284). Others have examined potters' stamps on mortaria (Hartley, 1973; Peacock, 1982: 101; Rush, 1997: 55) and *terra sigillata*, and distinctive decorative motifs on the latter (Fulford, 1984: 132; Willis, 1997: 38), as a method of relative dating. As a result, archaeologists have formulated a comprehensive picture of how the demand for pottery, and the success of individual potteries, fluctuated over time. However, there are limitations to these long-established frameworks. One of the biggest problems is that they are primarily concerned with the issue of supply and demand. We know, for example, that cross-Channel trade in pottery increased in frequency throughout the 1st century B.C. (Cunliffe, 2005: 474), peaked during the 1st century A.D. (Fulford, 1984: 132; Willis, 1997: 39), and declined steadily after the Conquest (Fulford, 1984: 132). It has been observed that, following the Conquest, pottery workshops (both civilian-owned and military-controlled) were established in Britain and quickly started to produce imitation Continental and 'Roman' forms (Fulford, 1978: 62). This further reduced demand for imported pottery and, accordingly, the volumes continued to decline throughout the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. (Rush, 1997: 58).

These top-down models assume that the 'level' of production reached by a society is indicative of its 'stage' of social evolution; that is, it can be identified by recording the distance a particular type of pottery is found from its source (Fig. 2.3). The resultant distribution maps have been used to argue for the presence of basic industries, intermediate industries, large-scale industrial establishments, and interdependent small-scale industrial workshops across Roman Britain (Cleere, 1982: Figs. 1a, 1b, 2a and 2b). As noted, these patterns have been discussed in a manner that suggests they demonstrate socio-political complexity (Klein, 1997: 150). These debates have their roots in Marxist theory, and focus primarily on production as they believe it provides a means by which to better understand the economic frameworks which underpin the organisation of society (Hirth, 1996: 204; Smith, 1999: 115). Consumption has by contrast received far less attention; economic studies have often portrayed it as nothing more than the 'end result of production or a derivative of distribution' (Smith, 1999: 115), and it has been observed that the same kinds of imbalances plague archaeological narratives (Mullins, 2004: 195). This can be seen, for example, in their tendency to focus on high-value goods, and how they were used to establish and maintain status. The problem is that this overshadows the potential for any 'thing' to embody 'a symbolic aspect' (Smith, 1999: 116), or comparatively 'mundane' artefacts to 'retain a residue of social power' (Walker and Schiffer, 2006: 84), which suggests that they can also be used to articulate status. Moreover, while production and consumption are component parts of a longer process (including recycling, exchange, and (re)distribution) which is embedded in a particular society (Kohl, 1975: 45-46; Schiffer, 1972: 148), many archaeologists have tended to focus on one or the other. Those studies concerned with production, for example, have often written about individuals in a manner which portrays them as identity-less parts of a larger social machine and implies that their choices are governed entirely by its 'rules'. On the other hand, those discussing consumption tend to place greater emphasis on the fact that any act is 'embedded in discourses and organisation' and, therefore, provided a means by which an individual could create and experience their identity (Sassatelli, 2000: 213-214).

Distance of Commodity from Source of Production	'Level' of Production
Within 10km	Local
Approximately 30km	Small-scale
More than 50km	Regional

Fig. 2.3: 'Levels' of pottery production (after Morris, 1996: 41-44)

While it has been argued that pottery is useful for archaeologists because it is far less 'status-oriented' than other materials (Cooper, 1996: 85), it is important to be aware that many narratives continue to be underpinned by top-down models. These suggest that the use of amphorae and fine tablewares by elites (Fitzpatrick and Timby, 2002: 163-164), and the mass everyday consumption of samian ware (*terra sigillata*) by the military (Curle, 1913; 114; Willis, 1997: 42; Willis, 2011: 227), eventually 'trickled down' to the wider population in Britain (see Fig. 2.4).
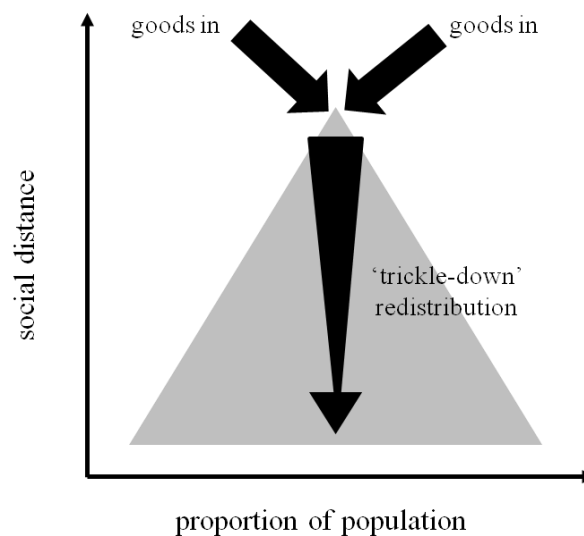
Fig. 2.4: 'Top-down' approach to the redistribution of goods

However, the mechanisms by which pottery (and other new goods) were exchanged, and perhaps more importantly adopted, were likely far more complex. In the North West, the garrison at Chester (Cheshire) is seen as having served as a regional 'node' in post-Conquest trade networks (Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 87-88). As military installations consumed vast amounts of pottery and locally-produced ceramics were not available (or not fit for purpose), it was necessary to establish new workshops which were controlled by the legions (Cooper, 1996: 86); these are found, for example, at Holt (Clywd), Usk (Gwent), Brampton, Scalesceugh, and Muncaster (Cumbria) (Hartley, 1976: 81; Swan, 1980: 7-8; Peacock, 1982: 147; Welsby, 1985: 137). There has been a tendency for archaeologists to focus on identifying individual production sites and, as a result, changes in the composition of pottery assemblages in the North West have often been interpreted as a direct consequence of shifting demands of the military (Gillam, 1973). Correspondingly, the presence of imported commodities on 'native' sites in the region has often been viewed as evidence for the influence of this new population (Higham and Jones, 1985: 114; McCarthy, 2005: 59-64). As such they are clearly 'diffusionist' in nature as they argue that the arrival of the Roman Empire served as a catalyst for change; that, as the military moved through England conquering and subsequently occupying each region, there would be a gradual process of 'Romanisation' within the 'native' population. The following sections will explore these debates in more detail.

2.3 Exploring 'Romanisation'

As noted throughout (Chapter 1) the divide between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader' is particularly pervasive in Roman Cumbria, a situation which is not only a result of the nature of the archaeological record but the theoretical ideas which underpin the way that we interpret it. Correspondingly, while archaeologists often take a chronological approach to discussing 'Romanisation', the following discussion will be organised using a slightly different format. Firstly (Chapter 2.3.1) will explore how and why older, evolutionary models fell out of favour, and some of the theories which came to replace them. Next, building on the observation made in (Chapter

1.3.2) that [a] the 'native' continue to be characterised as the 'Other' in the North of England, (Chapter 2.4) will consist of a brief history of the way that archaeologists have understood the organisation of society in Iron Age Europe, the problem of the 'Celts', and explore the idea that one reason for this situation might the distinctive character of the contemporary North. Finally, (Chapter 2.5) will consider some of the theory which has stimulated the creation of incredibly detailed narratives concerned with interactions between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader' over the last decade or so, highlighting its potential to inform the creation of a new interpretative model concerned with economic 'middle grounds' and the movement of 'things' (see Chapter 3).

2.3.1 Evolutionary Models

The antiquarian roots of Roman scholarship are just as visible in the 'Romanisation' debate as in the trajectory of research in the North of England; as Hingley has observed, 'it was invented alongside, and interacted in various complex ways with the discourses of nationalism and imperialism that were developed by various western nations in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries' (2003: 111). Similarly, (Chapter 1.3.1) noted how many antiquarians drew parallels between the British and Roman Empires which, perhaps unsurprisingly, also influenced the way that they described the relationship between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader. In both cases we find:

'…one or more groups of foreign people in a region at some distance from their place of origin…[and] an asymmetrical socio-economic relationship of domination or exploitation between the colonising groups and the inhabitants of the colonised region'.

(van Dommelen, 1997: 306)

There are two broad schools of thought within the 'Romanisation' debate. The first is influenced by antiquarian observations; it is Roman-centric, interprets any

change in behaviour (either material or immaterial) as evidence for cultural assimilation or acculturation on the part of the 'native' population, and views proximity to the Roman Empire as a catalyst for change. Inspired by these ideas, many archaeologists throughout the 20th century concerned themselves with exploring the nature of trade and exchange in Britain (see Chapter 2.2), and how and why this changed (or did not change) before or after the Conquest. The influence of World Systems Theory, which is concerned with studying 'socio-cultural evolution and [the] absorption of non-state peoples into state systems' (Kardulias and Hall, 2008: 573), is apparent in these kinds of narratives. They assume, much as Hodder did, that contact between [a] and [b] would result in a reduction in differences between ethnic groups and an increase in differences between individuals (1979: 448). The problem with this kind of top-down model is that they reduce groups lower down the social evolutionary 'ladder', or beyond the immediate influence of the Roman Empire, to the status of 'Other'. They presuppose that every individual would have aspired to acquire all of the trappings of elite power. Moreover, they overlook the fact that the 'native' population of provinces such as Britain had a choice (Sargent, 2002: 225) and that they might have actively resisted the power and ideology of the Roman Empire through the use of 'everyday things' (Hill, 2001: 14).

Over time, however, archaeologists stopped viewing 'Romanisation' as a straightforward political or social-cultural transformation and began to understand it as 'an ontological one; a change of be-ing' (Hill, 1997: 101). Increasing engagement with anthropological literature played a particular role in this transformation. Some studies concerned with consumption emphasised the idea of resistance, suggesting that the selection (or rejection) of particular goods by minority groups allows them to re-form and reinforce their identities in the face of any threat to their social cohesion (Miller, 1995: 150), and argued that individuals or groups in Roman Britain might have done so by continuing to use locally-produced pottery, or otherwise containers made of materials which do not survive in the archaeological record (Hill, 2001: 14; Hodder, 1979: 446; Hodder, 1982a: 208). Moreover, it has been highlighted that although a certain type of pot, for example, may have been designed with a particular use-activity in mind (Schiffer and Skibo, 1997: 37) there is no guarantee that it was

used in this way by all consumers. For instance, when imported pottery is found on 'native' sites in the North of England, it is frequently well-worn, or fragments appear to have been (re)used as spindle whorls or counters, while its limited uptake may equally be evidence for a degree of apathy towards these newly-available 'things' (Allason-Jones, 1991: 2; 4). These cases illustrate a shift towards narratives which argued that contact between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader' did not always have to result in change and, when it did, it was most often a result of negotiations between these groups and resulted in the creation of new hybrid cultures. The following sections will explore these developments in more detail.

In recent years, archaeologists have become increasingly aware that we should avoid theoretical frameworks which result in past societies being interpreted in modern terms. However, it is clear that many studies continue to be underpinned by such methodologies; it has been observed, for example, that most of the colonial theory we use has been acquired from a 'tradition of overly direct extradisciplinary pilfering' (Thurston, 2009: 379), which is perhaps the reason that the terms 'imperialism' and 'colonialism' are often used interchangeably (Loomba, 1998: 1) despite the fact that anthropological literature suggests that they can result in different 'behavioural outcomes' (Fig. 2.5). The mechanics of 'imperialism' and 'colonialism' also differ; while in the former the distance between a powerful 'core' and its conquered lands means that military forces control these by proxy, direct control is only possible in the latter through the assignment of administrators to newly-created colonies (Bartel, 1980: 15; Hall, 2011: 543). However, when studying the Roman Empire, the problem is that there is evidence to suggest multiple 'behavioural outcomes' which in turn implies that its administrators used a range of methods to conquer and control its newly-acquired provinces.

	Colonialism (Settlers)	**Imperialism (Settlers)**
Eradication (resettlement)	Abrupt culture change (replacement)	Regional 'empty cell'
Acculturation	Slow indigenous culture change	Slow indigenous change in economics
Equilibrium (metastable)	Settlement enclaves ('two cultures')	Indigenous cultural maintenance

Fig. 2.5: Behavioural outcomes in situations of power domination (Bartel, 1980: 16: Fig. 1)

Acculturation theory is at the heart of many top-down, evolutionary models. At its core, it argues that contact with the Roman Empire resulted in a 'direct and straightforward' process of social evolution (Naum, 2010: 105; also Webster, 2001: 210); that trade, for example, was somehow the logical outcome of contact between the 'core' of the Roman Empire and 'periphery' of its provinces (Fitzpatrick, 1993: 233; Woolf, 1993: 216). It also implies that 'a dominant group is largely able to dictate correct behaviour to a subordinate group' (Carroll, 2001: x), that the old is always replaced by the new and, 'where the 'fit' is less than satisfactory', adjustments would have been made in order to facilitate this progression (Pounds, 1994: 4). These arguments are clearly influenced by the interventionist nature of early ethnographies which observed that, after the conquest and occupation of a region by outside agents, traditional ways of life would eventually die out (Jackson and Smith, 2005: 331). Evolutionary interpretations gained widespread popularity amongst archaeologists during the early 20th century and have shaped how we view the impact of the Roman Conquest (McCarthy, 2006: 201-202; Wallace, 2002: 381). Emerging from the idea of the Celtic 'Other' in contemporary Roman accounts and later, European artistic and literary traditions (see Chapter 2.4.1-2.4.2), early academic narratives always told 'the story of the expansion of one civilisation at the expense of its neighbours' (Woolf,

1997: 339). Although the 'native' inhabitants of Britain were not universally characterised as savage and uncivilised, it is clear that the majority of antiquarians adhered to the view that it was only natural for their personality and way of life to change as a consequence of their proximity to 'higher cultured Romans' (Fishwick, 1894: 20). Even as late as the 1970s, some archaeologists were arguing that a lack of cultural change was a result of the 'native' population lacking the necessary 'capital, entrepreneurship and other social, cultural, psychological and political characteristics' (Frank, 1978: 36). While many of these assertions drew on observations set out in Classical sources, it is interesting to note that an account by Tacitus which suggests that the Britons adopted and then perverted those aspects of civilisation offered to them by Agricola (Braund, 1996: 103) is often overlooked. Similarly, while it has been suggested that Rome acted as a missionary and actively sought to change its new provinces (Millett, 1990b: 37) it has also been argued that uniformity would only be sought if local systems were incompatible with, and therefore did not function effectively within, the Empire (Braund, 1996: 68).

Starting in the 1950s, the use of 'acculturation' theory started to become less and less popular (Silliman, 2010: 30). As they began to engage more critically with anthropology, it became increasingly apparent to researchers that these kinds of interpretations were problematic because they served to create artificial, 'fundamental opposition[s]' between 'civilised' and 'barbarian' (Webster, 1999: 21). They became aware that evolutionary models could not adequately explain the complex changes which arise in contact situations, in particular because they overlooked the active role the 'native' population played in the selection and subsequent use of newly-available objects or commodities (Lightfoot, 1995: 206). As 'postmodern scholarship direct[s] us away from a single world or systematic view of the world towards a more fragmented outlook that accentuates collective individualities' (Hodos, 2010b: 82), it became increasingly difficult to reconcile models of acculturation with the evidence in the archaeological record which was suggestive of change. Instead of indicating the imposition of a new way of living upon a subordinate population, or a desire to be more 'Roman', we might instead be seeing 'a complex mix of fear and desire,

resistance and adaptation' (Webster, 1997: 327), or otherwise a more subtle form of 'emulation or mimesis' (Jiménez, 2011: 506-507).

To best understand the impact of the Roman Conquest in Britain we need a sound appreciation of the nature of everyday life and society during the Iron Age. Correspondingly, and drawing on the theory cited above, a great deal of the research currently taking place in the South of England considers longer-term trajectories of continuity and change. The distinctly prehistoric practice of 'structured deposition', for example, appears to have continued in lowland Britain long after the Conquest, and indeed on 'Roman' sites (Fulford, 2001: 215). It has been observed that these so-called 'principles of legitimation'' (Walker and Lucero, 2000: 132), which often included the 'ritualised' deposition of iron objects (e.g. weaponry and currency bars) (see Hingley, 2006), may well have served as a means by which social groups (re)created collective memories (Ashmore, 2004: 264) or to mobilise 'the agency of others, as well as to control resources, surplus and wealth' (Walker and Lucero, 2000: 132). With the identification of these practices it has been suggested that the idea 'of a 'civilised' Roman interlude, distinct from the prehistoric past' is difficult to sustain (Fulford, 2001: 216). In Cumbria, however, the situation is quite different. One reason for this is the relative archaeological visibility of the Roman military. Another is the divide between those archaeologists concerned with the Iron Age and those who focus on the Roman period (Moore and Armada, 2011: 14). Although Krausse has proposed that studies solely focused on Romanisation, which emerged during the late 1970s and 1980s, 'were largely spearheaded by prehistorians coming into Roman archaeology' (2001: 109), this is difficult to believe when we consider the continuing dominance of Roman-centric models. Post-colonial, post-Celticist models emerged as a result of 'the decline of formal colonial structures' following the Second World War (Gosden, 2004: 18; also James, 1998: 204) and have been widely applied in the South of England, but this practice is far less common in the North. The problem is the same as in the examination of post-contact Native American sites; in these studies, despite the fact that the population was exactly the same as before contact with European settlers, 'native' sites have been almost exclusively been 'incorporated into historical archaeological projects' (Lightfoot, 1995: 203). It has been argued that by prioritising

the 'invader' over the 'native' researchers concerned with Roman Britain have created a rigid, seemingly impermeable 'boundary between past cultures, and between non-literate and literate societies' (Jones, 1997: 29), and in doing so they have overlooked 'longer-term processes of social and cultural change', effectively 'decapitating' the Iron Age (Moore and Armada, 2011: 14). Likewise, it has been proposed that archaeologists should start to work at temporal scales which are 'defined by the research problems being addressed, rather than arbitrarily created subfields' (Lightfoot, 1995: 211). Together, these observations support the assertion made at the start of this thesis; that, if we are to have any hope of creating a balanced picture of the nature of everyday life in Roman Cumbria, it is vital for us to stop creating an artificial divide between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader'.

2.3.2 Negotiation, Accommodation and the Fluidity of 'Things',

One way to bridge this divide is to think about materiality, or the 'constellation of things and [those] essences' associated with them (Silliman, 2010: 33). It has been argued, for example, that 'through people's interactions with other people and material things, some domains become institutionalised while others become fluid' (Thurston, 2009: 383). While interactions between different socio-cultural groups can produce similarities in material culture (Hodder, 1979: 446), this does not mean that those objects are always used or valued in the same way; this can change markedly as a result of the context of acquisition, exchange, or consumption (Hodder, 1982b: 152). It has been noted that, in many early studies of Iron Age and Roman Britain, discussions concerned with the relationship between people and 'things' were centred on the idea that certain objects indicated the presence of certain ethnic groups (Cunliffe, 2007: 99-100; Jones, 1997: 34; Moore and Armada, 2011: 51); mortaria for example, were associated with a particularly 'Roman' way of preparing food (Fulford, 2010: 77; Cramp et al. 2011). Archaeologists have become increasingly critical of these assumptions over the last two decades. In Roman Britain, even within the context of institutions such as the military, there is limited evidence to suggest that these kinds of 'things' were always used in a typically-'Roman' manner (Cooper, 1996: 89); after all, the population which arrived in Britain after the Conquest was

one 'made up of people born and brought up in a range of provinces, not just Italy' (Cool, 2010: 28) and, while they were undoubtedly part of the Empire, they were likely to have brought with them ways of living, eating, and worshipping, for example, which had much older roots. The evidence suggests, instead, that there was no such thing as a singular, monumental 'Roman' culture. Instead, the nature of archaeological assemblages throughout the provinces is far more suggestive of an ongoing, complex interplay between people and people, and people and 'things', which suggests that it may have been the flexibility of the Roman Empire which made it so successful (Laurence, 2001: 98; Mann, 1986: 252253). Archaeologists today are far more likely to be influenced by the idea that:

'Society [in Roman Britain] must have been very diverse and complex, with many attributes reflecting local factors whilst others were imposed by, or absorbed from, incomers'.

(McCarthy, 2006: 208)

When we study any culture-contact situation, whether today or in the past, it is important to be aware that any 'thing' has the potential to embody a number of different, complex, and potentially entangled meanings (Kelly, 1997: 353; also Hodder, 2004: 28). Meaning is, in the first instance, shaped by the values of the people who use 'things', and these values are a product of the institutional and social structures within which they exist (Dugger, 1989: 151). To deal with these complexities we can utilise a methodology which is both 'diachronic' and 'contextual', and which serves to reflect the ever-changing nature of individual ideologies (Lightfoot, 1995: 207). It is also useful to view interactions between different populations as having been shaped by the metaphors and mnemonics inherent within all objects, as these qualities may have been used in certain socio-cultural practices in order to express important symbols, opinions, relationships, and identities (Gkiasta, 2010: 87; Thomas, 1993: 77). Together, these observations highlight the importance of being aware that 'things' in the past were 'actively involved in social processes' so that, when we study them, they are not merely viewed

as 'passive reflection[s] of human behaviour' (Hodder, 2004: 29; also Jervis, 2011: 240-241). Building on this, it becomes clear that 'things' found in specific culture contact situations not only provide evidence for the ways that individuals with 'privileged social identities can exercise their will or exert 'power over' others' (Walker and Schiffer, 2006: 68), but an exciting opportunity to glimpse inside 'the lives and practices of those people who are usually absent from historical documents and novels...'the subaltern' (van Dommelen, 2006: 112). This idea is particularly useful in Roman Cumbria where, as a consequence of material and research imbalances, archaeologists have tended to overlook 'native' in favour of 'invader', and have achieved limited success in the interpretation of 'things' which, in comparison to local products, appear radically different in 'cultural style' (Cool, 2010: 237).

In the case of the Roman Empire, contact between the inhabitants of peripheral provinces and the 'core' of Rome was not always direct (Grahame, 1998: 109). Even when typically-'Roman' goods and the ways of living associated with them are adopted in their entirety, this does not mean that we should interpret this change as either a) the imposition of a more 'civilised' way of living onto uncivilised 'natives' or b) an indication that the 'native' elite aspired to become 'Roman'. To move beyond such top-down models requires us to detect:

'Which features of Romano-British [or Gallo-Roman] culture resulted from deliberate attempts to 'become Roman', which represented utilitarian adoptions of superior technology and which resulted from an 'ethnically blind' process of elite emulation or redistributive consumption'.

(Woolf, 1998: 111)

The most common interpretation of cultural change at or around the time of contact between two communities is that it is a reflection of the extent of interaction (Hulin, 1989: 90). There is evidence for this in Britain during both the Iron Age and Roman periods. In the former, archaeological material suggests that ideas, small

numbers of people, and goods moved (in both directions) across the Channel, the Irish Sea, and the North Sea (James, 1999: 87), and it the latter it has been argued that the Empire only existed because it incorporated a range of 'diverse peoples' (Hingley, 2010: 62). The implication is that both groups will have changed as a result of their interactions with one another and, moreover, that the mechanisms which facilitated these relationships would also be transformed (White, 1991: x; Woolf, 1997: 347). These situations occur 'in between' (i.e. cultures, peoples, or empires) and, as such, there is the potential for values or practices to be distorted or otherwise misunderstood by those involved, yet at the same time new values and practices can arise from such misunderstandings (White, 1991: x). Moreover, while aspects of 'Roman' life were produced and reproduced across the Empire, it is important to be aware that these were being transferred to people who interpreted them within their own socio-cultural frameworks and so 'made what they could of them' (Barrett, 1997: 62). These observations support the assertion that there was no such thing as a unified 'Roman' identity (Cooper, 1996: 89). Instead, every time a new province was incorporated into the Empire, the ways of living, values, and material repertoires of that province would become part of its fabric. The fact that in different provinces, and indeed within provinces, there were likely to be varying reactions to the process of conquest and occupation (Grahame, 1998: 105) is significant, and in Britain this has been observed in the fact that seemingly 'contradictory life-styles' appear to co-exist throughout the Roman period (Hill, 1997: 103).

2.4 The Structure of Iron Age Society

The previous sections have demonstrated a clear shift over the last two decades. We no longer view the Roman Empire as a monumental entity which forced change on those who lived within its boundaries. Instead, it is now far more commonly portrayed as made up of 'a highly variable series of local groups' which were 'roughly held together by directional forces of integration that formed an organisation whole' (Hingley, 2010: 61). The problem in Romano-British scholarship, however, is that we are still influenced by:

'…a nationalistic picture of a 'civilised' island province, one in which the native population could be introduced to the benefits of imperial 'civilisation' in a comfortable island setting'.

(Hingley, 2001: 112)

Even the most recent studies which touch on the so-called 'Romanisation' debate cite models which were produced on the basis (and are therefore tailored to the study) of elites (Snyder, 2003: 49; Webster, 2001: 217; Woolf, 2001: 173). When terms such as 'negotiation' or 'accommodation' are used, their interpretations are still heavily influenced by the idea that any process (e.g. 'acculturation') 'usually occurs first with the indigenous elite, and then filters down through time to others' (Bartel, 1980: 18). As a result, the final narratives continue to focus on how a small part of society served to facilitate 'the entry of [other] communities into the nascent empire' (James, 2001: 187).

This thesis has already highlighted the widespread use of pottery as a proxy for tracing trade routes, and to clarify the level of social evolution achieved by a particular social group (see Chapter 2.2.3). Much of the early imported 'Roman' pottery in Britain appears to have been used in the preparation, distribution, and consumption of alcohol, and was frequently found in association with elite cremation burials. One study, which considered burial evidence and drew heavily on Classical and Medieval Irish texts, has been particularly influential, and argues that the consumption of alcohol in Iron Age society:

1) enabled the inauguration of a chief or king
2) ensured and rewarded loyalty
3) denoted the status of a chief or king at death to ensure passage to the Otherworld

(Arnold, 1999: 87)

Traditionally, archaeologists viewed any change in consumptive practices as a result of factors relating to either a) the economic (i.e. population or resource imbalance, or risk avoidance) or b) the political (i.e. aspirational elites) (Spielman, 2002: 196). The aforementioned study interpreted funerals as having provided an opportunity for individuals or dynasties to create (and thereafter maintain) their social standing, and its influence has resulted in the widespread assumption that the acquisition and consumption of wine was solely an elite pursuit (Loughton, 2009: 78). The problem is that pre-Conquest imports tend to have been interpreted within a post-Conquest framework, with the final outcomes used in order 'to explain the actions that bring them about' (Macy and Flache, 1995: 82; also Willis, 1994: 141); the fact that amphorae, for example, are eventually found on 'normal' settlements throughout the South East of England has resulted in the earliest examples being interpreted as 'prestige goods'. The problem is that these models are of limited value in parts of Britain (e.g. Cumbria) which, during the Iron Age, provide little archaeological evidence for these kinds of practices. However, this is not only an issue in small regions; in fact, it has been observed that this problem is one which is endemic throughout Romano-British scholarship (Mattingly, 2006: 46). These observations also serve to highlight how these debates have become entangled with 'core-periphery' models in that the degree of civilisation in a particular region is effectively viewed as a product of 'distance-decay' (Webster, 1999: 21) (see Chapter 2.3.1). Emerging in the 1970s and 1980s in order to explain 'the connections between interregional interaction, wealth, and power' (Thurston, 2009: 378-379), and taking inspiration from World Systems Theory, this kind of model is based on the idea that economic exchange between a 'core' (i.e. 'where wealth is accumulated and consumed') and its 'periphery' (i.e. the area which provides this wealth in the form of raw materials) is always unequal (Haselgrove, 1984: 15; also Kardulias and Hall, 2008: 577; Naum, 2010: 104).

It has been suggested that the expansion of the Roman Empire was constrained by the extent to which 'native' societies were compatible (Millett, 1990b: 39). These models argue that the process of conquest and control was most successful in provinces where Iron Age 'tribal' structures were exploited, and that this process

ultimately fossilised the borders between groups and the status of individual elites (Moore, 2011: 336; also James, 1999: 100; Millett, 1990a: 66; Millett, 1990b: 37). This view of Romanisation is particularly apparent in studies concerned with the emergence of urbanism in Britain. Towns and cities played a vital role in the mechanics of the Roman Empire 'in the political, ideological and economic sense' and, as such, it is often assumed that it would likely be far easier to incorporate a province if it already had a culture of urbanism (Carroll, 2001: 60). The increasing visibility of the *Catuvellauni* during the Iron Age, for example, has often been seen as an indication that the tribe was at the core of a 'British state'; however, the fact this observation is based primarily on the distribution of coins inscribed *Rex Britannium* or 'King of the Britons' (Snyder, 2003: 26; also Creighton, 2001: 4-5) is problematic, in particular because they 'are based on what happened…*after* the Roman conquest' (Moore, 2012: 412). There are also issues with the extent to which these arguments rely on the existence of a patchwork of clearly defined, 'monolithic ethnic or tribal units' (Jones, 1997: 31), or the idea that groups named in Classical writings by Caesar, Tacitus, and Pliny (Thurston, 2009: 360) are identifiable through the distribution of distinctive artefact types or burial rites, and that 'Celtic' societies across Europe were all 'markedly hierarchical and dominated by a small distinct social elite at their apex' (Hill, 2011: 243) (see Fig. 2.6).

Fig. 2.6: Traditional 'triangular' model of Iron Age social organisation (after Hill, 2011: 243: Fig. 10.1)

2.4.1 The Celts

The Celts are embedded in archaeological literature concerned with the Iron Age and Roman periods. They have been at its heart for the past 300 years (Cunliffe, 2011: 190) and, as the previous section has noted, the concept of the Celtic 'Other' has come to dominate the way in which we characterise the nature of relationships between 'native' Iron Age groups and the Roman Empire. However, it is vital to take into account that history is a construct, formulated solely on the bases of 'the fragmentary surviving debris of past societies' (James, 1999: 33). Our understanding of the past is therefore biased in many ways; towards those objects which happen to survive in the archaeological record and those which have been of greater interest to researchers over the centuries. These issues are particularly apparent in Cumbria where, despite the advances made in the theoretical approaches elsewhere in England, earlier interpretations of 'native' society continue to dominate. First, this section will examine how our understanding of the Celts has developed over time, and next ascertain the extent to which contemporary ideas have been applied in the North of England. The process will demonstrate how modern views about 'Northern' identity have influenced an ongoing fascination with tribes, despite the fact that concept has fallen out of favour in recent decades. Finally, this will serve to support the assertion made at the start of the thesis that the only way to address the research cycle in Roman Cumbria, to avoid a situation in which archaeologists continue to privilege either [a] 'native' or [b] 'invader', is to occupy an interpretative 'middle ground'.

2.4.2 Changing Views on the Celtic 'Other' and the Problem with (Celtic) Identity

'Iron Age archaeology has always been very dependent on early Roman archaeology and ethnography in order to tell its 'Celtic' stories'.

(Webster, 1999: 21)

The idea of the Celtic 'Other' first emerged during the Greek and Roman periods (Loomba, 1998: 105) and, in these early written accounts, the Celts were

frequently portrayed as the 'antithesis of the civilised human' (Cunliffe, 2011: 194). A wooden tablet from the fort of Vindolanda (Northumbria) which refers to the *Brittunculi* or 'wretched little Britons (Snyder, 2003: 47) suggests that the 'natives' of the North of England were viewed in much the same way. In fact:

'Our picture of Britain in the second half of the first century is coloured overwhelmingly by the writings of Tacitus'.

(Snyder, 2003: 43)

Ancient accounts such as this served as a foundation for the interpretation of interactions between 'native' Iron Age groups and the Roman Empire, and emphasising the civilising effect of such relationships continued to be the norm well into the earliest 20th century (Hingley, 1993: 23; Hingley, 2008: 435-438). Many archaeological accounts were shaped by the context within which they were written and in particular by contemporary colonial encounters. During the 16th century, for example, the province of *Britannia* was constructed from an entirely 'Roman' perspective (Todd, 2007: 444-445); in much the same way as the Native American tribes, the 'native' Iron Age inhabitants of Britain were interpreted as 'savages' (Ashbee, 1978: 1) and the exploration of the New World, which continued on into the 17th century (Hingley, 2008: 427-428), was seen as comparable to the expansion of the Roman Empire. The characterisation of the ancient British as a race whose social and religious life was controlled by a priestly class of Druids was, as result of a continuing reliance on Classical sources, long-lived (Ashbee, 1978: 7; Collis, 1997: 197; Daniel and Renfrew, 1988: 13; James, 1999: 48). It was only after the mid-19th century that the idea of the 'Britons' as a fossilised population began to be challenged (Hingley, 2008: 431). There is little evidence that anyone referred to themselves as 'Celtic' prior to 1700 (James, 1999: 17); however, on the basis of linguistic, archaeological, and Classical evidence gathered together by scholars over the centuries, many Scots, Welsh, and Irish continue to claim that they have 'Celtic' roots (Collis, 1997: 197; James, 1999: 17; Megaw, 2005: 66; Rowley-Conwy, 2007: 82).

The majority of early studies concerned with the Celtic 'Other' were based on the understanding that a simple combination of environmental and racial influences can create a unique ethnic identity (Hodos, 2010: 5). During the early 20th century, archaeologists believed that distinct ethnicities could be identified through clusters of material correlates (Jones, 1997: 15) and that, when these changed, it indicated a change in the ethnic or cultural affiliation of the group in question (Laurence, 2001: 96). This continued to be the case until the latter part of the 20th century when, with an increasing awareness of post-colonial theory, there was a fundamental shift in the dominant interpretative standpoint (James, 1998: 203). By the mid-1980s it was common to view 'native' groups as having played an active role in any given culture contact situation (van Dommelen, 1997: 308). While some researchers still adhere to the idea of a Europe-wide 'Celtic' identity (Megaw and Megaw, 1996; Megaw and Megaw, 1998) and it clearly continues to fascinate (James, 1999: 9-10), the reality is that most now accept that this model is, for example, difficult to reconcile with the clear archaeological evidence for 'regionality' in Britain (James, 1998: 203; James, 1999: 18; Millett, 1990a: 12). As a result, most contemporary, synthetic narratives tend to adhere to the idea that, although there were some broad similarities in behaviour and culture across Iron Age Britain, inter- and intra-regional differences were far more likely to be the norm (Barrett et al. 2011: 441-442), and aim to better understand why there is such a long history of imposing 'uniformity on diversity' (Snyder, 2003: 3; also Gosden, 2004). Some Iron Age groups may well have been hierarchical in structure becoming, in time, kingdoms which had the authority to control production specialists, had large centralised sites, and buried their elites with imported luxuries (James, 2001: 190); however, prior to the emergence of *civitates* there is little evidence to suggest 'longevity or regional coherence to identities or political structures' and, instead, those structures which emerged are most likely to have been a response to the expansion of the Roman Empire (Moore, 2011: 351). Similarly, it is important to take into account that this kind of social organisation was rare beyond the 'core' of South Eastern England (see Hill, 1995). A more recent, alternate model of social organisation during the Iron Age (Fig. 2.7) illustrates how while independent groups might have been part of wider, 'unified' systems which shared authority and power (Thurston, 2009: 360), at the same time they seem to have

been able to articulate 'differences in status, wealth, or influence between members of these societies' (Hill, 2011: 243).
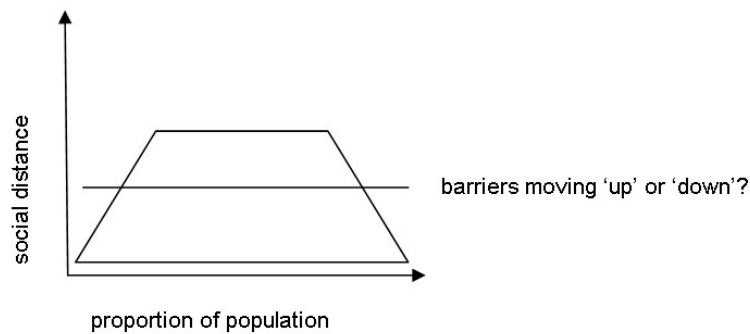
Fig. 2.7: Alternate model of Iron Age social organisation (after Hill, 2011: 257: Fig. 10.3)

The identity of an individual (or indeed a group) is 'defined as the collective aspect of the *set* of characteristics by which something or someone is recognisable or known' (my emphasis: Hodos, 2010: 3); it is the sum of many parts. An individual might appear 'more similar to one group when measured using one attribute (e.g. hair style) and more similar to another when measured along a different attribute (e.g. pant length, shoe style)' (Eerkens and Lipo, 2007: 243) and, moreover, these attributes might change depending on the context within which interpersonal interactions occurred (Gardner, 2002: 340). As such, any change in the Iron Age population which occurred around the time of Conquest is as likely to have been a deliberate choice in order to facilitate new, and potentially lucrative, relationships with the Imperial administration (Moore, 2011: 348) as an indication of a desire to become 'Roman'. The same kind of fluidity is evident in the ethnic affiliations held by particular individuals or groups (Díaz-Andreu, 1998: 206; Jones, 1997: 110; Thurston, 2009: 383). These kinds of nuanced interpretations clearly diverge from earlier approaches to Celtic identity which implied that there was a Europe-wide, homogeneous culture composed of a shared art style, language, social structure, and religion and that this persisted, unchanged, for centuries (Dunham, 1995: 114). With regards to interaction with the Roman Empire, the idea of a singular Celtic identity has only served to

perpetuate the long-lived assumption that 'Britons' were intrinsically different to the 'Romans' (Hill, 2001: 12). So far, this thesis has highlighted the fact that there is little evidence to suggest the existence of a singular 'Roman' identity (Webster, 1999: 28; Woolf, 1997: 341) and that, as with many others throughout history, the Roman Empire was most likely 'multi-ethnic by nature' (Thurston, 2009: 386). It has also demonstrated how archaeologists are now likely to be influenced by the idea that being a ''native' in Britain was no more straightforward than being Roman was' (Cool, 2010: 28-29).

2.4.3 The Roman North and Northern ('Celtic') Identity

The way that archaeologists view ('Celtic') identity has changed markedly over time to the extent that heterogeneity, rather than homogeneity, is now assumed to have been the norm. This has also influenced the way that we picture the expansion of the Roman Empire; now, it is common to assert that the successful conquest, and subsequent control, of the new province of *Britannia* likely involved a combination of military action and other, non-violent interactions with the 'native' population. While co-operation with elites might have been possible in the South, for example, the lack of archaeological evidence for a hierarchical society means that it is widely assumed that control could only be guaranteed in the North by establishing a permanent military garrison (Hartley, 1966: 7). As noted throughout (Chapter 1), this has helped to reinforce the bias towards research concerned with the military population, while the physical and conceptual presence of Hadrian's Wall means that it continues to be characterised as a frontier region (Breeze, 2004: 7); in fact, it has been suggested that an abundance of artefactual, textual and epigraphic evidence has resulted in it becoming one of 'the most intensively studied military frontiers in the world' (Higham and Jones, 1985: 22). Unsurprisingly, this has resulted in the dominance of dialogues which emphasise a strict divide between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader', and as a result it is widely assumed that:

'Virtually nothing has been said or can be said about the people living in the immediate area of the Wall but outside the civil settlements'.

(Breeze and Dobson, 2000: 212)

More recently, some researchers have touched on the potential complexities of interaction between these groups, suggesting that the 'in between-ness' of frontiers will have influenced how they created and maintained their identities. In the North, for example, the fact that the 'native' population continued to live in much the same way as they had during the Iron Age has often been interpreted as an indication that the locals were being defiant 'in the face of Roman hegemony' (Thurston, 2009: 391). However the apparent homogeneity of these groups may have been influenced by the nature of academic enquiry. As is the case elsewhere throughout Britain and on the Continent (Carroll, 2001: 17), differences between groups as a result of environment and sociocultural practices were the norm (Jewell, 1994: 11) and, if continuity in the region was the norm after the Conquest, these variations would continue too. It has been argued that *Britannia* was home to 'two cultures… [but] the divide between them was far from unbridgeable and was nowhere clear-cut' (Pounds, 1994: 61), and that one of the most significant challenges for archaeologists in establishing whether any change which did occur was 'fundamentally indigenous' or otherwise 'stimulated by external events, especially the proximity of the growing Roman world' (Millett, 1990a: 9). These assertions are suggestive of a clear divide between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader', yet the fact that identities can fluctuate within existing and incoming populations suggests that the number of so-called 'cultures' is likely to be far higher. Within a culture-contact situation individuals might make adjustments to their socio-cultural practices, material choices, and identities, and as a result any interaction between groups on the edge of Empire (i.e. in *Britannia*) and 'the Imperial administration' would have been eased somewhat (Moore, 2011: 348). This undoubtedly explains the 'blurring' of identities yet, in Cumbria, the division between 'native' and 'Roman' is often characterised as impermeable. Despite the growth of *vici* outside forts where locals and soldiers could interact, and the likelihood that there was marriage between these two groups, it has been observed that while typically-'Roman' goods and ways of living appear to have been

shared within the context of civilian settlements there is far less to suggest their circulation in the wider rural hinterland; this tends to have been interpreted as an indication that the divide between them did not simply disappear (Snyder, 2003: 47). However, there are other aspects of the archaeological record which suggest a more complex reality. While many studies concerned with the everyday consumption of food and drink, for example, continue to be underpinned by the assumption that 'different diets and/or food activities = different social groups' (Twiss, 2012: 358), archaeologists are now thinking more critically about this over the last decade or so; in particular, they have considered what this might be able to tell us about the identity of individuals and social groups, and how they viewed their position within the wider world. One way that this has been achieved is through a consideration of food preference which:

'Refers to the way in which people choose from among available comestibles on the basis of biological or economic perceptions including taste, value, purity, ease or difficulty of preparation, and the availability of food and other preparation tools'.

(Smith, 2006: 480)

This has often placed emphasis on so-called 'unifying foods' which are frequently 'derived from domesticated staples' (Smith, 2006: 480), and in Roman Britain it has been observed that this would be barley in the North and spelt wheat in the South (Cool, 2006: 77; Cool, 2009: 17-18). What is interesting is that there is no ecological reason for this divide; at forts, for example, the consumption of a particular grain might have been 'connected with the traditional cuisine of the area the unit was raised in' with the dominance of barley in archaeobotanical assemblages at Catterick (North Yorkshire) and Birdoswald (Cumbria) perhaps indicative of the presence of Danubians who need not 'have shared the cultural prejudices of a unit raised in Italy' (Cool, 2006: 78-79). This 'unifying food' therefore transcends the divide between 'native' and 'invader', or 'military' and 'civilian', and may suggest that both populations were consuming barley in the form of griddle cakes and/or dark beer (Cool, 2006: 78; 142; Cool, 2009: 17-18). The problem in Cumbria is that there is little evidence pertaining to 'native' Iron Age consumptive practices beyond the

exceptional; for example, a bronze, La Téne III cauldron was found near Bewcastle in c. 1907 [Cumbria HER No: 94] yet what (if anything) it contained is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain given that it was as an isolated antiquarian find. The same is true of zooarchaeological evidence. For instance, it has been noted that 'cattle bones typically comprise the clear majority of identified specimens' from the North of England, yet the problem is that 'the lack of Iron Age material…hampers a study of whether or not there were pre-existing differences' (Stallibrass, 2000: 66; 71), and that our understanding of the Roman period is formulated exclusively on the basis of urban and military assemblages (Philpott, 2006: 69). The situation is quite different on the Continent. In the Upper Rhine region, for example, researchers have been able to demonstrate 'a large degree of continuity both in what and how people ate', with new foods and preparation techniques supplementing existing traditions (Okun, 1989: 125). Similarly, in the Netherlands, an increase in beef consumption at forts (with a corresponding decrease in pork) has been seen as evidence that 'local foodways had a greater influence on the military diet than the other way around' (Shuman, 2008: 147).

Excavation, preservation, and evidence bias all limit what we can say about the consumption of food and drink in Cumbria. The lack of pottery is equally problematic. In comparison, in the North East of England, pottery is used during the Iron Age. What is interesting is that it is only present in a small number of forms (jars, bowls, and dishes), and this pattern tends to have been interpreted as evidence for a) simple cooking techniques and b) communal consumption (Ross, 2009: 159-166). When imported pottery becomes available the exact same forms were selected, and it has been argued that this indicates continuity in the way that food was prepared and subsequently consumed (Anderson, 2012: 156). It has been observed that bowls only became part of the ceramic tradition in the North East at the very end of the Iron Age, and it has been suggested that this might indicative of a change in attitude about what materials it were appropriate to eat from, from organics (e.g. wood) to ceramics (Anderson, 2012: 104-105). It would be unwise to assume that the situation was identical in Cumbria because of its spatial proximity to the North East; however, there

has been a tendency to do so. One reason for this is the distinctive character of the contemporary North of England which, it has been suggested:

'…evokes a greater sense of identity than any other 'region' of the country…[its landscape]…encapsulates various rhetorical interpretations of the past and the present, of classes and cultures, and of geographical and typological features of a large area of
England'.

(Rawnsley, 2000: 3)

Regional identities are shaped by the way people live now, how they lived in the past, and their material agency (Rawnsley, 2000: 3-4; Russell, D. 2004: 9). Therefore they can be viewed as products of the 'collective invention and recreation of traditions' (Russell, D. 2004: 9); that is, of both external perceptions (in the rest of England) and internal realities (in the North itself). In much the same way as the increasing occurrence of particular culturally-significant 'things' can lead them to be perceived as a normal everyday objects and, ultimately, cause the disappearance of distinct local subcultures (Pounds, 1994: 33), while generalisations might begin as a version of the truth they can eventually become the truth. In fact, by the time of the Industrial Revolution, the North already had a 'powerful set of negative images attached to it' (Russell, D. 2004: 34-45). It has been suggested that this period was central to the construction of Northern identities and a sense of place (Rawnsley, 2000: 6), and, it is interesting to note, this was also when researchers were becoming increasingly influenced by the idea that the British in India were 'analogous to the Roman settlers of Britain' (Hingley, 2008: 435). Finally, the academic institutions within which these ideas were formulated were, for centuries, located solely in the South of England, and taking all of these factors into consideration enables us to argue that the North has always been seen as the 'Other' and 'inferior' (Russell, D. 2004: 8).

During the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, visitors to the North described:

'[The climate as] cruel, cold and hostile, the food as rough, the housing as backward, primitive and poverty stricken, the clothing and shoes (or lack of them) as inadequate and unsophisticated, the accents as laughable, and the manners and behaviour as raw and wild'.

(Jewell, 1994: 120)

It is interesting when we read such accounts that the way in which the region and its inhabitants are perceived has changed little in the centuries since; however, the reasons behind this are not immediately apparent. In order to understand this it is necessary to take into account the fact that the methodologies and interpretative frameworks used by researchers are ultimately shaped by the contemporary social, cultural and political context, but that certain views can still come to be dominant. This is particularly evident in the way in which Iron Age groups have been portrayed.

The terms 'Briton' or 'Celt' have meant radically different things at various different points in our history (Snyder, 2003: 1), yet the archetypal image remains that of the woad-painted warrior, the 'noble savage' (Cunliffe, 2011: 194) who was simultaneously 'primitive, [and] even barbaric' (James, 1999: 55). It is clear that the 'Romanticisation' of the 'Celt' (Rankin, 1995: 32) has dominated many archaeological accounts but what is most interesting is the fact that, while these images have been rigorously questioned they continue to play a major role in our understanding of the 'native' population in the North of England. One reason for this might be that the North has been celebrated as home to romantic and dramatic landscapes since the 18th century (Russell, D. 2004: 34-35), and another that its population was described as fierce and savage from the 12th through to the 16th century (Russell, D. 2004: 33). In reality, the view that it is 'grim up North' is as much a creator as a product of the Classically-inspired and Roman-centric narratives which continue to shape our understanding of the region. During the 19th century, for example, it was stated that the *Brigantes*:

'…appear to have been the least civilised tribe… [and] their wild independence was encouraged and protected by the nature of the country they inhabited'.

(Wright, 1892: 62)

This idea has persisted into the late 20th century with the observation that:

'The classical conceptualisation of the world – the archetype, indeed, of civilised and barbarian – virtually ensured that the classical world would write about the north in these terms'.

(Webster, 1999: 24)

The 'time-less' quality of both ancient and modern 'Celtic' peoples (James, 1999: 55) is particularly problematic. It has already been noted that the Welsh, Irish, Scottish and Manx have managed to cling on to their Celtic heritage, yet in England this is has only been achieved by the Cornish (James, 1999: 21). The 'Celtic-ness' of Northerners is not explicit; however, the previous sections have illustrated how descriptions of the Iron Age population are not so different to the way that people in the region are portrayed today, which might explain the prominence of the *Brigantes* in contemporary archaeological research. Classical writings cited the role of the client-queen Cartimandua in the Conquest of the North (Hanson and Campbell, 1986: 77-80; Hartley, 1966: 7; Higham, 1987: 1). However, the fact that the *Brigantian* territory was meant cover the huge expanse of land between the North Sea and the Irish Sea means that it was unlikely to have been controlled by an individual (Braund, 1996: 125; Hanson and Campbell, 1986: 73), and, as a result, the *Brigantes* are most often described as a confederation of small, sub-tribal groups (Breeze, 2008: 65; Ferguson, 1890: 13; Millett, 1990a: 55). Recently, some researchers have started to seek out evidence for large-scale similarities between groups in the North of England (i.e. to locate the *Brigantes*) as well as for smaller-scale differences (i.e. to identify sub-tribal groupings) (e.g. Ross, 2009; 2011). The problem is that, when the archaeological record has caused problems, they have often relied on Classical

accounts to explain the apparent 'Other-ness' of the 'native' population. These written records tend to characterise the Celts as 'wild, emotional and tragic', 'hard-drinking and belligerent', tough and warlike (Rankin, 1995: 22-24), and while at best they were viewed by the Roman Empire as noble savages, at worst they were 'ignoble and dangerous foes' (James, 1993: 52). Similar descriptions have been found in Medieval Irish or Welsh writings (Nash, 1976: 122; Thurston, 2009: 355) to the extent that it has been argued:

'...we should probably form the best appreciation of the conditions of our Celtic forefathers before their conquest by the Romans, if we compared them with the septs or clans in Ireland and the highlands of Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth century'.

(Wright, 1892: 65)

Ultimately these accounts have served to paint a picture of a society shaped by a particular 'warrior ethic' (James, 1993: 52) which was 'not a democracy or a tyranny but an oligarchy… [taking] the form of government sometimes [ruled] by a council of nobles and elected magistrates and sometimes by a king and his councillors' (Richmond, 1963: 11). Views such as these are mirrored in accounts of the *Brigantes*. Amongst the 'natives' of *Britannia* they are seen as being 'among the fiercest and least civilised' (Ferguson, 1890: 15), hardy and often nomadic, with herds of cattle and flocks of sheep providing their livelihoods and accounting for the entirety of their wealth (Fishwick, 1894: 15; Frere, 1978: 71-72; Piggott, 1958: 25). This *Brigantian-* or Stanwick-type economy, as envisaged in the mid-20th century, included the periodic gathering of this large confederation of peoples at central places (e.g. Stanwick, North Yorkshire), while the Southern Little Woodbury-type economy was focused on the cultivation of grain, and the raising of small numbers of livestock, at individual farmsteads (Piggott, 1958: 3-5; 14). Building on this economic model, it has been argued that these differences might have influenced the methods the Roman Empire used to conquer (and thereafter control) the North and South of England (Sargent, 2002: 226). However it has been argued that it is all but impossible to cling to these long-lived assertions (Jones, 1999: 90), not least as they were

characterisations based on profoundly limited data. For example, although literal interpretations of ancient written accounts have arguably shaped the way that Iron Age groups have been understood (Bartel, 1980: 12-13), the reality is that they are also laden with bias; that they are writing about them rather than writing for them (Laurence, 2001: 23), and view the local Iron Age population as 'passive objects in… colonial situations' (Knapp and van Dommelen, 2010: 3). This is encapsulated in traditional models of 'Romanisation' which asserted that:

'…there was some coherent Roman culture that could be transferred to native peoples [which] presupposes that we can bound the entity of 'Rome' within a period of time that is defined as 'Roman'.

