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Re-Evaluating Richborough: A view from the site archive

In the early 1920s the Society of Antiquaries took the decision to excavate the Roman shore fort at Richborough after noticing significant crop marks inside the walls. That initial finding led to 16 years of excavations from 1922-1938 over a large area of what was an island during the Roman period. The aim of this thesis is to return to the finds and features discovered during those excavations to better understand the site with nearly 100 years of hindsight and new archaeological techniques and perspectives.

Since the excavations, the Richborough collection has remained largely untouched apart from a few specific object studies. The site is of great significance to our understanding of the Roman period, but the current level of knowledge remains largely in the early 20th century. By returning to the excavation archive I have provided a new interpretation and chronology for the site using published and unpublished data, with significant insights regarding the 1st and 3rd – 5th centuries and how Richborough relates to other sites in Britain and beyond. I have also undertaken a detailed finds study, initially focusing on the military objects and tools but this has evolved into a reinterpretation of the site. As well as this, there is now a detailed finds catalogue of nearly 9000 objects, which is included in the appendices. Finally, this thesis provides case studies on several topics: comparable sites; recycling at Richborough; an object study (belt fittings) which sets 4th century Richborough in its wider context; and a significant collection of objects from one feature (Pit 20), which demonstrate the potential for different types of study. These case studies have contributed to our knowledge of site use during the 1st and 3rd – 4th centuries, the disconnection with Continental Europe in the 4th century in terms of objects and recycling and how Richborough relates to the other sites known as Shore Forts.

The results of this thesis show that the initial publication of the Richborough collection was very much a product of its time, much detail was missed and our current reading of the evidence when compared with evidence from other Romano-British sites makes us rethink both the beginning and the end of Richborough.

Philip Smither, PhD Thesis, SECL, University of Kent.
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“Why is any object we don't understand always called a thing?”

Leonard “Bones” McCoy (Star Trek: The Motion Picture)

Abstract

In the early 1920s the Society of Antiquaries took the decision to excavate the Roman shore fort at Richborough after noticing significant crop marks inside the walls. That initial finding led to 16 years of excavations from 1922-1938 over a large area of what was an island during the Roman period. The aim of this thesis is to return to the finds and features discovered during those excavations to better understand the site with nearly 100 years of hindsight and new archaeological techniques and perspectives.

Since the excavations, the Richborough collection has remained largely untouched apart from a few specific object studies. The site is of great significance to our understanding of the Roman period, but the current level of knowledge remains largely in the early 20th century. By returning to the excavation archive I have provided a new interpretation and chronology for the site using published and unpublished data, with significant insights regarding the 1st and 3rd – 5th centuries and how Richborough relates to other sites in Britain and beyond. I have also undertaken a detailed finds study, initially focusing on the military objects and tools but this has evolved into a reinterpretation of the site. As well as this, there is now a detailed finds catalogue of nearly 9000 objects, which is included in the appendices. Finally, this thesis provides case studies on several topics: comparable sites; recycling at Richborough; an object study (belt fittings) which sets 4th century Richborough in its wider context; and a significant collection of objects from one feature (Pit 20), which demonstrate the potential for different types of study. These case studies have contributed to our knowledge of site use during the 1st and 3rd – 4th centuries, the disconnection with Continental Europe in the 4th century in terms of objects and recycling and how Richborough relates to the other sites known as Shore Forts.

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Chapter 1 : Rewriting Richborough

The proposed subject of this PhD thesis was originally titled 'Army Communities at Roman Richborough' and was to be achieved through a study of the artefacts uncovered during the excavations of J.P. Bushe-Fox from 1922-1938. For English Heritage, this type of study fit into their research theme on their Roman collections to develop a national picture of range, spread and significance. While the overall theme of this thesis has not changed, it has evolved into a much wider look at what can be achieved by revisiting the Richborough collection, especially since it also became abundantly clear through studying the published material and excavation paper archive that not only was the published material often incomplete, but the paper archive contained much more detail that had never previously been considered. The overall aim of this thesis is to not only use some of the objects to identify the military communities at Richborough, but to also demonstrate that the collection is data-rich because of the existence of archive material. There are many thousands of artefacts which have never been published. The published material does not do the site justice and the use of these data can transform our knowledge of Richborough. The PhD project set out to investigate the military objects and tools. Given the state of the collections and previous research I decided that a complete re-evaluation of both the site and collections were needed first. To do this effectively I created the digital archive described above as well as organising the excavation areas and contexts into a unified system much like a modern excavation. More on this is outlined in Appendices 1-2. Previous studies of Richborough have focused on one period and/or object group but have failed to put them into the context of the site. This thesis will not only re-evaluate the site chronology and Richborough in its local and wider geographical context but also associate the originally proposed finds groups within these periods (Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and Appendix 4). Beyond this I have also categorised all the small finds into new object groups based upon a combination of currently used methods of categorisation (Chapter 2.8 and Appendix 1-2 and 4). Many of the finds have had to be placed in very general groups until further analysis beyond this thesis can be undertaken.

The limitations of this thesis are many. The project approached a collection that was in no state to undergo any rigorous analysis. Objects could not be drawn together by type or context for

quantitative analysis. This meant that not only that fulfilling the original project brief was unachievable, but also that almost the entire collection had to be repackaged and digitised for any meaningful research. This meant that much of the first two years of the project was taken up with digitising and cataloguing the collection. Had the collection been in such a state for significant qualitative and quantitative analysis, as it is now, this thesis might have been able to cover more small finds, if not the entire collection. As it is the small finds section of this thesis is limited to the original object groups of military finds and tools. However, by reassessing the chronology of the site and digitising the excavation archive, not only has this been transformative in terms of site interpretation, but it is now also possible for future research to be undertaken on the collection. The reassessment of Richborough presented in this thesis of Richborough has been achieved with part of the collection and will be fully achieved by a systematic digital cataloguing of the objects, paper archives, photographs, and other correspondence to make the collection accessible for research. However, a full reassessment of not only the site finds, but the site itself as a whole is far beyond the scope of a single PhD thesis.

As an archaeological site, Richborough is little understood. Google Scholar shows that the original five published volumes have been referenced at least a combined 415 times in publications for which online data exists and thus represent an important reference work, however, a detailed study of these volumes reveals significant errors and out of date interpretation. Frere (1968: iii-v), among others, held the excavations in high regard and even since the 1920s it is still the largest excavation of a 'Saxon' shore fort in Britain. It is easy to see why it is so often referred to and used in studies of the shore forts. However, with only a fraction of the collection published, much of the archive never investigated and nearly 100 years of Romano-British studies since the first shovel of topsoil, clearly new work needs to be undertaken on the collection. This thesis will present the three spirits of Richborough; past, present and yet-to-come, to breathe new life into an important archaeological collection.

1.1: Research aims and objectives

The original research aims of this thesis was to assess the context of the military objects and tools from Richborough. However, it soon became clear that this would not be possible due to the lack of understanding of the site and poor state of the collection. To that end the research aims developed:

- To reassess the chronology of Richborough from the 1st – 4th centuries AD and present the new site phasing.
- To reassess how Richborough has been interpreted alongside other sites in Britain and on the continent, combining published and unpublished material to suggest new interpretations for key features such as the timber stores, *quadrifrons* and shore fort walls, based on a better understanding of their context.
- To produce in depth studies of finds groups, in particular, late Roman strap-ends which will shed new light on the makeup of communities at Richborough.
- To complete a digital, researchable catalogue of the small finds as well as the associated object sheets and site notebooks.
- To digitise as much of the supplementary material as possible (e.g., photographs, letters and documents) and complete a new context register by developing a new numbering system for contexts.
- To demonstrate how the collection can be used through the application of up-to-date methodologies (see Case Studies).
- To document and enhance further the research potential of the collection.

Through these aims I will bring a 100-year-old excavation into the 21st century and demonstrate how the repeated, misinterpreted narrative of Richborough has affected at least part of our understanding of Roman Britain.

1.2: Structure of this Thesis

This thesis is structured into seven chapters.

1. Introduction: This introduces the project as it was initially conceived and how this evolved over time based on the state of the collection (above). The first main section of the chapter introduces the background to the history of Richborough, both ancient and modern (see also Appendix 7 for ancient texts mentioning Richborough). The “modern” part is the academic enquiry of the site from the excavations of William Boys to the present day. After this is a summary of the current, accepted interpretation of the site from the Bushe-Fox and Cunliffe excavation reports. This is split into the three main sections of the invasion supply base (Chapter 1.10), the port town (Chapter 1.11) and the late Roman shore fort (Chapter 1.12) with a section on what was happening in east Kent at the time providing wider context.
2. Recent work on Richborough and Roman Military Studies in Britain: This chapter goes into more depth about studies undertaken after the 1922-1939 excavations. It is broken down into the objects, the excavations and work on the standing structures. This group of publications has never been collated and examined before. This is largely because subsequent publications have had a narrow focus and it has not been within their scope to include a rewrite of the site. Even so, these studies make very little attempt to reinvestigate the contexts from which objects came. Without further investigation into the site, and taking the excavation reports as gospel, they present a confusing picture of the chronology of the site.
- This is followed by a review on the literature on defining military objects. The final section provides a review of theoretical approaches to small finds, particularly cultural identities, design theory, and object biographies. These two sections are important for the artefact analysis undertaken later in the thesis.
3. Re-dating Richborough: This short chapter provides a brief side by side account of the old phasing from the excavation reports and new phasing I have developed from reassessing the archive material. As the original aim of this thesis required an almost complete overhaul of

the site interpretation this will be a useful comparison to show where the old phasing fits in with the new chronology. I have also shown several key examples where the archaeological interpretation was fundamentally flawed (as the excavations progressed, new discoveries were forced to fit with existing interpretation). These examples are explored more throughout the subsequent chapters.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 summarise the new chronology of the site and include case studies on revising previous interpretations, as well as significant new data analysis and explanation of what we can now gain from a re-interpretation alongside 100 years of Romano-British archaeology since the excavations.

4. Claudian-Trajanic Richborough (c.AD43 – Early 2nd century): This is the first of three chapters focusing on the new chronology of Richborough. The first part of the chapter lays out the arguments for the redating and reinterpretation of the military supply-base hypothesis followed by a summary of the key structures and features and how Richborough's new interpretation fits in with key Roman sites of the 1st century AD. This is followed by a case study of the interpretation of a pit assemblage, showing how this interpretation was incorrect and how it can be reinterpreted through new analytical techniques.
5. The 2nd – 3rd century Port Town: This second chronology chapter covers the port town phase of the site. It presents a complete overhaul of the dating of the *quadrifrons* at the heart of the site, showing that it is likely to be Antonine rather than Domitianic. The chapter develops the understanding of the key features of this period to show their new dating reveals a different picture to the received interpretation. The chapter also considers the pattern of coin loss and samian use to further demonstrate the chronology. This is followed by a comparison of *quadrifrons* around the Roman Empire, informing how the one at Richborough might be interpreted.
6. The 3rd – 5th century Shore Fort: The final chronological chapter covers the late Roman military and shore fort phase of the site. There has often been debate over who constructed

the shore forts and the chapter investigates this by delving further into the archive than previous attempts. There is then a comparison with the other east and south coast shore forts to show how they are connected, or not, at different points until the end of Roman rule in Britain. This is followed by a case study split into two parts. The first is a new typology for late Roman strap ends. A wide variety of forms were found at Richborough providing a good opportunity to compare these with other sites and the Portable Antiquities Scheme and to demonstrate the origins of the design elements. The second part is a pXRF analysis of the alloys of these strap ends as well as their corresponding buckles. This not only helps to demonstrate the potential origin of the Richborough examples but also complements the metal analysis of the Richborough brooches undertaken by Justine Bayley. Together, these new analyses transform what we know of Richborough in this period.

7. Conclusions and Future Research: The final chapter presents a summary of important findings of the thesis and the current state of research into the site. The chapter also presents ideas for potential future research and the full extent of the collection which is largely unknown to specialists. This is followed by an agenda for each period of the site and questions still unanswered. Many of these could be addressed using the current collection (some will require further excavations).

The appendices begin with some methodological issues with this study (Appendix 1), object categories (Appendix 2) and the remapping of the site (Appendix 3). The next Appendix is a catalogue of finds that were part of the initial thesis proposal (Appendix 4). The next part (Appendix 5-6) is a guide on how to use the physical and digital archive. This is all complemented with databases detailing objects, contexts and other features which have contributed to this thesis, such as a list of the 300+ pits and wells, as well as digitised versions of the original site paper archive, Malcolm Lyne's object recording sheets and photos of all the small finds, digital, deposited with English Heritage). Finally, there is a list of historical written sources relevant to Roman Richborough (Appendix 7).

It has not been possible to cover every find and feature from Richborough; that is for a much larger project. Instead in the following chapters I offer an overview and some detailed case studies of one of Roman Britain's most important archaeological sites so that after nearly 100 years of research the story of Richborough can begin to be rewritten.

1.3: Richborough

The Roman archaeological site at Richborough (Fig.1.1) has a long history; both ancient and modern.

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Fig.1.1. Aerial view of the Roman fort at Richborough. Photo courtesy of English Heritage

Richborough island is to be found on the east coast of Kent with the Roman fort located on the eastern edge of the island (National Grid Reference TR 32413 60182, Long/Lat 51.293308, 1.3321461). Today, the island is part of the mainland but during the Roman period it was separated from both the Isle of Thanet and the mainland by the Wantsum Channel (Fig.1.2) (Millett 2007: 145, Fig.5.7).

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Fig.1.2. The geography of Richborough and east Kent during the Roman period (Millett 2007: 145, Fig.5.7)

1.4: *The ancient evidence*

Little textual evidence survives documenting Britain during the Roman period. The few sources that reference Richborough are neatly summarised in the site's first excavation volume (Bushe-Fox 1926). The texts all date the site to the 1st – 5th centuries AD, and describe various aspects of Richborough; from the quality of the oysters (Juvenal, *Satires* IV, 1.141), the geography and routes (*Ptolemy Geographica II*, 3.12), to military movements and engagements (*Ammianus Marcellinus, History, Book XX*, 1.3). The *Antonine Itinerary* is key to understanding the importance of Richborough and its role in the Roman Empire as several routes in Britain lead to and from Richborough. *Gesoriacum* (Boulogne-sur-Mer) is the port to Britain across the Channel and would link with Richborough, however, it is also possible that ports in modern Belgium and on the Rhine gave access.

Although only indirectly related to Richborough, Cassius Dio's account of the invasion (Roman History, Book LX.19-23) has been used to support Richborough as a landing spot for the AD 43 Claudian invasion (Manley 2002). The *Notitia Dignitatum* also mentions Richborough and tells us that the *Legio II Augusta* was stationed there in the late 4th century. The *N.D* is from where we obtain the

title '*comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*' ('Count of the Saxon Shore of Britain'). This title is possibly the successor to the title held by *Nectaridus* sometime in the mid-4th century as the '*comitem maritimi tractus*' ('Count of the sea regions') (Cassius Dio, *History*, Book XXVII, 8.1).

1.5: *The archaeological investigations*

The Roman fort at Richborough has been of fascination to antiquarians for centuries. The earliest antiquarian and 'archaeological' reference to Richborough comes from Leland's *Itinerary* (1910: 61-2) who identified it as *Rutupiae*. William Boys (1792: 769, 798, 865-77) was the first to undertake an archaeological study of the site by surveying the walls, the 'cruciform' platform (Fig.1.3), and the amphitheatre. He also performed some excavations inside and outside the walls producing a small quantity of finds as well as graves and trackways identified by cropmarks. The site garnered little attention until the middle of the 19th century when Roach-Smith (1850) published the excavations of W.H. Rolfe along with a collection of items which were originally preserved in Rolfe's museum in Sandwich (Roach-Smith 1850: 57) and these are now housed in Liverpool City Museum. Rolfe's investigations, much the same as Leland, included areas inside and outside the walls, but also included the discovery of the amphitheatre (Roach-Smith 1849: 28). Much of the interest is found in notes in various journals relating to coins or various other finds.

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Fig.1.3. William Boys plan of Richborough 1792. (Boys 1792: 864-5)

The main fascination for Leland, and others throughout the century was the large 'cruciform' shape that sits atop a platform almost in the centre of the walled settlement (Dowker 1900: 201). The discussion of this platform attracted many theories as to its purpose and elicited much heated debate. It was proposed that it topped an underground strong-room (Goddard 1902) or was the platform for a mechanism to winch ships into port (Dowker 1900: 213). Working from the notes of Ian Richmond, Strong (1968) compiled a thorough review of the literature on the platform and knowledgeably demonstrated that it was in fact the site of a *quadrifrons*; a four-faced archway.

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Fig.1.4. How the *quadrifrons* might have looked in the 2nd century AD. Image Historic England

Further investigations were undertaken in the first year of the 20th century (Garstang 1900) which were intended to begin systematic excavations of the site under the auspices of the Kent Archaeological Society. It was decided to first focus on the main features of the site; the walls, gates, and platform (Garstang 1900: 267). At the time, and in the previous decades, the Kent Archaeological

Association had a close relationship with those excavating at Richborough, and published many articles, including those of George Dowker.

1.8: Richborough: 1922 - 1939

The first systematic excavation of the site began in the 1920s, however this time led by the Society of Antiquaries, London, with this as their largest series of excavations since Silchester in the 19th century. The first excavation report discusses all those involved in the undertaking (Bushe-Fox 1926). In sum, excavation began in earnest in the summers of 1922 and 1923 with the support of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries and were aided by the Ministry of Works who held guardianship of the site (Bushe-Fox 1926). Initial excavations under J.P. Bushe-Fox produced four volumes between 1926 and 1949 covering excavations from 1922 to 1931. The fifth and final volume was compiled by Barry Cunliffe in 1968 and covered the excavations from 1931 to 1938. These excavations covered most of the site within the walls as well as some areas immediately outside (Tab.1.1).

Tab.1.1 A list of main areas of excavation at Richborough each year.

Year	Report	Main areas excavated
1922 - 23	First	Sites I and II
1924 - 1925	Second	Sites I and III
1926 - 27	Third	Sites IV and V, Areas V - IX
1928 - 30	Fourth	Sites VI and VII, Areas V - XVIII
1931 - 38	Fifth	Areas XVII - XXIII

1922 - 23	First	Sites I and II
1924 - 1925	Second	Sites I and III
1926 - 27	Third	Sites IV and V, Areas V - IX
1928 - 30	Fourth	Sites VI and VII, Areas V - XVIII
1931 - 38	Fifth	Areas XVII - XXIII

Each volume was prepared in the same way, with a summary, and a description of the excavations, the small finds, the pottery, the coins and finally plates of photographs, drawings, and maps.

Volumes four and five were the first to add figures into the texts to illustrate particular passages.

It is explained in the first volume that this is the first “scientific and systematic excavation” (Bushe-Fox 1926) to be undertaken on Richborough. The reason for the excavations was that during the summer of 1921, what are now referred to as crop marks were first noticed within the walls. The first feature excavated was what came to be known as the House on Site I (Bushe-Fox 1926: 9-10) (Fig.1.5).

As early as the first season the main periods of the site were identified. Firstly, was a military occupation from c.AD 43 to the end of the 1st century, followed by a civilian port town until the late 3rd century and finally the Saxon Shore Fort phase which lasted until the first decade of the 5th century (Bushe-Fox 1926). The excavations of Richborough are, as expected, very much of their time.

However, in some ways they cannot be judged harshly in this regard. The excavation techniques employed were often of a high standard, as is evidenced by some of the photographs (Frere 1968). In some of the excavations, however, the excavation and post-excavation practices were of a poor standard, and it is well known to those in the Roman archaeology community that the actual excavation was undertaken by workmen (Frere 1968).



Fig.1.5. The first excavation. Site I (1922/3). Richborough Photo Archive Box 1.18 No.348

The excavated features and material are only half the story on an archaeological site. Many Roman sites in Britain have a long social history, and Richborough is no exception. The figurehead for Richborough in the early 20th century is Jocelyn Bushe-Fox, and the post-excavation material was handled by various people throughout the excavation years, but most prominent was Aileen Fox (*nee* Henderson) who joined the excavations in 1929 (Fox, A. 2000: 46-8). Sections of her autobiography give an important insight into the processes on site.

The workmen on site were in fact miners who Bushe-Fox employed to excavate, in the same way he had done at Hengistbury Head (Barry Cunliffe, *pers. comm.*). The workmen were paid 30s (£1.50) per week and extra depending on what they found; “for example a penny or tuppence for a bronze coin according to size, sixpence for a silver one or for a bronze brooch” (Fox, A. 2000: 47). Although attention was paid to stratigraphy, finds in pits were only recorded at “regular intervals” (Fox, A.

2000: 48) as is seen in the excavation reports where stratigraphic sequencing is written as a depth in feet and inches. More elementary stratigraphy was paid attention to, such as the road surfaces (Fox, A. 2000: 48). However, across the site there was a different level of skill, knowledge, and attention paid to the different features. While Fox (2000: 48) states that the workmen worked “diligently” on the road surface, she and the workmen seemingly wrought havoc on the 1st century granaries (Fox, A. 2000: 54-5). Fox (2000: 68) also gives an insight into the recovery of particular finds. Unlike Hembury, where she later worked, the Neolithic flakes, and charcoal fragments from Richborough were disregarded. There is a clear difference here in the archaeological techniques of the time compared to the present day, but it also shows how the agenda of Richborough was pointed markedly toward the Roman occupation.

1.9: The site phasing: summary of the original site periods

The earliest identifiable phase at Richborough is from a series of IA ditches. Three ditches were found, all with IA pottery with finger-tip decoration in their bases (Bushe-Fox 1949: 8-11). This pottery was broadly dated to 500-200BC but could be considered as late as the 1st century AD (Cunliffe 1968: 117). This pottery is succeeded by Aylesford-Swarling wheel thrown pottery in the 1st century BC. Unless the pottery from the ditch can be considered residual, it is unlikely to date any later than 100BC. Given the small number of sherds recovered, especially from the large ditch, it would suggest a short-lived occupation, also due to the lack of pre-Roman finds in the ditch filling. It should be noted that there is the possibility of a second large ditch on the site (Bushe-Fox 1949: 11). Bushe-Fox appears to describe a second large ditch that follows the inter-ditch mound of either the north (Bushe-Fox 1949: 11) or west (Bushe-Fox 1949: 3) ditches of the 3rd century earth fort. It is likely that ‘north’ is a typo and the ditch follow the inter-ditch mound of the west ditches; this would mean the presence of the east side of a double ditch enclosure. However, no evidence of this ditch exists on the section drawings and it can only be supposed that it was spotted when clearing the earth fort ditches.

The earliest Roman occupation is attributed to the invasion in AD 43. This period is defined by two parallel ditches which run N/S for c.640m (2100ft) (Bushe-Fox 1932: 15). It is these ditches which have elicited much of the debate over the disembarkation point for the AD 43 invasion (Millett, Wilmott 2003). This is followed by a larger phase of military character when the fort acted as a supply base, denoted by the presence of granaries and a new road system (Cunliffe 1968: 234-5).

In the Flavian period, the site underwent a transformation from military installation to port town. This was likely centred around the large monument, identified as a *quadrifrons* (Strong 1968: 55). New roads, buildings, including shops, workshops and a *mansio* were erected. At some point during the mid-late 3rd century, what remained of the now ruined *quadrifrons* was encompassed by a series of three defensive ditches. These ditches resulted in the levelling of parts of the site, including the building on Site I, but avoided the *mansio* on Site III. This was a short-lived period, as the ditches were filled as the walls of the shore fort were constructed in the late 3rd century (c.270-85) (Bushe-Fox 1932: 25).

The construction of the shore fort appears to have had a difficult start, shown by an 'unused' east wall foundation which made way for the destruction of the *mansio* on Site III (Bushe-Fox 1928: 6). The unused nature of the foundation was supposed based upon Pit 26, filled in the AD 270s, cutting through the foundation. It was supposed that the true shore fort wall stood to the east of this foundation in an area now lost to erosion. Within the shore fort walls several late features were uncovered, including two masonry structures, a possible *principia* over the *quadrifrons* foundations, a bathhouse and a 'baptismal font'.

It is unclear when the use of the shore fort came to an end. From the late 4th century coins, an exceptional number of coins dating to AD 383-402 were found. The largest number of coins for this period are of Constantine III and were minted between AD 383-95 (Bushe-Fox 1932: 189-90). In total there are c.20,000 coins (c.45% of the collection) dating to AD 388-402 (Reece 1981: 52). The site may have continued in use after this date. It is unlikely that this use was a constant occupation, however, coins of from the 5th – 11th centuries have been found, suggesting some use of the site by travellers on the road to Canterbury (Bushe-Fox 1928: 9)

1.10: Summary of 19th and early 20th c. investigations

It is telling when reading the material on the investigations of the 19th and 20th century that the focus was very much on answering historical questions about Richborough rather than a focus on questions asked and answered by the material. The 19th century investigations focused on the above ground and large features, the walls, and the platform. The 20th century excavation reports show that the evidence is slight for certain periods, particularly the port town, where the evidence suggested that the town did not prosper, and the archaeological features were hard to identify. Due to the prominence of the short fort walls, and the discovery of the Claudian ditches, much of the discussion is centred around the historical narratives of invasion and defence; the invasion of AD 43, and the defence of Britain from Saxon piracy from the end of the 3rd century.

1.11: Richborough in AD 43 – c.AD 75/85

The narrative of invasion and defence at Richborough has been developed somewhat since the early 20th century excavations. The discovery of two parallel ditches was interpreted as an invasion and supply base for the legions.

1.11.1: Richborough: Invasion and transition

Much discussion has centred around the AD 43 invasion. Although there has always been interest in the invasion, for a few years at around the turn of the 21st century interest peaked, and the question of invasion was readdressed in several papers (see Manley 2002 for an overview). The discourse was focused squarely on the point of invasion; either Richborough or Chichester. The consensus is that the area around Richborough was where the Roman army disembarked in AD 43, however, the activity at Richborough during the invasion is not fully understood. What the archaeological evidence shows at Richborough is that the Claudian ditches currently envelop an area somewhere in the region of 15 acres. At the most southerly end the corner turns eastwards towards the cliff edge, with the northern corner unknown. Estimations for the original size of the camp have been made (Bushe-Fox 1926: 3, Philp 2002) which would assume large-scale erosion of the cliff face. However, new evidence (Wilmott, Smither 2020), which is discussed later in this thesis (Chapter 1.12.1 and 2.3), has uncovered the position of the ancient shoreline; at least during the late Roman – Medieval periods, as well as evidence demonstrating the position of the east wall. A large-scale camp to hold c.40,000 men would require an area of c.165 acres, like the size of the Roman camp at St. Leonards in Scotland. Since the shoreline has been demonstrated to be much closer to the current cliff edge than this would allow, a camp for the c.40,000 soldiers documented to have taken part during the invasion would be impossible. The evidence suggests the Claudian ditches defended a strip of beach c.640m+ long across the east side of Richborough island.

A single entrance appears to have had a wooden gateway like that of the south gate of the Claudian fort at Hod Hill (Cunliffe 1968: 233-4). Bushe-Fox (1949: 17) stated that the early pits were found inside the shore fort walls, and the area to the south, all inside the Claudian ditches. This is to be expected, but a further study of the pits and excavation to the north and south of the 3rd century fort might show the extent of the area occupied behind the Claudian ditches.

It is likely that Richborough island had a specific role in the AD 43 invasion, and that the invasion fleet covered a large area along the Kent coast, and probably both sides of the Wantsum Chanel. Richborough island may well have been used as shelter to carry out repairs to ships and bring in supplies being sheltered by the channel and not attached to the mainland. Although little evidence can be used to point to this, several unused copper spikes used in ship construction were found at Richborough. Four of these were in good deposits of the first century; two of Claudian date (Lyne 1996: 147). Another 10 used examples come from first-century deposits (Lyne 1996: 147).

The initial Claudian defences were soon filled. Bushe-Fox (1949) proposed a date soon after the invasion as the coins from the ditches appeared to have been minted before AD 41. The supply base consisted of various buildings and roads and extended over to the west of the Claudian ditches. How far this extension went is unknown. A main E/W road was lain across the site with four N/S roads connected (Cunliffe 1968: Fig.28). To the south of the E/W road were several granaries, some of which overlaid the Claudian ditches once they had been filled. At some point in the mid-1st century several granaries were demolished and an open fronted building facing onto the E/W road was constructed. A total of eight granaries were found/conjectured in this area. To the north of the E/W were two open fronted buildings (later merged into one) aligned to the road as well as a multi-room square building not far from the shore, aligned roughly N/S – E/W. Little interpretation has been placed on the function of these buildings. As the excavations focused on the inside of the stone fort, the full extent to the supply base is unknown. In the 19th century, excavations to the west and north of the fort revealed more roads and buildings (Cunliffe 1968). The roads to the west showed no dating evidence but might well have been Claudian; linked to the major phase of road building. To the north there was evidence of building, which might have been barracks (Dowker, 1889:). This phase lasted until

the early Flavian period (Cunliffe, 1968: Fig.29). Only one area of the site saw any real change, which was over the Claudian ditches. The two open fronted buildings to the north of the road were joined and those to the south were demolished and replaced. Again, the function of these buildings is not discussed in any detail. However, the building to the north might have been a metal workshop based on a collection of broken military fittings. This phase ended when the monument was erected. A few wattle and daub huts were found overlying the supposed metal workshop, which suggested accommodation for those constructing the monument. It is at this stage that Richborough received its first masonry buildings on Sites I and III (Cunliffe 1968).

Brooches from the invasion and supply base period are of types associated with the military were found, including Aucissa, Hod Hill, Nauheim, and Colchester types (Bayley, Butcher 2004: 190). The interpretation of the presence of Colchester type brooches was that in the years after the invasion the Roman military were adopting British made brooches, typically flourishing between AD 50 – 65 (Bayley, Butcher 2004: 190). At the point of transition from military 'supply base' to port town the brooches, particularly trumpet brooches, demonstrate links further into Britain than the early brooches, especially to northern military sites (Bayley, Butcher 2004: 190, 199, Figs. 173-4). Due to this transition in site use, and further military connections, it is difficult to determine their meaning. Many could have been lost by military personnel leaving Richborough, but it is equally likely that some soldiers remained, possibly into retirement. Just as likely is the civilian use of these brooch types, especially those types produced in the south or west (Bayley and Butcher, 2004: 163). From Richborough there are a mixture of the types associated with military, and civilian sites, which could easily represent the transition from supply base to port town.

Coins from Richborough have been analysed multiple times since the 1960s. Reece (1981) has undertaken much of this analysis, and, through the coin series, has suggested peaks and troughs in occupation at Richborough. The invasion period shows a clear occupation beginning in AD 43. There is a small number of pre-Claudian coins, including 42 Republican coins, likely retained due to their high silver content. However, the number of pre-Claudian coins pale in comparison with the Claudio-Neronian period. The coin loss pattern from AD 43 to c.AD 80 can be compared to Dover. Each site

adds coins at a relatively familiar rate until Reece Period 4 (AD 69-96) when the pattern changes equally on each site. While less coins are being added at Richborough, more are added at Dover. This might suggest a switch in location of the Roman coastal military base in Kent in the late 1st century as Dover presents a rather military coin profile.

1.11.2: Roman Kent in the 1st century

There has been little synthesis of Roman Kent, despite its rich archaeological record. Several authors (Blagg 1982, Detsicas 1983, Andrews 2001, 2004) have made attempts, but have often prioritised urban settlement over other evidences. The most up to date chronological synthesis is by Millett (2007). Additionally, a recent PhD from the University of Kent (Blanning 2014) has sought to redress the balance by investigating the rural settlements of Roman Kent.

Turning to Richborough's place in the story, it is natural to think that Richborough, as an invasion and supply base, could have had a large impact on the Kent landscape in the Claudian – Flavian period. However, there is little evidence for settled military occupation in Kent. Development in Kent does not appear to be a by-product of the military conquest, but instead of long-lived relationships with the Roman Empire in the previous century (Millett 2007: 141-50). Kent probably saw little military control, and any military bases were short lived (Millett 2007). The region was administered through the establishment of *Cantium* (Canterbury) rather than taken by force. One scenario is that the military force hugged the north coast of Kent and followed the Thames to London. Such a strategy would account for the lack of invasion camps and forts in Kent. However, Black (1987: 9) suggests that lands in west Kent were confiscated because of resistance encountered at the Medway. If this resistance were local, rather than from beyond Kent, sites going out of use in the 1st century could point to this (Blanning 2014: 469). The clearest indication of Roman control in 1st century Kent is the road network, which likely developed with the needs of the state in mind, rather than the LIA communities (Blanning 2014: 470). It is possible that the state also maintained the *Classis Britannica* at ports along the coast (Richborough, Dover, and Lympne) in the early centuries.

Another indication of the lack of military settlements in Kent is the brooch distribution pattern. Parallels for traditionally military type brooches found at Richborough is lacking in Kent (Bayley, Butcher 2004: 198-84 Figs.166-70). Aucissa, Hod Hill, Nauheim derivative, and Simple Gallic and one-piece Colchester brooches are few and far between. The only 'military' brooch that has a strong Kent distribution is the two-piece Colchester brooch (Bayley, Butcher 2004). This is a British made brooch, and although it is suggested that those found at Richborough were worn by military personnel, those around Kent could have been worn by civilians. Another scenario is that these were picked up by the military and the pattern in Kent is a military one but others could have belonged to civilians working alongside the military. The problems identifying the 'military' are discussed further in Chapter 2.7 and 2.8.

Other types of military finds are rare in Kent in the 1st century. The pattern of occupation is one of continuity from the LIA, rather than a 'filling up' of the landscape by new sites (Blanning 2014: 173-4). The military would appear to be generally inactive in Kent during the years following the invasion, and not putting pressure on the landscape for supplies (Blanning 2014: 173-4), which were still likely shipped in from Gaul.

1.11.3: Summary

Although there is some LIA evidence at Richborough, the main activity began in AD 43 with the invasion base. Although it is still unclear how much of the East Kent coast facilitated Claudius' invasion, Richborough was part of that. However, little is known about the layout of the invasion base and subsequent 'supply base'. The archaeology of the 1920s and 30s focused on the inside of the walls, only giving a snapshot of the invasion base. Although excavations outside the wall showed its extent, the only features uncovered were the ditches. The function of the buildings associated with invasion requires further investigation. The granaries are well documented but there is no clear function for the other buildings. It is also unknown what prompted a reorganisation into a port town.

Roman Kent at the time seems to have avoided conflict with the Roman army. The area was largely friendly to the Romans in the LIA and was likely administered rather than conquered. The invasion

force likely passed through and then later began to construct roads and settlements to facilitate their advance. The lack of military finds, and the pattern of the military brooches supports an advancement around the north coast of Kent, rather than through its centre. Some later 1st century brooches could suggest a military presence further inland, however these brooches were also worn by civilians. The coin pattern suggests activity began in AD 43 and the coin loss can be compared to Dover in the 1st century, showing a potential shift in the military base.

1.10: Richborough in c.AD75/85 – 260

After the initial period functioning as part of the invasion it is suggested that Richborough became a port town from the mid-Flavian era to approximately the mid-3rd century. However, it is still unclear why the port town seemingly failed and at what point.

1.10.1: Richborough: A Commercial Port Town

The accepted narrative from c.AD75/85 – AD260 is the rise and fall of a commercial port town which must have been of significant imperial interest with possibly the largest *quadrifrons* in the Roman Empire at its centre (Strong 1968, 72-3). Compared to the Roman invasion period and the shore fort period at Richborough, little work subsequent to the 1922-1939 excavation has been undertaken on the port town period.

From the original excavations this period starts in c.AD85/90 with the construction of the *quadrifrons* (Cunliffe 1968, 237-8). There are very few archaeological features from this period. The only areas with significant structures, possibly associated with the *quadrifrons* construction, were in *insulae* V and VI. These buildings have been interpreted as workshops, shops and/or stores and were destroyed at some point by fire (Cunliffe, 1968:239-40). To the south of the main east-west road there were very few signs of structures, either suggesting open areas of rubbish dumping or missed structures by the excavators (Cunliffe, 1968: 240). With so few features dated between c.AD85-100 interpretation of the nature of the site rested on the construction of the *quadrifrons*, indicating at this time the settlement had developed from a military base into a commercial port (Cunliffe 1968, 240). However, on the

surface this sounds more like a construction site before the port was completed. After the construction of the *quadrifrons* multiple masonry buildings were constructed on the site, but again to the north of the east-west road. There is a long description of this phase by Cunliffe (1968: 241-3) laying out the structures and their interpretation. The main interpretation is that these were houses and offices around the main port. The main narrative of Richborough at this time is one of continuous decline from the middle of the second century, c.AD150, with other ports at Dover, London, Colchester, and Caister-by-Yarmouth open (Cunliffe 1968: 243). However, as already mentioned by Cunliffe, there is a good chance structures were missed during the excavations. The interpretation relies on the accuracy of the excavation and finds from a small area of the site. It was known at this time that objects and pottery of this period had been found outside the walls to the west of the site (Cunliffe 1968: 239-40) so it was not inconceivable that activity was widespread outside the area of the late shore fort walls. It is therefore problematic to interpret this period from the known excavated area. It is now clear there was activity over a large part of Richborough island which was found through geophysical survey (Martin 2001).

Very little work has been undertaken on the small finds from this period. The only significant contribution comes from the brooch study (Bayley and Butcher 2004). The brooches of the 2nd century AD show great connectivity with most parts of Britannia as well as continental brooches rarely found in Britain (Bayley and Butcher 2004: 199). This should come as no great surprise as being not only a port close to the continent it would have seen activity not only from its immediate geography, but goods traded much further. However, this is also the case for the late 2nd and 3rd centuries when the town and cross channel contact is meant to be in decline (Bayley and Butcher 2004: 199). This presents somewhat of a paradox, but with only one class of objects studied and little interpretation drawn from it, it is difficult on this basis to reinterpret this phase. However, this will be done in this thesis (Chapter 5) by investigating the structures, features and finds from the site in more detail.

1.10.2: Roman East Kent in the 2nd – 3rd century

The *quadrifrons* at the heart of the port can be seen as Britannia's grand gateway but given much is unknown about this period it is hard to see how the site fits into Roman Kent in the 2nd century. In the 2nd century Kent sees a widespread contraction of settlement sites (Blanning 2014: 478) and during this time the upsurge in early Imperial economic activity had reached a natural conclusion (Esmond-Cleary 2013: 458-9, Blanning 2014: 480). However, what Kent does have is an increase in villa building during the Hadrianic and Antonine periods (Blanning 2014: 454). Kent's trajectory also follows that of other counties in the east, such as Essex, suggesting a continuity with the old Iron Age 'Eastern Kingdom' (Blanning 2014: 454). If this is the case, based on the current chronology, this upsurge in villa construction results from Richborough developing into a commercial port. However, the villa construction continues into a period where Richborough is in decline. There appears to be a contradiction between a prosperous economic villa landscape and a delapidated port at Richborough. It is difficult to see Dover as the only port for Kent in the 2nd century. Regarding the ports, the road network in Kent is curious. Blanning (2014: 470) connects the road network to the needs of the military in Kent rather than civilians. Along the roads from the southernmost ports at Dover and Lympne there is little civilian activity. Civilian activity is focused on Watling Street which led from Richborough and cuts through some of the most desirable land in East Kent (Blanning 2014: 470). There is little evidence to suggest civilian activity in East Kent shifted with the apparent decline at Richborough. It is also suggested that sites on Thanet were benefitting from the military occupation of Richborough (Blanning 2014: 477). However, in the 2nd century Richborough is interpreted to have been a commercial port and not a military one. If there was still a military presence at such a port or if it was in fact still a military installation, then this would make Blanning's interpretation more plausible.

Based on the current dating of this period at Richborough, the above interpretations fit the evidence if we accept a continued military presence. A key element is the interpretation of Thanet's link to the military. However, later in this thesis (Chapter 5) I will show that there is a new chronology for this period at Richborough.

1.10.3: Summary

The port town phase is problematic to say the least. The interpretation is based on a small area of excavation, no in-depth study, no contextual finds studies and some features excavated in the 19th century. This resulted in misinterpretation of the site and it has been repeated, often without question, for decades. This period requires the most attention. There is a real need to reinterpret the structures and features of this period and investigate their specific dating evidence before interpreting the whole site. Additionally, the chronological sub-divisions of this period need reinvestigation. With a second look into the archive, a more nuanced interpretation of the settlement pattern might emerge. Cunliffe's chronological summary of this period is largely based upon conclusions drawn from the first four Richborough volumes rather than any new study, and so reproduces the misleading picture they present.

It is also important to reassess how Richborough fits into the pattern in East Kent during the 2nd century. Dover opens as a port in the 2nd century but is the base of the *classis Britannica*. As Dover is a military port it is unclear how Richborough, as Kent's first military port, is superseded by Dover. Richborough is suggested to develop as a commercial port from the Flavian period, while at Dover the first completed *classis Britannica* base was not completed until after AD130 (see Chapter 5.2.1). The question addressed later in this thesis (see Chapter 5) is what is the relationship between Richborough and Dover from c.AD70 – 130? It's also clear that while the density of settlement in Kent reduces, there is a surge in villa activity. Does a declining port at Richborough fit the prosperity and settlement pattern in Kent during the 2nd century, or is the evidence from Richborough misinterpreted? Later in this thesis (Chapter 5), I will argue for the latter.

1:11: Richborough in c.AD260-410 and the Shore Fort

From the mid-3rd century, the site displays features that are apparently defensive in nature. The triple ditch earth fort of the c.AD 260s is followed by the shore fort walls of c.AD 275+. As part of a series of shore forts, Richborough must be viewed in this wider context, although it might have had its own function within the system.

1.11.1: Richborough: The Shore Fort

Aside from the landing point of the Roman invasion, the biggest debate about Richborough is who constructed the shore fort and why. Although the archaeological investigations of Bushe-Fox revealed the features of the shore fort phase, there is less nuance in the interpretation. The later military phase began in the mid-3rd century, with a triple ditch fortlet and the shore fort constructed very shortly afterward. It is presumed from this that the military phase of the triple ditch, and shore fort was the result of defence against Saxon raids, and that this continuous military occupation lasted until the end of Roman occupation in Britain. Few structures are known from inside the fort. Two buildings, the bath block and a rectangular building with a porch known as the 'Chalk House' appear to be of late 3rd to early 4th century construction (Cunliffe 1968: 247-8) and a 'baptismal font' would date after the shore fort construction (however not necessarily during the 4th century). Inside the north-east corner are the only adequate plans of possible timber structures of military character (Cunliffe 1968: 248), which coincided with a levelling of the surface across the entire north side of the fort (Bushe-Fox 1932: 33-34). Excavations also uncovered occupation from the late 3rd – early 4th century onwards outside the fort walls, including temples, the amphitheatre, and an inhumation cemetery (Cunliffe 1968: 248-9). With such little evidence, it is difficult to suggest the character of occupation during the late Roman period.

From the recent work on Richborough new features can be added to interpretation of the shore fort. Past interpretations of the shore fort have suggested varying levels of erosion to the east side of the island, however, Wilmott's (Wilmott, Smither 2020) investigations demonstrated that the ancient shoreline was close to where the collapsed east shore fort wall lies.

Geophysical investigation has also shown the presence of extramural settlement (Martin 2002), but there is no clear indication of what these features represent. The first, is the possibility of a larger port town than previously known in the 1st – 2nd centuries. The geophysical survey did not detect any clear structures (Martin, 2001: 5), which were made of flint (Cunliffe, 1968: 253). Given how stretched the supply of building material could have been during this period, if there was a wider landscape of

buildings left over from the 2nd century occupation, stone from these buildings was likely used in the shore fort construction. The 1st century *quadrifrons* was also dismantled to make way for the fortlet and there is evidence that stone from the monument was used in the west gate at Richborough and other parts have similar lithology to earlier structures (Pearson 2003: 69). Alternatively, these features might represent the *vicus* associated with the shore fort. Although it is postulated that the forts from Brancaster to Richborough developed *vici*, while Dover, Lympne, Pevensey, and Portchester did not (Pearson, 2005: 85), there is no conclusive evidence. The former explanation is more likely, as the geophysical survey discovered features running under the 3rd century amphitheatre. The most likely option is that a larger port was cannibalised for the fort, however, some structures might have been repaired and repurposed.

Post-excavation study of a few finds groups might also shed some light on what happened at Richborough leading up to, and during the shore fort period. The brooches of the late 2nd – early 3rd century have both a continental character not common in southern Britain, as well as a military one (Bayley and Butcher, 2004: 199). These brooches date to the period of the port town's supposed decline but before the construction of the earth fort. One part of the late port town might account for this. In the north-west corner of the excavation area a stone 'mansio' was constructed on earlier timber buildings. Official contact with the continent from Richborough could have continued with the retention of the *mansio* into the shore fort period (Bayley and Butcher, 2004: 199). The outer fortlet ditch respects the position of the 'mansio', stopping short of demolishing it to continue their line ditches. An occupation over the turn of the 2nd – 3rd centuries might also be shown through other brooches dated to the 2nd – 3rd centuries, which could be either civilian or military (Bayley, Butcher 2004: 199). This possibility is linked to the reorganisation of the military by Caracalla (AD 198-217), and, as the traditional narrative suggests, the defence against seaborne raids or the continuation of the civil settlement (Bayley, Butcher 2004: 199).

Returning to the late 3rd – 4th centuries, we find the crossbow series of brooches dating to AD 290-320, and AD 350-80. Significantly the mid-late 4th century types (Cat 20 in Bayley, Butcher 2004: 204) are found at the shore fort at Oudenburg, Belgium, and one at Ickham in Kent. This would go some way

to suggesting a connection between the British and Gallic shore forts into the late Roman period. Bayley and Butcher (2004: 204) tentatively suggest that the large group of developed crossbow brooches (AD 290-320), the largest on any site in Britain, could be linked to the construction of the shore fort. However, this does not consider a slightly earlier construction by people who might have worn earlier, long lived brooches. The latter group (AD 350-80) could also be linked to the landings of Lupicinus (AD 360) and Count Theodosius (AD 367) (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 204). Although, as stated by the authors, it is risky to make these connections, the groups do fit neatly.

Few other finds groups have been studied from Richborough, but those that have been, are from the shore fort period. There is a relative paucity of 4th century military equipment from the published groups of helmet fittings (Lyne 1994), ship fittings (Lyne 1996), and belt fittings (Lyne 1999).

There are only four or five possible late helmets known from Richborough, which might be explained by using leather helmets rather than metal (Lyne 1994: 101) as described by Vegetius (*Epitome*: 1.20). Belt fittings from the early years of the shore fort period (c.AD 290-340) number 114, whereas those from the late 2nd – early 3rd century number 182 (Lyne 1999: 103). Most of these are from contexts c.AD 280+ and c.AD 370-400+. There is a dearth of belt fittings from AD 290-340 which would be explained by the continued use of earlier fittings (Lyne 1999: 103). Although there are a number that are suggestive of this continuation, it does not appear to be the norm, and the scarcity from AD 290-340 is genuine. It remains to be seen if other types of military equipment follow this pattern.

The ship fittings suggest Mediterranean type vessels for much of the Roman period, with the nails suggesting both the construction and deconstruction of ships (Lyne 1996: 147). In the 4th century there were ships of non-Roman construction at Richborough (Lyne 1996: 149). With the disbandment of the *Classis Britannia* in the 3rd century it is unclear whether there was an 'official' Roman naval unit in the Channel. Johnson (Johnson 1979: 126-9) suggests there was a fleet attached to each fort to patrol, however, Cotterill (1993: 233) suggests the presence of any fleet in Britain from the late 3rd century onwards is an argument from silence. The presence of ship fittings at Richborough only suggests the presence of ships. This might seem an obvious point, but the suggestion of an 'official' fleet continually perpetuates the idea of protection against Saxon raids. 'Celtic' style ships could easily

suggest trade and supply, as well as war. With Saxon raiding along the Gallic coast, it is likely that there could have been some protection for shipping, and they possibly docked at the more southerly shore forts from time to time. However, from the published studies, it is difficult to suggest that an 'official' fleet was based at Richborough and the non-Roman ship fittings could be late Roman door nails.

From Lyne's (1994) study of late Roman helmets, fittings and the contents of trinket boxes were found near one helmet (No.3) in the ditches outside the fort, as well as other helmets (Nos. 2 and 4) found with human remains, spear and arrowheads, and a shield boss (Lyne 1994: 104-5). Other similar finds of trinket boxes, another crushed-in shield boss and bent projectiles, as well as another trinket box with a forced lock, suggested to Lyne a violent end to Richborough (Lyne 1994: 104), however, this evidence is tentative at best. There is no evidence of such an end in skeletal remains, however, almost all remains from Richborough were lost or destroyed and not closely dated. It is still unclear, if there was indeed a violent end to Richborough's Roman occupation, and if so, if this occurred at the end of the Roman period, or after the traditional date of the Roman withdrawal, which would leave the site relatively unprotected from post-Roman raids. The evidence currently available does not necessarily point to a violent end or even a hasty withdrawal in the early 5th century, with damaged objects left behind.

The coins from Richborough from the shore fort period reveal an interesting pattern. There is a huge amount in coin loss from the AD 260-270s, as well as at other shore forts. However, cumulative frequency analysis shows that Richborough was adding fewer coins than the average Roman site at this time (see Chapter 3.7.1). The large number of Carausian coins on the site suggested a strong occupation during his usurpation, however, a drop off in coins from c.AD 300-30 suggested a lull in activity, with a recommencement c.AD 324-330 (Reece 1968: 213-4, Cunliffe 1968: 249). This period coincides with the dearth in belt fittings from Lyne's (Lyne 1999: 103) study. Originally interpreted as the continued use of earlier belt fittings, it is possible that there is reduced military activity on the site for c.30 years. From c.AD 330-88 coins were found from every period until AD 388-402, at which time coins were "astronomically high" in number (Reece, 1981: 52). The coins have been mentioned in

other shore fort publications (Reece 1975, 2005), and show that in comparison with other shore forts there is little similarity in coin frequency. There is a great deal of interest in the latest Roman coins from the site; in particular, four *nummi* with dates in the AD 420s. They comprise two of Honorius, one of Valentinian III, and one of Johannes or Theodosius II (Kent 1954: 116-9, Nos.7, 8 and 16). However, some doubt can be thrown on their dating and identification. The Valentinian *nummus* (Kent 1954: 118, No.16) supposedly appears in Richborough III (Bushe-Fox 1932: 232) as number 21569. However, the closest appears to be an AE4 with the reverse "...VGG..." There is little indication that this coin can be attributed to Valentinian III. The volume lists it under barbarous types but without the coin in hand this is far from certain. The two coins of Honorius are also dubious. Kent (1954: 118, No.7) gives them the date of AD 421-423. However, there is a question mark by these and although he refers to numbers 20945-6 in Richborough III, it is difficult to decipher which coin he means. Furthermore, Bushe-Fox (1932) apparently attributed the two coins (Nos. 20945-6 in Richborough III) to Arcadius, although it is unclear if these are the coins to which Kent is referring. It can only be assumed that Kent is referencing a list from the time which has since disappeared. The Johannes or Theodosius II coin is dubious as well and even Kent (1954: 118, No.8) questions this find. Again, it is not identified as such in the Richborough reports. The latest coins on the site are five of Constantine III (AD 408-111) (Reece 1968) and no *nummi* are attributed to this late period.

Without a wider study of the finds in context, which this study aims to forward, it is difficult to link any of the find groups to known events at Richborough. However, there are several historically attested events, such as the usurpation of Carausius in the AD 280s, campaigns of Lupicinus, and Count Theodosius in the AD 360s, and the abandonment of the province in the early 5th century.

1.11.2: Roman East Kent in the 3rd – 4th centuries

In the late 2nd - early 3rd century AD the landscape of east Kent was changed dramatically. In Dover, the *Classis Britannica* fort was reconstructed, and a new fort built at Reculver. In the mid-3rd century, these sites as well as many around the east coast of Britain were turned into what are known as the shore forts. Kent also followed a different settlement pattern to the rest of Britain. The elite were

choosing town life over the country, as no villas in Kent seem to have been constructed after the 2nd century (Blanning 2014: 468). Instead, Kent shows many nucleated settlements amidst a decline in rural settlement (Blanning 2014: 468). Why this pattern? One explanation might be a knock-on effect of the increasing tensions on the continent. Villa culture was similar in SW Britain as well as Gaul and Iberia, whereas Kent was like Northern Gaul. Barbarian incursions in the late 3rd century might have influenced the exploitation of the regions away from the frontier for supplies to aid in the struggle against the invaders. However, the effect appears to have begun in the 2nd century, with other factors in play. The cultural upsurge of the Early Empire had reached a conclusion and there was a reorientation of social and economic values in Kent (Blanning 2014: 480). Villa owners in Britain might have been absentee landlords for sites in Kent and had close imperial connections (Blanning 2014: 480) and money made from surpluses sold to the Empire funded their villas.

In any case, the Barbarian incursions will have had a great effect on Northern Gaul and the Empire as a whole. The economic structure of *Britannia Prima* was exploited to combat this. It has been suggested that the shore forts acted as ports for commercial and military shipping (Pearson 2005: 82-3). If Kent was an area of imperial estates (Mattingly 2008 386), then production from those estates could have been transported to and shipped from the shore forts to the continent as and when needed. One example of this is Julian in AD 359/360 reopening the British grain supply routes for his campaigns on the Rhine (*Julian Letter to the Athenians*). It is unclear who it was on the ground in the shore forts maintaining this activity. It is also unclear whether this was the sole purpose of the shore forts from the mid-3rd century.

Several sites in Kent have been linked to such activity, particularly in relation to Richborough. A supply link has also been suggested between the mill and workshops at Ickham (Bennett, Riddler et al. 2010: 324) and the shore forts, particularly Richborough, based upon the lead seals, brooches and belt buckles (Young 1981: 32-9). The site might have been used to produce goods for the military in Britain and the rest of the Empire. However, Bennett (2010) suggests that the lead seals did not come from the mill, but close by, which suggested the location of a collection point for transactions between military personnel and a local farmer (Blanning 2014: 476-7).

Elsewhere in Kent, the East Kent Access Zone 6 (EKAZ6) on Thanet follows a similar per mil coin loss pattern as Richborough during periods 13 and 14 (Cooke, Holman 2011: 55). However, this is based upon coin numbers of 6 at EKAZ6 and over 8000 at Richborough. In addition, period 12 at Richborough total 39. So, in terms of sheer coin numbers it is difficult to suggest any link between the sites. It has also been suggested that a large amount of sheep bones on EKAZ6 represented a supply of wool to the military. Multiple other sites on Thanet have been linked to Richborough. A large quantity of millstones appears on several sites on Thanet (Blanning 2014: 440-2, Figs.12.1-4, Tab.12.1). However, there is no actual evidence of any mill on Thanet (Blanning 2014: 444). The stones might have been imported through Richborough from elsewhere in Britain. Some, such as those of millstone grit are dated to after AD 250 and Richborough associations will have been with the shore fort. Additionally, the stone was useful for refashioning into hand querns or whetstones. If they were shipped through Richborough it would be expected that the same material would be found there.

The Monkton, and the Margate Pipelines have also been suggested as sites supplying wool and pork to Richborough (Grimm 2009). Animal bone on other shore fort sites has been interpreted as supplying the Empire (Pearson 2005: 84). However, these are from small areas of excavation and the interpretation did not consider that the meat was being consumed only by the occupants of the fort.

1.11.3: Summary

The shore fort period at Richborough demonstrates a more complex chronology than simply protecting the Wantsum channel with a permanent garrison and fleet against Saxon raids; if this was ever the purpose. It has been suggested that each shore fort fulfilled several functions which were regionally specific (Pearson 2005: 84), however, these specific functions likely contributed to a wider purpose, such as supplying the military across the Channel. From the stratigraphy, and coinage, it is possible to conceive a construction date in the late AD 260-270s. At this point the Gallic Emperors had control of Britain, and Gaul. A likely scenario is that these forts played some defensive and / or administrative role for those ruling the region. At this stage, the exact function is unclear, and how long they existed under the Gallic Emperors is equally hazy. With the difficulties in dating the

barbarous radiates it is also not fully clear if these shore forts were abandoned in c.AD 274 when the Empire was reunited or continued to have some use for the next decade. After this Carausius appears to find a use for Richborough, and the other shore forts, and with Allectus, adds Pevensey to the chain. The early narrative for Richborough, and the shore forts, places it in a different, and more secure historical context under the Gallic Emperors, rather than the brainchild of, we can only assume, a lesser commander in the Roman fleet, until he was given a command in AD 284. The coinage of the 4th century suggests declining use compared to the average British site, however, this is likely affected by the large number of coins in Period 21 (see Chapter 3.7.1).

There are many questions to answer. Were all the forts in use at the same time? Did they have regional as well a periodic usage? Did they all work toward the same function in the 4th century? Since little investigation has been made of the shore forts since the 1970-80s then it would be difficult to begin answering these questions. Richborough offers a unique opportunity to re-evaluate a fully excavated site, rather than other shore forts where excavation has been limited. The end of Richborough is difficult to determine. The coinage suggests that there was a hive of activity from c.AD 370 onwards, with coins from good 4th century contexts, as well as nearly half of the hoards on the site. Reece (1981: 52-3) dismissed the idea of scattered hoards due to the number of good, contextualised coins. However, the spread of the hoards across the site would still make this a valid hypothesis, and possibly both conclusions are correct. Likely, the detachment of the *Legio II Augusta* were heavily active on the site, and the contextual coins represent casual loss. At the end, in AD 407, or even earlier, it is possible that the hoards were buried and remained after the withdrawal.

The occupation on the site from AD 410 onwards is very hazy. The Medieval church of St. Augustine is the only known post-Roman building on the site. A small number of post-Roman coins have been discovered dating from the mid-5th – 11th centuries (Bushe-Fox, 1926: 9). If it can be assumed that at least the Roman administrative control of the province was abandoned, then it will need to be established whether there is any conclusive post-Roman occupation of the site. Key to this will be the artefacts in the shore fort ditches. The archive shows that these were split into three layers; top, middle, and bottom. The most likely scenario for the deposits right at the bottom of the ditches is

from natural processes, rubbish disposal and a lack of periodic cleaning. However, these cannot be separated from the rest of the 'bottom' layer recorded as 4ft thick. The deposits above the very bottom will have either accumulated from the natural or deliberate post-Roman infilling. It is clear Richborough is a huge mark on the landscape during the shore fort period, but we must be careful in making assumptions about links to other sites before reviewing the evidence from Richborough itself. After a survey of archaeological approaches to the Roman military and artefact studies (Chapter 2.8) I will investigate how Richborough can be reinterpreted through modern archaeological techniques and knowledge (Chapter 3), how it links to other Roman sites (Chapters 4-6), as well as the potential of the collection by looking at individual object groups, late Roman recycling at Richborough as well as in Britain and Continental Europe, and how unpublished and misunderstood finds and features can shift our thinking.

Chapter 2 : Recent work on Richborough and Roman Military Studies in Britain

The Richborough collection has been through many hands since the Bushe-Fox excavations. This has meant that the cataloguing and repacking of the collection has seldom had any continuity. The small finds reports published in the excavation volumes total just under 1000 finds, only c.10-11% of the entire collection. Various documents in the archive show interest in and small-scale study on parts of the Richborough collection, particularly the coins, and decorated samian. In the 1970s many objects were treated and x-rayed, but it was not until the early 1990s when Malcolm Lyne catalogued the entire collection that it was examined in further detail. Until the late 20th and early 21st centuries, much of the interpretation of the shore forts was based around Johnson's (1979) work. Since Johnson, new work has been undertaken on Richborough, using more modern approaches to the archaeology, and using it to further the understanding of the historical narrative debated during the 20th century. In this chapter I will summarise the work done since Richborough V was published. I will also discuss the current state of the collections, followed by work done post-Cunliffe, then a new approach to categorising the small finds sections essential to the methodology on definitions of military and approaches to interpreting Roman artefacts. Collectively this establishes the foundations for the new research and re-evaluation of the site.

2.1: Current State of the Collections

After the 1922-1939 excavations, the paper and object collection were analysed and published by various specialists. In the 1970s conservation was undertaken on the object collection and since then both the paper and object collections have been stored at Dover Castle.

2.1.1: The Paper Archive

The paper archive can largely be split into three parts. Firstly, the original notebooks and plans from the site. These are stored in multiple archival boxes. Many of these original records were copied and organised into folders by Malcolm Lyne in the 1990s during his PhD study. Secondly, the site and

museum photo archive. Like the original paper archive this is stored in archival boxes. Lastly, Malcolm Lyne's object catalogue. This is a catalogue of every small find from the site with its accession number, small finds number (where known), often a 1:1 scale drawing, and a reference to its physical location. However, while this was a monumental effort, it was only a side project at the time and was left largely incomplete.

A huge part of my PhD project has been, with the English Heritage curatorial staff and volunteers, to create a usable digital archive of the paper records. The outcome of this is a near complete database of the small finds and digitisation of not only Malcolm Lyne's object sheets, but also the original site notebooks, plans and photographs which I created. The benefit of this is that now the Richborough site archive and small finds collection is accessible to researchers without the need to visit the Dover store.

At the start of the project it was clear that a lot of work would be needed to get the archive into a state suitable for research. This work is laid out in Appendix 2. The only usable catalogue of the collection was a paper archive of object sheets and photocopied notebooks made by Malcolm Lyne. However, none of this had been suitably digitised. Many of the boxes were poorly packed, numbers were mixed up and objects in the wrong place. The cataloguing of the objects had been started shortly before I arrived, however, there had been no attempt to begin scanning in over 50 folders of paper documents. The main aim was to have a digital catalogue of all the small finds as well as PDFs of their corresponding object sheets, which was achieved. The other aim was to have a digital copy of all of the site notebooks. It was near impossible to check multiple folders at once and also reference these in this text without digital copies. Alongside the old paper catalogue, I, along with staff and volunteers took new photos of every single object. These were numbered and placed in digital folders with Malcolm's object sheets.

Having all of this material digitised meant it was much easier to research. With the addition of up to date typologies and a new numbering system for contexts, which were often poorly named, it was possible to undertake intra-site analysis and quickly associate finds with their context.

This digital cataloguing also allowed for the reorganisation over over 90 boxes of small finds.

Originally, paper catalogues listing what was on each shelf were used, however, these were not kept up to date. Working to organise the catalogue I created separated runs of numbers on the spreadsheet to easily locate which numbers were in each box. Combining the new physical and digital catalogues, it is now possible to study individual object groups more easily. This part of the collection will thus now be open to further research where a visit to the archive is not needed.

The major addition to this is the scanning of site photos, letters, documents and plans, many of which were unpublished. The letters and documents show what parts of the collection had previously been studied and will add valuable context to how the collection has been treated.

There is also the new catalogue, probably the most important element of all that I created as this part of the project (Appendix 1). As mentioned above, in the previous catalogue contexts were often named oddly, and it was difficult to compare them. This new catalogue provides a numbered code for every single context at Richborough. It is now possible, in parts, to reconstruct the stratigraphy and study individual contexts more easily. If this had not been done, it would be impossible to group objects easily by context and assess which objects were associated with each other.

Undoubtedly further research into the collection will unearth further misconceptions about the site due to the lack of detailed attention given to the collection.

2.1.2: The Object Collections

The main aim of the original project was to investigate the military objects and tools from the site. However, as outlined in Appendix 1-2, given the state of the collection this was not possible. There was little consistency in how the small finds were boxed, and the database allowed for no analysis of the collection. It was therefore necessary to recatalogue and rebox the entire small finds collection based on a new database. The object collection is now reboxed to current archival standards and cross referenced with the digital archive.

However, the same cannot be said of the bulk finds, apart from the vessel glass which has been packed and catalogued in the same way as the small finds. These are still bagged much in the same way they have been since the original excavations. While the materials for packaging have been updated, there has been little attempt to reorganise the collection; apart from the coarsewares studied by Malcolm Lyne. The biggest difficulty is with the pottery. It was not bagged and stored by context but by material type or form. This makes it impossible to do any analysis by context, only by material and vessel type; presuming they are all grouped correctly by these characteristics. Another problem presents itself where not every piece was marked with the context during the excavations. The only way to do any analysis on the pottery is through the archive pottery reports. However, these were written in the 1920s-30s since when vessel types have changed. It would be a huge task to untangle this pottery archive. There is also various other material, including CBM, that has never properly been analysed. Again, without a cohesive digital archive of the material, it is inaccessible geographically and for analysis. It is clear that the collection is ripe for future research (Chapter 7).

2.2: The small finds, pottery, and coins

Lyne's cataloguing process involved producing a paper archive of the finds. The finds were packaged in over 100 boxes with a paper archive stretching over 60 large ring binders. Each file related to a particular finds group and the box or boxes in which they were to be found.

The main collection of material comes from the Bushe-Fox excavations. In total there is: (Tab.2.1).

Tab.2.1 *Summary of the objects in the Richborough collection.*

Collection	Number
Small finds	c.9000+
Coins	c.53,000 - 56,000
Pottery	c.3000+ sherds
Glass	Unknown
Human remains	Unknown
Building material	Unknown

It was this cataloguing process that led to more attention being paid to the small finds. During the 1990s several papers were published on some find groups. Malcolm Lyne published three papers on helmet fittings (Lyne 1994), ship fittings (Lyne 1996), and belt fittings (Lyne 1999), and Bayley and Butcher (2004) published all the brooches from the collection.

Lyne's papers mainly focus on descriptions of the material with some discussion of context and interpretation. The ship fittings (Lyne 1996) are rarely expanded upon, with a straightforward discussion of the types of ships likely docked at Richborough. Lyne's (1994) work on late Roman helmet fittings provides more context for their use and deposition, as well as a possible violent end for Richborough. Lyne's (1999) final, and most in-depth paper suggests the continued use of 3rd century belt fittings during the early shore fort period (c.AD 290-340), where there was a dearth of early 4th century fittings. The remaining belt fittings are split into c.AD 340-370, and c.AD 370-420.

Bayley and Butcher (2004) provided a full catalogue of all brooches from the site, including context data (as far as it was available), and XRF analysis of the materials. Their general conclusions place the material into the military → civilian → military narrative of the site, with connections to sites across Britain and the rest of the Empire (Bayley and Butcher 2002: 188-205). However, some of the brooches suggest a military presence in the late 2nd – early 3rd century before the traditional mid-3rd century military reoccupation (Bayley and Butcher 2002: 199). The 4th century brooches are quite flexible in date, so it is difficult for the brooches to suggest specific periods of military occupation.

Although they are a perfectly valid way of studying the collection, the published objects are not a true reflection of the collection. The result is that the collection and Richborough as a site is often referenced but little studied. This is a problem with many collections from old excavations where the entire collection of objects was not published. Although this thesis is only concerned with discussing a portion of the collection, focused on only two periods of the site, it has two wider aims. Firstly, to demonstrate the potential of the collection in reinterpreting Richborough, and secondly, to publish a full digital catalogue of the small finds collection which is included in the digital archive.

The coins and pottery from the site are other good examples of where the collection needs further research and interpretation. Little work has been undertaken on the pottery from Richborough, and in the 50+ years since the reports were published, excavations of sites across Kent and Britain will reveal connections with Richborough. The 50,000+ coins from Richborough are very well documented (although the exact number fluctuates between publications). A lot of the focus of research on these coins has been on the latest group of AD 388-402, which makes up 45% of the collection (Reece 1981: 52). However, sites cannot be understood on coins alone, and without a fundamental understanding of the stratigraphy, small finds, pottery and other materials only very general conclusions can be drawn about Richborough.

The lack of understanding of the Richborough collection means that studies which reference the site need to contend with out-of-date interpretations without any new investigation of the collection. This thesis aims to be the first step in redressing this balance.

2.3: Archaeological excavations and survey

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Fig.2.1. Interpretation of Geophysics around the site (Martin 2001: Fig.5)

In the 20th century more archaeological surveys have taken place expanding upon those undertaken since Boys. Little excavation took place outside the fort walls. Boys opened several trenches outside the west and north walls; the west of which were reinvestigated by Dowker (1889). During the main

series of excavations, Bushe-Fox (1949: 77-80) excavated outside the south wall. To add to this knowledge and improve the interpretation of the site, geophysical survey was undertaken on the fields outside of the shore fort (Martin 2002) and over the amphitheatre (Martin 2001) (Fig.2.1). The survey outside the walls detected an array of features, with several areas of dense settlement activity outside the north, west, south-west, and south of the walls (Martin 2002: 2-5). There is also a clear pattern of ribbon development along Watling Street, as well as a road leading SW from the site (Martin 2002: 5). Obviously, geophysical survey cannot give a date for the features, however, from what we know of the fort, two ideas present themselves. Either the possibility of a larger port town than found by Bushe-Fox's excavations, or a *vicus* associated with the shore fort.

In 2001 a new project was proposed for excavations at Richborough (Millett, Wilmott 2003), however for various reasons the project could not go ahead. It was then revived in 2008 when excavations and coring was undertaken to investigate the east wall collapse as well as the possible position of the Roman port (Wilmott, Smither 2020). The data has revealed the likely position of the Roman port close to the remains of the fallen east wall, as well as possible shore fort ditches on the east side. If this proves to be the case and they are of a similar size and distance from the wall as the extant ditches, this would leave very little room for a second east wall foundation, suggested by Bushe-Fox (1928: 6), between the unused foundation and the position of the ditches. Wilmott's (*pers comm*) position is that the east wall stood on Bushe-Fox's so-called 'unused' foundation (which is explained in Chapter 2.3).

A small excavation also took place outside the south wall at the modern entrance to the site in preparation for a new toilet block (Parfitt 2014). This excavation uncovered several Roman artefacts as well as a possible walking surface. The archaeology suggested occupation in the area in the 1st century AD as well as the later Roman period.

2.4: Construction of the shore forts: the building materials

Another approach to the shore forts has been to understand their chronology and economy through the building material (Pearson 2003: 6). The building material and construction of the shore forts has

been used to advance the study of the shore forts (Allen, Fulford et al. 2001, Pearson 2002, Pearson 2003: 6) as little advancement was made in the latter 20th century.

This raises a couple of fundamental questions about the construction of the shore fort walls. Firstly, who built them? Pearson (2003: 107) suggests that the military in Britain played a small part in the construction, which was predominantly civilian labour. This is partly dependent on the time of construction across all the shore forts. A longer timescale would mean labour resources were less thinly stretched, but a short timescale might have required the employment of civilian labour alongside the military. However, in the 3rd century there is a building boom in Britain and Gaul with towns being surrounded by stone walls (Pearson 2003: 105-6). Many of these such as Silchester, Canterbury, and over 80 towns in Gaul receive stone walls at the same time as some shore forts were being constructed (Pearson, 2003: 105-6). This would not only stretch labour resources, but also materials. For this reason, it is possible that, if the shore forts were being constructed contemporaneously, materials were redirected to different projects, causing a stop-start process of construction on many of the projects. Secondly, were they all contemporaneous? The shore forts are traditionally grouped as early, and late based on their morphology. However, although there are clear differences between these groups, there are also clear differences within the late group. The thicknesses of the walls, the bastions, and gate designs differ greatly (Pearson 2003: 71-2). The bastions even differ from each other on the same site, which happens at Richborough (Pearson 2003: 72). Another problem is that there is no clear evolution of design from one shore fort to the next, which might suggest an order of construction. It is also the case that the shore fort designs appear to stand apart from the 3rd century stone walls of Roman towns (Pearson 2003: 70-1). This might mean that town walls, and shore forts were undertaken independently, or at least by people using different styles of building. With each of the shore forts varying to some degree there is no need for them all to be contemporaneous (Pearson 2003: 74); especially as Pevensey is dated to the early AD 290s. However, if they represent a contemporaneous building project, it is likely that different builders working from general instructions (Pearson 2003: 74) made decisions based upon their own knowledge and style, availability of materials, skills of the workforce, and the topography of the land. The problem here is dating the shore forts, especially the late group.

2.5: Summary

During the 20th century several archaeological investigations and finds studies have been undertaken. Excavations and surveys have revealed more about the nature of the site, demonstrating a large, occupied landscape around the shore fort walls, however, excavations have been small scale and answered specific, but no less important, questions about the site. Artefact studies have focused on specific groups of objects, but no tangible link has been drawn between them and the site. This is due to the lack of up-to-date study of the site features and these artefact studies rely on poor site data; much of which could be found in the archives but was not consulted by those studying the artefacts. However, these studies have demonstrated that with more research on artefacts since the excavations and better scientific techniques we can infer more about the site. Pearson's (2003) study of the shore fort walls is an example of what can still be done on the site without the need for the archive or excavation. However, it also shows how limited studies are about the site without good access to a rich archive as shown in Tab.2.1.

A rather large problem that affects the studies outlined above is that none take a holistic approach to the site. The excavations covered a small area of the site now known through geophysical survey, although Victorian excavations had already revealed signs of activity outside of the shore fort walls. While the geophysical survey was useful, the lack of further excavation, which was hampered at the time due to the lack of permission from the landowner, means that little more was revealed. The object studies suffer a similar problem. As stated above, there is little reinvestigation of the contexts behind the finds, there is also little attempt to investigate the presence or absence of different groups of finds. The finds groups and studies are therefore important in their own right but lacking in context and comparisons. Finally, there is the more recent study of the actual structures. While again an important contribution, it takes the narrative of the shore forts as read and does not have the scope to re-evaluate this. The new chronology of the site that I will develop will provide an opportunity to re-evaluate previous conclusions based on limited studies. In order to integrate the military finds into the re-evaluation of Richborough some preliminary consideration is needed of how military finds are defined, and interpretative approaches to artefacts, which I will look at next.

2.6: The Roman military: Changing definitions

During the 19th and 20th centuries, the interpretation of the Roman military in Britain was based upon limited documentary evidence rather than the evidence from archaeological investigation (James 2001: 77). At the time of the Richborough excavations the prevailing perspective on the Roman military in Britain was one of colonialism; the province of Britannia was civilized, which was termed Romanization in the early 20th century (Haverfield 1923: 11). The Roman military was instrumental in this 'gift' to the native population, with a strong presence in the province. However, it is not the purpose of this section to revisit the merits and historiography of "Romanization". The topic has been covered at length with a changing definition over the past century (Haverfield 1923, Collingwood 1932, Reece 1988, Millett 1990, Webster, Cooper 1996, Woolf 1998, Webster 2001). Instead, this section will address definitions of military contexts and of military objects, and the relationship of these to the civilian population and civilian objects. This section will be important to the interpretations put forward later in the thesis as while Richborough was interpreted as a military site, since the 1920s research on Roman Britain has revealed that site use and categorisation is rarely clear cut.

2.6.1: Wider 'Military-civilian' interactions

Roman Britain has often been conceptualised in terms of a 'military-civilian' dichotomy. If 'civilian' life in Roman Britain is a complex array of regional identities, then the military in Britain can be seen in much the same way (James 2001: 77-8). Although on the surface the Roman military may seem one single organisation stretched from Britain to Syria, the reality is that even within a province, regional diversity existed. The military was shaped throughout the Roman period by a sense of community and tradition which locally could have set them apart from their neighbours (James 2001: 79). Viewed in this way, the military communities at Richborough in the 1st and 3rd – 4th centuries AD should have more in common with those at Reculver, Dover, and parts of Northern Gaul than with Vindolanda and York, if local communities existed in this way.

James (2001: 84-8) asked the question 'What do we want to know?' about 'military-civilian' interaction. His article sums up well the problems at the time and the way forward in terms of assemblage comparisons, domestic life of the soldiers, the 'off duty' life of the soldier, food consumption, ethnic traits, ceramic traditions, religious practices, spatial use, different fort types and the fort's local landscape. Each of these categories fall under the umbrella of a regionally diverse army rather than a homogenous Roman army. This approach to the Roman military moves beyond the narrow interpretations of what constitutes military activity.

Since James (2001) study multiple studies have been made on the Roman military in Britain and the wider Roman Empire. Gardner (Gardner, A. 2001: 324-5) in his approach to the late Roman military in Britain takes a similar line to James. In his view, the documentary sources that dominate a narrative of 'decline and fall' have narrowed the study to a focus on military equipment studies; an approach that produces a 'military-civilian' dichotomy. Gardner (2001: 345-6, Fig.7) argues for a 'meso scale' of identity which focuses on status, community, religion, gender, age, and kin-group, between the 'macro' and 'micro' scales of the state and individual, respectively. Based around Giddens (1984) theories of structuration, and with a particular focus on dwelling, it is argued that while forts across spans of time and space display 'norms of discipline' (the macro scale), they were also modified by individuals and small groups (the micro and meso scales) (Gardner, A. 2001: 336-7). James (2001: 79) and Gardner (2001) argue that tradition is a strong part of the development of these local identities over time, especially where these 'norms of discipline' break down where people have settled, and create identities distant to those of their neighbours. However, there is mobility in tradition where traditions 'can be drawn upon and selectively changed' (Gardner, A. 2001: 346) which is appropriate in the context of Roman armies drawing upon different cultural groups e.g., for auxiliaries who would bring their own range of traditions. Although Gardner (2001) focuses on late Roman military sites, Bishop (1989) demonstrated that, through objects, a military presence can be supposed on civilian sites as early as the 2nd century AD. It is probably the case that these 'norms of discipline' on military sites were breaking down in earlier Roman Britain. Similarly, to the mobility of traditions, the focus, purpose, and structure of a site was just as mobile between different military groups. This can be represented by the entire overhaul of site such as Colchester, or more subtle changes to individual

buildings, in terms of structure or use (Gardner, A. 2001: 342). In comparison to the Saxon Shore forts, early military sites (i.e., forts) often stick to the traditional playing card shape, whereas the shore forts display a range of different shaped circuits. By highlighting these changes in building structure, space, and use, it demonstrates further that boundaries set on military sites were further eroding (Cool 2009: 712). This further change suggests large scale mobility of identity on military sites in the later Roman period extended to the physical structures, rather than just being evident through objects. It could be argued that the macro-structure of the military set 'norms of discipline' in the early period in terms of site organisation, however, the agency of individuals and groups within this structure helped to break down these norms, creating locally distinct identities, which can be observed through their use of material culture. In the late Roman period, the change in the organisation of military sites suggests a move away from the macro structure of the military, to a clearer structural and cultural makeup of the 'Roman armies' suggested by James (2001).

The problem of identifying some objects which are less obviously 'military' is in Gardner's view, a problem that needs to be addressed on a scale which asks questions of identity through space and time and moves away from military or civilian dichotomies. To Gardner (2001: 334-5), although objects from a purely functional perspective are associated with certain practices, how these practices are executed is derived from their "meaning content." For example, while a brooch was used to hold items of clothing in place, the positioning and style could relate to the practices of a group, or person, or different status or gender in a location. While this theoretical approach to Roman military finds, and finds studies in general, is useful, and helps to inform our general interpretations of the Roman military, such as its diversity of cultures, it can be argued that contextual archaeology can answer different questions about the nature of Roman finds by retaining military objects as a valid category.

This provokes a further question regarding civilians in a military structure. If throughout the Roman period there was a military presence on civilian sites, what was the nature of a civilian (essentially non-military personnel) presence on military sites? If there is a clear difference between the physical structure of military sites between the early and late Roman periods, what role did civilians carve out

for themselves on these sites, and how much did they influence the mobility of the group identity, or was their own identity and culture heavily shaped by the military structures around them?

The focus of this section will be, for obvious reasons, on studies of military finds assemblages, and sites, exploring the definition of military objects and military contexts, and how these apply to Richborough. This approach will incorporate wider understanding of the diversity of military communities, discussed above, which has been fostered by James and Gardner.

There is little appreciation of the definition of a military object at Richborough in the published literature. This is primarily due to the age of the excavation. The interpretation was in many ways led by historical sources and what was known from the archaeology of Roman military sites at the time. In almost 100 years a more nuanced appreciation of what constitutes a military object has developed, arguing whether objects that fall outside the traditional combat activities of the military should be included. Since Crummy's (1983) study of Colchester it has become traditional for object studies to move toward categorising objects based upon activity or association. However, although some objects have a clear military association, others traverse the military and civilian spheres, and therefore object categories, with the possibility of military objects found on civilian sites and *vice versa*.

2.6.2: What is a military object?

As Bishop and Coulston (2006: vii) state, "There is no general agreement amongst scholars". There are various ways of defining military objects; by referring to visual sources such as reliefs on tombstones and monuments of military personnel, by reference to activities that are usually considered to be martial (primarily warfare), and by context, for example presence at a site with military features (e.g. defensive wall, barrack blocks. Each of these will be considered in turn.

2.6.3: By Visual representations

Visual representations such as those on Trajan's Column provide a useful reference for the various weapons and fittings, unambiguously depicting Roman personnel, as well as geographical and chronological information (Bishop, Coulston 2006: 1-20). However, Bishop and Coulston apply a long

list of caveats to using visual sources. There is a varying level of detail between reliefs which either helps or hinders identification. Identification is also dependent on who created the relief and their level of skill as well as by their use of local styles and techniques (Fig.2.2). This is underlined by the person who commissioned the relief and what they could afford. The more money available would lead to a higher quality and more detail.

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Fig.2.2. Roman tombstones from Corinium museum showing various levels of skill and detail (Corinium Museum)

Some commissioners might have taken their audience into consideration, especially in monumental reliefs, where, for example, the Emperor might want to highlight individual elements. Finally, sample size adds another layer of difficulty. Monuments with military representation survive to varying degrees in different provinces. In terms of tombstones there is a bias, as an examination of 82 1st century tombstones showed 38% belonged to infantrymen and 56% to auxiliary cavalrymen (Bishop, Coulston 2006: 10). More or fewer examples, chronologically or geographically, again helps or hinders identification of objects as military. The distribution of military tombstones depicting a wide range of military equipment across the Empire is very uneven. The phenomenon was prominent in Italy, Germany, and Britain more so than other provinces (Bishop, Coulston 2006: 10). Chronologically, in Britain, these tombstones are much more common in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, presenting a bias in

our knowledge of the later Roman military from these reliefs (Anderson 1984: 5). The detail on 1st century examples is far superior to the 2nd century and many depictions of fittings are verified by artefacts (Bishop, Coulston 2006).

2.6.4: By Function

Secondly, military objects can be identified by function. In their definition of military objects, Bishop and Coulston (2006) include objects that appear fundamental to soldiering and the operation of the army (such as swords and shields) as well as those which appear in visual sources as discussed above (such as belts and fittings). They include musical instruments, and legionary standards for this reason, briefly discuss tools and clothing, and generally exclude items of personal adornment apart from belt fittings (Bishop, Coulston 2006: vii).

Crummy's (1983) object classification gives military finds its own category (Category 13) (Crummy 1983: 5) and includes "Finds such as weapons, fittings from armour, tools with military associations, and phallic amulets possibly used by the army." Even within this category there are ambiguities as to what constitutes a military object. Although weapons, and fittings from armour are undoubtedly military objects, items with 'associations' and 'possibly' used are included. Possible fittings from the *cingulum militare* (a military belt with metal fittings), and military associated phallic amulets (Crummy 1983: 139-40) given the context of post-Boudican Colchester would present as military in a *colonia*, they were also used by civilians (Oldenstein 1976: 158-9). The same could also be said of Bishop and Coulston's selection, as many of the tools are also found in civilian contexts. Although military pieces were often marked for unit identification (Bishop, Coulston 2006: 117), this is not always the case. One must wonder then if military equipment should be so rigidly defined. Bishop and Coulston (2006: vii) argue against close definitions, stating that it provides little advantage to its study.

Clearly there are objects made for military purposes, but this does not preclude their use by non-military personnel (i.e., civilians). In the Richborough collection the 'military objects' were selected

and catalogued by Malcolm Lyne in a similar way to Bishop and Coulston's study, such as armour and weaponry, rather than including other objects associated with the Roman military, such as tools and particular brooch types. This is likely down to factors of time, limited typologies, and few debates on the subject, from which the collection could benefit.

2.6.5: By Context/Association

Returning to the idea of military by association, several studies have suggested that some objects, while not in Crummy's military category, have some significant military associations from context or the provenance of parallels. For clarity, in this section I will discuss sites based on their current site type interpretation, but this is not to negate the fact that areas of these sites might have included a different element (e.g., civilian on a primarily military site).

Certain brooch types and lamps have often been associated with the military. The Hod Hill family of brooches was developed in the Tiberian/Claudian period and came to Britain with the military. Other brooch types such as the Aussica, Bagendon, Crossbow, Knee, and P-shaped, which originated on the continent, are linked to the military, but are also found in civilian contexts (Bayley, Butcher 2004: 151, 199-204). Although the army used continental types, they also appear to have adopted Colchester types, which were made in Britain before the conquest (Bayley, Butcher 2004: 149). These objects are not exclusively military by context, as brooch types found on military sites, such as Knee and Crossbow, are also found in towns, and villas, and an elaborate crossbow brooch, was found in a hoard in association with female jewellery in Cheshire (Allason-Jones 2001: 2). Presence in a hoard of this kind, however, does not mean the brooch was necessarily of female use, and if it were then it might have previously been worn by a male. In the case of Knee brooches, it would be erroneous to suggest a solely military connection as their distribution argues against this (Eckardt 2005: 154-6). The brooch as an object is both military and civilian, however, the military clearly favoured certain types. This begs the question, were the military producing these for issue, and then they made their way into the civilian sphere, or *vice versa*? Lamps have also been given a military association (Eckardt

2002). The early picture lamps (AD 43 – 70/90) and Firmalampen (AD 70 – 2nd century) have strong military and urban associations, with London, Colchester, and Richborough showing strongly on the distribution (Eckardt 2002: 37-52), and generally Britain shows restricted lamp usage in terms of site type (Eckardt 2002: 153). The early picture lamps are limited to those interpreted as early military sites and the later Firmalampen are suggested to show production on military sites as well as use by urban populations (Eckardt 2002: 45). However, their distribution also shows the expansion into the province by the military (Eckardt 2002). While Richborough was only behind London and Colchester in picture lamp numbers, there are far fewer Firmalampen, highlighting the switch from military to civilian (Eckardt 2002).

Although brooches provide functions required by many people (i.e., fastening clothes), certain types appear to have an affinity with the Roman military, as noted above. In this way, at Richborough, the brooches generally suggest the interpretation of the two military periods as correct (Bayley, Butcher 2004: 188-205), however, an overlap in the dating of 'military' brooches with the port town period could be investigated with the aid of other possible military objects within the period. Furthermore, although the late military period is suggested as c.AD 260 onwards, the brooches also indicate some military activity in the century before; coinciding with the neglect of the port town (Bayley, Butcher 2004). The possibly continuous use of the 'mansio' building throughout the 2nd - 3rd centuries might indicate a centre for military activity before the main military shore fort period. Lamps at Richborough are less difficult to interpret. There are many early picture lamps at Richborough suggesting a strong military connection. With such a large collection from across the Empire it is suggested that Richborough had privileged access to supply from the continent (Eckardt 2002). However, these lamps do also date to just after the transition from 'supply base' to port town, so a deeper contextual study is needed to understand the specific supply to Richborough. Firmalampen (AD 70 – 2nd century) are much fewer in number suggesting a drop off in supply to Richborough after the transition (Eckardt 2002). The supposed 'lamp shop' or 'store' at Richborough (Bushe-Fox 1949: 38) post-dates the 'supply base' period and consisted of early picture lamps. The lamps came from a burnt layer dated to AD 75-90. Given the stratigraphy the presence of the lamps is residual in Late/Post-Flavian deposits. Few lamps date later than this, and at the time across Britain there is a

widespread drop off in lamp usage which might represent a cultural resistance to this technology (Eckardt, 2002: 50-2). Although these are objects that fall outside the bounds of Bishop and Coulston's, and Crummy's studies and categories, there is a clear military association which at Richborough overlaps with the traditionally 'civilian' period as well as the 2nd – 3rd centuries where the site use is hazy.

Additionally, objects with similar designs may have provided different functions (Allason-Jones 2001: 2). For example, without diagnostic parts, lengths of chains and hooks could be used for steelyards or lamp hangers. As Allason-Jones (2001: 2) states, where examples are found in isolation, their initial function is lost. Presupposition of the site use could also influence identification and interpretation of function. The Richborough catalogue demonstrates such a situation with military objects where two split-pin covers were identified as helmet fittings but were listed under bucket drop handle split-pin covers. Each of the objects looked similar and could easily have provided either function. As Allason-Jones (2001: 2) states, where examples like this are found in isolation, their initial function is lost.

