# Introduction

### 1.1 Aims and Objectives

The principal aim of this work is to resituate the Romano-British period in the south-west peninsula, specifically the lands traditionally ascribed to the tribe of the Dumnonii, through an exploration of the relationship between the people who lived within the region and the material culture they used. In particular this research is concerned with ceramics, personal adornment items, and coins and the role these played in the (re)negotiation of identity that resulted from the Roman conquest. The main objective of the research will be to re-evaluate the material assemblages from the study region to shed new light on changing social practices, how material culture was used and how and if this reflected changing identities of the communities and individuals in the south-west peninsula between the Late Iron Age and the end of the Romano-British period (following Hunter, 2001).

Through analysis of these categories of material objects it will be possible to highlight variations in the way the population engaged with each other and how they responded to the coming of Rome and to offer a new approach to reading the archaeology. This re-evaluation and interpretation of material assemblages will be framed within the new contemporary theoretical models, such as Discrepant Identity and Globalisation (see Mattingly, 2006, 2011 and Hingley, 2005). A re-evaluation such as this should help build a clearer picture of the political and economic structures, which underpin social practices and identity, before and after the Roman annexation.

A further aim of this research is to open a critical discourse on the continual grouping of the peoples of the south-west peninsula into one tribal territory, Dumnonia. This has obscured the immense variability between the populations, and it has hampered past attempts to understand how these communities engaged with the wider regional and provincial economic and political administration of Roman Britain. The continued use of the term Dumnonia in describing this area during the Iron Age and Romano-British periods can be argued to have much the same effect. The reality of this perceived unity will be examined within this work and a critical dialogue begun on whether the archaeological record and the artefactual assemblages support one unified tribal entity or whether this unification has obscured a series of smaller political entities.

This chapter will discuss the context of this research beginning with the recent shift in theoretical models and the growing body of work examining identity through material culture. A brief introduction to the work conducted in the south-west peninsula and the current interpretations of the region during the Roman period will be outlined, and the research parameters of this work, both geographical and chronological will be discussed. Following this an outline of the structure of the rest of the book will be given.

#### 1.2 Research Context

One of the defining characteristics of the Romano-British period is the sheer wealth of the material cultural record. Previously this material and resultant syntheses were confined to the back pages of excavation reports (Cool, 2006: 54). However, in recent years a shift has occurred in Roman archaeology, with a move away from the traditional interpretive model of Romanisation towards a more nuanced view of the Roman Empire. The frameworks of Discrepant Identity and Globalisation recognise that the Roman Empire was experienced in different ways by communities throughout the provinces. It is no longer thought that areas with little in the way of the material culture generally associated with the Empire were resistant to Rome or beyond the empire. These models stress that individuals and communities actively chose to consume or in fact not to consume new material culture, and how it was incorporated into their daily lives (Mattingly 200, 2006; Hingley, 2005; Pitts and Versluys, 2015). Discussions surrounding the frameworks used to interpret and discuss the Roman Empire and its provinces have shifted to focus more on the concept of identity and how it was created and maintained by societies (Pitts, 2007). More emphasis is now being placed on artefacts and their role in the creation and negotiation of identity during the Romano-British period rather than using the presence or absence of 'Roman' site types (Mattingly, 2006, 2011; Hingley, 2005; Swift, 2000, 2003; Millett, 1990; Hingley and Willis, 2007).

Objects are seen to help shape the social practices and beliefs of societies and changes to the circumstances in which these objects are consumed and the way they are used can lead to a renegotiation of their meaning (Eckardt, 2014: 9; Jervis, 2014: 25). The fact that relationships between people and objects are fluid and context dependant allows them to be used in the study of identity. The way these relationships changed through time can show how identity was renegotiated over time and why these changes occurred. The question of whether objects were really used to express identity in the Roman world has previously been raised (Eckardt, 2014: 19). The sheer volume of material may lead to the impact it had on society and identity being overstated. Patterns of production and the growth of the economy with numerous market centres across the empire meant a large number of objects were

now readily available and a disconnection between objects and social beliefs may have occurred as a result (Eckardt, 2014: 19; Pitts, 2015: 92). Attempts to assess changing identity through material culture must be done with care.

