

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

Volume Two

The Sites:

Later Iron Age Occupation at Colchester, Titelberg and
Canterbury

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7: Colchester

The modern town of Colchester, (often referred to as *Camulodunum* in literature pertaining to the site's later Iron Age, and Iron Age/Roman transitional period, occupation), has a long and vibrant history, with secure but not continuous evidence for occupation dating back to the Bronze Age (Crummy 1995b, 131-133). Flints dating to the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods have also been recovered through excavation (Brooks and Masefield 2006, 4; Brooks *et al.* 2007, 1); however, these are so limited in number that it is impossible to state definitively whether occupation was actually present at these times. Despite this early evidence for human activity it was not until the later Iron Age (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 5; Hawkes 1995, 4-6; Niblett 1985; 1-3) that Colchester truly became a flourishing centre of occupation. This is particularly true of the last c.50 years of the later Iron Age, (from c.15/10 BC¹), when Colchester, (Figure 7.1), became one of Britain's most significant settlements. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the archaeology associated with this period is both extensive and exciting; with, as N. Crummy rightly notes, 'enormous research potential' (2013, 38). Consequently, it was an ideal case study for the present thesis (see Chapter 1.2.3.1).

This chapter is ultimately designed to provide a reassessment of Colchester, (see Chapter 7.3), using the methodology outlined in Chapter 6, that will be used not only to determine whether the current interpretations of the site, (see Chapter 7.2), are sound, but to provide an answer to the thesis' overarching question: is the term '*oppida*' still valid today? (see Chapter 11). As an *oppidum* Colchester is regularly cited as representing the centralisation of power during the later Iron Age whereby its leading individuals had economic and political pull over the site's hinterland (see Chapter 7.2). Consequently, *oppida* such as Colchester are said to have conformed to core-periphery and central place theory models (Haselgrove 1976, 27-28; Haselgrove 1982, 85; Cunliffe 1988, 2-9; Pitts 2010, 32). In light of this, it was decided that a consideration of Colchester and its relationship to its hinterland would also be considered as part of the current thesis, (Chapter 8). This decision was made to ensure that the best possible understanding of Colchester, and its adherence to current thinking on both its occupation and *oppida* in general, was obtained; a process that had the added benefit of ensuring that as many avenues as possible were explored in answering the thesis' primary research question.

¹ This dating is based on the dates attributed to the Lexden Tumulus (Foster 1986) and the terminal date of Dressel 1b amphorae (Sealey 2009).

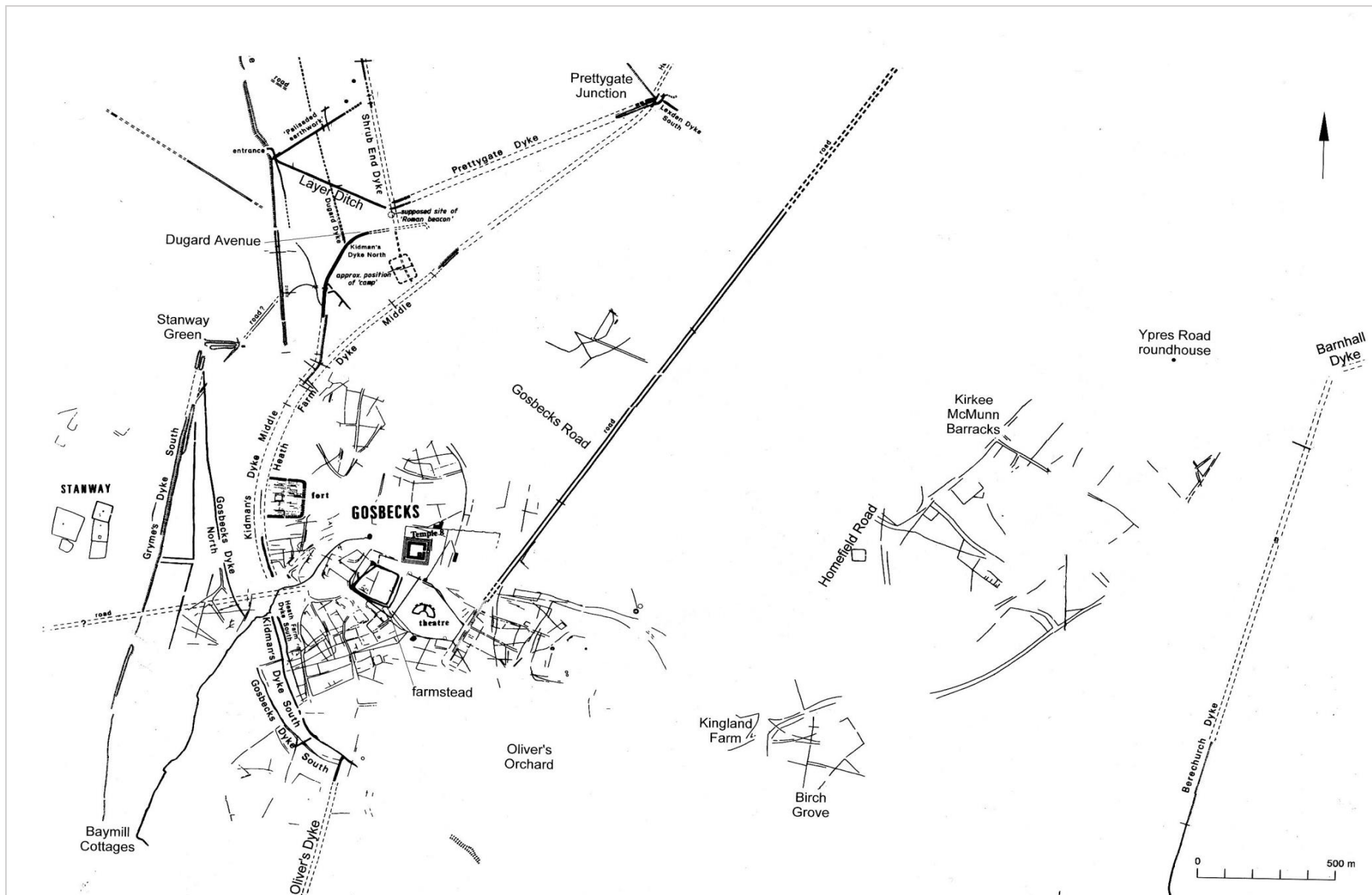


Figure 7.1: Plan from later Iron Age Colchester (after: After Radford 2013b, Fig. 4.8).

Before we engage in a consideration of those elements of the present chapter outlined above however, it is pertinent that we first become better acquainted with the site's archaeological record starting with its morphology and topographical setting.

7.1: Morphology and Topographic Setting

7.1.1: Colchester's Landscape Setting

The topographical setting of Colchester, located in modern north-eastern Essex (Figure 7.2), is one that would have been ideal for sustaining Iron Age life. According to Hawkes and Hull later Iron Age Colchester was 'a natural peninsula of habitable land, sharply demarcated by river and forest.' (1947, 8) To be more specific, the plateau upon which ancient Colchester was sited lies c.30m OD and displays evidence of well drained loamy soils and light woodlands (ibid, 2; Hawkes 1995, 3); key landscape features of Iron Age settlements. The loamy soils would have supported arable cultivation, the primary stimulus of Iron Age economy (see Chapter 4.1); while the light woodlands would have provided timbers for construction, fuel, and coverage suitable for the pannage of pigs (Cunliffe 2003, 15).

Two rivers, (the Colne and Roman), can be said to have bound later Iron Age Colchester, and these too were of considerable import to the site and its inhabitants at this time. The Colne naturally bounds Colchester to the north and east, while in the south-easternmost extent of the settlement it joins the Roman River to form an estuary with tidal waters which flow into the North Sea (Hawkes 1995, 3) (see Figure 7.3). This system of waterways would have provided Colchester with water for sustenance and industrial processes; but in addition to this, it would have allowed the local population to move through the landscape and interact with their neighbours for both social and economic gain. Furthermore, the union of these rivers, to form a coastal estuary, granted the site access to the near Continent by way of the English Channel, thus expanding the site's trading possibilities. Consequently, Colchester appears to have been situated within a landscape well suited to permanent habitation.

7.1.2: Morphology and Associated Archaeological Material

Colchester's morphology comprises a complex web of features spread across the 'c.12 sq. mile [(19 square km)]' (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 45) tract of land the site occupied (see Figure 7.1). These features can be said to represent five sub-sites within Colchester: Sheepen, Gosbecks, The Garrison, Lexden Tumulus, and Stanway Cemetery (see Figure 7.1); and a series of dykes that bound much of the site's expanse (see Chapter 7.1.2.6).

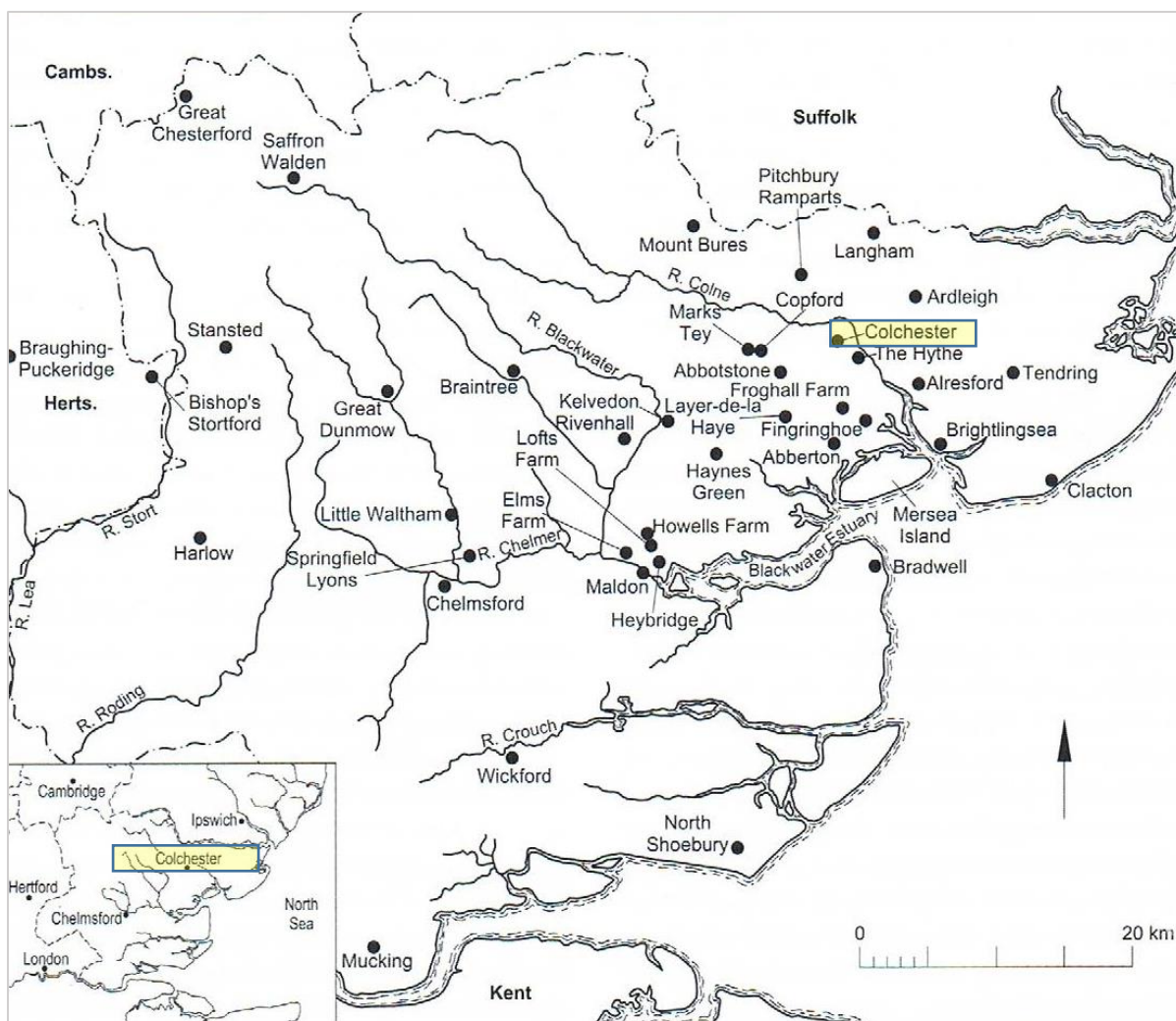


Figure 7.2: Map of modern day Essex highlighting Colchester's location (after: Gascoyne and Radford 2013, Fig.0.1; additions author's own).

During excavation many of the features associated with these sub-sites were found to contain material of later Iron Age date. Despite the relationship between some of these finds and their original contexts being poorly recorded, the data collected during excavation proved to be of considerable value to the thesis, not only because they were used to compile current thinking on the site (see Chapter 7.2), but because the author's interpretations of Colchester (see Chapter 7.3), and the conclusions they reached as a result of these, were also founded in this material. It is therefore pertinent that we now briefly consider the archaeological records of each of Colchester's component parts.

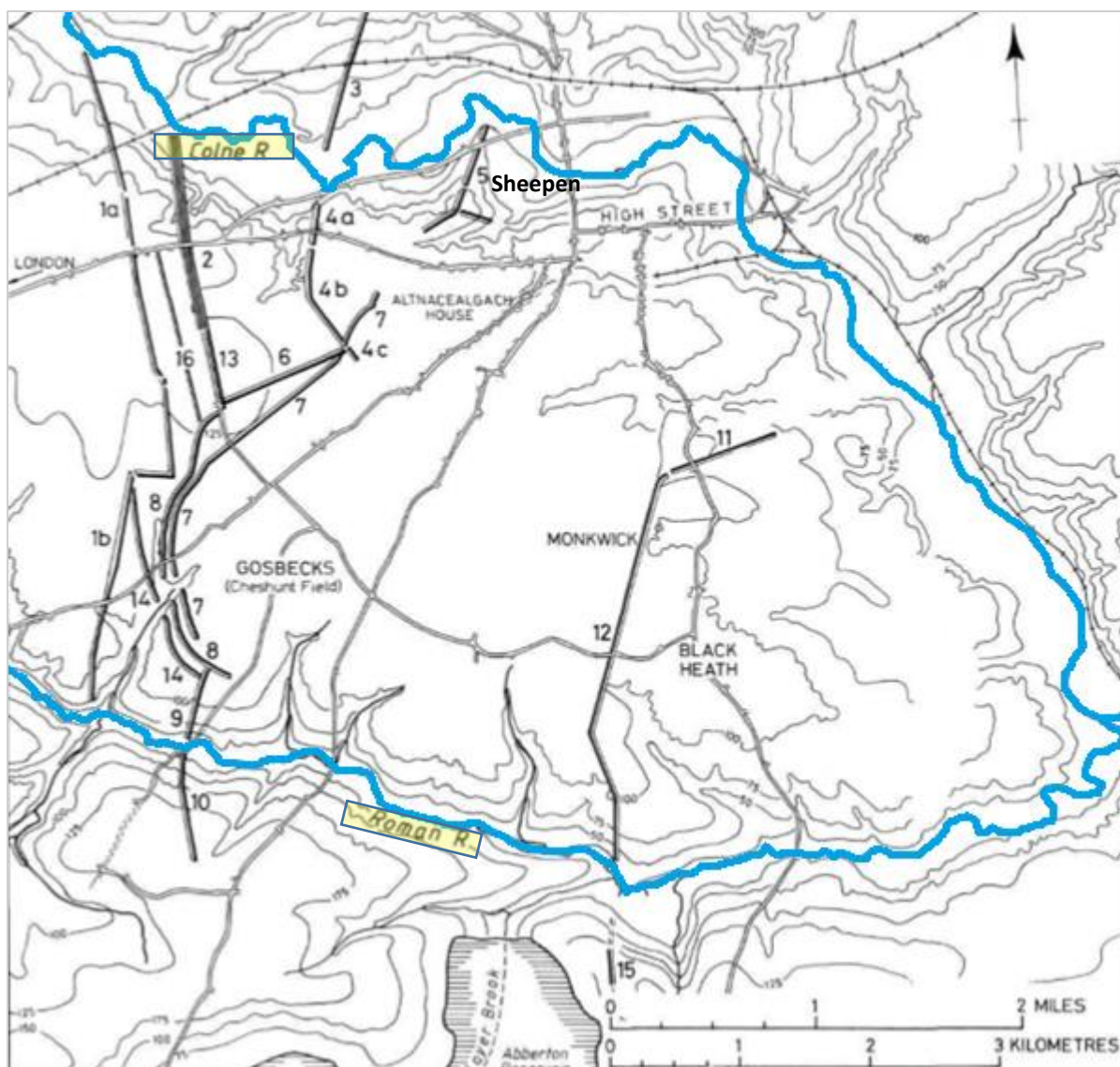


Figure 7.3: Map of Ancient Colchester highlighting the rivers Colne and Roman (after: Hawkes 1995, Fig. 2.1; alterations and additions author's own).

7.1.2.1: Sheepen

Sheepen, or Sheepen Hill, covered a 'quarter of a sq. mile [(0.4 square km)]' (ibid, 45) of Colchester's landscape. The site sat alongside a tributary of the river Colne, and had access to the Sheepen Ford the lowest tide-free crossing on the Colne. Furthermore, the Sheepen Springs provided the site with fresh water (ibid, 45) that could have been used to sustain its population; while the site's standing water, as a collective entity, is believed to have given the site religious significance (Willis 2007, 121-122).

During the 20th Century Sheepen was subject to two major archaeological investigations, one in the 1930s (Hawkes and Hull 1947), and the other the 1970s (Niblett 1985). Although these

investigations overlapped spatially their archaeology will be considered herein as separate entities.

7.1.2.1.1: 1930s Morphology

Work conducted during the 1930s identified six zones of occupation/activity at Sheepen (see Figure 7.4); across which a range of features were identified, including in:

Zone 1:

The Sheepen dyke and the site's north-western entrance; occupation sites, located within the bounds of the Sheepen dykes; pits; and wells (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 66-67),

Zone 2:

Occupation sites, located outside of the Sheepen dyke; and large ditches, filled with domestic/occupation/consumption debris (ibid, 75),

Zone 3:

Ditches and ramparts linked to boundary markers; and Sheepen's western entrance marked out in post-holes (ibid, 87),

Zone 4:

A trackway; a number of substantial pits; and a potential former hut site (ibid, 103),

Zone 5:

Three stretches of the Sheepen dyke, including the south-west entrance to the site; occupation sites, within the bounds of the Sheepen dyke; pits; and sleeper-beam gullies for rectilinear timber buildings (ibid, 118-119),

Zone 6:

Occupation sites, with associated sleeper-beam gullies for rectilinear buildings; an occupation hollow; and a series of pits (ibid, 122-124).

Finally with regards to Sheepen's 1930's morphology it is important to note that the excavation techniques and recording methods employed at this time were not of the same standard as those used today. The site was excavated by non-specialist workers whose appreciation for the value

of context, and what we now term stratigraphic principles in excavation, is likely to have been limited; with, potential, structures made of wood not systematically recognized and finds not grouped by layer/deposit. Consequently, the morphology recorded and presented by Hawkes and Hull (1947) may not be completely accurate, as the features may have been over excavated, not fully recorded, or completely unrecorded. Therefore, we must err on the side of caution and apply good judgment to the identifications of those features presented within Hawkes and Hull's report, rather than taking them at face value. The same must also be said of the artefacts recovered at Sheepen during the 1930s.

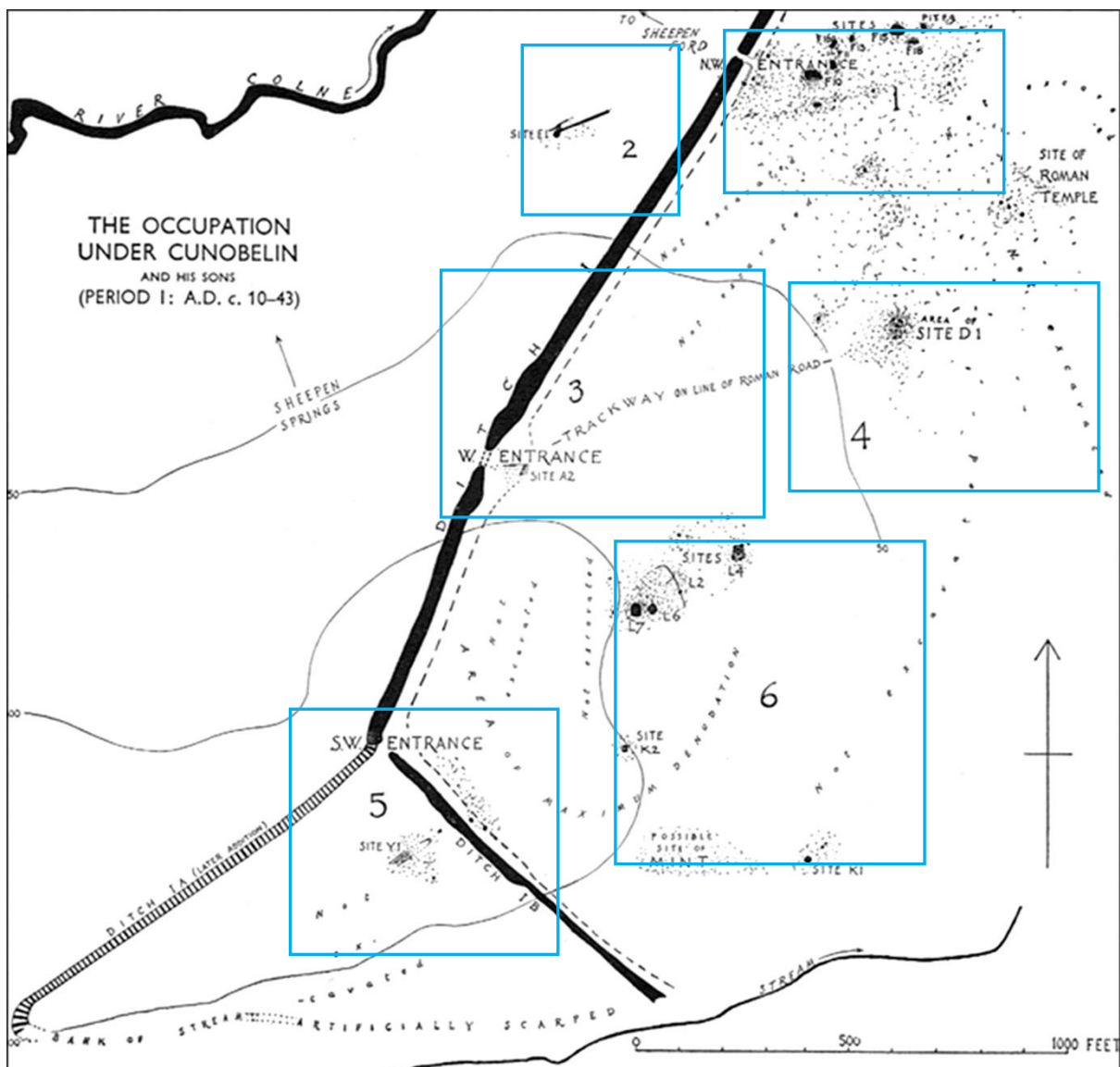


Figure 7.4: Plan from 1930s excavations at Sheepen highlighting the locations of the six regions noted within the text (After Hawkes and Hull 1947, Fig. 2; additions authors own).

7.1.2.1.2: 1930s Artefact Records

Excavations at Sheepen during the 1930s uncovered a wealth of material culture dating from the later Iron Age to the early Anglo Saxon period (ibid). The later Iron Age elements of this dataset can be divided into two broad categories: 1) ceramics vessels (see Appendix 7.1) and 2) coinage (see Appendix 7.4). Other artefacts of possible Iron Age date were also recovered during the 1930s, but these have been omitted both here and elsewhere in the thesis because unfortunately all of this site's evidence is unstratified, and has only patchy dates attributed to it. Consequently, we cannot be sure of these additional artefacts' exact periods of circulation in the same way we can the ceramics and coinage; therefore, its inclusion could have resulted in inaccurate interpretations of its use, and fallible conclusions about Colchester and its status as an *oppidum*.

There are many reasons why this data lacks contextual information, the most likely among them being Fitzpatrick's suppositions that this was a direct result of the way in which evidence was recorded on-site, and/or because some of the site notes were lost prior to the write up and subsequent publication of the material (1997b, 501). Consequently, the catalogues which document the ceramic vessels and coinage recovered at Sheepen during the 1930s, Appendices 7.1 and 7.4 respectively, lack these details, and document only basic information about the artefacts. Furthermore, it is important to note here that within these catalogues, especially that which pertains to the ceramics, the dates provided are based on those attributed to individual vessel forms within the most recent publications to have dealt, in detail, with the individual form types, building on incremental studies; as can be seen in Appendix 7.2

7.1.2.1.3: 1970s Morphology

Archaeological work carried out at Sheepen during the 1970s saw Hawkes and Hulls' Zones 3 and 4 re-excavated, Zone 4 in particular was focused upon during this process after geophysics revealed a number of anomalies within this region (Niblett 1985, 1). Further to this, five additional areas of Sheepen were excavated during the 1970s; and of the seven areas explored in total (see Figure 7.5), three revealed morphology of later Iron Age date: site i, site ii (a-d), and site iii (these are highlighted in Figure 7.5). The features revealed include:

Site i:

Four pits and a compound only identifiable through post-pits (ibid, 5).

Site ii (a-d):

A Claudio-Neronian site many of whose features contained typologically later Iron Age material (ibid, 8-15).

Site iii:

A pit, a refuse deposit/layer, an industrial dump, and a palisade slot (ibid, 15-22).

In addition to the above, Niblett's exploration of Sheepen also led to the identification of a trackway running towards north-eastern Colchester, and a number of pits, a proportion of which were termed refuse pits (ibid, 22-23).

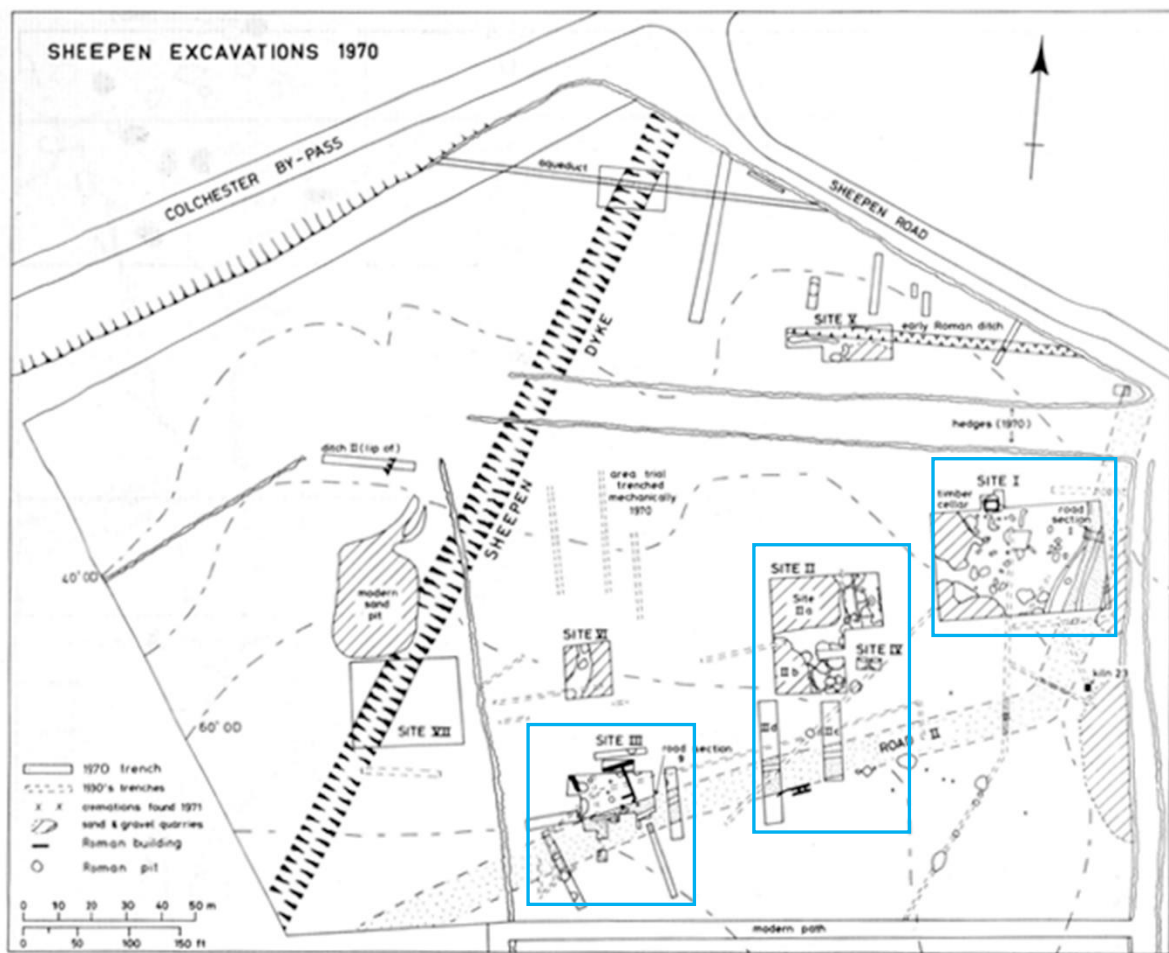


Figure 7.5: Plan of 1970s excavations at Sheepen (after Niblett 1985, Fig.3; additions author's own).

7.1.2.1.4: 1970s Artefact Records

During excavation much of the morphology noted above was found to contain material culture of later Iron Age date. Like the 1930s dataset this material can be divided into two broad categories: 1) ceramic vessels (see Appendix 7.5), and 2) a singular metal artefact² (see Figure 7.6); however, unlike the 1930s data these artefacts do, for the most part, have contextual information attributed to them. Although this may not have always been as precise as one might like,³ it did provide additional information about some of the features, (see Figure 7.7), from which the material was recovered, meaning that a better level of understanding about the artefacts and the processes surrounding their deposition could be gained.

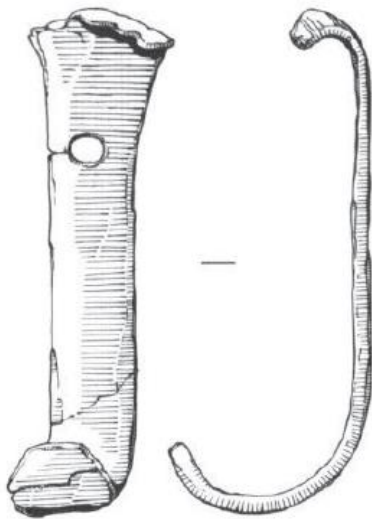


Figure 7.6: Iron Strip with rivet hole (Niblett 1985, 3D7). Sole Iron Age metal find from the Sheepen 1970s excavations; recovered from Context 143. (After Niblett 1985. Fig. 77.1)

² The author believes that only one additional artefact is noted within the report detailing the 1970s excavations at Sheepen, (Niblett 1985), not because this was the only find discovered, but because it was the only one worthy of publication.

³ In other words they provide context numbers, but do not tell us from where in that context they arose or whether the feature to which they pertain contained additional stratigraphic layers.

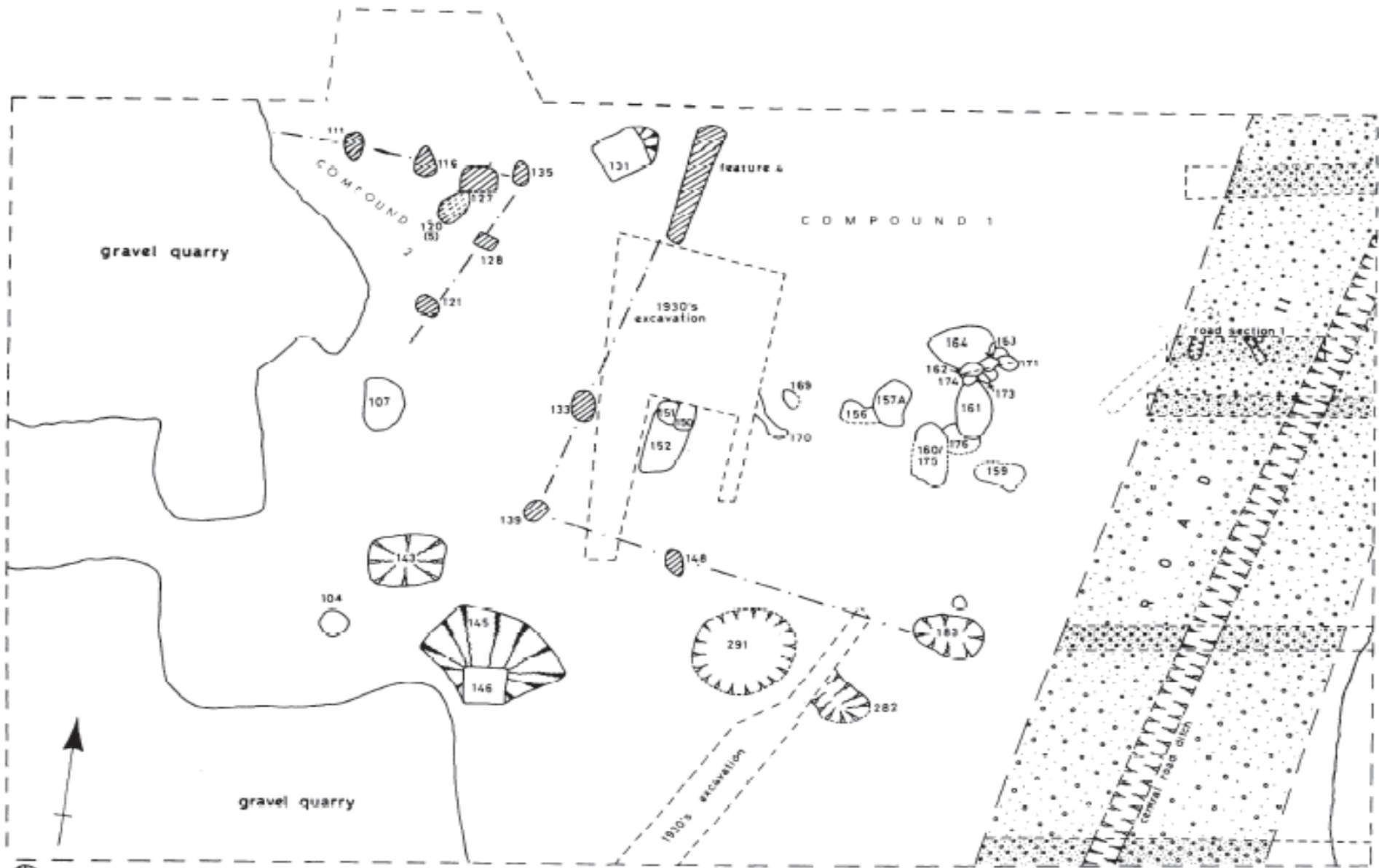


Figure 7.7: Plan of excavations at Sheepen during the 1970s showing the features to have produced the archaeological material discussed in Chapter 7.1.2.1.4. (after: Niblett 1985, Fig. 4).

7.1.2.2: Gosbecks

7.1.2.2.1: Morphology

The site of Gosbecks, situated c.4 km south-west of modern Colchester (Hawkes 1995, 7), is one that has contributed heavily to the interpretations of the site's later Iron Age occupation (see Chapter 7.2). The most impressive feature at Gosbecks, identified through aerial photography, comprises a large complex including a trapezoidal enclosure containing two features suggested to represent round-houses (Creighton 2006, 132; Hull 1958, 259; Radford 2013a, 45) (see Figure 7.8). North of this is a further complex,⁴ of ditches and pits (see Figure 7.9⁵), containing the remains of two potential buildings represented on the ground by a series of substantive stake-holes (Benfield 2002). Furthermore, there also exist a number of trackways and additional ditches within the Gosbecks' landscape, all of which were again identified through aerial reconnaissance (Brooks *et al* 1995); these have been identified as components of later Iron Age/Early Roman field systems concerned with the management of livestock (Crummy 1995c, 116).

In addition to the above, the site also contained what appears to have been a sanctuary (Dunnett 1971; Wilson 1977) that resembles 'the class of rural sacred sites well known from Gaul' (Dunnett 1971, 43). Furthermore, Dunnett (1971) and Wilson (1977) have speculated that it was the importance of this sanctuary that led to the continued development of this site during the Roman period; and in particular the construction of Gosbecks' early Roman Fort (Wilson 1977), a feature that will be considered in more detail in Chapter 7.3.4.2 below.

7.1.2.2.2: Artefact Records

Gosbecks' material record is both impressive and extensive, comprising six broad categories of artefact: 1) ceramic vessels, (see Appendix 7.6), 2) miscellaneous ceramics, 3) metalwork (including brooches), 4) coins, 5) stone artefacts, and 6) environmental evidence; for cataloguing purposes categories 2 – 6 are grouped together in Appendix 7.7. These artefacts were all recovered from sound contexts, (see Appendices 7.6-7.7); however, the report from which this information was primarily collated contained limited information about the dates, origins, and quantities of the non-ceramic evidence therefore the details provided in relation to

⁴ This is the complex from which the material culture discussed in Chapter 7.3 was recovered.

⁵ This figure also illustrates the contexts from which the evidence analysed within Chapter 7.3 was recovered.



Figure 7.8: Plan of Gosbecks showing the location of the 'Trapezoidal Enclosure' (highlighted). Inset (Top right): a detailed plan of the 'Trapezoidal Enclosure' illustrating the position of the so-called round-houses (Main image after: Crummy 1995d, Fig. 5.1; Inset after: Crummy 1995d, Fig. 5.2; additions authors own).

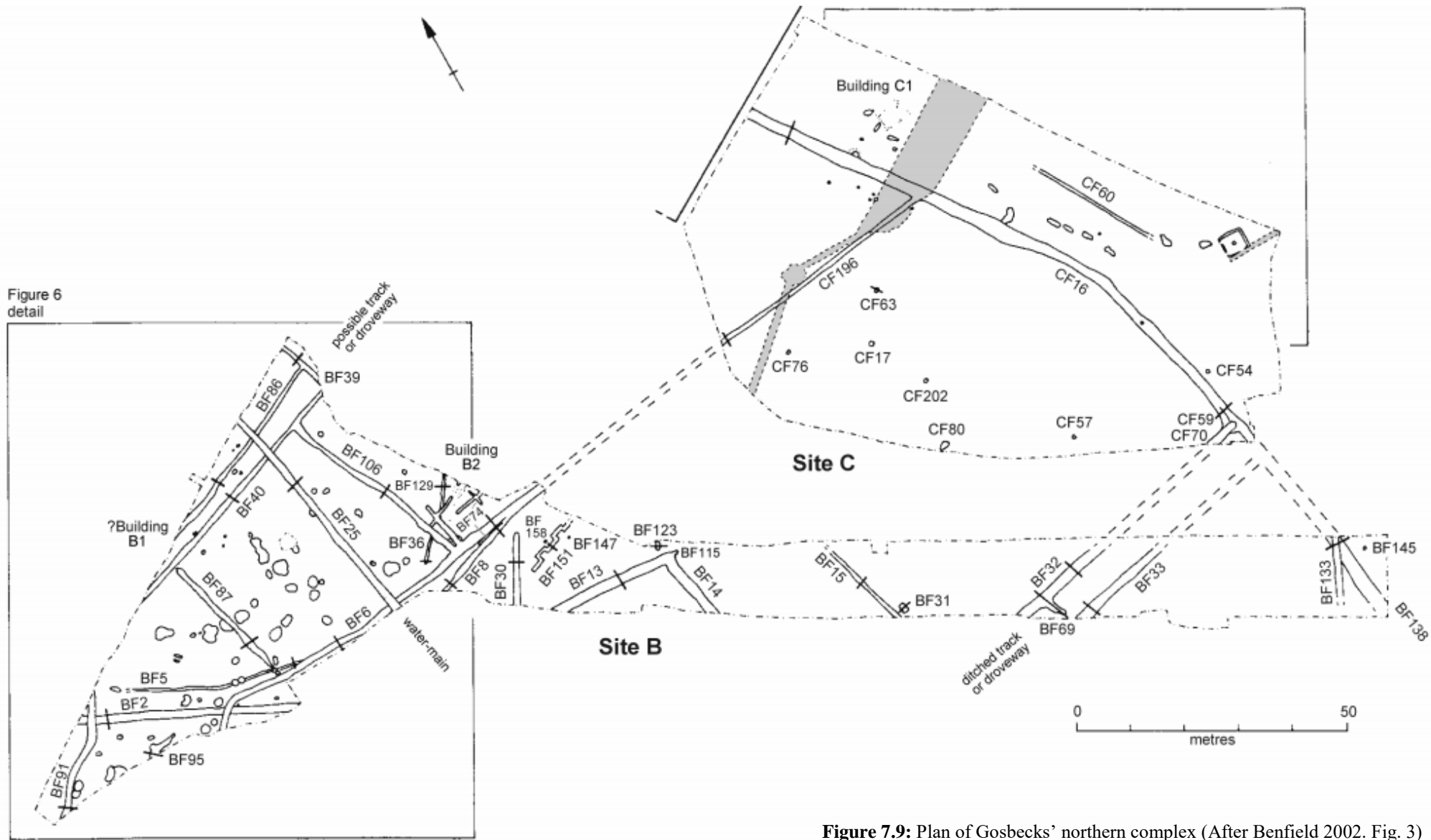


Figure 6
detail

Figure 7.9: Plan of Gosbecks' northern complex (After Benfield 2002, Fig. 3)

this in Appendix 7.7 are not as complete, or thorough, as one might have liked.⁶ Nevertheless, the Gosbecks dataset proved to be of considerable import to the author's consideration of Colchester for the present thesis.

7.1.2.3: The Garrison

7.1.2.3.1: Morphology

Since c.2000 the area of The Garrison, (a military complex of the modern era), located within what would have comprised the eastern region of later Iron Age Colchester (Brooks 2004, 1) (see Figure 7.10), has been the focus of much archaeological attention. The excavations conducted in this region have focused on three primary sites, each of which contains a plethora of features.

The first of these excavations took place in 2002 at the Kirkee McMunn Barracks (Brooks 2002a; 2002b; 2002c; 2002d; 2002e); and revealed an extensive series of later Iron Age/early Roman field systems, in addition to a number of trackways and the occasional pit.

The second group of excavations explored three different regions of The Garrison, and exposed:

- At Earlswood Way, three ditched trackways denoting an Iron Age field system with associated droeways (Crossan and Mansefield 2004, 17).
- On The Roman Way, a major later Iron Age trackway leading into south-eastern Colchester (ibid, 20).
- At Ypres Road, the boundary ditch of a roughly rectangular enclosure; dominating the interior of which was a roundhouse thought to date to between 75 and 25 BC (pers. comm. Dr Paul Sealey⁷) (ibid, 20).

The final group of excavations to have taken place at The Garrison were centred on the Hyderabad, Meeanee and Goojerat Barracks (Brooks 2011). At the Hyderabad and Meeanee

⁶ This means that unless this information has been provided, or in the case of the dates and origins of some artefacts, such as brooches, obtained from other sources, it has been omitted. During analysis the currency of much of this material was therefore based upon the dates of the ceramics alongside which it was deposited, a sound process given that the vessels were recovered from stratified contexts.

⁷ The dating of this roundhouse is however challenging because within its centre a cremation was discovered. This was placed within a pot of typologically middle Iron Age style, however the practice of placing cremations within ceramic vessels is one usually attributed to the later Iron Age (Crossan and Mansefield 2004, 20).



Fig 7.10: Plan of The Garrison (inset right) within Colchester. (After Radford 2013b, Fig. 4.8; additions are authors own)

Barracks a previously unknown Iron Age dyke was discovered, while work at the Goojerat Barracks led to the identification of a farmstead of Iron Age conception (ibid, 8-9).

Further to the above, additional archaeological exploration in this area has given rise to the knowledge of an impressive trackway that ran westwards from The Garrison towards those at Gosbecks to which it likely connected (Crummy 2003, 8). Watching briefs at The Garrison meanwhile, have noted the existence of a ditch and pit of later Iron Age date, and two further pits within an area known for its extensive later Iron Age field systems (Crossan 2003).

7.1.2.3.2: Artefact Records

The relative newness of the archaeological discoveries at The Garrison, and the lack of a complete report, means that there was only a minimal finds record with which the author could work for the purpose of the current thesis.⁸ Furthermore, unlike the datasets from Sheepen and Gosbecks, that which pertains to The Garrison contains only one category of artefact: ceramic vessels (see Appendix 7.8). Nevertheless, this dataset contains stratigraphic information, and thus aided interpretations of Colchester and its later Iron Age occupation; as Chapter 7.3 of the current chapter illustrates.

7.1.2.4: Lexden

7.1.2.4.1: Morphology

Lexden comprises two funerary features; the first, and arguably most famous, of these is ‘The Lexden Tumulus’ (Laver 1927; Foster 1986), and the second, the lesser known ‘Lexden Cemetery’ (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 3; Shimmin 2011). At a distance of 0.8km from Sheepen (Foster 1986, 3) we can assume that the deceased within both the Lexden Tumulus, and Lexden Cemetery had once populated later Iron Age Colchester, a probability forwarded by both Crummy (1974, 6) and Shimmin (2011, 26). For the purposes of the thesis however we will be focusing solely upon the Lexden Tumulus as the archaeological record for the Lexden Cemetery, albeit patchy and largely unreliable, suggests that the site was primarily utilised during the Roman era, and not the later Iron Age (Shimmin 2011).

⁸ Despite this, a number of interpretations of the site’s use during the later Iron Age (see Chapter 7.2) exist within the current literature, while the somewhat limited archaeological record has proven of considerable value within the present investigation (see Chapter 7.3).