There is also an array of artefacts from military sites that are associated with non-combatant activities, such as equipment for metal and fabric working, weighing, and measuring, gaming, and weaving (Allison 2013: 119, 190-1, 244-5). Seal boxes (Derks Roymans 2002) and Samian inkwells (Willis 2005: 103-5) are other objects which are heavily associated with military sites, however, they also have a strong showing in large civilian centres such as London, pointing to an official use, rather than a solely military use. It is unclear whether these activities were solely undertaken by military personnel or civilians working alongside, however, these are objects that once again traverse the military and civilian spheres. It is also clear that other objects associated with non-combatant activities, but found on military sites, could not have been used by combative military personnel, as some items of personal adornment, such as some brooch types, were likely worn by women, and children (Allison 2013: 116-9, 166-9, 189-90, 242-4). It is now widely accepted that women and children occupied space within military sites. The multitude of shoes from Vindolanda provides evidence of children based upon shoe sizes (Van Driel-Murray 1995) and finds of hairpins, primarily a female object, demonstrate the presence of women, although it could also be related to manufacture.

Over c.70% of the Richborough collection could be classed as non-combatant equipment. Those objects which can be dated to the military phases, whether used by military personnel or not, represent the administrative and personal side of the military activity. Unfortunately, with poor contextual data close dating of these objects to any one period is difficult, even with the use of up-to-date typological catalogues. However, apart from the brooches by Bayley and Butcher (2004), no major attempt has yet been made to return to the archive to study these objects. These are generally outside the scope of this study; these will be included to a small degree to illuminate the military community beyond the Roman soldier.

2.6.6: By Activity Categories?

Allison's (2013) approach of splitting finds into activity categories, as well as gender categories, goes a long way towards addressing the problem of defining objects on military sites, although there are still some issues. The activity categories cover a wide range of activities, however, on military sites these are generally placed under three headings.

- Artefacts associated with dress and personal adornment.
- Artefacts associated with specific activities (combatant, and non-combatant).
- Horse equipment (definite, and possible).

These groups are rather limiting and are umbrellas for a large range of Allison's activity categories. Although these are further divided (Allison, 2013: 65-108), the large categories do not go far enough in separating out the different groups of people and the activities they could have performed. Furthermore, the large number of activity categories, when compared to Crummy's functional categories, makes the data rather unwieldy and difficult to display in a quickly accessible format (i.e., tables and graphs). A huge positive from the approach is the attempt to identify the possible gender of the owner/user as well as reinterpretation of buildings based on objects found and not building form. At times, the approach is conservative (e.g., brooches), but more definite in other areas (e.g., belts). There is no easy way around this. Associating objects with gender runs the risk of over or

underrepresentation. With such a wide-ranging study, it is clearly necessary to make generalisations from artefact features (e.g., by using finger ring sizes to estimate gender or age associations).

To develop this, I will propose different activity categories for objects. The objects will be sorted into traditional object types, but based upon several factors such as design, function, decoration, and context, they will be placed into activity categories. These categories will more closely resemble Crummy's functional categories, but will split object types between categories where design, function, decoration, and context allow. The main purpose of the categories is to allow for the fact that there is some overlap of object groups among different categories. As demonstrated above, many objects without a clear association, can only be identified as military **or** civilian, male, **or** female. These objects are often given a military or civilian function based upon the interpretation of site use. Although an object might not have a combatant function, however, there is no reason to preclude its civilian use on a military site, (examples might be hairpins or seal boxes), nor to preclude a non-military use of a putatively 'military'- associated object on a civilian site, such as picture lamps.

So, what should be included as a military object? Allason-Jones (2001: 3) argues that assemblages of military equipment should be limited to "helmets, swords, shields, etc." Studs are used as an example by Allason-Jones (2001: 2), which are often placed into the category of military finds. Much like the bucket/helmet studs from Richborough, bell-shaped studs have been found on daggers, box lock plates, and doors, suggesting that "Romans were happy to use such distinctive objects for a variety of uses" (Allason-Jones, 2001: 2). For someone manufacturing different objects, the convenience of using the same studs must have outweighed the inclination to create new types of stud for each object. Limiting the definition to weapons and armour produces a very narrow category. However, the example of the turret assemblages on Hadrian's wall (Allason-Jones 2001: 1) shows the diversity of objects from a military site, which found elsewhere could have been considered civilian, or even female. The military had a wide range of these type of objects to live comfortably, which would not fall under the military object category as defined narrowly by Allason-Jones. In this case, we could consider that the context defines an object as military, which in turn means a 'military context' is "the combination of all activities that took place within a military site" (Allison 2013: 41). This would

attach all objects found on a military site to a military use, as all objects on the site could have been used by people who were part of the military community (Allason-Jones 2001: 3).

2.6.7: What is a military context?

The above discussion raises the further question of how we define a military context, be this a physical archaeological context or a context of use (e.g., swords and armour). Although Allison (Allison 2013: 41) argues that it is the activities that took place on a military site that define it as military, Allason-Jones (2001: 3) suggests that “all the objects found in a fort had a military use.” Does this therefore mean that the use of any object on a military site was for a military purpose? Similarly, even though objects in a context might not have a direct ‘military’ use, does this mean that because it is on a military site it is a military context? Although a person using or depositing an object might have been attached to the military, the activity around that object might not have been used for military purposes. If we define a military object, or assemblage, as something that comes from a military context, then we attach all activities in the context, and on the site to the military. This can be valid in some contexts. For example, even though the Hadrian’s Wall turret assemblages contain a wide range of traditionally ‘military’ and ‘civilian’ objects, there is no indication of domestic occupation, suggesting that all the objects were associated with military activities (Allason-Jones 1988: 220). While using context (whether archaeological or by association) to define what is a military object can introduce a circular argument, I argue below that any objects used by military personnel within a military space (i.e. where activity is a part of military procedures) can hypothetically be considered a military object.

Military activity is not limited to combat, but includes construction, manufacture, trade, supply, and many more. Indeed, military activity is not even simply a soldier’s duties, but all the activities that a soldier undertakes while on active service; or indeed those undertaken by anyone associated with the military. Allason-Jones (1988: 220) rightly states that outside of their duties, soldiers had the same needs as civilians, and, in the case of mending clothes, for example, needed the equipment to do this

themselves. Although it could be argued that a meal between soldiers could be a military context for the use of eating utensils, does this mean a soldier's private family meal is a military meal? Is it the activity, that is defined as military, or the association of the people with the military, institution or location that is facilitating the activity that is important? Therefore, does military activity mean activities that actively facilitate the operation of the military, or all activities that take place in a location controlled by the military? Taken in isolation it is possible to attempt some association of objects to military and non-military activities within military sites. Weapons and armour can certainly be associated with military combat, whereas hairpins would naturally fall into a non-military activity. Here it is supposed that military objects are those attached to activities that facilitate military operations, such as combat, fort construction, and some production activities, i.e., weapons manufacture. However, an appreciation of the context or site where the objects were found adds another layer to help categorise material as military even if it is not a weapon or item or armour.

An essential principle which can be derived from the above discussion is that the context can be considered to define an object as military, which in turn means a 'military context' is "the combination of all activities that took place within a military site" (Allison 2013: 41).

However, it can also be considered that even though a person using or depositing an object might have been attached to the military, the activity around that object might not have been military activity. Hairpins, and children's shoes are a clear example where women and children could have played little to no part in the daily operation of the fort but could have actively used the military space. If we define a military object, or assemblage, as something that comes from a context or activity on a military site, then we attach all activities and contexts on the site, to the military contexts, which might be problematic.

I suggest that military activity should be defined as activity performed for the benefit or in accordance with the military institution. This activity could be performed by military personnel or a civilian. This would also include things like trade or manufacture performed by third parties for the military, whether on or off a military site. Within this definition, I would agree that the Hadrian's Wall turret assemblages should be classes as military.

Using this definition, any objects can potentially fall into the category of military in general. However, only objects on a site which could be associated with what is defined in this study as a military activity can be included in a military activity category. Weapons and armour can certainly be associated with military combat activities. Other activities such as weapons manufacture, while not a combat activity is clearly a military activity. As an example, brooches with a clear military association would fall under Military Activities – Dress and Personal Adornment, but Hairpins would fall under Non-Military Activities - Dress and Personal Adornment.

2.6.8: Identifying military sites and the deposition of military objects

With what constitutes a military object, context and activity defined, being able to identify where these are found is the next step, a Roman military site.

Identifying a Roman military site would appear to be an easy task. Defensive walls, a *principia*, barracks, etc., are all laid out in a regular plan, with some morphological changes over time. 'Military sites', however, is a very general term for many types of installation. Legionary forts, vexillation forts, auxiliary forts, shore forts, wall forts, all fit this category, as well as some ritual sites associated with the military, such as Coventina's Well and the river depositions close to Piercebridge, and there is also the possibility of including *vici*. Some sites are occupied to a lesser or greater extent, depending on the number of soldiers, the length of occupation or the function of the site. There are also several different functions for military sites, determined from the buildings, and find types on the site. Richborough, for example, has many buildings identified as granaries from the first period, demonstrating its use as a supply base. Similarly, this is true of South Shields in c.AD 205-7 (Bidwell and Speak, 1994: 9, 20-6) with many granaries. This is also supported by the high number of weighing instruments from the site (26 objects in Allason-Jones, Miket 1984)

The how and why surrounding the process of deposition is important when interpreting the presence of the military on a site. While archaeological investigations have made huge strides in the recovery of archaeological data, a difficulty which faces Richborough, and many other Roman military sites, is the lack of good stratigraphy. Modern excavations methods have revealed more about the military

use of a site that can be used to interpret these aged collections. Inchtuthil in Scotland demonstrated the systematic clearing of a military base before abandonment and recycling due to the high demands of mining new metals (Bishop, Coulston 2006: 27). The Corbridge hoard, with multiple pieces of military equipment, shows several contemporaneous objects used by the military, as well as the possible reason for the deposition of military equipment. It is suggested that military equipment is largely deposited when strategic moves are made (Bishop, Coulston 2006: 28). The implication is that while soldiers were in their fort, little material was deposited. Some archaeological examples have shown the main find spots to be around the barracks, rather than the administrative buildings (Bishop, Coulston 2006: 28). If these processes of deposition are identified on civilian sites where military objects are found, then it could be suggested that what we see is the end of an official military presence on the site. Hypothetically, a site might continue with a civilian element as military objects are rarely dropped or casually discarded, when they are found on a civilian site it could demonstrate the abandonment of an area of the site by the military community, rather than the whole site. There are various motives and contexts postulated for the deposition of such objects, such as hoards, votive offerings, and grave goods (Bishop, Coulston 2006: 30-4) but one that had been dismissed for the most part is accidental loss (Bishop, Coulston 2006: 24-5). Apart from small objects such as decorative studs, most objects classed as military, particularly weapons, would not have been accidentally lost and not found, unlike small denominations of coins (Bishop, Coulston 2006: 25). The reason for this is that the onus to replace the part could have been on the soldier, therefore there could have been motivation to recover any lost equipment (Bishop, 1985: 12). It could be argued that this is a reason for not identifying an ambiguous object as military, especially where there is no clear evidence of association (such as an image on a relief). However, not all military personnel could have recovered every lost object, and some might have been beyond repair. These objects could be deliberately thrown away or left ready to be melted down.

The combination of military features such as defensive walls, ditches, and buildings as well as many military combat objects at Richborough has been used to demonstrate a site of military use. However, the original interpretation is hindered by the presentation of the stratigraphic evidence. It is not until the final volume, Richborough V, that this is picked apart in more detail. Even then, the emphasis is

very much on the building types discovered as well as the accepted historical evidence that leads to a solely military interpretation and its ending in the early 5th century.

Theoretically speaking, although military combat equipment might point to a military interpretation of a site, objects identified with military combat (swords, armour, shields, and helmets) are sometimes found on sites primarily identified as civilian. In the first century, this is explained by the 'Webster hypothesis' (Bishop 1989: 21), used by Graham Webster (Webster, G. 1980: 17-8) to identify and predict military sites associated with the Claudian invasion from the presence of military equipment. This patterning could also be used to identify other sites with military activity during the British campaigns in the 1st century. However, it cannot be used for the 2nd – 4th centuries where active military campaigns declined. There is not necessarily one explanation for this later presence of military equipment on primarily civilian sites, with suggestions such as manufacture, veterans, or locally raised garrisons, as well as detachments of *Beneficiarii* and other detachments of the regular Roman military used as explanations for why military objects are found there (Bishop 1989: 25-6).

In the 1st century AD, many of the military objects from towns have been demonstrated to be associated with military bases that preceded the establishment of the town, such as Colchester; although some such as those from Silchester have yet to demonstrate this connection (Bishop, 1989: 21). One possible explanation for later military objects in towns might be the military construction of towns and roads. It is unclear where the labour came from in many early Romano-British towns, and short stays by the military for this purpose could suggest a context for deposition. Some of these roads cut through LIA settlements, such as Silchester, which developed into Roman towns. Colchester is another interesting example of the early Roman military in Britain. Starting out as a military base it soon transformed into a *colonia* for veterans. Military finds from this period might be suggestive of veterans retaining their arms and armour (Allason-Jones 2001: 3). Historical precedent for this is demonstrated by the story of Typasius who retained his military equipment when retiring and living in a hermitage (Woods, 1993: 56). Although a highly fictitious account, and written in the late Roman period, the author likely used examples to make his story plausible, such as the retaining of military equipment by a veteran; and it is not unfeasible that this was happening the Colchester *colonia* in the

1st century. St. Albans also has an early military presence but became a *municipium* rather than a *colonia*. However, this is not to suggest that veterans did not settle here, or the army did not have some official duties at the site in the following years. For the 2nd – 3rd century material, Bishop (1989: 24-5) points to openwork military fittings as a link between many early sites of different types and sizes. This evidence would suggest that there can be no one explanation for their presence. Manufacture could be one reason, but this would be likely to potentially relate only to larger sites such as Cirencester. However, at such sites it is generally dismissed as it has been argued manufacture is likely to have occurred in the frontier zones rather than as long-distance trade (Bishop 1989: 25), supported by what we know of the fabrica-system. Literary evidence from the late Roman military writer Vegetius (*De re militari*), the Berlin papyrus (Roman Inscriptions of Britain, inv. 6975) which details production of arms and armour and the identification of fabrica on several military sites across the Empire (Bishop 1985: 2-5) suggests that the Roman military was responsible for the bulk of production. However, Oldenstein (1985: 83-4) suggests that the evidence for bronze working in forts represents the repair of equipment, rather than large scale production by each unit. Large scale production could have been undertaken in times of great need, such as preparing for a campaign (Oldenstein, 1985: 84-5). Shoemakers offcuts from military sites also points to the production of equipment by craftsmen employed by the military, and writing tablets again suggests manufacture in the forts (Van Driel-Murray 1985: 53-4). When settled in a province, the types of equipment, such as belt fittings, made from the same mould rarely travel far, which would suggest small scale local production for replacement or repair (Oldenstein, 1985: 85-6). Military units would therefore have arrived at camp fully equipped and set up production to meet their own local needs.

It is possible that some parts of a town were given over for military use. Roman sites were often in flux, and their primary function does change. Richborough is interpreted as a military site until c.AD 85 when it changes to a civilian use as a port town, and then finally back to military in the mid-late 3rd century. This can cause problems when objects cannot be securely attributed to one period or another, but equally sites such as London, and Colchester present other problems. London, for example, had a Roman fort from the 2nd century, but was largely a civilian development (Wallace 2015), although this is strongly contested by Perring (2011) who suggests a Claudian military camp as the origin on scant

evidence of stretches of V-shaped ditches. There is also the transition of sites such as Colchester to consider. At first it was a legionary fort, which was later transformed into a *colonia*; a civilian settlement occupied by military veterans. When part or the whole of a site changes function, it is important to look at the impact that has on the interpretation of the objects found across the whole site. Other towns such as Corbridge, and Carlisle appear to have a military presence after the demolition of the main fortresses (Bishop 1989: 21). Another such scenario is seen at Corbridge. During the Severan period, two military compounds were set up there at the crossing point of Dere Street and Stanegate. Although the compounds do not appear large enough for a fixed garrison (Bishop, Dore 1989: 115) there could have likely been some fixed military presence, which at times could have bled into the town. As well as this, like the shore forts, in the 2nd - 3rd centuries many towns gained ramparts and walls, which if the military had some hand in constructing them would explain military objects in towns. It is not inconceivable that during large campaigns, or for building projects, parts of towns were given over to military use. Some sites, such as Westhawk Farm, were apparently given over to military use for a short period for a specific purpose; possibly the *annona militaris* (Cool, H. E. M. 2008: 158). Whatever the reason for the military use and, although this period at Westhawk Farm (late 2nd – early 3rd c.) was not contemporary with the shore fort at Richborough, it overlaps with the fort at Reculver, and *Classis Britannica* forts at Dover, and possibly Lympne. The military links are slight, but fabric associated with the *Classis Britannica* stamped tiles might suggest a role for them on the site (Booth, Bingham et al. 2008: 390-1). The coin loss pattern also suggests a military pattern of supply; however, this could still represent a community dependent on a “military pattern of supply” (Booth, Bingham et. al. 2008: 391). It is possible to see Westhawk Farm as given over to a military occupation or home to a small group of military personnel attached to the settlement (Booth, Bingham et. al. 2008: 391). Importantly, Westhawk Farm represents what appears to be a civilian settlement given over fully or in part to a military use. If only in part, it demonstrates military and civilian communities living side by side with differential usage of the site.

As well as parts of sites being given over to official military use there is the possibility of local levies or the billeting of mercenaries. This could well be related to the abandonment of the province and British towns taking measures for their own protection. In Libya, it has been suggested that a number

of settlements along the Roman border were the result of military or paramilitary connections; although the evidence is weak some of these did have military connections where individuals bore military titles (Mattingly 2013: xvii-xxiv). A comparison with Roman Kent is tricky given the different topography and position relative to the frontiers, however, a similar exploitation for supply could be suggested for sites across Kent.

Belt fittings have been found in numerous British towns (Hawkes 2005: 63). At Shakenoak Villa, near Wilcote, fittings of this period, along with well-worn Theodosian coins suggest a use of the site up to AD 430 (Hawkes, 2005: 61-64). As well as this, a further fitting of a similar type was found elsewhere on the site in a context c.AD 450 (Hawkes, 2005: 208-9). Even if we accept that some types of military objects in towns imply a military presence, such as swords, shields and some types of brooches and belt fittings which are clearly militarily associated, it is a guessing game as to whether the amount of military equipment belonged to a handful of individuals or a larger body of men (Bishop 1989: 25-6).

The evidence for a more active role of the Roman military in towns comes largely from other provinces. In Syria and Mesopotamia, it has been demonstrated, from literary, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence that there was a close connection between the army, civilians, and towns. In the Principate, Roman military bases were situated on pre-existing cities with some strategic advantage (Pollard 2000: 35-40). However, exceptions exist where the presence of a military base developed into an urban centre (Pollard, 2000: 38-9). It could be simply that an abandoned military site could be developed into an urban centre by a few enterprising locals, but a pre-existing relationship between the military and civilian communities could spearhead the development. In the Late Empire fortress cities appeared not only to suit the regions defensive requirements, but also to house civilian communities (Pollard, 2000: 251). Both soldiers and civilians lived in close proximity and at times the dichotomy weakened with both participating in defensive measures (Pollard, 2000: 79). This is not to say that direct parallels can be drawn between east and west, but at Richborough and the shore forts, there is a presumption of late military occupation based upon little evidence. Where there is separation, it is based upon the idea that institutional identity superseded ethnic identities (Pollard, 2000: 252).

In Britain, London, for example, had a Roman fort from the 2nd century, but largely developed as a civilian settlement (Wallace 2015), although this is strongly contested by Perring (2011). There is also the transition of sites such as Colchester to consider. Firstly, a legionary fort was erected which was later transformed into a *colonia*; a civilian settlement occupied by military veterans. Corbridge is another example where a military installation was attached to the pre-existing civilian settlement, where interaction between the two groups could have been inevitable.

2.6.9: Understanding Richborough's Military Periods

Of course, Richborough, with its two distinct periods of military occupation, should fall neatly into the category of a military site. At first it was some form of installation for the AD 43 invasion and then the supply of the military in the province, and then its role in the mid-3rd century was as part of the shore fort system often defined as having had a defensive role.

However, there is a need to identify the activity that took place on the site, and whether it can be determined as solely military throughout these periods. Although the 1st century evidence points to a military 'supply base', there is a time when this transitions to a port town, similarly to Colchester developing into a veteran colony. It is unclear who initiated this change, whether it was an official change, to which the monument would point, or whether it was an organic shift after a military abandonment. If the former is the case it is quite possible that the military were involved in the conversion and worked alongside a civilian population for a short time; some might have even stayed to live and work at Richborough. Possible evidence for this comes from a group of brooches often associated with the military which are dated to the port town period (Bayley, Butcher 2004). The presence of a possible 'lamp shop' in the port town period indicates trade primarily for the military. Although this would not directly attest to an official military presence, the trade coming through Richborough might be related to what came before. Although this thesis is primarily concerned with the activity during named military periods, the transition from one to another is never clear cut and this does not rule out some official military use of the site during the 'port town' phase. Of note is the building on Site 3 which dates to the Late-Flavian period and remains in some form until the shore

fort is constructed. Identified as a 'mansio' it might be one area of Richborough during the port town period which was controlled by the military.

Moving into the shore fort period, the sites at Brancaster, Reculver, Richborough, Dover and Caister all had some occupation preceding the mid-3rd century shore forts. The reoccupation of sites which possibly had some civilian occupation could suggest the interaction of military and civilian on these sites. During the shore fort period, the coin evidence from the excavated shore forts suggests peaks and troughs in occupation. In the mid-late 4th century, the activity on shore fort sites changes to one of total or gradual abandonment, with a late 'disordered' occupation in some cases. At some shore forts, this might indicate the total or temporary abandonment by the Roman military, with civilian occupation in between or afterwards. It is still unclear what the *Notitia Dignitatum* indicates as to the occupation by Roman military units, so we cannot rule out a civilian occupation of some shore forts at some stage in their life. If the shore forts were once built as a unified system of forts during the mid-3rd century, then at some point their usage changed. At this stage, a civilian occupation at certain times, either in place of, or alongside, a military occupation, cannot be ruled out.

Pearson (2005: 84) suggests the shore forts were used to supply the provinces with meat and grain and were primarily supply bases in the late Roman period. As Bishop (1989) suggests, military combat equipment was unlikely to simply be lost on military sites. The deposition of military equipment is linked to the abandonment of the site by the military. So, any military equipment at Richborough is due to the abandonment of the military site. However, during periods, such as the early 4th century (c.AD 300-330) where there appears to be a dearth of military objects, there could be a predominantly civilian occupation, or at least an occupation not ordered around military occupation.

A clearer discussion of the features and associated finds is needed to establish the nature of the community throughout the occupation period. For instance, in both identified military periods, there are many buildings which received little to no dating, interpretation or function. Whether these turn out to have a military or civilian function on the site is yet to be seen. However, with nearly 100 years of research on other sites they can be returned to in a new light in this thesis. Over 300 pits were

excavated but little work has been done to plot these on individual plans of each period. Much of the emphasis was on the pottery finds to date the pits, but little work was undertaken on the associated small finds. Additionally, the nature of these depositions needs further interpretation. A likely votive deposit was missed in Pit 20, while the objects themselves can reveal more about the people living on the site. Often these pits offer some of the best recorded stratigraphy on the site. Similarly, the series of ditches across the site (the Claudian, earth fort, and shore fort) have similarly well recorded stratigraphy. The building evidence on site, especially for the shore fort period is probably the weakest, however, from what evidence there is the artefactual material has not been used fully.

In combination with object studies since the latter half of the 20th century these features are key in determining the nature of the community on the site. In other areas where the stratigraphy is not as well recorded, object studies will be important in developing a nuanced understanding of the development of each military period. For instance, several 'military' brooches can now be dated to the late 2nd – 3rd century, a time where an abandonment of the site is assumed. These brooches could point to an unrecognised period of military occupation. Another example comes from the first military period. The earliest Roman objects have been overlooked and will tell us more about who was involved in these changes. From modern excavations, our understanding of how objects are deposited on military sites has increased and unfortunately in this way Richborough has been somewhat left behind.

2.6.10: Summary

This section has outlined several problems with the definitions of the military in Roman Britain. Military objects might well be identifiable based upon their look and clear function (e.g., swords, shields, helmets), however, there are number of challenges, such as whether to include everyday objects (e.g., toilet sets, combs, sewing kits) as components of military equipment. I have decided to define military objects as those attached to activities that facilitate military operations. There needs to be a clear distinction between combat and non-combat equipment and activities, also between objects that facilitate military operations and those that do not. For objects with multiple purposes, or those

that could have belonged to both soldiers and civilians, context is all important and will be used accordingly to help categorise material.

Context can reveal more difficulties as discussed above. When classifying material, the perceived site type and main function can cloud the view of to whom the object belonged. Strap-ends are a fitting example, having been argued as used by both military personnel, officials, and civilians, both male and female (Eckardt, Crummy 2006). Some objects, such as helmet strap or bucket handle covers, which are similar, are likely beyond any clear distinction. However, where possible, this author proposes that objects should only be associated with the military where there is good reason, (e.g., additional evidence such as context or clear parallels to suspect a solely or primary military use) to suspect a military association. In this case, these objects would fall into military combat or non-combat activities. In other cases, they would fall into a few other categories. Where an object could fit into two categories, this author suggests that the object be split, and half the object be placed in each category. By doing so, this will mean neither category is over or underrepresented, producing a bias toward one interpretation or another.

Bishop (1989) has demonstrated how military objects are not always found solely on military sites, for several reasons. If we are using context to confirm military classification, we must be sure that the context is military. Although this appears clear-cut in most cases several sites show military and civilian activity side by side. In terms of objects, detail of deposition is important. Military equipment is less likely to be the result of casual loss, therefore when found on a site it is likely indicative of military activity, whether the site fits a 'military' profile or not. Since we also know that military sites were not simply restricted to military personnel, a balance of finds and features is considered to identify a military site. Diagnostic material like combat equipment will be important here.

Moving forward, Richborough is a difficult case. It has always been interpreted as a military site, as part of the invasion and as part of the 'Saxon shore'. However, in nearly 100 years many new approaches to Roman finds have been considered, with the Richborough collection being left behind. Richborough housed Roman military units during two periods: the early fort, and the shore fort. However, there has been little discussion about other parts of society that occupied the site.

The solely defensive function of the shore fort can be questioned, and it likely had other functions. Even so, these functions were most likely controlled by the military, so the shore fort can still be accepted as a military period. Additionally, although many military style granaries were discovered, suggesting a supply base up to the Flavian period, there are several other buildings known on the site which might not fit a military profile; or if they do, they might reveal a new dimension to the military occupation. This can also be said of the shore fort period. Few buildings remain, but for those that do, little interpretation or function has been attached due to the lack of form or productive activities. Furthermore, the dating of many objects on the site was due to their stratigraphy, but apart from over 300 pits, close dating is difficult. This means that a special case is needed in identifying unambiguous military contexts at Richborough. Although the reports provide an overview of the buildings and pits and wells there is much more research that can now be done. New approaches to the Roman military, objects, typological catalogues, and chronological and distribution studies can contribute to a new understanding of the site. Richborough was slotted into the Roman military history of Britain for several hundred years and the excavations would appear to have proved that. However, with much research since, outlined above, there is a need to modify current interpretation. In this author's opinion, there is enough doubt to suggest that the military → civilian → military narrative of Richborough can be questioned, and the following investigation of a selection of the military objects is simply the beginning.

2.7: Approaches to Roman small finds

Roman small finds studies have changed much since the time of the Richborough excavation, with new methods and approaches to cataloguing objects as well as their interpretation. This section will cover approaches to small finds useful to the analysis of the Richborough collection. This will include contextual approaches such as Allason-Jones (Allason-Jones 2011) and Allison (2013) as well as the theoretical perspectives of Eckardt (2014) and Swift (2017). The design and function of the objects will also be addressed to present a combined approach to identity, and design and use. Each section will incorporate some consideration of how the Richborough material can be approached from the particular perspective under discussion.

Furthermore, theories of object biography will be applied to investigate the design, production, use, reuse, repair, recycling, and death of the objects.

2.7.1: A Contextual and Theoretical Approach

Allason-Jones (2011: 1) approaches artefacts by asking six questions: regarding appearance, construction, function, design, significance, and context. To answer each of these questions many factors are considered, such as material, production, design, and use, whether the object is symbolic or practical, and our own experience of modern artefacts. Material and production methods can lead us to ask questions about how and where an object was made; whether it was made locally using culturally specific techniques and or local materials, or skills and raw materials from further afield. Studying design and use can help us determine whether an object was used for its intended purpose, or whether it was manipulated for another task. Wear and usage marks on the object can also be observed to find answers regarding usage. This can then lead on to determining if an object had any practical usage or if it was simply symbolic. A good example of this is the category of votive miniature objects, such as swords or axes, which cannot be used but symbolise the functional object. Our own experiences with objects influence the answers we derive. While this is often helpful, there also many cultural biases which influence how we see an object, particularly assumptions about its use.

In the past two decades, theoretical perspectives have been used to define more symbolic and abstract concepts associated with an object by an individual or group, rather than its purely functional use. These studies have often focused on the identity of people, considering how age, gender, race, etc., were constructed and perceived. TRAC (Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference) has made a large contribution toward these subjects (Swift 2016: 82). Many of these articles have often focused on single artefact categories, as have many small finds specialists, rather than taking an integrated approach to finds assemblages (Swift, 2016: 82; 84). This is clearly at odds with the contextual approach that developed at the same time. Although in the following sections I will draw heavily on recent theoretical approaches to small finds, contextual approaches such as Allason-Jones (Allason-

Jones 2011) and Allison (2013) will also be used to complement the contextual data that can be drawn from the site regarding assemblages, and so are also considered here.

This thesis focuses primarily on military objects and tools in its detailed investigation of artefacts.

Other objects which make up an assemblage alongside these will play a part in the interpretation. However, as contextual data is often limited, my approach will also draw on Eckardt's work to investigate the identities of the occupants of Richborough.

2.7.2: Comparative Site Studies: German Limes and Dura-Europos

Allison's (2013: 39-42) contextual approach demonstrates that assemblages of artefacts can inform on the contexts of their use. When comparing Pompeii with sites in the NW provinces, the study revealed that Pompeian assemblages in houses had much in common with NW military assemblages (Allison, 2014: 40). Allison's (2013: 39-49) approach involved both finding a new way to reclassify artefacts into activity categories and the spatial analysis of these activities. While I have critiqued this approach to artefact classification in the previous section, it is an important approach that needs further consideration. To place objects into activity categories, the multiplicity of functions must be considered (Allison 2013: 44). Allison (2013: 44) gives the example of pendants. As items of personal adornment, they fall under jewellery, a subcategory of 'dress'. However, some are also parts of armour or horse harnesses and therefore fall under the category of 'combat dress? /horse equipment?'. However, as discussed in the previous section, the three large activity categories that these artefact categories fall under are too broad. There are also other problems encountered with this methodology. The obvious one is identification of objects with activity groups. Only a small % of the small finds from Allison's sites could be ascribed to activity categories.

<i>Site</i>	<i>No. of objects</i>	<i>No. of categorised objects</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Vetera I</i>	12,736	2,280	17.9%

<i>Rottweil I and II</i>	2,845	63	2.2%
<i>Oberstimm</i>	4,700	800	17%
<i>Hesselbach</i>	1,200	82	6.8%
<i>Elligen</i>	15,537	1,700	10.9%

The numbers are low relative to the total number of objects. Much of this comes from the uncertainty of identification from published reports and not being able to personally identify each object. This is where the Richborough collection provides a good collection for this exercise. While not every object from the site will be studied in this thesis, the collection is accessible for such a project.

Another difficulty is with the gendering of objects. Allison (2013: 44-5) addresses the difficulty of gendering objects and while some are definitive, others are more subjective. For example, combat equipment is always male, based on what we know of the Roman military. Some other objects such as certain brooch types, based upon years of detailed contextual studies, can be suggested to have been worn by men or women. Items of jewellery such as finger rings are more difficult, and Allison (2013: 81) bases these on finger sizes, although this is far from definitive. However, objects such as bracelets and earrings were considered more feminine items during the Roman period. It seems traditional, even slightly stereotypical that tools, writing equipment and weighing instruments are labelled as male. On a military site many occupants could have been male, and these tasks could have been linked to the military activity on the site. However, as a Roman relief of a Roman butchers shop (Fig.2.3) and the birthday invite of Sulpicia Lepidina (Tab.Vindol.291) writing was not solely a male undertaking and definitely not on military sites or for military purposes.

Redacted

Fig.2.3. Roman relief of a butcher in his shop and a women with what appears to be a writing tablet (Hawkins 2016: 262, Fig.4.1)

Similarly, most cloth working equipment is labelled female, although the Hadrian's Wall turrets suggest men working with cloth in a small way. This presents the picture that men on the site carry out combatant and non-combatant activities, even those usually carried out by women, but rarely the other way around. Items of personal adornment associated with women distributed across the sites demonstrates little correlation between these objects and the industrial areas; particularly at Ellingen (Allison, 2013: 266-8), questioning whether women were working on this site, and showing the merit of Allison's gendering of objects. Although this study is primarily concerned with the military objects and tools from Richborough, both of which are gendered male by Allison, consideration will also be given to the objects found alongside these in particular contexts. This will not be wholly representative of the site, as a study including all objects would be needed, but will go some way to associating gender with activities.

One difficulty that occurs is the roles of the people on site, whether they are a combatant or non-combatant as discussed in the previous section. However, rather than a generalised category of 'Artefacts associated with specific activities' and labelling everything outside of combat equipment as

'non-combatant' as Allison (2013: 89-90) does, it will be more useful to split the non-combatant activities into 'military' and 'non-military' combatant activities as described in Chapter 2.7. This way I will be able to investigate contextually where activities were for the benefit of the military or were simply carried out on a military site.

The other part of Allison's (2013: 45-9) study was to map the objects across the sites. Using GIS, Allison (2013: 47) used excavation reports to map non-digital and non-georeferenced data. Due to the small scale of the sites, as opposed to traditional landscape studies using GIS, georeferenced data is not always needed. Therefore a 'pseudo-GIS environment' was created that was not linked to any global reference system (Allison, 2013: 47). As a technical exercise mapping objects across the site is useful to see their distribution. However, it is problematic when ascribing functions to buildings from the artefacts. Allison (2013: 48) points to Zanier's (1992: 76-7) interpretation of a building as a workshop, based on the tools, while Zanier also argued that the ground plan had suggested it was a barracks. Allison's (2013: 36-5) consumption approach, using social theoretical frameworks to understand consumption or 'use', with ascription of activity categories and gendered attribution leads to a 'closer approximation of past practice' (Allison, 2013: 45) and an understanding of 'the socio-spatial practices of these communities and the complexity of their membership (Allison, 2013: 49). Whether a building is a barrack or a workshop, the activity in it and the socio-spatial practices are privileged above any formal identification of building function. Many activities could have taken place in many different buildings, so it is erroneous, as in artefact studies, to attribute a single function.

While Allison had the difficulty of attributing more than a small % of objects to a category, the access to the Richborough collection allows for a much higher attribution rate. However, the Richborough excavations suffer when it comes to quality of excavation. Many artefacts come from an unspecific context, or no context at all, making the GIS mapping more of a challenge. However, what Richborough does have is a series of numerous features; namely, the pits, mentioned in the previous chapter. The dating of these could be critical to understanding the distribution of activities on the site, as it is unlikely that material from one area of the site will have been deposited in a pit far away from

its area of use. It would be an impossible task for this study to re-date all the pits, however, based on Bushe-Fox's dating, they can be mapped by period. Where they contain objects that fall into this study (military equipment and tools) we can begin to re-date pits associated with this material and potentially map activities across the site. This process could then be taken forward with other objects. Where artefacts have a large context, for example 'Area VIII', a careful survey of the field notes will help to narrow these down. Richborough will be 'zoned' into these excavation areas (as described in the methodology) to map these objects. Clearly the function of an object cannot be readily determined by casual observation but requires rigorous inquiry.

Another relevant study is that of Dura-Europos by James (2016), who studied the arms and armour for his PhD thesis. The complete nature of the collection required the objects be fitted into functional categories rather than material (James 2016: 10). The categories are not as detailed as Allison; however, dress, armour and different types of weapons are all separated. James (2016: 26) came up against many of the problems that face the Richborough collection such as the excavation archive being fraught with "incompleteness, errors, confusions and losses of information." The ultimate goal to put the information on the internet is worked toward by creating a large database to which archive material and photographs are linked" (James 2016: 26). The recording system is like Richborough, however, rather than sites and areas, Dura consists of insulae (James 2016: 26-7). Some buildings also acquired names (James 2016: 26), but these were about the building styles and finds rather than the materials or excavators at Richborough (e.g., The Chalk House or The Clauson House). James (2016: 26-30) provides an overview of the state of the collection from excavation to deposition in the archive. There is no need to repeat this summary here, but the Dura and Richborough collections are similar in the state of the collection and missing archives and artefacts.

2.7.3: Material Culture: Identities

A recent publication (Eckardt 2014) expands upon how we can perceive objects as active "in the creation and sustaining of social identity" (Eckardt 2014: 20). This approach has been popular during the 20th century, and reflects the ever-growing spectrum of identities across age, gender, race etc.,

through self-designation within a social group, as well as by others viewing the group from the outside. However, due to this, there has been a lack of theoretical perspectives on the function of objects (Swift 2017: 3). These perspectives are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and each provides a window into how we can perceive the use of an object functionally as well as symbolically. Let us consider Eckardt's work first.

Eckardt (2014) approaches small finds from the perspective of the owner's self-ascribed identity. Eckardt (Eckardt 2014) demonstrates how single objects can represent multiple aspects of a person's self-ascribed identity. While the way that Eckardt (2014) employs theories on identity to interrogate objects is the key theme of the book, she also highlights the importance of the data to apply these theories with a solid contextual background. Bucket pendants and gold-in-glass beads (Eckardt 2014: 35-50) provide a good example. Much like the spears of Loikop in Kenya (Larick 1986), the four bucket pendants from Brougham (Eckardt 2014: 34-5) might well have had multiple meanings of age, gender, and ethnicity. At the same time, their uniqueness in Britain might have caused people outside their self-ascribed identity to see them as other in some way, if not as an identifiable marker of origin (Eckardt 2014: 61). These pendants in Britain were found a long way from their main distribution in north and east Europe, mostly outside the Roman Empire (Eckardt 2014). With no other British parallels, it can be argued that these objects are intrusive and a sign of incomers (Eckardt 2014), rather than traded, for which we would expect more examples. Objects found alongside the pendants also pointed to people of continental European origin (Eckardt 2014). Items such as this which are of low value and found outside their usual distribution may show the movement of their owner (Eckardt 2014). With the addition of epigraphic evidence, burial practice and other, non-local, material culture suggested a migrant population. Something as small and subtle as a bucket pendant might not be as clear as other aspects such as larger or more overt features, such as ethnic dress and appearance or fighting style (Eckardt 2014). However, dress and fighting style are less tangible as evidence and we must work from what we can see archaeologically. Similarly, evidence from grave assemblages from Krefeld-Gellep in the Lower Rhine shows that non-locals were present (Swift 2010). Multiple motif and cogwheel bracelets, which originate in Britain were found in the assemblages (Swift 2010: 250-2). It was determined that people had moved around the Empire acquiring objects which were deposited

with them after their deaths in the Krefeld-Gellep region (Swift 2010: 258-65; 71). Similarly, to the bucket pendants, the bias towards military sites/large towns of some of the object types suggests that these objects were not traded but transported to these locations by individuals or groups and not dispersed widely in the province (Swift 2010: 271).

These groups could have both attempted to maintain their identity, whilst creating new identities for themselves; they could appear local and non-local simultaneously (Lilley 2007: 287). However, an approach such as this with objects, even with other evidences needs a word of caution. Even if incomers can be identified, it is unclear how they could have appeared, how much of their outsider identities they could have retained, and how far they constructed new identities for themselves in their new community. Objects are used to manipulate identity and do not always reflect a person's nationality or ethnicity (Cool, H. E. M. 2010: 27-8) .A person might heavily adopt the identity of their local culture, even if it does not reflect that of their past. Conversely, some might appropriate the culture of those who could be called 'outsiders'. This approach also demonstrates the importance of studying how people retained or relinquished identities. (Eckardt 2014: 2-3).

During both the early and late periods at Richborough there is clear evidence for military occupation. Not only is there the possibility of civilians interacting with the military community, but there is also the possibility for discrepant identities within the military community itself. As Richborough is a site that throughout the Roman period ties Britain to Gaul and beyond, it could have been home to innumerable incomers to Britain who maintained these connections. Unlike the bucket pendants, which show a large geographical gap between their origin and their distribution, Richborough is on the boundary of two provinces, only separated by a short body of water. Therefore, foreign objects will be present that may have only travelled short distances. With traffic and goods flowing in both directions, there is the strong possibility of outsiders living and working on the site. Intrusive objects in landscape (i.e. those carried long distances as personal objects), are easier to spot when there is a great distance between their region of origin and their final deposition, however, their identification proves problematic for Richborough. Traded objects in the Roman world are likely to show a pattern of dispersal from their production origin With the English Channel between Richborough and the

other provinces, distance is not a wholly reliable factor. It could have been much easier to transport large numbers of objects across the sea than short distances over land. Furthermore, unlike the location of the bucket pendants, where there is a large body of land between their origin and their place of deposition, there is no stopping point between northern Gaul and southern Britannia. It is not possible to suggest a large gap between the point of origin and place of deposition. The suggestion that some object groups were localised to military sites/large towns could help overcome this problem. Without a wider distribution in Britain, these objects are likely to have been brought in by individuals rather than traded. At Richborough, the presence of late crossbow brooches which were made in state run workshops outside of Britannia and worn by the military and high-status civilian officials suggests a late Roman military presence of continental origin (Swift 2000: 80-1). A further example is the head weight of Harpocrates. This type is found in other provinces (Franken 1994: 167, B46), but the one from Richborough is the only example from Roman Britain. Being able to identify whether objects at Richborough represent the norm or not will be key to understanding the members of the community.

2.7.4: Material Culture: Design, Function and Use

When attempting to uncover the identities of an object's owner, our observation of design, function and use is important. Objects were designed, manufactured, and took time and monetary investment (Allason-Jones 2011). However, inferences about the design, function and use have usually been informed through our own experience of objects, rather than theoretically informed. While I have not directly applied this approach to the main object studies this thesis body it is an approach that has been considered while cataloguing objects. Shears for example have been catalogued along the lines of Swifts (2017: 56-101) study on shears and I have begun to develop a new typology for Roman knives (Appendix 4).

Previous functional studies have attributed function to an object through modern comparison of form (Swift 2017: 2-3). As discussed above, our interpretation of an object's function is heavily influenced by our own experiences. Some objects are potentially multi-functional. Allison (2013: 43) discovered

this in Pompeii where a flexible approach was needed to allow for a range of possible uses. While a craftsman might design and manufacture an object with features intended for a single use, the owner of an object might have other ideas. Crumby's functional categories do not consider that range of tasks that an object could have performed.

Swift's (2017) approach to objects is to apply design theory (Forty 1986, Whiteley 1993, Attfield 2000, Norman 2002, Risatti 2007, Shove 2007), particularly the concept of *affordances*, which "describes the perceived functional properties of an artefact that make possible, and incline people towards, specific uses" (Swift 2017: 5). Affordances affect the overall design, function, and use of an object, which are linked to the social experience of the designer (Swift 2017: 4-16). These affordances allow people to recognise the object and establish its uses.

While an object may be designed to have a universal use and understanding, the cultural background of the designer may make affordances culturally specific (Swift 2017: 7-8), so the objects specific cultural use might not be immediately obvious to an outsider. The experiences of the designer and their self-ascribed identity affect how they make objects, and biases can intentionally or unintentionally exclude a group from the use of an object. In the most extreme cases this can lead to a wholesale manipulation of society, restricting the agency of groups in space and time.

A key factor in Swift's (2017: 9-10) design approach is the idea of 'proper' and 'system function' which comes from Preston (2000). Proper function relates to the normative function of the object, as intended by the designer. The system function relates to the actual use of an object within a social structure. This use can relate to the 'proper' function of the object but can also be a divergent use. Both proper and system function can relate closely to the cultural norms of individuals and groups. Some system functions can end up becoming proper function through the wider adoption of divergent use of an object. The designer therefore has agency to provide people with an object that follows or challenges society, while the end users have agency to manipulate an object to fit with their identity as an individual or a collective and contribute to ongoing modification in design (Swift 2017: 12-6).

Richborough yields great potential in this area. Again, on the boundary of two provinces, the amount of differing social groups passing through could have brought a wealth of objects made across the Empire. The functional analysis of the military objects will help to indicate the different cultural groups within the army. This is pertinent to the late phase at Richborough where mercenaries were hired alongside the regular legionaries. Other groups, such as the tools, can be investigated for indications of whether they were used for their proper function or were manipulated for other uses. The use wear on these objects, for instance, will indicate whether the same types of tools were used for the same function, or if there were multiple functions. However, the condition of the objects might make this difficult.

2.7.5: A Combined Approach

Eckardt's (2014), and Swift's (2017) theoretical approaches are not mutually exclusive, and have huge potential to be used in tandem to inform the interpretation of Roman small finds. The identities of the object user and design of an object are inherently intertwined, where the identity and cultural knowledge of the user affects how they use and manipulate the functional features of the object. Functional features also relate to wider cultural customs within society. Furthermore, when an object is designed, it is designed with a series of conscious and unconscious assumptions about the users, such as height, strength, and dexterity, which are often linked to age, class, and gender (Swift 2017: 12). These design elements can help determine who within a group used these objects and what tasks they undertook. A design approach to the objects from Richborough would enable not only the identification of those members of the wider collective but also those who might be considered outsiders. By not only looking at what objects are present, and in what contexts, but also at how they were designed, used, and manipulated we can begin to identify how divergent object use relates to the multiple identities within a community. This would appear extremely potent at a site such as Richborough, sitting on the edge of Britain, as an entry and exit point for people and objects that embrace many different identities and functions.

2.7.6: Object Biography: From Birth to Death

The above approach requires an understanding of the life of the objects. Archaeological finds are presented in the record at the end of what is considered their useful life, i.e., how they looked when they were deposited, either deliberately or accidentally. Therefore, this is not necessarily the configuration of the object at the time of manufacture. Throughout its life, much like a person, a biography of an object can be constructed by asking a series of questions about its life (Kopytoff 1986: 66-7). Allason-Jones (2011) sums this up well:

“Every object found was designed for a purpose, either by its owner or a craftworker... Every object will have its history of manufacture and use; not every object will have had only one use before being discarded. Every object found... also had a reason for its deposition or breakage or loss...” (Allason-Jones, 2011: 19).

During its life, an object is exchanged as a commodity, based upon its value in relation to a counterpart and becomes a “culturally constructed entity, endowed with culturally specific meanings” (Kopytoff, 1988: 68). In opposition to this, singular objects are not seen as exchangeable as they are unique (Kopytoff, 1986: 73-83), such as inherited objects which are removed from commoditization and into singularization (Kopytoff, 1986: 80). Although an object can be endowed with cultural meaning, after exchange as a mundane commodity, it may gain new meaning that, to a small group, makes it unique. However, the object could still be exchanged as a commodity with and by someone who does not singularize the object.

There are two main approaches to object biographies. One is the anthropological ‘biographical’ approach and the other is the archaeological ‘life history’ approach (Joy 2009: 541-3). The first approach often focuses on a single object, while the latter attempts to demonstrate change over time by artefacts (Joy 2009: 542). The biographical approach is often hindered by the lack of a full story; birth (production) to death (deposition/disuse). The life history approach is also hindered by the wide timescale it employs to show technological change and generalises the history of an object group. These approaches take biography as a linear narrative.

Joy's (2009) approach to object biography considers the stages of birth to death along with the various agents who play a part in the object's production. This breaks with the linear narrative suggesting that an object's biography is the sum of extensive social relationships that constitute the object (Joy 2009: 545). While there is some linearity to an object's life, archaeological evidence can be pieced together from the object to show the connectivity of strands at each stage that represent social relationships. This way we do not need to understand the entire biography of the object but can extract parts from the form in which it is found. For example, Joy (2009: 546-52) shows not only that the Portesham Iron Age mirror was not only made from component parts of different alloys, but also that each component called upon other object designs and decorations of the time. Here we can see that the maker and designer of the object had a web of social relationships with different sources for the material, both mined and recycled from other objects, as well as contact with those, directly or indirectly, who designed the other objects. We can also talk more about the mirror than just its use as a reflective surface. Joy (2009: 550-1) demonstrates that the mirror likely saw little use during its life, from the lack of wear and damage. It was therefore 'alive' only at certain times and stored much of the time. It ended its life in a richly furnished grave and was probably part of the ceremony that went along with the burial (Joy 2009: 551). It is through use and performance that the object comes 'alive' and its meaning is made explicit (Gosden, Marshall 1999, Joy 2009: 544). What is also interesting here is that the agents involved throughout the object's life exert influence through its use on others, even though those others are not the owner of the object, adding another relationship to the object's biography. Objects are "invested with personality" through various processes by human agency (Hoskins, 2005: 75), including production, transformation, display and even 'killing' the object. In this way, objects, both functional and not, are "produced to influence the thoughts and actions of others" (Hoskins, 2005: 75 on Gell, 1998).

2.7.7: Reuse and Repair

From birth to death an object is manipulated not only by the hands through which it passes, but all those agents who influence or are influenced by the object. Changes in use, additions, repairs, and

recycling all contribute to the final form in which the object is found which is part of an object biography but is worth considering in more detail as a separate topic.

Reused objects are not simply objects which have undergone some physical transformation to serve a new purpose; however, this is the most identifiable form of reuse to archaeologists. An object can change function within a society without undergoing any physical transformation (Swift 2012a: 168).

Identifying this reuse in unmodified objects is difficult but not impossible. One example is the contents of amphora or glass bottles, where the extant contents is different to the inscriptions that list the contents or what the vessels are known to have commonly contained (Swift 2012b: 93). Reuse can also be observed in the curation and retention of artefacts where an artefact is kept 'well beyond its production date' (Swift 2012: 168a). An extreme case of this is how we use archaeological artefacts today in museums. None of these objects serve their original purpose, but through curation they now serve to educate. Swift (2012a) has demonstrated how late 4th – early 5th century Roman bracelets were recycled into finger rings. A combination of factors, bends in the circumference and removal of one or both terminals, contribute to their identification (Swift, 2012a: 168). Fortunately for this study, many bracelets (c.222) and finger rings (c.183) exist from Richborough, opening the potential to investigate other late Roman recycling as a new cultural phenomenon at the site. However, not all modifications are as extreme as those seen for bracelets, by changing one object (i.e., a bracelet) into another (i.e., a finger ring). Some, such as weighing instruments, show signs of modification and repair rather than a change in function. Most of the weighing instruments from Britain show that all parts are made from the same material. At least 20% of complete steelyards, however, show that the material of the shank (usually iron) of the weights does not match the material (usually copper-alloy) of the rest of the object. This would suggest that the weight may have been changed at some point.

Further XRF analysis of this material might reveal weighing balances with parts made from mixed alloys. One unprovenanced steelyard from Forbach (Lutz 1971: 55, Fig.2.1) has bronze chains attached to an iron arm, demonstrating a repair. Additionally, a steelyard pan from Carlisle (Howard-Davis 2009: 761-2, Fig.441.286) has a weight welded on the bottom to change the measurement of the scale. This does not necessarily suggest cheating, but more likely indicates a change to increase the load capacity of the steelyard. Additionally, a material analysis of the copper-alloy objects can help not

only to identify recycled or modified objects, but other things too. Objects of very mixed alloys with varying compositions suggest the melting down and refashioning of unwanted objects into something new (Swift, 2012a: 189). One particular steelyard (HOMS 7351179) from Richborough has fittings that does not match the type of balance, suggesting they are later repairs.

2.7.8: Summary

Given the nature of the Richborough collection, with little to no contextual information, much of the artefact analysis will have to rely on other evidence, relating to the functional features of artefacts, or to how both functional and symbolic features represent cultural identity, as discussed in this section. A new approach to categorisation will be taken, placing objects into activity categories rather than traditional functional groups, following on from Allison (2013) as outlined above.

The purpose will be to interrogate the objects for information regarding their regional cultural background (i.e. continental or insular to Britain), whether that relates to people from continental Europe importing objects or those who already lived in Britain adopting new styles, as well as object use and reuse. Richborough, as a coastal site, has the potential to demonstrate a wide variety of regional cultural associations through the objects. These regional cultural identities will then be used to investigate the use of objects in context (Chapter 6). In this way, the collection can tell us about the use of the site and object by locals and non-locals, as well as the communities represented. Further questions that will be considered are whether objects were local products or imports, new or recycled objects, and this will help to place Richborough in its local, provincial, and Empire-wide context.

With a large body of evidence from the Richborough small finds catalogue for the working of many materials, it will be a useful exercise to investigate the material from both the early and late periods. This will help us understand the site changes through time and to observe the connections with local, regional, and Empire-wide communities.

Chapter 3 : Re-dating Richborough

The purpose of this chapter is to readdress the evidence on which the chronology and narrative is based. New evidence to re-date the primary phases at Richborough has come to light after extensive study of the 1922 – 1939 excavation archive. In this chapter, I demonstrate that the dating in the site reports is flawed and that a fresh look at the excavation is needed.

3.1: The Old Site Phasing: Summary

Jocelyn Bushe-Fox led the excavations, and the post-excavation material was handled by various people, including Aileen Fox who joined the excavations in 1929. Sections of her autobiography give an important insight into the processes on site. The workmen were miners, in the same way as at Hengistbury Head (Barry Cunliffe, *pers. comm.*). The workmen were paid 30s (£1.50) per week and extra depending on their finds; “for example a penny or tuppence for a bronze coin according to size, sixpence for a silver one or for a bronze brooch” (Fox 2000, 47). Although attention was paid to stratigraphy, finds in pits were only recorded at “regular intervals” (Fox 2000, 48). More elementary stratigraphy was paid closer attention, such as the road surfaces (Fox 2000, 48). However, across the site there were different levels of skill. While Fox (2000, 48) states that the workmen worked “diligently” on the road surface, she and the workmen wrought havoc on a 1st century building (Fox 2000, 54-5). Fox (2000, 68) also tells of the recovery of finds. Unlike Hembury, where she later worked, the Neolithic flakes, and charcoal fragments from Richborough were disregarded. This clearly shows how the research agenda of Richborough was biased toward the Roman occupation.

The earliest identifiable phase at Richborough consists of three IA ditches all with pottery with finger-tip decoration on their bases (Bushe-Fox 1949, 8-11), broadly dated to 500-200BC but could be considered as late as the first century AD (Cunliffe 1968, 117). Unless the pottery from the ditches is heavily residual, it is unlikely to date any later than 100BC. Given the small number of sherds, especially from the largest ditch, the ditches were short-lived. There is the possibility of a second large ditch which follows the inter-ditch mound of either the north or west ditch of the third century earth fortlet. It is likely that ‘west’ is a typo which would mean the presence of two ditched enclosures.

However, no evidence of this ditch exists on the section drawings, and it can only be supposed that it was spotted when clearing the earth fort ditches.

According to Bushe-Fox and Cunliffe, the earliest Roman occupation is attributed to the invasion in AD 43. This period is defined by two parallel ditches which run NE/SW for c.2100' (640m) (Bushe-Fox 1932, 15). This is followed by a phase of military supply base, denoted by the presence of timber stores (Cunliffe 1968, 234-5). In the late Flavian period, the site was transformed into a port town centred around the *quadrifrons* (Strong 1968, 55). New roads and buildings, including shops, workshops and a *mansio* were constructed. At some point during the mid-late third century, what remained of the *quadrifrons* was encompassed by three defensive ditches (and later research shows that the *quadrifrons* was actively levelled, as much material from it was used in the construction of the north wall and west gate (Pearson 2003, 47). These ditches resulted in the levelling of a house on their NW corner (Site 1) but avoided the *mansio* on their NE corner (Site 3). The fortlet was short-lived as the ditches were filled and the shore fort was constructed in the late third century (c.270-85) (Bushe-Fox 1932, 25). The shore fort appeared to have had a difficult start, shown by an apparently 'unused' east wall foundation (Bushe-Fox 1928, 6), discussed below. Within the shore fort walls several late features were uncovered, including two masonry structures, a possible *principia* over the *quadrifrons* foundations, a bathhouse and a baptismal font. It is unclear when shore fort was abandoned. From the late fourth century c.22,000 coins (c.45 % of the collection) of 388-402 were found (Reece 1981, 52). It is unlikely that post-Roman occupation was constant, however, coins of from the fifth – 11th centuries have been found, with the largest concentration point to an 8th-9th century cemetery based around the church of St. Augustine.

This chronology is how Richborough has fit into the narrative of Roman Britain. The fifth report was published 29 years after the final excavations and much of the material from the site was never published. In this chapter I am going to completely rewrite this narrative. This will be supported by a reconsideration of the dating evidence in the archive as well as demonstrating that the dating sequence was established very early on in the excavations, which in turn led to erroneous dating of individual structures to fit these sequence.

3.2: Critique of established phasing, and new site phasing

3.2.1: The Use of Dating Evidence

Before embarking on a discussion of the site periods there are a few things to consider. In almost every case the fills of features are dated in the extant publications to c.5 years after the latest dated object. If a pit fill contained a coin or Samian stamp with a *TPQ* of AD 85, it was assumed it must have been deposited c.A90. This is evident in Pit 26 to date the east wall foundation (Wilmott and Smither 2020). This pit contained coins of the AD 260s-270s and maybe some as late as AD 296. Bushe-Fox (1928, 34) said they could not have been deposited long after AD 296. A coin of Arcadius (AD 383-408) was found at the bottom of the pit but dismissed. It is obvious that this approach to dating causes multiple problems. Not only are the fills considered to be deposited in the few years after the latest dateable object, but any objects of a later date are also considered as intrusive or dismissed, rather than the possibility of the main assemblage being residual. Nowhere is this more evident than in Pit 76 where Pollard (1988, 96) identified a BB2 vessel (c.AD 120+) in a deposit dated pre-Flavian. Furthermore, recent excavations of Bushe-Fox's (1932) Temple 1 to the south of the shore fort, dated as third-fourth century, has been redated to the first-second century (Wilmott *pers. comm.*). The coinage is one area that causes problems. The presence of Claudian coins that could date into the AD50s, which questions the argument that the supply base was established in c.AD43/44 (Chapter 3.5.1). There are also coins of the Flavian period in early road surfaces that suggest the store buildings were not constructed until c.AD70 (Chapter 3.4.2). Probably the biggest two omissions were a coin of Antoninus Pius in the *quadrifrons* building material (Chapter 3.5.2) and coins of the House of Constantine in the late 3rd century triple ditch fortlet and in areas of construction of parts of the shore fort (Chapter 3.6.1). It is primarily the omission of these coins which has caused the narrative of Richborough that has been followed for 100 years. At best, there is a lack of clear identification of the stratigraphy due to the methods employed. At worst, there is a wilful disregard of evidence to fit a preconceived narrative. This is most evident in the dating of Pit 26 through the east wall foundation (discussed below) but will also become clear in other aspects of the site (Chapters 4, 5 and 6).

It must also be considered that Richborough has been interpreted on c.11 % of its largest possible extent, as features uncovered by geophysics outside of the shore fort walls (Martin 2001) could be of late first-third century date with some fourth-fifth century use. This can be somewhat confirmed by Victorian excavations which found Flavian pottery outside the fort (Dowker 1889) and a coin of Carausius found in a pit far outside the west gate (Bushe-Fox 1932, 74). However, what is uncertain is how active the area beyond the fort was during the period. The intensity of activity might have ebbed and flowed with the site's use and fortunes.

3.2.2: The New Site Phasing

In the process of undertaking this thesis it became increasingly clear that much was wrong with the chronology of the site. While the supply base hypothesis had been questioned (Bird 2002a) as well as the shore forts dating and function (Johnson 1979) there had been no systematic investigation into the development of the site. This is partly due to the inaccessibility of the archive but also the chronology being parroted for nearly 100 years in publications. The above critique shows that there are many things to consider when re-dating Richborough. The new chronology is analysed in greater detail in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, but to complement that, a side-by-side comparison of the old and new site phasing is useful, following which the new phasing is laid out. I have decided to place the new site phasing here as a guide to the discussion in Chapters 4-6.

Tab.3.1. Old and New Phasing of Richborough

Old Period	Dating	New Period	Dating
0	Pre-AD43	0	Pre-AD43
1	AD43	1	AD43 - c.AD70
2	AD44 - 85	2	c.AD70 - 95/100

3	AD85 - 100	3	AD95/100 - 150s
4	AD100 - 260s	4	AD150s - 200s
5	AD260s - AD280s	5	AD200 - 280s
6	AD280s - 300	6	AD280s - 296
7	AD300 - 330	7	AD296 - 340s
8	AD330 - 410	8	AD340s - 380s
9	AD410 - 500	9	AD380s - 410
10	AD500 - Modern	10	AD410 - 500
		11	AD500 - 720s
		12	AD720s - 855
		13	AD855 - 11 th century
		14	11 th - 12 th century
		15	12 th - 17 th century
		16	17 th century - Modern

In Table 3.1, we can see that some of the chronological periods still line up. This is because, while the interpretation and some dating within periods has changed (Chapters 4, 5 and 6), the bulk of the periods stay the same. Periods 1-8 from my new chronology are covered in the next three chapters in more detail. The focus is on the Roman period. However, it has become clear through my reading through the archival material and historical documents that more can be done in the post-Roman periods. Period 0 is poorly represented at Richborough through only a few ditches and sherds of pottery. Periods 9 and 10 are likewise poorly represented, but there might be further evidence in the object archive for some activity. It cannot be ruled out due to lack of excavation that occupation did not continue outside of the shore fort walls. The coin series picks up again in the early 8th century but ends in the 9th century with Northumbrian Stycas (Rigold 1968, 217; 223). These are excessively rare in the south of England and likely arrived there through the Viking Great Army in the 9th century. More investigation into this Period 11 is needed but only three coins appear between then and the 11th century (Rigold 1968, 223). From Period 13 onwards we are lacking archaeological evidence and rely on historical documents. Periods 11 – 15 are currently being studied by Roly Cobbett and myself.

3.3: Specific Richborough References

In the presentation of the revised phasing (and also in Chapters 4, 5 and 6), apart from the usual referencing of published material, there is also a need to refer to unpublished material from the site archive. . The excavation notebooks have been digitised into PDFs and deposited with English Heritage. In text references to these I refer to the Book and page number. The page number used is the PDF page number. This is because the contents of the notebooks are not consistent from book to book, and this makes it easier to use. The small finds are referred to by their HOMS number (a database used by English Heritage), and/or their original small finds number where known.

3.4: Richborough: Periods 1-3 (Figs.3.1 – 3.3)

The first phases at Richborough concern the Claudian invasion up to the *quadrifrons* construction.

Traditionally the granaries have been viewed as a supply base for the incoming Roman army, however, studying the published and unpublished archive material, it became increasingly clear that the granaries served another purpose. This section explores the dating evidence from the archive for the early period at Richborough. It studies in particular the road network, to show how the store buildings of the supply base could not possibly have been built shortly after the AD43 invasion.

3.4.1: The Claudian Ditches

It is largely accepted that the occupation at Richborough began in AD 43 and in the following discussion, it will be assumed that Richborough was used as an invasion beachhead. The defining characteristic of this period is two parallel ditches which run for 2100' (640m) NE/SW (Cunliffe 1968, 232, Fig.25). At the northern end, they curve gradually toward the coastline where they disappear. At the southern end, the ditches are straighter before they turn at a right-angle. The only known entrance through the ditches is on the line of Road 1. At this entrance is a timber gateway. Timber gateways have been identified on several mid-late first century fortifications, divided into five types and subtypes (Manning and Scott 1988, 2, Fig.1.1). The Richborough gateway is Type IC which is a single portal with three posts either side of widely spaced ramparts. In the first century this is paralleled at Hod Hill (Claudian) and Fendoch (Agricolan). A gateway to a temporary beachhead would be strange given that Roman camps employ earthen gateways (Jones 2012: 86-94).

There is clear evidence for the ditches being open for longer than the first few months or years of the invasion. Bushe-Fox (1949, 17) stated that the ditches “did not remain open for any length of time or was only held by a skeleton garrison after the army had passed forward...” and that the ditches were open in AD 40-50 based on the pottery. Reviewing the coin list by Emperor (Book 46) one entry stood

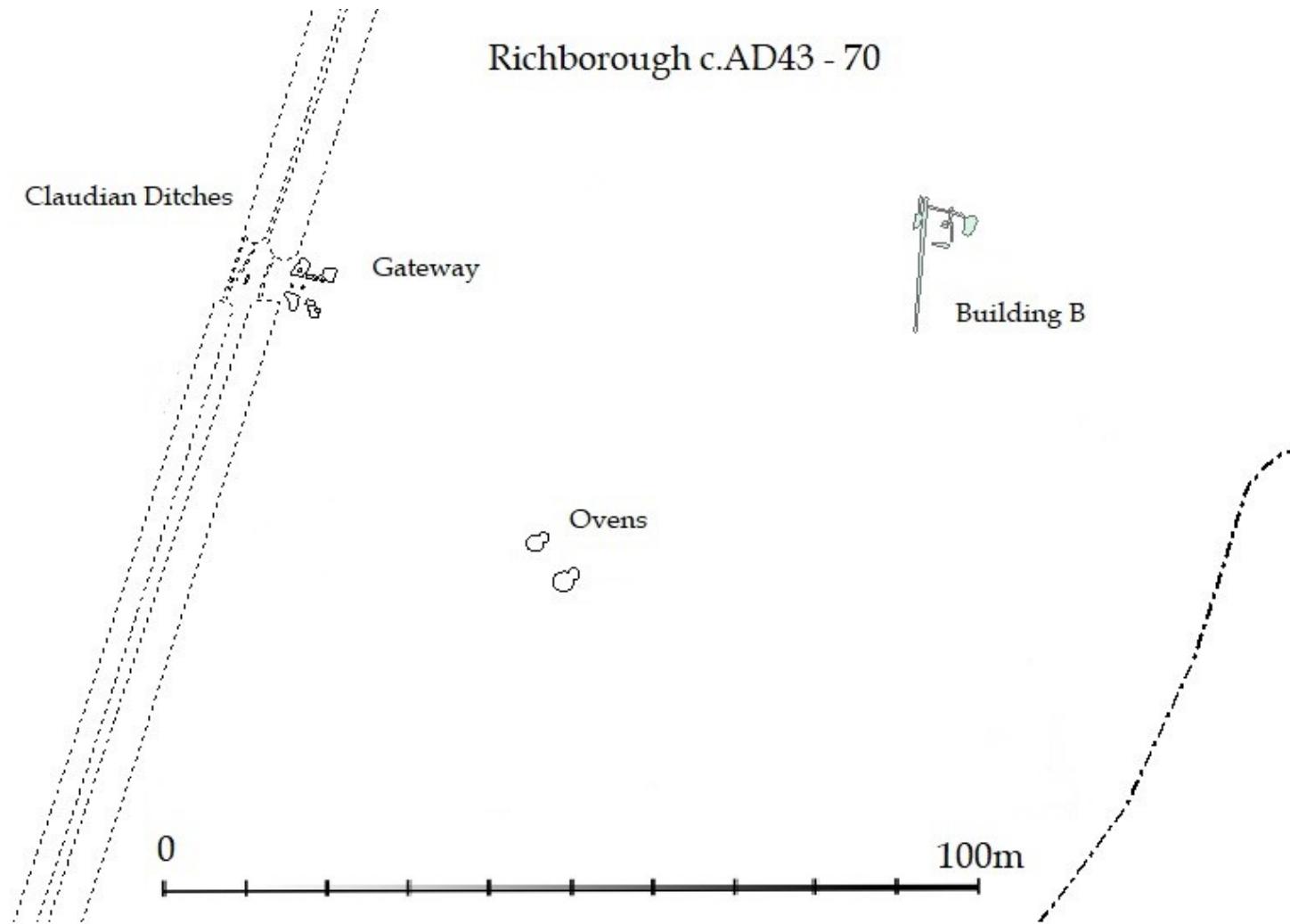


Figure 3.1. Richborough Period 1

Fig.3.2. Richborough Period 1

Richborough c.AD70 - Early Second Century

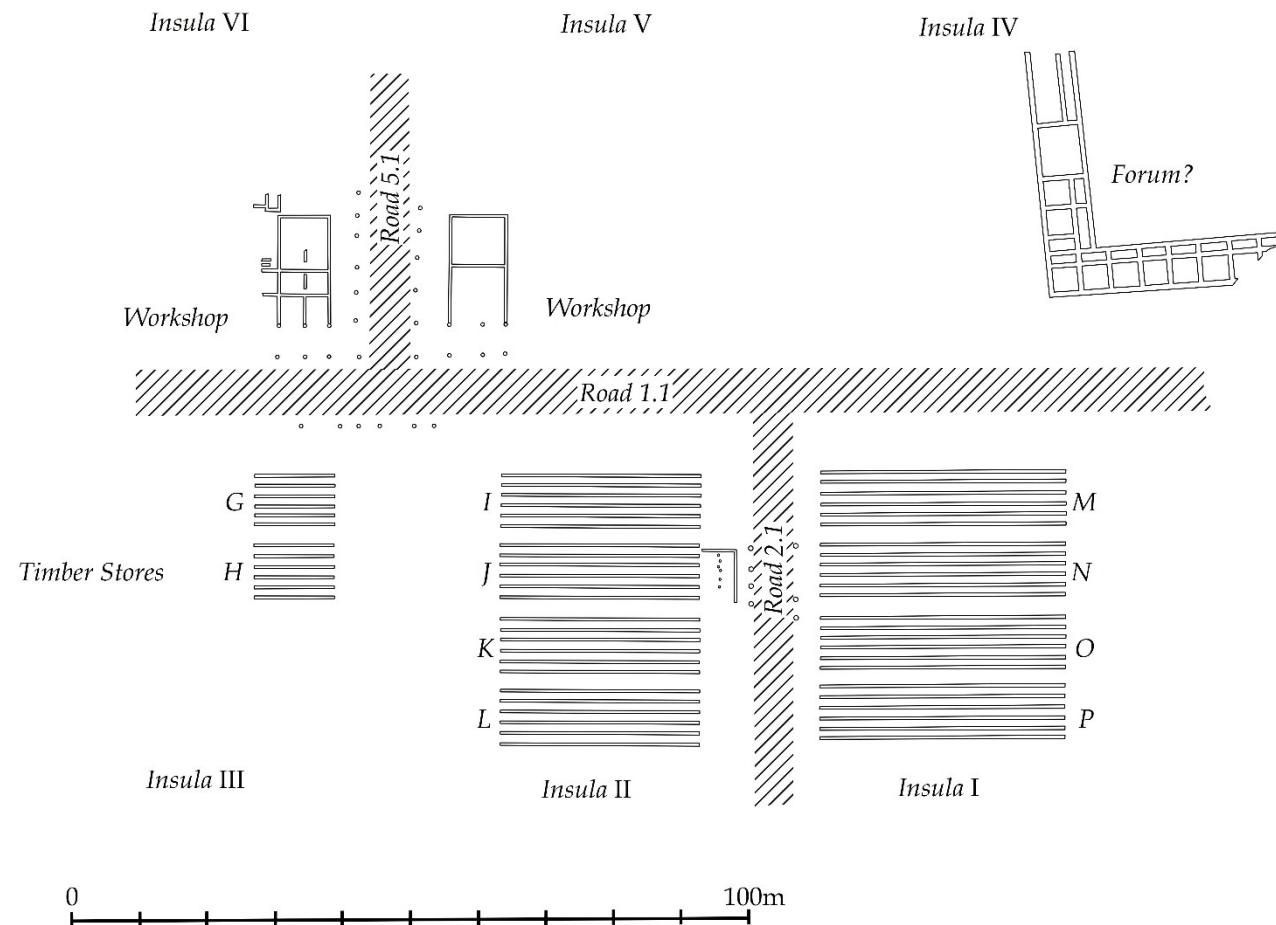


Fig.3.3. Richborough Period 2

Richborough c.Early Second Century - AD150s

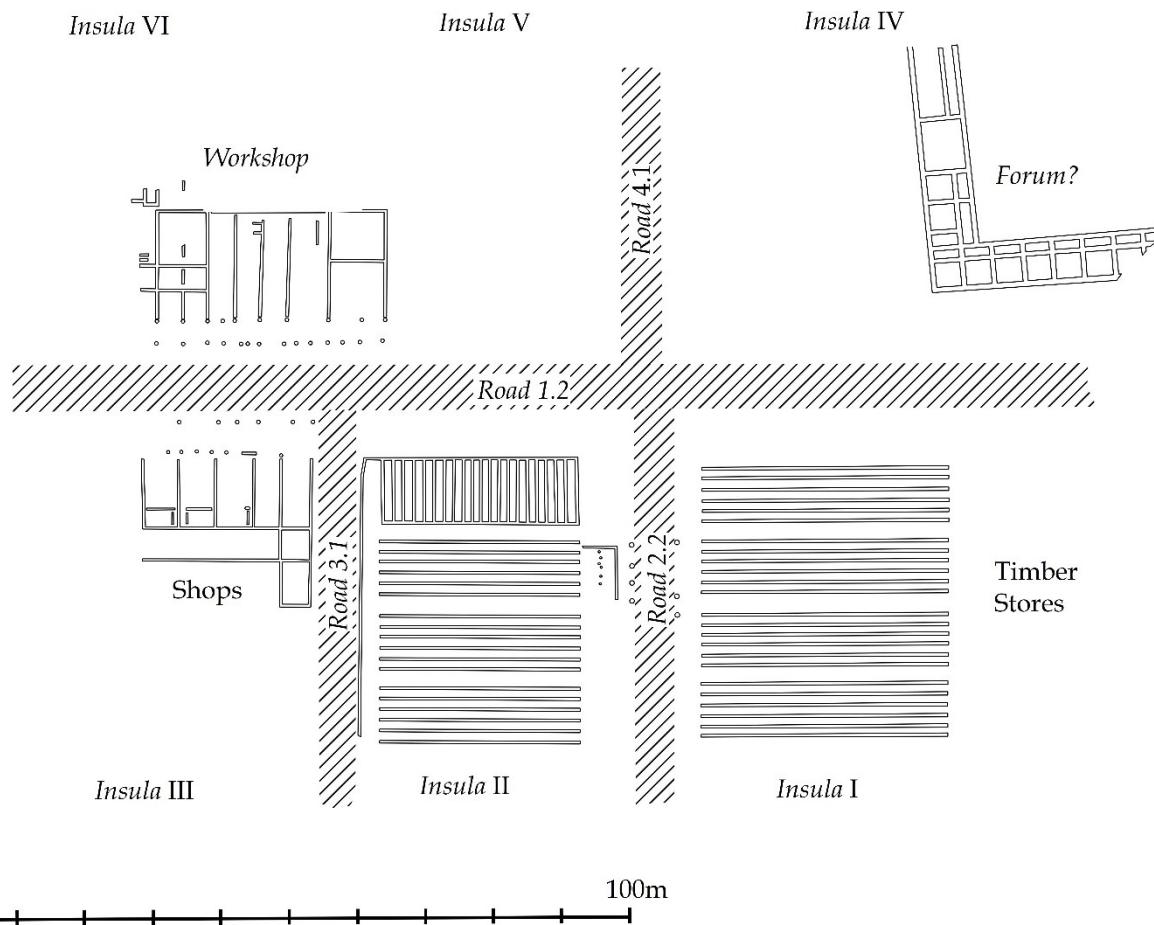


Fig.3.4. Richborough Period 3

out. Five Claudian coins recorded from the ditches (Book 46 p.13) (Fig.3.4) were paralleled with coin 14 in the first report (Bushe-Fox 1926, 114, No.I.14). (It is typical of the excavation notebooks to cross reference coins with earlier examples rather than repeat the entire coin details.)

Claudius I p2.			mm	17
1932			23/22	1
 SURFACE	I 7	Barb. Minerva	30	1
Mr. C. Deller.	I 12	Ceres	26 ² , 27, 27	5
No. W. Wall on Clancy.	I 14	Minerva	24, 26	5
	do	do	26	1

Fig.3.5. Five Claudian coins in the ditches

If we consider the details of coin I.14, the obverse legend ends "PP" (*pater patriae*) and with a Minerva reverse this can be identified as a copy of RIC116 dated AD 50-54. Coins in the entry for RIC116 are recorded with bare headed facing left (OCRE 2021), rather than a laureate head facing right as with the Richborough coins, which corresponds instead to RIC115. These coins are not considered intrusive and provide a *TPQ* of AD 50-54. At Fishbourne, Reece (1971, 97) states almost one in four Claudian coins are copies which is high for civilian sites. I have calculated this as 77.27 %. At Richborough this number is 76.23 %. These coins likely went out of use quickly when Neronian and Vespasianic coinage arrived. At Richborough there are 106 coins struck under Nero, the earliest dates to AD 60-1 and the majority are of AD 62-68. This lack of Neronian coinage is consistent with the continued use of Claudian copies through the AD 60s. Unfortunately, due to how the Richborough coins were catalogued it is impossible to currently know the exact coins to examine coin wear.

3.4.2: *The Roads*

In a couple of areas, the Claudian ditches were overlaid by the street grid. This street grid is supposed to have been laid down soon after the Claudian ditches were filled as the paucity of finds below the

metalling indicated an early date (Cunliffe 1968, 234). However, each road needs to be examined in isolation. The grid consists of Road 1 (Watling Street) with four axis roads (Roads 2-5) running perpendicular to Road 1. The road numbers are used continuously for the period AD 43-200, but they undergo several remetallings. For ease I will be referring to the roads by these numbers as used in the fifth report but later relaying of the roads will be referred to by a decimal number (i.e., Road 1.1, Road 1.2, etc.) rather than their notebook number which is often different.

Road 1 is the start/end of Watling Street and is on roughly the same line until the fifth century. Several sections were cut through Road 1 (Sections 5, 6, 47, 49, 53 and 56). Sections 47, 49, 53 and 56 are the best recorded and Bushe-Fox (1949, 56-7) amalgamated these sections into a general section of Road 1. The first road (Road 1.1) comprised of closely rammed beach pebbles with rectangular wood-lined drains on either side. It was dated as Claudian as it overlies part of the entrance of the Claudian ditches. None of the finds under the road metalling were later than Claudian and as far as they could tell none of the coins were post-AD 41. In Section 47 an early date appeared to be confirmed with nothing that need be later than Claudian (Book 13, p.153). However, it is worth noting that possibly in the metalling of this first road between Sections 53 and 56 there was a coin of Vespasian and a Samian stamp of Martialis (AD 50-75) (Book 17, p.83) (Fig.3.5).

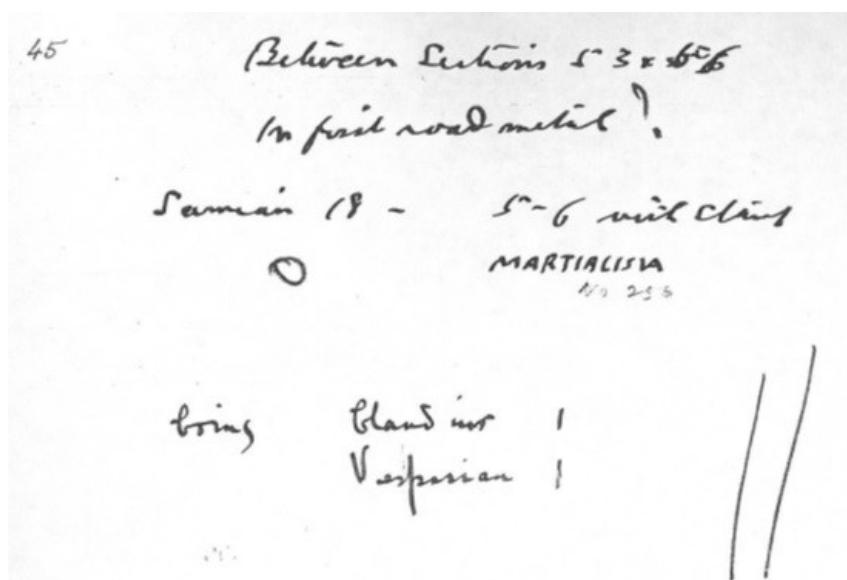


Fig.3.6. Samian stamp and coins in Road 1.1

Within Section 53 the first road is described (Book 17, p.34).

"The metalling or the silt immediately above [the Claudian ditches] contained 2 fragments of Samian dating 75/90 and 75/100. In the ditch filling under the metal were pottery fragments dating 40/60 but nothing that need be later than Claudian."

Combining this evidence with that between Sections 53 and 56 gives a Flavian date at the earliest for Road 1. In the drains of the first ditch between Sections 53 and 56 the pottery was dated up to AD 80 as well as including a coin of Vespasian (RIC 1171-3, AD 71) (Book 17, p.84 and Book 43, p.30). In the "West Gate Road Section" (Section 49) it is suggested that the first road was built "during or [...] the reign of Vespasian" (Book 13, p.126) and the blank in the sentence was meant to be "before".

Road 3 runs parallel with the inner Claudian ditch to the south of Road 1. For this there is a very neat cross section (Fig.3.6), which corresponds to Section 53 (Book 21, p.128). It shows Road 1.1 and its drain covered by a thin layer of silt followed by Road 1.2 (3). Road 1.2 (3) links to Road 3.1 (6) using the same material. Between these was a drain (5) filled with rubbish dividing Road 1.2 from Road 3.1. The explanation is that when Road 3.1 was brought up to the edge of Road 1.2 it was found a drain was required to carry off water that collected at the junction (Book 21, p.130). Road 3.1 was therefore laid at the same time or close to the same time as Road 1.2. The pottery in the drain for Road 1.1 was dated to pre-AD 85 and the pottery in the metalling of Road 1.2 (3) and Road 3.1 (6) was dated to AD 80-90 and AD 75-100, respectively. To the excavators this demonstrated a shoring up of the first road which had sunk into the Claudian ditches. However, within Road 1.2 metalling was also a coin of Domitian (RIC 804, AD 95-96) (Book 43, p.35) providing TPQ for Road 2.

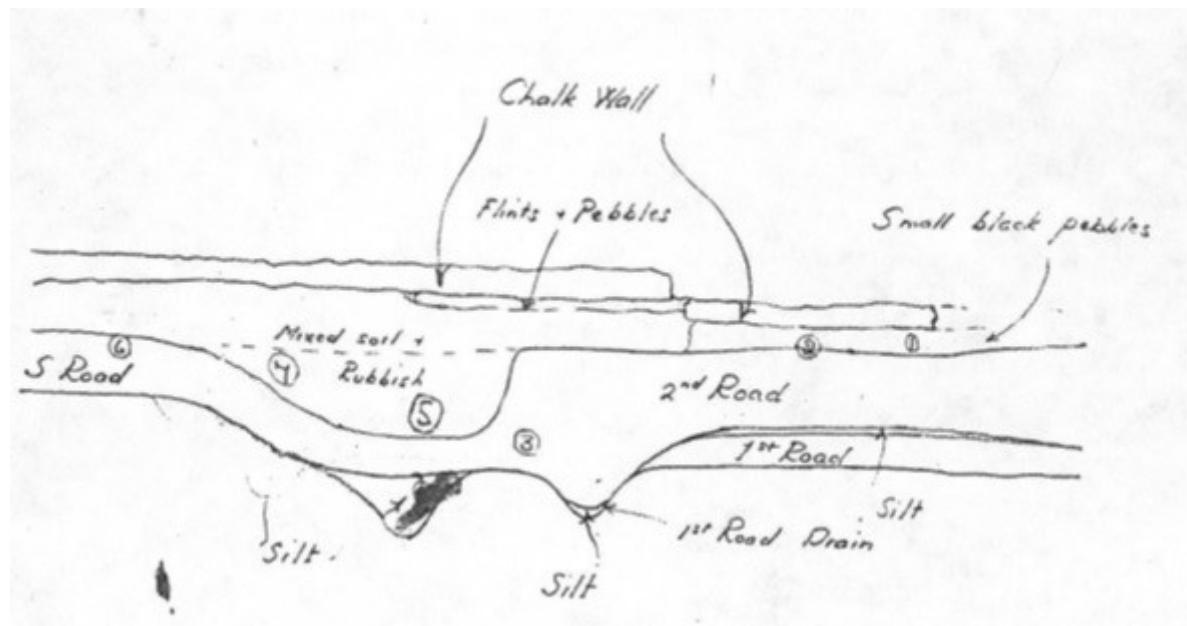


Fig.3.7. Cross section of Roads 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 and 3.1

Road 5 to the north of Road 1 overlies the Claudian ditches and consists of several roads/paths (Road 5.1-3). On either side of Road 5.1 were two buildings. This building was later demolished when new buildings and a second road (5.2) were laid over the line of Road 5.1. In Section 22, Road 5.1 is represented by pebble layers, found over the east and west ditches, which might have been joined (Bushe-Fox 1949, 45-6). Above these pebble layers were layers of rubbish and mixed deposits with pottery up to c.AD 80. In the Section 22 (Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl.XLVIII) there are two upper layers of pebbles both over the rubbish and mixed deposits. One is over the east ditch (Road 5.2) and one over the west ditch (Road 5.3), but they are not joined. In Road 5.2, which is slightly lower than Road 5.3, there was a coin of Vespasian (Bushe-Fox 1949, 45. In Road 5.3 there was a Samian stamp that could be "twenty or more years later" (Bushe-Fox 1949, 46). This stamp seems to match with one of Claudius Gemma (AD 80-110). Road 5.2 appears to have undergone some patching but the same is not mentioned for Road 5.3. This showed they do not join and Road 5.3 over the west ditch is later. Road 5.1 was likely contemporaneous with Road 1. Road 5.1 went out of use when the buildings either side were joined and then Road 5.2 was laid after their use followed by Road 5.3.

The evidence shows that the ditches were filled in the Flavian period, but the length of use is unclear. In the bottom of the Claudian ditches was much silt and Bushe-Fox (1949, 14) suggested the

unconsolidated sand filling was wind-swept rather than deliberately deposited. However, the waterlogged silting in the bottom indicates water action on the rampart. Therefore, a possible abandonment could be suggested.

3.4.3: The 'Supply Base'

The 'supply base' hypothesis at Richborough providing for the army as they made their advance is unlikely given a bigger gap between the invasion year and the filling of ditches. Bird (2002b, 260) said that it would be strange for a supply base to be set up after the main army had moved on and that there could have been no need to fill the ditches if such a base were needed. This new evidence supports his interpretation. With the legions set up in their forts by the AD 50s and London beginning to prosper not only would a land route through Richborough be a slow means of supply, but the army would also have been sourcing their supply from their immediate landscape.

3.4: Summary

The evidence presented in this section shows that while it is still likely the ditches at Richborough were part of the Roman invasion of Britain, the store buildings as part of the 'invasion supply base' were constructed much later in the AD70s. It is still unclear how the area behind the ditches was used. It could have only been in use for a short time after the invasion or for much longer to ferry some supplies or troops back and forward to the Gallic coast. It is likely that the lack of buildings suggest soldiers were bivouacked in tents rather than barracks. This would mean the camp had an ephemeral occupation, perhaps only for troops embarking or disembarking in Britannia. The store buildings are then incorporated in a reorganisation of the site after the camp goes out of use. More buildings found through more recent geophysical survey might also be linked to the port at this time. From the excavated area we can assume a volume of trade through the port, possibly an organisation of trade links persisting from the Late Iron Age. By this time the troops in Britannia would have been using local supply of certain foodstuffs, such as grain, but will have still required imports of wine and olive oil. Further study would be needed of Richborough to ascertain whether the port was used to import these goods, especially given the redating of the early site periods. As we will see in the next

section, the store buildings stood until the middle of the 2nd century AD, suggesting their purpose lasted for c.80 years.

3.5: *Richborough: Periods 4-5 (Figs.3.7 – 3.8)*

There is evidence that the granaries at Richborough were standing beyond AD90 and probably into the mid-2nd century, and this has implications for how we date and interpret the *quadrifrons* at the heart of the port town. This section explores each context used for the original dating of the *quadrifrons* and demonstrates how, in many cases, the evidence was made to fit a date of AD85-90.

