Oppida: A Settlement Phenomenon of the later Iron Ages of Britain and Temperate Europe: An Analysis of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury

Four Volumes

588 Pages

1 CD-ROM

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Classical and Archaeological Studies

School of European Culture and Language

Thesis Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Kent

March 2017

Oppida: A Settlement Phenomenon of the later Iron Ages of Britain and Temperate Europe: An Analysis of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury

Volume One

Oppida and the Later Iron Age:

Introduction, Context, and Methodology

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Abstract

The later Iron Age was a time of considerable change in both Britain and Temperate Europe, with this period ultimately culminating in many areas of these regions coming under Roman rule. Much of the evidence attributed to the c.200 years this period spanned, (150/100 BC – AD 43), has received considerable attention from archaeologists over the years; however, there are certain bodies of this evidence that remain, by and large, a mystery. Arguably one of the most enigmatic entities ascribed to this period of prehistory are the oppida; a class of settlement said to have spanned from Hungary in the East to northern Gaul and Britain in the West.

Initially the term oppida, Latin for town, was applied to large fortified settlements of later Iron Age date said to display evidence of urbanism. Over the years this definition has altered in light of studies designed to ponder the functions of these sites; meaning that today there are multiple characteristics sought in, and applied to, potential oppida. Since the 1990s pre-existing interpretations of this term, and those sites labelled thus, have been the subject of papers designed to reassess the functions of so-called oppida and question whether existing suppositions of these are correct; a process that has led some to conclude that this term may no longer be fit for purpose.

This thesis aims to explore this notion further, and in doing so ascertain whether the term oppida continues to be one of relevance today. In doing this the author explored, in depth, the morphological and artefact records of three oppida, (Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury), using a pre-determined methodology in order to establish these sites' functions. The inferences borne from this process were then compared to those for a number of contemporaneous oppida and non-oppida settlements in order to broaden the scope of the study and strengthen the conclusions drawn.

These conclusions suggest that we do indeed need to reconsider our use of the term oppida today; as the characteristics sought in sites labelled thus fail to be reflected at the sites considered herein. This reconsideration is necessary, because, as the author argues, at present a site's characterisation as an oppidum ultimately lies in the hands of those responsible for its archaeological examination and subsequent publication, irrespective of whether the parameters of the term are met.

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Acknowledgements

The completion of this thesis was made possible by the funding awarded to me by the School of European Culture and Language, for which I am incredibly grateful. I also owe a huge debt of thanks to my supervisors, Dr Steven Willis and Dr Ellen Swift, whose support and feedback over the last four years allowed the project to grow into the thesis presented herein.

I also owe considerable thanks to Dr Paul Sealey who, in his position at Colchester Museum, granted me access to a wealth of source material on Colchester's hinterland without which the chapter on this region would have been limited. Conversations with Dr Sealey also provided valuable insight into occupation at Colchester itself during the later Iron Age, and helped shape the author's understanding of Sheepen's landscape at this time. Philip Crummy and Stephen Benfield from Colchester Archaeological Trust are also owed thanks for their contributions of data and conversation regarding later Iron Age Colchester, in particular recent work at The Garrison. While Maria Medlycott from the Essex HER deserves mention for kindly forwarding me a copy of the as yet unpublished report on Elms Farm, which served to considerably expand the dataset compiled for this site.

Dr Jake Weekes, Andrew Richardson, and Ross Lane from Canterbury Archaeological Trust also deserve thanks for their contributions to the collation of data on Canterbury undertaken as part of this thesis; whilst Dr Franziska Dövener of the Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art in Luxembourg provided valuable resources for my study into later Iron Age occupation at Titelberg. Rainer Kretz and David Holman are also owed appreciation, for answering my questions on later Iron Age coinage at various points in the project.

Thanks are also owed to Lloyd Bosworth and Jane Alderson-Rice at the University of Kent. The former for his guidance on some of the illustrations included within the thesis, and the latter for attending to problems faced with library resources over the course of the project.

Finally I owe my biggest debt of thanks to my parents, sisters, Adam Webber, and Jennifer Toogood for their varying, and unwavering, support over the last four years.

1: Introduction and Background

1.1: Introduction

From Hungary in the east to Gaul, and south-eastern Britain, in the west *oppida* were a far reaching phenomenon of the later Iron Age (Kappel 1969; Maier 1970; Champion *et al*. 1992, 306; Wells 2001, 84-85; 2002, 366; Fernández-Götz 2014a; 380). Speculation about these sites and their functions has been the subject of many studies over the years, such as Cunliffe and Rowley's (1976) edited volume *Oppida in Barbarian Europe*, and Collis' (1984) *Oppida, Earliest Towns North of the Alps*; yet hitherto no fully satisfactory explanation for these settlements' emergence can be said to exist. In fact, current thinking on *oppida* has left us with more questions than answers, and gaps in our knowledge; a scenario that has resulted in some questioning the early definitions/interpretations of these sites (e.g. Fernández-Götz 2014a; Moore 2012; Pitts 2010; Woolf 1993). However, even these more recent papers cannot be said to have resolved the many issues associated with these sites; for example Fernández-Götz's 2014a paper, *Reassessing the oppida: the role of power and religion*, focuses on his belief that *oppida* were linked through their use as religious foci, whilst ignoring the many factors that can be said to set them apart. The author therefore feels that it is time for these sites to be considered in a new light.

The aim of this thesis, however, is not to reassess the functions of all purported *oppida* in order to establish an analytical approach that will allow potential *oppida* to be more easily classified in the future, but rather, to use the inferences borne from a re-analysis of later Iron Age occupation at Colchester[1], Titelberg, and Canterbury, (three purported *oppida*), to determine whether these sites can continue to be labelled thus; and in doing so, propose an answer to the only question the author feels will enable us to advance our understanding of *oppida*, the communities who made use of them, and the later Iron Age in general: 'is the term *oppida* still valid today?' Many may be sceptical that answering this question using, primarily, evidence from only Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury will enable us to further our knowledge of *oppida* and their wider Iron Age context, but, an analysis of the literature pertaining to *oppida*, as well as that connected to Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury alone clearly demonstrates that the problems we face when trying to understand this undeniably broad class of settlement

[1] NB: Later Iron Age Colchester is often referred to as *Camulodunum* within the literature pertaining to its occupation at this time.

stem from the lack of a coherent definition of this term, (see Chapter 2), as well as the individual nuances of these sites (see Chapter 11).

'*Oppidum*',[2] Latin for town (Collis 1984a, 4; Poux 2014a, 13), is a term that was first applied to later Iron Age settlements by Julius Caesar during his campaigns in Gaul, between 58 and 52 BC, so as to differentiate them from the city of Rome (Collis 1984a, 4; Pitts 2010, 32). However, it should be noted, that although Caesar is arguably the only ancient author to have made use of this term in relation to later Iron Age settlements, its use within classical literature is wide ranging. As will be seen in Chapter 2.1 there is a long tradition of Latin authors making use of this term, with Cicero, Claudian, Livy, Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, Seneca, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Varro, (to name but a few), all using *oppida*, within their accounts of Rome, its histories, and exploits, as a Latin variant of 'town'/'city'. Furthermore, it is interesting to note, it is not just the 'historians' of the Roman period who used the term in this context, so too did a number of Roman poets, including: Horace, Ovid, and Virgil. Consequently, this points to a widely accepted notion, in contemporary Roman metropolitan society, of the term meaning an urban entity or social community of some sort. Therefore, it was ill-defined by the users of this term.

In contrast to the above, the term *oppida* is used archaeologically to describe large, fortified, settlements utilised for administrative, industrial, and religious purposes (Darvill 2003, 300). Furthermore, these settlements, as will be seen in Chapter 2, have also come to be viewed as central places that were synonymous with: tribal/elite residences, rich burial complexes, long-distance trade, and urbanism (Bryant and Niblett 1997; Collis 1976; 1984a; Collin 1998, 16, 114; Cunliffe 1976a; 1994; Fernández-Götz 2014a; Haselgrove 1976; Haselgrove and Millett 1997; Metzler *et al*. 2006; Millett 1990; Moore 2012; Pitts 2008; 2010; Rodwell 1976). Consequently, the widespread use of the term *oppida* in Roman texts, coupled with the different definitions archaeologists have for this term, as well as the stark differences between Roman towns/cities and later Iron Age settlements can be said to provide further proof for our need to re-evaluate our use of this term today. That is to say, can we justifiably continue to use a term that has had numerous, and often diverse, applications to describe occupation at settlements in Temperate Europe such as Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, and in doing so consider them part of the same class of site?

[2] *'Oppidum'* – singular; '*Oppida'* – plural.

In light of these broad definitions/uses for the term *oppida*, it was essential that the author developed a methodology that enabled their interpretations of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury to be measured against current thinking on *oppida*, whilst ensuring that these sites' individual characteristics were taken into account and not prejudiced by existing theories and/or interpretations presented within the literature that may, by today's standards, be outdated. Furthermore, to ensure that this approach was as thorough as possible, typical behaviours and processes of the later Iron Age were considered so as to ascertain whether *oppida* are actually the distinct class of settlement they are currently, by tacit consensus, believed to have been. In other words, the author rounded off their analyses of later Iron Age Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury with a consideration of whether their interpretations of these sites tally with current views on *oppida*, and consequently warrant their classification as such, or, do they share enough common points with contemporaneous non-*oppida* settlements[3] that we should be questioning the continued use of this term today?

Moreover, to ensure that this thesis was successful in its aims it was essential that the author not only outlined current thinking on the development and functions of *oppida* within its opening chapters, but that they provide insight into those themes, (society, economy, and power), which can ultimately be said to characterise existing interpretations of these sites' and their later Iron Age occupation. Furthermore, it was necessary that the cultural developments in Britain and Temperate Europe between 150/100 BC and AD 43[4] were also given consideration in order to allow the thesis' case sites to be viewed within the wider context of the later Iron Age. In addition to this, occupation at a number of other so-called *oppida*, as well as non-*oppida* settlements, was also considered for comparative purposes, so as to allow the author to ascertain what, if anything, has led *oppida* to be considered a distinct class of settlement. Conversely, while this information is undoubtedly vital for the purposes of providing a well-rounded answer to the thesis' primary research question, it is the reanalysis of the archaeological records attributed Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury that was at the heart of the study. Consequently, a methodology needed to be devised that would not only be transferable between sites, but would give rise to inferences that could be easily compared to the wider context of both *oppida* and the later Iron Age in general, and more importantly enable

[3] By non-*oppida* the author means those settlements, such as farmsteads, villages, and open sites, which have never been labelled *oppida* within the literature.
[4] Those dates traditionally ascribed to the later Iron Age, but particularly in south-east Britain.

them, (the author's interpretations of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury), to be used in the determining of whether the term '*oppida'* remains relevant today.

Although the aforementioned methodology had many functions, its main purpose was to allow the author to examine the data collated for the thesis' case sites, with particular focus on their ceramic assemblages,[5] in order to ascertain their most likely functions. The first stage of the author's approach was to examine the morphological footprints[6] of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury; because this aspect of an archaeological record can often provide immediate insight into a site's likely function(s), and as such provide an excellent backdrop against which to consider any artefacts present. Upon attaining all plausible interpretations from the sites' morphological footprints, their ceramic assemblages were considered with particular thought given to the vessel forms, and their cultural and geographic origins. This approach not only allowed the author to infer the activities supported by the vessels comprising the sites' ceramic assemblages, but, based on their context, and at times their origins, enabled them to determine whether certain vessels were retained for use by a sub-section of the sites' populations, or reserved for use during events of special social significance. Lastly, the author analysed the other artefacts recovered during excavations at the case sites, giving particular thought to their forms and origins, as this data, and the inferences borne from an analysis of it, could be used to support, and/or verify, those conclusions about site use drawn from considerations of the structural and ceramic evidence, whilst also highlighting areas where further study might be required.

Finally, and as with many types of archaeological study, the data collated and presented over the course of the thesis was collected from various sources, be it the archived records of HERs and archaeological trusts, or published catalogues. Consequently, this data is not all of the same age or quality. For this reason only robust evidence, or that which could have its attributes, primarily its dating, brought up to 21st Century standards was analysed. This process

[5] The decision to focus upon the ceramic assemblages, more than other categories of evidence, stems from the fact that this body of evidence is the most prolific on Iron Age settlements, that is, it is the most readily recovered on Iron Age settlements regardless of their functions. Furthermore its variable sources, (in terms of origins), patterns of wear, forms, and decoration can be said to reflect the cultural practices and connectivity, (through trade), of later Iron Age societies, and as such allows us considerable insight into the lives of those who made use of it. Consequently, ceramic vessels are invariably the best evidence on which to base a methodology that is to be applied to multiple sites of this date.

[6] By morphological footprint the author means the structural features denoting occupation at the thesis' case sites that were identified through excavation and/or archaeological surveying, such as aerial photography; as was the case with a number of the features identified as Gosbecks, Colchester.

led to some elements of the case sites' archaeological records being omitted from the current thesis to ensure that the best possible standards, (through the use of reliable samples), were maintained,[7] and the conclusions presented herein founded upon a strong evidence base.

1.2: Background and Reasons for Study

1.2.1: Necessity of Study

As noted above, reassessing the use of the term *oppidum*/*oppida* is necessary should we wish to advance our knowledge of not only those sites labelled thus, but the later Iron Age and its communities too. This need stems, in part, from that fact that the term has bred generalities which obscure the individuality of possible *oppida*, (including Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury), particularly when it comes to details of their emergence, and subsequent functions, (as will be seen in Chapter 2). Furthermore, while many acknowledge that these settlements differed in terms of the activities they supported (e.g. Fernández-Götz 2014a, 382; Haselgrove 1995; 2000; Millett 1990, 21; Rieckhoff and Fichtl 2011 *cf*. Fernández-Götz 2014a, 382; Woolf 1993a, 223), the continued use of this term not only overshadows their individual characteristics, but fosters the inference that they were urban in character, because after all this term is Latin for 'town' (Collis 1984a, 4). These implications raise further problems for those wishing to study *oppida*, because scholars today widely state that towns first appeared in southern Gaul, before spreading further north and into Britain, as Rome's control over Western Europe spread (King 1990, c.3; Vanderhoeven 1996, 190; Woolf 1998, 118-119); therefore, no Iron Age settlement can justifiably be considered a town by modern archaeological standards. Furthermore, the first towns of Britain are defined by their possession of a charter (Wacher 1976, 17; 1995, 61), as well as the presence of institutions and an administrative structure that were based on those in early imperial Rome (Wacher 1976, 17); whilst those in Gaul are defined by a formalised street plan, monumental structures (including public buildings), fortifications/walls, and domestic buildings constructed following Mediterranean styles and techniques (King 1990, 73-84; Vanderhoeven 1996, 235-243; Woolf 1998, 113). Occupation at the purported *oppida*, Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury included, of the later Iron Age

[7] The non-ceramic artefacts recovered during the 1930s excavations at Sheepen, Colchester are one such example of the excluded data. This evidence was largely unstratified, and therefore it was virtually impossible to determine whether it was deposited as a result of later Iron Age, or the subsequent Roman, use of the site. Consequently, its inclusion within the thesis could have resulted in an inaccurate portrayal of occupation at Colchester during the later Iron Age. The ceramics recovered during these excavations, on-the-other-hand, could be included because we have a better grasp of the currency of later Iron Age vessels on the basis of their typology, (and hence their place in chronological sequences and date-ranges), and thus it was possible for the author to ascertain which vessels were likely being used at the site at this time; even when taking into account the possibility of reuse.

generally lacked these qualities, and at those *oppida* that did eventually become Roman towns, including both Colchester and Canterbury, these defining features of early towns emerged only after Rome had gained a footing in Britain and Temperate Europe, and native populations had started to become accustomed to the Roman way of life.

In addition to the above, when identifying the early towns of Western Europe there are a number of physical attributes archaeologists sought, including: 'planned/gridded layouts, forum/basilica complexes, classical style temples, other Roman-style buildings, theatres, amphitheatres and circuses for chariot racing, baths, aqueducts and sewers indicative of improved water supply, arches/gates and walls, [and] orderly extra-mural cemeteries' (Mattingly 2007, 279). With the exception of walls, and on occasion planned/gridded layouts[8], the purported *oppida*, including the thesis' case sites, cannot be said to have been associated with these features; therefore, as it is these features, as well as the early towns' administrative functions, (in addition to the implied economic functions of their forum/basilica complexes), that resulted in their status as urban centres, the use of the term urban in relation to the so-called *oppida* of the later Iron Age is arguably inappropriate.

It can, therefore, be said that much of the current thinking on *oppida* has the ability to mislead those new to the subject, causing them to approach it with a preconceived idea of what the archaeology will reveal. Consequently, this has the potential to result in certain aspects of the data/site being overlooked in order to make newly discovered and/or reconsidered settlements fit with current ideals of *oppida*, or alternatively, simply for ease of interpretation. Therefore, a fresh approach to this topic, and a thorough evaluation of the term and its value, is clearly needed in order for the subject to progress.

[8] It is important to note that at those *oppida* where there is evidence of planned street layouts, such as at Titelberg (see Chapter 9) and Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000, 14; 26-29), these features appeared only after there was evidence of heavy Roman influence in the area, either as a result of part of the region in which they were located becoming occupied by Roman populations or because the society had been subject to prolonged contact with the Roman World, most likely as a result economic relationships.

1.2.2: Additional Aims of the Thesis

As stated in Section 1.1, the thesis' main aim was to ascertain the validity of the term '*oppida'* today, through a re-analysis of three sites considered thus within much of the literature: Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury. In order to do this, however, a series of sub-aims had to be fulfilled, and it is these that are the subject of Section 1.2.2.

The first of these saw the author determine the nature of occupation at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury in order to establish the activities they supported, as well as the ways in which they developed over the course of the later Iron Age. In doing this, these sites' social, economic, and power connotations, (themes closely entwined with the so-called of *oppida* of Britain and Temperate Europe, as well as the later Iron Age in general (see Chapters 3-5)), were identified. Using this information the author determined how well the case sites fit within the general parameters of the later Iron Age (see Chapter 11); and moreover, knowledge of these factors, coupled with a consideration of how this compared/differed site-to-site, served to fulfil the first stage in the process of determining whether the term *oppida* continues to be one that can justifiably be used to encompass a broad range of settlements with certain characteristics.

Furthermore, as the *oppida* of south-east Britain, including Colchester and Canterbury, tended to be sited in valley bottoms, and those in Temperate Europe, such as Titelberg, often on hilltops, and other elevated positions within the landscape[9] (see Chapter 2.3.2 for further details), it was essential for the author to consider whether sites situated in two very different topographic settings can realistically be encompassed by the same term. This was a viable line of enquiry in a study such as this, because the geographic setting of a site is likely to have dictated at least some of the activities it was able to support (Taylor 1997, 193).

The author also aimed to use their inferences of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, coupled with considerations of current thinking on a number of other purported *oppida*, to determine how well their patterns of use are reflected by current thinking on these sites. That is to say, by comparing occupation at the thesis' case sites with that taking place at some of the better

[9] It should be noted however, that this general pattern is not without its exceptions, as there are a number of the Gallic *oppida*, such as *Lutetia* (Paris), Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, Variscourt, and La Cheppe that were sited in valley bottom locations (Fichtl 1994; Roymans 1990, 200); just as there are *oppida* in the south-east of Britain that are sited in elevated locations within the landscape, such as Oldbury (Cunliffe 1976b, 352; Ward Perkins 1944, 128), Wheathampstead (Bryant and Niblett 1997, 1997, 274), and to a certain extent Welwyn (ibid, 275).

explored *oppida* of the later Iron Age in south-east Britain and Temperate Europe, (such as Baldock and *Verulamium* in England, Manching in Germany, and Bibracte in France), the author hoped to broaden their conclusions on the relevance of the term *oppida* today.

Finally, the author hoped to establish what, if anything, Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, as well as, to a lesser extent, the comparative *oppida*, had in common with other classes of settlement in use during the later Iron Age, (150/100 BC – AD 43), because the purported functions of *oppida* are far from exclusive. That is to say, there are numerous sites, from isolated farmsteads to sprawling villages, whose evidence suggests that they were used for the same purposes as alleged *oppida*. Consequently, this line of enquiry enabled the author to consider whether the defining characteristics of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury were such that they warranted these sites' differentiation from those to which the author compared them in this study. However, as many of the issues we face when contemplating the nature of occupation at *oppida* relate to the scale of both the occupation at these sites and any excavations carried out at them, coupled with the quantities of material recovered, it will be necessary to reflect upon these factors when drawing conclusions about their similarities with, and differences from, non-*oppida*, because the same issues are not always true for these sites. That is to say, because many of the other settlement types occupied during the later Iron Age, in both south-east Britain and Temperate Europe, were, on-the-whole, a lot smaller, in terms of scale, than the so-called *oppida* any archaeological investigations carried out at them tended to reveal a larger proportion of these sites' morphological footprints and material records; therefore, it would arguably be easier to gain a comprehensive picture of life at these sites than *oppida.* Despite these issues of scale and recovery, this study could be one of the most valuable lines of enquiry engaged in within the thesis, because it makes it possible to quantify the possible extent to which the term '*oppida'* remains relevant today.

1.2.3: Regions of Study and the thesis' wider value

There are numerous purported *oppida* that could have been selected as case studies for the thesis, but the author opted for two British sites, Colchester and Canterbury, and one from Temperate Europe, Titelberg. The decisions that lie behind the selection of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury are varied, but in many respects similar. Both Colchester and Titelberg are well known examples of apparent *oppida*, about which there is much written within the literature. Furthermore, these sites have both been subject to reasonable levels of archaeological examination over the years, which has resulted in extensive, and rich,

archaeological records (see Chapters 7 and 9). Consequently, both Colchester and Titelberg are associated with published, and detailed data, covering their morphology, recovered artefacts and site contexts, that is well suited to a fresh study, and evaluation, of these sites and their functions.

Additionally, the re-assessment of Colchester, (Chapter 7), is designed to fill a void within the literature on this site; because, at present no comprehensive overview of later Iron Age occupation at Colchester exists within the written record. Meanwhile, the author's account of Titelberg (Chapter 9) will become one of the only in-depth accounts of this site and its functions to be produced in English,[10] therefore making the site, and its archaeological record, more accessible to non-German readers.

The decision to include Canterbury was made because this site was the ideal candidate to act as a control for the methodology adopted to re-analyse later Iron Age occupation at both Colchester and Titelberg. Canterbury's suitability to act as such stems from the fact that very little, accrued by means of an analytical approach, has been published in relation to the site's later Iron Age occupation within the literature; except to say that it was an *oppidum* (Collis 1976, 8; 1984a, 227; Cunliffe 1976a, 147; 2005, 166; Pitts 2010, 35; Rodwell 1976, 240). Therefore, the site is something of a blank canvas in terms of scrutiny and synthetic study, and can be used to determine whether the methodological approach works on sites about which we have very little prior knowledge achieved through analyses of the available material data, and an archaeological record that has not enjoyed the same level of exploration as those associated with Colchester and Titelberg. Moreover, because much of what has been written on Iron Age discoveries within Canterbury exists only in grey literature and online archives the author's account of its later Iron Age occupation will represent the only up-to-date account of the site's use at this time. The re-analysis of Canterbury, presented in Chapter 10, will therefore not only prove to be of value to the research questions of the current thesis, but our knowledge of Iron Age Kent as a whole, because this region has received little archaeological exploration when compared to other counties in not only south-east Britain, but Britain as a whole (Ashbee 2005, 6).

[10] Most of the accounts of this site currently published in English focus on its burials, the 'Holy Enclosure', and/or the Foundation House (see Chapter 9.2); although, Fernández-Götz's 2014b text on identity and power in Iron Age north-east Gaul can be said to focus heavily on these aspects of the Titelberg as well as his hypothesis that the site's function as a religious centre that governed Titelberg's growth and eventual evolution into a successful economic centre.

1.3: Structure of the thesis: An Overview

In meeting the aims of the thesis, the author determined that the term *oppida* is indeed one we should consider leaving behind. The results of this process, and the thinking that lead to this conclusion, are presented over 3 volumes and 12 chapters. Chapters 1 to 6 comprise Volume 1 and focus on the background of both the project, (Chapter 1), and *oppida*, (Chapter 2); the subjects' wider later Iron Age context, which includes considerations of those themes prevalent in studies of this period, (society (Chapter 3), economy (Chapter 4), and power (Chapter 5)), as well as, how they relate to *oppida*; and the methodology the author applied to their re-analysis of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury (Chapter 6). The next four chapters, 7 – 10, make-up Volume 2, and detail the results of this reanalysis; Colchester and its hinterland are contemplated in Chapters 7 and 8, Titelberg in Chapter 9, and Canterbury in Chapter 10. Finally, in Volume 3 the component parts of the thesis are brought together, and the thesis' primary question is answered, in Chapter 11; the thesis is then completed by contemplations of the direction future work should take in Chapter 12.

2: What are *Oppida*?

For many Iron Age settlements definitions are easy to come by, but unfortunately, *oppida* are not one of these; and the difficulties we face when defining these sites, are twofold. Firstly, the best known, and widely cited, ancient classification of these sites by Julius Caesar in his '*The Conquest of Gaul*' are flexible, as demonstrated by his use of this term to differentiate the settlements of Gaul from Rome, whilst also, on occasion, interchanging it with *urbs*; most likely as a form of propaganda designed to impress upon Rome the magnitude of his Gallic victories. Meanwhile, the archaeological approaches used to identify potential *oppida*, despite comprising a series of characteristics desired of *oppida*, have limited parameters against which the archaeological criterion can be measured; in other words, many of the characteristics said to define *oppida* are difficult to identify within the archaeological record.

For example, it is regularly cited that *oppida* were tribal centres (Collis 1984a, Fig 2.2; Cunliffe 1994, 76; Millett 1990, 23, 26-27; Pitts 2008, 497-499), yet, there is little archaeological evidence, with the arguable exception of coinage, that can actually be used to identify either central sites or later Iron Age tribes. However, coinage alone cannot justifiably be used to denote tribal centres, because many Iron Age settlements that have never been considered thus have produced evidence of coinage bearing the name of tribes and/or tribal leaders. The discovery of coins in conjunction with coin moulds, and/or other minting paraphernalia, on-the-other-hand, could arguably be considered evidence of a site's status as a tribal centre, as tribal leaders/central authoritative figures are believed to have overseen the minting process (Allen 1980, 6). Conversely, even this cannot be considered definitive evidence of a tribal centre, not only because some tribal coinage was produced by multiple individuals and/or sites, with these coins sharing regional characteristics but often differing in terms of the legends depicted upon them (Nash 1987, 52),[11] but because it is extremely difficult to accurately identify the geographic regions over which ancient tribes presided in the first place (de Jersey 1996, 8). Consequently, we need to better outline the material evidence we seek to discover at potential *oppida*, because at present it seems we are unsure about how to best use the archaeological record to identify them.

[11] This phenomenon can be witnessed with the coins of Andoco minted under Tasciovanus and Epatticus who produced coinage under Cunobelin (Nash 1987, 52).

These difficulties, and the confusion they inspire, are further emphasised in the definition of these sites presented within the 'The Concise Dictionary of Archaeology', which states that *oppidum*, (singular of *oppida*), is '[t]he term used by Caesar to describe fortified tribal centres encountered by him in Gaul in 58-51 BC which did not merit categorisation as cities (*urbes*). In archaeological usage it is applied more generally to fortified sites and large permanent settlements of the later pre-Roman Iron Age in Europe. These served as centres for administration, trade, craft production, and religion. The word is sometimes, rather misleadingly, applied to any sizable or significant hillfort.' (Darvill 2003, 300) In other words, this definition, despite highlighting the most widely accepted interpretations of *oppida*, fails to provide specifics about the activities they are said to have supported, and the ways in which they have been identified archaeologically. Consequently, over the course of the current chapter, the author aims to establish what we currently know of *oppida*, (and how this information was garnered), whilst also seeking to highlight the short comings of this term, and in doing so initiate the process of fulfilling the overarching aim of the thesis: establishing whether the term *oppida* continues to have relevance today. A process that initially requires the author to further explore both its ancient and archaeological usage.

2.1: *Oppida* and the Ancient Literature

Arguably the most famed use of the term '*oppidum'* (Collis 1984a, 4; Poux 2014a, 13), within the ancient literature, is Caesar's use of it to differentiate the large Gaulish sites he encountered during his campaigns in Gaul from the city of Rome (Collis 1984a, 4; Pitts 2010, 32). Caesar's desire to differentiate the Gaulish sites from Rome was likely a form of propaganda designed to portray these sites as "barbaric" and "uncivilised" to his home audience, and more importantly the senate, and justify his campaigns in Gaul. However, Caesar was not consistent in its use. Within book VII of his *The Conquest of Gaul*, Caesar refers to some of the major Gaulish *oppida*, namely Alesia (The Conquest of Gaul, VII.8), Avaricum (ibid, VII.15), and Gergovia (ibid, VII.7), as *urbes* (Collis 1984a, 5; Rodwell 1976, 288). Interestingly, these sites are those whose inhabitants sided with Vercingetorix[12] in 52 BC, almost reversing Caesar's previous, and extensive, successes in Gaul. Consequently, Caesar's decision to label these sites *urbes* was likely carefully calculated propaganda designed to make his defeat of Vercingetorix,

[12] Vercingetorix is today perceived as a Gallic hero for the rebellion he led against Caesar in 52 BC. Although ultimately unsuccessful he had a number of successes, (for example at Gergovia near Clermont-Ferrand), before surrendering to Caesar upon the fall of Alesia (Eluère 1992).

and his allies, more impressive in the eyes of the Roman senate, who had undoubtedly started to doubt the validity of his campaigns (Buchsenschutz and Ralston 1986, 384).

The occasional use of '*urbs'*, instead of '*oppidum'*, is however not the only discrepancy identifiable in Caesar's application of the latter term. Caesar was also flexible about the sites he labelled thus; although, this may not necessarily have been a conscious decision, so much as a product of the type of text he was writing.[13] Despite this, it is important to take note of these additional inconsistencies, especially since they relate to the apparent differences identifiable between British and Continental *oppida*. Modern scholars, upon studying Caesar's text, have suggested that his application of the term *oppida* to Gallic sites implied the existence of urban qualities (Collis 1984a, 5), whilst its use in connection to British sites inferred upon them defensive qualities but a lack of both domestic occupation and urban character (ibid, 5).

One consequence of the above definitions is that Caesar has identified far more *oppida* in some regions of Gaul than likely existed. This is best illustrated through his considerations of the Bituriges tribe, (within Book VII of *The Conquest of Gaul*), with whom he connects over 20 apparent *oppida* (Buchsenschutz and Raltson 1986, 386), archaeology, however, has only identified half this number (pers. comm. Ralston 2016). Conversely, Caesar is not the only ancient author to have confused our understanding of *oppida* in this way. Within his *Life of Vespasian*, Suetonius uses the term *oppida* to describe the twenty settlements Vespasian captured in south-west Britain after Claudius' invasions of AD 43 (*The Twelve Caesars*, Vespasian, 4, 2-4). Given the vast regional differences between south-west of Britain and the south-east, where the majority of Britain's *oppida* are believed to have been located,[14] it is unlikely that all, if any, of these sites were *oppida*, at least by current conventions, and instead, were actually the region's hillforts (Cunliffe 1976b, 356).

Despite these problems with the ancient sources, Caesar's characterisations of *oppida* have undoubtedly coloured the parameters by which modern scholars define them today. In other

[13] Caesar is writing an account of his conquest of Gaul, rather than a history of the region's native population, therefore the language he uses will reflect the fact that he was successful in his endeavours, despite the native peoples resistance.

[14] The south-east of Britain at this time was characterised by developing social ties with Belgic Gaul which lead to increasing imports from the Continent, including Gallo-Belgic coinage that is said to have led to the introduction of the market economy in this region, and a greater degree of both social and settlement hierarchisation through the use of prestige artefacts (Cunliffe 2005, 601). Meanwhile, in the south-west later Iron Age occupation was largely characterised by its continued use of hillforts, close cultural ties with Armorica, an economy that was tied to the region's tin, and an apparent lack of rigorous territoriality (ibid, 596).

words, the extensive use of Caesar's *The Conquest of Gaul*, by modern scholars, can be linked to the desire for potential *oppida* to display evidence of defences and/or urbanism, (see Chapter 2.2); although, it should also be noted that others, such as Collin believe that is it the fortified nature of these sites coupled with their roles as economic, political, and religious centres that led the likes of Kruta (1980, 195, 220), Collis (1984a) and Audouze and Buchsenschutz (1980, 317) to label *oppida* urban and proto-urban centres (Collin 1998, 115).

Before we consider the archaeological definitions of *oppida*, however, we need to briefly consider the other uses of this term within the ancient literature. A search for '*oppida*' on the online version of the 'Loeb Classical Library' is the best way to reveal the extensive nature of this term's use within the ancient sources, as multiple results are returned. Within their histories and accounts of Rome/the Roman World, authors such as Cicero, Claudian, Livy, Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, Seneca, Tacitus, and Varro all use the term *oppidum*/*oppida* as a Latin variant for 'town(s)' and 'city(ies)' as the examples presented in Table 2.1 demonstrate.[15] Furthermore, it is not only within the histories of Rome that we see this term used, a number of Roman poets, including Horace, Ovid, and Virgil, also make use of this term (see Table 2.1).

Author	**References (Text tiles with book/chapter/line numbers)**	***Oppidum*/*oppida* as a variant for:**
Roman Histories		
Cato and Varro	*On Agriculture*, IV, 5.3	Cities
	On Agriculture, XVI, 4.6	Towns
Cicero	*Letters to Atticus, Volume II*, 126 (VII.3), 10.13	Towns
	Letters to Atticus, Volume II, 151 (VIII.1), 1.8	Towns
	Letters to Atticus, Volume II, 216 (XL.5), 1.11	Towns
	Letters to Friends, Volume II, 248 (IV.5), 4.5	Towns
	Letters to Friends, Volume II, 256 (V.10c), 1.4	Towns
	Letters to Friends, Volume II, 258 (V.10b), 1.2	Towns
	On Old Age. On Friendship. On Divination, De Divination I, XXXV, 78.4	Towns
	Orations, Philippics 1 – 6, Philippic 2, 62, 2	Towns
	Orations, Philippics 7 – 14, Philippic 10, 5 10.5	Towns
	Orations, Pro Lege Manilia, Pro Caecina, Pro Cluentio, Pro Rabino Perduellionis Reo, Pro Lege Manilia, XIII, 38, 3	Towns

[15] Within some of these authors' texts there are multiple examples of the term '*oppida*' being used, and while a literary study of this term would call for all of these to be examined, the nature of the author's thesis means that only a few examples from each of these authors' work are needed here to illustrate how it varies within its classical and archaeological usage.

