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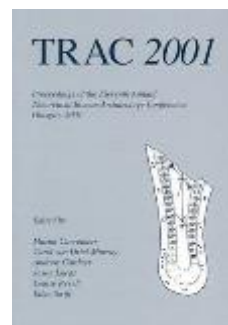
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Material Culture Patterns and Cultural Change in South-West Britain

Jason Lucas

Introduction

Why has Romanization become a less and less useful paradigm? At a fundamental (if oversimplified) level, Romanization asks how the rural, native population of 'warriors and farmers' managed to become productive members of the 'civilised' and urban-oriented Roman Empire (see for example Frere 1987). Elemental to Romanization are normative concepts of 'Native' and 'Roman'. Recent research has criticised these normative concepts for both Iron Age (James 1999) and Roman cultures (Reece 1988; Barrett 1997a; Barrett 1997b; Hingley 1997; Woolf 1998), underscoring one of the major problems with models of Romanization, namely, the concepts of distinct, homogeneous, and bounded cultural entities. Such bounded societies never existed (Barrett 1994: 35). Even if one were somehow able to construct definitions for 'Roman' or 'Native', these categories would be far too general to be of actual use, and probably provide more information about modern theoretical paradigms than about the people we are actually interested in investigating.

The utility of the large-scale questions posed by Romanization is further undermined by the ever increasing evidence for a diversity of local responses to the Roman conquest revealed by the examination of the archaeological record with a critical eye to the interpretative frameworks of the past, attempting to move beyond the assumptions and categories of early researchers. Recent approaches have sought to emphasise the contribution of local influences to, and regional variations of, cultural change and to move beyond a Rome-centred approach and begin to deconstruct the Roman and Native labels. This departure has been informed by the development of post-colonial perspectives in archaeological theory (e.g. Webster and Cooper 1996), focussing on the role of subjugated peoples and their negotiation within a framework of resistance, adaptation, and accommodation. By examining a specific region in terms of its unique chronological trajectory, instead of a convenient checklist of 'Roman' and 'Native' attributes, the geographically-broad and ill-defined categories of 'Native' and 'Roman' can be left behind.

Cultural changes during the Roman period can be traced in every aspect of culture, including alterations of rural land use patterns, the development of urbanism, the

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availability of new goods and new types of goods and their integration into existing economies, and new gods and new modes of worshipping old gods. Although these changes have often been taken simply as indicators of either Romanization or resistance to it (for discussions of this see, e.g. Alston 1996; Clarke 1996; Cooper 1996; Alcock 1997; Blake 1997; Clarke 1997; Hingley 1997; Matthews 1997; Mattingly 1997; Webster 1997; Whittaker 1997; Fincham 1998; Häussler 1999; Revell 1999), a clearer picture may be provided by the examination of unique trajectories of individual regions and their relation to the wider contexts of province and Empire. Thus, a regional approach does not imply that patterns on the scale of the province or Empire are unimportant. One cannot understand, for example, the patterns of coin loss in Roman Britain without reference to events and influences across the Empire.

Each individual finds a path among the locally available options, often simplified within the literature to 'resistance' or 'accommodation'. The navigation among the
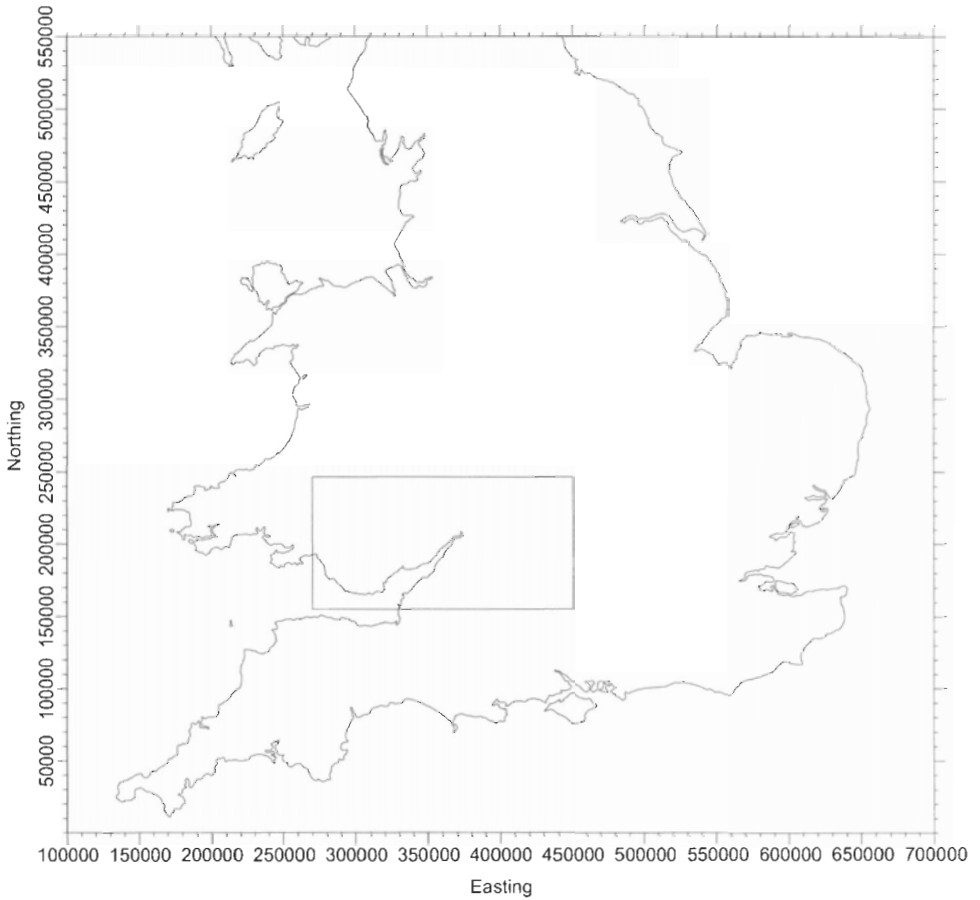

Figure 1. The region under investigation

alternatives by different individuals at different levels of society yields the spectrum of solutions that now constitutes the archaeology of 'Britain under the Romans' (or, at least, a small area thereof). Each person navigates along this path through frameworks of relations, constrained not only by the physical environment, but also by the cultural environment. These constraints include a person's position in the local economic and political landscape, and the continuous negotiation of their identity, all of which are interrelated. The research presented here attempts to reconstruct a portion of this landscape by examining various classes of material culture, as well as the impact of 'the Romans' (here, referring mainly to the army and administrative system of the Roman Empire) on the region, especially the military network of roads and forts. Although landscape archaeology can provide a regional context within which to consider the daily life of the populace, difficulties arise as one attempts to move from a map- or model-oriented description of the material culture, i.e., 'black dots on a map' to a reconstruction of the experiences of the people living within the region.

This study focuses on a region of western *Britannia*, approximating the *civitates* of the Dobunni and the Silures, roughly equivalent to the modern areas of south-west England and south-east Wales (Figure 1). The analyses are also limited chronologically, spanning the time period from the late pre-Roman Iron Age to the middle of the third century AD. The complete list of sites includes just over 1000 Iron Age and Roman sites, which form the background to the analysis. Descriptions of the impact of the military and the integration of civilian and military, are based on the spatial distributions of military and urban sites; coinage; building material, including worked stone and stamped brick and tile; and various types of pottery, including Samian Ware, South-East Dorset Black Burnished Ware, and Severn Valley Ware. For brevity, only the military disposition and stamped brick and tile will be discussed here.

