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The pattern of villas in the Severn Valley: illusion and change

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Summary

This paper is primarily designed to examine the ways in which archaeological distribution maps can be misleading and to suggest an alternative technique for the visual presentation of archaeological data which allows us to study chronological as well as spatial patterns. The technique proposed is that of diachronic analysis. The region selected for study is that of the Severn Valley; the category of archaeological material is that of villa settlement.

Introduction

In recent years there has been growing recognition of the importance of the application of spatial analysis to archaeological material (Hodder and Orton 1976) and some interest in the study of change as an archaeological phenomenon, with special reference to attempted mathematical formulae for the rates of change in archaeology (Van der Leeuw 1981) and interest in the dynamics of change (Claessen 1981). Little attempt, however, has been made to study chronological variation in distribution patterns, i.e. to apply diachronic analysis. Such analysis has great potential, especially in the visual presentation of archaeological data, as it allows us to move away from static 'chronologically suspended' spatial analysis to produce more dynamic and chronologically accurate images of spatial patterns and distributions in archaeology. This study undertakes to apply this technique practically to archaeological data.

Selected material and framework

Roman material has been selected for study here because it offers great opportunity for experiment with diachronic and spatial analysis. There are a number of reasons for this:

1) the Roman period offers a vast database, not only of artefacts, but also of sites;

2) a long history of antiquarian and archaeological interest in the Roman period ensues that Roman material is easily recognisable and assignable to the period, e.g. a Samian sherd is clearly Roman pottery and not Iron Age or post-Roman. It is additionally relatively simple to date material and phases of sites individually; in many cases, especially with reference to coins and pottery (themselves invaluable dating tools), within narrow date margins of about 50 years;

3) this uniformity and distinctiveness furthermore allows material and sites

to be compared with one another over wide spatial and temporal ranges: e.g., a piece of black burnished ware from Hadrian's Wall compared with a sherd from a villa in Hertfordshire or the dimensions of the dining-room at villa X with that of its neighbour, villa Y, in Wiltshire.

4) much information is available on Roman modes of trade and exchange (Bird and Young 1981; Evans 1991; Fulford 1978, 1981, 1984, 1991; Gillam and Greeene 1979; Hodder 1974) and means of exchange, notably with reference to the road network of Roman Britain (Margary 1969). Potential centres of distribution, towns, villages, forts, and temples are similarly relatively straightforward to pinpoint.

On paper, diachronic analysis works best when applied on a moderate spatial/ temporal scale, i.e. one which allows sufficient range for patterns to emerge, but is not too unwieldy to manipulate. It is for this reason that the scope of this paper has been limited to one class of settlement in one region, thus allowing diachronic analysis to exhibit its potential for detailed study. The category of Roman settlement termed 'villa' has been selected here, as it can be viewed as one of the most peculiarly Roman of all. Villas in Roman Britain have been studied intensively for a number of years and a large body of categorised comparative sites already exists (Rivet 1969). Much debate remains, however, as to the exact criteria on which a site should be termed a 'villa'. Here, 'villa' has been taken to refer to a site of rural, civilian status yielding clearly Roman 'luxury' building and furnishing materials, e.g. mosaics, tesserae, painted wall plaster, window glass, roof tiles, etc. and where possible, some kind of building of regular, recognisable plan, preferably constructed in stone.

The framework to the material is arguably just as important as the material itself. Regional geography holds that all human activity takes place within and through two distinct types of environment (Thrift, 1983; Urry 1985; Vining 1975) - manmade and natural. Both these types of environment may (but then again, may not [Johnston 1990]) place constraints on human settlement and activity and are therefore vital in the study of spatial and diachronic patterning; they may help to explain why these patterns occur. Manmade environments are extremely complex entities consisting of distinct, but overlapping, networks, themselves created by human action and interaction, e.g. social, political, economic, etc. which are prone to spatial shifting through time. They are, additionally, extremely difficult to identify as independent influencing factors because they can only be suggested from the reconstruction of the archaeological material itself. Natural environments provide clearly preferable frameworks, as they are not dependent on the data. Furthermore, although changes do occur within these environments, e.g. the course of a river will shift over time, basic topographic, geological and geographic, influences will remain largely static. In addition, any potentially influential changes which do occur are usually recognised and their impact on the archaeological record noted.

The Severn Valley region (Fig. 1) has been selected here for a number of reasons. Primarily, its natural environment provides an excellent framework for study, consisting as it does of a wide diversity of topography, geography, geology, etc. ranging from:

1) the mountains of Wales; via
2) the fertile limestone uplands of the Cotswolds; and
3) the basins of the Severn, the Avon, and their tributaries; to
4) the coastal plains of Glamorgan and Avon.

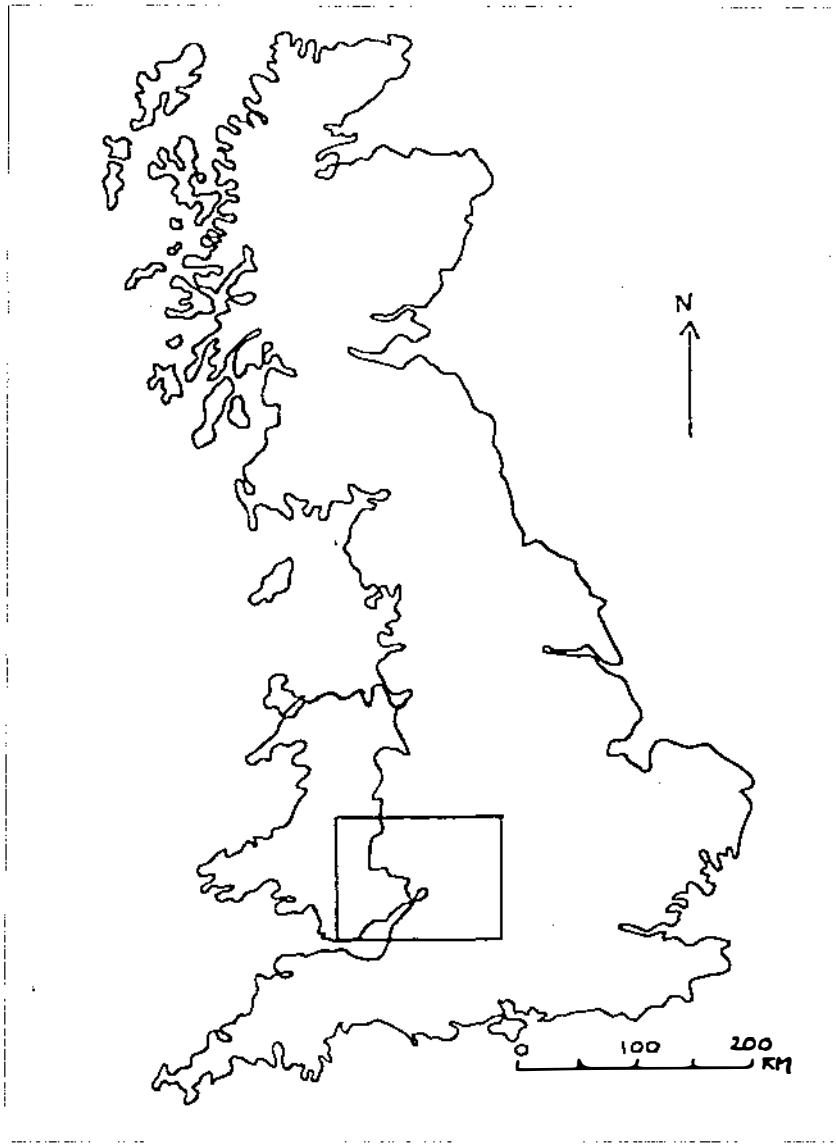

Figure 1 Study Area.

All of these elements are clearly discernible, yet interactive (Fig. 2). Additionally, a large up-to-date body of Roman material is available for this area. Vital military positions, urban situations potential centres for distribution and redistribution), rural centres and perhaps most significantly, the road network, can

also be located spatially and temporally against the natural framework (Fig. 3). Romano-British settlement in general in this area appears to have been sufficiently dense throughout the period to allow patterns to be reconstructed, but not too dense to swamp them. A further advantage for the study of this area is that it remains largely undistorted by modern development.