	Orations, Pro Quinctio, Pro Roscio Amerino, Pro Roscio Comoedo, On the Agrarian Law, De Lege Agraria, I, VII, 20.9	Towns
	Orations, Pro Quinctio, Pro Roscio Amerino, Pro Roscio Comoedo, On the Agrarian Law, De Lege Agraria, II, XXVII, 73.7	Towns
	Orations, Pro Quinctio, Pro Roscio Amerino, Pro Roscio Comoedo, On the Agrarian Law, De Lege Agraria, III.IV, 2, 3	Towns
	The Verrine Orations, Volume I, Against Verrine II, XXI, 56.10	Towns
	The Verrine Orations, Volume I, Against Verrine II.II, XXVII, 65.4	Towns
Claudian	*Volume 1*, Against Eutropius, I, 347	Cities
	Volume 1, Against Eutropius, II, 199	Towns
	Volume 1, Panegyric, VII.121	Cities (high walled)
	Volume 1, Panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius, I, 163	Cities
	Volume 1, The First Book Against Rufinus, I, III, 195	Cities
	Volume 1, The War Against Gildo, I, XV, 269	Cities
	Volume II, On Stilichos Consulship, I, XXI, 340	Cities
	Volume II, On Stilichos Consulship, II, XXII, 194	Cities
	Volume II, On Stilichos Consulship, III, XXIV, 23	Towns
	Volume II, Rape of Proserpine, II, 153	Towns
	Volume II, Rape of Proserpine, III, 358	Cities
	Volume II, The Gothic War, XXVI, 449	Towns
	Volume II, The Panegyric, XXVIII, 377	Cities
Livy	*History of Rome. Volume I. Books 1 – 2*, I.I, XXXIII, 4	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume I. Books 1 – 2, II, XLVIII, 4	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume II. Books 3 – 4, III, III, 10	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume III. Books 5 – 7, V, LIV, 5	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume III. Books 5 – 7, VI, IV, 9	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume III. Books 5 – 7, VII, XIX, 1	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume IV. Books 8 – 10, VIII, XIII, 9	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume IV. Books 8 – 10, IX, XXV, 7	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume IV. Books 8 – 10, IX, XLV, 17	Cities
	History of Rome. Volume V. Books 21 – 22, XXII, XXI, 8	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume VI. Books 23 – 25, XXIII, XXXXVII, 12	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume VI. Books 23 – 25, XXIV, XX, 5	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume VI. Books 23 – 25, XXV, 1.5	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume VII. Books 26 – 27, XXVI, XL, 14	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume VII. Books 26 – 27, XXVII, XX, 8	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume VIII. Books 28 – 30, XXVIII, VII, 13	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume VIII. Books 28 – 30, XXVIII, XV, 15	Towns (fortified)
	History of Rome. Volume VIII. Books 28 – 30, XXIX, I, 14	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume VIII. Books 28 – 30, XXX, XIV, 9	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume IX. Books 31 – 34, XXXI, XXXIII, 5	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume IX. Books 31 – 34, XXXII, XIII, 6	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume IX. Books 31 – 34, XXXIII, III, 2	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume IX. Books 31 – 34, XXXIV, IX, 1	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume X. Books 35 – 37, XXXV, 1.4	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume X. Books 35 – 37, XXXVI, XIII, 5	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume X. Books 35 – 37, XXXVII, LVI, 2	Cities
	History of Rome. Volume X. Books 35 – 37, XXXVII, LVI, 4	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume XI. Books 38 – 39, XXXIX, XXV, 4	Cities
	History of Rome. Volume XI. Books 38 – 39, XXXIX, XXV, 5	Towns

	History of Rome. Volume XI. Books 38 – 39, XXXIX, XXVI, 13	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume XI. Books 38 – 39, XXXIX, LVI, 2	Towns (fortified)
	History of Rome. Volume XII. Books 40 – 42, XL, XLIX, 2	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume XII. Books 40 – 42, XLI, VIII, 7	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume XII. Books 40 – 42, XLII, I, 11	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume XIII. Books 43 – 45, XLIII, I, 2	Cities
	History of Rome. Volume XIII. Books 43 – 45, XLIII, II, 12	Towns
	History of Rome. Volume XIII. Books 43 – 45, XLV, XXXIV, 6	Cities
	History of Rome. Volume XIII. Books 43 – 45, XLV, XXV, 11	Towns
Pliny the Elder	*Natural History. Books 3 – 7*, II, I, 11.1	Towns
	Natural History. Books 3 – 7, III, III, 18.3	Towns
	Natural History. Books 3 – 7, IV, IX, 32.2	Towns
	Natural History. Books 3 – 7, IV, XII, 54.4	Towns
	Natural History. Books 3 – 7, IV, XII, 59.1	Cities
	Natural History. Books 3 – 7, V, XI, 64.1	Towns
	Natural History. Books 3 – 7, VI, XXXII, 154.5	Towns
Pliny the Younger	*Letters, Books 1 – 7*, Book VI, VIII	Towns
Seneca the Younger	*Apocolocyntosis*, 12.41	Cities
	Epistles 66 – 92, XCI, 1.11	Cities
	Epistles 66 – 92, XCI, 9.2	Towns
	Natural Questions, Books 4 – 7, IVa, 2, 11.2	Towns
	Natural Questions, Books 4 – 7, VI, 31, 8.5	Towns
Tacitus	*Annals Books 4 – 6, 11 – 12*, IV, XXVII, 4	Towns
	Annals Books 4 – 6, 11 – 12, VI, XLI, 12	Towns
	Annals Books 13 – 16, XIII, XXXV, 7	Towns
	Annals Books 13 – 16, XV, XII, 11	Towns
	Histories Books 4 - 5, Annals Books 1 – 3, Annals III, II, 8	Towns
	Histories Books 4 – 5, Annals Books 1 – 3, Histories, V, VIII	Towns
Varo	*On the Latin Language*, V, XXXII, 143.1	Towns
Roman Poets		
Horace	*Odes and Epodes*, Odes, II, 15, 18	Towns
	Satires, Epistles, Art of Poetry, The Art of Poetry, 399	Towns
	Satires, Epistles, Art of Poetry, Epistles II, II, 8	Towns
	Satires, Epistles, Art of Poetry, Satires I, 105	Towns
Ovid	*Fasti*, III, 1D, 11th, 642	Towns
	Heroides, Amores, Amores, XII, 3	Towns
	Heroides, Amores, Heroides, XVI, 34	Cities
	Metamorphoses, Books 1 – 8, I, 97	Cities
	Metamorphoses, Books 1 – 8, VI, 146	Towns
	Metamorphoses, Books 1 – 8, VII, 57	Cities
	Metamorphoses, Books 9 – 15, XV, 295	Cities
	The Art of Love and other Poems, A Poem of Consolation, 33	Cities
	The Art of Love and other Poems, A Poem of Consolation, 173	Towns
	Tristia. Ex Ponto, Ex Ponto, II, I, 38	Towns

	Tristia. Ex Ponto, Tristia, I, II, 78	Cities
	Tristia. Ex Ponto, Tristia, IV, II, 20	Towns
Virgil	*Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1 – 6*, Eclogues, IV, 33	Towns (walled)
	Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1 – 6, Georgics, I, 176	Towns
	Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1 – 6, Georgics, II, 156	Towns
	Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1 – 6, Georgics, III, 402	Towns
	Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1 – 6, Georgics, IV, 178	Towns
	Aeneid: Books 7 – 12, Appendi Vergiliana, Aeneid VIII, 355	Towns (walled)
	Aeneid: Books 7 – 12, Appendi Vergiliana, Aeneid IX, 608	Cities
	Aeneid: Books 7 – 12, Appendi Vergiliana, Aeneid XII, 22	Towns

Table 2.1: Examples of the use of *oppida* within the ancient literature, with references.

In light of the evidence presented in Table 2.1, the author feels justified in saying that the term *oppida* has a long history of use within the ancient literature, with this use being connected to the identification of towns and cities across the western world. It is because of the term's use in place of other Latin variations for 'town(s)' and 'city(ies)' that it has become synonymous with the term 'urban'. However, as urban towns and cities, at least in the guise of those identified by the ancient authors[16], did not exist in south-east Britain and much of Temperate Europe until after the Roman conquests, and subsequent Roman occupation of these areas, the author feels the aims of this thesis are further validated. That is to say, as the settlements identified as potential *oppida* in south-east Britain and Temperate Europe are typically different enough from those settlements the ancient authors identify as *oppida*, (with the exception of those identified by Caesar and Suetonius), and/or urban, that we need to question whether we can continue to use this term, in its archaeological context, today.

2.2: *Oppida*: Archaeological Definitions

Over the years there have been conscious efforts to develop measurable, archaeological, parameters for the term *oppida*, to ensure that physical evidence can be used to verify a site's status as an *oppidum*. This process was first initiated by German archaeologists during the 1930s, whose main criterion for *oppida* were size (Reinecke 1930) and fortifications (Kornemanns 1942) (*cf.* Collis 1984a, 6; Woolf 1993a, 224).

[16] When the ancient author's talk of urban settlements, namely towns and cities, within their writings they are referring to settlements similar to the towns of the Mediterranean World.

For a site to meet Reinecke's (1930) size criterion they have to be of a similar scale to sites such as Kelheim and Manching which enclosed several hundred hectares of land apiece;[17] setting them apart from the hillforts which typically only enclosed up to twenty (Collis 1984a, 6). Conversely, Kornemanns (1942) defines an *oppidum* as: *quod pedi obest* – something in the way of the foot, a barrier or an obstruction; the primary characteristic of which is the presence of a defensive structure: natural or man-made (Collis 1984a, 4). Today, both of these criteria tend to be sought by archaeologists when identifying *oppida* within the archaeological record (e.g. Collis 1984a; Fichtl 2000; Bryant 2007); although, this is not always the case. Within the literature, there is much evidence to suggest that a site's size has not always been taken into account when labelling it an *oppidum*; the presence of fortifications, on-the-other-hand, is very seldom ignored (Woolf 1993a, 225). Woolf has surmised that the reason behind this apparent willingness to disregard a settlement's size, but not the presence of fortifications, in the identification of *oppida*, is to keep open settlements in a category of their own (ibid, 225); Rodwell, however, would argue that, by following these parameters at all, we are 'trying to define *oppida* in too precise a manner' (1976, 288).

Although size and fortification are, on-the-whole, thought to be the most significant features of purported *oppida*, they are not the only ones sought. The desire for measurable parameters, through which to identify *oppida*, has led archaeologists to require potential *oppida* to display evidence of: urbanisation (Kornemanns 1942; Sherwin-White 1970); intensive domestic occupation, extensive industrial activities, and long distance trade (Bryant 2007, 77; Bryant and Niblett 1997, 279; Collis 1976, 8; 1984a, 87-104, 137-166; Fichtl 2000; Fichtl 2005, 107-162; Fichtl 2012a, 43-68, 77-86; Hamilton 2007, 87; Woolf 1993a, 224-225). In fact, as Woolf notes, the 'current research paradigm effectively defines an *oppidum* as any site broadly similar to Mont Beuvray in France; Manching in Germany; and Stradonice in the Czech Republic' (1993a, 226).

Conversely, despite using the above parameters to identify potential *oppida* in both Britain and Temperate Europe, there are clear differences in how the term has been applied to sites in Britain, specifically the south-east, and Temperate Europe. Whilst the majority of Continental *oppida* have been defined through the above criteria alone, the situation is more confused when

[17] Kelheim covers an area of 650 hectares, while Manching is almost half this size at 350 hectares (Woolf 1993a, 225).

it comes to those in south-east Britain (Collis 1984a, 6; Bryant 2007, 77; Pitts 2010, 34). When identifying potential *oppida* in south-east Britain many tend to favour the German school of thought; however, this thinking has only ever been partially adhered to, with evidence of fortifications being the principal characteristic pursued (Collis 1984a, 6). Moreover, and in addition to this, the *oppida* of south-east Britain are desired to display evidence of settlement (Rodwell 1976, 288), and high status activity (Cunliffe 1976a, 135; 1994, 76; Hill 1995a, 70, 82) too.

Furthermore, there have also been attempts within British archaeology to quantify *oppida* by splitting them into major and minor sub categories (see Appendix 2.1); a process that Pitts believes further confuses the situation (2010, 34).

Consequently, if one had to sum up what an *oppidum* was, based on the given information, it is likely that only a vague conclusion would be reached. This would be based on both the ancient, or, more specifically, Caesar's use of the term, (see pages 12-13), and archaeological use of the term, and state that *oppida* have to display evidence of defences coupled with some level of urbanisation. Given that only a very broad conclusion of what an *oppidum* was can be reached after many decades of study, it is arguably self-evident that a new avenue of study is required. However, before we can state for certain that this is the case, we need to better understand current depictions of *oppida* within the literature; because, what is presented above is only the bare bones of how these sites are identified and perceived today. In doing this, the author will not only be able to contemplate how this thinking affects our chances of better understanding those settlements currently labelled *oppida*, but they will be able to use this information in their quest to ascertain the validity of the term today.

2.3: Oppida: current thinking

2.3.1: Chronology

For the purposes of the current project, the author devised their own chronology by which to analyse the thesis' case sites. This was designed to enable the development of, and changes at, Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, over the course of the later Iron Age, (150/100 BC – AD 43), to be tracked and considered in detail by dividing this c.200 year period into four timeframes, (150/100 – 55/50 BC, 55/50 – 30/25 BC, 30/25 BC – AD 20/25, AD 25/30 – 50), whose parameters were chosen for their coincidence with events/processes that had the potential to affect all Iron Age settlements, not just the so-called *oppida*, (see Chapter 6.1).

Although this new chronology proved to be of considerable value to the current thesis, in that it enabled the thesis' primary research question to be answered, it differed greatly from those that exist within the literature.

In the past there have been many attempts to outline a chronology for the development of *oppida* using artefacts with widely recognised typologies, including: brooches, imported pottery, (particularly in the case of the *oppida* in south-east Britain where amphorae and Gallo-Belgic wares have been extensively studied in order to ascertain the dates associated with the emergence of these sites), locally produced pottery, and coinage (Collis 1984a, 34-35). The result of this process suggests that the majority of so-called *oppida* in Temperate Europe began to emerge in the 2nd Century BC (Champion *et al*. 1992, 306; Fernández-Götz 2014a; 380; Kappel 1969; Maier 1970; Wells 2001, 84-85; 2002, 366); while those in south-east Britain are typically attributed to the post Augustan Period, that is after c.27 BC (Champion *et al*. 1992, 311; Creighton 2006, 19; Cunliffe 1978a, 243-286; 1995a, 69-79; Millett 1990, 33; Pitts 2010, 35; Rodwell 1976, 288), although some are purported to have emerged as early as the late 2nd/early 1st centuries BC (Cunliffe 1976a, 136; 1995a, 69-70; Mattingly 2007, 56; Pitts 2010, 35).

To be more specific, the *oppida* of Temperate Europe can be linked to three main phases of emergence, beginning in the 2nd Century BC. The first, which included the birth of sites such as Starè Hradisko and Stradonice, took place during the La Tène C2 period (c.175-100 BC), the second, which saw the establishment of sites such as Manching, Mont Beuvray, and Titelberg, occurred during La Tène D1 (c.100 – 50 BC) (Collis 1984a, 53, Fig.4.1), while the third, associated with the construction of many of the Gallic *oppida*, (such as Gergovie), took place from c.20 BC onwards (ibid, 74, Fig.4.1); although, it should be noted that there were many so-called *oppida*, (including Bibracte), in use in central Gaul when Caesar arrived in 58 BC (ibid, 74). Meanwhile, in south-east Britain, the territorial *oppida*, such as Colchester and *Verulamium* are most commonly attributed to what has been termed 'the Romanising' phase of the later Iron Age (Haselgrove 2001, 59) which began in c.20 BC (ibid, 46), while enclosed *oppida*, such as Bigbury, Oldbury, and Wheathampstead were primarily established considerably earlier than this, between 120 and 85 BC (ibid, 44 – 45).

Although the use of artefacts to devise chronologies is useful in terms of allowing us to compare like with like, we gain little else from this process; because until we know whether these sites

can be securely classified as part of the same 'site type', trying to compile an overall chronology for their emergence would do little but add to the generalisations already attributed to them. For this reason, the author suggests that until we have a better understanding of these sites' roles within their respective societies, we follow what the evidence tells us of their individual origins, and in doing so follow Collis' advice and view their development as responses to local situations (ibid, 167), which, in many respects, will highlight the continuous changes within Iron Age communities (Sharples 1990); a process that is regularly surmised to have been accelerated by contact with the Roman World (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 383).

By following this approach, in conjunction with the author's chronology, we would not only account for observable differences in the dates of occupation attributed to the *oppida* of Temperate Europe and Britain, but we would also learn more about the communities that took the time to implement their construction, or in some cases did not; because, during the last three centuries BC not all Iron Age communities thought it necessary to opt into the '*oppidum* culture' that took large portions of Temperate Europe 'by storm' (Collis 1976, 5). However, before we consider why these sites developed in some areas but not others, it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with their topographical settings.

2.3.2: Topographical Settings

As with the siting of all Iron Age settlements there were a number of factors considered by societies before they opted to settle in any given region. In the case of the *oppida* however, it is generally believed that there were more factors to consider; these are summarised in Table 2.2.

Furthermore, *oppida* also appeared in locations that best reflected the intentions of those who were to inhabit/make use of them (Collis 1984a, 167-176 Cunliffe 1994, 76-78). The clearest example for this is their siting in geographic locations that would enable the control of long-distance, and major trade routes (Collis 1976, 8; 1984a, 171,176; Creighton 2000, 17; Cunliffe 1976a, 148; 1994, 76; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 380). These factors are believed to have led to the majority of *oppida* in south-east Britain being sited on/near river crossings (Cunliffe 1976a, 148), whilst those in Temperate Europe tended to not only be situated on trading routes, but in close proximity to raw materials, in particular iron ore, around which the sites economies, and therefore trading relationships, were likely based (Collis 1984a, 173-174).

Factors considered	Sites for which they were sought
The Land:	
- Good soil with reasonable drainage, - Shelter free from dense vegetation, - Permanent fresh water supply, - Previous occupation.	All Iron Age settlements.
Communications:	
- Access to the sea, - Local river transport, - Established overland routes.	Medium sized prosperous communities sited at nodal points within communications systems.
Exploitable Resources:	
- Fertile hinterland, - Minerals, - Timber.	See above
Defence:	
- Natural obstacles and a topography suitable for artificial strengthening.	Settlements with a high level of social organisation.
Developmental Potential:	
- Seat of royal power, - Mint, - Port/Harbour, - Long distance trading centre, - Local/Tribal market, - Religious and social centre, Industrial production/processing centre.	Those with the highest degree of social and economic development (especially in Britain)

Table 2.2: Landscape settings desired for Iron Age settlement (after: Rodwell 1976, 290).

Additionally, the environs chosen for *oppida* in south-east Britain tended to differ from those opted for in Temperate Europe. It is typically stated within the literature that the purported *oppida* of Temperate Europe were sited on steep-sided hills or plateaux (Collis 1984a, 167), for example Mont Beuvray, in France (ibid, 167), and Titelberg, in Luxembourg (Metzler 1995a; 1995b), while those in south-east Britain favoured valley bottoms, and other low-lying locations (Collis 1984a, 6), as both Canterbury (Detsicas 1983) and Colchester (Hawkes and Hull 1947) demonstrate. Although this overview of the so-called *oppida* and their landscape settings is well established within the literature, it is misleading. Among the many famed *oppida* of Temperate Europe there are numerous examples that are situated in low-lying and/or valley bottom locations, such as Paris (*Lutetia*) and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Roymans 1990, 200); equally, in south-east Britain there are a number of so-called *oppida* situated on hilltops, such as Oldbury (Cunliffe 1976b, 352; Ward Perkins 1944, 128) and Wheathampstead (Bryant and Niblett 1997, 274).

Despite the apparent differences in landscape settings, it is possible that the decisions which lay behind the siting of *oppida* in both Britain and Temperate Europe were more or less the

same; although, in south-east Britain there appear to have been a number additional factors that governed the landscape settings of these sites. Many of the *oppida* sited in south-east Britain appear to have been placed on the edges of already settled areas, with little evidence of Middle Iron Age occupation (Hamilton 2007, 83; Haselgrove 1976, 38; Hill 2007, 18). In fact, it has been suggested that the locations available for the placement of oppida were limited by agricultural expansion during earlier periods of the Iron Age, in other words, they appeared on the fringes of pre-existing occupation (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 283; Hill 1995a, 70). Resultantly, it is possible that the areas chosen for settlement displayed some desirable characteristics, but were not always perfectly suited to the level of planned habitation. For example, although Colchester had many of the landscape characteristics desired by Iron Age peoples, (see Chapter 7.1), Sealey (pers. comm.) believes that its location was not completely suited for permanent occupation because Sheepen, the site's economic and industrial hub (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 50-51; Niblett 1985, 23; Brooks 2008, 12; Brooks and Holloway 2009, 2), was as open and exposed to the elements as it is today; thus, at certain times of the year conditions might have rendered this region of Colchester less hospitable than either Gosbecks or The Garrison (see Chapter 7).

Finally, while it is typically stated that *oppida* were primarily situated in locations that would have had access to major trading routes, be this from a low lying position, as it is widely purported was the case in south-east Britain, or an elevated one, as was the norm in Temperate Europe, there are those who have suggested that these sites were often located in easily defensible areas (e.g. Břeň 1976, 91; Collis 1976, 8; 1984a, 167; May 1976a, 163; Nash 1976, 107; Petres 1976, 76). Consequently, it is possible that the desire to establish a defended settlement is what led to a number of the European *oppida* being located on steep-sided hills or plateaux; therefore, a consideration of the reasons why the purported *oppida* developed in the first place could shed more light on their landscape settings.

2.3.3: Reasons for development

Over the years, many suggestions have been put forth on the subject of why *oppida* appeared when and where they did. When we take stock of these, it becomes evident that the majority of these suggestions are variations of the same idea: that *oppida* appeared as societies became more complex to create a further rung in the settlement hierarchy (Clarke 1972 *cf*. Collis 1984a, 66; Cunliffe 1976a, 135; Fernández-Götz 2014b, 162; James 1993, 61, 120-121); however, not all of the reasons behind the development of *oppida* can be said to stem from this idea.

During the last hundred or so years of Iron Age occupation a series of events/processes are purported to have resulted in dramatic social and economic shifts (Cunliffe 1994; 71), as well as the emergence of *oppida*. One of the longstanding products of this notion is the belief that the Belgic Invasions of the First Century BC (Hawkes and Dunnings 1932) contributed to the rise of these sites in south-east Britain (P.Crummy 2007, 456; Cunliffe 1994, 71); although, increased contact with the Roman World, and the 'Romanisation' that this resulted in, is also a favoured explanation for their appearance, this time not only in Britain, but Temperate Europe too (Cunliffe 2005). While the former of these suppositions has lessened in prominence in recent years, the notion that increased contact with the Roman World attributed to the appearance of *oppida* remains prominent for two reasons. Firstly, because increased interaction with the Roman economy may have acted as an external stimulus for the development of apparent urban sites (Cunliffe 1994, 76; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 383; Hill 2007, 33; Pitts 2010, 33); and secondly, as a result of a society potentially feeling threatened by an external source (Collin 1998, 114; Collis 1984a, 65; Cunliffe 1976a, 148; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 381; Woolf 1993a, 232), such as the Cimbri and Toutons who assaulted the Gauls at the of the 2nd Century BC (Collin 1998, 114; Fernández-Götz 2014b, 161) and Julius Caesar who led campaigns in both Gaul and Britain between 58 and 52 BC (Collin 1998, 114; Cunliffe 1976a, 148; 1994, 76). Conversely, there are a number of flaws in this thinking.

A large number of the Gaulish *oppida* were constructed prior to the campaigns of Julius Caesar in 58-51 BC (Collis 1984a, 49), while others were not constructed until the reign of Augustus (ibid, 50; Haselgrove 1996a, 135-138; 2007, 507-508) which commenced in 27 BC (Richardson 2012, 87). Furthermore, the communities responsible for the construction of *oppida* in Central and Eastern Europe established these settlements during the 2nd Century BC long before the Roman Empire was founded and the majority of the Gallic sites emerged. Therefore, not only had many of the Central and Eastern European sites ceased to be occupied by the time the Gallic sites came into being, but long before Rome had turned its interests to Temperate Europe and bringing areas of it under Roman control. Furthermore, even after the Roman Empire was established Central and Eastern Europe remained largely outside of Roman control, (see Figure 2.1), consequently, any long lived *oppida* in this region are unlikely to have been considerably altered by these developments. It is therefore necessary for us to examine more closely the local stimuli for the emergence of *oppida*, as these are likely to reflect the communities associated with individual sites, as well as their functions.

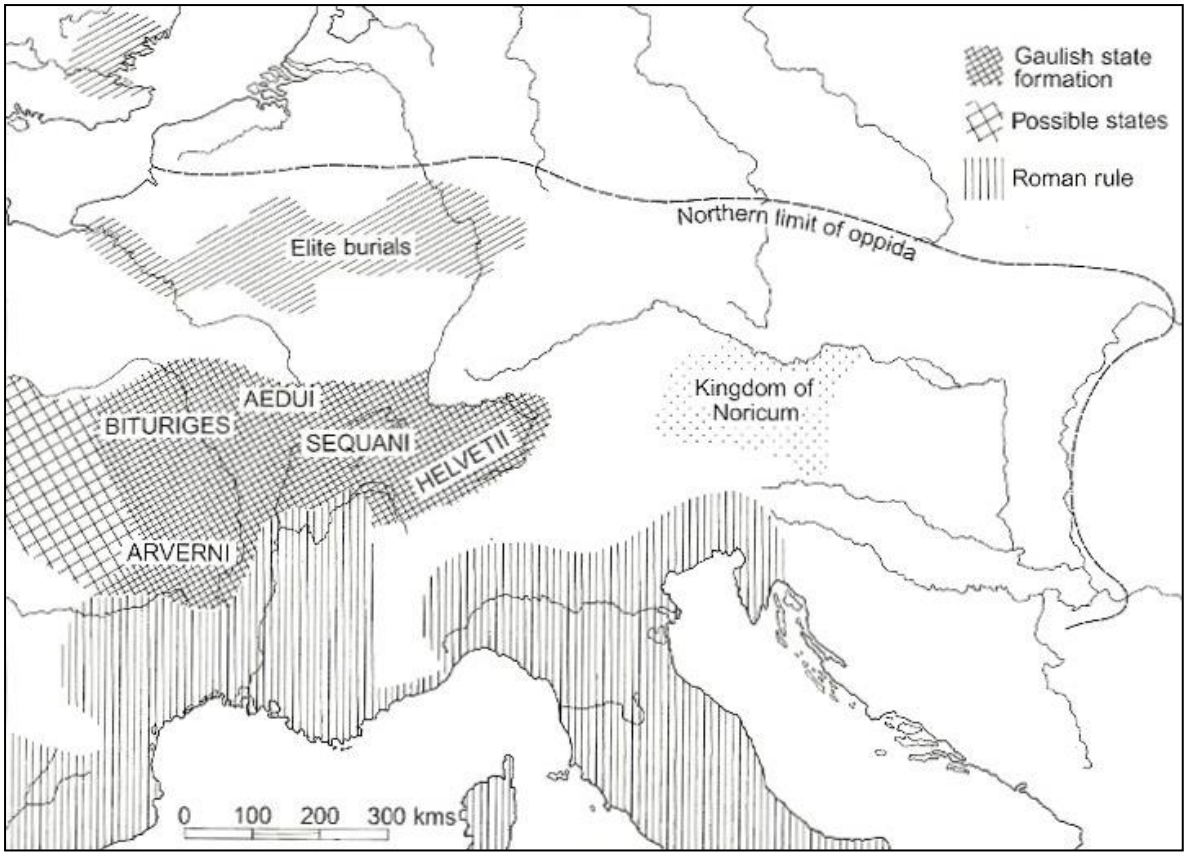

Figure 2.1: Map of South-East Britain and Europe showing the extent of the Roman Empire during the earliest parts of the First Century BC when the initial *oppida* of Temperate Europe, (those located in Central Europe) were occupied (after Cunliffe 1999, Fig. 188)

Within his 1984 publication '*Oppida: Earliest Towns North of the Alps*', Collis suggests that there were a series of circumstances that gave rise to the *oppida* (1984a, 65-74); and while many might argue that this thinking[18], which is summarised in Table 2.3, is out-dated by today's standards, no-one has suggested an alternative pattern for their emergence. Consequently, this model remains, to date, the most apt. Furthermore, this model highlights the importance of taking into account the local factors associated with the development of *oppida*, because through a consideration of Collis' work we see that most of the patterns put forth are extensions of what was already occurring during the late second and early first centuries BC.

[18] This first originated in Collis' 1981a paper '*A theoretical study of hillfort*', (which is based on the ideas of Bradley (1971) and Cunliffe 1971)

Patterns of Growth	Key Points
Stimulated Growth	- Presence of a catalyst, not necessarily economic, - Established for defensive or social purposes, - Function: to form a nucleus around which the local community was encouraged to settle.
Natural Growth	- Slow transformation of a non-urban settlement into one with urban characteristics, - Gradual expansion of the population, services, and functions.
Self Imposition	- Most *oppida* lay on hilltops or other defensive locations, - Evidence of ramparts and settlements belonging to the same period; with few/no traces of earlier occupation, - Established for reasons of defence at a particular moment in time, with a substantial part of the local population living within the defences.

Table 2.3: The emergence of *oppida*: patterns of growth (after: Collis 1984a, 65-74).

Further to the above, Collis also states that there are two pairs of variables that communities considered prior to the construction of *oppida*:

1. Would it have a centralised or decentralised position for the population?

2. Would the pressures that gave rise to the *oppida* lead to the abandonment of the pre-existing settlements? (ibid, 83)

Thus, when the time came for a society to make the decision of whether or not to construct an *oppidum*, a number of factors needed to be considered:

1. Were the pre-existing settlements easily defensible; if not was there an alternative, easily defensible, location available?

2. Was the threat relevant to the stresses likely to be caused by the move? In other words, was the population easily movable, would new houses be feasible based on the available timber, was there agricultural land available for farming, and finally, would their economy suffer?

3. How severe was the threat, be this external, (from an enemy), or internal, (based on social and political pressures), to the society's stability? (ibid, 83)

It is therefore likely, that *oppida* only appeared after considerable considerations of changing social, economic, and possibly political situations (Collin 1998, 115; Woolf 1993a). Consequently, when it came to the final decision about whether to settle, the development and needs of a community were put before the pressures and threats of external forces. Furthermore, when we cast our minds back to the locations in which these sites most commonly appeared, (see Chapter 2.3.2), we can say that changing factors within local communities also governed the development of purported *oppida*; in particular population increases and the developing nature of Iron Age economies (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 384; Fernández-Götz 2014b, 162-163; Hill 2007, 26; Pitts 2010, 33). One could therefore argue, that it is unsurprising river crossings and major trade routes were chosen as prime locations for *oppida*, as these would have facilitated the further expansion of local economies (Cunliffe 1976a, 148; Nash 1976, 99-107).

Conversely, it is just as probable that these sites appeared to create neutral meeting places for large numbers of people from one or more areas to convene (Millett 1990, 25) for communal, and probably religious, purposes (Collin 1998, 114; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 384; Fichtl 2005, 107-162; Fichtl 2012a, 43-68, 77-86; Haselgrove 2000, 106; Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 283-285; Moore 2012, 411); while others (e.g. Almagro-Gorbea and Gran-Aymerich 1991; Fernández-Götz 2012; Fichtl *et al.* 2000; Metzler *et al.* 2006) believe that it was the religious import of these sites' initial phases of occupation, and/or their forerunners, that governed their growth (*cf.* Fernández-Götz 2014b, 3; ibid, 167). Either way, these functions would have aided social cohesion within both densely occupied and widely dispersed societies. In fact, if these sites did develop as communal and/or religious gathering places, this process can be considered the result of localised and wider Iron Age needs; especially in south-east Britain, where it has been suggested that these settlements appeared on the fringes of pre-existing occupation in areas that exhibit little/no evidence of Middle Iron Age use (Hamilton 2007, 83; Haselgrove 1976, 38; Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 286; Hill 2007, 18). It is, therefore, plausible that sites of this nature developed as a means of maintaining peaceable relationships within densely populated landscapes.

Consequently, if we had to sum up the reasons why *oppida* appeared, when and where they did, using the information presented above, the only plausible conclusions we could draw are those which suggest that these sites were the result of internal developments and the needs of local communities; although, it is possible that in some cases external factors also played a part. However, if we are ever to truly understand the emergence of these sites, we need a better method of study, namely, one which will allow us to look at *oppida* independently, (that is, in their own right), as well as, as part of the same potential class of settlement. Before we examine further the problems associated with studies of *oppida* however, we need to first consider their functions.

2.3.4: Functions

To date we can say little, with conviction, about the purported functions of the so-called enclosed *oppida* of south-east Britain, as few have been subjected to full scale excavation (Cunliffe 1976a; 148). A similar problem can be said to exist in Temperate Europe where even Manching, arguably one of the best explored *oppida* in Temperate Europe, has only been subject to minimal excavation; only 3%, (4.5 ha) of its 350ha expanse has been explored archaeologically (Cunliffe 1999, 225). Furthermore, excavations that do take place, particularly in Northern Gaul, tend to focus upon the defences bounding these sites, their public spaces, and, where present, sanctuaries; meaning that our knowledge of their domestic sphere tends to be much more limited (Fernández-Götz 2014b, 144). Consequently, the evidence available for analysis might represent, on any given site, only a fraction of that which might exist. This likely limited the scope of the interpretations drawn, which in turn restricts our understanding of the evidence, by preventing a thorough consideration of what activities the artefacts facilitated. Although problematic for the present study, it should be noted that this is not a problem limited to studies of *oppida*, but is one relevant to investigations of settlements from all periods of pre-history/history.

Despite the limitations posed by excavation there are many roles that *oppida* are surmised to have performed. From previous sections of this chapter we already know that many presume to believe that these sites were urban centres; however, this is misleading because, as it has been cited elsewhere, the earliest urban towns and cities in Western Europe coincided with Roman occupation, and bore the characteristics described by Wacher (1975) in '*Towns of Roman Britain*', that is: a charter which gave it legal status as a town, as well as institutions and administration processes similar to those practiced in early Imperial Rome (Wacher 1975,

17-18). Furthermore, while the urban status of these settlements can be considered dubious at best in light of this observation, one has to wonder what, archaeologically, has been used to identify this purported function of *oppida*, especially since this characteristic is difficult to define.

Typically, when seeking to identify an urban centre archaeologists look for evidence of urbanism; that is to say, they wish these sites to be large in size with evidence of formalised street plans, as well as religious and political foci in close proximity to domestic occupation (Darvill 2003, 448); in addition to this, others seek evidence for dense occupation, industry and trade, defences, and some form of administration (Collis 1976, 3). Even though it is possible to identify a settlement's size, the density of their occupation, street plans, defences, trade and industry, as well as domestic occupation within the archaeological record, the other characteristics desired of urban settlements are virtually impossible to recognise without a predefined outline of the evidence that can be said to denote religious and political foci, and administrative functions.

In light of the above, we are essentially seeking evidence tallying with that highlighted in previous studies on the supposed urban functions of *oppida*, including: the suggestion that their initial construction was a decision on the part of those with power (Buchsenschutz and Ralston 2012); internal organisation, (such as street grids), (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 384); fortifications defining a sacro-political space within the *oppida* (Fichtl 2010 *cf.* Fernández-Götz 2014a, 386), as well as, in themselves, the legal, sacred, and political status of these sites (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 386); and public spaces and sanctuaries of a similar calibre to those at Titelberg that were not only enclosed but revealed hundreds of small artefacts left as votive offerings (Metzler *et al.* 2006; Fernández-Götz 2012; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 387). However, despite these available archaeological parameters for urbanism, we need to be cautious about applying the term urban to potential *oppida*; not least because archaeologists have always disagreed 'on the threshold at which urban status can be accepted' (Collis 1976, 3). With this in mind, our attentions turn to the other functions these sites are believed to have fulfilled.

The functions attributed to *oppida* within much of the current literature can be placed within one of three thematic categories: society, economy, and power; as shown in Table 2.4. The fact that we can link the functions *oppida* performed with these wider themes is in itself interesting, as of one of the earliest models put forth to explain the structure of these sites states

that they were: 'organised into distinct and specialised precincts, such as residential quarters, industrial areas, and areas of political activity' (Wells 1987, 402).[19]

Functions of *oppida*
(and defining characteristics of these roles)

Social Functions

Political/Administrative Centres

- Associated with large open/communal areas (Metzler *et al*. 2006 *cf*. Fernández-Götz 2014a, 384),
- Sites where people would partake in public assemblies (Buchsenschutz 2007, 68, 248-250; Fichtl 2005, 145; Fichtl 2012b, 92-93; Roymans 1990, 35, 200) and observe the passing of judgement on criminals; as it is surmised happened at Sheepen, Colchester (Hawkes and Hull 1947; 51).

Central Places

- Central nodes within their wider landscape (Millett 1990, 23; Pitts 2008, 497-499)
- Sites that allowed individuals from the same tribe to come together at a central location for feasting, trading, and/or religious festivals (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 384; Millett 1990, 23); this would have helped maintain social relationships, and promote social cohesion (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 384; Moore 2012, 411),
- Potentially located on the boundaries of two or more tribal regions, creating neutral meeting places that could broaden social and economic relationships (Haselgrove 1976, 40; Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 283),
- Display ample evidence for communal activities; although, it is actually the use of core-periphery models that has traditionally aided interpretations of this kind (Haselgrove 1976, 27-28; Pitts 2010, 32).

Ritual/Funerary Sites

- Located in ritual landscapes and used for social gatherings on religious days, and the bringing together of people at sanctuaries (Fernández-Götz 2014a; Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 284-285), such as that found at Titelberg (Metzler 1995a, 91), for rituals,
- The funerary element of these sites is best illustrated by their burials/cemeteries which often contain very lavish grave furniture; for example: The Lexden Tumulus at Colchester (Foster 1986) and Folly Lane at *Verulamium* (Bryant and Niblett 1997, 273-274; Niblett 1993),
- These funerary purposes highlight further ritual functions of *oppida* as funerals are thought to have been social affairs where many members of a society came together and feasted in honour of the deceased (Parker-Pearson 2009, 9-10).

Economic Functions

Trade/Industry

- Evidence for both industrial activities and trade (Collis 1976, 8; 1984a, 87-162; Rodwell 1976, 308-310; Roymans 1990, 202).
- Many oppida display evidence of extensive industries such as metalworking and the production of pottery (Collis 1976, 8; 1984a, 87, 96; Rodwell 1976, 308-310).

Market Sites

- It could be argued that oppida labelled market sites are no different to those labelled centres of trade; however, when oppida are referred to as market sites there is sometimes the implication that a monetary system was being used/or urbanism existed (Collis 1976; Cunliffe 1976a; Haselgrove 1976; Rodwell 1976). (NB: This is a subject of much debate.)

Power Functions

Royal Centres

- Display evidence of rich burials (Creighton 2006, 130-131), such as the Lexden Tumulus (Foster 1986) and Stanway cemetery (Crummy *et al*. 2007) associated with Colchester, and Folly Lane (Niblett 1993;

[19] This model was first advanced for the site of Bibracte by Déchelette (1904 *cf.* Wells 1987, 402).