(Hingley, 2001: 112)

The nature of the archaeological evidence in the North has resulted in some archaeologists asserting that this was either a longer process in the North or that, in some parts of the region, it failed outright (McCarthy, 2006: 205; Webb, 2011: 2). Although there are differences in socio-cultural traditions 'between the south and east and the north and west' of *Britannia* suggested by the distribution of pottery, coinage, and settlement types (Millett, 1990a: 15), and ancient sources distinguished 'between *Britanni* in the south and *Britonnes* in the north', it is far less clear whether this is indicative of 'native' self-identification or they were merely labels ascribed to them by individual authors (James, 1999: 53). In fact some researchers have gone so far as to suggest that differences between the North and South are in fact 'more perceived than real' (Webster, 1999: 22). Similarly, it is important to be aware that the concepts of 'British', 'native', and 'Roman' are as complex and multifaceted as one other. With regards to the 'British', for example, there is little real evidence for it either in the presence of distinct material culture traditions or practices (James, 1999: 78; Gardner, 2007: 236), and when we do see any similarities their distribution seems to be far more suggestive of a tendency towards regionality. It is possible to suggest that the idea of the North' 'has largely been constructed within the South' (Russell, D. 2004: 277), a fact which is evident in early narratives in which the South served as 'a

yardstick against which to measure the North' and, ultimately, relegated the North to the status of 'periphery' (Webster, 1999: 28) (see Chapter 1.3.2). However, if instead of identifying 'original elements of a bipartite Romano-British culture...[we] rather look at the logics by which the pieces were combined' (Gosden, 2005: 209), and consider 'the reasons for either, or both, likeness or difference' (James, 1998: 206), it might be possible to establish an approach which is appropriate to the North which, unlike other parts of the province of *Britannia*, provides limited evidence for pre-Roman, regional traditions (Millett, 1990a: 20-21).

2.5 Moving Beyond 'Romanisation'

The most effective approach to studying 'native' and 'invader' in peripheral regions such as Cumbria is to get to the root of the issue of contact; to think about its mechanics, the ways in which it might have affected the worldviews of both groups, and how this will have ultimately impacted on the choices that they made in regards to how they lived, and acquired and used 'things'. This section will consider the way in which existing models concerned with the examination of frontiers and colonial situations can be most effectively incorporated into its study. Rather than applying these wholesale onto the archaeological record of the study region, which will only serve to emphasise its 'Other-ness' (and that of its inhabitants), it is necessary to think critically about postmodern and post-colonial theory. By considering that both 'native' and 'invader' might have had both positive and negative responses to the Conquest of the North, and that this likely affected the ways in which they interacted with one another and 'things', and how they viewed themselves, it is possible to look at the archaeology of Roman Cumbria in an altogether different light.

2.5.1 Postcolonial Theory

Throughout the later 20th century, archaeologists became increasingly aware that their discipline was a product of its Western, colonialist past (Niven and Russell, 2005: 1-2; Smith and Wobst, 2005: 5); that a sense of superiority during the 19th century had helped archaeology, which had previously been a hobby for the rich and

privileged, to become an academic discipline' (van Dommelen, 1997: 307). Postcolonial theory was therefore rooted in a 'dissatisfaction with dualist representations of colonial situations' which depicted the 'native' in opposition to the 'invader' (van Dommelen, 1997: 308), and that the resultant narratives were centred on 'the insider, the (usually white European male) 'self'' (Loomba, 1998: 104). Along with an increasing appreciation that 'archaeology and anthropology and contemporary colonialism' were entangled with one another (van Dommelen, 2006: 109), this resulted in the development of a new theoretical framework which was intended to serve as tool for better understanding the way that 'indigenous peoples responded to European contact and postcolonialism' (Lightfoot, 1995: 199). Early, culture historical approaches to the study of past societies were undertaken by individuals and groups who claimed that theirs was 'the correct interpretation of the archaeological record' (Kane, 2003: 5-6); the antiquarians of the late 19th and early to mid-20th centuries, for example, tended to identify with the desires and processes of the Roman Empire. As such, it is perhaps unsurprising that the 'voices' of the 'native' Iron Age population remained largely unheard during this period. It was during the 1960s that these biases were first deconstructed, with a conscious shift in academia towards deconstructing the 'myth' of monolithic cultures and ethnicities (James, 1999: 62) reflecting a desire to study 'local histories' instead of 'global theory' (Gosden, 2004: 18), and building on the idea that there is 'no monolithic colonialism, and no monolithic 'colonial discourse'' (Webster, 1997: 329). Instead of reducing society 'to an amorphous mass' these new narratives began to focus more critically on exploring the role played by the individuals (McCarthy, 2006: 202-203).

In the 1980s archaeologists began to emphasise the importance of 'local responses to Rome' (Hingley, 2010: 58), challenging the dominant assumption that:

'There was a Roman culture with some unity to it; Roman culture was in most ways superior to local cultures; [and] the elites of the new provinces recognised this cultural superiority and adopted Roman culture readily'.

(Gosden, 2004: 105)

Alternate approaches to 'Romanisation' emerged as a consequence of developments in post-processual archaeology, which articulated dissatisfaction with existing 'elitist and colonialist biases', along with a desire to write alternate, bottom-up histories (van Dommelen, 2006: 107-108). Disillusioned with the rigid, statistically-driven methodologies which dominated the discipline, many archaeologists during this period began to explore the oftentimes complex associations between 'people, meanings and images' (Hodder, 1989: 65-66). The view that 'the successful diffusion of a symbol rests on its relevance to, and fit within, the host value system' (Hulin, 1989: 94) was particularly influential, and resultant studies argued that the context within which a particular 'thing' was acquired, used, and consumed is just as important as its perceived value. The ambiguous nature of 'things' and spaces in culture contact situations provided individuals with 'agency, opportunities for action or inaction, and moments for struggle or success' (Silliman, 2010: 50) and so, while earlier models argued that the only two outcomes from 'relationship[s] between incomers and locals' were acculturation or complete physical destruction, postcolonial theory has emphasised the potential for the development of entirely new ways of living (Gosden, 2004: 32).

2.5.2 Frontiers and 'Middle Grounds'

'[Frontier studies are concerned with] the peripheries or edges of particular societies, and the characteristics of the groups occupying that space'.

(Green and Perlman, 1985: 4)

Frontiers are landscapes which are wholly ambiguous (Forbes, 1968: 203). They have been described in a range of ways; as 'a fringe… a vague intermediate state or landscape… [and] a region positioned along the dividing line between two countries' (Naum, 2010: 101). These varying descriptions are mirrored in the oftentimes dynamic or fluid nature of the frontiers themselves (Bartel, 1980: 19; Forbes, 1968: 207; Naum, 2010: 102). However, despite the fact that the distribution

of culturally-significant commodities is often seen as indicative of the presence of distinct social groups (Hodder, 1985: 142), the material evidence found in frontier locations often provides far less evidence for the 'physical segregation' of 'native' and 'coloniser' (Silliman, 2010: 32). In fact, it has been argued that the 'in betweenness' of these locales will have shaped the identities of both populations; that they will have felt as if they were 'neither one or the other or being both at the same time' and, therefore, that they ultimately came to be defined by the frontier (Naum, 2010: 126). Archaeologists tend to have been successful in their attempts to identify 'native' objects and spaces in colonial contexts, yet in contrast they seem to have struggled 'when trying to tease apart the *entangled* or *shared* spaces and material cultures of indigenous peoples, colonists, and those who may have navigated the interstices' (Silliman, 2010: 29).

Postcolonial studies emphasise the fact that identities and innovations are often constructed, negotiated, and manipulated in frontier situations (Naum, 2010: 104). Subsequently, archaeologists over the last two decades have become increasingly interested in exploring the concepts of 'hybridity, creolisation, *niestizaje*, inbetweenness, diasporas and liminality' (Loomba, 1998: 173). The boundaries between populations were rarely physically defined in antiquity and, if 'phenomena [such] as intermarriage, migration and amalgamation' occurred (Forbes, 1968: 211) and, it has been argued, if reciprocal exchange occurred between social groups it is likely to have negated any distinctive patterns in the distribution of material culture (Hodder, 1985: 141). Increasingly, archaeologists have begun to discuss the potential of a conceptual 'Third Space'; this area of hybridity and interaction (Naum, 2010: 106) is perhaps best described as a 'middle ground' within which both populations could articulate their shared values and practices (Gosden, 2004: 30-31, 106; White, 1991: 96). This theoretical concept embraces the idea that material culture is thoroughly embedded in processes of negotiation and, moreover, that these have the potential to both preserve or change socio-cultural identities (Naum, 2010: 105). Any kind of interaction has an 'ideological, moral, and political base' (Kohl et al. 2007: 19), as it is only through creating (and thereafter maintaining) interpersonal relationships that a particular social group is able to flourish (McGuire, 2008: 17).

Doing so allows us to place interaction between 'native' and 'invader' at the very heart of archaeological narratives (van, Dommelen, 2006: 111).

2.5.3 Networks of People and 'Things'

It has been argued that instead of adopting theory wholesale from other fields, archaeologists should be working to create their 'own theoretical and contextually appropriate agenda' rather than adopting theory from other fields (Yoffee and Sherratt, 1993: 8) and, over the last decade or so, a small number of researchers have begun to explore how we might move beyond this interpretative stalemate. In particular, they have begun to contemplate how a truly archaeological theory (or, more broadly, a theoretical framework) might help us to achieve a reading of the material record on multiple scales; or, as Sherratt has stated, from 'the small scale of the *petites histoires* of objects and occupation levels…[to] the level of the *grand récit* of larger themes' (1993: 128). Similarly, Versluys has argued that the concept of globalisation is useful because it allows us to consider 'diversity within a single cultural framework, with complex power structures between all kinds of different groups that have shifting boundaries, but also with unintentional results of connectivity and communication' (2014: 14), while Knappett has suggested that the concept of networks allow us to 'incorporate both people and objects' alongside an additional, temporal dimension (2011: 10). This kind of approach asks:

'Can we…find a way to preserve the importance of scale by reformulating it as a dynamic notion rather than a static category or, in other words, without fitting examples into a predefined narrative of 'local' and 'global' forces?'

(Van Oyen, 2012: 49)

Correspondingly, this thesis argues that in order to achieve a balanced understanding of Roman Cumbria, we need to occupy an interpretative 'middle ground'. This thesis has argued that the nature of the material record and history of research has served to create (and thereafter reinforce) a particular kind of

archaeological narrative. Many of these have focused on whether the artefactual 'signature' of a site indicates continuity or change which, in turn, has served to reinforce the binary divide between 'native' and 'invader'. This is evident, for example, in the practice of describing objects of personal ornamentation as 'Romano-British', a term which arguably implies the existence of distinct 'British' and 'Roman' elements, and therefore appears to contradict the idea that there is no such thing as an 'Iron Age' or 'Roman' artefact (Cooper, 1996: 86). It fails to take into account that the term 'hybrid' might produce (rather than represent) dichotomies between 'cultural groups' (Petersson, 2011: 173; Versluys, 2014: 13). An alternative, 'middle ground' reading of the situation would place both people and 'things' at the heart of discussions. This is quite unlike the approach taken by most archaeologists, who have focused mainly on the human part of the relationship(s) between people and 'things' (Hodder, 2011b:157). If we take a genealogical approach it is possible to see why archaeologists, and social scientists in general, have done so; that there has been a trajectory of increasing materiality over the course of history in which:

'…more and more tasks are delegated to non-human actors, more and more actions mediated by things…[that] the features we associate with historical change, the attributes we connect with development and 'progress', were all made possible by humans increasingly extending themselves in intimate relations with non-humans'.

(Olsen, 2007: 586)

Increasingly, archaeologists are beginning to discuss Actor-Network Theory (ANT) because it apparently 'puts things on an equal footing with people in sociomaterial interactions' (Knappett, 2011: 7), allows us to move beyond object:subject dichotomies (i.e. humans:'things'), and characterises them as part of the same heterogeneous mix (Hodder, 2011b: 163; van Oyen, 2012: 49). Unfortunately, although ANT appears to provide a valuable means by which to achieve a 'middle ground' interpretation, in reality these assertions represent a 'watering down' of the concept. Many archaeologists have come to view ANT as 'an absolute, overarching concept which functions as a means by which to solve a

problem' (Peacock, accepted). However, in fact, it appears far more appropriate to characterise it as a 'loose body of thought' (Hicks, 2010: 75), and it has even been stated that the term Actor-Network Theory 'has done harm as well as good' (Law, 1999: 8). Ultimately its misrepresentation can perhaps be explained as a result of theoretical 'cherry picking'; that is, that if researcher [a] selects a choice idea or phrase [1] from [ANT] in order to provide support for their argument instead of having a detailed understanding of the concept itself. Following this, if [a] is a particularly influential theoretician or if they have produced an introductory text, there is a danger that researchers [i], [ii], and [iii] assume that [1] is representative of [ANT] (Fig. 2.8). This can be seen in the idea that ANT allows us to move beyond object:subject dichotomies. While Hodder (2011a: 181), for example, cites a volume edited by Law and Hassard (1999) as support for this argument, it in fact hinges solely on a single point from the introductory chapter; that, instead of being 'given in the order of things', dualities are outcomes (Law, 1999: 3). From a reflexive perspective, it is important to be aware that we have created these divisions in the present and, thereafter, projected them back onto the evidence we study in the past (Witmore, 2007: 546). This suggests that we need to be more aware of the fact that, rather than being a tool, ANT is best viewed as a framework within which we can explore why interpretation has alternated between [a] micro- and [b] macro-level analyses (Latour, 1999a: 16-17; Latour, 1999b: 294).
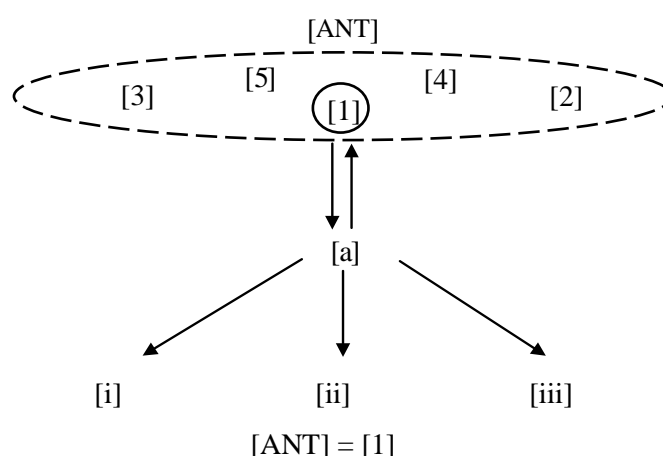
Fig. 2.8: 'Cherry-picking' of ANT

ANT is, perhaps, increasingly cited by archaeologists because the type of symmetrical interpretation they are attempting continues 'to privilege humanity as if it alone was endowed with agency' which, ultimately, serves to perpetuate the structure:agency divide (Barrett, 2014: 72). Hodder has argued that 'thing' theory, which argues that human existence and social life is dependent on material things, is a useful means by which to move beyond the current, 'excessive focus on human agency, phenomenology, personhood, and memory' (2011b: 155; 165).

The entangled nature of this relationship has been described in the following manner:

- 'People depend on (materials, people, symbols) things
- The dependence entails dependency because things depend on people and other things
- Dependence + dependency = entanglement'.

(Hodder, 2011a: 178)

Increasingly, 'archaeological methodologies and interpretations are…turning to complexity as both an organisational and practical concept' (Kohring, 2011: 146) and, by considering 'things' as inherently fluid, it should be possible to achieve a more balanced and nuanced reading of the archaeological record. It has been suggested, for example, that by viewing 'things' in this manner we might be able to:

'…redress the imbalance within post-colonial studies between, on the one hand, consumption as the field in which meaning is negotiated and, on the other hand, production as offering merely a template for the inscription of meaning'.

(van Oyen, 2013: 81)

It seems, therefore, to be an excellent interpretative approach to use for the study of Roman Cumbria. However, we need to be critical in its use; we need to be

careful not to view it as Entanglement Theory in the way that archaeologists have started to with Actor-Network Theory (ANT), and to not focus solely on the 'thing' part of human-thing relationships to the detriment of the 'human'. One way to do this is to be aware of the fact that, although method, theory, and data seem to be separate, distinct parts of archaeological practice they are, in reality, interrelated with one another; that is, instead of reading these relationships as a closed system we need to view these elements as 'naturally connected and affected by the norms and discourses of the 'outside' world' (Fahlander, 2001: 26) (see Fig. 2.9).
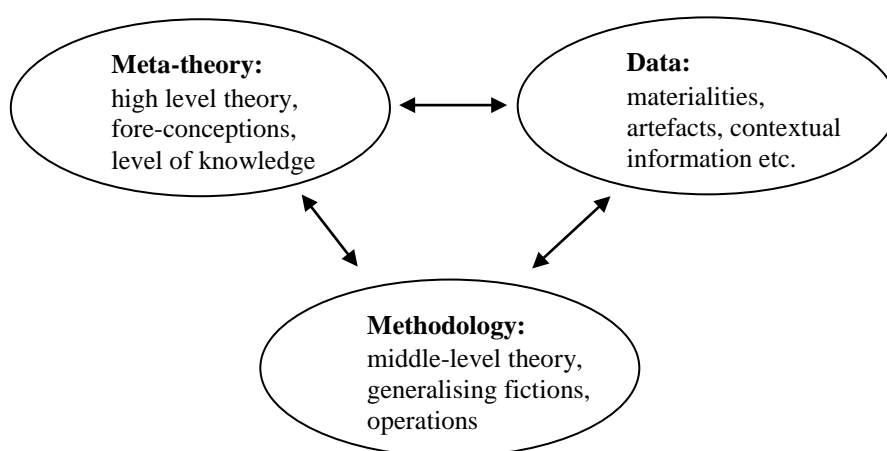
Fig. 2.9: Proposed interrelationship between meta-theory, data, and methodology (after Fahlander, 2001: 26: Fig. 5)

It has been suggested that, in order to avoid relying on analogies and to find a 'middle ground' between top-down and bottom-up perspectives, we should focus on 'the embedded information in the material record' and, ultimately, are 'better off discussing the 'field of tension' between individuals on the one hand, and the institutionalised effects of social practice…on the other' as this allows us to consider social practice and social formations (Fahlander, 2001: 41-42; Fahlander, 2004: 185186). Fahlander described this processes as microarchaology; an approach which takes into consideration 'matters of time and space as well as social coherence, material culture and environmental factors' and allows us to investigate a 'sociology of things' (2001: 64; 2004: 186). The applicability of this kind of approach is limited because it seems to require a particular amount of material and contextual information.

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Moreover, the author admits that it 'is probably not a strategy that fits all time periods and types of landscapes' but that, 'if modified, some procedures of this strategy might also be operable in other contexts' (Fahlander, 2001: 105-106). If we take it, along with the other concepts outlined above, as a source of inspiration, then we might be able to reconcile different scales of analysis. In this regard, we are thinking about conceptual blending, a concept which is usually used to discuss language but is equally applicable to the human body and material culture, and is basically a process 'whereby elements of two conceptual spaces are projected into a third space' (Knappett, 2011: 151).

2.6 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that, while the basic processes of trade and exchange are identical, this has rarely been considered in Romano-British narratives. An intellectual divide between Iron Age and Roman studies means that, in the majority, of cases the earlier period is defined by exchange and the later by trade. The problem is particularly evident in Cumbria, and this thesis argues that in order to address these imbalances we need to begin thinking about how 'things' might circulate in different ways within the same, overarching system. This model will be influenced by the idea that, when a new province became part of the Roman Empire, this process did not include the imposition of a 'Roman' way of life onto the local population (Hingley, 2005: 27). Indeed, it has been observed that the Emperor Augustus 'declared that he preferred, wherever possible, to preserve [the beliefs and socio-economic systems of the provinces] rather than destroy' (Clarke, 1958: 21), and that administrators were far more likely to exploit existing political and social relationships, or adopt new tactics, and that if they were to abolish any practices or organisations it would only be those which 'ran counter to...[the] long-term interests' of the Empire (Haselgrove, 1984: 6).

This chapter has also provided a wealth of evidence to support the assertion that postcolonial theory is one of 'the most sophisticated' approaches currently applied to studies of Roman Britain (Hill, 2001: 13); it not only provides a means by

which to explore in detail the nature of human relationships, but demonstrates how 'things' are entangled with processes of interaction, negotiation, and change. Following this, contemporary narratives are far more likely to assert that the Conquest was a stimulus for subtle 'dialectical change' (Millett, 1990a: 1), and that the character of Britain after A.D. 43 owed just 'as much to the native as to the Roman ingredient' (Millett, 1990b: 37). However, we cannot hope to understand change without being aware of continuity; it has been stated that they are 'always intertwined and relative' (van Oyen, 2013: 89), and 'two different outcomes that are recognisable, if not measurable, through material remains' (Silliman, 2009: 211). This divide is symptomatic of structuralist interpretations which, it has been noted, have 'represent[ed] the interests of a predominantly Western, white, male discourse' (Hodder, 1991: 7: for discussion see Chapter 3.6). This chapter has demonstrated how archaeologists have worked to address these imbalances but the reality is that, as a result of the nature of the material record and history of research, binary oppositions such as continuity/change persist within the context of Roman Cumbria, despite the fact that there is evidence for both continuity (e.g. hand-made pottery and cattle bones) and change (e.g. imported pottery) (Crosshill (Penrith Farm)) (Higham and Jones, 1983: 63-64).

Finally, it seems as though structuration theory, which considers the significance of materiality and meaning in 'things, places, and other… observable phenomena' (Thurston, 2009: 383), might be able to help us to heal the rift 'between agency and structure, or interaction and institution' (Gardner, 2002: 326), a situation which is evident in Roman Cumbria with the division between [a] the small-scale/'native' and [b] the large-scale/'invader'. In other chronological and geographical contexts, this kind of approach has allowed archaeologists to explore in far greater detail 'how and why people might incorporate foreign categories of both ideational and material things' into their everyday lives (Thurston, 2009: 383). Following this, the next chapter will draw on these ideas in order to formulate an interpretative model which affords equal attention to [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader', and does so by thinking critically about the ongoing, active nature of interactions between people and 'things'.

Chapter 3 A New Model: Trade, Exchange, and 'Middle Grounds'

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is primarily concerned with creating an interpretative model which will permit a more balanced, 'middle ground' view of the movement and consumption of 'things' in Roman Cumbria. It will argue that, in order to do so, we should not merely adopt theoretical ideas which have helped us to better understand other parts of the Roman Empire. So far, this thesis has demonstrated that there are many problems associated with viewing 'things' as passive indicators of trade patterns (see Chapter 2.22.2.3), but that there are just as many when we seek to imbue them with power which we cannot prove they had (see Chapter 1.3.5). This chapter will argue that it is far more useful to think about 'things' in Roman Cumbria moving within and between two systems. The model emphasises the idea that the adoption of any 'thing' is motivated by a particular need on the part of the consumer and will demonstrate how, by taking a flexible approach to the concept of value, we are able to discuss the idea that they can serve a range of different functions. Finally, this chapter will show how, by engaging critically with the theory discussed in (Chapter 2) and appreciating that the population of Roman Cumbria was made up of many different, often-overlapping communities, this model can help to start bridging the long-lived divide between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader'.

3.2 Commodities, Exchange, and the Concept of 'Value'

Value is one way that we can explore the complex relationship between people and 'things' from a material perspective; however, in order to understand how and why 'things' were valued we need to approach our interpretation from the perspective of the human-thing relationship, rather than over-analysing the concept of value itself. It has, for example, been defined 'as a judgement about goods which is objectified by desirability for them and accessibility to them' (van Wijngaarden, 1999: 22), but this is a somewhat static reading of the concept. For a more active understanding it is useful to ask why the status of some objects shift 'from first being unknown, then

known but dispensable, some…become indispensable' (Douglas and Isherwood, 1996: 69) and why others did not, as while '*assessing* value is an important step forward…understanding how value and demand are *created* in the first place is perhaps even more essential' (Voutsaki, 1999: 27). It can be incredibly useful if we have a more flexible approach to value, an awareness that it can fluctuate depending on a range of different factors to be concerned with 'measure or meaning…[the] material or symbolic; secular or sacred; abstract or concrete; individual or collective; qualitative or quantitative; global or local' (Eiss and Pederson, 2002: 283).

The topic of trade and exchange provides a unique opportunity to begin to explore the value of artefacts to groups and individuals in the past; in fact, Marx suggested that without exchange we cannot understand value because it cannot 'acquire a socially uniform objectivity' on its own (1990: 166). It has been argued that value is a symbolic representation of a system and, therefore, that we have the ability to translate or decode it, but that in order to understand a part of it we need to have an appreciation of the system as a whole (Graeber, 2005: 440; 449). One way to do this, and to transcend the oppositions outlined above (material or symbolic, etc.), is through the use of a theory of value (Eiss and Pederson, 2002: 283). In order to achieve this, it is necessary to be aware of the fact that value is contained within 'a certain restlessness on the part of the will, and the allaying or satisfaction of this restlessness' (Boodin, 1915: 65), and that choices are made between different 'courses of action' (Jensen, 1933: 207-208). The selection of one object [B] from a group of three ([A], [B], [C]), for example, suggests that [B] is valued more than [A] and [C]. Therefore we might equate the process of valuation to 'approval or disapproval' (Engelmann, 1961: 192), in that social values are 'expressed through conscious choices made between available functional equivalents' (Smith, 1999: 117). The problem lies in identifying the motivation(s) underpinning the choices made in the past. A desire to maintain reputation, to adhere to specific social conventions or commitments, or moral requirements, or to guarantee the welfare of the individual or the wider community might all influence choice (Sen, 1997: 747-748). It is also important to appreciate the difference between use-value, which is 'conditioned by the physical properties of the commodity' and is 'only realised in use or

consumption', and exchange-value 'in which use-values of one kind exchange for use-values of another kind' (Marx, 1990: 126). This demonstrates that, in addition to being critically aware of the social, cultural, and political context within which objects are exchanged (Chibnik, 2011: 26), we also need to think carefully about the role played by their physical and conceptual, and the motivations which might lie behind the choice of a particular object.

Although their mechanisms are strikingly similar to one another and could, therefore, be discussed in tandem, archaeological narratives have tended to focus on either trade *or* exchange (McGuire, 1989: 45), and this oversight becomes even more marked when we incorporate the concepts of value and choices. This is evident in a paper written by Renfrew, for example, who sought to explore how 'the emergence of certain materials as embodying wealth of prestige led to fundamental changes in the nature of human culture and society' (2005: 86), and did so by creating the following model (Fig. 3.1).
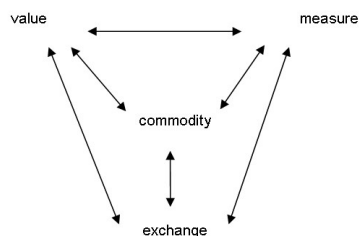
Fig. 3.1: Interrelationship of value, measure, commodity, and exchange (after Renfrew, 2005: 91; Diagram 4.1)

This model is important because it incorporates both symbolic and non-symbolic concepts. It has been argued that a commodity is, in its most basic form, something 'which through its qualities satisfies human needs of whatever kind' (Marx: 1990: 125), and that it can only truly be considered a commodity if it is an object of utility and has value (Marx: 1990: 138). However, the problem with this particular assertion is that it is concerned solely with *use-value*, which is a product of

the amount of labour invested in the creation (Marx, 1990: 130), and also overlooks the fact that objects can be 'exchanged without any notion of commodity' (Renfrew, 2005: 91). Economically-driven narratives such as these tend to focus on how value is defined by monetary economies in 'metropolitan settings' (Sassatelli, 2000: 207). In contrast, those influenced by sociology suggest that the same concepts can be extended 'beyond market transactions to exchanges of symbolic and nonfungible resources such as social approval, security, and even love' (Macy and Flache, 1995: 74). The idea that symbols in everyday objects have the potential to play 'an active part in the construction of social strategies' (Hodder, 1982a: 199) is so widespread that in anthropological studies, and archaeological studies influenced by them, it is now common 'to assume that *all* material possessions carry social meanings' (my emphasis: Douglas and Isherwood, 1996: 38).

The function of a particular object can be inferred through the identification of certain material traces; the examination of mortaria and samian ware (*terra sigillata*) in Roman Britain, for example, has revealed evidence for particular residues and use-wear patterns (see Biddulph, 2008; Cramp et al. 2011). This provides evidence to support the assertion that, while there are intentional aspects in all acts, not all of the outcomes from these acts will be intentional, and that we cannot hope to establish the intentions which shape the use of objects in the past without understanding the 'relational contexts' within which they were used (David, 2004: 67-68). It is also important to be aware of the fact that the value of an object is not fixed at the point of its creation; it is, instead, a result of the function which its producer intended and the wider social circumstances within which it was created, used, and ultimately disposed of.

Yet the divide between trade and exchange persists. It has been argued that in order to understand how objects influence people, and by extension their relationships with other people, then we should focus on 'periods in which objects change their forms and types markedly and rapidly' (Gosden, 2005: 197), and we can perhaps see this in the tendency for archaeologists to focus on the transition between the Late Iron Age and Roman periods (see Chapters 2.2-2.2.3). The problem is that this emphasises

a range of dichotomies (traditional:modern; pre-capitalist:capitalist; gift economy:commodity economy; etc.) (Bloch and Parry, 1989: 7) which should be understood are interpretations, and not reproductions, of the realities of everyday life in the past (Sassatelli, 2000: 209). The legacy of this can be observed in studies concerned with Iron Age and Roman Cumbria, where the divide between prestige goods networks (object/exchange) and core-periphery models (commodity/exchange) continues to be perpetuated. Here, archaeologists concerned with the relationship between 'native' and 'invader' have tended to overlook the fact that the value of artefacts has the potential to shift, and that similarities in the mechanisms of trade and exchange might have facilitated their movement within and between two different, interdependent systems.

3.3 Spheres of Exchange and the Movement of 'Things'

This is not a new idea; anthropologists have, for example, discussed the idea of so-called 'spheres of exchange'. Emerging initially from studies of the Tiv in Nigeria it outlines how, in this pre-colonial subsistence economy, things could be exchanged within different systems which included subsistence, prestige, and supreme materials 'but not normally across them' (Plattner, 1989a: 175; also Bloch and Parry, 1989: 1216). Members of the group could easily calculate the values of resources within each individual sphere but there was 'no ready conversion' between them (Sillitoe, 2006: 1). The concept has also influenced archaeologists concerned with Iron Age and Roman Britain. One argued, for example, that two overlapping systems of exchange were used between 50 B.C. and A.D. 50; that, while goods and services were exchanged 'within an essentially native socio-economic system' between the South East of England and Northern Gaul, a 'more directly commercial Roman-inspired system' facilitated the trade of raw materials for imported 'Roman' luxuries (Cunliffe, 1984: 18). Another suggested that a 'tribal economy' existed in Britain for the first two centuries A.D. and that, during this period, exchange relied on close, personal relationships instead of the possession of an appropriate number of coins (Greene, 1990: 50). Despite being thought-provoking the value of these observations is unfortunately constrained by the fact that they are, as with so many

other interpretative models, primarily concerned with elites in the South of England (Hill, 1995: 79-80). They also serve to reinforce the idea that, at some point, change would occur as a result of contact with the Roman Empire. The attention afforded to coins, which have often been interpreted as evidence for the existence of commercial, market-based exchange (Smith, 2004: 90) (see Chapter 2.2), is particularly problematic. Although the evidence suggests that military installations (e.g. forts) in Cumbria were integrated into a coin-based economy (Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 86), the fact that numismatic evidence is rare at 'native' settlements suggests that the circulation of 'things' might have been achieved through hand-to-hand exchange (Robertson, 1970: 202). It has been observed that, within a pluralistic society, people in different spheres play a major role in the creation of 'the value, beliefs and meanings of that sphere', and when one sphere becomes dominant, and individuals in the others start to 'emulate' its attributes, the ideological differences between them are finally manifested (Dugger, 1989: 142). The nature of the archaeological evidence suggests that this divide was not clear-cut in Roman Cumbria which, in turn, demonstrates the utility of this particular approach to studying the movement of 'things'.

A major concern of anthropologists (and by extension many archaeologists) has been to identify why, when some groups restrict the movement of objects between different spheres others permit it and, in turn, this helps us to explain how and why they valued particular 'things'. There are a number of common interpretative standpoints. So-called 'collectivists', who examine people from an interactive approach, suggest that individuals are exposed to and taught particular values through their position within particular institutions, while 'individualists' take a socio-psychological approach and argue that the individual invents their own values through free will alone (Dugger, 1989: 135; Engelmann, 1961: 193). There is also evidence to suggest that the options which are available, whether they are objects or actions, also play a role in influencing the choices that we make (Sen, 1997: 746). In reality, it is likely that all of these factors play some role in shaping our view of what is and is not valuable. Given that the economy is part of, and serves as a foundation for, socio-political institutions and procedures (Hodder, 1982a: 200; Polanyi, 2001: 250), it can

be argued that the value of 'things' and how they are exchanged and consumed is entangled with other aspects of everyday life. It has been observed that many studies have conflated 'value with function, prestige, scarcity, and symbolic meaning', and argued that this has emerged as a consequence of researchers trying 'to extract a static meaning from an aspect of a dynamic cultural assemblage' (de Mita Jr., 1999: 24-25). Instead, this thesis argues that it is useful to think about the identity of 'things' shifting (i.e. from commodity to object and, indeed, back again) as and when required. (Fig. 3.2) is an attempt to incorporate this into (Fig. 3.1).
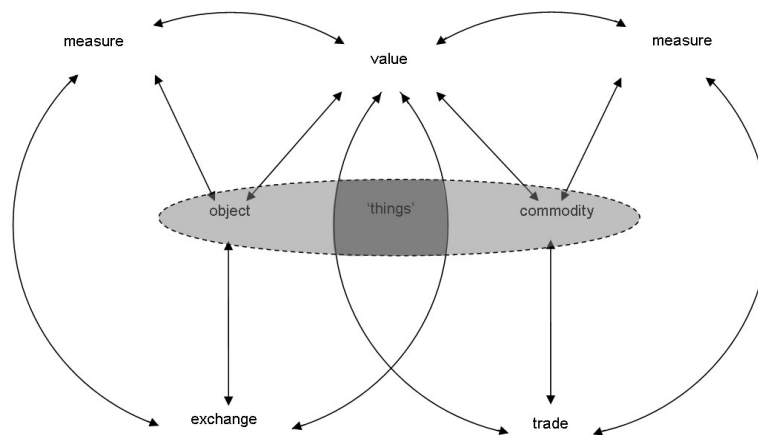
Fig. 3.2: Attempt to incorporate exchange and objects into Renfrew's model (see Fig. 3.1), to consider the social as well as the commercial value of artefacts

In this model, 'things' are the neutral state of artefacts; they consist of a combination of physical characteristics which might, but need not be, deliberately constructed (Schiffer and Skibo, 1997: 31-32). Knappett argues that the use of this term 'seems all the more valid when compared with roughly equivalent terms like 'artefacts' (implying human intervention) or 'objects' (implying a perceiving subject)' (2011: 175). The implication is that it allows us to appreciate a 'thing' for its inherent qualities, which are 'apprehended through cultural or cognitive analysis' (Chantal, 2011: 11), as opposed to those which are imposed upon it by people. Their value is not inherent in the same way, as 'nothing is 'of value' unless it is 'valued'' (Renfrew, 2005: 92). Value is not an *a priori* reality but instead 'things' become

valuable as a result of the processes through which they pass; it can be suggested that these processes lead to it being valued by people either as an 'object' or a 'commodity'. While the former (especially in the form of a gift) is often seen as imbued with the essence of the giver, which means that it can be used to 'create and reinforce social relations', the latter is not (Sillitoe, 2006: 14). Value is something which drives people to want, use, or indeed avoid a 'thing' (Jensen, 1933: 206). It can shift depending on the individual or group involved, as well as the social, cultural or ideological context within which the 'thing' is created, acquired and used. Ultimately, as Eiss and Pedersen argue, value is best 'understood from a *circulatory* perspective' (2002: 286).

This is evident in the idea that there is no such thing as an 'Iron Age' or 'Roman' artefact and, instead, that 'things' which became increasingly available through contact with the Roman Empire were adopted and adapted by local populations, and thereby integrated into an ever-evolving material repertoire (Cooper, 1996: 86). Appreciating that 'things' can have different values can provide a means by which to explore the formulation and continuation of relationships between groups. Within some ancient societies bonds might be established through familial ties, marriages, or otherwise the consumption of agricultural surpluses in communal ceremonies which may involve 'feasting, sacrifice and gifts' (Hill, 2011: 256; also Craven, 2007: 148; Pitts, 2004: 17); in the model proposed in (Fig. 3.2) this would fall within the object/exchange sphere. The social value of things is clearly not a sole product of its exotic worth but also of its history, accrued over the years as a result of its contact with specific individuals, families or social groups, as well as particular places (Woodward, 2002: 1040). Research in Southern England and on the Continent has suggested that the adoption (or, more accurately, the appropriation) of 'foreign' drinking vessels had more to do with economic than social factors, inasmuch as locals were only selecting 'those aspects of foreign culture that appealed to them' (Hayne, 2010: 157). More specifically it has been argued that appropriation may 'emerge from practices relating to social maintenance and reproduction, power relationships and the construction of identities' (Vives-Ferrándiz, 2010: 209). It has also been suggested that groups in Roman Britain were using material culture 'as a measure of expressing

their own distinctiveness and segregation from other groups in society' (Mattingly, 2007: 520); this observation appears to build on one made by Hodder, who stated 'that culture may be used by groups to communicate within-group corporateness in reference to outsiders' (1979: 446). Although the concept of appropriation implies the existence of a 'middle ground' it tends to prioritise [a] the 'native' which, as observed in (Chapter 1.3.5), is just as problematic as focusing solely on [b] the 'invader'. The most common narratives suggest that any large scale communal gathering is always initiated by one individual (or perhaps a small group of individuals) with the power and influence to bring people together; in this regard, they seem to imply the existence of a hierarchical society. In this context, bonds of fealty to a king or chief might have been achieved through control over the redistribution of goods and foodstuffs; this process would fall into the system of commodity/trade in (Fig. 3.2).

The situation is a little more complex in Roman Cumbria. Here, the distribution of coins suggests that they were used at military sites and the *civitas* at Carlisle while, in contrast, they are incredibly rare at 'native'-type settlements (for discussion see Shotter, 2000: 244-245). So how do we explain the movement of 'things' in the region? This thesis will argue that, while some 'things' will have been acquired through payment with coinage (within commodity/trade system), others will have been acquired like-forlike (within the object/exchange system). The use of the model illustrated in (Fig. 3.2) requires us to think about what is and what is not appropriate, and to be aware that this would have shifted depending on the sphere which the individual was engaging with; a soldier might, for example, have used coins to buy a pot from a merchant, but given a farmer a number of glass vessels in exchange for a sheep. Both of these processes take place in the 'middle ground' of (Fig. 3.2) because, within this space, 'things' do not have an inherent value. As noted in (Chapter 1.3.5) a potter, for example, will likely have intended a vessel to fulfil a particular function, but this does not mean that it will be valued for that reason. To explore this ideas in more detail it is useful to return to
(Fig. 3.2), but this time incorporate different stages in the 'life' of a 'thing'; its production, disposal, and recycling (Fig. 3.3).
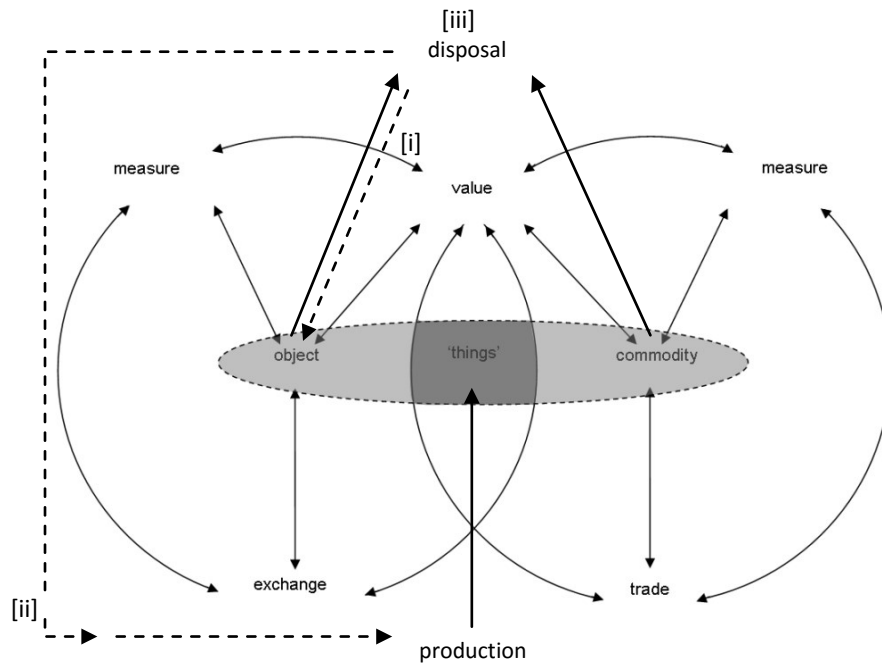
Fig. 3.3: Model concerned with the social and commercial value of 'things', incorporating production, disposal, and recycling

Importantly, this model also touches on the role played by the raw material used and the skill of the producer, with the former being dependent on 'the qualities that slumber inherent in the material used' and the latter on a foundation of 'ready-to-hand knowledge…[and] the effective history of former things and their production' (Olsen et al. 2012: 160). The fact that typically-'Roman' goods are not found in Cumbria prior to the Conquest, and that they are afterwards, is strongly suggestive of the military playing a key role in their acquisition. Textual and archaeological evidence (e.g. coinage) is indicative of the existence of a monetary-based system in this particular situation and so in (Fig. 3.3) a samian ware (*terra sigillata*) bowl, for example, might initially fall within the commodity/trade 'sphere'. The function of a 'thing', and how it was valued, has the potential to change within this 'sphere' depending on the individual(s) who used it or the context within which it was used; after all, while its form may be fixed at the point of production (Thomas, 1991: 28) the same cannot be said for its function, and without evidence acquired through use-wear or residue analysis (e.g. Biddulph, 2008; Cramp et al. 2011) this is often impossible to say with any degree of certainty. A lack of coinage on

farmsteads/settlements suggests that these sites were not integrated into this monetary-based system and that, in order to acquire the aforementioned bowl, the participants would have to exchange 'like-for-like', and in this instance it moves into the object/exchange 'sphere'. Once there, its function might stay the same or, in some instances, it might change. Its use-life might be short or long. It might be static within this 'sphere', move within it, or perhaps make its way back into the commodity/trade 'sphere' as a second-hand item. At some point, regardless of the 'sphere' within which it is situated, it is likely that this 'thing' will be broken (either intentionally or otherwise). It might be repaired, a practice which seems to have been particularly common with regards to samian ware (*terra sigillata*) in Roman Britain (Willis, 2011: 171), disposed of or, otherwise, transformed into another 'thing'. This transformation might take place at two different points in (Fig. 3.3); at [i] a single sherd, for example, might be adapted into a spindle whorl (Bruhn, 2008: 97), while at [ii] the whole bowl might be recycled along with other vessels to form a temper for pottery or architectural ceramics such as brick or tile (Peña, 2007: 269-271). Afterwards, the new 'thing' is acquired and become part of either the object/exchange or commodity/trade 'sphere'. Finally, while the 'life' of a 'thing' can be long or short, its end will always result in a final step at [iii] which is how it is found at the point of excavation.

3.4 Studying 'Things' in Cumbria

(Fig. 3.3) provides us with a more balanced standpoint from which to interpret the movement of 'things', and the nature of interaction, in Roman Cumbria. It highlights the importance of being aware that each stage in the 'life' of, for example, a pot is accompanied by a particular choice made by the consumer. But what is choice? For the purpose of this thesis, the most appropriate definition is that it is the embodiment 'of actual social power' (Walker and Schiffer, 2006: 75). In many cases, archaeologists have chosen to focus on the relationship between choice and change; it has been argued, for example, that this is because when people acquire new 'things' they demonstrate a 'conscious awareness...to do something other than the established normative' and, by making that change, they are more actively 'employing their power of agency' (David, 2004: 69). However, this overlooks the fact that there is

also intent behind the choice to not acquire a 'thing', a fact which is particularly relevant to the study of Roman Cumbria. The choice of action [a] over action [b] is, in all instances, governed by intention, yet researchers tend not to have discussed intention in itself; instead they have focused on what it is that influences intention, as an awareness of these factors ultimately allows us to 'infer contextually the nature of that intentionality' (David, 2004: 69). The introduction of this thesis demonstrated how we have become caught up in a hermeneutic cycle within which we frequently 'read' material assemblages as illustrating either one or the other (i.e. [a] or [b]) (see Chapter 1.3.3: Fig. 1.4); in the case of 'things', for example, they tend to have been interpreted as either products which are required for [a] functional, technological and adaptive means, or [b] indicators of social and cultural identity (Olsen, 2003: 90), and that [a] had set exchange values and [b] no utilitarian value (Sillitoe, 2006: 2; Steiner, 1954; 120-121). A hermeneutic reading of this situation suggests that how we interpret intention is influenced by our position in contemporary society. In an attempt to challenge the longlived dominance of [a] (which emphasises the agency of people) in narratives concerned with trade and exchange, scholars began to focus on [b] (which emphasises the agency of objects). However, by affording more attention to [b], the danger is that we are overlooking [a]. It has recently been observed, for example, that some archaeologists are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with 'the social' in archaeological theory; 'that for a discipline specialising in the study of the complicated relationships of humans and things…the 'social turn' veers us too far from an understanding of these very relationships' (Webmoor and Witmore, 2008: 54), and the danger of this is that we overlook 'things' which are constituted by, and in turn constitute, the society within which they are situated.

3.5 A New Model: Two Systems, Multiple Communities

By applying a theory of value to the examination of 'things' in Roman Cumbria it will be possible to explore the reality of an impermeable boundary between object/exchange and commodity/trade 'spheres', and thinking about how 'things' moved within and between them will, ultimately, permit the creation of a narrative concerned with both [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader. Everyone who lived in Roman

Cumbria, not only the often-disempowered 'native' but the soldier who has frequently been characterised as an anonymous cog in the machine of the army, had a choice. Regardless of the community in question, while some may have been fully engaged in wider social networks others might not have been, and while this may have been circumstantial it might, equally, have been a result of an active choice (Moore, 2007: 96). It is important to embrace the idea that, rather than merely being passive signifiers of the identity, status, or belief of the person(s) who possessed them, 'things' can be active in their creation. Individual identity is neither static nor monumental; instead, it is comprised of multiple layers and the configuration of these changes 'for each role or social situation that a person engages with' (Collins, 2008: 47). Although large-scale narratives have focused primarily on either [a] 'native' or [b] 'invader', it is important to be aware of the fact that these are simplified groupings and, moreover, that their composition is likely to have changed over time. It has been suggested that up to, and indeed beyond, the 3rd century A.D. (Snyder, 2003: 29), a significant proportion of the people living in similar 'peripheral' regions in *Britannia* existed beyond the influence of the Conquest (Snodgrass, 2001: 103). There are a number of issues with this proposal. In the first instance, even though these groups are living on the edge of the Roman Empire it is important to be aware that they still played an active role 'in their own social settings' (Kelly, 1997: 354); children will have been born, the cycle of the year observed and marked, crops grown, livestock reared and slaughtered, and people will have died. In more isolated locations, and indeed in those closer to newly-built forts and civilian settlements, these seemingly small-scale concerns may well have been deemed more significant than, for example, the availability of a new form of pottery. Secondly, it overlooks the fact that change was also likely to occur within military contexts; it has been observed, for example, that the composition of artefact assemblages at forts shifted during the 4th century A.D. until, in many cases, they become 'virtually indistinguishable from those at 'civilian' sites (Esmonde Cleary, 1989: 54-55). Similarly, it has been suggested that this is evidence for 'some breaking down of a unitary 'military identity at local levels' as units which had been based in the same region for centuries began to identify 'more with the community in which they live[d] than the larger community of the army' (Gardner, 1999: 414) (Fig. 3.4).
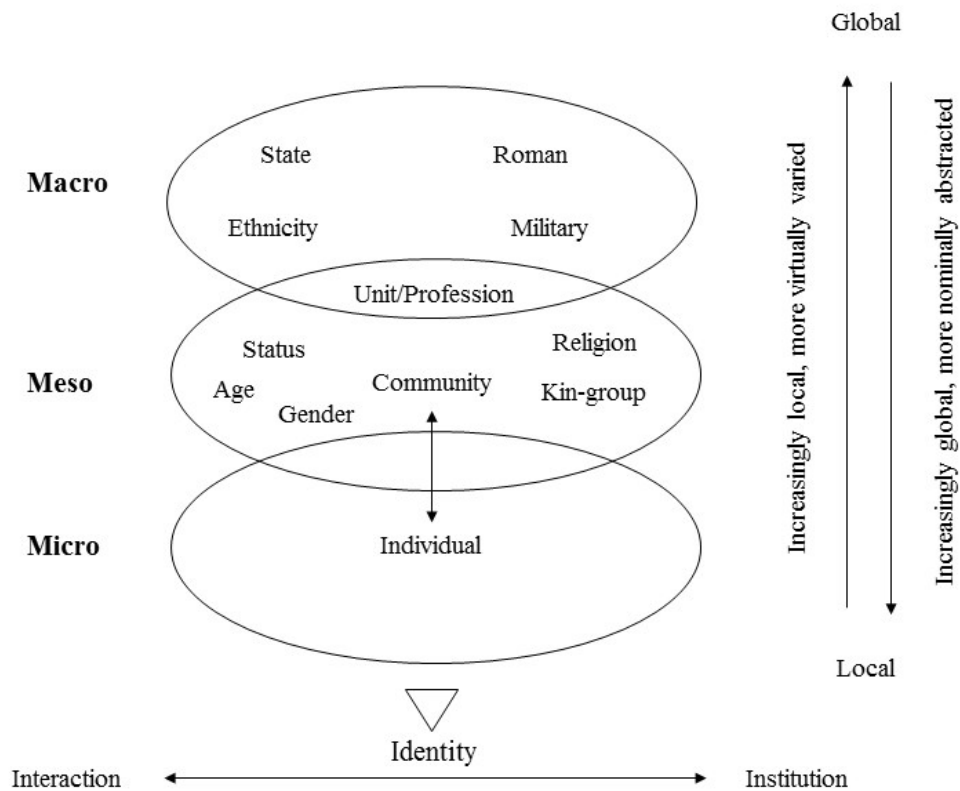
Fig. 3.4: A stratification model of identification in Late Roman Britain (after Gardner, 2002: 345: Fig. 7)

This adheres to the assertion that, as the centuries passed, 'the army would have become part of the social fabric' of the North of England (Kurchin, 1995: 126); after all:

'A free non-citizen male could join the auxiliary forces and, after a prescribed period of service, become a citizen, a right that extended to his children.'

(Hingley, 2005: 56)

The result was that, by the 4th century A.D., there would at worst have been an 'us-and-them' mentality in the region, while at best some of the units would have been composed of the 'sons, nephews, cousins, or grandchildren' of these recruits,

and this will ultimately have influenced the nature of interaction between these communities (Collins, 2008: 50). We might, for example, imagine a local-born soldier in Cumbria 'playing up' his local identity in order to facilitate 'like-for-like' exchange or, in a corresponding situation, a farmer 'playing down' exactly the same features. Unfortunately many of these markers cannot be identified archaeologically; linguists have observed, for example, that (either consciously or subconsciously) we often make accommodations in how we speak depending on to whom we are speaking (Watt et al. 2010: 271-273). It is equally important to take into consideration that the Roman military was made up of soldiers from across the Empire; in Cumbria there is, for example, evidence that some of the individuals buried at Brougham may have been Danubian (Cool, 2004), while pottery found at some forts appears to indicate the presence of soldiers from the African provinces (see Swan, 2009). So far, this thesis has highlighted the problems associated with focusing on either [a] top-down or [b] bottomup models when discussing Roman Cumbria which, it can be argued, roughly correspond to the [a] macro and [b] micro levels illustrated in (Fig. 3.4). A 'middle ground' interpretation, therefore, might concern itself with community, a social formation 'larger than families but smaller than tribes' which is valuable because it allows us to discuss their co-existence 'within larger social and political formations' (e.g. the Roman Empire) (Collins, 2008: 48). Communities can vary in scale. They can, but do not always, have a distinct identity, and at the same time they are made up of individuals who have their own identity. Correspondingly, as has been noted with respect to soldiers, when communities meet these might remain static or, otherwise, shift. The boundaries between communities are also permeable; an individual might belong to many communities, move between them on a regular basis or, in some cases, only on special occasions; as such they might appear physically segregated and independent yet, at the same time, they are tied into wider networks which are composed of multiple communities (Moore, 2007: 92). One way to achieve this is through the medium of 'things'. However, we cannot hope to understand 'things' without an awareness of their wider 'relational contexts'; after all, 'an object's existence simply enables us to say that its production [and thereafter its consumption] was intended within a pre-existing socio-hegemonic and behavioural framework' (David, 2004: 67-68).