Structure, Agency, and Artefacts

What is required is an interpretative approach that allows a move from the spatial patterns in the data to the social systems in which the sites and artefacts were once embedded. The approach used here follows that developed by Barrett (1994) in his discussion of the construction of the ritual landscape of prehistoric Wessex and the changes to that landscape over time.

Barrett frames the construction of the landscape in terms of structure and agency. Agency derives from the consideration that all human consciousness is contingent upon historical and material conditions. Agency is more than the actions of an individual, it is actions which are executed based on an individuals' knowledge of local circumstances, and with the expectation that the action will achieve the desired consequence in an efficient manner (Barrett 1994: 5). Individuals are not just the authors of material conditions, whether by manufacture, use, or deposition, but readers and *interpreters* of those conditions, capable of drawing and acting upon them. Agency provides individuals a means of understanding and reworking material and historical conditions in an interpretative cycle. It is this cycle that is visible to archaeologists as a pattern of material remains. Because artefact patterns are created by this cycle, and are

subject to agents working within the local conditions, attempts to create a general narrative of 'Romanization' are flawed from the start, in that such narratives will fail to explain the observed conditions at any particular place or time.

In order to recover the immediate and short-term concerns of past actors from the archaeological patterns accumulated over a long period of time, analysis must focus on the relation between structure and action. At issue is the definition of 'structure'. Structure is often taken as an 'envelope' that limits and constrains action, such as geography, ecology, or social institutions. However, structure should not be conceived as something external to the agent, with fixed properties. Rather, structure is a set of rules and resources for working within social systems, which enables individuals to become knowledgeable and effective agents. Structures are the means and consequences of socially recognisable actions, that is, actions performed by individuals with an expectation of appropriateness and effectiveness, actions which follow an under-standable order and logic (Barrett 1994: 3). In other words, individuals are knowledge-able, creative, motivated, social agents and not simply passive media for removing objects from circulation and placing them into the ground for recovery by future archaeologists.

Although agents are competent in their movement within and use of structures, nevertheless, they are defined by the structures of obligation and authority that they acknowledge and reproduce. Material culture is part of the structuring medium, which orients and is a product of actions and discourse (Barrett 1994: 36). Artefacts are not simply objects moved about by the original users (and archaeologists). Artefacts are part of the material conditions which are embedded in the contemporary cultural systems, the meanings of which are constructed by, and, in turn, construct, social structures. Material conditions may be seen to operate in three ways. First, objects may frame human activity and provide reference to cultural meanings. Second, objects act as links, not only physical links, such as roads, but also by providing reference to abstract values or absent places. Finally, material conditions may act as mechanisms by which materials are transformed. These categories are not mutually exclusive pigeonholes for material, and a given object could easily operate in all three manners (Andrews et al. 2000: 528). For example, Roman military bases would have restricted and oriented the daily movements of the troops stationed within them, while their visibility within the landscape would simultaneously serve as reminders of the recent conquest to the local populace. Because of this relation between material objects and structure, the distribution of artefacts provides information about not only economics, but also contemporary social and political circumstances.

Of course, not every action achieves the desired consequence. When expectations are not met, either due to unexpected circumstances or due to unintended consequences, an agent's knowledge is challenged (Barrett 1994: 72). Because material resources were embedded in social practices, the meaning of material culture is specific to the contexts of discourse. As the contexts change, the meanings signified by the material culture change. Bestowing meaning is part of the strategies of political control and resistance (Barrett 1994: 88) and political hegemony attempts to construct and impose a single unambiguous meaning (Barrett 1994: 171). The social practices of the dominant group are associated with cultural objects (Barrett 1994: 111), which are divorced from the
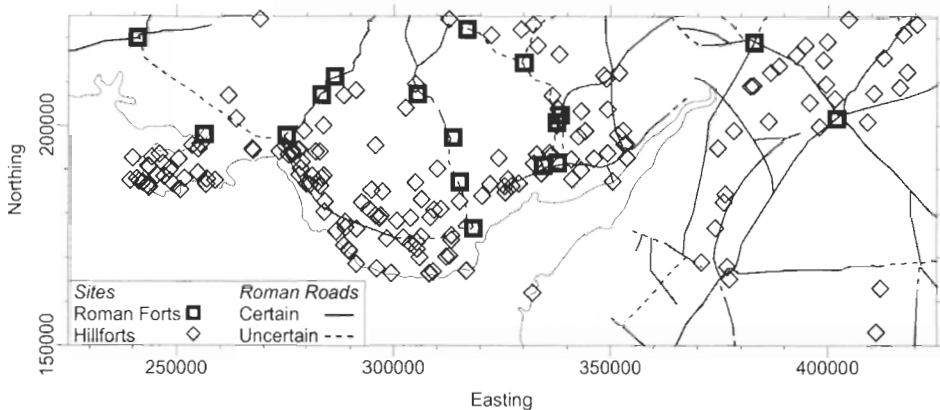
Figure 2. South-east Wales and south-west England. Iron Age hillforts, Roman forts, and Roman roads

immediate discursive context of momentary communication, and become part of long-term structures. Barrett notes that text is the most obvious example of a cultural object (Barrett, 1994: 76), but other examples from the Roman period might include pottery, coinage, and monumental architecture.

Challenged expectations also serve as a method of domination. Figure 2 shows a section of south-east Wales and south-west England, with the location of Iron Age hillforts and Roman forts dating to AD 80 noted. As can be seen, many Roman forts are located near, sometimes very near, hillforts or groups of hillforts. Additionally, the road network is closely associated with the Roman forts. To those travelling through and living within this area, the dominant features of the landscape have been transformed within the space of a generation from Iron Age trackways and hillforts to the metalled roads and the military bases of the conquering army. This transformation must have been even more evident to the Dobunni, who were resettled from Bagendon to the newly founded Roman town of Corinium.

The modification of the landscape through the construction of roads and military bases, the development of urbanism, changes in agricultural land-use, and the use of Latin inscriptions on material culture ranging from milestones to stamped tiles to architecture can be viewed as attempts to reiterate the establishment of a new hegemony, by restricting both the expectations and interpretations of agents. The relation between structure and agency, and attempts, whether conscious or not, to alter or restrict the interpretations, expectations, and circumstances, especially of the conquered people, provide a framework for the analysis of the spatial distributions of sites and artefacts. Below, the distribution of Roman military sites and chronological changes in that distribution are analysed in these terms. The distribution of stamped tiles, of both military and civilian origins, is also examined, in order to augment the conclusions.

Finally, it should be stressed that no single reality of the past exists to be written; past reality is always multiple. The interpretative archaeology espoused by Barrett seeks to create an understanding of what may have been possible, given certain material

conditions. This is not to say that the conclusions are speculative, but, rather, that they are open-ended, requiring re-evaluation in the light of new data and new ideas (Barrett 1994: 73).