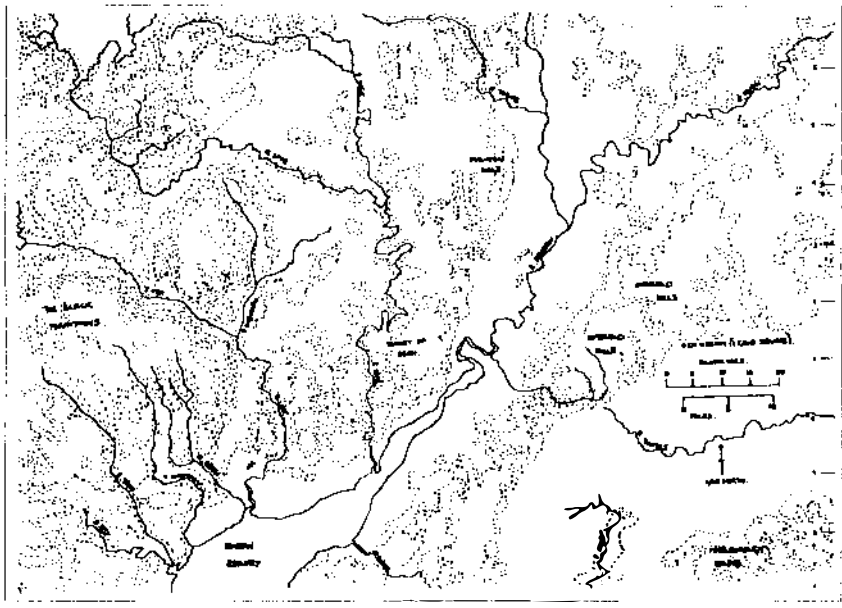

Figure 2 The natural environment.

The nature of the sample

The aim of the study should be to produce accurate images of the distributions of settlements and artefacts through space and time in such a way that any emergent patterns and relationships between the working elements may be easily compared. In order to carry out diachronic analysis, it is preferable, indeedeven necessary, to attempt to create a total sample, i.e. to spatially and diachronically locate every single site of relevance in that area. In real terms, this is extremely difficult, not to say impossible. Sites can fail to make it into the archaeological record for a number of reasons, ranging from modern problems of recovery and recording to ancient destruction or burial beneath several feet of impenetrable alluvium. Therefore, it should be stressed that although strenuous attempts must always be made towards totality of material, inevitably, any pictures created are inaccurate and should be regarded as temporary - new data should be added continuously to alleviate this problem.

Sources of information

In order to create as total a sample as is permitted within working constraints, a detailed survey of all possible sources of data is necessary. The starting point for collecting relevant data has been the Royal Commission's 'National Monuments Records' and 'Excavation Index'. These are invaluable (but not infallible) primary sources, as they are continually updated and easy of access. All information from their records is stored by grid reference and parish name and any relevant literary references are also given, thus allowing for personal study and dating.

This information has been supplemented and expanded by searches of both relevant local society periodicals and national periodicals. For information on older, now somewhat outdated, but still useful data, Victoria County Histories of relevant counties have been examined. Some of these were produced as early as 1908, but are still surprisingly accurate, often recording vital contemporary, personal communications concerning sites. Some of the earlier Royal Commission county surveys have also been studied. In addition to literary searches, further information has been sought directly from local county archaeological units, county archaeological officers and local sources.

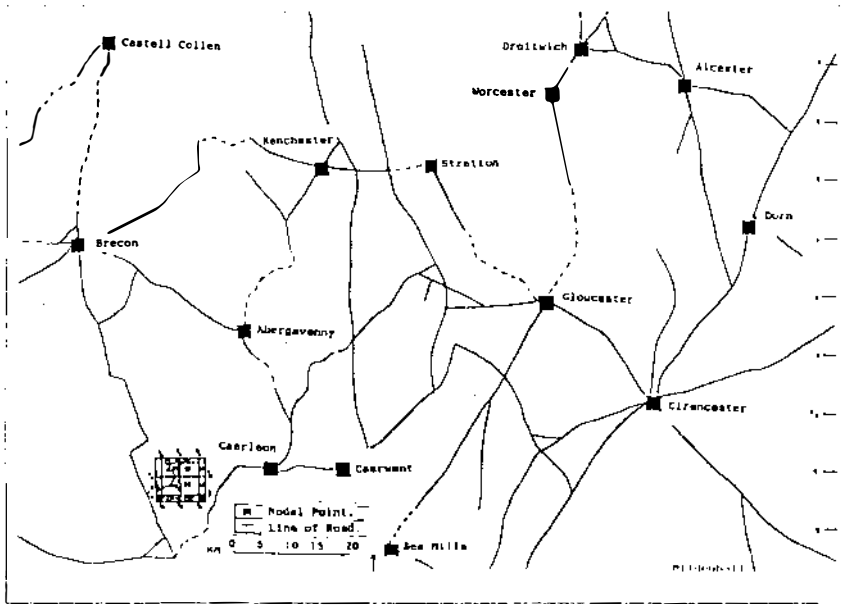

Figure 3 Roman road network.

Data recording and display methods

All information is recorded visually in map form and on paper in table form for quick reference. Short summaries of relevant dating specifics, material/structural descriptions and other useful details supplement and expand the tabulated data.

All recorded sites have three vital forms of identification attached to them:

1) Spatial record. This consists of an Ordnance Survey grid reference of 4-6 figures, a site name, parish location and county location, e.g. Cold Harbour Farm, Wick & Abson, Avon, SP 707 719.

2) Chronological record. This records the most accurate date for the site possible and provides 50 year sequence groupings for the total estimated duration of the Roman occupation of Britain (see Table 1). All estimates of dates given in the literature have been double-checked for accuracy and not taken as read. Where no dating evidence is available for a site or phase of site, this fact is recorded in itself.

3) Literary record. This listing of all relevant references allows for in-depth study of specific sites if required and a double-check on dating methods and material.

All sites in this study are regarded as either probable or possible, as in archaeology, especially outside the field of archaeological science, it is extremely difficult to talk in terms of definite. It should be noted, however, that this criterion does not refer to the actual spatial location of the sites themselves (sites invariably have static spatial locations) but rather to inconsistencies concerning site function which may effect spatial patterning. Those sites which have clearly identifiable 'villa-type' ground plans and associated 'luxury' Roman material are assignable to the 'probable' villa category, i.e. they most likely were villas, but we cannot be one hundred per cent certain, as other elements of the settlement pattern, e.g. 'mansiones' can share many similar characteristics. Sites of indeterminate nature and suspect status, i.e. those which are only known by survey and surface finds, preserve no recognisable ground plans or were excavated earlier this century prior to scientific recording techniques, but which fulfil some of the criteria for villa categorisation (e.g. preserve wall plaster, tesserae, roof tiles, but no excavated structures) are regarded as 'possible'. This latter category is of considerable significance. Ideally, 'possible' sites should be plotted after 'probable' sites and their presence/absence and relationships with 'probable' sites may either reinforce or destroy postulated spatial and diachronic patterns. These 'possible' sites in particular must be updated regularly, as subsequent work may mean that they may drop out of the villa category, e.g. Bulmore in Gwent (ST 35 91), once believed to be a villa site, has proved on excavation to be a roadside settlement site between Caerleon and Caerwent [Archaeology in Wales, 23 (1986): 24].

Chronological information is treated in a similar fashion, i.e. a site may be assigned to a given period as a chronological 'probable' or a chronological 'possible'. 'Probable' within a given period implies that there is convincing stratified evidence that the site was fulfilling its function as a villa at that date, e.g. a coin of Theodosius (AD 388-402) sealed under a mosaic floor implies that the site was flourishing in the last decade of the fourth century and probably in the early fifth century AD. 'Possible' within a given period implies that there is material assignable to that period on the site, but it is unstratified or merely a surface find. Problems occur when datable material from sites is lacking or of

a decidedly indeterminate nature, so the site cannot be dated at all. Other sites, especially those dug earlier this century, have yielded potential dating material, but no efforts have been made to analyse this or record it for posterity. Alternatively, some of this material, especially coins, has been dated, but chronological gaps occur around data in the general dating sequence. This kind of site has little use in diachronic analyses, but may be of spatial significance in indicating the extent of Roman influence. These sites should therefore be recorded as zero evidence factor sites and regularly updated where possible.