2006) and the King Harry Lane cemetery (Bryant and Niblett 1997, 273; Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 292-293; Stead and Rigby 1989) associated with *Verulamium*.

- The most famous 'king' associated with *oppida* is Cunobelin who has been linked, within both the archaeological record and the classical sources, with Colchester (see Chapter 7.2).
- The names of purported royal *oppida* appear in abbreviated forms as mint marks on coinage associated with named individuals such as Tasciovanus who minted coins from both Colchester and *Verulamium* (Creighton 2000, Fig.6.5) or Cunobelin who minted coins from Colchester (Creighton 2000, Fig.6.5; Curteis 2006, 3,9; Haselgrove 1987, 170).

Political/Administrative Centres

- See above (under Social Functions)
- There is also the suggestion that the minting of coinage at these sites was an administrative affair, closely overseen by those who had ordered the minting of the coinage in the first place (Collis 1984a, 102; Creighton 2006, 24; Millett 1990, 23; Rodwell 1976, 283).
- Evidence for these activities include coinage bearing the mint marks of these sites, such as Colchester (see Figure 2.2, and minting paraphernalia such as coin moulds, and blanks.

Tribal/Elite Residences

- The majority of Iron Age *oppida* are believed to have been associated with tribes (Cunliffe 1994, 76; Collis 1984a, Fig.2.2); the best documentation we have of Iron Age tribes pertains to that of Gaul (see Figure 2.3), most likely as a result of Roman interest in Gaul from the time of Caesar.
- These connections are made through the works of Julius Caesar during his campaigns in Gaul, and through the distribution of local coinages bearing tribal names (Collis 1981b, 53).
- The implication of power with regards to this function of *oppida* is that a tribal leader/the local elite oversaw all activities that took place within them (Millett 1990, 26-27), and may have even initiated their construction in Gaul (Buchsenschutz and Ralston 2012 *cf.* Fernández-Götz 2014b, 163).
- There is often evidence of large enclosures associated with elevated levels of domestic activity such as that perceived to have existed at Gosbecks, Colchester (Creighton 2006, 63; Crummy 1995a, 7-10), or high status burials that have been linked to the tribal elite and their families/ closest advisors such as those within the Stanway cemetery at Colchester (P.Crummy 2007, 444).

Table 2.4: A summary of the functions performed by *oppida*.

Figure 2.2: Examples of coins bearing the '*Camulodunum*' mint mark from Colchester (after: Allen 1975, Plate IV coins 90-92).

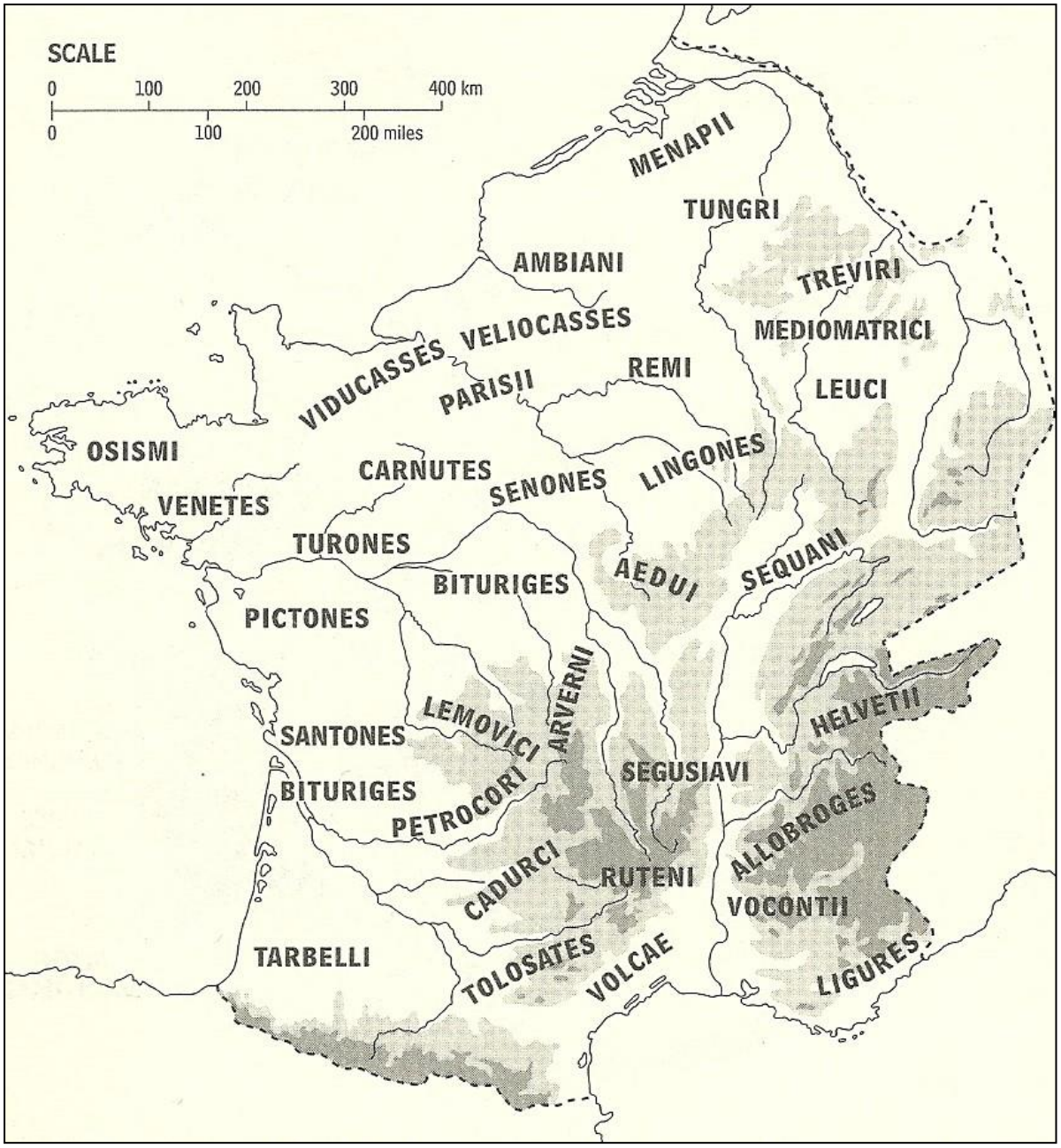

Figure 2.3: Map of the Gallic tribes of the later Iron Age (after Woolf 1998; Map 3).

Furthermore, upon studying the functions of *oppida*, (Table 2.4), it is evident that many sites played more than one role within their respective communities. This arguably supports earlier theories that the appearance, and subsequent function(s), of *oppida* reflected the needs of the communities who constructed them (Collis 1984a, 167). Moreover, the idea that *oppida* were multi-faceted further illustrates the need for these sites to be re-studied, because they are quite clearly not as uniform as was once supposed; nor does our current understanding of these sites do justice to the societies who constructed them.

Additionally, we have to be aware that we are unlikely to have identified the full spectrum of functions *oppida* performed; because while many of the functions noted above, (Table 2.4), have a firm grounding within the archaeological record, we have to remember that all archaeological data is susceptible to alternative interpretations (ibid, 35). In other words, when we make an assumption, be it informed or otherwise, about the people and functions associated with *oppida* based on, for example, the imported ceramics, we cannot simply assume that the imported pottery was used solely by tribal leaders as a form of conspicuous consumption; we have to also consider:

- Who had access to this material, was it just the elite?

- Why was this material being imported, did its need reflect shortcomings in the local industries?

- What was being exchanged in return for these goods? Was it being traded directly with the craftsmen and/or those who would use it, or through local merchants?

- How was the material being consumed? Was it being used on a daily basis for domestic consumption by high status individuals? Or was it reserved for use on special occasions such as religious festivals and feast days.

- Where was the material deposited? Was it discarded because it had reached the end of its functional life, was it ritually deposited in a pit with the remains of a feast, or was it deposited alongside a deceased member of the elite to remove the item(s) from circulation?[20]

It is however, only in very rare cases that the full scope of potential interpretations has been considered; consequently, the present author endeavoured to ponder the above questions when drawing their interpretations of occupation at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, as the methodology outlined in Chapter 6.2.1 clearly demonstrates. Although the existing interpretations have rarely revealed the full potential of the available evidence, it could be

[20] It is possible that this is why ceramics deposited as a result of these processes are often broken prior to deposition, particularly those utilised in conjunction with the latter notion, as this would further ensure that the status they may have bestowed upon those who owned them could not be passed to another upon their death.

argued that this is a further function of the minimal consideration afforded these sites in recent years. Furthermore, many of the interpretations born during the 1960s and 1970s from analyses of these sites' ceramics followed Childe's (1956) assumption that human actions could be drawn directly from the pottery used. This model has, however, been considered outdated by some (e.g. Collis 1977), because, in attempting to define groups in terms of their pottery styles Childe's approach does not allow consideration to be given to the factors surrounding the pottery types development (Collis 1977, 1), and as such is of very little use today; therefore, we have to call into question the validity of those interpretations based on models such as this. The shortcomings of models designed to aid the interpretation of archaeological data, such as that devised by Childe, is just one of a number of problems touched upon thus far. It is therefore prudent that we consolidate the problems of the current understanding in one place.

2.3.5: Problems with Current Thinking

The idea that studies of *oppida* are fraught with problems is not new, and for many years now the original definitions of this term have been questioned (e.g. Cunliffe 2005; Darvill 1987; Fernández-Götz 2014a; Haselgrove 1989; Hill 1995a; Millett 1990; Moore 2012; Woolf 1993a). Despite there now being a lack of complete confidence in this term, little has been done to redefine these sites; instead, the difficulties associated with them and their characterisation have continued to grow, and as such the problems listed below further justify the aim of the current study, (page 1; Chapter 1.2.2), as they can be said to highlight the areas in which the archaeological evidence, or lack thereof, has been overlooked in favour of reaching a desirable conclusion.

The continued application of this term to sites in both Britain and Temperate Europe is one area that can be said to have facilitated the growth of these problems, as there are a number of regional differences present that are likely to have made the nature of occupation at these sites very different. For example, the resources a community had available to them, such as minerals and metal ores, would have varied greatly (see pages 67-69), and as such will have determined the craft/industrial activities a site engaged in, if any, as well as the extent to which they relied upon economic relationships for essential products. Additionally, cultural processes, such as the Roman conquests of Gaul (see Chapter 11.2.1; 11.3.1), will have led to the adoption of cultural practices that had the potential to alter the daily lives of native populations in some regions long before they were adopted elsewhere in Britain and/or Temperate Europe, and as such govern the nature of occupation at both new and pre-existing settlements.

Furthermore, the use of the same term to encompass a broad spectrum of sites, all of which are intrinsically different (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 382; Haselgrove 1995; 2000; Millett 1990, 21; Rieckhoff and Fichtl 2011 *cf*. Fernández-Götz 2014a, 382; Woolf 1993a, 223), (as evidenced by the variability of these site's principle activities and/or the complete absence of others)[21], means that a large proportion of the material evidence will have been overlooked in favour of those groups of artefacts they all display. Thus, explaining why structural evidence such as the presence of fortifications is often focused upon at the expense of material culture, particularly in the case of the *oppida* situated in south-east Britain where these features are key to their identification, and as such, we know very little for certain about these sites' functions (Hill 1995a, 70); because, in British archaeology there is still much focus put upon the sites' morphology, (that is its structural record), which ultimately comes as the cost of developing our understanding of the social and economic systems with which these sites were associated (Bryant 2007, 77). Therefore, we not only need to consider whether the continued use of the term *oppida* is apt, but whether or not it can be used to classify sites from both Britain and Temperate Europe.

Conversely, '*oppida'* is not the only term associated with these sites that needs to be called into question. The term 'urban', is also frequently used to describe the role these sites played within Iron Age societies (e.g. Collis 1976; 1984a; Cunliffe 1976a; Millett 1990, 23; Nash 1976; Wells 1990), and like '*oppida'* its use is fraught with problems, as we saw in Chapter 2.2. Ultimately, these problems can be said to be at the heart of the many variable ideas about whether these sites were urban, and if they were what led to them being considered so. For example, Collis believes that urban characteristics were synonymous with Roman occupation in Western Europe, and as such suggests that no town, or by extension urban centre, can be said to have appeared in Europe during the later Iron Age (1976, 3). This however, is only one opinion, as Collis notes that many who contributed to Cunliffe and Rowley's (1976) edited volume disagree about what makes a site urban, with some applying the term to hillforts which display no greater level of trade and/or industry than clearly non-urban settlements (ibid, 3). Haselgrove meanwhile, argues that the reason for its application to some sites but not others is because we cannot expect to find uniformity in the end-products of urbanism as the social

[21] For example sites such as Manching and Zavist are believed to have been principally industrial centres (Maier 2003, 58), while the likes of Titelberg and Bibracte are thought to have been sites of religious, political, and communal importance (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 380).

groups associated with them are likely to originate from different cultural and environmental backgrounds (1976, 25). The use of the term urban is therefore unhelpful when associated with the *oppida* of the later Iron Age as it adds little to our understanding of these sites and further complicates our attempts to understand them (Woolf 1993a, 223)[22].

In addition to the above, we need to contemplate the validity of our knowledge of the functions of *oppida*, and any issues associated with current thinking on this subject. As has been noted above, most of the theories pertaining to this aspect of the *oppida* are largely founded in the archaeological record; for example, those *oppida*, (including Colchester (Crummy 1993, 492; 1997 *cf.* Willis 2007, 121; Orr 2001, 11), Titelberg (Fernández-Götz 2014, 146; Hamilton 1996, 25; Metzler 1995a, 13; Thomas *et al.* 1976, 256), and Canterbury (Blockley *et al.* 1995a 458)), said to have been industrial centres are usually labelled such due to a wealth of evidence for metalworking and other craft activities such as weaving, as was the case at Manching (Collis 1984b, 150; Cumberpatch 1995; Krämer 1960, 71; Maier 1991, 331; Wells 2002, 368), Zavist (Motyková *et al*. 1978 *cf.* Cumberpatch 1995, 74; Motyková *et al.* 1991), Bibracte (Dhennequin *et al.* 2008, 77 *cf.* Moore 2013, 506), Corant (Poux 2014a, 21; Dejean and Demierre 2014, 113; Demierre 2014a, 52; Demierre 2014b, 110; Demierre 2014c, 111; Demierre *et al.* 2014, 98-100; Foucras and Demierre 2014, 114; Guillaud 2014, 87), Bagendon (Clifford 1961; Moore 2007, 55; 2012, 394; forthcoming *cf.* Moore 2012, 394; Trow 1982), and Silchester (Fulford 2000, 548 – 558) whilst those, (including Colchester (Collis 1984a, 162; Grocott 2007, 30; Hawkes and Hull 1947, 51; Niblett 1985, 23; Rodwell 1976, 240), Titelberg (Metzler 1995a, 98; Metzler 1995b, 566; Metzler *et al.* 1999, 14; Thomas *et al.* 1976, 256), and Canterbury (Blockley *et al.* 1995a, 50-51; Blagg 1991, 11; Haselgrove 1987, 139; Rodwell 1976, 207, 268)), characterised as economic hubs and/or market sites have their grounding in these sites' material culture, but particularly their vast quantities of imported goods and locally produced tradable wares; as is the case with Bibracte (Guillaument 1991; Nash 1976, 107), Manching (Collis 1984a, 96-98; Cunliffe 2011, 374; Gebhard 1995, 112; Krämer 1960, 74-77), Zavist (Motykavá *et al.* 1991), Corent (Poux 2014a, 21; Poux *et al.* 2014, 117 – 133; Pranyies 2014, 195), Bagendon (Moore 2007, 55; 2012, 395), Silchester Boon 1957, 60-61; 1974, 42; Fulford 2000, 559), and *Verulamium* (Dimbleby 1978, 114; Niblett 1999; Stead and Rigby 1989, 112 – 218; Thompson 1982, 865-945).

[22] It is however worth noting that Woolf's conclusions have been called into question by some, not least because archaeology has started to reveal the public spaces at the so-called *oppida* that were previously absent, and around whose absence Woolf concluded that these sites lacked an urban character (Fernandez-Götz 2014a, 387).

However, on occasion these interpretations are based solely on a site's most outstanding artefacts, such as those recovered from lavish burials in Britain, such as the Stanway graves in Colchester (Crummy et. al. 2007) and Folly Lane at *Verulamium* (Niblett 1993), as well as some areas of Temperate Europe (see Figure 2.4), such as the graves at Goeblange-Nospelt within the environs of Titelberg, which ultimately leads to a preoccupation with the elite who may have resided at/visited these sites. Conversely, the study of grave goods often leads to a focus on how these items relate to the deceased. In fact, those recovered at the Stanway cemetery have been used to suggest the livelihoods or 'careers' of the deceased (P.Crummy 2007, 444; N.Crummy 2007 444 - 447), a very western notion. In doing this we forget that it was the mourners who chose the objects to be placed in the grave (Parker-Pearson 2009, 9-11); we therefore need to consider the grave goods from the point of view of these individuals. Moreover, when we consider the status of those buried at later Iron Age cemeteries, lavish grave goods are habitually used to identify individuals with power, around whom potential political systems for the period are constructed. Again this is fraught with problems. Iron Age society was complex and resultantly it is unlikely that we will ever be able to piece together their political systems based on grave goods, and other high status objects.

Furthermore, from Chapter 2.3.4/Table 2.4 we know that there are a number of other interpretations of *oppida* which focus solely upon the high status members of society. Focusing solely on this group, however, is a hindrance to the overall context into which these sites fall. The elite class would have represented only a fraction of their population; therefore, in order for us to better understand the purpose of *oppida* we need to question the day-to-day existence of their general populous. In turn, this will ultimately enable us to better understand how these sites fitted into the Iron Ages of both Britain and Temperate Europe.

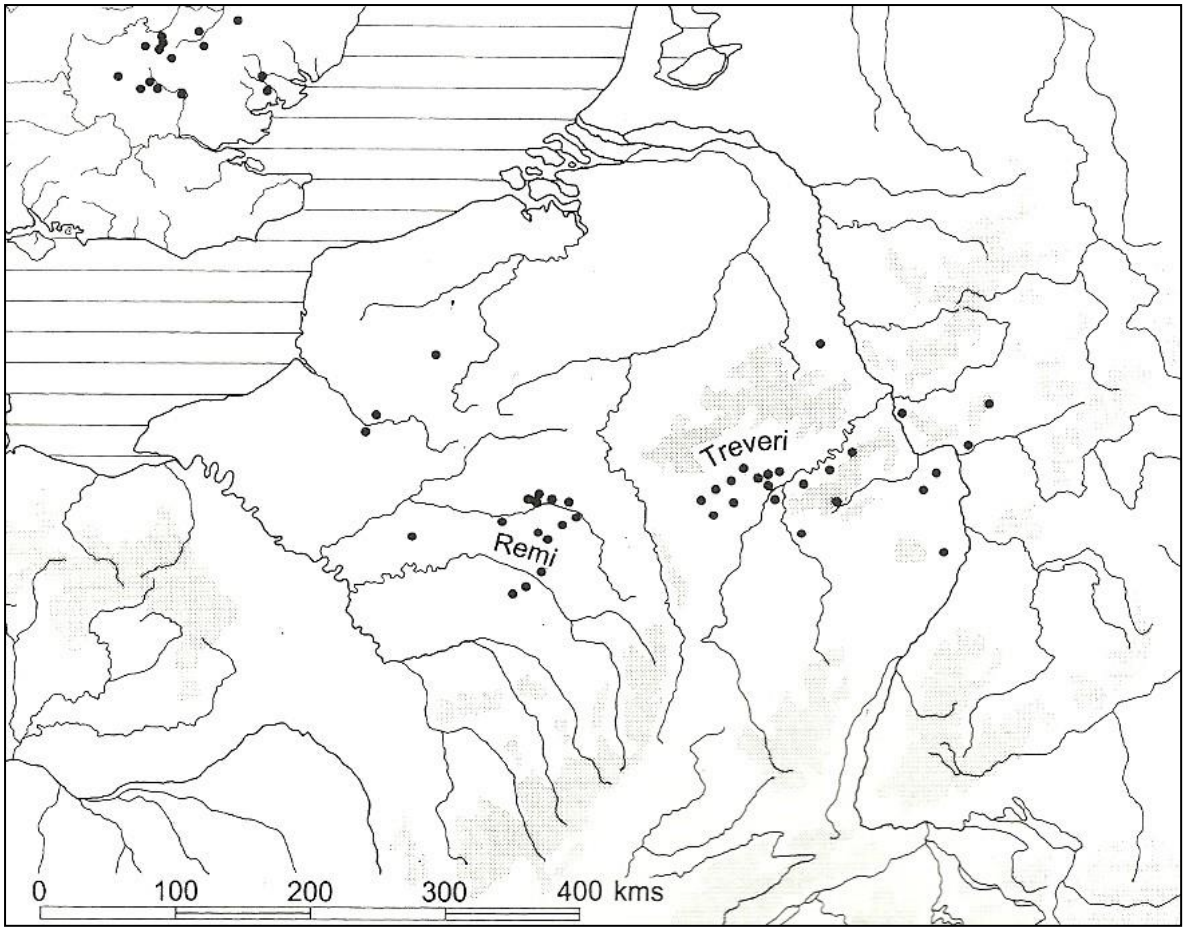

Figure 2.4: Map of south-east Britain and north-east Temperate Europe detailing the spread of elite burials during the later Iron Age, but particularly during the second half of the 1s Century BC (After Cunliffe 1999, Fig.187).

Finally, there are some functions of the purported *oppida* that are difficult to discern within the archaeological record, or even, on occasion, completely invisible. For example, although a number of these settlements are cited to be political/administrative centres based on the presence of large open spaces within their environs, this evidence alone cannot be said to denote their use for public assemblies and the passing of judgement, as it is often surmised, (see Table 2.4), because there are any number of uses for these spaces. Similarly, those *oppida* classified as central places are characterised thus because of their apparent location on the boundaries of more than one tribal region; however, distinguishing the boundaries of these tribal regions today is virtually impossible (de Jersey 1996, 8). Consequently, two of the leading theories about *oppida* and their functions can be said to have little grounding within the archaeological record. We therefore have to ask ourselves whether this is simply the result of those writing about these sites not citing the evidence they used to draw these inferences about their use, or

because there is little/no evidence available to represent these functions other than that noted above. Therefore, and regardless of which of these suppositions is correct, we need to consider the archaeological evidence that has the potential to identify a settlement as a political/administrative centre and/or central place, because even this is not without its problems.

There are a number of elements comprising the archaeological record that can be said to highlight sites with potential political/administrative and/or central functions. For example, it is widely believed that the elite/tribal leaders of the later Iron Age, but particularly those in Britain, oversaw the arguably administrative task of minting coinage, (Allen 1980, 6; Collis 1984a, 102; Creighton 2006, 24l Millett 1990, 23; Rodwell 1976, 283). Consequently, the presence of coinage in conjunction with minting paraphernalia at an *oppidum* could be considered evidence for this purported function; however, as it is extremely difficult to determine the limits of ancient tribal centres (de Jersey 1996, 8), using coinage in this way can be fraught with difficulties. Moreover, as coinage was often minted by the paramount leader of a tribe, as well as other important individuals residing at smaller settlements within the tribal region (Nash 1987, 52), this evidence cannot be considered conclusive proof of *oppida* functioning as political/administrative centres as there could well have been multiple such centres of import within their hinterland. Conversely, should the coinage found in conjunction with the minting paraphernalia bear a mint mark displaying the name of the settlement where they were discovered, a case could be made that it had some political/administrative functions. The use of these sites for other administrative tasks, such as the passing of judgment, on-the-other-hand, are more difficult to prove within the archaeological record, particularly as these settlements were occupied prior to the advent of widespread literary records in Western Europe.

Similarly, coinage has the potential to identify central sites, in so far as it is possible to use this medium to loosely distinguish between tribal regions; however, even this is fraught with problems, as we cannot be certain that all settlements connected to a tribe had access to its coinage, and more importantly, we cannot be certain that so-called central sites will produce evidence to suggest that they were responsible for the minting of tribal coinage. Other than coinage there is little that can be used within the archaeological record to identify a settlement as a central place; consequently, and in order for the author to establish whether we can continue to consider the purported *oppida* in this role, a new mode of study needed to be devised. In light of this, when it came time for the author to determine whether the claims that

Colchester was a central site were true, they opted to study a number of settlements in close proximity to this apparent central node in order to determine their relationship to one another (see Chapter 8). If Colchester was indeed a central site we would expect its hinterland to be closely tied to it, particularly economically; however, if these settlements were relatively self-sufficient with well-established economic relationships, independent of Colchester, it is likely that they were not tied this site, and as a so-called central place Colchester had no control over them, (see Chapters 8 and 11 for the results of this study).

Despite the above problems, with regards to identifying some of the functions of purported *oppida* within the archaeological record, there is much that the evidence can tell us about the possible social, economic, and power functions of these settlements. However, for us to fully appreciate these, and the true nature of those sites' currently labelled *oppida*, we need to better understand these settlements within the wider social, economic, and power contexts of the later Iron Age.

3: Later Iron Age Society

Later Iron Age societies were as complex as those which exist today, with those occupying the *oppida*, (those settlements considered to be the highest ranking within the settlement hierarchy of the later Iron Age (Collin 1998, 114)), of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe said to represent the growth of political centralisation and the rise of unequal societies[23] (Brun 2001; Rieckhoff 2010 *cf.* Fernández-Götz 2014b, 163). Consequently, any study conducted in the hope of better understanding this period's societies, but particularly those inhabiting and/or making use of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury between 150/100 BC and AD 50, needs to consider the following:

1. Who comprised these societies?
2. How were these societies structured?
3. Where did they live?
4. How did societies reproduce themselves and what did they attend to?

Furthermore, in order for us to understand those societies residing at/making use of the period's *oppida*, but in particular those at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, as fully as possible we need to contemplate both what is considered the norm for this period, with regards to a societies fundamental attributes, and whether this differed among those associated with the so-called *oppida*. In light of this, the following sub-sections of the thesis will consider what is generally believed to be true of the majority of Iron Age societies, before then considering what variations, if any, we might expect to see in those associated with the period's purported *oppida*.

3.1: Who Comprised Iron Age Societies?

Later Iron Age communities comprised many individuals all of whom played a vital role in maintaining not only their own existence, but that of their settlements. Today it is virtually impossible to be sure we have identified everyone who made up these societies; although there is much we do know; primarily, that these people were first and foremost farmers (Haselgrove *et al*. 2001, 10), who typically engaged in both arable cultivation and animal husbandry, (see Chapter 3.4).

[23] 'Unequal societies' are those societies that are part of a hierarchical system.

Furthermore, the information presented below, (Chapter 3.4), allows us to state here that many of these communities also included artisans/specialist craftsmen, craftsmen (non-specialists), merchants, and religious figures (Hill 1995a); and while it is feasible that later Iron Age communities comprised all of these individuals, those with the greatest presence can be said to reflect the most likely purpose of the settlement with which they, (the community), were associated. For example, a settlement associated with a wealth of evidence for craftsmen is likely to have been an industrial centre first and foremost, while those with a proclivity towards merchants can be said to primarily have a connection with trade and exchange. However, it is important to remember that some Iron Age peoples performed multiple roles within society, (it is widely believed that many Iron Age farmers engaged in some form of craft production during 'off-seasons' in the farming year (Fitzpatrick 1997a, 75; Hill 1995a, 60)), therefore, many Iron Age societies are likely to have resided at settlements with dual/multiple functions.

Before we consider whether or not the individuals comprising the societies associated with the purported *oppida* of the later Iron Age adhered to the model noted above, it is important to give thought to how the aforementioned individuals can be identified. The majority of the above individuals are clearly visible within the archaeological record, with the exception of the religious figures. Farmers, artisans/specialist craftsmen, and non-specialist craftsmen can be identified through the discovery of these trades' tools, while merchants are visible through the presence of imported wares, particularly when found in large quantities. Religious figures, on-the-other-hand, tend to be difficult/impossible to identify because there exists no material culture that we would automatically associate with them. Instead, when it comes to identifying these individuals at later Iron Age settlements we tend to imply their existence based on the presence of burials, shrines, sanctuaries, and/or evidence for communal activities with an apparent ritual purpose, usually feasting paraphernalia found in contexts one would associate with a special event, such as a single deposit in a large pit, or the ditches of a sanctuary enclosure. It can therefore be said that we rely upon physical evidence for the identification of those comprising Iron Age communities, because of this it is possible, and in fact likely, that there are some individuals about whose existence we remain ignorant. Consequently, it is possible that there are some members of the communities associated with the purported *oppida* that we cannot identify, or, in some instances, verify, archaeologically.

From Chapter 2 it is evident that the so-called *oppida* are believed to have had multiple functions, and as such were likely occupied/used by numerous individuals some of whom are likely to have performed multiple roles. In fact, the majority of *oppida*, including the thesis' case sites, display a wealth of evidence for societies comprising a combination of farmers, craftsmen, and religious figures; as will be seen as we progress through Chapters 7-11. Therefore, in this respect the societies associated with the purported *oppida* cannot be considered different from the 'norm'. However, there are a number of other individuals connected to these sites that are rarely spoken of with regards to other settlements: kings and tribal leaders.

The former of these individuals are generally invisible within the archaeological record for this period, and only implied through classical texts, (such as Suetonius' use of the term '*Britannorum rex*', probably in conjunction with Cunobelin in his text '*Twelve Caesars*' (*Caligula*, 44)). However, within these texts the use of the term 'king' was sometimes carefully calculated propaganda designed to justify Roman campaigns against Iron Age peoples in Britain and Temperate Europe to their home audiences, where kings/leaders with sole power were often mistrusted, in fact it these reasons that are often, in part, attributed to the assassination of Caesar in 44 BC (Dillon and Garland 2015, 572, 585). Additionally, as it was likely the tribal leaders that were labelled 'kings' within these texts, we need to consider whether they can be identified archaeologically in this guise.

Tribal leaders can, on occasion, be identified through later Iron Age coinage, namely that which bears the likeness and names of individuals associated with the period's tribes. There are however a number of problems associated with identifying such individuals in this way, particularly when identifying them in relation to *oppida*. The most significant of these is that it tended to only be British tribal leaders that minted coinage bearing these characteristics, therefore this line of enquiry can be said to have limited use for investigating the social structures of the *oppida* of Temperate Europe. In addition to this, not all Iron Age communities minted and/or used coinage in the first place (Nash Briggs 1996, 251), nor, have all purported *oppida* in Britain and Temperate Europe produced evidence for this process; in fact one of the thesis' three case studies, Canterbury (see Chapter 10), falls into this latter category. Therefore, in most cases, all we can say of the later Iron Age societies associated with the purported *oppida* is that they were comprised of the same individuals as those who occupied the majority of settlements in use between 150/100 BC and AD 43. Moreover, we can also say that these

sites' societies are believed to have been more highly structured than most, in terms of being led by recognised leaders (see Table 2.4); and it is to the structure of Iron Age societies to which our attentions now turn.

3.2: How were Societies Structured?

Much consideration has been given to how Iron Age communities were structured, (such as the papers in Arnold and Gibson's (1995) edited volume: '*Celtic Chiefdom Celtic State*'); and while many have provided proficient interpretations of this period's social structures we have to be aware that we are dealing with pre-literate societies, and because of this, these inferences are based on a combination of the archaeological record, ancient histories, and models designed by sociologists, economists, and geographers. Although the archaeological record can provide insights into the ways in which social differences were displayed, (see Chapter 5), knowledge derived from ancient sources and modern models must be viewed with caution, as these have not always taken into account the multi-faceted nature of later Iron Age communities. Therefore, interspersed within the author's contemplation of later Iron Age social structures documented below are considerations of the problems faced by archaeologists when trying to piece together the societies occupying south-east Britain and Temperate Europe between 150/100 BC and AD 43.

The most basic social unit in evidence at this time, regardless of the settlement type with which a society was associated, was the household (Fernàndez-Götz 2014b, 49). Although many Iron Age households comprised family units, there were also those which encompassed members not connected by familial bonds, but through adoption/fostering (Parkes 2006 *cf.* Sharples 2010, 186). Consequently, it is unsurprising that Sharples views the house as a physical analogy for Iron Age societies, stating that: 'houses helped to establish social relationships and embed these into the memory of the occupants. Moving around a house children learned their relationship to the adults and other children who were present within the structure. They also became aware of the distinction between members of the household and outsiders who visited the house.' (2010, 177) Similarly, Webley believes that by dividing the activities members of the household engaged in, a household represented the spatial and therefore social distinctions of these individuals (2008, 151). Furthermore, both Sharples (2010) and Webley (2008) believe that the social structures of the household reflected the social relationships forged within the wider social context (i.e. outside of the house).

This latter interpretation was initially established by Bourdieu (1977) who suggested that the social relationships of a domestic group were analogies for relationships within the wider society, within which a household's position was derived from the daily use of certain spaces by certain individuals (Sharples 2010, 177). Conversely, it was not only Bourdieu who influenced Webley's thinking on the household, so too did Hendon (1996) and Yanagisako (1979) who surmise that households may have played an important, and active role, in maintaining/renegotiating wider social relationships (Webley 2008, 11). It is however, not only Sharples (2010) and Webley (2008) that have presented ideas of this nature on Iron Age households. The 1990s saw many papers published, (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1994; Giles and Parker-Pearson 1999; Hingley 1990; Oswald 1997; Parker-Pearson 1996, 1999, and Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994), within which the social significance of the household for understanding Iron Age communities, of any date, was argued (Sharples, 2010, 182).

However, before we consider the social structures, within which the household was the most fundamental unit, there are a number of issues surrounding the identification of this group that must be taken into account. Firstly, and most importantly, we cannot be certain how the family units comprising Iron Age households were defined (Metzler *et al.* 1999, 442). Secondly, should these have been based primarily on blood, the only way to determine familial relationships for certain would be through DNA analyses of later Iron Age human remains. A study such as this would, however, be fraught with problems; because, many of those buried at this time were cremated first, (Collis 2003, 163; James 1993, 103; Maier 2003, 55), therefore making the extraction of viable DNA highly unlikely (Parker-Pearson 2009, 202). Furthermore, very few Iron Age peoples were actually buried, at least in a form that we can identify archaeologically (James 1993, 99; Mattingly 2007, 60), therefore any studies we undertake in order to identify later Iron Age family units are only going to have available to them evidence for a fraction of the period's populations. We therefore need to remember that while the household may have been based on familial relationships there is little we can do today to piece these back together, especially if Parkes (2006) and Sharples (2010) are correct in assuming that households included individuals that were not bound by blood, we therefore have to fall back on the belief that Iron Age households are identifiable through evidence such as that discussed in the papers from the 1990s noted above.

Despite the issues surrounding the identification of what is widely perceived to be the most basic social unit of the later Iron Age, many have attempted to define the other social groups

in existence at this time, as well as the social structures these were a part of. Those who have pondered these aspects of later Iron Age societies tended to base their interpretations on the ancient sources, primarily Caesar's *The Conquest of Gaul* (e.g. Brun 1995a; Dunham 1995; Wells 1995), because they identify later Iron Age societies, particularly those from Gaul, as highly stratified with sharply defined social groups (Wells 1995, 94). In fact, Brun highlights three social classes within later Iron Age Gallic communities, all of which were initially identified by Caesar: 1) Aristocratic warriors recruited from sovereigns/supreme magistrates, 2) Druids, (some of whom were of aristocratic stock), and 3) All others (i.e. the general public) (1995a, 18); although in some communities Brun identifies a fourth social class: the slaves, who would have been the lowest ranking individuals within a society (ibid, 19).

Dunham, on-the-other-hand, states that Caesar identified seven social groups within later Iron Age Gallic societies, (reges, nobiles, principes, senatus, magistri, equites, and plebes (1995, 112)), that came together to form a stratified aristocracy and everyone else (ibid, 114).

Although these social groups are clearly identified within Caesar's *The Conquest of Gaul* (ibid, 112-113), there are some issues associated the use of this information to determine the existence of these groups in later Iron Age Britain and Temperate Europe. Firstly, these social groups are defined by Latin terms better suited to the description of communities living in Rome; that is to say, these terms describe the social classes of Rome and as such are unlikely to be paralleled by Iron Age communities for whom life was very different (James 2001, 18-19).

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the social groups listed by Dunham, make no mention of druids, one of the three primary social groups Brun (1995a) identifies in later Iron Age Gallic societies. However, when we take stock of the three institutions Dunham (1995) believes oversaw the later Iron Age societies of Gaul, 1) a *civitas*: governed by a *senatus* and his elected magistrate/rex, 2) a *concilium*: comprising leading men from the *civita*, and 3) Druids: who met and deliberated on all issues and conflicts concerning Gaul (ibid, 112), we can see that Dunham actually considers this group to be vital to Iron Age societies, leaving us to ponder where they fit within the Latin hierarchy to which he adheres.

In addition to this confusing oversight, it is equally prudent to note that the other governing bodies Dunham identifies in later Iron Age Gaul are unlikely to have existed in this region, at

least at the time of Caesar's campaigns, because they are more likely to have been present, at least in Southern Gaul, during the reign of Augustus when Roman towns started to emerge (King 1990, c.3; Vanderhoeven 1996, 190; Woolf 1998, 118-119). Consequently, it is possible that the information taken from Caesar's work is propaganda, rather than direct observations, designed to depict these communities in a way that they could be understood in Rome, whilst also portraying them as difficult enemies; therefore, making Caesar's successes in Gaul more impressive in the eyes of the senate, and his home audiences.