Military Sites

Because the area under consideration was an area of active military campaigning until circa AD 80, and some forts in the area continue to be occupied until the late third century, the military exerts a strong influence on the development of the region. Of the approximately 1000 sites, 202 have evidence of at least temporary military occupation, although 99 are marching camps or practice works. Dating evidence is available for 71 sites.
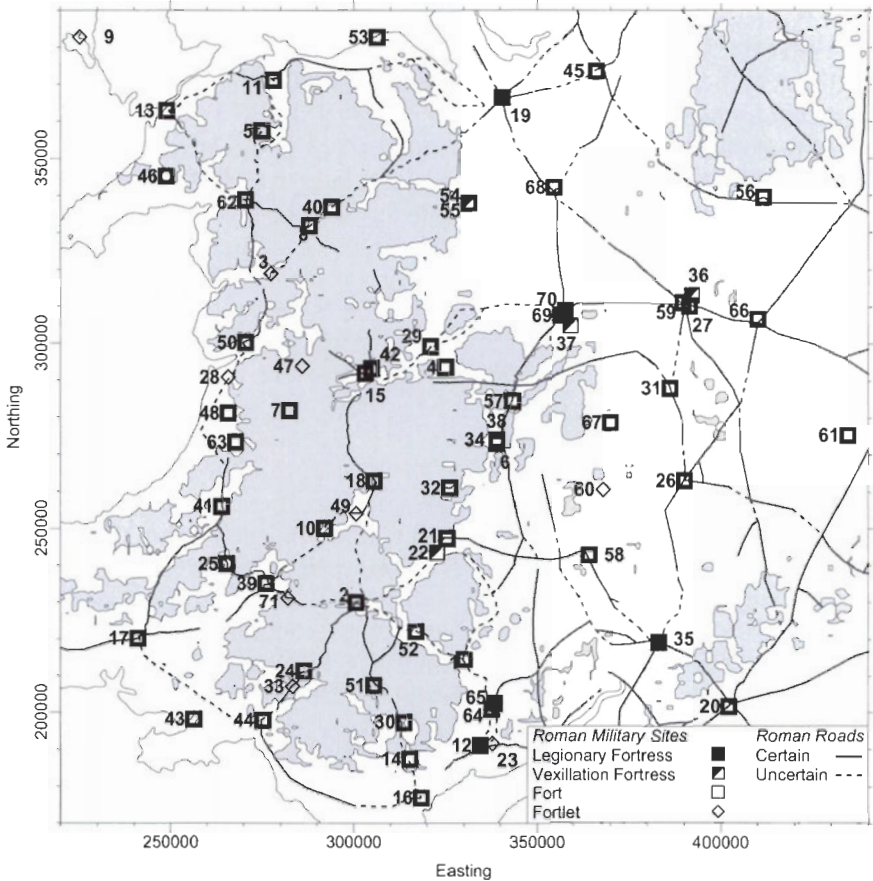

Figure 3. Military sites used in the analysis. The shaded area represents elevations above 200 meters

The disposition of the Roman military was mapped at 10–year intervals, except that all forts occupied before AD 70 have been counted together. Twenty-one sites date prior to AD 70, of which 6 date to the 50s and 8 to the late 40s. A complete listing of the military sites used can be found in appendix 1; see also Figure 3. A 10–year interval best highlights the relatively rapid initial movement westward, the period of active campaigning, and the relatively slow decrease in the number of garrisoned bases, the latter reflecting the movement of troops to other areas of the province during the second century, coinciding with the campaigns in Scotland and the construction Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall. The inertia of military disposition is also obvious from the small degree of change during the second and third centuries.

The resulting patterns reflect the territory controlled by the military, and provide a visual representation of the changing density of the military occupation of western *Britannia*. This is not to say that the shaded areas of the maps are under strict military rule, but represent areas of denser military occupation. These could represent installations either to provide security for a newly conquered area, or to defend against aggression from the neighbouring areas (this is probably more true of military sites located in the Welsh highlands), or as a base from which to launch the next phase of the conquest. Beyond the military function of each base, the changing distribution also reflects changes in the political and social structures. An abandoned base may still serve as reminder of conquest and foreign hegemony, but the threat of violence and, therefore, the reminder are both more distant. Presumably, the area was considered 'safe' or 'pacified' by the Roman elite, and may reflect the adoption and adaptation of new cultural, economic, and political structures by the local populace.

Figures 4 to 8 illustrate the major garrison changes up to AD 150. The earliest map (Figure 4), depicting all sites occupied up to AD 70, emphasises the initial advance into Wales, with the line of legionary fortresses at Gloucester, Wroxeter, and Chester, shifting west as the twentieth legion moves from Gloucester to Usk and military forces advance into the territory of the Silures. The relative isolation of the coastal forts at Cardiff and Neath suggests that these sites were established from the sea.

The military disposition between AD 70 and 80 (Figure 5) shows the active campaigning in Wales, with almost all of the known forts occupied; Wales was considered to have been conquered by AD 78. Between AD 80 and 90 (Figure 6), the disposition becomes more or less static, with little change until AD 110 to 120 (Figure 7), by which time several of the smaller forts in the north-east Wales have been abandoned. At this point, the number of occupied military sites begins to decline, probably due to renewed military action in Scotland, with notable decreases between AD 120 and 150 (Figure 8). The changing character of the social, political, and economic landscapes related to the presence of the military provide part of the structures and material conditions affecting agency.