Probable Villas Names	AD 60s	Late 1st	E-M (2nd	M-L (2nd	E-M (3rd	M-L (3rd	E-M (4th	M-L (4th	Early (5th	Dating Type
AVON Gatcombe, Long Ashton ST 526 698 B.A.R. 44, 1977 PSANHS 112, 1968, 40-53	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	POSS	POSS	POSS	POSS	C/P
Kings Weston Bristol ST 534 775 TBGAS 69, 1950, 5-58	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	PROB	PROB	PROB	.....	C
Burdcombe Farm, Wraxall ST 479 716 PSANHS 105, 1960, 37-51	.....	.....	.....	POSS	POSS	PROB	PROB	.....	.....	C/P
Durley Hill, Keynsham ST 645 693 Archaeologia 75, 1924-5, 109-135	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	PROB	PROB	POSS	.....	C

Table 1 Chronological sequence.

To create a spatial image of villa settlement in the Severn Valley region, all sites, including zero evidence factor sites must be plotted. Sites are initially plotted on the OS map by grid reference and then traced off onto a layout sheet. The tracing itself is additionally preserved. Patterns and relationships between sites and the topography, road network, urban/military sites, etc., can then be studied by laying the villa category tracing over layouts of these individual elements drawn at the same scale from the same OS map. It is vital to remember that these sites are in diachronic suspension, i.e. would not all have occurred simultaneously. Different symbols are used for 'possible' and 'probable' sites.

Diachronic images are primarily created by taking each 50 year chronological period from the tabulated data and assigning a separate tracing and layout sheet to each. Sites believed to have been in existence during these individual periods are then traced off the OS map, checked against the spatial map and traced off on the relevant chronological sheets. Different symbols differentiate between chronological 'probable' and chronological 'possible'. The individual tracing sheets are then laid over one another to create a moving image of the change in spatial patterns in the landscape over time, in a similar way to creating a moving film from static photographs. These diachronic elements can then be compared

with topography, road network, etc. and with other diachronic analyses of related settlement patterns, e.g. small towns, military positions, etc.

Analyses

Spatial distribution in diachronic suspension

Figure 4 shows the total sample of recovered material pertaining to villa settlement in the Severn Valley and plots all sites in diachronic suspension, i.e. it overrides chronological differentiation to display all these sites as if ey occured simultaneously. It is vital to remember that this is a strictly artificial image of villa settlement in the Severn Valley created for study purposes; the constant chronological shift as sites enter and drop out of the temporal record ensures that at no chronological period can all these sites be said, in reality, to have occurred simultaneously.

The purpose of such a distribution map is primarily to present us with an overview of the element to be studied. The density and diversity of villa settlement is immediately obvious. Clearly Roman influence was strong in this area and the adoption of the villa as mode of living was highly successful. In-depth integration into the Roman economy and both adoption and acceptance of the material trappings of Romanization across a wide spatial area is also suggested, as the sites are themselves identified and dated by Roman material.

The villas appear to cluster together in a number of groups of diverse size and nature and it is interesting to note that when studied in purely spatial terms, sites rarely occur in isolation; even allowing for enlargement of site location symbols for presentation purposes, they have a marked tendency to occur within 10-15 kilometres of other sites within a postulated cluster. This phenomenon, however, may alter under diachronic examination. The clusters themselves are essentially subjective when viewed without a framework and may be studied on a varying scale from the relationship between individual sites to an overall view of the total sample. Analysis against a framework will reduce this subjectivity.

Spatial distribution against the natural topography

The study of the spatial distribution against its natural framework allows us to present some postulations as to why these patterns have emerged. Overall, several conditions of topographical location can be identified:

1) lowland location - this applies to the majority of sites;
2) coastal location;
3) location in river valleys;
4) clusters located in zones of high relief.

The location of the majority of sites on lowland areas is hardly surprising. Primarily, besides being impractical for hilltop living, villas were essentially rural, agricultural establishments (Rivet 1969) and in order to adopt the material trappings of Romanization must have been capable of generating sufficient wealth to enter into the Romanized economic network. They therefore tend to

occur, not surprisingly, on agricultural land of sufficient quality to generate a surplus. Those villas located on the Cotswold Hills similarly correspond to this tendency, for although this is an area of high relief, the limestone geology of the hills ensures their productivity.

Villas exhibiting a coastal or riverine location may have come into existence due to wealth generated through trade. The importance of water transport in the Roman period is often neglected, as the road network was so widespread and efficient; however, it is vital to appreciate the opportunities and possibilities of gain presented by the traffic of bulky commodities, e.g. pottery, stone, etc. by water.

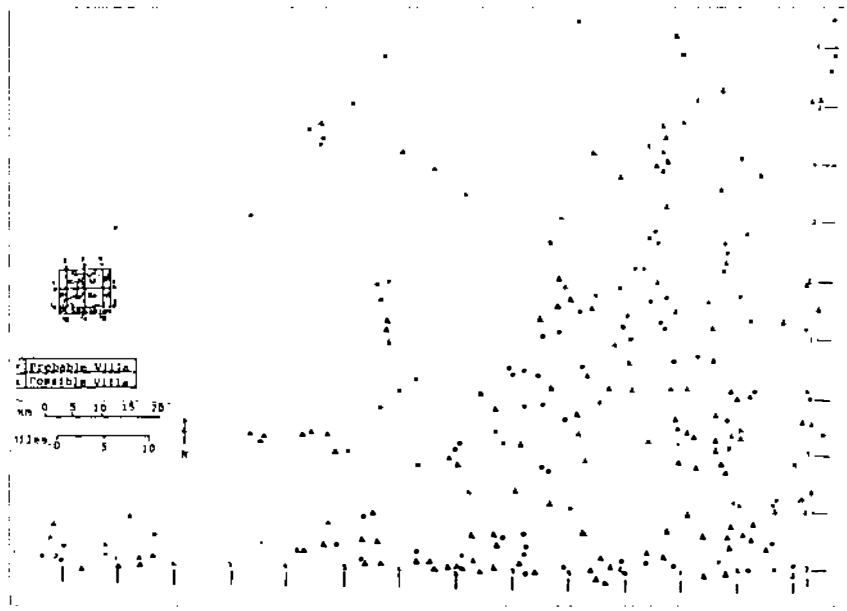

Figure 4 Spatial distribution of villas in diachronic suspension.

The cluster of villas on the high ground in the Forest of Dean may similarly be linked to trade, here as a result of the iron trade in the area (Reece pers. comm.). The presence of villa settlements both here and in the Cotswolds suggests that Fox's theory of highland/lowland settlement variation (Fox 1943) may be something of an over-simplification.

Perhaps more surprising than the distribution of existing villas, is the notable sparsity of villas in the north-east sector of this area. The overall absence of villa settlement in the west (Wales) sector is easily explained by the extremes of high relief and acid soil, however, no such constraints apply in the north, where the land is good arable and pasture and the rivers navigable. Clearly, social as opposed to topographical constraints are at work here, although the possibility of the pattern being a falsification due to insufficient work having taken place in this area should also be considered.

Spatial distribution against the manmade (Roman) environment

Although the study of the spatial distribution of villa settlement within its natural environment does afford some explanations, it is also necessary to examine the data against its manmade (here Roman) environment. Such an examination will provide further refinements and possible explanations for spatial and diachronic patterns.

The study of the relationship between the road system in this region and the pattern of villa settlement must be our primary concern, as the road network provides for the flow and interchange of goods, manpower and supplies as well as the accompanying information, fashions, etc., which influence changing patterns and styles of settlement. Thanks to the work of Margary (1969), the regional road network can be accurately located. A clear relationship between the villas and the road system is immediately noticeable. This is in itself unremarkable as the villas were largely dependent on the road system for two-way market flow with the small towns and civitas capitals (Burnham and Wacher 1990; Millett 1990; Rodwell and Rowley 1975; Wacher 1975) and because the road system itself tends to traverse lowland areas where possible, however, a clear preference for siting lowland villas along the road system is evident.

Clear relationships between villas and the towns are also noticeable; many are sited in the immediate environs with roadside locations. Again, this is unremarkable, as the towns were arguably centres for trade, marketing, administration, etc. (see Reece 1980 for an alternative view) sited to exploit local resources. Many in this region began life as military positions (Lloyd Jones 1984; Nash Williams 1969) and may be considered as impositions on the 'traditional' native landscape, as arguably are many of the villas themselves.