3.5.1: *The Demolition of the Timber Stores*

Roads 2 and 3 emanating from the south side of Road 1 divide the area into three insulae. In *insula* I and II there are timber stores. In the layer filling the beam slots and coving the whole area of the stores in *insula* II was a denarius of Domitian (RIC? AD 90) (Bushe-Fox 1949, 36). This layer consisted of sand and sandy loam, which can be seen across multiple parts of the site, such as the shops in *insula* III, and the metal workshop previously mentioned in *insula* V-VI (Area VIII/XVI). The fact that Granary M in *insula* I is cut by the foundation for the *quadrifrons* shows that these buildings were demolished to make way for the *quadrifrons* building site and the sand layer was made up of some of the 306,000 cubic feet of sand (Strong 1968, 238) excavated from the foundation for the *quadrifrons*. Comparing the publication and notebook coin lists, this coin of Domitian is as Richborough I.47 in the first report. In Richborough IV (Bushe-Fox 1949) there are 11 coins listed as "Rich 47" (22689-700) from different parts of the site (Bushe-Fox 1949, 286) as when publishing this list, they omitted any

Richborough c.AD150s

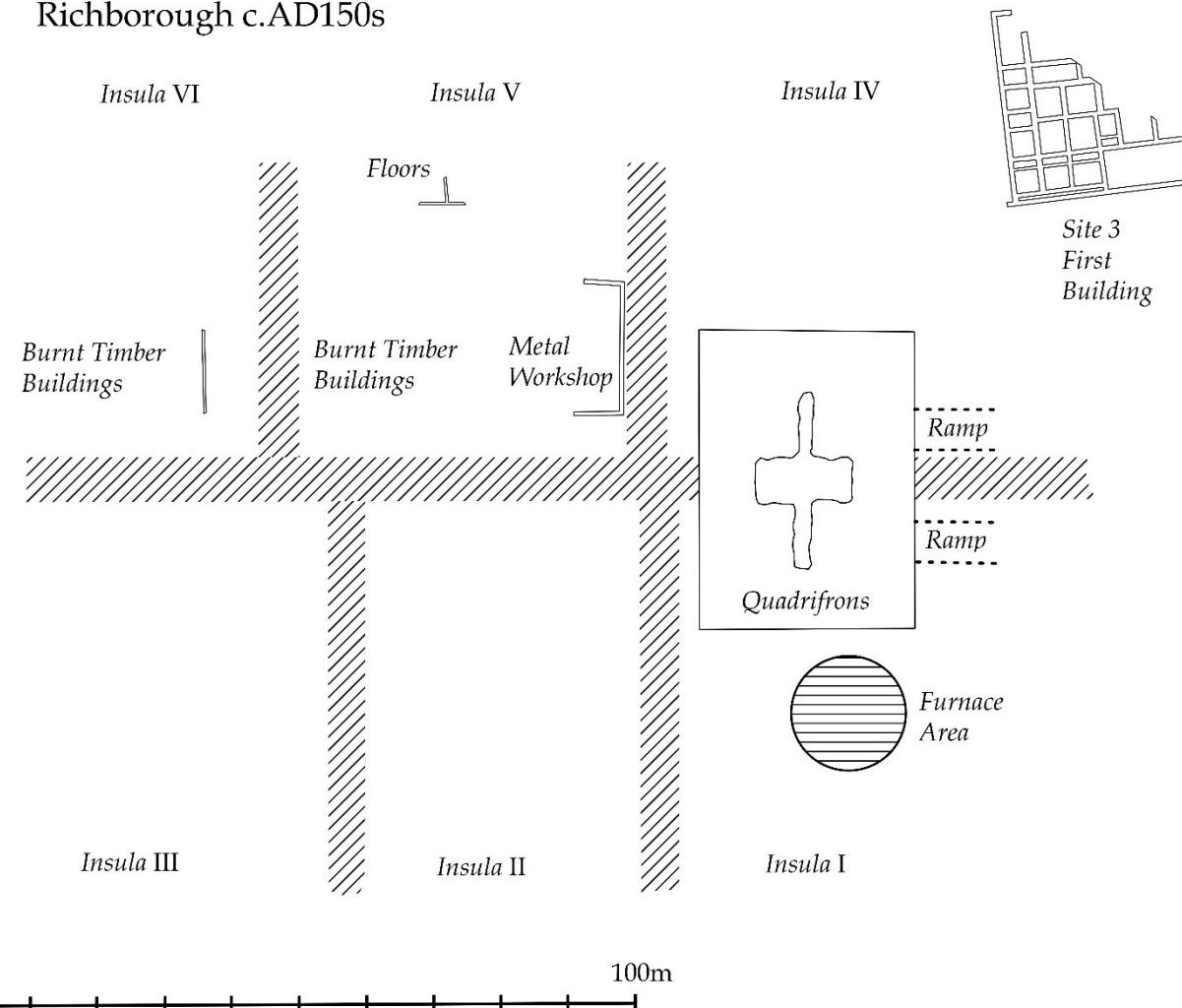


Fig.3.8. Richborough Period 4

Richborough c.AD150s - 280s

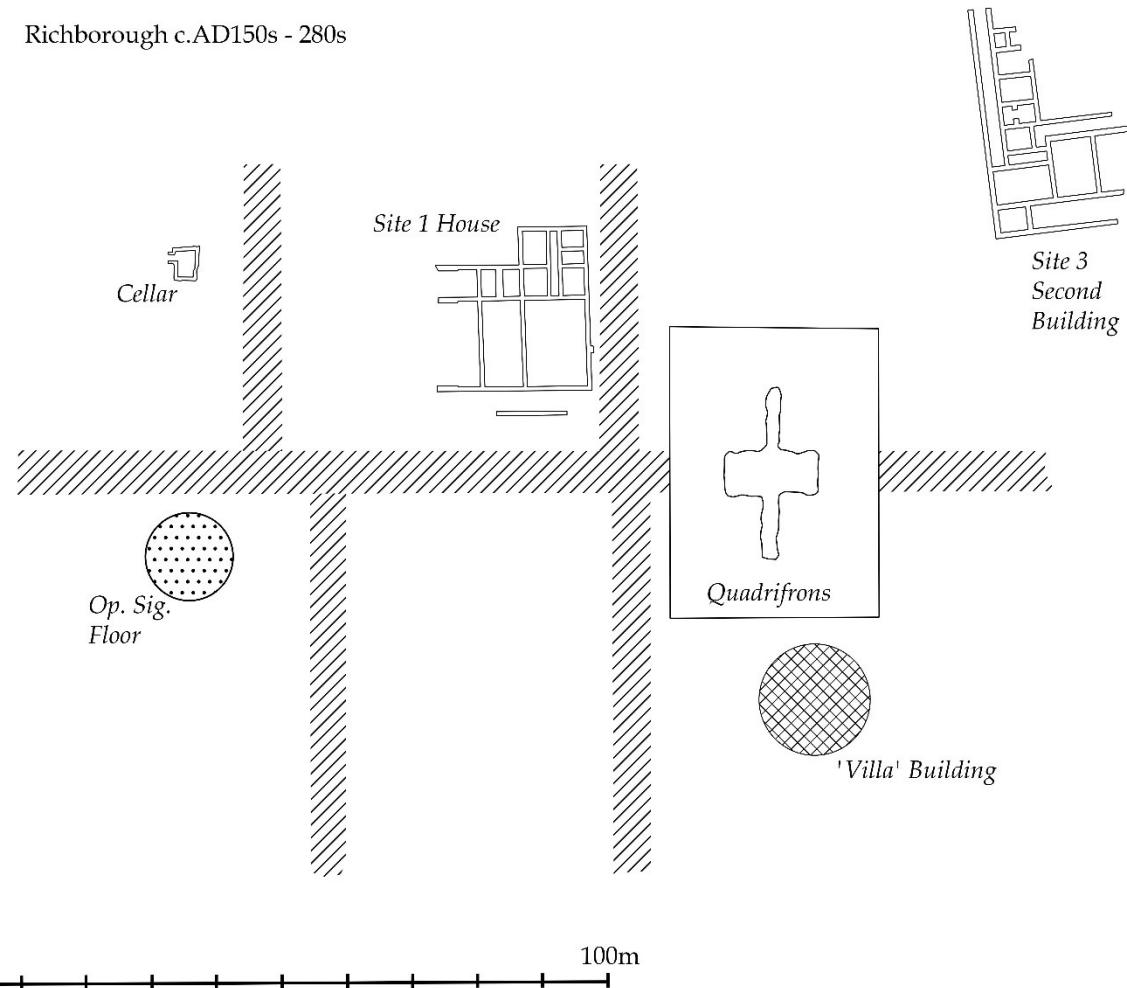


Fig.3.9. Richborough Period 5

differentiation between obverses. Although the notebook page with this coin is missing, there is no reason to doubt this coin as there are others on the remaining pages as "Rich 47 but..." There is also another coin from this area of Domitian (RIC 756, AD 90-92). This was found in a tip, but it does come from the same season of excavations and is therefore unlikely from a higher layer. The AD 90 coin [i.e. Rich 47] gives a *TPQ* for the destruction of the stores and laying of the sand dug from the quadrifrons foundation pit, with a possible AD 92 *TPQ* from the other coin.

3.5.2: *The Pits and Wells*

Some of the best dating evidence at Richborough came from the 327 pits and wells. Relevant to this section are those in *insulae* I-III south Road I in Areas X, XVII and XXIII as well as Site 7. Starting with *insula* I, the first thing of note is that the pits and wells are all set back from the quadrifrons (Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl.XCVIII) as none of the pits cut through Granary M, of which the quadrifrons cut the northernmost beam slot. This is because the area over Granary M was a pebble layer (Bushe-Fox 1949, 58) likely the surface level at the time of the construction. Pits 101 and 105 are worth considering together as they do not cut the timber store beams of Granary N but might cut the loading platform due to their location directly at the end of the building. The most significant find in Pit 101 was a dressed block of oolite (Bushe-Fox 1949, 88) indicating that the pit was open when the quadrifrons was being constructed or demolished. A Samian stamp of Sulpicius gives a *TPQ* of AD 85 but could be after AD 110. We can note that Bushe-Fox (1913, 61) dated stamps with the same name from Wroxeter up to AD 120 and AD 130 (Bushe-Fox 1916, 61). A Hod Hill brooch (HOMS 7351738, SF. 1375) is likely curated or residual. The first – second century material in this pit also suggests it was most likely open when the quadrifrons was under construction. Pit 105 was only 1' (0.30m) deep, however, a coin of Vespasian (RIC 1232, AD 77-8) is noted as 1'-3' (0.30-0.91m) down (Book 48, p. 19). Even assuming it was in the pit fill, a stamp of Severus (AD 65-95) in the same pit fill could be later still.

Pit 86 has a lot of early material and a Pannonian brooch (HOMS: 7350386, SF. 4977) of 25422 type 1.2 (Mackreth 2011, 153). However, it also contained marble casing from the quadrifrons as well as a coin

of Domitian (RIC 415, AD 85) providing a *TPQ*. Pit 87 contained several Samian stamps, the latest being of Vitalis (AD 70-100). It also contained a Colchester Derivative Harlow brooch (HOMS: 7350106, SF. 1037) of Mackreth Type 4bd. Only one other in the group of 4b is dated to the first century and all others are second-fourth century (Mackreth 2011, 59). Pit 94 contained a stamp of Sarrutus (AD 70-90) and some other coarseware. Pit 68 (renumbered Pit 100) contained mostly first century material but also some of the early second, and Pit 114 was indeterminate. Despite some pits only containing pottery of the first century, their digging must have been later than AD 90 and the filling of at least some, if not all, took place in the second century.

Also, in *insula* I is a series of hearths, flint walls and a furnace dated to the second century from the so-called 'villa' site (Fig.3.9). This building was never planned and Cunliffe (1968, 241) placed it in *insula* II. However, it belongs in *insula* I. This is because a confusion with the notebooks suggesting this building was to the south and SW of the quadrifrons platform. Although the area excavated at the time (Area X) did take in part of *insula* II, scaling the plan, based on the circumference measurement of 5' (1.5m) given for burnt patch 5, shows it does not fit in *insula* II.

Furthermore, two beam slots of Granary N are labelled as "Gully 6 ?Furnace with clay + lining (oolite)" and "Gulley 11 furnace trench" in the archive notebooks (Book 14, p.88). Although there is only one furnace (10) there are several hearths. The scale is not exact, the Gulley 11 furnace roughly corresponds with a burnt patch (12) or a tiled hearth (9). There is a slight confusion on the plan in the publication as the beam slots are denoted by letters there, but, are numbered in the notebook. Fortunately, in the notebook description the numbers are crossed out and replaced with letters. For example, gullies 6 and 11 are crossed out in the text and replaced with G and L (Book 14, p.109). You will notice that G and L are letters 7 and 12 in the alphabet. If there is an equivalence between letters and numbers we might expect gully 6 to be F, not G. However, this is explained where the first gullies are labelled A and 1, with 1 crossed out and replaced with B (Book 14, p.108). This means that Gully 6 is the northern beam slot of Granary N and Gully 11 is the southern gully of Granary N. This position sets it back from the road, like the pits and wells. The exact area of the furnace and other features is

uncertain, but the furnace must be east of Pit 86, given the position of the furnace and the edge of the excavation area. The area of the features other than the furnace would then overlie some of the pits.

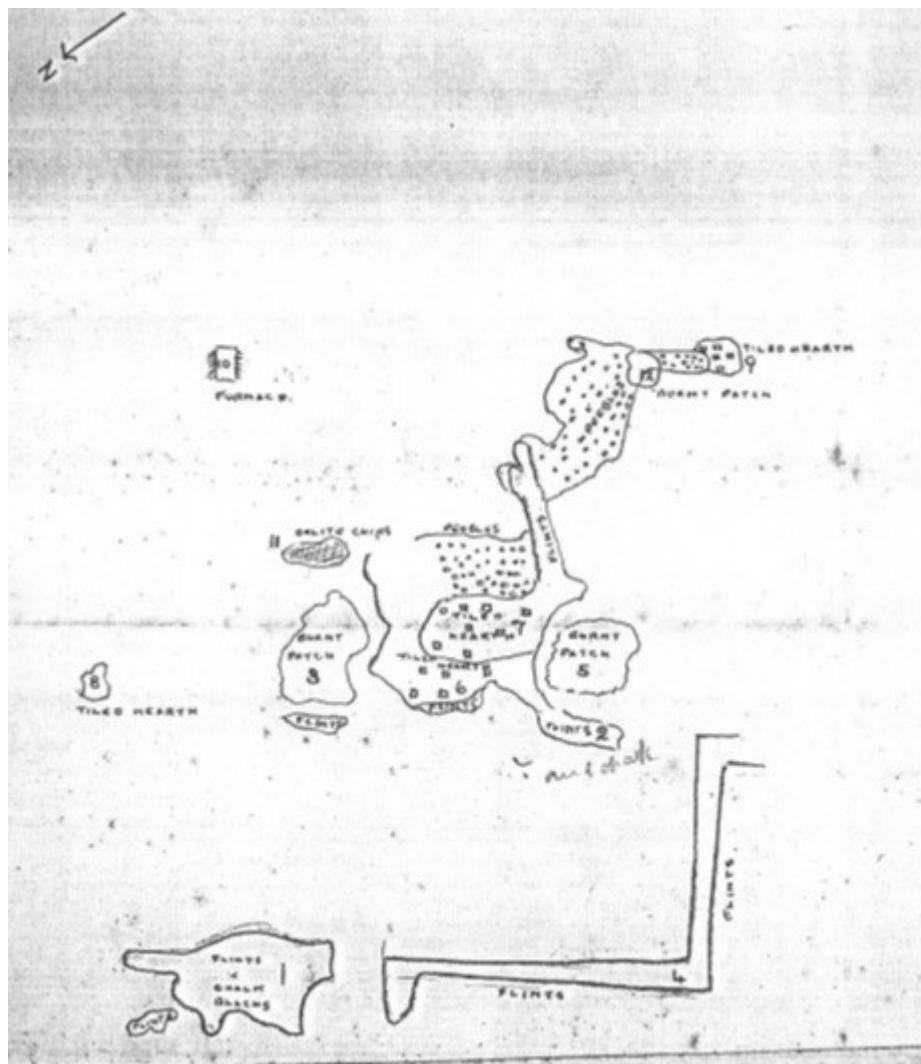


Fig.3.10. Plan of 'Villa' site Area X

This is not a problem as these are probably later, being at a higher level than the furnace. The pottery associated with the features other than the furnace is mostly dated to AD 150-200 whereas the furnace pottery is dated AD 100-120 with some intrusive fourth century pieces (Book 14, p.60-1). The furnace is also in an isolated area from the other features suggesting it is not causally related. The most important part of this site is the furnace as it was lined with oolite mortar, which was used in the quadrifrons construction demonstrating it was constructed at the time the material was being mixed. The furnace is therefore related to the quadrifrons construction.

In the east of *insula II*, Pit 127 contained pottery of the first and second centuries in the top layer and lower down were two Headstud brooches (Bushe-Fox 1949, 36) of Mackreth type 10.c (Mackreth 2011, 109). The date for Type 10 is unclear but there is no reason to suspect they are not of second century manufacture. Also, from this pit was a 200g lump of amber (HOMS: 96004091, SF. ?) which was likely used for making jewellery (Malcolm Lyne *pers. comm.*) and could be linked to the amber bead found in Well 2 (see above). These objects might have come from a workshop in the vicinity. Over to the west of *insula II* (Cunliffe 1968, Fig.2), Pit 261 contained Flavian pottery and coarseware that was also found in Pit 34, dated up to AD 120. Pit 269 contained several finds, including an unpublished penannular brooch fragment (HOMS: 88400966, SF. 4946). Most interesting is the presence of two seal boxes (HOMS: 7351794, SF. 4940 88400347, SF. 4940). The first of these dates to the mid-second century AD (Andrews 2018, 9) which means this pit dates later and contains residual first century material. Pit 279 contained a coin of Vespasian described as “Eagle on globe COS IIII, 27mm” (Book 46, p.21) which means it should be an As dating to AD 72-3 but the exact RIC number is unclear. It also contained a single Pannonian brooch (HOMS: 7350386, SF. 4977) of Mackreth type 1.2 (Mackreth 2011, 153). Finally, Pit 280 contained a few Samian fragments of AD 80-100/10. Pit 282 is tricky as it does not actually touch the stores and could be Claudian, however, one piece of coarseware might be later. The pits in *insula II* are at the extreme east and west of the *insula*, which is not surprising as the third century fortlet ditches cut the area.

In *insula III* there are more pits than the previous two combined (Tabs.2-3). The buildings prior to these pits were Granaries G and H, which were then replaced by a row of shops.

Tab.3.2. Pits in *insula III* with dates of assemblage in fills

Pit	Latest date	Pit	Latest date
104	c.AD 75-100	253b	c.AD 160
182	c.AD 140	255	c.AD 140
244	c.AD 150	256	c.AD 161
245N	first – second	258	second
245S	second	259	second

246A	c.AD 75-90	266	c.AD 120-160
249	c.AD 75-90	272	c.AD 75-90
250	c.AD 75-100	276	c.AD 160-80
251/264	second	277	c.AD 100-60
252	Early second	283	c.pre-Flavian

Tab.3.3. Pits in *insula III* divided by date of latest datable object

First	First-second	Second
3	3	13

Most pits and wells in *insula III* have fills of the second century and were likely dug and filled during that century. Looking at the potentially early Pits 246A, 249 and 272, only Pit 249 cuts a beamslot of the row of shops. Of the three first – second century pits, Pits 104 and 245N cut the shop gullies.

Although most of 245N is of first – second century, the upper part of the pit seals a burnt layer that could conceivably be AD 90-140. The distribution of these is also interesting. All apart from Pit 104, which is a well, are conceivably rubbish pits and, apart from Pit 104, are tightly packed into a small area to the centre and NW corner of the insula. It appears that this was a convenient place to dig pits to dispose of rubbish at some time during the second century.

Most of the rubbish disposal was suggested as occurring sometime during the first half of the first century (Book 28, pp.104-129),

"[Below Antonine layers] no reliable stratification could be obtained over this area as a whole; occasional layers of pebbles, sand, oyster shells or burnt matter were met with, but their area never exceeded more than a few square feet. Numerous rubbish pits also occurred, some cutting through the whole of the mixed soil from the fort level downwards, and the contents of others having contacted the soil above had settled into their mouths....this area had been used largely as a deposit for rubbish. The fact that layers of oyster shells, burnt layers and layers of soil of varying colour did not lie horizontally, but sloped downwards, sometimes at a considerable angle, suggests that debris was dumped here, and that the level of the site was gradually raised by the deposition on them from time to time..."

"...the majority of the objects found in it could be assigned to the period AD 80-95. There were however always, until the lower levels were reached, a certain [...] of **second century pottery**, probably due to the uncertainty of the stratification on this area."

The Antonine layer mentioned is an *opus signinum* floor covered with burnt timbers. This is often referred to as a cement floor (Bushe-Fox 1949, 77), and can be confused with a later mortar floor in the SW of the *insula*. Even more confusingly, on the plan of the area (Bushe-Fox 1949, 76, Fig.5) the mortar floor is referred to as cement. For ease the Antonine floor will be referred to as *opus signinum* and the later floor as mortar. Furthermore, there is only one coin of Antoninus Pius (RIC 61, AD 140-3) listed in the 1930-coin list (Book 43, p.45) (Fig.3.10) and this says it is from under the cement floor. We can only assume that this means the *opus signinum* floor as it is referred to as being found in Section 33 which uncovered the *opus signinum* floor (Bushe-Fox 1932, 75-7). For some reason it, and others, were omitted from the fourth report coin list (Bushe-Fox 1949, 288-9) as they should fall between Marcus Aurelius and Faustina I but are not mentioned there. Matching coins of Faustina I are in the notebook coin list and in the fourth report, so the Antoninus Pius coins were clearly omitted.

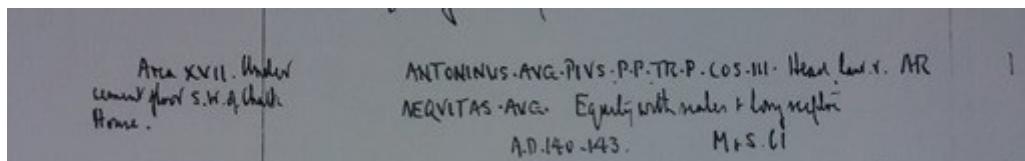


Fig.3.11. Coin of Antoninus Pius under the *opus signinum* floor

The layers described above, discussing the Pits in Insula III, represent the whole period between the demolition of the shops and the laying of the *opus signinum* floor, presumed to be a period of c.AD 90 – 160 by the excavators. From the various references the *opus signinum* floor has a TPQ of AD 140 and the original date for the shop row's destruction was AD 80-90, leaving 50-60 years of rubbish dumping. The area directly under the *opus signinum* floor was recorded in three layers and given dates by the excavators.

1. = Immediately under the *opus signinum* floor, ? (perhaps second)
2. = Down to layer of sand, first – second

3. = Below sand, AD 50-75

These dates tally well with those in the area discussed above. In other areas similar mixing was seen and the hypothesis of rubbish dumping is a reasonable explanation for the lack of stratification.

However, not mentioned in the pottery report in these layers is a coin of Trajan (RIC 515, AD 103-111) (Book 46, p.32).

In all, an area 70'-90' (21.33-27.43m) to the south of Road 1, and between the east wall of the shore fort and Road 3 was excavated. Reading the pottery reports for other parts of this area there is a general pattern of mixed layers of first – second century pottery, up the Antonine period. A pebble layer is discussed in many places, but it is sometimes unclear whether this was a floor or rubbish dumping. A rubbish layer containing oysters is frequently mentioned as is a sand layer followed by pebbles (Book 29, pp. 79-81). The pottery for all of the layers is dated AD 70-75 and above the pebbles is AD 70-200. The rubbish layer containing oysters is likely from the row of shops, one of which might have served seafood. West of the outer Claudian ditch was a coin of Hadrian (RIC ?, AD 117-138) in the layer of pebbles between the shops and the *opus signinum* floor (Book 29, p.93).

The rubbish dumping hypothesis was based upon mixed layers containing late first – mid-second century pottery and the preconception that the quadrifrons was constructed in the late first century AD. With the presumed destruction of the shops in the late first century, followed by the building of the quadrifrons, this means a period of c.50 years of rubbish dumping until the laying of the *opus signinum* floor (Book 28, pp. 104-5). However, with hindsight, a better explanation is a short-term rubbish dump in *insula* III with residual material up to the AD 140s when the *opus signinum* floor was laid. The shops and timber stores therefore lasted for a significant period into the second century.

3.5.3: The Workers Houses

On the north side of Road 1 in *insula* V-IV were several timber framed buildings, replacing the metal workshop, which were destroyed by a fire dated to AD 90. These were interpreted as the workers houses for the quadrifrons construction (Bushe-Fox 1949, 6). The burnt layer, referred to from now as the 'red layer' as in the Richborough publications, was above a floor layer, which in turn was above

the sand levelling seen above the stores and the shops. At first this red layer was discovered to the west of Site 1 (Bushe-Fox 1928, 17) and over the next several years it was found in Areas VII, VIII, IX, XII, XIV and XVI. These Areas cover the area to the north of Road 1 to and beyond a possible road over Pits 46 and 47 (Bushe-Fox 1932, 68), and to the west of Site 1 up to and under the west shore fort wall.

Area VII is to the NW corner of Site 1. The stratigraphy showed two mortar floors laying on 3'-4' (0.08-0.10m) of sand under which was 9'-10' (0.23-0.25m) of mixed soil including wall plaster followed by beam slots (Bushe-Fox 1949, 52-3). It is said that the western floor was slightly higher than the eastern and they were separated by a dividing wall (Bushe-Fox 1949, 52). In the notebooks these are referred to as Rooms A (west) and B (east) (Book 13, p. 25). The red layer was found to cross Room A and above this was more of the red layer, wall plaster, charred wood, burnt daub, and first-second century pottery (Bushe-Fox 1949, 52-3). To the north of Room A was another; Room C. The material under these rooms dates to the first - second century and places their construction sometime in the first half of the second century. To the north of Room C was fallen white wall plaster which indicating the rear, outside wall of the building (Bushe-Fox 1949, 52). In the fallen wall plaster were a few fragments of pottery of the second century. The walls of this building were made from chalk and tufa blocks (Bushe-Fox 1949, 52). There is some account of the finds found over the floors including Samian stamps of Montius Cres (AD 65-85) and Primanus (AD 160-200). Other layers above the floors were similar in date but had more finds of the first half of the second century.

The remainder of the red layer was found over Areas VIII XI, XII and XIV which were amalgamated into Area XVI. Area XVI itself remains the best account of this area. On the stratigraphic diagram (Fig.3.11) the red layer is approximately 6"-1' (0.15-0.3m) below the ground level in 1928. In the red layer across the whole area there were a few dated finds (Tab.3.4).

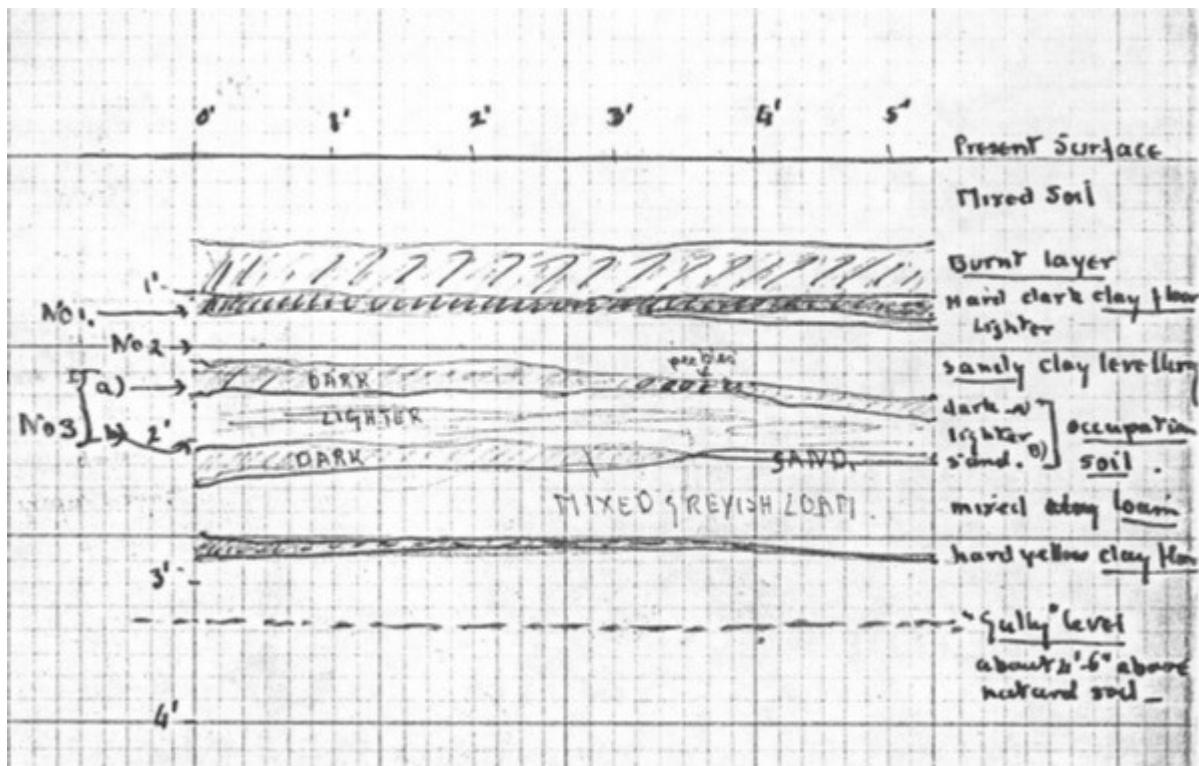


Fig.3.12. Stratigraphy of Area XVI showing the red layer, floor below and occupation layers of the earlier metal workshop

Tab.3.4. *Dated finds from the red layer in Area XVI*

Samian stamps

Crestio (AD 45-75), Logirnus (AD 60-90?),

Patricius (AD 65-90), Vitalis (AD 70-100),

Sabinus (AD 50-80),

Coins

Vespasian, Domitian

Finds

Trumpet brooch frag. HOMS 7350696, SF. 2466

Most of the pottery was dated up to AD 100, however, a single sherd of Antonine Samian was found (Book 21, p. 41). Not all the finds are listed in the pottery reports. The most significant finds from the red layer were the large number of lamps and lamp hangers. In all 12 pieces identified as lamps or lamp hangers were found in the red layer, with 21 in total coming from Areas XVI. With so many in this area and especially the red layer it was interpreted as the location for a lamp shop or store (Bushe-Fox 1949, 38). Within this group only three can be afforded a type (Tab.3.5)

Tab.3.5. Dateable lamps from the red layer in Area XVI

Homs number	Type	Date
78304917	Loeschcke I	AD 43-70/80
96004015	Loeschcke IV	AD 43-70/80
78304875	Loeschcke IX	Late 1 st century

These lamps date to the mid-late first century (Eckardt 2002, 179-85; 188-190) and appear to have been long-lived in use or residual as rubbish.

The red layer is also recorded in unspecified areas “W. of Clauson’s Area” and “Near W. Gate” (Book 11, pp. 32-3) with similar pottery as above. An area labelled “Red Layer Site East End” (Book 5, pp. 6-14) is just to the east of the outer fortlet ditch opposite Room 8 of the House on Site 1 (Tab.3.6).

Tab.3.6. Date of finds from trenches across red layer to the west of Site 1

Trench	Date
Trench A	First – second century
Trench B	First century
Trench C	First half of second century
Trench D	First half of second century

The overall picture is the same as the above discussion of the red layer and Between Trenches A and B, and in and under other parts of the red layer was pottery of the first – second century AD (Book 6, pp. 103-9). One piece under the red layer, with a stamp of Macrinus, is of AD 150-80. The date of the Antonine piece ties in with the earliest pottery in holes cut into the red layer dated to the mid-late second century (Book 6, p.101). Supporting this dating is a coin of Faustina I (RIC 399A, AD 141) found in a hole cut into the red layer (Book 41, p. 19).

The red layer was also seen west of the west shore fort wall. In and under the red layer pottery of AD 70-120 was found with a few later pieces (Book 6, pp. 69-71). Dowker (1889, 8-10) excavating outside of the west shore fort wall in 1887 noticed multiple patches of burning at about 112' (34.1m) to the west of the west wall of the shore fort in line with *insula* VI. Within this burning was a tufa and flint

wall (Dowker 1889, 8) much like the other buildings. This patch of burning was also located directly to the north at the same distance and in line with the NW corner of the shore fort (Dowker 1889, 9). Among this burning was found wall plaster with red paint (Dowker 1889, 9). It is possible that the fire that caused the red layer spread for at least 170m from the west of Site 1. The dating of the red layer is extremely important as it is the remains of buildings sitting on top of the sand layer from the monument construction. With 2nd century pottery in this layer, their destruction is placed in the middle of that century and not at the end of the first as suggested by Bushe-Fox. Below I will show how the buildings that replace these are closely associated with the monument construction.

3.5.4: *The Metal Workshop*

During the first two seasons of excavation a masonry building was found below a house on Site 1 in the east area of *insula* V. It was identified as a metal workshop, different to the one either side, and was located over Road 5 in *insulae* V-VI. Unfortunately, the early report notebooks for the excavation are missing and the original excavation coin catalogue for 1922-23 only lists coins used for dating. It also lists numbers for rooms and sites that are not detailed in the first publication.

The building in this area is described as a NS wall, which at the northern end turned westwards under the later house and at the southern end along the side of Road 1 (Bushe-Fox 1926, 12, Pl. XXXII). The wall of this building is described as “composed of waterworn cobbles set-in light-coloured mortar, the foundation being of cobbles set in clay” (Bushe-Fox 1926, 12). This sounds much like the foundation of the quadrifrons (Bushe-Fox 1928, 19) and the description of the top of the ‘cruciform mass’ on the foundation (Strong 1968, 41-2). A furnace was found within the bounds of the walls but little more can be said of this feature. Just to the SE corner of the furnace was Well 2. In this well was iron slag with clay from the furnace (Bushe-Fox 1926, 13). Along with the iron slag were two beads, one of amber (HOMS 96003453 or 57. SF. 27), one unknown but it might be a large white bead, SF. 28 in the small finds list. Along with this was a *dolabrum* of Type 2A (Hannemann 2014, Abb. 357) which appears to be a primarily military type dating to the first – third centuries. Various other pieces of metalworking debris were encountered as well as folded strip of silver (Bushe-Fox 1926, 13).

Associated with the furnace and well is a lead ingot reading IMP NERVAE CA[...]. It is incomplete at 13 1/8" (0.33m) and probably had a full length of around 22" (0.56m). Although this lead ingot is half used, it cannot reliably date the activity to the mid-late AD 90s as its inscription suggests. Many complete Roman lead ingots have been discovered in Britain (Frere, Roxan and Tomlin 1990, 38-66) demonstrating that they survived for years after they were made. To the north of the northernmost wall was an oven under a wall of the later house. It is unclear whether this oven was associated with the metalworking on the southern side of the wall. Little can be said of this oven other than it was associated with a late first century Samian bowl (Bushe-Fox 1926, 14). Two other features can be associated with the period before the later building. Pit 11 was close to a wall of the later building and Well 1, like the oven was covered by a later wall. Both wells were covered by broken tiles and stones, suggesting that the builders of the later house were aware of Well 1 and needed to shore up the wall foundation (Bushe-Fox 1926, 17). In the case of Pit 11 this was to provide a solid surface on which to lay a floor. In Pit 11 was a bone hairpin (HOMS 96002302, SF. ?) which appear in contexts up to the AD 140s (Greep 1983, 332, Fig.87). The pottery from this pit is described as no earlier than the late first century and no later than the middle of the second century (Bushe-Fox 1926, 17). Well 1 contained a coin of Domitian and immediately below the tiles and stones was pottery of the late first century and first half of the second century with Samian stamps of Calvus (AD 60-90), Crestio (AD 65-95) (Bushe-Fox 1926, 17). Well 1 might have been filled to a point by the end of the first century but then consolidated with the tiles and stones in the second century. The consolidation of these two features provides a Hadrianic-Antonine date for the construction of the later house and a probable latest date for the metal workshop. The coin evidence might have afforded some better dating for the buildings, however, despite giving depths, relative to the ground level, none of the sections dug cut through the interior of the building so it is impossible to ascertain relative depths. Based on the evidence available it can only be said that the construction of the metal workshop could date from the late first century to the middle of the second century. However, given the similarity to the quadrifrons foundation, its construction is likely to be contemporaneous.

3.5.5: The Masonry Buildings

During the second century there were multiple masonry structures constructed within the excavated area. As mentioned above there was a house on Site 1 above a metal workshop. There was also a cellar in *insula* VI to the NE of the metal workshop across Road 5 as well as two structures to the NE of the quadrifrons and a small flint wall in *insula* I close to the previously discussed furnace.

The first buildings to consider are the two masonry buildings to the NE of the quadrifrons, also known as the first and second houses on Site 3 (Bushe-Fox 1928, 13-8). These buildings apparently replaced the large timber courtyard building (Building F) overlying it in the NE corner. Between the houses and the NE corner of the quadrifrons and to the north of the quadrifrons was a large area of oolite mortar, which was the mixing floor for the quadrifrons construction, as well as scatterings of marble chippings (Bushe-Fox 1928, 10-2). Eventually this oolite mortar was covered with a sand layer to level up the area to the edge of the platform. The first building on Site 3 is described as containing Lower Greensand, oolite mortar and water worn pebbles in its walls (Bushe-Fox 1928, 13). The building is described as having poorly constructed walls (Bushe-Fox 1928, 14) and might have been a temporary structure associated with the quadrifrons construction, as it was soon replaced with the second house.

This structure was dated to the late first century by a coin of Vespasian found under the floors. Pottery from a hypocaust and what was presumed to be below the floor levels was “early in character, little subsequent to the early years of the second century being met with” (Bushe-Fox 1928, 15). In some areas there were the remains of *opus signinum* floors (Bushe-Fox 1928, 15). The second house on Site 3 was above the first house but with some rooms to the south. One element of the walls was water worn flints (Bushe-Fox 1928, 16) and as no floors were found it was suggested that they were made of wood (Bushe-Fox 1928, 17). The house also appeared to be built upon 1'-2' (0.3-0.61m) of debris covering the previous building floors and through this debris the foundation trenches for the second house were cut (Bushe-Fox 1928, 16). One issue with the layers in this area is they were not readily identifiable and the whole area was contaminated with fourth century material. A second

issue is that only the pottery reports remain for this site and not the site description. The pottery report numbers the rooms 1-26 (Book 1), whereas in the second report both buildings have their own separate series of room numbers both starting at one (Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl.XL-XLI). However, perhaps significantly there are many rooms that are labelled “low level” which contain second century pottery, which must be related to the first house. Bushe-Fox (1928, 16) does note that the structure is like others of the second century. One he excavated at Wroxeter had coins of Trajan and Hadrian under the floors (Bushe-Fox 1916, 15-16). A mid-second century date for the buildings is likely.

Further to the west is the house on Site 1, a masonry structure previously mentioned as above a metal workshop. The filling of pits near and under its walls provided a Hadrianic-Antonine date. This building consisted of 10 rooms in total but again the books relating to these are missing. A coin of Hadrian was found near a “low brick join” in Room 9 (Book 39.1, p.8). While this is not wholly conclusive, it adds more evidence to the Hadrianic-Antonine date. The layout and structure of the house is well described by Bushe-Fox and without the notebooks there is little to add. Bushe-Fox (Bushe-Fox 1928, 18) indicates that the construction method of this house was the same as the second house on Site 3.

In *insula* VI there is a cellar close to the west wall of the shore fort (Bushe-Fox 1949, 48-50). The walls of this subterranean structure consisted of Lower Greensand, oolite mortar and small particles of marble (Bushe-Fox 1949, 48). The soil into which it was cut contained first and second century pottery (Bushe-Fox 1949, 48). The cellar wall was seen to overlie Pit 131 in the mouth of which were flints, probably from the cellar walls and in the top 8' (2.4m) was Samian and coarseware of Hadrianic-Antonine date (Bushe-Fox 1949, 50; 93). It was stated in the fourth volume that the cellar must have been constructed after the pit was filled (Bushe-Fox 1949, 50). However, later in the same paragraph a date of the late first or first half of the second century was given for the cellar (Bushe-Fox 1949, 50). It was clear in the excavators’ minds that the quadrifrons was of late first century date, so that a reasoning had to be found for the Hadrianic-Antonine pottery in Pit 131. The reasoning was that either the wall of the cellar had collapsed into the Pit 131 and the pottery was introduced into the pit later, or that the sinkage of the cellar into Pit 131 was made good with soil containing pottery of a

Hadrianic-Antonine date. Both arguments are illogical given a depth of 8' (2.4m) of soil containing Hadrianic-Antonine pottery. A simpler explanation is that the cellar was constructed after Pit 131 was filled. The pottery from the filling of the cellar included Samian stamps of Albucianus (AD 155-190) and Saturninus (AD 160-200) and in other areas potters' stamps of the first – second century was found (Bushe-Fox 1949, 49). No structure was found in association with this cellar, so it is unclear if any building was timber or masonry. The cellar might be associated with the period of the later houses on Site 1 and 3. Alternatively, it was temporary for the workers food storage during the quadrifrons construction. This would perhaps satisfy the lack of late second – third century pottery that led Bushe-Fox (Bushe-Fox 1949, 48) to give the cellar an earlier date.

The buildings on Site 1, Site 3, the masonry cellar, and the quadrifrons are far too like to be a coincidence and must have been built at roughly the same time in the late Hadrianic-Antonine period. Related to the construction material there are two final pieces of evidence to consider. Over in the NE corner where the oolite mortar was mixed and the sand was used to level up the area to the quadrifrons edge a piece of Samian of form 44 (AD 140-230) or form 81 (AD 120-230) was found (Book 1, p.51). A second piece of evidence is a coin of Antoninus Pius in the coin list for 1928-1930 (Book 48, p.26), which is unfortunately worn, but was in the oolite mortar layer in the NE corner. It is therefore clear that the oolite mortar was being mixed during the reign of Antoninus Pius.

3.5.6: *The Roads*

As shown above the road network was not laid down in one moment. This is especially the case with Road 1 and Road 4. There are a few crucial points that are made in the description of the roads. Firstly, slightly overlying Road 1.1 was a layer of disintegrated tufa (Bushe-Fox 1926, 25) which was used at times during the quadrifrons construction. It is unclear whether either of Roads 1.2 or 1.3 was laid over this tufa, but in the same area to the north of Road 1 and level with Roads 1.2 and 1.3 is a layer of burnt material and wall plaster (Bushe-Fox 1926, 25) which corresponds with the red layer associated with the destruction of the workers houses. Road 4 emanating from the north of Road 1 along the west of the quadrifrons revealed two layers of metalling like Road 1 (Bushe-Fox 1926, 29).

The fact that only two road layers in Road 4 (4.1 and 4.2) correspond Road 1 which had three layers of metalling might indicate that, like Road 3.1, Road 4.1 does not correspond with Road 1.1 but 1.2. This is further confirmed in Section 34 where a post hole was found below Road 4.1 (Bushe-Fox 1932, 51) revealing buildings earlier than the full street grid. Furthermore, in Road 4.2, which overlaid clean sand, was found marble chippings. Above Road 4.2 was found mixed soil containing pottery primarily from the Antonine period to the third – fourth century followed by a thin layer of pebbles (Bushe-Fox 1932, 51). If both Roads 3.1 and 4.1 correspond with 1.2 then it is possible that Road 4.2 corresponds with Road 1.3. Rather than the original dating of the first two roads of Road 1 being mid and late first century and then no further roads until the late third century (Bushe-Fox 1949, 59) the sequence should be close to (Tab.3.7),

Tab.3.7. Sequence of Roads 1, 3 and 4

Roads	Date
1.1	c.AD 70s
1.2, 3.1, 4.1	c.AD 95-Antonine
1.3, 3.2, 4.2	Antonine

It should also be noted at this point that a coin bearing CRISPINA AVGUSTA (RIC 672a, AD 178-191) (Book 48, p.84) (Fig.3.12) was recorded in the “NE angle in second road”, meaning Road 4.2. This would put the Road 4.2 date forward to AD 178 at the earliest if this coin were indeed in the layer.

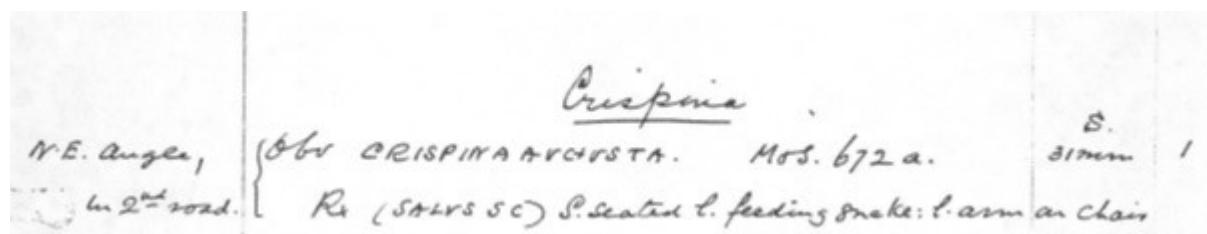


Fig.3.13. Coin of Crispina in the second road layer

3.5.7: The Inscriptions and Architectural Detail

A major piece in the Richborough puzzle is the quadrifrons inscription. Of the extant inscribed marble pieces, no piece matches the letter sizes expected for the main inscription. Many pieces have crudely cut lettering and might have been used to indicate the position of the pieces. However, in 1925-1926 several pieces were found which might have made a lesser inscription. Collingwood (Taylor and Collingwood 1926) wrote that this inscription (RIB 46) might read,

IMP CAESARI DIVI TRAIANI PARTH F DIVI NERVAE N. TRAIANO HADRIANO AVG

However, many Emperors are possible and all that can be said about the pieces is that the inscription speaks of the son of a deified Emperor. This could be one of many but given the evidence above it could represent an inscription of Antoninus Pius finishing or adding to a quadrifrons of Hadrian or Marcus Aurelius/Lucius Verus adding to a quadrifrons of Antoninus Pius.

It has been suggested that (Coombe *et al.* 2015, 72-4) fragments of the quadrifrons detail that the monument is likely to be second rather than first century. Detail on some of the bronze sculptural pieces are more like those seen on Trajanic and Hadrianic monuments and there is the suggestion that at least one figure wearing a Phrygian-type cap is like a figure from Trajan's forum which may be Antonine in date (Coombe *et al.* 2015, 72-3). There is then clearly precedent for dating the monument later than Domitian.

The original plans for this period remain largely unchanged. The one thing that does change is the dating. The plan for the old 'supply base' hypothesis should now date up to the AD 150s and the two plans during after the quadrifrons construction can be re-dated to c.AD 150s and AD 150s-200s.

3.5.8: The Pottery and Coins

The material discussed shows that there need not be a gap between c.AD 90, the original supposed date of the quadrifrons construction, and the Hadrianic-Antonine buildings. Individual pots and coins have been considered above but not overall trends on the site. Considering the coin trends from

each Reece Period and based upon Walton's British Mean (WBM) detailing the coins from the average British site per period, which was calculated using PAS and comparative datasets (Walton 2011: 72) it is possible to look at chronological trends on sites through fluctuations in coin loss.

It is well known that over 22,000 coins of Reece Period 21 (that is, 45% of the coins from the site; discussed further below) heavily skews Walton's British Mean unless removed from it, however, it also heavily skews Richborough. This is because the figures represent each period's coins as a proportion of the total number of coins from the site. Therefore, trends in coin loss in the 1st century can affect the later periods and *vice versa*. The Richborough coin assemblage deviation from the British Mean shows from Period 1 onwards the site is adding coinage far slower than the average site until Period 21. However, a simple correction can be made. By calculating the average number of Period 21 coins from the other shore fort sites as a % of their overall total (1.27 %) and substituting this figure for Richborough rather than the c.45 % gives a total of 512 coins and shows that the site is now more in line with the other shore fort sites before Period 21 (Fig.3.13).

Coin deviation for the shore forts, Richborough corrected and Dover *classis Britannica*

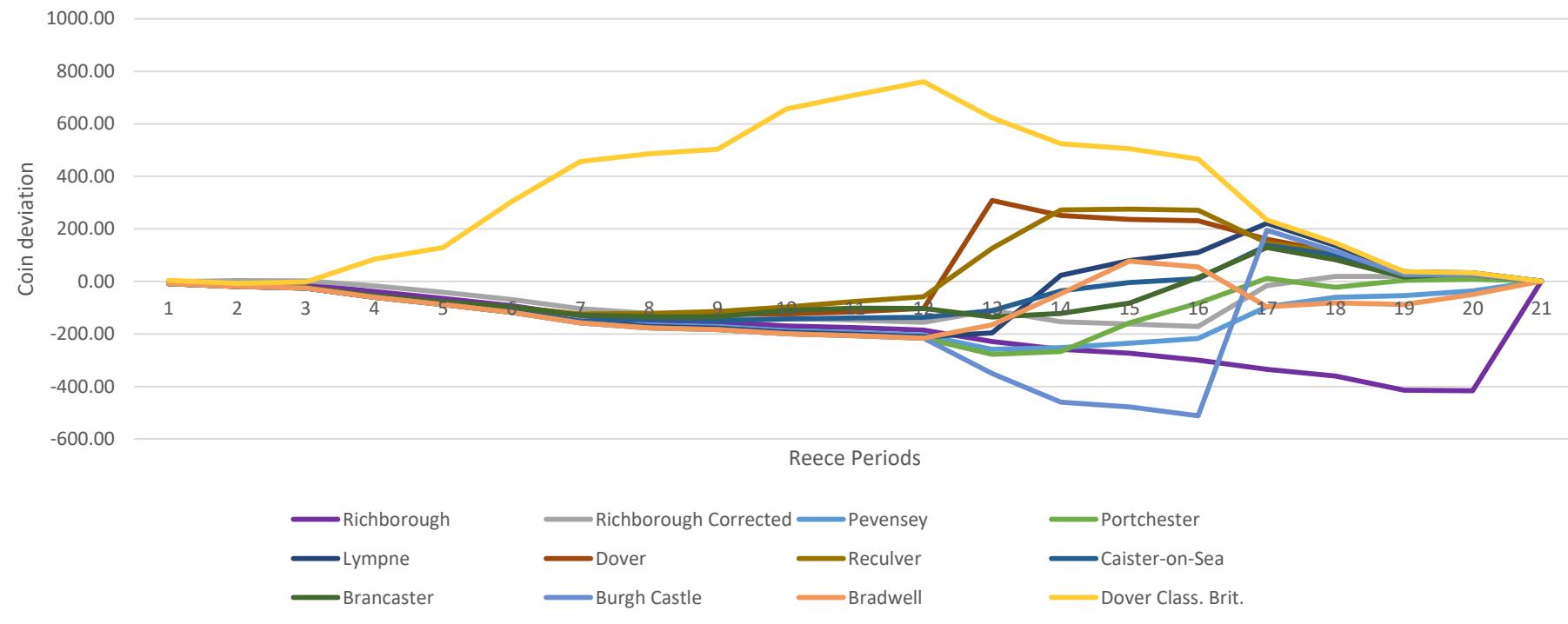


Fig.3.14. Coin deviation from the British Mean for the shore forts, Richborough Corrected and Dover *classis Britannica*

With the correction, the first three periods at Richborough are now more in line with Walton's British Mean. However, it still takes a downturn after the Flavian period. At this exact moment, the curve for the *classis Britannica* fort at Dover diverges from Richborough. This might have suggested movement of the *classis Britannica* from Richborough to Dover, but this is not the case. Philp (1981, 91) says that there was some early activity at Dover based on an unfinished *classis Britannica* fort in the Flavian period, as the totals for Flavian coins (10-12 % of the total) and 40-50 Samian vessels seemed rather high. However, the Dover coin list shows the Flavian coins were found in unstratified contexts or associated with the first complete fort beginning c.AD 130-140 (Reece 1981, 120-2). Similarly, the Flavian Samian only represents c.12-20 % of the total maximum number of plain and stamped vessels. It is likely that this represents residual use of Flavian Samian as well as coinage. The spike in the coins in Period 4 does not represent site use at that time. A similar picture could be argued for Richborough. The Flavian coinage could easily be losses of old coinage in the Hadrianic period with little new coinage added to this part of the site or being lost.

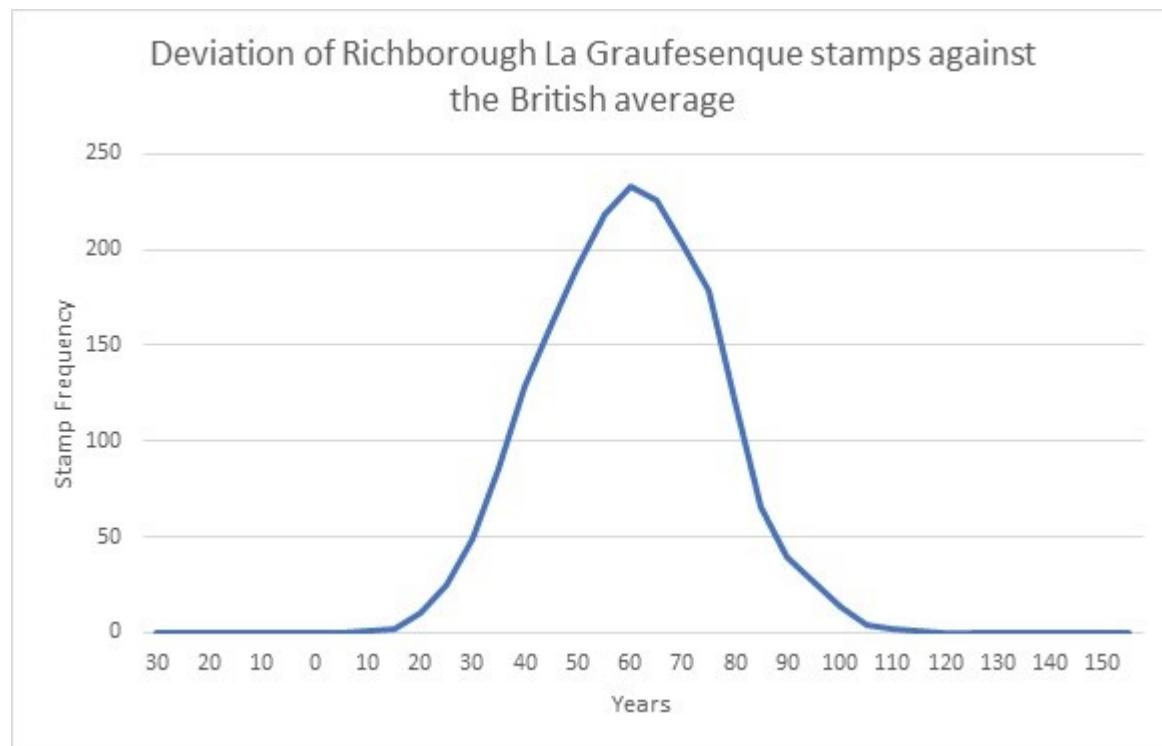


Fig.3.15 Deviation of Richborough La Graufesenque stamps against the British average

Looking at the Samian stamps there is an interesting picture when measuring Richborough against the British average. Richborough adds Flavian Samian at a huge rate compared to other British sites reflecting its early military origin (Fig.3.14). There is then a decline back toward the British average, but this is to be expected as it marks the decline of the La Graufesenque tradition of Samian. The picture for Lezoux Samian (an industry at its height in the second century) is more interesting (Fig.3.14).

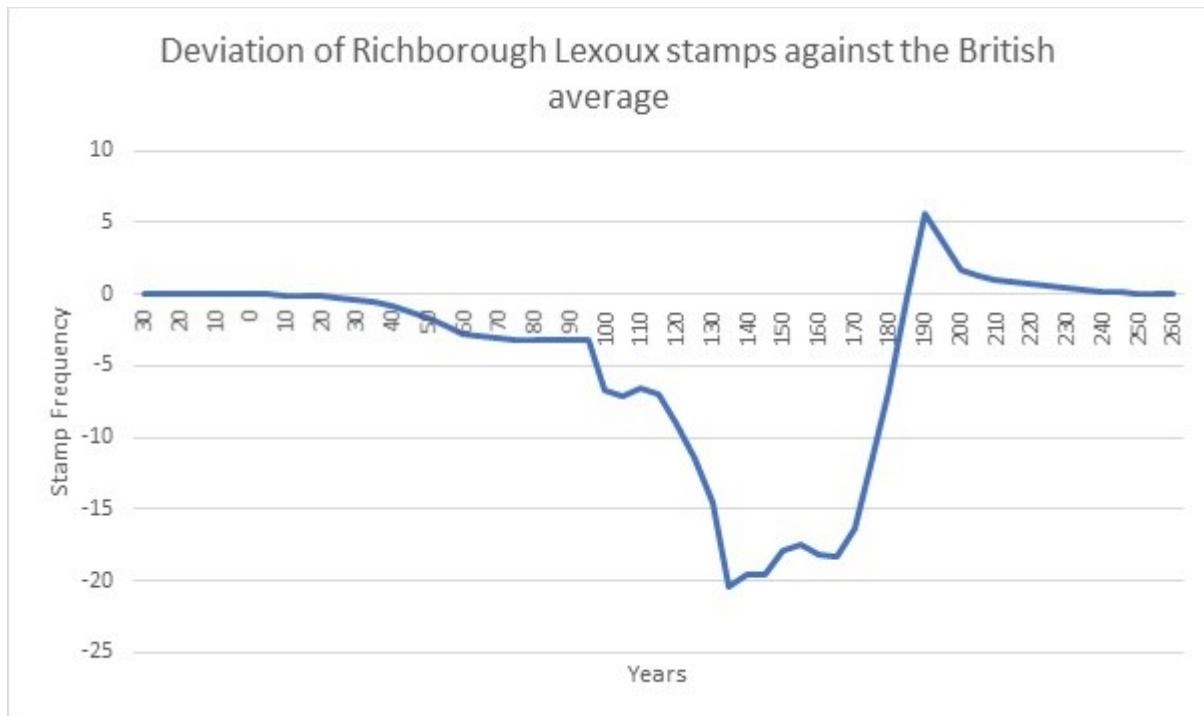


Fig.3.16. Deviation of Richborough Lexoux stamps against the British average

There is a distinct downward trend in its appearance at Richborough until it levels off in the Hadrianic period and increases in the Antonine period until the end of the pottery tradition. There are several reasons for this pattern. Firstly, if the timber stores, courtyard building, and first metal workshop were still standing in the Hadrianic period there could have been a lack of open features to deposit broken pots. Secondly, the purpose of the buildings does not lend themselves to Samian usage. The area excavated at this time was a workspace not a dwelling space. If Lezoux Samian was being imported during this time it was being stored and shipped out or used in the town part of the

port town. There are however four areas that might show usage. These are the shops south of Road 1, the workers buildings north of Road 1, the metal workshop in *insula* V, and the timber courtyard building in the NE corner. In fact, these areas show the most usage whereas the area of the store buildings sees relatively little second century Samian.

3.5.9: Summary

The dating of the *quadrifrons* is probably the most complicated issue. Much of the evidence is not stratigraphically related to the *quadrifrons* itself, however, there were artefacts found in the building material that suggest an Antonine date for the construction. The evidence from the masonry structures is mostly from the use of the same building materials as the *quadrifrons*. The House on Site 1 was given a Hadrianic or later date by the excavators, which ties in with a likely Antonine date for the *quadrifrons*. There is also ample evidence for rubbish dumping and building material working around the Antonine period, suggesting the granaries were still standing in the mid-2nd century and that after they were demolished the *quadrifrons* appears to have stood in relative isolation. Furthermore, it is also evident that imports of samian saw an uptick in the mid-2nd century when compared to the average British site, suggesting that there was a change in activity at the time.

The interpretation of the evidence at the time was skewed to fit the Domitianic date established very early on in the excavations. This is evident when dating the cellar which was considered by Bushe-Fox to be contemporary with the *quadrifrons*. In fact, this cellar was constructed in a layer filled with 2nd century material, and therefore must have been constructed in the 2nd century. The walls of the cellar contained material, which was used in the *quadrifrons* construction, including marble chippings. Furthermore, a pit underneath one of the walls, filled with Antonine material, further demonstrated the incompatible dating. The cellar must have been built after the Antonine material was put in the pit (it was found as deep as 8ft). This reassessment of published and unpublished data shows that the monument cannot be Domitianic.

The best context for the *quadrifrons* construction is a move from the site by the *classis Britannica* to a more permanent base at Dover and repurposing and developing the Richborough harbour from

supply to the grand entrance to the province after the shifting of the northern border of Britannia from Hadrian's Wall to the Antonine Wall.

3.6: Richborough: Periods 6-9 (Figs.3.17 – 3.19)

The shore fort walls and ditches at Richborough are the most striking part of the site in the landscape today. The construction, purpose and occupation can and has filled volumes. However, what no one has done is return to the site archive and view the original material. This section explores how combining unpublished and published material from the archive material will help us better understand the dating and phasing of the shore fort construction and occupation.

3.6.1: The Pottery and Coins

The late third – fourth century pottery reveals little. Lyne (1994, 131-2) demonstrated that BB1 vessels were a “major component in the Richborough coarseware assemblage” and in Dover it was present in the destruction layers below the shore fort (c.AD 200-270). This places BB1 in Kent at the time of both the Gallic Empire and Carausius/ Allectus. The coinage of Richborough is a headache to numismatists, not least of all the sheer amount, but also that c.45 % is from Reece Period 21 (AD 388-402). This shows Richborough adding coins at a slower rate than the average British site from Periods 1 to 20. By replacing the 44% from Period 21 with the new 1.27% number for Period 21 calculated above, this changes the curve significantly and shows a rise in coinage in Period 13 (AD 260-275) and 14 (AD 275-296) but then a drop off until a significant rise in Period 17 (AD 330-347). This presents a picture more akin to the other shore forts, particularly Pevensey. There is a further complication with the late periods at Richborough. The late third century 2364 illegible coins have been added to Period 14 (Tab.3.8).

Tab.3.8. Coins of Periods 13 and 14 before and after removal of illegible coins

Period	Current total	% of total	New total	% of total
13	4759	53.7	4759	70.3
14	4099	46.3	1735	29.7

This is significant as after correcting for Period 21 there is an increase (Current Total) and decrease (New Total) for Period 14 (Fig.3.20). At the time of compiling the coin list for Richborough, Reece (1981) put all the illegible coinage into Period 14. The effect of this meant that both Period 13 and 14

Richborough
c.AD280s - 296

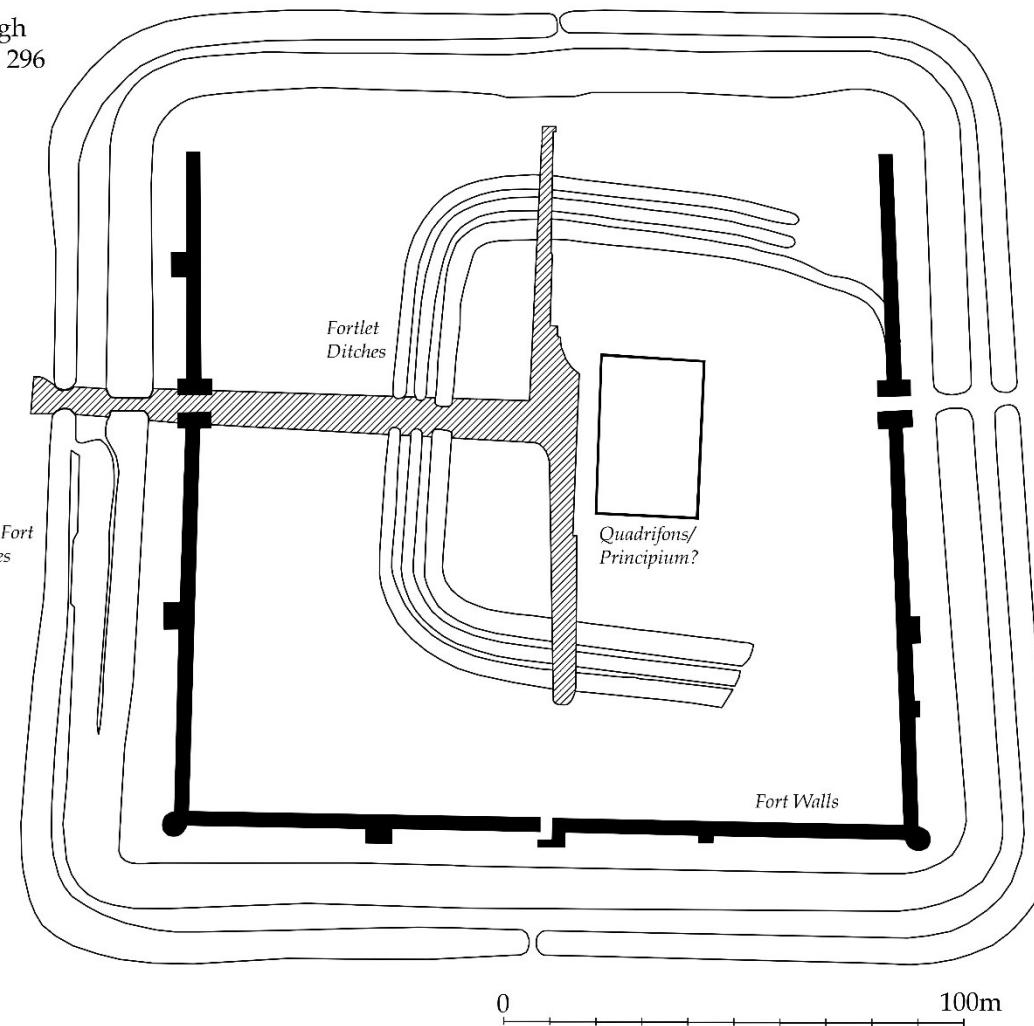


Fig.3.17. Richborough Period 6-7

Richborough
c.AD340s - 380s

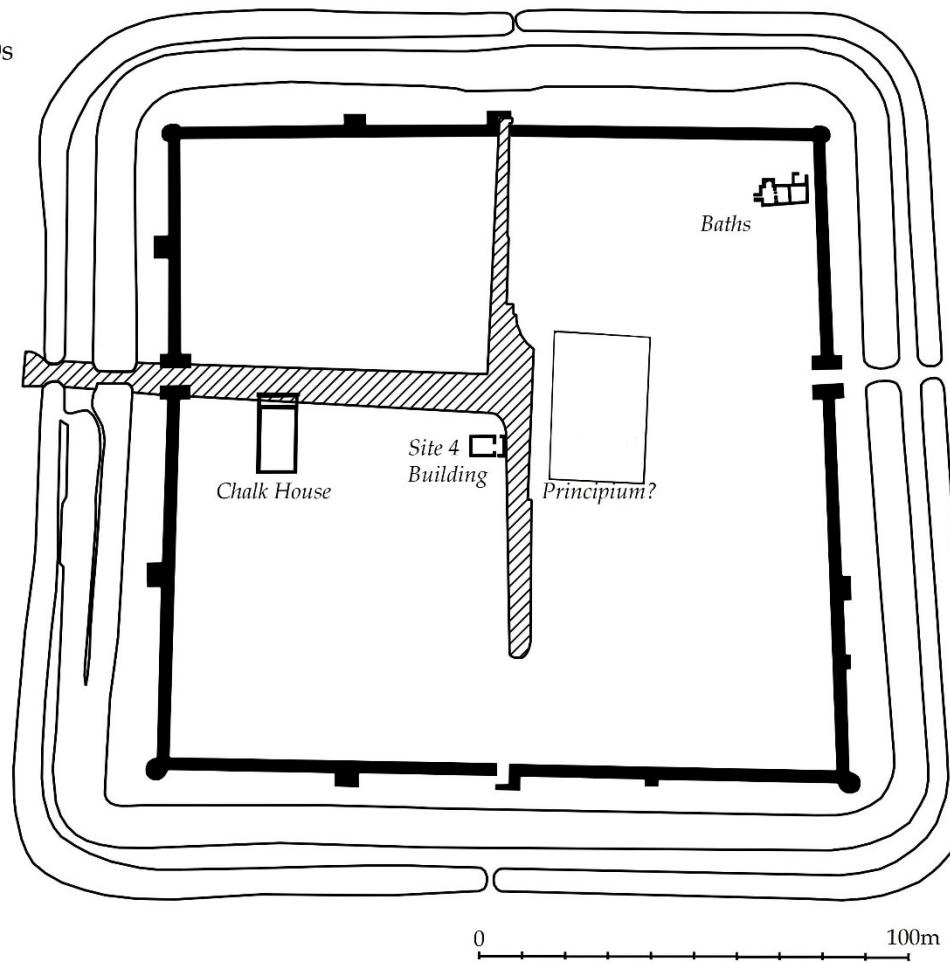


Fig.3.18. Richborough Period 8

Richborough
c.AD380s - 410+

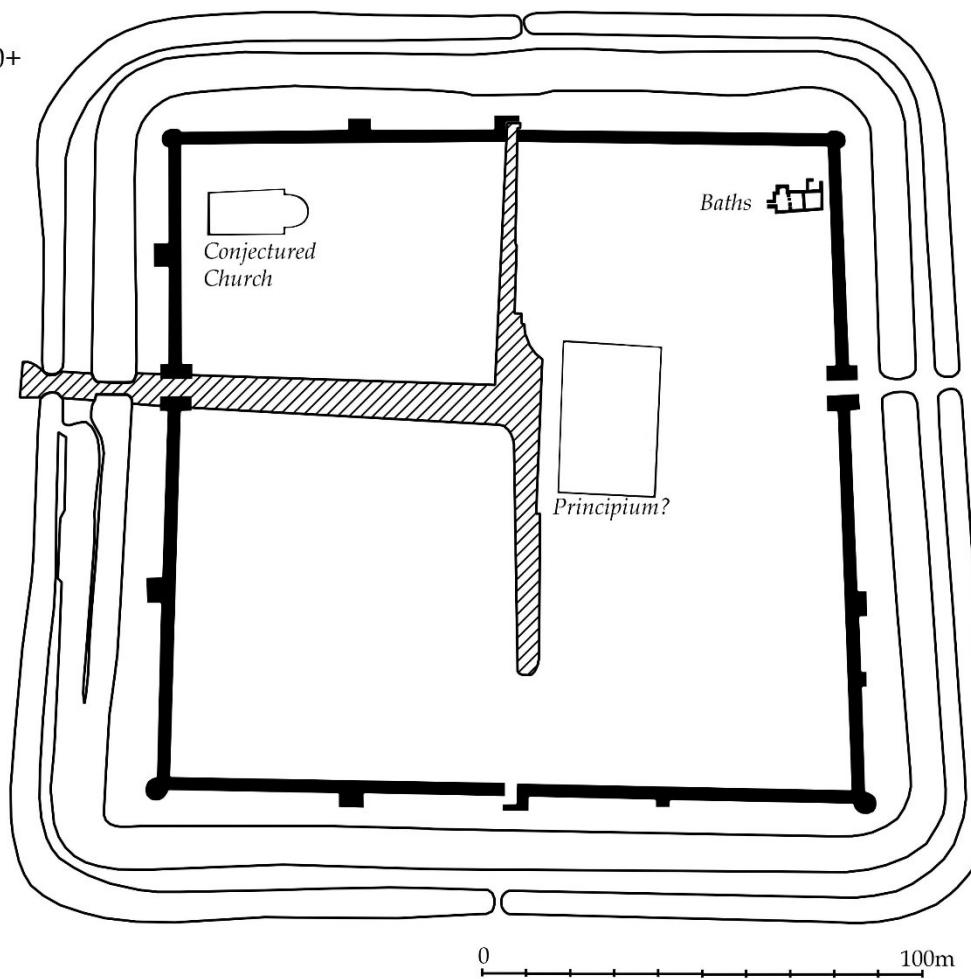


Fig.3.19. Richborough Period 9

has a similar number of coins. While many are barbarous radiates which date to Period 14, not all illegible coinage dates to this Period. Splitting the illegible coinage between the two gives roughly similar %s (67 % and 33 %), compared to omitting them as does dividing them based on their % of the New Total (70.1 % and 29.9 %). Additionally, adding all of the barbarous radiates to Period 14 and splitting the other illegible coinage yielded a similar result. This causes a significant problem for Periods 13 and 14. Keeping the coin totals as they show a rise in Period 13 (Fig.3.20, Richborough 1.27%), while the correction means a drop in these periods (Fig.3.20) Richborough Corrected). Given this is the likely construction period of the shore fort how the coins are interpreted is extremely important.

Coin deviation for Richborough, Richborough Period 21 1.27 percent and with Period 14 corrected

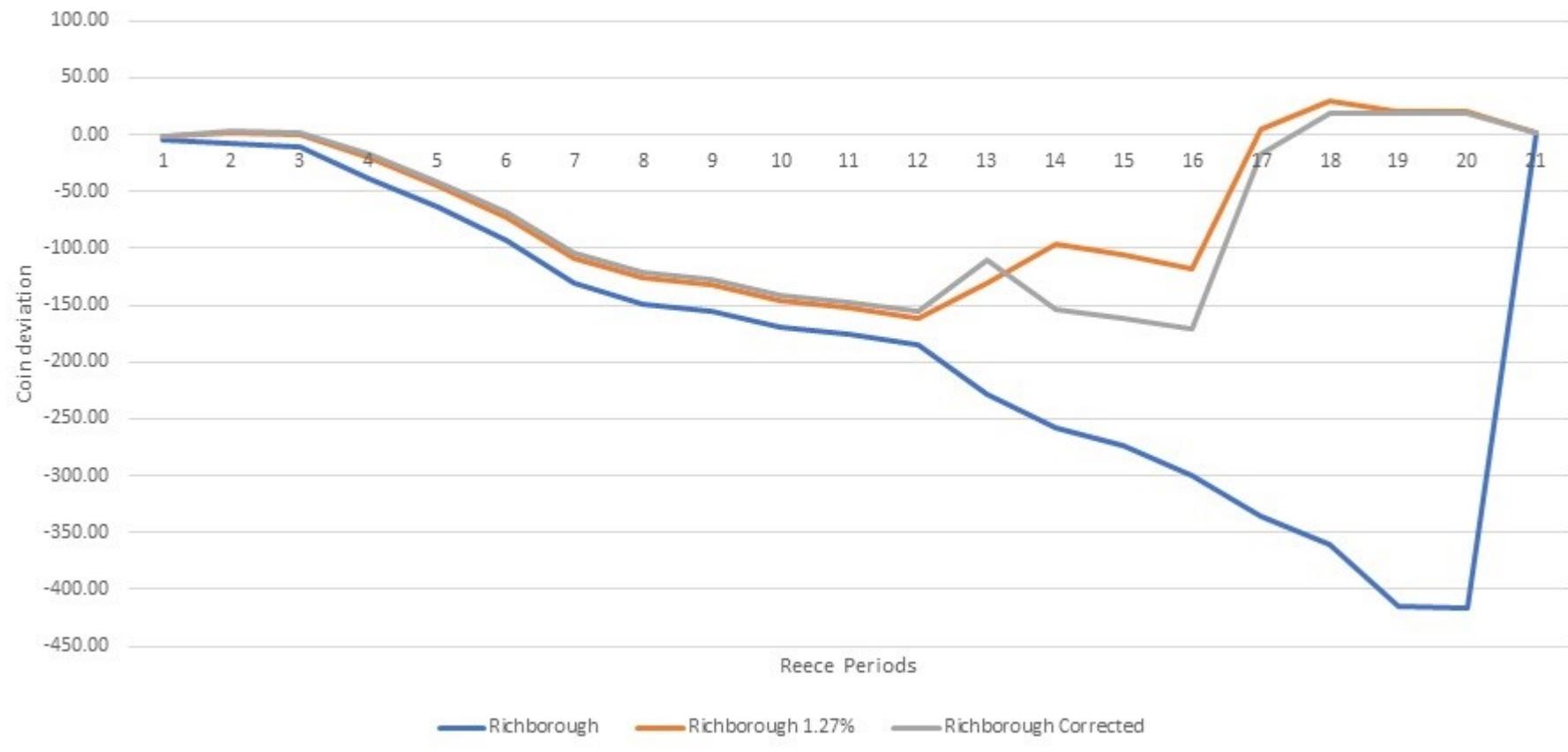


Fig.3.20. Coin deviation for the Richborough, Richborough Period 21 1.27 % and with Period 14 corrected

A few individual coins might shed some light on the construction sequence of the fortlet and shore fort. The first is a coin of Claudius II (RIC ?, AD 268-70) under the mound of the outer fortlet ditch (Bushe-Fox 1932, 24), but it is actually shown on Section 21 as being in the mound for the ditch (Bushe-Fox 1932, Pl.XLVIII). Despite this discrepancy, the ditch mound could not have been constructed until after this coin was minted. The position of this coin provides a TPQ for the fortlet. It does not absolutely confirm a Carausian date for the fortlet, but it does place the earliest construction nearer the end of the Gallic Empire. It is possible that a Carausian date can be confirmed for the construction of the shore fort. A single coin in the site coins list for 1924/5 (Book 39, p.27) was "From underneath the main N wall [...] NE corner" (Fig.3.21). The main N wall can only be the north wall of the shore fort.

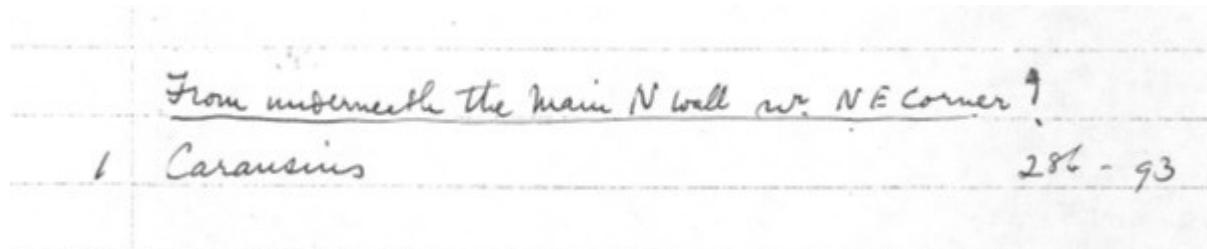


Fig.3.21. Possible Carausian coin from under the shore fort wall

Unfortunately, the coin list by Emperor for these years has not been located and there is a question mark by the coin location. However, a Carausian/Allectan date for the fort has been postulated and the coin and dendrochronology evidence from Pevensey shows that the shore forts were being added to during their reign (Fulford, and Tyers 1995). The filling of the fortlet ditches can be postulated to have been during the AD 290s as coins of Carausius were found in the filling (Cunliffe 1968, 244). The table of identifiable coins from the ditches (Bushe-Fox 1949, 62) lists four coins of Carausius, and none in the bottom. However, I have confirmed the presence of two of his coins dating to the early AD 290s in the bottom of the ditches (Book 43, p.98) (Fig.3.22).

		CARAVSIVS			
1930		Obr. A. IMP. C. CARAVSIVS. P.F.AVG.			
<u>Inner Triple Ditch</u>		Obr. B. IMP. CARAVSIVS. P.F.AVG.			
Surface		IMP. C.M.R. P.F.AVG.			
		PAX. ANG. with vertical negat. 1/2	24.	1	
<u>Middle T. Ditch 0'-3'</u>		? TUTELA / Figure standing l. with palum and cornucopia / Half	22.5	1	
<u>Outer T. Ditch Bottom</u>		ANSIUS. P.F.AVG. / Head plan with only part of die	18.-22.	1	
Layer		Pax with transverse negat. / B/E " " vertical / " " " "	21.-23.	1	
On top & filling		IMP. C. CARAVSIVS. [PAX. with vertical s. 19.5-21. " " " " " " ? SPES. lata } Freq- " " " " " " } ment		1	
<u>Over T. Ditches, Dark soil</u>		Pax with vertical negat. / Desired	24.	1	
<u>Triple Ditches, Filling</u>		IMP. CARAVSIVS. P. AVG. / Bust rad. + draped, r. R/ LITIT. AVG. / Joy sta. l. holding r. long caducus, l. cornucopia. Head of Thor. lata. Welt 92. except draped bust. 21.		1	
		IMP. C. CARAVSIVS. P.F.AVG. Rad. + draped PAX. ANG. with transverse negat. B/6 M.LXXI	22.	1	
Filling of		IMP. CARAVSIVS. AVG. / Bust as above			
Old Trench. R/		LEG. IIII. FLAVIA. / youthful draped head above two lions facing M. 15.72. Welt 89. N. MM 21.		1	
Obr. B.		Pax. with transverse negat. 24.		1	
				Antoninianus	12

Fig.3.22. Carausian coins from the fortlet ditches

In total, from 1930 alone, 12 of his coins can be confirmed from the ditch filling. Furthermore, a group (possibly a hoard?) of Allectan coins were found in the filling of the middle fortlet ditch (Bushe-Fox 1949, 276) (Book 43, p.110). It is unclear whether these were deposited before or after the ditch was filled. Reading the coin lists many late fourth century coins found their way into the top 3' (0.91m) of the fortlet ditch fill, likely due to the unconsolidated fills and layers above. A series of layers above the fortlet ditches on their northern side includes what might be late third century occupation layers. These layers are centred around a causeway overlying the ditches with various floors and hearths either side (Bushe-Fox 1949, 64-5). In general, the causeway dates to the late third century and it appears to have not been in use in the fourth century suggesting it was laid over a filled section of the ditches to aid construction of the shore fort walls.

CONSTANTINE I			
1930			
<u>Middle Triple Ditch</u>			
In filling towards bottom. R/ Camp. gate			17.5
Surface	Obv. IMP. C — ANG.	AQ?	
	R/ SOLI INVICTO. COMITI.	S/F	22.
		PLN	
<u>Outer Triple Ditch. Depth</u>			CONSTANTINVS. ANG.
unknown. R/ PROVIDENTINE. ANG.	Camp gate	PTRU	20.
Bottom Layer	Obv. Iugile	Obverse	
	R/ SOLI. INVICTO. COMITI.	PLN	22.
1930			

Fig.3.23. Coins of Constantine I in the fortlet ditches

It has been noted above that coins of the fourth century are likely intrusive in the top layer of the fill, but lower down is less likely. Reviewing the coin lists revealed several coins of Constantine I associated with the middle and outer fortlet ditches (Book 44, p.29). Of these, two are noted as "In filling towards bottom" (middle ditch) and "Bottom" (outer ditch). The former is of the Camp Gate type (AD 318/24-9, Mint: Aquileia) and the latter is SOLI INVICTO COMITI (AD 313-9, Mint:

London). These coins are the latest from the fortlet ditches recorded in or near the bottom layer providing a *TPQ* of AD 320s for their filling (Fig.3.23).

There are also Constantinian coins associated with construction layers of the fort walls. In Area XVII, a mortar layer is associated with the material in the walls (Bushe-Fox 1949, 77). A coin of the House of Constantine was found to be “weathered out” of this mortar layer (Book 45, p.21) and it would appear to be a FEL TEMP REPARATIO coin (AD 348-358) (Book 50, 31). However, there are a lot of Constantinian coins around this mortar layer, so the exact coin is unclear. More tangible evidence comes from coins found in lime kilns outside the north fort wall. These are one of Carausius (AD 286-93), two VRBS ROMA (AD 330-40), one of Constantinopolis (AD 330-48) and two of the House of Constantine (Bushe-Fox 1932, 38). These kilns were most likely used in the preparation of material for the shore fort walls, primarily from the quadrifrons, and were active in the first half of the fourth century.

This 4th century date is extremely late for completion compared to the previous 3rd century date for the shore fort. However, we only need look as far as Pevensey for an answer. Excavations in 1994 (Fulford, and Tyers 1995) demonstrated that from a coin of Allectus (AD 293-6) there was a late third century *TPQ* for the construction and a Constantinian coin (AD 330-5) (Bushe-Fox 1932, 67) indicates a later remodelling or completion of the shore fort. Cunliffe (1975, 41) dated Portchester to the Carausian/Allectan period by a coin from the construction levels. Furthermore, based on the coin evidence at Lympne (Cunliffe, et al. 1980, 263) a date for Carausius/Allectus can be postulated. Apart from Dover, which was an established *classis Britannica* base since the second century, all the forts south of Reculver are likely Carausian/Allectan. Grainge’s (2005, 146-51) hypothesised that Maximian’s failed attempt to take back Britannia from Carausius (After AD 289) was attempted from the Rhine and came up against the eastern forts. It would then be natural for Carausius/Allectus to fortify the south coast from attack from northern Gaul. That an attack from Gaul, landing somewhere in Kent and in the Solent, bypassing the shore forts (Grainge 2005, 149) came to pass justified the creation of the forts by Carausius/Allectus.

3.6.2: The Brooches

Finds of the third century do not offer much more of a clue. The P-Shaped brooches (Mackreth's earliest sprung-pin/proto-Crossbow) were dated to the mid-second-mid third century, a time seen before as least important in Richborough's history (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 199) can now be dated in contexts up to AD 300 on the Continent (Heeren and Van Der Feijst 2017, 171-4). Seen as military brooches through association (Chapter 2.7) and in some cases associated with the Severan campaign into Scotland, this new date does not require a military presence before or even in the mid-third century. Either the army of the Gallic Empire or those of Carausius/Allectus could have had access to these brooches. The light crossbows (Bayley and Butcher 2004, T190-191A) (Swift Type 0, third century) from Richborough are conventionally dated up to AD 260 on the German *limes*. However, once again, new finds from the Continent show these dated up to AD 300. With the coin evidence in the ditches and the possibility of these brooches being used under Carausius/Allectus then it is tempting to place the construction of the fortlet as Carausian/Allectan rather than of the Gallic Empire. However, none of the P-Shaped brooches or light crossbow brooches were found in the fortlet ditches. If the fortlet ditches were open or occupied for any significant time during the period AD 260-274 then at least one or two might be expected.

At Richborough, there is a curious set of early crossbow brooches, and these are also found in other places in Britain. Paul (2013, 406-11) wrote about a crossbow brooch (T191B, Swift Type 1, AD 280-300) with a particular style of foot decoration. The design on the foot is of pairs of notches facing on either side of the foot and running up the lower bow, which Mackreth (2011, 201) considers having come from a single workshop. Paul (2013, 408) maps examples in Britain from Richborough (7) (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 113-4, Nos.293, 297-9; 300-1; 307), Grandford (3), Reculver (1) (Philp 2005, 164; 167, Fig.56.314), Corbridge (1), Ickham (1), Southampton (1) and Woodyates (1). On the Continent they are from Augsburg (1), Augst (1) and Chaffois (1). They are all Type 191B (Swift Type 1, c.AD 280-300) but they are a transitional type between T191A and T191B (Swift Type 0 and 1). Two of the brooches probably came from the same mould (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 113, Nos.298-9) and the British found examples were probably made in the province. The style and low quality compared

with the Continental examples suggest an insular production for these examples but does not necessarily suggest an insular origin for the type. The example from Augsburg has a *TPQ* of AD 275-6 and from Augst AD 268-70. The Richborough examples are difficult to date due to poor context data. However, of the seven, two were found in an area of trenching that revealed burials in association with Constantine II (AD 337-340), Constans (AD 337-350) and FEL TEMP REPARATIO (AD 348-358). The others were found in the NE corner topsoil or outside the north wall of the shore fort. The uniform decoration and limited distribution most likely indicate an attachment to a particular unit and locations of the Continental examples makes it unlikely the style arrived in Britain before the AD 270s or were attached to Carausius/Allectus. A context for their arrival might be the armies of Constantius Chlorus and Julius Asclepiodotus in AD 296. What is now unclear is whether the T190-1A brooches can be associated with a garrison at Richborough in the AD 290s or not. Did the T191B brooches arrive replacing the T190-1A or with them? The chronology is tight but a distinction might be made where no T190-1A brooches are found in association with the fortlet or short fort ditches but there are multiple T191B brooches in the shore fort ditches.

The later developed crossbow brooches (T192), make up just under 1/3 of the T191-192 range but many are only represented by the crossbar knobs. There is clearly a long life for both T191 and T192 brooches at Richborough. One example of a T191 (Swift Type 1) was found in a pit along with a 100-130 Constantinian coins (Bayley and Butcher 2004, No.289) with a *TPQ* of AD 329 and a T192 (Swift Type 2iii) in a pit with Theodosian coinage with a *TPQ* of AD 379.

3.6.3: The Construction Techniques

Pearson (2003) in his study of the shore forts analysed the lithologies in their construction. By examining the construction techniques, we can begin to group them and examine whether these groupings reveal a chronological pattern consistent with the other archaeological evidence. In sum, for Richborough, he found that they could be split into three groups:

1. Stone obtained only from the robbing of existing structures on the site of the fort.

2. Lithologies robbed from existing structures on the site, augmented by quantities of newly quarried stone of the same type.

