

**Social Dynamics in South-West England AD 350-1150:**

**An exploration of maritime oriented identity in the**

**Atlantic approaches and Western channel region**

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**for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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## **Abstract**

This research investigates the development of early medieval identities in the South West, and how various factors caused continuity and change in the insular material culture, the settlements, and ultimately in social identity. These cycles of change, brought about by influences both within and outside the region, appear to reoccur throughout the study period, and are evidenced through a regional (macro-scale) and micro-regional (site-specific) scale assessment of the evidence. An overriding sense of long-term continuity is perceived in the ability of these insular identities to retain former traditions and develop their material culture, despite the apparent political domination by far-reaching and overarching social groups in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods. These traditions include the ceramics, where an examination of developments in form and fabric have created a chronological framework that is more sympathetic to the archaeology of the region than the accepted broad periods of Early, Middle and Late Saxon, and which perhaps reflects a more accurate picture of social changes through time. Furthermore, the retention of both prehistoric and Late Roman practices, in particular the former, is seen throughout all aspects of the archaeological evidence and is examined here through the themes of settlement hierarchies, exchange mechanisms and identity, and their spatial differentiation, and with geographical determinism a deciding factor in the form and nature of communities. It is significant that prehistoric, Byzantine and Late Antique practices prevailed in the fifth to eighth centuries where Roman traditions did not, together with an introduction of Continental cultural indicators, and whilst insular traditions show similarities with those of other Atlantic regions, including Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The thesis also explores the development of Late Roman societies in an assessment of the impact of geographical determinism on identity, and the potential development of Atlantic and maritime identities within society as a whole.

## **List of Abbreviations**

ADS – Archaeology Data Service

AIP – Archaeological Investigations Project

Antiq. Jnl. – Antiquity (Journal of)

Arch. J. – The Archaeological Journal

BAR – British Archaeological Report

CAU – Cornish Archaeological Unit

CBA Res. Rep. – Council for British Archaeology Research Report

CUP – Cambridge University Press

DNHAS – Dorset Natural History and Archaeology Society

HER/S – Historic Environment Register/Service

HMSO – Her Majesty's Stationery Office

Int. J. Geoarch. – International Journal of Geoarchaeology

J. Mari. Arch. – Journal of Maritime Archaeology

JRIC – Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall

LUP – Liverpool University Press

Med. Arch. – Medieval Archaeology

OUP – Oxford University Press

Oxford J. of Arch. – Oxford Journal of Archaeology

PDAS – Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society

PRN – Programme Reference Number/Pseudorandom Number

PWCFC – Proceedings of the West Cornish Field Club

RCHME – Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England

TAG – Theoretical Archaeology Group (Conference)

Trans. Dev. Ass. – Transactions of the Devonshire Association

UEP – University of Exeter Press

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# **1. Introduction and Aims**

*This chapter introduces the general aims and background of the research project, before placing it within its geographical, archaeological and historical contexts. Sites of importance are discussed in relation to current archaeological theory on the South West as well as region-wide themes and factors. Specific aims are then introduced and outlined, before concluding with the thesis structure.*

## **1.1 Introduction**

This research examines the transition of social identities in South West England from the Late Roman to early Norman periods and how the nature of early medieval insular traditions and material culture was influenced by various factors during this time-span. The period of c. AD 350-1150 was chosen in order to encompass the Late Roman period and the decline of Romano-British ways of life, as well as to include phases of Atlantic, Mediterranean, Continental, Anglo-Saxon and early Norman influence. These cycles of influence on communities in the South West are investigated in order to understand how they affected development from the Late Roman insular traditions of settlement and material culture. These features are therefore assessed in the aim of establishing the extent of acculturation of insular traditions and identities, as well as exploring the nature of maritime versus inland communities and how this might have caused regionalisation or localisation in social identity. Wider aspects of shared identities across both the Atlantic and Mediterranean regions are also explored.

The study region, formerly known as Dumnonia in the Roman and sub-Roman periods, incorporates the modern counties of Cornwall and Devon including the Scilly Isles and the Isle of Lundy and forming the majority of the south-western peninsula of Britain, projecting out into the Atlantic and Irish Seas. It is not known whether these island groups were within Dumnonian territory during the period under study (Dark 2000, 151), although the material culture appears to suggest this. This region comprises part of a wider group of Atlantic communities that also includes Scotland, Ireland, Wales and Brittany and which had shared linguistic, historical and cultural links that have been termed 'Celtic' (Henderson 2007, 10) but which are described as 'Atlantic' throughout this research, based on the similar traditions across these communities. Henderson's work has explored the nature of Atlantic identities in

prehistory and how a common group of traditions, a lack of Roman influence and strong elements of continuity in their culture prevailed throughout the Roman period (*ibid.*, 10-11). This research emulates and dovetails into Henderson's research by focusing on the Late Roman and early medieval periods, in order to gain a greater understanding of the continuity and persistence of a prehistoric way of life and the extent to which Roman traditions were incorporated into this 'insular' identity. It also adopts the wider viewpoint of these identities used in Cunliffe's work (2001; 2008). The term 'insular' will be used in relation to communities and material culture within the South West, but their insular nature will be explored for elements of an outward-looking society, with the ability to incorporate new ideas into old traditions and the adoption of new forms of material culture, through maritime connections. Breton sites will be included at a discursive level in order to place the research into a wider context within the Atlantic zone.

## **1.2 General aims**

This thesis aims to assess the extent of acculturation by various outside influences on insular societies and to explore how these societies developed their social traditions and items of material culture, in relation to landscape and a sense of place and in particular to the seascapes and coastal regions. The research will therefore analyse how identity is expressed and will evaluate whether and how characteristics of maritime-oriented affiliations express themselves through trends and changes. Attention will be paid to the continuity of certain traditions in favour of the change and development of others and whether these caused further transformations, in insular traditions of objects and settlement and therefore in identity. A further aim is to investigate whether these transformations were dependant on available resources and a sense of place, therefore resulting in the localisation or regionalisation of sub-sets in the material culture, which might subsequently have impacted on the more localised identities. This is particularly relevant in the period of Anglo-Saxon re-organisation of the landscape, but also in relation to how different geomorphological characteristics would have impacted on everyday life. Changes in settlement patterns and hierarchies will be considered, including relationships between inland and coastal sites and with particular focus on the development of central places within the hierarchy. The regionalisation of evidence forms will also be used to assess the changing nature of traditions. Running throughout the thesis will be the concept of insular traditions

contrasting sharply against ideas and objects that were ‘other’ and originating from outside the Atlantic zone, and their subsequent acculturation into these insular societies.

Therefore, this research will analyse the available evidence for early medieval activity within the study region, in order to assess spatial and temporal patterning and how it might reflect the way in which early medieval life was played out across the landscape. This will consist of a macro-scale analysis of specific forms of evidence, coupled with a micro-scale assessment of these evidence forms in several settlement case studies. The former will include an analysis of the development of central places and all forms of settlement in relation to the distribution of the material culture, as well as the specific role in the settlement hierarchy that coastal sites would have played, by analysing the evidence for particular inland or maritime slants in its distribution.

### **1.3 Scope**

This research aims to provide new ideas and theories on the characteristics of early medieval social dynamics across the landscapes and seascapes of the South West. Previous research has covered a wide range of evidence concerning past societies, but has not studied this evidence for social changes across the broad chronological period used in this project. Neither has it fully assessed the evidence for different forms of identity and specifically maritime identities, despite the large amount of evidence for a strongly maritime-oriented community. The archaeological evidence appears to suggest a degree of continuity in localised agrarian communities and in the form of wider perceptions of identity and use of the landscape and seascape. This continuity is also reflected in the occupation of former prehistoric and Romano-British sites, yet whilst Imperial control of the region in the Roman period is known, there is little evidence for a continuing or resurrected over-arching framework of governance between the fourth and seventh centuries, despite the large body of evidence for sustained links with the former Empire. Although there is some evidence that would suggest the presence of small groups of ruling elites administering their own smaller territories, there is little or no evidence for the existence of these elite sites and central places in the late Romano-British period other than at Exeter, whilst evidence in the sub-Roman period is also inconclusive.

Several candidates, including Tintagel, have been suggested for these elite settlements and for several centuries there appears to have been a degree of economic activity which would indicate the presence of some form of organisation, social interaction and communication across the region. Whilst the concept of central place has been discussed in relation to the large assemblages of imports within the region and to the relatively large amounts of evidence for the development of Exeter, as yet little work has been undertaken in relation to the smaller rural sites with insular material culture assemblages that might also fit this role. The settlement hierarchy prior to the creation of the parochial system by the Anglo-Saxons and their more visible reorganisation of landscape and its control by the elite, which were incorporated into the Norman system in later years, has never been fully understood. This project will examine the evidence for settlement in relation to both form and function, in order to attempt an insight into settlement hierarchies as well as the development of 'insular' prehistoric and Romano-British site-types.

Until now, research on the region has yet to use such a long study period within which to assess the changing natures of identity and ethnicity on a region-wide basis. This thesis will highlight the changing nature of both insular and introduced traditions over this eight hundred year period, including evidence from Late Roman to Norman sites and the development of settlement forms in this era, whilst emphasising the longevity of certain characteristics over the *longue durée*. Such an approach will allow for long- and short-term changes to be assessed and investigated from all the available evidence, whilst underlining the fluidity of society in incorporating new ideas into pre-existing traditions.

The project will also address old themes in new ways, by discussing the role of seascapes in the development of settlement and material culture and their relative importance in the development of society as a whole. The regional and site-based investigation of the evidence in this project will shed light onto this topic as well as onto social perceptions of the landscape and seascape. Henderson's (2007) volume on the nature of prehistoric society in the lands bordering the Atlantic discusses various maritime aspects of the archaeology and introduces new ideas of how Atlantic identities are perceived, concluding with the Roman Iron Age. It thus provides a strong background and a basis for this research project, discussing similar themes and aspects of society and culture, and their continuity of tradition. There is therefore clear scope for a concentrated study on not only early medieval settlements and their function and form, but also on specifically coastal settlement forms, maritime identity

and associated material culture. Questions raised in the discussion of these coastal sites include how they fitted into the wider frameworks of trade and exchange, and whether there were any forms of contact and networks of trade between these and the inland sites. Were these sites the norm, or did they represent certain specifically maritime-oriented functions? How were the uplands exploited in the early medieval period, and is it possible to view them as having been an integral part of the overall settlement hierarchy, or were they seen as having a separate “other” function in society and in personal perceptions of distance and space? With regard to the particular nature of archaeology at the coastal sites, could their specific material culture profiles be linked to an explanation for the clear west-east and British-English divide seen in the immediate post-Roman period? Were certain types of site and structure of buildings genuinely maritime in nature, or were they also found inland? In terms of the trends in the archaeology, do they reflect a particular maritime identity or social group, or the wishes and demands of society as a whole? Was the demand for the Mediterranean products of the fifth to seventh centuries merely coastal, or also inland? Was this maritime identity very different from Anglo-Saxon identities in the east, and if so, why? These questions will be addressed in the analysis of the archaeological evidence for the region whilst using the theoretical concepts and themes alluded to above.

## **1.4 Geomorphological environment**

Cornwall and Devon form a spur of land projecting into the Atlantic, mirrored by Brittany to the south and South Wales to the north. Two characteristic features of the region are the large expanses of upland that comprise Bodmin, Dartmoor and Exmoor, denoted by shading in Figure 1, and the extensive coastline which forms over eighty percent of its borders, the remainder consisting of the boundary with Somerset and Dorset. The granite bedrock which runs across the region also forms the majority of these uplands and contains various mineral resources, including tin, copper, silver and gold. In parts of Devon there are patches of Greensand and clay as well as patches of chalk (Todd 1987, 3), whilst on the Lizard peninsula an area of gabbroic clay (Pearce 2004, 3) was used to produce some of the distinctive prehistoric and early medieval pottery from Cornwall. Other isolated patches of bedrock include serpentine, gneiss, schists and granite (Todd 1987, 6) and in Devon the Devonian rocks and Carboniferous shales, sandstones and slates (*ibid.*, 3).

Drainage systems running off the uplands are broadly separated into two areas, divided by the Fowey and Padstow estuaries. To the east the large catchment areas and number of tributaries, most of which stretch across half the peninsula, are in stark contrast to the west, where the few large rivers and streams barely penetrate the interior. The modern Cornish border still follows the River Tamar, as it was recorded as doing as early as the tenth century (Doble 1997, 6), whilst the Devon border with Somerset and Dorset now roughly follows the catchment boundaries of several of the major eastern rivers. The characteristics of the uplands were all apparently formed in the Neolithic and Bronze Age through consistent clearance and inhabitation, turning what had once been woodland into large expanses of acidic moorland, such as that on Rough Tor, Bodmin where recent evidence suggest that the site may have been covered with mixed woodland up and over its summit (Wessex Archaeology Report no. 62500.01, 2).

The various inlets and estuaries along the coastline are likely to have been used as natural harbours, an important resource for early trade as well as facilitating the fishing industry. Devon's many estuaries, stretching deep inland, would have brought a large proportion of inland areas closer to maritime resources (Fox 2001, 70). These estuaries and wide sandy beaches would have been important in a coastline which otherwise bears long stretches of steep cliffs. Stretches of extensive raised beaches and sand dunes are another notable feature, in some areas causing settlement shift, or hiding the remains of former settlements and in some cases covering several square kilometres. These raised beaches attest to the force of the prevailing winds and the strength of storm surges, particularly prevalent along the north Cornish coast. The Scilly Isles, a collection of small islands with shallow inlets forming a relatively large archipelago, once formed part of a single land mass known as Ennor, which is thought to have existed as recently as the Roman and immediate post-Roman periods (Thomas 1985, 1-28). Rising sea-levels brought about the islands seen today, although recent research indicates that the land area during the study period was not as extensive as Thomas suggests and that they had risen earlier than he calculated (Ratcliffe & Straker 2000, 82-84). Elsewhere, whilst some estuaries have grown with rising sea-levels, others such as the Camel at Padstow and the Exe in Devon became partially blocked and silted up by the sand and shingle bars of Doom Bar and Dawlish Warren respectively (Todd 1987, 9).

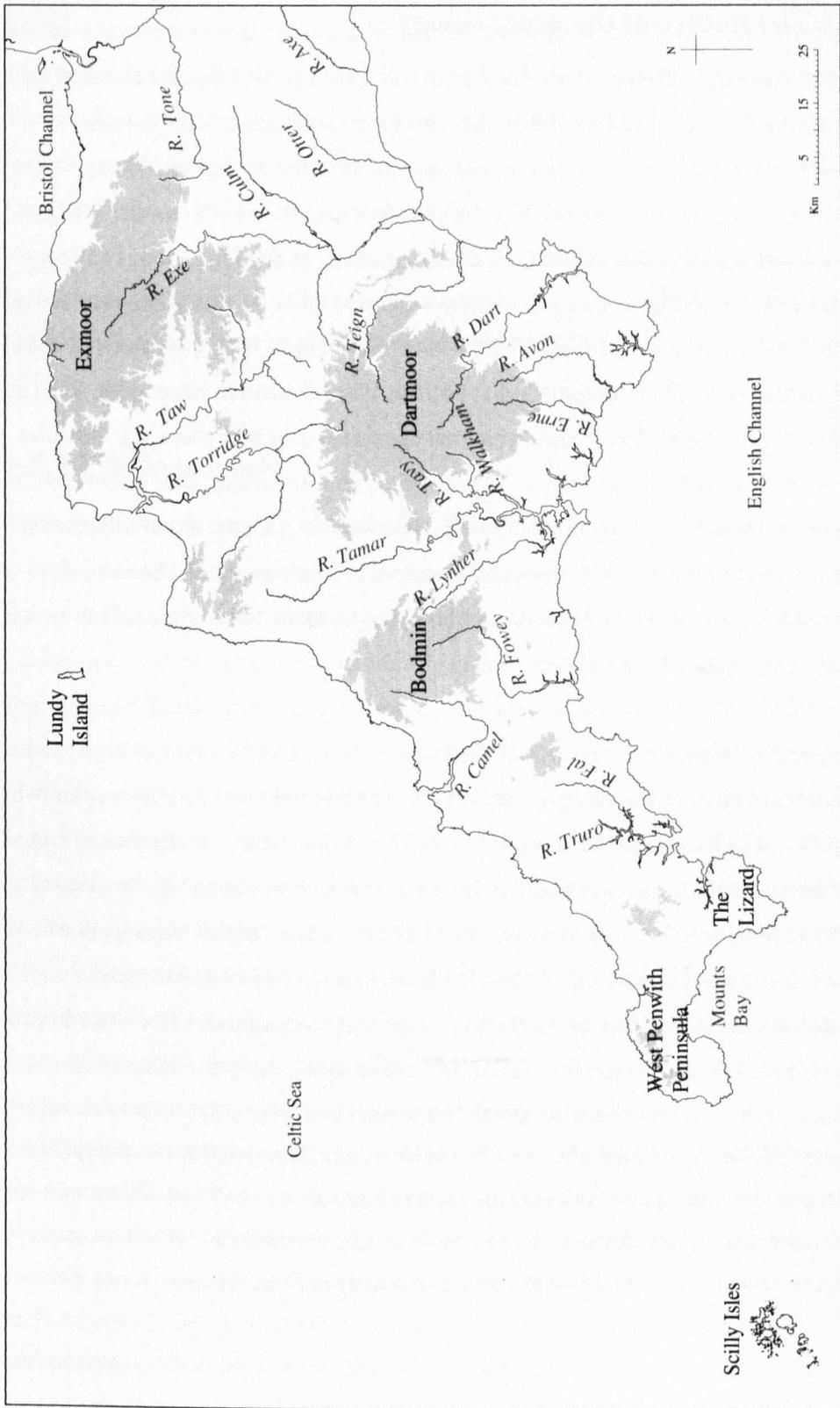


Figure 1 - Geomorphological characteristics of the region

## **1.5 Current state of archaeological knowledge**

### **1.5.1 The nature of the archaeology**

So far, archaeological investigation in Devon and Cornwall has incorporated all forms of excavation, but has primarily taken the form of a combination of large-scale excavation of a few sites taking place over a period of decades, and small-scale investigations of chance finds combined with rescue excavation. The former included the sites of Tintagel (Radford 1935; 1956b; Barrowman et al 2007), Mawgan Porth (Taylor 1997), Gwithian (Fowler 1962; Lawson-Jones 2006; Nowakowski et al 2007a; 2007b; 2007c; Thomas, C. 1956b; 1958; 1964c; 1967; 1969; 1972b; Thomas, N. 1995) and Bantham (Fox 1955; Silvester 1981; Griffith 1986; Griffith & Reed 1998; Reed & Bidwell 2011). Many of these sites were first excavated over fifty years ago and have been re-investigated in recent times. A series of ancient stray finds were discovered in the nineteenth century, many of which were discovered in the sand dunes of the north Cornish coast and include cist cemeteries and various artefact scatters. Several of these scatters were also investigated later through systematic fieldwalking, such as on Perran Sands by L. J. Penna (1966; 1967).

Rescue archaeology, the foundation of the Portable Antiquities Scheme and the need for watching briefs during construction work, have all increased the number of known occupation sites as well as the general level of knowledge. However, the lack of large urban areas and the expanses of pasture have meant that the extent of this impact on the archaeology is less than in other counties. There is also a lack of large-scale metal-detector surveying, largely as a result of the land use as pasture. More recently, investigation has tended to take the form of small-scale excavation, whilst including a wide variety of survey techniques and methods of analysis, the latter reflected in particular in the detailed assessment of the large Gwithian assemblages (Nowakowski 2007a & 2007b). Apart from sites such as Gwithian and Tintagel, the use of large-scale, open-area and long-term excavation-based research has not been widespread, although knowledge about many sites is regularly augmented by minor works, as at Tintagel, through improvements to tourist access and facilities (Lawson-Jones 1995).

There are very few sites which share enough characteristics to aid in the creation of a detailed early medieval settlement typology for the region. Despite attempts by those such as Hodges and his inclusion of Bantham into the types A and B *emporia* (1989, 67), it has not been possible to establish a precise idea of settlement hierarchy and its

development prior to the historically-documented manorial sites in the Middle Saxon period. Previous studies on the early medieval archaeology of southern and south-west England also appear to show a cultural boundary between the South West and the southern and eastern regions, something that is highlighted by Hodges' work (*ibid.*). This provides scope for the study of Cornwall and Devon together and of the South West against the rest of England, given the cultural differences between them and the apparent inability to discuss the two regions in the same context. These differences, however, may not be as clear-cut as they appear, given the recognition that the survival of Romano-British traits in eastern and southern areas of Britain might be more common than previously thought, as attested to by the work of Loveluck in relation to evidence from the Peak District (1995, 87-89).

### **1.5.2 Previous work**

The nature of the archaeology has resulted in a number of wider studies on different aspects of material culture and settlement, based on the strong 'Celtic' or prehistoric nature of the region in the early medieval period, as well as the advent of Early Christianity and its associated traditions. Quinnell presented a detailed study of the Iron Age and Roman material culture and settlement archaeology (1986), followed by the in-depth synopsis of the medieval period by Preston-Jones and Rose (1986), both of which provide a good background to the archaeology, with a more up-to-date, but less-detailed summary by Pearce (2004). Other regional studies include Thomas' volume on the Scilly Isles (1985) and Johnson and Rose's in-depth assessment of the archaeology from Bodmin Moor (1984). Dark has produced several volumes on the nature of society in the south west, for example in relation to Wales and Ireland and ideas on social factors and settlement patterns that affected these regions and contact between them (1994; 1996; 1998; 1999; 2002). Cunliffe's two volumes also provide background studies of the wider Atlantic and European zones and associated distributions of traditions and cultural links (2001; 2008). Turner's work (2006a) incorporates Early Christian and landscape studies, as does Higham's more general *Making Anglo-Saxon Devon* (2008), whilst the seascapes have been addressed only recently by a national assessment of current progress within the coastal and maritime archaeology of early medieval England (Carver & Loveluck et al 2010, 202-239; in press (2012)).

Studies on the material culture include Okasha's descriptive catalogue of inscribed stones (1993; 1996), Moorhead's article on Byzantine coinage (2009), Cramp's corpus

of stone sculpture (2006), Langdon's volumes on Cornish crosses (1996a; 1996b; 1999; 2002) and Thomas' (1994) discussion of the material culture in relation to its wider distribution and origins across Britain, Wales, Ireland and Brittany and its role in the development of early church sculpture and artwork. The Atlantic tradition of cist-burial is analysed by O'Brien (1999), Petts (2001; 2004) and Lucy (2002), with the nature of these burials, however, providing little evidence in terms of dating and material culture and where bone survival in modern excavation is often too minimal to allow for scientific dating methods. Specific studies on the imported ceramics include the works of Fulford (1977), Dark (2001) and Thomas (1981; 1990), with Campbell's 2007 volume providing the most current and in-depth summary of Byzantine and Continental ceramics and glass and their characteristics. Dark's 2001 volume focuses on the Mediterranean evidence for pottery production and marketing but provides a useful guide to the early Byzantine ceramics relevant to this study (2001, 32-42).

Alcock's 1970 article on a hypothetical Irish Sea culture-province provides an early summary of the similarities of Atlantic traditions for the early medieval period, whilst Henderson's 2007 volume on the evolution of Atlantic and maritime identities in prehistory forms an important background to this research. Work on the Early Christian evidence includes Pearce's studies for the South West and Devon in particular (1982a; 1982b; 1985) and a more recent volume by Turner on Christianity within the landscape (2006b). Preston-Jones has studied the formation and use of the lann churchyards (1994), whilst Padel has assessed the implication of place names in relation to these lanns and to other features in the landscape (1985). Place name elements and language as a form of evidence in early medieval archaeology is also discussed by Svensson (1987), Coates (2000), Gover (1932) and Griffith & Wilkes (2006). Finally, a recent study by James Ellis Jones has focused on the maritime and riverine landscape of western Roman Britain, discussing aspects of change in this landscape in relation to maritime transport, ports and landing places versus the Roman road system (2009, 1-7).

## **1.6 Historical background**

According to the Roman Orosius, the end of Roman rule in Britain was linked to a series of revolts and attempts by Roman soldiers in Britain to elevate first Marcus, then Gratian and finally Constantine III as emperor, the latter's success perhaps due to

his namesake Constantine I being “raised to the purple” (Wood 2004, 432). The Gallic Chronicle of AD 452 tells of the presence of barbarians in Britain around the year AD 411, presumably relating to the defensive measures taken against the Saxons and the aforementioned revolts, with subsequent texts relating to Zosimus’ dubious account of Honorius’ rescript telling the Britons to “look to their own defences” which, for whatever reason, saw the island without imperial guidance for AD 410-429 (*ibid.*, 433). To what extent these occurrences affected the South West is debatable.

The Gallic Chronicle and a later account of AD 511 both state that around the years of AD 440 to 442, Britain was “given” to the Anglo-Saxons to rule (Wood 2004, 435-436). However, this gifting did not include all land previously under Roman control, as the Anglo-Saxons effectively had to re-conquer the western territories over the subsequent four hundred years. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle provides a summary account of the westward movement of these Anglo-Saxon communities, whilst Patrick, a fifth-century saint, provides evidence for the survival of a literary and ecclesiastical structure in the South West, dominated by bishops, where the secular administration appears to have failed (*ibid.*, 431). From the later fifth century, Gildas’ *De Excidio Britanniae* tells of the emergence of Ambrosius Aurelianus and other local leaders with Roman names, fighting against the Saxon revolts of this period and attempting to establish themselves in fifth-century territories and kingdoms, through the use of the Imperial heritage of kinship, territorial units and titles (*ibid.*, 437).

Historic accounts by Bede in the 660s tell of two ‘British’ (probably Welsh) bishops safely travelling to Winchester from the South West, to take part in activities with the English church (Probert, in Higham 2007, 32; Colgrave & Mynors 1969). This reinforces the idea that there was a degree of interaction between the British and the incoming Anglo-Saxons and that this interaction did not consist solely of conflict. Aldhelm’s poem about a journey through Cornwall and Devon before AD 710 tells a similar story, as well as the survival of an ecclesiastical structure within the study region (Lapidge & Rosier 1985, in Probert 2007, 232). An English boy named Winfrith, later St Boniface, was able to enter the monastery at Exeter in AD 690, itself ruled by an English-named Bishop (Levison 1905, 6; Talbot 1954, 28).

The eighth century saw the first encroachment of Anglo-Saxon military control in Dumnonia. The Chronicle of AD 710 states that “... Ine and his relative Nunna fought against Geraint king of the Welsh....”. Here, the mention of the Welsh refers to the Britons, of whom Gerent (Geraint) was ruler in Cornwall around AD 700 onwards

(Doble 1997, 4). These links with English-named religious rulers suggest that English forms of worship may have begun to pave the way for consolidation of Anglo-Saxon control of the region. Parts of eastern Dumnonia may already have been under West Saxon control, whilst attempts to gain further control of the South West, at least on an ecclesiastical level, are evidenced by a letter written in AD 710 by St Aldhelm to King Geraint, urging him “the lord who guides the sceptre of the western kingdom” and his bishops or priests to adopt Roman (and therefore probably Christian) practices (*ibid.*). This presents two images, firstly that the Christian church was clearly still firmly linked to Roman ideas of culture and the papacy in Rome, and secondly that Dumnonia was viewed as a separate region with clear territorial boundaries and a strong political leader, with associated traditions of worship that were seen as ‘other’. The written account of Samson of Dol in the Saint’s Lives - whose life was spent between Cornwall and Brittany (Cunliffe 2001, 475-476) - attests to the strength of Christianity prior to the establishment of later Anglo-Saxon regimes and to an ongoing link between the South West and other Atlantic communities.

Subsequently, the *Annales Cambriae* tell of three battles of Pencon among the Cornuensis, where the Britons were the victors each time (Williams 1860, 9). According to Doble, several battles took place between the Anglo-Saxons and societies in the South West throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, including one at Callington in Cornwall that implies that Devon had already been subjugated (1997, 6). This incursion into Cornwall was part of a series of skirmishes that allowed the westward progression of the Wessex border and suggests that the strength of British culture and political power against the Anglo-Saxon east was weakening. Between AD 815 and 838, Egberht, the then ruler of Wessex, invaded Cornwall in a series of raids which appear to have removed all Cornish rulers, resulting in Cornwall being treated as a conquered kingdom throughout his reign, with the landholders dispossessed and a general exploitation of the region (Pearce 2004, 253; 256). By the ninth century a Cornish bishop had been made subordinate at Canterbury and the last known Cornish King, possibly Doniert, had died in AD 875 (Probert 2007, 231).

Evidence from King Alfred’s will of c. AD 881 shows that the Wessex kings owned substantial areas of Cornish land; however, despite the battle of Kingston Down in AD 838, marking the end of Cornish rule and independence from Wessex, there was still very little West Saxon settlement, even as late as the eleventh century (Pearce 2004, 253-254). There are numerous mentions in ninth-century chronicles of Exeter and its function as a stronghold for the “raiding ship-army”, probably the Danes, against

whom King Alfred fought in c. AD 878 alongside the men of Somerset from his new stronghold at Athelney; by AD 914 it appears that King Edward had military control of part of Cornwall, as he had strategically placed men from the north coast eastwards towards Avonmouth in an attempt to control the Danish raids and temporary settlement which were taking place at Padstow and Lydford, and the burning of Ordwulf's monastery at Tavistock between AD 981 and 997 (Swanton 2000, 75; 124), with the latter a possible explanation for the deposition of the Trehiddle Hoard (Wilson 1961, 75-122). By the time that Aethelstan formalised the Cornwall-Devon border on the River Tamar in the early tenth century, Cornwall had become part of England (Probert 2007, 231), albeit in name only. This apparent disappearance of the Britons and their culture, once administrative control had passed to the Anglo-Saxons, is probably due to the cessation of British historical records. Ine's laws show that Britons would have had a lower social status once they were part of the Anglo-Saxon system (Grimmer 2007, 103-104). By the time of the Norman Conquest, the Cornish and Devon landscape appears to have been amalgamated into the Anglo-Saxon manorial system, with little active resistance from persisting British societies in the extreme south-west of the region.

## **1.7 Specific aims**

The general aims outlined in 1.2 have introduced the broad themes of settlement and settlement hierarchies, exchange mechanisms and the development of central places, Atlantic identities and the creation of distinctively maritime-oriented identity, the sense of place and perceptions of the landscape and seascape, and finally aspects of continuity and change within them. An assessment of these key themes, in relation to the current state of archaeological knowledge, has generated a series of questions and the specific aims to be addressed throughout the analysis in this research:

- To form an overview of the development of settlement and material culture across the study region and how these changed over the period of study, with regard to insular development and acculturation from outside influences.
- To advance an understanding of early medieval Atlantic or 'insular' identity in the South West and its development during the social dynamics and cyclical periods of acculturation, with particular emphasis on a sense of place and the impact of location on this identity.

- To assess the importance of material culture and phenomena of continuity and change in artefacts and settlement tradition, in the development of identities.
- To investigate the specific form of identity relating to maritime culture and whether a maritime Atlantic identity existed in the South West, with an analysis of the evidence relating to this identity in both landscape and seascape. Questions about its relative importance to other forms of identity and wider social communities will be considered.
- To explore the concept of a sense of place in relation to how early medieval lifestyles played out across the landscape and seascape. Questions are addressed as to how different geomorphological characteristics affected material culture and the development of potentially regionalised or localised identities, as well as how these different areas, consisting broadly of coast, inland and upland, were occupied, exploited and perceived by social groups.
- To identify and discuss elite sites and central places in relation to exchange mechanisms, conspicuous consumption and the distribution of the material culture.
- To determine aspects of continuity and change in early medieval traditions and identity, with particular focus on Romanisation and the preservation of Romano-British and prehistoric traditions instead of, and alongside, new ones.

Aims relating to settlements require an examination of the evidence for settlement form, function and hierarchy, coupled with changing cultural influences on their morphology and function across the region. The origin of these settlements in terms of morphology and function reflect influences from prehistory, the Romano-British period and new influences in the early medieval period which might shed further light on the changing nature of early medieval identity. The presence of imported assemblages at many sites has prompted a consideration of how exchange mechanisms functioned, both in terms of overseas links and in the way in which they compared with the consumption of local goods and associated internal exchange mechanisms. The distribution of these assemblages will be assessed for spatial patterns that might hint at how both local and maritime systems operated, whilst the evidence will be examined for its impact on the development of central places of activity and settlement within the landscape and seascape. The importance of exchanged goods in the introduction of new forms of material culture and their impact on the acculturation of insular traditions and identity will also be determined. The use of these imported items alongside the locally-produced material culture is important when discussing how insular traditions changed and how settlements developed into central places.

These factors all relate to the development of an early medieval social identity and form the dynamics which impacted on this development. Social identity is explored both in how it changed over time and the traditions it maintained, but also how its different forms may have been created through geographical determinism. The question of Romanisation as one of these factors in forming identity will also be explored. Finally, the evidence will be examined for aspects of long- and short-term cycles of change in the development of identity and cultural traditions, while the concepts of continuity and change relating to these identities will be assessed for their relative importance in the development of an early medieval Atlantic identity.

## **1.8 Thesis structure**

Chapter 2 follows with a detailed discussion of the theoretical background and considerations used throughout this project, before the detailed methodology is introduced in Chapter 3, which also summarises the evidence classes. Chapters 4 to 7 present and analyse these individual classes forming the macro-scale evidence; and Chapter 8 follows with the detailed case study evidence for the micro-scale analysis. Chapter 9 then discusses both the macro- and micro-scales of evidence on a thematic basis to realise the thesis aims, followed by the primary findings and conclusions in Chapter 10 and the Bibliography. The Appendices are included in CD form after the Bibliography.

## **2. Theoretical Approaches and Thematic Constructs**

*This chapter provides a detailed summary of the theoretical frameworks which inform this research and which have assisted in generating the aims and perspectives pursued throughout. The main themes used to structure this research and provide a background for the analysis and discussion are then introduced, before the approaches towards data analysis are summarised.*

### **2.1 Conceptual influences**

This section outlines the archaeological and anthropological theories that inform this research, borrowing from Braudel's concepts of multiple levels of time, described as acting through interlocking cycles of events which simultaneously impact upon one another (1972, 20-21). The main themes and theoretical frameworks have been classified according to these different levels of time, in order to understand changes in the archaeological evidence and their relationship with developments in early medieval communities. One particular feature of Braudel's theories is the concept of the *longue durée*, or "geographical time", the level of time whose passage is barely discernable and with a history of ever-recurring cycles between man and the environment (*ibid.*), akin to those visible in the changing seasons but on a much longer time-scale. The median level of history, "social time", is also slow, but with perceptible rhythms and including events relating to economic systems and societies; the final level of time deals in the history of short-term events and is described by Braudel as surface disturbances and brief, rapid fluctuations caused by the events taking place within individual lifetimes (*ibid.*, 21).

This project utilises these different scales of change and continuity, which inevitably interlock and impact on one another and which will be used in the discussion of the main themes. Another factor in the assessment of social dynamics is the physical environment. Cunliffe discusses this as being the main and most long-lasting influence and control over human actions for the mid- and short-term levels of time (2008, 18) and the role of this "geographical determinism" is a major aspect of this research both on land and at sea.

### **2.1.1 Short-term and median transformations**

Processes of acculturation and the evolution of traditions and identities vary in how they took place over the early medieval era. Whilst it can be said that identity and material culture gradually evolved and changed throughout the period, many processes which caused both change and continuity could be seen to have occurred in short-term cycles, systematically repeating themselves through human actions which influenced or initiated them. Part of this research will determine whether these short-term transformations do indeed have any effect on the development and cycles of change which took place and whether they impacted on the longer-term aspects of identity and ethnicity.

#### ***Identity in the South West***

This research will discuss the forms, processes and developments of identity which arose from the specific characteristics of the region and from outside influences. It will also address various aspects of identity such as ethnicity, religion and status (James 1999, 74) and the ways in which identity is visible in the archaeology, through the use of the material culture and activity across both landscape and seascape. The role of objects and how they were and are used in expressing identity will be examined in order to shed light on the development of this identity in the South West. Materials and objects used by social groups have been studied and classified in the attempt to form an idea of these “archaeological cultures” (Shennan 1989, 5) or sets of traditions particular to specific regional and social groups and their relationship with the development of localised and regionalised identities. The formation of distinctive regionalised traditions and ideas associated with the formation of ‘culture’ have become part of the basic archaeological “toolbox” in understanding past societies (*ibid.*). These ideas discuss culture as resulting from the occupation of different places, with communities living their lives differently as a result and the reflection of their culture in the material objects or ‘culture’ that they used, “repeatedly and exclusively associated with one another and, when plotted on a map, exhibit[ing] a recognisable distribution pattern” (Childe 1956, 123 in Shennan 1989, 5-6).

Questions of identity arise at times of social and political change, as “the destruction of existing socio-cultural patterns and shifting power-relations lead to the re-evaluation and representation of identities as new communities arise” (Jones & Graves-Brown 1996, 1). This is an important feature of identity in our understanding of the South West, where the evidence suggests instead a tendency for pre-existing

communities to continue, with an increased emphasis on former traditions which almost appear reinforced by change. The arrival of new Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Norman social groups in a series of acts of conquest would have caused such instances of political unrest and yet, without the widespread adoption of traditions and material culture to aid in the development and incorporation of these identities, their spread across the region may only have been limited, or superficial at most.

### *Social affiliations*

Brather states that the question is not how, but whether, archaeological cultures and ethnic groups can so easily be identified with one another (2002, 150). The influences of culture on a person's social identity are thought to be seen through aspects of their choice of lifestyle and the social groups they related to and traditions they associated themselves with. This could include the placement of 'home' in the landscape as well as the associated social networks, material culture profiles and social perceptions of ethnicity and identity. Whilst avoiding the 'culture-historical' route, ideas of belonging and social affiliation are recognised in the incorporation of both new ideas and people in development of early medieval social identity, where social identity can be thought of as 'second nature' which Bourdieu termed "habitus" (1977, 78-93). Therefore, many of the contributing factors to identity would create instinctive actions and tendencies (Frazer & Tyrrell 2000, 3), which may not have been consciously processed whenever they were acted upon. Moreland argues that a sense of belonging was framed more on social contacts and groups rather than ethnic affiliations (2000, 45). Alongside these affiliations was the strong force of 'habitus', whereby an individual will possess certain, sometimes subliminal, dispositions towards social perceptions and practices that then become incorporated into the individual's sense of self at an early age (Bourdieu 1977, 78-93) and continued to influence their social experiences, perceptions and actions throughout their lives. These are based on the conditions of the localised social environment within which an individual was raised (*ibid.*).

People of Cornwall, Devon and Brittany had from the eighteenth century created for themselves a strong affiliation with the mythical 'Celtic' identity and therefore with other supposedly 'Celtic' societies in the Atlantic region, but not necessarily synonymous with the meanings affixed to the terms 'Celtic Church' and those 'Celts' associated with pre-Roman druidism (James 1999, 21) and yet united by what have been termed as the Celtic languages. This eighteenth-century image of the Celts

included their portrayal, both ancient and contemporary, as the antithesis of anything Anglo-Saxon, as well as being timeless, primitive and even barbaric (*ibid.*, 55). It is this idea of the Anglo-Saxons as ‘Other’ in comparison with insular traditions, which can be projected onto the early medieval ideas of society and identity through their choice of material culture, for a significant part of the study period. Whilst this affiliation is a relatively modern construct, it does highlight how present societies in the South West, and the Cornish in particular, appear to identify themselves as being different to those in the rest of Britain, suggesting that events and processes in the formation of insular aspects of identity may have had an everlasting effect. Indeed, the idea of ‘Celticness’ still appears to be of great cultural and political importance, despite the fact that no modern national or ethnic group calls itself such (James 1999, 16-17). Therefore whilst ‘Celt’ is a term which should not be used archaeologically, it can yet be used to denote symbols of separateness, regional identity and diversity across Europe (Collis 1996, 172).

### *Material culture*

The choices made in the use and ownership of personal possessions, as well as names and adopted traditions, may all reflect social affiliations and how individuals may have wanted to be viewed in society. However, the interpretation of material culture within the archaeological record is still not clear-cut, despite the long-term importance of the relationship between objects and identity for archaeology and anthropology (Hides 2000, 25). Objects may have been used in everyday life without meaning given to them, at least on a conscious level, or alternatively have been imbued with meaning through inheritance, gifting, how they were used, or were deposited within the archaeological record. Similarly, a ‘British’ individual carrying an Anglo-Saxon object, could be labelled as such on various different levels, from an individual who was either ethnically Anglo-Saxon, emulating Anglo-Saxon society, incorporating this object into his own ‘British’ identity or viewing the object’s material value in terms of trade or reuse. Such problems also apply to the nature of grave goods, studied by Lucy (2000, 173) in terms of identity recognition, where objects could also reflect the relatives of the deceased, although the nature of the cist cemeteries prevalent in the South West means that grave goods available for study are scanty at best.

### *Individual and group identities*

It is important to recognise that group identity can be thought of as a result of the collective amalgamation of individual identities, rather than “a coming together of pre-

formed selves” and to understand that dynamics existed between individual and group identities (Frazer 2000, 2-3). Therefore, identities are not solely naturally given, but instead form through individual will and experiences and from recognised similarities within social groups. It is the history of a region and of the societies who lived in it which produces group identity, rather than “the product of some mythical, coherent, homogenous, ancient people...” (Moreland 2000, 26). Daim makes two very pertinent and relevant statements with regard to ethnicity: firstly, that “each person feels himself to be a part of a multitude of different groups” and secondly that “one expresses one’s personal preferences to a certain extent only. A person does not want to stand out in his surroundings. Many external signs (ways of dress, settlement patterns, funerary rites) correspond to strong (more than regional or local) traditions” (1998, 72). The nature of archaeology in the South West, and attempts to determine spatial patterning within it, may show that the expression of group identity in different contexts and at different scales is likely to result in multiple and overlapping distributions of material culture assemblages (Jones 1996, 7). Furthermore, patterns in production and consumption of material culture in the communication of what might be thought of as the same ethnic identity could vary in different contexts, whilst items of a widely distributed material culture may be used and consumed in different ways to produce widely different expressions of identity (Jones 1997, 72). Therefore it is possible to identify similarities of different groups or communities, which could be interpreted as one identity across an entire region, when more localised variations might be more accurate.

The processes of personal identity are important in the development of wider traditions, as they form the basis for the choices and accumulative set of traditions which are then continuously progressing and taking on new forms. The development of identity is therefore influenced by its perception by others, its internal value within a society or body, the comparative attractiveness of other adjacent identities, the dynamic factor whereby political or ideological crisis stimulated shifts in identity across an entire group, and finally by ethnic boundaries and their changes (Higham 2007b, 71).

### *Romanisation and the Romano-British legacy*

The distribution and interpretation of material culture is linked to the process of acculturation in the formation of identity and therefore also with the process of Romanisation (Millett 1990, 1-2) given the study period in question. The term

Romanisation is used here to describe the process by which a society incorporated forms of the Roman lifestyle, regardless of where those traditions originated, and which therefore may not have included “Roman” thought processes or ideals, at least to the same extent. There has been some doubt as to whether this remains a valid label to be used in conjunction with the acculturation of a social group, given the mixed and variable nature of Roman culture during the course of the Roman occupation of Europe and the fact that the Roman culture itself was an amalgamation of a wide range of cultural attributes and traditions, not all of which would have been transmitted uniformly across the Empire. However, it is clear that the Roman culture changed and influenced local traditions and ideas, together with the material culture, and therefore where this topic is discussed in this research, differentiation between Romano-British and Gallo-Roman traditions, for example in Brittany, are noted and Roman traditions in general are referred as ‘Romano-British’ for Cornwall and Devon. The development of Late Roman tradition into Byzantine forms is also taken into account in the discussion of aspects of continuity in the former.

The incorporation of *Romanitas* into this research is of great importance in the discussion of a region which appears to show varying degrees of Romanisation depending on location, suggesting that this process, or lack of it, may have played a significant part in the development of a particularly insular social identity in the South West. Whilst the Roman Empire may have encouraged the adoption of Roman practices and cultural styles in the inclusion and subjugation of this province, it has been suggested that the impetus “was essentially locally driven” (Jones 1997, 34) and in other words was created by the co-operation of local communities, perhaps their elites, who could then have transmitted this acceptance to their followers. This ties in with the theory that many aspects of identity were influenced by surrounding social groups, a need to belong, and an identification with similar identities, but does not preclude the fact that ‘Roman-ness’ did not negate regional and ethnic identities (Pohl 1998a, 1), as indeed the amalgamation of localised identity and culture was part of the very ethos of the Romanisation process.

N. Higham discusses how in Spain and Gaul, *Romanitas* survived in group identity with the continuity of a “Roman” identity, whereas in Britain there appears instead to have been an assertion of British-ness, with people reverting to thinking of *Romanitas* as being ‘other’ (2007b, 72), despite the apparent retention of what we think of as Roman traits in ‘British’ sub-Roman traditions. This is at variance with the adoption of “Late Antique ‘Roman’ practices” that included the consumption of Mediterranean

and Continental goods such as ceramics and their contents, as well as the practice of Christianity and associated inscribed stones and grave markers found in the countries bordering the Irish Sea (Loveluck 2011, 34) also known as the 'Late Antique package'. The South West may have had a similar history to that of the highland zone, where according to Dark tribal dynasties, in a region where the Roman military formed the only non-local elite, may have survived into the fourth century and later reappeared in the late fourth and early fifth centuries when the military sites ceased to be manned (1994, 64). In Gaul, new rulers gave themselves 'barbarian' as opposed to Roman titles, but established new ethnic kingdoms which could only grow on (former) Roman territories and whose new forms of integration were shaped within the Roman world, while the new military elites of the fifth and sixth centuries resembled, or tried to resemble, the former Roman ones, although continuing to assert their differences both from the Roman but also other 'barbarian' *gentes* (Pohl 1998, 1-2). The reversion to a 'British' identity alongside strong symbols of *Romanitas* in the South West, including Christianity and the ceramics, would go some way to explaining how parts of western Britain retained so much of their cultural identity, despite the introduction of relatively strong cultural influences in the form of Anglo-Saxon and Norman social groups, and suggesting a degree of reciprocity between Anglo-Saxon and 'British' traditions. It is unclear whether this retention of 'Roman-ness' was deliberate, or an unconscious continuation of known traditions.

### *Atlantic and maritime identities*

'British' identity appears to share similar characteristics with what has been termed an 'Atlantic' identity by Henderson, in his discussion of prehistoric social groups in Britain and Ireland (2007, 297). The similarities of communities along the Atlantic fringes and the interaction between them would suggest that such an identity existed and would have been recognised among these communities, with continued recognition and strengthening in the social consciousness throughout the Romano-British and early medieval periods. Similarities in settlement form beyond local areas and across this western Atlantic zone could therefore imply that shared ways of reading the landscape existed between more distant groups linked by sea, and that at a broad level the Atlantic landscape was "constructed and used according to shared symbolic conventions" (*ibid.*, 300-301). Such similarities would have been reinforced by the perception of cultures outside these regions as 'other'. The role of the physical environment in the development of social actions - the aforementioned 'geographical determinism' first theorised by Huntington (1927, 17-18) - states that the human

characteristics of a particular culture are shaped by their geographical conditions. This assessment has some significance in current archaeological and anthropological investigations of past identities, concerning the social use and perception of the landscape. However, both geographical or environmental determinism and social conditions combine to establish culture and identity and these geographical factors can influence societies, without producing the unchanging sets of traditions and ideals suggested by Huntington.

Interpreting an Atlantic or even a maritime identity, therefore, involves theorising past identities through the available evidence, whilst using modern perceptions of the landscape and seascape. It also relies on whether different levels of identity are visible in the archaeological record and how former prehistoric traditions can be seen to have continued, which early medieval communities might have regarded as “things we have always done” rather than a conscious act of continuity. Such links with the past, coupled with the impact of past societies through the survival of their traditions in the landscape, influence the degree of continuity of certain aspects, whilst geographical determinism also plays a part, in terms of the relative importance of geography, geology and meteorological conditions across the region.

This importance of landscape and seascape begs the question as to whether modern perceptions, views and values of the maritime environment can be projected onto past societies. Interpretation of both Atlantic and maritime identities, by their very nature, is therefore centred on geographical location and determinism, but with ethnicity as an important contributing factor. Ethnicity, defined by Jenkins as emphasising cultural differentiation (1997, 40), may have been retained by communities and families throughout the Romano-British and early medieval periods, due to the supposed lack of a large immigrant population in the Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods. Retention of both ethnicity and identity may, to some extent, have been due to the continued interaction between Atlantic communities throughout this period, including where they appear to have been culturally and racially isolated from the east. Studies on the survival of former Romano-British communities by Loveluck (1995, 84-98), Coates (2007), Härke (2007) and Higham (2007a), have demonstrated how this survival was stronger and more widespread than previously thought.

The concept of a maritime identity will be assessed throughout this research in relation to the material culture and settlement, as well as the wider social context. Ulriksen, in his study of Danish maritime sites, provides a similar viewpoint towards these early

medieval maritime identities when he states that “in a sense, the whole of Danish society has had a maritime context, because nowhere is far from the sea” (1994, 801). Whilst Devon consists in part of a large inland territory which, apart from those areas adjacent to navigable rivers, would not have had such a degree of contact with the sea, much of Cornwall is a relatively short distance from both the north and south coasts. This proximity to the coastlines and ability for overseas travel also leads to the possibility of increased contact with other Atlantic communities. Henderson notes that a number of these pre-Roman communities had taken on a distinctive cultural character that suggests they were in maritime contact with one another (2007, 21). The extensive coastline of the region therefore played an important part both in the encapsulation of this culture, but also in the transmission of cultural ideas and the (possibly seasonal) use and exploitation of maritime resources. The medium of seafaring would have been an important skill to have in facilitating the movement of traditions and new ideas and in the creation of a maritime identity, the latter perhaps having distinctive characteristics which were recognisably different from other identity forms. These identities and the activities that went with them might therefore have played out against “the background of the changing role of coastal ‘contact zones’” (Loveluck & Tys 2006, 140), where settlement, maritime exchange and the production of trade goods took place.

“If you do not possess a population attuned to maritime preoccupations, even if a current population is residing on the seashore, there is no maritime culture” (Westerdahl 2000, 13). Not all coastal settlements would necessarily have been inhabited by societies with maritime elements to their culture and identity, whilst perceptions of the sea may have been different from those where the sea was actively accessed, used and exploited. Farr’s paper on seafaring as a social action studies the social relationships between people and the sea and the knowledge, technology and skills concerned (2006, 85). In it, she discusses how the implications of ongoing maritime activity in a given region reflect the activities and temporalities outside the sphere of “settlement specific landscapes” (*ibid.*). The specialist material culture associated with seafaring and all aspects of maritime exploitation, would have aided in the formation of a maritime identity, whilst the act of living near and with access to the seas would have influenced human perceptions of the landscapes, seascapes and related perspectives of distance between and across the two. Therefore, human perception of objects and resources would differ between coastal and inland sites, with access to maritime sites and systems of communication perhaps resulting in “specifically coastal attitudes to commodities” (Loveluck & Tys 2006, 142). The

ability to travel across these seascapes would have increased the spatial experience of individuals, the widening of human space and their horizons, and with the boat became an “essential implement” in this process, with the limitations of the boat effectively becoming the limitations of human space (Westerdahl 2000, 11). These processes of the socialisation of the seascapes include the local knowledge and lived experience of maritime spaces, and the recognition and marking of the land and sea in ways that might leave traces in the form of the material culture (Cooney 2003, 324) but also in the naming of geomorphological features. Therefore, all items of maritime culture allow for an experience of the sea and the conscious interaction with it, whilst hinting at the nature of maritime identities.

The coasts were not the only place where a maritime identity could have formed. O’Sullivan discusses estuarine fishing communities - which in the early medieval period were probably small-scale and subsistence-based - and explores how medieval fishing weirs could reflect the identities of local fishing communities through the material culture, whilst daily life and a specialised knowledge and understanding of place could have resulted in the ability to construct, negotiate and even resist changing social identities within the worlds they inhabited (2003, 451-462). These areas, a “waterlogged space between land and sea” are very likely to have produced a specific and distinctive local knowledge of their conditions, including tides, currents, weather, channels and the movement of fish (*ibid.*, 465).

### ***Exchange mechanisms and central places***

Current evidence for exchange in the South West would suggest a degree of economic activity throughout the study period, however there is little evidence for a clearly organised economic system, associated settlements and widespread localised craft-production and distribution, prior to the ninth century. Therefore, a theoretical approach is needed in the study of the localised exchange systems that may have been used, in order to understand how these systems worked and their relationship with and influence on the sites and settlements which would have taken part in local, regional and overseas exchange. Central place theory will be used in order to understand the nature of certain sites with imported goods, but whose characters remain enigmatic, as well as in the attempt to understand how settlement hierarchies were formed. It is also important to understand how central places functioned within the region and with other sites in their hinterlands, as well as their role in localised political and elite systems of power and governance.

Economic factors and market systems would have played a part in the development of these central places as well as the less active sites, particularly within a region where rural settlement was prevalent. Wooding discusses the evidence for continuity of small-scale commerce as a normal activity, presumed to have existed at all times for c. AD 400-800, apart from those periods where discontinuity was identifiable (1996b, 22). However, he states that exchange is driven by tastes and demands that are particular to each era (*ibid.*). Similarly, the creation of urban space and its perception as such varies with each age, creating different views of the characteristics of towns (*ibid.*, 40). It is possible to imagine that knowledge of the seas and the associated methods of exploitation and trade routes would have been passed down through generations of maritime societies, resulting in continued exchange at a more localised level from the pre-Roman period onwards. These trade routes were as much about communication as they were about the economy and journeys were taken on a regular basis, with long-distance exchange thought to have taken place in the form of bulk goods and between specific locations, and with the journeys acting as a spatial and temporal buffer (Graham-Campbell 2007, 307).

### *Methods of exchange*

The evidence for trade and the aforementioned ideas of the strength of coastal sites are linked to the study of different types of distribution network and the movement of goods between coastal and inland zones. Investigating the ephemeral nature of some aspects of trade involves studying the material culture in order to understand its form and function in past societies and the processes involved in the redistribution of objects in such a way. Hodges discusses how attempts to develop the means of identifying behavioural patterns linked to reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange through isolating the character of settlement patterns and the processes by which these settlements were constructed (1988, 18). Such settlement hierarchies would have created and used links and exchange networks between central places and their hinterlands, as well as between coastal and inland zones. The focus of demand for goods and the relationship between elite, mercantile and rural settlement is also important, raising questions as to the location of production zones and regional differentiation that caused localised redistribution and exchange. In terms of the trade in imported goods, it may have been that certain sites were providing goods for central places, which were then redistributed, but were not themselves participating in exchange with what might be seen as rare items.

The reasons behind the formation of exchange systems, markets and region-wide commerce include gift exchange between political and royal elites, whereby objects could have been used to express allegiance or to create or confirm familial or political alliances (Hinton 1998, 21). Patterns of redistribution and the location of goods within archaeological contexts are important in understanding their movement and associated exchange networks. The driving force behind these networks may have been from elite or political individuals or groups, a factor that has also been considered by Hodges, who suggests that they developed to a more formal level from the “directional trade between (royal) courts” (1989, 54). The location of trading centres could have moved towards more coastal regions as a result of the increase in trade (*ibid.*), whilst elite or political control might still have influenced the redistribution of these imports where taxation and tolls did not yet form part of their prestige, as it appears to have done in the eastern Channel and southern North Sea regions (Loveluck & Tys 2006, 146). Both the prestige goods and subsequent taxation have been interpreted by Hodges as being a direct force behind the foundation of coastal and estuarine *emporia* (1989, 54-55). Markets and exchange systems also allowed for the introduction of new items and ideas to regions which previously might not have had access to them.

Changes in production levels would have facilitated the emergence of new systems of production and supply, which when combined with places where there were enough inhabitants, would have created a market focus (Hinton 1998, 85-86) and ‘new impromptu markets’. This is potentially linked to the agrarian economy and subsistence farming, the creation of surplus and the consequential regionalisation of specific goods. With certain items, motivations for exchange could be created by restrictions on their mode of production, whereby for an item to become a regular object of trade, there must be an imbalance between availability and demand (Graham-Campbell 2007, 309). Once these markets come into being, exchange systems across a region begin to develop and allow for the construction of identities dealing solely in these markets. These early sites have been termed “peasant markets” by Hodges, who defined them as being between the informal and unregulated ‘tribal’ exchange place and the agricultural markets of modern agrarian societies (1988, 3).

Exchange can then be seen to have developed into two types: non-commercial and therefore allowing for the redistribution of goods as gifts or through reciprocity; and commercial and with a desire for profit (Wickham 2006, 694). Commerce is present when people buy or sell commodities through middle men and is fuelled by the

existence of agrarian surpluses and artisanal production on one side and demand on the other, whilst not presupposing personal ties between buyer and seller and relying on chance rather than organised trade (*ibid.*). Hodges suggests that the marketplace is an urban phenomenon where craftsmen are aggregated to manufacture commodities (1988, 62-63) and yet such markets might also have been a rural occurrence. The introduction of coinage into these market systems might reflect a fully commercialised system, with individuals perhaps playing a part in the economic development of the region, but dependant on the fact that these coins were a recognised unit of currency rather than as items of value in their own right; as political complexity increases, so does the volume of coinage and unit variation, with the organisation of coin production, standardisation and their increasing use as vehicles for propaganda (Hodges 1988, 108-111).

Exchange systems come in several forms and have been summarised by Hodges in his analysis of Carol A. Smith's model of carrying systems, in relation to settlement hierarchies, production and distribution (1988, 18-20). Smith includes a typology of framework consisting of non-market (un-commercialised) exchange; controlled (partially-commercialised) market exchange; and competitive (fully commercialised) market exchange (*ibid.*). These then form the basic framework for types of exchange, consisting of: an 'unbounded exchange network' where exchange is direct with no division of labour; a 'bounded hierarchical network' system where exchange is direct and with slight division of labour; a 'solar central-place' system where an administered market exists at the centre of the region and networks of relationships between the central place and satellite settlements is determined by administrative forces; a 'dendritic central-place system' in which a monopolistic market such as a gateway community or port-of-trade occurs within the region; and finally the 'interlocking central-place system' in which competitive markets are a prominent feature, with a high division of labour and tributary relations to all parts of the region (Hodges 1988, 18-20).

Whilst Smith's model is not as straightforward as this suggests and is based on Marxist ideals and her research in modern Guatemala (Hodges 1988, 19-23), it still forms a reasonable basis from which to understand and hypothesise on how early medieval exchange systems might have operated. Her ideas might appear outdated, but the basic principals can be at least partially applied to the archaeology of the South West. Such a complex model may not be fully related to the archaeology of this research, particularly given the apparently prehistoric nature of early trade systems,

yet it aids in the interpretation of these systems and their relevance to the excavated settlements and traded goods found in the study region. Moreover, Smith's model reflects the direct correlation between the initiation and growth of exchange systems and the development of settlements into major forces of redistribution and commerce, and thus their role as central places of wider importance in both the immediate landscape and distant communities overseas. The phenomenon of urban commerce is not something that will be discussed here; however, relevant features can be recognised in the development of rural markets and in the formation of the central places as a settlement form.

### *Centres for activity and exchange*

Although the majority of people between AD 400 and 1000 lived and worked in the countryside, primarily in the context of subsistence agriculture (Devroey 2001, 97), the growth of central places, particularly during periods of re-settlement, population immigration and the establishment of the parochial systems and reorganisation of territories and landownership, would have resulted in the (at least) partial transformation of the rural settlements and agrarian production. Early models of settlement suggest that the former Roman "organised" markets and trading would have virtually ceased by the fifth century, together with the collapse of formalised government and taxation (Evans 1990, 93), affecting both the exploitation of the landscapes and seascapes, and the processes involved in settlement development. While the only known urban centre in the South West was the former Roman town of Exeter, the organised mechanisms of production, exploitation of various resources including the mineral content of the South West and taxation of the region, would still have been affected by the lapse in overall political control in the immediate post-Roman period. Both rural and urban settlements can accommodate markets, and therefore have the role of a central place. Central place theory, summarised by Horden and Purcell as relating smaller 'places' to their hinterlands and larger ones to subordinate or 'tributary' settlements, sees each settlement as part of a hierarchical system where the degree of centrality achieved by a place is defined in terms of the goods and services it offers and its role as a mediator between tributaries and larger systems (2000, 102).

Early models for the characterisation of towns as central places included that of Biddle (1976, 100). Biddle's criteria consisted of defences, a planned street system, one or more markets, a mint, legal autonomy, a role as a 'central place', a relatively large and

dense population, a diversified economic base, plots and houses of an 'urban' type, social differentiation, a complex religious organisation and a judicial centre (*ibid.*). These criteria have yet to be found co-existing in any early medieval central place in the South West until the development of Exeter, Barnstaple, Lydford and Totnes from the late ninth century (Haslam 1984, 249-250), which causes us to question the apparent lack of large urban centres in a region which shows evidence for a degree of regional trade and a number of smaller settlements appearing to act as central places. It is possible that the typical role of central places in the political control of the South West was not needed, with instead a series of specifically important places in the rural landscape acting as the foci for functions usually associated with the urban environment (Reynolds 2009, pers. comms.).

A more recent assessment of the criteria for urban space includes patterns of public and private space and the survival of monumental architecture, religion in towns and the use of churches, manufacturing and trade, the manipulation and processing of resources and coinage as symbols of kingship, power and identity, and towns acting as central places (Graham-Campbell 2007, 116-120). Graham-Campbell also discusses the burghal system established by King Alfred in southern England in the mid- to late ninth century (2007, 120). This may have given rise to the so-called 'temporary burh' which could have been a less successful settlement which did not survive to develop into a central place. For example, both Totnes and Lydford established a minor economic status with the creation of their mints and are classified as towns by Haslam (1984, 249), but did not show evidence for overseas activity and contact in the form of imported goods from the Continent - unlike sites in eastern England - something that Exeter did not appear to establish until the twelfth century at the earliest.

### *Landing places and ports-of-trade*

Where goods are imported into a region such as the South West, central places in their redistribution require a coastal or estuarine location. McGrail has studied the phenomenon of landing places in this role and concluded that these sites should ideally be at the centre of the regional economy or with good access to it, whilst the natural economic and political centres for many regions lie away from the coast - in these cases the trader's ideal sites would be inland, up a river and possibly at a ford - and whilst he suggests Dublin, London and Bristol in this scenario (1983, 311-312), Exeter also fits many of these criteria. The important features of these landing places may also differ depending on who was using them (*ibid.*, 311). Where trade is an

organised affair across a region, political authorities require a well-defined and possibly defended site, preferably near the coast such as promontories and islands and where traders can be segregated, protected and supervised, with justice imposed and tolls collected (*ibid.*). Such sites would not have been solely used for long-distance trade and might have had former functions as hunting and fishing locations, local and regional markets, or for fishing and ferry traffic (Ulriksen 1994, 798), serving the communities but not necessarily under the control of the local elite. Many of the features mentioned by McGrail (1983, 310-312) can be recognised in the *emporia* sites, but are also seen in the characteristics of beach, cliff-top and dune sites displaying imported goods in the South West, including Tintagel. These coastal sites might be expected to have some form of maritime exploitation and specialised functions, with a wide range of settlement type and composition of finds and with their function perhaps dictated by the needs of the hinterlands (Ulriksen 1994, 804), although many may have had a transient importance only. As with many early medieval coastal sites in Cornwall and Devon, Ulriksen's Danish landing places tend to be on both protected and unprotected coastlines, sometimes with a natural harbour, or on a low-lying piece of shore (possibly a beach ridge) close to a high slope on one or both sides and with the activity area sometimes stretching up to the high-lying areas with minimal access to the shore (*ibid.*).

The distribution of certain imports along a coastline as well as inland, coupled with where there are accounts of travel by and from the sea, calls the nature of landing sites into question, both in terms of their regularity of use and their importance in relation to other primary or secondary sites within the redistribution system (Wooding 1996, 93). Exchange networks would have been focused on or around settlements which had some form of market. However, markets were not an essential element in settlements where there were professional merchants, if these settlements were also permanent commercial centres (Pirenne 1974, 105) or known sites of trade. The identification of the *emporia*, the major trading and artisanal centres on either side of the English Channel and the southern North Sea, and their interpretation as 'ports-of-trade' and 'gateway communities' in the redistribution of imports, surpluses and manufactured goods (Hodges 1989, 24-25), were part of a wider and much more complex range of settlement patterns and sites of exchange within these 'contact zones' (Loveluck and Tys 2006, 141). These settlement patterns can potentially be seen in the archaeology of the South West, where the situation is complex and where there appear to have been a range of different coastal sites and functions.

The term gateway community was first coined by the geographer Burghardt (1971, 269-270) and has a more precise meaning than emporium and port-of-trade; whilst as a site type, it existed at a passage point into and out of a distinct natural or cultural region, as well as linking this region to external trade routes (Hodges 1988, 42). These gateways tend to be located along natural corridors of communication and often at critical points between areas of high productivity – it is believed that their primary function is to satisfy the demand for traded goods, although their primary origins may have been in prestige goods exchange (*ibid.*). Such sites would include landing places along coasts and estuaries and settlements on frontier zones, which might have had a more mixed background and cultural makeup. Sites identified as critical points for productivity and the movement of goods and communication can be seen as specific nodal points within these exchange networks and central place systems, and it is possible that it was the self-directed actions of the primary “intrepid merchants” who were mostly responsible for creating such nodal points (Sindbæk 2007, 119), a factor perhaps seen in the archaeology of the South West. Sindbæk goes on to discuss the differentiation between these relatively rare nodal points and the more common local markets, with the basic understanding that “trade is not a byword for politics” and that hinterlands were not necessarily more important than long-distance routes of communication and trade (*ibid.*). These nodal points might therefore have developed from chance encounter and “on the spot” produce demands, without having been a deliberate creation on the part of a pre-existing network, or by actors in the conscious formation of such a network. In other words did the actions (relating to trade and exchange) of individuals or small groups, result in the emergence of these central places and key nodal places, or were these sites consciously created for specific purposes, as proposed in Latour’s Actor-Network-Theory (2005, 9-11; 163-175). These specified networks would have formed, not from any particular aim or goal by the actors involved, but by chance actions resulting in the development of networks of exchange and trade which then changed and evolved depending on the actions of the particular “actors” involved. Therefore, although it is important to be able to identify such key nodal sites acting as “melting pots” of culture, traditions and ethnicities, it is the actions that took place at these sites which may be more important in understanding their development.

Ports-of-trade are defined by Polanyi as sites with security for foreign traders, facilities for anchorage, disembarkation, storage and, where an agreement exists about the goods to be traded, the benefit of judicial authorities (1963, 30-45). They might also have been at transitional zones and have little to do with the redistribution within

the relevant region (Rathje & Sabloff 1973, 221-231); in other words, they were not involved in the redistribution of the produce brought in. A more realistic discussion of their location by Sindbæk suggests that these sites of long-distance trade would have been influenced by topographical features guiding traffic into corridors and would have been within a network with very few of these sites in boundary locations, acting as optimal hubs for long-distance traffic within a wider network of more localised exchange networks (2007, 128-129). These definitions however appear overly restrictive and may have been oriented neither towards particularly regionalised studies, nor to specifically rural areas. In differentiating between gateway communities and solar central places, between politically organised centres and those in conditions where market exchange existed, it is important to consider the following variables: the composition and location of the participants in the commerce, the types of goods, the inter-regional and regional motives for the exchange, the nature of the local administration, and the settlement location (Hodges 1988, 54-55). Hodges has suggested that the introduction of specialised crafts may have been the impetus for more permanent trading sites (2000, 83); however, it may not have been craft specialisation which was particular to these nodal points, but the fact that they were consuming raw materials imported from a distance (Sindbæk 2007, 126-127). Sindbæk's evidence suggests that it was not trade itself which distinguishes between sites, but more specifically their role as nodal points for long-distance traffic (*ibid.*).

## **2.1.2 The Longue Durée**

### ***Perceptions of the landscape***

How societies viewed their surrounding landscape or seascape played an important part both in the exploitation of these places, but is also tied up in their sense of place and thus their sense of social identity and regions of origin. The geophysical landscape has traditionally been seen as a determining factor in social development (Pearce 2004, 6-7) and can be interpreted in multiple levels and by different forms, including the natural and constructed landscapes. Landscape can thus be viewed as being “neither exclusively natural nor totally cultural” but a mediation between the two, and therefore an integral part of Bourdieu's *habitus* (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, 20). In the development of early medieval society in the study region, the movement of people and the introduction of new forms of culture would have been played out across landscapes which were already imbued with meanings given to them by indigenous communities. These meanings would have affected how new cultures were viewed,

but might themselves have become instilled with new associations as society adapted to change. Factors such as distance and boundaries play an important part, with members of “traditional societies” interpreting geographical distance with meanings, therefore according a range of symbolically charged meanings to distance-related phenomena such as whether superior or inferior, dangerous or beneficial (Helms 1993, 3). Similarly, the range of boundaries experienced by a society can be imbued with meaning, where the world outside society, conversely to the world within, is viewed alternately as further away in space-time, less known and therefore extraordinary or exotic, less controlled or uncontrolled and less ordered or unordered (Helms 1993, 6-7), resulting in its being viewed as ‘other’.

Human activities and events, and social perceptions of space and particular locations, are interwoven with human experiences of the landscape, include the naming and identification of topographical features such as mountains, valleys, sand dunes, bays and inlets, and are crucial for the establishment and maintenance of social identity (Tilley 1994, 8). Within the seascapes, such features could include wrecks, harbours, sailing routes and warning names, amongst others (Westerdahl 2000, 12), with the naming of sites seemingly important both in identifying the landscape and moving through it, as “through an act of naming....such places become invested with meaning and significance” (Tilley 1994, 18). Richards outlines the temporality of place and landscape in her discussion of the dynamism of places and landscapes – whereby these places gather associations, experiences and histories, and become “repositories of memory and...complex arenas of common engagement over space and time” (1999, 83). Such factors would also have influenced how one lived and worked in the landscape. The “peculiar” nature of estuaries for example, as a waterlogged space between land and sea and “influenced by freshwater rivers and brackish tides” would have required a distinctive and specialist local knowledge, an understanding of tides, currents, weather, channels and also the movement of fish (O’Sullivan 2003, 465).

Movement through a landscape virtually necessitates the creation of given meanings to certain features, particularly in a well-known environment, in order to be able to understand where one is moving from and to, and to be able to communicate these facts to others within one’s social group. Identifying with a given landscape and imbuing it with these meanings and conscious or sub-conscious ideas, is almost predetermined in the human psyche, allowing for a sense of purpose rather than “wandering in the desert”. It also forms part of the more commonplace sense of knowing where one is in the landscape, in order to travel to and from given

destinations and to perform any form of social action within it. These are important aspects to be considered in the analysis of specific inland and maritime identities, along with the various ideological and material factors which influence human perceptions, attitudes and uses of nature (Coates 1998, 2).

Specific places in the landscape are also of varying size and scale, consisting of resources or topographic, microclimatic and anthropogenic features that participate in systems of land use (Rossignol & Wandsnider 1992, 62), whether in relation to exploitation, settlement activity and/or ritual and religious practices. This rural or urban sense of place includes the importance of boundaries, both territorial and of the home, and their continuity from past to present, usually in the form of patterns of land inheritance which establishes, amongst other things, a sense of knowing ones origins (Boyd 2009). These ideas of places of specific social importance or significance would have played a part in the group or collective level of landscape perception and thus group identity, and would have been accentuated by the similarities in the landscape of all islands and coastlines in the Atlantic coastal zone.

### ***Perceptions of the seascape***

The sea and the maritime environment might be viewed as a boundary and therefore a peripheral and a liminal zone, particularly by terrestrially-based archaeologists (Farr 2006, 85). However, this liminal zone can also be seen as a corridor in one sense and a real physical and conceptual barrier in another (Henderson 2007, 24), with dual meanings and human perceptions – between the known and the unknown, and between the everyday and the exotic (*ibid.*). Evidence has shown that coastal sites and environments were not peripheral in terms of transport and communications. Marginal landscapes can therefore be seen to be in no way isolated, instead having a number of influences from the surrounding early medieval communities, as well as a number of eastern contacts and influences. To borrow from Horden and Purcell’s assessment of the distinctiveness of the Mediterranean, the unique characteristics and similarity of identity and of the micro-regions in the sea’s coastlands and islands, are due in no small part to the relatively easy seaborne communications between them and the “frogs around a pond” phenomenon (2000, 5-7), in this case consisting of the coastlines of Ireland, Brittany, southern Wales and Cornwall and Devon. In this model they represent a series of interconnecting communities sharing in the use of the seas that may apparently divide them, but which instead bind them as actors in the same seascape and contributed to their shared cultural characteristics. Cunliffe presents a

very clear idea of Cornwall and Devon forming part of what he termed the Northern Core, itself one part of an Atlantic zone of common aspects, cultures and influences which then shared a wider system of contact, trade and exchange (2001, 35) and which can be seen to have some affinity with the aforementioned model. The use of coastal sites and the sea would have enabled human perceptions of these places to have formed in the same way that meanings were created for aspects of the landscape.

Cooney discusses how the sea acted as a medium in a constant state of change, where people in coastal areas or on islands would have been impacted by weather and sea conditions in their ability to fish, hunt, or travel, or not (2003, 325-326). The sea could then be both valued and feared, whilst the contact zone between the sea and land might be seen as liminal, a resource-rich area but also appropriate for, for example, the disposal of the dead (*ibid.*), even if this was within one of the many coastal sand-dune cist cemeteries rather than a literal interment into the waters. Therefore, coastal sites might have been viewed as one part of a wider territory, with specific sites relating to their local elite settlement, used for hunting and fishing, seafaring and long-distance trade, and as sites of contact and market exchange. Early medieval sites such as churches and fortified sites near the coast, as well as springs sited near landing places, might then indicate an elite interest in sea-traffic (Ulriksen 1994, 801) and in coastal exploitation in general.

On a wider viewpoint of the oceans, it is feasible to expand on the idea of 'seamarks' and the possibilities of imbuing maritime features with meaning as one might on land. "In a long perspective, *la longue durée* of Fernand Braudel, it appears that heavy transport, *on land as well as on water*, is primarily concentrated within certain zones or corridors extended in a tangible direction" (Westerdahl 2000, 13-14) and could be viewed as a way in which the vast expanse of unidentifiable oceans could be given some character and meaning. In other words, contact, trade and exchange had specific goals or destinations from which exchange networks were formed and merchants may have used "seamarks" as a way of not only navigating but also as a way of understanding the nature, whether it be climatic or cultural, of specific maritime places.

## **2.2 Themes**

Through a combination of an assessment of previous work in the region, coupled with the specific aims and the approaches formulated to meet these aims, the following principal themes of analysis were generated. These consist of the concepts of settlement hierarchies, exchange systems, central places, identity, perceptions of landscape and seascape and finally aspects of continuity and change. They were formulated to frame the analysis as well as to structure the layout throughout the thesis.

### **2.2.1 Settlement hierarchies**

These themes relate to short-term cycles of change, impacting on individual sites and the wider settlement hierarchy and landscape use. They consist of settlement formation and function, including central places and elite sites, and how they affected regional settlement patterns and, consequently, settlement within the landscape. Economic systems are also assessed, together with the evidence for the creation of central places, continuity of settlement at some sites over others, and how settlement influenced and was affected by trade routes and the development of economic systems.

#### ***Central places, economies and the elites***

The evidence for trade at certain sites, notably Tintagel and Gwithian, has raised the possibility of their function as elite centres, or central places of power and trade. The lack of potentially high-status items within the insular material culture has meant that it has been difficult for archaeologists to identify a material culture ‘signature’ for the elites, which would in turn aid in the identification of specifically elite settlements. This raises the question of the location of central places and their hinterlands. Furthermore, the development of trading sites such as Bantham, Tintagel and Mothecombe has yet to be linked directly to both the source of demand for the potentially “elite” goods being traded and the source of reciprocal goods which may have been resourced from the South West. For example it is thought that tin and other metals might be one form of merchandise, but there may have been other, less archaeologically-visible commodities as well. It would appear that new forms of coastal central place were appearing, at the same time as the development of specialist

activities in a marginal landscape for the purpose of exchange (Loveluck & Tys 2006, 143).

Hodges' now rather outdated although highly relevant volume, discusses Bantham as a form of *emporium* (1989, 67), although his decision to include the site within the group of emporia to its east is questionable. Indeed, the site does not readily fit with the larger and apparently more active trading sites such as Hamwih and Ipswich. Yet the evidence from the site, suggesting that its chief purpose was for trade, raises several questions as to its function, overall size, links and interaction with nearby inland and coastal settlements. This leads us to question further why trading sites in the South West appear so different to those to the east and how their development changed through time. New evidence in the form of recent excavations and surveys, combined with the reassessment of existing archaeological evidence and metal-detected finds, "allows us to begin to place the dispersion of imports in coastal landscapes within a wider settlement, social and geographical setting, for the period contemporary with the major *emporium*" (Loveluck & Tys 2006, 149), a particularly important fact given the apparent lack of these *emporium* in the settlement hierarchy of the South West. This is in contrast to developments in northwest Europe, where connections with the Mediterranean had ceased as a result of the growth of Islam (Hodges 1982, 7), causing north-west Europe to develop its own economic and commercial systems. The lack of transmission of ideas between western and eastern Britain may have led to the slow development of urban centres in the South West, however this does not preclude the emergence of specific central places in the wider settlement hierarchy.

The settlement hierarchy of the region is relatively unknown; however, it is reasonable to suggest that the extent of trade seen in the archaeological record may have required the functions and wealth normally identified with those central places, coupled with a degree of economic activity. The reuse of prehistoric and Romano-British settlement consisting of the small, nucleated farmsteads and larger rural sites (King 2004, 350), alongside new sites in the early medieval period, is an aspect of settlement development which will be assessed in this research, as well as the relationships between the central places and the smaller sites in the hinterlands. The lack of a complex system of Roman town and hinterland, as seen in the south and east of England, may have played a part in later settlement hierarchies, as would the strength and continuity of insular settlement traditions. Another factor may have been the lack

of large Late Roman richly-decorated villas which were densely distributed in the region of Gloucestershire and the Welsh Marches (Branigan 1977, Figure 5, 26-27).

Early Christian sites and settlements also show aspects of continuity and change in their nature, particularly with the addition of 'new' sites under the English church, perhaps between the seventh and ninth centuries and with Cornish religious practices becoming the same as those used in Wessex by the mid-ninth century (Turner 2006a, 24). Whilst there is little evidence for Christianity in the region prior to the fifth century (Thomas, Figure 13, 39), it does not necessarily follow that it was not practised. Nevertheless, Christian sites developed from the fifth century onwards, including the inscribed stones (Okasha 1993) and other probable religious centres. It is likely that Phillack was a fifth- to sixth-century ecclesiastical centre and continued its high status in the later pre-conquest period, owing this importance to 'Celtic' origins rather than Anglo-Saxon practices (Turner 2006b, 35-37), perhaps even with its foundation to Late Roman values and traditions. Roman origins are also visible in the use of the Latin formulae *hic iacet* and *memoria* on several inscribed stones (Turner 2006a, 27). Other sites such as Tintagel, St Pirans and St Helens in the Scilly Isles also show early evidence for religious activity.

### ***Relationships between inland and maritime sites***

This theme is linked in part to the study of central places and their hinterlands, and the relationship between them in the landscape, as well as to interpretations of their function. The size of potential maritime central places, particularly compared to inland settlements, could suggest that maritime trade was an important part of social contact and traditions. If these were indeed central places, with high levels of economic activity, then they may be significant in pinpointing the location of the elite and also hint at a division between the material culture of the coastal and inland settlements and, with little evidence in the form of material culture, for interaction between these sites. The degree of communication which took place between the newly developing Anglo-Saxon eastern central places and their hinterlands from the ninth century onward is something that has not yet been identified in the archaeological evidence. Activity at maritime sites might suggest either maritime-based society in general, with fewer inland settlements in the more inland and upland regions, or alternatively a strongly divergent and maritime slant to the overall settlement hierarchy. There may also be distinct differentiation between coastal sites and those inland, whether due to geographical factors or because of differing roles in communities. The distribution of

inland, coastal and upland sites may be expected to show some bias, given the protected nature of the upland areas, and the fact that a lack of modern settlement means that fewer archaeological sites are revealed.

## **2.2.2 Trade and exchange mechanisms**

This theme relates to the distribution of imported goods across the region as well as the development of localised craft production, alongside the local, regional and overseas exchange networks that may have existed. The importance of exchanged goods in the formation and development of central places is also assessed.

### ***Exchange mechanisms over land and sea***

Linked to the suggested maritime identity and the transmission of ideas between communities, is the theme of trade and exchange networks. This relates more specifically to trade between the Atlantic communities and to those trade links with the Atlantic zone and the Mediterranean and the western shores of the Continent, as well as Scandinavian influences along the coastline. It also refers to more localised exchange across the region and between the South West and southern and eastern England.

Occurrences of trade, whether organised, accidental or isolated instances, would have strengthened the character and function of what may have already have been strongly maritime-focused settlements. Early models of settlement suggest that ‘organised’ markets and trading would have virtually ceased by the fifth century along with the collapse of formalised government and taxation (Evans 1990, 93) and therefore smaller maritime sites such as Lellizzick in Cornwall (Mephram 2008) are of great interest in the study of the development of the early medieval economy, as are the discoveries of Byzantine coinage, for example. These, alongside the locally-produced grass-marked fabrics, challenge former perceptions of an apparently “lifeless” territory of vanished settlement and dearth of trading activity and are therefore of paramount importance in this research. Holbrook discusses how early medieval trade might have evolved from pre-Roman and Roman exchange networks (2001, 149-158), an important aspect to consider as part of the investigation into the retention of prehistoric traditions. Both Thomas (1990, 1-26) and Campbell (1996a; 1996b) assess the importance of this trade between the sixth and ninth centuries, in relation to core-periphery models and the socio-economic importance of maintaining social relations.

The distribution of imported wares in the South West invites the discussion of their intended destinations, whether for the elite, merchant traders, or the general population. These wares have been found at sites such as Tintagel (Barrowman 2007, 229-266), the function of which has long been debated, either as an elite or trading site; and Bantham (Silvester 1981, 89-116), which may have had seasonal trading, but as yet no evidence for permanent settlement. The ceramics are thought to be linked to the continuation of trade from Roman times, however may instead have been due to new forms of exchange, possibly resulting from contact between church members in Britain and Gaul. They may also be due to the reinstatement of power systems by the Byzantine Empire, sending goods and envoys to strengthen alliances with overseas royal houses and centres of power.

Harris discusses trade from the point of view of Byzantium (2003, 139-194), whilst others such as Bowman (1996) and Wooding (1996a, 67-82) have theorised on direct contact between Western Britain and Byzantium. This contact however is likely to have also included other sites in the Mediterranean, since fifth- to seventh-century Byzantine communities were resident in political and ecclesiastical foci or towns such as Marseilles and Bordeaux, tying in with inland trade routes in Western Europe (Dark 2001, 91). These mercantile communities also appear to have acted in an official capacity for the Byzantine government, perhaps as embassies or imperial agents and therefore would have increased the level of contact, becoming important links between the Byzantine world and surrounding communities (*ibid.*). Long-distance trade between Britain and the Mediterranean appears to have begun to deteriorate by the end of the sixth century alongside a decline in the volume of commercial shipping, although more localised trade continued into the seventh and eighth centuries, between western France and the Atlantic communities of Britain and Ireland (Cunliffe 2008, 433). This contact between the Atlantic West and the Mediterranean did not seem to have developed into early market economies, seen in the later mid-Saxon trading settlements of southern and eastern England (Campbell 2007a, 13) but still had a “significant impact in the transformation of small, tribal-based politics to the larger regional entities” (*ibid.*) which later formed the nations of Wales, Scotland and Ireland, and yet the central places in Cornwall and Devon did not grow to form the *wics* such as Southampton and Norwich in the Anglo-Saxon east.

### **2.2.3 Aspects of identity**

Broad themes have been formulated around the aims relating to social identity within the region, as well as the ethnic affiliations potentially visible in the archaeological record. How identity was influenced and developed through acculturation, contact and the continuity of insular traditions is also discussed, in relation to the movement of social groups, exchange and against different areas of the landscape and seascape.

#### ***Identity and ethnicity***

The study of various forms of social identity and aspects of ethnicity is inextricably linked to the study of material culture and its uses in society. One of the primary reasons for including identity as part of this study has been due to the strength of survival of this markedly different and resilient “Atlantic” identity, both in the early medieval period and in the present day. Whilst no person called themselves a ‘Celt’ or allied themselves with this identity until the early eighteenth century (James 1999, 17), nevertheless it is to this ancient British, to an extent pre-Roman and ultimately Atlantic identity that the modern Cornish appear to ally themselves. This Atlantic identity was shared with societies and cultures in Brittany, Wales and Ireland and to an extent Scotland also. To quote Campbell: “were the Britons of the Atlantic West an unchanged Romano-British population, a resurfacing Iron Age indigenous populace, or a new hybrid post-Roman people developing their own unique identity?” (2007, 1). These facets of identity are partially reflected in the material culture, which will be assessed for changes in the cultural, ethnic and social affiliations in Cornwall and Devon throughout the study period. They will be used to investigate the transformations associated with the introduction of new forms of identity and traditions, in particular the impact of the Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Norman cultural traditions on the insular societies. Cultural contact and transmission is therefore also a key part of this research, in an attempt to understand how certain aspects of identity and social traditions were retained or passed on whilst others were not. Within this study is the recognition that there may have been a particular maritime aspect of society which had its own set of cultural traditions, although not necessarily separate or segregated from general society.

Maritime identity can potentially be recognised as an aspect of society which developed through the specifically coastal nature of certain forms of the material culture along the long coastlines of Devon and Cornwall. It would have shared characteristics with other social groups through the medium of seafaring and thus

facilitated further the movement of traditions and new ideas between social groups. Therefore, it is possible that there were separate maritime and inland identities which co-existed, or alternatively there were elements of a maritime identity amongst the general population, specifically those living on the coast.

### *Atlantic identities*

Henderson defines the prehistoric western Atlantic identity at the archaeological level, through the occurrence of architecturally imposing and predominantly stone-built settlements at similar site forms which include souterrains and promontory forts (2007, 297). He also cites the lack of an elite material culture or evidence of traded prestige goods, but with the occurrence of locally-produced ceramics, the absence of burials, and the dominance of the household as the main social unit (2007, 297). Many of these characteristics continued, including the continued use of some promontory forts and other prehistoric settlements. The concept of an Atlantic identity is partially based on the modern perception of 'Celtic' identities, consisting for the most part of the Irish, Welsh, Scots, Manx and Bretons (Henderson 2007, 10) as well as Cornish and Devonshire societies. Whilst this research does not take a completely geographically deterministic stance on the theme, it is clear that the location of these societies on the Atlantic fringes of these territories played a part both in their insular cultures and also in their shared 'Atlantic' traditions. Britain as an island marks a significant divide, with its western coastline facing the Atlantic weather systems and its eastern shores facing the Continent, the former sharing an indented and similarly characterised coast to those of Brittany and Iberia (Cunliffe 2008, 58).

A prehistoric Atlantic identity appears to have maintained its character throughout the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, creating a Roman Atlantic identity that persisted into the post-Roman era. The territories on the Atlantic fringes have thus been termed "the lands of the continuity of traditions" by Bowen (1972, 9). In the post-Roman period these shared characteristics may have been reinforced by continued contact, possibly between Cornwall, Ireland, Scotland and south Wales or due to the proximity of South Wales to northern Devon and Somerset, and are potentially reflected in the archaeology. A further possibility of outside contact could have been through migrating communities moving south from Devon and Cornwall along the Atlantic sea lanes to establish themselves in Brittany, formerly Armorica (Cunliffe 2008, 432). Atlantic identity is inextricably linked to the use and exploitation of coastlines and oceans and therefore also to maritime identity. Whilst social identity

in the South West owes much of its character to inherited prehistoric traits, in the early medieval period we begin to see a greater degree of evidence for the strengthening of this identity and perhaps a greater awareness of just how much it was shared between the region and other Atlantic societies. This could well have been due to its cultural isolation from the Anglo-Saxon east and thus an increased degree of contact with Ireland, Wales and other Atlantic communities, resulting in a reinforced perception of 'otherness' and cultural differentiation between west and east.

During the early medieval period Atlantic communities appear culturally remote from the eastern British/English and Continental societies located around the North Sea. The introduction of new cultures, in the form of the Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Norman societies and associated material culture, appears to have created an overlying political control of the South West; however, the level of acculturation may have been transient, rather than extensive and insular traditions may have prevailed. The fact that regions and settlements on the Atlantic seaboard shared certain characteristics or qualities may have been due to a shared reliance on the sea as a means for transport, contact and resources, thereby increasing the likelihood of contact and an exchange of ideas and transmission of culture. As there is little evidence for these ideas being shared with southern and eastern Britain and communities around the North Sea, this suggests that there was little or no contact, or perhaps nothing in common in terms of cultural traditions.

### ***Acculturation and the transmission of new ideas***

A major factor in the choices affecting social identity is the transmission of the material culture and traditions and the methods of transmission used within and between social groups. This transmission can be either deliberate or accidental and takes place through contact and exchange mechanisms and to an extent population migration. The arguments for and against population migration, in relation to the Anglo-Saxons in particular, have been studied by Hines (1997). Cultural transmission could have taken place through the conquest of a territory and this occurred to an extent in the Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods. However, the extent of this cultural "takeover" is a major debate in this research as, for example, the Roman domination of a region did not necessarily involve the degree of cultural domination that was *Romanitas* perhaps seen elsewhere in Britain, whilst Roman activity and settlement in general across the South West appears less archaeologically visible than in the eastern territories. The localised nature of some cultural traditions suggests that

the relationship between individual settlements and their surroundings or hinterland is also an important aspect to consider, as well as the possibility of complete cultural isolation at certain sites, perhaps for much of the year. This project will consider these aspects in relation to the available evidence and the adoption of new traditions, as well as in the later development of insular culture, in an attempt to understand how social identity was being formed and evolved in cycles throughout the study period, and its wider impact over the *longue durée*. The regionalisation and inland or coastal distribution of traditions and the material culture will therefore also be considered in relation to changing uses of the landscape and seascape.

### ***Continuity of tradition***

The long-term continuity of traditions and building styles is an aspect of the societies of the South West which has been recognised by Henderson in his research on prehistoric societies of the Atlantic (2007, 10-11). These societies and communities appear to have shared traditions which included building in stone, the longevity of which as a building material might account for certain continuities or simply as the most common building material available, either of which might be seen as a geographically deterministic feature of these cultures. Similarly, many prehistoric insular traditions appear to have continued throughout the Romano-British period and into the early medieval period and do not disappear even with the introduction of the more culturally visible Anglo-Saxon and Norman traditions.

The continuity of Roman traditions is an important factor to consider when determining the nature of society in this period, as Roman culture entailed a strong emphasis of its visibility, particularly concerning wealth and status, with Roman social identity focusing on showing one's wealth, status, possessions and other forms of ethnic symbolism to the rest of society (Millett 1990, 1-8). *Romanitas* was also used as a way of ensuring the allegiance and loyalty to the Roman Empire and was actively encouraged amongst the insular elite. The use of Roman objects in Britain perhaps gave a sense of belonging to this identity, therefore for these objects to continue to have been used, might reflect that the values of this identity also persisted. The occurrence of imported Mediterranean wares may have been a reflection of a conscious link or affinity with the remnants of the Roman culture still seen in Byzantine traditions and Late Antique material culture. Where Roman traditions were maintained, it is possible to infer that certain elements of *Romanitas* appear to have been valued and retained possibly representing an idea of stability and security in a

period which was for a time politically and economically unstable, whether deliberate or with such an important role in everyday life that it was an unconscious act. The adoption of Late Antique practices, that included Christianity as well as the imported material culture from the Mediterranean, is an important factor to consider in the preservation of Late Roman traditions. The strength of this new belief system, its adoption and subsequent development through the fourth and fifth centuries when other Roman traditions had declined, are notable. The widespread nature of this Roman and later 'Celtic' church and its associated traditions in the Atlantic zone, also shows a potential 'Christianisation' of western Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries that does not appear visible at sites in Anglo-Saxon England until AD 597 and the arrival of St Augustine, despite the evidence for an established Romano-British Christianity up to c. AD 400 (Thomas 1998, 37; Figure 13, 39).

An important fact to consider and one which reflects long-term continuity from prehistory, is that many Iron Age forms of cultural expression were composed of perishable items of wood, leather, antler or bone, and these items would in all likelihood have been used throughout the Roman and early medieval periods as well. Härke discusses just such occurrences in early medieval Ireland, where the largely aceramic and organic material culture of vessels, tools and decorated items were made of wood and leather and the houses of wickerwork (2007, 59), and were more likely to survive in the boggy conditions at some sites. The cultural similarities that existed between the South West and Ireland and the known contact between the two, suggests that although insular societies or settlements may have been virtually culturally invisible for a period, it is highly likely that expressions of identity through their material culture would have continued. Historic accounts also imply contact between the British and Anglo-Saxon Churches (see Chapter 1) suggesting a level of interaction that may have allowed for transmission of culture both between east and west and amongst the Atlantic communities (Härke 2007, 59).

#### **2.2.4 Perceptions of the landscapes and seascapes**

Discussion of how the landscapes and seascapes were used and perceived in the early medieval period is a recurring theme and is inextricably linked with the short-term transformations outlined above. This section refers to the gradual and extreme long-term changes and continuities that occur at the geographical level, Braudel's "*longue durée*". Changes in the landscape appear to have played out over a longer period of time, as different aspects of society and cultural traditions take time to spread across

this landscape, creating ripples of change and varying patterns which would have differed depended on location. Similarly, whilst individual aspects of identity might change in the short-term, larger social groups might take more time in which to process these individual changes until they become part of the wider collective consciousness and social identity. The themes which appear to function and change at this level consist of the forms and methods of acculturation in both landscape and seascape, changes in how landscapes and seascapes were used and exploited, relationships between maritime and inland sites, and the creation or changing location of liminal zones and central places. The aims that will be addressed using these themes include the changes in Atlantic and maritime identity and their expression across both landscape and seascape, the identification of long and short term cycles of change over these areas, and the evidence for similarities and differences on a wider scale across the study region. In essence these themes relate to all of the aims outlined in Chapter 1, as they cannot fail to impact on them in one way or another.

### ***Restructuring landscapes and seascapes***

The relationship between a settlement and its surroundings is an important aspect of cultural development, as well as the transmission of this culture across the landscape, through human contact as well as the more complex exchange mechanisms. During the Roman period, the landscape might have been viewed as a resource to be exploited and managed on a larger scale than in previous centuries and there are hints that certain areas may have formed part of several large Imperial estates. However, with the cessation in taxation from the fourth century, societies appeared to have returned to subsistence-based sourcing of food and other resources. This may have changed with the development of ninth-century Anglo-Saxon and Norman settlement, and the segmentation of the landscape into the manors and their tenements known from the Anglo-Saxon charters and later, the Domesday Book. Rippon in particular has studied the development of the landscape in the early medieval South West and the changing uses which would have influenced how the landscape as a whole was perceived (2009, 106-137). During the later Anglo-Saxon period, the English Church played an important part in the development of the landscape, with the organisation of parochial systems and churches effectively changing its territorial structure. It also affected how the landscape was viewed, as seen by the wayside crosses over Dartmoor and boundary crosses linked to manorial territories.

The development of central places, such as the early burhs and their mints, would have created reciprocal trade between them and their hinterlands. This formation of central places and associated rural hinterlands presents a vast difference in the level of human activity when compared with settlement in areas such as Bodmin Moor, where occupation seems to have been seasonal at most (Herring 1996, 37), at least until the late twelfth century. The growth of these large settlements was an important part of the development of the hinterlands, particularly when compared with those in Wessex. Pearce discusses how the natural landscape has traditionally been seen as a determining factor in social development (2004, 6-7), whilst the development and changing use of both landscape and seascape is a key aspect of understanding the cultural traditions of the period. The evidence will therefore be used to study these settlement forms and hierarchies, how they developed alongside one another, and what might have caused the various instances of settlement shift and refocus of the central places. When considering the seaways, it is important to consider the past prehistoric and Roman uses for and exploitation of both the oceans and the coastline, such as the use and continuity of harbours, in the examination of the development of early medieval maritime society and identity. As Henderson notes, a number of pre-Roman Atlantic communities had taken on a distinctive cultural character suggesting maritime contact (2007, 21). Similarly, coastal sites which exhibited maritime exploitation such as Duckpool (Ratcliffe 1995, 81-171), might have continued to exploit the local resources, perhaps in some cases on a more localised and subsistence-based level.

### ***Maritime core and inland periphery? Liminal zones and central places***

The coastline, in its role as a barrier between land and sea, could well be viewed as the periphery to a territory and as a transition point between all things 'known' and all things beyond the sea and therefore 'unknown'. However, this perception is challenged here in this study of the location of settlement and material culture. An important factor to consider is the core-periphery model of supply and demand between regions and how this aided the spread of traditions, both within the South West and between the region and overseas communities. Many aspects of material culture also appear to have been formed through the transmission of ideas between the maritime communities along the Atlantic coastlines (Henderson 2007, 23). From a wider viewpoint it may be possible to see evidence for the core-periphery model in the tin trade and the luxury goods from the Mediterranean, as well as on a more localised level between sites on the coast and inland. The Atlantic could be perceived as a

barrier to developments (*ibid.*, 24), or instead as a medium for exchange during a period where seafaring was probably the swiftest form of travel, at least for these projecting spurs of land in Britain where contact between them and with Continental Europe appeared to rely on forms of maritime exchange. Atlantic areas can therefore be seen to be in no way isolated or peripheral, instead having a number of east to west contacts and influences, and facilitating the ability of societies to ‘belong’ to a wider Byzantine world, at least in part.

## **2.3 Approaches**

### **2.3.1 Theoretical approaches**

The prehistoric nature of many features of the material culture and traditions of societies in the South West, coupled with the relative scarcity of archaeological evidence, has necessitated the use of anthropological and archaeological theories in approaching an understanding of the specific aims set out in the previous chapter, when studying ethnic and social affiliations. These are also important when studying the theoretical aspects of an Atlantic as well as a maritime identity and the interpretative analyses of the associated material culture. It has been recognised that with multiple options for ethnicity in the study region, it is necessary to remain suitably circumspect in the interpretation and identification of specific ethnicities, identities and players in the landscape. Concepts borrowed from Braudel’s theory of relative levels of change over time will be used in the various aspects of investigation and analysis, to produce a diachronic approach to the data. A study of this data using chronological segmentation in its analysis, coupled with macro- and micro-scales of study, will allow for a more in-depth assessment of region-wide changes at individual case study level and the impact of short-term continuity and change on long-term events. This is particularly relevant to a region which has been termed the land of continuity of traditions and has permanence of many aspects of its material culture, past traditions and constructed landscape.

The time constraints imposed by a PhD necessitate the use of secondary sources of analysis for several forms of archaeological evidence. However, the project takes this into account, together with the regionalised bias in levels of archaeological investigation. The research will therefore allow for the fact that visible patterns in the distribution of the material culture and site types do not necessarily fairly represent the

patterns of social identity and perceptions of the landscape. How the material culture was viewed and used in society was not necessarily universal across the region, despite possible associated patterns in their distribution. Traditional approaches towards an understanding of the coastal nature of trade goods have focused on aspects of trade and exchange, or on elite influences as reasons for the distribution of these goods, coupled with the development of central places. This research will adopt new approaches in the distributional analysis of the material culture and specifically coastal aspects of their location in the formation of Atlantic and maritime identities and the use of certain settlement types. Modern theories on the exploitation and hence perception of both landscapes and seascapes will form a significant part of the research and will aid in our understanding of how these places influenced the formation of early medieval identity.

### **2.3.2 Summary of approaches to meet the specific objectives**

The project will analyse all forms of evidence from the portable material culture and settlements, in the form of all excavated data whether published or unpublished, watching briefs, portable antiquities data and the published data from general texts. Individual evidence classes consist of settlement morphologies, ceramics, glass, coinage and metalwork/metalworking, monuments in the landscape, and Early Christian features and sites, with some analysis of faunal remains included where appropriate. These evidence classes will be examined and analysed in varying intensity depending on quantity and accessibility, whilst other forms of evidence such as place name analysis will be included at the discursive level.

The portable material culture will be qualified and quantified based on its provenance, form, cultural origin or influence and number or amount. These evidence classes will be analysed based on their frequency and location, both on their own and in conjunction with other forms of evidence, whilst looking at spatial distribution and chronological patterning over the macro- and micro-scales of study. The ceramics and glass, especially, were transported over long distances and are therefore particularly relevant for the discussion of long-distance trade and exchange. They are used to address the aims relating to central places, new forms of tradition and the acculturation of social identity. The insular ceramics will be analysed for frequency and distribution, as well as influences in their development in terms of form and function in relation to the specific aim of studying acculturation and the development and sustained importance of past traditions. The metalwork and metalworking evidence will be

assessed on the same basis, through the distribution of individual typologies, their relationship with the spatial patterning of other evidence and the study of continuing Romano-British traditions against newly introduced Anglo-Saxon and overseas artistic styles.

Coinage is particularly relevant in the discussion of exchange networks, although the lack of locally minted coins between the Late Roman and the Middle Saxon periods means that the earlier part of the study period has to rely on chance finds, which were not necessarily used as part of organised economic activities. Late Roman coinage is also of interest as it can reflect the areas of most activity and production, as well as major ports of trade that were part of economic activities. The deposition of coin hoards during this period also demonstrates both the last stages of Roman occupation and their continuity past the end of Roman administrative control within Britain. Later hoards of both coinage and metalworking in the Anglo-Saxon period are indicative of the effects of Scandinavian attacks and predation along the coastlines, as well as the potential for important centres of wealth and religion where these hoards originated. This coinage will thus be used in investigating the importance of certain central places and their involvement in the wider exchange networks, settlement hierarchies and overseas regions.

Settlement morphologies will be analysed by form, size, possible function, frequency and distribution, as part of the aim to assess settlement hierarchies and patterns for the region and in attempting to establish elite sites, trading sites and central places as part of this hierarchy. They will also be used to study the changing nature of the archaeology throughout the study period, in relation to new influences and the continuity of prehistoric and Romano-British traditions. Settlements will be investigated based on their relationship with items of material culture present and their proximity to certain landscape features, such as the coast or estuaries, or to sites such as cemeteries or other aspects relating to Early Christianity and the main trading places and foci for social interaction. The micro-scale evidence employs this technique through concentrating on several specific case studies, in order to analyse the changes occurring at these sites and how they might impact on expressions of social identity, both site-specific and in comparison to the wider-ranging data from the macro-study. Early Christian evidence classes, consisting of settlements, cist cemeteries, churches, chapels, sculpture, crosses and fonts, will be used in the examination of ethnicity and identity and in the spread of new cultural traditions alongside the development of Christianity. However as the subject of Early Christianity in the region has already

been studied in detail by Turner (2003; 2006b; 2006c) and Pearce (1982a), attention will be paid specifically to aspects of distribution and the relationship of these sites with other forms of evidence. Assessment will include chronological classification, frequency and distribution, as well as style, provenance of influence and association with other features.

Other features in the landscape include the inscribed memorial stones, shell middens indicating the exploitation of maritime resources and beach and dune sites as significant coastal settlements or activity sites which were influenced by geomorphological factors. The development of inscribed stones as an insular expression of identity or religion and their changing use alongside crosses, might reflect new cultural influences such as those seen in the period of Anglo-Saxon occupation and political control. In relation to the main aims, studying these forms of evidence will address aspects of identity and acculturation as well as levels of contact between the territories that make up the Atlantic zone and with the Mediterranean. They also reflect changing trends from the Late Roman period to the early Norman era.

Faunal remains are included within the micro-scale analysis, where prior analysis has been undertaken and where they played an important part in the reflection of developing early medieval identities, but are not analysed for all sites across the region. Their poor levels of preservation across the region are also seen in the skeletal remains. Faunal assemblages can be used to shed light on past diets, animal husbandry, the origin of food resources such as farmed versus wild animals and maritime versus land animals, subsistence-based and elite conspicuous consumption (Sykes 2007, 2; 86; 92). They also indicate a group's social structure and the collective beliefs and cultural choices of the consumers (*ibid.*) and practices such as hunting across the landscapes and seascapes, possibly representing elite identities but instead perhaps reflecting the hunting practices of society in general. The nature of farming practices is important in understanding how landscapes and seascapes were occupied and exploited, as well as how they were perceived. The specific methodologies and approaches behind the analysis of the evidence are discussed in Chapter 3.

### **3. Methodology and Analytical Approaches**

*This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the evidence classes that are used to create the data and the methods of analysis employed, in light of the approaches outlined in the previous chapter. It outlines the nature of the combined macro- and micro-scales of analysis and the way in which the data is chosen and gathered based on its relevance and importance to the project. The processes of data collection are summarised as well as how the data is organised in terms of quantitative and qualitative classifications. Finally, the chapter discusses how the results of this analysis are processed and presented within the data chapters which follow.*

#### **3.1 Analytical Methodology**

This chapter presents the detailed methodology for data collection, creation, presentation and analysis which are used to address the specific aims of the thesis, as outlined in the previous chapter. The forms of archaeological evidence used to create the data are summarised in 3.2., specific approaches to data collection and creation are then described in 3.3, whilst analysis and presentation at a regional (macro-scale) and micro-regional (site-specific) scale are discussed in 3.4. This section describes how the evidence classes were examined in terms of the sources used, how the material is collated and how each class will be analysed in detail.

The data was created using all forms of archaeological evidence from excavated settlements and cemeteries, as well as the reliably-located stray finds. Data was collated from both published and unpublished sources, including reports and articles available through the libraries, the urban and county Historic Environment Registers in Truro and Exeter and the Portable Antiquities online database. Other legitimate online resources include the ADS website and the grey literature available from the Bournemouth University AIP website, which lists all unpublished reports from the individual archaeological units based around the country. Raw data was also gathered from Truro Museum, specifically from the archives of Kelsey Head, Perran Sands, Gunwalloe and Hays Close. This consisted of studying the written archives, photographing the finds and the identification of previously unlisted or unidentified ceramic sherds from these sites. Further resources included the databases available

through the online Heritage Gateway for English Heritage, the individual Historic Environment Registers for Exmoor and Dartmoor and that for the Plymouth urban Historic Environment, although direct access to the latter was not forthcoming. Some comparative Breton evidence was sourced through the published records and volumes available through library resources and online information, as well as consultation with the Service Régional de l'Archéologie; however this could not be included as a fully-integrated regional analysis due to the time-constraints of the thesis.

The study covers the period of AD 350-1150 and includes all Late Roman and early medieval sites and settlements. Analysis of the data is framed by a diachronic macro- and micro-scale assessment, which when combined, allow for both region-wide data comparison and an examination of regional patterns at the local level. Also incorporated were prehistoric sites where Late Roman and early medieval occupation or activity occurred. The research also includes sites where an early medieval date is tentative, or where an early medieval date is assigned, but with no secure dating evidence provided. All information from each site is included in the database (Figure 2), which has been formulated to include specific numerical data and criteria for each of the evidence forms noted in section 2.3 and which are outlined more clearly in 3.2 below. All references were sourced for each site where they could be located, in order to present as full an account and as much archaeological evidence as possible. In particular the primary excavation reports were located to allow for maximum data input and background synopses. These reports form the basis for the categories of evidence used in the project database, as they provided the most complete summaries of insular material culture. The macro-scale analysis involves the detailed spatial analysis of the distribution of a series of artefact classes consisting of the ceramics, glass, coinage and metalworking in order to assess region-wide patterning in their production and use. The micro-scale analysis consists of a series of detailed case studies, with a full account of their historical and archaeological backgrounds. All sites were assessed in terms of their suitability for their inclusion in the case study analysis for the micro-scale data, based on the nature of the available data and periods of occupation.

The data was collated within a Microsoft Access database through which it is qualified by data type, NGR location, period of occupation, association with other data types and other relevant criteria (Figure 2). The date of each data form or period of occupation of the settlement is taken from the excavator's reports or from the accepted

*Corwall and Devon  
Archaeological Database*

**Site Index** ID:

Site Name:

NGR: Easting:  Northing:

HER PRN:

Reference(s):

Site Type:

Occupation Site:

Region:  Cornwall  Devon  South Wales  Brittany  Channel Islands

Phase represented:  Mesolithic  Neolithic  Bronze Age  Iron Age  Roman/RB  Early Medieval  Late/Post-Roman (4th-5th)  British/Breton (6th-7th)  English (6th-7th)  British/Breton (8th-9th)  English (8th-9th)  British/Breton (10th-11th)  English (10th-early 11th)  Norman (late 11th-early 12th)  Medieval  Post-Medieval

Settlement morph:  Settlement Register

Excavation:

Geophysics:

Radio-Carbon date:

Pottery:  Pottery Register

Metalwork:  Metalworking Register

Coinage:  Coinage Register

Glass:  Glass Register

Environmental remains:  Shell Midden

Burials:

Faunal Remains:  Faunal Remains

Stone objects:

Place name:  British  Welsh  English  Norman

Coastal Industry present?:

Coastal Site?:

Settlement Type:

Comments: Large group of Sandy Lane style sherds found in midden. 1 PRSW & 1 ARSW according to Thomas 1981. Details added from Thomas may not be from midden - more likely to be finds spots.  
Gwithian Site 1 presumably continued into the 11th century but not much later. Suggests a gap in occupation therefore between the discontinuity of this site and the new occupation of Crane Godrevy up the hill. Possibly linked with abandonment of fields and homesteads perhaps due to the shifting sand dunes choking the land (Thomas 1964c).

Inscribed stone (assoc):

Bone/Antler/Horn:  Bone/Antler/Horn

Record: 95 of 1264

Figure 2 - Site index database form

date range of the artefact(s) in question. These have been organised into a series of equally-proportioned time periods, with a duplicate phase system for the specifically insular, or non-Anglo-Saxon, sites and material remains. They consist of AD 500-699, AD 700-899 and AD 900-1066 and whilst they have been used to tie in with Anglo-Saxon evidence, they have very little cultural connotations for the study region and cannot necessarily be used to label the material culture and identities of early medieval Cornwall and Devon. Thus the same periods have been used for the insular evidence, but the results of the research may bring to light new cycles of change and therefore new chronological frameworks which are more appropriate for their discussion and changes in tradition through time. In addition to these is a phase for the late Romano-British and very early post-Roman data of AD 350-499 and a Norman-period phase from the mid eleventh to the late twelfth century.

The forms of evidence were analysed in detail to create batches of data, which are subcategorised based on their individual characteristics. In the case of the pottery this consists of each type of fabric, the number of sherds and their provenance, for example whether insular or from the Mediterranean, or whether Late Roman or early medieval (Figure 3). This data is then further quantified using tables, pie charts and graphs in order to formulate hypotheses based on their distribution, ratio of incidence and quantity as well as other qualifiers depending on the nature of the particular data form. It is also divided by a diachronic study which assesses the nature of the archaeology at two levels, one focusing on the macro-scale of data and region-wide distribution which might show spatial patterning in the evidence, and the second, a micro-scale analysis, looking at individual case studies with a detailed assessment of the evidence from each site and a comparison with the macro-scale data. The micro-regional case studies conceptualise the themes of this research, by analysing the evidence at the local level and from this assessing the representivity of the results of the macro-scale study within the various evidence classes.

For the macro-scale study the data is analysed through region-wide distribution, concentrating on each form and its frequency, both of which are presented using distribution maps with indicators of data quantities in the presentation of spatial patterning, which are then used to infer changes in the use of the material culture and therefore aspects of social traditions. Correlations between different forms of evidence could suggest relationships between them and may aid in the identification of factors which potentially cause social changes over time, as well as between different areas.

Pottery Database																																																																																												
ID:	<input type="text" value="157"/>																																																																																											
Site Name:	<input type="text" value="Tintagel"/>																																																																																											
Comments:	Pottery here is as yet only from the ref mentioned. Large quantities of pottery have already been found in earlier excavations. This included a group of native RB pottery sherds. Now includes further sherds 27 PRSW and 10 ARSW mentioned by Thomas 1981. Assumed that entries from Morris do not include earlier findings therefore wares from Radford 1956 also included (Thomas 1981). Vessel no given, not sherd no. - 14+. Therefore minimum of 14 sherds from the site. Approx 10 vessels pf Bii therefore at least 10 sherds. At least 3 vessels Biv and therefore at least 3 sherds. About 200 sherds Bv (from Thomas 1981), representing 3 or 4 vessels. V. large number of non-Bi, Bii, and Biv (and therefore Bmisc) frags, at least 20 vessels, no frag no. given therefore 20 stated here. Not dated. 2 sherds D ware. Evidence in the																																																																																											
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Figure 3 - Pottery database form

Such patterning is invaluable in the analysis of coastal versus inland zones of acculturation and settlement, whilst patterns of incidence aid in the determination of early medieval sets of traditions, as well as the investigation of 'type-sites'.

The micro-scale analysis uses settlement case studies, chosen based on differing longevity of occupation and the available range and quantity or quality of evidence. These sites are studied using the parameters and methods set up in the macro-scale study in order to compare region-wide distributions at a localised level. They are also used to confront the macro-scale evidence, to attempt a greater understanding of how regional changes influenced or were influenced by activities at individual sites. Although only six case studies could be included here, other sites from within and outside the study region are included both as *comparanda* and as part of the discussion in Chapter 9.

## **3.2 Data creation and collection**

It became clear in the early stages of data collection, that to produce a meaningful analysis of the data, traditional chronological terms could not be used and that conventional dating methods based on culture-historical models were of little use with a set of cultural traditions, whose characteristics include for many evidence types a broad date range and almost unchanging appearance throughout the study period, or where a clear typology has not been established. Therefore, the diachronic approach of short- and long-term evaluation of the data has been chosen, which when linked to the dual-scale spatial analyses at the macro- and micro-levels in the form of region-wide and case study sections, allows for a maximum evaluation of the evidence at all levels and an approach to the main aims discussed in Chapter 1.

### **3.2.1 Data Collection**

The data was collected by accessing the HERs and their databases, in conjunction with a detailed evaluation of the literature, both published and unpublished and by using the online Portable Antiquities database. Certain sites were visited for an idea of the local environment and for a photographic record, whilst a visit was made to Truro Museum in order to photograph artefacts and research the artefacts and written archives from several specific sites. The information from these sources gave rise to the evidence forms listed in 3.3, which aided in the construction of the Access database. Each site was fully researched using both the HER PRN sheets and independently sourced references, to produce a full account of the archaeological evidence. Several sites have duplicate entries where there were multiple investigations of the same site, or where the site has a particularly large archive with several categorisations of data. In most cases, the principal excavation report has been located and with all sites an attempt has been made to locate the primary data found either during excavation or from stray finds. Where a report mentions, for example, the discovery of ceramic evidence but the sherd number is not given, then a single sherd is entered onto the database in order to denote its presence. In most cases the sources for each site in the form of excavation reports or volumes, include either a summary or an in-depth synopsis of the raw data, which could then be transposed directly into the database. The sub-classes of evidence used throughout the project and within the sub-forms of the database were informed directly by the data sources, thereby providing some of the frameworks for analysis.

### **3.2.2 Data Organisation**

All sites were entered onto a Microsoft Access database and their associated reference listed on an Excel spreadsheet. This database has been built to classify the evidence types in terms of the forms of evidence previously outlined and is based on multiple entries per site, where it is deemed necessary. The criteria used to construct the database were informed by the sources of evidence as well as previous work on the artefacts and sites within the region. In order to address the specific aims outlined in Chapter 1, all information was included within the database in order to be able to select the relevant criteria when it came to the data analysis. Categories for each site include their National Grid Reference location; their PRN if they have one; the main references known for the site; the county of location; the main archaeological periods of use for the site as well as specific time frame within the early medieval period; whether the site had been excavated; and whether geophysical surveys had taken place or if there were radiocarbon dates to aid in the dating of the site.

The evidence types are all given their own sub-forms where a more detailed categorisation takes place, with in-depth typologies for each data form that include period of origin and provenance, quantities of each type and details if necessary. From these sub-forms it was then possible to analyse the data. The Access database allows for the analysis of each evidence form in great detail, as well as in conjunction with other forms of evidence in the form of multiple-field queries, such as the settlement type that the evidence is associated with. It is possible to list it with the relevant categories, including the National Grid Reference needed for the macro-scale analysis and spatial distribution which can then be input directly into the mapping software. The micro-scale analysis of the case studies also uses the database, but with a wider set of data types incorporating all assemblages from these particular sites, from which it is possible to build detailed descriptions of each. The nature of the database meant that it was possible to create specific queries, depending on the nature of the question to be addressed, for example the number of sites where local ceramics were discovered, which resulted in tabular data that could then be directly transposed to a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. This then allowed for further analysis and the creation of both tabular data and the bar charts and graphs, as well as a series of lists that included National Grid References, from which the primary methods of analysis in the form of the distribution maps were created.

### **3.3 Evidence classes**

This section introduces the evidence forms used throughout this research that were identified from the aims and themes outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, whilst providing a brief background to prior research. How these evidence classes - consisting of settlement morphologies and Early Christian features, ceramics, glass, coinage and metalworking - will be used to approach the specific aims is then provided within each of the following data sections in Chapters 4 to 8 together with a full introduction to the work done so far on each class. The settlement morphologies are assessed chronologically per century, however the nature of the ceramics and how they developed throughout the study period have caused for the creation of a new chronological framework, based on the typological and regional developments in these ceramics. This framework is then used to chronologically assess the remaining forms of material culture analysed in this research. The framework is a new method of analysing the evidence and it is hoped that it will reveal different patterns in the changing nature of material culture and therefore social identities.

#### **3.3.1 Settlement morphologies**

The nature of settlement in the study region consists of a range of different sites from which an attempt has been made to create a typology for the region, which will be outlined in Chapter 4. Analysis of settlements therefore includes an assessment of both form and function in the spatial and chronological patterning. These settlements include forms originating in the prehistoric, Romano-British and early medieval periods; however only those sites where there is early medieval occupation, either through continued occupation or reoccupation, are included. Prehistoric and Romano-British forms include sites such as promontory forts, rounds, courtyard houses and villas. The development of these former settlements in the continued occupation will be assessed alongside the foundation of new settlement forms, many of which were introduced in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods. The chapter therefore includes the analysis of burhs and castles, with a discussion of the documented manors taking place in the micro-scale analysis, as the lack of archaeological evidence for these sites makes their distributional analysis impossible. There is also a range of sites which developed in the early medieval period, such as the transhumance huts, where a site-type and date-range have not been established. The individual nature of each of these

sites is discussed further in Chapter 4, whilst a further categorisation examines their function.

Early Christian settlements and other features are included in the settlement morphology study. These consist of cist cemeteries, churches, chapels, crosses, inscribed stones, sculpture and fonts, as well as site-types with specific functions consisting of beach and dune sites and shell middens. Christian settlements consist of monasteries, hermitages, priories and bishop's palaces, but also include features such as cathedrals, minsters a selection of known older churches. The visible forms of evidence for Early Christian activity include stylistic influences and iconography as well as religious meaning which would have influenced insular artistic styles and religious traditions. The level of contact between the South West and other areas of the Atlantic zone where the Early Christian 'Celtic' church was strong, such as South Wales and Ireland, is unknown and yet historic accounts of the saints' travels and their founding religious sites and settlements, particularly along the north Cornish coast, are numerous. The distribution of the inscribed stones, crosses, early churches and chapels in relation to other forms of material culture and settlement has not been previously assessed and is considered in this research. It addresses themes relating to the development of early Christianity and its expression in the landscape and seascapes, as well as the transmission of ideas through contact with overseas influences such as the religious houses in Ireland, South Wales and Brittany. The churches and their part in the formation of the new Anglo-Saxon parochial systems which effectively restructured the Cornish and Devon landscapes are assessed based on their influence on the insular forms of religious expression and settlement systems. The Early Christian evidence is examined along these lines but will not be analysed or discussed in great detail, other than as distribution maps and as part of the synthetic discussion. The spatial patterning of these forms of evidence may point towards specific foci for religious expression, reflection or isolation, whilst coastal locations in particular might suggest an outward looking culture with maritime communities.

The transition to an Anglo-Saxon controlled landscape and its subsequent restructure at a later stage than in eastern Britain means that there is very little evidence for Anglo-Saxon paganism in the South West. Therefore, one of the main research questions addressed here is the continuity of cist cemeteries alongside the introduction of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman cultures through the changes in burial (albeit potentially minimal) and in architectural styles and iconography, as well as the possible acculturation of Anglo-Saxon communities to forms of 'British' burial. The

cemeteries are not examined in great detail, instead their distribution is assessed across the region for spatial patterning and potential relationships with other forms of evidence such as the early chapels and inscribed stones. Such correlations could hint at important religious sites for the whole region, or foci for worship by local elites, which is particularly relevant where known British or Anglo-Saxon leaders were historically recorded. There are also possibilities for the transitional use of Romano-British cemetery sites through to the early medieval period, and for further continuity of use in conjunction with Anglo-Saxon and Norman religious sites. Such aspects of long and short-term continuity and change are assessed and discussed in relation to the settlement morphologies and other forms of evidence.

Cist cemeteries are often associated with a certain size and shape of enclosure known as a lann, which were studied by Preston-Jones (1994, 76-78; 85-90) in relation to their association with inscribed stones, place name elements and saint's dedications, in an attempt to investigate the claims that many churches in Cornwall had an early fifth- to seventh-century origin. This early origin may have been a widespread occurrence during the construction of early English churches and would suggest a deliberate link with the preceding religious centres and sites. The cemetery evidence will therefore be used to address the aim of understanding the development of Atlantic identity and its expression in the material culture, as well as in understanding aspects of continuity of certain cultural traditions. As with all other evidence forms, the cemeteries will be assessed based on their spatial distribution and thus the potential importance of, for example, coastal and upland regions and the proximity of other site types such as hermitages and chapels and major elite sites.

The beach and dune sites are important in the study of coastal sites and their role in the development of exchange systems as well as providing evidence for the nature of maritime settlement and identities in general. The shell middens share a similar importance and also display evidence for subsistence-based coastal resources or a more sustained production-based exploitation of maritime resources.

These settlements also form the micro-scale analysis whilst incorporating all other forms of evidence within their excavated assemblages. Specific aims to be addressed include the aforementioned creation of a hypothetical settlement hierarchy, the identification of central places, and the continuity of occupation at these sites and how this changed depending on the period of origin of each site form. Analysis of the castle sites will aid in addressing the questions and aims relating to aspects of identity, and

particularly elite identity, methods of acculturation, the continuity of past traditions or items of material culture, and importantly, the relationships and interactions between castles and sites and settlements within their hinterlands. Additional analysis of those settlement morphologies where imported ceramics were discovered is also undertaken, in order to address questions relating to the functions of certain types of site and to understand which forms of site were partaking in the consumption of imported goods.

### **3.3.2 Ceramics**

The ceramic evidence consists of all forms of locally-produced fabrics from the Late Roman and early medieval periods and all imported wares to the region within the specific study period. An assessment of the development and incorporation of Late Roman forms into the early medieval pottery production will be included, and the chronological phasing of both local and imported wares investigated. Where possible these local wares have been classified according to accepted typologies, using the excavated evidence for dating; however, where the ceramics have not been assigned to a fabric they have been classified under generic local and imported categories. There has been no further scientific examination of the fabrics and the project relies on separate petrological analyses and independent studies. Whilst each fabric has been individually analysed in terms of distribution, the large number of fabrics has reduced the extent to which it is possible to discuss their distribution individually. Therefore they have been assigned to groups and only their grouped distribution is discussed and chronologically assessed in Chapter 5, presenting the ceramic analysis and including a brief introduction to the fabrics but consists predominantly of an in-depth grouped analysis of the evidence. However the individual distributions are still included in Volume II of the figures.

The wide range of imported fabrics from the Mediterranean and north-west Gaul will be analysed based on their distribution, particularly whether coastal or with access to the coast or estuaries, as well as their proportionate distribution in the North coast, South coast and Channel regions and at different settlement types. They will also be assessed based on their number of incidence, in order to study concentrations of particular wares and whether there are regionally important sites or settlements and hierarchies of site distributions based on trends in the exchange mechanisms. For this project, all forms of ceramics which fall within the appropriate date range have been incorporated in the study, including those sites where only one sherd has been discovered, in order to show a full region-wide incidence of each ware. An assessment

of the number of imported sherds at certain types of settlement morphology is included within the settlement analysis in Chapter 4. The importance of the ceramic evidence in aiding our understanding of both the local material culture and the economic structure of the region, also extends to the wider contacts in Europe and the Mediterranean and their impact on the developing social groups in the South West, in the relationships that apparently existed in the early medieval period between these two regions. Specific aims to be addressed include acculturation through the introduction of new forms of ceramics and methods of pottery production, how this influenced the development of social identity, the development of central places in relation to the exchange in imported fabrics and in the creation of important localised production centres, and the development of new techniques alongside former insular traditions.

### **3.3.3 Coinage**

The coinage consists of five categories based on provenance from Late Roman, Byzantine, Anglo-Saxon, French and Norman mints. Whilst the phase between the Late Roman and Anglo-Saxon issues was thought to have been devoid of all evidence for the economic use of coins, the location and use of copper alloy Byzantine coins may prove otherwise, particularly if they relate to the Mediterranean imported ceramics. This evidence has been analysed in order to discuss factors relating to the development of economic systems and central places, as well as the potential reflection of either distinct cultural groups or contact with these groups. The evidence consists of single coin finds and hoards from both findspots and excavated sites. All forms of coinage are studied and qualified based on their type, provenance and frequency. They are also divided by period of minting based on regnal issues in order to assess the changing nature of their importance over time. Where the numismatic evidence consists of the finds from an entire region rather limited to a few sites, it can be a reliable indicator of a variety of factors that would otherwise be difficult to assess singly in ancient economies, such as the function and use of coinage and their volume and speed of circulation (Rovelli 2009, 46).

The distribution of certain types of coin in certain locations such as coastal areas, may point towards particular foci for economic activity or distinctive cultural patterning. The mints are also assessed in conjunction with the coinage, by looking at their location and development at certain settlements. The research addresses specific questions, including whether the single finds are a random sample of the available

currency; the relative output of the mints in the region; the implications of the dominance of certain mints over others; the long and short-term trends in the distribution of the single finds; the possible impact of political upheaval on stray losses; how the distance travelled before the loss informs our knowledge of their uses; distance travelled before loss; the varying quantity of minted coins from place to place; the evidence for use of coinage as a method of governance or a reflection of taxation and royally-controlled expenditure; differences between the dispersal of single finds compared to hoards, and finally the changes in geographic dispersal over time. The distribution of Continental issues is also significant, particularly with the Norman links with Brittany in the later period of the study.

### **3.3.4 Metalwork and metalworking**

These consist mainly of brooches, pins, buckles, strap-ends, hanging bowls, knives and other forms of jewellery and weaponry. They also include industrial debris and the evidence for smelting, including crucibles and hammer scale. These categories have been divided into three classes comprising functional items, industrial evidence, items of exchange and dress accessories. Many of the metalworking assemblages include a number of objects which were too corroded to either be identified or dated, whilst there are also problems relating to assigning items to specific classes or artistic styles. This lack of dating evidence is a major factor in the archaeology of the South West and in particular concerning the metalworking evidence, since the Romano-British occupation layers appear at many sites to run into the post-Roman deposits with no change in material culture, and therefore many degraded objects cannot be categorised further.

There are 'British' or Romano-British and Late Antique attributes in aspects of Anglo-Saxon metalwork and decorative traditions, such as motifs and enamelling techniques (Loveluck & Laing 2011, 535). Of those typically "Celtic-British" metal artefacts found in post-Roman Britain, including penannular brooches, hanging bowls and enamelled items (Laing 2006, 123; 153-160; 175-177), most appear to have been found in Anglo-Saxon contexts and in Dumnonia very few are discovered at all, perhaps due to the lack of Anglo-Saxon pagan burials within the region. The South West, as one of the areas with few furnished graves, shows much less recovery of whole objects than from the South East, although there is plenty of post-Roman metalworking evidence which Hinton suggests may have been from sites used by local potentates, the possible successors of Romano-British magistrates (2005, 17). Much of

this metalworking cannot be dated but includes examples of the copper-alloy 'penannular' brooches (*ibid.*). The visibility of decorative metalworking as part of the material culture worn by a person, demonstrates the ability to identify with specific cultural groups. Therefore patterns of distribution of these artefacts within the region are an important part of their analysis. They are examined based on their provenance and are assigned to categories based on Romano-British, insular early medieval, Anglo-Saxon, Irish, Continental and Norman cultural origins, where it is possible to identify them. Specific aims to be addressed include those relating to aspects of acculturation and identity and the development of localised artistic styles, production centres and regional traditions, as well as the importance of certain items in exchange mechanisms.

### **3.3.5 Glass**

The early medieval glass consists of vessels in the Late Roman, Anglo-Saxon or Frankish and Atlantic traditions, categorised here using Campbell's classification system (2007, 54) with additional forms of glass beads and window glass. It is assessed based on distribution across the region and in conjunction with other imported materials. In particular it will be assessed in terms of type and with comparisons between glass from different regions, in relation to contact with the Mediterranean regions and the Anglo-Saxon east. Links with the Continent will also be considered and parallels with the Continental pottery studied for possible relationships and a discussion of the trade routes established between Britain and post-Roman Gaul and Brittany. It has been noted that the use and acquisition of glass in the region might suggest the presence of elite identities and the ability to afford such apparently high-status objects. Findspots could either indicate the location of these elite centres or alternatively the location of exchange sites, or both. This might be indicative of a thriving market system with long-distance overseas contacts. Themes such as these elite and introduced identities will be addressed as well as aspects of acculturation, contact between overseas communities and merchants. The nature of the sites where exchanged items are found will also be addressed.

### **3.4 Approaches towards Data Analysis, Presentation and Interpretation**

This section outlines the methods used in assessing the information from the sites for data analysis. Each of the subcategories within the database has been specifically created in order to allow for the greatest potential of analysis, by providing a detailed catalogue of the types of evidence found within the study region, including the relevant date ranges and quantifiers where necessary. In some cases, for example for the settlement types, it has been necessary to create new typologies in order to be able to assess the evidence regionally. In the analysis of the portable material culture, new chronological groupings were dictated by patterns within the evidence, specifically the ceramic data, and were used throughout the artefactual evidence. Once the database was complete it was possible to generate queries and lists of the various classes and subcategories of each evidence type in conjunction with their NGR location. The data is then ready to be analysed through tables and graphs as well as distribution maps, to assess frequency alongside spatial and chronological patterning.

#### **3.4.1 Artefactual Assemblages and the Macro-scale Analysis**

The artefactual assemblages and settlement types are assessed in the same manner, by using a quantified distributional analysis in order to investigate potential spatial patterning, both in relation to other evidence forms and the major case studies. Each form of evidence has different qualifiers and quantities as well as particular relevance to certain of the specific aims outlined in Chapter 1, and will therefore be treated individually with these characteristics in mind. The imported evidence is also analysed within the settlement morphologies in order to assess patterns between these morphologies and the size and number of the imported assemblages. The database includes multiple entries for some sites depending on the exact location or year of excavation and investigation, but these have been amalgamated to form single entries within the macro-scale analysis unless they are identified as separate sub-sites within the original reports, such as at Gwithian.

#### ***Chronological analyses***

The settlement and Early Christian evidence is assessed chronologically by century, in order to attempt an understanding of changes over time in as small an increment as possible and without applying the traditional Early, Middle and Late Saxon periods

onto the data. Analysis of the settlements also included a brief study of how occupied settlements changed in form through time and how forms with different origins - from prehistory to early medieval - appear to have shown a greater tendency for continuity. The analysis of the ceramic resulted in patterns becoming visible in their production, form and distribution, promoting the creation of a new chronological framework from which to assess the remaining forms of portable material culture in Chapters 6 and 7. This was in order to understand any similarities that may have been visible in the insular and introduced traditions, as well as to summarise changes throughout the study period.

### ***Artefact assemblages***

The data for each evidence classes was obtained from the excavation reports from each site, where in most cases the raw data had already been listed or tabulated. These are incorporated onto the individual forms for each type on the site database, where their frequency can be entered against further classifications. Each of the individual artefact assemblages, consisting of the ceramics, glass, coinage and metalworking, will be analysed through the use of tables and bar charts; however mapping the data using spatial distribution will be the primary form of analysis. In some cases this will consist of the mapping of individual sub-categories within the data, whilst in others a broader evidence range will be assessed in order to show different patterns within it. In all of these artefact assemblages the comparative number of each type is included to show specific concentrations in increments proportional to the total frequency across the region. In some cases comparative analysis of multiple criteria is also included, for example of imported versus locally-produced objects, whilst all classes of evidence will be incorporated into a chronological assessment of changes in frequency through periodic assessment for the entire study period.

Such methods of analysis may reflect social choices in use of the material culture and thus aspects of group identity, as well as aspects of trade and both localised and international trade networks. The location of apparently high-status items will be investigated in relation to elite identity and may therefore hint at specifically elite settlements, while concentrations of large amounts of an object type could represent important central places in the wider settlement hierarchy and exchange networks, particularly at the local level. Bar charts are used for the proportional analysis between sites and sub-regions as well as in the comparison of different forms of evidence and their sub-classes, to aid in determining the main sites where they are present and to

assess the comparative frequency of sub-classes of evidence at any given site. The more common evidence forms such as the ceramics are analysed with particular emphasis of their number to indicate size of settlement or the scale of activity at specific sites, whilst rarer items such as the glass and certain metal items are examined for their location and the significance of this in the function of the sites where they were found. The distribution of exchange items within the metalworking evidence and the coinage will shed light on economic systems, as well as potential cultural implications. Concentrations of coinage at specific sites may be indicative of a central or peripheral focus for trade, or political or elite sites, as would the location of the mints. The coinage is also analysed for overseas contacts and whether coin losses are related to economic activity, overseas trade and localised exchange networks and nodal points. Their use as nominal coinage or as tokens of individual and perhaps personal value will also be evaluated. Each of these evidence classes is fully introduced in the relevant data chapter, incorporating background to previous research, different sub-classes of each type and how their analysis will be used to approach the specific aims of this project.

### ***Settlements and other features***

The settlements and the individual morphologies introduced in 3.3 and the other Early Christian and non-Christian features in the landscape are analysed through spatial distribution by type. All forms of settlement are discussed using a typology which assesses them based on their form, function and date of occupation. This typology has been specifically created in order to attempt to understand the changing nature of settlement patterns, functions and hierarchies in the region and is included in tabular format. It includes a period-by-period analysis and allows for regionalised differentiation and the development of earlier settlement forms into and throughout the early medieval period. All forms of settlement are included in this method of analysis, and are also assessed in terms of their spatial analysis. The analysis of settlements is important in the increase in our knowledge of settlement hierarchies in the South West, and the development of their forms and functions in relation to rural subsistence-based farming sites, central places and landing sites where imported goods have been discovered. In the case of the settlement morphologies alone, the ratios of imported ceramics and glass are assessed using tables and bar charts in order to create a greater understanding of how these items were redistributed, their role in conspicuous consumption and the type of sites where they may have influenced the development of activity related to central places. Further assessment of the settlements

is restricted to the case studies and the micro-scale analysis, in terms of their individual assemblages and detailed investigation.

### **3.4.2 Micro-scale Approaches to Analysis**

The micro-scale analysis consists of a series of settlement case studies which have been chosen based on their comparative differences in form, function and location, and on the range and amount of excavated evidence available for an in-depth study. They were also chosen in order to provide a range of different sites in terms of date and function, in order to produce as wide an investigation as possible. The available evidence for each site in the form of all excavations, findspots, historical accounts and geomorphological characteristics has been gathered and summarised to produce a full account of the site's historical and archaeological development, as far as is possible. The pre-Roman phases and evidence are also briefly introduced in order to provide a background for the site and aid the discussion of continuity of occupation. All evidence types studied in the macro-scale analysis are included here, alongside other evidence forms such as the crosses, stone objects and bone and antler artefacts. Each case study incorporates further analysis of the assemblages in comparison with one another and how each evidence class differed in use throughout the study period, in order to understand how the function of the settlement changed through time.

Each site is studied by looking firstly at the immediate site-based activity and archaeological evidence and the nature of the site's morphology and construction, followed by an assessment of the site amongst its hinterland and the features, sites and settlements that may have had some sort of a relationship or interaction with the case study. This latter includes prehistoric and Romano-British sites and settlements in order to understand the development of settlement patterns within the case study hinterlands. The analysis will also consist of a full topographical survey of the site and the region surrounding it using GIS software, concentrating on geographical characteristics which might have affected the location of the site and important features influencing its function, for example proximity to the coast, water sources, uplands, and other similar sites or findspots. Analysis therefore concentrates on spatial patterning using maps and will plot the various data types outlined in the macro-scale analysis, as well as evidence for former settlements from the Neolithic to the Romano-British periods. This micro-scale analysis ties in with the macro-scale studies and allows for a more detailed assessment of each of the evidence types, as well as a more in-depth investigation of developments throughout the study period. In the discussion,

the macro-scale evidence is confronted with the evidence from the case studies, in order to relate the two and attempt to understand potential explanations for the perceived spatial patterning seen in the former.

### **3.4.3 Methods of Data Presentation**

The data forming the macro-scale study is presented primarily using distribution maps which form the basis of the analysis and which also show the location of all sites named in the research. These comprise the most important method of data presentation and are used in conjunction with data tables and graph and bar charts; in essence the tools used in the analysis are also used to present this data. The majority of the maps will also show the frequency of each data type, using specific pre-determined quantifiers, whilst on all maps the uplands over 180m will be shown in order to assess relationships between the material culture and the upland and coastal settlements. The tables, graphs and bar charts representing comparative numerical and regional analyses are included where necessary; however they will be incorporated as a digital appendix if they are too large or extensive. Bar charts are used to illustrate comparisons between the sites and the evidence classes, demonstrating the different amounts of each data type across all the sites in the study region. They can also be used to present the data in the form of the sites showing the major proportions of the evidence types.

Pie charts are applied in the analysis of specific data forms and the detailed sub-classes, in order to present comparative analyses between them and also between the assemblages found at different sites. The database of all sites is included as a digital appendix, which also incorporates additional analysis excluded from the data chapters. In particular this includes the primary analytical processes for each individual form of pottery in the ceramic analysis, with only the grouped analysis presented in Chapter 5. The distribution maps, tables, bar charts and pie charts are presented separately in Volume II, together with images of sites and artefacts where they are deemed important to their discussion within the text.

### **3.4.4 Interpretation of the Data**

The data analysis outlined above has been purposely tailored to address the specific aims outlined in Chapter 1. The range of methods used, creates a series of results which are framed from the chronological and spatial criteria particular to this project.

Evidence for exchange networks and the use of the portable material culture is especially comprehensive when using distribution maps as a way of manipulating the data, which also clearly demonstrate changes over time. The changing uses of the material culture and settlement morphologies, displayed in the spatial patterning and case study evidence, can be used to show the development of social identities in the South West and how various factors influenced their nature and form. The case studies, concentrating on particular areas and sites within the region and incorporating different parts of the study period, present an idea of the wider changes seen in the spatial patterning, but seen at a localised level and with all the detail needed in order to attempt to understand social identity on a site-by-site basis. The evidence studied at this level augments the macro-scale data, but allows further inferences to be drawn that are not visible in a region-wide analysis. The use of bar charts and other graphs allows for a greater manipulation of the data in an endeavour to produce sophisticated multi-criteria analyses of the material culture and its distribution. It is hoped that these results will shed light on the changing nature of identity and its link with perceptions and uses of the landscapes and seascapes of the South West.

### **3.4.5 Presenting the Datasets and Interpretative Discussion**

In order to present each of the datasets sufficiently, they have been introduced separately based on the evidence classes. These consist of a series of chapters discussing the settlements and chosen artefact assemblages, followed by the micro-scale case-studies. Each of the artefact chapters is separated into a broad introduction of the data form, followed by an in-depth description of the results of the analysis. Chapter 8 presents the six case studies separately, providing a background to each site followed by a presentation of all the available archaeological evidence and culminating in the wider-scale analysis of each site within its hinterland. This is followed by a full discussion of the evidence, contrasting both the macro- and micro-scale analytical findings and including key sites within this discussion, which is framed using the themes outlined in Chapter 2. The thesis then concludes by addressing the questions raised by the specific aims described in Chapter 1.

## **4. Settlement Morphologies and Features in the Landscape**

*This chapter introduces the forms and functions of settlements across the South West as well as the evidence for cemeteries and Early Christian features. These settlements were introduced or developed in the region in the prehistoric, Romano-British and early medieval periods and are classified as such, before then being assessed based on their occupation phases and locations in the landscape. Burial traditions, Early Christian and non-Christian features are also assessed and discussed in terms of distribution and chronology. The chapter then assesses the proportional analysis of imported ceramics at the different morphological types before briefly concluding.*

### **4.1 Introduction**

#### **4.1.1 Introduction to the data**

The range of settlement forms occupied in the early medieval period in the South West have prehistoric, Romano-British and early medieval origins, both in terms of when they were initially founded and in certain specific characteristics of construction. These origins therefore depended on whether each site had been previously occupied; however, the evidence for this occupation, for example of prehistoric date, could not be included here, due to the size of the datasets. Settlements will be analysed in relation to phases and continuity of occupation from the period of primary construction, and the distribution of each form in terms of coastal, inland and upland locations. Burial traditions, Early Christian sites and other features across the landscape will also be analysed, with particular focus on their location. The settlements have been further assessed with regards to the number of imported ceramics and glass at each type of morphology, in order to address the specific aim of settlement function and the postulated location of elite settlements and central places of exchange.

This analysis is undertaken in order to understand how sites changed in their nature and form over the study period, as well as the relationships between insular and new forms of settlement and whether there is evidence for spatial and temporal patterning.

The analysis of burials, Early Christian sites and other features is included in order to investigate how insular traditions continued, as well as the relationship between these settlement forms and features such as religious foci and communal sites or markers. Burial traditions include the cist cemeteries common in the South West, whilst the Early Christian features consist of inscribed stones, stone crosses and Anglo-Saxon and Norman stone sculpture thought to be associated with religious sites. Early Christian settlements and structures including the chapels, monasteries and abbeys are also analysed. Other features include shell middens and beach and dune sites, which are incorporated for their particular geomorphological characteristics. These sites are all studied in order to understand how the landscape was being used and whether there were particular concentrations in certain sub-regions, and to assess the continuity of certain sites and how they might have interacted within the wider hinterland.

This research aims to assess changing settlement patterns and the distribution of certain secular and ecclesiastical features in the landscape, the changing development of these settlements and features and to address the specific aims relating to acculturation of insular traditions, the survival of pre-existing traditions and the development of the central place as a particular functional characteristic. It also addresses the aim of investigating the development of specific features in the landscape and how they developed over the late-fourth to early-twelfth centuries, specifically the insular cist burials and inscribed stones and how their distribution compared to later religious settlements and sites.

This study does not challenge currently accepted frameworks for the settlement archaeology of the region and therefore uses pre-existing terminology without questioning its use in describing the different settlement morphologies. Instead, it studies the nature of these settlements and their occupation phases during a period when settlements appear to have originated from various different cultural backgrounds, whilst showing a tendency towards the continuity of sites which might not have occurred so visibly in other parts of post-Roman Britain. This may have been due to the nature of building materials in the South West, or the resilience of insular traditions of construction and settlement. Certain aspects of settlement will be studied in terms of morphology, location and function with the aim of understanding how settlement forms evolved throughout and prior to the study period.



The sites examined here (Figure 4) are those which have had a level of excavation where a date has been provided in stratified contexts, either by radiocarbon dating or through associated artefacts. In some cases less evidence is accepted for including a site, in order to provide a comparative analysis of certain types, whilst others are included based on strong historical accounts and supporting archaeological evidence. Of the settlements, the total number of sites which have early medieval material or which are thought to date to that period is far greater than is represented in this research, as only that evidence which represents settlement has been included. The site morphologies are introduced and results of the analysis described in 4.2, with the morphologies separated by period of origin and with a separate chronological assessment in 4.2.6. Section 4.3 then concludes the chapter.

### **4.1.2 Introduction to Late Roman and early medieval settlement**

Late Roman settlement in Cornwall and Devon consisted of continued occupation in prehistoric settlement forms as well as newly-introduced Roman types such as the villas and rectangular camps. Population numbers appear to have expanded across Roman Britain in general and this is visible in the increased number of rounds occupied in the later Roman period (Quinnell 1986, 124). Building styles may also have been influenced, such as the semi-oval Cornish round houses with ridged roofs, perhaps an adaptation of a Roman building style (*ibid.*, 126) and seen at Grambla and Trethurgy, where before it was thought that settlements in Cornwall continued the circular structures of prehistory (Quinnell 2004, 183). The multivallate hillforts with close-spaced ramparts commonly found in Wessex, were almost entirely absent from the South West and instead defended settlement took the form of multiple enclosure forts (Quinnell 1986, 114) and promontory forts. These appear to have developed later into the less-well defended round, a settlement form found across Cornwall and parts of Devon and which later show evidence for a settlement shift that also perhaps occurred in Wales, where they were replaced by unenclosed ‘*trefi*’ sites between the seventh and ninth century, such as Mawgan Porth (Dark 1999, 233). Promontory forts are considered to be a specifically Cornish form of settlement (Thomas 1966, 78) although High Peak in Devon is similar and examples are also known in Brittany, such as Ar C’hastel Coz (Le Men 1872, 314-330). Rounds appear to have been occupied between the later Iron Age and c. AD 600, occur relatively close together and are connected to localised field systems (Quinnell 1986, 115-117). They also do not appear to have been strongly defended settlements and may have been one of the more prolific settlement forms of the Roman Iron Age. Fogous appear to have been

associated with courtyard settlements, as at Chysauster (Hencken 1933, 237-284), with activity generally in the fifth to second centuries BC (Quinnell 1986, 119) although this seems to have occurred through to the early medieval period at Lower Boscaswell (HER PRN 29700.01).