Diachronic analyses

Spatial analysis has given us some idea of the extent of Roman influence in the Severn Valley and allowed some general observations on villa distribution to be made, but is unable to demonstrate how villa settlement emerged, developed and faded. Diachronic analysis allows us to fill this gap. Here, for purposes of presentation, the diachronic analysis will be carried out by studying distribution maps in sequence, not as is preferable by studying a 3-dimensional time/space image created by a series of overlays placed on top of one another.

Map 1 - late first century AD

Primary villa settlement in this region appears to have been firmly limited to Avon, Wiltshire and the areas of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire bounded by the right bank of the river Severn, with the majority of early villas being located on the Cotswold escarpment close to the roads. This proto-settlement on high relief may seem surprising as villa settlement in such conditions is generally unusual, but the phenomenon may be explained by the density and wealth of Iron Age settlement in this area (Forde-Johnston 1976) suggestive of an elite eager to and capable of adopting Roman material status symbols. Wales appears to have been largely devoid of villa settlement during this period, although there are possible sites at Blackwardine, Nurston and East Aberthaw. This is hardly

surprising, as much of Wales remained as yet unpacified and was covered by an intricate system of forts (Lloyd Jones 1984). Perhaps more surprising is the absence of villa settlement from the Alcester area, where small towns were already beginning to flourish (Burnham and Wacher 1990; Rodwell and Rowley 1975).

Map 2 - early to mid second century AD

This period witnesses the slow spread of villa settlement down the Cotswold escarpment onto the lowland below, following the line of the roads and its emergence in Glamorgan and the north east of the map in the form of Debden, Butlers Marston and Kineton. Inland Wales appears to have remained largely untouched by villa settlement, but it must be stressed that this may be more due to a lack of recoverable evidence than a genuine phenomenon. Villa settlement in Glamorgan seems to have been essentially rural in nature and interestingly bears little relation to the road network.

Maps from 3 to 6 - mid to late second century to early to mid fourth century AD

During this period, villa settlement remained largely static, witnessing a marked increase in density, decreasing dependency of location on the road system for new sites and the emergence of some new areas of settlement, notably in the north Welsh Marches around the small town of Kenchester. Other sites develop along the Welsh coastline (Tidenham, Aylburton, etc.) and to exploit the iron trade in the Forest of Dean. Inland Wales appears to remain devoid of villa settlement and significant potential areas to the west of Droitwich remain unexploited, a phenomenon which is difficult to explain, though a social or political explanation which cannot be retrieved from the archaeological data seems likely.

Map 7 - mid to late fourth century AD

This period witnesses a marked and sudden drop-off in sites, and although it should be stressed that this may be a phenomenon caused by a lack of good datable material, the sheer number of sites involved is significant. It is difficult to make generalisations about why certain sites and not others survive, or to establish patterns and clusters, though there is a clear resemblance to proto-villa settlement patterns, with sites along the roads tending to survive, as do those on the Cotswold escarpment, many of which exist right through the Roman period. Other significant surviving pockets occur along the Glamorgan coastline, the Kenchester area and the north-east area of the map, where villa settlement, although sparse and slow to start, remains tenacious.

Map 8 - early fifth century AD

This period, traditionally viewed as the last period of Roman influence in Britain, appears to witness a drastic failure in villa settlement in the region. Like the drop in the mid to late fourth century AD, it may be explained by an absence of data, but once again, the quantitative drop is too drastic to be ignored. Again, there seems to be no general explanation for the survival of the indicated sites; they occur in very different locations - on the Cotswold Hills, the Welsh coast, lowland areas, etc., and their continuing existence must be regarded as a random phenomenon, each with its own individual reasons for survival.

Conclusion

A purely spatial study of villa settlement clearly demonstrates the impact of Romanization on the landscape of this region and shows a marked tendency for villas to be sited on good agricultural land along and around urban centres and the arterial road network to exploit the opportunities for trade and marketing thus presented. Yet spatial analysis alone cannot track the development and change of settlement patterns - it lacks dynamics. Diachronic analysis in isolation provides us with this vital sense of dynamics, yet fools us, because much of the available data is of insufficient quality for the construction of accurate chronologies, thus omitting numerous significant sites and leading to visual inaccuracies on distribution maps. For example, as many of the sites along the line of the Sea Mills/Bath road provide insufficient chronological data, they would have been missing from a diachronic study, thus leading to a misleading visual gap. Thus, it is clear that in studying distributions, both spatial and diachronic analyses are necessary to create images of maximum accuracy.

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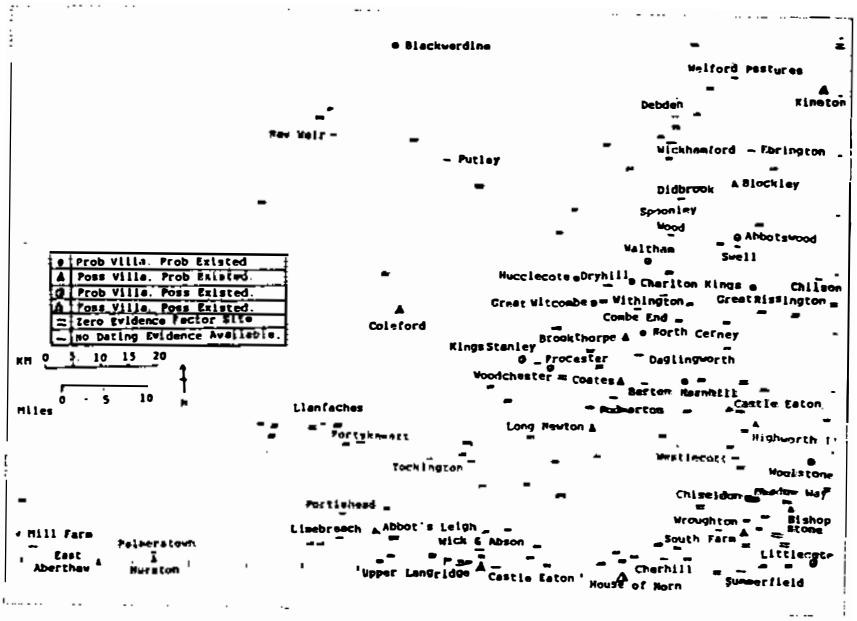
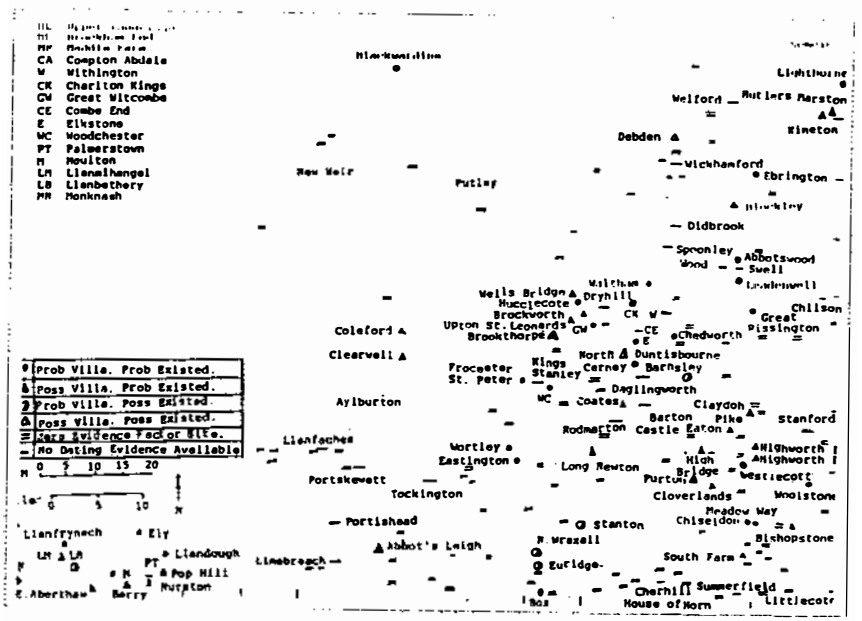
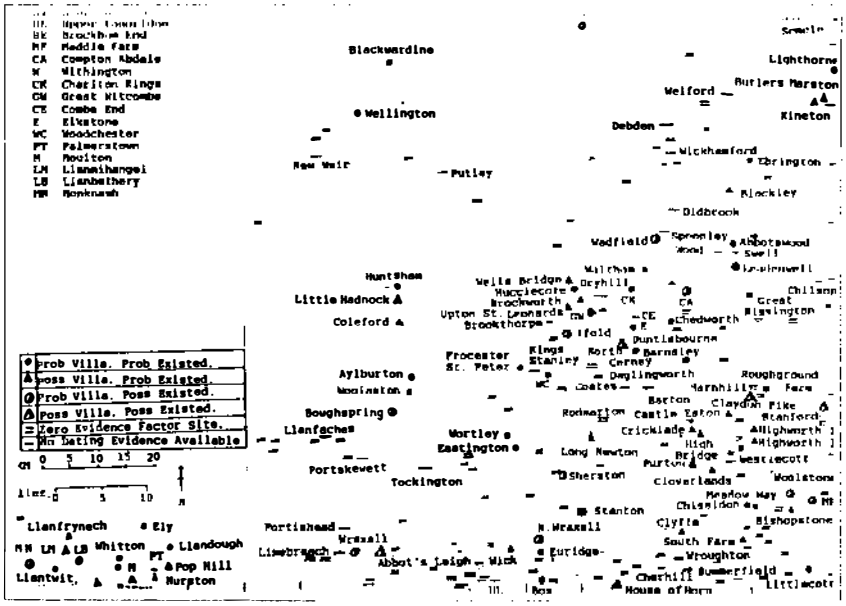