Of course, the military advancement did not occur in a vacuum; urbanisation occurred alongside it. New towns were intentionally founded, e.g., Cirencester or Gloucester, grew up along the road network, e.g., Kenchester or Mildenhall, or developed outside the military bases, e.g., Caerleon or Usk. Using the minimum distance between sites as an indicator of the relative density, Figure 9 depicts the density of urban sites. A drawback to illustrating urban sites in this manner is that
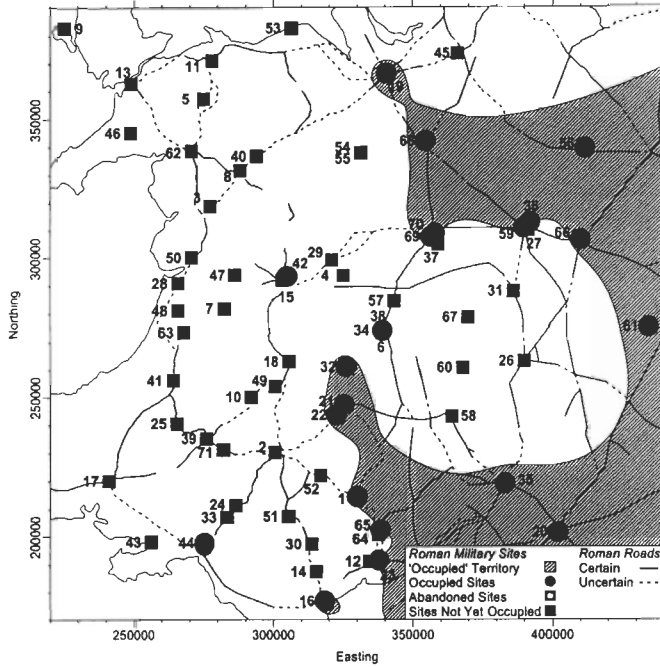
Figure 4. Military disposition in western Britannia to AD 70. A key to the site numbers can be found in Appendix 1
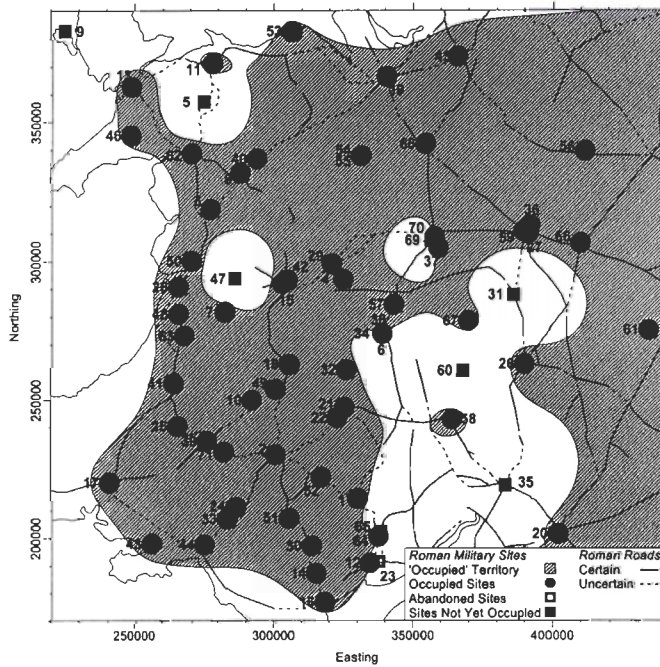
Figure 5. Military disposition in western Britannia, AD 70 to 80
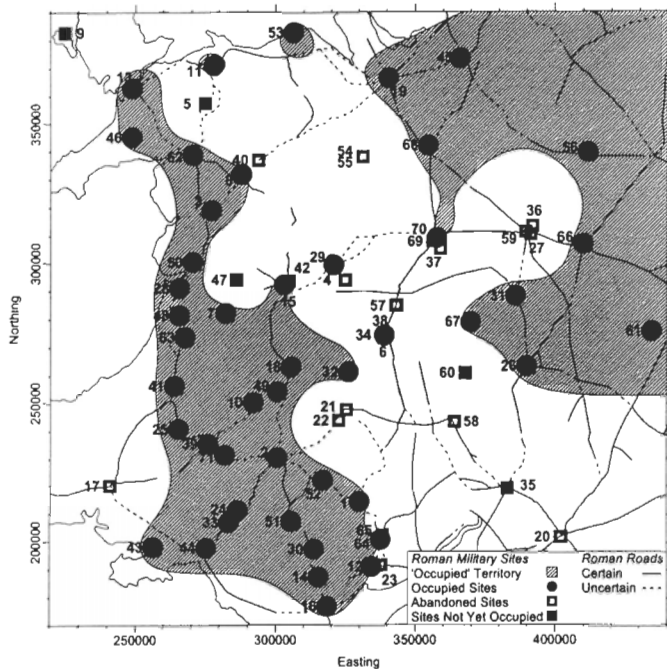
Figure 6. Military disposition in western Britannia, AD 80 to 90
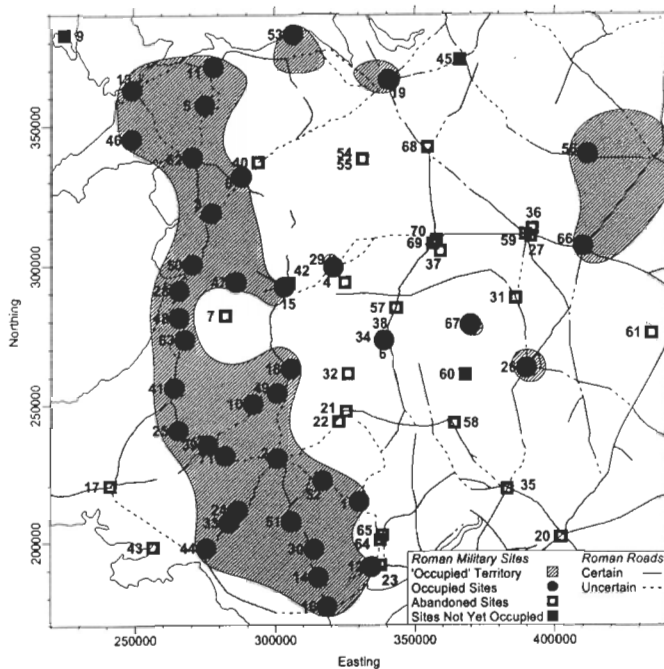
Figure 7. Military disposition in western Britannia, AD 110 to 120

Figure 8. Military disposition in western Britannia, AD 140 to 150

Figure 9. Distance-density contours of urban sites, overlaid with area occupied by the military, AD 70 to 80. Darker areas represent shorter distances and, therefore, areas of relatively denser urban settlement. A key to the site numbers can be found in Appendix 2

chronological divisions among the sites are lost. Unfortunately, the dating of most of the urban sites is less exact than the military, although many seem to have been founded in the late first or second century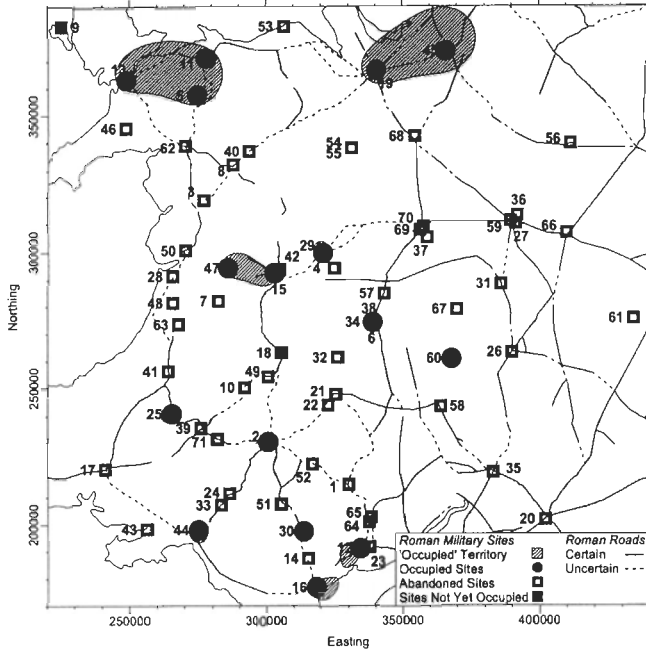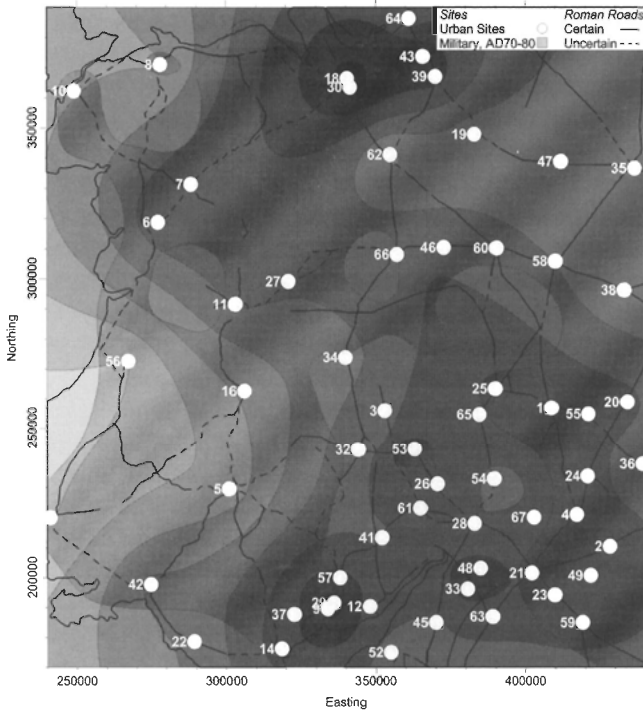 AD. The areas with the shorter distances between urban settlements, and, therefore, a higher density of urban settlement are in the northern portion of the map, near Chester and the sites lying to its east, and in the south-eastern portion of the map, near Cirencester, Gloucester, Caerwent, and Caerleon. Interestingly, this second area lies mainly within the gap in the territory occupied by the military between AD 70 and 80 (the hatched area on Figure 9; see also Figure 5), although most of the urban sites were founded after AD 80.