Examination of the settlement evidence has been summarised for Cornwall by Quinnell (1986, 111-134) for the Iron Age and Roman periods and by Preston-Jones and Rose for the medieval period (1986, 135-185). Studies also include the analysis of the hundreds and how these may have affected settlement patterns in the South West, including by Higham (2008) for Devon. Pearce has assessed some of the evidence for the Dartmoor parishes (1985b, 2-10), which appears to show the large territories in the Lydford parish that might have initiated or increased its importance during the early medieval period. One of the primary uncertainties of the nature of early medieval settlements is the location of major administrative and royal centres prior to the ninth century. They are possibly visible as large early estates in the archaeological record, as discussed by Davies for south-east Wales (1979, 161-163) and Pearce for Devon (2004, 279-281) whilst place name evidence also sheds some light on early settlement patterns. These include elements such as 'tre' (Padel 2007, 215-217), 'lys' potentially translating as 'administrative centre' or 'court' (Padel 1985, 150) and the Old English 'worthig' (Pearce 2004, 301), also analysed by Svensson (1987) and by Gover (1932) for Devon. The survival of these place names might reflect an early medieval origin for many modern settlements as well as their former function. Major surveys of the uplands, such as the settlements on Dartmoor (Pearce 1985b; Beacham 1980) and Bodmin Moor (Johnson & Rose 1986), have also shed light on the nature of settlement in the region.

Preston-Jones & Rose suggest that early medieval settlement consisted of a pattern of small houses and farms, dispersed regularly throughout the landscape, linked by tracks and paths and separated by stretches of unenclosed extensive downland (1986, 141-142). They also discuss the 'problem' in the apparent change in character of settlement patterns from the enclosed rounds to the subsequent unenclosed settlements of hamlets and farmsteads - both occupying roughly the same areas - and the reasons behind this change (*ibid.*, 145). However, it may not have been a sudden shift in settlement, particularly given the continued occupation in some of the rounds such as Trethurgy (Quinnell 2004, 9-10) and the development of settlement from semi-circular houses within rounds towards the rectangular longhouses and farmsteads. A further consideration is the fact that rounds would not have functioned as defensive

settlements in the same ways as the larger multi-vallate hillforts of eastern Devon and Dorset. Settlement relocation may therefore have had more to do with cultural changes than a decrease in the need for defensive settlements.

## **4.2 Distributional and Chronological Analysis**

This section introduces and presents the analysis of settlement forms in the South West, consisting of morphologies seen at more than one site across the region and separated by their period of origin, whether prehistoric, Romano-British or early medieval. Data assessment consists of classification by typologies which result from pre-existing terminologies, as well as location and function, and through both chronological and distributional analysis. Of the sites with prehistoric or Romano-British origins, only those with early medieval occupation phases have been included and therefore these classifications may in some cases, such as the Romano-British rounds, represent a small but significant proportion of the overall site type.

### **4.2.1 Prehistoric settlement origins**

These settlements are composed of sites which developed in the prehistoric era and which continued to be occupied through the Romano-British and into the early medieval periods, or which were re-occupied at some time in the latter. They include fogous, promontory forts, hillforts and rounds, as these appear to have been the only forms of prehistoric settlement with occupation in the Late Roman and early medieval period. The promontory forts and hillforts, although showing occupation in the Romano-British period, do not appear to have been continuously occupied and instead show evidence for re-occupation in the early medieval period, an occurrence that is seen elsewhere in southern Britain.

#### ***Fogous or 'soutterains'***

Cornish examples of these sites are described by Quinnell as being constructed of stone in open trenches and affiliated with a nearby settlement (1986, 118). Rather than a form of settlement, they are thought to have had a non-utilitarian, or religious function, due to their inaccessibility (Christie 1978, 332), and appear to have been

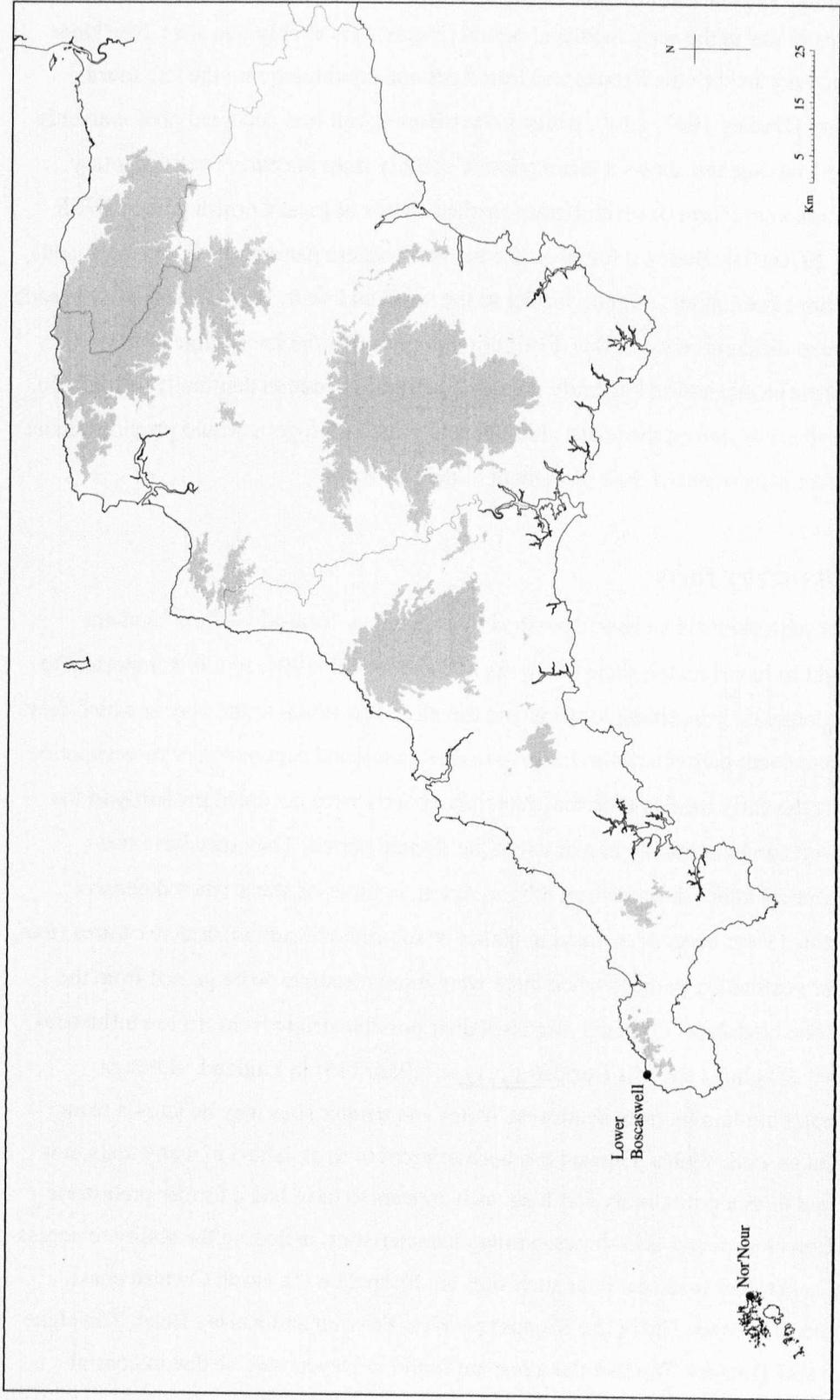
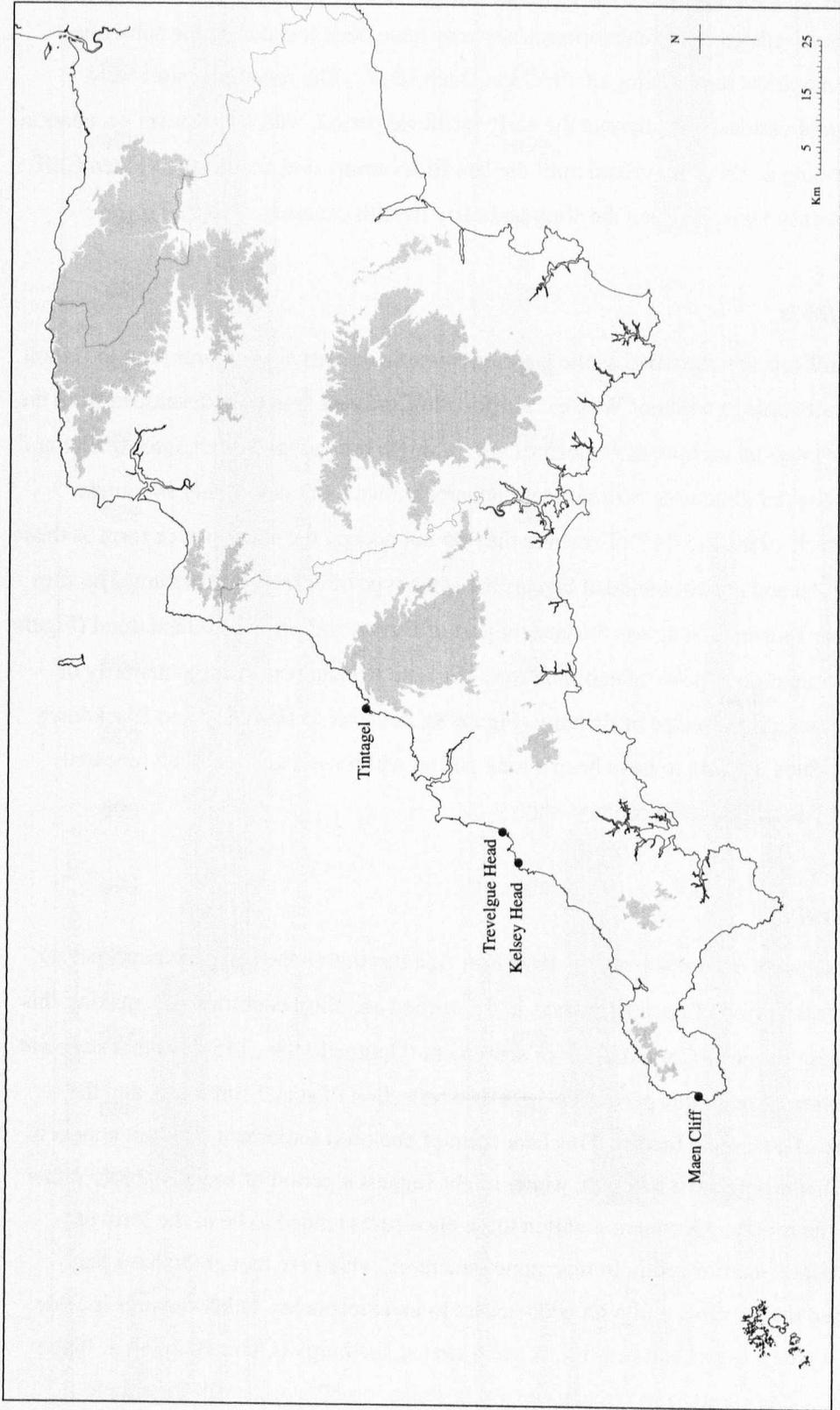


Figure 5 - Fogous

constructed in order to have been deliberately inaccessible which adds weight to their use as a place of refuge in times of stress or for “the protection of a particular commodity against a particular threat” (Maclean 1992, 51-59). The distribution of fogous in use in the early medieval period (Figure 5) is at only two sites. Nor’Nour has activity in both the Bronze and Iron Ages and continuing into the late fourth century (Dudley 1967, 1-64), whilst Lower Boscawell was occupied predominantly in the Iron Age but shows a resumption of activity from the early twelfth century onwards in the form of several grass-marked sherds of local Cornish pottery (HER PRN 29700.01). Both are found on the furthest western parts of the South West and may have been more common further to the south and west. Whilst the activity at each is due to different reasons, this distribution implies that the knowledge of these sites and their incorporation into early medieval activities is due to continuity of tradition. Both sites are also on the coast, although analysis of all fogous would provide a more accurate assessment of their placement in the landscape.

### ***Promontory forts***

These settlements have been described by Herring as “coastal hillforts” and are thought to have had the same functions as those inland (1994, 53). It is important to incorporate their maritime location and therefore function into the way in which they are perceived, particularly in this case in their continued occupation or re-occupation during the early medieval period. Promontory forts were occupied primarily in the Iron Age, and continuing at many into the Roman period. They may have been temporarily rather than permanently occupied, in times of stress when defensive structures were needed, as meeting places or sub-regional administrative centres (*ibid.*, 54), or seasonally, perhaps when there were more resources to be gained from the maritime landscape. Quinnell discusses their possible origin from Breton influences, as well as being a specific Cornish site type (1986, 115) in England, although examples are known from southwest Wales and similar sites may be known from Ireland as well. Whilst Tintagel has been referred to as an island in many texts, it is referred to as a promontory fort here, as it appears to have had a former prehistoric function as such and also shows similar characteristics, including the ability to access it by land rather than sea. Four such sites are located on the North Cornish coast (Figure 6) at Maen Cliff (The Rumps) on West Penwith and Kelsey Head, Trevelgue Head and Tintagel. The fact that none are found in Devon may be due to coastal geomorphological traits rather than cultural reasons. Whilst Tintagel may have had some of the characteristics of a promontory fort and has two such site types on either



**Figure 6 - Promontory forts**

side of at Willapark and possibly Barras Nose, there is little evidence that it was occupied in the Iron Age (Barrowman et al 2007, 309). However, it is hard to see how the site could not have been used as such given its geomorphology and it is possible that any evidence for prehistoric activity may have been lost during the subsequent early medieval remodelling of the Great Ditch (*ibid.*). The remaining sites were occupied variously throughout the early medieval period, with late Roman occupation continuing at Trevelgue Head until the late fifth century and occurring at Maen Cliff and Kelsey Head between the sixth and early twelfth centuries (Figure 7).

### ***Hillforts***

The hillforts are classified as the large, prehistoric defensive structures seen in Devon and eastwards in much of Wessex. Hillforts in Cornwall generally developed from the larger irregular earthwork enclosures with a single rampart and ditch, into smaller and more regular structures with several ramparts known more commonly as rounds (Quinnell 1986, 115-117). However they do not occupy the same size or form as those in Devon and are not included here as the same type of defensive structure. The sites number four in total across the eastern part of Devon and show an inland trend (Figure 9). Occupation appears to continue from the Late Roman period at the majority of sites, including Botalec in Brittany (Figure 8), however at Hembury and Blackdown Rings there appears to have been a long period without occupation, with renewed activity in the eleventh century.

### ***Rounds***

Rounds were occupied from the later Iron Age through to the early medieval period. The peak period of occupation was in the second and third centuries AD, making this a largely Romano-Cornish form of settlement (Quinnell 1986, 115-117) that suggests evolution through this period, perhaps as a reflection of social continuity and the nature of economic factors. This later form of enclosed settlement does not appear to have had a defensive function, which might suggest a period of social stability rather than the reverse. Occupation within these enclosures tended to be in the form of substantial interior semi-circular stone structures, which are thought to have had pitched timber roofs and with good access to local resources. Other features include paved areas, drains and hearths, as excavated at Trethurgy (Quinnell 2004, 4, Figure 20, 32). They tend to be circular or oval in shape, on hillslopes with the simple entrance facing downhill that in excavated examples had gates that were regularly shut, are under a hectare in size with shallow ditches and have been shown to be

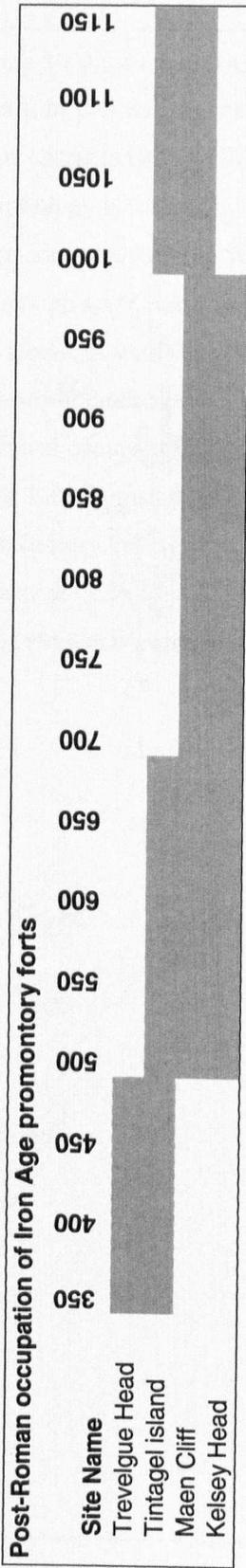


Figure 7 – Occupation/activity sequence at promontory fort sites

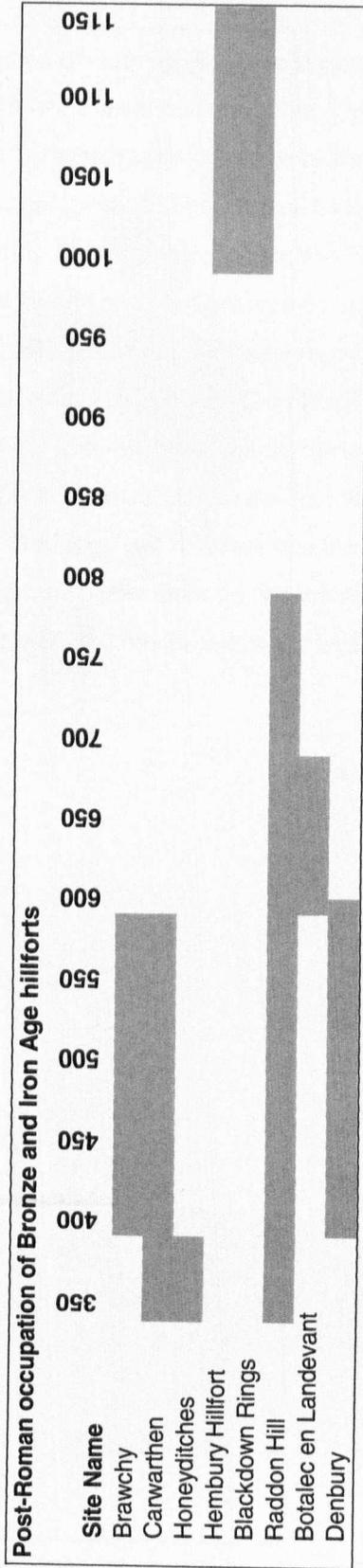


Figure 8 – Occupation/activity sequence at hillfort sites

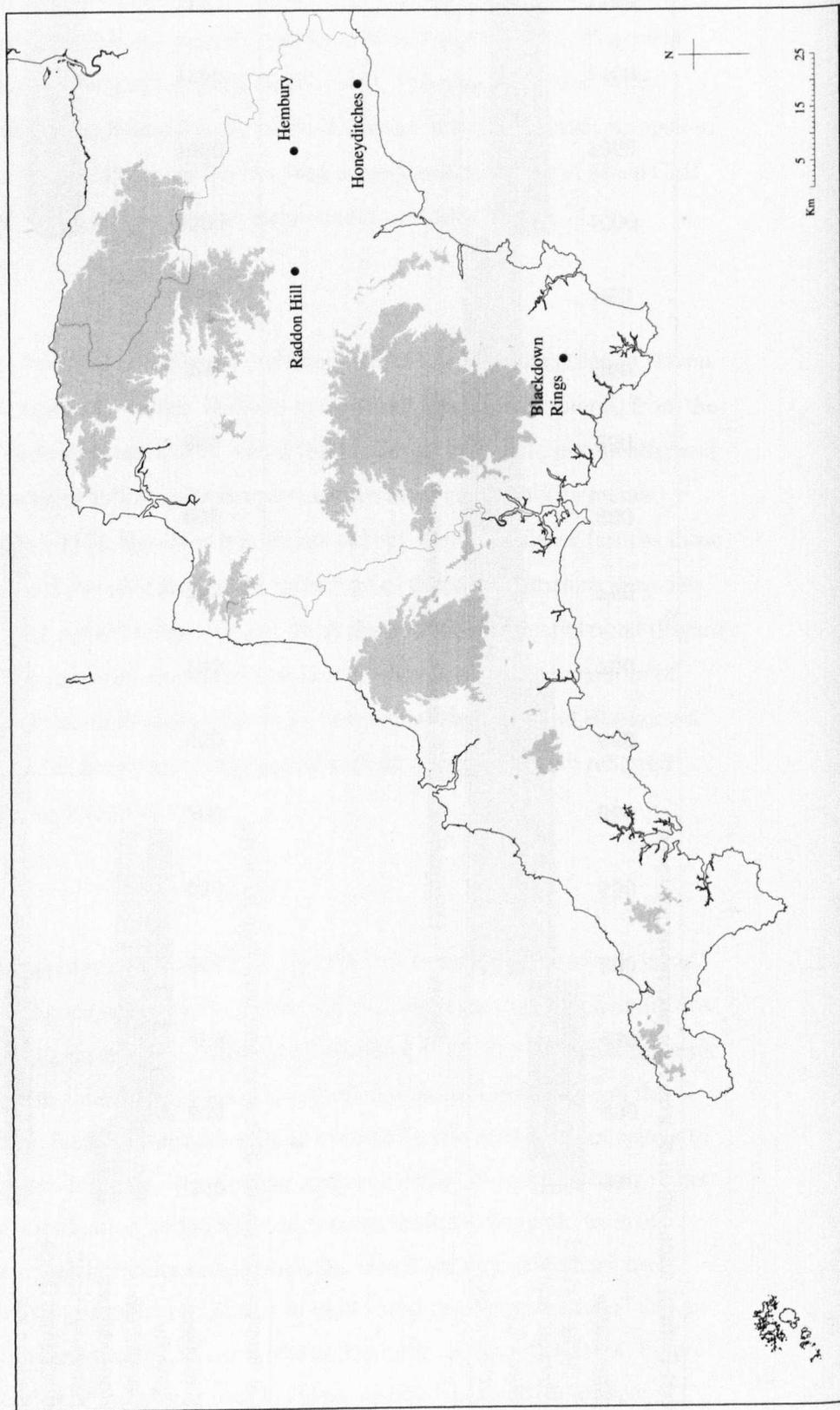


Figure 9 - Hillforts

relatively dense across Cornwall, with one found between every 2.2 to 4.5 square kilometres (*ibid.*, 211-213).

Figure 10 shows the relatively dense distribution of early medieval occupation of rounds in southern and central Cornwall, with two sites in eastern Devon which show some characteristics of the smaller enclosure but which may instead be hillforts. This morphology is found both inland and on the coast, with the latter examples located more commonly on the West Penwith peninsula. Many of the sites, such as Trethurgy, Tremough and Chûn Castle, were adjacent to upland areas but not on the summits and it is likely, as with Chûn Castle and nearby Chûn Quoit, that they were part of a wider prehistoric landscape which they interacted with on a daily basis. The phases of early medieval occupation of these rounds (Figure 11) show that the majority were occupied in the Late Roman period, with continuity of occupation at seven sites into the late sixth century, or even the seventh century at Trethurgy and Killibury and the ninth century at Chûn Castle. At Penhale, Tremough and Crane Godrevy there was a break in the evidence which might suggest abandonment and reoccupation at a later date.

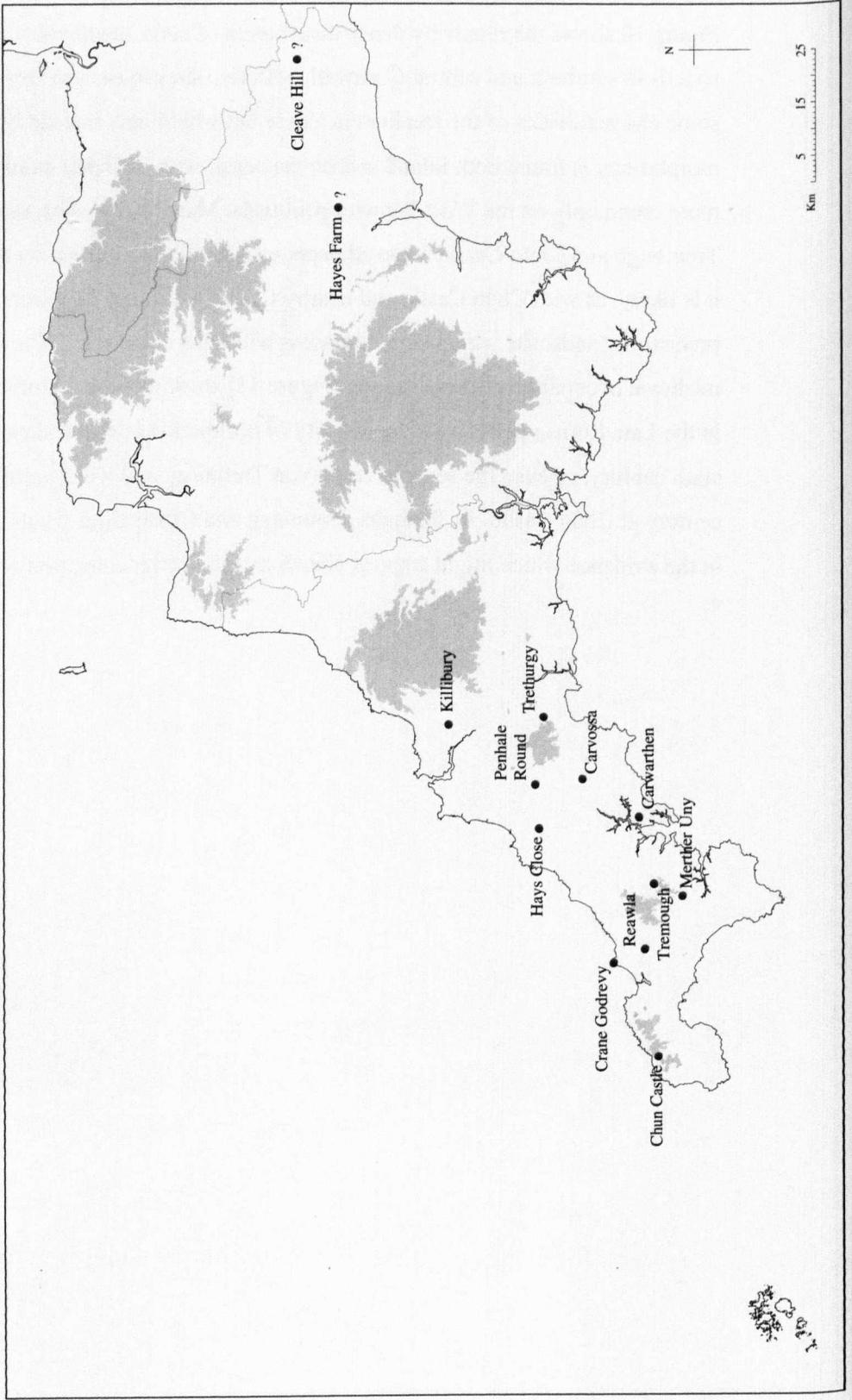
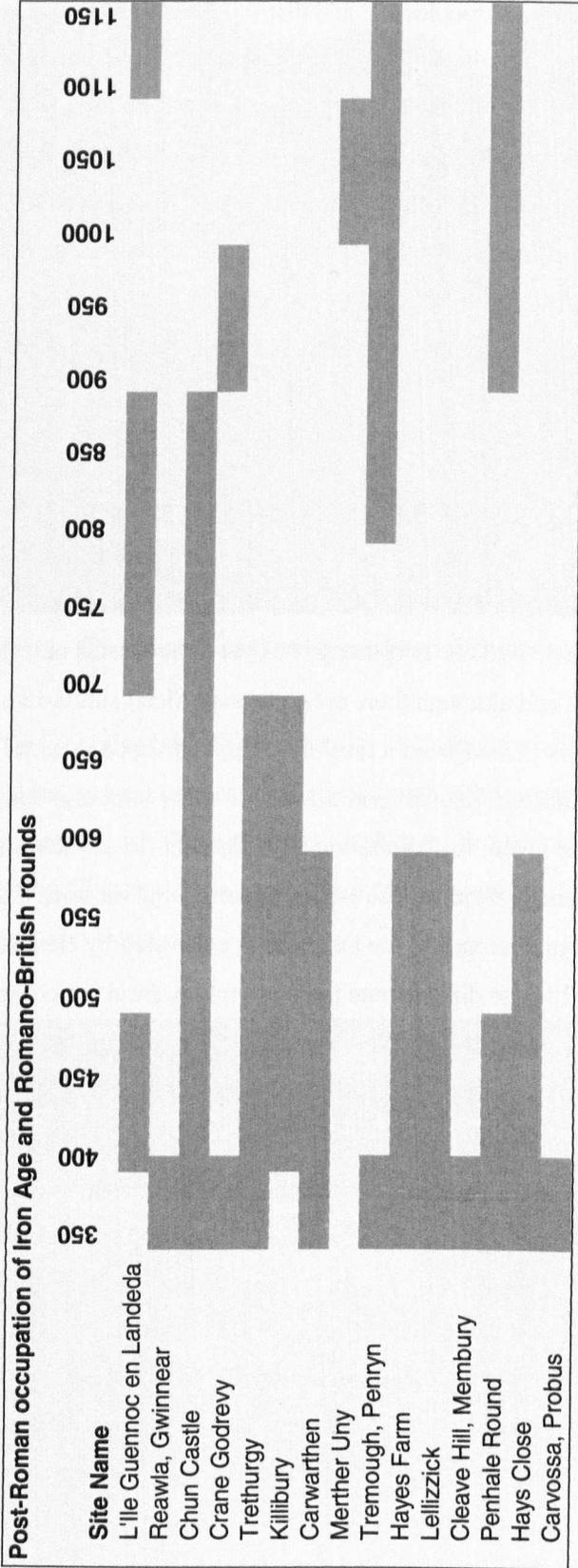


Figure 10 - Rounds



**Figure 11 - Occupation/activity sequence at rounds**

## 4.2.2 Romano-British settlement origins

This section introduces the chronological and distributional analysis for settlement forms which were either introduced to or developed in the study region in the Roman period. These include villas, rectangular Roman camps and the town at Exeter, as well as courtyard houses which may have originated in the early Romano-British period rather than the late Iron Age. As the only Roman town, Exeter is included at a discursive level only in Chapter 9. Other forms of Roman-period settlement, such as forts and fortlets used to control the administrative needs of the Roman province, also existed, however none continued to be occupied into the late fourth century AD.

### *Courtyard houses*

Quinnell suggested that this settlement form was entirely Romano-Cornish and developed from pre-existing Iron Age stone roundhouse structures such as those seen at Nanjulian, St Just in Penwith (1986, 120), although several may date to the later Iron Age (Christie 1993, 3). This morphology has yet to be located anywhere other than on West Penwith and although there are some superficial similarities with sites in North Wales, it appears to have been a local development with characteristics that allowed for the local meteorological conditions, with many sites also showing evidence for a planned layout in conjunction with adjacent field systems (Quinnell 1986, 120). The settlement form was initially recognised and the term ‘courtyard settlement’ first used in reference to the hut clusters excavated by Hencken at Chysauster (33, 237-284), to differentiate the morphology from the cluster of prehistoric hut circles also found on West Penwith. A study of the form was undertaken by Hirst after his excavation of Porthmeor (1937, 1-81). Most are within sight of a hilltop fort of Iron Age date, such as Castle-an-Dinas and the Chysauster courtyard settlement. These sites also lie within an extensive field system (as do most courtyard houses) of small fields and trackways (Christie 1993, 4). The structures tend to be semi-circular (Figures 12 & 13), with several internal and sometimes intra-mural rooms, short passageways, hearths, timber supports, covered drains and paved areas; whilst the construction is of stone with thick, sometimes rubble-infilled walls (Wood 1997, 95-96). The method of roofing is unknown, but may have been one single large roof rather than individual coverings with an open central courtyard (*ibid.*). The nature of construction of the tenth-century rectangular houses at Mawgan Porth, surrounding a semi-enclosed courtyard (Taylor 1997, Figure 23, 17), has led to the theory that these buildings may have been some form of hybridised courtyard settlement.



**Figure 12 - Chysauster courtyard house interior (Author's photograph)**

This may also reflect, alongside the rectangular structures found at Tintagel, the development of the larger farmstead settlements within the region from the Chysauster-type courtyard houses towards longhouses and densely-constructed thirteenth-century villages such as Treworld, Tresmorn and Haytor, on the upland edges of Bodmin and Dartmoor.



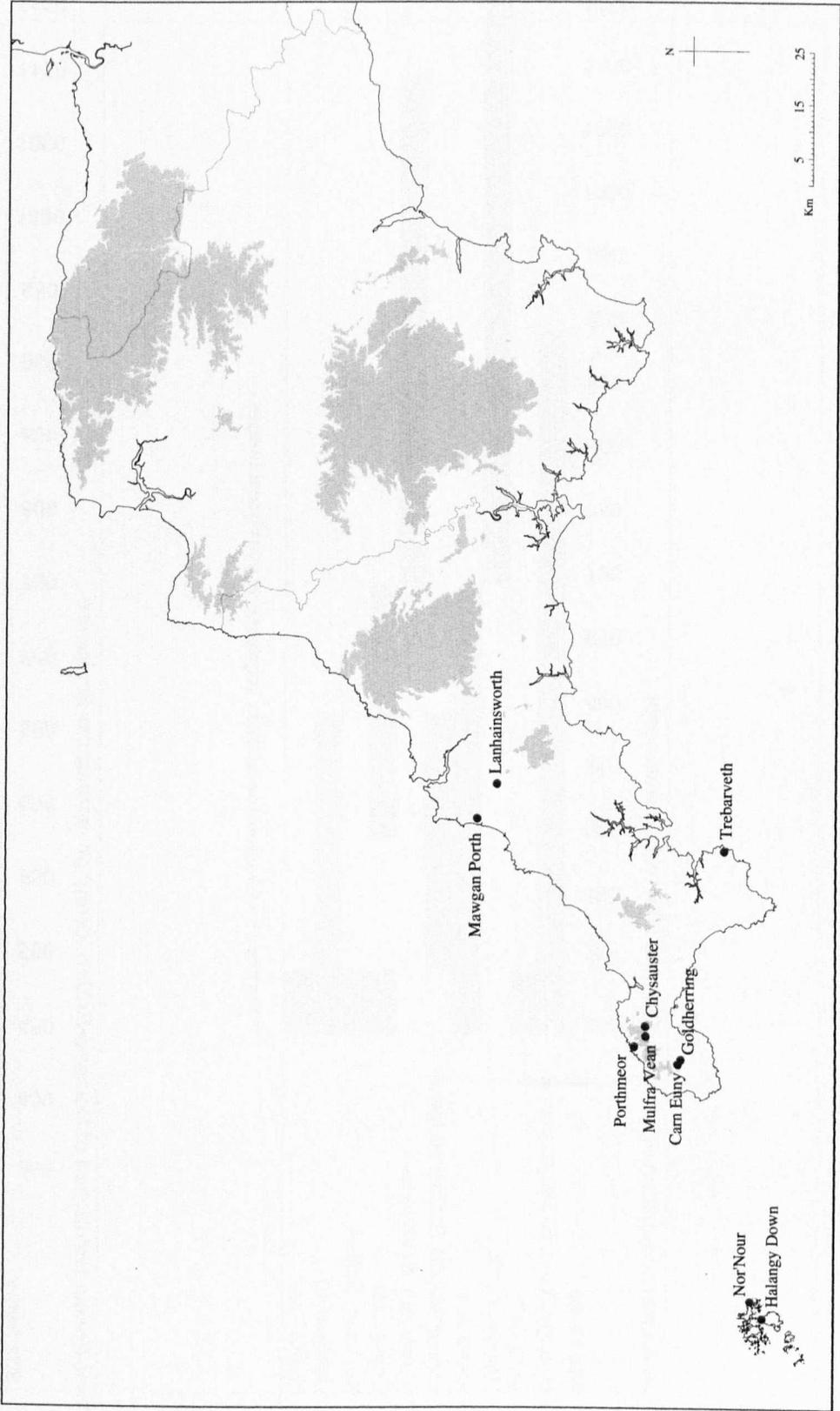
**Figure 13 - Chysauster House 5 exterior (Author's photograph)**

Therefore Mawgan Porth has been included in this section in order to assess potential similarities between the site and the Romano-British sites, all of which show evidence for continued occupation into the Late Roman and early medieval periods.

The distribution of these ten sites (Figure 14) is in central and southern Cornwall, with more dense concentrations on West Penwith, at Nor’Nour and Halangy Down on the Scilly Isles, and at Mawgan Porth and Lanhainsworth. Those on West Penwith follow the traditional circular form, as at Halangy Down and Nor’Nour, although the latter has been described as a wheelhouse by the excavator (Dudley 1967, 1). The evidence at Lanhainsworth is slight, but indicative of a further site, whilst Trebarveth appears to have been a series of hut-circles with associated outbuildings (Serocold 1949, 169-182) and in the courtyard house style, however without the characteristic thick walls and enclosed structure of the West Penwith forms. At Mawgan Porth, the structures take a rectangular rather than circular form and the courtyards appear to have been left open to the elements rather than roofed (Taylor 1998, 21). However they show strong morphological similarities to the West Penwith courtyard houses and therefore have been included here as probable development of the settlement type, despite their later date. The distribution shows some maritime as well as upland locations. Figure 15, presenting the occupation sequences of these sites, shows a general trend of occupation in the late fourth century, with continuity at all but three of the sites up until the sixth or seventh centuries.

### ***Rectangular camps***

These sites consist of Romano-British occupation sequences within enclosures, but of a rectangular form that is unusual in the region. Their form is attributed to a Roman influence and perhaps direct occupation, but instead of the expected military role seen at the forts in the South West these appear to have had a secular and civilian function. They consist of only three datable sites, Grambla, Bantham and Pomeroy Wood (Figure 17). The occupation sequence in Figure 16 shows a similar trend in use from the late fourth century, although at Grambla in this continued into the fifth and sixth centuries, as evidenced by sherds of imported Mediterranean ceramics (Saunders 1972, 50-52), perhaps as a result of the reuse of the site or the general continuity of sites further to the west during this period. The Bantham site may have been a fort; however there is no evidence for a military function and the associated evidence suggests domestic activity in the form of middens and second- to fourth-century Romano-British ceramics (Griffith & Reed 1997, 109-126).



**Figure 14 - Courtyard settlements**

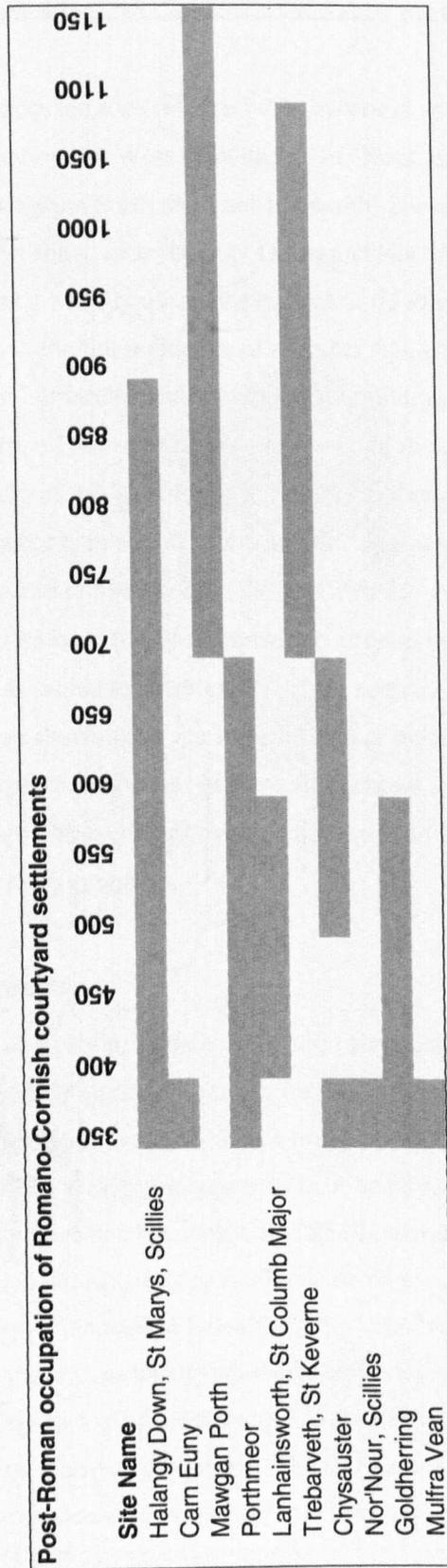


Figure 15 - Occupation/activity sequence at courtyard houses

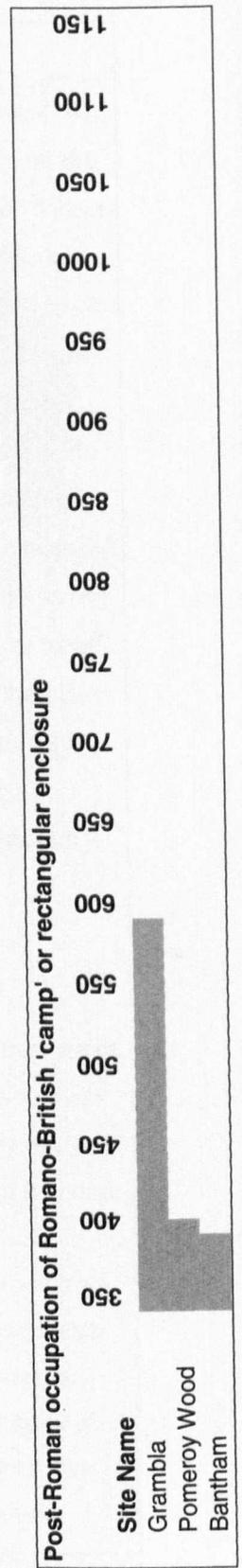
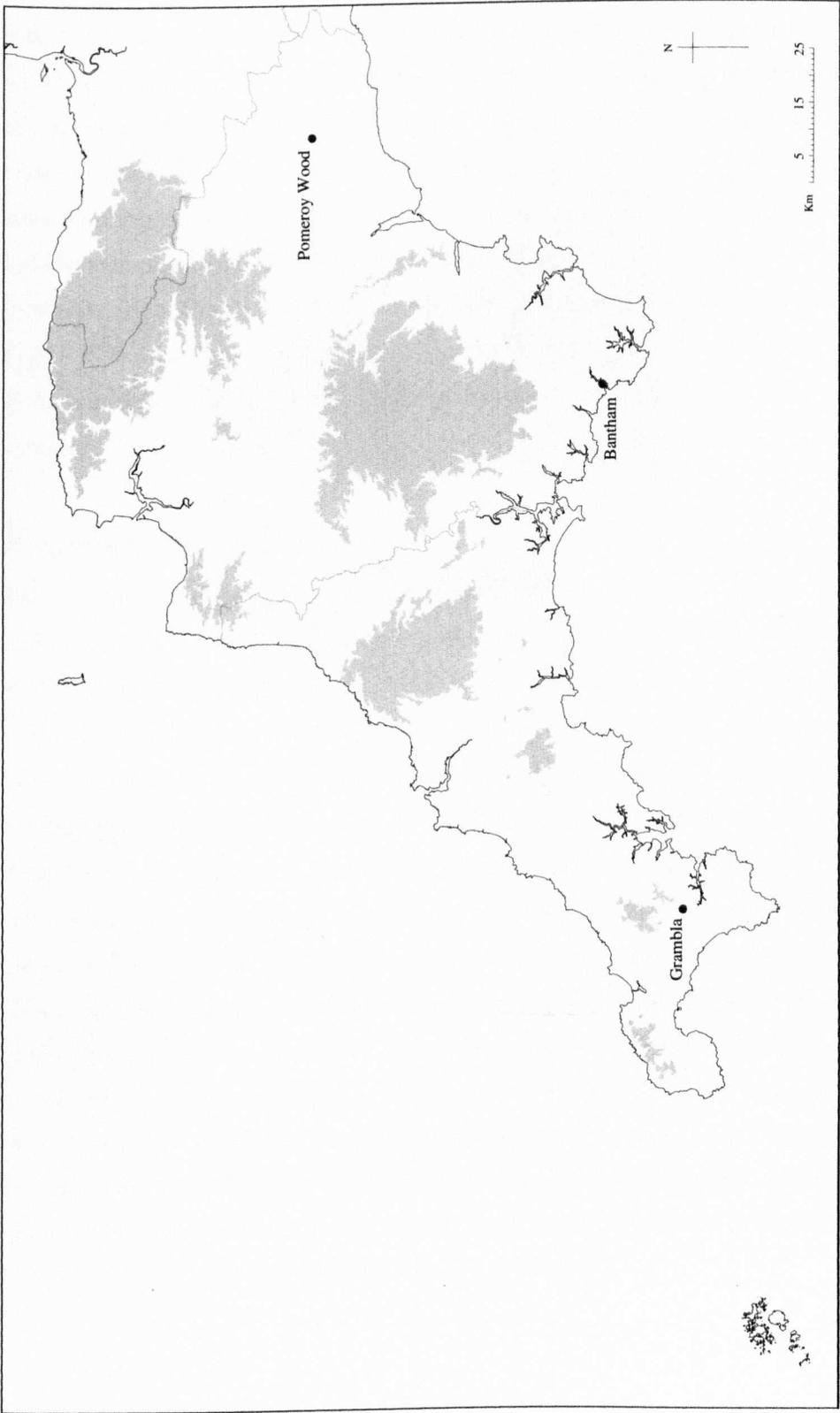


Figure 16 - Occupation/activity sequence at Late Roman 'camps'



**Figure 17 - Rectangular Late Roman enclosures or 'camps'**

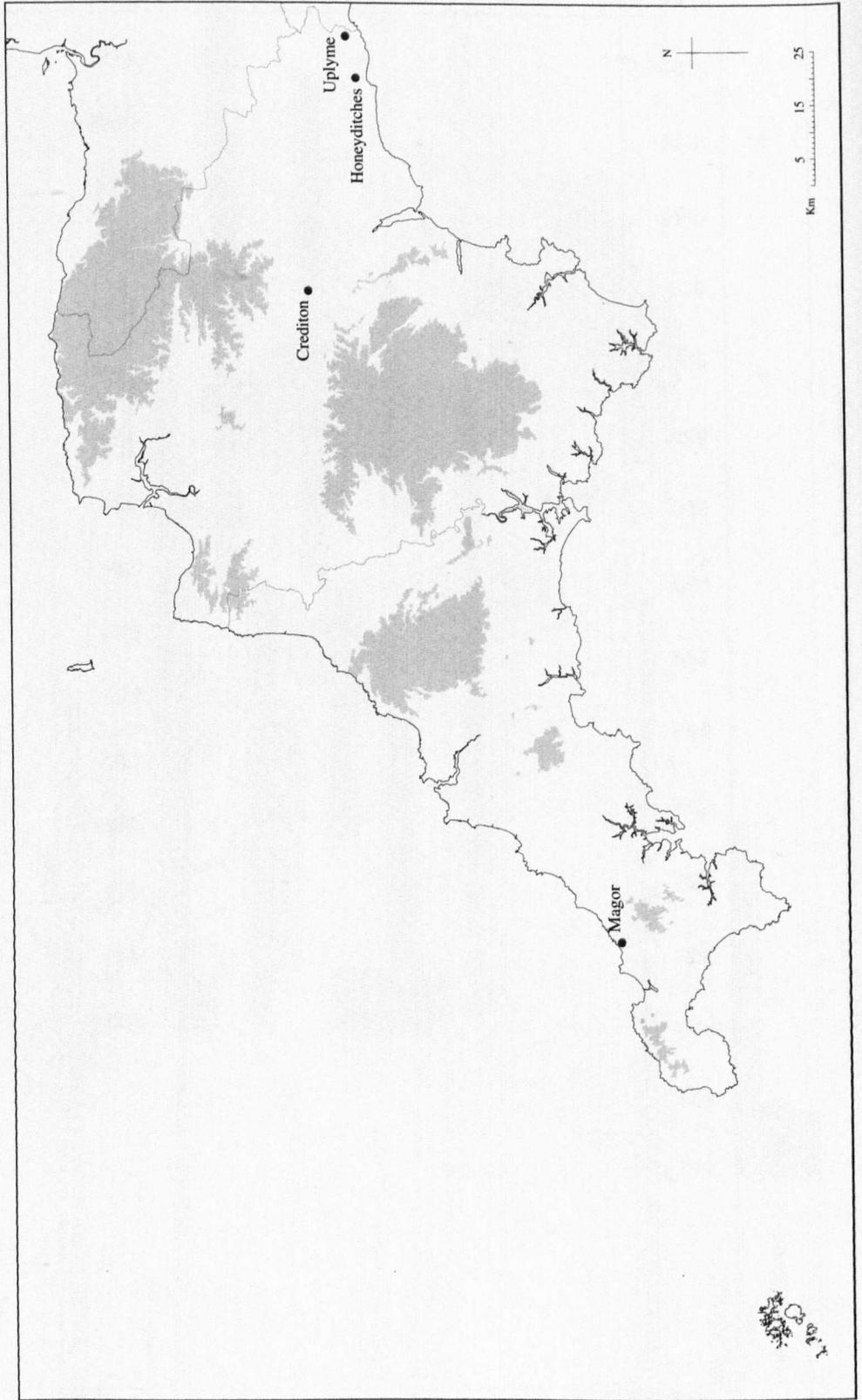


Figure 18 - Late Roman villas

## ***Villas***

This category includes only those sites where the typical winged-corridor villa was discovered, together with the associated material culture normally found at these settlements. Villa sites in the South West tend to be fewer in number than further east, with five in total from Devon and one in Cornwall. Figure 18 shows their distribution of a single site at Magor in Cornwall several kilometres from the coast and three in eastern Devon at Crediton, Holcombe (Uplyme) and Honeyditches. These last two sites are the only known Devon villas to have positive evidence for occupation in the Late Roman period, however the high incidence of continuity at these sites is important, for continuity of settlement in general and Roman traditions in particular. Figure 19 shows that this occupation only persisted into the post-Roman era at Holcombe (Uplyme), with activity to the mid-fifth century in the form of Late Roman ceramics.

## ***Romano-British farmsteads***

This category consists of farmsteads first formed and occupied in the Romano-British period but with continued occupation into the early medieval period. They have been studied separately from the early medieval farmsteads in order to assess the extent of continuity of occupation and therefore they contribute to the study of general patterns of continuity across the post-Roman landscape. There may also be some overlap between these sites and other settlement classifications, as this site type is functional rather than form. The classification of 'farmstead' is a loose term and could encompass various morphological types including all other rural settlement types, but has been used here to refer to those sites whose function has been termed as such by their excavator, regardless of morphological characteristics. They appear in most cases to have been single or multiple dwellings with associated field systems and material culture. Figure 20 shows occupation sequences for these five sites with continuity or resumption of activity at only two, East Porth and Nor'Nour. All of these sites are located on the coast of southern and western Cornwall (Figure 21) although there are many undated sites with this function which might show a different distribution, and may relate more to bias in excavation than actual patterning.

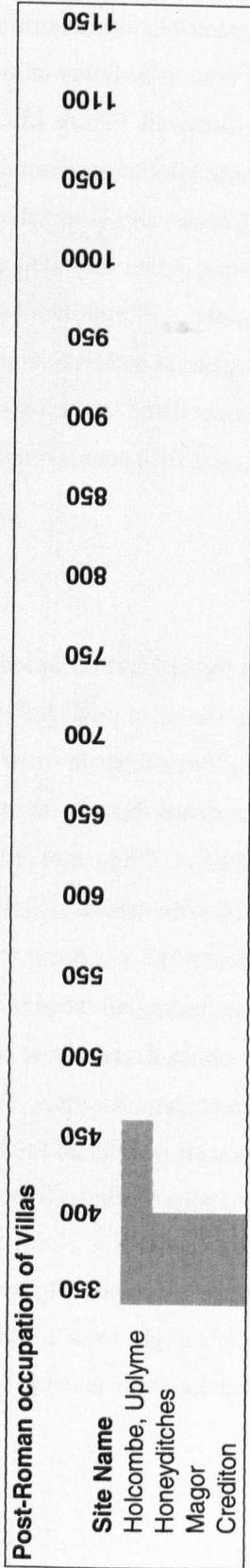


Figure 19 - Occupation/activity sequence at Late Roman villa sites

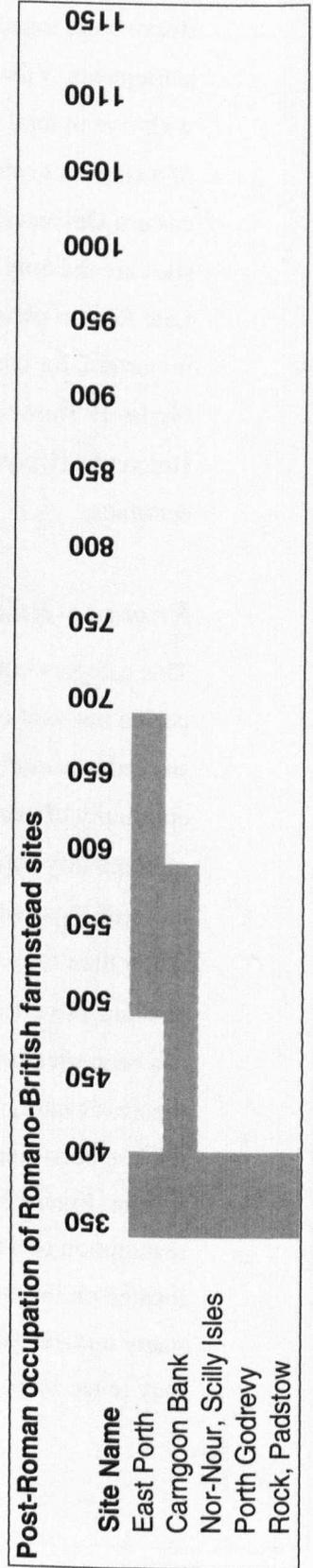
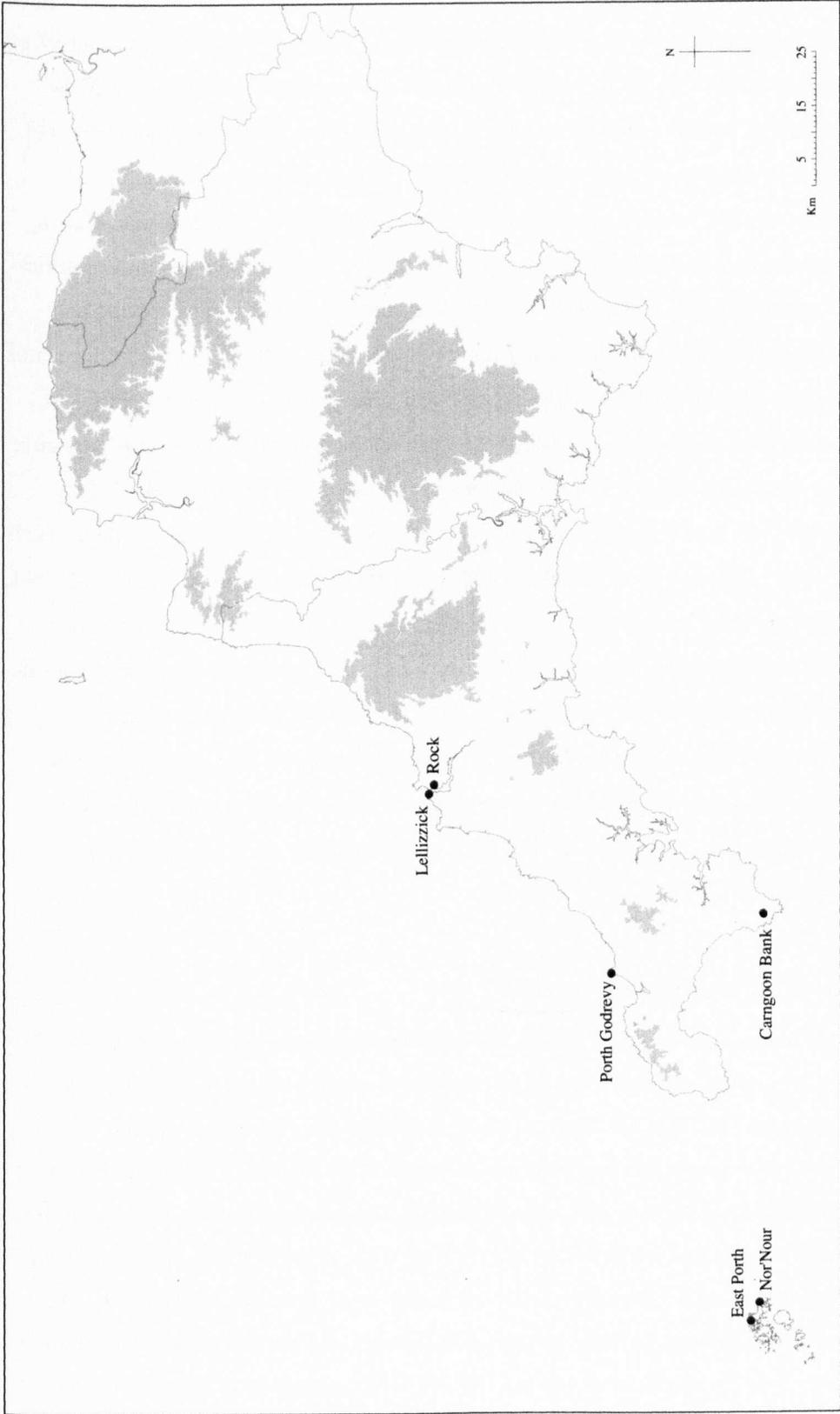


Figure 20 - Occupation/activity sequence at Late Roman farmstead sites



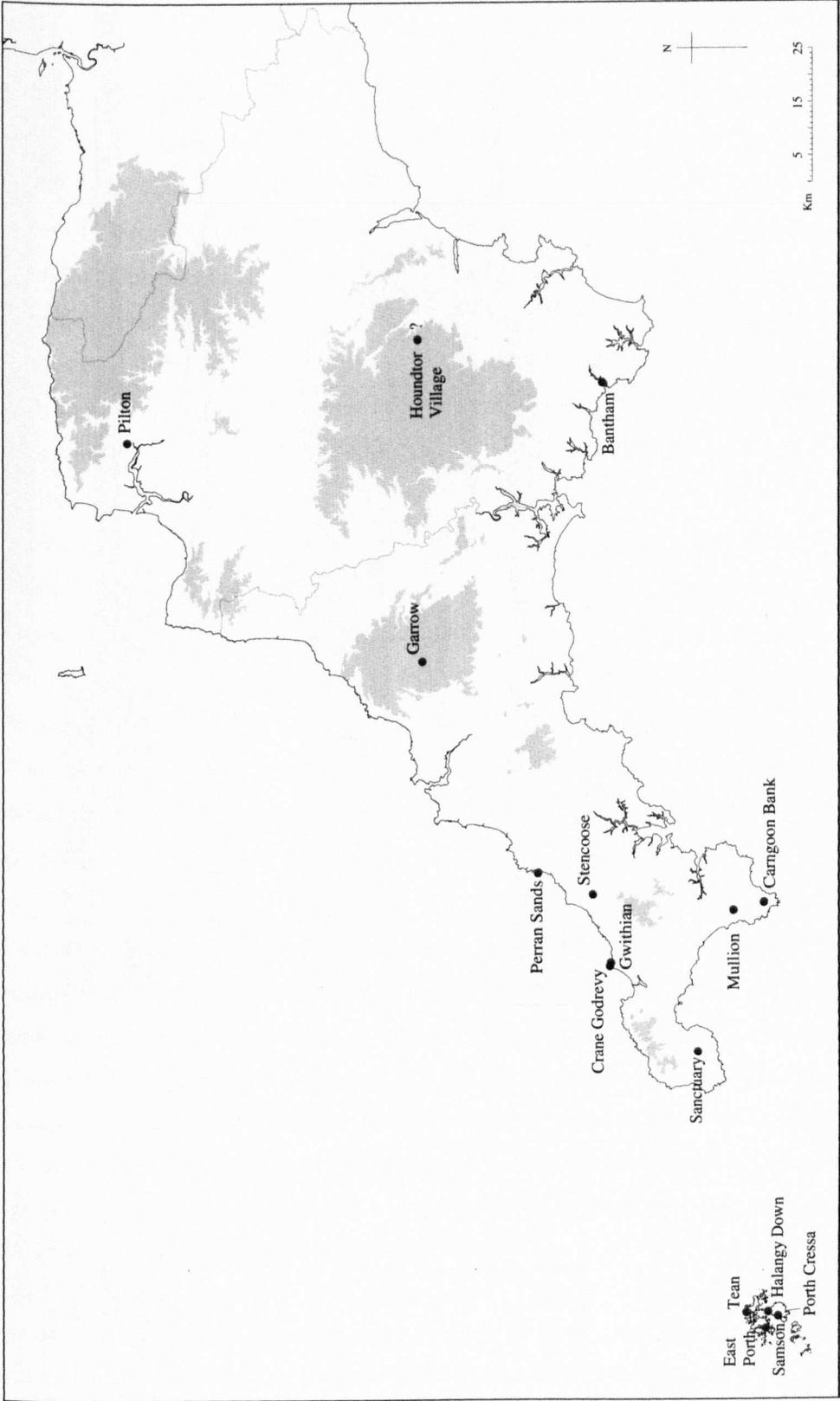
**Figure 21 - Late Roman farmsteads (excavated)**

### **4.2.3 Early medieval settlement origins**

This section presents the distributional analysis for settlement forms which developed or were introduced in the post-Roman period. Early medieval morphologies consist of indigenous forms such as the insular longhouse and transhumance huts, as well as Anglo-Saxon 'burhs' and Norman castles. Anglo-Saxon and Norman manors are not included, as the sites themselves have not been located and are known only by historical records, where named sites could indicate insular as well as Anglo-Saxon settlements. Settlement forms appear to have changed in the fifth to seventh centuries AD (Preston-Jones & Rose 1986, 135), with occupation of the rounds ceasing and unenclosed farmsteads and hamlets, probably in the form of the insular longhouse and rectangular structures such as at Mawgan Porth, emerging as the common forms of settlement type. A possible descendant of these rectangular buildings is the longhouse village, excavated and investigated variously by Dudley and Minter (1962-3, 281), Beresford (1971, 55-73) and Beacham (1985, 23-30). Deserted medieval villages such as Houndtor (Henderson & Weddell 1994, 119-125) and Old Lanyon (Beresford 1994, 130-160) have not been included in this study, as there is little evidence for their occupation prior to the thirteenth century; however, their development is important in the changing nature of early medieval settlement patterns. Three sites, Houndtor, Hutholes and Dinna Clerks on Dartmoor, were small hamlets consisting of several buildings, with superimposition of several phases of construction, possibly of stake and turf-walling, which probably date back to the eighth or ninth centuries AD (Beresford 1988, 175).

#### ***Early medieval farmsteads***

As with Romano-British farmsteads, this is a functional term which incorporates a range of morphologies including those assessed elsewhere such as longhouses and transhumance huts, and has been used here to refer to sites identified by their excavator as having a farming function above all other. Figure 22 shows their distribution across Devon and Cornwall, both inland and on the coast. Farmstead sites appear to have mixed levels of continuity (Figure 23) with some like Halangy Down showing persisting habitation from the late fourth to ninth centuries and Porth Cressa from the sixth to early twelfth centuries. Sites such as Clifton were occupied for a few centuries, and Crane Godrevy shows evidence for reoccupation in the tenth century after five centuries of abandonment.



**Figure 22 - Early medieval farmsteads (excavated)**

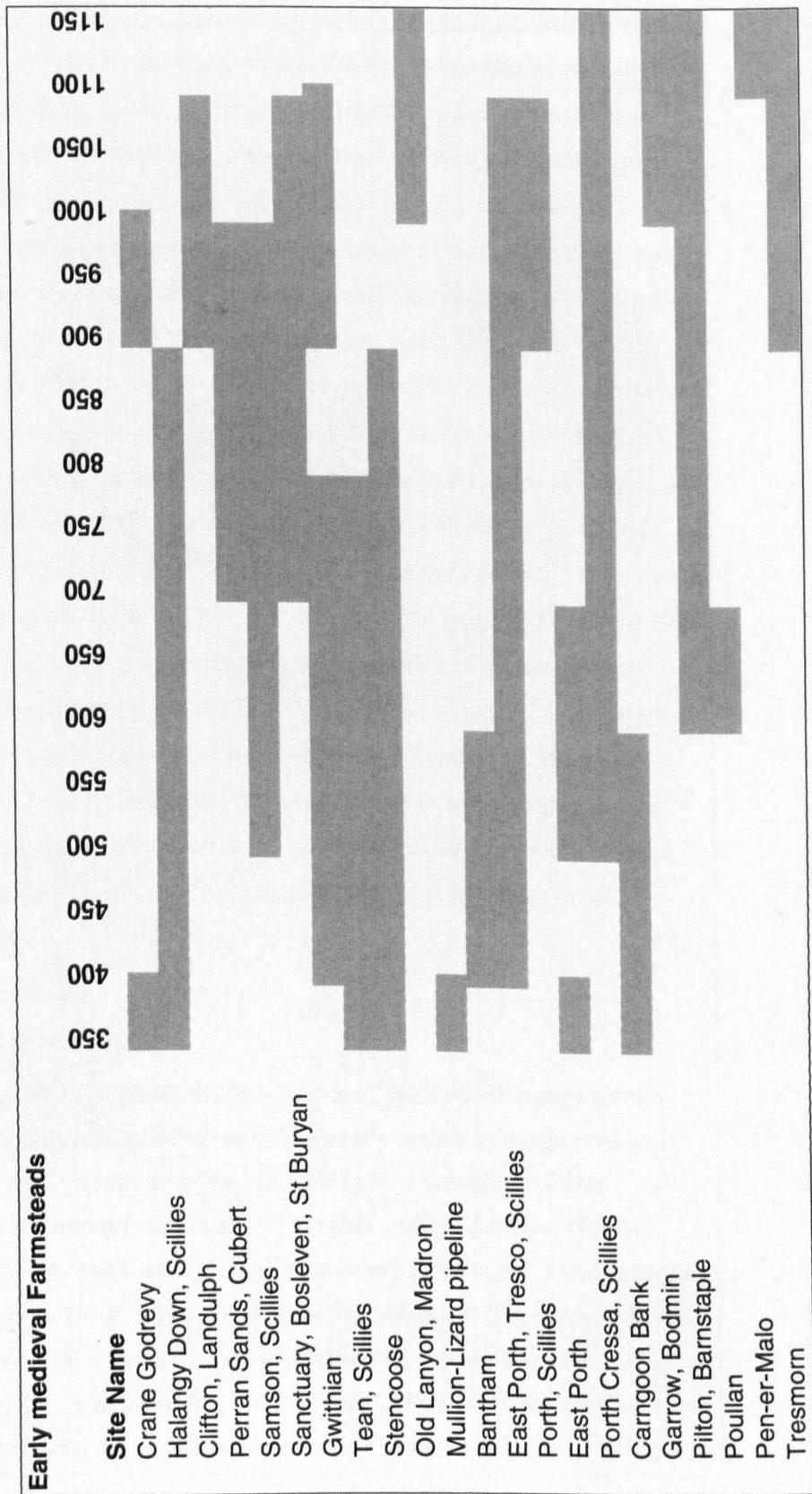


Figure 23 - Occupation/activity sequence at early medieval farmsteads (excavated)

### *Early medieval fortified central places*

There is linguistic evidence for the location of these Anglo-Saxon-named settlements across the study region, with the name ‘burh’ having roots in the verb ‘to protect’ or ‘shelter’, whilst the nature of these sites may have varied to be used in connection with hillforts as well as early monasteries and minster churches (Draper 2008, 240-242), rather than the planned ‘town’ that the name was previously thought to denote and perhaps seen at sites such as Totnes and Exeter. The name is used here to indicate a series of sites where there appears to have been the construction of an Anglo-Saxon-period settlement, which might not necessarily be termed a ‘town’ but which had some administrative or economic role in the region. These include the fortified proto-urban centres established during the reign of Alfred and his son Edward in the late ninth and early tenth centuries; however there is little evidence for their predecessor in the *wics* – unenclosed coastal trading settlements – which were often twinned with enclosed royal and ecclesiastical settlements nearby (*ibid.*, 245). An example of the latter may have been Bantham, which was included in several lists of *emporia* of the south coast (Hodges 1989, 67); however it is excluded here due to the lack of a similar morphology and associated assemblages to those of eastern England, despite the probability of it having a similar basic function. Other sites such as Gwithian also fit the description and role of a market site and could therefore be considered a contemporary trading site to these *emporia*, even if they lacked the place-name evidence and Anglo-Saxon material culture, and traded in a different exchange network.

Despite the inclusion of only Exeter, Lydford, Barnstaple and Totnes in post-Conquest historical records, it is probable that these sites were not the only ‘urban’ or proto-urban centres in the county (Haslam 1984, 249-251). Haslam suggests that Plympton, Kingsbridge and perhaps Kingsteignton, alongside Barnstaple and Totnes, may have been the new ‘burhs’ of Edward the Elder, founded as fortresses and “urban places” (*ibid.*) or administrative centres and market-sites, whilst Preston-Jones & Rose suggest that five markets might have existed at the time of the Norman conquest, at Launceston, Liskeard, Bodmin, St Germans and Marazion, all dating broadly to the tenth and eleventh centuries (1986, 164). There is a lack of conclusive archaeological evidence for these sites; however they have been included as potential early central places and as *comparanda* against the known burhs and markets. Figure 24 shows a concentration of specifically Anglo-Saxon sites solely in Devon and predominantly in

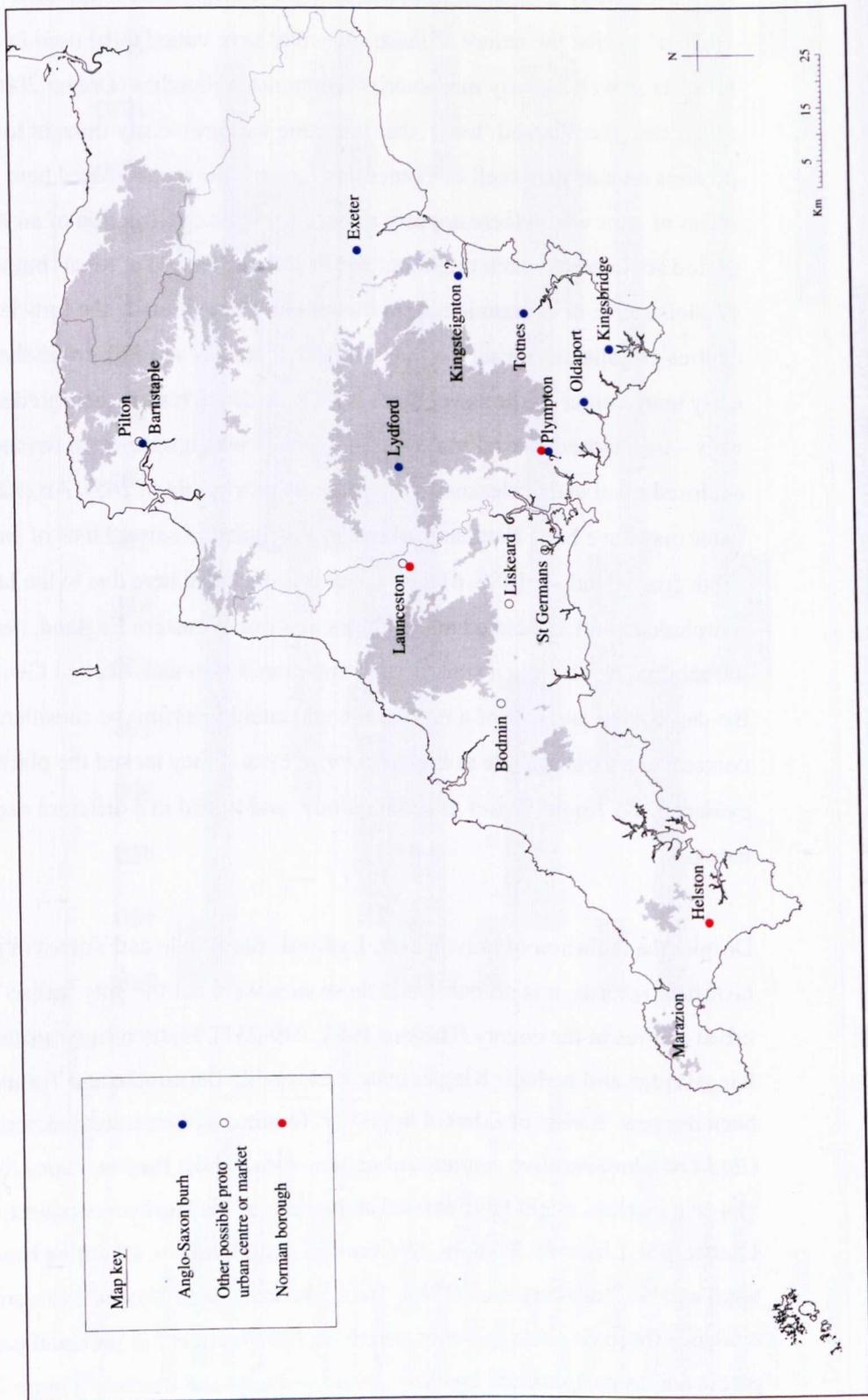


Figure 24 – Fortified central places and possible proto-urban sites

a coastal location at the head of estuaries, apart from Lydford, which has shown evidence for its use in administering the extraction of tin from Dartmoor and may have been created specifically for that role (Allan 2002, 9-32). Lydford is also the only site located on the uplands, which again may have been due to administering mineral extraction. The coastal concentration is striking and could imply the use of maritime communication in the development of these places, or alternatively as Pearce discusses, could have been due to a deliberate act to secure and defend what she considers to have been a potentially important stretch of coastline (1978, 118). The series of possible proto-urban or market sites identified by Preston Jones & Rose show an inland trend, apart from those at Marazion and Gwithian. This could suggest an increase in the concentration of economic and other activity away from the coast and at sites such as Launceston, represented in Figure 24 as a Norman borough, that had Late Saxon activity in the form of the religious settlement at Lanstefanton and appears to have been a major centre for the control of the region in the ninth to twelfth centuries (Saunders 2006, 27-31). Bodmin and Launceston may have been located along the spine of the peninsula in order to take advantage of overland traffic from outside the region to the east. The distribution also shows a clear lack of sites along the Cornish coast, north of Gwithian.

Figure 25 shows what is known of the occupation sequence for these sites and also demonstrates the archaeological evidence for their occupation prior to the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon fortified central places. Only Exeter, Lanstefanton and Lydford show evidence for this previous activity, whilst Tavistock, a possible proto-urban site, would have formed around the tenth-century monastery (Haslam 1984, 250). Many of the sites appear to have been new foundations in the ninth or tenth centuries, with no evidence for former occupation or activity but with settlement continuity which might suggest a greater degree of insular interaction and involvement in their creation. Five further sites appear to have been founded at an earlier date in the ninth century, at Barnstaple, Exeter, Lydford, Plympton and Totnes.

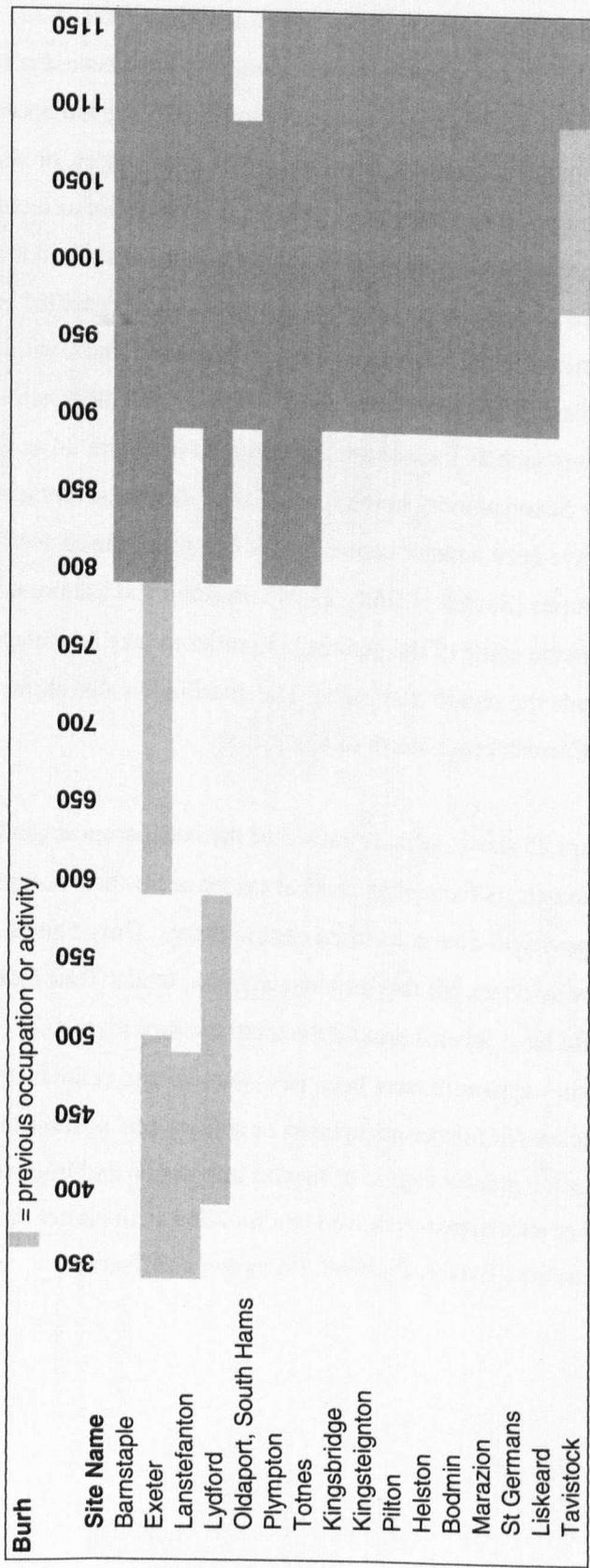


Figure 25 - Occupation/activity sequence at fortified central places and possible proto-urban sites

## *Transhumance huts*

Transhumance has been described by Herring as the seasonal migration of people with their livestock and an integral part of the agricultural economy of many parts of upland Britain, which was still in living memory in parts of Ireland where the young women would travel to the uplands to graze livestock (1996, 35). It is summarised in Pearce's diagram (Figure 26) where these uplands were only used for the warmer part of the year (Pearce 2004, Figure 28, 76). Their form appears to have had no fixed shape, whilst possible examples such as Brockabarrow are semi-circular, with a single entrance (Johnson & Rose 1994, Figure 53, 82). These summer dwellings may have involved the movement of only a few members of each settlement and their animals, rather than the entire community, as it would have created less of an upheaval and population movement, as well as ensuring the security of the primary settlements.

There is place-name evidence in the form of *havos*, meaning summer dwelling, and *hendre*, meaning winter or home settlement (Figure 27) and these names normally survive only when the temporary settlements have become permanent, perhaps in the form of home farms and seen in the archaeology at the sites of Hammett in Quethiock and Hamatethy where they had become the centres of estates and were permanently occupied by AD 1066 (Herring 1996, 35-39). A cluster of these names appear on Bodmin Moor, where evidence suggests that they were equally distributed amongst the hundreds (Pearce 2004, 52; Figure 21, 53). At Brown Willy, the next detectable stage after transhumance appeared to have involved laying out the core of the main strip-field system, although this development may not have been instantaneous and the success of these sites may have depended on their association with a pre-existing transhumance hut (Herring 2006, 78-79). These sites have been studied in order to assess landscape use of the uplands and determine how different landscape features and morphologies affected the development of habitation and settlement patterns, as well as the development of the settlement morphologies themselves.

Figure 28 shows the sites used in this analysis, most of which are postulated as few have been excavated to show a date range. Their distribution is only in Cornwall and predominantly on Bodmin, however bias in investigation and a discrepancy in the study of this site form, limited to these sites, may have caused this particular patterning, whilst the forthcoming volume by Harold Fox (2011) sheds light on similar sites across Devon. There is also a lack of surviving *havos* and *hendre* place names, although the manorial ownership by the settlements of Paignton, Kenton and

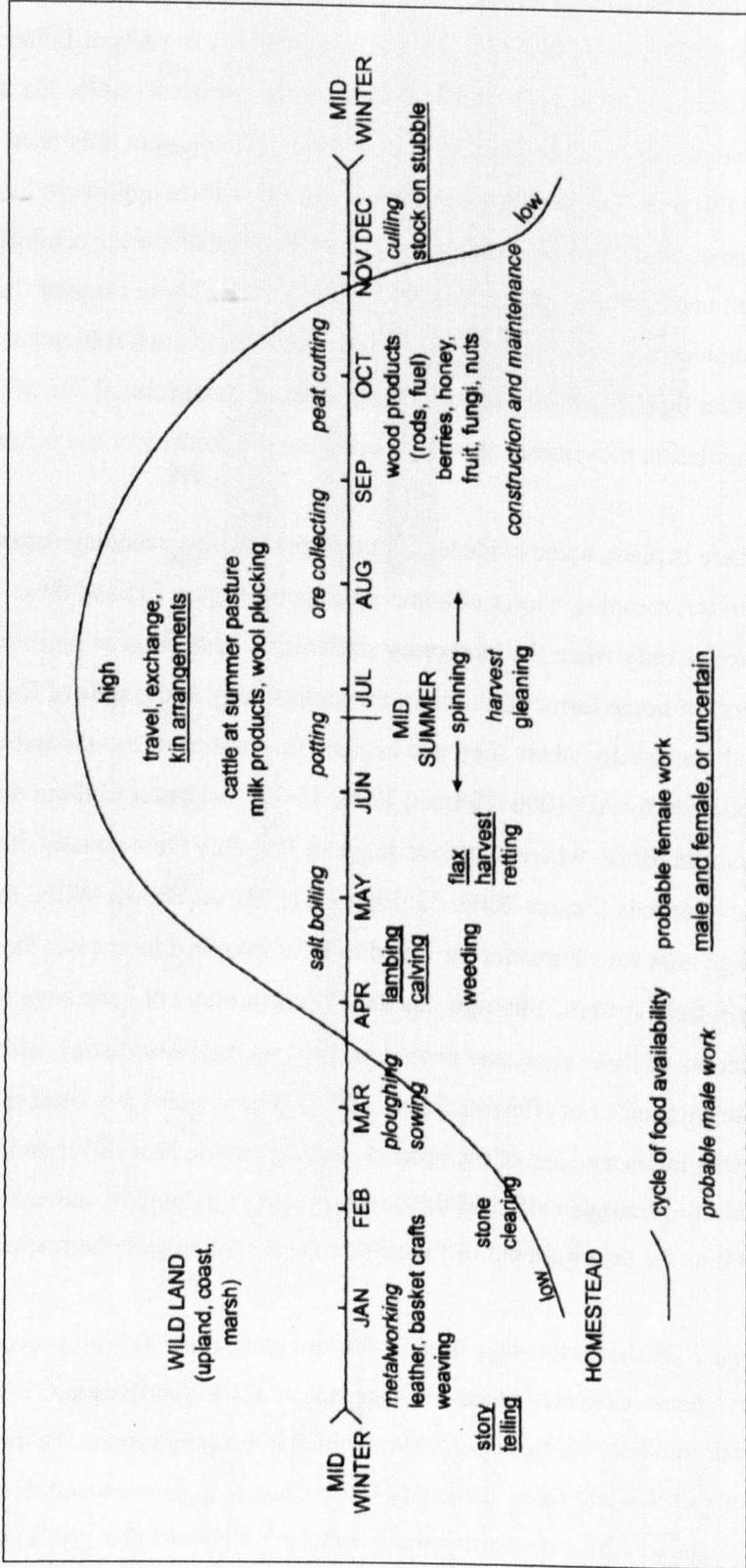


Figure 26 - Representation of 'the farming year' and transhumance processes (Pearce 2004, Figure 28, 76)



Figure 27 - Evidence for place names indicative of transhumance sites (Herring 1996, Figure 3.1, 36)

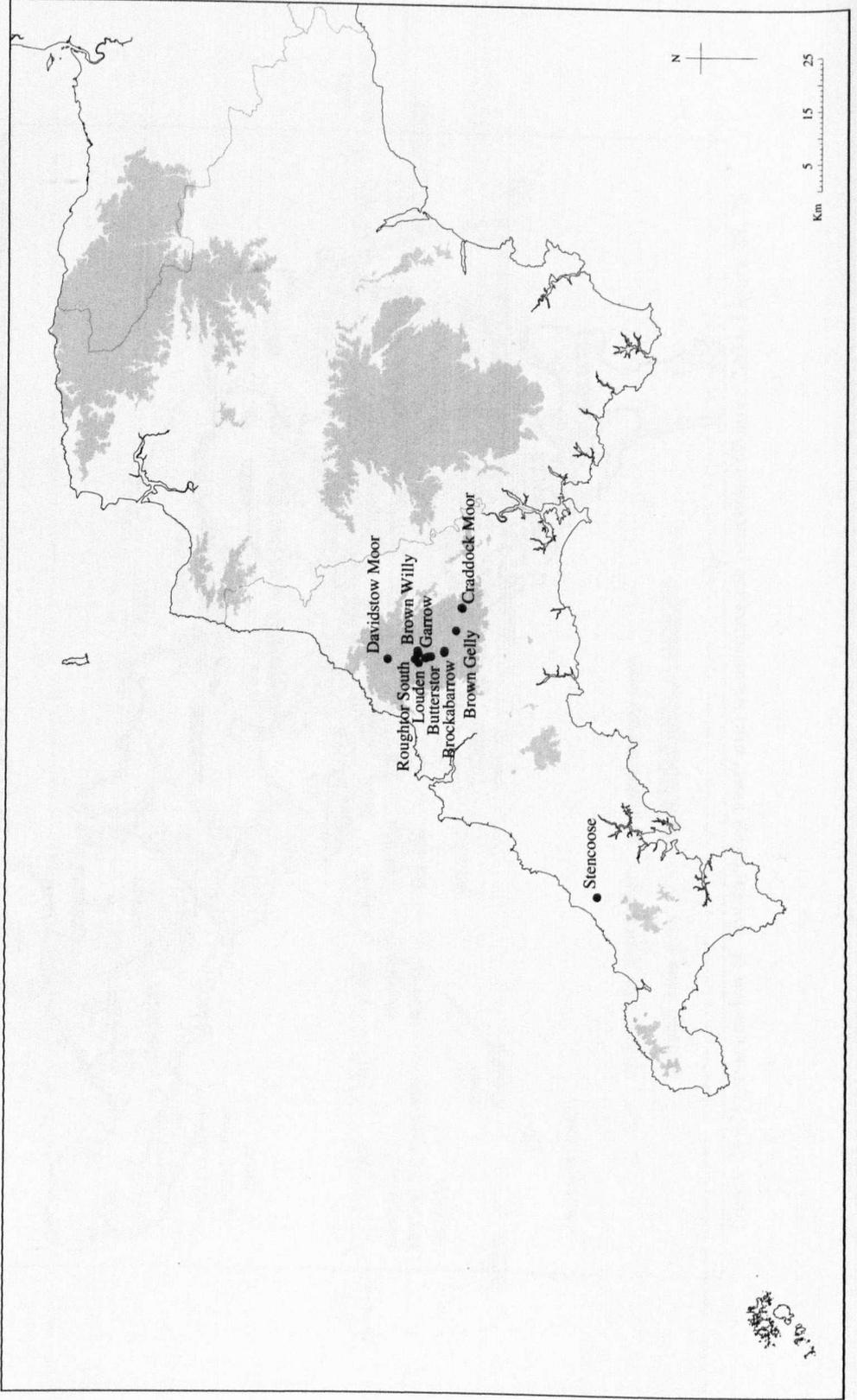


Figure 28 - Transhumance huts

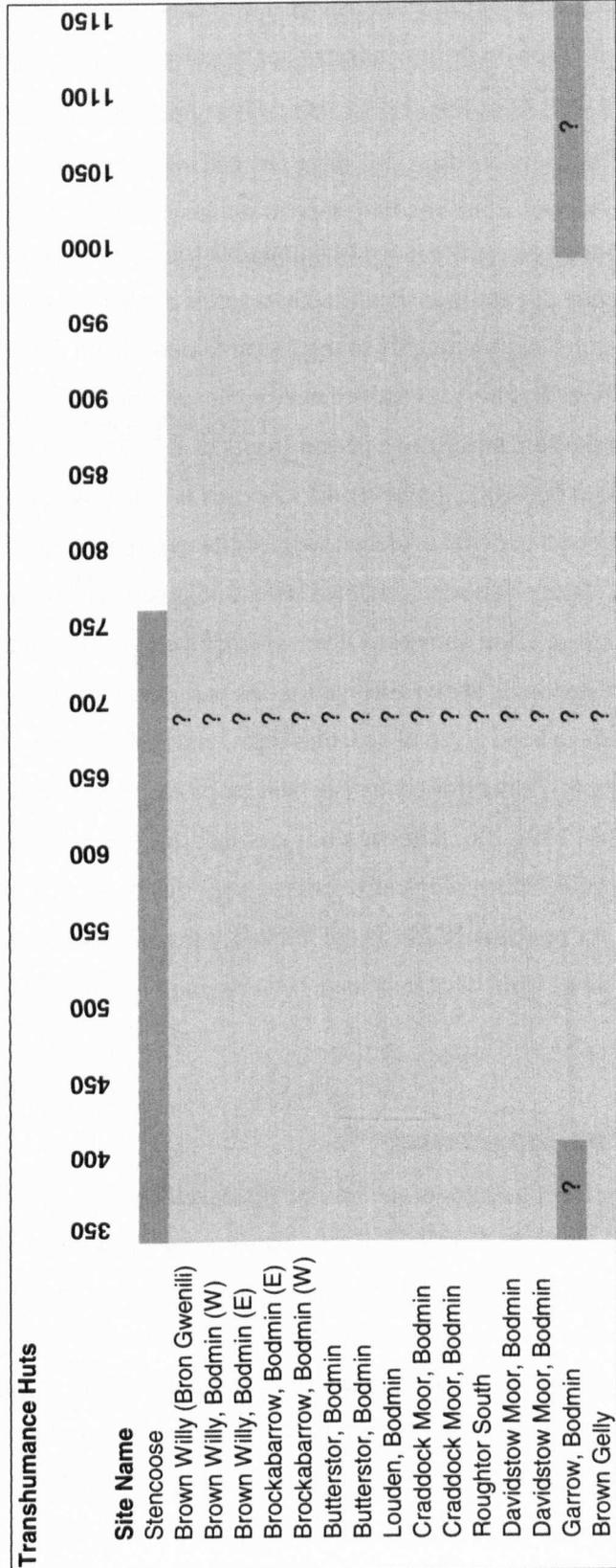


Figure 29 - Occupation/activity sequence at transhumance sites

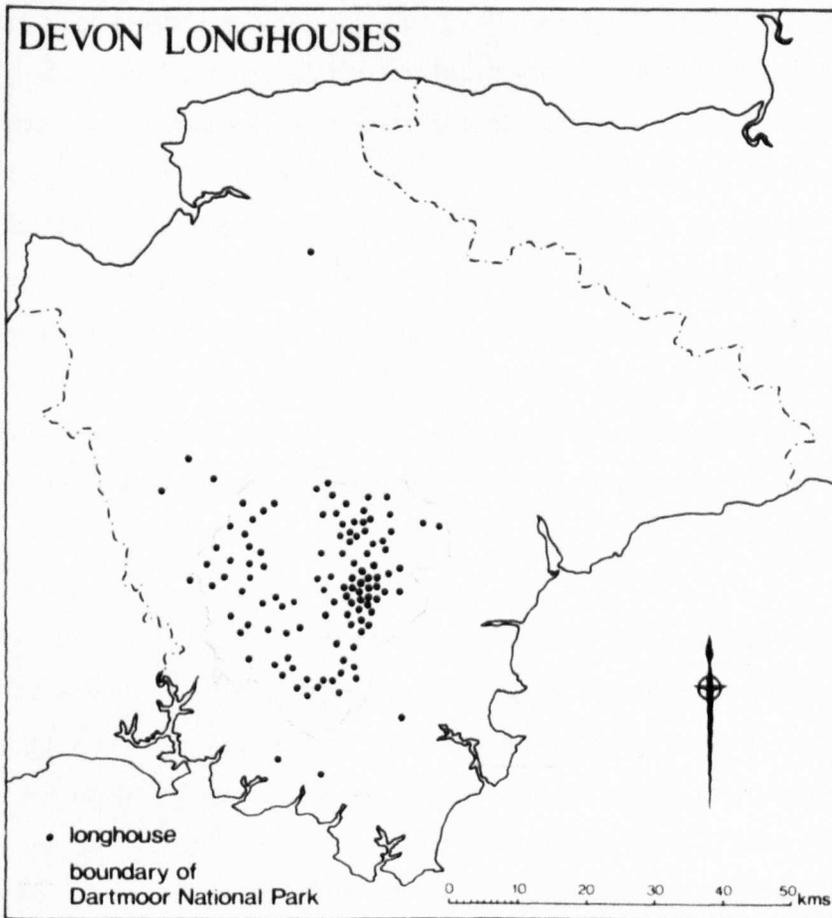
Cockington of sites on Dartmoor, is suggestive of some form of transhumance (Pearce 2004, 54-56). Transhumance on Exmoor is documented in “later times” (Higham 2008, 223) and it is likely therefore that sites also existed here. Their distribution shows a concentration on the uplands, but specifically in the centre of these uplands, suggesting that they were making full use of areas which are deserted of settlement in the modern era.

The outlying site at Stencoose is the only possible transhumance settlement to have a date range (Figure 29) and was identified as a series of terraces with “an unusual medieval structure” dating roughly to the fourth to mid-eighth centuries, possibly associated with pit features, seventh-century enclosures and field systems dating to prehistory and the Romano-British period (Jones et al 2001, 50-91). This hut was abandoned c. AD 600-1000, however the evidence is indicative of transhumance as its size and lack of occupational evidence suggests its use as an animal shelter or temporary hut (*ibid.*). The site is situated several kilometres from the coast and near the brow of a hill at 130m above sea level which, albeit lower than the designated uplands for the region, is above average for this part of southern Cornwall. None of the other sites have been given occupation dates, although Garrow might be Romano-British or eleventh- or twelfth-century in date based on morphological characteristics (Johnson & Rose 1994, 83). Although it is possible that the material culture at these sites did not survive archaeologically, this suggests that these sites were occupied transiently, or for periods of time where it was not feasible to transport large amounts of belongings away from what may have been the more permanent forms of settlement.

### ***South western longhouses***

This settlement form consists of the insular site development outlined by Beacham, and although it has been described as the ‘insular south western longhouse’ (1985, 23), no supporting evidence has been given for this statement to prove that it did not owe at least part of its development to Anglo-Saxon or Romano-British construction traditions, although the latter is unlikely given the continuation of the semi-circular building traditions seen throughout the Romano-British period. Beacham discusses the fifteenth- to eighteenth-century settlement form and its distribution in upland regions (Figure 30), with similarities to thirteenth-century structures such as Houndtor (Beacham 2001, 52-53). This map shows the distribution of extant longhouses on Dartmoor and how they are located in particular on this upland zone, with their

persistence perhaps a result of the specific nature of the agricultural economy in these areas (*ibid.*, 53). The sites that are of interest here date to the ninth century onwards, although there may be predecessors to their development with earlier occupation sequences. Later forms have been studied by Austin & Walker (1985, 147-152) and Herring (1986), with most appearing to be stone-built and dating to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries (Preston-Jones & Rose 1986, 147). However, some may date to the twelfth century and have even earlier origins, perhaps in the form of stake and (possibly) turf-built construction excavated under the stone structures at Tresmorn (Beresford 1971, 55-73).



**Figure 30 - Distribution of extant longhouses in Devon (Beacham 1985, Figure 14, 24)**

The Dartmoor longhouse type has been recognised as a type of structure particular to the moorland regions, whilst sharing features with the standard Devon three-room cross-passaged farmhouse, such as at sixteenth-century Sanders, Lettaford (Beacham 1985, 23). The development of these longhouses through the twelfth to fourteenth centuries may reflect the evolution of their primary characteristics and features such as central entrances, byres and placement of the hearths (Preston-Jones & Rose 1986,

147). Similar features are also seen in the eighth- to eleventh-century rectangular courtyard structures at Mawgan Porth, particularly in the internal arrangements (Taylor 1997, 26) and prior to this perhaps the Site C structures at Tintagel (Barrowman 2007, 30).

Figure 31 shows the distribution of probable early medieval longhouses across Devon and Cornwall, although primary evidence for sites on Dartmoor could not be located and therefore Beacham's distribution map in Figure 31 (2001, 53), representing extant fifteenth- to eighteenth-century sites, gives an idea of possible early medieval distribution patterns. Mawgan Porth is included both here and in the courtyard settlements as it displays both morphological characteristics. On both maps the concentration of this settlement form is almost entirely on upland regions and, when compared to the distribution of the transhumance huts, appears to show a trend more towards the margins of these uplands, rather than at the very centre. This upland trend is clear, but may not always have been so, given the location of Mawgan Porth, Tresmorn and Crane Godrevy. Those sites on Bodmin and elsewhere in Cornwall might not follow the exact criteria of the 'Devon Longhouse' type advanced by Beacham (1985, 23-30), but nevertheless they represent a form of site which was new to the region, contrasting with the circular Bronze Age hut circles found on the uplands, the courtyard houses on West Penwith and the circular huts within rounds such as Trethurgy.

Tresmorn consisted of ninth- or tenth- to fourteenth-century occupation of what has been described as a shrunken village, with a series of longhouses of four structural periods, two of which are relevant to this study: the primary phase was an undated series of post-holes, gullies and hearths, with very little remaining, whilst the secondary phase, dating to before the twelfth century, consisted of a long sequence of superimposed houses constructed of stake holes and probable turf walls, with an inner face of wattle and daub (Beresford 1971, 55). This secondary house form was a longhouse with a central entrance, subdivided into a living room and a byre, and it is difficult to see how this differs from the longhouse criteria. Figure 32 shows the occupation sequences for these sites as well as comparanda in the form of a site on Guernsey, with dating for only four sites in the study region, at Tresmorn, Treworld, Crownhill Down and Crane Godrevy. These sites appear to have been occupied from the ninth century onwards and the majority in the eleventh, although the large number of sites are yet to be excavated and dated.

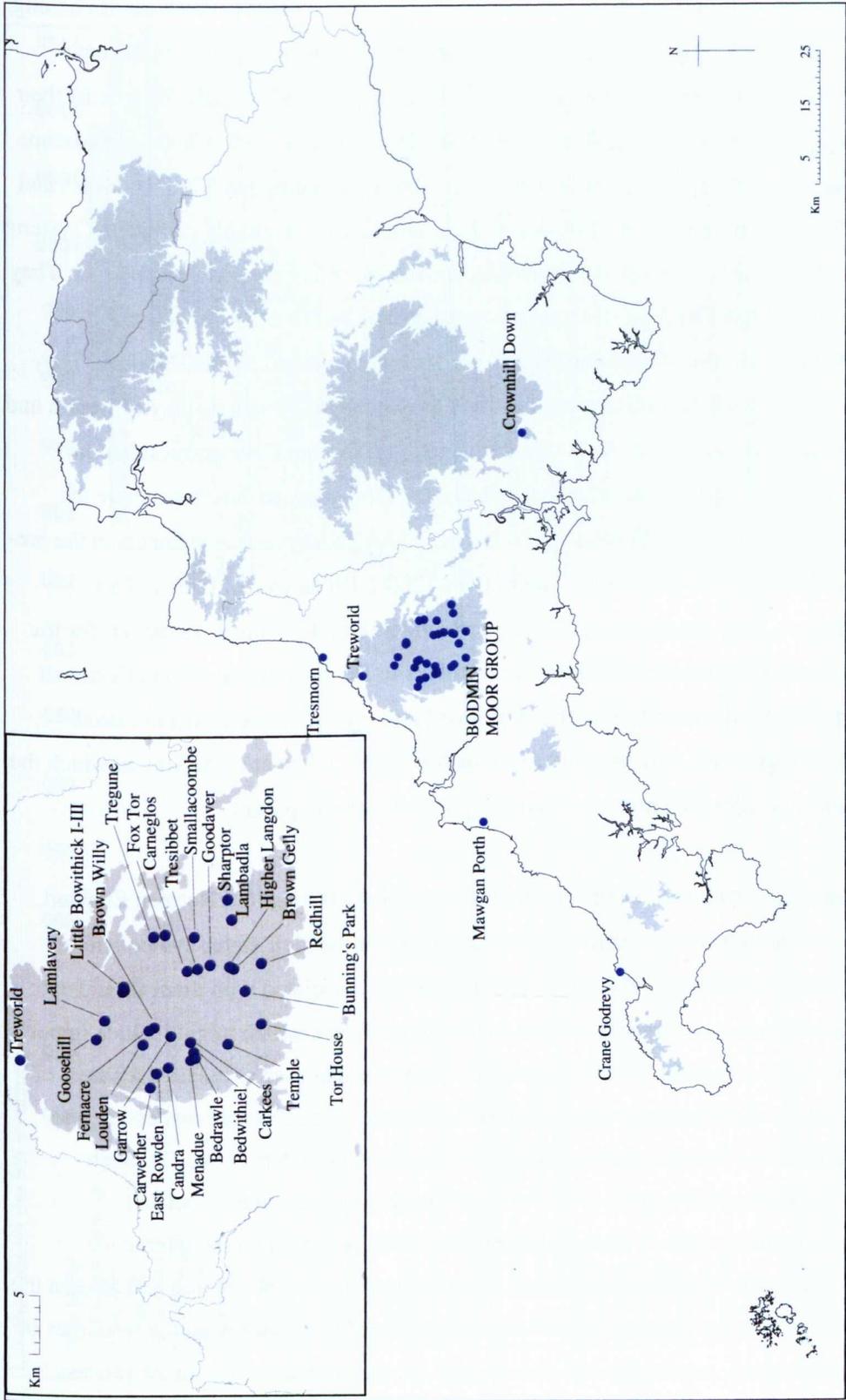


Figure 31 - Insular south-western longhouses

## *Castles*

The majority of castles in Devon and Cornwall were of earth and timber, rather than stone construction (Creighton and Freeman 2006, 108). “Most Cornish castles belong to the uncertain times of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, built by the new Norman Lords as badges of rank, symbols of dominion, and strongholds against their enemies” (Preston-Jones & Rose 1986, 169). The formation of the modern landscape was very much dependent on the early boundaries created by the Norman castles and their associated territories. Castles and their hinterlands effectively created the systems of trade, exchange, and demands and dependants normally seen in a small town. They would have redefined the structure of the landscape and therefore how it was perceived, in terms of exploitation and use for recreation and aesthetic values. They also show the way in which elite identity was expressed through display of wealth and high-status consumption. As Fernie discusses, the Norman Conquest resulted in significant changes in the urban as well as rural landscape, in the cases where the castle, large church and possible new borough brought about developments in the pre-existing settlement patterns and their layout (2000, 19) as seen at Exeter. This produces a large amount of archaeological evidence to draw upon. However, for the region of study there are few motte and baileys in Devon and only two in Cornwall (*ibid.*, 22), whilst even fewer sites developed into the full castle with associated outbuildings, itself an interesting fact which is highly relevant to the way in which the region was controlled and land ownership in the Norman period.

These sites represented centres of high-status activity throughout Norman England, whether through a basic control of the landscape, or the high-status symbolism of ownership and display. The levels of consumption associated with them should therefore produce a large amount of archaeological data, which might include imports and evidence for links with the Continent. They are also used to assess the extent of Late Saxon and Norman control over the landscape, through estate ownership and administrative functions at Launceston for example (Saunders 2006, 27). Such baronial castles here and at other sites like Okehampton and the associated archaeological evidence from them, can provide information on the interaction between castles and their hinterlands, on elite patterns of consumption and also on the ways in which the communities inhabiting these settlements drew on the resources of the countryside, potentially influencing land management practices in the process (Creighton & Freeman 2006, 104-106).

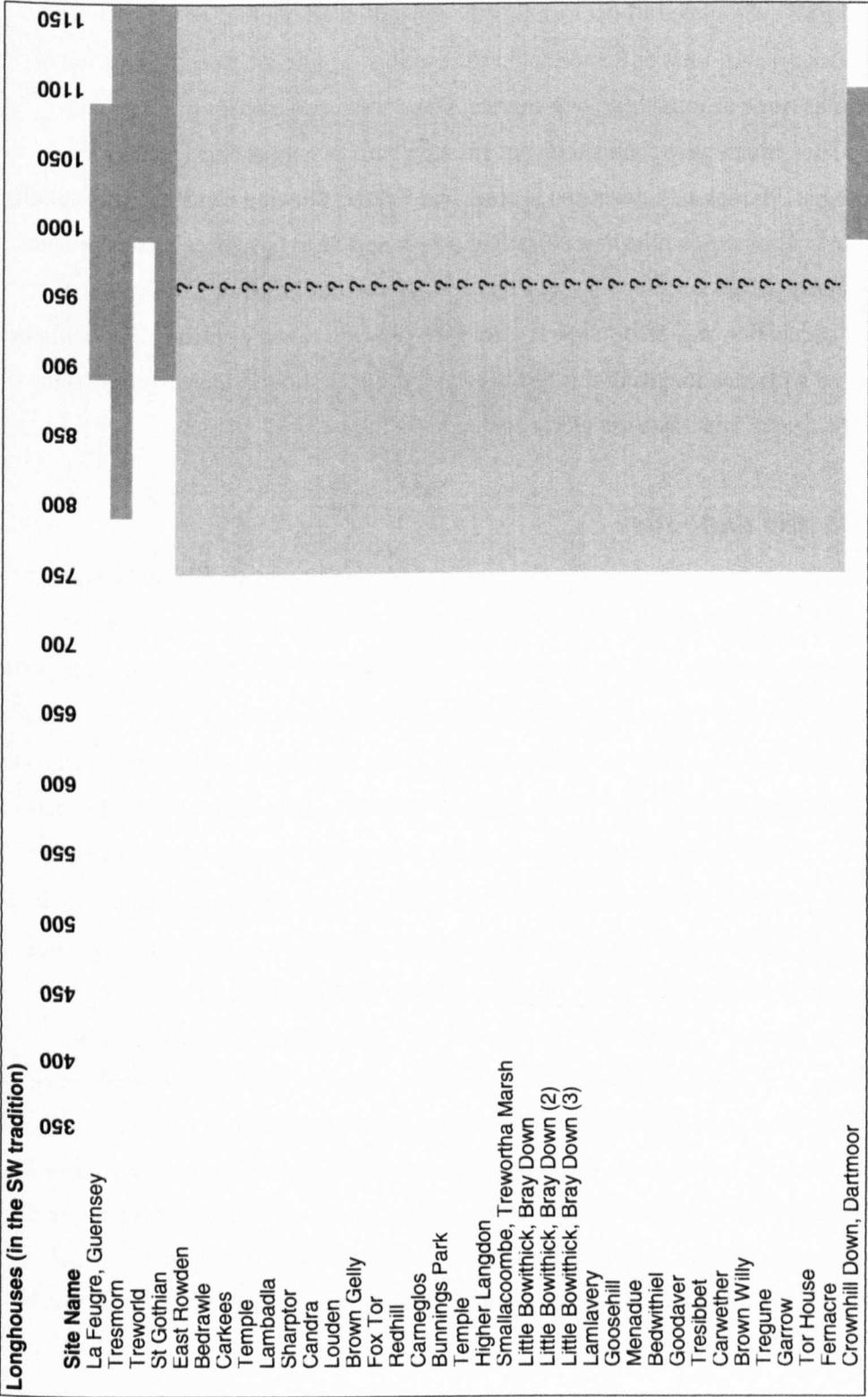


Figure 32 - Occupation/activity sequence at longhouses

The distribution in Figure 33 represents the dated sites from the region, which are fewer than the full number of postulated mottes in the South West, but which shows the general spatial patterning. It appears that they were more common in Devon, showing an even spread whilst avoiding the uplands at all but four of the sites. The lack of sites south-west of Restormel in Cornwall is significant, as is the location of eight sites on or near the head of estuaries. There were also a series of motte and bailey sites which were founded on pre-existing burh or market sites, namely Barnstaple, Plympton, Launceston, Totnes and Exeter, showing elements of continuity at these coastal sites whilst new centres of power appear to have been created inland, particularly across northern Devon. Figure 34 shows the chronology of these sites where occupation was predominantly from the eleventh century onwards, as would be expected with monuments of this type. Only seven sites show evidence for previous activity, five of which are the aforementioned burh sites.

### ***Beach and dune sites***

These sites are by nature found at the coast and play an important part in the wider settlement hierarchy, particularly in relation to exchange systems and links with overseas societies, as well as through modes of transport within the region and to parts of Wales and southern and eastern Britain. As a widespread form of site in the Atlantic zone, they have been previously discussed by Dark, who suggested that they formed a specialised site type and who names Padstow as one example (1994, 91-93; Thomas 1981, 17) which is thought to be the Rock site outlined in this research, and Griffiths, who has produced an assessment of their formation, characteristics and functions at sites along the Irish and British coastlines (2009, 265-280). All beach and dune sites have been included where it is thought that some form of settlement or activity occurred, however transitory. Their location may have been affected by cultural factors as well as the obvious coastal geomorphological features, which would have influenced the desirability of any form of settlement. These include where suitable protection from the elements could be sustained and where there was sustenance and the ability to beach seafaring crafts, although the latter would not have been a specific requirement. A further feature is the Cornish 'towans', the large sand dunes which develop along the north Cornish coastline due to the prevailing north-westerly winds and the build-up of storm deposits.

Distribution is concentrated in the Scilly Isles and along the north Cornish coast, apart from Mothecombe and Bantham in south Devon and Gunwalloe on the Lizard

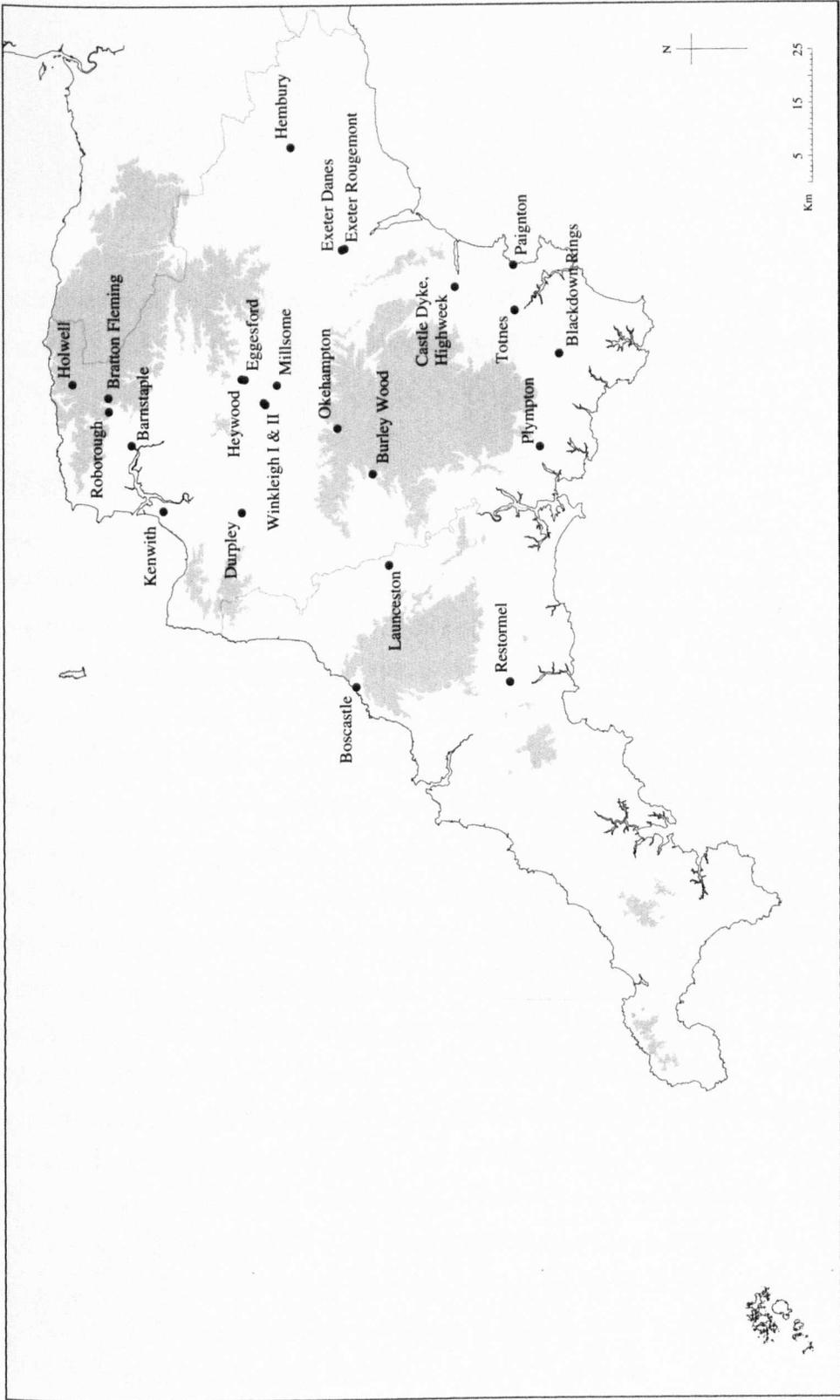


Figure 33 - Castles

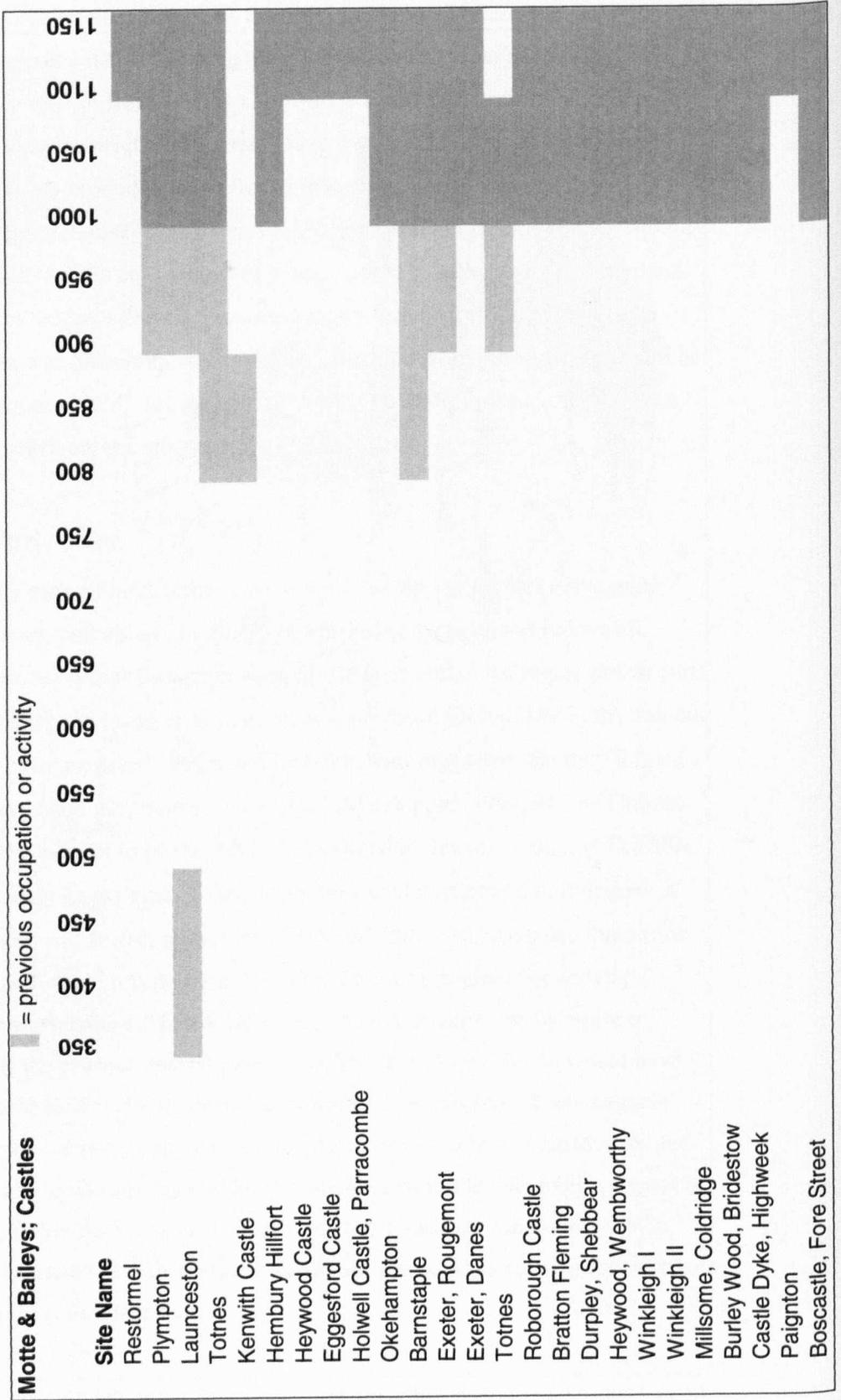


Figure 34 - Occupation/activity sequence at castle sites

peninsula (Figure 35). This western or north-western orientation may have been due to the size of the sand beaches and dunes along this coast, as mentioned above. Five of the sites – Bantham, Rock, Mothecombe, Gwithian and Phillack - are on estuaries and Kelsey Head near the Newquay estuary and on its own beach, which may also be significant, whilst the lack of sites in Devon is suggestive of factors other than a dearth of suitable sites, given the extent of coastline available. Beach and dune sites were occupied throughout the study period, as evidenced by the late Roman sites of East Porth and Duckpool in the late fourth and fifth centuries, Mawgan Porth in the eighth to eleventh centuries, Gunwalloe and Gwithian in the eleventh century and the reoccupation of Duckpool in the seventh to early twelfth centuries, whilst they were marginally more common as a settlement form in the sixth to eighth centuries (Figure 36).

### ***Shell middens***

Shell middens are a feature found at coastal and some inland sites, consisting variously of mixed midden material, limpets, or a variety of maritime-sourced materials including fish bones. Their content depends largely on the function and size of a site or settlement. Middens provide evidence for the function of coastal sites as well as their role in the wider community and the nature of the local society in general, whilst providing valuable information on social, and specifically maritime, identities. These are rare when compared to the beach and dune sites or indeed coastal sites in general, and are distributed across the region with a particular concentration in the Scilly Isles (Figure 37). The middens date variously from the late fourth to early twelfth centuries, with the longest in use being Porth Cressa on the Scilly Isles and from the sixth to tenth centuries (Figure 38). Their very nature means that not all can be dated unless material such as pottery is found within them. However, some show a specific function, such as at Braunton where its composition of molluscs suggests that it represented an important mollusc fishing site for the immediate region in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Smith 1983, 75-80). Duckpool is a Late Roman example, where evidence for third- to fourth-century dye extraction was found in the form of dog whelks (Ratcliffe et al 1995, 110), whilst at Halangy Down a limpet shell midden was found with evidence for subsistence coastal and maritime catching and gathering, supplemented by crops and livestock (Ashbee 1996, 5-201).

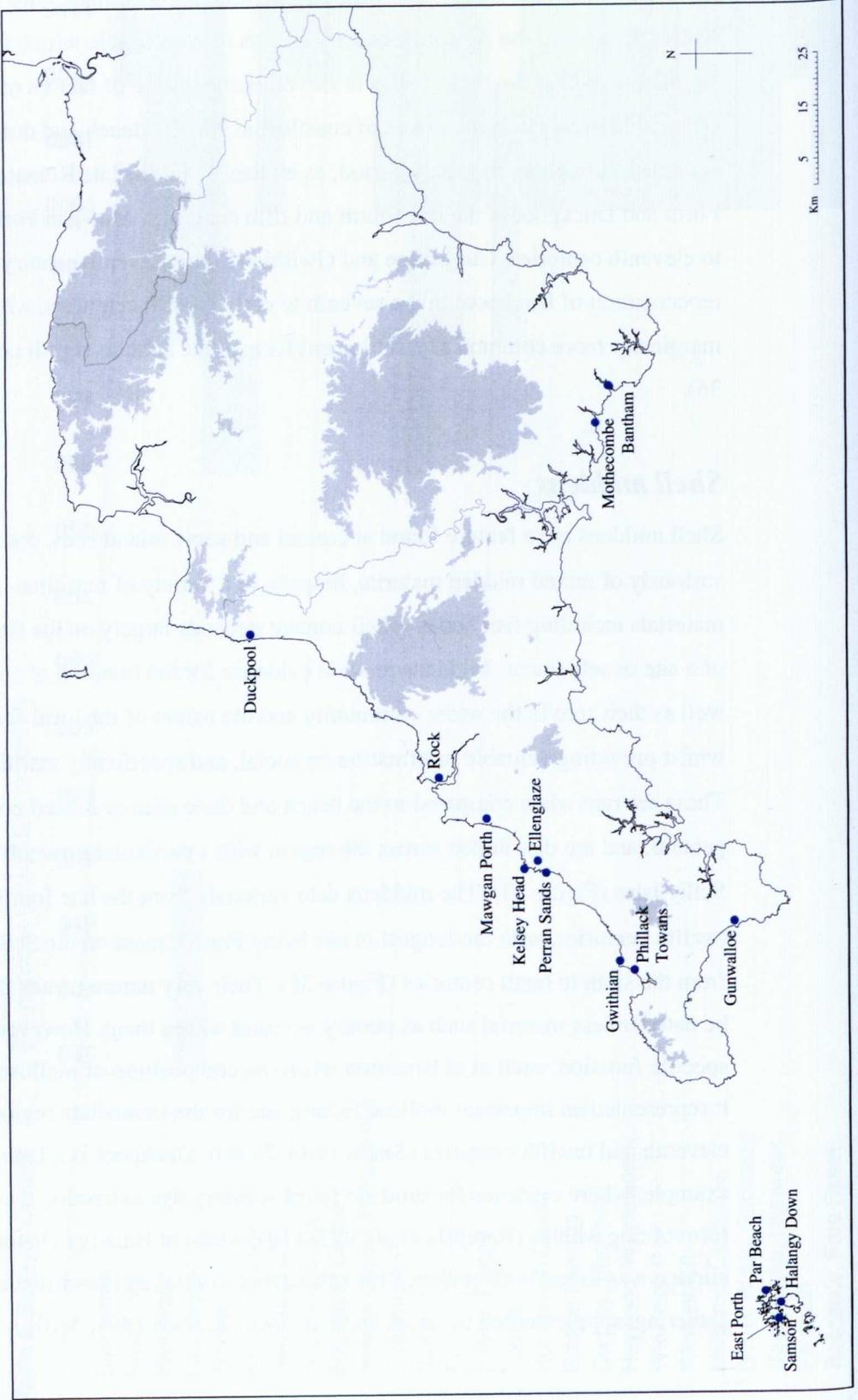


Figure 35 - Beach and dune sites

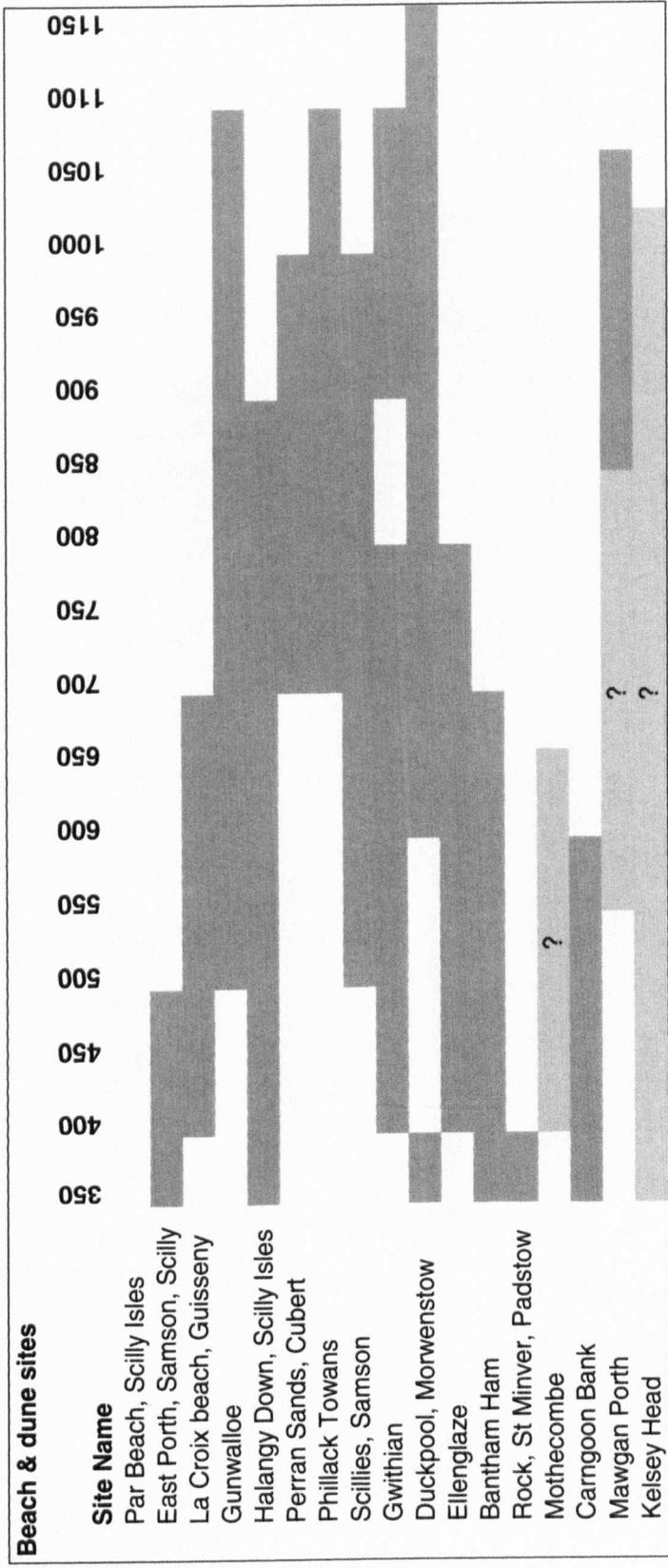


Figure 36 - Occupation/activity sequence at beach and dune sites

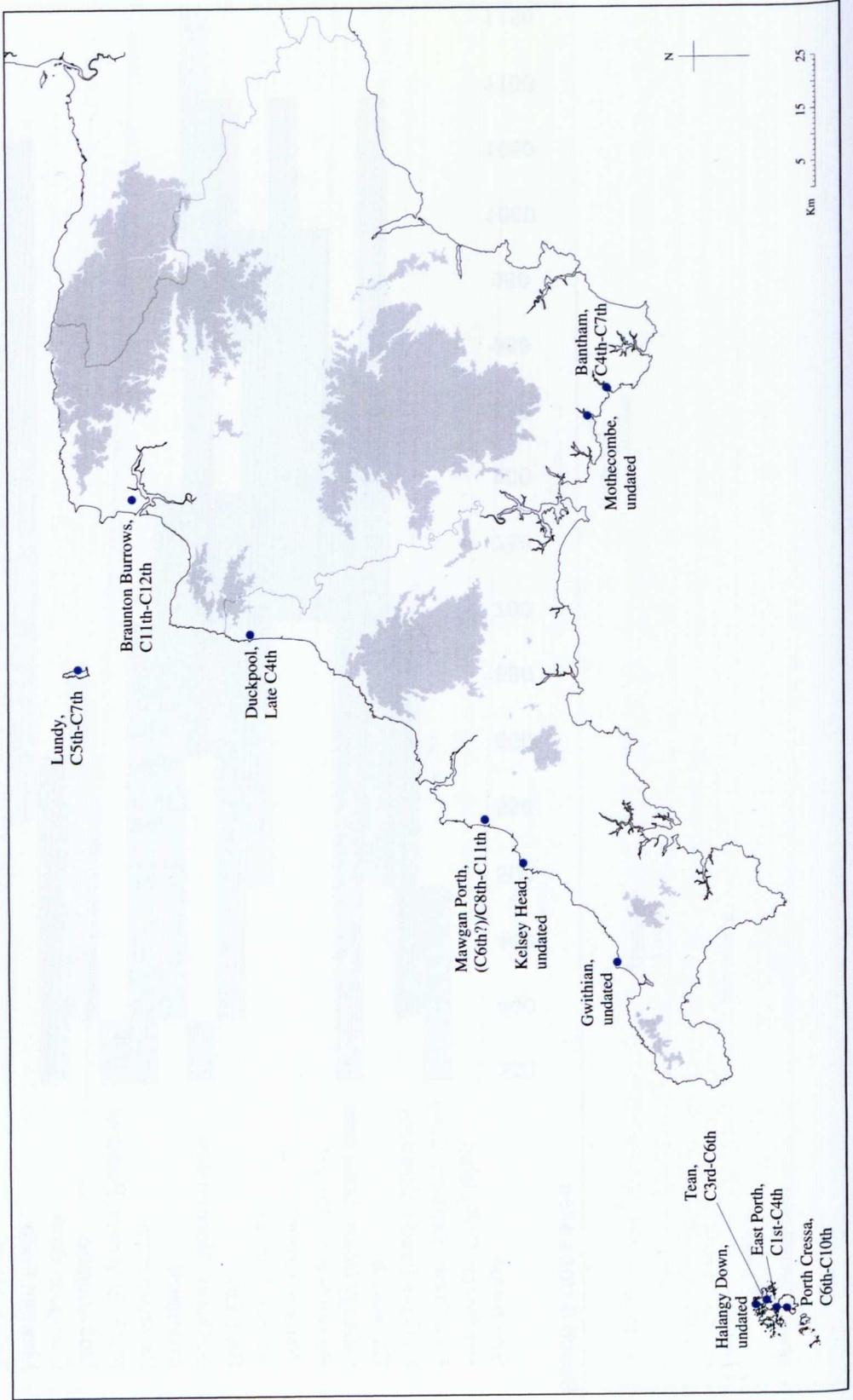


Figure 37 - Shell middens

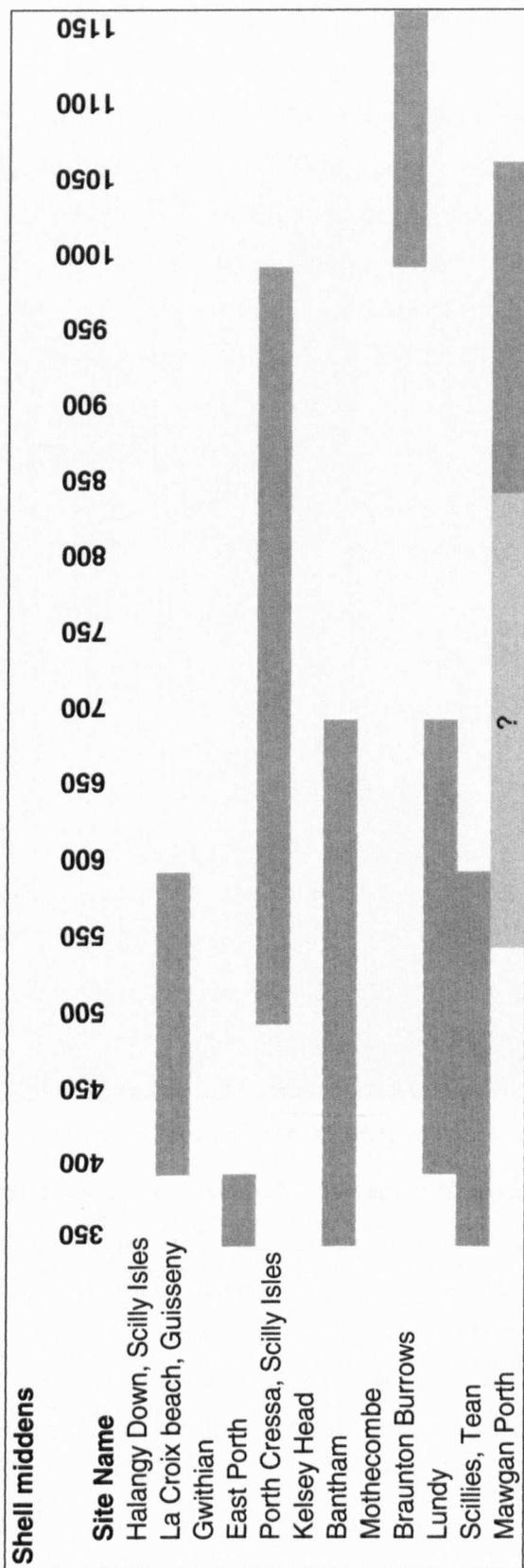


Figure 38 - Occupation/activity sequence at shell midden sites

#### **4.2.4 Early Christian features**

This section discusses the evidence for Early Christian sites in the South West and the significance of their location across different parts of the landscape, as well as features such as the cist cemeteries and inscribed stones, many of which were either pre-Christian or of a non-religious nature. The evidence includes all forms of Christian settlement where there was excavation and some form of secure dating, or where the historical account is virtually conclusive. Also included are the inscribed 'memorial' stones, crosses and stone sculpture often associated with religious sites but which might also have had secular functions. Many of the modern and therefore Norman parish churches of Cornwall, and probably Devon as well, appear to have their origins in location from Early Christian sites of the fifth to seventh centuries (Preston-Jones & Rose 1986, 135). Cist cemeteries are also studied, although they owe their origins to a pre-Christian tradition and many of the sites are either undated or of a pre-Christian and Late Roman date.

The place name evidence for 'lann' sites, generally indicating a potentially early Christian enclosure, cemetery or monastery, has been studied by Padel (1985, 142-145), as well as the early saint's place names, in relation to the location of these early sites. This analysis is not included here and only a few parish churches are included in this project, as research on this topic has already been undertaken, in particular by Turner (2006) and Pearce (1982a). The stone sculpture has been found at many of the church sites and not only indicates the spread of the new parish churches but, as these stones are often incorporated into the current church walls, might indicate a pre-existing chapel or church since replaced with a Norman or later building.

#### ***Early Christian settlements, crosses and stone sculpture***

This section assesses the evidence for Early Christian settlement sites consisting of priories, abbeys, hermitages, bishops' palaces, collegiate churches and monasteries, alongside monuments such as cathedrals, minsters, churches, chapels and crosses, as well as 'Celtic', Anglo-Saxon and Norman sculpture (Figure 39). The majority of extant Early Christian settlement and monuments appear to have been due to Anglo-Saxon influence; however, there is a series of chapels with associated dedications, such as St Piran's Oratory, which show probable influence from the Celtic Church and others which are likely to have been in existence prior to Anglo-Saxon and Norman buildings. These features and settlements are presented on the same map, in order to

provide a detailed comparison of how they are placed within the landscape and in relation to one another, and form an important comparative analysis of apparently insular traditions alongside 'new' Christian sites and settlements.



**Figure 39 - The King Doniert Stone, West Penwith (Author's photograph)**

Collegiate churches were an early form of monastic settlement and Christian activity in the region. One appeared to have existed at Plympton, another at South Molton and a third at Lanstefanton before the development of the site into a priory. These dated to the ninth to eleventh, eleventh to early twelfth and early twelfth centuries respectively (Figure 40), were all in Devon and located inland apart from the Plympton site. Only two sites so far show possible evidence for hermitages in the region, at St Helens Island in the Scilly Isles, and Porth, also in the Scilly Isles. These sites date respectively to the ninth to early-twelfth, and tenth to eleventh centuries.

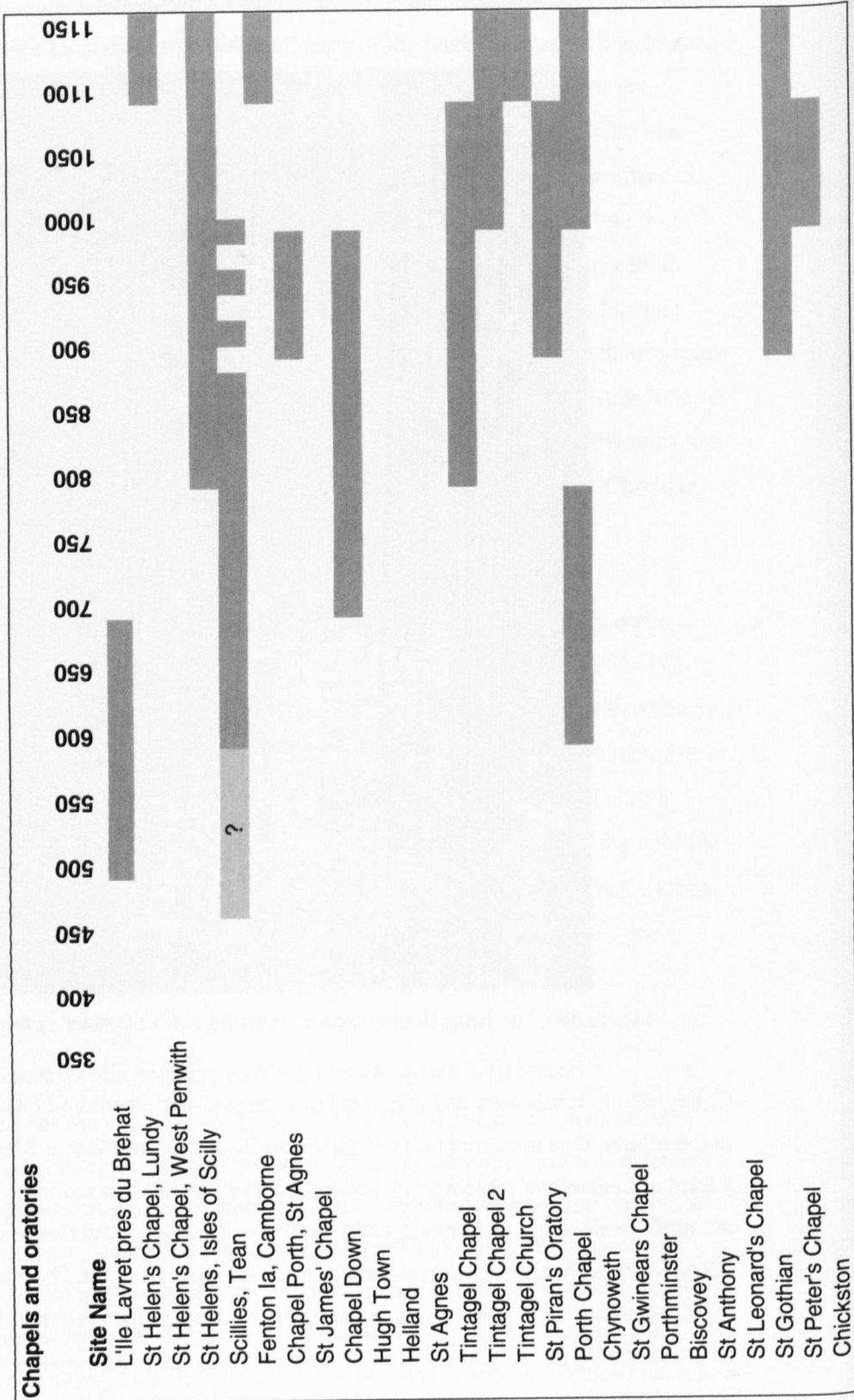


Figure 40 - Occupation/activity sequence at chapel and oratory sites

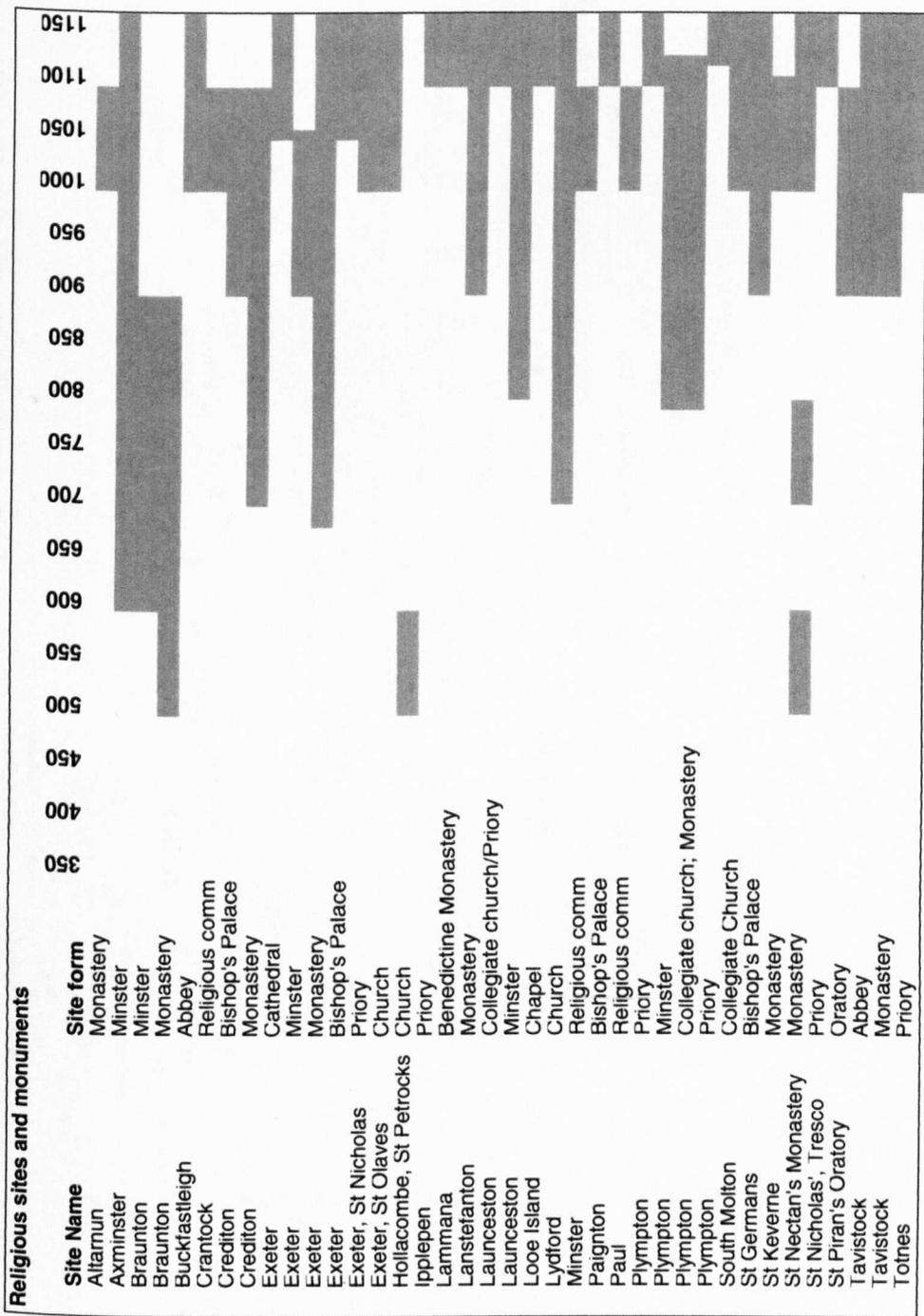


Figure 41 - Occupation/date of religious sites and monuments

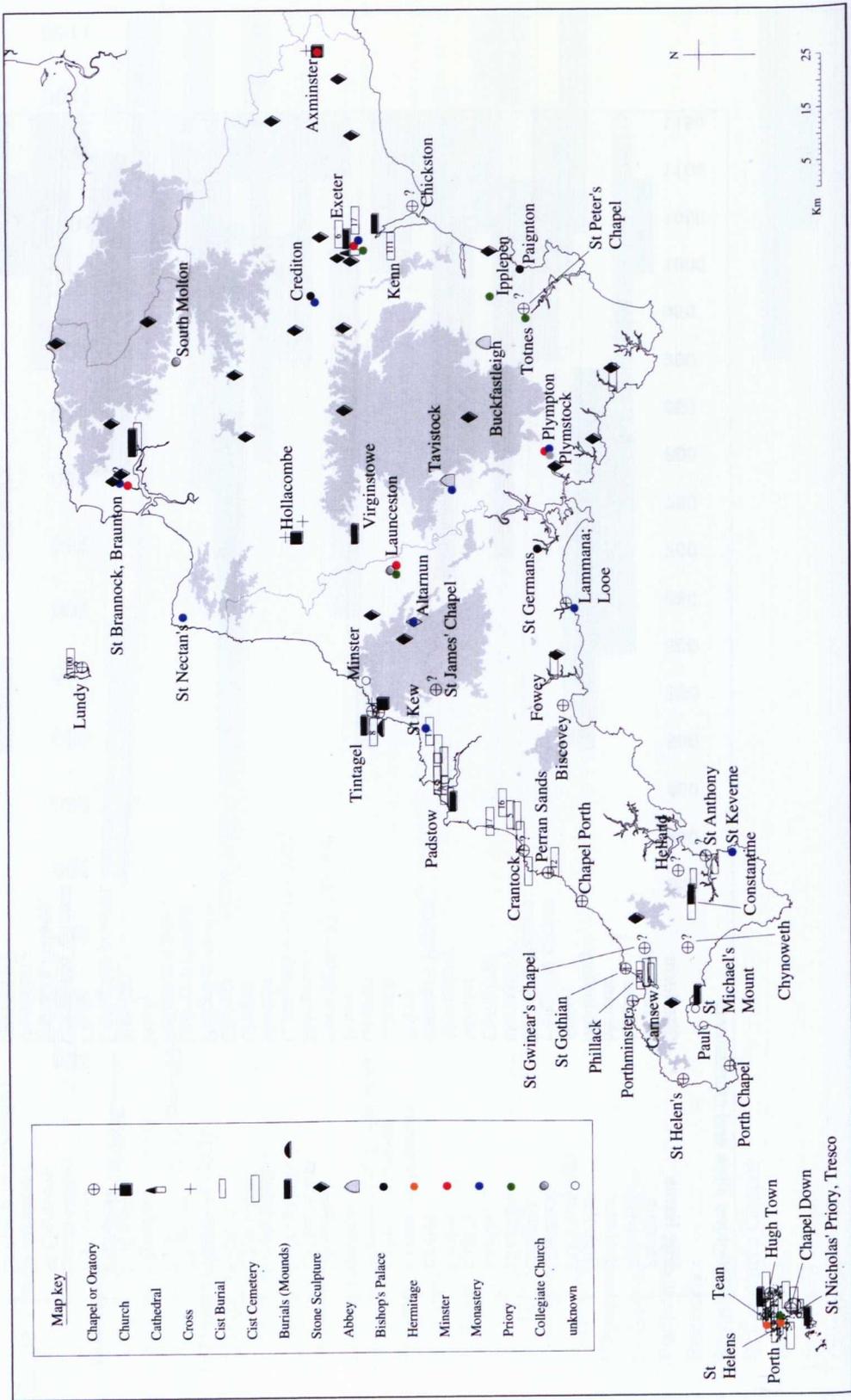


Figure 42 - Early Christian sites, cist cemeteries and stone sculpture

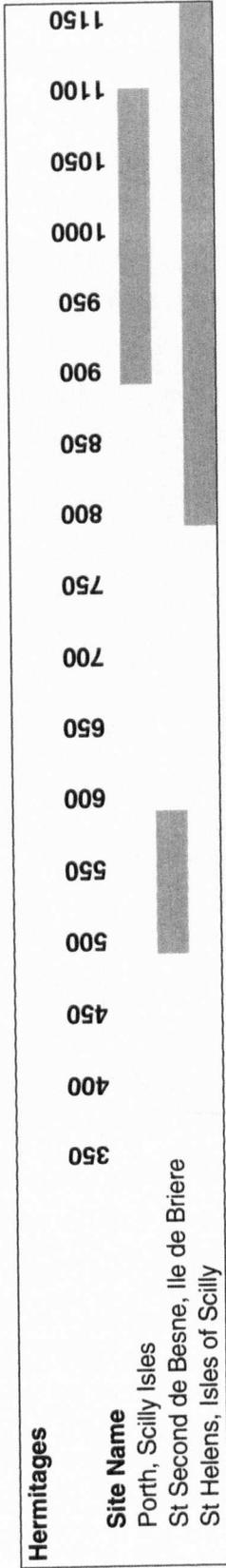


Figure 43 - Occupation/activity sequence at hermitage sites

Priories were located at Exeter, Ipplepen, Totnes, Tresco in the Scilly Isles and Launceston, showing a general spread across the South West, whilst the monasteries are found at Exeter, Crediton, Braunton, St Kew, St Keverne, Lammana, Looe, Altarnun, St Nectan's, Tavistock and Launceston (Figure 42). These sites are both inland and on the coast, and do not show any specific concentrations in particular regions, although there appears to have been a degree of clustering around certain sites such as Exeter and Launceston. Minsters are found at five locations, four in Devon and one in Cornwall, at Launceston. The Devon sites are Exeter, Axminster but not in conjunction with a monastery, Braunton and Plympton. The two abbeys are at Buckfastleigh and Tavistock in Devon and the sole cathedral site is at Exeter, signifying the later importance of the settlement in the development of Early Christianity across the region. Tavistock Abbey is the earliest and dates to the tenth to eleventh centuries, whilst Buckfastleigh dates to the eleventh to twelfth onwards (Figure 41).