3. Lithologies newly introduced to the site specifically for the building of the shore fort.

Of group three, the stone was used in the west and south walls which are of one build (Pearson 2003, 77-8). Within this range the only recycled material was used in the west gate (Pearson 2003, 77-8). The north wall was found to have been built in four sections and Sections B, C and D contain lithologies found nowhere else in the walls and were recycled from the quadrifrons (Pearson 2003, 77-8). Pearson (2003, 78) suggests that the harbour works identified by Boys (1792) could have been used to bring in material for the fort construction. This is further evidence by the presence of the lime kilns which might represent an area of working and storage (Pearson 2003, 78). The construction of the north wall was last part of the construction closing the circuit and demolishing the quadrifrons. The quadrifrons could have still been utilised to some extent as a watchtower during the construction. The Constantinian coin evidence might indicates an unfinished fort and the invasion of Constantius Chlorus in AD 296 caused an interruption in the building works. In the AD 320s – 40s it was decided to complete the circuit and reoccupy the fort. Pearson (2002) outlined the time and resources it would take to construct Pevensey. While not settling on any one timescale he suggested the following (Tab.3.9).

Tab.3.9. Construction time for Pevensey

Years	Workforce	Of which are skilled labourers (15 %)
1	3600	540
2	1800	270
3	1200	180
5	700	105
10	350	53
20	180	27

If the construction of the shore forts of Pevensey, Portchester, Lympne and Richborough were in response to Maximian's failed invasion, then the project was probably started c.AD 290. This gives six years before the defeat of Allectus and as it is possible Pevensey and Richborough were incomplete. Pevensey is the largest of the shore forts and could have taken the longest to complete. Richborough, based on the new plan (Wilmott and Smither 2020) is the smallest (further discussed below) and could have been an afterthought since Reculver, Dover and a Richborough watchtower might have been sufficient defence.

An alternative to the idea that the north wall was left incomplete after the invasion of Constantius Chlorus is that building resources were exhausted (Pearson 2003, 80-1) and new sources needed to be found. This would also explain the similarity of walls built in sections at Portchester and Pevensey like the north wall at Richborough. However, this could simply be due to the varying construction methods at each shore fort and a change at Richborough for a single wall would be an odd decision. The fact remains that there was Constantinian construction on the Richborough shore fort and the ditches were at least partly open in the AD 320s – 40s.

During the Richborough excavations it was noted that the foundations were supported by timber framing, and this was clearest on the foundation of the east wall (Bushe-Fox 1928, 23). This method of timber framing was also seen in the other shore forts at Pevensey, Portchester and Burgh Castle, and the late Roman 'palace' complex in London dated to AD 294 based on dendrochronology (Williams 1993, 21-2). Within the walls of the shore fort are two chalk structures, probably temples, with similar timber framing within the foundations, like the shore fort walls. The largest of the two was at the junction of Road 1 and 3 (Bushe-Fox 1949, 75-77). The issue with dating comes with the poor stratification of the associated layers. No date could be suggested for its construction other than late third – fourth century, but it was seemingly out of use in the AD 370s-80s. The same can be said for the smaller, similar structure to the east and these buildings either represent the first Carausian/ Allectan or Constantinian buildings.

3.6.4: The fourth-fifth Century

The archaeology at Richborough shows a change in layout at some point in the fourth century after the Constantinian occupation, perhaps linked to the arrival of Count Theodosius in AD 368. Pit 69, dug through the chalk house (Bushe-Fox 1949, 83), contained a coin of Valentinian I (AD 364-75) and none earlier than Constans (AD 337-350), which is an indication of this change. Although the contexts are quite disturbed, patches of a cobble layer over the Chalk House contain coins no earlier than Valentinian II (Book 44). It is difficult to say with any certainty, but the likely scenario is that the Chalk House demolition has a TPQ of AD 375. It is hard to suggest a change in layout as late as Theodosius as his coinage is intrusive in most contexts.

A reoccupation of Oudenburg was in the early fourth century, probably as “a consequence of the consolidation policy of Constantine I” (Vanhoutte 2015, 68) coincides with the early fourth century occupation of Portchester and Lympne, based on the coin evidence, the completion and occupation of Pevensey and Richborough by c.AD 320-340 and perhaps the construction of Burgh Castle and Walton Castle under the Constantinian dynasty. Furthermore, at Oudenburg, the final phase of occupation is dated to the reign of Gratian (AD 367-383) and might suggest a similar reorganisation in northern Gaul. That the bathhouse at Oudenburg (Vanhoutte 2015, 72) and Richborough likely go out of use at a similar time in the late fourth century, like other fourth century bathhouses (Brulet 2006, 179) is another parallel.

There is the possibility of the *Ala Vocontiorum* (HOMS 96001174) (Fig.3.24) at Richborough in the late fourth century. However, this could also be a much earlier occupation by the ala c.AD 122+ when they were moved to Britain by Hadrian. In either case, there is extensive evidence for occupation by a cavalry unit from late fourth-fifth century harness fittings. A change after AD 375 would also explain the omission in the *Notitia*. This would also mean a move of part of the *legio II Augusta* to Richborough c.AD 320-340 from Caerleon. This coincides with the rise in coin use and the decrease at Caerleon to be included in the *Notitia* for Richborough.



Fig.3.24. CuA label with punched letters spelling AVO (photographs courtesy of English Heritage and Chas Bedford)

The number of soldiers at Richborough in the fourth century is unknown. Reduced unit sizes in the third-fourth centuries leaves enough room for both units in the fort. However, the layout does not suggest an intensive occupation with all space given over to military buildings. Some space in the first phase was taken up by the two temple buildings and Brown (1971) proposed a later church stood in the NW corner of the fort. The date is uncertain, but coins of AD 330-40 were found on an unsealed clay floor near the north wall (Bushe-Fox 1932, 55) (Book 40, p.152) about a foot below the later building level and giving a TPQ for the building. If the two chalk buildings were temples, demolished

post AD 375, then the change from these to a church suggests a Christianisation of the site. This is evidenced through multiple objects including Chi-Rhos on a 'liturgical' helmet fitting (HOMS 7350723, SF.2015), a circular applique probably of Maxnentius (AD 350-3) or later (HOMS 96000417, SF.1876) and scratched into a pot (Greene 1974). That few coins and objects of late fourth century date were found in this area shows the building was of occasional use and/or the area kept clean. The change in layout might not On Site 3/Area XI there are gaps for strip buildings between layers of pebbles with the top layers dated to AD 350+ containing multiple domestic objects and of personal adornment, mostly shale bracelets and bone hairpins. A similar area is toward the SW corner (Book 25, p.151-2) and to the north and east of this are multiple late hearths and traces of walls dating to the late fourth century. This all suggests that domestic occupation post-AD 375 was in the NE, SW and SE corners. There need not be a specific historical context for the change in layout and construction of the church. The tumultuous events of the late fourth century could have seen units moving depending on where they are needed. It might even be the case that the later occupants, likely a cavalry group, were not deliberately posted to Richborough but found the site empty and set up home after the *legio II Augusta* had departed.

There is little doubt that occupation carried on into the fifth century with several objects with date ranges into the fifth century such as a penannular brooch (HOMS 7351755, SF.303) (Mackreth Type 8), four Brancaster type rings (Gerrard and Henig 2017), a harness pendant with decoration similar to fifth-sixth century saucer brooches (HOMS 96000721, SF.14) and a Type 6ii crossbow brooch (HOMS: 7351227, SF.274), and even the Chi-Rho helmet fitting can be dated to the late fifth century (Prins 2000, 319-20). There are also glass claw fragments that lie stylistically between late Roman dolphin cups and Early Medieval claw beakers (Broadley 2018, 2). A new study of the coins of Period 21 is also needed. The vast quantity of coinage of Period 21 at Richborough has always been puzzling and no satisfactory explanation has been given. Bushe-Fox suggested that the large number of site finds was due to ploughed out buried hoards (Reece 1968, 25). However, this only attempts to explain why the coins were found where they were. Two other explanations have been offered. Reece (1981, 55) suggested it represents the balance of payments between provinces and gave no concern to coin users. Fulford (1978) suggested it indicates the level of trade at the time. Reece (1981, 55) concludes

that the mint pattern supports his argument but there is a small amount that suggests trade. However, again this does not completely explain the patterns of coin loss at the fort. It does not explain why there would be so many hoards, for example. However, higher numbers of coins and hoards are often found at river ports, and this is particularly the case on the Isle of Wight, suggesting that this was military pay that did not make its way out of the ports to the populace like in earlier periods (Sam Moorhead *pers. comm.*). Of the identifiable coins c.93 % are of the period up to AD 392 and c.7 % after. Due to the large area surface clearing, only c.13 % of coins are from stratified deposits and many fourth-fifth century contexts were destroyed.

3.6.5: *Allectus or Constantine?*

While the dating of the mid-late fourth-fifth century is still unclear, a date of the AD 290s for the fortlet and the shore fort is very likely and, on the other end of the scale, there is the possibility that both are Constantinian in date. On balance a date for the fortlet in the AD 290s would make sense for Carausius/Allectus. The *quadrifrons* could be used as a watchtower but without the superstructure it is unknown how this was established. With a large amount of the marble from the quadrifrons being used in the north wall it seems unlikely that Carausius/Allectus could have it dismantled unless there were a plan in place to construct the shore fort on the site. By the time Allectus was defeated in AD 296 the shore fort might have been nearly finished. A coin from the mortar used in the walls and several the lime kilns provides a Constantinian date for some construction activity, and a late one at that. What we do not have is much evidence for occupation between AD 296 and the AD 320s – 40s. The evidence from Pevensey suggests an Allectan date with possible Constantinian modifications, and the other southern shore forts of Portchester and Lympne could hold a Carausian/Allectan date, overall suggesting a Carausian/Allectan defence of the south coast.

3.6.6: *Summary*

In this chapter I have demonstrated that the chronology of Richborough needed reassessment. The development of Richborough as part of the 'Shore Fort System' is more complicated than previously thought. It is likely that it was part of a southern defensive system under Carausius and/or Allectus

in reaction to invasion plans in northern Gaul. It is also possible that the fort at Richborough was not complete in time to repel an invasion. The fort might also not have been completed until the mid-4th century. Although the evidence is inconclusive there were clearly coins from key contexts missed out of the published reports which would change the chronology of the site. It is also possible to further subdivide the 4th century into different periods of activity. There are two clear phases of reorganisation in the 4th century, and these might relate to historical events in Britain in the mid-4th century and the AD380s. Bringing together previous studies of the shore forts, finds evidence, and archive material, the character and chronology of the shore fort becomes clearer. The function of the buildings within the fort is uncertain. The two similar rectangular buildings might have been temples but could have been meeting halls for other purposes. Christian iconography dated from generally from the mid-4th century onwards shows a Christian community at Richborough. However, the exact date is unclear and might more closely relate to the late 4th century reorganisation and possible church in the NE corner. The occupation of Richborough is further muddied by the lack of clear 5th century material. While there is nothing conclusive to show that intensive occupation occurred inside the walls beyond the first quarter of the 5th century, the occupation outside the walls still needs to be investigated. It might be that the community living at Richborough had no purpose to occupy the area within the walls but continued to live on Richborough island (see Chapter 6). While this section demonstrates more can be gained from the study of Roman Richborough, the fact that the excavations occurred only within the walls still limits our understanding of the late periods.

As well as the evidence published on the east wall (Wilmott and Smither 2020) there is other evidence from all periods that indicates the chronology should be altered. A significant problem was that without considering the residuality of coinage and pottery, the chronology of the site was squeezed into the first century, leaving the second century making little sense archaeologically. The long gap between the publication of the third (1932), forth (1949) and fifth (1968) reports and the time constraints involved meant that much evidence was omitted. A thorough investigation of the Richborough archive has demonstrated that there are key dating problems in all periods.

In many ways, the dating problems requires asking more questions. For what reason were the Claudian ditches left open for c.15-20 years after the invasion? It was tempting to suggest units being called away from the site for the Boudican revolt. However, another question is when were they occupied? The filling of the ditches sometime before AD71 doesn't necessarily suggest a continuous occupation. The ditches might have been constructed in AD43 but later reoccupied after an abandonment. A Flavian date, just after the civil war, for the establishment of the port and a reorganisation of the import and export of goods that had taken place under the governors of Britannia up to Agricola, could be a reason. What is known of Agricola focuses on military campaigns and little is known of how previous governors administered the province. While the campaigns against Boudicca and into Scotland are important, the day to day running of the province can be overlooked.

Archaeologically the quadrifrons is highly unlikely to be Domitianic. Absolute and relative dating from across the site firmly dates the quadrifrons to the very late Hadrianic – Antonine date, possibly in the AD 150s. It should be remembered that for a short period while the quadrifrons was under construction, this area of Richborough was a building site. Dwellings for the workers were provided, metal workshops were active next to the quadrifrons, construction material was being worked and the first house on Site 3 could be akin to a site office. The disassembly of the store buildings, shops and metal workshop might have been a major disruption to independent traders who could reroute to London but the disruption to imperial trade could have likely been mitigated by using other ports. Based on the original excavations omitting and misinterpreting much second-century dating evidence for the quadrifrons the town was seen to decline in the late second century. However, after the storage depot of the late first and early second century was dismantled, a new economic model could have taken its place. Based on the evidence there is no need to see a decline in the town in the late second century and it might well have prospered into the third century.

After this the fortlet and shore fort were built. The archive material has revealed that a Carausian/Allectan date for the fortlet and shore fort is the most likely scenario. Comparing the evidence with Pevensey, Portchester and Lympne, the southern forts can be seen as a reaction to a

possible invasion (Chapter 3.7). That this invasion happened justified the time and expense of such a building project but was there enough time? While it can be argued either way that the walls of the shore fort might or might not have been completed by AD 296, there is ample evidence that the job was completed in some form in c.AD 320-340. There is no indication of an immediate reoccupation of the shore forts after AD 296, and that this reoccupation might have been a reaction to an external threat or a reorganisation of the military and supplies in the mid-fourth century. In this way the 'shore fort system' can be seen as such at several points and to different degrees in the late third and early-mid fourth century under separate rulers, and perhaps it was reorganised again in the late fourth century and occupied into the fifth.

Chapter 4 : Claudian-Antonine Richborough (c.AD43 – Early 2nd century)

(Periods 1-2)

Following an overview of the new site phasing, this chapter further explores the context for the ditches, comparison with British sites for the Claudian gateway and continental sites such as Velsen and the 'Old Rhine' forts which are possibly related to the invasion. The comparison with these sites will add some context to the features at Richborough and help to demonstrate why it is a likely site for the invasion. This chapter will also question the supply base theory, which suggested that the timber buildings at Richborough were used to supply the incoming Roman army, beyond the archaeological evidence shown above that re-dates the store building to the c.AD70s. The chapter will conclude with a case study on a very early votive deposit associated with the military camp or construction of a later timber courtyard building. This combined evidence alters our view of the early period at Richborough.

4.1: Overview of The New Phasing

The history of Richborough from AD43 until the middle of the 2nd century AD has always been reconstructed as one of Roman invasion, military supply, and a new port town. In some ways that has not changed. The best context for the mid-1st century ditches is the Roman invasion, and a series of store buildings is associated with military supply, and a port town developing on their demolition. There is very little evidence for any structures behind the ditches. Perhaps Building A and D to the north and north-west of the site are of this period, but that cannot be easily confirmed. The only other certain features are two field ovens. This suggests that the area behind the ditches was not occupied for long or was only occupied by a tented encampment. This would leave little evidence as the camp would be made up of organic materials such as leather tents and wooden tent pegs. The evidence presented above (Chapter 3) shows that, while the ditches are likely still part of the invasion

beachhead, the timber stores and later *quadrifrons* are part of a wider plan of provincial supply to and from the continent.

4.2: Richborough: AD 43 – Early 2nd century

If Richborough, as is suspected (Cunliffe 1968, Manley 2002), was part of the Roman invasion of Britain in AD 43, then it represents the earliest military establishment in Roman Britain. After this, history and archaeology demonstrate that the army made it across Britain throughout the next 30/40 years. The fortifications of this period that exist in other places should make an interesting comparison with Richborough, as they will have been constructed by the same army. With the redating of the filling of the Claudian ditches at Richborough to c.AD 50s-70s (see Chapter 3.5), there are multiple features at the site that could date to AD 43-60s. There are three buildings (A, B and C) that might date to this period since they were cut by the monument, as well as three other buildings (D, E, and F) which were put out of use once the monument construction was underway in the mid-2nd century. Building D could quite conceivably be dated to AD 43-70s. By looking at other fortifications it should become clearer whether the buildings are Richborough are of this early date and the implications for the nature of Richborough's early occupation can be considered.

4.2.1: The Gateway (Fig.4.1)

The main entrance, or gateway, through the Claudian ditches is located almost opposite the later shore fort gate. It is through this Claudian gateway that Watling Street was constructed. With the re-dating of the earliest Claudian phase to AD 43 – 50s/70s (Chapter 3.5) comes the confirmed interpretation of features around the main entrance through the ditches. Six postholes were originally identified as a gateway or revetment for the ditch mound. Wooden gateways have been identified on a significant number of mid-late 1st century fortifications, which have been divided into five types with various subtypes (Manning, Scott 1988: 2, Fig.1.1). The Richborough gateway falls into Type I and is sub-type C. This type is a single portal with three posts either side of widely spaced ramparts. This is paralleled by the gateways at Hod Hill (Claudian), Fendoch (Agricolan) and the 3rd century

gate at Lunt (Manning and Scott 1979: 22). It is also paralleled on sites on Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall during the 2nd century (Manning and Scott 1979: 22).

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Fig.4.1 Gateway from Richborough (Claudian) (left), Hod Hill (Claudian) (right) Fendoch (Agricolan) (bottom) (Manning and Scott 1979: 38, 42, Figs.5.28; 31 and Fig.6.36)

4.2.2: The Claudian Ditches (Fig.4.2)

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Fig.4.2 Claudian ditches at Richborough (left) (after Bushe-Fox 1949: Fig.4) and early ditches at Reculver (right) (Philp 2005: 99, Fig.37).

The other obvious feature to compare with other early sites is the large double ditch. It is difficult to directly parallel an enclosure such as this, however, the construction style of the ditches can be seen on Roman military camps. There are two contemporary ditched enclosures at sites in the vicinity of Richborough that can be considered. One is at Reculver (Philp 2005: 99 192-3, Fig.37). The enclosure is estimated to enclose an area of two acres, at least 107m long and 64m wide (Philp 2005: 193). The ditches are dated to the mid-1st century by the presence of native wares and Gallo-Belgic *terra nigra* of the period (Philp 2005: 193). Only one piece of samian was recovered dated to Tiberius-Claudius (Philp 2005: 193). There is little to suggest that this is a Roman “fortlet” as has been proposed. Although a comparison with other sizes of fortlets is given (Philp 2005: 193), this has little bearing on whether this is a Roman fortlet. Philp (2005: 193) suggests that the double ditch is more reminiscent of Roman military ditches, rather than native enclosures, which are usually single ditches. However, a LIA double ditch was uncovered at Richborough (Bushe-Fox 1949: 8-11), so there is a precedent for

these elsewhere at the site. The double ditch is also significantly narrower than the Claudian ditches at Richborough, at 15ft compared to 23ft in overall width. The ditches were filled in some time after AD 43 but contrary to previous opinion, there is little evidence to suggest they were dug as part of the invasion, and it is my opinion that they are a feature like the 1st century BC LIA ditches at Richborough, predating the Claudian invasion ditches.

There are very few coastal enclosures to compare with Richborough in Britain. In the 1st century AD, there are two fortlets on the Exmoor coast at Martinhoe and Old Burrow. The purpose of these fortlets was the coastal control of the Bristol Channel, and they monitor nearly all the viable maritime entry points (Symonds 2018: 49-52). The fortlets here, and by comparison those on other water courses such as the Rhine and Danube are better positioned to “curtail the activities of raiders or pirates” (Symonds 2017: 54). This does not appear to be the case at Richborough. The ditches appear to be part of the invasion landing and after this, the supply base that develops was for transporting goods to the continent. However, Richborough acts in a similar way to control access to the Wantsum channel. Placed at the southern end of the channel access to the Thames from Richborough through the Wantsum is controlled by Richborough.

On the continent there is a very clear contender for a similar site. At Velsen, Netherlands, there was a harbour (Velsen I) dated to the Augustan-Claudian period (Driessen 2013). The harbour has three phases:

1A/B – AD16-22

2A/B – AD25-28

3 – AD28-45/7

It is this third phase where the best parallels can be drawn, but all the phases relate to an artificial harbour cut off by ditches, like Richborough. Phase 3 was the harbour at its largest extent. The area of the camp was 2.5 hectares (6 acres) (Driessen 2014: 213) which is approximately half the size of the known area behind the Claudian ditches at Richborough. The area of the Phase 3 camp is also

sparsely covered in buildings like Richborough. Two buildings interpreted as shipsheds were found (Driessen 2014, 211-2), as well as a store building, identified as a *hoereum*, and an aqueduct (Driessen 2013: 213). There is a conspicuous absence of barracks, but this can be explained by the 1400 tent pegs suggesting soldiers were bivouacked in tents (Driessen 2013: 214). Velsen II harbour, 1km to the north, is little understood, but it existed at the same time as Velsen I, which ended c.AD45-7 (Driessen 2014: 213).

The ditches at Richborough bear a striking comparison. A harbour cut off by ditches, few buildings within the ditched enclosure and the ephemeral nature of the camp. The only difference is the evidence for a tented encampment which is lacking at Richborough. However, Velsen I is a waterlogged site and preserves organic remains. The timing of the construction is also key. The early-mid 1st century date demonstrates this type of harbour/camp construction was practiced at the time. The site however is slightly north of the 'Old Rhine' forts (discussed below). Its position and pre-AD43 date might not mean it was part of the invasion preparation. Rather, it is likely to have been part of campaigns to the north. In either case, there is a clear practice of using this type of military harbour/camp as a base and springboard for campaigns.

The main point of comparison in Britain for the invasion is Chichester. Chichester has also been considered as one of the landing points for the Roman invasion, however this is not without controversy (Manley 2002). Before the Roman town of Chichester was constructed a series of ditches were uncovered (Manley 2002, 133). The sections of ditches were in many cases different, but all seemed to contain pre-Flavian and some pre-Claudian wares (Manley 2002, 133-4). The ditches, along with the supposed barrack blocks suggested a legionary base camp. (Manley 2002, 133-4). However, this would be at odds with the evidence for invasion at Richborough. The camp at Richborough was set up in a very different way, more similar to Velsen than a legionary fort. The dating of the ditch fills is also difficult. The interpretation is based on the fill dates of pre-Flavian. However, there is little consideration that the ditches might have pre-dated any military occupation. The military equipment from Chichester and Fishbourne is now interpreted as 'antiquarian' by the time of the invasion (Edwin Wood *pers. comm.*). This would mean that the military were using outdated equipment in

AD43. This pattern of old equipment is not seen at Richborough. There is also now, through redating of the timber stores at Richborough (Chapter 3), a lack of evidence for military buildings at Richborough at the time of the invasion. There is no clear evidence for any ditched enclosure in Britain that parallels Richborough. However, Velsen works well as a parallel, acting as a springboard or temporary harbour for a military campaign. Along with Velsen in the 'Old Rhine' region, there are a number of fortifications (discussed below) which, while not parallels for the Richborough ditches, add another body of evidence to suggest why Richborough was the main landing point for the invasion.

4.2.3: Richborough and the 'Old Rhine' Forts

The construction of these 'Old Rhine' harbours may be associated with preparation for an invasion of Britain. Included in this hypothesis are the forts at Valenkenburg (c.AD39/40) and Alphen (c.AD40/41) based on dendrochronological dating, and possibly De Meeren and Woerden further inland along the Old Rhine (Polak 2009: 948). These forts could have also been used to secure the Rhine Delta and/or control Germanic pirates (Polack 2009: 948). Caligula's proposed invasion of Britain (AD40) was a failure; however, it was not long after before Claudius cast his eye across the channel. The dating for the forts matches with preparations by both Caligula and Claudius. There is also archaeological evidence from the region suggesting units participating in the invasion were based in the region. We already have the *legio II Augusta* (Strasbourg) and the assumed participation of the *legio XIV Gemina* (Mainz) and *legio XX Valeria Victrix* (Neuss), all on the Rhine. There is also the *legio IX Hispania* (Siscia) based in Pannonia and would have arrived in the region with Aulus Plautius, who was governor of Pannonia before AD43. This accounts for c.15% of the legions in AD43.

The evidence for auxiliary units is sparse in the 1st century AD. It is assumed that Batavian cohorts were involved in the invasion (Zandstra 2019: 67). This is just an assumption; however, the region of the Old Rhine forts fits with the territory in which they were raised. If we assume their involvement in AD43, then deployment from here fits the preparations for invasion. Another unit to consider is the *cohors II Delmatarum* and maybe the *cohors III Delmatarum* (Spaul 2000: 305-7). These units would have been

raised in Dalmatia, close to Panonia where Aulus Plautius was based. They could conceivably have been moved from the region for the invasion. While it is unclear whether they were involved in the invasion or not, there is potential evidence of Dalmatians at Velsen I. A graffito on a sherd of Dragendorf 17 of Volus (AD35-50) reads BATO[N---] which is a name primarily known from the Pannonian and Dalmatian provinces (Zandstra 2015: 231). Along with this at Velsen I were belt fittings associated with Norico-Pannonian female dress (Zandstra 2015: 233) and a brooch, one of four in the region, also worn by Norico-Pannonian women from a context AD15-28 (Zanstra 2015: 233, Heeren and Van der Feijst 2017: 90-91). This brooch is closely related to a series of brooches from La Tene D – Flavian period from Raetia and these are found in the same region as the Velsen brooch (Heeren and Van der Feijst 2017: 56-58). The above is not wholly conclusive, but with the style of dress in the region and Pannonian brooches at Richborough it adds to the narrative of invasion preparation in the region. Next to consider is the *cohors VI Thracum* and *ala I Thacum*. While the former is attested in Britain, the dating is uncertain but assumed to be AD43 (Spaul 2000: 381). The latter is attested in Britain in AD103 (RIB 109) and might have arrived in AD43. There is evidence of curb bits of Thracian cavalry in the early 1st century AD at Vetera I (Zanstra 2019: 238). At Xanten is an inscription (CIL XIII 8659) associated with this *ala* and dated to pre-AD43 (Zanstra 2019: 238) based on the hypothesis that the unit was moved to Britannia.

Finally in the region of the Old Rhine forts we can consider a vexillation of the *legio VIII Augusta*. Their activity in the invasion is attested on an inscription of Gaius Gavius found in Turin (CIL V 7003) (Keppie 1971: 149-150) and appear to have been stationed at Nijmegen-Kops Plateau during the Batavian Revolt (Zandstra 2019: 181). It is unclear whether legion, or a vexillation, was stationed there before this and in time for the AD43 invasion. However, the nature of the inscription from Turin and their presence in the Old Rhine region suggests another link to the invasion. Another tentative link between the invasion and Nijmegen-Kops Plateau in the form of an Aucissa/Iturissa variant brooch. The brooch is of Type 99j and only three examples are known, one from France, one from Spain and one from Nijmegen-Kops Plateau (Heeren and Van der Feijst 2017: 239). The latter has a Claudio-Neronian date, and a similar brooch was found at Waddon Hill (Webster 1979: 54-56). The brooches are similar and rare enough to suggest a link between the two sites in the middle of the 1st century AD. A Gallic connection for the brooch is suggested and while it is not possible to link it to a precise unit, a Thracian cavalry unit has

been suggested based on a Danubian horse bit found at Waddon Hill (Zanstra 2019: 302), so a link to the Old Rhine region and the invasion is possible.

While the above discussion is not wholly conclusive, the evidence places several units thought to be involved in the invasion of Britain in the Old Rhine region at a very similar time. While the exact dates do not converge on AD43, the units can at least be attested in the region before AD43. Several of the Old Rhine forts can be dated to c.AD39/40, tying in with movements over the Rhine and possibly Caligula's failed invasion of Britain. Claudius then had the opportunity to use the infrastructure set up in the previous years.

4.3: Overview of the Supply Base Issue

Based on the criteria for a military site, the above comparisons, and new dating evidence, it can be demonstrated that the earliest features on the site (i.e., the Claudian ditches) represent a military camp on the shoreline. However, those previously interpreted as a military supply base are better interpreted as evidence of an early port town. Richborough from AD 43 can be interpreted as the/a landing point for the Roman invasion. Buildings B, C and D which could date to the time of the Claudian defences (c.AD 43 - 70s) are the only ones known, and of them little remains. This does not mean that there were no other buildings behind these defences as there are pits and ovens elsewhere that show occupation, but that early structures were either destroyed by later site development or were missed by the excavators. However, there is no indication that the site post AD 70 has much in common with other contemporary military sites. The buildings do not appear to be particularly military in nature and similar structures can be seen at Verulamium and Fishbourne. The interpretation of the supply base comes very much from a time when sites dated to the mid-1st century AD were seen as having a military origin, or at least a military origin was sought, without considering whether there was any actual evidence for this. Given the evidence from Fishbourne and London, suggesting a non-military origin, then the military interpretation once favoured for these sites cannot be mirrored onto Richborough after AD 70. However, an interpretation as a military/mercantile centre and port is possible. By landing at Richborough, the military opened up

Richborough Island by constructing a port. Once they moved on, it would be open to Romano-Gallic merchants to take advantage of the port. It is possible that the granaries were put in place as part of the Imperial administration to export goods to the continent, regulating the *cursus publicus*, which would leave some soldiers or officials on site. However, it is still the case that the remainder of the site is difficult to compare to other military installations. This would mean that either there was mercantile activity alongside the military, or the granaries are part of a private enterprise. The layout of what we know at Richborough does not look as ordered as military sites or towns set out by surveyors. If we look outside the later shore fort walls, to the west, the geophysics results (Martin, 2002) suggest the occupation is also a little disordered and, importantly, undated. It is not clear whether there is any development outside the excavated area before the establishment of the port town in the c.AD 80s. Like pre-Boudican London, it could be organic, unplanned ribbon development off Watling Street.

This interpretation is not to completely discount military activity at the site as there is a significant number of military objects. At Fishbourne, there are post-AD 43 military objects as well as in London. However, it is more likely the military continued to make use of the port as a point of entry and were active in this first port town, rather than its developers. To understand the activity in the mid-1st century, a full analysis of all object types will be required which is beyond the scope of this thesis. Looking at only the 'military' objects along with the tools builds a bias into this study, which, whilst unavoidable, means other evidence, such as the buildings, need to be considered when assessing the military links to the site.

4.3.1: Military Sites with Timber Stores

It is quite difficult to parallel many of the earliest buildings at Richborough with other military sites. In fact, many of them find better parallels with early civilian sites, which might or might not have included some military involvement. Manning (1975) surveyed granaries on military sites and included those at Richborough. In all cases of pre-Flavian, and Flavian granaries, those using a longitudinal axis are confined to Richborough and Fishbourne (Manning 1975: Chart.1) (Fig.4.3).

Although it could be argued that this links the sites, as invasion bases the finds evidence for the military character is not convincing. It also seems illogical for military builders to abandon this style at Usk, Longthorpe, Hod Hill and Lunt (Fig. 4.4) where granaries were built in trenches transverse to the longitudinal axis.

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Fig.4.3 Comparison of the granaries at Fishbourne (left) (Cunliffe 1998: 29, Fig.6) and Richborough (right) (Bushe-Fox 1949: Fig.11)

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Fig.4.4 Comparison between the granaries at Usk (left), Hod Hill (middle left), Longthorpe 1 (middle right) and Lunt (right) (after Manning 1975: 125, Fig.7.7, 7.11, 7.9, 7.12)

Additionally, the Richborough granaries are different in that they use round posts instead of square. Another suggestion made by Manning (1975: 106) is that the granaries are built to regular standards. The spacing between the posts is often the same as between the rows. This seems to be the case in the Flavian granaries, but there is more variation earlier, particularly at Richborough. The explanation offered is that this was due to rotting posts being replaced (Manning 1975: 106). However, those at Fishbourne also have irregular dimensions. Manning (1975: 105) points out that the Elder Pliny writes of timber granaries appearing on civilian sites. Manning (1975: 121) also notes two granaries on civilian sites, one of which at Witton and Antonine in date, is built like Richborough on the longitudinal axis, whilst the other is said to be La Tène in date. Searching the Rural Roman of Roman Britain project for further evidence of granaries brings up 66 results. The majority of these describe four or six post structures, which are interpreted as granaries used in the LIA/Early Roman period. In very few cases is it possible to tell whether a granary is longitudinal, however, they are at Handle Down and Great Holts Farm; admittedly the latter is Late Roman. Even so, in the 1st-century these timber-built granaries might be limited to the military sites as many rural sites use the four or six post forms. It appears the large individual timber granaries of the 1st century were a Roman introduction, but that does not necessarily mean Roman military. Many granaries in Britain are found in military

forts, however, where there are granaries and no signs of a fort, military involvement should not be taken for granted. To add to this, a timber building in London (Chapman, Johnson 1973: 68), contemporaneous with Richborough and Fishbourne, is constructed in the same manner and can be used for comparison. Given the new interpretation of early London and this similarity in building style, this adds weight to the hypothesis of civilian rather than military involvement at Richborough.

However, outside of Britain, the granaries at Rödgen (Schönberger 1969: 148, Fig.15) (Fig.4.5) are longitudinal and have been compared with Richborough, Fishbourne and London, demonstrating this type of design in a Roman military context. The site inside the defensive ditches includes barrack buildings. It has related to the campaigns of Drusus in the early 1st century AD and has been termed a 'supply base' (Schönberger 1969: 147). This could be used to support a military interpretation of the Richborough granaries, however, if the granaries at Richborough represent a 'supply base', then why was this set up seven to ten years plus after the invasion, when the coin evidence suggests the ditches had been filled in? Why also fill the ditches if this was in fact a 'military' supply base?

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Fig.4.5 Granaries at Rödgen constructed along long axis (2) (Reddé 2019: 131, Fig.7.1)

There are other Julio-Claudian examples which were built on posts in trenches transverse to the longitudinal axis. At Oedenburg near Strasbourg, several Roman forts were discovered. The fort known as Camp A has within the ramparts a timber granary built in this fashion (Reddé 2009: 120-3). Granaries built using transverse trenches was a style used on military sites. A much wider survey of timber granaries than can be provided here is needed, however, these structures do not necessarily indicate a military site.

The location of Richborough along with those of Chichester and London must also be considered. Being a port, Richborough is a key location for the shipment of goods not only into Britain, but out as well. Ostia hosted large granaries which were used to store imported grain before being shipped to Rome. Even in Roman Italy, granaries lined the Tiber in a civilian context. Due to the large population of Rome, imports were needed, and Strabo (*Geographica*, 4.5.2) notes that grain, among other commodities, was exported from Britain. It is distinctly possible that the large number of granaries at Richborough (c.8 – 12+) were used for this purpose rather than to supply an invasion force. The addition of a port to Richborough Island by the invading army could have helped facilitate these exports. Based on the criteria for identifying a military site (Chapter 2.7), this is difficult for Richborough in this period. While in Britain these granaries are paralleled better on civilian sites there are continental military examples not long prior to AD 43. However, it is unlikely that the army could have changed style from site to site. There are also no military finds of which to speak, confirming that, alongside the strip buildings, they are unlikely to be military.

4.3.2: Military in the 1st Century? Further comparative sites for the Supply Base

Interpretation

There are relatively few well excavated first century military sites, or sites with a military connection, with which to compare Richborough, focusing on the buildings. The obvious place to start is those sites which have been associated with the Roman invasion; namely Hod Hill, Verulamium, Colchester, Alchester, Chichester and Fishbourne. It should be noted that it is difficult to make a

direct comparison as the remains of the Richborough buildings are only fragments of what once existed.

4.3.2.1: *Hod Hill*

The fort at Hod Hill is in one corner of the IA hillfort, which was fully excavated, and was probably constructed in AD 43. The excavations produced a detailed plan of the fort which included various types of building (Richmond 1968: Fig.62). The most well-defined are the long timber buildings which were used as barracks. A building constructed on rows of post-holes to the west of the site is like the timber stores of c.AD 71+ and Building A at Richborough. However, the plan shows no buildings like the one to the north of MR1 at Richborough, nor the porticoed roadside. There is also no obvious parallel for the large buildings to the east of the monument (Buildings D, E and F).

In terms of finds there are many parallels to be made. Multiple belt and armour fittings are typical of the first century and are found at Richborough. Of note is the 'St. Andrews Cross' style buckle/belt plates (Brailsford 1962: Fig.4, A108 and 109) which is found at Richborough (No. 96000050) and a ram's head patera handle (Brailsford 1962: Fig.5, A132) which is like one found in Richborough Pit 20 (see. Chapter 4.6).

4.3.2.2: *Verulamium*

Verulamium is known to have been the site of a LIA settlement and subsequent Roman town. From the reports by Wheeler and Wheeler (1936) and Frere (1972), a large part of the town has been planned. The two buildings cut by the monument at Richborough are difficult to parallel here, however, more can be said about the buildings to the south of MR1, which replaced the timber stores. At Verulamium, a half-timbered building two rooms deep and a roadside portico was uncovered in *insula* XIV (Fig.4.6) (Frere 1972: 13-23). There is also similar building in *insula* V at Cirencester (Wacher 1962: 9-11). This is not dissimilar to the building at Richborough to the south of MR1 (west of NSR3). The building contained various containers such as jars and possibly a barrel as well as an area for bronze working (Frere 1972: 14 - 9). Clearly, a range of activities took place here, possibly the complex was used as shops and workshops and similar usage might have occurred at Richborough,

although we know little about the finds from the building. The buildings are contemporaneous, but it is unclear whether this is linked to military or civilian activity; or even both. With the metal workshop opposite the row of shops at Richborough, a military link could be possible, but as Frere (1972: 19) points out, Colchester appears to have been founded for both military and civil purposes, the same could be true of Verulamium and therefore even Richborough.

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Fig.4.6 Comparison between porticoed building at Richborough (top) (Bushe-Fox 1949: Fig.7) and Verulamium (in dashed lines) (bottom) (Frere 1972: Fig.8).

4.3.2.3: Colchester

Colchester was founded as a *colonia* for military veterans after the fortress phase. Phase 1 (AD 44 – 49/55) and Phase 2 (AD 49/55 – 60/61) relate to these phases which pre-date the Boudican revolt and are contemporaneous with the proposed supply base at Richborough. However, during these phases the plans (Crummy, P. 1984: Fig.4) show no comparable buildings. Although the full extent of these phases at Colchester is unknown, similar buildings could be located elsewhere in the settlement. The purpose of Colchester in military terms is different to the supply base hypothesis at Richborough, so a comparison between the two is unlikely to show much similarity.

4.3.3.4: Chichester and Fishbourne

Chichester, along with Richborough, has been considered as part of the Roman invasion (Manley 2002). The site uncovered many buildings dated to c.AD 43, particularly in the NW corner (Down 1978). However, these are very fragmentary. There is not much evidence to complete the layout of these buildings, so drawing parallels is difficult. There are also the buildings to the west of the town, around Fishbourne, to consider. The excavations from 1969 – 1988 (Cunliffe, Down et al. 1996) uncovered multiple structures between the town and the palace, and there are many more in the archive which are unpublished. However, there is nothing that can be paralleled with Richborough. Another series of buildings was found after these excavations. One masonry structure called Building 3 is postulated to have been built sometime between AD 50 – 70 (Manley, Rudkin 2003: 131). The function of this building is unknown but given the construction techniques military involvement is likely. Its use as a *principium* was postulated but it bears little resemblance to other *principia* (Manley, Rudkin 2003: 132-3). It has been argued that if the pre-palace buildings at Fishbourne were part of a military base it was not laid out in a regular fashion as later forts in Britain were (Manley, Rudkin 2003: 133). However, we only must look to Hod Hill and Colchester to see immediate post-invasion sites which are laid out in a regular grid. It is intriguing that the buildings uncovered lay primarily under the wings of the palace and that there is an unfinished building under the west wing (Manley, Rudkin 2003: Figs.268-9). An explanation for these pre-palace buildings could be a LPRIA complex which was later transformed after the invasion. Although it might have facilitated the invading

army's needs, there is no clear evidence that a supply base was set up here in AD 43. In fact, the coin evidence at Fishbourne might suggest no intensive Roman Claudian activity until the AD 50s (Manley, Rudkin 2003:102-3), like the re-dating of the supply base buildings at Richborough (Chapter 3.5 and 3.6).

Finds wise there are multiple instances of military objects throughout the nine publications. One key object that led to a military interpretation at Chichester was a gladius (Down, Webster 1979). This was found on the floor of a building and the gladius was unfinished, suggesting it was being worked on the site. However, when assessing a military origin at Chichester, the context of the excavations must be considered. At the same time, Barry Cunliffe was excavating at Fishbourne and found what he interpreted as a military supply base (Cunliffe 1998: 25-8). It then would make sense that the nearby town of Chichester was occupied at some time by the same garrison that worked out of Fishbourne.

Taking a closer look at Fishbourne, Cunliffe was excavating on the site at the same time at working on Richborough V. At Fishbourne Cunliffe (1998: 25-8) uncovered two raised timber buildings (T1 and T2) which were like the timber stores at Richborough. The interpretation at Fishbourne was that this was a supply base for the Roman invasion Cunliffe (1998: 25-8). It was clear that this was mirrored at Richborough. At Fishbourne it was suggested that the army moved on very quickly and established their presence in Britain. Again, this was mirrored at Richborough where, he proposed, the Claudian ditches must have been filled in very soon after the invasion and a supply base established. However, as I have identified five coins at Richborough from the Claudian ditch which date to c.AD 50+, then, barring intrusion, it is likely that this is not the case. More recently, at Fishbourne, Manley, Rudkin (2003: 56) questioned the location of T1 and T2, as placing these buildings either side of a stream was an odd choice for a military supply base, however, they did not take this argument any further. In this same article (Manley, Rudkin: 2003) they present the evidence for a ditch dated to 10BC – AD 25, and here the presence of Arretine Ware suggested a high-status indigenous LIA site. Given the later presence of the villa at Fishbourne, this is a possibility. A supply base at Fishbourne was interpreted based on no prior LIA evidence for settlement, and this interpretation was mirrored onto

Richborough. Although the Richborough excavations did not produce evidence of a LIA settlement, there is much of the area still left to excavate.

4.3.3.5: *London*

A new interpretation of pre-Boudican London (Wallace 2015), which moves away from the military origin hypothesis (Perring 2011), contemporary with buildings D-F and those either side of MR1 at Richborough, might be useful for understanding the development of some of the structures. Wallace (2015: 155) summarises the origin of early London. A Romano-Gallic social group set up a 'new town', without the help of professional surveyors, after the main road network was put in place. The early population of London appears fully integrated into the use of Roman material culture and the pottery shows a reliance on Continental goods (Wallace 2015: 155). The material culture shows a strong connection with Gaul and, although there is a lack of stone for building around London, the use of timber is also a cultural choice which occurs in Northern Gaul (Wallace 2015: 155). At Richborough, only the few mid-first century buildings inside the later shore fort walls are known, but there is something to be said for investigating whether this entrepreneurial, organic model could apply there too. As already mentioned, the traditional interpretation is of a supply base, although if this existed, it diminished over a short period as the timber stores began to disappear. Whether or not there was any official use of these buildings, it is possible that Continental merchants saw an opportunity to trade at Richborough. We also do not know how far this early occupation extends in the period c.AD 50s – 85, before the monument is constructed. No date is known for the extensive features that exist outside the shore fort walls to the west, which is possibly associated with this period. Indeed, as the Claudian ditches were filled in, buildings were constructed over the top and ribbon development might have occurred right along Watling Street. This could be like the activity on Ludgate Hill in London where the indigenous population moved in alongside.

The construction style of the buildings at Richborough is Roman in design. The portico buildings to the north and south of MR1 can be seen in other Roman towns (such as Verulamium) and buildings D – F could represent a type of forum for a merchant population. Unlike London, we cannot estimate the population of Richborough at this time, but the rapid redevelopment, such as the expansion of the

metal workshop/armoury, the three phases of buildings D – F and the destruction of the timber stores for shops/workshops could demonstrate a growing need to expand the capabilities of the port. The further redevelopment in c.AD 85 represents a definite imperial intervention and major change to the site. This proposal is based on a small area, and more work is needed on other parts of the site, but without a proven link to the military after the backfilling of the Claudian defences, either a military/civilian supply base/town or solely a site founded by merchants is possible. In terms of how we define military sites based on building identification and associated finds (Chapter 2.7) these fall on both counts. The buildings cannot be adequately paralleled on contemporary military sites and there are no associated military objects.

In light of the new evidence it is no longer possible to suggest the timber stores were part of a supply base in the immediacy of the invasion in AD43. The invasion ditches (over which the stores were built), could not have been filled until the AD50s, and evidence from the roads suggests the first network was not constructed until c.AD70. With this new evidence, is it more likely that the stores were part of a much larger, organised supply of goods to the continent. Britain had been used for trade for over 100 years by this point and the Empire had extracted raw materials from the province. The location of Richborough is also likely the base of the *classis Britannica*. Although there is no clear evidence for this, there is no other site, including Dover, to suggest as the British base of the fleet in the late 1st century AD. The supply to the continent would have also been useful at this time, to supply the Roman army at the time of the Batavian revolt of AD69 in northern Gaul.

It is also clear that few features of the first 20 years at Richborough survive to give a good impression of the activity. However, there is one feature, Pit 20, discussed in the next section which gives an idea of the objects being used on the site at the time and how the character of the site changed in the late 1st century AD.

4.4: Case Study: The mystery of Pit 20

When excavated between 1922 – 1938, the Roman shore fort at Richborough revealed over 5500 small finds, as well as 327 pits (and wells). Many of these finds and pits add something significant to the story of Richborough. This section focuses on just one of those pits, and just 14 finds near the bottom, which can be securely identified as a well. Before investigating the objects in the pit, I will provide some background on pit and well deposits. The importance of the new interpretation of Periods 1-3 at Richborough means there is a need to revisit this deposit which is likely date c.AD 50s – 70. This either associates it with the end of the site use as a military base or the start of the proto-port town. This has implications when interpreting the few secure deposits of this period. It is the shore fort at Richborough which often draws the most attention, often with the 1st century AD being forgotten due to the old interpretation of the supply base. It is clearly now important to redress this balance and again begin to look at the early deposits in a new light and away from a solely military interpretation.

4.4.1: Pit/Well Deposits and Structured Deposition

Looking at how objects are deposited in pits, J.D. Hill (1995) suggested that rather than simply being discarded as rubbish, a large proportion of pit deposits were special deposits. Among these deposits were animal and human bone, particular object groups and different types of pottery (Hill 1995: 37-75). Hill (1995: 95) uses the term 'structured deposition' which is often a catch all term for 'unusual', 'symbolic' or 'ritual' deposits (as well as many other terms) which demonstrates something as 'non-domestic'. In his analysis, Hill (1995: 45-53) split the pits into thirds and found that different types of deposits were found in different parts of the pits. Although his work focused on the Iron Age in Wesssex and this chapter concerns a different time, geographical location, and culture, it is important to recognise that deposits in pits are not just random occurrences but are significant in what they are and where in the pit they are placed. Depositing objects in the ground is an act that transcends cultures across space and time, from unusual deposits on Neolithic sites to post-modern time capsules and meaning should be found in the cultural mores of the period. Overall, the patterning in types of deposits enhances the likelihood that there is some ritual significance.

In the Roman period, often these deposits on settlement sites are linked to foundation, and abandonment deposits, which are often found associated with buildings (van den Broeke, 1977; Gerritsen, 2003: 31-105). Deposits in wells are often interpreted as functional, most often as a convenient place to dump refuse (van Haasteren and Groot, 2013: 27). However, Groot (2009: 77) in her study of animal remains in wells concludes that there are several recurring patterns and associations which demonstrates ritual deposition in wells.

To demonstrate the significance of wells and their deposits, van Haasteren and Groot (2013: 28-32) theorise about the life of the well, from construction to period of use, and finally abandonment. Throughout this life there are several stages in the construction and deconstruction of the well (van Haasteren and Groot, 2013: 28, fig.2) (Fig.4.7).

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Fig.4.7. Parts of the life course of a well (van Haasteren and Groot 2013: 28, Fig.2)

activities and objects associated with the stage in its lifecycle. However, not all deposition in wells is ritual, and the convenience as a rubbish bin or a place of accidental loss is entirely possible (van Haasteren and Groot, 2013: 42). For example, Van Driel-Murray (2000; 164-6) suggested that a high-

quality shoe found in the construction pit of a well in Venray should be seen as a ritual offering, whereas the old, worn shoe found in the fill of the well was likely thrown in as rubbish. Although it is possible that the shoe was also a votive offering (van Haasteren and Groot, 2013: 41) it is less clear if objects in the fill at the 'death' of the well are all associated with this ritual, or if people took the opportunity to get rid of their unwanted and/or broken possessions. Objects can also find their way into a well during the filling and deconstruction by accident. The identification by van Haasteren and Groot of ritual deposits is based upon factors attached to the person making the offering, as well as the value or usefulness of the object.

For the person, the meaning is intentional, even if it is not clear to observers (van Haasteren and Groot, 2013: 33) or even to archaeologists. Their motive is to gain some favour from supernatural powers by using an object with cultural significance, or significance to the power they are calling on (van Haasteren and Groot: 2013: 33). Often, because an object is still serviceable it is seen as a ritual deposit, while broken objects are seen as discarded or lost. However, suggesting that objects of higher value or usefulness, such as the shoes, are more likely to be deposited as ritual offerings than broken or lower-value ones is problematic. For example, Coventina's Well near Carrawburgh Roman fort is situated inside a walled enclosure and throughout the well there are many both broken and unbroken objects (Allason-Jones 1985). Just because an object is broken however, it does not mean it does not have a high ritualistic value. A part of an object could be selected due to its characteristics. For example, broken iron tools in 'special deposits' at Danebury have been suggested to be deliberate and even iron slag could have been part of a ritually significant deposition (Hingley 2006: 217, 231). Based on van Haasteren and Groot's (2013) methodology we can begin to throw some light on the deposition of objects at the bottom of Pit 20. Looking at their structure of the well (van Haasteren and Groot, 2013: 28, fig.2) (Fig.4.7) the deposit in Pit 20 can be described as in the 'bottom/lower fill' 24'-27' down, representing somewhere between the 'Initiation - Death' of the well (Fig.4.8)

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Fig.4.8. Stages of the life of a well (van Haasteren and Groot 2013: 42, Fig.10)

Due to the poor stratigraphic recording of the well, it is unclear which deposits relate to which period of use, however, an attempt is made here to separate these out. As far as can be discerned from the excavation report the construction pit had no finds. The very bottom (27'-28') has an almost complete pot, although broken (Fig.4.9) (Bushe-Fox 1928: 31), which is typical for the bottom of a well. The fill (15'-22') of the well contained little material, however, the bottom two feet of this fill contained several ceramic sherds. It is unclear where the fill, and top fill divide. Since from 15' down there was little material, it seems that from this point upwards is a different deposit. A human jawbone at 8'-10' down (Bushe-Fox 1928: 29) might represent the 'death' of the well. It is possible that the well was filled to a level between 8'-15' and then left open for a time as a rubbish pit until the top 6'-8' was filled. This last filling likely coincided with the laying of the mortar surface above. In any case, a closer examination of these sections would be needed to postulate any ritual character, although the pot at the bottom of the well fits with a ritual offering.

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Fig.4.9. Pot found at the bottom of Pit 20

This chapter is therefore concerned with the objects in the 'bottom/lower fill' of the well, connected the 'Initiation – Death'. A further difficulty arises with the recovery of the objects. It seems clear that the bottom 4' (24'-28') of the well are separate from the nearly clean deposit above (15'-22') with 2' in between containing pottery. However, there is no indication of the placement of these objects at the bottom of the well within stratigraphic deposits. I suggest that the pot was placed in during the well 'Initiation' and that the deposit of objects during the 'Adulthood' phase.

4.4.2: *The Pit*

Pit 20 was identified as a well, reaching the water table during the second season of excavations between 1924-5 and is dated to c.AD 43-70 (Bushe-Fox 1928: 32) associated with the Roman invasion and supply base. It is described in Richborough II (Bushe-Fox 1928: 28-32) as,

"20 ft. from the east side of the concrete platform, and its discovery was due to the presence of a pronounced dip in the mortar layer which at a depth of 4ft. to 5 ft. extended over this part of the site".

A layer of mortar 4" – 6" thick had subsided into the mouth of the pit which, was found to be 6' 10" in diameter (Bushe-Fox 1928: 28). Due to the excavation techniques of the time the pits are divided up into sections by their depth in feet and inches. Pit 20 was 28' deep, and in publication, divided up into depths that do not necessarily refer to different archaeological deposits, but were used as an indicator as to the depth of groups of objects. The original excavation notebooks, and photocopies, are kept by English Heritage, and Pit 20 is detailed in Book 3. The pit was divided up thus (Tab.4.2):

Tab.4.1 Division of Pit 20 from publication and notebooks

Publication (Bush-Fox, 1926, pg.29-31)

Notebooks (Richborough, Book 3 pg. 1-2, 4-12)

0' - 6/8'	0' - 6'
	6' - 8'
6/8' - 10'	8' - 10'
10' - 15'	10' - 12'
	12' - 13'
	13' - 15'
15' - 22'	15' - 18'
	18' - 22'
22' - 24'	22' - 24'
24' - 27'	24' - 25'
	25' - 27'
27' - 28'	27' - 28'

It is evident that the original notes on Pit 20 divide the pit further than the publication suggests. From here on in this paper will refer chiefly to the original notes, and then refer to the publication where it is pertinent to demonstrate the differences.

As stated, the pit was found beneath a later of concrete pavement at 5' below datum. The top 6'-8' contained several Samian vessels of Neronian-Flavian date (Dr 15, 18, 27, and 29), and at the time the absence of form 37 suggested a Flavian filling (Bushe-Fox 1928: 32). However, the notes also record a scorched sherd of Dr 45 at this depth. Further reading shows that the top 6' was divided up (Tab.4.3).

Tab.4.2 Division of the top 6' of Pit 20

Depth Finds

0'	Pavement
1'	Rubble and stones, possibly lower pavement
2'	Pavement, numerous fragments of pottery + bits of blue glass in black layer
2'6"	Copper boss in sand layer
5' - 6'	Small bits of pottery.

Other bits of pottery included flagons, amphora, and coarse-wares were found throughout the pit. Also, a broken jet ring, and iron nail were found in the top 6'. This Dr 45 fragment must be associated with the pavement layers rather than any further down (Tab.4.4)

Tab.4.3 Other finds from each layer in Pit 20

Depth	Finds
6' - 8'	Nothing recorded
8'	Human jaw
10'	Base of plump cup
12'	Complete mortarium rim
12' - 13'	Iron pick head
13'	Pottery fragments, including amphora and furrowed/combed ware
13' - 15'	Nail, oil lamp, St Remy cup, lid, amphora, bits of two. "Bead rim" furrowed ollae.
15' - 18'	Nothing recorded
18'	fragments of amphora, one bit of Samian [the only one below the top layer of the well] + broken fragments making one side of a late Celtic [<i>pot</i>] [black combed ware]
18' - 22'	Nothing recorded
22' - 24'	Iron hammer heads 2, Crank 1, Nail small 1, Flagon, red, plate mouth, large. light pieces neck + parts of body; brown, two ringed mouth, hollow moulded Fig. "Bead rim" furrowed ollae, parts of two (one almost complete); amphora 3 fragments white flagon 1 fragment

24' - 25'	*Box and other objects discussed in this chapter*
25 - 28'	Fragments of pottery making almost half of a squat grey vessel and bits of amphora and a lamp.

In the publication and notebooks Bushe-Fox (1928: 29) stated that at 15' a smaller shaft 2'6" by 2'9" wide was found. Traces of this started to appear at 8' - 10' feet but it was not very clearly defined and was possibly disturbed during the deconstruction of the pit. The inner shaft was lined with clay, whereas the outer was packed with sand, and both continued down to the bottom. It seems that the original well was 28' deep and between 2'6" - 2'9" from c.8' - 10'.

Going further down, it is the remaining 4' which at the focus of this paper. The publication states that between 24' - 27' were found a varied selection of objects (Bushe-Fox 1928: 30-2). However, the archive notebooks for Pit 20 state that in fact these objects were found in a closer context at 24' - 25' (Tab.4.5)

Tab.4.4 Finds at 24'-25' down in Pit 20 as detailed in Book 3.

Depth Finds

24' - 25'	IRON: shears, padlock, plate (12 pieces), hob nails, box nails. BRONZE: Rams-head <i>patera</i> handle; rings (four moulded with attachments), chain ring, 2 drop-handles, 2 hinges, studs, 2 hasps of lock; spoons. Palette, slab of soap-stone (well smoothed, lathe?-turned)
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	CONTENTS OF CASKET: 4 blue melon-shaped beads, amber bead (half), counters (7 blue, 2 black, 1 yellow), 1 light blue piece of opaque glass (small), bronze studs (about 24), COINS: 16 sestertii. Claudius.
	POTTERY: flagon, plate mouth (white), St. Remy cups, "Bead-rim" ollae, oil lamp
25' - 27'	Amphorae (upright sided, Italo-Greek, brown, yellow)
27' - 28'	3 iron nails, "Bead-rim" ollae, almost half

4.4.3: *The Finds*

Through a review of the published and unpublished material the finds from 24' – 25' can be separated. The first 12 entries in the table are numbered in the publication (Bushe-Fox 1928: 30-2. Pl.XIV, Nos. 1-12). The wooden box has no number in the published report, but each part is individually listed, numbered, and illustrated (Bushe-Fox 1928: 30-1, Pl.XV, Fig.1) which I have numbered 13. Following this, No.14 in the publication is the shears and comb. There is also a slab of clay with a smaller stone which I have numbered 15. Finally, Nos.16 – 28 are my own numbers for objects not mentioned in the publication but derived from the notebook (Tab.4.6).

Tab.4.5 Objects from 24'-25' down in Pit 20 listed by small find number from the notebook

No.	Ref	SF No.	Find
1	Rich II	599g 1-3	10 opaque glass counters (7 black, 2 blue, 1 yellow)
2	Rich II	599j	Bronze spoon

3	Rich II	599j	Bronze spoon
4	Rich II	599h	Bronze rod
5	Rich II	599k	Bone spoon
6	Rich II	599d	Four blue paste beads (melon beads)
7	Rich II	599c	Small irregular piece of opaque glass
8 & 9	Rich II	N/A	2 (of 16) sestertii, several corroded together, suggesting that originally, they were in some receptacle such as a bag or purse.
10	Rich II	599m	Part of a stone palette with bevelled edges
11	Rich II	599e	Half an amber bead
12	Rich II	599l	Bronze fluted <i>patera</i> or pan handle terminating in a ram's head.
13	Rich II	599a	A wooden box with bronze fittings
14	Rich II	599q	A pair of iron shears to which was held by corrosion along thin bone comb

15	Rich II	599t	Stone flattened + smooth (one side) for mixing paints. 12" x 7 3/4" x 1 1/4", also stone flattened one side, rounded the other for grinding same. 4 1/4" diam.
16	Book 3	599i	Hobnails (28?)
17	Book 3	599r	Iron Padlock
18	Book 3		Hasps of lock
19	Book 3	599n	2 iron staples, 3 3/4" and 4 1/4"
20	Book 3	599o (1)	33 or 39 iron nails
21	Book 3	599o (2)	1 large iron nail, bent 5 1/2" long
22	Book 3	599 (3)	Clamp, 5" by 4 1/4"
23	Book 3	599p	2 twisted pieces of iron, 4" and 4 5/8" long
24	Book 3	599s (1)	Iron bar 6 3/4" long
25	Book 3	599s (2)	Iron lump 6" x 6 1/2" approx.
26	Book 3	599f	2 Bronze rings, one thick, one thin
27	Book 3	599g	3 Bronze rings, 2 broken

No. 13, the wooden box, is detailed as found at 24' – 25' down. At 15' a distinct "cave in" was noted at the centre of the well, which was interpreted as due to the collapse of the box below, having been deposited intact. The box is detailed in the publication and in the notebook. In the publication (Bushe-Fox 1928: Plate XV) the parts of the box are numbered 1-19. In the notebook the box is labelled as find number 599a and the parts numbered from 1-18. The table below (Tab.4.7) lists the parts numbered in the publication and are then cross referenced with their number in the notebook. To avoid confusion with the other objects (Tab.4.6), I have added '13' before each number from Rich II (i.e., 13.1-19). There are some objects detailed in the notebook which are not in the publication. It is difficult to link up the published objects and the notebooks as the descriptions often differ and there are few pictures in the notebooks. The following table (Tab.4.7) is a best estimation, but I believe it is largely, if not completely, accurate.

Tab.4.6 Details of the parts of the Box (Object No.13)

No. in Rich II No. in notebook Piece of the box (description from notebook)

13.1-2	6	2 handles originally attached to bronze discs. One piece of disc remains attached. Ornamented and shaped. 3 1/8" across [Illustrations]
13.3	1	Iron (1) 16 pieces of a flat circular ornament, centre missing, 2 moulded concentric circles, 6 round raised studs depressed in the centre suggested reconstruction. Each stud has a nail

		fastening at back slightly sloping sides + is 3/8" high, 11/16" across.
13.4-7	9	4 corrugated rings, each attached to box by smaller iron ring [2 existent], 2 5/8" across. Originally fastened to bronze discs.
13.8-9	7	2 Bronze hourglass shaped ornaments apparently nailed as to lie almost flush with the sides of the box. 1 3/4" long, 17/18" across wide end
13.10	3 and 8	(3) Small ring with portion of chain attached. 1" diam. (8) 6 fragments (ends) of 3 chains, forming handle on lid of box. Each end has fastening like those on the disks which held the side handles. The chains were probably attached to rings (See No.3)
13.11	13	Fragment ornament originally raised disk (hollowed centre) in square. 1" across. Remains of fastening in centre, 2 stuck in position
13.12	2	Central portion of similar but not identical disk, much corroded with concentric thinner circles, very low relief. Tiny attachment for handle (?) at one side, fragment 2" across.
13.13	12	Fragment flat bronze disk marked with concentric circles, 1 1/2" across. Very thin metal.

13.14	10	Piece of lock consisting of large round headed nail in slot, small originally moving flat piece of bronze at back which closed slot.
13.15	11	Hinged ornament (?), rivet to fasten at back, marked with engraved lines, small knob attached to one side, 2 3/4 " long.
13.16-17	4	2 raised disks, one on an iron band. Iron nails through centres, small bronze nails at side (one in position)
13.18	14-15	(14) Fragment ornament, thicker metal, knob, engraved circles, 1 4/5" diameter. (15) Fragment same metal, portion of same object (?), fastening at back, 1 4/5" long.
13.19	N/A	No description.
	5	Remains of similar disk with bronze central nail ending in ring with fragment of handle.
N/A	16	30 nails. 5/16" diam. head. Various. Flat-headed.
N/A	17	6 nails. 5/16" diam. head. Round-headed.
N/A	18	4 pieces, one bent rivet, 2 pieces of round ornament, one with stud.

The coins from the pit can help to date the deposition. The 16 sestertii (Bushe-Fox 1928: 122, Nos.2517-28 and 2556-9), badly corroded but in uncirculated condition, have a mint date (to judge from the absence of PP in the inscription) from the early years of Claudius I (Bushe-Fox 1928: 122-3).

*2517 - 24. Re-v. EX S C OB CIVES SERVATOS in oak wreath. Cohen 39. M. and 3., 60. On the civic crown see Pliny N.H. xvi. 4, 5, 13; Tac. A. iii. 21, 4.; xii. 31, 7; xv. 17., 4.; xvi. 4., 2.

c.AD 41-54 – RIC 096

*2525 - 6. Rev. NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMAN IMP. In field s c. Triumphal arch surmounted by equestrian statue r. between two trophies. Cohen 48. M and S. 62.

c.AD 43-54 – RIC 114

*2527 - 8. R211. SPES AVGSTA. Spes advancing l. with flower in r. hand, I. catching up dress. 1n exergue, S C. Cohen 85. Mattingly and Sydenham, p. 1'19, 64.

c.AD 43-54 – RIC 115

*2556 - 9. Obv. NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANICVS IMP. Head bare 1. RFC. TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP. In ex. S C. Claudius seated l. on curule chair, holding branch: around him, shields, spears, EEC. Cohen 8. M. and 8., Claudius 78. Sestertii.

c.AD 43-54 – RIC Claudius 109

The pit is overlain by Buildings E and F and possibly even Building D. This would mean that the pit is pre-Flavian and given the new dating of the phase of these buildings, the well was likely filled in the early-mid AD 50s.

Four categories of objects; containers, tools, clothes and personal items, and food, were identified by van Haasteren and Groot (2013: 35) for deposits in wells. These categories are evidently quite narrow. Containers are given as an example which could fit into a category of 'kitchen and cooking', along with querns, and Bradley (2005: 52) uses 'animated remains' as a category of objects which contained

life. Several of the objects from Pit 20 fit into these categories. Here the objects are described individually with a consideration of their votive probability.

Given the large amount of research on Roman finds since the 1920s it is now possible to provide a better analysis of the objects found 24'-25' down. The following are numbered based on Tab.4.6.

No. 1. Ten opaque glass counters, one yellow, two black, and seven blue (Fig.4.10)

These glass objects were interpreted as gaming counters. Confusingly in the publication one is described as yellow. This is however incorrect, and it is in fact black with spots. Two of the most well-known contexts for gaming counters occur in the Stanway cemetery, where two graves (BF64 and CF47) contained gaming boards with counters (Crummy, Benfield et al. 2007: 186-90, 217-20). The counters found in these graves were blue, and white. The suggestion is that these counters are Roman imports, which tend to be blue/black, which contrast with La Tène style decoration on yellow, white, blue, and green examples (Crummy, Benfield et al. 2007: 186). This fits with the blue and black examples from Richborough. Yellow counters are also found in the 1st century BC – 1st century AD in Pompeii (Cool 2016: Tab.1) but are less common. Gaming counters are found in occupation contexts on sites as well as other 1st century AD burials at Grange Road burials, Winchester (Biddle 1967: 243, Figs.9, 36-47).



Fig.4.10 Glass counters from Pit 20 (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

No. 2, 3, and 5. Three spoons; two bronze, one bone (Fig.4.11)



Figure 4.11. Spoons from Pit 20 (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

The three spoons are all a typical *cochlear* type with a small round bowl. It has been suggested these were used in dining situations based on their size and contexts (Cool, H. 2006: 50). Other uses such as measuring were secondary (Riha, Stern 1982: 10). However, the small size of the spoons (c.1/4 of a teaspoon) suggest not eating but use for commodities in small quantities such as medicines, condiments, and spices (Swift 2014: 216).

No. 4. A bronze rod (Fig.4.12)

This object was labelled as a bronze rod, but Malcolm Lyne recorded it as a spoon handle. It does not link to any of the spoons above, however it could be one with a missing bowl. There is little distinctive about the rod.



Fig.4.12 Bronze rod from Pit 20 (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

No 6. Four blue paste (faience/glass composition) beads (Fig.4.13)

These four beads can now be identified as melon beads, traditionally interpreted as decoration as part of a horse harness since the observation of them on the tombstone of Titus Flavius Bassus in Köln

(Ritterling 1913: 179-80, Abb.35). As a point of reference, Vindolanda has produced dozens of these beads and the vast majority are found in military contexts, which would suggest a military use (Birley 2006: 39). These beads are also found in burial contexts, such as the Flavian cremation burial in Winchester, containing eight of these beads (Biddle 1967: Fig.9, Nos.54-61).



Fig.4.13 Melon beads from Pit 20 (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

No. 7. Small irregular piece of opaque blue glass (Fig.4.14)

There is not much to say about this small piece of blue glass. It is unclear what this object was used for, but it appears to have been cut and shaped from another glass object, perhaps a thick glass vessel or an inlay or some sort. One possibility is that it has possibly been shaped to resemble one of the gaming counters in the deposit. If we add up the counters, melon beads and this piece of glass, then the total is 15 which makes up a set for one of the two players for the game *Ludus Latrunculorum*. The same or similar colour used throughout lends further weight to this. This could be compared to the doctor's game at Stanway which had 13 white and 13 blue counters for two players (Crummy, P.

2007: 352). Having fewer counters and an obvious board that did not correspond to known Roman games, Schädler (2007: 365-75) suggested a non-Roman game instead.



Fig.4.14 Blue glass from Pit 20 (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

No. 8 and 9. Two of sixteen sestertii (Fig.4.15)

Coins are no stranger to votive deposition as there are many examples of votive hoards across the Roman Empire. The 16 coins in this deposit are from only four different issues. It is a possibility that these doubled up as a set of counters, which then together with the glass examples would form a complete set for two players. They are of the same denomination and therefore the same size as well as only being one more than the correct amount. All the coins were minted in Rome, and it is quite likely that they were delivered together straight from the mint.

Redacted

Fig.4.15 Example of Claudian Coins from Pit 20 (Bushe-Fox 1928: Fig.2)

No. 10. Part of a stone (slate?) palette with bevelled edges (Fig.4.16)

Mixing palettes were used to mix cosmetics or medicines and the edges used for sharpening scalpels (Milne 1907: 171). Examples from Colchester (Crummy 1983: 57, Nos.1865, 1867) have bevelled edges. Crummy (1983: 57) suggests that the decorative bevelled edges were kept upwards as the opposite surface is worn through use. The Richborough example is a grey slate palette with chamfered edges. Milne (1970: 171) suggests that many of these palettes were not made of stone from the location in which they were found, meaning they were imported or brought to the site as personal objects. The palette shows some signs of use and is broken at one end. It is possible that the spoons could be related to this palette. They might have been used to measure out and mix powders of food, medicine, or cosmetics but the spoons are too corroded to suggest signs of wear on the backs of the bowls.



Fig.4.16 Stone palette from Pit 20 (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

No. 11. Half an amber bead (Fig.4.17)

This bead is annular in form and is c.44mm in circumference. This is a particularly large example of an annular bead. Nava and Salerno (2007: No.IV.56) suggest that these could have been used on distaffs as a spindle whorl. However, Calvi (2005: 141) doubts their use as spindle whorls as they would be too lightweight. However, this half weighs 7.5g, so the whole could be estimated to be c.15g. Whorls could be various masses and those of different masses are needed for different textiles (Swift, Stoner, Pudsey Chapter 8 *forthcoming*). Given the size it might be considered too big to be part

of a necklace although it could have hung on its own from a piece of thread. However, a spindle whorl seems more likely. Along with the shears and comb (discussed below) it would fit into a category of textile equipment in the pit. Amber is also known to have had magical properties (Davis 2018). Although this object might not have been used for its magical properties *per se*, amber beads do find themselves selected as grave goods in Britain for their optical properties, without any magical association (Davis 2018: 79). However, Davis (2018: 79) does suggest that amber objects could be placed as part of a magical foundation by people concerned for their future and well-being.



Fig.4.17 Half an amber bead from Pit 20 (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

No. 12. Bronze fluted *patera* or pan handle terminating in a ram's head (Fig.4.18)

Bronze fluted *patera* handles represent one of the earliest forms of metalwork brought to Britain with the Roman invasion. In fact, *patera* handles are known from graves that pre-date the invasion (Birchall, 1965: 266; 295). This example has a fluted handle with a ram's head terminal. In Britain, *patera* handles terminate in either a ram, dog, or wolf head (Moore, 1973: 155), with ram's heads being most common. The provenance of these *patera* is uncertain. Arguments have been made to suggest either a Campanian (Moore, 1973: 156-7), or Gaulish (Boon, 1961: 24) origin. It has been noted that the metalworking industry in Campania suffered and declined in c.AD 60 from competition with Gaul (Fredriksen, 1959: 80-131). So, given the dating of the pit either region is possible. *Patera* handles have most often been discovered in burials, alongside oinochë (Moore, 1973: 157). These burials could be of

the people who performed libations on Roman sites. The Richborough example is odd in this sense and could be a rubbish deposit. However, animals are quite often associated with the fills in wells. Admittedly, these are most often represented by animal bones, and are found in the upper fills when the well is going out of use (van Haasteren and Groot, 2013: 41). Depositing animal bones at the 'initiation' or during the 'Period of Use' would contaminate the water table. However, a well in the *Forum Hadriani* at Voorburg contained a carved animal head in the lower fill. This *patera* handle could represent a similar votive deposition, rather than using bones.



Fig.4.18 Bronze rams head *patera* handle from Pit 20 (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

No. 13. Wooden box with iron and bronze fittings (Fig.4.19-21)

The box with iron and bronze fittings was thought to have been deposited complete with the wooden parts having rotted away (Bushe-Fox 1928: 30). The box appears to have "consisted of sheet iron and wood bound with iron bands and decorated with bronze fittings" (Bushe-Fox 1928: 30). The specific parts of the box are detailed in Tab.4.7. It is difficult to exactly parallel the fittings from this box with another, so here I will primarily compare it with the contexts of other known Roman boxes. Two examples of boxes were found in graves in the Butt Road Cemetery at Colchester (Crummy 1983: 85-89). Similar handles are also known from Colchester and were identified as furniture fittings (Crummy 1983: 81, Nos.2132, 2134 and 2146). Another casket comes from a burial at Skeleton Green

(Partridge 1981: 318-9). This casket is interesting in that there is no indication of an aperture for a key. It is suggested that once the box was closed it would be impossible to open (Partridge 1981: 319). This might be the case with the Pit 20 box as no key or keyhole was found. The padlock in this pit could have been part of the box but there was no clear association. Partridge (1981: 320, Tab.XLIV) lists 31 other contexts from Britain with caskets mostly dating to the 1st century AD. Of the examples 25 of 31 are from burials. Very few are from other contexts. Of the five from other contexts, four are from Richborough and the Pit 20 box is the only 1st century AD example not from a burial. Clearly there is a link between these boxes and burials in the 1st century AD, however, it is likely that these caskets survive better in burials than in other deposits. Two examples from Skeleton Green (Cemetery A, Burials 3 and 4) (Partridge 1981: 312-16) have similar ring fittings to the Richborough example, and the casket from Burial 3 as an almost identical circular lock plate (Partridge 1981: 312, Fig.117). Two other examples, one from Skeleton Green (Burial XXXV) (Partridge 1981: 307-10) and one from Radnage, Buckinghamshire (Skilbeck 1923) were both found containing objects and wrapped up in textiles.



Fig.4.19 Box fittings from Pit 20 (Photos courtesy of English Heritage)





Fig.4.20 Box fittings from Pit 20 (Photos courtesy of English Heritage)



Fig.4.21 Box fittings from Pit 20 (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

No. 14. Shears and comb (Fig.4.22)

A pair of iron shears to which was held by corrosion along it a thin bone comb having a row of fine teeth at one end and cut diagonally across to form a point at the other (i.e., a weaving comb). Both the shears and the comb were probably used in connexion with weaving. The size and functional features of the comb make it likely that it was used for weaving, or at least not for personal grooming (see Chapter 2.8). Portions of an iron and wood case or sheath were attached to the shears, and the whole

appears to have been wrapped in linen the impression of which could be plainly seen. (Rich II. Pl. XV, fig.2).



Fig.4.22 Shears and comb from Pit 20 (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

No. 15. Clay palette and stone (Fig.4.23-24)



Fig.4.23 Large clay palette from Pit 20 (photo courtesy of English Heritage)



Fig.4.24 Green schist grinder associated with the palette (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

This large tablet is described as “pale greenish-grey clay stone of marine origin; non-calcareous for the most part but with local marly films and pockets” (Bushe-Fox 1928: 105). It is not of British origin and was likely imported as a personal item of the user. The disc is of the same material. The palette is L.12” x W.7 3/4” x D.1 3/4”. The use could have likely been used for mixing some form of pigment, potentially as an artist’s palette. Its completeness and lack of wear suggests that it did not have a long period of use. Another suggestion might be that the palette could relate to the counters. Although the size does not suggest an actual gaming board (it would be too cramped for the counters), it might have been used as a representation of one.

4.4.4: Finding Meaning

No explanation was offered for the deposition of the objects (see Bushe-Fox 1928: 28-32) 24'-25' down in the site report. The weaver’s comb, shears, the stone palette and rubber, the beads and counters were undoubtedly serviceable, while other objects such as the *patera* handle, and one of the spoons were broken. Curiously, the shears showed linen impressions, which leads to the suggestion that they were wrapped before being deposited, which wrapping could have included other items. The coins

which were corroded together were possibly contained in a bag (Bushe-Fox 1928: 31). As we do not have clear details of the relationship of each object in the well it is unclear which, if any, were deposited together, or if any were contained in the box. Bushe-Fox (1928: 32) did suggest that the objects were concealed by someone who would one day return to collect them. At 27' down a well not even 3' wide at the mouth this seems unlikely.

Based on the discussion above of pit/well deposits and structured deposition this chapter is concerned with the objects in the 'bottom/lower fill' of the well, connected to the 'Initiation – Death'. A further difficulty arises with the recovery of the objects. It seems clear that the bottom 4' (24'-28') of the well are separate from the nearly clean deposit above (15'-22') with 2' in between containing pottery. However, there is no indication of the placement of these objects at the bottom of the well within stratigraphic deposits. I suggest that the pot was placed in during the well 'Initiation' and that the deposit of objects occurred during the 'Adulthood' phase.

When investigating ritual deposits (Garrow 2012: 93) sets out several characteristics; ceremonial, deliberate, formal, formalized, intentional, non-utilitarian, odd, peculiar, placed, ritual, selected, special, symbolic, token, and unusual. However, these can also be seen in three distinct categories (Roskams, Neal et al. 2013)):

- Activity social context (ceremonial, ritual symbolic)
- Action guided by motive (deliberate, placed, formal, intentional)
- Character of the material (non-utilitarian, selected, odd, peculiar, special, token, unusual)

The authors (Roskams, Neal et al. 2013) state that one way to distinguish ritual "is to look for the placing of particular finds in a specific setting for reasons other than the simple disposal of material that is no longer needed in circulation." Animal bone is often used to fit this criterion, which is lacking in Pit 20, however, there is the ram head patera which might have been used in place of animal bone. An object "no longer needed in circulation" suggests that objects could be already broken and of no further use, or complete objects which are purposefully selected. The fact that the

shears, comb, and box all appear to have been wrapped in linen could demonstrate a ceremonial act of collecting all the objects together and that they were deliberately places in the pit. At first glance the objects from Pit 20 are not particularly special in themselves, or have any direct relationship to each other as *paterae*, gaming counters, spoons, shears, beads, etc. were all in common usage at the time. However, what might make them special is their selection together (and their established use within the context of a possible burial, discussed further below). As mentioned before, the beads, counters and piece of glass could have been combined to make a complete set of blue gaming counters. Similarly, the coins are almost of the same number and could represent the other side of the game. The coins are all *denarii* and were corroded but unworn, suggesting that they were deliberately taken out of circulation not long after minting. They also only represent four different issues of one Emperor. Although Claudian coinage could have been the most recent in circulation at the time, coins of Augustus and Tiberius were readily available but not selected. In this case, being all the same denomination, of the same emperor and unworn might lend credence to them being combined to make a 'set'. There are multiple other collections of counters from funerary and non-funerary contexts in Britain and some with near to 30 counters (Schädler 2007: 366-7, Tab.55-6). Additionally, the large palette might represent a gaming board. There is also the group of textile equipment which includes the shears, comb, and possible amber spindle whorl. Evidence of textiles is shown through the imprints on the shears, similarly to objects in the doctor's grave (Wild 2007: 347-50). So rather than these objects being a random assortment, there is grounds to suggest that many belong to a game, and an assemblage of textile equipment.

4.4.5: *The Context for Deposition*

It is difficult to suggest accidental loss or rubbish as a reason for many of the objects given their strong relationships. Some objects, such as the spoons, and *patera* handle are broken and no longer serviceable. However, several objects appear to have been deposited intact. The box, with 19 recovered fragments, was found in "innumerable fragments" all close together (Bushe-Fox 1928: 30), suggesting that it was deposited intact and subsequently crushed. The shears and comb were also apparently deposited intact.

The narrative of the site at the time (c.AD 50s) is an early port for trade after the invasion in AD 43. There is no clear date for the well construction, so it could have been constructed any time from AD 43-50s. If the assumption that the lack of wear on the coins demonstrates that they were not widely circulated before deposition, then they could have arrived with the invading army in AD 43 or with traders in the AD 50s. If deposited in the AD 50s it is still possible the well was constructed in AD 43 and left open until the AD 50s. Being open for c.10 years might go some way to explaining the build-up of sediment between the bottom and object deposit. Given the likely short period of occupation in and soon after AD 43 I am more convinced of a deposition in the AD 50s. The domestic nature of the deposit does not suggest a solely military context for deposition. In this case I suggest two possible interpretations for the deposit. The first is as a foundation deposit and the second is as a cenotaph burial.

A pit filled with offerings was part of the foundation practice of a Roman town (Woodward, Woodward 2004: 69). Several shafts and their contents at Greyhound Yard, Dorchester, which included pots, dress accessories, counters, and coins, placed at the centre of the town were interpreted as foundation rituals and evidence of their continuing celebration. Similar deposits at *Verulamium* and Cambridge (Woodward, Woodward 2004: 83-4). At Cambridge items such as coins and gaming counters were present, but at Verulamium only pots were encountered. One difference between these shafts and Pit 20 is animal bone. No animal bone was recorded from Pit 20, however, the lack of recorded animal bone at Richborough is common for every feature and it all appears to have been discarded. However, Shaft 5 at Dorchester contained no animal bone (Woodward, Woodward 2004: 75, Fig.3), so depositing animal bone was not necessarily the rule. Although not at the centre of the town, the Pit 20 deposit could be a foundation deposit for the new port. It is placed near to the coastline and is next to the main road into Britain. It is also below the foundations of Building D, the first building to be constructed in the area. Foundation deposits can also be linked to individual buildings at other sites. Examples of these include a 'smith pot' and a dog under a tower at Chester-le-Street (Braithwaite 1984: 125, Humphreys 2018: 160) and an ironwork hoard under a building at the Gorhambury enclosure outside *Verulamium* (Neal, Wardle et al. 1990: 8, Tab.1). In many cases it is difficult to tell whether this is the action of an individual or a collective. A close relationship or

function group of objects might suggest an individual with a trade, whereas a group of unrelated objects linked to different trades might suggest a collective. That could depend on the function of the building. A private building might be dedicated in this way by an individual, whilst a public building, such is the one at Richborough, might be dedicated by a group.

The second possible reason considered for the deposit, which is worth considering is a cenotaph burial. There are many of these cenotaph (empty tombs) burials around the world which represent a person or group whose remains are elsewhere; possibly lost. The phenomenon is not a modern one and there are examples from the Neolithic onwards. Kurila (2009) suggests that horse burials in Eastern Lithuania are cenotaph burials of the Barrow Culture of the 10th-11th centuries BC. Copper Age burials in Varna, Bulgaira (Honch, Higham et al. 2006) were identified that where the absence skeletal remains which “cannot be explained by differential weathering, post-depositional decay or physical disruption.” In the Roman period, there is what could be a tombstone or a cenotaph to Marcus Caelius, who fell during Varus’ campaigns and the Elder Drusus has a cenotaph in Gaul but was buried in Rome (Toynbee 1971: 54). Cenotaph burials are much easier to recognise when there is a written record (either literary or an inscription), however, a written record is not always present as different cultures will have various methods of symbolising a cenotaph burial. Dedication or type of dedications need not be as formal. When a major public figure particularly royalty, dies, then dedications are often left at a significant place (e.g., a palace). This also happens when someone dies in an accident, dedications are left on the spot where it occurred. This is not to say for certain that the Pit 20 deposit is such a dedication, but the interpretation might not be entirely inappropriate. It could possibly represent a high-ranking person who was buried elsewhere as on the news of a death people would want to pay their respects in some way. Additionally, the removal of several coins early in their circulation demonstrates a particular selection of Claudian coins. The deposit could date to the time of his death in AD 54, and the objects selected are often found in burials at the time. Patera handles are often found in burials (Moore 1973), as are gaming counters (Schädler 2007: 366-7, Tab.55-6). Shears are not common in burials, however there are several examples from Britain in the 1st century AD (Pearce 1999: 578). Whether or not this does reflect a cenotaph burial, it is worth exploring this potential context for such deposits. In this case the gaming counters could represent

'leisure' which appears to be a common activity to represent in graves. The textile equipment could represent 'work'. The type of objects found relating to work will vary more from burial to burial and need to be interpreted together, as the same objects (e.g., shears) might be used by different professions for different purposes.

4.5: Summary

This chapter has reanalysed the context for the invasion in AD43. It seems clear at this point that the invasion did, at least in part, take place at Richborough. Much of this proposal in previous research depended on the strength of the invasion supply base theory. However, as I have demonstrated, this is no longer tenable due to the redating of these structures to c.AD70. What has been demonstrated instead is that the Claudian invasionditches represent a different type of installation - one that was only used for a short time, or intermittently over three decades. This can be compared to the harbour at Veslen which was protected by a similar ditched enclosure. It is also clear that there is an increased need to join with continental researchers to provide more context to the invasion. Many studies of the invasion have taken Boulogne as the starting point, clearly forgetting that there would have been huge continental preparations beforehand. This is demonstrated by research into the 'Old Rhine' forts which inevitably played a part. I have chosen to omit any detailed study of Cassius Dio's text on the invasion. The archaeological evidence used to fit his narrative is now outdated and there is a real need to go back to the archaeology before reinterpreting the text.

Looking inward to Britain, the invasion ditches are like no other. Sites such as Reculver and Chichester which might have seen 1st century AD enclosures, provide no evidence for contemporaneous military occupation. Looking to the reanalysis of the timber stores, at this later date Richborough had more in common with a harbour such as London, than a military installation. However, it must be remembered that the current interpretation of Richborough is only based upon the excavation of c.11% of the known extent of the town, thanks to geophysical survey. We must not rush to extrapolate analysis of such a small area across the whole site. However, it is possible that there was a combined military and civilian use of the site through private enterprise and official Imperial control of supplies.

The section on Pit 20 has taken one particular feature from Richborough to demonstrate that the study of the archive was important to understand those features in the wider context of the site. Since the 1920s, there has been a lot of work on the types of objects found in the pit as well as study on pit and well deposits. Through a combination of the site publications, site archive and object study I have demonstrated that an important deposit was overlooked in the 1920s and has not been noticed since and have proposed a new interpretation of it.

The deposit in Pit 20 is unusual. In many cases the objects are broken but some appear to be functional. These functional objects, along with the unworn coins and the linen wrapping, suggests a special purpose for the deposit. The dating is difficult as it could be anywhere from the AD 50s-70s. Who deposited it is unclear. If the site were still used as an invasion bridgehead by this time, it could be a military deposit of c.AD 50s-70s. A deposit by people setting up a trading port at Richborough in the AD 70s is also possible as a foundation deposit for the port or Building E covering the pit (Chapter 3.5). Whatever the case, I have demonstrated here that there are still many interesting finds and contexts at Richborough to be investigated which can add to the narrative of the site.

This type of analysis is a key component of this thesis. From the redating of the Claudian ditches, Pit 20, the east wall of the fort and late 4th century finds and features, I have demonstrated several times that there is an urgent need to readdress the Richborough archive using a modern archaeological approach employed throughout this thesis.

Chapter 5 : The 2nd – 3rd century Port Town

5.1: Overview of the New Phasing

The new phasing for the early 2nd – mid-3rd century AD (Periods 3-5) shows huge changes in the structure of the port town. A change in building types in the 2nd century demonstrates the expansion of a commercial element in the building of new shops and a reduction of storage. The building of the *quadrifrons* in the mid-2nd century illuminates a complete change in focus for the port, switching from a commercial port to something more akin to a garden town. However, it is still unclear how this change affected the settlement outside the main excavation area. In the following chapter I will present a case study on the character of the port town and how it fits into the site narrative with some comparisons to sites elsewhere. I will focus particularly on the *quadrifrons* itself since it has the best quality of evidence.

To summarise briefly, the main evidence for the construction of the *quadrifrons* in the mid-2nd century is a coin of Antoninus Pius embedded in the building material for the construction (Chapter 3.6). A fragment of Samian Drag.18/31 or 31 (AD90-150+) in the material of one of the corners of the *quadrifrons* is further evidence for a post Domitianic date. The other buildings surrounding the *quadrifrons* are also contemporaneous based on both the similar building techniques and materials used, as well as TPQs from Hadrianic-Antonine material in features stratigraphically below.

There is a possibility the *quadrifrons* was constructed under Commodus, and the discovery of a sculptural head of the emperor, found not far from the harbour at Richborough (Guildhall Museum, Sandwich, Kent) suggests some monumentalisation attached to him. However, the evidence is more than slim, and the head might be nothing more than addition at Richborough or a loss from a ship's cargo. In any case the dating of the *quadrifrons* to the mid-second century shows Richborough in a new light. Rather than a town in economic decline, it likely prospered in the late second and early third century.

5.2: Case Study: The Quadrifrons

With the new dating of the *quadrifrons* established in the AD150s, there is now a need to recharacterise its function taking into consideration the new dating. Previously considered a Flavian monument of either Vespasian or Domitian, it was interpreted as commemorating the conquest of Britannia by Agricola under Domitian and possibly Vespasian's role as a *legate* in the *legio II Augusta* during the invasion of Britannia. A new role for the arch needs to be considered.