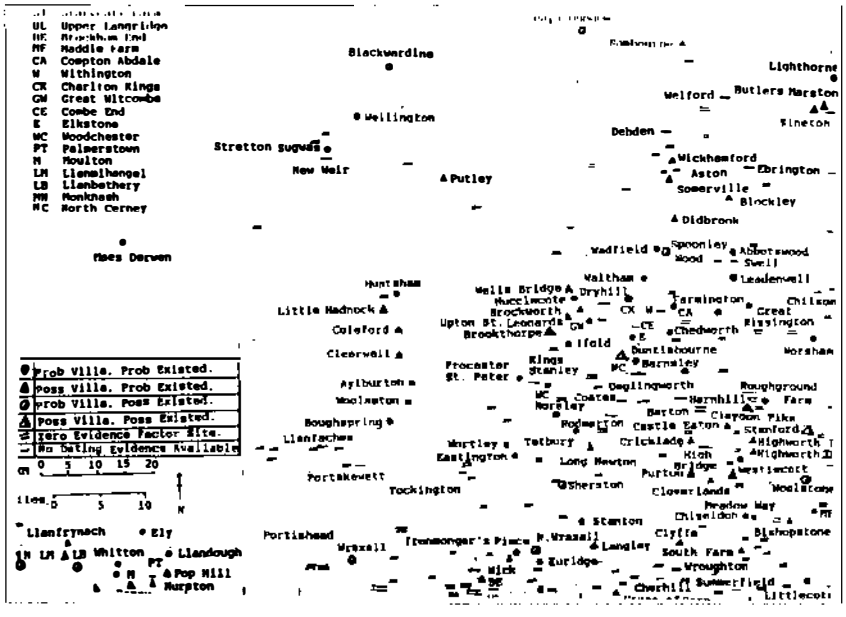
Map 1 Distribution map late first century AD.



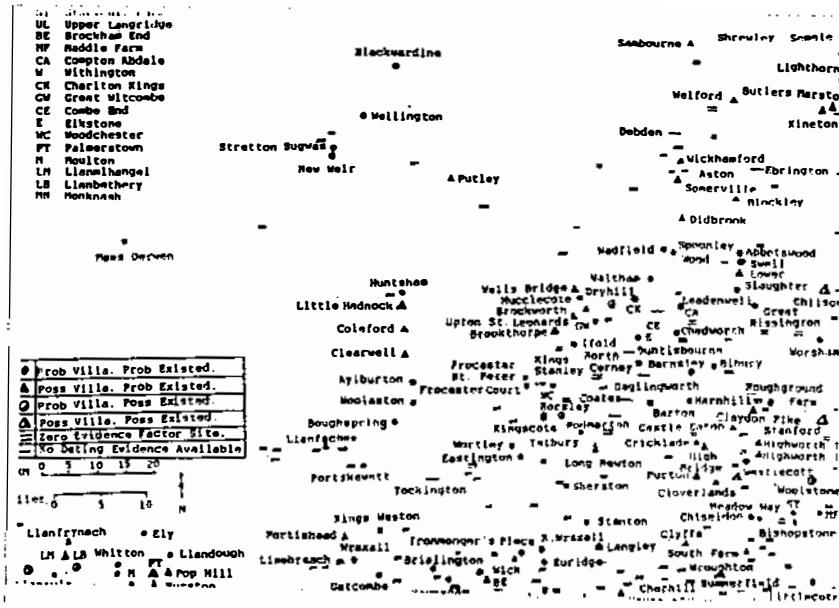
Map 2 Distribution map early to mid second century AD.



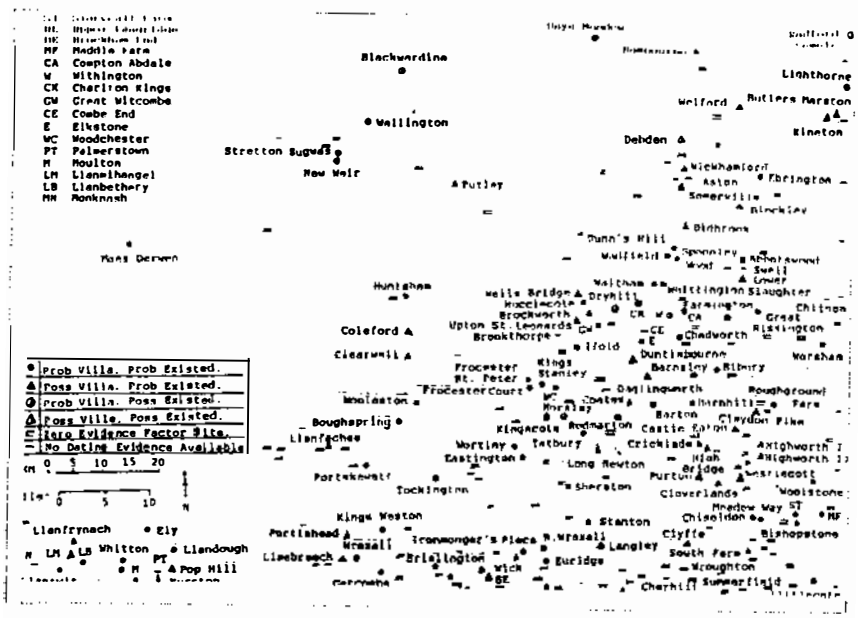
Map 3 Distribution map mid to late second century AD.



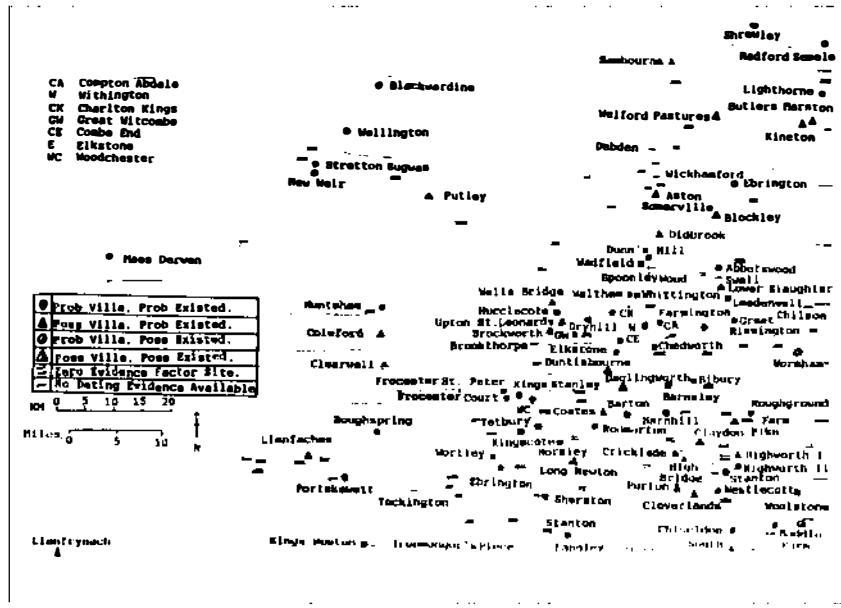
Map 4 Distribution map early to mid third century AD.