Moreover, it is important to note that despite being laden with propaganda, many view the ancient histories as a means through which to obtain direct insight into later Iron Age societies, because they were written by their contemporaneous, literate, communities. However, regardless of whether or not the existence of these social groups was carefully constructed Roman propaganda, there are two additional points that need to be noted here. First, and foremost, we cannot verify the existence of these individuals within the archaeological record, therefore making it difficult for us to standby interpretations of Iron Age social groups and/or structures based on ancient histories alone. Secondly, the societies Caesar observed when writing his account of his campaigns in Gaul are associated with those sites he labels *oppida*. Consequently, those who have based their inferences of the societies associated with *oppida* on the ancient histories, and/or the work of those who have used these to define the social structures of the later Iron Age, (such as Brun (1995a) and Dunham (1995)), may have portrayed these societies as much more complex than they really were; this can therefore be said to highlight an additional issue with current thinking on *oppida*, and further represent our need to re-evaluate the use of this term today.

Conversely, it is not only social groups identifiable within the ancient sources that Brun (1995a) discusses within his paper, '*From Chiefdom to State Organisation in Celtic Europe*', as he also used this text to contemplate chiefs; a social group that it is believed is visible within the archaeological record through the 'treatment of the dead in burial rituals (Milner 1984; Pebbles and Kus 1977; Sanders 1974) and …[…]… settlement systems (Earle 1978; Steponaitis 1978)' (*cf.* Gibson and Geselowitz 1988a, 25).[24] Additionally, chiefdoms are also said to be identifiable through landscape monuments, (that were constructed communally), imported

[24] These settlement systems include settlement clusters, larger, more elaborate houses, and high status items (Gibson and Geselowitz 1988a, 25)

goods, central sites and large storage facilities utilised for the storage of goods for redistribution (ibid, 25 – 26).

As a social group, chiefs are traditionally believed to have achieved power based on skill and knowledge (Fernández-Götz 2014b, 34); once in power, they used their position to exercise control over the division of land while also mediating conflicts (Brun 1995a, 21). However, they did not control the produce raised on the land they assigned, as it is once believed they did (ibid, 21). Consequently, these individuals were deprived of the ability to expand their territory through economic ownership (Harding 1984 *cf.* Brun 1995a, 21). Instead, Brun and Harding suggest that progression up the 'social ladder' was achieved through contributions to the economy (see Chapter 5 for further details). With this latter point in mind, we turn our attentions to the structures identified within later Iron Age societies, starting with those that had chiefs at their heart: chiefdoms.

Although, many believe that chiefdoms were replaced over the course of the later Iron Age due to their fragility[25] (e.g. Brun 1995a, 13), Haselgrove believes that 'chiefdom' is a useful concept to apply to the later Iron Age, especially if we think outside of its evolutionary confines, 'because it allows us to break down social complexity to its essentials – in this case – capacity for centralised decision making …[…]… (*cf.* Earle 1987) – and then seek to examine how these varied over time' (1995, 87); but how did a chiefdom operate? A chiefdom is said to have been 'characterised by the existence of a chief who exercised central authority at the head of a social hierarchy in which an individual's status is determined by birth and nearness by kinship to the chief. The chief occupies a central role socially, politically, and economically. Characteristically, the chief operates some kind of redistributive system wherein food and/or goods from separate sectors of the chiefdom are brought together and then dispersed according to fixed social rules' (Darvill 2003, 83). In fact, it is often argued that redistribution was a chiefdom's *'sine qua non'*[26], and that a centralised redistributive office was essential to their existence (Barker 2009, 517-518). Consequently, the lower social orders were bound to higher orders through the need to gain access to the food and/or other goods, a notion that can be used to surmise that high status settlements probably had some level of control over the sites in their hinterland, as it has often been cited (Cunliffe 1976b, 350-351, 354). Consequently, this

[25] Chiefdoms are believed to have been fragile in the sense that it would not have been too difficult for an external force to disband them (Brun 1995a, 13).
[26] Essential condition

notion, couple with current theories stating that *oppida* were central sites (see Table 2.4), could lead some to argue that this social structure is applicable to *oppida* and their resident elite; however, we have to remember that despite Haselgrove's belief that this social structure could be useful for our understanding of later Iron Age communities, it is more commonly applied to the hillforts of the early and middle Iron Ages (Cunliffe 1976b, 357),[27].

Conversely, although chiefdoms may be a social structure that better describes the hillfort communities of the early and middle Iron Ages, the social structures into which they developed over the course of the later Iron Age promote many of the same relationships between high status settlements and their hinterlands, despite being bound by different parameters, as the chiefdoms. Consequently, it is these social structures, rather than the chiefdoms, that likely apply to the *oppida* and other high status settlements of the period.

Over the course of the later Iron Age, (but particularly during the first third of the 1st Century BC), chiefdoms were replaced by controlled/politically centralised societies (Brun 1995a, 17; Gibson and Geselowitz 1988b *cf*. Haselgrove 1995, 81), within which authority became increasingly centralised so much so that these societies can be defined by the same parameters as states[28] (Brun 1995a, 21). Furthermore, it is believed that increased centralisation was related, in part, to influential social groups who used coinage to secure their administrative powers (ibid, 20). Curiously however, some believe that those with the most central role in this social system were religious figures, such as Druids, who gained their ability to manage treaties and contracts because of their capacity to read and write (ibid, 20). Consequently, the societies at the heart of these social structures are likely to have been closely associated with individuals of religious and/or administrative authority. In light of this, we might expect these societies to be associated with settlements designed to oversee a region's religious and/or administrative needs, just as it is believed the *oppida* were (see Chapter 2.3.4). Therefore, evidence for societies structured in this manner, (such as coinage and open spaces (see pages 39-40) for further information), might be present at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, particularly as current thinking on Colchester tells us that the site had administrative functions

[27] This is particularly true of Britain where it is believed the emergence of the chiefdom was responsible for the appearance of this settlement class (Gibson and Geselowitz 1988a, 26).

[28] States are defined by a political economy within which economic production exceeded subsistence needs (Bernbeck 2009, 538-539) and the local monetary pool was controlled (Brun 1995a, 20), an ideology which adhered to a common set of values whilst also being adaptive thus allowing it to be altered to take into account social problems, such as failed harvests, that needed solving (Bernbeck 2009, 539-540), and a social structure that could be reproduced through feasting (Dietler 1990 *cf.* Bernbeck 2009, 542).

(see Chapter 7.2), while that associated with Titelberg tells us that the site had religious import (see Chapter 9.2).

In addition to those who believe that political centralisation replaced chiefdoms with a system based on administration and religion, there are those who believe that political centralisation also replaced kinship[29] with a system that was centred on commercial exchange. This latter development is said to have been due to increasing economic transactions during the later Iron Age that involved larger quantities of material goods being exchanged between both neighbouring and foreign communities (e.g. van der Leeuw *cf*. Haselgrove 1995, 81). Contrastingly, there are also those who believe that rather than representing the emergence of states, political centralisation was actually more akin to a paramount chiefdom[30] (e.g. Haselgrove 1988; 1989, 17; 1995, 81-82); a conclusion based on two factors. Firstly, their organisation, which was not on par with contemporaneous states (Woolf n.d *cf*. Haselgrove 1995, 81); and secondly, the coinage used to support the emergence of states, at least in Gaul, did not appear until after 51 BC and Caesar's campaigns in Gaul (Haselgrove 1988, 81-87).

Regardless of the terminology applied to this variant of political centralisation, however, we would expect these social structures to be closely tied to settlements with economic import, be they ports, industrial centres, trading centres, or settlements said to display one, or more, of these characteristics, such as the purported *oppida* (see Chapter 2.3.4). Therefore, should Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury display evidence to suggest they were of economic import within their environs, it might be possible to surmise that their residents conformed to this social structure, particularly if there is also evidence for increased economic transactions with both local and foreign merchants.

In addition to the above, there are two further social structures to consider here that had their basis in centralised power. The first of these is kingship, a system said to be reminiscent of both chiefdoms and states, because it is defined by individuals who attempted to obtain absolute

[29] Kinship is the 'relatedness' between people, in other words relationships involving ties of decent and marriage. Within local groups the majority of social, political, and economic relationships are based around kinship (Roymans 1990, 24).

[30] A paramount chiefdom, such as Cunobelin's hegemony, 'was in effect an aggregate of small territorial groups like those of Caesar's time, each controlled by local client elites or, in some cases, [by a tribal leader's (such as Cunobelin)], own relations. These sub-units would have been bound together by a complex network of alliances and personal ties between the paramount ruler, his client elites and their dependants, backed up by military force.' (Haselgrove 1989, 18).

power (Collis 1995a, 75). Similarly, the second of these structures, warrior hierarchies (ibid, 77), are also said to resemble both chiefdoms and states, but in this case rather than economic prowess being the means through which individuals obtained power it was military skill. Conversely, it would be difficult to identify either of these social structures archaeologically, because unlike the other systems discussed above we cannot infer their possible existence based on the functions of the settlements with which they may have been associated.

Additionally, the archaeological identification of later Iron Age kingship is incredibly difficult, if not impossible, because the only two contexts in which we find named individuals from this period are: 1) on some of the period's coinage, and 2) within the ancient histories. The former of these bodies of evidence, despite naming individuals who may have had authority (Creighton 2000, 22-54; Haselgrove 1988, 81-90), cannot be used to definitively state they were in possession of absolute power, particularly as some regions had multiple individuals minting their coinage (see pages 11, 39). The ancient histories, particularly Caesar's *The Conquest of Gaul*, on-the-other-hand, only name individuals who stood against Rome's campaigns in Temperate Europe, particularly Gaul. Consequently, despite naming so-called leaders, we cannot consider the ancient texts wholly factual, as details such as this could be propaganda designed to bolster the successes of Roman generals in Temperate Europe, rather than a true reflection of later Iron Age societies and their organisational structures.

Furthermore, it is equally important to note that the archaeological identification of warrior hierarchies is also difficult. Despite weaponry, and other military accoutrements, being recovered in connection with a number of later Iron Age societies, this evidence is primarily recovered from the period's 'religious' contexts be they burials, (such as the Warrior Burial at Stanway, Colchester (Crummy 1996, 3) and a number of those at both Lamadelaine (Metzler *et al.* 1999) and Goeblange-Nospelt (Metzler and Gaeng 2009)) or votive offerings, (such as those at the shrines of Harlow, Essex (France and Gobel 1985) and Acy-Romance, Ardennes (Lambot 1998a; 2000)) (*cf.* Aldhouse-Green 2002, 10-11; Maier 2003, 43). Therefore, given how few later Iron Age people are visible in the burial record (James 1993, 99; Mattingly 2007, 60), this evidence cannot be used to successfully identify a society structured around a warrior hierarchy, because, without a good, if not complete, representation of a society where there is an identifiable pattern to the ownership of artefacts used to denote warriors, it is impossible to determine whether these individuals were at its heart.

Consequently, it would be difficult to identify the existence of settlements associated with kingships and warrior hierarchies, even though some *oppida* have been labelled royal seats of power (see Chapter 2.3.4). Therefore, despite Colchester and Titelberg's association with tribal elite (see Chapter 7.2 and 9.2), Colchester's presumed identity as a kingship presided over by Cunobelin (see Chapter 7.2), and these site's association with warrior burials (see Chapter 7 and 9), we would struggle to prove their affinity with the social structures under consideration here.

Finally, we turn our attentions to those social structures that were not bound by centralised power or obligations to a higher power, but shared cultural practices (ibid, 77). In doing this we return to the most fundamental group around which later Iron Age social structures were centred: the household. The first of these, defines the relationship between the household and the outside world as a variant of core-periphery,[31] a social structure that is primarily advocated by Hingley (1990 after Barrett 1989).

This structure centres on the division of space within the household, but particularly public and private zones. The former of these zones would have been open to outsiders, while the latter was restricted to members of the household (Hingley 1990 *cf*. Sharples 2010); an observation that has developed into 'a metaphor for the spatial organisation of the territory of a single community.' (Hingley 1990, 133 *cf*. Sharples 2010). Consequently, the private zones of settlements, including the *oppida*, may have been accessed by only a few, such as the elite, while anyone could access the public areas, be they members of the resident society, or visitors from the hinterland. In light of this, evidence at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury for private and public spaces, (such open spaces containing artefacts denoting social gatherings, (such as feasting paraphernalia), that all members of society had access to, or enclosed spaces that have produced artefacts one would associate with the elite, such as imported goods (see Chapter 5.3)), could tell us that these sites' social structures were governed by their populations' knowledge of where they were allowed to go, and the social parameters that dictated access to the private areas; just as it is purported was the case at Elms Farm, Heybridge (Atkinson and Preston 1998, 92-94).

[31] See page 83 for further details on core-periphery relationships.

Lastly, and in keeping with the above, the final social structures to be considered as part of the current chapter are bound by group and grid relationships. These social structures, like that considered above, are, in part, based on inclusion and exclusion, but at the same time rely upon cultural similarities. In recent years Sharples has stated that Mary Douglas' work on group and grid relationships could prove significant for our understanding of later Iron Age societies (2010, 294); but what do they entail? According to Douglas 'the group, in its extreme form, is a tight-knit closed social unit and has obvious symbols to indicate inclusion and exclusion. These groups can be kin-based, but this is not essential. The behaviour of individuals within these societies is influenced by factors of 'grid'; relationships based on the coming together of ego-centred networks, focused on age, sex, status, and practical or ritual knowledge.' (1970, 57) With this in mind it is unsurprising that the existence of grid and group relationships led to the emergence of shared beliefs among the people bound together in this manner. For example, Douglas believes that grid relationships led to:

- Individuals relating to others from the same social grouping;
- Group boundaries becoming ephemeral;
- Leaders being characterised by courage, determination, and cunning;
- Wealth and material possession being perceived in a positive light as good for society and for the individual. (1970, 103-104);

while, group relationships gave rise to:

- Ambiguous and undefined roles;
- Precarious leadership;
- Boundaries as the main definers of roles: you are either a member or a stranger;
- Societies that are preoccupied with rituals of cleansing, expulsion and re-drawing of boundaries;
- Individuals that are self-subordinated to the group. (ibid).

Consequently, group and grid relationships likely led to close knit communities whose populations understood their place within society. Furthermore, these societies were probably highly organised, particularly those bound by grid relationships as their highest social strata were more stable. Due to the stable nature of grid relationships, it is possible that many of the

largest later Iron Age settlements, including the *oppida*, were populated by communities structured thus, because these settlements were often densely populated, and as such it would have been important for everyone to know their position within society in order to ensure peaceable conditions. In light of this, it is possible that we might find evidence to suggest that the societies of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury were bound by grid-relationships, not only because their archaeological records contain ample evidence for material possessions that could highlight the cultural ties between their occupants (see Chapters 7.3, 9.3, and 10.3), but because without an identifiable leader, or leaders, to oversee the day-to-day goings on, these sites are unlikely to have enjoyed the successes they did.

The above discussion of later Iron Age social structures clearly demonstrates the truth behind the earlier statement that these societies were complex; but more than this, the above considerations can be said to highlight the difficult task we, as archaeologists, face when trying to ascertain the true nature of societies, in terms of their organisation, residing at any of this periods settlements; but particularly those associated with the purported *oppida*, the settlements believed to have been the period's highest ranked sites. This issue is all the more pertinent when we take into account the fact that existing inferences of so-called *oppida*, including thesis' case sites, identify multiple potential social structures at these settlements; as the current chapter demonstrates. Consequently, the evidence needs to be closely scrutinised should we wish to better understand the social structures in place at these sites.

Before we broaden our understanding of later Iron Age societies further, with a consideration of where they lived, there is one final detail pertaining to social structures that we need to consider here: how the social relationships that bound later Iron Age communities were maintained. Within much of the literature pertaining to this subject, including that on the period's purported *oppida*, food and drink are regularly cited as vital to the sustainment of social relationships, because the nature of its consumption, within the household or at feasts, reflected the consumers social standing (e.g. Hill 2002a, 144; 2007, 27; van der Veen and Jones 2007, 427). Conversely, Creighton believes that coinage may have played a role in maintaining social relationships because it could be used to fulfil the social obligations that bound communities to one another, such as the payment of bride-wealth to secure marriage alliances (2000, 14). Furthermore, these actions not only represent the ways in which social relationships were maintained, but how individuals with power asserted their position within the local community; a point to which we will return in Chapter 5.

3.3: Where did They Live?

Iron Age communities resided in many geographic locations, although, for the most part, they preferred to settle in areas where they could engage in farming regimes and exploit the landscape for resources that could be used for fuel, food, and crafts (Tilley 1994, 1). Moreover, many of these societies situated themselves on, or close to, rivers, because this landscape feature was crucial not only for sustaining life, be it human, animal, or plant, but for communications between contemporaneous societies (ibid, 1). These communications would have led to the forging of social relationships designed to safe guard against disaster in times of crisis; or alternatively trading relationships designed for the exchange of goods (Hill 1995a, 84; James and Rigby 1997, 51).

In addition to the above, later Iron Age communities predominantly resided in farmsteads (Cunliffe 2005, 347; Haselgrove *et al*. 2001, 10; Hill 1995a, 53; 2007, 26; Wells 1984, 143); although hamlets (Cunliffe 2005, 347; Wells 1984, 143), small villages (Wells 1984), and the purported *oppida* (Kappel 1969; Maier 1970; Champion *et al*. 1992, 306; Wells 2001, 84-85; 2002, 366; Fernández-Götz 2014a; 380) were also prominent. Despite the numerous incidents of hamlets and villages within the landscapes of both Britain and Temperate Europe, our attentions will primarily focus upon farmsteads here as they are by far the most numerous settlements of the period, and as such existed more frequently alongside the purported *oppida*; while *oppida*, which have been discussed in detail in Chapter 2, will only feature briefly.

Within Britain farmsteads tended to be small, long-lived and well dispersed within the landscape (Hill 1995a, 53). Furthermore, many of these were sited within enclosures, (bound by either a wall or ditch and bank arrangement) (Hill 1995a, 53; 2007, 26), that contained round-houses, small storage buildings, (often raised), as well as pits and silos (Hill 1995a, 54). This arrangement was pretty standard across much of Britain at this time; however there were regional variations as Hill's (2007) study of Anglia highlights.

Similarly, farmsteads in Temperate Europe comprised more or less the same entities. However, rather than round-houses the occupants of the European farmsteads resided in rectilinear buildings (Webley 2003; 59; Wells 1984, 173), such as those detailed in Webley's (2008) Iron Age Households. These farmsteads, like their British counterparts, would have been subject to regionalisation (e.g. Haselgrove 2007; Roymans 2007, 482).

Finally, and before we consider how these societies occupied their time, we need to consider the houses in which later Iron Age populations resided. There are many studies that detail the structures and organisation of Iron Age houses, (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1994; Giles and Parker-Pearson 1999; Hingley 1990; Oswald 1997; Parker-Pearson 1996; 1999; Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994), therefore, we will not focus on this here; instead our interests lay in the shape of these buildings and their material composition. Within Britain the most prominent form was the round-house (Hill 1995a, 54; Moore 2003, 47), although towards the end of the period these started to exist alongside rectangular structures in some regions, (Collis 1995b, 285; Moore 2003, 54-55; Rodwell 1978, 27-37; Sealey 1996, 60; 2015, 36-38). Furthermore, these houses were primarily manufactured in timber (James 1993, 58-59); however, in Atlantic Scotland stone was utilised (Armit 1997a, 253; 1997b, 268; Hingley 1995, 185; Sharples and Parker-Pearson 1997, 254). Within Temperate Europe, on-the-other-hand, rectilinear timber buildings were the norm (Wells 1984, 173), except in Iberia where the buildings within the regions iconic castro were typically manufactured in stone (Sande Lemos *et al*. 2011, 189), because Iberia, like Atlantic Scotland lacked surplus timber.

In light of the above, it is not only the farmsteads of later Iron Age Britain whose occupants resided in round-houses, for many of those occupying the purported *oppida* of Britain, such as Bagendon and Colchester, timber round-houses were also the norm when it came to domestic dwellings (Collis 1984a, 113); although, with that said, rectilinear domestic structures started to appear at some British *oppida*, such as Colchester and Canterbury (see Chapter 7.3 and 10.30), towards the end of the period. Furthermore, it is not only the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain that conformed to the norm when it came to domestic dwellings, as the *oppida* of Temperate Europe, such as Manching and Mont Beuvray, display evidence to suggest that their occupants resided in rectilinear timber structures (ibid, 113).

3.4: How did societies reproduce themselves and what did they attend to?

Later Iron Age communities in Britain and Temperate Europe engaged in a whole host of activities; some of which individuals would have engaged in daily, while others were seasonal. The daily activities of many Iron Age societies centred on farming, with craft production, construction, exchange, and even warfare often being scheduled around a household's agricultural year (Fitzpatrick 1997a, 75; Hill 1995a, 60). Furthermore, when one takes into account Cunliffe's (2000) proposed farming year for the average Iron Age community, see

Figure 3.1, it is unsurprising that some of the aforementioned activities were only engaged in seasonally.

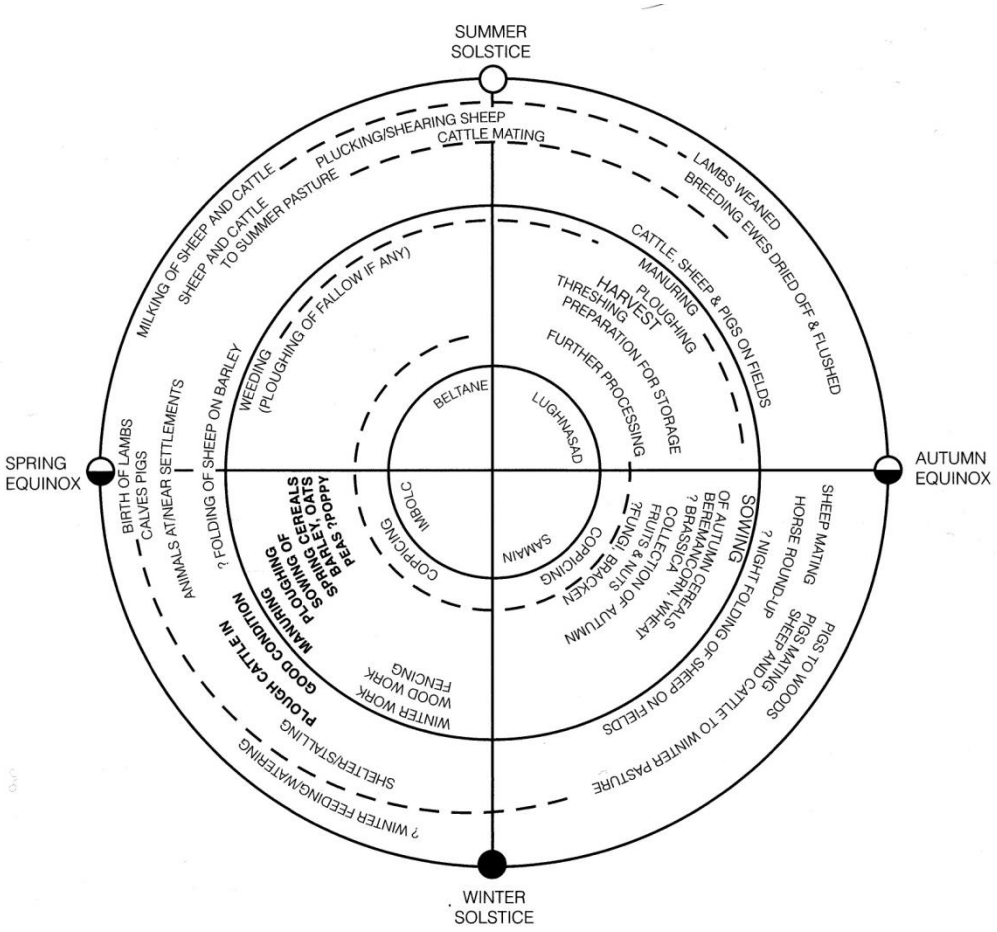

Figure 3.1: The Iron Age farming year (after Cunliffe 2000, Fig.3.10).

There are many ways in which one could approach a study of the above activities, the author has opted to consider each in turn, starting the with farming regimes; despite Hill's adamant assertion that it is 'not realistic to attempt to separate the management of animal herds from plant husbandry...[...]...or to separate this from pottery production, metallurgy, social organisation, and ritual.' (1995a, 60) As part of these considerations, thought will not only be given to what is considered the norm for this period, but whether the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe conformed to this. The result of this is that the author was not only be able to determine the most likely function(s) of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, in Chapters 7-10, using this information, but they were able to ascertain how these sites compared to their contemporaries, be they *oppida* or not, (see Chapter 11).

3.4.1: Farming

Iron Age farming regimes were, for that most part, mixed, comprising both arable cultivation and animal husbandry (Hill 1995a, 53); although, it could be argued that woodland management was also a vital part of the farming year (ibid, 53). Furthermore, it is typically believed that arable farms could not have been maintained without considerable flocks/herds to provide manure for the fields (Cunliffe 2005, 415), thus these farming practices were intrinsically linked to ensure success.

Arable cultivation for most Iron Age communities involved the rearing of grains, including: spelt, six-row barley, oats, 'Celtic' beans, rye, and to a lesser extent emmer wheat (ibid, 410; Roymans 1990, 103-106). For many Iron Age populations these grains were vital not only for diet (Foster 2002, 18), but because they formed the basis of their economies (Cunliffe 2005, 408).

Meanwhile, animal husbandry primarily involved the rearing of cattle, sheep, and pigs in relatively large numbers; although, pigs were not as numerous as either cattle or sheep (Albarella 2007; Cunliffe 2005, 415 – 417; Maltby 1994, 9; 1996, 20). Goats, horses, and dogs were also reared on occasion (Cunliffe 2005, 415, 417-418). Furthermore, it is important to bear-in-mind that these animals were reared for different reasons, (see Table 3.1); with each of them playing a vital role in the period's economy. This latter point explains why specialised structures, such as byres, were often built to cope with the problems of keeping livestock, but particularly cattle, all year round (ibid, 418).

With regards to farming and *oppida*, the first thing to note is that the majority of the period's purported *oppida*, engaged in some form of farming regime, be this arable cultivation, animal husbandry, or a combination of both, even if this was rarely the primary reason behind their existence (Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1991, 105). There are however, some *oppida* where this pastime does not appear to have factored into the sites day-to-day existence, as evidenced by sites such as Manching (Krämer and Schubert 1970 *cf.* Collis 1976, 3 - 5).

Animal	Why they were reared	References
Cattle	Meat Milk Skins Traction – Ploughing	Cunliffe 2005, 416-417; Maltby 1996, 21
Sheep	Ease of up-keep Meat Milk Skin Wool Bone	Albarella 2007, 394; Cunliffe 2005, 416; Maltby 1996, 22
Pigs	Meat Lard	Albarella 2007, 395; Maltby 1996, 23
Goats	Same reasons as sheep, difficult to distinguish from sheep	Cunliffe 2005, 415
Horses	Traction Riding Sometimes meat	Cunliffe 2005, 417 Roymans 1990, 110
Dogs	Pets Guarding Herding Hunting	Cunliffe 2005. 418; Maltby 1996, 23-24

Table 3.1: Iron Age livestock: why were they reared?

There are many reasons why a site's population may not engage in what is often considered the Iron Age's most fundamental activity, from a lack of fertile soil to limited space within which to rear livestock. With regards to the *oppida*, either of these factors could have determined whether or not their occupants farmed, particularly when we take into consideration the fact that we are predisposed to believe that *oppida* were densely occupied (Powell 1963, 87)[32], and that these sites emerged at a time when the landscape was 'filling-up' due to the period's purported population increases (Cunliffe 1995a, 26). Consequently, it is possible that there were fewer locations in which new settlements could be placed and still have access to fertile soils, water, fuel, timber, forested areas, and minerals; in other words, those features that would enable a settlement, and its occupants, to lead a relatively self-sustained existence.

Conversely, these factors are not the only ones that could have led to some *oppida* not engaging in the most widespread pastime of the period. Many of these settlements are believed to have

[32] NB: As only a fraction of any one *oppidum* has been excavated (see page 28), it is not possible today to reliably ascertain the density of occupation at these sites.

served primarily, if not solely, as industrial and/or trading centres, as their location on/within close proximity of the period's major trading routes can be said to demonstrate (Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1991, 235). Therefore, the occupants of these sites may not have felt that farming, should it have been feasible, was necessary because they could obtain grain and/or animal products in exchange for the commodities they produced, or stockpiled for exchange. Therefore, although these sites may have engaged in farming regimes, it is possible they did not do so to the same extent as many of the other settlement types in use at this time. Consequently, we might expect Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury to display some evidence for farming, (be this agricultural, pastoral, or both), but not necessarily enough evidence to suggest this was their primary function. Finally, it is important to note that this scenario was not unique or even unusual at this time, many settlements had dual purposes during the later Iron Age, as evidenced by the likes of Gussage-All-Saints and Acy-Romance (see Chapters 11.2.3.4 and 11.1.3.4 respectively).

3.4.2: Metalworking

Progressing from a consideration of later Iron Age farming regimes our attentions turn to the period's metalworking activities. There is much evidence within the archaeological record to suggest that this was a prolific activity during the later Iron Age, and more importantly to highlight that the period's craftsmen, in both Britain and Temperate Europe, had access to, and were able to work, a broad range of metals and alloys, including: iron (e.g. Brun 1995a, 17; Cumberpatch 1995, 69; DeRoche 1997, 20-21; Hingley 1997; Morris 1996, 54-55; Wells 1995, 88), bronze (e.g. Brun 1995a, 17; Cumberpatch 1995, 70; Cunliffe 2005, 501; Morris 1996, 53-54; Wells 1995. 88), copper (e.g. Dungworth 1997; Northover 1994, 20), silver (e.g. James and Rigby 1997, 44; Northover 1994, 21-22), gold (e.g. Brun 1995a, 17; Northover 1994, 21-22), and tin (e.g. Cunliffe 2005, 600-601).

Furthermore, the aforementioned craftsmen were able to work many of these raw metals into a vast range of products including: tools (Hill 1995a, 62; Hingley 1997, 13-14); weaponry (ibid, 13-14); brooches (Cunliffe 2005, 513); jewellery, such as bangles and rings (Cunliffe 2005, 513); and coinage (Creighton 2000; Haselgrove 1987, 1992; 1993; 1994; 1996b; Northover 1994, 21-22). Consequently, this pastime was of considerable importance to the existence of Iron Age communities, not only because many of these products would have been fed into the economy, but because it would have been impossible for them to have engaged in the farming regimes vital to their survival without the tools produced by blacksmiths.

In light of the economic importance of metalwork during the later Iron Age it is unsurprising that virtually all of the period's *oppida* have produced evidence for some form of metalworking, (but particularly ironworking), (Wells 1996, 215); be this in the guise of domestic crafts conducted close to the home (Manning 1996, 317) or large scale industrial production (Northover 1996, 290). Many of the purported *oppida* in south-east Britain and Temperate Europe are said to fall into the latter of these categories, because they are often viewed as industrial centres where metalworking, particularly blacksmithing and bronze-smithing, formed the basis of either existence; as can be seen from the author's consideration of comparative *oppida* in Chapter 11.

In addition to the above, the discovery of metal artefacts, such as those noted above, at any settlement of later Iron Age date can be used to discern the existence of not only metalworking but a whole range of activities, including farming, carpentry, dress, and warfare. Consequently, we can use this evidence to ascertain whether industrial production, with a focus on metalworking, was the primary function of a settlement, or whether it served multiple purposes.

3.4.3: Pottery Production

In addition to those who engaged in metalworking, many Iron Age sites housed craftsmen who specialised in the production of ceramics (Brun 1995a, 17; Cumberpatch 1995, 71-72; Cunliffe 2005, 176, 504-505; Hill 1995a, 82; Wells 1995). Moreover, like metalwork the production of this commodity was vital to the daily lives of virtually all Iron Age communities because it was used for the consumption, preparation, and storage of foodstuffs (Gibson 2002, 27-28; Hill 2002b, 81; Morris 2002, 54; Woodward and Hill 2002a, 1). Consequently, the production of this commodity was widespread across Britain and Temperate Europe during the later Iron Age. For much of the period typical ceramic vessels included: bowls, jars, and cooking pots (Hill 2002a, 144-145), but, by the end of the period, more specifically after 10 BC (ibid, 148), potters were manufacturing an extensive range of vessels including: beakers, bowls, cooking jars, cups, flasks, flagons, jars, lids, mortaria, platters, spouted strainers, storage jars, and urns (Rigby and Freestone, 1997; Hill 2002a, 145, 148, 149).

Furthermore, it is important to note that some of these vessels, (namely the cups, flagons, flasks, platters, and mortaria), emerged in later Iron Age ceramic assemblages only after Augustus became Roman Emperor in c.27 BC (Freestone and Rigby 1997; Hill 2002a, 148-

149), and Roman table-wares became prominent in Gaul, and subsequently Britain as well (Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002, 161-169). Although many of these vessels started off as imports from the Roman World itself, and in some cases remained so, they can be included in the above list as many potters in both Gaul (ibid, 161-169) and Britain (Hill 1995a, 82) eventually began to manufacture these forms too.

There are many examples of Iron Age settlements that produced ceramic products, including the vessels noted above, between the years of 150/100 BC and AD 43, such as those in Northern Gaul at Reims and Marne, and Central Gaul at Allier, Lyon, and in the Auvergne (Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002, 166-167). Consequently, given their industrial capabilities, it is unsurprising that some of the period's purported *oppida* are believed to have been involved in the production of these wares; in fact the site of Reims noted above is regularly cited as an *oppidum* within the literature (Haselgrove 2007, Fig. 8; Roymans 1990, 204). Therefore, and as was the case with metalwork, ceramics were primarily produced at those *oppida* with industrial capabilities. Conversely, the presence of these vessels at later Iron Age settlements does not necessarily preclude that the occupants of these sites were responsible for their production, even if they were found to be manufactured in local fabrics; to be certain of this we would ideally also need evidence for kilns; however, the discovery of Iron Age kilns is rare (Gibson 1996, 332; Peacock 1968; 1969). In light of this, we have to be cautious when establishing whether a settlement was utilised for this purpose.

Further to the above, many of the period's purported *oppida* were associated, in terms of both production and consumption, with those vessels that are regularly labelled 'Roman tablewares'; there a many reasons for this, the most prominent among them being the notion that these vessels were a means through which power and status could be displayed (see Chapter 5.3). Consequently, we might expect these sites, when they were producing pottery, to have favoured the production of these vessels over traditional Iron Age forms, particularly if current theories on these sites' status as the most important and/or wealthy during the later Iron Age, (see Chapter 2), are correct. Therefore, if Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury display evidence of this craft, we might expect them to have been producing large quantities of these vessels, (particularly after 15/10 BC when they first started to be mass produced at specialist potteries in central and northern Gaul (Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002, 166-167)), alongside the more traditional wares of the period.

3.4.4: Domestic Crafts

Alongside the production of metalwork and pottery, Iron Age populations engaged in a range of domestic crafts which saw them manufacture a whole host of artefacts from their homes; and while the production of some ceramics and metalwork also took place in the home (Cunliffe 2005, 495), these processes were considered as separate entities above because it is typically believed that they were, more often than not, manufactured by specialist craftsmen (Pleiner 1982; Gebhard 1989 *cf.* Wells 1995, 88-89). What then did domestic crafts constitute?

Iron Age societies appear to have been great believers in making the most of the resources they had to hand. It is therefore unsurprising that they also frequently engaged in the production of textiles using the wool of sheep (Cumberpatch 1995, 73; Cunliffe 2005, 485; DeRoche 1997, 22), or flax (Cunliffe 2005, 485; DeRoche 1997, 22); leatherworking using cattle hides (Cumberpatch 1995, 73; Cunliffe 2005, 488-489, Wells 1995, 88); the working of bone obtained during butchery (Brun 1995a, 17; Cumberpatch 1995, 73); carpentry (Cumberpatch 1995, 73; Cunliffe 2005, 489; Wells 1995, 88); and stonework to manufacture quernstones (Cumberpatch 1995, 71; Cunliffe 2005, 509) and even jewellery (Cunliffe 2005; 513). Furthermore, it is not only stone that was used to produce jewellery, so too were naturally occurring minerals, such as: Kimmeridge shale from Dorset (ibid, 506), Jet from the Yorkshire coast (ibid, 508), and amber from the Baltic region (Foster 2002, 15).

In addition to the above, it is also known that some communities in Temperate Europe engaged in the production of glass (Wells 1995, 88), especially in Bohemia and Moravia (Brun 1995a, 17); while, many communities in the Rhineland, with access to saltwater, appear to have engaged in the production of salt (van den Broeke 1995, 149), as did British communities residing on/in close proximity to the coast of Essex (Sealey 1995), the Fenlands of Lincolnshire (Morris 2007), and the marshlands of East Anglia (Ralph 2007, 23). With regards to this final point it should be noted that the production of salt, like arable cultivation and animal husbandry, metalworking, and the manufacture of ceramic vessels, was a vital pastime for Iron Age communities. This commodity was not only a significant part of the diets of humans and livestock alike, but was essential for the preservation of meat, manufacture of cheese and butter, and processing of raw animal hides (Cunliffe 2005, 509; Morris 2007, 440; van den Broeke 1995, 153; Willis 2007, 116).