5.2.1: Historical/Archaeological Context for a Hadrianic/Antonine Arch

Unlike the previous Domitianic context (where the pottery evidence was squeezed into the first century and an inevitable date of AD 85 was landed upon), a Hadrianic-Antonine context places the quadrifrons into a wider scheme of Empire wide monumental architecture which focused on the provinces. The quadrifrons was an imperial project as the Carrara marble quarries were an imperial possession and the quadrifrons could have required imperial backing. Hadrian visited Britain in AD 122, however, a date in or soon after this conflict with the evidence of Antonine pottery in associated contexts. Both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius issued coins featuring Britannia. The former in the early AD 120s and again in the AD 130s, the latter in AD 142-3 and AD 154-5 and their respective walls in the north of the province were a huge focus of their attention and resources. It is not until AD 184 that Britannia makes another appearance under Commodus, however, construction of the quadrifrons cannot be directly tied into any of this coinage apart from one of Crispina.

Redating the *quadrifrons* requires placing the construction into a new historical context in the AD150s. It is suggested that in the middle of the AD150s, the first permanent base of the *classis Britannica* was being constructed at Dover (Tab.5.1) (Philp 1981, 93-5). The dating of this lines up closely with the *quadrifrons* construction at Dover. I suggest that the port town (Chapter 5.2.3) was a partly a base of operations for the *classis Britannica* before Dover and the construction of the *quadrifrons* was part of a bigger construction project to move the base to Dover.

Tab.5.1 *Dating of the classis Britannica fort at Dover*

Period	Date
CL.BR.II Period 1	AD 130/140 - 154/5
CL.BR.II Period 2	AD 163/65 - 180
CL.BR.II Period 3	AD 190/200-208

The gaps suggested between each phase are fairly arbitrary and it cannot be confirmed if the rebuilding was continuous or not. The destruction of the CL.BR.II Period 2 fort and Period 3 construction is contemporaneous with the date I suggest for the Richborough quadrifrons. The Samian report from Dover (Bird and Marsh 1981, 178) shows a rapid rise in Antonine pottery after a slow Hadrianic increase. This rise in Antonine pottery demonstrates a likely expansion of the base or more intensive occupation in this period. This could imply a move from another port, probably Richborough, to a more permanent base.

Forts of the *classis Britannica* are currently unknown before the Hadrianic period; however, this might be because the navy adopted the practice of stamping tiles long after the legions or auxiliaries (Frere and Tomlin 1994, 2). The Richborough CL BR tile with an ansate frame is paralleled by three examples from Folkestone (Weston 2017, 305). There are two phases of construction at Folkestone, AD 90-100 and AD 190-200, but the CL BR titles have not been tied in with the earlier phase (Weston 2017, 307). Six tiles with similar lettering to the Richborough tile were found at Dover (Frere and Tomlin 1994, 10, No.2481.33) but these were not linked to any phase of the base at Dover. In fact, only stamped tiles could be linked to the CL.BR.II fort and not the unfinished CL.BR.I fort (Philp 1981, 127). It might be quite a leap to suggest that a *classis Britannica* base was dismantled at Richborough in the mid-second century and roof tiles were transported to Dover, however, this is a possibility as at Dover Lower Greensand was found in small quantities as unshaped/unworked rubble (Philp 1981, 177). Additionally, two small fragments of marble were found (Philp 1981, 175) with no apparent reference to any other marble on the site. Although inconclusive without knowing the marble origin, Lower Greensand rubble would be consistent with offcuts from Richborough during the quadrifrons

construction. Nearly 200 objects of ships fittings have been found at Richborough and while many are unstratified, several are in layers associated with activity dates from the late Flavian to mid-second century, with a handful around the metal workshop in Area XVI. While it is difficult to prove a direct link between the two sites, the contemporaneous construction dates, some building materials and a large quantity of ships fittings shows the sites appear to be linked.

In order to better understand the monument's construction, it is useful to consider examples of the same monument type from the wider empire.

5.2.2: *The Richborough Quadrifrons: Comparisons*

Quadrifrons, also known as the Greek *Tetrapyla* (four gates) are known throughout the Roman Empire dated from the 1st century BC to the 6th century AD (Mülenbrock 2003: 9). Mülenbrock (2003) has published extensively on Roman *quadrifrons*. Before continuing with this chapter, I first note two things. Firstly, Mülenbrock writes about the Richborough *quadrifrons* it is in the context of its AD80-90 dating as he was working from the accepted narrative. Secondly, Mülenbrock published in 2003 and was likely unaware of the extensive geophysics that revealed a large port town, part of which likely dates to the time of the *quadrifrons*.

In terms of a typology Mülenbrock (2003:299) identifies several different forms.

- 1) Tetrapylon -
- 2) mehr al sein Tetrapylon -
- 3) Säulen-Tetrapylon -
- 4) Groma-Monuments -

The Richborough *quadrifrons* falls into the first category which is the most common. Mülenbrock (2003: 19-31) also identifies different positions and functions for these monuments.

- 1) Position outside the city

- a. Position in the suburbium
- b. Position in open landspace

2) Inner-city integration

- a. Position above/next to main thoroughfares
- b. Position in front of/at street junctions
- c. Position on street crossings
- d. Exceptional positions

In these categories Mülenbrock (2003: 21) suggests Richborough falls into 1b on the above list. The position of the Richborough *quadrifrons* is compared to *quadrifrons* at Malborghetto in Italy, the Arch of Trajan at Ancona in Italy, and the Arch of Augustus at Ossigi in Spain (Mülenbrock 2003: 21). Each of these monuments stands apart from the city and suburbs, standing freely in the landscape. For Malborghetto stood alone on the *via Flaminia* and probably represents a specific historical event (Mülenbrock 2003: 21). The comparison with the Arch of Trajan, although only a single gateway arch, comes from its position at the port and acted as the *accessus Italicae* (Mülenbrock 2003: 21) the assumed purpose of the Richborough *quadrifrons*. However, is the Richborough *quadrifrons* comparable? The geophysical survey at Richborough revealed what is interpreted as an extensive town across most of Richborough island. These remains have yet to be fully dated, but based on 19th century excavations, the area outside the late shore fort walls was likely occupied from at least the early 2nd century AD. As the area around the *quadrifrons* was extensively excavated, we can only speculate as to what geophysical survey and modern excavation techniques might have found. Bushe-Fox considered that the *quadrifrons* would have stood in isolation but since masonry buildings were erected around the *quadrifrons* this is a difficult position to take (Cunliffe 1968: 240). However, how isolated the monument was is debateable. The *mansio* in the NW corner hardly imposes itself on the *quadrifrons* and apart from the House on Site 1 the surrounding landscape might have been as

empty as the archaeology suggests. This makes it difficult to suggest whether the Richborough *quadrifrons* should fall into this group or a more urban group.

The function of the Richborough *quadrifrons* also needs to be considered. At over 26m (85ft) tall not including a likely statuary group, it would have been a dominant feature for incoming ships, not only a point on the landscape for navigation but also a sign of the grandeur of Rome in the province. However, the exact motivation for building the *quadrifrons* is lost with the inscription. The comparison made with the Arch of Trajan at Ancona is as the *accessus* to the province (Strong 1968, 72). If this is the case, then it shows a heavy investment in Richborough in the mid-2nd century. However, while the Arch of Trajan acts as the *accessus*, it also shows that the emperor was awarded the arch for spending money from his own pocket to develop the port facilities (Mülenbrock 2003: 21). The same could be proposed for the *quadrifrons* at Richborough. Although because of the lack of excavation there is currently no evidence to support this hypothesis. However, such a grand monument, and possibly the biggest *quadrifrons* in the Empire, might also have a function as a victory monument. This has already been considered for Vespasian/Domitian (Strong 1968, 72-3) but this must now be discounted and reinterpreted above as an Antonine victory over Britannia. While Ancona and Richborough are both arches at ports, their functions probably diverge.

The Richborough *quadrifrons* can be compared to others in different ways. In terms of the size of the groundplan it is only comparable with the Hadrianic *quadrifrons* at the entrance to the *Iseum Campense* on the Campus Martius in Rome (Mülenbrock 2003: 35). However, the Hadrianic *quadrifrons* is in an urban setting and allows for through traffic, unlike the Richborough *quadrifrons*. As the Richborough *quadrifrons* would have been stepped at each entrance it would not have allowed for through traffic of carts. This also means that the main port for goods at the time could not have been at this point. Boys (1797, 911) mentions a second possible harbour to the north of the shore fort area; however, the dating is uncertain. This stepped access to the *quadrifrons* is also seen on the *quadrifrons* of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna, that of Diocletian in Syria and in an example on the Island of Rhodes. The *quadrifrons* in Leptis and on Rhodes are most interesting by comparison (Mülenbrock 2003: 30). Both monuments used stepped/blocked access to stop through traffic of carts, but also deliberately force

people through the gateways. At Leptis the arch is at a major crossroads entering or exiting the city ((Mülenbrock 2003: 216). However, unlike Richborough it is placed further inland rather than on the port entrance. The Rhodes *quadrifrons* deliberately forces visitors disembarking at the port through the side arches rather than through the central, blocked off archway (Mülenbrock 2003: 30). Unlike Richborough this *quadrifrons* is built into the surrounding monumental architecture and is on a raised platform. Since the Richborough *quadrifrons* was demolished, it is unclear if any of the entrances were blocked off in a similar way. The positioning at Leptis requires the passing through of the monument while at Rhodes it is, at least at certain times and for certain people, forbidden. There might have been a physical need to walk through the Richborough *quadrifrons*, or it is possible that by blocking entrances people were guided around the monument. This demarcation would have considerably affected the desired experience of the monument set out by the architect. Effective 'boundary marking' is seen on many monuments (Mülenbrock 2003: 124). At Richborough the *quadrifrons* shows the provincial border/boundary and likely the official entrance to the province in the mid-2nd century. Although comparable in some ways, there is no other *quadrifrons* like Richborough. However, this is the case for all *quadrifrons* (Mülenbrock 2003: 125). Not only is the form adaptable based on the functional requirements it also speaks to the social milieu of the time. How people would have reacted to the Richborough *quadrifrons* is unclear. In almost every case it is unlikely that any one civilian would have seen even one of these monuments, let alone two. Its immediate environment is unclear and given the entire area has been excavated we will never know how 'free-standing' it really was. The fact it was demolished c.140-150 years after its construction shows that as an imperial monument it no longer commanded the landscape within which it was set. How, in the c.140-150 years it stood, it was received by the passing generations is not known. It is assumed to have become dilapidated (Cunliffe 1968, 243), but this is no more than an assumption now based on out-of-date chronology. Did it continue to serve as a grand entranceway for important dignitaries, or even the emperor, or was it a white elephant that was little understood in a province on the edge of Empire?

5.2.3: The Character of the Port Town: Comparisons

To begin with it is important to state that it is only possible to go so far with any interpretation of the port town. As the above (Chapter 3) analysis demonstrates very little in the way of structures were found during this period, making comparisons very difficult. Most of the *insulae* appear to stand empty or are sparsely covering in structures at the time. Furthermore, the area of occupation uncovered by geophysical survey has not been systematically excavated or dated. It can only be assumed that it grew from the initial port installation from sometime in the 1st century AD onwards. In the preceding centuries the occupied area could have undergone multiple changes, expanding and contracting as the function and fortunes of the port changed.

Around the *quadrifrons* there are very few known buildings. Above (Chapter 3) I have provided an overview of their dating. The main ones to consider here are those that would have stood during the life of the *quadrifrons*. Those are the House on Site 1 and the second building on Site 3. Both buildings were similar structurally to each other. Unfortunately, specific details about these buildings have been lost. It is clear from the notes that remain, namely the Site 1 and Site 3 coin lists, that the rooms were numbered differently during the excavation to those published. A further layer of difficulty is added as these buildings were excavated in the early years of the excavation when archaeological techniques on the site were not fully developed and the site was little understood. However, we might perhaps elucidate something about their function from their structure and some of the finds.

In the analysis below I examine a few large Roman sites which have similar structures. Verulamium provides a very good comparison due to the large number of uncovered structures with complete and near complete groundplans and it is to this site I will turn for a building typology. Niblett and Thompson (2005: 117-138) provide a detailed assessment and criteria for building function, based on the plans, internal fittings, and contents which I will follow. Looking for parallels on other sites there are typically four types of buildings. These are strip buildings, corridor buildings, courtyard buildings and town houses.

Strip buildings usually consist of a rectangular building, usually constructed in timber, at least twice as long as it is wide and a gabled entrance fronting a street (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 113). Corridor buildings were constructed with several rooms opening off a corridor (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 114). Courtyard buildings, as the name suggests, have ranges of corridors and rooms enclosing a four-sided courtyard (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 114). 'Town houses' as defined by Niblett and Thompson vary in plan and size but do not resemble the above buildings or buildings on rural sites and include one or more rooms as a shop or workshop (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 114).

5.2.3.1: The House on Site 1 at Richborough

The House on Site 1 is made up of 10 extant rooms. On the north, east and south sides the plan is complete, however, on the west side the building was truncated by the fortlet ditches. This means we do not know the full extent of this building across *insula* V. The building might have extended to Road 5, been complete just after the truncation, or anywhere in between. However, there is a significantly large area between the edge of the outer fortlet ditch and Road 5 that would suggest the building stopped soon after the truncation. That no fallen masonry or robbed foundation trenches were uncovered in the west of *insula* V suggests that no building was entirely demolished or buried in the area.

The House on Site 1 (Fig.5.1) consists of a range of rooms, with three large rooms (Rooms 6, 9 and 10) on its south side. To the north of these is a range of five rooms (Rooms 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8) the same length as the southern range. The eastern most two of these rooms (Rooms 3 and 4) are separated by a corridor. To the north of this range, there is a shorter range of only two/three rooms (Rooms 1, 2a and 2b) divided by the continuation of the corridor between Rooms 3 and 4. On the south side of this building is an isolated length of wall parallel to the southern wall creating a continuous arcade. The eastern wall of the building runs up against Road 4, but the isolated southern wall is set c.9m (30ft) from the main road.

Redacted

Figure 5.1. Plan of the House on Site I (after Bushe-Fox 1926: Pl. XXXII).

Based on the layout, this building resembles a town house in Niblett and Thompson's scheme. The final interpretation this building was that it was fronted by a row of shops selling unknown goods, perhaps live shellfish, from a mortar lined tank in Room 6 (Cunliffe 1968: 242). This interpretation of the rooms also fits with that of town houses.

At Verulamium, several good examples of this type were found in *insula XIV*. These buildings all shared a single portico which faced Watling Street, with the front rooms used as shops and the rear as stores, living space or small yards (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 115).

The rooms that make up the House on Site 1 are described in Tab.5.2 from Bushe-Fox (1926: 14-17).

Tab.5.2. *Description of the rooms of the House on Site 1*

Room	Description
1	No description
2a and 2b	No description
3	No description
4	No description
5	No description
6	Oblong enclosure, opened courtyard or long covered room (undetermined). Two groups of flints toward the axial line of this room might have supported wooden uprights. Mortar tank in the north-east corner, room walls used as two sides. Drain running north-south through the room. Opens into Room 10.
7	No description
8	Brick piers in pairs. East wall bonded to piers.
9	Oblong enclosure, opened courtyard or long covered room (undetermined)
10	Oblong enclosure, opened courtyard or long covered room (undetermined). Drain running north-south through the room. Opens into Room 8.
Corridor	No description

It is possible that all rooms were covered, possibly excepting Rooms 6, 9 and 10. It is also unclear if this building had an upper storey. With the drain through Room 8 and the piers it might be possible to interpret this as a latrine. Without the west side of the building, it is impossible to say whether this was a latrine in a public or private space. The corridor might have led to a stairwell or ladder for an upper storey, but long narrow rooms are not conclusive evidence of stairwells (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 117). To what extent this building is divided into 'properties' is unclear. Each of Rooms 6, 9 and 10 might have delineated the rooms behind into separate shops, stores and living quarters, with Room 6 having access to more rooms. The fact Rooms 6, 9 and 10 front the street with what seems to be a shared portico suggests some similar public usage of all three. However, the rooms at the rear remain undefined. Several types of rooms in these houses have been identified such as dining rooms, kitchens and storage rooms but the former two do not appear to fit this context. Rooms 1 and 2a/b project from the building and given the position might serve as private quarters. Possibilities for these include 'porter's lodges or household shrines (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 119) but neither can be confirmed at Richborough or Verulamium. No hearths or ovens were identified within this building and the only internal feature is the tank in Room 6.

The finds from Site 1, particularly those associated with the rooms, add little to the interpretation. There are a number of military finds from Site I, including some sword fittings, but these do not appear to be associated with the rooms. There are also some objects of personal adornment including bone combs, hairpins, a spoon, and spindle whorls possibly suggesting domestic occupation. There are also many objects of personal adornment including brooches, rings and intaglios, but type and lack of context rules out a contemporary date for all the objects. However, where context is available these have all been found in Rooms 3, 4 and 8. This could lead to the conclusion that Rooms 3 and 4 were for domestic occupation while objects in Room 8 might have been dropped into the latrine drain.

5.2.3.2: The Second Building on Site 3 at Richborough

Another key building around the *quadrifrons* is the second building on Site III (Fig.5.2). This building sits on the edge of what was the scarp at the time of excavation. Erosion caused most of the building

to collapse. The excavated remains of the building consist of a partial southern and western range of rooms, totalling 16 rooms. The southern range is the wider of the two ranges and consists of a long corridor on the outside of the range (Room 16) with a small room on its western end (Room 15). North of Room 16 are two rectangular rooms (Rooms 13 and 14) the easternmost of which (Room 14) collapsed over the scarp. To the west of Room 13 are two rooms (Rooms 10 and 12). Room 12 extends to the edge of the western range, whereas Room 10 only extends as far as the western range external corridor (Room 1). There is also an internal corridor on the southern range (Room 11) with a square room at its western end (Room 9). This Room 9 is north of Room 10 and against Room 1 on its west side. The western range consists of the external corridor (Room 1) and seven other rooms. These are arranged as a range of large (Rooms 2, 5 and 6) and small rooms (Rooms 3, 4, 6 and 7) of even width across the range. There is no internal corridor on this range. On the inside of the ranges is an open courtyard (Room 17).

Redacted

Figure 5.2. Plan of the Second Building on Site 3 (after Bushe-Fox 1928: Pl.XLI)

The style of this building could either be a courtyard or corridor building. The difficulty arises with assessing how much has disappeared down the scarp, and also that both ends are incomplete.

Without a third range it is impossible to tell whether this was a courtyard building on three sides or a fully enclosed courtyard building. If it is a three-sided courtyard building, then most likely the open side faced out to sea in order to emphasise the view from and towards the courtyard. If it were enclosed on all sides, the entrance could very easily face either to the sea or have a main south entrance onto Watling Street.

At Verulamium there are multiple corridor and courtyard buildings, with examples in *insulae* III, IV and V. One of these examples (M282) is a fully enclosed courtyard building, while the other four (M283, 288, M290, and M291) have three wings. The positioning of the corridor on each is not consistent. On M282 there is a continuous internal corridor on all sides and an external corridor along

one range. M283, M288, and M290 have parallel internal and external corridors on the main range and M291 has a continuous internal corridor on all three sides but no external corridor. There is a degree of irregularity to the rooms of the second building on Site 3 at Richborough, much like M288 but unlike the more regular M282 or M291. There is clear flexibility in the plan of these buildings. Bushe-Fox (1928:16) makes direct comparison with Folkstone villa and houses at Wroxeter and Caerwent.

The rooms that make up the second building on Site 3 are described in Tab.5.3 from Bushe-Fox (1928: 15-18).

Tab.5.3. Description of the rooms of the second building on Site 3

Room	Description
1	Corridor/Verandah
2	Possible opening into 7
3	Possible vestibule opening into 2, 4 and 5
4	Possible opening into 7
5	Possible opening into 7
6	Opening into 7
7	Vestibule opening into 6, 8 and 9
8	Opening into 7
9	Opening into 7
10	Possible stairwell
11	Corridor/Verandah

12	No description
13	No description
14	No description
15	No description
16	Corridor/Verandah
17	Open courtyard

Again, there is little description of the rooms or any features within the rooms. The main feature of this building is the courtyard (Room 17). A distinction can be made between courtyards associated with courtyard buildings and yards associated with town houses. The courtyards are envisioned as gardens while the yards were open-air workshops (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 116). If Room 17 is a courtyard, then what was the building's function? It has been suggested that this was a *mansio* for travellers arriving at and leaving the port and it has been compared to the *mansio* at Silchester (Cunliffe 1968: 241) At Verulamium, M291 is like the example at Silchester with an attached bathhouse. If there were an attached bathhouse at Richborough, the location would make sense close to the main water source. However, this is only conjecture. There is not enough evidence to suggest whether this is a private dwelling or public building. The location so close to the port would favour a public building, however, the location on the sea and close to an important monument would be a prime location for a high ranking official to conduct business. In the previous section (Chapter 5.2.2) I spoke about the controlled access of the space around the *quadrifrons*, and this must extend to the use of space. As far as can be determined the remainder of the space was left open. The presence of a few shops in the vicinity of the *quadrifrons* suggests enough foot traffic to make this viable which would make me favour the second building on Site 3 as a public building.

The finds from this area do not add anything more to the interpretation. Very few finds from Site 3 can be associated with rooms in any of the buildings. The majority of other finds are either from the topsoil or from unassociated pits and wells.

5.2.3.3: The Surrounding Area

The geophysics report suggests that there are two alignments to the surveyed area (Small 2002), one on the same alignment as the shore fort, and another presumably as part of the fort town phase. However, this presupposes several things. Firstly, it assumes that some of the development outside the standing fort was later, and directly associated. It is equally plausible that the fort was sited within an already existing town plan (Chapter 6.7). Secondly, it assumes that the changing nature of the town is directly linked to major shifts in the excavated area within the shore fort walls. The excavated area within the walls is only c.11% of the known Roman archaeology at Richborough. Based on the excavated area it is impossible to say that areas revealed through geophysical survey have a direct causal relationship with the port town development, quadrifrons construction and later shore fort construction. The interpretation of the geophysics proposed by others suggests an overhaul of the site at each stage rather than considering independent development of small areas. Different areas away from the main port could have evolved at different times and in markedly different ways to the area around the port. Thirdly, it assumes that the development was planned. Using this assumption, saying that certain features are not on the same particular alignment is used as evidence that these developments were planned and are not contemporaneous. Two major areas on different alignments, for instance, are to the east and west of a cuved road emanating from the south side of Watling Street and running north of the amphitheatre. Yet we only need look to the development of Ludgate and Cornhill in London (Wallace 2015) to see that in a town context, while some areas might be planned, others had a more organic development. This would make sense for an area further from the port area at Richborough, which, from the excavation showed a planned grid. What we know about the port town, and indeed the entire site, is predicated on a decades-old interpretations of a site that has not been reanalysed until now. When we look at the port at Richborough, more so than the other periods, we must return to square one.

5.2.4: Port Town Comparisons

It is difficult to compare the mid-2nd century port at Richborough to other known Roman ports. While Richborough was extensively excavated, it was poorly recorded. Few buildings were found in close proximity to the *quadrifrons*. This could imply one of two things. Either, buildings of this period were missed by the excavators, or the area around the *quadrifrons* was not densey urban in character. The latter explanation is more likely since many buildings pre- and post-*quadrifrons* construction were identified. In Britain, the best excavated ports are Dover and London. From the 2nd century Dover is a military base so doesn't easily compare to Richborough. Along the waterfront in London in the 2nd century is situated a mix of warehouses, temples, public buildings and a possible palace (Rowsome 2008: 29). The waterfront also saw quay development to deal with large amounts of goods coming to the province (Rowsome 2008: 29). However, the excavated part at Richborough does not reflect this large development due to imports. It appears as more of an open space with possible private dwellings and public spaces, like a *forum* or *mansio*. This might suggest that Richborough was not set up as a goods port but one that was more recreational, such as a modern seaside town. However, the harbour by the *quadrifrons* is not the only harbour. A second, but undated harbour is situated further north (Boys 1797, 911). Given the large size of the town uncovered through geophysical survey, it is inconceivable that no goods were entering Richborough by sea. More excavation is clearly needed to understand how these imports were managed during the second century.

Probably the most archaeologically famous port in the Roman Empire is Ostia. However, Ostia, much like London, is a port set up to deal with huge imports. It is not known to have been monumentalised in the same way as Richborough. Portus, which supplemented the port at Ostia, might have been monumentalised with an arch under Trajan. However, the evidence for this is largely representational, on the Torlonia relief (Tuck 2008: 330). The port system of Rome, Ostia and Portus might be best compared to Richborough and London before the construction of the *quadrifrons*. In Italy, it was an administrative and logistical system for supplying Rome (Keay 2012, 55-6). Richborough could be seen as part of a similar system with London before the *quadrifrons* construction. However, after the *quadrifrons* construction, the character of the port changed. The

harbour area was less accessible to unloading goods. However, as already mentioned above, we do not know how the rest of Richborough Island was occupied and the focus of imports might have shifted to a harbour to the north of the island. The clearest evidence for a freestanding arch at a port is the Arch of Trajan at Ancona. The arch is located close to the waterfront and seemingly has no buildings in the immediate vicinity and, like Richborough, stands atop a stepped platform limiting the form of access. There is also little evidence about the landscape context of the Ancona arch as it still stands in a modern setting devoid of archaeological context. As already discussed, the Ancona arch monumentalises the expansion of the port by Trajan out of his own pocket (CIL IX, 5894). It is unclear what the Richborough *quadrifrons* represents. It might be for part of the port redevelopment, although this might have been in full flow long before the arch was planned. A date in the AD150s, possibly AD154, would tie in as a monumental gateway to the province after the expansion to the Antonine wall.

5.3: Summary

It is clear from the evidence discussed (Chapter 3 and Chapter 5.1-5.2.2) that the *quadrifrons* must have been constructed in the mid-2nd century AD rather than the late 1st century AD. The *quadrifrons* was likely part of a larger construction project which included a new *classis Britannica* base at Dover. A completion date in the AD150s would also tie in with the completion of the Antonine wall in AD154. This would be the perfect opportunity for a triumphal arch to be built in the province celebrating the furthest 'official' expansion north of Hadrian's Wall.

The area around the *quadrifrons* is difficult to characterise. Very few buildings survive around the *quadrifrons* for any in depth interpretation and the area covered by the geophysics is undatable and therefore not structured into periods, however, it is tempting to see the port at its greatest extent c.AD150+, with the port having gradually developed and expanded from c.AD70. Based on the available evidence it is my view that the area around the *quadrifrons* was left deliberately void of structures. The two masonry buildings (Site I and Site III) identified could have played some function in the immediate vicinity. The House on Site I might have been for an important person whose

residence would have had pride of place on the main thoroughfare through the *quadrifrons*. The Building on Site III is more difficult to characterise but is probably a public building and would have been the first stop for visitors to Richborough arriving by sea. However, given the inability for vehicular traffic to pass through the monument, any harbour opposite the *quadrifrons* could not support the import and export of huge quantities of goods. The trade port was likely further along the coastline to the north. The harbour near the *quadrifrons* could have been used for people arriving on private or semi-private vessels. The obvious ones would be important dignitaries and officials who had business in Britannia. The *quadrifrons* would have given them a grand entrance through which to pass announcing their arrival. However, the presence of shops and a possible *mansio* suggests more activity than the odd important visitor. The shops so far away from the other town structures imply a special use around the *quadrifrons*; it is an inconvenient out of the way setting for an everyday shopping trip. Similarly, the position of a *mansio* away from a port dealing with imports and exports is inconveniently placed to see to any customs responsibilities. Therefore the suggestion that these were shops is more viable. It is likely that the rooms within the building were for different functions. The area would attract a wide variety of visitors from all social strata, who lived and worked in the port town as well as visiting from the continent.

Chapter 6 : The 3rd – 5th century Shore Fort

In this chapter, following an overview of the new phasing, I will explore comparisons with other shore forts and sites as well as case studies on the material culture evidence. For the forts I will focus on the short forts as well as two forts on Hadrian's Wall: Birdoswald and Housesteads. For the shore forts I will focus on the method or construction and form of the structures. For the material culture evidence, I will look at the late Roman strap ends. Through a study of other 250 of these objects from Britain I will build a new typology that will inform us about the development of these objects and the social identity of people living at Richborough. Analysis of the material through pXRF will be compared to British and continental studies and metallurgical trends previously demonstrated through the Richborough brooches (Bayley and Butcher 2004).

The detailed analysis of specific categories of evidence combined with the new phasing and insights from wider comparisons contributes significantly to our picture of Richborough in this period.

6.1: Overview of the New Phasing

The new phasing for the shore fort (Periods 6-9) (Chapter 3.3) is much less controversial than that proposed for the supply base, port town and *quadrifrons* construction, as rather than significantly revising the previous phasing, it adds nuance to its development. The shore fort was part of a project by Carausius and/or Allectus to fortify the southern shore from invasion. The principal evidence for the new phasing comes from a coin of AD268 under the triple ditch rampart as well as a coin of Carausius under the north wall. Further evidence comes from exact matches in construction style as Lympne, Portchester and Pevensey, the latter two dated by coins to Carausius/ Allectus. It is possible this southern system was not complete by AD296 and was then left until the mid-3rd century when the forts were brought together to form a unified system under one command. The evidence for Richborough being finished in the AD340s/50s consists of coins of Constantine associated with construction material as well as in the bottom of the triple ditch fortlet. There is also a further reorganisation, probably in the AD380s which was the beginning of the end for the occupation of Richborough. Again, dated by coinage, at least one building, the Chalk House, dates to the

Valentinianic period at the latest. This change included a Christian element and either a reduced garrison or a large one squeezed into a too small space

6.2: Comparisons with Other Shore Forts

The first half of this chapter discusses Richborough in the context of the other shore forts along the east and south coast of England as well as the shore fort at Oudenburg in Belgium (Fig.6.1) which has recently been studied (Vanhoutte 2018). In total, nine sites are mentioned in the *N.D* that are in England. The shore forts cover just over 300 miles around the British coast, with Richborough seventh in the chain from north to south. Of these, nine are listed in the *Notitia*, and two other sites at Caister-on-Sea, and Walton Castle are considered shore forts but not listed. However, the fort interpreted as Caister could be Burgh Castle. It is unclear why neither of these are included in the *N.D*. Walton Castle is only known from literary accounts and drawings from the 17th and 18th centuries (Johnson 1979). It has been argued whether Walton Castle is indeed a shore fort or whether it was a commercial settlement, port, and small naval base (Moore 1948).



Fig.6.1 Map of sites considered part of the British Saxon Shore Forts and Oudenburg, Belgium (authors own)

In this section I will provide a summary of the other late Roman shore forts. The survey of general trends above let us now investigate each site in more detail. These are largely from the published material as a reassessment of them needs a more in-depth study.

6.2.1: Brancaster (Fig.6.2)

No exact date can be placed on the Brancaster shore fort. St. Joseph (1936) placed a conjectural date of the mid-late 3rd century on a second fort phase, however, a date for the earlier phase and construction of the shore fort was uncertain. The plan (175 x 178m) with turrets at each corner is identical to the layout of Reculver, and Caister; both dated to the very late 2nd – early 3rd century, these sites have often been used as parallels for dating this phase. The presence of Kentish ragstone as the facing stone

(Allen, Fulford et al. 2001: 271), which could have been quarried by the *classis Britannica* until the middle of the 3rd century (Elliott 2016: 102-8, 181) also suggests a date in the first half of the 3rd century. The main series of excavations and geophysical survey were to the east and west of the walls in 1974 and 1977 (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985). Occupation to the east and west of the shore fort, on the same alignment, appears to begin in the late 2nd century and continued into the 3rd century, with some 4th century occupation, but the site was largely abandoned by this time (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985: 181-2). Therefore, the second quarter of the 3rd century is postulated for the shore fort construction, postdating occupation to the east and west, which is possibly military in character; perhaps even an earlier fort with a *vicus* (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985: 178-9). If the shore fort postdates this occupation, then it was either developed from an earlier fort or placed in an occupied landscape.

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Fig.6.2 Plan of the fort at Brancaster (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985: Fig.2)

However, if Reculver, Caister, and Brancaster were conceived as one system, then it is possible that the occupation to the east and west of the shore fort developed contemporaneously with the construction of the shore fort (i.e., as a *vicus*). The suggestion is that the lack of occupation beneath the later shore fort, on the same alignment as the east and west areas, shows the location of an earlier fort in the late 2nd century (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985: 179).

The ordered nature of the east and west areas also suggested to the excavators that this represented some military authority, maybe for exploiting local minerals, which in turn implied the presence of an earlier fort (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985: 179). Although the area appears to be largely inaccessible to land and maritime trade (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985: 178), boats of shallow draft could well have been used to take goods to and from the estuary. This is demonstrated by the known shipment of facing stone from Castle Rising to Brancaster, which could have taken the coastal route to Brancaster, as there are no known roads connecting the two regions (Allen, Fulford et al. 2001: 274).

The finds from Brancaster do not reveal anything about the regional cultural background of the occupants. There are many projectile heads and knives (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985: Figs.32-3) but these are all typical of military sites. There is a small number of items of personal adornment and other object categories but given the small scale of the excavation there are few, and they are not really of note.

As for activity on the site, the animal husbandry suggests that any younger animals on the site were being shipped elsewhere to be consumed, while older animals were used for secondary products and slaughtered at an older age (Jones, R., Langley et al. 1985: 174). However, without much excavation inside the shore fort, it could be that this is where the younger animals were consumed (Jones, R., Langley et al. 1985: 174). There is a predominance for cattle on the site, with pig and sheep occurring in small numbers (Jones, G. 1985: 129-31).

Without further excavation of the area now covered by the shore fort, the relationship between this area, and those to the east and west from the late 2nd century is unclear.

6.2.2: Caister-on-sea (Fig.6.3)

Caister-on-sea is another of the early group of the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD. The site is on the southwest corner of the Island of Flegg, which is cut off from the mainland by marshes and creeks. The island is situated to the north of an ancient estuary which connected to the Rivers Bure, Yare, and Waveney. Again, the shore fort construction date is difficult to pin down, and here appears to be little substantial occupation prior to the shore fort, with the possibility that finds are residual or old stock stored for a long period of time (Darling, Gurney 1993: 240). Based on the coinage and pottery, the shore fort was constructed in the early 3rd century, and is stylistically identical to Reculver, and Brancaster (Darling, Gurney 1993: 240-2).

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Fig.6.3 Plan of the fort at Caister-on-Sea (Darling, Gurney 1993: 2, Fig.5)

The Central Gaulish samian which could date from the late 2nd – first quarter of the 3rd century provided dating evidence and a 3rd century date is reconciled (somewhere until c.AD 230) with the other evidence if the samian was drawn from a military store (Darling, Gurney 1993: 241). Within the

fort two buildings were excavated. Below Building 1 was the remains of an earlier structure of post-trenches and gullies; possibly a granary (Darling, Gurney 1993: 243). Building 1 was built sometime in the mid-late 3rd century, possibly contemporaneously with the construction of Burgh Castle. It appeared domestic in character and was open until the 4th century (Darling, Gurney 1993: 245). The function of and date of Building 2 is less clear. It might have been contemporaneous with Building 1 and was burnt down in the 4th century (Darling, Gurney 1993: 245-6). These buildings at the south gate were possibly used to organise shipments in and out of Britain (Darling, Gurney 1993: 245). What is clear is that neither structure is definitively military in character. The military finds are mostly from the 2nd-3rd centuries, with later military occupation indicated by belt fittings and crossbow brooches (Darling, Gurney 1993: 246); like Richborough. However, the late 3rd – 4th century occupation indicates non-military personnel (at least not soldiers) also occupied the fort; particularly women and children (Darling, Gurney 1993: 246). A reorganisation from a supply store in the late 2nd – early 3rd century, to a military and civilian occupation is possible.

Occupation seems to have ceased c.AD 370-90, with post-Roman occupation beginning in the Middle Saxon period inside the walls; evidenced by the presence of several huts (Darling, Gurney 1993: xvii. 37-8).

Occupation outside the fort is unclear. There is possible occupation in the early 2nd century outside the fort but based on the coin evidence this falls away c.180-192 (Darling, Gurney 1993: 66). Evidence from some trenching and cropmarks to the west of the fort attest to the development of a probable *vicus* which developed contemporaneously with the shore fort (Darling, Gurney 1993: 6, 43).

The finds from Caister have more in common with Richborough than other forts. The standout objects are three 'onion headed' crossbow brooches (Darling, Gurney 1993: Fig.41 Nos.9-11). These are paralleled at Richborough and are dated to the late 4th – early 5th century. This would suggest that occupation at Caister went on longer than other shore forts. There are also three snakehead bracelets (Darling, Gurney 1993: Fig.49 Nos.166-8) which have origins, at least stylistically, in the Danube region (Swift 2000). However, the terminals on these examples look crude and No.169 is a mix of a snakehead and cable twist, suggesting it might be locally made. The presence of these suggests a

community that has some Danubian connection or has had some interaction with such a community. There is also a fair number of objects of personal adornment, particularly hairpins, suggesting a female community at Caister.

Again, like Brancaster, it appears that the prime cuts from cattle were being butchered on site and sent elsewhere, possibly inland, or overseas (Harman 1993: 225). However, with only a small, excavated area, it is unclear whether these cuts were being consumed elsewhere on site (Darling, Gurney 1993: 247). Pigs, and sheep are less numerous in the main Roman occupation, however sheep make up a large proportion of the post-Roman animals (Harman 1993: 229, 232, Tab.46). Overseas trade might be evidenced through the presence of foreign coals in the Fenlands that possibly came through Caister (Webster, G. 1955, Smith 1997, Pearson, A. F. 2005: 83). Caister now largely lies under modern development and is inaccessible to excavation. Without a full plan of the fort, it can only be speculated as to the layout of the fort, and who the inhabitants were.

6.2.3: *Burgh Castle (Fig.6.4)*

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Fig.6.4 Plan of the fort at Burgh Castle (Johnson 1983: 6, Fig.2)

Burgh Castle sits to the south of the estuary of the Rivers Bure, Yare, and Waveney, opposite Caister. The fort post-dates Caister by c.60 years, but the dating is unclear. Stylistically, the construction of the

walls dates the fort to the late 3rd – early 4th century. Instead of the internal wall, and corner turrets, the fort has external bastions. This feature is seen on the late group of shore forts which date to the late 3rd century. However, excavations at Burgh Castle struggled to find occupation earlier than the first quarter of the 4th century (Johnson 1983: 115-21). The coins suggested a date of the second quarter of the 4th century for occupation, as only eight of 1,180 coins dated before AD 330 (Hammerson 1983: 66). However, as only a small area was excavated, this does not provide a full profile, and the four Antoniniani could suggest a date in the AD 270s. Furthermore, 98% of the coins are dated to AD 330-48, according to (Hammerson 1983: 66) and suggested a heavy period of occupation. However, this only demonstrates that there was heavy coin loss during or soon after this period. In comparison with Richborough, Burgh Castle has very few copies of the AD 330-41 types.

However, it is possible that those coins formed part of a dispersed hoard (Johnson 1983: 116), which explain the small number of casual losses either side of AD 330-348. This is also explained by the small area excavated within the fort. Furthermore, these areas were rarely fully excavated, leaving the possibility of earlier finds. It is suggested that earlier buildings within the fort are likely to be closer to the centre of the enclosed area (Johnson 1983: 117). Additional occupation is noted to the east and south-east of the fort from cropmarks, which might suggest a *vicus*, however, this area has not been excavated, and no relationship between it and the shore fort is known. Burgh Castle appears on the current evidence to be the earliest of the shore forts to fall out of use, but like others does reveal some post-Roman occupation.

A series of Middle Saxon huts were reportedly found in the north-west corner, although they are questionable with poor dating evidence and poor recording of features (Johnson 1983: 3, 37-9). However, a large amount of 7th-8th century Ipswich Ware does suggest occupation in this area (Johnson 1983: 39). A cemetery, with three radiocarbon dates, dates to the 7th – 10th centuries, with the possibility of an associated Christian church; however, this is disputed as the remains of a wall, floor and few finds in this area do not support the positioning of a church next to the cemetery (Johnson 1983: 119). There is no evidence for a substantial 6th century occupation. Johnson (1983: 119-20)

suggests that it is possible, however this is largely based on identifying Burgh Castle with Icel, the first of the Royal ancestors of the House of Merica sometime in the late 5th – early 6th century.

The finds from Burgh Castle at first glance do not appear to have much in common with Richborough. However, similarly shaped axes at the two sites (Johnson 1983: Fig.26-7) are late Roman in date, and their shape also resembles that of franciscas (throwing axes used as weapons). Additionally, there was a find at Burgh Castle of a late Roman helmet of Eastern European origin (Johnson 1983: Fig.31). Possibly significant to the continued use of the site is the glassware assemblage, which suggests an overlap with the Saxon period (Johnson 1983: 81-9) and that, along with some pottery types, suggests occupation until the middle of the 5th century (Johnson 1983: 119-20).

The animal bone assemblage showed similarities to those at Brancaster, and Caister. Cattle were the most well-represented, with the majority being of mature age, with fewer pig and sheep, which showed a range in ages (Grant 1983: 109). Furthermore, there was a large amount of non-meat bearing bones from cattle (Grant 1983: 109). However, once again the area of excavation is not wide enough to definitively suggest the meat bearing bones were being taken off site.

The Burgh Castle report demonstrates how little we know about the site. The report is compiled from the notes of Charles Green, which, from Johnson's report, seem incomplete. It is true that the excavations were not extensive, but Johnson contends with the evidence at almost every turn, even going as far to suggest that features did not really exist. Much of the interpretation of the later Middle Saxon occupation could be put down to the desire to identify Burgh Castle as the monastic site of Cnobheresburg. It is interesting that the idea of Saxon raids in the 3rd and 4th centuries makes no appearance in Johnson's interpretation, although it holds fast in his other works.

6.2.4: Walton Castle

Unfortunately, Walton Castle has been lost to the sea. However, drawings and descriptions from the 17th and 18th centuries identified it as a possible shore fort. A copy of a 1623 drawing, published by

George Fox (Fox, G. 1911: nr 288) purports to show the quadrangular shape of Walton Castle, as well as the view looking east (from the sea). In 1722, Dr Knight wrote:

“...the ruins of a Roman Wall situate on the Ridg of a Cliff next the Sea between Landguard fort and Woodbridge River, or Bawdsey Haven. tis 100 Yards long, five-foot-high above ground, 12 broad at each end turnd with an Angle. It’s composed of pebble and Roman bricks in three courses. all around footsteps of buildings, & several large pieces of Wall cast down upon the strand by the seas undermining ye Cliff, all which have the Roman brick, at low water mark very much of the like is visible at some distance in the sea. There are two Entire Pillars with Balls, the Cliff is 100-foot-high.” (Fairclough, Plunkett 2000: 423).

Another description of the ruins by Richard Canning (1764: 89) says,

“Part of the Foundation of the West-side of it, is still to be seen; being now One Hundred and Eighty-seven Yards in Length, and nine Feet thick; it is called by the Country-people, Stone-Works. How much longer it was we cannot judge, Part of the South-end being washed away; and the Sea, which is daily gaining upon this Coast, having swallowed up the Ruins. Such was the Condition of it, about the Year 1740; but, since then, the Sea hath washed away the Remainder of the Foundation. There can be no doubt, but Walton Castle was a Roman Fortification, as appears from the great Variety of Roman Urns, Rings, Coins, & that have been found there”.

This description gives dimensions close to other shore forts. A later drawing from 1766 shows the view from the beach and the remains of Walton Castle in the water (Grose 1787: nr 127). So, by the end of the 18th century, Walton Castle had been completely washed away. Little else can be said of Walton Castle, as no exploration of the remains has been undertaken in the modern era.

6.2.5: Bradwell

Almost as little is known about Bradwell as is known about Walton Castle. However, in the 1860s, Bradwell was identified as *Othona* in the *Notia* (Lewin 1868: 439-40). After works on the site, the landowner opened several trenches, and examined the wall foundations (Lewin 1868: 440). The plan of the fort shows that the entire west wall has fallen (Lewin 1868: nr.440). The construction of the walls is in the style of the late group with external bastions. Stylistically this would date Bradwell to

the late 2nd – early 3rd centuries. The number of the coins from the site is unknown, however, the coins of the House of Constantine were most numerous, and those of Carausius were most numerous for a single Emperor (Lewin 1868: 445). It appears that a date in the 270s – 90s is most likely. As for a final date for the site, the final coins are of Honorius, suggesting an occupation close to, if not in the early 5th century.

Saxon occupation on the site first appears in the 7th century in the form of a church on the east wall. This is suggested to be the church of St. Cedd mentioned by *Bede* (Lewin, J. 1868: 446). Other than this, there is no evidence of any continuation after the Roman period.

The finds from the Bradwell fit into a wide range of object groups (see Lewin, J. 1868: 444 for a list). The list is not dissimilar to the range of finds from Richborough and other shore forts. However, this is as much as can be elicited from the list.

Like other shore forts it is noted that cattle bone is numerous, along with sheep, and pig (Lewin 1868: 443). However, no quantity is given. This could suggest a similar function for Bradwell, as the other shore forts. In the finds list, pigs' feet, lower jaw, and tusks are mentioned, possibly suggesting that the meat-bearing bones were elsewhere but based on the evidence this is mere speculation.

From what is known of Bradwell it certainly fits into the group of shore forts, and with further investigation, might be similar in function and occupation. With coins of Honorius known from Bradwell (Lewin, T. 1868: 445) and occupation at Colchester until c.AD 440-50 (Crummy 1981: 6), we can only speculate as to a possible relationship between Bradwell and Colchester.

6.2.6: *Reculver* (Fig.6.5)

Reculver is one of the most extensively excavated of the shore forts. It is also one of the earliest. The shore fort was probably constructed at the end of the 2nd – early 3rd century. The coin evidence suggests there is an above normal number of coins from AD 180 – 193, with an upward trend in coin addition in comparison to other British sites from AD 161 onwards (Reece 2005: 104, 106-8). This suggests construction began in the late 2nd century. This is the beginning of three phases of shore fort

occupation. The first phase is characterised by the supposed incompletion of the interior structures, and the construction of an official building (Philp 2005: 197). This building is interpreted as a *principium, basilica, and sacellum* (Philp 2005: 195, Fig.70).

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Fig.6.5 Reconstructed plan of the fort at Reculver Period 1 (Top) (after Philp 2005: 195, Fig.70) and Period 2 (Bottom) (after Philp 2005: 202, Fig.75)

The key to dating this building hinges on an inscription from the *sacellum*. A range of dates for the inscription has been suggested, from AD 185 – 240 (Philp 2005: 211-3). However, there is no definitive stratigraphy to date this building to the earliest shore fort period. The main stratigraphy comes from the *sacellum*; however, the coin evidence only points to the date of the building's demolition c.AD 360-70. The pottery evidence elsewhere suggests abandonment c.AD 370 (Philp 2005: 203). The early period also shows several buildings to the east and west of this building during Period I, as well as two buildings to the NW. The building east of the *principia* appears never to have been completed (Philp 2005: 81), while little of the west building was found, it was also inconclusive whether this belonged to Period I, although it is most likely the remainder of the building lay under the later building on this site (Philp 2005: 88). The two to the NW were one with flint foundations (Philp 2005: 63), and a timber framed building (Philp 2005: 68-9). The stratigraphy suggests these were built during the fort construction and went out of use somewhere in the AD 230s, when a bathhouse and officers' quarters were built over their footprint. It is unclear whether the flint foundation building was ever completed (Philp 2005: 63), and the timber building appears to have been temporary (Philp 2005: 68-9).

Period I from c.AD 185-220/30 suggests a site which was developing from the very late 2nd – early 3rd centuries, while there were various historical events taking place in Britain; culminating with the Severan campaigns in AD 208-211. During this period there is a steady increase in coin loss on the site (Reece 2005: 104-5, Fig.R). However, most of the buildings were not constructed, and it is possible that the *principia* was not in place. After the campaigns, there might have been a small use of the site until the early-mid 3rd century, possibly the construction of the Period II buildings. The *principia* could date alongside the construction of the east barracks, bathhouse, officers' quarters, and west building to Period II (c.AD 230 – 300). This coincides with an increase in coins to the site of AD 238 – 260. This increase might represent the reoccupation of the site after a period of building, however the coins of AD 259 – 294 are far more numerous and could point to a reoccupation as late as the AD 280s/90s. Although the addition of coins from c.AD 238 does surpass the British mean, it is likely that these coins were lost much later and a reoccupation of the site in the late 4th century is far more likely. Of Period III (c.AD 300 – 370) little is known. One possible building overlies the east barracks (Philp

2005: 203), but it is the coin evidence that suggests a continued occupation. Coin loss decreases on the site from AD 296, and from AD 330 is below the British average (Reece 2005: 106). Compared with the British mean, this is steady until it dramatically falls from AD 330 (Reece 2005: 105, Fig.R). The walls of the barracks do not appear to have been sealed until after AD 330 – 345 based on the stratigraphy. The possible building that overlies the east barracks appears to cut through a deposit containing a coin as late as AD 378 – 383. It seems that from AD 330 there was a general official abandonment of the site, which was then used sparsely until the late 4th century.

Reculver does show evidence of having had an extramural settlement to the west and north of the fort (Philp 2005: 95-7). However, it is unclear whether this was a *vicus* or a settlement prior to the fort. To the west, a series of wells were found with material generally dating to AD 170 – 300 (Philp 2005: 96). This tallies with the evidence from inside the fort (Philp 2005: 96) but with the lack of development it would not be surprising if this extramural activity lined up with Period II. The evidence to the north, although underwater now, was recorded in the 17th century by Battely, who saw a tessellated pavement, along with cisterns, coins, pots, and other objects coming out of the cliff face (Battely 1774: 56-9, Roach-Smith 1850: 202-3, Philp 2005: 96). Other evidence of activity outside the fort comes from a corn drier to the SE (Philp 2005: 92-5).

In total number of small finds from Reculver is unknown, however 240 are published. Due to the very recent deposit of these finds with EH, little work on them has been undertaken. As well as this, the paper archive has yet to be deposited with EH, making study of the object more difficult. Of the published finds, there are several military finds from Period I/II (AD 190/200 – AD 300 including arrowheads, and scabbard parts (Philp 2005: 46, Chenery 2005: 168-71). Significantly, demonstrating military occupation are the stamped tiles CIB, supposed to be evidence of the *cohors I Baetasiorum* listed in the *N.D.* (Philp 2005: 224-5). It appears that this unit was present at Reculver from Period I with stamped tiles found in the rampart bank (Philp 2005: 23). A second IB tile was found deposited when the east barracks went out of use c.AD 300 (Philp 2005: 79). However, across the site many objects of personal adornment were also found, including many bone hairpins. A possible civilian occupation either alongside the military or after military occupation is likely. The animal bone

evidence is not presented in the excavation report, so any comparison with the other shore forts is not possible.

The evidence from Reculver presents a clear military occupation from the end of the 2nd century with the construction of the shore fort. However, it appears that the initial construction was slow going and was not fully complete before the end of the Severan campaigns, if indeed it was built for this purpose. It is also unclear if the site was reoccupied immediately afterward, or if there was a gap. It is possible that this reoccupation was in the decades before the construction of the late shore forts and was part of the development of the shore forts in the mid-3rd century.

6.2.7: Dover (Fig.6.6)

It was not until 1970 that the shore fort at Dover was identified. Three sections of wall, 13m, 20m, and a final short section were uncovered, as well as one of the outer ditches (Philp 1971). Two external bastions were also located (Philp 1971), dating it to the late group. The shore fort was also found to overlay the earlier *classis Britannica* fort (Philp 1971). The fort was built in the second half of the 3rd century, and an end date for occupation is unknown (Philp 2012: 154-5) .

Since the shore fort overlies the *classis Britannica* fort, this fort had gone out of use, and coincides with the disappearance of the naval unit from the historical and archaeological record. It is possible that the shore fort was used by ships during the 3rd and 4th centuries, and it has been suggested that there is a relationship between Dover, and Gesoriacum/Bononia. This is mostly because of stamped tiles of the *classis Britannica* at both sites (Peacock, 1977: 235-48), during the shore fort period at Dover, this connection likely continued, however more investigation is needed to understand how Dover continued to be connected to Bononia. The coin evidence from the shore fort suggests it was occupied from the mid-2nd century; c.AD 260 (Reece 2012: 105). The coin evidence, like other shore forts, suggests little to no activity after c.AD 350 (Reece, 2012: 105). The plan is a little different to the other forts. It is trapezoidal in shape rather than square or rectangular and has many bastions.

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Fig.6.6 Plan of the fort at Dover including the Classis Britannica fort (Philp 2012: 147, Fig.81)

No evidence was found of any post-Roman occupation on the site. However, this might be due to the extensive modern building in Dover destroying later evidence. The finds from Dover are few and there are no key military finds to compare with Richborough. However, the collection is dominated

by hairpins. The animal bone evidence is not presented in the excavation report, so any comparison with the other shore forts is not possible.

6.2.8: Lympne (Fig.6.7)

Lympne has been studied in the 20th century, but not as extensively as the other shore forts. Cunliffe *et al.* (1980) studied the fort's structure, coins, objects, and pottery. A tentative reconstruction of the fort was made (Cunliffe 1980: Fig.19), which showed a fairly square fort with a possible *principia* and bathhouse. However, the current shape of the fort is more of a pentagon. This is because the fort appears to have slide down the hillside to its current position. The occupation period of the fort from the coin evidence suggested a construction date in the AD 280s and little activity past the middle of the 4th century; or at least no official military activity (Cunliffe 1980: 263). The pottery from the site suggested a similar date (Cunliffe 1980: 281).

Lympne has been interpreted as the site of the *Classis Britannica* due to the large number of stamped tiles. This suggested an official building in the fort was linked to the fleet, probably no later than the late-2nd century (Cunliffe 1980: 227).

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Fig.6.7 Plan of the fort at Lympne (Cunliffe et. al. 1980, 229, Fig.2)

Finds from the site are few and difficult to compare with Richborough. However, a knife with a silver disc pommel and inlaid blade is of possible Saxon origin and might suggest occupation by people from Northern Gaul or the Rhineland (Cunliffe 1980: 267). Although the knife is of continental origin, it is not certain that the owner is as well. However, these knives have been found in the graves of people suggested to be Germanic and one example comes from Winchester (Cunliffe 1980: 267), where the associated cemetery at Lankhills includes persons of continental origin. It is possible that

Lympne was garrisoned in the same way as part of Richborough, but more study is needed to clarify this.

6.2.9: Pevensey (Fig.6.8)

Pevensey Castle is situated inland, 6km NE of Eastbourne, and was formally accessible by sea. The shore fort stands out in the group due to its unusual circuit. Rather than being square or rectangular like the others, its circuit is ovoid. It is also the largest of the shore forts. If the name of *Anderitum* from the *ND* is correct, then Pevensey is one of the better recorded shore forts in historical documents. Judging by the name, it is linked to two units in the *ND* named *praepositus numeri Abulcorum*, and the *Classis Anderetianorum*, who, according to the *ND* were at one time based in Paris. It is further mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as having been sacked in AD 491 (Giles 1914: 12), however, this possibly happened c.20 years earlier in AD470 (Morris, J. 1973: 40).

The main series of excavations were undertaken on the shore fort site by Frank Cottrill from 1936-64 (Lyne 2009), and Michael Fulford and Stephen Rippon from 1993-5 (Fulford, Rippon 2011). The earlier series originally dated the fort to the AD 330s (Lyne 2009: 36), however, subsequent excavations (Fulford, Rippon 2011: 123) confirmed a date soon after AD 293. The early phase (AD 293-300) showed little in the way of structures, and it was concluded that, like Portchester, that these rested on the ground-surface, occasionally leaving indentations (Lyne, 2009: 38). Early buildings likely included barracks, a *principia*, and a bathhouse (Lyne: 2009: 38). The phase of occupation from AD 300-370 could be split into two phases: AD 300-340s, and AD 340s-370. The division is marked by a remodelling of the fort walls, buildings, and roads (Lyne, 2009: 39). This remodelling mirrors the changes that occurred at Portchester at the same time (Cunliffe, 1975: 425). After this reordering of the AD 340s, in c.AD 370 Pevensey once again mirrors Portchester with a disordered occupation, probably until the later part of the 4th century (Lyne, 2009: 40).

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Fig.6.8 Plan of the fort at Pevensey (Lyne 2009: 3, Fig.1)

The later series of excavations ultimately dated the fort, from coin evidence in the construction material, and dendrochronological dating, which began construction after AD 293 (Fulford, Rippon, 2011: 123) during the usurpation of Allectus. This makes it the last of the shore forts to be constructed. Much of the occupation evidence came from pottery, and coins due to the lack of recognisable artefacts and limited excavation area (Richards, 2011: 60). The pottery assemblage suggested a wide range of 4th – 5th century imports, and a diverse assemblage of regional wares (Fulford, Rippon, 2011: 123-4). The coin evidence suggests a pattern of occupation from the late 3rd century, until c.AD 330 where the coin addition drops away, and only recovers again c.AD 348-388 (Reece, 2011: 60). This would fit with the two periods identified in the 1936-64 excavations.

Evidence of post-Roman occupation into the 5th century comes from sherds of imported wares (Fulford, Rippon, 2011: 125), which are usually found in western Britain (Campbell 2007). Lyne (2009: 41) documents several imports that probably indicate a Germanic element at Pevensey before AD 470. The late 4th – early 5th century wares might indicate a community occupying Pevensey at the end of the Roman period, and into the 5th century. However, from the few sherds of pottery, and limited excavation, it is unclear whether this occupation did continue after AD 410, or whether there was a gap between the early 5th century, and the sacking of AD 470 or thereabouts.

Pevensey could still be the odd-one-out in the shore forts. Its construction does not relate to the main series of shore fort construction, being built in the AD 290s. Its circuit also distinguishes it from the others. The 4th – 5th century pottery suggests some occupation into the early 5th century and, if the textual reference to the sacking in AD 471 is to be believed (Swanton 1998, 15) would suggest the site was still occupied, however for what purpose or to what extent is unclear.

Most of the finds from Pevensey come from the excavations between 1936-64 (Lyne 2009). Although there are a similar number of finds compared with other shore forts, the date of these ranges from the 2nd/3rd – 15th century. Of the Roman finds there are few significant objects, however, the glass vessels of the late 4th – 5th century (Lyne 2009: 89-91) might suggest a continued occupation.

The animal bone assemblage shows that in the 4th century cattle was the primary source of meat, with a significant representation of pig (Powell, Serjeantson 2011: 69). It also suggests that cattle were butchered elsewhere on the site due to the lack of metapodials (Powell, Serjeantson, 2011: 72). However, the evidence also suggests that the animals were not raised at the site, and although pig, and sheep were slaughtered on site, it is possible that cattle joints were imported (Powell, Serjeantson, 2011: 91).

6.2.10: Portchester (Fig.6.9)

Portchester is the most southerly of the shore forts, situated at the head of what is now Portsmouth Harbour. In the Roman period, this was one of several sheltered harbours along the Hampshire coastal plain. As large as the report for Portchester is, the excavation only covered just over 1/8 of the fort. Occupation before the construction of the shore fort was scarce and the main occupation of the site began with the construction of the shore fort (Cunliffe 1975: 6-11). Two coins from the construction layers provided a *TPQ* of AD 263, with the other coin evidence suggesting an occupation from the AD 280s, with a significant spike in coin loss from AD 294-317 (Reece 1975: 195-7). This would suggest construction under Carausius, or at least completed by him. Reece (1975: 195) argues that the AD 294-317 spike might indicate a garrison based at Portchester. However, coins between AD 290-300 are scarce (Cunliffe 1975: 423). During this period, Richborough has far less coin loss, which follows what appears to be a more civilian pattern (Reece 1975: 195). Until AD 345 there is an intensive occupation, which does not increase again until AD 360 (Reece 1975: 197). However, although the lack of coinage could suggest a lack of activity, it could also suggest a general cleanliness on the site (Cunliffe 1975: 425). Occupation appears to have continued until the end of the Roman period, as coins of AD 378 – 402+ are present, but they are far fewer than other British sites (Reece 1975: 196). Combined with the archaeological evidence, it was suggested that there was a disordered occupation until the late 4th century, with a gap before any Saxon occupation (Reece 1975: 197, Cunliffe 1975: 425). The sequence at Portchester suggested the fort was constructed in the AD 280s but abandoned for a short time before AD 300 (Cunliffe 1975: 423). Alternatively, the site was kept generally clean until AD 300 (Cunliffe 1975: 423). Occupation appears to be ordered from AD 300 –

345 with two phases of building. The period of AD 345 – 360 is unclear. Less intensive occupation is possible before a disordered occupation from AD 360, especially with two buildings dating from AD 340 – 345 suggesting a new building phase (Cunliffe 1975: 425). The use for buildings is unclear, however evidence of metalworking, antler working, and spinning and weaving suggests an area of production and industry rather than domestic occupation (Cunliffe 1975: 426).

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Fig.6.9 Plan of the fort at Portchester

Saxon occupation at Portchester was also uncovered. The first Portchester volume on the Roman remains suggested a 4th – 5th century continuation (Cunliffe 1976: 301). Occupation within the fort

could have extended until c.AD 500, but in the 6th and 7th centuries the paucity of finds inside the walls and the large amount of agricultural equipment suggests a move outside (Cunliffe 1976: 302).

The finds from the site suggest a military occupation before, and after AD 345 (Cunliffe 1975: 426). However, there are few military objects, and there is no reason to suggest a majority military occupation (Cunliffe 1975: 426). Many hairpins, as well as other items of personal adornment suggests the presence of women (Cunliffe 1975: 426-7). It could be that the site was either occupied by civilians between military occupations, it was a solely military establishment with wives and children, or that it was a mix of civilian and military (Cunliffe 1975: 427). However, Gardner (2007: 81) demonstrated that farms and towns can show similar artefact patterns to forts and fortresses. Gardner's (2007) analysis of the use of space within Late Roman forts will be discussed later in this thesis (see Chapter 6.3.5). For now, it should be noted that Gardner (2007) demonstrated a clear difference in the organisation of northern and western forts when compared to the south; Richborough and Portchester are key to his interpretation.

The animal bone evidence is like other shore forts. Cattle bones make up the highest % of finds, however, the minimum number of individuals is relatively the same as pig and cattle (Grant 1975: 382, Tab.II). Even so, cattle bones often represent 40%+ of the assemblage. The animal processing suggested that the animals were brought whole into the fort to be processed (Grant 1975: 386). There is also no suggestion, unlike in other forts, that the meat-bearing bones were shipped out of the fort, as the meat-bearing bones are well represented in the record. Pig and sheep were less important to the community.

Portchester seems similar in many ways to other shore forts. However, it is the most southerly, and the relationship to those in Norfolk needs to be discussed in terms of a 'unified system' of forts. The fort appears largely civilian, and while the occupation lasted through the Roman period, it is around AD 360, a time when other forts are disused, that Portchester changes and becomes disordered. It is possible this means that Portchester's official role ended at a similar time to others and was reoccupied later by a different group of people.

6.2.11: *The early group*

The early group comprises Reculver, Brancaster and Caister. Each of the sites exhibits a different history to the next before their development as Saxon shore forts. Reculver begins much the same as Richborough in the mid-1st century with a fort or fortlet (Philp 2005: 192-3) and the two sites were likely linked during the invasion and shortly afterward. However, while in the late-1st century Richborough grew, Reculver saw a modest use by the military, or as a small domestic settlement, before it was developed into a Saxon shore fort c.AD 185-200 (Philp 2005: 194, 206-8) but could have been as late as AD 240. Brancaster, and Caister, were constructed at a similar time. Each of the forts are of conventional 'playing-card' shape, with walls of c.2.4m thickness backed by an earth rampart, and from the evidence from Reculver, are all assumed to contain a range of buildings consistent with the traditional layout of these fort types (Wilmott 2011: 2-3).

6.2.12: *The late group*

The late group is comprised of the remaining eight shore forts that are supposed to date to the late 3rd century (c.260-293), and these have undergone varying degrees of excavation. Richborough, Pevensey and Portchester have seen large scale excavations, while Dover, Lympne, Bradwell, Burgh Castle, and Walton Castle have received less attention. The morphology of these forts is different to the early group. The walls are thicker, up to 3.5m, the plans between each site vary, and on each there are semi-circular bastions around the walls (Wilmott 2011: 3). In this group, Richborough and Dover show evidence of Roman occupation prior to the shore fort period. Richborough was a port town until c.AD 200 and Dover was the location of the *Classis Britannica* base at the same time. Lympne, Pevensey, Portchester, and Burgh Castle are generally virgin sites. However, some show some small occupation in the 1st, and 2nd centuries AD. Little is known about the occupation at Walton Castle. The latest of these sites is Pevensey which was constructed c.AD 293 (Fulford, M. G., Tyers 1995: 1010-1).

There are some general problems with the late group. As discussed above (Chapter 3.7), there are many variations in the construction of the shore forts, suggesting that if there were built as one system then they were built by different hands from a very general blueprint (Pearson 2005). There is

the further complication of dating the forts. Generally, the forts are dated from AD 260-93. This dating has developed over the 20th century as each of the shore forts were dug in turn. The closest dating for any of them is Pevensey in c.AD 293 which is based on a coin found in the construction material and dendrochronology from construction timbers (Fulford, M., Tyers 1995). However, as I have demonstrated, the dating is likely erroneous, based upon trying to fit the forts into multiple historical narratives.

6.3: Comparison of the Shore forts with Richborough

In this section I will first compare the structural elements of the shore forts (Chapter 6.3.1) as identified by Pearson (2003) followed by a comparison of the small finds from the shore forts (Chapter 6.3.2) including the coins (Chapter 6.3.3).

6.3.1: Structures

Pearson (2003, 83; 86), highlighted features of the walls of each fort. His analysis demonstrated that some forts had more features in common than others, however in some cases it was unclear whether the feature existed or not. Using correspondence analysis to plot the features highlighted the forts at Richborough, Pevensey, Lympne and Portchester all plot together (Tab.6.2, Fig.6.10).¹

Tab.6.1. Features of the different shore forts (Pearson 2003, 83, Tab.3)

Fort	Internal towers	Rampart	External bastions	Bonding courses	Op. Sig.
					Mortar
<i>Brancaster</i>	Y	-	-	-	-
<i>Caister</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Burgh castle</i>	?	?	Y	Y	Y
<i>Walton castle</i>	?	Y	Y	Y	?

¹ This analysis has excluded Walton Castle and assumed Burgh Castle does not have internal towers, as it has external towers, and Dover does not have *opus signinum* mortar.

<i>Bradwell</i>	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Reculver</i>	Y	Y	-	-	-
<i>Richborough</i>	-	-	Y	Y	Y
<i>Dover</i>	-	Y	Y	Y	-
<i>Lympne</i>	-	-	Y	Y	Y
<i>Pevensey</i>	-	-	Y	Y	Y
<i>Portchester</i>	-	-	Y	Y	Y

Plotting the wall widths at the base against the proposed heights and the presence of internal offsets (where assumed absent or present these are as absent or present) and taking Burgh Castles widest point, again the forts at Richborough, Pevensey, Lympne and Portchester all plot together (Tab.6.3, Fig.6.11)

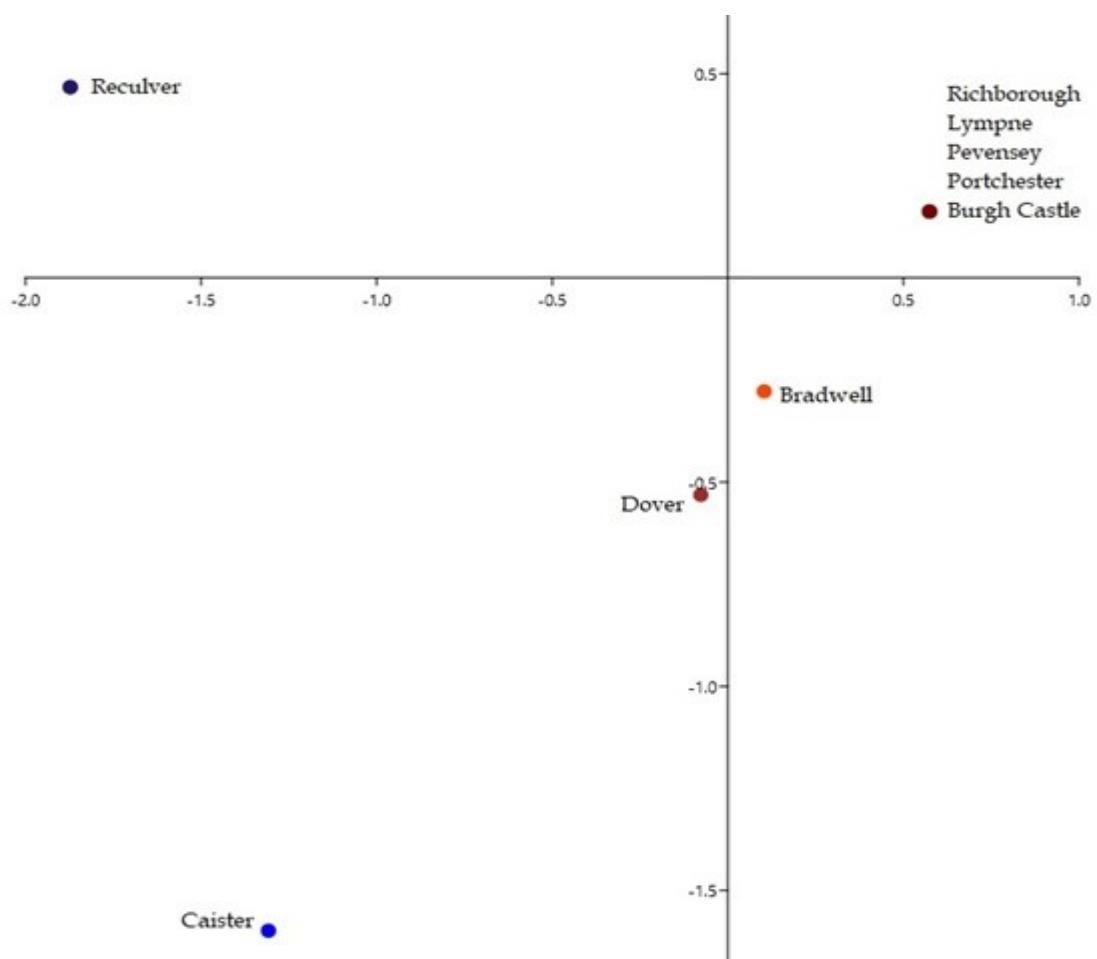


Fig.6.10. CA plot of features of the shore fort walls

Tab.6.2. Widths, heights, and offsets of the shore fort walls (Pearson 2003, 86, Tab.5)

Fort	Thickness of the wall at base (m)	Assumed original height	Internal offsets:
			present/absent
<i>Brancaster</i>	2.7	6.5	Absent (assumed)
<i>Caister</i>	2.9	6.5	Absent (assumed)
<i>Burgh castle</i>	2.1-3.2	6.5	Present
<i>Walton castle</i>	?	?	?
<i>Bradwell</i>	4.2	9.5	Present (assumed)
<i>Reculver</i>	3	6.5	Present
<i>Richborough</i>	3.3	9.5	Present (assumed)
<i>Dover</i>	2.6	6.5	Absent
<i>Lympne</i>	3.9	9.5	Present
<i>Pevensey</i>	4.2	9.5	Present
<i>Portchester</i>	3.7	9.5	Present (assumed)

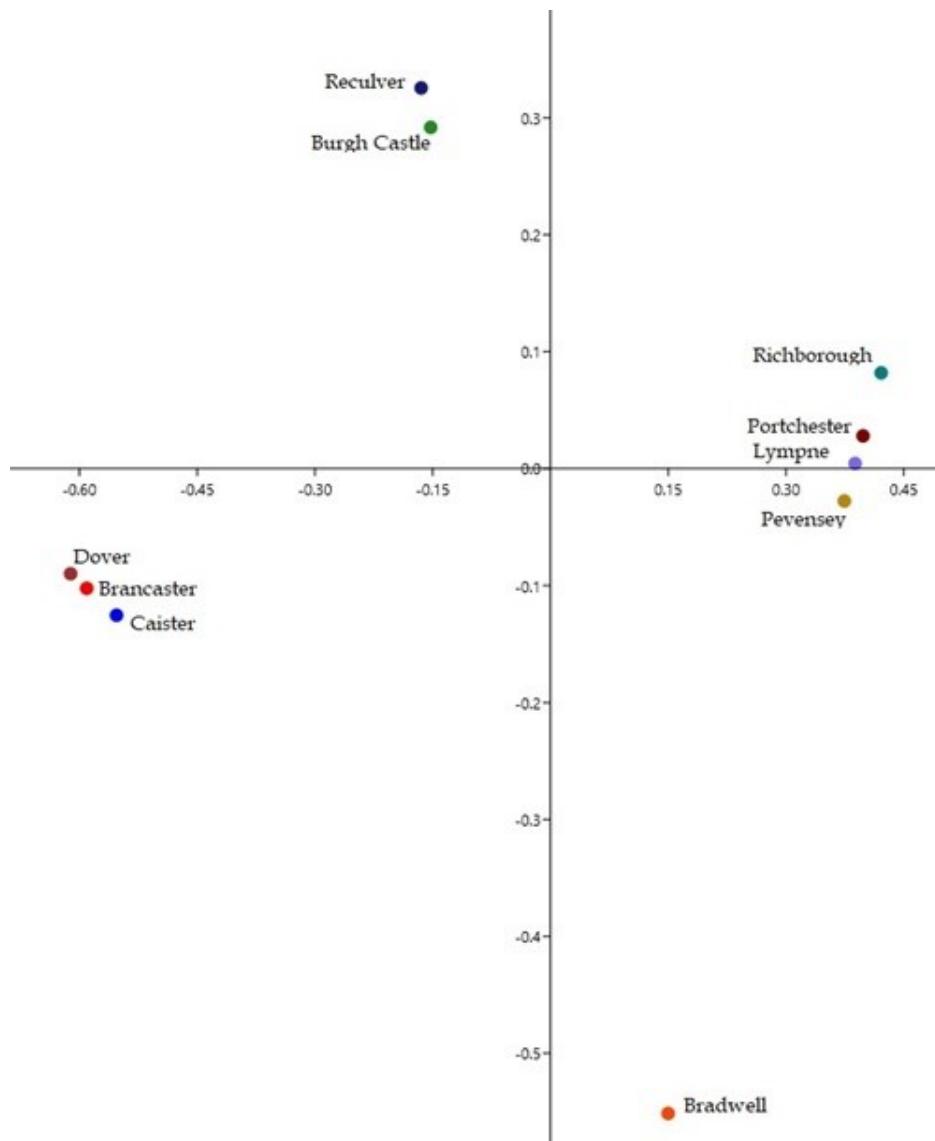


Fig.6.11. CA plot of widths, heights and offsets of the shore fort walls

Given these results it is likely that the forts at Richborough, Pevensey, Lympne and Portchester are all the same series, most likely around the turn of the AD 290s. An oddity of Richborough is the external bastions. However, the forts at Richborough, Pevensey, Lympne and Portchester are all quite different from each other in their bastion and gate designs. The forts still fall into their respective early and late groups but Dover, Burgh Castle, Bradwell and Walton Castle have slightly different features. The walls of Dover are more like the earlier forts and, rather than a transitional fort, it might have been an upgrade to the existing *classis Britannia* fort. Philp (2012, 153-5) dated the shore fort to AD 250-60, but other excavations (Wilkinson, 1994) put the date forward to c.AD 275+. The coin

profile for the site does show an earlier increase in coinage than the other forts in the mid-late 3rd century (Fig.10.9) but a construction date between AD 260-86 would suit rationalisation project replacing older forts (see below for Gesoriacum/Bononia and Oudenburg) before Carausius/Allectus began the south coast shore forts. Burgh Castle is a difficult site as only small areas were excavated and of 1180 coins 240 (20 %) were said not to come from hoards (Johnson 1983, 66). However, it might have been another incomplete or ungarrisoned fort until the Constantinian period. Neither of these are wholly satisfactory. Since it appears to have been built as a single unit and with only five pre-Constantinian coins, a date of the AD 320s – 340s cannot be ruled out. Bradwell and Walton castle are difficult due too little to no modern excavation, however, Bradwell is more likely to be late third century. Walton Castle was drawn as a rectangle in the 17th century (Page 1911, 288-9) but this is closer to a 1:3 ratio than a 1:5 like Burgh Castle. The coin series at Burgh could hold a Constantinian date, but the Victorian coin finds at Bradwell (Lewin 1968, 444) indicate a late third century date.

If the shore forts were unfinished, Pearson (2002, 99) states that “The issue of completion is particularly sensitive in the context of a rapid building programme, since much of the discussion would become irrelevant if the forts remained unfinished at the termination of Allectus’ reign”. However, this need not be the case since a reaction to the threat of invasion c.AD 290 gives a timescale for their near completion: two of four likely complete and Richborough 2/3 complete with Pevensey unknown. Pearson (2002, 100) suggests that the the London ‘palace’ was begun in the middle of the shore fort programme. In this case either the shore forts were finished or there was sufficient resources for both. Whether either project took priority of not, or whether there were sufficient labour/materials for five projects is unclear. A date of AD 293 would coincide with the overthrowing of Carausius, but the construction of the shore forts might have been well underway. It is a mystery that of 11 forts, only nine are listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. If the list used in the late fourth-early fifth century for the *comitis littoris Saxonici per Britanniam* was originally compiled in the early fourth century, and if *Gariannonum* can be identified as Caister rather than Burgh Castle, this would explain why Burgh Castle and Walton Castle are missing from the list.

A note should be made here on the forts in northern Gaul at Gesoriacum/Bononia (Boulogne-sur-Mer) and Oudenburg. Gesoriacum/Bononia was a base of the *classis Britannica* in second century. That the fleet was active in the reign of Philip I (AD 244-9) is attested on an inscription from Arles (Clauss, et al. 2021, CIL XII 0686, EDCS-08401293). The archaeology at Gesoriacum/Bononia shows a destruction after AD 270 and a rapid recovery that might be attributed to Carausius (Blamangin and Demon 2019, 55). At some point at the end of the third century, the Panegyric of Constantine (Nixon and Saylor-Rogers 1994, 223-4) describes the recapturing Gesoriacum/Bononia from Carausius' forces in AD 293. The shore fort at Oudenburg was established in the reign of Postumus and replaced earlier timber forts (Vanhoutte 2015, 66). It could be akin to Dover and Gesoriacum/Bononia as the shoring up of existing military installations in the c.AD 260s-280s rather than being part of the dedicated forts built by Carausius/Allectus to fend off a potential invasion. Like Gesoriacum/Bononia, Oudenburg went out of use in the late third century as the final occupation layers contain coins of Tetricus I and II (AD 270-4) (Vanhoutte 2015, 67) and unlike Gesoriacum/Bononia, Oudenburg was not of use to Carausius. The sizes of the forts are interesting but probably not significant. Richborough is by far the smallest of the British and Gallic forts of this system while the others are of similar size. Pevensey is an oddity in its shape which might be due to the geology, or it being used for a specific purpose. It is unlikely the size of the forts is significant. They might have been constructed with certain troop numbers in mind. However, the small size of Richborough might speak to it being an afterthought in the planned system, as Reculver and Dover are close by, or it could be that Allectus had stretched his building materials too thinly. Another reason might be that it was not finished until the c.AD340s. If this is the case, the east and west walls could have been originally intended to stretch further north.

6.3.2: Finds

When looking at the finds from each site, Reculver is an obvious choice for comparison due to its proximity to Richborough. The dating at Reculver suggested a first phase in the late 2nd – early 3rd century (Period I), and then a later phase (Period II) seen as contemporaneous with the other shore forts (c.AD 260 – 290), with the coin evidence at Reculver pointing to a possible Carausian reoccupation. Military associated finds from this period are scarce. A few projectile heads were found

in the *sacellum* (Philp 2005: 46) with coins up to the AD 330s. Several bone scabbard chapes (Philp 2005: 169-171. Fig.58.352-58) were found, some in association with mid-3rd century pottery. There are few crossbow brooches, one of which (Philip 2005: 164, 167, Fig.56.314) is the same type as a type likely made at Richborough (see. Bayley and Butcher 2004: 111-2, Fig.87-8.298-301). This brooch is the only clear link between military finds at the two sites. There are no 4th century buckle types like Richborough, which might show a distinctiveness in the regional cultural backgrounds of the units. However, as Reculver was abandoned in c.AD 370 then much of the later material might not have reached the site. Where Reculver might be significant is in a comparison of the large number of hairpins and bracelets from the site, which is like Richborough. At Dover, there is little sign of the garrison through the finds in the areas excavated. However, the significant number of hairpins suggests a female population alongside the garrison.

Heading to the south coast, Lympne has undergone little excavation and there are no finds to speak of which will further this discussion. Pevensey has far more finds but, like Reculver, has few that can be directly paralleled with Richborough. There is a dearth of military equipment and only one positively identifiable crossbow brooch (Lyne 2009: 81-2, Fig.20.12). This is of Type 1 dated to the late 3rd – early 4th century. The last possible comparison, and more promising, on the south coast is Portchester. Two buckles (Cunliffe 1975: 201-2, Fig.110.13, 15) (Fig.6.12) are similar those found in the 4th century at Richborough. Object No.13 has two animal heads confronting, similar to Sommer Sorte 1, Form C, Typ D. Almost identical belt fittings were also found at Ickham near Richborough (Young 1981: 39-40, Fig.4.2, 5, W and Fig.5.14-6) (Fig.6.12). Portchester is also not far from the Lankhills cemetery at Winchester, which also draws comparison with Richborough in terms of 4th century belt fittings (See Chapter 6.5 and 6.6). Two horse girth buckles from Portchester (Cunliffe 1975: 203, Fig.110.21-2) shows the presence of horses and this is comparable with the girth buckles from Richborough. Several bone handles (Cunliffe 1975: 221-223, Fig.118.110-4, Fig.119.115-120) show similarities with handles from Richborough, however, these are common in many places. Again, like Reculver, a comparison of bracelets and hairpins would be worthwhile but is outside the scope of the current study. To the north of the Thames are the forts on the east coast of England. At Brancaster, the shore fort is considered to have been built over an earlier fort which was also preceded by an

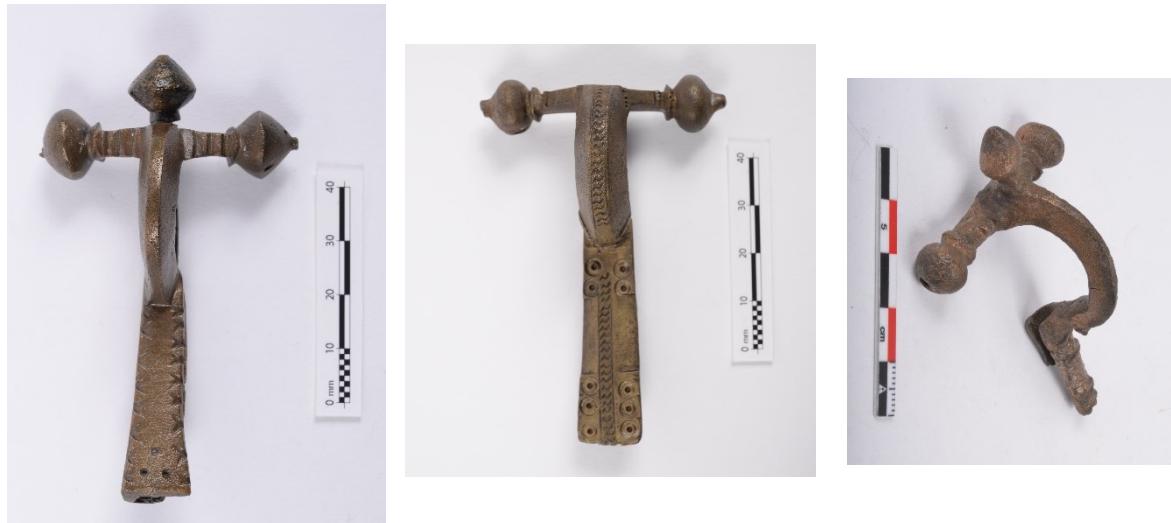
extramural settlement. However, like Reculver, the date of the occupation of the 3rd century shore fort could be pushed back toward the end of the century. It is therefore difficult to make a comparison of finds with such dating. There are various studs and fasteners that might be associated with the military (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985: 210, Fig.89). There are also two axe heads (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985: 218, Fig.93.79-80) which are comparable with late-Roman axes found at Richborough (e.g., Nos.7351908 and 96000642).



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Figure 6.12 A comparison of buckles from Richborough (top) (Photo courtesy of English Heritage), Ickham (middle) (Young 1981: 39-40, Fig.4.5-9, W) Portchester (bottom) (Cunliffe 1975: 201-2, Fig.110)

Unlike some of the southern shore forts, Brancaster is lacking in female personal adornment such as hairpins and bracelets. Another key group of finds, although not comparable with Richborough, are cleavers (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985: 51, Fig.33.53-56, 62) which might relate to the butchery activity. Finally, there is a group of projectile heads (Hinchcliffe, Sparey Green 1985: 51, Fig.32) however, these date to various phases.



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Fig.6.13 A comparison of some of the brooches from Richborough (left) (Photos courtesy of English Heritage) and Caister-on-Sea (right) (Darling, Gurney 1993: 74, Fig.40.7-8, 41.9-11).



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Fig.6.14 A comparison of some of the belt fittings from Richborough (top left 7350247, TOP right 7350002) (Photos courtesy of English Heritage) and Caister-on-Sea (right) (Darling, Gurney 1993: 125, Fig.104.746-7).



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Fig.6.15 A comparison of parts of the ridge helmet from Richborough (96000353) (top) (Photos courtesy of English Heritage) and Burgh Castle (Johnson 1983: 72, Fig.31)

Considered contemporaneous with Brancaster and in the same region is Caister-on-Sea. Caister-on-Sea reveals more similarity with Richborough than Brancaster. There are crossbow brooches of the heavier, onion headed types; specifically, these are Types 2-5 (Fig.6.13). Significant to this discussion are the brooches and belt fittings (Darling, Gurney 1993: 125, Fig.104.744, 746-7) (Fig.6.14). These belt fitting and the brooches are the most similar assemblage to Richborough thus far. There are several 'onion-headed' brooches of the second half of the fourth century which suggests an occupation close to, if not if Richborough. However, there are only four coins post AD 375. So, if occupation did continue, coin was not being added to the site. There are also a sizeable number of projectile heads (Darling, Gurney 1993: 128, Figs.108-9) and knives (Darling, Gurney 1993: 116, Fig.93). There are also a good number of items of male and/or female personal adornment for comparison (Darling, Gurney 1993: 77-9, Figs.44-6 82-86, Figs.49-53).

Overall, it seems Caister-on-Sea might have more in common with Richborough than the forts of the south coast. Burgh Castle is the only other fort in the region to compare, as Walton Castle and Bradwell have not been investigated by modern archaeology. Burgh Castle has some comparable finds to Richborough. Two late Roman axe heads (Johnson 1983: 74, Fig.32.26-7) are the same as those found at Richborough and an ovate buckle plate (Johnson 1983: 71, 30.2) might have some link to incoming troops (see Chapter 6.5 and 6.6). The evidence is very thin and unlike some other forts there is little female personal adornment. A significant find suggesting incoming troops to Britain is a late Roman helmet like those from Deurne and Concesti (Johnson 1983: 70, 72, Fig.31) (Fig.6.15). This helmet can be compared to a ridge helmet from Richborough dated to the 4th century (Nos.96000353). Although there are few finds to make comparisons, it is possible that Caister-on-Sea and Burgh Castle were similarly garrisoned, particularly due to their geographical proximity.

6.3.3: *Coins*

Chapter 3.7.1 touched briefly upon the cumulative frequency of Roman coinage from the shore forts in order to demonstrate the order in which they might have been constructed and occupied.

To further place Richborough in its wider context be I have looked briefly at the landscape around the forts. Using PAS data (Fig.6.16), I have retrieved the number of coins within a 10km radius of the sites. This is only half the search area as the other half is mostly out at sea. Although a problem with these data is that the area around some forts is now urbanised rather than the rural landscape of the Roman period. Each site starts off at a different point in Period 1 and most continue to add coins faster than the British mean. This is not the case for Richborough, Dover and Lympne which fall. This perhaps strange for Dover, however, the area around the early site is heavily urbanised. It is interesting that all apart from Richborough and Dover see a decrease against Walton's British Mean from Period 13. After this period is when the shore forts begin to add coins at a faster rate than Walton's British Mean but then there is a recovery in Period 14. Apart from slight dips in mid-4th century, the area around Richborough is the only one to continuously add coins faster than Walton's British Mean into the later periods.