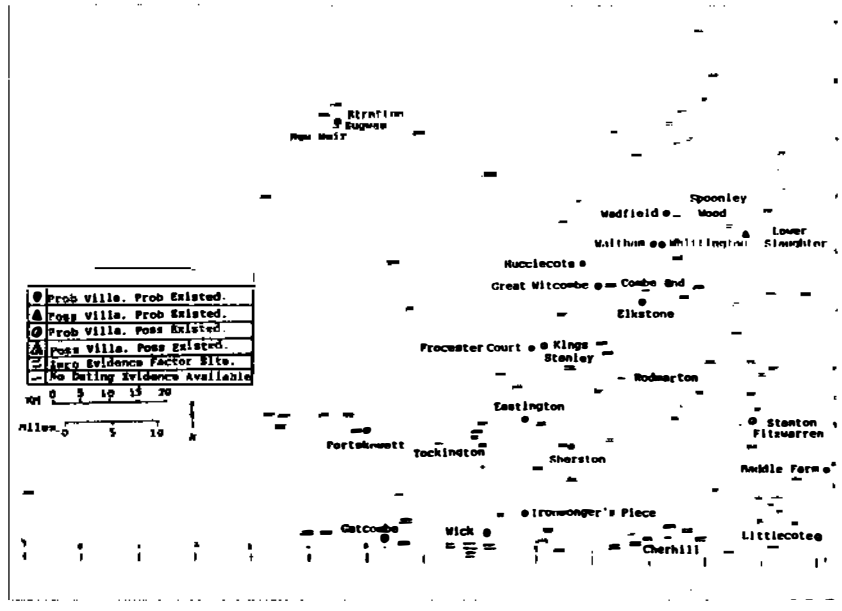
Map 5 Distribution map mid to late third century AD.



Map 6 Distribution map early to mid fourth century AD.



Map 7 Distribution map mid to late fourth century AD.



Map 8 Distribution map early fifth century AD.

Appendix 1 - List of villa sites used in this study

Abbreviations

Ant. Journal - Antiquaries Journal

Arch. - Archaeologia

Arch. Camb. Arcaeologia Cambrensis

Arch. Journal - Archaeological Journal

Arch. Rev. - CBA Archaeological Review

AW - Archaeology in Wales

BA Arch. - Bristol & Avon Archaeology

BBCS - Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies

Brit. - Britannia

CBA Grp. - Council for British Archaeology Group

Glev. - Glevensis

JBAA - Journal of the British Archaeological Association

JRS - Journal of Roman Studies

KAA - Kingscote Archaeological Association Publications: Interim Report. 1976-79

NMR Index - National Monuments Record Index

PBNHAFC - Proceedings of the Bath Natural History & Archaeological Field Club

PCNFC - Proceedings of the Cottesoold Naturalist Field Club

PSA - Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries

PSANHS - Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological & Natural History Society

PUBBS - Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society

RCHM Glo. - Royal Commision on Ancient Historic Monuments: the Gloucestershire Cotswolds

TBGAS - Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucester Archaeological Society

TBWAS - Transactions of Birmingham & Warwickshire Archaeological Society

TPBAS - Transactions & Proceedings of the Birmingham Archaeological Society

TWNFC - Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club

VCH - Victoria County Histories

WAM - Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine

WMANS - West Midlands Archaeological Newsheet

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AVON

1.	Avon View, Abbot's Leigh	ST 5373	Scott 1993: 13
2.	Tockington Park, Alveston	ST 627 857	TBGAS 12(1888): 159-169; 13(1889): 196-200
3.	Badminton Park, Badminton	ST 8083	JBAA 2(1846): 90
4.	Charmy Down, Batheaston	ST 7769	Scott 1993: 13
5.	Cheney Court, Bitton	ST 6969	Scott 1993: 13
6.	Bedminster Down, Bristol	ST 5769	PUBSS 2(1923-5): 89
7.	Brislington, Bristol	ST 616 710	TBGAS 23(1900): 289-308
8.	Kings Weston, Bristol	ST 534 775	TBGAS 69(1950): 5-58
9.	Bristol I	ST 55 78	Scott 1993: 14
10.	Bristol II	ST 57 73	Scott 1993: 14
11.	Brockham End, Charlcombe	ST 7270	Branigan 1976: 119
12.	Upper Landgridge Farm, Charlcombe	ST 73 69	PSANHS 95(1950): 175
13.	Clevedon Court, Clevedon	ST 42 71	Scott 1993: 15
14.	Clevedon and Tickenham	ST 43 71	Scott 1993: 15
15.	Priest Wood, Cromhall	ST 686 897	PSA 23(1909-11): 20-23; BA Arch. 6(1987): 60-61
16.	Doynton	ST 73 74	Scott 1993: 15
17.	Hanham Green, Hanham Abbots	ST 64 70	Scott 1993: 15
18.	Hawkesbury	ST 803 902	Scott 1993: 16
19.	Durley Hill, Keynsham	ST 645 693	Arch. 75(1924-25): 109-135
20.	Somerdale, Keynsham	ST 65 69	Arch. 75(1924-25): 136ff
21.	Gatcombe, Long Ashton	ST 526 698	PSA 112(1968): 40-53; Branigan 1977
22.	Yanley Farm, Marshfield	ST 54 69	Scott 1993: 16
23.	Harcombe Farm, Marshfield	ST 77 75	Scott 1993: 17
24.	Ironmonger's Piece, Marshfield	ST 798 760	Blockley 1985

25. The Hams, Marshfield	ST 78 73	Arch. Rev. 4(1969): 41
26. Manor Farm, North Stoke	ST 70 79	VCH Soms I(1906): 302; JRS 21(1931): 240
27. High Street, Portishead	ST 46 76	PUBSS 10(1964-65): 259
28. Chessels, Sodbury	ST 72 82	Scott 1993: 17
29. Limebreach, Tickenham	ST 46 72	VCH Soms I(1906): 367
30. Pendicks Farm, Tytherington	ST 689 679	Scott 1993: 18
31. Cold Harbour Farm, Wick and Abson	ST 706 719	PBNHAFC 1(1868): 37-51
32. Birdcombe Farm, Wraxall	ST 47 71	PSANHS 105(1960): 37-51
33. Hall End Farm, Yate	ST 70 87	Scott 1993: 19
BERKS.		
34. Lambourn	SU 34 81	Branigan 1976: 119
35. Maddle Farm, Lambourn	SU 303 820	Gaffney and Tingle 1989
GLOS.		
36. Cocklebarrow Farm, Aldsworth	SP 14 10	Scott 1993: 68
37. Ampney St. Peter.	SP 08 01	PSA 3(2nd Series - 1864-67): 203
38. Aylburton	SO 624 018	JRS 46(1956): 141; Brit. 19(1988): 469 Brit. 20(1989): 310
39. Barnsley Park, Barnsley	SP 081 062	TBGAS 86(1967): 74-87; 99(1981): 21-77 100(1982): 65-189
40. Dryhill Badgeworth	SO 932 169	RCHM Glos. 1976: 5
41. Bibury	SP 122 062	TBGAS 106(1988): 219; Glev. 21(1987): 42-45
42. Lillyhorn, Bisley and Lypiatt	SP 913 044	Arch. Journal 2(1846): 42-45