Three churches with particularly early dates are noted, at Tintagel, Axminster and Hollacombe. Tintagel church developed on the site of an earlier chapel noted in Figure 40, within the small graveyard which encompasses three early medieval burial mounds. Axminster Saxon minster church was founded in the late seventh or early eighth centuries and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that Prince Cyneheard was buried there; however the site had lost its minster status by the twelfth century (HER PRN 45752). The church of St Petrock at Hollacombe is thought to have had sixth-century origins, although this may largely be due to its association with Saint Petroc.

In contrast to the cist cemeteries assessed below, the Anglo-Saxon and Norman stone sculpture, in the form of fonts, Anglo-Saxon sculpture, cross-shafts and cross-bases (Cramp 2006, 75-93), shows a strong easterly trend and instead of clustering at coastal sites and zones in Cornwall, appear to be fairly evenly spread across Devon at both inland and coastal sites, primarily at the former (Figure 42). The fact that these sites are so evenly distributed, coupled with their location at apparently new sites, appears reflective of the location of 'new' parish churches introduced in the Late Saxon and Norman periods. These show specific clustering at sites such as Braunton and Exeter, perhaps indicating the size or importance of those settlements. These stones date variously to the sixth to early twelfth centuries. The only types on the uplands appear to have been the stone sculpture and crosses, although the crosses are studied in greater detail in the case studies and not all sites are included in this analysis as only those from Cornwall have been assessed by Langdon (1996 etc).

### *Cist cemeteries*

In fourth-century western Britain, two broad burial traditions can be seen. The first is of east-west alignment with very few grave goods and an increasing use of stone-lined graves (Figure 44) or stone coffins as time goes by, plus the introduction of occasionally small rectangular mausolea or graveyard enclosures (Petts 2004, 77)



**Figure 44 - Cist grave at Mawgan Porth (Bruce-Mitford 1997, Figure 76, 68)**

seen at Poundbury in Dorset (Sparey-Green 1996, 122-133). The second tradition is more commonly on the north-south alignment with a range of grave-goods and there is frequent overlap between these two forms (Petts 2004, 77). For the most part it is the former tradition that is most characteristic of burial in Devon and Cornwall and this continued in use throughout Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries. In the west however, the prehistoric use of cist graves which continued as a tradition throughout the Romano-British period and into the early medieval era, coupled with the introduction of Anglo-Saxon traditions subsequent to their conversion to Christianity, present a development of both insular and introduced traditions.

A more uncommon burial form has been studied by Cherryson, who produced a detailed summary of burial forms in Wessex which includes the Devonshire sites of Exeter and Barnstaple. Her thesis examines forms of inhumation and includes charcoal burials found in Exeter and elsewhere (2005, 103). The introduction of a type of above-ground elaboration of the graves (Petts 2004, 81) can be seen in Tintagel churchyard (Nowakowski & Thomas 1990, 13-14) where the use of soil to create miniature barrows, coupled with stone cairn-like structures, caused several of the burials here to be more prominent. Cists as a form of burial have been found as far eastwards as Ulwell Farm near Swanage in Dorset (Cox 1988, 37-47), but appear to have been a specifically south-western tradition. Therefore, their relationship with new religious sites is important to the study of the transferral and development of cultural traditions, with their origins beginning in the Iron Age at Cornish sites (Petts 2001, 50).

Figure 42 shows the combined distributional analysis of these sites, giving the number of burials for the cemetery evidence, with distinct clustering in some areas. Activity seems to have been focused at Exeter, Braunton, Tintagel, Plympton, Launceston and Tavistock, of which the latter two are on estuaries as opposed to the coast, whilst there are smaller foci at Phillack, Perran Sands, Lundy, Looe and St Michael's Mount. The spread of cist cemeteries and graves, with the former denoted by the larger symbol and number of burials present, shows a strong trend at coastal regions with specific concentrations in the Scilly Isles and along a stretch of the north Cornish coast. There are smaller and more isolated groups along the southern Cornish and southern and northern Devon coastlines. Both the coastal distribution and the general spread towards southern and western Cornwall is significant, particularly when compared with similar trends of the beach and dune sites, suggesting that geographical factors might have been involved in the location of both site-types.

The distribution of cist burials suggests that they were either preserved by the sand dunes where they were found, or were a specifically coastal tradition influenced by the geomorphological conditions of these dunes. Alternatively, perhaps early medieval activity was in general more coastally-located, as borne out by the apparent lack of burial activity in more inland regions. At several sites both cists and non-cist burials occur simultaneously, possibly of different dates. Some of the cist cemeteries consist of over a hundred individuals, suggesting a substantial community living alongside them, such as the 120 graves at Phillack. The aforementioned rare form of burial

mound for the South West was discovered and excavated at Tintagel churchyard by Nowakowski & Thomas, producing important evidence for burial traditions and further sherds of imported pottery (1990, 14-16) These three mounds are particularly significant as they represent the only form of this monumentalisation of burials in the entire study region, whilst the imported ceramics suggest a strong relationship between the burial site and activity on the island. Cist sites where a date could be obtained are shown in Figure 45, including a number of cemetery sites in Brittany, which seems to have shared similar burial traditions to the South West. Many of the cemeteries or burials were in use for a relatively short period of time, such as Carnsew and St Erth, whilst others such as Phillack and Porth were used from the sixth to eleventh or early twelfth centuries. What is also clear is that as a burial tradition it was in use from the fourth century – and prior to this – to the end of the study period, with several sites showing continuity throughout.

Many of the chapels and oratories included in this research are of uncertain date, as they have either yet to be excavated, or dating material was not available. Tentative sites are therefore indicated by a question mark on Figure 42. Porth Chapel is the earliest of these sites, dating to the seventh to eighth centuries, whilst St Piran's Oratory on Perran Sands dates to the tenth and eleventh centuries. The dedication of this latter site to a local Celtic saint is significant, whilst saint's place names across Cornwall and Devon provide similar information for the spread of Early Christian sites (Cunliffe 2001, 474-477; Olson 1989, 48-49). The distribution of chapels is predominantly in Cornwall, with nine along the north Cornish coast, two in the Scilly Isles, two on the south Devon coast, three on the south Cornish coast and three in inland Cornwall. Their spread appears therefore to have been more coastally-located. Three sites on the north Cornish coast, at Tintagel, Crantock and Perran Sands, were associated with cist cemeteries or burials.

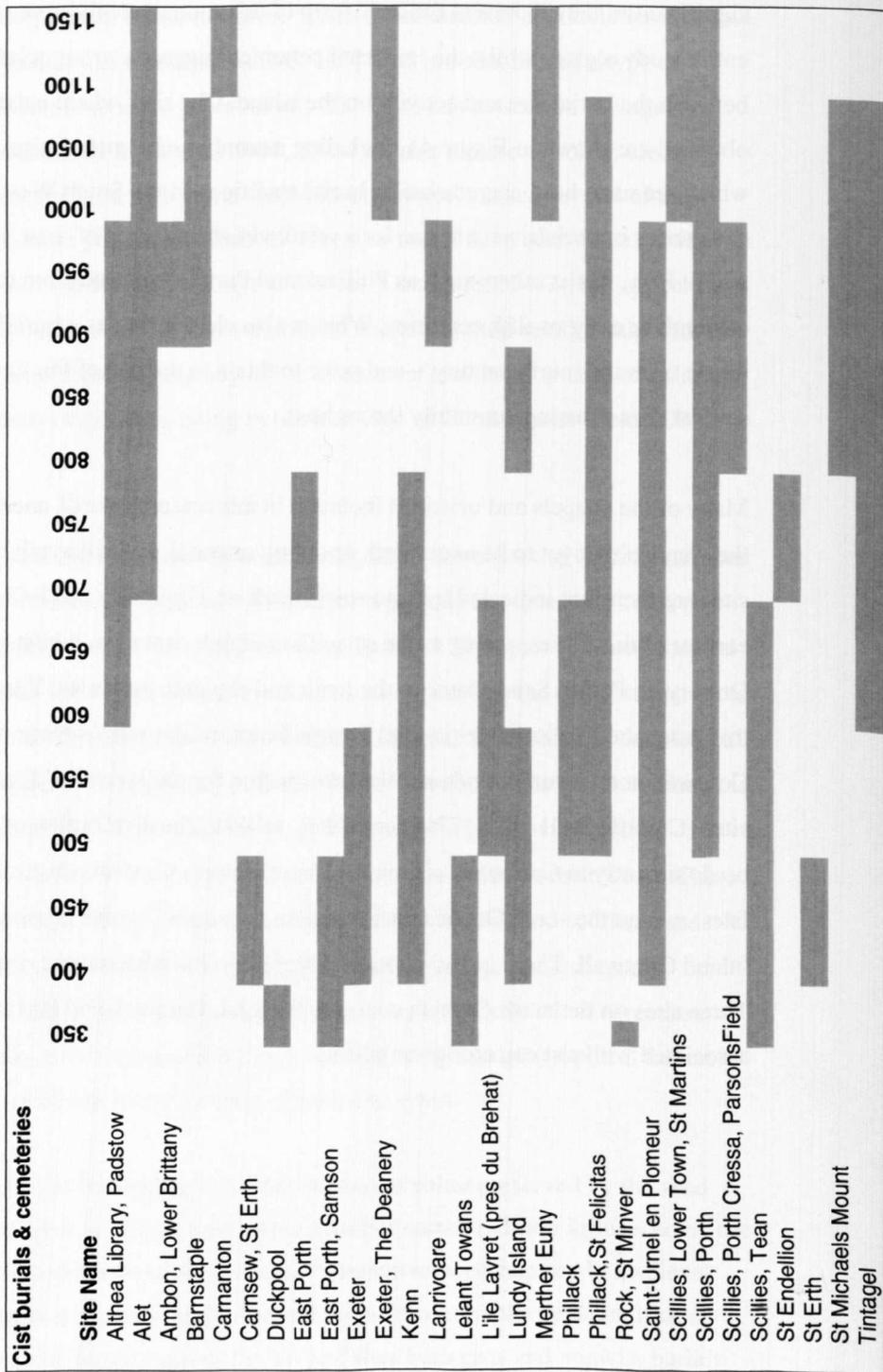


Figure 45 - Activity sequence at cist cemeteries and burials

### ***Inscribed stones***

These Early Christian memorial stones (ECMs) have been fully summarised by Okasha (1993; 1996), with additional subsequent discoveries by Greeves (2008, 8-10). Prior to this, studies were undertaken by Bu'lock (1956, 133-141) and summarised in Olson's discussion of early monasticism in the South West, who assessed the text on the inscriptions by Latin '*hic iacet*' and Irish Ogham origins; this analysis shows that Ogham had been added to Latin inscriptions on twenty percent of the stones, whilst filiation, another Irish feature, occurred on sixty percent of the stones and the



**Figure 46 - Inscribed stone, Phillack churchyard (Author's photograph)**

Continental *hic iacet* formula was found on twenty-five percent of these stones (1989, 36-37). Pearce has examined the location of these stones in relation to landscape use

on Dartmoor and the possible importance of some sites on the junction of the lowland arable and upland moorland zones (1985, 17). These stones form an important part of this research in the location of potential Early Christian centres as well as the way in which the dead were commemorated in early medieval Cornwall and Devon, as they reflect outside influences on burial or memorial traditions in the region (Figure 46). The distribution study of similar inscriptions in Brittany has presented evidence for clustering and general distribution towards more coastal regions (Davies et al 2000, Figure 4.1, 40).

Cornish crosses, many of which are later than the securely dated inscribed stones, have been studied and gazetteered by Langdon (1996a etc), however there have been no synthetic studies for Devon as yet, although the Anglo-Saxon sculpture has been examined and catalogued by Cramp (2006) which unfortunately excludes a section on Cornwall. The earliest examples date from the sixth century, many displaying the chi-rho symbol (Langdon 2002, 5), perhaps borrowed from the Byzantine decorative form seen on the earlier inscribed stones. In several cases they also, unlike the inscribed stones, bear decoration indicative of the spread of Anglo-Saxon traditions. These have not been analysed for the entire region but are included in the micro-scale analysis.

Figure 47 shows the distributional analysis of these stones which have been categorised based on their decoration with a chi-rho symbol and the text use in their inscription of Latin, Ogham and probable insular derivations of these languages. In some cases there is both Latin and Ogham or Latin and Insular text on the stones, indicating a degree of language transfer or amalgamation of knowledge in parts of the South West. Approximately half of the inscriptions could not be assessed due to wear but are also included. The distribution shows two primary patterns; that the majority of the stones have been found in Cornwall and that the groups outside Cornwall were found on the margins of the upland regions of Dartmoor and Exmoor. This is also the case for those found around the Bodmin area and it appears that no stones were found in the central uplands, although this may be due partially to their lack of discovery in these now largely-uninhabited regions. There is also a lack of stones north and east of Dartmoor until the three sites on Exmoor, suggesting that the tradition either did not spread to these regions or that there was limited settlement there. The stones within Cornwall also show a degree of clustering and on the West Penwith in particular they are very densely placed, whilst other concentrations are in the region of Mawgan Porth, Bodmin and on Lundy Island.

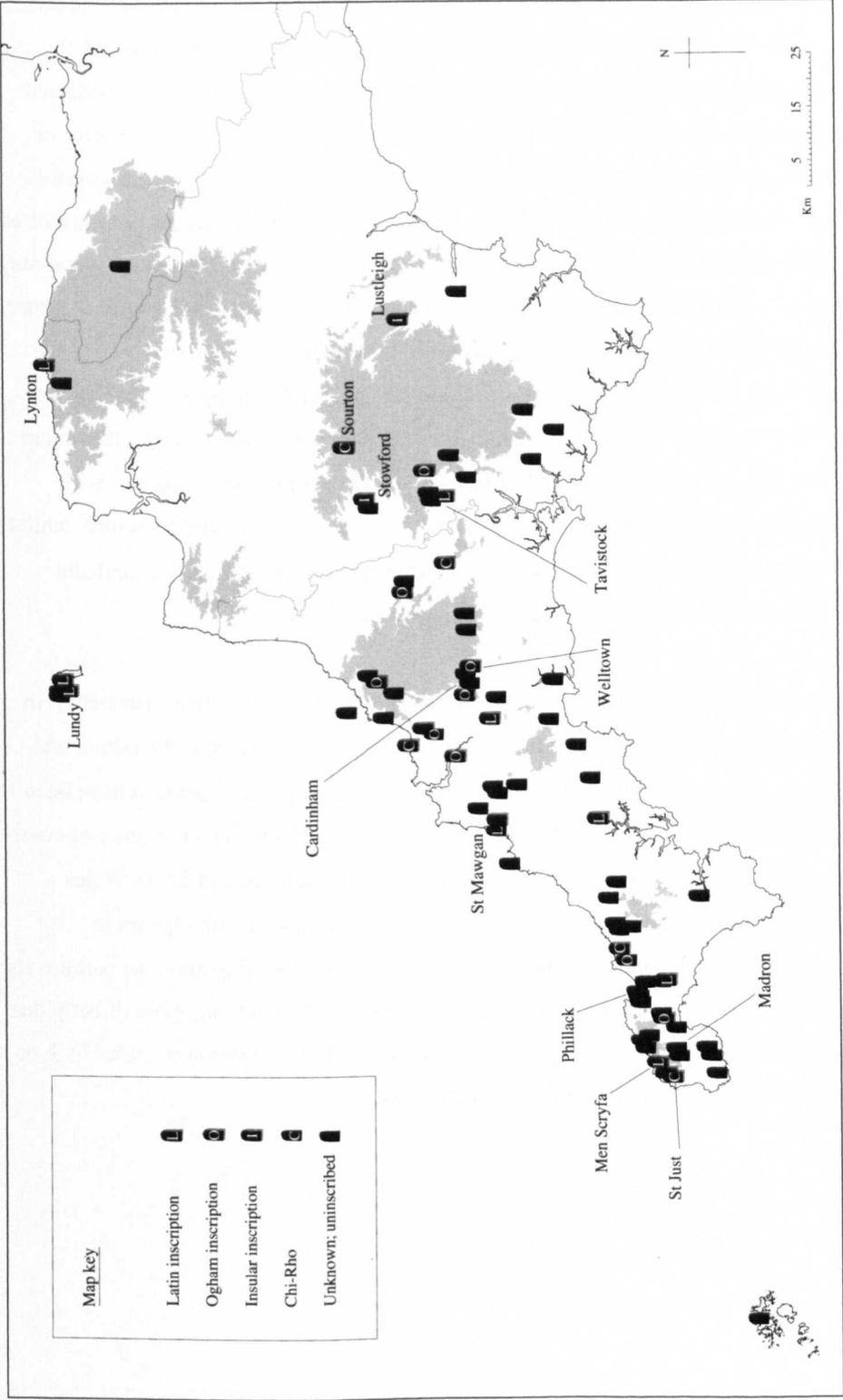


Figure 47 - Inscribed stones

At many sites, such as Lundy, Tavistock, Madron and Phillack, several stones have been found in a group and appear to show a central place for commemoration or worship. This is highly probable at Lundy, where the stones are associated with the fifth- to sixth- and possibly ninth-century cist cemetery. However at Tavistock the location of these stones within the vicarage garden suggests that they were collected together in later years and do not reflect the location of an early commemorative or burial site in the immediate vicinity. It is indeed possible that they were previously located on the margins of the highlands of nearby Dartmoor. The majority of inscribed stones have been dated broadly to the fifth to eleventh centuries; however, several may date more specifically to the sixth to eighth centuries and as yet there is little evidence to date them further. Sites such as Lundy with the associated cemetery dating to the fifth to sixth and ninth centuries may provide a degree of dating by association, but this is not conclusive. The chi-rho symbols are spread fairly evenly across the region between Sourton on Dartmoor and St Just on West Penwith. The two stones with insular inscriptions are on the margins of Dartmoor, at Lustleigh and Stowford, whilst the Latin texts are again found across the entire region between Lundy Island and Lynton in northern Devon and Men Scryfa on West Penwith.

A separate analysis of the Ogham inscriptions (Figure 48) shows their distribution in the region is concentrated in two areas, one centrally on the margins of Bodmin and Dartmoor, and the other on West Penwith. Overall the tradition appears to have been particular to the South West, whilst the stones on the north Devon and Somerset coasts are thought to have been due to the influence of similar activities in South Wales across the Bristol Channel. The regionalisation of those stones with Ogham is indicative of the localisation of its knowledge as a form of writing and also perhaps its spread from a particular source, originally perhaps from Ireland, but more directly due to interaction with Ireland through trade, or through minor migration of either Irish or insular south-western social groups or individuals.

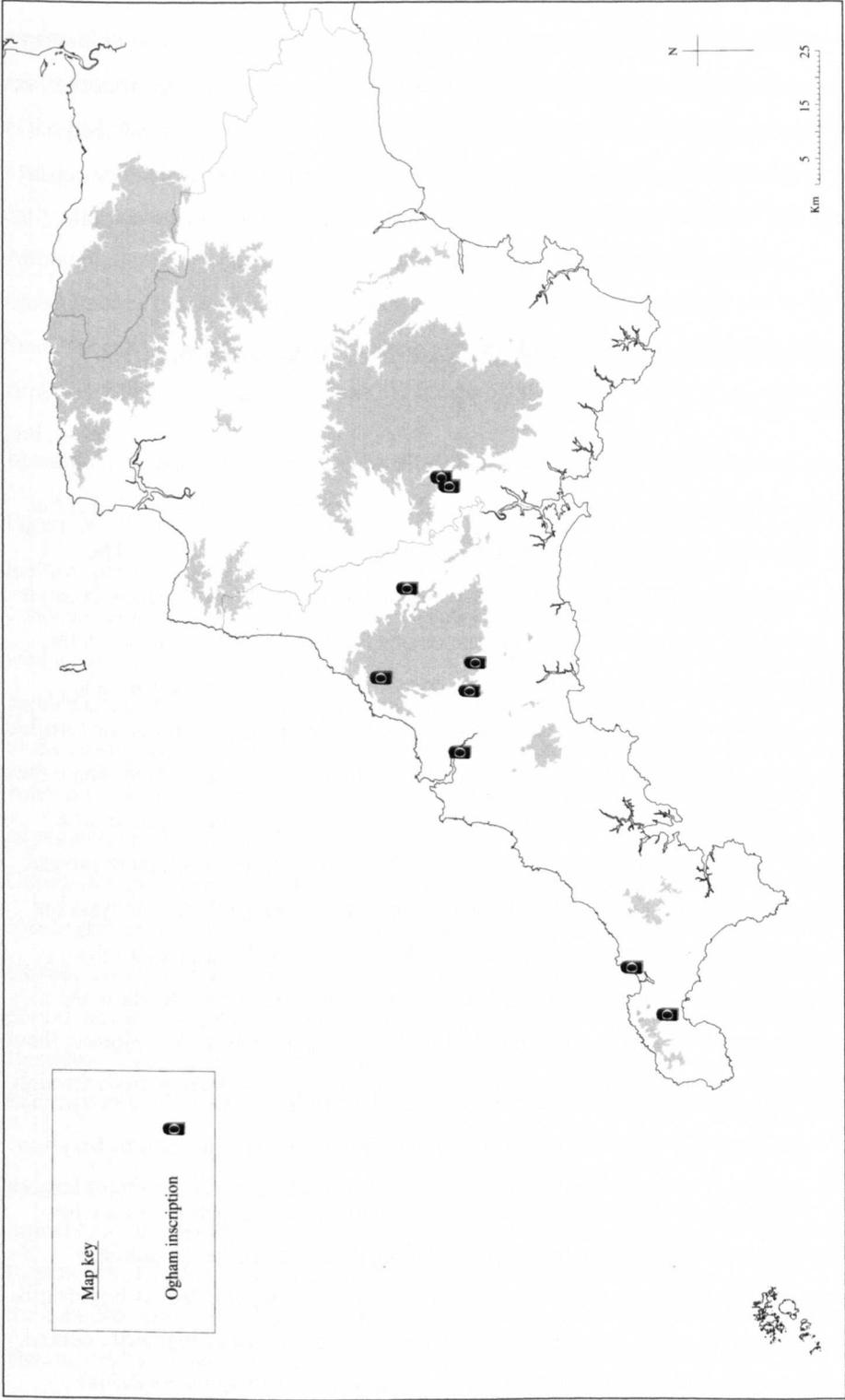


Figure 48 - Inscribed stones with Ogham inscriptions

## 4.2.5 Chronological analysis

This section analyses the settlements by century, to determine different patterns of use through time, as well as their location and form. The changing nature in morphology of specific settlement types will also be assessed whilst considering the influences on these settlement forms and the continuity of insular types. In particular the analysis addresses the aim relating to the continuity of settlement forms from different broad periods and their location in relation to one another, the uplands and the coastal regions, as well as the emergence of new forms.

### *Settlement patterns through the late fourth to early twelfth centuries*

The analysis included only those sites and settlements where a date had been obtained, therefore there are many sites within the database which have not been included but which have been analysed in the separate settlement morphologies above. The separate morphologies consist of fogous, promontory forts, hillforts, rounds, courtyard houses, Roman 'camps' or rectangular enclosures, farmsteads first occupied in the Roman period and with continuity into the post-Roman era, transhumance huts, farmsteads first occupied in the early medieval period, longhouses, 'burhs' or fortified central places, beach and dune sites, and villas. Certain sites are duplicated where they consist, for example, of a longhouse site situated at a beach or dune location, or a settlement such as a burh where there is also a church or religious settlement present. The non-Christian and Early Christian features are also included in this analysis but the inscribed stones are excluded due to their density. The analysis assesses the occupation or date of each type of site by century, by creating a table to show the gradual change in the average date range of each settlement, before then plotting them as a distributional analysis in order to present the changing settlement pattern through time.

Figure 49 shows each form of site and the average range of occupation or date for each, in chronological order, with stippled shading denoting where the dating is uncertain. Beach and dune sites and shell middens have been excluded, as both forms show activity throughout the study period, whilst the latter do not necessarily denote settlements. This table shows the occupation of prehistoric and Romano-British settlement forms at the beginning of the study period in the late fourth century, and the gradual addition to the settlement hierarchy, with the introduction of new or developed

early medieval settlement types. Analysis shows that there was a mixed degree of continuity between the prehistoric and Romano-British forms of settlement and with occupation apparently ending at the non-insular and more elite villa sites. Early medieval farmsteads and promontory forts show longer periods of activity and continuity, whilst courtyard houses and rounds appear to show a general discontinuity at the end of the seventh century. During the eighth century there appear to be few morphologically-recognisable sites across the South West, until the introduction of early religious settlements and ninth-century fortified central places ('burhs'). Although there have been few excavations which date the occupation of the transhumance huts and longhouse sites, it is probable that they were inhabited during the latter half of the study period alongside new settlement forms, including farmstead sites and villages such as Houndtor, the 'burhs', the religious settlements and features and the castles.

Figure 50 shows the forms of settlement occupied in the late fourth century and the features present during this period. The general settlement pattern shows concentrations in central and southern Cornwall and southern and eastern Devon, as well as on Lundy Island and the Scilly Isles, where there is a marked concentration of datable sites. Where the density is low, sites tend to be located on the coast, however in the more dense areas of concentration there are a greater number of inland sites such as in central Cornwall. The majority of insular prehistoric settlement types such as promontory forts, rounds and courtyard settlements are in southern and central Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, although hillforts, which are likely to have had a similar role in the settlement hierarchy as the Cornish rounds, are only found in eastern Devon. There appears to be little or no activity in the upland regions during this period, nor in northern or southern Devon, apart from the beach site and midden at Bantham. The rounds appear to show a regular dispersal across the region, indicating that they might have had some role in the territorial organisation of the landscape. The courtyard settlements may have had a similar role; however they appear to have been located solely on the upland regions of West Penwith and in the Scilly Isles, and were probably an insular form of settlement peculiar to this region alone. Occupation of the Roman villa of Magor and rectangular camps at Bantham and Grambla continued in the Late Roman period, however the majority of sites of a Roman form are in eastern Devon, such as Exeter Roman town and the three villa sites. Cist cemeteries and burials are apparent only on the western fringes of the region, along the southern Cornish coast and on the Scilly Isles with the majority in the latter. The settlements

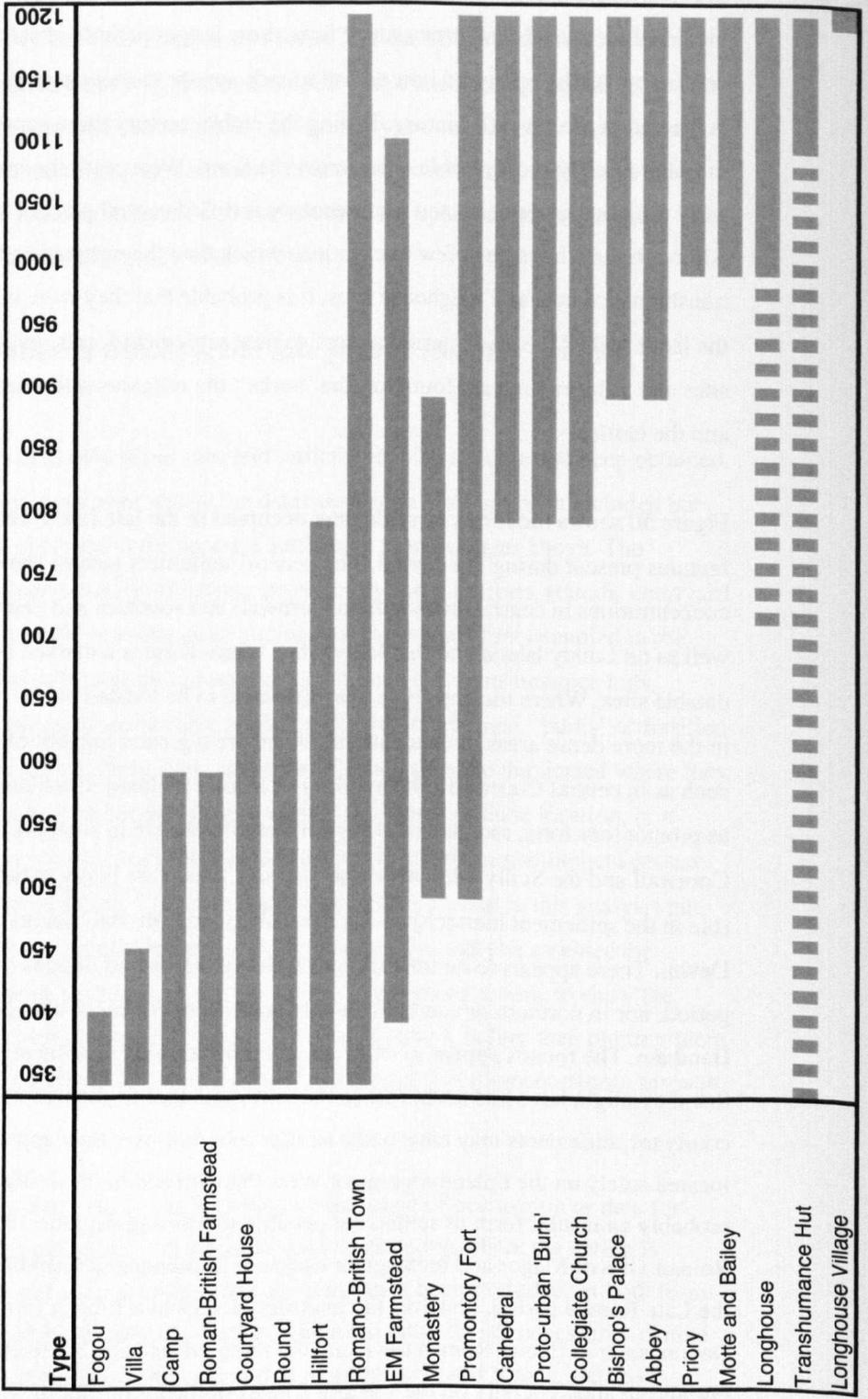


Figure 49 - Average chronological occupation sequence of each settlement morphology

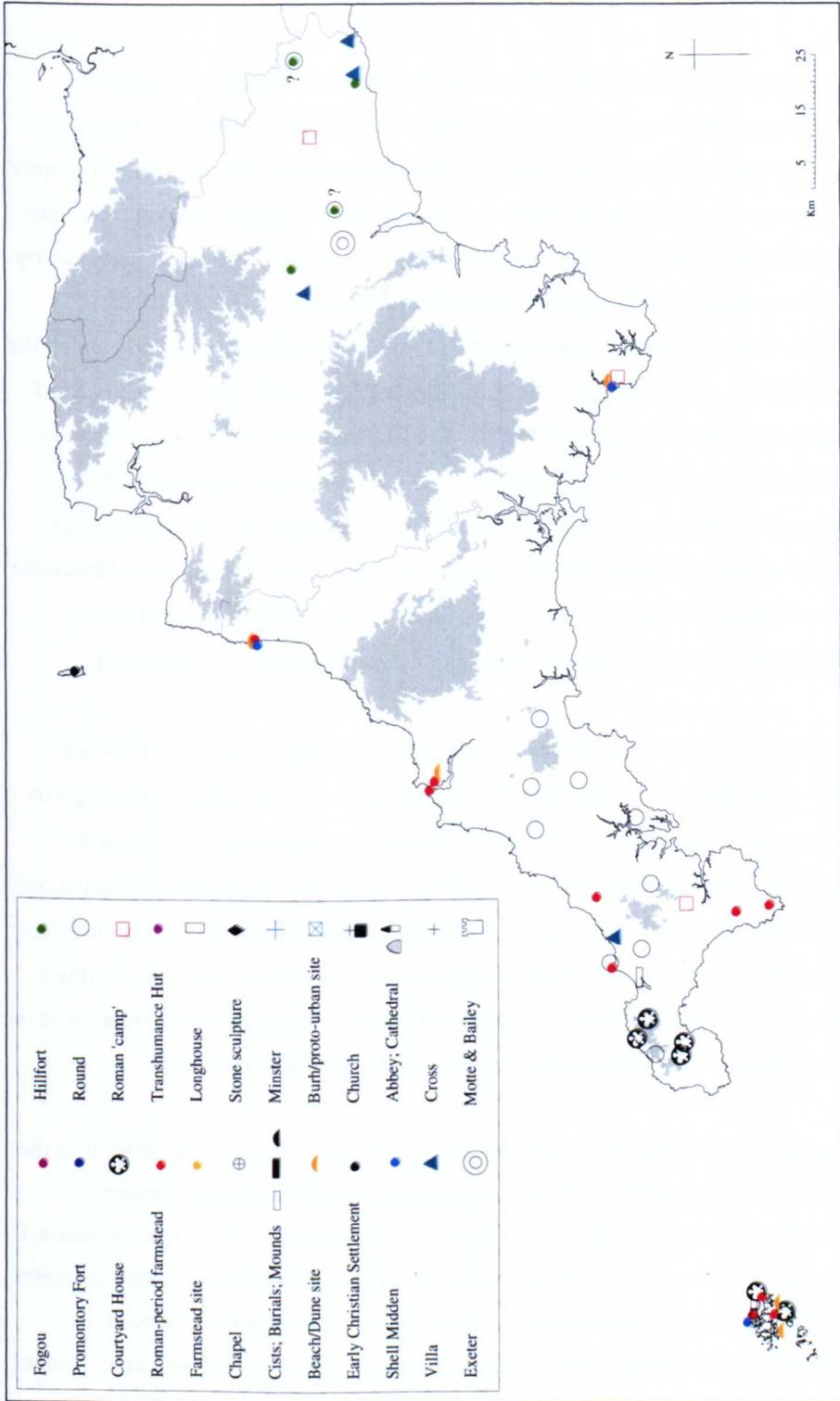


Figure 50 - Late fourth-century settlements and features

here show mainly courtyard settlements with one shell midden indicating the use of coastal resources, something which is only visible elsewhere in this period at Bantham.

The settlements occupied in the fifth century are shown in Figure 51. Again, settlement appears to be concentrated in similar areas to those in the late-fourth century, in central and southern Cornwall and eastern Devon. The number of occupied rounds has decreased, as has the number of courtyard settlements, although two sites show reoccupation in this period: the courtyard house at Lanhainsworth and Killibury round. There appears to be a general decrease in the number of occupied sites, although activity appears to have increased at sites such as Bantham, Lundy and in the region of Exeter, where the cist cemeteries appear at Kenn, although in Exeter itself the cemetery consisted of non-cist burials. The fifth century now shows a complete lack of datable sites in north and central Devon and there is no occupation on the uplands apart from the relatively small regions on West Penwith. Also, during this period the number of former Romano-British sites decreased, with only the Holcombe (Uplyme) villa still occupied. This trend is likely to have resulted from a lack of identifiable and dateable evidence rather than a general decrease in settlement.

The distribution of dateable settlements in the sixth century (Figure 52) shows an increase, particularly along the coasts in northern Devon in the form of two religious settlements and in the region of Gwithian, although in some areas this change is marginal. The probable sixth-century church that once stood at Hollacombe is the only new inland site to appear in the region. Settlement activity apparently ceased at Exeter and at the Holcombe (Uplyme) villa, whilst only four round sites are now occupied; however, activity resumed at one of the West Penwith courtyard houses. Reoccupation of the promontory forts also occurred at Maen Cliff and Trevelgue Head.

In the seventh century the distribution (Figure 53) is approximately the same as in the sixth, although the number of round and courtyard sites has decreased further. Settlement activity on the Scilly Isles and Lundy remains constant, with an additional cist cemetery and associated inscribed stones at the latter. Activity reappears at Exeter in the form of a minster and monastery. Further Early Christian sites appeared elsewhere in eastern Devon with a minster church at Axminster and Braunton. Further examples of potential Anglo-Saxon influence in settlement are seen in the emergence of two possible early fortified central places at Pilton in north Devon on the Taw

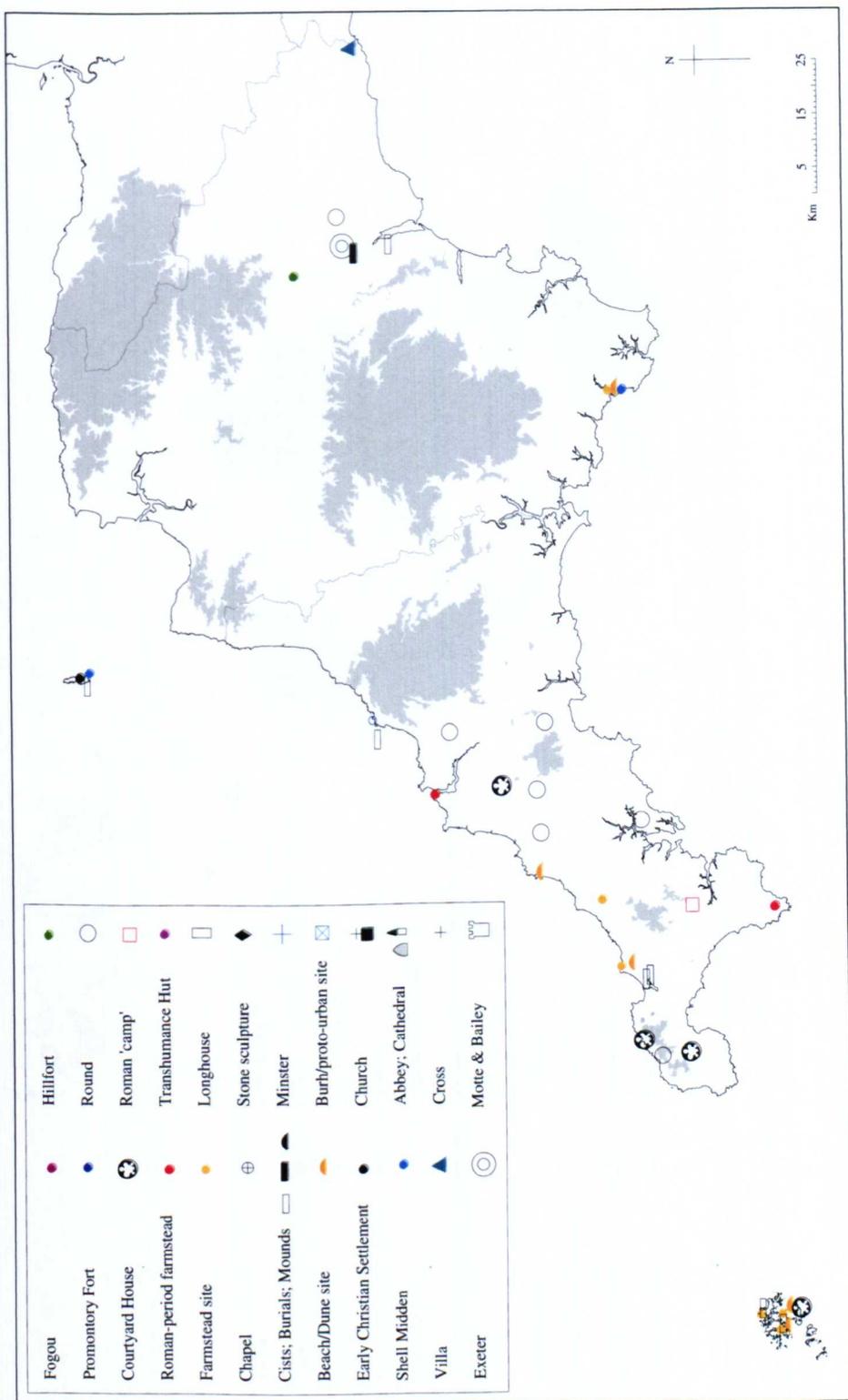


Figure 51 - Fifth-century settlements and features

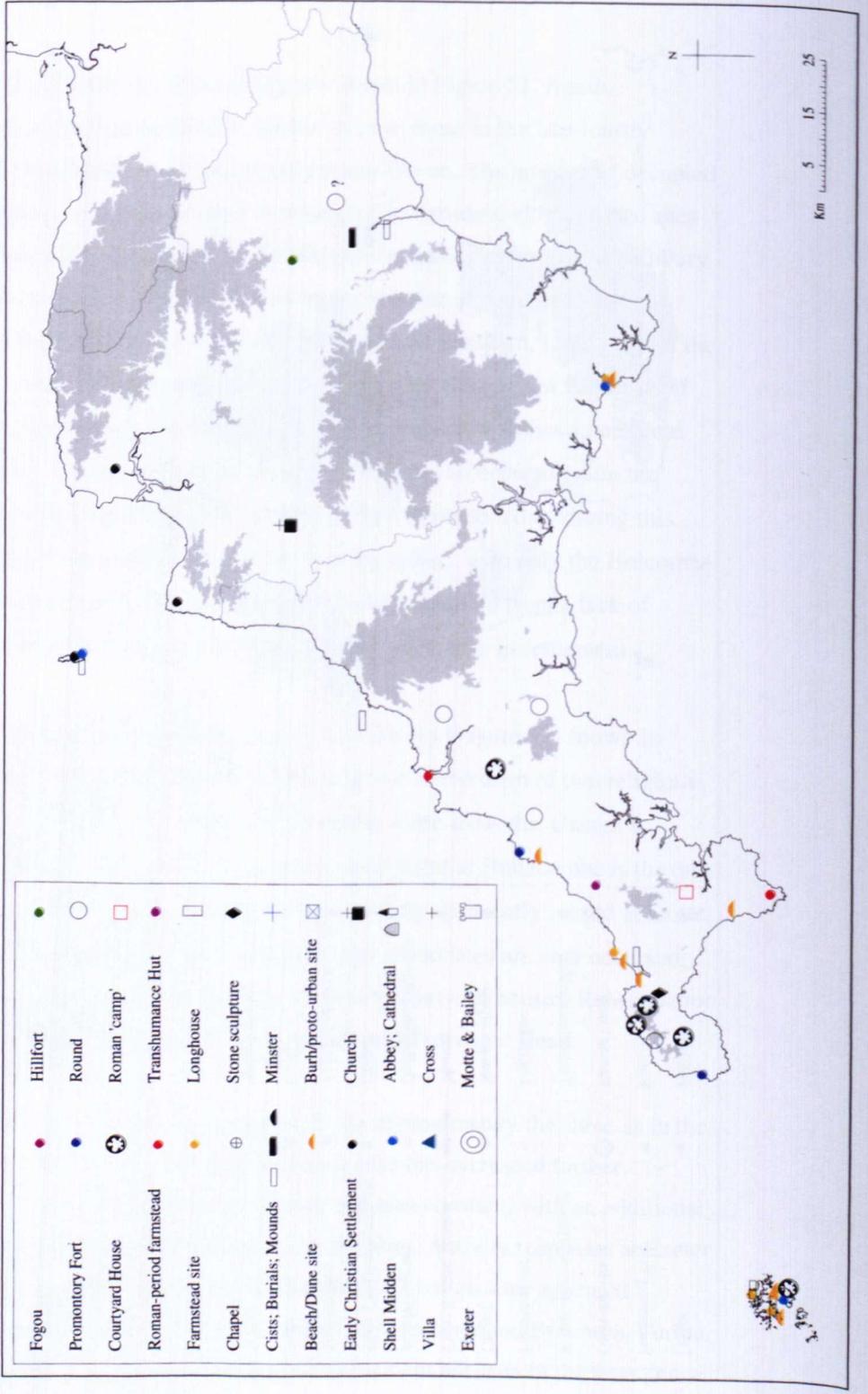


Figure 52 - Sixth-century settlements and features

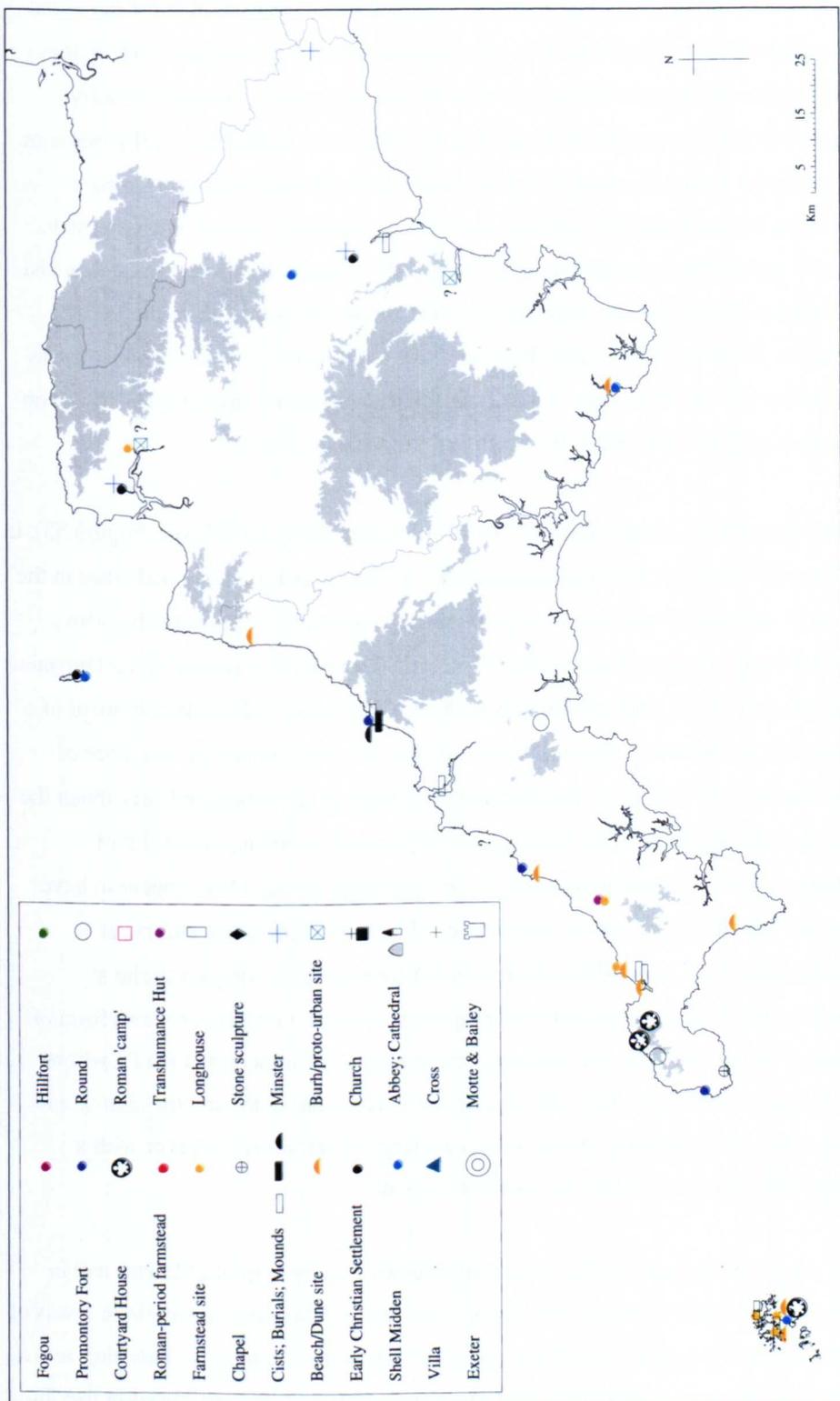


Figure 53 - Seventh-century settlements and features

estuary and Kingsteignton on the south Devon coast. Settlement numbers increased along the north Cornish coast, such as in the region of Kelsey Head, with reoccupation at Duckpool and the use of cist graves at Tintagel, but decreased inland at the round and courtyard sites. There may also have been occupation at Mawgan Porth in this period, although the evidence is not concrete. In comparison, the eighth century (Figure 54) sees the continued occupation of and activity at, the 'new' religious sites in Devon, but with a decrease in activity along the southern Devon and Cornish coastlines and on Lundy and abandonment of the courtyard sites on West Penwith. Activity and settlement patterns on the Scilly Isles remains the same, whilst new cist sites appear along the north Cornish coast and a new courtyard site on the Lizard peninsula. Settlements in Cornwall up until this point had consisted of insular forms only and beach and dune sites persist, whilst those apparently insular types in Devon now consist of Raddon Hill in the south and Pilton in the north.

In the ninth century, settlement patterns show clearer changes in Devon (Figure 55), in the form of a series of fortified central places or 'burhs' and probable burh sites in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, predominantly along the south coast but also inland at Lydford and at Barnstaple in the north. These were preceded or accompanied by an increase in religious settlements such as at Plympton and the development of Exeter with its cathedral. Stone sculpture at two sites also implies the presence of early churches. In Cornwall, the distribution appears to have remained very much the same as in the eighth century, although activity ceased at the important site of Gwithian, whilst occupation resumed at the Tremough round. There appear to have been new activity in the form of a collegiate church or priory and a church, at Launceston on the Cornwall-Devon border. There was also a longhouse site at Tresmorn which, as a rectangular building form, appears relatively new as a form of farmstead settlement. The late ninth century also sees the important site of Lydford developing on Dartmoor. This site, coupled with the stone sculpture, the church and Hollacombe and other sites inland, shows a change in settlement patterns with a stronger bias inland in Devon, but not in Cornwall.

In the tenth century, activity has increased in general in the region of Exeter and in southern and central Cornwall and Devon (Figure 56). There is a reduction in levels of activity in the Scilly Isles, where occupation ceased at two beach and dune sites and a courtyard settlement, although the cist cemeteries appear to have still been in use. In

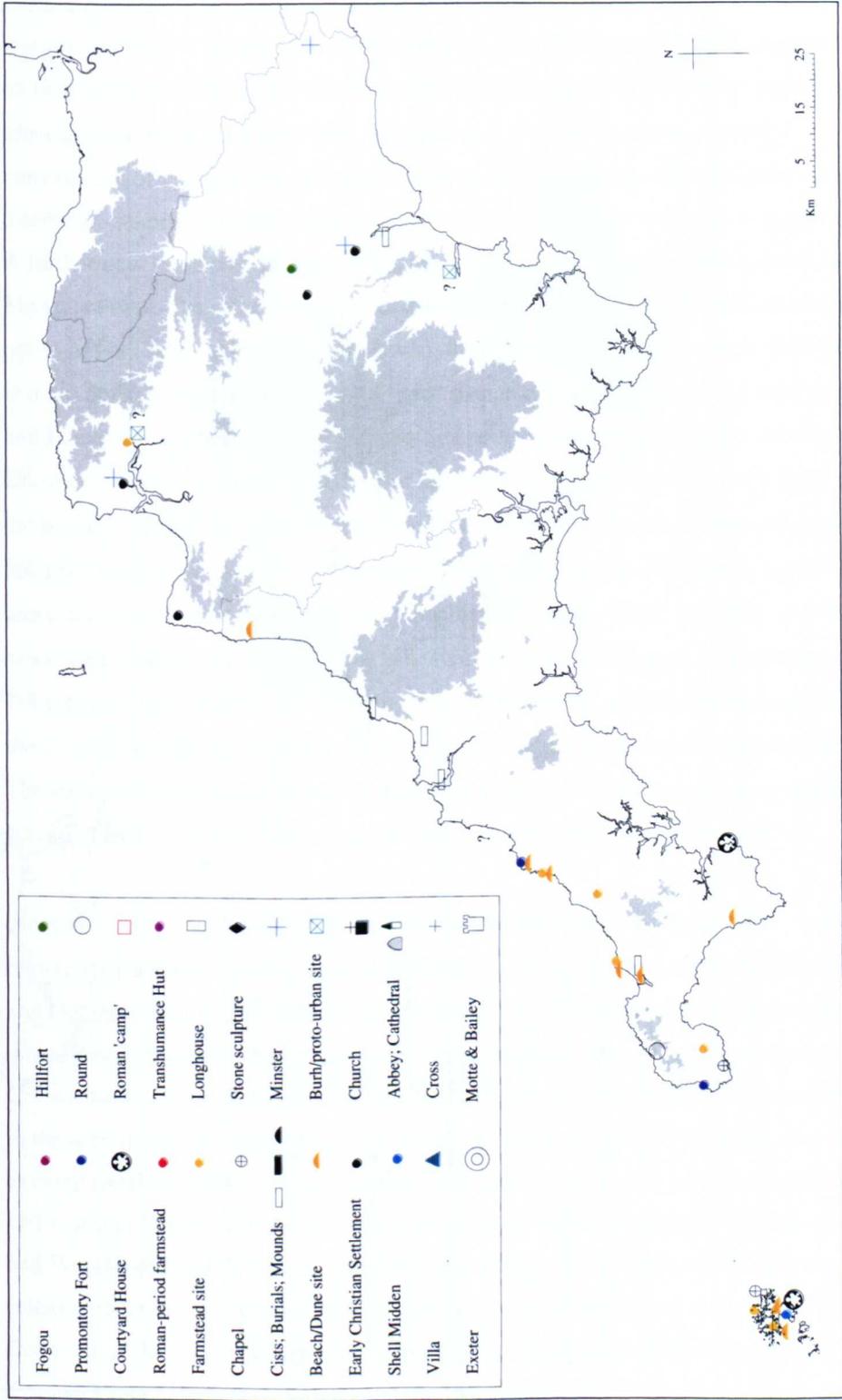


Figure 54 - Eighth-century settlements and features

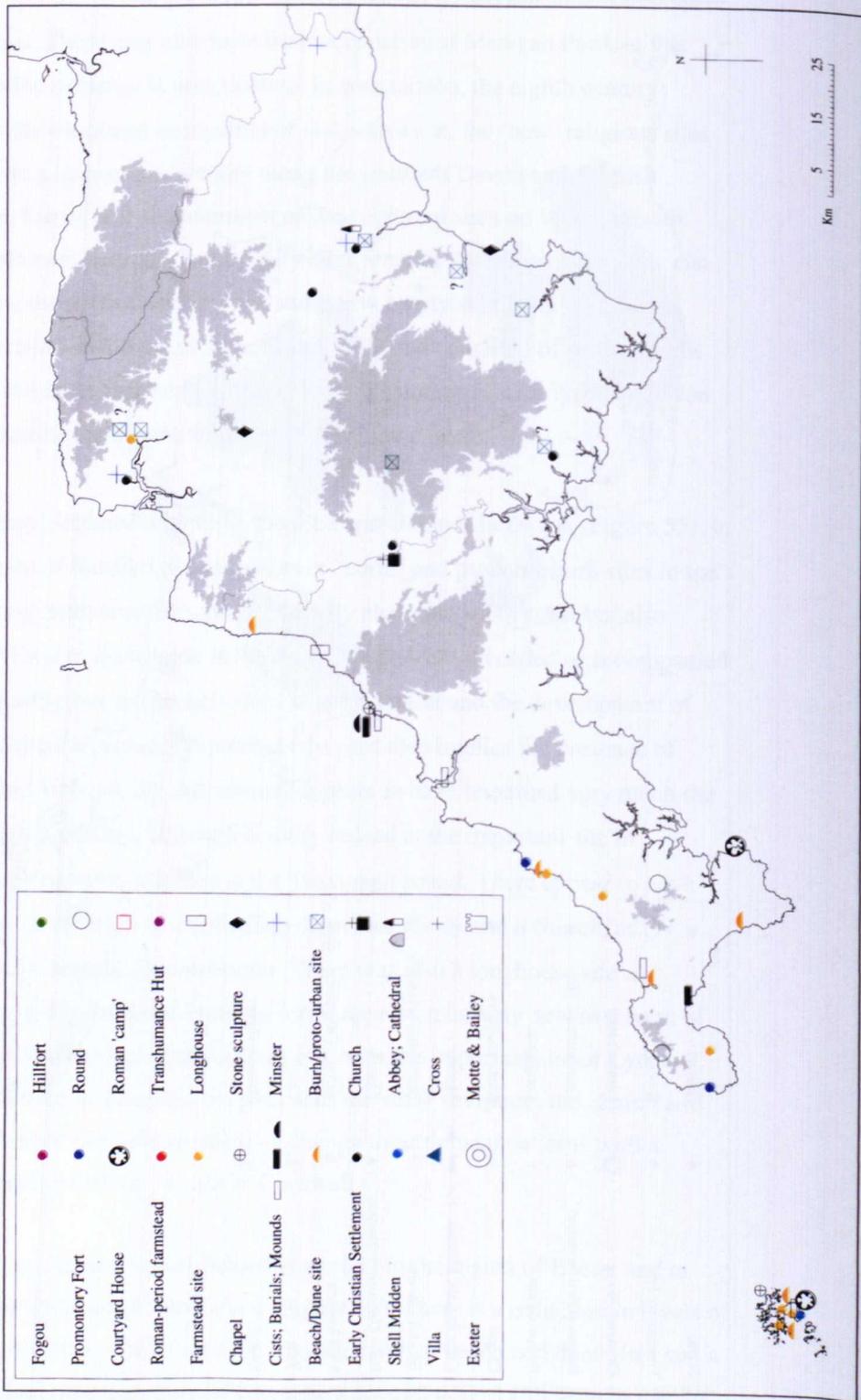


Figure 55 - Ninth-century settlements and features

Cornwall, most of the settlement activity still appears to have been located at the coast, although probable new inland sites in the form of market settlements emerged at Helston, Bodmin and Liskeard, with a resumption of activity at Penhale round. There was also a possible market at Marazion onshore from St Michaels Mount, suggesting an increase in activity. In the area of Gwithian activity appears to have increased, with reoccupation of the sand dune sites and the round at Crane Godrevy, and the construction of a longhouse, as well as the apparent foundation of St Gothians, one of a series of chapels along the north Cornish coast which appear to date to this century. A further new site along the north Cornish coast is the rectangular courtyard houses at Mawgan Porth. The cist cemeteries persist along the north and south coasts but were not in use in Devon at this point. In Devon, the contrast with ninth-century settlement is more marked in the introduction of 'new' dateable sites particularly, up the Tamar and Exe estuaries. At the former there is the monastic site at Tavistock on the edge of Dartmoor, with an increase in activity at Launceston, whilst nearer the coast there are the possible market site of St Germans and its associated religious settlements, and the farmstead and priory at Clifton, Landulph. This activity on the estuaries is also seen along the south Devon coast, with the probable and certain 'burh' or market sites and associated minsters and religious settlements at Plympton, Oldaport, Kingsbridge, Totnes and Kingsteignton. At the estuary site of Exeter the activity had increased in the form of several Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture fragments, a church and a monastery. The increased distribution of the Anglo-Saxon sculptures elsewhere seems to show the spread of early Christian sites or parish churches in eastern and southern Devon.

Eleventh-century settlement shows an increase in settlement across the entire study region but particularly in the interior of Devon and on the uplands of both Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor (Figure 57). On Bodmin there is a farmstead site at Garrow and the monastery at Altarnun and on Dartmoor, stone sculpture near the centre at Siward's Cross (also known as Nun's Cross) and the castle site at Okehampton. The new sites in the region consist mainly of castles, which for the most part are found at pre-existing fortified central place or market settlements as well as at new sites in central and northern Devon. Several castles are in pairs, at Bratton Fleming and Roborough, and Winkleigh I and II. These castle sites in northern Devon make up the majority of settlements in this sub-region, perhaps acting as part of the administrative network of Devon or as the foci for a new elite control of the landscape. Settlement patterns in Cornwall appear to have remained largely unchanged, apart from a series of probable new market sites and the reoccupation of Merther Uny round, the important castle at Launceston, a motte at Boscastle, near Tintagel, and a new church or chapel at

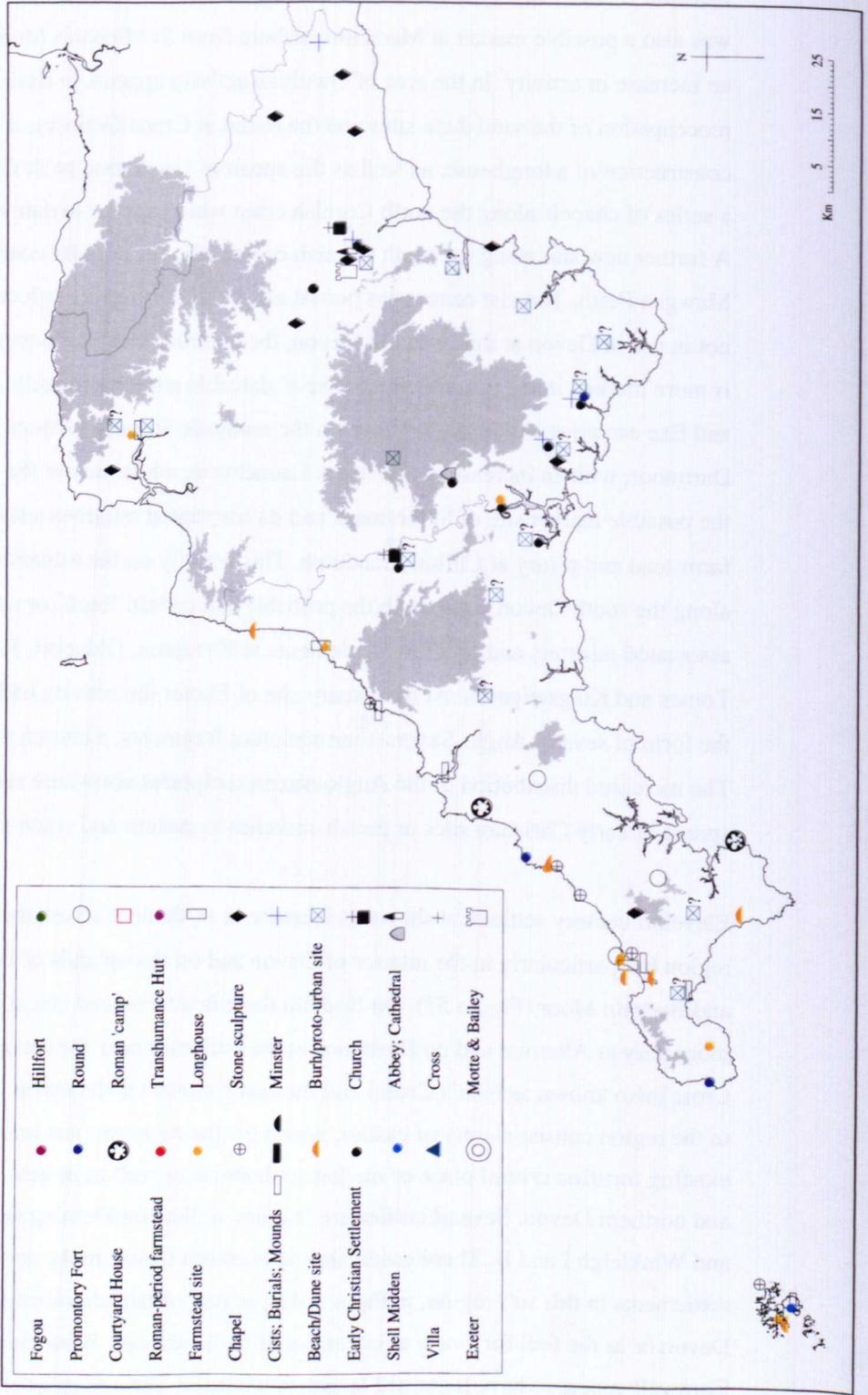


Figure 56 - Tenth-century settlements and features

the latter as well as along the south Cornish coast. In the Scilly Isles and on Lundy in contrast there appears to have been a reduction in dated settlements.

In the early twelfth century (Figure 58) the castle distribution is consolidated with further sites across Cornwall and Devon, in particular in central and northern Devon. Activity continued to the same extent in the Scilly Isles and settlement types in Cornwall show a mixture of both insular and new Anglo-Saxon and Norman forms, whilst in Devon they are predominantly religious settlements, 'burhs' and castles. In contrast to settlement patterns in the late fourth to eighth centuries, distribution in the ninth to twelfth centuries is concentrated much more in Devon than in Cornwall.

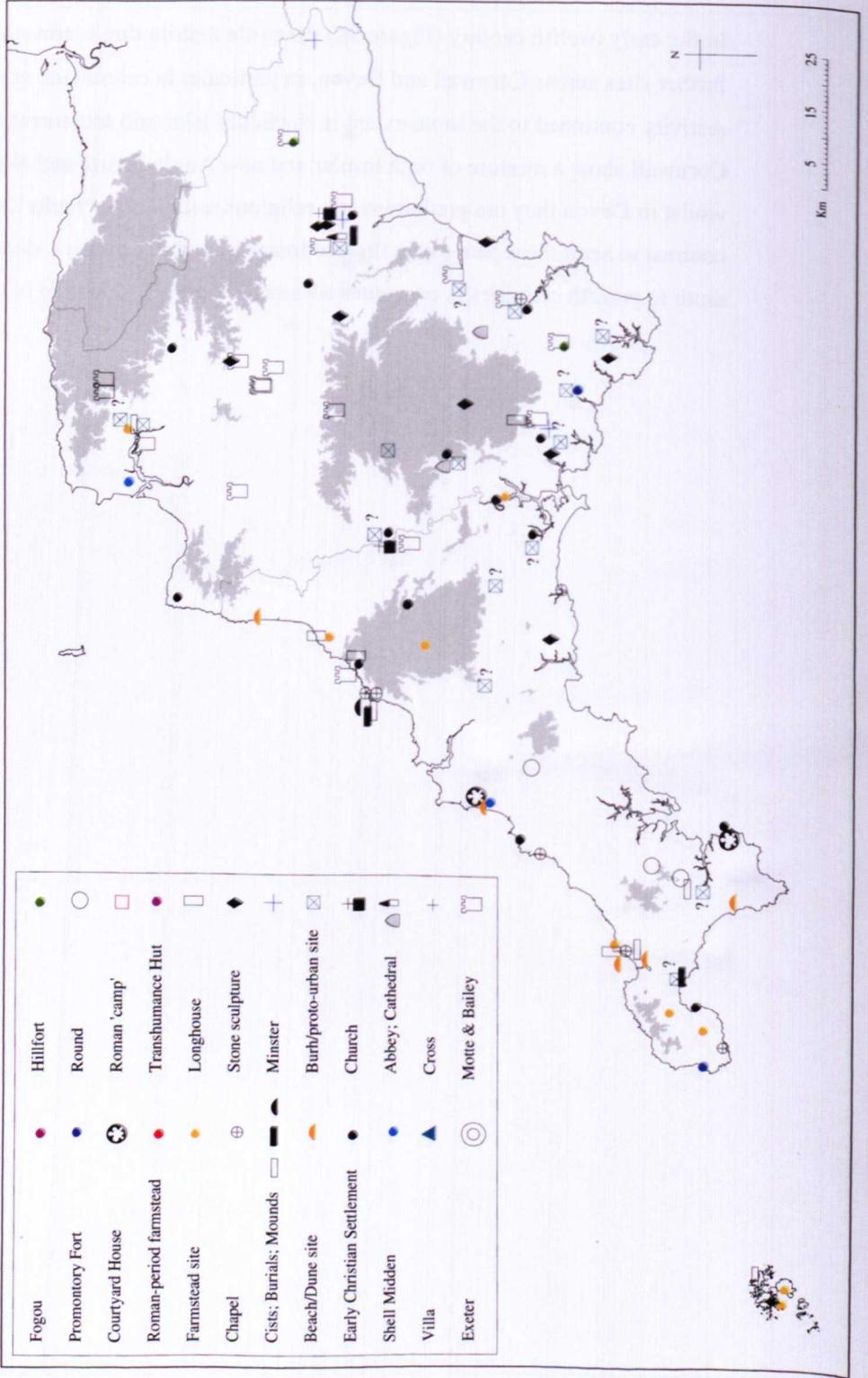


Figure 57 - Eleventh-century settlements and features

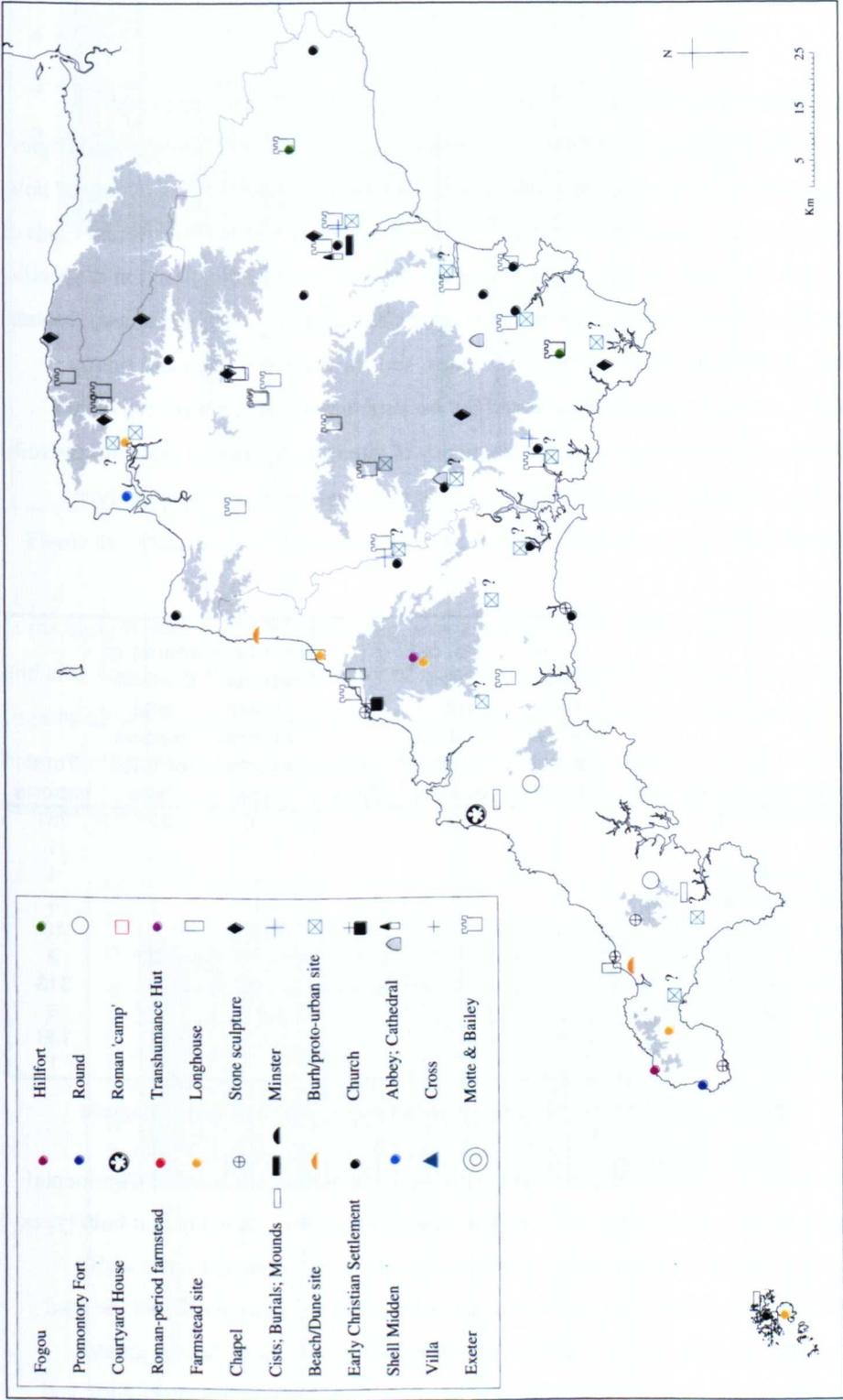


Figure 58 - Early twelfth-century settlements and features

### 4.3 Analysis of fifth- to eighth-century imported goods across the settlement morphologies

This section assesses the available evidence for grouped Mediterranean and Continental assemblages and their distribution at each of the settlement morphologies outlined above. This was carried out in order to attempt a better understanding of how imported goods were distributed and whether their greater number at different types of site could shed light on their function and the concentration of this function at specific types. These forms consisted of beach or dune sites, 'burhs', courtyard houses, rounds, islands, promontory forts, rectangular camps, sites of unknown form and finally middens, where settlement is indicated but no structural evidence was discovered. Analysis consisted of assessing the frequency of sites where imports were discovered as well as the quantitative analysis of ceramic and glass per morphological type (Figure 59).

Settlement or Site Type	No. of Sites with Mediterranean Imports	No. of Sites with Continental Imports	Total Sites	No. of	No. of	Total Imports
				sherds of Mediterranean Imports at Site Type	sherds of Continental Imports at Site Type	
Beach/Dune site	5	2	7	110	271	381
Burh	1		1	1		1
Courtyard House	2		2	4		4
Hut Circles (Farmstead)	1	1	2	3	1	4
Island	2		2	10		10
Midden		1	1		2	2
Promontory Fort	2	2	4	311	2	313
Rectangular Camp	1		1	8		8
Round	5	2	7	133	3	136
Unknown		1	1		1	1

Figure 59 - Settlements types and Mediterranean and Continental imports

The frequency of each settlement type with imported Mediterranean and Continental ceramics present was compared using bar charts (Figure 60), showing that both types of imports were discovered across a wide range of site morphologies, but with a greater number of sites with Mediterranean assemblages. Figure 61 shows the total imports per site type, where it is clear that three settlement forms have a greater frequency of imported assemblages – the beach or dune sites, promontory forts and rounds, all of which originate in the prehistoric and Romano-British eras. The former are expected given the nature of the exchange taking place, whilst the frequency

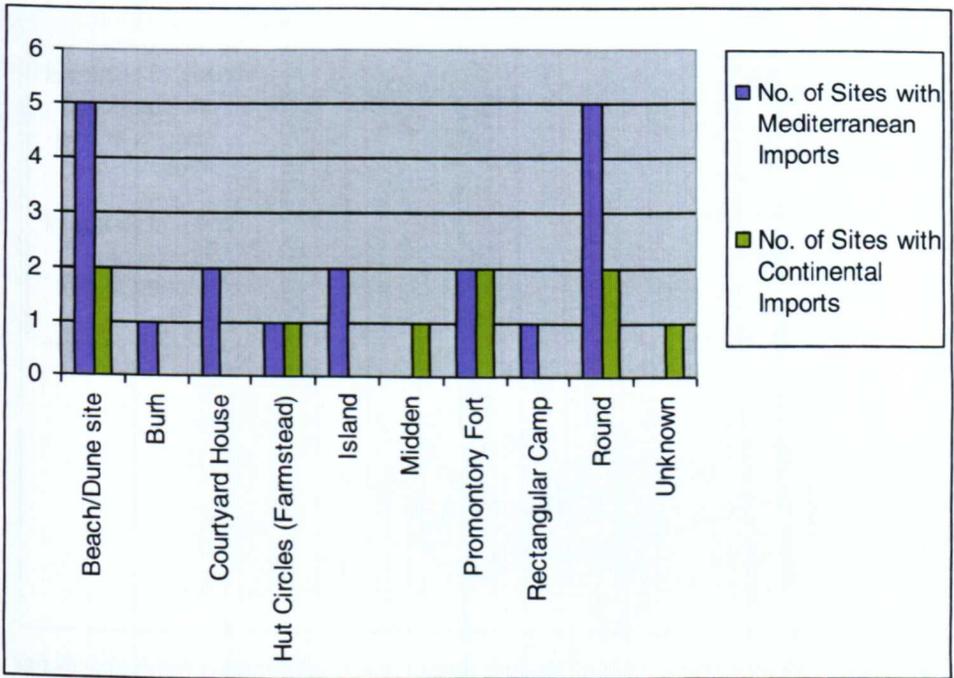


Figure 60 - Quantities of Mediterranean and Continental imports per settlement type

at the more inland rounds is interesting, suggesting possible conspicuous consumption and elite functions. When the number of sherds per settlement type is assessed in Figures 62 and 63, these peaks in location remain striking for the Mediterranean ceramics; whilst the Continental imports are found mainly at beach or dune sites, here consisting predominantly of the Gwithian assemblage. The glass assemblages,

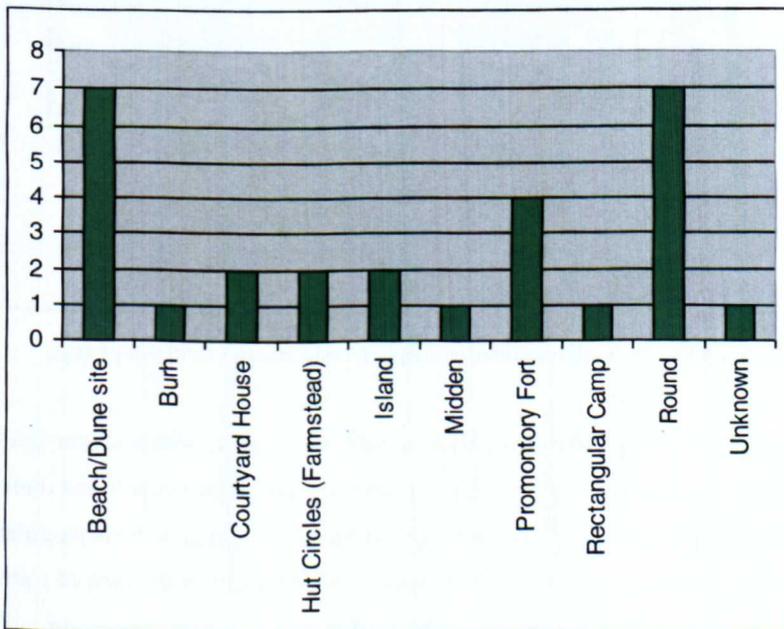
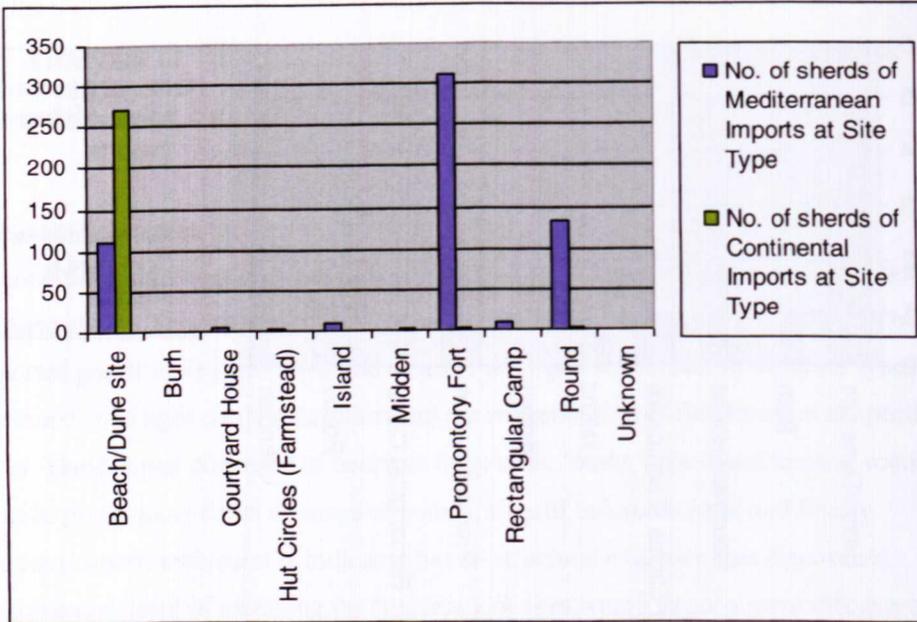
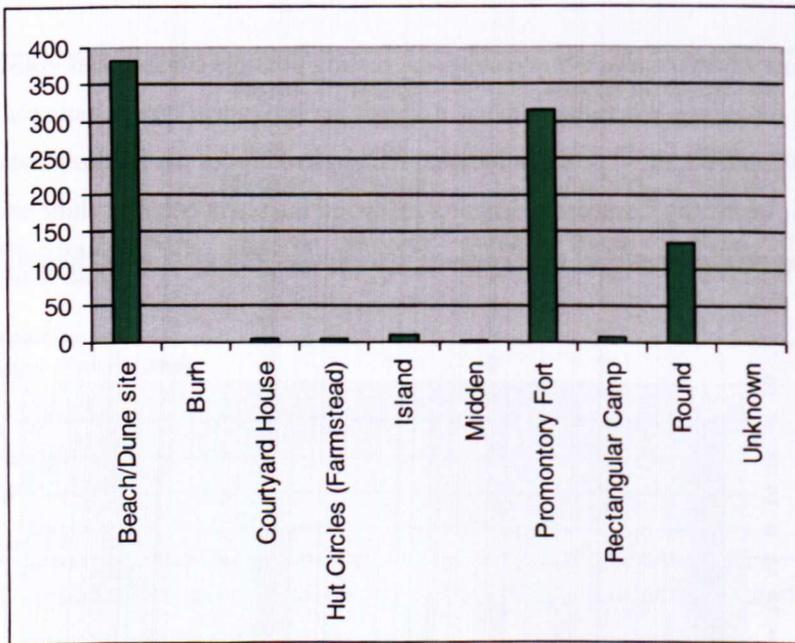


Figure 61 - Number of each settlement type with imported ceramics



**Figure 62 - Comparative chart of Mediterranean and Continental ceramic sherds per settlement type**



**Figure 63 - Total number of imported sherds per settlement type**

although considerably smaller, also show significant results, with a higher frequency at four of the rounds, whilst the remaining types consist of two beach and dune sites; and one each at promontory forts, courtyard settlements, villas, sub-rectangular enclosures, hermitages and castles. This adds further weight to the idea of rounds as potential elite settlements. When the number of sherds per type is assessed in Figure 64, these rounds still show the greater number of imports, together with a higher peak

in glass at promontory forts, largely skewed by the Tintagel assemblage, but also highlighting the function of the site as a central place for exchange, regardless of its other functions.

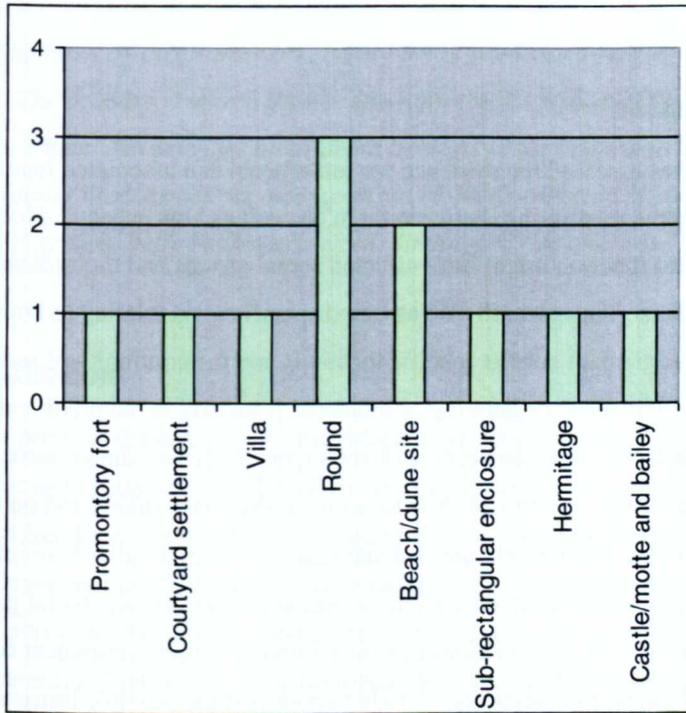


Figure 64 - Frequency of sites with glass shards

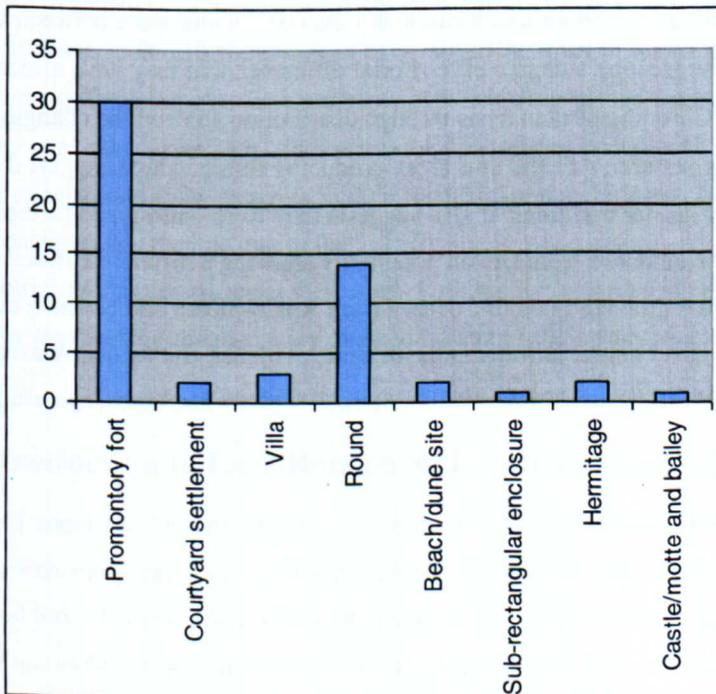


Figure 65 - Number of glass shards per settlement type

Overall, these results would suggest that the higher frequencies of morphologies with lower numbers represent consumer sites, whilst the larger assemblages of imports indicate a possible trading site. These results will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

## **4.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has assessed the evidence for settlements and associated features in the landscape and the relationship between them, as well as how aspects of location, distribution and function might have affected social groups and their identities and cultural traditions. The research also assessed specific aims relating to both the continuity of settlement sites at specific locations and the continuity of settlement forms, particularly those originating or inhabited primarily in the prehistoric and Romano-British eras. The distribution of each type of site has shown some differences and some similarities in terms of their location on the coast, inland and on the uplands, which might relate to both land use and site function. It might also have influenced how settlement patterns evolved and, therefore, as a consequence, social groups and identities. Analysis of fifth- to eighth-century imports at these settlement forms has shed further light on the incidence of traded goods and the possible functions of settlements where they were discovered.

Patterns were seen in relation to location but also on a wider scale between Cornwall and Devon, suggesting a degree of territorial difference that may have affected later boundaries. Chronological analysis through distribution showed the changing nature of settlement between AD 350 and 1150, producing results which suggest the continuity of insular traditions. It also suggests they were widespread further to the west, with the evidence from Devon potentially showing a different cultural history to Cornwall and a time-lag in the influences from Anglo-Saxon and Norman cultural groups. The next chapter introduces the ceramic evidence and its distribution and chronological differences, in relation to identity, settlements, landscape use and trade networks.

## **5. The Ceramics: analysis of the grouped fabrics**

*Chapter 5 presents the comparative analysis and discussion of the grouped ceramic data. A chronological framework for their assessment is constructed and the grouped datasets categorised by this framework, before being subdivided further by period and provenance. The primary research themes structure the discussion of the results of this analysis, which also provides an in-depth analysis of the imports to the South West. The chapter then introduces a comparison of the distribution of each of the chronological groups, before summarising the findings of this analysis.*

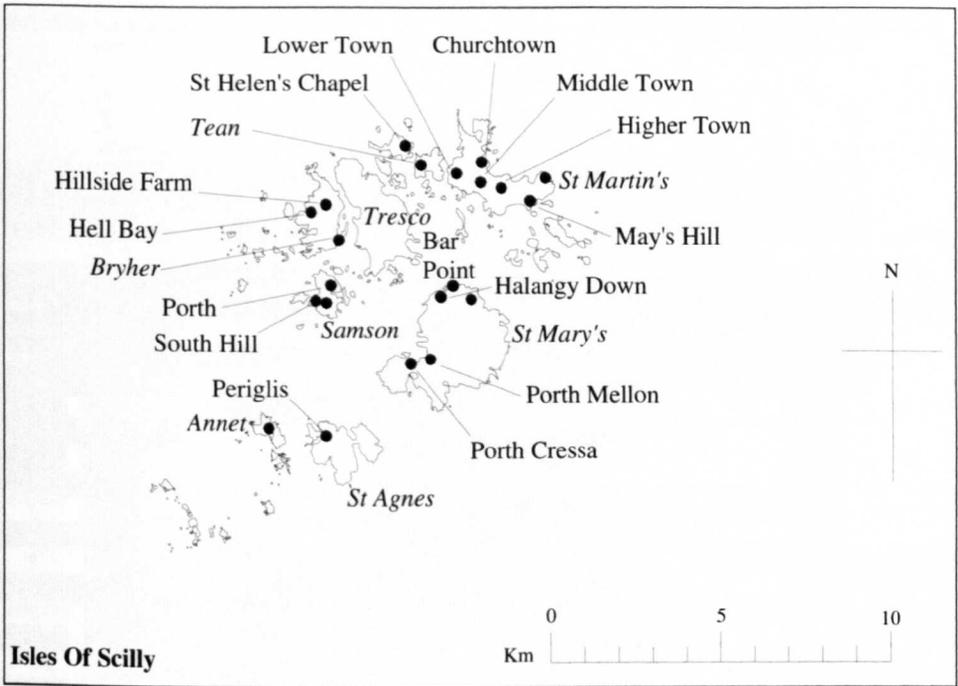
### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the analysis of grouped ceramic data, categorised by chronological and spatial criteria. This data consists of the ceramic assemblages from over two hundred Late Roman and early medieval sites within the database from Cornwall, Devon and the Scilly Isles. These range from excavated assemblages to isolated findspots and therefore represent the largest and most common evidence form within this research. Figures 66-67 demonstrate the scarcity of sites with pottery in Devon when compared to those in Cornwall, as well as reflecting a general trend towards settlement in more coastal and estuarine regions rather than in the inland and upland zones. It must be noted here that there are biases in the results which must be taken into account, including the extent of excavation, the level of preservation and bias in reporting. For example, there are many sites which, possibly due to being investigated over thirty years ago, class wares very loosely as being local, whereas many later excavations show progress in their identification techniques. Also, the apparent coastal trends may be due to the geomorphological characteristics at these sites, with higher instances of sand dunes and other factors making the discovery and excavation of these sites more feasible.

#### **5.1.1 Introduction to Late Roman and early medieval ceramics**

The types of wares used within this research consist of Late Romano-British local and imported wares, early medieval local wares and Mediterranean and Continental imports, and Saxo-Norman local wares and imports. Their chronologies and forms are shown in Figures 68-71, which group the wares by period and provenance as well as by the evidence-based groups used within the chronological analysis.





**Figure 67 - All ceramic evidence in the Scilly Isles**

This series of tables illustrates the wares discussed and analysed in this chapter and shows their period of production and use. Late Roman wares have been included where their production continued into and after the late fourth century, whilst Saxo-Norman and local early medieval wares are included even if their period of production continued post- AD 1150. Romano-British Gabbroic has been included in the Late Roman section - although its chronology extends into the early medieval period - in order to reflect the development of this local ware and because in most cases the most secure dating was for the Late Roman period.

For many of the sites where late fourth-century Romano-British wares were found, not all of the sherds were discovered in secure contexts and therefore only in those cases where there was a high probability of a late fourth-century date or the author or excavator concluded thus, were they included. The wares are arranged according to region and period of production, as well as origin based on social or ethnic influence. Where a chronology is uncertain this is represented by intermittent shading, whilst the solid shading shows a continuous period of use or production. The forms are included because changing styles may reflect different patterns of consumption within early medieval communities as well as cultural influences in their style and methods of production.

Schedule of Pottery Wares and their use

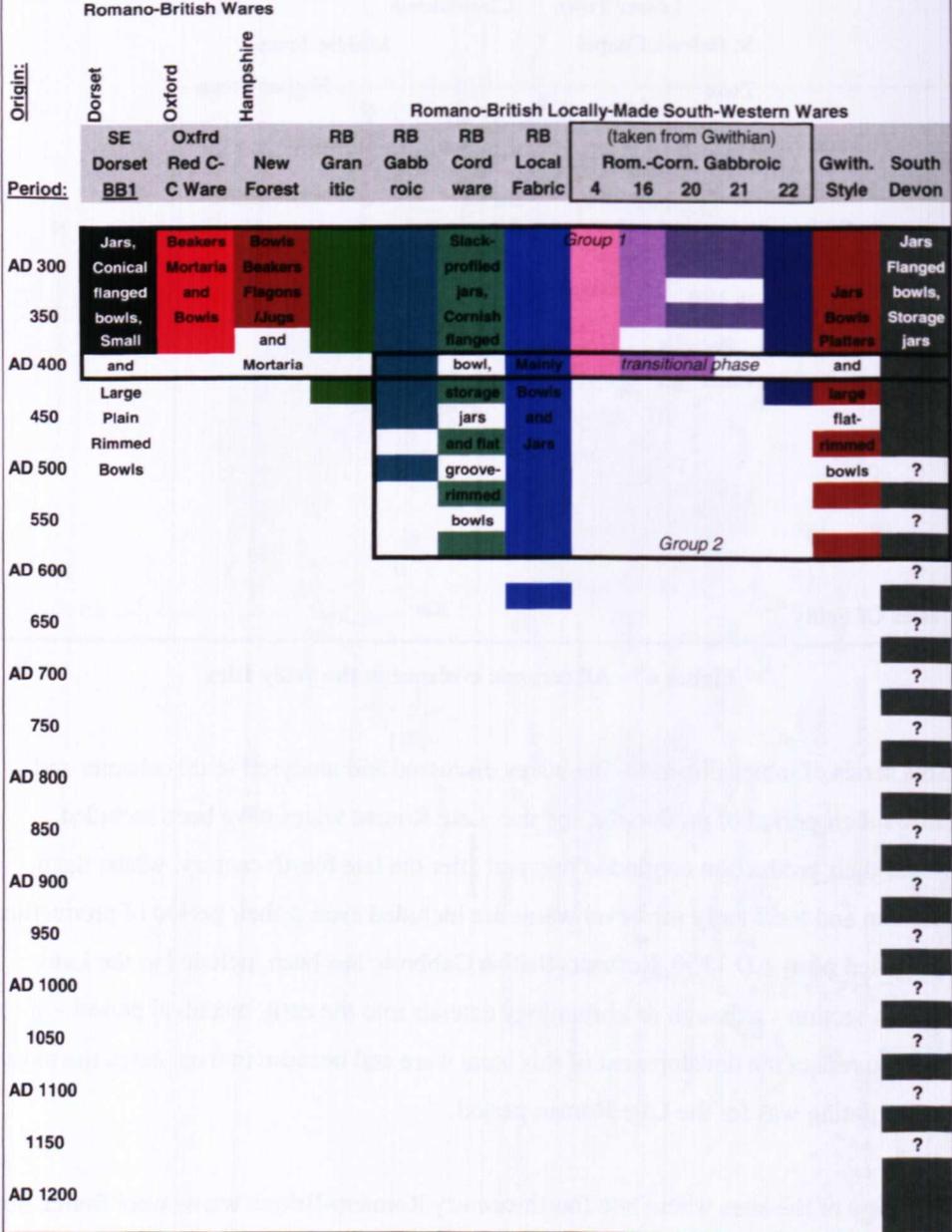


Figure 68 - Chronological sequence of Romano-British ceramics

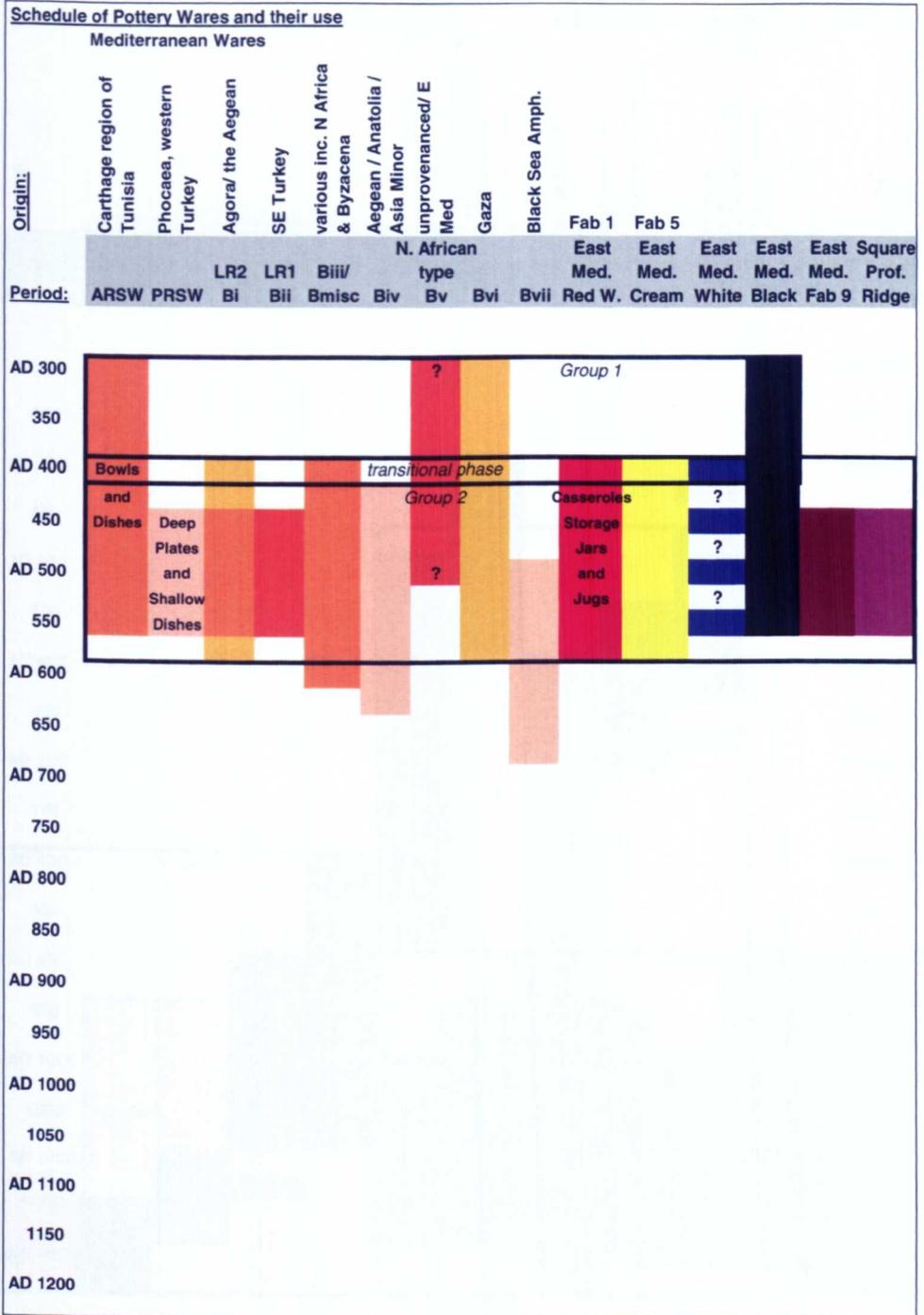
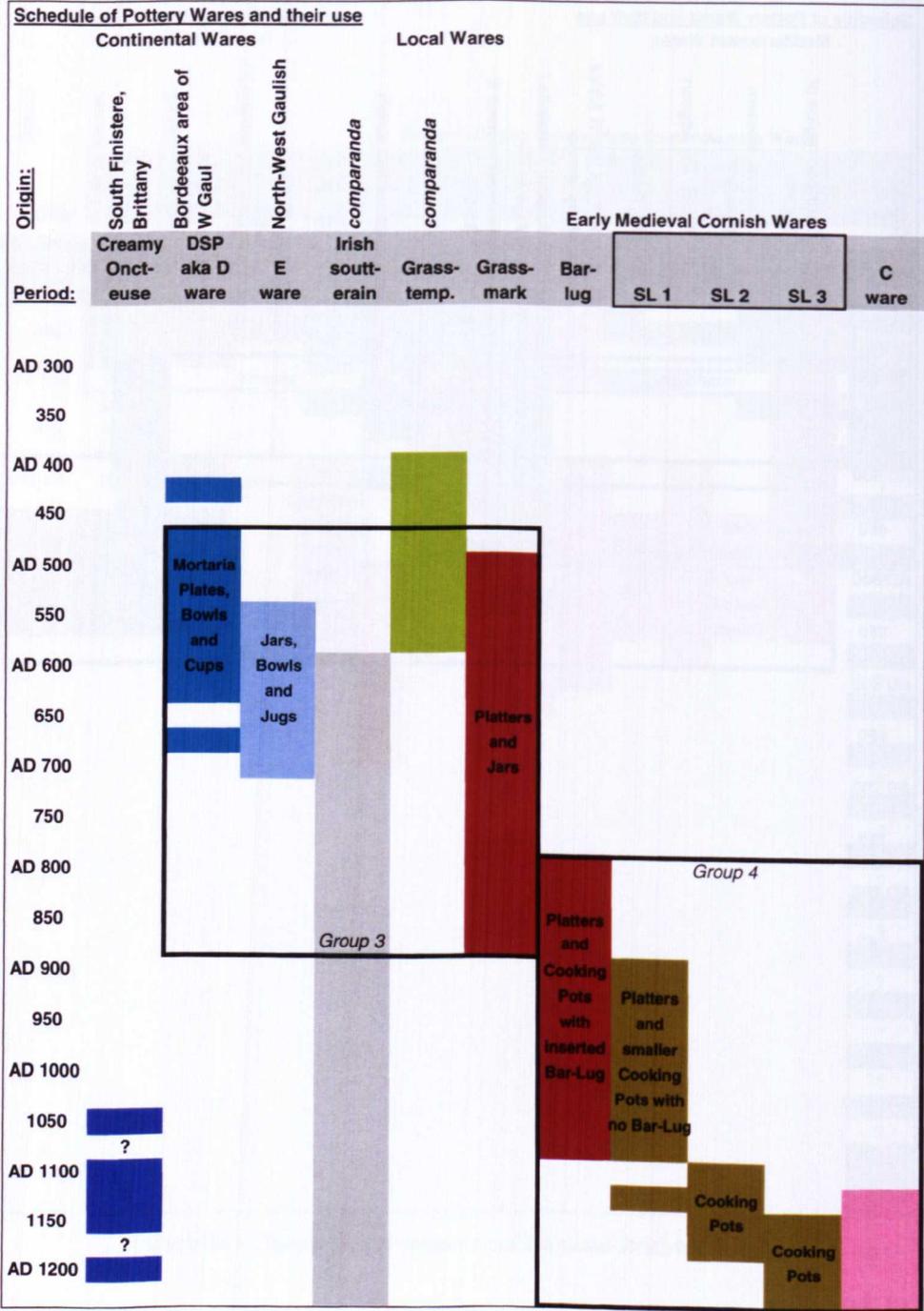


Figure 69 - Chronological sequence of Mediterranean ceramics



**Figure 70 - Chronological sequence of Continental and Cornish ceramics**

The origin and alternative terminologies are also given. Where some of the types of pottery are not used at more than one or two sites, such as Quinnell's detailed Gabbroic typology, they are shown here but not included in the main analytical processes.

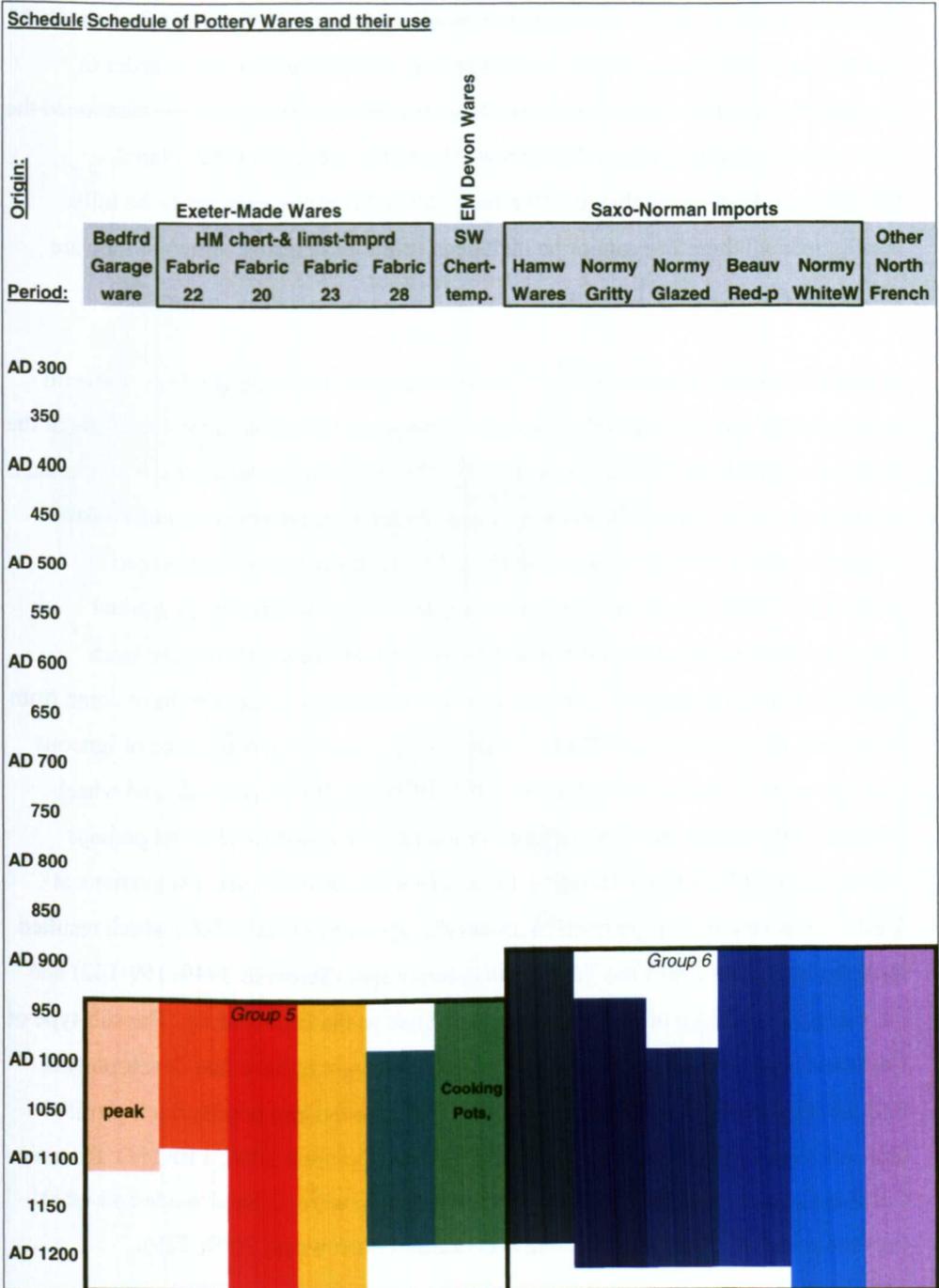


Figure 71 - Chronological sequence of local Devon wares and Saxo-Norman imports

### *Late Roman local and imported fabrics*

These fabrics are differentiated primarily by their petrological inclusions and by provenance, whilst in most cases a form has not yet been recognised. Long-term analysis of the Cornish fabrics has resulted in their identification of several types,

thanks to Quinnell (2004, 108-127) Holbrook and Bidwell (1991, 183) Carlyon (1995) and Quinnell and Thorpe (forthc.), as Gabbroic, Granitic and Local, in order to distinguish them from other locally-made wares. Where these types are mentioned the term is capitalised in order to differentiate them from general fabric-related terminology. Many assemblages from the older excavations have yet to be fully catalogued and therefore cannot be included within these terms, although they are discussed as generically Late Roman.

Romano-Cornish Gabbroic (Figure 72) has been dated from the late Iron Age with developments into the late fifth century by Thorpe and Thomas in their analysis of the Tintagel assemblages (in Barrowman 2007, 229) where it appears to have continued in production and use alongside early medieval imports. Approximately ninety-five percent of all Romano-Cornish pottery is gabbroic, deriving from unlocated production centres somewhere on the Lizard peninsula and showing a gradual influence from Roman forms (Quinnell 1986, 129). However, there have been suggestions that the range of minerals found in the pottery could also have come from elsewhere, specifically near Camborne and also perhaps from other sites of igneous rock (Howard & Sofranoff, in Mercer 1981, 1979-81). It is hand made and wheel-finished, with a black exterior coating, sometimes burnished (*ibid.*), and perhaps imitating South East Black Burnished wares from Poole in Dorset. Excavations at Trethurgy have allowed Quinnell to produce a type-series (2004, 109) which resulted in the re-interpretation of the Trebarveth assemblages (Serocold 1949, 169-182) and the potential re-dating of Thomas' Gwithian Style to the fifth century. The sub-type of Cordoned ware was an Iron Age fabric which is thought to have had developments into the sixth century, with forms including flat, grooved-rim bowls, slack-profiled jars and large storage jars, and large cooking pots (Quinnell 2004, 110-111). Romano-Cornish Granitic (Figure 73) resembles South Devon ware, is hand-made and wheel-finished and dates to the third to fourth centuries (Barrowman 2007, 229).

The Romano-Cornish Local fabric (Figure 74) was first recognised by Quinnell and Thorpe during the re-assessment of Radford's native wares from Tintagel in the 1930s, as a hand made, thin-walled and hard-fired brown-buff to grey-black fabric (Barrowman 2007, 229). It appears to have been carefully manufactured with a high-quality burnishing, consisting of forms mainly of bowls and jars and with production continuing into the sixth century AD (*ibid.*). South Devon ware (Figure 75), despite its name, has also been found in large numbers in Cornwall. It was produced in the Dart

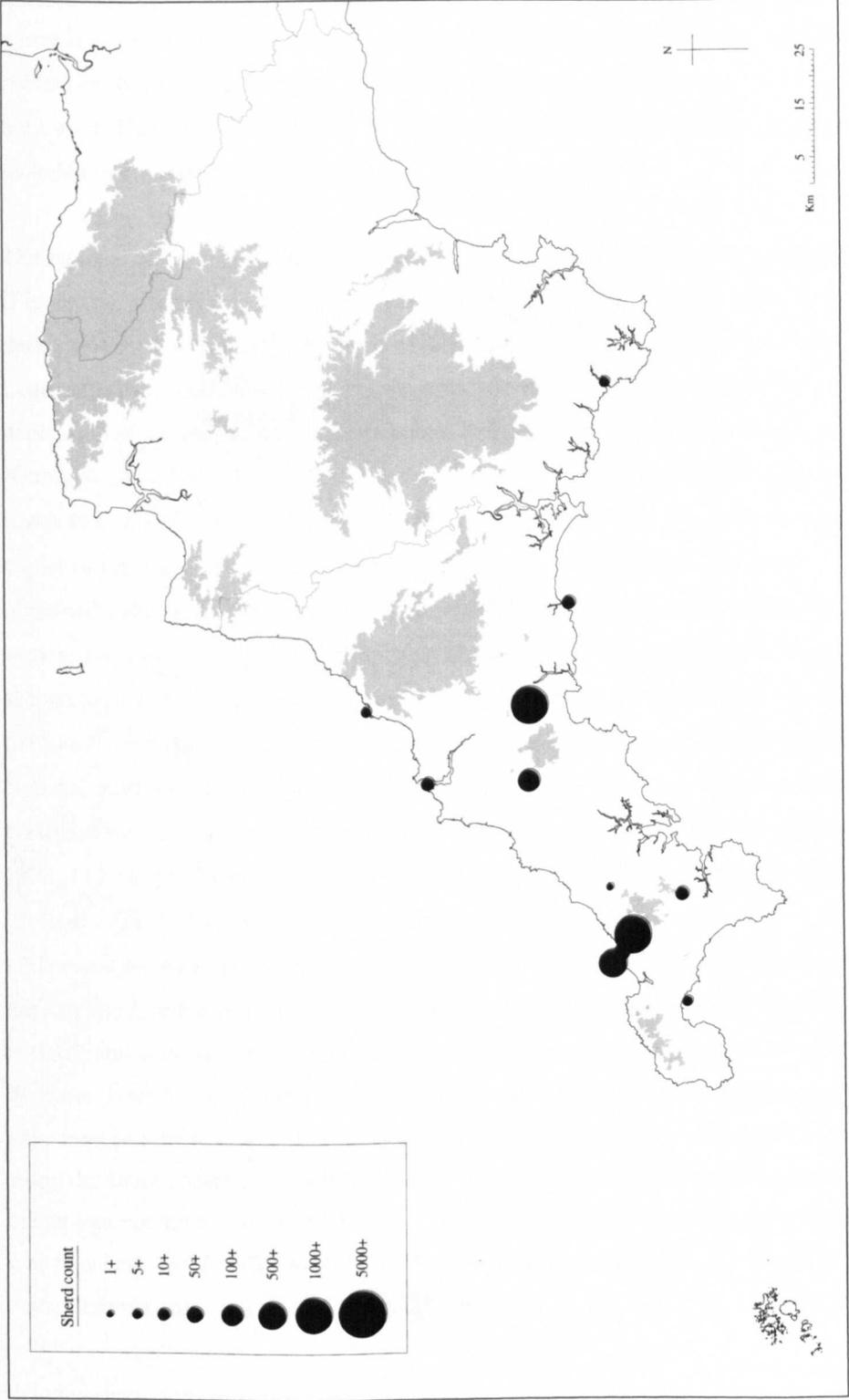


Figure 72 - Romano-British Gabbroic ware

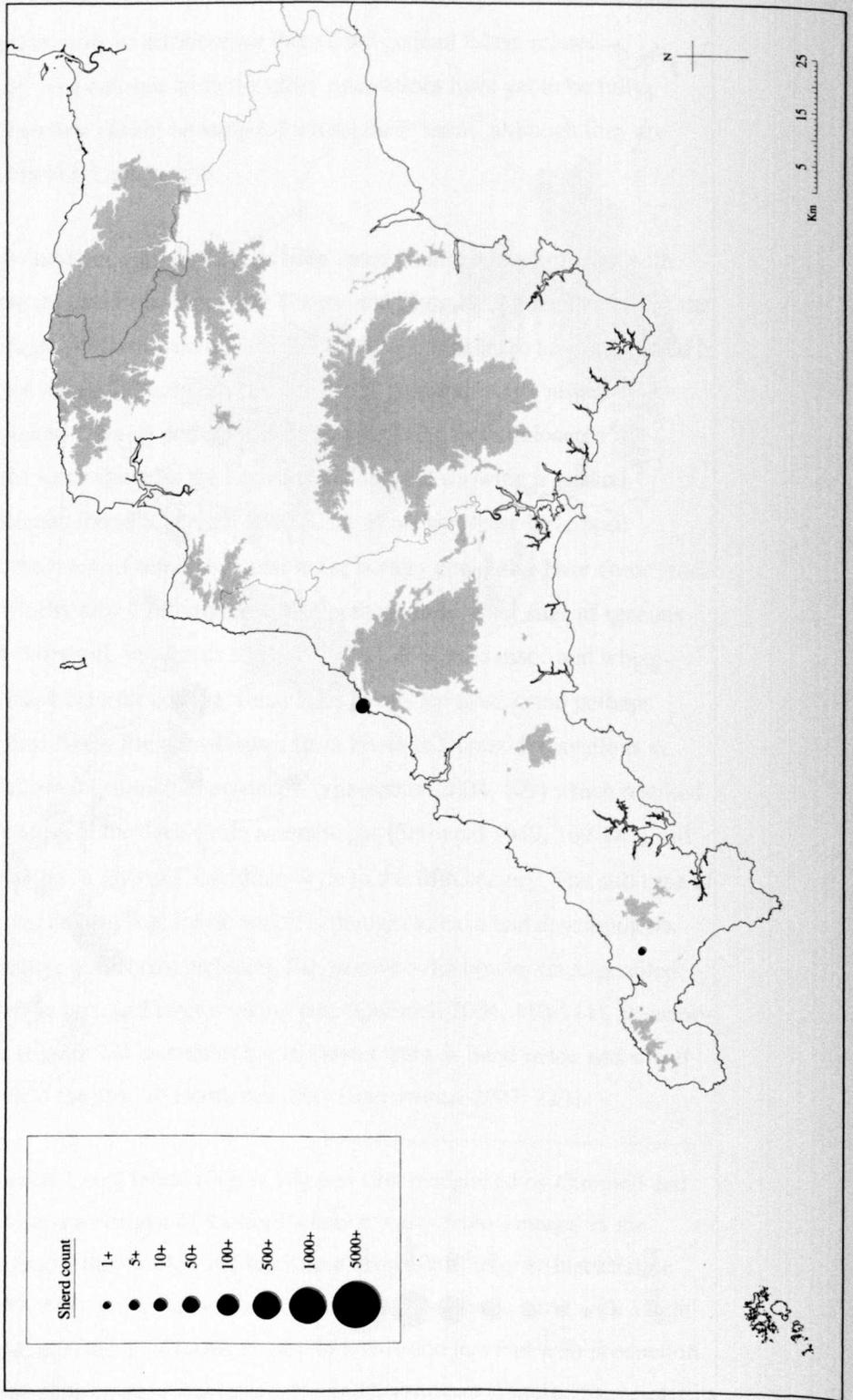


Figure 73 - Romano-British Granitic ware

valley, has a distinctive granitic fabric (Quinnell 1986, 128) and could therefore be a productive variant of the granitic Cornish wares or indeed be the same fabric. Its forms include large jars with cordons and its types series was established for Exeter where it dates into the fifth century, with similar fabrics found in thirteenth-century contexts at Beer in South Devon, suggesting that the same clay source could have been used. There are also a number of unidentified Romano-British sherds, which are included in the grouped analysis.

The regional wares imported into the South West included South East Dorset BB1 (Figure 76), produced in the Wareham or Poole Harbour area of Dorset, a black or dark grey fabric with forms consisting of jars, conical flanged bowls and small and large plain-rimmed bowls. It had the characteristic burnishing and, more rarely, decoration of narrow shallow lines and dates to the first to fourth centuries AD (Quinnell 2004, 104-105). A type series was established for Exeter assemblages where it was known as Exeter 31 (Holbrook & Bidwell 1991, Figure 5, 17), whilst Exeter copies of this ware have been discovered at Carvossa, Kilhallon and Trethurgy (Quinnell 1986, 128). Oxford Colour Coated and other Oxfordshire wares (Figure 77) were a series of Romano-British fabrics produced in the Oxford region from the second to early fifth centuries (Harden 1936, 81-102), with a wider distribution during the fourth century compared with previously (Young 1977, 239). Forms consisted of beakers, mortaria and bowls (Quinnell 2004, 104). New Forest wares (Figure 78) were classified by Swan into four groups, two of which included mortaria (Swan, in Pollard 1974, 115-117) and whose forms consist of bowls, beakers, flagons, jugs and mortaria (Pollard 1974, 117-136). They include imitation Samian, fine colour-coated tablewares and mortaria, with colours varying from red to purple and dating to the late third to late fourth centuries. Swan notes that at Holcombe (Uplyme), the Oxford potters, who were able to sell their wares to sites far from the kiln sites not accessible by water, were in direct competition with the potters of the New Forest who would have been in a more favourable position to export their wares down the Avon and along the south coast (in Pollard 1974, 115). She also suggests that the Oxford manufacturers might have used the upper reaches of the Thames and then the Fosse way to access (*ibid.*). This might also have been the method by which other goods made their way into and across Devon and Cornwall.

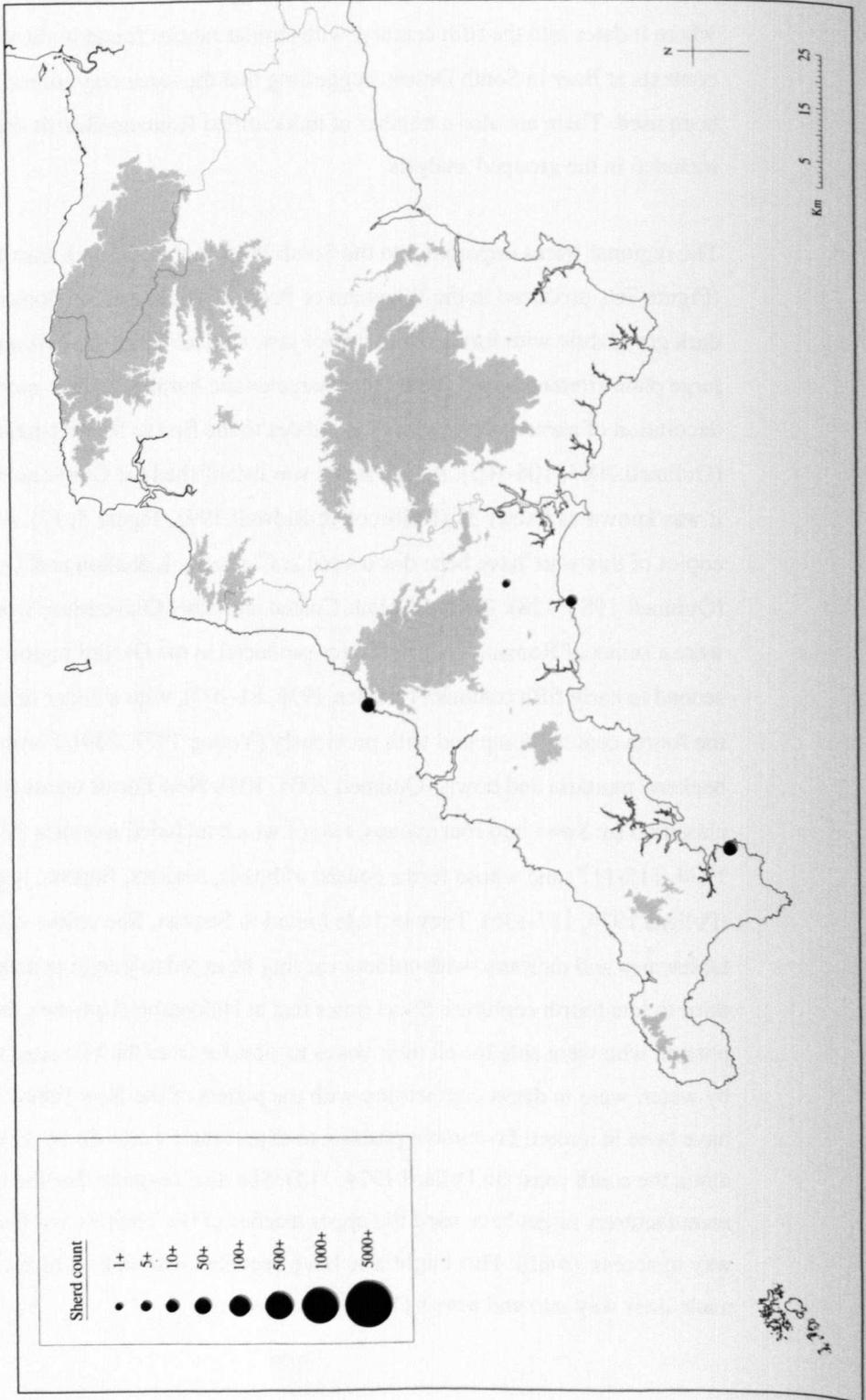


Figure 74 - Romano-Cornish Local ware

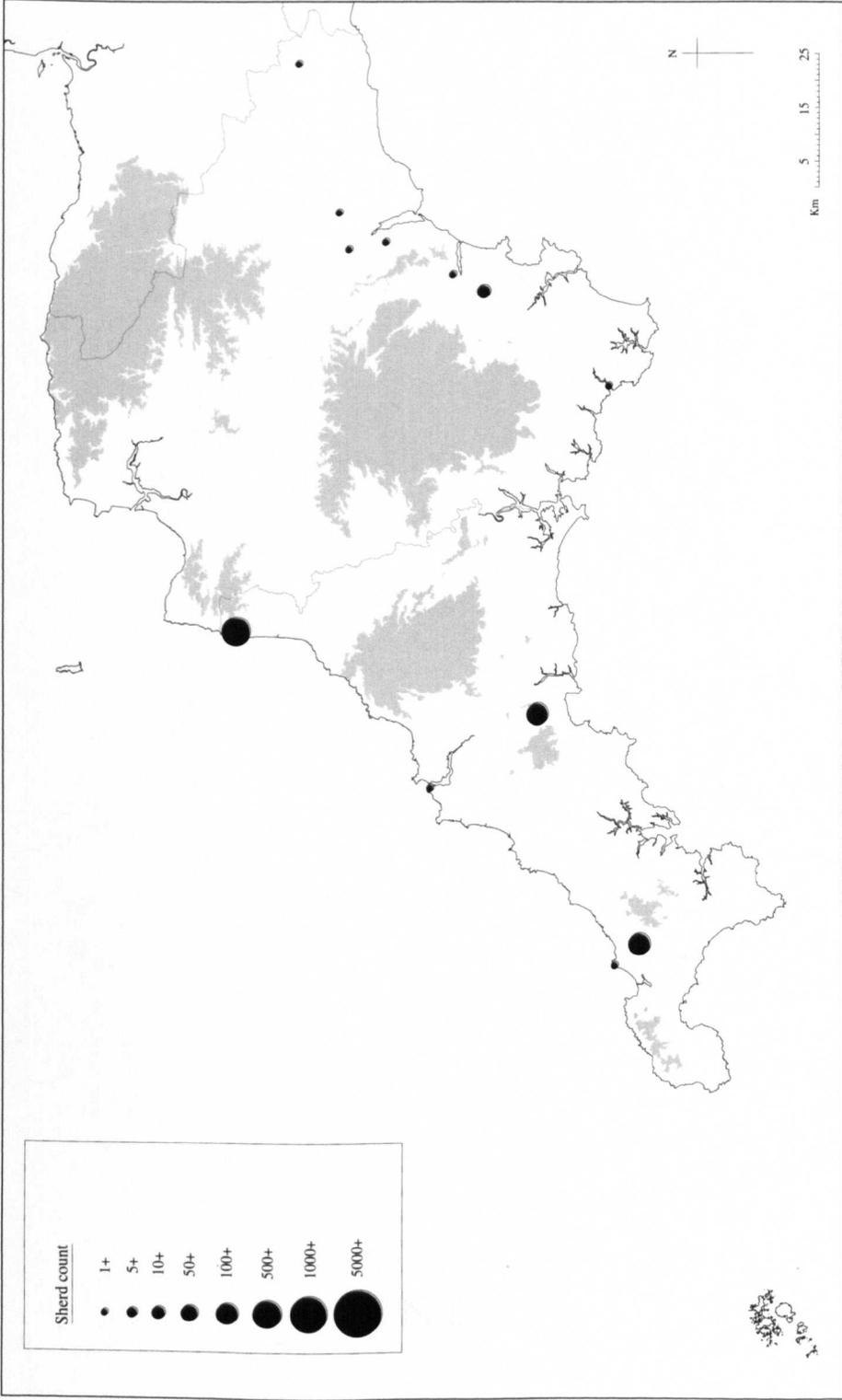


Figure 75 - South Devon ware

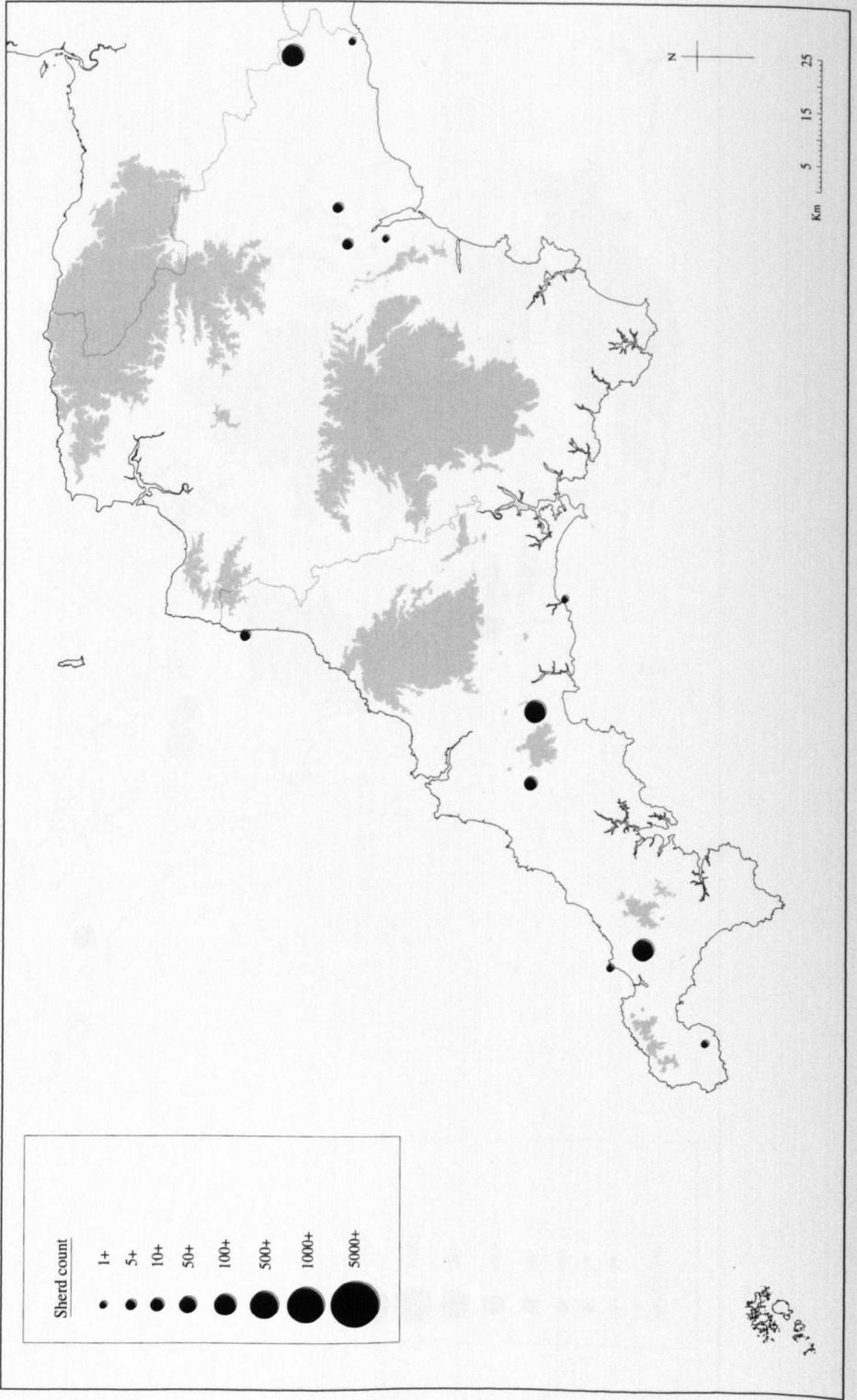
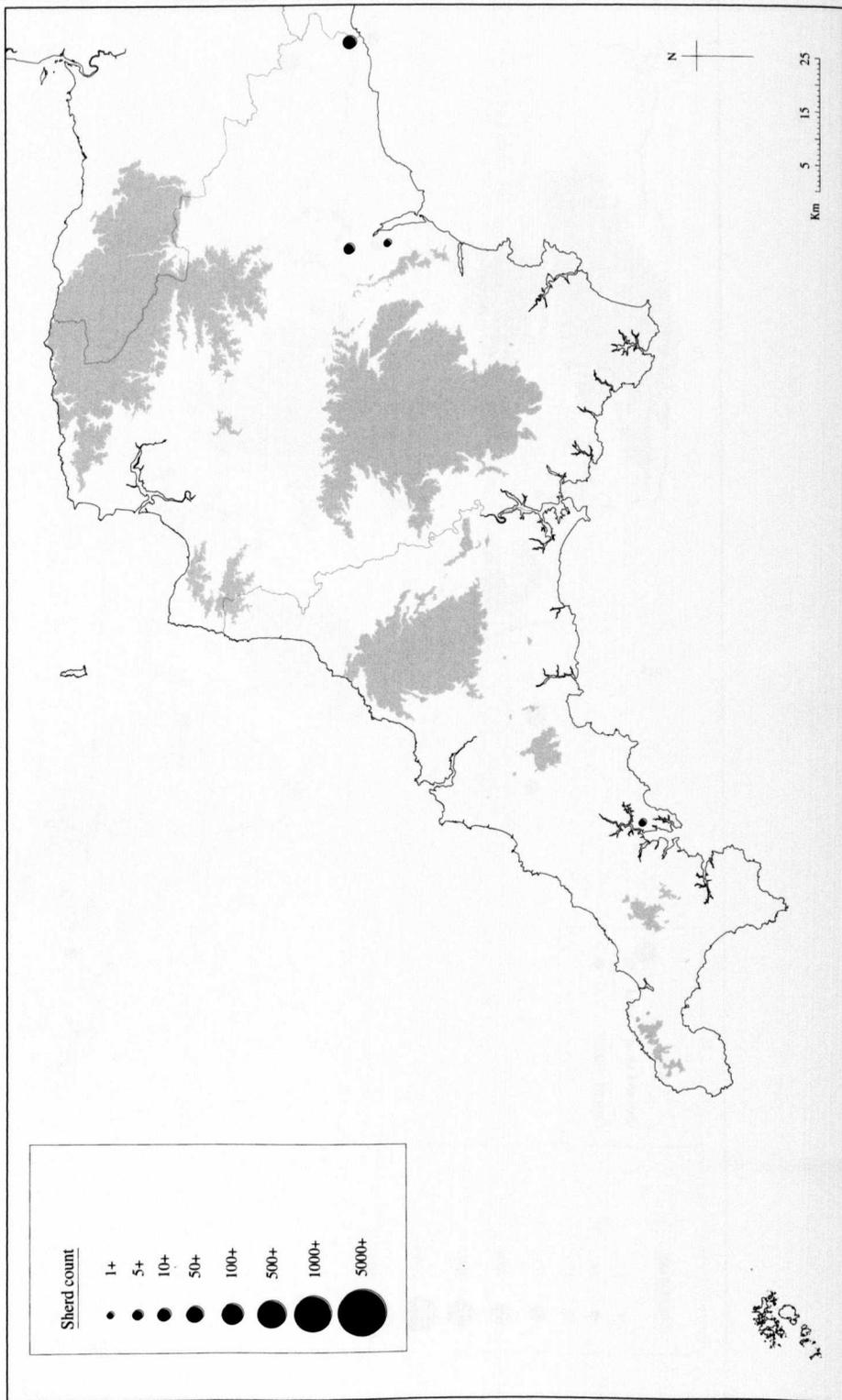


Figure 76 - South East Dorset Black-Burnished ware





**Figure 78 - Romano-British New Forest ware**

### ***Early medieval local and imported fabrics***

Studies of the local wares have resulted in a series of grass-marked fabrics being identified, which include the Cornish 'Gwithian Style' fabric (Figure 79), identified by Thomas during excavations at Gwithian (1968, 314) as a post-Roman fabric, but re-dated relatively recently during the re-assessment of the site assemblages to the late fifth to late seventh centuries (Thomas, Thorpe & Quinnell in Nowakowski et al 2007b, 140-141). This was a gabbroic fabric with a finer, better-finished surface and more hard-fired than the Late Roman Gabbroic type (*ibid.*, 140). The form consists of jars similar to Quinnell's Cornish Type 4, shouldered jars or bowls with short upright rims, platters with relatively large diameters and large flat-rimmed bowls, which are thought to indicate some change in the preparation and serving of food (Quinnell 2004, 108-127) towards a more grouped tradition of consumption and with implications in how early medieval society experienced food. Early medieval gabbroic wares seem to have been a development of the Late Roman fabrics. However, little work has been done on examples which do not show the grass-marked or bar-lug features (Preston-Jones & Rose 1986, 175). Imogen Wood is currently undertaking the most recent examination of the gabbroic fabrics and the results of her work are forthcoming (2011), therefore this fabric has been excluded from the grouped analysis. Their presence however is important, as they demonstrate a continuation of former production techniques as well as a need for local and probably 'everyday' wares for 'everyday' use. Wood also discusses their social importance, in relation to the social significance of clay and its sourcing, and how this source would have become a "node in the socialised landscape" (*ibid.*).

The term Grass-marked relates to the markings left during the production stage of this ware, where it appears that chopped grass was used to stand the pots on prior to firing (Figures 80-81). The early wares have two forms, consisting of platters and jars with the grass-marking on their lower exteriors; the platters relate to those of the Gwithian Style but have less decoration and higher walls, whilst the jars are straight-sided with large flat bases and simple rims which may have incised or finger nail decoration (Thomas, Thorpe & Quinnell, in Nowakowski et al 2007b, 142).





**Figure 80 - Grass-marked sherd (Author's photograph, copyright Truro Museum)**

These platters show a continuity of some of the late Romano-British forms. The fabric is gabbroic, softer and thicker than the Gwithian Style and production is thought to have begun in the sixth century, perhaps as a continual development of Gwithian Style wares, but without having any substantial overlap (Williams, in Quinnell 2004, 126-127). It is thought to have the same clay source on the Lizard as pre-Roman gabbroic fabrics (*ibid.*). The ware then continues in production into the ninth century, overlapping with the bar-lug tradition, which may or may not have been a “contemporary functional variant” of the grass-marked fabric (Thomas, Thorpe & Quinnell in Nowakowski et al 2007b, 142). Quinnell suggests that the continuation of later Roman grass-marked traditions need not have occurred across the entire peninsula at the same rate and there may have been some local gaps in the use of ceramics, and variation in the mechanisms by which the grass-marked styles were introduced in different parts of Cornwall and Scilly (2004, 127). If the later Roman traditions of pottery production continued into the sixth century, then grass-marked styles may have gradually come in to replace them during that century (*ibid.*). It was previously postulated that grass-marked wares owed their origins to the Irish souterrain wares. However, it has now been proved that they predate them by several centuries and it is becoming increasingly likely that the grass-marks were an insular development, owing their origins to perhaps the prehistoric or Romano-British tradition.