Domestic crafts would have given rise to many of the products later Iron Age societies utilised on a daily basis, consequently, wherever possible societies would endeavour to undertake as many of those activities listed above themselves. In light of this, the majority of Iron Age settlements, including the purported *oppida*, would have been associated with one or more of these crafts. However, while many of the *oppida* in Britain and Temperate Europe engaged in the above crafts on a domestic scale, that is to say they were produced in modest quantities by craftsmen with multiple duties, there are a number of *oppida*, and non-*oppida* settlements, where some of the above craftwares were industrialised, and in some cases even formed the basis of their overall function. This is particularly true of some of Temperate Europes purported *oppida*, such as Corant (Foucras *et al.* 2014, 114; Guillaud 2014, 87), Manching (Collis 1984a, 94, 98 – 100; 1984b, 150-151; Gebhard 1989; Haevernick 1960; Kunkel 1961), Staré Hradisko (Collis 1984a, 100; Haevernick 1960; Wells 1996, 225), and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Haselgrove 1996a, 147-149; 2007, 507-511; Tillard 1986; 1989 *cf.* Collin 1998, 167) where the industrialisation of glass and textile production were key to the sites' survival. Consequently, should Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury have produced evidence for the industrialised production of craft-wares we would usually associate with the domestic sphere, it becomes plausible that industrial production was like one of their primary functions.

Finally, with regards to this chapter it remains for the author to say that for many Iron Age communities, including those associated with the purported *oppida* of Britain and Temperate Europe, the above factors enabled them to lead relatively self-sustained lifestyles. However, there were some circumstances, such as the inability to access raw materials or a lack of fertile farmland, that would have led to one or more of the above pastimes being rendered impossible and a reliance upon trade and exchange for these products would have become the norm. In these cases we would expect the archaeological records of these sites to display little evidence for on-site production, be it agricultural or industrial, and a high volume of imported wares, particularly of those commodities that would have been used on a regular basis. Consequently, using this knowledge we will be able to ascertain the relative self-reliance of the thesis' case sites, and gauge the importance of not only any industrial pursuits they engaged in, but their economic relationships. With this in mind, we need to ensure that we have a sound understanding of later Iron Age economies, particularly with regards to trade and exchange between 150/100 BC and AD 43.

4: Later Iron Age Economy

When providing an overview of later Iron Age economies there are three things that must be considered:

1. Upon what were they founded?
2. What was traded and with whom?
3. How were these goods exchanged?

The author will explore each of these points in turn, giving thought to how they may have differed between south-east Britain and Temperate Europe. Furthermore, they will also consider how these aspects of the period's economies might apply to the period's purported *oppida*, Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury included.

4.1: Upon what were these economies founded?

Later Iron Age economies were centred on many different commodities, and although there are some products, such as grain, that were significant to virtually all of these, regional situations would have impacted upon not only what a community could manufacture for local consumption, but on what they needed to import. Furthermore, it is important to note that regardless of regional situations this period's economies were reliant upon the generation of surplus as it was this that stimulated trade (Brun 1995a, 22; Hill 1995a, 60). In other words, for an Iron Age community to enjoy economic success their industries needed to be able to produce commodities in quantities that surpassed local requirement, as it was these goods that enabled merchants to obtain products that could not be manufactured/procured locally; including, those which may have been essential for day-to-day living, as well as goods that were surplus to requirement but desired by the few.

In order to present a coherent overview of the commodities being filtered into later Iron Age economies we will first consider what the ancient sources have documented on this subject, as this is where many of the existing studies on this subject began. The most cited ancient source in these studies is Strabo's *Geography* (e.g. Cunliffe 1984, 6; 2005, 478; 2011, 374-375; Hodder 1979, 192; Rodwell 1976, 308), within which it is stated that British communities exported 'grain, cattle, gold, silver and iron …[...]... also hides, and slaves and dogs that are by

nature suited to the purposes of the chase' (*Geog*. 4.5.2), and in return received: ivory, chains, necklaces, amber gems, and glass vessels from the Roman World (Cunliffe 1984, 6), as well as Italian wine (Cunliffe 2005, 600). It was however, not only British communities who were in receipt of these products; Cunliffe believes that Gallic communities received them in exchange for salted pork and woollen garments, while communities in the eastern Alps exchanged them for cheese (2011, 375).

The ancient sources, such as Strabo's *Geography*, are not the only texts to note the significance of grain to Iron Age communities, much of the archaeological literature on south-east Britain and Temperate Europe at this time also states that grain was at the heart of many of this period's economies (e.g. Bryant 2000, 14; Cunliffe 2005, 408; Drewett *et al*. 1988, 119; Hill 1995a, 79); a factor that is unsurprising when one takes into account the fact that this commodity formed the basis of the period's diet, and was therefore essential for sustaining human life. Furthermore, the importance of this commodity would have increased the economic significance of quernstones, because every household, or at the very least every community, would have needed one of these to process grain meant for human consumption (Cunliffe 2005, 509); consequently, communities unable to manufacture these items themselves would have been forced to import them from external sources.

In light of the above, we can state that grain was likely a key component of any society's economy where agricultural farming was a crucial part of their day-to-day existence. Consequently, any of the purported *oppida* where there is evidence for arable farming, such as: Bagendon (Clifford 1961; Moore 2007, 55), Corent (Pranyies 2014, 195), Stradonice (Cumberpatch 1995, 74), Staré Hradisko (Collis 1984a, Fig. 8.10; Cumberpatch 1995, 74; Meduna 1991, 546-547), and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Auxiette 1996; Debord 1990; Fulford 1985; Haselgrove 1996a, 147-149; 2007, 507-511), could have relied, at least partially, upon this pastime for economic success, especially if they needed to obtain essential products/resources that could not be manufactured/procured locally. For this reason, any evidence discovered/identified at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury for agriculture, (such as field systems, grain silos/pits, traces of flora, and agricultural tools), could potentially be used to determine not only the possible activities that filled daily lives of these sites' residents, but whether grain was a staple component of their economies.

In addition to grain, the archaeological record also suggests that later Iron Age economies were reliant upon animal husbandry (Drewett *et al*. 1988, 119), especially the rearing of sheep, cattle, and pigs (Cunliffe 2005, 418), for success. This aspect of later Iron Age economies would have been at least partially founded upon those animals that were surplus to local needs, because these could be 'sold' to communities looking to start new herds/flocks, or alternatively butchered to produce 'saleable' meat products for communities who were unable to keep livestock. Furthermore, animal husbandry also led to the production of a wealth of additional commodities, (as can be seen from Table 3.1), the trade and exchange of which could have governed a community's ability to acquire essential products. Furthermore, it should be noted that the rearing of horses was also significant for the period's economies because of their ability to pull wagons (see Section 4.3).

It was noted in Chapter 3.4.1 above that arable and pastoral farming regimes were closely entwined, for this reason many of the later Iron Age settlements whose economies were at least partially founded upon grain are also likely to have relied upon products obtained through animal husbandry for success. For this reason it is somewhat unsurprising that there is evidence within the archaeological records of some of the period's purported *oppida*, including Bagendon (Clifford 1961; Moore 2007, 55), Corent (Pranyies 2014, 195), Manching (Maier 2003, 58), and Silchester (Fulford 2000, 552-555), to suggest that their economies were, to a certain extent, reliant upon the rearing of livestock. Therefore, if Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury produce evidence for large scale animal husbandry the author will be able to use this information to ascertain whether the commodities born from this pastime were indeed used for economic gain, and if so how they contributed to these sites' development, and successes, between 150/100 BC and AD 43.

It was however, not only surplus produce obtained through farming activities upon which Iron Age economies were founded. Pottery, metals, and minable minerals were also of considerable importance to these, especially if a community was reliant upon the exchange of these commodities for access to grain. Consequently, our attention now turns to a consideration of the metals and mineral based artefacts that featured in later Iron Age economies; a consideration of the economic importance of pottery is better placed in Section 4.2.

It was noted in Chapters 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 that later Iron Age communities were capable of gaining access to a number of different metals and their alloys, and more importantly of

working these into a vast array of products. Consequently, Iron Age merchants were able to exchange these wares for both necessary commodities, such as grain, and non-essential items, such as luxury imports from the Roman World; a point to which we return below (see Section 4.2). However, before we progress to a consideration of this factor we need to briefly take stock of the regional variations present in the metals available to later Iron Age communities; because the increasing importance of these over the course of the later Iron Age, but particularly after c.55/50 BC (Champion *et al.* 1992, 309; Collis 1976, 10-12; Jacobi 1974; Wyss 1974), not only led to a simultaneous increase in specialist craftsmanship (Cunliffe 2005, 513; Sharples 2010, 125; Wells 1995, 88-89), but would have governed the crafts/industries a settlement's occupants engaged in, and in doing so had a major impact upon the craft activities the occupants of the period's purported *oppida*, Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury included, undertook.

Within later Iron Age Britain many regions had access to metals; for example, communities in the Mendips, Somerset, had access to both lead and silver, those from the fringes of the Dartmoor copper and silver, while the Cornish had access to an abundance of tin (Cunliffe 2005, 600-601), and the peoples of Wealden iron (ibid, 506). This regionality would not only have provided communities with raw materials that could be exported for economic gain, but a medium in which they could produce artefacts for local consumption and exchange. Likewise, in Temperate Europe regional variations in the metal available for exploitation are just as pronounced; communities in Iberia were able to procure: iron, copper, tin, silver and gold (Cunliffe 2011, 375), whilst many of those across north-east Gaul, the Rhineland, and Bohemia had accesses to rich iron ores (Wells 1990, 214-215), and those in central Gaul silver and tin (Pranyies 2014, 195).

The above examples of regionality are amongst the most cited within the literature, and as such are important to bear-in-mind when contemplating the wider context of later Iron Age economies in both Britain and Temperate Europe. With regards to the current thesis, this information is important because a number of the period's *oppida* were associated with metal ores that they exploited for economic gain. For example, it is known that Manching was located in an area rich in iron ores (Maier 2003, 58), while Corent's occupants had access to both silver and tin (Pranyies 2014, 195). However, arguably one of the best examples for the relationship between *oppida* and metal ores comes from one of the thesis' case sites: Titelberg; in fact, it is believed that this site owed both its economic importance, and longevity, to its location upon

a plateau rich in iron ores (Collis 1984a, 173; Daval 2008; Hamilton 1996, 33; Metzler 1995a, 11, 13; Metzler *et al.* 1999, 17; Rowlett *et al*. 1982, 301). It is, therefore, unsurprising that metalworking industries are considered vital to the economies of many *oppida* in Britain and Temperate Europe (Maier 2003, 58).

Conversely, it is not only metal ores that were of import to the economies of the purported *oppida*, so too were minerals. From Chapter 3.4.4 we know that these commodities were just as regional as metals and their ores. However, as some of the better documented minerals, such as shale and jet, appear in regions generally considered lacking in *oppida*, namely Yorkshire and Dorset, and as such do not correlate with the areas in which the thesis' case sites or their contemporaries feature, the only mineral that we will be considering in relation to the *oppida* will be salt.

The later Iron Age is known to have been a period of widespread salt production (Cunliffe 2005, 509; van den Broeke 1995, 151); with some regions being more specialised in its manufacture and distribution than others. For example: in Britain the most prolific regions for salt production were: the Red Hills, Essex (Sealey 1995), the West Midlands (Cunliffe 2005, 509), the Lincolnshire fenlands (Morris 2007) and the marshes of East Anglia (Ralph 2007, 23), while the Rhineland (van den Broeke 1995) was one of the most affluent areas for the production of this commodity in Temperate Europe. Furthermore, like both arable cultivation and animal husbandry, the production of salt was a vital part of later Iron Age economies, not only because of its role in the diets of humans and animals alike, but because of its use in preservation (see Chapter 3.4).

As the above regions are those most closely tied to salt production during the later Iron Age, we can say that we might expect the settlements situated within them to be linked to this pastime. Consequently, of the thesis' case studies Colchester is the one most likely to display evidence of connections to the salt industry given its location in Essex. In light of this, should Colchester's occupants have engaged in this pastime we would expect to find bodies of evidence at this site that are similar to those recovered at the Red Hills (Sealey 1995).

Finally, while the above products were undoubtedly at the heart of many later Iron Ages economies, it is often argued that the most frequently exported commodity of this period was actually slaves (Fitzpatrick 1993, 235). Although Strabo (*Geography*) and Caesar (*The*

Conquest of Gaul) both note the existence of slaves within Iron Age communities, the existence of these individuals is incredibly difficult to verify within the archaeological record, due to the rarity of the paraphernalia associated with their existence (Thompson 1993, 57). Unlike the wealth of data available for the production, and even exchange, of the commodities discussed above, we have very little evidence that can be directly linked to the existence of slaves, with the evidence we do have consisting primarily of gang chains, such as those recovered at Bigbury, Canterbury (Thompson 1983, 258; 1993; Williams 2007, 119). Consequently, we have to be cautious how much emphasis we place on the role of slaves in Iron Age economies. Furthermore, as the gang chains recovered at Bigbury can be said to directly reflect the possibility that slaves played a role in Canterbury's later Iron Age economy, we might expect similar evidence to be present at Colchester and Titelberg should they too have exploited slaves for economic gain. With this in mind our attention turns to a consideration of with whom, and for what, the above commodities were exchanged.

4.2: What was traded and with whom?

Typically, it is believed that later Iron Age communities traded wares with those who possessed items they, the 'selling community', desired; with the something desired usually being raw materials unavailable locally, such as basic food supplies (Collis 1984b, 15-16). With this in mind, it seems probable that trade occurred between local communities on a semi-frequent basis, especially when the exchange of essential food stuffs was involved. Despite this, within much of the literature local trade has been overshadowed by exchanges between native communities and the Roman World, because, it is these exchanges that gave rise to those later Iron Age artefacts that are not only some of the most readily explored by archaeologists today, (such as amphorae, samian, exotic metalwork, and luxury products associated with leisure time (namely gaming boards)), but those most closely tied to the period's enigmatic *oppida*. Consequently, these latter trading relationships will be prominent throughout the remainder of the chapter; although, this is not to say that local trade will be omitted, as this would have been just as crucial, if not more so, to the survival of later Iron Age communities, particularly if they did not have the means by which to produce their own food.

Typically trade between native communities in Britain and the Roman World is referred to as cross-channel trade, because as Hill notes: Mediterranean products should be viewed 'as an extension of the pool of material circulating in northern France' (1995a, 82). In other words, much of the trade between Britain and the Roman World took place with the merchants of

Gaul, particularly northern Gaul, acting as middle men (see Figures 4.1-4.3). Consequently, many Gallic wares were traded alongside those from the Roman World, as can be seen from Cunliffe's overview of goods reaching Britain from Temperate Europe during the first half of the first Century BC,[33] which included: Gallo-Belgic and Armorican coins; pottery from north-west Gaul; black cordoned, graphite-coated, and rilled wares from Brittany; Italian and Spanish amphorae; bronze and silver table wares from Italy; figs; and raw purple and yellow glass (2005, 474-477). In return for these items British merchants, who were operating out of Hengistbury Head at this time, exchanged a whole host of local commodities including: grain, salt, iron, copper, tin, lead, silver, gold, and Kimmeridge shale (ibid, 478). Although several of the products exchanges between Britain and Gaul during the first half of the first Century BC are archaeologically invisible, we know of their existence because the ancient sources such as Strabo's *Geography* contain a record of them; meanwhile those which are archaeologically visible are known of thanks to the rich archaeological record Hengistbury Head, where evidence of amphorae, Armorican coins and pottery have been found in abundance alongside local products, such as Kimmerage shale, that were collected for exchange (Cunliffe 2005, 476-478).

As the first century BC progressed, the commodities exchanged between native communities and the Roman World evolved. From c.50 BC, until the Claudian conquest, communities situated in the south-east of Britain, including those connected to the region's purported *oppida*, (such as Colchester (see Chapter 7.3)), not only continued to receive large quantities of Dressel 1 amphorae, (at least until it ceased to be manufactured in c.10 BC (Peacock 1971, Sealey 1985a; 2009; Williams 1986)), but a series of new products, including: bronze jugs and patellae, silver cups, bronze bowls, and wine strainers in reasonable, but not excessive quantities (Cunliffe 2005, 481); with these products serving to 'Romanise' the dining habits of native communities (Sealey forthcoming a).

[33] Exchanges between native communities and the Roman World pre-date the first century BC. During the latter half of the second century BC, trading relationships emerged between the native communities of Gaul, (and possibly to a lesser extent Britain by way of Gaul), and the newly established Roman provinces such as Transalpina, which saw the aforementioned native peoples exchanging slaves and raw materials, in particular metals, for Italian wine (Tchernia 1983 *cf.* Cunliffe 2005, 476; Cunliffe 1988, 80-92).

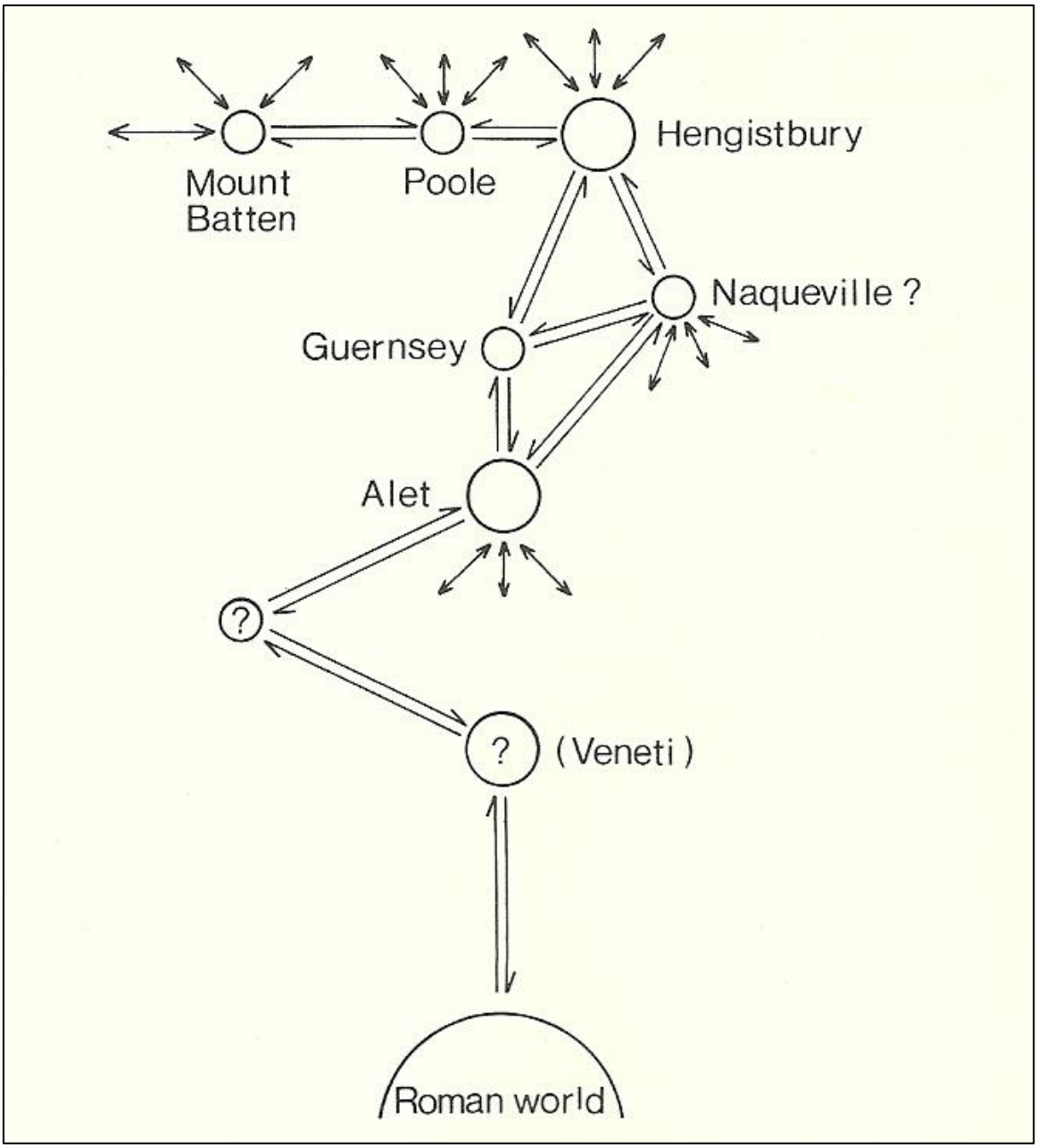

Figure 4.1: Diagram illustrating the movement of goods between the Roman World, Gaul, and Britain between 100 and 50 BC, the named site are ports through which the goods moved (after Cunliffe 1984, Fig. 1).

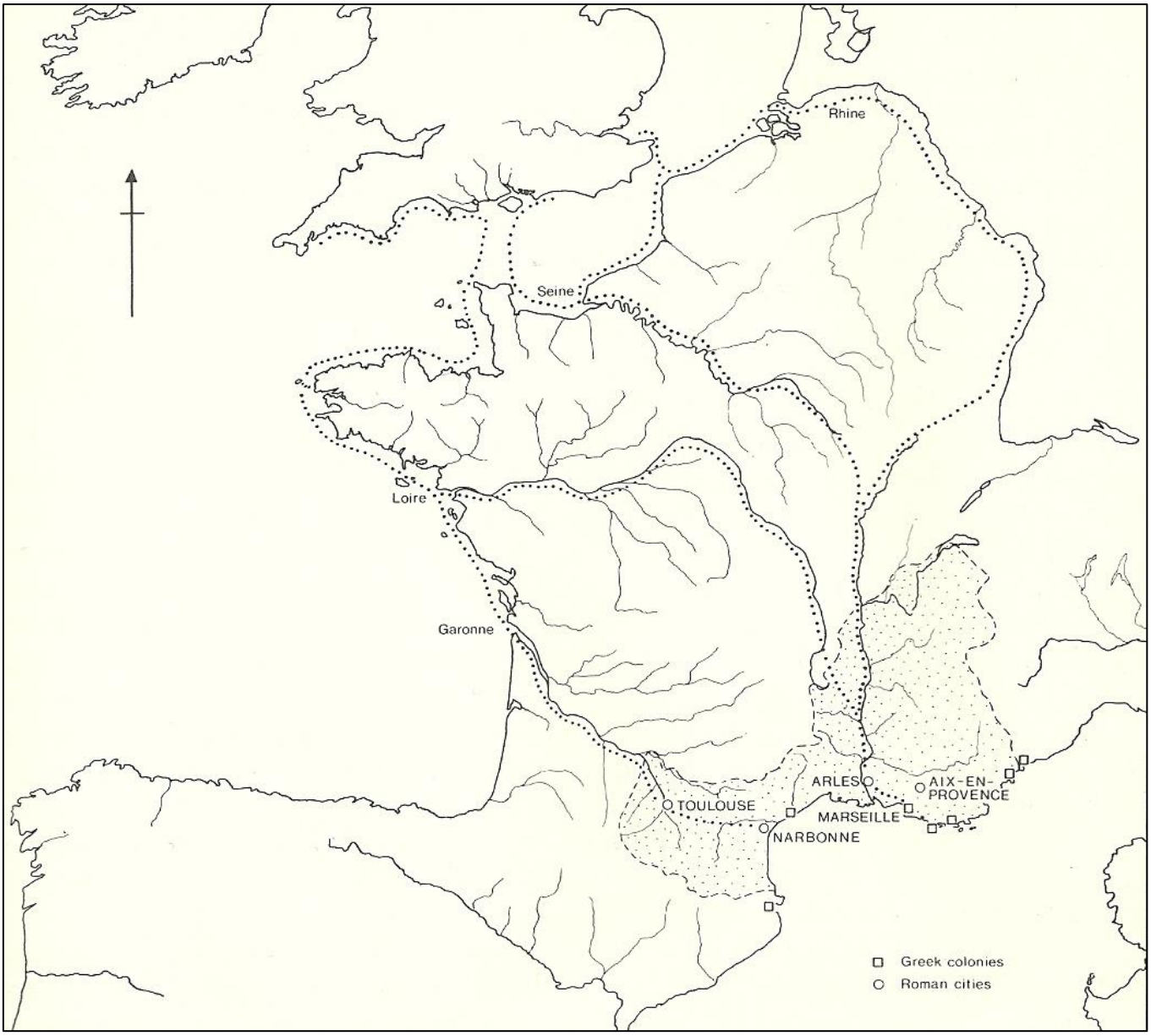

Figure 4.2: Map showing the routes along which goods were moved once they had arrived in southern Gaul from the Roman World, this map was created using the information Strabo provided in his text *Geography* (after Cunliffe 1984, Fig. 2).

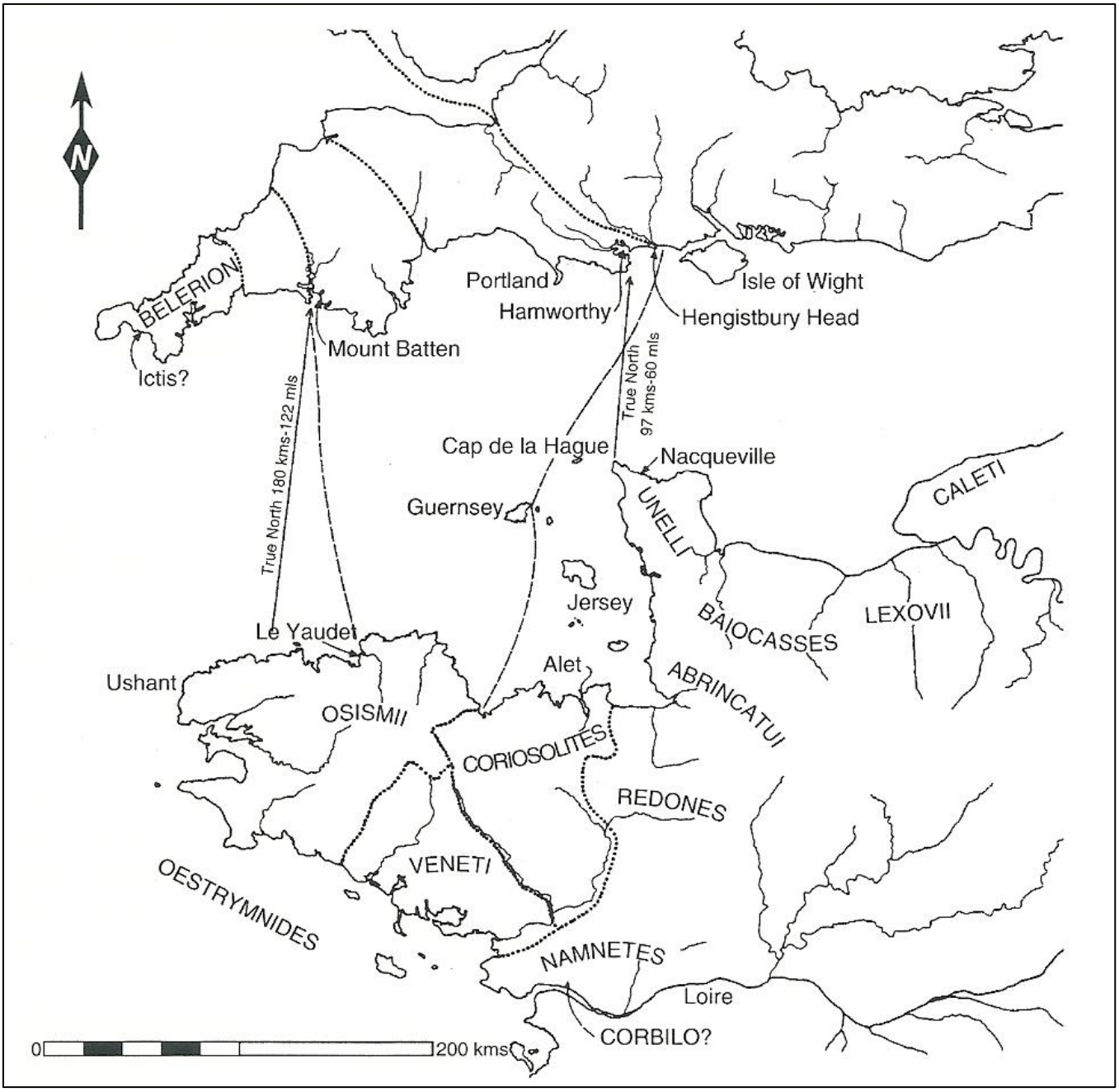

Figure 4.3: A map showing a more detailed overview of the route products being moved between northern Gaul and Britain took during the period of 100 and 50 BC, including the distance some of these would have travelled coast to coast. This trading network is known as the Atlantic-Solent route (after Cunliffe 1997, Fig. 35 *cf.* Henderson 2009, Fig. 6.5).

Before consideration is given to the other products reaching communities in south-east Britain from Gaul as a result of the trading networks that linked Britain to the Roman World, we need to first consider the Gallic use of amphorae, and the evidence for this; because, without some form Gallic interest in this product, communities in Britain (such as those at Hengistbury Head, and later Colchester (see Figure 4.4)), are unlikely to have been able to so successfully obtain it.[34] Diodorus Siculus', citing the work of Poseidonius, states that later Iron Age communities in Gaul were partial to the wine merchants transported through this region by boat and cart exchanging at a rate of one slave per amphorae (*History* 5.26). While we cannot confirm that this was indeed the 'going-rate' for wine in Iron Age Gaul, there is a wealth of evidence to suggest wine amphorae were indeed imported to this region in vast quantities and cached at trading ports for redistribution (Cunliffe 1999, 218-219) (see also Figure 4.4). For example, within the Garonne Valley on farmland at Vielle Toulouse modern farmers struggle to plough their soils because they are so thickly laced with sherds from wine amphorae (ibid, 219); meanwhile, at Cabillonum (Chalon) near the Saône evidence for c.24,000 amphorae have been recovered from the waterways that would have been used to transport this commodity (ibid, 219). Conversely, it is also prudent to note that one reason for the discovery of so much amphorae at these trading ports is that wine was probably decanted into other containers, (barrels or skins), to make its transportation further inland easier (ibid, 219). This apparent desire for wine on the part of many Gauls, as well as increasing contact between Britain and Gaul during the later Iron Age, can undoubtedly be linked to the appearance of amphorae in southern, and south-eastern Britain; but more than this, it can be linked to the appearance of Gallic pottery in these areas after c.50 BC.

Arguably the best known vessels circulating the British and Gallic markets, including the economies of these region's *oppida*, the thesis' case site's included (see Chapters 7-10), after the evolution of trade and communications with the Roman World are the Gallo-Belgic wares *Terra Rubra* and *Terra Nigra*. These vessels were manufactured in Gaul (Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002, 161 – 170; King 1990, 64; Willis 1994, 145; Woolf 1998, 190-191) from c. 25/15-10 BC (Cunliffe 1984, 13; Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002, 161; Hill 2002a, 148; Millett 1990, 33; Rigby 1986, 226; Rigby and Freestone 1997), and served both practical and symbolic functions (Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002, 161, 169-170) upon reaching sites in south-east Britain (see

[34] Although many later Iron Age communities in Gaul acquired wine amphorae, and therefore likely partook in the consumption of their contents, some Gallic communities avoided this product (Carver 2001, 16), just as some of their contemporaneous British communities did (as can be seen from the distribution map in Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.5). In terms of their practical roles, these vessels were used like any other for the consumption of food and drink (Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002, 169-170; Hill 2002b, 82; Pollard 2002, 32); their symbolic function, on-the-other-hand, was twofold. Firstly they were used as a means of conspicuous consumption (Fitzpatrick 1993, 235; Hill 2002a, 144; Pollard 2002, 32), and secondly, like the vessels noted above, they represent the adoption of Roman dining habits, and by proxy Roman cultural practices (Hill 1995b, 121; Pollard 2002, 32; Sealey forthcoming a).

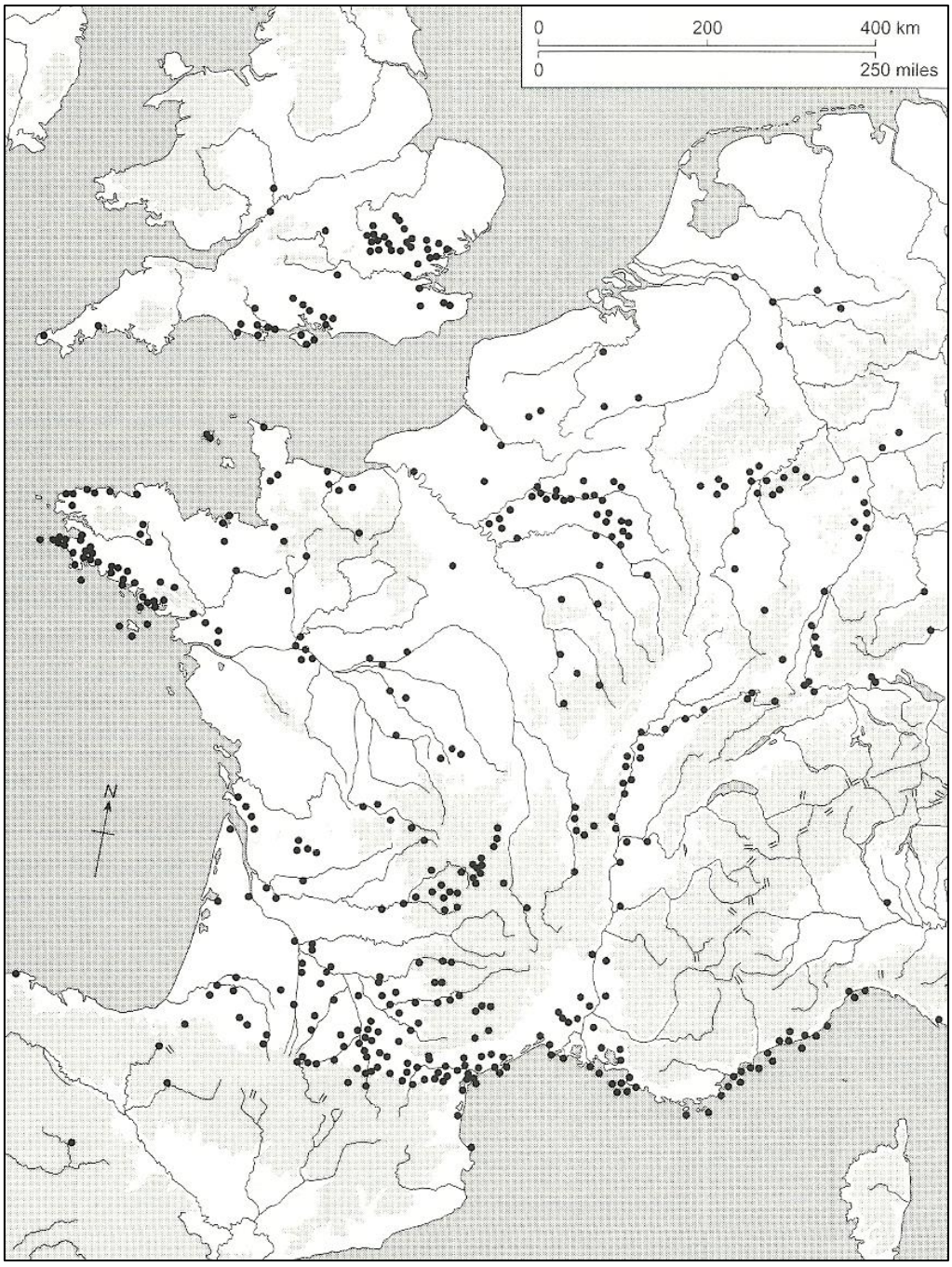

Figure 4.4: Distribution map of Dressel 1 amphorae in Britain and Temperate Europe, but particularly Gaul (after Cunliffe 1999, map 28).