Comparing the distribution to Figure 2 even more graphically demonstrates the change from a landscape dominated by hillforts and their links to the local political structure to a landscape dominated by monuments of foreign conquest (forts) and Roman ideals of civilisation (towns). Of course, the forts and, especially, the towns are still connected to the local power structures, but these new places within the landscape also connote more distant social obligations and opportunities, stretching all the way to the Emperor in Rome.

Stamped Tile

Unknown from pre-Roman contexts, brick and tile appear to have been introduced into Britain during the Roman period, probably by the military, which is also the probable source for the stamping of tiles (Darvill 1982: 51). Thus, the recovery of tile from a site reflects not only a choice of building materials, but also the ideological associations of that material with foreign traditions and the new hegemony. The distribution of stamped tiles and probable production centres will be discussed briefly before considering the interpretation of the patterns.

Although brick and tile can be re-used and many are found in secondary contexts, a few have been recovered from sealed contexts, suggesting that stamped tile production in the Cotswolds ranges from AD 100 to AD 350, the end of which coincides approximately with the increase in the use of roofing slates and unstamped bricks (Darvill 1982: 52). The stamped tiles from the region include 12 groups with more than one example: ARVERI, DCLVI, IVC DIGNI, LEG II, LHS, LLS, LLQ, RPG, TCM, TPF (and variants), TPLF, and VLA. Most of these originate in the Cotswolds. As a rare example of civilian tile industry, the Cotswold group have been heavily studied (McWhirr and Viner 1978; Darvill 1980; Darvill 1982; Heighway and Parker 1982; Darvill and McWhirr 1984), and petrographic analyses have identified the sources for some of tiles. Only types with 25 or more examples have been used for the analyses, reducing the number stamps under consideration from 12 to the following 7: ARVERI, Legio II, LHS, RPG, TCM, TPF, and TPLF.

Of these stamp series, the sources for only 6 have been identified, mainly by finds from the kiln sites (Table 1). Furthermore, McWhirr (McWhirr and Viner 1978: 369) and Darvill (Darvill and McWhirr 1984: 254–5) both suggest that the TCM tiles were most likely created by itinerant tilemakers, as the fabric types analysed by Darvill (Darvill 1980) correlate almost exactly with the sites at which they were found (Darvill and

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Table 1. *Stamped tiles from the Cotswolds and their sources*

Stamp	Source	Reference
ARVERI, Fabric undetermined	Unknown	Darvill and McWhirr 1984: 55
ARVERI, Fabric AT1	near The Querns, Cirencester	Darvill and McWhirr 1984: 55
ARVERI, Fabric AT2	possibly near Kingscote	Darvill and McWhirr 1984: 55
ARVERI, Fabric AT3	possibly near Barnsley Park	Darvill and McWhirr 1984: 55
Legio II	Caerleon	Boon 1984
LHS, Fabric LT1	Minety, Wiltshire	McWhirr and Viner 1978: 369
RPG	Gloucester, St. Oswald's Priory	Heighway and Parker 1982
TCM	Itinerant	McWhirr and Viner 1978: 369
TPF A/B/C/P, Fabric LT1	Minety, Wiltshire	McWhirr and Viner 1978: 369
TPLF	near The Querns, Cirencester	Darvill and McWhirr 1984: 55,7
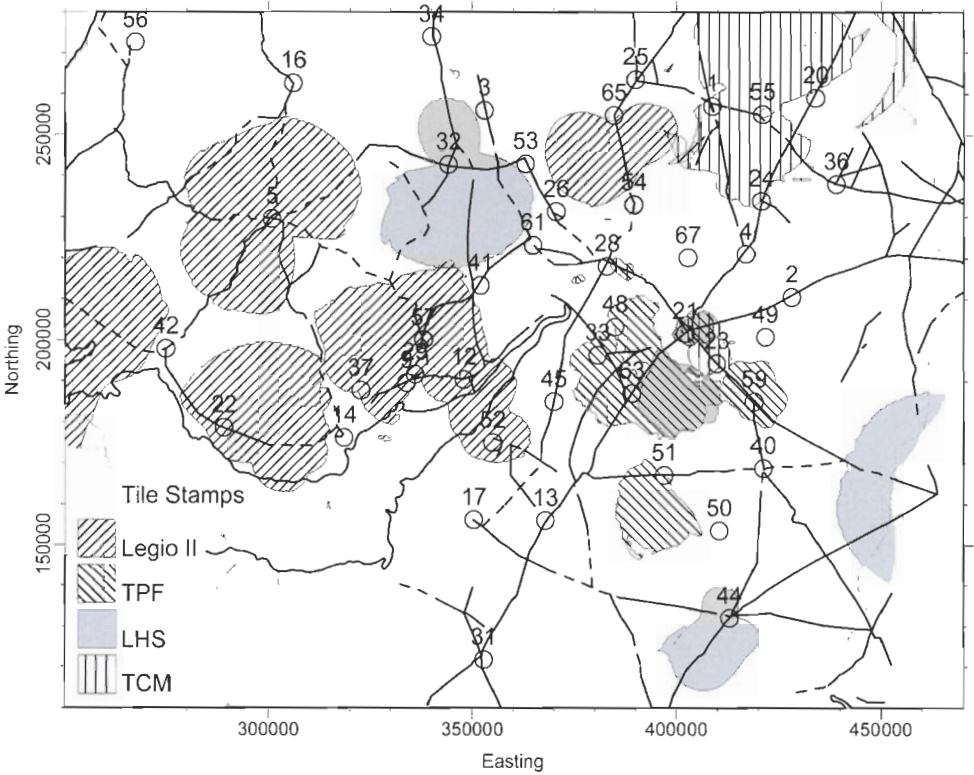
Figure 10. *The distribution of Legio II, TPF, LHS, and TCM stamped tiles*
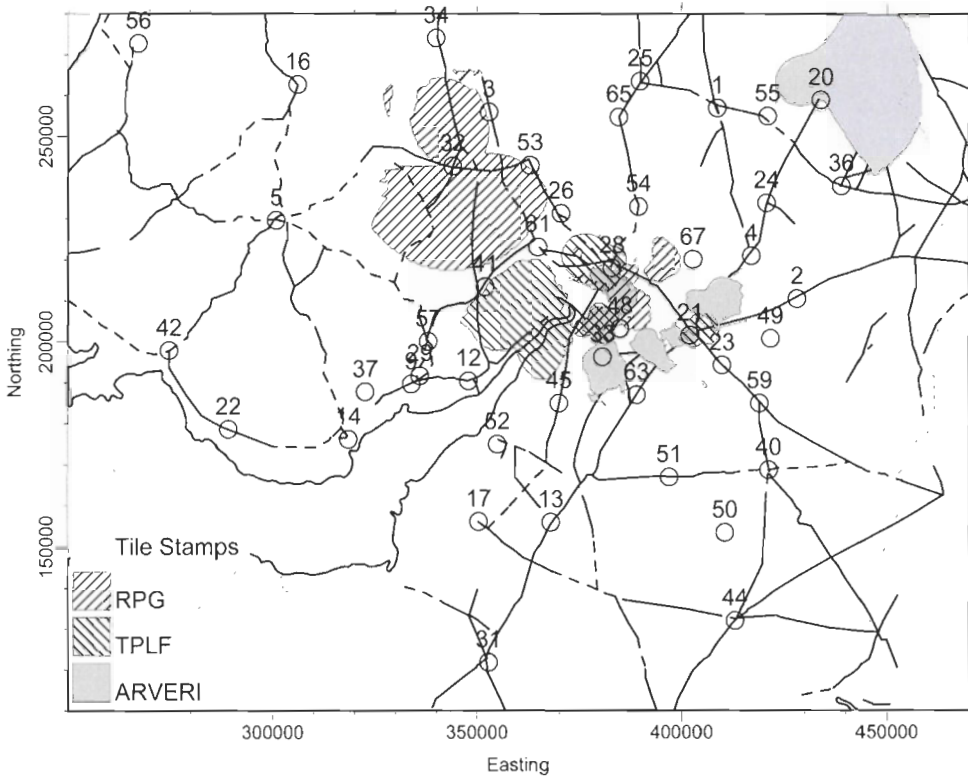
Figure 11. The distribution of RPG, TPLF, and ARVERI stamped tiles