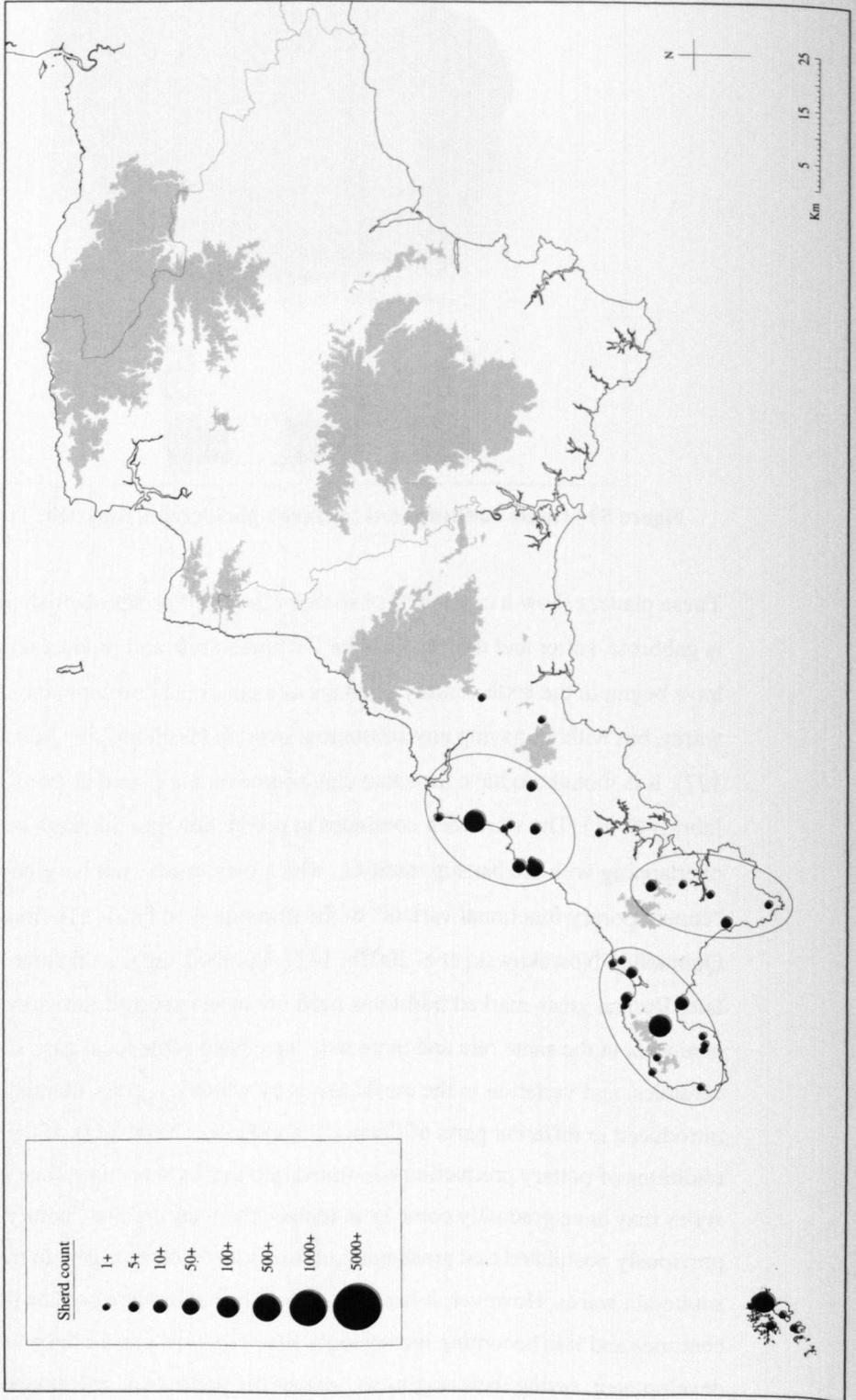


Figure 81 - Grass-marked ware

Bar-lug appears to have been a continuation or variant of the early grass-marked wares, with grass-marked platters continuing, whilst the straight-sided cooking pots were developed to have opposed suspension bars inserted into their rims (Figures 82-83), which might have been heavier than previously. The fabric is of a similar coarse gabbro and thought to date to the ninth to eleventh centuries, although its chronology is not yet well-understood (Thomas, Thorpe & Quinnell in Nowakowski et al 2007b, 142). The ware has regional variations, with grass-marked sherds found to the west of Newquay and without grass-markings to the east (*ibid.*), whilst most were apparently produced from clays local to where the sherds were found (Hutchinson 1979, 82). Pearce notes that Bar-lug might have been influenced by instances of the form in



**Figure 82 - Reconstructed Bar-lug vessel (Author's photograph, copyright Truro Museum**

northern Germany and that its limitation to Cornish contexts could suggest separate Cornish “trading outlets” from the rest of the South West (2004, 260); however Becker (1959, in Hutchinson, 1979, 89) has shown that the bar-lug device had its origins in prehistory. It is possible that this is an error in the dating of many sites, including that of St Michael’s Mount where one sherd of Bar-lug has been discovered in an Iron Age context, but which may have been re-deposited from the Middle Bronze Age (Herring 1993, Figure 12, 43-44). These lugs are common in the Middle

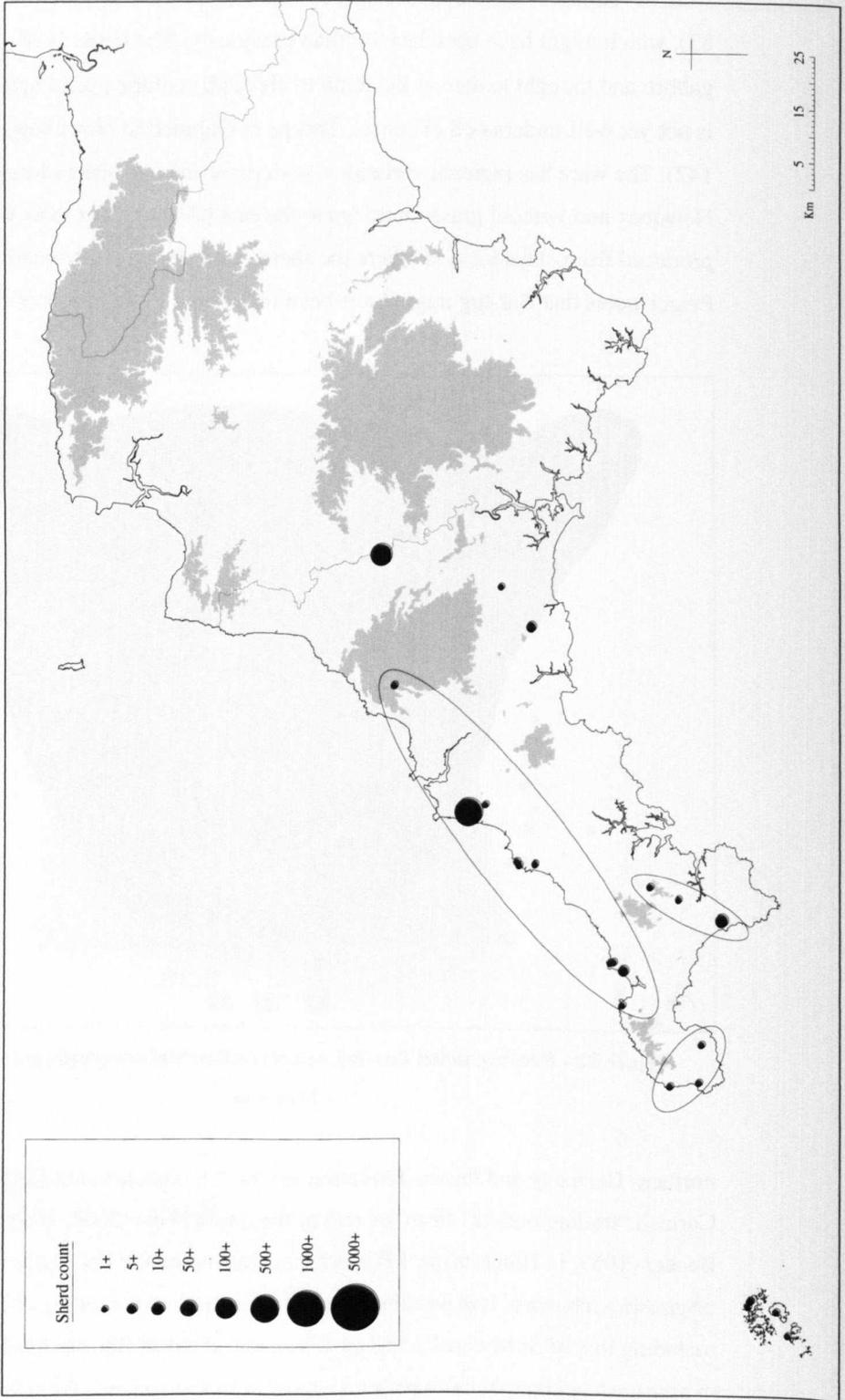
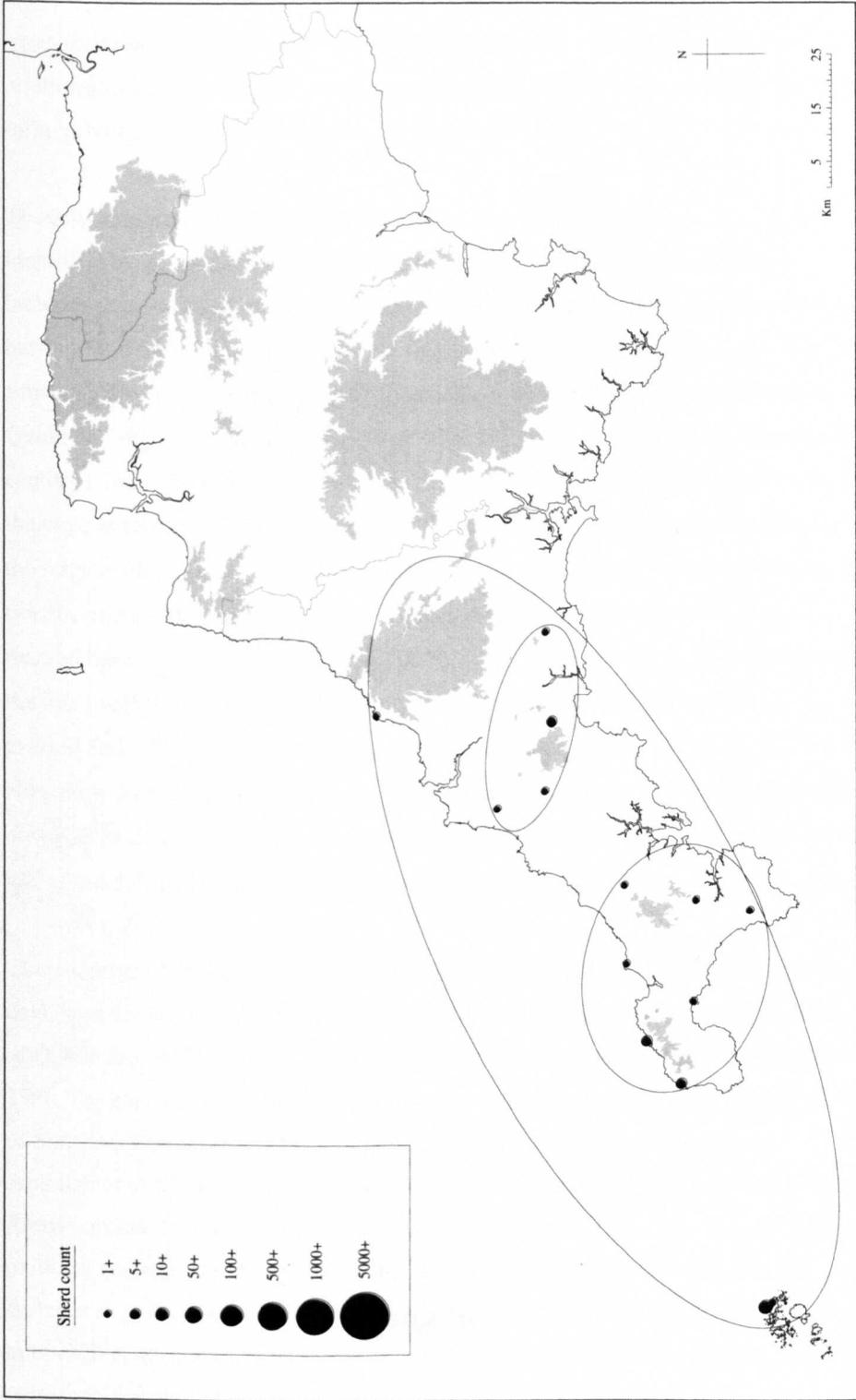


Figure 83 - Bar-lug ware



**Figure 84 - Sandy Lane I**

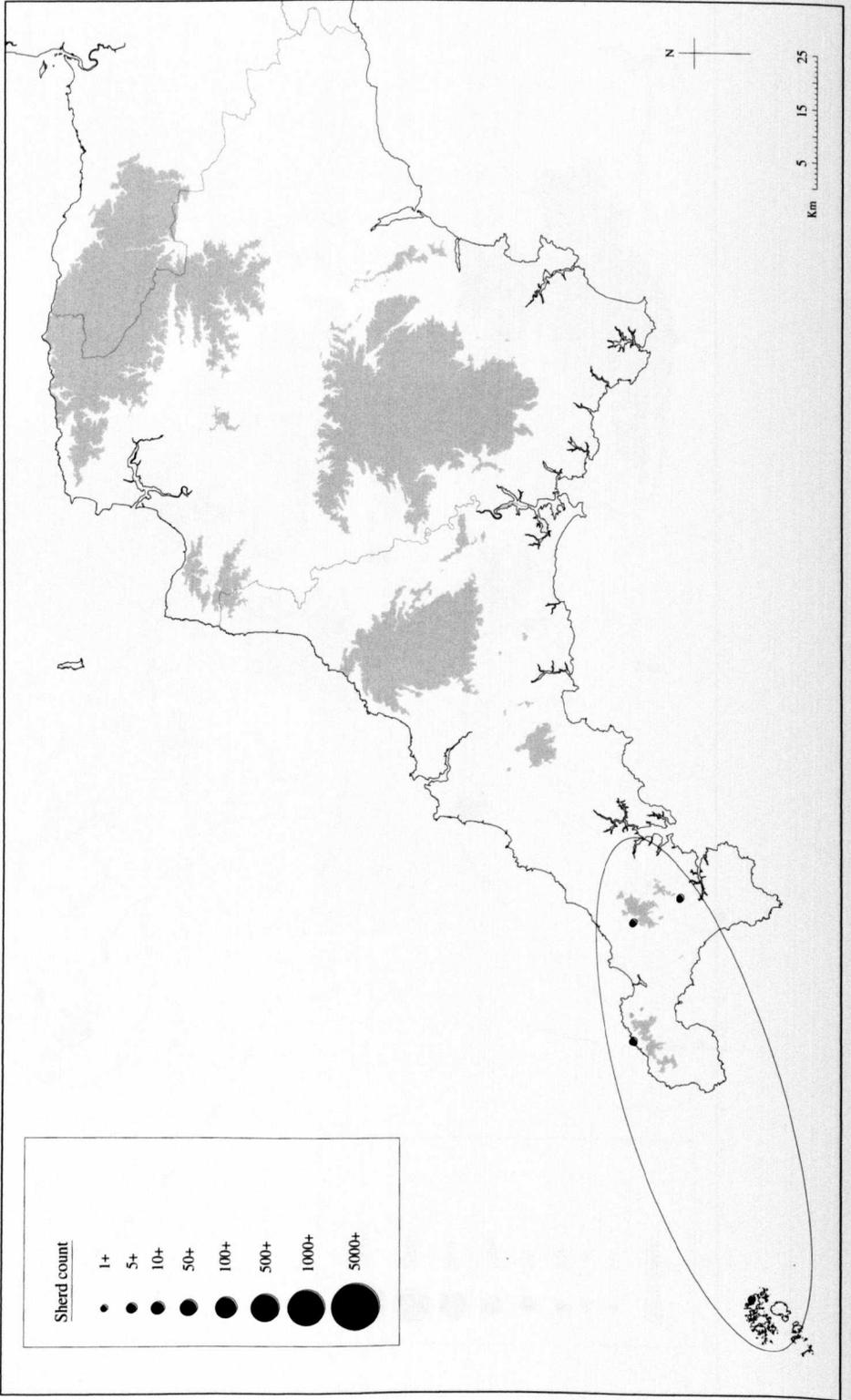
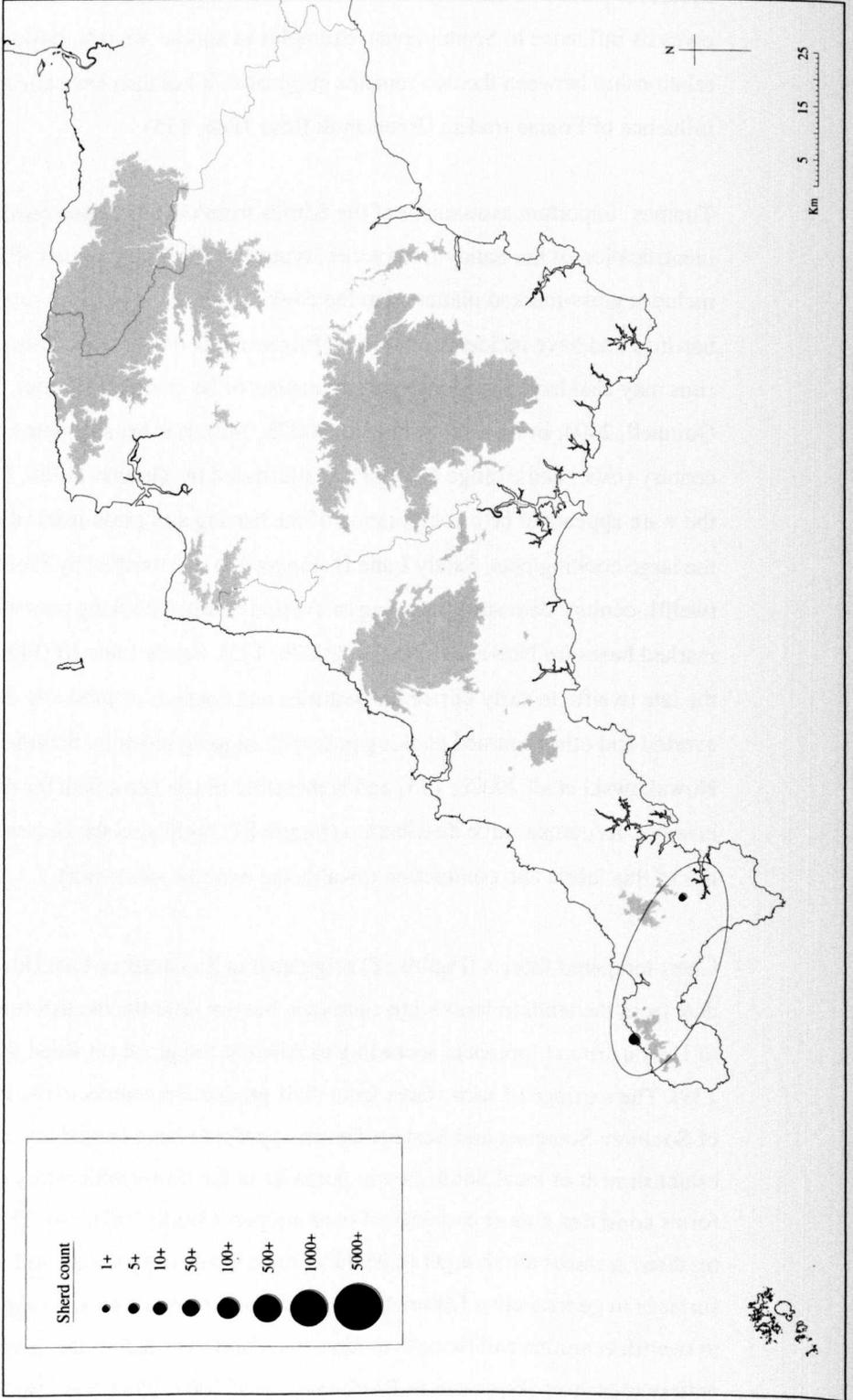


Figure 85 - Sandy Lane II

Bronze Age in the region but rare in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (*ibid.*) and therefore their continuity from these periods into the Romano-British and Early Medieval periods is unlikely. There have been suggestions that the bar-lug feature owes its influence to Scandinavian examples of similar vessels, however the relationship between the two remains enigmatic. It has also been attributed to the influence of Frisian traders (Johnson & Rose 1986, 175).

Thomas' important assessment of the fabrics from Gwithian also resulted in the identification of the Sandy Lane series, types I to III. Sandy Lane I (Figure 84) includes grass-marked platters, but the cooking pots have become smaller, without bar-lugs and have incidents of vertical finger marks on the walls above the base; the rims may also have rolled internal expansions or be everted (Thomas, Thorpe & Quinnell, 2004, in Nowakowski et al, 2007b, 142). It is broadly dated to the eleventh century (*ibid.*) and a range of vessels is illustrated by Thomas (1968, Fig 73). In style, the ware appears to be a continuation of the bar-lug and grass-marked styles such as the large cooking pots. Sandy Lane II (Figure 85) is described by Freeman as being of twelfth-century date and consisting of everted-rimmed cooking pots with grass-marked bases (in Nowakowski et al, 2007b, 175). Sandy Lane III (Figure 86) dates to the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries and consists of (possibly decorated) everted and other-rimmed cooking pots with sagging bases by Freeman (2004 in Nowakowski et al, 2007b, 175) and is therefore of too late a date for this research; however its comparative distribution (Figure 87) highlights the decreasing trend in the use of this fabric and contraction towards the extreme south-west.

Chert-tempered fabrics (Figure 88) originated in Somerset or East Devon and range in date from the tenth to fourteenth centuries, but not after the twelfth century in the area of Devon around Ipplepen, according to Allan & Langman (in Reed & Turton 2006, 138). The carriage of such wares from their production centres in the Blackdown Hills of Southern Somerset and Eastern Devon appears to have ceased upon the establishment of local South Devon potteries in the thirteenth century (*ibid.*). Their forms consisted almost certainly of cooking pots (Smith 1983, 78). The sherds with oxidised surfaces are thought to be the earliest forms of this ware and oxidised red surfaces in general are a feature typical of Saxo-Norman wares, dating to the eleventh to twelfth centuries and thought to have been imported before the creation of local pottery industries (Freeman, in Barrowman et al 2007, 258). It is also known as Upper Greensand due to the nature of its fabric.



**Figure 86 - Sandy Lane III**

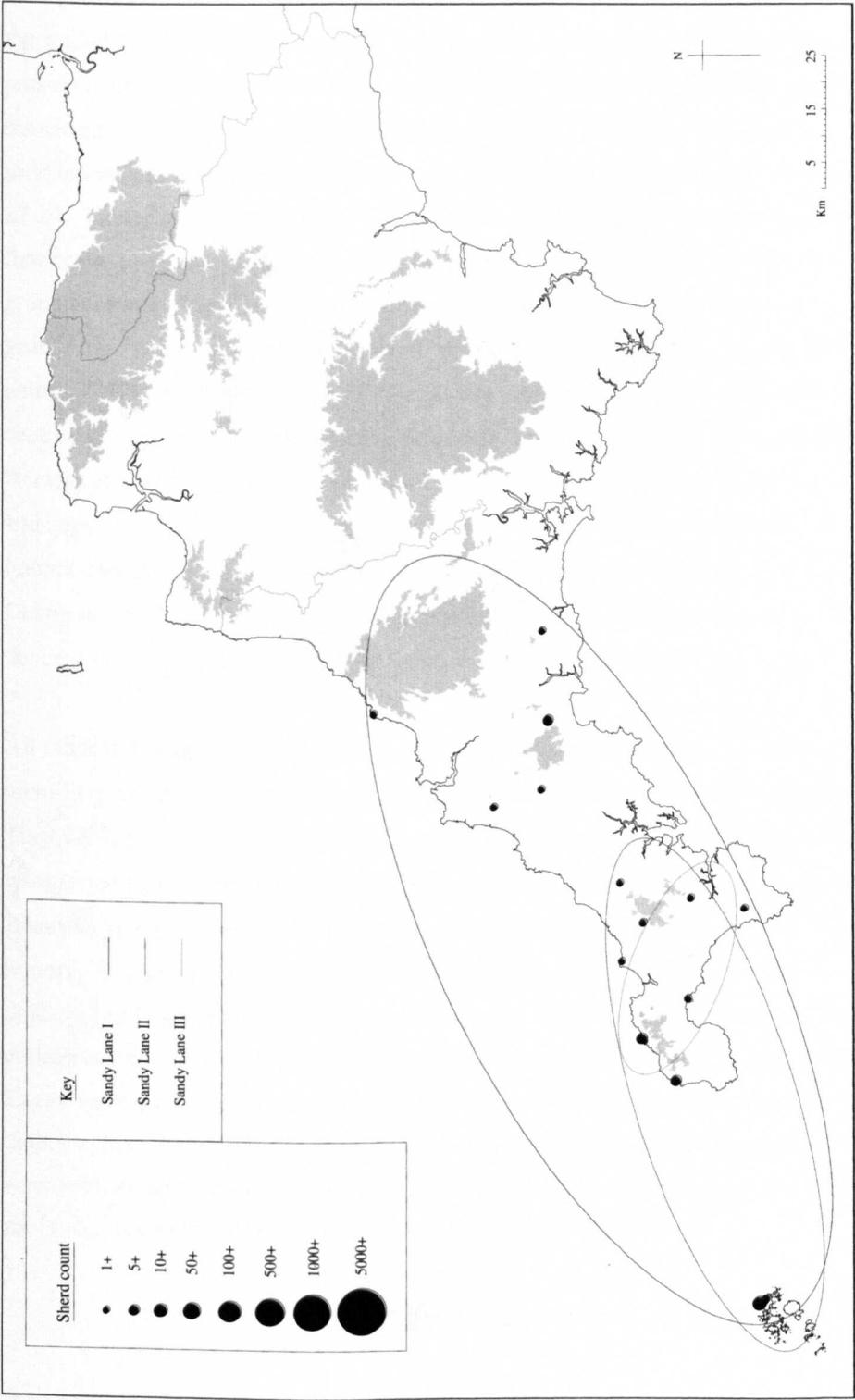


Figure 87 - Comparative analysis of all Sandy Lane wares

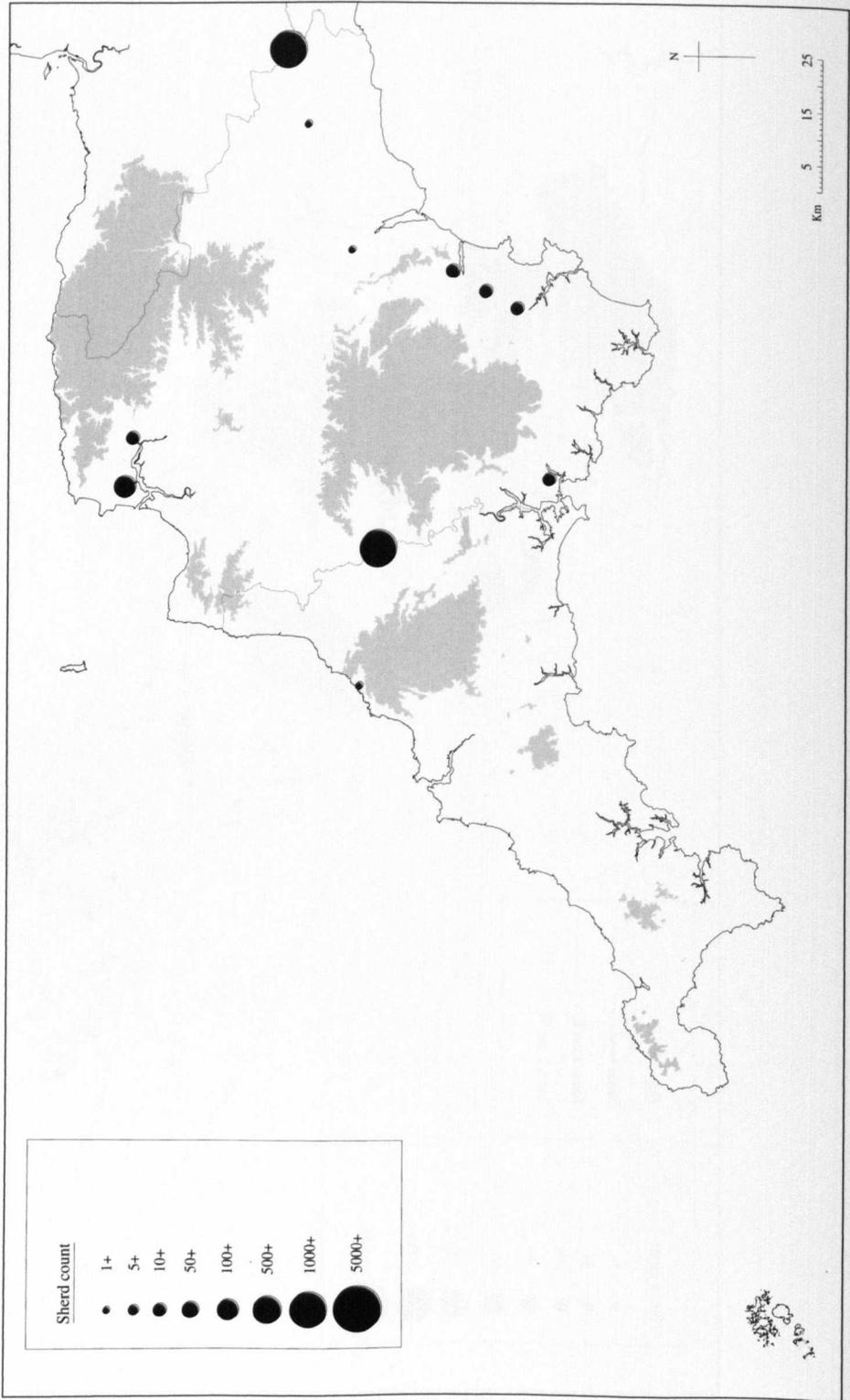


Figure 88 - South West Chert-tempered ware

Bedford Garage ware (Figure 89) was a wheel-thrown fabric produced in Exeter, the kiln site of which was excavated in 1931 and re-excavated in 1955 (Dunning & Fox 1957, 43-47), below the Bedford Garage, positioned within the north-east corner of the walled city (Allan 1984, 27). The forms consist mainly of small unglazed cooking pots with all forms of rim and flat or sagging bases, but glazed sherds have also been discovered alongside storage jars with applied thumbled strips; the fabric has a production date starting roughly in the tenth and ceasing shortly after AD 1100 (*ibid.*, 27-29). Exeter's medieval pottery was assigned to blocks of fabric numbers when it first began to be analysed (Allan 1984, 3) and Fabric 20 (Figure 90) belongs to a group consisting of wheel-thrown coarsewares (Fabrics 20-39) described as a rough gritty fabric with a quartz sand filler and "prominent chert inclusions" in circulation before c. AD 1020 (*ibid.*, 4). The colour is very variable in eleventh- to twelfth-century groups, with elaborate wares commonly being oxidised; the fabric has been "tentatively" grouped into six vessel forms consisting primarily of cooking pots, jugs and cups. It is found throughout Devon and Southern Somerset and as far as Launceston Castle, and was possibly transported considerable distances from East Devon or South Somerset (*ibid.*), where it is assumed that it was produced. If this is the case then it may be equivalent to South West Chert-tempered ware.

All other forms of wares found in Exeter and elsewhere, but which have not been fully identified, are included as a broad category of locally- or regionally-made fabrics. They consist of Norman-period fabrics which were either made in Britain or were transported from Normandy or Northern France, including Normandy Gritty wares, Beauvais wares, Normandy Glazed wares, Normandy White wares and other Norman imports. One anomaly is in the form of a sherd of Hamwih and a sherd of an unidentified Norman imported fabric discovered at Padstow, which together with the collective imports from Exeter are included in the analysis of Group 6. Also found at Exeter were the Exeter-made wares, including Exeter Fabric 22 and Exeter Fabric 23, dating to the mid-tenth to twelfth centuries, or Saxo-Norman period. In addition to this were several Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian imports to the region and several Breton-made sherds dating to the Saxo-Norman period (Allen 1984, 15-16).

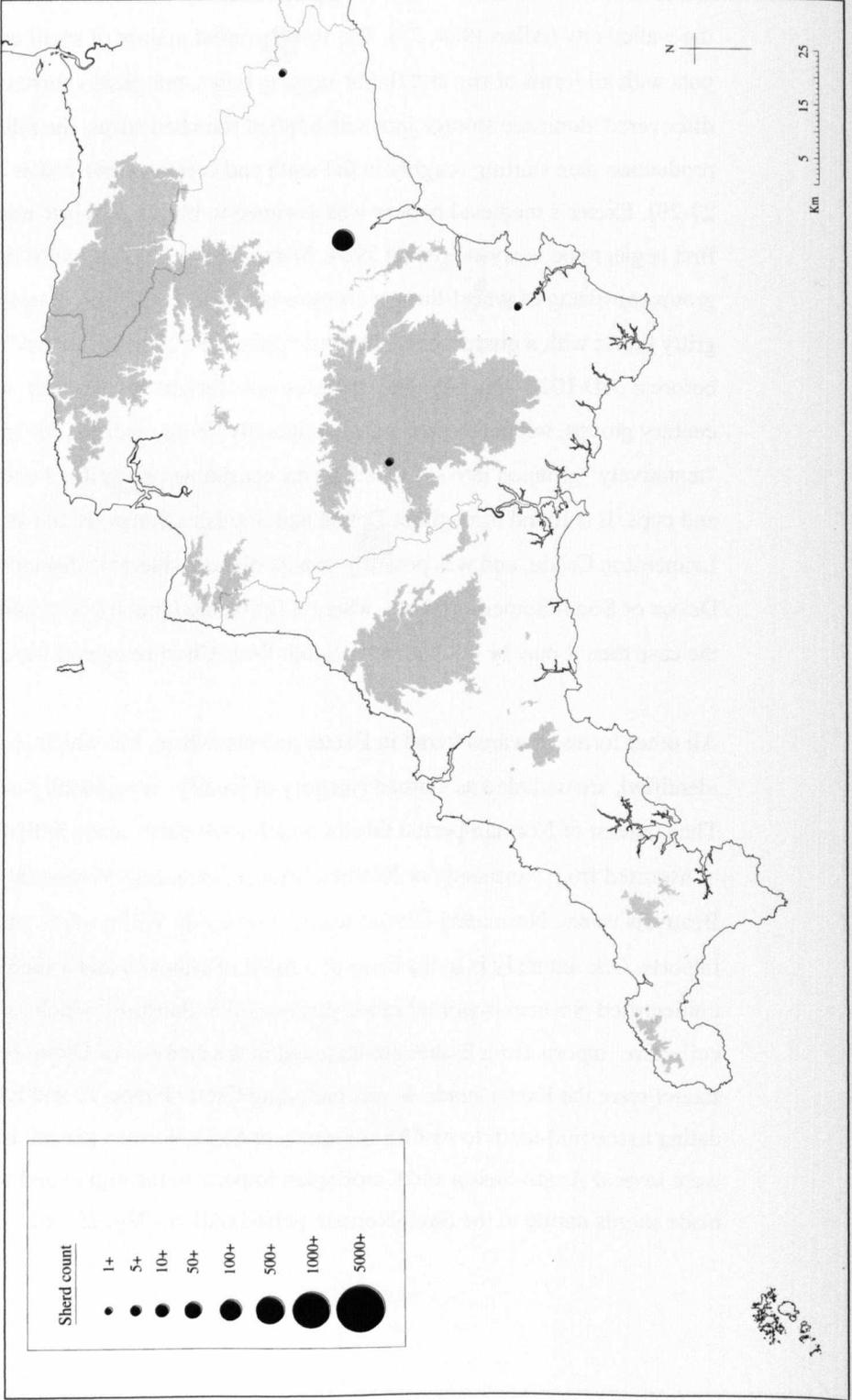
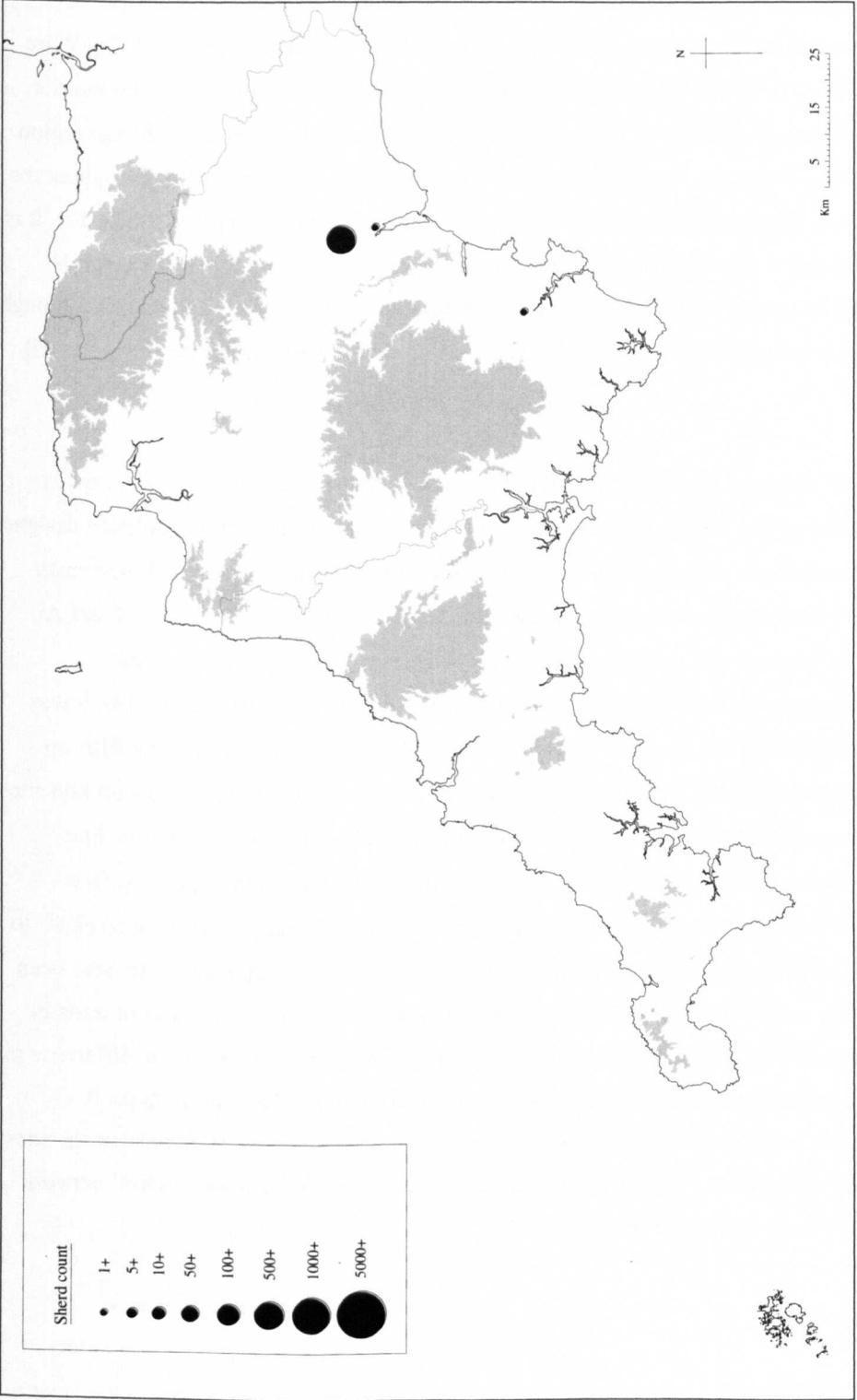


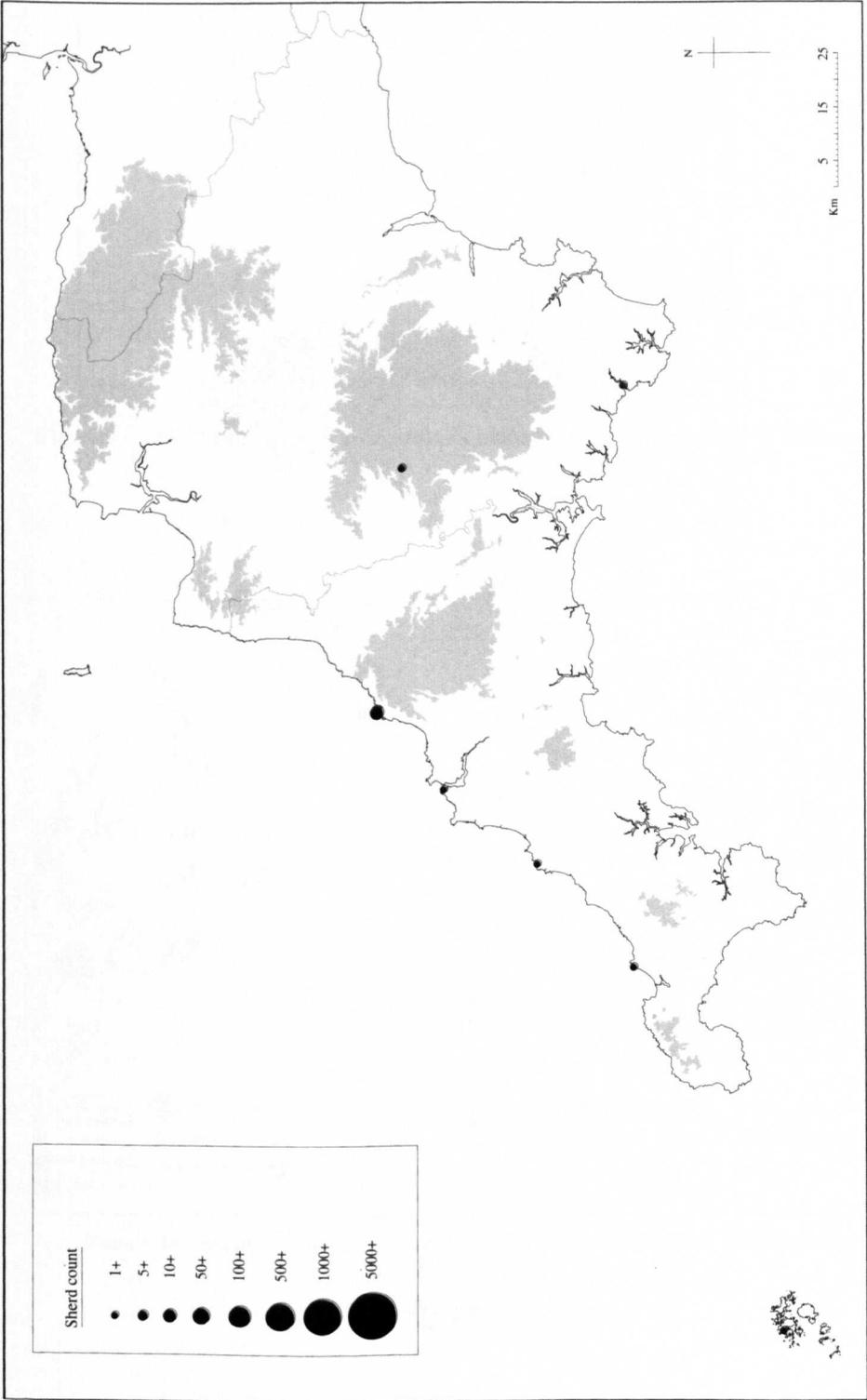
Figure 89 - Bedford Garage ware



**Figure 90 - Exeter Fabric 20**

The imported early ceramics consist of fifth- to eighth-century fabrics from regions around the Mediterranean and from the Continent. The Mediterranean imports are divided between the tablewares, amphorae and other coarsewares, the former consisting of North African Red Slip Ware (NARSW) and Phocaean Red Slip Ware (PRSW). NARSW (Figure 91) red-slipped vessels with occasional stamped interior decoration (Fulford & Peacock 1984, 87-114), were produced in the Carthage region of Tunisia between the second and seventh centuries AD and exported throughout the western Mediterranean, but more rarely in British contexts (Campbell 2007a, 17). It is likely that it was first transported to Britain from the third century AD (Thorpe & Batey in Barrowman 2007, 234) and in forms consisting of bowls and dishes, although the forms distributed in the Mediterranean would have had a wider range (Campbell 2007, 17).

PRSW (Figures 92-93) originated in Phocaea, Western Turkey and is a fine, sandy fabric, varying from pale pink to buff in colour, with decorated rims, rouletted designs and sometimes a stamp at the base, often cruciform (Thorpe & Batey in Barrowman 2007, 234). It was formerly known as Late Roman C as well as Radford's Class Ai, but advances in our understanding of the ware from Hayes' research on the Mediterranean fine wares have caused it to be renamed (Campbell 2007, 14). It was produced from the fourth to seventh centuries AD (although only the later fifth- to sixth-century Form 3 is thought to have been introduced to British sites) with kiln sites discovered and confirmed by chemical analysis, and consisted of a series of fine tablewares "in the long tradition of *terra sigillata*", having a red-slipped surface burnished to a gloss and with a restricted variety of forms ranging from deep plates to shallow dishes (*ibid.*). Overall, the instances of PRSW in Britain appear to have been slightly earlier than NARSW (*ibid.*), although an overlap in their periods of trade in Britain and thus a shared exchange route is possible. Harris has noted the difference in distribution between PRSW and the Byzantine amphorae which might make it possible to see different networks of supply in operation (Figure 94), and that the sites in Portugal where PRSW has been found could suggest an 'Atlantic littoral' network of distribution (2003, 52) (Figure 95).



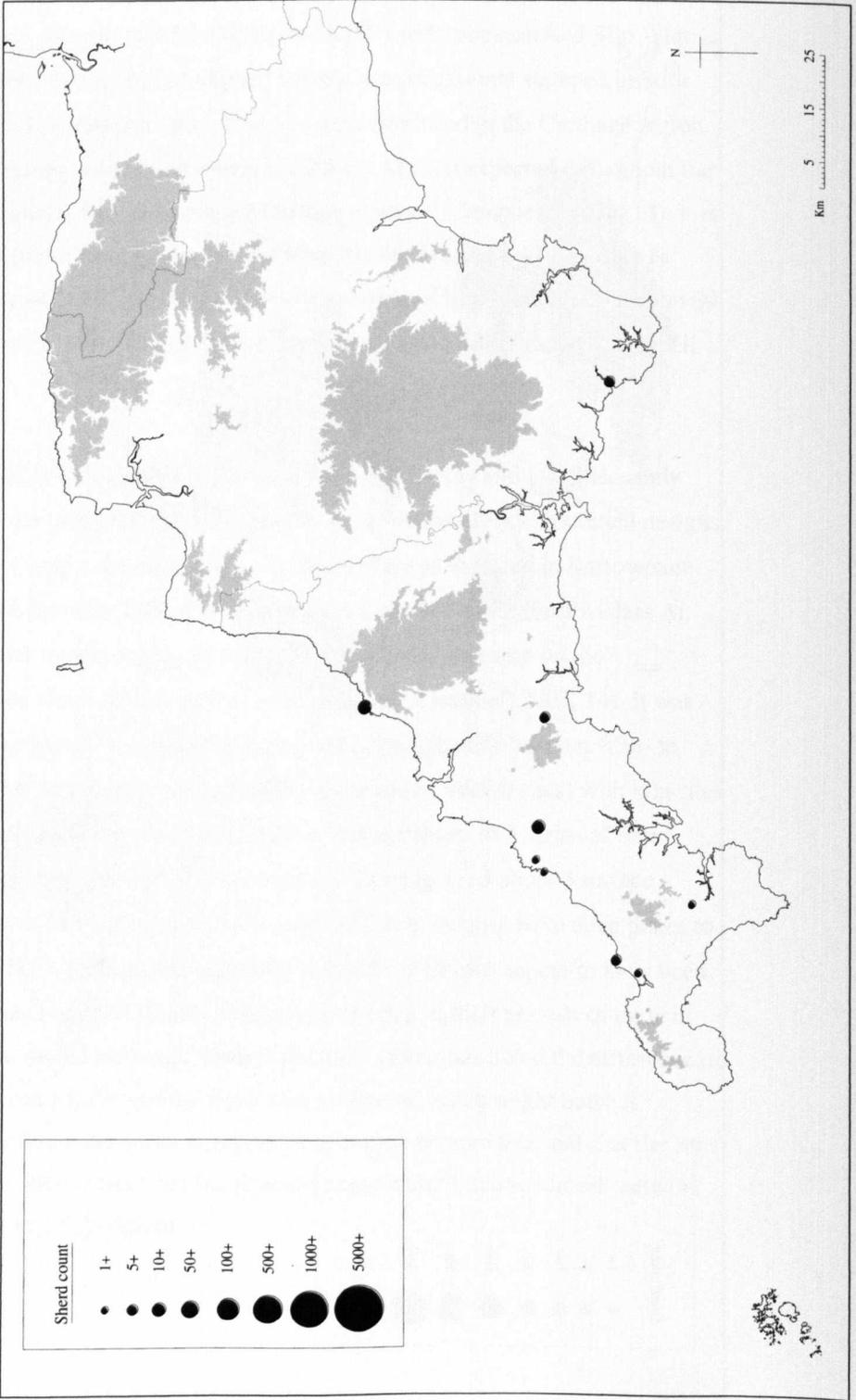


Figure 92 - Phocaeian Red Slip ware



Figure 93 - PRSW from Tintagel (Author's photograph, copyright Truro Museum)

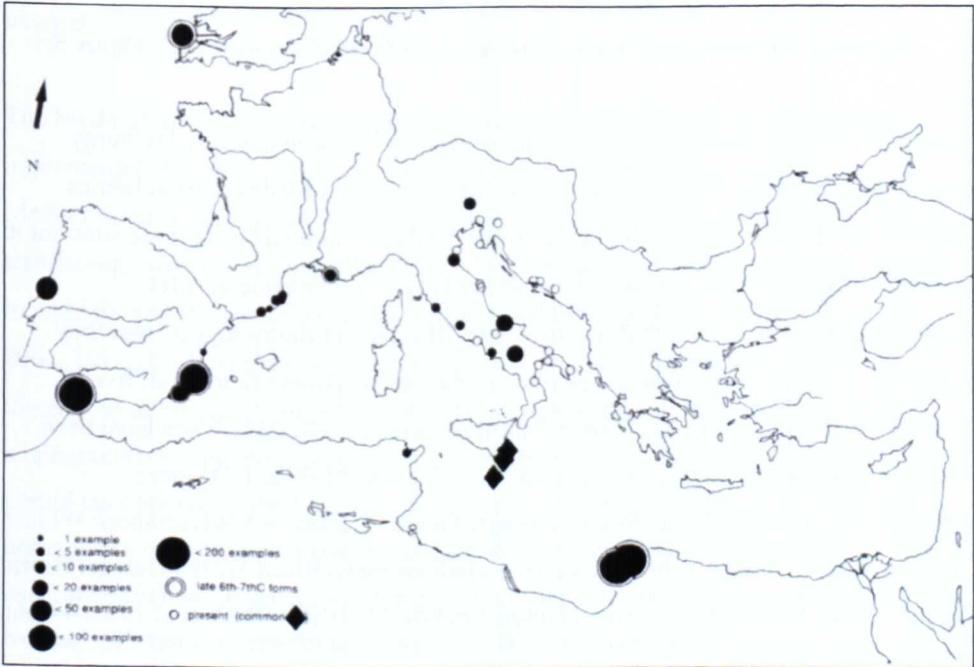
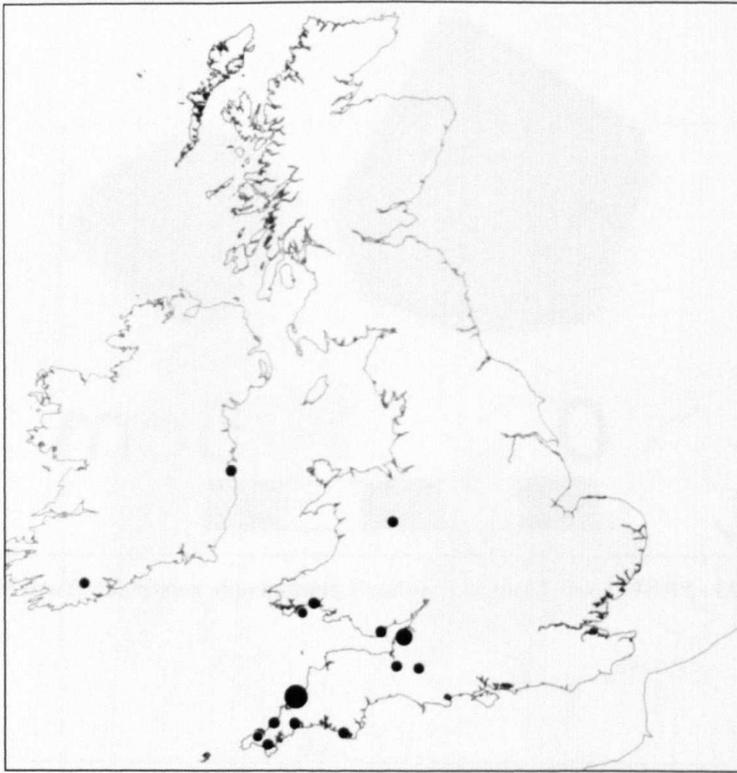


Figure 94 - Mediterranean distribution of PRSW (Harris 2003, Figure 10)



**Figure 95 - Distribution of insular instances of PRSW (Campbell 2007, Figure 5)**

Imported coarsewares have resulted from analysis of the Tintagel and Trethurgy assemblages and the classification of four 'new' imported Mediterranean fabrics (Thorpe & Thomas, *forthc.*). So far, they have only been identified at these sites but it is hoped that further reanalysis of other assemblages will provide a better understanding of their distribution elsewhere. Thorpe and Batey suggest that they originate from the same areas as the more numerous amphorae fabrics, all five of which have been identified at Tintagel (in Barrowman 2007, 233). They have been classified as Eastern Mediterranean Red Ware (Tintagel Fabric 1), Eastern Mediterranean Sandy Cream Ware (Tintagel Fabric 5), Eastern Mediterranean White Surface Ware (Tintagel Fabric 2), Eastern Mediterranean Black Ware (Tintagel Fabric 3) and Square Profile Ridge Ware (Tintagel Fabric 21) (*ibid.*; Batey et al 1993, 47-66; Thorpe 2006, 33-41).

From their discovery in contexts with Late Roman Amphorae, it is possible to tentatively and broadly date them to the fifth to sixth centuries AD. Eastern Mediterranean Red Ware is a similar form to North African Red Ware (Fulford & Peacock 1984, 108-115), is purplish-red to reddish-orange in colour, has a hard smooth texture and micaceous fabric, and has forms which include casseroles, storage

jars and jugs (Thorpe & Batey in Barrowman 2007, 233). Eastern Mediterranean Sandy Cream Ware is similar to North African Cream Ware (Fulford & Peacock 1984, 115), cream or buff coloured, has a hard rough texture and occasional darker buff or grey interior (Thorpe & Batey in Barrowman 2007, 233). Eastern Mediterranean White Surface Ware is similar to North African White Surface Ware (Fulford & Peacock 1984, 115) and is red, orange-red or buff in colour, with a surface of white or cream skin; it also has a hard smooth texture and is micaceous (Batey et al 1993, 56). Eastern Mediterranean Black Ware is similar to North African Black Surface Ware (Fulford & Peacock, 1984), is purplish to orange-buff with a black outer skin and is thought to originate from the eastern Mediterranean (Thorpe 2006, 40), hence the name. Square Profiled Ridge Ware is pale pink to buff coloured in fabric with a hard smooth texture, micaceous, with quartz and volcanic glass inclusions and possible origins in Central or Southern Anatolia, or the islands of Melos, Antiparos or Gaili (Batey et al 1993, 56). These wares have been included in the database as separate fabrics where they are found at more than one site; otherwise they have been classed as 'Other imported Mediterranean' except where their origin is of importance to the research.

The Mediterranean amphorae terminology in this research combines the system implemented during the Carthage excavations for numbering the eastern Mediterranean Late Roman Amphorae (LRA) LR1-7, with that of Radford's class B terminology which was adapted and used by Thomas in relation to the South West to include Bv and Bvi alongside Bi-Biv, whilst re-labelling Biii to Bmisc (Campbell 2007, 19). LRA is used throughout as a generic term and has been incorporated together with Bmisc, in the 'other imports' category (Figure 102). Many of these amphorae have long chronologies which cannot be accurately dated to the post-Roman period (as opposed to the Late Roman period), with the exception of LR3, which undergoes a change from a single-handled to a two-handled form at around AD 400 and LR2 which has typological changes in the late sixth century (Campbell 2007, 19). Neither LR1 nor LR2 are found in Romano-British contexts and therefore they are more likely to be post-Roman phenomena, whilst LR4 and Bv are found in Insular Roman contexts (*ibid.*). Figure 100 shows their relative amounts from contexts in the South West.

LR2 (Bi) was produced in the Argolid region of the Peloponnese (Megaw & Jones 1983; Munn 1985, in Campbell 2007, 19) and also possibly on Chios and Kos (Vroom 2003, 143 in Campbell 2007, 19). It is a globular-shaped vessel with basal knob and a

short conical neck and highly everted rim characterised by combed ribbing (Figures 96 & 98), which is often fairly deep in a band on the shoulder region; the fabric is fine-grained and well-sorted with white grains of limestone, pink-buff to orange-brown in colour; graffiti and *dipinti* are known on some vessels and the fabric dates from the



Figure 96 - Late Roman 2 (Bi) (Author's photograph, copyright Truro Museum)



Figure 97 - Late Roman 1 (Bii) (Author's photograph, copyright Truro Museum)

early fifth to late sixth centuries (Thorpe & Batey, in Barrowman et al 2007, 232). It was probably used for carrying wines and with a possible secondary re-use such as for transporting wax (*ibid.*).

The origin of LR1 (Bii) is controversial (Figures 97 & 99), as Peacock and Williams suggested the Antioch region due to olive oil production, whilst the most recent works indicate a source in Cilicia, Turkey, and others in Cyprus and Rhodes (1986 in Campbell 2007, 19). It dates to the mid-fifth to mid-sixth centuries, is of an ovoid shape with rounded base, twisted asymmetrical handles and characterised by tegulated rimming covering the body (Thorpe & Batey, in Barrowman et al 2007, 233). The fabric is hard, sandy and variable in colour from pinkish cream to reddish yellow with examples of graffiti and *dipinti* and it is thought that the ware might have been made use of for the olive oil industry from the same region (*ibid.*). LR3 (Biv) was probably produced in the Sardis area of western Tunisia (ancient Phocaea), and not far from the source of PRSW (Campbell 2007, 19). They are small carrot-shaped vessels with tegulated ribbing on the body (Figures 101), with a distinctive hard, highly micaceous fine fabric and red-brown in colour (Thorpe & Batey, in Barrowman et al 2007, 233). They are in a two-handled form at Tintagel (Figure 103), dating to the fifth to sixth centuries and are thought to have been used to transport wine or fine oils (*ibid.*), although this is not certain and Harris suggests that they may not have been intended for a particular product (2003, 45).

British amphora Bv (Figures 104-106) refers to the late North African large, cylindrical amphorae of the 'Africana Grande' type of which Keay has distinguished many forms, but which cannot be identified in Britain (Campbell 2007, 19). It has a pronounced foot spike and large handles (Figure 107), thick ridged walls and a very sandy, pale buff-brown fabric (Thorpe & Batey, in Barrowman et al 2007, 233). Recent residue analysis has shown that they were probably used for transporting olive oil, although this was probably not the only produce (*ibid.*). The ware has been found in large quantities at Tintagel (*ibid.*, 48) in sealed contexts alongside other imported fabrics including a number of LR2 and LR1 and it therefore is likely to share the same date range of c. AD 400-600. The term LR4 (Bvi) refers to the amphorae of Gazan Palestinian origin (Campbell 2007, 19) which remains undated for the region (Figure 108). LR5, an amphora from Palestine, has yet to be identified at insular sites (Campbell 2007, 19) although if it refers to what has previously been termed 'Bvii' then a single sherd of the fabric has been found at Porthmeor on the north Cornish coast (Figure 109). This may instead be the one sherd of LR7 that Campbell states as having been found, although he gives it the name B181 (*ibid.*).

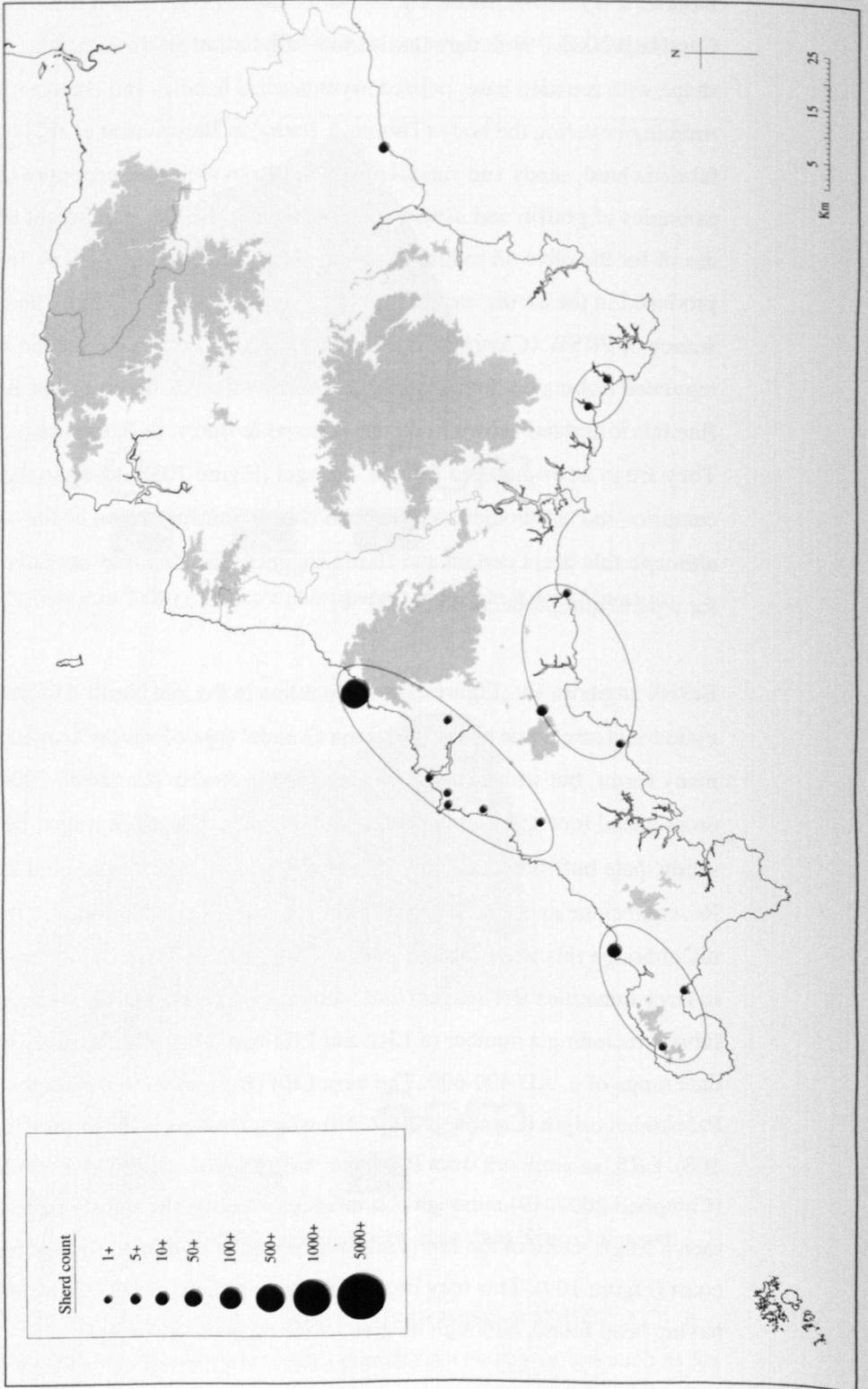


Figure 98 - Late Roman 2 (Bi)

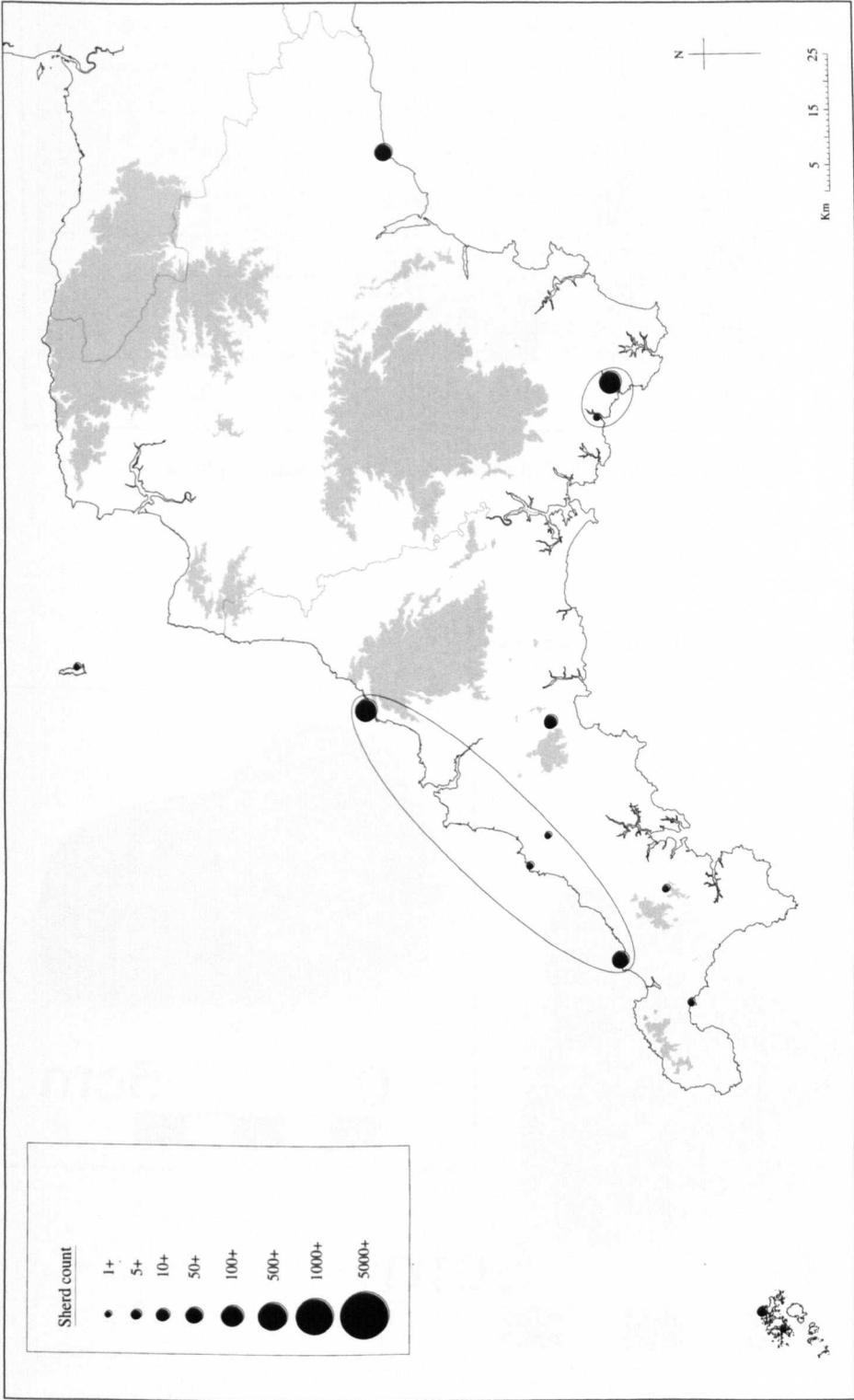


Figure 99 - Late Roman I (Bii)

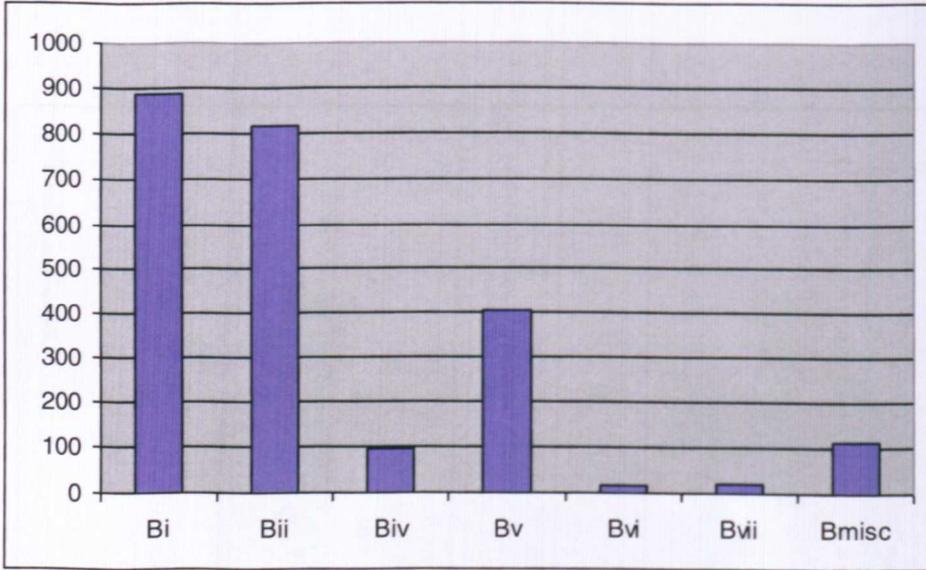


Figure 100 - Total of each type of Late Roman amphora

Figure 101 - Sherds of Late Roman 3 (Biv)



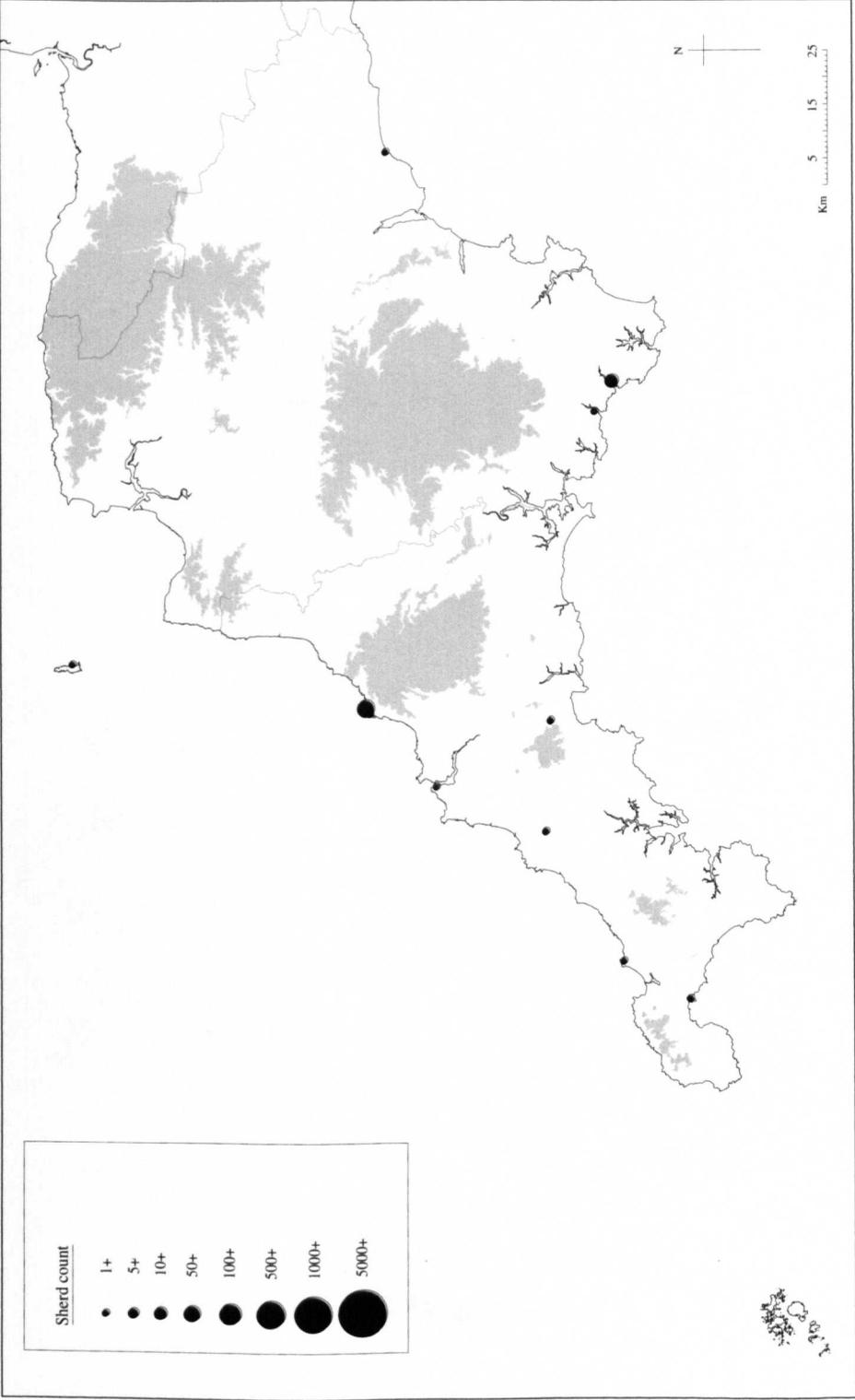


Figure 102 - Miscellaneous Late Roman amphorae (Biii/Bmisc)

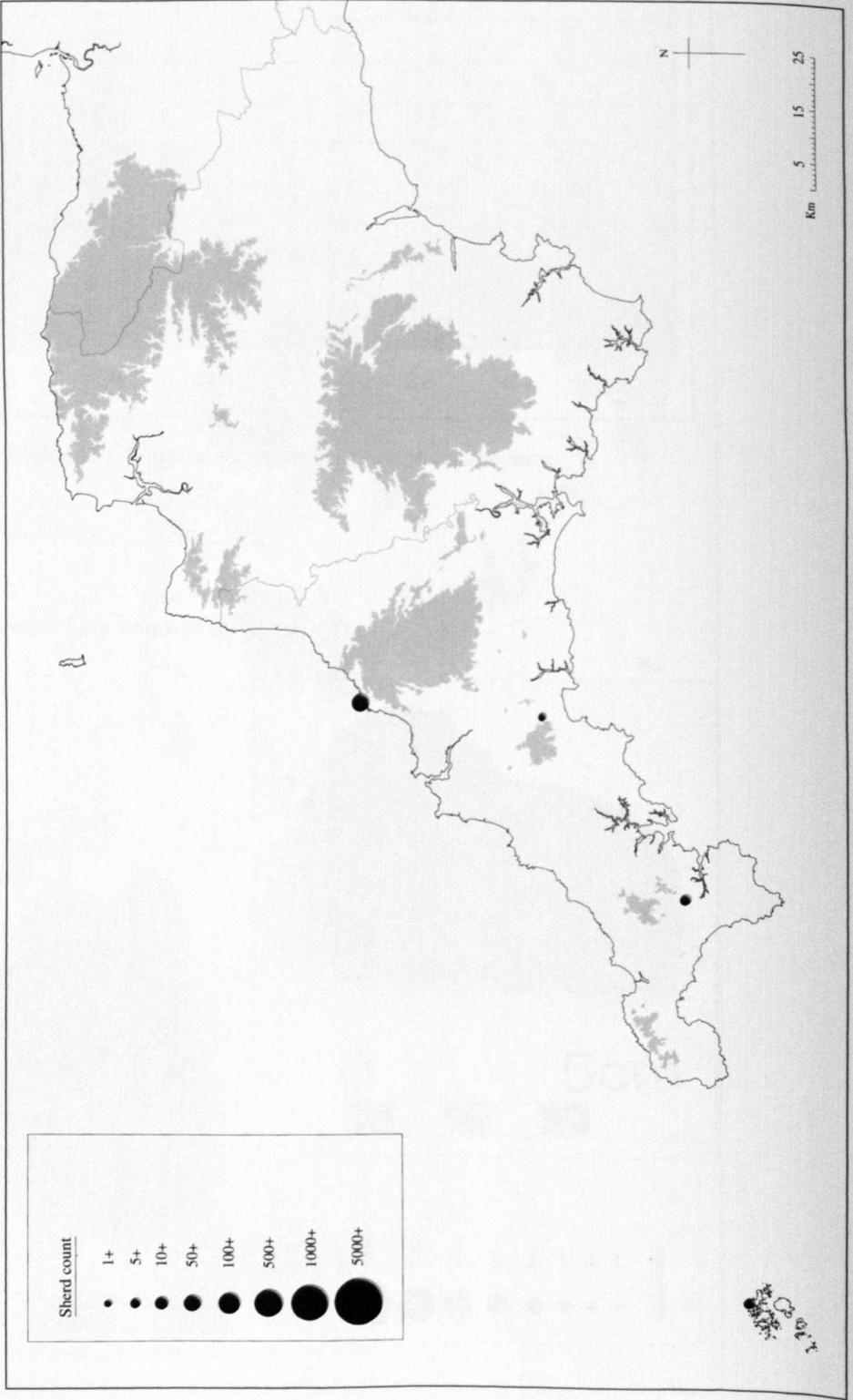
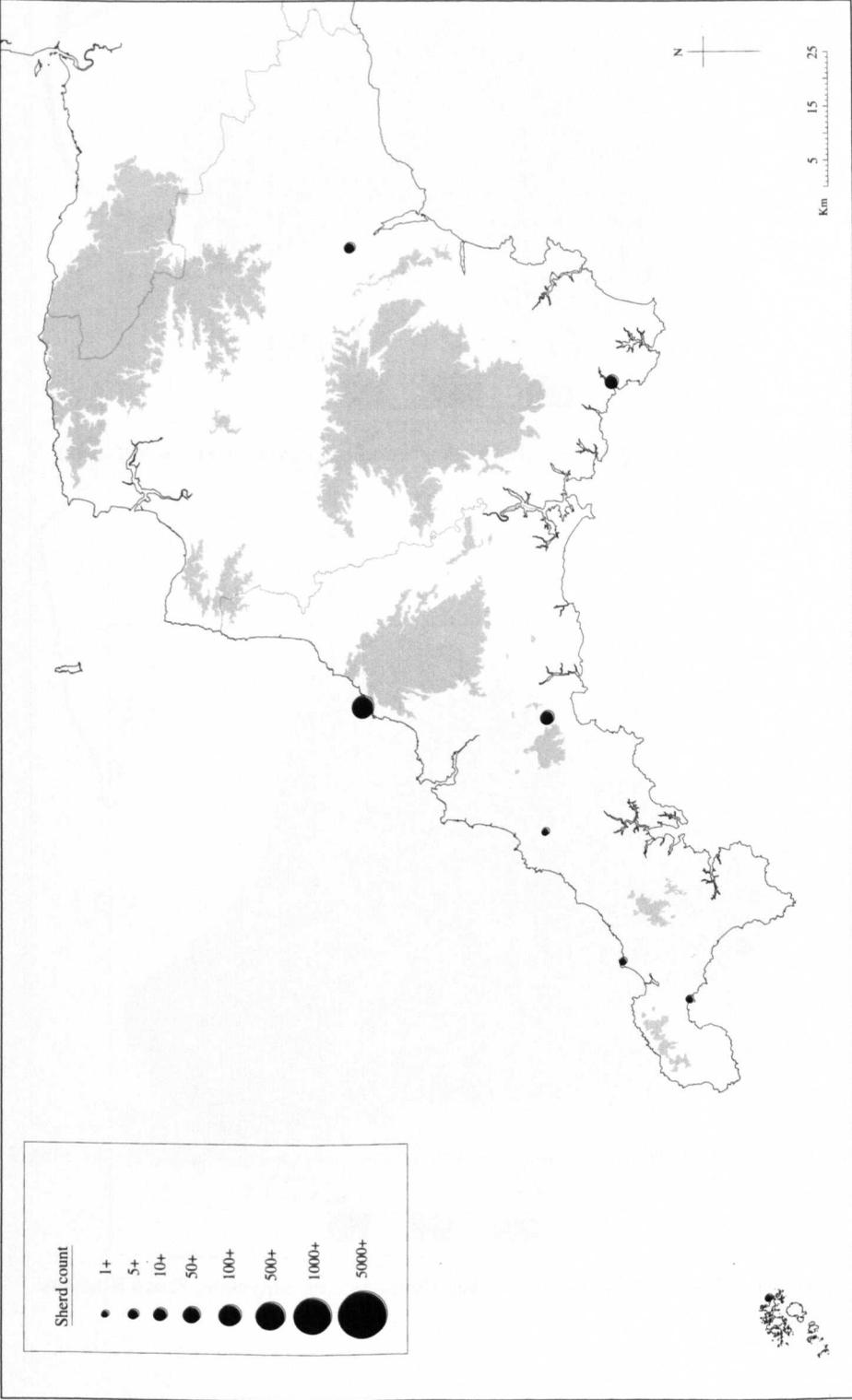


Figure 103 - Late Roman 3 (Biv)



**Figure 104 - North African amphorae (Bv)**



Figure 105 - British amphora Bv (Author's photo, Copyright Truro Museum)



Figure 106 - British amphora Bv (Author's photograph, copyright Truro Museum)

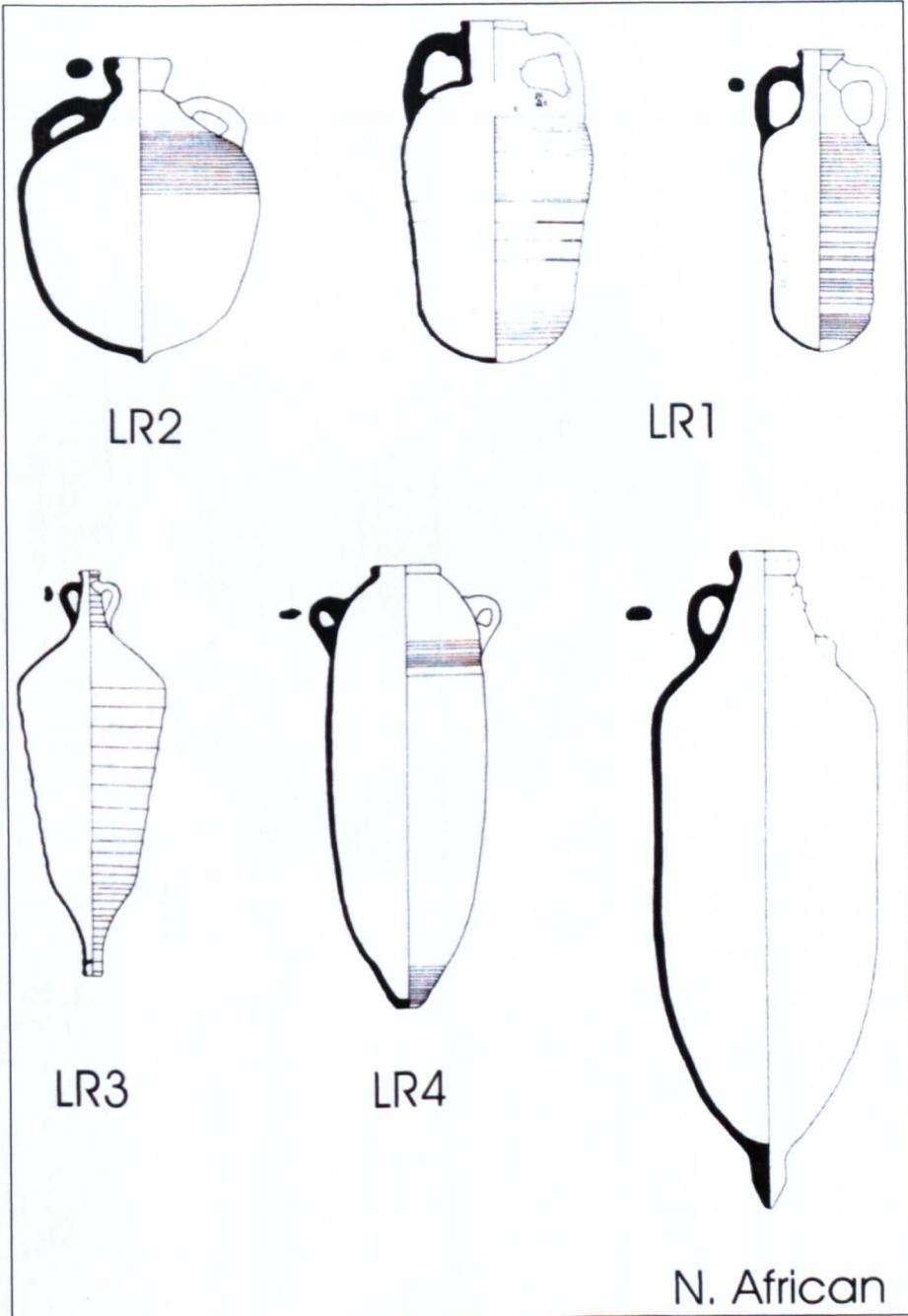


Figure 107 - Diagrams of complete Mediterranean amphorae (Campbell 2007, Figure 11)

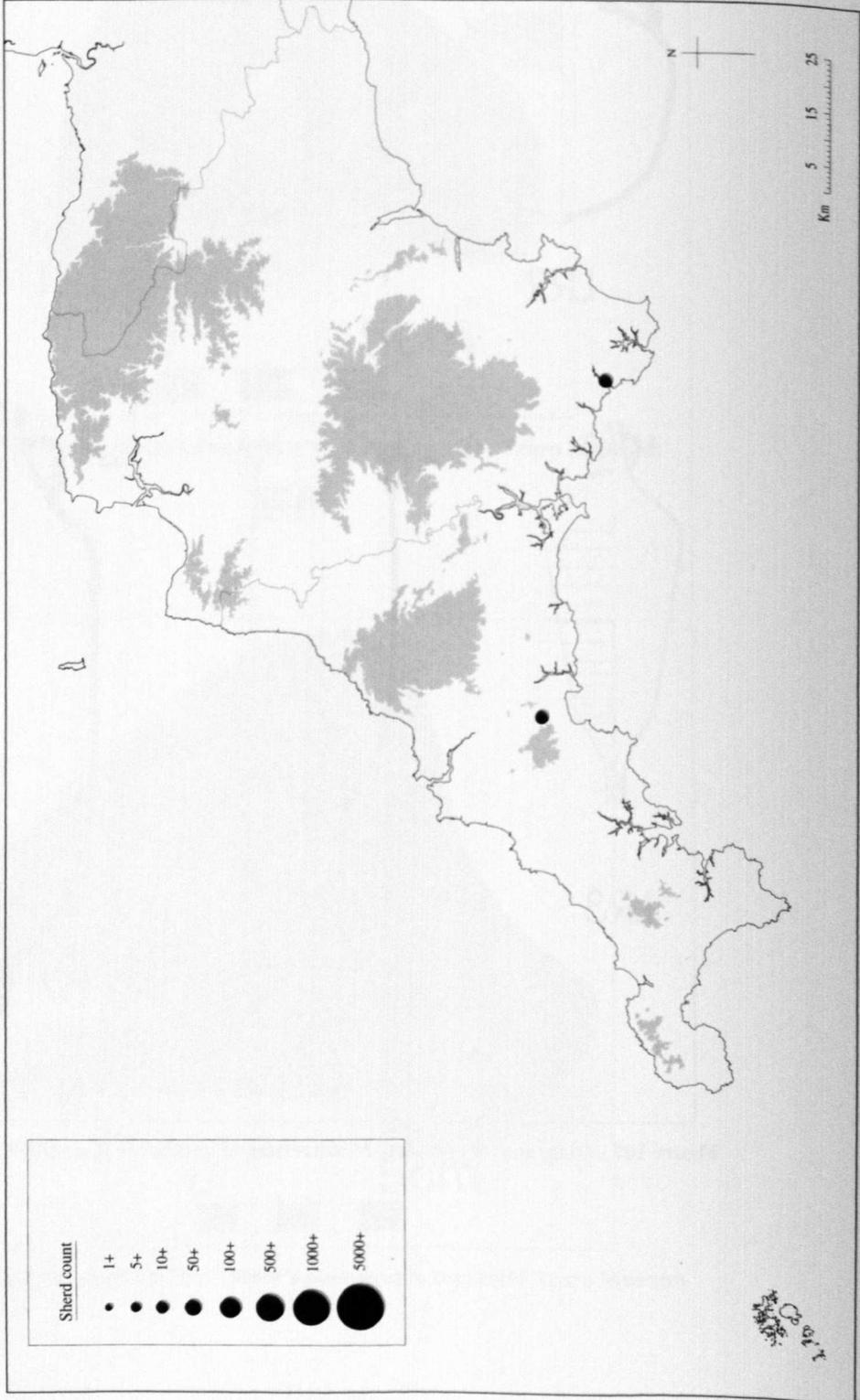
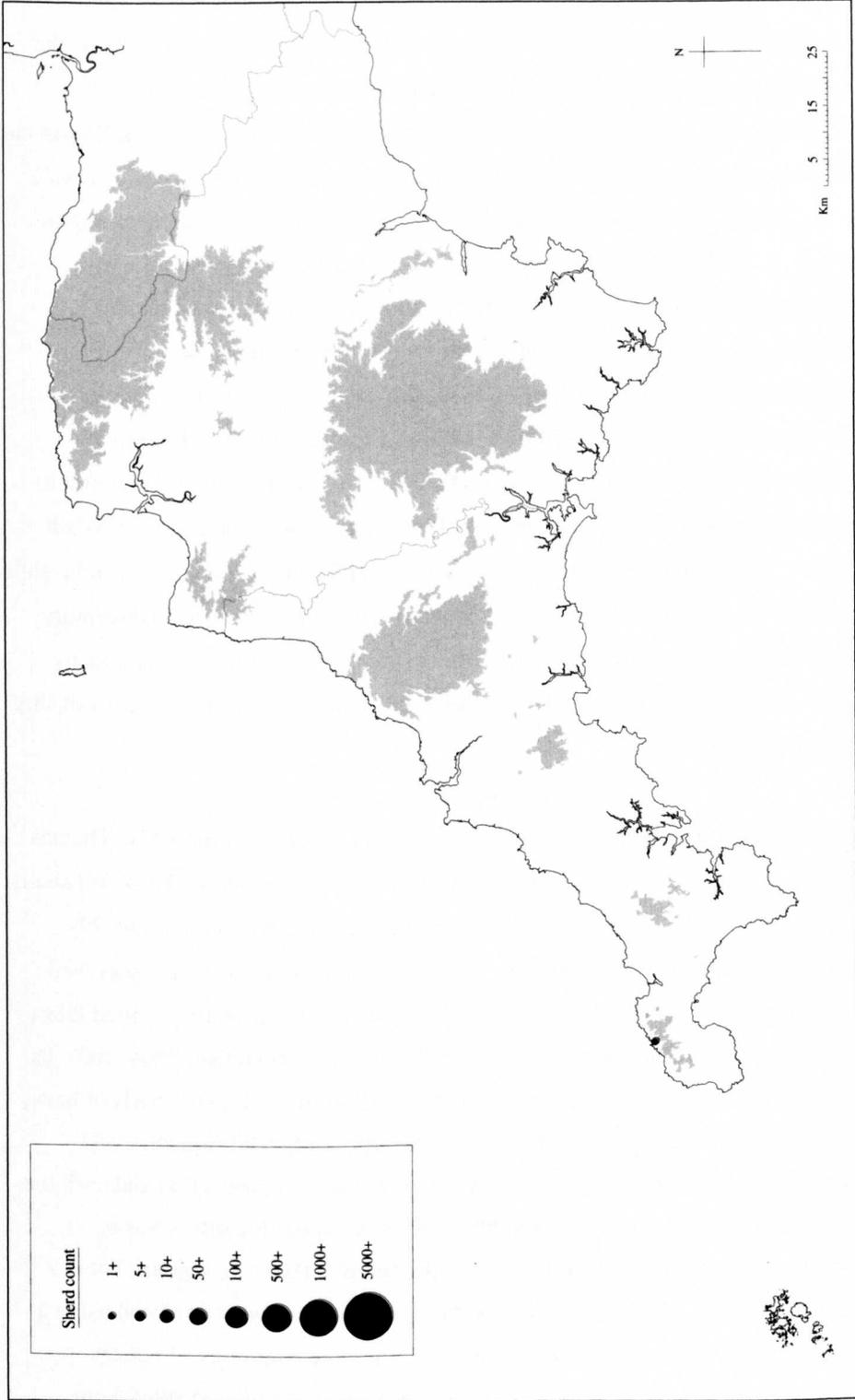


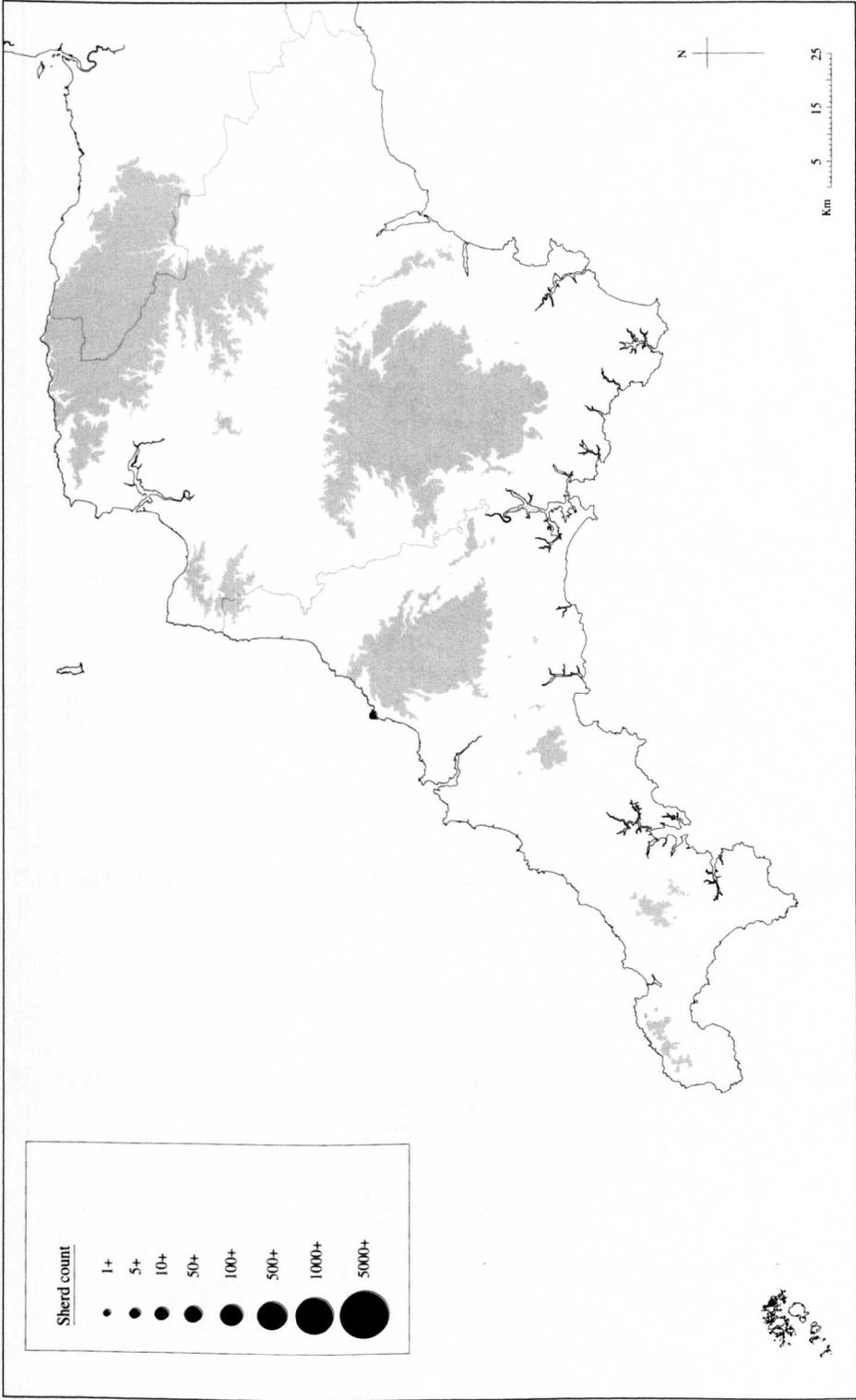
Figure 108 - Late Roman 4 (Bvi)



**Figure 109 - Black Sea amphorae (Bvii)**

The Continental imports consist of DSP and Western French Ware. The Atlantic group of *derivées sigillées paléochrétiennes*, or DSP (Figure 110), was recently identified with Radford's Class D, due to two papers written by Rigoir in 1968 and Rigoir et al in 1973 (Campbell 2007, 27). Also known as *paléochrétienne grise*, the ware was made in France, was a grey ware deriving from the red sigillée Roman-period fabrics and was the last in a series of stamped fine tablewares of the Roman and Post-Roman periods, perhaps originally deriving from African Red Slipware (*ibid.*). They were fired in a reducing atmosphere to produce grey wares with black slip (as with most insular examples) rather than the original orange and red wares, with chronological development from the latter to the former, whilst forms include mortaria, plates, bowls and cups, often with stamped and rouletted designs (*ibid.*). DSP could also have been produced all along the Atlantic coast of France and the Loire, Charente and Dordogne-Garonne valleys in the fifth to seventh centuries (Randoin 1981, 103-114). The type series from Tours dates broadly to the fourth to eleventh centuries, with the grey Period 4 of the type dating to the sixth to seventh centuries and with stamped decoration, whilst Period 5 dates to the seventh and eighth centuries (*ibid.*). Campbell discusses its discovery as being mainly in sixth-century contexts (Figure 111), with some early fifth-century forms in Bordeaux and many seventh-century discoveries which might have resulted from high levels of residuality at these sites (2007, 28).

Western French ware, or 'E' ware (Figures 112-114), was first proposed by Thomas when he supplemented Radford's classes in the Tintagel assemblage (1954, 68) and is now described by Campbell as an undecorated coarse ware, with forms probably consisting of storage vessels (2007, 46-49). The fabric consists of a variety of well fired, wheel-turned jars, bowls and jugs in the distinctive white heavily gritted fabric (*ibid.*, 32) dating to the early sixth to early eighth centuries (Quinnell 2004, 100). Its source is likely to have been the western seaboard of Aquitaine, on the basis of heavy mineral analysis by Peacock (Peacock & Thomas 1967, 44). The Aquitaine and Bordeaux regions are now generally accepted as the areas of production and until the kilns are located, will remain the most likely place; it is possible that it was a chronological development of DSP, perhaps produced in the same regions, but at a later date (Campbell 2007, 32-48). The ware appears to have been produced using a Roman technique of kiln and temperature use, suggesting continuity of pottery production in the area of origin, whilst the forms are all directly descended from fourth- to fifth-century Frankish forms with very little alteration, rather than



**Figure 110 - Dérivées Sigillées Paléochrétonne**

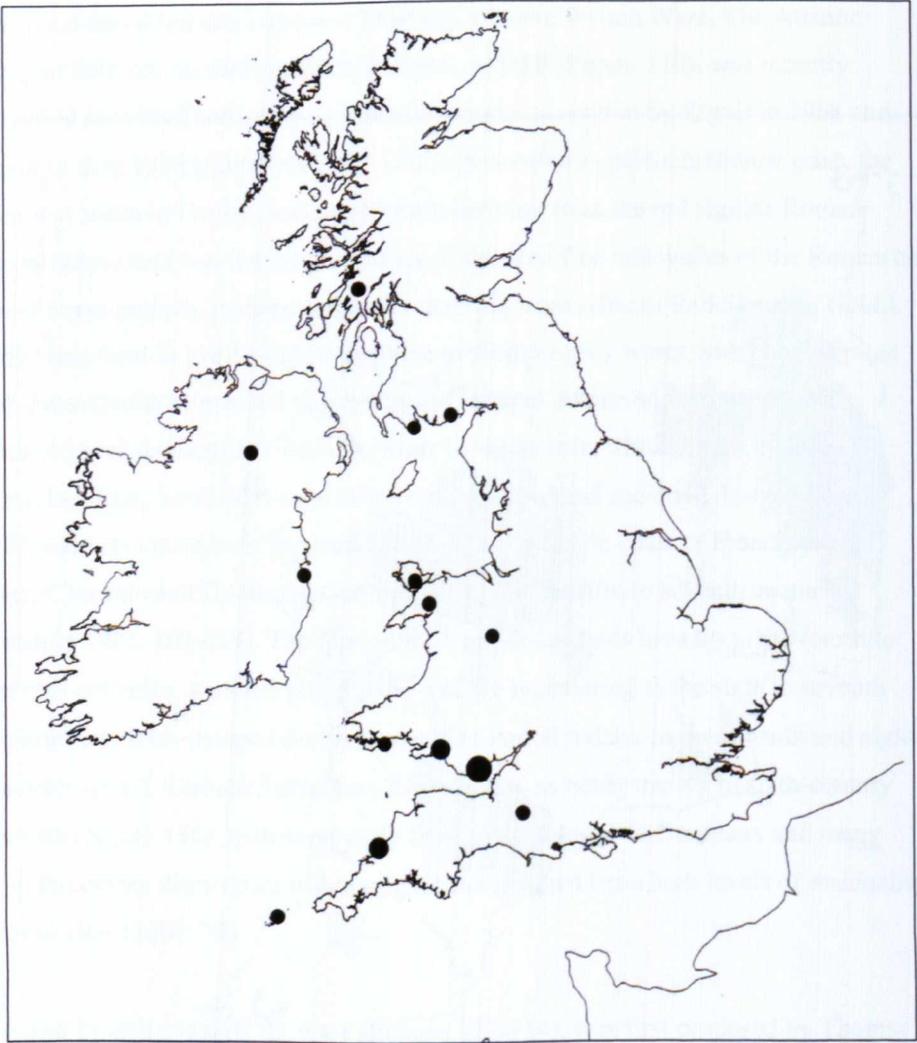


Figure 111 - Distribution of DSP across Britain and Ireland (Campbell 2007, Figure 17)



Figure 112 - Western French 'E' ware from Kelsey Head (Author's photograph, copyright Truro Museum)

from the Late Roman western French wares as Thomas (1990, 7) has claimed. It has also been shown to be similar to that of Normandy Gritty Ware and some Merovingian wares from the lower Seine valley (Campbell 2007, 34-48).



**Figure 113 - Western French 'E' ware in Britain and Ireland (Campbell 2007, Figure 34)**

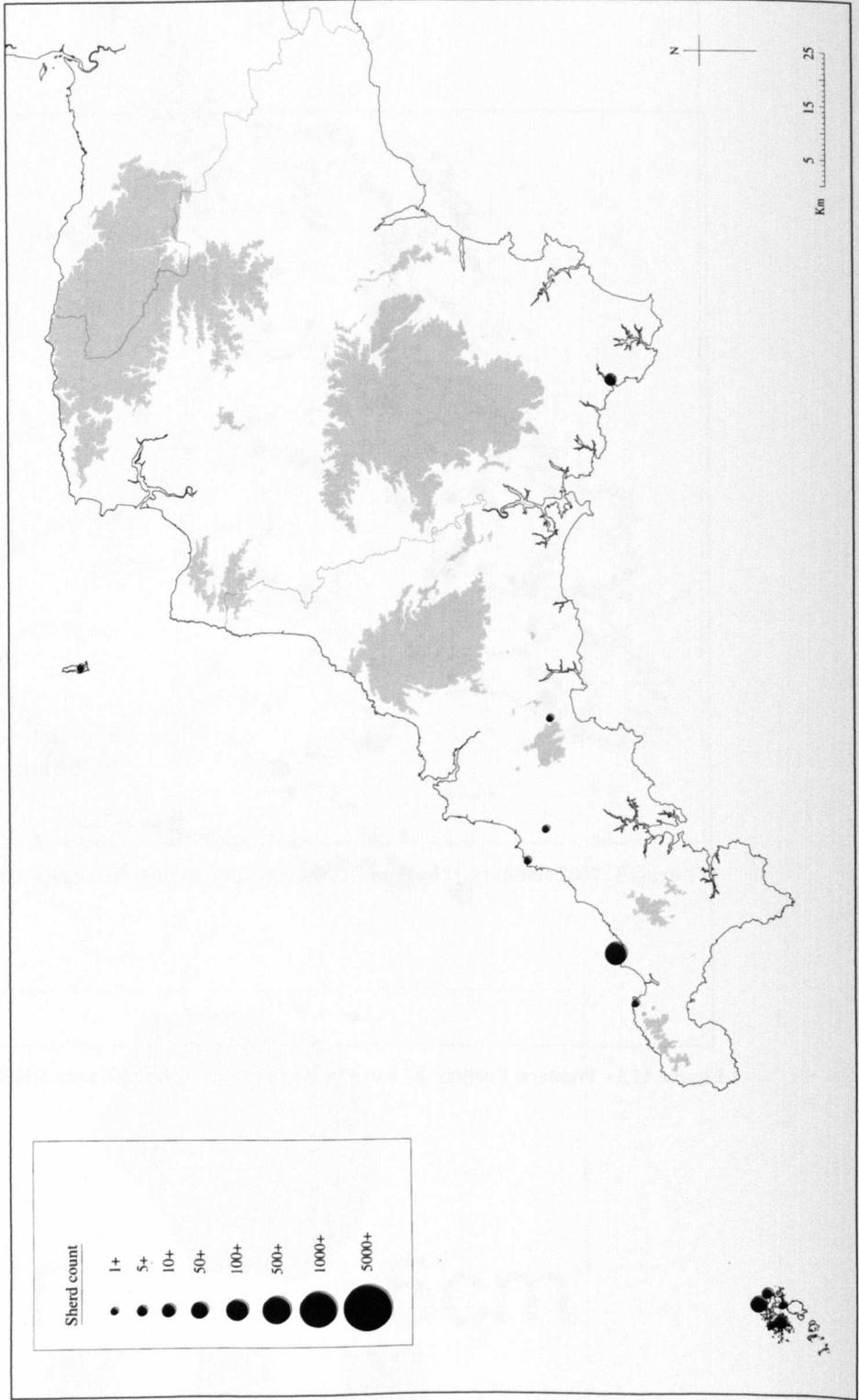


Figure 114 - Western French 'E' ware

## 5.1.2 Creating the grouped ceramic data

The grouped ceramics have resulted from an in-depth analysis of the individual ceramics. However, time and space constraints of the thesis have meant that whilst the results of this individual analysis are included as Figures 71-114, alongside other independent distributions for Britain, they are not discussed within this chapter, which instead presents the more significant grouped data. The grouped analyses were categorised using evidence-based criteria from Figures 67-70 and used to form the period-based chronological analysis, which will also structure the chronology of the analysis of other forms of evidence in subsequent data presentation chapters. These groups were created in order to study broader changes in larger groups of assemblages, and to shed further light on the development of pottery industries and traditions in the South West and how they might have been influenced by changes in early medieval society. Specific aims to be addressed relate to settlement function and use, wider settlement hierarchies and the creation of central places through pottery production; elements of trade within local, regional and overseas exchange networks; and acculturation of insular ceramic traditions and therefore influence on social identity, through the comparative distribution and therefore use, of these ceramics.

The chronological framework is part of the research aim to understand the development of society through time and to create a framework that was more sympathetic to the archaeology of the South West. It was primarily created to provide a better understanding of the pottery industries and resulting social changes, in terms of settlement hierarchies and the introduction of new forms of material culture alongside insular traditions. It was then adopted to study all other forms of evidence, where appropriate. Further key aims consist of an assessment of the regional distribution of both local and imported wares between coastal and inland and upland regions, and the resulting impacts on consumption patterns, trade and exchange networks and settlement patterns. The ceramic evidence, unlike other forms of material culture, is more likely to represent settlement sites, regardless of whether it was found through excavation or as a findspot. These aims have also been formulated in order to assess differing distributions between the various forms of settlement and to show potential links with 'outside' territories and the political affiliations with these territories and societies overseas.

Following the chronological analysis, the research provides a more in-depth investigation of the imports to the study region, through a comparative analysis of the

proportions of both Continental and Mediterranean ceramics within pre-determined sub-regions and of the larger assemblages. This addresses aspects of settlement hierarchy and trade, with the possibility of a series of trade routes supplying different areas of the study region at different periods. It also further investigates the differing forms of exchange, primarily those transactions which resulted in Mediterranean ceramics being deposited at sites in the South West. Contact with these outside social groups would have facilitated the movement of new ideas as well as material culture, and the location of the sites involved in these practises is an important consideration in our understanding of the development of early medieval social identities.

Section 5.2 presents the reasoning behind the chronological frameworks used in the creation of the grouped analysis and how these frameworks were reached. These grouped datasets are then presented in chronological order in 5.3 to 5.7 with appropriate discussion of their results following in each section. 5.8 introduces the detailed comparative analysis of Continental and Mediterranean imports. 5.9 discusses a comparative analysis of the groups in 5.3-5.7 and potential developments in the archaeology through time, before the chapter presents a concluding summary in 5.10.

## **5.2 Chronological frameworks**

The broad periods and accepted chronological framework of Early, Middle and Late Saxon England do not adequately portray the changing development and use of the ceramics during the chosen study period for Cornwall and Devon. It was, therefore, deemed necessary for this research to create a new framework that was more sympathetic to the developments of the archaeological evidence. Developments in the ceramic evidence were studied in order to create a framework based on the archaeology and specifically the cultural and typological developments in these ceramics, from which it would be possible to base further analysis of the material culture and social changes specific to the study region through subdivisions of the local and imported wares. The research then examined local, regional and imported wares within the common periods of their use, in order to create general production phases based on forms that could be added to the framework. This was carried out to assess inferences from the distributions relating to social hierarchies, landscape orientation and how they related to trade, cultural contact and political control of the landscape by the Anglo-Saxons and Normans.

As previously stated, Figures 67-70 summarise the information for all Late Roman and early medieval pottery forms. Several fabrics were included as *comparanda*, where it was deemed necessary in the discussion of the development of the analysed ceramics. From this data display it was then possible to group the fabrics based on broad period (late-Romano-British and early medieval) and provenance (Local, Mediterranean and Continental) from which the final chronological framework could be based. Each group is labelled as Group 1 to 6, with transitional phases in production also marked. This analysis produced six developmental phases consisting of Group 1 (third to late fourth-century insular and imported wares), Group 2 (fifth to late sixth-century imported wares), Group 3 (late fifth to ninth-century insular wares), Group 4 (ninth to twelfth-century insular wares), Group 5 (tenth to twelfth-century Saxo-Norman wares) and Group 6 (tenth to twelfth-century Saxo-Norman imports). The latter three groups are also separated by cultural influence, as Groups 5 and 6 specifically categorise the Saxo-Norman wares, found predominantly in Devon, and at sites where there were other indications of an Anglo-Saxon presence. The grouping of both Saxon and Norman forms of material culture results from the relatively late appearance of Anglo-Saxon traditions in the South West, whilst the production techniques of the local Devon wares appear to have been developed under Anglo-Saxon occupation of the production sites, such as Exeter. Whilst there is some overlap between certain of these groups, particularly between Groups 2 and 3, it was deemed important to differentiate between them, given the longevity of the latter compared to the former, and the different origins of the ceramics between these groups and those in groups 5 and 6, where again there is chronological overlap but difference in origin.

This period-based chronological framework has been used to present the grouped analysis of the ceramics instead of the traditional Anglo-Saxon culturally-specific labels and is important primarily in the discussion of the development of the insular traditions of the South West as well as the themes outlined in Chapter 2. Whilst the settlements and other features were examined chronologically by century, the material culture consisting of glass, coinage, metalwork and metalworking were all assessed using the above chronological framework formed from the ceramic evidence.

## **5.3 Group 1: Third- to late fourth-century local and imported wares**

This section presents the late Romano-British evidence for the third to late fourth centuries, subdivided into the locally-produced wares and the imports from other regions of Britain, before discussing the Group 1 fabrics as a whole. It consists of these local and regional wares as well as four of the Mediterranean imports, which have been included in the final grouped analysis but are not analysed separately, as the archaeological evidence suggests that they have not specifically been found in third- to fourth-century contexts in the South West, whilst where they have been discovered, it is generally in conjunction with the later Mediterranean imports from Group 2.

### **5.3.1 Late Romano-British locally-produced fabrics**

The wares analysed in this section consist of the Gabbroic, Granitic, Local, South Devon and “Other” miscellaneous wares, dating from the third to late fourth or early fifth centuries, although some sherds may have been found in early sixth-century contexts. The distribution of late Romano-British local wares (Figure 115) shows evidence for more widespread pottery production and use in Cornwall compared to Devon, where it appears that there was little or no use in the more inland and upland zones of Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor, as well as northern Devon. Sites with the larger assemblages are also notably in Cornwall, inland and on the coast, consisting of Reawla, Crane Godrevy and Porth Godrevy collectively, Duckpool, Trethurgy and Penhale Round. Of these, only Reawla did not continue in use into the early medieval period (Appleton 1992, 86).

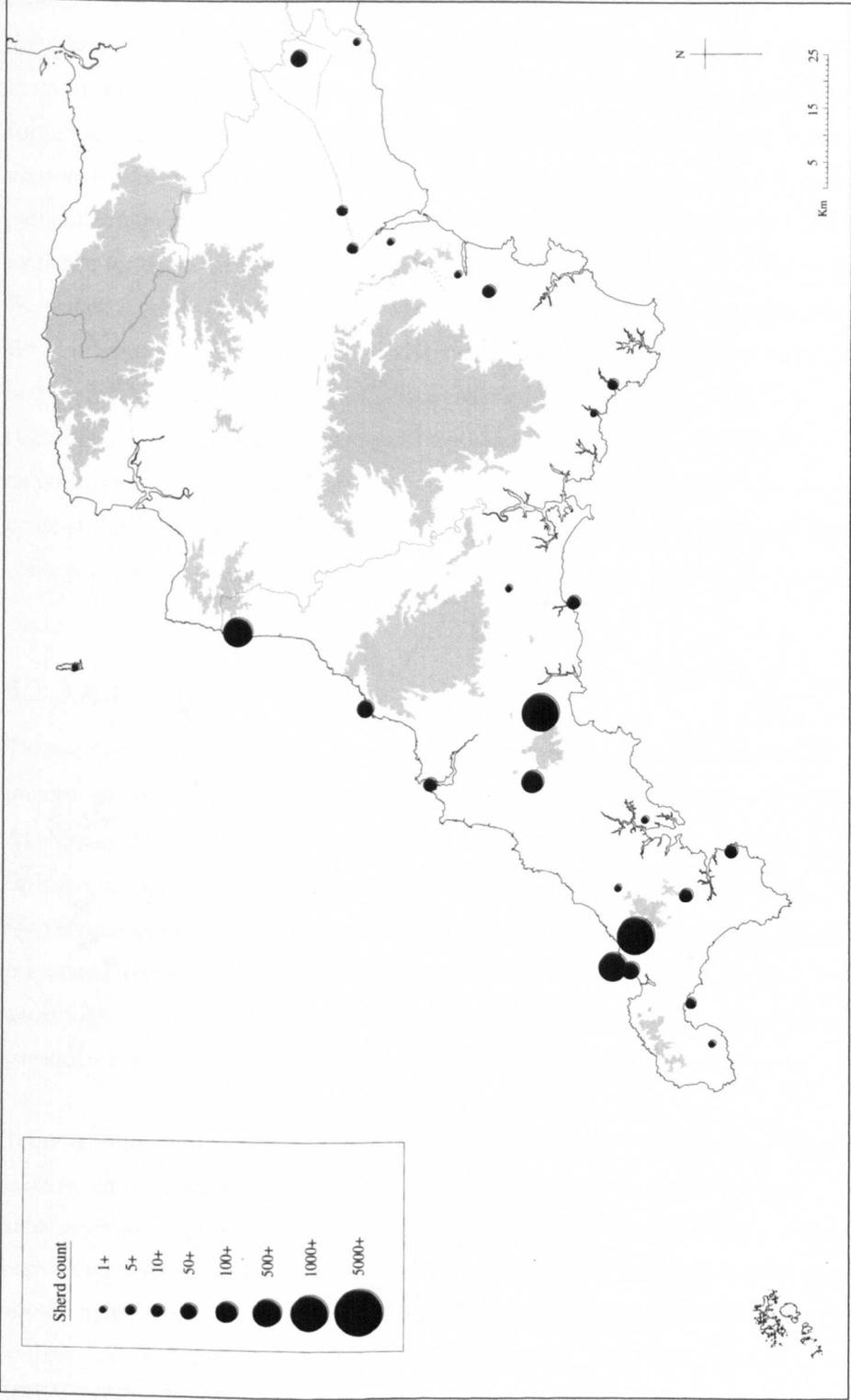


Figure 115 - All Late Roman Local wares

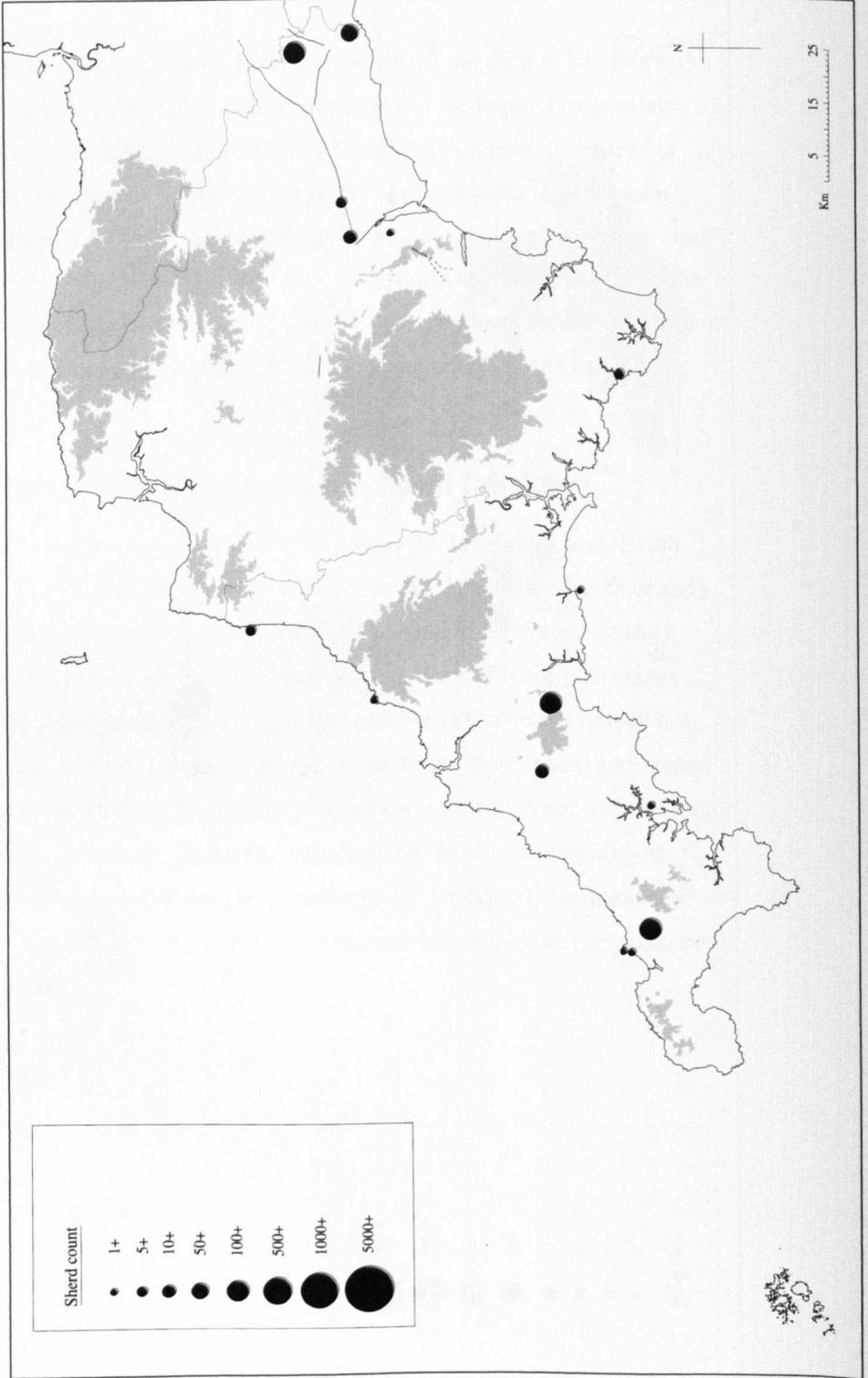


Figure 116 - Late Romano-British regional imports

### **5.3.2 Late Romano-British regionally-produced imports**

Figure 116 illustrates the location of all Romano-British regional imports and shows the relative scarcity of such wares. There are correlations with the locally-made wares in the lack of assemblages from central and northern Devon, as well as specific foci for larger import assemblages at Trethurgy, Cleave Hill Farm and Reawla. There appears to have been a degree of Romano-British trade between the South West and parts of Britain outside the study region, with many sites in the South West exhibiting evidence for these 'regional' wares, predominantly the New Forest, Oxford and Black-Burnished fabrics. This trade was also reaching further, across the Channel at sites in Brittany where New Forest Ware sherds have been found at Alet, Ile et Vilaine, and body sherds of SEDBB1 have been discovered dating to the third to early fifth centuries at Kervennec (Finistère) and Quimper (Fulford 1977, 81). This demonstrates links with the Continent which seem to have disappeared from the south coast of England after AD 400, with the exception of Cornwall and the South Devon coast which show an apparent continuity in the distribution of the Period 2 fabrics.

### **5.3.3 All Group 1**

These consist of locally and regionally produced fabrics and four Mediterranean imports thought to have been in production and use in the third to late fourth centuries AD. Figure 117 represents the extent of the ceramic evidence for the late fourth to fifth centuries, in the form of local Romano-British wares and earlier forms of Mediterranean imports, in conjunction with the upland topography and the known and postulated Roman roads. The general spread of sites with these wares shows a distinct density of large assemblages in Cornwall and along the south Devon coast, with particular concentrations along the north Cornish coast and at two inland sites.

There is a clear lack of ceramic sites in northern and central Devon (in the region of Exmoor and Dartmoor) and also in the area of Bodmin Moor, suggesting that settlement on the uplands was generally uncommon although communities in these regions may have relied on non-ceramic objects. Pottery in the Scillies and on Lundy shows their occupation in this period, as well as the presumed contact between them and the mainland and their possible roles as island entrepôts. The number of large and small coastal sites across the study region suggests that there was a strong reliance on maritime resources during both the Late Roman and immediate post-Roman periods.

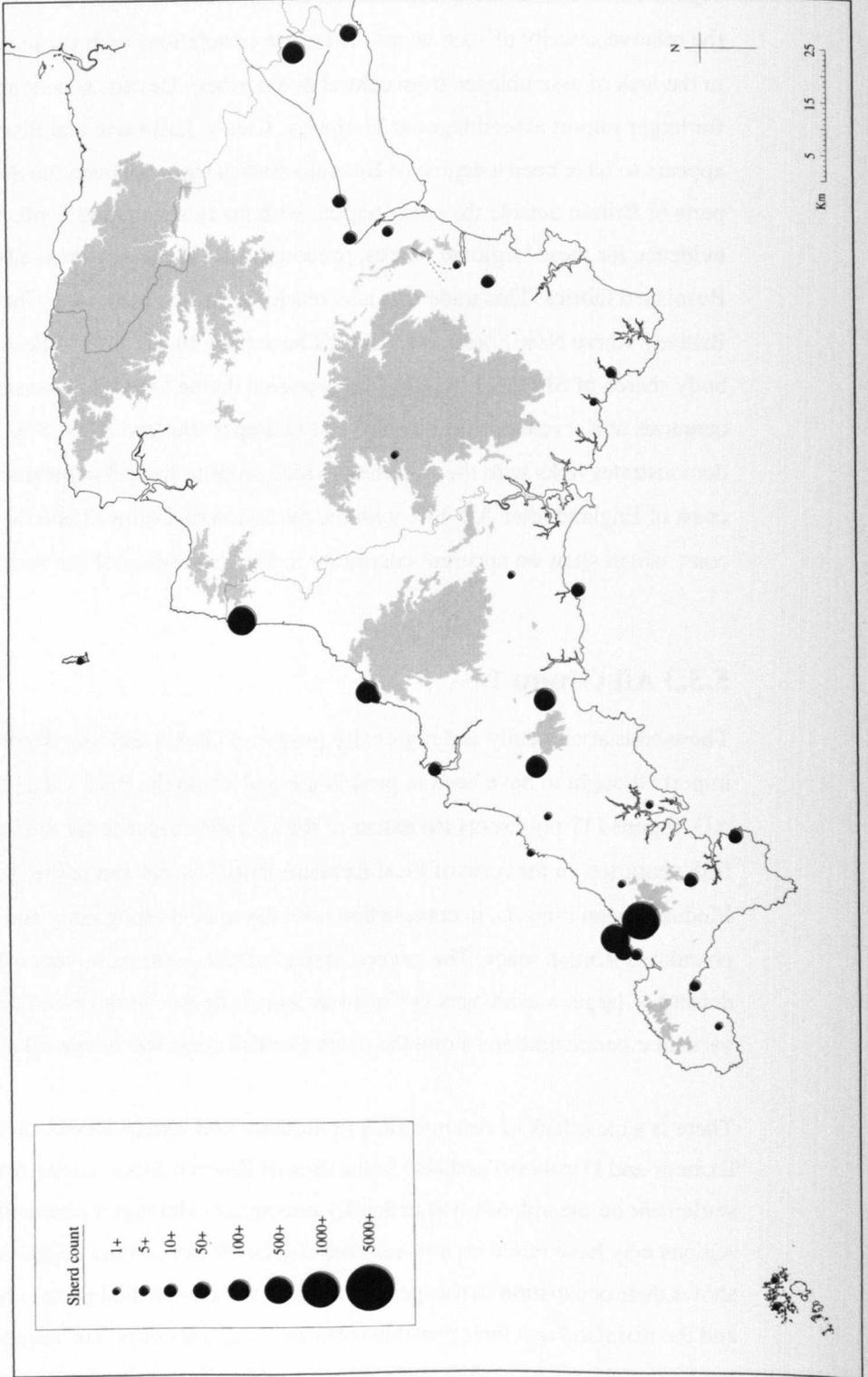


Figure 117 - Group 1: third to late fourth-century insular and imported ceramics

The nature of these Late Roman sites will be discussed in later chapters, as well as in relation to their continuity in use in later periods.

## **5.4 Group 2: fifth- to late sixth-century local and imported wares**

This section presents and discusses the local wares and Mediterranean imports to the South West between the fifth and sixth centuries. They are grouped based on chronological period as well as by provenance, with each of the import types separated in order to assess differences in distribution, which might therefore shed light on the possibility of separate networks of exchange and specific regions of consumption. The lack of research and excavation on the kiln and production centres of locally-produced pottery in the South West make it difficult to assess more localised exchange networks and their impact within the study region, although this has been discussed to a degree in relation to the Exeter-made fabrics in 5.4. Figure 118 is included for illustrative purposes and shows the general distribution of all early medieval locally-produced wares for the fifth to early twelfth centuries, however this distribution is discussed elsewhere and within the period-based analyses and therefore is not included here.

### **5.4.1 All Mediterranean fine wares ('A' wares)**

The combined distributions of NARSW and PRSW (Figure 119) show a strong concentration along the north Cornish coast. There are also smaller assemblages of these wares along the south coast and on Lundy and the Scilly Isles; the latter perhaps part of the north coastal exchange route towards South Wales and Ireland. The larger inland assemblages at Hays Close and Trethurgy indicate sites with possible higher status. Generally the size of these assemblages appears to match discoveries of the wares elsewhere in Atlantic Britain and Ireland (see Campbell, 2007, Figures 5 and 8).

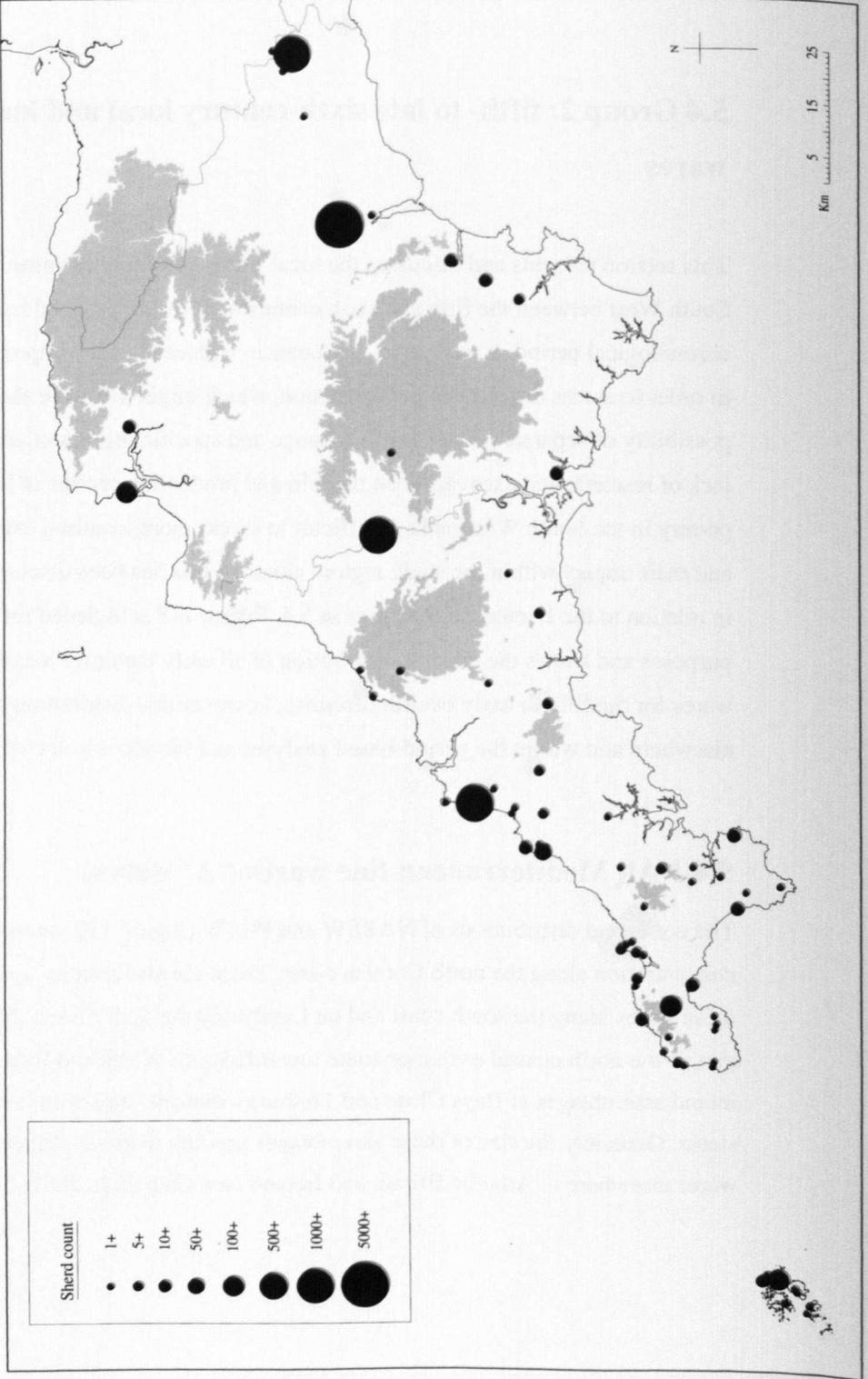
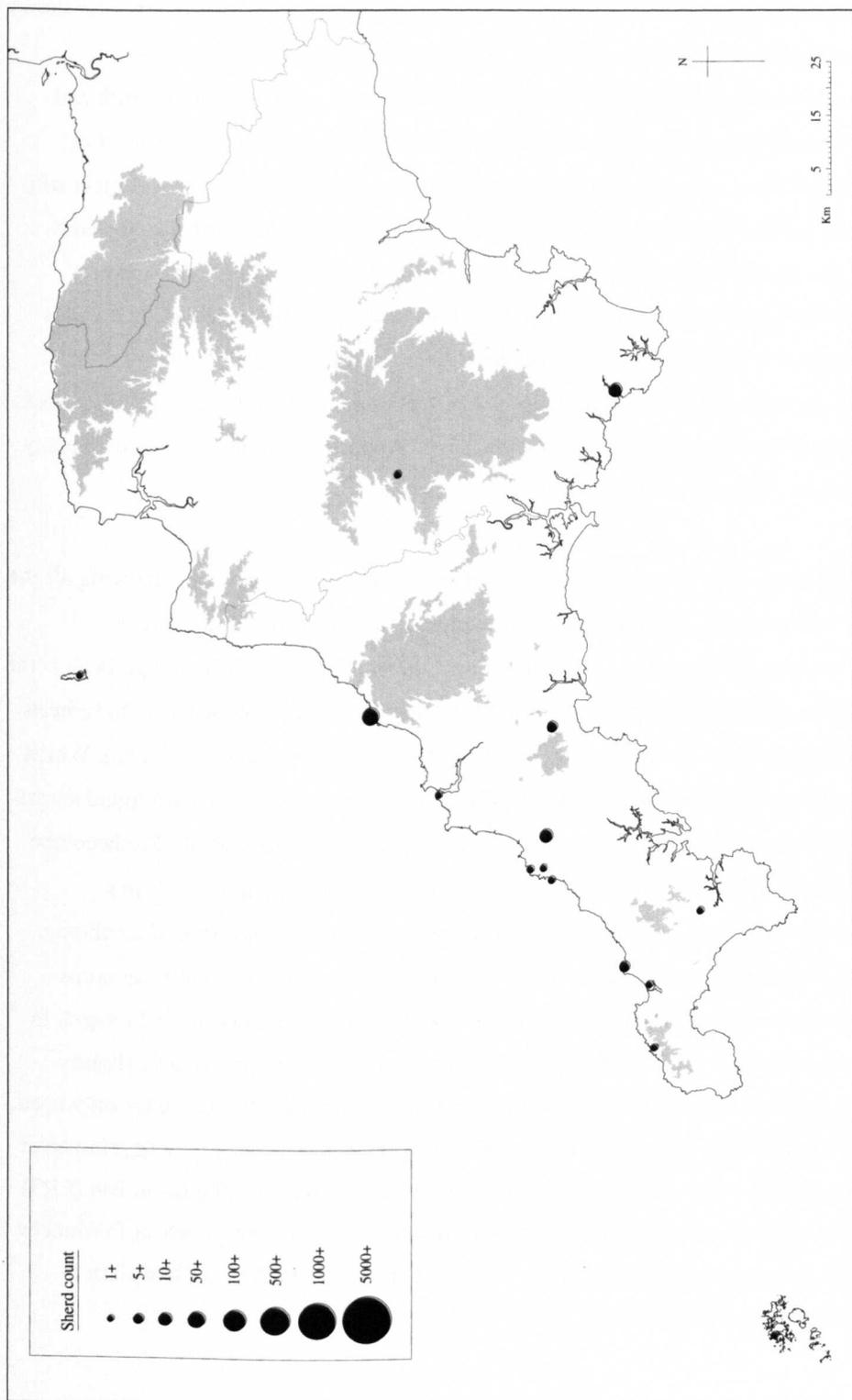


Figure 118 - All early medieval local wares



**Figure 119 - All imported Mediterranean finewares**

## 5.4.2 All Mediterranean amphorae ('B' wares')

When all the Mediterranean amphorae are plotted (Figure 120), the distribution shows distinct clustering as well as a strong maritime dispersal. This clustering is concentrated in the Scilly Isles, the West Penwith zone and areas on the north and south coasts, around Kelsey Head and Trethurgy. They are found across most of Cornwall but at only four sites on the south Devon coast, indicating that contact with traders and travellers from the Mediterranean was concentrated further to the west. Tintagel has by far the largest assemblage of Mediterranean imports with over a thousand sherds, which is not solely due to the large amount of excavation that has taken place at the site and which implies a different role or scale of activity to other (maritime-oriented) sites where these wares are found. Although Tintagel, High Peak, Bantham, Trethurgy and Gwithian show larger proportions of these wares than many other sites, they did not all have the same function.

The number of 'B' ware sherds at each site is compared in Figure 121, showing all the sites where they have been found and with separate bar-charts for the larger assemblages at Tintagel and Bantham. The number of sherds of Bii at High Peak is far in excess of any other types at the site, indicating that the community may have been consuming quantities of olive oil (Thorpe & Batey in Barrowman 2007, 233). Whilst the largest number of sherds is of Bi at Tintagel, the most common ware found across all sites appears to be Bii, with concentrations at Gwithian, High Peak, Mothecombe, Bantham and Trethurgy. Small numbers of Bi and Bii are found at most sites represented in Figure 65, with fewer instances of the remaining forms of amphorae. When Bi and Bii are compared, it can be seen that Bi is found in smaller amounts across Cornwall and south Devon, but in considerably larger amounts at Tintagel. In comparison, Bii is found at fewer sites, in the same general regions but in slightly larger amounts and at approximately half the number of sites. Bv has so far only been discovered in large quantities at Tintagel, Tintagel Cemetery and Trethurgy; however this represents only a few vessels, apart from those discovered at Tintagel. Bvi (LR3) has only been found at Bantham, with Bvii discovered at only two sites, at Porthmeor and in larger quantities at Trethurgy. These date to the fourth to sixth and sixth to seventh centuries respectively.

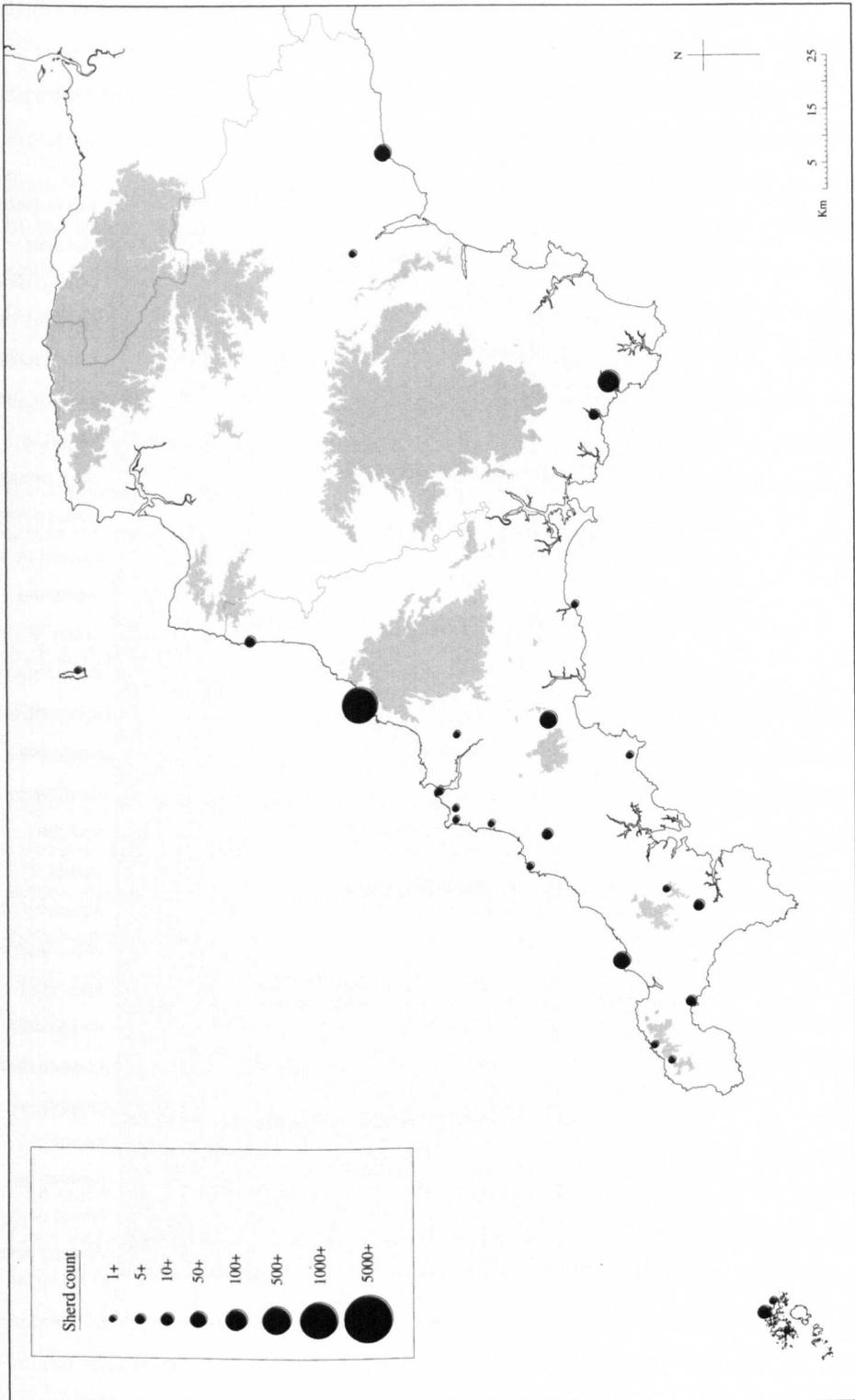


Figure 120 - All Mediterranean amphorae

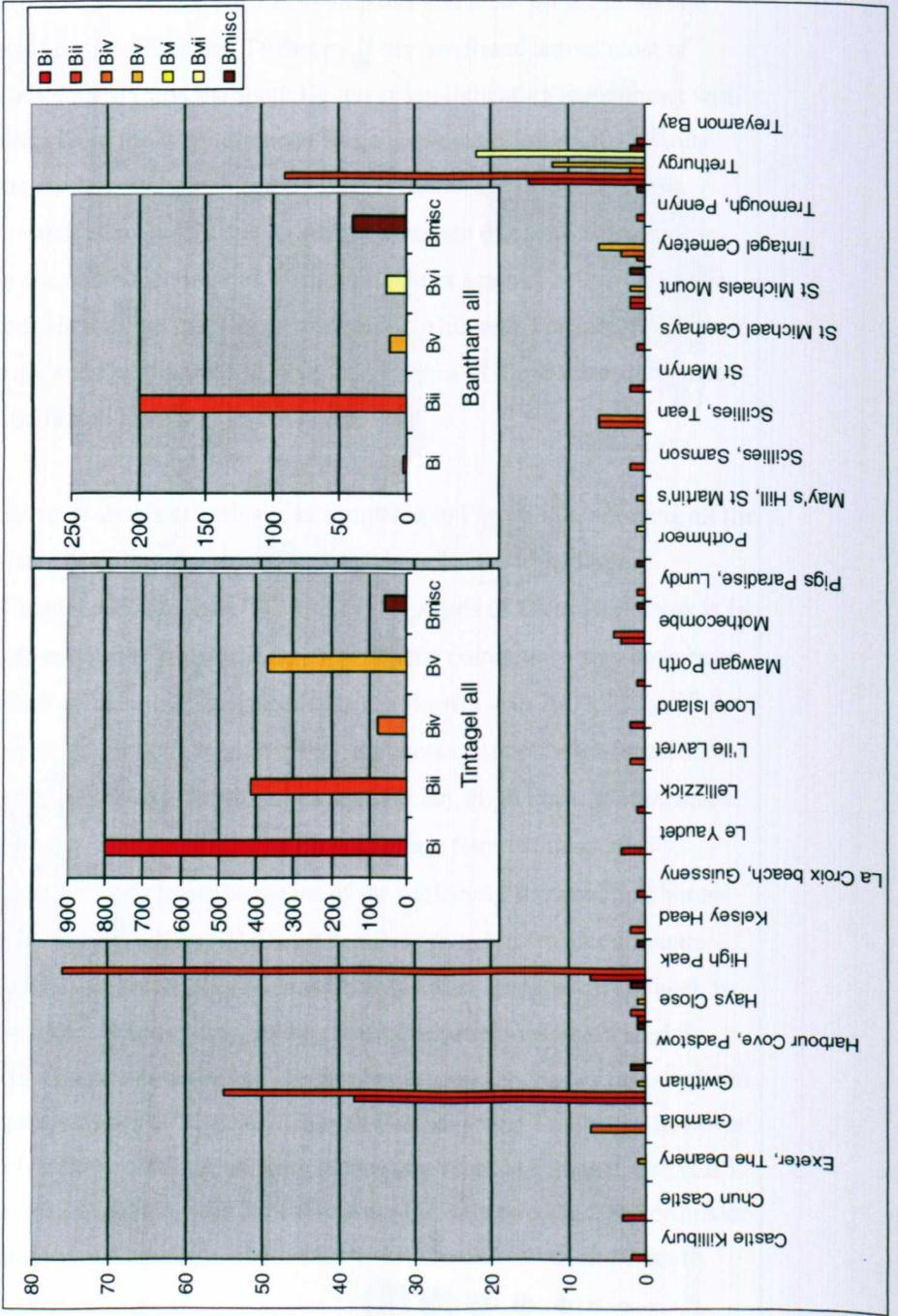


Figure 121 - Proportional analysis of Mediterranean amphorae at each site

### **5.4.3 All Mediterranean imports**

This category includes all coarsewares, finewares and amphorae. Figure 122 presents all sites where such imports were found - excluding the Continental wares - and which therefore might also correspond to those sites which were taking part in forms of exchange in the late fourth to late seventh centuries. What is primarily apparent in Figures 67-70 is that the datable wares for the fourth to eighth centuries are dominated by the Mediterranean imports. Their distribution is notably along the north Cornish coast, with none on the north Devon coast and only four instances along the south Devon coast. The wares are more frequent in Cornwall and Scilly Isles than in Devon, but there are some key sites at which a larger assemblage has been found. These are Gwithian, Tean, Trethurgy, Bantham, High Peak and lastly Tintagel, which has nearly fifty percent of the total sherds found in the study region. This may be due in part to the degree of excavation that has taken place at this latter site; however the rate of discovery of these sherds is still far above that at other sites.

### **5.4.4 All Group 2**

These consist of the imported Mediterranean wares and locally made fabrics, several of which are the same as those in Group 1, due to their long periods of production. Figure 123 shows their distribution, which follows much the same trend as those of Group 1. This overall distribution, when compared with the wider spread of imports across Atlantic Britain and Ireland (Figure 124) shows that sites such as Tintagel and Bantham and others in the South West form the largest proportions of all finds outside the Continent and the Mediterranean, with sherd numbers at Tintagel equalling those at sites in southern Spain. There have been fewer discoveries in the region around Exeter and in eastern Devon, whilst sites on the Scilly Isles and across Cornwall in general show a wider and greater spread of these ceramics.

The major areas of settlement indicated by the ceramic evidence are therefore still in Cornwall, with sporadic occupation along the south Devon coast, whilst the apparently larger sites at Reawla, Porth Godrevy and Tintagel do not necessarily reflect a shared size or function. Although many of the larger sites are coastally located, a series of inland sites shows a degree of activity in this period. Smaller sub-regional groups around Gwithian and Kelsey Head show concentrations in the spatial patterning, perhaps indicative of the more localised exchange networks between a landing

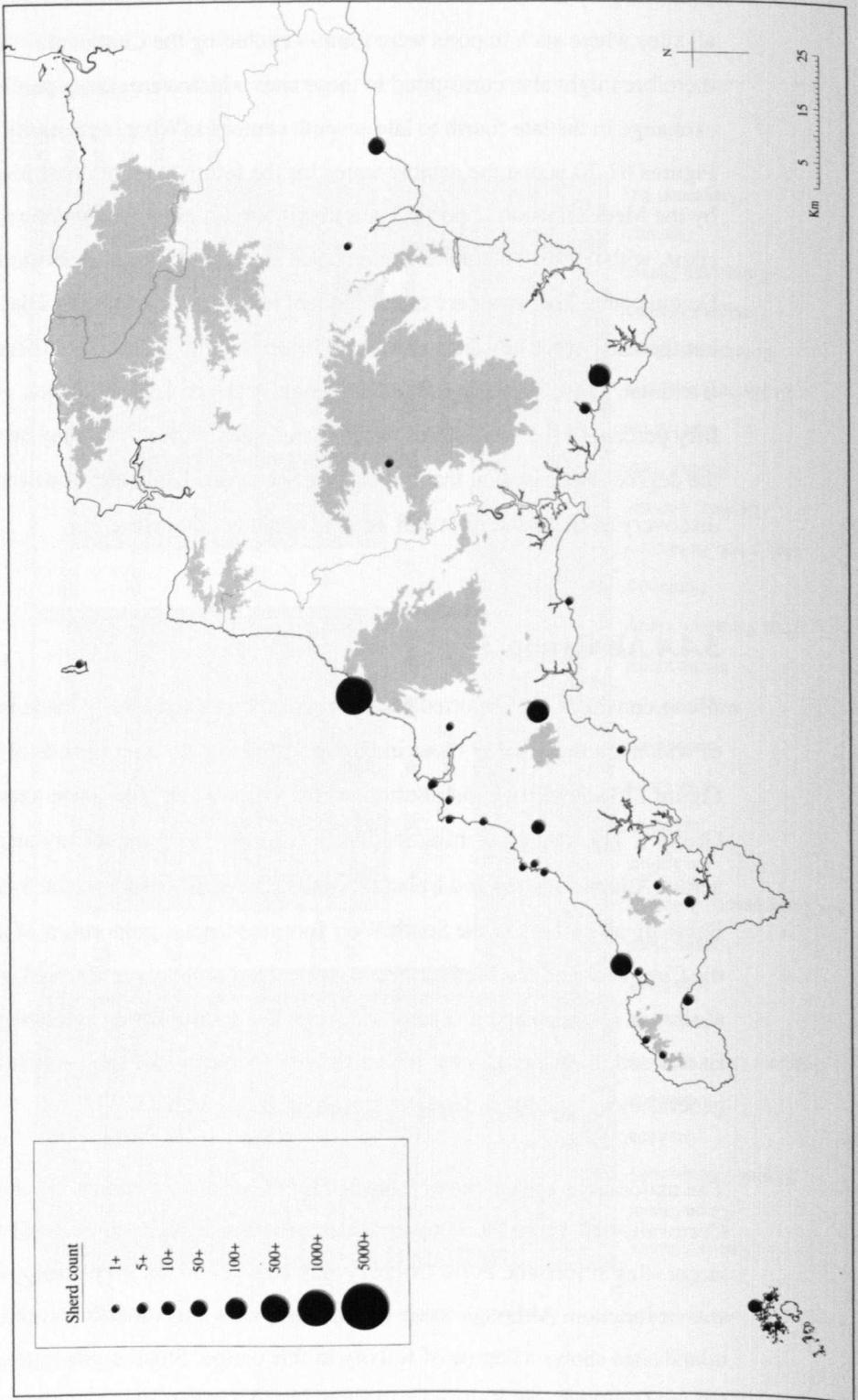


Figure 122 - All Mediterranean imports

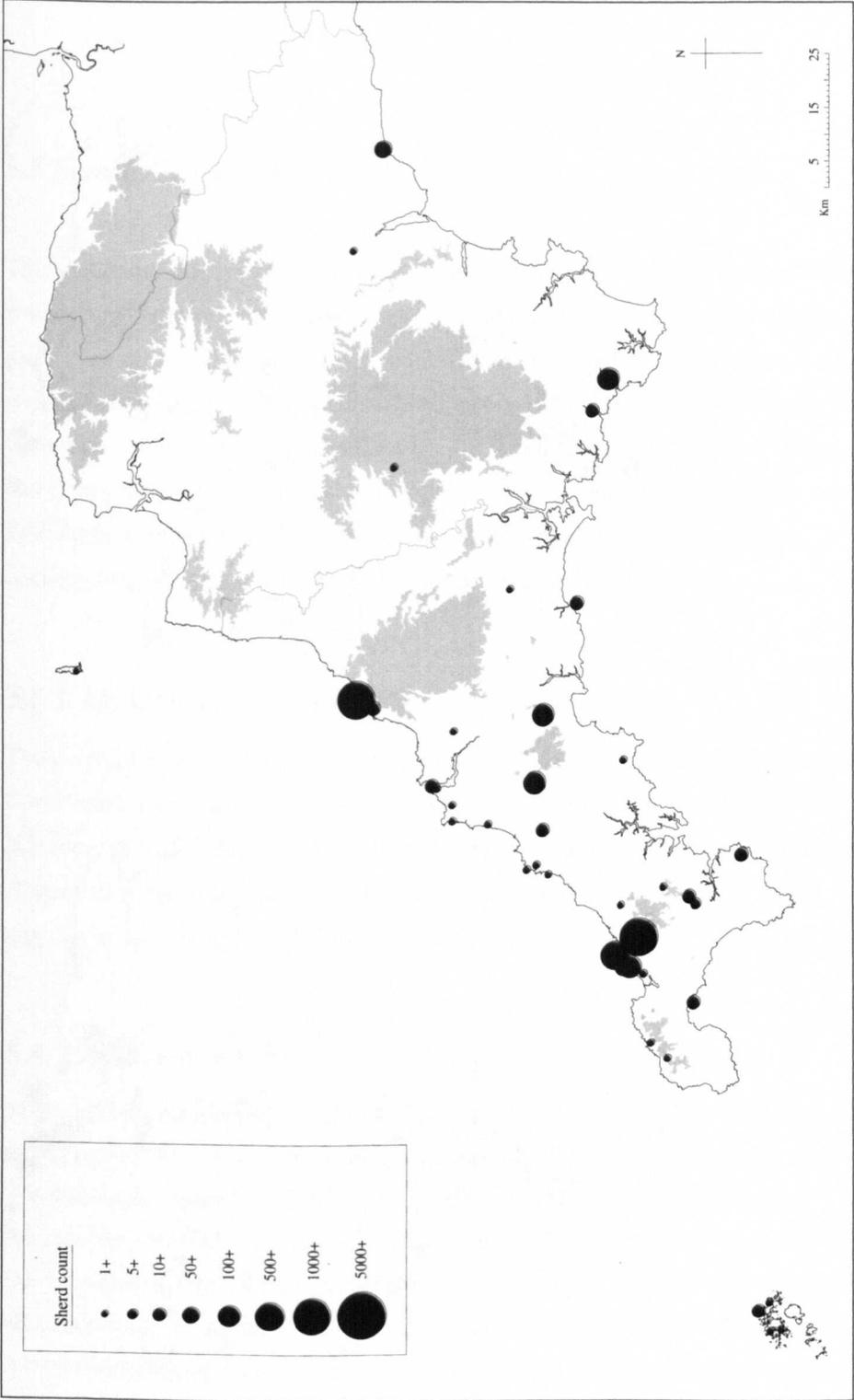


Figure 123 - Group 2: fifth to sixth-century local and imported ceramics

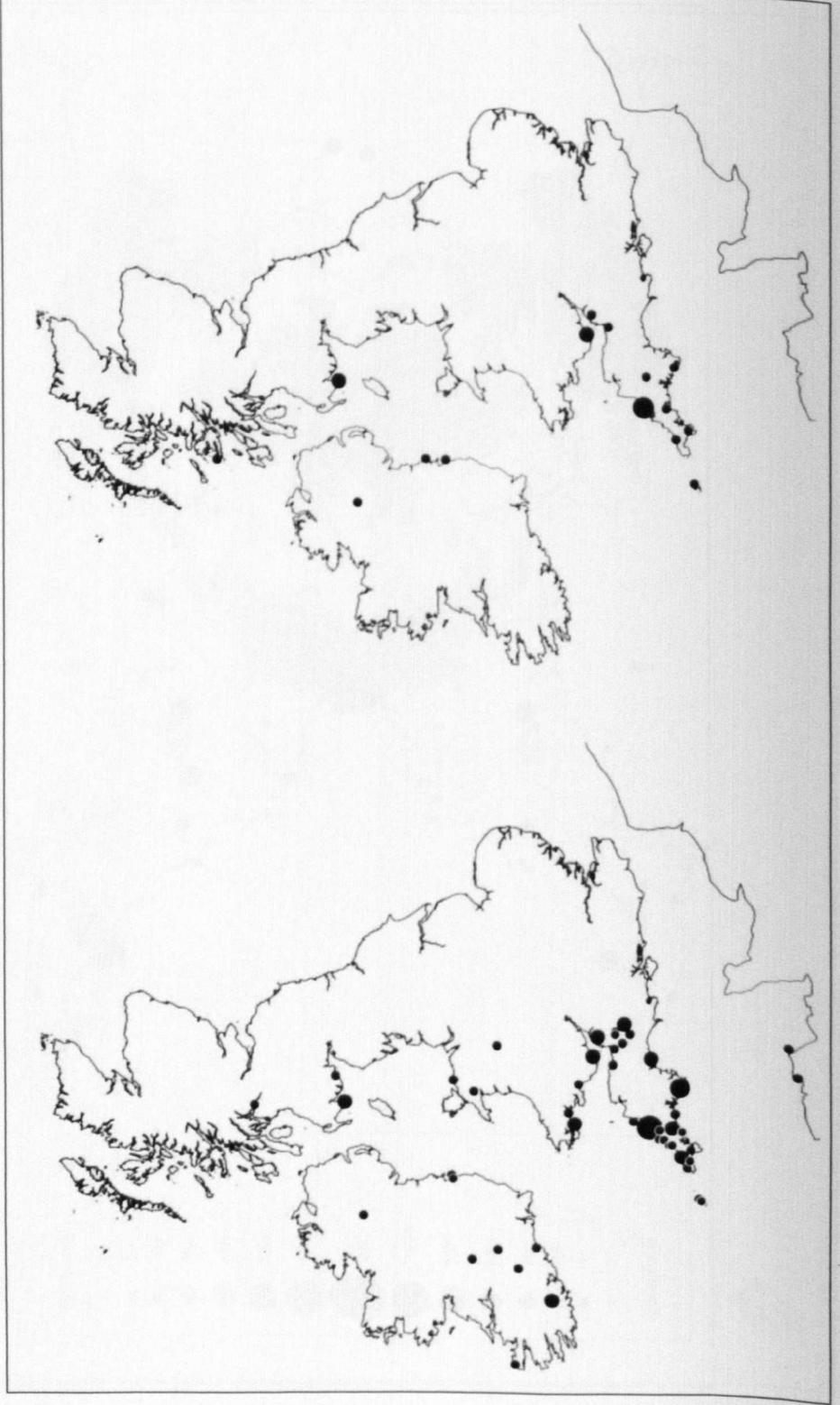


Figure 124 - Distribution of eastern (left) and North African (right) 'packages' of imports (Campbell 2007, Figure 16, 25)

site or central place and sites in its hinterlands. In contrast, the nearest potential landing place to Trethurgy is approximately twenty kilometres away at Looe Island, where so far only two probable sherds of amphorae have been discovered.