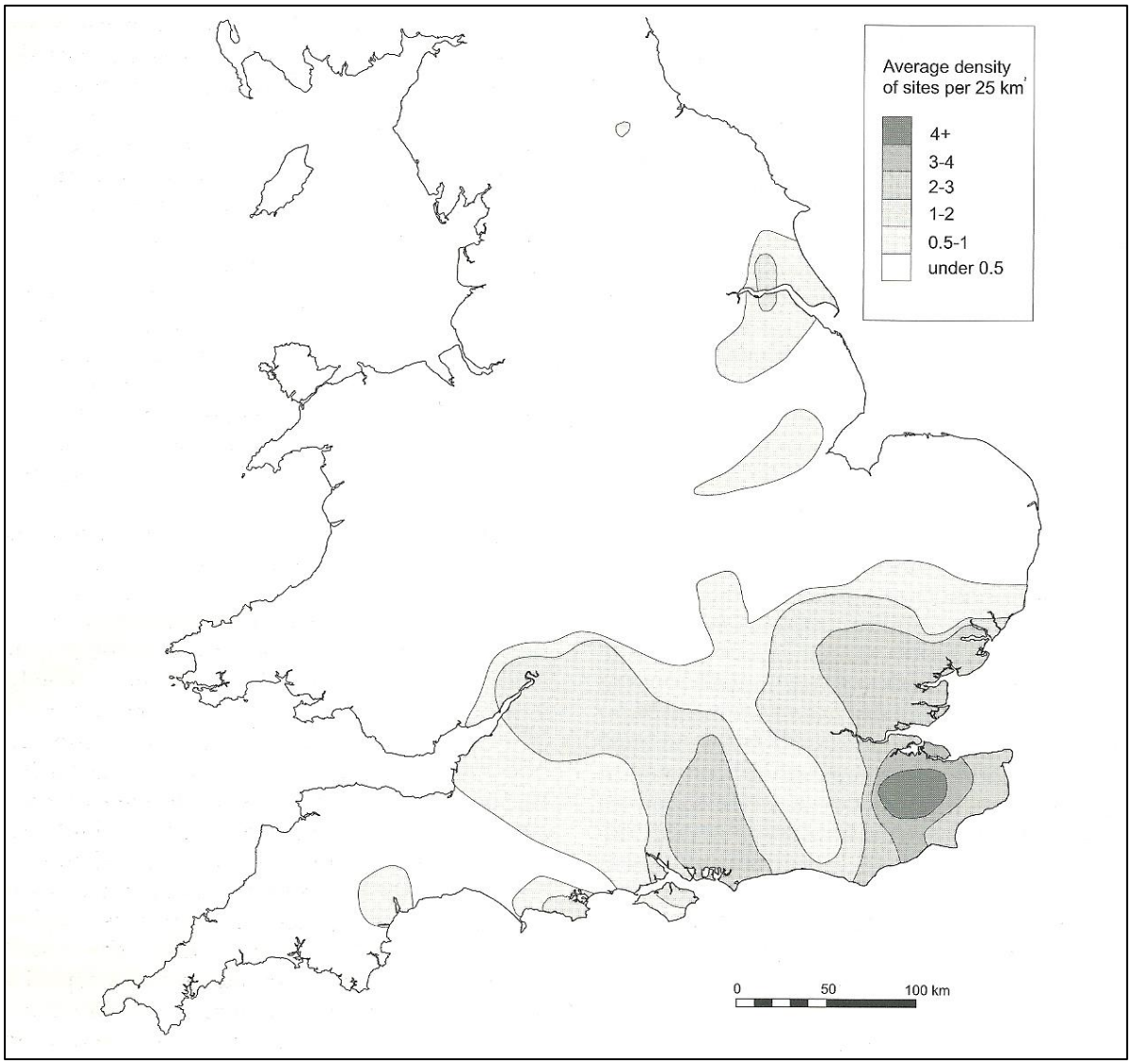

Figure 4.5: Trend surface map of the distribution of Gallo-Belgic wares in England. Drawn by Jane Timby (after Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002, Fig. 14.4).

In light of the above considerations, we have to ask ourselves what the Gallic and Roman merchants received in return for the aforementioned products. Cunliffe believes that Roman merchants required two things in exchange for these commodities: raw materials and energy (1984, 6). One can surmise, based on the work of both Cunliffe (2005) and Woolf (1993b) that the raw material most widely desired by the Romans was grain, because as Woolf states: 'the Mediterranean Basin has always been scare of land that could be cultivated for agricultural gain' (1993b, 215). Energy, on-the-other-hand, is believed to have been supplied to the Roman World in the form of slaves (Cunliffe 2005, 483); thus, it is unsurprising that this commodity

is considered by many to have been one of the more prominent exports of the later Iron Age (e.g. Cunliffe 2011, 375; Fitzpatrick 1993, 235; Sharples 2010, 169).[35]

With the above in mind, it is important that we return to a point noted in relation to the imported wares reaching Britain after c.50 BC, because this highlights that it was not only physical wares that were being exchanged between Britain and the Gallic and/or Roman merchants at this time. By obtaining and using vessels such as bronze jugs and wine strainers from Italy, as well as the Gallo-Belgic wares from Gaul, native communities from the south-east of Britain, but particularly those associated with the region's *oppida*, including not only Colchester and Canterbury (see Chapters 7.3.3-7.3.4 and 10.3.3-10.3.4), but Baldock (Rigby 1986, 223-231) and Silchester (Timby 2000, 196-204), where these products were equally as abundant, started to adopt behaviours more commonly associated with the Roman World (Sealey forthcoming a). In other words, these vessels represent the exchange of cultural processes. Exchanges such as this not only saw native communities adopt 'foreign' dining habits, but resulted in the communities of south-east Britain and the Belgic areas of Gaul sharing ceramic technologies, burial rites, and similar socio-political and economic structures (Birchall 1965, 270-279; Collis 1984b, 162; Cunliffe 1984, 13; 1995a, 64; 2005, 149). Consequently, it can be considered somewhat unsurprising that the purported *oppida* of these regions, as settlements closely tied to the period's trade and exchange (Blagg 1991, 11; Boon 1957, 60-61; 1974, 42; Collis 1984a, 162; Dimbleby 1978, 114; Fulford 2000, 559; Jenkins 1962, 13; Niblett 1985, 23; 1999; Rodwell 1976, 207, 240, 268; Stead and Rigby 1989, 112-218; Thompson 1982, 865-945), are widely thought to have been part of a settlement class with similar socio-political and economic structures (see Chapter 2). In light of this, we should ask ourselves how the period's trading relationships were facilitated.

4.3: How were these goods exchanged?

During the later Iron Age goods were transported either overland or by water via a series of trading networks that traversed vast expanses of land, and linked Britain to Temperate Europe and vice-versa. Upon reaching their destination, goods were exchanged by one of a number of different means that were determined by with whom a community was trading, what was being exchanged, and the geographic distance between the communities involved in the exchange of

[35] **NB:** These goods would have passed from Britain to the Roman World via the trading model depicted in Figure 4.1, and via the routes documented in Figures 4.2-4.3.

goods. Our consideration of these aspects of later Iron Age economies will begin with how these goods were transported, followed by an overview of the trading networks that existed at this time; thought will also be given to how the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe, as supposed trading centres (see Chapter 2.3.4), fit into these trading networks.

Little has been published in relation to the means used by Iron Age people when transporting goods. Consequently, the literature contains, for the most part, only passing mention of the vehicles used; however, this is enough for the purposes of the present chapter. Using the information available it is evident that overland trade was facilitated by wagons, carts and pack animals (Foster 2002, 15), while the movement of goods using the waterways of Britain and Temperate Europe was enabled by boats (Van de Noort 2011), such as those Cunobelin had inscribed on his coinage (Willis 2007, 117) (Figure 4.6), and logboats, like the Hasholme logboat from East Yorkshire (Millett and McGrail 1986; 1987) (Figure 4.7). The former of these water-based vehicles would have been used primarily for cross channel trade (McGrail 1996, 264-265), whilst the latter were likely reserved for use within the river systems of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe as their size and scale was usually unsuitable for seafaring (ibid, 261-264).

With the above in mind, our attention turns to a consideration of later Iron Age trading routes, starting with the Atlantic-Solent (see Figure 4.3). By the later Iron Age this trading route had been used as a means of communication for c.4000 years (Cunliffe 2005, 600). Its prominence at this time can be attributed to the many ports with which it was connected, including Hengistbury Head and Poole Harbour on the Dorset Coast in Britain (ibid, 600); the ports of the Channel Islands, such as St. Peter Port on Guernsey (Cunliffe 1997, 53); Brittany, in particular Côtes-d'Armor (McGrail 1983; Cunliffe and de Jersey 1997) and Alet/St. Malo (Cunliffe 1982a, 43, 45; McGrail 1983, 323); the mouth of the Loire, at Corbilo (Nantes (McGrail 1983, 319); the mouth of the Gironde, at Burdigala (Bordeaux) (ibid, 319); and those ports along the Mediterranean Coast of Gaul, including Narbo Martius (Narbonne) (Cunliffe 2005, 476).[36] Furthermore, the additional trading posts to which the aforementioned ports were connected, namely Wessex and its hinterlands via the rivers Stour and Avon (ibid, 476), the

[36] Many of the ports noted here are highlighted in the diagram presented in Figure 4.1, while the river systems utilised are documented in Figure 4.2.

Roman province of Transalpina (ibid, 476), and Northern Italy via the Carcassonne Gap (ibid, 476), also contributed to the importance of the Atlantic trade-route, because these outposts allowed the goods to travel distances of up to 1,600km from their origin (ibid, 477); therefore, at least some of these products reached their final destinations as a result of secondary exchanges (Fitzpatrick 1993, 235).

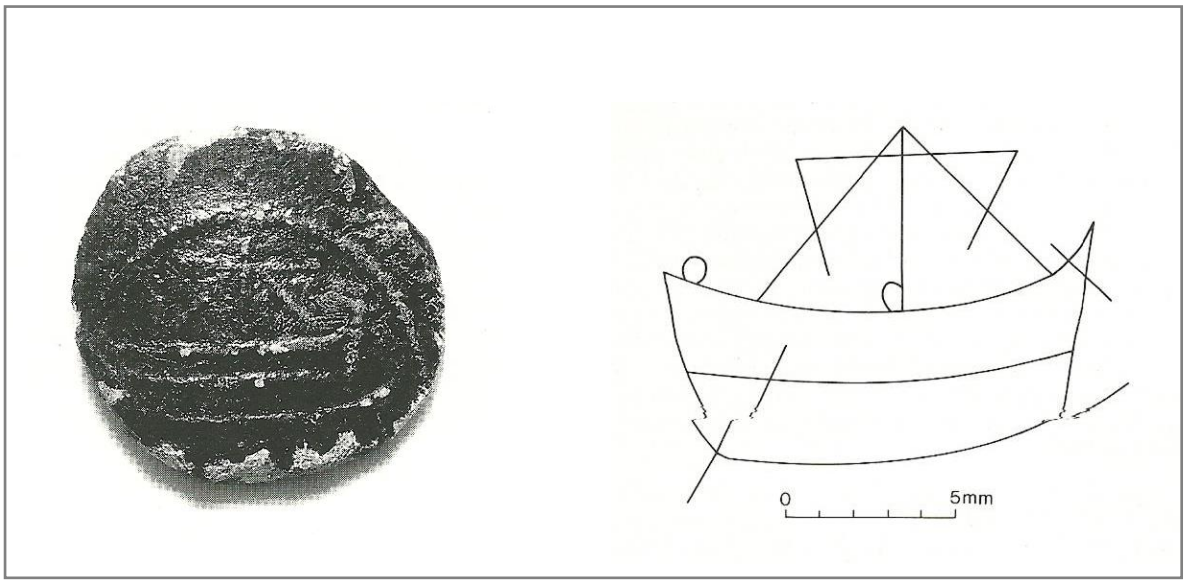

Figure 4.6: Boat depiction on one of Cunobelin's coins (after Sealey 1996, Fig.8, Pl.1).

Figure 4.7: The Hasholme Logboat (after: Millett and McGrail 1986, 112).

Although the Atlantic-Solent trading route was prominent for much of the later Iron Age, the aftermath of Caesar's conquest of Gaul saw prominence shift to a new route which spanned from Belgica to the Thames (see Figure 4.8). This shift, (documented in Figure 4.8), saw the port of Hengistbury Head, among others, fall out of use after c.55/50 BC (Cunliffe 1984, 5-6; 1995a, 66-67; Collis 1984b, 163; Peacock 1971; 1984, 38; Mattingly 2007, 68), and sites in Kent and Essex rise to prominence (Cunliffe 2005, 602). Furthermore, and as was the case with the Atlantic-Solent route, the Belgica-Thames trading network gained importance because of the other trading routes to which it was connected (see Figures 4.2 and 4.8); these included the Roman road systems in Gaul which reached not only Gallic communities but the Rhine corridor (ibid, 603), as well as routes in Britain that connected Kent and Essex, but particularly sites under the control of the Catuvellauni and/or Trinovates (ibid, 603),[37] to parts of Dorset, East Anglia, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Leicester, Northamptonshire, Somerset and Yorkshire (see image 4, labelled 10 BC-AD 43, in Figure 4.8). This latter point leads us neatly into a consideration of the ways in which societies exchanged goods, because it was the first of these that allowed the author to determine the far reaches of the British portion of the Belgica-Thames network.

Cunliffe believes that trade along the British sector of the Belgica-Thames network was facilitated by the core-periphery relationships that developed after 55/50 BC with south-east Britain, in particular the lands owned by the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni, at their core, because it is believed that this economic system led to the emergence of this region's purported markets (ibid, 603). Meanwhile, the periphery of this economic structure, which covered the lands belonging to the Durotriges, Dobunni, Iceni, and Corieltauvi, was responsible for moving raw materials, as well as manpower, from their own territories, and beyond, to the core where they were would have either been consumed by the residents of these sites, or stockpiled for trade with the Roman World; in return for this service some of the luxury goods, but particularly the pottery, imported from the Roman World to the core seeped into the periphery, for these communities to consume and/or trade, alongside their own wares, with those communities beyond the borders of this area (ibid, 603) (see Figure 4.9). Conversely, this is not the first work by Cunliffe to advocate this interpretation of later Iron Age exchange, as this is also a theme that is well documented within his 1988 work: *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians:*

[37] It is feasible that Colchester can be considered one of these core sites given its strong ties to both the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes (see Chapter 7.2).

Spheres of Interaction; and moreover, Cunliffe is not the only one to have suggested that core-periphery relationships formed a vital part of the period's economic systems.

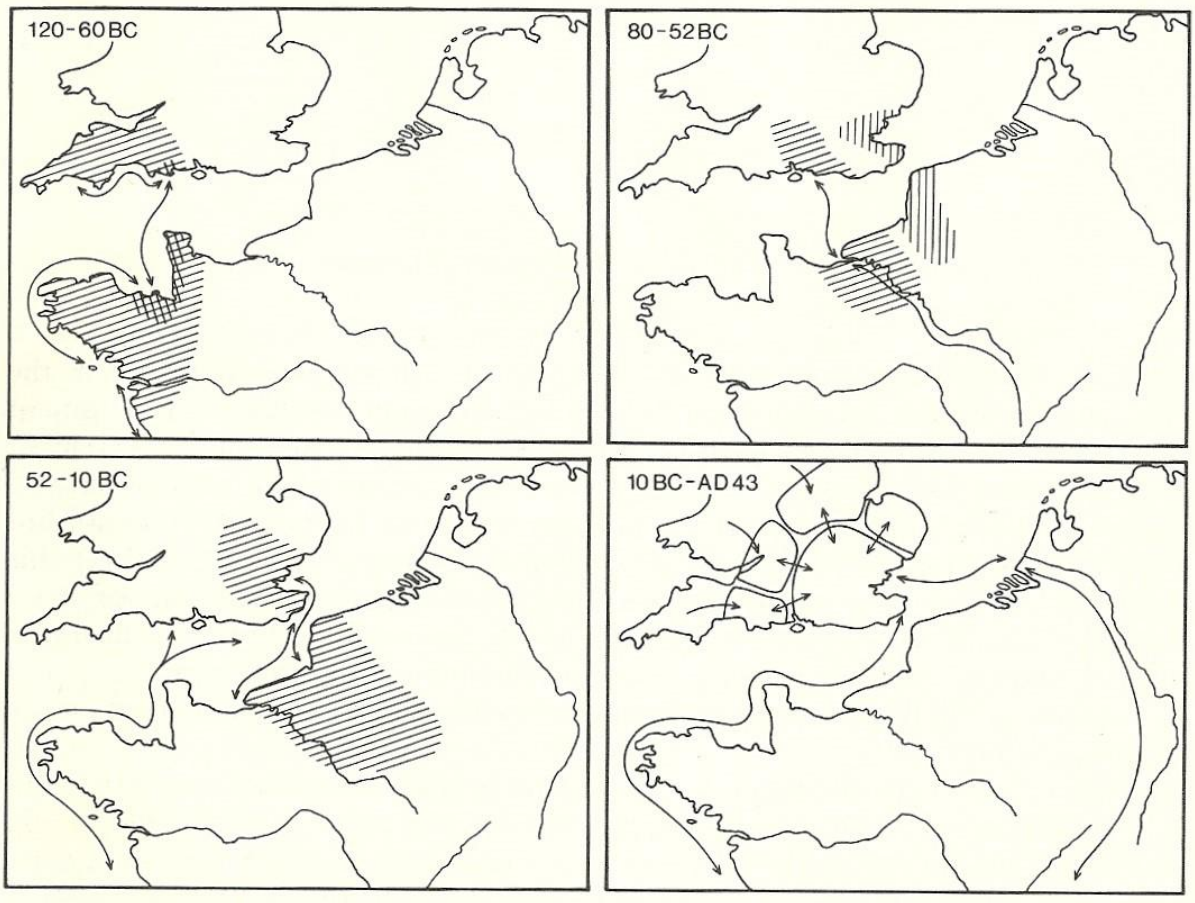

Figure 4.8: Maps documents the evolution of trading relationships between Britain and Temperate Europe during the later Iron Age. From the Atlantic-Solent route documented in Image 1 (120-60 BC) to the Belgica-Thames network illustrated in Image 4 (10 BC-AD 43) (after Cunliffe 1997, Fig. 9).

In 1982 Haselgrove published a paper within which he too surmised the existence of a core-periphery economic structure wherein the lands owned by the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes acted as a core, while those belonging to the Iceni, Corieltauvi, Dobunni, Durotriges, and Atrebates formed the periphery. This, and the commodities each of these societies was responsible for moving both into and out of the core, is best illustrated in the map depicted in Figure 4.9. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that despite this map's age J. D. Hill still believes it to be the best depiction of the core-periphery structure, and its economic connotations, that existed in southern and south-eastern Britain during the later Iron Age (2007, Fig. 1).

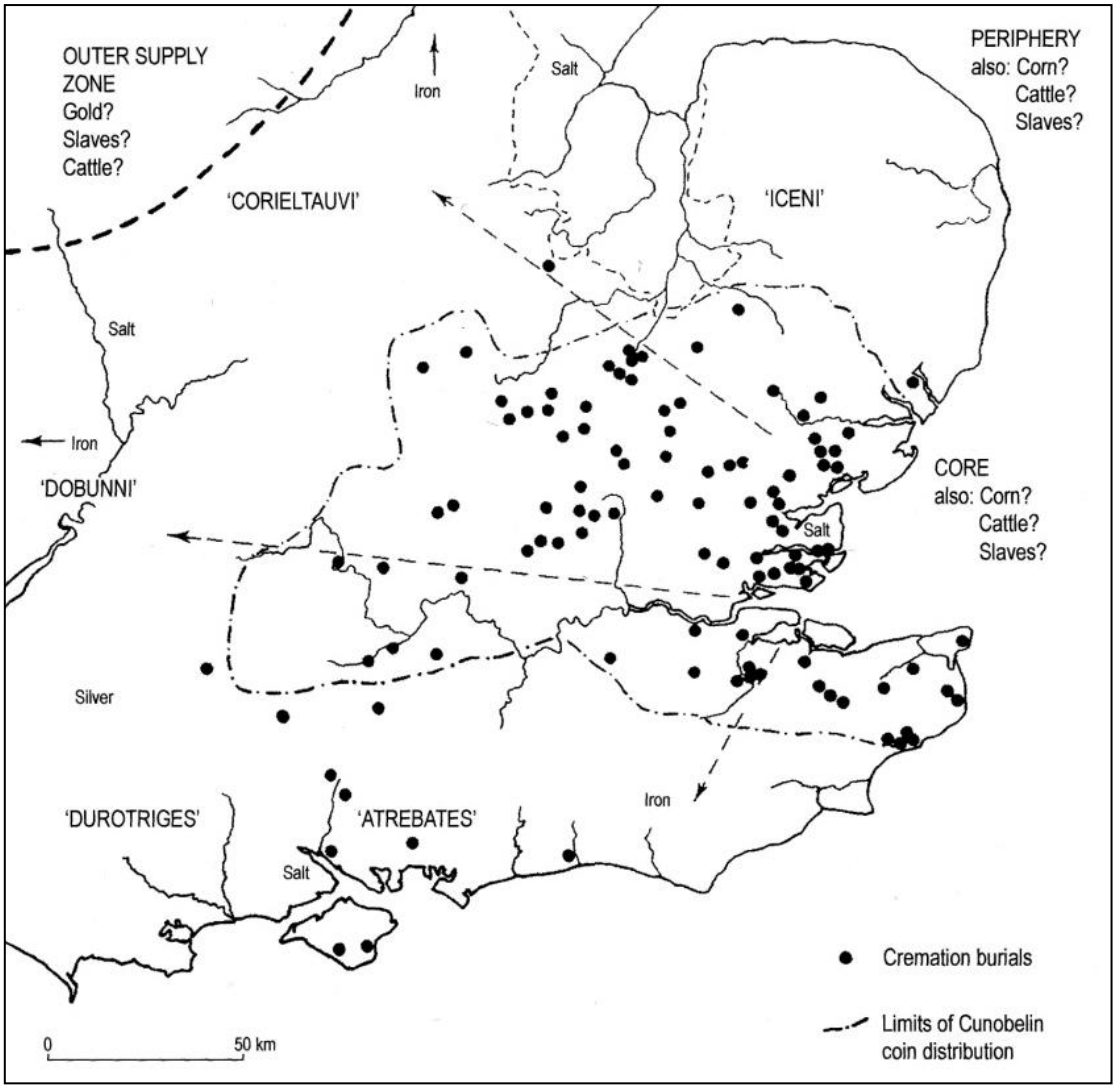

Figure 4.9: Later Iron Age core-periphery relationships in southern and south-east Britain (after Haselgrove 1982, Fig.10.6).

In addition to the works of Cunliffe (1988; 2005), Haselgrove (1982), and Hill (2007), we also find mention of core-periphery economic structures, with south-east Britain at their heart, mentioned in the work of Creighton. Creighton believes that the south-east was a core territory whose occupants obtained imports from the Roman World that were then exchanged with less-developed communities in the peripheral zones (2000, 11). Collis meanwhile believes that gold coins, alongside imported and prestige goods, travelled from towns to the countryside in return for agricultural produce (1971, 79), in this scenario the town is considered the core and the countryside the periphery; while Sharples states that increased contact with the Roman World led to some individuals gaining access to restricted items, such as Roman tablewares, which in turn led to the development of a core-periphery structure whereby Rome and the near Continent acted as the core supplying prestigious items to the periphery, Southern Britain, in return for raw materials and slaves (2010, 169-170).

Sharples, however, is not the only author to suggest that Rome formed part of the core within the core-periphery economic systems applied to the later Iron Age. Both Creighton (2000) and Fitzpatrick (1993) have suggested that Temperate Europe as a whole was peripheral to the Roman World, a notion that has, in turn, given rise to the supposition that the closer the Iron Age communities of Temperate Europe were to the Roman world the better developed and more politically evolved they were (Creighton 2000, 11).

In light of the above, it is unsurprising that many have come to believe that the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe were amongst the most prominent settlements within the core regions of this economic structure (see Figure 4.10); particularly, as these sites are believed to have been central sites that had a monopoly on the period's trade (see Chapter 2; Table 2.4). This supposition is all the more pertinent when we take into account two further aspects of these settlements, but particularly those in south-east Britain. Firstly, the majority of this region's purported *oppida*, Colchester included (see Chapter 7.2), are said to have been located in areas presided over by the Trinovantes and/or Catuvellauni (Creighton 2000; Crummy 2007, 428; Dunnett 1975; Pitts 2010, 33; Sealey 2004, 15); in other words, these settlements are sited within those regions that Cunliffe (1988, 2005), Haslegrove (1982), Hill (2007), Creighton (2000), and Sharples (2010) believe were at the heart of the region's economic structure. The second point to be considered here, reflects upon the notion that many of the *oppida* in Britain and Temperate Europe are believed to have been economic hubs whose occupants consumed vast quantities of luxury products (Břeň 1976, 93; Nash 1976, 106, 115). Consequently, it is possible that these were the settlements receiving raw materials, amongst other products, from peripheral zones in exchange for surplus luxury items. In light of these observations, we might expect to find evidence at the thesis' case sites for luxury products, particularly those from the Roman World, in quantities that far surpassed the needs of the local populations. Furthermore, as potential core-sites within their regions' economic structures we might also expect to find evidence at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury for products from settlement's within their peripheral zones that would have been exchanged not only for surplus imports, but regional commodities as well.

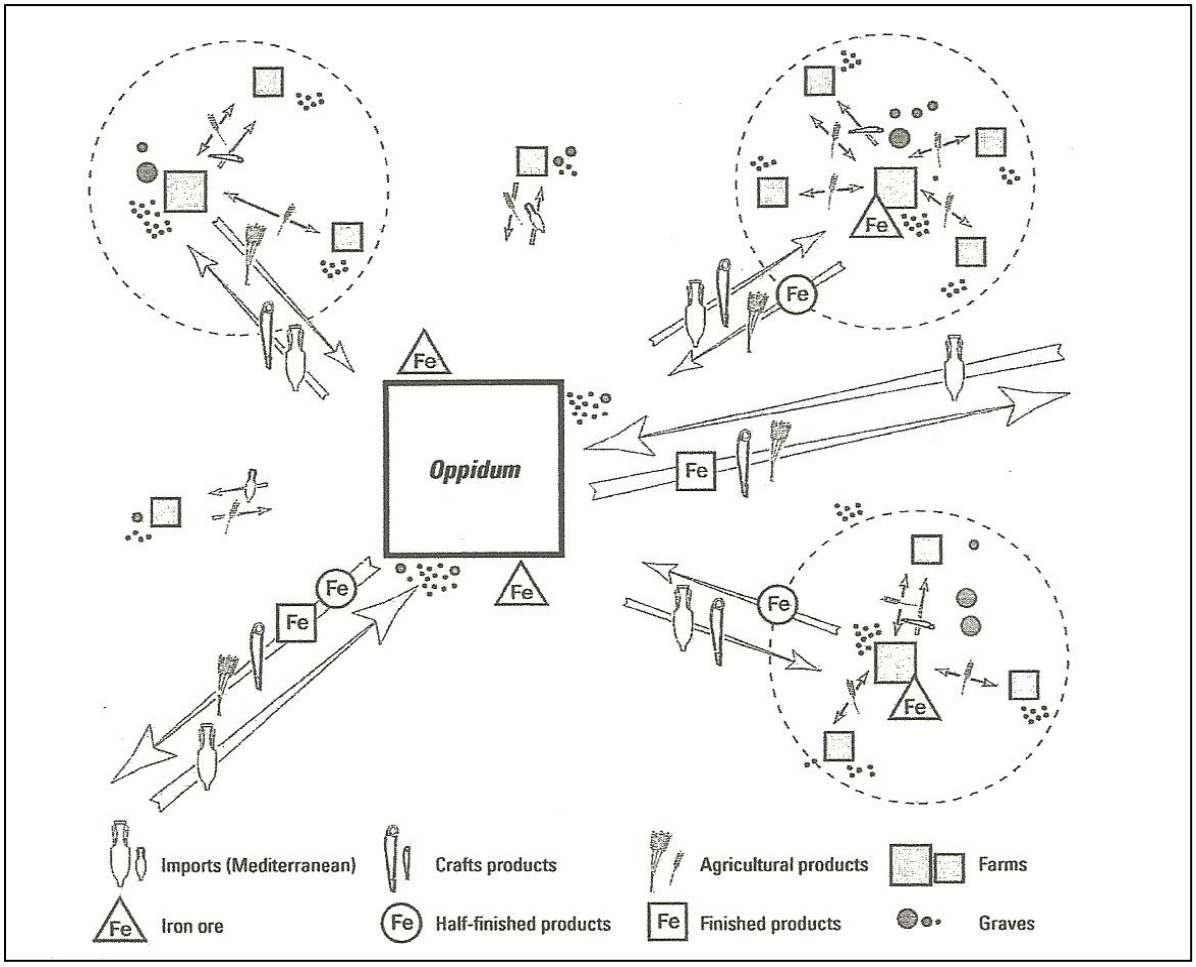

Figure 4.10: Example of an *oppidum* as a core-site and its economic relationship to those sites within its periphery. This model is based on the relationship between Titelberg, (envisaged here as the core site), and its hinterland (after Fernàndez-Götz 2014b, Fig 7.5; based on the work of Fichtl 2005, 179; and Metzler 1995a).

Conversely, there are some who do not believe that the identification of core-periphery structures is an apt means through which to study later Iron Age economies (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1989a; 2001; Millett 1990; Woolf 1993b; Willis 1994), because as Hill states in his summary of the aforementioned authors' work, this approach fails to understand the social contexts within which exchange and contact with both Gaul and Rome took place (2007, 17). With this in mind, our attention turns to a consideration of the other seven modes of exchanges to have been identified within later Iron Age communities: long-distance trade (Collis 1984b, 15-16), down-the-line trade (ibid, 16; van der Broeke 1995, 151), inter-regional trade (Collis 1984b, 15-17), local trade (ibid, 17), redistribution (Collis 1971, 76; 1984b, 18), barter (Collis 1984b, 18; Foster 2002, 15), and market exchange (Collis 1971, 77; 1984b, 18; Cunliffe 1981, 29 – 30; Haselgrove, 1979, 201-202; 1992, 132; 1996b, 67; Hodder 1979, 191; Holman 2005, 43; van Arsdell 1992, 140).

We will begin our consideration of later Iron Age modes of exchange with long distance trade, because this is one of the easiest forms of exchange to identify within the archaeological record, as foreign and exotic goods are easily distinguished from locally produced objects (Collis 1984b, 15). Furthermore, Collis has surmised that this form of trade was likely irregular, occurring on either a seasonal or more erratic basis (ibid, 17); with some communities preferring to leave its organisation in the hands of foreign merchants who were expected to pay tolls to the communities on whose behalf they acted, and who in some cases faced restrictions in terms of the sites they could enter (ibid, 16). Additionally, there were likely some communities where the ruling class kept tight control over trade, especially long distance trade (ibid, 16), because, as will be seen in Chapter 5.2-5.3, this was a means through which an individual could both exercise and further their power.

The latter point regarding long distance trade is particularly pertinent for the present thesis, because the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe, Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury included, (see Chapters 7.2, 9.2, and 10.2), are regularly cited to have overseen of this mode of exchange (see Chapter 2.3.4; Table 2.4). This inference is founded upon the frequent discovery of imported wares, particularly those from the Roman World (Collin 1998, 120; Fernández-Götz 2014b, 161),[38] at these settlements. Consequently, we might expect the analyses of the thesis' case sites, (see Chapters 7.3, 9.3, and 10.3), to reveal large quantities of imported wares. However, the potential for not only Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, but the purported *oppida* in general, to have had some level of control over long distance trading networks, would have been, at least in part, dictated by their geographic settings and morphology. In other words, we would expect these settlements to have been established close to major waterways, in a position that would have enabled them to control 'water-traffic' moving goods along the river systems of Britain and Temperate Europe; a process Audouze and Buchsenschutz suggest defined *oppida* (1991, 235). Therefore, in order to determine whether the thesis' case sites had some level of control over their region's long distance trade, we have to consider their geographic settings and morphology, alongside any evidence within their archaeological records for imported goods.

The second mode of exchange to be considered here is inherently linked to the first, because, down-the-line trade was often adopted by those wishing to move goods over vast distances

[38] In south-east Britain, products from Gaul would also be included under the heading of 'imported wares'.

(ibid, 16); it is therefore feasible that at least some of the products reaching the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe via long distance trade did so, in part, as a result of down-the-line trade. This mode of exchange saw 'goods pass from community to community on a reciprocal basis along kinship channels, or through trading partnerships' (ibid, 16). For example, the work of van den Broeke highlights that the exchange salt was facilitated by down-the-line trade because of the common and continuous need for this product; consequently this commodity passed between communities as gifts or via personal channels of exchange (1995, 151), therefore fulfilling the parameters of long distance trade outlined by Collis (1984b) (see page 86). It is however, not only long distance exchange to which down-the-line trade was intrinsically linked, during the later Iron Age, as inter-regional trade was also on occasion facilitated by this approach.

Inter-regional trade consisted of the 'exchange of goods over long distances, but within similar cultural milieu and which may involve objects which are similar, at least in outwards form, to local products.' (ibid, 15) Furthermore, like long-distance trade, this mode of exchange was likely engaged in on a seasonal basis, but where long-distance trade was in part reliant upon foreign merchants, inter-regional trade was facilitated by social links, (familial or political), most likely between communities with similar cultures who would have been capable of producing all of the basic commodities needed to sustain any given society (ibid, 17).

As with the three modes of exchange considered above, inter-regional trade likely played a role in the movement of goods into and out of the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe, because, many, if not all of them exhibit evidence for artefacts that were not produced on site, as well as similarities, in terms of the cultural practices they engaged in, with the majority communities they exchanged goods with. Furthermore, as the *oppida*, like many later Iron Age settlements, are unlikely to have been able to fully support their populations' needs at all times, even if they were seemingly self-sufficient, trading relationships were likely forged with communities displaying cultural similarities in order to easily obtain commodities that met with their specific needs. In other words, it would be more convenient to obtain products from a single/several source(s) that engaged in similar cultural practices, than from sources, both locally and further afield, that engaged in different cultural practices; particularly if these items were needed to facilitate communal activities, such as the fulfilment of burial rites, where a specific set of artefacts are likely to have been used. Consequently, should the thesis' case sites have engaged in this mode of exchange, we might

expect to find evidence for products from communities with close cultural ties to Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury within their archaeological records, but more specifically within those contexts associated with communal activities.

Moving away from modes of exchange that were stimulated by down-the-line trade we progress to a consideration of local trade. This form of exchange was present in all communities, and was most often based on reciprocity. Moreover, in creating an environment where an action requires someone to reciprocate meant that local trade took place between like individuals, and often saw the giving of gifts to 'fulfil obligations of a social or familial nature.' (ibid, 17). It is therefore unsurprising that evidence for local trade is recovered at virtually all later Iron Age settlements, the *oppida* included.

Furthermore, as local trade is believed to have taken place between like communities, it was probably engaged in, at least in part, by the occupants of the period's purported *oppida*, including Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, for the same reasons as inter-regional trade (see above). Conversely, it is not only products required for cultural activities that were likely acquired through local trade, as this mode of exchange would have also been utilised by later Iron Age communities, including those residing at the thesis' case studies, (and *oppida* in general), to obtain essential, daily use, commodities that they could not produce themselves, such as grain, pottery, brooches, and tools. This mode of exchange would have therefore been an essential aspect of all later Iron Age economies, and as such, it is likely to be clearly visible within the archaeological records of this period's settlements, including the thesis' case sites, in the form of imported goods from local sources, most likely neighbouring settlements.

So far our discussions of the modes of trade utilised during the later Iron Age, and how they relate to the period's purported *oppida*, have focused upon forms of exchange that were reliant upon pre-existing social relationships or foreign merchants for success. As we move onto a consideration of the first of the three remaining approaches to trade considered as part of the present chapter we return to a point made in relation to long-distance trade: the idea that trade may have lain in the hands of the ruling class. Redistribution, whereby tradable wares were dispersed from a central place (Darvill 2003, 354), was often facilitated by an individual, (i.e. a member of the elite), or institution acting as the focus of exchange (Collis 1984b, 18). Furthermore, Collis states that this system saw products such as cattle, slaves, and ceramics redistributed for the purpose of acquiring social prestige (1971, 76).

In light of the above overview of redistribution, *oppida*, as settlements believed to have been central sites with control over their region's trade (see Chapter 2.3.4), could have been involved in this mode of exchange. Consequently, it is possible that the *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe were instrumental components of later Iron Age trading networks. In other words, should some of the period's *oppida* have been redistribution centres, as Collis suggests they may have been (1984a, 137), their neighbouring settlements may have relied upon them not only for essential products they could not manufacture, or procure, themselves, (such as grain, animal products, pottery, brooches, and tools), but for luxury products imported from further afield. The existence of settlements within the hinterlands of the period's *oppida* could have therefore been reliant upon the economic successes of these sites. Finally, should the thesis' case studies have been redistribution centres for their local regions, we might expect to find, within their archaeological records, caches of both imported and locally produced wares for redistribution, alongside items from their hinterlands that may have arrived at these sites in exchange for the goods available for redistribution.

Like redistribution, market exchange has the potential to have been closely linked to the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe. As the name suggests market exchange saw central places, such as those used for redistribution, utilised for the impersonal exchange of goods between individuals using a predetermined 'currency' (Collis 1984b, 18). Although this 'currency' need not have been coinage, coins are believed by many to have been the most common medium of exchange at these sites (e.g. Collis 1971, 77; 1984b, 18; Cunliffe 1981, 29 – 30; Haselgrove, 1979, 201-202; 1992, 132; 1996b, 67; Hodder 1979, 191; Holman 2005, 43; van Arsdell 1992, 140). However, coins were not always used as currency, and in these circumstances it is believed that food stuffs such as grain, (Collis 1984b, 18), or even salt (Godelier 1971, 1977 *cf*. Morris 2007) may have been used. Moreover, although some sellers would have had fixed 'prices' in mind for the wares they were pedalling, it is possible that some exchanged their wares using the final mode of exchange to be discussed in this chapter: barter.