The shift in Roman theoretical debates has led to the recognition that rather than the Roman Empire being a homogenous cultural entity, there is a huge amount of variability between and within the provinces, as evidenced by artefact assemblages (Willis and Hingley, 2007: 2-17). Studies, such as that by Swift (2000), have highlighted the variability in distribution patterns of certain personal adornment artefact types as well as the differing meanings ascribed to these objects within different regions of the empire. Other studies have looked at the consumption of pottery and changes in the functionality of assemblages. Pitts' study of the Late Iron Age and Roman site at Heybridge in Essex highlighted a move away from drinking vessels with a subsequent increase in dining vessels during the Roman period. Pitts attributed this change in consumption practice to changes in the production and supply of ceramics rather than the conscious uptake of Roman dining habits (2003). Other studies have shown how Roman style pottery was used, even beyond the bounds of the empire, to reinforce already held cultural values (Hunter, 2001). Studies such as these highlight the relationship between the consumption of material culture and identity (Eckardt, 2007: 142). They also, however, focus on one particular artefact category.

Identity is inherently multifaceted and analysis of one artefact category alone, while providing an insight into social change, can be too narrow. It must also be recognised that artefacts can have multiple meanings at any one time, which will impact upon more than one aspect of identity (Eckardt, 2014: 214). It is thought that an approach analysing multiple artefact categories will allow a more nuanced picture of changes that took place across the study region. Did changes to the political and social network of the region after the invasion in AD 43 lead to a renegotiation of identity and are these changes reflected across all the artefact categories being investigated? Focusing on a smaller research area such as the southwest peninsula, where the population was mainly rural in nature, can potentially offer a way to look beyond the dichotomy of 'Roman' and 'native' as in this instance all of the local population groups were superficially at least outside what could be regarded as the normative trappings of the upper echelons of urban Roman-British society. The analysis of the finds from the only known town, Exeter, will then allow comparisons of the way artefacts were consumed and utilised in the town and how this differed to the rural communities. The role of Exeter in the redistribution of goods across the landscape and its place within the political and social networks of the region can then be interpreted through such analysis. The assessment of a wider range of artefact groups will allow changes to social practice observed at the level of community to be compared across the study region. If artefact types were used to differentiate between 'native' and 'Roman' then the mechanisms of this dialogue can be identified through the expressions of identity that helped to separate and/or merge 'native' and 'Roman' (following Rosten, 2007).

The south-west peninsula, specifically the lands traditionally ascribed to the Dumnonii, has often been ignored in the grand narratives of Britannia as it displays few of the typical site types seen elsewhere in Roman Britain. This lack of Roman infrastructure has led many to question whether the south-west peninsula was ever fully integrated into the province of Britannia or whether it was, at least partially, outside the sphere of Roman control (Manning, 2002: 35; Mattingly, 2006; 402-408; Thorpe, 2007). There is also a distinct lack of Roman objects, especially personal adornment items, in comparison to other areas of Britannia. The data held by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) illustrates this point with 2224 items of adornment known from the study region, while there are 4336 from the neighbouring counties of Dorset, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire (https://finds.org. uk/database).

In the last twenty years a large number of commercial excavations have taken place across the region, with their data now being supplemented by large research projects. This has led to a number of significant discoveries. Forts have been discovered in Cornwall at Calstock and Restormel, with field walking data suggesting the latter was occupied as late as the fourth century (Thorpe, 2007). Most recently Exeter University has begun a research project at the site of Ipplepen, in Devon, which appears on present evidence to be a small town inhabited from the middle Iron Age through to the Roman period. The new data being generated by such projects suggests that the traditional model of the Roman south-west peninsula as in some way isolated or culturally lacking Romanitas, is now out of date. There is a pressing need to draw all of this data, old and new, together and to synthesise it into a coherent picture, which will allow the area to be placed within the larger provincial picture. The long-term occupation of Restormel fort suggests that rather than forming part of the civitas Dumnoniorum areas of Cornwall and Devon may in fact have been a military zone (Mattingly, 2006; 407). It has been suggested previously that the imposition of a military zone around the northern frontier in Britain effectively helped to suppress development in the region with only a limited cross section of the native population having access to Roman cultural material (Higham, 1989: 153 – 169). If certain areas of the south-west peninsula were under military control for an extended period of time, this may go some way to explaining the lack of Roman style material culture. Identifying the responses of the communities within these areas to this form of administration, in all their circumstances, lies at the centre of this research.