3.6 Continuity or Change?

Archaeological narratives have often concerned themselves with establishing whether the material 'signature' of a particular site indicates continuity or change. In Cumbria, however, and indeed across the North as a whole, the existing evidence appears to be indicative of both continuity and change. It can be argued that structuralism is at the core of these debates. Broadly speaking, structuralism characterises 'material culture as 'text', an encoding of the symbol systems that ordered the lives of those people who created the material culture' (Watson and Fotiadis, 1990: 614). Many archaeologists have argued that these symbol systems are constructed on a foundation of 'coherent sets of fundamental oppositions (pure/impure, male/female, healthy/unhealthy, sacred/profane, etc.)', and have influenced so-called cognitive archaeologists who, among other things, have concerned themselves with identifying the binary oppositions of 'blood/milk, red/white, life/death, raw/cooked etc.' (Watson and Fotiadis, 1990: 614). The problem is that these are based on a small number of specific ethnographic observations. While anthropology has undoubtedly became less interventionist in nature throughout its history, it would be unwise to overlook the fact that it has its roots in the expansion of colonial powers (e.g. the British Empire) and, correspondingly, that these clearly influenced the dominant interpretative models used by archaeologists (see Chapters 2.3.1-2.3.2; 2.5-2.5.3). Over time there was a gradual shift in the ethnographic case studies cited in these narratives, but even with these developments there was a continuing focus on issues of 'power, negotiation, text, intertext, structure, ideology, agency, and so on... [which all] represent the interests of a predominantly Western, white, male discourse' (Hodder, 1991: 7). The influence of postcolonial theory meant that, increasingly, 'archaeological methodologies and interpretations….[turned] to complexity as both an organisational and practical concept' (Kohring, 2011: 146), which provides evidence to support the assertion that we cannot hope to understand 'continuity' without being aware of 'change'. Instead, it might be more appropriate to view 'change and continuity [as] always intertwined and relative (Van Oyen, 2013: 89) and that they are 'two different outcomes that are recognisable, if not measurable,

through material remains' (Silliman, 2009: 211). This is perhaps why many existing studies in the North of England have 'fallen short'; that is, that they have failed to take into account that the two processes are entangled with one another, and that this has only served to compound the problems which have emerged as a result of using analogies (see Chapter 1.3.3-1.3.5). Broadly speaking, the presence of a wider range of pottery forms, and in particular those considered typically-'Roman', has often been seen as an indication that a site was more 'Roman'. This can be seen at the Crosshill (Penrith Farm) (Cumbria) where it has been argued that the presence of imported items:

'...removes our conception of the farming economy from a straightforward model based on a self-sufficient subsistence level economy... [and instead implies that they were] able to produce a surplus at least on occasions larger than compulsory outgoings, and which was used as exchange to obtain other products'.

(Higham and Jones, 1983: 64)

As a result of this and an apparent shift from occupation of a roundhouse to that of a sub-rectangular building, its excavators went on to state that:

'...the purpose of the changeover can only be surmised, but presumably it signifies a degree of Romanisation, and the desire to adopt the type of lifestyle suited to the protovilla structure in the south-east which had been common in the first century A.D.'

(Higham and Jones, 1983: 64)

Change is emphasised in this narrative, yet there are clearly aspects of the material record which suggest some degree of continuity, for example the predominance of cattle bones and hand-made pottery (Higham and Jones, 1983: 63-64). It is important to note that, in Roman archaeology, the idea of change has a long history of being associated with traditional models of 'Romanisation'. More

specifically, it has been seen as part of the machine which permits the evolution of 'native' cultures, however an increasing understanding of postcolonial theory means that researchers are more likely to interpret change, if it did occur, as a consequence of a dialogue between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader'. It seems that, rather than studying the archaeological record from a position which is concerned with identifying either continuity or change, a more balanced appreciation of everyday life might be achieved if we accept that both were likely to have played a role in Roman Britain.

3.7 Summary

The temporal distance which lies between us and the people we study often seems insurmountable. However, this chapter has demonstrated how, by taking an approach which is concerned with dialogues between people and 'things', we can begin to acquire a more balanced understanding of value and intention in the past. The point about this model is that 'things' are not valued before they are incorporated into the trade or exchange sphere; this only occurs when people engage with them and, ultimately, it is this which helps to challenge the idea that they can be described as either 'native' or 'Roman'. The next chapter will summarise the 'things' which have been selected for study, the rationale behind this decision, and demonstrate how the model developed in this chapter can help us to create a 'middle ground' picture of life in Roman Cumbria.

Chapter 4 Material Culture and Rationale for Research

4.1 Introduction

As noted at the start of this thesis (Chapter 1.3.1) it is widely accepted that 'things' (both locally-produced and imported) were as rare on 'native' settlements after the Conquest as before. A reliance on outdated 'core-periphery' models means that, given the lack of archaeological evidence for elites in Cumbria, most discussions have centred on the military population. The resultant narratives tend to have viewed the 'native' population, who may have accounted for 80% or more of the population of *Britannia* (Mattingly, 2006: 453), as nothing more than a backdrop to the process of conquest and occupation. In order to address these imbalances this thesis will focus primarily on the study of farmsteads but, by placing them within the wider urban and military context, it is hoped that it will be possible to explore the reality of these long-lived assumptions. This chapter will outline the 'things' selected for examination in this thesis (mortaria, samian ware, amphorae, Black Burnished Ware, briquetage, and glass), reflecting on how they have been analysed and interpreted in the past, and the advantages and disadvantages of these methods. This will demonstrate the value of occupying an interpretative 'middle-ground' when studying artefact assemblages in Roman Cumbria.

4.2 Pottery

It has been argued that the examination of pottery underpins most of the chronological and social frameworks used in the study of Iron Age and Roman Britain (Peacock, 1982: 1). Over the last half a century, there have been significant changes in the way that archaeologists interpret this particular material. The earliest, economically-driven analyses focused almost exclusively on how its analysis could provide a proxy for understanding the mechanisms of trade in the Roman Empire (see Chapter 2.2.3). By recording the proportion of particular forms or fabrics at a site they were able to trace the movement of commodities throughout the ancient world, and subsequently discuss how the changing fortunes of individual potteries affected the

distribution, and subsequent consumption, of particular forms and fabrics. In Britain, as elsewhere in the Roman Empire, this demonstrated that the supply of pottery was not constant (Going, 1992: 94-95).

4.2.1 Mortaria

While mortaria are available in a variety of different fabrics, they are universally characterised by the presence of a 'prominent hooked flange or vertical 'wall-sided' rim' (often including a spout), and an inner surface embedded with so-called 'trituration grits' (Tyers, 1996a: 116) (see Fig. 4.1).
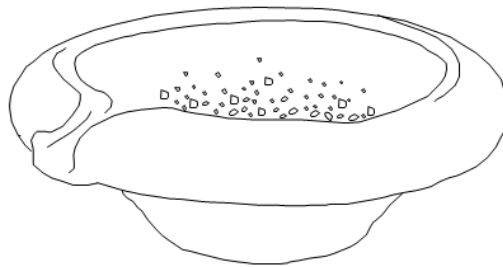
Fig. 4.1: A typical mortarium from Roman Britain (after Cramp et al. 2011: 1340: Fig.1) (not to scale)

The earliest examples found in Britain date to the years preceding the Conquest. All of these examples, which are from Continental potteries, have been recovered in small numbers in the South and East of England (Cramp et al. 2011: 1339; Tyers, 1996a: 116). This corresponds to the pattern of increasing cross-Channel trade during the Late Iron Age (see Chapter 2.2.3). The Roman military continued to acquire a limited percentage of their mortaria from Italy and Gaul until the early 2nd century A.D. (Swan, 1980: 17-19), yet the number of imports declined 'over time as domestic production increased' (Whittacker, 1994: 104) until, by the 3rd century A.D., there was nothing more than a 'trickle' (Fulford, 1973: 164). One reason for this is that, from A.D. 43, a number of potteries (both military- and civilian-controlled) were producing mortaria within the province. The earliest industries were established

between *Verulamium* (Hertfordshire) and London (Hartley, 1973: 43), as well as at Colchester (Going, 1992: 99). Those mortaria produced at Colchester were mainly distributed throughout East Anglia and Kent, and while their presence in large quantities on the Northern frontier might suggest that the military was involved in their transportation, it was far more likely to have been moved through a network of 'private trader[s]' (Peacock, 1982: 103; 149).

There was also production closer to the frontier. In the North West of England, small-scale local production took place at Wilderspool (Cheshire) (Gillam, 1973: 54) and at a subsidiary centre in the Carlisle region (Cumbria) (Hartley, 1973: 43; Swan, 1980: 19). The distribution of mortaria made at Wilderspool, the production of which peaked A.D. 110-160 (although in continued on a smaller scale until the late 2nd century) was restricted to Lancashire, Cheshire and some parts of Cumbria, with occasional examples recovered from sites in Scotland (Hartley, 1981: 473-474). Potteries at Mancetter-Hartshill (Warwickshire), which emerged c. A.D. 100, dominated the local market in the Midlands, but they also appear to have been a major supplier for the North of England (Swan, 1980: 17; Tyers, 1990a: 124: Fig. 120). Production peaked here by A.D. 180 (Going, 1992: 99) but their product continued to be popular until c. A.D. 370 (Hartley, 1973: 42). It has been suggested that potteries producing mortaria during this period were seeking 'to move into the niche once occupied by Colchester products' (Going, 1992: 100-101). Although there was a pottery industry in Oxfordshire from 2nd century A.D., the distribution of its product was not particularly extensive until the mid-3rd century A.D. which, interestingly, was the point at which they first manufactured mortaria (Swan, 1980: 22-23; Tomber and Dore, 1998: 175; Tyers, 1990a: 129).

The kilns of the Crambeck industry (East Yorkshire) were located 'close to the Parisian *civitas* boundary' (Evans, 2000: 40). They were established in the first half of the 4th century A.D. and initially production was relatively small-scale and its pottery had a fairly localised distribution; however, by the end of the 4th century A.D., these products were the most common in the North of England (Swan, 1980: 24; Tyers, 1990a: 188). In fact, because they frequently account for more than 90% of

individual pottery assemblages (Evans, 2000: 40), it is often remarked that it is rare to find vessels of any 'type' (including mortaria) which 'had not been made in East Yorkshire' (Gillam, 1973: 61; also Evans, 2000: 40; Tomber and Dore, 1998: 196).
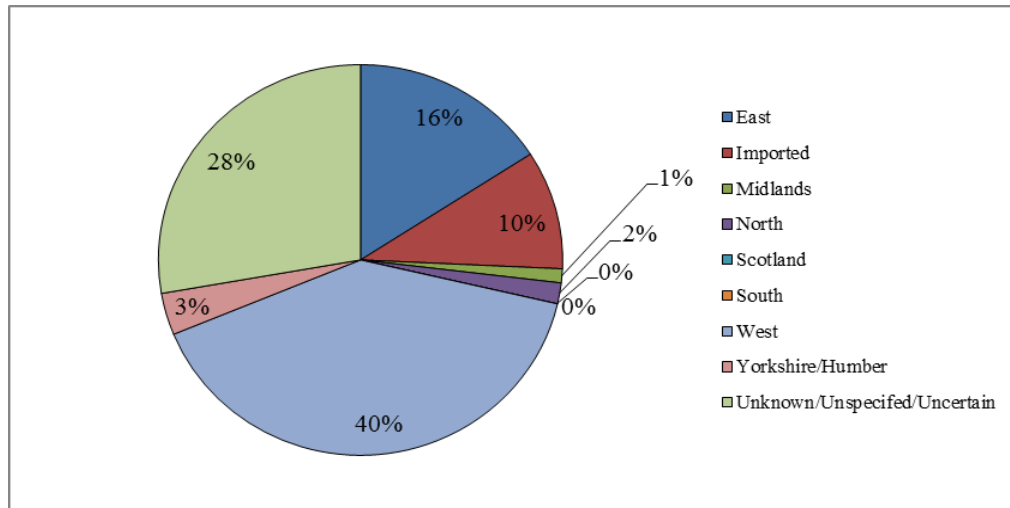
Fig. 4.2: Mortaria from the North West of England – sourced from online ADS mortaria database. % of entries from a particular part of the country (n=346)
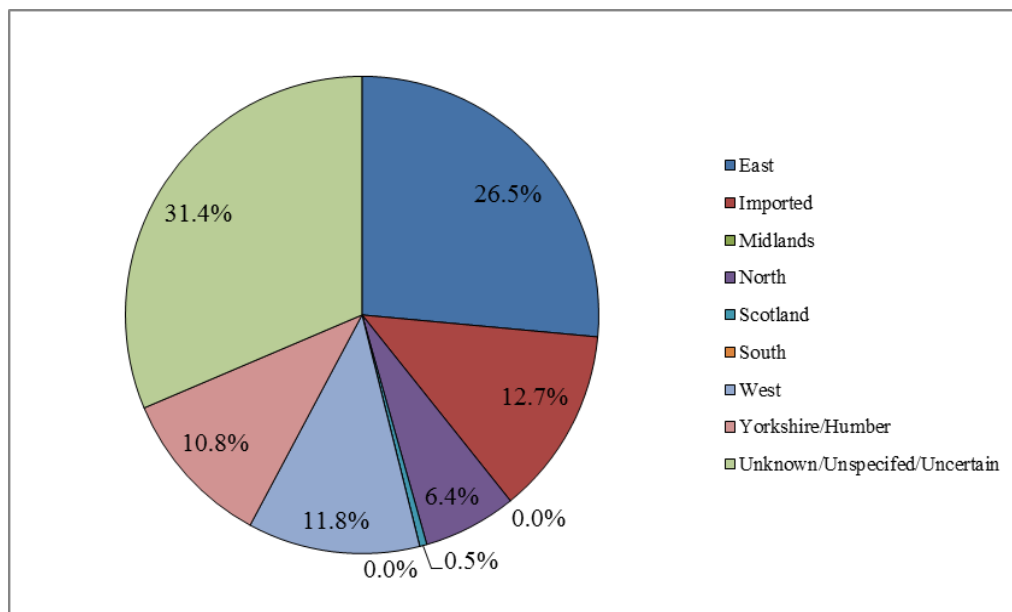
Fig. 4.3: Mortaria from the North Eastern England – sourced from online ADS mortaria database. Chart illustrates the % of entries linked to a particular mortaria source (n=204)

These observations are supported by data published online with ADS (Archaeology Data Service) (Hartley et al., 2006). There is a tendency, it seems, for sites in the North West and North East to rely on local potteries (Figs. 4.2 and 4.3), yet while this highlights variability across the North of England it is important to be aware of the fact that these observations are largely based on pottery assemblages from forts, and that the project database did not record dates for individual mortaria (Fig. 4.4).

Site Type	No. of Bibliographic References
Civilian Settlement	4
Findspot	2
Fort	18
Fort/*Vicus*	3
Industrial Site	3
Local Settlement	4
Milecastle/Turret/Hadrian's Wall	6
Unspecified	2
Vicus	0

Fig. 4.4: Sites studied in Cumbria (ADS database) (total = 42)

4.2.2 Samian Ware (*Terra Sigillata*)

Samian ware (*terra sigillata*) is a glossy, red-slipped, mass-produced fineware found in pottery assemblages across the Roman Empire (Biddulph, 2008: 91; Hartley, 1969: 235; Swan, 1980: 11). As a consequence of its apparent ubiquity and distinctive appearance it has a long history of research (Sykes et al. 2009: 1; Willis, 2011: 168), and particular attention afforded to the creation of chronologies and typologies (e.g. Bulmer, 1980; Hartley, 1969; Webster, 1983; Webster, 1996) (see Fig. 4.5). There was very little samian ware in Britain before the Conquest (Willis, 1997: 39) and, when present, it appears to have been sourced from Italy (Tyers, 1996a: 105). Following this, and shortly after the establishment of a Gaulish pottery at Lezoux c.

A.D. 10-20 (Peacock, 1982: 118), samian ware suddenly became one of the most common imported wares found on 'native' settlements in the South of England (Swan, 1980: 11). It is generally accepted that, during the 1st century A.D., most of the samian ware was from Southern Gaulish potteries, from c. A.D 100 onwards Central Gaulish potteries dominated the market (supplemented by products from Eastern Gaul and the Rhineland), and that it stopped being imported in the early 3rd century A.D. (Swan, 1980: 12; Tyers, 1996a: 112-114; Webster, 1996: 1-3; Willis, 2007: 3). At this time, 'numerous smaller centres emerged [e.g. at Colchester]…producing copies of samian and divergent forms' (Swan, 1980: 12) which is evidence to support the assertion that, as time went on, fewer commodities were being brought into Britain because the province was becoming increasingly 'prosperous and self-sufficient' (Millett, 1990a: 157), and structural changes were taking place throughout the Western Empire.

c   b   a
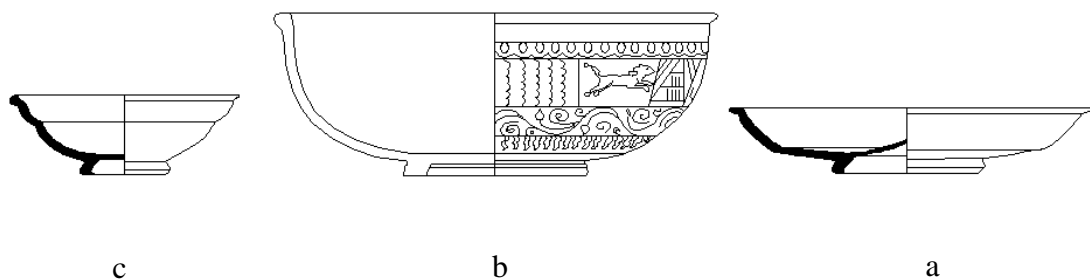
Fig. 4.5: Some samian ware forms (a: Dr 18/31; b: Dr37; c: Dr27: after Webster, 1983: 9; 21; 13) (not to scale)

4.2.3 Amphorae

Amphorae are large ceramic containers, 'primarily designed to transport agricultural produce over long distances, particularly by sea', which were produced in a variety of different fabrics, forms, and sizes (Keay and Williams, 2014) (see Fig. 4.6) and contained a range of consumables, most commonly wine or olive oil (Tyers, 1996b: Chapter 1.2). Unlike samian ware there is no 'single universally accepted classificatory scheme' and no 'tightly anchored chronology' (Willis, 1993: 181; 186), yet it is possible to make some generalised observations. The earliest examples might have been imported

into Britain as early as the late 2nd century B.C. (Loughton, 2003: 181), and these were always of Dressel 1 type. Produced in Italy and used primarily for the transportation of wine (Tyers, 1996b, Chapter 2.2), these amphorae were brought into the South and South East in some quantity throughout the 1st century B.C. (Cunliffe, 2005: 481). Dressel 1 was the only type imported 'until the last decades B.C. when it was complemented by Dressel 2-4 and Pascual 1' however, by the early 1st century A.D., the numbers being acquired appear significantly reduced (Sealey, 2009: 3; 22; also Williams, 1989: 145-146).
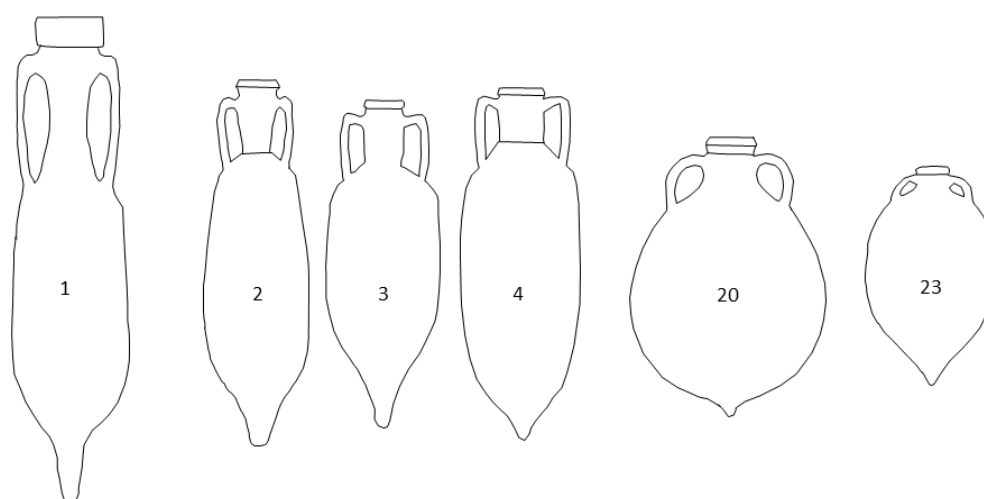
Fig. 4.6: Amphorae: Dressel 1 (left), Dressel 2-4 (centre), Dressel 20 and 23 (right) (after:http://potsherd.net/atlas/gallery/ware2/img-dressel/DR1.gif; http://potsherd.net/atlas/gallery/ware2/img-dressel/DR2-4.gif; http://potsherd.net/atlas/gallery/ware2/img-dressel/DR20.gif) (not to scale)

Although small numbers of Baetican (Southern Spanish) amphorae containing olive oil (usually Dressel 20) were found in the South of England during the Late Iron Age (Williams and Peacock, 1983: 5; Williams and Carreras, 1995: 232), they became more common throughout the 1st century A.D. until they reach their peak in the second half of the 2nd century A.D. (Tomber and Williams, 1986: 42; Williams and Carreras, 1995: 232; Williams and Peacock, 1983: 6). Dressel 20 was still being imported in small numbers until into Britain during the 3rd century, at which point this reduced supply began to be supplemented by North African products which are found on sites

until the late 4th or 5th century A.D. (Tomber and Williams, 1986: 42; Williams and Carreras, 1995: 233-235; Williams and Peacock, 1983: 7-9).

4.2.4 Black Burnished Ware 1

There are two main types of Black Burnished Wares; 1 and 2 (BB1 and BB2). BB1 is a coarse, gritty handmade ware with its origins in an Iron Age industry in Dorset (Peacock, 1982: 85; Swan, 1980: 15). The fact that it and BB2 were widely, although not uniformly, distributed across the province of *Britannia*, means that it has come to be recognised as one of the most common types of pottery found on sites after c. A.D. 120 (Allen and Fulford, 1996: 247; Gillam, 1973: 55; Peacock, 1982: 85). One reason for the success of these products is that they 'could withstand thermal shock better than the finer cooking wares of rival industries and [so]… were better suited to open hearth cooking' (Allen and Fulford, 1996: 266). Before the Roman Conquest the distribution of proto-BB1 (which was only found in the form of cooking pots) was restricted to the territory of the *Durotriges*; however, after A.D. 120, with its adoption by the military, this expanded to include Hadrian's Wall and its hinterland (Allen and Fulford, 1996: 225; Farrar, 1973: 87; Swan, 1980: 15). The range of forms also grew 'to include bowls and dishes which were imitations of products made on the wheel elsewhere' (Peacock, 1982: 86) (see Fig. 4.7).
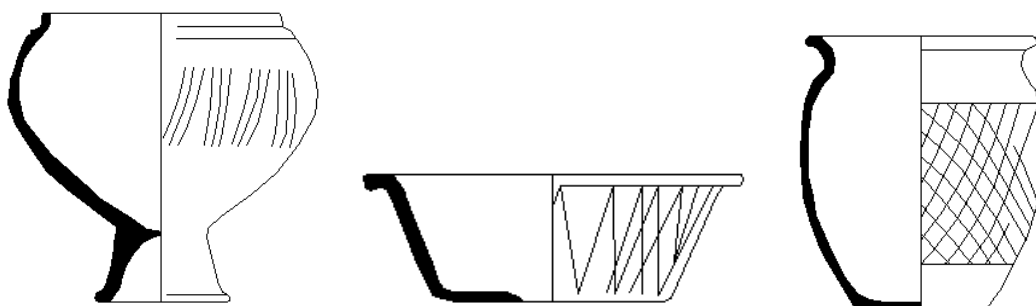
Fig. 4.7: Some BB1 forms (after**:** http://potsherd.net/atlas/gallery/ware2/img/BB1.jpg) (not to scale)
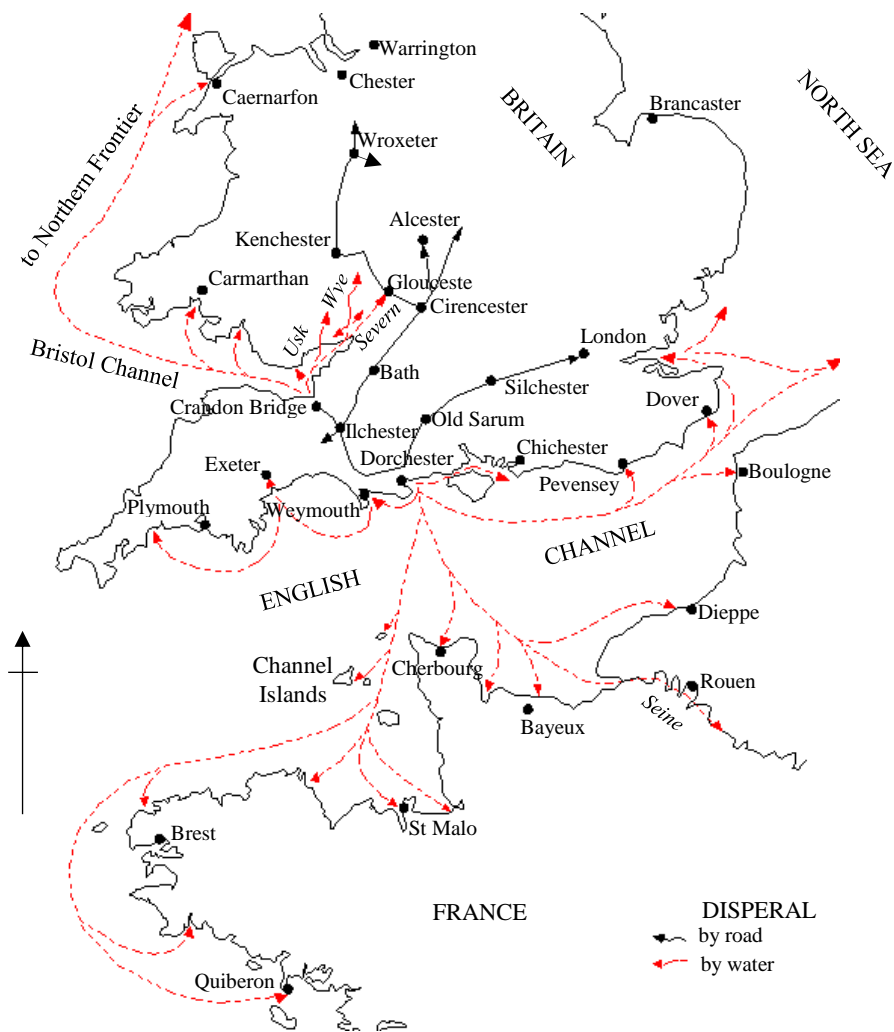
Fig. 4.8: 'Inferred modes of dispersal and dispersal routes for SEDBB 1 in southern and western Britain and the nearer parts of the European mainland' (after Allen and Fulford, 1996: 256: Fig. 13)

BB2, which was a finer, wheel-made fabric, is first found outside the region of its production (Colchester and North West Kent) when the Antonine Wall was constructed (A.D. 140) which also implies that the military played a role in its distribution and consumption (Gillam, 1973: 55-58; Peacock, 1982: 85; Swan, 1980: 15). The general consensus appears to be that BB1 was traded by road 'inward and inland' while it was moved to a certain extent via rivers but that the majority of 'trade by water [including to the North] was…outward and coastal or cross-Channel' (Allen and Fulford, 1996: 225) (see Fig. 4.8).

4.2.5 Briquetage

Briquetage is handmade pottery used in the process of salt extraction, as well its transportation (Fig. 4.9). The earliest evidence for this practice taking place on an industrial scale dates to Late Bronze Age; all of the sites which have been identified are at coastal locations and their products are found, at most, 50-60 km away (Morris, 1985: 336; Morris, 1994: 384-385). Production moved inland during the Iron Age and Roman periods, with major centres of industry established at brine springs at Droitwich (Worcestershire), and Nantwich and Middlewich (Cheshire).
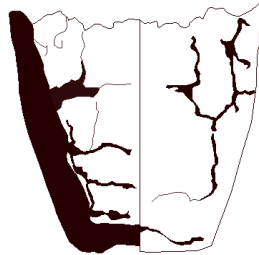
Fig. 4.9: Briquetage vessel (after Rees, 1992: 51: Fig. 37) (not to scale)

Morris has observed that, while Droitwich briquetage is found at most 75 km from source, the Cheshire product has been recovered from sites more than 100 km away (1985: 345; 369-370; 1994: 385), and this has been interpreted as evidence for two industrial phases which included [1] 'a *core distribution*' and [2] 'an *extended distribution*' (Morris, 1985: 369-370). [1] is a network characterised by 'single exchange transactions where producer and consumer are known to one another' and the goods are of 'either of low social, or purely utilitarian, value' (Morris, 1981: 69-70), which appears to imply that we should consider [2] a more 'evolved', market-based system. This might explain the absence of briquetage from Cumbria, however this particular type of industrial pottery can still help us to better understand the means by which 'things' were redistributed during the Roman period. The choice to do so was made after an observation regarding Black Burnished Ware 1 (BB1); that,

although it is produced in Dorset, which is far further away than Cheshire and Droitwich, it is far more common in Cumbria than briquetage (Fig. 4.10). This is particularly interesting given that both kinds of pottery have their origins in Iron Age traditions and, following the Roman Conquest, it seems as though both were controlled by military or civilian officials. While Evans mentioned briquetage briefly in a study concerned with 'native' settlement in North Wales and Cumbria (unpublished, a) it was not considered in great detail.
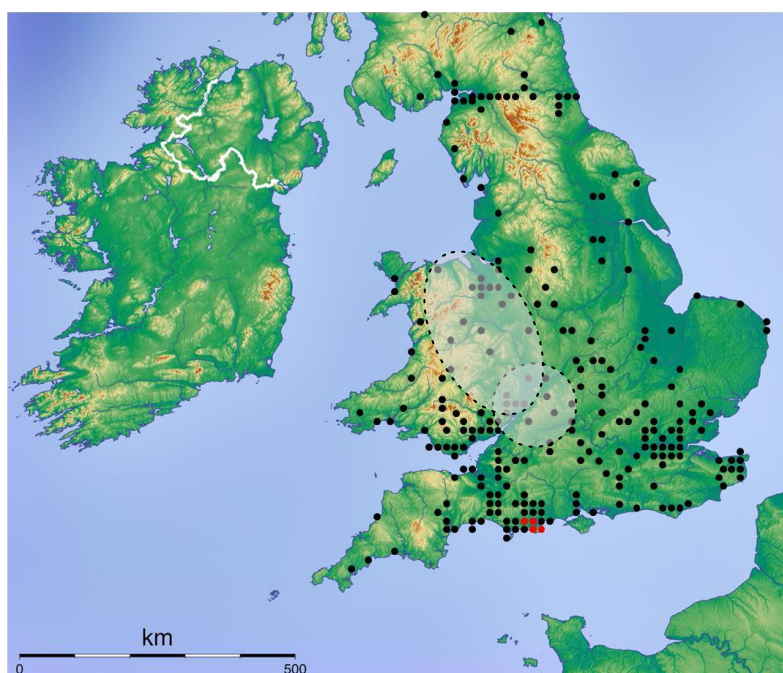
Fig. 4.10: Distribution of BB1 with approximate distribution of Droitwich and Cheshire briquetage (after Tyers, 1996a; Morris, 1985)

4.2.6 Moving Forward: Exploring the 'Value' of Pottery

(Chapters 2 and 3) highlighted a shift in research over the last two decades. Although the range of pottery available did not change much between the 1st and 5th centuries A.D., the relative success of potteries in *Britannia*, and the extent to which their products distributed, fluctuated considerably. As such it has been possible to create an incredibly detailed chronological framework and, as noted in (Chapter 2.2.3), these observations were once used solely to identify the evolutionary 'stage'

reached by a particular group; whether it engaged in 'reciprocal-', 'redistributive-', or 'market-'based exchange. Now, inspired by anthropology and material culture studies, archaeologists are increasingly concerned with exploring how pottery can provide an insight into how people in the past used objects, as a means by which to interact with one another or to express themselves, and what this might be able to tell us about the value of 'things'.

Throughout the 1st century A.D., samian ware came to be distributed 'on all types of site, from major urban centres…and Roman military/military related sites…to villas…and basic level rural sites' (Willis, 2011: 168). Archaeologists used to view this as an indication of a shift in its status; from a rare, exotic object to widely-available commodity which was part of a cultural 'kit' required for a site (and therefore its inhabitants) to be considered truly 'Roman'. An Iron Age pottery assemblage in Britain tends to be dominated by 'jars, beakers, and shallow dishes' (Cool and Baxter, 1999: 92), which is often interpreted as evidence for the communal preparation and consumption of food. During the Roman period there is, broadly speaking, a shift towards vessels which are tailored towards use in consumption by the individual; in the 2nd century, for example, it has been noted that there was a shift towards 'cup and beaker forms… at the expense of bowls' (Cool and Baxter, 1999: 81). Yet this pattern is not evident on every site across *Britannia*. The change over the last few decades is the way that this variability has been interpreted; earlier, if a 'native' settlement did not provide any evidence for the consumption of samian, then it tended to be assumed that its inhabitants were too poor to acquire it. With increasing emphasis placed on the active role of consumers, and closer attention afforded to the complexities of identity, there is evidence to suggest that this, along with a preference for 'unusual' forms, might be a result of these vessels being 'prized' possessions (Willis, 2011: 189). Another study has, by experimenting with the creation of use-wear patterns, argued that while one samian ware cup (Dragendorff 33) was used for the preparation and consumption of wine, another (Dragendorff 27) appears to have been used frequently as a mortar (Biddulph, 2008: 97-99).

This relationship to a particular process (i.e. grinding and/or mixing) is interesting. Written sources have stated, for example, that a mortarium was 'used to mix together a range of ingredients, including herbs and spices, meat, oil, fish sauce and wine, in order to prepare dishes such as rissoles, sauces and *moretum* (a kind of cheesebread) (Cramp et al. 2011: 1341). However, as appears to have been the case with Dragendorff 27, this was not necessarily always the case. A number of observations including the results of residue analyses (Cramp and Evershed, 2012: 111), wear patterns, sooting, and the relatively high frequency of repair, have been interpreted as evidence for mortaria fulfilling multiple roles (i.e. to prepare and cook ingredients). It has been suggested, in fact, that this might explain their popularity in Britain (Cool, 2004: 30-31). The same might be said about the presence of samian ware on 'native' settlements. It has been argued, for example, that a growth in the production of purposemade forms (e.g. mortaria) during the late 2nd century A.D. led to Dragendorff 27 losing its usefulness (i.e. as a mortar) and, ultimately, this resulted in the 'terminal decline' of this particular product (Biddulph, 2008: 99). We should not assume, as earlier studies did, that the recovery of mortaria from 'native' settlements is evidence for the 'Romanisation' of food (Cool and Baxter, 1999: 94; Hartley, 1973: 3). Instead we have to think critically about the potential for the context in which a 'thing' was used to influence (and therefore indicate) its value to consumers in Roman Britain. While the mixed nature of populations in a town, for example, might mean that a mortarium was more likely to have been used in a 'Roman' manner, the fact that as a proportion of pottery types present they are more prevalent on rural settlements in the North of England (Cool, 2004: 31; Cool and Baxter, 1999: 93-94; Philpott, 2006: 86; Whittacker, 1994: 180) suggests that they may have been used in a different way. They might, for example, have been imbued with a sort of 'symbolic capital' (Rush, 1997: 59) which meant that they were 'not… used in the kitchen at all' (Cool, 2004: 32).

4.2.7 Summary

The previous sections have demonstrated the potential for a more nuanced, 'thing'-centred approach to the examination of pottery. It is hoped that, by re-

examining assemblages in Cumbria within this kind of framework, we can begin to move beyond top-down interpretations. However, these studies are not without their limitations. There is a particular danger associated with the idea of 'symbolic capital'; that is, it has the potential to overshadow the fact that they are, at their core, functional 'things'. The problem in Cumbria is that we have very little pottery to study and so, as a result, even the smallest sherd can appear to be something exceptional. To apply a bottom-up framework would only serve to emphasise this, and the attention which has already been afforded to mortaria, samian ware, and amphorae. In order to address this imbalance, and to permit the discussion of pottery of a more utilitarian or industrial character (e.g. BB1 and briquetage) this thesis will occupy an interpretative 'middleground'. Furthermore, in order to avoid a reliance on pottery as a proxy for trade, this thesis will consider another material: glass.

4.3 Glass

Little vessel glass is found in Britain before the Conquest, and that which is, is imported and most commonly found in high-status burials (Price, 2005: 102). As a result the way that we understand these particular 'things' is, much like samian ware (*terra sigillata*), entangled with the traditional 'Romanisation' debate (Chapters 2.3.12.3.2). The situation is different for objects of personal ornamentation. A number of recent studies have, in order to emphasise the active role played by the local population in the North of England and Southern Scotland during the Roman period, begun to explore the relationship between objects of personal ornamentation made of glass and identity (see Chapter 4.4). While drawing on more recent, postcolonial theory (see Chapters 2.5.-2.5.3) their final interpretations are somewhat problematic because they demonstrate a shift in focus from top-down interpretations (which emphasise the 'invader') to those undertaken from the bottom-up (which emphasise the 'native'), as in doing so they are serving to perpetuate the long-lived divide between [a] 'native' and [b] the 'invader' (see Chapter 1). The following sections will explore and critique the way that we currently understand the production, exchange, and use of glass in Roman Britain, before demonstrating how a 'middle ground' interpretation of this particular material will help to start creating a more balanced

picture (i.e. one that takes into account both [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader') of everyday life in Cumbria.

4.3.1 Production of Vessel Glass

By A.D. 50 there were large-scale industries in Italy and Southern Gaul and, by the 2nd century A.D., the centre of production in Europe had shifted to Northern Gaul and the Rhineland (Harden, 1933: 421). There is evidence for glass being worked in Britain but they were not producing it 'from scratch'; instead they relied on cullet (broken glass) or ready-made ingots (Cool et al. 1999: 149). This assertion is supported by recent analysis of the chemical composition of Roman glass (both naturally-coloured and colourless), which suggests that after production at centralised locations (e.g. in Italy, Gaul, and the Rhineland), the raw product was distributed to workshops throughout the North Western Empire (Foster and Jackson, 2009: 195; Paynter, 2006: 1047). Small-scale glassworking might have taken place at a range of sites across Britain however, given that production detritus is easily recycled and the tools used can be adapted for different industries means that, without structural evidence, this practice can be difficult to identify archaeologically (Price, 1978: 70). One site which produces it is at Coppergate, York (North Yorkshire) where hearths, and trails and blobs of glass have been found (Cool et al. 1999; Jackson et al. 2003; Paynter, 2006: 1038). It is important to be aware that the production of glass was 'a complex process, particularly in terms of the acquisition of raw material and manipulation of [the] furnace environment' (Duckworth, 2012: 322) and, as such, that it required a degree of specialist knowledge. Some of the North African legionaries based at Coppergate may well have possessed this (Cool et al. 1999: 158) as, along with the Eastern Mediterranean and Palestine, one of the provinces which provides evidence for largescale glass production is Egypt (Foster and Jackson, 2009: 195).

Interestingly, sites which provide evidence for glassworking are found at London, *Verulamium* (Hertfordshire), Silchester (Hampshire), Worcester (Worcestershire) (Cool et al. 1999: 151-152), Wilderspool (Cheshire), Caistor-byNorwich (Norfolk) (Harden, 1933: 421), Mancetter (Warwickshire), and Colchester (Essex) (Price, 1978: 70), which

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are all locations where we find major potteries. Correspondingly, it has been observed that many of the forms (see Fig. 4.11) appear to have drawn 'inspiration from contemporary ceramic services' (Mollo and Framarin, 2003: 17) and so, as such, we might expect any changes in fashion to mirror those found in pottery assemblages. For example, although the amount of glass found on sites in Britain increased throughout the 4th century A.D. (Cool and Baxter, 1999: 87), the 'range of vessel types and [their] quality' gradually declined (Foster and Jackson, 2009: 189). In a similar manner to pottery there appears to have been a shift away from 'closed forms' and towards 'open forms', and it has been suggested that this might be indicative of a return to 'a cooking, eating, and dining regime that had more in common with the late pre-Roman Iron Age norms than the Early Roman ones' (Cool and Baxter, 1999: 92). It has been suggested that, with the development of glass blowing techniques, vessels made of glass 'became as cheap as, if not cheaper than, their pottery equivalents' (Harden, 1933: 421-422). Even if this was not the case it is interesting to note that, although it tends to be found in smaller quantities than pottery, archaeologists expect to find relatively large assemblages of glass at forts (Cool and Baxter, 2002: 371; Price, 2005: 102) and, much like pottery, these have tended to be discussed in economic terms (i.e. from the top-down).

a   b   c
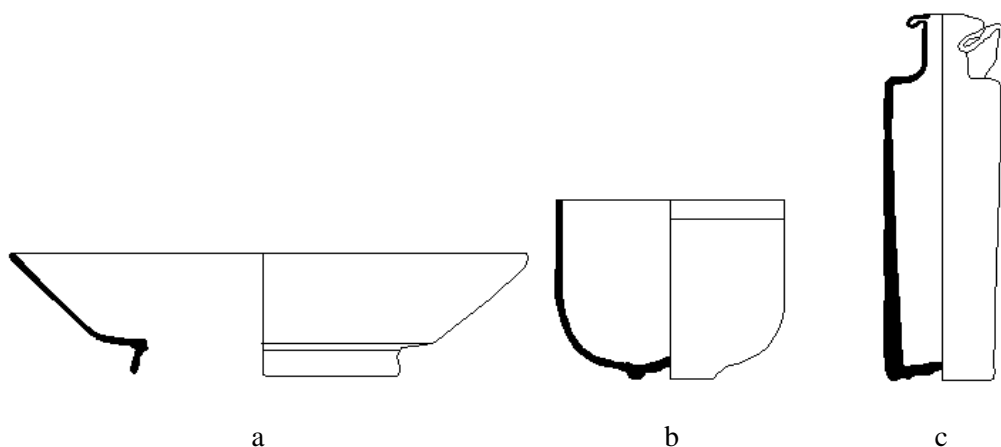
Fig. 4.11: Examples of Roman glass vessels found in the North of England (a: bowl with ring base (found: Cumbria); b: cylindrical cup with vertical ground rim (found: Cumbria); c: square bottle: (found: Northumberland) (after Price and Cottam, 1998: 54: Fig. 12; 115: Fig. 46; 196: Fig. 89c) (not to scale)

4.3.2 Objects of Personal Ornamentation

In contrast, it has been observed that 'low quality glass, and particularly bangles' are more common at farmsteads and *vici* in the North of England (Higham, 1986: 225). Perhaps as a result there is a long tradition of examining 'native' artefacts in the region. Many of these studies appear to have been undertaken with the understanding that, while changes undoubtedly occurred in Britain after the Conquest, a number of regions were characterised instead by 'stability and habit' (Gardner, 2012: 160). Here, the inhabitants of 'native'-type settlements continued to use objects which were either distinctly 'Iron Age' or were otherwise of a hybridised 'Romano-British' type; these included, for example, horse gear, weaving combs, fibulae and other objects of personal ornamentation, along with 'primitive tools, querns, pottery and...weapons' (Curle, 1913: 98; see Fig. 4.12).

Material Assemblage	Artefacts
Native	Pottery; swords, chapes and hilt guards; copper alloy spiral finger rings; stone lamps; querns; lithomorge bead; jet/shale, antler, bone and horn artefacts
Romano-British	Bangles; beads; bridle bits; brooches; fasteners; mounts and terrets

Fig. 4.12: 'Native' and 'Romano-British' artefact assemblages in the Central Scottish Borders (after Wilson, 2010: 11)

This does not mean that 'culture' in the North was static; a recent study has suggested that, while some features were relatively long-lived, others seem to have changed depending on whether they were earlier (1st and 2nd century A.D.) or later (3rd and 4th century A.D.) in date (see Fig. 4.13). In archaeological assemblages dated to the 4th century A.D., for example, several new types of personal ornamentation (e.g.

bone bracelets and black finger rings) were either developed or became more popular (Cool, 2000: 53). While earlier approaches to the issue of Romanisation, which emphasised external stimuli as the cause of change prior to and following the Conquest, this study argued that chronological change might instead be indicative of ''natural' cycles of development, dominance and renewal' (Cool, 2000: 54). A number of archaeologists have suggested that the prevalence of such objects in the North is indicative of 'a particular emphasis on personal display in the region' (Ross, 2011: 89), perhaps articulating gender or ethnicity (see Cool, 2010), or otherwise that they had 'medicinal, protective or luck-bearing' properties (Swift, 2003: 345). The distribution of pennanular brooches, glass bangles, and dragonesque brooches, for example, has been interpreted as an indication that the 'native' population was particularly interested in 'Celtic'-style objects (Cool, 2000: 50; Webb, 2011: 110), with one author arguing that, through the blending of 'native' and 'Roman' cultural traditions, they were able to form 'a unique Northern Romano-British cultural assemblage' (Webb, 2011: 1). This study also suggested that this indicated the continuation of a distinct, 'native' regional identity within a population which was now fully-integrated into the Roman Empire; that wearing a brooch, for example, might reflect 'part of a common Roman identity, but the *type* of brooch would have varied based upon the provincial origin of the wearer' (Webb, 2011: 137). However, as will be discussed in (Chapter 4.4), this interpretation is perhaps overly-simplistic.

Early Period	Throughout	Late Period
Headstud brooch Trumpet brooch Dragonesque brooch Zoomorphic brooch Glass bangles	Blue, green and turquoise beads Pennanular brooches Copper alloy and iron rings Earrings Intaglios 'Other' objects	Knee brooches Crossbow brooches Hairpins Jet/shale and copper alloy bracelets

Fig. 4.13: Chronological variation of Northern 'Romano-British' cultural assemblage (after Webb, 2011: 138)

Glass beads and bangles are usually studied by different specialists, which is perhaps surprising given that they share many technological and decorative elements. As noted above (Fig. 4.12), both forms have been described as 'Romano-British'. There are two reasons that glass bangles have been afforded this label; firstly they are only produced after the Conquest (Price, 1988: 353; Ross, 2011: 89; Wilson, 2010: 20) and, secondly, there are visible similarities between the 'twisted cable decoration' on Type 2 bangles and Iron Age 'cable beads' (Hoffman, 2003: 42) (see Fig. 4.14). Together these observations have resulted in the assumption that they were a 'Roman-inspired development of an existing Late Iron Age skill' (Price, 1988: 353). Unlike bangles:

'…there is not a pre-existing tradition for the use of other types of beads that was subsequently replaced by glass beads, which was then replaced by Roman beads. Instead, the available evidence indicates the development of the use of glass beads emerges independently of a previous tradition'.

(Foulds, 2014: 409)
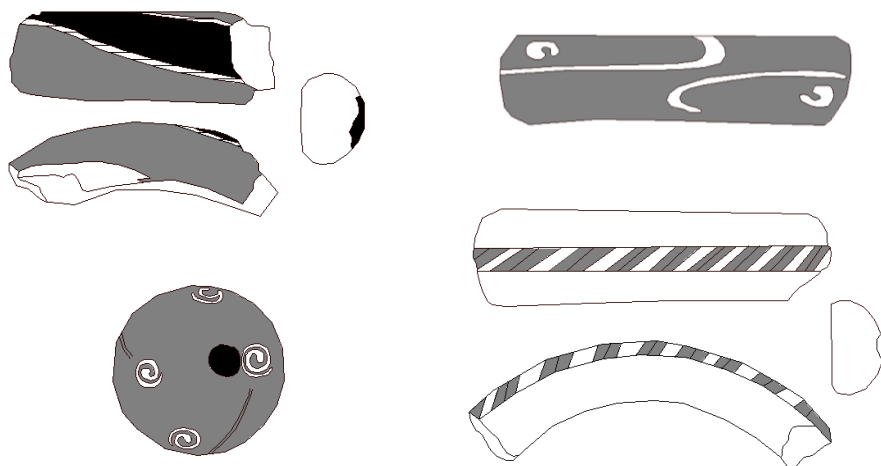
Fig. 4.14: Examples of glass bead and bangles from Northern Britain (after Stevenson, 1976: 47: Fig. 1) (not to scale)

Archaeologists have long been aware of Iron Age glassworking at Hengistbury Head (Dorset) and Meare (Somerset) (Cunliffe, 2005: 504; Henderson, 1991: 182; Fitzpatrick, 2001: 88), while recent excavation at Culduthel Farm (Inverness-shire) has provided concrete evidence for this industry beyond the 'core' of the South of England (Foulds, 2014: 109). It has been stated that the introduction of new colours and styles around the time of the Conquest meant that, by the end of the 2nd century A.D., many Iron Age 'types' had disappeared (Webb, 2011: 27). However, as was the case with bangles, there is evidence for continuity in 'Iron Age' or 'Celtic' design elements on beads found in North East Scotland (Bertini et al. 2011: 16). One study has suggested that the flooding of the market with cheap, vessel glass may well explain 'the advent of Romano-British bangle creation' (Ross, 2011: 89), but this assessment is perhaps overly-simplistic; after all, bangles were also produced in many other materials including bone, antler, ivory, copper alloy, jet, shale, and cannel coal (Allason-Jones 1991: 1; Austen 1991: 196; MacGregor 1985: 112-113; Stevenson 1976:, 50). One study of beads observed a discrepancy between the glass which was used to make the body of beads during the Iron Age, which was often of a poor quality, and its decoration which tended to be of a stronger colour, of a finer quality, and was often produced from 'exotic raw materials' (Newton, 1971: 12). Interestingly, the results of more recent scientific analysis has suggested that the increasing availability of vessel glass might also have shaped the production of beads during the Roman period (Bertini et al. 2011: 3). As such, although archaeologists in the early 20th century argued that both of these 'things' were best characterised as 'native' because they were not influenced by Roman styles (Curle, 1913: 105), it is clear that it is important to think critically about how we characterise these 'things'.

Yet there is still a lack of consensus about who produced glass bangles and beads. While Kilbride-Jones, for example, suggested that glass bangles were produced by 'natives' at the hillfort at Traprain Law (East Lothian) (1938: 394) a more recent study has argued that the Roman military controlled their production and distribution (Hoffman, 2003: 42). The fact that, after the Conquest, there is so little evidence for their production of beads and bangles has only served to complicate the issue. Whether a product of 'native' or 'invader' (or some combination of the two), there is

a fairly long history of interpreting these 'things' as indicators of peaceful contact between these two groups (Docherty, 1973: 6; Stevenson, 1976: 45; Price, 1988: 339); indeed, if they were made by specialised 'mobile craftsmen' it may well have been that these individuals served as cultural 'middle-men' (Ingemark, 2000: 175).