The Lexden Tumulus, situated c.182 m from the Lexden Dyke (Foster 1986, 1), is contained ‘within the extensive dyke system’ (ibid, 1) that existed around the heart of later Iron Age/Roman Colchester. The first excavations on the tumulus, those conducted by Laver (1927), revealed a grave-pit containing an impressive array of artefacts (see Chapter 7.1.2.4.2). These artefacts bear resemblance to those located within the Belgian Tumuli, (situated in north-eastern Gaul/modern day Belgium), despite this particular burial tradition extending into the second century AD (e.g. Tungrorum (Crowley 2009), Berlingen (Roosens 1973), Helshoven (Roosens 1974), Limberger (Roosens 1976)); as well as a number of British burials of similar later Iron Age date, including Folly Lane (Niblett 1993; 2006) and the Welwyn Burials (Stead 1967) in Hertfordshire.

One further element of this site’s morphology to be considered is the mound that is no longer visible to its former height today. This feature is of interest because the dykes constructed at Colchester during the Roman era deliberately avoided this burial (Crummy 1974, 6; Rodwell 1976, 344); suggesting the site was still a significant marker within the landscape at this time (Creighton 2006, 133-135).

7.1.2.4.2: Artefact Records

The artefacts recovered during excavations on the Lexden Tumulus can be divided into five broad categories: 1) ceramic vessels (see Appendix 7.9), 2) metalwork, 3) textiles, 4) organic materials, and 5) environmental evidence (categories 2-5 have been grouped together in Appendix 7.10).

7.1.2.5: The Stanway Cemetery

7.1.2.5.1: Morphology

The Stanway Cemetery is situated outside of Colchester’s dyke system on a flat plateau of land (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 1). This plateau is sited c.1.5 km to the west of Gosbecks and 4 km to the south-west of Sheepen (ibid, 1).

This site’s morphology provides evidence of continuous Iron Age occupation during the middle and later Iron Ages in the form of an extensive and well developed middle Iron Age farmstead enclosure (Crummy 2001; P. Crummy 2013; Crummy *et al.* 2007). Following the abandonment of this enclosure, ‘Enclosure 2’ on the plan (Figure 7.11), during the formative

years of the later Iron Age four further enclosures were established; but these, rather than being associated with daily life, were associated with Colchester's dead.

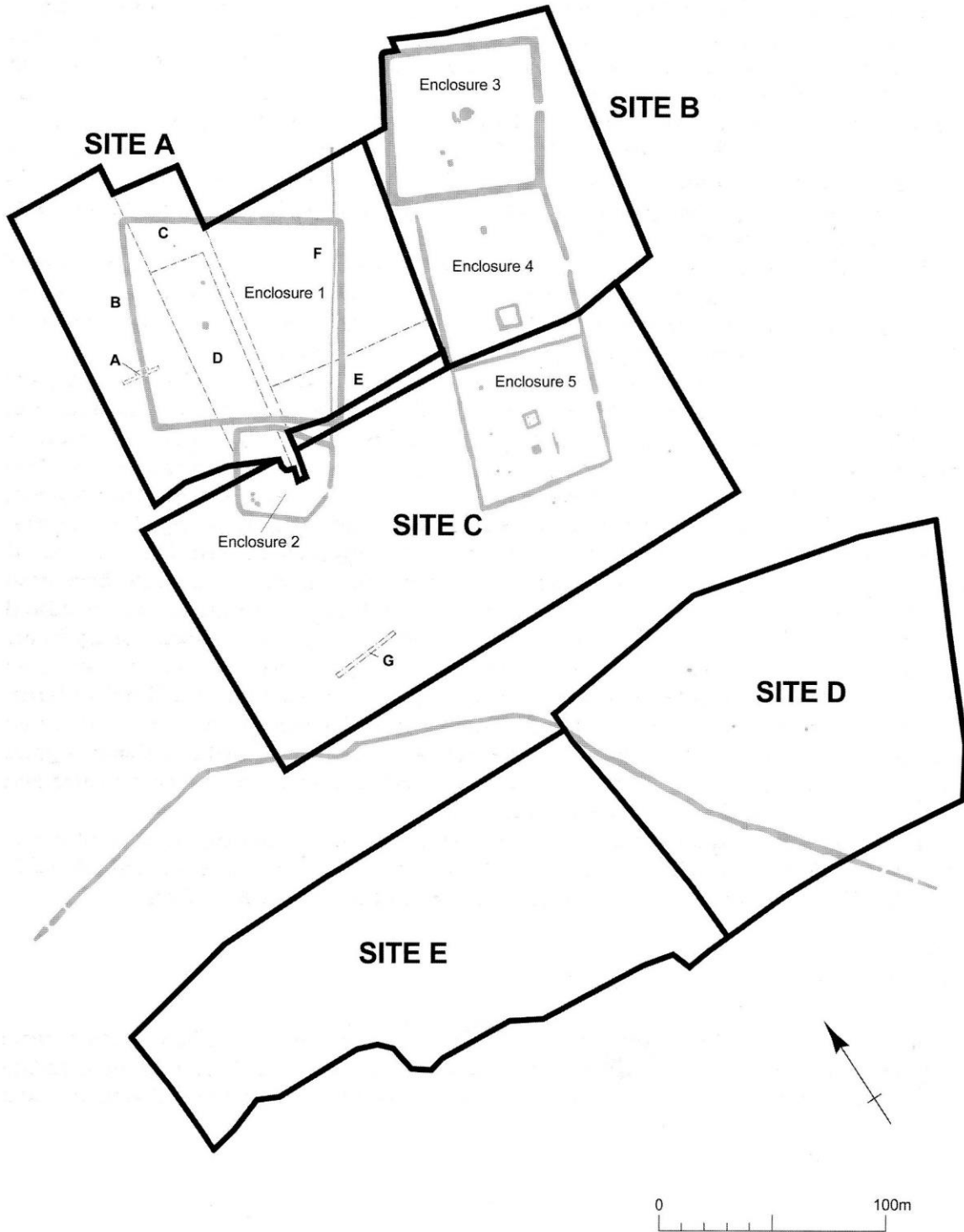


Figure 7.11: Layout of the five enclosures at the Stanway Cemetery (after Crummy *et.al.* 2007, Fig. 4)

The earliest of these enclosures, Enclosure 1, dates to c.50 BC, while Enclosures 3-5 are believed to have been established between c.AD 40–60 (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 10). Enclosure 1 contained a single burial chamber containing a cremation in a pot; Enclosure 3 a mortuary enclosure, burial chamber, and evidence of three individual burials; Enclosure 4 a number of chambers but no burials; while Enclosure 5 mirrored Enclosure 3, but rather than containing three burials it contained four (*ibid.*, 10).

7.1.2.5.2: Artefact Records

Contained within these many features was an array of material culture that, much like that recovered from Gosbecks and the Lexden Tumulus, can be divided into numerous sub-categories, in this case eight: 1) ceramic vessels (Appendix 7.11), 2) miscellaneous ceramic objects, 3) metalwork, 4) coins, 5) stone, 6) glass, 7) textiles, and 8) organic materials (groups 2–8 have been grouped together in one catalogue (see Appendix 7.12)). Furthermore, like the archaeological material recovered elsewhere at Colchester, with the exception of the 1930s assemblages from Sheepen, these datasets are associated with sound stratigraphic information.

7.1.2.6: The Dykes

One final and prominent feature of Colchester's ancient landscape to be considered here are the dykes that bound much of its expanse. Within 'Camulodunum 2' Hawkes identified sixteen dykes at Colchester (1995, 24-52) (see Figure 7.12); while, recent excavations at The Garrison have led to the discovery of a seventeenth (Brooks 2011). Together these dykes covered a collective length of at least 12.6 km,⁹ and undoubtedly made an impressive mark upon the landscape, especially if they were embellished with palisades.

Today there are unfortunately a number of uncertainties associated with the dating of these features, with some originally thought to be of Iron Age date now believed to span from the early Roman period (Fitzpatrick 1997, 501) (see Table 7.1). Despite this, and due to the impact these structures have had upon interpretations of Colchester since the 18th Century (see Chapter 7.2) all sixteen, along with their lengths and dates, have been included for consideration in Table 7.1. Apart from their inclusion here, these features have largely been excluded from the

⁹ This length is based only on the known lengths (see Table 7.1), thus it is likely they spanned, in reality, an even greater length.

thesis because in the absence of sound dating we cannot verify their existence during the later Iron Age; therefore a detailed analysis of a questionable source of data, such as this, could diminish the importance of the interpretations borne from analyses of the evidence outlined above, Chapters 7.1.2.1–7.1.2.5, and in doing so lead to the presentation of imperfect conclusions.

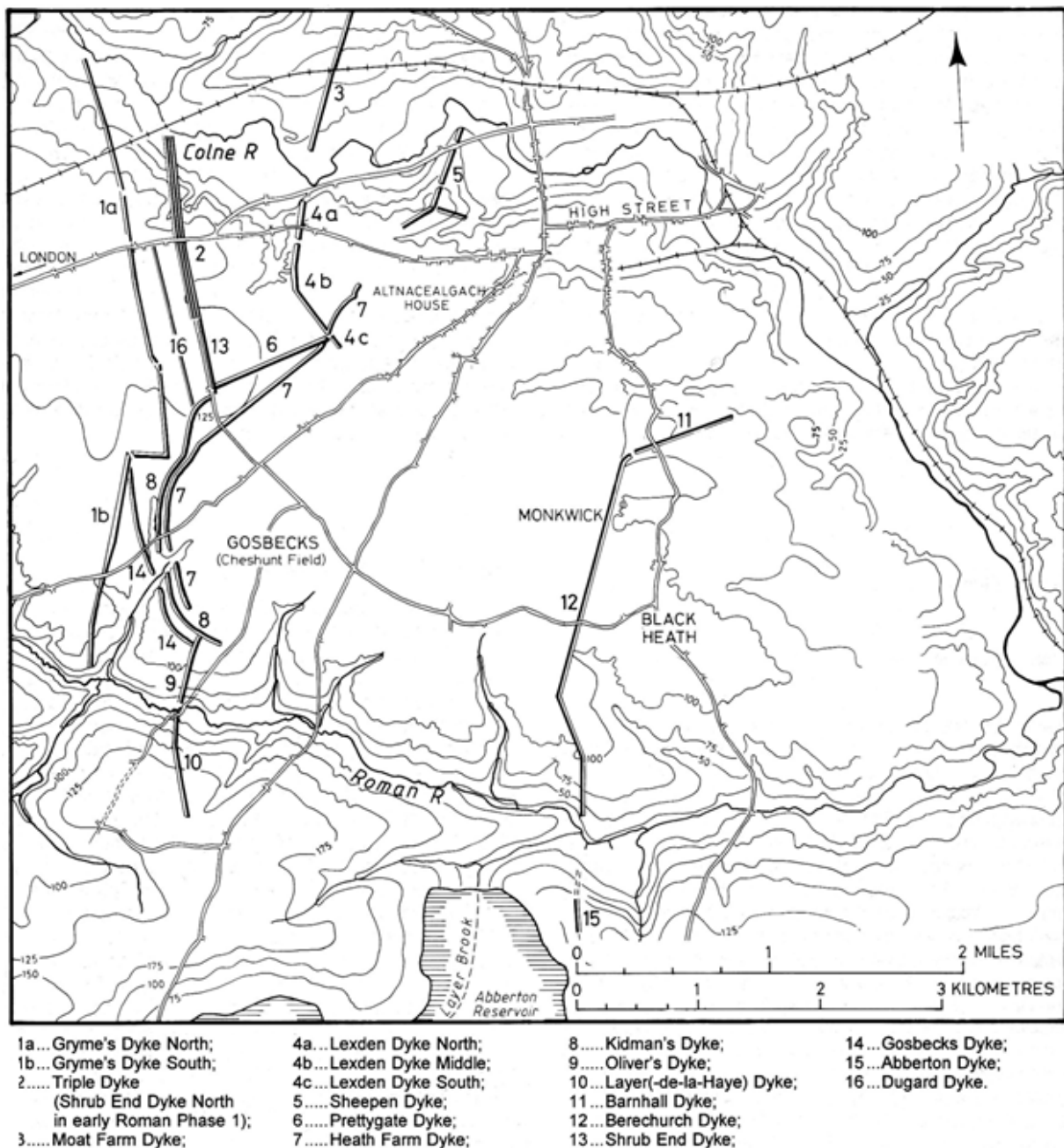


Figure 7.12: Plan of the dykes which bound Colchester (After: Hawkes 1995, Fig. 2.1)

Dyke	Length	Attributed Dates
Abberton Dyke	c.759m	?Roman
Berechurch Dyke and Barnhill Dyke Sector	c.600m	Iron Age/Roman
Dugard Dyke	c.443m	Roman
Gosbecks Dyke	c.1.31km	Iron Age/Roman
Grymes Dyke	c.2km	Roman
Heath Farm Dyke	c.2km	Iron Age/Roman
Kidman's Dyke	Not Published	?Iron Age
Layer(-de-la-Haye) Dyke	c.370m	?Iron Age
Lexden Dyke	c.1.19km	After c.AD.10
Oliver's Dyke	Not Published	Not published
Prettygate Dyke	c.1km	?Iron Age
The Rampers	c.2km	Not published
Sheepen Dyke	c.980m	After c.AD.10
Shrub End Dyke	Not Published	Iron Age/Roman
Triple Dyke	Not Published	Roman, After c.AD.43
Hyderabad and Meeanee Barracks	Not Published	Iron Age

Table 7.1: Colchester's Dykes: dates and lengths (Based on information from Hawkes 1995, 24 -52; Brooks 2011).

7.2: Existing Theories

Since the 1st Century BC Colchester has been the focus of much literature documenting later Iron Age Britain and its occupants. Before we contemplate how Colchester has been depicted within this literature however, we need to first note that while many of the interpretations to be discussed herein have foundations within the evidence documented above, (Chapter 7.1), none of them take into account every aspect of this; that is to say current thinking is based only on a fraction of the archaeological record, rather than the archaeological record as a whole. Meanwhile, those that have few/no roots within the archaeological record tend to be influenced by comments made in the ancient literature about both Colchester and ancient Britain. Consequently, this assessment of the literature will allow the author to ascertain how well existing interpretations marry up with their conclusions of the site's later Iron Age occupation, which in turn will ensure that their conclusions about whether the term *oppida* is still valid today are well rounded, because much of the existing literature agrees on one point: Colchester was an *oppidum*. This process will therefore allow us insight into how this case site has come to be understood as such, which in turn gives us a greater appreciation of its relevance when applied to multiple sites.

7.2.1: Ancient Sources

The Ancient sources that bear reference to later Iron Age Colchester, (*Camulodunum*), fall into two categories:

1. Those which directly refer to Colchester/*Camulodunum* and/or its later Iron Age occupants; namely Cunobelin.
2. Those which allude to Colchester/*Camulodunum* and its occupants.

Cassius Dio's text *Roman History* falls into the first of the aforementioned categories, and states that: '*Camulodunum*, [was] the capital of Cynobellinus'¹⁰ (60.20.4), and a *basileon*¹¹ (Cassius Dio *cf.* Radford 2013b, 34). In light of this, it is possible that Dio was the first to state that Colchester was a royal centre overseen by Cunobelin. However, as it is generally thought that Suetonius' mention of a '*Britannorum rex*'¹² (*Caligula*, 44) within his *Twelve Caesars* is actually a reference to Cunobelin, the notion that Colchester was home to a king could have been born up to a century before the publication of Cassius Dio's *Roman History* in the 2nd Century AD.

The second group of ancient sources to be considered here comprises Caesar's *Conquest of Gaul* and Strabo's *Geography*. Within the former of these texts Caesar provides the earliest known reference to the Trinovantes (*The Conquest of Gaul*, 5.1), who, modern scholars tell us, ruled over the area in which Colchester is situated prior to the rule of Cunobelin (e.g. Dunnet 1975; Sealey 2004, 15). Meanwhile, Strabo states that 'some of the princes [in Britain], by their embassies and solicitations, obtained the friendship of Augustus Caesar, [and] brought the whole island into intimate union with the Romans' (*Geography*, 4.5.3). Although this does not bear direct reference to later Iron Age Colchester, it has long been thought that the occupant of the Lexden Tumulus was a friendly king, whose grave goods could be read as evidence for the relationship that existed between the grave's occupant and Rome (Creighton 2006, 131).

7.2.2: 18th Century

The sources discussed here are the oldest modern documents to present interpretations of later Iron Age Colchester. These sources contain a number of ideas about Colchester that are based on observations of the site's landscape coupled with the contents of the ancient sources.

¹⁰ Cunobelin

¹¹ A royal seat of power

¹² King of Britons

Six key pieces were published on later Iron Age Colchester during this century: the first by Reverend Thomas Lufkin and Payler Smith (1722), the second, third, and fourth by Philip Morant (1745; 1748; 1758), the fifth by William Stukeley (1759), and the sixth by John Chapman and Peter Andre (1777). In July 1722 Reverend Thomas Lufkin and Payler Smith, antiquarian cartographers, produced the first recorded survey of Colchester's dyke system (Hawkes 1995, 10; Radford 2013b, 36). Using the information recorded by Lufkin and Smith, Morant (1745 *cf.* Hawkes 1995, Fig. 2.4) published the second of the six 18th Century documents: his interpretation of the positioning of Colchester's dykes; this can be seen in Figure 7.13.

Three years after the publication of this plan, Morant published: '*The History and Antiquities of the Most Ancient Town and Borough of Colchester*' within which he presented his ideas on later Iron Age Colchester; stating that during the late 1st Century BC and early 1st Century AD 'it is most probable that Britain was divided into several districts of governments; who had their petty kings, and chose a general from amongst themselves in time of war' (1748, 17). Following this publication Morant once again turned his attention to Colchester's dykes.

In the summer of 1758 Morant published a series of sketch plans of the dykes in Lexden, (see Figures 7.14-7.15) (Hawkes 1995, 10; Radford 2013b, 36), upon which he notes the rough location of what he terms the 'Prasutagi tumulus' (Figure 7.15); suggesting that he believed what is today known as the Lexden Tumulus contained the remains of the famed King of the Iceni, and husband to Boudicca, Prasutagus (Hingley and Unwin 2005).

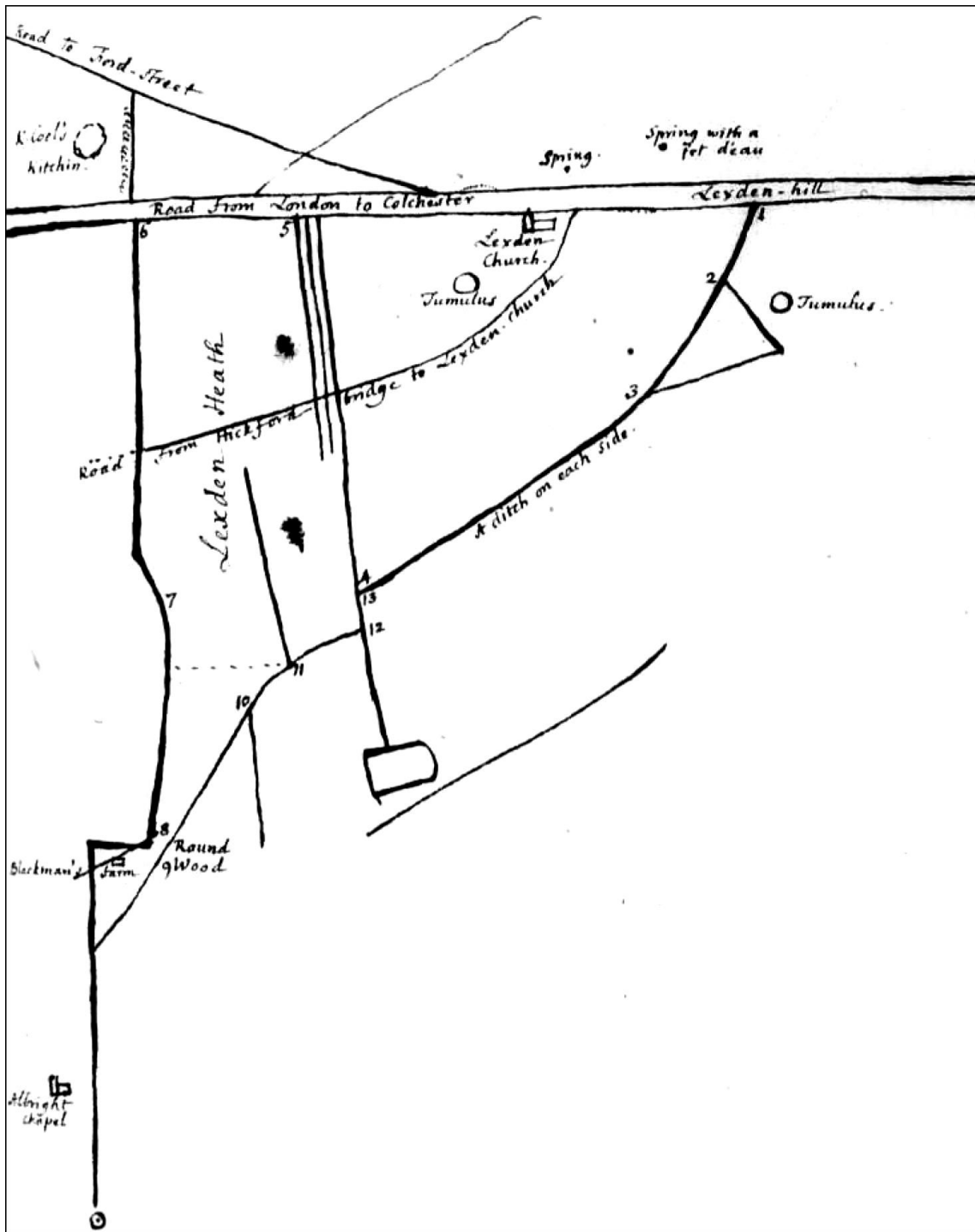


Figure 7.13: Morant's 1745 interpretation of Lufkin and Smith's survey of Colchester's dykes (after: Hawkes 1995, Fig. 2.4). (NB. North is to the top of the plan).

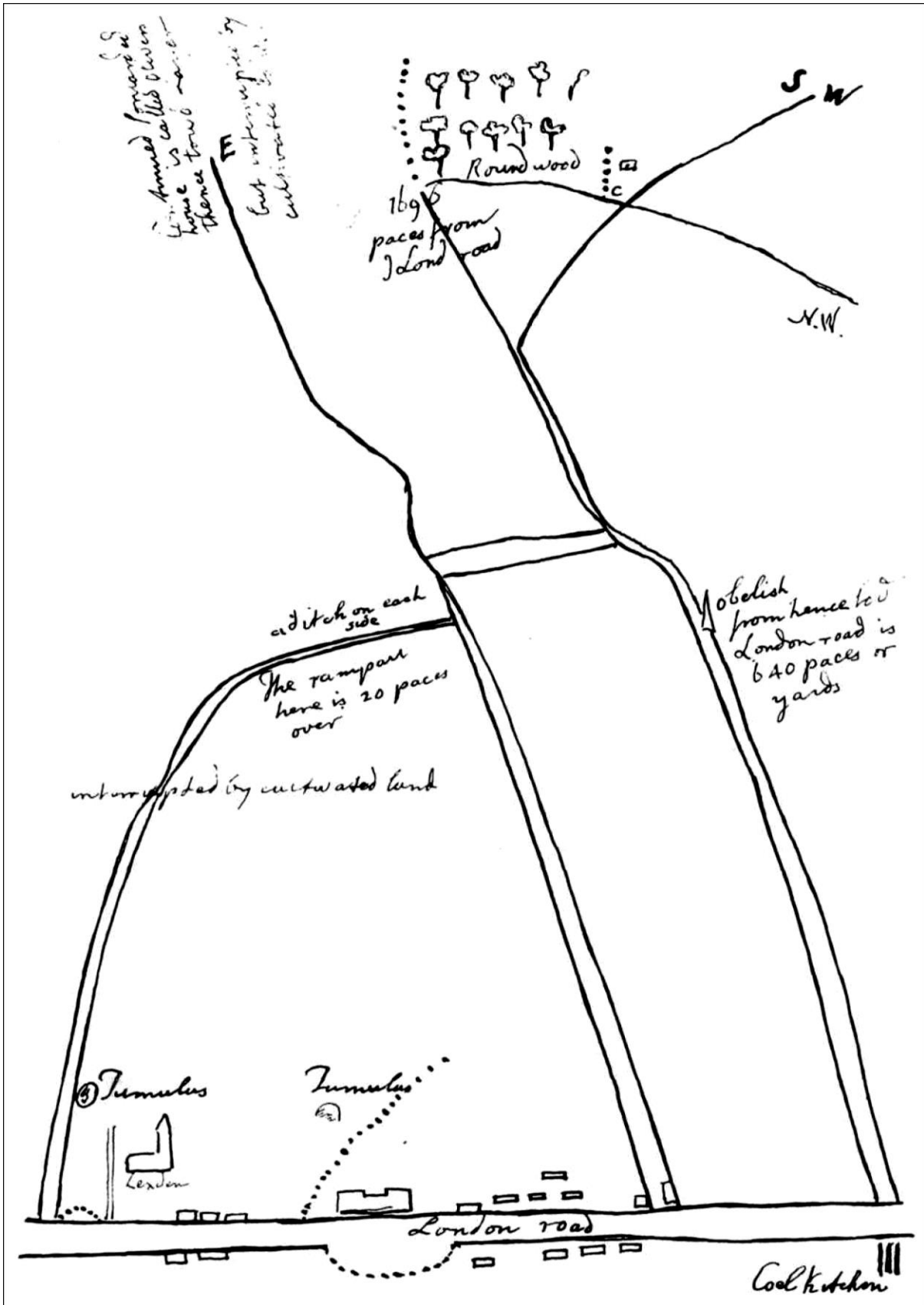


Figure 7.14: Morant's 1758 sketch plan of the dykes within the Lexden region of Colchester (after: Hawkes 1995, Fig. 2.2). (NB. North is to the bottom of this plan).

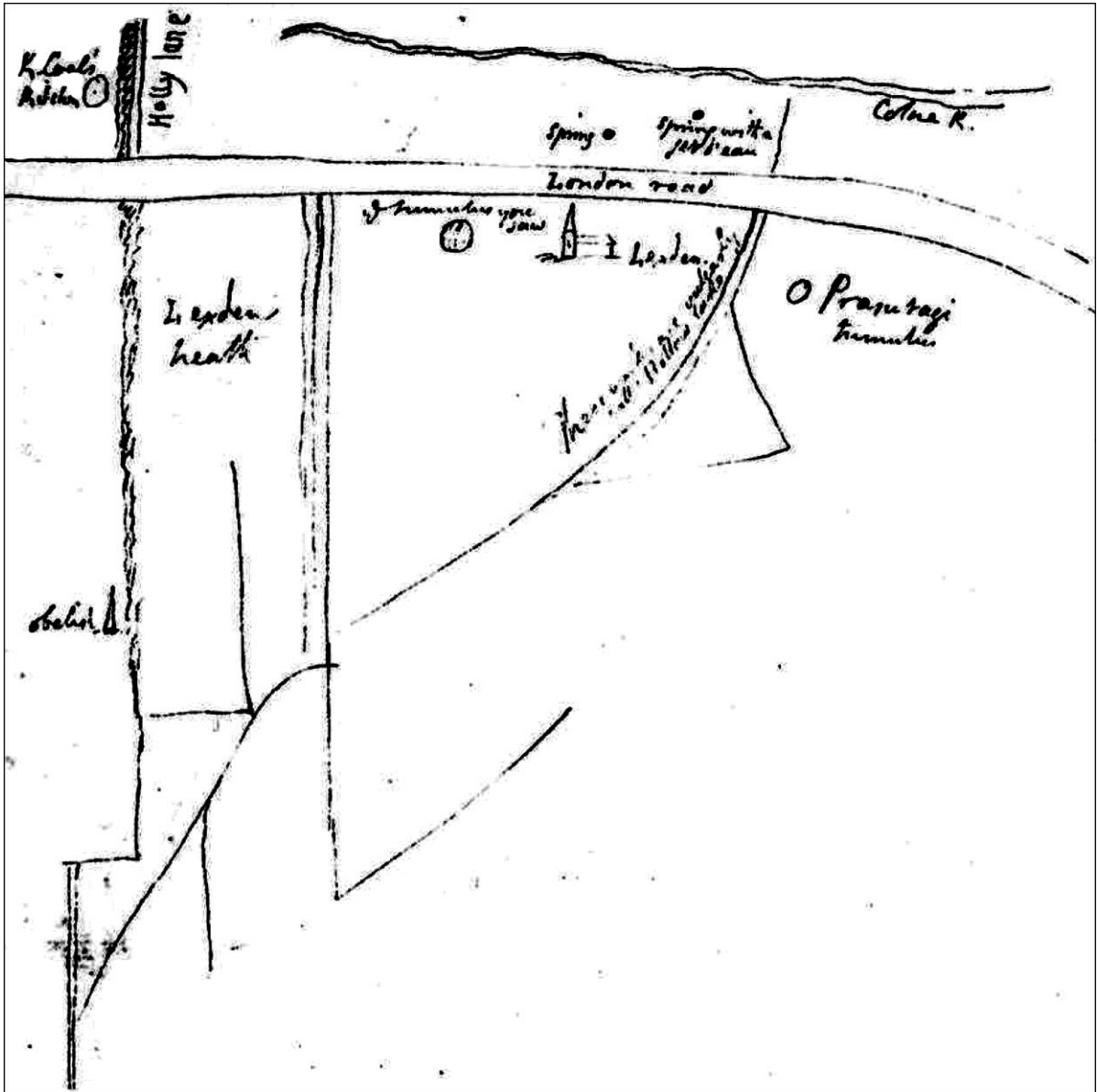


Figure 7.15: Another of Morant's 1758 sketch plans documenting the dykes in the Lexden Region of Colchester (after: Hawkes 1995, Fig. 2.3). (NB. North is to the top of the plan).

The year after Morant published his sketch plans of the dykes of Colchester, William Stukeley (1759) published a series of images and maps documenting Colchester's landscape (Hawkes 1995, 17); upon which he provided interpretations of some of this landscape's most characteristic features: the triple dyke and the Lexden Tumulus. On his images/maps depicting the triple dyke, we see evidence of Stukeley having pondered this monument's use through his labelling of it as both a race course and Cunobelin's circus (ibid, 17) (Figures 7.16-7.18). In addition to this, on those images to depict what appears to be the Lexden Tumulus Stukeley labels the grave as belonging to Cunobelin (see Figures 7.17-7.19).

The last of the 18th Century documents to provide insight into later Iron Age Colchester is the map produced by cartographers John Chapman and Peter Andre in 1777. This map is part of a survey the cartographers conducted over the whole of Essex (Hawkes 1995, 18), with the portion documenting Colchester once again detailing the layout of the dykes in Lexden (see Figure 7.20), but unlike its predecessors this map was produced on a scale of half an inch to a mile (ibid, 18), therefore it can be considered a more accurate representation of these features than those produced by either Morant or Stukeley earlier in the century.

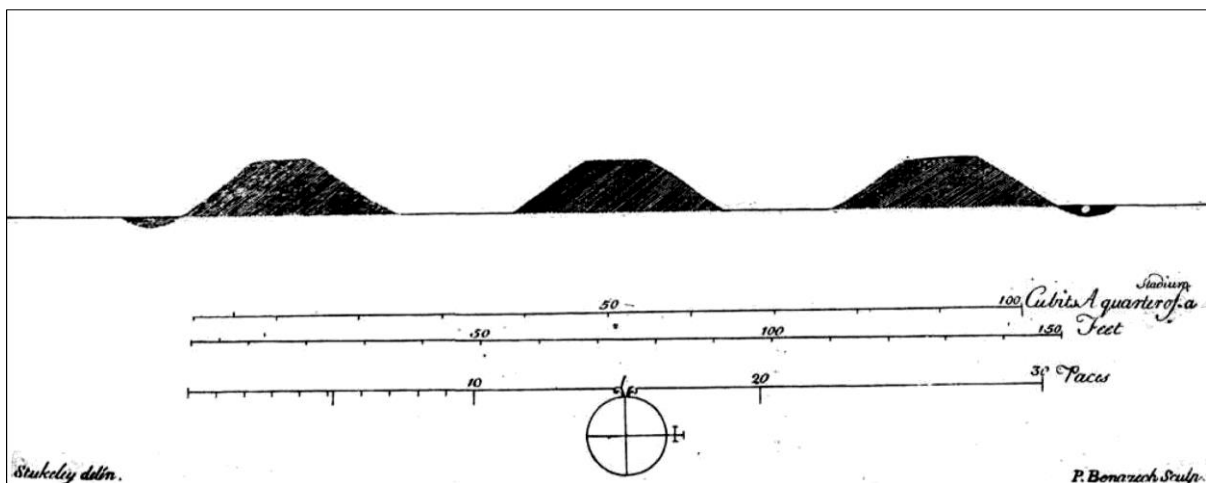


Figure 7.16: William Stukeley's 1759 profile of the Triple Dyke (after: Hawkes 1995, Fig. 2.6).

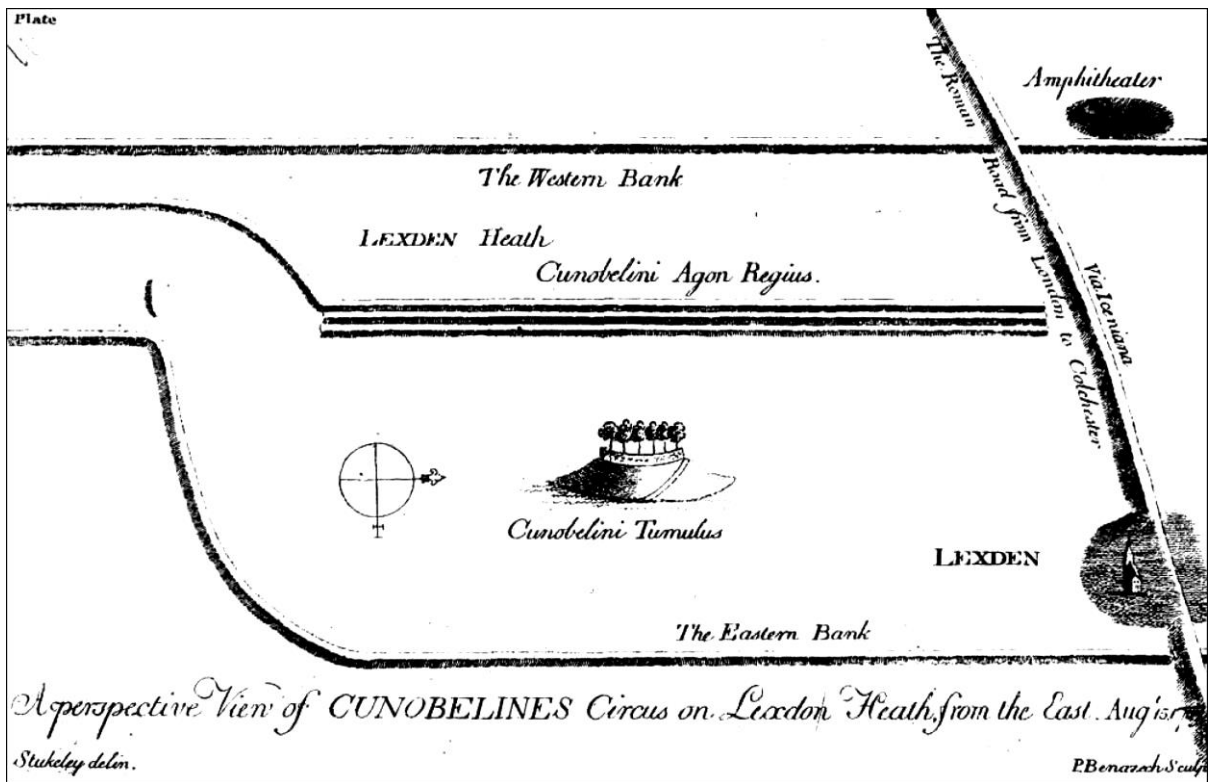


Figure 7.17: Stukeley's 1759 plan of the Lexden Dykes and Cunobelin's Tumulus (after: Hawkes 1995, Fig. 6.5).

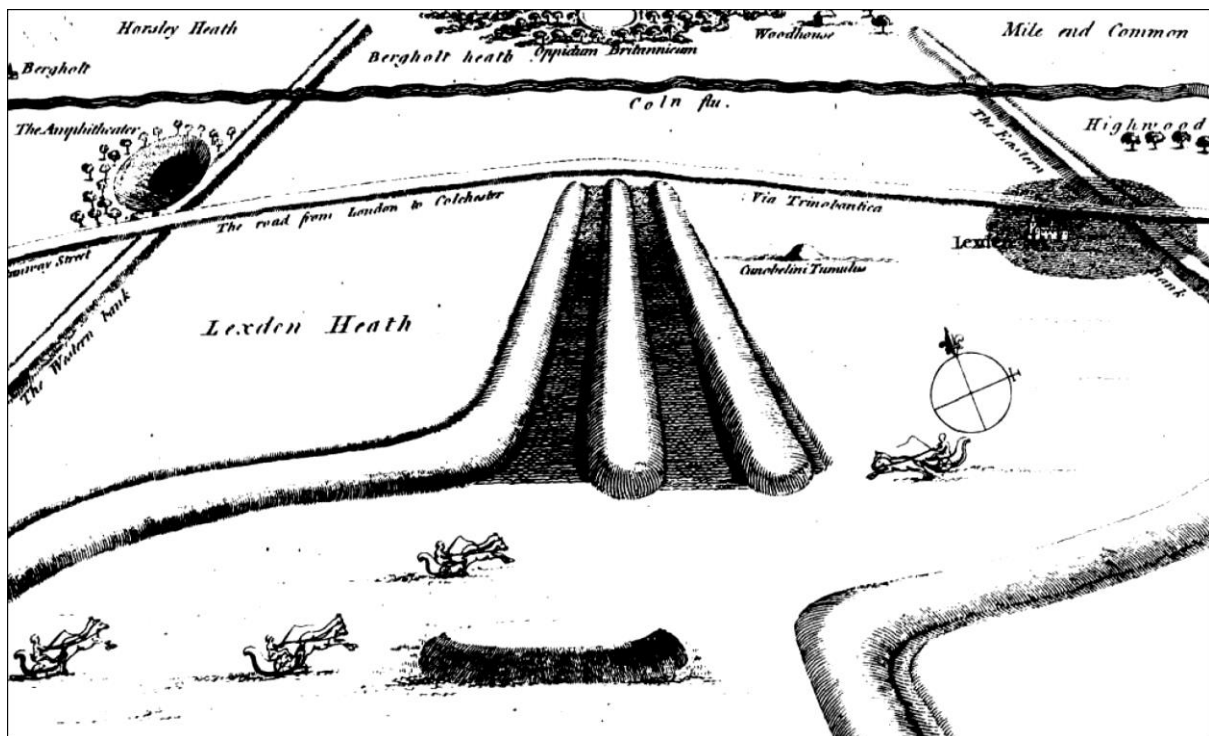


Figure 7.18: Another of Stukeley's 1759 plans of the Lexden Dykes and Cunobelin's Tumulus (after: Hawkes 1995, Fig. 6.5).

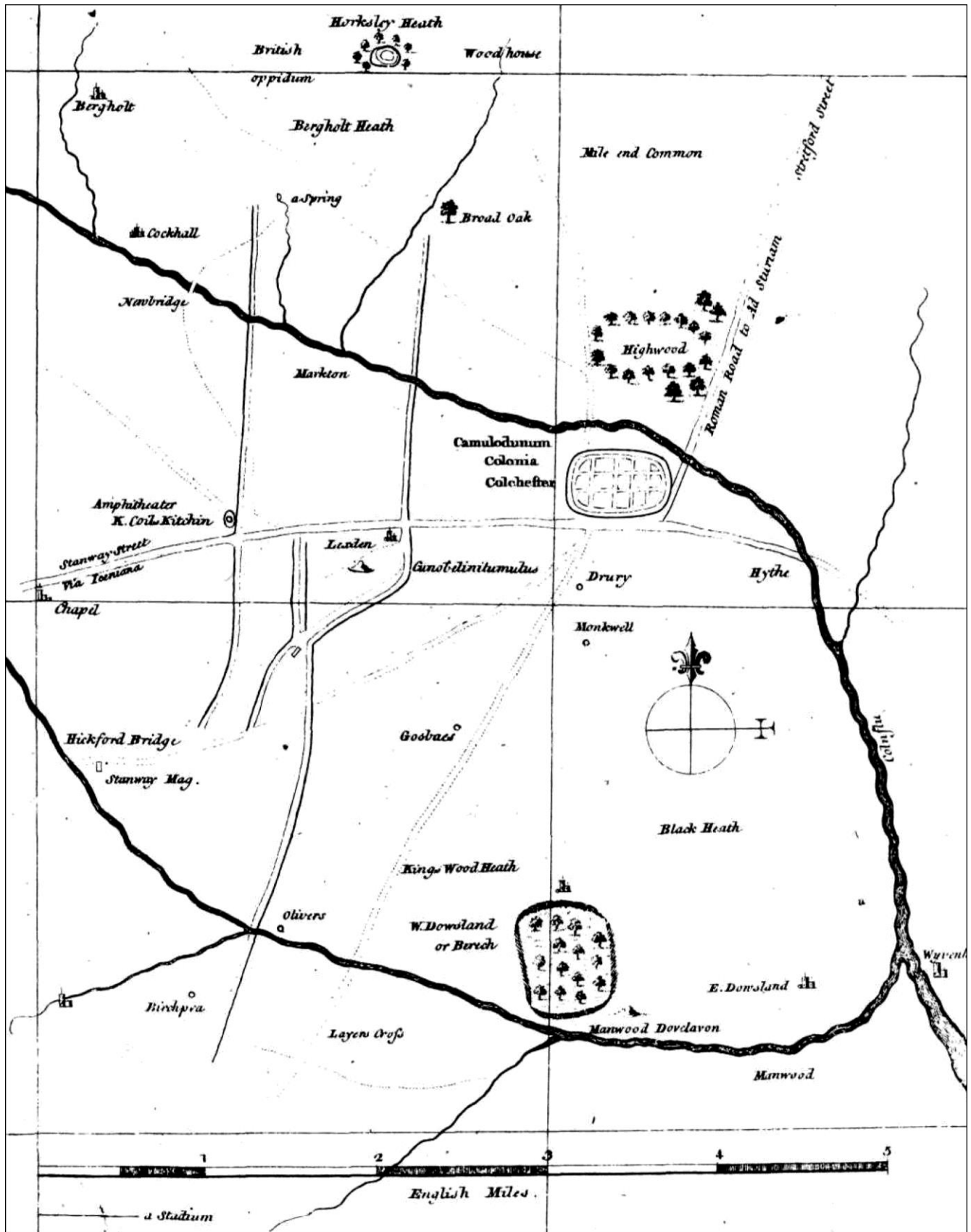


Figure 7.19: Stukeley's 1759 map of Colchester showing both the Lexden Dykes and Cunobelin's Tumulus (after: Hawkes 1995, Fig. 6.7).

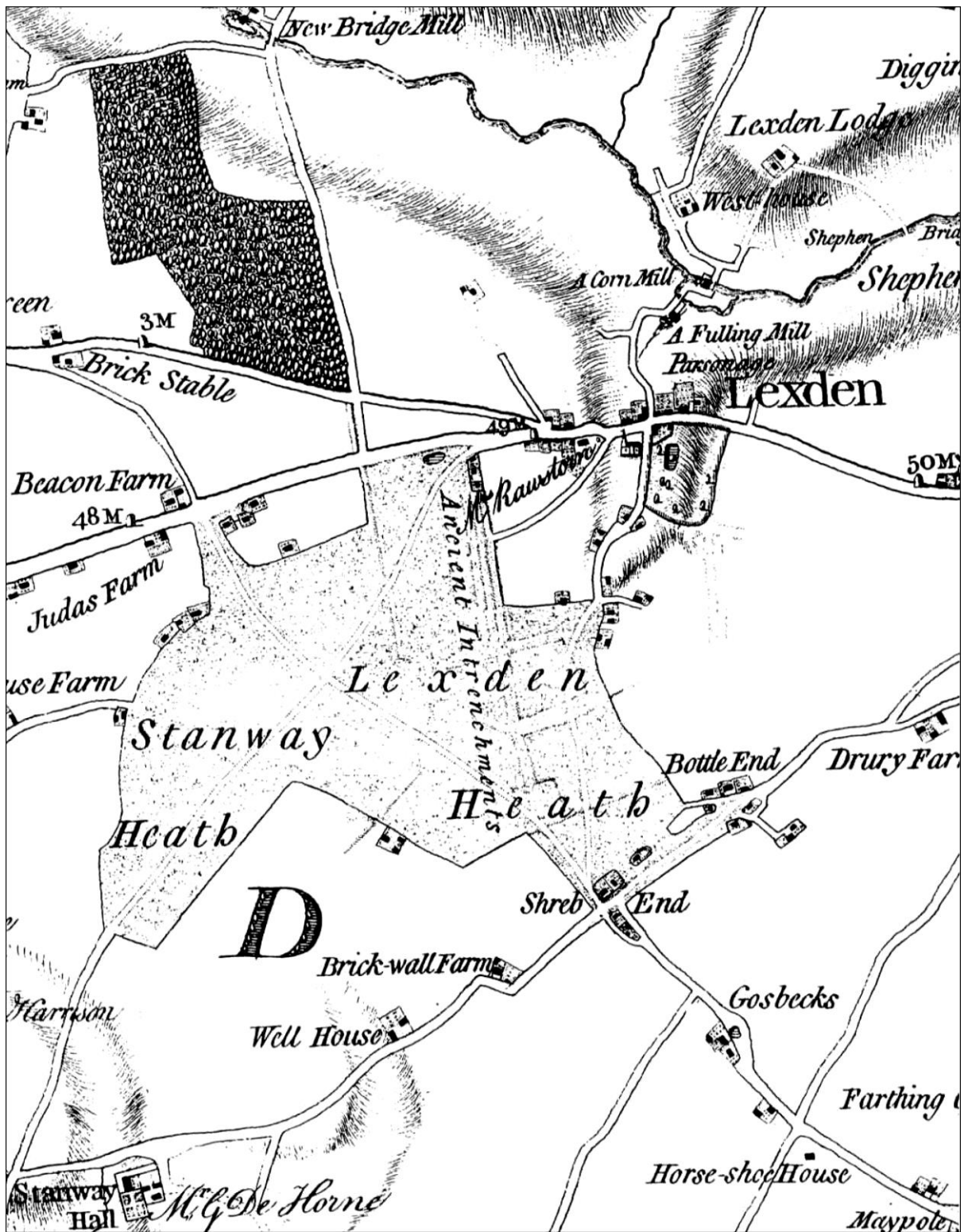


Figure 7.20: Chapman and Andre's 1777 map of Colchester illustrating the course of the dykes in the Lexden region of the site (after: Hawkes 1995, Fig. 6.9).