The recent shift in theoretical perspectives has not been confined to the Romano-British circle of research, with similar discourse occurring between Iron Age researchers (see Hill, 1995; Haselgrove, 2004; Haselgrove *et al*, 2001; Haselgrove and Moore, 2007; Moore, 2006). These new debates and associated research are beginning to re-shape the understanding of the Later Iron Age in Britain, which in turn affects the interpretations of the archaeological record during the Romano-British period. In particular the debates surrounding social stratification, regionality and the existence of tribal entities in the Later Iron Age need to be considered when discussing the impact of the Roman invasion upon communities in Britain.

The existence of tribal groupings in the Late Iron Age and their geographical locations has been interpreted from classical sources, such as Ptolemy, who in his second century AD work, The Geographia, outlined the names and geographical positions of the tribes of Britain (Mattingly, 2006: 30-31). Until recently this had been used in conjunction with the archaeological evidence, such as the distribution of coinage linked to the Iron Age 'Kings', to reinforce the existence and position of these tribal units. Whilst the move towards larger more politically cohesive groups in the Later Iron Age cannot be denied, this work was uncritical of both the historical and archaeological evidence, and little emphasis was placed on the agency of communities and individuals in driving these changes (Haselgrove and Moore, 2007: 10). New interpretations of social stratification are moving away from the old Wessex model and now suggest that there is little evidence for a well-defined social hierarchy with power being based perhaps on certain households within extended community groups (Moore, 2006: 217). Using these new theoretical perspectives, work has already begun on reinterpreting the Iron Age within the south-west peninsula (Cripps, 2007), which will be used as a starting point for this research. Social stratification and changes that were occurring in society during the Late Iron Age will be assessed within the analysis chapters with as much Late Iron Age material as possible having been included within this study. It is hoped that this will compliment studies of the settlement evidence, such as that conducted by Cripps (2007), and allow the discussion to move forward.

# 1.3 Research Parameters

This section will examine the limits of this research, both geographical and chronological, and explain the reasoning behind their choices.

### 1.3.1 Geology and Topography

The geological formations of the south-west peninsula are very diverse and include some of the oldest formations in the British Isles, with sedimentary formations created in the Devonian era, approximately 417-354 million years ago, underlying much of Cornwall, and south and central Devon. The formation of sediment rich mudstones, sandstones and siltstones characterise the proceeding Carboniferous era, 354-290 million years ago. The largest of these formations is the Holsworthy Group, also known as the Culm measures due to the pockets of sooty coal that

formed within the rocks. This formation stretches across most of central and north-western Devon and into north Cornwall. Like the other formations of these periods these rocks formed in riverine or lacustrine environments (Webb, 2006: 17-18). At the eastern edge of the study area, beyond the Exe valley, younger formations of Jurassic and Triassic rocks predominate, with mudstone, siltstone and sandstone bedrock forming in desert environments and the Lias Group of mudstone, siltstone, sandstone, and limestone forming in shallow seas (British Geological Survey, 2017).

The geology of the south-west peninsula differs from the adjacent areas of southern Britain in that plate movements and heating led to the intrusion of igneous rocks in the form of granites (Webb, 2006: 18). These intrusions are largely confined to the tip of the south-west peninsula, and form the massifs of Bodmin Moor, Hensbarrow, Carnmenellis and Penwith, (Penhallurick, 1986: 149) as well as Dartmoor. Further intrusions are evident along the coastline, although in these areas the magma was silica poor, and the rock has been altered by low grade metamorphism (British Geological Survey, 2017). The intrusion of these granites is linked to the formation of metalliferous ore deposits, which are located throughout the south-west. Many of these deposits were formed through hydrothermal action, which was produced by the movement of hot aqueous fluids within the crust of the granite as it cooled. These metalliferous ores also occur in granite free areas however, and so the mineral formation was more complex and related to other factors, not just the cooling of the granite intrusions (Webb, 2006: 18). Tin is the most abundant ore found in the south-west peninsula, found in the granite beds of the upland areas, along the north coast of Cornwall and within the rocks that underlie the Tamar valley. Copper ore is also found around the upland granites, as well as on Exmoor, and within the Tamar valley where arsenic was also heavily exploited during the nineteenth century. Silver and lead bearing deposits are located in north and west Devon whilst iron ore is known from across Cornwall and from the uplands of Dartmoor and Exmoor (Brayshay, 2006: 139-140, Todd, 1987: 5). Gold is also known from the peninsula, most notably from the southern edge of the upland of Carnmenellis and from the Teignbridge district of Devon to the south-east of Dartmoor (Todd, 1987: 2). These minerals have been exploited for millennia, although it was not until the Tudor period that larger scale industrial mining began, with copper and tin mining in particular, increasing substantially in the nineteenth century (Brayshay, 2006: 142, Todd, 1987: 4). The expansion of the Roman military into the south-west peninsula has historically been linked to the presence of these ores, and the excavated forts of Nanstallon and Calstock, in Cornwall, have produced evidence for small scale metal working (Fox and Ravenhill, 1972: 90-91; Smart, 2014: 108), although this is connected to everyday activities of the military rather than ore sources being prospected and worked by the soldiers as suggested by Thorpe (2007: 31-33). Little evidence survives for mining within