43.	Blockley	SP 1534	TBGAS 88(1969): 74
44.	Leadenwell, Bourton on the Water	SP 162 209	TBGAS 56(1934): 99-128; 57(1935): 260-265
45.	Broadwell Church, Broadwell	SP 199 279	JRS 12(1922): 262
46.	Brockworth	SO 891 168	TBGAS 87(1968): 203
47.	Brookthorpe with Whaddon	SO 83 12	TBGAS 90(1971): 50-53
48.	Vineyards Farm, Charlton Kings	SO 975 186	Glev. 15(1981): 48; 16(1982): 17-19 17(1983): 41
49.	Chedworth	SP 053 135	Goodburn 1976
50.	Listercombe Bottom, Chedworth	SP 070 117	JRS 21(1931): 240
51.	Cherington	ST 9096	Arch. 18(1817): 117
52.	Barton Farm, Cirencester	SP 0202	TBGAS 33(1910): 67-77; 70(1952): 51-53
53.	Clearwell Farm, Clearwell	SO 57 08	Brit. 19(1988): 467
54.	Hailey Wood, Coates	SO 965 004	RCHM Glos. 1976: 99
55.	High Nash, Coleford	SO 57 10	Brit. 19(1988): 47
56.	Comb End, Colesbourne	SO 985 111	Arch. 18(1817): 112-113
57.	Coln St. Aldwyns	SP 15 05	Goodburn 1979: 12
58.	Compton Grove, Compton Abdale	SP 048 162	JRS 22(1932): 214-215
59.	Birdlip, Cowley	SO 92 14	TBGAS 45(1923): 294-295
60.	Daglinworth	SO 99 04	RCHM Glos. 1976: 41b
61.	Odda's Chapel, Deerhurst	SO 86 29	Ant. Journal 55(1975): 351-353
62.	Didbrook	SP 05 31	Arch. Rev. 4(1969): 39
63.	Harnhill Estate, Driffield	SP 083 005	Glev. 19(1985): 31-35
64.	Duntisbourne Abbot	SO 97 09	TBGAS 45(1923): 295; Arch. Rev. 3(1968): 16
65.	Hammersmith Bottom, Eastleach	SO 17 04	Scott 1993: 71
66.	The Grove, Ebrington	SP 190 399	JRS 49(1959): 127; 51(1961): 186 PCNFC (1971-72): 87-93

67.	Slutswell, Elkstone	SO 986 128	TBGAS 96(1978): 85
68.	Claydon Pike, Fairford	SU 19 99	Scott 1993: 72
69.	Clear Cupboard, Farmington	SP 132 158	TBGAS 88(1969): 34-67
70.	Frocester Court, Frocester	SO 785 029	TBGAS 104(1986): 234; 105(1987): 246 106(1988): 221; 89(1970): 15-86 97(1979): 9-64; 101(1983): 49-76
71.	Frocester St. Peter, Frocester	SO 78 03	TBGAS 77(1958): 23; 82(1963): 149
72.	Barrington Park, Great Barrington	SP 204 138	RCHM Glos. 1976: 12
73.	Great Lemhill	SP 21 02	Goodburn 1976: 1
74.	Great Rissington	SP 189 163	TBGAS 82(1963): 204
75.	Witcombe, Great Witcombe	SO 899 143	TBGAS 73(1954): 54-69
76.	Haresfield, Harescombe	SO 840 091	TBGAS 83(1964): 147
77.	Horsley	ST 852 972	TBGAS 87(1968): 204
78.	Hucclecote	SO 877 176	TBGAS 55(1935): 323-376; 80(1961): 42 49
79.	The Chessalls, Kingscote	ST 807 961	KAA 1981
80.	St. George's Church, Kings Stanley	SO 81 04	Brit. 5(1974): 448-451
81.	Roughground Farm, Lechlade	SP 217 008	RCHM Glos. 1976: 73-75
82.	Long Newnton	ST 92 92	Arch. Rev. 1(1966): 20
83.	Bourton Bridge, Lower Slaughter	SP 16 22	Scott 1993: 69
84.	The Ditches, North Cerney	SO 996 094	TBGAS 101(1983); 102(1984) 103(1985) 236; 104(1986), 243 106(1988): 19-85
85.	Ifold, Painswick	SO 858 102	TBGAS 27(1904): 156-171
86.	Horberry, Rodmarton	ST 94 98	Arch. 18(1817): 113-116
87.	Willington, Sandhurst	SO 837 241	Arch. Rev. 3(1968): 17
88.	Shipton, Shipton Oliffe	SP 037 184	TBGAS 106(1988): 223

89. Stancombe, Stinchcombe	ST 741 970	JBAA 2(1846): 349; 4(1848): 49
90. Brownshill, Stroud	SO 85 07	TBGAS 77(1958): 155-156
91. Dunn's Hill, Sudely	SP 036 278	TBGAS 104(1986): 244
92. Spoonley Wood, Sudenly	SP 045 257	TBGAS 71(1953): 13-87
93. Wadfield, Sudely	SO 023 260	JBAA 1(1845): 242-250; TBGAS 90(1972): 124-128 Glev. 3(1969): 15
94. Abbotswood, Swell	SP 186 263	TBGAS 104(1986): 244-245
95. Lower Swell, Swell	SP 185 263	TBGAS 7(1882): 72-74
96. Tetbury, Tetbury Upton	ST 878 957	Arch. Rev. 6(1971): 28-29
97. Boughspring, Tidenham	ST 559 974	TBGAS 104(1986): 245; 98(1980): 185
98. New Court Ground, Upper Slaughter	SP 13 23	Scott 1993: 77
99. Upton St. Leonards	SO 86 15	TBGAS 90(1971): 44-49
100. Wells Bridge	SO 86 19	Arch. Rev. 6(1971): 26
101. Eastington, Whitminster	SO 779 066	Glev. 11(1977): 23
102. Waltham, Whittington	SP 008 209	Glev. 13(1979): 47-50
103. Whittington	SP 031 149	Arch. 18(1817): 118-121
104. Woodchester	SO 839 031	Brit. 13(1982): 197-228
105. Woolston Sattion, Woolston	ST 596 986	Arch. Camb. 93(1938): 93-125
106. Wortley, Wotton under Edge	ST 767 915	TBGAS 98(1980): 186; 100(1982), 266
107. Yanworth	SP 05 13	TBGAS 47(1925): 77
HEREFORD &WORC.		
108. Nettlebed Field, Beckford	SO 974 373	WMANS 30(1987): 1
109. New Rectory, Bishopstone	SO 41 43	VCH Hereford (1908): 191
110. Brinshop	SO 43 44	TWNFC (1887): 89

111. Hinton Road, Childswickam	SP 05 39	Scott 1993: 89
112. Murcot, Childswickam	SP 06 40	Scott 1993: 89
113. Dormington	SO 59 39	TWNFC (1908): 271
114. Bays Meadow, Droitwich	SO 897 637	TPBAS 75(1965): 1-23
115. Greenway, Droitxich	SO 703 336	TWNFC (1908): 69
116. Eckington	SO 92 41	Scott 1993: 89
117. Gipsies Corner, Eckington	SP 03 42	Scott 1993: 89
118. Wychavon, Evesham	SP 059 431	TBGAS 9(1884-85): 22
119. Huntsham, Goodrich	SO 564 176	TWNFC 36, 2: 243; 37, 2: 2; 38, 1: 87; 40, 1: 158
120. New Weir, Kenchester	SO 437 418	TWNFC 42, 2: 196; 43, 2: 154
121. Blakes Hill, North Littleton	SP 09 47	Scott 1993: 90
122. Debden, Offenham	SP 05 45	Scott 1993: 90.
123. Putley Church, Putley	SO 64 37	TWNFC 36(1958): 84-87, 143-145
124. Blackwardine, Stoke Prior	SO 535 565	Brit. 7(1976): 330
125. Stretton Sugwas	SO 447 426	TWNFC 42, 3: 282; 20: 33-36 21: 69-74; 45, 1: 36-185
126. Coed y Gravel, Walterstone	SO 34 25	TWNFC 36(1954): 298
127. Marden Quarry, Wellington	SO 508 479	TWNFC 45, 3: 774; 46, 1: 92; 46, 2: 323-324
128. Whitchurch	SO 54 17	VCH Hereford 1(1900): 197
129. Wickhamford	SP 06 41	Scott 1993: 91
130. Aston Somerville, Wychavon	SP 037 379	NMR Index
OXON.		
131. Ascott under Wychwood	SP 29 19	Scott 1993: 157
132. Worsham, Ashtal	SP 303 111	VCH Oxon 1(1939): 319-320