7.2.3: 19th Century

This century saw the Reverend Henry Jenkins (1842) publish a paper within which he speculates the purpose of the dykes (Radford 2013b, 36); he was however not alone in this pursuit. During the last 15 years of the 19th century, and for the first 5 of the 20th, Henry Laver published a series of papers on the earthworks surrounding Colchester (ibid, 36). Finally, the 19th Century saw the dykes repeatedly included on Ordnance Surveys of the town from 1836 onwards (Hawkes 1995, 20).

7.2.4: 20th Century

The 20th Century saw a vast array of publications ponder Colchester and its later Iron Age occupation; the first of which is Laver's 1927 report on the Lexden Tumulus. This work provided insight into the grave's contents, which Laver used to infer that the tumulus contained 'a personage of considerable importance' (1927, 251). Further to this, Laver also surmised that this individual was 'a Romanised Celtic noble or chieftain who died some time during the Cunobelin regime at Colchester' (ibid, 252); while also noting that the grave was similar to burials elsewhere in Britain, (those in Kent, Hertfordshire, and elsewhere in Essex), as well as at both Bavai in Northern France and Tongren in Belgium (1927, 252).

Twenty years after the above publication emerged, Hawkes and Hull's (1947) '*Camulodunum: first reports on the excavations at Colchester, 1930 – 1939*' came to light. This volume has paved the way for much of the later work on, and interpretations of, Colchester, presenting what have been some of the most influential interpretations of the site's later Iron Age occupation to date.

Within this book Hawkes and Hull suggest that later Iron Age Colchester started life, between c.50 and 25 BC, as a Catuvellaunian colony within Trinovantian territory; and remained thus until c.AD 10 when it became the capital of the whole Belgic country north of the Thames (ibid, 6). By c.AD 25, (and after the 'Belgicization of Essex' (ibid, 6)), Colchester had, in their eyes, progressed past this point to become headquarters of a great power, and under Cunobelin, who was by this time a regular 'high king', the site developed from a local capital to something approaching a national centre (ibid, 6).

Further to this, Hawkes and Hull state that the inner nucleus of Colchester at this time was Sheepen, which could lend 'itself well to individual fortification' (ibid, 50); despite its location

on low lying land. This site also provided an area of natural crossing on the river Colne, while allowing for the commercial element of the site's occupants' lives to be supported (ibid, 50); a commercial element that focused on the buying and selling of merchandise at markets that may have been set up within Sheepen's open spaces (ibid, 51). This would have been of import to the site's occupants because Hawkes and Hull were adamant that the local populous would not have lived primarily off the soil of Sheepen (ibid, 51).

Additionally, Hawkes and Hull also postulate that Sheepen was home to Cunobelin's mint, as well as possibly Cunobelin's private residence (ibid, 51); while also noting that even if Sheepen was not home to Cunobelin it was 'no doubt a place of judgement and assembly' (ibid, 51). These latter comments can therefore be said to depict Sheepen as a centre of political import.

After a lull in publications, the 1970s saw a veritable boom in literature bearing mention of later Iron Age Colchester. Some of these deal exclusively with Colchester, while others primarily focus upon the *oppida* and reference this site as an example of this class of settlement.

The first publication of this decade was Dunnett's paper entitled: '*The Excavations of the Roman Theatre at Gosbecks*'; within which she states that 'there is ample evidence [to suggest] that Gosbecks was a site of special significance in pre-Roman *Camulodunum*' (Dunnett, 1971, 43). The primary reason she gives for this, is that the site bears semblance to the rural sacred sites of Iron Age Gaul (ibid, 43); although she does also suggest that this importance is visible because of the region's continued development during the Roman period (ibid, 43).

Two years later Gosbecks was once again noted within the literature. In this instance the site is cited as one of two main centres of occupation in later Iron Age Colchester, with the other being Sheepen (Crummy 1974, 5). Crummy also uses this text to note that a third, and previously unknown, centre of activity had been discovered at the Goojerat Barracks, but that this was a minor centre in comparison to both Sheepen and Gosbecks (ibid, 5). Conversely, it was not only the status of Colchester's component parts that Crummy considered within this paper. He also states that '*Camulodunum* ...[...]... was the home of Cunobelinus, the most famous and probably the most powerful king of the Belgic tribes in Britain' (Crummy 1974, 5); whilst noting that the site's dykes were used to defend from attack (ibid, 5).

In 1975 a second text by Dunnett emerged. This book, which is part of the influential Duckworth series, deals exclusively with the Trinovantes; and sees Dunnett use the coinage of Cunobelin to further Hawkes and Hull's notions that Colchester was, at the time of Cunobelin's rule, a Catuvellaunian tribal base established upon Trinovantian land.

1976 saw the emergence of the first generic publication to bear mention to later Iron Age Colchester. In his paper '*Coinage, Oppida and the Rise of Belgic Power in South-Eastern Britain*' Rodwell states that Colchester was Cunobelin's royal seat of power, as well as the capital of south-east Britain (1976, 183; 265). In addition to this, Rodwell also suggests that Colchester acted as a port, with the Colne facilitating the movement of goods to and from Sheepen (1976, 240).

The aforementioned year also saw publication of Cunliffe's paper '*The Origins of Urbanisation in Britain*'. Within this paper Cunliffe labels Colchester the political centre for south-east Britain (1976a, 43). Conversely, in not only this paper, but two subsequent publications of the same year, Cunliffe also ponders defences in the Iron Age, and by association dykes. In these papers Cunliffe (1976a; 1976c; 1976d) notes that defences of the Iron Age are typically associated not only with the bounding of land, but those settlements connected to high status members of society. This therefore adds a new dimension to existing theories on these prominent features of Colchester's landscape.

In 1977 Gosbecks is once again brought to the fore. Within his paper on the Gosbecks Fort Wilson agrees with Crummy's 1974 view that Gosbecks was one of two principal areas of settlement within later Iron Age Colchester (Wilson 1977, 187). In addition to this, Wilson also notes that Gosbecks may have been the original nucleus of Colchester, a settlement he defines as a 'Belgic *oppidum*' (ibid, 187). The latter of Wilson's interpretations mirrors those put forth within the next two publications to consider later Iron Age Colchester. These publications, both by Crummy, from 1979 and 1980 suggest that it was Gosbecks, not Sheepen that was the heart of Colchester.

1984 saw Collis publish his highly influential volume on *oppida* entitled: '*Oppida, Earliest Towns North of the Alps*'; within which many mentions of Colchester are made. These include: the notion that Colchester was at the heart of Cunobelin's kingdom (1984a, 161), and that Sheepen was its primary centre of occupation (ibid, 225); the belief that Gosbecks was a

religious and ceremonial centre (ibid, 226); and the idea that Colchester was a port from which Cunobelin controlled cross-channel trade (ibid, 162), and as such acted as a redistribution centre for imported goods (ibid, 161). In addition to this, he also surmised, like Laver (1927), that The Lexden Tumulus contained someone of royal status.

In 1985 Niblett presented her report following excavations at Sheepen during the 1970s. Although this text primarily focused upon the Roman occupation of Sheepen, Niblett concluded of the later Iron Age occupation that: as a result of the limited occupation evidence, the site ‘perhaps amount[ed] to no more than a trading post dealing in luxury goods, concentrated round a nearby quayside’ (1985, 23).

1986 saw Foster publish her study of the Lexden Tumulus, within which she, like Laver, links the burial to those from other prominent burial traditions, in this case those from Aylesford and Welwyn (1986, 178-187). Further to this, and in terms of who was interred under the tumulus Foster’s interpretation differs from those that had gone before it, in that she concluded that the deceased was someone who had control of local trade (ibid, 197), and not someone of royal blood.

In the same year Fitzpatrick (1986) published a paper entitled: ‘*Camulodunum and the early occupation of south-east England, some reconsiderations*’. Within this paper Fitzpatrick notes that Colchester was situated within the largest polity in south-east England (1986, 36); whilst also suggesting that the foundation of Colchester and the accession of Cunobelin, in c.AD 10, were simultaneous (ibid, 36).

Similarly, within his book ‘*The Romanisation of Britain*’ Millett also implies that later Iron Age Colchester was the capital of south-east Britain (1990, 23-29). This publication was followed a year later by the work of Earle (1991), who, like Cunliffe in his three papers of 1976, puts forth the notion that the dykes of Colchester, as a defensive system, represented the bounding of land connected to a settlement associated with high status members of society.

In 1993 Crummy published the first interim report on excavations at Stanway, which brought to light the Stanway Cemetery. However, before we look at what Crummy said of the cemetery itself, we will consider what he says of Colchester as a whole within this paper. In doing this Crummy once again presents the idea that the site contained two major areas of activity:

Sheepen and Gosbecks; however, in this instance he also states that Sheepen was an industrial complex situated on the banks of the river Colne, while Gosbecks, a farmstead, was home to Cunobelin and his predecessors (ibid, 492). Further to this, Crummy also ponders the possibility that later Iron Age Colchester was home to a ruling aristocracy (ibid, 492)

With regards to the cemetery on-the-other-hand Crummy notes that those interred within the site's burials represented the local aristocratic upper class; whilst also pondering the possibility that one of the deceased was in fact Cunobelin (ibid, 497). However, upon reconsidering the material evidence this was deemed unlikely, and instead the idea that he was one of Cunobelin's relatives was put forth (ibid, 497).¹³

Two years after the publication of the above paper, we see much published in conjunction with later Iron Age Colchester. This year saw Cunliffe (1995a) once again champion his belief that defences were constructed around Iron Age settlements connected with high status occupation; and Hawkes make similar assertions in relation to Colchester's dykes within his, and Crummy's, text '*Camulodunum 2*' (1995, 8). The pre-existing ideas relating to the dykes were however not the only ones to come back to the fore in this year. Also within '*Camulodunum 2*' Crummy once again presents the idea that Sheepen and Gosbecks were the two main centres of occupation at Colchester (1995e, 163); noting that the 'scale and central position of the farmstead at [Gosbecks], and the convergence on it of trackways and field systems suggest that within the enclosure in pre-Roman times was the occupation site of the highest social status' (1995d, 104). Crummy however is not alone in putting forth the notion that both Sheepen and Gosbecks were major centres in the later Iron Age, as Brooks *et al.* (1995) also state, on the basis of the pottery assemblages and logical thoughts thereon, that this was the case.

In addition to the above, 1995 also saw Crummy put forth two further interpretations of Gosbecks. The first of these states that 'Gosbecks was the home of Cunobelin, the most powerful king in Britain during the years running up to the Roman Invasion' (1995a, 7); whilst the other states that Cunobelin was not the only king to have resided at Gosbecks as this site was home to a succession of native kings (ibid, 7).

¹³ It should also be noted that this was not the only member of Cunobelin's family said to be buried here, the female within Enclosure 4 has been identified as either a daughter, daughter-in-law, or niece of Cunobelin (Crummy 1993, 497).

Crummy also authored the 1996 text to bear reference to later Iron Age Colchester. Within this paper, which pertains to the Stanway Cemetery, Crummy notes that this cemetery's burials could represent a previously unrecognised form of high status burial practice which existed within native societies during the early Roman period (1996, 1); with these burials signifying the relationship between the native and Roman populations at this time (ibid, 1). According to Crummy this relationship is denoted in a number of ways, the most striking of these being that the individual within the so-called 'warrior burial' was allowed to bear arms, a privilege native populations are thought to have been denied after AD 43 (ibid, 3). Although, Crummy does later suggest that the weaponry included within the aforementioned burial could be no more than an outward sign of the individual's status (ibid, 9).

Furthermore, Crummy notes that one would usually consider a group of deceased individuals such as those represented by Enclosure 3 at the cemetery, to have been a group of close relatives of the individual buried within the most central burial; however in this instance Crummy ponders whether, based on the grave goods, these may actually have been the aides, (a clerk and armour bearer), of a high-ranking individual (ibid, 3). Conversely, whether these individuals were aides or not, Crummy believes they were part of the elite class (ibid, 7).

Finally, it is important to note that as Crummy's paper progressed he also came to consider the so-called 'doctor's burial' within Enclosure 5; which, much like those in Enclosure 3, he labels the grave of a further assistant/personal aide of the higher social class (ibid, 7).

1997 saw the publication of multiple papers. Within their article detailing the *oppida* of Hertfordshire, Bryant and Niblett suggest that their contemporary at Colchester was an entrepot (1997, 76). Haselgrove and Millett meanwhile, suggest that later Iron Age Colchester was from where Cunobelin ruled over the Catuvellauni (1997, 282).

The penultimate text from this year links these ideas together. Crummy's 1997 paper states that Sheepen was a major industrial and trading area within Colchester, but more than this, that it formed the heart of Cunobelin's *oppidum* at Colchester (1997 *cf.* Willis 2007, 121). Finally the year also saw James and Rigby (1997) reaffirm the notion that Colchester was the capital of south-eastern Britain.

1998 saw attentions return to the Stanway Cemetery, with Jackson contemplating the possibility that the individual within the so-called ‘doctor’s burial’ was a medical practitioner, and as such a member of the nobility.

The final year of the 20th Century saw the publication of two papers bearing reference to later Iron Age Colchester. The first of these, by Haselgrove, once more suggests that Colchester was the capital of south-east Britain (1999, 122, 130). Whilst, the second, by Niblett, states that the grave goods within the Lexden tumulus denote burial rites we would associate with a Catuvellauni aristocrat (1999 *cf.* Niblett 2006, 23).

7.2.5: The 21st Century

The first text of the current century to bear reference of later Iron Age Colchester is Creighton’s: ‘*Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain*’. Within this text Creighton (2000) promotes the notion that Colchester was a Catuvellauni tribal centre within lands belonging to the Trinovantes, thus suggesting that at some point during the early 1st Century AD, and under the purview of Cunobelin, tribal control within the region shifted. Furthermore, it has also been suggested that Creighton used this paper to endorse the idea that *oppida*, such as Colchester, should be seen as the manifestation of kingship (*ibid cf.* Pitts 2010, 33).

2001 saw the birth of two publications. The first of these, by de Jersey (2001), follows the ideas presented by Creighton in 2000 regarding the site’s status as a Catuvellaunian stronghold. Meanwhile, Orr, in his paper ‘*An Archaeological Watching Brief at Colchester Institute, Sheepen Road, Colchester Essex*’, states that Sheepen was ‘a later Iron Age settlement and industrial centre established by the Trinovantes tribe and maintained in the years after the Roman conquest’ (2001, 1-2).

In 2002 Howard Brooks again states that Colchester had two major centres of occupation, Gosbecks and Sheepen (Brooks 2002a, 3); and that The Garrison formed part of a later Iron Age farming estate (*ibid*, 1).

In their paper ‘*Camulodunum East*’ Crossan and Masfield also put forth the notion that The Garrison had farming connections by stating that ‘the trackway dominated field system clearly demonstrates an emphasis on livestock farming’ (2004, 21). In a second publication from 2004, Sealey also suggests that farming might have been of import to the occupants of Colchester by

stating that most of the land at the site was agricultural (2004, 15). Further to this, Sealey also notes that Colchester had been the tribal capital of the Catuvellauni since Cunobelin conquered the Trinovantes in c.AD 10 (ibid, 15); whilst also suggesting that the site was a royal estate, and the seat of Cunobelin, that was protected by a series of defensive dykes (ibid, 15).

Two years later Pitts and Perring published an article, within which they surmised that later Iron Age Colchester did not operate in isolation, but was in fact tied to the surrounding countryside (2006, 192); an idea the author explores in further detail in Chapter 8. In the same year Creighton characterized Colchester as a focus of kingship which endured into the Roman era; whilst also noting that Colchester was a political centre and the capital of Cunobelin's kingdom (2006, 130), with the trapezoidal enclosure at Gosbecks, said to have contained Cunobelin's farmstead, serving the same purpose as St Michael's enclosure at *Verulamium* in that it had 'more of a focus for specific ritual and administration acts rather than a residence' (ibid, 132).

Additionally, the 2006 sources also contemplated Colchester's later Iron Age burials. Creighton notes that the Lexden Tumulus contained the grave of a friendly king (ibid 38); whilst also stating that the possible chair amongst the tumulus' grave goods may have been a symbol denoting the deceased's official status (ibid, 38). Moreover, Creighton has also linked the tumulus, in terms of it and its occupant's status, to the grave of Philip of Macedon through the presence of gold thread (ibid, 41). This was however not the only reference to the Lexden Tumulus sharing similarities with the graves of Mediterranean heroes to be made in 2006. Within their paper '*The Making of Britain's First Urban Landscape: The Case of Late Iron Age and Roman Essex*' Pitts and Perring liken the richly furnished Lexden Tumulus to Octavian's mausoleum in Rome (2006, 192). Lastly, The Stanway Cemetery was also mentioned within the 2006 literature; in this instance it is noted that the Cemetery represents the stability and success of the new order of the ruling class at Colchester (Creighton 2006, 131).

2007 saw the publication of the full report on excavations at the Stanway cemetery. Within this text Crummy *et al.* (2007) present a number of ideas that contemplate the nature of the site's use. All of these tally with those presented by Crummy, in relation to this cemetery, since 1993, and in essence state that the Stanway Cemetery was the final resting place of some of Colchester's most significant high ranking officials; consequently, it is unnecessary to repeat

them here. Conversely, Crummy also provides a summary of Colchester as a whole within this text, stating that the site was, in its entirety, a Catuvellaunian stronghold dating from at least the 1st Century BC (2007, 428).

This same year saw Grocott publish a paper entitled: '*The Dykes of Camulodunum: Anti-chariot Defences or Boundaries of a Major Trading Centre?*', within which he surmised that the purpose of Colchester's dykes was far more important than the mere matter of defence (2007, 30). Instead he speculates that they were constructed 'to mark an area of special significance' (ibid, 30); which in this instance he suggests pertained to trade, due to an absence of evidence for warfare at Colchester (ibid, 30).

Further to the above, 2007 also saw Willis ponder the possibility that Sheepen had primarily been an area of religious significance; where feasts, festivals and offerings were made, an inference based on the evidence of consumption related ceramics discovered at the site (2007, 121).

In the following year, the notion that Colchester was a Catuvellaunian stronghold within Trinovantian lands was put forth by both Crummy (2008) and Kretz (2008); although, it is important to note the Crummy does not believe this to have always been the case (2008, 9), despite his inferences of the previous year. Within this same publication Crummy also ponders whether the individual within the 'Doctor's Burial' at Stanway was indeed a medical practitioner, or whether he may have been a druid; thus challenging earlier ideas and presenting a question to be re-explored in the future.

In 2010 Cotten *et al.* and Pitts both published papers that bear reference to later Iron Age Colchester. However, as these repeat views put forth in earlier papers the contents of these will not be considered here. Instead our attention turns to Crummy's 2011 paper, within which he states that Colchester 'during the years leading up to the Roman conquest in AD 43 must have had a substantial population' (2011, 16).

Two years later one of the most recent publications pertaining to later Iron Age Colchester emerged; Gascoyne and Radford's volume: '*Colchester Fortress of the War God: An Archaeological Assessment*'. Within this book Radford suggests that Colchester was the power base of Cunobelin (2013a, 34); while Crummy notes that it was a high-status settlement that

had been occupied by kings for much of the later Iron Age (2013, 57). In addition to this, Crummy also states that the site was one of Britain's most prominent *oppida* (ibid, 56); while Radford suggests, just as Grocott did in 2007, that '[s]ome or all of the dykes may also have had roles as prestige symbols, territorial markers or stock enclosures' (2013b, 43).

7.2.6: A Summary

The literature pertaining to later Iron Age Colchester can be said to portray many ideas about the nature of occupation taking place at the site, and the status of both it and its occupants. Of these ideas, one of the most prominent by far is the notion that Colchester was a Catuvellaunian stronghold situated within Trinovantian lands from where Cunobelin ruled the local landscape. Further to this, and equally prominent, was the inference that Sheepen and Gosbecks were the two most important centres at this site during the later Iron Age; with the former acting as both a port and industrial centre, while the latter served as both an elite residence and farming centre. Finally, it is important to note that both of these sites also had religious import, while, Lexden and Stanway served as burial grounds where the local elite were interred following burial rites practiced elsewhere in Britain, as well as on the near Continent.

7.3: Colchester Reassessed

This section of the current chapter is designed to allow the author to examine the site's raw datasets, (see Appendices 7.1-7.12), in order to establish the most likely activities Colchester's occupants engaged in between 150/100 BC and AD 50. These inferences will allow Colchester's status as a purported *oppidum* to be ascertained, while also allowing the site to be compared to both Titelberg and Canterbury (see Chapter 11). This process serves to answer the question: can sites from different geographic locations, and whose periods of prominence likely differed, realistically be encompassed under one term; and in doing so ensure that a well-rounded answer to the thesis' primary research question is presented. Furthermore, to ensure that the results borne out of these analyses were in a format that allows these questions to be answered as fully as possible Colchester's dataset, as well as those compiled for both Titelberg and Canterbury, were analysed using the methodology outlined in Chapter 6.

7.3.1: Period 1: 150/100 – 55/50 BC

From Chapter 6.1 we know that 150/100 BC traditionally marks the birth of the later Iron Age in much of Britain, which brought with it the emergence of new settlement patterns and more easily identifiable social groups. Consequently, one might expect Period 1 Colchester to be

represented by changes in settlement morphology and transitional artefacts denoting an assimilation of middle and later Iron Age beliefs/customs; this however is not the case.

Colchester has produced very little evidence of middle Iron Age date,¹⁴ which is very much in contrast to the rest of Essex where a number of flourishing settlements of this date have been recorded (Sealey 1996; 2015; forthcoming c). This can be considered something of a curiosity because later Iron Age Colchester is sited within a landscape well suited to the sustainment of human life, as can be seen in Chapter 7.1. Consequently, this observation can be said to raise all manner of questions about why it was not until the later Iron Age that this landscape was taken advantage of, but these are better placed in an entirely different paper.

As a result of the site's minimal middle Iron Age occupation, the Colchester that existed in c.150/100 BC was relatively new, with the only evidence for earlier occupation at this site comprising a bivallate hillfort at Pitchbury (Cruso and Crummy 1995), and farmsteads at Abbotstone (Brooks *et al.* 2002) and Stanway (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 8-9). Consequently, this period is represented by an archaeological record which suggests those residing at/making use of the site had yet to realise its full potential. The author advocates this notion, because had the site been well established in 150/100 BC, we would expect the archaeological record associated with this phase of occupation to be rich; however, as can be seen from the overview of the evidence presented below, (see Chapter 7.3.1.1), this was not the case. Therefore, one has to wonder to what extent, if at all, the site was occupied during this c.100 year period.

7.3.1.1: The Evidence

The evidence of Period 1 date at Colchester comprises 14 Dressel 1a/b amphorae, recovered during three seasons of excavation,¹⁵ (see Figure 7.21); and 8 coins of *Denarius* types 1-7 (see Appendix 7.4 for details of these). Additionally, Period 1 evidence at Colchester is also represented by the Ypres Road roundhouse, which has been dated to between c.75 and 25 BC

¹⁴ Middle Iron Age occupation at Colchester is represented by Enclosure 2 at the Stanway Cemetery which contained a farmstead of this date (Crummy *et al.* 2007, cc.3) and Abbotstone where a further middle Iron Age farmstead has been identified (Brooks *et al.* 2002; Pooley and Benfield 2005). Further to this there also exists Pitchbury hillfort in north-west Colchester (Hawkes 1995, 4-6; Radford 2013b, 30), however excavations have failed to produce any clear dating evidence to confirm that Pitchbury like the majority of Britain's hillforts was occupied during the early and/or middle Iron Ages (*ibid.*, 30).

¹⁵ Sherds from another/additional Dressel 1a amphorae were recovered from a well during 2007 excavations at Sheepen (Brooks and Holloway 2009, 7). Unfortunately, the final report for these excavations has yet to be published and therefore for the purposes of the present study, which is based on vessel count rather than sherd count, this evidence has been omitted.

by Sealey using the pottery recovered from within its bounds (Crossan and Mason 2004, 20); the enclosure within which this was located; a number of field-boundaries (see Figure 7.22); and potentially those features from which the aforementioned artefacts were recovered (see Figure 7.23).

7.3.1.2: An Analysis

It is of course problematic when analysing such a small sample of archaeological material, especially when part of the sample is not associated with contextual information, to be sure that the conclusions drawn are founded securely within the archaeological record. However, this is not to say that any inferences drawn cannot lead to lines of enquiry that can be followed up in future projects. With this in mind one must consider what 14 amphorae, eight coins, and a minimal morphological/structural record can impart about occupation at Colchester during Period 1.

Many may question the need to re-analyse the 14 Dressel 1a/b amphorae which may, or may not, have been introduced to the site shortly after their production began,¹⁶ especially since it has been well argued within the literature, (see Appendix 7.13), that these vessels were not introduced to later Iron Age Colchester much before 15/10 BC (Peacock 1971; Sealey 1985a; 2009; Williams 1986). However, as the earliest of these interpretations was established some 40 years ago it is feasible that new evidence, such as that recovered at The Garrison, could alter our understanding of these vessels, and their introduction to Colchester.

In the absence of contextual information the 7 amphorae recovered at Sheepen during the 1930s can only be said to represent trade. However, the lack of other Continental wares of this date make it unlikely that these vessels were imported directly from Italy, or indirectly via Gaul, because, as Sealey rightly notes, we would expect these items to be accompanied by other goods these regions had to offer, such as Roman fine wares (for example *terra sigillata*) and Gallo-Belgic wares (1985a, 105; 1985b, 99); particularly as this was a time when trade between Britain and Temperate Europe was beginning to intensify (see Chapters 4.2-4.3). Consequently, the author was able to surmise that these vessels might have reached Colchester

¹⁶ The production of Dressel 1a amphorae began in 150/100 BC, while Dressel 1b was first manufactured in 55/50 BC (Tyres 1996).

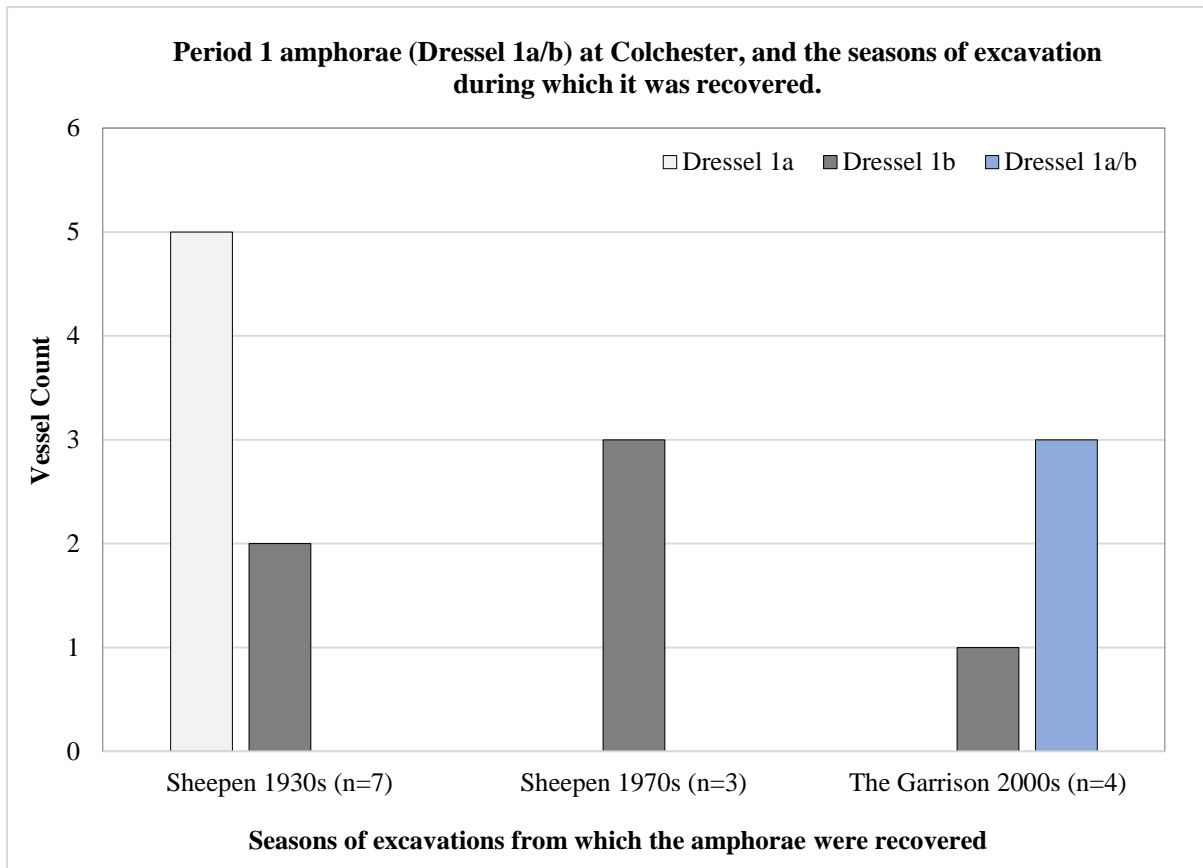


Figure 7.21: Based on information from Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

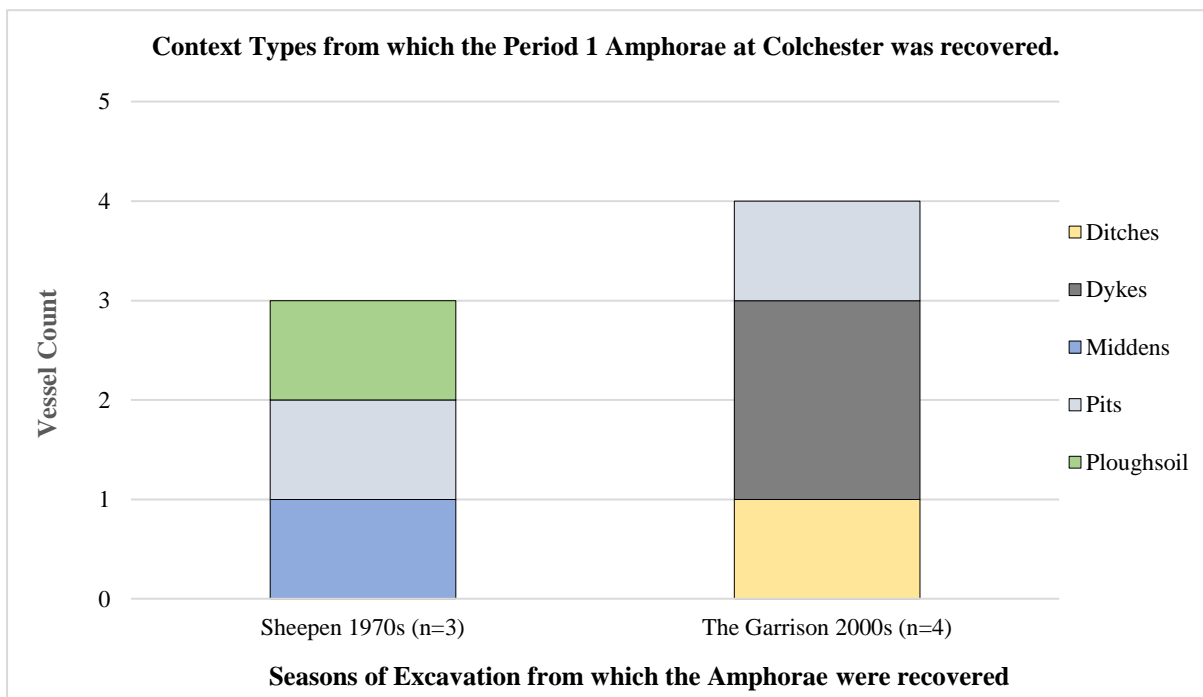


Figure 7.22: Based on information from Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

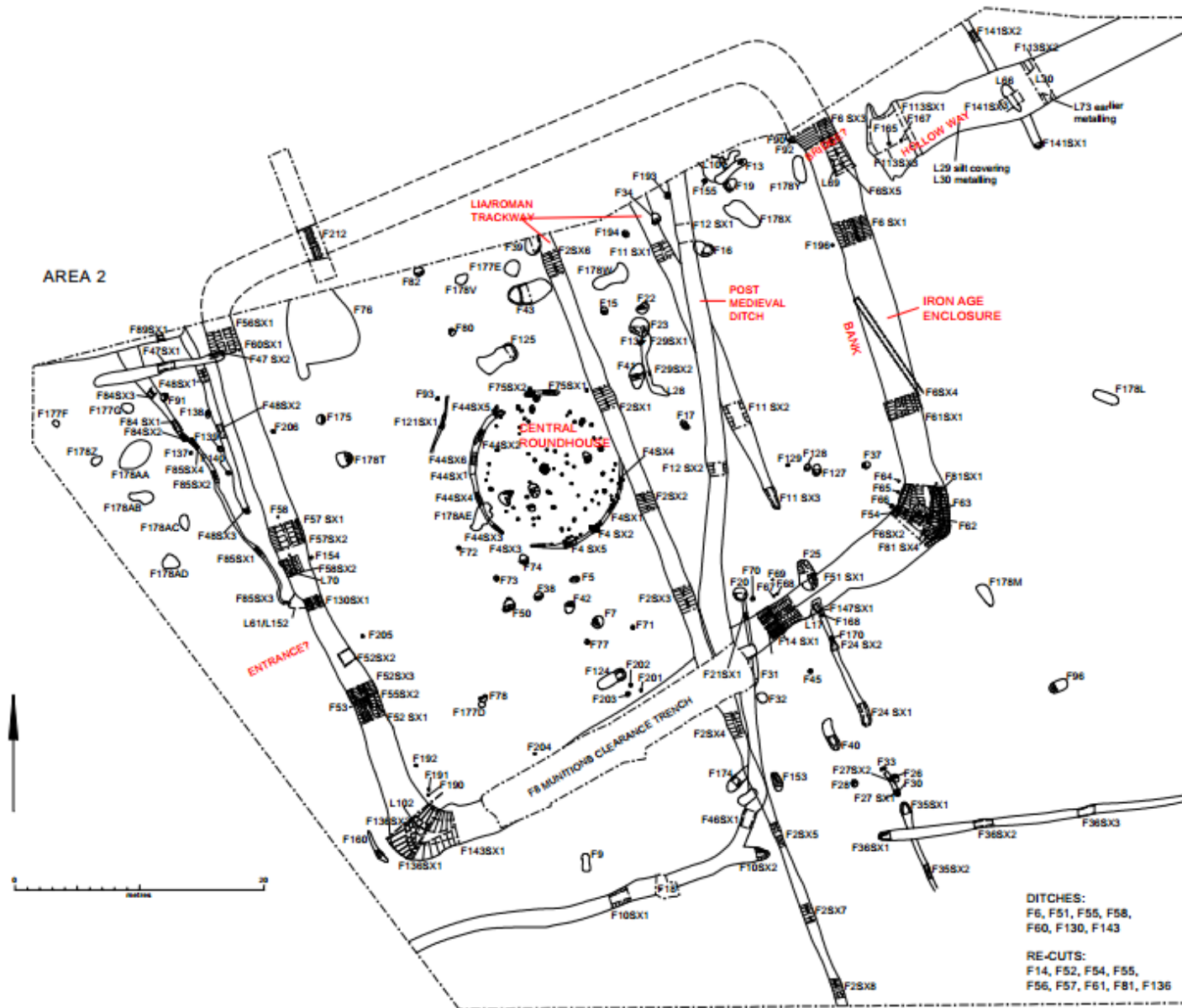


Figure 7.23: Plan of excavations at Ypres Road; the round-house at the centre of the plan is that which has been dated to between 75 and 25 BC (after: Brooks 2004, Fig. 2).

from other sites in Britain, such as Elms Farm (Atkinson and Preston 1998; 2015) or Hengistbury Head (Cunliffe 1978b; Williams 1986), where these vessels were being consumed in considerable numbers, via a combination of both long distance and down-the-line trade (see Chapter 4.3).

Conversely, regardless of where these vessels originated, Sheepen's position on the River Colne can be considered key to their arrival. One can therefore tentatively state that pre-existing interpretations of Sheepen as a port, (see Chapter 7.2), are likely correct; yet, this interpretation will not stand up based on this evidence alone, as one cannot provide an informed conclusion about a site's function based on the quantities of material being considered here. However, with this said, the plethora of contemporary ports in existence at this time in both Britain and Temperate Europe, such as Hengistbury Head (Cunliffe 1978b; 1997; 2005, 127) in Britain, Nacqueville (Cunliffe 1997, 53) and Alet in France (ibid, 53), and St. Peter Port (ibid, 53) in Guernsey, mean that this interpretation is not unfeasible.

Similarly, the amphorae recovered during the 1970s at Sheepen, as well as more recently at The Garrison, can also be said to represent trade. While this could serve to strengthen the above inferences, basing such an interpretation on 14 vessels rather than 7 is still far from ideal. With this in mind, our attention turns to a consideration of what the stratified vessels can tell us of the activities they may have fulfilled prior to deposition.

The amphorae recovered from the pit, ditch, and midden contexts at Sheepen and The Garrison, (see Figure 7.21), were likely deposited following communal and/or religious events, because, like other imported wares from this period, these vessels are not believed to have supported domestic occupation, instead they are believed to have facilitated special/communal events (see Chapter 5.3).¹⁷ Although, it is equally possible that the consumption of these vessels, and any products they contained, is evidence for conspicuous consumption by the elite (see chapter 5.3); or alternatively, for local peoples making use of unfamiliar ceramics and/or food stuffs in a way that suited them; just as Okun suggests may have been the case with some of this period's imports (1989, 50).

¹⁷ Should this have been the case at Sheepen, it is possible that these communal/religious events were taking place within an early incarnation of the shrine identified within Cunobelin's Sheepen (Hull 1958, 229; Blake 1959).

Despite all of the above interpretations having merit, we should remember that many Iron Age feasting deposits are placed in the ground in one go. In light of this, the amphorae recovered from the pit deposit at Sheepen, 1970, is more likely to have been deposited during Period 3 when all of the vessels placed alongside it, (see Appendix 7.5), were current. With this in mind, it should be noted here that this could also have been the case for those amphorae recovered from the pit and ditch contexts at The Garrison; however, until we have a complete site report for this region of Colchester this would be conjecture. Furthermore, it is also impossible to verify, or for that matter disprove, the existence of permanent populations at Colchester during Period 1 based on only a few amphorae; although the morphology discussed below in relation to The Garrison does to some extent aid this process.

Before considering the structural record attributed to Period 1 at The Garrison the author will first comment upon the amphorae recovered from this site's dyke. These vessels were also likely deposited as a result of one of the above processes as these vessels could represent the remnants of a social gathering, or offerings made to local deities to ensure the dyke fulfilled its purpose, whatever this may have been; or alternatively the existence of a stratified population who consumed these vessels, prior to the dyke's construction. These suppositions are supported by the fact that the amphorae was recovered within the backfill of the dykes' rampart (RPS 2011). Unfortunately, however, the absence of a complete report for this site at present means that we cannot explore the former of these interpretations further, although the site's settlement morphology can be said to add weight to the latter, because it alludes to the existence of a resident population at The Garrison for at least part of the c.100 years Period 1 spanned. Furthermore, as it was likely residents of The Garrison who participated in the construction of the dyke it is not imprudent to believe that the site's population was stratified, particularly as it is thought that the construction of fortifications such as these were overseen by individuals of power/status within a community (Dyer 2002, 130).

From Chapter 7.3.1.1 above we know that the morphological features attributed to Period 1 occupation at The Garrison include a roundhouse, an enclosure, and field boundaries. These features are reminiscent of those at any number of later Iron Age farmsteads in Britain and Temperate Europe, such as Butser Farm in Hampshire (Reynolds 1979) and Jaux (Haselgrove 2007, 506) in France; and as such they can be said to denote both domestic occupation and farming regimes. It is therefore likely that the occupants of this enclosure followed a traditional pattern of life for the period, (see Chapter 3); however, as the projected date for the house at

the heart of this structure spans both Periods 1 and 2 it is possible that this area was not occupied until Period 2.

This same dwelling, (The Garrison's roundhouse), can be said to support the notion that at least some of the site's amphorae, namely those from the ditch and pit, may have been consumed within the domestic sphere, either by the general population or members of the elite. Until such time as we can explore the full extent of The Garrison's archaeological record however, this inference will have to remain a tentative notion rather than proven fact because it cannot be supported in the long term by such a small dataset.

Meanwhile, the discovery of what has been identified as a cremation vessel, absent of bone, at the centre of the round-house (Brooks 2004, 16) could lend weight to the notion that the amphorae deposited elsewhere might be evidence for feasting at communal events designed for religious and/or social gain. There are however a number of problems with this interpretation. Firstly, this inference cannot be verified one way or another due to incomplete/unavailable site reports; and secondly because the status of this vessel as a cremation urn is questionable. This latter statement is made for two reasons: 1) how can a vessel be considered a cremation 'urn' when it does not contain bone? and 2) why would a practice that has no parallels within the archaeological records of Iron Age Britain and/or Temperate Europe be practiced on a rural settlement in the heart of Essex? Conversely, this phenomenon also raises the question: was this structure actually a mortuary house, such as the later Bronze Age/early Iron Age structure at Gardom's Edge (Pope 2003, 96), (the only other structure of this format identified in pre-historic Britain), or, given its position within an enclosure in Colchester's landscape, a rural shrine such as those at: Folly Lane, Harlow, Hayling Island, Heathrow, and Thetford (Haselgrove 1999, Fig. 7.7). Should this latter inference be proven true following further research on The Garrison and its archaeological record, it is possible that the religious potential of this site could have acted as a catalyst for Colchester's growth in the following decades.

Finally, we must consider the 8 coins that comprise Colchester's Period 1 dataset. As coins of the Roman Republic these artefacts can be said to represent possible relationships between Colchester's residents/merchants and their Continental counterparts. However, as these coins are unlikely to have been used by the occupants of Colchester to the same end as modern currency, it stands to reason that they were exchanged to symbolise newly forged social,

economic, and even power relationships rather than currency received in exchange for wares sold (see Chapter 6.2.4). It is possible therefore, that these relationships were forged with either Gallic or Roman communities; however, the author surmised, given that trade between Gaul and Britain, as well as between Gaul and the Mediterranean World, resumed during this period, (see Chapter 4.3), that Gallic populations were responsible for the supply of this material. Whilst we may not be able to confirm the origins of this material its presence can be said to further earlier conclusions of Sheepen as a port, as it was likely that these items arrived at Colchester through this site.

7.3.1.3: A Summary

Whilst the evidence analysed above can be said to signify the existence of domestic occupation coupled with farming activities at The Garrison; trading activities facilitated by Sheepen's roles as a port; and an interest in fulfilling the religious needs of local populations at the potential shrines/sanctuaries at both Sheepen and The Garrison the evidence available is not enough to conclusively state that these activities were actually taking place at this time. This is especially true as some of the contexts from which this material was recovered also contains later material. However, should complete reports on the excavations at The Garrison during recent years prove the existence of a permanent population at the site during Period 1 the above interpretations provide an excellent starting place for future work on Colchester and its origins. Moreover, as current thinking does not comment upon the possibility of occupation at Colchester at this time, these conclusions can be said to confirm these ideas; although they do have the potential, with future work, to turn this thinking on its head.

Furthermore, the nature of proposed occupation at Colchester between 150/100 and 55/50 BC largely depicts the site as conforming to traditional Iron Age pursuits, particularly those engaged in by the majority of populations at this time (see Chapter 3.4). Even the site's purported role as a port cannot be considered atypical, because, as the discussions of trade and exchange presented in Chapter 4.3 highlight there were a number of these sites in use in southern Britain, the Channel Islands, and Northern Gaul during the later Iron Age. It seems likely therefore that the author's later considerations of this site in conjunction with the parameters of *oppida*, (see Chapter 11), will reveal that the validity of this term, (*oppida*), is questionable in relation to Period 1 Colchester.

7.3.2: Period 2: 55/50 – 30/25 BC

55 BC marks the first of two invasions of Britain by Julius Caesar (Caesar *The Conquest of Gaul* 4.20 –5.23); while the period as a whole represents a time when contact between Britain and the Roman World increased as a result of Caesar's conquest of Gaul in 51 BC (see Chapter 4.3). These processes led to an increase in Mediterranean wares within the archaeological records of sites in Gaul, and both Mediterranean and Gallic wares on sites in Britain. Consequently, we might expect this period of Colchester's later Iron Age occupation to reflect these changes/developments. However, as this period of occupation is accompanied by almost as meagre an archaeological record as Period 1, the site cannot be said to conform to traditional patterns of development, such as those outlined in Chapters 11.2.1 and 11.3.1 during this portion of the later Iron Age.