the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, due to the extensive later mining activities. However, a number of ingots of Cornish tin have been found and classical accounts, such as that of Diodorus Siculus, suggests that mining of the ore deposits did occur during the Iron Age and this activity likely continued into the Romano-British period, although perhaps under Imperial control (Mattingly, 2006: 407).

The complexity of the geology is reflected in the topography of the south-west peninsula. It is a diverse landscape characterised by the three large upland areas of Exmoor (550mOD), Dartmoor (650mOD) and Bodmin Moor (430mOD) (Todd, 1987: 3-5), and its long coastline which is dominated by high cliffs that run from Minehead on the north coast of Somerset round to Dartmouth on the south coast of Devon. The north coast of Cornwall is characterised by vertical cliffs, whilst the north coast of Devon and Somerset and south coast of Cornwall and Devon are dominated by hog back cliffs, which have a steep face, with narrow summit. Deep river valleys cut through the landscape along the north coast but are most notable along the south coast. These river valleys are known as rias and were created by the flooding of the lower sections of river valley systems during the sea level rises in the Holocene period (Webb, 2006:22-28). This diversity of the landscape would have had a profound impact upon the communities living within the south-west peninsula, presenting challenges for large scale political cohesion and overland communication and trade networks. The presence of these river valleys, that cut far inland, and the proximity of all communities to the sea, would have presented opportunities for trade and communication systems to be based on these coastal and riverine routes (Holbrook, 2001). However, the presence of a number of Prehistoric and Roman overland communication routes is documented in the south-west peninsula. The current trunk routes of the M5 and A30 are thought, in parts to follow, Iron Age and Roman routes (Margary, 1967; Todd, 1987).

In spite of these difficulties current scholarship has the south-west peninsula united as the tribal lands of the Dumnonii, whose territory ran westwards from the River Parrett/Axe in Somerset to the south-western most tip of Cornwall (Millett, 1990: 67; Mattingly, 2006; Todd, 1987: 205-234). As discussed above the validity of this tribal entity will be analysed with the aim of highlighting the complexity of the political landscape of the south-west peninsula. It has been suggested that the River Tamar in fact acted as a boundary, with modern day Cornwall forming the tribal territory of the Cornovii with the Dumnonii being situated in between this boundary and that of the Parrett/Axe (Mattingly, 2006: 140). It is possible this identification of the Cornovii is just satisfying the need to move on from the idea of one over-arching tribal entity, and in doing so is just creating another. Critical analysis of both entities will be undertaken using the results from the examination of the artefact assemblages and settlement patterns.

### 1.3.2 Chronology

The timescale chosen for study is the first century BC to the early fifth century AD, which includes the latter half of the Late Iron Age and continues through until the end of the Romano-British period. This time scale was chosen for study for a number of reasons. The first is that it takes in the Late Iron Age and Romano-British transition period so changes to Iron Age social practices can be examined, both in the immediate post conquest period and then the rest of the first and early second centuries AD after the consolidation of the region. This is a time of uncertainty for the population and one of great change, with traditional power networks being replaced by new systems with Rome and her legions at the top. Communities would have needed to adapt to this change, which will be visible in the relationships they formed with the material world.

The second reason this timescale was selected is that it will allow analysis of the rural landscape during the early to mid Romano-British period. The early Roman period in the south-west peninsula has been the focus of most studies within the area, however it is the military sites that have received most attention. The *Legio II Augusta* arrived in Dumnonian territory in the AD 50s, with the legionary fortress at Exeter being established by AD 55 (Manning, 2002: 35). The presence of the army in the south-west peninsula is thought to be linked to the occurrence of metalliferous ores, although there is little evidence for extraction during this period (Todd, 1987; Quinnell, 2004). The legion had withdrawn from the south-west by the mid AD 80s, as the campaign turned towards Wales and the Silures (Fox et al., 1972; Manning, 2002; Smart, 2013). After the military had withdrawn from the region the town at Exeter was established and is believed to have acted as the civitas capital (see Chapter 2). The urbanisation of Exeter and the establishment of a market there impacted on the wider landscape, which is clear in the number and diversity of the sites within the area around the town. The establishment of trade routes across the south-west peninsula, both road and riverine/coastal networks, the evidence for which is discussed throughout the analysis chapters, impacted on the material assemblages of the entire region, with new products being available for consumption. The differing levels of interaction with this new material shows the different ways communities had of engaging with the new provincial administration and economic system and their reactions to it.