McWhirr 1984: 254). Small amounts of tiles also may have been produced away from the main kiln to serve a short-term local demand, such as the occurrence of ARVERI Fabrics 2 and 3 at Kingscote and Barnsley Park (Darvill and McWhirr 1984: 255).

The most noticeable feature of the distribution (Figures 10, 11) is the relative separation among the types. The Legio II tiles, although found in vastly smaller numbers outside Caerleon than within, are concentrated mostly in the western portion of the study area, and have been recovered from both military and civilian contexts. ARVERI stamped tiles cluster in the immediate vicinity of Cirencester; and are found mostly within 20 kilometres of the Fabric 1 source near the Querns, Gloucestershire. Although manufactured at the same source as ARVERI, Fabric 1, tiles, those stamped TPLF are found mainly at Cirencester and to the west, with a few from the upper reaches of the Severn Estuary.

The LHS and TPF series are again concentrated at Cirencester, although the LHS series have a much wider distribution. All of the LHS stamps not found in Cirencester (approximately 30% of the known stamps) are found more than 60 kilometres from the kiln at Minety, Wiltshire. The TPF series stamps are all found within 30 kilometres of the kiln. Unsurprisingly, the largest quantity of RPG stamps are found at Gloucester,

where they were manufactured. Excluding the tiles found at Kenchester, the RPG tiles are found within 20 kilometres of the city. The latter five types have been recovered only from civilian contexts.

An Interpretative Example: Kenchester

The interpretation of the patterns in data such as the military disposition and distribution of stamped tile and of their relation to local agents and structures is best illustrated through an example – in this case, Kenchester, the Roman town of *Magnis*. Kenchester is notable as an anomaly in the distributions of stamped tile and various types of pottery (for a detailed discussion of the various pottery types and their distributions see Allen and Fulford 1996). Situated near the edge of the main distributions of tile, approximately 30 kilometres from any other analysed site (figure 12) and located at the intersection of the road from Caerleon to Wroxeter and the road westwards to Clifford and Clyro, Kenchester appears isolated from other civilian settlements to the east and south-east, although this could partially reflect recovery and site preservation rather than archaeology. The unusual nature of Kenchester has also been noted previously, especially with respect to tile (Parker, 1985). The atypical character of Kenchester aids the examination of questions that can be drawn from the theoretical discussion above. Namely, what choices were available to individual agents and what were the possible outcomes of different choices?

The number of stamped tiles recovered from Kenchester is small, consisting of 13 RPG stamps and 3 LHS stamps. The RPG stamps had been transported approximately 45 kilometres, while the LHS stamps had been transported 75 kilometres. As mentioned above, this is not an unusual distance for LHS tiles to have been conveyed, although all other widely distributed LHS tiles are found to the south-east of the tilery (Kenchester lies to the north-west). However, this is an unusually long distance for RPG tiles to have been transported. All other examples of RPG stamps are found within 20 kilometres of Gloucester. All of the RPG tiles at Kenchester appear to have been stamped with the same die (Parker 1985), which implies manufacture within a relatively short period, if not as part of the same batch (Parker 1985). It is even possible that these tiles were made for a specific project at Kenchester by a tiler from Gloucester.