4.3.3 Summary

The examples outlined provide more evidence to support the value of 'thing'-centred interpretations. In particular, it demonstrates the benefits of considering the issue of form and function. Cool and Baxter have noted that the 'native' population seem to have selected a relatively narrow range of glass vessels (Cool and Baxter, 1999: 73). Following this, it has been suggested that a preference for bottles within an otherwise conservative artefact assemblage, for example, might suggest that they were being selected 'for their contents rather than the container' (Wilson, 2010: 11); 'wine, olive oil and suchlike' if the necks were narrow, and 'honey and other foodstuffs' if they were wide (Ingemark, 2007: 80). If we were to only study vessel glass then we might assume that this is evidence for a move towards consumptive practices which are more typically-'Roman'. However, it is important to be aware that 'they were used as a part of a suite of vessels made in a variety of materials, including pottery, metal, wood and probably horn' (Cool and Baxter, 1999: 91). Moreover, evidence of particularly heavy use-wear patterns on the aforementioned bottle glass might suggest that they had 'a more prosaic afterlife' as everyday containers once their contents had been consumed (Ingemark, 2007: 80) which, in turn, may imply that these commodities played a limited role in the day-to-day lives of this particular population (Cool and Baxter, 1999: 83-84).

4.4 Moving Forward: How to Interpret the Distribution of 'Things'

One reason for the ongoing cycle between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader' in Roman Cumbria (see Chapter 1) is a misunderstanding of what the distribution of 'things' can tell us about identity. The reality is that the boundaries between, and indeed within 'cultures', are rarely (if ever) distinct. In the late 1960s Clarke demonstrated 'the

confusion endemic in the simultaneous use of a single taxonomic indicator 'Bantu' for several different sets of elements' arguing, ultimately, that the same problems exist in archaeological practice (1968: 367) (Fig. 4.15).
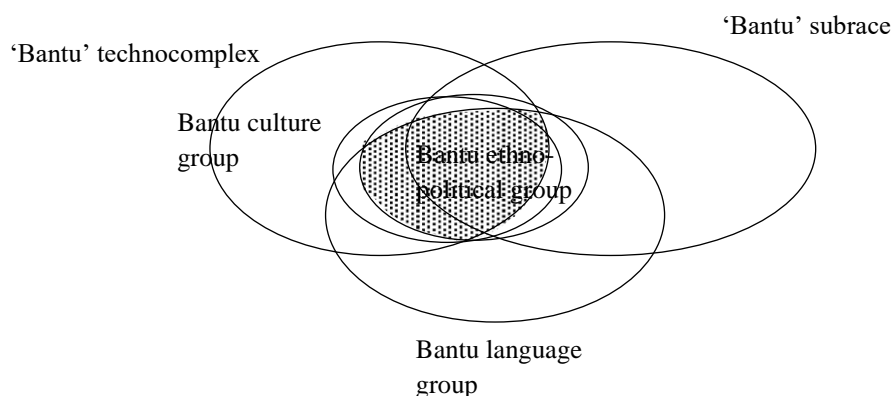
Fig. 4.15: Multiple spheres of 'Bantu' identity (after Clarke, 1968: 367: Fig. 62)

This can be seen in the fact that, although the discipline has moved beyond culture history, archaeologists are still reliant on artefactual evidence which is classified and described on the basis of an epistemology which, in essence, is culture-historical (Jones, 2007: 45); that is, that 'the typological method has become a sort of common sense in the…discipline' (Petersson, 2011: 172). An excellent example is the aforementioned dragonesque brooch (Fig. 4.16). While its decorative elements are generally described as 'Celtic' however, which suggests that the roots of this particular brooch are in the Iron Age, 'its heart lies in the early Roman period, as part of a wider explosion of metalwork…[as] it flourished and developed in the later 1st and 2nd centuries' (Hunter, 2010: 102). The dragonesque brooch, therefore, appears to provide an excellent opportunity to explore the fluid and often-complex nature of identity in Roman Britain.
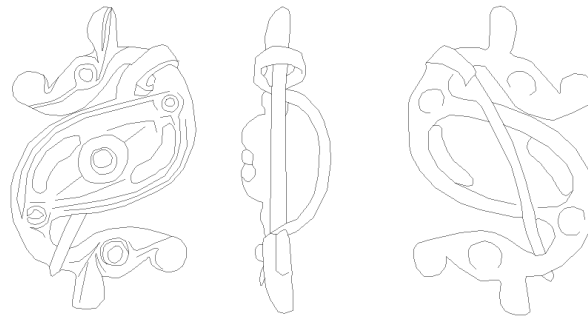
Fig. 4.16: Dragonesque brooch (after McIntosh, 2014: 161)

In a case study concerned with the dragonesque brooch, Jundi and Hill asked 'can we say that the choice of wearing an object drawn from a local and non-Classical artistic repertoire was more than purely ornamental but worn to actively express a non-Roman identity?' (1998: 133). Although this was only a suggestion, it seems that in at least one case it has been viewed as an interpretation, and has subsequently been used as evidence to explain how (and why) this particular 'thing' was viewed differently at forts/*vici* and farmsteads/settlements; that, following the Conquest, they were adopted at the former because their 'Celtic'-ness appealed to auxiliaries from the Continent and, at the latter, because the inhabitants wanted a symbol which would subtly articulate their 'anti-Roman sentiment and…allegiance to Iron Age traditions' (Ross, 2011: 74; 79). The problem with this assertion is, despite the latter observation, that only one example was recovered from a farmstead/settlement (Milking Gap) and, rather than only 'a number of dragonesque brooches…[being] found in military contexts', in fact all of the remaining sites noted in Cumbria, Northumberland, and Co. Durham are forts/*vici* (Ross, 2011: Appendix C: 193-194). Moreover, by studying the number of brooches found at all of the sites listed for these regions (Ross, 2011: Appendix C: 193-194), it is also possible to demonstrate that this type of brooch was in fact distributed throughout the North of England and, if anything, more common East of the Pennines (contra. Ross, 2009: 219; Ross, 2011: 73). The reality is that while the basic form of a particular 'thing', for example the dragonesque brooch, might appear fixed for decades (or indeed centuries), the reality is that its meaning has the potential to change depending on the social, cultural, political and

geographical context within which it was acquired, used, and ultimately disposed of (Jones, 1997: 126). By studying excavation reports, stray finds, and brooches recorded through the Portable Antiquity Scheme (PAS), it has been possible to demonstrate that this brooch type is in fact most often found on military sites (Hunter, 2008: 141; Hunter, 2010: 101; McIntosh, 2011: 171) and, moreover, that their distribution is focused on the North and East with 'a very marked concentration in Yorkshire' (Hunter, 2010: 95) (see Fig. 4.17). There are some differences between military and non-military sites, for example enamelled dragonesque brooches are more common at former; however, it has been suggested that this might have less to do with individuals favouring a particular style and more about 'subtle patterns of preference' (Hunter, 2010: 101).
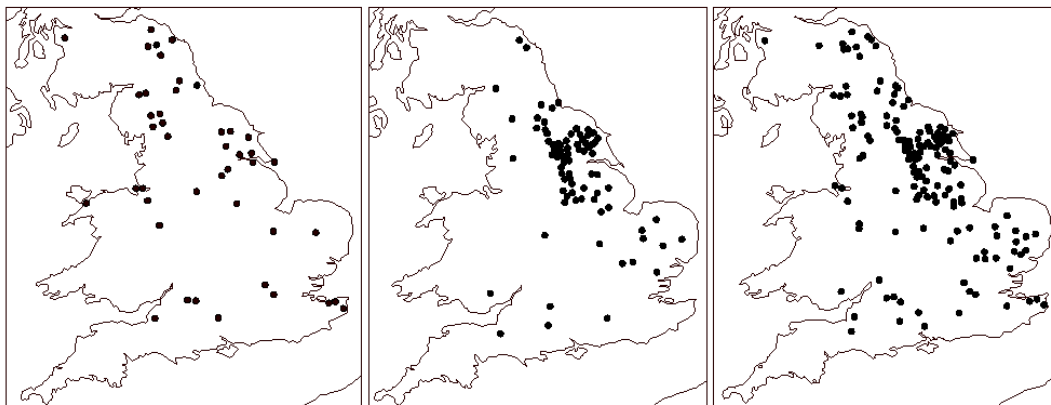
Fig. 4.17: [A] Distribution of dragonesque brooches as known 1968; [B] Distribution of PAS data, 2008; [C] Overall distribution in 2008 (after Hunter, 2010: 95)

Although PAS data has played an important role in transforming our understanding of particular periods and find types in England and Wales (see Brindle, 2014a; Worrell et al. 2010) it is not without its limitations. A particular weakness is the fact that 'the relationship between surface scatters of metal finds and stratified archaeological deposits is still poorly understood' (Brindle, 2014a: 129) which, when it comes to our understanding of identity, is problematic because, without 'detailed contextual analysis of material patterning', it is far more difficult to discuss the way that it might be expressed or otherwise distorted (Gardner, 1999: 404). Nonetheless

the information pertaining to dragonesque brooches demonstrates the importance of being critically aware throughout the data collection and interpretation. The previous section demonstrated how, if we are not, it is all too easy to stray dangerously close to a culture-historical discussion; that is, one which believes 'that the past was populated by distinct bounded entities, characterised by anthropology, language and culture' the reality is that the distribution of any artefact type is made up of 'an enormous variety of cross-cutting patterns, produced by different factors' (Lucy, 2005: 87-88; 93) (Fig. 4.18).
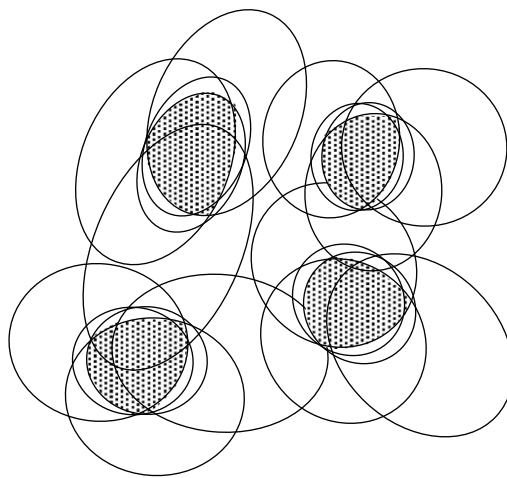
Fig. 4.18: Model 'expressing the relationship between the distributional boundaries of the sets of cultural artefact types (enclosed areas) and (shaded) the boundaries of four cultures within a culture group' (after Lucy, 2005: 94: Fig. 5.3)

4.5 Summary

This chapter has outlined the 'things' selected for examination in this thesis. It has reflected on how they have been studied in the past highlighting how, with regards to Roman Cumbria, their distribution has often been interpreted as an indication of either [a] distinct socio-cultural groups (i.e. in narratives concerned with the 'native') or [b] trade networks (i.e. in narratives concerned with the 'invader'). By considering the advantages and disadvantages of these methods, it has been possible to demonstrate the benefits of occupying an interpretative 'middle-ground', as it can

be argued that this will help us to bridge the long-lived divide between [a] and [b]. The model illustrated in (Fig. 4.18) demonstrates the potential complexity of artefact distribution. This chapter has argued that, by thinking critically about what shapes the choices made by individuals, we can begin to achieve a more balanced understanding of everyday life in Roman Cumbria, and the next chapter will outline the methodological framework which will be used to explore these issues in more detail.

Chapter 5 Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The attention afforded to the military means that archaeologists tend to have emphasised the role it played in the acquisition, and subsequent redistribution, of new 'Roman-style goods in Cumbria. Correspondingly, these studies have implied that their presence:absence at 'native' settlements is directly related to its economic status (i.e. high:low). However, it has been suggested that, by focusing solely on the presence:absence of 'things' instead of considering how they were used and therefore valued, archaeologists may have overemphasised the urban:rural divide (Fulford, 2001: 215; Rubertone and Thorbahn, 1985: 231). A number of recent synthetic studies have demonstrated the complexity of rural life beyond the military 'core'; however, as discussed in (Chapter 4.4), by focusing so closely on the presence of objects of personal ornamentation and categorising them as 'native', 'Roman', or 'Romano-British' they have served to create an additional rift between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. This chapter will propose an alternative methodology influenced by the idea that the study of artefacts can help to produce a site profile far more sophisticated than the overly-simplistic labels 'town' and 'villa', and that this will ultimately help us to test 'the entrenched dichotomy of 'Roman' and 'native'' (Cooper, 2007: 39).

To enable the creation of an appropriate methodology, a decision has been made to take a synthetic approach which includes the examination of artefact assemblages from different site 'types'. A similar method has been used in Shropshire/the Welsh Marches; by studying both 'urban' and 'rural' sites it argued that archaeologists have overemphasised the role that large towns played in Roman Britain, and that forts, *vici*, small towns, and religious sites were equally likely to have served as social, economic, and ritual foci for inhabitants of the countryside (Taylor, 2013: 413). Moreover, in order to occupy an interpretative 'middle ground', this thesis will focus on the examination of farmsteads/settlements but will study comparative data from *vici* in order to explore the nature of the relationship between them. This process will also allow us to begin thinking critically about the different constituent

communities in Roman Cumbria. This thesis has also highlighted the importance of taking a 'nested' approach to analysis (see Chapter 1.3.2), which stresses the importance of considering local patterns (i.e. in Cumbria) within their wider (regional and national) context.

The results of analysis in Cumbria will, therefore, be considered against a background of observations made in the wider region (i.e. North East England and Southern Scotland); primary data has been collected from eleven farmsteads/settlements in the Pennines/Northumberland, and this is supplemented by secondary data acquired from existing regional syntheses. In recent years, a number of publications have focused explicitly on the 'native' in the North of England and Southern Scotland from the bottom-up; however, in attempting to demonstrate the distinctiveness of this particular population, they have tended to those in Southern Britain to a homogeneous, 'Romanised' whole (Chapter 1.3). To address this imbalance, this thesis will also include an analysis of primary data from six sites in North East Wales/Cheshire, and six in Droitwich. These regions were selected because they straddle 1) the North:South divide and 2) the two separate, yet overlapping, systems of exchange within which briquetage seems to have circulated (for discussion see Chapter 4.2.5). This will allow us to discuss the region within the wider context of Roman Britain and, ultimately, to test the interpretative model developed in (Chapter 3.3: see Fig. 3.3).

5.2 Quantitative v Qualitative Approaches

During the earliest stage of the research process, a decision was made to utilise both qualitative and quantitative techniques. A quantitative approach is the norm in the analysis of pottery; to use this method, information is collected about a particular form or fabric 'within groups by weight and EVE (Estimated Vessel Equivalents)... [as these are] good measures of the comparative frequency of pottery types' (Willis, 2011: 172). A recent quantitative study has examined the extent to which the inhabitants of rural settlements in upland North Wales and Cumbria engaged with newly-available 'Roman' forms and fabrics (Evans, unpublished, a) and, along with

another paper which discussed urbanism from the perspective of the rural population (see Taylor, 2013), it has helped to stimulate a re-engagement with these often-overlooked communities. Unfortunately problems can emerge when we attempt to study multiple site types. Once the initial process of data collection began, for example, it quickly became apparent that the divide between 'native' sites (which at best produce a handful of fragmentary artefacts and, at worst, no artefacts at all) and 'Roman' sites (which are frequently characterised by comparatively large material assemblages) would only be emphasised by the use of quantitative methods archaeologists have moved beyond the assumption that elites always played a central role in the adoption and/or adaptation of new 'things', but the problem is that the techniques they used are not always appropriate for use in regions such as Cumbria which are considered materially-'poor'. A study by Pitts, for example, used correspondence analysis (CA) to demonstrate that although the incorporation of these new imports into an Iron Age tradition of large-scale consumption clearly permitted a handful of individuals to accumulate 'greater prestige', in fact the whole community was empowered by the practice of depositing drinking vessels and tablewares into pits, wells and shafts (2005: 157-158). Unfortunately the author acknowledges that it was only possible to use this 'multivariate statistical technique' in this instance because the sites selected (which are incidentally in Essex and Hertfordshire i.e. South East England) had assemblages which included 'significant quantities' of local and imported pottery (Pitts, 2005: 144-145), which highlights the difficulty of using this or a similar quantitative technique in Cumbria. The alternative, therefore, is a qualitative approach which allows us to gather information by recording 'the number and range of types [of pottery] represented in an assemblage or group as well as the presence or absence of types' (Willis, 1993: 48).

Pottery and glass are two of the most common materials found on sites in Roman Britain. Although earlier narratives associated them with a characteristically 'Roman' way of life, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that the reality was not so clear-cut. Instead, the previous chapter has demonstrated the importance of considering the specific forms of pottery found, rather than solely on the perceived socio-cultural connotations of the fabric. While the arrival or development of new

fabrics at first appears to be significant change, especially in Cumbria which does not produce evidence for pottery production and consumption during the Iron Age, this thesis has argued that this has been accentuated by the long-lived dominance of economic models. These argued that the adoption of samian ware (*terra sigillata*) or mortaria, for example, indicated that a particular group was either a) of a higher social status or b) that they aspired to become more 'Roman'. Increasingly, socio-cultural models are emphasising the inherent fluidity of 'things'; instead of assuming that a particular form of pottery (e.g. a cup) has a fixed use, for example only ever being used for the consumption of liquids, they argue that function has the potential to change over time (Biddulph, 2008). After all, while its production demonstrates 'the intention of the manufacturer to make a cup…understanding the intended use of that cup…is more speculative and open to theorisation' (Russell, L. 2004: 64). By extension, we might argue that this can also vary between different scales of socio-cultural groups (i.e. individuals, families, settlements, etc.).

A basic database was created which included all of the pottery and glass from each site. When the information was available the number of sherds/fragments or number of vessels was recorded but, principally, this process was concerned with noting the presence:absence of pottery and glass, and in particular what forms they took. There are some limitations to this methodology. With regards to pottery, for example, it has been highlighted that that some reports only provide a sample of the finds recovered from an excavated site, and so 'absence' is not a true indication of absence but merely 'that the type has not yet been recorded from the site' (Willis, 1993: 49). A major problem with archaeological practice since the introduction of PPG16 is that it has tended to focus on the identification and collation of site assemblages rather than their synthesis; as a result, in many parts of Britain, there is a significant resource which remains untapped (Cool and Baxter, 1999: 72). A qualitative approach is particularly valuable because it 'can serve to supplement information which has been recorded quantitatively' (Willis, 1993: 48) and so, correspondingly, the analytical process will also take into account the results of existing studies which have taken place across the North of England and Southern Scotland.

5.3 Creation of the Catalogue: Sites

An awareness of the limitations of the archaeological record in Cumbria meant that, at first, the process of data collection was fairly unstructured. A database with sites designated 'Roman' was provided by the Historic Environment Record (HER), and all of those which recorded the events 'part excavation', 'excavation', or 'watching brief' (excluding the *civitas* at Carlisle which has a long history of research and will, for the purpose of this thesis, serve as a context for discussion) were collated in an Excel spreadsheet. The categories used in the process of analysis (Chapter 6) are based on the site 'types' recorded in the HER. This thesis is primarily concerned with 'native' occupation sites which, in the HER, are described as either 'settlement' or 'farmstead'; these have been afforded the basic designation of 'farmstead/settlement'. To facilitate an exploration of interaction between 'native' and 'invader', this thesis will also study artefact assemblages at *vici* because these sites may have served as a physical and conceptual 'middle ground' between different spheres of exchange (see Chapter 3.3). The designation 'fort/*vicus*' is used because while some records are exclusively concerned with a *vicus*, for example at Old Carlisle (Cumbria HER no: 664), there are others, for example *Maia* (Bowness), where the distinction between fort and *vicus* is not as well-defined (Cumbria HER nos.: 166 and 167). The 'enclosure' category is even more complicated as some sites within it might, in fact, have been farmsteads/settlements. The site at Wolsty Hall, for example, is composed of 'a prehistoric enclosure containing a hut circle, a R-B enclosure, and a R-B farmstead and associated irregular aggregate field system' (Cumbria HER no: 350), but is described as an 'enclosure'; this is the designation used in this thesis. There are some instances in which categories were 'streamlined'. Yanwath Wood, for example, is described as both 'agricultural evidence' (specifically an aggregate field system) and 'settlement' (Cumbria HER no: 2899); however, given that the only features excavated were associated with the former (i.e. earthwork enclosures) it was decided that it should be designated an 'enclosure'. Finally, the process of data collection

recorded instances of excavated Roman evidence at 'sites' with ambiguous function, some of which suggests industrial activity, as well as at a number of 'hillforts'.

At this juncture, it is important to state that these should not be viewed as definitive categories; they are used for the purpose of this thesis, to facilitate the exploration of specific issues and, as such, may differ from those cited in existing publications and any studies which take place in the future. Site 'types' are not absolute. In fact, it is interesting to note that one study concerned with Cumbria has argued that 'native' settlements in Cumbria are in fact comparable because they cannot be attributed to different 'types' (Higham and Jones, 1983: 62); that, while certain features might be shared (e.g. a roundhouse), whether or not the site is enclosed, and what any buildings are constructed from, has the potential to vary considerably depending on its physical situation, date, group affiliation, etc. (or indeed a combination of these, and other, factors) (see Figs. 5.1 and 5.2).

50
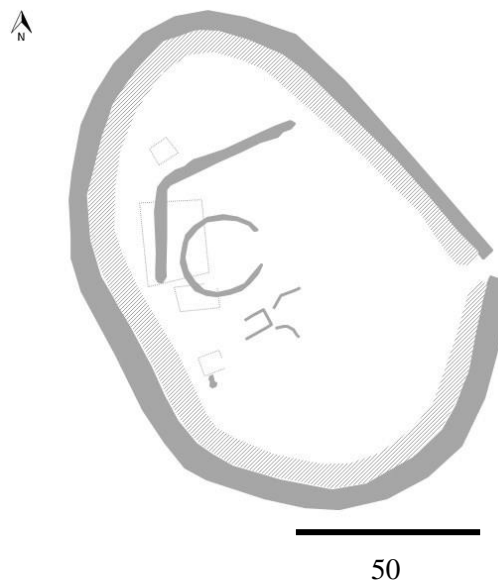
Fig. 5.1: Crosshill, Penrith (Penrith Farm), all phases (after Higham and Jones, 1983: 48)
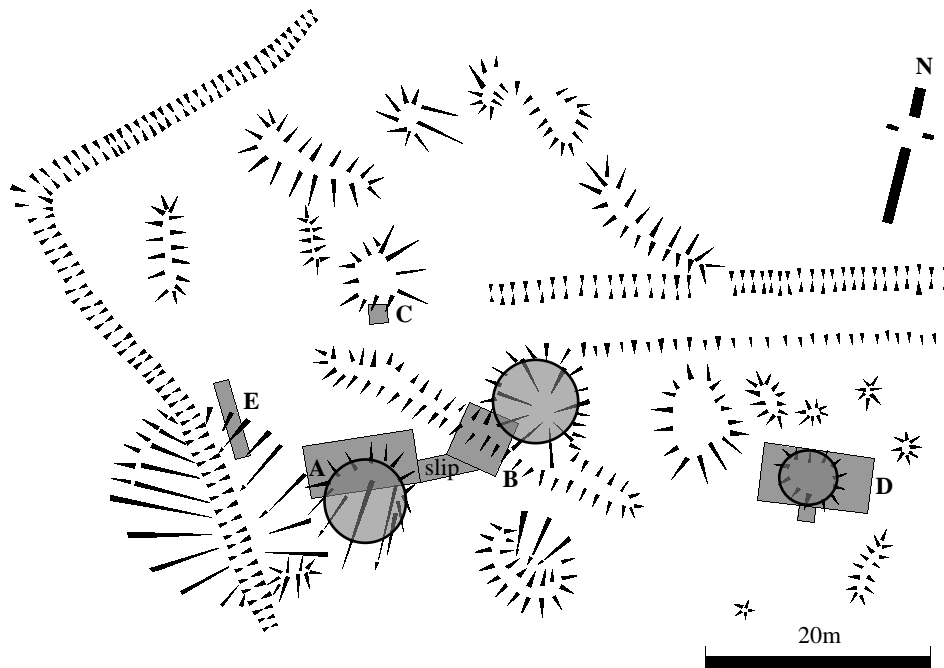
Fig. 5.2: Baldhowend (topographic survey: structures circled) (after Hoaen and Loney, 2013: 32: Fig. 2)

Earlier models presumed that there was always a progression from simple/'native' to complex/'Roman' and, correspondingly, the continuing use of roundhouses in Cumbria was interpreted as evidence that they were socially-'backwards'. There was long-lived perception that 'in Roman forts the Iron Age populace could see how stone could be put to use as a building material' (Johnson, 1980: 54). In Cumbria, partial Romanisation at the settlements at Millrigg, Kentmere, Threlkeld and Ewe Close was initially suggested because the walls were constructed in a manner which imitated 'rubble-cored Roman work' which was faced with stone (Collingwood, 1924: 250-251). However, when later observing the same method at the pre-Roman phase of Urswick Stone Walls, Collingwood conceded that this might merely have been the most logical way of dealing with those materials available for the purpose of construction (1933: 202-204). Up until the 2000s, this assumption continued in many cases, with Pope (2003) indicating a shift to construction in stone during the early centuries A.D. It may be that the view of a gradual shift from construction in wood to stone might be a consequence of archaeologists focusing on lowland settlements from the Pennines, Northumberland and in the North East. A consideration of smaller-scale, individual choices might be more appropriate. At

Gowanburn River Camp, for example, Jobey and Jobey highlighted that construction in stone might be due to a shortage in suitable timber rather than any change in architectural influence, yet similar patterns are not as apparent in regards to roundhouses (1988: 24), perhaps suggesting different attitudes to households and settlements. Indeed Anderson critiqued Pope (2003) arguing that the patterns observed in the thesis might have been 'a false division based on research strategies, given the number of upland stone roundhouse settlements [in the North East] excavated with Roman Iron Age phases and the number of lowland farmsteads excavated which produce little material culture of any sort' (2012: 275). However, while rectangular structures were found across much of Britain by the mid-2nd century A.D., it is clear that this was not necessarily the case in upland regions and the West (McCarthy, 2013: 50-57); in Cumbria, Wales and Northumberland, for example, there appears to have been a 'wide-flung 'native' tradition of rural site' during the 2nd century A.D. which was characterised by settlements of broadly comparable shape (i.e. amorphous), size, and house style (i.e. round) (Higham and Jones, 1983: 62). These observations support the assertion that we need to 'reject the notion that a systematic changeover took place…as a by-product of the Conquest' (Higham, 1982: 119) and that there was an uncomplicated progression from simple/'native' to complex/'Roman' (see Chapter 2.3.1-2.3.2). The square annexe at Urswick Stone Walls (Collingwood, 1924: 250-251) and rectilinear structures at Crosshill, Wolsty Hall, Risehow, Old Brampton and Dobcross Hall, for example, have been dated to the 3rd or 4th centuries A.D. (Higham and Jones, 1983: 65) which suggests that this was most likely a consequence of a prolonged process of negotiation between 'native' and 'invader' in Cumbria. The problem is that most dating has been achieved using relative techniques, and in particular on the basis of typically-'Roman' artefacts and the presence of new architectural forms. Over the last decade, the increasing use of radiocarbon (^{14}C) dating on developer-led projects has led a number of archaeologists to highlight the need to re-evaluate these existing chronologies (Symonds and Mason, 2009: 30-31; Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 57).The use of this particular technique at Baldhowend, for example, enabled the excavators to demonstrate that the absence of rectilinear structures need not indicate a lack of activity during the Roman period (Hoaen and Loney, 2013). At the moment, without a detailed chronological

framework, it would be unwise to produce a typology of farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria, as doing so would perpetuate the divide between narratives concerned with continuity (i.e. [a] 'native') and change (i.e. [b] 'invader') (see Chapter 1).

5.4 Creation of the Catalogue: Finds

To allow the examination of sites with assemblages of varying size and quality, the information which has been recorded in the final Excel spreadsheet is fairly basic (Fig. 5.3). Other information including a description of the site under examination, its date and, where available, more detail about the nature of the artefactual assemblage was noted. However, unless relevant for the purpose of discussion, it will not be included in this thesis.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, when a site report notes the amount of pottery or glass present (either the number of sherds/fragments, or vessels present), this has been recorded as it can help us to reconcile new, small-scale qualitative observations with the results of existing quantitative analyses. The use of this kind of 'nested' approach enables us to examine typically-'Roman' commodities alongside artefacts with more ambiguous socio-cultural associations, and a similar methodology has recently been used in the North East of England. In this instance the author justified the decision to study pottery assemblages as a whole, rather than separating them into forms/fabrics of 'indigenous' or 'Roman' traditions, in the following way:

'The amounts of ceramics recovered from many sites suggest that when the use of pottery became common, the habit of increased pottery use applied to both ceramic traditions. Likewise, many indigenous sites do contain some Roman pottery, most usually a few sherds of samian ware. Thus, it is posited that if pottery was being used in a new, more 'Roman' fashion, there will simply be more ceramic material of either tradition present on a site'.

(Anderson, 2012: 76)

Mortaria	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Mortaria Source	NOTE
Mortaria Date	NOTE
Amphorae	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Samian	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Samian Date	NOTE
Samian Form	NOTE
BBWares	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Other Pottery	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Beaker(s)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Bowl(s)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Cup(s)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Dish(es)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Flagon(s)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Flask/Jug(s)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Indeterminate (_/_)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Jar(s)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Lid(s)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Plate(s)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Platter(s)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Pot(s)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Urn(s)	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Glass	PRESENT:ABSENT (Y/N)
Glass Form	NOTE

Fig. 5.3: Material categories

However, although the North East and Cumbria both provide little evidence to suggest that society during the Iron Age was strictly hierarchical (Willis, 1999: 102), it is important that we do not assume that Cumbria is analogous to the North East. Some features such as the production and use of pottery, for example, suggest that there were differences East and West of the Pennines. While three complete ceramic food vessels were found in association with a Bronze Age tumulus at Shield Knowe (Cumbria) (Hodgson, 1940: 154-162), pottery appears to have gone out of use in the region during the Iron Age. 'Across Yorkshire, north-east England and southern Scotland', in contrast, a 'thin' but widespread distribution has been interpreted as evidence for 'a social awareness of pottery [during this period]...but not a habit of common/everyday use' (Willis, 1999: 83-85; 90). Early in the data collection process it was noted that farmstead/settlement at Old Brampton produced evidence for 'crude native hand-made pottery in a coarse fabric' which had little in common with typically-'Roman' wares 'but was found within a few yards of a great variety of sherds of... provincial pottery from the North, the Dales and Derbyshire', while a similar sherd was found at Jacob's Gill (Blake, 1960: 6). The problem is that we cannot hope to date this pottery without additional information pertaining to the form and/or fabric and so, in most if not all cases, they are only dateable because they are recovered alongside 'Roman' pottery (Crow, 2004: 132; Harding, 2006: 65) which likely results in their description as 'Romano-British'. It is unclear what role ceramics played in 'native' communities in Cumbria and so, in order to explore the issue further, broad comparisons will be made between observations here and those which have already been made elsewhere in the North of England (Ross, 2009; 2011; Webb, 2011), the North East (Anderson, 2012), and South Eastern Scotland (Wilson, 2010). This will serve to 'nest' the analysis, which will be further supplemented by the incorporation of a number of small-scale studies of sites (of various 'types') in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich.

5.5 Problems and Limitations

A range of issues have led to the variable 'signature' of site 'types' in Cumbria. One often noted by researchers, but which has yet to be addressed in any detail, is the

effect of the date of excavation (and by extent its publication) on the content of excavation reports. In particular, this has affected the amount of detail recorded concerning the nature of the archaeological assemblage, with far more attention afforded to 'exceptional' finds than those we might describe as 'everyday'. These imbalances are particularly evident when a synthetic approach is used. At least half of the farmstead/settlement sites studied in Cumbria were published (and therefore excavated) before the 1940s and although there are a handful of examples between the 1960s and the 1980s the reality is that, with the exception of Baldhowend and Glencoyne Park 6, the only recent excavations at farmsteads/settlements have been developer-funded (Fig. 5.4); in the case of Frenchfield Farm/Frenchfields, for example, all of the sources are unpublished client reports. It is interesting to note that the picture appears far more varied in the other regions discussed in this thesis (Fig. 5.5).

In Cumbria, far more attention has been given to military sites since the 1980s, and this is particularly apparent from the late 1990s onwards (Fig. 5.6). Moreover (Fig. 5.7) illustrates the heavy bias towards excavation in lowland areas in Cumbria, with a particular concentration around contemporary nodes of habitation and an apparent avoidance of the upland regions, especially within the area of the Lake District National Park. All of these patterns suggest that, following an initial interest in the prehistory of the region during the days of antiquarians and pre-war archaeologists, there was a shift in attention towards its Roman military past (see Chapter 1.3.1). This, coupled with the protection afforded to the Lake District region with the creation of the National Park on 13th August 1951 (Robinson, n.d.: 3), with organisations such as the National Trust emphasising the 'other-ness' of the landscape in narratives concerned with Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB), for example (Loney, 2014: pers. comm.), means that when excavation has occurred in advance of construction it has tended to focus on those lower-lying parts of the region which are dominated by Roman military sites (see Fig. 5.8).

Site	Date of Publication	Site	Date of Publication
Scalford	1883	Jacob's Gill (Rosley)	1960
Hugill	1893; 1897	Risehow (Maryport)	1960
Barnscar	1893	Aughertree Fell	1967
Kentmere	1901	Waitby	1972
Urswick Stone Walls	1907	Fingland	1977
		(Waitby) Castle Hill	1978
Ewe Close	1908;1909	Crosshill (Penrith)	1983
Heaves Fell	1912	Silloth Farm	1983
Lanthwaite Green	1924	Bracken Rigg	1992
Greendale	1928	Ewanrigg	1992
Askham	1935	Low Crosby	1998
Bolton Wood	1937	Frenchfield	1994; 1995;
Measand	1941	Farm/Frenchfields	1999; 2001;
Scalford (Kirkby	1945		2003; 2007; 2008
Lonsdale)		Fingland Rigg	2004
Eller Beck – Site C	1963; 1964	Baldhowend	2000; 2005
Old Brampton	1960	Glencoyne Park	2010

Fig. 5.4: Farmsteads/settlements studied in Cumbria – date of publication

Site (Pennines/Northumberland)	Date of Publication	Site (North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich)	Date of Publication
Milking Gap	1938	Pentre Ffwrndan	1936
Hartburn and the Devil's Causeway	1973	Prestatyn	1989
		Pentre Farm	1989
Tower Knowe, Wellhaugh	1973	Old Bowling Green	1992
Belling Law	1977	Friar Street	1992
Upper Redesdale	1977	Rhuddlan	1994
Kennel Hall Knowe	1978	Upwich	1997
Forcegarth Pasture North	1980	Dodderhill	2006
Middle Gunnar Peak, Barrasford	1981	Bays Meadow	2006
		Hanbury Street, Droitwich	2006
Forcegarth Pasture South	1986	Irby	
Gowanburn River Camp	1988	Plas Coch	2010
Hagg Plantation	2013		2011

Fig. 5.5: All sites studied outside Cumbria – date of publication

Forts/*Vici*	Date of Publication
Amberfield/Burgh-by-Sands	1993; 1994; 1999; 2000; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2005; 2009
Ambleside	1915; 1993; 1965
Brough-under-Stainmore	1977
Kirkbride	1963; 1975; 1982; 2009
Kirkby Thore	1964; 1989; 1994; 2000; 2001; 2010
Maia/Bowness-on-Solway	1939; 1975; 1988; 2000; 2001; 2005
Old Carlisle	1960
Papcastle	1963; 1965

Fig. 5.6: Forts/*vici* studied – date of publication
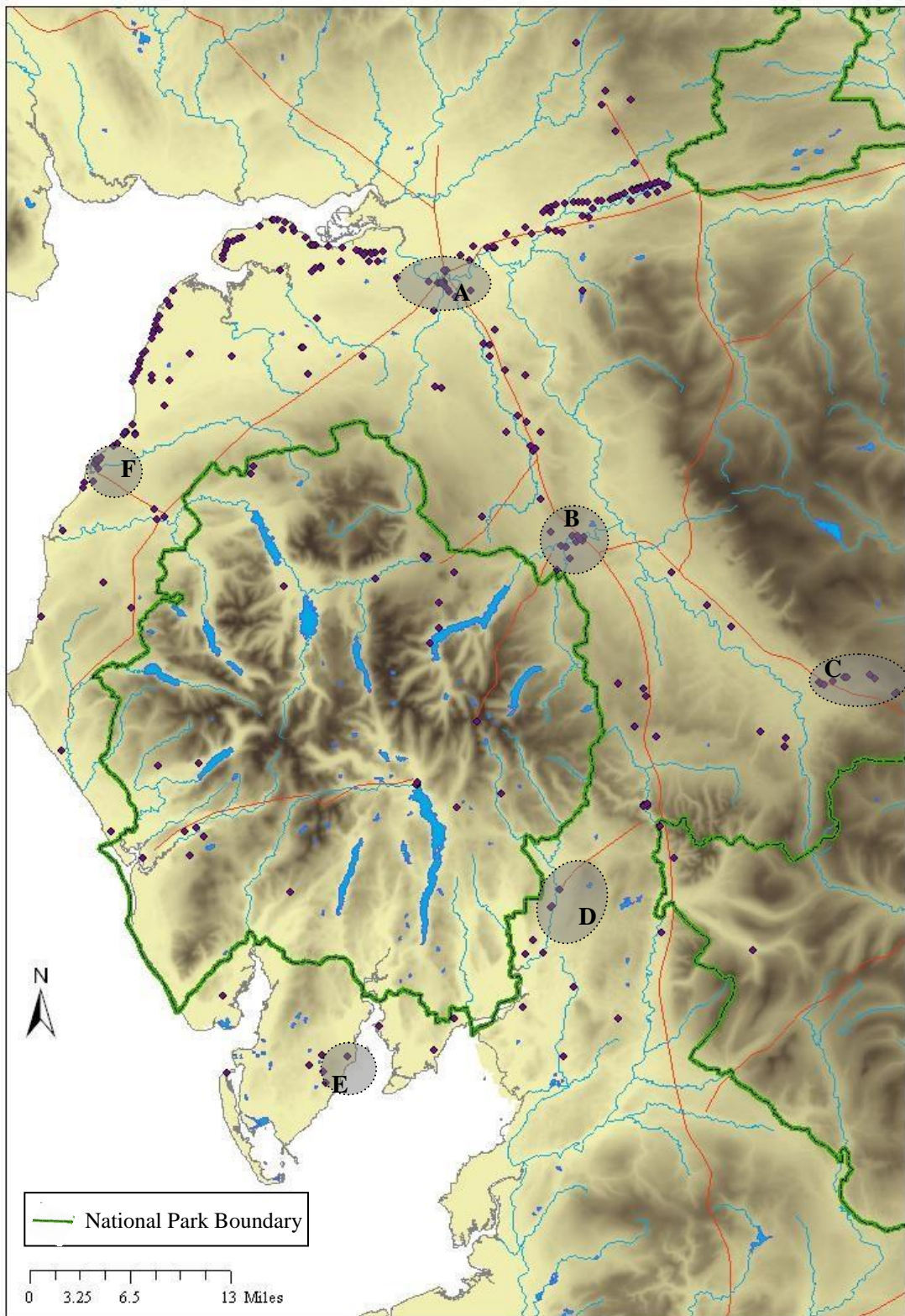
Fig. 5.7: Distribution of excavated sites in Cumbria region (A: Carlisle; B: Penrith; C: on of A66); D: Kendal; E: Dalton-on-Furness; F: Maryport)
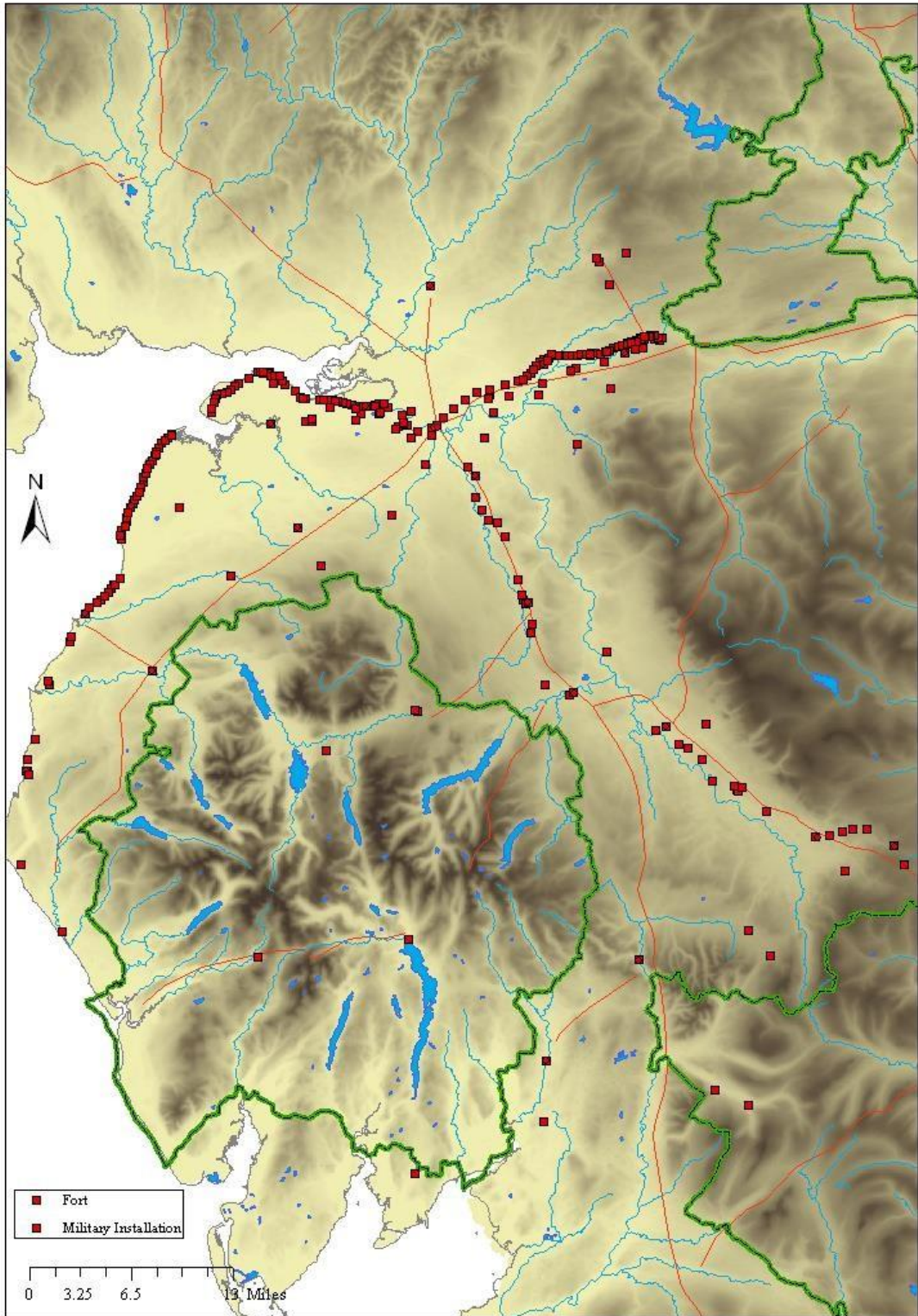
Fig. 5.8: Distribution of military sites in Cumbria region

These inherent biases highlight the importance of considering the information contained within antiquarian reports, regardless of their limitations. Agricultural processes mean that, in some cases, sites which were known and visible in the 19th century may not survive today; for example, the ancient 'fortified village' at Hugill was under threat of destruction by cultivation in the late 1800s (Dymond, 1893: 13; Ferguson, 1897: 463-464), while it was observed in the 1900s that the settlement at Kentmere had long been pillaged for stone which was then used to construct field boundaries (Martindale, 1901: 175). (Fig. 5.4) demonstrated that 'native' farmsteads/settlements have seldom been studied since the 1990s; the exceptions are Baldhowend and Glencoyne Park which are rare examples of upland excavation, and the lowland site at Frenchfields/Frenchfield Farm; however, while it is recorded as a settlement and is considered as such for the purpose of this thesis, its excavators have suggested that it might have been part of the *vicus* at Brougham (Cumbria HER no: 1168). The reality is that, although many farmsteads/settlements have been identified and recorded (see Fig. 5.10), our understanding of the nature of everyday life in Roman Cumbria continues to be dominated by a handful of 'exceptional' sites.

The nature of chronological change is also difficult to explore. At 'native' farmsteads/settlements, unless ^{14}C samples have been taken, dating has often only been achieved through the presence of a 'single sherd of typically-'Roman' pottery (e.g. samian ware). As this thesis has noted, the problem is that these new 'things' were not universally adopted. Correspondingly, discussing the handful of dated farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria (Fig. 5.10), Higham and Jones highlighted that this means 'that the period of occupation included these periods…[but that] it may not be limited to them' (1983: 63). The difficulties associated with dating sites in Cumbria are illustrated in (Fig. 5.9); this table lists the dates of all the sites, and attempts to group them together into a basic chronological framework. It demonstrates how, while some of the sites (usually forts/*vici*) have long periods of occupation, others (usually farmsteads/settlements) have merely been described as 'Roman'. For the purpose of this thesis, which aims to utilise a broadly comparative, synthetic approach focused on the presence:absence of 'things', the relative paucity of dating evidence at

farmsteads/settlements means that, in order to study them alongside forts/*vici*, when possible it will only be possible to make very general chronological observations.

'Native' sites w/Roman occupation	Date of occupation
Croftlands	2nd century A.D. late 2nd-early
Waitby Castle	4th century A.D.
Wolsty	Hadrianic, and 3rd-4th century A.D.
Jacob's Gill	3rd-4th century A.D. 3rd-4th
Waitby Intake	century A.D. late 3rd-early 4th
Old Brampton	century A.D. late 3rd-early 4th
Fingland Rigg	century A.D. late 4th century
Risehow	A.D.
Castle Hewen	Roman
Ewe Close, Crosby Ravensworth	Roman

Fig. 5.9: Dated 'native' Romano-British sites in Cumbria (after Higham and Jones, 1983: 62)
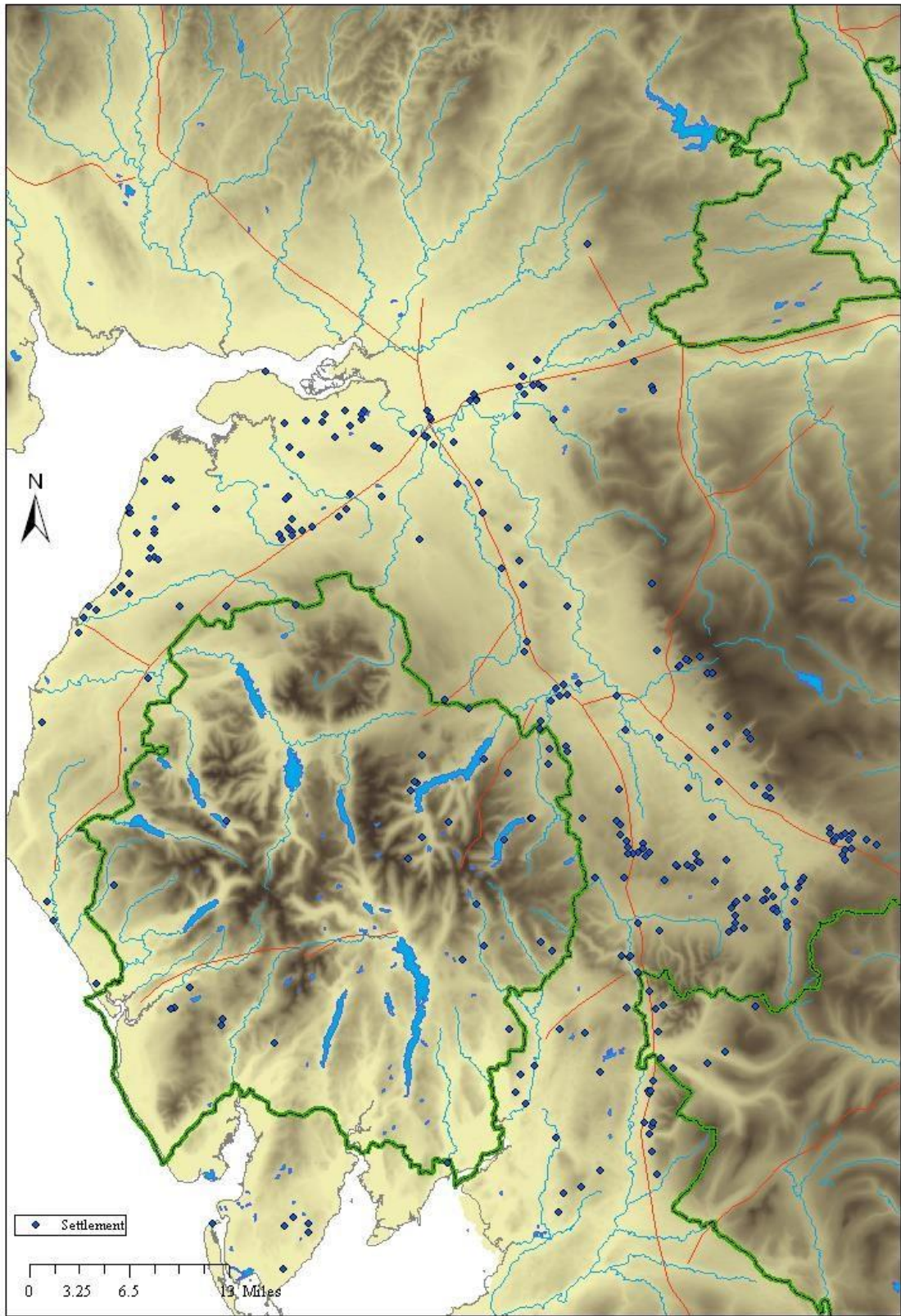
Fig. 5.10: Distribution of all farmsteads/settlements recorded in Cumbria HER

Chapter 6 Analysis and Interpretation

6.1 Introduction

This thesis argues that one of the most important questions that archaeologists studying Iron Age and Roman Britain ask is 'what is it that leads to differences in site assemblages?', and that this is particularly significant when it comes to understanding the relationships between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader'. It has demonstrated that, while those working in Cumbria used to approach this question from the top-down, there has recently been a shift towards bottom-up interpretations. Unfortunately in doing so they have failed to get to the root of the problem; that is, 'what shapes the choices we make?'. To occupy an alternative, 'middle-ground' position, this chapter will begin by considering the presence:absence of a range of typically-'Roman' finds. So far, the thesis has highlighted that the value of 'things' has the potential to shift depending on the context of acquisition, exchange, and consumption, and to explore this idea, this chapter will pay particular attention to the functional composition of artefact assemblages. It integrates data and findings from a range of existing studies from Northern England and South Eastern Scotland, as well as primary analyses in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich, which will serve to contextualise the results from Cumbria. This also permits an examination of the mechanisms utilised in the trade/exchange of 'Roman' commodities in *Britannia*. The results of this chapter will, ultimately, serve as a foundation from which we can explore some of the long-lived preconceptions regarding the relationship between 'native' and 'invader' in the Roman North.

6.2 Presence:Absence of Pottery

It has been demonstrated that, while quantitative approaches are particularly useful in the analysis of pottery assemblages, the limitations associated with the archaeological record in Cumbria means that a qualitative methodology is far more appropriate. As noted in (Chapter 5.3) the analysis is primarily concerned with farmsteads/settlements, but it will also consider enclosures and forts/*vici*. Those

categorised as sites (Drigg, Eskmeals, North End (Walney Island), Grey Hill, Fremington) and hillforts (Allen Knot, Carrock Fell, Castle Crags, Portfield, Skelmore Heads, Swarthy Hill), where activity or settlement is only implied by the recovery of scattered finds or emphemeral structures, were excluded. The same decision was made with regards to a number of farmsteads/settlements (Threlkeld, Lanthwaite Green, Gosforth Hall, Hawk Hirst, Castlesteads) which produced structural evidence but the artefacts recovered were either unstratified or unattributed to a secure context. Therefore (Figs. 6.1-6.5) illustrate the presence:absence of different types of pottery at a total of 49 sites in Cumbria.