## **5.5 Group 3: Late fifth to ninth centuries**

This section introduces the late fifth to ninth century Continental imports and local wares from Cornwall and Devon. These have been grouped as they share similar production dates and regions of distribution and in the case of Western French ware and DSP, similar production regions. The Continental fabrics have been separated from those from the Mediterranean, as whilst DSP in particular shares production dates, they have yet to be discovered within the same context and at some sites the Late Roman amphorae and Western French wares were separated by aceramic contexts, suggesting that they belonged to different exchange systems.

### **5.5.1 All Continental imports**

The graph in Figure 125 shows the locations where the sixth- to early eighth-century Continental wares have so far been discovered. It illustrates the more widespread discovery of these fabrics in the Scilly Isles and in Brittany and the Channel Islands (Figure 126), but also how both DSP and Western French wares are only found together at one site of May's Hill in the Scilly Isles.

### **5.5.2 All Group 3**

This analysis assesses the use of local Cornish wares and Continental imports dating to this period, consisting of DSP, Grass-marked and Western French wares. Their distribution in Figure 127 shows dense patterning in Cornwall and particularly towards the west and north coasts, with the Bantham sherds the only evidence for Devon, none of which were Cornish grass-marked sherds. The larger assemblages are all concentrated along the north Cornish coast and across the Scilly Isles, with the latter representing large amounts of both imports and local grass-marked wares.

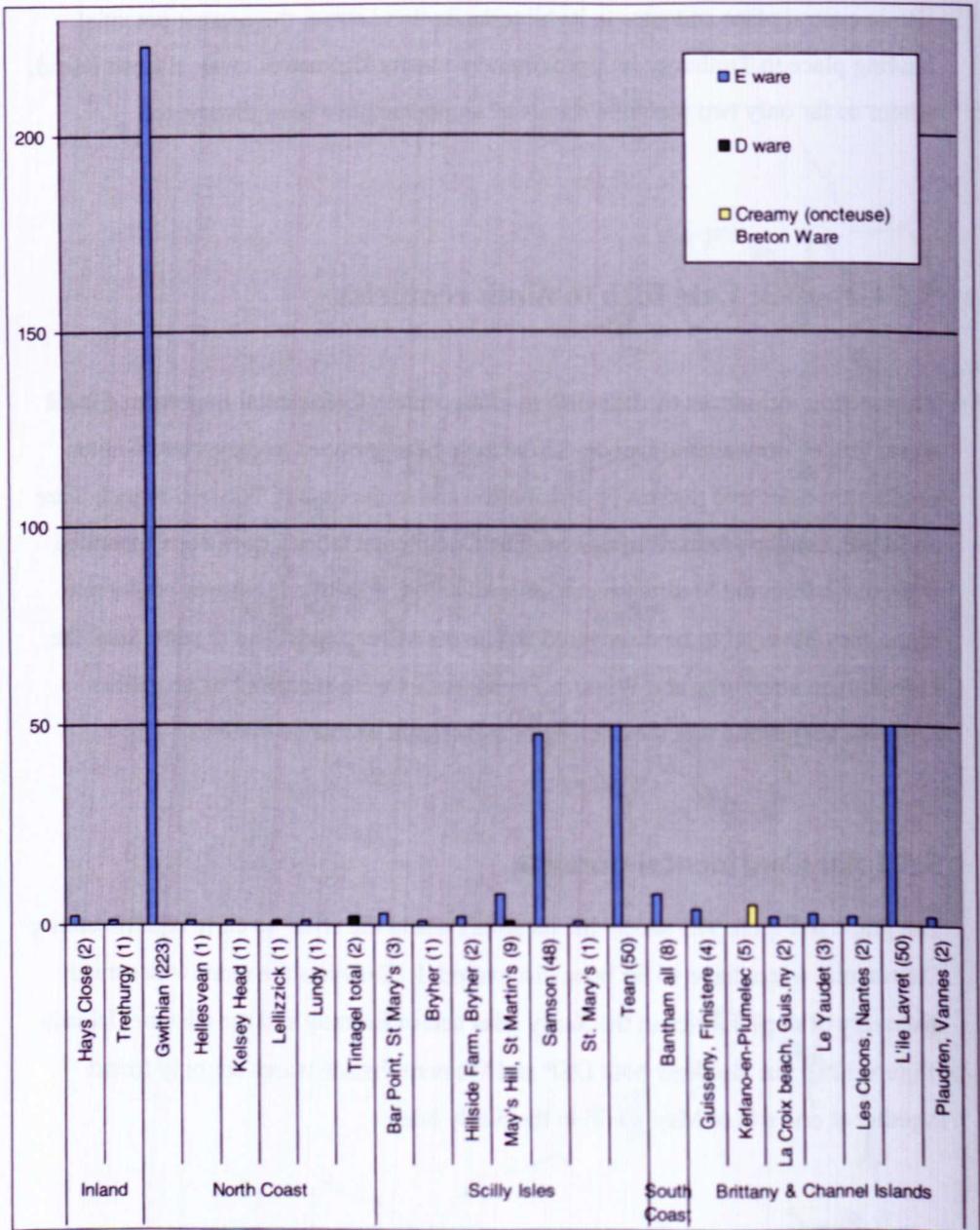


Figure 125 - Continental imports per site and sub-region

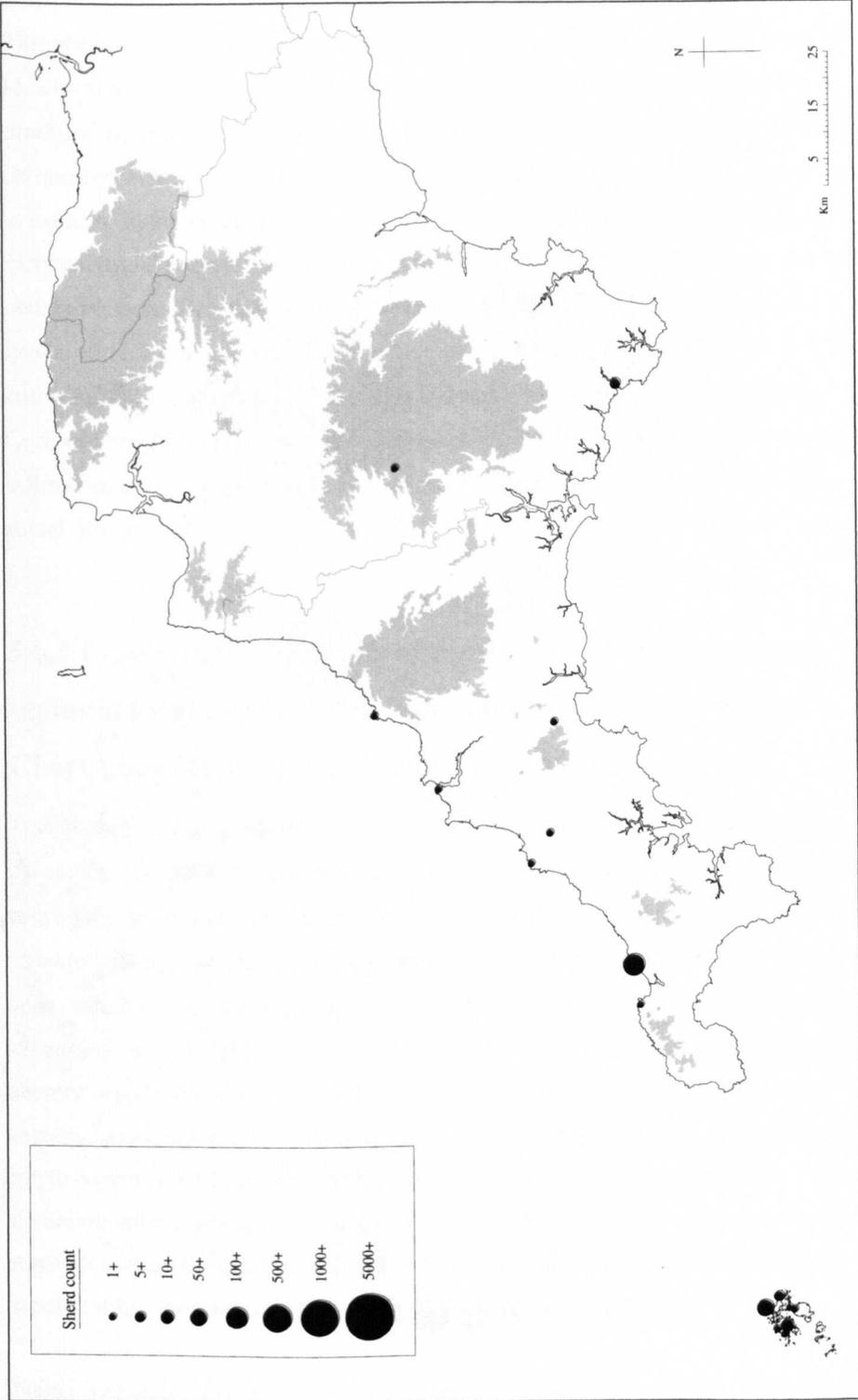


Figure 126 - All Continental imports

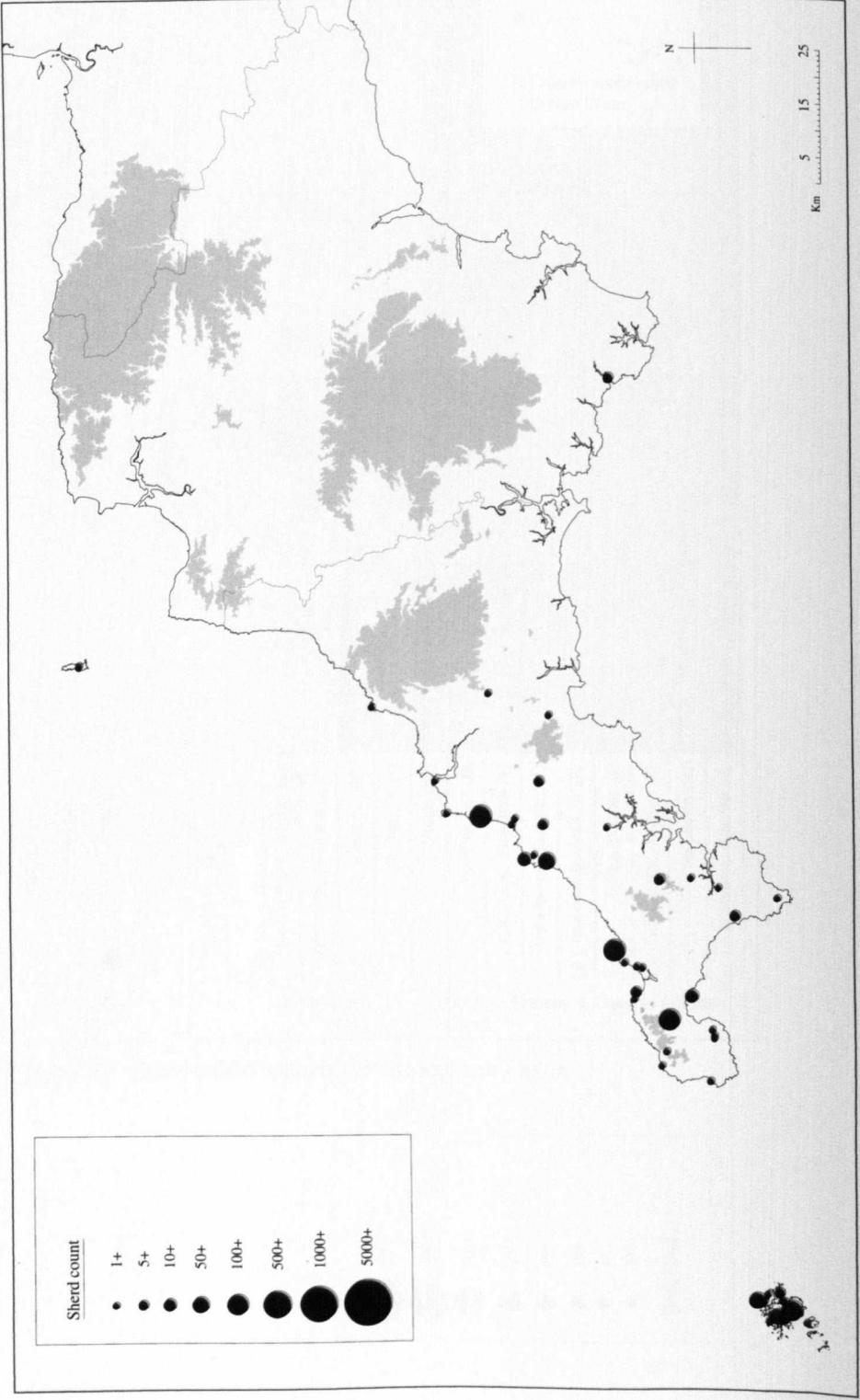


Figure 127 - Group 3: late fifth to ninth-century insular ceramics

## **5.6 Groups 4 and 5: ninth to twelfth centuries**

This section introduces and discusses the most common ninth- to twelfth-century locally-produced Cornish fabrics, and the mid-tenth to twelfth-century locally-produced Devon wares. These two groups have been combined as they cover the same chronological boundaries, but a distinction was made between the sub-regions in order to evaluate more localised areas of production and influence. The analysis may show early territorial regionalisation through the material culture, which reflects the later county boundaries. It may also demonstrate a more localised development of the insular techniques, particularly in relation to a comparative analysis of the different rates of acculturation from both insular and Saxo-Norman viewpoints between Cornwall and Devon. It is hoped that this analysis will shed light on cross-cultural influences and the impact on insular traditions from new 'outside' Saxo-Norman social groups.

### **5.6.1 Comparative analysis of ninth to twelfth-century sub-regional local fabrics: Bar-lug, Sandy Lane I, South West Chert-tempered and Bedford Garage wares**

This section assesses several sets of wares chosen specifically for their shared chronological span in Cornwall and Devon and for their perceived status as functional forms used widely across the study region. This analysis was undertaken in order to attempt a comparison between local wares from each sub-regions, over a similar time span, which would aid in the discussion of the development of localised territorial boundaries and use of aspects of the landscape. It might also shed further light on how society was developing through the ceramic production and distribution of each of the regions, whether there were similarities between them and to what extent interaction might have taken place, with further potential influences on cross-cultural communication, localised exchange networks and possible homogenisation of the material culture during a period of new cultural traditions and increased social stratification prior and subsequent to, the Norman invasion and occupation.

Figure 128 shows the distribution of the chosen locally-produced wares for the ninth to early twelfth centuries, consisting of the Cornish-made ninth to eleventh-century Bar-lug and eleventh-century Sandy Lane I fabrics, South West Chert-tempered fabric

produced from the early eleventh century and Bedford Garage Ware produced in the eleventh century. These have been compared as they are found at roughly the same time in Cornwall and Devon during a period of strong Anglo-Saxon influence and are therefore directly comparable in date and function. Their nature also allows for them to be grouped, as Sandy Lane I is thought to have been a direct development of the Bar-lug tradition. Similarly, it is possible that localised Exeter fabrics such as Bedford Garage Ware might have been a regional variant or development of Chert-tempered Ware, as it appears to share similar forms and production period, although the fabric of Bedford Garage ware may be granitic in its inclusions (Fox & Dunning 1957, 48). They may also represent ninth to early twelfth-century settlement patterns across Cornwall and Devon, although it must be remembered that this is based on very broad production periods rather than securely dated contexts at these sites.

The totals sherds for each ware have been amalgamated to show the overall total per group. The Cornish wares are represented by black and the Devon and Somerset wares by orange symbols. The map shows that Cornish-made wares were found only in Cornwall and the Devonshire and Somerset fabrics found across Devon and just across the border at Launceston Castle and Boscastle. The Devon sites are fewer with larger assemblages, whilst the Cornish wares represent a larger number of sites, with mainly coastal locations along the north-west coast and a more inland dispersal on the south east side of the peninsula. The Cornish wares are also present in the Scilly Isles, showing the movement of either goods, or technological knowledge, or both, between the archipelago and the mainland. The distributions in Devon appear to be located on or near the coast, or adjacent to the head of major estuaries, with the exception of Lydford, several sites on the Devon-Dorset coast, and Launceston Castle, which is also the only site where both the Cornish and Devon wares are found together. With the exception of an outlier of three sherds of Chert-tempered ware at Boscastle, the distribution pattern follows the extent of what later became the modern county boundary.

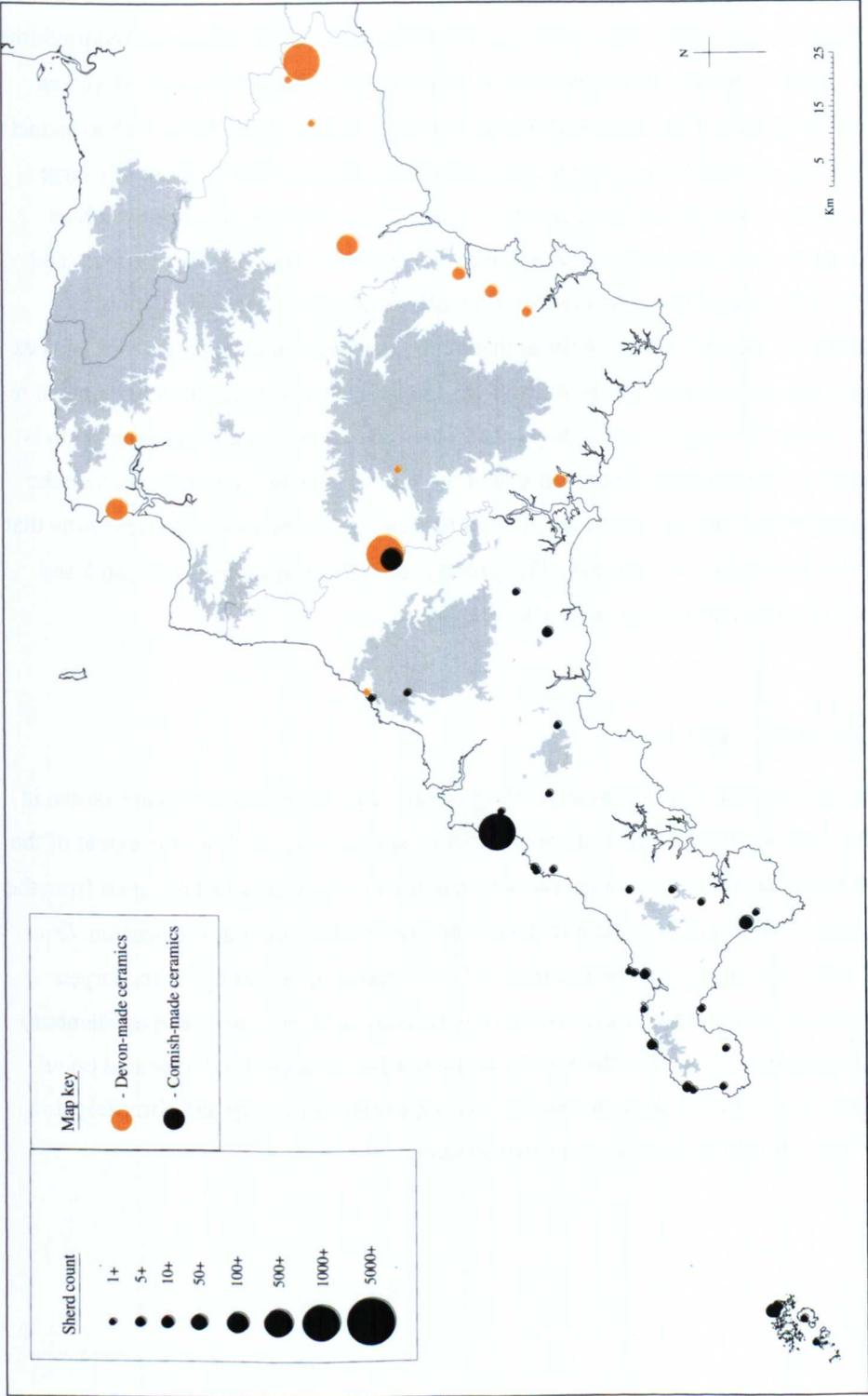


Figure 128 - Selective comparison of ninth to twelfth century local wares

### **5.6.2 All Group 4**

This group is made up of the Cornish locally-made wares of Bar-lug and Sandy Lanes 1, 2 and 3 (Figure 129). They represent the development of the grass-marked tradition which appears to have had some outside influence, but which has mainly stayed an insular technique. They are found across Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, with a distinct limit at the modern Cornish border along the River Tamar, where a relatively large number have been found at Launceston Castle. Their distribution is evenly spread although there is a slight increase in number of maritime sites on West Penwith and the north Cornish coast, whereas all sites on the Scilly Isles can be thought of as maritime by the very nature of the archipelago. There is also an apparent lack of sites on the uplands, but this may be due to a bias in the extent of excavation undertaken in these zones. The disproportionately large size of the assemblage at Mawgan Porth is reflective of the extensive excavation that has taken place, but does not preclude the potential importance or size of the site, particularly given the extent of excavation that has also taken place at Gwithian. This group is directly comparable to Group 5 and they will both be discussed and contrasted below.

### **5.6.3 All Group 5**

These South-West Chert-Tempered, Exeter-made and other local wares are shown in Figure 130. As with Group 4, there is a distinct spread which follows the extent of the modern Devon-Cornwall border and which is found only across Devon, apart from the few sherds found at Boscastle and the assemblage on the border at Launceston. Over half of the sites are at the coast or the head of estuaries; however by far the largest assemblages are slightly further away from the coast at Exeter, or inland at Membury and Launceston. Several of the sites in south east Devon appear to be located on or near the line of former Roman roads, including Exeter, Membury and Kingsteignton which are all former Late Romano-British sites.

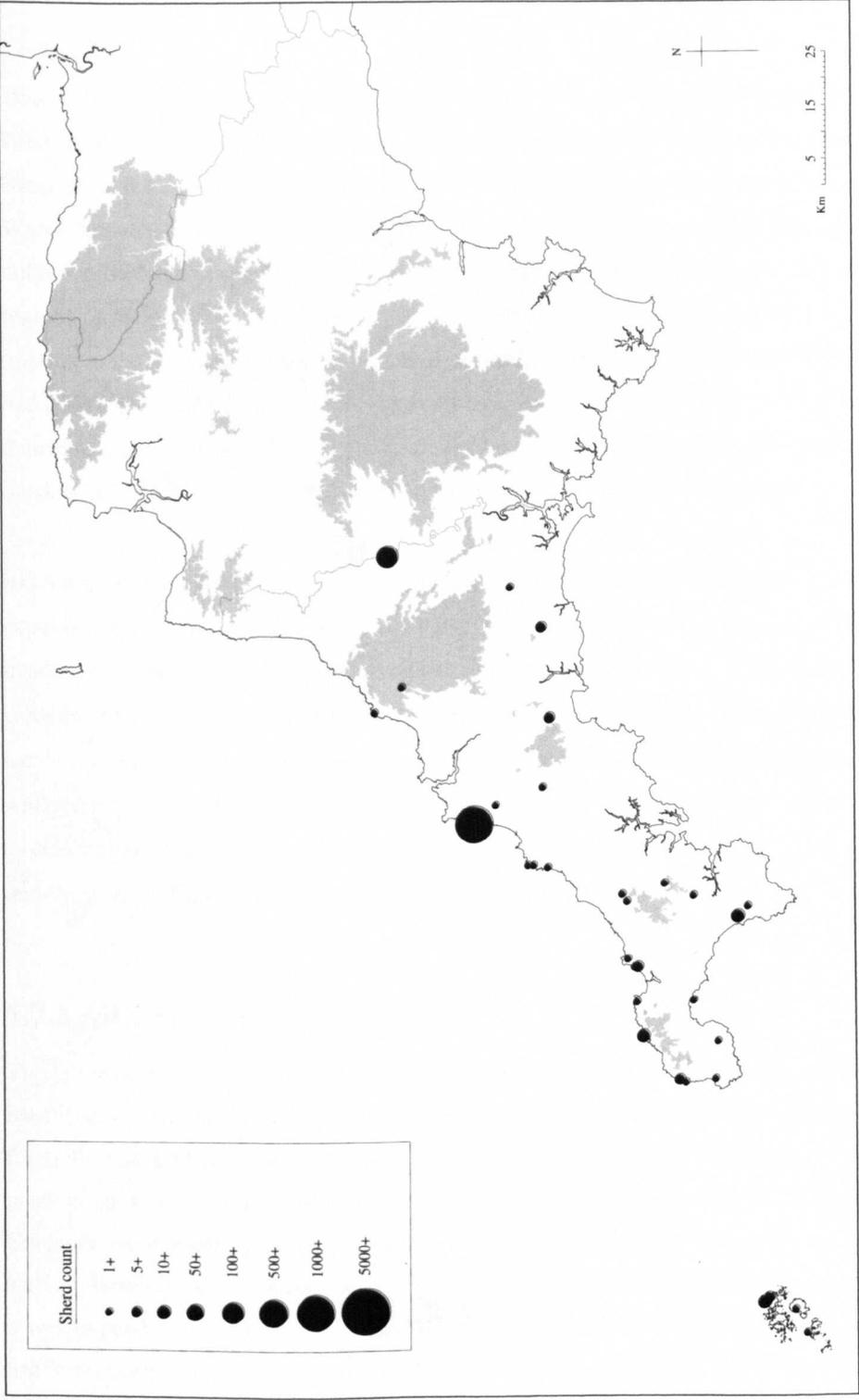


Figure 129 - Group 4: insular ninth to twelfth-century ceramics

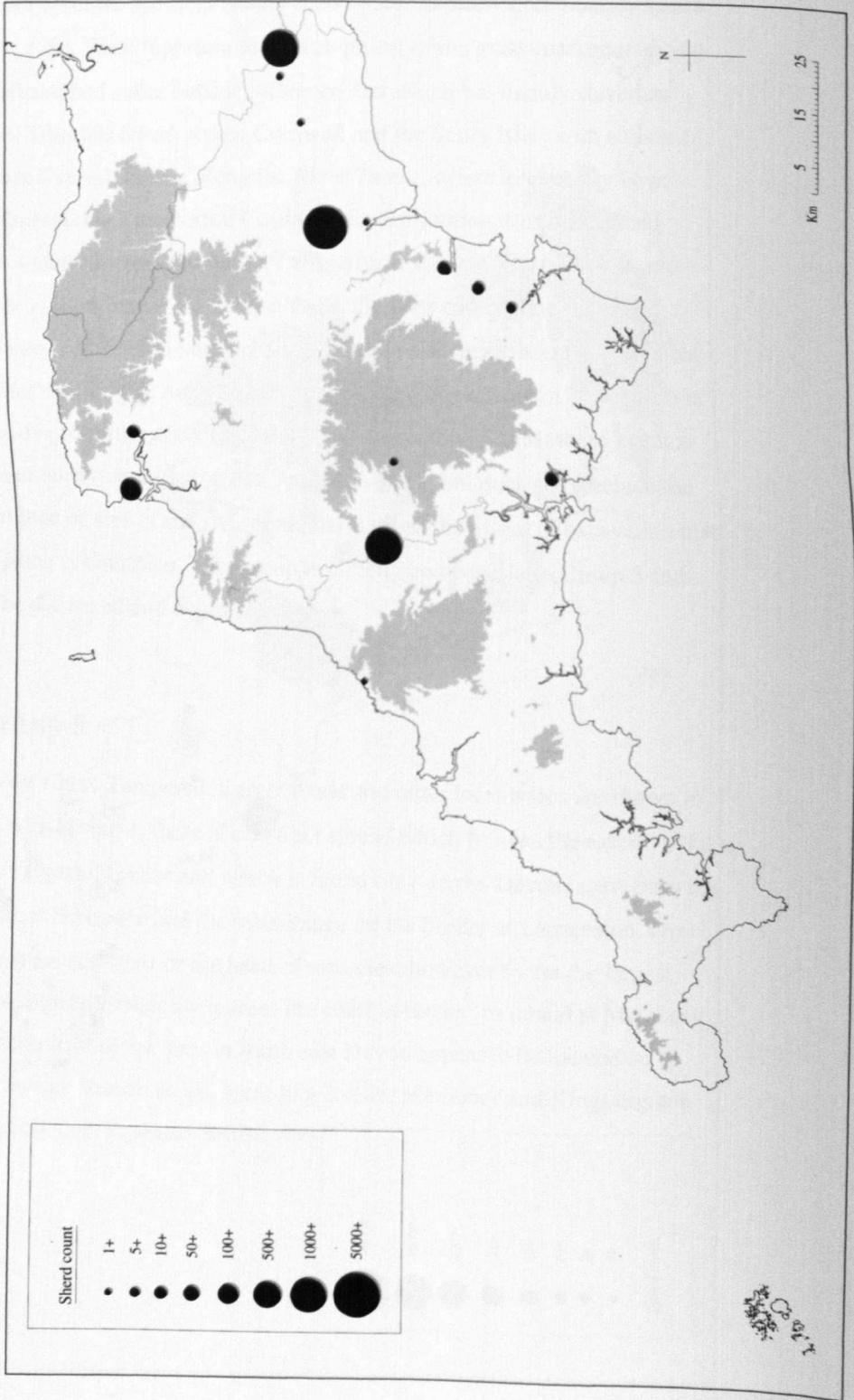


Figure 130 - Group 5: Saxo-Norman tenth to twelfth-century ceramics

## **5.7 Group 6: tenth- to twelfth-century Saxo-Norman imported fabrics**

This section introduced the tenth- to twelfth-century imports discovered in the South West, consisting of the Hamwih wares mainly originating in the Seine area of France, Beauvais and Beauvais Red-painted fabrics, Normandy Gritty, Glazed and White Wares, broadly-dated Carolingian wares of the tenth to eleventh centuries, and other unknown Norman imports and wares likely to have been imported whether from other regions or overseas. They have been grouped in order to examine the distribution of imports to the study region in the period after Mediterranean and Continental fabrics had gone out of use. This might shed further light on the function of sites which were demonstrating a degree of activity in trade and exchange and, therefore, possible outside influences in the development of social identity and material culture.

Exchange patterns in this period are of great interest in the research into the establishment of an Anglo-Saxon and latterly Norman administrative network, and the insular response to what has been perceived to be the redevelopment of social and settlement hierarchies and replacement of an elite social sphere. The control of both localised and overseas exchange systems could reflect elite administrative groups, whilst the location of imports points towards the specific function of some settlements as central places and landing sites, facilitating the project aim of a greater understanding of the nature of settlement hierarchies.

### **5.7.1 All Group 6**

This group consists of imports to the region in the Later Saxon and Norman periods. Identifiable wares in this group include a series of Hamwih sherds including Hamwih Class 11. Class 11 is known as Seine Valley ware in relation to its region of production, and its forms consist primarily of cooking pots (Hodges 1981, 19). Evidence from instances of its discovery in tenth-century Southampton contexts, as well as those overseas in Guernsey and in Carolingian deposits in Normandy, suggest it was in production in the sixth to thirteenth centuries (*ibid.*). Hodges suggests that the production site in eastern Normandy, south of the Seine, might also have been the same centre that produced the Normandy Gritty wares (1977, 249-251).

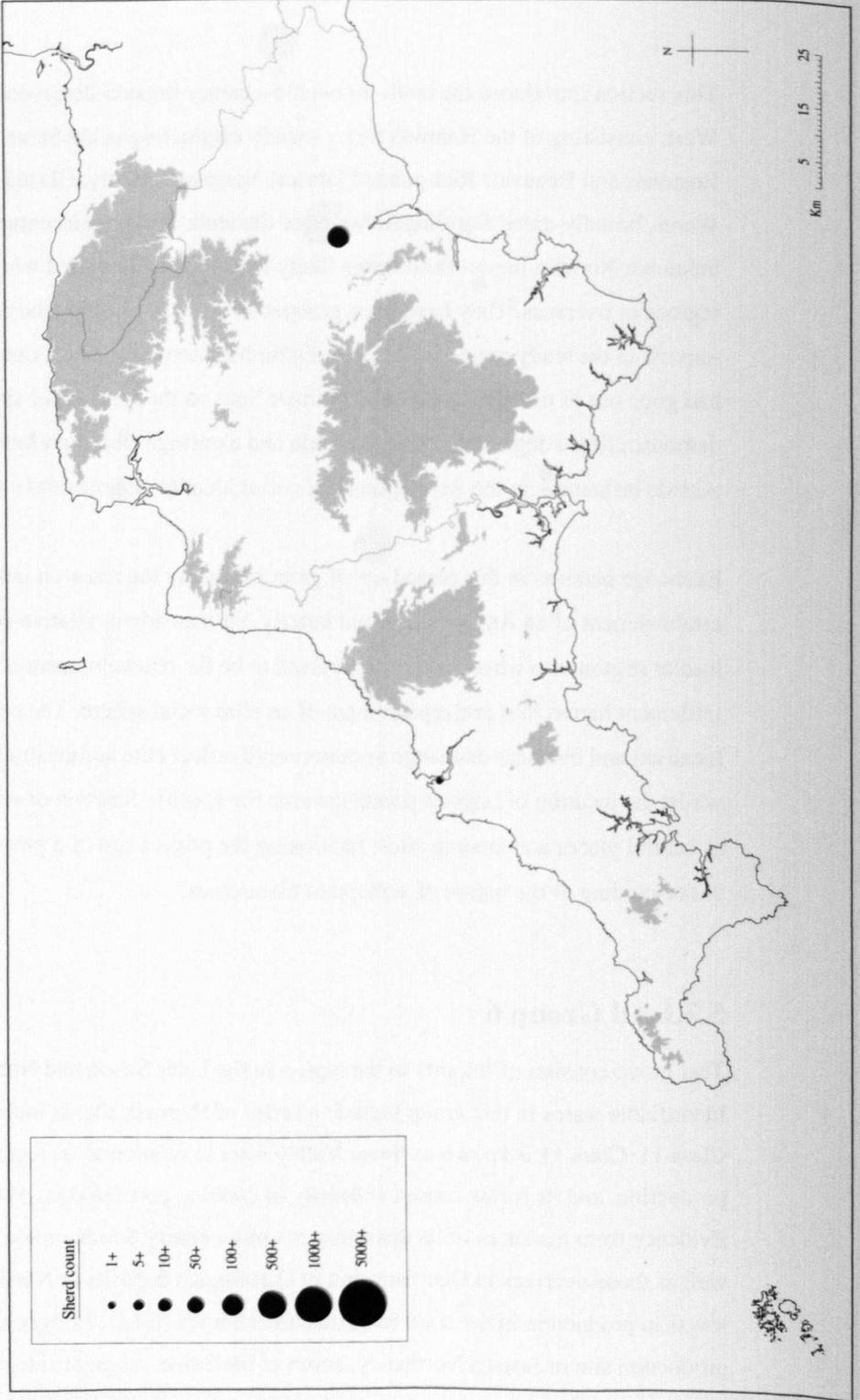


Figure 131 - Group 6: tenth to twelfth-century Saxo-Norman imports

The Beauvaisis wares (also known as Hamwih Class 9), many of which were red-painted, date in production from the early ninth centuries until at least the eleventh century (Hodges 1981, 18-19). Figure 131 shows very few instances of these wares, with one sherd of unspecified Seine Valley ware and one of a Norman import found at Padstow. The remainder so far, consisting of 129 sherds of Seine Valley, Normandy Gritty, Normandy Glazed, Beauvais, Normandy White, several Carolingian imports, and other Norman imports and local wares, were found at Exeter.

## **5.8 Sub-regional comparative proportions of all fourth- to eighth-century imports**

This section assesses the proportional distribution of Mediterranean and Continental imports and addresses aims relating to use of the landscape and spatial patterning in coastal regions compared with the uplands; aspects of trade and exchange systems; and social identities and their transformation. Specific aims to be addressed are the investigation of exchange mechanisms acting within the study region and the impact of these outside influences on insular social groups; to study the evidence for central places and their place within the wider hinterlands and to examine the evidence for similarities and differences between Cornwall and Devon, with comparative sites from Brittany.

### **5.8.1 Analysis of all imports per sub-region**

This analysis was carried out in order to assess the possibility of sub-regional variation and thus regionalised material culture, which might hint at potential cultural and ethnic “spheres of influence”. This may also indicate exchange networks and links between coastal sites inland regions, as well as postulated exchange sites and central places and the hypothetical high-status or elite sites and differences between inland and maritime-oriented sites. It also investigates the possibility of more localised patterns and whether the assemblages are similar across all sites, or if there are specific concentrations of some wares which might suggest certain functional aspects at different places.

This set of results shows the statistical analysis of the ceramic assemblages based on regional groupings and shown as graphs. The imports are assessed fabric by fabric with no further classifications; however the study region has been separated into coastal and inland sub-regions by county, producing the categories of Inland Cornwall, Inland Devon, Cornish South Coast, Cornish North Coast, Scilly Isles, Devon South Coast and Devon North Coast. A site was deemed to be coastal if within 1.5 miles of it. This distance has been chosen based on views of the coast from the site and accessibility on a daily basis, but is of course dependant on local factors within societies of the period, which cannot be measured here, and therefore it must be used as only an approximate measure of the influence of the sea on these societies. However, it works on the basis that proximity to maritime influences is highly likely to have aided in the creation of maritime identities, and indeed the distance may have been greater, provided that the sea continues to affect an individual on a regular basis and creates some interaction with it. Although the analysis separates the sites by county, these boundaries are essentially superficial for this period, do not necessarily reflect true cultural variations and must be remembered as such in the discussion that follows in Chapter 9. The results for each sub-regional category were then used to create pie charts which have been presented by their incorporation into the Autocad mapping software. Preliminary results for Brittany and the Channel Islands as one group have also been included to show patterns in the wider context. Such variation could indicate the spread or isolation of certain cultural traditions to particular areas as well as similarities across the Atlantic Zone.

Figure 132 shows the regionally-located pie charts for the sub-regional groups. The sites making up these groups come to a total of six sites for Inland Cornwall, fourteen for North Coastal Cornwall, three for the South Coast Cornwall, eight for the Scilly Isles, one for North Coastal Devon, four for South Coastal Devon, two for Inland Brittany and Channel Islands and six for Coastal Brittany and Channel Islands. There was only one sherd for Inland Devon; therefore this was not included in the analysis. The map shows that Inland and North Coastal Cornwall have strong similarities in their proportions of Phocaean Red Slip and several of the Later Roman Amphorae. The South Cornwall Coast pie chart shows similar wares, particularly in the amounts of Bi, Bii and Bv, with a greater number of Bmisc and no other wares. There are too few sherds to be able to assess the North Coastal Devon results, however the same wares are found here as at sites on the North Cornish Coast. The proportions along the South Devon coast are completely different, with a greater number of Bii and more wares in smaller proportions.

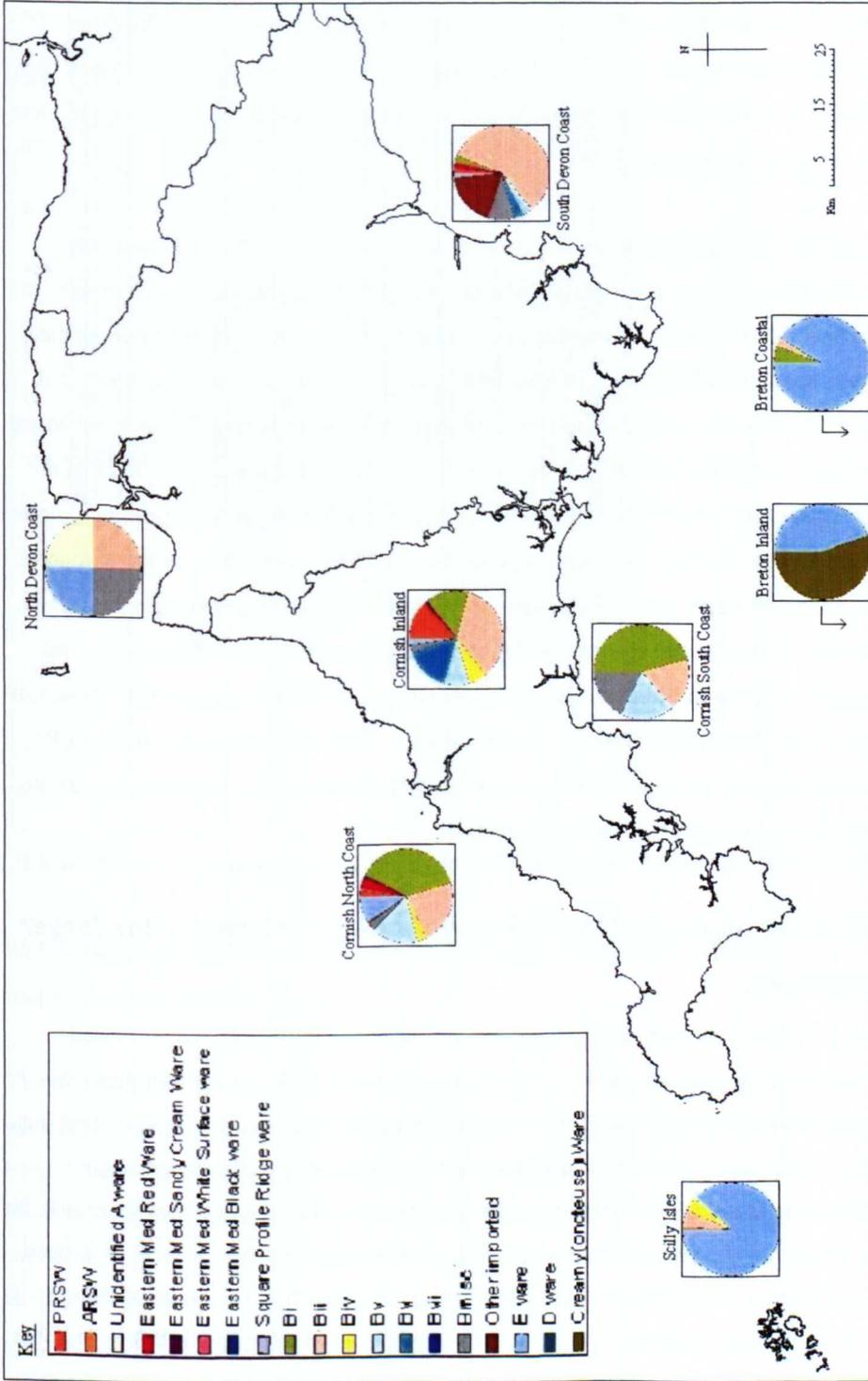


Figure 132 - Comparative proportions of early medieval imports per sub-region

Although the results are not complete for the Breton and Channel Island data, there is some similarity between the proportions of wares in the Scilly Isles and Coastal Brittany. This is perhaps not surprisingly given the ware in common is Western French ware, produced further south in France in the Bordeaux region. However this, combined with the similar proportions of Bii, does suggest that these sites might have been occupied in the same period.

Overall, Inland and North Coastal Cornwall and South Coastal Devon show the greatest variety in wares. This is significant because of the greater number of sites in the former two regions, whereas the latter category in Devon consists of only 4 sites and yet the range of wares is still relatively wide. To conclude, this map shows that there was variation across the study region in terms of what was traded and consumed and where; therefore in all probability there were specific foci in certain areas of the study region for both the exchange of these goods, their contents and their use. Figures 133 and 134 present the comparative proportions of fifth- to seventh-century imports, as graphs at the larger sites. The graphs show similar proportions between the Inland, North and South Coastal regions, whilst the Scilly Isles and Breton/Channel Island groups also appear to share similar characteristics in the forms of imports to these sub-regions. It is also clear that certain wares are present in all sub-regions, such as LR1, whilst others such as DSP are only found at North Coastal sites, despite the proximity of Brittany to the proposed production area.

### ***Analysis of imports at the sub-regional scale alongside the larger assemblages***

Figure 135 shows the sub-regional proportions seen in Figure 133 and discussed above, whilst incorporating the analysed proportions of the largest assemblages of early medieval Mediterranean and Continental imports. This analysis was carried out in order to compare the larger assemblages at probable central places and major consumption sites with the wider sub-regional patterns. It is possible that there may be a general pattern for the entire region which all or most of the sites follow, or instead each site might present its own individual pattern of imports based on local demand and patterns of consumption. What must be taken into consideration is that with some of the groups, such as the Devon North Coast, the number of sites making up the sub-regional patterning is small and thus individual sites will share a very close pattern

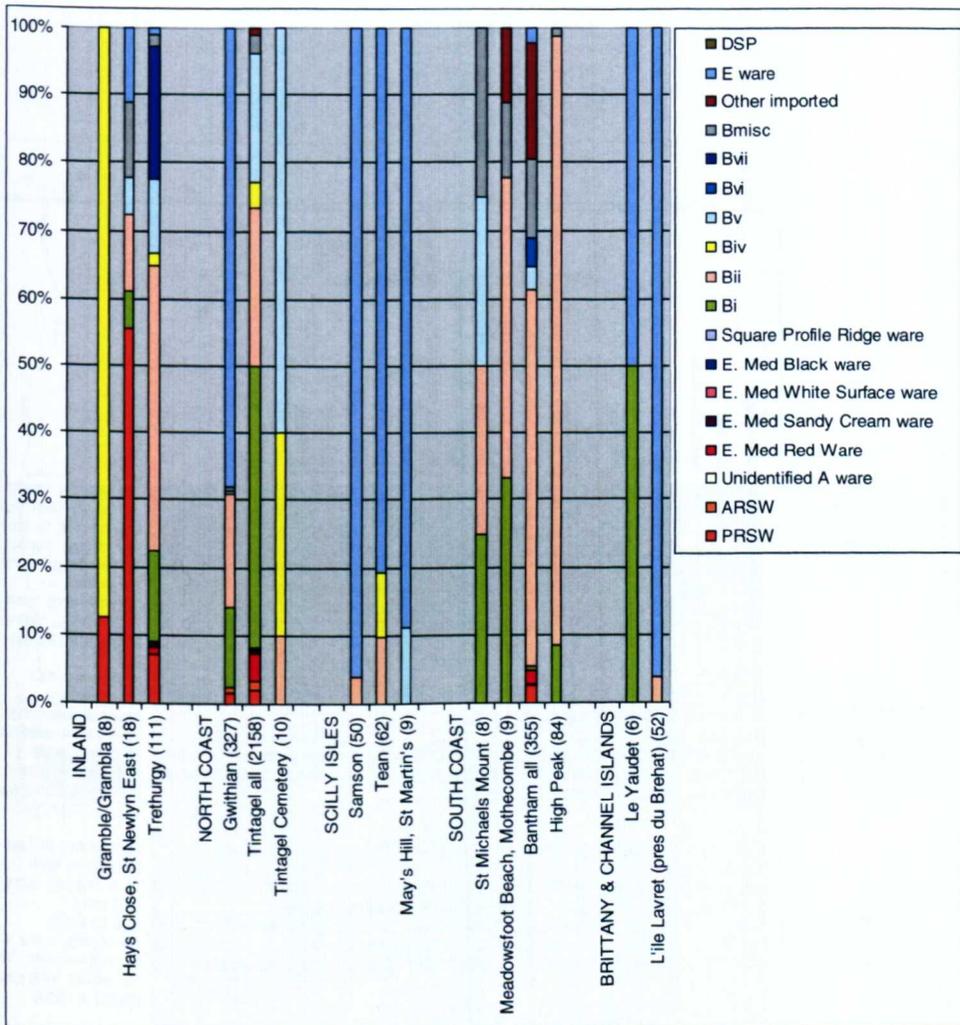


Figure 133 - Larger imported assemblages, classified by sub-region and NGR Eastings

with regional proportions, particularly if their large assemblages constitute the majority of the grouped sherds.

The distribution shows that Tean and Samson share very similar results, not only with each other but with the whole of the Scilly Isles, with larger proportions of Western French wares and a smaller number of Bii and Biv sherds. L'île Lavret on the north coast of Brittany shows a similar pattern and Coastal Breton results in general show the same, with large proportions of Western French ware and smaller numbers of Late Roman Amphorae. South Devon shows a large proportion of Late Roman 1 (Bii) in general and also forms the largest sherd count for Inland Cornwall. In coastal Cornwall the type with the largest sherd count is Late Roman 2 (Bi), suggesting that the contents of these two amphorae forms might have had the highest consumption

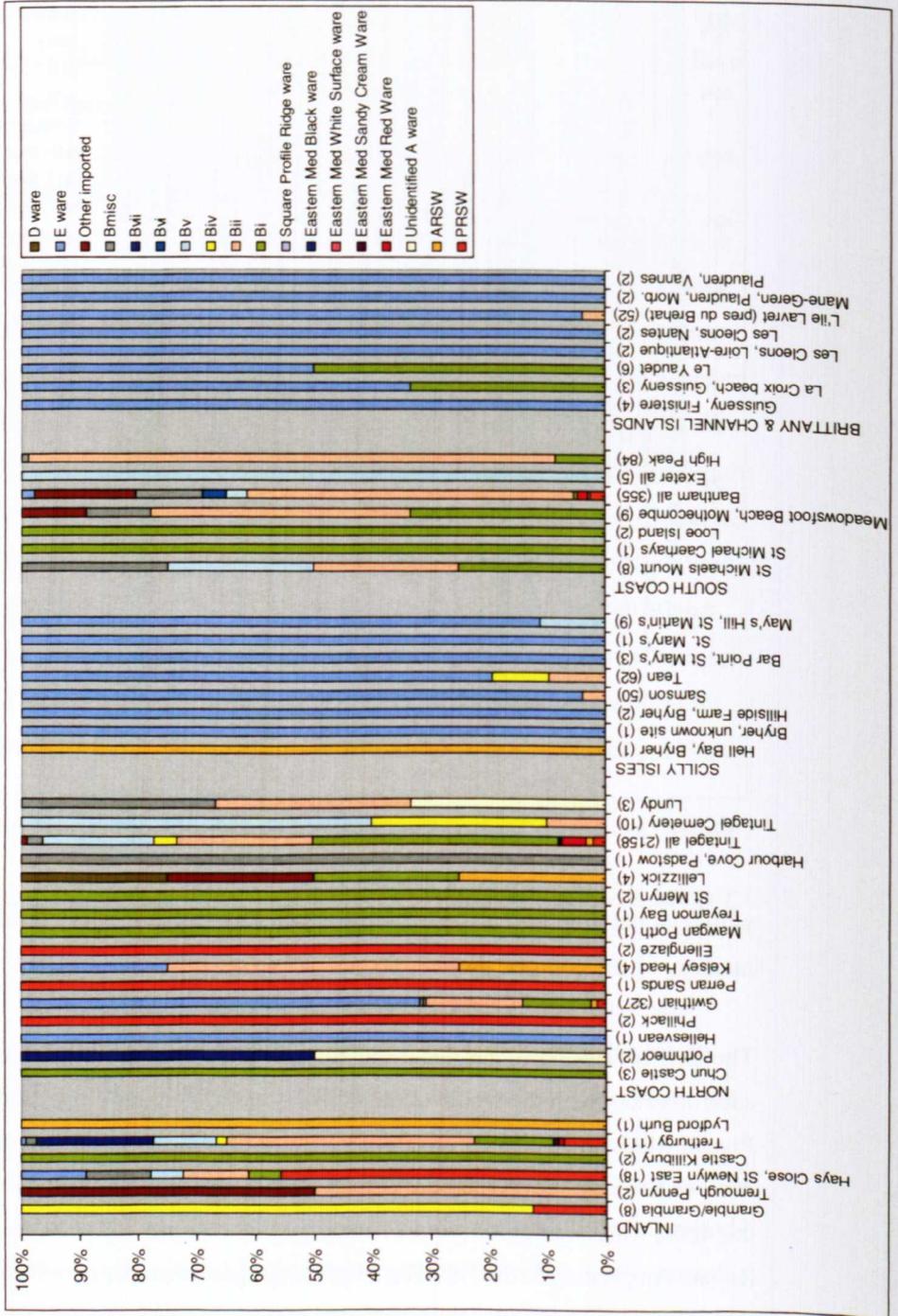


Figure 134 - Sites with imported wares per sub-region and NGR Easting

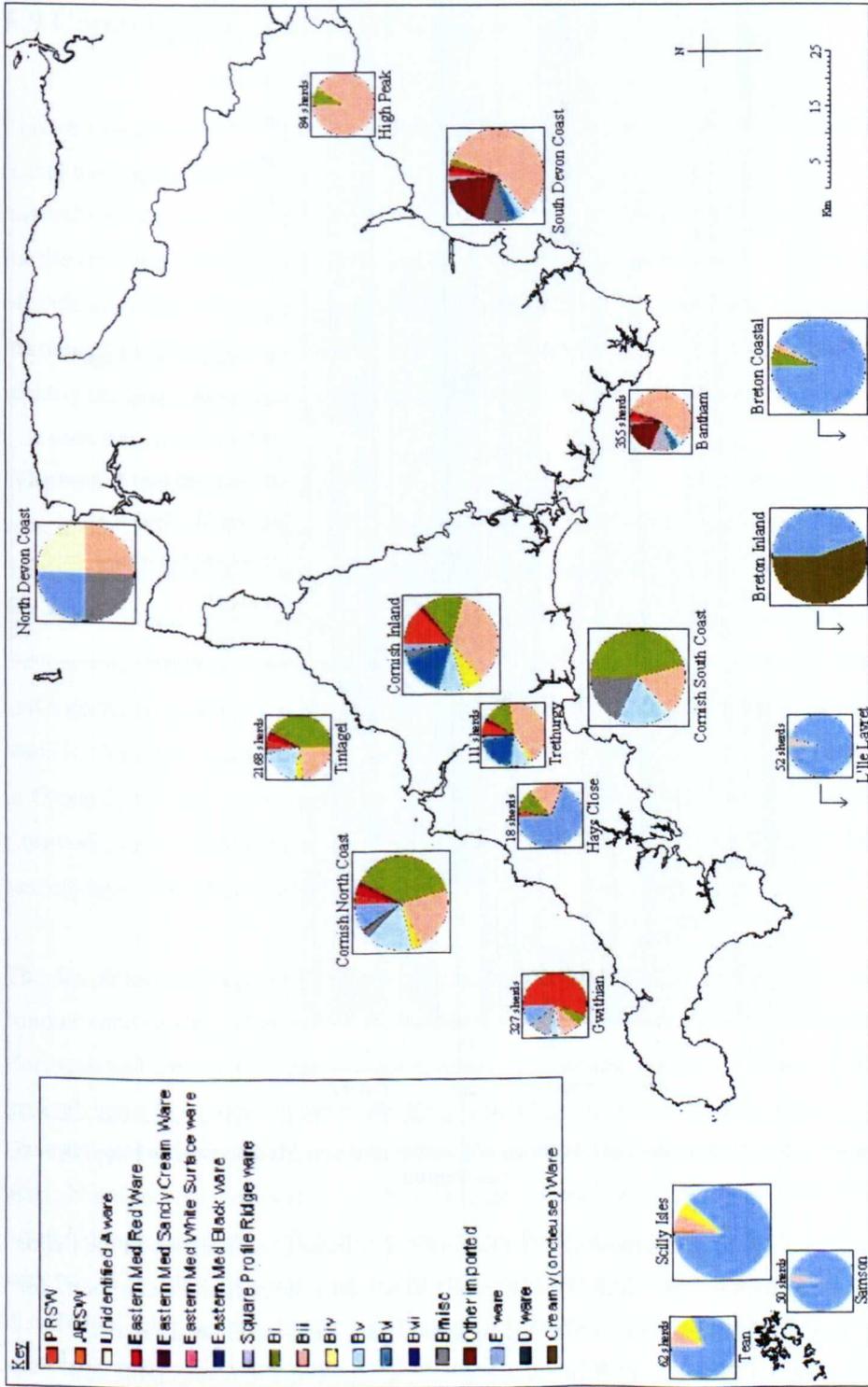


Figure 135 - Comparative proportions of early medieval imports per sub-region and the larger assemblages

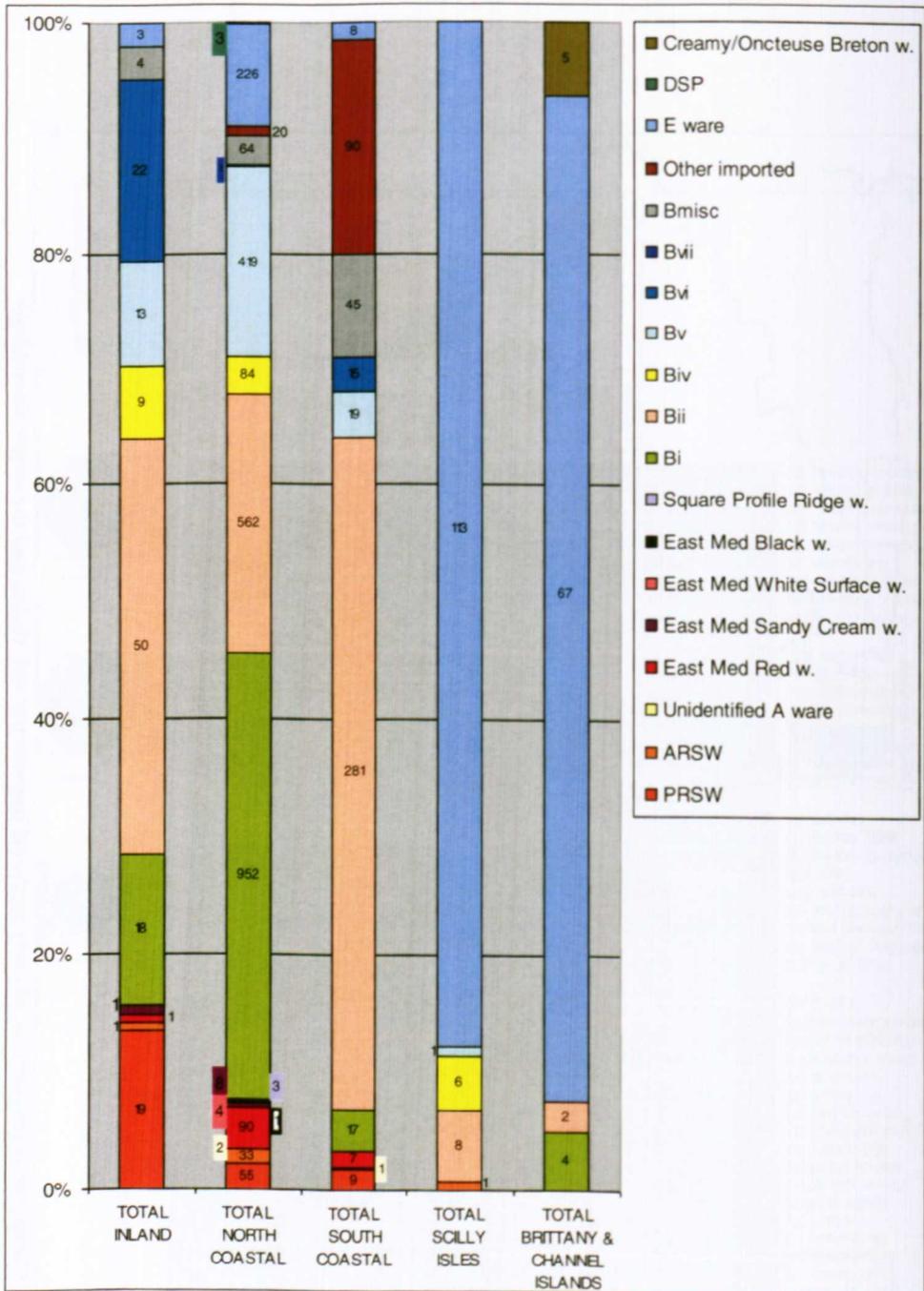


Figure 136 - Comparative proportions of Continental and Mediterranean imports per sub-region

rates in the region, or alternatively that the origins of these contents formed the main regions trading with the South West. Figure 136 presents the proportional imports for the fourth to eighth centuries separated by sub-region, showing clear similarities between the Scilly Isles and Brittany and the Channel Isles, and between the sub-regions on the mainland. There are also greater similarities between the Inland and North Coast sites than with the South Coast sites.

## 5.9 Comparative analysis of Groups 1 to 6

This section assesses the developments apparent from the distributions of Groups 1 to 6, and the implications of these developments in terms of changing settlement hierarchies, site function; differences in patterns across the landscape and implications for the changing nature of social groups. This analysis also addresses the specific aim of understanding how the region developed and whether the chronological framework introduced in 5.2 provides a clearer assessment of how aspects of settlement and identity transformed between the Late Romano-British and early Norman periods.

When the distribution maps for Groups 1-6 are compared, some clear patterns can be seen in the sites where ceramics are present. Changes between Groups 1 and 2 are in the form of an increase in activity in Cornwall in terms of overall distribution, with continuity of both inland and coastal settlement. Distribution is much sparser across Devon, with apparent increases in activity at sites such as Mothecombe and Bantham, and a decrease in activity at Exeter. The size of the larger assemblages remains the same in Cornwall, apart from Duckpool which does not appear to have any ceramics in Group 2, and there is an increase in the number of smaller assemblages across Cornwall, particularly at the coast. There is also a slight increase in the size of ceramic assemblages in the Scilly Isles.

The distribution in Group 3 shows a distinct zoning of ceramic assemblages towards southern and western Cornwall and an apparent retraction of activity from eastern Cornwall and Devon, in comparison with Group 2. Assemblages are also smaller in general, apart from those in the Scilly Isles which have increased in size. When Groups 3 and 4 are compared, it is possible to see a much more even spread in smaller assemblages across Cornwall, with the one large assemblage at Mawgan Porth on the north Cornish coast and with reduced activity in the Scilly Isles. Activity in Group 5, which is of roughly the same date as Group 4, shows a much more concentrated distribution with far larger assemblages, therefore indicating regionalisation in settlement hierarchies across the South West. There is a lack of assemblages in the uplands across the entire region in both Groups 4 and 5, whilst the assemblages in

northern Devon show a spread of pottery consumption and possibly production in a sub-region which had not previously taken part in this activity.

While the larger assemblages in this Group are tending to be further inland in Devon and at Launceston in Cornwall, the larger assemblage at Mawgan Porth in Cornwall is at the coast, although Braunton Burrows on the north Devon coast is also relatively large for Devon. Prior to this, in Groups 2 and 3 the major assemblages were mainly at the coast. Group 6 is of the same date as Group 5 and therefore is not discussed here. Throughout the entire study period, within each of these groups, there is a lack of settlement on the uplands and a tendency to coastal settlement within Cornwall, as well as a lack of density of assemblages in northern and central Devon.

## **5.10 Conclusion**

The ceramic evidence has shown that there was clear continuity between the Romano-British and early medieval periods and that this continuity persisted in the forms of pottery that were in use, to the end of the study period. Trade and exchange was taking place over long distances between the South West and the Mediterranean as well as areas of the Continent, specifically in or through post-Roman Gaul. The fact that these links persisted was perhaps due to the insular traditions, which played such an important role in the study region and which are visible in their continuity from the late Iron Age. Certain sites such as Tintagel, Trethurgy and Gwithian had clear roles in their hinterlands in terms of settlement hierarchy and in the development of landing places, as well as insular and maritime identities, which have been partially defined by the pottery but which will be further assessed in the micro-study analysis in Chapter 8. Chapter 5 has therefore assessed all forms of ceramic evidence for the late fourth to early twelfth centuries, in particular focusing on aspects of analysis which shed light on trade and exchange: settlement hierarchies and central places; insular and maritime identities and their development with or without contact with outside social groups, and perceptions and use of the landscapes and seascapes. This ceramic evidence has also defined the chronological framework within which the other forms of portable material culture will be analysed. These themes will be discussed further in the following chapter on the evidence for glass consumption.

## **6. The Glass**

*This chapter introduces the evidence for glass and discusses the methodology and results of analysis on the shards discovered so far. It begins by presenting the forms of glass and then goes on to analyse each type, discussing the visible trends and their implications for the main themes of the research discussed in Chapter 3. Grouped assessments based on chronological frameworks are also introduced, with comparative analysis and discussion of the results.*

### **6.1 Introduction**

This section introduces the forms and analysis of the glass in the study region, based on the classification groups created by Ewan Campbell (2007a, 54). It also discusses the provenance and wider distributions of each group and the implications of these on their location at certain sites in relation to regional identities; perceptions of the landscape and seascapes; trade and exchange and the development of central places. Analysis of the glass was undertaken in order to address key aims relating to the exchange of goods that were perceived to be high-status or exotic items and the process and mode by which these rare objects were transported to and around the study region. It also addresses aspects of elite identity in relation to the perceived high status of these goods, and the function and role of sites in their location within the wider settlement hierarchy.

The evidence consists of vessel glass and beads, as well as a few instances of waste products and possible glass industry. The majority of the beads were not assigned to particular classifications due to a lack of detail in the excavation or findspot reports. They have been loosely dated and in many cases their broad area of origin has also been given, allowing for a degree of analysis in terms of cultural groups and traditions. However no further classification was possible. There are eighteen sites where glass shards have been discovered so far and the distribution of these will be discussed in detail in 6.2. Each of the types has been assessed separately whilst being plotted on one distribution map. The glass types have also been assessed in groups, based on chronologies of production and use, in order to understand more about the changing nature of overseas trade within the South West and the development of certain sites

into potential landing places or central places for exchange. These chronological frameworks are those used in the ceramic analysis in Chapter 5.

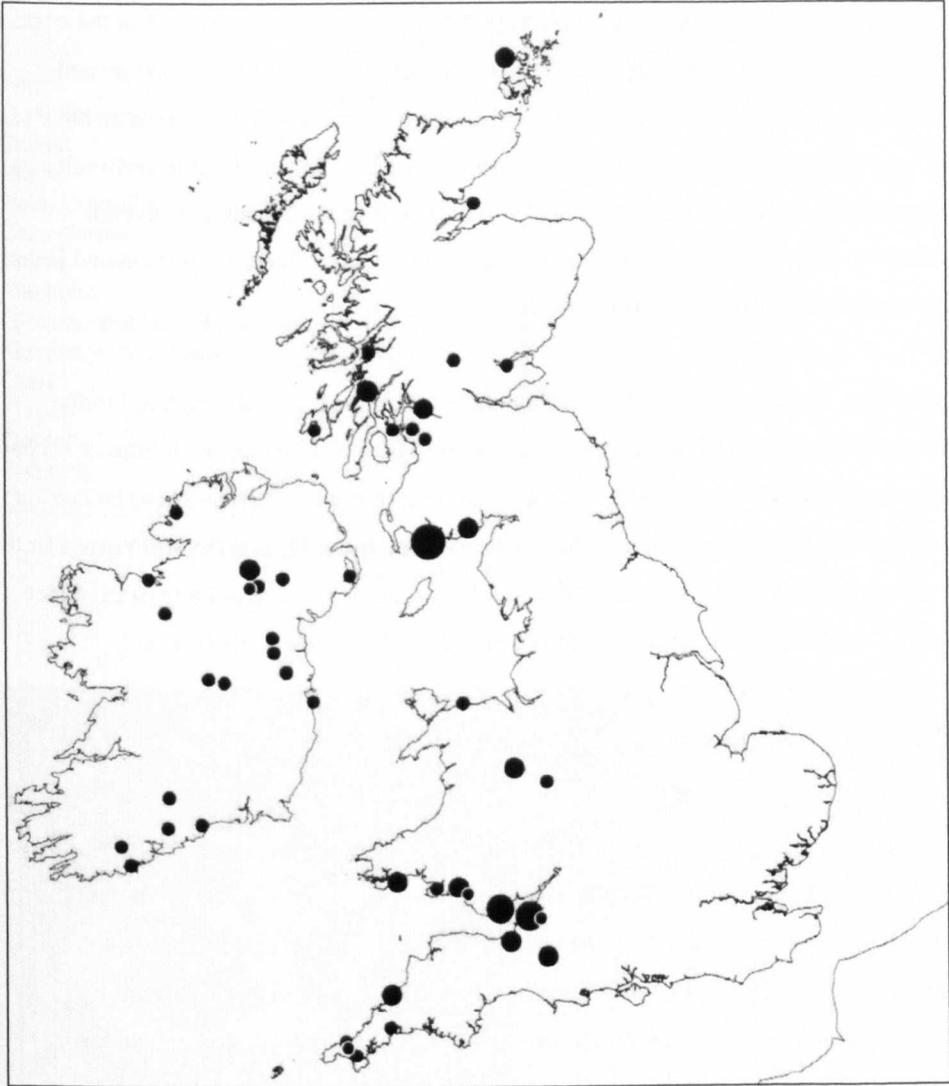
When one compares the assemblages from the study region with those of Britain and Ireland as a whole in Figure 137, it is clear that whilst the study region has a relatively wide range of vessels – albeit small in number - the majority are clustered in Somerset and South Wales, and South-West Scotland in the area around Dunadd (Campbell 2007a, 55). There are several sites in inland Wales and Scotland; however the majority are coastally-dispersed. In Ireland the scatter is evenly spaced between the coast and inland, with similar numbers in these areas.

### ***A brief summary of Late Roman and early medieval glass production***

By AD 350 Romano-British vessel forms were different to those in the first century AD, with developments in production methods, colours and forms. The development of these forms also shows changes in their functions, with bottles and household containers in use in the first century decreasing, at the same time as a rise in number of tablewares vessels associated with the serving and consumption of food (Price 2000, 1). Fourth-century glass in Britain reflects a variety of hot- and cold-worked decoration and the majority of vessels come from settlements in this period, with larger assemblages coming from high-status rural sites (*ibid.*, 1-2).

In the second half of the fourth century there were changes in glass production, with a reduction in the quantity in circulation and use becoming more restricted, as is visible in the settlement evidence (Price 2000, 20-21). Glass production in Britain at this time shows similarities with other sites in north-west Europe and a few vessel forms also occur in the Mediterranean, although as yet little is known about the production sites (*ibid.*, 21). There is a gap of up to forty years between the last coin-dated deposits of Late Roman glass and the appearance of glass vessels in mid-fifth-century burials in southern England, however this does not necessarily indicate that its use ceased during this period, whilst some examples of bowls, such as that at Tintagel dating to c. AD 395-460, show their probable continuity into the fifth century (*ibid.*, 22). Late fourth-century forms did not survive, however, with nearly all forms vanishing by this point, apart from those used in drinking such as the claw and cone beakers. These developed and changed considerably from Late Roman prototypes, reflecting little continuity

between the Late Roman vessels and the Anglo-Saxon forms which began to be produced in the fifth century (*ibid.*).



**Figure 137 - Distribution of glass imports in Britain and Ireland (Campbell 2007, Figure 39)**

Early medieval glass found in the Atlantic West is different to that found in Anglo-Saxon England, in form, metal (fabric) and decoration as well as where they have been discovered (Campbell 2007a, 54-55). Glass fragments have been found at settlement sites on the Atlantic fringes, whereas they appear most common at cemeteries on Anglo-Saxon sites (*ibid.*). This difference may have been due to traditions and trade links rather than local production techniques. Evison has divided Anglo-Saxon glass into four production periods (2000, 47), however unfortunately her analysis of a series of specific artefacts does not allow for the comparative assessment of newly-discovered items into her typology, and nor are these new or uncategorised artefacts

identified this way using her system. Evison's Period I dates to AD 400-550, Period II to AD 550-700, Period III to AD 700-900 and Period IV to AD 900-1100 (*ibid.*) and these chronologies broadly tie in with the frameworks used in this grouped analysis. Various written sources refer to Roman-period glass production existing in the eastern Mediterranean basin at centres such as Alexandria in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Phoenicia (Guido 1999, 5). Craftsmen originating from these areas appear to have set up workshops in Italy, Spain and Gaul and the evidence for production continuity in the region of the Rhine and the Meuse valleys between the fourth and seventh centuries, suggests that glass beads may have continued to have been produced in Italy and Spain during the same period (*ibid.*).

Quantities of glass in Anglo-Saxon England were much reduced compared to the Romano-British period, whilst the forms, mainly for drinking and with little or no base with which to set the vessels down, might suggest that they were meant to be held until the drink was finished; their form shows some resemblance to glass vessels in the form of animal horns, a Frankish type of which imitations were already in existence west of the Rhine in the third and fourth centuries AD (Evison 2000, 47).

### ***Typologies of vessel glass***

For the vessel glass, Campbell's classifications are used throughout and are summarised in his in-depth study (2007a, 54-73). They are therefore not fully described here, although reference is made to various details of their production, form and function where pertinent to the discussion of their analysis. The forms of each of the five Campbell classifications have been summarised as a table in Figure 138. His typology is divided into five groups consisting of Group A Late Roman Tradition (Figure 139), Group B Anglo-Saxon or Frankish Tradition (Figure 140), Group C Atlantic Tradition (Figure 141) and Group D Atlantic Tradition Sans Decoration. Campbell's Group E Whithorn Traditions is excluded as no shards have been discovered in the South West. Many excavation reports, particularly those written prior to the last twenty years, classify their glass finds very loosely but attempt a production date, in most cases using the term 'Merovingian' as a category. Therefore the classification of Other Continental has been adopted to accommodate a range of early medieval shards which could have been produced in Atlantic France, Northern France or in the region of the Rhine. Further unidentified shards are classified under the terms 'Unidentified Late Roman' or 'Post-Roman', both of which are dated based on their location, radio-carbon date or discovery alongside dateable objects.

Form:	Group A (Late Roman trad)	Group B (Anglo-Saxon Germanic trad)	Group C (Atlantic trad)	Group D (Atlantic trad sans decoration)	Group E (Atlantic trad sans thickened rims)/Whithorn tradition
Cone Beakers		X	X	X	X
Bowls	X	X	X	X	
Plates	X				
Palm Cups/Funnel Beakers		X	X	X	
Claw-Beakers		X			
Phials		X			
Flasklets		X			
Globular Beakers/Squat Jars		X			
Kempston-type Beakers		X			
Cups		X	X	X	
Flagon	X				
Goblet	X				
Beakers	X	X			
Others	X	X	X	X	

Figure 138 - Table of glass types found in the South West and their forms (after Campbell 2007, Table 6)

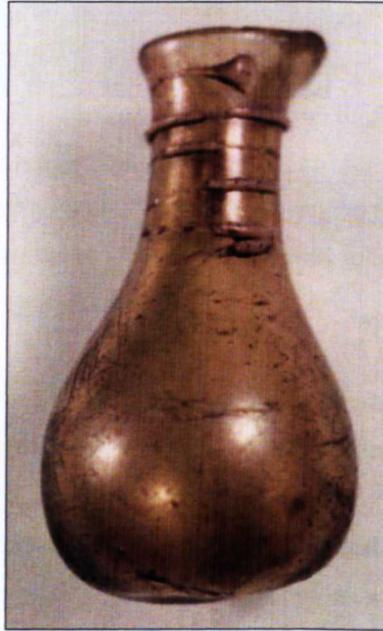


Figure 139 - Glass group A (Campbell 2007, Figure 21)

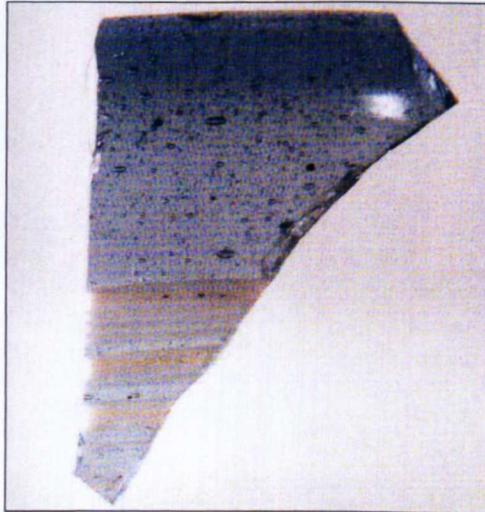
### *Early medieval glass beads*

This category consists of all beads regardless of origin, as it was not possible to create a more detailed typology with the available evidence for the artefacts discovered so

far. In many cases it is not possible to determine whether these beads are Late Roman or early medieval in date and those discovered in early medieval contexts are



**Figure 140 - Glass Group B, complete phial (Campbell 2007, Plate 24)**



**Figure 141 - Glass Group C, rim of cone beaker with white opaque trails, from Mote of Mark (Campbell 2007, Plate 32)**

notoriously difficult to attribute to sources or to date (Campbell 2007a, 81). The various sub-types, based on provenance, consist of Late Roman beads produced in the Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Near Eastern, and eastern Mediterranean (Byzantine) traditions,

those of Continental origin such as Francia and the Rhineland and others perhaps produced in the Atlantic West at insular sites. These potential origins attest to the widespread contacts that the South West may have had with overseas glass-production centres.

Several beads thought to have come from Continental workshops, have been found on western insular sites, such as a sixth- to seventh-century 'Frankish' bead from Dunadd, whilst a probable Near Eastern or Byzantine example of the metal-in-glass type has been discovered at Dinas Powys in a seventh-century context, perhaps from sites such as the fifth to seventh century Byzantine workshop excavated in Alexandria which may also have produced the late eighth- and early ninth-century silver- or gold-in-glass beads discovered in well-stratified deposits at Ribe in Denmark (Campbell 2007a, 81) such as those in Figure 142. There is some evidence for the influence of



**Figure 142 - Glass beads from the Mediterranean countries. Pearls and fragments of amethyst, rock crystal, carnelian and garnet from the Black Sea region. Ribe Vikingecenter, Denmark (Copyright Edward Oakley/ Vikingecenter)**

Roman bead production on Germanic styles as seen at Lauffen in Badenwürttemberg, in a late fourth-century female grave (Brugmann 2004, 28-29) and at Cortrat in France a collection of Roman-type beads were discovered alongside items thought to have

come from Lower Saxony (*ibid.*, 29). Many if not all of these production sites and regions may have been producing the glass beads found in the South West and suggest cultural influences or contact outside early medieval Britain. It has been suggested that Roman beads were kept as 'heirlooms' and reused in early medieval items of jewellery (*ibid.*).

## 6.2 Distributional analysis of individual types

Analysis of the glass evidence consisted of a macro-scale study of its distribution, showing the different types of glass discovered so far and their quantities at each site, in order to understand the nature of their spread and use at the individual sites and settlements. A proportion of the classified shards were categorised using Campbell's research and unpublished data (2007b) as he provides a detailed analysis and description of the shards from Tintagel, Trethurgy, Grambla and Reawla. This analysis includes tabular and graphical analysis of their forms and quantities using bar charts, in order to determine comparative concentrations at individual sites and across the entire region.

### *General observations*

Figure 143 shows the spatial analysis of the glass with vessel shards and beads indicated using separate symbols. The glass finds number so few that they have been incorporated onto a single map and therefore present a clear comparison between each of the classifications. These results show a general spread of glass objects across Cornwall and southern Devon, a characteristic which is very similar to the distribution of early medieval ceramics. Glass vessel shards have been found at coastal sites in Devon and at both coastal and inland sites in Cornwall. These inland sites appear to consist of former Iron Age or prehistoric round settlement of Grambla, Reawla, Hays Close and Trethurgy, as well as the Anglo-Saxon and Norman site of Launceston, although this latter site also shows evidence for the consumption of insular bar-lug pottery (Saunders 2006, 269-271).

The glass beads are also found predominantly at coastally-situated sites, apart from at River Walkham which, as its name suggests, could have been accessed from the coast using river transport. Trethurgy is also more than five miles from the coast and the

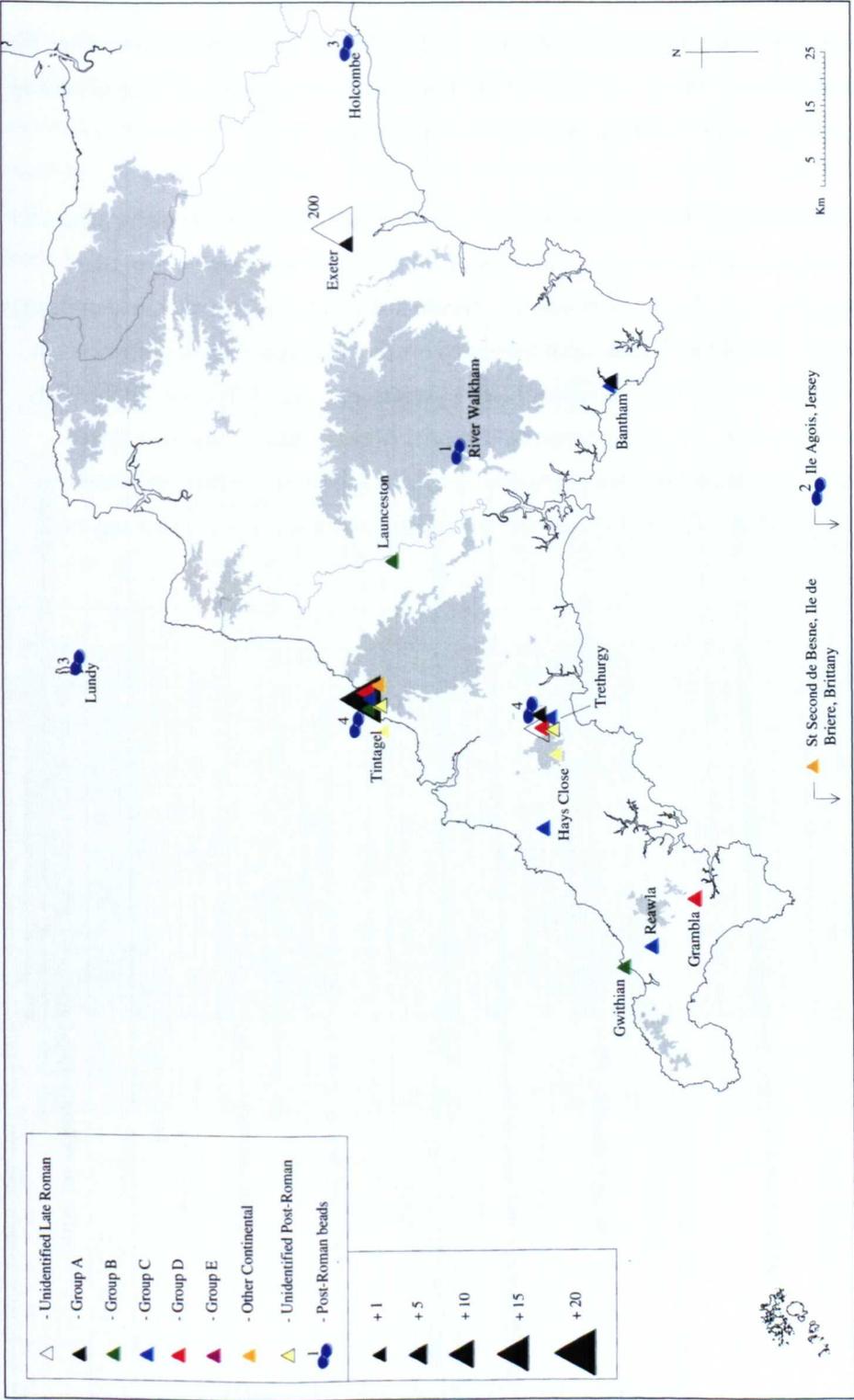


Figure 143 - Distribution of glass assemblages from the South West

wealth of imported objects found at the site (Quinnell 2004, 90-92; 98-104) could indicate, as suggested in Chapter 4, that it had wide-reaching control of its hinterlands and therefore the movement of these apparently rare and potentially exotic items, perhaps even initiating this long-distance trade. Alternatively, or at the same time, the community at Trethurgy could have had direct control over a landing place or trading site, perhaps on the south Cornish coast ten miles away.

Figure 144 shows the quantities of each type of glass discovered. The most numerous type is Group A, found at four sites overall, whilst the largest number is of the unidentified Late Roman type with two hundred shards found at Exeter, unsurprisingly given the size of the Roman town compared to other Romano-British settlements in the region. Glass beads also appear more widespread, found at five sites in the study region and one site in Brittany and the Channel Islands. Other types show fewer numbers of vessels, compared to their overall distribution in the Atlantic West (Campbell 2007). Figure 145 presents the quantities of each type of glass and the

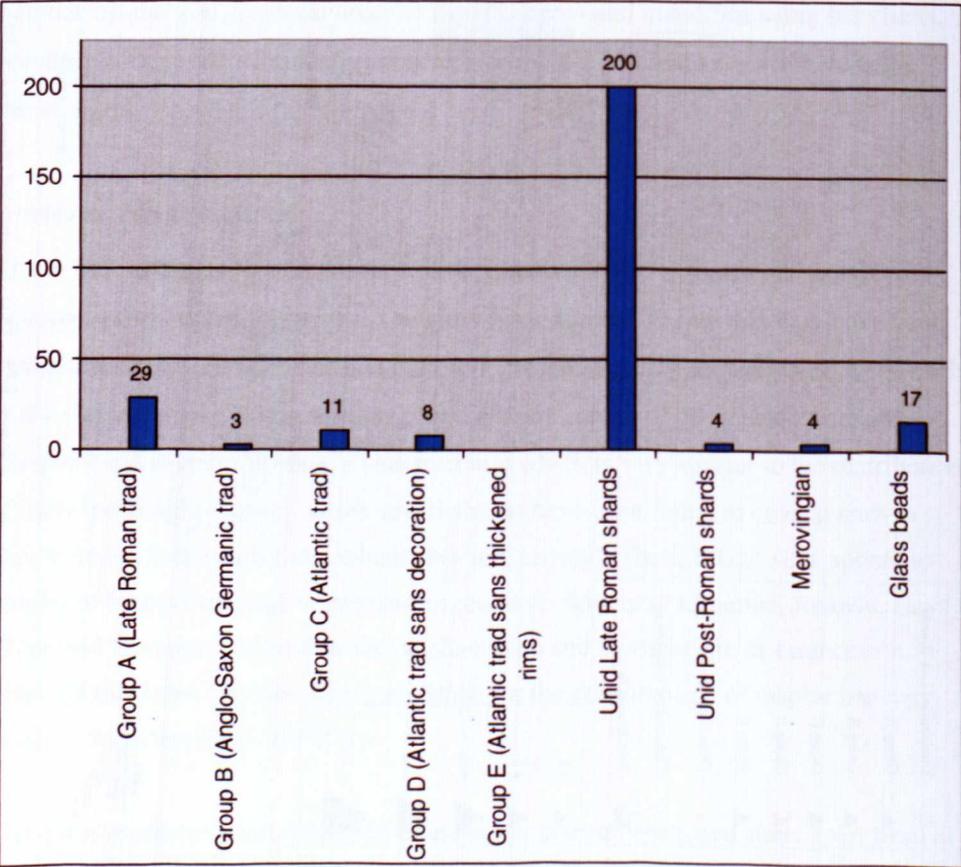


Figure 144 - Total shards in each glass type in the South West

number of shards at each site and that the sites with the largest range of glass types are Trethurgy and Tintagel. These sites also have the largest glass assemblages, whereas all other sites with glass only have one type, or two in the case of Bantham. This fact points towards their larger size and extent of excavation and the fact that glass, as with the larger ceramic assemblages, reflects probable high-status or wealthy settlements and central places for overseas contact and trade networks, respectively. The glass beads are the most common type of glass find; however, their provenance has not been fully determined and they may be classified into Campbell's groups through future analysis.

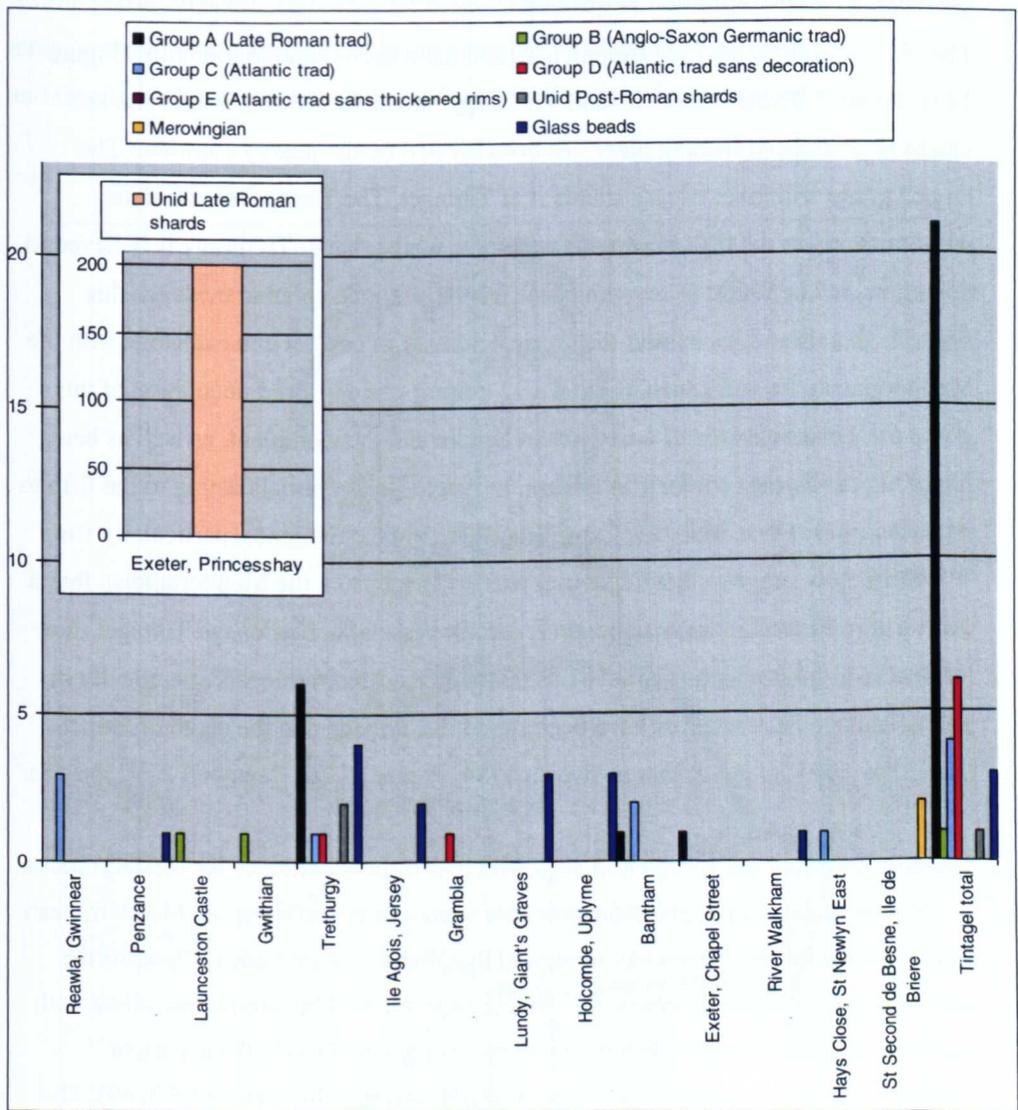


Figure 145 - Analysis of glass types at each site

### ***Late Roman glass***

This group is formed of glass that is from Late Roman contexts dating to c. AD 350-410, unlike Group A which represents a Roman tradition that continued to be produced in the post-Roman era. This broad type has been found at only Trethurgy and Exeter so far. The assemblage at Exeter is unsurprising given the nature of the Late Roman town; however the ten shards at Trethurgy are interesting and, together with the window glass discussed below, imply the importance of the site in the Roman period.

### ***Group A: Late Roman tradition***

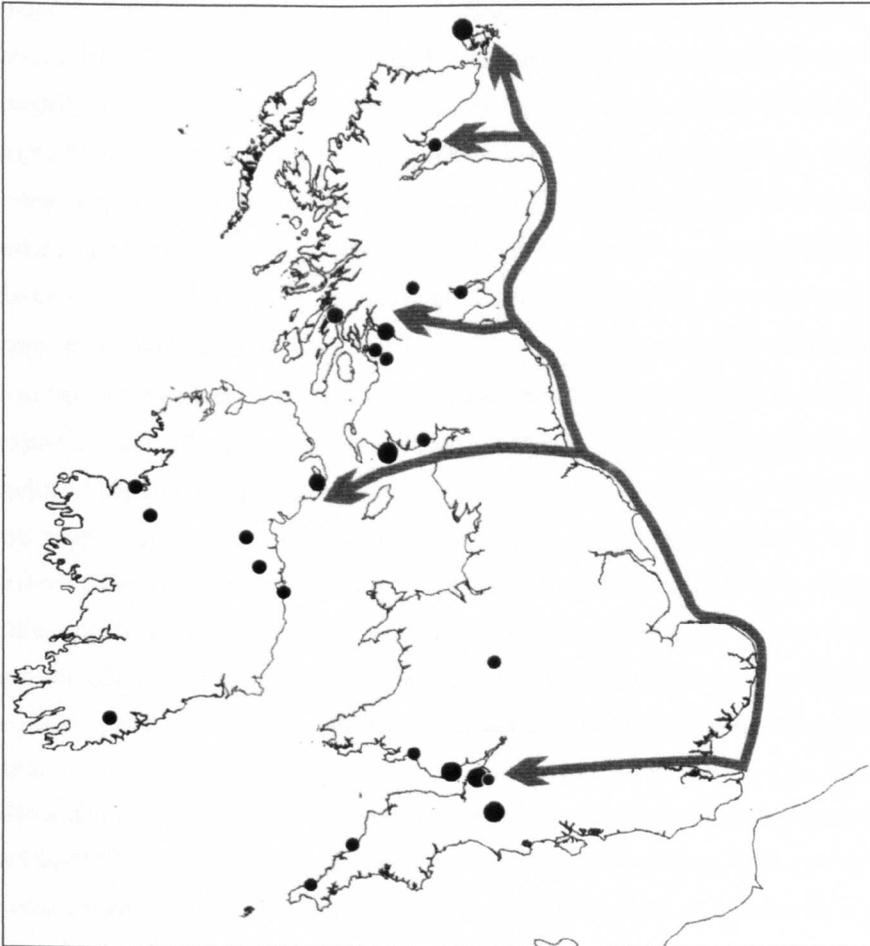
The glass vessels in the Late Roman tradition have been found at four sites (Figure 143), Tintagel, Exeter, Bantham and Trethurgy, the latter the only inland site and where no associated landing place has been located on the nearby coastline. The largest group with over twenty shards is at Tintagel. The Tintagel shards date predominantly to the fifth to seventh centuries, whilst that at Trethurgy is believed to belong to the late fourth to seventh centuries. As with the ceramic evidence this suggests that these sites exhibit the greatest activity in contact and exchange with the Mediterranean. Features such as the wheel-cutting and engraved decoration of this group are a characteristic of Late Roman Britain and the Continent, as well as being found in post-Roman contexts in Britain, in Anglo-Saxon burials dating to the fifth to sixth centuries (Price 2000, 25; Campbell 2007, 56-58). Evidence, particularly from Whithorn, now suggests that this group was imported from the Mediterranean, Iberia and western France in the sixth century; certain vessels such as one at Tintagel show influences in form which may have originated in the Mediterranean, specifically in Spain, whilst other examples have been found in Carthage and the south of France (*ibid.*; Foy 1995, pl. 6.33; Tatton-Brown 1984, Figure 67.70; Campbell 2007, 56-58).

The distribution of these vessels at sites which also show evidence for Mediterranean ceramics is unsurprising, given the probable source of this glass in the Mediterranean and on the Continent. Harris has suggested that the glassware traded as part of the Syrian exchange network around the Mediterranean could be interpreted, along with fineware ceramics, as space-fillers in the transportation of the bulk cargoes of amphorae and their contents, but not necessarily as low-value items (2003, 69). The glass shards found at Exeter are significant when compared with the large number of unidentified Late Roman shards, as this suggests that Late Roman occupation continued at the site with the use of Roman-style vessels, something that is not seen in

the ceramic evidence as yet and which is not visible in the fifth-century deposits at the site (Charlesworth in Bidwell 1979, 222-231; Allen in Holbrook & Bidwell 1991, 220-229), although several beads date to the last quarter of the fourth century and a shard dating to the fifth century onwards (Allen in Holbrook & Bidwell 1991, 227; 229).

### ***Group B: Anglo-Saxon and northern 'Frankish' tradition***

Although Campbell's terminology continues to be used here, this group refers to a glass tradition now thought to have originated in the Rhineland, Low Countries and Northern France area of the Continent, with other examples also coming from areas of Anglo-Saxon England. This type has a wide range of characteristic forms up until the tenth century, with claw beakers being particularly frequent as part of Anglo-Saxon and Continental grave assemblages and with technological improvements and



**Figure 146 - Hypothetical distribution network of Germanic (Group B) glass from Anglo-Saxon England (Campbell 2007, Figure 48)**

introductions in metal and design in the eighth and ninth centuries (Campbell 2007, 63-64). They are found at three sites in Cornwall (Figure 143), but as yet none have been discovered in Devon. A single vessel has been discovered at Gwithian and similarly one was found at Tintagel, both coastal, whilst another was discovered inland at Launceston.

The presence of these forms naturally leads us to consider the means of the movement of these goods into the region. Campbell has considered potential supply routeways into the Atlantic west from the Anglo-Saxon east; however his representation of these (Figure 146) is misleading as it not only excludes all locations of Group B discoveries in the east, it also suggests that the South West gained access to this group through major transport routes overland, as opposed to along the coast or across the channel. It also ignores the potential of much more localised systems and networks of exchange within southern and central England towards the South West. This type is thought to have come from the Rhineland zone of the Continent and could have been brought to the South West overseas, rather than across the rest of England as Campbell appears to suggest (2007, 60-64). Alternatively it could have been produced in eastern England, perhaps copying the Group B styles, or was a result of a change of production styles, exchange networks, or affiliations in the South West. These networks could have developed as overland trade with the English east, directly through overseas exchange with the production sites, or indirectly through secondary networks by preferential maritime trade along the English coast. If the latter were the case, then it indicates that Gwithian and Tintagel might have been elite sites or large centres of exchange in their own right, with the power to 'attract' the movement of these goods to them. They could also have been transported to the region as a form of diplomatic gift or tribute. It is not surprising to find this type alongside other glass and the imported pottery at Tintagel and Gwithian, although this is the only glass vessel so far found at the latter. It is also the only glass vessel discovered so far at Launceston and the identification of the artefact as a probable eighth- to ninth-century funnel beaker ties in with the ninth- to tenth-century Bar-lug sherds also found at the site.

There is of course the possibility that many Group B shards were insular copies of Continental styles and the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon glass production from as early as the fifth century (Evison 2000, 72), as suggested by Evison in her analysis of the different nature of rim finishes in Anglo-Saxon bowls as opposed to Continental styles (2000, 59).

The Launceston shard could be an indication of the importance of Launceston and its predecessor Lanstefanton as the principal base of Eghbert, whilst the site may have been instrumental in the Anglicisation of the South West. The probable Anglo-Saxon nature of this find, coupled with the Cornish Bar-lug pottery, suggests that Launceston was at a pivotal location in this Anglicization process, where insular Cornish and maritime influences remained powerful in how local identities were reflected in the material culture.

### ***Group C: decorated Atlantic tradition***

The Atlantic tradition is the most widespread of glass types and is found at five sites across the region (Figure 143). It is the largest glass group for the Atlantic West with approximately 120 vessels found so far. Some of the bowls date from the seventh or eighth centuries, with dominance of the cone form over all others, an unusual type which differentiates the Atlantic forms from the Anglo-Saxon material (Campbell 2007, 65). Its spread broadly follows the distribution of the Mediterranean imports, but in particular shares the same trends as Phocaeen Red Slip Ware across much of Cornwall, and is only found in the south in Devon. The coastal sites are Tintagel and Bantham, both of which have been identified as centres for exchange, but at varying degrees of activity and with the probability that Tintagel was also a central place of importance for the local elite as a settlement site.

The three inland sites, Hays Close, Reawla and Trethurgy, have all been identified in terms of settlement morphology as Cornish rounds with Romano-British phases of occupation. Trethurgy has similar proportions of imported glass and ceramics as Tintagel and although these assemblages are far smaller than the Tintagel finds, they are still larger than those found in the Reawla and Hays Close excavations. This suggests that it may have been a larger or wealthier site in terms of local elite and the mercantile opportunities or power prevalent in the early medieval period of occupation. In comparison, the Reawla and Hays Close sites appear smaller, with far fewer imports and a shorter period of early medieval occupation. It must be stressed here that unlike Trethurgy, neither have been fully excavated, and the occupation deposits at Hays Close appear to have been heavily truncated by ploughing (Jones 2010, 203-228), therefore the imports may reflect only a proportion of what was used. From this, albeit slim, evidence it is possible to hypothesise that these three inland sites may have been relict elite settlements with the capacity and power to trade or command control over the movement of glass vessels, which are very likely to have

had some form of value as exotic or rare goods in the South West. Whether Tintagel was a central place which also functioned as a large or elite settlement is still not fully understood, whilst the extensive excavations which have so far taken place at Bantham suggest that it had a specific role as a landing place and temporary trading site, perhaps provisioning the inland settlements, something which may also have contributed to the size and number of finds from Tintagel.

### ***Group D: Atlantic tradition without decoration***

This group has the same characteristics of Group C, but without decoration. Figure 143 shows their distribution at three sites, two inland at Grambla and Trethurgy and the third on the coast at Tintagel. When their distribution is grouped with Group C, of which they may have been an undecorated sub-form, then as a whole they represent a considerable proportion of all the shards from the region, across Cornwall but at only Bantham in Devon. This would also suggest a greater degree of trade between with the same source and sites such as Tintagel and Trethurgy.

### ***Other Continental glass***

There are several vessel shards which have only been identified loosely by the excavator as either Merovingian or Frankish and their distribution is also shown in Figure 143. In many cases they have been dated, for example the five shards at Tintagel were described as being from a single vessel of Merovingian origin (Batey et al 1993, 47-66), whilst those from St Second de Besné consisted of fragments of a possible Merovingian glass dish and re-cut shards from a window pane (Guigon 2009, 179). Whilst these cannot be analysed any further without full identification, their presence reinforces the function of Tintagel as a central place which was involved in long distance trade, and in particular in trade that was also seen at sites along the Breton coastline.

### ***Unidentified post-Roman glass***

Of the unidentifiable post-Roman shards, so far one has been found at Tintagel and four at Trethurgy (Figure 143), again reflecting the wide range of glass vessels found at these sites and their important roles as central places with potential influence and power over the surrounding hinterlands. The glass at Trethurgy includes two shards of window-glass, although one is Late Roman in date and the other may be a residual post-Roman find (Quinnell 2004, 92).

## *Glass beads*

This class of evidence is particularly difficult to assess in terms of cultural distinction and period of production, as in many cases these have not been identified and indeed many characteristic trends are shared across production regions and chronological parameters. They are found at seven sites (Figure 143): Penzance, Trethurgy and Tintagel in Cornwall; River Walkham and Holcombe (Uplyme) in Devon; the Devonshire island of Lundy and on Ile Agois in Jersey. The two beads on Ile Agois are undated but appear to be most similar in metal and form to pagan Anglo-Saxon types of the seventh century (Finlaison & Holdsworth 1979, 332-346), which if formally identified as such, would suggest some form of exchange network between Brittany and the Channel Islands and the Anglo-Saxon networks around the North Sea. The River Walkham bead has been broadly dated to the fifth to eighth centuries with a sixth-century date being the most likely, but whilst it was found amongst occupation remains (Greeves & Newman 1994, 199-219), there is little other evidence to suggest that its cultural provenance and location, making an Anglo-Saxon influence in its production unlikely. The three Holcombe beads consisting of jet and glass are part of a group of beads dating to the late fourth century, but their style and form suggest that they may be late or early post-Roman, showing continued occupation at this Romano-British site (Pollard 1974, 147).

The three beads from Lundy were discovered adjacent to the cist graves on the island, possibly from their fill, were dated to the ninth century and are of a type found in early medieval Irish contexts (Gardner 1959-60, 53-64). The location of the island off the north Devon coast would have made it a target for traders and seafarers between Ireland, the South West and South Wales and suggests that the island's community may have been strongly influenced by contact with outside traditions such as those from Ireland. The four beads from Trethurgy come from fourth-century and later contexts and are therefore dated to the Late Roman occupation phase, although two may have been introduced in a sixth-century context rather than been residual finds (Quinnell 2004, 92). It is likely that as personal objects and items of value they would have been treasured and kept as heirlooms; therefore their discovery in later contexts could reflect an earlier acquisition.

Three of the four beads discovered at Tintagel were found at Site C and have been identified as probably having come from a single necklace (Campbell, in Barrowman 2007, 229). Guido places beads such as this in fifth- to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon

graves in eastern England and possibly produced in Alamannic Germany, although Campbell states that a local fifth- to seventh-century provenance is more likely given the lack of other forms of Anglo-Saxon culture at the site and the similarity of one bead to Germanic examples (*ibid.*). It is probable that a large proportion of glass beads recovered from early Anglo-Saxon contexts were imported as trade goods via the Frankish continent, while the rulers of Kent and the Jutish province on the Isle of Wight and southern Hampshire may have been 'middlemen' in monopolistic trade between the Franks and other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the sixth and early seventh centuries. A single glass bead has been discovered at Penzance, however as yet nothing else is known about its discovery or provenance (Guido 1999, 105).

### **6.3 Grouped analysis by period**

This section uses the chronological frameworks outlined and employed in Chapter 5 to examine the changes in distribution of the glass evidence, in order to discuss changes in settlement, identity and exchange systems throughout the study period. It is also hoped that this grouped analysis will shed light on changing forms and functions of the sites where glass has been found, such as potential central places for exchange or landing places and their role in the wider settlement hierarchy. The glass shards have been assessed based on the date provided in each excavation report, where possible. They are then categorised into Groups 1 to 3, which were the only groups where dates could be identified, before being plotted in Figures 147-149. There is a degree of overlap in the transitional phasing of Groups 2 and 3 over the sixth century, however the majority of the glass has a broad postulated date of use and therefore where a later than sixth-century date is given, they are included in Group 3. The majority of shards are from Group 1, although this data is skewed by the large 200-shard assemblage from Exeter.

#### **6.3.1 Group 1**

Figure 147 shows the sparse distribution of glass from the third to fourth centuries at four sites: Exeter, Reawla, Trethurgy and Tintagel. The assemblage at Exeter consists of over two hundred shards of glass from third and fourth century contexts, which are all of a Late Romano-British type. Reawla has two shards in this group, Trethurgy fifteen and Tintagel one. These sites reflect the small number of settlements in the

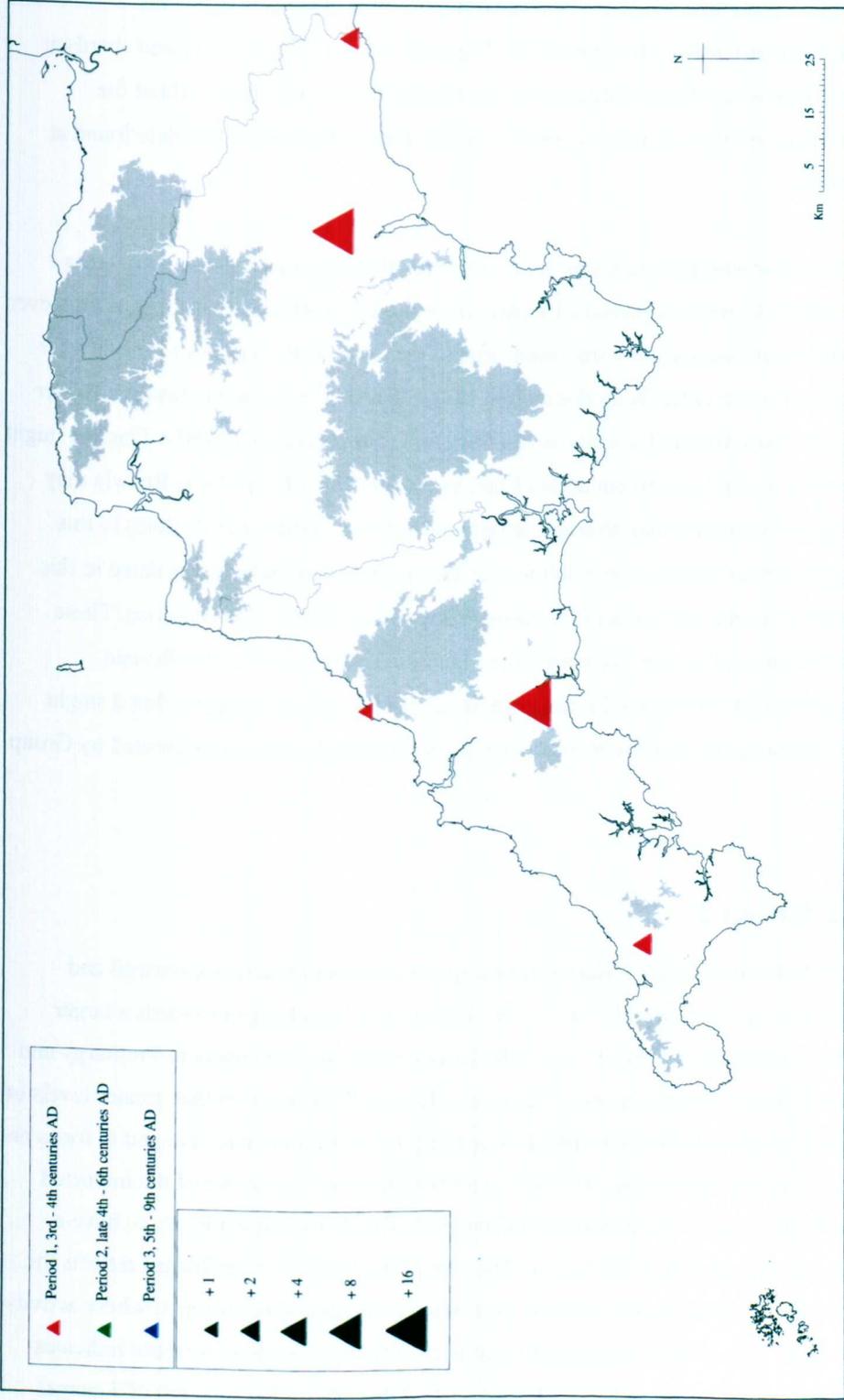


Figure 147 - Group 1: third to fourth century glass

South West with the ability to obtain glass, however this is only in the context of the wider patterns of possible 'high status' sites across the whole of southern Roman Britain, in particular the series of large opulent villas in the Somerset and Gloucestershire areas (Branigan 1977, Figure 5, 26-27). The two hundred shards at Exeter appear to reflect a large and economically active settlement, whilst the assemblage from Trethurgy suggests a similar pattern to glass of this date found at villa sites.

It is not clear whether glass was being imported through imperial contacts across Continental Europe, or produced locally or regionally within Roman Britain. However such an assemblage at only one small part of the original Roman town hints at a far larger number than has been discovered so far. This evidence points towards Exeter being the main focus of activity in the third and fourth centuries, whilst Tintagel might have been a small settlement at this time, as evidenced by the pottery. Reawla may represent a wealthier than average settlement and one shard certainly dates to this group; however there is some doubt as to the second shard, which was dated to this group by context, but had a radio-carbon date of the fifth to sixth centuries. These finds therefore place the site within the transitional phase where Late Roman occupation continued into the early medieval period, and also suggest that it might have been a major settlement for the local elite during the phase represented by Group 1.

### **6.3.2 Group 2**

The fifth- to sixth-century glass shows a sparse distribution across Cornwall and Devon at only three sites; however, the focus of this has changed towards a larger number in general at Cornish sites. The latter consists of five shards at Trethurgy and four at Tintagel, with only one in Devon, at Exeter. This suggests that greater levels of activity in terms of exchange and the consumption of imports had changed to focus on a more westerly sub-region, which is unsurprising given the nature of the imported ceramics for this group discussed in Chapter 5. The distribution appears to have a coastal trend, apart from Trethurgy. The size of the Cornish assemblages reflects the increase in apparent wealth at these sites when compared with Group 1, where activity was less at Tintagel but remained the same at Trethurgy. Such an increase indicates different roles for each of these sites, as current thought on the function of Tintagel places it as primarily a trading site, with minimal evidence for permanent and possibly elite settlement in the form of domestic pottery. Trethurgy appears to represent a

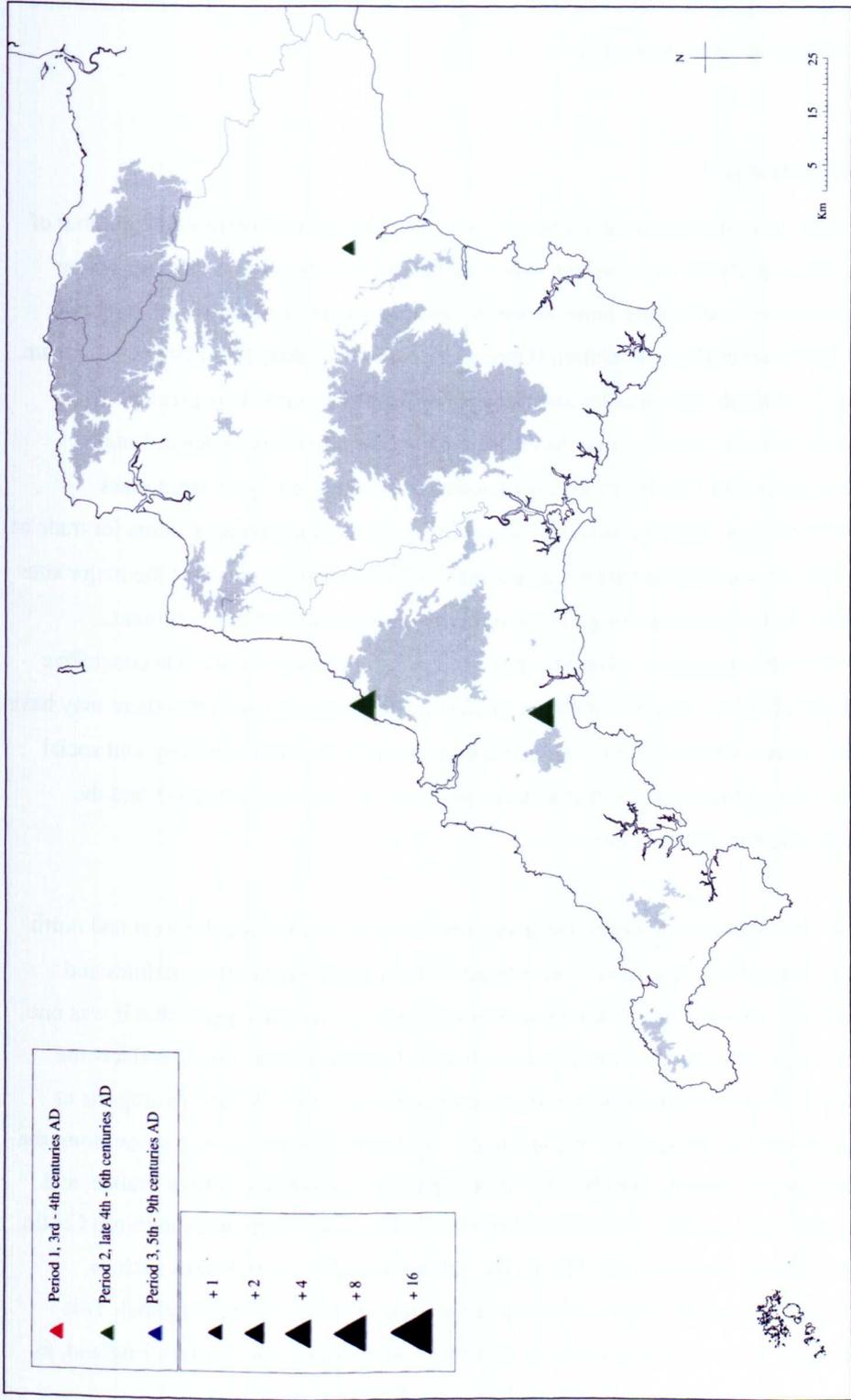


Figure 148 - Group 2: fifth to late sixth-century glass

consumer site with an elite or partially-elite community, which may have had some control over trade in the immediate sub-region or links with those importing the glass, although political ties have also been suggested, with glass being used as diplomatic gifts from overseas social groups.

### **6.3.3 Group 3**

The fifth- to ninth-century evidence shows a much greater increase in the number of sites where glass was discovered. The distribution also shows that the sites where glass has been found were more westerly, with the majority in Cornwall, only two sites in Devon at River Walkham (Greeves & Newman 1994, 199-219) and Bantham, and a concentration of smaller assemblages on West Penwith. This greater concentration in Cornwall may have been due to the proximity of several major landing places, of which Tintagel is included and evidenced by its large glass assemblage. The range of industrial activities and therefore potential items for trade at Gwithian would suggest that it was another likely candidate for one of the major sites involved in the exchange of glass from the Mediterranean and the Continent. However, the single glass shard found at the site so far does not provide conclusive evidence of it. The larger number of smaller assemblages suggests that there may have been a greater amount of infiltration throughout the settlement hierarchy and social groups of varying status, so that a larger spectrum of society might have had the ability to acquire these vessels.

Unlike the imported ceramics, the glass is not concentrated along the west and north coasts, instead having a more even spread on both north and south coastlines and inland. The second largest assemblage from Trethurgy would suggest that it was one of the larger consumers in the region, whilst its location further inland reflects the spread of glass through localised inland exchange networks. Whilst the imports at Tintagel attest to a range of outside sources, with probable production areas along the Mediterranean littoral, from North Africa, Spain and possibly southern France, and Aquitaine (Barrowman 2007, 226-229), vessels from sites such as Launceston Castle show potential links with the Rhineland and items traded through sites such as Boulogne, or possibly copies of Campbell's Group B from eastern England. This could show overseas contacts up the Channel and overland with eastern England, as well as through Atlantic routes to and from the Mediterranean.

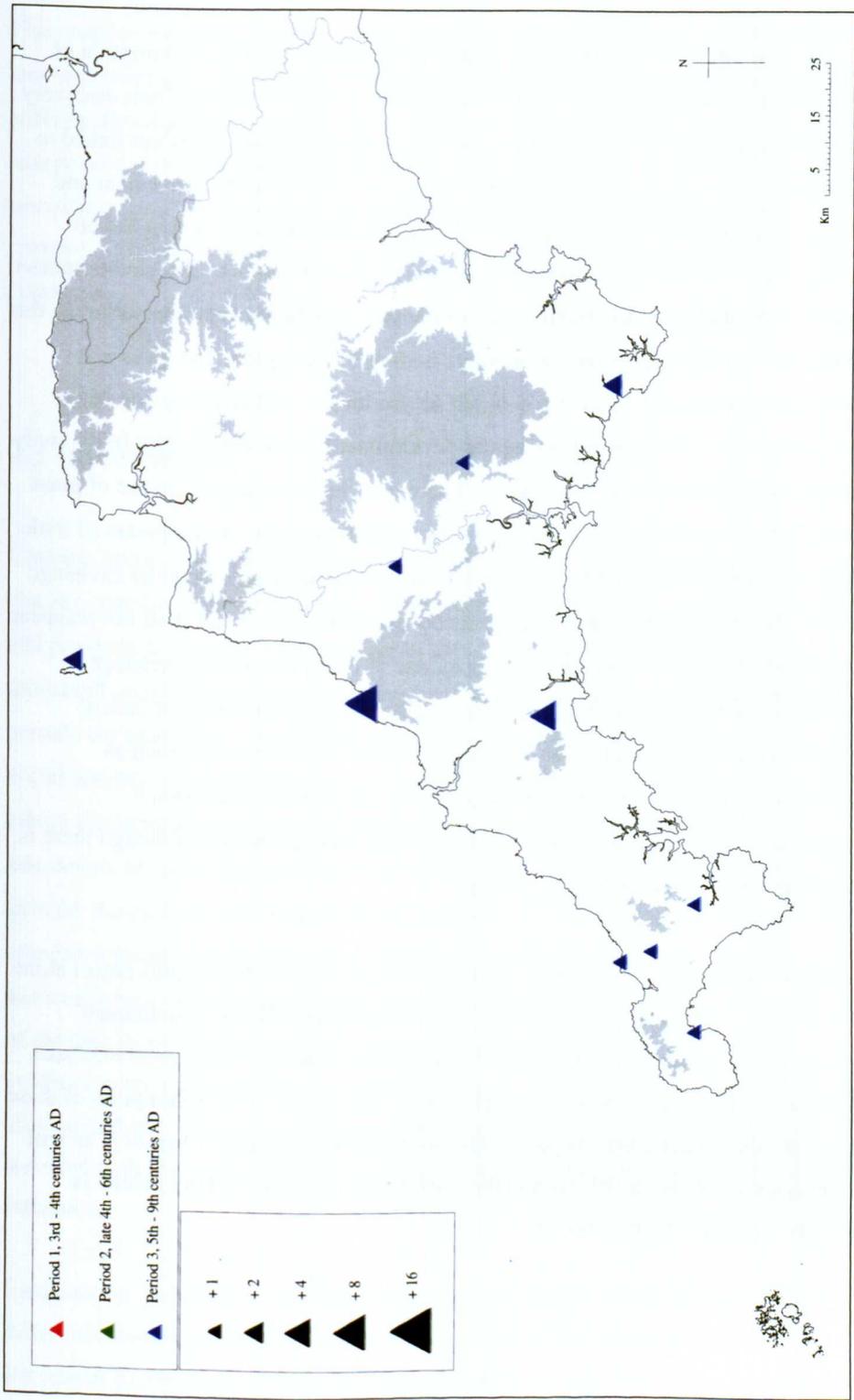


Figure 149 - Group 3: late fifth to ninth-century glass

## 6.4 Conclusion

The glass assemblages have provided a degree of evidence for the consumption of what have previously been described as high-status or exotic objects. Their discovery in contexts alongside the imported ceramics emphasises this fact but is not linked to elite identity alone. Instead they indicate a degree of activity in the movement and exchange of goods between a range of social groups from Ireland, Anglo-Saxon England, Merovingian- and Carolingian-period France and parts of the Mediterranean. Those in control of its redistribution may not necessarily have been elite, although this is likely, but may also have been merchants trading in the region. The glass was analysed using chronological criteria based on production and consumption dates, resulting in a series of maps reflecting the development in the use of glass in the study region from the fourth to ninth centuries. There is a clear increase in the use of glass across a greater number of sites, which was probably due to the development of trade relations, as well as local industries and their ability to participate in wider exchange networks. From the ninth century this glass consumption ceases and does not reappear within the study period. This may have been due to disruption of the exchange networks between the South West and the supply zones and an apparent lack of development in insular production techniques, unlike sites to the east such as Southampton (Hinton 1998, 56). Also, there does not seem to have been a reintroduction of its use and production in the Saxo-Norman period, although there is some evidence for window glass in Exeter.

The question of whether glass can be seen to be an exotic and high-status object alone will be discussed in Chapter 9 and has been introduced in relation to settlement morphologies and hierarchies in Chapter 4. It is clear however that certain sites such as Trethurgy and Tintagel played key roles in the movement and consumption of these objects and will be discussed as part of the micro-scale analysis in Chapter 8, as will the consumption of metal objects and the importance of metalworking, which is introduced in the following chapter.

## 7. Coinage, Metalwork and Metalworking

*This chapter introduces and discusses the various forms of coinage, metal artefacts and metalworking evidence discovered in Cornwall and Devon in the Late Roman and early medieval periods, through the creation of categories for the metal artefacts and assessment of the evidence for the working of various metals across the South West. It provides a detailed analysis of this evidence in terms of regional distributions and chronological trends, before summarising the primary analyses and findings in the conclusion.*

### 7.1 Introduction

Coinage, metal items and the industries of metalworking are all assessed in this chapter, together with what is known about industries relating to mineral extraction and production. Specific aims relating to settlement patterns, exchange systems, aspects of communication and the transfer of traditions between cultural groups and periods are addressed, all of which impinge on the discussion of different forms of social identity within the study region and the possibility of specific maritime and inland characteristics of these identities. Coinage in particular is a valuable tool in the assessment of socio-economic factors, whilst artistic styles in forms of metalwork indicate the exchange of both traditions and material culture. The extraction of metal ores has relevance to the wider use of the landscape and how it was exploited, as well as its influence on the development of settlement forms and exchange networks. Each of the data forms is investigated in terms of their distribution, as with all other evidence within the macro-scale study; however, graphical and tabular analyses were also carried out, where it was deemed relevant. The evidence presented here is assessed both in terms of period of production and use and through cultural origin or influence.

Examination and analysis of the coinage is discussed in 7.2 and is broken down by different chronological phases of use and by origin of the coinage, whilst 7.3 introduces all forms of metal artefacts and the evidence for the various processes and stages in metalworking.

## 7.2 Coinage

The coinage is divided by origin into chronological groups labelled Late Roman (AD 350-408), Byzantine (AD 491-1081), Anglo-Saxon (AD 710-1066), Frankish and French (AD 804-1137) and Norman (AD 1066-1135). Each of these types has been analysed separately based on its distribution, whilst some graphical data has been compiled for the Anglo-Saxon and Norman coinage. Particular investigation was undertaken into the Anglo-Saxon mints and the distribution of the coinage they produced. Where a coin is listed as being part of a hoard, only the relevant coins are shown and not its full size, despite the fact that any earlier coins would have been deposited at the same time.

### 7.2.1 Distributional analysis

#### *Late Roman coinage (AD 350-408)*

Late Roman coinage comprises the largest group of coins, with over 376 discovered so far. Figure 150 shows their distribution across Cornwall and Devon as well as those coins found within hoards; it also marks the position of the known and postulated Roman roads. Two concentrations in patterning are clearly apparent in the region of Exeter and the Plymouth estuary. Exeter has the largest collective assemblage of Late Roman coins, consisting of ninety-three in total, whilst Plymouth shows a scatter of smaller findspots over a wider region. Around Exeter there are also concentrations of 'outlying' findspots which might indicate some interaction with the town. Although the Roman roads are not extensive, it is possible to see some zoning of coinage in their vicinity in the east, whether from settlements deliberately sited along the main routes into and out of the region, or as findspots and possible casual losses through their use. Across the West Penwith peninsula there is also a more concentrated spread of findspots, suggesting that the area may have had greater levels of occupation or have had a greater degree of activity in terms of coinage use.

In general a greater proportion of findspots and excavated coinage was found in Devon, specifically along the south coast, whilst the majority of hoards have been found in Cornwall, along the north coast and around the Truro and Helford estuaries. These hoards also appear to increase in size further to the west. Cornish distribution is virtually all coastal in location, whilst the evidence for Devon is similar apart from

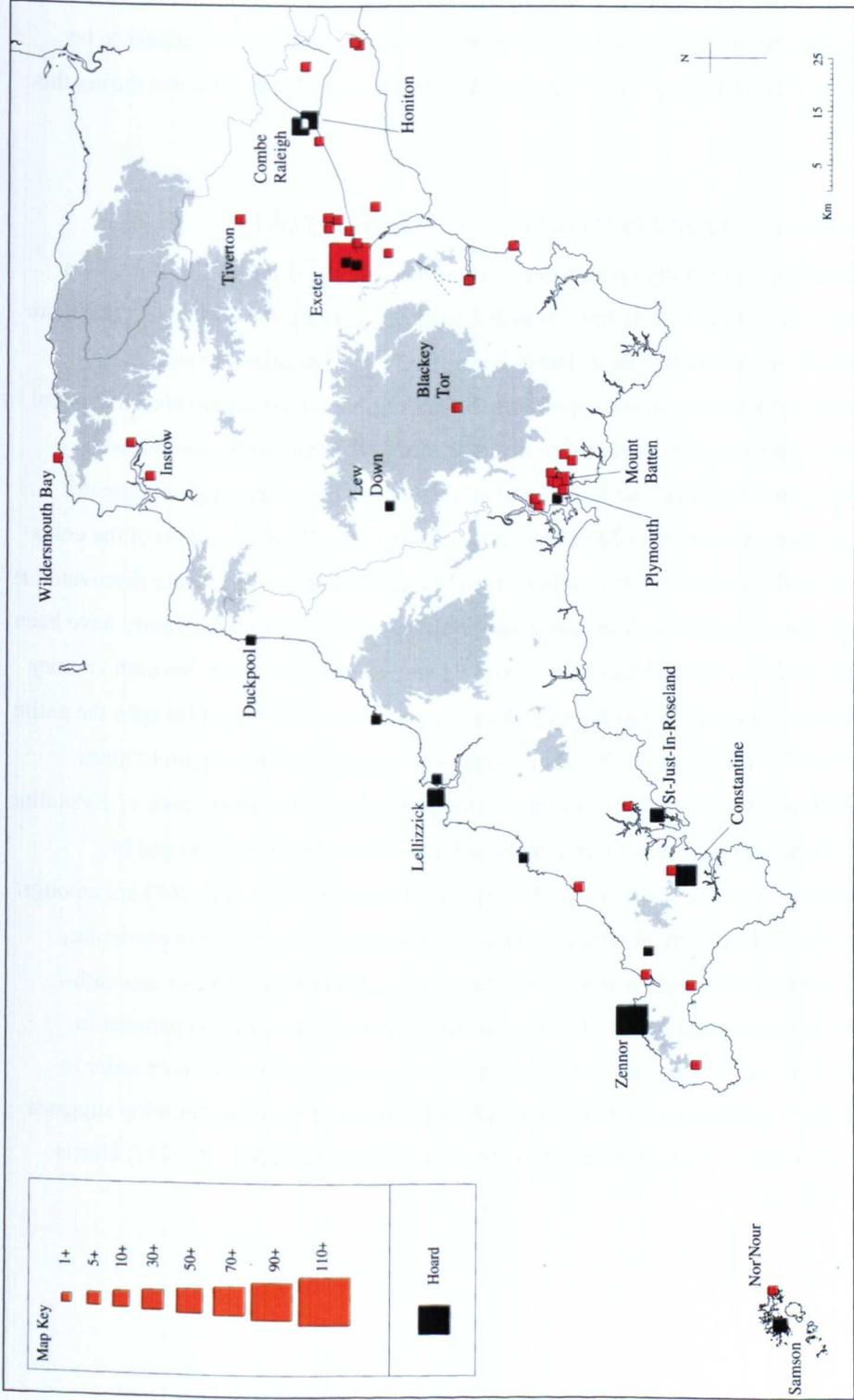
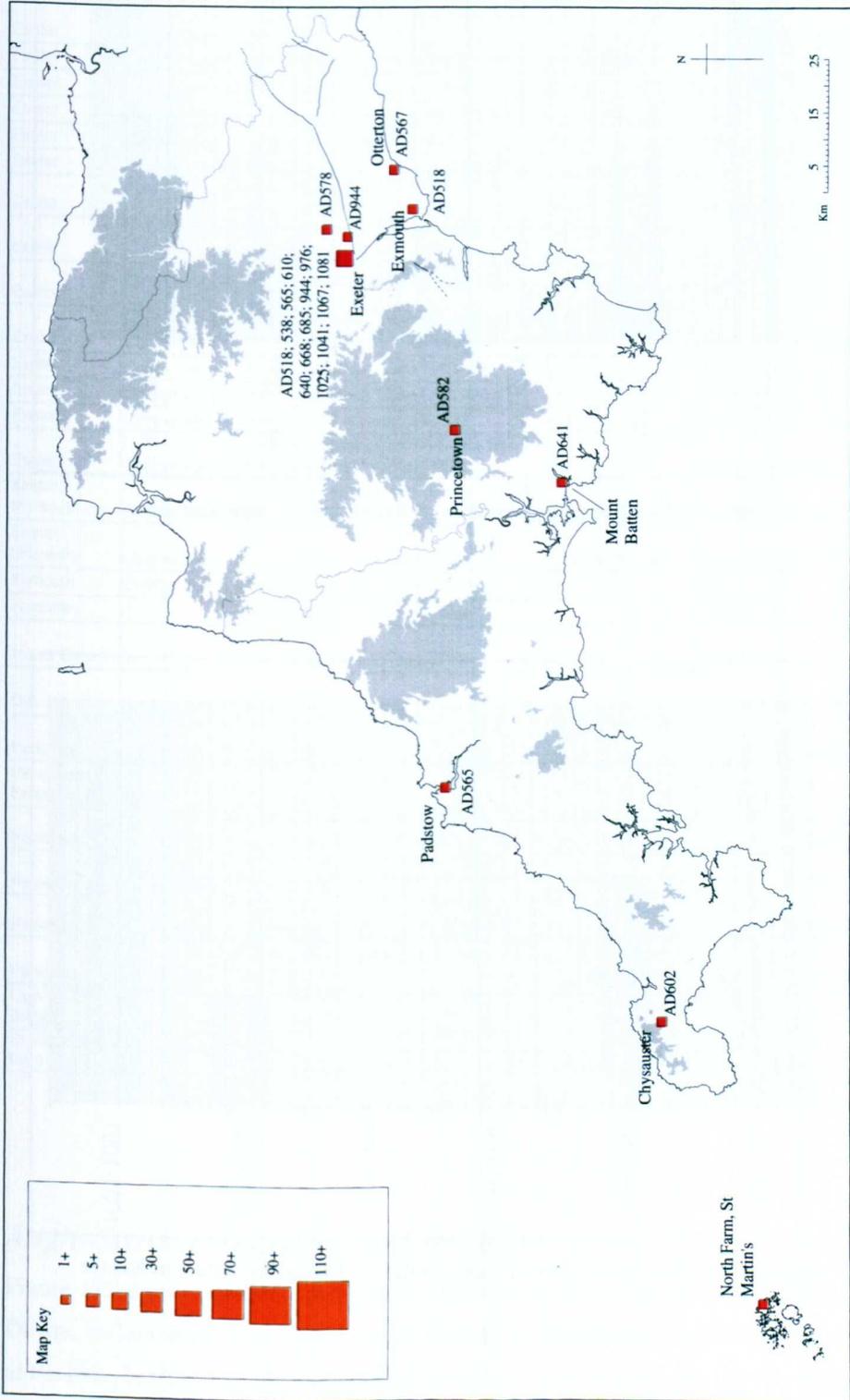


Figure 150 - Late Roman coinage

coins from Tiverton, Lew Down (Marystow) and Blackey Tor on Dartmoor and sites along the Roman roads. The limited evidence for the Scilly Isles shows the presence of one findspot and one hoard, suggesting similar patterns to those on mainland Cornwall. Overall, the major concentrations in Devon and Cornwall appear to be focused on estuarine regions, suggesting the importance of these features during this period.

### ***Byzantine copper alloy coinage (c. AD 491-1081)***

This coinage is generally concentrated in southern Devon (Figure 151) but with a distinct lack of hoards. The few Cornish findspots are along the north coast and there is one coin in the Scilly Isles at North Farm. There are few inland examples, consisting of Princetown and sites in the Exeter region, whilst distribution in general does not appear to be focused on or near the former Roman roads. The major concentration in and around Exeter and on the coast at Exmouth, suggests greater levels of activity here than elsewhere in the South West. When the dates of the coins are assessed (Figure 152), the earliest, from the early sixth century, were discovered at Exmouth and Exeter. Slightly later coins from the mid- to late sixth century have been discovered at Padstow, Princetown, Exeter, Otterton and Poltimore. Seventh-century coins were found at Chysauster and Mountbatten and various examples span the entire century at Exeter (Figure 153). There were no coins found in the eighth to ninth centuries, and therefore there is a gap in the record until the reappearance of Byzantine coins dating from the mid-tenth century at Heavitree and Exeter. It should be emphasised here that Boon (1991, 38-45) and Moorhead (2009, 265-267) are amongst those who highlight the possibility of these latter coins, from Exeter in particular, being nineteenth-century losses rather than a true reflection of tenth- or eleventh-century activity and possibly skewing the early medieval distribution patterns in Figure 151. Figure 154 shows the provenance and metal of these coins in order to assess their significance in early trade. The fact that most were copper alloy suggests their use in trade rather than re-use as jewellery (Moorhead 2009, 265-267; Harris 2003, 152-153).



**Figure 151 - Byzantine coinage**

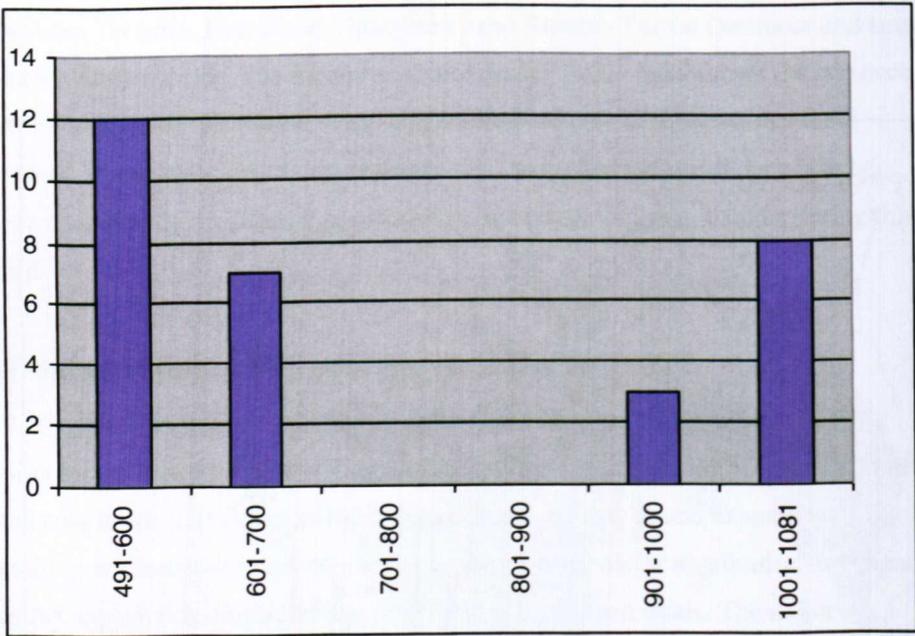


Figure 152 - Changing quantities of Byzantine coinage over time

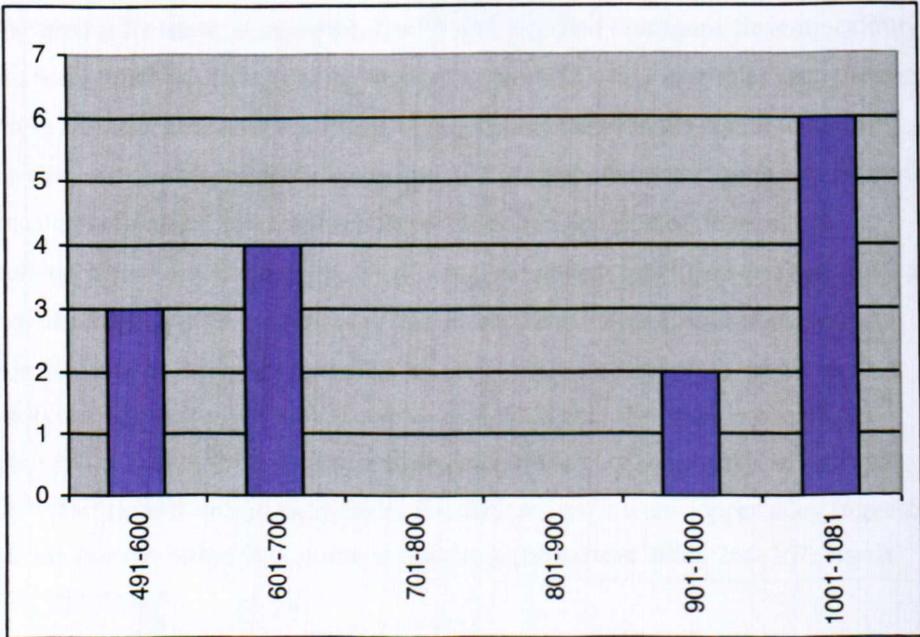


Figure 153 - Changing quantities of Byzantine coinage over time at Exeter

Site Name	Metal	Emperor	Struck	Reference
Arzon, Brittany	Bronze			Giot 1988
Chysauster	Copper alloy	Maurice Tiberius (?), (582-602)	Alexandria	
Exeter	Copper alloy	Anast/Justin I/Just.n. 40 noumia. 498-538		Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Justinian, 40 noumia (527-38)	Constantinople	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Heracilius, 40 noumia (639-640)	Constantinople	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Constans II, 40 noumia. 641-668	Constantinople	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Constans II, 40 noumia. 641-668	Constantinople	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Constantine IV, 10 noumia (668-685)	Constantinople	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Constantine VII & Romanus I (920-944?)	?	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Anon 40 noumia. Class A-2 (Basil II & Constantine VIII, 976-1025)	?	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Anon 40 noumia. Class C (Michael IV, 1034-41)	?	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Anon 40 noumia. Class F overstruck on E? (Constantine X, 1042-1055)	?	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Anon 40 noumia. Class I (1078-81)	?	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Anon 40 noumia. Class I (1078-81)	?	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Justinian, 10 noumia (550-551)	Antioch	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter	Copper alloy	Anon 40 noumia. Class A (John I/Basil II & Constantine VIII, 969-1025)	?	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter, Plymouth Inn	Copper alloy	Anon 40 noumia. Class A-1 (John I, 969-76)	?	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exeter, University	Copper alloy	Anastasius I, 40 noumia (491-518)	Constantinople	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Exmouth	Copper alloy	Anastasius I, 40 noumia (491-518)	?	Pearce 1970
Heavitree	?	Romanus I (AD 920-944) follis	?	PRN 60448
Mount Batten	?	1 of Constantine III (641-641)	?	Pearce 1970
Otterton	Copper alloy	2 were of Justinian I (525-567), 2 similar	Constantinople	PortAnt DEV-464726
Padstow	Copper alloy	decanummi of Justinian I (560-561)	Cyzicus, W Turkey	PortAnt CORN-72D1D7
Plougrescat, Brittany	Bronze	?	?	Giot 1988
Poltimore	Copper alloy	Justin II & Sophia, 20 noumia (571-2)	Thessalonica	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Poltimore	Copper alloy	Anon 40 noumia. Class D (Constantine IX, 1042-55)	?	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Poltimore	Copper alloy	Constantine X, 40 noumia (1059-67)	?	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Princetown	Copper alloy	Tiberius Constantinus and Justin II, 40 noumia (574-82)	Constantinople	Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Quimperle, Brittany	Bronze	?	?	Giot 1988
St Martins, North Farm	?	Constans II, AD641-688	Syracuse, Sicily	Ratcliffe 1991

Figure 154 - Origin and date of the Byzantine coinage

### *Anglo-Saxon coinage (c. AD 710-1066)*

Figure 155 shows a general spread of Anglo-Saxon coinage across both Cornwall and Devon, including the large hoard discovered at Trewiddle and a smaller hoard nearby at Penhale. In Cornwall the main findspots are along the north coast apart from the coin from Launceston and the hoards and one findspot at St Austell, clustered around

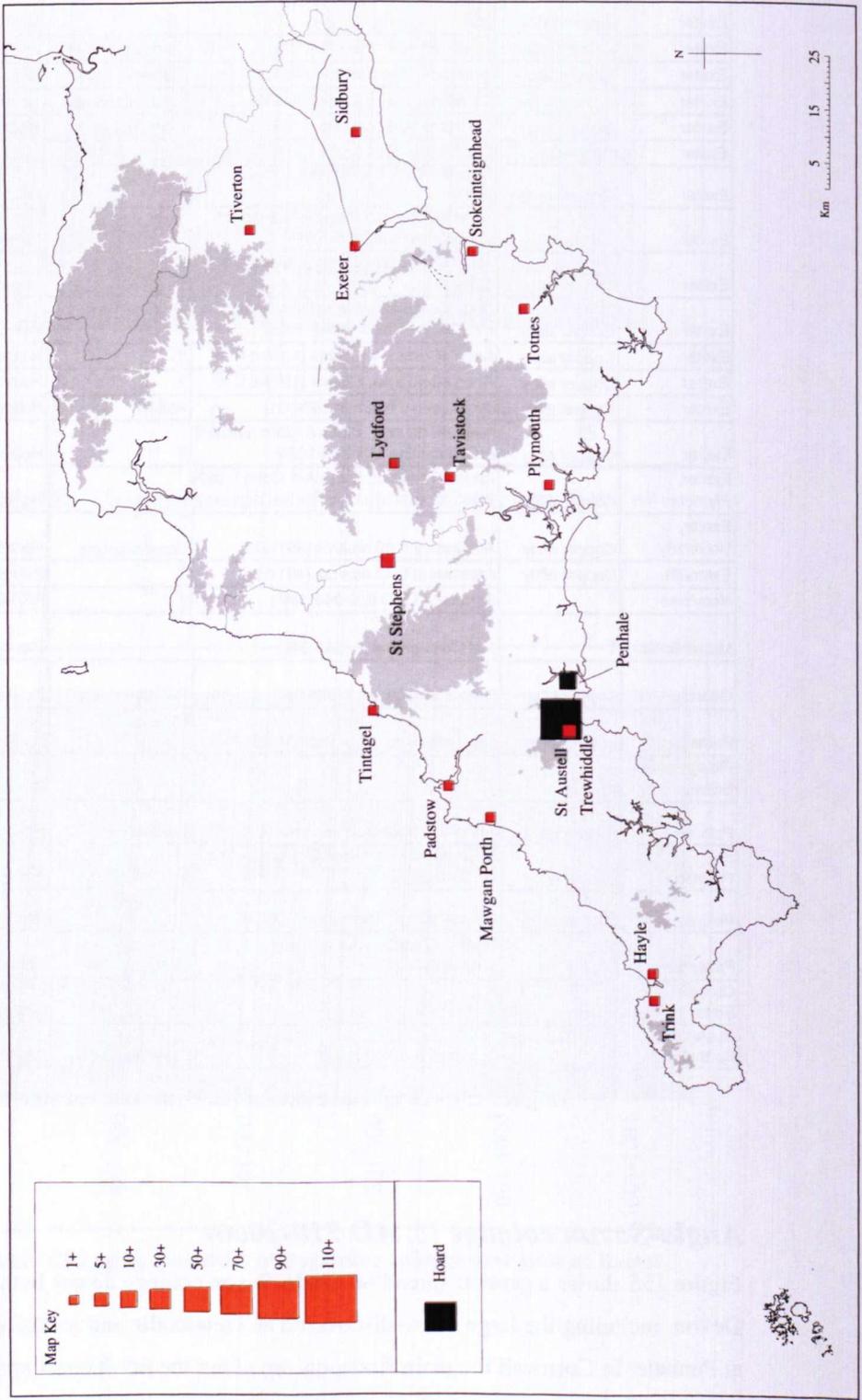


Figure 155 - Anglo-Saxon coinage

the Truro River estuary. The north coastal sites include a small cluster around the area of Gwithian. In Devon there is a series of findspots along the south coast near to or at the head of several estuaries, at Plymouth, Totnes, Stokeinteignhead and Exeter. Several inland findspots are on the western edge of Dartmoor and one at Tiverton. The site at Exeter is the only one to be found on the former Roman road system. In general the distribution is similar for both Devon and Cornwall in terms of number of sites, whilst the location of two hoards on the south coast is significant given the history of Viking attacks along that stretch of the coastline.