The mid to late Romano-British period has little written about it for the south-west peninsula, with research turning to the post-Roman period instead. However, the material assemblages do change from the early to mid Romano-British period and show further changes were taking place in society that were not necessarily evident in the settlement evidence beyond the increase in settlements noted from the second century onwards (Quinnell, 2004; Gossip and Jones, 2007). The analysis of the material assemblages will shed light on changes to society at this period and how, after a period of consolidation, the

communities of the south-west peninsula continued or discontinued to interact with Rome.

#### 1.4 The Data

The main aim of this research is to enhance our understanding of the Romano-British period in the southwest peninsula and how society and the way identity was created and expressed was altered by the invasion and annexation of Britain. This will be achieved through analysis of the material cultural record of the region. In order to allow the interrogation and interpretation of the artefactual record each artefact fitting the chosen criteria (ceramic, personal adornment items and coins) were collated into a database.

This section will outline how the database has been structured and why. This will include details on the tables included within the database and the information stored in each. This will move on to look at how the data can be interrogated before introducing the GIS mapping.

### 1.4.1 The Database Structure

The data on which this research is based was collated into a Microsoft Access database 2016, which includes information on the archaeological sequence of each site as well as the material assemblage. This approach was taken due to the sheer quantity of material to be assessed. The database was designed and structured so that all sites excavated within the south-west peninsula are detailed in a Site table, with each site having a unique site ID number. For each site the main information documented in the table is: the name, site type, site location, grid reference, comments, archaeological phasing, and bibliographic references (see Appendix 1).

Linked to the Site table are the 3 artefact tables: Ceramics, Personal Item and Coins. These each have one or more sub-tables linked to them that contain type data, such as the fabric type names for the ceramics, or the personal adornment type categories, which are used to input some of the more standard data into the entries within each table. Each of the material assemblage tables follows roughly the same format, with the site name, object type, material and quantity data entered, although this has been tailored for each category. The design of the tables is based around the research questions designed for each material category, which are detailed in the introduction of each analysis chapter. Although it has not always been possible to fill each field, breaking the data down to this level of detail has allowed the interrogation of the data to be as in depth as possible to answer the research questions posed. Linking these tables to the Site tables has also allowed distinctions between sites to be discerned through data patterning and anomalies. It has also made it possible to look at changes to assemblages over time.

The small numbers of personal adornment items and coins found through excavation led to the decision to

supplement the excavation data with that held by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). The PAS was set up in 1997, in response to the Treasure Act of 1996 and was designed to encourage reporting of detectorist finds. Since its inception over 1 million artefacts have been recorded (https://finds.org.uk). These are mainly metal detector finds and so coverage of a region is dependent upon there being active detectorists who record their finds. This can lead to a problem of under-representation and bias within the PAS database. The data gathered by the PAS was very easy to use and searches of the database can be downloaded as csv files, which can be imported into a database. The data captured for each find category was far more detailed than required for this study though and unnecessary fields were removed from the data. Even with these fields removed the data was still formatted differently to that held within the master database and so it was decided to create a separate database for the PAS data, with the csv files were then imported into this. Exported data from queries could be combined with the excavated data in Excel to produce charts and tables, as well as within GIS to map the distributions of both datasets.

As the PAS only began recording finds in 1997 it does not provide a fully comprehensive list of findspots, with few finds pre-1997 being recorded. This material has been collated in the past by the Historic Environment Records (HER) officers that operate within each county. To ensure that all artefacts were considered the HER databases were consulted and finds not recorded through the PAS were added to the data. The main issue faced was the different methods of entry and differing levels of data recorded by each HER. There are seven HERs within the study region; Cornwall and Scilly HER, Devon HER, Dartmoor National Park HER, Exmoor National Park HER, Exeter HER, Plymouth HER and Somerset HER. Each has a different way of recording, which meant that data gathered needed substantial cleaning and formatting before it could be used in any meaningful way. The data then had to be cross checked against the PAS data and to ensure no duplication of data had occurred before being added to the tables within the PAS database.