	Enclosure	Farmstead/Settlement	Fort/Vicus
Pottery Absent	3	15	0
Pottery Present	8	15	8
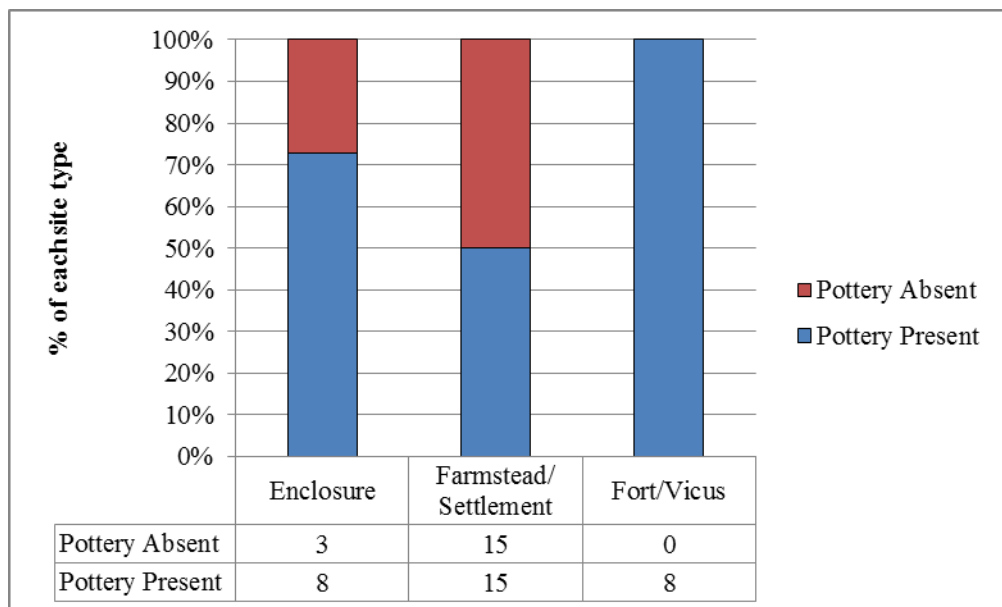
Fig. 6.1: All pottery – presence:absence in Cumbria, as % of each site type (total n=49)

(Fig. 6.1) indicates that pottery (of any type) is present at 73% of enclosures, 50% of farmsteads/settlements, and 100% of forts/*vici*. Its ubiquity at the forts/*vici* studied is, perhaps, to be expected given the long-lived, dominant perception that these sites were often situated at the heart of exchange networks (Willis, 2011: 182). (Figs. 6.2 and 6.3) illustrate that the same number have pottery assemblages which include samian ware (*terra sigillata*) and mortaria (86%), while fewer produce evidence for amphorae (75%) and Black Burnished Ware 1 (BB1) (63%) (Figs. 6.4 and 6.5). This is perhaps somewhat unexpected given the high concentration of Dressel 20 (olive oil) amphorae in the

Hadrian's Wall region (Carreras Monfort, 1998: 161), and the important role played by the military in the production and distribution of BB1 during the 2nd century A.D. (see Chapter 4.2.4). The format in which the fort/*vicus* at Old Carlisle was published may have played a role as, while the recovery of pottery was noted, no detail was given about the size of the assemblage or even the types present, or it may have been that amphorae were not recognised by the excavators (see Bellhouse, 1960). However, this does not account for all of the absences illustrated in (Figs. 6.26.5) which might therefore suggest that some other factor(s) played a role (see Chapter 6.3).

	Enclosure	Farmstead/Settlement	Fort/Vicus
Samian Absent	6	23	1
Samian Present	5	7	7
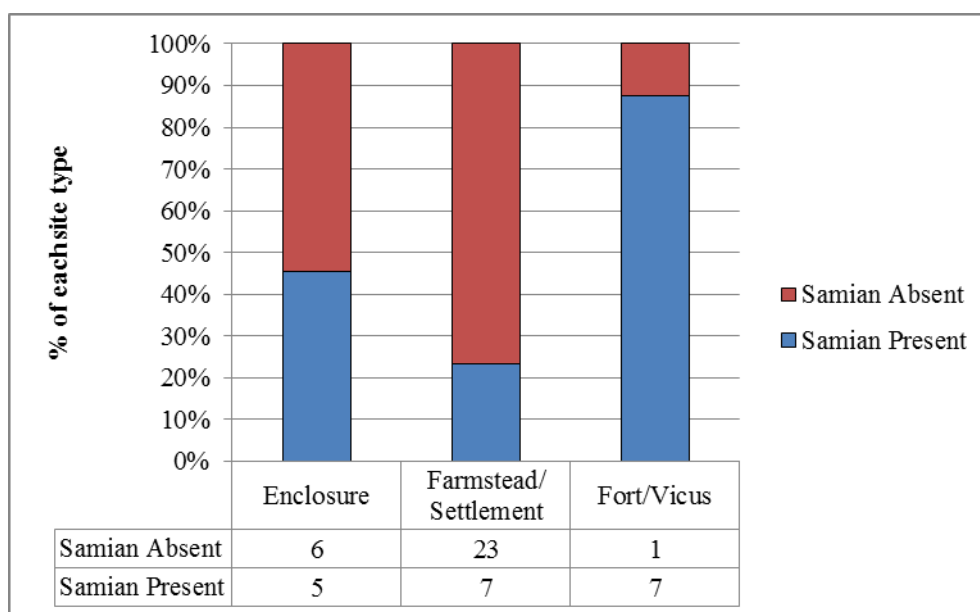
Fig. 6.2: Samian – presence: absence in Cumbria, as % of each site type (total n=49)

	Enclosure	Farmstead /Settlement	Fort/Vicus
Mortaria Absent	7	22	1
Mortaria Present	4	8	7
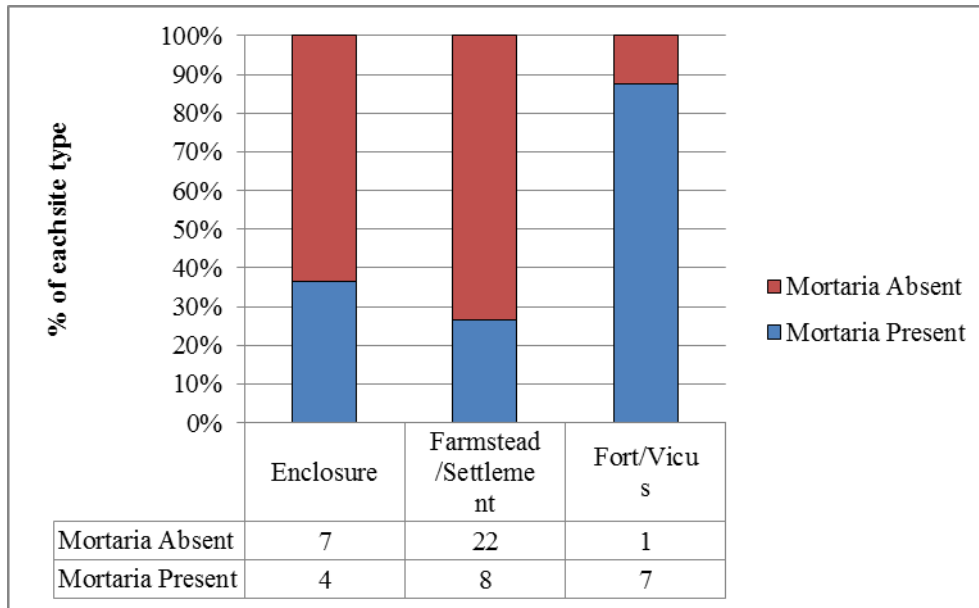
Fig. 6.3: Mortaria – presence:absence in Cumbria, as % of each site type (total n=49)

	Enclosure	Farmstead/ Settlement	Fort/Vicus
Amphorae Absent	9	27	2
Amphorae Present	2	3	6
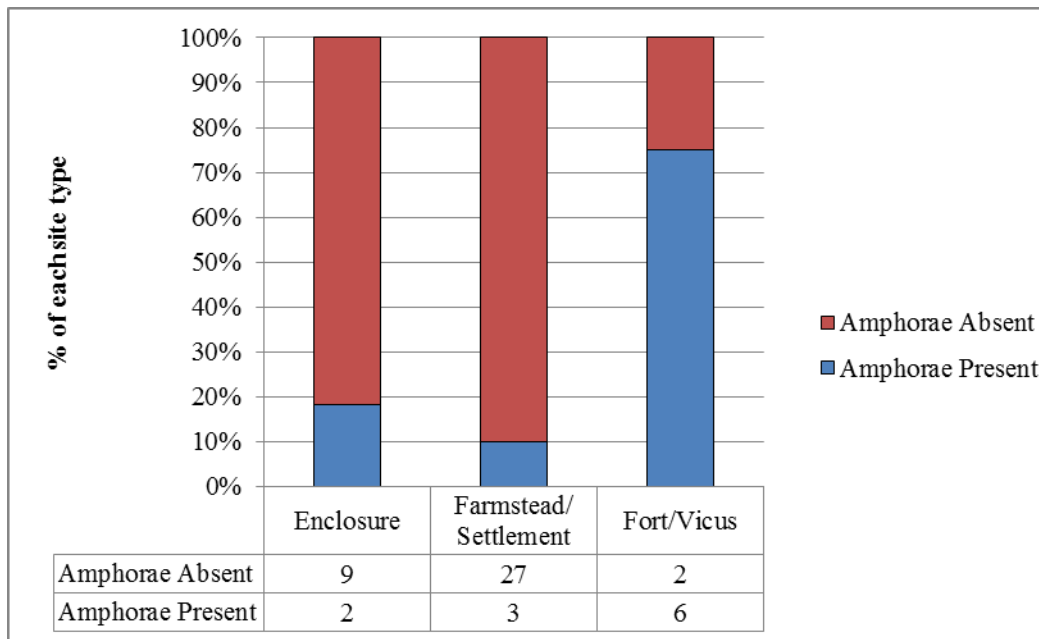
Fig. 6.4: Amphorae – presence:absence in Cumbria, as % of each site type (total n=49)
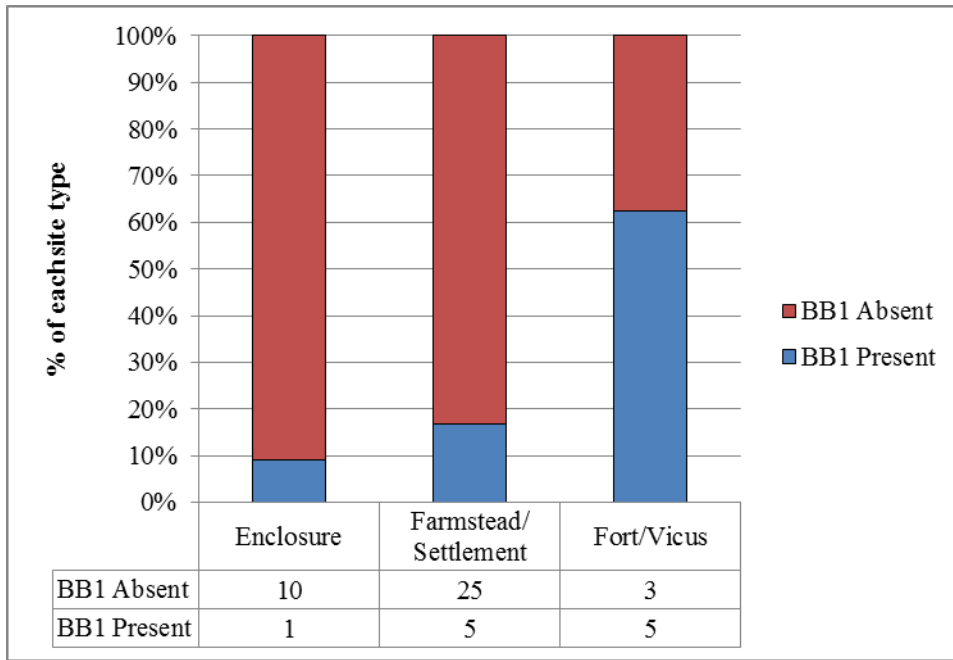
Fig. 6.5: Black Burnished Ware 1 (BB1) – presence:absence in Cumbria, as % of each site type (total n=49)
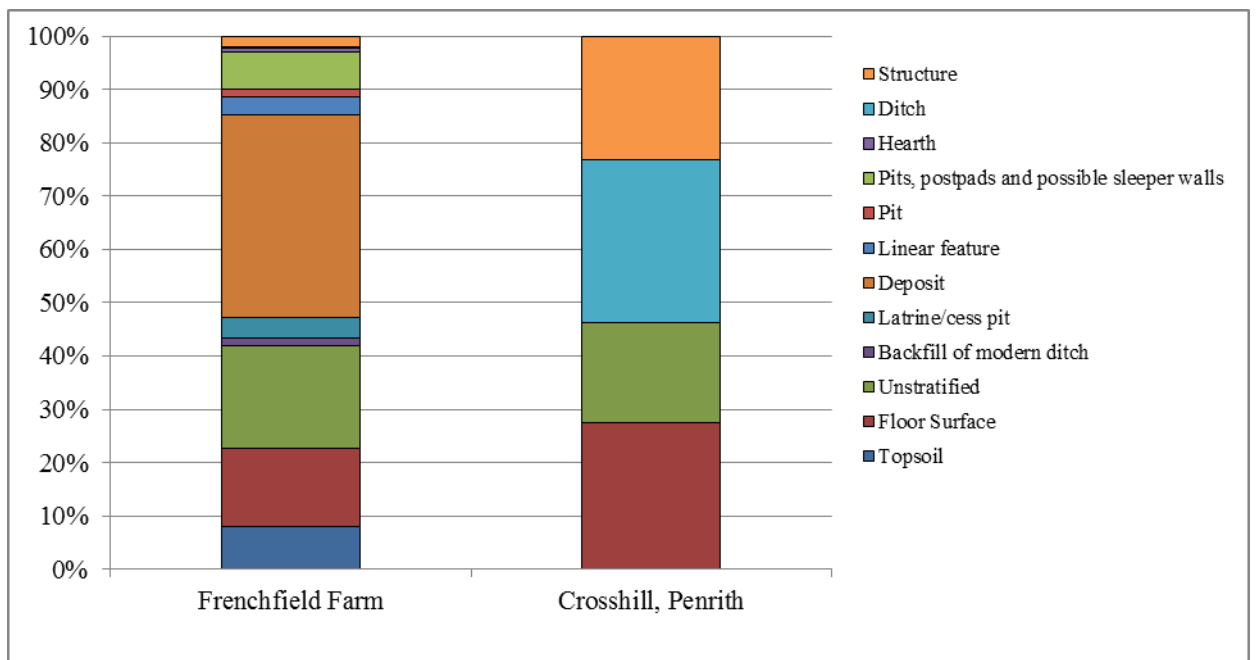
Fig. 6.6: Context of deposition (pottery) as % of total of each site (Frenchfield Farm: n=1106; Crosshill, Penrith: n=69)

In comparison to forts/*vici* the percentages are much lower at both enclosures and farmsteads/settlements, but it is nevertheless possible to identify some distinctions between these two non-military site types. Although three enclosures (Brougham, Grinsdale Camp, and Bracken Rigg) produced no pottery, eight of them did. Of these 45% yielded samian ware, 36% mortaria, 18% amphorae, and 9% BB1. The fact that some of these sites were field systems may be what is causing these relatively low percentages. It is perhaps significant, however, that these are more broadly comparable to numbers from farmsteads/settlements than forts/*vici*. Of those farmsteads/settlements with pottery, 27% produced mortaria, 24% samian ware, 17% BB1, and 10% amphorae which might support the observation made in (Chapter 5.3) that some of these enclosures were, in fact, farmsteads/settlements. If this were the case, then it would likely change the percentage of enclosures with pottery (73%) versus farmsteads/settlements (50%), however without closely re-examining these sites the classification of these, for example through the use of geophysical survey (see Chapter 7.4), it is difficult to comment further on this issue.

If not a case of misclassification, then these numbers might be a consequence of distinct, socio-cultural practices associated with the deposition of refuse; that a deliberate choice was being made to keep rubbish away from areas of habitation. At Crosshill, Penrith (Penrith Farm), for example, none of the 69 stratified, identifiable sherds of pottery (a total of 156 were recorded) were found in close association with the excavated roundhouse; in fact, most were recovered from the inner ditch fill and two exterior floor surfaces, excluding those found in relation to later, rectilinear structures (Higham and Jones, 1983). Unfortunately a lack of appropriate data means that it is not possible to test this hypothesis thoroughly. (Fig. 6.6), for example, highlights the potential variability of pottery assemblages at farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria (i.e. 69:1106 sherds), which makes it is difficult to make any meaningful quantitative comparison. These sites were excavated at different times and under very different circumstances, with the former a product of research-led excavation in the late 1980s, and the latter evaluation (and subsequent excavation) in advance of construction in the late 1990s/early 2000s, which may have had an impact on the number of different features sampled and therefore the size/composition of the pottery

assemblage. Finally, it is also important to be aware of the fact that, although these sites have both been categorised as farmsteads/settlements, they are strikingly different to one another in form; while Penrith Farm consists of a roundhouse (and later a number of rectilinear structures) surrounded by a ditched enclosure, Frenchfield Farm is best described as a 'strip settlement', and is associated with a Roman road (Martin and Reeves, 2001). While this might indicate the existence of different consumptive traditions at two different types of farmsteads/settlements, one which appears more characteristically-'native' and the other more 'Roman', it is difficult to qualify, especially given the problems associated with the categorisation of sites (see Chapter 5.3).
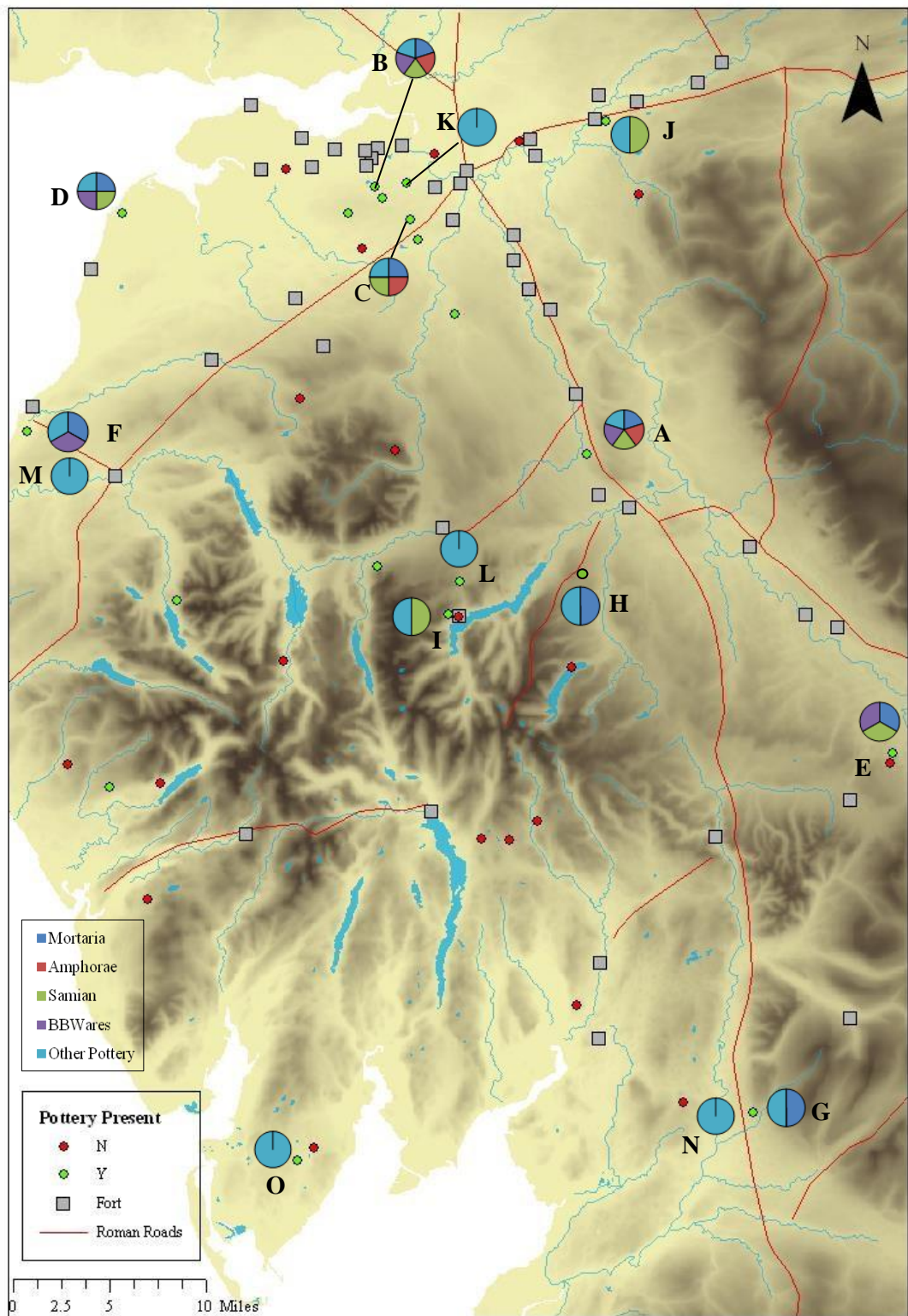
Fig. 6.7: 'Native' farmsteads/settlements studied in Cumbria – presence:absence of pottery types (sites with stratified finds labelled, n=15 – for names see Fig. 6.8; including sites with unstratified finds, total n=20)

Site	'Other' Pottery	BB1	Samian	Mortaria	Amphorae
A: Crosshill (Penrith)	■	■	■	■	■
B: Fingland	■	■	■	■	■
C: Frenchfield Farm/Frenchfields Farm	■		■	■	■
D: Silloth Farm	■	■	■	■	
E: Waitby (Castle Hill)		■	■	■	
F: Ewanrigg	■	■		■	
G: Eller Beck – Site C	■			■	
H: Ewe Close	■			■	
I: Glencoyne Park	■		■		
J: Old Brampton	■		■		
K: Jacob's Gill	■				
L: Baldhowend	■				
M: Risehow	■				
N: Scalford	■				
O: Urswick Stone Walls	■				

Fig. 6.8: Farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria with stratified pottery (all 'types') (for bibliographic references see Appendix C)

As noted previously, this chapter is primarily concerned with re-evaluating farmsteads/settlements. It aims to demonstrate that one of the most important results of the broad level analysis above is that 50% of these sites have some sort of pottery in their finds assemblage (see Fig. 6.1). Many narratives have assumed that the economy in Cumbria can be modelled as either 'redistributive' or a 'market' and that, in both cases, 'central places' play an important role. From here, new imported goods 'trickled down' through the social hierarchy to eventually reach the inhabitants of rural farmsteads/settlements. As noted in (Chapter 2.2.3) archaeologists have often identified these supply 'nodes' through a high incidence of particularly 'tradeable' forms and/or fabrics at particular locations. Those patterns observed in the ceramic evidence have led Evans to suggest that that there were several military supply networks in Northern Britain; Scotland, Hadrian's Wall, Durham and Yorkshire, Cumbria and Lancashire, and Wales (Evans, unpublished, b). It has often been assumed that, after the Conquest, the construction of a new network of roads made trade easier because they permeated boundaries between communities (Gillam, 1958: 85) (see Fig. 6.9). The role of riverine and estuarine transportation has until recently (see Griffiths et al. 2007; Rippon, 2008) received far less attention, and this is most likely a result of the comparative difficulty in identifying ports. In contrast many Roman roads are still highly visible in the landscape today and, in fact, some are still in use. As a result, the importance of sea trade and waterways tends to have been suggested through the distribution of new 'Roman' commodities; the prevalence of North Gaulish wares at forts in the North of England, for example, has been interpreted as a consequence of the proximity of potteries to the port of Boulogne, which was a base for a military fleet (the *Classis Britannica*) (Swan, 2009: 76). The relative visibility of roads may also have overemphasised their importance in the supply of the region. Although forts, for example, were clearly linked by these routeways, their artefactual assemblages suggest that they need not have been fully-integrated with the wider economy; to the East of the Pennines, at Vindolanda (Northumbria), the evidence appears to suggest that rather than acquiring most of its bulk commodities from sources which traded over land, the fort and its associated *vicus* may have depended on those acquired through maritime routes (Temin, 2001: 180). The fact that there are few towns in Cumbria means that it is widely assumed that the regional economy was 'fuelled

by the immediate military presence' (Sargent, 2002: 220) and, correspondingly, that new commodities were brought into the region through the routeways outlined above to forts/*vici* which served as (re)distribution 'nodes'. The question is: if this was the case in the region then what evidence would we expect to see in the archaeological record?
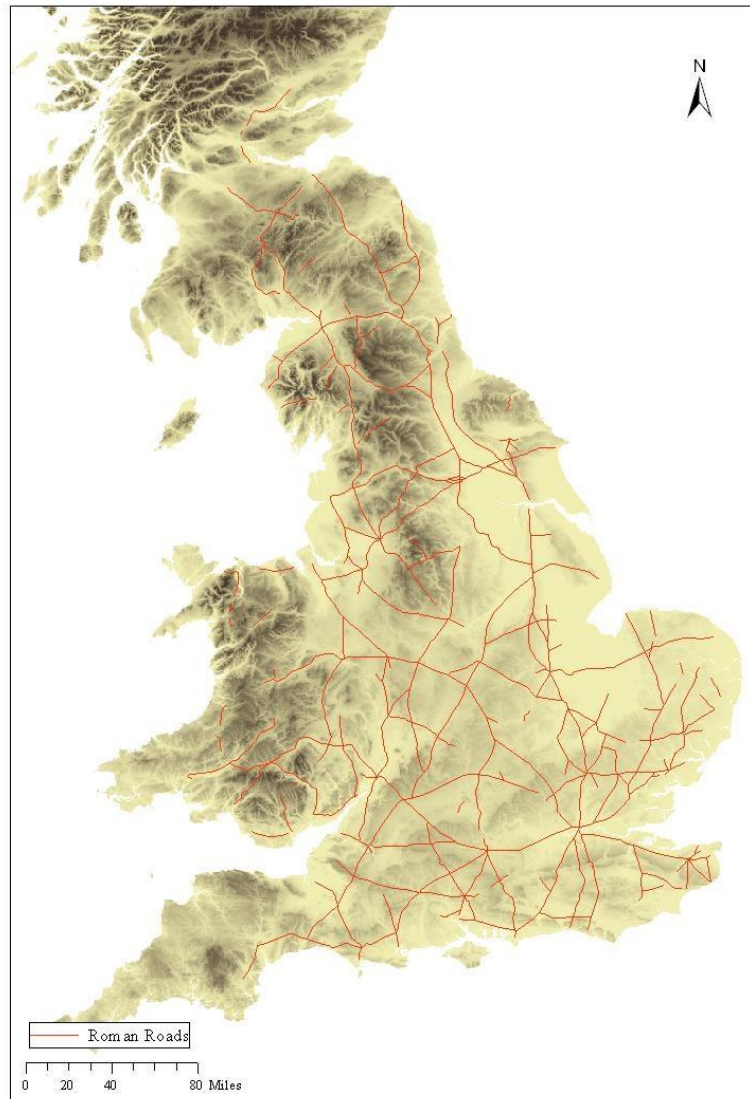
Fig. 6.9: Roman roads in Britain

6.3 Amphorae and Black Burnished Ware 1 (BB1)

This first section will discuss both amphorae and Black Burnished Ware 1 (BB1). The decision to do so was made because, of the 30 'native'

farmsteads/settlements studied for the purpose of this thesis, only 5 (17%) produced evidence of BB1 and 3 (10%) amphorae (Figs. 6.4 and 6.5). (Chapter 4.2.4) noted the close relationship between the military and the distribution of BB1; that it was transported to the North of England by ship and then, once it reached the *civitas* at Carlisle, it was redistributed either by river or road, and it is not unreasonable to argue that similar networks facilitated the acquisition of amphorae. On first examination (Fig. 6.7) appears to support the idea of redistribution 'nodes' in Roman Cumbria, as those farmsteads/settlements with BB1 and amphorae are concentrated around Carlisle or, otherwise, in relatively close proximity to forts.

The problem is that many of these studies have failed to explain how the pottery found at farmsteads/settlements was acquired or, correspondingly, why they were not acquired. Amphorae might, for example, only be found at 10% because their contents (e.g. wine or olive oil) were of little value to the 'native' population. At forts/*vici* we might expect amphorae to be common, and indeed they are found at 75% of the examples studied; however, as noted in (Chapter 6.2), the fact that only 63% have produced evidence for BB1 is perhaps surprising given its apparent popularity with the Roman army. At the same time, just because the *vicus* is close in proximity to the fort and their date of occupation frequently overlaps, we should not assume that their populations were identical. If we suppose that BB1 was far more common at forts, and then take into account that it is only found at 17% of farmsteads/settlements, it is possible to suggest that the inhabitants of the *vici* valued this particular type of pottery in a manner which has more in common with the 'native' inhabitants of Cumbria. However, in order to explore these ideas further, it is necessary to take into consideration different types of pottery and, following this, through an examination of their functional composition. The following section will start this process by studying the type archaeologists have discussed most frequently with regards to these ideas; samian ware (*terra sigillata*).

6.4 Samian Ware (*Terra Sigillata*)

Unfortunately, in Cumbria, this particularly 'Roman' kind of pottery continues to be viewed as an altogether unproblematic commodity which is interpreted solely from an economic standpoint. In-depth examination of stratified pottery assemblages across Britain has suggested that *terra sigillata* is rarely found at low status sites and that, when present, the fact that it was treated in a different way from other types of pottery is seen as an indication that it was particularly 'prized' by the inhabitants (Willis, 2011: 189). One problem with this approach is that it implies an association between 'rarity' and 'high value'; when samian ware, or indeed any other typically-'Roman' pottery, is found on a 'native' farmstead/settlement it has often viewed as being of a higher status than others in the region (see Chapter 2.2.3). These issues are only compounded in Cumbria where there is little evidence to suggest that there was an Iron Age elite (see Chapter 1.3.4). While such models might argue that the 'native' population was too poor to acquire samian ware, closer examination of its distribution suggests that the mechanisms which influenced its movement and consumption have the potential to be far more complex. As noted in the previous section, there has been a tendency for archaeologists to focus on the idea of redistribution 'nodes'; a particularly large assemblage of samian ware at the *civitas* at Carlisle, for example, has been deemed a re-distribution centre for the area of the Stanegate/Hadrian's Wall (Willis, 2011: 181-182). To explore this idea, (Fig. 6.10) includes a 5km 'buffer zone' around each of the forts in Cumbria. The fact that some sites in the immediate vicinity of these sites appear to have been consuming samian ware appears to support this assertion; however, the fact that others were not reiterates the importance of thinking more critically about why this particular 'Roman' pottery was not always acquired by the 'native' population.
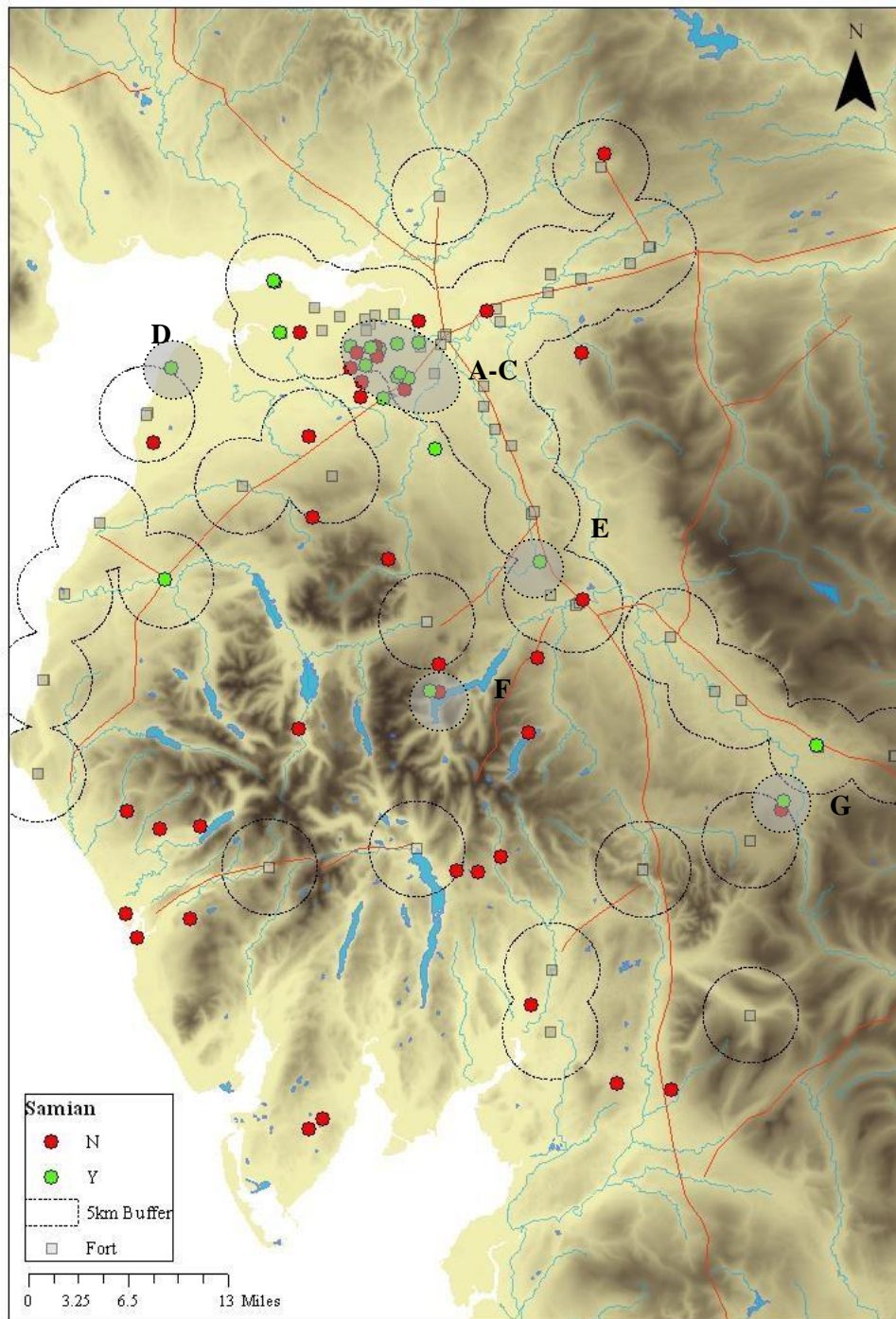
Fig. 6.10: Sites studied in Cumbria region – presence:absence of samian ware (farmsteads/settlements in shaded circles: A-C: Fingland; Frenchfield Farm; Old Brampton; D: Silloth Farm; E: Crosshill, Penrith; F: Glencoyne Park; G: (Waitby) Castle Hill)

6.4.1 Chronology

One factor which might have affected these results illustrated in (Fig. 6.10) is changes in the availability of samian ware (*terra sigillata*) over time, and to explore this (Fig. 6.11) lists the known dates of 'native' farmsteads/settlements from which this particular type of pottery has been recovered.

Site with Samian	Date
(Waitby) Castle Hill	Mid-2nd-late 3rd century A.D.
Crosshill, Penrith (Penrith Farm)	2nd-4th century A.D.
Fingland	Late 3rd/early 4th century A.D.
Frenchfield Farm	N/S
Glencoyne Park 6	2nd century B.C.-3rd century A.D.
Old Brampton	3rd century?-4th century A.D.
Silloth Farm	3rd century A.D.

Fig. 6.11: Dates of farmsteads/settlements with samian ware in Cumbria

(Fig. 6.11) suggests that a number of these sites date to the second half of the Roman occupation of the North West, from the 3rd century A.D. onwards. Unfortunately there are limitations with these dates. The occupation of Glencoyne Park appears exceptional as it spans from the 2nd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D., however this is a result of its excavators using both ^{14}C dating and relative techniques. In contrast, many of the other sites will have been dated solely on the basis of diagnostic sherds of pottery including, for example, samian ware. A number of other issues and patterns become apparent when we consider the proportion of dateable *terra sigillata* at forts/*vici* and farmsteads/settlements (Fig. 6.12). In most cases it was not possible to date individual forms accurately; some forms are relatively long-lived and without additional information regarding the source of a particular pot, or

otherwise specialist knowledge, it was impossible to achieve a more precise date. The handful of examples which could be more accurately dated suggested a peak in consumption at forts/*vici* around the 1ˢᵗ/2ⁿᵈ century A.D. and a subsequent, gradual decline. In comparison, samian at farmsteads/settlements appears to have been most common during the 2ⁿᵈ century A.D. before disappearing entirely. It has been observed that sites in 'the middle to lower echelons of the settlement hierarchy' tend to produce larger quantities of samian ware which date to the 2ⁿᵈ century (Willis, 1998: 115) and that, by the 3ʳᵈ century A.D. (c. A.D. 260), this particular kind of pottery was no longer being imported into Britain (Swan, 1980: 12; Tyers, 1996a: 112-114; Webster, 1996: 1-3; Willis, 2007: 3), Such a fall-off can be tentatively suggested in (Fig. 6.12) given that all of the long-lived (1ˢᵗ-3ʳᵈ century) forms are Dr37 (decorated bowls) which were becoming less common towards the end of the 2ⁿᵈ century A.D. (Willis, 1998: 108); however, given the inherent restrictions of the dataset, this is impossible to quantify.
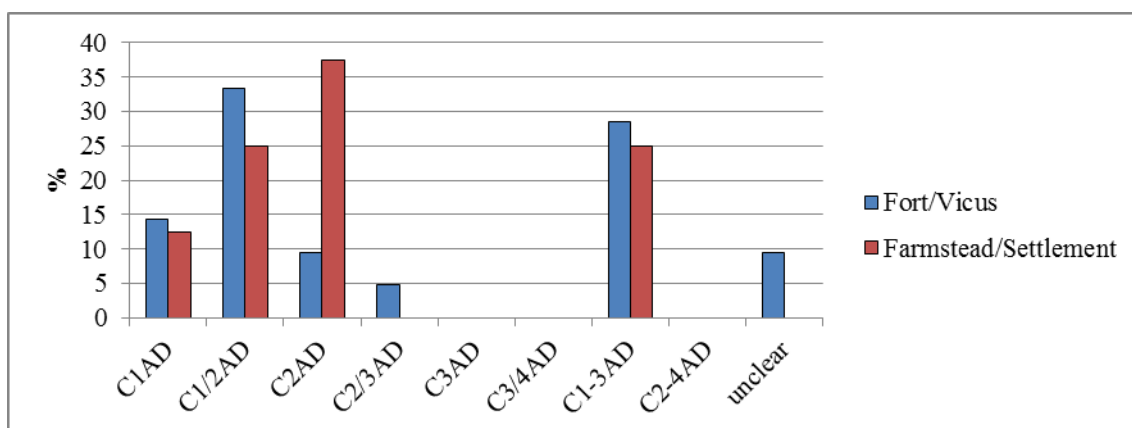
Fig. 6.12: Presence of dateable samian ware (*terra sigillata*) at sites studied in Cumbria, as % of each site type (fort/*vicus*: n= 21; farmstead/settlement: n= 8)

However, by utilising a 'nested' approach, it is possible to suggest some chronological variation within the North of England. It is interestingly to note, for example, a number of sites in the Pennines/Northumberland region produce earlier evidence for the acquisition of samian ware than in Cumbria; Dr18/31 (c. A.D. 90-

150) has been found at Forcegarth Pasture South, Middle Gunnar Peak and Milking Gap, while examples of Dr33 (c. A.D. 50-), Dr 18 (c. A.D. 50-100), and Dr 37 (c. A.D. 70-) were also found at the latter site. Together, these patterns appear to suggest that the 'native' population in the North East were more open to the acquisition and use of new, typically-'Roman' goods while, in the North West, they appear to have been more conservative. Unfortunately, the fact that so few farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria produce samian ware, and that dateable examples are even rarer (n=8), means that it is difficult to make any further observations regarding these chronological patterns.

6.5 Form and Function

A 'thing'-centred approach provides an alternative means by which to explore the significance of these patterns. In the North of England there is a long history of discussing functional differences in pottery assemblages, distinguishing between 'forts and town on the one hand and basic rural sites on the other' (Evans, 2001: 28), with particular attention afforded to the visibility of this pattern with regards to samian ware (*terra sigillata*) (see Willis, 1993: Chapter 5.2.9; Willis, 2011). Following the 'New Archaeology' of the late 1960s, researchers achieved a functional analysis by identifying and grouping vessels 'on the basis of height:diameter...[before] studying the incidence of these classes at different sites (Evans, 2001: 27). This thesis is concerned with a small number of typically-'Roman' pottery types because it helps to simplify a) the data collection process and b) the final dataset. We already know that these account for the majority of pottery found on farmsteads/settlements, and including them allows us to note similarities and differences with forts/*vici*. For the purpose of analysis, however, emphasis has been placed on the form that they take. Correspondingly, while the specific fabrics of 'other' pottery have not been recorded, noting the presence:absence of forms (other than samian ware and mortaria) facilitates the comparison of a site with only one fabric present with another which has pottery from a number of different sources.
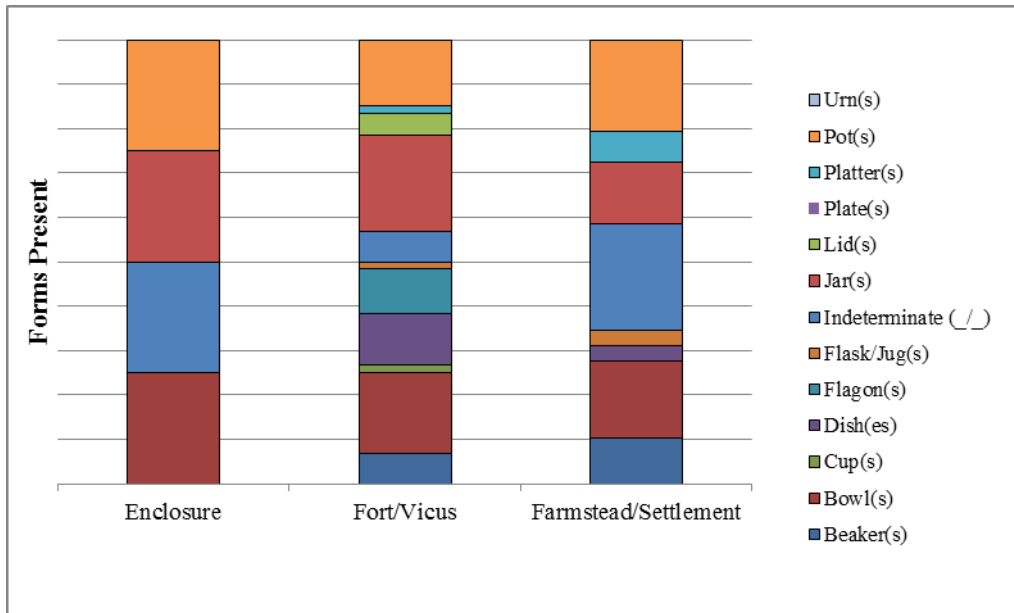
Fig. 6.13: Presence:absence of forms (of pottery other than samian and mortaria) in Cumbria

(Fig. 6.13) is concerned with the presence:absence of particular forms of pottery (other than samian ware and mortaria). It suggests that that the range of forms at farmsteads/settlements is more restricted than at forts/*vici*, but more varied than enclosures, and that they had a preference for bowls, jars, pots and indeterminate forms (e.g. dish/shallow bowl). Interestingly, this fondness has also been noted in other parts of the North West (Evans, unpublished, a) (Fig. 6.14) and the North East, with the latter study observing that 48% of the Roman coarseware recovered from this particular site 'type' were in the form of jars/cooking pots and, to a lesser extent, bowls (Anderson, 2012: 156). However, it is important to appreciate that these patterns are averages. In Cumbria, while the site at Fingland only produced a bowl and pottery of indeterminate form, the assemblage at Crosshill (Penrith Farm) is composed of beakers, bowls, dishes, indeterminate forms, jars and pots, and is clearly 'exceptional' in comparison to other farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria (Fig. 6.8). This table illustrates how Fingland and Crosshill (Penrith Farm) both produce mortaria, samian ware (*terra sigillata*), amphorae and Black Burnished Ware 1 (BB1), which demonstrates the importance of taking into account both form and fabric as, on their own, they might suggest very different things.

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Sites	Flagons	Jars	Bowls	Dishes	Beakers	Mortaria	Lids	Amphorae	TOTAL
All (excluding Stainmore)	2%	41%	24%	2%	2%	27%	0	0	41
Stainmore (samian missing)	0	51%	5%	11%	0	32%	0	0	37
Penrith	0	32%	47%	5%	5%	11%	0	0	19
All (excluding Penrith)	2%	47%	6%	7%	0	38%	0	0	55

Fig. 6.14: Forms of pottery from sites in the 'Highland Zone' (Cumbria) (after Evans, unpublished, a)

This also extends to a consideration of a range of different types of pottery. Correspondingly, (Fig. 6.15) illustrates the forms of *terra sigillata* found at the sites studied which, broadly, appears to replicate the observation that 'military sites... tend to have a greater range of... forms than do civilian/native sites' (Willis, 1996: 218). As demonstrated in (Chapter 4.4.2), centuries of research have resulted in the creation of detailed typologies and, moreover, its prevalence in many pottery assemblages has enabled quantitative analysis concerned with exploring its acquisition and consumption across Roman Britain (see Figs. 6.16, 6.17 and 6.19).

Samian Type (form)	Enclosure	Fort/*vicus*	Farmstead/Settlement	TOTAL
Dr18 (plate)	0	1	1	/
Plate	0	1	0	1
Dr18/31R (dish)	0	1	0	/
Dr31/R (dish)	0	0	1	/
Dr31/31R (dish)	0	1	0	/
Dish	0	2	1	3
Dr 18 or 79 (bowl/dish)	0	1	0	/
Dr18/31 (dish/shallow bowl)	1	1	1	/
Dr36 (dish/shallow bowl)	0	1	0	/
Dr32(dish/shallow bowl)	0	1	0	/
Indeterminate (_/_)	1	4	0	5
Dr27 (cup)	0	2	0	/
Dr33(cup)	0	2	2	/
Dechelette67 (jar/beaker)	0	1	0	/
Cup	0	5	2	7
Dr29 (bowl)	0	1	0	/
Dr30 (bowl)	0	0	0	/
Dr30R (bowl)	0	2	0	/
Dr31 (bowl)	0	0	1	/
Dr37(bowl)	1	5	2	/
Curle11 (bowl)	0	1	0	/
Bowl	1	9	3	13
Dr45 (mortaria)	1	0	0	/
Mortaria	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	_3	21	6	30

Fig. 6.15 Samian ware (*terra sigillata*) forms at sites in Cumbria
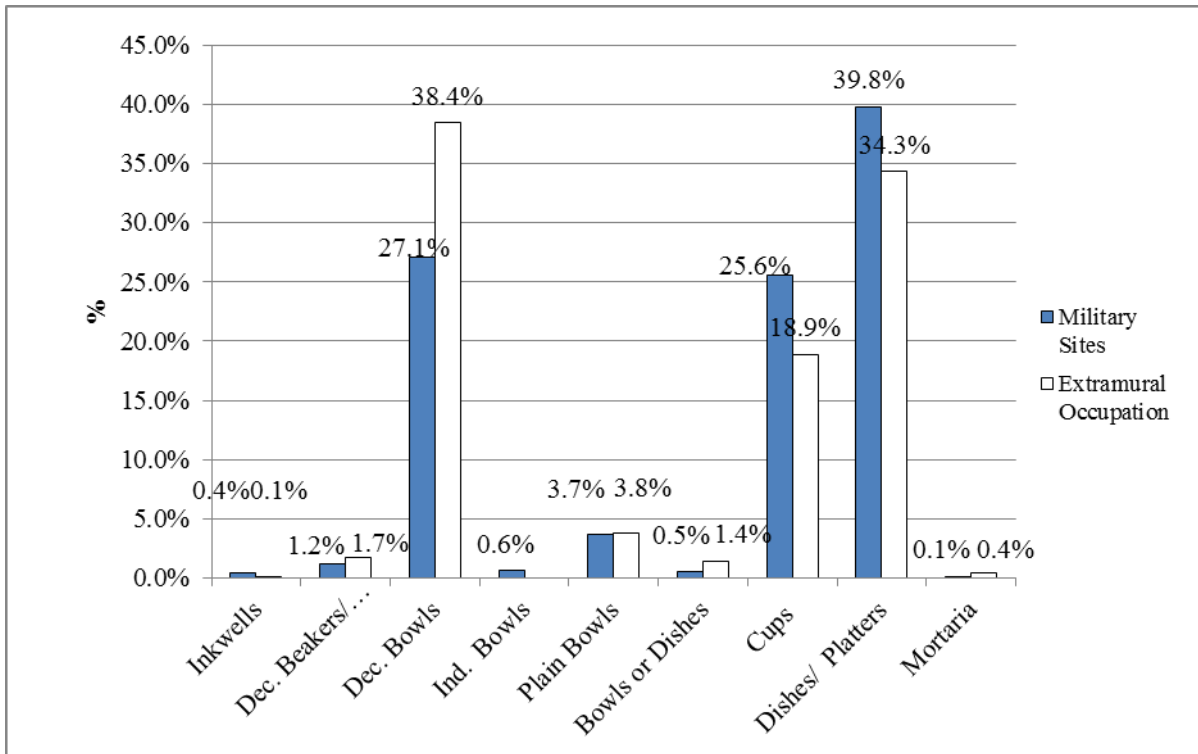
Fig. 6.16: Relative frequency of samian form/functional categories at military sites and extramural occupation sites in Britain (after Willis, 2011: Figs. 2 and 3) (total n=54)
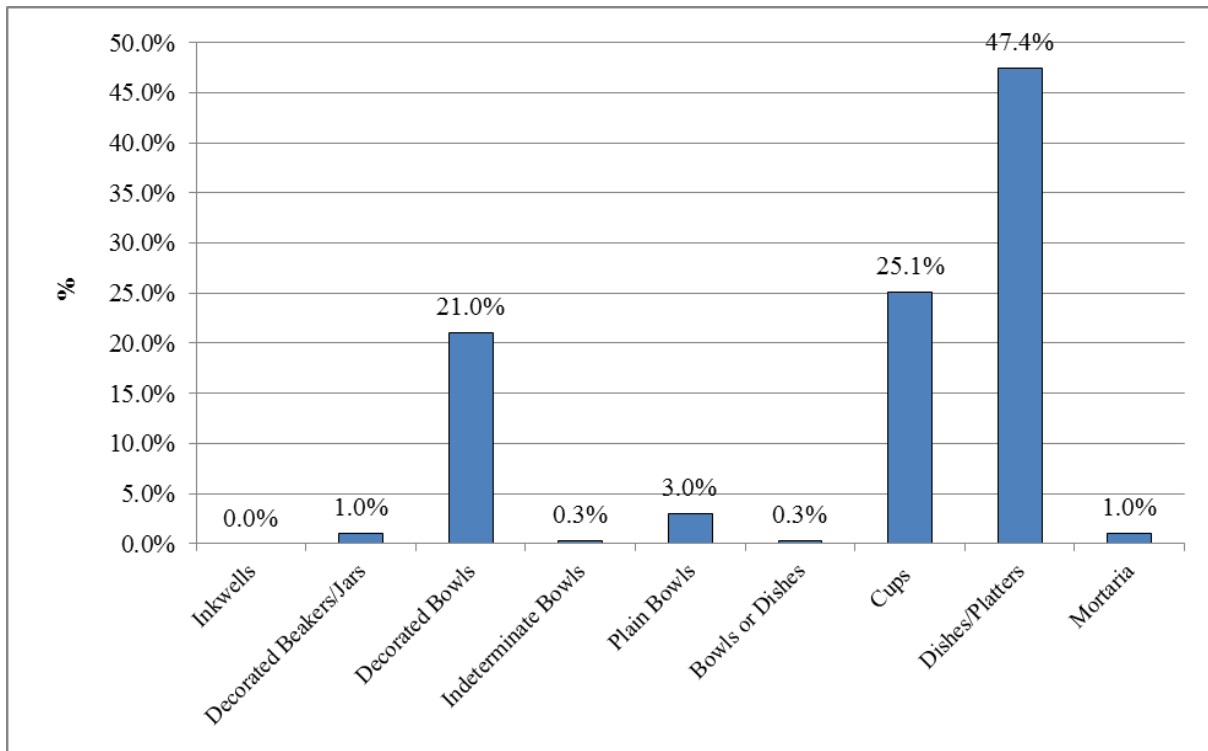
Fig. 6.17: Relative frequency of samian form/functional categories at rural sites in Britain (after Willis, 2011: Fig. 6) (n=28)

It is important, however, to take into account that these charts are a result of quantitative analyses and therefore can only serve to contextualise those qualitative patterns observed in Cumbria. Moreover, none of the sites represented in (Fig. 6.17) are from the North of England; instead these observations concentrate on the frequency of particular forms at sites in Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Worcestershire, Norfolk, West Sussex, Hertfordshire, Essex, East Sussex, Gloucestershire and Leicestershire. In this particular study, the North East was only represented by 2 military sites, while 7 military sites and 4 extramural settlements were studied in the North West (Willis, 2011), which helps to perpetuate long-lived research biases. The problem is, once again, related to the amount of pottery which is available to study; in an earlier study Willis acknowledged that:

'The inclusion of groups from native/civilian sites of, perhaps, lesser size and status, for instance, road-side settlements, farmstead complexes, etc., would have been desirable for comparison. This was not, however, usually possible, much material did not meet the necessary criteria demanded by the method for valid comparison'.