Kenchester is also atypical with respect to the pottery recovered from the site, based on data collected by Allen and Fulford (1996) on the distribution of various wares in south-western Britain, including south-east Dorset Black Burnished Category 1 Pottery (SEDBB1) and Severn Valley Ware. Kenchester lies outside the main distributions of both wares. In south-west Britain, SEDBB1 is found mainly in Dorset, especially near the kilns at Poole Harbour. The distribution extends north to encompass both sides of the Severn Estuary, with especially dense concentrations on the Welsh shore. Although Kenchester is located slightly beyond the main distribution, at 21.4% the proportion of SEDBB1 is similar to that at Wroxeter (18.1%), and only slightly less than those at Usk (33.6%) and Caerleon (30%). Severn Valley Ware is concentrated along the mouth of the Severn Estuary and stretches northwards towards Worcester and Wroxeter. Sites outside the main distribution of Severn Valley Ware generally record less than 5% of the total
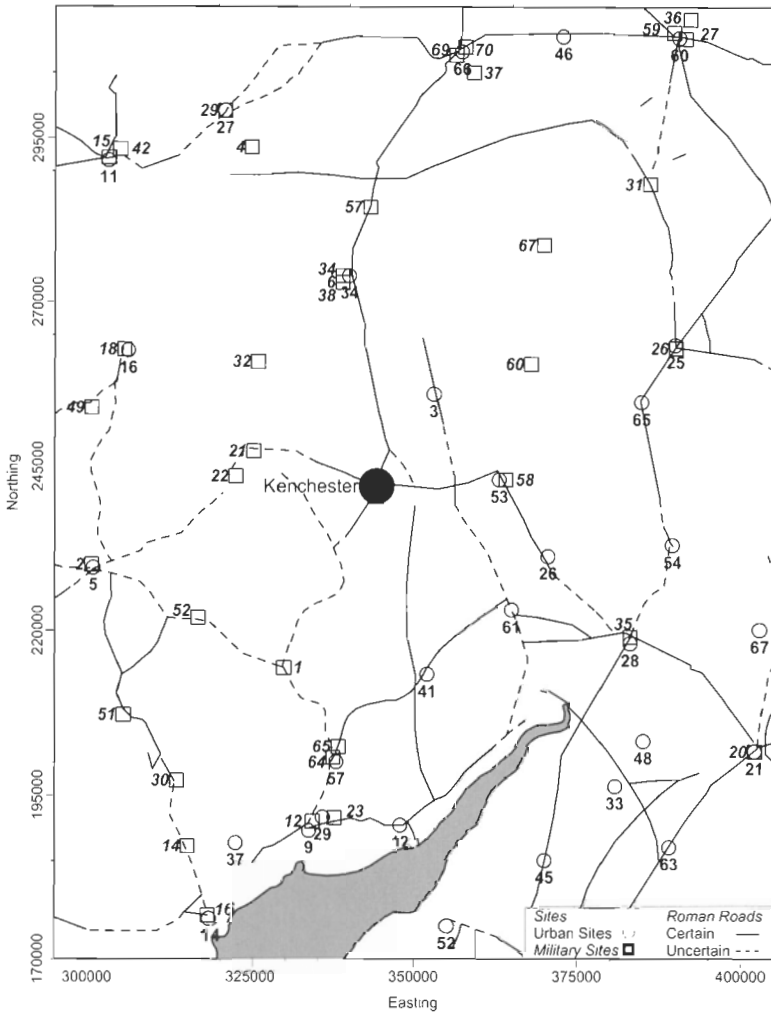
Figure 12. Kenchester and environs. Keys to the site numbers can be found in Appendices 1 and 2

assemblage as Severn Valley Ware. However, 28.5% of the pottery from Kenchester is Severn Valley Ware.

It has been suggested by Wilmott (1980: 120–1) that Kenchester's location within the valley, its relation to the road network, and the fact that is equidistant from the nearby military sites strongly imply that a fort may be located at or near the town. Further support for this suggestion comes from finds of "military metalwork" within the town (Wilmott 1980: 120). However, no evidence of a fort has yet been found.

Furthermore, the patterns described here suggest economic links between Kenchester and the civilian settlements in the Severn Valley. The evidence from the distributions of

both the tile stamps and Severn Valley Ware indicates connections with Gloucester and Cirencester. Despite the apparently equal access to tiles from both military and civilian production centres, all of the tiles recovered from Kenchester are from the civilian productions centres to the east, between 45 and 75 kilometres distant, rather than the military tilery at Caerleon, approximately 50 kilometres away. This may only reflect the local political situation, if Kenchester belonged to the *Civitas Dobunnorum*, as suggested by the inscribed milestone incorporated into the city walls (RIB 2250; Wilmott 1980: 128), and the tiles were purchased from within the *civitas*, although this implies a certain degree of *civitas* 'nationalism' which is probably unwarranted. However, the source of the tiles could represent a choice between military and civilian supply, with the selection of a civilian supplier emphasising the pre-Roman regional political or social networks. Given the Iron Age origins of Severn Valley Ware (Timby 1990), these connections probably pre-date the Roman invasion, when the nearby hillfort at Credenhill was occupied (Wilmott and Rahtz 1985: 119). Nevertheless, the occurrence of SEDBB1, the distribution of which has been linked to the military, specifically *Legio II Augusta*, by Fulford (Allen and Fulford 1996; Fulford 1996), and the military metalwork mentioned above also suggest links to the military.

Kenchester lies at the western edge of the area of denser urban settlement (figure 9, site 32). Although the nearby forts of Clifford and Clyro were abandoned by the Flavian period, other forts in the area were occupied until the mid-second century. Thus, the town was located on the border between predominantly civilian and predominantly military areas. The inhabitants of Kenchester appear to have exploited this liminal position for economic benefit, with the settlement prospering in the early second century, perhaps participating in the trade of SEDBB1. Painted wall plaster and mosaic fragments recovered from several of the buildings within and near the settlement provide architectural evidence of this prosperity (Jack and Hayter 1916; Jack and Hayter 1926; Heys 1962; Rahtz 1983). The walling of the town in the late second century is a further indication of wealth and the ability to command the necessary resources of labour and material.

The changes occurring at Kenchester would have been more than economic. Prospering in the face of invasion, conquest, and greatly altered economic circumstances required agents knowledgeable of the changing situation and with the creativity to adapt to the unexpected. The continued association with the Severn Valley suggests that adaptation occurred within the framework of known relations, and that these relations were not replaced, merely supplemented or changed. New opportunities for wealth also created new social opportunities. The means chosen to display newly acquired wealth were unequivocally those of the conquerors – mosaics, painted wall plaster, and stone architecture with tiled roofs – reflecting a conscious choice on the part of the inhabitants of Kenchester. The archaeological patterns provide a glimpse at the possible options available to the inhabitants: continued relations with the Severn Valley, trade with the conquering soldiers, and wealth display through architectural elaboration.

This description of a Roman 'businessman' is only one possible resolution of the options available in Kenchester. For example, some of the local populace may have reacted to new structures by developing a local identity that emphasised its pre-

conquest connections through the use of Severn Valley Ware and its association with Iron Age traditions. Although only a beginning, this discussion of Kenchester illustrates how aspects of the social, political, and economic structures are reflected in the distributions of material culture.

Conclusion

This essay has attempted to address the problem of how to move from general, spatial distributions of artefacts and sites to locally meaningful conclusions. The concept of Romanization, with its over-arching, binary opposites of 'Roman' and 'Native', is inadequate for this task. Instead, an interpretative approach has been followed, in which the social, economic, and political structures influence material conditions, and in which the material conditions in turn influence these structures. One goal of this approach is to illuminate some of the possibilities available to the agents who were navigating through these structures during the Roman period. What choices were available to individual agents? What are the possible ramifications of those choices and how might they be reflected in the material conditions constraining the archaeological data?

Most of the artefacts used in the analyses presented here are types for which the production centres can be determined, at least to within a reasonable area, e.g., stamped tile and pottery. The examination of the distributions, therefore, provides information not only concerning the final deposition of material, but also about the movement of artefacts. It is this movement which provides the most straightforward access to the social, economic, and political structures. Interaction, and the lack of interaction, among areas is emphasised, and the results of choices made by individuals during the Roman period become slightly clearer. At Kenchester, the tension between social and political connections with both military and civilian areas accentuates the possible choices available to the inhabitants. The origin of goods flowing into the site outline the actions of a portion of those inhabitants. As can be suggested from the Kenchester data, agents would have been able to continue participation in regional economic networks, while at the same time taking advantage of new opportunities afforded by the conquest and participation in larger-scale networks.