The main difference between the excavation and PAS/ HER datasets was the lack of contextual data for PAS finds. Any interpretation of material culture relies on context for it to have any meaning. Context is described by Shanks and Tilley as "sets of relationships which bestow meaning" (1992; xix). In an archaeological sense this is usually thought of as the depositional context details which are contained in the excavation database. Through analysis of context it is possible to begin to understand the meaning bestowed on these objects by the individuals and communities who possessed them. This lack of contextual data led to the exclusion of the PAS data from some of the analysis conducted in the personal adornment chapter, the biographical analysis of these objects in particular, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. However, it was used alongside the excavation data throughout the analysis of the coins without issue.

# 1.4.2 Interrogation of the Dataset and GIS Mapping

The interrogation of the data has been arranged around the overall aims and objectives as outlined above. The detailed information contained in each of the material assemblages has allowed the data to be queried in a number of ways, with both broad dataset questions being asked, the numbers of fine ware vessels versus the number of coarse ware vessels for example, and much narrower questions, such as the number of flagons in fine ware fabrics within in Cornwall. Microsoft Access has an in-built query function which allows queries to be run within each table. The fields contained in each table were specifically designed to allow these queries to pull out as much data as possible to answer each question. The queries are capable of extracting all samian vessels entered into the Ceramic table for example, while all copper alloy coins minted under Claudius can be pulled out of the Coin table and compared to the numbers of silver coins from the same period. The query function also allows more than one table to be linked to the query, for example, it is possible to ask the database to look for fine ware fabrics dating the Late Romano-British period and the site types these are found on. A search such as this will show whether these fabrics are confined to high status sites or whether they are found on a broad range of sites. This then allows who was using this material to be interpreted and compare any differences from the preceding period(s) to show how the use of these vessels changed and suggest why.

The database has been linked to a geographic information systems package, QGIS v3.10.4 The background mapping was created through the use of open-source Ordnance Survey Terrain 50 tiles; copyright © Crown Copyright and Database Right 2021. The tiles were then shaded using the colour ramps in built into QGIS v3.10.4 and standard symbology was used to show different elements of the data within each map.

Using QGIS has allowed the distributions of artefacts across the landscape to be mapped. This then allowed for the analysis of any changes within material assemblages. Mapping the results of queries in this way has allowed the nuances in the data to become clear and so a detailed picture of how society and the identity of the inhabitants of the study region changed over time has been able to be given in the analysis chapters.

An aim of this research is to critically assess the validity of continuing to think of these peoples as having belonged to one tribe, the Dumnonii. Mapping the material data in this way has allowed this discussion to move forward. The distribution of the material has shown that these communities are likely to have formed a number of groupings, discussed fully in Chapter 7.

### 1.5 Structure

This work is set out in the following manner: Chapter 2 reviews the Late Iron Age period within the south-west

peninsula before moving on to discuss the evidence from the Romano-British period. This review will include a discussion on the political, social, and economic systems currently thought to have been in place within these periods in the south-west peninsula. The final section will discuss how excavations in the last twenty years have started to change the traditional picture of the south-west peninsula and will highlight the diverse range of evidence being generated by these excavations.

Chapter 3 will look at the relationship between material culture and identity. Past theoretical frameworks used in the analysis of material culture will be discussed and contemporary approaches to Roman Studies will be considered in detail. A discussion on the theoretical models that will be used throughout this study to interpret the evidence will close this chapter.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 will utilise the database to analyse the quantities and distribution of ceramics, personal adornment items and the coins, respectively, within the study area. Detailed GIS mapping of these chosen artefact types will be undertaken. The distributional patterns will begin to differentiate and highlight likely changes in frequency and occurrence of certain finds types which can then be explored in relation to social practices and trade networks across the south-west peninsula. This in turn will help to inform a new interpretation on how identity was constructed and maintained in this part of Roman Britain.

The final chapter, Chapter 7, will comprehensively review the data and present a new picture of the Romano-British period within the south-west peninsula. The data will be interpreted using the theoretical models outlined in this chapter and Chapter 3, in order to provide new insights on how the communities of the south-west peninsula responded to the coming of Rome. This interpretation will then be explored further to develop and inform a critical discourse concerning the relevance of the continued use of the term 'Dumnonia'.