(1996: 182)

It is clear that there are particular restrictions which will affect the outcome of these analyses. With regards to form more specifically, Orton et al. argued:

'It is almost always possible to say something about the shape of a vessel from which a sherd came... [but] determining form from part of a vessel is limited by the fact that potters made vessels for different purposes starting with a few basic shapes... [and the ability to state] that a sherd comes from a jar rather than a cauldron or a skillet rather than a bowl will vary depending on the size of the vessel fragment present'.

(1993: 80)

This is particularly problematic on 'native' farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria where pottery assemblages are often very small and, if present, the sherds are frequently heavily-abraded and incredibly fragmentary in nature; as a result, their form is often unclear. These imbalances are compounded by the fact that many of these sites were studied in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when archaeologists tended to focus on 'exceptional', diagnostic examples as opposed to relatively small and unidentifiable fragments (Chapter 5.5). It has also been observed that the restricted sampling strategies of contract archaeologists, who are constrained by time and money, also influences 'the recovery of numerically small pottery groups' (Willis, 2011: 197). All of these factors, and particularly the problems associated with comparing quantitative and qualitative results, affect the extent to which we can comment on a preference for particular forms of samian ware (*terra sigillata*) in Cumbria. Regardless, by noting their presence:absence, it is possible to suggest that dishes, bowls, and cups were the most popular forms on farmsteads/settlements in the North of England (Fig. 6.18).

Samian Ware Form	North East	North West (Cumbria)
Dr18 – plate	N	Y
Dr18/31 – dish/shallow bowl	Y	Y
Dr 31/R - dish	N	Y
Dr27 - cup	Y	N
Dr30 – decorated bowl	Y	N
Dr31 - bowl	Y	Y
Dr33 - cup	Y	Y
Dr37 – decorated bowl	Y	Y

Fig. 6.18: Samian ware (*terra sigillata*) forms in North East (excluding Stanwick: after Anderson, 2012: 201: Fig. 4.15) and North West England (Cumbria)

Given this apparent correspondence it is useful to consider the differential consumption of samian ware at forts and *vici*. It has already been demonstrated that the forts/*vici* in Cumbria produce a far broader range of forms than farmsteads/settlements, and as a result of the analysis of a number of military sites in the North of England it is possible to undertake a broad-brush comparison. While the same main categories of samian ware are found at forts/*vici* 'the emphasis is strikingly different' at each (Willis, 2011: 212); decorated bowls are the most common at extramural occupation sites (38.4%) and dishes/platters at military sites (39.8%) (ibid: 211-212). We can see the same pattern in the forts/*vici* category of (Fig. 6.16), which illustrates the presence of a wide range of forms and an apparent preference for decorated bowls (Dr 37 and Dr 30). This is particularly useful given that Carlisle and Stanwix (Cumbria) are two of the extramural settlements which were studied (the others are in Warwickshire, Norfolk, Newport, West Yorkshire, North Yorkshire, Cheshire, Essex, County Durham, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire). Such a wide geographical distribution, which is also seen in those military sites studied (Warwickshire, Dunbartonshire, Cumbria, Herefordshire, East Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, Gloucestershire, Essex, Northumberland, Kent, Devon, West Sussex, East Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cambridgeshire, Birmingham, Gwynedd, Tyne and Wear, Perthshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire), means that the use of these sites for comparative purposes can be justified. Interestingly (Figs. 6.16, 6.17 and 6.19) suggest that there are similarities in the occurrence of dishes/platters between all sites, although there is a definite peak at rural settlements which might be indicative of some preference in the South of England which is not reproduced in the North West, while decorated bowls are the most common form recovered from military sites.
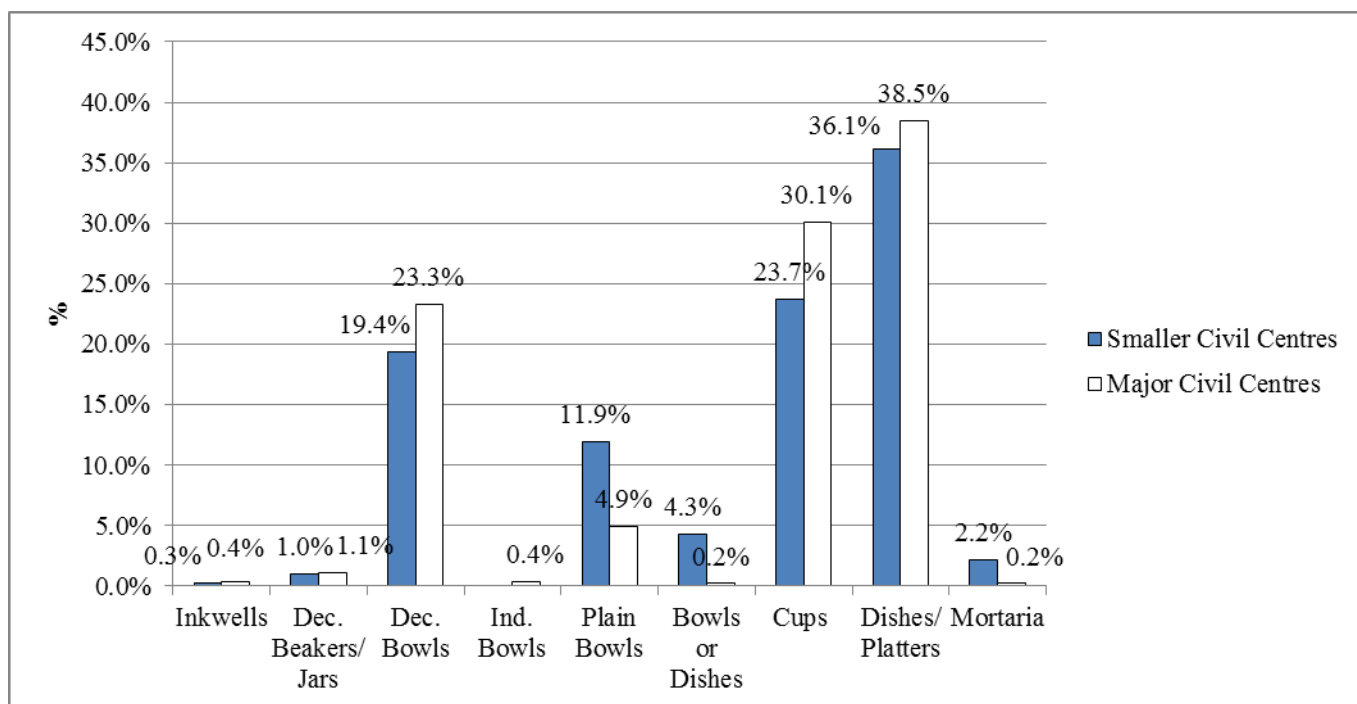
Fig. 6.19: Relative frequency of samian forms/functional categories at smaller and major civil centres in Britain (after Willis, 2011: Figs. 4 and 5)

However, it is important to exercise caution when exploring the composition of pottery assemblages. (Fig. 6.20) demonstrates that, when the data from (Fig. 6.16) is more broadly categorised, there are few differences between the functional 'signatures' found at forts/*vici* and farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria. This suggests that there is some motivation other than functionality influencing the acquisition and use of samian ware (*terra sigillata*), perhaps changes in its availability. It also highlights problems with the way that we categorise this particular kind of 'Roman' pottery; that the creation and re-creation of typologies in order to establish detailed chronologies has, perhaps, led us to overlook the fact that the function of a pot is not fixed at the moment of creation, but that it has the potential to fluctuate depending on who used it, why it was used, and when (see Chapter 3.3).
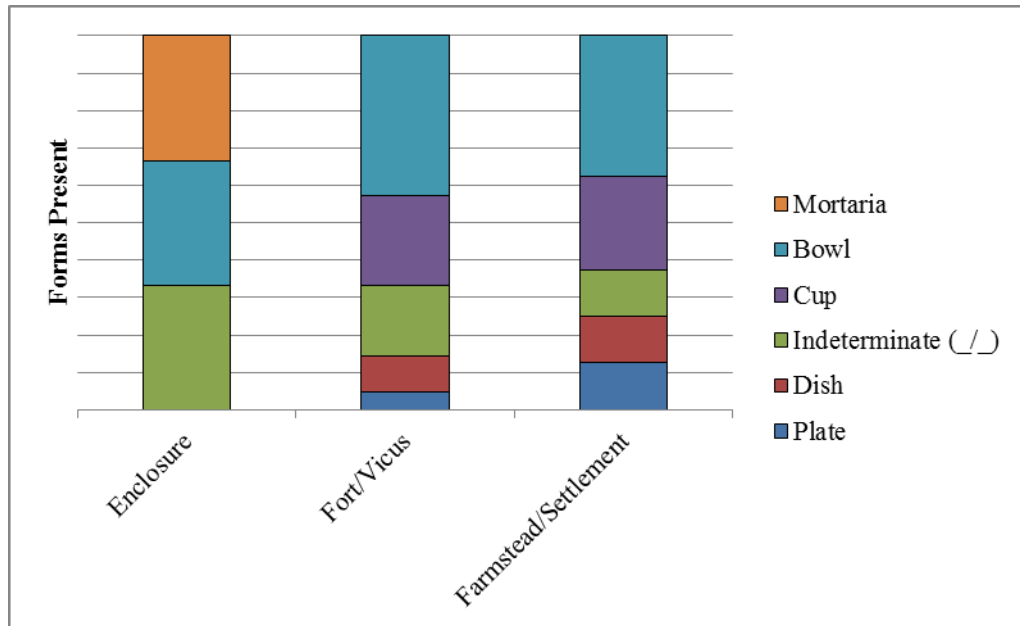
Fig. 6.20: Presence:absence of basic samian ware (*terra sigillata*) forms at sites in Cumbria

This section has demonstrated that the average farmstead/settlement in Cumbria had a preference for pottery in the form of bowls, pots and cups, and that this pattern is broadly similar across a number of different pottery 'types'. It suggests that, even at sites such as Crosshill (Penrith Farm) which produce a range of fine tablewares, we need to think carefully about the fact that they need not have always been used in typically-'Roman' manner. The function of an object has the potential to vary significantly; decorated samian bowls, for example, which are 'comparatively large forms' may well have been used in communal drinking practices (Willis, 2011: 224).

6.6 Mortaria

The mortarium is perhaps one of the most useful 'types' of pottery for helping us to explore continuity and change in Cumbria. In some cases they provide evidence for the adoption of typically-'Roman' ways of preparing, cooking and consuming food, but in others they suggest a more complicated relationship between economic change and personal choice. The data collected suggests that mortaria are relatively

common on 'native' farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria; of the 30 studied, 8 (27%) produced mortaria, which means that they are recovered more frequently than samian ware (*terra sigillata*) (24%), Black Burnished Ware 1 (17%), and amphorae (10%) (see Chapter 6.2: Figs. 6.1-6.5).
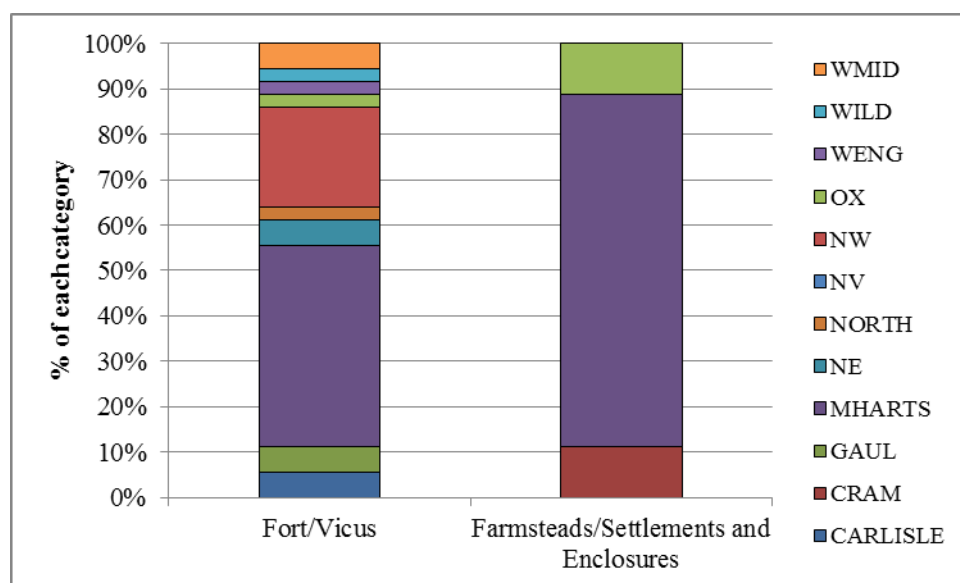
Fig. 6.21: Mortaria from sites in Cumbria: sources of identifiable fabrics as % of each category total (forts/*vici*: n= 36; farmstead/settlements and enclosure: n= 9)

Unlike the ADS results cited earlier (Chapter 4.2.1), 'native' farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria. (Fig. 6.21) were clearly not relying on mortaria of local origin; they were, instead, sourced from the Mancetter-Hartshill (78%), Crambeck (11%) and Oxfordshire (11%) potteries. The Crambeck industry is the only one located to the East of the Pennines which might be significant, perhaps supporting the idea of an East:West divide as well as the adoption of mortaria in the second half of the Roman occupation (3rd and 4th centuries A.D.); however, it is important to be aware of that the small size of this dataset makes it difficult to comment on whether or not this is of any significance.

The data from forts/*vici* appears to illustrate a reliance on mortaria from a far wider range of potteries than at farmsteads/settlement. Moreover, while most of the identifiable examples from forts/*vici* date to first half of the Roman occupation (the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D) and, after a peak around the 2nd century, there is a gradual decline, it is interesting to note that mortaria appear to become increasingly common at farmsteads/ settlements from the 2nd century onwards (Fig. 6.22). This might indicate a gradual acceptance of this typically-'Roman' pottery or that the 'native' population was more willing to acquire pottery from new, non-military suppliers.
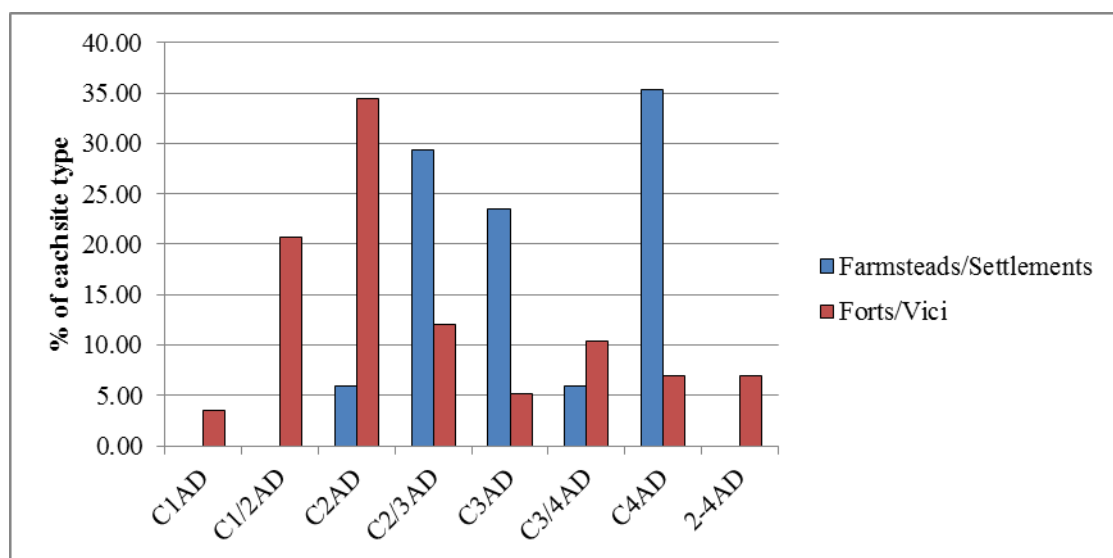
Fig. 6.22: Dateable mortaria from sites studied in Cumbria, as % of each site type (forts/*vici*: n= 58; farmsteads/settlements: n= 17)

It would also be interesting to explore the way that the patterns in (Fig. 6.3) relate to those observed in the analysis of samian ware (*terra sigillata*) (Fig. 6.13) as, in a similar manner to mortaria at forts/*vici*, the latter suggests a decline from the late 2nd century A.D. This seems to correspond to the aforementioned increase in the incidence of mortaria at farmsteads/settlements and, given the apparent popularity of samian ware dishes and bowls (Fig. 6.16), it might be possible to argue that rather than being indicative of a change in the way that the 'native' population was preparing their food these patterns might instead suggest that mortaria were being adapted as an alternative when dishes and bowls become increasingly difficult to obtain. This is an

attractive proposal, and indeed one which is compatible with the approach to 'things' discussed in (Chapter 3) but, unfortunately, the reality is that the varying quality and size of artefact assemblages at forts/*vici* and farmsteads/settlements means that it is all but impossible to verify this particular interpretation.

6.7 Beyond Cumbria

This thesis has argued that, in order to best understand the nature of everyday life in Roman Cumbria, we need to take a 'nested' approach. It has been noted that there are a number of broad similarities between 'native' pottery assemblages in the North East and Cumbria, and by incorporating the results from existing studies in the North of England and South East Scotland we can begin to explore what this might mean. Until now, the region has been at best considered a part of the monumentalised, militarydominated 'North' and, at worst, as a fossilised region which continued to live an effectively Bronze Age existence because its inhabitants were somehow socially- and culturally-repressed. To further contextualise these observations, primary data will also be incorporated from a number of sites from North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich. Firstly, (Fig. 6.23) illustrates the presence:absence of typically-'Roman' pottery from the selected case study regions outside Cumbria.
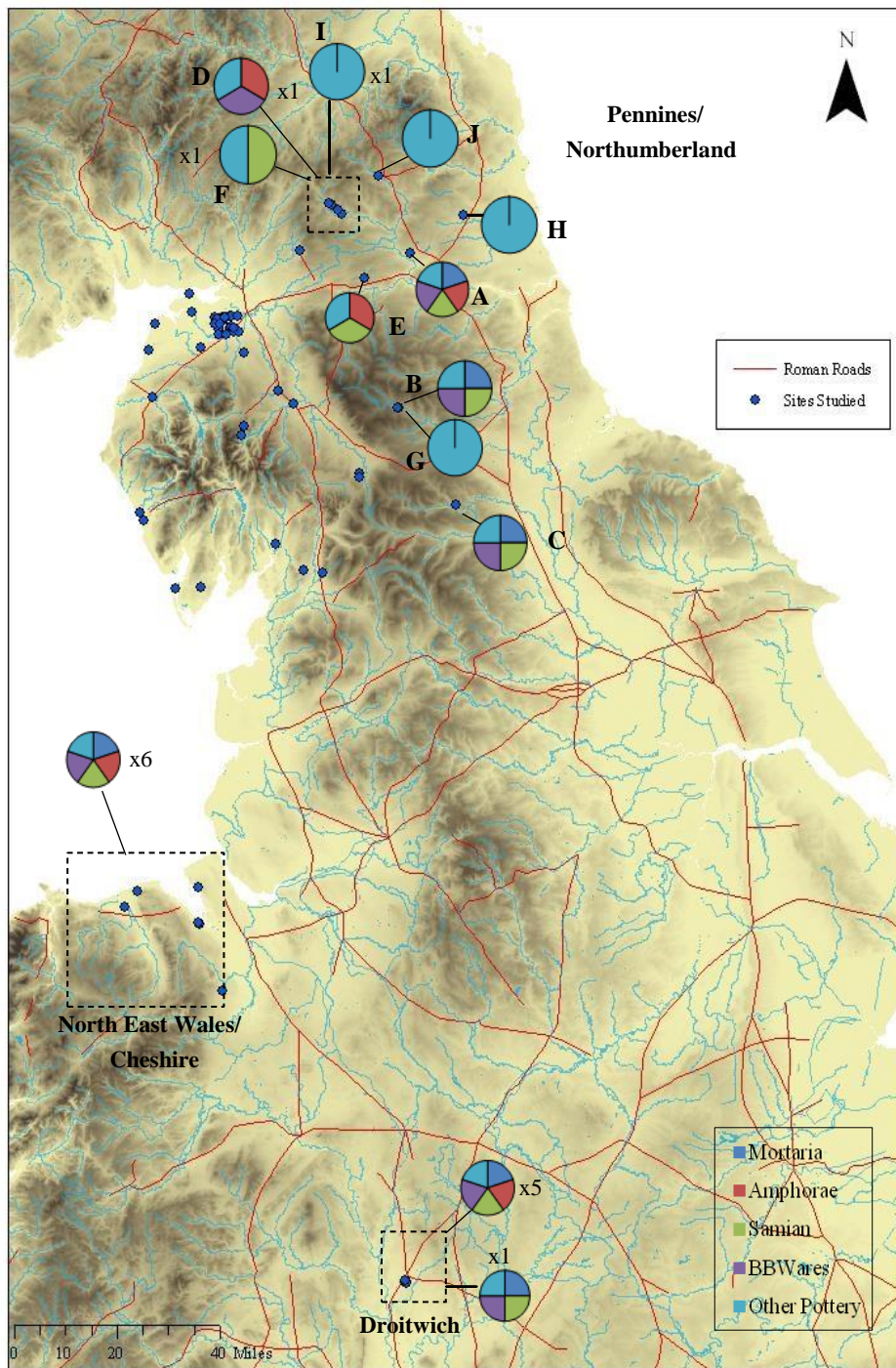
Fig. 6.23: All sites studied – presence:absence of pottery types outside Cumbria (for site names in Pennines/Northumberland: see Fig. 6.24; for site names in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich: see Fig. 6.43)

Site	'Other' Pottery	BB1	Samian	Mortaria	Amphorae
A: Middle Gunnar Peak, Barrasford	■	■	■	■	■
B: Forcegarth Pasture South	■	■	■	■	
C: Hagg Plantation	■	■	■	■	
D: Belling Law	■	■			■
E: Milking Gap	■		■		■
F: Tower Knowe, Wellhaugh	■		■		
G: Forcegarth Pasture North	■				
H: Hartburn and the Devil's Causeway	■				
I: Kennel Hall Knowe	■				
J: Upper Redesdale	■				

Fig. 6.24: Farmsteads/settlements in Pennines/Northumberland with pottery (all 'types') (for bibliographic references see Appendix C)

6.7.1 North of England and South East Scotland

While distribution maps have inherent weaknesses, (Fig. 6.23) nonetheless suggests that, in the North of England, the acquisition and consumption of newly-available commodities varied markedly across a region which has often been viewed

as an unproblematic and homogenous entity (Chapter 2.4.3). Likewise (Fig. 6.25) provides more evidence to support the assertion that proximity to forts/*vici*, which have often been interpreted as (re)distribution nodes, does not guarantee the presence of 'Roman' pottery at farmsteads/settlements in the rural hinterland. Although it has not been possible to compare the dates of these sites in detail the excavated material appears to suggest that, when they are broadly contemporary, 'native' settlements and military installations in Cumbria did not always participate in the exchange of 'things'. There are some small clusters of sites which produce evidence for 'Roman' pottery (see Fig. 6.25: A, B, C, D), however these are of limited significance. More specifically, it was anticipated that the location of modern population centres would have an impact on the distribution of excavated sites. Interestingly, (A), for example, is centred on Carlisle, and (D) on the Tees Valley, both of which are among the most intensively occupied in their respective regions, while both A and D are both lowland areas. Similarly, in comparison to their surrounding environs, (B and C) are both relatively 'low-lying', with (C) sited just to the North of Hadrian's Wall and (B) stretching inland from the coast at Berwick-upon-Tweed.
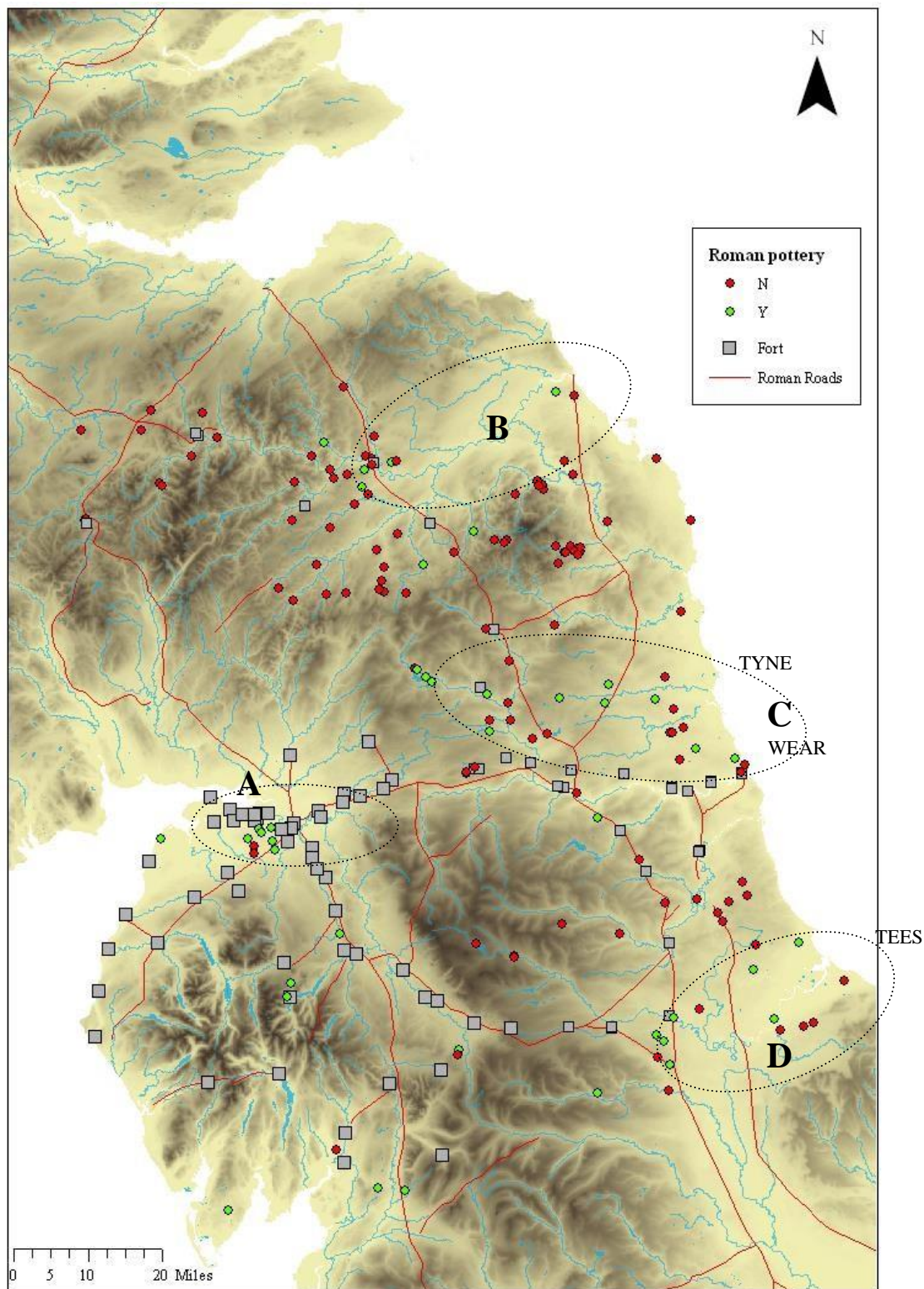
Fig. 6.25: Distribution of settlement sites with 'Roman' pottery in Cumbria (with additions from North East England and South East Scotland from Anderson, 2012; Ross, 2011; Wilson, 2010)
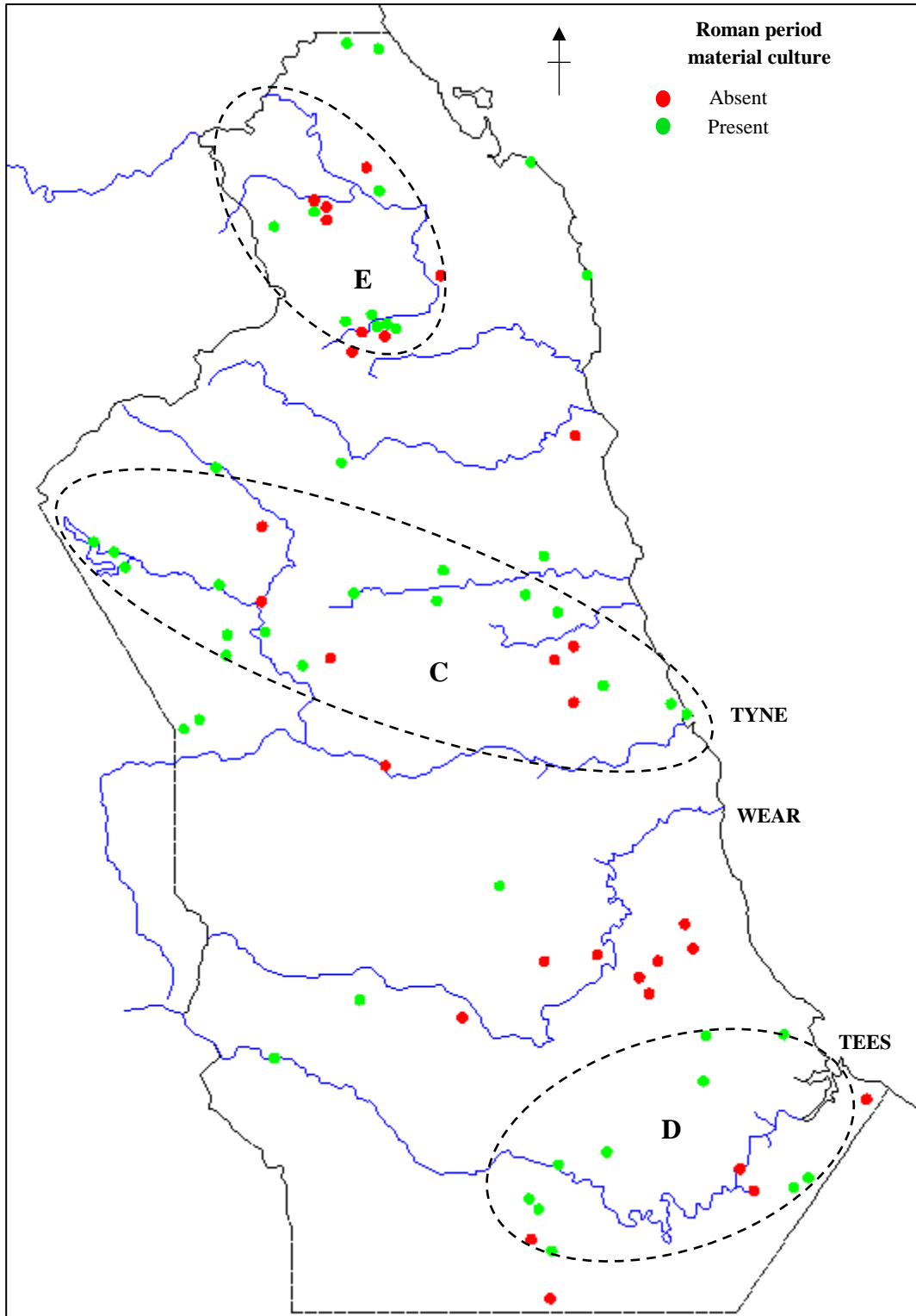
Fig. 6.26: All excavated 'native' settlements in the North East (after Anderson, 2012: 338: Map 2)

A slightly different picture appears in (Fig. 6.26). The most noticeable discrepancy is the presence of (E) in which, in (Fig. 6.25), would lie between (C) and (B), which is most likely a consequence of the fact that the former is concerned with material culture from the Roman period, as opposed to finds which might traditionally be classed as 'Roman'. There is also a problem that there are some sites studied by Anderson (2012: Appendix 3) where, despite this material being identifiable, the incidence of coarsewares and finewares of a 'Roman' tradition has not been recorded. This appears to be the case at Melsonby, Scotch Corner, Holme House, Thorpe Thewles, Ingleby Barwick, and Catcote, and to rectify this oversight their presence has been recorded in (Fig. 6.25).

The question is: what results in these patterns? In South Eastern Scotland, for example, it is interesting to note that most of the 'native' settlements with evidence for 'Roman' pottery are situated close to a major North-South road (Dere Street) (Fig. 6.25: B) which might indicate that newly-available goods were being exchanged via overland routes, or that they are otherwise close to forts. Yet there are farmsteads/settlements elsewhere in South Eastern Scotland which, despite their proximity to forts, do not produce evidence for the consumption of the same new 'things'. Once again, it is unclear whether this is a product of chronological change or excavation bias, but if they were contemporary then it would suggest that heterogeneity (rather than homogeneity) was the norm. In the South East of England, for example, where farmsteads/settlements are relatively materially 'rich', the study of pottery has permitted the creation of complex economic models. The variability of pottery assemblages in the North of England and Southern Scotland, by contrast, means that it has been more difficult to explore their movement during the Roman period. Existing studies tend to have focused on the social role of pottery; in South East Scotland, for example, Wilson argued that the presence of 'Roman' finds on 'native' sites was most likely related to the articulation of status (2010: 45-46), while the same has been concluded in an unpublished MA concerned with the areas North and South of Hadrian's Wall (Wright, 2007: 128-130). This model is common in Northern Britain and one which is best described as a prestige-goods network (Bruhn, 2008: 88-89). Hunter has suggested that although this was likely the situation in South

East Scotland, where the fact that most farmsteads/settlements produced evidence for one or two forms of samian ware (*terra sigillata*) and only a small number had a wider variety is seen as suggestive of a 'hierarchy of access' which is not visible in Wales and the North of England (2001: 292). The latter observation is supported by analysis completed for this thesis which demonstrates that although a total of 12 non-military sites (farmsteads/settlements and enclosures) in Cumbria have produced evidence for the consumption of samian ware, the examples at those 4 sites with identifiable forms suggest that the range was relatively restricted in the majority of cases (Fig. 6.27).
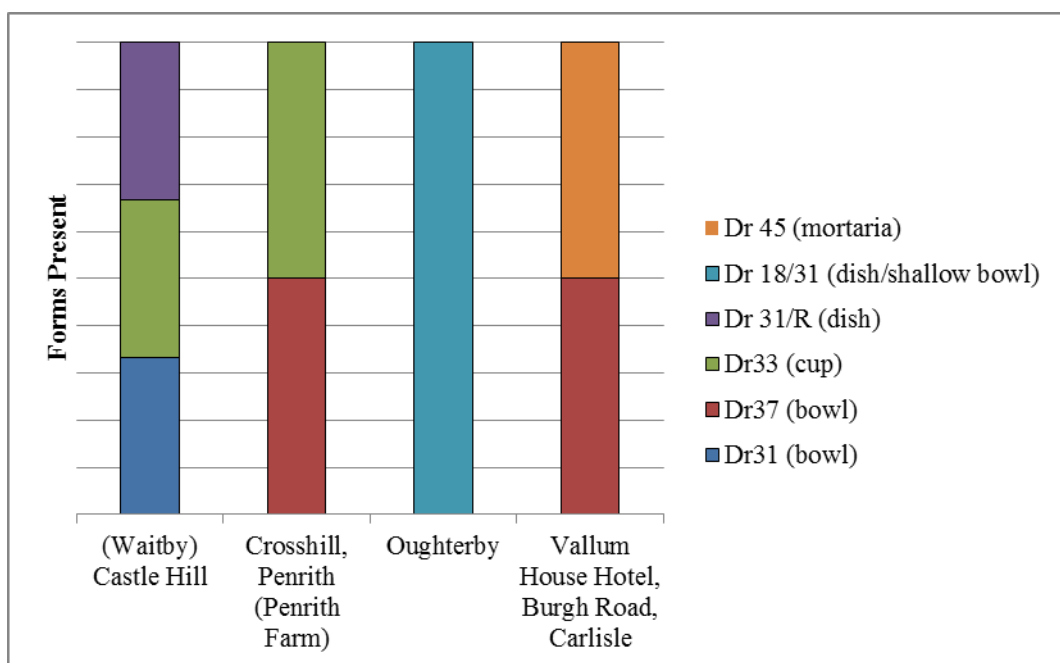
Fig. 6.27: Farmsteads/settlements and enclosures in Cumbria with identifiable forms of samian ware (*terra sigillata*)

Although this might support the idea that 'native' society varied from region to region, suggesting that its organisation was more hierarchical in South East Scotland than in Cumbria, it is important to take into consideration that status (or, indeed, any aspect of individual or group identity) can be articulated through means which are irretrievable archaeologically.

6.7.2 North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich

A small number of sites were also examined in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich. Their artefact assemblages appear to provide evidence to support the idea that 'native' groups in these areas had different attitudes towards the acquisition and use of new 'Roman' goods than their contemporaries in Cumbria. (Fig. 6.28) lists the sites; of all of them, only one (Old Bowling Green) did not produce a complete 'Roman' pottery assemblage (as categorised for the purpose of this thesis).

Site	Site Type	Description
Prestatyn	Site	Iron Age farm; Romano-British industrial site/settlement
Rhuddlan	Farmstead/Settlement	Possible farmstead/settlement
Pentre Ffwrndan	Site	Romano-British industrial site/settlement
Pentre Farm	Site	Official building – associated with lead mining?
Plas Coch, Wrexham	Farmstead/Settlement	_
Irby, Wirral	Farmstead/Settlement	_
Old Bowling Green, Droitwich	Site	Industrial site – salt production
Friar Street, Droitwich	Site	Industrial site – salt production
Upwich, Droitwich	Site	Industrial site – salt production
Dodderhill, Droitwich	Fort/Vicus	Fort
Hanbury Street, Droitwich	Farmstead/Settlement	Possible farmstead/settlement
Bays Meadow, Droitwich	Villa	_

Fig. 6.28: Sites studied in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich

A wider range of site 'types' are represented in (Fig. 6.28) than in the analysis set out in (Chapter 5.3). The decision was made to include 'sites' and 'villa' because, firstly, the observations from North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich are only intended to contextualise the results from Cumbria, and secondly because there is clear structural evidence that they served a role in particular industries. Given the patterns observed in Cumbria and the North of England/South East Scotland, we might expect differences to emerge when the functional composition of each site assemblage is studied in detail. More interestingly, when the presence:absence of the forms of pottery (other than samian ware and mortaria) is examined, for example, it is interesting to note some variation between the North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich areas emerge (Figs. 6.29 and 6.30). We expect to see small-scale variation between individual assemblages as a result of differences in supply, demand, material survival, and excavation strategies but (excluding the salt production site at Friar Street) the range of pottery forms at sites in Droitwich are broadly similar (Fig. 6.31). In North East Wales/Cheshire, however, the pottery assemblages appear more diverse; while the sites at Prestatyn and Pentre Farm produce a wide range of forms, Rhuddlan, Plas Coch, and Irby only provide evidence for the consumption of jars, bowls, beakers, and flagons (Fig. 6.29).

Interestingly these three sites are all farmsteads/settlements. Although typically-'Roman' pottery is found it should be noted that the evidence appears to suggest a preference for 'native' forms. This is not only supported by the primary analysis set out in (Chapter 6.5), but the results of existing studies concerned with the 'Highland Zone' (Cumbria and Wales) (Evans, unpublished, a) and the North East (Anderson, 2012). Otherwise, beakers and flagons are the only features of the assemblages which we might characterise as more 'Romanised', however a more varied picture emerges when we consider samian ware (*terra sigillata*). While (Figs. 6.31 and 6.32) are concerned with the results of quantitative analysis they will, for the purpose of this thesis, be discussed in the same way as the charts which illustrate presence:absence.

North East Wales/ Cheshire	Beaker(s)	Bowl(s)	Cup(s)	Dish(es)	Flagon(s)	Flask/Jug(s)	Intermediate (/)	Jar(s)	Lid(s)	Plate(s)	Platter(s)	Pot(s)	Urn(s)
Irby, Wirral	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Pentre Farm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Pentre Ffwrndan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Plas Coch, Wrexham	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Prestatyn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Rhuddlan	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N

Fig. 6.29: Presence:absence of forms (pottery other than samian ware and mortaria) in North East Wales/Cheshire

Droitwich	Beaker(s)	Bowl(s)	Cup(s)	Dish(es)	Flagon(s)	Flask/Jug(s)	Intermediate (/)	Jar(s)	Lid(s)	Plate(s)	Platter(s)	Pot(s)	Urn(s)
Bays Meadow	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Dodderhill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Friar Street	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Hanbury Street	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Old Bowling Green	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Upwich	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N

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Fig. 6.30: Presence:absence of forms (pottery other than samian ware and mortaria) in Droitwich
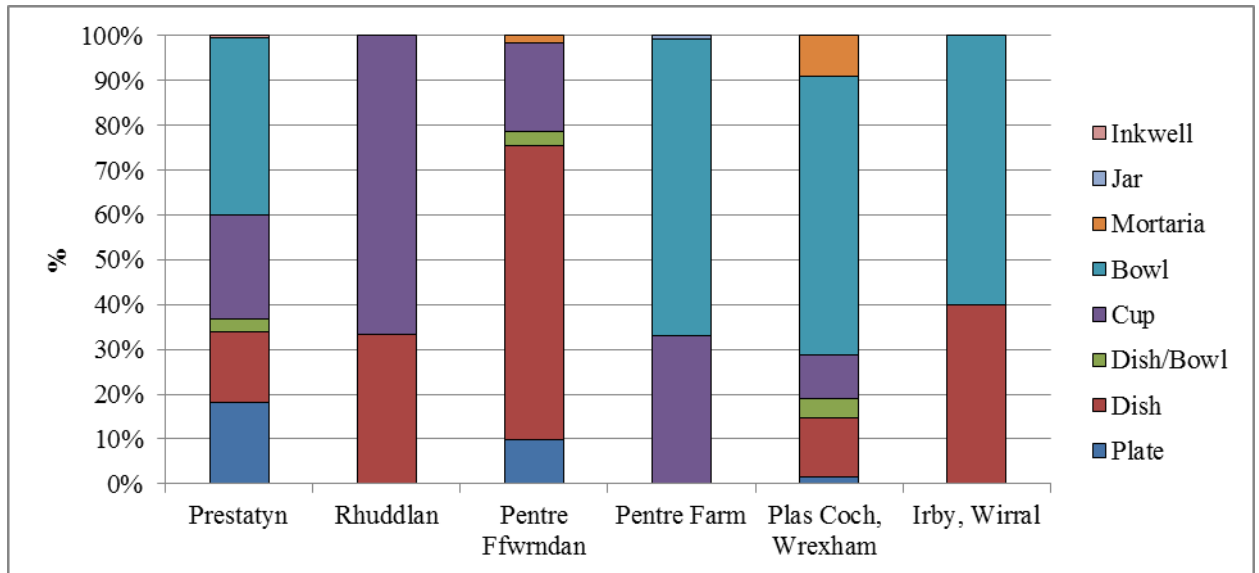
Fig. 6.31: Samian ware (*terra sigillata*) classes at sites in North East Wales/Cheshire (as % of the total recorded number of vessels from each site: excluding indeterminate forms: n= 644)
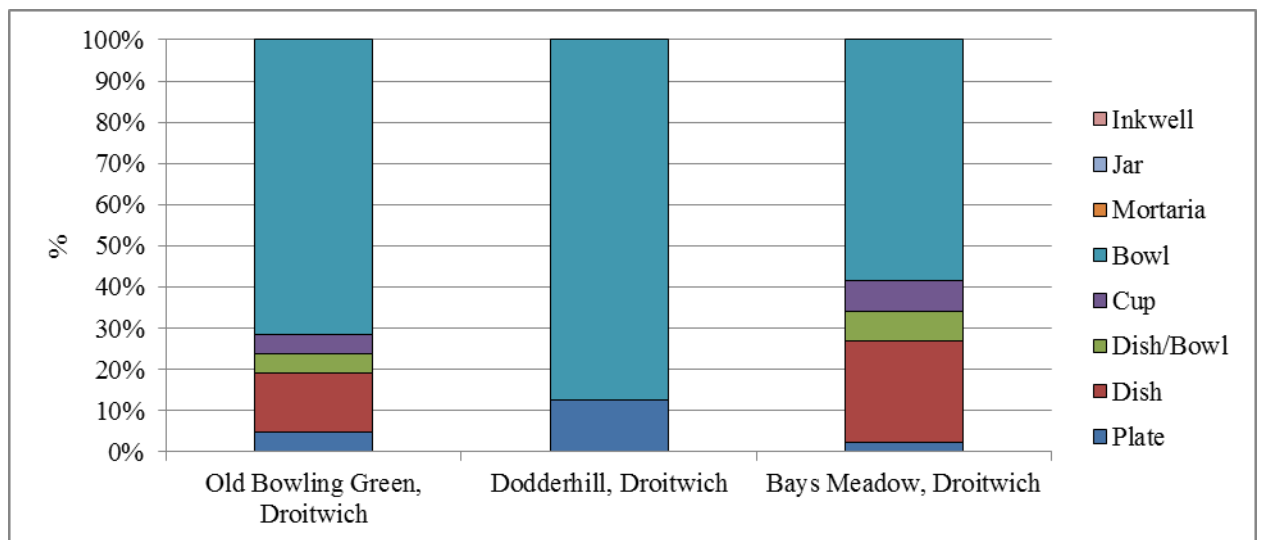
Fig. 6.32: Samian ware (*terra sigillata*) classes at sites in Droitwich (as % of the total recorded number of vessels from each site: excluding indeterminate forms: n= 70)

These results suggest some differences between sites in the South and North, with typically-'Roman' forms recovered more frequently from the former than the latter; however, there are others which cross this divide. Samian ware (*terra sigillata*) bowls, for example, are prevalent at sites in Droitwich, and as noted in (Chapter 6.5) they are among the most common form in Cumbria, yet the picture is more varied in North East Wales/Cheshire; here, the sites at Rhuddlan and Pentre Ffwwrndan do not produce any samian ware bowls (Fig. 6.31). Yet if we were to assume that *terra sigillata* was not particularly 'prized' (contra. Willis, 2011: 189) the fact that there are bowls in other fabrics (Fig. 6.29) might suggest that this absence is not particularly significant. Regardless, the nature of the data in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich provides us with an excellent opportunity to explore some of the nuances of pottery assemblages. Take Rhuddlan, for example; this unenclosed 'native' farmstead/settlement with associated field systems was discovered by chance (Blockley, 1989: 9; Lynch et al. 2000: 165) and, while the small size of the pottery assemblage means that quantitative analysis is impossible, it was observed that 'most of the larger surviving sherds are either of mortaria from Mancetter/Hartshill or of…BB1 from Dorset' while the other fabrics were most likely from unidentified, local kilns (Quinnell et al. 1994: 142). There are similar patterns of pottery consumption in North Wales and Cumbria (Evans, unpublished, a), yet while Black Burnished Ware 1 (BB1) is ubiquitous in the former region its consumption is far rarer in the latter, and almost exclusively restricted to military sites. If we disregard the fabric of the vessels it is possible to see that, in all of the regions studied, a 'complete' range of forms (i.e. vessels for cooking, the consumption of food, and the consumption of liquids) are found at all sites.

Similar patterns are apparent in the presence:absence of briquetage. The known distribution of the Droitwich product has expanded since the 1980s; while it was initially thought to be restricted to Worcestershire/South East Wales (Fig. 6.33: A) excavation and post-excavation analyses over the last thirty years has revealed that it is also present in the area previously thought to be dominated by Cheshire briquetage (Fig. 6.33: B). Cheshire briquetage is found at Prestatyn and Irby, while a recent investigation has noted its presence as far North as the settlement of Great

Woolden Hall which lies between Liverpool and Manchester (Philpott and Adams, 2010: 182: Fig. 5.5). Neither type has been found at any of the sites studied in Cumbria, which might be a consequence of the size and nature of exchange networks, the fact that salt was transported in perishable containers (e.g. wooden barrels), or that there is a source in the region which has yet to be identified. The latter point may well have been influenced by excavation bias as, while Late Iron Age briquetage has been found in the North East and there is evidence for salt production at Street House near
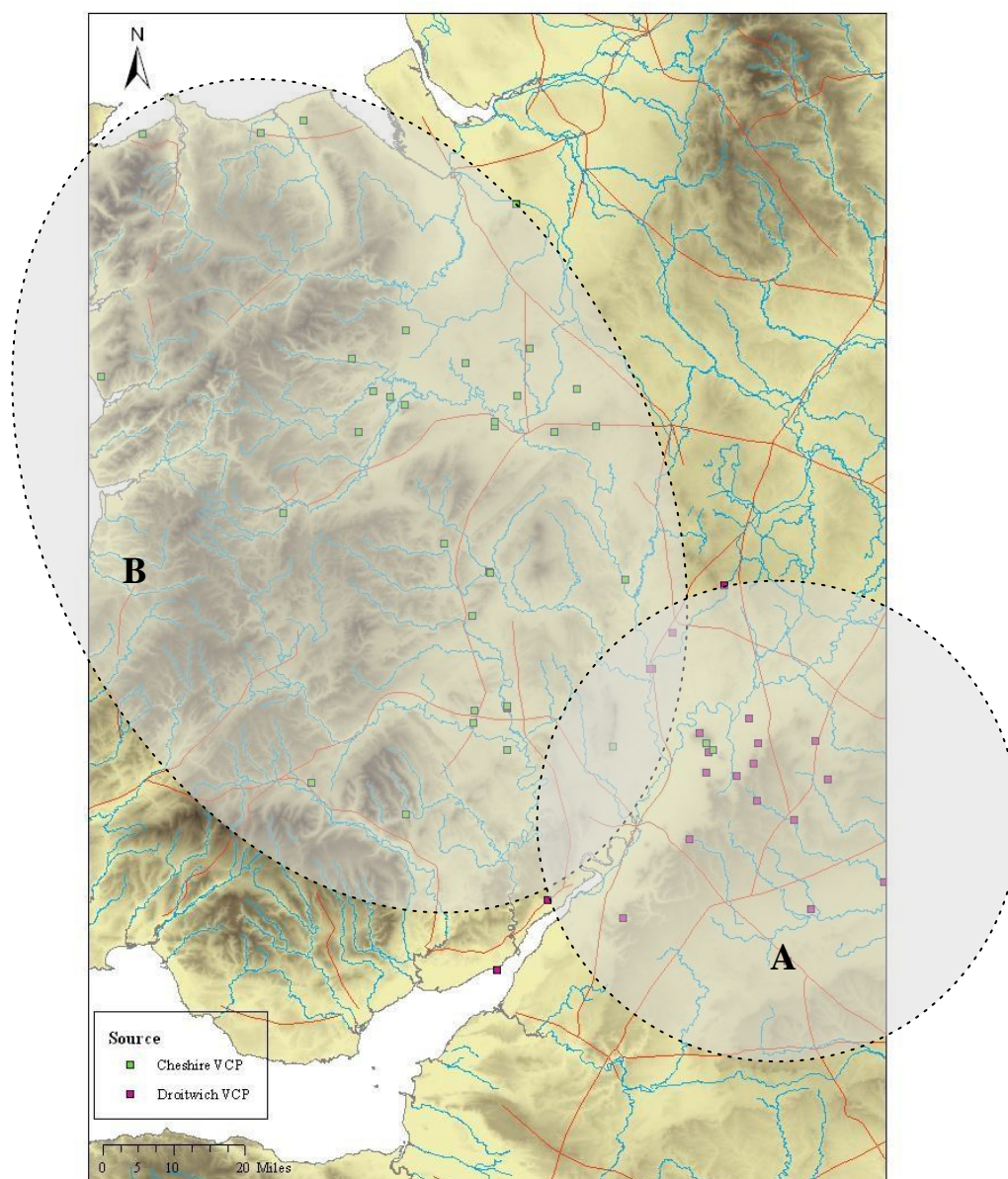
Loftus (North Yorkshire), it is important to be aware of the fact that their recognition is relatively recent (Sherlock, 2010: 121-122; Sherlock and Vyner, 2013).