7.3.2.1: The Evidence

Period 2 evidence at Colchester was recovered from Sheepen, The Garrison, and Gosbecks over the course of four seasons of excavation. This period's dataset comprises thirty-seven ceramic vessels representing 3 form types, (see Appendix 7.14/Figure 7.24), and originating from three regions: Colchester itself,¹⁸ Italy, and The Rhineland (see Figure 7.25); ten *Denarius*, types 7-14, (see Appendix 7.4 for further details on these); the morphological entities/structural features also attributed to Period 1 at The Garrison (see Chapter 7.3.1.1), as well as those from which the aforementioned artefacts were recovered (see Figure 7.26).

7.3.2.2: An Analysis

Many of the results borne out of an analysis of Colchester's Period 2 dataset mirror those drawn in relation to Period 1; however, some differences exist, and these can be used to further our understanding of later Iron Age occupation at this site. If we begin by commenting upon the settlement morphology, two things need to be noted. Firstly, that those inferences borne from a consideration of the Ypres Road site at The Garrison in Chapter 7.3.1.2 stand up here; and secondly that we are unable to confirm, or disprove, the use of those features from which the artefacts were recovered during Period 2, especially since many of these contain material of a later date. Consequently, this material could be considered residual.

¹⁸ This includes both locally produced vessels of native origin and locally produced variants of imported vessels.

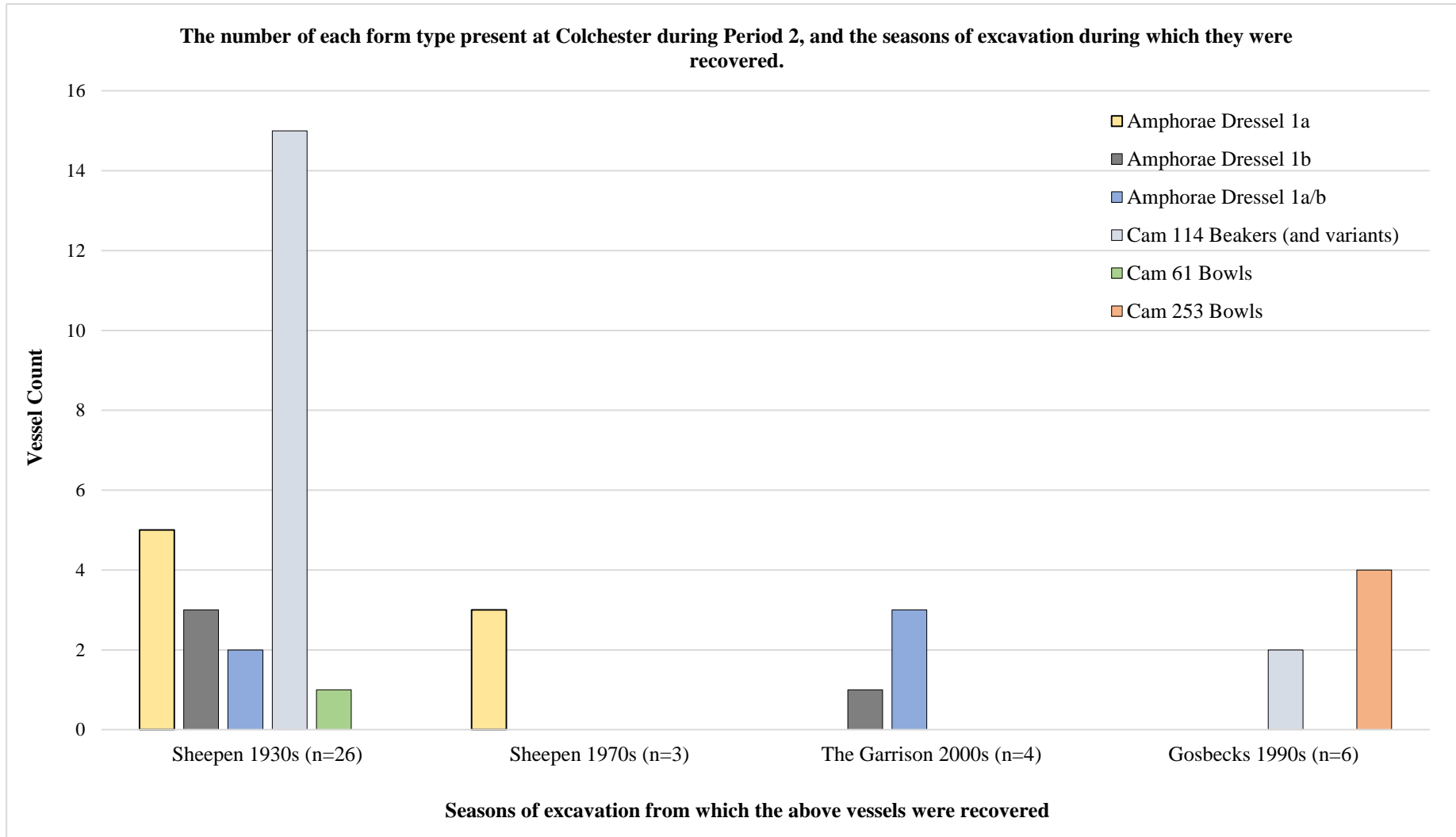


Figure 7.24: Based on information from Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

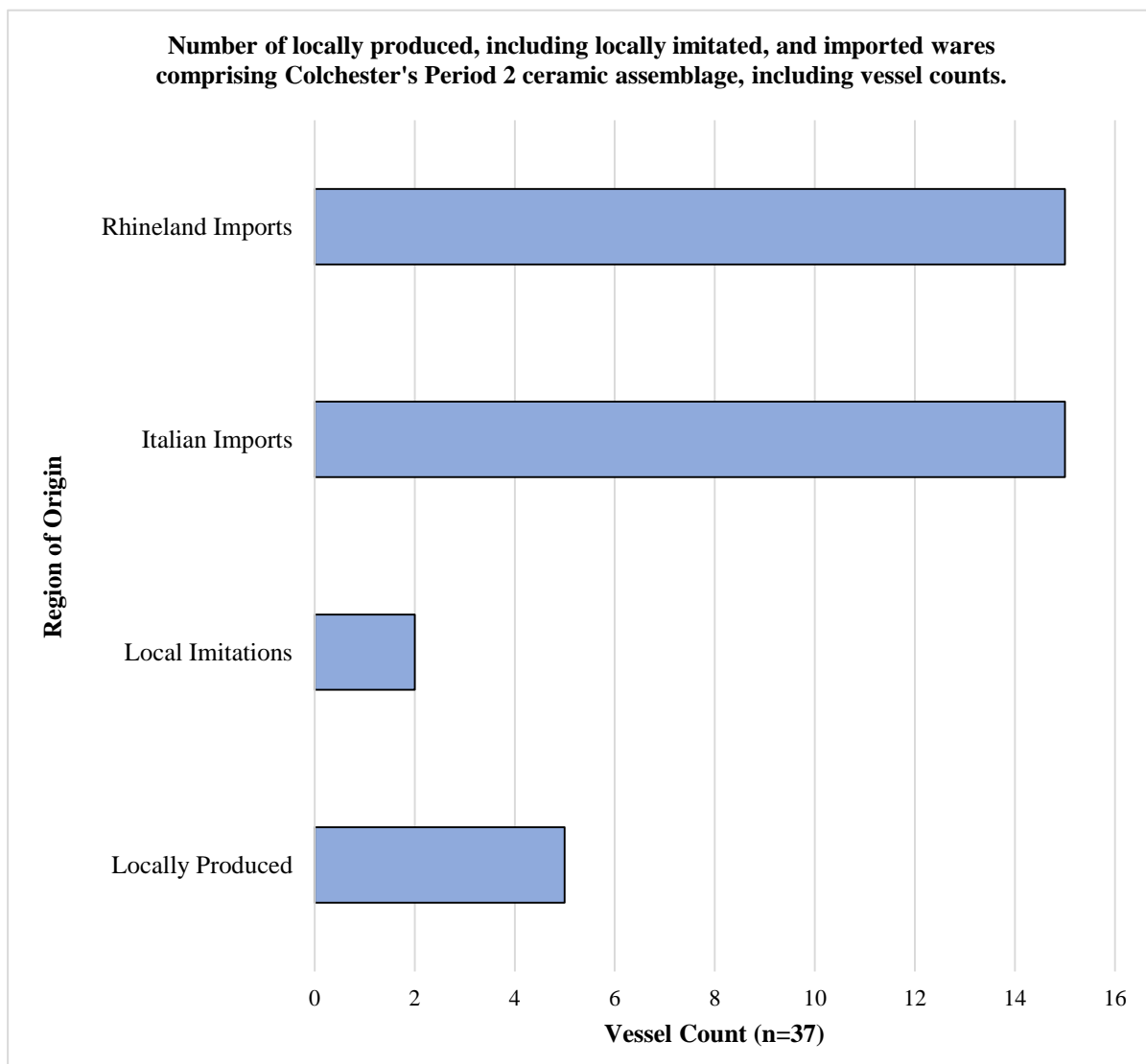


Figure 7.25: Based on information from Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

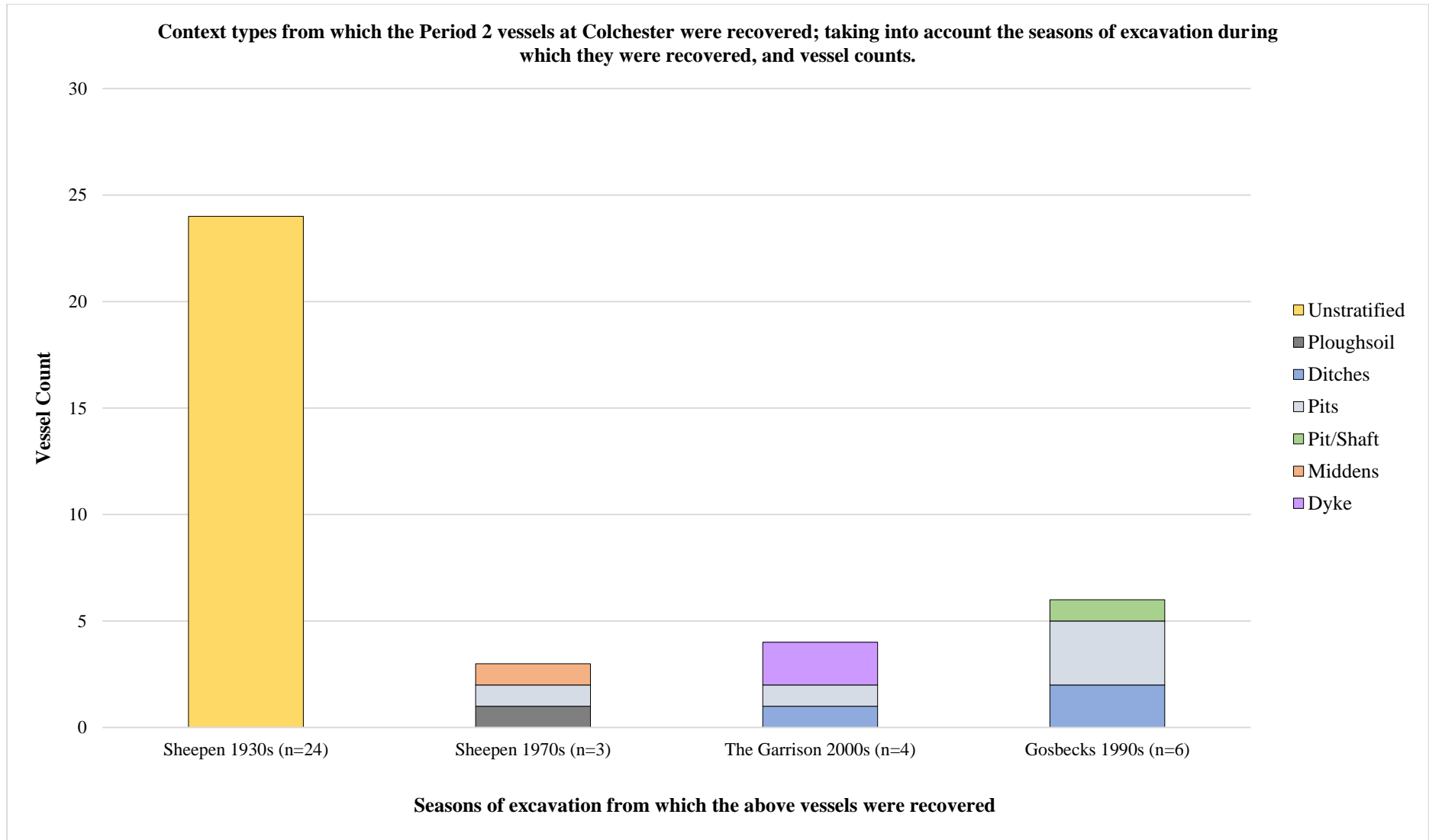


Figure 7.26: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

Progressing to a consideration of the site's ceramic assemblage the first thing to note is that the amphorae likely represents the same activities as during Period 1, (see Chapter 7.3.1.2); although, the existence of additional vessels of this date can be said to give more weight to the notion of their use during Period 2. The presence of bowls and beakers of this date, at both Sheepen and Gosbecks, could highlight the possible existence of domestic habitation within these regions between 55/50 and 30/25 BC, as these vessels are traditionally associated with the consumption of food and drink within the domestic sphere (see Chapter 3.4.3). Should this have been the case, we can assume that these communities also engaged in a combination of farming and industrial activities as these pastimes went hand-in-hand during the later Iron Age (Hill 1990a, 60); in fact the presence of locally produced vessels of this date, (see Figure 7.25), could denote the existence of a ceramic industry at Colchester at this time; however, the presence of only 7 locally produced vessels is not enough evidence to substantiate this inference.

Furthermore, as we are lacking evidence for many of the other vessels we would associate with the above processes, (see Chapter 3.4.3), one can surmise that these vessels, along with the amphorae, may have actually been used during communal events designed to foster social cohesion and/or celebrate religious festivals. This supposition is made all the more plausible when one also takes into account the fact that Sheepen is believed to have been a site of religious importance (e.g. Crummy 1997; Hull 1958; Willis 2007), and that Gosbecks was home to a later Iron Age sanctuary (Dunnet 1971; Wilson 1977). However, even this supposition cannot be validated by the dataset available, despite its plausibility.

In addition to the above, Colchester's Period 2 ceramic assemblage can also be said to further promote the notion that Sheepen was a port, because a number of the beakers and bowls, (see Appendix 7.14), were imported to the site from The Rhineland; most likely via Gaul using one of the modes of exchange discussed in Chapter 4.3. One can therefore state that Colchester's merchants expanded the range of products they obtained from external sources; as they were no longer just importing Italian amphorae. In light of this, we need to ponder the reasons behind the apparent increase in imported wares witnessed at the site between Periods 1 and 2.

Traditionally the presence of imported wares on later Iron Age settlements is believed to represent the consumption of luxury products by the elite as an outward display of their power (see Chapter 5.3). Following this line of enquiry, one would be forgiven for assuming that the

aforementioned increase in imported wares represents either an increase in the number of elite at Colchester, or the thirst existing elite had for material wealth. However, as these vessels outnumber those produced locally, (see Figure 7.25), the author believes it is possible that this increase actually denotes an increase in population numbers, or the emergence of a permanent population at Colchester but not in craftsmen. That is to say, the site's early population may have had to rely upon imports because local potters were unable to cater for the growing population, or they were still finding their feet and exploring the products they could manufacture and that there would be a market for at the site. This notion of experimentation could also explain why we see imitation wares of Period 2 date at the site; although given the relative abundance of imported wares in comparison to these, it is possible that rather than using imported wares to display power the elite used locally produced imitations because these were comparatively rare. Nevertheless, it is once more impossible to verify, to a satisfactory degree, these conclusions using the evidence available; therefore, until such time as the full excavation reports pertaining to excavations at Gosbecks during the 1999s and The Garrison in the 2000s come to light these inferences serve as pointers for future research.

Finally, we come to a consideration of the other artefacts comprising Colchester's Period 2 dataset, the 10 coins. As these all originate from the Roman Republic, these coins can be said to represent the same processes as their Period 1 counterparts, see Chapter 7.3.1.2; these will therefore not be repeated here. Instead it remains for the author to state that while there were fractionally more coins of Period 2 identified at Sheepen, there are still not enough to conclusively state that they represent the existence of a population at Colchester at this time who had ties, be they social or economic, with communities in Gaul.

7.3.2.3: A Summary

The above analysis can be said to denote the possible existence of domestic populations at Colchester who engaged in both farming and industrial activities, an inference supported by both the structural and material evidence identified at the site. Further to this, there is also strong evidence to suggest that both Sheepen and Gosbecks were used as religious foci; with the former of these sites also doubling as a port. However, as was the case with those conclusions borne out of analyses of Colchester's Period 1 dataset, there is not enough evidence available for the period considered herein for the author to state definitively that the site was actually occupied at this time. The only evidence to strongly suggest the existence of a resident population at Colchester in Period 2 is the roundhouse, dated to between 75 and 25 BC by

Sealey (Crossan 2004, 20), at The Garrison; and rather than providing justification for occupation across Colchester as a whole, this structure could have housed a single family unit. Future research at the site, as well as the publication of reports on the excavations carried out at Gosbecks and The Garrison, could, however, bring to light evidence that verifies the above inferences; and in doing so challenge the views put forth within the current literature, see Chapter 7.2, on the date at which later Iron Age occupation at Colchester first emerged.

Moreover, as the nature of occupation at Colchester between 55/50 and 30/25 BC differed little from that which had occurred during the 100 years prior to this timeframe it remains likely that the author's later considerations of this site's use in conjunction with current thinking on *oppida*, (see Chapter 11), will again suggest that this term's use needs to be called into question; at least with regards to Colchester. In other words, there is little within the evidence to suggest, at present, that life at Colchester differed considerably from what we might consider typical of the later Iron Age (see Chapters 3-5).

7.3.3: Period 3: 30/25 BC – AD 20/25

This c.55 year period is one marked by significant changes on the near Continent; with the most influential of these arguably being Gaul's incorporation into the Roman Empire after Augustus' ascension to Emperor (see Chapter 6.1). This development not only led to changes in the material culture being manufactured and circulated in Gaul, but altered the relationship between Britain, Gaul, and the Roman World. These alterations led to an increase in Gallic and Mediterranean products on British sites, especially those in the south-east; as well as the adoption of certain cultural practices/beliefs one would typically associate with Roman populations (see Chapter 6.1). Given Colchester's position in south-eastern Britain one might expect this site to reflect these developments; however, in light of the minimal, and highly questionable, occupation at the site during Periods 1 and 2 one might not have expected these developments to be as visible as they arguably are within the archaeological record attributed to this phase of the site's later Iron Age occupation. In fact, when we compare the representation of these developments at Colchester to those at some of the site's contemporaries elsewhere in southern and south-eastern Britain, such as Baldock, Silchester, and *Verulamium*, it can be said that Colchester's development at this time was not atypical for purported *oppida* in these regions, as these sites were also largely unoccupied prior to 30/25 BC (see Chapter 11).

7.3.3.1: The Evidence

Period 3 occupation at later Iron Age Colchester has a distinct footprint within the archaeological record. This period is represented by a complex web of morphological features, including the Lexden Tumulus, that was spread across much of Colchester's landscape (see Appendix 7.15); and an artefact record comprising ceramic vessels (see Appendix 7.16), and a wealth of additional artefacts (see Appendix 7.17). The ceramic assemblage comprised a total of 1124 individual vessels, representing 11 form types, recovered over the course of five seasons of excavation (see Figure 7.27). Furthermore, these vessels were collected from four of the five regions comprising later Iron Age Colchester, (only the Stanway Cemetery does not show signs of use at this time); with both Sheepen and Gosbecks contributing significantly to the total number of vessels present (see Figure 7.28).

In addition to the ceramic vessels, a total of 302 additional artefacts were recovered during all but one¹⁹ of the previously considered seasons of excavation, (see Appendix 7.17); and these, as can be seen from Figure 7.29, can be sub-divided into 16 categories, ranging from brooches and coinage to tools and military paraphernalia. Finally, with the exception of the evidence recovered during the 1930s at Sheepen which was unstratified, and that from the Lexden Tumulus which was recovered from the grave pit, these artefacts were recovered from a total of 14 context types (see Figure 7.30).

7.3.3.2: An Analysis

To provide the best understanding of the above dataset the author began by analysing the site's morphology, because the inferences borne through this process regarding the likely activities this supported provide an excellent backdrop against which to consider the site's artefact record. It is however important to note here that the results of this approach are presented in two parts. The first of these comprises a consideration of the morphology identified at Sheepen, Gosbecks, and The Garrison followed by a consideration of the artefacts recovered at these sites; while the second, contemplates the Lexden Tumulus and what we can learn from this feature about those residing at Colchester at this time.

¹⁹ In the interim report published by RPS in 2011 little of the physical evidence recovered during excavations at The Garrison was recorded, therefore we are at present ignorant to what the complete artefact record associated with this site comprised.

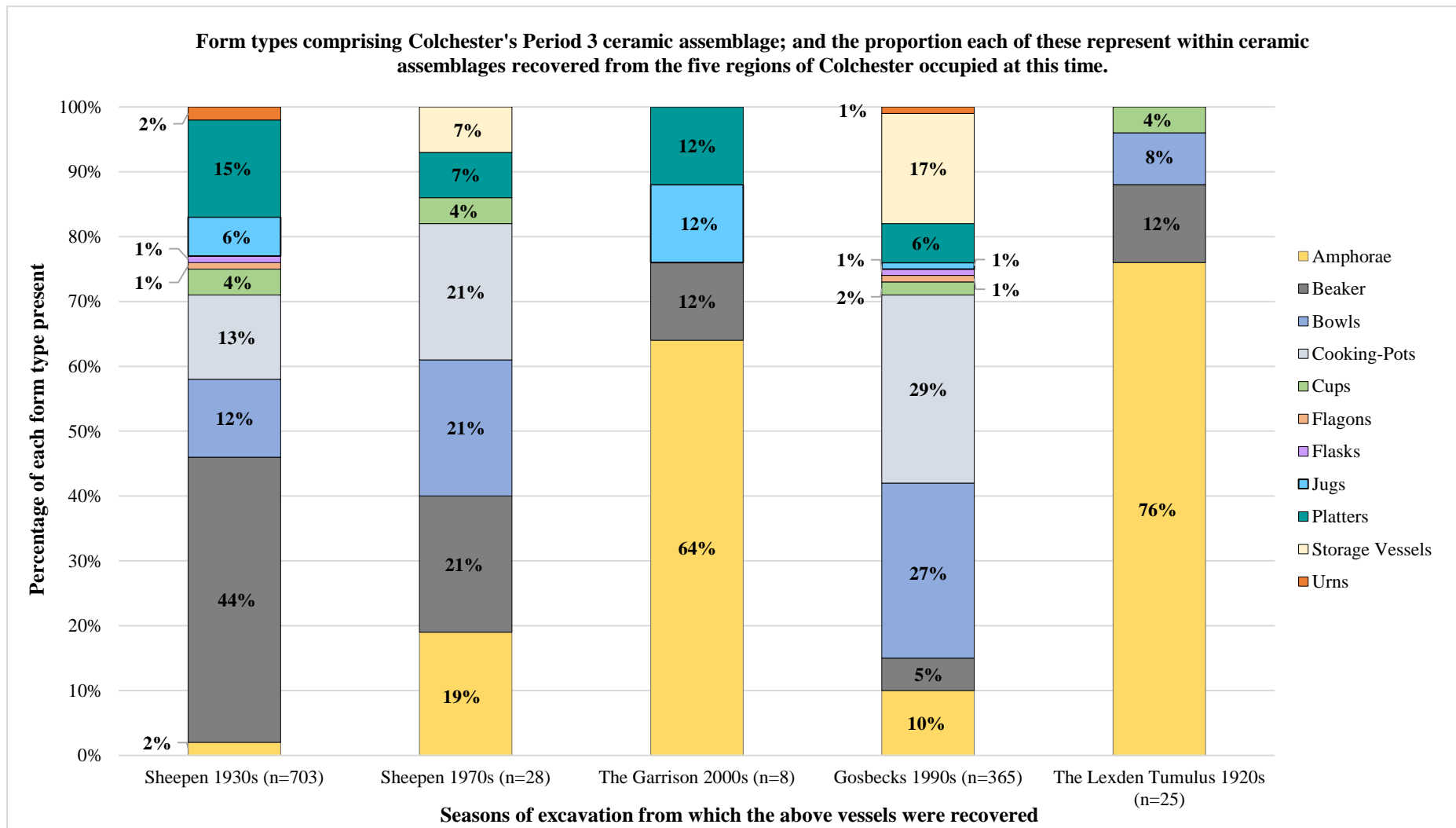


Figure 7.27: Based on information from Benfield 2002; Foster 1986; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

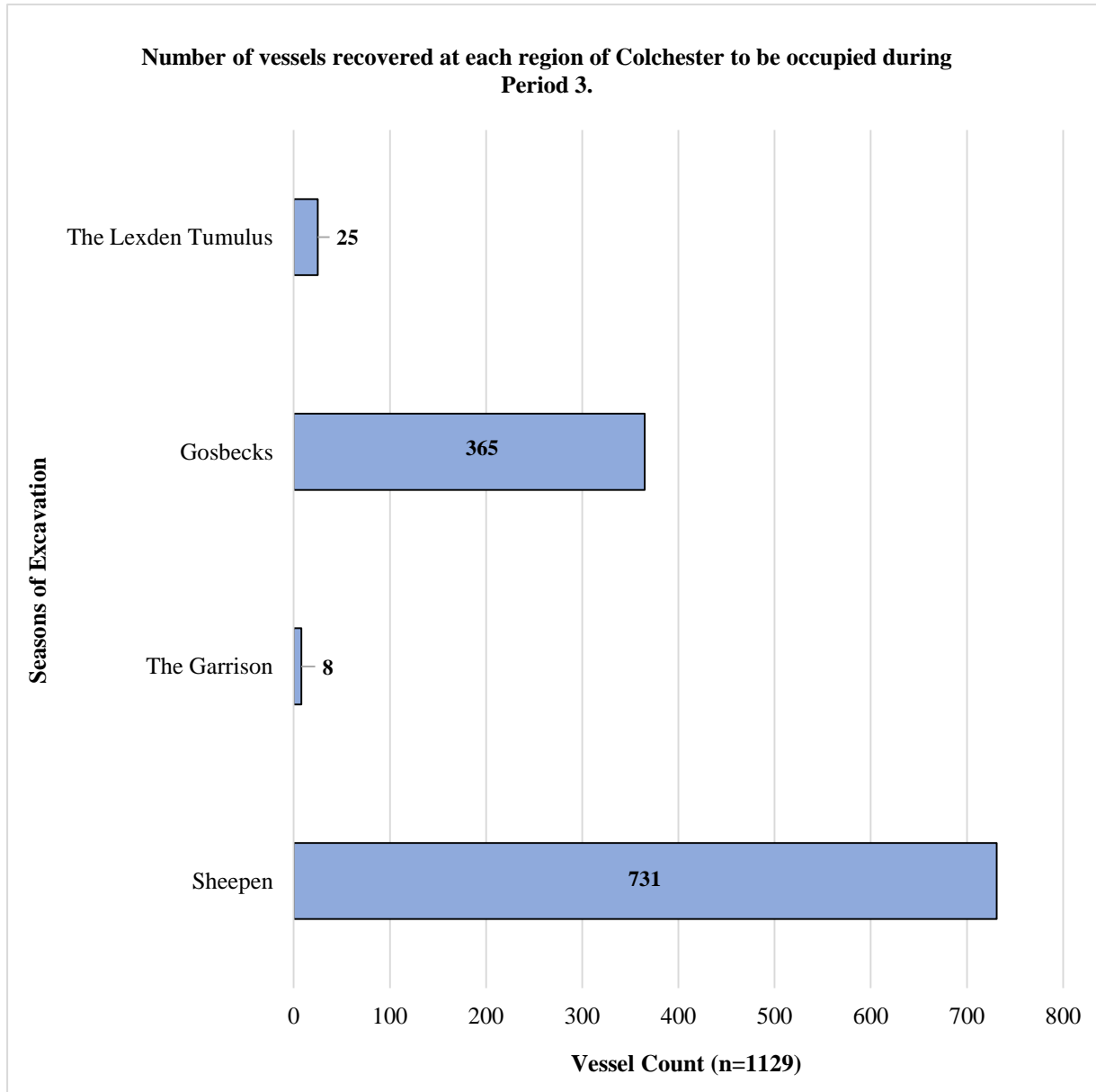


Figure 7.28: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Foster 1986; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

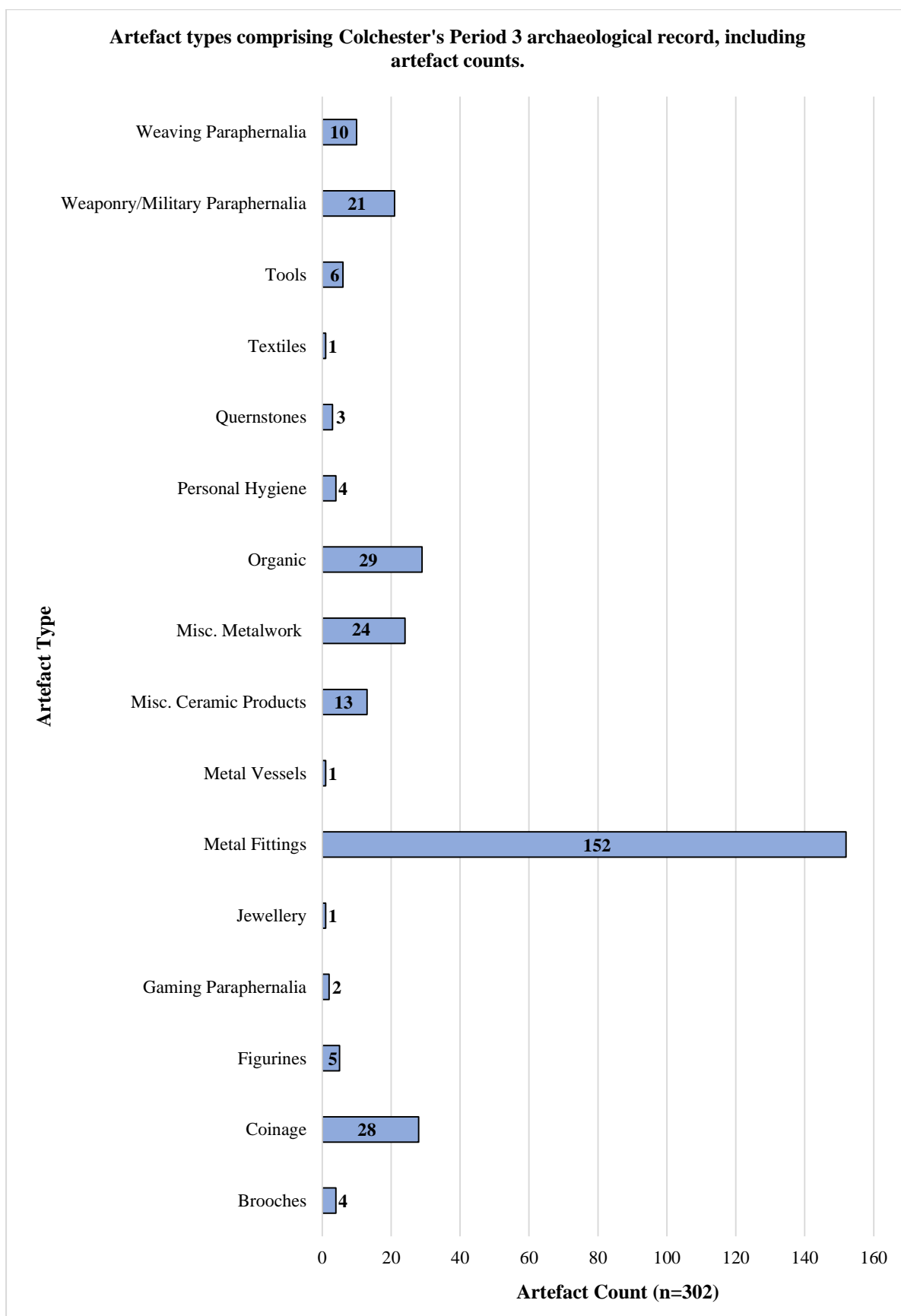


Figure 7.29: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Foster 1986; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

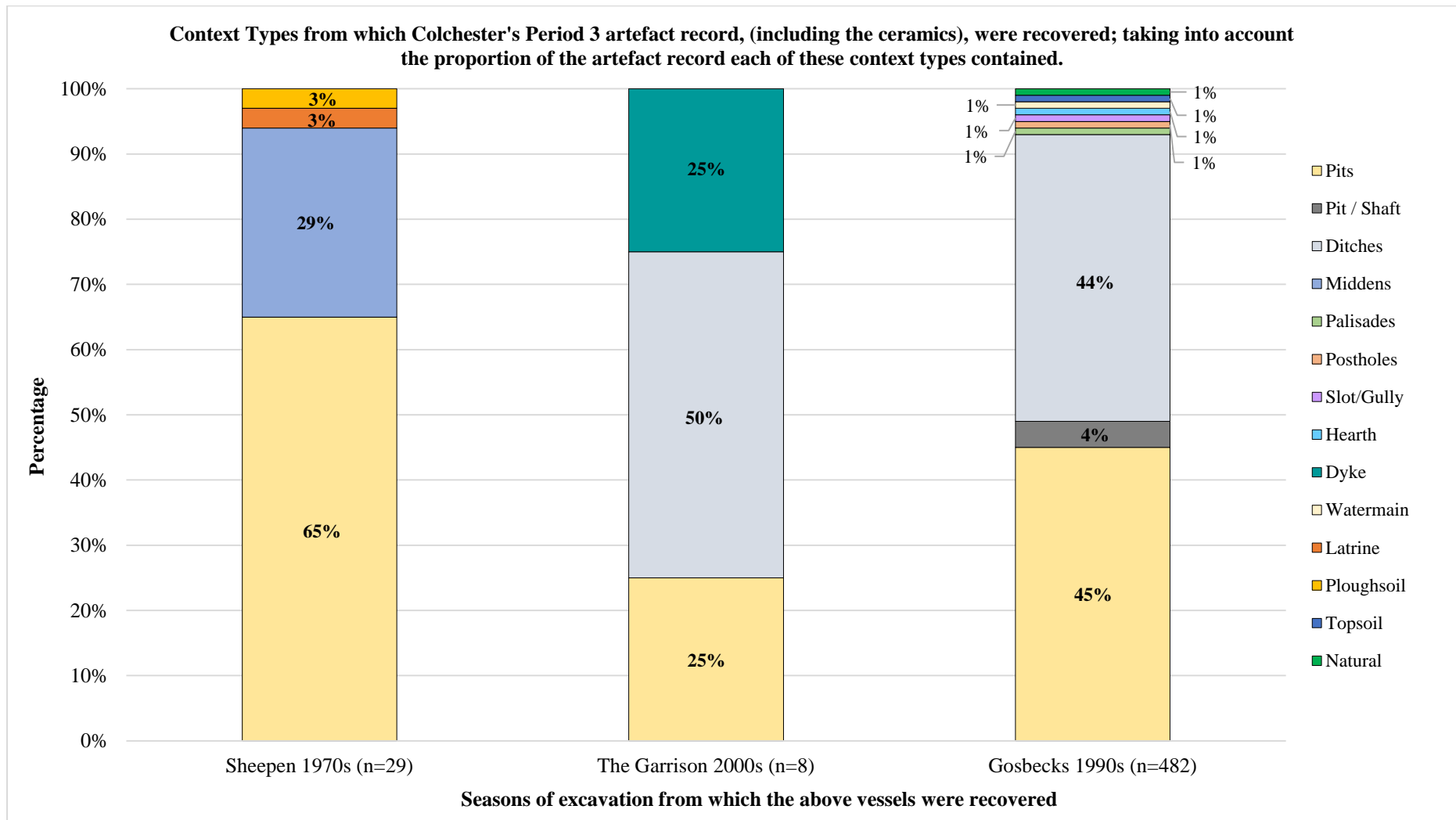


Figure 7.30: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

From Appendix 7.15 it is clear there are many activities that the features in use at Colchester during Period 3 may have supported. Sheepen at this time appears to have been primarily geared towards industrial activities, as the discovery of potential windbreaks, work hollows, and a well can be said to denote (see Figure 7.30/Appendix 7.15); although, the discovery of domestic architecture, (see Appendix 7.15), could be used to suggest that the site was also permanently occupied. Furthermore, this site's purported religious significance (e.g. Blake 1959; Crummy 1997; Hull 1958; Willis 2007) can be more firmly attributed to this period, given its solid archaeological footprint, than to either Period 1 or 2 (see Chapters 7.3.1-7.3.2). That is to say, the vast quantity of ceramics one would traditionally associate with communal activities/rituals recovered at Sheepen, such as the imported wares as well as those associated with feasts designed to bring communities together (see Chapters 3.2, 5.3; Figures 7.27, and 7.31-7.33/Appendix 7.16), just as a religious festival would have done, substantiate the notion that this site had a religious foci.

Period 3 structural features at The Garrison meanwhile can be said to resemble those associated with the site's potential use during Periods 1 and 2 (see Chapters 7.3.1-7.3.2); whilst those identified at Gosbecks, namely the roundhouses, rectilinear buildings, field systems, pits, ditches, and apparent sanctuary (see Figure 7.30/Appendix 7.15), can be said to depict the site as a rural farmstead where people could also go to attend to their religious needs. It can therefore be said that Colchester as a whole supported activities we would consider the norm for later Iron Age communities (see Chapter 3.4). Can the same be said of the site's artefact record?

From Figure 7.30 it is evident that the majority of the Period 3 artefacts at Colchester were recovered from pit, ditch, and midden contexts. This tells the author that these items were most likely deposited as a result of the aforementioned activities, as these are the features within which we would expect to find the remnants/by-products of these activities (see Chapter 6.2.1-6.2.2). When we take this observation and couple it with the form types comprising the site's ceramic assemblage, (see Figure 7.27), it is possible to surmise that the ceramics, particularly those recovered from Gosbecks and The Garrison, (given their association with sound contextual information), were used by those who resided at Colchester on a permanent-/semi-permanent basis. This latter inference is strengthened by the knowledge that the form types present are those we would associate with the preparation, cooking, and storage of foodstuffs within the domestic sphere (see Chapter 3.4.3).

Conversely, as Sheepen's connection with domestic occupation can be considered tenuous at best, this site's ceramic assemblage could actually reflect its status as a potential port, or alternatively its role as religious centre; processes we might be able to distinguish by taking into consideration not only the areas in which the vessels were recovered, but the artefacts discovered alongside them. Given the lack of stratigraphic information associated with the vessels recovered at Sheepen during the 1930s we are unable to follow the former of these lines of enquiry any further. With regards to the second, however, it can be said that we might expect Sheepen's role as a port to be represented by imported wares discovered alongside reasonable quantities of local products that may have been exchanged between local and visiting merchants for the imports; meanwhile, alongside those vessels that could highlight the site's role as a religious centre we might expect to find evidence of animal bones and/or other items left as offerings to local deities. Conversely, it should be noted here that bone does not survive particularly well within the soils of Essex (Sealey 2006, 30; 2007, vii), and the lack of stratigraphy makes it difficult/nearly impossible to determine which artefacts were recovered alongside these vessels. Therefore, all that we can say for certain is that these vessels may have been accumulated at the site as a cache of tradable wares readied to be 'shipped' elsewhere, be this in Britain or on the near Continent; or alternatively, they could represent vessels utilised during feasts held to celebrate religious festivals. These are points to which we will return below when we progress to a consideration of the vessels' origins (see pages 192-195).

In the interim however, we will briefly consider what the presence of non-native form types among the site's ceramic assemblage can tell us about Period 3 occupation at Colchester. This group of ceramics is traditionally believed to comprise: amphorae, beakers, cups, flagons, flasks, and platters (see Chapter 6.2.1); in other words, vessel forms of Roman origin. Typically one would view the appearance of these vessels, particularly the cups, flagons, flasks, and platters, as evidence for the adoption of Roman dining habits by native populations (see Chapter 4.2); but particularly by members of the elite (see Chapter 5.3). These vessels could therefore be said to represent how the changes outlined at the beginning of Chapter 7.3.3 influenced life at later Iron Age Colchester, as well as the possible ways in which the site's elite displayed their power.

Conversely, the considerable number of these vessels present at Sheepen, (see Figure 7.27), could suggest that they served a more symbolic purpose. That is to say, the presence of

numerous beakers, cups, and platters alongside the site's amphorae could be evidence for these vessels being adopted to accommodate the consumption of new foodstuffs, just as Okun suggested was the case for their appearance in the Rhineland (1989, 50). However, as these vessels have been recovered at the site of a potential religious foci, (in other words, there may have been an area of Sheepen that was dedicated to the coming together of local peoples, most likely a combination of Colchester's own resident population and their neighbours, to celebrate religious festivals and attend to other religious/ritual needs), the author believes that they could have been adopted for the purposes of religious feasting, because feasting paraphernalia such as this, as well as imported wares/those vessels held in high esteem by Iron Age peoples, were utilised to foster social cohesion at communal/religious events (see Chapters 3.2, 5.3). Moreover, it is possible that these vessels, given their relative rarity at Gosbecks,²⁰ were looked upon as luxury products by Colchester's population, and as such it is unlikely that they would have been discarded as willingly as locally produced and native bowl forms; in light of this, it is possible that the use, and subsequent deposition, of these vessels during religious festivals could have been viewed as a means through which they, the worshipers, could amplify the offerings/honour being bestowed upon local deities.

With the above observations regarding the non-traditional form types in mind our attentions turn to a consideration of the vessels' origins. From Figure 7.31 it is evident that the Sheepen 1930s and Garrison ceramic assemblages comprised more imported wares than locally produced vessels; whilst the opposite is true of those assemblages recovered during the 1970s at Sheepen and 1990s at Gosbecks.²¹ Furthermore, a small proportion of the vessels at both Sheepen and Gosbecks were locally produced imitations of imported forms (see Figure 7.31).

If we begin our consideration of the ceramic assemblages' origins by contemplating the locally produced wares, the first thing to note is that these vessels likely denote the existence of potteries at Colchester between the years of 30/25 BC and AD 20/25. Although evidence of later Iron Age potteries at Colchester has yet to be identified, there is a chance that this activity was engaged in at this time because of the clay deposits present within the site's geology (see

²⁰ It is possible that this was also the case at The Garrison however the lack of a complete excavation report for this site means that it is impossible to verify this notion at present.

²¹ It is of course possible that this spread of imported and locally produced vessels could alter following the publication of full reports of recent work at The Garrison.

The Percentage of Imported, Imitated and Locally Produced wares comprising Colchester's Period 3 ceramic assemblages, taking into account their distribution across the site's most prolific seasons of excavation.

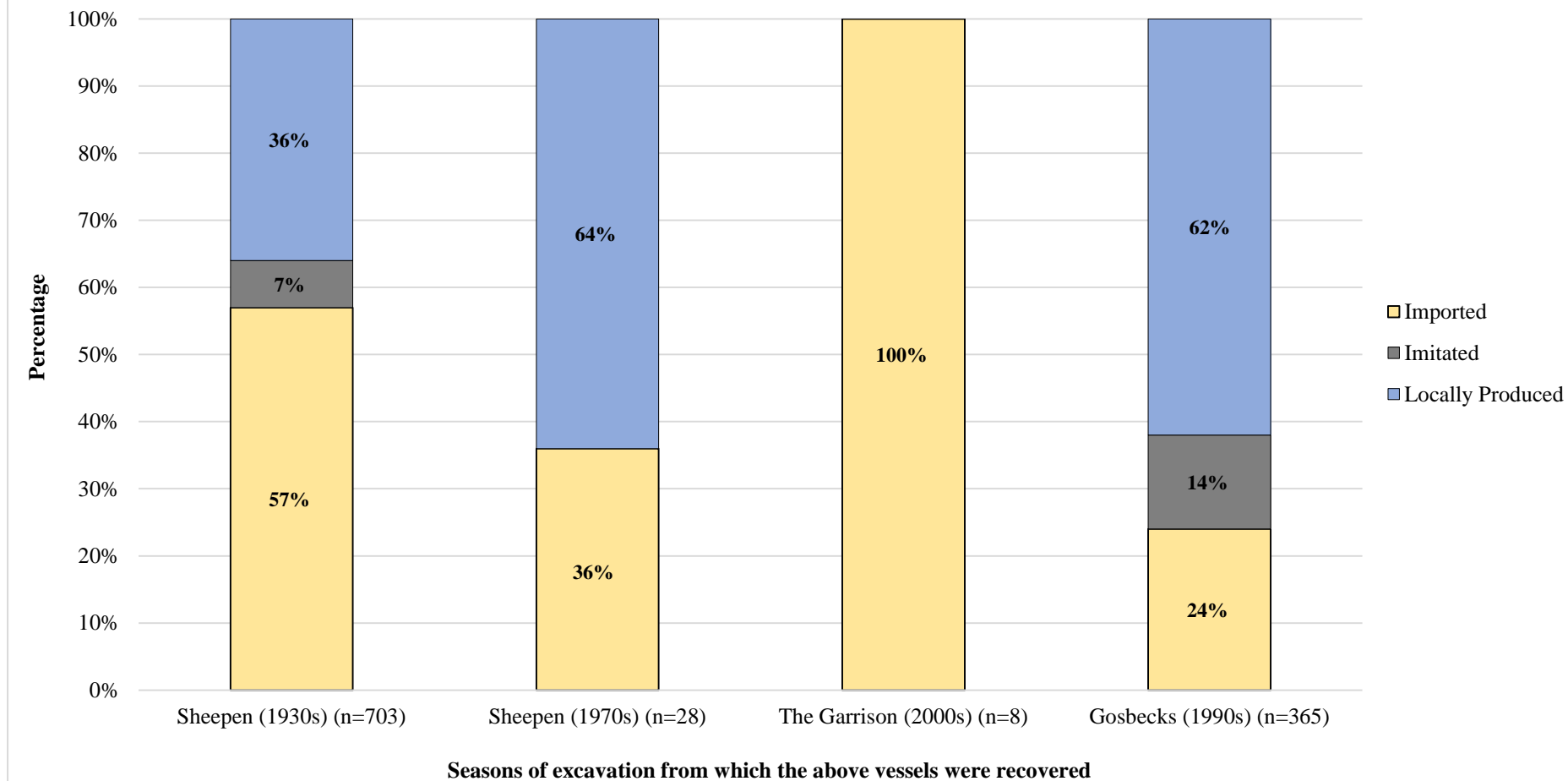


Figure 7.31: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

Chapter 7.1), and the resourcefulness of Iron Age communities in that they made use of their surroundings to manufacture what they needed on a day-to-day basis whenever possible. Should these suppositions be correct the author believes it likely that these locally produced ceramics were manufactured at Sheepen where there was plentiful open space and water on hand to temper industrial fires; and moreover, that this commodity was likely a key component of Colchester's economy, along with the likely surplus of agricultural produce generated at both Gosbecks and The Garrison.