However, before barter exchange is considered we need to consider market exchange and its relationship to the period's *oppida*. Many believe that these settlements were amongst the earliest formal market sites in western Europe, and as such, were involved in monetary exchanges for goods (Collis 1976; Cunliffe 1976a; Haselgrove 1976; Rodwell 1976). If the

oppida of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe were indeed market sites, they likely formed a significant part of the period's economies, especially if societies had to rely upon these sites for basic commodities. Moreover, as purported market sites, the *oppida* are also likely to have been the primary source from which later Iron Age communities obtained luxury products, particularly after c.55/50 BC when trading relationships between Western Europe and the Roman World intensified (Cunliffe 1984, 5-6; 1995a, 66-67; Collis 1984b, 163; Peacock 1971; 1984, 38; Mattingly 2007, 68).

Consequently, should the thesis' case sites have been market sites, we might expect them to exhibit evidence similar to that we would take to denote potential redistribution centres, in that we would presume to find caches of material goods within their archaeological records that far succeeded the likely requirements of their own populations, as well as evidence for large quantities of coinage from multiple regions; although, this latter evidence could have arrived at these sites as a result of social relationships and not economic ones (see page 54). Conversely, as other forms of currency used during the later Iron Age are archaeologically invisible, it is possible that the only evidence we might be able to identify at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury to suggest they were market sites are large quantities of local and imported goods; thus making it difficult to distinguish whether they may have been redistribution centres or market sites.

Finally, our attentions turn to the last mode of exchange to be considered herein: barter exchange. According to Collis, barter was a form of exchange that required no other relationships to be in place between the individuals exchanging goods; instead, these exchanges took place whenever people found goods they wished to 'purchase' and the owner was willing to part with them (1984b, 18). When writing this paper Collis believed that this method of exchange was probably quite rare during the later Iron Age (ibid, 18); conversely, in recent years, Foster has surmised that many later Iron Age economies were probably based on barter exchange (2002, 15), however, the paper in which she makes this assertion lacks details to support this notion and we therefore have to remain open minded about whether this mode of exchange may have actually taken place during the later Iron Age.

Although it is a viable possibility that later Iron Age communities used barter as a means of exchange, it would be difficult to identify this archaeologically during excavations at the period's settlements, *oppida* included, because this mode of exchange could have led to the

procurement of any number of products, all of which could have been just as easily acquired through one of the other modes of trade considered above. Conversely, despite being difficult to identify archaeologically, it is probable that one of the main scenarios within which barter exchange would have been utilised at this time, is at the markets considered above; consequently, it is possible that this mode of exchange was common place at the *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe given the apparent connection between these settlements and later Iron Age markets (see Table 2.4). In light of these final remarks, there is the potential for the occupants of/visitors to the thesis' case sites to have engaged in barter exchange, even if this is unlikely be recognised archaeologically.

With these final points in mind we reach the end of our consideration of later Iron Age economies and their connections to the period's purported *oppida*. The present chapter has revealed much in terms of the complexities of these economies, not only in terms of how geographic location can dictate what a community had available for trade, but how social relationships can determine the means of exchange these communities adopted. Furthermore, this chapter has highlighted how some individuals, (from the craftsmen responsible for the production of tradable wares to those individuals in charge of controlling trade routes and/or the redistribution centres/markets themselves), and more importantly certain settlements, such as the period's purported *oppida*, had a significant impact on the period's economies. Consequently, as supposed *oppida*, Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury have the potential to have been instrumental not only in their own society's economic successes, but those of their hinterlands, as well as at settlements further afield to which they were inherently linked, particularly if they were home to individuals with considerable control over their economic exploits. Furthermore, because economic control is one reason why these settlements, (*oppida*), have gained a reputation as centres of power, our attention now turns to a consideration of power during the later Iron Age.

5: Power in the Late Iron Age

Identifying power within the archaeological records of later Iron Age societies is a complex task that is fraught with problems, not least because we have no contemporary documents written by native communities on which to base our studies. Consequently, we have to rely upon the observations of contemporaneous literate populations that were not always impartial, and the archaeological record itself. However, while the task of identifying power is difficult it is not impossible, especially when one ponders the following:

1. How is Power Identified?
2. Who was able to Obtain Power?
3. How was Power Displayed?
4. How are the Elite Depicted within the Ancient Sources?

In considering the above questions thought will also be given, where appropriate, to how power during the later Iron Age applies to the period's purported *oppida*, as well as, what we might expect to find within the archaeological records of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury to denote these entities.

5.1: How is Power Identified?

Power within later Iron Age communities is typically identified by archaeologists through two lines of enquiry: 1) the applications of models designed to determine social structures, as well as the status of settlements and their occupants, and 2) the presence of luxury/exotic artefacts on settlements and/or in grave deposits. The former of these processes was considered in Chapter 3.2 in conjunction with the period's social structures, while the second is addressed in Section 5.3 below.

5.2: Who was able to Obtain Power?

Much of the research on this subject has revealed that those who rose to positions of social significance during the later Iron Age had one thing in common: close ties to their society's economy, and any successes it enjoyed. In fact, Fitzpatrick believes that trade stimulated the emergence of social hierarchisation (1993, 233), a notion that allows us to surmise that the more successful a society was economically, the more power those responsible for the

economic success wielded. With this in mind, we have to ask ourselves which aspects of the period's economies enabled social differentiation.

Within much of the literature it is stated that the elite were those who had control over trade routes, in particular those which linked native communities with the Roman World (e.g. Cunliffe 2005, 603; 2011, 374; Hill 2007, 16; Hodder 1979, 11-192; Woolf 1993b, 212). Although, there are those, such as Collis, who believe that power during the later Iron Age was accessible to those who were inclined to engage in trade (1984b, 16, 18); because, trade with the Roman World was engaged in for only two reasons: to acquire wealth, or to acquire status (ibid, 16).

In addition to the above, control over a particular commodity has also, on occasion, been cited as a means through which Iron Age peoples were able to obtain power. For example Nash (1978) believes that control over the period's slave trade enabled individuals to gain power because of this commodities apparent prominence within the Roman market; meanwhile, van den Broeke states that the elite in the Netherlands achieved their status through control of the sea-salt trade (1995, 152), while van der Veen and Jones note that control of grain surpluses could be used to enhance an individual's social prominence (2007, 427). It is, therefore, unsurprising that in some societies those who had control over the production of 'saleable' wares, such as salt and grain, and not just their distribution, gained social prominence. In fact, Cunliffe believes that later Iron Age social differentiation in both Britain and Temperate Europe was reliant upon production (2011, 274); an interpretation that is mirrored within the work of Eluère, who believes that blacksmiths held privileged positions not only among craftsmen but within Iron Age societies (1992, 99). Consequently, the ability of an individual to gain power by commissioning craftsmen to produce certain products, such as: fire-dogs, cauldrons, wooden buckets, and shale vessels (Hill 2002a, 150), can be seen as a natural progression of this; because not only does it suggest that certain individuals had a hand in overseeing production, but that they were able to dictate what wares were to be manufactured, whether for their own consumption of for the wider markets.

In light of the above, it would be logical for our discussions of later Iron Age power to progress now to a consideration of how these entities were displayed; however, before we engage in such as study, we need to first give thought to the role *oppida* may have played in the gaining of power. *Oppida*, as settlements believed to have been integral to not only trade and exchange

during the later Iron Age, but much of the period's large scale industrial/craft production (see Chapter 2; Table 2.4), are often cited as the residences of the most important and powerful members of later Iron Age societies (see Table 2.4). In other words, those *oppida* which functioned as centres for industrial/craft production and/or trade and exchange would have presented more opportunities than most settlements for social advancement and gaining recognisable power, status, and wealth. Consequently, should Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury have been such *oppida* we would expect analyses of their archaeological records to not only contain evidence of trade and industry, but power too.

5.3: How was Power Displayed?

As power during the later Iron Age was apparently achieved through an individual's control of/contributions to their society's economy it is unsurprising that imports are frequently cited as evidence for conspicuous consumption, and displays of power on the part of the elite (e.g. Cunliffe 2005, 141; Fitzpatrick 1993, 235; Fulford 1985, 100; Hill 2002, 144; 2007, 29). With this in mind, are attention turns to the artefacts it is believed were imported for this purpose.

Within much of the literature pertaining to the later Iron Age and its material culture, imported ceramics, in particular Gallo-Belgic wares, are considered easily identifiable markers of an individual's power within/over a society (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1993, 235; Hill 2002a, 144; Pollard 2002, 32). It is however, not only the vessels themselves that are believed to have denoted power, but the behaviours they incited. The importation of pottery from both Northern Gaul and the Roman World is believed to have led to the elite adopting Roman dining habits as a symbol of power (Hill 1995b, 121; Pollard 2002, 32; Sealey forthcoming a); as well as, feasting as a means through which to maintain relationships during periods of social discourse (Hill 1995a, 82; 1995b, 121; Pitts 2004, 20; 2005, 50; Pollard 2002, 32; Ralph 2007, 89), and compete for additional power (Hayden 2001, 38; Hill 2002a, 144; Pollard 2002, 32).

Consequently, in adopting Roman dining habits, through the use of Gallo-Belgic wares and Roman pottery, an additional form of feasting emerged that would have both advanced and advertised an individual's power. It is, however, prudent to note that prior to the introduction/adoption of these pottery forms, feasting was a social activity that anyone within a community could engage in, even if some individuals did use these events as a means through which to exercise/achieve power. Meanwhile, the advent of new pottery forms, and the behaviours these promoted, led to some feasts being attended by only the invited few, with

invitations being issued primarily/exclusively to those who held positions of power within society; just as it is believed may have been the case at Elms Farm, Heybridge where a feasting deposit containing both amphorae and imported tablewares has been identified within an area of the site that was bound from the main, and what are believed to have been public areas of the site (Atkinson and Preston 1998, 92-94). This pottery can therefore, not only be used to identify the possible existence of individuals of power within a society, but social segregation.

Conversely, it was not only imported ceramics that were used to this avail by later Iron Age communities, but local copies of these wares (Hill 1995a, 82; Willis 1994, 145) and their metallic counterparts (Fitzpatrick 1993,235; Hill 1995b, 121; Wells 1995, 90); drinking paraphernalia, including wine, (Cunliffe 2005, 601; Fitzpatrick 1993, 235; Dietler 1990 *cf*. Parker-Pearson 2009, 79; Pitts 2004, 20; Sealey forthcoming a; Wells 1995, 90); and food itself (Morris 2002, 55; Dietler 2001 *cf*. Hill 2007, 27).

Further to the above, the discovery of Gallo-Belgic wares, and other forms of imported ceramics/feasting paraphernalia, at the period's purported *oppida* could have led to the labelling of these sites 'elite residences' and 'centres of power' within the literature. This supposition is based on two factors. Firstly, many of the purported *oppida* in south-east Britain display evidence for these artefacts in relatively large quantities, for example at Baldock evidence for c.221 of these vessels has been recovered (Rigby 1986, 223), while excavations at Silchester have revealed rims from at least 370 vessels (Timby 2000, 196).[39] Secondly, as some of the largest assemblages of imported wares were consumed at the purported *oppida* (see page 84), it is possible to surmise that there were either several very wealthy, and likely powerful, individuals consuming this material as a means through which to display their social standing, or alternatively, there were large concentrations of individuals at these sites with some level of status, power, and wealth who used this material as a means of conspicuous consumption.

It is, however, important to remember that the presence of imported wares at the period's purported *oppida* could have little to do with the status of their occupants, and instead relate to their potential roles as trading centres. Therefore, if we want to be sure that we are drawing

[39] A sizable assemblage of Gallo-Belgic wares has also been recovered at Colchester, a full discussion and overview of this material can be found in Chapter 7 and its associated appendices.

the right inferences, with regards to this material representing the status of the *oppida*'s residents, thought needs to be given to the contexts within which we would expect to find this material. That is to say, we would expect to find evidence of imported goods utilised for the purposes of displaying power in contexts associated with the domestic sphere, such as pits and other waste receptacles, as well as within those that can be said to denote communal activities; if these wares were the remnants of trading activities, on-the-other-hand, we would expect to find them in quantities that surpassed the needs of a site's elite, within stratified layers, but not necessarily within pits and ditches. Consequently, it is these factors that we need to bear-in-mind if we wish to ascertain whether any such material recovered at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury was used to display power within the sites' populations, or whether it was simply a reflection of their potential status as trading centres.

Moreover, it is not only in life that these artefacts were used as symbols of power, but in death too. According to Hill, funerary feasts in which imported ceramics were used, were a means through which the status of the deceased and/or their family could be displayed (2002a, 150; 2007, 29). Hill is not alone in this belief; Cunliffe also refers to the presence of feasting and drinking paraphernalia within elite burials of the later Iron Age, particularly those found within the south-east of Britain (2005, 141, 176). Furthermore, imported ceramics are not the only prestigious goods to have found their way into the graves of the period's elite, as we also have evidence of a wide array of local products, (and at times their imported counterparts), from these contexts that would have required considerable skill to produce; including: bronze ornaments, ornate rings, and keys (Wells 1995, 90), weaponry (Webley 2008, 152), firedogs (Hill 2007, 29), and mirrors, (at least in the grave of rich females[40]), (Foster 2002, 32; Joy 2011, 475). Artefacts such as these have led to the belief that the burials at both Stanway and Lexden in Colchester (see Chapter 7), Welwyn Garden City (Stead 1967) and Folly Lane (Niblett 1993; 2006) in Hertfordshire, as well as those at Lamadelaine at Titelberg and Goeblange-Nospelt within Titelberg's hinterland (see Chapter 9), belonged to the period's elite.

In addition to the above, later Iron Age burials enable us to identify not only the artefacts used by the elite as visual representations of their power, but those used, for similar purposes, by middling members of society, or even those wishing to emulate individuals of power. In his

[40] It is however prudent to note that these items are not necessarily exclusive to female burials, just that those burials containing mirrors that have been sexed to date contain females (Joy 2011, 475).

study of Southern Anglia, Hill identifies a series of artefacts, including: silver brooches, buckets, and mirrors (2007, 29-30), which he believes are only found in the graves belonging to individuals that fall into the aforementioned social class. When we compare these items to those believed by others to denote the elite we can see some overlap, particularly with the inclusions of mirrors and buckets. This fact highlights the need for caution when assuming that rare/luxury commodities are indicators of power because as Woolf rightly notes: not all imports were prestige goods (1993b, 211), some, as noted in Chapter 4, were essential food products required to sustain the lives of the populations who received them.

The above caution is all the more pertinent when we turn our attention to the relationship between *oppida* and elite burials. Over the years one of the favoured interpretations pertaining to *oppida*, particularly those in south-east Britain, is that these sites were funerary complexes, comprising the burials of a stratified society, but particularly the elite (see Table 2.4). Although there is evidence at a number of the purported *oppida* in both south-east Britain and Temperate Europe for rich burials attributed to the elite, such as Colchester (see Chapter 7.3), *Verulamium* (Niblett 1993; 2006; Stead and Rigby 1989), and Titelberg (see Chapter 9.3), there are just as many that do not. The *oppida* that fall into this latter category either display evidence of burials, but with few/no grave goods, such as those identified at Canterbury (see Chapter 10.3), or alternatively, no evidence of burials at all, as was the case with the majority of the comparative *oppida* considered in Chapter 11. Furthermore, it is equally important to note that these settlements were purported occupied by stratified communities (see Chapter 2); consequently, the burial records at those sites associated with large cemeteries, such as Titelberg (see Chapter 10.3) and *Verulamium* (Stead and Rigby 1989), are likely to denote more than just the upper echelon of society. In other words, we might expect to find evidence within some of these burials for elite, and therefore powerful, members of society, but in others grave goods associated with not only middling members of society, but the lower orders as well. It is therefore important to bear these factors in mind when contemplating the burial records of the thesis' case sites (see Chapters 7.3, 9.3, 10.3).

The above cautions are also relevant as we move onto a consideration of the other artefacts used to infer power during the later Iron Age, many of which would have been produced by local craftsmen/or procured from natural resources. According to Eluère later Iron Age power was also displayed through the possession of iron in the form of both weaponry and agricultural equipment (1992, 99). Although it is difficult to determine how much truth there is behind

Eluère's notion that the possession of agricultural equipment denoted power at this time, due to the widespread engagement in this practice, and its importance to the period's economies (see Chapter 4.1), and therefore the common occurrence of evidence associated with this pastime at sites dating to between 150/100 BC and AD 43, she is not alone in her assumption that power was displayed through the possession of arms; Hill (1995a, 60), Hingley (2006, 122), and Webley (2008, 152) also believe that this was the case. Iron is, however, not the only metal whose possession is said to denote power in its owner; gold is also cited as being used to display authority, especially through the wearing of torcs (Creighton 2000, 18).

In addition to the above, metal was also used by Iron Age communities to this end in the form of coins. Many of those who have written about the use of coinage as a means through which to display power believe that those who were behind its issue, used their ability to oversee the production of coins, either in their name or that of their tribe, as a symbol of their authority (e.g. Collis 1995a, 75; 1995b, 285; Creighton 2000, 31; Cunliffe 2005, 141; Hill 2007, 30). Furthermore, Creighton, following the work of both Allen (1976) and Nash (1981), believes that another reason why coins denoted power was because they could be used to articulate client relationships (2000, 14); in other words, a patron was not only able to symbolise their wealth through the possession of coinage, but the number of people they were able to bestow it upon. Meanwhile, Haselgrove believes that gold and silver coins were used as a form of 'wealth storage' (1996b, 67). Consequently, it was not only the ability to manufacture and distribute coinage that identified someone as an individual of considerable social standing, but their ability to store reasonable quantities of coins produced in precious metals.

Although the archaeological records of the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe contain evidence for multiple metal artefacts that can be said to denote power, it is the coinage that most strongly links these entities. *Oppida* in south-east Britain are widely believed to have been closely linked to the minting of coinage, especially those bearing the name of the period's tribes and/or leaders, and sometimes the effigy of these leaders (see pages 11; 39); but more than this, as these leaders are believed to have resided at the period's *oppida* (see Chapter 2.3.4), it can be said that minting paraphernalia, in addition to the coinage minted, provides further evidence for the connection between these sites and individuals of power. Consequently, we might expect to find evidence of this calibre at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury; but particularly Colchester and Titelberg, as these sites are closely tied to the

minting of coinage, (see Chapters 7.3 and 9.3), which in turn suggests there were individuals of power and authority residing within their environs.

It is however, not only the possession of inanimate objects, or the ability to manufacture and/or oversee their production, that could identify you as an individual of high social ranking during the later Iron Age, but the possession of/association with certain animals. According to Creighton the possession of a horse could denote power, with the power they bestowed being related to these animal's having been 'ritually significant in their own right' (2000, 22). Additionally, it is believed that boars were used during displays of power because of the prowess involved in the successful hunting of these creatures (James 1993, 55). Conversely, it was not only through the owning or hunting of the aforementioned animals that later Iron Age peoples were able to display their position within the local community, but through the use/ownership of objects bearing their image. Owning a figurine in the shape of boar, such as those found within the Lexden Tumulus, (Foster 1986, 55, plate 9) and at Titelberg (Rowlett 1994, 195), could have marked an individual out as a member of the elite.

The latter of the above points not only ties two of the thesis' case sites to individuals of power, but further emphasises the connection between purported *oppida* and power detailed within the literature (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, any evidence of horse and/or boar remains at the thesis' case sites, but particularly in contexts that would denote the sacrifice of these animals, or, in the case of boars, in conjunction with feasting paraphernalia, could be construed as further evidence to highlight the existence of individuals of power at these settlements. Conversely, it should be noted that the circumstances surrounding the death of animals found in these contexts is difficult to discern, and as such, caution should be exercised when using their remains to determine the existence of power during the later Iron Age.

Finally, the aforementioned entities are not the only means through which power during the later Iron Age was displayed; and more importantly, that it is not just individuals who are believed to have possessed power at this time, but settlements as a whole. Powerful settlements, such as the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe (Collin 1998, 114), are likely to have achieved their status through the activities they supported, but how was this displayed? According to Hingley boundaries 'may have served as an indicator of status' (1990, 96), or even as boundaries marking areas of social exclusion (Hingley 1984a; 1984b; 1990, 96); and he is not alone in this belief, as many who have produced papers on the

boundaries surrounding the period's settlements are also of this mind (e.g. Bowden and McOmish 1987, 77; Collis 1996, 90; Haselgrove 1984a, 29-30; Ralston 2006, 132; Sievers 2006, 126; Venclová 2006, 152). Moreover, within the literature there are also those studies which suggest that the boundaries surrounding many of the period's *oppida*, such as those at Bibracte, Levroux, Bâle, Huelgoat, and Le Petit-Celland, were symbols of these sites' status (Collin 1998, 114).

In light of the above considerations, it can be said that studies of the archaeological record have revealed many ways for the highest ranking individuals within Iron Age societies to have displayed their social standing; however, it is likely that there are symbols of power that have been lost overtime as a result of certain artefacts' inability to survive post-deposition, namely organic materials. It is therefore unsurprising that some have come to rely upon the ancient sources for insight into this aspect of the later Iron Age.

5.4: How are the elite depicted within the ancient sources?

According to Caesar there were seven social classes within later Iron Age communities, in particular those in Gaul, who held positions of power including:

- *Gallic reges*,
- *Nobiles*,
- *Senatus*,
- *Principes*,
- *Magistri*,
- *Equites*,
- *Druides* (Dunham 1995, 112-113).

The most prestigious of these positions, the *Gallic reges*, could be entered into only by individuals who had inherited social status through their male line (Brun 1995a, 18); while Caesar notes that the other positions could be entered into through kinship and marriage alliances (Lewuillon 1990 *cf*. Brun 1995, 18-19). Although, Dunham's study of Ceasar's '*The Conquest of Gaul'* tells us that: wisdom, age, wealth, retainers, (in particular of warriors), and knowledge, (particularly of religion), were also enabling factors (1995, 112-113).

Caesar is however, not the only ancient author to have commented on power during the later Iron Age. Strabo notes that success in warfare was a means through which to gain power at this time, because it led to the procurement of valuables and slaves which in turn enabled an individual to attract more clients and eventually power (*Geography*, 4.4.2); while Posidonius observed that the most important individuals within a community gained their position through a combination of martial skill, birth, and wealth (*Histories* XXIII *cf.* Eluère 1992, 142). Tacitus meanwhile, believed that prestige and power were reliant upon an individual's ability to continuously maintain, and be served by, young warriors (*Germania* 13); whilst Athenaeus noted that those who could not only obtain clients, but provide said clients with feasts and gifts, wielded power (*Deiphnosophists* 4.36-40 *cf.* Creighton 2000,13).

Furthermore, within many of the ancient sources Iron Age 'rulers' are said to have displayed their status through material possessions and dress. According to Diodorus Siculus Iron Age nobles wore brightly coloured clothes, grew long moustaches, and kept their cheeks clean shaven (*Historical Library*, V.28). In addition to this, he also states that the elite adorned themselves with ornaments manufactured in precious metals, (namely gold), such as torcs and rings, and possessed both weaponry and cattle (ibid, V.27). Further to this, Polybius identifies the ability to maintain slaves as a symbol of an individual's power (*The Histories*, 2.17, 9-12). Strabo, on-the-other-hand, states that native dignitaries wore dyed clothing that was spangled with gold (*Geography* IV, 4.2.5).

It can therefore be said that in some instances the identifying markers of power noted above mirror those identified within the archaeological record, see Section 5.3, while others relate to artefacts that are recovered infrequently after deposition, namely textiles. Resultantly, the use of ancient sources in studies such as this allows us to identify possible gaps in our knowledge of the later Iron Age elite, which in turn allows us to determine how much truth these sources contain. Furthermore, as some of the most important figures of power during the later Iron Age are said to have resided at the period's purported *oppida* (see Chapter 2; Table 2.4), the ancient sources can be said to confirm some of the notions presented earlier in the chapter regarding the artefacts we might expect to find within the archaeological records of these sites to indicate the existence of individuals with power (see Chapter 5.3), whilst also providing insight into additional means by which power may have been displayed at this time. However, there are a number of issues associated with the use of the ancient sources in this way.

The ancient sources noted above were written by authors who lived in the Mediterranean World either contemporaneously with the Iron Age communities in both south-east Britain and Temperate Europe, (namely Caesar, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo), or, in some cases, decades, maybe even centuries, after the Iron Age is believed to have ended (such as Athenaeus and Tacitus). This factor is at the heart of the issues involved with this source material when applied to studies of the later Iron Age. Firstly, life in the Mediterranean World was very different to that occurring in Western Europe at this time, thus, it would make it hard for someone from this region to fully comprehend the nature of occupation at later Iron Age settlements, the *oppida* included, unless they had lived within them. Furthermore, as those writing about the later Iron Age were often doing so in terms of its relationship with the Roman World, but particularly from the point of view of the expanding Roman Empire, a true representation of life in Western Europe was not the aim of the literature, but rather to portray Rome, her leaders, and their exploits in the best possible light; a process that often led to outside communities, such as those in Iron Age Britain and Temperate Europe, being used as propaganda, and as such depicted inaccurately (see Chapter 2.1). Consequently, the portrayal of Iron Age power within the ancient sources could be highly augmented for the purposes of ensuring that the exploits of Roman leaders were made to sound as grand as possible, particularly if the Roman leaders' successes were not as clear cut as they may have wanted them to have been perceived.

Finally, some of the ancient author's writing about Iron Age power did not even witness/observe Iron Age occupation first hand. That is to say, some of those who wrote of these societies based their writing on second hand information, and in some cases observations that were decades, even centuries old (see above). In light of this, the author's considerations of the thesis' case studies and their power connotations focus primarily upon the archaeological evidence. It is for this reason that the methodology devised for the analysis of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, (see Chapter 6), centres upon obtaining the best possible insight of these sites and their functions through an analysis of their archaeological records.

6: Methodology

The methodological approach outlined below was designed to enable the author to analyse the data collected for Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury in such a way that the inferences drawn could be used to answer the question: does the term 'oppida' still have relevance today? While many might begin by outlining how others have approached this subject in the past, in the present scenario this would only serve to repeat the contents of Chapter 2.

6.1: The Division of Time

Instead, the first step the author took in analysing the data associated with the thesis' case sites was to divide the c.200 year expanse of the later Iron Age into more manageable units of time for analysis. Not only did this break the period down, but it enabled the developments these sites underwent over the course of the period to be more closely tracked and scrutinised.

After considering the artefacts recovered at the case sites, and the key events to have taken place between the years of 150 BC and AD 43 that had the potential to alter/influence the lives of later Iron Age communities, both directly and indirectly, the following four chronological periods were established:

- **Period 1:** 150/100 – 55/50 BC
- **Period 2:** 55/50 – 30/25 BC
- **Period 3:** 30/25 BC – AD 20/25
- **Period 4:** AD 25/30 – 50

These timeframes were devised to enable occupation at the thesis' case sites to be scrutinised as closely as possible, in terms of the changes and developments they underwent over the course of the later Iron Age; although, it could be argued that this chronology is better suited to an analysis of the purported *oppida* in the south-east of Britain, particularly as the overall time frame is bound by those date traditionally attributed to the later Iron Age in Britain (see page 3). This approach also made it is possible for the author to closely study the effect some of the biggest developments of the later Iron Age, (such as the renewal of contact with the Mediterranean World), had on occupation at some of the period's most enigmatic settlements without overcrowding the thesis with comparative data. Therefore, the analysis of the thesis'

case sites in this manner means that similarities and differences between them were more easily discernible, particularly as it is more manageable to compare smaller units of time than a 200 year period as a whole.

However, before we progress to a consideration of the methodology applied to the evidence attributed to each of these phases of occupation it is essential that we first consider exactly what elements of the material culture, and which events, governed the author's decision to divide the later Iron Age into the above four timeframes. This is a necessary step, because these factors invariably influenced the nature of occupation at the purported *oppida*, and were therefore valuable pieces of information for re-assessing the raw data associated with Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury.

The above process began with a consideration of the material culture that aided the division of the later Iron Age into smaller timeframes for analysis, as it is easier to comprehend their role in this process when viewing them independently of those historical events, (such as Caesar's invasions of Britain and eventual conquest of Gaul), that are likely to have impacted upon occupation in some parts of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe. Although there were many artefact types recovered from the thesis' case sites, their ceramic assemblages were at the heart of the aforementioned process, because ceramic vessels are the most prominent, and arguably most studied, finds recovered on sites of later Iron Age date, therefore, making them an ideal contributor to a chronological sequence designed to be transferable between studies of settlements attributed to this period. Furthermore, the decision to focus solely upon the ceramics is justified not only because of the durability, and prolific nature, of this material (Burnham *et al*. 2001, 74-75; Drewett *et al*. 1988, 121; Gibson 2002, 17; Harding 1974, 13; James and Rigby 1997, 33; Pitts 2005, 50), but because it is a highly charged medium through which Iron Age communities expressed their culture, ideas, and affiliations (Hill 2002a; 2002b; 2007; Woodward 1997, 26), which enables us to determine something of these settlements' functions and how they changed over time (ibid, 26; Woodward and Hill 2002a, 2).

Moreover, ceramics have a detailed, and broad, representation within the literature (e.g. Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002; Gibson 1996; 2002; Hill 2002a; 2002b; Morris 2002; Pollard 2002; Timby 1982; Willis 2002), that is to say, those forms manufactured by the peoples of this period, as well as those they imported, have been studied at great length, and as a result of this we have a greater knowledge of these artefacts, their chronologies, social and economic

implications, than any other body of evidence attributed to the years of 150/100 BC and AD 43. Consequently, although some of the pre-existing ceramic chronologies may not be as secure as others[41], the ever developing nature of archaeological techniques and ceramic studies mean that the dating attributed to this material, and its many typological sequences, make it one of the most robust, and reliable, bodies of evidence available for a study such as that presented here.

Conversely, it is important to remember that regional pottery traditions assigned to major chronological phases may not have been exactly contemporary (Haselgrove 1997, 57), especially when we take into account the fact that some regional wares were moved between communities by way of secondary trade after their production had ceased, just as it is has long been assumed was the case with the Dressel 1 amphorae recovered at Sheepen, Colchester (Sealey 1985a, 105; 1985b, 99) (see also Appendix 7.13); an assumption that is founded upon the notion that there is a lack of other imports predating 10 BC at the site (Sealey 1985a, 105; 1985b, 99; Appendix 7.13). Furthermore, it is equally important to note that within his 1987 paper Millett surmises that approximating chronologies based on the currency of vessels could be problematic as ceramic phases contain 'fuzzy elements' that lead to dissimilarities between ceramic assemblages; in other words, the secondary exchange of goods could lead to some ceramic forms being present within an assemblage comprising an entirely different, and non-contemporaneous range of vessels, to those we might expect to find them with.

Consequently, the dates attributed to ceramics have the ability to pose problems when used to define chronological periods for the purposes of analysis; because the dates attributed to those forms subjected to secondary trade may not reflect their true period of use within a settlement, an issue that could lead to the skewing of overall dates assigned to stratigraphic layers within a context; although, if these vessels are particularly anomalous it should be clearly visible and as such make it clear to those studying them that additional processes were associated with their acquisition and deposition. Millett however does not believe that problems such as these are truly limiting, stating instead that our awareness of these factors serves to enhance the archaeological value of pottery because it ensures thought is given to their primary periods of circulation and the fashions, technologies and trading patterns of this time and how they may

[41] That is to say, some ceramics have received more detailed examinations than others; for example Gallo-Belgic wares have been more closely scrutinised, and therefore better dated (e.g. Timby and Rigby 2007), than some regional forms such as the Stuppington Lane vessels found at Canterbury (see Appendix 10.1)

have altered from what had come before, residuality, and factors that have been imposed upon the vessels not only after deposition but during recovery and once in the hands of archaeologists, as well as the relationship vessels may have had with contemporaneous groups of pottery (1987, 104).

In light of the above, it is unsurprising that the analysis of ceramic material within the current thesis was not without its problems, particularly when it came to considerations based on the dates attributed to the vessels recovered at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury. However, the author managed to overcome many of these by ensuring that all vessel forms analysed in conjunction with the thesis' case sites were assigned dates based on up-to-date thinking; as can be seen from the appendices documenting the raw and processed data associated with Colchester (see Appendices 7.1, 7.2). Consequently, the dates presented within the site reports pertaining to excavations at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, some of which are now over seventy years old[42], are not necessarily those that were used for the purposes of analysis within the thesis; furthermore, it is these revised dates that have, in part, influenced some the dates bounding the timeframes into which the author split the later Iron Age. [43]

With the above in mind, our attentions turn to which ceramics, and in what capacity they helped determine the start and end dates of the timeframes into which the author divided the later Iron Age. The decision to use 55/50 BC, 30/25 BC, and AD 20/25 as beginning/termination dates for the first three chronological periods noted above, (see page 103), stem from their connection to the dates at which easily discernible ceramic forms came into/fell out of use. For example, 55/50 BC marks the date at which Dressel 1b amphorae, the amphorae form Peacock has dubbed the most archaeologically valuable, particularly in Britain (1984 *cf*. Fitzpatrick 1985, 305), were first imported to this region (Tyres 1996); while 30/25 BC and AD.20/25 both represent the dates at which we can observe a clear upsurge in the number of Roman form types circulating within the case sites' ceramic assemblages (see Chapters 7.3.3, 9.3.3, and 10.3.3). Furthermore, by c.55/50 BC some of the earliest forms of amphorae, such as Dressel 1a, to have been imported to later Iron Age sites, but particularly those in south-east Britain, had ceased to be produced and widely circulated (Tyres 1996); meanwhile, AD 20/25 marks the

[42] Hawkes and Hull's report on excavations at Sheepen, Colchester was published in 1947.
[43] The up-to-date dating ascribed to the ceramics can be said to have influenced the splitting of the later Iron Age into shorter timeframes in so far as the ceramic assemblages were utilised for this purpose only after the author was certain of their integrity, particularly with regards to their dating.

date at which we see a considerable decline in the number of native vessel forms circulating at Titelberg (see Chapter 9.3.3-9.3.4), an unsurprising observation given that the site is situated in Gaul, large parts of which fell under the control of the Roman Empire after Augustus became Emperor in 27 BC (Brogan 1953, 26; Drinkwater 1983, 20-21; Haselgrove 1987, 196; 1996a, 138; King 1990, 64; Millett 1990, 32; Woolf 1998, 32).

Moreover, these dates not only mark changes in the types of ceramics being consumed, but the social practices this medium facilitated. In recent years Sealey has noted that amphorae are widely believed to represent the existence of a wine trade between Italy and native communities (e.g. Peacock 1971; 1977, 269-70; 1984; Williams 1981; Sealey 1985a, 125-141; Fitzpatrick 2003; Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002, 162-164, 171) (2009, 3). This was a process that is purported to have led not only to the consumption of wine during communal, and power based, feasts (see page 95), but, changes in the ways that the elite displayed their status, and social cohesion was maintained (see Chapter 5.3); whilst also influencing a change in the types of grave goods interred alongside the deceased in the south-east of Britain (Sealey 2009, 7-11), that is to say, we see a burial rite emerge after c.100 BC (ibid, table 2), where the incorporation of amphorae within burials was not unusual.

The ceramics introduced in both 30/25 BC and AD 20/25, on-the-other-hand, can be said to denote the adoption of Roman dining habits by Iron Age communities (Hill 1995b, 121; Pollard 2002, 32; Sealey forthcoming a); in addition to those cultural practices introduced through/influenced by the use of amphorae, with the possible exception of drinking wine itself. Therefore, we have noted here a series of changes within the material culture that could have altered the nature of occupation at the thesis' case sites; as a result of this, the dates considered above are the ideal points at which to divide the later Iron Age, because they mark points in time that may have resulted in significant developments at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, in terms of their social, economic, and power connotations. Consequently, the use of ceramics to define the chronology devised by the author to analyse the later Iron Age within the current thesis, led to the beginning of a better awareness of the possible developments taking place at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, as well as the wider Iron Age context of these, before a full analysis of their archaeological records had even taken place.

Progressing to a consideration of the historical events, such as Caesar's invasions of Britain and eventual conquest of Gaul, that aided the author's decision to split the later Iron Age where

they did, the dates marking the commencement of Period 1, 150/100 BC, are traditionally cited within the literature as marking the beginning of the later Iron Age in Britain and the equivalent phase of the La Tène period, (the end of La Tène C2/beginning of La Tène D1 (Collis 1984a, Fig. 4.1)), in Temperate Europe (e.g. Collis 1984a, 49; Cunliffe 2005, 125; Darvill 1987, Table 1; Frere 1987, 6; Haselgrove 1993, 31, Table 1; Hill 1995a, Fig. 1; Stead 1996, 5). Furthermore, these dates are believed to denote the beginning of a period marked by a 'dynamic change in settlement patterns and landscape' (Haselgrove and Moore 2007, 3), as well as prominent developments in the period's societies and economies (Champion *et al*. 1992, 297; Darvill 1987, ch.7); all factors that served to make this a period in which the individual and their actions are more visible within the archaeological record (Cunliffe 2005, 125).