Fig. 6.33: Distribution of briquetage (after Morris, 1985)

6.8 All Regions: Glass

This thesis argues that, by studying glass, we can explore the relationship between 'native' and 'invader' in a way which has yet to be achieved through the examination of pottery. This material, perhaps more than any other, has the potential to establish a starting point from which to consider the ideas of 'value' and 'choice'. Although the categorisation of objects of glass as 'small finds' means that the number of objects and/or fragments of objects is frequently recorded in far more detail than pottery, especially in earlier excavation reports, to facilitate the comparison of data of varying quality the analysis which follows will be largely qualitative.

Following this (Fig. 6.34) charts the presence:absence of glass on sites studied in Cumbria. It can be argued that these patterns are broadly similar to those observed in relation to the pottery recovered, in that there appears to be a divide between military and non-military sites; while the former is characterised by the complete range of forms, the latter has a far more restricted assemblage with a particular focus on objects of 'personal ornamentation' which have often been described as 'Romano-British'. Correspondingly, (Fig. 6.35) illustrates that the size of the assemblages are typically much smaller at farmsteads/settlements than at forts/*vici*.
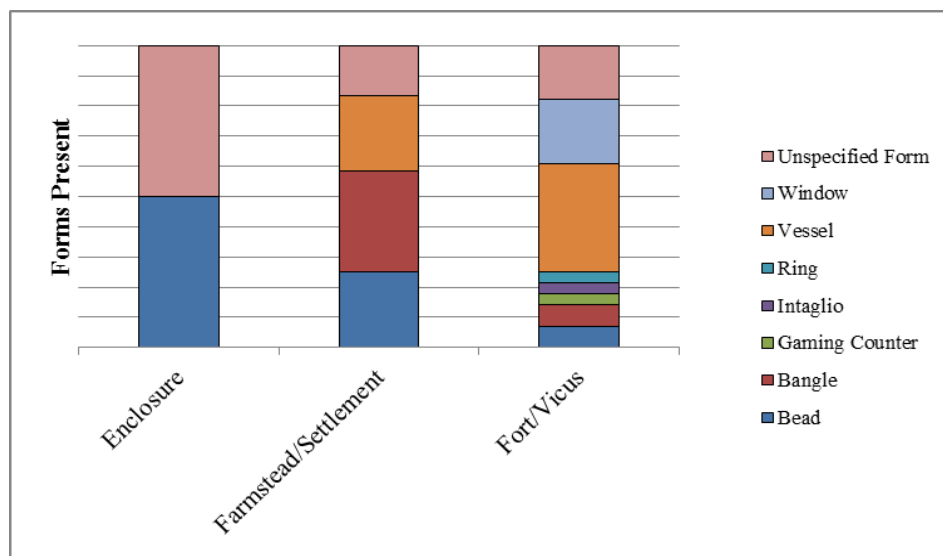
Fig. 6.34: Presence:absence of glass forms at sites in Cumbria
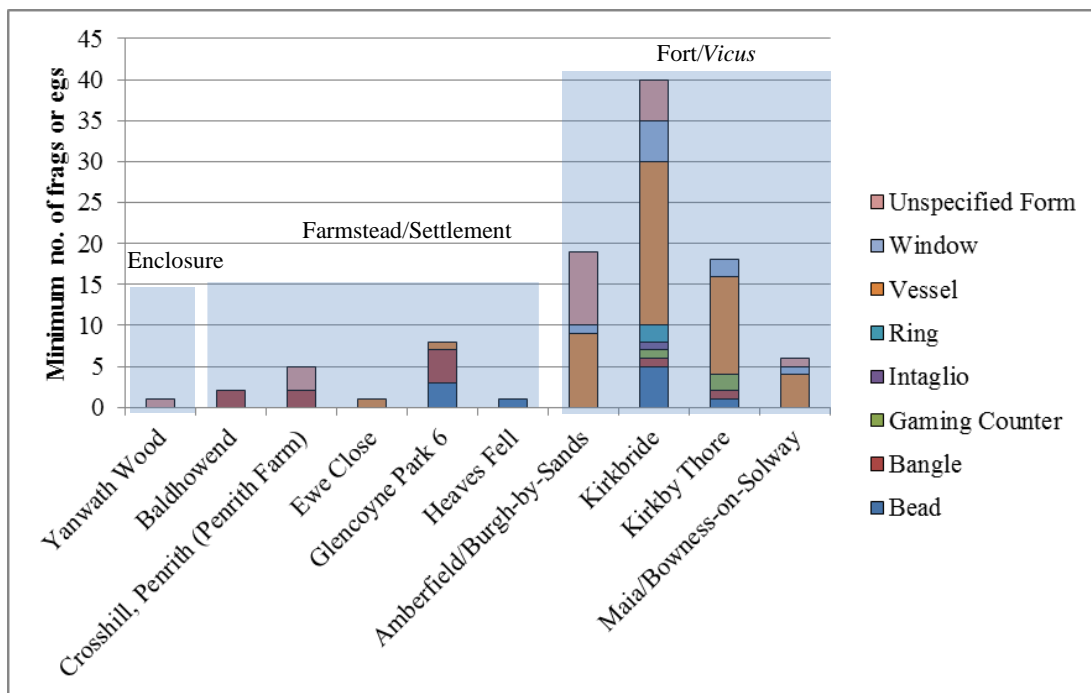
Fig. 6.35: Glass from Cumbria (by site and site type) (total n=101)

The patterns in (Fig. 6.35) might be anticipated as the total excavated area is likely to be far larger at forts/*vici* than farmsteads/settlements. However, it is interesting to think about how they might also be influenced by higher demand by military consumers and ease of access to supply networks, which is particularly apparent with regards to window and vessel glass, and gaming counters and intaglios. If we then examine the results from farmsteads/settlements in the Pennines/Northumberland region it is possible to observe that they produce assemblages which are broadly comparable to those in Cumbria (Fig. 6.36), with a similar number of finds and an apparent preference for objects of personal ornamentation.
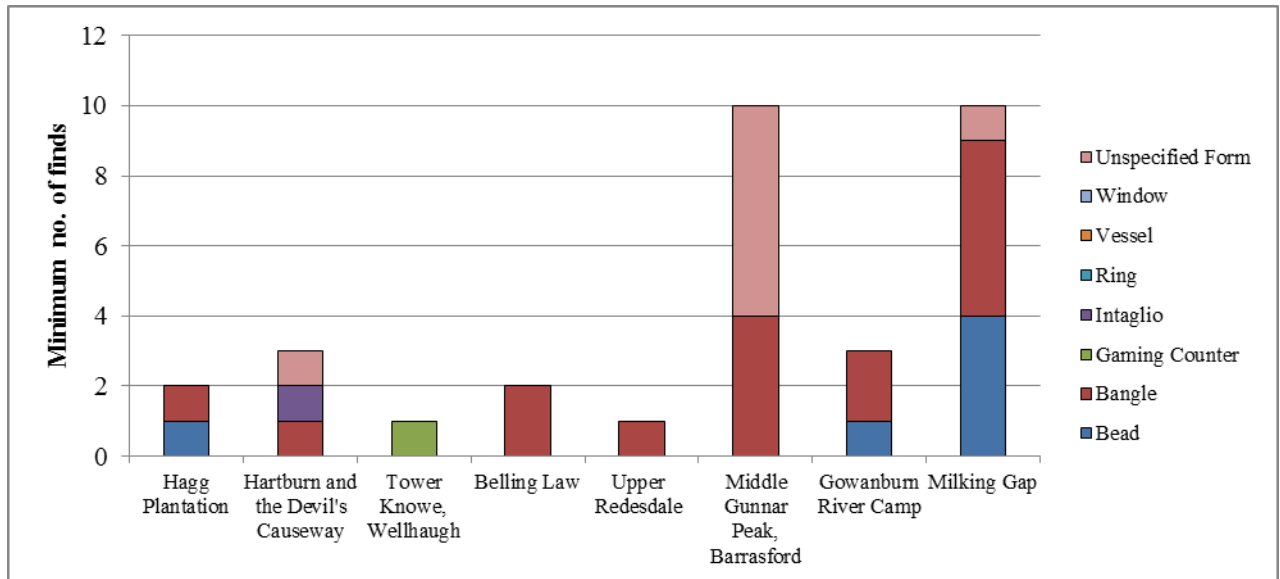
Fig. 6.36: Glass from Pennines/Northumberland region (by site: all farmsteads/settlements) (total n=32)

In a broad-brush examination Ross argued that:

'In every case there is a marked difference between the finds from the north-east and those of the north-west: this indicates the presence of two distinctive and independent cultures with remarkably little in common except for their almost universal preference for the traditional roundhouse'

(2011: 94)

Such an interpretation is influenced by traditional, culture-historical narratives which argue that differences in material assemblages are due to the existence of distinct cultural groups despite the fact that, as noted earlier in (Chapters 2.4-2.4.2), these interpretations have fallen out of favour. By re-examining results from existing studies in Northern England along with the analysis undertaken for the purpose, and considering that contemporary stereotypes may also have played a role (see Chapter 2.4.3), this thesis will argue that, in their well-intended efforts to give the 'native' a voice, researchers have managed to overlook the complexity of these groups.

In the first instance, while there is evidence to suggest there are differences either side of the Pennines, it is important not to assume that this range of hills served as a barrier which people, 'things', and ideas could not pass through. Broad similarities are indicated by the fact that relatively few objects made of glass are recovered from 'native' farmsteads/settlements in the North of England. 18 were recovered from 6 nonmilitary sites in Cumbria (Fig. 6.35), 32 were found at 8 sites in the Pennines/Northumberland region (Fig. 6.36), and 44 from 17 in the North East (Anderson, 2012: 174). However, if we remove duplicated sites (Tower Knowe, Middle Gunnar Peak, Hartburn (and the Devil's Causeway), Belling Law, and Gowanburn River Camp) the final total for the North East region is 18 objects of glass from 12 sites (although 13 sites are recorded in Appendix 3). The distribution of glass on non-military sites in (Fig. 6.37) suggests that we should perhaps see the Cheviots and North Pennines as a routeway through which this particular commodity was exchanged. This region demonstrates a concentration of glass (area circled), and it is interesting to note that in the case of the quantified sites, Middle Gunnar Peak and Milking Gap produce the largest assemblages (shaded circles), and that these volumes decrease towards the West. It is possible that this is evidence for down-the-line exchange with production occurring in Scotland, perhaps in East Lothian; researchers have suggested, for example, that glass bangles may have been produced at Traprain Law (Kilbride-Jones, 1938: 394). In addition to this, all the military sites where objects of glass have been recovered are clustered around the Solway Firth (Fig. 6.38), which might suggest that these new 'things' were being brought into the region through a port in this area.
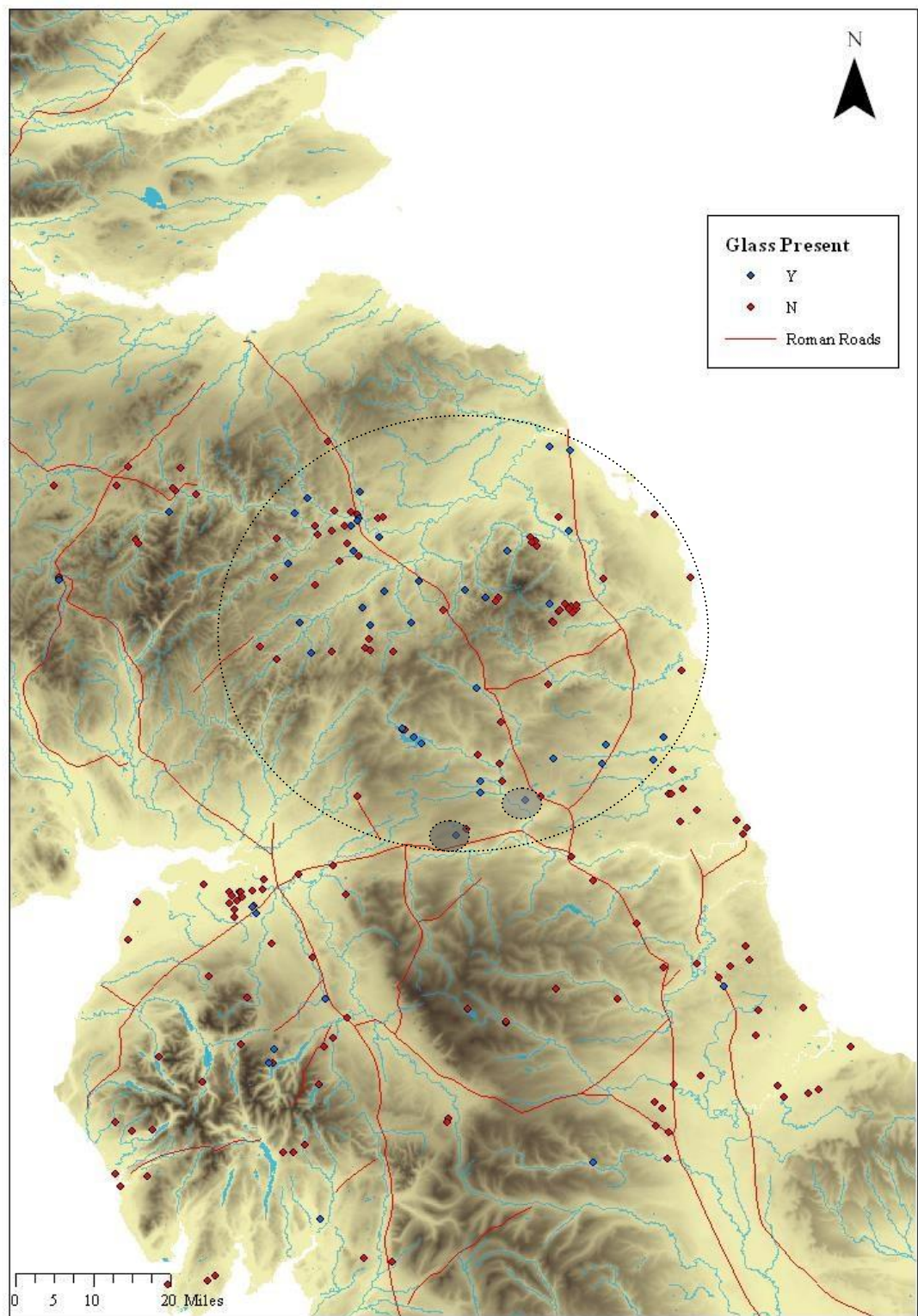
Fig. 6.37: Glass in Cumbria and Pennines/Northumberland: non-military sites (with additions from North East England and South East Scotland: Anderson, 2012; Wilson, 2010)
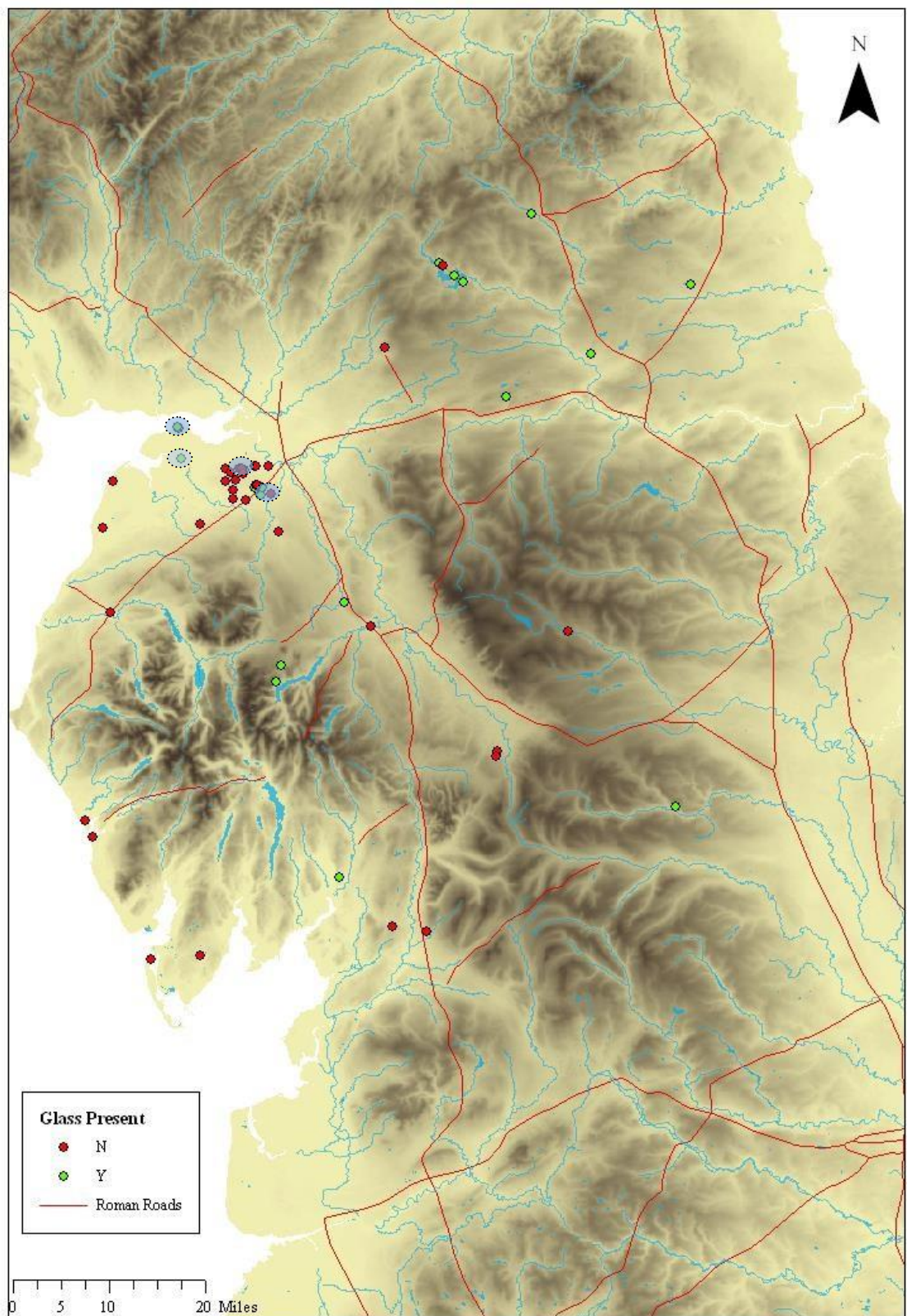
Fig. 6.38: Presence:absence of glass at all sites studied in Cumbria and Pennines/Northumberland region (military sites highlighted)

If we consider these patterns alongside (Fig. 6.39), which maps the known distribution of glass bangles in the 1970s, it is once again possible to identify a clustering of finds around the North Pennines/Cheviots (A) as well as one in East Lothian (B).

Fig. 6.39: Glass bangles in Britain (Stevenson 1976: 49: Fig. 2)

Given the lack of concrete evidence for glass production, and the fact that vessel glass seems to have been frequently recycled in order to make beads and bangles (see Chapter 4.3.2), it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty what these patterns mean. Nevertheless it is possible to suggest some differences between the North of England and Southern Scotland, and North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich.
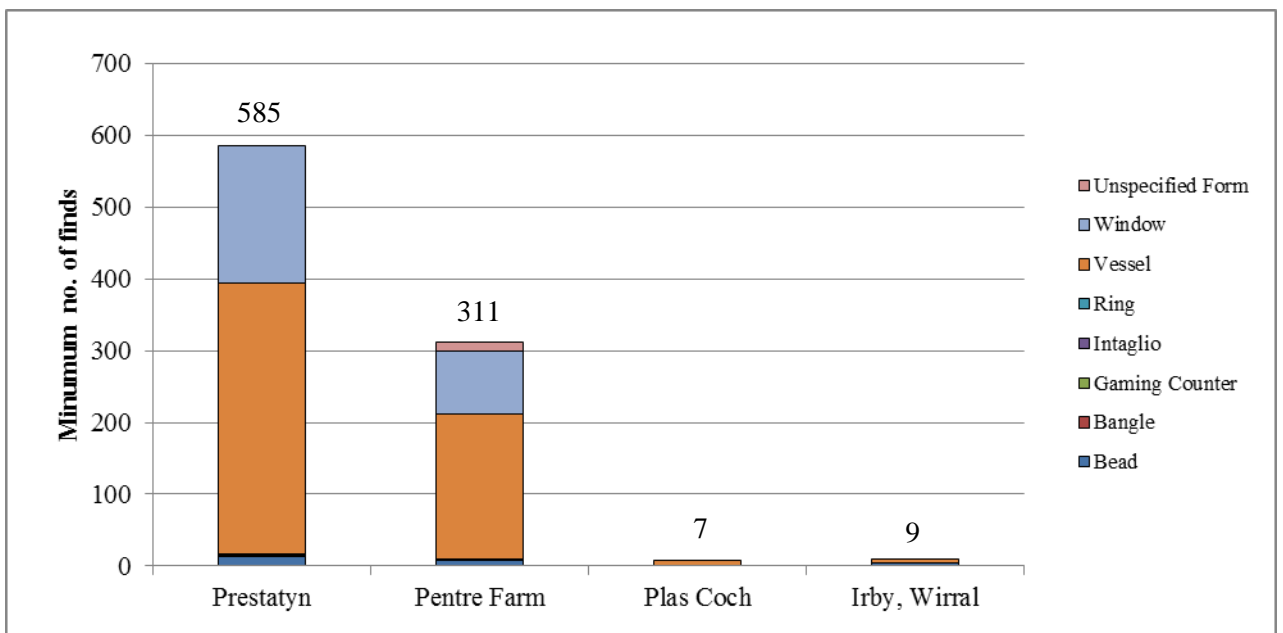
Fig. 6.40: Glass from sites studied in North East Wales/Cheshire (total n=912)

(Fig. 6.40) illustrates that all but two sites in North East Wales/Cheshire, the farmstead/settlement at Rhuddlan and the industrial site/settlement at Pentre Ffwrndan, produced evidence for glass (both fragments and complete objects). The minimum numbers of finds recorded vary markedly between Prestatyn and Pentre Farm, and Plas Coch and Irby, with the latter two small assemblages of comparable size to those in the North of England. Although the fact they are very small means that it difficult to make any detailed observations about these assemblages, it is nonetheless worthwhile noting that there are some interesting differences in their functional composition; that, while those at farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria and the Pennines/Northumberland are dominated by beads and bangles (Figs. 6.35 and

6.36), comparable sites in North East Wales/Cheshire produce far more vessel glass (Fig. 6.41).
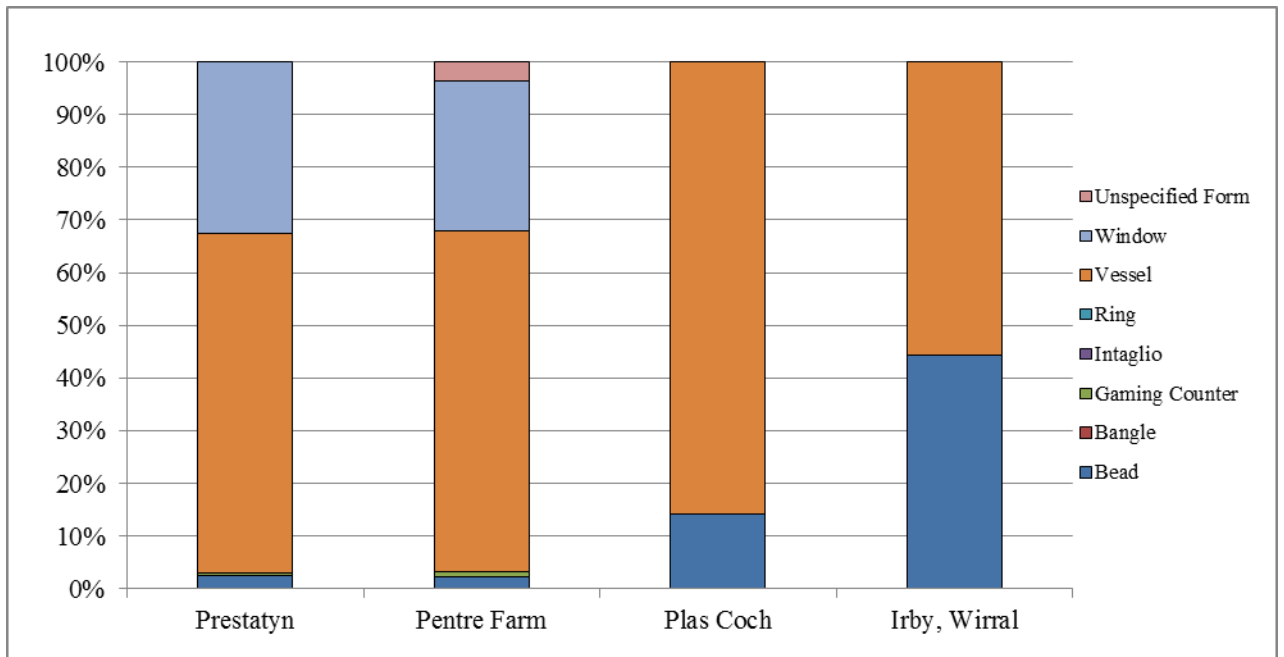
Fig. 6.41: Glass from sites in North East Wales/Cheshire (as % of each site total) (total n=912)

Moreover, when we compare the results from North East Wales/Cheshire (Figs. 6.40 and 6.41) against those from Droitwich (Figs. 6.42 and 6.43), it is apparent that there are similarities between these two regions, and particularly at the farmsteads/settlements at Plas Coch, Irby, and Hanbury Street. It is difficult to say what has caused these patterns; however, it is interesting to note that it is not a result of a North:South divide; the presence of Droitwich briquetage at Prestatyn and Irby (Philpott and Adams, 2010: 182: Fig. 5.5) indicates contact between these two regions, and this might also be supported by the aforementioned similarities in the composition of samian ware (*terra sigillata*) assemblages (see Chapter 6.7.2). The 'type' of site might also be important. It has been argued, for example, that while Prestatyn was a farmstead/settlement during the Iron Age it developed into an industrial complex after the Roman Conquest (Blockley, 1989). Similarly, Pentre Farm may have served an official role in the administration of lead mining in the region (O'Leary, 1989), and it is interesting to note that both sites produce relatively

large glass assemblages. By contrast, two of the sites in Droitwich which provide the smallest glass assemblages are industrial sites associated with the production of salt; however, the fact that the third (Old Bowling Green) produces the largest in that study area might provide evidence to support the idea that it was an exchange 'node'. Moreover, it has been noted that the fact the brine tanks and furnaces are aligned with the river 'may reflect the importance of the river for transport of exported salt' (Woodiwiss, 1992: 184).
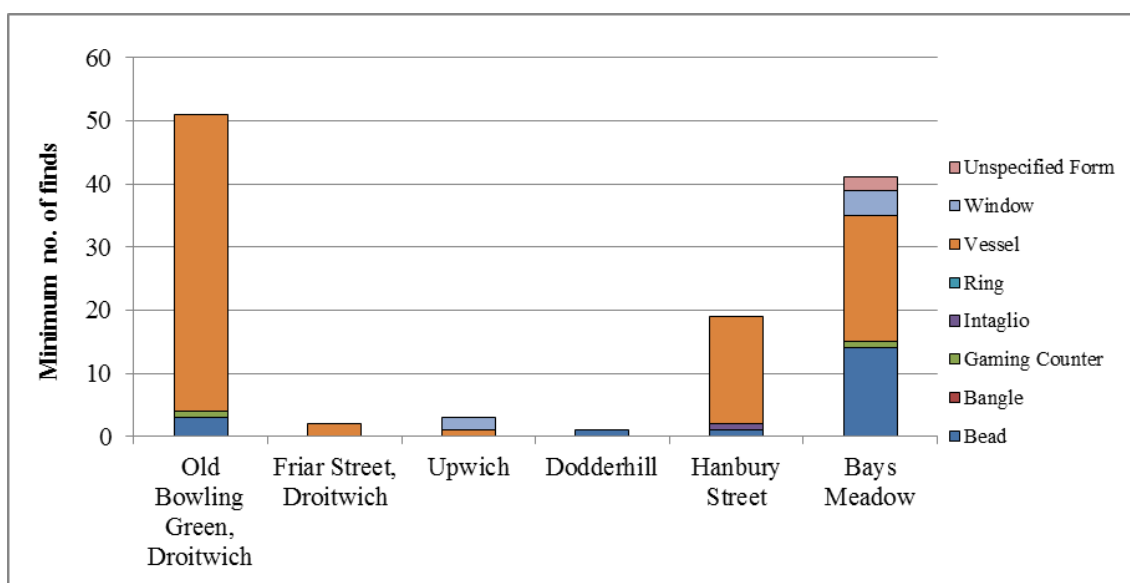
Fig. 6.42: Glass from sites studied in Droitwich (total n=117)
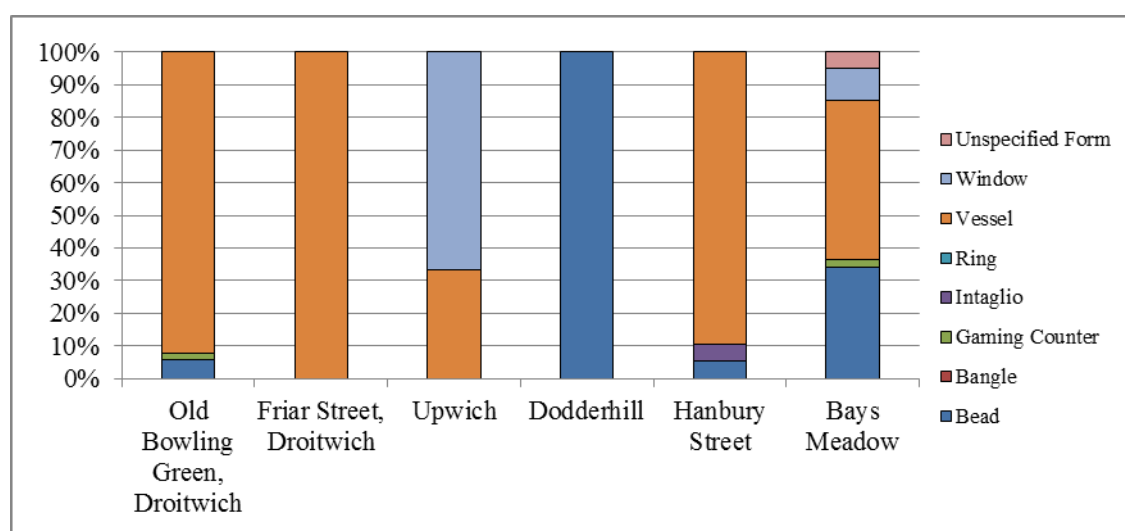
Fig. 6.43: Glass from sites in Droitwich (as % of each site total) (total n=117)
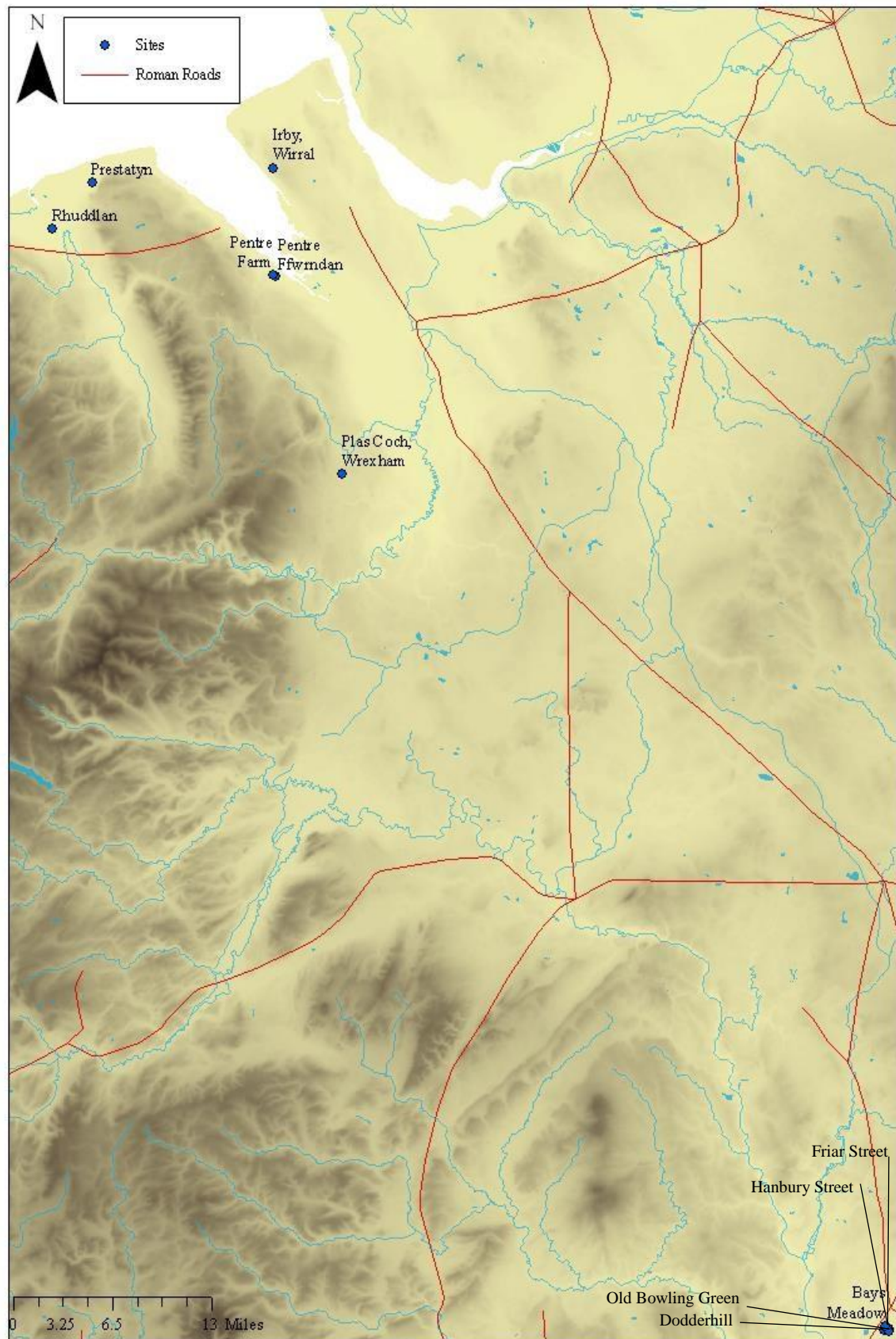
Fig. 6.44: Sites studied in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich

The villa at Bays Meadow is the one site in Droitwich with a glass assemblage that produces the most typically-'Roman' forms. As a consequence of the proximity to salt production it has been suggested that the villa complex might best be 'interpreted as the residence of whoever controlled the salt production at *Salinae* [Droitwich] from the mid-2nd through to the late 4th century A.D.', either a government official (*procurator*), a local noble, or an entrepreneur (Barfield, 2006: 239). This is potentially significant, especially given that similar patterns have been observed at the official building at Pentre Farm and the industrial site/settlement at Prestatyn, as well as forts/*vici* in Cumbria. While the reliance on top-down models to explain the movement of commodities around Roman Britain has been critiqued, this evidence is interesting as it may support such an interpretation. A relationship between the location of the Old Bowling Green site, and by extension all of the sites in Droitwich, and the role played by rivers in the transportation of goods has already been noted. Similar patterns can be observed in North East Wales/Cheshire, where the location of the sites studied (excluding Plas Coch) in close proximity to the coastline, in addition to the fact that the sites at Prestatyn and Pentre Farm produce particularly large assemblages of glass, might well suggest the existence of a trade route. Similar patterns have also been observed in relation to the pottery founds at sites in the region, with a relatively broad range of samian ware (*terra sigillata*) forms found (see Chapter 6.7.2), and although it is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss the issue further, it is interesting to note that Evans has argued in a similar manner that the fact BB1 accounts for 33% of the total pottery found at Irby 'confirm[s] the putative port function of the enigmatic site at Meols' (unpublished, b).

6.9 Discussion

The aim of this section is not to propose a 'Grand Narrative'. Instead, by building on the observations made throughout this chapter, it will consider how we might interpret these results. This process will demonstrate how we need to be critically aware of the fact that material, methodological, and theoretical constraints

shape all archaeological interpretations. If we take this into account a paucity of archaeological evidence need not be as problematic as many existing narratives imply. Instead, by accepting this as a matter of fact and creating a model which allows for uncertainty in our interpretations, we can begin to explore the way that perceptions of value (for discussion see Chapter 3) shaped the day-to-day choice(s) made by all of the inhabitants of Roman Cumbria.

6.9.1 Pottery and Glass

The fact that 'things' with 'Roman' and 'native' character are present at sites with affiliations to the other group is clear evidence for cross-cultural interaction in Cumbria. While, to a greater or latter extent, this can be observed throughout the province of *Britannia*, the results of analysis demonstrate that the degree of connectivity varies from region to region. In Cumbria, for example, the material 'fingerprint' of pottery assemblages varies between military/civilian sites and rural farmsteads/settlements as, while the former produces a complete range of 'Roman' pottery, this tends to be more restricted at the latter. A similar pattern can be observed in North East England and South East Scotland. The evidence from North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich seems to be in striking contrast to these results as all but one site had a complete pottery assemblage (as defined for the purpose of this thesis). As archaeologists we are constrained in our analyses in that we are unable to study what is not present or, perhaps more accurately, we cannot study it in the same manner as what is present; for example, the evidence appears to suggest that Cumbria was far more connected with the rest of Britain and Continental Europe after the Conquest (post-A.D. 70) than before (pre-A.D. 70), although this may well be a result of the high visibility of 'Roman' finds in the archaeological record. A similar observation can be made regarding the fact that complete assemblages are far more common in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich than Cumbria. However, if we assume that there was a greater degree of connectivity across Britain following its incorporation into the Roman Empire, then the differences between regions provide an interesting opportunity to explore the issue of consumer choice.

This can be seen, for example, in the similarities and differences between farmsteads/settlements. In regards to typically-'Roman' pottery, which (for the purpose of this thesis) includes Black Burnished Ware 1 (BB1), mortaria, samian ware (*terra sigillata*), and amphorae, sites in Cumbria, North East England and South East Scotland rarely produce examples, all of those in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich produce a complete range. However, when we consider 'other' pottery, it is clear that the inhabitants of farmsteads/settlements had a preference for bowls or bowl-like forms. Previously, it has been argued that this is an indication that food or drink was consumed from a communal vessel rather than one designed for individual use (Ross, 2009: 165), and from a socio-evolutionary standpoint this, in conjunction with the frequent incidence of jars and pots, might be interpreted as evidence for the continuity of 'Iron Age' ways of life in the region. The problem is that this is an oversimplification, and overlooks the fact that we have little evidence for the use of pottery in pre-Conquest Cumbria. However, at the same time, the selection of a restricted range of forms suggests that we are not seeing a shift towards 'Roman' ways of eating and drinking. Similarly complex patterns are apparent in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich. Following Eerkens and Lipo (2007: 243), while some attributes suggest that the rural population were conforming to a 'Roman' way of life others appear to conform to longlived 'native' identities. The villa at Bays Meadow, Droitwich, provides a far more 'Romanised' samian assemblage but, while the farmstead/settlement at Hanbury Street produced evidence for the consumption of samian ware, there was unfortunately no record of the forms present. However, if we consider Willis (2011: Fig. 6), it is possible to observe differences between rural settlements in that particular study region (Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Worcestershire, Norfolk, West Sussex, Hertfordshire, Essex, East Sussex, Gloucestershire and Leicestershire), North East Wales/Cheshire and the North of England. This may well be indicative of some broad differences between Highland and Lowland Britain, with an intermediate region around the North East Wales/Cheshire region. In fact, work undertaken as part of an ongoing project *The rural settlement of Roman Britain* has demonstrated with some certainty that there are two zones within the West Midlands, one in the North West and one in the South East; in the case of the latter, it is:

'...characterised by many features common to the South East of the country (rectangular and masonry buildings, wider coin use, more complex farms)... [while the former produces evidence which is] more similar to the pattern seen in Wales and the

North'.

(Brindle, 2014b)

Throughout this thesis, it has been argued that the way that archaeologists have approached research in Cumbria has served to emphasise many of the dichotomies (e.g. North:South, military:civilian, urban:rural, etc.) which, in many ways, have characterised our understanding of Roman Britain. Although many are deconstructing and questioning these long-lived assumptions, for example the reality of a strict military:civilian divide (see James, 2001), the reality is that, until now, these developments have had limited impact in the North West of England. This section has begun to question the stress we have placed on the issue of connectivity and, more importantly, has shown that regional traditions were just as significant in the Roman period as they had been during the Iron Age.

While there are undoubtedly similarities the situation is, in some ways, far more complex when it comes to the examination of the results concerning glass. In Cumbria and the Pennines/Northumberland, the evidence recovered from forts/*vici* appears to indicate a preference for vessel and window glass, while objects of personal ornamentation are the most commonly found at 'native' farmsteads/settlements. The results from comparable sites in North East Wales/Cheshire are quite different. In the first instance, there is far greater variability in the size of glass assemblages in this particular region, with those at Prestatyn and Pentre Farm particularly large, Plas Coch and Irby significantly smaller, while Rhuddlan and Pentre Ffwrndan produce no glass at all. It is interesting to note that, in addition to providing settlement evidence, the sites of Prestatyn and Pentre Farm might have served industrial or administrative roles (for discussion see Blockley, 1989; O'Leary, 1989), which might explain why their

assemblages are more comparable to forts/*vici* in Cumbria. Interestingly the same has been said about the site at Hawk Hirst, which had a hypocaust and a large number of finds including a hoard of 3rd century coins, pottery, a bronze lamp, a bronze statue (possibly of Mercury), a bronze ornament (inscribed IOVIS), and a 4th century crossbow brooch, although its exceptional nature (Collins, 2008: 50-51) and lack of secure stratification limits what it can tell us. Moreover, there is even greater divergence when it comes to the form of glass, as the farmsteads/settlements demonstrate a preference for vessels rather than objects of personal ornamentation. This suggests that, unlike pottery, the rural inhabitants of North East Wales/Cheshire might have valued glass in a way which is more similar to their contemporaries in Droitwich.

From a socio-evolutionary standpoint, these differences might be viewed as suggesting that the inhabitants of farmsteads/settlements were living a more 'Iron Age' way of life. However, given the apparent paucity of ceramics prior to the Conquest, the fact that pottery of any form/fabric was present is suggestive of a change in behaviour, yet it need not be interpreted as a shift towards becoming 'Roman'; after all, 'interaction is one thing and cultural transmission another…[and] the former can exist without the latter' (Knappett, 2011: 136). It was once argued that 'the transference of 'Roman' material into the indigenous material culture of people living in Britain' was promoted by its availability and convenience (Cooper, 1996: 85), however this thesis has argued that, while some populations were integrated into one 'sphere' within which 'things' were purchased, others were not and, so, acquired them through different means. The analysis undertaken for the purpose of this chapter has demonstrated that there was a ready supply of glass and pottery in Cumbria, North East England and Southern Scotland, and North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich North of England. Correspondingly the fact that it is present at some, but not all, 'native' farmsteads/settlements illustrates that demand does not only vary between regions but within them. This is not a new observation. This thesis has demonstrated the importance of being critical of the co-dependence between the phrase 'supply and demand' and the concept of a market economy (see Chapters 2.2-2.2.2), and this is particularly important if we want to stop characterising the individuals who acquired

and consumed 'things' as passive. Instead, by taking consumer choice into consideration and approaching interpretations from a 'middle ground', then it is possible to explore the active decisions made by both 'native' and 'invader'.

6.9.2 Finding a Middle Ground

But where is this 'middle ground'? While it is, at least in part, an interpretative concept (see Chapters 3.2-3.3), it can also take the form of a physical space; Cohen, for example, highlighted that 'groups become aware of their ethnic identity when they engage with others', and that these differences become particularly apparent at the boundaries between different cultures or locales (1982: 3). Given the patterns of acquisition, we might suggest that the *civitas* at Carlisle, forts, or *vici* might have served as re-distribution 'nodes', yet this chapter has demonstrated that being in close proximity to such sites and of (broadly) comparable date is no guarantee for the uptake of typically 'Roman' goods. An alternative is that some 'native' farmsteads/settlements might have played this role; it has been argued, for instance, that those examples close to the *limes* in the Netherlands which demonstrated some degree of change in their artefact assemblages might have served as trading-posts (Galestin, 2010: 77). However, as demonstrated at the start of this thesis (see Chapter 1) there are problems with relying on this kind of analogy when dealing with datasets of such varying sizes and/or qualities. Moreover, it overlooks the fact that the idea of long-distance exchange nodes serving as contact zones '*par excellence*' may well be 'overly simplistic' (Maran, 2012: 121). In Dumfries (South West Scotland) there is, as in Cumbria, limited uptake of newly-available goods at farmsteads/settlements despite the fact that they are found at nearby military installations (Bruhn, 2008: 210), and this chapter has also observed comparable patterns in North East England and South East Scotland. Given the differences noted in North East Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich it would be easy to assume that inhabitants in these regions were living a more 'Roman' manner. Yet to do so would overlook the following statement:

'‘Roman' is a discourse, a project which each person understands in a different way. The same material which was used to create an elite Roman experience was also used to construct the experience of a Roman woman, a Roman child or a Roman slave. Their understanding of being Roman was different from that of the local magistrate, but it was not necessarily less Roman. It was formed at a local level, and so was mediated through other elements of their individual experience'.

(Revell, 2009: 189)

Identities are complex and, as noted in (Chapter 2.5.1), they have the potential to become even more so in culture-contact situations. Taking this into consideration, it is possible to suggest an alternative interpretation of the patterns observed in Cumbria. If we assume, for example, that the frequent incidence of mortaria on farmsteads/settlements indicates that they were not being used in a typically-'Roman' manner, then we might suggest that their apparent popularity is a result of the 'native' population adapting a vessel of a (roughly) equivalent size and form to samian ware bowls (e.g. Dragendorff 37). But why samian ware (*terra sigillata*)? Do the decorations 'speak' to the consumer? Is it the red-ness of the slip appealing? Does it seem 'exotic'? Is it adopted because it fits into an existing tradition of consumption and, if so, what was being consumed? It has been observed that 'though the size of a vessel is amongst its most obvious and important properties, it is also one of the most rarely considered in archaeological analysis' and, in the same discussion, the author asked: 'is size not the most fundamental property of an object, and at least one of the most fundamental potential restrictions on its uses' (Anderson, 2012: 91). Whether or not size was the most fundamental property cannot be discussed in detail given the limitations of the dataset in Cumbria. Nevertheless, it is likely that this factor will have played some role in the choice to acquire, for example, a Dragendorff 37 bowl. Following this it can be argued that there was some amount of continuity in socio-cultural practices throughout the Roman occupation, but the question is: to what extent does this tie into pre-Roman traditions? Research in Southern England and on the Continent has suggested that the adoption (or, more accurately, the appropriation) of 'foreign' drinking vessels had more to do with economic than social factors,

inasmuch as locals were only selecting 'those aspects of foreign culture that appealed to them' (Hayne, 2010: 157). More specifically it has been argued that appropriation may 'emerge from practices relating to social maintenance and reproduction, power relationships and the construction of identities' (Vives-Ferrándiz, 2010: 209). It has also been suggested that groups in Roman Britain were using material culture 'as a measure of expressing their own distinctiveness and segregation from other groups in society' (Mattingly, 2007: 520), and using 'material culture in specific contexts, or encounters, reaffirms individual and local 'ways of doing'' (Kohring, 2011: 148). These observations appear to build on the idea 'that culture may be used by groups to communicate within-group corporateness in reference to outsiders' (Hodder, 1979: 446). Unfortunately, while the concept of appropriation implies the existence of a 'middle ground' it nevertheless tends to prioritise the 'native' (as opposed to the 'invader'). Moreover it implies that, in these situations, there was an individual or single group which served as the catalyst for bringing together the people involved in these practices; in this regard, it is suggestive of the existence of a strictly hierarchical society. After all, as Fincham posits:

'The modes of behaviour of groups subject to domination or threat may be policed, as non-conformity is a risk to group survival. If we include consumption within this range of behaviour... a dominated native who attempts to 'eat Roman' from their new samian bowl may be met with disapproval from neighbours. This group, socially subordinate to a local elite, may have little option but to use the bowls available... but the social meaning of the object may be dominated by its bowlness, rather than its Roman-ness, and the use of the bowl may carry with it social significance defined by circumstances internal to the group'.

(2002: 36)

Following this assertion, Fincham created a 'topology' of consumption (Fig. 6.45) which, although different because it cites the role played by elites, roughly corresponds with the model created for the purpose of this thesis (Fig. 6.46). It also adds credence to the argument that value, which is equivalent to meaning, can shift depending

on the 'sphere' within which it is situated, and is therefore pertinent regardless of the absence of evidence for elite control in Cumbria.