The preference for these vessels amongst the general populous at Gosbecks, (see Figure 7.31), can be said to confirm earlier notions that this site was a rural farmstead; as we would expect to find locally produced vessels, (or the more affordable imported wares should a community not be able to produce their own ceramics), on a site such as this (see Chapter 6.2.1). Conversely, this is not to say that Gosbecks' population was un-stratified, as it is likely that the site's imported wares denote the existence of one or more individuals of power at the site; a point that will be explored further as we turn our attentions to Colchester's imported wares.

The imported wares comprising later Iron Age Colchester's ceramic assemblages originated from four regions of Temperate Europe, and one other region of Britain (see Figures 7.32-7.33); and together they can be said to provide insight into a number of aspects of this site's occupation during Period 3. Firstly, their appearance at Colchester can be used to confirm pre-existing notions that Sheepen was a port whose position on the River Colne facilitated its role as such (see Chapter 7.2). Whilst it is plausible that the merchants operating out of Sheepen could have acquired these vessels directly from their sources the author believes that, with the exception of the Kentish wares, they were actually imported from a redistribution centre in Northern Gaul, such as Alet or Nacqueville (see Chapter 4.3) via a combination of long distance and down-the-line trade (see Chapter 4.3); just as it is surmised was the case with the majority of continental imports of later Iron Age date (see Chapters 4.2-4.3).

Similarly, it is equally possible that the Kentish wares were not traded directly between the merchants of Colchester and their Kentish counterparts; however, the author does not believe that this was the case; an inference that is based upon the additional evidence at Colchester that can be said to suggest a relationship between this site and those in Kent. This evidence includes the notion that the Lexden Tumulus shares similarities with the Aylesford-Swarling tradition prominent in Kent during the later Iron Age (see Chapter 7.2), and the fact that the rectilinear

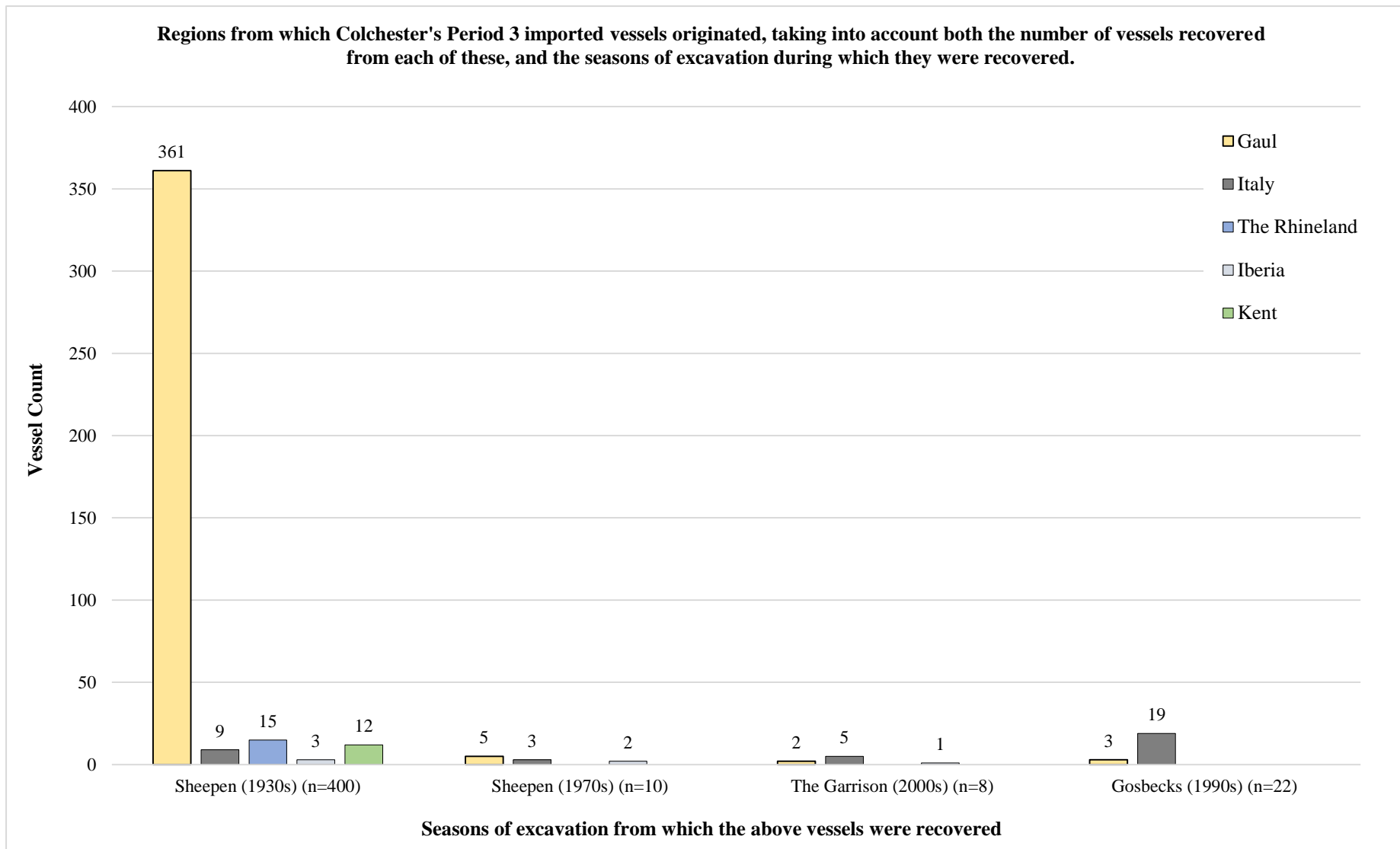


Figure 7.32: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

Regions from which Colchester's imported vessels originated, taking into account both the number of vessels recovered from each of these, and the seasons of excavation during which they were recovered. Excluding the Gaulish ware recovered during the 1930s

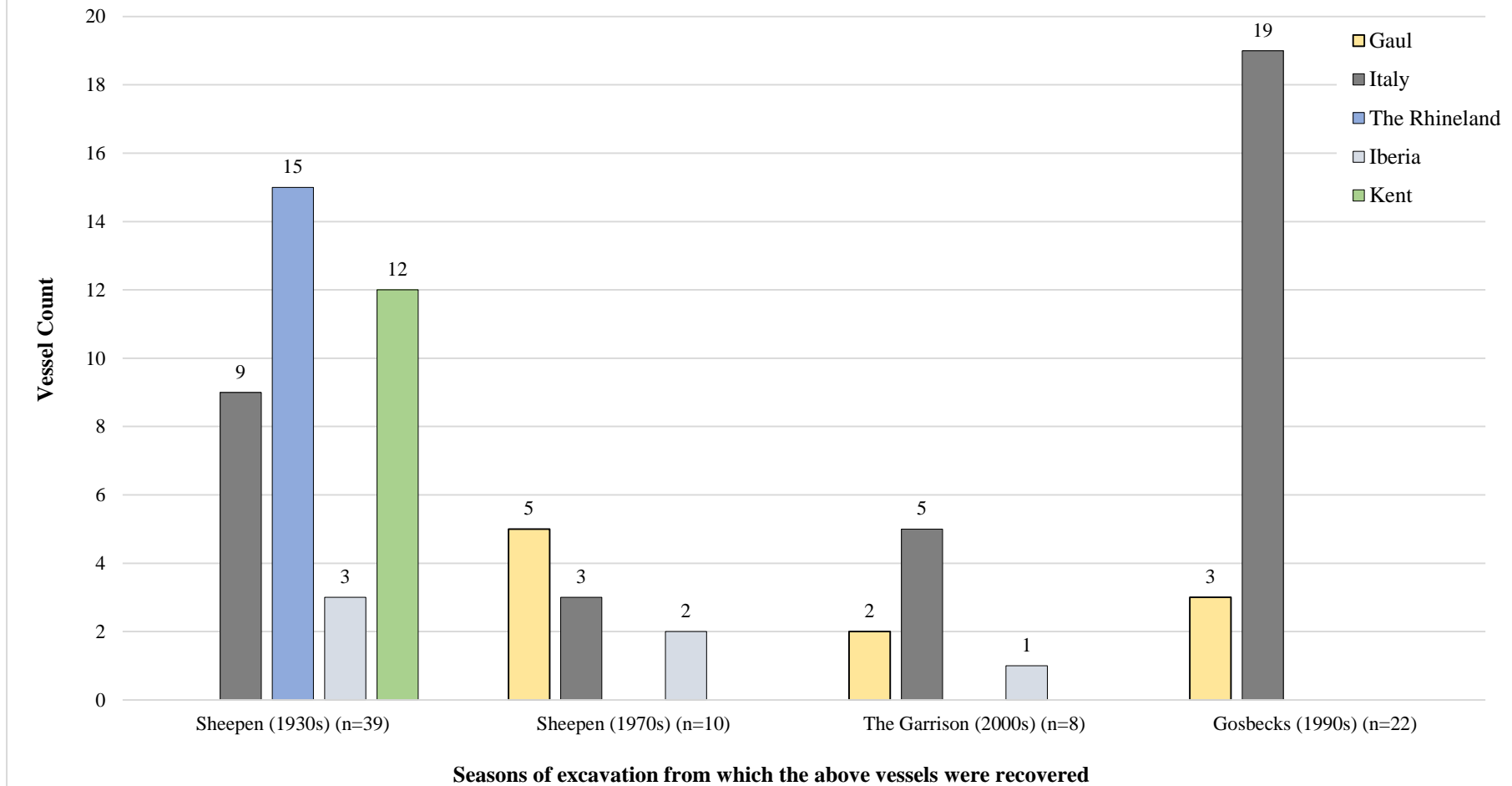


Figure 7.33: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

buildings at both Gosbecks and Sheepen are paralleled by those identified in the Canterbury area (see Chapter 10).

In addition to providing insight into Colchester's economic relationships, the site's imported vessels could also be said to highlight the existence of a stratified community at Colchester. Traditionally these vessels are believed to represent conspicuous consumption on the part of the elite (see Chapter 5.2); therefore we can state that the earlier inference that Gosbecks was home to a stratified populations is likely true, with this also being a plausible explanation for the use of these vessels at The Garrison.²² However, given that these vessels are more prominent at Sheepen than locally produced vessels, (see Figure 7.31), and that there is limited evidence of domestic occupation at this site, (see Appendix 7.15), the author believes that these vessels are more likely indicative of the site's role as both a port and religious foci. With regards to the former of these notions it is possible that these vessels were a cache of imported wares that had been readied for redistribution within Colchester itself, or to be traded with local communities for those wares that could not be manufactured by local craftsmen. Although this supposition has merit one has to wonder why these vessels never reached their final destination, especially since the site continued to be a flourishing centre of economic activity during Period 4, and the subsequent Roman era, (see Chapter 7.3.4). Consequently, it can be said that while some of these vessels may have been used as symbols of power by those residing within the site's apparent domestic dwellings, the majority of them are likely the remnants of feasts designed to both foster social cohesion and/or celebrate religious festivals.

The inference that these vessels were used to maintain social relationships within the local community is extremely likely, because, it is well documented that both food and imported wares were key components of events designed for this purpose (see Chapter 5.3). Similarly, for this reason, and those stated in connection to the use of non-native wares at Sheepen, it is correspondingly plausible that the imported wares were used at religious ceremonies at the purported shrine of Sheepen during Period 3, as this structure is believed to have been pre-Roman in date and in use during the reign of Cunobelin (Hull 1958, 229), who is said to have ruled from c.AD 10-40 (Creighton 2000, 75-78, Fig, 3.7; Haselgrove 1987). Imported wares at Colchester can therefore be said to have served several purposes.

²² This is however a notion that can only be confirmed with regards to The Garrison upon the release of a complete report of excavations at the site, because at present we do not have a complete knowledge of the site's ceramic assemblage.

Finally, our attentions turn to the imitation wares. These vessels can be said to denote one of three possible processes. Firstly, it is possible that these vessels were manufactured to expand the availability of certain imports for which there was considerable demand but that local merchants could not obtain in the required number. Secondly, it is possible that these vessels represent items consumed by those of middling status who wished to emulate individuals of power; and thirdly, given that imitation wares are the rarest of the three categories into which the author has divided Colchester's ceramic assemblage, (see Figure 7.31), it could be surmised that these vessels, rather than the imported wares, were used to display status at this site. Although all three of these ideas could to a certain extent be validated, the author believes that the former is unlikely given that the majority of imitation wares appear in vessel forms that do not appear at the site in their original guise, and that the latter is even more unlikely because most of the imitation wares are cooking vessels and therefore unlikely to have served anything but a practical purpose for those who owned them. Consequently, it is the second of these interpretations that arguably has most worth; although, given that most of these vessels are cooking-pots the fact that they imitate vessels that originate elsewhere, in this case The Rhineland, likely has no special significance, and that this was simply the preferred style at this site.

Progressing to a consideration of the remaining components of the artefact record the first thing to note is that they confirm earlier notions that Colchester conformed to traditional Iron Age pursuits (see page 188). That is to say, the artefacts present, primarily those from Gosbecks, denote both arable and pastoral farming regimes; as well as metalworking, carpentry, and textile production (see Appendix 7.17). We can therefore state with conviction that there were both farmers and craftsmen residing at Colchester between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25, and that the site's population was relatively self-sustaining.

In addition to the above there are also items comprising the site's artefact record that denote both personal hygiene and adornment, trade, the forging of social/economic relationships, and possibly even conspicuous consumption (see Appendix 7.17). The nuances of these pursuits, and the artefacts that denote them can be seen in Appendix 7.17 and therefore do not need to be considered in detail here; however, before we progress to a consideration of the Lexden Tumulus and what this burial can tell us about life at Colchester and the cultural beliefs of its

populations, we will first consider the origins of this material, as well as in what ways they may be able to symbolise conspicuous consumption.

From Figure 7.34 it is evident that Colchester's artefact record, (excluding the ceramic assemblage), originated from 7 regions; 6 of which fall outside of Colchester's immediate vicinity. The locally produced products confirm notions that the site was inhabited by craftsmen; whilst those originating in Temperate Europe further confirm the existence of trading partnerships between local merchants and their Gallic counterparts, and those from elsewhere in Britain represent trading relationships between Colchester and its neighbouring communities. In other words, this aspect of the artefact record confirms those notions about the site's economic relationships borne from a consideration of the site's ceramic assemblage (see pages 190-195).

Furthermore, it is possible that those artefacts of continental origin could have been consumed by the elite to display their power, just as it has long been assumed imported goods were during the later Iron Age (see Chapter 5.3); although it is equally likely they were simply filling a void within the local market. It is, however, not only the imported materials that could be said to imply the existence of the elite at Colchester. Within some of the ancient sources it is stated that later Iron Age nobles demonstrated their position within society through their grooming habits (see Chapter 5.4). Consequently, it is possible that those items encompassed under the heading 'personal hygiene' in Figure 7.29 were used for this purpose; however, it is impossible to ascertain the truth behind this supposition using the evidence available today. Despite this, one can state that in addition to representing the existence of traditional pursuits, the components of the local economy, and Colchester's economic relationships the site's artefact record could also provide insight into its power connotations.

The Lexden Tumulus, as its name suggests, was a burial chamber overlain with a barrow. This chamber, said to be part of the Welwyn burial tradition predominantly found in Hertfordshire, contained a wealth of archaeological material, totalling 25 ceramic vessels, (see Figure 7.35), and 159 additional artefacts, (see Appendix 7.17). The ceramic assemblage recovered from this burial mirrors many others recovered from graves of this date, such as Dorton, Welwyn Garden City, and Linsdell (Sealey 2009, Table 4); with the form types themselves mirroring

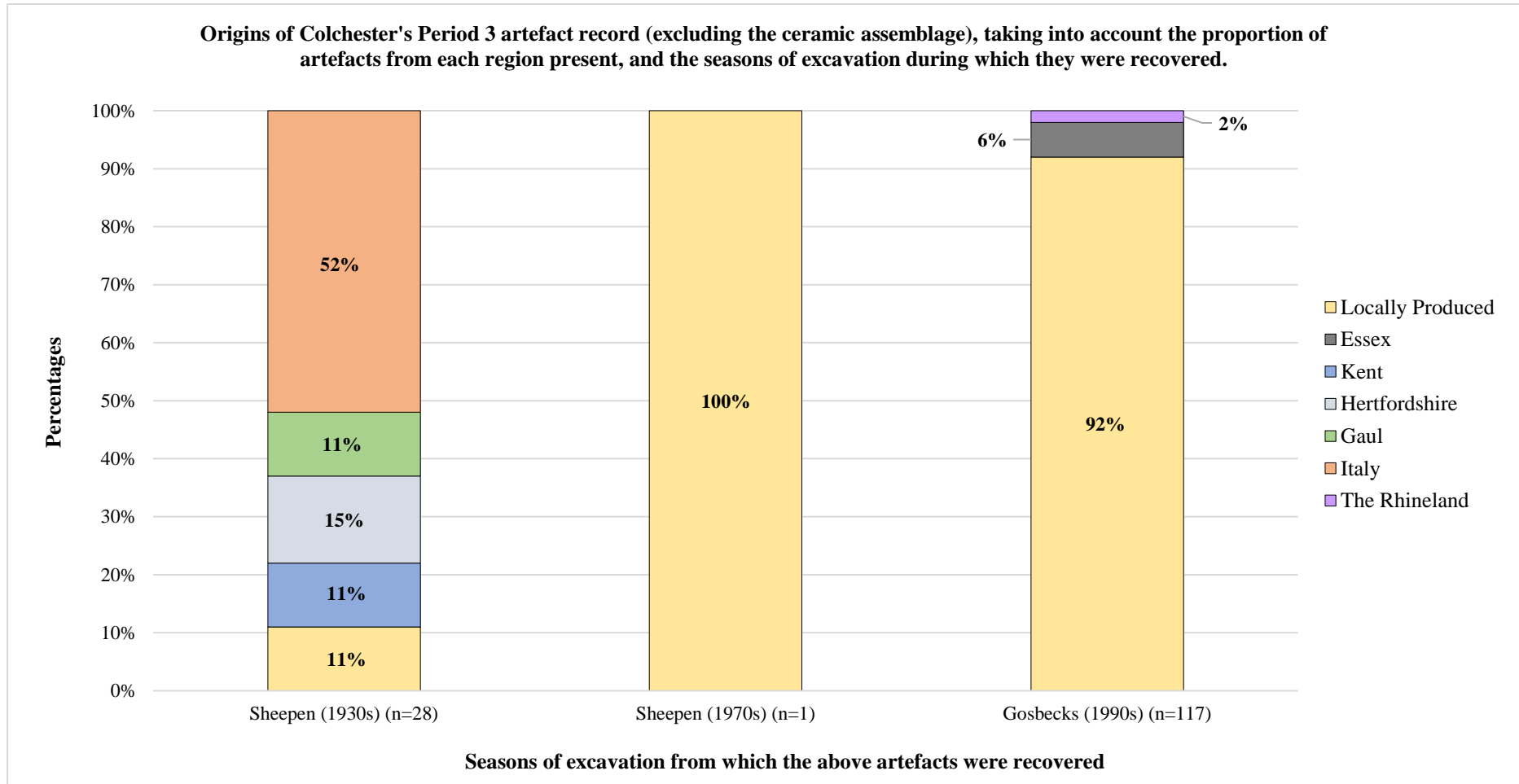


Figure 7.34: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985.

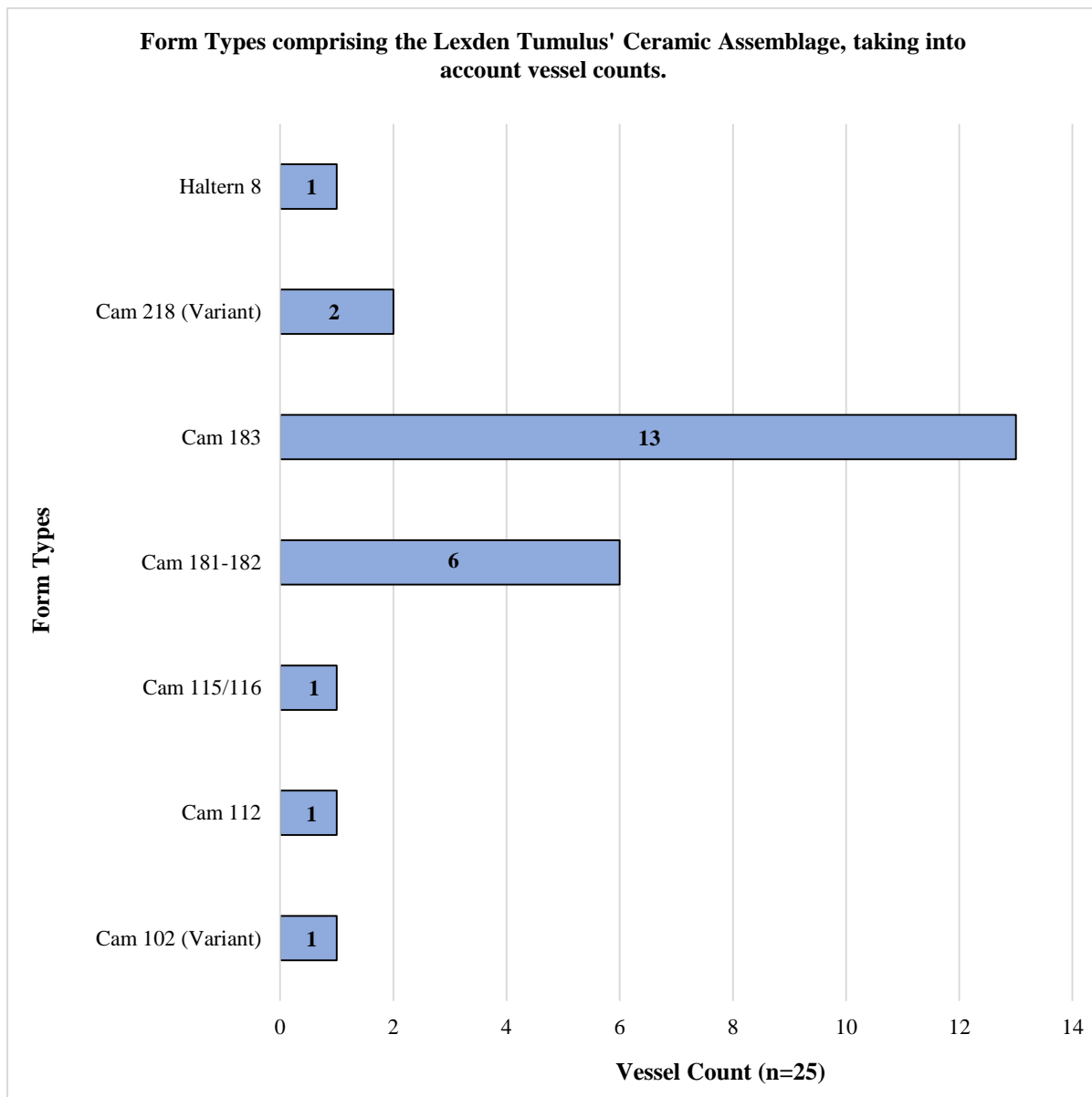


Figure 7.35: Based on information from Foster 1986.

those recovered elsewhere at Colchester (see Figure 7.27). In light of this latter observation, and earlier contemplations of what these vessels may have been used for at other sites of religious import at Colchester, namely Sheepen and Gosbecks (see page 195), it can be said that these ceramics denote feasting and/or the pouring of libations in honour of the gods for two reasons. Firstly, because together they represent an assemblage comprised of form types associated with feasting deposits from this time (see Chapters 3.2, 5.3), as their similarities with the so-called feasting deposits at Elms Farm, Heybridge (see Chapter 8.3) and the graves at both Lamadelaine (see Chapter 9.1.2.4) and Goebblange-Nospelt (see Appendix 9.7) can attest; and secondly, because amphorae, and other vessels associated with the storage, pouring, and/or consumption of liquids, such as beakers and cups, are regularly cited for their use in providing offerings, such as libations, to local deities during the later Iron Age (Poux 2014b, 172-173). The use of these vessels in this way allowed the author to surmise that they represent the observation of three burial rites by the site's occupants during the interment of their deceased, including:

1. A feast designed to allow the living to pay their respects to the deceased, (a process associated with many Iron Age burials), in which the vessels used were deposited within the grave to allow the deceased to participate in the feast also; a process that Metzler *et al.* identify within the burials associated with Titelberg (1999, 388).
2. The inclusion of goods mourners believed would be needed by the deceased either for their journey to/for their time in the afterlife.
3. Offerings made to the deities that would have been looked to by the mourners to guide the deceased safely to the afterlife.

Moreover, with regards to above points it is important to note that while these vessels may have belonged to the deceased in life their inclusion within the Lexden Tumulus rests entirely with the living; because after all it is the living who decide what is to be included within a grave assemblage (Parker-Pearson 2009).

Correspondingly, the above inferences can also be applied to the other artefacts recovered from within the Lexden Tumulus (see Appendix 7.17); because many of the imported pieces comprising this assemblage belonged to the deceased, and their inclusion within the grave was to prevent the status they imbued upon this individual in life being seized by another. With

this possibility in mind, we will briefly consider what these artefacts could impart about this individual.

Based on the nature of these goods it can be stated that the individual interred within the Lexden Tumulus had connections with the Roman World. This is primarily evidenced through the artefacts of Mediterranean origin, especially the medallion bearing Augustus' effigy, but also through the metal fittings which are believed to have once been attached to furniture very much in vogue with the styles being used by officials in Rome at this time (Creighton 2006, 38). Should this have been the case, it is possible that this individual was either someone of power within the local population, or one of the sons sent by British nobility to be educated in Rome as a result of growing contact between Britain and the Roman World (Creighton 2000, 137; Roymans 2009, 229-230). Conversely, it is equally possible that this individual was a successful merchant who had accumulated objects used by Roman politicians by way of his craft. All of these inferences are viable, although the author believes that it would only be someone who was known to be a supporter of Rome and Augustus who would have acquired a medallion bearing the latter's image, because the grave goods indicate an individual with clear Roman tastes (Foster 1986, 188), particularly the folding stool which resembles those used in Rome as a ceremonial seat by persons of authority (Wanscher 1980, 121), thus making the first two interpretations more likely than the third. However, given the nature of this period and its archaeological footprint it is impossible to determine which of the above inferences holds more truth than the others. It therefore remains for the author to state that the Lexden Tumulus' archaeological record furthers earlier conclusions about the nature of Sheepen in that the locally produced material could have been produced within the site's industrial workshops, while the imported goods would have entered Colchester through Sheepen as a result of it having been a port.

7.3.3.3: A Summary

Period 3 occupation at later Iron Age Colchester can ultimately be said to measure up to that occurring at any number of settlements occupied between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25 in both Britain and Temperate Europe; a point that will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 11.4. Primarily, this site was a centre where domestic occupation, farming regimes and craft production went hand-in-hand; this is however not all that the site was used for. Sheepen was undoubtedly a region with two foci, the first religious and the second as a port, whilst Gosbecks too had religious import. Furthermore, the vast array of imported goods at the site can be used

to suggest that the site was one of economic importance. Consequently, in addition to being a site where traditional Iron Age pursuits were conducted the site can also be said to have specialised in both trade and religion.

In addition to the above, it can also be said that Colchester was occupied by a diverse society during Period 3. Primarily the occupants of this site would have been farmers and craftsmen, but in light of the above observations it can be said that this site was also home to merchants and religious figures. Therefore, all of the resident population's needs could be met either on-site, or through contact with trading partners. Moreover, not only was this site's population diverse, it was also stratified. From a consideration of the site's artefact record it can be said that there were members of the local community who were of an elevated social standing, as well as those who may have wanted to emulate individuals from this social group. Individuals who fall into the former of these categories appear to have displayed their status through the consumption of both imported wares and vessels in form types one would typically associate with the Roman World. However, it is important to remember that these same vessels were also used within some areas of Colchester for communal events thus allowing us insight into the site's cultural practices and, in the case of those recovered from the Lexden Tumulus, beliefs. Finally, it remains for the author to state here that many of the ideas and interpretations presented within the literature measure up to those presented above. There is however one exception to this, the notion that the site was a tribal centre. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of Period 3 date that can at the present time be used to confirm this idea; in order to do so, future excavations at Colchester would need to produce evidence such as that discussed in Chapter 2, (see page 11), which is said to denote the existence of tribal centres within the archaeological record.

Furthermore, although the core activities engaged in by the majority of Colchester's occupants between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25 tally with those occurring across much of Britain and Temperate Europe during the later Iron Age (see Chapter 3.4), and as such likely call into questions this site's characterisation as an *oppidum*²³, there are some elements of the site's use at this time that could be considered atypical. For example, it appears that in addition to acting as a port, which is not unusual in itself (as the discussions presented in Chapter 4.3 clearly demonstrate), Colchester had a monopoly on long distance trade at this time, as evidenced by

²³ The site's characterisation as an *oppidum* is clearly seen in Chapter 7.2.

the vast array of imports within its ceramic assemblage (see Figures 7.32-7.33/Appendix 7.16). This scenario is believed to have denoted a settlement of considerable status during the later Iron Age, (see Chapter 5.3), and as such could mark Colchester out as different from the vast majority of its contemporaries; in doing this, this period of the site's later Iron Age occupation could tally with characteristics sought in potential *oppida* (see Chapter 2). It is possible therefore that further consideration of Period 3 occupation at Colchester in Chapter 11 could, to an extent, see the site warrant its label as an *oppidum*, but as partial adherence to this term is likely at the root of many of the problems we face when studying the settlements classified as such it seems that the overall conclusions drawn will see this term's validity called into question.

7.3.4: Period 4: AD 25/30 – 50

Period 4 occupation at Colchester spans the latest Iron Age and formative years of the subsequent Claudian invasion period. The beginning of this period falls within a period where we see those changes taking place during Period 3, (see Chapter 7.3.3), continue and in some respects intensify; whilst the end of Period 4 is marked by the beginnings of dramatic changes within some areas of Britain, Colchester included.

By c.AD 50 the Roman fortress at Sheepen, established between AD 44 and 49, had begun its transformation into the colonial foundation of Colchester (Tacitus *The Annals* XIV; Crummy 1984, 72-78; Pitts and Perring 2006). Furthermore, during these early years of Roman occupation at Colchester, both the fort (Wilson 1977) and theatre (Dunnett 1971) at Gosbecks, were probably erected to allow those stationed at Colchester by Claudius to engage in Roman cultural practices from home. One might therefore expect this period of Colchester's later Iron Age occupation to be represented by a slump in later Iron Age materials, as well as those representing a combination of both later Iron Age and Roman cultures, in favour of those solely representative of Roman occupation; because the presence of veterans from Claudius' army at Colchester could have displaced aspects of the native population, and in doing so led to the replacement of traditional material culture. This however was not the case.

7.3.4.1: The Evidence

In many respects Colchester's Period 4 archaeological record mirrors that attributed to Period 3, (Chapter 7.3.3.). Like its forerunner, Period 4 occupation at Colchester has left a sizable morphological footprint, in terms of the structural features in use at this time, within the

archaeological record (see Appendix 7.18). Further to this, Colchester's Period 3 ceramic assemblage comprised 1129 vessels, whilst that attributed to Period 4, (see Appendix 7.19), contained 1408 vessels. Of these 1408 vessels 193 were recovered from the newly introduced Stanway Cemetery, while the biggest increase elsewhere at Colchester is visible at Gosbecks (see Figure 7.36). Furthermore, this period's ceramic assemblage is comprised of 11 form types (see Figure 7.37), with these vessels being either locally produced native wares, imported wares, or local imitations of these (see Figure 7.38).

In addition to the above, Period 4 occupation at Colchester is also represented by 688 additional artefacts, (see Appendix 7.20); twice as many as were recovered at the site in Period 3 (see Chapter 7.3.3.1). From Figure 7.39 it is evident that this assemblage comprised 17 artefact types; while, Figure 7.40 illustrates that the majority of these artefacts were recovered from the Stanway Cemetery, although both Sheepen and Gosbecks also made sizable contributions to this dataset. Finally, with the exception of those artefacts, ceramic or otherwise, recovered at the Stanway Cemetery, those recovered elsewhere in Colchester came from 13 context types (see Figure 7.41).

7.3.4.2: An Analysis

As there are many similarities between the artefact records of Period 3 and 4 date at Colchester a number of the observations borne from an analysis of the data outlined above, (Chapter 7.3.4.1), mirror those presented in Chapter 7.3.3.2. This is particularly true of those inferences reached as a result of contemplations pertaining to the morphology attributed to Period 4.

The first thing to note in relation to Colchester's Period 4 morphology, (excluding the Stanway Cemetery which will be considered as its own entity below (see pages 221-227)), is that, with the exception of three features that had not previously been seen at the site, these primarily denote those activities synonymous with later Iron Age occupation. In other words, these features, like their Period 3 counterparts, signify domestic occupation, farming activities, and domestic/industrial craft production (see Appendix 7.18). Consequently, the site continued to engage in activities typical of the period. Conversely, those features previously unseen at the site, namely two forts, and a theatre, tell us that towards the end of this period changes were starting to occur.

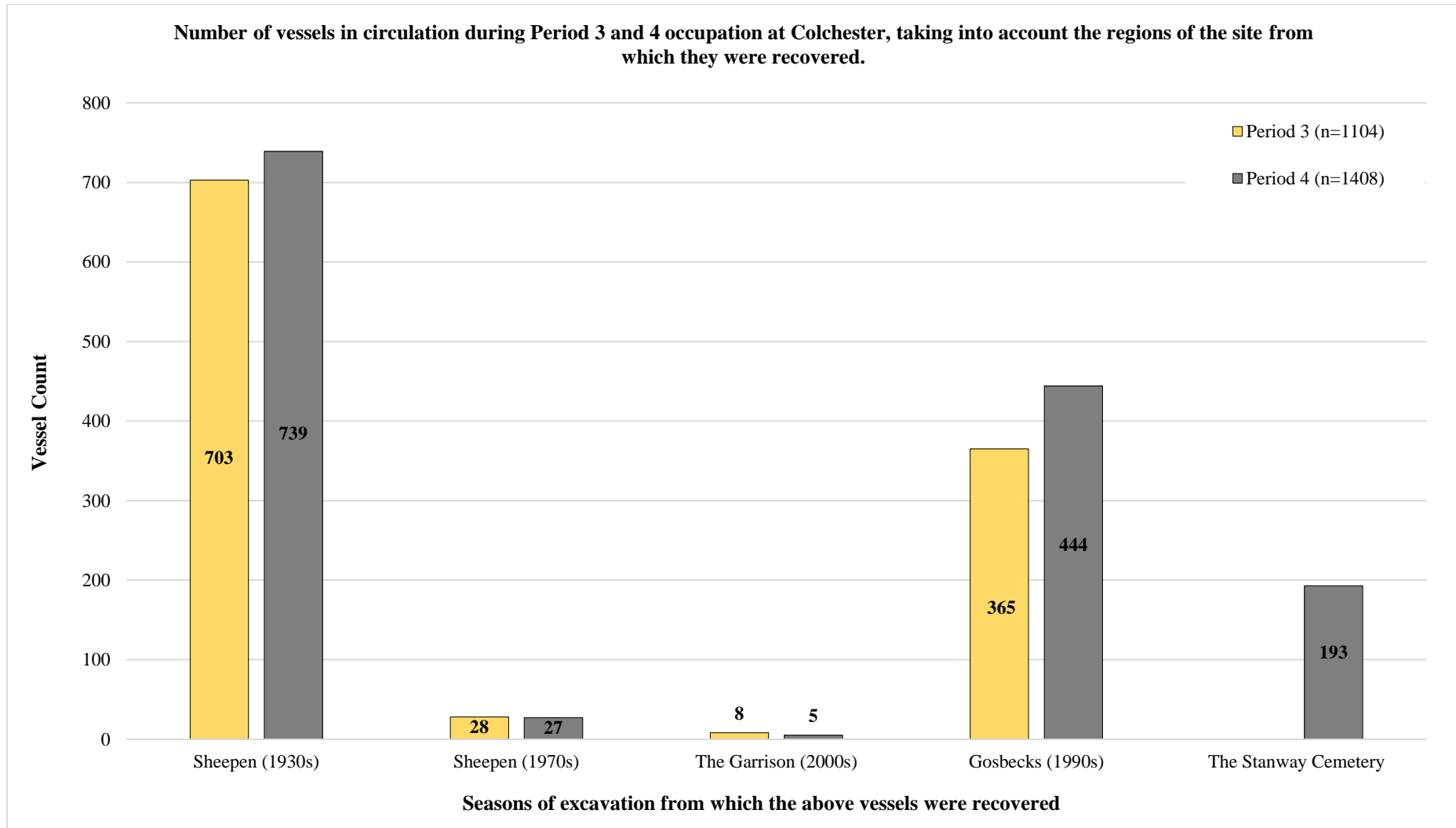


Figure 7.36: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Crummy *et al.* 2007; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

Form types comprising Colchester's Period 4 ceramic assemblage, taking into account the proportions of these present within each region of the site occupied at this time.

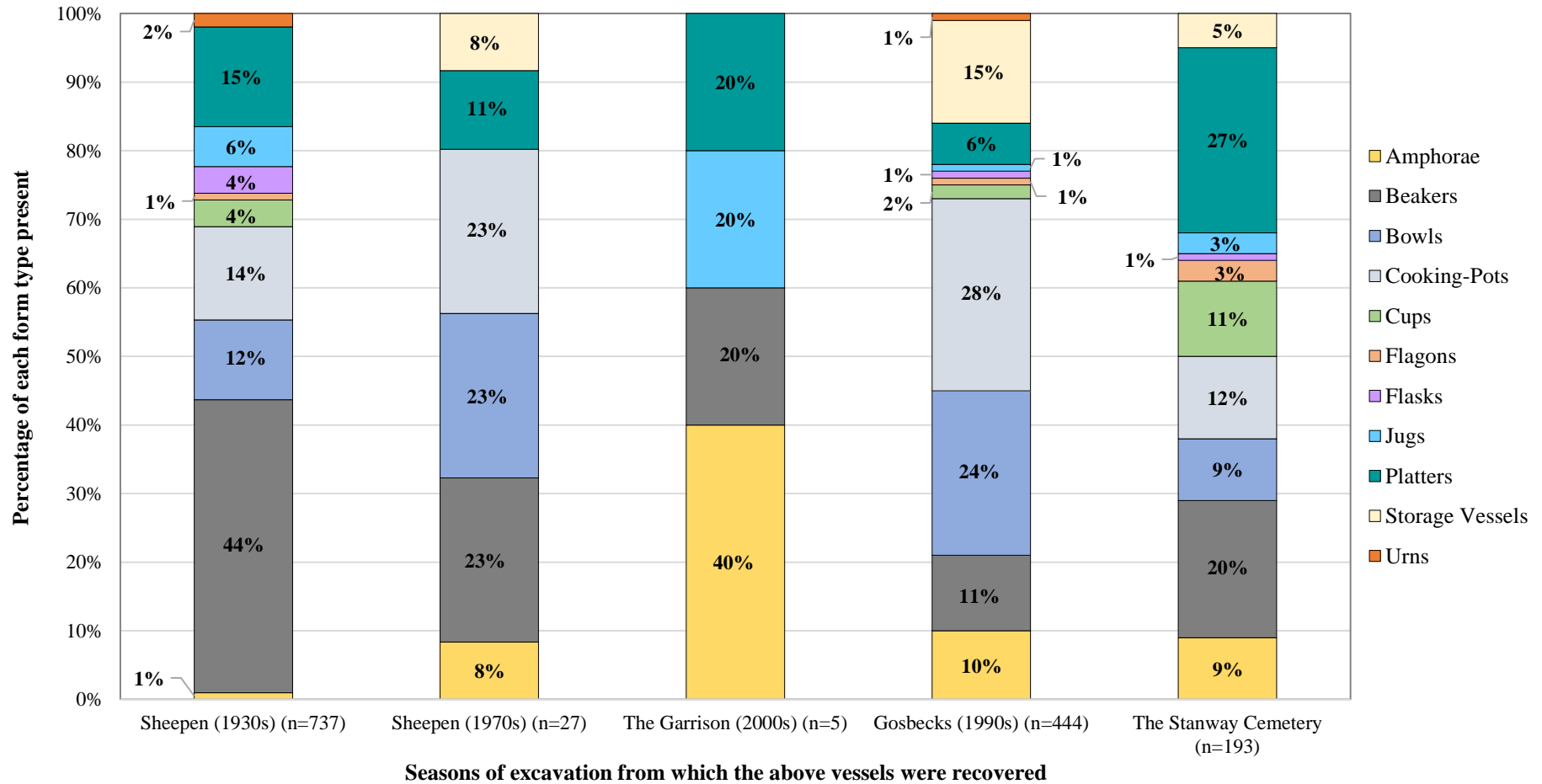


Figure 7.37: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Crummy *et al.* 2007; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

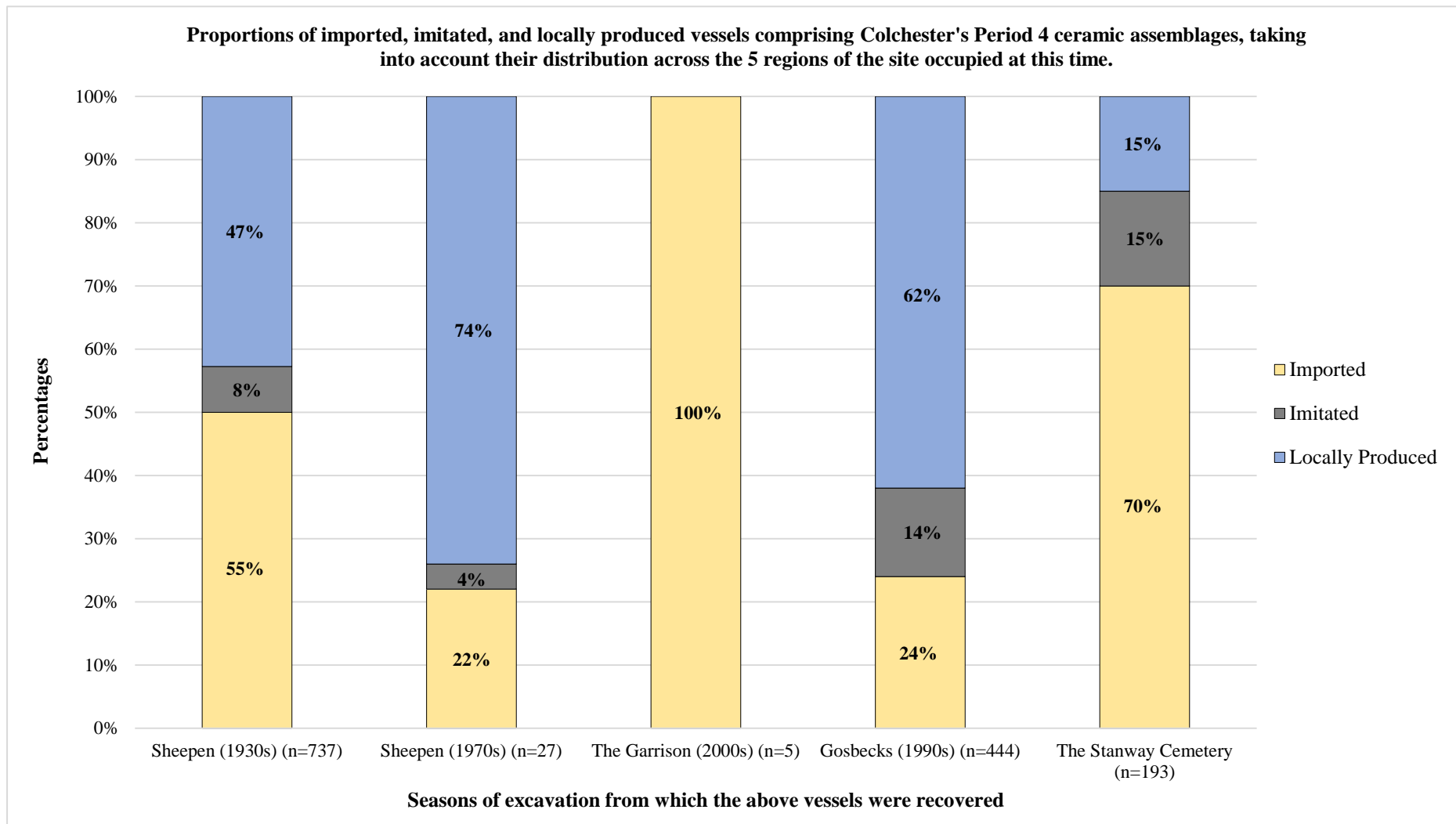


Figure 7.38: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Crummy *et al.* 2007; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

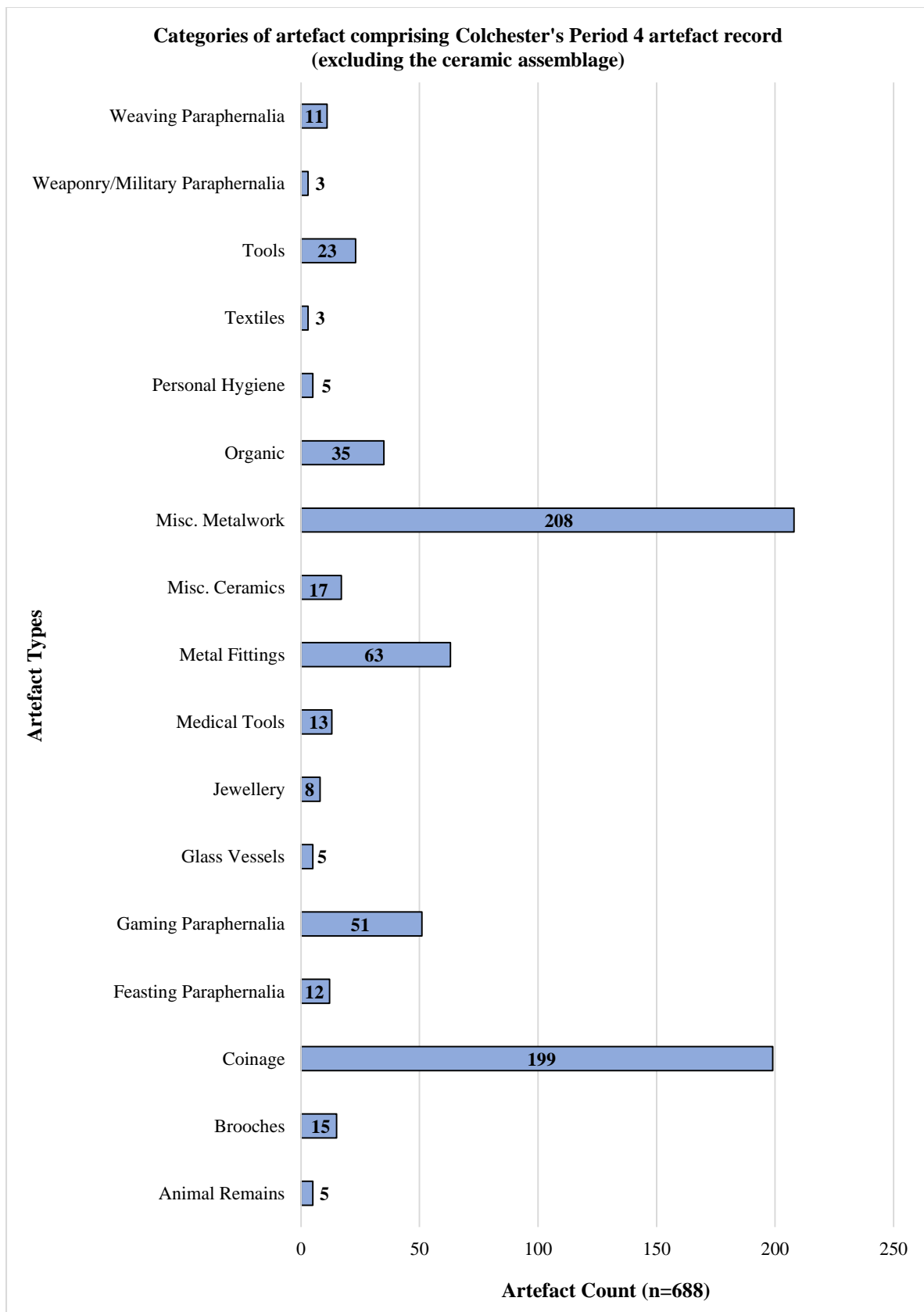


Figure 7.39: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Crummy *et al.* 2007; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985.