Further to this we can look at the coin numbers from the closest Roman towns to some of the forts. Some of the forts share a town and some are quite far away. Taking these data from Reece (1991) (Fig.6.17) we see rises and their peak at the same time as their local shore forts. Caister-by-Norwich is slightly different as it more closely matches close by Burgh Castle than Caister-on-Sea. They all also see a drop off, however, Canterbury closely mirrors the Richborough pattern in Period 21 prior to my corrected values. However, even after the use of the corrected values Canterbury shows an increase in Periods 13 and 14 not seen at Richborough. Perhaps some similar activity was happening at both sites in Period 21 but there was a disconnect between the sites in Periods 13 and 14.

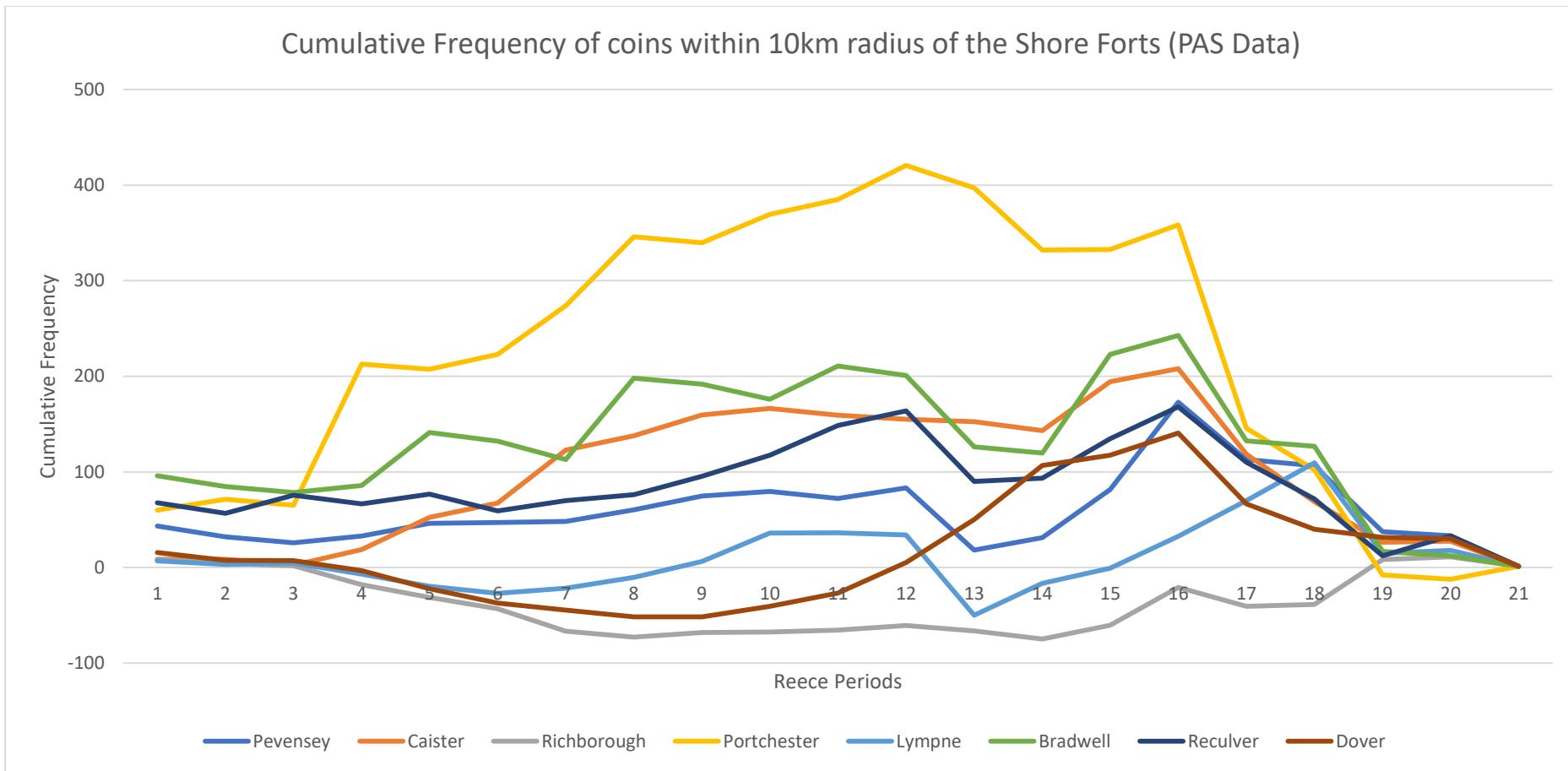


Fig.6.16. Cumulative frequency of PAS coins within a 10km radius of the Shore Forts

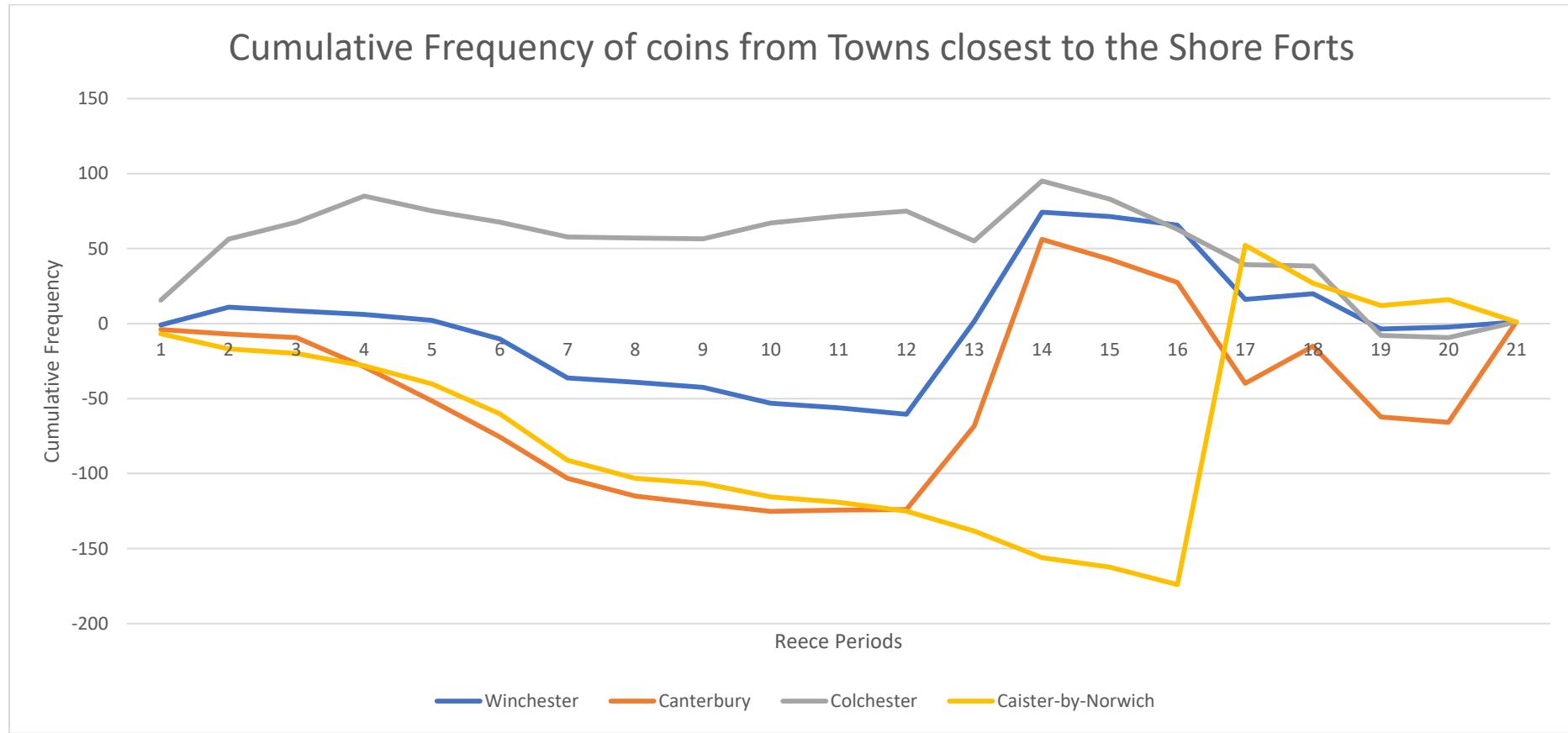


Fig.6.17. Cumulative frequency of coins from shore fort local towns

The Period 21 coin loss at Richborough is not easy to explain and it is an anomaly that coin studies contend with by omitting it entirely. However, on the Isle of Wight, while only 35 (this was nine in 2012) Period 21 coins have been recorded on the PAS database, there are also 11 hoards with Theodosian coinage (Walton 2012, 236). A military link cannot be discounted as the pattern does not occur in site finds (Walton 2012, 236) and Richborough might be similar with 50% of the hoards containing Theodosian coinage. One possible explanation is that the coinage was entering Britain through the Isle of Wight and Richborough. One similarity might be the not insignificant number of coins from central and eastern Mediterranean mints on the IoW. Walton (2012, 260), quoting Suetonius (*Vespasian* 4.1), suggests that the IoW was in some way different, as if not part of the province. Perhaps Richborough is similar. It has always been unclear why ancient texts have referred often to *Rutupiae*. It could be argued that it was another name for Britain, however, the IoW also had its own name, *Vectis*, and Richborough, being an island might have been treated in a similar way. The late 4th century coinage might have been obsolete in Britain and therefore buried (Walton 2012: 236-7), perhaps in Richborough's case for the raw material. Not being tradeable on the mainland it got stuck at the port.

6.3.4: Continuity or discontinuity at Richborough

Gardner (2007: 184) argues that while units at some sites such as South Shields in the early 4th century were integrated into military norms, other sites, such as Birdoswald, seem to have more freedom. In Gardner's (2007: 342, 2007: 184-6) view, the variability in these sites is manifested through the alterations in key spaces within the forts, such as the principia, horrea and barrack buildings, as well as the disposal of rubbish. While different spaces were used for rubbish disposal in the 4th century, the routine practice of rubbish disposal within settlement boundaries was a continuation of 1st – 2nd century practices. Although practices of spatial alteration were commonplace in the 4th century in both forts and towns, this was on a more localised scale rather than according to the standards of a centralised, global military (Gardner, A. 2002: 342). It will be useful to assess Richborough from this perspective.

Subsequent research has in some ways confirmed, but also disproved some of Gardner's analysis. In terms of the short forts, Gardner's interpretation of 'more open space' (Gardner 2007, 104) in the shore forts can be questioned at Richborough. Re-examination of the open areas does show some reduction in the space given over to living quarters. This is particularly the case in the NW corner with the construction of a large building, possibly a church. However, this reorganisation still includes the use of living accommodation and possibly stores inside the fort walls. This change appears to come at the end of the 4th century and might reflect a change in the living requirements and the logistical needs of the fort. Gardner (2007, 105) contrasts this with the style of living in the northern forts where there were large changes to the inside of the fort layouts, particularly at Caernarfon and Housesteads. The negative evidence Gardner (2007, 104) suggests as open space at Richborough and Portchester, however, cannot be used to indicate this. At Richborough there is a much more densely occupied area than Gardner suggests. This is largely due to the poor preservation of timber buildings, which only remain in small sections. At Portchester only 12.5% of the total area was excavated and at the time it was very difficult to spot the late timber phase (Barry Cunliffe *pers. comm.*). More recent work on the northern sites shows Gardner's hypotheses of the use of space can be confirmed there. At Binchester in particular, there is the same large scale rubbish dumping seen at Birdoswald, Caerleon and South Shields (Petts 2013, 321). This activity at Binchester in the mid-4th century also ties in with the substantial changes in use of space at Housesteads and Birdoswald. The *praetorium* underwent a change from a high-status residence to an industrial/agricultural area (Ferris 2010, @). There is also a substantial change in the living accommodation which in the 4th century appears homogenous with other late Roman northern frontier barracks (Petts 2013, 320).

While Gardner (2007: 104-5, 119-20) considers the site at Richborough in his analysis, I have demonstrated in this thesis that there is more information about other areas of the site. In this section I will further develop, on the suggestions of Gardner (2007), an idea about how the space within Richborough was used and compare it to Gardner's examples as well as the excavated area at Oudenburg. As previously discussed, (Chapter 2), Gardner (2001) suggests that this use of space has more to do with the 'norms' of the community and individual rather than any Empire wide structure.

Gardner (2007) provides multiple examples of repurposing site features and opening up new spaces from 4th century sites in Britain using the site publications (see Casey *et al.* 1993; Biggins *et al.* 1999; Bidwell 1996; Bidwell 1997). In terms of the change in use of space and building function, some key examples are the 'localised' changes in the SE quadrant at Caernarfon which saw an area of barracks given over to an 'unusual administrative function' but no changes to other parts of the site (Gardner 2007: 70, 100) and at Birdoswold there is a 'tension between consistency and variation' with key features of forts alongside structures indicating an idiosyncratic use of space (Gardner 2007: 101). The site at South Shields also went through multiple rearrangements but in the 4th century the movement of the *principia* has implications for the relationship between the soldiers and the central authority (Gardner 2007: 102-3). While there are similarities with the situation at Caernarfon and Birdoswold, as well as with Housesteads (Gardner 2007: 102), the rearrangement at South Shields is not paralleled in Britain (Gardner 2007: 103). These situations demonstrate both a change in the organisation of forts, particularly in the north of Britain, as well as very localised and specific changes to forts, likely due to the regional cultural requirements of units and/or the purpose of the fort.

In terms of rubbish disposal there were different areas used within 4th century sites. One method of rubbish disposal is dumping in 'public' or open spaces. For example, at Caernarfon, the area of demolition and disuse of buildings became a space for rubbish disposal (Gardner 2007: 175). Dumping also took place in the fort ditches took place at Birdoswold, South Shields and Lincoln (Gardner 2007: 175).

This however is not isolated to the 4th century and the idea that this 4th century disposal represented 'squalid' conditions is down to modern Western sensibilities regarding rubbish disposal and the idea of the 'rise and fall' of the Empire (Gardner 2007: 185). Town and fort ramparts, such as Chester and Portchester were also used for rubbish dumping, but this could also be part of the rampart construction (Gardner 2007: 175-6). Although there are different methods of rubbish disposal, none can definitively be associated with a 'civilian' or 'military' group but are instead demonstrative of the local priorities in the organisation of space (Gardner 2007: 180-1) which could be linked to the regional cultural background of the occupants. For example, in Canterbury rubbish was disposed in

open plots rather like Caerleon where open areas were utilised for rubbish disposal (Gardner 2007: 182).

Another method of rubbish disposal is through pit digging. Gardner (2007: 104-5, 119-20, 146) briefly considered Richborough as an example, as well as Portchester, which he considers in more detail. These shore forts show diversity when compared to the forts of the north and west, particularly, featuring a handful of timber structures surrounded by "a pockmarked landscape of rubbish pits" (Gardner 2007: 104-5). By contrast, other forts such as Housesteads, which has its 2nd century plan remaining in amongst the 4th century changes, show that the same rubbish disposal practices continued from the 2nd century (Gardner 2007: 102, 177-8). A key point to make here is that there is continuity between Housesteads and some other forts due to continuous occupation. At Richborough and Portchester, activity did not commence in the shore forts until the late 3rd century when the influx of a new garrison with a different regional cultural background meant a different way of occupying the space.

It is clear at Richborough that in the 4th century there was significant pit digging, especially around the area of occupation in Site III. This is also the case in Areas X and XXIII which are close to the other recently identified area of occupation in Area XXIII represented by similar pebble patches as in Site III. Although the dating of these pits is difficult, a large number date to c.AD 330-410 when there were two occupational changes; one in Period 8 and one in Period 9 (Chapter 3), so it should be considered that some of these pits were used for rubbish disposal during the construction work. However, there are also many before and after this date, suggesting that the norm during the 4th century was to dispose of rubbish within the walls. It is also worth considering the shore fort ditches as a possible area of disposal. The bottom 4' of the ditch included a large amount of 4th century material and without better stratigraphic resolution it is difficult to know whether this material was dumped over a period; or when the ditches were filled completely. Considering the pits, these areas are close to the supposed *principia*, over the top of the monument base, it would not be a stretch to imagine that this building was disused or used for another purpose. However, there is little archaeological evidence for activity in the '*principia*' building. These pits are also close to the published 'pebble patches' in the NE

corner of the fort, as well as in the SW corner. These patches which I uncovered in the archive also have similar gaps between them, suggesting the presence of long buildings such as barracks. There is also a significant number of hearths in these two areas, both pre- and post-AD 350-60 suggesting the presence of these buildings; however, the exact plan is unclear, therefore it would be unwise to make any comparisons with other forts since we cannot be certain about the Richborough configuration. This rubbish disposal is intentional in these areas as post-AD 350 there are no pits in the NW corner where the supposed church stood from this date onwards. Whether or not a building stood on this site the area around it is large and relatively absent of pits compared to other areas. The absence of rubbish pits here suggests that the disposal was not only strategic in other areas, but some in some areas, disposal was inappropriate. Further analysis of the site has been able to corroborate Gardner's hypothesis that rubbish disposal within the walls was not 'squalid' but purposeful. Interestingly, it is Portchester that Gardner uses in comparison with Richborough, finding similarities between the two sites. I have already suggested that some shore forts have similar cultural connections, two of these being Richborough and Portchester. Although Reculver is close geographically to Richborough, it does not show the same pattern of rubbish disposal as Richborough and Portchester. This difference in rubbish disposal as well as the difference in the finds profile (Chapter 6) suggests a regionally culturally different garrison. While this might simply mean different unit types, there was likely a different regional cultural background. The units based at many of the shore forts were new introductions to Britain in the 4th century. However, at Reculver the *cohors I Baetasiorum*, while from Lower Germany, had served in Britain since the 2nd century and could have developed different regional cultural practices over time. This further demonstrates that the population within the shore forts did not have a share a regional cultural identity despite the close geographical location. It is difficult to make the same comparison with other shore forts, such as Caister, and Burgh Castle as the excavated areas are smaller and pits not as well planned.

There are also a couple of examples of the reuse of buildings at Richborough. The first is the masonry buildings in the NE corner. Labelled as a mansio, it stood from the 2nd – late 3rd century. The triple ditch enclosure respected its walls, whilst by contrast, a building on Site 1 was destroyed to make way for the ditches. As I have suggested that Carausius ordered the construction of the ditches, then

it would seem he had a purpose for this building, even if only for a short time, before the shore fort walls were constructed. The east shore fort wall went through this building, and on the inside of the fort wall a bathhouse was constructed. The date of the construction/destruction of the bathhouse is unclear. However, according to the archive, in several the rooms were found a large amount of Theodosian coinage. This large amount of coinage can be linked to rubbish dumping (Reece 2003: 151). Casey (1986: 81) indicates this might be due to the cleaning of busy market areas, while Gardner (2007: 68) suggests this is the dumping of unwanted/unvalued coinage. This latter proposal would fit the context of the late bathhouse, likely not used as a market area nor as a bathhouse if there was little sign of a continuing monetary economy at Richborough into the 5th century. Gardner (2007: 194) has identified several sites where the bathhouse was given over to rubbish disposal or other uses such as a slaughterhouse and smithy. The type of finds from the bathhouse is unknown as there is not enough detail in the excavation notes, but it is possible that the area was not used as a bathhouse in the Late Roman period but for rubbish disposal.

The key buildings in this discussion are those that could have occupied the gaps between the 'pebble patches'; the size, shape and arrangement would suggest the presence of barrack buildings. However, whether these were infantry or cavalry is unclear. One reason this is unclear is the finds from the area. The finds in the building's area are much more domestic in nature, with no clear military finds. This could suggest that into the 5th century these buildings were being used by soldiers, or ex-soldiers, living with their families. Again, the barracks architecture is the same at the shore fort at Portchester, but also Burgh Castle (Gardner 2007: 119). These two forts that can be suggested to have been occupied by regionally culturally similar units based on this as well as the finds profile (Chapter 6.4.2). This not only demonstrates this similarity but again the difference to the other shore forts.

If we look across the channel at Oudenburg, similar themes emerge in the late 4th century. The bathhouse appears to have gone out of use and was no longer an important part of life (Vanhoutte 2015: 72). There was also a large amount of dumping in the same corner of the fort (Vanhoutte 2015: 72), possibly like the NE corner of Richborough. The data from Oudenburg suggests a "non-military" look to the fort, or at least mixed military and civilian (Vanhoutte 2015: 72). Again, this is like the lack

of military finds in the late-dated features at Richborough in the areas that were still occupied. An increase in women in the 4th century is evident on both sites through the presence of bracelets and hair pins. There is also a link between Portchester and Oudenburg based on the bracelet types. The regional cultural background of the garrison at Oudenburg is suggested to have had Germanic roots, and with similar continental style belt fittings at Richborough, Portchester and the nearby Lankhills cemetery groups with similar regional cultural backgrounds likely occupied these sites. Although it is unclear for Portchester, the proximity to this site of the Lankhills cemetery with Continental style belt fittings indicates where the possible local unit was buried.

The fact that across the shore forts in Britain there is a distinct variation in the find assemblages on the sites through the late Roman finds indicates that there is little movement between the forts in this period. As has been mentioned several times in this thesis, Reculver is near Richborough, but shows none of the same regional cultural associations in the finds (Chapter 6.4.2). This could be construed as a difference in the ethnic and/or geographical background of the military units in the forts. As discussed above (Chapter 6.3.1) there is variation in the backgrounds of the military units in the shore forts.

Richborough finds its place in an area of Britain which from the 2nd century was far more closely aligned with the Continental Empire than other parts of Britain (Gerrard 2013: 246). The south was primarily a civilian landscape adhering to *paideia* in opposition to the “boorish” military communities in the north (Gerrard 2013: 247). The north of Britain has a strong military influence (Collins 2012). The archaeological evidence in the north suggests a continuous occupation of the *limitanei* through a warband model (Collins 2017). This model suggests that there was not a mass withdrawal of troops from Britain, but a continuous occupation into the 5th century (Collins 2017: 205). This model argued by Wilmott (1997a) has been developed by Collins (2012) to suggest beginnings in the 4th century when the distinction between soldier and warrior become blurred and continued into the 5th century. Although the shore forts were occupied by military units the wider landscape is not one of warbands. Some shore forts such as Richborough, Reculver, Dover and Brancaster were occupied by regular Roman units, including the *legio II Augusta* and others who had been stationed in Britain since the 2nd

century. Other shore forts such as Bradwell, Lympne, Pevensey and Portchester were occupied by a *Numerus* who were the *limitanei*, the infantry units on the frontiers. It is unclear if there is any regional or military cultural link between these *limitanei* in the shore forts and those in the north, however, the cultural difference in the landscape they entered likely contributed to their loyalties to the state rather than local warbands. If the shore forts were used to store supplies to go to across the channel, they were likely paid by the state rather than a local patron. Given the distribution of contemporaneous crossbow brooches (Collins 2017), belt buckles (Leahy 2007) and strap ends (Chapter 6.4) associated with the military it is likely that at the time of their arrival in Britain, these units had a shared regional cultural background. This might have spread to the insular military or civilian population in places, however, like Reculver, insular military units did not always adopt incoming styles. By the end of the 4th century military allegiances changed depending on their geographical setting depending on where local power lay (either Roman control or local warbands). Into the 5th century the culture between the north and south was quite different. It is unclear how far into the 5th century there was occupation at Richborough and in the shore forts, but rather than a warband culture, more likely everyday life continued relatively uninterrupted after the withdrawal of Roman troops from Britain.

6.3.5: Richborough in Context: comparisons with other late Roman forts

I have made the above observations based on the finds and features, however, there is now a need to place this in the context of late Roman Britain. In this section I will expand upon the shore fort comparison by looking at other late Roman forts. Large scale excavations have taken place at forts such as Housesteads and Birdoswold which I will use for comparison with 4th century occupation. While it is not possible within the constraints of this thesis to do a large scale comparison of other forts, similar to those considered part of the 'Saxon' shore, these two forts will demonstrate the differences and similarities within the military in Britain at the same moment.

6.3.5.1: Housesteads

Housesteads Roman fort located on Hadrians Wall was constructed in AD122. Relevant to this section it was remodelled in the late 3rd century with changes to the defences and internal buildings

(Rushworth 2009, 296). However, with the fort already constructed in a much earlier style with internal towers, like Reculver, Casiter and Brancaster, these were renovated rather than developing external towers alongside the new style forts of the period. The most interesting thing about Housesteads is the 'chalet' style buildings. These chalets are regarded as barrack blocks and their development signifies a change from traditional, rigid barrack blocks (Rushworth 304-5). While similar buildings are paralleled at other northern forts such as Chesters, Birdoswald and Wallsend, it is difficult to parallel these in the south and east of Britain. Where known, none of the shore forts exhibit these types of barracks. Patchy remains are known from Richborough and Portchester. At Reculver there are signs of traditional barrack blocks (Philp 2005, 73-9) in the late 3rd century. However, key to these barracks is the idea that the *vici* at northeren sites were abandoned and people moved inside the forts (Rushworth 2009, 299-300). If this is the case, there is no indication we see the same phenomena in the south. The dating of the extramural settelement at Richborough is not possible due to the lack of excavation. However, recent excavation at the Richborough amphitheatre revealed traces of 4th century acivity. This is slim evidence for widespread occupation outside the fort, but it cannot be assumed that the entire populace moved into the fort. Where there is a similarity is in the small finds and apparent areas of disuse. Small finds from Housesteads suggests women and children inside the 4th century fort (Rushworth 2009, 300). At Richborough a large number of hairpins and bracelets inside the fort suggests women's presence, and in further evidence, there is a burial in Pit 314 which contained a man, woman and child (Cunliffe 1968, 36). There is also evidence of decay in some parts of Housesteads with occupation moving around the site (Rushworth, 2009, 321). At Richborough this can be demonstrated over the abandoned Bathhouse in the late 4th century. This also coincides with a large restructuring of the internal layout. The construction of a possible church in the NW corner of the fort would have significantly reduced the internal space for a garrison. This is also seen at Housesteads where a reduced garrison might have evolved into a new social unit after imperial collapse, perhaps following a local commander (Rushworth 2009, 322-3). However, there is no clear indication of a similar system of local commanders' detatched from Rome operating in the south of Britain. At Richborough there is no clear indication of substantial occupation during the 5th century, although some parts of the fort might have been occupied. It is unclear whether the fort was

entirely abandoned or if people who remained continued living outside of the fort or moved away from the area entirely.

6.3.5.2: *Birdoswald*

At the Roman fort at Birdoswald there are similar patterns that can be observed in the middle of the 4th century. One granary was allowed to fall into disrepair and, rather than being repaired, the stone was used for other buildings (Wilmott 1997b, 118). Another granary saw a change in function (Wilmott 1997b, 119). Combined, this, like Housesteads, suggested a likely reduced garrison due to the lower amount of supplies needed (Wilmott 1997b, 119). The reduction in the lower supplies needed suggests that there was also a need for space within the fort, either through a reduced garrison or supplies coming from elsewhere. However, there is a similar change with the construction of a large apsidal building at Birdoswald, similar to Richborough, where the possible church was constructed in the NW corner, taking up a large space within the fort. The construction of an apsidal building (Wilmott 1997b, 119) suggests that space was needed for different functions. There is also 'chalet' barracks construction of this period at Birdoswald, similar to Housesteads, again suggesting a reduced garrison (Wilmott 1997, 115). However, there are also contemporaneous barracks built in an earlier style (Wilmott 1997b, 116). While this still suggests a reduced garrison, it also shows diverse living arrangements within the same fort. It is difficult to suggest this for Richborough, however, with the *legio II Augusta* and incoming continental troops at Richborough, it might be expected that there would be diverse living arrangements. However, this does not mean that at Birdoswald this was a deliberate cultural choice – it might represent instead the reuse of old buildings. At Birdoswald there is also possible evidence for women occupying the fort. Although the work on the fort was done at a time when it was unclear to what extend women occupied spaces within late Roman forts, there were objects found that might signify their presence. However, this was largely dismissed at the time (Wilmott 1997, 116). The one key element demonstrated at Birdoswald that is, for the most part, archaeologically invisible at Richborough, is continuation into the 5th century. At Birdoswald, while there is no absolute dating, the sequence of rebuilding in the very late 4th century appears to continue far into the 5th century (Wilmott 1997b, 121-4). If, in the north of Britannia, we accept that there was a

continued military capacity in some form (e.g. warbands), then continued use of a walled fort would be useful. However, in the south of Britannia there is no clear evidence for a continued military presence within the shore forts, although there might be some other use of the space.

6.3.6: Conclusions on Site Comparisons

From the first part of this chapter, it is clear there are many similarities and differences between the shore forts before their final forms in the mid-4th century. I have provided a better narrative for their chronology, in particular further dividing the old 'late group' by splitting out Richborough, Lympne, Pevensey and Portchester, the 'sothern group', based on their similar dating and construction style. Dover is now on its own between the 'early group' and 'southern group'. Of note is the similarity in construction of Richborough, Lympne, Pevensey and Portchester, which suggests they were of one construction project. The other shore forts, with construction phases spread over the 3rd – 4th century, show that the idea of a shore fort system which includes all known forts was not conceived of until the mid-4th century. Until then, the forts were constructed by different people, at different times, for different purposes and were subsequently reoccupied when required. The coin cumulative frequency shows that there is some occupation until near the end of the 4th century. However, this is not an indication that occupation of some forts stopped before others, only that coin supply appears to have ended. The finds demonstrate varied communities within the forts, suggesting different regional cultural backgrounds. The biggest difference is in forts with new continental soliders (e.g. Portchester) and those with units stationed in Britain for centuries (i.e. Reculver).

Comparing the shore forts with important sites that have late Roman evidence in the north of Britain shows some similarities and differences. The presence of women is the clearest similarity showing that there was a cultural shift in the military across Britannia. Another similarity is the changing use of space and the reduced garrisons. At all the forts considered, as well as Richborough, some areas went out of use or changed purpose, and larger structures appeared, such as the apsidal buildings which reduced space for the garrison. However, there is a big difference in the use of space outside the forts. In the north, the *vici* were abandoned and the forts continued in use. At Richborough, the

opposite appears to be true; although it is unclear what was happening inside the fort. However, this should not be a surprise. The settlement outside the fort at Richborough is not intrinsically linked to the fort. In fact it is likely the other way around. Unlike the forts in the north where the *vici* developed after the fort construction, at Richborough the fort was placed within an occupied settlement. This area was then likely exploited for the fort's needs.

As well as comparing to other sites, we can also gain more insight into Richborough by a more in-depth study of artefacts. The following case study will look at late Roman strap-ends. By studying a wide variety of forms found in Britain and comparing these to Richborough, I will demonstrate how the garrison at Richborough acted differently and in relative isolation to not only the other shore forts, but to the contemporaneous population already settled in Britannia.

6.4: Case Study: Richborough Late Roman Strap-ends and the PAS

This section is a comparative study of the collection of late Roman strap-ends from Richborough and those on the PAS database, which will help us to understand better the regional cultural associations of material on the site in the Shore Fort phase. Strap-ends are small copper-alloy ornaments attached to the end tip of a belt. Various authors have argued for and against the use of buckles, and therefore the associated strap ends, as purely military. Swift (2000: 199-204) provides a summary of the evidence that these buckles are found on military and civil sites, that there might have been some state control over their production, but some types might have been adopted by civilians; it is not an easy argument to resolve. In the terms laid out in Chapter 2, these belt fittings could be associated with a military activity. However, there is some nuance. Some belt fittings appear to have entered Britain at the same time as military associated crossbow brooches. Therefore, it is likely that the continental style belt fittings had a military association. In graves such as at Lankhills and on the Continent, these belt fittings are found alongside crossbow brooches, suggesting a military association. However, this is not always the case as belt fitting developments in Britain could have led non-military associated people to wear them. It would therefore appear that some objects of dress retain a military, or at least an authority, status and some are more ambiguous. At Richborough, it is

not easy to resolve as late contexts were largely missed. However, the large group of crossbow brooches points toward the belt fittings being military in use. As for the insular styles, which probably came from the west of Britain, these could have been worn by military personnel or civilians in that region. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, the strap-ends from Richborough present a continental style in appearance rather than the insular British style.

In the Richborough collection there are 33 late Roman examples of strap-ends, five of which are currently missing. A simple search of the PAS database for finds from Britain more widely brings up 1049 results in various categories. A more detailed search of these categories, and only including those which could be positively identified as strap-ends found on belts, results in a total of 256 entries. Eckardt and Crummy's (2006) study of 'nail-cleaner' strap-ends include 36 examples, including five from Richborough. I have taken 31 of their 36 examples (excluding Richborough) from Eckardt and Crummy (2006) along with the PAS and Richborough finds to bring the total up to 320 (Tab.6.4).

Tab.6.3 Number of strap-ends in this study

Site/Database	No.
Richborough	33
PAS	256
Crummy and Eckardt (2006)	31
Total	320

The two main studies of strap-ends in Britain were conducted by Simpson (1976) and Eckardt and Crummy (2006). Leahy (2007) reinvestigated the belt fittings discussed by Hawkes and Dunning (1961) and produced distribution maps for the fittings. When looking at strap-ends, the only pattern was that they followed the same distribution as belt buckles, which is to be expected (Leahy 2007) and there was no distinction between amphora, heart or Tortworth types.

Simpson (1976) identified the types 'amphora' shaped and 'heart' shaped whilst Eckardt and Crummy (2006) looked at the difference between the proto-Tortworth and Tortworth types. Although the Tortworth had features like nail-cleaners, such as the general narrow shape, similar lugs at the neck as well as similar heads, the 'nail-cleaner' types have a split socket at the foot of the strap end, similar to Roman nail-cleaners. Eckardt and Crummy's study also furthered the typology based on the strap-features. Eckardt and Crummy (2006) suggest that the crescentic and zoomorphic forms of neck lug are insular to Britain. Curved neck lugs are clearly a Continental development as are circular neck lugs. These studies were based upon a small number of examples. For this study I have trebled the number of examples and will develop a new typology based on the 290 examples. It is important to have such a large corpus and to investigate typology in detail to understand possible regional cultural associations and the object's Continental or insular origin- and so to better understand the Richborough finds.

This section will look at past strap-end typologies as well as develop a new one from the corpus. It will also investigate the chronology and distribution of the strap-ends. There will also be a comparison of the corpus with the Richborough examples and details of the XRF analysis which will follow on from this section.

6.4.1: Typology

The main typology for strap-ends comes from Sommer (1984) who principally studied Continental material. This typology divides the examples into five different types.

- *Herzformige* (Heart type) (Form A)
- *Amphoraformige* (Amphora type) (Form B)
- *Scheibenformige* (Disc type) (Form C)
- *Rechteckige* (Rectangular) (Form D)
- *langliche Sonderform* (Long special shape)

Redacted

Figure 6.18. Primary four strap end forms (left to right) Herformige (Form A), Amphoraformige (Form B), Scheibenformige (Form C) and Rechteckige (Form D) (left to right, Sommer 1984, Taf.19.1, 19.6, 21.8).

Of these, only the heart and amphora type have been identified from Britain. Sommer (1984: 59 – 72) divides the strap-ends (*Riemenzungen*) into his Groups (*Gruppe*) 1 – 4. The table below (Tab.6.5) lists these by Gruppe, Sorte, Form, *Typ* and Variant. Sommer (1984: 59 – 72) lists five types which are relevant to this study. The Types (*Typen* A-C) (Fig.6.19) Sommer (1984: 49) are based on the form of handles on the Amphora types (Form B).

Pelta shape openwork handles (which look like amphora handles)

- A) Pelta-shaped openwork handles (e.g. Sommer 1984, Taf. 19.5-11)
- B) Closed, circular perforated or jagged handles (e.g. Sommer 1984, Taf. 19.12-14, Taf. 20.1, 4-7)
- C) Closed, circular perforated or jagged handles (e.g. Sommer 1984, Taf. 20.8-12, Taf. 21.1-6)

Redacted

Fig.6.19 Examples of Sommer Typ A (left), Typ B (middle) and Typ C (right) handles (Sommer 1984: Taf.19.6, 20.4 and 22.3b)

Tab.6.4 Sommer strap-ends typology relevant to the British material

Gruppe	Sorte	Form	Typ	Variant
1	<i>Riemenzungen</i>	A	N/A	N/A
1	<i>Riemenzungen</i>	B	A	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
1	<i>Riemenzungen</i>	B	B	1, 2
1	<i>Riemenzungen</i>	B	C	2e
2	<i>Riemenzungen</i>	B	B	3, 4
2	<i>Riemenzungen</i>	B	C	1a, 1b, 1c, 1d
3	<i>Riemenzungen</i>	B	B	3
3	<i>Riemenzungen</i>	B	C	1e
3	<i>Riemenzungen</i>	B	C	2a, 2b, 2c, 2d

The one key point to note is the overlap in variant. Typ B, Var. 3 appears in both *Gruppe 2* and *3*.

There is also a Form B, *Typ A*, Var. 6 but Sommer fails to include an example of this or list a date. The heart type examples (Form A) are not differentiated from each other in any way, but the differences in the variants of the amphora type (Form B) are mostly based upon the shape of the head and handles of the strap-end. There are, however, a few exceptions (Tab.6.6).

In general:

- Type A is based on the shape of the head, shape of the handles and position of the handles between the head and body.
- Type B is based on the shape of the head, shape of the handles and position of the handles on the head rather than between the head and body.
- Type C is based on the decoration along the edges of the body. Var. 1 has decoration on the foot of the body whereas Var. 2 has no foot decoration. Var. 1 also has more edge decoration, whereas Var. 2 rarely has edge decoration.

Tab.6.5 Sommer strap end typology descriptions

Typ	Variant	Description
A	1	The body is attached to the head via a hinge.
A	2	Trapezoidal shaped head.
A	3	Dovetailed, curvy design on top of head.
A	4	Handles enclosed with head.
A	5	Narrow strap end with perforated head
A	6	Like Vars. 1-5 but with a split foot rather than with a knob.

B	1	Notches instead of handles.
B	2	Semi-circular, small handles
B	3	Shortened head
B	4	Distinctly trapezoidal head
B	5	As Type A, Var. 6
C	1a	Undecorated/smooth body edges
C	1b	Decoration on the bottom of edges of the body
C	1c	Decoration all over the body edges
C	1d	Zoomorphic decoration on body edges
C	1e	Zoomorphic decoration on body edges, short body (5-5.2cm)
C	2a	Body is pear shaped
C	2b	Body is lancet shaped
C	2c	Body is egg shaped
C	2d	Body is drop shaped
C	2e	Body is egg shaped, but head and body are less defined.

Sommer's (1984) typology is rather confusing as there appears to be little continuity between each type and variant. This makes it challenging when applying the typology to the British examples.

6.4.2: British Typology

The typology above relates to Sommer's (1984) work on belt sets. To better understand the strap-ends' introduction to Britain the examples from Britain need to be placed within the typology. Simpson (1976) also looked at strap-ends in Britain as well as on the Continent and used the same amphora and heart types. Another similar type called 'Lancet' has been mentioned which refers to what looks like an amphora type but without the handles.

Types named 'Tortworth' and 'Proto-Tortworth' have also been identified as insular types in Britain. The Tortworth was named for the site find and the Proto-Tortworth is seen as a previous incarnation of the Tortworth. Eckardt and Crummy (2006) developed the typology for the Tortworth types and named them 'nail-cleaner' types based upon the bifid tip which resembled a nail cleaner. The types were divided by the form of the handles, which they called lugs. There is a real need to develop this typology in more detail. The names of the basic shapes do not consider all the design elements of the strap-ends. A detailed typology looking at each of these elements is needed to understand how the strap-ends changed from the earlier 'Amphora' types to the insular 'Tortworth' types. On first inspection there are clear differences between the neck 'lugs', body length and width, terminal, head shape and decoration. Each of these elements is considered in the new typology. To give an example as to why this is needed, Leahy (2007) compared the distribution of buckle types to strap-ends. He found that there was no correlation between the strap-end types and the buckles. However, this was only done using the basic typology already known which was not sufficiently developed to pick up significant relationships. As I will demonstrate, a more detailed typology will show patterns of association between buckles and strap-ends. It is also important so we can be confident about making distinctions between Continental and insular material, which has significant implications for interpretation of Richborough when we consider the strap-ends found there in particular.

There is no overall typology for strap-ends, continental examples studied by Sommer (1984) and Simpson (1976) follow similar forms with amphora lugs, knoped terminals or wide or heart shaped bodies. Those from Britain studied by Eckardt and Crummy (2006) have crescentic or zoomorphic lugs, plain or bifid terminals and narrow bodies. However, there are many found in Britain and on the Continent, which appear to have a mix of styles seen on both sides of the channel. The work done so far has looked at both extremes but not found the 'missing links to create a uniform typology. A good starting point for the typology seems to be the shape of the body and the shape of the handles/lugs. However, there is often little to distinguish between the size and general shape of the amphora and Proto-Tortworth types. From the dataset where the Proto-Tortworth was identified, it demonstrated a narrower body than the amphora type. This is not always the case, however. Two examples from the PAS (NLM-15B817 and WILT-989C60) are 18.8mm and 18.7mm, respectively. The former, based on the curved lugs, would be identified as an amphora type, whereas the latter, with circular lugs might be identified as a Proto-Tortworth. Even on the Continent there are such examples. Although there is no scale, one example (Sommer 1984: Taf. 19.9) appears much narrower than the others and the body more closely resembles the Tortworth shape. This makes distinguishing between the two difficult. For this chapter, they have been grouped under the amphora type. The division that Sommer (1984) applies to some amphora types which have either a terminal knob/button or a split end seems a good way to distinguish between the two. Therefore, this would keep the 'nail-cleaner' types as a separate category and add the Proto-Tortworth to the amphora types.

A further useful division by Sommer (1984) is the shape of the head. Trapezoidal appears to be the most common, but rectangular also exists. These could also be divided into decorated and undecorated. Finally, is the decoration of the body. Many have engraved or punched decoration, but some are plain. There are also examples with borders on the body, and then those Sommer (1984) identified with projected decorated borders.

Based on these observations I propose to use the following typology (Tab.6.7)

Tab.6.6 Strap end typology used in this study

Part	Description	Type	Identifier	Type	No.
Head Design	Shape	Trapezoidal	A1	1	72
		Rectangular	A2	2	78
		Uncertain	A?	?	137
Total					287
Head Attachment	Form	Rivet	B1	1	15
		Rivet (Split Socket)	B2	2	78
		Loop (Double Perpendicular)	B3.1	3.1	9
		Loop (Single Perpendicular)	B3.2	3.2	18
		Loop (Parallel)	B4	4	4
Total		Uncertain	B?		163
Total					287
Neck (Handles/Lugs)	Shape	Circular	C1	1	24
		Crescentic	C2	2	64

	Curved	C3	3	44	
	No lugs	C4	4	46	
	Other	C5	5	2	
	Zoomorphic	C6	6	12	
	Notches	C7	7	7	
	Uncertain	C?	?	95	
Total				287	
Body	Shape	Amphora 1	D1	A 34	
		Amphora 2	D2	B 32	
		Amphora 3	D3	C 34	
		Heart	D4	D 17	
		Uncertain	D?	?	170
Total				287	
Foot	Shape	Knob/Button	E1	a 48	
		Bi-fid tip	E2	b 66	
		None	E3	c 48	

	Uncertain	E?	?	125
Total	287			
Decoration (Body)	Form	Circle and Dot (Single)	F1	22
		Circle and Dot (Multiple)	F2.1	77
		As F2.1 with other decoration	F2.2	11
		Circle and Dot (Pierced)	F3	2
		Diamond and Dots	F4	4
		Central Vertical Decoration	F5	11
		Zoomorphic	F6.1	15
		Zoomorphic with Other	F6.2	3
		Plain	F7	23
		Chip-Carved	F8	5
		Openwork	F9	4

	Crescents/Scales	F10	2
	Multiple/Other	F11	8
	Uncertain	F?	97
Total	287		
Decoration (Border)			
Form	Dots	G1	32
	Single Line	G2	5
	Notches	G3	12
	Crescentic	G4	9
	Chip Carved	G5	4
	Dots and Crescentic	G6	3
	Waves	G7	4
	None	G8	118
	Uncertain	G?	69
Total	252		
Body Edge			
Form	Undecorated/Smooth	H1	227

	Decorated	H2	5
	Decorated (Zoomorphic)	H3	0
	Uncertain	H?	55
Total			287

Redacted

Fig.6.20 Main strap end parts using an example from Sommer (1984: Taf.19.6)

Each of the parts is named based on body parts (Fig.6.20). Handles or lugs has been used previously but is now a subheading to neck. It is difficult to make comparison with Sommers (1984) types as his typology lacks consistency between each type of variant. The names Amphora and Heart-Shaped were established from Continental examples, but in Britain, the site at Tortworth was used to name specifically insular types, known as Proto-Tortworth and Tortworth.

This typology allows each section of the strap end to be described in isolation and compared, rather than using one part to define the type. It would therefore be possible to track the change in form of each part by date and the evolution of the type. This system also allows for outliers and odd forms to be readily identified. The one part that needs clarification is the difference between the amphora type shapes (1-3).

- Amphora 1 = D2 – Width : Length >1:1.99cm
- Amphora 2 = D3 – Width : Length <1:2 - >1:3.99cm
- Amphora 3 = D4 – Width : Length <1:4cm

This typology then gives each object a code. Since a code made up of all parts would be difficult to use, producing too many individual types, the parts are then grouped.

1. Parts C, D and E
2. Parts A and B
3. Parts F, G and H

Although this seems like a long method to get to a type it fits the purpose of identifying fragmentary examples. From this it can be established if there are any common configurations which will be given types. Tab.6.8 shows the typology used by Sommer and how it relates to the new typology in this thesis. It is difficult to make a comparison of all the details since they do not all overlap well. The comparison here is limited to the main feature identified by Sommer which is the handles; that I am calling the neck.

Tab.6.7 Sommer typology compared to new typology

Sommer Typ	New Typology Code
Form A	Form C3 (Curved)

Form B

Form C1 (Circular)

Form C

Form C6 (Zoomorphic)

Once grouped together these parts produce multiple types. Not all permutations are relevant here.

Parts C, D and E make up the main typology. Part C is split into 7 forms based on the shape of the neck lugs (1-7) (Fig.6.21).

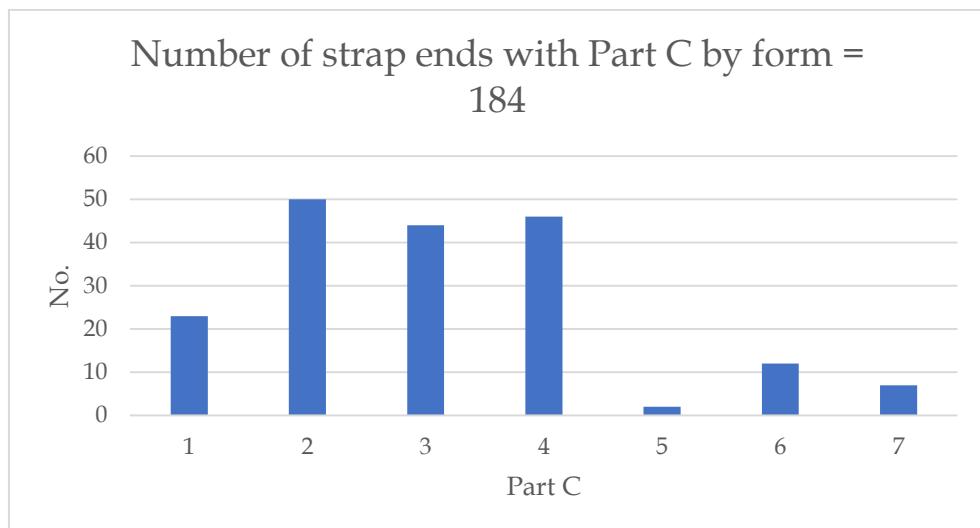


Fig.6.21 Number of strap-ends with Part C (neck) by form



- 1. SF-4301E1 = Form 1
- 2. ESS-1E8211 = Form 2
- 3. HAMP-8DBEBC = Form 3
- 4. WILT-8E5E63 = Form 4
- 5. SOM-768A6B = Form 6
- 6. BH-DA9773 = Form 7

Fig.6.22 Examples of Part C Forms excluding Form 5 (Others)

In this study the main forms are clearly Circular (2), Curved (3) and None (4) (Fig.6.22-23).

Part D (Fig.6.22) is the width : length ratio of the body. This is measured from where the body joins the neck to the very tip of the foot. Before grouping these based on the ratios, each from within Part C is compared to the width and length. The following analysis of Part D only includes those previously known as amphora and Tortworth/'nail-cleaner' types as the heart shapes do not fall into this grouping.

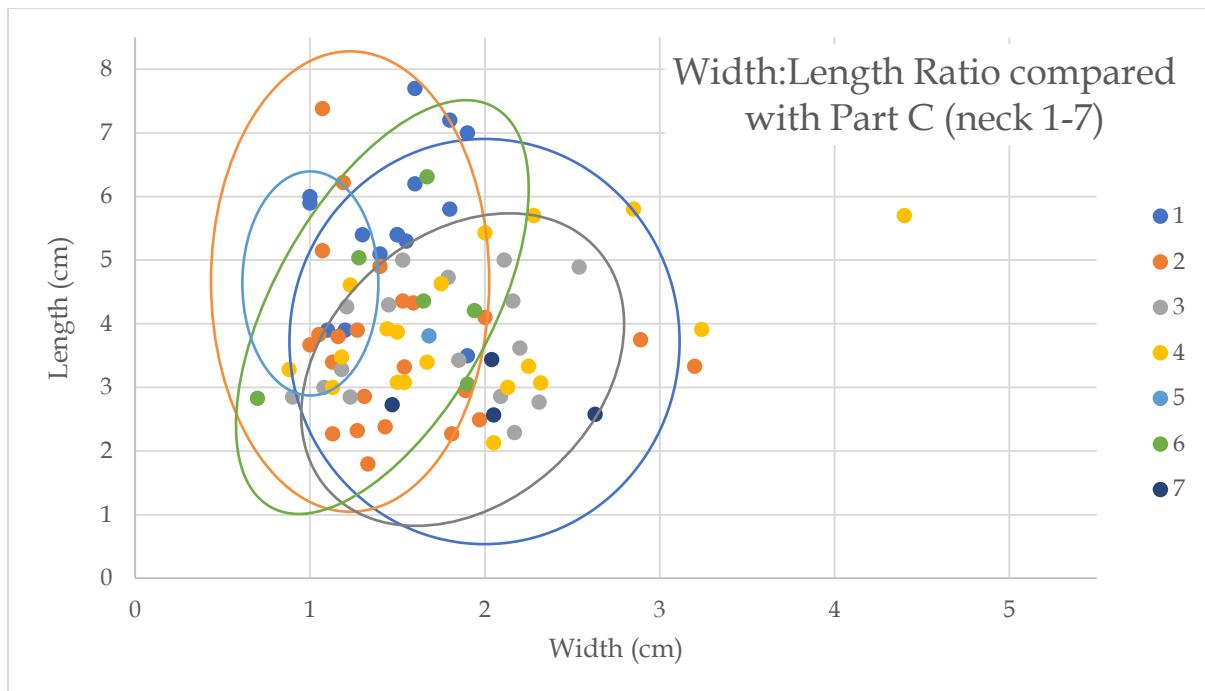


Fig.6.23 Width to length ratio of the body (Part D) compared with the neck (Part C)

This shows some clear groupings but also some overlap (Fig.6.23). Forms 1 (Circular) and 3 (Curved) are similar, with a lower width : length ratio, whilst forms 2 (Crescentic), 6 (Zoomorphic) and 7 (Notches) also bear some similarity, generally with a higher width : length ratio.

The ratios have been split into three forms (Fig.6.24-25)

1. $<1:1.99$
2. $>1:2 <1:2.99$
3. $>1:3$



Fig.6.24 Examples showing the two extremes of body shape (Part D) both from the PAS. Left <1:1.99 (NMS-8F7F65) and right <1:3 (SOM-AF4DD6)

Since there are many different elements to the form and decoration the best way to understand how they relate to each other is through a multivariate analysis using a PCA plot. Multivariate analysis uses a PCA plot to show groups of examples where there is similarity between the various components. This is useful where there are three or more variables as these cannot easily be displayed two-dimensionally without a PCA plot.

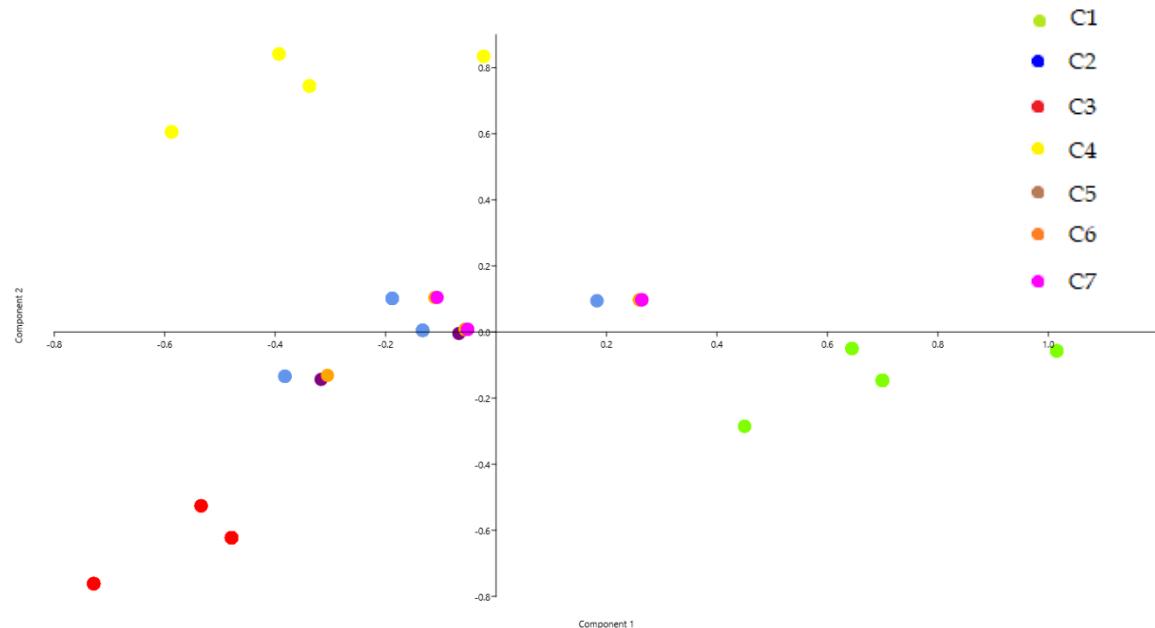


Fig.6.25 Part C (Neck) compared with Part D (body)

When Parts C and D are compared through PCA the patterns are confirmed. There is clear clustering of the different neck types (Part C) with particular body shapes (Part D). The difference between the

crescentic insular (red) and curved continental (green) types is clear. Those with no neck (yellow) which are found both in Britain and on the continent perhaps lean towards having an even number of each body type. The remaining groups have few examples but are types which are either insular or found both sides of the channel, particularly the circular insular/continental (blue) type, fall somewhere in the middle, but tend to be more like the insular body types. This could perhaps suggest a manufacture in Britain.

Moving on to Part E there are also three forms (Fig.6.26)



Fig.6.26 Examples of Part E forms A (left) (BH-2C5CF6Y), B (middle) (DEV-7DSD6A) and C (right) (SF-123771)

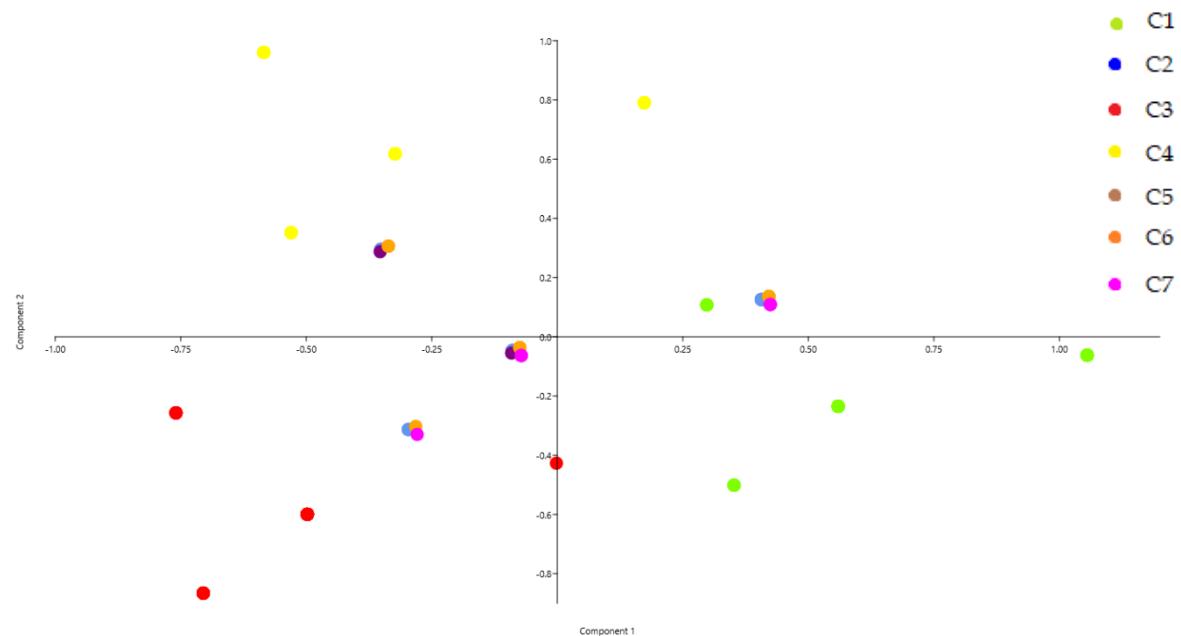


Fig.6.27 Part C (neck) compared with Part E (foot)

Comparing Part E with Part C (Fig.6.27) shows a similar pattern as with Part D. The curved neck style is particularly characteristic of the Continent, while crescentic and zoomorphic are specifically insular. Continental and insular styles primarily use different types of foot and there is a mix when it comes to the other mixed/insular styles of neck type.

Parts D and E can also be compared (Fig.6.28)

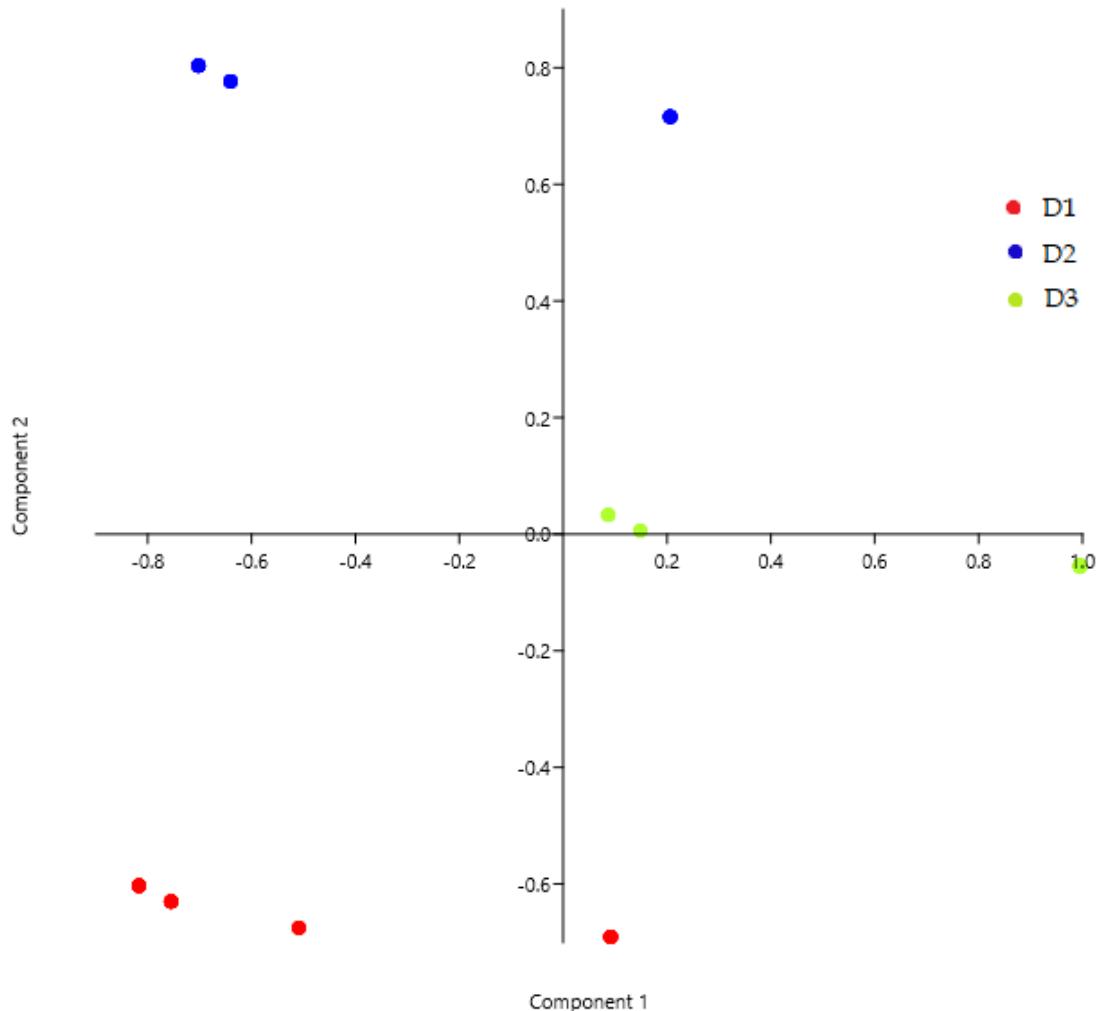


Fig.6.28 Part D (body) compared with Part E (foot)

There is a clear pattern with Parts D and E. The stouter bodies (D1 – Type A) correlate with a knobbed foot (E1 – Type a) whereas the long, narrow bodies (D3 – Type C) correlate with a bifid foot (E2 – Type b). There is some overlap as the measurement of bodies is only divided into three groups, however, this still provides a clear picture that those continental stouter bodies with a knobbed foot are quite different to the insular narrow bodies with a bifid foot.

Putting this all together the following patterns are revealed from 74 examples with Parts C, D and E (Fig.6.29)

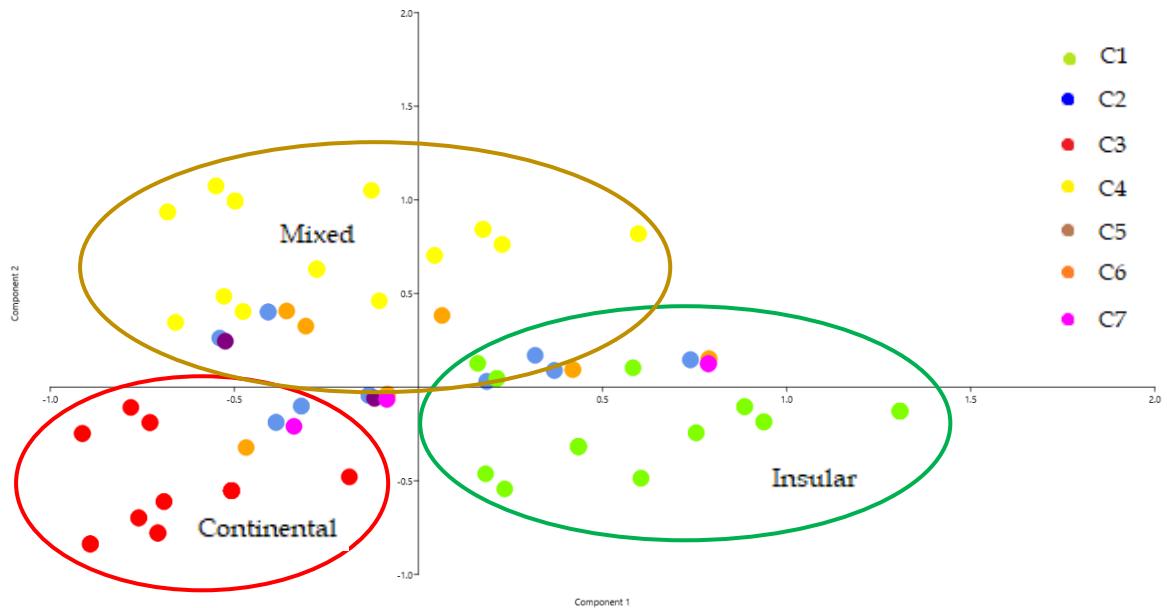


Fig.6.29 Strap end types made up of Part C (neck), Part D (body) and Part E (foot) and three general groups demonstrating the origin of the forms.

Unsurprisingly, when all three Parts C, D and E are compared the same pattern emerges. There is now a clear distinction to be made between those strap ends which have insular, continental, or mixed features. There are three big takeaways. Firstly, Form 2 (Circular) tends towards a long, narrow body (C) with a bifid tip (b). Secondly, Form 3 (Curved) tends towards a stouter body (A) with a knobbed (a) or no (c) foot. Lastly, most examples have more similarities with insular than continental forms. This would suggest more British manufacture in the corpus than continental imports. Zoomorphic forms (6) follow a similar pattern to the Crescentic form and those Form 4 (None) are quite varied but lean ever so slightly toward a long, narrow body (C) but with a range of feet.

Taking all these elements into account provides a better picture of the strap-ends overall. Before this the Amphora, Proto-Tortworth and Tortworth/'nail-cleaner' types were not very clearly defined or related to one another. The new typology shows that those with curved 'amphora' handles tended to be stouter and have a knobbed foot, and those with crescentic or zoomorphic lugs on the neck were narrower with bifid tips, which fall into the Tortworth/'nail-cleaner' group. The Proto-Tortworth falls somewhere in between. Like the Tortworth/'nail-cleaner' type they have narrow bodies, with circular

or crescentic lugs but no bifid foot. This could be a development between the earlier 'amphora' types and the latter 'nail-cleaner'. In terms of the neck development, Eckardt and Crummy (2006: 86) suggested that the circular forms could have developed into the zoomorphic and crescentic forms. This is an interesting observation as the above analysis places curved neck lugs and zoomorphic/crescentic neck lugs at either end of the spectrum, with, circular neck lugs falling somewhere in between. They are more varied in body shape, tending towards the stout - mid-range (A-B) and having a more varied range of feet. Looking at examples from Sommer (1984: Taf.20) it is clear that circular neck lugs appear on Continental forms. This is also the case for those with no neck lugs (Form 4) which are equally varied in body width but less so in foot form; with no foot (c) making up the majority.

Eckardt and Crummy (2006: 86) also suggest that the circular lugs could represent the eyes of an animal and that the zoomorphic neck lugs represent a more sophisticated development of the circular neck lugs. To this I will add a new interpretation of the 'amphora' handles. Whilst it is obvious from the shape of the overall strap-end the 'amphora' label was applied; these 'handles' could be representative of something else. The curved shape is reminiscent of the curved shape of some contemporaneous saddle shaped belt buckles, particularly Sommers Sorte 1 Form A (e.g., Sommer 1984: Taf.3.1-6). These shapes were then developed into the animal head belt buckles of Sommers Sorte 1 Form C-D (e.g., Sommer 1984: Taf.4.1-6). The general saddle shape of these buckles with or without animal heads is clearly like the curved neck lugs and might also indicate that these were made as sets, much like the late 4th – early 5th century 'chip-carved' belt sets. There might be a correlation between shape of the buckle and the neck shape of the strap end as the curve on saddle/kidney shaped buckles are found with curved neck lugs (Sommer 1984: Taf.28.1-2). This also true of saddle shaped buckles and heart shaped strap-ends, where the curve of the heart shape is like the buckle shape (Sommer 1984: Taf.33.8-9) However, this would need a wider study of grave finds.

From here we move onto the other parts of the typology to see if there are any further distinctions to be made. This time it is the shape of the head (A) and the attachment to the leather strap (B) (Fig.6.30-31)



Fig.6.30 Examples of Part A, Form 1 (left) (LANCUM-314E24) and Form 2 (right) (BUC-1EC8A0)

B1. Riveted

B2. Riveted split socket

B3.1. Double perpendicular loops

B3.2. Single perpendicular loop

B4. Single long, thin parallel loop the width of the head

Perpendicular or parallel refers to the direction of the loop in relation to the flat face of the body. On form B3.1 these two loops are at either end of the head and are attached to another sheet of metal by an axle which is then riveted to the strap. On form B3.2 it is a single central loop which is attached to a "hinged bar passing through the suspension loop", to the folded end of the leather belt (Eckardt and Crummy 2006: 89).



1. LEIC-439ECF = Form B1

4. BH-DA3846 = Form B3.2

2. BH-CA23A5 = Form B2

5. KENT-65D2C4 = Form B4

In general, trapezoidal heads (A1) are more likely to be associated with riveted attachments (B1-2) whereas rectangular heads (A2) are found more often with looped attachments (B3.1-2) (Fig.6.32).

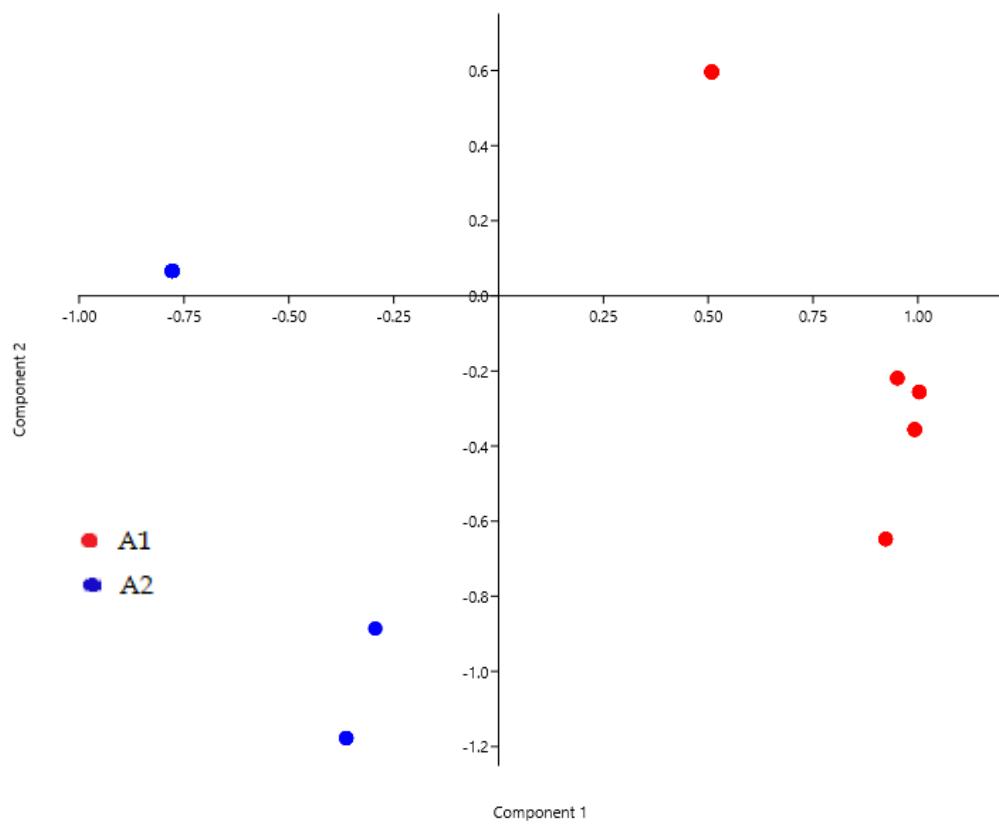


Fig.6.32 Examples of Part A (Head form) compared with Part B (Attachment form).

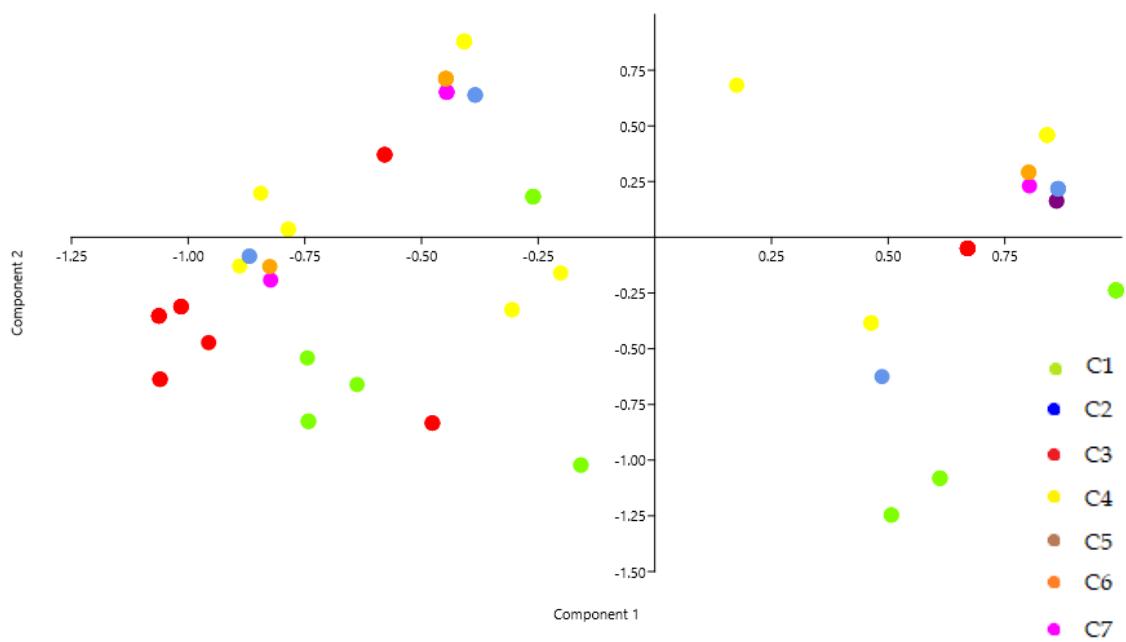


Fig.6.33 Part C (neck) compared with Parts A (head) and B (head attachment)

Comparing Part C with A and B (Fig.6.33) shows that there is little correlation between the neck lugs (Part C) and the head attachment (Parts A and B).

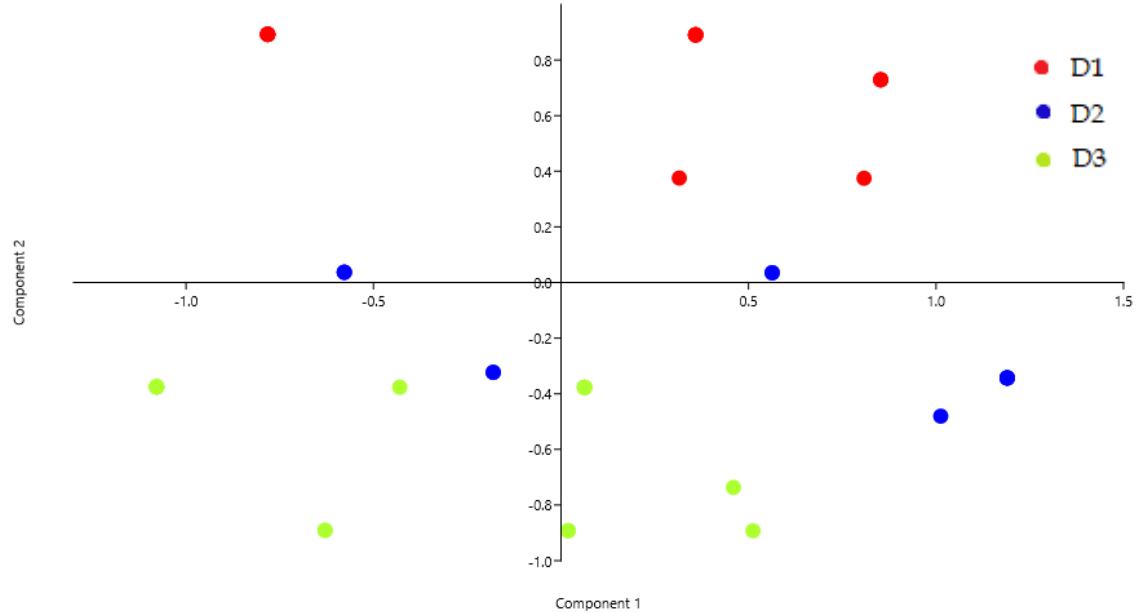


Fig.6.34 Part D (body) compared with Parts A (head) and B (head attachment)

Comparing with the width : length ratios (Fig.6.34), again there is little to tell in terms of head shape which is unsurprising as there is also little difference between neck type and head attachment.

Perhaps it could be said A2 tends to be a more common type of attachment than A1, but this could be survival bias.

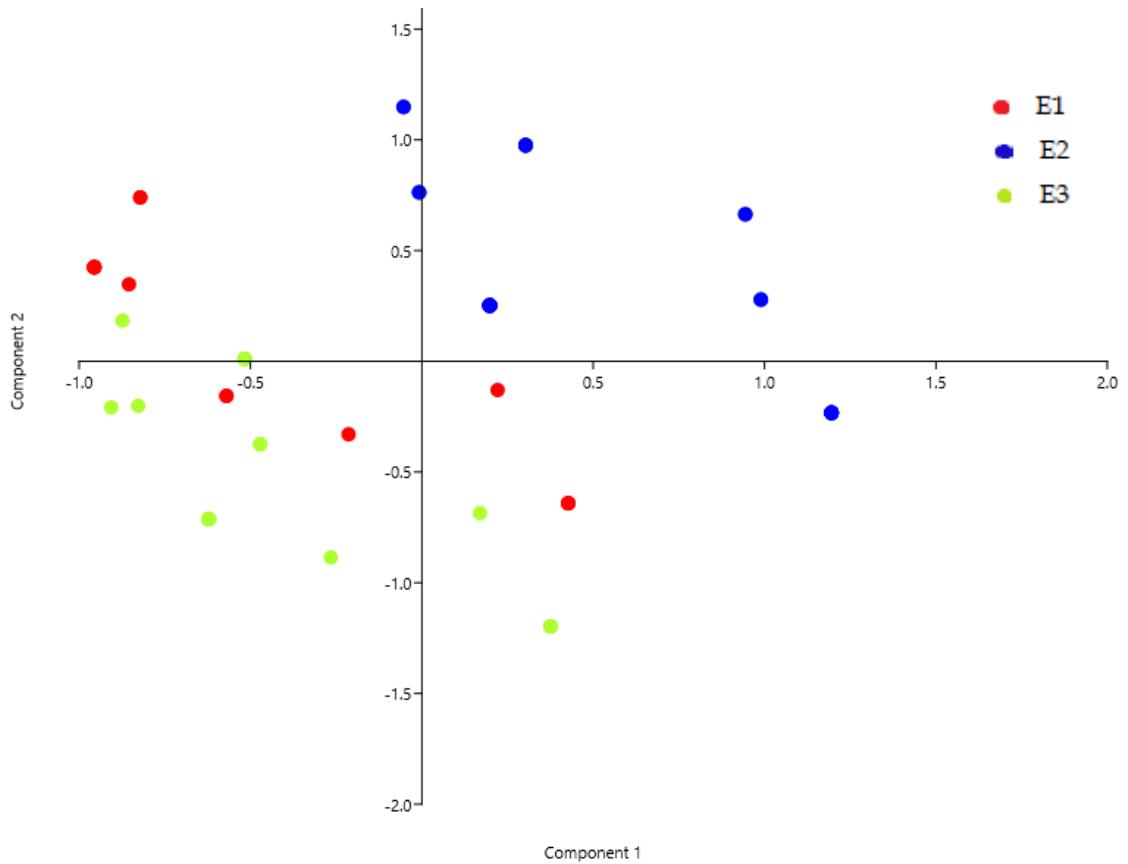


Fig.6.35 Part E (foot) compared with Parts A (head) and B (head attachment)

There is some correlation between the head attachment (A and B) and the foot type (E) (Fig.6.35). The knobbed foot (E1 – Part a) and no foot (E3 – Part c) are close and share many of the same head attachment types. The bifid foot (E2 – Part b) has mostly different head attachments.

Overall, it can be observed that the shape of the head does not say much about the rest of the form. It might be that clear trapezoidal heads developed on the Continent, but the shape of the head on the British examples might be a quirk of the individual nature of the objects. The attachment type is clearer. There is a preference for a riveted split socket (B2) which is the primary attachment across all neck, body, and foot types. However, when comparing the perpendicular loops (B3.1-2) there is a clear distinction that the Form 3 neck (Curved) with a stout body (A) utilises the double loop (B3.1) that was attached to a secondary piece of metal. The single loop (B3.1) is primarily used on with the Form 2 neck (Crescentic) with a narrow body (C), and possibly more often with a bifid foot (c). Again,

this points towards the difference between Continental and insular development. The use of the single loop only appears in Britain as does the crescentic neck and bifid foot as demonstrated by Eckardt and Crummy (2006). There are of course, as always, outliers. One of the most interesting is SF-E271D7 from the PAS. This example has multiple neck forms. It has both a Form 3 (Curved) and Form 1 neck (Circular) demonstrating the contemporaneous nature of these two forms. More interestingly it has a bifid foot which does not appear with a curved neck or stout body such as this.

The final part of the typology is decoration (Fig.6.36-37). This is split between the main body decoration and the border to the body.



Fig.6.36. Examples of Part F (body decoration) from the PAS. From left to right (top row) Form 1 (NMS-7A80E6), 2.1 (HAMP3502), 2.2 (SF-F1873C) (bottom row) 3 (BH-C589D3), 4 (WILT-DA5A7A), 5 (SF-647D22)



Fig.6.37 Examples of Part F (body decoration) from the PAS. From left to right (top row) Form 6.1 (DOR-DF5E7A), 6.2 (SOM-C96F43), 7 (LIN-70FC34) (bottom row) 8 (HAMP-BC8383), 9 (NARC-3E58C7), 10 (BERK-E05B35), 11 (HAMP-5F68B3)

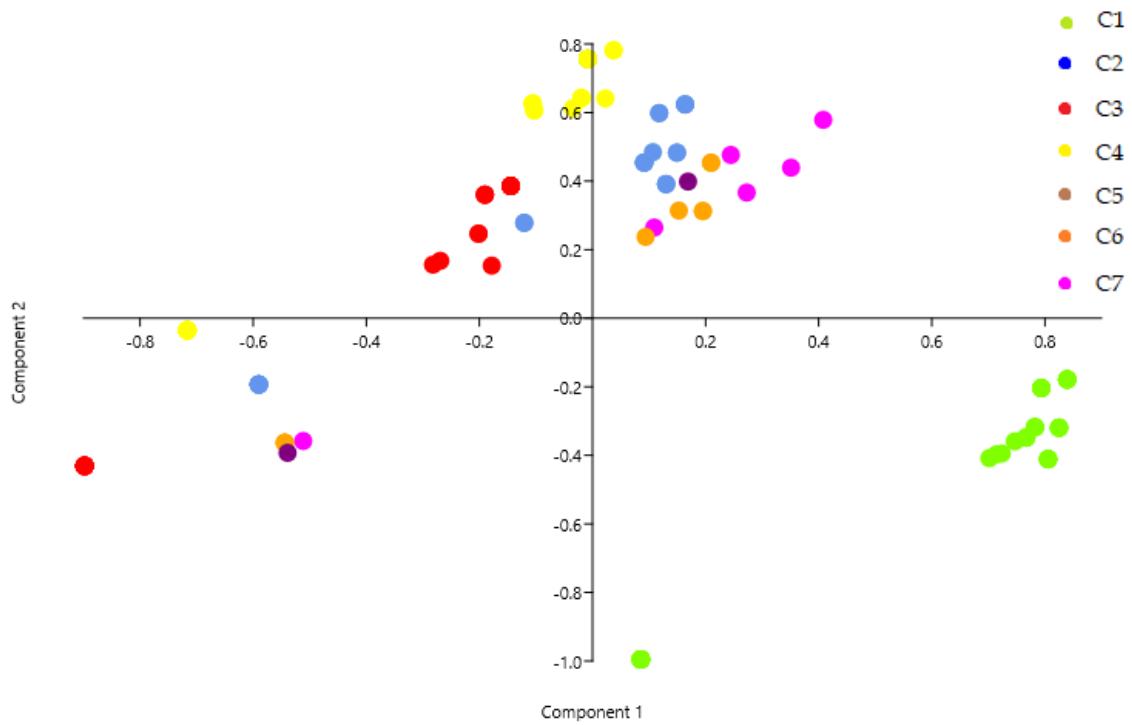


Fig.6.38 Part C (neck) compared with Part F (body decoration)

There is a clear grouping when it comes to the insular crescentic neck (C2 – Form 2) which have distinct types of decoration compared with others. There is more similarity in the other insular and mixed types (C1, 5, 6, 7) to the continental type (C3) (Fig.6.38)

It is clear by this point that there is a difference between the form of the neck lugs, body dimensions and foot depending on the origin of the style; either Continental, some overlap or insular. This continues with multiple circle and dot decoration (1 and 2.1) which appears on Continental Form 3 and overlapping Forms 1 and 4. Although this is the case for single or multiple circle and dot, it is not the same for dots with a diamond (2.2) which is seen mostly on Form 2; so possibly an insular development. Another insular development is zoomorphic decoration (6.1 and 6.2) on Form 2 as well as other/multiple decoration (11). Interestingly this only extends to Form 2, as the zoomorphic Form 6 has mostly decoration type 2.1. This would tie into the development of the forms suggested earlier where Form 3 from the Continent brings circle and dot decoration. The overlapping forms 1 and 4

continue with this decoration type but also begin to vary with new decorations. The insular Form 6 develops the circle and dot to include a diamond element (2.2) and the final Form 2 neck lugs use a wide variety of decoration, using decorative motifs from Continental and insular neck forms (2.1 and 2.2) but also sees the development of zoomorphic decoration (6.1 and 6.2). These zoomorphic designs have been interpreted as Christian as they include peacocks and fish (Eckardt and Crummy 2006: 96).

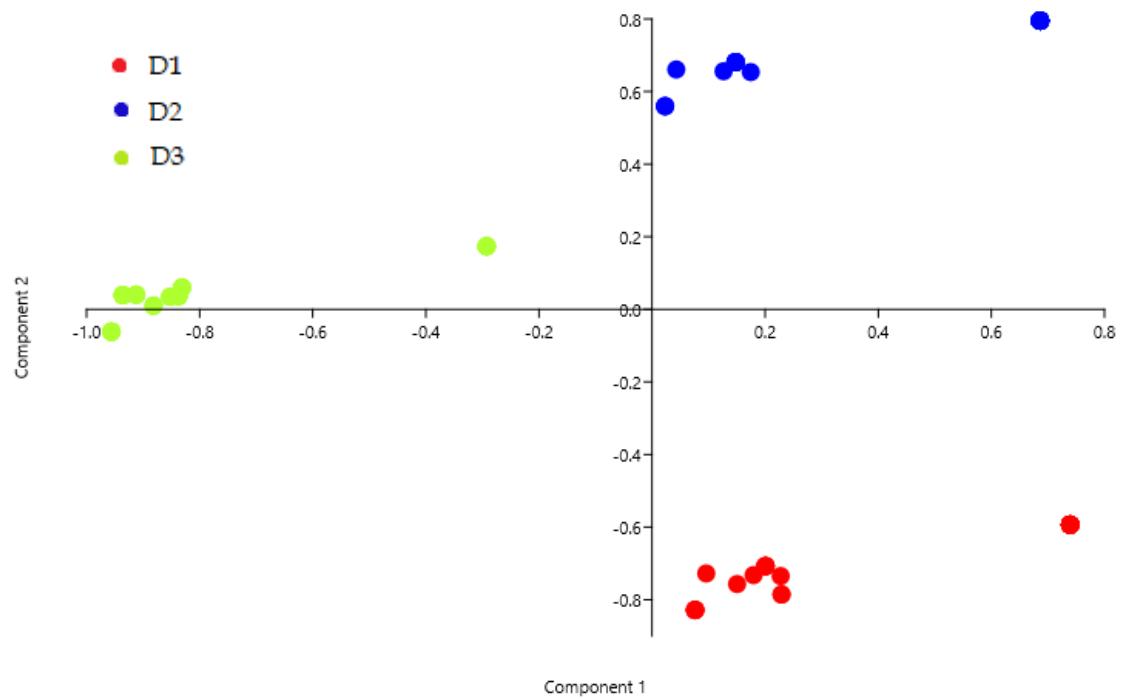


Fig.6.39 Part D (body) compared with Part F (body decoration)

Looking at decoration in comparison with the body dimensions (Fig.6.39) again we can see a distinction between Continental and insular forms. Multiple circle and dot (F2.1) dominate the stouter Continental and middle examples whereas zoomorphic and other/multiple designs are primarily on narrow British examples. However, more examples of the latter are needed.