The individual regnal coinage was assessed by spatial analysis; however its distribution was irregular and showed no significant patterns. Instead, assemblages were small and their patterning irregular, suggesting individual dispersal of these coins in the region which may have included processes unrelated to monetary transactions. This patterning occurred through to the reign of Edward the Confessor with no real increase in the amount of coin deposition. All earlier forms of coinage prior to Alfred, apart from the single find from Tiverton, were from the Trewhiddle Hoard and therefore probably not deposited within the region prior to the deposition of the hoard itself some time in the tenth or possibly early eleventh century (Wilson 1961, 108).

Figures 156 and 157 present the Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins found in the South West from each regnal issue as bar charts, and show the gradual increase in number, from the single sceatta found at Tiverton, dating to c. AD 710-760. This sceatta, with the Wodan's head and pecking bird on the reverse, is described as being of Type 49 in the original record (HER PRN61712) and is therefore probably part of Series H and minted at Hamwih (Ulmschneider 1999, 31-32). These results are skewed by the large number of coins found at Trewhiddle; however, whether these coins reflect a true picture of the nature of coinage use and distribution or not is hard to ascertain. Given the mixed cultural and chronological nature of the metal artefacts from the hoard and their wide range in origins, it is possible that these coins might have been collected at a religious settlement or site, or formed a Viking hoard, and therefore do not reflect a true picture of economic activity.

In general there is a wide range of coins from the sceatta to Edward the Confessor; however, nearly half of these are represented by the Trewhiddle Hoard alone (Figure 157), with peaks of coinage from the reigns of Burgred and Edward the Elder and a general increase in the eighth and ninth centuries, decreasing at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. The range of coinage is even more limited when the Trewhiddle Hoard

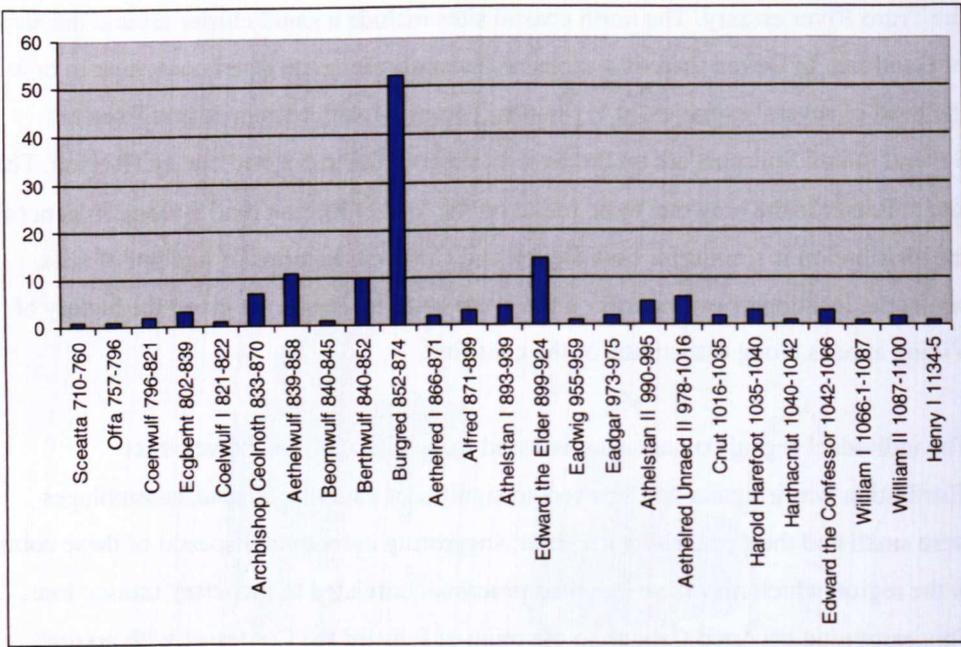


Figure 156 - Anglo-Saxon and Norman coinage, separated by ruler

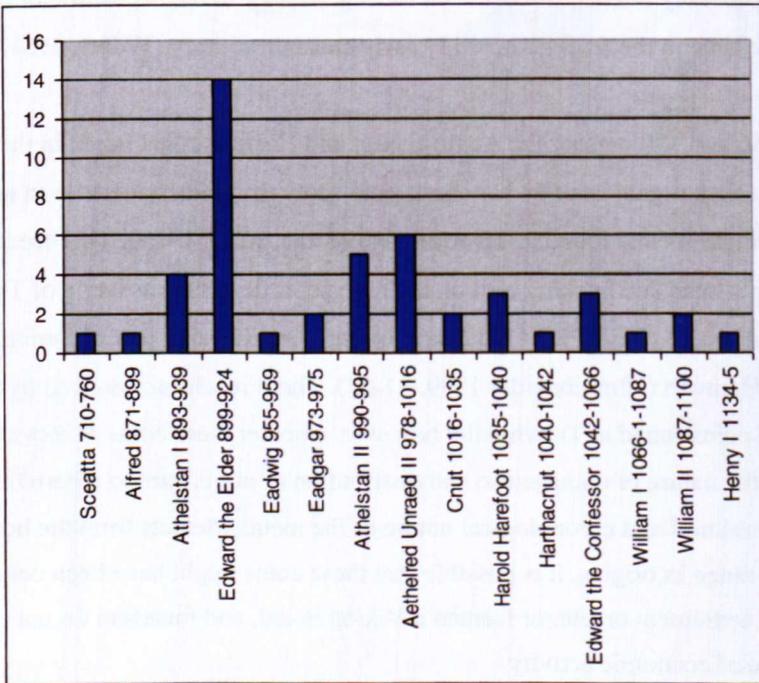


Figure 157 - Anglo-Saxon and Norman coinage, separated by ruler, excluding the Trewhiddle Hoard

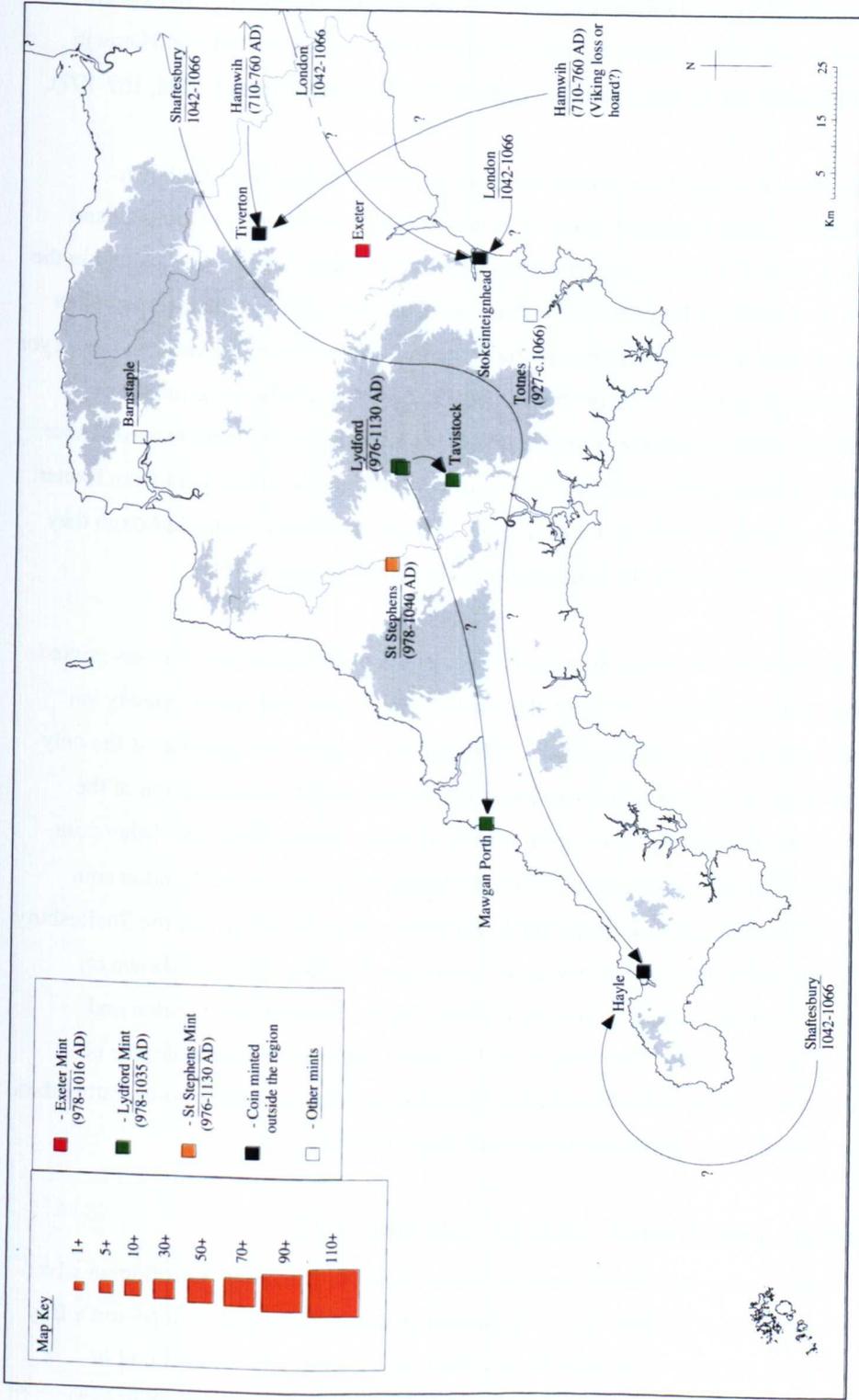


Figure 158 - Anglo-Saxon coinage from known mints

is excluded. The analysis shows a sharp increase in the use and distribution of coins from the mid-ninth to early tenth centuries, with the largest number from the reign of Edward the Elder c. AD 899-924. However, the number of coins may have been relatively small when compared with urban sites such as Winchester and Hamwih (Southampton) and in other parts of Anglo-Saxon England (Metcalf 1998, 167-197).

The location of Anglo-Saxon mints has been presented in Figure 158 (shown underlined), which consisted solely of St Stephen-by-Launceston in Cornwall and Lydford, Totnes, Exeter and Barnstaple in Devon. Coinage has also been found in the region from mints in London, Shaftesbury and Hamwih, although their true number may be greater than shown in this research, as in some instances the mint and moneyor could not be identified. Only twelve coins have been found where the mint is identifiable and many of these were found at the site where they were minted. These include the four from Launceston, two from Lydford and the single coin from Exeter. So far no coins have been found from the Totnes or Barnstaple mints, although they are found at sites outside the South West (Allan 2002, Figure 7, 16).

Activity related to exchange systems is represented by the discovery of coins minted at Lydford from Mawgan Porth on the north Cornish coast and approximately ten miles south of the mint at Tavistock. Although the evidence is slight, this is the only mint to show such internal links and may have been related to exploitation of the region in the extraction of tin and the mining industry (Allan 2002, 18). Other coin finds show contact with regions outside the South West, such as the London coin found at Stokeinteighhead, the probable Hamwih coin at Tiverton, and the Shaftesbury coin from Hayle. The possible routes of movement for these coins are shown on Figure 158, with overland and overseas routes for the Shaftesbury, London and Hamwih-minted coins; however it is probable that there was a greater degree of transfer over smaller distances creating a gradual movement of these coins, rather than single transactions creating the location of their discovery.

### ***Frankish and French coinage (AD 804-1137)***

No Frankish coins were found dating to before AD804. The single Carolingian silver denier was found at Porthleven on the southern Cornish coast within St Mount's Bay (Figure 159) and may tie in with the distribution of Carolingian coins found in Wessex, coming across the Channel to the south-coast ports (Metcalf 1998, 175).

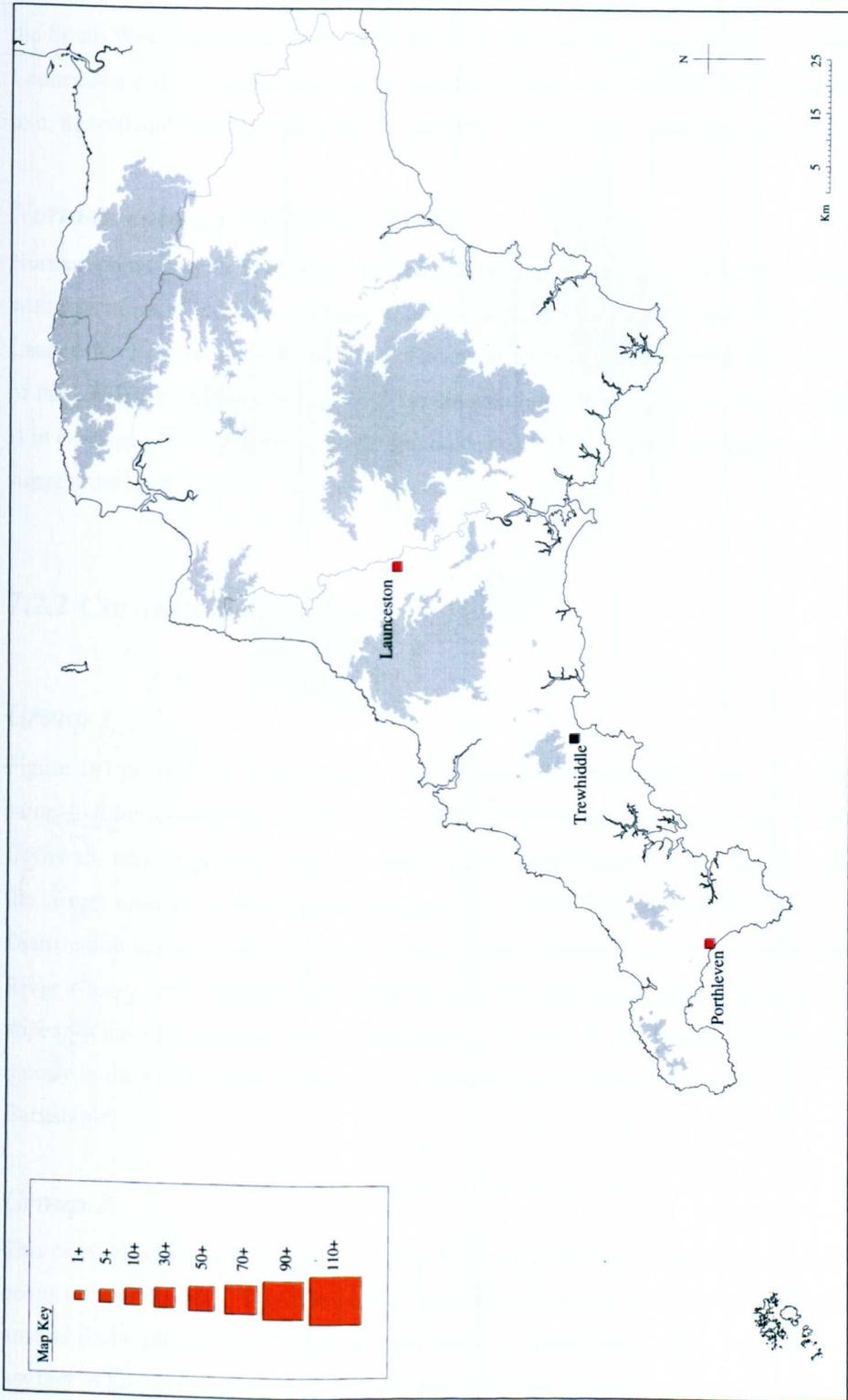


Figure 159 - Frankish and French coinage

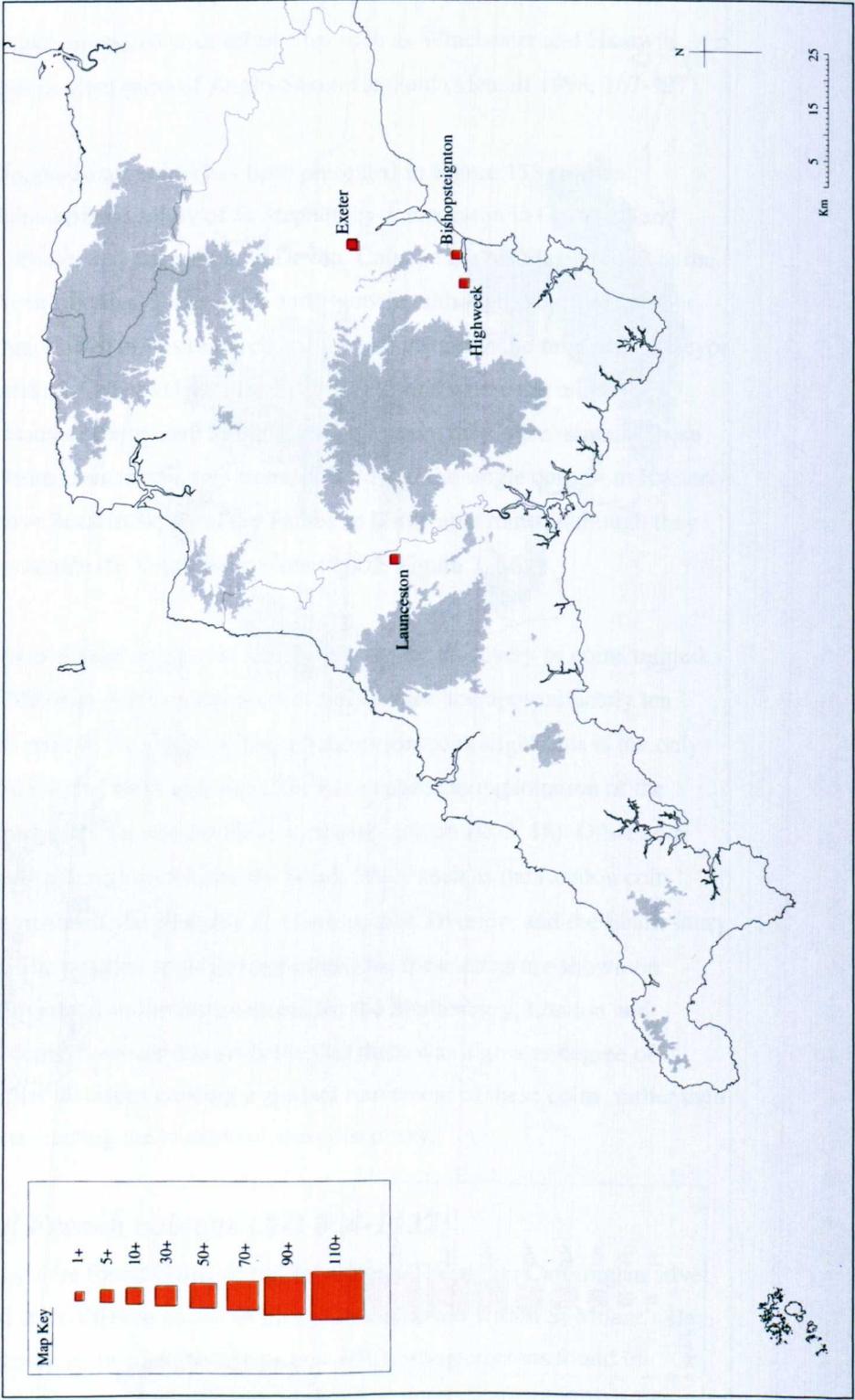


Figure 160 - Norman coinage

Other Carolingian coinage has been discovered across Brittany at fourteen sites and at several sites in the Channel Islands, with two sites on Jersey, at L'Île Agois and another unknown location. Of the later French coinage, only three have been found in the South West, consisting of an early twelfth-century coin of Louis VI or VII from Launceston and two coins from the Trewiddle Hoard, one of Louis the Pious dating to c. 814-40 and another of Pippin (Wilson 1961, 109) but of unknown issue or date.

### ***Norman coinage (AD 1066-1135)***

Norman coins (Figure 160) are dispersed primarily in Devon and in the Exeter region, with four coins at Exeter and one each at Bishopsteignton, Highweek and one at Launceston in Cornwall. The number of coins at Exeter is unsurprising given the size of the settlement in this period; however, the small number of coins across the region is in contrast to the number of Anglo-Saxon coinage. The coastal concentrations suggest the importance of maritime connections.

## **7.2.2 Chronological analysis**

### ***Group 1***

Figure 161 presents the Late Roman coinage (AD 350-400) and therefore shows the same distribution patterns as Figure 150. This distribution is across both Devon and Cornwall, with more dense concentrations around the Plymouth region and Exeter and the largest number of coins unsurprisingly found within the Late Roman town.

Distribution in Cornwall is predominantly along the north coast and around the Truro River estuary, with stronger concentrations in West Penwith, the majority of which appear to have been hoards as opposed to single findspots. The Devon distribution is mainly in the south, however there is a small group of findspots in the region of Barnstaple.

### ***Group 2***

This consists of the earlier forms of Byzantine coinage dating to the fifth and sixth centuries (Figure 162). The distribution is mainly in the area of Exeter and at the coast around Exmouth in Devon, with one coin found at Princetown on Dartmoor and another at Padstow in Cornwall. By this time distribution seems not to follow the line of the Roman roads, apart from the settlement at Exeter. There does not appear to be a specifically coastal distribution pattern although most findspots are in this location.

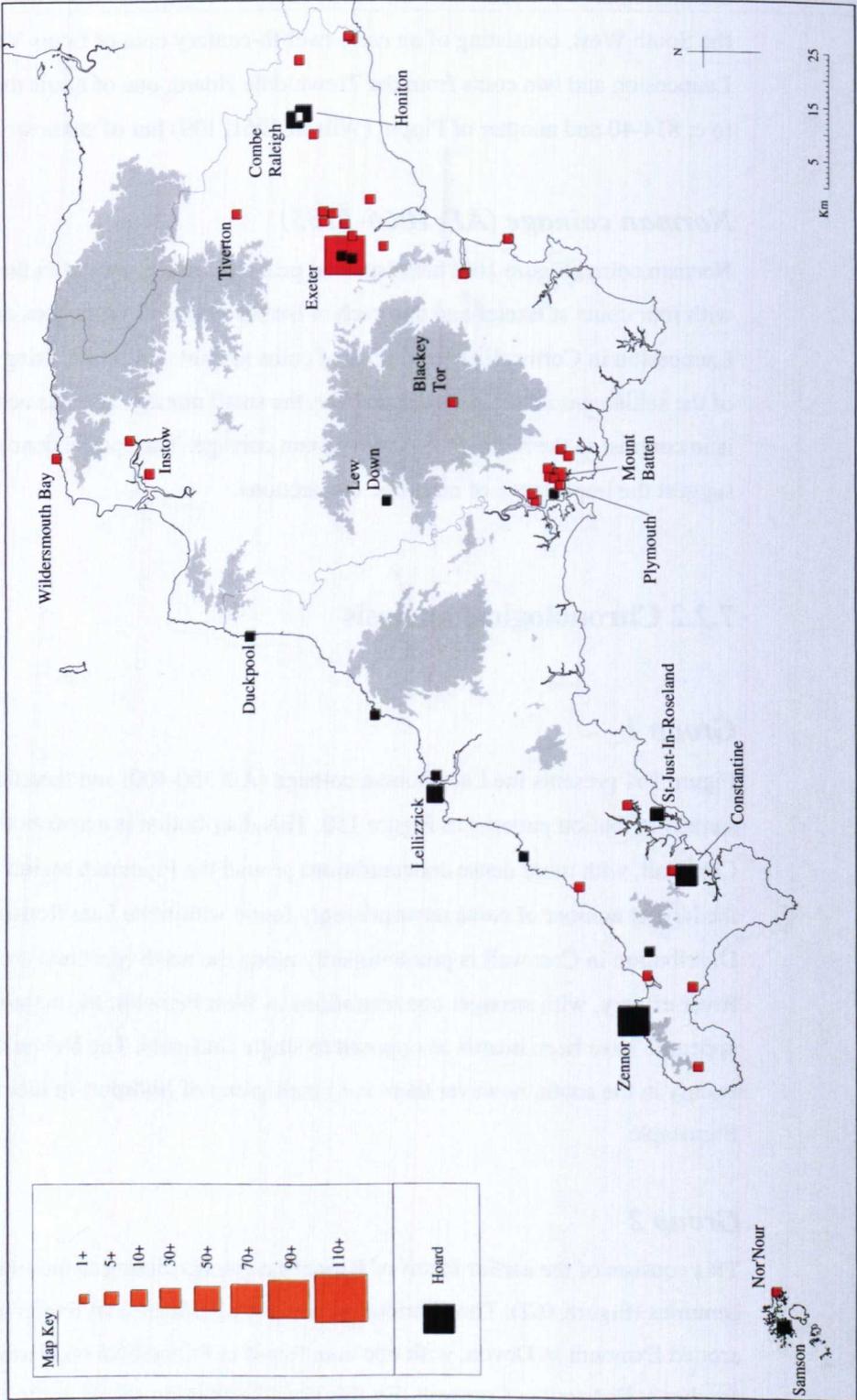


Figure 161 - Group 1: third to late fourth-century coinage

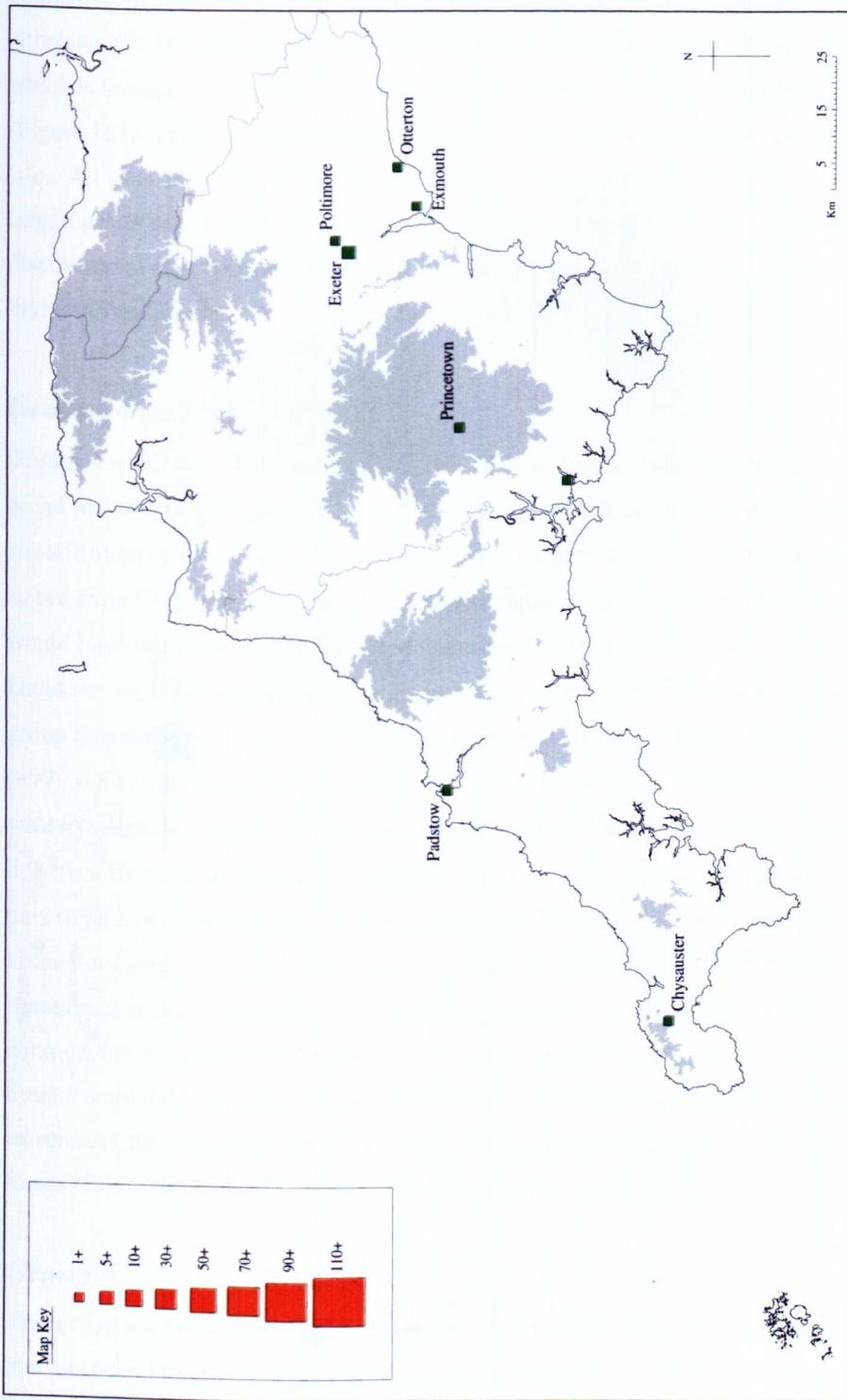


Figure 162 - Group 2: fifth to late sixth-century coinage

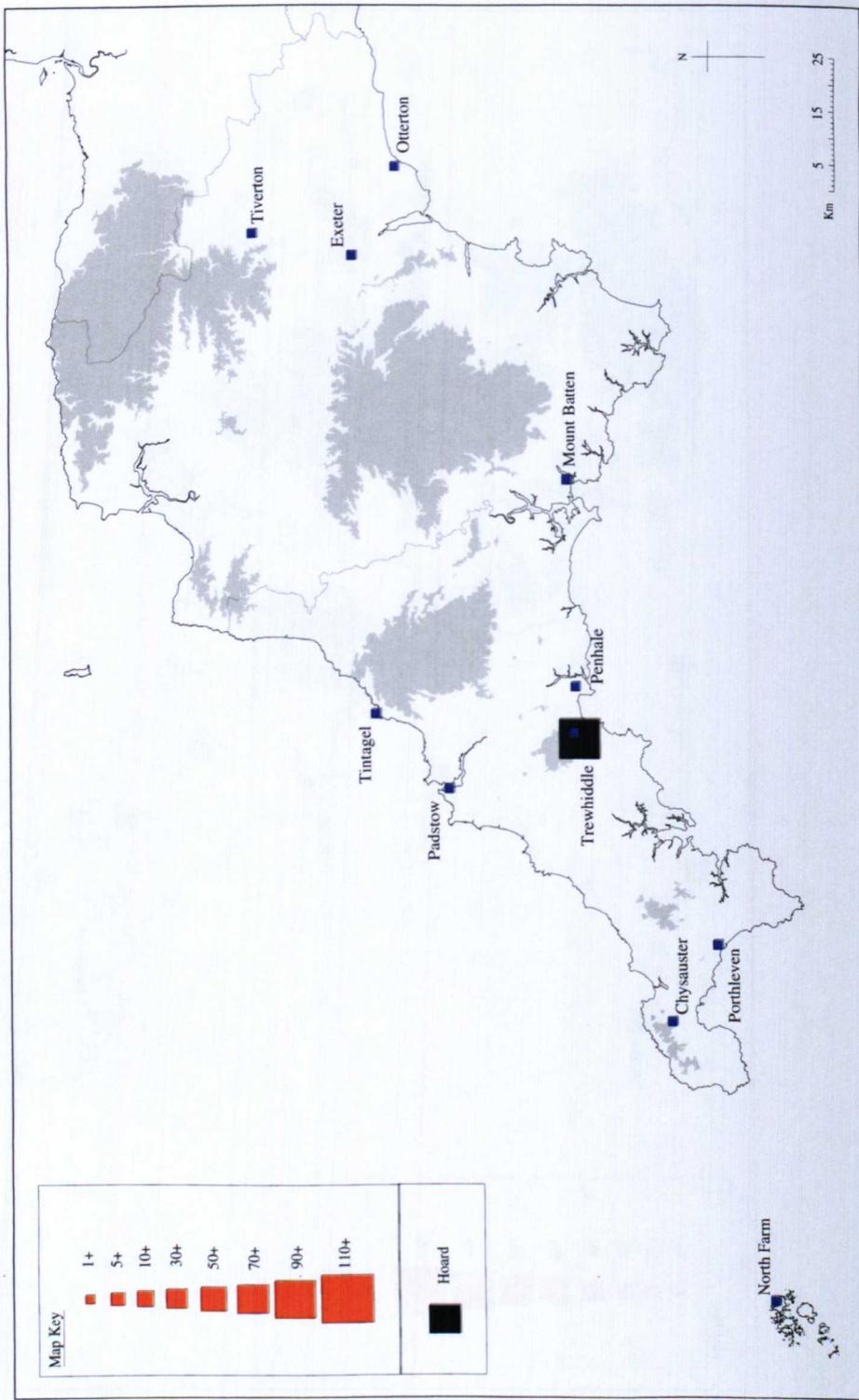


Figure 163 - Group 3: late fifth to ninth-century coinage

### ***Group 3***

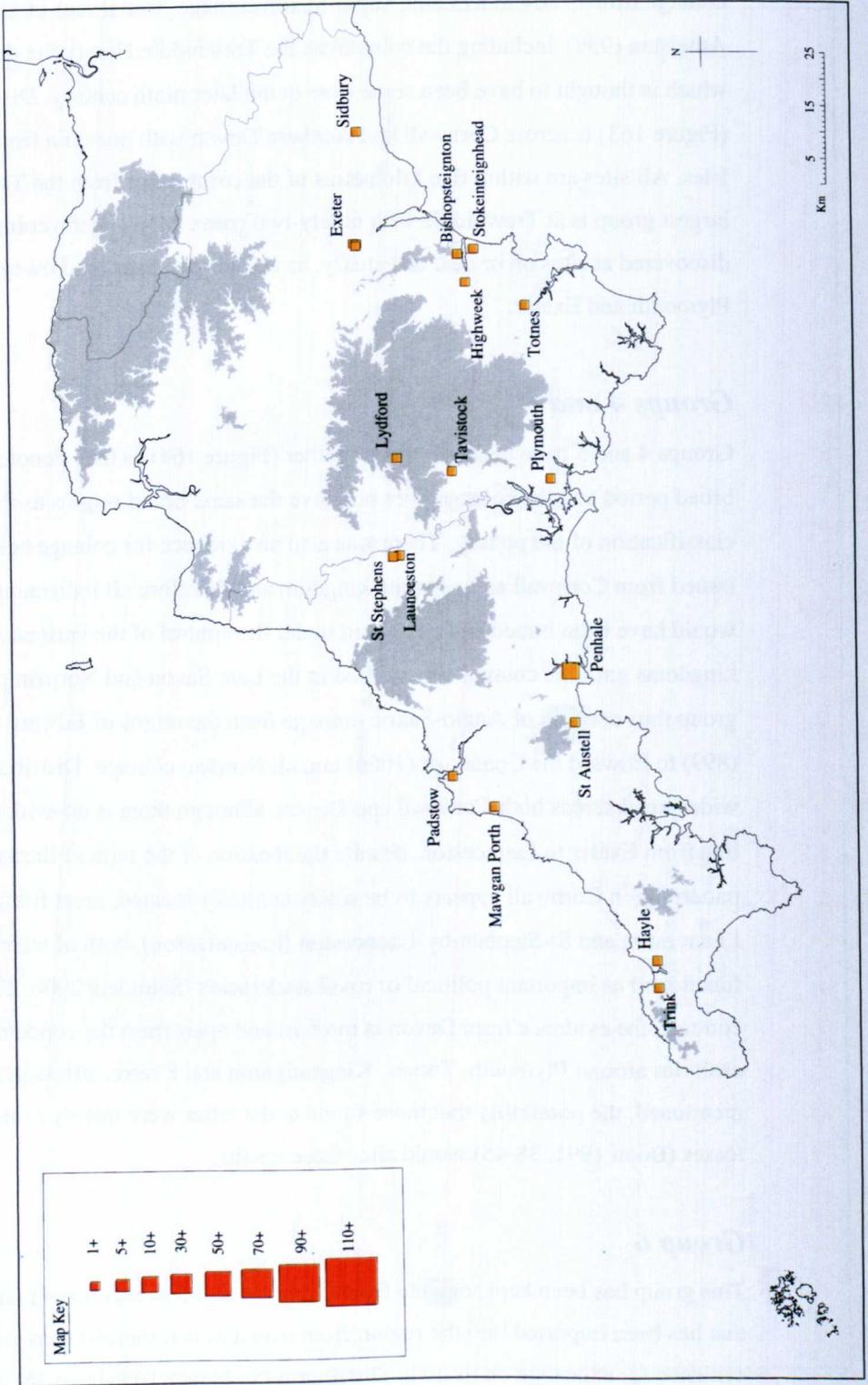
This group consists of Byzantine coinage from c. 600 to 899, Frankish and French coinage from c. 804 to 875 and Anglo-Saxon coinage from issues of Offa (757) to Athelstan (939), including the coins from the Trewhiddle Hoard, the deposition date of which is thought to have been some time in the later ninth century. Distribution (Figure 163) is across Cornwall and southern Devon with one coin from the Scilly Isles. All sites are within five kilometres of the coast, apart from the Tiverton site. The largest group is at Trewhiddle with ninety-two coins. Many of the coins have been discovered at sites on or near an estuary, as at Padstow, near the Fowey estuary and Plymouth and Exeter.

### ***Groups 4 and 5***

Groups 4 and 5 have been grouped together (Figure 164) as they denote the same broad period and the coinage does not have the same broad origins as those used in the classification of the pottery. There was also no evidence for coinage being produced or issued from Cornwall as a separate kingdom and therefore all indigenous coinage would have been issued and circulated under the control of the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms until the country was unified in the Late Saxon and Norman periods. This group thus consists of Anglo-Saxon coinage from the reigns of Edward the Elder (899) to Edward the Confessor (1066) and all Norman coinage. Distribution was widespread across both Cornwall and Devon, although there is no evidence north of a line from Exeter to Launceston, despite the location of the mint at Barnstaple. Spatial patterning in Cornwall appears to be solely coastally-located, apart from those at Launceston and St-Stephen-by-Launceston (Lanstefanton), both of which may have functioned as important political or royal settlements (Saunders 2006, 27-29). In contrast, the evidence from Devon is more inland apart from the concentrations at the estuaries around Plymouth, Totnes, Kingsteignton and Exeter, although as previously mentioned, the possibility that those found at the latter were mainly nineteenth-century losses (Boon 1991, 38-45) would alter these results.

### ***Group 6***

This group has been kept separate from Groups 4 and 5 as it denotes material culture that has been imported into the region from overseas and therefore presents possible evidence for exchange on its own. Distribution in Figure 165 shows the few coins in this group with the larger concentration at Exeter and its immediate hinterland, and two other coins from Cornwall at Launceston and the Trewhiddle Hoard.



**Figure 164 - Groups 4 and 5: ninth to twelfth century coinage**

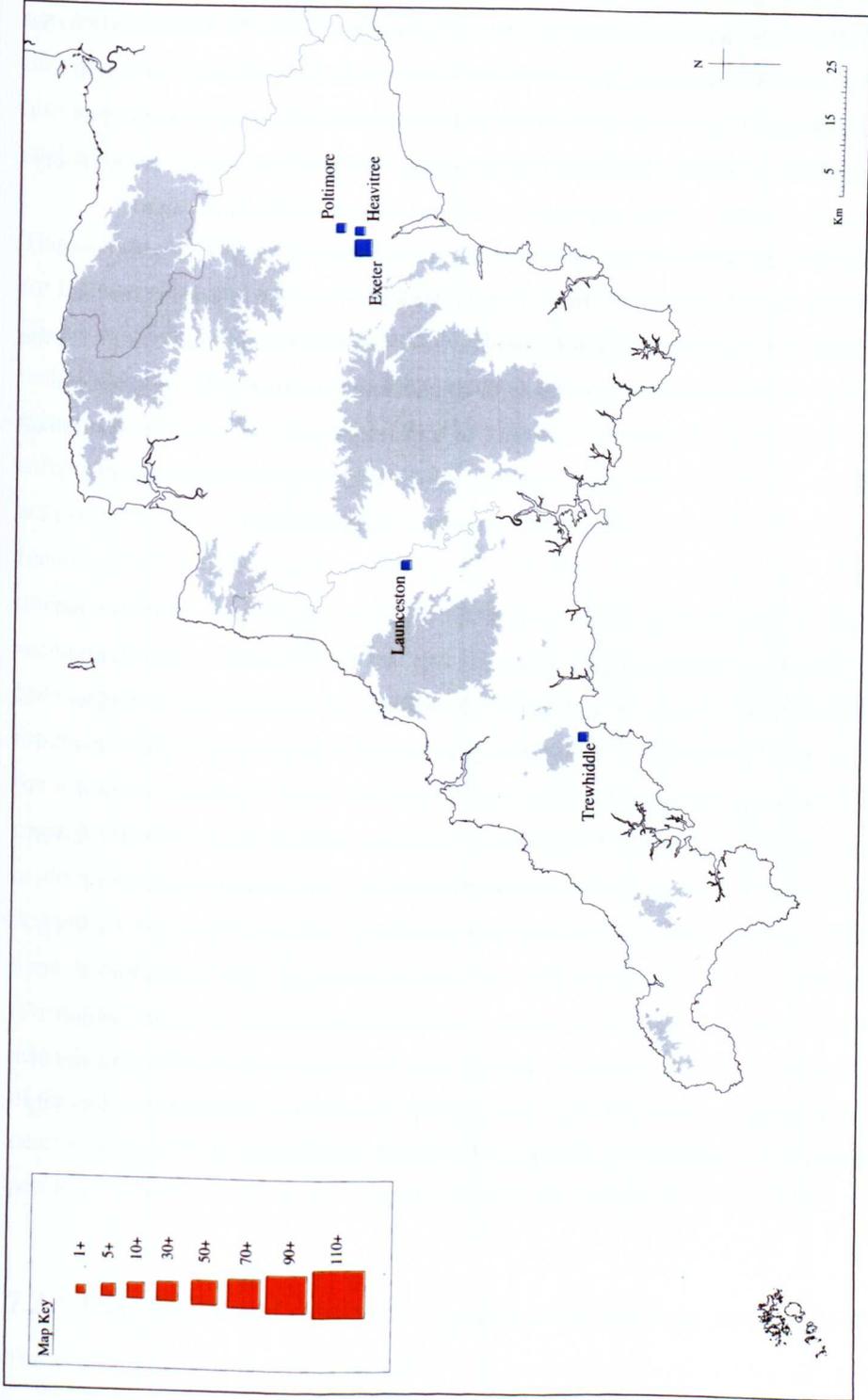


Figure 165 - Group 6: tenth to twelfth century imported/foreign coinage

### **7.2.3 Summary**

Whilst the coinage presents a relatively large set of evidence, there are problems in interpreting these patterns of distribution relating to coinage use, how they came to be deposited and what we can determine from these patterns of deposition. Although coins are potential reflections of wealth, trade and general economic activity, they could also have been used in the past as keepsakes, bullion, scrap metal and jewellery and as votive deposits. Whilst the patterns visible in their distribution cannot necessarily be used to infer extensive patterns in economic activity, it is possible to see similarities with patterns in the ceramic evidence. The range of origins for the coinage presents some evidence for contact with 'outside' identities and cultures at the very least, be it through direct 'permanent' contact and settlement, shorter-lived but regular contact through exchange systems, or transitory contact from movement either through or outside the region. Coinage deposition could therefore have occurred through accidental loss, or deliberate placement as loot or hoards.

When looking at the quantity and location of coins, it is important to recognise that any interpretation must take into account the fact that the rate of recovery of coins from different sites or localities will differ (Blackburn, in Pestell & Ulmschneider 2003, 25) and that this will affect clustering at sites such as Exeter where the level of rescue archaeology and watching briefs has been much higher than in more rural areas. Amounts found within the archaeological record are also likely to be far fewer than those which were actually in circulation. Coinage is an important source of information for this study, as it was usually issued and controlled by states or ruling elites and might indicate the boundaries of their territories, whether economic or political; and it was employed to extract surplus through taxation or tribute, which once in circulation, could become a material representation of wealth and a means of mediating exchange, provided that a certain proportion of the population used money and that this proportion can be identified (Perring & Whyman 2002, 51-52).

## **7.3 Metalwork and metalworking**

The metalworking evidence and small finds are assessed based on the accepted typologies for those finds normally found in the region, from the Late Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods. Also included is the series of artefact groupings typically

found in Ireland, Wales and the South West which has come to be known as Early Christian ornamental metalwork, as well as various possibly insular objects which cannot be dated or which are too heavily corroded to be identified. The ferrous and non-ferrous metalworking evidence also includes the activities involved in making these items, such as the mining, smelting and working of materials. Therefore the data also includes hammerscale, slag and other forms of metalworking debris, as well as such items as tin ingots, which are evidence for production as well as exchange.

This section introduces the distributional analysis for the metal artefacts and evidence for metalworking and ore extraction, which so far has been found at forty-eight sites. These 'small finds' consisting of portable items of base, precious and alloyed metals, and can be classified according to their composition and on stylistic and functional criteria (Perring & Whyman 2002, 60). The evidence has been divided into four categories, consisting of exchange-related items such as ingots and weights; dress accessories, which includes jewellery, personal items and decorative mounts; functional items, consisting of domestic and agricultural tools, weapons and other items; and finally the group of evidence for metalworking and industrial debris which includes sheet and waste metal, slag, crucibles and hammerscale. Each category has been subdivided into types whereby the raw data could then be classified; however, the broader typologies were necessary as part of the macro-scale analysis, in light of the scarcity of evidence and with many sub-categories consisting of one or two sites at most. Metal objects are durable, easy to recycle, less likely to enter rubbish assemblages and had changing values and function, such as their use in ritual deposition and association with production and recycling sites; they are also easy to identify and can be used to map both functional and social zoning on a range of scales (Perring & Whyman 2002, 60). The evidence is also assessed by chronological phase and where an industrial site is present it is denoted by a single-sized point regardless of the amount of evidence. Each of the chronological groups were classified by determining the date range of each artefact, the majority of which were over a broad period of several centuries, and assigning them to the group which best fitted.

### **7.3.1 Distributional analysis**

The evidence was analysed and presented as a series of distribution maps for each group of evidence, as well as a series of maps showing the number of finds per period, based on the chronological framework used throughout the rest of this research. As the industrial evidence could not be transformed into numerical data for the chronological

analysis, it is assigned different keys within the spatial analysis. The ore ingots are included in both the exchange and industrial categories as they potentially represent both activities.

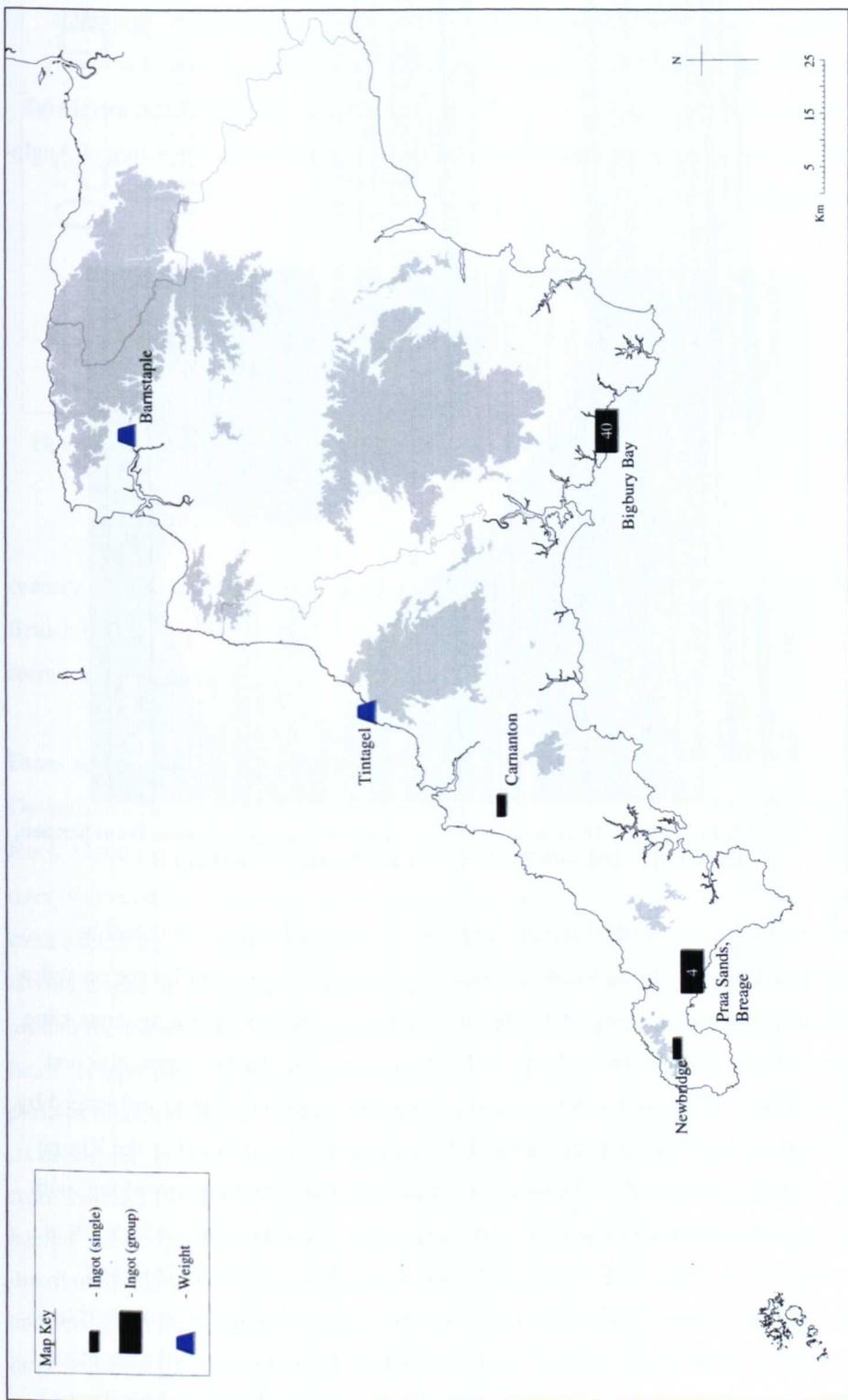
### ***Exchange-related items***

The exchange-related items consist of ingots and weights of varying metals. An example of the latter from Barnstaple (Figure 166) is of lead alloy, dated broadly to the early medieval period and with stamped decoration which consisted of two letters and a castle. The only other weight belonging to the study period was a late or early post-Roman small conical lead weight, from Tintagel. Both of these finds were from coastal sites and suggest possible functions of these sites as trading sites or ports, something that has already been speculated for Tintagel. Four findspots for ingots



**Figure 166 - Early medieval lead alloy trade weight from Barnstaple, Devon (DEV-E34773) (copyright Portable Antiquities)**

have been discovered, all of tin, with forty ingots found offshore at Bigbury Bay in Devon, four at Praa Sands, one at Newbridge and one at Carnanton, all in Cornwall (Figure 167). These are all at coastal sites or within five kilometres of the sea.



**Figure 167 - Distribution of exchange-related items**

### *Dress accessories and jewellery*

This sub-category includes bracelets, dress-fasteners, buckles, brooches (penannular, disc, ring, kite and fibulae) (Figure 168), pins, tweezers, rings, needles, strap-ends (Figure 169), and other forms of jewellery. These forms have been found at twenty-four sites and range in date from Late Roman to Norman. The ornamental metalwork comprising these categories would have had a range of influences consisting of Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-



**Figure 168 - Tenth-century Hiberno-Norse cast copper-alloy buckle frame from Sennen, Cornwall (CORN-902CE5) (copyright Portable Antiquities)**

Scandinavian, Norman and what has previously been called 'Celtic' but shall be termed insular or Late Roman here, as well as some Irish origin or influence on styles. The Celtic category has been subdivided into three main periods by Laing, consisting of pre-AD 650, AD 650-800 and post-AD 800, with penannular brooches, pins and hanging bowls making up the first category; the second gradually being influenced by, and reflecting, Anglo-Saxon traditions of decoration; and the third, after the Viking raids, showing a much-reduced group of evidence of ornamental metalworking, with chip-carving becoming popular on bronze mounts and the silver-and-niello work of the Anglo-Saxon 'Trewiddle' style also seen, although not widely in Irish and 'Celtic' British regions (1993, 5-8). The discovery of such artefacts augments the evidence for a surviving tradition of metalworking in the region, as well as contact with other regions outside the Anglo-Saxon sphere. These include Fowler's Types F, G and H penannular brooches, where Type G in particular is thought to have been sub-Roman (Fowler 1963, 99-109), with greater concentrations in rich female sixth-



Figure 169 - Ninth-century zoomorphic copper-alloy strap-end, Class A Type 2, from Ashburton, Devon (DEV-2CB814) (copyright Portable Antiquities)

century Anglo-Saxon graves, as well as probable differentiation between the southern British type dating to the late third to sixth centuries and slightly later Anglo-Saxon forms of the fifth to sixth centuries (Dickinson 1982, 50).

Dress accessories have been found in greatest number at Cornish sites. In South Devon and Cornwall they predominate at coastal locations (Figure 170), specifically Rock, Gwithian, Halangy Down, Heligan, Kelsey Head and St Ewe. Gwithian has over twelve objects, forming a large part of the overall number from the South West, even excluding the Trewhiddle Hoard. The only inland sites are at Goss Moor and Gwindra near St Austell, in Cornwall, and Ashburton, in Devon. The cluster of sites around the Trewhiddle Hoard would be significant if it were not for the nature of this hoard as a probable collection of moveable treasure from a specific church nearby, perhaps hidden during a Viking raid (Wilson 1961, 117), although this explanation for its deposition is still in debate. There are also some items from the Scilly Isles, ranging from the Late Roman to the eighth century in date, suggesting that communities on the islands were capable of owning, if not producing, them. The Devonshire evidence is distributed mainly in the south, and along the coast or up the estuaries of the Exe, Dart and Avon, although the assemblage at Exeter is smaller than expected. Bantham's large assemblage consisted of two penannular brooches and a disc brooch; however, Gwithian has the largest assemblage overall with twelve objects that include eight dress-fasteners, possibly made at the site (Hines in Nowakowski et al 2007b, 54-56), tweezers, needles and a ring.

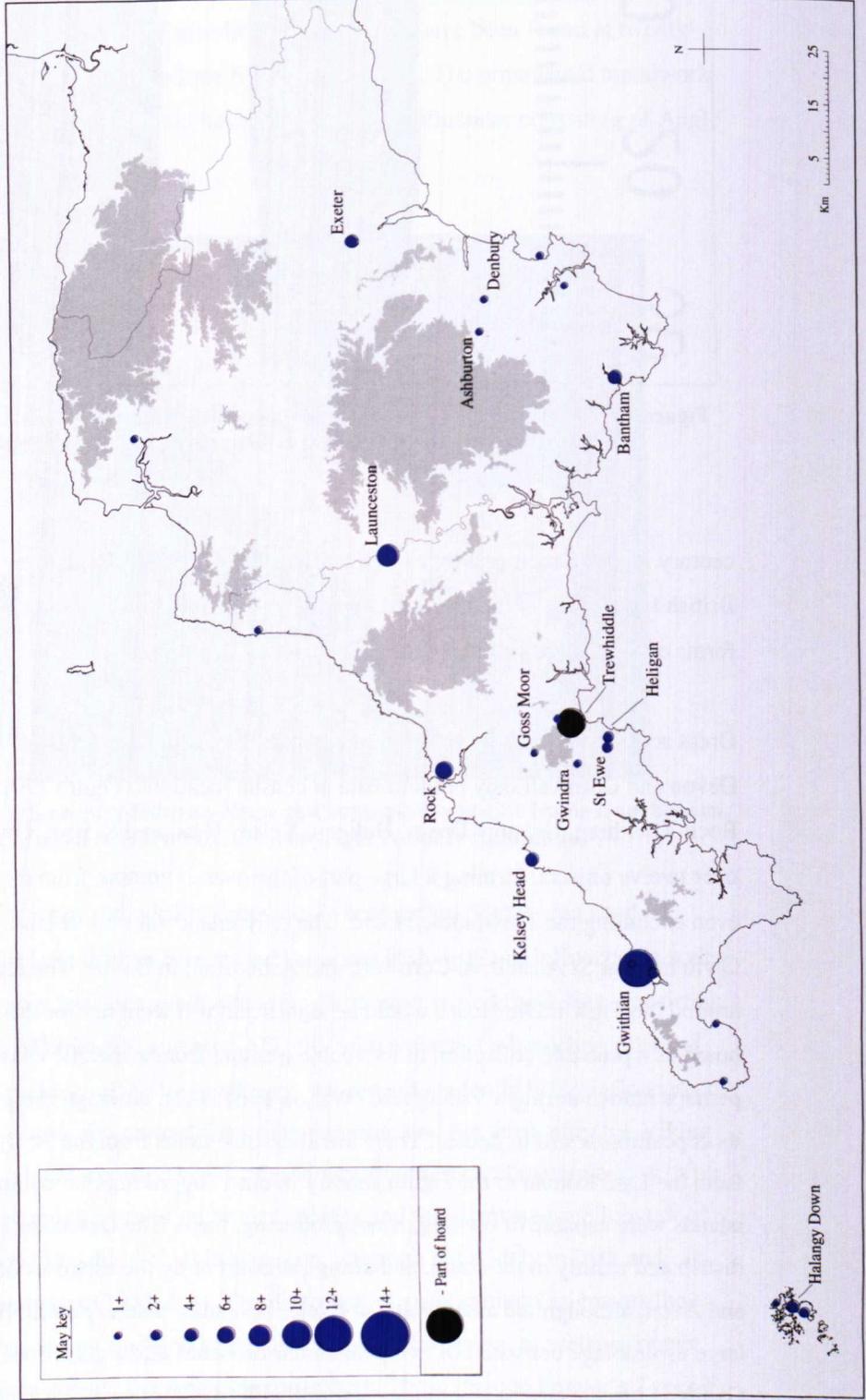


Figure 170 - Distribution of dress accessories

### ***Functional items***

This group consists of all forms of tools and agricultural implements; lachets; horse equipment such as stirrup strap mounts (Figures 171-172), spurs and other mounts; weaponry, including swords and sword-mounts, pommels and guards, knives and shield mounts; and others such as the many nails that have been discovered.



**Figure 171 - Eleventh-century cast copper-alloy stirrup-strap mount, Class A Type 12, from Ludgvan, Cornwall (CORN-CD2446) (copyright Portable Antiquities)**



**Figure 172 - Eleventh-century stirrup-strap mount, Class A Type 11a, from East Devon (DEV-E6F114) (copyright Portable Antiquities)**

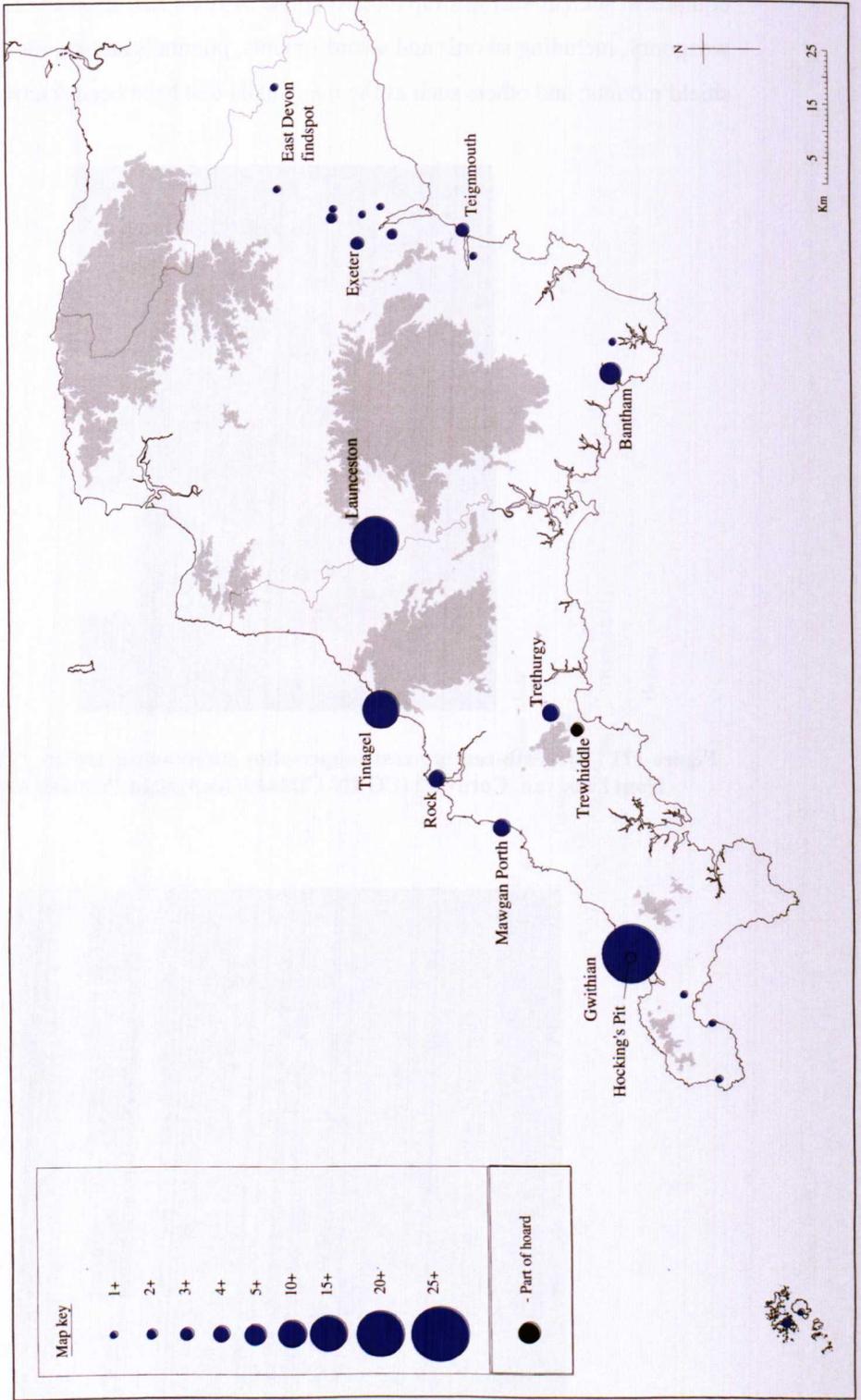


Figure 173 - Distribution of functional items

The distribution of the objects (Figure 173) broadly follows the same pattern and sites as the dress-accessories, with the larger assemblages in Cornwall, but predominantly found along the north coast. The largest assemblages were from Gwithian and Tintagel, correlating with the known size and extent of excavation at these sites. Also along this coast are the assemblages from Rock and Mawgan Porth, dating broadly to the fourth and ninth to eleventh centuries respectively. There is a small scatter on the West Penwith peninsula and the sites of Trethurgy and the Trewiddle Hoard on the south coast. In Devon, the largest assemblage, with eight objects, was from Bantham, whilst the remainder of the sites were mainly in a cluster around Exeter and further south at Teignmouth. There was also an 'East Devon' findspot which has not been located more closely.

### ***Ore extraction and industrial metalworking***

This section presents the analysis of the evidence for ore extraction and the smelting and working of various forms of metal (Figure 174), with sites ranging in date from the late fourth to the twelfth centuries. The main sites are represented by black symbols, whilst the smaller coloured symbols identify forms of evidence which might indicate specific functions. The known tin and copper lodes are shown as hatched areas (from Penhallurick 1986), although it must be noted that the evidence for the latter has not been found for Exmoor. Evidence in the form of analysis of metal pollution deposits from the Tor Royal and Dozmary Pool peat bogs by Meharg (2011, Figure 1, 2) strongly suggests industrial activity peaking in the ninth century AD (*ibid.*, 5-11). The data used to identify these sites consist of mines and tin streaming sites; ore, slag, hammerscale, crucibles or a furnace or smithing hearth indicating the extraction of metals from the raw materials; and finally sheet metal, metal fragments, waste metals of varying forms (including iron, copper, tin or pewter, gold and bronze) and half-made objects representing metalworking sites. The form of these waste metals and the contexts they were found in makes it very unlikely that they were taking the form of hack silver and other metal in exchange form. Although there was no evidence for early medieval industry, the Trewiddle Hoard and penannular brooches and ring from Lanivet and St Ewe respectively were all found within opencast workings on tin lodes and have therefore been included as probable early medieval tin-streaming sites. Also included are several Romano-British industrial sites, for comparison.

This distribution at these sites is most dense across Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, as well as along the Devon-Somerset/Dorset borders, and is found both inland and at the



coast, although there is a series of north coast sites with an apparently greater degree of activity as indicated by the coloured symbols. In Devon there are eleven sites, most of which are situated on the south coast or in the case of Exeter, up an estuary. Both Exeter and the inland site of Burlescombe present the widest forms of evidence, consisting of slag and waste metal. In Cornwall, as previously stated, the north coast assemblages appear to contain the widest forms of evidence, at Gwithian, Tintagel and Duckpool. Gwithian has evidence for a hearth bottom as well as slag and sheet or waste metal and has been identified as a copper or silver metalworking site dating to the fifth to ninth centuries. When occupation at this site appeared to cease and the settlement moved to Crane Godrevy, metalworking appeared to continue in the form of a tenth-century hearth bottom with associated iron ore. At Tintagel, fifth- to seventh-century industrial debris included waste copper and a crucible as well as slag, whilst at Duckpool the site seems to have been a third- to late-fourth century farmstead, which exploited marine resources and, perhaps, traded in the metal objects or ingots it created. Evidence was found here for secondary metalworking in the form of lead, pewter and copper alloy objects. Boscarne has been identified as a tin streaming site through the discovery of a wooden shovel and associated evidence, radiocarbon-dated to the seventh to eleventh centuries, and is the only site identified where the ore itself was being extracted (Quinnell 2004, 75). It is possible to hypothesise that some sites, such as Boscarne, might have supplied neighbouring sites such as Mawgan Porth, or other undiscovered settlements. Sites along the Devon and Dorset borders include Burlescombe, where the three seventh- to tenth-century iron furnaces suggest a substantial industrial site.

### ***Assessment of cultural origins of the evidence***

Analysis of the probable cultural origins of the metalwork finds was undertaken in order to assess whether certain artistic styles or cultural origins showed distributional patterning. This may also show patterns which would not necessarily be visible through the chronological analysis, as different factors were acting on artistic styles and the introduction of different forms of metal objects in different areas, and at different times. These forms consist of Roman, Insular ('Celtic' or Late Roman influences), Irish, Continental, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Scandinavian/Norse and Norman. Where such identification could not be determined, the site was not included. Each site is identified with no quantifying analysis and therefore in some cases there are multiple symbols for some of them. This analysis was also carried out with the aim of highlighting concentrations that might then reflect influences on, or contact with,

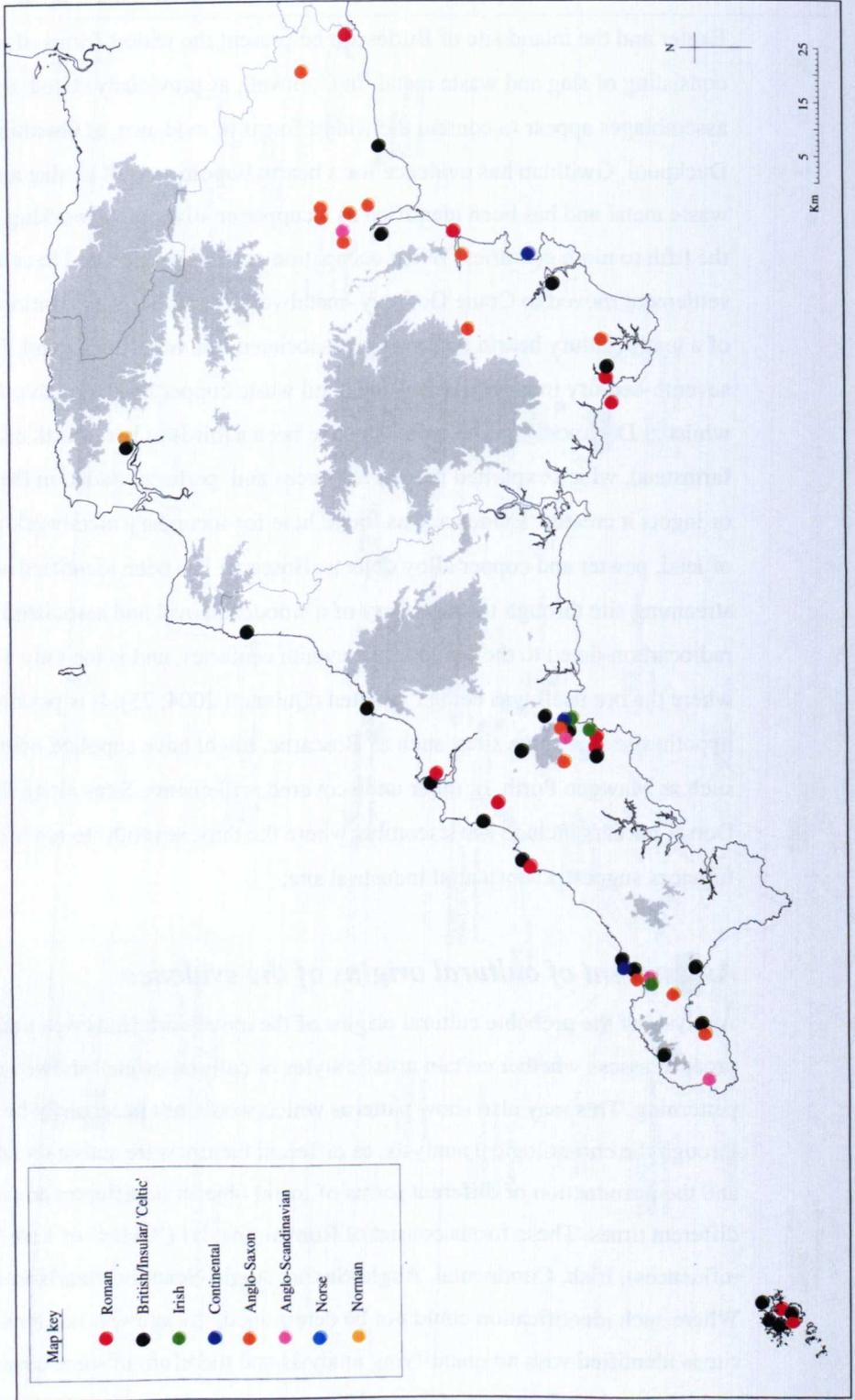


Figure 175 - Metalworked objects showing artistic styles of influence

cultures outside the region. For example, Irish objects might reflect influences on insular settlements and material culture, whilst Norse or Anglo-Scandinavian items could show contact or their presence both indirectly through Anglo-Saxon channels and directly, perhaps as a result of the documented tenth century Viking raids.

Figure 175 shows a fairly mixed distribution of all forms of cultural and artistic influence; however, within this there appear to be three main trends. Along the majority of the north Cornish coast and in the Scilly Isles it appears that only Late Roman and post-Roman forms of metalwork were made or owned, whilst there is a cluster of Anglo-Saxon objects, including one classed as 'Anglo-Scandinavian' around Exeter, with no other apparent influences on the artistic and cultural influences here. Finally, the few instances of metalwork with a specifically Irish influence were found in southern Cornwall on the coast apart from one site at Teignbridge in inland Devon, which has been attested to Viking activity (Port. Ant. record CORN-29D2E1). Late Roman objects are found only at coastal sites, while items of Anglo-Saxon origin or influence show a more inland trend in their distribution.

### ***Group 1***

All of the industrial sites in the chronological analyses for Groups 1 to 6 are represented by the black symbols. Figure 176 shows the chronological distribution of all Late Roman (third- to fourth-century) metalworked items. In order to interpret this distribution correctly, the large assemblage of forty tin ingots offshore at Bigbury Bay must be taken into account, as it is possibly the result of the differing nature of preservation and survival of objects in the region compared to offshore discoveries. Their very nature as a collection of trade-related objects, perhaps deposited together as a result of this trade, means that they do not necessarily indicate the true nature of tin extraction in the region and at any one site. The general distribution of Late Roman metalworking sites and objects shows a trend towards the north Cornish and south Devon coastlines and estuaries. The majority are along the Cornish coasts and the Scilly Isles with only a few inland sites at St Ewe and Carnanton. Overall distribution is sparse, with few sites, and with no exceptionally large assemblages.

### ***Group 2***

This analysis consists of objects dating to the fifth to sixth centuries and consists primarily of forms in the insular style or with Romano-British influences. Distribution is scarce (Figure 177) and mainly in central Cornwall and south Devon, whilst most

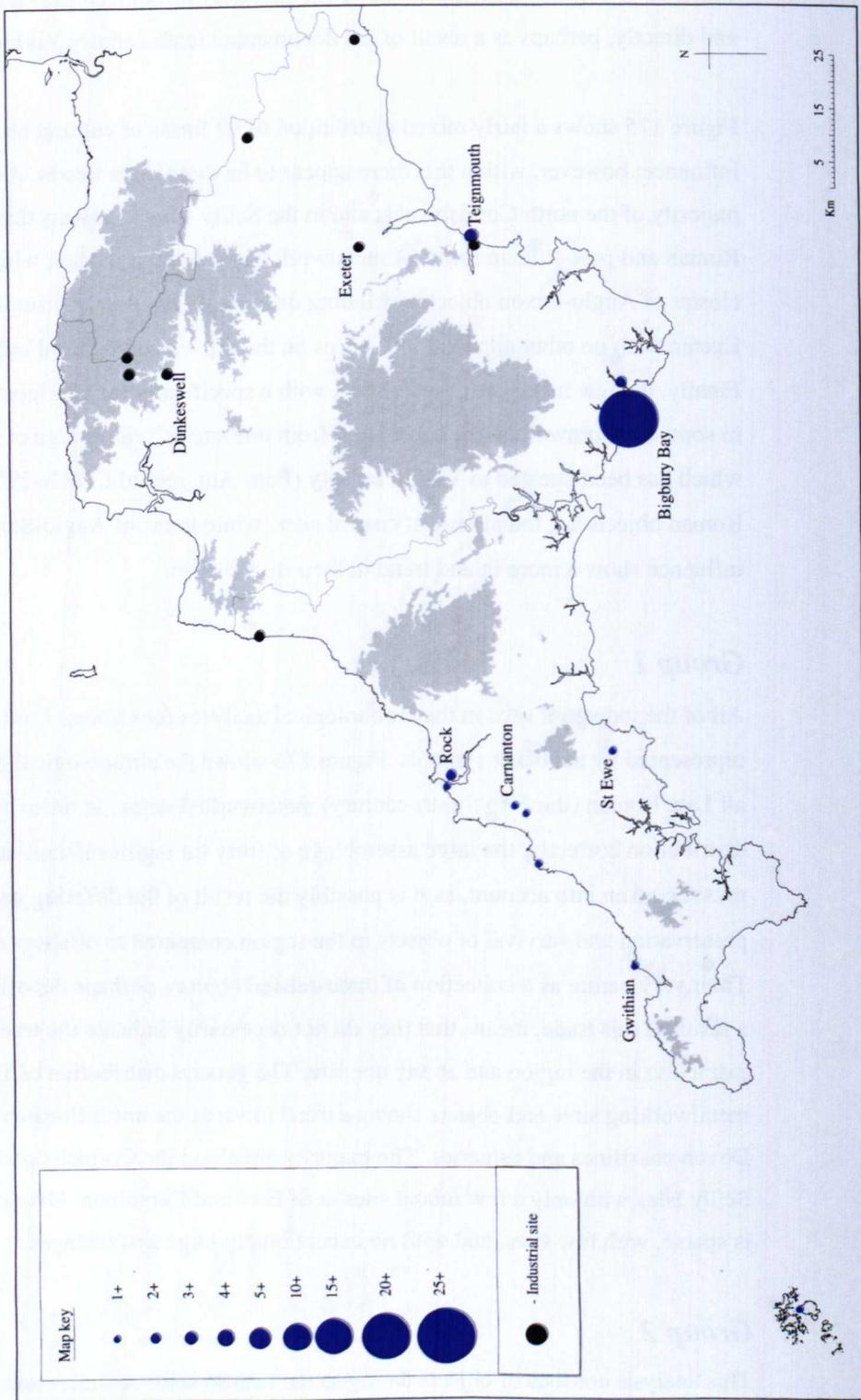


Figure 176 - Group 1: third to late fourth-century metalworking

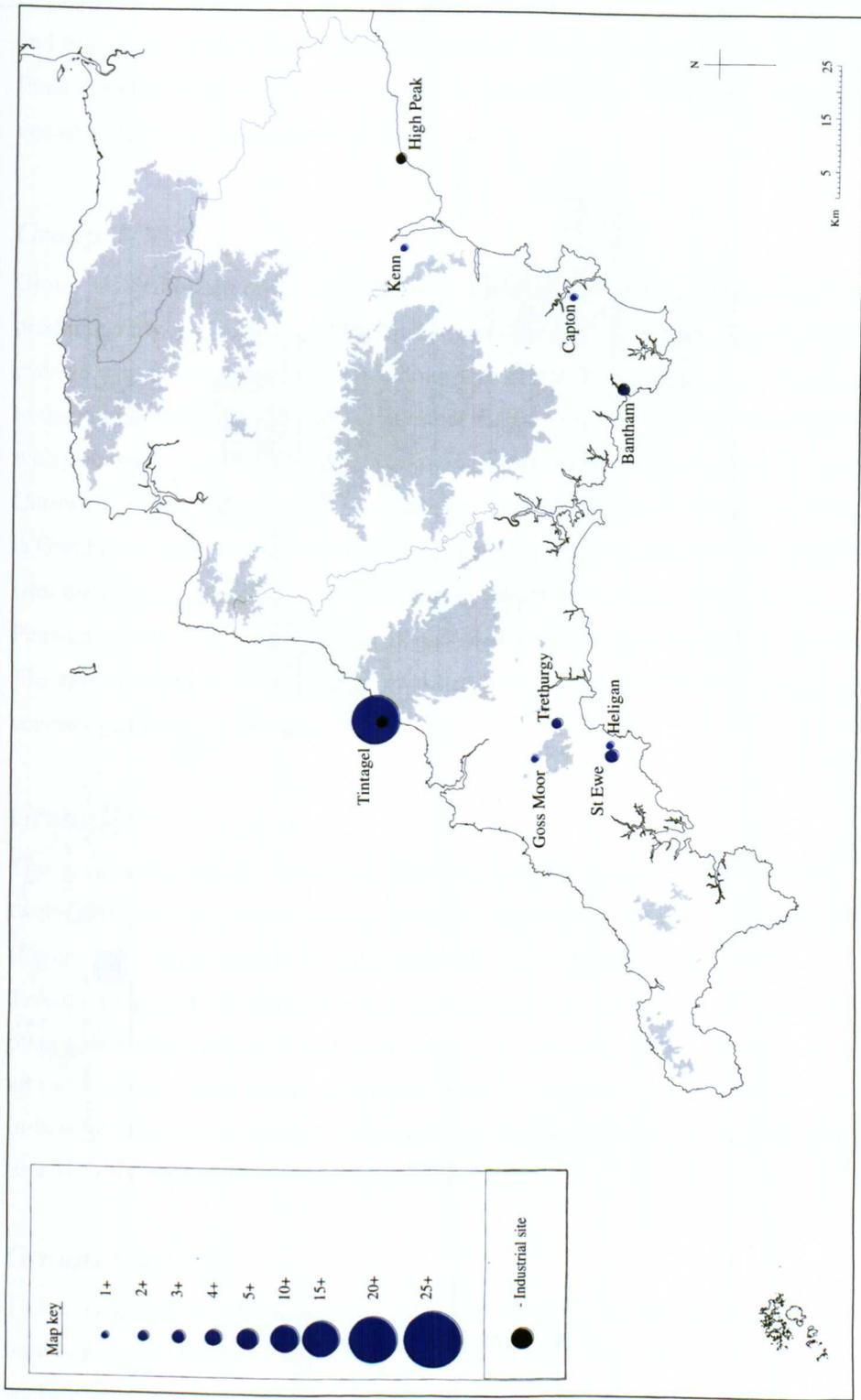


Figure 177 - Group 2: fifth to late sixth-century metalworking

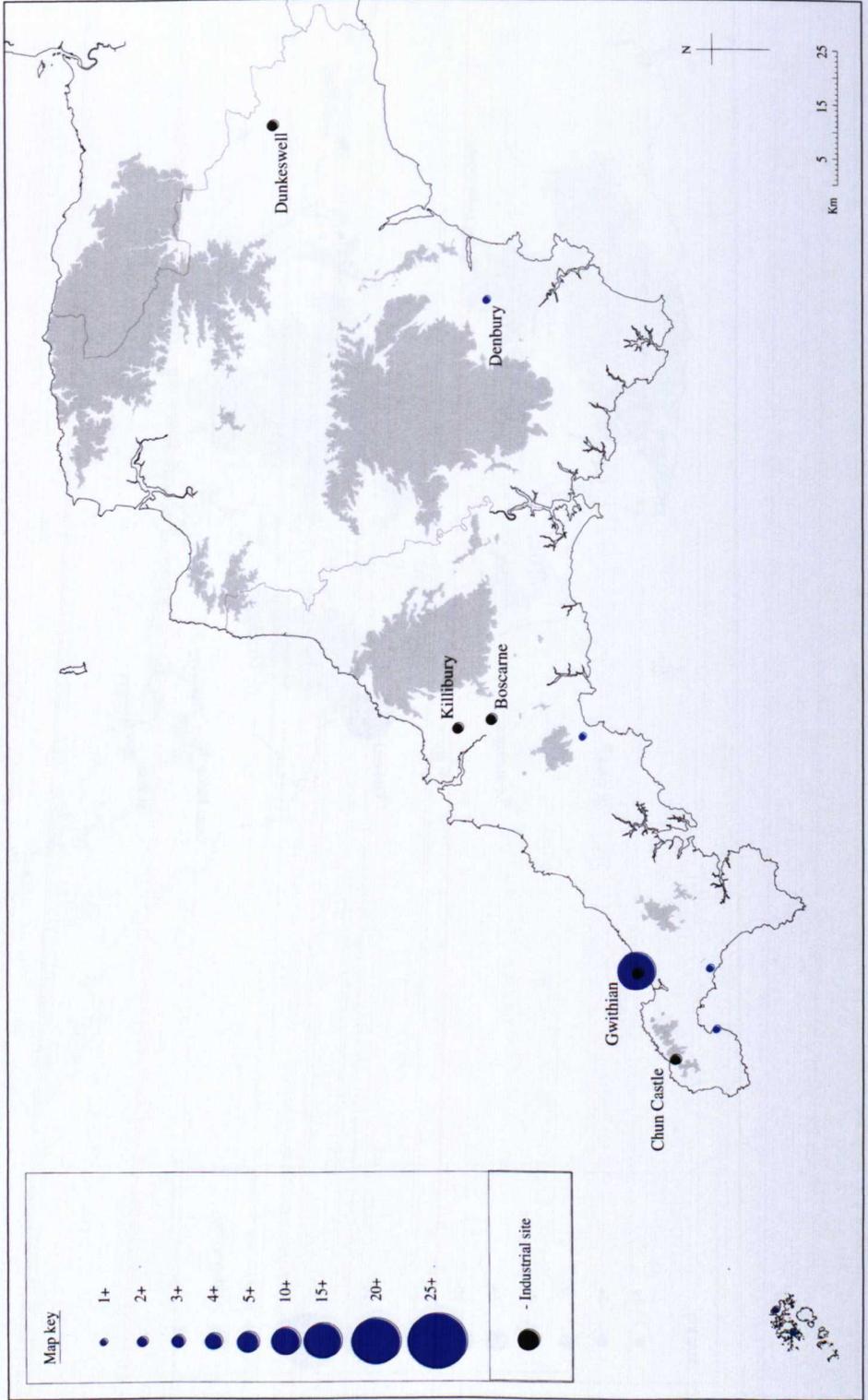


Figure 178 - Group 3: late fifth to ninth-century metalworking

sites are coastal in location, apart from the sites of Trethurgy and Goss Moor. The largest assemblages are at High Peak, Bantham, Trethurgy and Tintagel, the latter with twenty objects consisting primarily of industrial waste, miscellaneous iron artifacts and fragments (Dudley 2004, 15-16; Barrowman 2007, 267-279). The lack of any finds from the Scilly Isles in this period – the chronological overlap with Group 3 notwithstanding – is also significant.

### ***Group 3***

Group 3 is comprised of ten late fifth- to ninth-century objects and metalworking sites, predominantly in Cornwall and the Scilly Isles (Figure 178). Although there is some overlap with Groups 2 and 4, the small number of sites in Devon is unrelated and due to the nature or the archaeology alone rather than the separation of cultural groups (as with Groups 4, 5 and 6). This distribution is concentrated in three scatters, in central Cornwall, on the West Penwith peninsula and in the Scilly Isles. The largest site by far is Gwithian, with thirty-four sites dating to the fifth to ninth centuries. Three industrial sites are Chûn Castle, Boscarne and Killibury, whilst the coastal sites on West Penwith and the Scillies are very small and consist of less than two objects from each. The sites in Devon consist of the ironworking site at Dunkeswell and the dress accessory at Denbury Hillfort.

### ***Group 4***

This group dates broadly to between the ninth to twelfth centuries and consists of twelve sites scattered widely across Cornwall and Devon with one in the Scilly Isles (Figure 179). These include the inland industrial site at Burlescombe and the Trewiddle Hoard, as well as the large assemblage from Launceston. In general all other assemblages are small and apart from Launceston, Gwindra and Ashburton are all on the coast. There is a small cluster of sites around Gwithian that may be indicative of a concentration of settlement; however the number of sites during this time is fairly widespread throughout the South West.

### ***Groups 5 and 6***

These categories have been combined, due to their similar nature, date and the fact that they are small groups (Figure 180). Group 5 dates to the mid-tenth to twelfth centuries and consists of twenty sites from Cornwall and Devon. The distribution appears to show more dense concentrations along the West Penwith and north Cornish coastlines, and across southern coastal Devon, particularly in the region of Exeter and

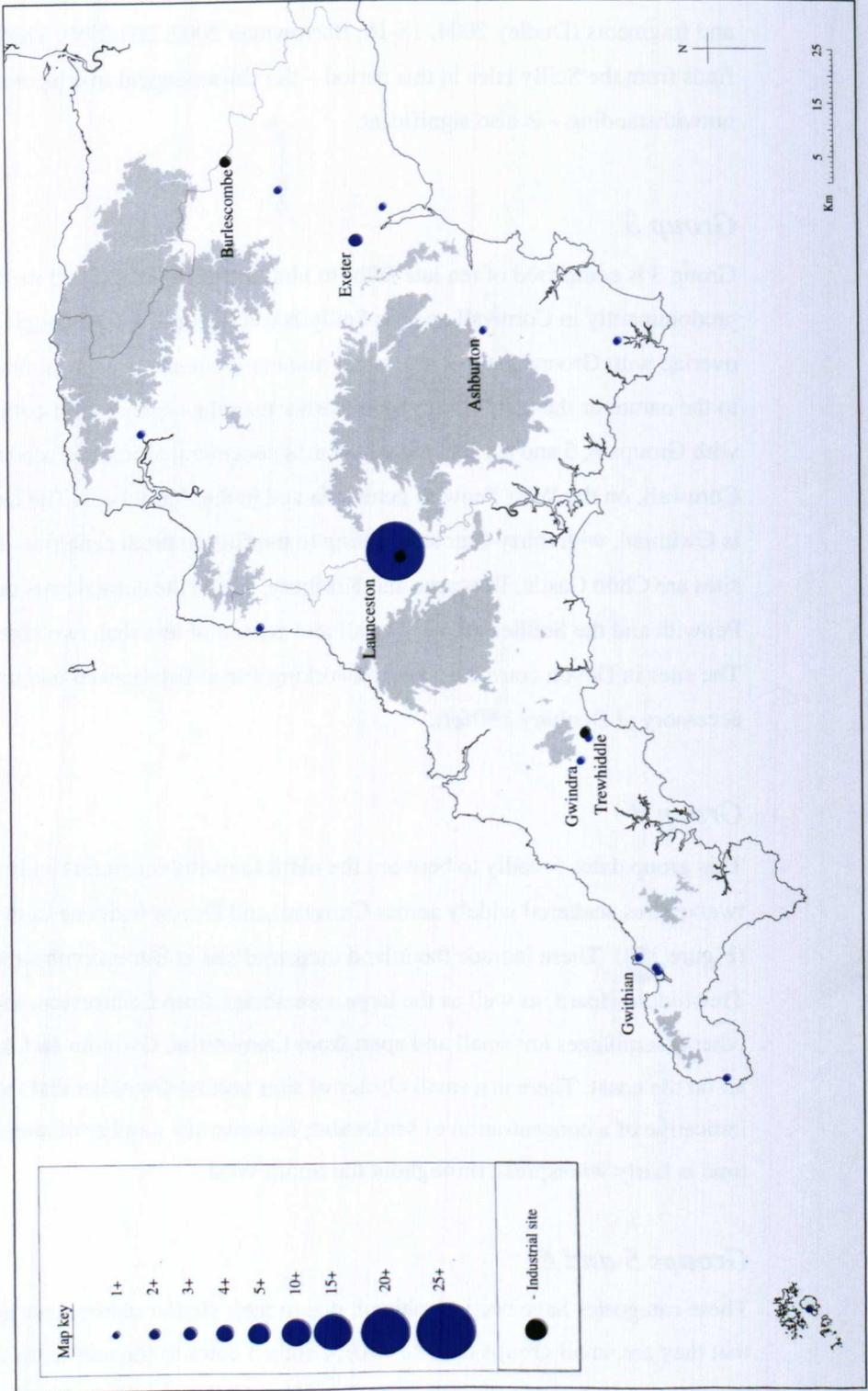


Figure 179 - Group 4: ninth to twelfth-century metalworking

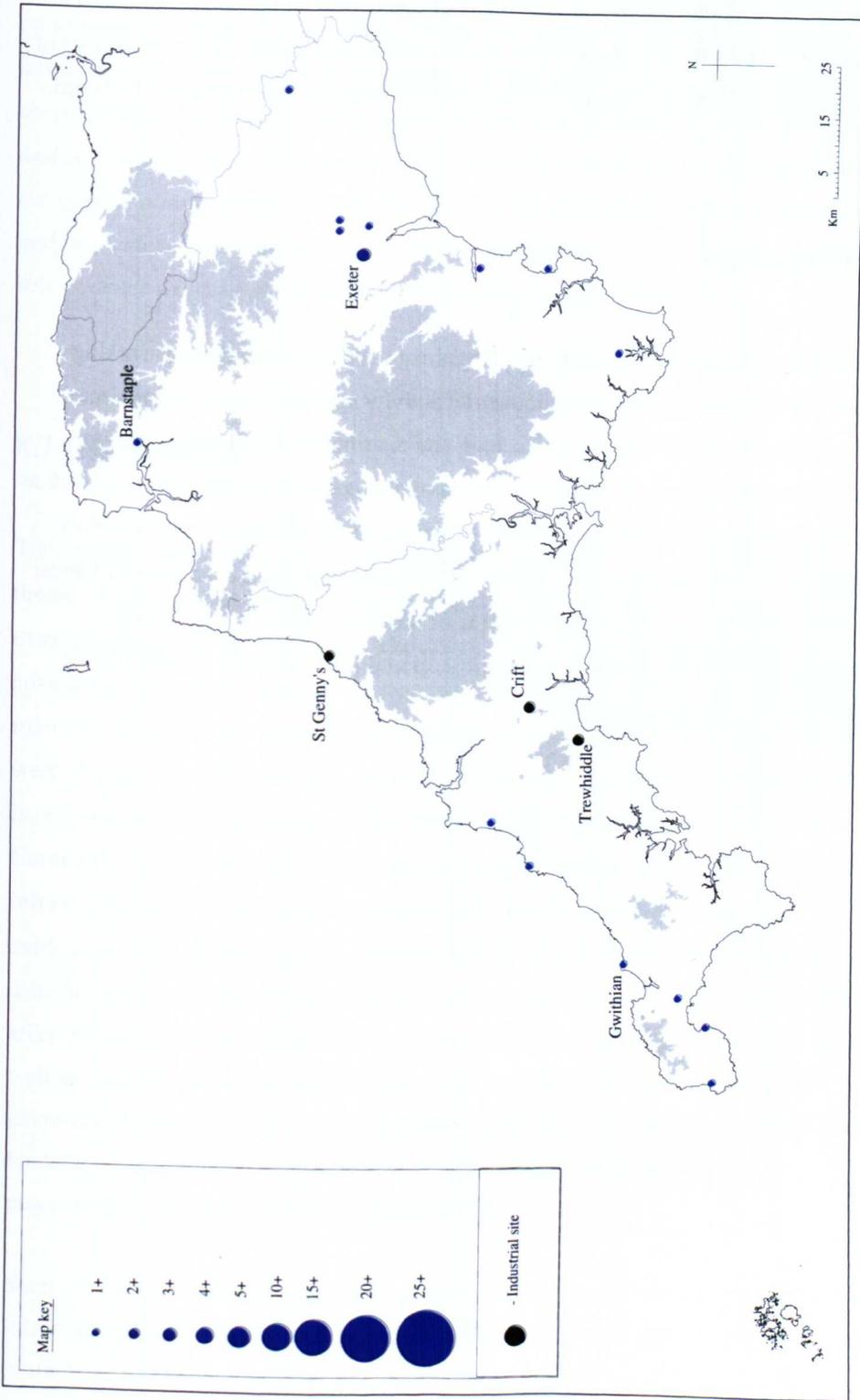


Figure 180 - Groups 5 and 6; tenth to twelfth-century metalworking

its hinterlands where there is a scatter of six sites within a relatively small area. There are also isolated sites at Barnstaple in North Devon and the unknown East Devon site, whilst the Trewiddle Hoard contains items of this period on the south Cornish coast and the industrial site of Crift may also have a similar date range. Group 6 consists of the single site of Trewiddle and reflects the wide range of objects within the hoard.

## **7.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has assessed the evidence for coinage, metalwork and metalworking-related activity and for sites where industrial activity appears to have taken place. Analysis has focused on aspects of location and distribution which shed light on settlement location, trade and exchange systems and nodes at central places, as well as the cultural implications of certain forms of artistic styles of objects, and how they might reflect social identities and outside influences on the insular traditions of some sites. The next chapter will assess all forms of material culture and settlement morphologies in the landscape at the micro-regional level, through a series of case studies from Cornwall and Devon.

## **8. Micro-scales of analysis: The Case Studies**

*This chapter introduces the settlement case studies which form the micro-scale analysis of the evidence. The primary themes are addressed through an in-depth assessment of six sites and their hinterland, as well as other forms of evidence within these specific study areas. Concepts of continuity and influences on cultural traditions and settlements will be investigated within these micro-landscapes, in order to address the specific aims outlined in Chapter 2. Each of the case studies will be introduced and the evidence summarised in turn, before the chapter is concluded. Discussion of this evidence will take place in the synthetic discussion in Chapter 9.*

### **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the individual settlement case study evidence and addresses themes of identity, settlement, exchange systems and landscape perception, in order to examine changes at the local level. The specific aims to be addressed consist of advancing our understanding of the development and expression of an Atlantic and a maritime identity in the South West, to attempt an assessment of how these identities were changed and influenced by outside cultural traditions and contacts and how this is reflected in localised changes in the material culture and settlement traditions. Continuity of settlement sites and associated insular traditions, including their wider influences on society and material culture, will also be a focus of study; therefore evidence from prehistory and the Romano-British periods is also included in the distributional analysis. A further aim is to understand how these sites and settlements affected, controlled and influenced the wider landscape and seascape and their uses, as well as how the landscape and seascape might have been perceived in terms of resources, distance and territorial boundaries. Their role as central places within this landscape is explored in conjunction with aspects of the seascapes and the preconception of their function as liminal zones.

Sections 8.2 to 8.8 introduce the case studies, with each sections consisting of the introduction to the site, the archaeological and historical background and the evidence, in the form of the distributional and chronological analysis, with an interpretive discussion of the trends structured using the themes previously outlined in Chapter 2. The case studies include a variety of sites criteria that includes coastal or inland

locations, elite and non-elite communities and a wide date-range. These have been chosen to represent sites at different locations, with different settlement backgrounds and occupation periods in order to span the entire study period. They consist of the inland site of Launceston, occupied in the latter part of the study period and an important administrative centre on the Devon and Cornish border; Bantham, thought to have been a temporary trading site on the south Devon coast; Kelsey Head, a relatively unknown site on the north Cornish coast but with significant features in the surrounding landscape and an assemblage consisting of both local and imported ceramics; Gwithian on West Penwith, known to have been an important settlement with a long period of occupation, evidence for overseas trade and its own industrial metalworking; Mawgan Porth, a longhouse and courtyard site on the north Cornish coast with local ceramics and associated local material culture; and Trethurgy, a Roman-period round with occupation into the early medieval period and possible function as an elite site. Whilst the importance of the archaeology at Tintagel is discussed throughout this research, its significance is not undermined by its omission in this chapter. It was deemed unnecessary to include the site, given the large body of publications already focussing on the site, in particular the in-depth volume by Barrowman et al (2009). Each of the sites is assessed in terms of the phases of settlement or activity and use of the landscape. Archaeological sites from the wider hinterlands are then examined in and studied for how these sites might have interacted and been included into the settlement hierarchy.

## **8.2 Kelsey Head**

### **8.2.1 Introduction**

Kelsey Head is a headland on the north Cornish coast, just south of Newquay and north of the towans, or dunes, of Penhale (Perran) Sands. The site itself is located near the head of this peninsula, on the northern edge and at the head of a small valley overlooking a sandy beach known as Porth Joke, with the Latin origin of the name suggesting a port site. This name infers that the site may have had a Roman origin, and although this cannot be proven, it is highly possible that the beach was used as a landing place during this period. The site also lies at the foot of the sand dunes known as the Kelsies, which extend across much of the headland. The case study area consists of the excavated sites K4/K3 and the sand dunes to the south-east (Figure 181).

although the wider hinterlands are discussed and the archaeological evidence assessed in relation to the specific site.

## 8.2.2 Archaeological background

There has been little modern survey work or excavation undertaken at the site and the surrounding landscape. Archaeological evidence for early medieval activity has been found across the Kelsies and Perran Sands through extensive field-walking, undertaken by Mr L.J. Penna, and later in 1950 by Miss J. Harding. Penna investigated the area between 1940 and 1977, producing quantities of ceramic sherds which included bar-lug, grass-marked and other probable local gabbroic wares as well as one probable sherd of Roman pottery. Following and during this period of field-walking, Penna undertook several excavations both on Kelsey Head and Perran Sands. The unpublished 1940 and 1943 excavations at the former are detailed here.

Due to the lack of published information from both Penna and Harding's work, the site archives were studied at Truro Museum, consisting for the most part of Penna's written notebook and the boxed finds which included a large quantity of ceramic sherds and shells. An examination of these ceramics produced several previously unidentified or un-recorded sherds of grass-marked or bar-lug pottery which had previously not been identified. A detailed plan of the site at the time of excavation was lacking in this archive, whilst Penna's notes are also hard to follow:

“Perhaps on a superficial examination, the medieval archaeology is most striking, since in certain areas the medieval pottery is extremely profuse [.] giving evidence to the relative size of this settled area during the Middle Ages. But precisely because the Iron Age area was not as obvious or so well indicated was why the writer [Penna], after a certain amount of surface indication, decided to exhume a small area with the help of a shovel.....the spot chosen is situated in the area marked [on a map not found within the archive] as blown sand. It is however on the (south) side of the swelling and is quite near the streams running to Porth Joke.”

Little work was then undertaken at Kelsey Head until 1983, when the expansion of the Ministry of Defence encampment on nearby Penhale Head led to rescue excavations on Kelsey Head by Mr George Smith, who discovered the Mesolithic evidence found within a promontory fort (Berridge & Roberts 1986, 26). In 1993 a copper alloy artefact scatter was discovered on the brow of the hill near sub-site K2 and identified

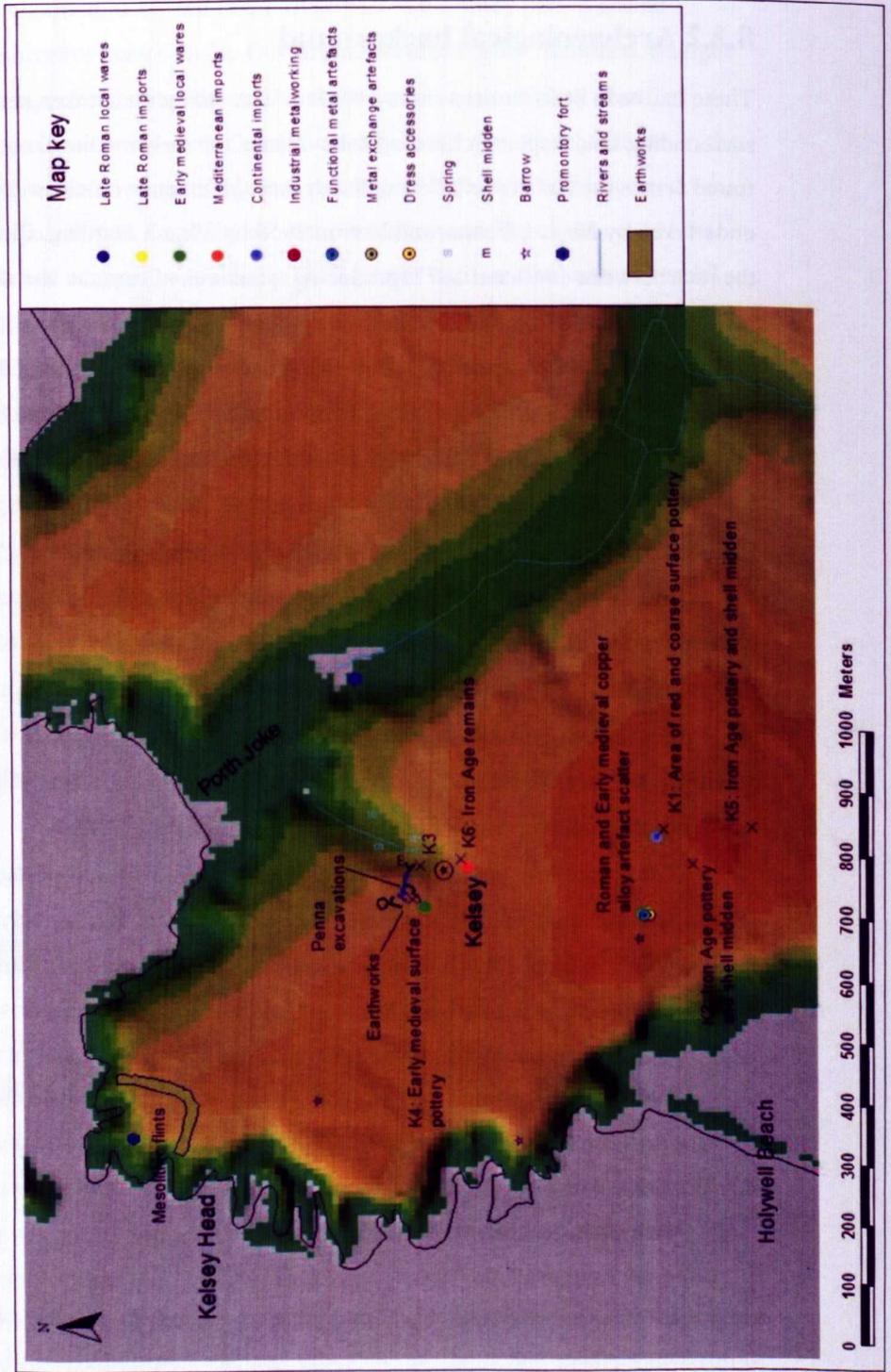


Figure 181 - Kelsey Head

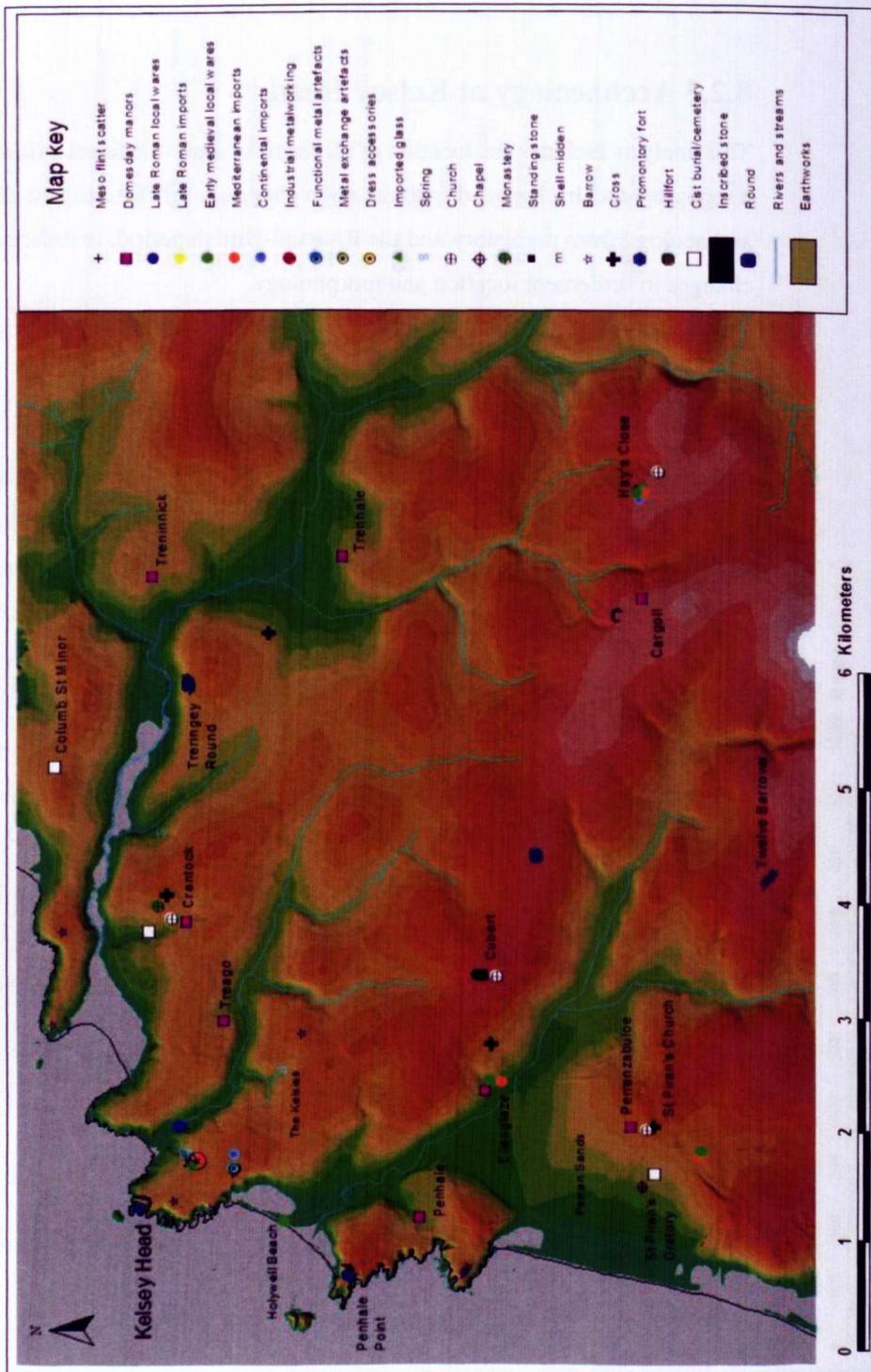
as a Roman spoon bowl, one undated strap-end or attachment, and one possible medieval annular brooch, whilst other undated finds included a button and a ring, shown as a dress-accessory and functional metalworking scatter on Figure 182.

### **8.2.3 Archaeology at Kelsey Head**

This analysis includes the location of all forms of early medieval evidence, set against a topographical background with the main geographical features and also the archaeology from prehistory and the Romano-British period, in order to highlight the changes in settlement location and morphology.

#### ***Pre-medieval activity***

The immediate area of Kelsey Head shows three clusters of activity on the headland (Figure 181), with Mesolithic or Neolithic activity at the end of the peninsula, probable Bronze Age barrows spread across the headland, a group of Iron Age and Roman finds on the highest point of the headland and in the form of the promontory fort earthworks, and Iron Age and probable early medieval finds grouped in the hollow at the head of the stream leading to Porth Joke. This distribution suggests four patterns of land use and three probable settlements or sites of activity, consisting of widespread use of the headland for Bronze Age burials, a concentration at the tip of the headland for Mesolithic and possibly Neolithic settlement, and with the Iron Age and Roman activity focusing on the highest point and promontory fort. A sherd of Romano-British pottery was found in Porth Joke, which may have been an accidental loss, or indicate the use of the beach, perhaps for trade or contact with other sites along the coast and overseas, possibly continuing into the post-Roman period.



### *Early medieval activity*

In Penna's fieldwork, the most important evidence was found from the rabbit holes in the form of the ceramics, including some decorated with clumsy imitations of Glastonbury designs (Penna, 1940), therefore providing evidence for the probable Iron Age period of the site (Harding 1950, 159). Also found during field-walking were shells, feldspar, pebbles and slate. Penna's excavations are roughly located on Figure 181, where apparently there was a high incidence of disturbance by rabbit burrows although soil stratification was visible in one location. Within one of Penna's trenches – Biii - there were accumulations of blown sand interspersed with phases of activity (Penna, 1940). These phases consisted of four inches of black topsoil, then a layer of mixed sand and earth containing all the finds (account unclear) (*ibid.*).

Within another trench a crude, apparently straight wall of feldspar and slate was discovered approximately eighteen feet from the end of the trench and measuring two feet by eighteen inches, with an area of finds immediately adjacent to it and an area of charcoal nearby. Pottery was found above this wall whilst the finds within the trench consisted of seashells, animal bones (probably sheep, oxen and pig) and teeth, one of which was human, flint pebbles, charcoal, one piece of smelted iron, one irregular piece of bronze, and pottery in three types: the Glastonbury sherds, a brown ware with "inferior quality" and further brown sherds. This pottery was dated by Penna to the Iron Age, however his finds are not catalogued and therefore this identification and dating cannot be corroborated. Penna noted at least three sites of activity, labelled K4, K6 and K1 and four excavation sites labelled B1-B4 (*ibid.*). It would seem that Harding used this 'K' system of numbering during her own work, although this cannot be verified due to the missing map from the Penna archive.

Harding's account of her survey work and excavation strongly mimics the work of Penna, as well as the use of identical site references in relation to her trenches; however, the lack of any mention of Penna's work suggests that she may have been publishing it under her own name and perhaps with the permission of Penna himself, as he was apparently still very active in his survey work of the region from 1940 to the 1970s. In Penna's sub-site K4, surface pottery was found of early medieval date and local and imported provenance, from under an old hedge line as well as in a wide spread towards the lip of the valley leading to Porth Joke (Penna archive). It is possible that this old hedge formed a series of field boundaries seen in a seventeenth-

century map which shows not only hedges but the names of the fields (Figure 183) such as “Beef Park” and Jawbone Pitt Park” (Holden et al 2010).

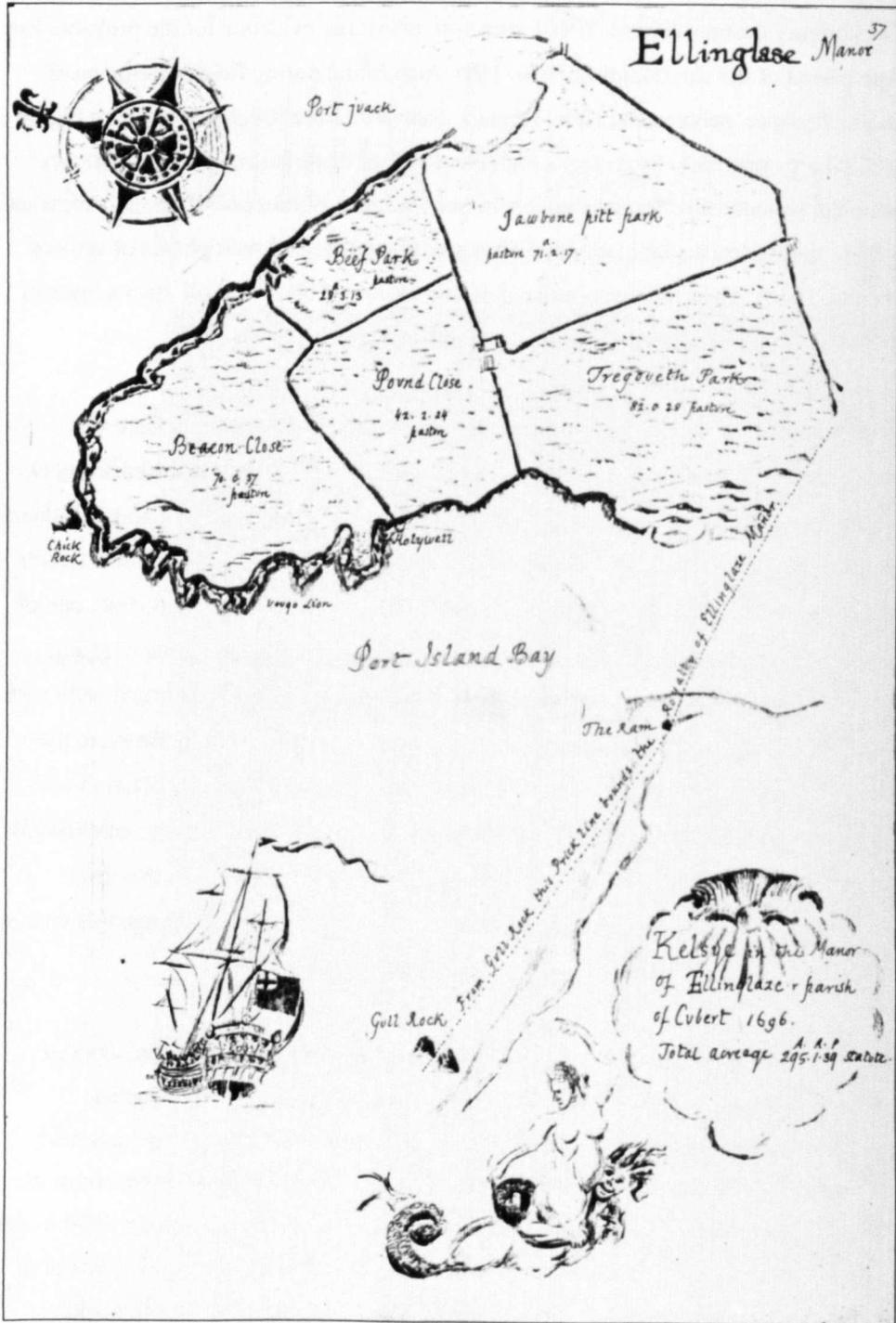


Figure 183 - The Lanhydrock Atlas: Ellenglaze Manor and Kelsey Head (Holden & Herring 2010)

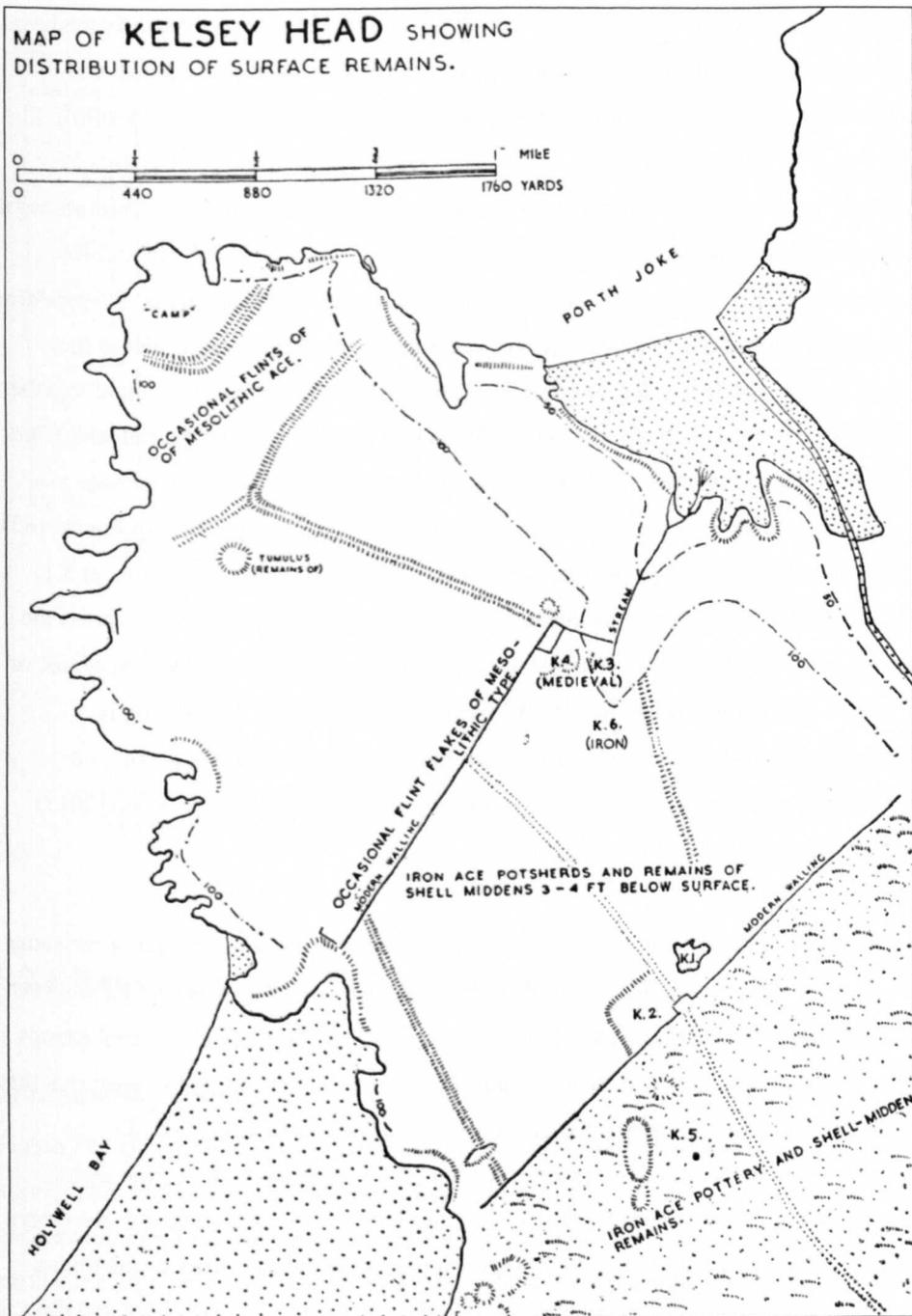


Figure 184 - J. Harding's investigated sites at Kelsey Head (Harding 1950, Figure 7)

The ceramics discovered by Penna through field-walking, probably from the region of K4, consisted of a sherd of African Red-Slip ware, two sherds of Mediterranean amphorae known as Late Roman I and a sherd of Western French 'E' ware. When the finds in the archive were examined, these were found in the same archive box with four sherds of bar-lug ware dating to the ninth to eleventh centuries and twelve sherds of sixth- to ninth-century grass-marked ware. These ceramics, animal bones and metal

objects from sites K3, K4 and K6 (Penna 1940) are all indicative of an early medieval settlement site, which had some form of interaction with the Mediterranean and Continental exchange networks that were in place along the north Cornish coast.

Harding's survey shows a scatter of Mesolithic, Iron Age and Medieval finds amongst the sand dunes, which resulted in her placing her trenches at K3, K4, K5 and K6, shown in Figure 184 (Harding 1950, 156-165). In Harding's excavations, K5 produced a shell midden with occasional sherds of pre-Roman Iron Age date, whilst in the trench at K6 a single sherd of pottery that Harding called 'Viking' was found together with a large mussel shell, the bottom of which had been filed to form a flat base (*ibid*, 165). Site K2 was located adjacent to what Harding thought may have been an abandoned cottage (the rectangular structure seen at the end of the wall in Figure 185), with evidence for Iron Age potsherds and associated shell middens here and at K1. Harding has dated this early medieval pottery, which totalled three sherds across the region, to c. AD 900 and from her description they appear to have been part of one or more bar-lug vessels, as one had the distinctive bar-lip feature. This dating is unreliable given the lack of scientific analysis in Harding's research, however a petrological analysis of the gabbroic ceramics undertaken by Imogen Wood (2011) may shed further light on its origins.

The small ceramic assemblage found so far, suggests that the site was not of the same size as other sites such as Bantham or Gwithian; however the presence of the imports could imply its function as a trading site, or intermediary between elite social groups and merchants. The multiple shell middens found across the headland suggest that the settlements relied on maritime resources for food as part of their way of life, something that might have been part of the general maritime identity of the region. The settlement at Kelsey itself may have shifted focus from the headland to the crown of the hill and down into the hollow, where the early medieval evidence was found, whilst perhaps maintaining a controlling influence on the use of Porth Joke and the available resources.

The value of imported goods is a topic that has been discussed in this project, as is the mode of deposition that resulted in the location of these ceramics; however, it seems likely that they were viewed as rare if not luxury items that were valued above the local wares at Kelsey. Furthermore, the location of the Roman sherd on the beach at Porth Joke indicated the possible use of the site as a landing place, which might have continued in the post-Roman period together with these imports.

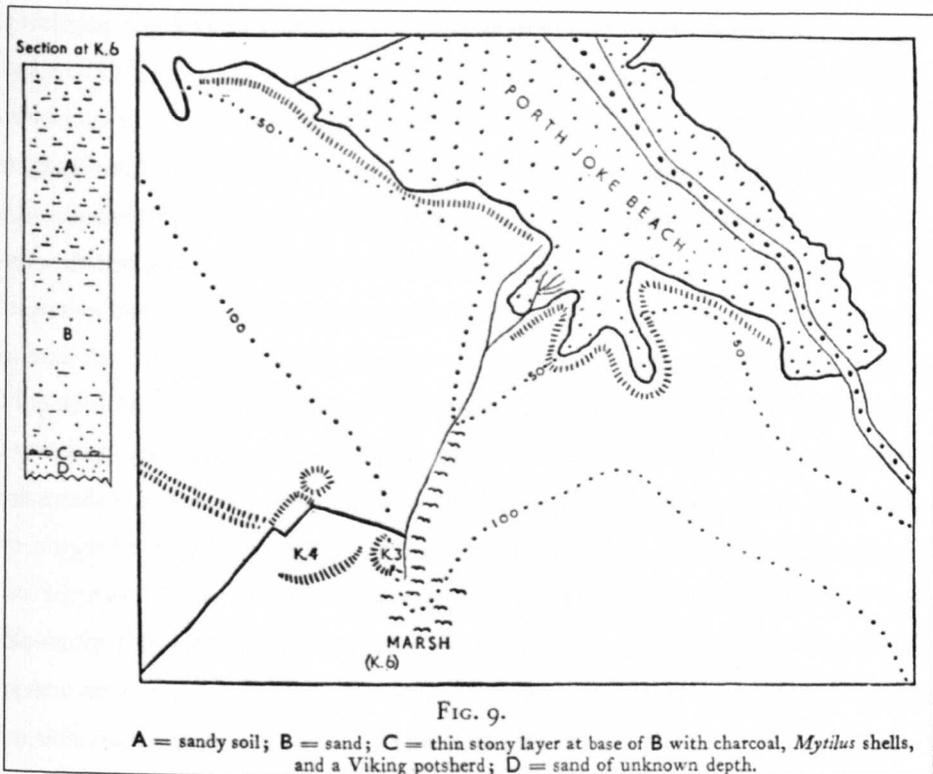


Figure 185 - Harding's sites K3, K4 and K6 (Harding 1950, Figure 9)

## 8.2.4 Kelsey Head and its hinterland

### *Settlement features*

Figure 182 shows Kelsey Head within the wider hinterland, stretching across an approximately six by seven kilometre area. Of the pre-medieval archaeology, there are two promontory forts, one at Kelsey and another at nearby Penhale Point. Other earthwork sites are located along the ridges, whilst three Romano-British rounds at Treringey, Hays Close and an unnamed site, as well as other probable prehistoric earthworks are located on the high ground, with several in particular along the ridge in the centre of the map. Of the rounds, the site at Hays Close, St Newlyn East, has been excavated and produced evidence for early medieval activity if not settlement.

Excavated remains of a probable early medieval wall were found within Penna's trench at Kelsey Head and at St Piran's a rectangular structure was discovered below the grass-marked sherds on the surface. Later settlement is evidenced by historical accounts of Anglo-Saxon and Norman manorial sites at Ellenglaze, Penhale, Treago,

Cargoll, Treninnick, Trenhale and Perranzabuloe (Maxwell 1986, 1-28), although no structural evidence has been found of these sites and they may simply refer to pre-existing local settlements or farmsteads.

The incidence of local pottery fabrics such as grass-marked and bar-lug wares attest to a local pottery industry and also strongly suggests the presence of an early medieval domestic site or settlement. Eight sherds of bar-lug found in conjunction with a rectangular masonry structure at St Piran's, as well as the local wares found amongst the dunes from field-walking, suggest that a settlement might have existed adjacent to St Piran's Oratory, whilst the grass-marked from Ellenglaze, two sherds of ninth to eleventh-century bar-lug from Holywell Beach and sixth- to ninth-century grass-marked wares from Kelsey itself suggest early medieval settlements. These sherds are frequently found at the farmsteads and small rural settlements typical of the region. Where they are discovered in coastal regions, they may represent small fishing villages and suggest a more permanent form of settlement than the possibly transient sites, particularly in the cases where imports are not discovered in conjunction with structural evidence. Very few of the sites in this case study show structural evidence for potential high-status settlements, which might indicate the presence of a local wealthy elite with control over estates or territories. It is possible that these elites were once occupying the sites known as rounds, and yet the nearest such settlement to Kelsey Head where early medieval occupation is known, is at the aforementioned Hays Close. Treringey Round, which occupies a commanding position over the River Gannel estuary below, or the unnamed round between Cubert and Hays Close, may have once controlled these waterways and the resources that could be gained. The manorial sites thought to have existed from the documentary evidence (Maxwell 1986, 1-28) may also represent elite settlements occupied by local rather than Anglo-Saxon communities. The Domesday manors show potential continuity at Ellenglaze and Cargoll, with the former controlling the area which might formerly have been within the territory of the unnamed round and the latter perhaps the site of the settlement whose occupants might have controlled the consumption of the imports at Hays Close.

### ***Imported ceramics and glass***

Of the rounds, so far only Hays Close in the east has produced early medieval finds in the form of Mediterranean and Continental imports. Although no early medieval structural evidence was discovered, a pit produced ten sherds of Phocaean Red Slip ware, two sherds of Late Roman I, a sherd of Late Roman 2, a sherd of 'Bv', two

sherds of 'Bmisc' and two sherds of the Continental import Western French 'E' ware, as well as evidence for Mesolithic and Bronze Age activity, whilst the local wares consisted of five sherds of grass-marked ware (Jones 2010, 203-228). This pit also produced a shard of imported sixth-century glass and a finely worked perforated stone weight (*ibid.*, 206-207), suggesting that the site may have been occupied in this period and the levels of erosion from ploughing at the site could have destroyed any settlement evidence there might have been. The presence of the only glass in this area is a strong indication of an elite presence.

Other sites with evidence for imported ceramics include Ellenglaze, near the later Domesday manor site and on the south side of the ridge, which also owned the land at Kelsey Head in the seventeenth century (Holden et al 2010), perhaps resulting from pre-Norman territorial boundaries. These sherds consist of two sherds of Phocaean Red Slip ware and were found with two sherds of grass-marked fabric. This site could potentially have also been "supplied" from the beach at Holywell Bay, although no imports have been found here so far. Imported pottery in the form of a sherd of Phocaean Red Slip ware was also found on Perran Sands adjacent to the oratory and church there, where it is believed there was an early medieval settlement from the fifty to sixty sherds of grass-marked ware overlying a rectangular masonry structure (Penna 1966; 1968). It is possible that the constantly shifting sand dunes both at Perran Sands and on Kelsey Head have hidden the remains of further early medieval sites, and may also have been the reason for the discontinuation of these settlements.

The fact that such a range of imports has been found, particularly in conjunction with a round, allows for comparison with the late fourth- to seventh-century Trethurgy round, despite the suggestion by Jones that Hays Close was used for ritual purposes (2010, 207). This could suggest some sort of link with Kelsey Head along the ridge-way, with Kelsey functioning as the local landing place from which sites further inland would have obtained these imported goods. The fact that many of these imports have been found not only at elite settlements but near small settlements or landing places, suggests that they could have been accessible to all levels of society.

### ***Non-Christian and Early Christian features***

The cist cemeteries in this area are at Columb St Minor, Crantock and St Piran's. Whilst the former is as yet undated, the cemetery at Crantock was discovered to the north of the settlement and along Beach Road. It consisted of both coffined and cist

graves and is likely to have been early medieval in date (Thomas 1968, 22). Also, at St Piran's, twelve cist graves were thought to be early medieval in date, due to their location near the oratory (Cornwall HER PRN 19720.1). All three of these sites are located at or near the coast, overlooking the sea and at the edge of higher ground.

Of the Early Christian sites, there are three clusters where focus appears to have been on a new foundation or a previous focus of activity, at Crantock, Cubert and St Piran's Oratory. The Early Christian sites are fairly evenly spread along the coast and their distribution could have been a result of early medieval territorial boundaries, perhaps serving the needs of the local elite or largest settlement in the region. Alternatively they may have been founded initially in these 'marginal' areas as a deliberate act, later attracting the focus of the manors of Ellenglaze and Treago known at Domesday and the settlements seen in modern times.

At St Piran's the oratory is thought to date to the tenth and eleventh centuries (HER PRN 19720) whilst the local sherds found alongside it date to the ninth to eleventh centuries, suggesting continuity of the site and a local settlement developing alongside it. The religious features here are indicative of a strong focus of activity, perhaps relating to a local settlement, but probably known locally and visited from the wider region. Both the oratory and church appear to have been abandoned due to flooding and the encroaching sands in the early nineteenth century (Langdon 2002, 76). At Cubert, the probable sixth to eighth century inscribed stone, with the inscription reading "CONETOCI FILI TEGERNOMALI", or "Conetocus son of Tegernomalus" (Okasha 1993, 97-98), suggesting a burial but not necessarily a Christian site, may have been the primary focus within the region which attracted later activity. It is possible that it could have been moved to the Norman church subsequent to the construction of the latter and formerly stood elsewhere. Alternatively, the location of the Norman church may have been directly influenced by the pre-existing stone. There is thought to have been a sixth-century 'Celtic' monastery at Crantock, probable founded by a St Carroc, whilst canons are recorded here in Domesday alongside a probable enclosed cemetery (Olson 1982, 177-185). This cemetery may or may not relate to the burials discovered just to the north along Beach Road mentioned above. If the date is correct then the monastery would have been in existence at the same time as the introduction of the imported goods at Kelsey Head.

Whilst both Ellenglaze and St Pirans show scatters of imported pottery and subsequently the location of religious sites nearby, the same cannot be said for Kelsey

Head, and if the site was abandoned at some time in the early medieval period, then activity seems to have continued instead at the aforementioned Ellenglaze and at nearby Cubert. Whilst the imports could be attributed to the transient use of the site rather than permanent settlement, the local wares hint at the latter function of the site, however it is the Early Christian sites which become the later focus for activity. It is possible that the cross at St Piran's may have been a boundary marker either as well or instead of a preaching cross, as it appears to be the *Cristelmael* cross recorded in a charter of AD906 as a boundary marker for the large manor of Tywarnhayle (Langdon 2002, 76).

### 8.2.5 Summary

Kelsey Head has shown evidence for a site with possible functions as a trading or intermediary site in the movement of imported goods within its hinterlands. Whether it was a central place in the region is unlikely, in view of the lack of settlement evidence at the site. However, it is likely that it played a part in the distribution of these imported ceramics, possibly to sites such as Hays Close, whilst it is probable that an early medieval settlement, albeit small, existed on the headland with access to fresh water and maritime resources. Control of the region and the headland is known to have been at Ellenglaze in the seventeenth century, and as this is the nearest Domesday manor to have existed in the late eleventh century it is possible that the Norman manor would have followed pre-existing territorial estates and central places. These Norman features in the landscape appear to have respected former sites such as Kelsey Head, which show no evidence for an Anglo-Saxon influence and instead suggest a continuity of prehistoric and Romano-Cornish settlements and sites, although their functions may have changed over time.

It appears that whilst imported and local early medieval ceramics and glass were discovered primarily near former prehistoric and Romano-British sites, later settlements were located at Early Christian sites, and activity at the former sites does not continue. The exception to this rule is at Ellenglaze, where imported ceramics were found and which suggest that the site may have had some significance in order for occupation to have continued. The lack of any coinage within the case study hinterland could indicate that any exchange that occurred was in kind.

## **8.3 Bantham**

### **8.3.1 Introduction**

Bantham is on the south Devon coast, within the wide curve of Bigbury Bay and on the mouth of the River Avon. The archaeological site of Bantham Ham itself lies on a small promontory, predominantly of sand dunes, which project onto the sand flats of the river (Figure 186), next to a west-facing beach and at the foot of a sloping ridge-way that projects into the sea to the immediate south. These sand dunes had formed from the prevailing winds and storm-surges, covering the site and ultimately preserving it, in places forming a fine turf. The site is also close to the Buckland Brook which is likely to have supplied fresh-water to the site, whilst the ridge-way above the brook, extending several miles to the north-east, carries the modern road and may have been an ancient routeway inland (Fox 1955, 57). The Buckland stream flows through a marshy area of ground just prior to the sand dunes, which has caused a culvert to have been constructed in this region, and the stream is thought to have meandered at the point where it crosses the sand dunes, as early maps show its former route further to the north of its present position (Griffith & Reed 1997, 123). Finds from the site date to the Romano-British, early medieval and later medieval periods, with the latest evidence in the form of local ceramics dating up to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Dunning, in Fox 1955, 66).

### **8.3.2 Archaeological background**

The first artefacts to be discovered at Bantham were sherds of pottery found among the sand dunes in the late nineteenth century, which included fragments of imported Mediterranean amphorae (Fox 1955, 55). According to local sources, “cartloads of bones” were taken from the site to be used for manure (Fox 1864, 132-133), and in a gully through the dunes a dark occupation layer could be seen, containing shells, domestic and wild animal bones as well as amphorae and other pottery sherds, suggesting a large midden at the site. Two separate accounts of a camp in the form of earthworks, as well as associated midden material in the form of bones and Roman pottery, were by Elliot (1901, 477-478) and Jenkins writing in 1902, and although no earthworks which might suggest a camp have been seen among the shifting sand dunes, the likelihood of such a site should not be discounted (Griffith 1986, 46). Other finds discovered on the dune surface included two fine double-sided bone combs



with ring-and-dot motif, small iron spear-heads, a whetstone, a spindle-whorl made from reused pottery, possibly amphorae including one with a dot-pattern on one side, and a clay disc probably used as a loom-weight (Fox 1955, 59-61).

Rescue excavations undertaken by R.J. Silvester in 1978, in an area of the dunes where patches of shell and bone were being eroded by the movement of people, revealed structural features which he thought to have been temporary shelters, alongside hearths, middens and hollows with occupation layers containing large quantities of both Roman and post-Roman local and imported ceramics. Also discovered were areas of various mixes of dark soil and shell and bone concentrations, with specific features including stake-holes, a shallow gully and several pits (Silvester 1981, 89-117). In 1982 salvage observations were undertaken when remains were exposed and destroyed to a depth of six metres during drainage works, and it was possible to view a minimum of eleven horizontal dark bands containing shells and animal bones, interspersed with layers of sand within the dunes (Griffith 1986, 39-43). Radio-carbon dates from samples taken during this work suggested activity in the fourth, seventh, fifteenth and seventeenth centuries AD (*ibid.*, 50).

In 1997 archaeological recording took place to the south-east of the dunes where the early medieval material was discovered, as a result of the construction of a new soak-away in the modern car-park. The excavations resulted in the discovery of two sides of a prehistoric or Romano-British rectangular enclosure with a stone-revetted rampart, as well as Romano-British artefacts dating to the second to fourth centuries AD, and palaeoenvironmental material. Midden material was also discovered under layers of occupation material that were mixed with wind-blown sand (Griffith & Reed 1997, 109-126).

Excavations were undertaken in 2001 in order to record the archaeological evidence from the site of planned demolition and construction of a new clubhouse. Trenches revealed four phases of occupation including a large assemblage of post-Roman Mediterranean amphorae, second only in size to that at Tintagel, associated vessel glass, bone objects and evidence for ironworking as well as bone, shell, charcoal and charred plant macrofossils, with the faunal remains indicative of feasting (Reed & Bidwell 2011, 83-85). The construction of the clubhouse basement revealed two layers of occupation separated by wind-blown sand, within which were four well-constructed hearths, 2400 fragments of animal bones, and over 570 sherds of Mediterranean and local Cornish gabbroic pottery (Weddell & May 2002, 420-422). These results add to

the already extensive evidence for early medieval settlement and overseas exchange at the site, as well as increasing the known size of activity in the area.

### **8.3.3 Archaeology at Bantham**

Figure 186 shows the location of the prehistoric, Romano-British and early medieval archaeology at the site discovered so far, although the precise location of the individual evidence forms from each excavation could not be shown precisely at this scale and therefore the map indicates their general presence rather than exact grid coordinates.

#### ***Prehistoric and Romano-British Bantham***

Excavations produced Romano-British ceramics and a section of dry-stone revetment wall. This wall formed a corner of a rectangular structure that would have been delineated by the stream to the south and it is presumed that the material forming the rampart may have come from a ditch, whilst the wall itself is comparable to the construction of several rounds in the South West and other rectilinear enclosures of prehistoric, Roman and post-Roman date (Griffith & Reed 1997, 109-124). Radio-carbon dates of the later Bronze Age were obtained from charcoal in occupation layers above a shell midden and from buried soils in one trench (*ibid.*, 121), suggesting a prehistoric phase to the settlement which is further advanced by the stone axes and flint arrowheads reportedly found by Elliott (1901, 477) and Jenkins (1902, 20). No dating evidence came from the revetted walls or ramparts themselves; however the topsoil and deposits that had developed against the latter contained Romano-British ceramics, consisting of local Devon sherds and one central Gaulish samian vessel, dating to the mid-second to fourth centuries AD, whilst the shell middens were formed from material deliberately gathered for food (Griffith & Reed 1997, 109-126).

#### ***Early medieval Bantham***

The early medieval evidence, resulting from a series of excavations at the site, is located away from the prehistoric and Romano-British activity, across the area of dunes and closer to the beach and coastline. At the site of Silvester's 1978 excavations, evidence of a settlement was found consisting of post- and stake-holes, and stone settings discovered adjacent to hearths and midden material, whilst finds consisted of largely undated iron-workings and objects, quernstones, five bone combs, dress accessories and the imported glass and Mediterranean and Continental ceramics

(Silvester 1981, 89-117). Of particular interest, apart from the imports, are two post-Roman penannular brooches, the fragment of an enamelled brooch – thought to be Romano-British in date - and the bone combs and other objects (*ibid.*, 103-106). The evidence for settlement in this area of the site has been suggested by Silvester to have been temporary in nature, with certain artefacts thought to have been brought from a (more permanent) settlement site nearby, but with the faunal remains suggestive, conversely, of a permanent domestic settlement (*ibid.*, 114-115).

In other areas of the site, the material within the extensive and multiple occupation layers reported by Griffith included animal bones and shells, the former thought to have been predominantly cow, sheep, pig, small birds and rodents, and the latter mainly of limpets as well as a few oysters and cockles (1986, 43). Within the section and in one of these bands of material, a hearth was visible and immediately above it an unabraded body-sherd of Late Roman I (Bii) amphorae, whilst a charcoal sample from the burnt material at the base of the hearth and containing charcoal, ash and burnt bone and shell gave a result of 350+/-95 and 605 +/-90 AD (*ibid.*, 44).

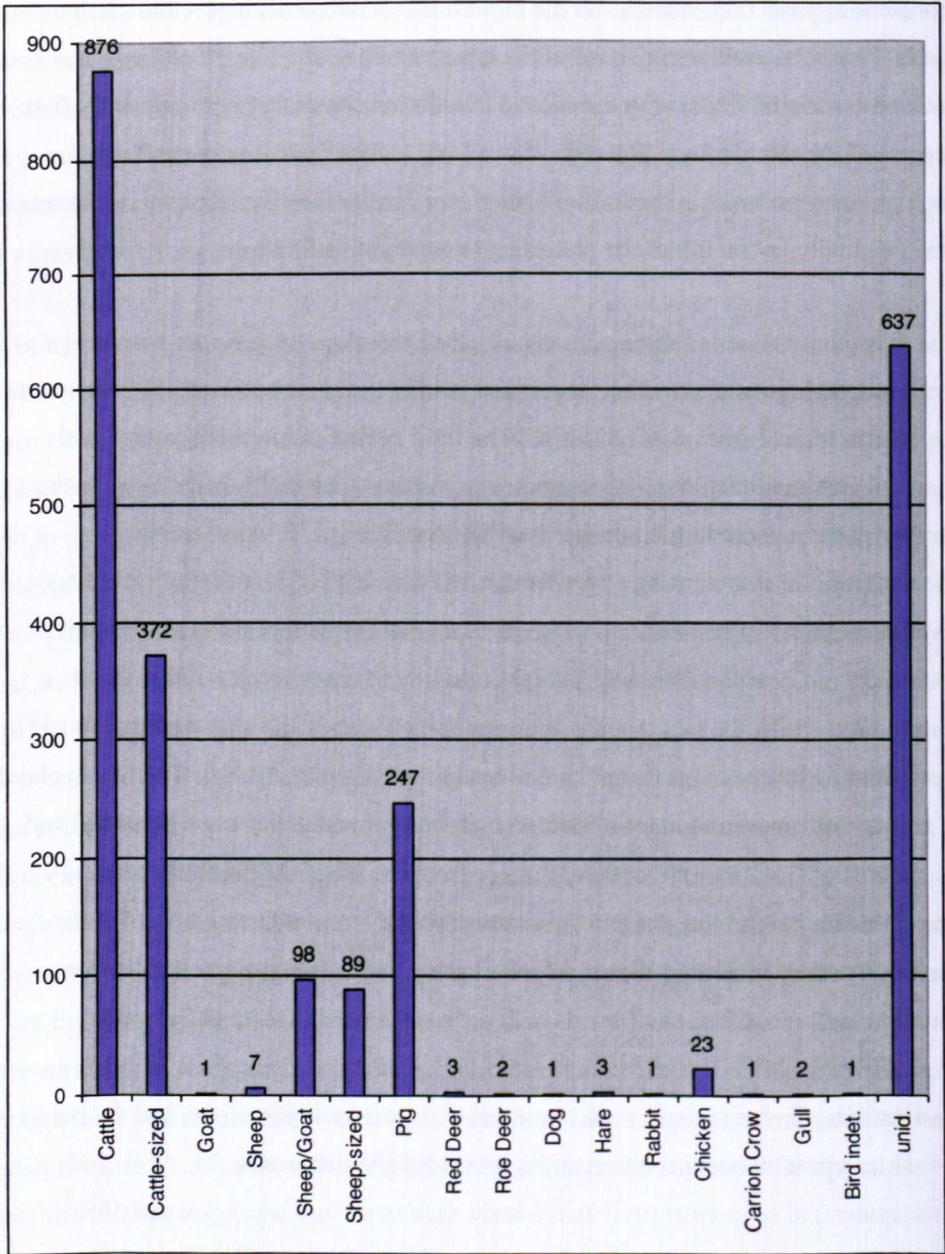
Five bone comb fragments, thought by type to be early post-Roman in date, were also discovered in Silvester's and later excavations, which had some features similar to sixth- to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon examples (Riddler, in Griffith 1986, 51-53). Anglo-Saxon, Roman and Irish combs are sometimes indistinguishable, and are found in general from the fourth to eleventh centuries in north-western Europe. The combs from Bantham are all different, with some tending toward a Late Roman date and others probably dating to the seventh to eighth centuries. Three were significantly similar to have been made by the same workshop, whilst the presence of red deer antler (Fox 1955, 55) also adds to weight for the idea that production took place on site. Griffith has suggested that these bone combs may have been used in conjunction with the making of fishing nets, but also that the evidence at the site could consist of "extensive paraphernalia of wool-processing" (1986, 47). She also discusses the potential for seasonal occupation of the site, perhaps relating to exploitation of marine resources such as the seasonal runs of salmon in the River Avon (*ibid.*, 48).