The decision to end Period 1, and begin Period 2 with the dates 55/50 BC, on-the-other-hand, was twofold. On-the-one-hand, these dates mark Caesar's invasions of Britain in 55/54 BC (Caesar The Conquest of Gaul 4.20 – 5.23), whilst on the other, they coincide with Caesar's conquest of Gaul (ibid). Both of these processes had repercussions for native communities, the most prominent of which saw increased contact not only between communities in the south-east of Britain and northern Gaul, but between these regions and the Roman World (Cunliffe 1984, 5-6; 1995a, 66-67; Collis 1984b, 163; Peacock 1971; 1984, 38; Mattingly 2007, 68). Furthermore, there were also a number of social, economic, and political ramifications of these Roman incursions, such as the gradual introduction of new pottery forms, namely cups and platters, that not only filtered through new and existing trading networks, but were adopted by some societies for use within the domestic sphere, and others, for use as symbols of power, as well as an increased Roman presence in Gaul that would have undoubtedly influenced the lives of native communities they came into contact with. A detailed consideration of these points are, however, better placed later on in the thesis when we can consider them in conjunction with both the typical processes we would expect to observe for each chronological period, and the nature of occupation taking place at the case sites during each of these (see Chapter 11).

The termination date for Period 2, and starting point of Period 3 was placed at 30/25 BC, primarily because this date range coincides with the beginning of Augustus' reign as the first Roman Emperor, which commenced in 27 BC (Richardson 2012, 87). As such, these dates represent the absorption of Gaul into the Roman Empire as a province (Brogan 1953, 26; Drinkwater 1983, 20-21; Haselgrove 1987, 196; 1996a, 138; King 1990, 64; Millett 1990, 32; Woolf 1998, 32), a process that not only saw increased Roman occupation in Gaul, but an

eventual change in the native communities' settlement patterns and material culture as a result of this (King 1990, c.3; Vanderhoeven 1996, 190; Woolf 1998, 118-119). These changes are generally evidenced by formalised street plans, the introduction of communal infrastructure such as Gallo-Roman temples and theatres, the construction of houses in the Mediterranean style (King 1990, 73-84; Vanderhoeven 1996, 235-243; Woolf 1998, 113), as well as the widespread introduction, and use, of Roman table wares, including cups, platters, and jugs (Woolf 1998, 191).

Period 3 ended and Period 4 started with the dates AD 20/25. These dates not only represent fluctuations in the ceramics circuiting on Iron Age sites, as seen in the author's examination of the thesis' case sites' ceramic assemblages, (see Chapters 7.3.3/7.3.4, 9.3.3/9.3.4, 10.3.3/10.3.4), but 'the arrival of Roman goods in the later British Iron Age [which] is usually characterised as a period of "softening-up" and has been perceived as "Romanisation before the conquest" (e.g. Cunliffe 2005, 545; Frere 1987; Haselgrove 1984b; Millett 1990, 39 - 35; Salway 1981; Todd 1981)' (Willis 1994, 141). Consequently, these dates can be said to mark the beginning of a period where traditional practices of the later Iron Age, at least in south-east Britain, are likely to have become further altered by increasing contact with material culture from the Roman World; a process that is likely to have affected life at Colchester and Canterbury in particular given their geographic positioning.

Finally, we come to a consideration of why the termination date for Period 4 was placed at AD 50. This date falls long enough after the Claudian Conquest of AD 43 (Blair 1963, 36; Creighton 2006, 61, 69; Dunnett 1975, 31; Grainge 2005, 11, 117; James 2001, 29; James and Rigby 1997, 82; Mattingly 2007, 95-96; Millett 1990, 42) for the beginnings of change, as a result of this event, to have taken place. In other words, by AD 50 there were noticeable repercussions of Claudian's successes in Britain visible within the landscape, as well as the cultural practices engaged in by native populations, arguably the most visible of which are the fort and theatre that emerged at Gosbecks in Colchester between AD 44 and 49 (Crummy 1984, 72-78; Pitts and Perring 2006). Conversely, this is not to say that this date marks the definitive end of the Iron Age, as many regions continued to engage in native practices long after Roman populations moved in; in some cases for several decades, as was the case with Northern Britain, and in others for a number of centuries as was witnessed in Scandinavia.

The dates considered above can therefore be said to highlight some of the most significant developments of the later Iron Age, with regards to both the material culture utilised over the course of this c.200 year periods, and the cultural practices engaged in. In light of this, their use within the current thesis aided the author in their exploration of later Iron Age occupation at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, because they not only provide smaller timeframes within which to scrutinise their occupation, but allow us to consider how they were affected by those processes and events that can be said to have shaped the period's development.

6.2: The Material Approach

Now that we have established the reasoning behind the dates ascribed to the chronological units used for analysis within the current thesis, it is pertinent that we turn our attention to the processes applied to the data collated for Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, in order to analyse the nature of their occupation over the course of the later Iron Age. The range of evidence available to the author included: settlement morphology[44], pottery, brooches, coinage, metalwork,[45] stonework,[46] miscellaneous ceramic products,[47] and both floral and faunal evidence.

Furthermore, of the evidence available it was the ceramics that were at the heart of the analysis process. This was the case for two reasons. Firstly, because the veritable abundance of these artefacts on later Iron Age settlements will ultimately enable the methodologies detailed below to be transferred to future projects centred upon the period's purported *oppida*; and secondly, because this body of evidence is the one for which we currently have the greatest understanding, due to the durability of the material, often resulting in it being the most abundant evidence recovered at later Iron Age settlements (see page 104), and the extensive work that has been carried out upon this material (see page 104-105). Consequently, the use of ceramics within a project such as this enables us to gain the best possible insight into the nature of occupation at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, which in turn will guarantee that the aims of the current thesis are met as fully as possible.

[44] Settlement morphology in this context refers to those features that comprise the sites' make-up. At the thesis' case sites these have been identified through both excavation and surveying techniques such as aerial photography.
[45] This included: weaponry, fittings, toilet sets, industrial waste, and jewellery.
[46] Including both quernstones and spindle whorls.
[47] In particular loomweights and spindle whorls, although crucibles could also be said to fall into this category.

Conversely, despite this primary focus upon the ceramics, each of the other bodies of evidence noted above also served to strengthen the author's interpretations of the aforementioned settlements, because they too contribute to our understanding of the thesis' case sites. Brooches can provide insight into metalworking and trade, as well as fashion, whilst coinage can be used not only to improve our knowledge of both trade and industry, but the imagery upon them can provide details of cultural processes that are otherwise difficult to discern within the archaeological record. Meanwhile metal- and stone- work allows us further insight into both the industrial and trading activities engaged in by the occupants of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, and the floral and faunal evidence their farming exploits. In light of this, these artefacts, while not necessarily considered as extensively as the ceramics, were invaluable to the project, in terms of allowing us to gain a thorough understanding of the thesis' case sites. For this reason we will first consider the methodologies applied to the ceramics before then contemplating those used to analyse the other evidence available.

6.2.1: The Ceramics

To analyse the pottery recovered from Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury the author devised a series of questions that could be applied to this material, once their periods of use had been confirmed[48], to ensure that the most comprehensive picture possible of their use at the thesis' case sites, and their users, could be gained. These included:

1. What do their forms say of their function(s)?
2. Were there non-traditional[49] as well as traditional form types present?
3. Where were they recovered?
4. What was the economy of the pottery; were they locally produced, imitation wares, or imports?
5. Were they associated with specialised/reserved activities?

However, before we progress to a consideration of how the author answered the above questions, we need to determine how the answers to this question will help us distinguish between potential *oppida* and other settlements occupied between 150/100 BC and AD 50. If

[48] Confirming the chronological timeframes within which the ceramics at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury were used involved cross referencing each form type's individual dating information, (after it had been cross referenced with recent work on this subject), with those dates ascribed to the author's sub-division of the later Iron Age.

[49] In this instance non-traditional refers to vessels more commonly associated with the Roman World.

Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury were indeed the *oppida* it is purported they were, we would expect their ceramic assemblages to display extensive evidence of: high status occupation, most likely through an abundance of imported wares, some imitated wares, and after 30/25 BC, non-traditional vessel forms such as Roman table wares; trade and industry, through the presence of more imported wares than could be consumed by their resident populations, as well as a high proportion of ceramics whose fabrics contained local clays and inclusions, ideally in conjunction with kilns; communal activities, which would be visible through either pit fills displaying the characteristics of a 'special deposit'[50], or as deposits in and around an area believed to be associated with ritual and religion and/or public gatherings[51]; and some level of traditional domestic occupation, (that is to say occupation by non-elite members of a community), that would be evidenced by ceramic forms associated with the preparation, cooking, consumption, and storage of foodstuffs located within contexts associated with refuse, (namely pits and ditches (see Chapter 6.2.2)), and in close proximity to domestic structures.

Conversely, it could be argued that this evidence is no different to that which we would expect to find on many of the other settlements occupied in both south-east Britain and Temperate Europe during the later Iron Age. With this in mind, it is important to refer back the statement that it is 'extensive evidence' of these processes that have the potential to distinguish an *oppidum* from the other settlements occupied at this time, because it is the scale of occupation of these sites that is regularly cited to set them apart from the period's farmstead and villages (see page 8). Consequently, we would expect the ceramic assemblages attributed to these sites to be relatively large, with the evidence attributed to each of the aforementioned processes to be plentiful. However, before we progress with our consideration of how the author used the above questions to analyse the thesis' case sites, and in doing so ascertain whether the evidence available can be said to confirm the existing belief that Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury were *oppida*, it is important to note that the scale of occupation at these sites is not always reflected in the results of excavations conducted within their bounds. In other words, the excavations carried out at the purported *oppida* of the later Iron Age have rarely investigated

[50] By 'special deposit' it is meant a collection of pottery, most likely good quality pottery, deposited within a sealed context following a single event, such as those identified at Ardleigh (Sealey 1999a; 1999b) and Elms Farm, Heybridge (Atkinson and Preston 1998, 109; Pitts 2004, 20) in Essex.

[51] It is widely believed that ritualistic/religious activities and/or public events took place within defined areas within the Iron Age landscape that are usually enclosed and as such separated from domestic areas of a site (Webster 1996, 453-460).

these sites in their entirety, typically because full scale excavations would not have been feasible in terms of time and financial restraints. We therefore have to bear this factor in mind when analysing the case sites' ceramic assemblages, because it is likely that these represent only a fraction of these site's vessels.

With the above cautions in mind, our attention turns to the analytical questions noted above, and how the author went about answering them. With regards to the first of these questions it is necessary that we begin by noting that studying a vessel's form in order to discover its function is one of the most fundamental elements of ceramic analysis, often referred to as form and function analysis (Peacock 1982). By engaging in this study we can determine the activities this material facilitated, which in turn provides insight into the activities occurring on the settlements from which it was recovered. Furthermore, the information produced through this mode of analysis can incite the first inclinations about whether a site conforms to what we might term the traditional Iron Age lifestyle, (farmers who lived and worked on their land, while also engaging in domestic craft production (Hill 1995a, 60)); or was associated with specialised activities such as: industry, trade, and/or religion, which might identify Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury as potential *oppida*. Finally, the author determined the function(s) of the case sites' vessels through a combination of their own knowledge of ceramics and the works presented in Woodward and Hill's (2002b) edited volume: Prehistoric Britain the Ceramic Basis.

In a similar vein, the second question was designed to enable the adoption of new practices to be identified, which in turn furthers the level of understanding gained on the activities these site's supported. That is to say, the presence of non-traditional wares allows us to determine when, and in what form, increased contact, either directly or indirectly, with the Roman World took place. Furthermore, this line of enquiry has the potential to highlight how access to non-traditional vessels influenced the lives of those who resided at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, in terms of their social, economic, and power connotations; this is particularly important given that these sites, as purported *oppida*, are believed to have been important centres of trade and exchange that would have dealt with the importation, and in some cases the eventual production of Roman form types that were also utilised at potential *oppida*, particularly those in south-east Britain, as a means through which the elite, such as the tribal leaders many of these sites are said to have been associated with (see Chapter 2), displayed their status, and moreover, to bring groups of people together for communal events.

The author was able to embark upon this analytical approach thanks to the work of Hill (2002a) and Freestone and Rigby (1997), who, within their respective studies, provide overviews on the ceramics comprising native and non-traditional form categories; as well as when and wherefrom these forms first emerged. Within these sources it is noted that traditional form types consisted of bowls[52], cooking pots, flasks, jars/storage jars, lids, pedestal urns, and strainers; while non-traditional wares[53] include beakers[54], cups, flagons, jugs, mortaria, and platters. Therefore, the presence of these latter vessels within the case sites' ceramic assemblages can be said to provide insight into activities at these sites that may mark them out as *oppida*. Conversely, it should also be noted that on some sites, particularly those in Gaul, these wares would have become part of the norm, after c.27 BC, within the domestic sphere, (see pages 61-62), thus making it difficult to ascertain whether they relate to *oppida* specific activities or simply traditional Iron Age pursuits; consequently, on some sites, these wares might come to outnumber native wares, particularly those occupied until the end of the later Iron Age, and possibly beyond, within areas heavily influenced by Roman culture.

The third question posed of the case sites' ceramic assemblages, can also be used to determine whether vessels were used to fulfil the day-to-day activities we would expect to find represented on both *oppida* and non-*oppida* settlements, or reserved for special events/processes, such as those associated with the periods cultural beliefs and practices. Therefore, this question allowed the author to determine whether their suppositions about the functions of the case sites' vessels based on their form were correct/viable, while also taking into account the contexts from which they were recovered. Although this was generally the case, with most finds recovered in pits and ditches being viewed as undifferentiated rubbish (Pollard 2002, 32), there are occasions when the place of deposition alters the original interpretations drawn. For example, although vessels recovered from burials appear in forms used for the consumption of food and drink, they are also bound by the symbols associated with death and later Iron Age funerary practices (Hill 2002b, 82); therefore, we cannot simply state that they had been discarded in these contexts because they had reached the end of their useable life, or were the remnants of a feast, without also pondering what their deeper symbolic

[52] Including tazze.
[53] Also commonly referred to as Roman tablewares.
[54] These could also be represent a revival of an older native tradition, but these vessels tend to re-appear within Iron Age contexts alongside wares brought in/influenced by Roman wares.

meaning might have been. Similarly, the discovery of lone, or small groups of, vessels in features such as grain silos, pits or ditches could also be steeped in symbolism; in this case relating to the potential ritual closing of a feature.

Unsurprisingly therefore, this line of enquiry was aided not only by those studies noted above, but knowledge of the contexts from which the thesis' ceramic assemblages were recovered. With regards to this factor, it should be noted here that the author was able to compile this information for virtually all of the ceramics recovered at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, with the only exception being the artefacts recovered during the 1930s excavations at Sheepen, Colchester. Consequently, for the most part, an analysis of the ceramics using this analytical approach comprised a consideration of the possible functions of the ceramics coupled with the activities supported by the morphological entities with which they were associated in order to identify overlaps, and any special circumstances surrounding their deposition; before then establishing the most plausible explanation for their deposition and what this could relay about the nature of occupation taking place at the case sites and whether this could be said to mark them out as *oppida* or not. Furthermore, the results of this analysis also enabled the author to better determine the viability of existing interpretations that label the thesis' case sites *oppida*; because, by studying the contexts from which the sites' vessels were recovered, a better sense of the quantity of material being used to fulfil any one activity can be ascertained, which in turn means that the extent of evidence for those activities believed to define an *oppidum* as such (see Chapter 2.3.4; Table 2.4), can be measured. In other words, this approach enables the scale of occupation at the case sites to be gauged; an important factor, as it is the scale of occupation at many of the purported *oppida* that led to their initial characterisation as such (see Chapter 2.2).

The fourth question addressed in the analysis of the case sites' ceramics considers the economy of the assemblages. Through a consideration of the vessels' origins[55], we can determine what proportion of these assemblages was produced locally[56], imported, or imitated[57]. This approach not only allows us to determine the existence and capabilities of ceramic industries situated at,

[55] Details of which were taken from the reports pertaining to archaeological investigations of the thesis' case sites.
[56] By locally produced the author means that the vessels were either manufactured at the case sites themselves, or within their immediate environs. The author's distinguishes between these scenarios within their analyses of the vessel's origins in Chapters 7, 9, and 10; using the information presented with site reports to determine whether Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury were responsible for manufacturing their own ceramics, or whether they relied upon settlements within their hinterlands for such commodities.
[57] Locally copies of imported wares

or in close proximity to, the case sites, but the communities with whom these sites had most likely forged economic relationships.[58] This is particularly pertinent with regards to Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, because as purported *oppida*, and therefore centres of industry and trade (see Chapters 2.2-2.3), we might expect to find evidence of ceramic production, as well as, strong and far reaching economic relationships through which imported vessels, such as Gallo-Belgic wares, could be obtained, within their ceramic assemblages.

Furthermore, by enabling us to gauge how many of the vessels consumed by the sites' populations were manufactured locally, this question allows us to determine to what extent, if at all, the case sites, and comparative hinterland non-*oppida* sites in Essex, were reliant upon local trading networks for one of the period's most essential products. Consequently, if all of the essential form types required to fulfil the daily needs of these sites' occupants were present among the locally produced ceramics, the author deemed it viable that the site was not reliant upon external sources for essential goods. However, at the *oppida* this reliance could be through choice rather than need, especially if they were economic centres; in other words, if these sites could obtain essential ceramics in return for the wares they peddled it is possible that they may have opted to focus their industrial attentions elsewhere.

Moreover, observations such as this, go on to suggest that imported wares, if present, were brought into these sites at the behest of certain individuals, who are typically believed to have wielded power (see Chapter 5.3), as a means of conspicuous consumption. These vessels would have been used in the same way as non-traditional vessels,[59] with which imported wares are likely to have been, at least in part, synonymous. On-the-other-hand, if imports were widespread and outnumbered locally produced vessels, particularly at non-*oppida* sites, one could surmise that this is evidence of a site being deficient of potters and/or potters clay, or its proclivity to act as a trading centre where imports were collected prior to redistribution. Conversely, it is also possible that local potters simply could not keep up with the demands put upon them, and thus imported wares were simply used to fill voids within the local market.

[58] NB: While it is feasible that later Iron Age merchants were more than capable of acquiring imports directly from their source, regardless of where this may have been, it is likely that they were actually obtained through central trading posts in Gaul of a similar calibre to the 6th Century Massila (Rankin 1996, cc2).
[59] See pages 75, 78, 94 – 95.

With the above in mind, we come to a consideration of the value of an analysis of the imitation wares. These vessels are valuable tools in a study such as this because they enable us to gain greater insight into the social and economic aspects of the sites on which they are recovered. This is the case, because when these vessels appear within ceramic assemblages they tend to do so in small numbers, which tells us that they were not desired by large numbers of individuals. Therefore, their presence can provide insight into three possible practices. Firstly, the emulation of the elite by those of a middling social standing, an observation that has the potential to demonstrate the extent to which a community was stratified; secondly, the short-comings of local merchants and their ability to meet with demands for imported wares; and thirdly, the desire to replicate imported vessels for use in activities, such as funerals or communal feasts, where imports may have had a greater weight in terms of the message they portrayed.

Furthermore, with regards to the thesis' case sites and their status as potential *oppida*, imitation vessels can provide additional insight into the purported functions of sites labelled thus, in this case their association with powerful individuals and stratified communities, as well as their use for communal activities. This supposition can be made because the presence of this material at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury could provide evidence for their resident population being stratified, or if imported wares were widespread and imitation wares comparatively rare, these vessels could have been used to display power by the tribal elite said to have resided within many of the period's *oppida*, but particularly those in south-east Britain. On-the-other-hand, imitation wares help us to gauge whether social standing and power were a factor in attendance at special events[60], or whether less common vessels, namely imports and imitations, were reserved for use during events of a social or religious nature[61]. Consequently, it can be said that by considering the economy of the ceramics we are better placed to understand the nuances of the communities residing at the case sites.

Finally, and in line with the latter point noted above, we come to a consideration of the last question asked of the vessels: 'were they associated with specialised/reserved activities?'

[60] That is to say, did you need to be able to visibly display your power, status, and wealth to gain access to certain communal events? If so it is likely that imports and imitated wares would have been a viable means through which to do this.

[61] In other words, did imitation wares, along with imported wares, have a greater weighting, in terms of the social sway or religious import, than local products when used during communal events designed to foster social relations or honour deities during religious festivals.

Although the answer to this question will have to some extent been ascertained by questions 2, 3, and 4, there are additional factors that can determine whether ceramic vessels were used to fulfil atypical roles. For example, in some instances a study of the artefacts deposited alongside ceramic vessels can tell us whether we are looking at the deposition of refuse or a special deposit; in other words we would not expect to find discarded nails or loom weights alongside ceramics within a feasting deposit, but we might expect to find the meat bearing bones from cattle, sheep/goat, and/or pigs. Similarly, ceramics discovered in layers associated with enclosed/open spaces could represent vessels used during events of ritual significance such as religious festivals; as spaces such as this were often given over to such purposes. Thus, the author ensured they were aware of what was recovered alongside the ceramics, as well as where at the site they had been identified. This line of enquiry enables us to explore Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury's ceramic assemblages for evidence of communal events, which in turn, allows us to highlight evidence for the functions these sites may have performed that could mark them out as potential *oppida*. Current thinking on the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe suggests we would find extensive evidence for these activities sites labelled thus.

6.2.2: Settlement Morphology

Morphological entities, like ceramic vessels, can often be linked to more than one activity. Therefore, although the author began their considerations of this aspect of Colchester's, Titelberg's, and Canterbury's archaeological records by looking at the most traditional interpretations of the features presents, for example the notion that pits may have been used for storage (Reynolds 1974, 118), and/or, like ditches, the disposal of detritus (Pollard 2002, 32), thought was also given to what else these features could represent. For instance, rather than assuming incomplete drip-gullies were the result of erosion, it was pondered whether they had ever actually been complete, and were in fact 'wind-breaks' used to protect industrial activities from the elements; just as Sealey (2015) suggests might have been the case at Mucking, Essex.

Furthermore, the archaeological evidence associated with a feature can also alter one's perception of its function; for example many would interpret the roundhouses situated in close proximity to the sprawling field systems at The Garrison, Colchester as evidence for a rural farmstead within the site's wider landscape. However, the discovery of a cremation at the heart of one of these structures (Brooks 2004, 16), means we have to question whether the building was used as a domestic dwelling, or whether it may in fact have been a mortuary house or

shrine. Similarly, the contents of a pit can tell us whether it had been used for traditional purposes such as the storage of grain or waste disposal, or whether it had been associated with atypical activities such as an impromptu burial or the deposition of feasting paraphernalia. By taking into account not only the most popular interpretations of the settlement features encountered at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, but their less obvious functions, based on their contents, we gain a better understanding of their status as *oppida*, because often the role these sites played are, on the surface, very similar to those assumed by non-*oppida* sites. Therefore, if we wish to distinguish between the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe and the other settlement types occupied between 150/100 BC and AD 43 we need to consider all possible functions of the features present, and the scale of occupation they represent, as it is likely the scale of occupation at the purported *oppida* that will ultimately set them apart from their contemporaneous farmsteads and villages.

The author's analysis of the settlement morphology associated with the thesis' case sites had two aspects. Firstly, the author considered the morphological entities within their own right, before contemplating the artefacts recovered from their fills and whether these verified the initial interpretations, or highlighted a different use of the feature and the activities they represented. This twofold approach will play a significant part in determining whether the purported *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe were a distinct class of settlement, because it will allow us to determine whether the activities supported at these sites were mirrored by their contemporaneous farmstead, villages, and open settlements (see Chapter 11).

6.2.3: Brooches

After ceramic vessels one of the most numerous artefacts identified at the thesis' case sites were brooches. There were numerous brooch types in circulation during the later Iron Age, many of which have been the subject of in-depth studies (e.g. Haselgrove 1997; Hattatt 2000; Mackreth 2011). For the purposes of the current thesis, however, three principal pieces of information were of interest to the author with regards to these artefacts: the metals in which they were manufactured, where they originated, and their ascribed chronologies.

A consideration of the metals enables us to determine whether they would have been accessible to everyone in society, or affordable only to a few. In other words, were they manufactured in iron or bronze as the majority of the period's brooches were, or more 'expensive' metals such

as gold and silver (Mackreth 2011, 4-7); the former were likely everyday metals, while the latter were typically only consumed by the elite (see Chapter 5.3). Consequently, this evidence can be used to better understand the nature of the communities residing at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury in terms of their social structures; this is particularly pertinent for the current thesis, because current literature on *oppida* has predisposed us to expect evidence for individuals of power within their artefact records (see Chapter 2). Therefore, this evidence can contribute to the verification of the existence of individuals with power, status, and wealth at the thesis case sites.[62]

The origins of these artefacts, on-the-other-hand, can be used to ascertain something of the case site's industrial capabilities and both their local and far reaching trading relationships; although this is not to say that this line of enquiry cannot also be used to determine something of these sites' social structures. By taking stock of the number of locally produced and imported brooches (the author distinguished between locally produced and imported brooches using the information provided within the reports pertaining to the excavations and artefacts at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury), within the case sites archaeological records it is possible to comprehend the capabilities of local craftsmen to meet demands for this product and/or the existence of economic relationships with neighbouring communities from whom regional products could have been obtained. In other words, if all a site's brooches were locally produced, either on-site, a process that would be evidenced by slag, unfinished/misshapen products, and/or crucibles and other metalworking paraphernalia, or by a neighbouring community known for producing regional products it is reasonable to believe that resident/local craftsmen could meet the demands put upon them for this commodity, and as such they would have been fairly easy to come by; particularly as neighbouring communities were often linked by social and economic relationships that ensured the survival of their settlements.

Furthermore, locally produced brooches can contribute to our considerations of whether or not labelling Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury *oppida* is justified; because, as purported *oppida*, we have come to expect these sites to display evidence for large scale industrial production (see Chapters 2.2-2.3). In light of this, if the case sites' archaeological records

[62] From Chapter 5 we know that there are multiple ways in which power, status, and wealth were depicted in later Iron Age societies, therefore these brooches are only one of a number of ways this may have been displayed at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, and as such we would want to find several of these present within their archaeological records if there were indeed members of the tribal elite, and other bodies of power, present within the case site's populations.

contain evidence for numerous brooches being produced on-site, we can use this information to determine how they conformed to this purported characteristic of *oppida*. Moreover, *oppida* are believed to have had close ties to their hinterlands, acting as central sites within these environs (see Table 2.4). Consequently, if local brooch forms were manufactured in the case sites' hinterlands, rather than by their own craftsmen, this evidence could provide insight into what the purported *oppida*, as central sites, may have gained from these socio-economic relationships.

Conversely, if the majority of the brooches were imported from distant communities it is possible that neither on-site nor local craftsmen were able to produce these wares, either due to a lack of suitable metal sources or keep up with demand; although, it is equally possible that no craftsmen were in residence at the site at all, thus explaining the need to import these wares. Furthermore, the presence of imported brooches at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury could also aid our considerations of these sites' status as *oppida*, because we have come to expect such sites to display ample evidence for long distance trade (see Chapter 2.2-2.3). Consequently, this evidence could not only identify long distance trade at the case sites, but the communities, and regions, with whom these trading relationships were formed.

Finally, if the majority of brooches present at a site were produced locally, but there was also a small number of imported brooches in lavish metals present, it stands to reason that these latter brooches were brought into the site at the request of those with the authority to control economic transactions, and most probably for the purposes of conspicuous consumption. This evidence could, therefore, confirm the existence of individuals of power, status, and wealth at the thesis' case sites, and in doing so highlight the presence of tribal elite, and other bodies of power, within their resident populations; thus, further aiding our determination of whether these sites comply with current thinking on *oppida* being centres of power inhabited by some of the periods more powerful elite (see Chapters 2.2-2.3).

It is, however, not only the metallurgy and origins of the brooches that were of interest to the author for the present thesis. As with the ceramics, it was important to consider the dates attributed to this body of evidence, because it is only by studying the chronologies of the brooches present at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury that we can determine within which of the author's chronological times frames they are likely to have been manufactured and utilised. This was crucial for the analytical process, because it enabled the author to determine

whether the functions, (namely those that are said to mark a site out as an *oppidum*), of the case sites altered overtime in terms of how well they conformed to current thinking on *oppida*, and whether the use of this term at all remains justified.

Before we progress to a consideration of how the coinage from the thesis' case sites was analysed, it is necessary to note that in terms of the functions they attributed to the brooches, they followed the traditional interpretations of these artefacts presented within the literature; that is to say, they were primarily viewed as a means through which clothing was pinned together (Mackreth 2011, 234). Conversely, there are occasions when this interpretation may not have been the only one viable. For example, if these artefacts were manufactured in gold and/or discovered in grave fills it is possible that they served symbolic, as well as practical roles. That is to say, gold brooches, as well as those manufactured in silver, could have been used as symbols of power, whilst those recovered in burials could have been deposited as a symbol of respect to the deceased and/or local deities.

6.2.4: Coinage

Like the brooches, coinage was one of the most plentiful artefact groups recovered at the thesis' case sites. In order to analyse the coinage recovered at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury in a way that enabled the most information to be gleaned from its study, the author opted to first consider the origins of these artefacts, because from this one piece of information it is possible to identify industrial activities, the existence of skilled craftsmen, social relationships, and by extension possible trading partnerships. Following this, the author contemplated any visible inscriptions/imagery on the coinage, and what this could reveal about cultural practices/beliefs and powerful individuals/settlements these might identify; and finally, it was also important to take into account the dates attributed to the circulation of the coinage.

The first two pieces of information accrued from a study of the coinage's origins, in terms of where they were manufactured, are relatively self-explanatory, in that they gave rise to information of the same calibre as that produced through an analysis of the brooches origins (see Section 6.2.3); in other words, they identified whether the coinage was produced locally, or brought into the site from further afield, and in doing so highlight possible characteristics of

Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury that could identify them as *oppida*.[63] Thus, we turn our attention to what it was hoped would be ascertained about social and trading relationships from this aspect of the data. Knowledge of the coinage's origins allows us to trace their centres of production and the communities who facilitated this; this is particularly pertinent if the coinage displays the name of later Iron Age individuals or tribes, because it can help us establish whether the case sites conform to the belief that *oppida* were associated with powerful individuals, including members of the tribal elite, as these groups are widely believed to have been responsible for minting the period's coinage (see page 39). Furthermore, as it is now questioned whether these artefacts were the vehicles of exchange, (e.g. Haselgrove 1996b, 81), it was once widely believed they were, (see Chapter 4.3), it is possible that they were exchanged to represent newly forged social relationships.

Although, some of the coins recovered at the case sites might have been exchanged to represent newly established trading relationships, there are many other reasons why Iron Age communities tied themselves, socially, to one another; including:

- the desire to safeguard against possible crises, such as bad harvests,
- a need to form alliances in case violence occurred,
- the desire to expand social pools through marriage alliances.

Consequently, this evidence had the potential to further our understanding of the communities residing at the case sites, their social situations; something that the second line of enquiry applied to the coinage can also be said to aid.

By studying the imagery depicted on Iron Age coinage it is possible to learn something of the cultural practices and beliefs of the communities who minted it, as will be seen in the next chapter; this is particularly true to the coinage minted at Colchester, (see Chapter 7.3.4.2). From the imagery on the coinage it is possible to gain insight into the daily practices of a site's occupants, their religious beliefs, symbols of ritual importance, and any influences they may have absorbed from distant societies such as the Roman World. Furthermore, from mint marks and likenesses of named individuals it is possible to use coinage to gain insight into the power

[63] These characteristics include extensive evidence of industrial production and/or long distance trading relationships.

certain individuals wielded and the status of the settlements associated with its minting; because only individuals and settlements with recognised authority are likely to have been acknowledged in this way. Consequently, this aspect of the evidence has the potential to not only provide insight into a community's beliefs/practices, but a site's power connotations, in other words, was the site considered a centre of power within its environs? Finally, by better understanding these aspects of the societies residing at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury we not only gain further insight into their functions, but their status as purported *oppida*. That is to say, we can use this information to determine whether life at the thesis' case sites was unique, or mirrored at their contemporaneous non-*oppida* settlements.

6.2.5: Metalwork

The term metalwork covers a broad spectrum of artefacts, an analysis of which can provide considerable insight into a site's social, economic, and power connotations. In the case of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury this group of artefacts can be subdivided into two categories: 1) practical items including tools and weaponry and 2) personal adornments such as jewellery. In all cases the traditional interpretations of these artefacts, in terms of their functions, were followed by the author when they were found within the main areas of the thesis' case sites, however, when they were recovered in grave deposits the possible symbolic reasons behind their deposition were also considered. In other words, thought was given to whether these goods, in addition to their practical roles, were used to fulfil burial rites, such as honouring the deceased and/or the propitiation of the local deities.

Further to the above, by looking at the functions of the metalwork present at the thesis' case sites the author was able to determine the possible roles these sites fulfilled. This was particularly important for the current project because it not only aided in the verification of activities highlighted through studies of other bodies of evidence at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, namely their ceramic assemblages and settlement morphology, it allowed the author to determine the scale of these activities and whether they can be said to mark them out as the *oppida*. In other words, are the activities represented by the metalwork those that are regularly associated with the *oppida* of south-east Britain and Temperate Europe (see Chapter 2.3.4; Table 2.4); and more importantly, are they visible on a scale that can be said to differentiate the professed *oppida* from the farmsteads and villages that may have also engaged in these activities? This line of enquiry can therefore aid the author's contemplations of the validity of the term *oppida* today.

In addition to taking into account the functions of the metalwork present at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, the author also analysed the origins of these artefacts, in terms of where they were manufactured, because this line of enquiry enabled insight into local industrial activities, the skills of local craftsmen, trading relationships, and possible symbols of power and/or community to be ascertained. The information gleaned from the first three of these observations was of a similar calibre, in terms of what it can reveal not only of the sites' functions, but their status as purported *oppida*, to that obtained from analyses of the case sites brooches, (Section 6.2.3), and will not be reiterated here. With regards to how these artefacts could be used to identify symbols of power and community, on-the-other-hand, many Iron Age communities were more than capable of producing a great number of metal artefacts, (see Chapter 3.4.2), therefore metalwork imported from distant communities (in the case of sites in south-east Britain the author would consider distant communities to be those in Gaul and the Mediterranean), is likely to have been sought for specific reasons, be it to display an individual's status or to aid social cohesion through communal events. Information generated from these considerations is particularly pertinent for the current thesis, because it enables us to further our inquiries into whether these sites were centres occupied by tribal elite, that may, or may not, have also served a communal function, and in doing so help us to establish whether the labelling of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury *oppida* is justified.

6.2.6: Stonework and Miscellaneous Ceramic Products

The artefacts comprising this category include quernstones, loomweights, and spindle whorls; tools that were essential to the livelihoods of Iron Age peoples because they aided the production of basic food stuffs and clothing for warmth. With this in mind, the traditional interpretations of these artefacts, in terms of their functions, were adhered to by the author, because there was nothing identified within the supporting evidence at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury to suggest that they were used for atypical means. Furthermore, as these artefacts, in particular the quernstones, were essential items, their origins as determined by their geology[64], can be used to ascertain to what extent the communities residing at the thesis' case sites were reliant upon trade with external communities, be these at neighbouring settlements or further afield, for some aspects of their day-to-day existence. Consequently, these items not only provide insight into the craft activities these sites' occupants engaged in, but their analysis

[64] The origins of the quernstones were ascertained using their geology by those who wrote the specialist reports on these artefacts within the case sites' site reports.

allowed the author to strengthen their suppositions about these sites' economic connotations, particularly with regards to whether the scale of production at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury was industrialised, which in turn enables the author to further examine the validity of their classification as *oppida*.

6.2.7: Faunal and Floral Evidence

The final dataset to be subject to analysis within the current thesis comprises the faunal and floral evidence. Although this evidence was not plentiful, what was present could be used to further our knowledge of the farming regimes engaged in by the peoples residing at Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury, from the crops they grew to the animals they reared. Therefore, much like with the metalwork, stonework, and miscellaneous ceramic artefacts this evidence was used to build upon, and verify, the suppositions borne out of the analyses of the ceramic assemblages, settlement morphology, brooches, and coinage, but particularly those that help to verify the extent to which the term *oppida* remains relevant today.

6.3: A Summary

The methodological approach applied to the archaeological records attributed to the thesis' case sites is far from complex in nature. It was designed to appreciate the value of the archaeology available, and ensure that all possible interpretations of Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury were obtained. Through its application the author not only gained potentially new insight into the nature of occupation taking place at these sites, but ensured that their populations as a whole were appreciated, not just the elite who were at the heart of *oppida* studies conducted in the past.

Furthermore, this methodological approach enables us to maximise our understanding of the aforementioned sites' social, economic, and power connotations; in other words those themes that have been at the heart of previous inquiries into the functions so-called *oppida* performed. Therefore, the methodology outlined above not only ensured a successful re-analysis of the thesis' case sites, but guaranteed that the overarching aim of the thesis (see Chapter 1) was met; it allowed the data collated for Colchester, Titelberg, and Canterbury to be analysed in such a way that occupation at these sites could be compared to their contemporaneous *oppida*, as well as farmsteads, villages, and open settlements, in order to ascertain whether these sites adhere to current thinking on *oppida* and in doing so determine whether the term *oppida* remains valid today.