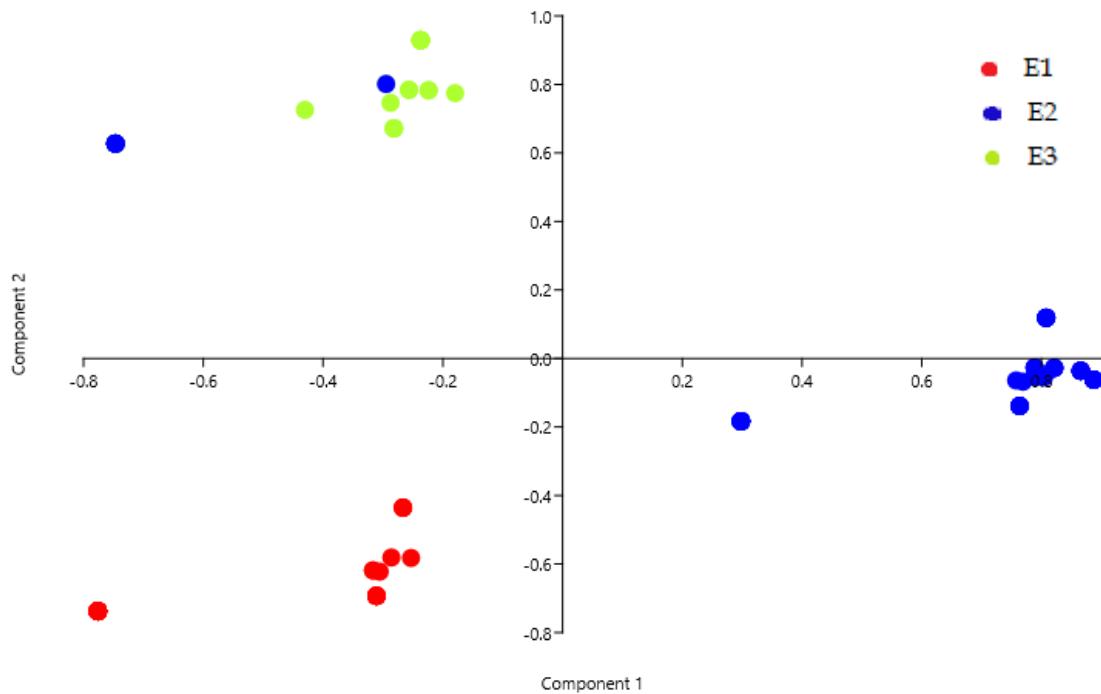


Fig.6.40 Part E (foot) compared with Part F (body decoration)

Once again it is quite clear that the insular type with a bifid foot (E2) is quite different to the others (E1 and E3) which originated on the continent. E1 and E3 have a strong correlation with the F2.1 circle and dot decoration which is of continental origin. In comparison with foot type (Fig.6.40) there is also a similar pattern. Decoration forms with a knobbed foot, which is a Continental development, are less varied in Britain. Those with a bifid foot or no foot have a wider range of decorative types. Key to the argument between Continental and insular developments is the single circle and dot (1), multiple circle and dot (2.1) and zoomorphic decoration (6.1-2). The single circle and dot appear primarily with a Continental knobbed foot whereas zoomorphic decoration appears primarily with a bifid foot. Multiple circle and dot (2.1) further emphasise the transfer of designs from the Continent with fairly even numbers between foot types. Circle and dot with diamonds (2.2) also shows an insular development with few associated with a knobbed foot. It is also clear that other/multiple decorations follow the insular pattern.

Border decoration is the next part for analysis (Fig.6.41).



Fig.6.41 Examples of Part G (border decoration) from the PAS. From left to right (top row) 1 (BUC-7279C0), 2 (BH-2051D4), (middle row) 3 (LANCUM-5E7CAE), 4 (NARC-101C32), (bottom row) 5 (LVPL-91B063), 6 (WILT-038C65), 7 (NLM4254)

Firstly, how many have border decoration (Fig.6.42). Of 184 examples which are clear, 73 have decoration on the border and 118 do not. The border decoration is separated into eight forms (G1-8). A dotted border (G1) is by far the most commonly found with all others fairly even, apart from G3 (Notches) and G4 (Crescentic) (Fig.6.43)

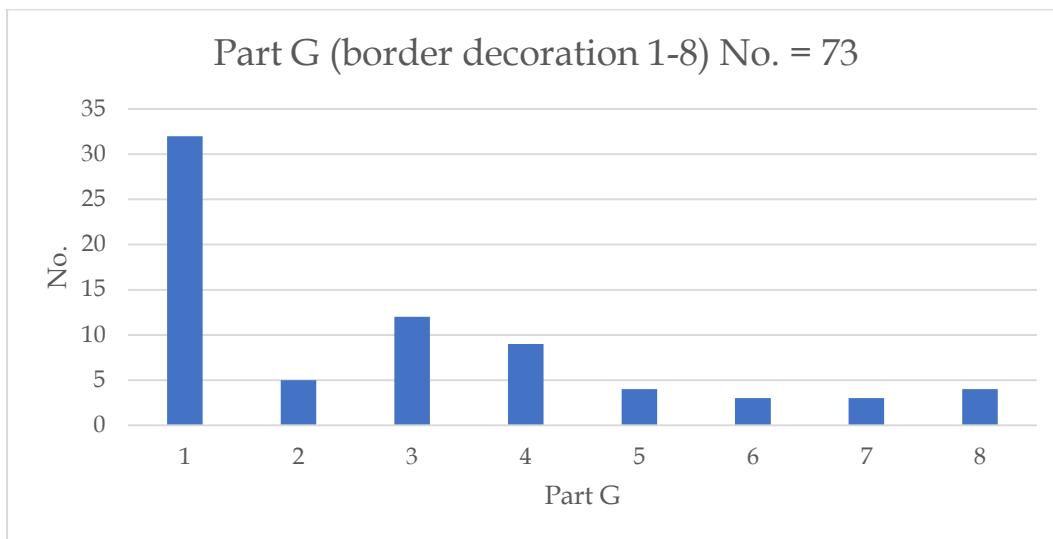


Fig.6.42 Part G (border decoration)

When compared with the neck lugs there are some patterns (Fig.6.43-44). Fig.6.43 shows that more continental forms of neck (3 and 4) are less likely to have border decoration. Borders might be an insular development.

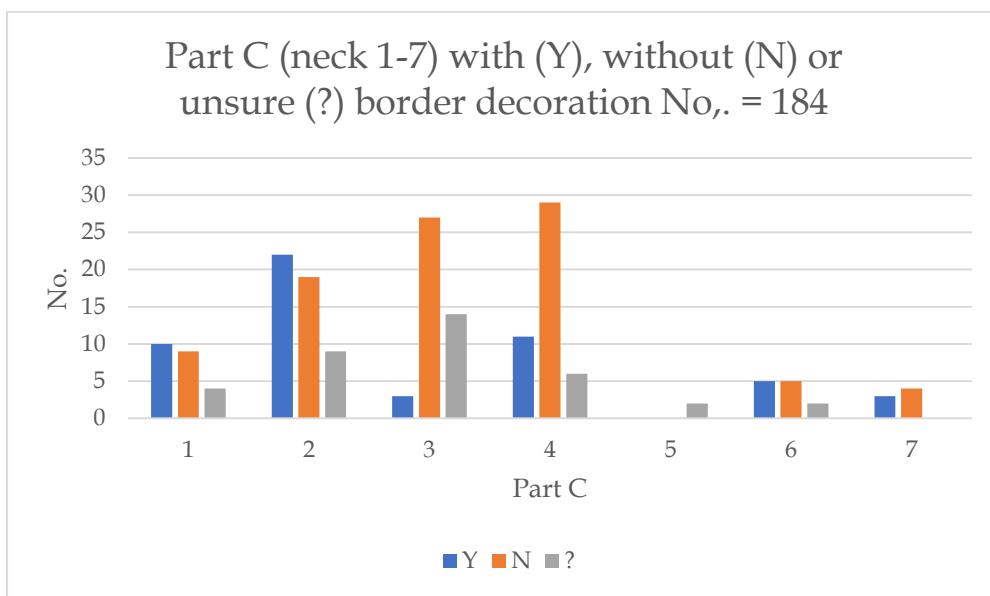


Fig.6.43 Part C (neck) with (Y), without (N) or unsure (?) border decoration

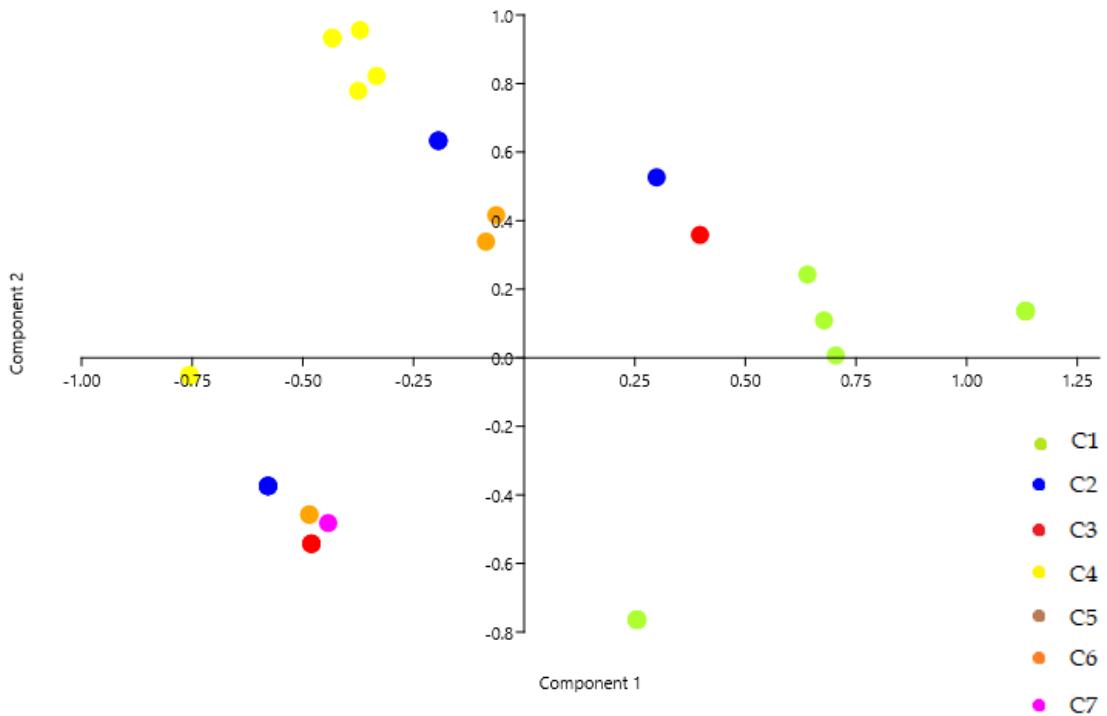


Fig.6.44 Part C (neck) compared with Part G (border decoration)

There is once again a clear difference between the continental and insular styles, particularly the curved neck type (C3) (Fig.6.44). The no neck type (C4), although originating on the Continent, again bears more similarity to the insular types, suggesting more of these examples were made in Britain.

The insular Form 2 is more likely to have decoration than any other type (Fig.6.44). These are closely followed by forms 1 and 4 which have an overlap between the Continent and Britain. It is interesting that the decoration most commonly found on Form 4 lugs is Form G1 (Dots) and G4 (Crescentic) borders. Dotted decoration is a common motif in Britain and crescent shaped and decoration is found on both the body and neck.

Those with curved neck lugs (3) and no lugs (4) are more likely than not to have no decoration, which might demonstrate that border decoration is not a Continental addition, but an insular one to Britain as neck Form 1 and 2 which are British are more likely to have decoration. Form 4 which overlaps the

Continent and Britain as a feature falls somewhere in between demonstrating that as this form was adopted in Britain decoration was added.

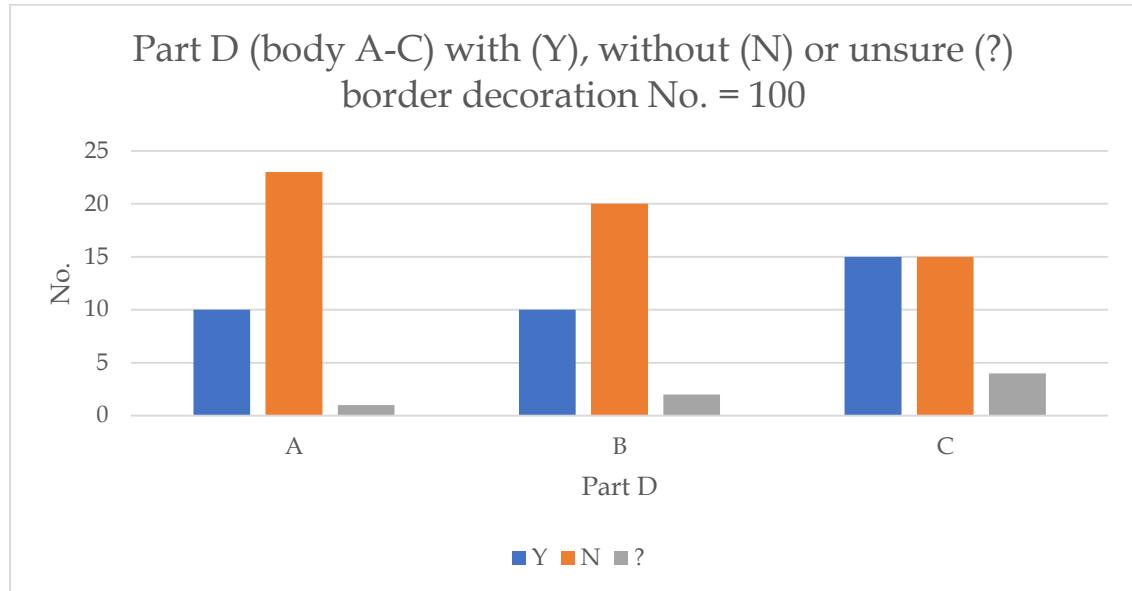


Fig.6.45 Part D (body) with (Y), without (N) or unsure (?) border decoration

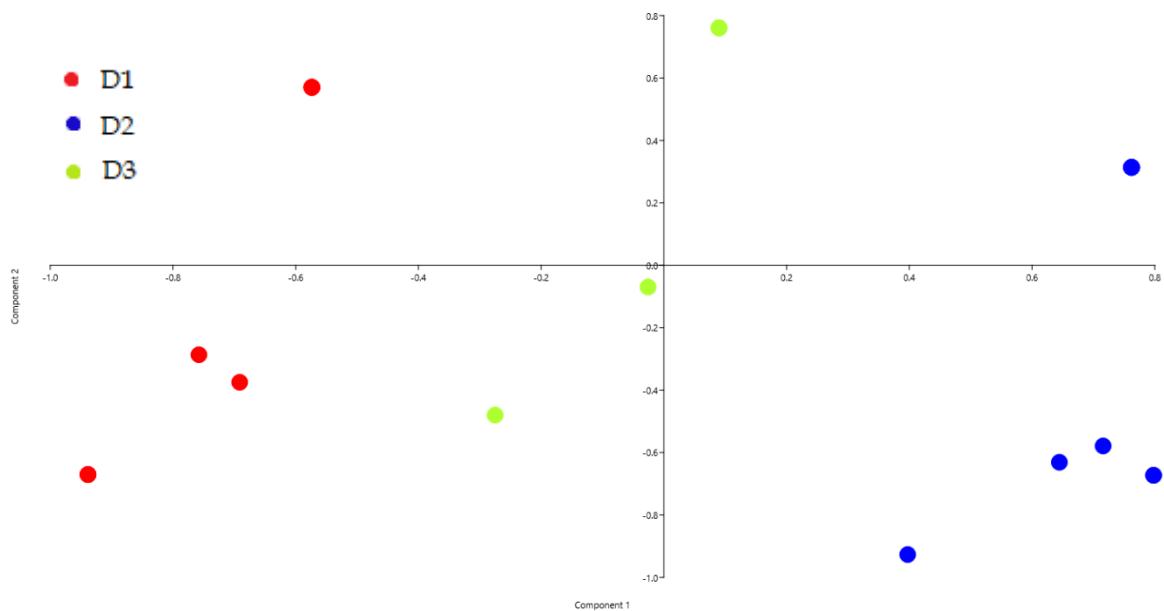


Fig.6.46 Part D (body) compared with Part G (border decoration)

There are some similarities between the body size (D) and border decoration type (G) (Fig.6.45). In comparison of border decoration to the body width : length ratio (Fig.6.45-46), there is a slight propensity for the narrower form to have border decoration compared to the stout form. This is also a reflection of the Form 2 lugs (Crescentic) which tend to be narrower, and the Form 3 lugs (Curved) which tend to be stout, once again demonstrating a difference between Continental and insular developments.

In terms of specific border designs, there is a slight lean towards narrower forms to have Crescentic (4) border decoration and stout forms to have simple notches (3); but the numbers are small.

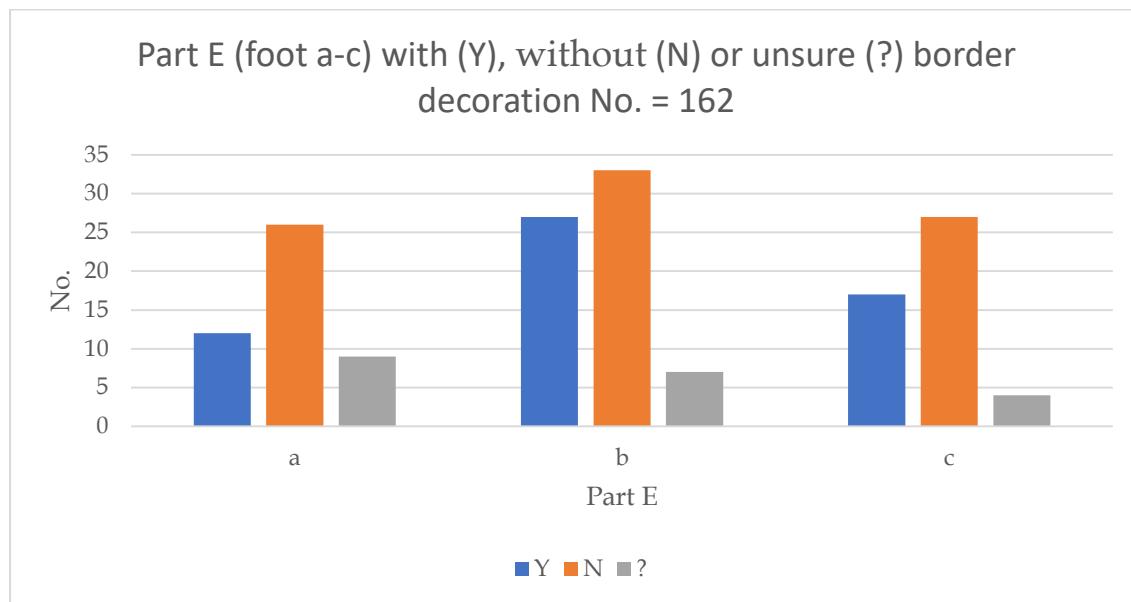


Fig.6.47 Part E (foot) with (Y), without (N) or unsure (?) border decoration

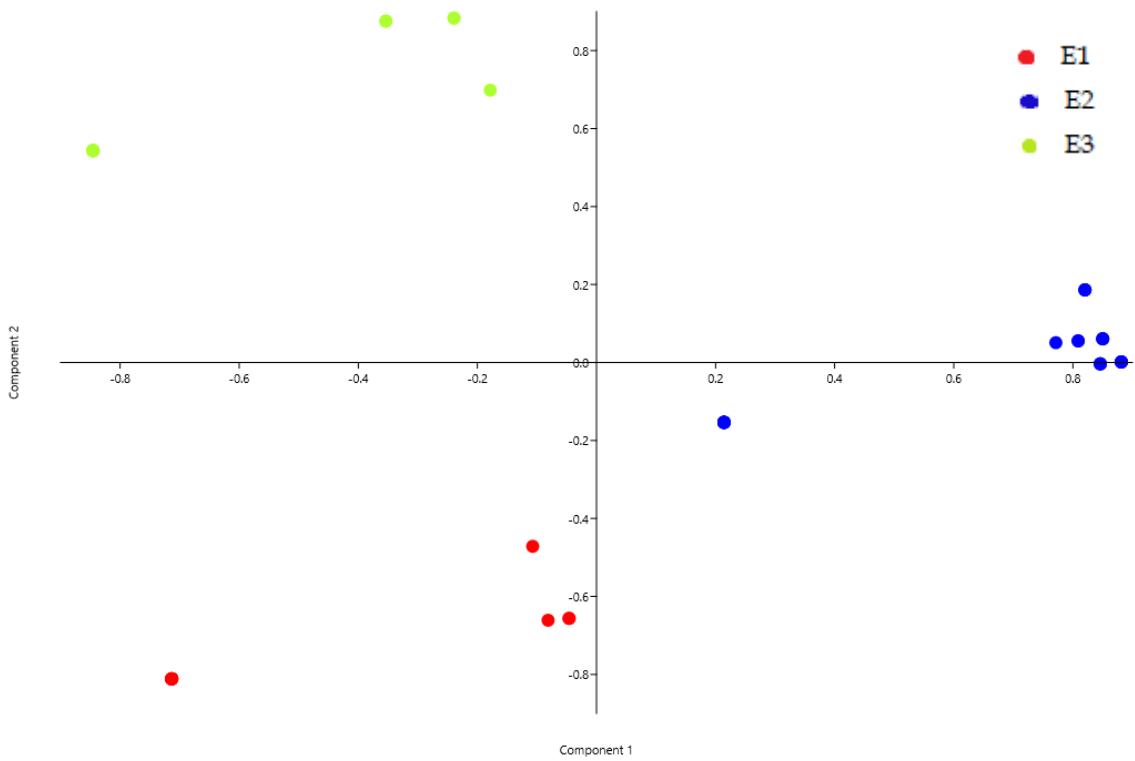


Fig.6.48 Part E (foot) compared with Part G (border decoration)

Additionally, when compared to the foot form (Fig.6.47-48) we see significantly more with border decoration on those with the bifid foot compared to the knobbed foot, once again reflecting Continental vs insular developments.

The border decoration on those with a bifid foot tends to be more varied than those with a knobbed foot, suggesting a wider pattern of border decoration on insular types than Continental. Border decoration is most varied on those with no foot which is a form that is found both in Britain and on the Continent.

It is difficult to compare border decoration with head form as there is little distinction from other analyses. When comparing with the main decoration there are Continental vs insular patterns once again (Fig.6.49-50)

Part F (body decoration 1-11) with (Y), without (N) or unsure (?) border decoration No. = 190

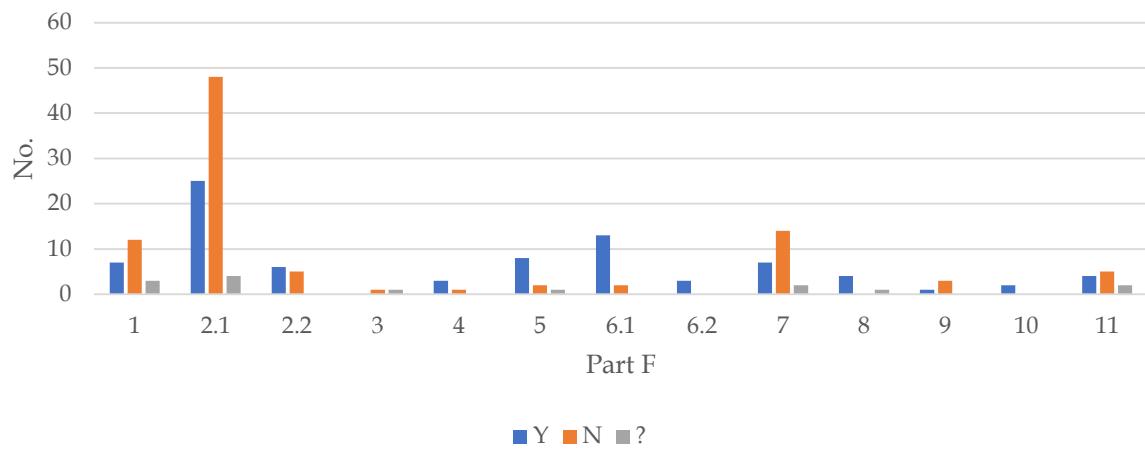


Fig.6.49 Part F (body decoration) with (Y), without (N) or unsure (?) border decoration

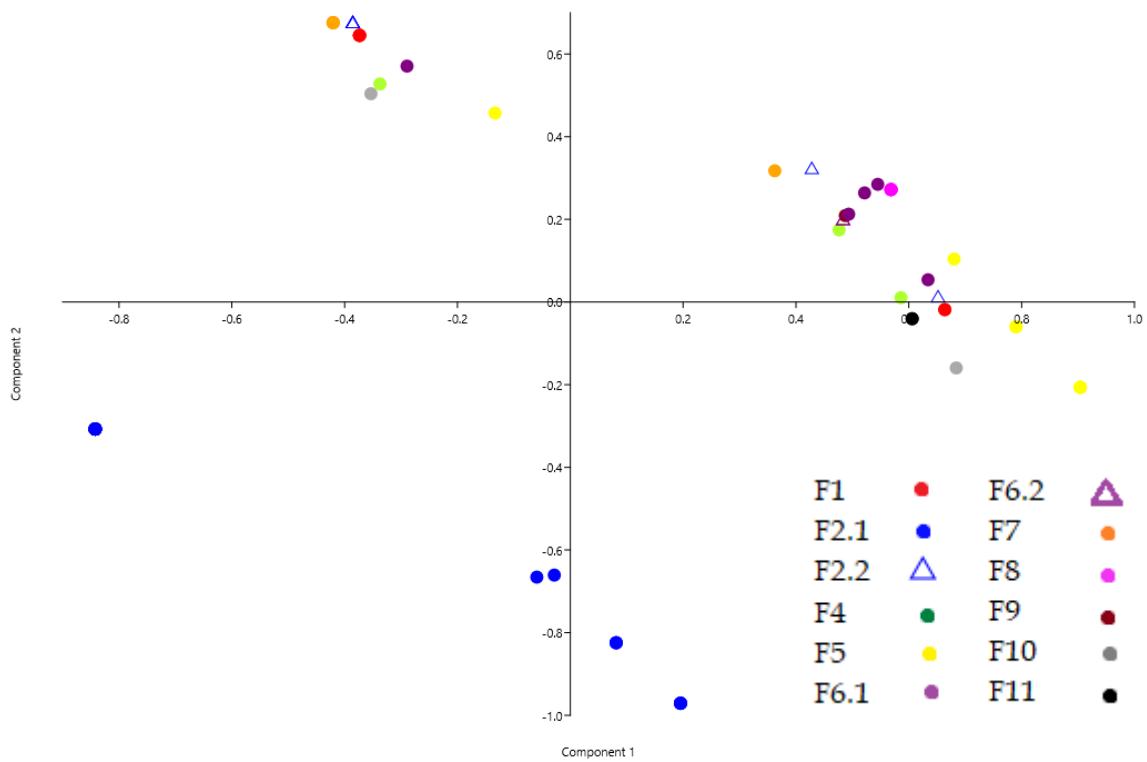


Fig.6.50 Part F (body decoration) compared with Part G (border decoration)

Dotted decoration (2.1) appears primarily without a border as do those with no main decoration, pointing to its Continental origin. When we get to the more elaborate, unusual, or zoomorphic decoration which tend to appear on those with insular features, such as crescentic lugs or a narrow body, there is a clear tendency towards the use of a border.

In terms of specific main body decoration, those with a dotted border (G1) and dotted decoration (F1-2.2) tend to go hand in hand. A dotted border also tends towards a notched (G3) and crescentic (G4) border. Apart from these, there appears to be little rhyme or reason to the combinations of main and border decoration. However, there is one interesting feature that is not revealed in this analysis. The main decoration on those with a single central line tends to match with the border decoration. In each case the decoration form is different, however, the two patterns match between the main part of the strap-end and the border.

It is once again clear that there is a Continental vs insular development in terms of border decoration. Borders do not appear to be a main feature on strap end styles which originated on the Continent, whereas insular forms tend to have a border.

In addition to this is the edge itself (Part H). This is simple where the edge is plain and smooth or has some additional decoration. In most of the examples from Britain there is no edge decoration. Edge decoration only appears on five examples and these are all the 'chip carved' forms. On the Continent this is more common and Sommer (1984: Taf. 20 9-13) shows examples where the edge is extended with decoration, sometimes with zoomorphic imagery. The lateness of this form explains their near absence from Britain as by the early 5th century new forms were not entering the island.

The typology proposed here comes in several parts.

1. Main type: made up of a three-part code based upon the neck lugs, body dimensions and foot form.
2. Head type: based upon the head shape and attachment type.
3. Decoration: based upon the main and border decoration.

4. Edge: based upon the addition of decorative forms to the edge.

These objects are multi-faceted and therefore difficult to place into types based upon one single feature. The main three-part code takes what I consider to be the main features of the strap end and can tell us the most about the object. The head form and decoration can then be related to the main type to see how it fits into the Continental vs insular origin.

6.4.3: *Chronology*

The chronology of these objects is largely based on Sommer (1984) who dates all strap-ends to the very late 3rd – 5th centuries as follows.

- Gruppe 1
 - Danube – AD 290 – 400
 - Rhineland/Northern Gaul – AD 310 – c.350s/60s
- Gruppe 2
 - Danube – AD 380 – early 5th century
 - Rhineland/Northern Gaul – c.AD 364/70 – c.AD 408
- Gruppe 3
 - All regions – c.AD 407 – mid-5th century

A wider study is needed into the new typology from site finds in Britain and on the Continent to properly establish the chronology, but currently there are not enough examples from securely dated contexts in Britain to make this possible. In Britain the late Roman strap-end forms classified by Sommer appear to date from c.AD 350. Clarke (1979) dated the objects in the Lankhills cemetery to post-AD 350 from grave associations. Keller (1971) dated the heart shaped examples from Lankhills to c.AD 340-70 and the Amphora ones to c.AD 350-90, again based on dated grave contexts. There is clearly some overlap in the dating and given the earlier production of both shapes on the Continent it

would be surprising to find them arriving in Britain much later in the 4th century. It would therefore seem that these objects were introduced to Britain in around the 2nd quarter of the 4th century at the earliest and that the insular ‘nail-cleaner’ type developed from this in the mid-late 4th century. Eckardt and Crummy (2006: 90, Tab.1) date the insular nail-cleaner strap-ends to the late 4th century, mostly to AD 370+; although there are a couple which could predate these. The more precise dating comes from burials, so a use date of c.20-30 years prior to burial is possible. In general, these strap-ends can be dated to the second half of the 4th century. The most recent Lankhills cemetery report also dated the strap-ends to the mid-late 4th century (Booth, Simmonds et al. 2010: 557, Tab.8.3 see graves 745, 1075, 1846 for dated graves c.AD350+). Further to this, strap ends have also come from contexts dated to c.AD350 – early 5th century. At the bypass site at Catterick, the context for a strap end suggests a date at the end of the 4th century (Lentowicz 2002, 64 no. 207). An amphora-shaped strap end came from a 5th-century context at Frocester Court (Price 2000, 57 no. 350) once again placing their dates solidly from the second half of the 4th century. Coulston (2010, 50-63) surveyed strap ends in the north. However, the dating for many is difficult, particularly as several are undated PAS finds, and Coulston does not provide any dating from his list. On investigating further, context dates are lacking for the site material he references. However, the insular types can be solidly dated to the second half of the 4th century with examples from Colchester, Baldock, Barnsley Park and Sandy all dating to after AD350 (Eckardt and Crummy 2006).

Based on Sommer’s (1984) work, some general points can be made about the continental material. The heart type and amphora types of Gruppe 1, maybe with the heart shape slightly earlier, in both the west and east regions of the European *limes*.. It is difficult to pin this down in the Danube region, as the dating for the group covers the entire 4th century. The Gruppe 2 strap-ends follow Gruppe 1 in the west from the mid-4th century, although they are dated slightly later in the Danube region (c.5th century), and the final group (Gruppe 3) are of early 5th century date. Given this dating it is expected that the strap-ends are to be found with the corresponding belt buckle types in each group. However, while in some instances this is the case (e.g., Sommer 1984: Taf. 33, No.1, 6, 8-9), in others it is not (e.g., Sommer 1984: Taf. 29, No. 1, 8). This could be for several reasons; either strap-ends were often lost and went unnoticed, and when replacing them the owner of the belt might have had to settle for

whatever form was readily available; another reason might be that in these graves there were multiple belts which mean the strap-ends and buckles from the same group might not be associated. More recent grave finds from Bregenz (Konrad 1997, 52, 146-149) reveals closer dating which is not dissimilar to that available from Britain. Heart and Amphora type strap ends were found in graves of c.AD330/40 – AD410. The Lancet type was found in a grave of c.AD350-70. However, this is to be expected as the forms were used throughout the 4th century according to Sommer. There is a conspicuous absence of strap-ends in graves of the early 4th century. A much wider survey of 4th century graves across the Roman Empire is needed and is beyond the scope of this study. Continental cemeteries often have little to no published phasing so an extremely wide survey would be required. It would be useful to reassess the examples from Sommer (1984) and see if much closer dating could be achieved.

Rather than looking at the strap-ends through the lens of Sommer's groups, it is worth paying attention to the decoration on the buckles and strap-ends considered together to see if they form 'sets' of objects. The elaborate chip-carved belt sets in Sommer's (1984: Taf. 43 – 67) show that the decoration on the strap end is the same as the buckles and buckle plates. This is also the case with the earlier belt buckles and strap-ends. In several cases the decoration on the strap end is the same as that on the buckle and buckle plate (e.g., Sommer 1984: Taf. 24, 32, 34). This is also applicable to plain examples (e.g., Sommer 1984: Taf. 28, 33). It can even be seen on the edge design of on buckle plate and the corresponding strap end (Sommer 1984: Taf. 30).

6.4.4: Distribution

The distribution of these objects from the PAS in Britain shows some clear patterns in some elements but more general distributions in some others (Figs.6.51-55). Throughout this section there will be comparison with Eckardt and Crummy's (2006) paper on 'nail-cleaner' strap-ends as well as Leahy's (2007) paper revising Hawkes and Dunning's (1961) paper on Late Roman belt fittings. There are two main takeaways from Eckardt and Crummy. The first is that there is no clear link between the 'nail-cleaner' strap-ends and military sites (Eckardt and Crummy 2006: 91-3). The second is that all but a

few examples were found on sites to the south of a line from the Severn Estuary to The Wash. While the first point is not addressed here, the second is taken into consideration as this will be important when comparing to types which do not have the features associated with the 'nail-cleaner' foot. The comparison with Leahy (2007: 136-7) will be important as he attempted to find a pattern between belt buckles and strap-ends. As the paper limits the strap-ends to heart, amphora and Tortworth type strap-ends there is no clear link with buckle types. However, adopting a more detailed typology does show links between strap-end and buckle types, as I will demonstrate.

The place to start is with the main typological parts; the neck lugs (C), the body ratio (D) and the foot (E). In the typology there was a clear pattern of Continental origin curved (C3), circular (C1) and no neck lugs (C4); and insular types, crescentic (C2) and zoomorphic (C6). Those with a Continental origin have a wide distribution in Britain. % wise, 21.2% of these are north of the Severn Estuary-Wash line, whereas 13.7% of C2 and C6 fall above this line. If we include Eckardt and Crummy's (2006) 22 confirmed crescentic and zoomorphic examples, three of which fall above the line, the % stays the same. Of the insular forms, C2 has a far wider distribution than C6. The C6 examples are mostly found in the south/south west with a couple in Norfolk. When considering the body width : length ratio the stout (DA) and mid-range bodies (DB) have a wide distribution, whereas the narrowest bodies (DC) have a southern distribution like the insular type of neck lugs. This is to be expected as the C2 and C6 lugs are most often found with D3 bodies. There is a slightly different picture with the strap-end foot. The distribution of Ea and Eb are similar, perhaps with a slightly more western distribution to the bifid foot. This again lines up with the insular neck lugs and to an extent the narrow bodies. There is little to be said about the form of head (A) and head attachment (B). The primary riveted type of attachment (B1 and B2) has a wide distribution, and it could be said the looped attachments (B3.1, B3.2) have a more southerly distribution. This lines up with the distribution of the bifid foot which is primarily associated with these loops.

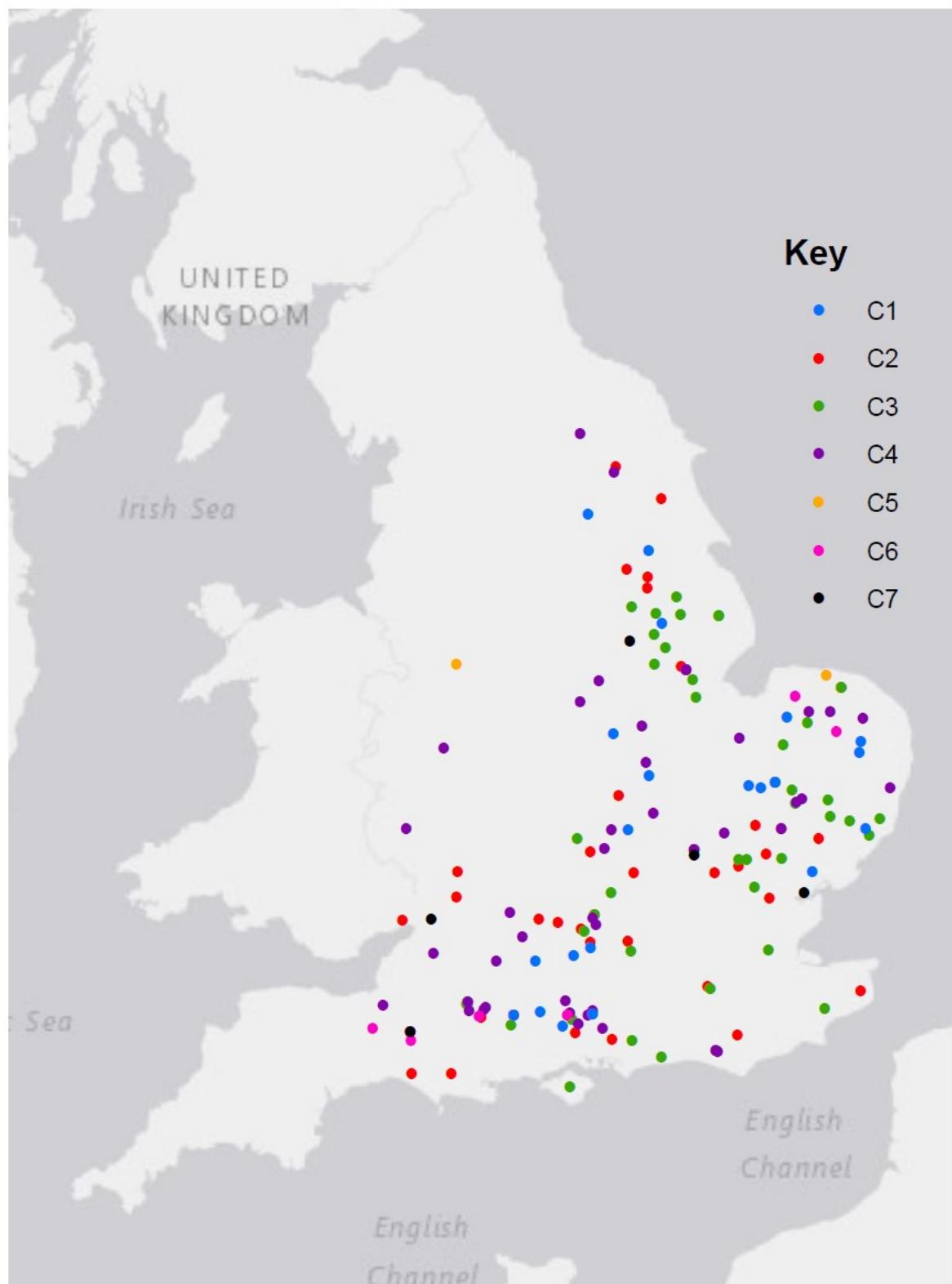


Fig.6.51 Distribution of Part C (neck) forms

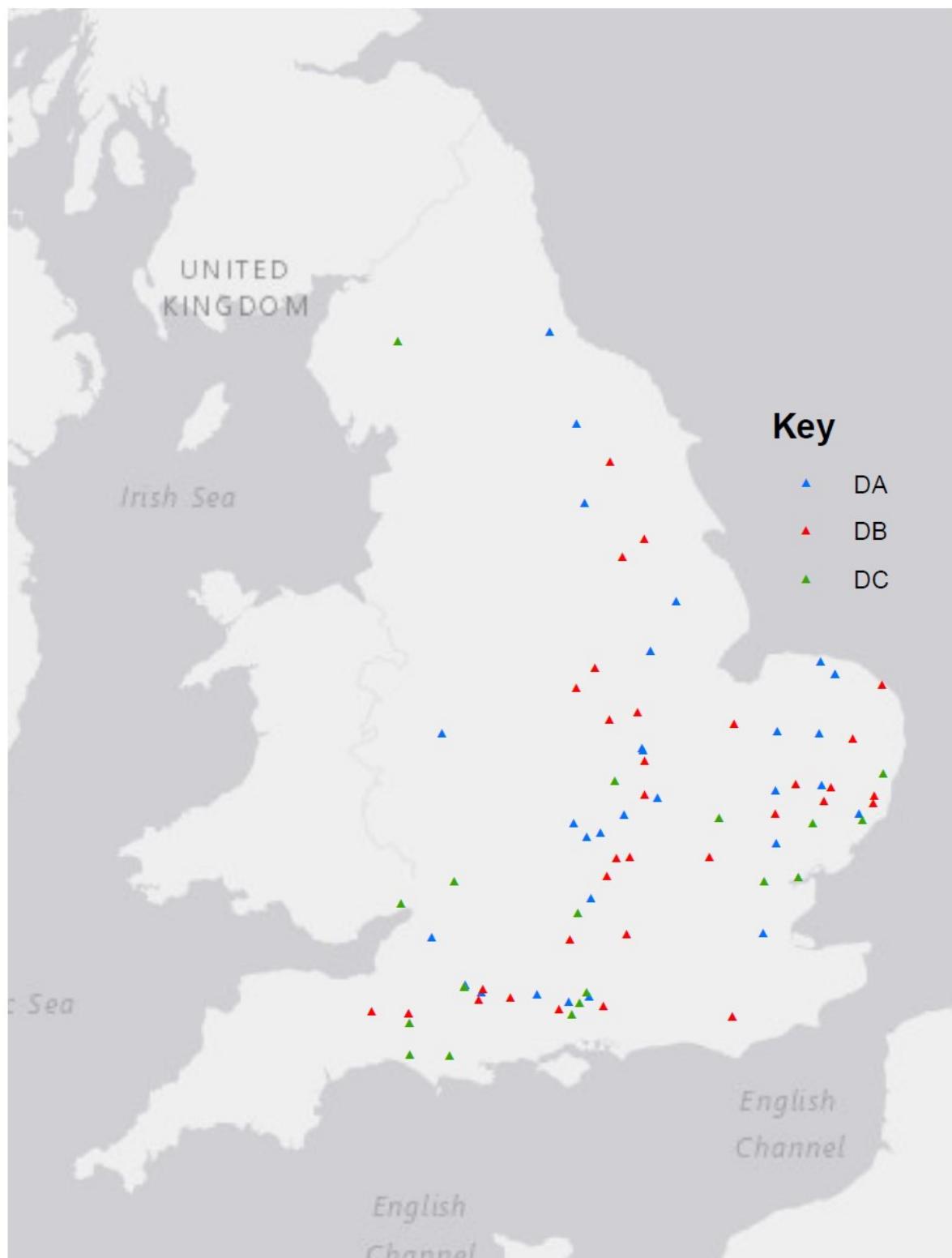


Fig.6.52 Distribution of Part D (body) forms

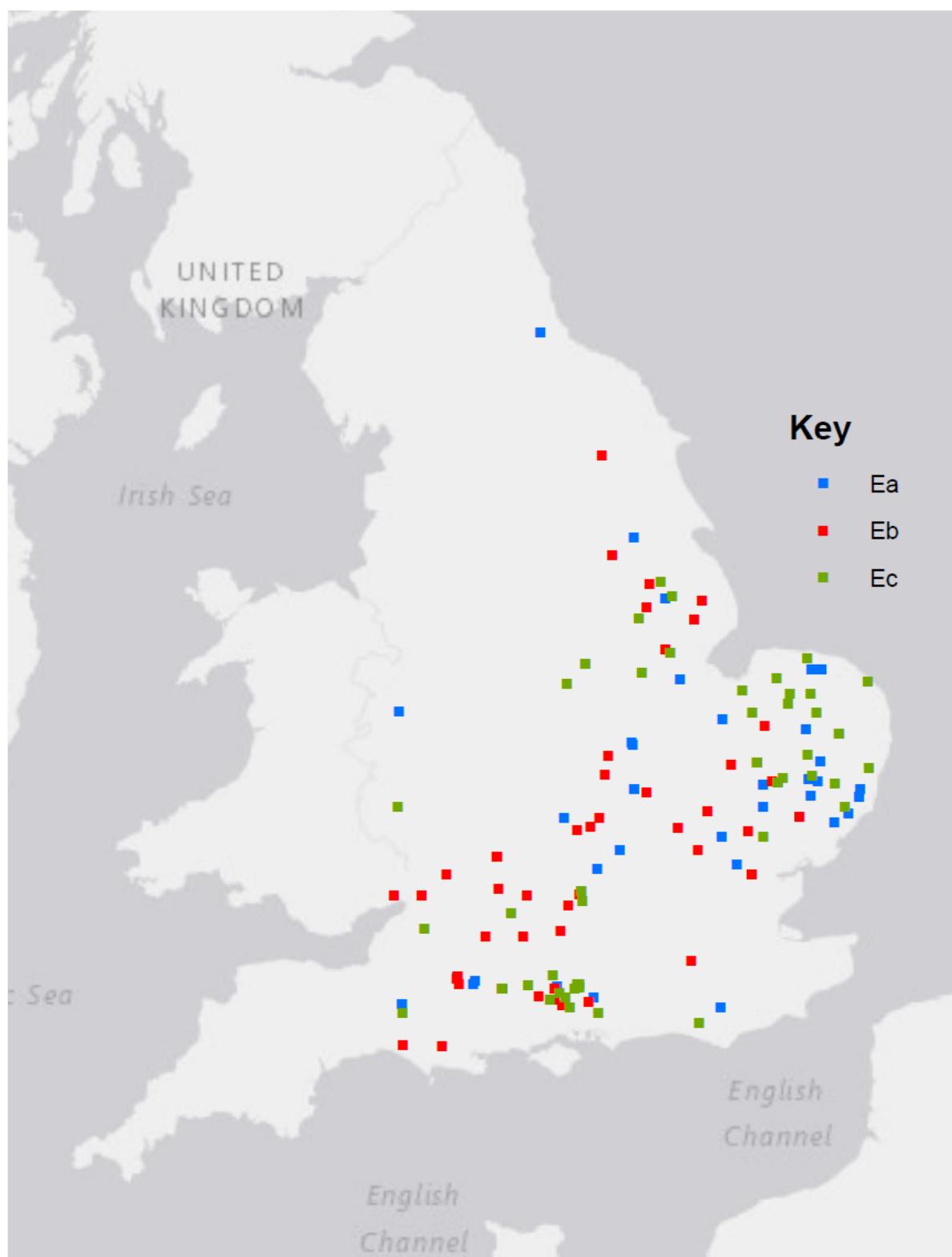


Fig.6.53 Distribution of Part E (foot) forms

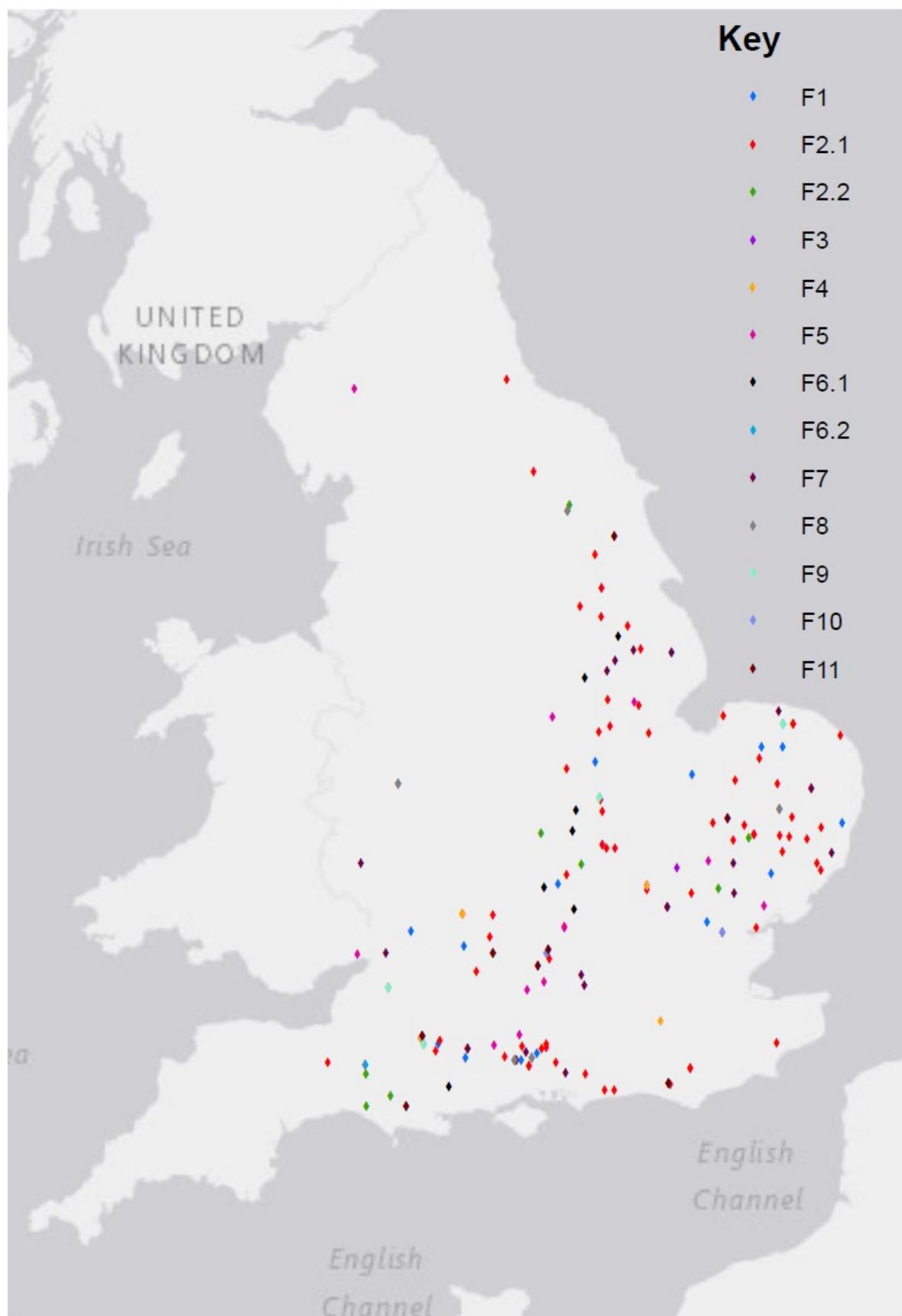


Fig.6.54 Distribution of Part F (body decoration) forms

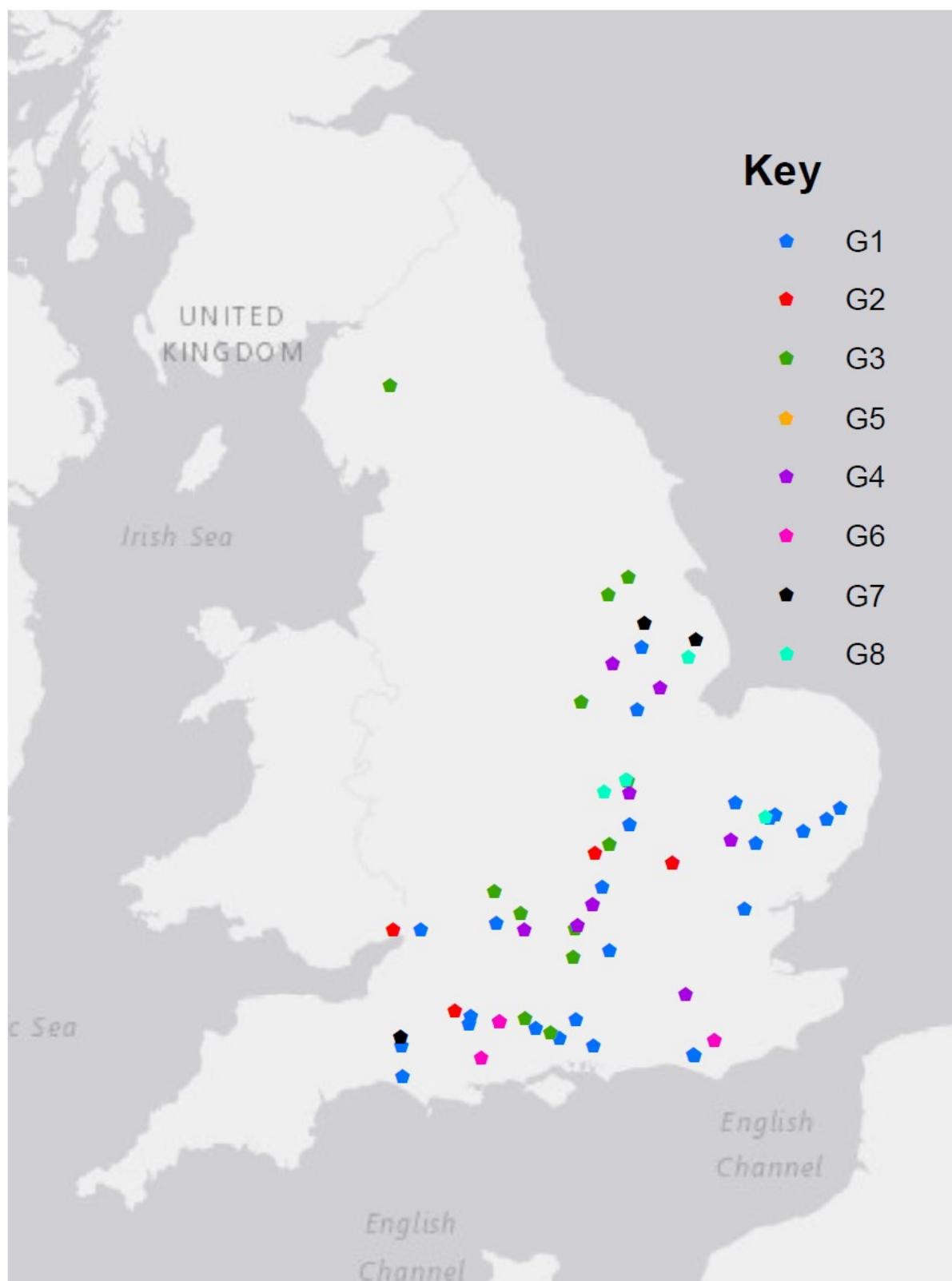


Fig.6.55 Distribution of Part G (border decoration) forms

The distribution of different decoration forms (F) appears to be the least specific in terms of distribution. Dotted (F2) and no decoration (F7) have the widest distributions, whereas all other forms have a more southern distribution. This might indicate that on the Continent there were very few forms of decoration used, perhaps pointing to some standardisation, as these decorations follow the pattern of Continental elements. The other decorations appear therefore to be insular in origin, varied and possibly personalised/regionalised. However, it is difficult to say if any were regionalised as there are currently too few examples of each. The general variability of the decoration might instead indicate the sharing and copying of decoration. An example of this is the few which are linked by having a central line of body decoration which matches the border decoration. While they are linked by this combination, there are different styles to the decoration.

Those strap-ends with borders tend to follow the pattern of falling to the south of the Severn Estuary-Wash line, which would be expected as this feature is associated with those elements which follow this distribution. The distribution of those with a dotted border (G1) is interesting. The distribution is very much a southern one, whereas those types with dotted decoration (F1, F2.1, F2.2) have a very wide distribution. This could be because of the insular adoption of a Continental decoration type for a border. For the other border types there are too few of each form to comment, but the overall picture is a southern one.

The distribution of strap-ends in general shows a very wide distribution of those with features originating on the Continent, whereas insular features tend to have a more southerly distribution. There is one other theme between each form, but it must be kept in mind that this could also be down to the bias of metal detecting. There are two key clusters in most cases, one around Winchester and one in Norfolk. These are two hotspots for finds on the PAS which suggests the number of Roman finds in these areas is down to the high level of metal detecting rather than any significant pattern in the distribution. However, given the similarities noted earlier (Chapter 6.4) between shore forts in Norfolk and the fort at Portchester, near Winchester, it could be suggested that this is where we might expect to find more strap-ends. As the Lankhills cemetery is near Winchester, where strap-ends were found, the pattern in these areas might not just be due to metal detecting.

Studying belt buckle distribution, Leahy (2007) found it difficult to show any clear distribution patterns in comparison the belt buckles. He did identify a possible pattern of Continental animal head buckles (Hawks and Dunning Type III and Sommer Sorte 1, Form C, Typ F and Sorte 3, Typ F) showing an eastern distribution. This mirrors Continental features on strap-ends which also has an eastern distribution. There is also another distribution to note. Leahy (2007) found that there was a southern and western distribution to Hawkes and Dunning buckles IA and IB. This mirrors the distribution of insular strap-end features which have a western distribution. Hawkes and Dunning buckles IIA and IIB appear to have a more easterly distribution, which mirrors Continental strap-end features. This could be because these types are an imitation of the Continental type III, which is suggested by Leahy and Ager (2007: 141). There is then the addition of horse heads to these buckles which makes the Type I buckles. It could be suggested that Continental style buckles could have been used in Britain with strap-ends with Continental features, as sets. This would also suggest that insular strap-ends are, correspondingly, primarily found with insular buckles of Type I. I say primarily, as this is difficult to prove without finding them in the same context. However, although recycling and the use of replacement strap-ends could make a set look odd if a suitable matching replacement could not be found, the distribution points to certain objects and features being made and used together.

The idea of these objects being made in sets can certainly be demonstrated through Continental graves. Sommer (1984: Tafs. 24.1-2, 26.12-13, 30.14-15, 31.1a-2b, 32.1-12, 14, 34.1-20, 37.8-9, 38.4-5, 39.8-9, 42.1-9, 43-47, 50, 58, 61, 68-69, 71, 74.2-3) (Fig.6.56) shows several examples where the decoration on the belt buckle and/or belt stiffeners matches the decoration on the strap-ends. Like the 'chip-carved' belt sets the decoration is a key element matching up the belt fittings. This can also now be demonstrated on insular type strap-ends and Hawkes and Dunning Type IB belt plates. A belt plate on the PAS (BUC-E114D2) and strap-ends (BH-78B986, LANCUM-65B3C, SUR-6EEEB9, WILT-DA5A7A) have the same diamond decoration (Fig.6.57).

To consider the interpretation of this material a bit further, the distribution of Hawkes and Dunning belt fititngs has been used to suggest that local, powerful elites with local authority would surround themselves with an armed retinue (Carr 2019, 86). This is similar to the 'warband' model proposed by Wilmott (1997a, 218-31; 408-410) which was used to explain the archaeology of Birdoswald in

particular, and this was then expanded by Collins (2012) into 'occupational communities'. This elite private army model works on the premise that from the late 4th century and through the end of Roman rule, law and order was no longer maintained by the state and/or army.

As suggested by Carr (2019, 86) the case of Ecdicius, a local elite man raising a private army, defending territory outside of the formal Roman state structures, is not likely to be an isolated incident. However, it is a huge leap to suggest the spread of late Roman belt fittings outside military sites confirms this phenomenon. Separating out urban and rural sites from military introduces an assumption that the military did not play a part in urban and rural spheres. The case of Ickahm watermill in Kent (Chapter 1.11.2) in fact suggests that imperial officials played an active part in this rural site. Furthermore, an ongoing PhD study has demonstrated that 2nd century Trompetenmuster mounts, a military associated mount, around the rural areas of the Central Belt and Anglian plain show an active military presence in rural areas, taking responsibility for the coordination and logistics of their own supply (Edwin Wood *pers. comm.*) These regions are the primary agricultural production centres within Britain (see RSRB). The mounts display a strong alignment with this and with the road and river networks, such as the Nene and Great Ouse, that would have been used to move the grain to the East coast via the storage centres on the Fen edge, Heybridge and the East Anglian Coast. This, alongside other evidence, suggests that the Roman military in Britain took great pains to secure its food supply and may have even shipped surplus across to the Rhine in order to support the installations in the Rhine Delta. It is clear that the military were present in rural areas.

There is also the possibility of military garrisons in late Roman towns. The presence of belt fittings and crossbow brooches in burials is primarily from the context of rural sites and villas, which is a key part of Carr's (2019, 88) study. However, Lankhills, outside Winchester, comprises over half of the record (Carr 2019, 88). It is unclear where Carr places these in terms of military/urban/rural or villa. Presumably they are in an urban setting outside the main town. There is also a lack of knowledge of burial sites at late Roman forts in Britain, so the apparent bias to rural contexts may be misleading. For example, there is currently no definitively known late 4th century burial site at any of the shore forts. This is due to lack of excavation at these sites. However, at Oudenburg in Belgium, large

cemeteries are known, with soldiers dressed at burial with crossbow brooches, presumably fastening cloaks (Vanhoutte 2015, 63) and belts in a similar way to Lankhills. Are we to think that this regalia is only imperial officials/military when found inside the walls of a fort?

Another assumption made by Carr is the idea that the belt set equates to arms and armour beyond the army context. The example given that civilians were allowed to own arms is from the *Digest of Justinian* (48.6.1-12) (Carr 2019, 85). However, that edict was written in the 6th century, two centuries after the period discussed here. Regardless of the date, a reference to arms and armour cannot really be taken to include belt sets and crossbow brooches. Hoss (2012, 29-44) has demonstrated that the Roman belt is a military object. In the 2nd century arms were affixed to two mid-body belts which crossed so the belt and sword were intrinsically linked (Hoss 2012, 29). In the 4th century this reverted to a single wide waist belt (Hoss 2012, 40). The question is whether civilians in the 4th century were able to carry arms? The case is not clear cut. If the material making up the distribution of types of belt-fittings with accepted fourth century dates spread over the whole of Britain is attributed to these 'private armies,' rather than imperial officials and military personnel (and we only have a fraction of the fittings that once existed), then there would be a lot of independent armies in late Roman Britain. I do not doubt that it is possible, even likely that this occurred in the 5th century when Roman rule had broken down. These private armies were likely born from groups of soldiers who had no one to follow once official military rule and support had ceased. However, the late Roman belt appears in Britain in the mid-4th century when there is still clear, structured Roman commands in Britain. It is unwise to equate the spread of these belts to 'private armies' or 'warbands.'

Redacted

Fig.6.56 Example of the same decoration on a belt plate and strap end (Sommer 1984: Taf.24.1-2)



Fig.6.57 Example of a strap end (WILT-DA5A7A) and a Hawkes and Dunning Type IB belt buckle and plate (BUC-E114D2) with the same diamond decoration

6.4.5: The Richborough typology

The 34 examples from Richborough have been analysed by their typology and chronology as discussed above (Figs.6.58-64)

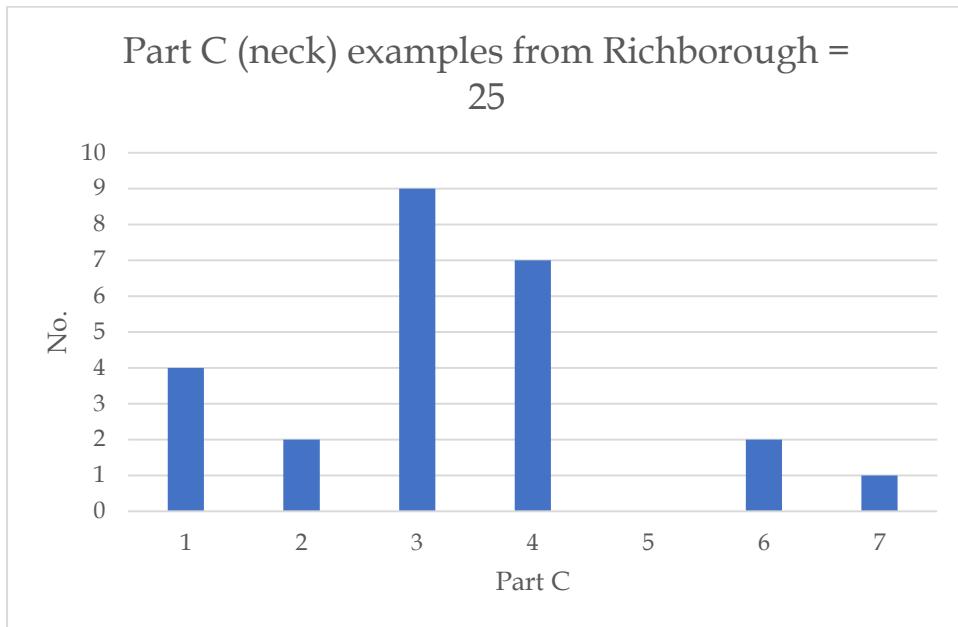


Fig.6.58 Part C (neck) examples from Richborough

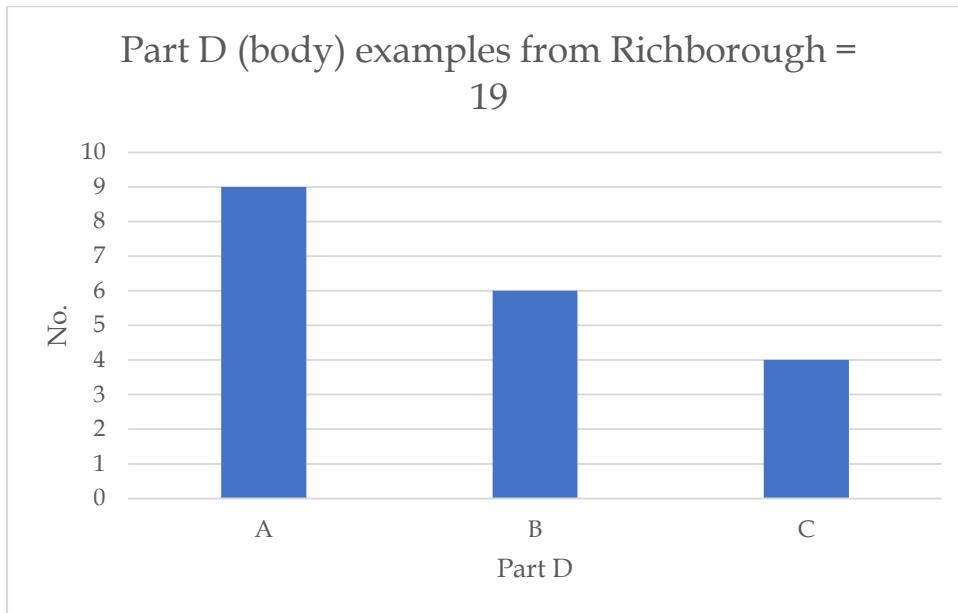


Fig.6.59 Part D (body) examples from Richborough

Part E (foot) examples from Richborough =
25

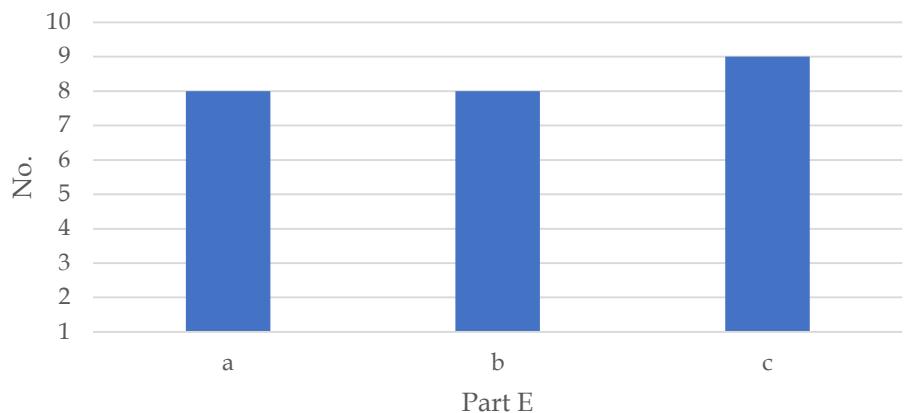


Fig.6.60 Part E (foot) examples from Richborough

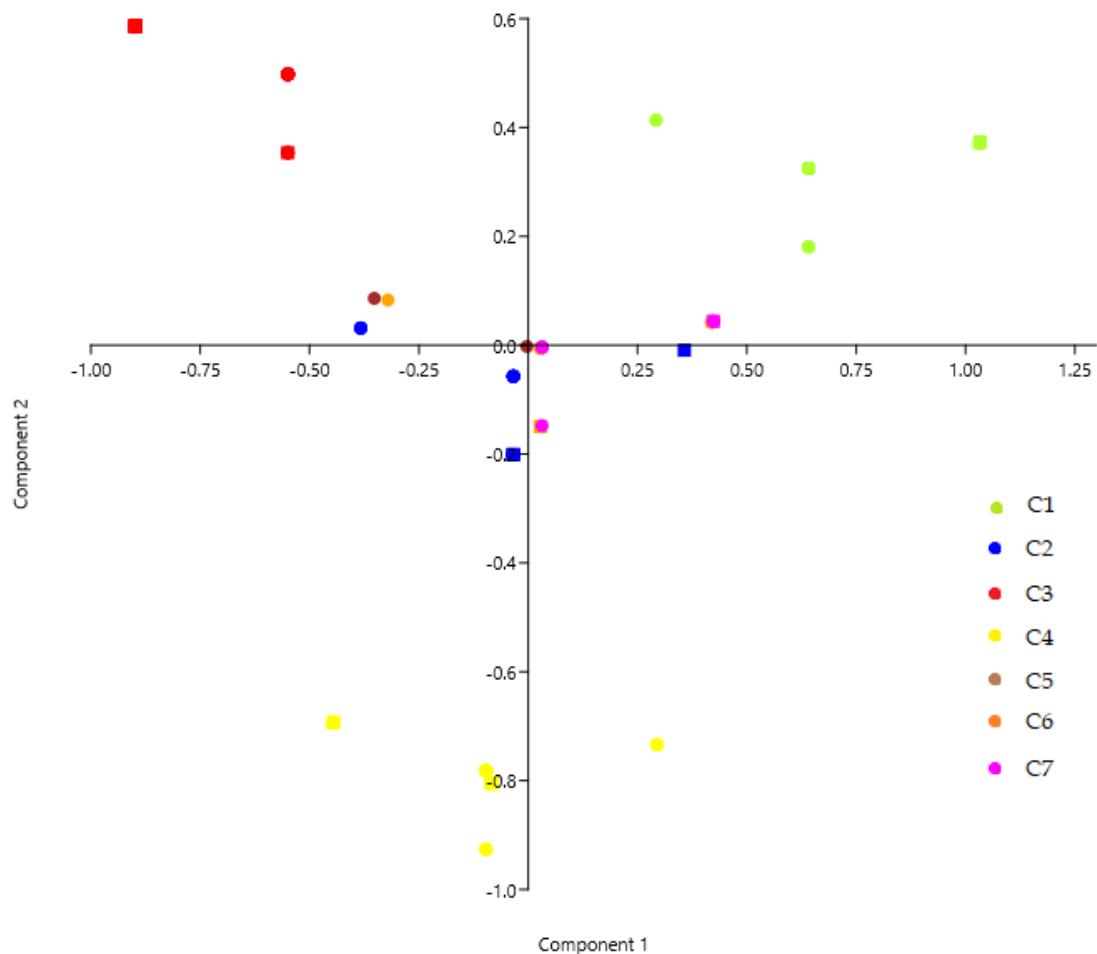


Fig.6.61 Part C (neck) compared with Part D (body) (Britain= Dots, Richborough = Squares)

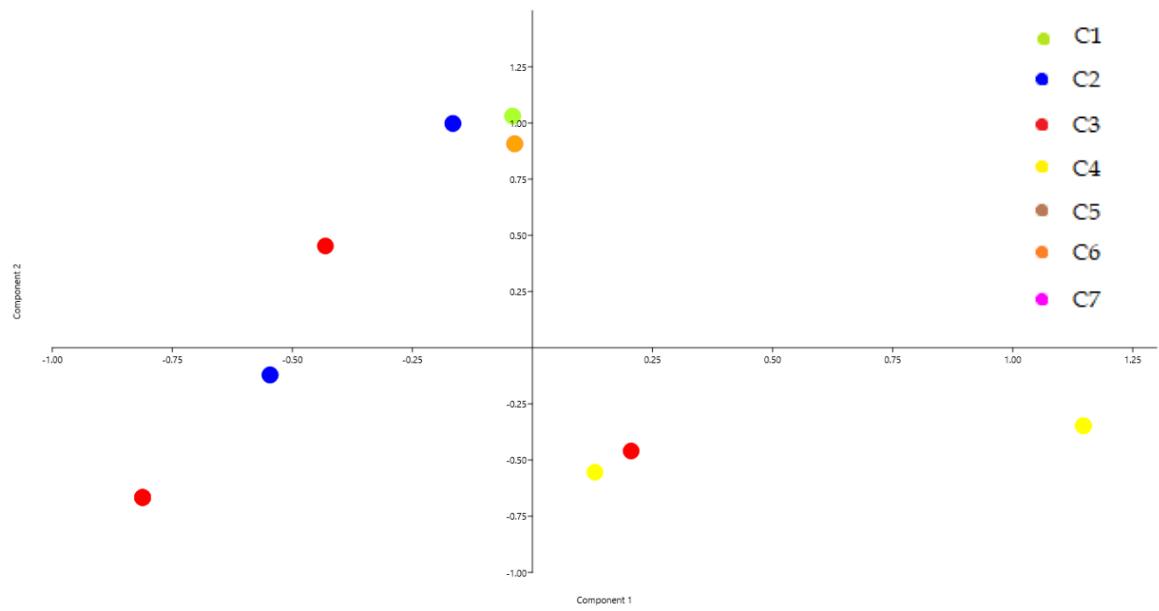


Fig.6.62 Part C (neck) compared with Part E (foot) (Britain= Dots, Richborough = Squares)

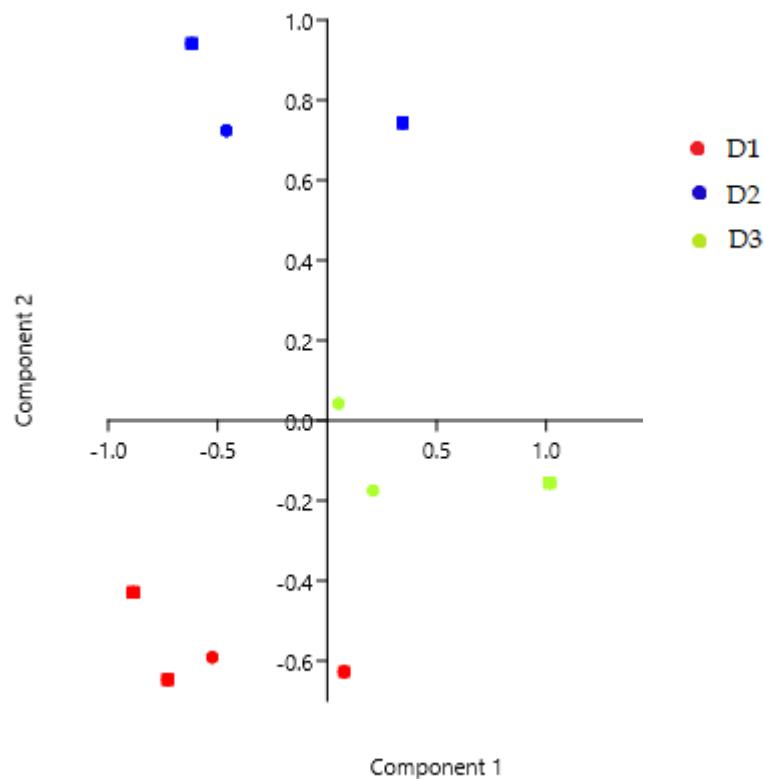


Fig.6.63 Part D (body) compared with Part E (foot) (Britain= Dots, Richborough = Squares)

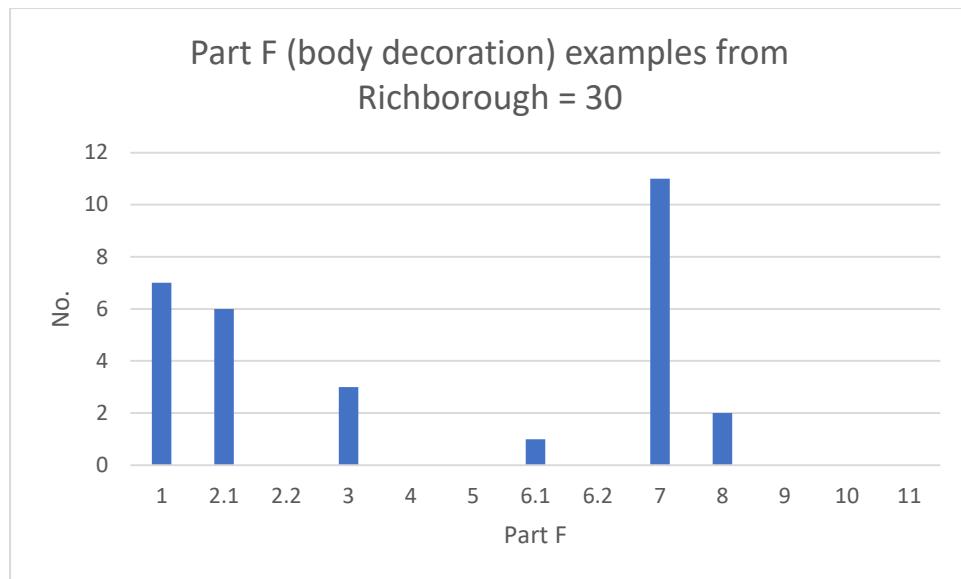


Fig.6.64 Part F (body decoration) examples from Richborough

The charts above (Figs.6.58-64) show that Richborough in general has a more Continental profile than the PAS assemblage. There are more of the form C and D neck lugs that are found on the Continent, more stout bodies than narrow and more with knobbed or no foot than a bifid foot. Furthermore, the examples fit the earlier conclusion that Continental neck lugs are mostly found with stout bodies and they are also found with a knobbed or no foot strap-end. Only 16% of examples had definite insular neck lugs although 8 have a bifid foot; 24% of all examples. This is still quite low and is reduced to 21% when it is considered that one stout body was modified to have a bifid foot (96000203).

Looking at the decoration it is clear there is again a Continental influence (Figs.6.65-66). The strap-ends are mostly plain or with circle and dot decoration. There are also a couple of 'chip-carved' examples which type of decoration developed on the Continent. The only one that falls outside this is the zoomorphic design which could have a Christian link. Although this lines up with the findings above, we know that circle and dot decoration is something that also occurs with insular forms. What is clear is the decoration is not very varied and does not demonstrate any solely insular decoration.

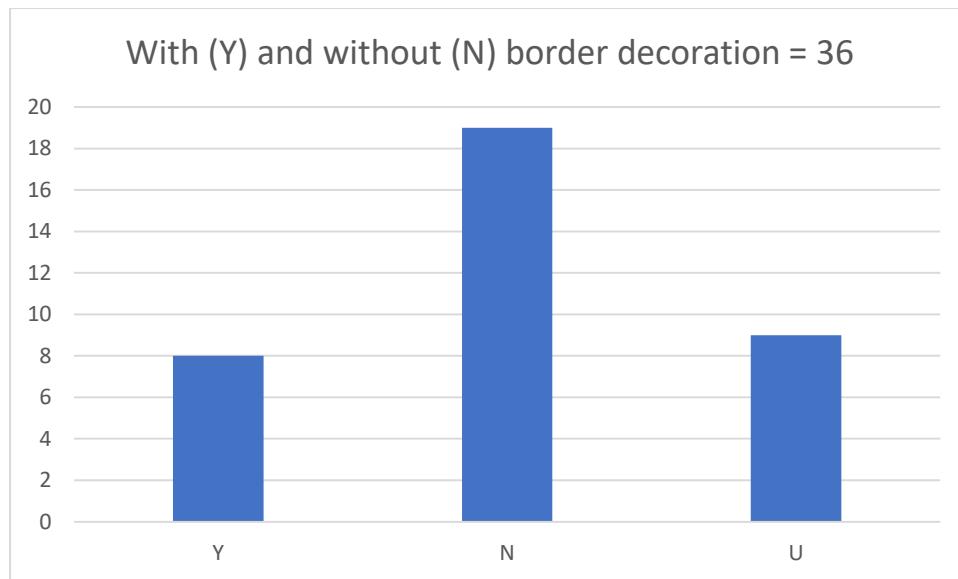


Fig.6.65 With (Y), without (N) border decoration

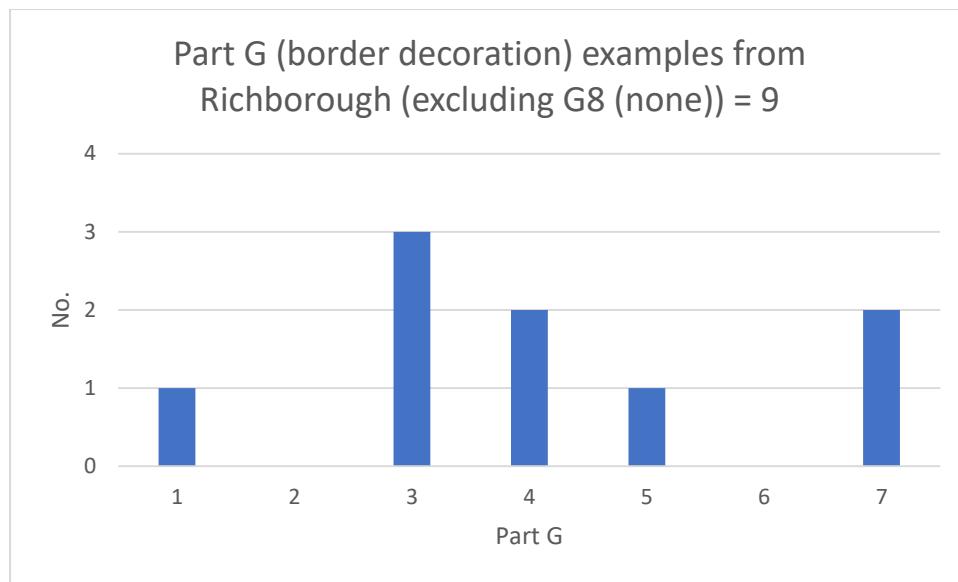


Fig.6.66 Part G (border decoration) examples from Richborough

Border decoration also shows a Continental swing. There are almost twice as many examples without border decoration than with. In terms of specific decoration, % wise, there are far fewer with a dotted border than the PAS examples and more with a waved border. However, there are too few of these examples in this study to draw solid conclusions.

In conclusion it can be said that Richborough shows a Continental profile overall rather than an insular one. This does not necessarily mean most strap-ends were Continental imports, but that they are Continental in style, which could result from either imports or local imitation of Continental features, discussed further below. However, there are still several insular forms of strap-ends, which demonstrates that there was a clear desire/need for new strap-ends and that it was likely difficult to import new strap-ends. However, it is difficult to say whether these insular forms at Richborough were made and used by indigenous inhabitants of Britain, influenced by the Continental examples, or used by incomers who made or bought insular types because they could not get hold of Continental styles. It is difficult to establish identity from finds, however, the east (Continental) and west (insular) split in Britain suggests that the insular types from Richborough were brought in by the inhabitants of other areas of Britainia. At Richborough there is quite a clear distinction between Continental and insular, falling on each end of the spectrum. However, the PAS showed multiple examples where there is a mix of the styles. For example, one strap end (WILT-DA95E2) (Fig.6.67) has a stout body and knobbed foot which are Continental features but has a crescentic neck which is insular. Even more peculiar is a zoomorphic neck example (SOM-29A1B5) (Fig.6.67) with the same Continental features. If we look to the modified example (96000203) (Fig.6.68) which has a bifid foot notched into a stout body this could show an incomer adopting an insular modification. The evidence shows a lack of mixing of styles suggesting that Richborough had limited engagement with the rest of Britannia in the 4th century. However, their presence does suggest some engagement, possibly in the late 4th – 5th century.



Fig.6.67. Examples of mixed continental and insular features. Left WILTDA95E2, Right SOM-29A1B5



Fig.6.68 Strap end with modified foot (96000203)

6.4.6: Motifs on the Richborough Strap-ends

There are a couple of notable examples in the Richborough collection. One of the Tortworth 'nail-cleaner' types (7351817) (Fig.6.69) has the image of a sea monster engraved onto the surface.



Fig.6.69 Insular type strap end with 'sea monster' imagery (7351817)

This could be *ketos*, the whale in early Christian art which consumed and disgorges Jonah (Martin Henig, *pers. comm.*). This is paralleled with an example on the PAS from Dorset (DOR-DF5E7A) (Fig.6.70).



Fig.6.70 Strap end (DOR-DF5E7A) with 'sea monster' imagery like Richborough (7351817)

However, sea-monsters appear prominently in Greek and Roman art for centuries before Christianity spread across Europe which might question the association with Christianity. One possible feature which supports a connection with Christianity is the stylistic similarity of the border decoration to other belt fittings that have certain Christian iconography. Several of these belt plates and strap-ends have a similar border style to the Richborough 'sea monster' strap-end (Mawer 1995: 124-5). These Christian examples are decorated with peacocks and the tree of life. A Hawkes and Dunning IB buckle and belt plate found at Caerwent (National Museum of Wales : 93.31H), for instance (Fig.6.71) shows a similar border to the 'sea monster' example and also to a 'sea monster' example on the PAS (DOR-DF5E7A). Eckardt and Crummy (2006: 102) list this example as 'Christian?', however, we can conclude that the similar border decoration on belt plates with Christian iconography does point to the sea monster image being Christian. This could mean that, given the insular nature of the type, that the wearer was part of a Christian community in Britain and wished to demonstrate their Christian identity. However, a belt is a small, subtle way of doing this and is not immediately visible to others without close observation. This is like the bucket pendants studied by Eckardt (see Chapter 2.7.3)

which were a symbol of an outside community in Northern Britain. It is not then clear if the person who owned this strap end was overt about their identity in other ways.

Redacted



Fig.6.71 Hawkes and Dunning Type IB belt buckle and plat from Caerwent (National Museum of Wales: 93.31H) with Christian imagery and a similar border to (7351817)

6.4.7: The Richborough distribution

Little accurate data is available about the find-spots at Richborough due to the nature of the excavation. Many of the strap-ends are from unstratified contexts. However, there is information about the general area in which they were found. Although unstratified, 14 of the 34 examples come from contexts to the north and north-east of the fort: particularly the north-east corner. The presence of three or four strip buildings in the north-east corner could point to the strap-end owner's dwellings

in this area. These buildings, possibly once barrack blocks, were subsequently used as domestic dwellings for those who stayed at Richborough into the 5th century.

The context in which they were found, namely 'Area ? Winter 1924 -25. Surface' (A?.100) refers to the top 3' clearing layer across the whole of the north of the fort. Although it is possible these finds are from the north-east corner, the finds notebooks show few finds were found in the clearing layer in this corner, which would indicate they were more likely found in the vicinity of the strip buildings in the north-west corner.

Others were found at sporadic points across other parts of the site but are few. Five in total have no location information at all. Those found to the north side of the fort show no uniformity in type.

6.4.8: XRF Analysis

The opportunity to undertake pXRF analysis on the Richborough strap-ends has revealed more about their metallurgy. Each object was analysed twice on both the front and back. In total 28 of the 33 objects were available for analysis.

With surface XRF there are several pros and cons. The analysis takes a reading from the surface rather than the core of the object. Therefore, this reading can be distorted by corrosion products from the object or objects that might have adhered to it during deposition. Lead and tin may accumulate at the surface and give an over-represented reading (Craddock, Wallis et al. 2002: 120). Additionally, if the surface of an object was tinned then the analysis will show this surface tinning rather than the underlying surface. Many of the objects in this case had been cleaned and with a clean surface a reliable level of accuracy could be achieved (Tab.6.9). For the classification of alloys, I have used Bayley and Butcher (2004: 14, Tab.5).