133. Chilson	SP 31 19	Oxoniensia 37(1972): 238
134. Brize's Lodge, Ramsden	SP 33 15	Brit. 17(1986): 399
135. Stanford in the Vale I	SU 312 952	CBA Grp. 9: 18-87
136. Stanford in the Vale II	SU 31 95	Scott 1993: 161
137. Swinbrook and Widford	SP 27 12	Branigan 1976: 124
138 Woolstone Farm, Woolstone	SU 289 878	JRS 46(1956): 144
WARWICKS.		
139. Alcester	SP 089 571	TPBAS 76(1966): 15-16
140. Marcliff, Bidford on Avon	SP 10 50	WMANS 29(1986): 49-50
141. Ewe Field Farm, Chesterton	SP 351 583	TPBAS 49(1923): 90
142. Hill Farm, Lighthorne	SP 33 56	Scott 1993: 180
143. Pounce Hill Farm, Radford Semele	SP 342 624	TBWAS 88(1978): 113-118
144. Sambourne	SP 08 61	Scott 1993: 180
145. Shrewley Common Main St., Shrewley	SP 213 672	TBWAS 89(1979): 163-166
146. Butlers Marston, Stratford on Avon	SP 309 506	WMANS 28(1985): 39
147. Kineton, Stratford on Avon	SP 322 507	WMANS 27(1984): 28; 28(1985): 39
148. Cherry Orchard, Stretton on Fosse	SP 22 38	Scott 1993: 180
149. Welford Pasture Farm, Welford on Avon	SP 12 51	WMANS 29(1986): 57-58; 30(1987): 55-56
WILTS.		
150. Aldbourne Gree, Aldbourne	SU 263 735	WAM 63(1968): 118; 70-71(1975-76): 134
151. Upham, Aldbourne	SU 215 782	WAM 41(1920-21): 118
152. Woodsend, Aldbourne	SU 22 75	WAM 74-75(1979-80): 205

153. Cleveland Farm, Ashton Keynes	SU 04 91	Brit. 23(1992): 297
154. Truslowe Manor, Avebury	SU 084 700	WAM 42(1922-24): 359-360
155. Meadow Way, Badbury	SU 194 810	WAM 57(1958-60): 24-29
156. Russley Park, Bishopstone Down	SU 273 802	WAM 68(1973): 132
157. Starveal Farm, Bishopstone	SU 259 815	WAM 74-75(1979-80): 40-55; 48(1937-39): 390
158. Blunsdon St. Andrew	SU 16 90	Scott 1993: 198
159. Box	ST 823 686	WAM 33(1903-04): 23; 26(1891-92): 405 43(1925-27): 47-55; 81(1987): 19-51
160. Hazelbury, Box	ST 83 68	WAM 45(1930): 177
161. Wans House, Bromham	ST 96 67	VCH Wilts. I(1957): 51
162. Bowood House, Calne Without	ST 98 70	WAM 45(1930): 181
163. Nuthills, Calne Without	ST 97 68	WAM 44(1929): 49-59
164. Studley farm, Calne	ST 982 704	WAM 45(1930): 180
165. Kempsford Church, Castle Eaton	SU 16 96	WAM 76(1981): 176
166. St. James' Church, Cherhill	SU 038 703	WAM 82(1988): 77-83
167. Berricot Lane, Chiseldon	SU 194 809	WAM 74-75(1979-80): 176
168. South Farm, Chiseldon	SU 19 76	WAM 49(1940-42): 117; 70(1975): 135
169. Cuffs Corner, Clyffe Pypard	SU 98 76	Scott 1993: 200
170. Euridge Farm, Colerne	ST 833 717	WAM 57(1958-60): 78
171. Lucknam Lodge, Colerne	ST 811 718	Arch. Journal 13(1856): 328-332
172. Compton Bassett	SU 025 725	Reynolds, A. pers. comm.
173. High Bridge, Cricklade	SU 10 94	WAM 45(1930): 195
174. Kingshill, Cricklade	SU 12 93	WAM 55(1953): 134-39; 56(1954): 162-166
175. The Forty, Cricklade	SU 09 93	WAM 72-73(1977-78): 205
176. Fyfield House, Fyfield	SU 14 68	WAM 45(1930): 190
177. Grittleton	ST 84 79	VCH Wilts. I(1957): 75

178. Hannington Wick, Hannington	SU 181 958	WAM 25(1890-91): 23-234
179. Cloverlands, Haydon Wick	SU 13 87	WAM 74-75(1979-80): 206
180. Haydon Wick	SU 16 91	WAM 47(1935-37): 117
181. Highworth I	SU 19 92	WAM 68(1973): 133
182. Highworth II	SU 20 93	WAM 72-73(1977-78): 205
183. Highworth III	SU 20 92	WAM 76(1981): 176
184. Lacock	ST 93 69	WAM 45(1930): 194
185. Poor Lains Coppice, Langley Burrel Without	ST 93 76	Scott 1993: 203
186. Field Barn, Latton	SU 09 95	VCH Wilts. 1(1957): 80
187. Bassett Down House, Lydiard Tregoze	SU 11 79	VCH Wilts. 1(1957): 83
188. Malmesbury	ST 93 87	Arch. Journal 44(1887): 328-332
189. Summerfield, Marlborough	SU 18 69	WAM 74-75(1979-80): 56-59
190. Forest Hill, Mildenhall	SU 209 687	VCH Wilts. 1(1957): 88
191. Truckle Hill, Wraxall	ST 837 761	WAM 7(1860-62): 59-72
192. Ogbourne Hill, Ogbourne St. George	SU 21 75	WAM 72-73(1977-78): 204
193. Southend, Ousbourne St. Andrew	SU 19 73	Scott 1993: 205
194. Studley Hill, Pewsham	ST 96 71	Scott 1993: 205
195. Barton Down, Preshute	SU 171 705	Scott 1993: 205
196. Dogridge, Purton	SU 08 87	WAM 45(1930): 201; 67(1972): 174
197. Froxfield, Ramsbury	SU 277 699	Arch. 8(1787): 98
198. Littlecote, Ramsbury	SU 300 706	Brit. 10(1979): 329; 12(1981): 360 16(1985): 308; 20(1989): 315-317 21(1990): 353-354
199. Sherston	ST 860 865	WAM 83(1990): 222
200. Vancelettes Farm, Sherston	ST 857 869	NMR Index
201. Stanton House, Stanton Fitzwarren	SU 175 900	Arch. Rev. 5(1970): 29

202. Stanton Park, Stanton St. Quintin	ST 897 794	Arch. Rev. 7(1972): 45
203. Okus, Swindon	SU 1584	VCH Wilts. I(1957): 112
204. Wroughton	SU 14 76	VCH Wilts. I(1957): 129
205. Yatesbury	SU 065 715	Reynolds, A. pers. comm.
GLAMORGAN.		
206. Barry Castle, Cardiff	ST 101 672	RCHM Gla. (1976): 767
207. Ely, Cardiff	ST 147 761	JRS 11(1921): 67; Brit. 13(1982): 211 Ant. Journal 17(1937): 138
208. Llanmihangel, Cardiff	SS 984 711	RCHM Gla. (1976): 763
209. Nurston, Cardiff	ST 057 677	RCHM Gla. (1976): 765
210. Palmerstown, Cardiff	ST 142 640	RCHM Gla. (1976): 768
211. Pop Hill, Dinas powys	ST 159 699	RCHM Gla. (1976): 769
212. East Aberthaw	ST 034 666	JRS 51(1961): 158-159
213. Ewenny	SS 90 77	Davies 1979: 166
214. Llanbethery	ST 03 70	RCHM Gla. (1976): 114
215. Llandough	ST 16 73	Robinson, 1988
216. Llanfrynach	SS 981 746	AW 16(1976): 34
217. Llantwit Major	SS 95 69	Arch. Camb. 102(1953): 89ff; Brit. 5(1974): 225-250
218. New Mill Farm, Monknash	SS 91 69	AW 16(1976): 34
219. Moulton	ST 074 696	BBCS 17(1956-58): 294
220. Whitton	ST 08 71	Jarrett, 1981

GWENT.

221. Castle Street, Caerleon	ST 34 90	NMR Index
222. Castle Tump	ST 47 91	Arch. 62(1911): 406
223. Caldicot	ST 48 87	AW 17(1977): 35-36
224. Llanfaches	ST 446 910	Arch. 36(1855): 427
225. Little Hadnock, Monmouth	SO 53 15	AW 17(1977): 36
226. Penhow	ST 424 908	Davies 1979: 168
227. Penrhos	ST 342 918	Davies 1979: 168
228. Pilbach	ST 323 908	Arch. Camb. 3(1927-29): 37
229. Portskewett	ST 498 87	BBCS 4(1927-29): 294

POWYS.

230. Maes Den, Llanfrynach	SO 069 258	BBCS 13(1948-50)