Potter creates pot which is sold on

Potter merchant sells on pottery

Some pottery leaves system through breakage

Individuals who have brought pottery may exchange it within their near social group, in which case the social meaning of the object remains the same

Long distance exchange may transfer pottery to a different social group with different social meanings for ceramics

Fig. 6.45: Topology of consumption (of pottery) (after Fincham, 2002: 38: Fig. 2)
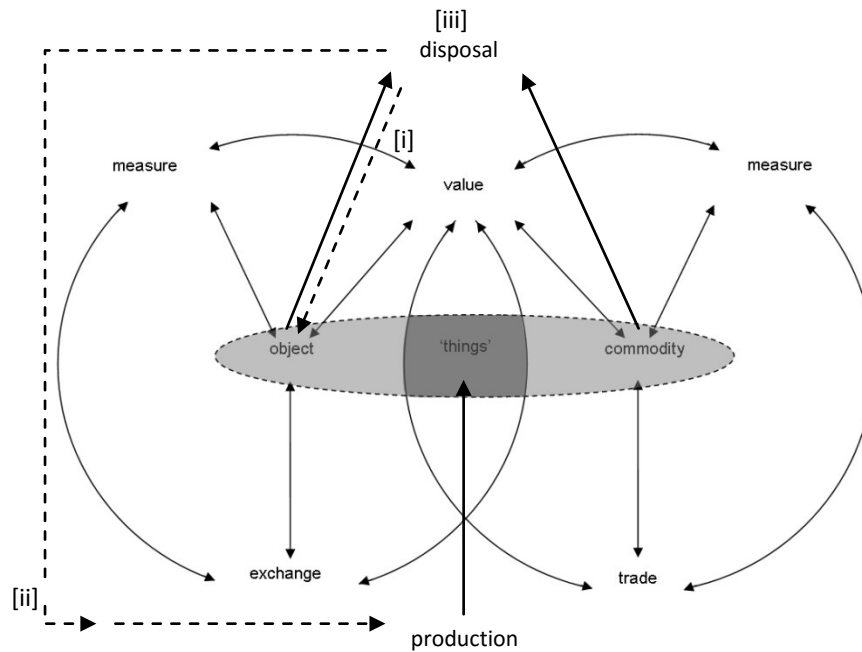
Fig. 6.46: Model concerned with the social and commercial value of 'things', incorporating production, disposal, and recycling

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter has suggested a complex reality in Cumbria; that rather than being excluded from the 'Roman' economy the 'native' population was, perhaps, making a choice instead to interact with it in subtle, archaeologically indistinct ways, and that the extent to which this occurred varied depending on material type and artefact form. Two factors permitted this 'middle ground' approach to the available evidence. Cumbria has, firstly, been viewed as the core rather than the periphery; this approach is inspired by James (1999: 14: Fig. 2) and demonstrates how, by merely adjusting our perspective, we can achieve a more people-centric understanding of the interrelationship between Britain, Ireland, and the rest of Iron Age Europe. Secondly, by taking a 'nested approach', it has not only possible to demonstrate the importance of contextualising the results of analysis, but also the fact that exchange systems can co-exist and indeed overlap with one another (van Wijngaarden, 1999: 22). This, along with the results outlined in this chapter, ultimately supports the idea that instead of viewing the economy of Roman Britain as a static, monumental reality it is in fact

more appropriate to think about it as a conceptual entity made up of multiple, overlapping systems (Fig. 6.47). Ultimately, by discussing the differential uptake of particular 'things' within these systems we can begin to create a more balanced, 'middle ground' understanding of how and why their adoption and/or adaptation fluctuated so markedly across Roman Britain.
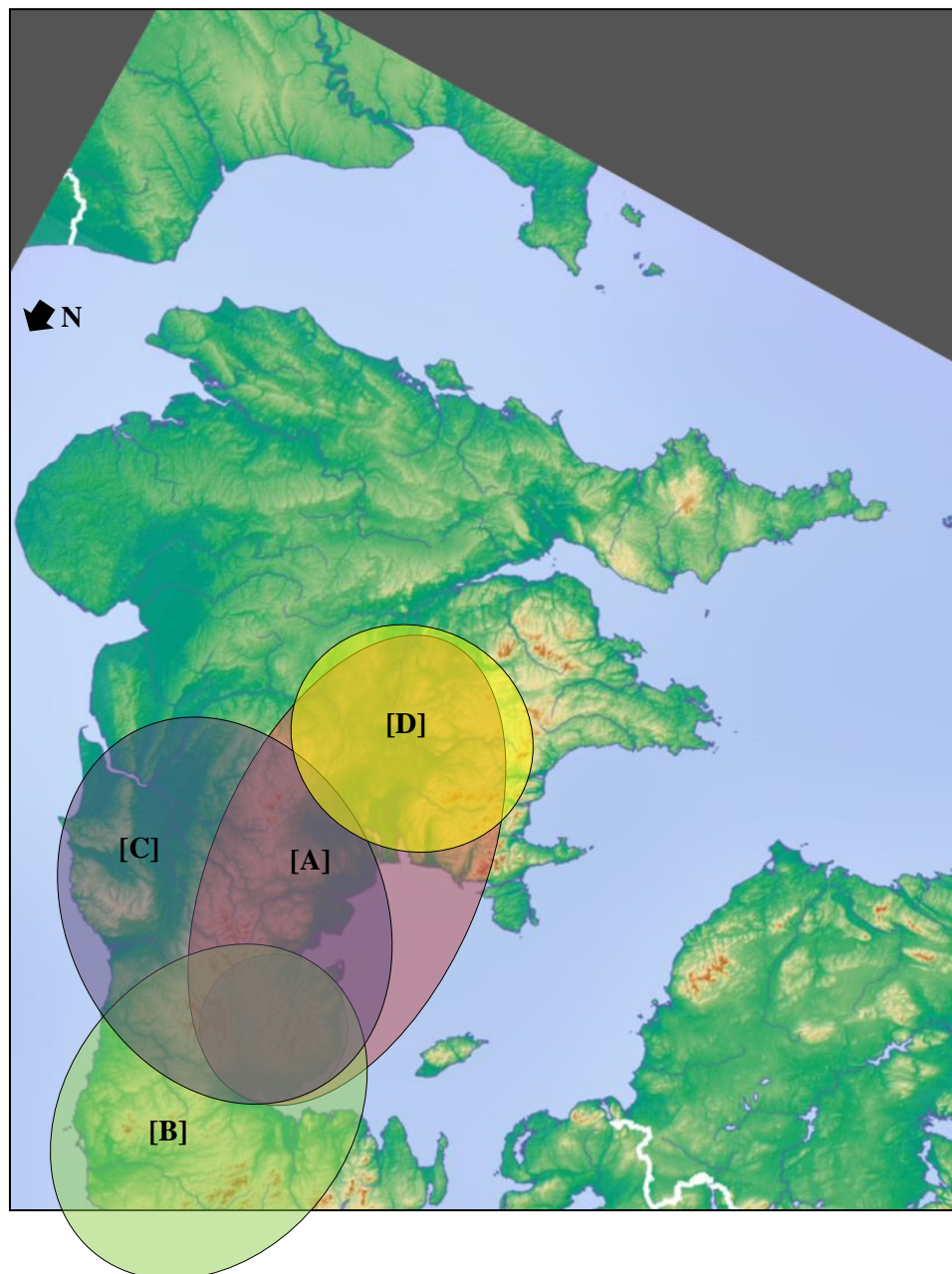
Fig. 6.47: Cumbria at the 'core' of different value systems: [A] Early Roman pottery, [B] glass bangles, [C] Late Roman pottery, and [D] briquetage.

6.11 Everyday Life in Cumbria

The previous sections have explored how by embracing the idea that a 'thing' (or collection of 'things') can be valued in different ways by different groups; unfortunately, as noted throughout this thesis, the nature of the archaeological record makes it difficult to interpret these patterns, and to ultimately create a detailed picture of everyday life in Roman Cumbria. However, if we remain conscious of these limitations and consider the results set out in this chapter with respect to the model illustrated in (Fig. 6.45), it is possible to create a simple, albeit speculative, narrative.

As noted in (Chapter 5.5), dating of 'native' farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria is difficult as a consequence of the nature of the archaeological record. However, if we assume that at least some of the sites recorded in the Cumbria and Lake District HERs date to the Iron Age, then the evidence appears to suggest that small-scale, mixed agricultural communities were the norm during this period. The farmsteads/settlements vary in form, and construction techniques appear to differ between upland and lowland zones, but in both areas they are often associated with extensive field systems. What evidence we have suggests that these communities were largely self-sufficient; raising their own livestock, growing small amounts of crops, and making all of the tools and utensils they might have required themselves (see Chapters 1.3.4-1.3.5) If 'things' did move between individuals and groups, it seems to be that these were then it seems most likely that it did so within the object/exchange 'sphere' illustrated in (Fig. 6.45), as there is no evidence to suggest that coins were being used during the Iron Age (see Chapter 2.2.2). It is unlikely that these farmsteads/settlements were completely isolated, and so we might imagine periodic gatherings of people in which, for example, they established and strengthened relationships, and exchanged 'things' and livestock. This might, as appears to have been common in Iron Age Britain, involved feasting and the consumption of alcohol, and taken place at large, central places (see Chapter 3.3), but (once again) there is little archaeological evidence to prove this. It would be unwise to suggest that this was a kind of 'Celtic' utopia, and as such, it is important to be aware that there was likely some degree of interpersonal violence between these small communities,

perhaps in the form of sporadic raids in which livestock, among other things, were stolen. On the whole, the available evidence available appears to suggest that the inhabitants of Iron Age Cumbria lived a largely independent, self-reliant existence and that, if there was any social stratification, it was not articulated in the same way as their contemporaries in the South East of England (i.e. through the conspicuous consumption of newly-available 'things').

This might help to explain their reaction to the Roman Conquest. As noted in (Chapters 1.3.4-1.3.5), there has been a gradual shift in studies concerned with Cumbria from those which stated that the 'native' population could not afford to acquire the new 'things' which arrived in the region with the military, to those arguing that their absence from the majority of farmsteads/settlements means that they were actively rejecting this 'Roman' way of life. However, if we consider the model illustrated in (Fig. 6.45), it is possible to propose a different kind of narrative.

The mechanics of the invasion (and subsequent occupation) of Cumbria are not clear. Nevertheless, it is likely that, while some of the 'native' population had a negative response and were determined to fight, others will have continued living in much the same way as they had before the Conquest; in this instance, it was likely that 'things' still circulated within the object/exchange 'sphere' as illustrated in (Fig. 6.45). We might expect to find a greater degree of continuity at upland farmsteads/settlements because they are further away from the new roads and network of forts, whose distribution are clearly concentrated in lowland areas (see Chapter 5: Fig. 5.8). In some cases this might have resulted in a greater degree of tension between 'native' and 'invader'. However, in others, it may have provided opportunities for enterprise and individual development. Regardless, with the proper administrative systems finally in place, it would finally be possible for the 'native' population to be taxed; the lack of coinage on farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria suggests that this may have been in the form of goods or services.

So far, this narrative has highlighted some of the ways in which the impact of the Roman Conquest varied across Britain. Moreover, as discussed in (Chapter 2.2.2), it has

been suggested that this might have resulted in a situation in which (for a while at least) [b] a new, market-based economy co-existed with [a] a more traditional system based around exchange. What is interesting is that in Cumbria, unlike many other parts of the new province of *Britannia*, the evidence appears to suggest that the two systems illustrated in (Fig. 6.45) may have co-existed throughout the entirety of the Roman period. However, it is also important we do not assume that [a] is equivalent to the 'native' and [b] the 'invader'. With regards to official transactions, for example the acquisition of pottery for military use, it is generally accepted that they were purchased using coins, either directly from the potteries themselves or otherwise through intermediate traders (for discussion see Chapter 4.2-4.2.4); in this instance, the 'things' involved would fall within the commodity/trade 'sphere' of (Fig. 6.45). These 'things' would remain there if they were acquired in the same way by soldiers or the camp 'hangers-on', those people who, over time, settled outside the forts and would eventually come to be described as *vicani* (the inhabitants of the *vicus*). They might also have been exchanged 'like-for-like', either within these same contexts or otherwise in the surrounding rural hinterland, as in this case they would become part of the object/exchange 'sphere'.

The final point to make about (Fig. 6.45) is that the 'middle ground' is always conceptual, but that it also has the potential to be physical. In the case of a conceptual 'middle ground', we can understand it in the following way; that, in order for individual [a] to acquire a 'thing' from individual [b], both [a] and [b] need to understand and agree on how the transaction will take place (i.e. whether it will be traded or exchanged), and if [a] or [b], or both [a] and [b], do not understand or agree on this, the transaction will not be successful. However, even if an agreement was reached, this does not guarantee the 'thing' in question was able to move between [a] and [b]; for example, there may have been regulations which meant that 'things' could not be acquired from non-military persons within forts. If this was the case, it might have played a role in the growth of the *vici* and, as noted in (Chapter 6.9.2), they might have served as a physical 'middle ground' between 'native' and 'invader'.

As noted earlier in this section, it is likely that, in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest, there were some who will have been resentful, and indeed angry, about

their new circumstances. Indeed there may have been some families that always felt this way. However, we can imagine a scenario in which, eventually, a handful of 'native' farmers started to visit the markets which took place at *vici*, perhaps curious to know a little more about their new neighbours and the kinds of 'things' that they were bringing into the region. As the decades and centuries passed, visits to these places might have become more commonplace, and the available artefactual assemblages imply that some of them were acquiring the odd new 'thing', perhaps in exchange for goods which cannot be (or have yet to be) identified archaeologically. In those rare instances where 'native' farmsteads/settlements can be dated, it appears as though the way that the everyday lives of their occupants continued in much the same way as it had during the Iron Age. However, this does not mean that we are dealing with a static, fossilised population; instead, it seems far more reasonable to assume that there would have been at least some degree of change within those populations which have traditionally been labelled [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader'. Some individuals, perhaps those with a desire to do something other than raise livestock or tend crops, or craftsmen seeking a new market for their products, may have moved to the *vici* or the *civitas* at Carlisle, while some men might have decided to become auxiliaries, and women to marry soldiers. This suggests that, even if a tangible divide existed happened to exist between [a] and [b] at the time of Conquest in the late 1st century A.D., the gradual blending of communities suggests that it will have faded away (if not disappeared entirely) by the 5th century A.D. (for discussion see Chapter 3.5).

6.12 Summary

Throughout this thesis it has been argued that, by taking a more balanced 'middle ground' approach to the interpretation of artefact assemblages, we can create a much more detailed picture of everyday life. It has highlighted the importance of being aware that the 'native' population of Cumbria did not live in a vacuum; the region was composed of multiple communities and, while some of these had a close relationship with the military and civilian infrastructures which helped to tie the province into the Roman Empire, others apparently did not. Moreover, it has argued

that we should not assume that the presence of typically-'Roman' pottery on a farmstead/settlement always indicates either [a] a desire to be 'Roman' or [b] its adaptation to fulfil a 'native' role. In Cumbria, where many farmstead/settlements are located in relatively 'remote' areas, it is important to think about how this might have an impact on their archaeological assemblages. The occupants of these sites may well have been self-sufficient, only coming in contact with others when necessary for their survival or, otherwise, when they needed to create and maintain social relationships. This might be one reason for the 'spotty' distribution of new 'things'. Another might be that, even if interaction was taking place on a daily basis, it may have been centred on 'things' made of organic materials or activities which are archaeologically invisible. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the aim of this thesis has not been to create a 'Grand Narrative'; instead, this discussion should be viewed as a starting point for future research.

Chapter 7 Moving Beyond 'Native' and 'Invader': Advancing the Archaeological Agenda in Cumbria

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has argued that the best method for understanding the nature of interaction between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader' is to occupy an interpretative middle-ground. Unfortunately, as noted in (Chapter 5.5), we are starting to become caught up in a cycle of re-interpretation; only a handful of farmsteads/settlements have been excavated in the region since the 1900s and, given that most are in close proximity to contemporary population centres, transportation networks, and newly-laid pipelines, it can be argued that we are dealing with a dataset which is inherently problematic. This chapter will argue that these patterns are in danger of being exacerbated by a recent trend towards large-scale research excavations at *vici* and the emphasis placed on Hadrian's Wall and forts by the tourism industry. Although the former is creating a comprehensive picture of this particular population the reality is that we need to have a more detailed understanding of [a] the 'native population, both before and after the Conquest, in order to truly understand the extent of continuity and change in Cumbria.

7.2 Hadrian's Wall: World Heritage Site

With regards to the Roman period in the North of England, and especially in Cumbria, it is hard not to consider Hadrian's Wall. It demands attention, both physically and conceptually. It is a World Heritage Site (WHS)[2], and its visitors expect to see and/or experience particular things as a result of 'a highly selective set of iconic images which prioritise certain aspects of the Wall and its landscape' (Witcher, 2010a: 13). This issue, along with others, has been explored in detail through the recently-completed AHRC-funded *Tales of the Frontier* project which studied the history of Hadrian's Wall as a visitor attraction and how, depending on

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[2] http://www.visithadrianswall.co.uk/

who is engaging with it, it might be 'read' in different ways[3]. One of the papers it produced argued, for example, that:

'In the landscape of the Wall we can trace a narrative about this landscape…Within the tourism pamphlets and discourses of encountering the Wall, the visitor has moral duties; visitors to the Wall are encouraged to evoke a dream of Roman rule, and to engage with a particular sensibility of the civilised world of Roman order.'

(Nesbitt and Tolia-Kelly, 2009: 374)

Inspired, in part, by the British education system the pervasive imagery in the mind of the public has changed little over the past half a century or more. The picture is of a wild, untamed Northern landscape inhabited by the *Brigantes*, a tribe whose members lived in much the same way as they had for hundreds (if not thousands) of years. The Romans arrived at the end of the 1st century A.D. Forts were established, Hadrian's Wall constructed, and Cumbria deemed part of the Roman Empire. After this point the 'native' inhabitants of the region fade into the background, at best providing a supporting role or, at worst, being overshadowed completely by the might of the military. It has been noted that Hadrian's Wall is first and foremost viewed by the public as a military installation, and that this perception is only reinforced by 'novels, tourist literature and re-enactment events' (Witcher et al. 2010: 3). Similarly, this thesis has shown how familiar the Roman Empire can seem when we look at it with contemporary eyes. However, by assuming that it is a reflection of the present, we are ultimately doing 'a disservice to the people of the past whose lives are appropriated' (Witcher, 2010b: 11). It is clear that attempts are being made to challenge these long-lived interpretations both 'within academic and especially popular culture' (Witcher et al. 2010: 5) but to what extent have they been successful?

At the beginning of this thesis it was noted that, since Breeze and Dobson stated that the story of Hadrian's Wall 'will never be complete until it can be set in the context of the peoples it controlled and divided' (2000: 215), there has been little

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[3] https://www.dur.ac.uk/roman.centre/hadrianswall/

change in the research priorities held by archaeologists in the region (Chapter 1). Take, for example, the volume titled *Past, present and future: the archaeology of Northern England* (2002). Introducing Section 3, Breeze writes that 'we are long past the days when guide-books gave a bare nod towards the 'natives'' (2002: 97) but, unfortunately, the papers in it do little more than this; Chapter 10 is apparently concerned with *The Archaeology of Roman Non-Military Sites*, but it seems to focus almost exclusively on *vici* and small towns (McCarthy, 2002b: 105-111) and while Chapter 11, a *Review of Roman Small Finds Research*, highlights the importance of studying domestic objects at 'native' settlements, the fact that their artefact assemblages are so small means that far more can be said about small finds from 'non-military' sites (Allason-Jones, 2002: 113119). More recently, the Hadrian's Wall Research Framework (HWRF) noted that:

'The nature of the interaction between the local population and the army and its followers, both initially and over time, is the great unanswered question pertaining to life in the frontier zone. As well as the massive military build up, it is probably that the new market attracted migrants from elsewhere in northern England, creating further social flux'.

(Symonds and Mason, 2009: 51)

Similarly, it argued that:

'Understanding of extramural settlements has been identified as a serious gap in existing knowledge and there is both a need and appetite for a major project or projects to address some of the key questions relating to these developments'.

(Symonds and Mason, 2009: 43)

In Cumbria, over the last 5 years, the scope of research has begun to expand, moving outwards from Hadrian's Wall, forts, and the *civitas* at Carlisle, towards the

vici. There are research projects at Maryport [4], Ravenglass [5], and Papcastle [6], which are broadly similar in scope to those taking place in the North East, for example at Vindolanda[7] and Arbeia[8], and beyond the WHS at Binchester[9]. All in all they demonstrate an increasing interest in civilian life, albeit in close proximity to the Roman army. They are also part of a recent effort to place Hadrian's Wall, its associated forts and *vici* into their wider context. From the 2000s onwards, interestingly within the period during which the Hadrian's Wall WHS was extended in 2005 to include 'part of the Upper German and Raetian frontier between the rivers Rhine and Danube' and was renamed the 'Frontiers of the Roman Empire WHS'[10], there has been increasing emphasis placed on 'the diverse geographical origins of the Roman soldiers represented on the Wall' (Witcher et al. 2010: 14). However this thesis has demonstrated how little attention continues to be afforded to the role played by the local population, and argues that this has only been exacerbated by the physical and conceptual visibility of Hadrian's Wall. It has been suggested that one of the greatest restrictions of World Heritage Sites is that it is not necessarily satisfactory to draw 'lines on maps to define the extent of the archaeological remains or their setting, or that of historical buildings…[as] existing or new discoveries might fall outside these areas' (Pugh-Smith and Samuels, 1996: Section 6: World Heritage Sites - 5.94). In order to address this bias in the North of England we need to begin to consider the 'native' in greater detail. The North East Regional Research Framework (NERRF) for example, has asked the following questions:

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[4] http://www.senhousemuseum.co.uk/excavation/
[5] http://ravenglassromans.blogspot.co.uk/
  http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/projects/rir
  https://twitter.com/RomanRavenglass
[6] http://www.discoverderventio.co.uk/
[7] http://www.vindolanda.com/
[8] http://www.hadrianswallquest.co.uk/projects/excavation-arbeia-south-shields
[9] https://sites.google.com/site/binchesterromanfort/home
  http://binchester.blogspot.co.uk/
[10] http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/430

'To what extent was the economy of native communities influenced by Roman invasion and control? Did indigenous communities continue to farm and carry out industry in a native manner, or did they change their ways under Roman influence? What impact did the environment and native society have upon the deposition of Roman military forces during the conquest? How did native peoples react to Roman soldiers (and vice versa)?'

(Petts, 2006: 149)

It generally is assumed that, over the centuries, the relationship between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader' would have become less clear-cut. If we want to advance our appreciation of this particular issue then it is imperative that we place social interaction at the heart of the interpretative process. The HWRF, for example, argued that:

'…more detailed investigation of the indigenous 'Romano-British' style of settlement is urgently required. Given the repeated indications of an east-west divide in pre-Roman activity, any representative project would need to target sites in both regions and would be an enormous undertaking'.

(Symonds and Mason, 2009: 51)

Similarly, the NERRF stated that:

'Work is required to assess the nature of the system of forts, roads and towns, and the relationship of these 'Roman' elements of the landscape to the native populations who continued, on the whole, to live in a variety of traditional settlement types'.

(Petts, 2006: 53)

This work must involve excavation; it has been argued, for example, that while fieldwalking might allow us to test the widespread assumption that 'native'

farmsteads/settlements produced 'little in the way of material culture', we cannot make any detailed observations without excavation (Symonds and Mason, 2009: 51). One of the biggest constraints is the lack of chronological frameworks in Cumbria. While it is possible to approximately date diagnostic sites (i.e. military) sites on the basis of morphology it is clear that, especially in upland parts of the region, 'the vast majority of enclosure sites cannot be dated by these means or by analogy with sites elsewhere' (Brennand, Chitty and Newman, 2007: 176). These limitations are further compounded by the relative absence of artefactual evidence which means that, although 'native' sites have been identified throughout Cumbria and the WHS region, we are unable to establish 'how many are pre-Roman, 'Romano-British' or palimpsests of both periods' without utilising 'absolute scientific dating techniques' (Symonds and Mason, 2009: 2). The reality is that, without a more detailed understanding of the nature of Iron Age society in the region, we will never be able to truly understand the way that individual 'social and cultural processes' shifted over time (Jones, 1997: 34).

7.3 Funding and Community Archaeology

All of the *vicus* projects noted in the previous section have an online presence and, interestingly, all emphasise the importance of community engagement and/or involvement in their 'aims'. The website for the project at Ravenglass, for example, states that 'the local community is keen to learn more about this site'[11], while one of the primary goals at Papcastle is 'to engage the local community'[12]. Moreover, at Maryport, the aims are to develop a major heritage attraction in the area but also, through the process of excavation, to demonstrate 'the archaeological and historical significance of the site… [and generate] support for the project amongst local people'[13]. This section will explore the following question: why this emphasis on the community?

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[11] http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/projects/rir
[12] http://www.discoverderventio.co.uk/aims/
[13] http://www.visithadrianswall.co.uk/hadrians-wall/excavations-in-hadrians-wall-country

Firstly, it is important to be aware that 'community archaeology' is a general label which reflects 'the increasing number of archaeological projects explicitly designed for, or incorporating, substantial community involvement and participation' (Simpson and Williams, 2008: 69). While the definition is fluid, the implication is that this particular type of archaeology is concerned with empowering the community within which fieldwork is taking place; it serves to 'open up dialogues between the archaeologists (the minority) and the communities they work within (the majority)…to enable the creation of more culturally relevant interpretations of the past' (Simpson, 2008: 5) and, at least in part, to relinquish 'control of a project to the local community' (Marshall, 2002: 211). Critical, academic discourse surrounding this issue emerged, and is ongoing, in parts of the world where there are 'post-colonial and indigenous rights debates' (Simpson, 2010: 3), but the situation is quite different in Cumbria. Here, the archaeologists running projects at Maryport, Ravenglass, and Papcastle are not engaging with 'descendants and…those who can or choose to trace descent from the people who once lived at or near the site', but instead 'people who live locally, either on or close to a site…[whose] communities are defined in the present' (Marshall, 2002: 215-216). Moreover, it is important to note that this community is not a fixed, monumental entity. Not everyone living in proximity to the *vicus* at Maryport, for example, will be interested in the ongoing research project. Of those people who are, some might be solely because of the employment opportunities which would emerge if a heritage attraction was developed, while others might be excited to visit, or indeed participate in, an archaeological excavation. Archaeology is often viewed as synonymous with excavation and, when asked, the public tends to associate the discipline with digging things up (Holtorf, 2007: 54-58; Simpson, 2010: 21). It has been noted that excavation is at the heart of:

'...the popular public image of archaeology…[and] it is through the marketing of this 'hook', to gain and maintain interest in projects and heritage in general, that 'digging' remains so important to community archaeology'.

(Simpson and Williams, 2008: 75)

Many of the most memorable experiences within archaeology, 'excavating ancient remains, discovering 'treasures', rescuing… sites and investigating our origins with the help of modern technology' (Holtorf, 2007: 10), are exceptional and, to many, discovery is seen as being central to the discipline. Similarly there is a tendency to relate discovery to the recovery of finds and, it can be argued, this has become tied up with the issue of what is (and by extension is not) valuable. A particular problem is that many of these ideas are perpetuated by what is presented to the general public (as opposed to amateur practitioners) in the media; for example it has been stated that:

'Almost all media reports on archaeological finds or discoveries are required to include some information about value. The idea that something may be old, interesting and worthless is not acceptable… An answer will be expected not only for a gold torque or coin find…but for polished stone axes, beakers or fragments of painted wall plaster. If the excavator replies that in all honesty he or she has no idea of how much…[it] is worth, then it will probably be reported as 'priceless''.

(Ascherson, 2004: 146)

The exceptional depth and quality of preservation at Binchester (County Durham) in 2014, for example, resulted in worldwide media sources describing the fort and *vicus* as the 'Pompeii of the North'[14]. Although it is not the intention of this section to explore why this phrase is so appealing in any detail it is interesting to note that, when the phrase 'cradle of civilisation' was used to describe the Mesolithic site at Star Carr (Yorkshire), it has been pointed out that although it might have been selected by the media in order 'to appeal to contemporary…deep-rooted resentment of the south of England' it is just as likely that it was a deliberate, tongue-in-cheek comment 'floated by an archaeologist or somebody else associated with the excavation' (Ascherson, 2004: 148). In the case of Binchester, one, both, or neither of these factors might have resulted in the widespread dissemination of the phrase

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[14] e.g. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-tees-28408488
    http://www.history.com/news/roman-ruins-in-britain-hailed-as-pompeii-of-the-north
http://www.shieldsgazette.com/news/local-news/roman-site-hailed-as-pompeii-of-the-north-1-6743433

'Pompeii of the North'. The problem is that these exceptional sites and finds draw interest. It was noted in 2010, for example, that in order to address the public perception that no research (i.e. excavation) was taking place in relation to Hadrian's Wall (the only exception was Vindolanda) it is necessary to dispel the belief that 'archaeology equals excavation' (Witcher, 2010b: 11; note 14). Whether or not this can be achieved is debatable. The fact is that the drama of archaeology is one of the reasons it appeals to the general public. A recent paper concerned with community archaeology in the UK and US, for example, concluded that the majority of participants in the projects studied wanted to 'visually experience an excavation… in order to be entertained, rather than to be educated' (Simpson, 2010: 83). The same study also noted that except for amateur archaeologists (who, it is important to note, are often highly skilled) most involved in the excavation process described the experience as 'boring, tedious, and tiring, which is very different from the preconceived perceptions of archaeology as exciting and fast paced as portrayed on popular television programmes (e.g. Time Team)', arguing that this reduced any desire to dig in the future (Simpson, 2010: 83). These observations imply that the general public is more interested in seeing archaeology than doing it. If having 'a good day out' is most important to visitors then it seems likely that, if the opportunity to see an excavation arose, it would be more likely they would select a fort/*vicus* over a farmstead. An excavation taking place at a fort or *vicus* would produce large numbers of artefacts, some of high quality or value, and tangible structural evidence, and in many cases the site would be easy to access, well-maintained, and provide at least some amenities. The question is: to what extent has this influenced the creation and implementation of archaeological projects in Cumbria?

It has been noted in the North West Regional Research Strategy (NWRRS) that, after the introduction of Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning (PPG 16) in 1990 a growth in development-related archaeological work was matched by 'a downturn in non-development related or research excavations' (Brennand, Chitty and Newman, 2007: 170; see also Evans, 2002: Fig. 1). Most of the pre-development excavation in Cumbria has taken place in lowland areas in close proximity to contemporary population centres, and the fact that many are close to forts/*vici* has

arguably helped to perpetuate the bias towards the 'invader'. Moreover, this is further compounded by the nature of community archaeology in the region. It has been argued, for example, that by working with volunteers projects are able to access funding which is not available to commercial companies (Heritage Link, 2004: 3). In fact, all projects are likely to be applying to 'the same limited number of sources…[which] are intended to inform management and conservation strategies, linked to presentation, education and community issues' (Brennand, Chitty and Newman, 2007: 170). This chapter has already argued that tourism, which is at the heart of the economy in Cumbria, has helped to perpetuate certain interpretations of Hadrian's Wall, and it might also have helped influence which projects receive funding. If we assume, for example, that the general public is more likely to be interested in viewing an excavation taking place at a fort/*vicus* than a farmstead/settlement, then the former might be seen as a more valuable enterprise. In this context, community archaeology is less concerned with achieving 'a broader-based and multivocal past' (Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008: 474), and therefore perhaps has more in common with public archaeology which argues 'that the practice of archaeology should be done for the benefit of the public' and correspondingly continues to focus on excavation, artefacts, and the examination of exceptional sites (Lopinot, 2002: 91; 95-96). Interestingly, one researcher has suggested 'that community archaeology developed out of public archaeology' and that with a change in political climate the term ''public' was replaced with the more politically appealing, and governmentally friendly, all-encompassing buzzword 'community'' (Simpson, 2010: 11). It is unclear whether this has influenced the creation of projects at Maryport, Papcastle, and Ravenglass but it is interesting to note that the research questions we ask are increasingly 'formed in part by requirements from various research councils enforcing political strategies…[which is] part of making archaeology relevant to the society at large' (Damm, 2008: 477). The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), for example, has placed particular emphasis on the way that archaeological projects can provide an opportunity for local communities to learn new skills and engage with their heritage (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2013: 3), yet the danger of excavation which is undertaken 'under the guise of a 'community' project' is that it can struggle to 'serve the public and archaeologists simultaneously…[which results in] one group's value overshadowing another' (Simpson, 2008: 12). Unfortunately this thesis lacks the scope to examine this issue in more detail; however, it is hoped that this section

has highlighted the importance of thinking critically about the interrelationship between the HLF and archaeological research, and that we have to be careful in order to avoid a situation in Cumbria in which engagement is deemed more important than understanding.

7.4 Moving Forward

One of the sessions at the 2014 Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) meeting in Manchester titled *'The everyday assemblage: routine and the ordinary in archaeology'*; organised by Helen Chittock, (University of Southampton/British Museum) and Mhairi Maxwell, (ACCORD Project, Glasgow School of Art), it was concerned with addressing a number of the dissatisfactions which have been emphasised throughout this thesis. More specifically, the session outline stated that:

'Archaeological research is often focused on the extremes of human behaviour. Media coverage of our discipline constantly reports finds of the biggest, the smallest, the oldest and the most valuable. Museum displays, similarly, tend to feature objects that are selected not only to provide information but also to engage, amaze and draw in the viewer. While these exceptional narratives are highly valuable to our discipline, it could be argued that the quests for extremes and 'the amazing' pursued by archaeologists have the ability to skew our pictures of what people in the past were experiencing on a day-to-day basis'.

(Chittock and Maxwell, 2014)

It also argued that in order to address these imbalances in it necessary to take a holistic approach to the study of artefactual evidence and that, by studying 'routine and repetition, [and] the way these are expressed archaeologically', we might be able to achieve a better understanding of how artefacts are used to produce a range of different identities (Chittock and Maxwell, 2014). The papers presented at the session supported the assertion made in this thesis; that the amount of data available for analysis is seen to limit the extent to which we can use these approaches in the examination of 'things'. It is argued that in order to address this and the problems

associated with community-focused projects, it is necessary to move away from focusing solely on the exceptional (i.e. individual sites) and towards a more balanced consideration of the everyday (i.e. activity across the region). This is beginning to happen. Since 2012 *The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* project has studied published and unpublished sources in order to 'write a new account' of life in the countryside, and is due to conclude in September 2015[15]. As a result, it will serve as an up-to-date, readily-accessible background against which to situate the results of any future research projects, and will help to identify regions or questions which require urgent attention.

Yet from an interpretative standpoint the following question remains: how can we better understand a lack of 'things'? Some attempts have been made to discuss this in relation to the idea of poverty and a recent volume titled '*The Romano-British peasant: towards a study of people, landscapes and work during the Roman occupation of Britain*' (McCarthy, 2013) touches on this particular concept. Unfortunately, while the title suggests a critical engagement with individuals living in the countryside, the reality is that it is far more concerned with how physical geography influences subsistence and material culture (Manley, 2014: 491). It is also important to be aware that while poverty is 'always present in some fashion…[it] became undeniably visible in the urban centres of those nations who embraced capitalist practice in the post-1750 world' (Orser Jr., 2011: 533). This is interesting because many of the social reformers who were 'deeply troubled by the tenacity of poverty' were 'educated middle-class individuals who firmly believed that industrialisation, the free-market economy, and the mass consumption of consumer goods would have benefits that would spread throughout all levels of society, even to the chronically poor' (Orser Jr., 2011: 534), were likely to have been the same individuals who participated in the earliest antiquarian excavations concerned with Roman Britain. Perhaps it is this why narratives emerged which appear to characterise the 'native' population in a similar manner to the contemporary poor in the North of England (see Chapter 2.4.3). This is compatible with the observation that:

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[15] www.reading.ac.uk/archaeology/research/roman-rural-settlement

'Our very definitions of wealth and poverty are based on the deterministic, progressive approach to Romanisation, which is in turn based on assumptions about our own society'.

(Hingley, 1999: 144)

The issue of poverty is a complex one, as in reality it is 'socially constructed' and can therefore 'take many forms' (Symonds, 2011: 565). Therefore in order occupy a reflexive 'middle ground' we need to be aware that how we understand poverty in the present day may well influence the way we do so when studying the past. In the case of historical archaeology, for example, it has been observed that although the discussion of this issue has 'often produced dazzling insights into domestic life, which reveal that even the poorest members of society had a range of material possessions, took care of their appearances, and used agency to further their interests', we have to be careful not to 'unintentionally endorse the idea of material progress, and the belief that neoliberal democracies level-out inequality' (Symonds, 2011: 563). This danger is visible in the trajectory of research as outlined in this thesis; that with a shift away from top-down approaches there has been a move towards an archaeology which takes place from the bottom-up but that, in doing so, there is a danger that we begin to overlook the inherent complexities of everyday life in Roman Britain. One way to move forward might be, as Symonds further notes, to discuss of 'the intangible but nonetheless very real feelings of fear, exclusion, and powerlessness which impact on the day-to-day lives of the very poor' (Symonds, 2011: 565). This is vital when we consider that 'things' or 'artefacts…[do] not simply provide us with site-chronologies…but provide insights into how people felt about such objects', and we might therefore ask 'what was the appeal of such objects – was it for their usefulness, their sentimental and cultural associations, their attractiveness, their value?' (Shotter, 2014: pers. comm.). The advantage of this kind of discussion is that all sections of society will have had a reaction, whether positive, negative, or indeed ambivalent, to the Roman Conquest. In fact it has been observed that:

'A serious lacuna in our understanding of the beginning and end of Roman Britain concerns the psychology of conquest, or indeed what the impact was when centralised power is relaxed or abandoned…What did it mean to be conquered? What was the effect, not so much on the wielders of power, but on the native population?'

(McCarthy, 2013: 143)

The same volume, which as noted above has some limitations, nevertheless states that 'given the geography of Britain, several conquest scenarios are possible' (McCarthy, 2013: 143). Yet even in a 'frontier' region the differences between 'native' and 'invader' is unlikely to have been as clear cut as some narratives concerned with Cumbria might suggest, and (Chapter 3.5) highlighted the fact that its population was composed of a myriad of communities which transcended this divide. To address these preconceptions it is vital that we promote more widespread debate and to encourage dissemination of research, and in particular that concerned with the 'native' population, beyond its boundaries; regional research frameworks have suggested that in the future it might be useful to collaborate with individuals and groups working in other parts of the North West, the North East, Ireland, the Isle of Man, Scotland, Wales, and indeed with countries across the North Sea (Brennand, Chitty and Newman, 2007: 191; Petts, 2006: 220).

With regards to excavation, if any future project is to be successful it is important that it utilises both invasive and non-invasive techniques. Although the work which took place at Glencoyne Park (Cumbria), for example, was primarily concerned with exploring an Iron Age/Romano-British enclosed settlement its investigators were also able to discuss its role within the wider landscape because they considered its relationship with nearby archaeological features including 'a small cairn, two possible house platforms, and a lynchet and field bank forming part of a large 'co-axial' field system' (Hoaen and Loney, 2013: 131) (Fig. 7.1).

Areas examined at Glencoyne Park. 1. Iron Age settlement; 2. Field bank; 3. Lynchet; 4. Cairn; 5. Platform; 6. Platform

Fig. 7.1: Survey at Glencoyne Park (Cumbria) (after Hoaen and Loney, 2013: 130: Fig. 6.4)

The NERRF has noted the use of similar methods at Sedgefield, County Durham. Here, survey and excavation revealed evidence for 'a number of roads and a complex of enclosures…[as well as] industrial production, including pottery manufacture', which is significant because, 'unlike other proto-urban sites from the North-East, such as Piercebridge and Corbridge', it is not associated with a military site (Petts, 2006: 53). It would also have been impossible for archaeologists to identify an early Roman, unenclosed farmstead at Faverdale, Darlington (County Durham) for example, without the geophysical survey and area stripping which was undertaken as part of a pre-development project (Proctor, 2012). These examples demonstrate how, with each excavation and/or survey which takes place, we are creating a more nuanced picture of the interaction between 'native' and 'invader' in the North of England. The NERRF has argued that in order to achieve this:

'When future sites are excavated, work should be preceded by large-scale geophysical survey and field-walking. Where possible, open-area, strip and plan excavation strategies should be employed. Future excavations of native settlements must collect samples for absolute dating with a view to using up-to-the-minute techniques. They could be used to re-assess the current typology-based understanding of rural settlement in the region'.

(Petts, 2006: 149)

This thesis has demonstrated the difficulties of dating rural farmsteads/settlements in Cumbria; the predominance of earlier, antiquarian-explored examples has limited any discussion about their date and, with the increasing use of radiocarbon (^{14}C) dating on developer-led projects, several archaeologists have highlighted the need to re-evaluate existing chronologies (Symonds and Mason, 2009: 30-31; Philpott and Brennand, 2007: 57). If we do not do so, the 'native' population will continue to be discussed solely on the basis of 'exceptional' farmsteads/settlements which produce evidence for the consumption of typically-'Roman' goods.

7.5 Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that efforts to tease apart the complex relationships between people and 'things' have, far too often, focused solely on interactions between people and individual objects (or object types) despite the fact that we tend to deal with multiple objects (i.e. artefact assemblages). This is particularly problematic in materially-'poor' regions, as it has resulted in a concentration on 'exceptional' finds as opposed to those which might be deemed 'everyday', or otherwise on the uncritical application of analogies. Similarly, by occupying an interpretative 'middle ground' and emphasising the concepts of choice and value, it is possible to bridge the divide between [a] 'native' and [b] 'invader'. Over the last two decades or so archaeologists have begun to write about interaction in increasingly-nuanced ways however the fact that we are becoming caught up in a

cycle of re-interpretation, repeatedly discussing evidence from the same farmsteads/settlements, is clearly problematic. Those examples which have been recently excavated, most often under the auspices of development, have provided artefactual and chronological evidence to suggest that the nature of everyday life in Roman Cumbria was more complex than many previous studies have suggested. In order to continue this trajectory it is vital to create new research projects concerned with the 'native' population. The region is dominated by Hadrian's Wall. It is visible, its associated features are archaeologically-'rich', and the monument itself is comfortably familiar. In comparison, farmsteads/settlements appear both physically and conceptually insignificant as when examined they tend to produce little durable material culture. For decades research in the region has repeatedly revisited existing sites, but without more excavation and the application of other, non-invasive techniques we will remain caught up in this cycle. This thesis has demonstrated that we have reached a point at which this is not only possible but necessary and how, by considering the active relationship between people and 'things', we can finally situate the story of Roman Cumbria within the context of all of its inhabitants and to move beyond 'native' and 'invader'.

Farmstead/ Settlement	Mortaria	Amphorae	Samian	BBWares	Other Pottery	Beaker(s)	Bowl(s)	Cup(s)	Dish(es)	Flagon(s)	Flask/Jug(s)	Indeterminate	Jar(s)	Lid(s)	Plate(s)	Platter(s)	Pot(s)	Urn(s)
(Waitby) Castle Hill	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Askham	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Aughertree Fell	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Baldhowend	N	N	N	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S
Barnscar	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Bolton Wood	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Bracken Rigg	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Crosshill, Penrith (Penrith Farm)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Eller Beck - Site C	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Ewanrigg	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Ewe Close	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Fingland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Fingland Rigg	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Frenchfield Farm/Frenchfields	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Glencoyne Park 6	N	N	Y	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S
Greendale	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N

Farmstead/ Settlement	Mortaria	Amphorae	Samian	BBWares	Other Pottery	Beaker(s)	Bowl(s)	Cup(s)	Dish(es)	Flagon(s)	Flask/Jug(s)	Indeterminate (_/_)	Jar(s)	Lid(s)	Plate(s)	Platter(s)	Pot(s)	Urn(s)
Heaves Fell	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Hugill	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Jacob's Gill (Rosley)	N	N	N	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S
Kentmere	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Lanthwaite Green	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Low Crosby	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Measand	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Old Brampton	N	N	Y	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S
Risehow (Maryport)	N	N	N	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S
Scalford	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Scalford (Kirkby Lonsdale)	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Silloth Farm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Urswick Stone Walls	N	N	N	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S
Waitby	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N

`	Mortaria	Amphorae	Samian	BBWares	Other Pottery	Beaker(s)	Bowl(s)	Cup(s)	Dish(es)	Flagon(s)	Flask/Jug(s)	Indeterminate (/)	Jar(s)	Lid(s)	Plate(s)	Platter(s)	Pot(s)	Urn(s)
Boustead Hill	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Brougham	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Croftlands	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Dobcross Hall	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Edderside	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Grinsdale Camp	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Hallsteads	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Oughterby	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Vallum House Hotel, Burgh Road, Carlisle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S
Wolsty Hall	Y	N	N	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S
Yanwath Wood	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N`

Enclosure	Glass	Bangle	Bead	Gaming Counter	Intaglio	Ring	Unspecified Form	Vessel	Window
Boustead Hill	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Brougham	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Croftlands	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Dobcross Hall	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Edderside	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Grinsdale Camp	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Hallsteads	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Oughterby	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Vallum House Hotel, Burgh Road, Carlisle	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Wolsty Hall	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Yanwath Wood	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N

Fort/*Vicus*	Mortaria	Amphorae	Samian	BBWares	Other Pottery	Beaker(s)	Bowl(s)	Cup(s)	Dish(es)	Flagon(s)	Flask/Jug(s)	Indeterminate (_/_)	Jar(s)	Lid(s)	Plate(s)	Platter(s)	Pot(s)	Urn(s)
Amberfield/Burghby-Sands	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Ambleside	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Brough-underStainmore	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Kirkbride	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Kirkby Thore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Maia/Bowness-onSolway	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Old Carlisle	N	N	N	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S
Papcastle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N

Fort/*Vicus*	Glass	Bangle	Bead	Gaming Counter	Intaglio	Ring	Unspecified Form	Vessel	Window
Amberfield/Burgh-bySands	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ambleside	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Brough-under-Stainmore	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Kirkbride	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kirkby Thore	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Maia/Bowness-on-Solway	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Old Carlisle	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Papcastle	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N

Pennines/ Northumberland	Mortaria	Amphorae	Samian	BBWares	Other Pottery	Beaker(s)	Bowl(s)	Cup(s)	Dish(es)	Flagon(s)	Flask/Jug(s)	Indeterminate (_/_)	Jar(s)	Lid(s)	Plate(s)	Platter(s)	Pot(s)	Urn(s)
Belling Law	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Forcegarth Pasture North	N	N	N	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S
Forcegarth Pasture South	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Gowanburn River Camp	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Hagg Plantation	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Hartburn and the Devil's Causeway	N	N	N	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S
Kennel Hall Knowe	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Middle Gunnar Peak, Barrasford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Milking Gap	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Tower Knowe, Wellhaugh	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Upper Redesdale	N	N	N	N	Y	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S

Pennines/ Northumberland	Glass	Bangle	Bead	Gaming Counter	Intaglio	Ring	Unspecified Form	Vessel	Window
Belling Law	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Forcegarth Pasture North	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Forcegarth Pasture South	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Gowanburn River Camp	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Hagg Plantation	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Hartburn and the Devil's Causeway	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Kennel Hall Knowe	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Middle Gunnar Peak, Barrasford	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Milking Gap	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Tower Knowe, Wellhaugh	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Upper Redesdale	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N

North East Wales/ Cheshire and Droitwich	Site Type	Mortaria	Amphorae	Samian	BBWares	Other Pottery	Beaker(s)	Bowl(s)	Cup(s)	Dish(es)	Flagon(s)	Flask/Jug(s)	Indeterminate (/)	Jar(s)	Lid(s)	Plate(s)	Platter(s)	Pot(s)	Urn(s)
Bays Meadow	Villa	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Dodderhill	Fort/Vicus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Friar Street	Site	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Hanbury Street	Farmstead/Settlement	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Irby, Wirral	Farmstead/Settlement	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Old Bowling Green	Site	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Pentre Farm	Site	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Pentre Ffwrndan	Site	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Plas Coch, Wrexham	Farmstead/Settlement	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Prestatyn	Site	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Rhuddlan	Farmstead/Settlement	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Upwich	Site	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N

North East Wales/ Cheshire and Droitwich	Site Type	Glass	Bangle	Bead	Gaming Counter	Intaglio	Ring	Unspecified Form	Vessel	Window
Bays Meadow	Villa	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Dodderhill	Fort/Vicus	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Friar Street	Site	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Hanbury Street	Farmstead/Settlement	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Irby, Wirral	Farmstead/Settlement	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Old Bowling Green	Site	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Pentre Farm	Site	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Pentre Ffwrndan	Site	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Plas Coch, Wrexham	Farmstead/Settlement	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Prestatyn	Site	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Rhuddlan	Farmstead/Settlement	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Upwich	Site	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y

Appendix B Material Detail

SITE	SAMIAN TYPE (FORM)
Amberfield/ Burgh-bySands	Dr31/31R (dish); Dr37 (bowl); Dr32 (dish/shallow bowl); Dr33 (cup); Dr30R (bowl)
Ambleside	Dr 18/31 (dish/shallow bowl); Dr 18/31R (dish); Dr27 (cup); Dr37 (bowl); Dr36 (dish/shallow bowl); Dr30 (bowl)
Brough-under-Stainmore	Dr37 (bowl)
(Waitby) Castle Hill	Dr31/R (dish); Dr33 (cup); Dr31 (bowl)
Crosshill, Penrith (Penrith Farm)	Dr37 (bowl); Dr33 (cup)
Kirkbride	Dr18 (plate); Dr18 or 79 (bowl/dish); Dr29 (bowl); Dr37 (bowl)
Kirkby Thore	Dr29 (bowl); Dr37 (bowl); Dr 30 (bowl); Dechelette67 (jar/beaker); Dr27 (cup); Dr33 (cup); Dr18 (plate); Dr18/31 (dish/shallow bowl); Dr18/31R (dish); Curle11 (bowl)
Maia/ Bownesson-Solway	Dr27 (cup);Dr33 (cup);Dr30 (bowl);Dr37(bowl); Dr18/31 (dish/bowl);styleDr30 (bowl)
Oughterby	Dr18/31 (dish/shallow bowl)
Vallum House Hotel, Burgh Road, Carlisle	Dr45 (mortaria); Dr37 (bowl)

Samian ware forms from Cumbria – by site

SITE TYPE/MORTARIA SOURCE	CARLISLE	CRAMBECK	GAUL	MANCETTER HARTSHILL	NORTH EAST	NORTH	NENE VALLEY	NORTH WEST	OXFORDSHIRE	WEST ENGLAND	WILDERSPOOL	WEST MIDLANDS	TOTAL
Forts/Vici	2	0	2	16	2	1	0	8	1	1	1	2	36
Farmsteads/Settlements and Enclosures	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9

Mortaria with attributable sources from Cumbria

SITE TYPE/DATE	C1AD	C1/2AD	C2AD	C2/3AD	C3AD	C3/4AD	C4AD	C2-4AD	TOTAL
Forts/Vici	2	12	20	7	3	6	4	4	58
Farmsteads/ Settlements	0	0	1	5	4	1	6	0	17

Dateable mortaria from Cumbria

SITE TYPE/DATE	C1AD	C1/2AD	C2AD	C2/3AD	C3AD	C3/4AD	C1-3AD	C2-4AD	unclear	TOTAL
Enclosure	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
Farmsteads/ Settlements	1	2	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	8
Forts/ Vici	3	7	2	1	0	0	6	0	2	21

Dateable samian from Cumbria

SITE/SAMIAN FORM	Plate	Dish	Dish/Bowl	Cup	Bowl	Mortaria	Jar	Inwell	TOTAL
Irby, Wirral	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	5
Pentre Farm	10	4	0	27	111	0	1	0	153
Pentre Ffwrndan	6	40	2	12	0	1	0	0	61
Plas Coch, Wrexham	2	19	6	14	89	13	0	0	143
Prestatyn	51	44	8	64	111	0	0	1	279
Rhuddlan	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	3

Samian ware forms North East Wales/Cheshire (excluding indeterminate forms)

SITE/SAMIAN FORM	Plate	Dish	Dish/Bowl	Cup	Bowl	Mortaria	Jar	Inkwell	TOTAL
Bays Meadow, Droitwich	1	10	3	3	24	0	0	0	41
Dodderhill, Droitwich	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	8
Old Bowling Green, Droitwich	1	3	1	1	15	0	0	0	21

Samian ware forms Droitwich (excluding indeterminate forms)

SITE TYPE/GLASS FORM	Bead	Bangle	Gaming Counter	Intaglio	Ring	Vessel	Window	Unspecified Form	TOTAL
Enclosure	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Farmstead/Settlement	3	4	0	0	0	3	0	2	12
Fort/Vicus	2	2	1	1	1	10	6	5	28

Glass forms Cumbria – by site types

SITE/GLASS FORM	Bead	Bangle	Gaming Counter	Intaglio	Ring	Vessel	Window	Unspecified Form	TOTAL
Amberfield/Burgh-by-Sands	0	0	0	0	0	9	1	9	19
Baldhowend	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Crosshill, Penrith (Penrith Farm)	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	5
Ewe Close	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Fremington	3	0	0	0	0	26	2	0	31
Glencoyne Park 6	3	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	8
Heaves Fell	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kirkbride	5	1	1	1	2	20	5	5	40
Kirkby Thore	1	1	2	0	0	12	2	0	18
Maia/Bowness-on-Solway	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	6
Yanwath Wood	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

Glass forms Cumbria – by site

SITE	Bead	Bangle	Gaming Counter	Intaglio	Ring	Vessel	Window	Unspecified Form	TOTAL
Belling Law	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Gowanburn River Camp	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Hagg Plantation	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Hartburn and the Devil's Causeway	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	3
Middle Gunnar Peak, Barrasford	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	6	10
Milking Gap	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
Tower Knowe, Wellhaugh	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Upper Redesdale	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Glass forms – Pennine region – by site

SITE	Bead	Bangle	Gaming Counter	Intaglio	Ring	Vessel	Window	Unspecified Form	TOTAL
Bays Meadow	14	0	1	0	0	20	4	2	41
Dodderhill	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Friar Street, Droitwich	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Hanbury Street	1	0	0	1	0	17	0	0	19
Irby, Wirral	4	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	9
Old Bowling Green, Droitwich	3	0	1	0	0	47	0	0	51
Pentre Farm	7	0	3	0	0	201	89	11	311
Plas Coch	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	7
Prestatyn	14	1	2	0	0	377	191	0	585
Upwich	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3

Glass forms – North Eat Wales/Cheshire and Droitwich

Appendix C Sources Studied

Farmsteads/ Settlements

(Waitby) Castle Hill:

Higham, N.J. (1978) 'Dyke systems in northern Cumbria', *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 28, pp. 142-156

Askham:

Spence, J.E. (1935) 'An early settlement near Askham', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, New Series, 35, pp. 61-65

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Ewanrigg:

Bewley, R. (1992) 'Excavations on two crop-mark sites in the Solway Plain, Cumbria. Ewanrigg settlement and Swarthy Hill, 1986-1988', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 92, pp. 23-47

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