The results of the excavations undertaken by Reed and Bidwell produced four phases of activity which appear to have been periodically sealed by inundations of wind-blown sand. These excavations produced the first instance of evidence for sequential dating of the site. Phase 1 consisted of a single hearth, several pits and two stake-holes with radio-carbon samples dating to AD 430-600. The highest proportion of post-

Roman pottery came from the inundation level above this phase, with 471 sherds representing over fifty vessels and the highest levels of animal bones and marine shells. Phase 2 activities consisted of the truncated base of a linear feature or gully with no associated finds, with the second inundation containing approximately five percent of the total pottery (Reed & Bidwell 2011, 85-87). It is presumed that the pottery was found within these inundation layers rather than the occupation phases, as they originally lay on top of the preceding occupation surface.

The third phase revealed three partially-exposed hearths, a single post-hole, and a small assemblage of charred cereal remains, whilst radio-carbon samples from one of the hearths gave a date of AD 535-640. The third period of inundation contained charcoal and humic debris, a bone pin beater, twenty-four sherds of fifth- to sixth-century pottery, including three sherds of Western French 'E' ware, and a concentration of ironworking slag (Reed & Bidwell 2011, 87). Although the dates given here are not precise nor concrete, the fact that the date of the ceramics lags behind the radiocarbon dates suggests the curating of these vessels within the community, whilst the fact that the Western French sherds and slag were not found in the preceding layers suggests new functions and activities at the site. The fourth phase of activity was represented by a ditch and pit, both of which had been truncated and five sherds of fifth- to sixth-century pottery from the fill of the probable boundary ditch. The fourth and last phase of inundation contained re-deposited post-Roman sherds of pottery including Western French ware, and a sherd of residual Roman pottery (*ibid.*). This sealing of levels of activity within the Reed and Bidwell excavations could have occurred when the settlement was unoccupied, if it was a seasonal site, or alternatively could have been caused by storm surges and the burial of the settlement with occupation resuming immediately afterwards.

Higbee has catalogued and analysed the animal bones from the 2001 excavations at Bantham, and summarises that the assemblage was characterised by domestic species that were slaughtered locally and at the optimum age for prime meat production, with beef as the "mainstay" of meat consumption, followed by pork, mutton and chicken (online ADS report 2011, 7). She further suggests that the dietary preferences of the society at Bantham was characteristic of Roman influences, which appear to have continued into the post-Roman period, whilst a wider range of animals consumed included venison, game in the form of hare, and fish (Figure 187). The size of the cattle was larger than those from Roman Exeter but smaller than at Saxon Southampton, which Higbee suggests is due to improvements in husbandry and the



**Figure 187 - Faunal remains from Reed & Bidwell, Bantham: number of bone fragments from each species (Higbee 2011, Table 2)**

fact that cattle may have been the primary focus of pastoral activity or production at the site, also apparent from the size of the Bantham sheep which were nearer to the size of the small primitive Soay breed (*ibid.*).

### **8.3.4 Bantham and its hinterland**

The area of study around Bantham is greater than that at Kelsey, covering approximately twenty square kilometres and incorporating the uplands just to the south of Dartmoor as well as the length of coastline within Bigbury Bay. Figure 188 shows this area and the features within it mentioned in the text.

#### ***Settlement features***

Prehistoric earthworks and hillforts are located at Blackdown Rings to the northern extent of the map, and unnamed and probable Iron Age earthworks to the south of Whympton, both located far inland and on areas of upland. The Roman remains so far discovered within this area were at Bantham and have been discussed above. It is significant that they were located at the coast, particularly in view of the lack of any further evidence for Romano-British settlements in the area, as this implies the importance of the maritime location, perhaps in ensuring contact with other Roman sites in an era where seafaring to sites such as Exeter and the Plymouth estuary is likely to have been the fastest method of transporting both people and goods across the region. It is possible that this Roman settlement may have taken advantage of the riverine transport as well in order to gain access inland to the regions of tin streaming and mining. Fox concluded that the site had been a possible trading station, with “excellent shelter” from the south-west winds and with two sandy coves to the east, where boats could have been beached sheltered from the wind and tides (1955, 56), and this could have been true for both the Roman and early medieval periods.

Early medieval settlement and activity dating to the fifth to eighth centuries is seen at Bantham and Mothecombe, the latter consisting of local Roman and imported post-Roman ceramics which were accompanied by middens and shell-middens (HER PRNs 4848 & 4849). These strongly indicate a settlement dating to the late fourth to seventh centuries with similar features, activities and functions to Bantham, although the artefacts are far in excess of those discovered at Mothecombe and there is as yet no structural evidence for settlement continuity between the Late Roman and early medieval periods. Earthworks on the adjacent Burgh Island have been excavated and proven to be modern or natural features; however, work on the ceramics and other finds is still underway and one sherd of pottery may have been part of an imported amphora (Ken Dark 2012, pers. comms.).

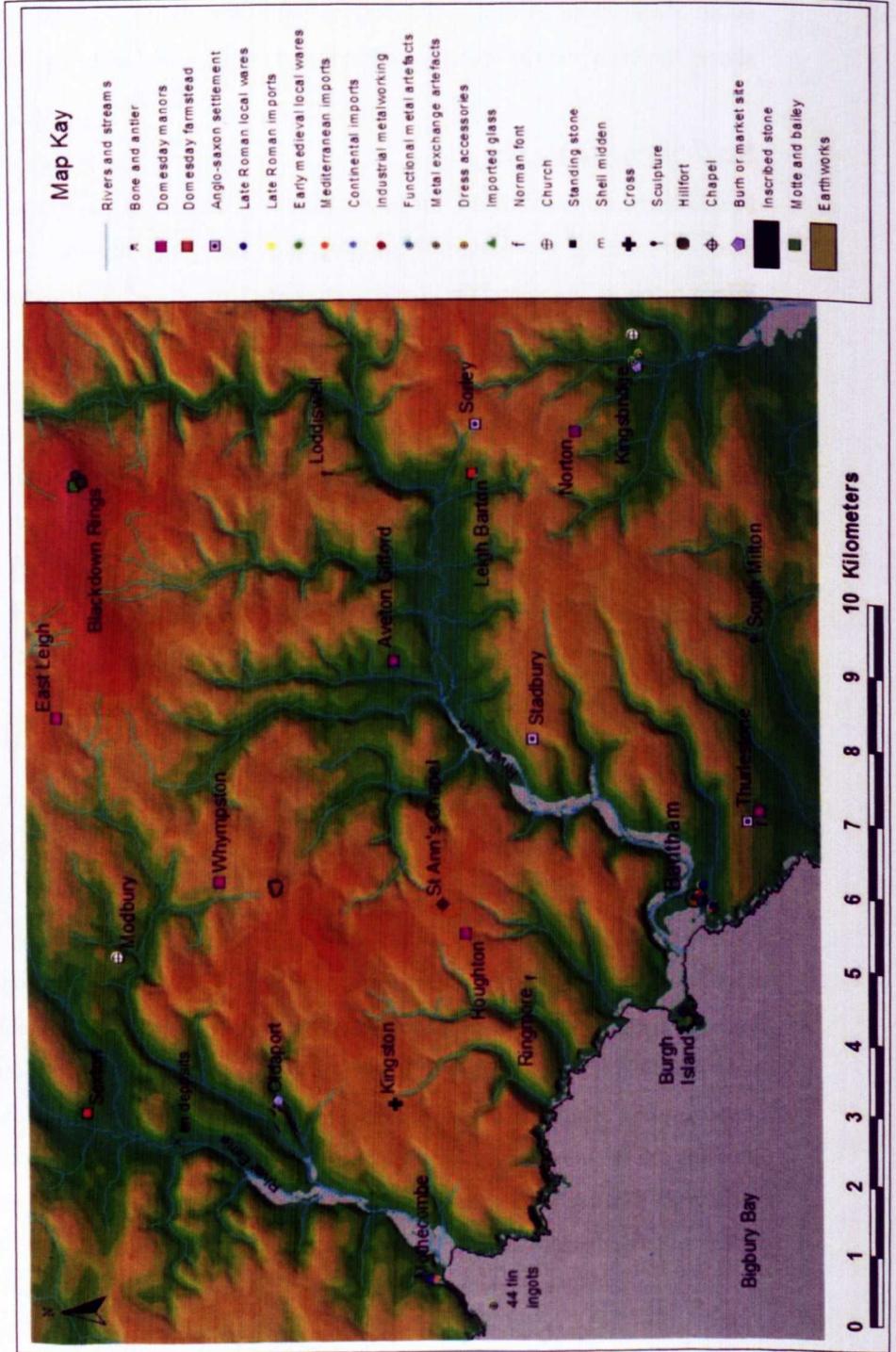


Figure 188 - Bantham and hinterland

Of the later settlements, only historical accounts provide evidence of their whereabouts. Several early medieval farmsteads are thought to have existed at Thurlestone and Stadbury in the eighth and ninth centuries (Devon HER PRNs 449 and 16107) whilst there is evidence for settlements at Oldaport and Kingsbridge in the same period, in the form of early Anglo-Saxon 'burhs' or market places. However there is no structural evidence and no indication that these were Anglo-Saxon as opposed to 'insular' sites, at least initially. Earthworks discovered at Oldaport may have been part of an unrecorded Anglo-Saxon burh, as excavations gave a Late Saxon radio-carbon date; however it is also possible that these earthworks were Iron Age with tenth- and eleventh-century reoccupation, re-use and rebuilding (Rainbird 1988, 153-64; Rainbird & Druce 2004, 177-180). The site would be ideally placed to control the river during this period as well as any activity in the form of trade or administration, particularly if activity at Mothecombe had ceased. At Kingsbridge, dress accessories have been found dating to the ninth century, which together with the church show the development of this settlement not seen elsewhere in the area, perhaps due to the success of the site as a fortified central place. Whilst these apparently Anglo-Saxon sites of Kingsbridge and Oldaport are located upstream at or near the head of estuaries and could potentially have taken advantage of maritime and riverine trade and contacts overseas as a result, other supposed sites at Stadbury and Sorley are located further inland.

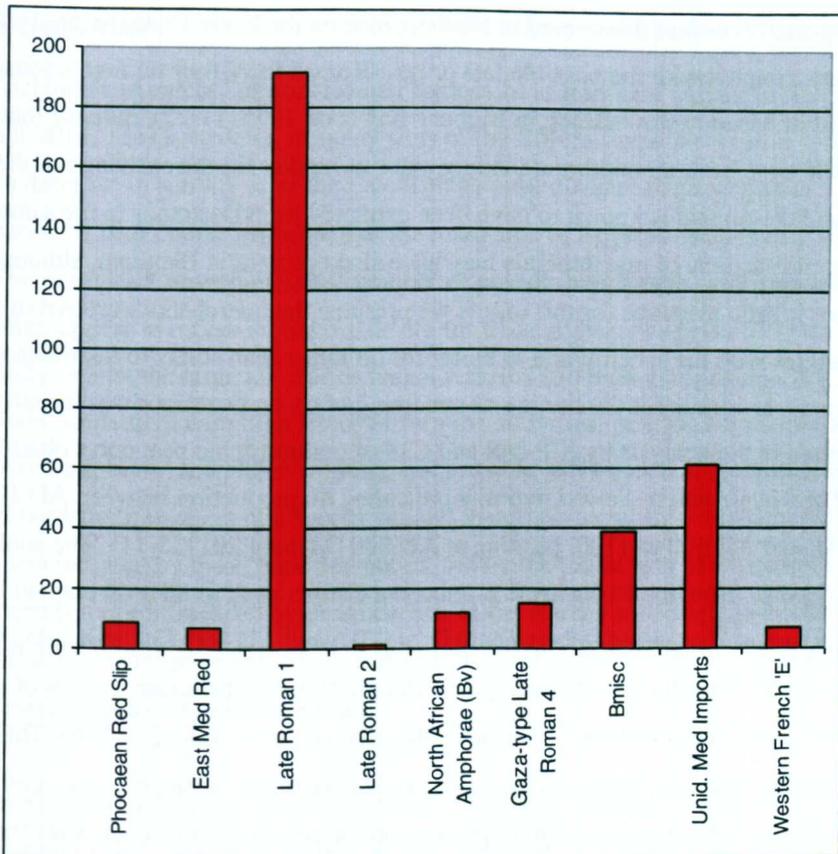
The coastal location of Bantham and Mothecombe suggests that between the seventh and ninth centuries, focus of settlement in the landscape may have shifted, or alternatively spread, to include the inland and upland regions. It is therefore possible that if settlement continued in the immediate vicinity of Bantham it was further upstream at the current village site, or at Thurlestone, where the focus of settlement appears to have been in the form of a Late Saxon settlement and later Norman font and manor. Thurlestone is one of the earliest records of a topographical feature in Devon, as the name derives from the Old English *ðyrel*, meaning 'hole', a ninth-century place name element also seen at Durdle Door and Durlleston in Dorset and referring here originally to a large rock arch offshore (Griffith & Wilkes 2006, 67). This feature would have been visible to those on land and at sea and is a highly visible coastal marker from the latter, whilst the rock itself is not within the bounds of the present parish, but is, and possibly was, a boundary point for the modern parishes of South Milton and South Huish, and may have been named from a marine perspective, together with many other coastal sites (*ibid.*, 68). Significantly, this would suggest that sites such as Thurlestone, less than a kilometre from Bantham, were known and

named from the sea. Whether the present settlement was named after the rocky feature or directly associated with it is not known. However, it is possible that the coastal marker was used in navigation to signify the location of the present settlement, and perhaps also Bantham as a renowned site of exchange and a source of raw minerals. That fact that both Mothecombe and Bantham are beaching places which require a good local knowledge for safe access to them (*ibid.*, 72) is a significant fact when combined with the number of imports discovered at both sites, as visiting merchants must therefore have been used to navigating these shores, although a shipwreck site where forty-four tin ingots were discovered off the coast at Mothecombe (Fox 1995, 11-23) suggests that they were still hazardous.

Norman settlements consist of the manors named in Domesday and two Norman farmsteads which are likely to have originally had Anglo-Saxon occupation. The latter are inland at Sexton and Leigh Barton, with place-name 'barton' considered to have been Saxon in origin, although whether it implies an Anglo-Saxon site or a site renamed in Anglo-Saxon historical documents, is not known. The Norman manors are fairly evenly spread across the area, indicating an even spread of territorial boundaries and estate systems. They show an inland distribution, with Thurlestone the closest to the coast, a kilometre away, but appear to have avoided the higher uplands. The only Norman motte and bailey was Blackdown Rings, where it reused the Iron Age hillfort to advantage in terms of defence, but does not appear to be very centrally-located in terms of access to the coast, or nearby contemporary settlements. This site is significant as it apparently represents the only large fortified site of the ninth to eleventh centuries in this area, apart from Oldaport, as well as having implications for its use both as a defensive site, for example during the Viking raids that were prevalent along the south Devon coast, but could also reflect an elite aspect to society with elite consumption of goods and a controlling influence over both the movement of goods and people in the region.

### ***Trade and exchange***

The imports from the site are shown in the graph in Figure 189, and consist of both Mediterranean and Continental ceramics and glass fragments. Also found was an un-sourced sherd of granite fabric that has not previously been discovered in the South West, but which is similar to Breton Iron Age and early medieval wares, and may have been imported from Brittany (Reed & Bidwell 2011, 102-103). The quantity of Mediterranean ceramics per excavated volume of soil places it on a par with Tintagel



**Figure 189 - Imported post-Roman ceramics from 2001 excavations at Bantham (after Reed & Bidwell 2011)**

in terms of the level of trade that would appear to have taken place. The lack of similar settlement structures however could indicate the primary function of Bantham as a central place in the region for exchange and redistribution, as it appears to have been a site that not only attracted merchants from as far away as Continental Europe and the Mediterranean, but may also have been one of the primary purposes of their journey to this part of the South West coastline.

The glass fragments consisted of shards from two vessels, one of which has been described as being similar to Campbell's Group C/D, whilst the other is similar to those in use in eastern England in the fifth and sixth centuries, but which could also have been a residual Roman vessel or sherd (Cool, in Reed & Bidwell 2011, 111-113). As Reed & Bidwell, have stated, the imported ceramics and glass discovered in the 2001 excavations have dispelled any doubt there may have been that the site was a focus of exchange for Mediterranean imports (2011, 126), whether it acted as a distributor or a consumer of these goods.

The imported ceramics discovered at Mothecombe on the River Erme, to the west of Bantham, coupled with the possible late or post-Roman forty-four tin ingots found off the coast of Meadowsfoot Beach in Bigbury Bay (Fox 1995, 11-23), indicate that the site could have been an important landing place or market for the exchange of these items and the tin that is known to have been extracted from Dartmoor in the same era. Similar transactions of raw minerals may have also occurred at Bantham, although as yet there is little evidence for this unless we presume that merchants were arriving on these shores with the specific aim to barter for tin rather than solely to distribute their own wares. Evidence for the mining or streaming of tin on Dartmoor was recently discovered in the analysis by ICP-MS and C14 of ombrotrophic peat cores obtained from Tor Royal, which showed deposits indicating tin production between AD 100 and 400, and AD 600 to 1100, peaking at AD 900 (Meharg 2011, 5-11). The analysis of silt deposits from the River Erme produced a distinct peak in their tin content from deposits radiocarbon dated to between AD 245-386 and AD 460-730, indicating that there had been a peak in tin streaming or mining activity in the upper reaches of the river in the late and post-Roman periods (Thorndycraft et al 2004, 219-236). This enhances the evidence for tin mining upstream on Dartmoor during the same periods of occupation at Bantham and Mothecombe and the possibility that these sites were facilitators in the movement of tin ingots.

### ***Early Christian features***

These features consist of several chapels of unknown date, Norman churches, crosses thought to date to the fifth to eleventh centuries and the Anglo-Saxon and Norman sculpture in the form of carvings and fonts. There were no known Early Christian settlements such as priories and monasteries and the number of certain pre-Norman features is minimal, suggesting little activity in the spread of Early Christianity. The chapel of St Michaels on Burgh Island, just off the coast near Bantham, is thought to date to the fifteenth century at the latest (Barber & Chard 1990, 4). However, the chapel site could be of pre-Saxon origin, as it shares characteristics of the so-called 'Celtic' chapels of the north Cornish coast thought to date to the fifth to seventh centuries, including the remote coastal location consistent with hermitage site morphologies seen at St Helen's in the Scilly Isles. Further Christian features of the region show an inland distribution and coinciding with some manorial sites such as Thurlestone.

### 8.3.5 Summary

The “richness and extent” of post-Roman settlement at Bantham (Allan, in Reed & Bidwell 2011, 125) is striking, as many sites of the fifth to seventh centuries tended to show a decrease in activity after the Late Roman period where there was prior occupation. It is of course probable that the main area of Romano-British activity is yet to be excavated, nevertheless the number of post-Roman sherds, and imports in particular, appear to reflect an important site for trade and exchange both locally and regionally, whilst the large number of faunal remains and their composition implies a permanent settlement with high levels of farming activities, perhaps augmented by the metalworking, bone- and antler-working and possible wool-processing industries. Indeed the latter indicators of a successful and materially-wealthy settlement may have been initiated by these imported goods, whilst the initial acts of exchange may have been heavily influenced by the existence of the Roman settlement previously, providing a knowledge of the site, possibly in the exchange of metal ore, that would have instigated this long-distance trade.

Unprovenanced finds listed by Jenkins (1902, 23) suggest the additional activities of fishing and textiles, as well as the processing of flax. Whether these industries were solely for the consumption of the settlement, or resulted from the use of the site as a centre of exchange within the wider community, is still in doubt, although the presence of the Mediterranean imports provides strong evidence for this function. Griffith concluded that Bantham has produced a body of evidence indicative of a substantial and extensive settlement site, citing Jenkins’ statement that “the heaps of waste represent the litter and sweepings of a small number of people accumulating in a long period of time” (1902, 22 in 1986, 47), rather than a large population at a site where extensive structural features are yet to be found. The features described by Silvester are not dissimilar to those at Gwithian, apart from the lack of any recognisable walls (*ibid.*), and it is considered here that the site was permanently-occupied and thriving rather than seasonal as suggested by Griffith (1986, 48). Further excavation at Bantham may shed light on both the scale of permanent structural features and the nature of prehistoric and Romano-British occupation, whilst the role of the site in what appears to have been a major industry in ore extraction is yet to be confirmed. The artefact assemblages nevertheless point towards a very active and potentially large settlement, that shows prominent maritime features and a heritage of exploiting marine resources combined with farming activities, whilst the evidence for

iron working could indicate an interaction with the upland mining regions of the South West that would then mirror the contacts with the Continent and in the Mediterranean.

## **8.4 Trethurgy**

### **8.4.1 Introduction**

Trethurgy is located approximately four and half kilometres from the coast, on the southern edge of an isolated area of uplands to the east of St Austell, which have been exploited in the china clay industry for several hundred years. Therefore, it is possible that a significant proportion of local archaeological evidence may have been lost before it was recorded.

The site was a small, univallate enclosure known as a round, one of many enclosed sites which formed a relatively dense settlement pattern in Cornwall and were occupied during the Later Iron Age and Romano-British periods. It represents one of the few where excavations have produced early medieval occupation evidence. It is located within the parish of St Austell, near the bottom of a gentle slope, facing east (Quinnell 2004, 1) and lies 200 metres from a stream, which may have had its flow and path altered by the disturbance from the mineral workings. This stream eventually drains into the sea at Par Beach roughly 5 kilometres away, however Quinnell states that the topography of the coast has changed considerably here over the last millennium and the stream, and therefore the valley, may have been tidal two kilometres above Par and therefore within three kilometres of the site (2004, 1). The name Trethurgy derives from *tre* and *dofferghi*, possibly meaning estate of the otter, although the latter element may have been from a personal name (*ibid.*).

### **8.4.2 Archaeological background**

Trethurgy, in south-east Cornwall, was the first round to have been excavated fully, by Henrietta Quinnell in 1973 and formerly by test pitting in 1972. The site was initially identified through place name evidence when it was noted that the field where it was located, called 'Gears', had the element *ker* which usually denotes a fortification or former earthwork (Quinnell 2004, 3). These excavations took place in order to investigate the site prior to its use as a waste-tip for the china-clay workings (*ibid.*)

which resulted in its full excavation. The archaeological deposits within the enclosure had suffered badly from plough damage, whilst the enclosure banks had also eroded in places, and there was no indication of any related field systems; however, evidence was revealed for Neolithic, Iron Age, Romano-British and early medieval activity within and around the site, with the highest periods of activity and settlement capacity in the second and late fourth centuries (*ibid.*, *xii*).

### **8.4.3 Archaeology at Trethurgy**

#### ***Prehistoric and Romano-British features***

Excavations resulted in the discovery of a ditch and rampart, the latter revetted on both sides with stone, and a single entrance located centrally to the down-slope site of the enclosure, which would have been closed by a double-leaved gate. The earliest activity was in the form of a Neolithic flint assemblage and slight traces of a field system, in one unit of which an enclosure was built. The entrance and rampart of the round were maintained throughout its occupation, but the ditch went into disuse by the fourth century (Quinnell 2004, *xii*) suggesting at this point that the defensive role of the settlement was reduced. The features within the rampart consisted of five oval stone houses, now known as the principal house form during the Romano-Cornish period, and ancillary buildings including a four-post granary, a byre, a probable shrine and what have been interpreted as possible stores and workshops, although these were not necessarily contemporary with every phase of occupation (*ibid.*). Those eight phases or periods of occupation have been based on developments within the structures, as the sparse nature of rubbish disposal during the settlement's use meant that there was very little dating evidence within stratigraphic deposits. In Period 3 an enclosure was apparently sited within a Period 2 pre-existing field, some time in the first century BC, and in Period 4 several slight timber structures were built whilst the enclosure was used for farming. The earthworks of the round were located over the former earthworks in Period 5, c. AD 150, and within this period were ten stages of use dating up to the early eighth century (Quinnell 2004, 9-10).

#### ***Early medieval features***

Evidence shows that the settlement was rebuilt to an extent in the early fourth century and occupied until the sixth century, after which it was used intermittently for stock, with an apparent gradual decline in occupation numbers throughout the fifth century (Quinnell 2004, *xii*). Late Roman and early medieval occupation formed Stages 5 to

10 (Figure 190), with the former consisting of the rebuilding of all structures, the remodelling of the rampart and entrance, paving extending into the interior of the round and the ditch terminals cobbled over (*ibid.*, 9). A byre was added and a midden deposited, with internal structures including several oval houses, hearths, drains and “scrappy walls” (*ibid.*). Stage 6 (c. AD 375-400) shows the byre going out of use, a new midden build-up, a shrine constructed and the main houses, walls and drains continuing; Stage 7 dates roughly to

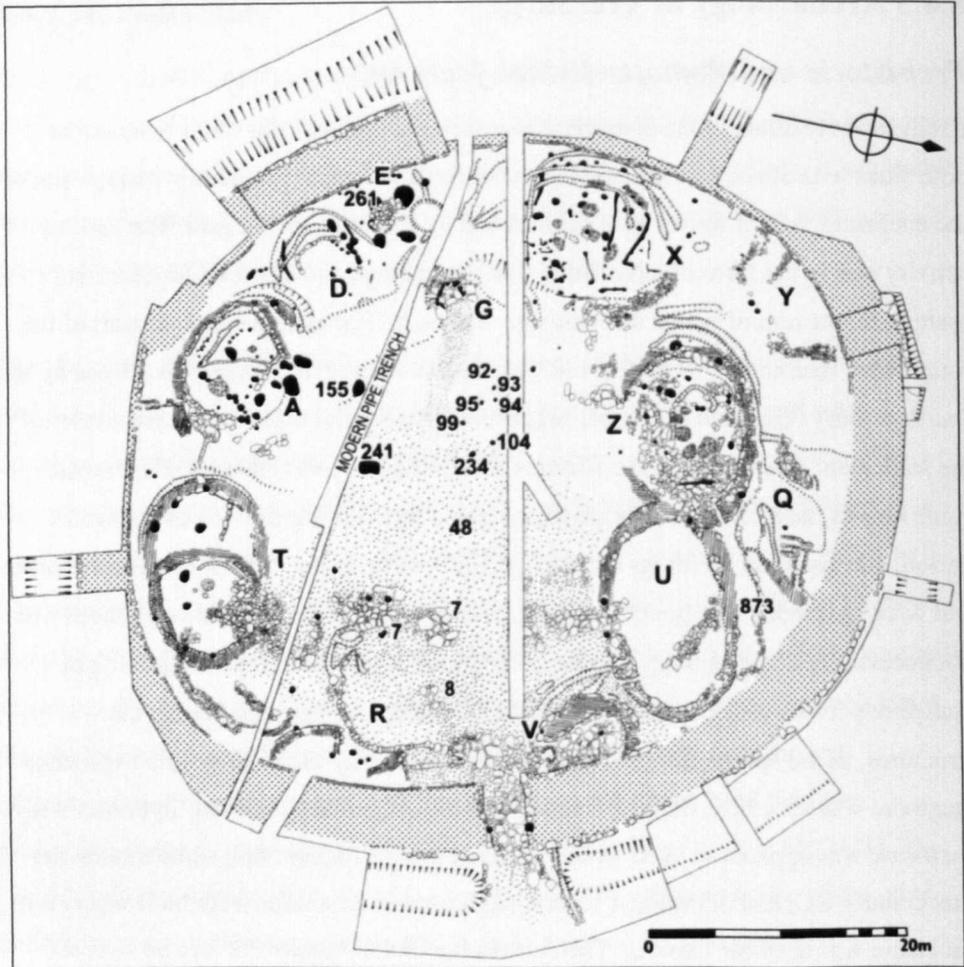


Figure 190 - Period 5 of Trethurgy Round, composite plan (Quinnell 2004, Figure 5, 7)

AD 400-450 and shows a reduction in the number of occupied houses to three, but the shrine continues as do the walls, drains and cobbles; in Stage 8 (c. AD 450-500) there were small changes with only two houses occupied, the shrine continuing, two structures built and continued use of others; Stage 9 (AD 500-550) shows some major rebuilding, particularly in one house, with continuity of another but a third incorporated into another structure, the shrine going out of use and further buildings in

general decline leading to the site's abandonment; finally, Stage 10 dates from c. AD 700 onwards and shows the round's reuse as a stock fold, with new gates in the entrance and a small enclosure built within it alongside small walls, sumps and paving (Quinnell 2004, 9-10). Quinnell suggests that settlement at Trethurgy ceased from the sixth century due to the general shift from the enclosed settlements, to open hamlets of the 'tre' type (2004, 180).

The area around Trethurgy is relatively bare of early medieval features other than the settlement itself. Figure 191 shows the site and the features in the immediate area, with apparent access to fresh water from the nearby stream, although this is its modern position and it may have altered since the round was occupied. Several springs are also within the vicinity and it is likely that more may have been located just to the south-west of the round where dumping from the clay mines has now occurred. Early medieval finds from within the round included metalworked items, although the majority dated to pre-AD 400; Romano-British and post-Roman glass, the latter identified as five vessels, two of which are compatible with Group D fifth- to seventh-century vessels found at other sites in western Britain; Late Roman and early medieval local and imported ceramics; stone artefacts mainly of Cornish origin and including stone bowls and mortaria, traditionally dating to Roman and immediate post-Roman periods and here to the fourth to sixth centuries, as well as a stone weight thought to be Roman in date but possibly post-Roman; a mould and mould cover possibly for a flat circular plate (pewter?); slate discs which may have been pot lids; whetstones of varying sizes; rubbing and polishing stones; four of five shale bracelets deposited in fifth- to sixth-century contexts; and quernstones, of which several rotary stones were of late fourth-century date but those from the fourth to sixth centuries were saddle querns (Quinnell 2004, 67-152).

Evidence for metalworking within the site consisted of two small fragments of waste metal predominantly of silver; metal waste made up of hearth linings and smithing slags which appear to date to throughout the use of the site, including Stages 4, 6, 9 and 10 (Quinnell 2004, 73-75). The hearths were probably used for ironworking to meet local demands, something that was common in rounds of Roman date; whilst the tin ingot, apparently hidden in a late fourth-century midden is evidence for either the processing of local tin or its being obtained and used within the settlement, and although no tin slag was found, cassiterite pebbles were discovered in an eighth-century context (*ibid.*). The location of an area of tin ground within the geology as well as the later extraction of iron from around the site, is significant, as both of these

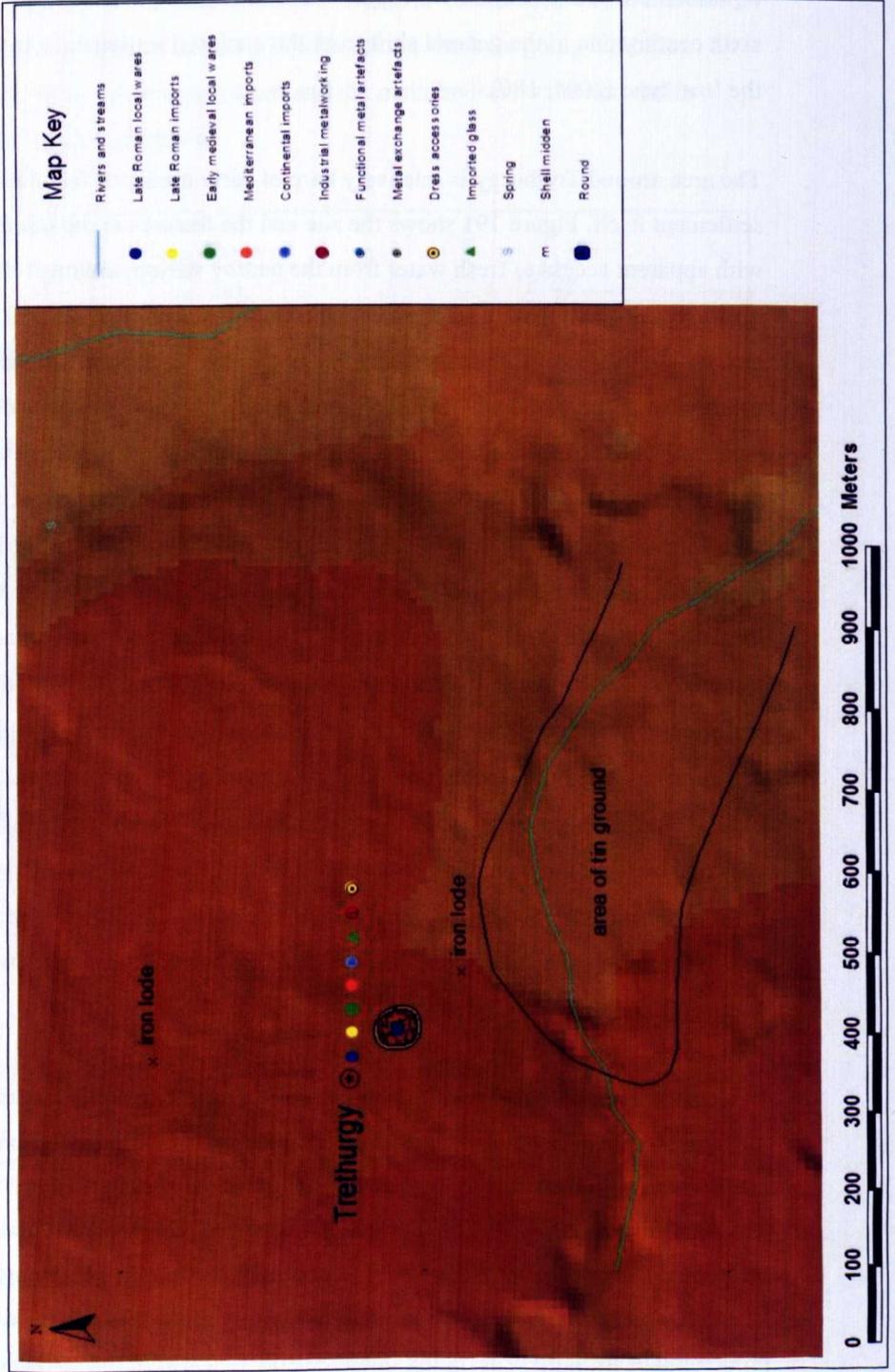


Figure 191 - Trethurgy

minerals may have been resourced by the occupants of the round and processed outside the settlement, such as at the tin streaming site at Boscarne approximately seven kilometres away, where one of two wooden shovels roughly associated with an ingot was radio-carbon dated to the seventh to eleventh centuries (Penhallurick 1986, 210-212). The sole find of the late fourth- to early fifth-century ingot of tin supports this hypothesis, although the imported ceramics and glass may have been paid or bartered for using ore as currency or an exchange item.

The early medieval local ceramics consist of Cornish gabbroic sherds which may date to the post-Roman period, a sherd of grass-marked ware and five sherds of Sandy Lane I. The imported vessels were predominantly of amphorae but also included Phocaean Red Slip and Western French 'E' ware. The imported ceramics were discovered in deposits from Stage 9, dating to the sixth century onwards (Quinnell 2004, 179-180), although a sherd of 'E' ware and the grass-marked sherd are thought to have come from settlement elsewhere in the immediate vicinity rather than the round itself (*ibid.*, 180). Stone mortaria and bowls were distinctive Cornish artefacts which have been found at several sites across Cornwall and Devon. These dishes have handles which appear to have been copied from bronze prototypes and although no similar bronze bowls have been discovered in Cornwall or indeed the South West, the tin bowl from Treloy, dating to the third to fourth centuries is very similar (Quinnell 2004, 137-138).

#### **8.4.4 Trethurgy and its hinterland**

Figure 192 shows the location of Trethurgy in the landscape and in relation to early medieval sites in the area, in an assessment of its wider hinterland and how the community occupying the site may have used the landscape and interacted with other settlements in the area.

##### ***Settlement features***

Prehistoric earthworks within the Trethurgy hinterland consist of the round at Castle Dore (Quinnell & Harris 1985, 123-32), another smaller enclosure nearby which may also have been a similar form of settlement, and a larger series of circular earthworks at Nanscawen.



which are similar to Castle Dore and date to the Iron Age. There may have been more earthworks in the region of Trethurgy itself, since obliterated by the clay workings, whilst other possible round sites have been located through aerial photography, but are yet to be investigated on the ground. These sites, including Trethurgy, are all located at least three kilometres from the sea, but within sight of it. They are located in an arc which suggests they all may have made use of Par Sands, the largest beaching site in St Austell Bay, although as previously stated this coastline may have altered in the recent past. Trethurgy represents the only site within this area where occupation evidence has been found for the fifth to eighth centuries and indeed for much of the early medieval period. This is significant, given that it appears to have been the only prehistoric and Romano-British site with continuity of both occupation and local and Roman traditions, but also because the range of artefacts and imports indicate its importance within the wider settlement hierarchy, at a time when no other settlement appears to have been occupied.

Domesday provides historical records of the Norman and (probably) latterly Late Saxon manors in the region, whilst Early Christian settlements in the form of St Cadix and Tywardreath are also known primarily from historical accounts. Of the five Norman manors, four are placed on the edge of the upland region where Trethurgy is located and the fifth to the east, within a valley near the River Fowey. The location of the manors of Trenance, Pelynt, Treverbyn and Lanwarnick is significant, as it has been postulated by Pearce that management of these upland pastures affected the organisation of the districts, with much of Cornish land divided so that each of these districts incorporated a substantial area of upland (2004, 53; Herring 1996, Figure III.3). The manors may therefore have originally had control over these parts of the landscape, perhaps with the nearest manor at Pelynt taking over the role that Trethurgy may have had in the fifth to eighth centuries. Indeed, the Cornish elements to these manorial names suggest that they may have originated as settlements or farmsteads prior to both the Norman and Anglo-Saxon control of the region. It appears that the occupants moved away from Trethurgy from the eighth century, perhaps to the nearby modern village, as the use of the site as a stock pound and for arable purposes in the tenth to thirteenth centuries (Quinnell 2004, 180) indicates that it continued to be used as part of agricultural activities in the immediate area.

### *Pre-Christian and Early Christian features*

These features consist of standing stones, cist burials, early chapels or former chapel sites, churches with Norman traits, crosses, priories, monasteries and inscribed stones. The inscribed stones are located on the brow of the hill near Fowey and at Biscovey. They are both located near the coast; however there is a strong possibility of them having been moved in the past, since other stones are known to have been relocated to stand within lanns or Norman churchyards, as may have been the case with the Biscovey stone. Nevertheless these sites indicate the presence of an associated settlement, perhaps dating to the sixth to eighth centuries and may have been visible monuments within the early medieval landscape, influencing into how this landscape was used and travelled through. The cist cemeteries at Golant are also representative of an 'insular' tradition, although they appear less frequent in this region than further to the west. Their location is on the estuary and as yet no associated settlement has been discovered. It is not known what form of burial tradition was used at Trethurgy, which unfortunately may remain the case, as funding during excavation prevented adjacent land to the site from being investigated (Quinnell 2004, 3-4).

Several chapels, churches and the priory of St Cadix were located on the Fowey estuary, perhaps reflecting the importance of this waterway in their chosen locations. The closest Norman church to Trethurgy was at Luxulyan, whilst St Wenys' Chapel has been suggested to have had a 'Celtic' origin (Henderson 1953-6, 33) although with little supporting evidence. Their distribution reflects the new Early Christian settlements which were founded across the South West and the associated iconography and church building. Many of these churches are of Norman date and are thought in some cases to have replaced an Anglo-Saxon predecessor, but all of these structures are indicative of the new systems of administration over the region, which included the re-organisation of the landscape into the hundreds and later the parish boundaries. The crosses indicated on Figure 192 are composed of freestanding churchyard crosses, wayside crosses and boundary crosses. The earliest free-standing crosses were found in Cornwall at the end of the ninth century, whilst the normally wheel-headed wayside and boundary crosses coincide with the consolidation of the parochial system and dated to the twelfth century onwards (Langdon 2002, 5-6). The cluster to the north of the map could therefore relate to travel across the uplands in the region of Lanlivery, around which these crosses appear to be focused and which have been described by Langdon as wayside crosses (2002, 51-52). Those around

Menabily represent both wayside and boundary crosses and could therefore represent early medieval territorial boundaries.

### ***Material culture***

What has been described as a Saxon bead was discovered near Lostwithiel (Hurrell 1959, 121), whilst Anglo-Saxon coinage was discovered at Penhale and St Austell, consisting respectively of seventeen ninth-century coins, mainly of Edward the Elder, and a hoard of nine coins dating to the ninth to tenth centuries. The Trewhiddle Hoard, composed of Anglo-Saxon coinage and metalworked items and thought to have been deposited in the tenth century (Wilson 1961a, 75-122), was also within the wider Trethurgy hinterland. The number of Anglo-Saxon finds within this study area is significant when compared with the lack of Anglo-Saxon material at the case studies at Bantham and Kelsey Head, particularly given that at least three could be described as a hoard.

The imported material from Trethurgy is the only assemblage to have been found within this area. Such a concentration implies that the site had a specific settlement function that was different from other settlements in the region, although the lack of excavated examples of the former prevents a fair comparison. The presence of imports implies contact with other sites that came into contact with these goods, or contact directly with those importing them and perhaps using Par Sands as a landing place. There are very few sites within ten kilometres of Trethurgy with these imported wares, the nearest being Killibury and Hays Close overland and Looe Island or Caerhays along the coast, over twenty kilometres away (Figure 192). Although current knowledge of patterns of overland exchange is limited and cannot be discounted, it is feasible to imagine Par Sands as a landing place with the same accessibility as Bantham, albeit without the supporting evidence.

### **8.4.5 Summary**

It is possible that Trethurgy owes its apparent success in continuity and wealth in the post-Roman period to the fact that a range of minerals appear to have been available near to the site. The fifth- to eighth-century imported ceramics and glass are highly suggestive of an elite settlement, or at least a community with the ability to afford such items, if we presume that these goods had a luxury value attributed to them, both monetarily and symbolically. Its location away from the coast adds weight to this

explanation in favour of a trading function, in direct comparison with Bantham, although in every other respect these two sites appear very similar. It is difficult to associate an elite community with the small oval structures which followed a traditional style and which show no hierarchical organisation within the settlement, and yet the lack of any other settlement of contemporary date within this region, coupled with the apparent lack of continuity at other Romano-British sites, such as Castle Dore, suggests that these sites where imports have been discovered, represent just that. There is also the fact that there are very few sites contemporary to Trethurgy and other rounds, which would have formed the underlying settlement hierarchy, over which these rounds and their West Penwith courtyard forms would have exercised control, with traditional rights to land and resources probably stretching back to the Iron Age (Quinnell 2004, 234).

The site appears to have had a degree of craft specialisation, although the evidence for more complicated metalworking than the everyday objects required on a farming settlement was not discovered during excavation (Quinnell 2004, 234). It is possible therefore that the site relied on other settlements for such needs, as well as locally-made ceramics, as they would have relied on the mercantile networks such as those supplying the imported ceramics. Ultimately therefore, the site presents the image of a settlement with what could have been seen as the fundamental requirements for a large rural site, but with strength of continuity and the ability to obtain rare imported goods that is not seen at many sites across the region. The fact that Trethurgy is one of four rounds where imported goods have been found, is suggestive of a general pattern of both continuity and wealth across the South West and at these sites in particular, with sites such as Trethurgy creating new-found wealth in raw minerals which allowed the settlement to rise in prosperity, rather than showing a continuing local elite.

## **8.5 Gwithian**

### **8.5.1 Introduction**

Gwithian is located on the West Penwith peninsula in the far south west of Cornwall, on its northern coast. The region is characterised by the wide bays of St Michaels Bay and Hayle to the north and south, and the central uplands with their numerous prehistoric settlements and monuments. The site itself is located within a shallow

valley, on the north-eastern limits of St Ives Bay and surrounded by the towans that characterise this and other parts of the North Cornish coast. Within this valley is the stream known as the Red River, the former inlet of which was *Dour Conar*, meaning 'Conar Water', once a small tidal estuary (Nowakowski et al 2007a, 19) and next to which the primary site was located. The aforementioned sand dunes have been exploited over the last century in the sand extraction industry, which have greatly altered the geomorphology of the region immediately adjacent to the early medieval sub-sites at Gwithian, as well as altering the path and flow of the Red River and the nature of tidal flows in the inlet.

Archaeology has been discovered dating from the Mesolithic, Neolithic, Iron Age, Romano-British and early medieval periods at several sub-sites during excavation of the area, located on the Godrevy headland at the northern limit of the bay and within the valley on either side of the river. The excavated remains from the late and post-Roman periods are divided into five sub-sites, all within a kilometre of the coast and consisting of Romano-British remains at Porth Godrevy, Romano-British and ninth- to tenth-century remains within the round at Crane Godrevy, Late Roman and early medieval material at Hockin's Pit, fifth- to eighth-century remains at Gwithian and finally the tenth- to thirteenth-century Sandy Lane site.

## **8.5.2 Archaeological background**

The area was first investigated through a detailed landscape study of an area covering approximately two square miles, between the 1940s and 1960s by Charles Thomas and the West Cornwall Field Club (Thomas 1958, 7). This fieldwork discovered activity through excavation and field survey at over fourteen sites, dating from the Mesolithic period onwards. This Mesolithic activity was at five sites, whilst one area showed evidence for Neolithic activity adjacent to a Middle Bronze Age site.

Evidence for the Bronze Age was discovered at many sites across the area, consisting of numerous barrows, houses, hearths, midden material and cremation mounds as well as occupation surfaces. The Romano-British evidence includes oysters, limpets, mussels, slate pot-lids and blocks of sandstone from the Godrevy headland alongside native Romano-Cornish ceramics, with the oysters probably harvested from the former tidal inlet, where they were found up until the Middle Ages. These were discovered at site GT, also known as Porth Godrevy (see Figure 193) where a hearth, post-holes and a drain indicated a small settlement, whilst above this at the top of the hill (and

possibly the Crane Godrevy site investigated in later years) was a small oval “fort” with a ditch cut into the bedrock (Thomas 1958, 17).

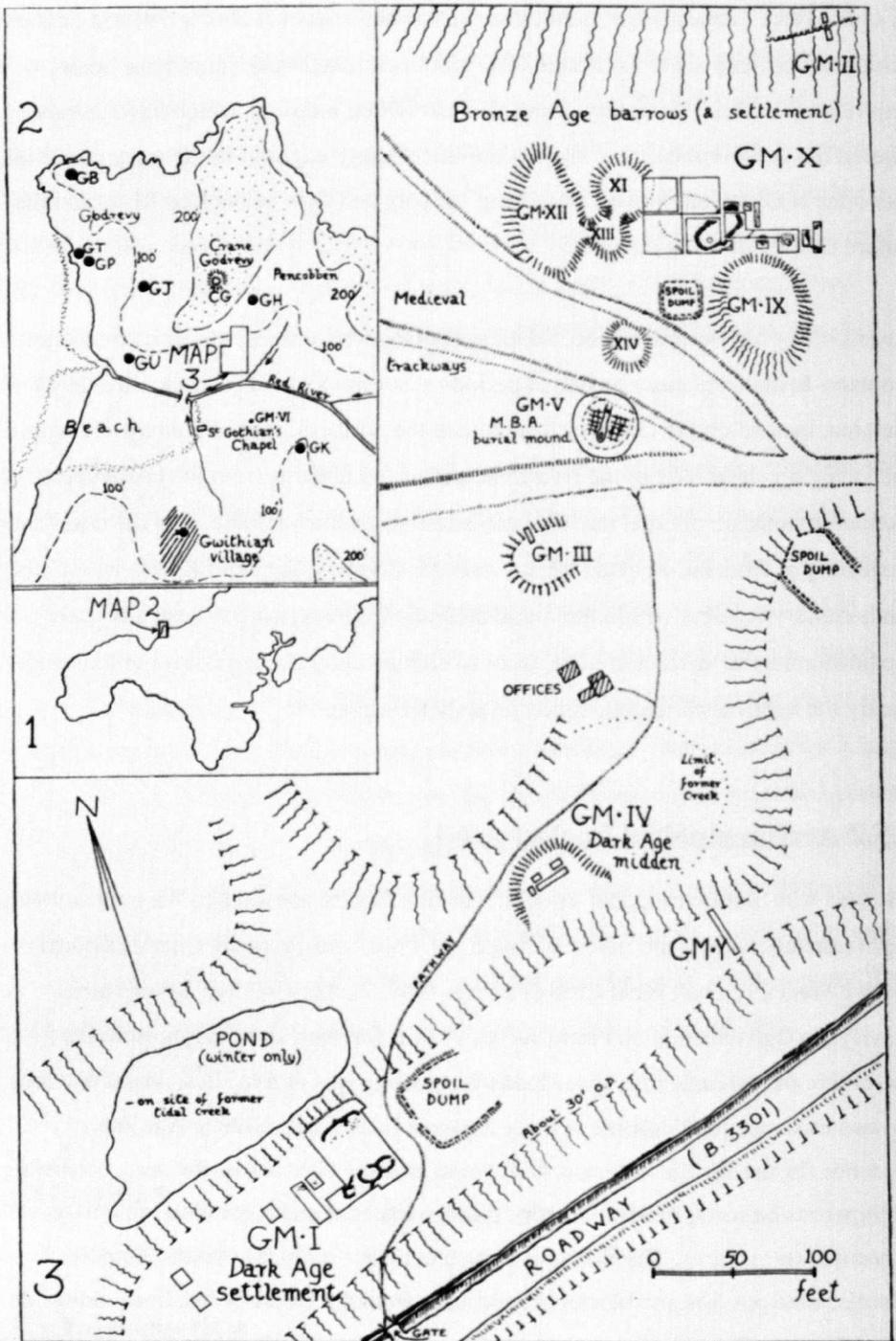


Figure 193 - Gwithian, post-Roman sites GM/I and GM/IV (Thomas 1958, Figure 3, 11)

Early medieval activity was discovered at three sub-sites (Figure 193). GM/1 consisted of a succession of “dwelling-places” occupied in the sub-Roman, post-

Roman and Later Saxon periods (Figures 194-195), to use Thomas' terminology. GM/IV was a midden or rubbish dump covering the first two occupation phases at this site, whilst St Gothian's Chapel was apparently in use in the Later Saxon period (Thomas 1958, 19).

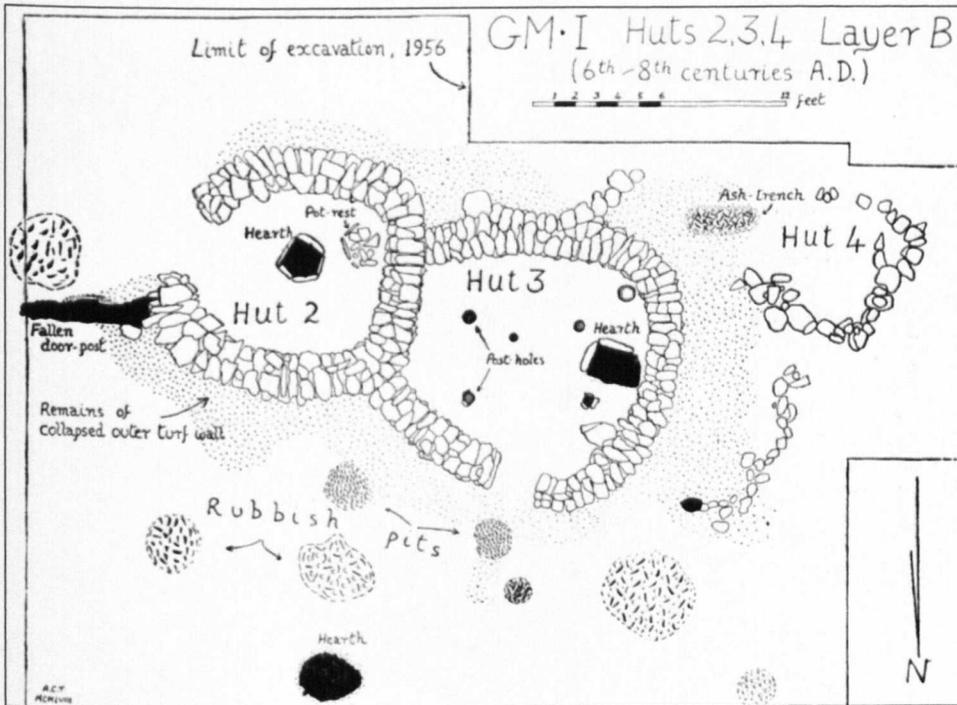


Figure 194 - Plan of huts 2-4 at GM/I Gwithian (Thomas 1958, 20)

GM/I is located on a “bluff” or ridge of wind-blown sand that appears to have extended into the former tidal creek, and shows evidence for a community that depended on a mixed economy of stock-raising and agriculture that seems to have originated in the Iron Age and continued through to the post-Roman period, with additional resources in the shellfish from along the coast (*ibid.*).

In 1962 Fowler and Thomas published a short volume on the pre-Norman arable fields for which they discovered evidence during the long-term investigations of the area; these findings suggested that in the early medieval period, manuring and ploughing of the fields was taking place in several places in the vicinity of the post-Roman settlements both next to the Red River and at Crane Godrevy, evidenced by ridge and furrows in places (61-84). The suggested period of use is between 850 and 1100 AD (*ibid.*, 76). In 1963 what could be termed as a day of rescue excavations produced the evidence from the sub-site of Sandy Lane in the form of a substantial shell midden and over 2500 sherds of Sandy Lane wares I, II and III, probably from the pre-Norman



**Figure 195 - Huts 2 and 3, Gwithian GM/I (Nowakowski et al 2007a/online ADS resource, Figure 20)**

settlement known from historical accounts as *Conar* or *Conerton* (Thomas in Nowakowski 2007, 21). In 1995 a study took place of a stretch of National Trust coastline between Godrevy and Portreath in order to assess the extent of archaeological remains, as well as to provide management recommendations for extant features. This report summarises the remains recorded across the headland as

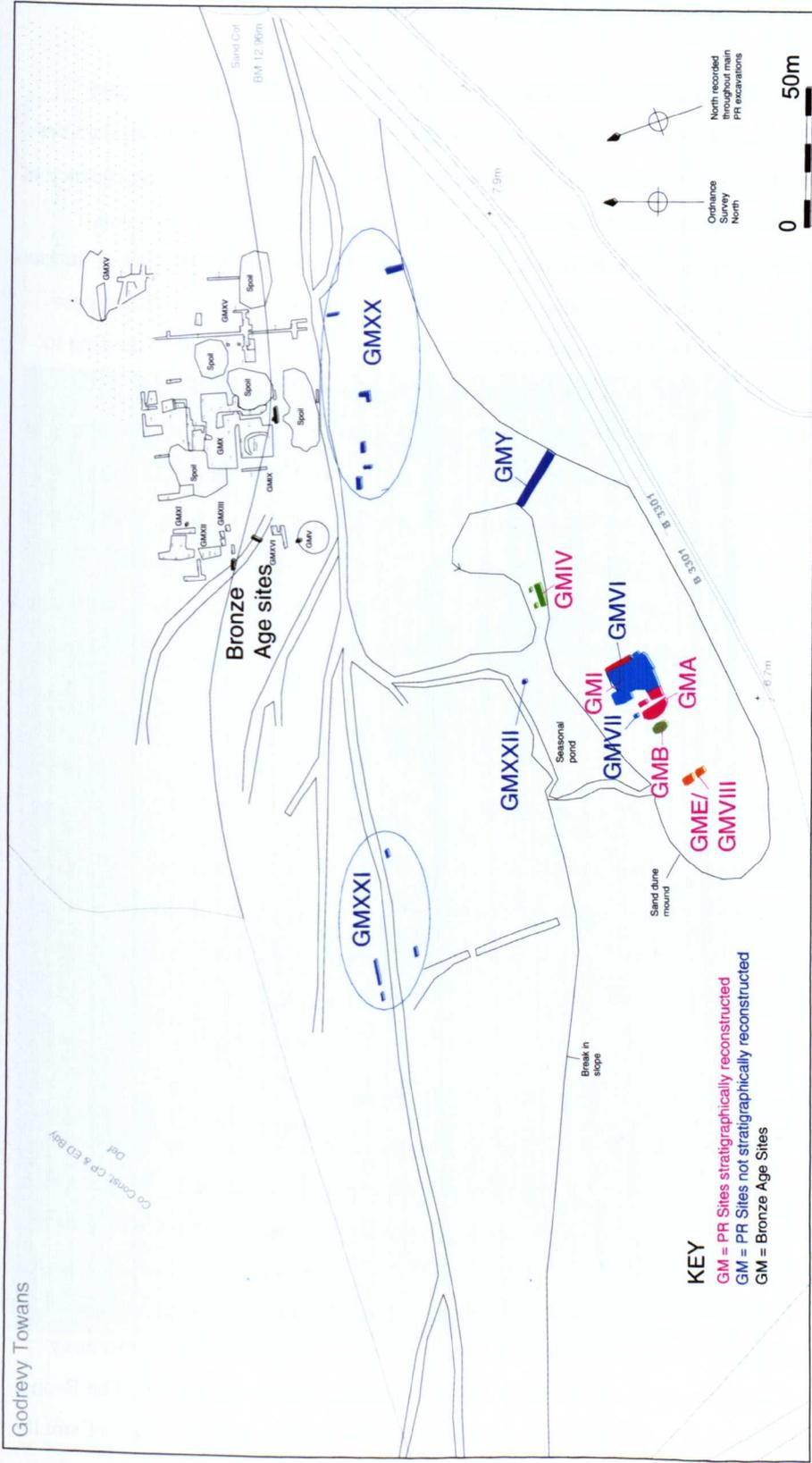


Figure 196 - detailed plan of post-Roman 'industrial' settlement at Gwithian (Nowakowski et al 2007a, Figure 16)

part of the survey and discusses it in relation to the periods of use, but without furthering current knowledge of the region (Thomas 1995, 1-80).

Between 2003 and 2004, work took place in the form of an audit of all the data relating to the excavations of 1949 to 1969, which included surveying in all the sites using total-station, whilst a second major objective was to appraise the significance of the classes of data within this archive (Nowakowski et al 2007a, 14). This was followed by a more in-depth analysis between 2005 and 2006 of a selection of datasets consisting of the Bronze Age sites GMIX, GMX and GMXV; the Roman and post-Roman phases of the ditched enclosure at Crane Godrevy (CG) dating to the first to fifth centuries AD; the post-Roman sites at GMI, GMA, GMB, GME and GMIV (Figure 196) dating to the fifth to eighth centuries; and finally the Bronze Age to post-Roman middens at the Sandy Lane site dating up to c. AD 1000 (*ibid.*, 15). These detailed assessments of the datasets provided new palaeo-environmental samples and analysis, a full finds assessment that included all the early medieval material consisting of pottery, metalworked items, worked bone and clay mould fragments, and a re-assessment of the implications of the evidence on the nature of the post-Roman settlement (*ibid.*, 16).

### **8.5.3 Archaeology at Gwithian**

The Late Roman and early medieval evidence from Gwithian was discovered at five sub-sites across the area, investigated over the twenty-year period of landscape study by Thomas (1958; 1969). These consist of Porth Godrevy, Hockin's Pit, Gwithian (GM), Crane Godrevy and Sandy Lane, shown in Figure 197.

#### ***Prehistoric and Romano-British features***

During the Mesolithic period, a raised beach adjacent to Porth Godrevy appears to have been a prime resource for the series of Late Mesolithic sites along this stretch of coastline, whilst wave-eroded flints occur in the shingle, which together with other local stone (Thomas in Nowakowski et al 2007c, 22) would probably have provided the source for the multitude of flint scatters in the area. Further Mesolithic remains have been found on the shoreline in the form of a land surface and on the Godrevy headland, including a preserved floor within the possible promontory fort. The Bronze Age site excavated by Thomas provided evidence for settlement in the form of small huts, whereas the Iron Age is represented by material close to Crane Godrevy, whilst



evidence from both Porth and Crane Godrevy might date to the very Late Iron Age or early Romano-British period (Nowakowski et al 2007c, 37).

Porth Godrevy and Crane Godrevy are the principle Romano-British sub-sites, the former consisting of a sub-rectangular structure apparently set within an enclosure, with interior drains, pits, postholes and hearths associated with pottery predominantly from the third century AD, numerous whetstones, and c.170 sherds of briquetage of a type used at Carngoon Bank and Trebarveth in the salt-making industry (Quinnell in Nowakowski et al 2007c, 37). Also found were a dozen radiate coins, which together with the imported amphorae that were discovered (*ibid.*) indicate a possible Roman trading site. Pottery of a similar date to sherds from Porth Godrevy were discovered within the Crane Godrevy round ditch, alongside later ceramics, whilst other finds within the ditch fills included pottery, metalwork including a rare late fourth- to fifth-century copper alloy buckle, stonework, charcoal, molluscs and animal bone (Nowakowski et al 2007c, 51).

### ***Early medieval features***

Early medieval activity has been found at the sub-sites of Gwithian (GM/I), Hockin's Pit, Crane Godrevy and Sandy Lane, with St Gothian's Chapel and Conarton also probable early medieval sites.

The early post-Roman period of occupation at GM/I was in the form of what Thomas describes as a small hut, with evidence for the use of pottery similar to the late Roman forms and dating to the fifth century, which Thomas named "Gwithian Style", as well as some sherds of imported red wheel-made amphorae and low dishes from the Eastern Mediterranean (1958, 20), now known to be sherds of both Phocaeian and African Red Slip wares. This first phase of occupation was demolished and succeeded by a new phase of construction, of a series of huts (Figures 194-195) which appear to have superseded one another and which show evidence for occupation in the form of large shell middens, the working of iron, lead and bronze, and the consumption of cows, sheep and pigs (*ibid.*). The animal bones consisted of horse, dog, wild birds and fish, whilst the ceramic evidence showed that this community was using Gwithian Style pottery and imported wares, but with a change part-way through this phase to the use of a new style of badly-fired pot with a flat bottom, straight sides and "clumsy" in form, with finger-tip impressions and grass-markings on their base and lower sides (*ibid.*, 21), now known across the region as 'grass-marked ware'. At the end of this



aforementioned sub-site GM/I, with summaries of GMI, GMA, GMB, GME and GMIV, dating to the fifth to eighth centuries (Phases 3 and 4) (2007a, 36). These dates are a reconsideration of the evidence and therefore the above date of AD1000 mentioned by Thomas (1958) is likely to be erroneous. The site is instead described as being characterised by craft-based industries consisting of iron-working, leather-working, bone-working and perhaps also wood-working and fishing and it is thought that the structures may have been workshops or shelters, possibly seasonal, rather than permanent dwellings (Nowalowski et al 2007a, 36-37). Prior to this, there appears to have been an earlier phase at GMI also characterised by small-scale industrial activities (*ibid.*). The huts in phases 3 and 4 are elaborated on, with Huts 2 and 3 described respectively as a small, sub-square, single-celled stone and wood-built structure, within which was a central stone-lined hearth and a sub-rectangular stone, wood and turf structure with traces of two floor levels and two hearths (Nowakowski et al 2007a, 39-40). Features in this area included hearths and several pits, some of

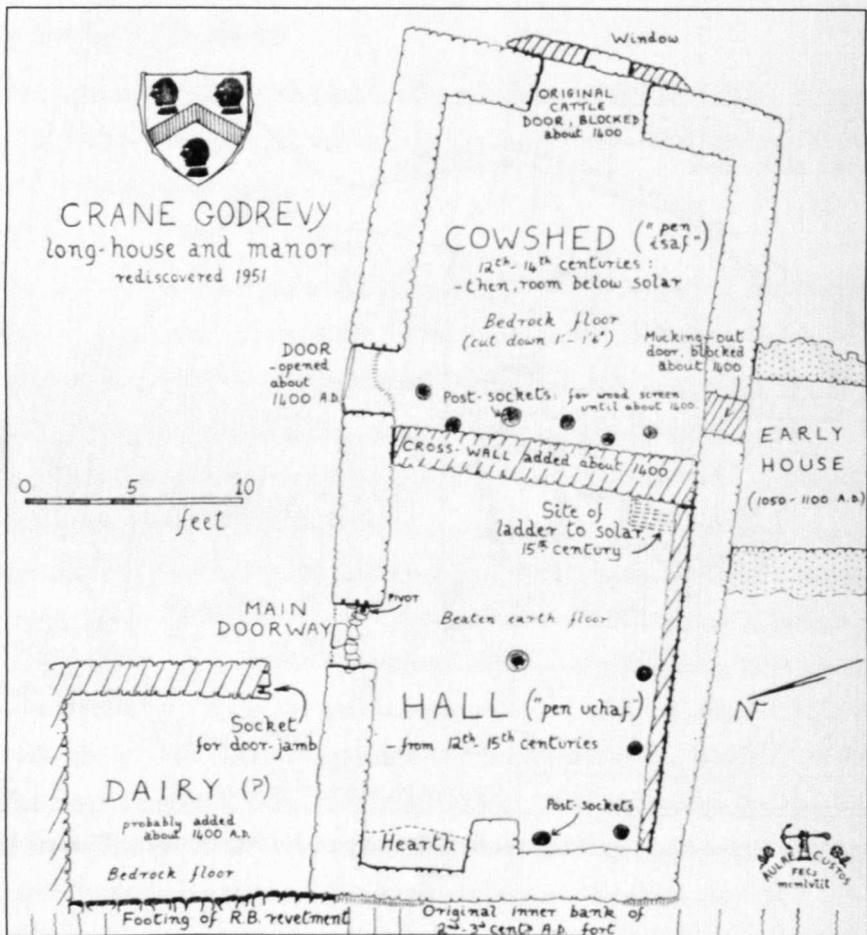
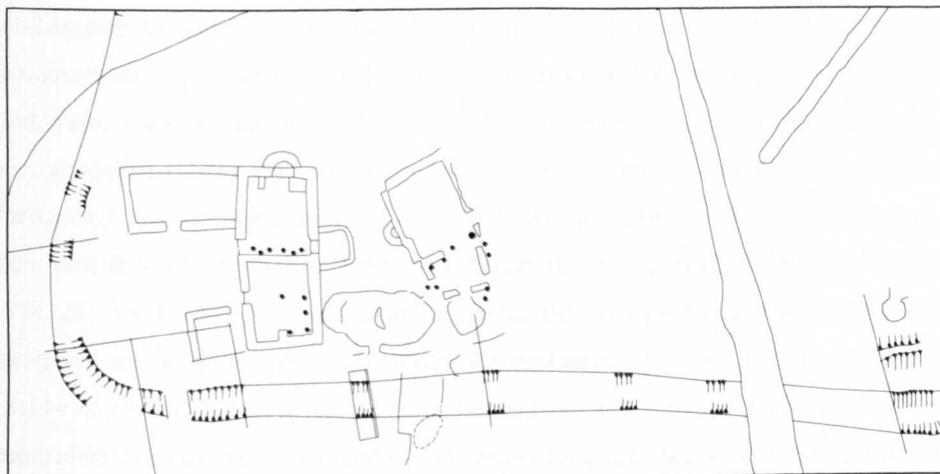


Figure 199 - Crane Godrevy house complex

which contained shell material and others appearing to have been for industrial purposes (*ibid.*, 41).



**Figure 200 - Updated interpretation of Crane Godrevy structures (Nowakowski et al 2007a, Figure 21)**

At GMA excavations revealed several phases of early medieval activity including at least six structures consisting of small sunken buildings, some with charcoal-rich depositions; GMB had occupation surfaces and debris including pottery, slag, stone and animal teeth; GME included occupation activity and middens; and finally GMIV comprised a complex series of layers and midden spreads as well as partially excavated linear features related to industrial activities (Nowakowski et al 2007a, 44-48). The more recent excavations have also produced a significant sunken-featured structure of stone-revetting, within a midden and not seen elsewhere in Cornwall, although a site in Tean excavated by Thomas in 1956 may be a parallel (Sturgess in Nowakowski et al 2007c, 44). Finds from this area of excavation consisted of two large groups of imported and local pottery, with the former consisting of large numbers of both Mediterranean and Continental pottery and the latter composed entirely of over a hundred sherds of Western French 'E' ware, whilst the local wares were divided into the Gwithian Style, grass-marked and bar-lug types with the former now dating to the late fifth to late seventh centuries (Thorpe & Thomas in Nowakowski et al 2007c, 44-45). The local wares from GMIV have not been included in this analysis, as the full inventory of sherds is yet to be published and therefore any analysis would be misleading here. The metalworking evidence is significant in the large amounts of both tap and run slag present, which alongside the presence of hearth bottoms suggests smithing was a major activity (*ibid.*, 47).

The evidence from Hockin's Pit consisted of the local Romano-Cornish wares as well as fifty sherds of Gwithian Style, dated to the fifth to seventh centuries by Quinnell (in Nowakowski et al 2007c, 48) and therefore contemporary to the GM/I site. Crane Godrevy represents a round which, instead of showing continuity of occupation from the Romano-British period, was re-occupied in the latter part of the early medieval period and therefore the inhabited structures within the round are very different to those found for example at Trethurgy. A series of early medieval structures was excavated which were found to lie within a sub-rectangular, or possibly triangular Romano-British enclosure (Thomas 1958, 28-29). The first early medieval features to be investigated were the ruins of a medieval homestead, with the Romano-British ditch discovered and investigated subsequently. Post-Roman ceramics were discovered associated with "sunken features" within the enclosure as well as overlying the enclosure ditch, whilst one stone-revetted structure had layers of deposition which included grass-marked and Sandy Lane ceramics, which were also found elsewhere in the cell-like structures discovered in the hollows (Nowakowski et al 2007a, 50-55).

Thomas describes the earliest post-Roman features at Crane Godrevy as a small rectangular structure with rounded corners, possibly dating to the eleventh century, in the floor of which were sherds of grass-marked pottery (1958, 28). This was subsequently replaced by a long, low building of the south-western longhouse type, with additional features added after initial construction (Figures 198-200) and set at right-angles to the former building. This dated to the mid-eleventh century onwards and one third of it was divided off from the rest of the interior by posts, and which was probably used for cattle or other animals (*ibid.*, 29). Similar structures are seen at Mawgan Porth (Taylor 1998, Figure 36 (a), 27). The alterations and additions to this structure are thought to have taken place from the mid-fourteenth century, when it was probably the manor of Crane Godrevy known from historical sources (*ibid.*, 30).

At Sandy Lane, finds were discovered on the surface as well as through brief excavations. These included a midden with at least four layers of deposition, each sandwiched between a layer of wind-blown sand and containing gabbroic and granitic wares including Sandy Lanes I, II and III (Thorpe & Thomas in Nowakowski et al 2007c, 48-49). The manorial site of Conarton, dating to the ninth to thirteenth centuries is also found on the south side of the Red River and may have been associated with the Sandy Lane site, prior to its inundation by sand in the thirteenth century (*ibid.*, 49). Historic accounts of the manor of Conarton, or Conarditone show it to have been about 5,600 acres, or seven hides, and encompassing most of Gwithian

parish, all of Phillack parish and parts of St Erth and Gwinear, with only one hide owned by the manorial lord, in this case the king (Thomas 1958, 27). Up until AD 1066 it was held by a Saxon named Brictric and the settlement was the paramount manor of the western Hundreds of Penwith, being called the Hundred de Conarditone until the twelfth century, whilst Thomas suggests that the Late Saxon and Norman settlements perpetuated the former tribal territories as well as their names (*ibid.*). St Gothian's Chapel, or oratory, was comprised of two parts, a nave and chancel, possibly dating to after the tenth century AD and with a possible chancel arch, whilst the discovery of bones nearby attest to a probable associated cemetery and the likelihood that the structure succeeded a previous "Celtic" chapel or church (Thomas 1958, 25). It is possible that St Gothian's was part of the deserted medieval settlement and manor of Conarton, a short distance to the east (*ibid.*).

It is possible to give a broad and basic occupation sequence for the Gwithian sub-sites based on the evidence discovered so far, with phase 1 indicating Late Roman occupation; phase 2 fifth- to eighth-century; phase 3 ninth to tenth century; phase 4 the eleventh to early twelfth and finally phase 5 to the later medieval period. These have been indicated on Figure 194 with numbering above the name of each sub-site, and show the potential movement of the Gwithian occupants from one site to another, as well as those sites which were likely to have been occupied at the same time. Alternatively, these sub-sites could have been various components of a larger encompassing settlement whose social group used each sub-site for different functions. Nevertheless it is possible to see polyfocal activity in the area, with the two principal sites of Gwithian (GMI) and Crane Godrevy showing reoccupation and therefore potential settlement relocation throughout the Late Roman and early medieval period.

#### **8.5.4 Gwithian and its hinterland**

This section assesses the evidence from the landscape surrounding Gwithian and the implications of the evidence from the site, of its function both in the wider settlement hierarchy and how it was perceived and interacted with surrounding sites. Figure 201 shows the site and approximately twelve kilometres of the surrounding landscape. It includes all Roman sites where Late Roman evidence has been discovered as well as other Roman sites also mentioned in the text.

### *Settlement features*

Prehistoric settlements in these hinterlands include the sites mentioned above, barrows thought to date to the Bronze Age and the earthworks and enclosures, many of which may instead be Romano-British rounds. The irregular and larger form of the earthworks at Trencrom suggests that they may be pre-Roman in date, as might several others, whilst all earthworks are located on the upland areas for the most part, with no particular coastal or inland distribution, although the bias is slightly towards the former. One certain Roman site is the villa at Magor, constructed in the mid-second century by an insular social group or family in the classic Roman style and occupied until the mid-third, after which “squatters” appeared to have occupied it, although this may instead have been a much-reduced continuity of settlement by the original occupants (Thomas 1958, 17). This site was contemporary to Porth Godrevy and Hockin’s Pit at Gwithian, and yet there is no evidence to suggest contact between them, or to explain why settlement continued at these sites and not at Magor. It is possible that the ‘old’ insular Romano-British sites with Iron Age origins had a greater strength in traditional culture and therefore it was to these sites that people returned (or indeed never left), suggesting that not only did insular traditions continue throughout Roman control of the South West, but that they remained stronger than Roman traditions of building, normally thought of as ‘superior’.

This is visible in the Romano-British ceramics found at the round at Reawla, whilst local Romano-Cornish pottery discovered adjacent to Trevarnon Round may be related to settlement at this site. Significantly, activity did not continue at the villa at Magor, despite the settlement having been located within a former enclosure and therefore showing a degree of continuity between the Iron Age and early Roman periods.

Early medieval settlement activity appears to have been located predominantly in coastal regions, consisting of the Gwithian sub-sites discussed previously, local and imported ceramics from Phillack and local grass-marked sherds and an associated structure discovered on Phillack Towans (Somerscales 1956, 9-14; 1960). Also at the coast were the local wares from Tregenna and Trink, consisting of six sherds from an un-stratified context at the former and a tenth- or early eleventh-century rim sherd at the latter, possibly bar-lug. There is also a possible early medieval settlement to the south of Magor, although the nature of this is unknown. Reawla is the only site with probable fifth- to eighth-century activity to be found further inland - apart from the

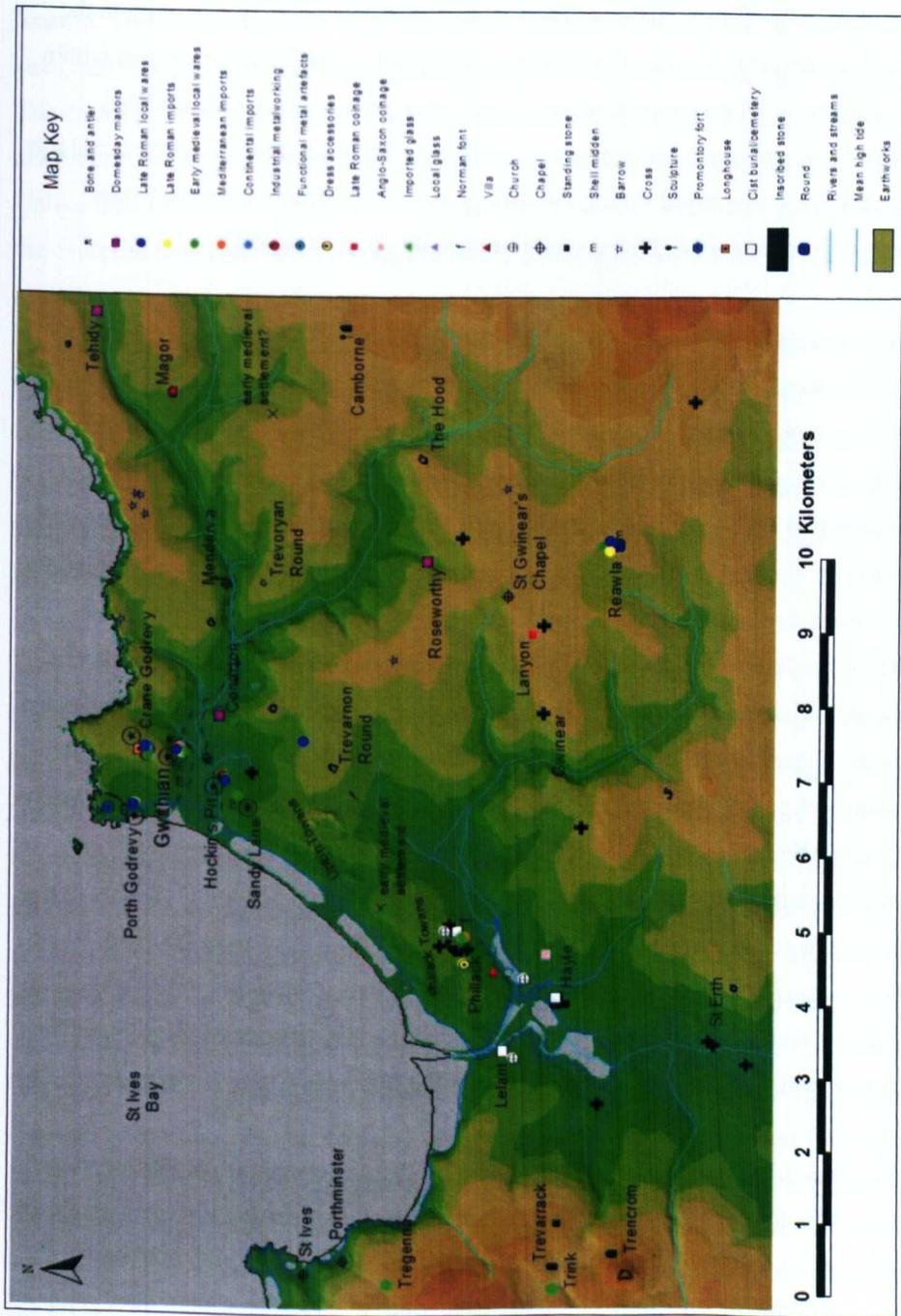


Figure 201 - Gwithian and hinterland

various religious sites – consisting of Late and post-Roman pottery and imported glass initially dated to the first to third centuries (Appleton 1992, 113) but apparently included in Campbell's research as Group C sixth- to seventh-century shards (2007a, 68). Another former prehistoric and Roman settlement to be reoccupied was the apparent round at Crane Godrevy, however unlike that at Trethurgy, activity in the fifth to seventh centuries was found down the hill at the GM/I site rather than within the round, although it appears that, given the apparent temporary nature of the structures here, the main settlement site for this period is yet to be discovered and it is likely that it was destroyed during the later phases of construction within Crane Godrevy (Nowakowski & Thomas in Nowakowski et al 2007c, 54).

For the most part it therefore appears that fifth- to ninth-century settlement activity was within these coastal margins, with those immediately on the coast, at Phillack and Gwithian, showing the ability to obtain imported wares. The former tidal estuary of *Dour Conar* at Gwithian would have allowed vessels direct access to the site, as is possible still at Phillack, rather than the one-kilometre distance to the coast seen today. From the ninth century, sites such as Conarton, Roseworthy and Tehidy are thought to have existed, suggesting territorial boundaries which, rather than reflecting new borders in the landscape, might show the continuation of pre-existing 'estates'. The manor of Conarton has been located adjacent to Gwithian, however it should be noted that some historical accounts place it further towards Phillack and on the towans of this stretch of coast (Thomas 1958, 27). Tehidy is located to the north and Roseworthy is inland, up the valley of the River Conor. There are no known manors south of Roseworthy within this area and it is possible that this land belonged to manors to the south. Thomas' summaries of the historical evidence from the Exeter Domesday and the Domesday Exchequer suggest that the territory of the Conarditone manor occupied much of the area within Figure 197, and included the Hayle estuary but excluded the Godrevy Headland, which was known later as the Manor of Crane Godrevy (*ibid.*, 26).

The evidence from this case study has shown a degree of continuity of site locations from the Iron Age which persisted throughout the Romano-British and early medieval periods, until roughly the ninth to eleventh centuries when new parish boundaries and manorial settlements came into being. It is uncertain whether these latter sites were located on pre-existing settlements across the whole region, as was the case at Crane Godrevy, whilst Conarton appears to have been associated with later activity in the form of the Sandy Lane site and its ceramic evidence.

### *Imports and Gwithian as a central place*

The evidence from Gwithian includes relatively rare Roman and Anglo-Saxon coinage. The Late Roman coins were discovered nearby to Phillack, on Hayle estuary, and further inland at Lanyon, where the nearest known Late Roman settlement was at Reawla. These coins appear to take the form of casual losses rather than hoards at both sites, and reflect a possible use in trade, perhaps with merchants landing in the estuary. The discovery of a Late Saxon silver halfpenny of Edward the Confessor at Hayle is also important, as it may reflect monetary activity and possible forms of exchange. Unlike Gwithian, where the metal evidence reflects various forms of metalworking, the evidence here consists of a single find of a cast copper-alloy buckle frame dating roughly to the tenth century, with animal-head decoration that suggests it to have been made in Hiberno-Norse Dublin and based on Anglo-Saxon forms (Portable Antiquities record, CORN-EC5F13). This is highly important as it reflects a potential trade link with Ireland and therefore other areas in the Atlantic zone. This strengthens the idea of Phillack as a potential contemporary of Gwithian as a trading site; however, there is a likely alternative, as the greater amount of religious activity at Phillack may have included a religious settlement and potentially an associated elite settlement in the area.

Imported goods have been discovered at Phillack in the form of a sherd of Phocaean Red Slip; at Reawla where remains of a probable fifth- to sixth-century imported glass vessel were found, and at Gwithian sub-site GMI, where imported pottery from the Mediterranean and the Continent was excavated in association with a shard from a pale yellow-green cone beaker of Anglo-Frankish tradition within the sub-circular huts or 'workshops'. Although the evidence from Gwithian - the result of a very long period of systematic landscape study and excavations - is heavily biased in comparison to that of Phillack and other sites in the area, it is nevertheless significant. The large number and range of imported ceramics at GMI, coupled with its apparent function as an industrial site, strongly suggests that it also had an important function as the focus for trade within the immediate area, with the ability to produce items in order to reciprocate this trade, something that may have evolved as trade-relations were built up after the end of Roman rule or perhaps as a result of the inheritance of the knowledge of this area by Mediterranean merchants in Roman times.

The discovery of the briquetage at Porth Godrevy and its probable use in the making and trading of salt could have been the origin of this continued contact with contacts

overseas, both in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. The particularly large number of Western French ceramics at the site is important, but its relevance is dependant on the nature of these vessels and how they were used. The function of these pots as everyday items, although perhaps used for storage rather than as cooking pots (Campbell 2007a, 49), may not have negated their status as luxury items, as the large number of sherds discovered at the sites within this project suggests that they were traded more regularly or in larger numbers than the Mediterranean goods.

The imported glass from Reawla raises questions as to how it made its way to the site, and where from. Although the long period of landscape study in the Gwithian area has created a bias in the evidence from the relatively large assemblage of imports at the site, the possibility that it was a major trading centre, and therefore a central place in local and regional settlement hierarchy, is highly likely given that the number of imports rival those from Tintagel and Bantham and are far in excess of any others found across the West Penwith peninsula in the fifth to eighth centuries. Gwithian can therefore be seen in this context as a specialised centre, with associated industrial and craft-related activities and links to a “wider world beyond the shoreline at Gwithian” (Nowakowski & Thomas in Nowakowski et al 2007c, 55).

### ***Pre- and Early Christian features***

These consist of standing stones, cist burials, inscribed stones, Anglo-Saxon sculpture, fonts, crosses, chapels and churches. The inscribed stones are located at Trevarrack, Trencrom, Hayle, Phillack and Camborne and although it is not known whether they were all moved from an original location, it is likely that those for example at Hayle and Phillack where there are multiple, inscribed stones, concentrations of burial, commemoration and Early Christian activity, are near to their original site. At Hayle and Phillack one stone was inscribed with a chi-rho, and another at Phillack with Ogham script. Those with chi-rho represent very early Christian sites, possibly dating to the fourth to fifth centuries and may have become religious foci around which features such as the cist cemeteries, churches and crosses developed. Three cist cemeteries are found in the area, all on the Hayle estuary. Artefacts discovered in the cemetery at Phillack place it in the post-Roman period, with east-west graves suggesting Christianity. The Hayle (St Erth) burial was found under a cairn, associated with ashes and charcoal and with a stone with a Latin inscription dated by Charles Thomas to the fifth century and reading "Here in peace lately went to rest Cunaide. Here in the grave she lies. She lived 33 years." (Petts 2001) and suggesting she may

have been a woman of importance, whilst that at Lelant is an old reference to a cemetery which may date to the fourth or fifth centuries AD.

Anglo-Saxon sculpture was found at Phillack and Camborne, suggestive of either the removal of these carvings from a site further to the east and under Anglo-Saxon control, or an Anglo-Saxon influence on religious iconography or traditions. That from Camborne dates to the tenth to eleventh centuries and is part of an inscribed stone, the decoration on which was 'T' fret patterning, a Scandinavian influence found on ninth- to tenth-century Cornish and Welsh sculpture (Okaska 1993, 82-83), whilst the Phillack example is described as either an eleventh-century hog-back stone or a ninth-century coped solid tomb cover. A Norman font was also discovered at Phillack, whilst another, now located in Tuckinmill Church at Camborne, came from the former chapel at Mendarva which may have gone out of use in the eleventh to twelfth centuries (Thomas 1970, 139-140). There are thirteen crosses in the area, not including the aforementioned chi-rho at Phillack. Here, the crosses consist of a churchyard cross with Christ depicted in relief and a panel with interlaced design on the shaft, thought to date to pre-Conquest times, as well as a wayside cross-head (Langdon 1999, 52-54). The three crosses in the vicinity of St Erth are a churchyard cross with five bosses and a relief of Christ; a pre-Norman cross-shaft with a figure of Christ and a panel of two-cord interlace; and nearby at Battery Mill, a wayside cross with a figure of Christ in relief (*ibid.*, 28-30). The four crosses in the Gwinear region are all wayside crosses, two of which were wheel-headed and the others Latin, one of which had a relief of Christ (*ibid.*, 36-38; 53). Finally the cross at Gwithian was a wheel-headed wayside cross, possibly marking the route to the old parish church or chapel of St Gothian's. Similarly, the wayside crosses in the region of Gwinear may have marked the position of old roads or trackways, both between and towards Gwinear Chapel and the complex of churches on the Hayle estuary, as Long Tom, near St Cleer on Bodmin Moor, would have done (Figure 202). Those wayside crosses at Phillack and St Erth may originally have been located elsewhere, whilst the pre-Norman decoration and origin of the cross at Phillack and that at St Erth attest to the longevity of these sites as Christian foci in the landscape.

There are five chapels in the area, some of which are extant, at St Ives, Porthminster, St Gwinears, Gwithian and Mendarva, with three early churches at Hayle, Phillack and Lelant. St Ives is a possible early medieval chapel within a pre-Saxon lann or graveyard (Noall 1964, 34-6) whilst Porthminster exists only from hearsay (HER PRN 29909.01). St Gwinears is similarly known from historical sources but also visible as

an earthwork, although no known excavation to investigate it has taken place (HER PRN 29560). Mendarva is the probable site of St Devra's Chapel, which may have stood in a lann before being rebuilt in stone in the eleventh or twelfth century (Thomas



**Figure 202 - Long Tom wayside cross, near St Cleer, Bodmin Moor (Author's photograph)**

1970, 139-40). The inscribed altar stone at Camborne is thought to have come from here originally. St Felicitas' Church at Phillack is first recorded in the twelfth century as 'Egglosheil' in Cornish, meaning 'church on an estuary'. The inscribed chi-rho

stone also found here, may be indicative of an earlier church or chapel (CAU Report 2001R007), particularly given the multiple features at this site, however the current church is fifteenth-century in date. St Uny's Church at Lelant dates to the twelfth century, whilst documentary sources suggest an earlier sixth- or seventh-century church or chapel existed on the site prior to this (HER PRN 31061). Finally, St Gothians has been described in 8.5.3 as a chapel or oratory dating to after the tenth century and possibly being associated with the local Norman manor in later years, subsequently being contemporary to the Crane Godrevy settlement.

The three churches at Hayle, Phillack and Lelant, plus the extensive evidence for Early Christian activity around the Hayle estuary, particularly at the Phillack complex, point towards a potentially important focus for Early Christian worship across the whole area and even the entire study region. Whilst there is little evidence for exchange within the estuary, it may have been a focus instead for worship and contact overseas with Brittany and Ireland, although this is of course purely speculative. It is also markedly different from the former Gwithian estuary and sub-sites, with little settlement evidence from the Late Roman or post-Roman periods, and suggests that whilst Gwithian may have fulfilled the needs for a site of exchange and industry, at least in the fifth to eighth centuries, it did not become the important religious centre that Phillack and to a lesser extent Lelant and Hayle, seem to have become. The presence of the inscribed stones at the latter sites also indicates an early tradition in burial, commemoration or worship not seen at Gwithian and it is probable that these sites interacted to an extent.

### **8.5.5 Summary**

The evidence from this case study presents Gwithian as an important site within the local settlement hierarchy, with a large number of imports, a range of what appear to be industrial workshops at GM/I and potentially the structural evidence for associated settlement within the Crane Godrevy round. However, imported goods from this sub-site, which would then reflect the role of the site as a consumer of the goods traded down on the shoreline, are yet to be discovered. If this were the case, then Crane Godrevy could be viewed as a contemporary of Trethurgy as an elite site - if we are to view imported goods as luxury items - but with the added advantage of direct control over the site importing these items and perhaps with an active involvement in the production of other objects for reciprocal trade. The lack of Byzantine coinage from

the area suggests this exchange was in kind rather than monetary, although the Roman coinage found in the region indicates that this might not always have been the case.

There is a strong degree of continuity from Romano-British to early medieval, a feature that is seen at Reawla to an extent, but not at the Magor villa, where settlement evidence gradually decreased in the Late Roman period, despite the former Iron Age and early Romano-British use as a round, and presumably with the relocation of the community elsewhere in the post-Roman era. This continuity is visible at sites also used in prehistory but also in the role or function of trade at the Gwithian sites, perhaps with Roman salt-making at Porth Godrevy giving way to a wider range of exchange with the Mediterranean and elsewhere. The fact that much of the Late Roman activity is also in this area could indicate the 'shrinking' of activity towards Gwithian and the *Dour Conar* estuary, and it is noticeable that there is no Late Roman settlement evidence in the Hayle and Phillack region.

It is hard not to visualise the potential importance of Gwithian to the surrounding settlements in the landscape and yet there is little evidence, other than the glass from Reawla, to suggest that there was interaction and exchange through localised systems between them. It may be that this is yet to be discovered, particularly given the in-depth landscape study in the Gwithian region, with as yet unexcavated sites such as the Iron Age rounds of Trevarnon and Trevoryan potentially yielding further evidence for elite or non-elite early medieval occupation and consumption. As previously mentioned, there is also likely to have been interaction with the sites on the Hayle estuary, specifically those with certain and probable fifth to eighth-century activity and including the sites with inscribed stones. Although there are possible burials adjacent to St Gothian's Chapel, this has yet to be proven and religious focus within the region prior to the construction of this chapel may have been at Phillack or Hayle. The sand dunes at Gwithian and the towans towards Phillack are capable of concealing nearer and therefore easily accessible burial sites, whilst the four kilometre distance to the nearest cemetery at Phillack does not seem a feasible distance for the transportation of the dead. It is therefore possible to envisage a degree of activity and interaction between these two foci, although the assignation of a solely-religious focus for Phillack and central place of exchange for Gwithian is too simplistic. The latter may have been the principle elite settlement in the area, not by inheritance but perhaps by the creation of its own material wealth. Gwithian and its sub-sites therefore remain an important area of activity in the early medieval South West, with potential influence on a wide range of sites in its hinterland.

## 8.6 Mawgan Porth

### 8.6.1 Introduction

Mawgan Porth is located on the north Cornish coast, north of Newquay and Kelsey Head, and north-west of St Columb Major roughly seven kilometres inland. This ten-kilometre stretch of west-facing coastline is characterised by numerous small inlets and sandy beaches, with the promontories of Towan Head to the south at Newquay and Park Head to the north. The site itself is located fifty-five metres from the sea, on the northern slope of the Vale of Lanherne and facing south onto the floodplain of the River Menalhyl (Taylor 1997, *xi*). The name of Mawgan Porth itself implies a former function as a landing place, perhaps during the Roman period, and refers to both the modern settlement and the bay below it, whilst that of Menalhyl includes the element *heyl* meaning estuary and may refer to the estuary of the hills, or mill (Padel 1985, 126). The site and its associated cemetery were discovered buried beneath a layer of blown sand resulting from the prevailing south-westerly winds and which runs across the north slope of the Lanherne Valley, where it merges with both ancient and modern settlements at Mawgan Porth (Ashbee in Taylor 1997, 65). Although these towans are far smaller than those found at Kelsey Head and Gwithian, they retain their dune-like characteristics above the area of excavation and across the cemetery site.

### 8.6.2 Archaeological background

The first archaeological discovery was a skeleton in 1934; however the site was not fully excavated until 1950, when building development caused a more comprehensive investigation of the entire site in 1950-1954 by Rupert Bruce-Mitford (Taylor 1997, *xi*). The site was then scheduled and investigated further in 1974 by Ernest Greenfield, when improvements to the golf course caused a further small area of the site to be excavated (*ibid.*, *xi*; 71). The primary discovery of the skeleton also produced stone walls, pottery and bone fragments, whilst the skeleton was found within a rough cist of stone slabs with no associated gravegoods. The 1950-1954 and 1974 excavations uncovered three distinct groups of buildings termed 'courtyard houses' by Bruce-Mitford (Taylor 1997, 4); however, unlike the Iron Age and Romano-British examples on West Penwith, these are all rectangular structures, in some cases surrounding a central courtyard (Figure 203).

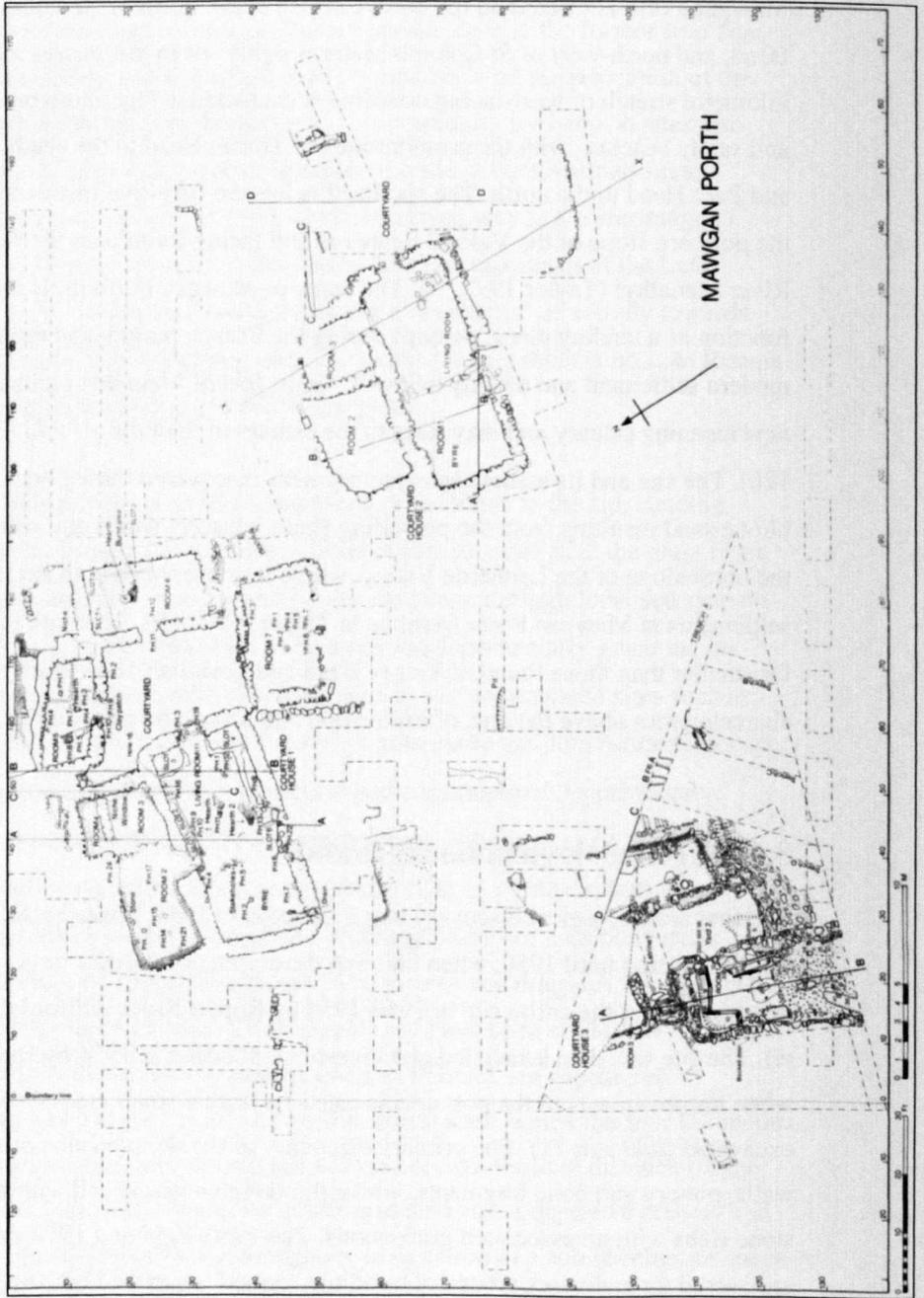


Figure 203 - Courtyard houses 1, 2 and 3 at Mawgan Porth (Taylor 1997, Figure 3)

Only Courtyard House 1 was fully excavated, with the other two partially investigated. Associated archaeological material consisted of burials, early medieval ceramics, stones used for various purposes such as thatch weights or net-sinkers, a coin of Aethelred II minted at Lydford, bone objects such as knife handles and tools, a few iron objects and animal bone. The ceramics broadly date the site to c. AD 850-1050 although the grass-marked sherds could date to as early as the sixth century.

### 8.6.3 Archaeology at Mawgan Porth

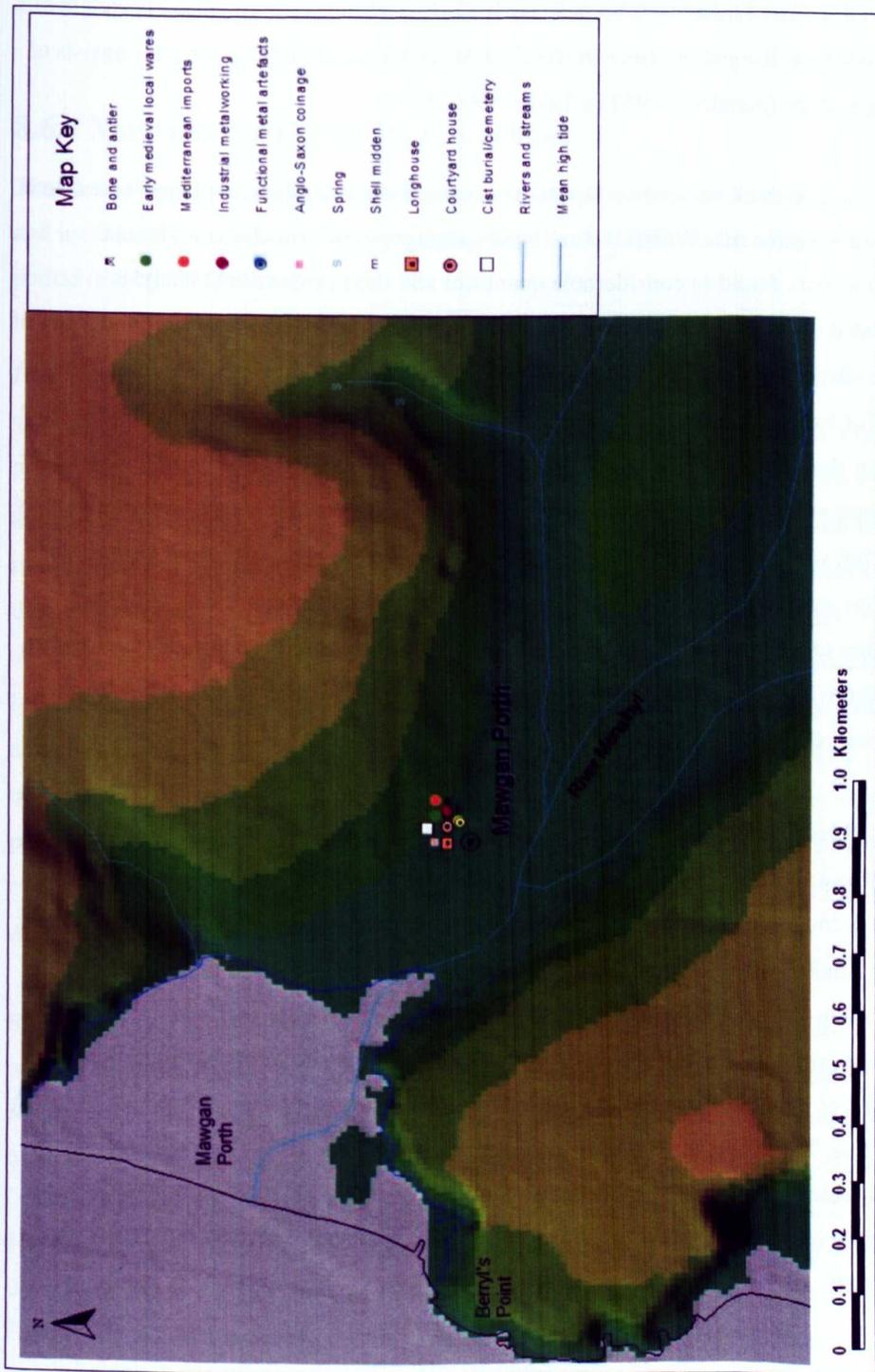
No prehistoric or Romano-British finds were discovered, although there are findspots and excavations in the area which will be discussed in 8.6.5. Figure 204 shows the location of the site at the head of the Lanherne Valley, on a slope overlooking the bay below, which would have been a good beaching point or landing place, as well as having other important maritime resources such as shellfish and fish. Fresh water would have been available both from the stream below the site and the springs issuing from a nearby valley, whilst the settlement would have been protected to an extent by the headland culminating in Berryl's Point.

Early medieval structural evidence consisted of the three courtyard houses and associated buildings (Figure 203), with Courtyard House 3 considered to be earlier than the other two complexes (Taylor 1997, 87). Each house structure had a long main room, one end of which was partitioned off to accommodate livestock, whilst the remaining and larger area would have been used for a living space, with hearth and box beds or storage places constructed or defined by stone slabs set in rock-cut slots, and wall-cupboards (Taylor 1997, 5). A door opened from the end of the living area into a courtyard, the remaining sides of which were closed either by lesser rooms also opening onto the courtyard, or in the case of Courtyard House 2, by a wall, whilst a second door opened onto the hillside from the side of the inhabited part of the long room (*ibid.*). Entrances to the courtyard from the outside were only found in the case of the fully-excavated Courtyard House 1, where a narrow passage was discovered in the south-east corner of the yard, leading out to the east (*ibid.*). This house also had a drain. Trenches over Houses 1 and 2 showed evidence for structures existing prior to their construction (*ibid.*, 27), suggesting settlement continuity.

The formation of these structures to incorporate a courtyard is highly reminiscent of the circular courtyard houses of West Penwith, despite the lack of thick outer walls, and it is possible to see this feature as a way of protecting the settlement against the

elements, particularly during the winter months. It may have been that this sheltering feature, whether with or without the speculated roof that is thought to have occurred at sites such as Chysauster, was a prehistoric feature that was incorporated into the longhouse structure seen elsewhere from the ninth century at Crane Godrevy and at later twelfth-century examples such as Tresmorn (Beresford 1971, 57-62). The insular nature of the site is also seen in the material culture discovered within the structural evidence. This included over 2000 sherds forming up to 600 vessels broadly of the same fabric of handmade grass-marked and bar-lug cooking pots, as well as flat-bottomed dishes or plates, one round-bottomed bowl, a possible jug or pitcher and several flat, rimless ceramic slabs which have been interpreted as trenchers, platters or 'bread boards' (Bruce-Mitford, in Taylor 1997, 71). Apart from the grass-markings, only a few sherds are seen to have had the decorated rims seen at Gwithian and Gunwalloe, whilst one sherd has the impression of a mat or other coarse textile (*ibid.*, 71-7), indicating the presence of these textiles either at the site or in the vicinity, depending on where the vessel was produced. The lack of Norman ceramics suggests that the site was abandoned some time during the eleventh century, although one sherd is reminiscent of medieval design and could indicate an influence on the local material culture of the site, and therefore occupation into the late eleventh century. On the surface of the final occupation layer of Room 1 in Courtyard House 2, a sherd of imported combed amphorae was also discovered (*ibid.*, 89), identified as being Later Roman 2 from the eastern Mediterranean and dating to the sixth and seventh centuries. The sherd was very worn and found at the interface with the first deposition of blown sand that indicates the abandonment of the site (*ibid.*). Whether this indicates the use of imported goods is unclear; however, the presence of similar imports at nearby Trevarn Bay reflects the probable activity of Mediterranean merchants along this part of the coast.

Stone artefacts included those used as hammerstones, rubbers, grinders and smoothers possibly used for leatherworking, thatch weights or net sinkers, and several smaller perforated stones of unknown use. All of these items were among a collection of water-worn stones found within the structural evidence and appear to have been brought up from the beach (Taylor 1997, 80). Fragmentary quernstones and handmills were also found; however there were none of the stone bowls and weights seen at Trethurgy of probable Romano-Cornish origin. This may be unsurprising given the fact that no Roman-period settlement has yet been discovered at Mawgan Porth. The single coin of Aethelred II discovered in House 1 was minted at Lydford in Devon, between AD 990 and 995 (*ibid.*, 85). Its presence could indicate monetary exchange



between Mawgan Porth and other settlements and while there is little evidence for items which would have been imported into the site rather than produced locally, the large number of bar-lug and grass-marked ceramics could have been brought in from production sites further to the south, particularly given that bar-lug also appears to have been exchanged overseas in the Channel Islands, although so far this consists of a single sherd (Kendrick 1930 in Taylor 1997, 80).

Middens and thick occupation layers containing domestic refuse in places were found across the entire site. Within it were bones, shell material and charcoal. Faunal remains were found in considerable quantities and their proportional analysis consisted of 50% of sheep bones, 44.5% of domestic cattle, 3.25% of pigs and 1.6% of horse (Bruce-Mitford in Taylor 1997, 86). It is suggested that sheep would have been kept for wool, milk, meat and other by-products, whilst pigs may have been important in their diet but processed elsewhere, therefore explaining the relatively small number of bones within the assemblage (*ibid.*). Evidence suggests that horses were not kept as food but would have been eaten in bad winters and were otherwise ridden (*ibid.*), or perhaps used as draught animals. The large proportions of sheep, cattle and other remains suggest a small farming community, with the capacity to be self-reliant when coupled with large quantities of shellfish, particularly mussels, as would be expected at a coastal site (*ibid.*).

Bone objects at the site consisted of a shaped piece probably used as a scoop for extracting shellfish from their shells; a piece with incised decoration of concentric rings, a small fragment possibly from a comb with incised line decoration, and a bone knife handle with circle and dot motif and rivet holes for the knife tang (Bruce-Mitford in Taylor 1997, 85). The first object, coupled with the shells in the midden deposits, reflects the reliance on coastal resources at the site, probably incorporating the diet of a farming community that was heavily reliant on seasonal produce from the coastline. The small amount of iron evidence suggests the ability to exchange on a small scale for knives and other tools, but the single piece of sheet iron is not enough evidence for a metal-working industry at the site, although they may have made their own tools.

The associated cemetery was discovered approximately twenty metres to the north-west of Courtyard House 1 and consisted of at least twenty-three burials in three different forms of cist. Although there was no evidence to link the burials to the settlement, Ashbee states that their relationship should be considered as irrefutable (in

Taylor 1997, 63). Where the skeletal remains were present, eight were of adults and eight of children, with the majority of the latter grouped together in one part of the cemetery, and with no evidence for these burials being of a Christian community, although they are all aligned similarly and with their heads to the west (*ibid.*, 66-70).

## **8.6.4 Mawgan Porth and its hinterland**

The area of hinterland under study encompasses approximately ten square kilometres and includes settlement and activity ranging from the Neolithic to the early medieval period (Figure 205).

### ***Prehistoric and Romano-British settlement and activity***

The earliest evidence in this case study is the Neolithic sites near St Mawgan. Figure 205 shows the high density of barrows across the downland to the east of this area, assumed to be Bronze Age. The majority of earthwork sites in the form of hillforts and rounds appear to be located more than three kilometres from the coast and mainly in the margins of the uplands. They also avoid the Downs where the barrows and standing stones are distributed, apart from the Iron Age Castle-an-Dinas multi-vallate hillfort which dominates Castle Downs. Four promontory forts are found along this stretch of coast and have all been dated to the Iron Age. At Trevelgue however, occupation continued into the Romano-British period, with one building overlying this phase and thought to date to the early medieval period, whilst the discovery of Roman coinage highlights the relative importance of this site in the Roman period (Croft Andrew 1940, 175).

Several of these hillforts and rounds show evidence for continuity into the early medieval period, such as Tregear which shows possible Roman or early medieval reoccupation, and Lanhainsworth, which when investigated produced possible gullies around insular roundhouses, radiocarbon dated to the fifth to sixth centuries AD and indicating either continuity or re-use of the settlement (Lawson Jones 2001a, 1-15). Further Romano-British activity is seen at Nanskeval where several silver coins were discovered in a pot, whilst previously in this area a tin ingot had been found, bearing a Roman stamp and a worn inscription (Taylor 1997, 4), possibly reading 'dominorum nostrorum' or "the tin of our lords the emperors". This formula occurs on various metal bars and ingots of the third and fourth centuries and implies that they were Imperial property. This suggests that there was a degree of Roman activity in the area,

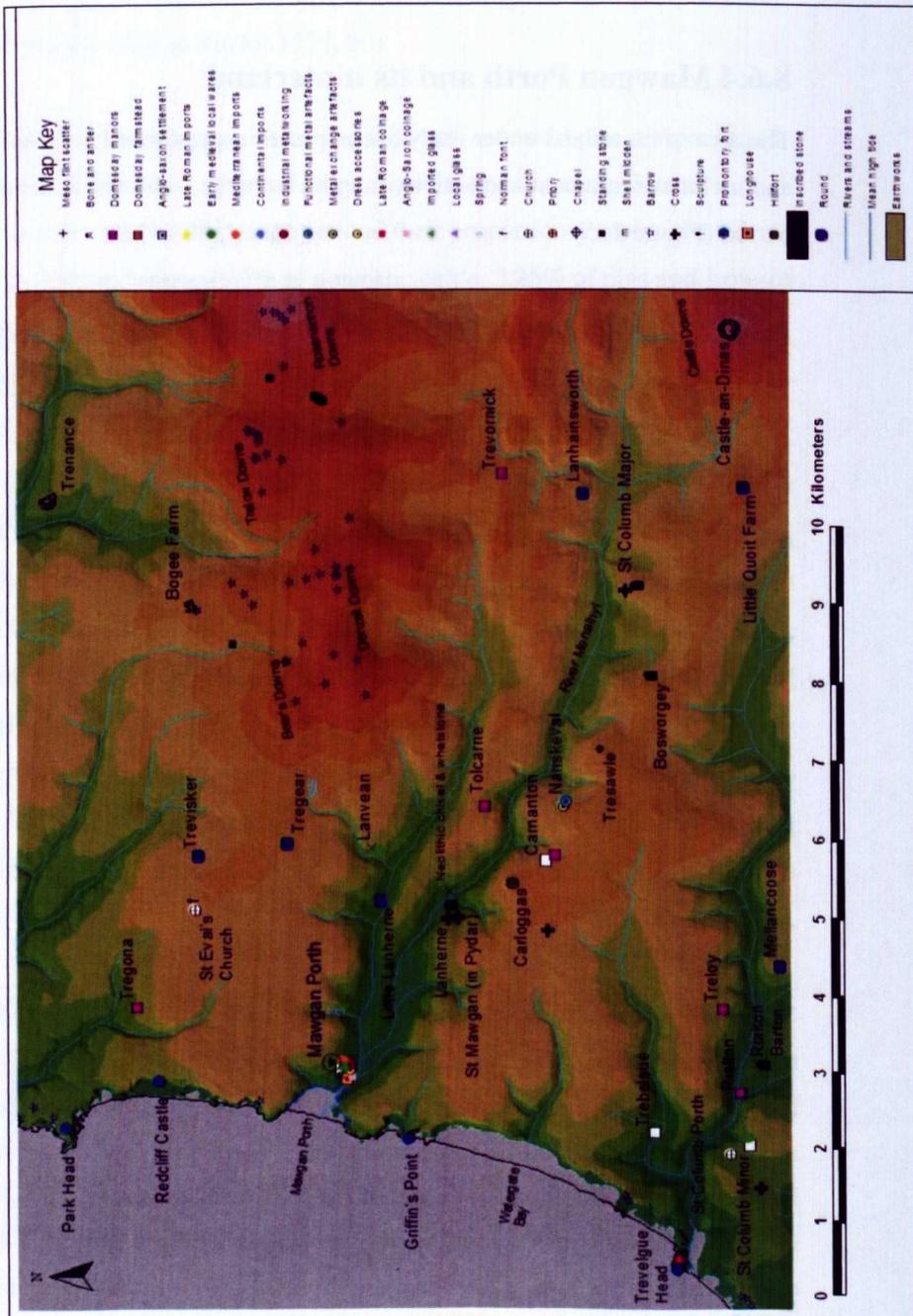


Figure 205 - Mawgan Porth and hinterland

whether through organised mineral extraction and working, or indicating trade and possibly some element of imperial control over this territory.

### ***Early medieval settlement and activity***

Early medieval settlements in the Mawgan Porth hinterland appear to have been concentrated primarily along the river valleys and in semi-lowland areas, including the occupation of former prehistoric or Romano-British sites such as Lanhainsworth, Tregear and possibly also at Trevelgue Head. Early medieval sites are also concentrated more towards the coast, or at least within five kilometres of it, and consist of Mawgan Porth, St Columb Porth, St Columb Minor and Lanvean, all of which are characterised by locally-produced early medieval ceramics, mainly in the form of grass-marked or bar-lug wares. The only structural evidence is at Mawgan Porth and the probable site at Lanhainsworth, two very different sites in terms of settlement structures and date ranges, although locally-produced ceramics indicate other nearby settlements. Of those sites which have been excavated, Mawgan Porth is the only one to show evidence for trade, albeit slight, but also for sustained occupation over several centuries, and structural evidence for what appears to have been an amalgamation of prehistoric and early medieval settlement forms and therefore a 'new' form of site in the South West. These sub-rectangular forms appear to have been an insular development that replaced the sub-circular structures commonly inhabited in the fifth to seventh centuries at former prehistoric and Romano-British sites such as Trethurgy, and also perhaps at Lanhainsworth. Later settlement for this period is known only from the Domesday records, although Mawgan Porth would have been contemporary with some of these sites. They consist of Rialton, Treloy, Carnanton, Tolcarne, Trevornick and Tregona and are located in groups in association with the stream valleys.

### ***Early Christian features***

There are four cist cemeteries in the study area, at Mawgan Porth, Trebelsue, Carnanton and St Columb Minor. Carnanton is thought to date to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries and to have been contemporary with the Norman manor adjacent to the site (Preston-Jones 1984, 161), whilst Trebelsue is also thought to have been associated with a nearby chapel, although as yet the site is undated (Petts 2001, 51) as is St Columb Minor cemetery. Although none of these sites have produced Early Christian artefacts, it is likely that the Mawgan Porth and Carnanton sites would have been for Christian communities. The inscribed stones at St Mawgan, Rialton,

Bosworrey and St Columb Major are indicative of different forms of commemoration. That at St Columb is un-dated, whilst the Bosworrey stone dates very roughly to the fifth to eleventh centuries.

The inscribed stone at Lanherne may have been relocated here from Roseworthy near Truro and has been described as a preaching cross with a four-holed cross at the top, Hiberno-Saxon inscriptions and panelled decoration consisting of figure of eight knotwork, triple-beaded knotwork and zoomorphic interlace decoration (Langdon 2002, 57). A similar stone is known at Sancreed, where the second inscription suggests the name of the same mason, and the nature of the script itself is indicative of links with Ireland and possibly Dublin, or influences from the Anglo-Saxon east through both overland routes and the seaways. This evidence for possible Atlantic contact increases the potential importance of this site as well as others along the north Cornish coast, in our understanding of contact and trade between the South West and sites such as Dunadd (Lane et al 2000) and Dinas Powys in South Wales (Campbell 2007, 83-101).

At Rialton, the Latin name or title on the stone suggests a sixth- to eighth-century date. At St Mawgan and St Columb Porth the stones appear to have been part of the growth of importance of these sites as religious centres, however at both sites there is no early chapel or church foundation and the inscribed stone at St Mawgan is known to have been brought to the site from elsewhere. At St Columb Minor the church is of Norman origin, probably around c. AD 1100 and replaced relatively soon after in the mid-twelfth century by a structure that was later known as the chapelry of the College of Crantock. The evidence therefore for Early Christian communities and sites suggests less activity than in the Gwithian study area.

### **8.6.5 Summary**

Mawgan Porth remains unparalleled in the South West both in its structural evidence but also in the range of artefacts and occupation sequences. The interior hearths, box beds and wall-cupboards are of a style described as 'insular' and seen at other sites in the Atlantic fringes of Britain. The size of the structures and number of ceramics found would suggest a sizeable community for this period and yet there is little evidence to suggest that it was anything other than a small farming community, with the ability to be self-sufficient, but lacking the necessary abilities to become a site of

any significance in the wider community, by functioning as an exchange centre or industrial site such as Gwithian.

Mawgan Porth has many features which are similar to the archaeology at Gwithian in terms of the insular material culture, but lacks the imported goods and the large assemblages reflecting both industrial activity and crafts seen at the latter site.

However, these may have existed on a minor scale which would have allowed the Mawgan Porth community to have been self-sufficient, and which was probably the case with the majority of rural communities in the region. The site also shows evidence for the use of coastal and maritime resources, however the scale of this is difficult to quantify and it would appear that farming played a more important part in the ecology of the resident community. The presence of shell middens here and at many other sites including inland at Trethurgy, is significant as it suggests the importance of the sea as a constant source of food, possibly seasonal, as well as contact with other cultures. This is instead of the use of the sea as a specialist activity, although specialist sites may have existed, perhaps through exchange functions.

Whilst continuity of occupation is seen at Tregear and Lanhainsworth, there is no evidence for the transfer of settlement from these former Iron Age sites to Mawgan Porth and the later Domesday manors, although this continuity is seen throughout the Romano-British period. However, continuity of insular material culture is seen in the ceramics and other evidence, despite the ninth to eleventh centuries being a time of Anglo-Saxon influence on the reorganisation and control of the landscape, perhaps evidenced by the single Late Saxon coin. This persistence of insular traditions is seen elsewhere in Cornwall, whilst in Devon the chert-tempered and specifically Exeter-based Bedford Garage wares were beginning to be produced and redistributed. The end of occupation at Mawgan Porth was marked by a series of deposits of wind-blown sand and structural collapses, at different places across the site. Evidence suggests that all things of value appear to have been taken, with the complete removal from the site elsewhere, perhaps to the modern village location, and possibly because the wind-blown sand became untenable for further habitation as well as local pasture (Taylor 1997, 89).

## 8.7 St Stephens and Launceston

### 8.7.1 Introduction

Launceston, on what later became the Cornwall and Devon border, has been included as an inland settlement and site of importance in the latter half of the study period, when Anglo-Saxon and then Norman elites began to exercise their control over the South West. The case study consists of both the Anglo-Saxon site of St Stephens (by Launceston), also known as Lanstefanton, and its successor at Launceston. St Stephens was located on the brow of a hill on the northern side of the River Kensey, a tributary of the River Tamar, whilst Launceston, formerly known as Dunheved, is on the south side of the river and developed from the edge of the river bank up to the brow of the hill above and facing St Stephens, occupying a naturally defensive position on a knoll, with a stream immediately to the west. This latter location was the foundation site of the former Norman castle and occupies a dominating position at the end of a ridge that extends into Cornwall towards Bodmin Moor, as well as commanding the strategic crossing of the River Tamar at this point, at Polson Bridge (Saunders 2006, *xiv*). The stream may have acted as a water source for the castle, whilst the holy well at St Stephens was likely to have been the water source for the secular college and the town that developed around it.

Both settlements are collectively an important site in the South West, with aspects of settlement relocation and the development of an important function in the wider settlement hierarchy, political control and administration of the entire region, from a key location on the spine of the Cornwall and Devon peninsula. The location of these sites could be strategic, given the importance of the Tamar as a physical and political boundary which is likely to have had a local or regional importance prior to their foundation, as well as giving access to the sea. Alternatively the St Stephens site could have aided in the formation of this boundary in or prior to the tenth century. The extent of both the St Stephens and Launceston boroughs can be seen in the street plans of the modern settlements and are shown in Figure 206. Launceston was the principal castle of medieval Cornwall - and therefore its eastern location in the county is significant - and it occupied a position of great strength and crucial importance in the Norman Conquest, as well as the subsequent rule of the region (Saunders 2006, 1). The castle and its occupants controlled the territories between Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor, as well as the more immediate location of the ford and later bridge

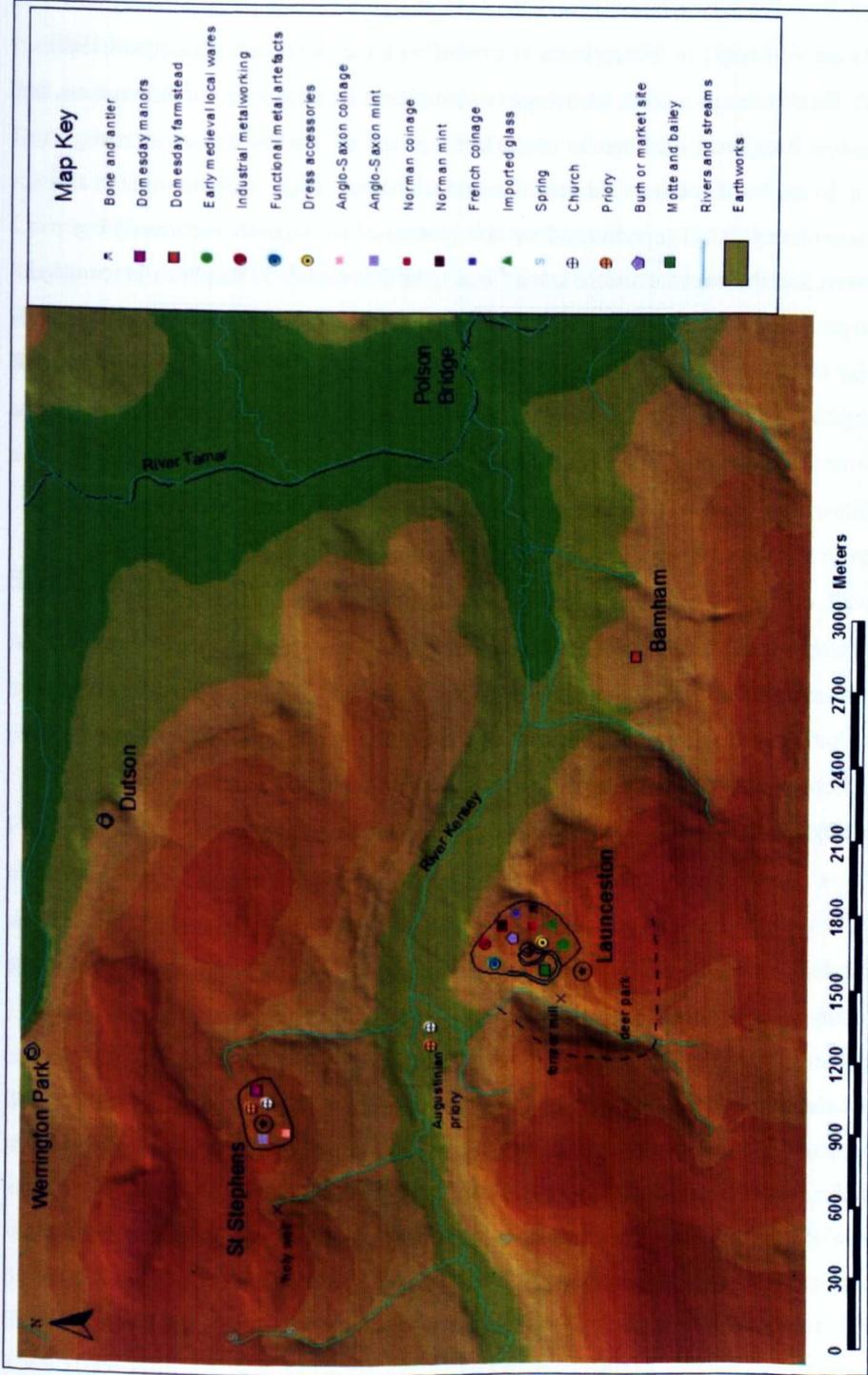


Figure 206 - St Stephens and Launceston

over the River Tamar approximately two miles to the east (*ibid.*).

The primary settlement at St Stephens is thought to have been founded in AD 930 as a minster. Between AD 976 and 1160 the site is also recorded as having the right to mint its own coinage, or having been entrusted with the royal mint (Sheppard 1980, 79-80). The historical records also suggest that the canons retained for themselves, and the resident burgesses, all liberties of the borough except for the market after its removal to the southern site. The town later declined after the “suppression” of the collegiate church at St Stephens and the foundation of an Augustinian monastery between it and the Norman castle town (*ibid.*). At Domesday St Stephens is recorded as being a borough deprived of its market, when it was removed to the new site across the river in AD 1076 by the Count of Mortain, who controlled the region (Beresford & Finberg 1973, 77-79). Prior to this the land had been owned by the Bishop of Exeter, and before that was part of the considerable and ancient episcopal manor of Lawhitton; in around AD 830 King Egbert gave *Landwithan* and two other estates to the Saxon Bishop of Sherborne as part of a mission against the Celtic church in Cornwall, consisting of the parishes of Lawhitton, South Petherwin, Trewen and Lezant (Saunders 2006, 13). These then came to the Bishops of Exeter through the sees of Crediton and St Germans in 1050 (*ibid.*). The original secular college of canons had origins within the traditions of the Celtic church, but it is unclear whether St Stephens was a former Celtic monastery, with its dedication and location suggesting it was instead originally of English foundation (Saunders 2006, 27).

Subsequent to the Norman conquest and after the rebellion at Exeter had broken out, the king led a successful campaign into Cornwall in 1068 and then placed Count Brian of Brittany in control of Cornwall and West Devon for the next seven years, in order to supplant the old English nobility (Saunders 2006, 27). It is therefore likely that Count Brian would have occupied a castle close to St Stephens, because of its strategic position and also due to the pre-existing market and mint (*ibid.*), and he may also have founded a chapel at the site (*ibid.*, 14). If this was the case then it raises the important question of possible post-Conquest links with Brittany, echoing links in pre-Conquest times between northwest Europe and Cornwall, particularly as Robert de Mortain’s son William owned the castle at Tinchbray, involved in the battle of the same name between Henry I and his brother Robert (*ibid.*, 29).

Launceston Castle later came under control of Robert de Mortain, half-brother of William the Conqueror, after Brian’s failed rebellion with his fellow Breton Gael in

1075; it became his principal castle, and as Saunders states, the extent of the count's power and feudal relationships is important in understanding the significance of the castle itself (2006, 28). Therefore Mortain and his four sub-tenants, with the inclusion of Count Brian's lands, had holdings in 1075 which included around 800 manors over twenty counties, but his greatest area of power was Cornwall, owning 227 out of the 360 estates which only excluded the royal, ecclesiastical and two minor estates (*ibid.*). During Mortain's occupation the castle formed part of an accumulation of honours and manors held by the king, whilst Mortain himself later became the first Earl of Cornwall (Saunders 2006, 4). After Henry I's death and during the dispute of the kingdom, the earldom of Cornwall came to be given by King Stephen to Allan of Cornwall, however in the next year Matilda made Reginald, an illegitimate son of Henry I, Earl of Cornwall and he was displaced (*ibid.*, 31). During AD 1141-67 and according to a charter of Earl Reginald, the site was confirmed with all the liberties of a free borough (*ibid.*, 4).

## **8.7.2 Archaeological background**

Archaeological investigations of the site consist solely of the Norman motte and bailey and subsequent castle features and town borough. No excavations have yet taken place over the St Stephen's site.

Following the transferral of the castle into the guardianship of the Ministry of Works in 1951, a programme of consolidation work began on parts of the structure which were showing signs of erosion or structural collapse, which further required archaeological monitoring and thus periodic investigation during excavation between 1961 and 1964 (Saunders 2006, 7). The research framework for these small-scale excavations consisted of the exploration of a substantial area combined with an in-depth investigation of certain structures, including the kitchens and bailey. Subsequent to the 1960s excavations therefore, short seasons of excavation were carried out annually until 1983, resulting in a categorisation of the physical remains of the castle into twelve principal phases (*ibid.*, 8) and the excavation of roughly twenty percent of the inhabitable space within the inner bailey. Of these, four phases show evidence for the relevant study period: Period 0 refers to any pre-castle features; Period 1 to c. AD 1068-1075; Period 2 to c. AD 1075-1104 and Period 3 to c. AD 1104-1175 (*ibid.*, 9).

### 8.7.3 Archaeology at Launceston Castle

#### *Settlement features*

There are two enclosed settlements in the region of Launceston, both on the other side of the ridge where St Stephens is located, near Dutson and within Werrington Park. Neither has been excavated, however they have been given provisional Iron Age dates and are described as being similar to rounds by English Heritage (ADS website, monument numbers 436942 & 436985). Very little excavation has taken place at the St Stephens site, however stonework recovered in the area of the church hall and vicarage indicates the former extent of the establishment (Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 20-84). The Norman chancel survives from the collegiate church first founded in AD 940, whilst a probable Saxon stone carving of the Virgin and Child was found during the removal of the bone house within the church (*ibid.*).

At Launceston Castle, the features within Period 0 included possible signs of cultivation, a shallow depression in the natural clay containing a layer of burning and some burnt stone, a probable shallow ditch and post-holes, a stone-lined drain, a pit possibly of this period, and occasional traces of cultivated soil containing charcoal flecking. The initial construction of the defences took place in the late eleventh century of Period 2, alongside initial occupation within the castle enclosure, possibly associated with the activities of Brian of Brittany. They may or may not have included the larger area which incorporated the town and outer bailey. Many temporary features found within the south-west part of the bailey and forming the initial occupation, including sunken-floored buildings, pits and partially post-built or cill-beamed structures, produced Cornish bar-lug ceramics that were also found on the surface of the rampart.

The sunken-floored features were very similar to Anglo-Saxon grubenhauser in size, shape and depth, but lacked the large post-pits at each end. In Period 2 the bailey defences were substantially heightened, and remodelled with a timber palisade, and the rampart



**Figure 207 - Contour plan of Launceston Castle, showing the standing remains and excavated areas, including survey lines (Saunders 2006, Figure 4.2, 53)**

then enclosed the north side of the bailey, whilst an early version of the motte may have been in existence. More permanent post-built structures were erected within the bailey alongside a few sunken-floored features, whilst the principal building in the south-west bailey was a four-bay timber hall on an east-west alignment, which was subsequently remodelled (Figure 207). During the early to mid-twelfth centuries of Period 3, the most complex sequences of construction took place, perhaps as a result of the militant activity in the area at the time. These consisted of the heightening of the motte, the construction of the shell-keep, the creation of a terrace around the well dug into the motte ditch, the heightening of the bailey rampart and within it, the construction of fourteen permanent structures with stone foundations, some of which reused former structures. The timber hall was replaced in stone and a chamber at the

western end and the stone-built South Gatehouse is also likely to have been built at this time, whilst the rear of the rampart to the west of the later North Gatehouse was revetted in stone (Saunders 2006, 57).

### *The finds*

The finds of Period 0, the pre-castle phase, consisted of a Roman coin dating to the late third century AD, a few fragments of tile, possibly suggesting Roman occupation if they are also of Roman date, a significant find of a shard from a glass claw beaker of late Anglo-Saxon date and discovered in an eleventh-century context, and a small number of metal and bone objects of types that continued in use from before the Conquest and throughout the Norman period. These may have come from the pre-Conquest phase of the site and included a hairpin and cordage implement of bone, an iron key and padlock fragments (Saunders 2006, 261). The solid elongated claw of the glass vessel has been described as being similar to the type found on the Valsgårde beaker and therefore probably also dates to the seventh to eighth centuries as with other beakers found in Sweden, a date that was confirmed by chemical analysis (Saunders 2006, 357).

The ceramics discovered in Period 1 consisted of the Cornish bar-lug sherds as previously mentioned, but several hundred sherds of post-Conquest chert-tempered ware were also found during the mid-tenth to twelfth centuries. A fragment of crucible was also recorded from within one feature (Saunders 2006, 98). This combination of both indigenous Cornish and Devonshire wares reflects the apparent unifying nature of the site over the two sub-regions, as well as the wide range in the bar-lug's distribution, given that its production site is thought to have been further to the west. It is possible that even in the short span of time in Period 1, trade between the site and the western reaches of Cornwall was taking place, whilst the discovery of the crucible suggests metalworking took place within the bailey walls. In Period 2 the ceramics consisted almost solely of chert-tempered ware, with one sherd of North Devon ware (Saunders 2006, 103) indicating an apparent cessation of exchange with western parts of Cornwall and the introduction of a new wheel-turned production technique and its spread. Period 3 produced several hundred sherds of chert-tempered ware, as well as seventy-five sherds of bar-lug which are thought to be residual, given that their production ceased in the late eleventh century. Other ceramics included nineteen sherds of North Devon ware, indicating the increase in use of this type in the last

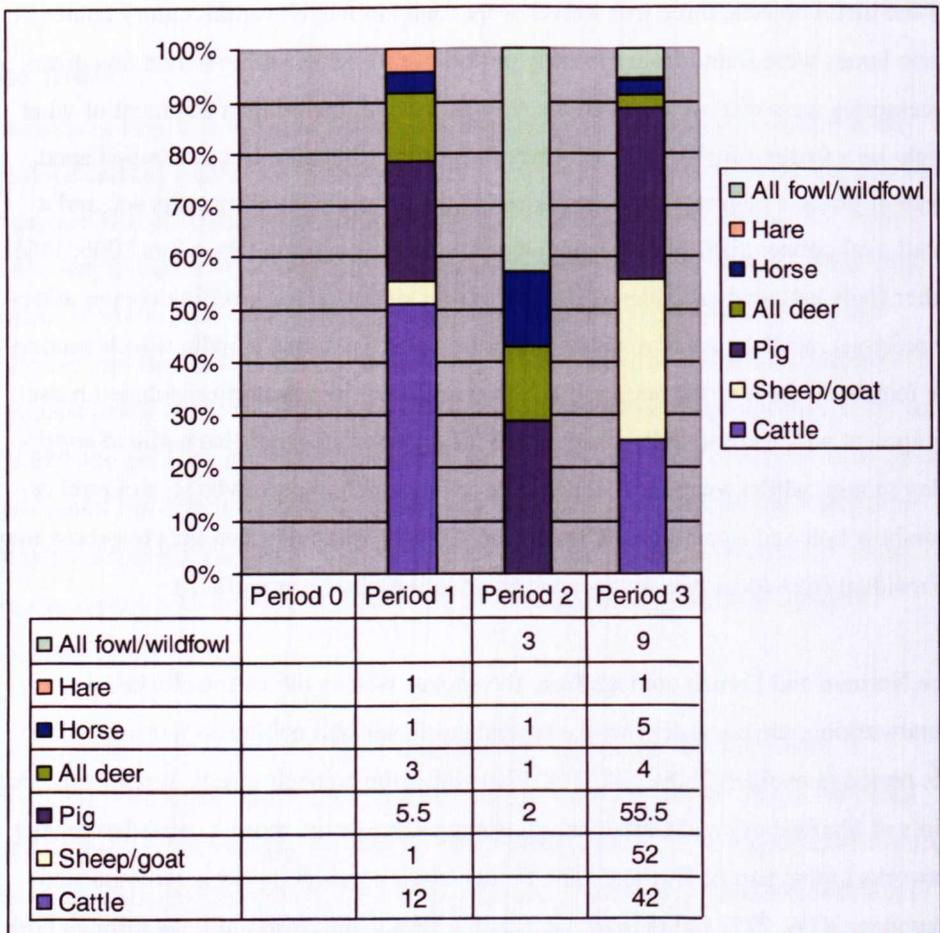
century of the study period, a possible crucible and intrusive wares that included a sherd of French stone ware and one of Saintonge ware (Saunders 2006, 116).

Of the metal objects, three iron knives were found in late eleventh-century contexts, stone hones were found from the early period of the castle, whilst only a few dress-accessories were discovered from the relevant period, including a fragment of what might be a finger-ring from a late eleventh-century context, a large stirrup-shaped piece of brass, a copper alloy clasp fastener, part of a copper alloy toilet set, and a small oval copper alloy buckle from a twelfth-century context (Saunders 2006, 116). Other finds included crucibles, which were of a kind used for smelting copper alloys or precious metals, a small quantity of bar iron and five stone spindle whorls hinting at the female element of the community. The functional metalworking included horse equipment which consisted mainly of nails and horseshoes, but also a gilded copper alloy mount, whilst weaponry included an armour-piercing arrowhead, a quarrel or crossbow bolt and a small arrowhead (*ibid.*, 263). It is thought that the cross-bow may be residual from local Roman occupation or activity in the area (*ibid.*).

The Norman and French coinage from the site, as well as the various forms of metalworking, are consistent with a typical castle site and nobleman's residence for this period (Loveluck 2009, 144; 168-170) whilst the coinage, struck at relatively local mints of Shaftesbury and Christchurch, is suggestive of the more localised exchange networks in this part of England. The French coin, however, is not a common find (Saunders 2006, 297) and perhaps reflects the Breton and Norman links through both Brian of Brittany and Robert of Mortain and his son. Other objects from Periods 1-3 included a bone pin of a type seen in Late Saxon contexts onwards, and a range of household objects made from stone, antler and bone and including spindle whorls, mortars, querns, hones and casket mounts.

Faunal remains from the late eleventh century were minimal but included partridge, woodcock, plover and swan, all indicating high-status dining (Mould & Vince, in Saunders 2006, 262). As with most sites the most common species were cattle, sheep/goat and pigs, whilst birds, fish and deer were also common, but declined in relative importance from the twelfth century onwards (Albarella & Davis 1996, 57). This has been discussed by Albarella et al as being due to the decreasing use of the castle as an elite site and its incorporation into the wider urban settlement (in Saunders 2006, 447-448). Figure 208 shows a summary of the species present for Periods 0-3,

although only the number of bones could be shown as opposed to the number of animals, which would have given a



**Figure 208 - Launceston Castle faunal remains, showing number of animal bones for Periods 0-3 (after Albarella et al, in Saunders 2006, Figure 18.1, 448)**

more accurate representation of the early medieval diet. Period 2 shows an absence of the more intensively-farmed livestock, with the proportion of pig remains perhaps resulting from wild animals or semi-wild and from previous farmed stock. This suggests a greater reliance on wild foods and perhaps a lack of food in general, if we assume that horses were not normally consumed. A strong maritime connection is evident in the number of fish bones, the presence of whale and dolphin bones and also the number of marine bird species (*ibid.*, 450) such as the plover from Period 3. The fish bones came from the deposits belonging to the late eleventh century onwards with the majority coming from after the early twelfth century (Smith in Saunders 2006,

453), however the lack of analysis for the earlier periods of occupation prevent further assessment and discussion.

Saunders discusses the minimal nature of evidence in the form of finds from the site and its direct relationship with the sporadic occupation by the nobility, with only a skeleton staff in residence for much of the time and despite periods of dense settlement as seen at Launceston (Mould & Vince in Saunders 2006, 261). This is a feature seen during many castle excavations of this period. The functional categories of the site included riding, hunting, warfare, food preparation and dining, all of which are represented in the assemblages at Launceston (*ibid.*, 262).

### **8.7.4 Launceston and its hinterland**

Figure 209 shows the location of St Stephens and Launceston within their wider hinterland, encompassing roughly thirteen square kilometres, but not incorporating all of the wider estates once associated with the castle for the eleventh to early twelfth centuries. There were prehistoric sites in the form of earthworks of varying sizes in the marginal uplands across the case study area, whilst Launceston and St Stephens appear to be the only excavated early medieval settlements in the area and are also the only sites to present evidence for occupation in the form of structural archaeology and material culture. The prehistoric sites are thought to date to the Iron Age, and whilst there is possible evidence for Romano-British activity beneath Launceston Castle, none has been found elsewhere, although there is Roman coinage approximately fourteen kilometres to the east. The site occupied a central location between the uplands of Bodmin and Dartmoor, with a commanding position over the Tamar River valley, whilst the river itself may have been navigable this far inland, which may have allowed for the import of goods overseas as well as overland, given the location of the site on the main route into Cornwall.

The historical evidence for settlements and manor sites at Domesday shows a roughly even distribution across the landscape, predominantly on the margins of the uplands and sometimes associated with Early Christian churches, chapels and at Lawhitton, a bishop's palace. As discussed previously, Lawhitton was a former episcopal see owned by the king

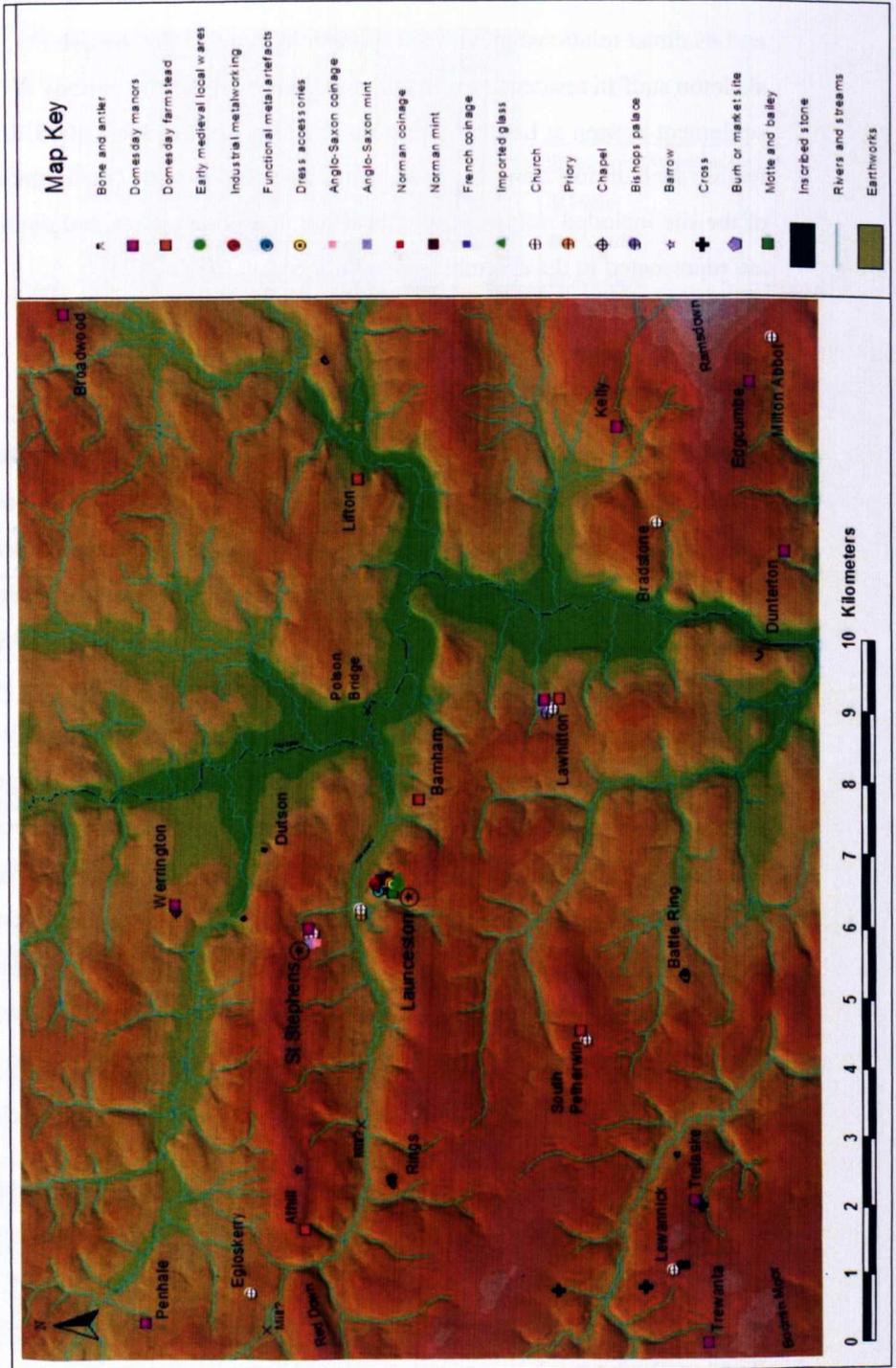


Figure 209 - St Stephens, Launceston and hinterland

and given to the Bishop of Sherborne in the ninth century, as part of an organised plan to take control of areas to the west which were under the control of the Celtic church (Saunders 2006, 13). Part of the early ecclesiastical organisation of the landscape included South Petherwin, which is thought to have been the former mother church of the parish, including Launceston. Lawhitton, South Petherwin and the St Stephen and Launceston complex therefore formed important foci in the landscape both in terms of religion and settlement. At Lewannick, two inscribed stones date roughly to the fifth to eighth centuries, one of which has Ogham script, suggesting an Irish influence either through settlement or cultural traditions (Okasha 1993, 146-153). These stones were discovered within the fabric of the church porch and may have been moved to the site, or have influenced the founding of the twelfth-century church and later the probable churchyard cross (Langdon 1996, 37). Other crosses in the area are near Lewannick and may have been wayside or boundary crosses.