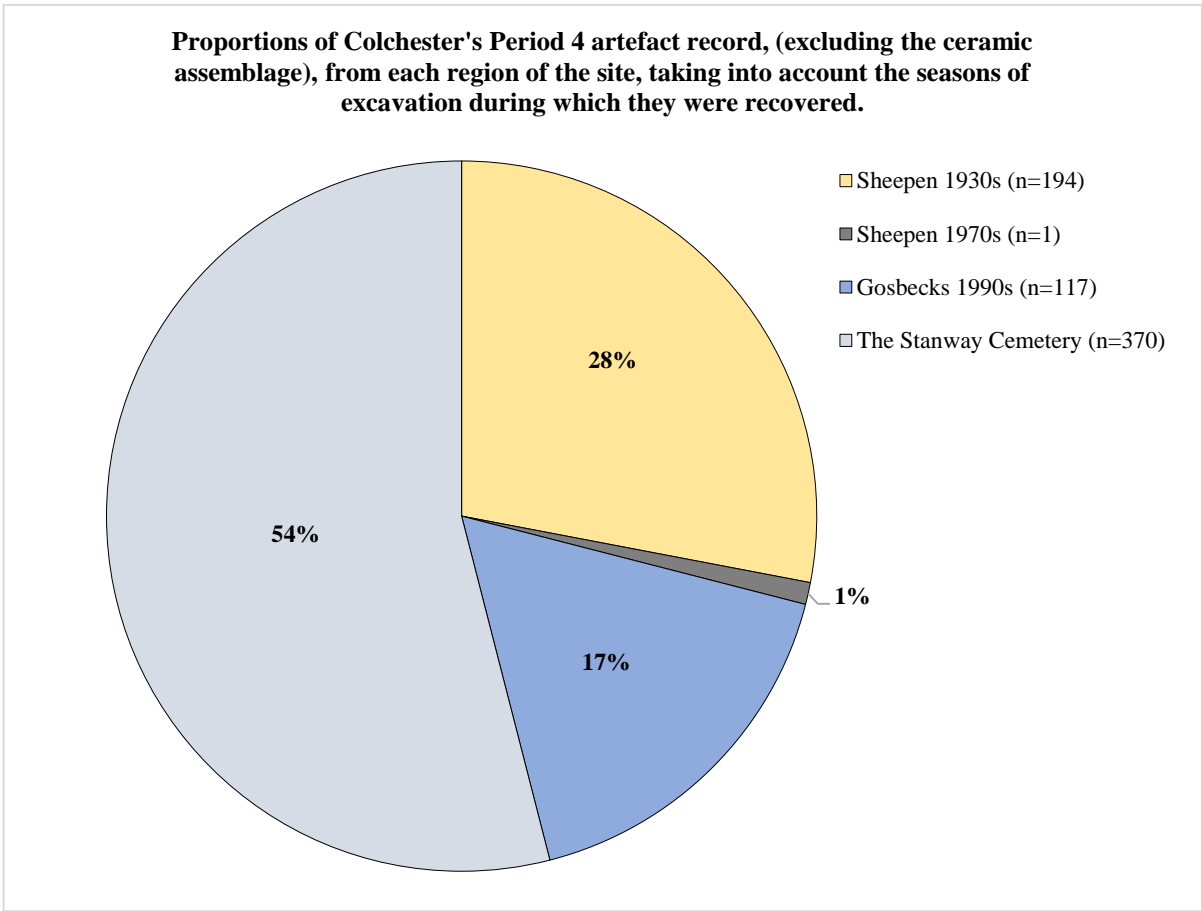


Figure 7.40: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Crummy *et al.* 2007; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985.

Context types from which Colchester's Period 4 artefact record, (excluding that material from the Stanway Cemetery), was recovered, taking into account the proportion of material recovered from each feature type at the three principal regions of the site

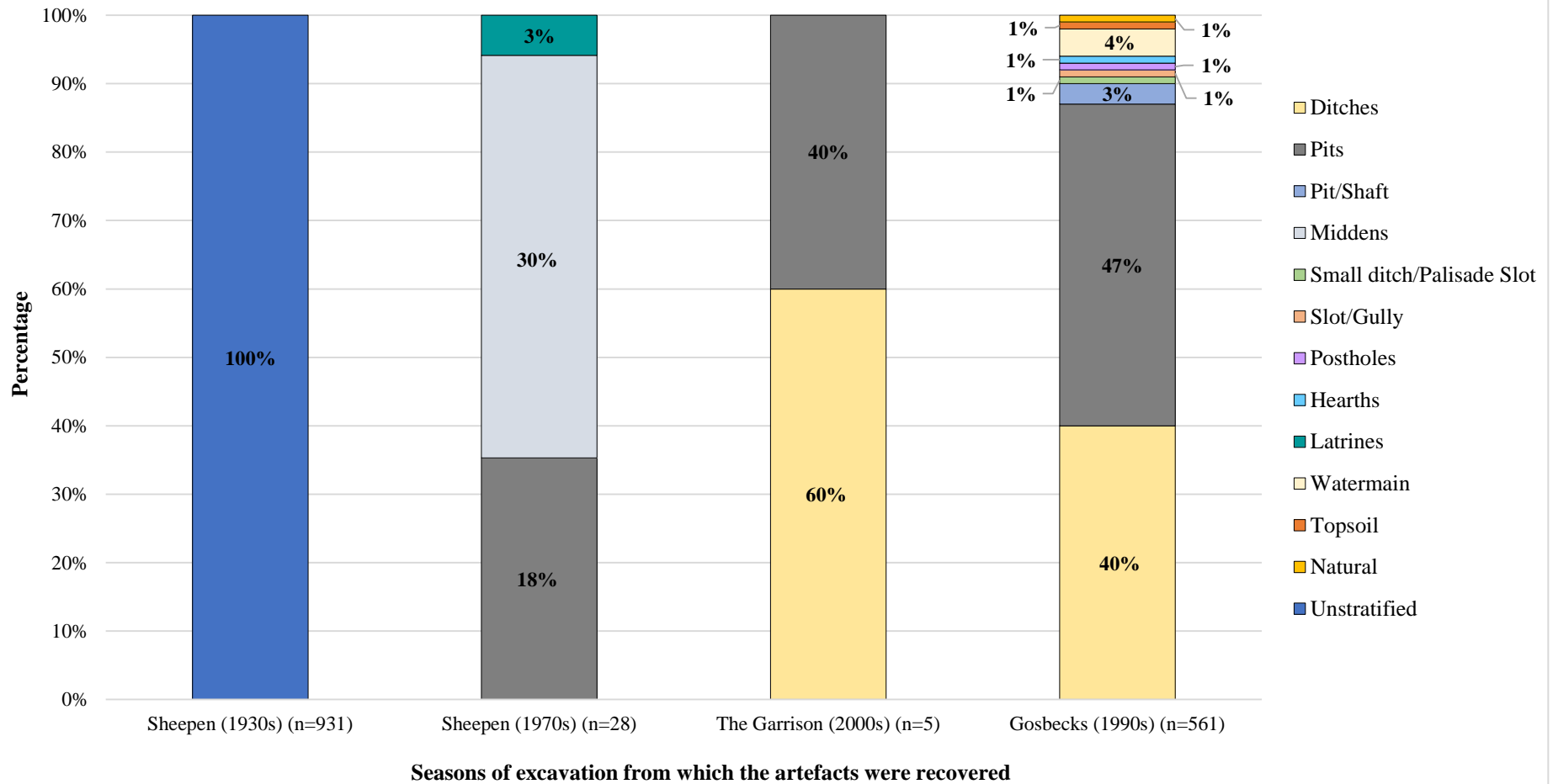


Figure 7.41: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

There are two general observations to note with regards to these new features:

1. They were situated within the two most prolific regions of Colchester during the Iron Age: Sheepen and Gosbecks,
2. They do not overlay prominent Iron Age features, in other words they respected the native occupation.

Furthermore, it is equally necessary to note that the fort at Gosbecks, not believed to have been contemporary with the legionary fortress at Sheepen (Gascoyne 2013a, 66), has been interpreted as a garrison for a cavalry unit (Crummy 1999, 20-21), as well as one whose primary function was to ‘control the native settlement at Gosbecks’ (Gascoyne 2013a, 66); although, Creighton suggests that the forts pre-Roman date, c.AD 40 – 43, is indicative of ‘accelerated Romanisation of the pre-Conquest tribal leaders’ (2001, 7-9). Based on the evidence to hand however, all that can truly be stated is that this structure is evidence of a Roman, (military), population residing in close proximity to native occupation.

The Legionary Fortress at Sheepen, meanwhile, is believed to have housed Roman troops both during and after the Claudian invasions of AD 43 (Gascoyne 2013b, 59); once again illustrating the cohabitation of native populations and Roman military personnel.²⁴ The Roman theatre at Gosbecks (Dunnett 1971), on-the-other-hand, can be considered indicative of the Roman population quickly establishing a building to support their leisure activities upon Claudius’ victory at the site, whilst also introducing the local population to the customs of the Roman World. In light of these observations it can be stated that until AD 43 life at Colchester continued in much the same vein as it had since c.30/25 BC, and that after this date Roman occupation started to leave its mark on the landscape.

A similar picture to that presented above can also be obtained through an analysis of the site’s ceramic assemblage and their places of deposition. From Figure 7.41 it is evident that pits, ditches, and middens remained the favoured features for the deposition of waste at Colchester; an observation that further confirms the notion that Period 4 occupation at the site primarily conformed to traditional pursuits of the time, (see page 204). Correspondingly, the form types

²⁴ Although, much more is known of the legionary fortress’ occupation from c. AD 50 – 61 (e.g. Millett 1999; Radford 2013c).

comprising the site's ceramic assemblage, (see Figure 7.37), also suggest that the site's occupants engaged in those activities we would deem typical of the period; an inference that is based on the fact that the most numerous form types present at Colchester are those we would traditionally associate with the preparation, consumption, and storage of food stuffs within the domestic sphere, just as those comprising the site's Period 3 ceramic assemblage were (see page 188).

In addition to the above, Colchester's Period 4 ceramic assemblage can also be said to denote the same additional processes as its Period 3 counterpart. That is to say the presence of Roman form types, in addition to native forms, at both Gosbecks and Sheepen highlight the continued use of the former site as a port-of-trade and religious foci, and the latter as a centre of religious import just as they did during Period 3 (see pages 189-190). Furthermore, the continued presence of Roman forms at Gosbecks provides additional insight into the site's social stratification and how those with power may have displayed their social status; whilst, their presence at Colchester can be said to demonstrate the continued influence changes in the relationships between south-eastern Britain, Temperate Europe, and the Roman World had on the site's material culture (see page 189).

With the above in mind our attentions turn to the origins of Colchester's ceramic assemblage. As with those topics considered already in relation to the site's ceramics, the inferences borne from an analysis of their origins exhibit similarities to those drawn in connection to Colchester's Period 3 ceramic assemblage; see pages 190-195. In other words, the fact that locally produced vessels remain the most prominent and imitated vessels the least numerous (see Figure 7.42), allowed the author to determine that during Period 4 local craftsmen likely continued to produce the majority of those ceramics consumed of site (see pages 190-192), while imported wares denote social stratification at Gosbecks and Sheepen's role as a port; as well as these sites' religious purposes (see pages 192-195). Imitated vessels, on-the-other-hand, were used for one of three purposes be it to fill a void created by the local merchants' ability to meet demands, or to display social status by those of middling social standing, or the elite (see page 196).

Furthermore, when we consider the regions from which the imported vessels of Period 4 date at Colchester originated, (see Figure 7.43-7.44), we can state that the site's economic

Proportions of imported, imitated and locally produced vessels comprising Colchester's Period 4 ceramic assemblages, taking into account their spread within the archaeological records attributed to the four principle seasons of excavation at the site.

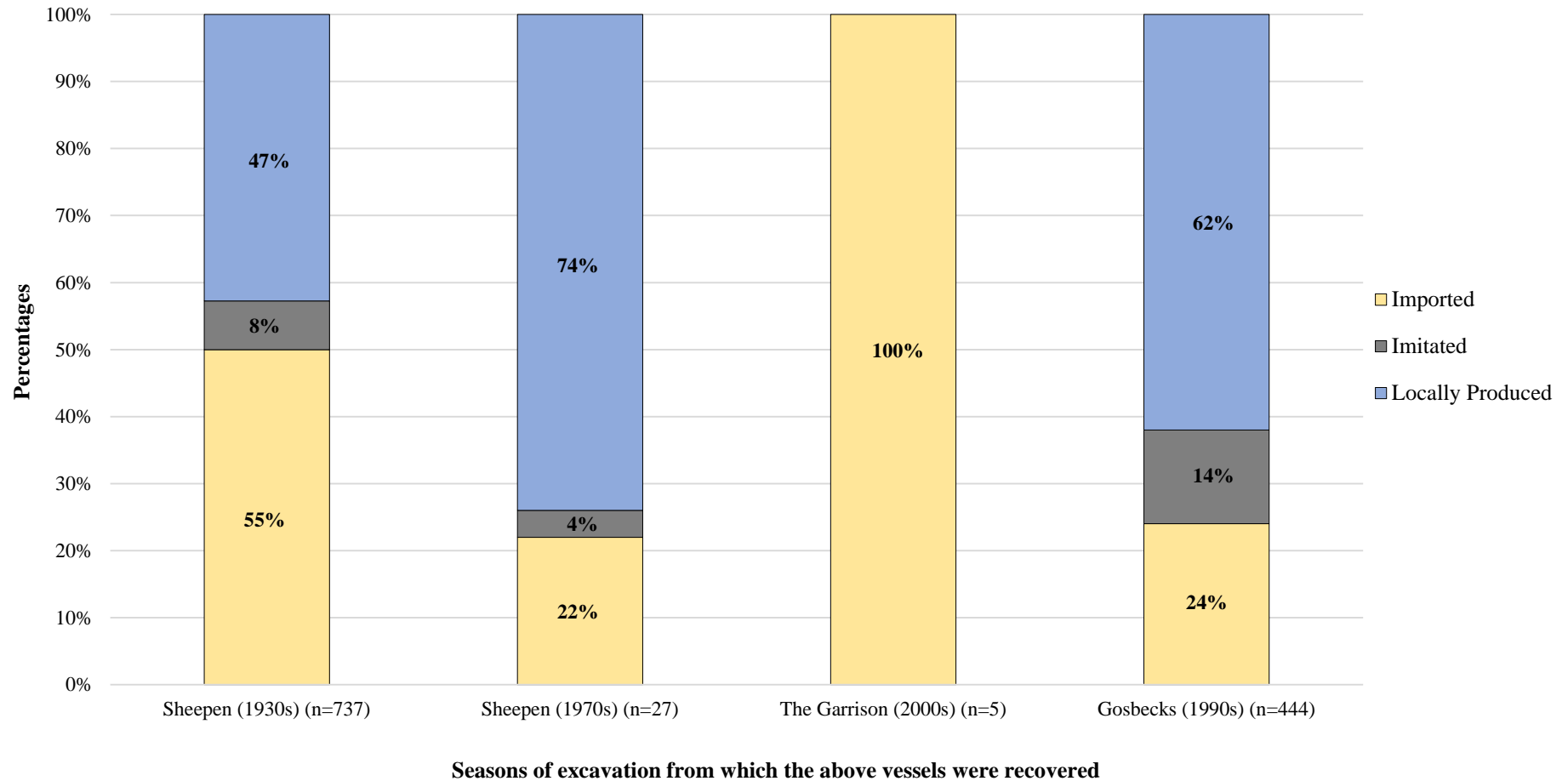


Figure 7.42: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

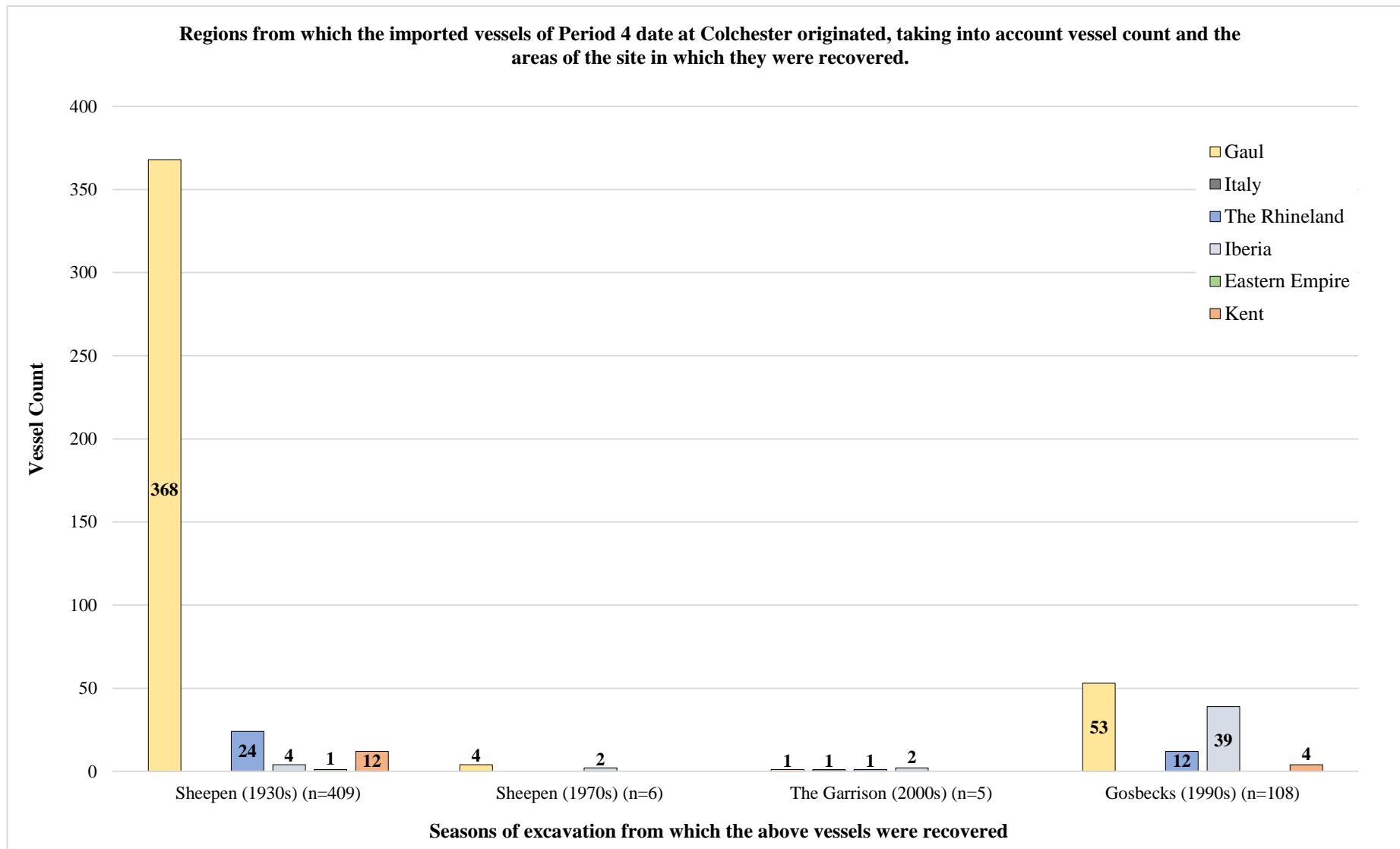


Figure 7.43: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

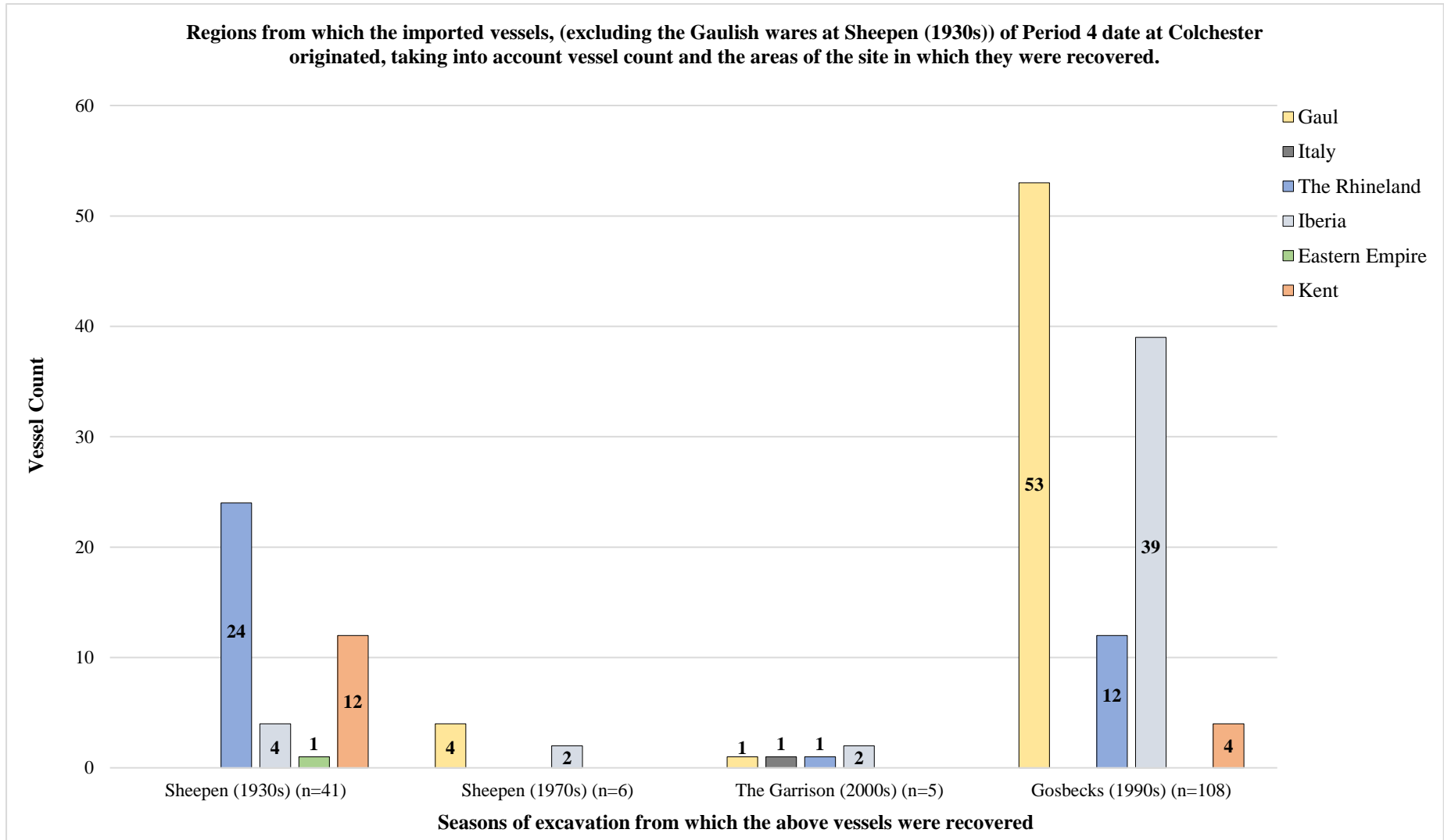


Figure 7.44: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

relationships changed little between Periods 3 and 4. That is to say the same regions to have supplied the site with vessels during Period 3, (see page 192), continued to do so during Period 4 (see Figures 7.45-7.46). Consequently, an analysis of Colchester's Period 4 ceramic analysis has provided insight into the site's social, economic, and power connotations at this time.

Turning our attention to the other artefacts comprising Colchester's Period 4 artefact record (see Appendix 7.20/Figure 7.39), the first thing to note is that many of the artefact types present mirror those in circulation during Period 3 (see Figure 7.29). Consequently, and based on a consideration of what these artefacts represent about the activities conducted at Colchester, as well as those using them, (see Appendix 7.20), it can be said that the inferences drawn in relation to the additional artefacts in use at Colchester between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25, (see pages 196-197), stand up here. In other words, these artefacts can also be said to highlight the pursuit of typical Iron Age practices, namely domestic occupation, farming, and craft production (see Chapter 3.4), at Colchester during Period 4. Furthermore, this evidence also suggests that between the years of AD 25/30-50. Colchester was relatively self-sustaining, with a local economy that facilitated the acquisition of goods that could not be manufactured locally.

Conversely, the presence of nearly 200 coins at Colchester, or more specifically Sheepen, during this phase of occupation, (see Figure 7.39), of which the majority, (137 individual coins), bear mint marks attributed to Cunobelin and/or *Camulodunum*, (those typically associated with later Iron Age Colchester) (see Appendix 7.20), tells us that in addition to maintaining its role as an industrial centre Sheepen became a mint for local coinage at this time. This development not only provides additional insight into the metalworking abilities of Colchester's craftsmen, but, thanks to the inscriptions upon this coinage, provides us with a better understanding of:

1. The site's social structure and status,
2. Imagery with cultural significance for the local population,
3. The extent to which the Roman/Mediterranean world(s) influenced life at the site,
4. The day-to-day lives of the local community.

Considering each of these points in further detail, it should be noted that Cunobelin's name/image upon this coinage that enables a greater knowledge of Colchester's social structure to be obtained. This evidence allows us to surmise that Cunobelin was indeed an individual of

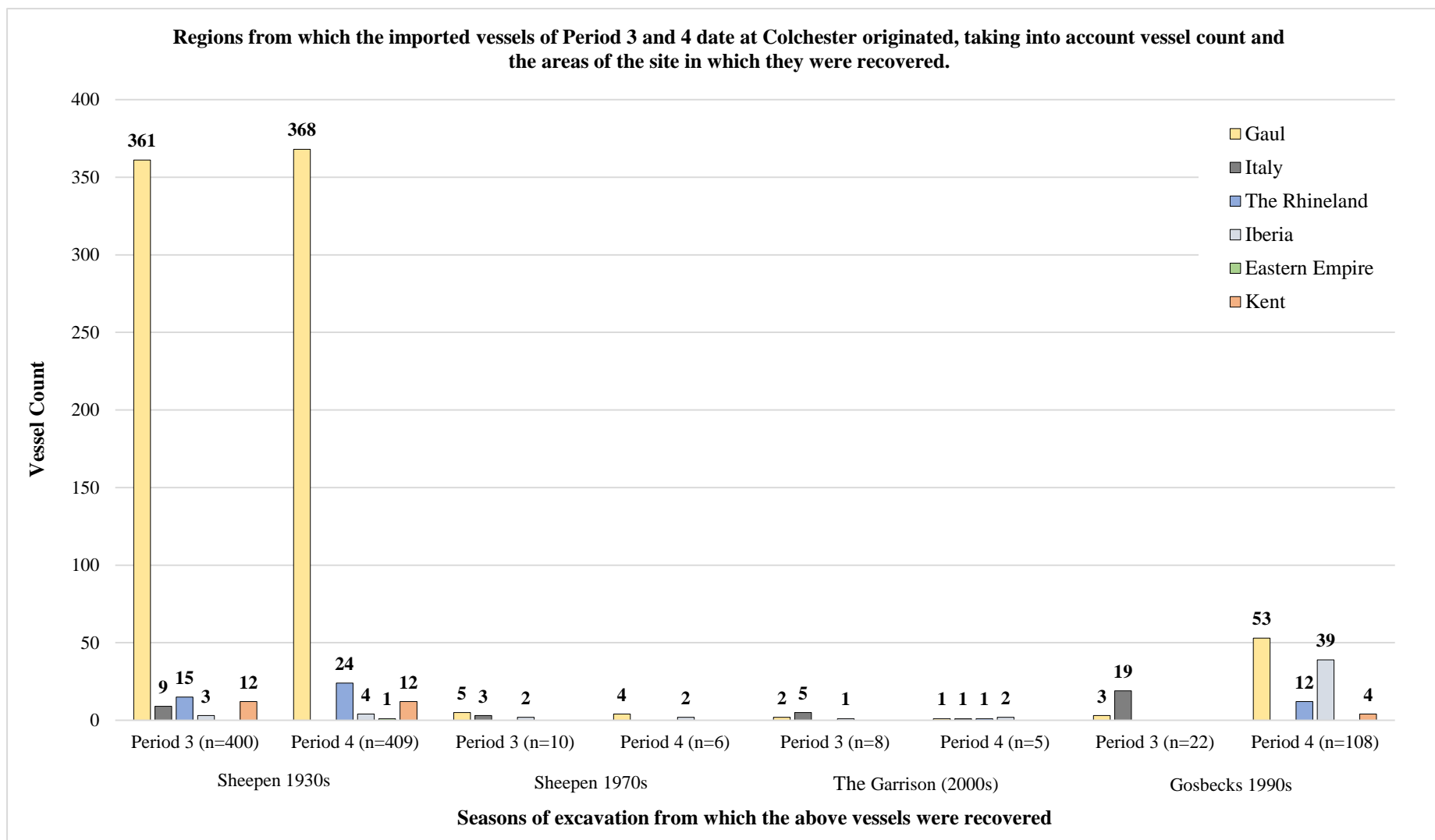


Figure 7.45: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

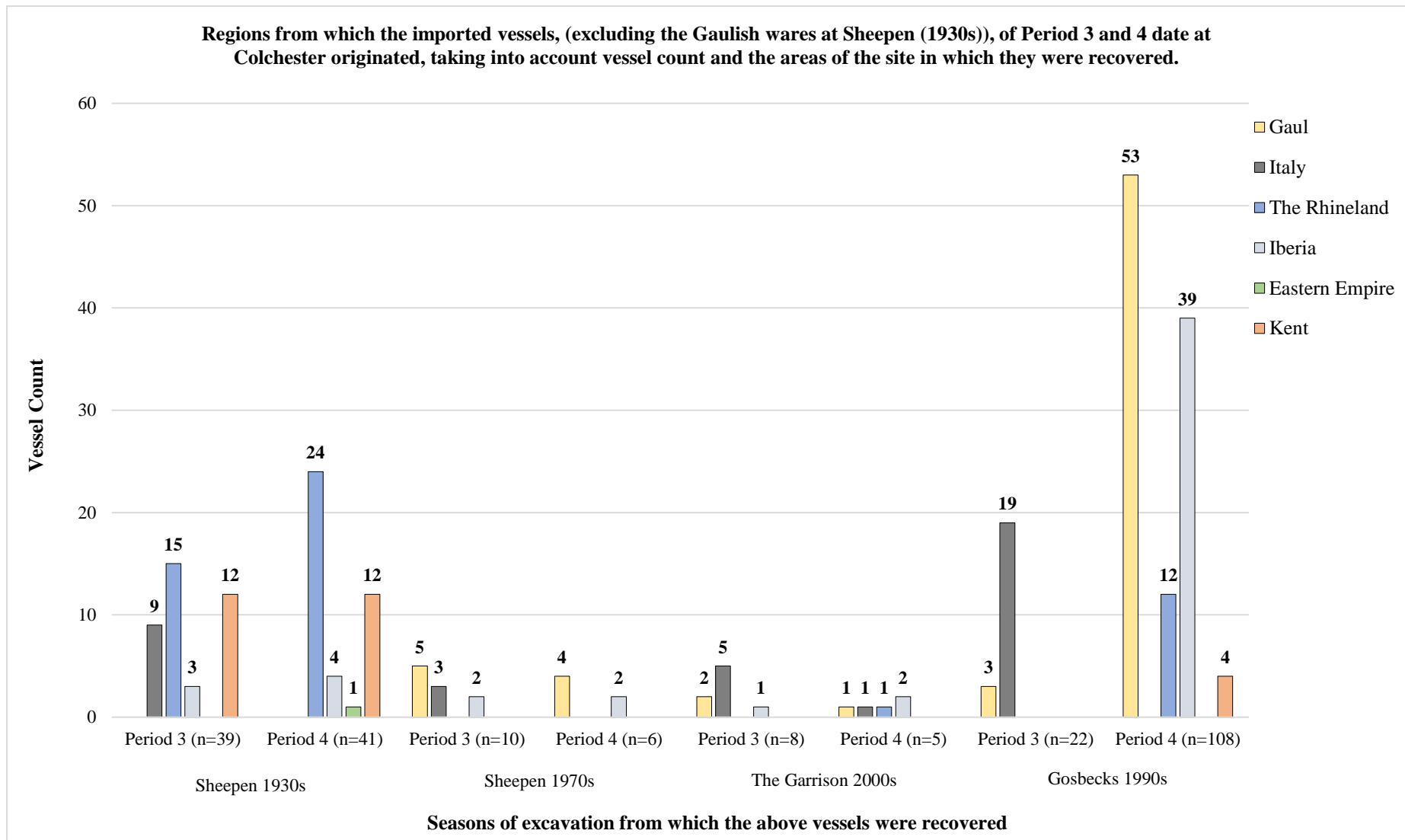


Figure 7.46: Based on information from: Benfield 2002; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985; RPS 2011.

considerable power between the years of AD 20-40 as the literature, (e.g. Collis 1984a, 161; Fitzpatrick 1986, 36; Hawkes and Hull 1947, 6; Pitts 2010, 33; Rodwell 1976, 183, 265; Sealey 2004, 15), suggests. It is therefore possible that during Period 4 Cunobelin was the most powerful individual in residence at Colchester, and as such ruled over all those of lower social standing. Moreover, Cunobelin's connection to the Catuvellauni allows us to surmise that Colchester itself may have been revered by members of this tribe. That is to say, the choice to mint coinage attributed to the leader of the Catuvellauni bearing Colchester's mint mark, (*Camulodunum*, or a variation thereof), could be indicative of the site itself being viewed as one of power within its environs. As such this coinage can be said to not only denote the status of Cunobelin, but the site as a whole.

Progressing to a consideration of the imagery depicted upon the coinage, there are four entities on this coinage that can be said to have had significant cultural meaning to the occupants of later Iron Age Colchester: boars, horses, trees, and groves. Boars, have long been associated with hunting, a high status activity (see Chapter 5.3), as well as offerings made to the dead/deities through their inclusion in graves as statues,²⁵ such as in the Lexden Tumulus (Foster 1986), or portions of meat, as was the case at Acy-Romance (Lambot 2011) and Goebange-Nospelt in Luxembourg (Metzler and Gaeng 2009). Horses too are believed to have had religious/ritual significance as illustrated by their many depictions within the Iron Age world; such as the carving of a horse within the Oxfordshire landscape at Uffington (Miles *et. al.* 2003), as well as their inclusion in lone burials,²⁶ such as at Mill Hill in Deal, Kent (Parfitt 1995) and Nosterfield in North Yorkshire (Griffiths 2011). Finally, trees and groves are also purported to have had ritual/religious significance for Iron Age communities, including that at Colchester, because it is widely believed that they denoted sacred locations within the landscapes of both Britain and Temperate Europe at this time (Eluère 1993, 118-119; James 1993, 92). Thus, with the exception of the boars these images can be said to represent cultural symbols that are invisible elsewhere within Colchester's archaeological record.

The inclusion of images more typically associated with the Roman/Mediterranean World, (including Hercules, Janus and Jupiter, scrolls, wreaths, and Cunobelin depicted both with and without a beard in the Mediterranean style), upon the coinage, (see Appendix 7.20), further

²⁵ The discovery of boar statues is however not limited just to later Iron Age burials as possibly one of the best known examples from the Iron Age world was recovered on the plateau of The Titelberg (Fitzpatrick 1989b).

²⁶ In other words they were buried alone and not accompanying an interred individual.

supports earlier notions that the occupants of later Iron Age Colchester had a relationship with the Roman World, be it economic or social, that influenced the site's material culture. Similarly, the final area into which this coinage can be said to provide insight can also be said to further support earlier observations about life at Colchester during Period 4. These images, which represent: craftsmen, farmers, warriors, and religious figures can be said to pertain to three of the most prominent activities evidenced within the archaeological record of not only Period 4 Colchester, but Period 3 too (see Chapter 7.3.3): craft production, farming, and care of the local population's religious needs. Thus, we have further confirmation that the site's occupants primarily engaged in pursuits typical of the period, whilst also allowing us to state that their cultural beliefs are comparable to those observed by other Iron Age communities in both Britain and Temperate Europe.

Leaving occupation at Sheepen, Gosbecks, and The Garrison behind, our attention turns to a consideration of the burial record attributed to Period 4 Colchester: the Stanway Cemetery. This cemetery is represented by a morphological record comprising seven burials, spread across three of the five enclosures denoting this funerary complex, Enclosures 1, 3, and 5; as well as 2 mortuary chambers, 3 burials chambers, and 7 burials. In addition to this, there were 193 ceramic vessels and 370 additional artefacts recovered during excavations at this site, as can be seen from Appendices 7.19-7.20.

The morphology associated with this cemetery can be said to mark the practice of burial at Stanway as a three stage process during which the dead appear to pass from mortuary chamber, to burial chamber, to grave; an inference that is supported by the discovery of artefacts within all three of these contexts to suggest communal activities led to their deposition. It is with this in mind that we turn our attentions to the site's ceramic assemblage.

The form types comprising this assemblage, see Figure 7.47, are those we would typically associate with the preparation and consumption of food and drink, as well as the pouring of libations, when found in contexts with ritual connotations. Consequently, it can be said that these vessels were used at the Stanway Cemetery to fulfil the same burial rites as those observed at the Lexden Tumulus (see page 200).

Furthermore, when considering the origins of these vessels, (in terms of where they were manufactured), in conjunction with the context types at the cemetery from which these vessels

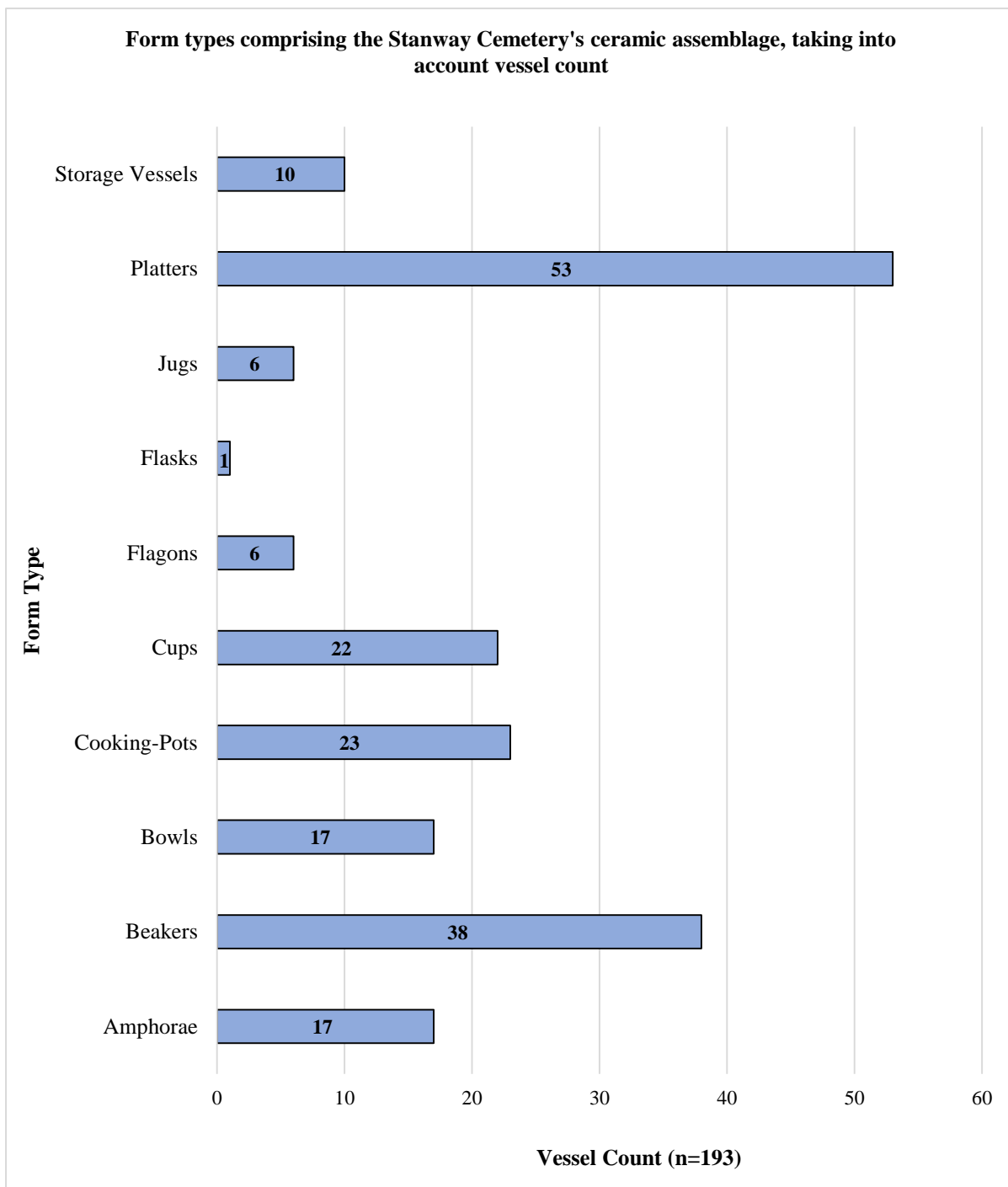


Figure 7.47: Based on information from Crummy *et al.* 2007.

were recovered, (see Figure 7.48), it can be said that imported wares played a significant role in the funerary process, but particularly within the burials themselves. If earlier assumptions that imported wares, as well as those vessels in characteristically Roman forms, were used to emphasise offerings made to local deities are correct, (see page 212), it is unsurprising that the greatest proportion of imported wares at the Stanway Cemetery were recovered from the burials themselves. Consequently, it can be said that this process likely represents the last chance the local population had to intervene in the funerary process and ensure that in addition to the deceased being properly prepared for their journey to the afterlife, the local deities would heed pleas to oversee the dead on this journey.

Furthermore, the ceramic assemblage's origins can shed light about those interred within the cemetery. Should these vessels have belonged to the deceased in life it is possible that their presence within the graves was either to prepare the dead for their journey to the afterlife using their own belongings, or alternatively to remove artefacts imbued with status from circulation. In other words, the deposition of imported wares, which are typically perceived as items consumed conspicuously by the Iron Age elite (see Chapter 5.3), alongside the deceased prevented others unduly gaining status from their use; just as it was surmised was the case with the imported goods recovered from the Lexden Tumulus (see pages 200-201).