Tab.6.8 Richborough strap end metal alloys

ID	Type	Alloy (Front)	Alloy (Back)	Alloy (Av)	Leaded?
96000209	1Ba	Gunmetal	Gunmetal	Gunmetal	Leaded
96000210	1Ba	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
7351371	1Bb	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
7351817	1Cb	Bronze/Gunmetal	Bronze/Gunmetal	Bronze/Gunmetal	(Leaded)
7350149	2Cb	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	(Leaded)
7350150	2Cb	Bronze	Bronze/Gunmetal	Bronze/Gunmetal	Leaded
7350549	3	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
7351325	3	Brass	Brass/Gunmetal	Brass	Leaded
7350187	3Aa	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
7350980	3Aa	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
7351405	3Aa	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
96000204	3Aa	Brass/Gunmetal	Gunmetal	Gunmetal	
96000203	3Ab	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
7351367	3Ac	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded

7351155	4Aa	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	
7351379	4Dc	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	
7351411	4Dc	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	(Leaded)
96000201	4Dc	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
96000202	4Dc	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
96000211	6	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	(Leaded)
7350084	6Bb	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
7351797	Bb	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
7351396	Dc	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
96000200	Dc	Bronze/Gunmetal	Bronze/Gunmetal	Bronze/Gunmetal	Leaded
7350432		Gunmetal	Gunmetal	Gunmetal	Leaded
7350689		Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
96000206		Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded
96000212		Gunmetal	Gunmetal	Gunmetal	Leaded

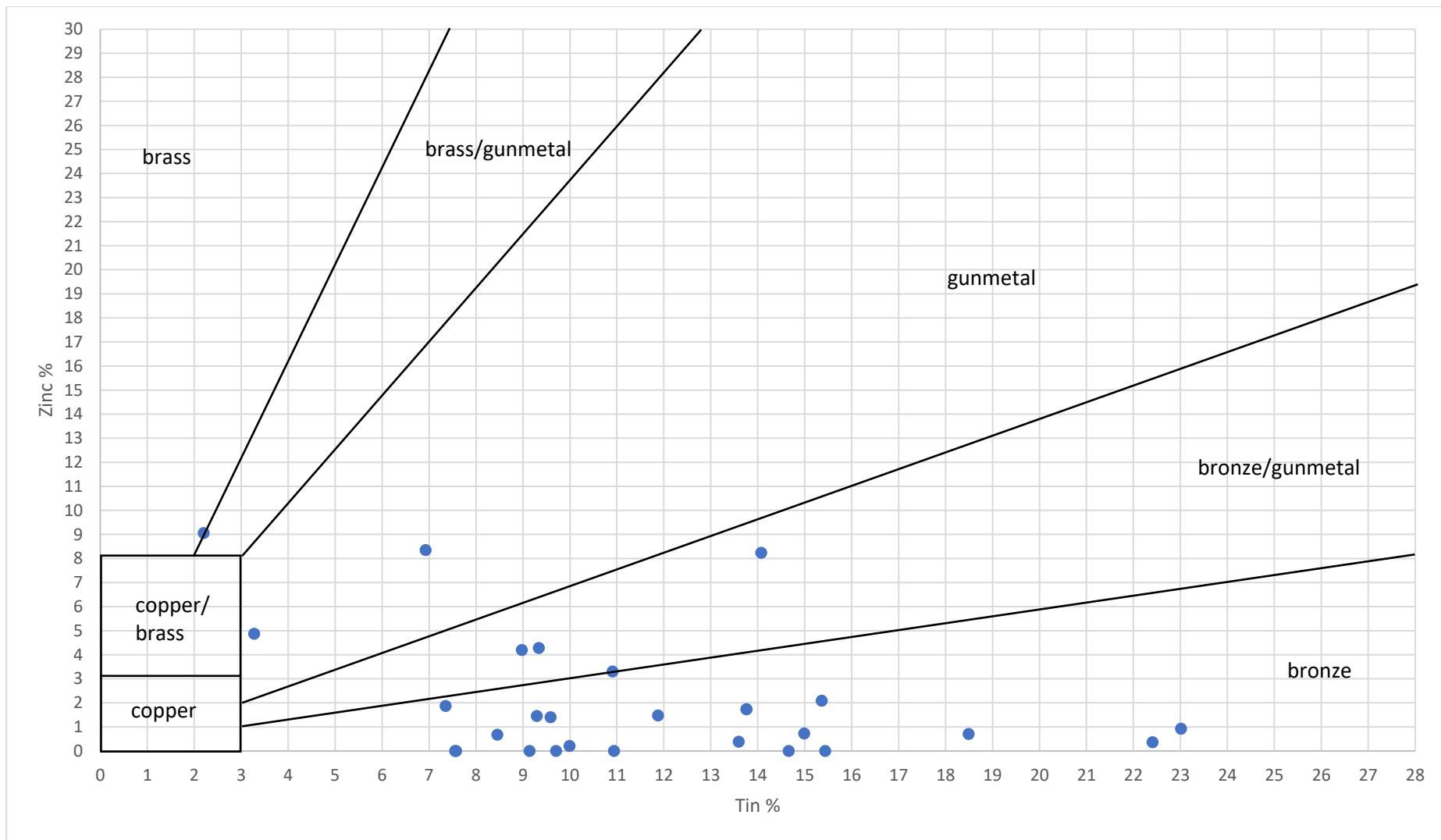


Fig.6.72 Tin versus zinc contents for the Richborough strap-ends

Out of the 28, only three gave different alloys on front or back (Tab.6.9). Even then there is little difference between the alloys (Fig.6.71). There are a couple of examples (7351371 and 7351379) where the tin content is significantly higher on the front than the back which might be an indication of tinning. The data shows that the overall alloy on most examples matches on front and back. The major anomaly in the group is 7351325. The ratio of zinc to tin is just over 4:1 but the zinc content of 9.18% does not necessarily suggest Continental manufacture, as is the case for some objects with high zinc content (see Chapter 6.6). This object might have been made from recycled brass objects. Overall, most examples are leaded suggesting a large amount of recycling (see Chapter 6.6). It is interesting how two of the three unleaded examples are heart shaped and might be of Continental manufacture; however, this is far from certain. As for alloys and types it is difficult to draw any conclusions as the majority are bronze and there are far too few of other alloys.

6.4.9: Summary of strap-ends case study

Comparing Richborough with the rest of Britain from the PAS data and site finds data, I have shown that Richborough has a more Continental than insular profile compared to the rest of Britain. While Sommer (1984) suggests a use date throughout the 4th century, the British material suggests a date after c.AD340 for the arrival of the belts. This would link closely with the c.AD340s date for the use of the shore forts after 40 years of disuse.

Across each part of the strap end, the PAS data by contrast shows that insular features are more commonly found. This could be because of both the lack of fresh supply entering Britain toward the last quarter of the 4th century and the recycling of older objects. It could also be due to the relatively small number of incoming people from the continent compared to the provinces population. The pattern at Richborough, a site on the coast during this period, does not demonstrate that new material was consistently arriving from across the channel. This is clear through the lack of late Type 5 and 6 crossbow brooches and 'chip-carved' strap-ends which, if there were active links, would be more common. Instead, it can be suggested that the garrison of the mid-late 4th century did not engage much with the new insular designs available at this time but continued to locally produce variations

on the Continental theme. The almost exclusive use of lead in the bronzes might be indicative of recycling which fits with the pattern of local production shown in Chapter 6.6. There is also the production of the few insular types to consider. Given that the insular forms appear later and tend to have a slightly more western origin this might suggest the movement of people to Richborough bringing these insular types rather than production on the site or acquisition from nearby of these forms (see Chapter 2).

The key point from this case study is that the people at Richborough chose to continue reflecting their identity through these objects by using those of a similar style to Continental objects, which were familiar to them and fitted their regional cultural identity, rather than engaging with insular styles. It could have been impossible to identify this pattern in the data without the detailed typological study of the wider corpus of late Roman strap-ends from Britain that you have undertaken in this chapter. It is difficult to say whether this shows a lack of local connectivity in Kent as very few strap ends have been found in the county. However, many other parts of Britain, such as the west and south-west, are actively engaging with new and modified styles, which does suggest a lack of engagement with other places in Britain by the people at Richborough. It would therefore appear that the garrison at Richborough were mostly made up of people either from the Continent or wishing to display a connection with the Continent.

There is also a clear need to continue the official military traditions of the continent. Crossbow brooches and belt sets were worn by Roman officials and military personnel. Whether these people broke their official ties late in the 4th century is unclear. However, what I have demonstrated with the strap-end typology is there is a real need to go back to the drawing board with belt sets. As Swift (2000, 13-24) demonstrated the evolution of crossbow brooches from the continent to Britain, there is a need to do the same with all parts of belt sets. Any study on belt sets must do three things. Firstly, deconstruct the typology of all belt fittings of the late 4th century. Relying on Hawkes and Dunning's typology misses the minute details embedded in each element, such as I have demonstrated with the strap fittings. Secondly, combine new, systematic typologies of all belt fittings into one study. For example, as I have demonstrated above there is a clear link between fittings belonging to the same

belts based upon the forms and decoration. Current typologies for the elements of belt sets do not complement each other and cannot demonstrate meaningful distributions or interpretations. Thirdly, include continental material. This has been sorely lacking in British studies of belt sets. Swift (2000, 186-188) introducing Sommer's (1984) typologies into the British discussion has not been picked up like the crossbow brooches and needs to be incorporated into the British material. Only following these steps will there be any real understanding of the late Roman belt.

As a final case study, and linking to the above typology, I will now discuss the metallurgical analysis of the strap-ends from Richborough. This will be prefaced by a discussion on previous metallurgical analysis of Richborough finds as well as some from continental Europe.

6.5: Case Study: Recycling at Richborough

Much of the Richborough collection comprises copper alloy metalwork of multiple object types such as military fittings, bracelets, hairpins, finger rings and figurines. Bayley and Butcher (2004: 13-4) demonstrated that the brooch collection at Richborough suggested a high level of recycling using XRF analysis. Overall, in Britain there is a trend towards more recycling in the late Roman period. While it did occur throughout the Roman period, there was less need for recycling before the 4th – 5th centuries AD as there was fresh metal available. (Dungworth 1997: 907) summarises the evidence from metallurgical studies of 4th century copper alloy objects in Britain showing that there is an overall decrease in brass objects, but no significant decline in zinc, which would indicate an increased use of gunmetal, produced when different alloys are melted down together for reuse. Brass in the 4th century declined to 4% with an increase in gunmetal to 64%. This increase in gunmetal was achieved with high levels of zinc (between 3-15%) and tin (between 2-8%) (Dungworth 1997: 904). In recent years studies of Roman recycling have moved beyond considering mainly recycling through re-melting and have classified reuse and recycling into different categories. There is the reuse of unmodified objects for a secondary purpose (although this could also be interpreted as long use for the original purpose) the repair of old objects to continue using them for the original purpose, the modification of objects, often broken ones, for new purposes, and finally the melting down of objects to reuse the metal.

(Swift 2013) (see also Chapter 2). There are many objects from Richborough which fall into these categories.

Let us start with a few examples of artefacts from Richborough that show the modification or repair of extant items, before examining possible recycling in a bit more detail by undertaking metal analysis of a larger set of objects. A good example of the repair of Richborough objects is a steelyard (7351179) which has prongs rather than hooks. It is the only example of this as all others have hooks for hanging the steelyard. Without the original hooks it is difficult to put a definitive date on the steelyard, but it likely to date to the 2nd – 3rd century. When pXRF analysis was undertaken on the individual parts, the main arm was found to be made of brass, whereas the prongs for holding the steelyard and the items to be weighed were made of bronze. Since the arm is the primary component it is most likely that the hooks on the original broke and someone replaced the hooks with prongs.

There are also multiple modified objects. Several rings (7350223, 7350950 and 96003144) have decoration indicating that they were made from late Roman bracelets. Bracelets were not only made into rings but also horse girth buckles. Two of these buckles (7351127 and 96000220) were bent from bracelets with the ends looped around to hold the buckle axle pin (Fig.6.72). It is possible that this was part of usual Roman practice, but it is quite likely that this was because of the lack of new objects coming into Britain.

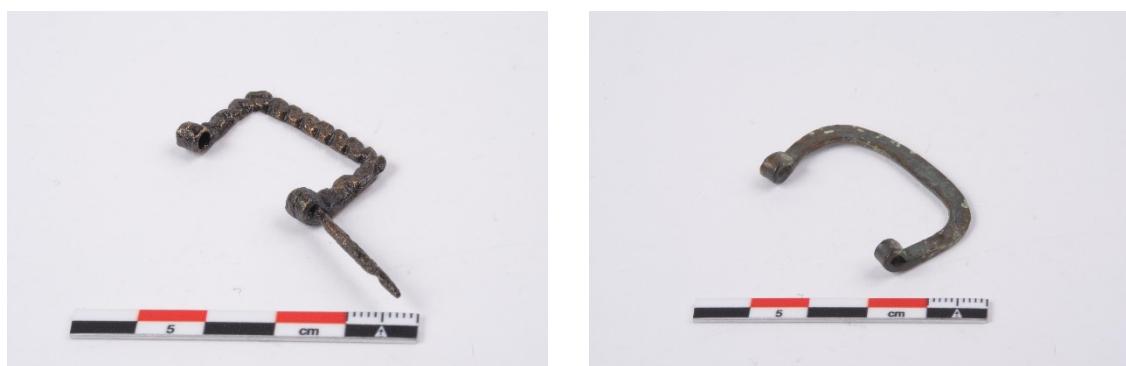


Fig.6.73 Two horse girth buckles from Richborough (7351127 left, 96000220 right) made from bent bracelets (photo courtesy of English Heritage)

6.5.1: Crossbow brooches from Richborough

Bayley and Butcher (2004) were the first to undertake a systematic XRF study of an object group from Richborough as well as other parts of Britain. Their analysis of the brooches in general demonstrated that throughout the centuries the metallurgy varied widely. Focusing on the late 3rd - 5th century crossbow brooches (68 of 122 (56%) from Richborough), which are contemporaneous with much of the material studied by Van Thienen and Lycke and Zlateva et al, the crossbow brooches of the late 3rd – early 4th century were most often made of bronze/leaded bronze. It is not until the late 4th – early 5th century when crossbow brooches made of brass appear in significant numbers. However, over half (65.5%) from all sites in Bayley and Butcher's (2004) study of material from Britain are still made from bronze/leaded bronze or gunmetal. Only 13% are made from brass.

Most of the crossbow brooches at Richborough are leaded to some degree and are bronze. There is also a significant number of gunmetal examples, which are leaded, when compared to other alloys, and a smattering of brass crossbow brooches. Although it is not possible to analyse the composition of the alloys by each metal type, Bayley and Butcher (2004: 210 – 1) suggest that late Roman leaded bronze crossbow brooches are distinct from other leaded bronze brooches as the median tin content is 7% with higher-than-average tin contents. This demonstrated a drift toward more mixed alloys which in turn points toward the recycling of metals we see generally in the late Roman period.

Bayley and Butcher (2004: 204) point out that the group of early crossbows might relate to the construction of the shore fort and that the later crossbows belong to the arrival of Lupicinus and Count Theodosius in AD 360 and AD 367, respectively. Given there is a change in organisation of the site in the mid-4th century, then this might add further weight to this suggestion. It is difficult to relate an object type with certainty to a historical event, however, the change in the brooch profile and site organisation does suggest it is possible. Another group of bronze/leaded bronze brooches that have been labelled the Richborough type (Pauli 2013: 401-11) might even relate to the arrival of an army from the continent in the late 3rd century to oust Allectus, as others of this type have been found on the continent (Chapter 6). The fact that some of the mid-late 4th century examples are made of brass

also testifies to their continental manufacture and that they are likely to have been made from fresh metal, not recycled.

6.5.2: XRF Analysis: 4th – 5th Century Belt Fittings from Richborough

As part of this study the belt fittings of the late 3rd – 5th century was selected for pXRF analysis as well as several interesting objects from other categories. The focus here will be on the belt fittings, and the results of the analysis of other objects can be found in the relevant appendices. There are of course limitations with pXRF. The analysis of the objects uses X-rays focussed on an object which then emits fluorescent X-rays indicating the objects elemental composition. pXRF takes a reading from the surface rather than the core of the objects as done by Bayley and Butcher regarding the brooches. This means the reading can be distorted by inclusions on the surface as well as the post-depositional processes on the metal. For example, a study of the corrosion layer vs. the uncorroded core on Roman objects (Fernandes, van Os and Huisman 2013) showed that there was a high level of depletion of the copper and zinc content when comparing the surface and core. The change difference in the elemental structure between the surface and core means that a quantitative measure of each element cannot be obtained, however, in general, the results provide the basic alloy type. The pXRF analysis was undertaken on 94 belt fittings (Tab.6.10) and the alloys have been defined according to the table in Bayley and Butcher (2004: 14; Tab..5).

Tab.6.9 Number of belt fittings by type

Object	No.	Object	No
Buckles	44	Strap-ends	28
Rosette Attachments	3	Belt Stiffeners	16
Strap Slides	2	Uncertain	1

An attempt was made to take at least two readings from the front and back of each object. In some cases, the analyser reported an error, and these results were removed. Due to the thinness of some of the buckles it was often difficult to get successful readings. The table below (Tab.6.11) shows the results of the pXRF analysis for each object.

Tab.6.10 Belt fittings by type and metal alloy (excluding strap-ends)

ID	Object Type	Typology	Alloy
7350000	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ A	Brass/Gunmetal
7350002	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ A	Gunmetal
7350004	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ A	Bronze/Gunmetal
7350008	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ A	Brass
7350099	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ A	Gunmetal
7350545	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ A	Brass
7350547	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ A	Gunmetal
7350548	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ A	Gunmetal
96000215	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ A	Bronze
96000238	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ A	Bronze
7350874	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ B	Bronze

7351158	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ B	Bronze
96000231	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ B	Bronze
96000232	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ B	Bronze
96000233	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form, A/C, Typ B	Bronze
7351935	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ A-F	Bronze
96000253	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ A-F	Gunmetal
96000258	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ A-F	Brass
7351040	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ C	Bronze/Gunmetal
7351808	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ C	Bronze
96000221	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ C	Bronze
96000222	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ C	Bronze
96000241	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ C	Bronze
96000244	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ D	Bronze
96000245	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ D	Gunmetal
96000246	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ D	Bronze
96000248	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C. Typ F, Var 4c	Gunmetal

96000249	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form C, Typ F, Var 4c	Bronze
7351194	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form E	Gunmetal
96000251	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form E	Gunmetal
96000252	Buckle	Sorte 1, Form E	Brass
7350260	Buckle	Sorte 1, Typ B	Bronze
7350736	Buckle	Sorte 1, Typ B	Bronze
7350341	Buckle	Sorte 1, Typ E	Bronze
96000250	Buckle	Sorte 2, Form A, Typ A-C	Bronze/Gunmetal
7351425	Buckle	Sorte 2, Form A-E	Bronze
96000254	Buckle	Sorte 2, Form A-E	Brass
96000234	Buckle	Sorte 3, Typ B	Copper
96000247	Buckle	Sorte 3, Typ B	Bronze
96000256	Buckle	Sorte 3, Typ B	Bronze/Gunmetal
96000242	Buckle	Rectangular - Solid Frame	Bronze
96000237	Buckle	D-Shaped	Gunmetal
7350621	Buckle	Misc.	Bronze

7351020	Buckle	Misc.	Brass/Gunmetal
7350247	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener - Propeller	Brass
7350982	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener - Propeller	Gunmetal
96000183	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener - Propeller	Bronze
7350686	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Bronze
96000184	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Gunmetal
96000185	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Bronze/Gunmetal
96000186	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Bronze
96000187	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Brass/Gunmetal
96000188	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Brass
96000189	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Gunmetal
96000190	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Bronze
96000191	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Bronze
96000192	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Brass
96000193	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Bronze
96000194	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Gunmetal

96000195	Stiffener	Belt Stiffener – Plain	Brass
96000182	Slide	Chip Carved	Bronze/Gunmetal
7351167	Slide	Plain	Bronze
96000197	Rosette Attachment	N/A	Bronze
96000198	Rosette Attachment	N/A	Brass/Gunmetal
96000199	Rosette Attachment	N/A	Bronze
96000259	Uncert.	Uncert.	Bronze

6.5.3: Metal Analysis

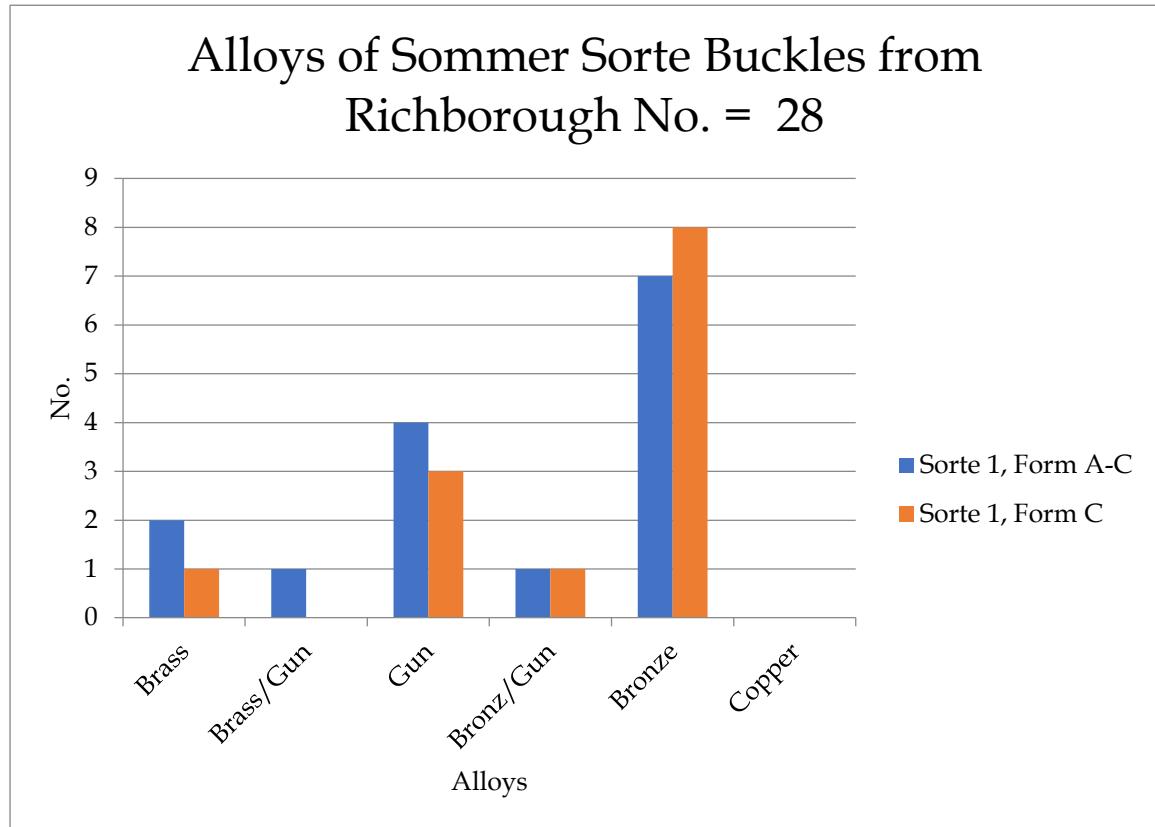


Fig.6.74 Alloys of buckles from Richborough. Blue could be any of Form A-C. Orange are Form C.

Within the collection there are several groups that can be further analysed. The first group is the buckles of Sommer's Sorte 1, Form C (Schnallen mit rechteckigem Beschläg) Typ C (5), Typ D (3) and Typ F, Var 4c (2). Although the plates or buckles are missing from the Richborough examples, which determine the Form or Typ, only Form C rectangular plates are related to Typ C rectangular buckles so these can be more precisely identified even if incomplete. Sommer (1984) does not give dates for each Typ within this form. However, he does give Typ F, Var 4c a date of c.AD 400 – 450 (Sommer 1984: 65).

It is difficult to talk about numbers of each form as over half of these examples could relate to Forms A-C. What is clear is that over half of the buckles are made of bronze (Fig.6.73). There is also a significant number of gunmetal, or those which straddle two alloy types. Of all the examples, the

majority (82%) are (Leaded)/Leaded. Some readings showed that some were very heavily leaded; upwards of 25% lead (some as high as 40%). Although lead accumulating at the surface of the object could result in these especially high readings, there is little doubt that these buckles were made, for the most part, from leaded alloys.

Sorte 2 are dated to c.AD 364/70 – 408 in the Rhineland and AD 380 – early 5th century in the Danubian region. Sorte 3 are dated to c.AD 407 – mid 5th century. The analysis shows that with only one brass example, which might be an import, the others likely came from recycled metals or were made new in Britain. However, the brass example showed that it is (leaded) brass, so a local or NW Gallic production is likely, and from recycled materials (see below for Continental Comparisons) as opposed to the leaded bronze profile in Britain. It is a type most associated with zoomorphic buckles where the animal heads meet in the centre of the buckle loop (Sommer 1984: Taf. 13 – 4).

The belt stiffeners also show a range of alloys, however, proportionally there are far more brass examples (25%).

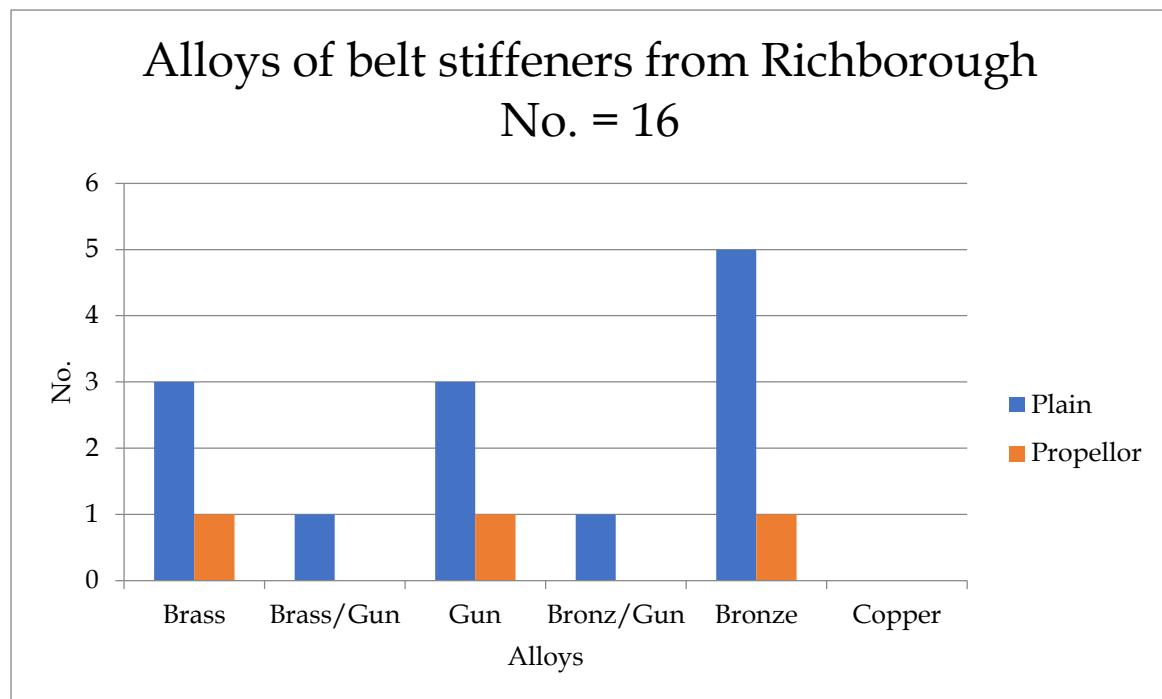


Fig.6.75 Alloys of belt stiffeners from Richborough

It is difficult to draw an analysis from so few examples; especially the propeller forms (Fig.6.74).

However, there is a similar pattern as with the buckles, that the majority are bronze or gunmetal, but this time only 44% are Leaded/(Leaded). In comparison with the crossbow brooches (Bayley and Butcher 2004: 184-5) there is a similar pattern and confirms the picture from crossbows which suggests increased recycling in the late Roman period.

The strap-ends are treated in more detail in the previous section (Chapter 6.5) where a new typology is established, but an initial comparison of their general material with the other belt fittings is required here (Tab.6.12).

Tab.6.11 List of objects by metal alloy (front, back and overall average of object)

ID	Alloy (Front)	Alloy (Back)	Alloy
7350084	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
7350149	Bronze	Bronze	(Leaded) Bronze
7350150	Bronze/Gunmetal	Bronze	Leaded Bronze/Gunmetal
7350187	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
7350432	Gunmetal	Gunmetal	Leaded Gunmetal
7350549	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
7350689	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
7350980	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze

7351155	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze
7351325	Brass	Copper/Brass	Leaded Brass
7351367	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
7351371	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
7351379	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze
7351396	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
7351405	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
7351411	Bronze	Bronze	(Leaded) Bronze
7351797	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
7351817	Bronze/Gunmetal	Bronze/Gunmetal	(Leaded) Bronze/Gunmetal
96000200	Bronze/Gunmetal	Bronze/Gunmetal	Leaded Bronze/Gunmetal
96000201	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
96000202	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
96000203	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze

96000204	Gunmetal	Brass/Gunmetal	Gunmetal
96000206	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
96000209	Gunmetal	Gunmetal	Leaded Gunmetal
96000210	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
96000211	Bronze	Bronze	Leaded Bronze
96000212	Gunmetal	Gunmetal	Leaded Gunmetal

The analysis shows that for the most part, with a few exceptions, the front and rear readings presented the same alloy. In the few exceptions the readings showed alloys close together. Bronze is by far the most common alloy used. Immediately it is clear that the majority are leaded to some degree; only three falls into the unleaded alloys. This correlates with the findings described above of heavily leaded belt buckles, again the use of lead demonstrating a likely high degree of recycling within these objects.

Overall, the pattern of alloy use on buckles and belt fittings shows a severe leaning towards leaded/(leaded) bronze, with a significant proportion of gunmetal or near-gunmetal examples and very few brasses. While it could be suggested that there was a high level of recycling going on at Richborough during the 4th century from the gunmetal and heavily leaded objects, the bronze could be from new raw material. For bronze objects to have come from recycled metals there could have needed to be “careful selection of alloy by colour” (Swift 2019: 25) to control the composition. In the Anglo-Saxon period there appears to have been a mix of scrap and fresh metal in use (Caple 2010: 314, Baker 2013: 107-8) and the same could be true of the preceding period. With a slightly higher %

of bronze belt fittings (c.69%) compared to late Roman brooches (c.53%) fresh bronze could have been used for belt fittings while there was a concerted effort to use scrap objects for brooches.

6.5.4: Continental Comparisons

In recent years more XRF analysis has been undertaken on Late Roman metalwork outside of Britain. Pertinent to this chapter is the analysis of crossbow brooches (Van Thienen, Lycke 2017) and belt fittings (Zlateva, Lesigarsky *et al.* 2019). XRF analysis of crossbow brooches from NW Europe suggests that the crossbow brooch was produced in the 3rd – earlier 4th century by local, low skilled craftspeople to supply military demand (Van Thienen and Lyke 2017: 60). During the 4th century this production became more centralised to make it an official military object (Van Thienen and Lyke 2017: 60). The metal composition showed that the early crossbows were mainly heavily leaded bronze alloys, but when made by the state the composition was primarily brass or gunmetal (Van Thienen and Lyke 2017: 55, Fig.5). In a previous study of mainly British material, Swift (2000: 81-8) proposed that there had been a link to British production in the use of bronzes. However, from this new study, we can now see that there is a wider context to this, which is that non-state produced brooches are more likely to be bronze alloys. Looking at the state produced brooches, many are brass or leaded brass. These are linked to a continental, perhaps Danubian production (Swift 2000: 81-8), however, what it also shows is the production of brooches from recycled materials.

The XRF analysis of belt fittings from Bulgaria shows that there might be some recycling in the 4th century, but it becomes less common in the 5th. The study (Zlateva, Lesigarsky *et al.* 2019) split the buckles into clusters which demonstrated that those from Eastern Bulgaria showed a great variety of alloy types compared to the north-east (Zlateva, Lesigarsky *et al.* 2019: 115). However, for the purpose of this chapter I am interested not in regional variation, but in the difference between the 4th century fittings and those from the 5th – 7th centuries. There seems to have been a preference for more mixed alloys in the 4th century when compared to those after this date, which contain primarily brass. The proportion of leaded examples is similar between the periods. Taking the data, we can see that the zinc content in the 5th – 7th century fittings is significantly higher than the 4th century (Fig.6.75-76).

On average the zinc content in the brass examples from the 4th century is 13.75% compared to 20.3% after. In this case the high level of zinc in the later objects is likely related to the use of fresh brass.

Tin versus zinc contents for the belt fittings from Bulgaria in Zlateva, Lesigarsky *et al.*
2019

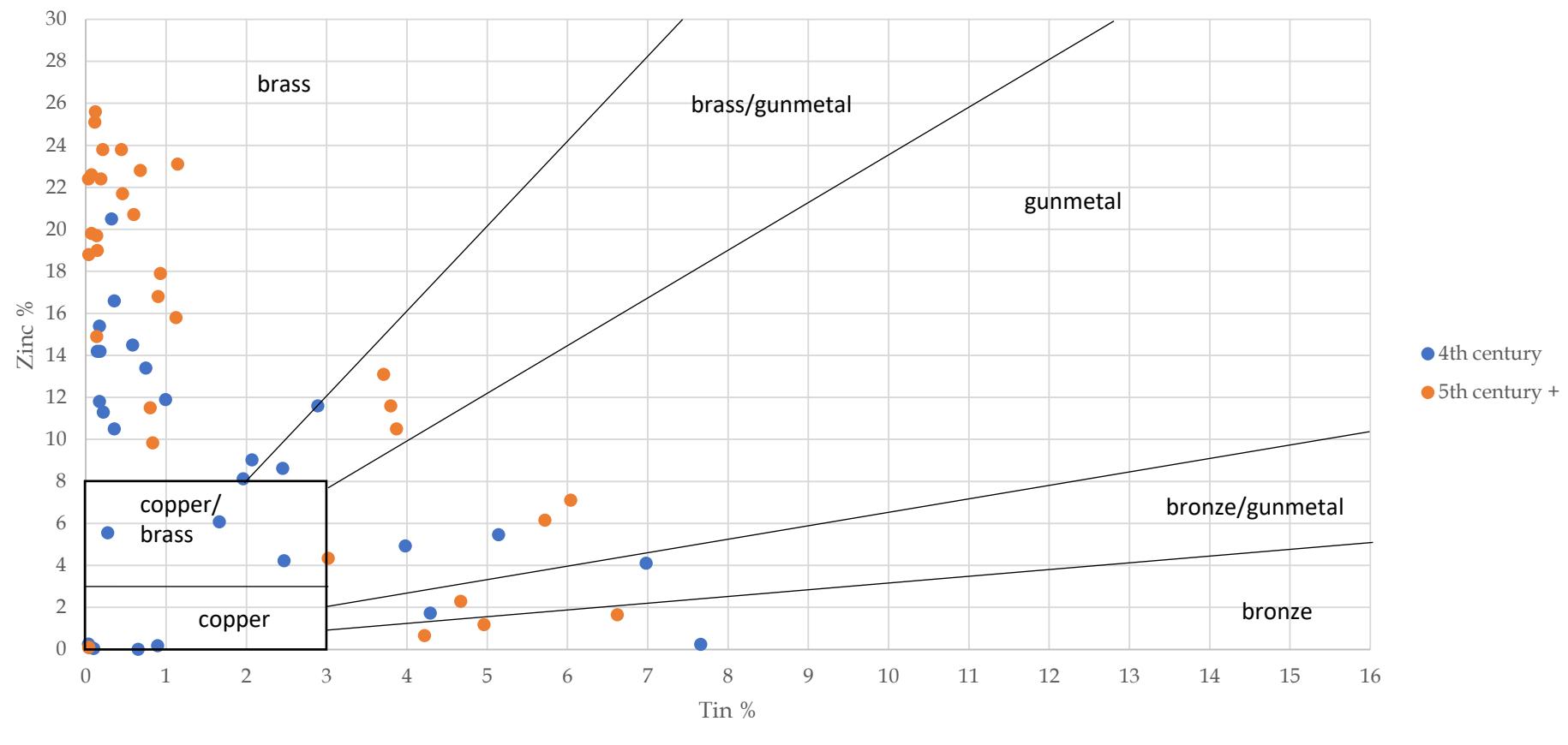


Fig.6.76 Tin versus zinc contents of belt fittings from Bulgaria in Zlateva, Lesigarsky *et al.* 2019

Proportion of alloys from the 4th and 5th century in
Zlateva, Lesigyarsky *et al.* 2019

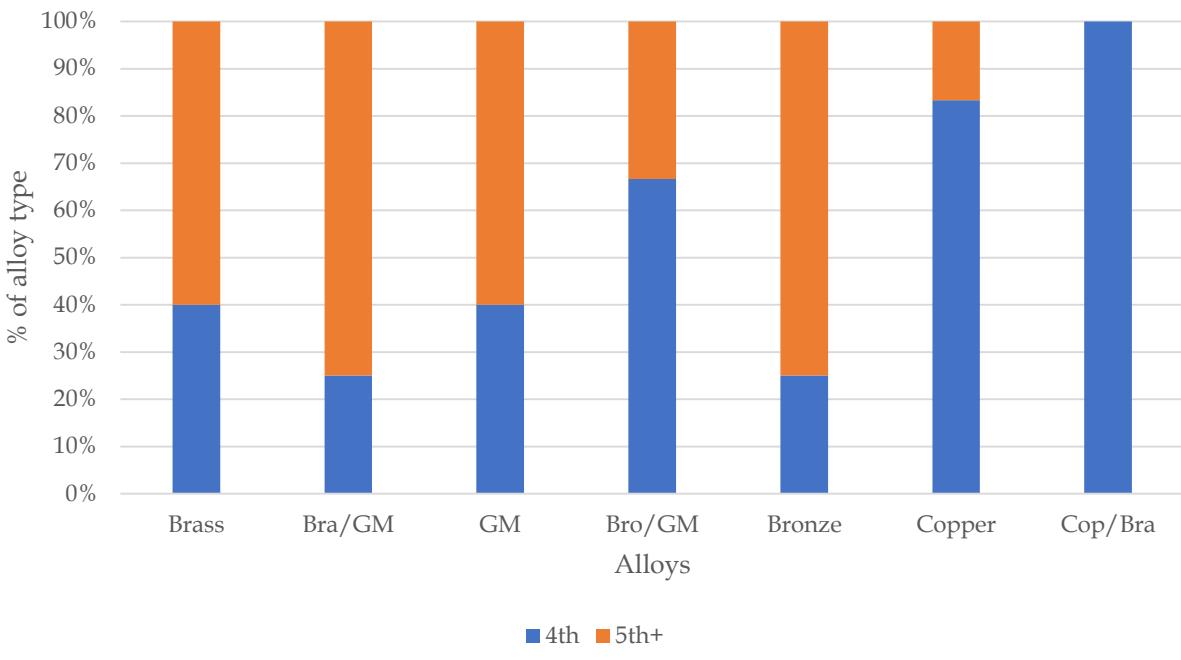


Fig.6.77 Proportion of alloys pre- and post-5th century from Zlateva, Lesigyarsky *et al.* 2019

In terms of pure numbers, in Bulgaria in the 4th century there are more examples of mixed alloys with a lower zinc content when compared to the 5th – 7th century examples.

The bigger picture shows that across the Empire recycling was commonplace. The fittings from Bulgaria reveal a c.25% were of either brass/gunmetal, gunmetal, or bronze/gunmetal which is a good indicator for recycling. In Britain c.24% of 120 crossbow brooches were brass/gunmetal, gunmetal, or bronze/gunmetal.

Although state-made crossbow brooches might demonstrate better quality production, there are still those which contain a large amount of lead or are of mixed alloys. Fresh material for these objects seems scarce at the time and this is likely down to the various upheavals in the 4th century which led to a reduction in mining for fresh metals. However, the overall proportion of brass is much higher on the continent than in Britain. Bayley and Butcher (2004: Tab.23) show that c.13% of 120 crossbow brooches found in Britain are of brass, compared to c.58% for the Bulgarian metalwork.

6.5.5: Recycling and Richborough in the Context of Late Roman NW Europe

To understand further the patterns in the material we need to take a step back and look at longer term trade and connectivity across the channel. People have travelled between the Gallic coast and Britain for millennia over various routes. Morris (2010) splits the sea surrounding southern and eastern Britain into three sections. The Western Channel/Atlantic system covers the area around the Isle of Wight and Sussex Coast up to the north coast of Scotland as well as western France. The Southern North Sea and Eastern Channel system covers everything to the east of the Isle of Wight, Kent coast and meets the previous system in Scotland as well as the north French and Dutch coasts. The final system is the Eastern North Sea which covers the Danish, Belgic and German coasts. In the LIA ports such as Hengistbury Head and Poole Harbour facilitated a large amount of trade in the Western Channel/Atlantic system as well as gold coinage on both sides of the Eastern Channel/Southern North Sea system (Morris, F. 2010: 19). With Caesar's excursions to Britain in the 1st century BC and the invasion of AD 43, attention appears to have shifted principally toward the Eastern Channel/Southern North Sea system with the Western Channel/Atlantic System disrupted (Morris

2010: 41). The Claudian invasion of AD 43 opened the Eastern Channel/Southern North Sea system further with the establishment of port facilities at Richborough and Dover. It has already been established that c.10 years after the invasion Richborough ran as a trading settlement, likely alongside some military activities, whereas Dover was principally a military port. By the end of the 2nd century the Eastern Channel/Southern North Sea system had gone into decline and did not recover in the 3rd century (Morris 2010: 110) which ties in with the abandonment of the port town at Richborough in c.AD 200. Less long-distance trade from the Mediterranean might have had an impact but the Antonine plague and debasement of coinage likely played a role (Morris 2010: 110-2).

This is where we arrive at Richborough in the late 3rd century, starting with the Gallic Empire in the AD 260s and ending with Constantine III taking control of the British troops. Before considering the archaeological evidence there are several historical events of note during this time.

1. The Gallic Empire established in Britain and Gaul in AD 260 and its fall in the AD 270s
2. The usurpation of Britain and Gaul by Carausius in AD 286
3. The removal of Allectus in the AD 290s by Constantius Chlorus
4. Emperor Julian constructing 800 ships to convey grain from Britain and sending Lupicinus to Britain to quell attacks from the north in AD 360.
5. Count Theodosius in AD 367/8 sent to Britain to recover lands lost to the “Great Barbarian Conspiracy”
6. Constantine III taking control of the British troops AD 408

Although it is always difficult to link archaeological evidence there are historical events for which we have record, and they contribute to the story of connectivity between Britain and the continent. Problems with “barbarian” populations is only one factor that disrupted connectivity. Environmental factors also contributed such as rising sea levels in the English Channel, particularly on the northern Gallic coast, due to the Dunkirk II marine transgression which started in the 3rd century forcing

settlement abandonment in the region (Morris 2010: 141). Changing water levels can also be seen in London where attempts were made to improve the waterfront facilities for trade; however, against the changing nature of the Thames this was largely unsuccessful (Brigham, Hillam 1990). Trade could have been diverted elsewhere to more favourable ports (Brigham, Hillam 1990: 159). There is also an economic shift back to the Western Channel/Atlantic system which was relatively safer from incursions that were affecting the other parts of NE Europe (Morris 2010: 142).

The belt fittings in this chapter, along with crossbow brooches, also fit this pattern of connectivity. Most crossbow brooches in Britain are of the late 3rd – early 4th century (Type 0 – 1) with fewer Type 2 (c.AD 300 – 65) and the late Type 5 and 6 (c.AD 350 – 415 and c.AD 390 – 460). There are more Type ¾ (c.AD 325 – 340) reflecting a wider increase in production of this type but these are under-represented in comparison to the continent (Morris 2010: 129). A consistent level of tin in the objects would point to newly-made bronzes (Bray, Cuénod et al. 2015), but the crossbow brooches from Richborough, where the core metal was analysed rather than the surface, show highly inconsistent and low levels, demonstrating a recycled bronze pattern. A similar pattern can also be seen in the crossbow brooches from Northern Gaul (Van Thienen 2016: 350). There is a high proportion of leaded brass suggesting lead was used to replace evaporating zinc whilst in most alloys tin is relatively low, pointing to recycled materials (Van Thienen 2016: 350; 361, Fig.161). It would therefore seem that across the Eastern Channel/Southern North Sea system there was a lack of fresh metal objects being imported, either as personal objects or through trade, and a need to resort to recycling. Considering the belt sets we can come to the same conclusion.

So, when and how were these crossbow brooches and belt sets entering Britain or being made there? The clear answer for them entering Britain is around the waists of soldiers. These belts would have initially produced in *fabricae* under the *Comes Sacra Largitones*. However, as I have demonstrated in this chapter, the objects in Britain were from recycled materials rather than being made from raw materials into good alloys in the *fabricae*. This is not to say that belt sets were not officially produced in Britain. The military use of the belt would have been important and as the graves at Lankhills and the decoration on insular forms of buckles and strap ends shows that sets were still produced. While

it is difficult to link objects to historical events there are important events in the late 3rd – 5th centuries which could have involved military troop movements. Several crossbow brooches which have been labelled the 'Richborough' type (Paul 2013: 401-11) have their origin on the continent in the late 3rd century. The continued production of these at Richborough, in what appears to be a cruder form, possibly shows a regional cultural link with the troops which likely arrived with Constantius Chlorus. Part of Constantius' army led by Asclepiodotus is said to have landed near the Isle of Wight (*Panegyrici Latini VIII.15.*) (Nixon, Rogers 1994: 134-6). Although the landing site of the other part is not known, a port on the Kent coast, such as Richborough is a strong contender (Eichholz 1953: 42-3). The distribution of the 'Richborough' type brooches shows examples in these locations (Paul 2013 408, Abb.4). Other examples are found further north, which would indicate the movement of people carrying these brooches rather than a system of trade or official supply. However, it is difficult to say whether these troops could have worn the 4th century belt sets discussed in this chapter, as this was close to the earliest date for their use.

We then have the arrival of Lupicinus and Count Theodosius in the AD 360s, their troops undoubtedly by this time were using belt sets and were wearing them when they arrived in Britain. The style of these belt sets is continental in origin, and this is the likely method of transfer to Britain. This is also about the time when the belt sets produced in Britain are dated (c.AD 370) (Böhme 1986) and when there is a reorganisation of buildings within the walls at Richborough. The belt sets from the Lankhills cemetery date to c.AD 350 – 70 (Clarke 1979: 286-7) . This is the date that Clarke suggests production began in Britain. However, we must consider that those that can be identified as continental imports and used for decades before. Sommer (1984) dates some belt sets to the late 3rd century and Keller (1971: 77) dates similar examples to Lankhills to c.AD 330 – 40 on the continent. One group of belt fittings, namely chip-carved sets, seem to have arrived c.AD 370+ (Swift 2000: 192-204). Again, this would tie in closely with the arrival of Lupicinus and Count Theodosius. These belt sets were likely made, at least at first, in military *fabricae* to supply the army. The appearance of the zoomorphic forms has been attributed to localised production in the Rhineland which were then brought to Britain in the mid-4th century, and this would fit with the compositional profile of the material at Richborough. Small scale production likely continued within these military groups who

knew the styles and production methods. These styles seem to have then been adapted into insular forms such as the horse headed buckles which utilise the dolphin headed frames from the continent. This is apparent from the previous section (Chapter 6.5) where the strap-ends are considered in detail. The above is not to say that the arrival of Lupicinus and Count Theodosius in the 4th century was the only process for the arrival of these belts, however, their strong link to the military suggests in the 4th century the arrival of continental troops en-masse.

By using a combination of typological and scientific approaches I have shown that the people at Richborough in the 4th century largely produced their belt fittings locally following continental styles.

The belt set components from Richborough to some extent parallel the metal alloys used in contemporary crossbow brooches, although there are also some differences. Throughout the 4th century at Richborough there appears to be both a trend for recycling from melted scrap and the use of fresh metals. There is more evidence for recycling into brooches than belt fittings, with more typical recycled alloys used for the former. The prevalence of leaded alloys in both the brooches and belt fittings might point to recycling, however, higher quantities of lead could be used for other reasons. As a cheaper metal it could have had a noticeable economic effect and its greater fluidity meant it made the alloy easier to cast (Bayley and Butcher 2004: 155). It is also possible lead was favoured for use in some parts of belt fittings, particularly plates and belt stiffeners as it makes it easier to roll (Bayley and Butcher 2004: 13).

Compared with the continent, there is a lack of brass objects from Richborough when comparing the brooches between Britain and Gaul and this pattern is even more acutely seen in the belt fittings when compared to the Bulgarian metalwork, where brass is especially common. This would point to local production of copper alloy objects, and further evidence of this was presented in Chapter 6.5, namely the development of new styles not seen on the Continent. However, there is a conundrum as there is a discrepancy between the metals used for the brooches and the belt fittings. As shown in this chapter and by Van Thienen, Lycke (2017: 55, Fig.5) on the Continent there were more brooches and belt fittings being produced from brass/leaded brass. The Richborough brooches and belt fittings are primarily made from bronze/leaded bronze. If brooches and belt fittings were being brought over

from the Continent in large numbers, then we would expect to see more brass/leaded brass examples. I suggest that the examples brought over from the Continent were melted down when broken to form new objects. This does not necessarily mean they were used to exclusively make new strap-ends; if this were the case there would be more gunmetal examples. There are a few contemporaneous brass and gunmetal brooches from Richborough which are evidence of imports, recycling of imported brass objects, and manufacture of new objects, but this is not demonstrated by the strap-ends. It is likely that brooches were better curated than strap-ends which were easy to lose off the end of the belt. Furthermore, given the low value likely placed on strap-ends compared to brooches, good brass objects which could be used for their metal were not prioritised in the recycling of objects to make strap-ends.

Any need for recycling and local production taking place at Richborough could be the result of a lack of substantive trade connections between Kent and the continent in the 3rd – 5th centuries, as described above, notwithstanding the sporadic troop movements between these locations. It is possible that because there was recycling happening in Northern Gaul that these objects were made there and then moved to Britain. However, this could have only been the case in the very late 3rd – early 4th century. If it were true for the mid-late 4th century onward, then we would expect to see more Type 5/6 crossbow brooches and more objects of leaded brass/brass. In a slightly later period, in areas such as the south and south-west of Britain (i.e., Sussex, Hampshire, and further west) where there was less breakdown in cross channel connections, new objects in new styles influenced by Continental metalwork occur, which did not happen in Kent until later, and at Richborough not at all. Although some strap ends with Continental features might have been made in Britain, the relative level of connectivity between the regions with the Continent points to this Continental influence. This is evident with quoit brooch style objects where the earliest types appear in the south of Britain and the Thames estuary, whereas only later types are clustered in Kent (Swift 2019). The mechanisms of the economic breakdown in Kent include rising sea levels and incursions by outsiders raiding the Empire. There is also a lack of late Roman villas and coins (Blanning 2014) suggesting a breakdown of traditionally Roman economic mechanisms. The continuation of the south coast connection via the

Western Channel route is attributed to its relative safety from these incursions and continued economic prosperity.

Through the approaches taken in this case study, I have demonstrated that the pattern at Richborough is of local production rather than imported military dress accessories. Although it is possible that recycled objects were imported from Gaul, on balance this is less likely because of the evidence of local production. Anomalous very late 4th-5th century objects such as the Type 5/6 crossbow brooches might have arrived as personal possessions rather than as mass imports. The lack of local production in Britain of these types might be a result of the lack of exposure to the styles or techniques used to produce such objects. Local production in the first half of the 4th century might have relied upon a recent knowledge of dress styles whereas in the late 4th century the lack of Continental connection meant the development of new styles of insular dress fittings or the continuation of earlier styles following previous Continental models.

6.6: Summary

This chapter has covered many aspects of the late Roman shore fort comparison, from the physical structures to the small finds. The new phasing shows that there is more nuance to the construction and occupation from the late 3rd – early 5th century. In terms of the shore forts there is no clear uniformity in the shore forts. Instead of the usual early and late groups, there are several phases in construction between the early-3rd century and mid-4th century which demonstrate it was not conceived as a unified system. This unification likely came in the mid-4th century. With the likely start date of the shore fort as Carausian, based upon coins in the earth fort ditches (Chapter 3.7) and the similarity with Pevensey, Portchester, and Lympne, it appears that these four southern forts were conceived by Carausius/Allectus in order to fend off a likely invasion along the south coast of Britannia. After this there is a possible gap where the forts were left unfinished until the mid-4th century. This unification of the forts likely came along with the position of the *comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*.

In terms of comparable finds in this study from the other shore forts, I have shown that Richborough is dissimilar to forts along the south coast, apart from Portchester. This similarity to Portchester lies in the military belt fittings, which could suggest that the forts were garrisoned with regionally culturally similar troops. It is also possible that there was a movement of troops between the sites, however, there is quite a distance between the forts and the transfer of troops between other shore forts could have been more convenient. Similar trade networks are also a possibility, but with the large amount of recycled material at Richborough (see Chapter 6.6) these objects were not being imported during this period. Looking at sites close to both Richborough and Portchester, comparable military belt fittings have been found in Canterbury (Blockley, Elder 1995: 1028-9, Fig.437.414-8) and Ickham (Young 1981: 39-40, Fig.4.2, 5, W and Fig.5.14-6) and in the Lankhills cemetery outside Winchester; near Portchester. The use of Canterbury and Winchester by the garrisons at Richborough and Portchester respectively is a possibility. It is likely that this was post-AD 350 due to the date of many of the fittings.

Although I have suggested that through the finds from Richborough that the occupants are more culturally like other shore forts further away, such as Portchester, rather than those closer, such as Reculver, this does not necessarily mean that the forts were culturally singular. The finds from Richborough demonstrated that a Continental group occupied the fort from c.AD 350, but the *ND* states the presence of the *Legio II Augusta*. At other forts, the apparent singular culture represented might be a result of the level of excavation. Although Reculver was fully excavated, about 50% of the original fort is lost to the sea. In total, less than 1/8 of the inside of Portchester was excavated, making it one of the largest shore fort excavations after Richborough. Larger excavations are needed as objects linked to difference regional cultural practices might be found where the different troops were housed.

The pattern is the same when comparing to the eastern shore forts. Comparisons with the finds in this study have few parallels. However, a late Roman helmet from Burgh Castle suggests a culturally similar garrison when compared with the Richborough ridge helmet, as well as late 'onion headed' brooches at Caister suggesting a continuation in occupation from the 4th – 5th centuries. A similar

situation to the Portchester/Winchester and Richborough/Canterbury comparisons might be seen at Caister-on-Sea/Caister-by-Norwich. Caister-by-Norwich is suggested to have been occupied in the late 4th – early 5th century (Myres, Green 1973: 31-41). Apart from the evidence provided by the incorrect interpretation of so called ‘Romano-Saxon pottery’, several items of late 4th – early 5th century military equipment were noted. This ties in with the earliest cremations near to the site and could suggest a link between Caister-on-Sea and Caister-by-Norwich in the late 4th and into the early 5th century. It is clear from looking at evidence from towns close by the shore forts, especially those where there is late activity that the garrison at the forts interacted with the local town. The comparisons with the northern forts show some similarities and differences. While in the north the *vici* were abandoned in the 3rd century, this does not appear to be the case in the south. Richborough has a very large area outside the fort which appears to have been occupied into the 4th century (Tony Wilmott *pers. comm.*). This is likely due to the differential use of the sites and local needs. The construction of the forts is also different, but this is due to the difference in time. The Hadrian’s wall forts are all of the 2nd century while the shore forts are 3rd century. Where there is a difference is in the interior of the forts. The forts undergo a similar transformation in that less space is given over to a garrison and supplies, and more to community buildings, such as possible churches or meeting halls.

The metallurgical analysis of the strap-ends, albeit pXRF, showed similarities with the high level of recycling to create late Roman brooches at Richborough. Similarly, the lack of the latest forms of strap-ends at Richborough which are found on the continent mirrors the lack of the latest Roman brooch forms. This suggests that the troops at Richborough were not privy to the new styles due to the lack of contact and incoming material. They continued to create the familiar. This continuation of the familiar is seen in the styles of strap-ends from Richborough. The majority of the strap-ends continue to use stylistic elements first developed on the continent rather than the new styles appearing in Britannia. These styles appear to develop primarily in the west of Britannia when first coming into contact with continental styles. The general idea of the strap-ends stays the same with the usual parts such as attachment, lugs, body and foot. However, these are adapted with different forms, shaped and decoration rather than the exact styles being adopted as there is little overlap between the south-east and south-west of Britannia. It is possible that the few insular styles that were found at

Richborough are the result of movement from the west. The *legio II Augusta* partly moves to Richborough in the late-4th century and could have brought these styles to the fort. They would have been more likely to adopt these styles given their long presence in Britannia and lack of exposure to the new continental belt sets.

Chapter 6 has shown that with new perspectives from my study of the archive and utilising 100 years of research into Roman Britain since the excavations that there is much to debate about the interpretation of Richborough in the late Roman period. My study of the archive has revealed finds and features that were not originally published. These have provided more detail on the layout and use of site in the 4th century (Chapter 3.7). With a better understanding of these features, I have compared Richborough with some with other contemporaneous sites. These comparisons have revealed important details and new interpretations for the late period. It is now clear that the shore fort was finished in the AD 290s. When it was started is unclear, but it appears that the late group of shore forts were constructed by Carausius. In this study of Richborough, I have shown how with a better understanding of the site it can be used as a point of comparison with the other shore forts during the 4th century. As so much material was excavated in the 1920s and 1930s it was a good point to start. Now with even more knowledge about the site I have demonstrated how Richborough is comparable with some, but not all, of the shore forts. From the finds regional cultural differences can be seen across the system. Where these are similar, they are not always in geographically similar areas (e.g., Richborough and Portchester). This is likely due to the use of new Continental units and those already based in Britain occupying the shore forts who will have developed different cultural traits. If we look to the wider landscape, there is the possibility that these units were linked in some way to the local towns (e.g., Winchester with Portchester). The occupation of the shore forts in the 4th century provides a tantalising look into local communities in late Roman Britain. Further investigation of the finds will inevitably reveal more about the regional cultural makeup of the sites, particularly the women and children. One major drawback is that not all the shore forts are excavated fully. Some have only had small area investigated and further excavation might find that the cultural makeup of the forts was more similar than I suggest. However, this might be because there were occupation zones within the forts. The identification of a Continental unit at Richborough not mentioned

alongside the *legio II Augusta* in the *Notitia Dignitatum* leaves open the possibility for the further mixing of long-standing British units and continental units in the forts as the strap-ends suggest.

Chapter 7 : Conclusions and Future Research

7.1: Final Thoughts

From the number of times Richborough has been referenced and included in studies of Roman Britain since the 1920s, we can see that it is archaeologically an important site especially for understanding the Roman occupation in Britain. The site produced a very large collection of finds and was the largest excavation of any of the shore forts. It has contributed significantly to artefact studies (e.g. Bayley and Butcher 2002) and to our knowledge of how the late Roman shore forts were organised. This has been amplified in this thesis by showing the true size of the site archive and small finds collection. However, I have also shown how erroneous past referencing to the site might have been due to how little was ever published. This is in no way the fault of those authors using the site as a comparison, but interpretation and reinterpretation has been made over and over, using different theoretical perspectives, on the basis of out-of-date publications that omitted significant archive material.

The five Richborough publications are very much of their time and at times do not present the archive well. Other sites excavated during the same period, such as Colchester and Wroxeter, amongst others, have been revisited several times during the 20th and 21st centuries. Richborough therefore stands as a site with little new interpretation in modern archaeological discourse. We have been left with an extensively excavated site but one that is understudied. This lack of study puts it out of step with our understanding of Roman Britain more widely and the collection needs and deserves a new look. The chapters in this thesis present a site which is ripe for more research and through my employment of nearly 100 years of Romano-British research and post-excavation techniques, the chapters begin to paint a new picture, making a significant contribution to our understanding of the site.

7.1.1: Material Culture out of Context

The most striking part of the Richborough collection is how few of the objects come from closely dated contexts. The biggest features on the site (the two series of ditches) were excavated in 3'-4' layers so it is impossible to know in many cases how the ditches were filled, and from which fills the

finds came. However, through careful consideration of published and unpublished evidence it has been possible to narrow down the date of some important contexts, for example, The new date for the Claudian ditch filling (c.AD54-70) and the position and date of the east wall collapse (c.AD410-720) (see Section 7.1.2 below). By creating the Richborough small finds database and using current methodologies I have grouped finds into shorter periods and build up a picture of the site, particularly in the 1st and 4th centuries. In general, there are many objects that can be defined as military (Chapter 2) from both periods confirming the interpretation as a military site during both periods as demonstrated through the activity categories of Combatant and Non-Combatant Military Activities. However, this study has not been able to consider objects of a more domestic nature, particularly those of women and children. It is also possible that many of the military finds from contexts dated to c.AD 50 – 85 are residual from the invasion period. In the 4th century, the majority of the military objects likely date to c.AD340+. While there are military objects, there is a multitude of hairpins and bracelets, which demonstrates a large community of women on the site. This is also much like the northern sites (see Chapter 6.3.5). It is quite likely that while military activities took place on the site this was not the only function of the shore fort.

Where objects do come from dated contexts, we can revisit the archive and data. One example is Pit 20 (Chapter 4.6), which had a large collection of objects that could be closely dated based on the coins and type of objects. Association between the objects was possible as the archive provided better stratigraphic data than the publications and a new interpretation for Pit 20 has only been made possible by the archive data. However, at a much larger scale, I have also shown that small changes and mistakes in the original archive, such as the Claudian ditch coins and position of the east wall, have huge implications not only for individual features, but about how we visualise the site overall.

7.1.2: Rethinking the layout

By the time Richborough IV was published a picture and narrative of the site was beginning to unfold. However, this picture was blurred and confused. While many areas of the site were individually illustrated, the only large plan of the site included features from the entire occupation of

Richborough. This made it difficult to understand the site. Barry Cunliffe presented many of the features in several illustrations, but many were also omitted. Studying the published and unpublished material and using ARCMAP has led to some interesting discoveries about the site. We can now see, through the distribution of pits and wells, which parts of the site were occupied during some periods. In the late-1st century, the distribution shows a fairly even occupation across the site, but at the time of the monument construction in the mid-2nd century we can see a distinct boundary between the construction/industrial area and the workers domestic dwellings. The drop off in pit and well digging during the 2nd century originally showed the decline of the town. However, with the new date for the *quadrifrons* it is likely that this was a less densely occupied area with little need for pit digging. In the mid-late 4th century the distribution of pits is important in understanding the areas of occupation. Some areas are heavily occupied, whereas others show little sign of occupation and might have been given over to other uses, particularly the NW corner. Additionally, previously unknown features such as the gravel patches in the SW corner, like those in the NE, demonstrates clear indications of dwelling in multiple areas of the site.

7.1.3: Richborough in the Wider Context

The additional data gained from the archives has meant I have been able to put Richborough into the wider context of Roman Britain. Comparing the 1st century site with others in Britain has shown that the invasion 'supply base' hypothesis no longer holds water. The site has little in common with 1st century military sites associated with the invasion. In fact, Richborough has more in common with the early merchant site at London (Wallace 2015) than it does with Hod Hill for example.

Richborough is better linked to sites in the Netherlands. Velsen showed a similar harbour construction and the 'Old Rhine' forts of the abandoned Caligulan invasion were utilised for the AD43 invasion. The buildings from the mid-1st century at Richborough can be paralleled at Verulamium and Cirencester, further suggesting a civilian rather than military establishment. My re-dating of the quadrifrons from the AD 80s to the AD150s has implications for our wider understanding of Imperial policy of both Domitian and Antoninus Pius. The re-dating of the 3rd century earth fort at Richborough also suggests that the site was part of group including Pevensey,

Portchester and Lympne as a southern defence against Constantius Chlorus. The occupation of the fort during the 4th century, when compared to the other shore forts, shows that there was some similarity in the regional cultural background of the fort's inhabitants before they arrived in Britannia. However, Richborough has a similar background to its inhabitants to forts further away, such as Portchester and Lympne than those closer to it, such as Reculver. When the new units arrived in Britain they were spread across the province, in some cases influencing the local population. There is also some similarity of the interior of the Hadrian's Wall forts, but only insofar as a likely reduced garrison and the presence of women and children. Perhaps there is a wider change toward communal groups within the fort rather than solely military, but this is hard to know. However, there is no clear evidence of the northern 'warband' model in the south of Britannia. This in turn suggests that the forts should be seen in their own geographical landscape rather than as a unified, state-controlled system. I have also briefly suggested that perhaps we should look at Richborough as separate to Roman Britain. It is at the time an island, much like the Isle of Wight, and apparently has its own name, suggesting that it is in some way different to the mainland.

7.1.4: Mixed Materials and Cross Channel Culture

XRF analysis of the collection of belt fittings from Richborough has revealed that, like the brooches analysed by Bailey, leaded bronze was the primary metal alloy used. The leaded bronze objects show the recycling of old objects to make these brooches and strap-ends. However, there is a difference to be observed. Within the assemblage of brooches there are several brass and gunmetal examples, whereas these are largely absent among the strap-ends. This contrasts with evidence from elsewhere; for example, brass was used in the 4th century for strap-ends as evidenced in Bulgaria. The lack of brass strap-ends suggests two things. Firstly, they were either melted down and used to make more highly prized objects or the same objects in lesser quality copper-alloys. This is to be expected, as throughout the Roman period in Britain there is a continuity of the use of leaded alloys, implying widespread recycling. Secondly, the late-dating of strap-ends, to the mid-4th century, means new supply never reached Richborough after the initial troops (who were wearing belts with fittings of good brass) were cut off from Britain in the mid 4th century from the new belts made in the

continental *fabrica*. It would have been much quicker to source local materials and broken objects to make their own. The need for recycling further demonstrates the lack of continental material coming to Britain in the late Roman period. It is unlikely that this is a localised and specific metal economy as Bayley (1992, 126-7) demonstrated the “proportion of mixed alloys increased with time” in Britain, and is not localised to any one region or site.

The thesis has also distinguished how the Richborough artefacts relate to those found more widely in Britain and on the Continent by developing a new typology for strap-ends (Chapter 6.5) and investigating the differences between the chemical composition of British and Continental strap-ends. During the 4th century a new style of belt sets entered Britain, and until now the focus of research on this material has mostly been on the buckles found in Britain rather than the strap-ends. The section on strap-ends in this thesis is a highly detailed typological study which demonstrates how the design of these objects developed after their arrival from the Continent and uses these insights to identify the regional cultural associations of the Richborough strap-ends. As the objects spread to Britain and started to be made there, some areas, particular eastern Britain, continued to use continental style features in their belt sets, whilst in the west new styles were developed. Further to this it can now be determined that the insular type of strap-ends can now be associated with insular type belt buckles, meaning they were made as sets. At Richborough there is a mix of styles, but primarily continental types, demonstrating people who associated closely with Continental cultures and/or were not exposed to the new insular styles. There are a few insular style buckles and strap-ends at Richborough, which shows a likely movement of people to the site rather than an adoption of the new types by the people already established there.

I have also further established Richborough’s place within its British setting, particularly in the 4th century. Before, it was simply known as one of the shore forts, and because of the large-scale excavation it was used as a model for the others. However, it is likely that Richborough was tacked on to the system at the same time as Pevensey (c.AD 290 – 95). It, like Pevensey, is at odds with other forts in its size as it is a good 40m smaller on each side. The discovery of two Carausian coins in the bottom of the inner ditch suggests they were filled in the AD 290s, which means Carausius likely had

the fort constructed. However, this picture is based on the current assumption that the other forts were constructed in the AD 260 – 70s by the Gallic Empire. It might be necessary to return to these sites for more conclusive dating. I have also demonstrated that Richborough has links through objects to forts further afield such as Portchester and Burgh Castle, rather than the nearer fort at Reculver. This is because some forts were occupied by military units from Britain while others were occupied by Continental units. The shore forts also had links with the local towns. Portchester and Winchester are linked through object types from the Lankhills cemetery and sites close to Richborough such as Canterbury and Ickham show similar links. It would be interesting to further investigate this at other shore forts.

7.1.5: Summing up Richborough

In this thesis I have demonstrated that the story of Richborough is far from told. My use of the archive along with archaeological methodologies not previously applied to evidence from the site has either reinforced or re-written past interpretations. The new interpretation of Richborough presented in this thesis will aid researchers in using Richborough in studies of Roman Britain to a greater degree than could be done with the five published volumes. The small finds database has brought the paper catalogue online into a researchable state and adds nearly 9000 objects to potential finds studies of the Roman world. At the time of excavation Richborough was widely used for type series of pottery and objects and my study of strap ends demonstrates that this can still be the case. With multiple objects of different types in the collection, it is a good starting point in combination with PAS data, especially for making connections with the Continental Empire. The data collected for this thesis has not only demonstrated that what we thought we knew about the invasion base and shore forts needed revising, but also that the old interpretations can be revised based on present site data; we just need to delve back into the archives and look at them in conjunction with the wider current research on Roman Britain and beyond which has occurred since the excavations. The work to bring the collection to light is constantly ongoing and the aim in the coming years is to continue to research, revise and rewrite Richborough.

In this thesis I have considered primarily military objects, as well as reinterpreting the archaeological features at Richborough informed by contextual finds information. This has mostly focused on the earliest (c.AD 43 – 78/85) and latest (c.AD 260 – 410) Roman periods on the site. However, there is much more pre- and post-Roman activity to be investigated as well as the Roman port town during the 2nd century. There is also a substantial finds collection that needs further investigation. This thesis has gone a long way to starting a project which can enhance our understanding of the site. By now having a clearer idea of site phases and a completed small find catalogue the site has the potential to be better understood than ever before. A detailed agenda for future research in each of the periods of occupation of Richborough has also been put together which I will outline in the next section.

7.2: Future Research

The Richborough collection is vast and understudied. In total there are:

- c.8700 smalls finds
- c.54,000 coins
- c.3000 ceramic fragments
- c.991 fragments of glass vessels
- 158 boxes of building material with some pieces on pallets
- Uncertain number of boxes of human bone

Clearly this collection is beyond the scope of a single PhD and requires the work of a specialist team as if this were a newly excavated site. Since the original publication of the site suffered many difficulties as well as lacking the modern analytical and scientific techniques of modern archaeology, the collection is ripe for study.

7.2.1: The Small Finds

An in-depth study of more of the finds from Richborough is still sorely needed. As one of the largest areas excavated in a shore fort it has often provided the basis on which to interpret many of the other shore forts. With over 8000 small finds and only 1400 covered by this thesis there is much work still to be done. Some categories are relatively small, such as seal boxes (53) but others are large, such as hairpins at over 1000. Typological and chronological studies of the collection are needed, as well as attempting to pinpoint areas of use/deposition across the site. This is no easy task, as already demonstrated, as contexts are recorded to a variety of resolutions. However, the site archive provides much more detail than the published volumes and from my observations it is possible to at least narrow down find spots to different areas/sites. Contextual dating is more difficult and much of the dating will come from known object chronologies. However, there is potential for better dating of

features, particularly the pits and wells, based upon the pottery data. Several people have expressed an interest in working with the collection. Colin Andrews has produced a report on the seal boxes and Leslie Rimell has studied the locks and keys.

7.2.2: The Pottery

There is a wide variety of pottery on the site. The most commonly found is of course Samian ware. There is also a large amount of native ware as well as other imported pottery. As on most sites, Samian was the primary method of dating. Of the c. 3000 fragments, c. 400 are either complete or reconstructed. Of these, 842 (225 samian and 617 coarse wares) are published in the Bushe-Fox excavation reports. However, after nearly 100 years, further research on Samian ware has developed a better understanding of this material than at the time of the site reports. There is then an opportunity to get to grips with the activity, dating and intensity of occupation based upon this evidence. The Samian is currently being catalogued by Jo Gray and Maggie Smith (as of September 2019). This project is finding previously incorrectly identified forms as well as unpublished stamps., Much like the small finds, it could be that only a portion was ever published.

7.2.3: The Coins

When the project began, the coins were unorganised. They were kept in individual envelopes with details written on from both the excavations and subsequent research. Many of the coins subsequently became separated from their envelopes so matching these up would be a huge undertaking. The coins are currently being repacked in a similar manner to the small finds. However, it will need a specialist eye to create a new catalogue. Richard Reece (1981) did this to some extent, but further work can be done to catalogue the coins by context and understand coin use on the site. David Holman (*pers. comm.*) has also produced a report on a hoard excavated prior to the Bushe-Fox excavations, which is currently kept in Maidstone Museum. There is also a part of the coin collection in the British Museum.

7.2.4: The Features

Looking through the published volumes it is often difficult to disentangle the features. However, these are only half the story. There are multiple features mentioned throughout the series which were not mapped and many more unknown ones in the archive. Brown (1971) demonstrated that by going back to the archive, features which were mentioned in passing could yield interesting results. It has been because of my study of the archives that I have been able to uncover unmapped and forgotten features which help to tell the story of Richborough. When reading the archive, it was clear that there were significant missing features. For example, the pebble patches in the SE corner mirrored those in the NE corner. Not all features could be mapped within this thesis and therefore there is more work to be done. Further use of GIS will allow for the reallocation of features from period to period where needed and better dating of pits will allow a fuller interpretation of their use and distribution. Another future project would be to link the extensive collection of site photographs to the GIS map. A comparison of features with other sites has been made in this thesis, especially those in Britain, however much more can be done, especially integrating Richborough with our knowledge of continental sites.

7.2.5: The Skeletal Remains

Human remains were found around the post-Roman chapel, in the shore fort ditches, in the 4th century cemetery to the south of the fort, in the SW corner of the fort, in pits, at many points in the topsoil and one in a tomb under shore fort west wall. However, relatively few have made it into the archive. It is likely that many remains were destroyed in the 1930s. A letter from the Royal College of Surgeons states that the remains of a man, woman and child found in a pit were destroyed. The only information about them is sex, age, and the fact none showed sign of injury and disease. Another letter in the archive shares an anecdotal account of a visitor to Richborough in the 1950s who met a man who worked on the excavation. He stated that the body found under the west wall of the shore fort had poor dental work and it was suspected that this led to their death. Whether this is the case or not is difficult to know as the provenance of the skeletal remains is lost. Recent radiocarbon and

isotope analysis (Fig.7.1, Tab.7.1) of the three skulls in the collection places them at as Late Bronze/Early Iron Age (GrM-20176), Roman (GrM-20177) and Late Saxon (GrM-20175) (Unknown 2019).

Tab.7.1 Richborough – radiocarbon and stable isotope results (University of Groningen)

Laboratory code	Sample, material & context	$\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{IRMS}} (\text{\textperthousand})$	$\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{IRMS}} (\text{\textperthousand})$	C:N	Radiocarbon age (BP)	Calibrated date (2□)
GrM-20175	78301927.3, Human tooth, 3 rd molar, right maxillary from ?male skull	-19.8±0.15	10.4±0.3	3.2	1180±30	720–960 cal AD
GrM-20176	810539.3, Human tooth, 3 rd molar, right mandibular from ?male skull supposedly excavated from the base of a first century temple wall	-18.7±0.15	14.4±0.3	3.2	2746±24	970–825 cal BC
GrM-20177	88408046.3, Human tooth, 3 rd molar, right mandibular from ?older female skull	-19.1±0.15	10.8±0.3	3.2	1846±24	80–240 cal AD

Redacted

Fig. 7.1. $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values of Richborough dentine samples compared to mean bulk bone and 1 s.d. values of assemblages from the Beaker People Project (Parker Pearson et al. Tab.8.3; n=246), Danebury (Stevens et al. 2010; n=47), Wetwang and Garton Slack (Jay and Richards 2006; n=61), Queenford Farm (Fuller et al. 2006; n=35), York (Müldner and Richards 2007; n=59) and the Anglo-Saxon Project [Bayliss et al. 2013; n=96] and mean dentine and 1 s.d. values from the Beaker People Project (Parker Pearson et al. Tab.8.3; n=246) (University of Groningen 2020).

It is difficult to confirm the provenance of 20176 as it was donated in 1955 from Bushe-Fox's wife. The only detail was a note, which said it was excavated at the base of one of the temples to the south of the fort. It would be interesting in the future to undertake a pathological study of the skulls as the Roman skull shows some sign of tooth loss during life.

7.2.6: The Glass

There is an extensive glass collection from Richborough. Currently Rose Broadley has produced a short, general report (which is held by English Heritage) on what is in the collection and has suggested several areas for future research.

- Comparison with other fort assemblages in Britain and beyond
- Comparison with glass from other site types nearby
- Internal organization of glass production and trade across the empire
- Contextual study – what can be learned from the context information that we do have about intra-site distribution and potentially patterns of use and disposal over time
- Compositional, including batch analysis; analysis of the late Roman compositions, especially the unusual claw fragments; and studying how heavily recycled the glass was. There are many miscellaneous fragments that may be suitable.

7.2.7: The Building Material

As on many major Roman sites, there is a large amount of building material, particularly CBM (Ceramic Building Material). The building material from Richborough also includes a large amount of marble, which came from the monumental arch. Although it is not currently catalogued, it would be an interesting exercise to do so and work out where on the site the material was found. This would help answer questions about the construction of buildings within the fort and the reuse of the monumental marble in 4th century buildings. The only major study on building material from Richborough and the other shore fort is by Pearson (2003) which covers the construction of the fort

walls. Pearson (2003: 77-9) concluded that at Richborough much of the material in the walls was freshly quarried and that there was some recycling, particularly of the monument stone. Elliot (2016: 102-8) suggests that the Roman navy in Britain was involved in quarrying stone in Kent. As they have a link to the shore forts through stamped tiles, it is likely they played a role in the construction.

7.3: An Agenda for Richborough

Richborough has fascinated people for hundreds of years but since the excavations of Bushe-Fox it has received little renewed attention. With such an extensive collection of Roman and some post-Roman material it is ripe for further research and this thesis is only the tip of a large iceberg.

There are clearly several phases of occupation at Richborough into which the research can be separated.

1. Pre-AD 43
2. AD 43 – c.AD 75/85
3. c.AD 75/85 – AD 200
4. AD 200 – c.AD 260s
5. c.AD 260 – 410
6. AD 410 – 11th century
7. 11th – 17th century
8. 17th century +

The Roman phases are generally split into those proposed by Bushe-Fox and Cunliffe in the Richborough reports. However, as was demonstrated in Chapter 3 there is the need for a new interpretation.

7.3.1: Pre-AD 43 (Period 0)

There is little evidence for pre-AD 43 occupation at Richborough apart from the few IA ditches and small amount of associated pottery. However, it is worth revisiting this evidence and incorporating it into the landscape of the IA in East Kent and Thanet. The ditches discovered at Pegwell Bay, of which one interpretation links them to Caesar, seem to be contemporaneous with Richborough and could in some way be linked. There is no evidence of occupation at Richborough after c.75-50BC which could indicate a move elsewhere inland. It would be an interesting study of IA Kent to see if this fits a pattern of settlement in East Kent. Questions:

- Can the shape of the IA ditches at Richborough be compared to any other known ditches in Kent or elsewhere?
- Does the IA pottery from Richborough need re-dating based upon more recent research?
- How does Richborough fit in the local IA landscape?

7.3.2: AD 43 – c.AD 95/100 (Period 1)

This period covers the initial Claudian invasion base and what now can be understood as a proto-port town before the major revamp of the site with masonry buildings and the monument. It is now understood that the Claudian ditches were open for a minimum of 7-10 years after the initial invasion. This could have allowed the military to operate a port on the British coast while they carried out their objectives inland. As these ditches were likely filled in in the AD 50s, merchants from Gaul could have been able to exploit the newly built port and shift the main trade routes to the SE coast. The stratigraphy for this period is difficult to interpret in places but overall, it shows the Claudian ditches followed by two periods of timber building and then the construction of the monumental arch. Granaries, shops, a possible timber forum/market and a metal workshop are the main structures of this period and do not appear to reflect the building style or regularity of the early Roman forts. Questions:

- What can the finds tell us about the identities of the community that established this port town?
- Does the activity on the site show a one- or two-way trade relationship with Britain?
- What goods were being imported and/or exported from Richborough?
- Is there any evidence of production on site outside of the known metal workshop?
- Can the timber buildings of this period be compared to those in Gaul or elsewhere in Britain?
- Is there any sign of military activity alongside civilian in the port?

7.3.3: c.AD 95/100 – AD 200 (Period 2-3)

This period covers the construction of the monument to the end of the port town. For several years toward the end of the 1st century AD Richborough likely looked much like a construction site. The site appears to have been split into an area of construction to the east and domestic dwellings to the west. However, we only know of the area inside the later shore fort walls. After the construction phase a port town thrived for at least half a century until it began to decline in the 2nd half of the 2nd century. The site consisted of a mixture of masonry, and timber buildings. The function of some has been identified, however, some remain a mystery. There is also the geophysical survey outside the walls to consider. Excavation of this area looks unlikely soon, but can the interpretation be compared to other Romano-British sites? This area also includes two 2nd century temples and the amphitheatre. The date of the amphitheatre is unknown, but it is most likely to be contemporaneous with the temples.

Question:

- What can the finds tell us about the identities of the community that rebuilt and restructured the port town?
- How does the monument fit into the Flavian building projects of the time?
- Can the function of the buildings on the site be determined either by structure, or by the finds?

- How do the temples and amphitheatre fit into the port town? Could they be part of a ritual landscape?
- What can the pottery tell us about Roman and native interactions on the site?
- Do the finds represent imports in bulk to Britain? Are they commonly found elsewhere in Britain? Are they objects of personal use rather than traded commodities?
- Why did the port fail? Were there internal or external factors which were the cause?
- Can the coin profile of the site tell us something about the activities on the site?

7.3.4: AD 200 – c.AD 280s (Period 4)

This period represents a likely abandonment of the site. There is little evidence of finds or features that can be attributed to this period. There are some coins, particularly Severan, but these might have been curated for their silver content and brought to the site much later. In fact, the Severan coinage on the site is lower than the British mean (David Holman *pers. comm.*). At this time, the first forts at Brancaster, Caister and Reculver, which were later incorporated into the shore fort system, were constructed. It is also around this time that the Classis Britannica fort at Dover was active. Reculver is only nine miles as the crow flies and Dover only 10 miles. If either or both forts were part of the Severan campaign in the early 3rd century, then Richborough seems a useful port. Although it is possible that Richborough was used, the evidence available is not sufficient. Perhaps the site was in such a state of disrepair that it was not a viable option. It could also be that the port was not as accessible as in the 100 years prior due to changes to the Wantsum channel. This period is shrouded in mystery, which is both because of the excavation methods of the time and the small area investigated. Excavation of the area outside the walls might yield better evidence either way with modern techniques. Questions:

- Was Richborough used as a base during the Severan campaign?

- Was there any occupation on the site in the excavated area or outside the latter shore fort walls?
- Does the coin profile suggest a complete abandonment or a change in use?
- Do any of the other finds, particularly pottery, show a drop off in activity?

7.3.5: c.AD 280s – AD 410 (Period 5-8)

This period represents the construction of the shore fort walls through to the end of the Roman period. There are several periods within this, which demonstrate changes in the occupation of the site. It is still difficult to tell when Richborough was reoccupied after c.AD 200, however, the coin evidence suggests that the shore fort was of Carausian construction. Whether or not this means that the Gallic Empire had made a start is unclear. The fort is therefore contemporaneous with Pevensey and possible with others; but better dating is needed. All evidence points to a change in the units at Richborough in the AD 290s after the defeat of Allectus, with a possible continuous occupation until the mid-4th century. At this time there is another changing of the guard and the units involve appear to be both continental and British based units. With little military equipment in the final securely dated contexts at Richborough it is possible the site was occupied for a period after AD 410. There are also several buildings, two with chalk foundations and the bathhouse, which need further investigation. The bathhouse must have been constructed after AD 273, but the actual date is unclear. Its date of disuse is also unclear and what became of it after its primary function. Additionally, there is still the mystery of the eight Theodosian coin hoards and what they might represent. Questions:

- Can the current evidence provide a definitive answer on the construction of the fortlet and shore fort?
- Can we identify the unit which occupied Richborough in the late AD 290s, which brought over the 'Richborough' type brooch and did this unit continue to occupy Richborough in the 1st half of the 4th century?

- How was occupation on the site divided between units, and what was the role of women and children on the site?
- What was the function of the two chalk buildings and when was the bathhouse in use? Were extramural buildings occupied or demolished for building material?
- Can further links be made between Richborough, Canterbury and other sites in Kent at this time and how much interaction was there between geographically close shore forts?
- Was Richborough responsible for exports to the continental Empire? If so, what commodities? Do other types of artefacts, particularly pottery, also demonstrate a lack of connectivity with Northern Gaul?
- How long after AD 410 was Richborough occupied and is there any evidence of 5th century raids or was the abandonment gradual?

7.3.6: AD 410 – 12th century (Period 9-13)

This period represents a long period in Richborough's history, which requires a lot more study. There are signs that occupation continued at Richborough into the 5th century, although few, if any, new 5th century objects appear during this time which would suggest that the population there was self-sufficient. There is no clear sign of any Saxon raiding and unlike some other shore forts no sign of 6th – 7th century occupation. From the very late 7th-8th century coins begin appearing on the site. This might coincide with a postulated wooden church that predated the stone church; however, no evidence was found. The first church on the site is suspected to have been pre-Norman and there was a church on the site by AD 1197 confirmed by historical records. This church overlaid the fallen east wall meaning it collapsed during this period. Question:

- Are there any post-Roman finds in the collection which show an occupation between AD 410 – 7th century?

- What was the date of the east wall collapse? Is it possible to know? Was the east wall collapse deliberate or natural?
- Would excavation around the church confirm an early wooden structure and can the first stone church date be confirmed?
- Of the skeletal remains around the church, do any still exist in the archive?
- What was the nature of the 8th century occupation?
- Are there any historical records that tell us about the family that owned the land after the Norman conquest?

7.3.7: 12th century – 17th century (Period 14)

This period represents a time when the church was the focal point of the site. From the 12th century there is a continuous coin series until the middle of the 17th century; the latest of which are local tokens. There is also evidence of a medieval port, but the date is unknown. The next coins are of William and Mary which shows a 30-year gap. I suspect the church was demolished in the AD 1650s.

Questions:

- Can we know the exact date and reason for the demolition of the church?
- What activities took place on the site during this period? Was there trade or was all activity centred around the church?
- When did the port cease to be used due to the silting of the Wantsum channel?
- Is it possible to pinpoint all excavated areas since the 17th century and place them all on one plan?

7.3.8: 17th century + (Period 15)

From the 17th century onwards, there was serious academic enquiry about the history of Richborough. Over the centuries several people undertook excavations with the most extensive undertaken by

Bushe-Fox. The locations of each of the excavations is generally known. However, some of this information is still in archives or difficult to locate. It would be an interesting study to map out all the past excavations on one plan to see the extent of the archaeological interventions. While I have managed to do this with the 20th century excavations, there are others from the 18th and 19th centuries which also need reviewing. At the same time information on all the artefacts from these excavations could be collated. During this period there is the largest written record about Richborough since the Roman period. There are many stories about the site from the people who excavated and visited, which even includes a visit by Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington (Roach-Smith 1883: 248).

- Is it possible to map and plan out all areas of excavation since the 17th century?
- Are there any important details in old excavation records which might be of use?
- What old material is in the Society of Antiquaries collection?
- Are there any unpublished and unknown studies from the 20th century on the Richborough collection?

7.4 Summing Up Richborough

Richborough has a long history and has been occupied or written about in some way since the 1st century BC; perhaps even before. Bringing the collection to light through this study has answered a lot of questions but also raised new ones. These questions could not have been raised before as either the collection was not accessible or archaeological methods were not adequate. This study has focused on the Roman period, but there is much to be studied beyond AD 410, even up to the present day. Older excavations than Bushe-Fox might yield clues about Richborough that have gone unnoticed and there are likely archives that have long been forgotten relating to these excavations. Several other specialists have started to look at the Richborough collection as it has become more accessible. As word spreads of the large number of artefacts to study there will undoubtedly be interest in producing new theses about the collection. A long-term plan needs to be put in place for such a collection. With so much detail it is worth revisiting the whole collection and taking a modern post-excavation approach to its study. A comparable study is that of Simon James who completed his

PhD on the arms and armour from Dura-Europos and recently published the final volume (James 2016). The excavations took place at the same time as at Richborough and suffered from many of the same problems. However, studies like this are clearly valuable to modern academic archaeology as they reveal more of the history of a site and advance our knowledge beyond what was suggested at the time.

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