### **8.7.5 Summary**

Launceston is an important site in the assessment of the spread of insular cultural traditions as well as the overall control of the South West. The presence of bar-lug ceramics attests to the importance of these Cornish wares regionally, particularly given the lack of other ceramics for that period, but also the abilities of the community or individuals - possibly Brian of Brittany - in procuring ceramics from both eastern and western parts of his domain. The presence of the glass vessel at Launceston is unusual for this type of site and perhaps resulted from a family heirloom, or was somehow obtained from the Late Saxon establishments across the river at St Stephen. It suggests that such items were still important culturally or in terms of intrinsic value, although how it arrived at the site will never be known.

An assessment of the market at St Stephens suggests that at the time of Domesday it was the most valuable market in Cornwall (Saunders 2006, 12). This is likely to have been due to the location of a royal mint at the Late Saxon priory and church; however, there is little archaeological evidence to support this. Further investigation of the structural and artefact remains at the site could add important evidence for understanding how it functioned, prior to the creation of the castle and borough at Launceston. The creation of the castle at Dunheved on what appears to have been a sparsely occupied site, coupled with the transferral of the place name of Lanstephen itself, had the deliberate effect of diverting the economic centre from the monastic foundation across the river, as well as repercussions in terms of ecclesiastical

organisation (Saunders 2006, 6). This raises questions as to why this removal was thought necessary, given that a settlement and religious institution already existed and would have had similar resources as a potential defensive site. The castle would have drawn on the economic advantages from two mills previously located on the River Kensey and recorded in Domesday to have brought in forty shillings (Saunders 2006, 13), postulated here to have been at Newmills Farm, where the leat can still be seen in the modern field system, and the probable mill site adjacent to Launceston, shown in Figure 209. The Augustinian monastery replaced the secular order of canons in the twelfth century (Saunders 2006, 12); however it was not located within the later Norman borough surrounding the castle, suggesting that the latter may not have been a planned event.

Launceston and St Stephen therefore appear to have been very important sites in the Anglicisation of the South West and subsequent Norman political and administrative control. Launceston and Trematon Castle to the south, were the only two castles recorded for Cornwall in Domesday, and whilst the former controlled the interior 'hub' of the region and access to Cornwall from the east, Trematon, located at the head of an estuary near the south coast, controlled the southern route across the Tamar by means of a ferry at what is now modern Saltash (Saunders 2006, 1). The importance of Launceston in this control may be an indicator of the political unrest in the area and a need to create some form of elite over-reaching power-base, but also that the South West and Cornwall in particular, had not been subdued even after several centuries of apparent Anglo-Saxon control. The nature of occupation at the site during the period of study appears to have been primarily military and elite (Saunders 2006, 460), and Launceston remained the feudal capital until AD 1300, when it shifted to the settlement at Lostwithiel (*ibid.*, 1).

## **9. Synthetic Discussion**

*This chapter brings together all the available evidence for the study region. It discusses the primary themes of settlement, exchange systems, identity, landscape perception, maritime orientation and aspects of continuity and change for the collective evidence introduced in the preceding chapters, whilst providing a detailed synopsis of this evidence in relation to the case studies of Chapter 8 and the wider landscape context.*

### **9.1 Introduction**

The analysis of early medieval activity in both the macro- and micro-regional studies has produced a range of evidence for the changing nature of society and the particular development of aspects of this society in different parts of the landscape and seascape. The integration of these multi-focal scales of analysis has allowed an in-depth assessment of both the insular and introduced cultural traditions prevalent within the study region, to produce a series of trends which are discussed here in relation to the primary themes and theoretical considerations outlined in the preceding chapters, whilst addressing the specific aims of this research.

This chapter therefore provides a detailed discussion of the development of settlement, exchange mechanisms and central places and their hinterlands; the use of material culture in both past and new traditions and their impact on acculturation within the region; the influence of these traditions on the perception and use of landscape and seascapes; cycles of continuity and change and their levels of occurrence throughout these themes, and finally social identity and its development throughout the early medieval period, in relation to the development of specifically Atlantic and maritime identities.

## **9.2 Settlement hierarchies and the development of central places**

Settlement forms and their functions in the South West of England were assessed in order to produce a detailed summary of their chronological and distributional trends. This provided a better understanding of the types of Late Roman settlement and how they changed and evolved throughout the early medieval period. The project aims were to understand these developments; how they were influenced by the introduction of new cultural traditions and, therefore, affected insular social identities, and to assess the extent of the continuity of past settlement traditions. The project also aimed to examine the emergence and function of early medieval central places and how they interacted with the surrounding landscape and the wider settlement hierarchy. The imported artefacts were included as an important feature in the development of a central place.

### **9.2.1 AD 350-800**

This period incorporates the development and continuity of Late Roman settlement trends and ends prior to the Anglo-Saxon settlement forms introduced in the late ninth century. During the Late Roman period, the range of settlements occupied in the South West was predominantly of an insular form with their origins in the Bronze or Iron Age, with very few sites known to have been introduced by the Romans, particularly in Cornwall. Instead of these Roman forms we see the continuity of prehistoric settlement as well as new developments in the Roman period that were based on prehistoric settlement forms, such as the rounds and their semi-circular interior structures, seen at Trethurgy.

#### ***Settlement forms***

The late-fourth to eighth centuries saw the continuity and reoccupation of prehistoric and Romano-British insular settlement traditions, as well as occupation persisting at a very few villa sites. Most occurrences of continuity at specifically Roman types of site occurred in Devon, whilst the apparent development of a 'new' rectangular building form is found across the region. In particular this is seen at several small rural and possibly farming settlements, such as at Perran Sands (Penna 1966, 59) and Sanctuary, Bosleven (Hutchinson 1979, 92), as well as the larger site of Tintagel, in each case in conjunction with fifth- or sixth- to ninth-century ceramics. This rectangular form may

have owed its origins to construction techniques from the Roman period, such as Structure B within the Roman phase at Halangy Down (Ashbee et al 1996, 34-38), to influences from eastern England and the Anglo-Saxon building tradition, or alternatively could have originated from the integration of Mediterranean and Continental styles (Jarrett 2009, 183). Two semi-rectangular enclosures at Grambla and Pomeroy Wood were occupied in the early medieval period, but appear to have been part of a larger group of enclosed rural and non-military settlements from the Romano-British period (HER PRN 30256.4; HER PRN 62750). The lack of evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity in the form of longhouses and sunken-featured buildings suggests that any influence was through transmission of culture rather than widespread settlement by incoming social groups, whilst the feature of the south-western longhouse has been introduced by Beacham as an insular development (1985, 23-30), although it may well have had its influence from Roman or Anglo-Saxon structures.

Perhaps as a direct result of activities in trade, beach and dune settlements appear to have become slightly more widespread throughout this period, together with a general increase in the number of coastal settlements. Indeed, the analysis of imports per settlement type in 4.3 seems to suggest that former Iron Age and Roman settlements such as rounds and promontory forts were acting as the consumer sites, whilst the larger assemblages at coastal sites, may have had a trading function within the local settlement hierarchies. These sites are also visible in the coastal archaeology of Ireland, where the coastal margins, with predominantly sand-dune sites, have also produced assemblages of early medieval metalwork and imported ceramic and glass, and the metalworking includes different forms of the Type G penannular brooches (Griffiths 2009, 265-280). This coastal distribution is a factor which is borne out at the Gwithian and Bantham beach and dune case studies, whilst Trethurgy seems to show similar elements of day-to-day living in the agricultural activities that were taking place, but does not show the same levels of exchanged items, nor the level of specialist metalworking seen for example at Gwithian.

### ***Central places and landing sites***

The evidence for sites acting as central places in this period has been identified as specific concentrations of imported material culture. Whereas in the Roman period there had been the structural evidence to accompany these imports and large assemblages of material culture, in urban Exeter, after the fourth century this activity was associated with smaller sites of an otherwise 'rural' nature, such as at Bantham

and Gwithian. There is an apparent resumption of activity at Exeter in the form of religious settlement from the seventh century; however the former importance of the site does not re-emerge until the ninth and tenth centuries. Only Tintagel shows any evidence for widespread structural remains that could be interpreted as a proto-urban site, together with the largest assemblage of imported wares from the South West (Figure 122), and yet the site has not produced assemblages of material culture and evidence for domestic activity that would indicate a permanently occupied settlement. Nevertheless, sites like Tintagel, Gwithian and Bantham, with their large assemblages of imported goods, fit the role of central place defined by Horden & Purcell, whereby the centrality of a place is defined by the goods and services it offers and its role as a mediator (2000, 102), in this case between the merchant traders and producers and the surrounding rural settlements which appear to have acted as consumers, such as Trethurgy and Hays Close. The beach and dune sites, with their external trade and associated rural activities in the form of farming and fishing, must be viewed as complex sites which should not be labelled as '*emporia*' or 'ports of trade' (Griffiths 1994, 187) without considering every aspect of their nature and function. However, they remain important sites in exchange networks within the region and in the transmission of new ideas into the South West. As Griffiths discusses, sites such as Bantham could be interpreted either as true trading sites in the form of seasonal beach-markets, or as 'ordinary' settlements (2009, 277) that were coincidental in this movement of imported goods.

As Loveluck and Tys discuss, the development of specialist activities for the purpose of exchange (2006, 143), seen at Duckpool in the Late Roman period (1995, 112-114) and Gwithian in the fifth to eighth centuries (Nowakowski et al 2007c, 40-43), could have increased the productivity and overall wealth of these sites, allowing them to become central places in the landscape. The role of imported ceramics and glass in the identification of central places is very important, given their widespread nature as a source of evidence, but also the fact that they are transportable and can indicate not only the scale but also the function of a settlement. Pearce has discussed the evidence for central places in the South West and names High Peak and Oldaport in Devon, suggesting that whoever was in control of these fifth- to seventh-century sites would have dominated substantial areas of very large hinterlands (2004, 228-232). Pearce describes a more complex situation for Cornwall, with sites such as Tintagel featuring prominently in the evidence for large-scale activity and therefore perhaps elite status or political power, but with a series of contemporary smaller and perhaps independent centres, such as the former rounds or hilltop sites at Chûn Castle and Killibury and

others such as St Michaels Mount which may have had the same function as Tintagel (*ibid.*, 231-232). Indeed, Dark discusses the potential function of 'fort' sites such as Tintagel and Tenby, as being at either end of the trade route between the South West and South Wales that is also seen in some Early Christian evidence (Dark 1999, 94), therefore increasing the potential importance of these sites even further.

The general pattern within the settlement hierarchy appears to have included a large number of coastal settlements which included beach and dune sites, many of which displayed insular building styles alongside evidence suggesting that they were small farming and fishing communities. It is this site-type, together with the rounds (Figures 60 and 63), which also tends to show greater evidence for contact with overseas societies in the form of imported ceramics and glass. This imported evidence also points towards these two site types functioning as central places, with the rounds as - possibly elite - centres of consumption overlying a Romano-British form of subsistence agriculture and metalworking, such as at Trethurgy and Reawla. The coastal beach and dune sites show evidence for subsistence agriculture and for settlement to have been accompanied by a degree of permanent production and exchange activity, which at Gwithian and at other sites as well perhaps, incorporated metalworking on a scale that implies its use in this trade. Certain of these sites seem to have successfully become central places as a result of this exchange process, which at Gwithian manifests itself in the wide range of industrial activities present at what has been interpreted as a series of workshops (Nowakowski et al 2007b, 212-213; Nowakowski et al 2007c, 13-76). A further form of, possibly smaller, central place may have existed, but on a temporary basis, with sporadic trade but where the site was a recognised landmark for whenever exchange was likely to have taken place. In the past Bantham would have been classed within this group, if it was not for the increasing evidence for some form of permanent settlement at the site, although the structural evidence is still forthcoming. Potential sites within this category include Kelsey Head, Phillack and the numerous smaller imported assemblages among the Scilly Isles.

Both Thomas and Alcock apparently saw these coastally-located import centres as seats of political power and therefore possibly royal power as well, using the wealth from levies and tributes to acquire prestige goods which would then have appeared at the smaller sites, through the process of redistributive trade, using family networks and what Wooding terms "levelling mechanisms" (Wooding 1996a, 94; Alcock 1987, 159-162). The size of the assemblages at Tintagel hints at its function as a secular and

possibly elite or mercantile-run site with considerable power (Higham 2008, 38). Its control of local resources, combined with its structural evidence, suggests that its function as a central place is almost unquestionable (Barrowman 2007, 30; 191-279). However, little is known about the political powers behind its size, level of activity and function, in relation to both the surrounding settlements and the administration of the wider landscape and the South West as a whole. Also, the structural remains covering Tintagel island show a level of investment at the site which implies either permanent settlement, or a permanent centre of activity and exchange. If the latter were the case then it would suggest that the site is unique in the South West.

In contrast, at Exeter this early exchange in Mediterranean and Continental imports is lacking, despite its location at the head of the Exe estuary, the former importance of the site during the Roman period and the continuation of its high town walls as potentially defensive structures well into the Norman period. It would appear that the site did not utilise the maritime resources available until the Saxo-Norman period. In comparison to these larger sites, the evidence for smaller rural settlements in the form of local ceramics shows a widespread network of sites which may have taken part in regionalised trade in the local goods. This evidence has also identified relationships between pottery production and consumption within the settlement hierarchy, through the zoning of fabrics at possible production sites and their distribution, which has also aided in highlighting the sub-regionalisation of cultural styles and traditions, as well as reflecting the level of contact between rural settlement and central places.

### *Elite sites*

There is very little direct evidence for elite sites in the South West, although Tintagel has been postulated as such; however, it is possible that the occupants of the rounds and their West Penwith counterparts in the form of the courtyard settlements, may have filled the rôle of an elite section of society during a period when there was little material evidence and no structural evidence for such a social group. Whilst sites such as Trethurgy fit this role in terms of the consumption of what could be described as rare and therefore 'luxury' items, the remaining evidence from the site instead paints the picture of an – albeit relatively wealthy – farming community with perhaps considerable control over the surrounding landscape, with the Roman-period window glass perhaps suggesting its former status. It should also be stated that these imported 'luxury' goods do not necessarily imply high status of a site, nor does it necessarily suggest a trading site, although both are highly likely, and the nature of consumption

sites is still under debate. Certainly there is a lack of settlement in its hinterland of contemporary date that might hint at a wider community of equals in terms of social strata, and it may have been that the lower levels of society were far less archaeologically visible, and therefore perhaps, less materially wealthy, at least in objects that survived. Dark has suggested the use of textual sources to locate elite sites through the location of ecclesiastical or Early Christian sites and a consideration of possible relationships between the two (1994, 15). This has been considered to some extent in the case studies, for example at Gwithian (page 277), however it is not an infallible method of locating elite sites, although it is feasible that both would have shared the use of maritime sites for contact and the exchange of goods.

Where Cornwall and Devon were once thought to have been culturally bare, with a lack of elite centres and associated material culture, it is now possible to present evidence for a large number of sites with both the ability to obtain luxury items both by their own industry and also through wider Atlantic and Mediterranean networks of trade that reflect the breadth of contacts that societies had in the region, during the fifth and seventh centuries. The rounds are likely candidates, given their assemblages of imports and their strong similarities with the Irish ringforts known to have functioned as elite sites up until the ninth century (Fleming 2003, 114-115)

### ***Continuity of tradition***

The strength of insular traditions at trading sites such as Gwithian, where there would have been a greater introduction to new 'outside' traditions than elsewhere, is important, given the constancy shown in insular traditions of material culture across the South West and Cornwall in particular. Griffiths states, in relation to Welsh and Irish sites, that the concept of the 'gateway community' seems to have little relevance to the Irish Sea region in the post-Roman period and, whilst this may not be uniformly apparent at all sites, it is possible to see how changes in society and economy at these trading sites were not substantially influenced by the exchange of ideas and goods, where the amount of evidence for indigenous ideas and activity appears to outweigh the contribution of long-distance trade when it comes to transmission of cultural ideas (1994, 187). It is equally clear, however, that these sites would have developed in other ways as a direct result of this trade, although these may not be archaeologically visible.

Whilst sites in the South West cannot be directly compared to the *emporium* of southern and eastern England in terms of size and productivity, there are parallels, including the fact that they are now being seen by specialists as centres of local production and redistribution, whilst the earlier “supremacy” of overseas trade is questioned (Griffiths 1994, 187). To quote Griffiths further, “where a significant coastal centre of production exists, even if imports are well-represented, the question must still be as to whether it differs very markedly from inland production centres, or whether merely its coastal location has given it special ‘port’ status in present eyes” (*ibid.*). In the case of Cornwall however, the relatively few sites where production was taking place makes this question slightly academic, but at the inland sites of Trethurgy and Hays Close, for the latter no evidence for production exists and for the former, any evidence is of such a small scale that it has been attributed to on-site needs only (Quinnell 2004, 232-234).

### ***Maritime settlement patterns***

As previously mentioned, the coastal settlements and beach and dune sites display the forms of evidence such as shell middens, local ceramics and insular house forms which are prevalent along the north Cornish coast in particular, and which are referred to by Fox as “the Cornish porths” (2001, 3) although several such sites are found along the north and south Devonshire coastline, including at Bantham. These sites show a marked degree of maritime orientation which would have naturally included the use of coastal resources for food and other needs in everyday life, but may have had a wide range in terms of both size and importance of the resident community. At Halangy Down the settlement was in the form of a Roman-period courtyard house, showing evolution of the settlement into the early medieval period but with the apparent continuation of the exploitation of coastal resources. The settlement appears relatively large in comparison to smaller sites such as at Perran Sands, where so far only one structure has been discovered. The analysis of dress accessories and functional metalworking has shown that their distribution is mainly in coastal locations and is perhaps indicative of the general settlement patterns of this and subsequent periods, or of sites where these items were exchanged or more widely used, such as at the more prominent central places. The coastal or estuarine distribution of the insular metal artefacts may have tied in with the known industrial sites of the region (Figures 172-174), one of which was Gwithian but also the ability of these sites to obtain these items. The number of dress accessories from the Scillies reflects this, although the collection of Romano-Scillonian brooches discovered at

Halangy Down (Ashbee 1974, 67-70) appear to have been deposited as votive offerings and may not necessarily reflect 'everyday' wealth of the local community. One must take into account however that the more alkaline nature of the coastal sands would allow for far greater preservation of these objects, and therefore although this distribution is similar to patterns in the ceramic evidence, it is not necessarily for the same reasons.

Overall, the settlement hierarchy appears to have consisted of a series of rural communities of varying sizes and wealth, with a coastal trend which seems to have resulted in the success of some of these sites through their role in mediating exchange and contact with the Mediterranean, Brittany and latterly Ireland and the Continent, to become central places and foci in the landscape.

## **9.2.2 AD 800-1066**

### ***Settlement forms***

From the ninth century new settlement forms emerged which, together with the beginnings of an Anglo-Saxon over-arching and elite control of the Devon landscape began to change the nature of settlement hierarchies in the sub-region. This period saw continuous westward changes in terms of settlement form and function, also visible in the place-name evidence. These forms consisted predominantly of religious sites and later the emergence of 'burhs', with new sites at Barnstaple, Tavistock and Plympton, although certain religious sites were founded on pre-existing Christian sites, as at Exeter. In contrast the situation in Cornwall appears to have been one of continuity, although there is an overall reduction in the number of sites where settlement evidence was present. This continuity is seen at the religious sites of Tintagel and possibly St Piran's Oratory. Other sites, such as the probable hermitage at St Helens on the Scilly Isles, appear to have been founded later, in this case at c. AD 800 (O'Neil 1964, 40-69) but may have had earlier origins given the nature of the Early Christian church in the region and the presence of a Cornish bishop in the 870's (Loveluck & Laing 2011, 539; Shepperd 1980, 57). It is possible that this continuity was related to the importance of their maritime situation and the level of trade that had taken place, possibly allowing these sites to have become more successful and therefore allowing them to continue in use for longer. However, rural coastal sites such as Mawgan Porth, where fishing and the use of maritime resources was a part of everyday life and which

were relatively common in the fifth to eighth centuries, appear less widespread from the ninth century, although it is likely that they existed.

New settlement forms include transhumance huts and longhouses, which appear to have had their origins prior to the ninth century, although there is no direct archaeological evidence for this other than the semi-circular shape of the former, which are similar to the features within the Trethurgy round. Transhumance huts were located in the marginal uplands, as at Roughtor (Herring 1996, 38), suggesting their seasonal use as temporary sites associated with settlements, possibly longhouses, lower down the hillsides and on the coast. These longhouses, such as the eighth- to eleventh-century courtyard structures at Mawgan Porth, and their associated upland transhumance huts, appear to have formed the predominant rural settlements, although whilst they had the same farming functions as the rounds before them, they did not appear to have had the same visual element that is suggested by the prominent and possibly semi-defensive role of the rounds, which may have had some form of elite status. Indeed, elite settlements of this period appear to have been archaeologically invisible, apart from the new ecclesiastical sites and despite the fact that manors are attested in the Anglo-Saxon charters. It is difficult even to infer their presence through the discovery of quantities of the portable items discussed in Chapters 5 to 7 that might suggest such a status.

### ***Elite settlement***

It is possible, as with the era before the ninth century, that what is considered to be elite material culture in the South West was not the same as on Anglo Saxon sites in the east. This is apparent in the discussion of the imported ceramics and glass of the fifth to eighth centuries, where their importance, or relative importance to locally-produced materials and items, is in doubt. It has been assumed that an object's rarity ensures its importance and luxury status, and this has therefore led to the presumption that the location of these objects at certain sites relates directly to their use and occupation by the elite strata of society. This, therefore, leads us to the problem of what was considered to be an elite settlement form in the South West in this period, if indeed they existed. Given the nature of central places up until the ninth century and the fact that very few other sites demonstrated such potential elite functions, it might be feasible to conclude that similar sites after the ninth century would show the same function. If mercantile activity can be directly or indirectly related to an elite presence or dominance over such activity, then the new fortified central places which appeared

along the south coast of Devon in this period and perhaps also in Cornwall, might represent some form of elite settlement. Inland sites such as Lydford, with evidence for control over mineral extraction, are also probable candidates for an elite centre as well as a central place for exchange.

### ***Central places***

The number of fifth- to seventh-century sites producing evidence for mineral extraction, processing and metalworking has shed light on the potential reasons for the attraction of the South West for these Mediterranean and Continental merchants, as well as those taking part in exchange networks with Ireland and around other parts of the Irish Sea. It is therefore possible to presume that the region would have remained as materially wealthy in subsequent centuries, despite the apparent end of exchange with the Mediterranean and Continent in the eighth century. This is visible in the location of the late ninth-century Lydford burh and mint in Devon, as well as the string of tenth-century burhs along the South Devon coast, and may have been the reason for the emergence of the probable market sites of Marazion and Bodmin in Cornwall, also in the tenth century. The growth of Exeter may in part have been due to the fact that it was fostered as a port for the tin trade during Alfred's reign, but also because its harbour location, like others along this coastline, made it a natural focus for "markets, mints and customs" (Griffiths 2003, 99).

Lydford is considered to have been an important site in the administration of the region. The fact that it lies "within a few miles of some of the richest of the Dartmoor tin deposits" coupled with its barren hinterland, suggests that it may have been set up from the outset as a market centre for the extraction, working and trade in tin from Dartmoor, as well as implying some royal interest in the site in the creation of the burh (*ibid.*, 36). Later in the 1190s, Bodmin is described as being 'the most important tin market in Cornwall' (Shepperd 1980, 57), which would suggest that the focus for the control of tin trade had again moved or developed to new central places. The emergence of these new markets and central places would have created new foci for activity, both in the form of trade but also settlement and the relocation of farmed produce needed to sustain activity within these larger settlements. They would therefore have acted as impetus for greater production in rural and inland areas; however, rural inland settlement in the ninth century appears virtually non-existent in terms of the archaeological evidence. This is perhaps negative evidence of a large number of sites, which whilst not necessarily representative of widespread poverty,

may have had a material culture that did not survive in the archaeological record and was considered to be more everyday and less high-status. Nevertheless, the growth of these market sites in the tenth and eleventh centuries attests to the increasing importance of the interior of the region in both Cornwall and Devon, particularly in the permanent settlements administering the tin industry, and perhaps in relation to the increase in importance of the minerals as a whole. Exeter also becomes a site of importance and activity, whilst in Cornwall the cessation of Mediterranean and Continental imports appears to have caused the decline of settlements such as Tintagel and Gwithian.

The fact that Exeter grew in importance perhaps has as much to do with its past and the continuity of defensive structures as with its location in the east of the study region, where it was in a position to act as facilitator between the South West and the more Anglicised Wessex. That there is little evidence for cross-Channel exchange at this site prior to this period, highlights the changing nature of the region and the growing importance of sites in Devon, which compares with the growth in importance of the Cornish sites in the late fourth to eighth centuries and contrasts with the dearth of activity in Devon during the same period. This absence of any certain late fourth to eighth century imports, contrasts with its development between the eighth and twelfth centuries, due largely to the Saxo-Norman impact. The Byzantine coins found from this period, if indeed they are genuine rather than nineteenth-century losses (Boon 1991, 38-45), also suggest Mediterranean contact for this period, although no other evidence corroborates this hypothesis. Prior to this, there is very little evidence for any early medieval activity, apart from the continuing use of the basilica and forum, which alongside the bathhouse site was cleared in the late fourth or early fifth century, and the discovery of the fifth-century cemetery in the location of the cathedral (Bidwell 1979, 104-114). As previously discussed on page 41, Exeter fits many of the criteria listed by McGrail for landing places as central places. In comparison, the central location in the region, river access and royal importance of Launceston does not seem to have caused its growth and subsequent economic importance seen at Exeter for the same period.

### ***Maritime and inland settlement patterns***

Throughout the ninth to eleventh centuries, settlement patterns show a tendency for coastal orientation in Cornwall, but with important sites located both inland and on the coast in Devon. Fox discusses the tendency for rural settlements in Devon to be

located away from the coast and therefore the harsher conditions, and nearer the rich farmlands inland, although some would have been drawn towards the estuaries and coastlines where fishing was a by-employment among farmers, and where the solution in post-medieval Devon was to construct cellar settlements or huts, a form of temporary site or base from which they could work from, such as Coombe Cellars on the River Teign (2001, 12). This problem of extreme conditions was countered by the Cornish in the use of courtyard-type longhouse settlements seen at Mawgan Porth and previously at the circular West Penwith courtyard houses of the late and post-Roman periods.

To summarise, sites remain relatively densely scattered along the Cornish coastline with a greater number of inland sites in Devon, although the latter settlement pattern spread westwards throughout the period. The settlement hierarchy appears to have consisted of a series of Anglo-Saxon central places in the east, with little evidence to indicate similar site functions in the west, despite the historical evidence for contemporary market sites. Accompanying this across the entire South West were a series of rural settlements, which were displaying the forms of activity that strongly indicate self-sufficiency in the procurement of food and other resources, both from the coast and inland, and with a landscape management system that included the exploitation of upland regions for pasture, through the implementation of seasonal and temporary settlement that continued to be practised in subsequent centuries. Early Christian sites also appear to increase in number across the region.

### **9.2.3 AD 1066-1150**

This period saw the gradual increase in number and size of settlements with specifically Anglo-Saxon origin, as well as the increase in the number of ecclesiastical sites. With the advent of the Norman Conquest, these settlements continued and in some cases increased in size and importance, whilst the insular sites in western Cornwall where there was little evidence for Anglo-Saxon influence, also continued. From the mid-eleventh century, a new settlement form was introduced that directly related to elite social groups, in the form of the castles. Whereas the elite sites of the previous period have been archaeologically invisible, these castles, such as Launceston, showed a level of elite display of wealth and power not seen, to the modern eye at least, since the construction of the villas in the Roman period. It is almost certain that these castles were constructed primarily for defence however, as the method of control over the South West during the Norman period appeared to be

through large central power-bases, such as Launceston, from where it would be possible to have power over the settlements in the wider hinterlands. Nevertheless, these sites of wealth and status would have influenced the local economy and rural settlements, acting as small nodes with the exchange systems and therefore minor central places in their own right, through all the various means of elite consumption.

By the early twelfth century, the most westerly of these sites had only reached central Cornwall, whilst western Cornwall was still showing occupation of insular settlement forms and an accompanying material culture, primarily in the form of the locally-produced Sandy Lane ceramics. The relative lack of density of the Cornish castles has been ascribed by Creighton and Freeman to the dominant tenurial force of the “embryonic” earldom of Robert of Mortain’s Domesday fief, and the “power, wealth and congruity of lordship” (2006, 111). The distribution of local ceramics analysed in Chapter 5, shows the emergence of new sites such as Barnstaple and Braunton (Figures 129-130) and also shows similar patterns to the ‘*tre*’ place names seen in Figure 210, which seemed to have formed prior to the eleventh century (Pearce 2004, 303). The local ceramics at the sites of Exeter and Launceston appear to have remained important in the region until the end of the study period and the establishment of post-Norman traditions of pottery production in the thirteenth century. Conversely, the minimal distribution of imported ceramics to the region from both overseas and the rest of Norman England in this period reflects an apparent lack of contact with the Continent, whilst Exeter’s location in the east of the region implies its importance as a central place, not only for production and exchange but as a facilitator for the consumption of such imports. The way in which these imported ceramics made their way to Exeter may have taken the form of direct interaction as trade across the Channel, or through more localised exchange networks via southern England.

Also in this period we see the increase in the small village or hamlet consisting of longhouses with associated structures, making use of the lowlands whilst carrying on the traditions of the previous period in the form of the seasonal use of the uplands and the temporary transhumance huts. These sites appear to retain pre-existing territorial boundaries which may have been incorporated into the Norman hundreds. This is evidenced by Herring in his discussion of the segmentation of upland and lowland to

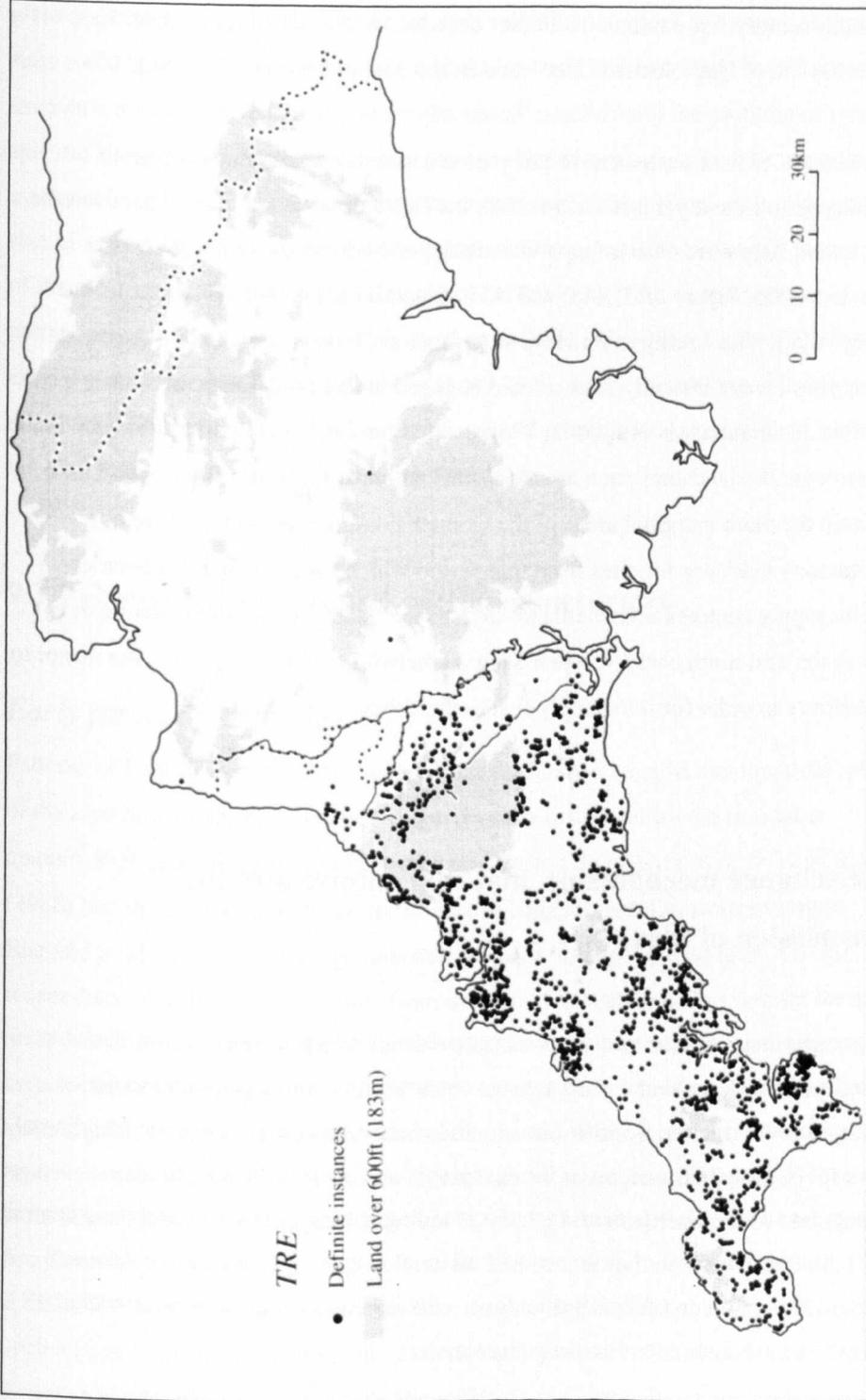


Figure 210 - Distribution of *tre* place-name elements (mapped by Padel 1999, in Kain & Ravenhill (eds.), Figure 13.1, 89)

create territories with equal portions of land types, and therefore resources, across Cornwall and Devon, seen in the settlements and hundred boundaries of Bodmin Moor and Fawymore (1996, 40). These sites continued as a settlement form into the thirteenth century, for example Houndtor deserted medieval village (Allan 1996, 141-8) and the site of Hutholes at Widecombe-in-the-Moor (Gent 2007, 47-82).

The extent of coastal settlement in this period is proportionally far less than in previous periods, and yet it is known from the Launceston assemblages that even the most inland sites were consuming a wide range of both marine fish and seabird (Saunders 2006, Figure 18.1, 448; 453-454; Albarella & Davis 1996, 1-156). True fishing villages, according to Pawley, were those settlements perched on the coast, whose people were virtually landless and engaged in full time fishing and other maritime occupations (in Fox 2001, 183), a situation which may perhaps be seen in the archaeology of island sites such as settlements amongst the Scilly Isles or on Lundy, or within the more marginal areas of the Cornish coastline. However, there is documentary evidence for sites from this period which suggests their function as specific supply centres for sites inland, such as the fishery at Braunton, dating to as early as the mid-ninth century, when King Aethelwulf of Wessex granted the manor to Glastonbury in order for it to supply fish to the abbey (Fox 2001, 47).

### **9.3 Exchange mechanisms, material culture and the transmission of ideas**

This section discusses the various forms of evidence which have been introduced to the region through trade and exchange, or contact with communities and societies outside the study region. Specific aims included attempting a greater understanding of the nature of exchange systems at local, regional and overseas levels, in the development of local settlement, including landing places, elite settlements and central places. The introduction of new forms of material culture and its affect on insular traditions was also considered, particularly with regard to developments of social identity, and maritime identities in particular.

Evidence has shown that there were two periods of increased activity in trade: the fifth to eighth centuries with the introduction of Mediterranean and Continental trade

routes, and from the ninth century onwards with the introduction of the 'burh' sites and the Anglo-Saxon mints. Analysis of the evidence has produced a series of coastal and estuarine sites as well as several inland, where imported assemblages of ceramics, glass and coinage have been discovered. It is feasible to suggest that many of these sites could have had some function as centres for trade and may have been known as such on a region-wide basis. These are discussed in relation to the problem of relating specific sites of exchange and redistribution to sites of consumption. The ceramic evidence has played a particularly important part in this discussion, mainly due to its size of assemblages compared to other evidence forms, but also because it forms one of the most important categories of evidence for studying trade in the region, particularly the Byzantine-Western links (Harris 2003, 43). Other forms of evidence are the glass, coinage and, on a more localised level, the metalworking. The glass and metalwork evidence reflects further contact with the Mediterranean and the Continent, but also Ireland and other regions around the Irish Sea.

### **9.3.1 Overseas imports and exchange networks**

#### ***Early forms of exchange***

Patterns of Late Roman coinage, in particular the hoards, suggest that the archaeology of the area reflects the patterns seen across Roman Britain, although in smaller quantities (Pearce 1970, 19-33). Research undertaken by Reece (2002, 54) and Ryan (1988) has shown that, in contrast to the east of England, sites in western central England produced above-average concentrations of coinage minted after AD 388. A recent discovery of thirty-five coins from the Isle of Wight, although outside the study area, provides important evidence for Late Roman economic activity and links with certain parts of the Empire. They dated to c. AD 117-403, with few pre-AD 250 coins and a significant rise in number of those from the fourth century, but with stronger representation of period 18/19 (AD 348-78) than the usual period 17 (AD 330-348) from other British assemblages (Moorhead 2007, 1). Moorhead discusses how these fourth-century coins have a 'Thracian' or 'Balkan' trend, including one late VIRTUS EXERCITI issue of Arcadius never before found in Britain and rare west of Greece; such a large bias towards central and eastern empire mints is "unprecedented" for Britain and has only one comparable site, at Hayle in Cornwall, where similar coins have been discovered (*ibid.*, 2). Moorhead further suggests that central and eastern minted coins might also become more common in the south-western and southern

counties, which later show evidence for direct links with the Mediterranean, coupled with a significant number of sixth- and early seventh-century Byzantine coins from the South West, and that these coins found at the Isle of Wight reflect this direct maritime link as well as the fact that ships “could travel significantly east of Cornwall and Devon” (*ibid.*, 2-3).

Such patterning in Late Roman coin assemblages, as at Hayle, if Moorhead’s reasoning is correct, would suggest a degree of continuity in exchange systems and in how direct contact with the Mediterranean was initiated in the South West and continued into the post-Roman period. Rather than the theories of demonetisation in Late Roman coinage proposed by Ryan (1988, 93-152), perhaps we are seeing instead an – admittedly greatly reduced – movement towards the use of Eastern Mediterranean coinage that ties in with the later trade in Eastern Mediterranean goods, accompanied by exchange in kind.

### ***Fifth- to eighth-century exchange and cultural influences***

Early imported ceramic evidence reflects interaction between the South West and the Continent either directly or through southern Britain, seen at Trebarveth where Gallo-Roman pottery was discovered (Serocold 1949, 169-182). Holbrook discusses how trade in imported pottery, in the form of *céramique à l’éponge* as well as Spanish and North African amphorae between Exeter, Bordeaux and the Atlantic seaboard, was the forerunner in the importation of Mediterranean pottery in the post-Roman South West (2001, 155). It is debatable whether this maintenance of older traditions was a conscious act, as it could have been a natural choice or may have merely been a series of opportunistic decisions based on what was made available at the time. Lellizzick shows links with the Mediterranean in the form of sherds of Late Roman Turkish amphorae alongside Roman coinage, and continuity of these links in the form of three sixth-century sherds of African Red Slip (Wessex Archaeology 2008, 10). In Exeter, the assemblages conform to the general patterns of ceramics across Late Roman Britain; however, the site is exceptional in being one of only two towns in southern Britain to have produced evidence for North African amphorae types having continued into the fifth century (Holbrook 1991, 26). A rim of Keay Type XXVB, dating to the early or mid-fourth century to the first half of the fifth, was discovered in a late fourth- or early fifth-century context at Trichay Street, whilst an un-stratified context at Queen Street produced a basal spike, probably of the same type, and other similarly-dated sherds of *Africana I* and *II* (*ibid.*). Whilst these sherds are significant, they could

not be included within the main body of analysis, due to a lack of secure dating and their identification needing verification.

Whether fifth- to eighth-century overseas exchange mechanisms in the South West owed their existence to the continuity of the Late Roman systems has been questioned in recent discussion of the evidence. Whilst sites such as Lellizzick indicate this continuity, they are rare, and it is now thought that whilst this contact might owe its existence to the heritage of knowledge within local communities, trade itself showed a break in activity between the late fourth and mid-fifth centuries before contact with the former Roman Empire was re-established. This apparent gap of some fifty years is now generally accepted in lieu of any new evidence (Hinton 2005, 19) and is an important factor in the development of landing sites and central places. The fact that Exeter had an important role as a central place for the region in the late fourth century but then declined and showed no evidence for the same level of activity for the next four hundred years, has raised questions as to why this occurred, given the defensive nature of the site, its location on an estuary and the fact that a large assemblage of imported Mediterranean ceramics was discovered eastwards up the coast at High Peak in conjunction with occupation deposits (Pollard 1966, 52-55).

Renewed activity in exchange mechanisms, as well as foreign envoys and political affiliation between social leaders from the fifth century onwards, has implications for the way in which communities in the South West viewed the outside world and therefore interacted with it in subsequent centuries. This would have affected how imported objects were viewed, as well as creating difficulties in identifying social groups and the settlements they occupied when studying artefacts from the region. Imports not only indicate participation in exchange, elite consumption and the location of central places, but also in many cases provide an established date range for many of the sites in the region as well as the insular fabrics.

The contents of the amphorae in the form of garum, oil and wine, as well as the African and Phocaeen tablewares, might have been considered as rare objects or foodstuffs, but whether they were also viewed as high-status items consumed by the wealthy or elite, is not certain. The location of amphorae and these 'A' wares might therefore indicate either elite settlement, settlements where the community was able to produce enough local goods to participate in this exchange, or smaller communities which could exchange in kind, but which would not consider themselves as either elite or wealthy. A further fact to consider is that whilst these items were comparatively

rare in terms of the number of sites where they are found, they were relatively common in their place of origin. Therefore, whilst the merchants could have used their rarity as a way of raising their value overseas, this value would not necessarily have needed to be so inflated that communities in Cornwall and Devon would consider them overly expensive or 'elite'.

What must also be taken into account are the objects that these communities might have had to offer in exchange, not only raw minerals but also perhaps metal objects and items which do not survive in the archaeological record. The quantities of imports in the study region have in the past been interpreted by some as evidence for sporadic visits by merchants, or even a single ship's cargo, but are dismissed by those such as Wooding (1996b, 53), in favour of a more frequent and potentially organised trade; if what is in the archaeological record is only a fraction of the vessels brought to the landing places (Hinton 2005, 19), then the actual level of activity could be much higher. If fragments of discovered amphorae represent accidental breakages and those traded for their own worth rather than for their contents, then the amphorae brought into the region might reflect a far larger and more active trade network than previously thought, with the Mediterranean merchants regularly trading at various landing places, whilst relying on meeting local rulers or their agents who were creating the demand for these products (*ibid.*, 19-20). Such an occurrence might be seen in the Mawgan Porth assemblage, where a single, abraded sherd of early medieval amphorae (Taylor 1997, 89) hints at wider trade links.

The significance of these imports in the creation of central places, designed or occupied specifically for the function of exchange networks both within and outside the region, has been discussed previously in relation to settlement types (Figures 58-64). These types appear to show a strong tradition of beach and dune location in this trade, perhaps resulting from the initial, more informal bouts of exchange, or alternatively purely as a result of the geomorphology of the region and the lack of a need for large organised settlements seen in the *wics* of southern and eastern England at around the same time. Nevertheless, the importance of exchange with outside regions to societies in the South West during this period is clear, as is the value of the goods they were importing to consumer sites such as the rounds inland.

Of the Byzantine coins, most findspots consisted of the earlier sixth- to seventh-century coins. However, the later eleventh-century coins found at Heavitree, Poltimore and within Exeter itself, if they were indeed ancient rather than modern losses

(Moorhead 2009, 264-265; Holbrook & Bidwell 1991, 38-45), may indicate that contact with the Byzantine Empire resumed from this period, either through trade links or by coins filtering through exchange systems gradually. Alternatively these coins could indicate a certain number of visiting merchants from overseas and their casual losses, or political affiliations with Continental and Byzantine kingdoms. It is also possible that many Byzantine bronze issues distributed in the Late Roman period remained in circulation for a long time, therefore increasing the amount of coinage in circulation later (Rovelli 2009, 49). Evidence for probable trade between Scandinavia and Byzantium has been found in Denmark at Ribe, Hedeby and Tissø in the form of lead seals, which at the latter was a mid-ninth-century example of a high-ranking official named Theodosius (Jørgensen 2003, 203), whilst evidence of the Scandinavian dispersal of Byzantine coinage is also found in the form of silver and gold hoards “of general Scandinavian nature” in Ireland for the period AD 800-1000 (Griffiths 2010, 103).

The copper alloy composition of the majority of coins from the South West (Figure 154) is a strong indicator of their use in trade rather than in a recycled form as jewellery, as discussed by Harris (2003, 152-153). Until the end of the reign of Phocas in AD 610 (Haldon 1997, 36), most coins were coming from the Eastern Mediterranean and particularly from the mint at Constantinople (Moorhead 2009, 265), which corresponds with the trade in Mediterranean goods to the South West and suggests that these coins were part of this exchange system. If Rovelli is correct in her discussion of a probable contraction of monetary stock in the sixth century in comparison with the fifth (2009, 47-48), then the number of sixth-century coins from the South West has increased significance. The larger number of coins found at Exeter and its environs attests to the greater activity at the settlement and potential contact with outside or overseas individuals and social groups. The sixth-century coins in particular may also reflect a certain amount of activity that was relatively large compared to elsewhere in the region and might suggest the continued importance of the settlement, with a degree of time-lag in its response to the cessation of Roman control of the region. This is also visible when comparing coinage from Periods 1 and 2 in Chapter 7, although the reduction in amounts of coins is extensive.

That the ingots from the region are within five kilometres of the coast suggests their extended role in trade or movement to primary areas of settlement, although the Newbridge and Carnanton examples were potentially discovered in regions of tin extraction, possibly through tin streaming. The Carnanton ingot has an inscription and

a stamp which suggests a Late Roman (third- to fourth-century) date, but could have been associated with later mining or streaming of tin, whilst the tin metalworking site at Chûn Castle dated to the sixth to ninth centuries (Leeds 1931). The Newbridge findspot has no dating evidence, although the site has been identified as a metal processing site (HER PRN 168334). The forty ingots from Bigbury Bay were found in the broad location of the known trading site at Bantham. It is remotely possible that they formed the corresponding local produce to the imported ceramics that have been found at Bantham and along the coast at Mothecombe, or alternatively may have been part of a process of trade with sites elsewhere. What may also be possible is that they originated from inland here, somewhere on Dartmoor and perhaps attested to by the evidence outlined by Meharg (2011, 1-11), or were part of a wider network of trade across the entire region.

The significantly large assemblages of functional items at Tintagel and Gwithian are predominantly due to the extensive excavation that has taken place, however at Gwithian the evidence for workshops and metalworking to produce bronze, copper alloy and iron objects (Nowakowski et al 2007a, 78-79; Hines, in Nowakowski et al 2007b, 54-56) suggests that the site may have been producing at a volume that was able to supply more than just the local settlement, and was perhaps linked to the traded goods also found at the site. The scatter in the Exeter hinterland is comprised predominantly of stirrup-strap mounts dating roughly to the ninth to eleventh centuries and classed as Anglo-Saxon in terms of cultural influence (Figure 175). These were perhaps linked to the importance of the settlement during this period, when it was the largest in the region and would have facilitated contact with societies outside the South West, perhaps becoming a multi-cultural 'melting pot'. Further evidence for the wider network of exchanged ideas and material culture is seen in the occurrence of the Ogham-inscribed stones found predominantly in the centre of the study region in northern Cornwall and western Devon (Figure 48). These, together with the Hiberno-Norse metalworking of probable ninth or tenth century date indicate an early Irish influence on material culture throughout the study period, although there is no evidence that prevents the possibility of direct settlement.

The settlements where imported wares have been found has been discussed in Chapter 4, however the nature of many of these sites remains in doubt considering the above discussion. The strong maritime locations of these imported goods implies several possibilities: that they were not necessarily items found only on elite or trading sites, that there were many sites with the capacity to trade, that the majority of settlement

was generally of a maritime nature, or that both elite and exchange sites tended to be found at the coast. Another factor to consider is that artefacts and commodities that were apparently commonplace on the coast may have had a different, possibly greater, social value further inland (Loveluck & Tys 2006, 142), whilst differences in their distribution could also have been due to differences in forms and functions of settlement, with sites such as Reawla and Trethurgy perhaps representing the more elite levels of consumption.

The analysis presented in Figures 58-64 shows the proportionate distribution of imported goods at settlement morphologies studied in this research. The results reflect that site types with the most imports were the beach and dune sites at the coast and the rounds further inland, which could indicate that the latter sites were either participating in trade and were primary consumers, or that these communities were actually controlling this trade through subsidiary sites within localised settlement hierarchies.

Where Late Roman amphorae have been discovered, their theorised function as media for transporting other goods, rather than as goods in their own right, has implications for the sites where they have been found, particularly those inland where the location of the amphorae implies a secondary action of exchange, away from the landing places. However, they may have had a value that was more than simply a functional medium for containing goods, a theory which is borne out in part by their reuse, once broken, as spindle whorls and pot lids at sites such as Tintagel (Figure 126 in Barrowman, 2007, 231; 236), even if this value was merely for the practical re-use or recycling of items that were not easily reproduced or plentiful.

The concentration of certain amphorae in some areas may be coincidental, depending on random factors of informal trade and the biases in excavation and survival rates, but could also suggest that there was greater demand for their contents in these areas. For example, there are larger proportions of the Later Roman 1 'Bii' at inland sites, which originate from the Antioch region of the Mediterranean and are thought to have been used to carry olive oil or wine (Harris, 2003, 45). Their consumption at specific sites could indicate that those who could afford them had a taste for items that originated in the Late Romano-British period, when these items were probably regarded as commonplace and everyday rather than the rare and exotic 'luxury' goods that they had become in the fifth to eighth centuries. Whilst Harris has suggested that the distributions of LR 1 (Bii) and 2 (Bi) might have been the result of an imperial

initiative to meet the deficiencies in local agricultural supply, others, including Keay and Karagiorgou, see their presence at Western Mediterranean sites as a result of 'free market' trade and perhaps the trading on of amphorae that were surplus to requirements (Harris 2003, 57). The distribution of these wares up the coast of Spain to western Britain might also be a result of this surplus trade, perhaps with organised trade turning to chance exchange, depending on whether conditions were favourable and reciprocal exchange feasible.

While the Tintagel assemblage contains the largest number of Mediterranean imports, the majority of Continental wares were discovered at Gwithian, raising questions as to why the focus of exchange apparently shifted, given that no E ware has been found at Tintagel, and suggesting that this apparent cessation in trade may have been due either to events at Tintagel itself, or the nature of the Continental exchange routes, perhaps in relation to the degree of contact between Early Christian religious houses in Ireland, the South West and Brittany. Similar characteristics in the proportions of wares at these sites could indicate shared socio-economic capabilities and functions, as well as similar political status and wealth. This research follows Campbell's work, which discusses instances of cabotage trade, warehousing and re-export, and which favours the model of direct mercantile control and focus on specific sites targeted for trade (1996a, 88). This contrasts with the coastal tramping model suggested by Wooding (1996a, 75-80), although it does not rule out the potential for opportunistic trade. Figures 211-212 show hypothetical models for these types of trade based on the distribution of the Mediterranean and Continental imported sherds.

The wide range of amphorae at Trethurgy suggests a system of organised trade with overseas merchants and the demand for a wide range of goods, or alternatively trade over a longer period with regular trading events, in order for such a range to have made its way to the site. Apart from the consumables of wine and olive oil, other goods which would have been archaeologically invisible might have consisted of silks, leathers, spices and animals (Campbell, 1996a, 88; 2007, 49). Pearce has suggested that the amphorae could have been used for reciprocal transportation of insular goods (2004, 235), signifying the 'recycling' of these wares once they had reached the South West and also on their return to the original Mediterranean point of origin. This has further implications concerning the number of landing places, imported goods and mercantile trips and their potential archaeological invisibility, in relation to number of actual sherds found at any given site. Salt-producing sites such as Carngoon Bank (McAvoy et al 1980, 38-61), with its imported Roman-period amphorae, continued in

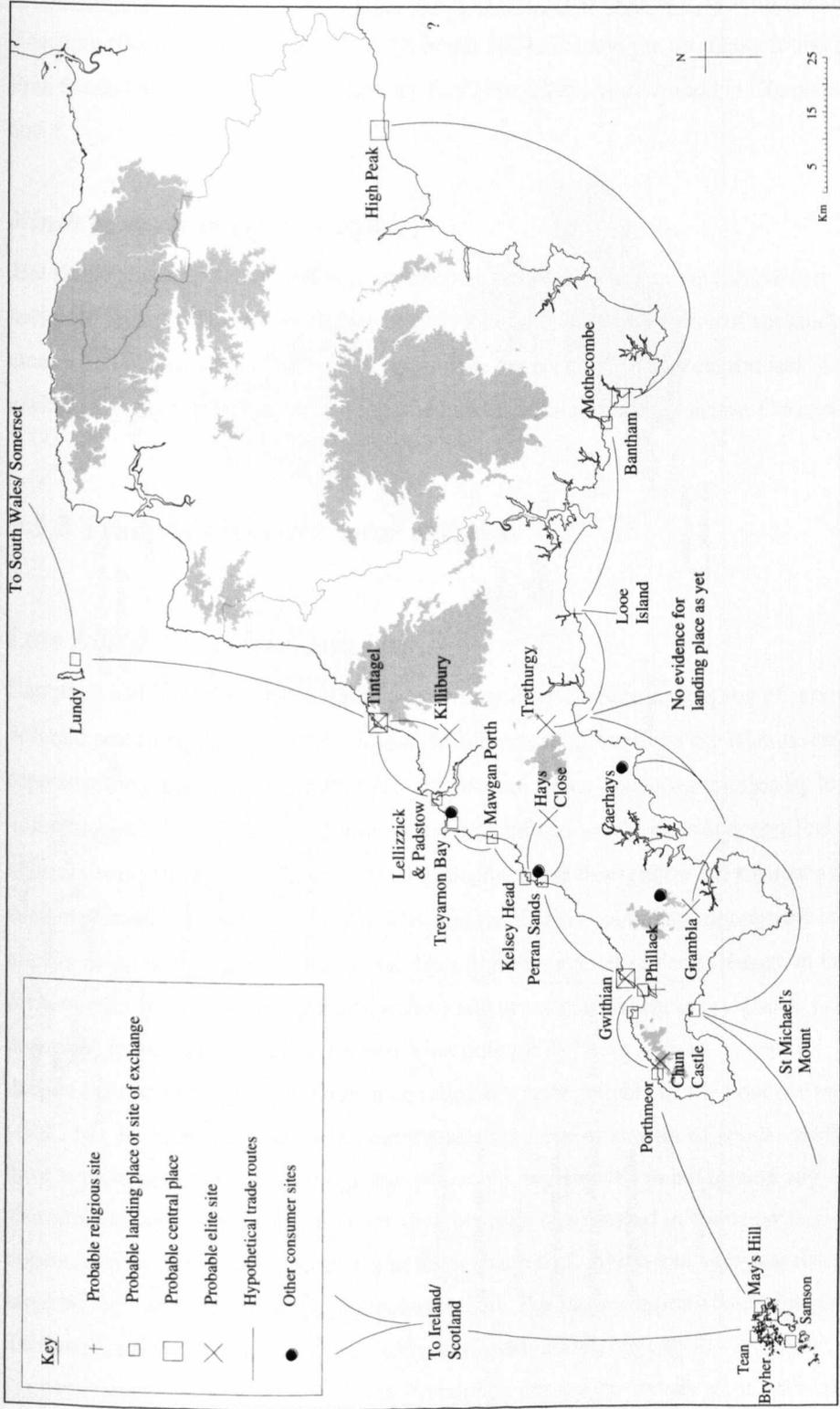


Figure 211 - Primary locations of imported ceramics: model of coastal tramping exchange network

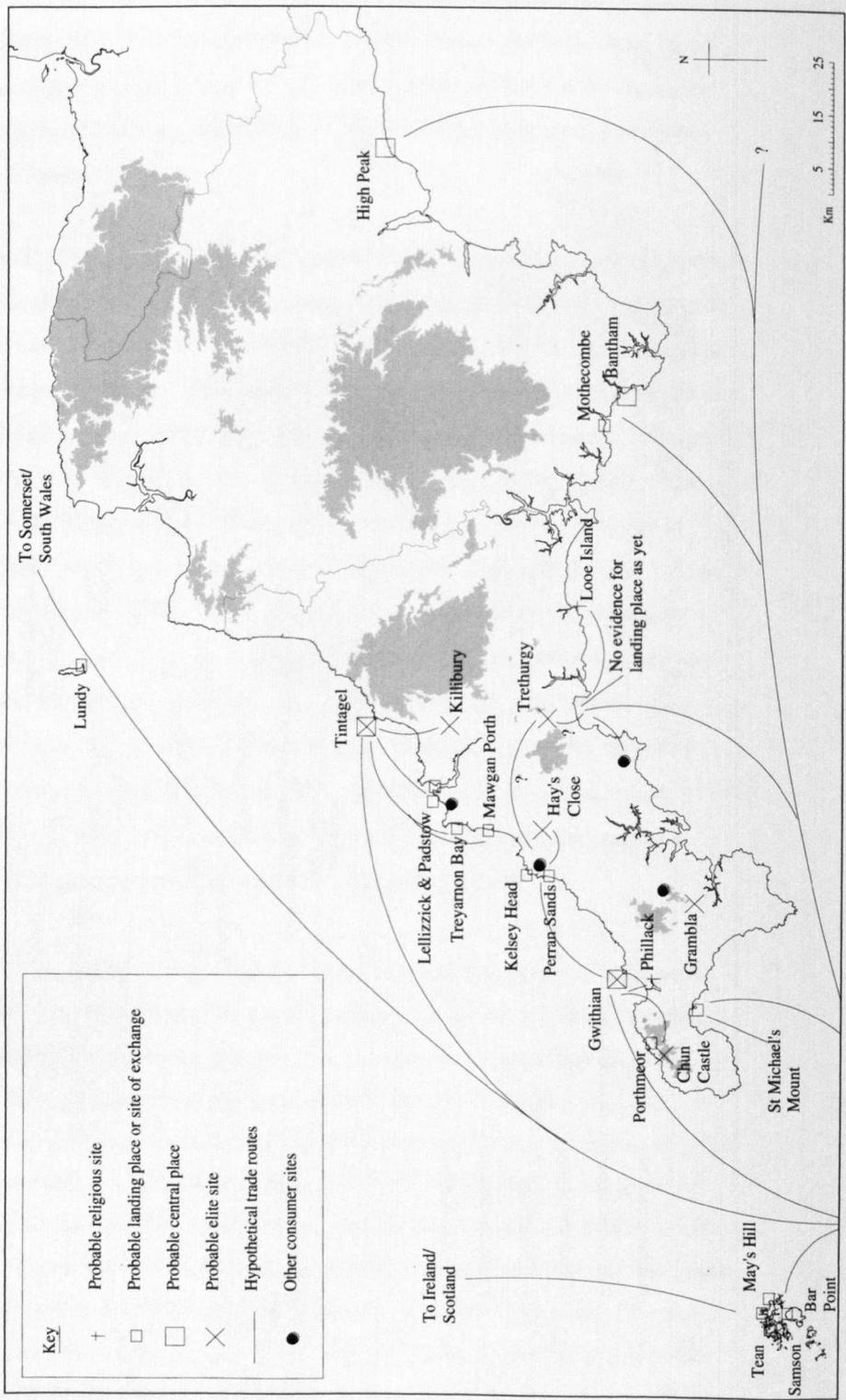


Figure 212 - Primary locations of imported ceramics: model of 'down-the-line' redistributive exchange network

occupation until the sixth century at least, and may have taken part in both local and overseas trade, something that is also feasible with the probable tin-smelting site at Porthmeor dating to the fifth century (Hirst 1937, 65), the evidence for a tin stream at Boscarne (Penhallurick 1986, 210-2; Quinnell 2004, 75) and the tin ingots found at Praa Sands (Biek 1994, 61) and Bigbury Bay (Fox 1995) as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

### ***Ninth to early twelfth centuries***

The single sherd of Seine Valley ware discovered at Padstow is a very important indicator of Saxo-Norman exchange or activity in the western reaches of the study area, with its coastal location highly suggestive of maritime transportation and exchange networks, particularly given the lack of similar evidence across Cornwall.

## **9.3.2 Trade routes over land and sea**

### ***Late fourth to eighth centuries***

Campbell has suggested that the Scilly Isles may have acted as a stopping off point for Atlantic seafarers and merchants, whilst the imports discovered on the islands may represent the presence of the merchants themselves rather than consumption by local communities (2007, 51). He argues that the archipelago would have had very few natural resources to allow for reciprocal trade, however this ignores the evidence for sustained contact between the Scilly Isles and the Cornish mainland throughout the late fourth to twelfth centuries and that this might have allowed for exchange in the form of man-made objects such as the local and grass-marked ceramics. Harris has described commodities such as oil and wine potentially being seen as ‘everyday’, despite the fact that they may have been relatively unobtainable in the South West (*ibid.*, 54). Riverine transportation, particularly for large quantities of goods, would have been a matter of course for groups of people experienced in navigation and seafaring, however the problem lies with explaining this method of transport in a region such as Cornwall, particularly in the western half, which had very few rivers large enough or with long enough reaches inland. The large imported assemblages at Trethurgy, some ten miles from the coast (Quinnell, 2004), suggest that overland exchange networks would have operated in conjunction with the maritime networks.

The visible differences between the spread of combined Mediterranean and Continental imports in Figures 122 and 125, in terms of their distribution at particular groups of sites, suggests a shift in the area of the South West generally taking part in overseas trade. The Mediterranean imports, dating to the late fourth to seventh centuries, show a general distribution across all of Cornwall and southern Devon. Further evidence for Byzantine cultural contact and transmission is discussed by Dark in relation to Early Christian evidence, and the existence sites worshipping St Ia in western Cornwall, whose cult was prominent in early Byzantine Constantinople but otherwise unknown in other Insular contexts in Britain (2002, 163). If Western French ware, thought by Campbell to have been used for the transportation of spices and other commodities rather than a fine ware and a valuable object in its own right (2007, 49), was a separate and slightly later phenomenon, then it would appear that trade to the region had shifted southwards to be concentrated at Gwithian and in the Scilly Isles, with very few smaller landing places further up the north Cornish coast and only one site in Devon, at Bantham. The differences between these two groups of imports are also visible at the sites with the largest assemblages. Tintagel, in the north, presents the largest assemblages of Mediterranean imports whilst Gwithian, to the south, has the largest assemblage of Western French ware. The later date of the Continental fabrics represents an apparent shrinking of the activity in trade towards the extreme south-west of the peninsula, which is mimicked later by the retraction of the area where the Sandy Lane fabrics I, II and II were discovered. It is possible that there was no room for more than one or two major landing places and trading outlets within the region or sub-region at any one time, given the nature of supply and demand and the ability to disperse these goods to the wider social groups.

Routes of exchange have previously been discussed in great detail by Campbell (1996a), Bowman (1996) and Wooding (1996a & 1996b), however these have been reassessed here with the inclusion of recent discoveries of imported ceramics. Two hypothetical trade routes are assessed for both the Mediterranean and Continental distributions through analysis in the aforementioned Figures 211-212: the 'coastal tramping' method discussed by Wooding (1996a, 75-80) and Campbell (1996a, 86) and the 'down-the-line' approach discussed in Chapter 2. Trade and methods of redistribution within the study region need not have been solely one form or another and it is most likely that both were used to a varying degrees in different parts of the region. In these models the rounds are shown as hypothetical elite sites; however it may have been that they acted as major consumers rather than controlling factors in landscape use and exchange systems. These routeways of dispersal show the different

hypothetical methods of overland and coastal routes, however a third method is likely to have co-existed alongside these routes in the form of multiple acts of short-distance exchange and localised cycles of redistribution.

Fulford discusses how the proportionate content of imports in Britain matches those in the eastern Mediterranean but contrasts with those from the more proximate western Mediterranean (1989, 3). He suggests that this discrepancy must relate to how the goods were transported, in other words differences between the trade routes and the origins of the goods (*ibid.*). Further factors include those controlling this movement of materials as well as how secondary exchange hubs might have had an influence such as on the origin of the ships arriving in Britain. Fulford further concludes that Britain was a deliberate objective of those setting out from the eastern ports (*ibid.*, 4). Harris' study of the ceramic assemblages in the Mediterranean and on the Continent in relation to the Byzantine Empire has concluded that the nature of the Tintagel assemblage, with its proportional representations of Late Roman Amphorae, would suggest that South West Britain was connected to a specific Mediterranean trade route known as the 'East-West' (possibly Syrian) exchange system (2003, 146). It is likely that the length of time it would have taken to voyage to the study region, plus the number of sherds found there, taking into account levels of survival and the reuse of amphorae (including in reciprocal trade), suggests that mercantile traders were reasonably certain of an eager market upon their arrival. Harris's wider model of European and Mediterranean distributions of PRSW (Figure 94) highlights the theory that they were targeting the south-western fringes of Britain and southern Ireland (2007, 16), perhaps reciprocating with trade in Cornish tin and other goods. This negates the possibility of a coastal tramping system of trade, given the lack of PRSW either overland to Gaul or across the Bay of Biscay and indeed the model of coastal tramping is less likely given the necessity of custom for the initial impetus of such trade.

It is possible that merchants provided a verbal link with the political powers in the Byzantine Empire and a method of contact between the two regions, which would have facilitated further contact, trade and political affiliations. Such contact is evidenced historically, by the writings of Procopius on the regions of Brittia and Britannia, thought to be modern Britain and Brittany (Thompson 1980, 499-500). This contact with both the Mediterranean and post-Roman Gaul would have widened the economic and social prospects and attributes of the study region, creating reciprocal trade networks and allowing for the development of local production and industries

such as those visible in the archaeology at Gwithian (Nowakowski et al 2007c, 13-76). “This leaves two possibilities: a directional East-West trade in luxury goods presumably directed at Western elites, and a politically motivated network of diplomatic exchanges. In fact, these may have been combined, as has been suggested in relation to Byzantine mercantile activity in Western Europe” (Harris 2003, 55)

The reasons for an apparent cessation of contact and trade with the Mediterranean in the eighth century is not clear, but evidence for a previous one-hundred-year gap in discoveries of Phocaean and African Red Slip wares was possibly due to internal struggles and problems within the Mediterranean and the Byzantine Empire, such as Justinian’s re-conquest of Byzantium, an outbreak of plague, the effect of a comet impact, and the damage caused by the Persians to the Syrian coast (Hinton 2005, 21; 270).

### *Ninth to early twelfth centuries*

When trade is assessed for the Later Anglo-Saxon and Saxo-Norman periods, there appears to be very little evidence for large numbers of imports at any site, not even at the burhs in Devon. These fortified central places, whether royal or military residences, may not have had the same urban role or function seen in eastern England other than at Exeter, whilst many such as Halwell in Devon, seem to have ‘failed’ as settlements (Higham 2008, 174-175) but could originally have been created as mere fortified encampments. Imports are found at only a few sites and it is likely that these were provided by trade links with Eastern Britain rather than through landing places at the coast.

The regionalisation of the ninth- to twelfth-century wares between Cornwall and Devon suggests that they were not widely traded outside these regions and thus would probably not have formed part of the local overland exchange networks between the two counties, if indeed these existed. It is possible that ideas rather than goods were transmitted across the region in the development of local pottery production, resulting in multiple production sites as opposed to networks of trade. The distribution of the Devonshire Chert-tempered Ware and the ‘new’ tenth- to twelfth-century Exeter Fabric 20 and Bedford Garage wares also demonstrate the development of localised insular production and reliance on local techniques and industry, particularly in the Exeter region.

Up until the production of the Sandy Lane forms, the concentration of local ceramics at maritime sites indicates that local networks of trade and exchange may have relied on maritime forms of transport for their redistribution, or for contact with other communities. Alternatively, it strongly suggests that general settlement patterns, or at least those where ceramics are found, appear to have valued a coastal location. It is difficult however not to infer that these fairly basic items of material culture reflect the true nature of settlement in the region, which contrasts with the much more widespread and inland distribution of ceramics in the Roman and Saxo-Norman assemblages.

### **9.3.3 Insular production and localised demand**

Whilst the lack of fine wares in the South West created the demand for overseas trade, this did not inhibit the growth of local ceramic production and development throughout the late fourth to twelfth centuries. These ceramics were one component of the wider agrarian production in insular communities, whilst the factors involved, consisting of access to clay resources and temper, production technique and decoration, all have implications for resource management in the agrarian regime serviced by the potter (Whyman & Perring 2002, 47).

#### ***Late fourth to ninth centuries***

Evidence suggests that the insular pottery production in Cornwall inherited its traditions from the Roman period and that late Romano-Cornish local wares were produced within specific areas rather than across the entire region, perhaps at certain sites on the Lizard peninsula and distributed to the surrounding settlements. So far, the evidence from excavated assemblages has not distinguished between these early local wares and it is equally possible that each site was able to produce enough ceramics for its own needs, as with the later Bar-lug fabric. In other words, the style of production may have spread, rather than the wares themselves. In general these ceramics show a greater distribution at inland and coastal sites, with large numbers of South Devon ware at Duckpool and RB Gabbroic at Porth Godrevy indicating that these were the largest sites along the north coast. Holcombe (Uplyme), Reawla, Trethurgy and Exeter show a wide range of goods, indicating high levels of activity in the Late Roman period, with many other sites such as Merther Uny showing only low levels of locally-made wares, indicating that there was a greater reliance on local subsistence rather than outside contacts.

The range of Late Roman regional wares brought into the South West, suggests that it was not isolated from the main forms of trade prevalent in Romano-British society and therefore would have interacted with the eastern and southern areas of the province. Whilst many of these sites are coastally located, it is likely that certain regionally-produced wares were brought in via land routes, as the Oxford wares would have been, given the ability of the Oxford potters to sell their wares far away from the kiln sites and to regions not easily accessible by water (Swan, in Pollard, 1974, 115). It has been suggested that at the villa site of Holcombe, both the New Forest and Oxford wares could have been transported along the south coast (Pollard, 1974, 107). However, there were apparently greater levels of activity in the west of Roman Dumnonia (modern Cornwall) at former Iron Age sites such as Reawla, Trethurgy and Penhale Round, suggesting that the local elite were able and willing to participate in the use of what are traditionally thought of as 'Roman' items, something that was actively encouraged in the preliminary subjugation of the island. This also implies either the movement of these goods through maritime links, or a more extensive overland network of overland links than implied by the road networks discovered so far.

The distribution patterns within the evidence may be due to a bias in excavation results, where the large expanse of Dartmoor prevents archaeological investigations at an equal level. Whilst regional imports such as the Oxford and New Forest wares continued in production for a short time after the end of Roman control, their distribution in the South West ceased, and it appears that more decorative forms of everyday (local) fabrics were not being consumed after AD 400 (Pollard 1974, 107). However, the local Romano-Cornish granitic and gabbroic wares continued at sites such as Tintagel alongside the imported ceramics in the fifth century (Barrowman 2007, 231), whilst Gwithian Style, identified at the Gwithian sub-sites, also developed from Roman forms and into the more widespread grass-marked fabrics. These fabrics would have formed part of the early medieval material culture profile of the region, which is likely to have included a range of perishable items. Although these are missing in the assemblages gathered to date, they are likely to have been similar to contemporary artefacts found at Irish sites and preserved in peat bogs (Härke 2007, 59).

### *Ninth to early twelfth centuries*

Changing levels of production of Sandy Lanes I, II, III, which resulted from several centuries of development of insular grass-marked wares, are shown in their distribution, which reflects a marked reduction in their use throughout Cornwall over this period. This distribution, possibly through localised exchange networks, retracted towards the south-west and the West Penwith peninsula, suggesting perhaps that either these local networks were failing, or that locally-produced fabrics were becoming obsolete in the advance of the numerous Saxo-Norman wares. Whilst the Cornish wares were showing a development of insular styles of production in the form of the grass-marked wares from the fifth century, it was not until the tenth century that Devonshire wares began to develop their own insular traditions.

After the eighth century, the number of coastal sites with Anglo-Saxon coinage, albeit showing small numbers of coins, could have been minor ports-of-trade or landing places, of which Exeter and Plymouth would represent the larger sites perhaps under the control of provincial administrators. The possible Roman heritage of these smaller landing places may be evidenced by the 'porth' place-names (Padel 1985, 190-191) such as those in the Scilly Isles (Thomas 1985, 38-39) and Porth Joke beach near Kelsey Head. Alternatively, these coins could represent small settlements. The similar patterning in the Scilly Isles suggest that they were experiencing the same influencing factors as on the mainland and were therefore part of the wider economic and settlement system. Exeter has the largest assemblage of Late Roman coins, numbering ninety-three in total, which, along with the outlying findspots in its immediate hinterlands, reflects its known importance in the region throughout the Roman period, whilst the number of coins from the region of Plymouth appear to represent a coastal site which may have been an important central place in terms of exchange both overseas and over land. Other large assemblages in the South West originate from hoards and therefore may not reflect the same degree of economic activity or be an accurate representation of this type of activity.

The emergence of these production centres, thought in the case of the grass-marked to have been in the region of gabbroic clay on the Lizard (Williams in Quinnell 2004, 126-127), is likely to have resulted from the initial demands of the immediate settlements in this region. However, as demand grew, centralisation of production may have occurred, involving the integration of these agrarian producers into a system of production that would have involved the wider region (*ibid.*). Further resultant factors

from centralisation mentioned by Whyman and Perring, such as the greater consistency of form and fabric, recognisable over a wider area in order to combat very localised on-site production (*ibid.*), also seem to be visible in the development of the grass-marked fabrics, although this did not appear to include wheel-throwing until the introduction of the Sandy Lane wares.

The development of local wares and their increased areas of distribution could therefore represent an increase in economic activity, as well or instead of the spread of a ceramic tradition, particularly given that the origin of the clay source seems to have remained constant, albeit with some use of granitic clays seen in the assemblages at some sites. However, this increase is not reflected in the later Bar-lug and Sandy Lane fabrics. From c. AD 1100 in Cornwall, the bulk of gabbroic pottery apparently becomes granitic in origin, in other words it seems that the gabbroic production centres on the Lizard were producing fewer vessels and a new granitic production centre emerged of unknown location, perhaps as a result of Norman influence and possibly from the South Devon production centres in Devon, or because perhaps the gabbroic clay ran out (Thorpe & Nowakowski 2008, pers. comms.).

Local ceramics in Groups 3 and 4 appear to show an increase in their distribution, perhaps as a result of the spread of knowledge of pottery techniques, whilst the larger assemblages in Devon in Group 5 may reflect the influence of the burghal sites and increases in demand and therefore production levels. During Groups 4 and 5 we see the increased development and regionalisation of local fabrics in the Bar-lug, Sandy Lane, Chert-tempered and Bedford Garage wares. The greater number of coins seen in Group 3 appears to have been a result of the integration of the South West into the Anglo-Saxon monetary system when the 'burhs' and their associated mints were introduced in the Late Saxon period. However, the distribution of coinage in Figure 158 seems to show that the movement of coins was slightly greater in the case of those minted within the region, than in the case of the coinage from Exeter on its margins and that from mints outside the region. In other words, much of the circulation and economic activity appears to have been contained within the region with no great activity between the South West and central places in the rest of Britain apart from at certain sites such as Hayle and Tiverton. Even Exeter shows no contact with other major mints, although it is almost certain that this contact would have existed.

The initial use of coins may therefore have been related to the extraction of resources rather than through fully-operational exchange systems. The primary use of these

mints, perhaps to extract wealth from the region by controlling its various resources, such as tin, as well as to exhort tax from its population, would have involved the use of coinage as a state-controlled function of long-distance trade, with this trade becoming regularised and more formally organised (Hodges 1989, 105). Such a use might have facilitated the apparent growth in activity and associated settlement at Exeter, something that is seen in Group 6 in the levels of 'foreign coinage' but which is less visible in the assemblages of locally-struck coinage, although the ceramic evidence reflects a more affluent settlement in this period (Group 5). Coinage might then later have developed a wider use as a form of cash, becoming multi-purpose in its uses (*ibid.*, 108). These forms of use therefore reflect different activities in the archaeological record, implying that the distribution of coinage does not necessarily indicate forms of trade, rather the spread of a particular cultural attribute of Anglo-Saxon traditions, through various forms of contact, whether by assimilation, or interaction on a variety of levels.

Five markets are recorded for Cornwall at the time of the Norman Conquest, located at Launceston, Liskeard, Bodmin, St Germans and Marazion respectively, most of which were ecclesiastical centres (Preston-Jones & Rose 1986, 164) and none of which appear to show their national importance, reflected in the location of the mints at the Anglo-Saxon burhs. However, although tenth-century kings would have attempted to concentrate trade and market exchange within the Devon burhs, it is likely that market sites may have existed outside them and it is now equally accepted that the Burghal Hideage is not a full list of proto-urban sites in the Late Saxon period (Higham 2008, 188-189). The market function of Tavistock is documented for c. AD 1100 (*ibid.*) whilst three of the aforementioned Cornish sites (Figure 24) were also inland, suggesting that the focus of exchange mechanisms might have shifted from the former coastal locations at sites such as Tintagel and Bantham towards a more regional focus of internal trade systems and networks that included both inland and coastal sites.

The growth of the mints is partially reflected in the distribution of the coinage and the movement of these coins from their place of minting (Figure 158). The coins are few, but this distribution map appears to show a degree of internal trade, particularly from the Lydford mint, as well as interaction with regions to the east and overseas, although this evidence is slim and implies direct contact rather than sustained trade. Certain of the locations such as Hayle and Stokeinteignhead also raise the question of maritime methods of contact versus overland routes. Maddicott suggests that Exeter's prosperity in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries and later in the twelfth century was due to

the extraction of tin, and that this is reinforced by the importance of Totnes (also a supposed port adjacent to the Dartmoor uplands) and the productivity of its mint (1989, 30-32). According to Maddicott, both of these sites also appear to have benefited from contact and resultant trade with Ireland, with evidence suggesting that Exeter's links with Ireland remained close until long after AD 1018, and possibly with France as well (*ibid.*, 31-34), borne out by the evidence from Group 6 (Figure 165). Further evidence in the form of the distribution of coin dies from Exeter during Cnut's reign shows the interaction between the mints in the South West at this time as well as outside the region (Allan 2002, Figure 11, 22), whilst the Irish links are reflected in the discovery of a disproportionately large number of Devon-minted coins in Dublin, particularly from Barnstaple and Exeter (*ibid.*, 24).

Whilst Lydford was amongst poor farmland and not on the coast, it was situated on a routeway and a tributary of the Tamar, a major river, occupied a high defensive promontory, and its plan suggests that it was intended to be a town. It enjoyed relative prosperity in the tenth and eleventh centuries, possessing one of the more important mints during this period, whilst of the Devon towns royal castles were only established at Exeter and Lydford in the post-Norman Conquest period (Maddicott 1989, 35-36). Its success c. AD 978-1016 is supported by evidence which suggests that the total output of the mint during its life could be estimated at over 1.5 million coins, according to Allan (2002, 16-17; Metcalf 1981, 74-5). The importance of Exeter and its re-founding, and the creation of a mint during the reign of Alfred may be explained by the potential wealth of mineral resources from the South West as a whole, with tin from Cornwall and Devon and lead and silver from the Mendips in Somerset, and with "tin which can only have come from the west country" being used in Later Saxon England (Maddicott 1989, 19). It may also have increased in importance through the trade in slaves, hunting dogs and hides (Pearce 2003, 288). When the fortified central place was founded, it may have been with a commercial role in mind and the growth of Exeter in the later tenth to eleventh centuries may reflect wealth being drawn out of the South West, predominantly through its metal industry, although there is little evidence to support its involvement with the rest of England (Hinton 2005, 152). However, by AD 1150 it seems to have been one of the largest and most prosperous in the Anglo-Norman kingdom and was trading in wool or cloth and slaves by AD 1100 (Maddicott 1989, 22-23), whilst prior to this it was one of the most active eleventh-century mints and had acquired enough localised wealth for meat to be brought in specifically for market (Hinton 1998, 120).

Biddle discusses how both the defences and the street system of burhs should be regarded as having been a single operation in their construction, but also how the West Saxon sites were founded primarily for the defence of Wessex; therefore many of these can be thought of as small forts, such as Halwell and Pilton in Devon (1975, 27). It remains uncertain whether these sites were created with an urban or military function in mind; however it is possible that of the many that were founded, only a few such as Lydford succeeded, whilst others such as Halwell may have been replaced by Totnes (Higham 2008, 174-175), either deliberately or through circumstance.

Tin was in constant demand and the South West was Europe's only source; therefore Exeter as the largest 'port' may have handled its trade, which may explain the success of the settlement. This raises further questions regarding the 'rise and fall and rise again' of the site, as rather than trying to explain why it became so successful we need to explain why the only form of evidence for trade at the site for the period c. AD 500-900 was the sixth- and seventh-century Byzantine coinage, with no direct settlement evidence other than a few instances of 'dark earth' several centimetres in depth (Henderson 1985, 29). It is likely that settlement activity continued at Exeter in a minor form and that tin continued to be extracted from Dartmoor, but that this extraction and resultant exchange was being facilitated through other channels, perhaps via the trading site at Bantham and Mothecombe, where supporting evidence has been discovered in the form of forty tin ingots found offshore in Bigbury Bay and the metalworking evidence discussed in Chapter 7. This raises further questions as to who was in control of this trade, as the discovery of the Byzantine coinage, as well as the seventh century coin from Hamwih and found at Tiverton, potentially reflects economic activity in the region.

## **10. Conclusions: exploring regional identities, material culture and maritime social dynamics in the South West**

*This chapter presents a summary of the conclusions formed whilst undertaking this research and from the synthetic discussion in Chapter 9. Throughout the late fourth to early twelfth centuries AD, the South West peninsula of England underwent a series of developments in its material culture and settlement morphologies. Contact and acculturation from Roman, Irish, Welsh, Scandinavian, Continental, Anglo-Saxon and Norman influences changed the nature of these ‘insular’ prehistoric social groups to varying degrees, creating the early medieval Atlantic identities studied in this project.*

### **10.1 AD 350-800**

The retention of prehistoric settlement sites in the Roman period, together with the development of new Romano-British forms of ceramics still in the ‘insular’ prehistoric style, reflects the strength of these insular traditions and, therefore, the nature of social identity across the South West. This is more apparent in the archaeology of Cornwall, notwithstanding the archaeological bias in the number of known sites in each region. Romano-Cornish ceramics also indicate a continuity of traditions, particularly in the form of the gabbroic wares which originally developed from the Iron Age Cordoned ware. That these wares persisted in their production and widespread use from the late fourth to thirteenth centuries (see Chapter 5) attests to the strength of South Western and, in particular, Cornish traditions.

#### ***Romanitas***

Roman artefacts and evidence for their material culture have been discovered across the study region, albeit in smaller quantities than in the rest of Roman Britain, but nevertheless showing that the region appears to have been fully integrated into Romano-British society and economic activities at a cultural level, and whether communities thought of themselves as ‘Roman’ is debatable. The perceived importance of *Romanitas* as a controlling aspect in the conquest of Britain was not necessarily a method that was implemented in all areas. However, whilst there is less evidence for widespread adoption of luxury Roman items in the first to third centuries

in Cornwall and Devon than in southern and eastern England, by the fourth century and into the fifth, items belonging to the 'Late Antique' set of traditions, reflecting the adoption of 'Roman' elite practices (Loveluck 2011, 34) that included imported ceramics and inscribed stones, appear to have become relatively common.

As Chapter 4 has demonstrated, the influence of Roman building styles on insular settlement does not seem to have caused a widespread change in construction methods, although they may have been influential in the rectangular enclosure at Grambla and the multiple structures at Tintagel, and may also have caused developments in the locally-produced ceramics of the region. There has been some suggestion that large tracts of other parts of Roman Britain, such as Salisbury Plain and Cranborne Chase, could have formed imperial estates which resulted in a lack of second and third century villas in these areas (Branigan 1976, 45-47) and some areas of Cornwall and Devon may have had a similar function, for which there is little archaeological evidence, but which may have been related to the extraction of minerals from the uplands in the region as well as for pasture. The fact that there are few sites with specifically Roman structures, such as the villa at Magor, attests to the strength of nearby insular settlement forms which continued to be occupied, as does the fact that the villa was originally constructed within an Iron Age circular enclosure. The consumption of imported glass and pottery at some sites would suggest that certain Atlantic identities had aspirations of 'Roman-ness' and that aspects of a Roman way of life endured, although perhaps only at an elite level. Moreover, adaptations of Roman material culture are seen in the metalworking, for example. Hinton discusses how the discovery of penannular brooches within the metalworking assemblages may reflect individuals who wished to make "statements" about their continuing Roman or Romano-British/Celtic identity, but how this would be more convincing if bracelets and finger-rings showed similar degrees of continuity (2005, 18).

The evidence for the adoption of Byzantine culture in the region, which retained a distinctly 'Roman' and secular style in the representation of emperors on coinage until the seventh century is surprising, given the distance from the Mediterranean (Harris 2003, 18-19). The cultural changes that occurred in the South West in the adoption of certain Byzantine traditions and material culture, whilst not the same as those adopted in Anglo-Saxon parts of England, were probably driven by the same desire "for affiliation with a still-existing Roman Empire which was at the centre of the Christian world" (*ibid.*, 140). The issue of religion within identity is discussed by Dark, who

suggests that the status of British Christians may have been low when compared with Gallic or other Christians, and therefore under-represented in the archaeological record, and yet the sub-Roman church may have derived much of its character from that of Roman Britain (1994, 36-37). Christianity seems to have also been part of the Late Antique 'package' that was transmitted to society in the South West, and is reflected in the number of inscribed stones and crosses found across the region, many of which also had the chi-rho incised on them. Many Early Christian sites of the fifth to seventh centuries appear to show a degree of continuity in terms of site location, although their exact function may have changed. This 'Celtic' church seems to have remained a strong influence on the character of Christianity in the region, including the naming of sites after local saints' names, such as the hermitage at St Helens in the Scilly Isles, which appears to have gone out of use in the eighth century. Perhaps, because the strength of Early Christian traditions were so marked in the South West from the fourth century onwards, the religious links with the Byzantine Empire aided in the transmission of other forms of Byzantine culture and reinforced the 'conduit' of exchange systems that facilitated this contact and therefore caused the widespread distribution of Mediterranean goods.

### *Atlantic and mercantile influences on 'Insular' identities*

In the late fourth to eighth centuries local forms of material culture, such as the grass-marked ceramics, reflect persisting prehistoric identities whilst incorporating new ideas; however the style of the Trethurgy bowls and mortars, showing strong influences from tin or bronze bowls of Romano-British or Romano-Cornish origin such as the Nijmegen bowl from the Rhineland (Quinnell 2004, Figure 65, 136; 137), could show an amalgamation of insular and Roman traditions. This period also saw the introduction of new sources of acculturation alongside the reintroduction of old ones through maintained contact and affinities with other Atlantic communities, renewed links with Mediterranean societies - although evidence from Exeter and elsewhere suggests that contact may have persisted - and the creation of new Continental links. These were mediated by exchange mechanisms, shared traditions in Early Christianity and contact through both religious and political means, which is likely to have included links with Irish communities.

Regardless of whether trade routes with the Mediterranean were sustained throughout the late fourth to fifth centuries, Late Roman influences on consumption appear to have had an influence on insular societies where perhaps material culture did not.

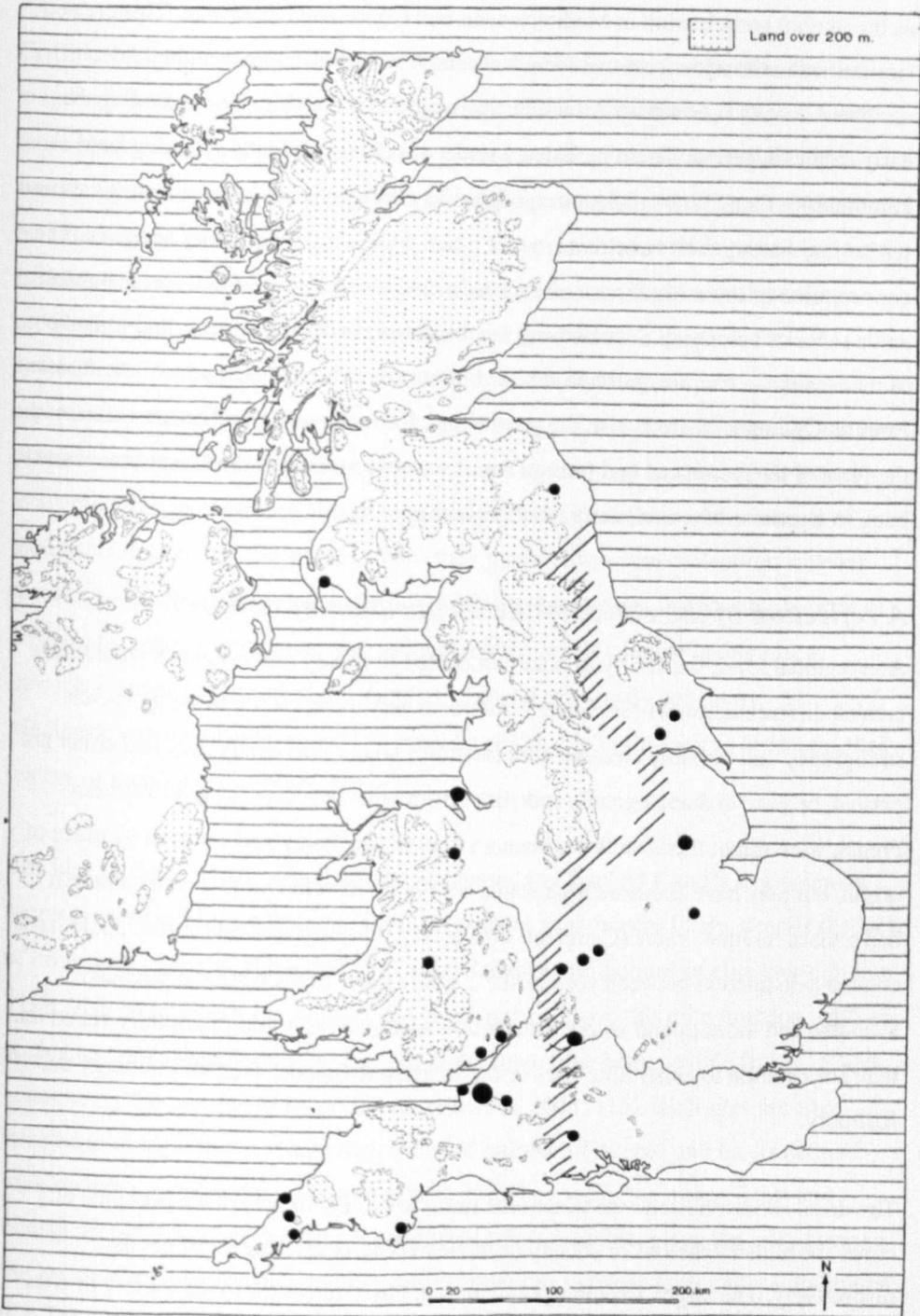
Whether elite or otherwise, Mediterranean finewares and the contents of the amphorae are strong evidence for conspicuous consumption and the apparent aspiration to a Roman – and possibly also elite – lifestyle. The demands for wine, oil and other imported consumables suggests this affectation towards what some have perceived to be a Roman lifestyle, but which at the time could instead have been an affinity for ‘luxury’ items not found locally and which might have had connotations relating to the past, that were thought of as important but not necessarily ‘Roman’, unless perhaps in relation to the comparatively ‘new’ Early Christian identities that were emerging. These goods could be seen as luxury goods when animal fats would have been easily attainable as an alternative to olive oil, whilst the consumption of wine could be attributed to its being an easy taste to reacquire (Hinton 2005, 20). Thompson indicates that Byzantium was apparently aware of Britain in this period so it is likely that this was reciprocated (1980, 498-507). The communities in the South West may well have been aware of the changing nature of Roman traditions as they evolved in the Byzantine Empire and would have witnessed the introduction of new traditions and objects developing in this new cultural ‘hotchpotch’ of influences, resulting from the inclusion of new territories in and the exclusion of others from the Empire. This is important when discussing the idea of an affinity with Roman traditions, as the objects brought from the Byzantine Empire would have shown their origin in Roman styles, but would have been different to luxury objects found at former Romano-British sites, although the nature of oil, wine and other consumables would have stayed relatively constant.

The series of ‘insular’ traditions has prehistoric origins which were part of wider ‘Atlantic’ prehistoric groups of traditions and identities. This Atlantic identity, discussed by Henderson (2007) and reviewed in Chapter 2, is visible in the shared nature of ‘Celtic’ building traditions and material culture found in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the South West and Brittany. This is noticeable in the Breton earthworks and their similarity to the Cornish rounds such as that at L’Ile Guennoc en Landéda (Giot et al 2003, 209-210), as well as similar characteristics in the construction and early medieval occupation periods of the Irish ringforts. These ringforts, or raths, were occupied until roughly the ninth century by prosperous rural populations that consisted of free farmers, the less-important chieftains, and noblemen and kings (Fleming 2003, 114-115). According to Thomas the evidence for Irish colonisation in the South West is much weaker than previously assumed (1972, 251-74). However, the distribution of Ogham-inscribed stones is significant, suggesting a group of communities with either a degree of colonisation, or the spread of the tradition in an inland region perhaps from

one or several sources of acculturation, such as an immigrant or small community of Irish settlers. Alternatively the source could have been a result of the influence of a British visit to Ireland with the tradition being brought back to the South West. In either case the evidence points towards a degree of contact with Ireland or Irish traditions.

Analysis of the metalworking in particular has highlighted the influence of outside Continental and Irish contacts on the region, whether through the spread of artistic styles or the direct actions of trade (Figure 175). The western location of an Irish metal object, excluding those from the Trewhiddle Hoard, consists of one sixth-century penannular pin-head brooch from Phillack which attests to some form of direct or indirect contact. Dickinson's analysis of Fowler's Type G penannular brooches (Figure 213) also shows the spread of this new development within the metalworking tradition and the differences between the insular 'British' and Anglo-Saxon findspots (Hines 2000, Figure 4, 96). Within the ceramic assemblages, in particular the local Cornish fabrics, there is evidence for changes in their development and a new style of design and form which appear to have resulted from insular influences. The fact that Iron Age gabbroic pottery was found at St Michael's Mount with evidence for the lugs found on bar-lug pottery (Herring 1993, 44), suggests that the feature may have been an Iron Age tradition. The size and shape of the forms of Late Roman and early medieval fabrics have been noted to change throughout the study period, in terms of an apparent change to communal eating evidenced by the use of a new form of larger dishes and a decrease in the number of forms in the local fabrics (C. Thorpe and J. Nowakowski 2008, pers. comms.). The changing shape of these forms is significant in the discussion of the cultural implications of food production and consumption, as well as the influence of new social groups and identities on this consumption and thus the insular material culture as well.

The shared heritage of Brittany and Cornwall, and the wider links between these regions and Ireland, western Scotland and Wales, are also visible in the linguistics and the material culture (Cunliffe 2001, 462-481). Similarities in place name evidence (Davies et al 2000, Figure 6.1, 72) between Brittany and the South West perhaps indicate the development of insular kingdoms developing their own non-Saxon or Gallo-Roman – and later, Old French – traditions as developments of the Latin language (Davies et al 2000, 73), resulting in the retention of former place names for longer, or the cementing of British place names or their formation at the same time as



**Figure 213 - Distribution of Type G1 penannular brooches. Shaded strip: the western and northern limit of Migration period (fifth to late sixth centuries) Anglo-Saxon burial sites (Hines 2000, Figure 4, 96)**

they were being cemented in the landscape across the wider region (ie Anglo-Saxon England), and we are therefore perhaps seeing the linguistic imprint of territorial regions of the era. These ultimately resulted in an Atlantic identity formed from the shared traditions of culture, language and knowledge of the Atlantic seascapes as well

as the mutual participation in Mediterranean and Continental exchange. This created similarities in the wider regional identities which would also have resulted from sustained contact between all Atlantic communities for the centuries preceding the early medieval period. These included a sense of belonging whilst affecting how communities thought about distance and the way they perceived their own regions and territories, making their 'world' a smaller place and giving them wider horizons. The consumption of these Mediterranean goods would also have created wider affinities and a sense of belonging to something much greater, in this case the cultural blanket of the Byzantine Empire, perhaps similar but not the same as being part of the Roman Empire. Of course, there is also the possibility of direct contact with other cultures in the form of the merchants and foreign envoys, or even travel to the Mediterranean and back as a process of (accidental) acculturation.

### ***A reflection of the elites, or the localisation of culture?***

At a regional level, the ability to obtain imported or highly crafted goods would have created differentiation within South Western society, perhaps highlighting social stratigraphy and possibly creating elite identities where previously they had either not existed, or were archaeologically indistinct from other levels of society. Western French ware might therefore have been an item of low value and status in its place of origin, but may have acquired high status simply by its removal to an area where it had a more 'unique' value (Campbell 2007a, 51). Alternatively this ability could have created a distinction between coastal sites, where these items were more readily available and those inland where distribution was much less and might have relied on their importation to either elite sites or the larger settlements, such as Trethurgy and Killibury.

The dress-accessories and the functional items are likely to reflect the presence of either the higher echelons of society or those trading or crafting these goods respectively. The larger assemblages such as at Gwithian attest to the variety of sites presenting these items, in the former case a major metalworking and trading site which might also have supplied a resident elite society with objects traditionally associated with status and wealth, and the latter possibly reflecting the collection of plate from a religious foundation, or Viking individuals. The inscribed stones may also reflect elite identities. The use of the *hic iacet* Latin script, as well as hinting at 'Roman-ness', could reflect how Christianisation in western Europe impacted on the strategies used by elite groups to mark their importance (Loveluck 2011, 28-29).

Griffiths has suggested that the social need for fine Continental imports in the kingdoms bordering the Irish Sea is only a part of the reproduction of power within those kingdoms, at a time when the new Christian religion had removed the priestly powers of the leaders and the practices of kingship moved towards “a secular means of maintaining the elite hierarchy” (1994, 186). The exotic nature of imported finewares may have conferred prestige on the user, which could then have outweighed any practical or cultural considerations in the use of this pottery (Campbell 2007, 51). The assumption that the presence of imports or finely-crafted items directly implies an elite presence is not without reason. It would have been in the interest of “royalty” to control trade, both because of the revenue from taxation and because of the power available through control of access to prestige goods; it was also in the interest of merchants to keep to certain sites where they might have some protection, whether royal or ecclesiastical (Doherty 1980, 79). Hinton emphasises the possible aspects of aristocratic activity in creating and influencing the levels of trade taking place, through systems of control of the supplies of metal apparently sought by Mediterranean merchants, as well as possible perishable items such as hides, finished leather or hunting dogs (2005, 20).

The idea of the Cornish round has been discussed in Chapters 4 and 9 as a potential representative of elite settlement. Their function as such is very likely, despite the lack of ornamental metalworking and other more localised reflections of elite consumption. Their Irish counterpart, the ringfort, has been ascribed with this elite function, with an enclosing rather than defensive role, but at the same time being visible from afar and announcing the prestige of its occupants (Fleming 2003, 115). Irish sites are also attested to in legal tracts, where their size and number of ditches and banks defined their owner’s social status – the more substantial they were, the more clients and human property were under their control (*ibid.*). It is possible, given the links between the South West and Ireland and the many correlations between their cultural traditions, that Trethurgy and other rounds also represent the elites, and this is corroborated by Jarrett’s research, where she suggests that these elites - if indeed they had this role - occupied or constructed pre-Roman sites in the prehistoric tradition in order to “appropriate the ancestral past” (2009, 183). However, it is equally as likely, given the apparent continuity of other prehistoric traditions, in particular the ceramics, that these settlements were never abandoned and that previous prehistoric elites continued. Jarrett further argues for the appropriation of common cultural elements and a construction of opposition towards Anglo-Saxon settlers to the east of the region, as

well as perhaps the Irish activity in some areas of the South West (*ibid.*) although the distribution of Ogham inscriptions suggests otherwise.

### ***Maritime identities***

One of the most striking results of the distributional analyses in Chapters 4 to 7 was the strength of maritime orientation in the data, even including the level of bias that exists in terms of site discovery of coastal versus inland regions. However, this is less surprising for the imported wares given the nature of their arrival to the region. The similar location of the insular ceramics and other forms of evidence leads to the simple conclusion that the majority of settlements, or at least those with large assemblages of material culture, were located at or near the coast. The exploitation of maritime resources appears to have led to the creation of a series of beach and dune sites, many of which may owe their origin to the instances of overseas exchange; however, the majority had prehistoric origins, hinting at ancient traditions of seafaring and the use of coastal resources as a way of life, and therefore an inherent element of maritime identity in society, although this identity may not have existed within all communities.

Maritime identity and the accoutrements that went with it may have existed solely at these coastal locations and been distinctive from early medieval identity in general, although there is evidence for the consumption of marine resources at inland sites such as Trethurgy (Quinnell 2004, 157). It is also possible that, rather than an entire coastal community having these identities, specific individuals within this community might have had a maritime identity, its associated specialised knowledge and sole use of specialist equipment, which went with an understanding of the sea and how to gain resources from it.

## **10.2 AD 800-1150**

In this period a greater degree of acculturation is visible, through the distribution of Anglo-Saxon traditions and styles, primarily due to the development of specifically Anglo-Saxon settlement forms and landscape organisation, as well as the introduction of the Norman material culture and sites, both of which were due to the movement of people as well as ideas.

## 10.2.1 Outside influences versus insular identity and material culture

'Insular' identity in this period appears to remain as strong as in the pre-ninth century in Cornwall in the visibility of material culture; however, in Devon the gradual increase in Anglo-Saxon settlement activity and material culture would have directly introduced new objects and traditions, with consequential changes in the scale of acculturation in social identity. From the end of the ninth century, the foundation of the 'burhs' and their associated mints across coastal and inland Devon would have created nodes of activity, which included Anglo-Saxon traditions of territorial control and administrative frameworks that governed the region, but also influenced the movement of goods through taxation and the necessary systems for extracting the resources from these settlements. These sites would therefore also have acted as nodes of acculturation, creating, perhaps new, localised exchange networks but more importantly, sites where new forms of material culture would have been available in their rôle supplying the Anglo-Saxon elites. This influence on settlement patterns is clear when the place name evidence is compared for Cornish and English origins for this period. Figures 210 and 214-215 show *tre-*, *worthig-* and *cot-* elements thought to be indicative of the origin of these place names and the boundary between particular concentrations of Cornish and English influences is clear. This boundary mimics the pattern in local ninth- to twelfth-century ceramics (Figure 130) and also appears to show that they were restricted to within regions which strongly reflect the county-based territories established by the tenth century (Pearce 2004, 253-254). These patterns in acculturation potentially reflect the nature of social identities in this period, and the influence on the naming of sites, if not the language itself. The clear correspondence between their distribution and the modern county boundary implies that the boundary might have been cultural as well as territorial by nature.

In Cornwall and up to the border at Launceston Castle, the grass-marked and bar-lug fabrics are the only pottery forms in this sub-region and show widespread distribution which, through the ninth to thirteenth centuries as they developed into the Sandy Lane wares, appears to shrink in size and with an ever westwards spread in use. Their insular nature may have had great importance in the reinforcing of localised identities, in this case reflecting Cornish identity and apparently not incorporated in the material culture of sites in Devon. The persistence of these wares is even more striking considering the introduction of the more sophisticated wheel-thrown wares, perhaps as a result of an insular culture which remained important and which prevented the use of

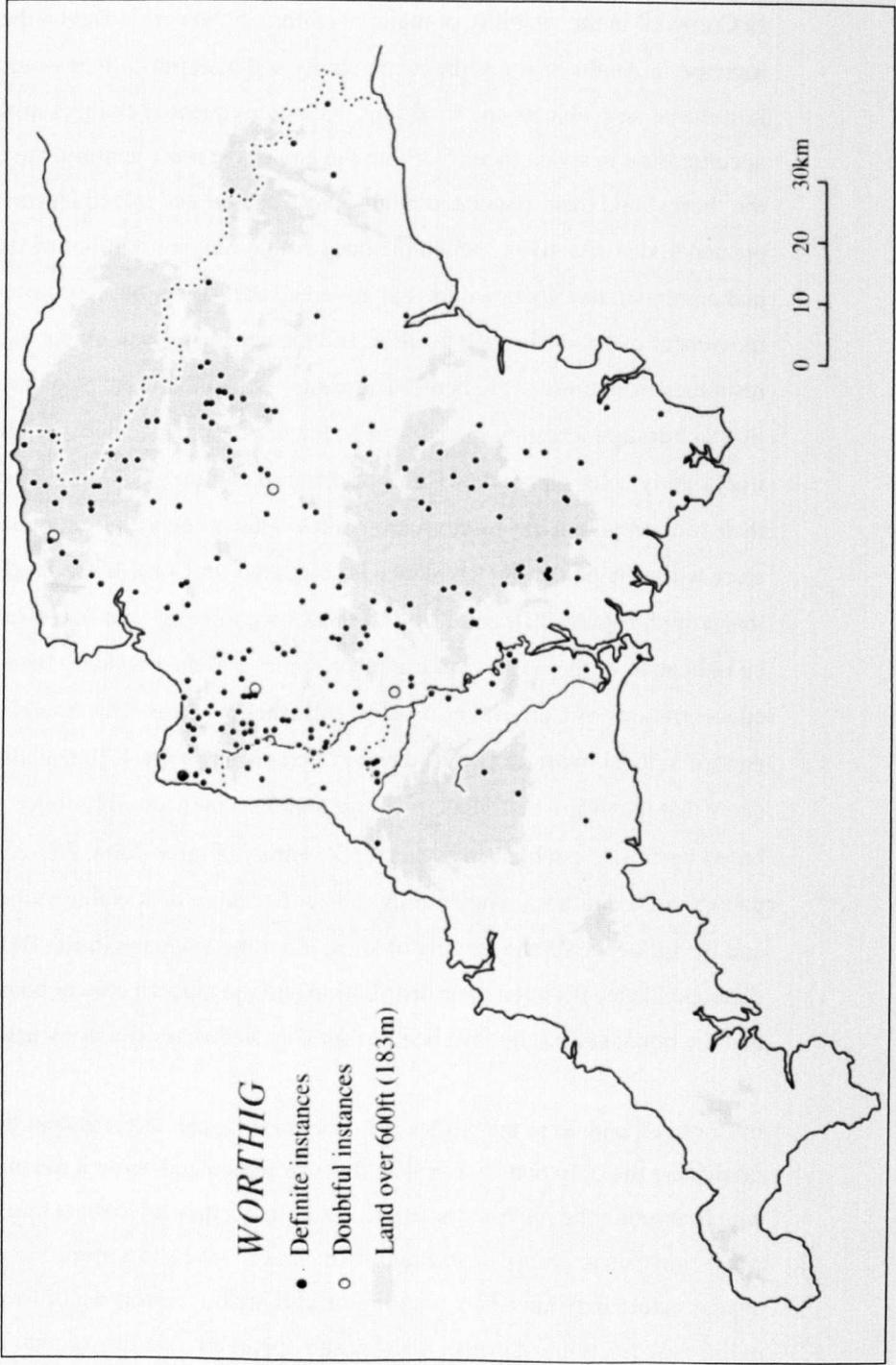


Figure 214 - Distribution of *worthig* place name elements in Devon and Cornwall (mapped by Padel 1999, in Kain & Ravenhill (eds.), Figure 13.4, 92)

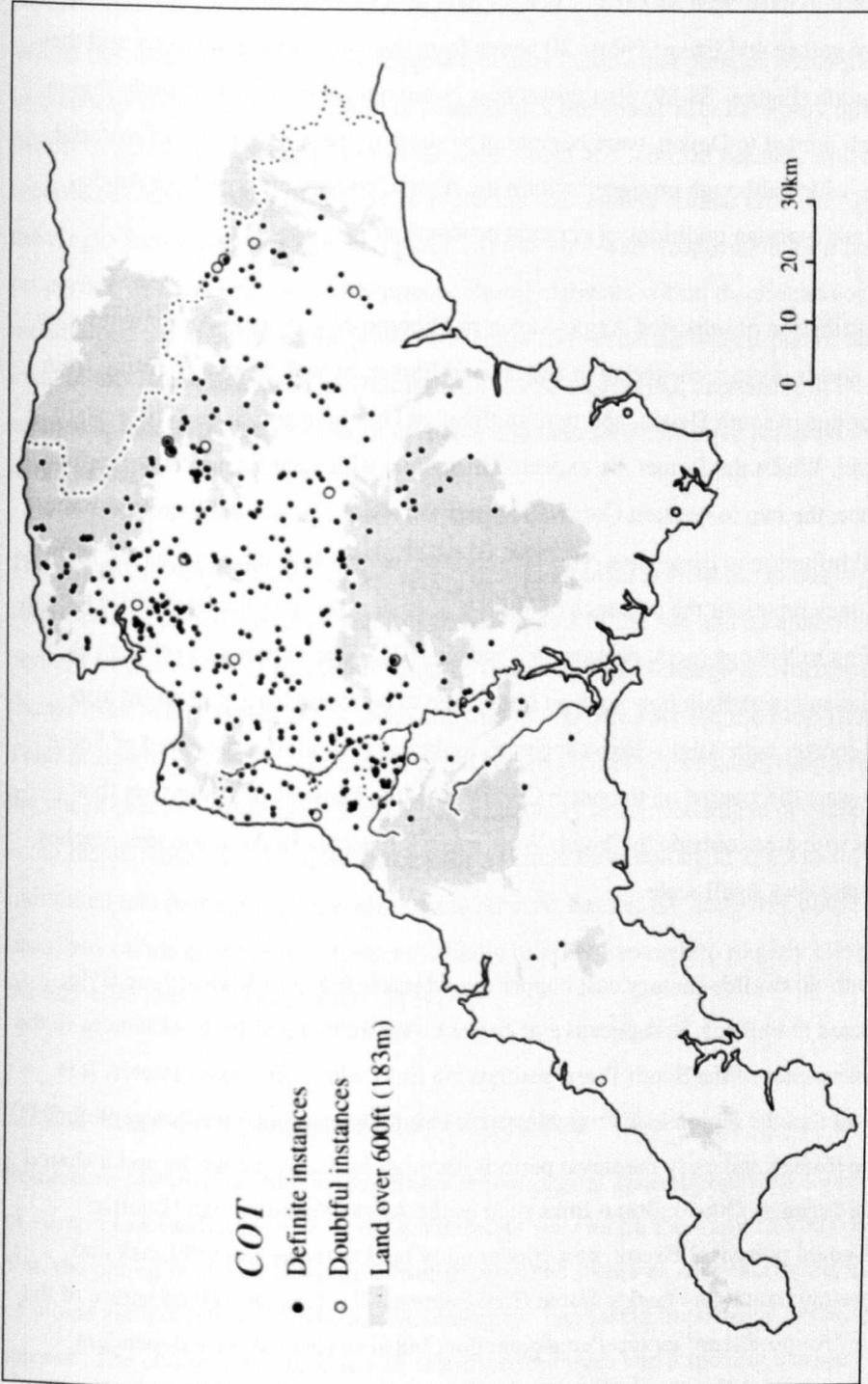


Figure 215 - Distribution of *cot* place name elements (Higham 2008, Figure 2.16(b), 61)

objects produced outside the region. The fact that Devon appears to have been aceramic prior to the mid-tenth century may have created the cultural vacuum for the introduction of these new wheel-thrown wares, which otherwise would not have had the appeal to have been adopted or bought into. The production of Saxo-Norman Bedford garage and Exeter Fabric 20 wares from the same period in Exeter and their distribution (Figures 88-89) also shows how communities in the wider study region, although limited to Devon, were beginning to share in these new forms of material culture, which although produced within the region, owed their origins to Anglo-Saxon and Norman traditions of ceramic production.

The distribution of imported Anglo-Saxon or Hiberno-Norse horse equipment in the region shows distinct clustering in and around Exeter, as well as a strap fitting from Teignbridge in south Devon, and two 'outliers' at Gwithian and Sennen in western Cornwall. Whilst the former are expected in an area with such strong Saxo-Norman influence, the two in western Cornwall appear to reflect contact and therefore some cultural influence at these sites. The Teignbridge mount, with its distinctively Irish origin, may represent the presence of Viking or Irish activity in the immediate region, according to Youngs (pers. comms. in Tyacke, 2011). The degree of exchange at Gwithian might explain how such an item came to be found here, and might also reflect contact with Anglo-Saxon societies to the east. Similarly, the sherd of Seine Valley ware discovered on the north Cornish coast at Padstow also suggests that contact with areas outside the South West was taking place in these western reaches, albeit on a very small scale.

The tenth- to twelfth-century cast copper alloy buckle frame of Irish artistic style, discovered at Phillack, is suggestive of contact with Ireland and Irish influences in the western reaches of the South West, perhaps via links with Late Saxon Exeter. It is supposed that the region had strong ties with Ireland from prehistory that continued into the Roman and early medieval periods, through exchange networks and a shared cultural heritage. Other cultural links such as the Anglo-Scandinavian 'Leofric' sword-guard present at Exeter, cast copper alloy buckle frame from Phillack and stirrup-strap mount and buckle frame from Sennen, all reflect the mixed nature of the generic 'Anglo-Saxon' cultural amalgamation, but could also show independent contact with Scandinavian regions, or the filtering through of these items in exchange networks. From the tenth century, the material culture found in the Exeter assemblages shows a similar form, albeit in smaller quantities, to contemporary sites along the

south coast of England, therefore implying a shared cultural format that places Exeter alongside eastern counterparts, whilst contrasting with sites to the west.

### ***Social hierarchies and elite identity***

Whilst the assemblages at Exeter suggest a similar culture and perhaps social identity as contemporary sites to the east, it is possible that this material culture only reflects the upper echelons of society both in the Late Saxon and Norman periods, who are recorded as having taken their turns in replacing the resident insular elite during both the Anglo-Saxon and Norman 'conquests'. If this elite were responsible for a large proportion of Anglo-Saxon and Norman cultural elements within the archaeological record, then the majority of the population could have retained at least part of their insular, pre-Saxon identities and traditions. Prior to this period, settlement in Devon seemed to be either non-existent or invisible and therefore may have persisted in a similar state.

The aforementioned distinct clustering of horse equipment around the Exeter region could reflect the high status of some of the occupants of the site and its hinterland, perhaps of those individuals controlling the functions and exchange networks within Exeter itself. The outliers at Gwithian and Sennen in Cornwall and the strap-fitting at Teignbridge in Devon may also reflect elite society. On the other hand, the presence of the cheek-piece of the horse's bridle at Gwithian may be representative of exchange as scrap metal, although it is equally likely that it could have belonged to a wealthy individual and perhaps the local elite in the area. At Exeter, the discovery of the inscribed sword-guard in South Street is likely to reflect an eighth- to early eleventh-century elite presence (Page 1906, 373-374).

### **10.2.2 Saxo-Norman maritime identities**

Settlement patterns for this period show a strong coastal distribution, with continuity of sites in Cornwall and an increasing number of sites along the south Devon coast. Yet, the period of the ninth to early twelfth centuries shows an ever-increasing number of inland settlements and findspots, indicating the increasing importance of the interior. The continued importance of maritime resources and a specific maritime way of life is evident in the number of beach and dune sites of this period, as well as shell middens, as at Braunton Burrows on the north Devon coast, dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Smith et al 1983, 75-80). Prior to this it appears that sites further to

the west participating in the exploitation of coastal resources continued in importance, whereas inland sites may not have, whilst also showing fewer 'new' inland sites than in the east, for example Bodmin and Lostwithiel.

While the maritime locations of the settlements at St Germans, Plympton, Oldabury, Totnes, Kingsteignton and Exeter imply the sustained and regular use of coastal resources, including as a method of transport and the movement of goods in exchange networks, in reality there is little archaeological evidence to suggest this extent of activity and, therefore, maritime-oriented identities, apart from at Exeter. These settlements might therefore have had a degree of knowledge of the seascapes, or have been occupied by select individuals who had this specialist knowledge and may therefore have formed an integral part in the wider social group. Historical accounts, whilst not conclusive proof of maritime activity, shed some light on the nature of coastal settlement in the Saxo-Norman period. Fisheries and fishing villages are recorded as having emerged in Devon as early as the mid-ninth century at Braunton, whilst others are noted in Domesday for Exminster, Dartington, Cornworthy and Ashprington, the latter three located on the River Dart (Fox 2001, 47). These specifically maritime-related sites are highly likely to have accommodated the individuals discussed above, as they also appear to have been deliberately created in order to serve a specific area of demand in the supply of elite and ecclesiastical sites. The fishery at Braunton was granted to Glastonbury by King Aethelwulf so that it could supply fish to the abbey, whilst others appear to have been created in order to supply the local manors further inland (*ibid.*, 47-49).

### **10.3 Landscapes and seascapes and liminal zones: the maritime core and inland periphery?**

The ways in which landscape and seascapes were perceived was tied into daily life and how it was enacted across them, perhaps with different viewpoints of both when viewed from the sea as opposed to the land. This is touched on in Chapter 8 and the Bantham case study, where local features of the seascape appear to have been named from the sea, therefore showing a different way in which the landscape could have been viewed and how specific features reflect important markers that could signify location, but also perhaps in the case of Bantham, the safe haven of a harbour or known landing place. So far, the archaeology of the South West is skewed slightly

with a bias towards a greater number of excavated coastal sites, partly due to the increased activity in these regions in modern times and the ease with which sites are discovered within the sand dunes along the north Cornish coast, but also because of the lack of modern activity on the now protected uplands. Nevertheless, this research questions the view of the coastlines as liminal zones and instead views these regions as hives of activity with central foci, whilst the apparently barren uplands and the less densely-settled inlands have become the areas where early medieval activity is difficult to locate, despite several in-depth studies such as that for Bodmin (Johnson & Rose, 1984).

### **10.3.1 AD 350-800**

The idea of an Atlantic zone of culture and a wider community with shared traditions and material culture was first coined by Sir Cyril Fox in his discussion of Atlantic Britain and the nature of maritime and trans-peninsular routes in western Europe (1932). These were expanded upon by Cunliffe in his works on Atlantic societies, the spread of their material culture and the emergence of a prehistoric Atlantic identity (2001, 109-158) and the role of the seaways in the movement of people and the spread of culture (2001; 2008). These shared traditions probably have their origins in the well-established cross-channel trade between Western Britain and Western Armorica in the earlier Bronze Age, with the export of tin as a possible driving force behind it (Cunliffe 2008, 208; 2001, 222-227). The macro- and micro-scale analyses of the evidence have produced a series of artefact and settlement forms, with origins in prehistory and strength of continuity that in some cases persisted until the thirteenth century.

Aspects of this prehistoric and 'insular' Atlantic culture are seen in the local ceramics of Cornwall, place-names, settlements, in forms of metalworking and in bone objects which show attributes of Irish (Atlantic) and Roman artistic styles and origin. Herring suggests that the nature of hillforts and promontory forts may have made them useful tools in maintaining elite positions in relation to the community which created and supported them, as well as defensive structures (1994, 45-46) which continued in importance as symbols of safety, status and power. These sites may owe their strength in the early medieval period not only to their persistence in the Roman period, but also to the strength of insular identities in general. Sites such as Trethurgy with their prehistoric background appear to show a greater degree of permanence than that seen at the majority of Late Roman sites that included Magor in Cornwall.

The evidence for any post-Roman overland routeways or roads is slight for the study region, however their projected paths are important in understanding how the region might have been viewed, in terms of areas considered suitable for settlement as opposed to ore extraction, and whether overland routes of trade were preferable to maritime routes along the coast. It is possible to speculate that Roman roads continued for a period and were used as such; however none have yet been discovered for Cornwall. Dark has suggested that the distribution of Irish Ogham inscriptions imply a trans-peninsular routeway in an arc between the hypothetical 'ports' of Tintagel and Bantham (1994, 92), perhaps acting as primary routes of communication across the spine of this peninsular, a likely occurrence given the perceived importance of certain sites. The possibility of further topographic and GIS research might shed light on routeways as yet unknown. These routeways would have provided valuable links to regions outside the South West, were perhaps viewed as having a greater significance than other routes, were associated with the control of the wider area, and may have been used long after the end of the Roman period. Ceramics from several Group 1 assemblages show a distinct trend towards locations alongside putative and certain Roman roads in eastern Devon. This indicates that overland and inland routeways were relied upon and is in contrast to Cornish sites where the trend is more towards a maritime location, although the large number of continuously occupied rounds is located inland and the movement of people between them and hypothetical supply sites at the coast, would have resulted in trackways of some kind if the amount of traffic was as substantial as is thought.

Fifth- and sixth-century continuity after the Roman period is discussed by Rippon in relation to landscape use based on palaeoenvironmental sequences, including an assessment of pollen analysis. He states that only on the high moors was there some evidence for a decrease in human activity, with a decline in arable and grassland on Exmoor and an increase in heather and possibly woodland at Hoar Moor and elsewhere in areas of Dartmoor, although some areas did show evidence for continuity (Rippon 2009, 121). On Bodmin Moor the picture is similarly varied, with continuity in land use at Rough Tor North, but possibly a slight woodland regeneration at Tresellern Marsh and Rough Tor South, both of which are thought to have been used for transhumant grazing, indicated by the place name evidence; Rippon suggests that a decrease in the intensity of exploitation does not necessarily imply a "widespread dislocation in rural life" (*ibid.*).

The perhaps traditional concept of the coastline as a peripheral space to the ‘more important’ core of the inland areas is something that has been challenged in this research. If one examines the ceramic evidence, particularly the imported wares, one begins to see a series of sites which appear to have been the centre of activity for much of early medieval society, rather than playing a “liminal” part in the wider landscape. These coastal sites show evidence for a wide range of material culture and traditions and may not have had such a marginal existence in terms of general resources, particularly when compared with sites inland. Indeed, the evidence for settlements in the uplands shows the greatest degree of marginality, given the lack of ceramics in these regions. The development of specialist activities for the purpose of exchange (Loveluck & Tys 2006, 143), at least for the fifth to eighth centuries, also appears more prevalent in these coastal societies.

When the chronological phasing of the industrial metalworking sites is assessed, there appears to be no particular zoning when it comes to an inland or maritime location. What is apparent is that there was continuous extraction, smelting and working of various metals throughout the study period in Cornwall, Devon and the Scilly Isles. Activity in the latter is an indicator of the ability of the islands to gain access to the raw materials, perhaps through trade with Cornish sites, and that they were producing their own metal objects, although these are harder to identify. The lack of tin lodes within the islands, as discussed above, suggests this to be likely. There is a clear dearth of early medieval evidence in artefact form from north Devon and the uplands, which is at odds with the known areas of tin and copper lodes (Penhallurick 1986, 116, 120, 149). Although the southern Cornish sites are located broadly over the areas of these known lodes, particularly Chûn Castle, Trethurgy and Gwithian, other sites do not appear to have had such direct access to the raw materials. It is possible that the sites along the northern Cornish coast and those in eastern Devon had access through localised exchange networks, or by the elite control of specific areas where ore was extracted. The evidence is so slim that it is probable that many sites where ore was smelted and worked are yet to be discovered, particularly across Dartmoor.

### **10.3.2 AD 800-1150**

One of the clearest changes in landscape use for this period is evident in the territorial boundaries of the hundreds and parishes dating to the ninth to early twelfth centuries. In Cornwall it is possible to see a shift towards a more inland distribution in the eleventh to twelfth centuries in the Sandy Lane ceramics (Figure 86), whilst in Devon

the Saxo-Norman wares also begin to show a strong inland orientation (Figures 87-88). The latter Devonshire wares are located in many cases at new Anglo-Saxon 'burhs', and therefore this inland patterning is a reflection of the settlement patterns and increasing importance of the more inland regions. Although certain of these settlements, such as Barnstaple and Totnes and of course Exeter, are all located at the head of the estuaries, the remaining settlement evidence shows the increasing occupation of the inland zone as Anglo-Saxon control became established. Figures 130-131 show that Saxo-Norman wares tended not to be found at sites with Mediterranean or Romano-British wares, indicating new sites which had little instance of continuation from former insular settlements.

The dearth of early medieval settlement evidence for Dartmoor, but also for regions to the north of these uplands, has led to the theory that Dartmoor may have acted as a physical cultural barrier between these regions and the western and southern coastlines. Evidence suggests that until the mid-tenth century Dartmoor, Bodmin and the area between them and the north coast, remained aceramic and devoid of many forms of archaeologically-visible material culture until the foundation of the castle sites, and this pattern is also seen in the distribution of the forms of evidence in Chapters 4 to 7. This did not prevent the known activity in the upland regions in the form of tin extraction (Meharg 2011, 5-11; Thorndycraft et al 2004, 219-236) and transhumant activity and settlement. However, the lack of this material culture raises questions as to the nature of the communities who were making use of these regions and how they viewed them, perhaps as large communal areas of landscape exploitation, or bleak tracts of uninhabitable and unfriendly land which were visited, but not part of everyday life and only made use of in the milder months of the year. Alternatively, material culture here may have taken a form that did not survive in the archaeological record and yet still had value in society, although the potential availability of clay in many of these apparently barren landscapes does raise the question as to why the relatively basic technology of pottery production was not apparent, perhaps suggesting that it was more a specialist activity than one might think, although this is belied by the series of local ceramics apparently made on-site at certain settlements.

The use of the upland landscapes, settlement activity and the exploitation of mineral deposits and pastures are little-known areas of the archaeology of early medieval Cornwall and Devon. How mineral extraction was facilitated, related to general common laws of the land, its ownership and the development of early stannary law,

and the relationship between settlements in the uplands and lowlands, all of which appear to have been pre-formed before the Norman settlement of the area. These are all factors which have been summarised and discussed by Austin et al (1989, 5-44) in their discussion of early medieval and later tin, woodland and agriculture of St Neot's Parish in Cornwall. Current models for the development of tin extraction suggest that stannary law was formed in the early post-Roman era, when all upland and industrial activity was regarded as a communal and largely pastoral resource, with the landscape relationship consisting of a "complex inter-dependence between upland and lowland with no concept of waste or un-possessed land"; this may have developed later with a system collapse and a more centralised hierarchical system, with ownership resting with the elites and with partitioning resulting in self-sufficient mixed farming, rather than common land (*ibid.*, 17).

Cornwall appears to have been well known for its resources and indeed from AD 300 until the mid-thirteenth century, was Europe's sole source of tin (Maddicott 1989, 20). This fact may have been of great importance in terms of metalworking and trade in the region, although there is little evidence for the former. Stream tin was plentiful in the Dean Moor area and may have been exploited in the prehistoric and medieval periods, although it is likely that evidence of any prehistoric workings was destroyed in later activity, whilst historic working of Dartmoor tin began in the second half of the twelfth century (Penhallurick 1986, 115-118). However, recent environmental evidence from the study of bog cores and new methods of scientific analysis has shed light on the nature of this industry on Dartmoor. Meharg's analysis using ombrotrophic bog cores from Tor Royal in the centre of the Devon tin field on Dartmoor, using combined analysis of metals analysed by ICP-MS and radiocarbon dates, has shown that the large peak reflecting tin production around AD 900 and indicating a range from AD 600 to 1100 is similar in size to a peak reflecting Roman occupation for AD 100-400 (2011, 5-11). In the same occupation period, the wider range of forms in terms of industrial evidence at the north Cornish sites of Gwithian, Tintagel and Duckpool, and the Devon sites of Exeter and Burlescombe, might suggest that these sites were the most active of their contemporaries within the region.

Such a use may have resulted in the number of castles, thirteenth-century farmsteads and deserted medieval villages visible in a ring around the upper edges of Dartmoor (Allan 1994, 141-148). The evidence for activity relating to tin extraction is slim, particularly in the form of permanent settlement, and yet it is possible that these regions may have been extensively worked and inhabited on a daily basis. The large-

scale ownership of these landscapes is visible in the historical records, for example showing how Montacute, a Cluniac priory and founded by William, Count of Mortain, was acquiring the church of St Neot and the tithes of its demesne in c. AD 1095, whilst at the same time Launceston Priory was also becoming the owner of large tracts of moorland (Austin et al 1989, 30).

Many sites where evidence for metalworking has been found are regarded as potential elite centres or settlements and so these localised elites, such as those inhabiting Chûn Castle or Trethurgy, may have had ancestral rights to the resources of their local landscape, including any available minerals. It may also have been the case, as has been suggested with the use of summer pastures (Pearce 2004, 76, Figure 28) and the evidence for probable transhumance huts found on Bodmin (Herring 1996), that activity in these landscapes was seasonal and even, in the case of the industry, could have been sporadic rather than a constant industrial process, with production organised on a 'craft' and part-time basis, the processing of materials in the homesteads and "sustaining a resource linkage between upland and lowland", as suggested by Pearce (2004, 76). This would fit with the known early medieval archaeology of the upland regions and industrial evidence, notwithstanding the large distances involved.

The transhumance huts and longhouses discovered on Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor are important indicators of how the uplands were settled and used. They also shed light on how former settlements in these regions might have utilised the landscape through its incorporation into the daily life of the settlements in the lowlands. The *dre* or *tre* part of the place name element of *hendre* would suggest that most of the household would have practised arable farming at the home settlement (the *hendre*), whilst the transhumance system indicates a mixed farming regime (Herring 1996, 39) on land that was better suited to pasture, in the summer at least, with possible concurrent activities of butter-making, cheese-making and wool processing (Figure 216). These activities would have accounted for the relatively large numbers of structures at Brockabarrow Common and Brown Willy (*ibid.*). The control of stock movement and ownership is also visible in the early medieval hundreds, whilst this part of the landscape appears to reflect a four-level rural society structure consisting of household, hamlet, hundred and unified authority, which would have encompassed less common settlement structures such as Tintagel (*ibid.*, 41-42).

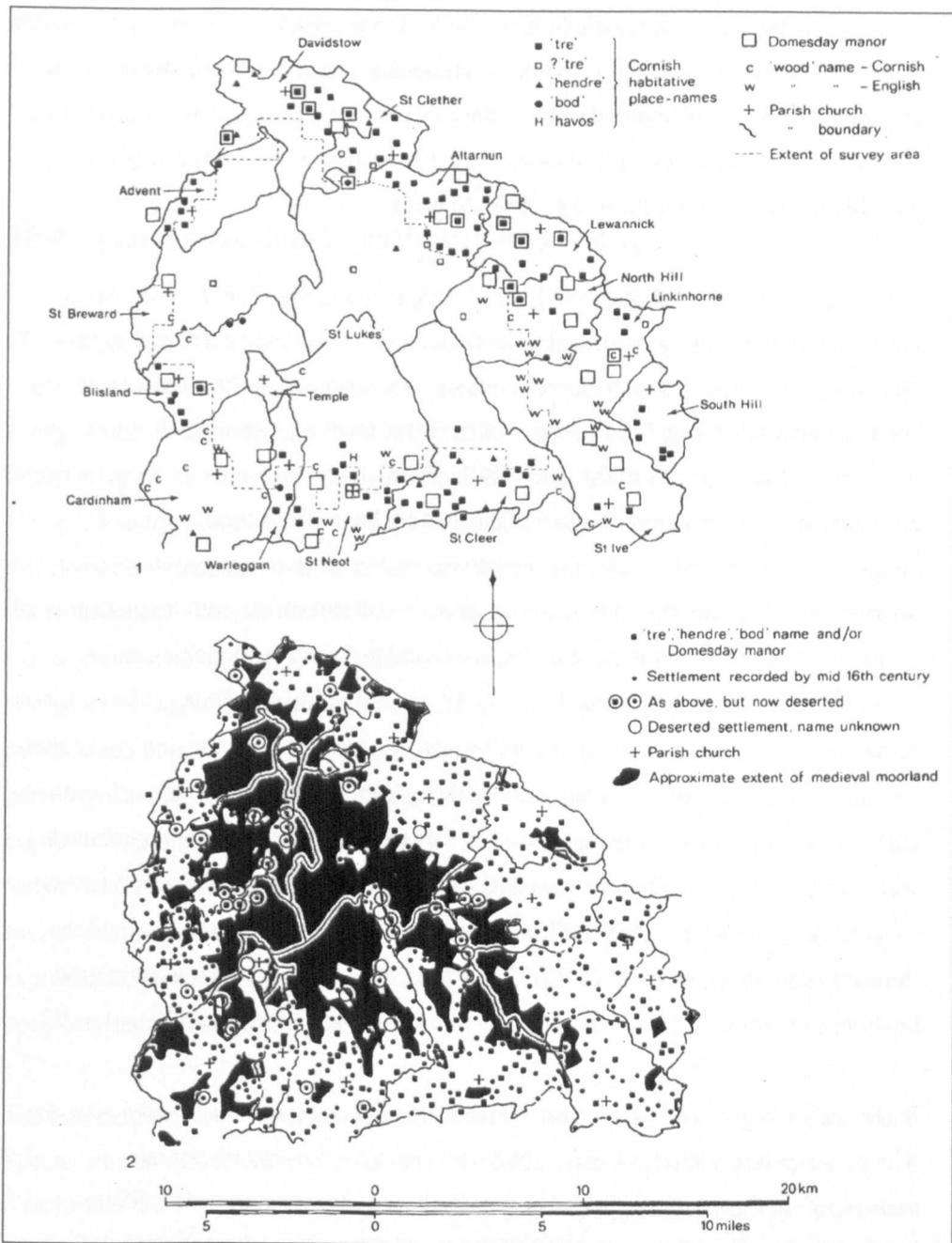


Figure 216 - Distributional patterning of place name evidence on Bodmin (Johnson & Rose 1994, Figure 51, 78)

The discovery of Anglo-Saxon coinage at St Stephens and the mints here and at Lydford in the interior, appear to reflect aspects of control of the region and its resources, possibly relating to the ore extraction industry, whilst the settlement at Launceston is thought to have been a major royal settlement, which would have facilitated the Anglicization and administrative control of the region. Its position in the centre of the South West, with prospective access down the Tamar River to maritime

resources and contacts on the coast, seems to have been deliberately chosen for control of the region and of incoming resources from outside the South West. However, its central location also indicates the importance of inland routeways across the territory and perhaps the central control of either such a large region, or alternatively the valuable resources in ore extraction closer to hand.

The foundation of the fisheries and fishing villages along the south Devon coastline discussed by Fox may have formed part of the group of settlement referred to in Domesday as *bordarii*, which have previously been regarded by historians as having been smallholders living “on the edge” of manorial territories, but which could equally have referred to the limits of the land (2001, 47-48). The importance of these maritime zones can be seen to have continued in this period, but with perhaps a reduced emphasis on their use for trade: “One may reasonably surmise that people desired access to shorelines of different kinds of activity: cliff coastlines with beaches or small coves for sea fishing, estuarine shorelines for sand gathering, salt making and exploitation of oysters and salmon” (*ibid.*, 50). Although there is little evidence for its occurrence in the archaeological record, historic accounts of the changing use of these coastlines also included a decline in salt-making from the end of the eleventh century, perhaps as a result of the large quantities of fuel consumption necessary combined with the use of these coastal woodlands for pig farming, with documentary sources suggesting that much of this woodland reduced in size between Domesday and the thirteenth century (Fox 2001, 74-75). The advent of Norman settlement across the landscape therefore affected both changes in use and the natural environment itself.

In the early Norman period, the castle sites would have allowed for new ways in which to experience the landscape, although these sites were relatively rare, particularly in Cornwall. Activities at sites such as Launceston included riding, hunting and warfare (Saunders 2006, 262), would all have involved the detailed knowledge and experience of the surrounding hinterland and were combined with features of high-status living and conspicuous consumption. The popularity of deer-hunting caused the setting aside of some of the land around Launceston for a deer park, itself a reflection of elite identities and their ability to use what might have been prime arable land for a ‘luxury’ feature. These castle sites also played a part in the use of coastal resources. It is recognised by Creighton and Freeman that castles in the South West could have interacted with the local seascapes to the same extent as with the inland countryside, with estuarine locations such as Totnes and Boscastle relatively common in overall distribution, whilst the South West peninsula was not

only an imagined periphery but also derived much of its identity as a zone of communication for areas linked by sea (2006, 110).

## **10.4 Final conclusions: continuity and change**

The integration of macro- and micro-scale approaches towards the data, coupled with an examination of different classes of evidence, created an in-depth assessment of the changing nature of material culture and traditions in the South West. New ways of interpreting social identity through considering landscape use and perception alongside the distribution of material culture, has allowed a greater understanding of the nature of settlement hierarchies and maritime identities. Emphasis has been placed on the influence - or lack of it - from outside communities in the development of social identity and the gradual acculturation across the region, with a detailed assessment of aspects of continuity and change. The importance of exchange mechanisms in this development and in the creation of nodes of activity and central place were also investigated and their influence discussed in the possibility of the existence of a maritime identity within the wider Atlantic community. The concept of 'other' has been stressed in relation to this acculturation, whilst ideas relating to how society occupied, travelled within and experienced the landscape and seascape were explored, in particular regarding their exploitation for resources and how this affected both the material culture and society.

Settlement hierarchies remain enigmatic; however, the importance of prehistoric and Roman sites and their occupation in the wider landscape up until the eighth century is clear, whilst the continuing importance of rounds could imply their social importance as elite sites. The general nature of settlement is predominantly rural, consisting of apparently isolated farmsteads or hamlets, and later the small ecclesiastical settlements and market sites, until the growth of Exeter as a proto-urban centre in the Saxo-Norman period. Insular traditions remained the strongest influence on settlement forms until the ninth century, when market and elite sites show a level of development resulting from Anglo-Saxon and Norman social groups. The identification of central places within the archaeology is dependant on interpretation; however it is thought likely that sites with a certain degree of contact, focus of activity, range of artistic influences and number of imported goods almost certainly indicate such a function. Gwithian, Bantham and Tintagel have therefore been interpreted as likely sites with

this role in the wider settlement hierarchy for the late fourth to eighth centuries, particularly given comparative assemblages at other sites. The question of elite sites was more difficult to address given the lack of structural evidence for ornate displays of wealth and power such as those seen in Anglo-Saxon communities, although it is thought that there is some overlap between the functions of these sites and the central places. It is likely that power and prestige were transmitted differently from Anglo-Saxon traditions, perhaps through the continued occupation of defended prehistoric sites. After the eighth century, these elite sites are thought to be reflected in the documentary sources, but are not visible in the archaeology until the introduction of the Norman castles, which also showed specific military and administrative functions.

Early exchange mechanisms appear to have played an important part in the supply of elements of material culture and consumption, until for some reason they died out in the eighth century. They also influenced elements of the settlement hierarchy, such as the function and development of central places. However, the visibility of imported goods in the archaeological record varies and other sites may have had equal importance, but have been archaeologically invisible. The development of central places at sites where large import assemblages were found is now deemed likely where the evidence suggests more than a limited or elite consumption of these goods. Imported goods seem to have filled a void in the local material culture but do not appear to have affected insular traditions through imitation of design, form or production, in the ceramics, glass and coinage. This is perhaps because the relevant resources and techniques were not available or transmitted, which might necessarily have negated the need for these trade networks. The metal artefacts, however, appear to have been influenced, but by Continental and Atlantic rather than Mediterranean styles. Mercantile and artisan activities such as those seen at Gwithian suggest elite identities but do not confirm them, whilst overall, assemblages suggest an equality of settlement morphologies where conspicuous consumption is not directly equated to high status, but might be equated to status and power over sites where exchange took place. These sites show a greater cross-section of society in terms of ethnic influences and social stratigraphy and would also appear to have had a degree of interaction with sites within their hinterland. After the eighth century, coinage distribution suggests that the more localised economic and administrative control of the South West was an important factor in settlement development, whilst visible elements of exchange became evident to an extent in the coinage, but mainly in the development of Exeter as a major centre. The growth in local pottery production there is an added factor in the more localised exchange systems and focus on insular material culture. Whilst in the

pre-ninth century the imported goods do not appear to have caused acculturation through the adoption of new insular styles and techniques, such as in pottery production, in the later period we see a much greater degree of acculturation in the creation of new settlements and associated traditions, rather than the gradual infiltration through market systems.

This research argues for an insular identity, perhaps with the introduction of small incoming social or ethnic groups, but generally with their acculturation into the group and the incorporation of small numbers of new traditions. Only in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman incidents of conquest and occupation is the idea of large relocation of ethnic groups entertained, but here it is thought to have been at an over-arching elite level rather than through wholesale immigration. The evidence for early medieval Atlantic identities is a plausible idea in terms of settlement and material culture, but also in the enduring nature of these insular identities and in the apparent continuity of contact between the South West and other Atlantic communities, particularly Ireland and Brittany. These Atlantic identities appear to have continued to develop their insular traditions throughout the Romano-British and early medieval periods, with the addition of Anglo-Saxon and Norman traditions from the ninth century, at the same time as insular settlement forms were gradually replaced or joined by Saxo-Norman morphologies. This latter process sees an introduction of new traditions of material culture at these sites, but with insular traditions prevailing and enduring to a greater degree the further west the site is. The progression of this acculturation westwards also seems to imitate the development of settlement sites, whilst the impact and importance of the adoption of the Anglo-Saxon language and place names is also reflected in the archaeology of a society which had previously shown such strong insular traditions.

The evidence for a maritime element to social identity is seen across the region, with coastal resources present at most coastal settlements and found within many inland assemblages. This evidence for exploitation of the coast and seas has been interpreted as being a vital part of everyday life and the seasonal acquisition of food, perhaps with the requirement that a solely-maritime identity would have had a direct experience of the seascape through specific occupations, in order to have existed. It is hypothesised that within these coastal settlements, specifically maritime identities are likely to have developed, where the nature of maritime exploitation created niche markets in food procurement, exchange mechanisms and movement of people in and over these environments. This would have resulted in groups of artefacts with specific maritime uses, associated with identities with this specialised knowledge and locations where

these niche identities were played out. Therefore, many of the important political or elite settlements seem to be located on these coastal margins.

There is clear evidence for different uses of sub-regions within the landscape, as one would expect given the different geographical factors and the regionalisation of specific resources. The fact that the available evidence suggests a coastal location for the majority of settlement and activity is an indicator of its importance for society in the South West, particularly in the more western areas. It is possible to hypothesise that this maritime distribution would have had great influence on identity; specifically the creation of identities with a general maritime slant, and those that were solely maritime in their nature, meaning that individuals spent their lives living and working these coastal regions with a material culture that was also almost solely of a maritime nature. The evidence suggests that the general nature of settlement included a reliance on coastal resources to a degree, including those that were further inland.

The late fourth- to sixth-century use of the landscape suggests the beginnings of a structuring of the sub-regions and their resources, with the regionalisation of Cornwall and Devon becoming increasingly apparent, particularly from the eighth century. The fact that the majority of the non-perishable material culture was predominantly on or near the coast after the end of the Roman period and up until the Norman Conquest, appears to reflect a preference for coastal regions for the majority of settlement. The lack of available settlement evidence for the uplands has led to a series of conclusions regarding their use in terms of transhumant and seasonal occupation, and a perception of them as harsh and remote environments where there was little everyday activity. Despite the bias in investigation between the uplands and other regions, it could be speculated that these landscapes were culturally void; however this does not mean that we should view them as being devoid of activity or meaning within the early medieval lifestyle. Instead they are likely to have been commonly used throughout the study period for pasture and mineral extraction, with associated but isolated settlement. This research has countered the idea that the coast could be seen as a liminal zone, with the evidence for relatively vibrant societies and levels of activity. These coastal areas therefore seem to have been foci for activity within the South West, whilst contrasting with the uplands, where the dearth of evidence leads to the idea that the uplands themselves were liminal in their nature.

An overriding conclusion of this research is that continuity of Romano-British, but primarily prehistoric traditions, was a key factor in the development of material

culture and social identity throughout the early medieval period, whilst a secondary factor to this was an increased level of continuity towards the west. The fifth to eighth centuries in particular therefore, appear to have been a formative period in the wider history of the South West and the resilience of the Cornish identity in particular, through into modern times. Short-term cycles of change are potentially visible in the series of introduction of Roman, Mediterranean, Continental, Anglo-Saxon and Norman traditions, with varying levels of acculturation from each, both in terms of chronology and distribution. However, the overriding and ever-present - and geographically-determined - Atlantic influence is retained throughout, whilst insular traditions of material culture and settlement are recycled or developed, occasionally incorporating new ideas and only countered by physical acts of settlement by Anglo-Saxon and Norman communities.

Questions remain as to the full extent of settlement hierarchies and societies in the South West and in the upland regions in particular, which little short of further survey or excavation will answer. This detailed research has allowed some insight as to the nature of early medieval Atlantic identities and the importance of insular traditions and alliances which have survived into modern times; however there is great scope for more in-depth assessments of the material culture, including that of the settlement forms and the evolution from prehistoric and Roman forms. Further work is also of importance in the comparison of cross-cultural ties across the Atlantic zone, particularly with Brittany where so many similar traditions and cultural markers have been discovered.

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