Finally, this aspect of the data can also be said to further our knowledge of later Iron Age Colchester's economy. In other words, that the majority of the imported wares at the Stanway Cemetery originated in Gaul, see Figure 7.49, allows the author to further support their earlier supposition that all imported goods from Temperate Europe present at Colchester reached the site from central trading points in Gaul which dealt with the movement of not only products from the Roman World but Iberia and The Rhineland too; as was the norm for this period (see Chapter 4.3). Moreover, their presence at the site at all goes some way in confirming the notion that Sheepen acted as a port through which continental material entered the site (see page 212).

In addition to the ceramic assemblage, the Stanway Cemetery's artefact record also contained a wealth of additional products, as can be seen from Appendix 7.20. For the most part the deposition of these goods can be said to denote the same burial rites as those recovered from the Lexden Tumulus (see page 200). Furthermore, as the majority of these goods were imported, see Figure 7.50, and likely belonged to those interred within the cemetery's graves,

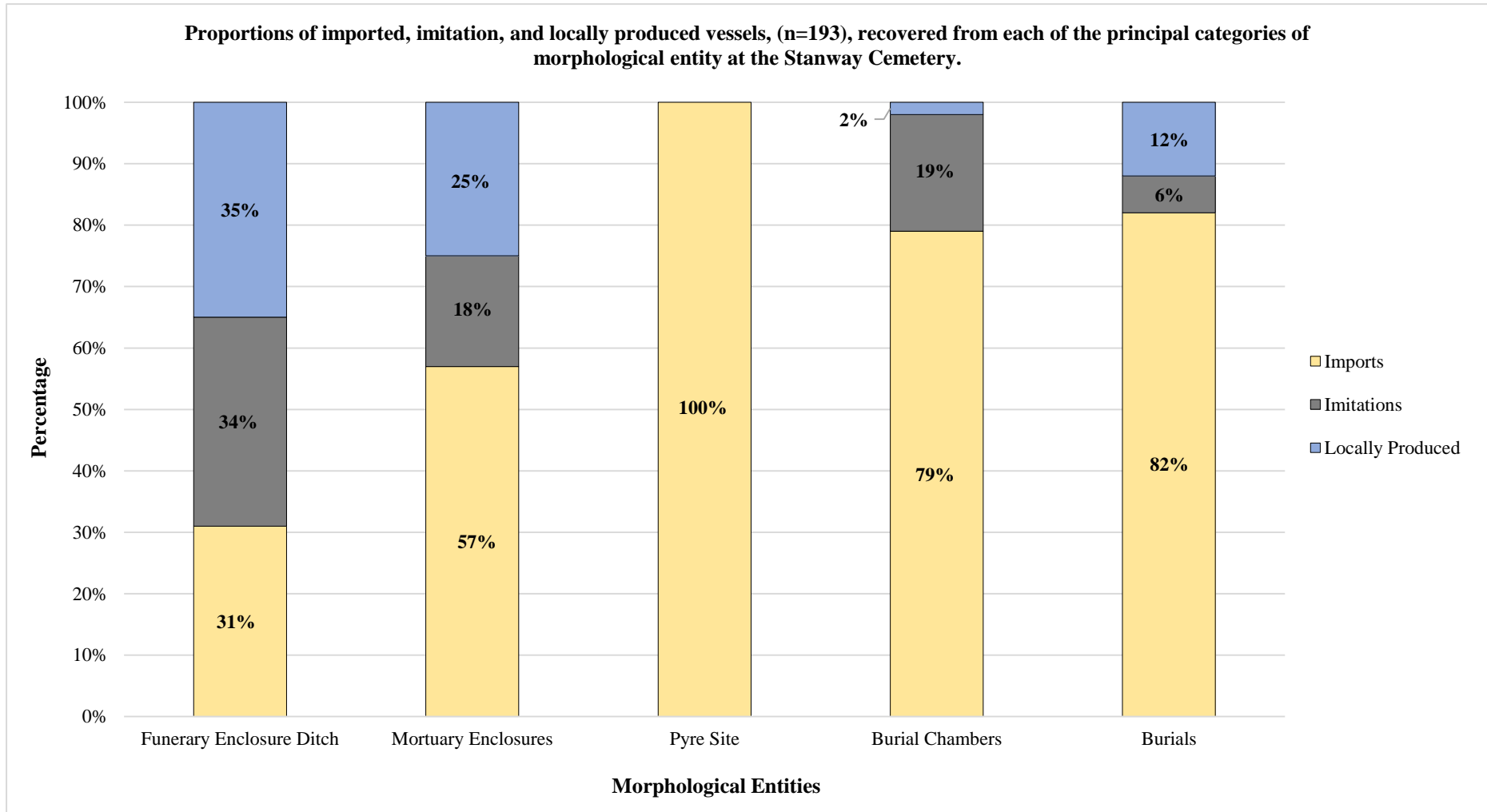


Figure 7.48: Based on information from Crummy *et al.* 2007.

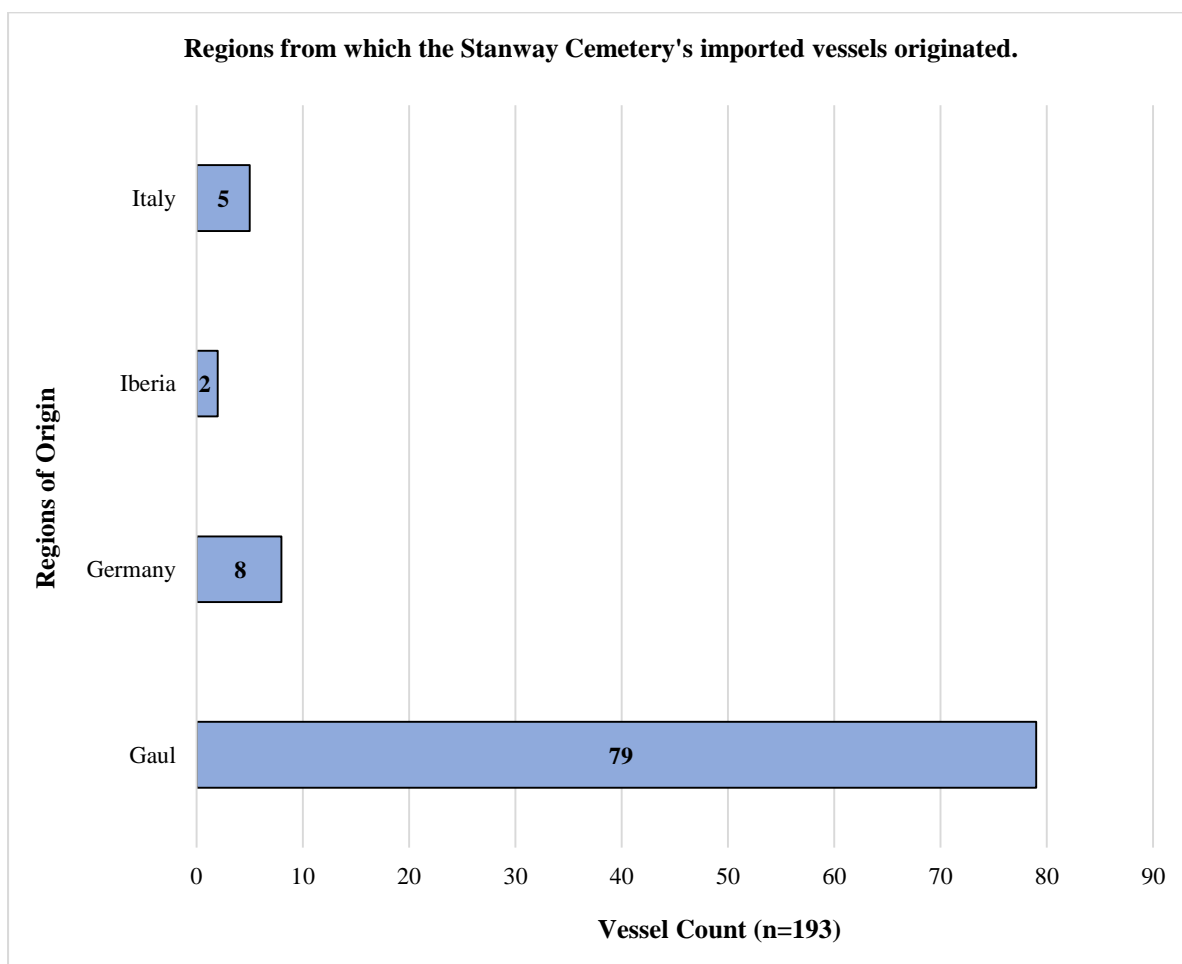


Figure 7.49: Based on information from Crummy *et al.* 2007.

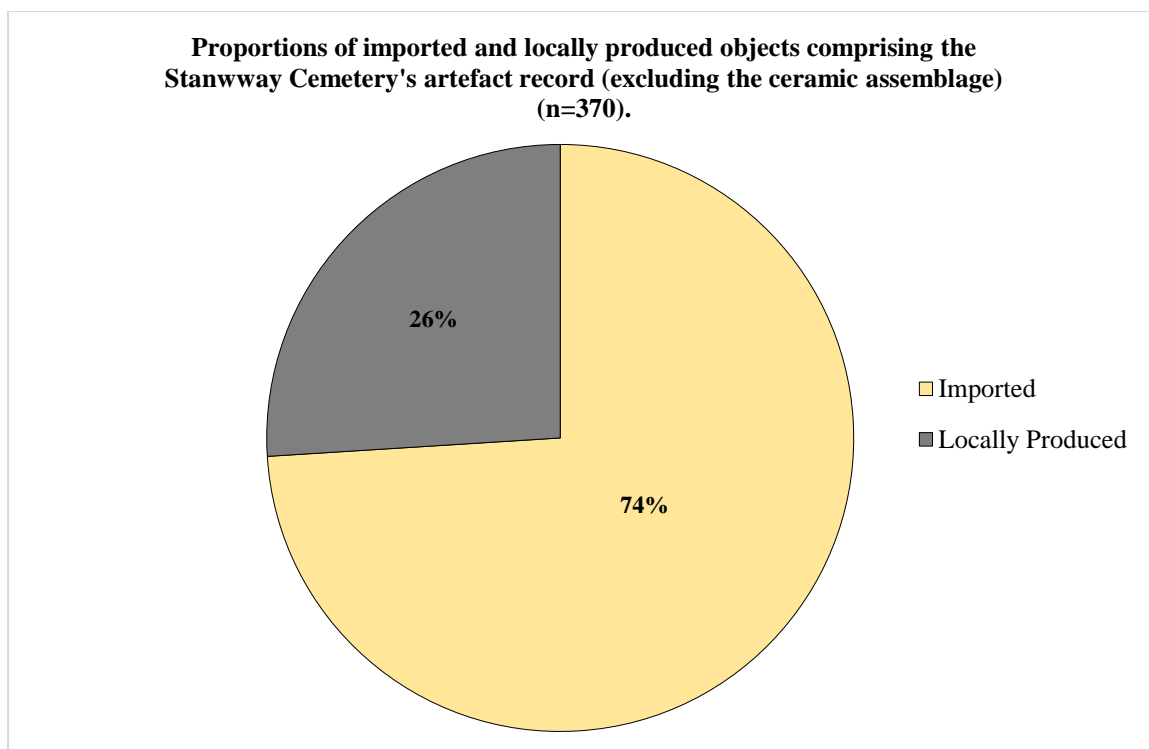


Figure 7.50: Based on information from Crummy *et al.* 2007.

it can be said that they mark these individuals out as members of the local elite. With these goods, like the imported ceramics, being included within the graves to prevent the status they had been used to display being bestowed upon another. This is however not all that we can learn from these artefacts.

From Appendix 7.20 it can be seen that that the Stanway burials contained many artefacts that can be used to further earlier inferences about the cultural beliefs/practices engaged in by Colchester's later Iron Age occupants; not least the range of products local craftsmen were capable of producing. However, there are three burials: the Warrior Burial, Doctor's Burial, and Inkwell Burial, which contain artefacts that could be said to provide insight into the 'occupations' of those interred within these graves (see page 227). If we consider each of these graves in more detail, starting with the Warrior Burial, the first thing to note is that this burial has long been associated with both the power and means to protect Colchester's nobility in times of need (see Chapter 7.2); despite their being little/no evidence to suggest that warfare of any calibre occurred at Colchester prior to AD 43. Consequently, and given that the incorporation of weaponry/military accoutrements within burials during the Iron age was not an uncommon practice, (e.g. Kelvedon; Essex (Sealey 2007), Mill Hill; Kent (Parfitt 1995),

Lamadelaide, Luxembourg (Metzler *et. al.* 1999); Goebblange-Nospelt; Luxembourg (Metzler and Gaeng 2009)), it is possible that these objects actually had more to do with the funerary rites observed by the local community, and the status of the individual interred, (weaponry is regularly cited as being an outward sign of power at this time (see Chapter 5.3)), than they did with their 'career'. Therefore, the deceased's place within the warrior culture of the Iron Age was probably more symbolic than practical.

The Doctor's burial meanwhile contained a vast array of surgical instruments; thus suggesting that this individual had knowledge of not only medicine but human anatomy, and that it was through this knowledge that they gained their purported status (see Chapter 7.2). However, as was the case with the 'Warrior Burial' it is possible that these objects were owned for the sole purpose of denoting power rather than having anything to do with the trades within which these individuals were engaged. Although, it is more likely that medical equipment would carry less prestige than weaponry if the individual did not have the skill set to accompany it, especially as having 'doctors' within the local community would have had more implications for the day-to-day running of the site.

Conversely, it is not only the Doctor's burial that may have contained someone with medical knowledge. The individual interred within burial AF18 was buried alongside a bag thought to have contained verdigris (see Appendix 7.20); an inorganic compound believed to have had medicinal or cosmetic purposes (Crummy *et. al.* 2007, 167). It is surmised that the use of this compound would have aided skin and eye inflammation; while its cosmetic purposes would have seen the use of the greenish powder to alter personal appearance (La Niece and Cartwright 2007, 170). It is therefore possible that the individual interred within grave AF18 was a local healer known for home remedies.

Finally, we come to the Inkwell burial, which as its name suggests, contained an inkwell. This artefact has led to conclusions that this burial contained a clerk/administrator who acted as an aid for Colchester's elite (see Chapter 7.2). Although, it is impossible to verify this inference, if the deceased had been a clerk it is likely that this individual acquired the skill of literacy through prolonged contact with the Roman world, possibly as one of the sons sent to be educated in Rome. Therefore this evidence furthers not only our understanding of the day-to-day existence of Colchester, but its relationship with the Roman World.

7.3.4.3: A Summary

In many respects life altered very little at later Iron Age Colchester between Periods 3 and 4. That is to say the site continued to exist as a centre where domestic occupation was coupled with both farming regimes and craft production. Furthermore, both Sheepen and Gosbecks continued to double up as religious foci, whilst Sheepen also maintained its role as a port. In addition to this, it is evident from the data analysed that the site maintained a high degree of self-sufficiency, with locally produced products being exchanged for all manner of imported goods from the near Continent. These imported wares not only speak to the strength of the local economy, and the economic relationships that existed at this time between local merchants and their Gallic counterparts, but provide insight into the social stratification of the site and the more subtle nuances of the site's cultural beliefs/practices. With regards to this latter point, it can also be said that the introduction of coin production at Colchester at this time further highlights both the fact that the site's population was stratified and those aspects of the site's cultural practices that might otherwise be invisible; as too does the site's burial record.

Conversely, whilst the majority of the evidence analysed can be said to highlight very little change with regards to Colchester's social, economic, and power connotations there is some evidence to suggest that not everything remained the same. After c.AD 43, and the Claudian conquest, there is clear evidence for the emergence of Roman morphology at Colchester. Undoubtedly this would have affected life at this site for the native population; however, there is no evidence of this happening between the years of AD 43 and 50 amongst the datasets considered here.

Consequently, it remains for the author to state that many of the conclusions drawn in relation to occupation at Colchester at this time within the literature measure up to those the author presents above. There are however, two exceptions to this. The first of these is the notion that the site was a Catuvellaunian stronghold in Trinovantian territory (see Chapter 7.2). Although we can potentially confirm the site's connection to the Catuvellauni through this tribe's relationships to Cunobelin who is known, through the coinage evidence, to have made use of Colchester at this time, we cannot confirm, nor disprove, whether the site had connections to the Trinovantes. Meanwhile, the notion that Colchester was a central site within its wider landscape, (see Chapter 7.2), is also something that we can neither prove nor disprove using the evidence considered above. In order to fully explore this inference one needs to consider

Colchester's dataset in conjunction with those compiled for contemporaneous settlements within the Essex landscape (see Chapter 8).

Furthermore, it should be noted that as was the case with Period 3 occupation at Colchester there are likely aspects of this site's use between AD 25/30 and 50 that call into question its characterisation as an *oppidum*, and others that will see this period tally with current thinking on what warrants a site being labelled thus. In other words, Colchester's continued connection to domestic occupation coupled with arable farming, animal husbandry, and domestic/industrial craft production link the site with those activities considered the norm for this period (see Chapter 3.4), and as such is likely to call into question, at least in part, the validity of the term *oppida* when it is used in conjunction with Colchester (see Chapter 11). Moreover, the use of Sheepen as a port cannot be considered atypical for the period, as many later Iron Age ports existed at this time (see Chapter 4.3); Colchester's use as a mint that mass produced the coinage of Cunobelin, therefore linking it to the Catuvellauni, the tribe believed to have presided over this region at this time (see Chapter 7.2), could, on-the-other-hand, mark out one area in which the site differed from the majority of those in use between AD 25/30 and 50 and in doing so suggest that the use of the term *oppida* to describe this site is not wholly misplaced, because tribal connections are one of the key characteristics of this class of settlement (see Chapters 2.2, 2.3.4, Table 2.4). Similarly, if it is proven that the site fulfilled the functions central sites are purported to have done, (see Chapter 8), this latter conclusion could also be supported.

8: Colchester and its Hinterland

There exist a considerable number of later Iron Age sites/settlements within the Essex landscape (see: Pitts and Perring 2006; Sealey 1996; 2015). On some level, it would be possible to incorporate all of these into an analysis to determine whether Colchester, in its relationship with its neighbours, complies with, core-periphery and central place models, and if so had sway over those sites which comprise her hinterland. However, the use of too many sites here would detract from the purpose of the thesis by overwhelming the paper with data and inferences pertaining to only one line of enquiry the author devised to establish whether the thesis' case site can be considered *oppida*, and the value of this term today (see Chapter 1, 1.2.2); therefore only three sites have been selected for use as a sample measure: Ardleigh (Brown 1999); Kelvedon (Rodwell 1988; Sealey 2007), and Elms Farm, Heybridge (Atkinson and Preston 1998; Atkinson and Preston 2015). These sites have all produced evidence contemporary to that recovered at Colchester, and fall alongside/close to two of the counties major rivers: the Colne, and the Blackwater, which link Essex to the North Sea, and by extension the near Continent (see Figure 8.1).

Within this chapter we will consider each of the aforementioned sites in turn, examining their topography, morphology, archaeological records, and the activities with which they are currently linked within the literature, as well as those the present study brought to light in order to determine whether their development was reliant upon the success of Colchester, or whether they flourished independent of this site.

8.1: Ardleigh

8.1.1: Topography and Morphological Setting

8.1.1.1: Landscape Setting

Ardleigh, located on the Tendring plateau, lies 7.5km north-east of Colchester, in north-east Essex (Brown 1999, 1). The Tendring plateau is bound in the north by the Stour Estuary, in the south by the Colne Estuary, and in the east by the North Sea. Today this plateau is characterised by a number of small greens and heaths, and a series of small streams which dissect the local landscape (ibid, 1); Ardleigh itself is located at the head of the tributary of the Salary Brook (ibid, 1) (see Figure 8.2).

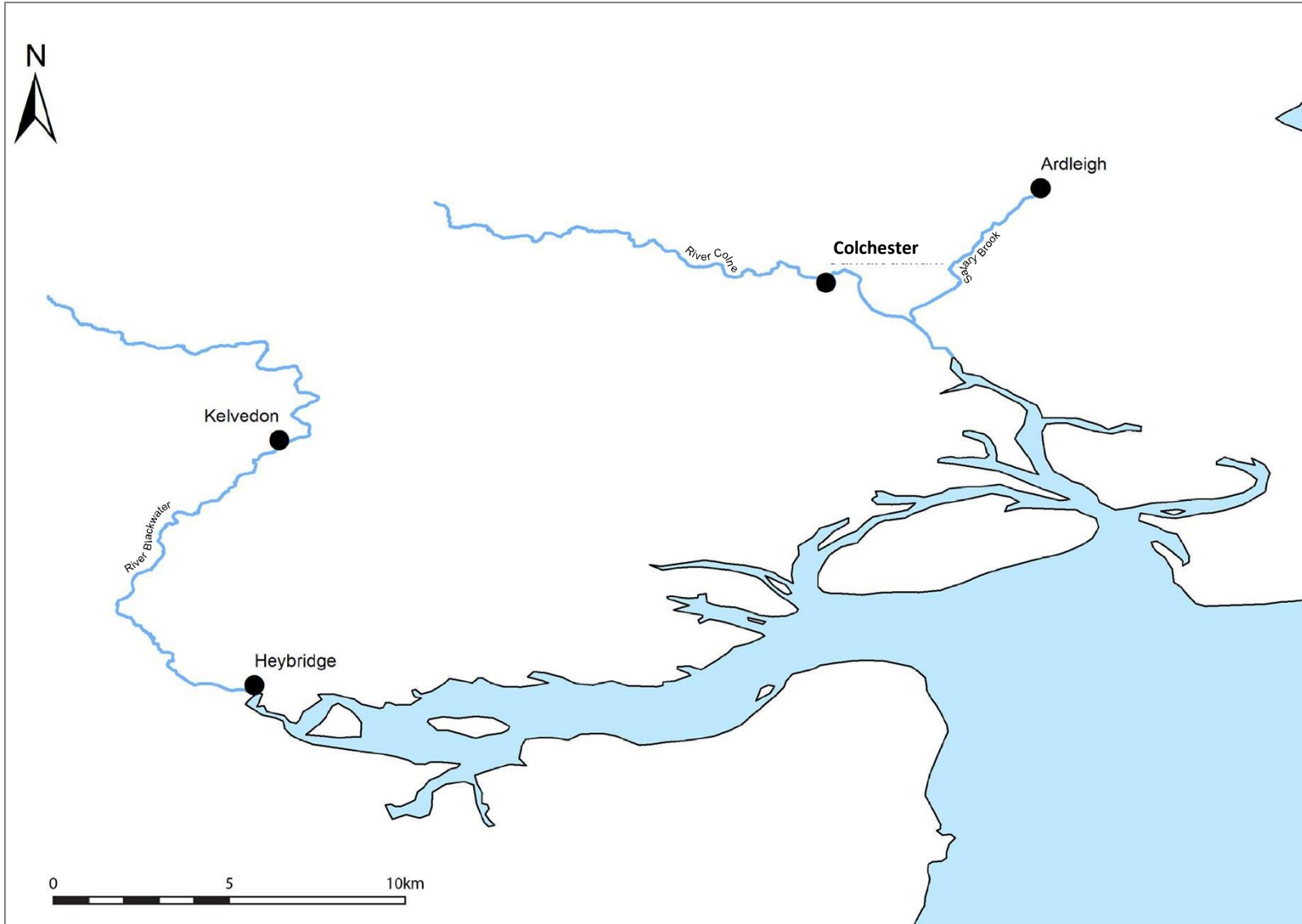


Figure 8.1: Map of Essex highlighting the hinterland sites considered within this chapter.

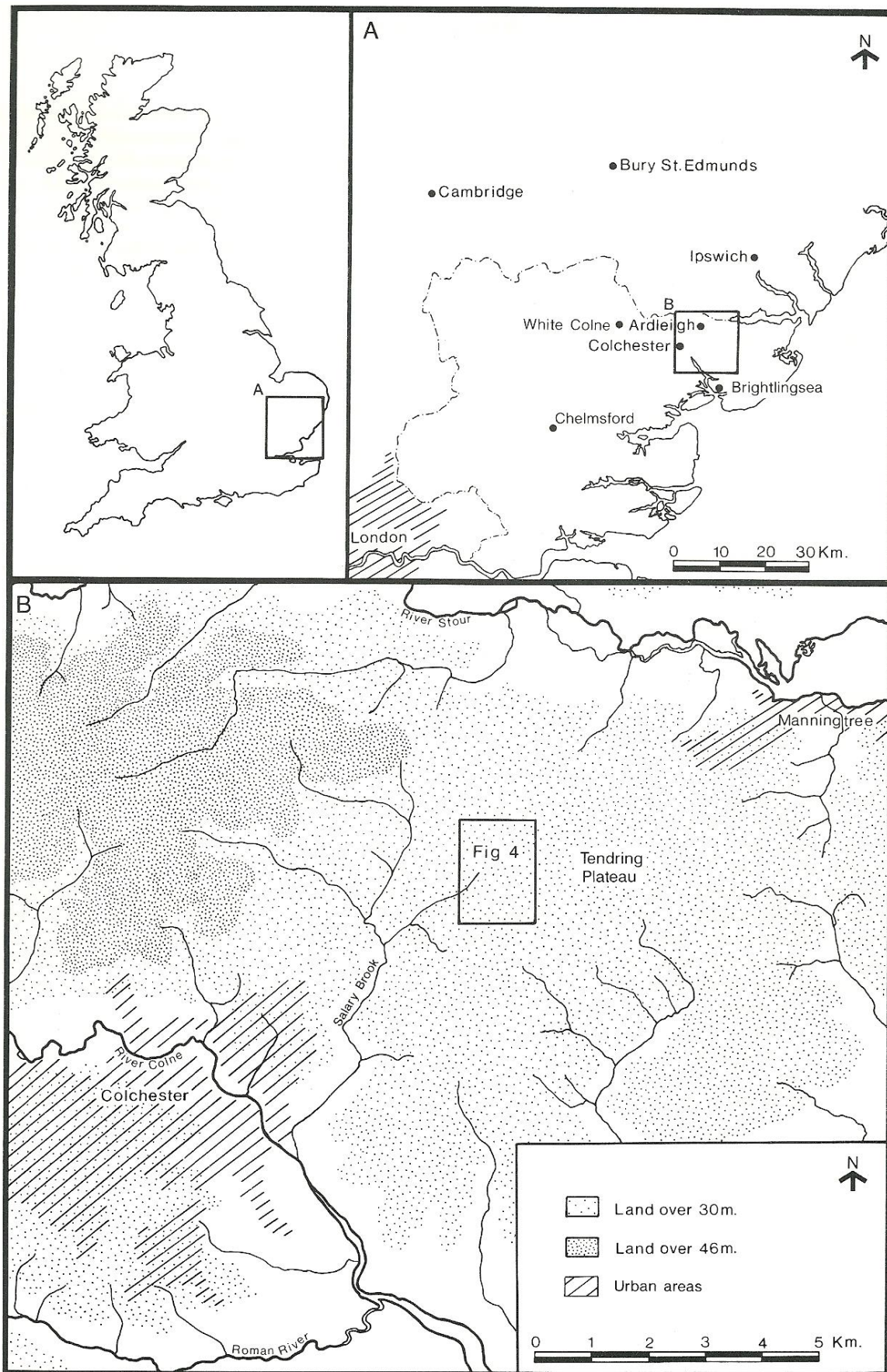


Figure 8.2: Location map of Ardleigh (after Brown 1999, Figure 1).

8.1.1.2: Morphology

During the 20th Century ploughing, fieldwalking, and excavations at Ardleigh revealed evidence for occupation at the site from as early as the Neolithic (Couchman and Savory 1983, 4 *cf.* Brown 1999, 1). During the Bronze Age the site was associated with burial and ritual, as illustrated by a number of cremation burials within ring ditch enclosures (Brown 1999, 17-26; Couchman 1975; Eirth 1960; Hinchliffe 1980a); while a number of later Bronze Age/early Iron Age morphological features with associated pottery denote activity during this period (Brown 1999, 26), and a round house within a rectilinear enclosure represents occupation of middle Iron Age date (Brown 1999, 26-30; Drury 1978a, 67; Eirth 1962; Eirth 1967; Eirth and Holbert 1970; Hinchliffe 1981).

Later Iron Age occupation at Ardleigh is represented by groupings of 'Belgic' pottery (Brown 1999, 30; Eirth 1969; Eirth and Holbert 1974; Thompson and Barford 1986); burials (Brown 1999, 30-31; Eirth 1960; Thompson 1982); a later Iron Age/Early Roman farmstead (Brown 1999, 31; Eirth and Holbert 1970); ditches, gullies, and trackways (including a double ditched trackway (Hinchliffe 1980b)), a cobbled surface, postholes, a hearth, and a palisade (Brown 1999, ; Eirth and Holbert 1970; Hinchliffe 1981), as well as a large pit, known as the 'Cauldron Pit' (Brown 1999, 31; Eirth and Holbert 1970; Hinchliffe 1981; Sealey 1999a). With the arguable exception of the 'Cauldron Pit' there is little to suggest that Ardleigh was anything other than a typical Iron Age settlement during the later Iron Age, especially when one takes into consideration the artefacts recovered from many of the aforementioned features (see Appendices 8.1-8.2).

8.1.2: Existing Theories

There is little published literature bearing reference to Iron Age Ardleigh; however, that which does exist provides a coherent image of life at the site at this time. Ardleigh's topographical setting and morphological entities, with the exception of the burials, as well as the site's archaeological records, have been used to infer that the site's location was chosen for its well-drained land, which was suitable for arable cultivation, as this would have enabled the founding of a self-sustaining farming community (Eirth and Holbert 1970). Furthermore, Eirth and Holbert (1970) have stated that the later Iron Age/early Roman farmstead at the heart of this period's occupation bore all the characteristics of an isolated farmstead whose occupants were capable of providing for themselves; an approach to life during the Iron Age that Bowden and McOmish (1987 *cf.* Brown 1999, 177) consider to have been the norm.

It has also been suggested that more than just arable farming occupied Ardleigh's population at this time. Briquetage at the site led Thompson and Barford (1986) to infer that salt was used to supplement the diet of cattle reared locally; while Brown (1999) has surmised that there is much evidence to suggest the existence of a flourishing local ceramic industry at Ardleigh which may have been closely linked to its contemporaneous industry at Colchester. Although it is noteworthy that only the raw clay was similar between these industries, as the potters at Ardleigh appear to have added organic materials, such as sawdust, to their clays before use (Going and Belton 1999 154-155). These observations allowed Brown to conclude, (based on the spread of Ardleigh ceramics across Essex at the sites of Chelmsford, Great Dunmow and Colchester itself), that there is no reason to believe Ardleigh was a dependent satellite of Colchester (ibid 154). Had this been the case we would expect the pottery in use at Ardleigh to exhibit the same stylistic 'grammars' as those manufactured in Colchester, instead the pottery in use and manufactured at Ardleigh display their own stylistic 'grammars' therefore suggesting they were produced by different potters (ibid, 154).

Meanwhile, the cremation burials identified within the north-east corner of the site, as well as just outside the south-eastern corner of the farmstead's enclosure (ibid, 178), have been used to support the conclusion that there was occupation within the interior of this enclosure, as the use of burials as boundary markers for settlements is a recurrent theme within the later Iron Age (ibid, 178); and is indeed seen elsewhere within Iron Age Essex (e.g. in North Shoebury (Wymer and Brown 1995)). Moreover, the burials tell us of the relationship the community at Iron Age Ardleigh had with the rest of Essex. These burials comprised only a cremation and ceramic vessel, with the former placed outside of the latter (Brown 1999, 178); a practise Sealey (1996) considers to have been regional. Furthermore, it has been noted that it was not only other sites in Essex to which these burials bore similarities; the scale of the cemetery puts the site on par with the famed cemeteries of Aylesford and Swarling in Kent, as well as Welywn in Hertfordshire (Eirth 1960), while the presence of pedestal urns illustrates further cultural ties between Ardleigh and Kent (Hawkes and Dunning 1932 *cf.* Eirth 1960).

The final aspect of Ardleigh to be considered within the present literature is the 'Cauldron Pit'. This pit, cut into gravel c.1.5 metres below the modern ploughsoil, shows two distinct layers of Iron Age date both of which exhibit signs of intense burning (Sealey 1999a, 33). Both of these layers contained later Iron Age pottery of Belgic type, the rib bones from rodent like

animals, and a number of strainer bowls and cauldrons (ibid, 33; Sealey 1999b); the former and latter of these artefacts are said to have been relics of a feast (Sealey 1999a, 33), with the cauldrons and strainer bowls being used for the production and serving of ‘Celtic Beer’ respectively (Sealey 1999b, 123). Furthermore, it has been noted that the production and serving of ‘Celtic Beer’ using these artefacts is considered to have been a native tradition and not one adopted as a result of increasing contact with the Roman World (Sealey 1999b),²⁷ and that while the strainer bowls were manufactured in local clays, (thus dispelling notions of Roman influence), their presence at Ardleigh is indicative of cultural practices shared between Ardleigh and other sites in both Britain and Europe. This view is supported by discoveries of these vessels at Elms Farm, Heybridge; Essex (see Chapter 8.3), between the Thames and Wash, and at sites such as Kirmington and Dragonby in North Lincolnshire (May 1971; 1976b, 169-171 *cf.* Sealey 1999b, 122); while examples from Europe were recovered in southern Sweden, northern Germany, Poland, and along both the Danube and Rhine (Sealey 1999b, 122). Furthermore, the majority of these vessels appear at those sites where there is limited evidence for contact with/the importation of Dressel 1 amphorae (Clarke 1940, 58; Fitzpatrick 1985, Fig. 4; Peacock 1971, Figs. 36 and 38 *cf.* Sealey 1999b, 122), and more importantly, for the purposes of the thesis, there appears to be no correlation between the use of these vessels and *oppida*, an assertion that can be made based on the regions in which the majority of these vessels have been recovered and their limited association with *oppida*.

Overall current interpretations of later Iron Age Ardleigh can be said to depict the site as a relatively self-sustaining farmstead whose occupants engaged in industrial activities to produce wares for local consumption and trade. Moreover, economic relationships appear to have brought into and/or taken out of Ardleigh more than just physical objects as illustrated by regional/national cultural practises occurring at the site at this time.

8.1.3: Ardleigh Reassessed

Upon considering Ardleigh’s complete artefact catalogues, (see Appendices 8.1-8.2), it became evident that very little material has been recovered from Ardleigh over the years, despite numerous archaeological investigations at the site. Part of the reason for this can be linked to the site’s prolonged exposure to the plough; although Brown (1999) also surmises it is in part

²⁷ These vessels first appeared in Britain and Temperate Europe in the final decades BC, (with the earliest bronze examples in Britain appearing between 25 and 15 BC within the graves at Welwyn Garden City (Rigby and Freestone 1986, 16; Stead 1967, 47; Strong 1967, 22), in areas peripheral to the Roman World (Brown 1999, 122).

the result of poor recording. While this could have proven problematic to the current study, the author was able to use the aforementioned catalogues to ascertain both the nature of Ardleigh's later Iron Age occupation as well as its relationship to Colchester.

From Figure 8.3 it can be seen that Period 1 and 2 occupation at Ardleigh is scantily represented within the site's archaeological record. Therefore, much as was the case with Colchester, it was Period 3 when the site really came into its own; and while we will gain a better understanding of Iron Age Ardleigh from a study of the site's Period 3 and 4 data, in order to fully appreciate this we must first consider its earliest occupation.

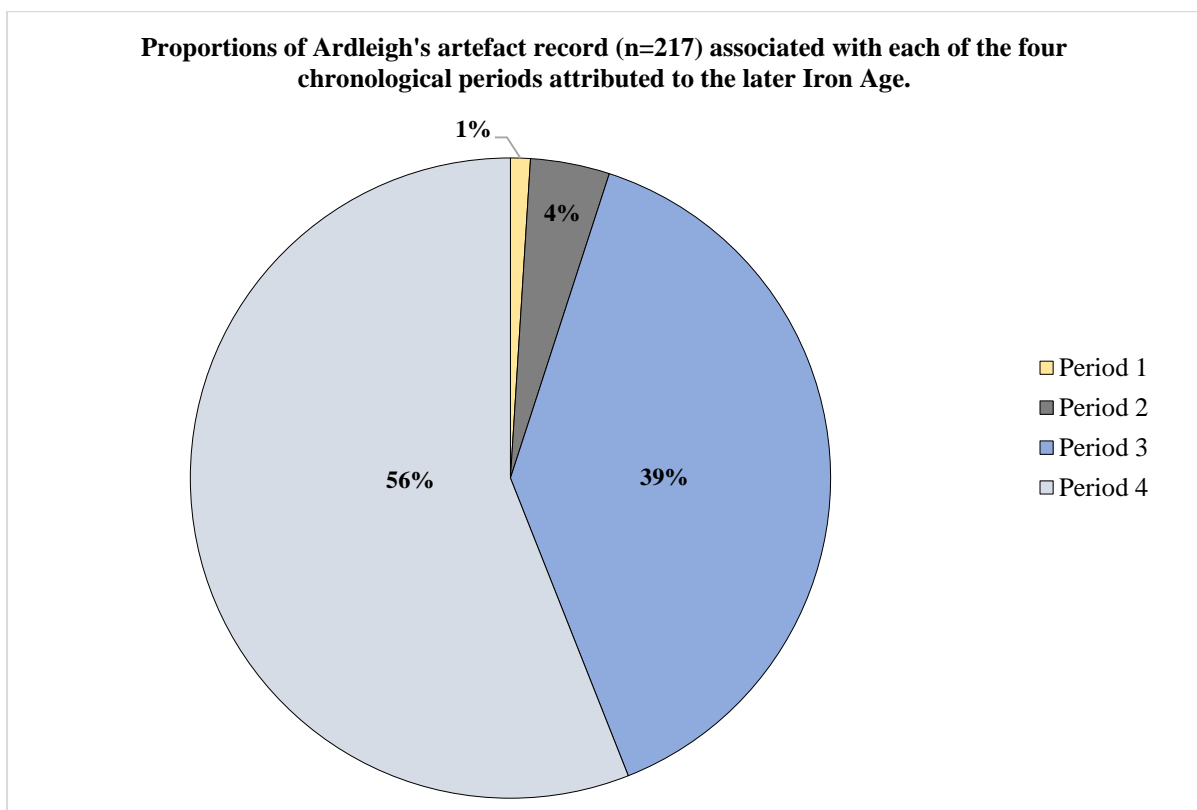


Figure 8.3: Based on information from: Brown 1999; Cunliffe 2005; Eirth 1960; 1969; Thompson and Barford 1986.

Ardleigh's earliest later Iron Age occupation is represented by 8 vessels, (3 from Period 1 and 5 from Period 2), recovered from the site's later Iron Age/Early Roman farmstead. When one considers the form types in which these vessels appear, see Figure 8.4, it becomes evident that they represent those vessel forms typically associated with domestic occupation during the Iron Age (see Chapter 3.4.3), while the contexts from which they were recovered, (see Appendix 8.1), suggest that a farming lifestyle was associated with domestic occupation, as they are

recovered from those contexts from which one would expect to recover domestic waste (see Chapter 6.2.2); although, it is for this same reason that we have to be open to the possibility that these early vessels may have been residual, and as such may not represent the established occupation suggested here.

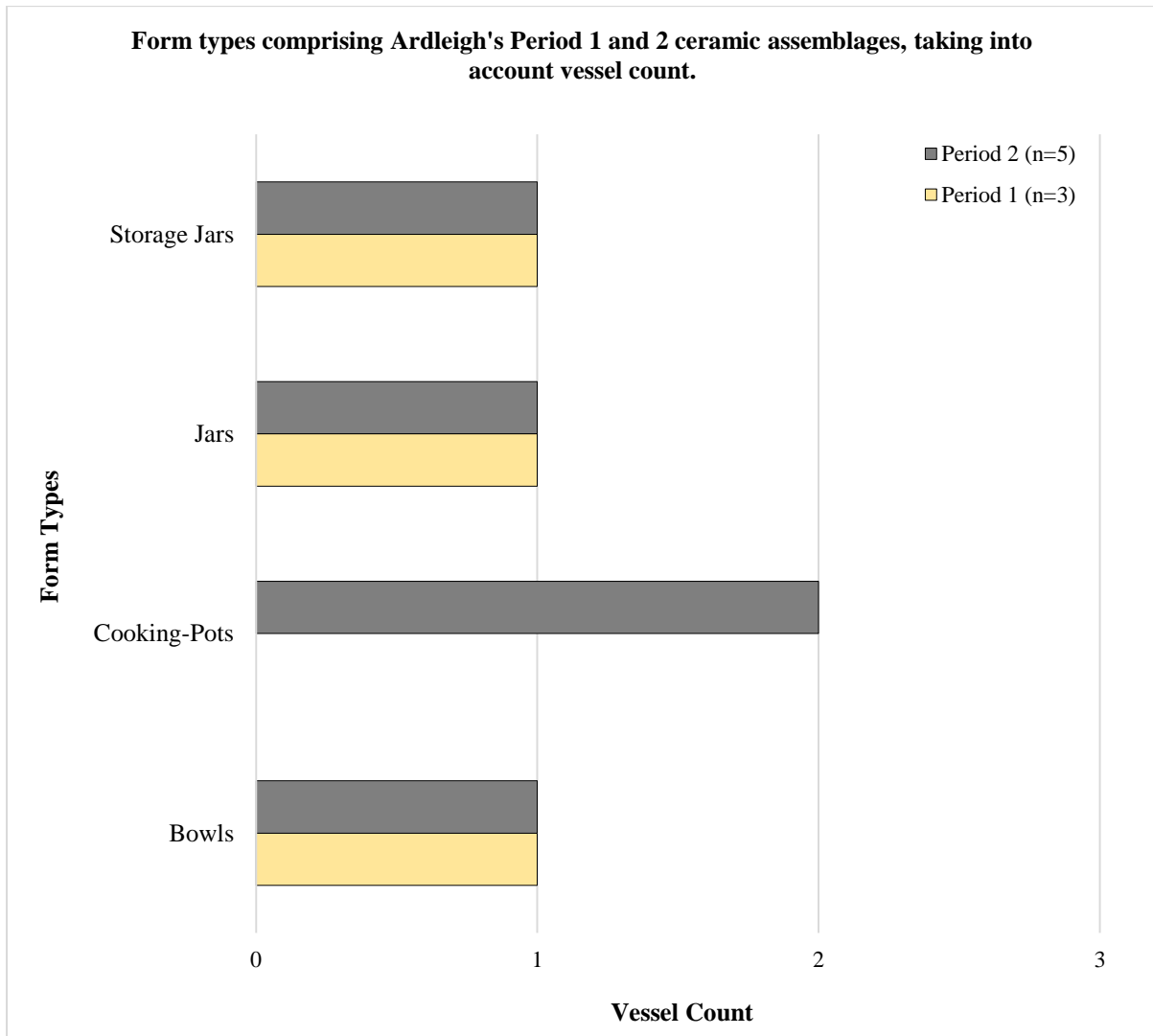


Figure 8.4: Based on information from: Brown 1999; Eirth 1960; 1969; Thompson and Barford 1986.

Furthermore, in addition to representing possible domestic occupation the site's ceramic assemblage tells us that Ardleigh's pottery workshops may have emerged at this time, as all but two of the vessels attributed to Periods 1 and 2 appear in forms manufactured at the site (see Appendix 8.1). Meanwhile, the remaining vessels, (two imitation Cam 257 cooking-pots), which may also have been manufactured in local fabrics, suggest that local potters had either come into contact with true Cam wares, possibly those manufactured at Sheepen, and copied them, or shared tips with their contemporaries working in other potteries. Consequently, we

can infer that Ardleigh may have had economic and/or social relationships with her neighbouring communities at this time.

Combined, these elements could perhaps lead one to conclude that Ardleigh was a relatively self-sufficient domestic settlement whose occupants not only worked the local land but manufactured their own pottery; thus indicating their independence from their contemporaries, including Colchester. However, as the author only had 8 vessels around which to base this interpretation one has to be open to the idea that these vessels were actually manufactured and deposited during a later phase of Ardleigh's Iron Age occupation.

While we cannot be certain that the above interpretations are accurate they do provide us with an idea of what we might learn from an analysis of the site's Period 3 and 4 data. The archaeological records associated with these later phases of occupation at Ardleigh contain a total of 201 ceramic vessels, (83 attributed to Period 3 and 118 attributed to Period 4), and 6 additional artefacts (see Appendices 8.1-8.2). These periods also saw the establishment of the site's morphological entities, the majority of which denote typical Iron Age occupation whereby domestic occupation was coupled with both farming regimes and craft production (see Chapter 3.4). The remaining features, which include the cauldron pit and graves, provide insight into the occupants at Ardleigh's cultural beliefs and practices, particularly those associated with their funeral customs, and, in the case of the cauldron pit, the ritual practices they had established to reaffirm social relations in times of uncertainty (Sealey 1999c, 18) (see Appendix 8.3). Consequently, this evidence continues to portray Ardleigh as a relatively self-sustaining settlement whose occupants are unlikely to have been reliant upon their neighbours to maintain their existence past the normal social and/or economic relationships that tied communities of this time to one another.