The example of Kenchester, although brief, provides an illustration of how social, political, and economic circumstances can be teased from the archaeological patterns and one of the possible paths available to individuals living in Kenchester. The patterns of sites and artefacts reflect the structures and material conditions influencing and influenced by each agent's actions. Other individuals, creating different identities, would, of course, choose different paths. This should not be viewed simply as an exercise in rampant speculation, as current interpretations are restricted by the some of the same material conditions that influenced the original interpretations during the first and second centuries. These interpretations allow us to move beyond the simple categories of 'Roman' and 'Native' and hint at the prospect of examining, within their own interpretations, the actual individuals responsible for placing artefacts into the ground.

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Appendix 1: Military Sites

Several sites were abandoned shortly before AD 100, and then re-occupied 2 or 3 decades later; these are indicated below by a listing for each phase of occupation. Some sites abandoned before AD 250 have evidence of re-occupation after AD 250; these data are not included here. Many sites within the study area are not included in the list below, as they lack dating information. This leads to some apparently peculiar omissions, namely Greensforge A without Greensforge B, and Rocester Forts 2 and 3, without Fort 1.

Number	Name	Type	Occ.	Abd.
1	Abergavenny	Fort	47–52	c. 130
2	Brecon Gaer	Fort	74–78	c. 379
3	Brithdir	Fortlet	74–80	c. 130
4	Brompton	Fort	by 74	74–78
5	Bryn-y-Gefeiliau	Fort	c. 90	by 160
6	Buckton	Fort	c. 90	by c. 130
7	Cae-Gaer	Fort	74–78	c. 90
8	Caer Gai	Fort	possibly 74–77	by c. 130
9	Caer Gybi	Fortlet	175–200	350–450
10	Caerau	Fort	74–78	110–117
11	Caerhun	Fort	77–80	by 160
12	Caerleon	Legionary Fortress	c. 75	306–337
13	Caernarvon	Fort	77–80	c. 394
14	Caerphilly	Fort	74–78	by c. 130
15	Caersws	Fort	74–78	335
16	Cardiff	Fort	55–60	c. 200
17	Carmarthen	Fort	c. 74–78	possibly 78–80
18	Castell Collen, Phase 1	Fort	74–78	by c. 130
	Castell Collen, Phase 2	Fort	155–160	by c. 270
19	Chester	Legionary Fortress	by 60	394
20	Cirencester	Fort	c. 45	c. 75
21	Clifford	Fort	by 54	74–78
22	Clyro	Vexillation Fortress	54–68	74–78
23	Coed y Caerau	Fortlet	uncertain	by 55
24	Coelbren Gaer	Fort	74–78	by c. 130

Number	Name	Type	Occ.	Abd.
25	Dolaucothi	Fort	74–78	c. 150–160
26	Droitwich	Fort	74–77	130–c. 175
27	Eaton House	Fort	by 74	74–78
28	Erglodd	Fortlet	possibly 74–77	by c. 130
29	Forden Gaer, Phase 1	Fort	74–78	c. 90
29	Forden Gaer, Phase 2	Fort	100–110	by c. 270
30	Gelligaer	Fort	74–78	c. 150–160
31	Greensforge, Fort A	Fort	by c. 80	by c. 100
32	Hindewell Farm	Fort	54–68	by c. 96
33	Hirfynydd	Fortlet	74–78	110–117
34	Jay Lane	Fort	54–68	by c. 90
35	Kingsholm, Phase 1	Legionary Fortress	48	57
	Kingsholm, Phase 2	Legionary Fortress	by 96	96–98
36	Kinvaston	Vexillation Fortress	47–52	74–78
37	Leighton	Vexillation Fortress	by 74	74–78
38	Leintwardine	Fort	145–160	350–353
39	Llandovery	Fort	74–78	by c. 130
40	Llanfor	Fort	possibly 74–77	78–80
41	Llanio	Fort	74–78	by c. 130
42	Llwyn-y-Brain	Fort	c. 47–74	by c. 74
43	Loughor	Fort	74–78	100–110
44	Neath, Phase 1	Fort	by 64	100–110
	Neath, Phase 2	Fort	117–125	c. 140
45	Northwich, Phase 1	Fort	70–75	c. 100
	Northwich, Phase 2	Fort	c. 120	140
46	Pen Llystyn, Phase 1	Fort	77–80	by c. 90
	Pen Llystyn, Phase 2	Fort	100–110	110–117
47	Pen y Crogbren	Fortlet	117–125	140–165
48	Pen-Llwyn	Fort	74–78	by c. 130
49	Pen-Min-Cae	Fortlet	74–78	110–117
50	Pennal	Fort	possibly 74–77	by c. 130
51	Pen-y-Darren	Fort	74–78	by c. 130
52	Pen-y-Gaer	Fort	74–78	by c. 130
53	Prestatyn	Fort	possibly 78–80	110–117
54	Rhyn Park	Vexillation Fortress	by 74	74–78
55	Rhyn Park	Fort	by 74	74–78
56	Rocester, Fort 2	Fort	uncertain	by c. 75
	Rocester, Fort 3	Fort	by c. 75	by c. 117
57	Stretford Bridge	Fort	by 74	74–78
58	Stretton Grandison	Fort	by 74	74–78
59	Stretton Mill	Fort	47–52	74–78
60	Tedstone Water	Fortlet	by 130	by c. 200
61	The Lunt	Fort	60	80
62	Tomen-y-Mur	Fort	78–80	by c. 130
63	Trawscoed	Fort	74–78	by c. 130
64	Usk	Fort	c. 67	100–110
65	Usk	Legionary Fortress	57	67
66	Wall	Fort	47–48	by 69
	Wall	Fort	after 69	by c. 117
67	Wall Town	Fort	74–78	110–117
68	Whitchurch	Fort	by 60	c. 90
69	Wroxeter	Fort	43	by 55
70	Wroxeter	Legionary Fortress	55	67–69
	Wroxeter	Legionary Fortress	75	83–84
71	Y Pigwn	Fortlet	74–78	110–117

Appendix 2: Urban Sites

Number	Site	Number	Site
1	Alcester	35	Littlechester
2	Asthall	36	Lower Lea
3	Blackwardine	37	Machen
4	Bourton on the Water	38	Mancetter
5	Brecon Gaer	39	Middlewich
6	Brithdir	40	Mildenhall
7	Caer Gai	41	Monmouth
8	Caerhun	42	Neath
9	Caerleon	43	Northwich
10	Caernarvon	44	Old Sarum
11	Caersws	45	Rangeworthy
12	Caerwent	46	Redhill
13	Camerton	47	Rocester
14	Cardiff	48	Rodborough
15	Carmarthen	49	Lechlade
16	Castell Collen	50	Rushall Down
17	Charterhouse	51	Sandy Lane
18	Chester	52	Sea Mills
19	Chesterston	53	Stretton Grandison
20	Chesterton	54	Tewkesbury
21	Cirencester	55	Tiddington
22	Cowbridge	56	Trawscoed
23	Cricklade	57	Usk
24	Dorn	58	Wall
25	Droitwich	59	Wanborough
26	Dymock	60	Water Eaton
27	Forden Gaer	61	Weston-under-Penyard
28	Gloucester	62	Whitchurch
29	Great Bulmore	63	White Walls
30	Heronbridge	64	Wilderspool
31	Ilchester	65	Worcester
32	Kenchester	66	Wroxeter
33	Kingscote	67	Wycomb
34	Leintwardine		