A similar picture of later Iron Age life at Ardleigh is also gained through a study of the site's Period 3 and 4 ceramic assemblages. From Figure 8.5 it is evident that the most numerous form types among these assemblages are bowls, cooking-pots and jars; three of the most common vessels used during the Iron Age (see Chapter 6.2.1). Moreover, when one considers the contexts from which not only the most numerous vessels appear but the assemblages as a whole were recovered, see Figure 8.6, it becomes even more apparent that life at Ardleigh followed a typical pattern of domestic occupation during the Iron Age, because the majority of

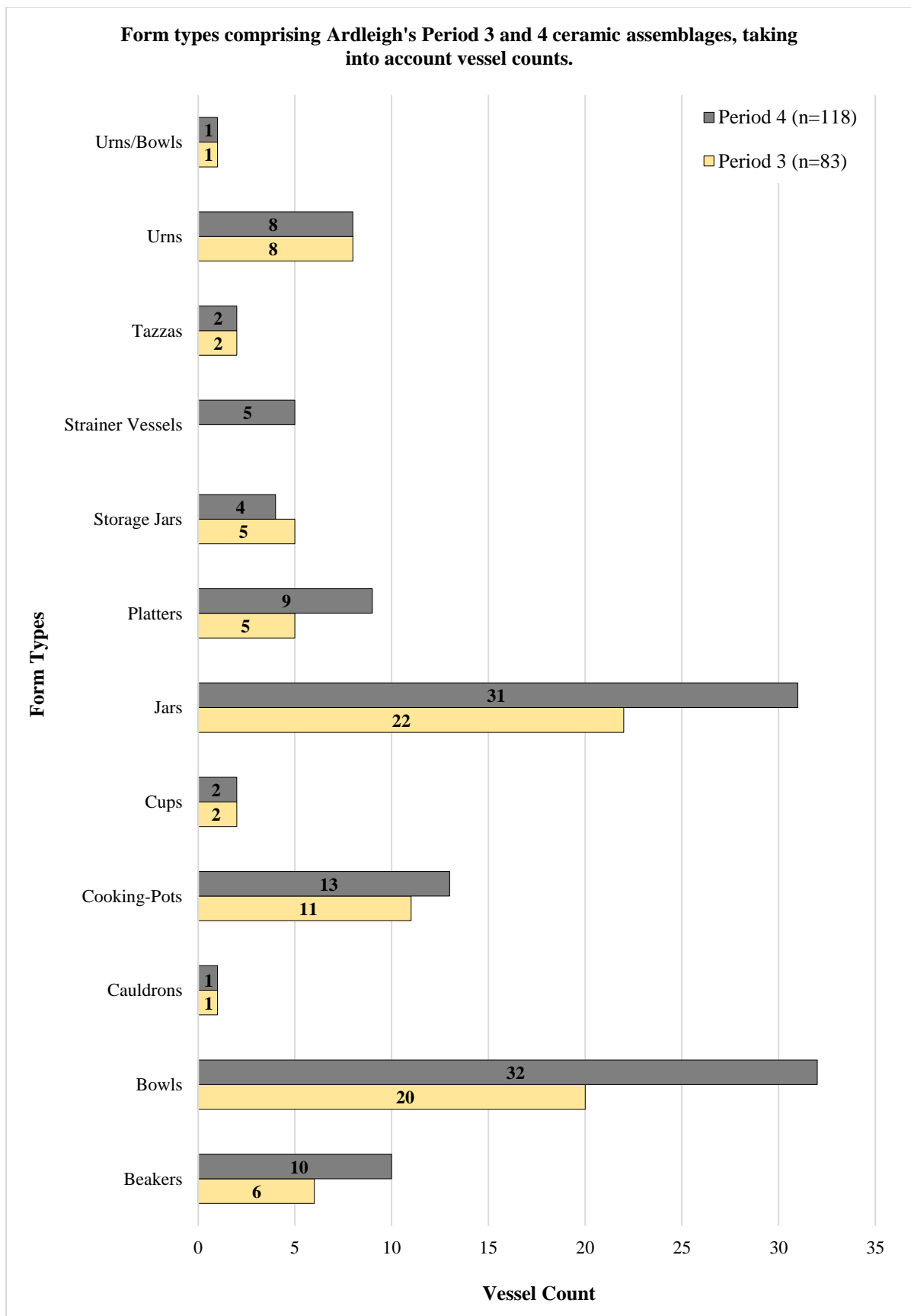


Figure 8.5: Based on information from: Brown 1999; Eirth 1960; 1969; Thompson and Barford 1986.

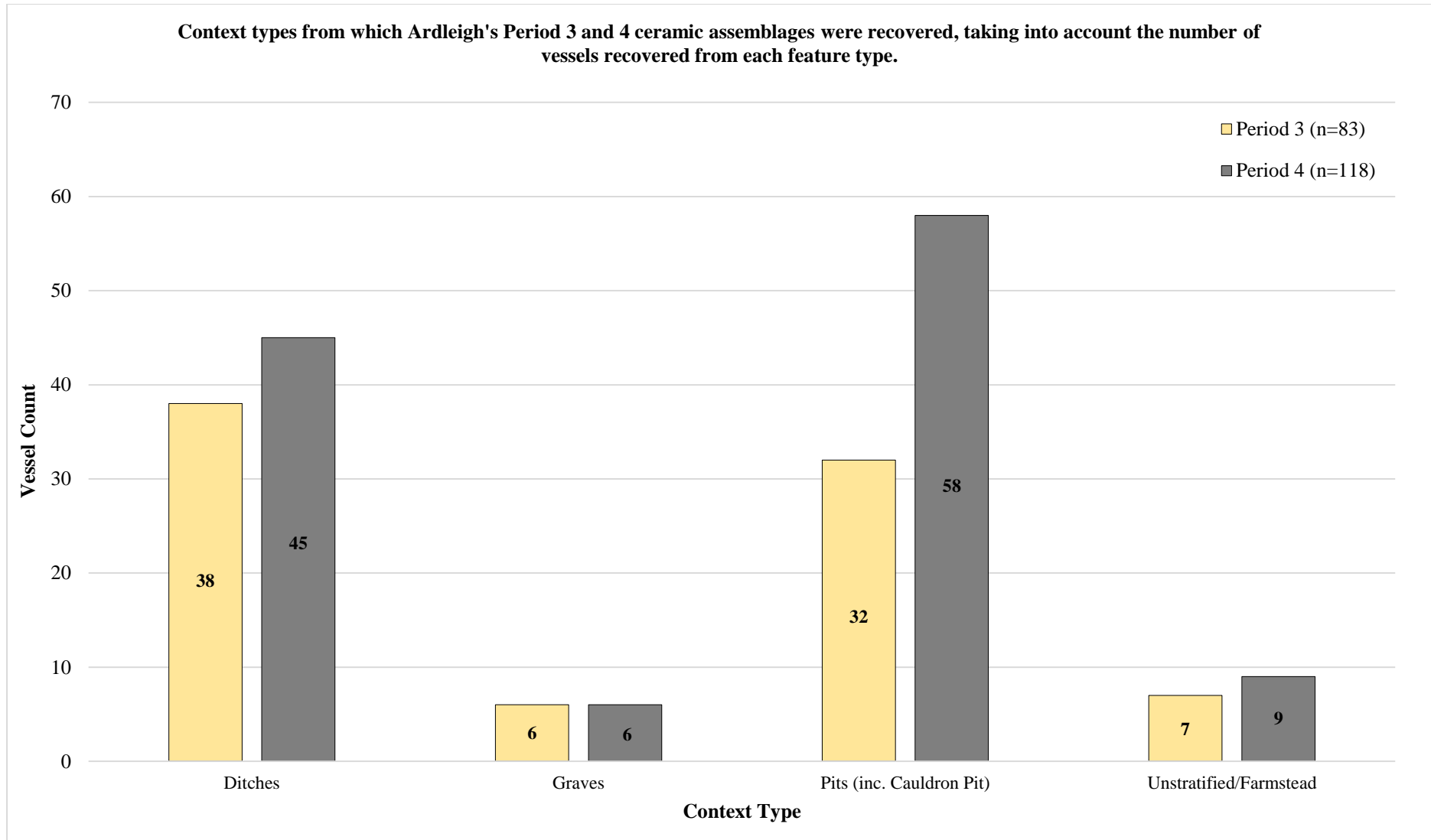


Figure 8.6: Based on information from: Brown 1999; Eirth 1960; 1969; Thompson and Barford 1986.

the aforementioned vessels were recovered from pits and ditches; in other words, those features on domestic settlements which typically received waste deposits (see Chapter 6.2.2).

While the above evidence provides insight into the manner of life at Ardleigh during the later Iron Age, in terms of how it compares to what we might consider the norm at this time, it is not until we consider the origins of the site's ceramic assemblage that we gain an understanding of its relationship to Colchester. Figure 8.7 depicts locally produced vessels, be they manufactured in Ardleigh forms and fabrics or not, as the best represented within the ceramic assemblage; representing 77% of the site's Period 3 assemblage and 83% of that attributed to Period 4. The presence of vessels manufactured in forms and fabrics characteristic of Ardleigh confirms the existence of the local potteries Brown (1999) surmised existed within the site's environs because despite no kilns being recovered, the fabrics contained organic materials that have been matched to this area suggesting that at the very least these vessel were manufactured in local clays (Going and Beltan 1999, 155). The existence of locally produced Cam forms and their imitations meanwhile, suggest that the site's occupants preferred these products to Cam vessels of the same type produced at Colchester; although, it is equally possible they were more economically viable, (that is they were cheaper). This inference can be drawn based on the presence of c.61 locally produced/imitated Cam forms over the course of both Periods 3 and 4, and only c.6 Cam forms imported from Colchester.

Consequently, the notion that Ardleigh was not a satellite of Colchester (see Chapter 8.1.2) can be considered correct. This verification is supported by two aspects of the data discussed above; firstly that Ardleigh was a relatively self-sufficient settlement in terms of being able to produce many of the products its population required for their day-to-day existence on-site, and secondly, because the presence of only c.6 vessels imported to the site from Colchester suggests that these vessels, much like the imports from elsewhere in Britain, as well as from Gaul (see Figure 8.7), were neither needed nor widely sought by Ardleigh's local population and thus did not play a central role in the site's daily life. Instead it is possible that these vessels represent conspicuous consumption by high-status individuals much as true Cam wares are surmised to have been at Colchester (see Chapter 7.3.3.2), or were used in communal events, such as that associated with the Cauldron pit, (see Chapter 8.1.2, and Appendix 8.3), in the same way that imports at Colchester were (see Chapter 7.3.3.2).

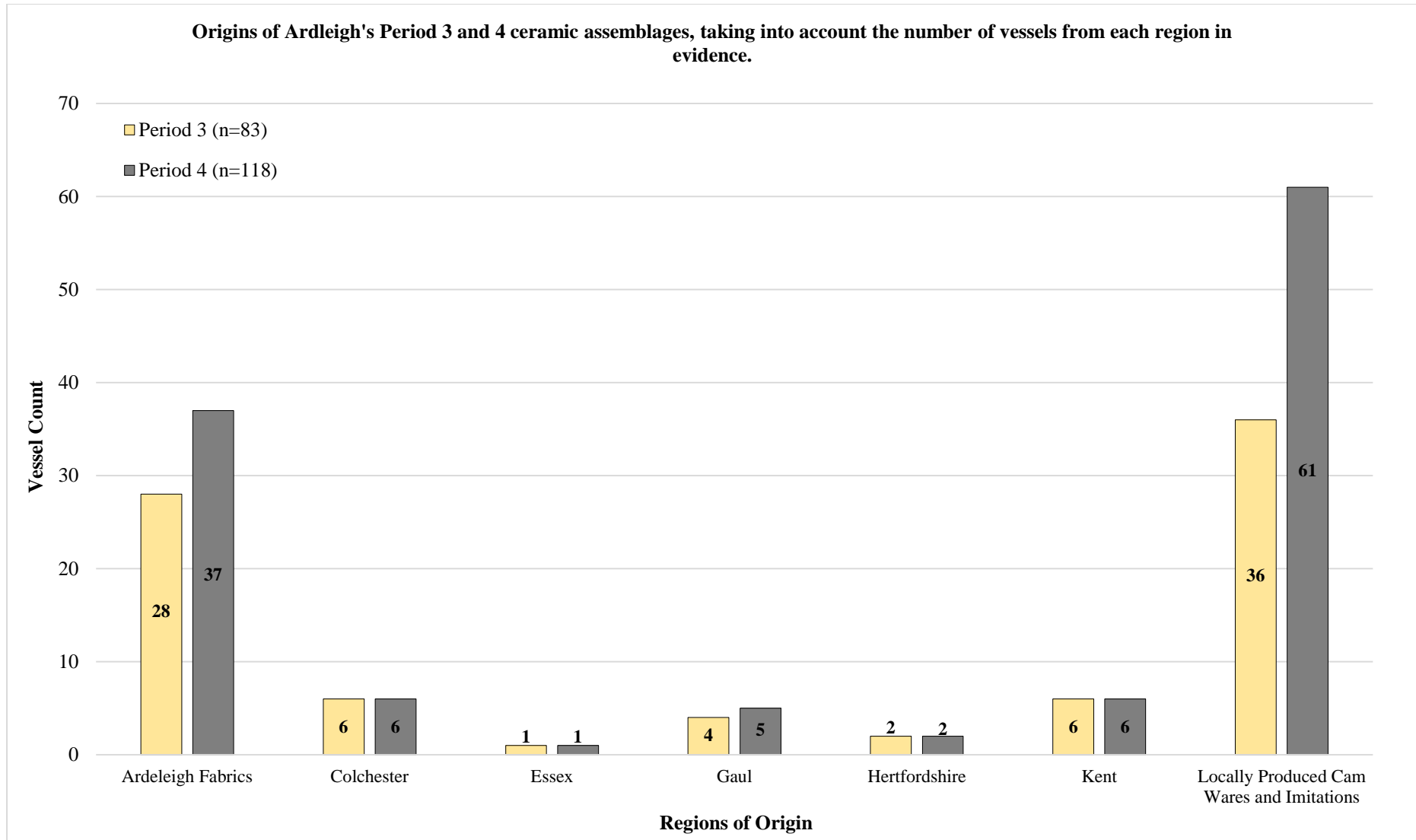


Figure 8.7: Based on information from: Brown 1999; Eirth 1960; 1969; Thompson and Barford 1986.

In addition to the ceramic assemblage, excavations at Ardleigh led to the discovery of several artefacts that provide further insight into the site's activities; including an awl, loom weight, and adze (see Appendix 8.2). These artefacts are all indicative of further crafts, which suggests that Ardleigh's population could exist independently of a larger settlement such as later Iron Age Colchester. The traditional functions of both the awl and loom weight suggest that in addition to producing leatherwork and textiles for clothing and other similar products, the local population reared both cattle and sheep, animals which would not only have produced the hides and wool required to manufacture the aforementioned products but meat, and milk that with the addition of salt was churned into butter and cheese during the later Iron Age (see Chapter 3.4.4). Meanwhile, the discovery of an adze, a traditional woodworking tool (Darvill 2003, 4), suggests that members of the local community were able to work wood, be it for fencing and buildings or handles for tools and other similar products.

In addition to the above, Ardleigh's archaeological record also contains two pieces of metalwork, (a pair of nail cleaners and a terret from a horse's harness), that were apparently produced locally; thus suggesting the presence of metalworking industries within the site's environs. It can therefore be concluded that Ardleigh's resident population were not dependent on Colchester, and that any relationships that existed between the two did not conform to core periphery or central place models (see Chapter 3.2); because if they had we would have seen indicators of these come to light during analysis.

8.2: Kelvedon

8.2.1: Topography and Morphological Setting

8.2.1.1: Landscape Setting

The later Iron Age/Early Roman site of *Canonium*, modern day Kelvedon, was located 16km south-west of Colchester at a major crossing on the River Blackwater (Gomer and Rodwell 1972; Rodwell 1988; Sealey 2007, 3); and alongside what was to become the main Roman road from East Anglia to London (Gomer and Rodwell 1972; Rodwell 1973; 1988) (see Figure 8.8).

8.2.1.2: Morphology

Rescue archaeology between 1968 and 1973 revealed a long tradition of pre-historic occupation at Kelvedon that could be split into two primary phases. Phase 1 ranged from the Mesolithic to the middle Iron Age and consisted of only sporadic occupation (Rodwell 1988, 4); while Phase 2 comprised permanent occupation for the duration of the later Iron Age until

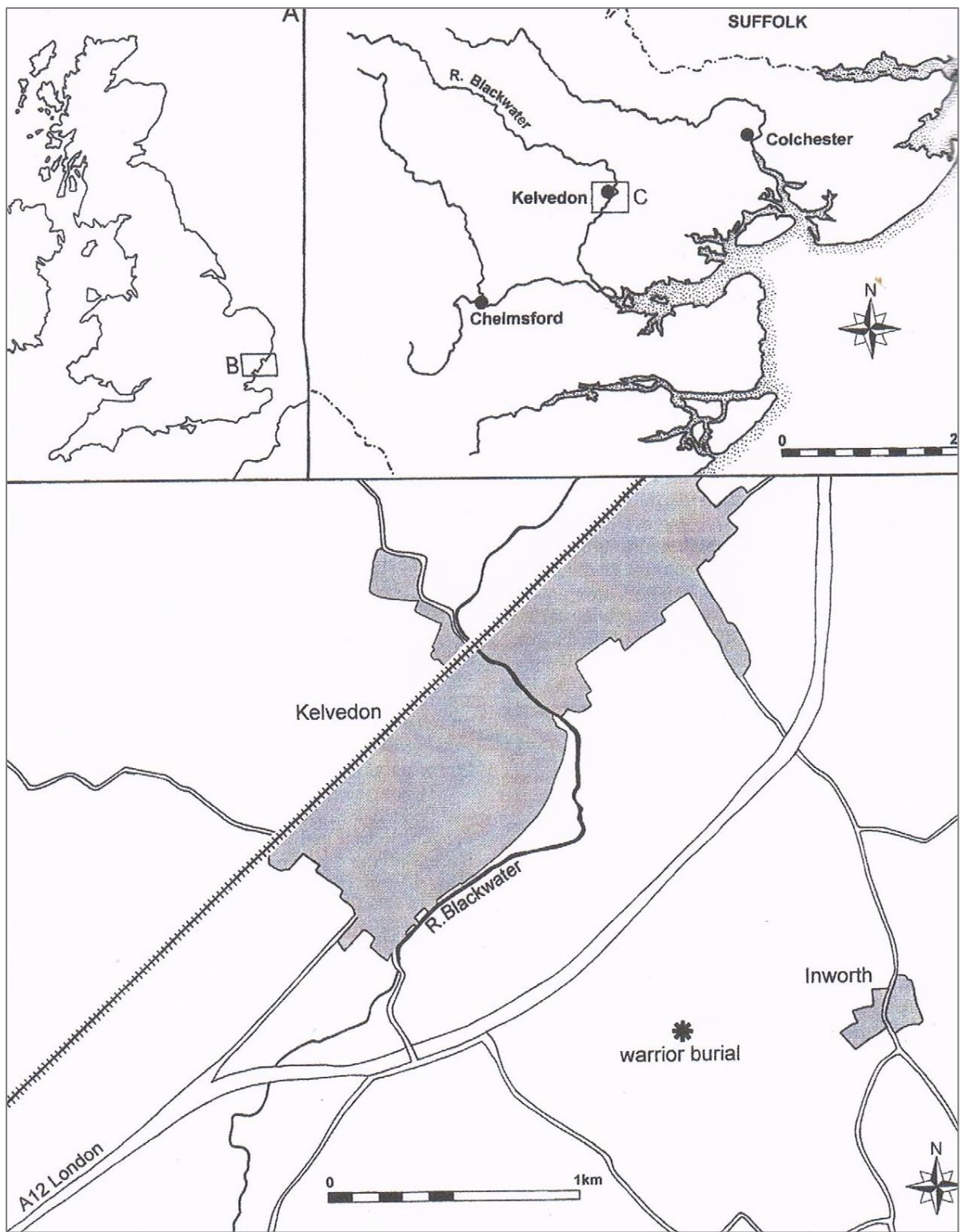


Figure 8.8: Location Map of Kelvedon (after: Sealey 2007, Fig. 1).

the Roman conquest, when the site was transformed into a military base (Rodwell 1973, 265; 1988, 4-5).

Later Iron Age/early Roman morphology at Kelvedon comprises ‘a very extensive, if not spectacular, Iron Age and Romano-British settlement extending for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile along the south side of the Roman road’ (Gomer and Rodwell 1972, 13). This settlement comprised five regions of later Iron Age activity: the Rivenhall region; Region B; Region C; Region E; and Region J (ibid, 13) (see Figure 8.9), and is represented within the morphological record thus:

- Enclosure ditches, palisade trenches for timber buildings, pits, and gullies at Rivenhall (Gomer and Rodwell 1972),
- A ditch, which cut through a pit/well, and an oven in Region B (Rodwell 1988, 4-5),
- A deep linear feature Region C (ibid, 5),
- A later Iron Age floor with a hearth at its centre, a ditch, and a number of beam slots in Region E (Niblett 1988, 12),
- A ditched/palisaded enclosure containing five poorly preserved rectangular buildings in Region J (Rodwell 1988, 15).

Further to the above, two round-houses have been identified close to the five rectilinear ones (Sealey 2007, 3); while a later Iron Age grave, with a satellite burial, was discovered c.1.25km to the south-east of the settlement on the boundary between the modern villages of Kelvedon and Great Braxted (ibid, 3). Finally, it should be noted that all of the above features gave rise to the site’s artefact record (see Appendices 7.4-7.5).

8.2.2: Existing Theories

The general consensus within much of the literature is that Kelvedon was home to a prosperous and thriving community (Clarke 1988; Eddy and Turner 1982; Ennis and Foreman 2002; Rodwell 1988; Sealey 2007; Thompson 1982); but what else do these papers tell us about the nature of the site’s later Iron Age occupation?

From the evidence available it has been determined that Kelvedon was a domestic settlement, where the local population may have undertaken seasonal salt production (Rodwell 1988, 81-82), an interpretation Rodwell has based on the site’s close proximity to the Rivers Colne and Blackwater, as well as its proximity to the coast and tidal marshes (Rodwell 1979, 133). Furthermore, it was postulated that the ability of Kelvedon’s population to control and exploit

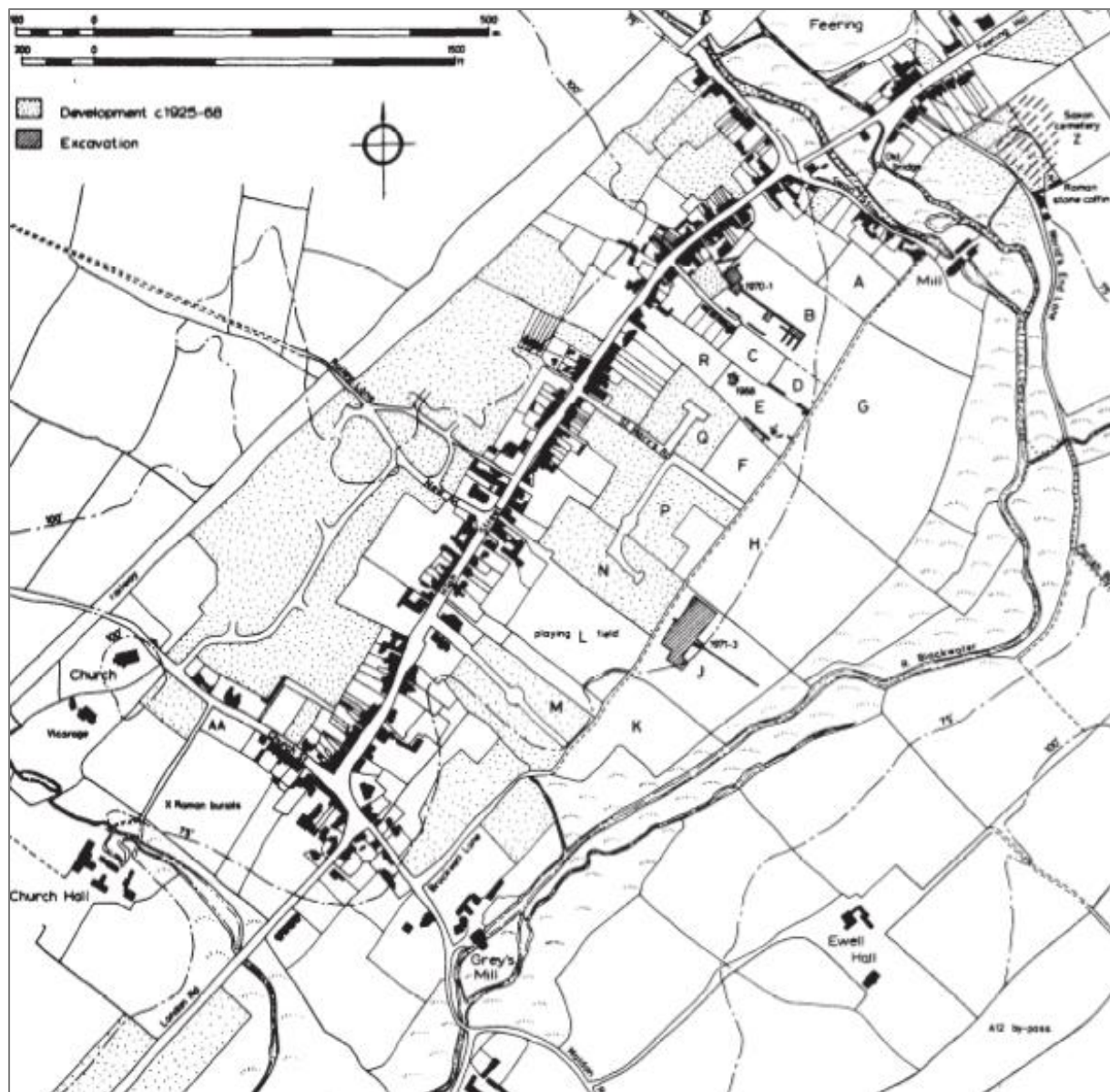


Figure 8.9: Plan of Kelvedon showing the regions of excavation (after Rodwell 1988, Fig. 2).

this resource on a commercial level would have given the site the economic edge over its neighbours (Rodwell 1988, 82); presumably because of this site's value in the later Iron Age (see Chapter 3.4.4). Conversely, despite this assertion Rodwell also assumed that trade at the site was likely to have been conducted by way of Colchester (*ibid*, 133).

In addition to the above, the two burials discovered on the border between Kelvedon and Great Braxted have also received much attention within the literature. The first of these is commonly referred to as 'The Warrior Burial' (Going 1984; Sealey 2006; 2007) because of the weaponry discovered within the burial during excavation; this includes: a sword, a scabbard and chape, a dagger/short-sword, a socketed spear blade, a shield boss and an iron ferrule (Going 1984; Sealey 2006; 2007, 5-12). It is however not only the deceased's position as a 'warrior' that has been inferred from these artefacts. They have also been used to surmise that the deceased was a local aristocrat (Sealey 2006; 2007, 39-40); while comparative studies conducted by Sealey (2007), have seen him conclude that the Kelvedon Warrior was better equipped than most of his contemporaries (*ibid*, 40).

Although a reasonable amount has been deduced with regards to the Warrior Burial the same cannot be said of its satellite. Like most satellite graves the one at Kelvedon is modest in terms of the material culture it contained; with the present example containing only a single vessel (*ibid*, 17). This vessel is of a similar style to a number of Aylesford-Swarling vessels, and along with two vessels of this tradition within the Warrior's Burial it has been used to deduce that this burial was on par with those of this tradition originating in Kent (*ibid*, 16), as well as both the Ardleigh burials and Lexden Tumulus which have also been linked to this tradition (Eirth 1960; Foster 1986). Furthermore, the satellite burial can be linked to the Ardleigh burials in one additional area as it too saw the human remains placed outside of their accompanying vessel rather than within it (see Chapter 8.1.2).

Based on the interpretations noted above it can be stated later Iron Age Kelvedon was characterised by a community who engaged in both arable farming and salt production, whilst relying upon Colchester for traded wares. Moreover, the Warrior Burial and its satellite highlight the site's relationships with both its British and Temperate European contemporaries, while also providing evidence for a stratified community within which weaponry was used to denote status.

8.2.3: Kelvedon Reassessed

As was the case for both Ardleigh and Colchester, Kelvedon saw little permanent occupation prior to Period 3, with this latter phase marking a crucial stage in the site's development. This however is not to say that a study of the site's Period 1 and 2 data will not yield information about the nature of Kelvedon's later Iron Age existence.

Period 1 and 2 occupation at Kelvedon is represented by a ceramic assemblage comprising c.36 vessels. From Figure 8.10 it is evident that the form types present within this assemblage are those we would typically associate with native occupation (see Chapter 6.2.1), with only amphorae representing non-traditional wares. However, as we know from the many studies pertaining to amphorae their presence on later Iron Age settlements is far from unusual (Peacock 1971; Sealey 1985a; 2009).

Furthermore, this data raises three further points for discussion. Firstly, we would typically associate these vessels with traditional Iron Age pursuits, (domestic occupation coupled with both farming regimes and craft production (see Chapter 6.2.1)); and secondly, that these vessels were primarily produced in local forms and fabrics, (see Appendix 8.4), suggesting that a ceramic industry may have existed at Kelvedon at this time. Consequently, it can be surmised that this was a relatively self-sustaining community. With this in mind we turn attention to the third point raised by this evidence.

The ceramic assemblage detailed above also allows us to examine Rodwell's assertion that imported wares at Kelvedon arrived by way of later Iron Age Colchester (1988, 133). While this could be considered a feasible interpretation of the evidence it is not the one that makes the most sense. The author believes that we should instead be looking to Elms Farm as the providers of Kelvedon's imported wares; and with regards to the site's Period 1 and 2 data there are three reasons for this:

1. The only imported vessels within the site's ceramic assemblage are Dressel 1 amphorae, a product for which Elms Farm is arguably better known than Colchester; a point of view that can be bolstered through a simple comparison of the quantities of amphorae recovered from Elms Farm, c.44 vessels (see Appendix 8.6), and Colchester, c.20 vessels (see Appendices 7.1, 7.5, 7.7, 7.9, 7.11).
2. There is an argument to be made that Elms Farm makes more sense as Kelvedon's supplier of imported goods than Colchester, because both Kelvedon and Elms Farm are

situated on the shores of the river Blackwater. This means that only water based journeys would be needed to transfer goods between these sites, whereas if goods were being moved between Kelvedon and Colchester part of the journey would need to be made over land, a less cost efficient manner of transporting bulky goods such as amphorae.

- Should Rodwell’s belief that the occupants of Kelvedon were manufacturing salt, (see Chapter 8.2.2), be true, and there is no reason to believe that it is not, there is even more reason to believe that the amphorae made their way to Kelvedon from Elms Farm; because salt-makers are likely to have made regular trips along the Blackwater, not only for manufacturing purposes but to peddle their wares, thus it is possible the amphorae was received as ‘payment’ for salt.

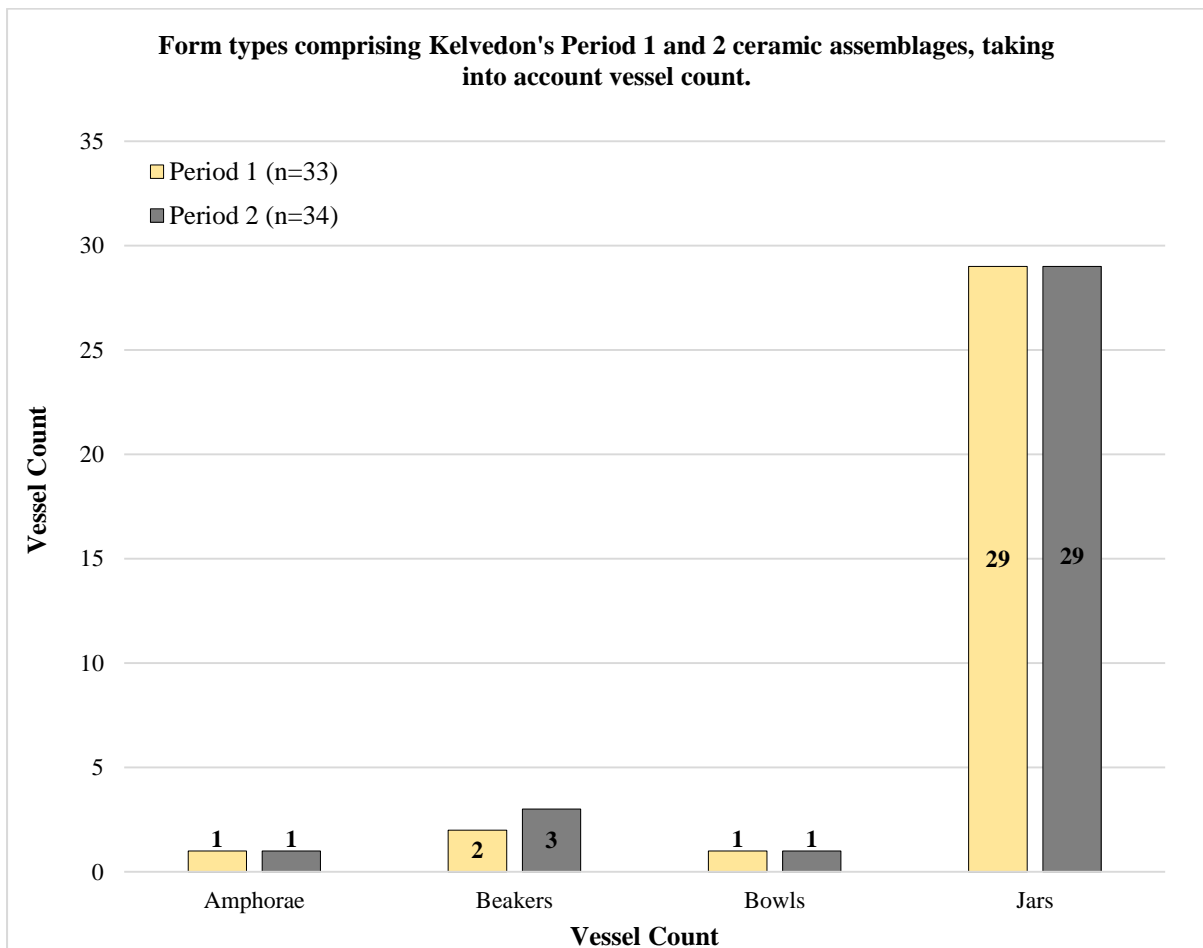


Figure 8.10: Based on information from: Rodwell 1988)

Conversely, while the above can be said to be convincing in terms of illustrating that the time has come to move away from Rodwell's conclusion that Kelvedon obtained imported wares from Colchester, there is one thing to bear in mind: the artefacts pertaining to these early phases of the site's later Iron Age occupation were primarily recovered from an unstratified area of the site (see Appendix 8.4). This coupled with the longevity of the forms in evidence, (see Appendix 8.4), means that the vessels discussed above may not have been manufactured and deposited until Period 3 or 4. Thus, while we can say that this evidence represents the beginnings of an argument against notions that Colchester acted as a central site upon which its hinterland sites were dependent, an analysis of the site's Period 3 and 4 data may produce a different view of Kelvedon's relationship with its contemporaries.

Period 3 and 4 occupation at Kelvedon is represented within the archaeological record by a range of artefacts, from ceramics to metalwork (see Appendices 8.4-8.5). Beginning our considerations of these with the site's ceramic assemblage, the first thing to note is that c.52 vessels date to Period 3 occupation at the site and c.64 to Period 4. The most numerous form types among these assemblages, (see Figure 8.11), are once again those we would traditionally associate with Iron Age occupation (see Chapter 6.2.1). Consequently, these vessels can be said to denote the same activities as those considered in relation to Period 1 and 2 occupation at Kelvedon above (see pages 248-249).

Conversely, the aforementioned ceramic assemblages also contain examples of those vessels we would more commonly associate with Roman dining habits, namely: cups, flagons, flasks, jugs, and platters (see Chapter 6.2.1). Thus, they can also be said to suggest that Kelvedon's population was stratified, and that these wares were used as visual representations of the elites' power, as it is surmised was the case at Colchester, (see Chapter 7.3.3.2), and Ardleigh (see Chapter 8.1.3); although it is equally probable that these vessels were consumed during communal celebrations, as it is surmised those at Sheepen, Colchester may have been (see Chapter 7.3.3.2).

The above interpretations become more viable when one takes into consideration the features from which the vessels were recovered. From Figure 8.12 it is evident that all of the vessels, with the exception of two urns recovered within the Warrior Burial, were recovered from contexts one would typically associate with Iron Age occupation (see Chapter 6.2.2). Consequently, it is likely that all of these wares, including those more typically associated with

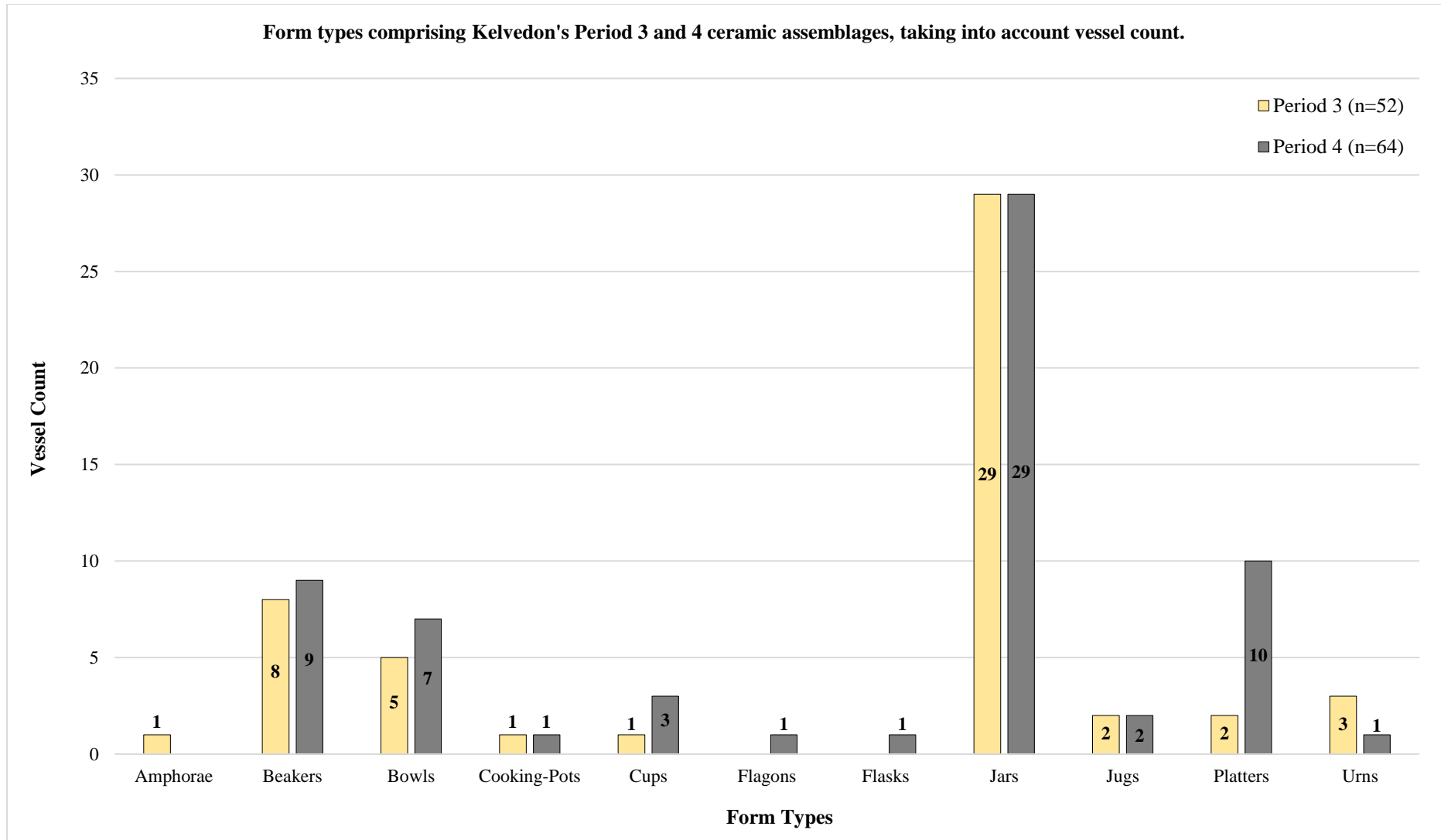


Figure 8.11: Based on information from: Rodwell 1988; Sealey 2007.

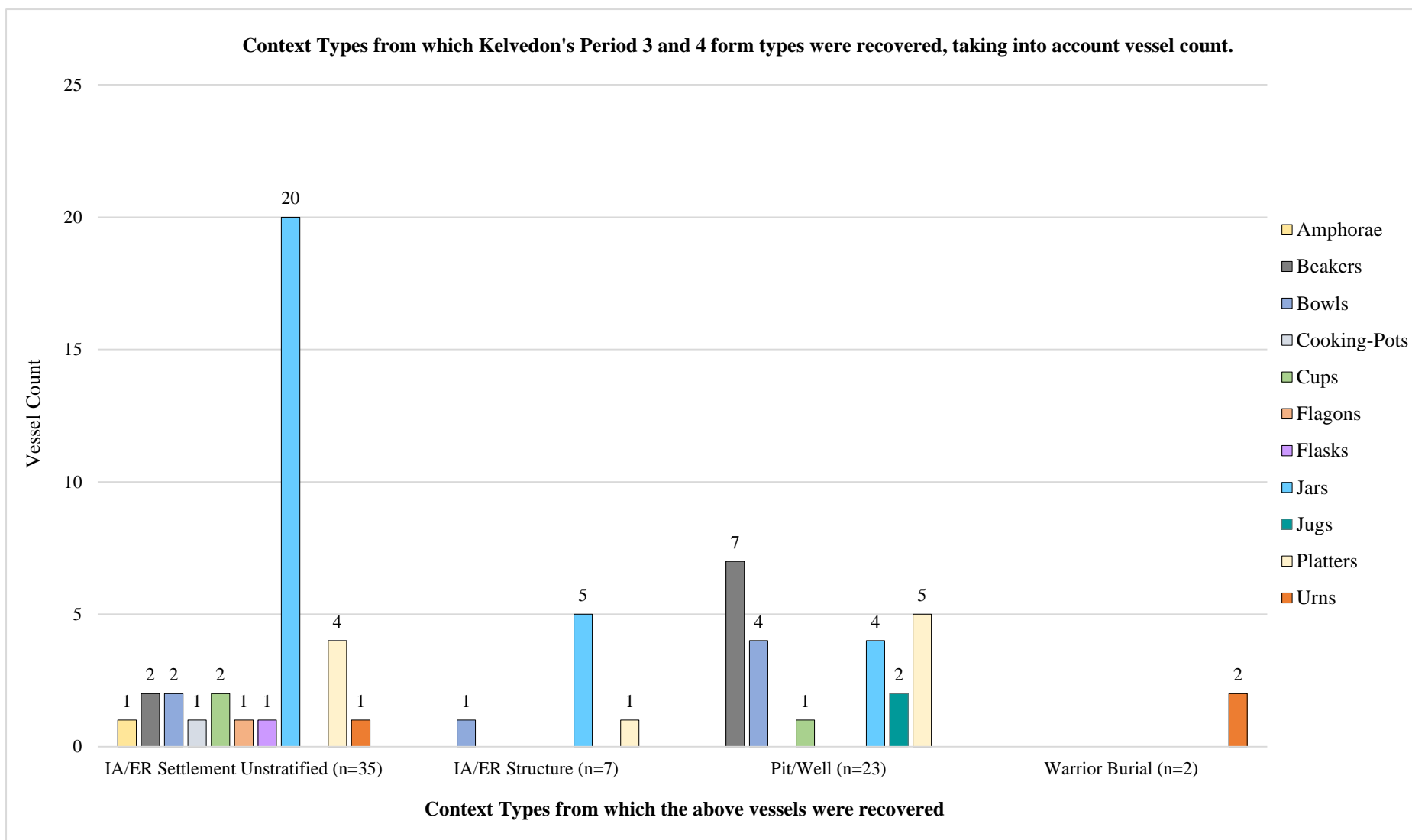


Figure 8.12: Based on information from: Rodwell 1988; Sealey 2007.

the Roman World, were deposited as a result of occupation and/or communal events, as they appear predominantly in pits, those features traditionally associated with both of these pursuits (see Chapter 6.2.2).

Finally, it remains for us to determine what the origins of Kelvedon's Period 3 and 4 ceramic assemblages can tell us of the site's later Iron Age occupation; and more importantly what this information can impart about the nature of Kelvedon's relationship with Colchester. From Figure 8.13 it is evident that the most numerous vessels present are those produced in local forms and fabrics; although these were closely followed by Cam types and their imitations which according to Rodwell's (1988) report were also manufactured locally. A notion that is supported by some of the ceramics recovered from within the Warrior Burials' satellite, which are said to be unparalleled elsewhere (Sealey 2007, 17). This suggests that Kelvedon's population were probably able to obtain many of the ceramics they required locally, just as Ardleigh's contemporaneous population were (see Chapter 8.1.3).

In addition to the locally produced wares there were also a small number of vessels from Colchester, Gaul, and Italy in evidence (see Figure 8.13). Although the presence of wares from later Iron Age Colchester might lead one to infer the existence of an economic relationship between Kelvedon and Colchester, would two vessels be enough to confirm this? The answer to this is no, instead the author surmises that these vessels, along with the Gallic imports, were actually obtained, via down-the-line trade (see Chapter 4.3), from another community along the river Blackwater, and possibly even Elms Farm from whence the author believes Italian imports came (see page 248-249). Consequently, this evidence supports the earlier notion that Rodwell's view of Kelvedon being economically connected to Colchester is outdated, and in many ways void.

The other artefacts comprising Kelvedon's artefact record, (see Appendix 8.5), can be divided into seven categories (see Figure 8.14). A study of these artefact types could impart much about later Iron Age life at Kelvedon. However, for the purposes of determining Kelvedon's relationship to Colchester we will only be considering three of these in greater detail: the tools, weaponry, and feasting paraphernalia. The presence of weaving and agricultural tools tells us two things: firstly that the local population engaged in mixed farming regimes as the local

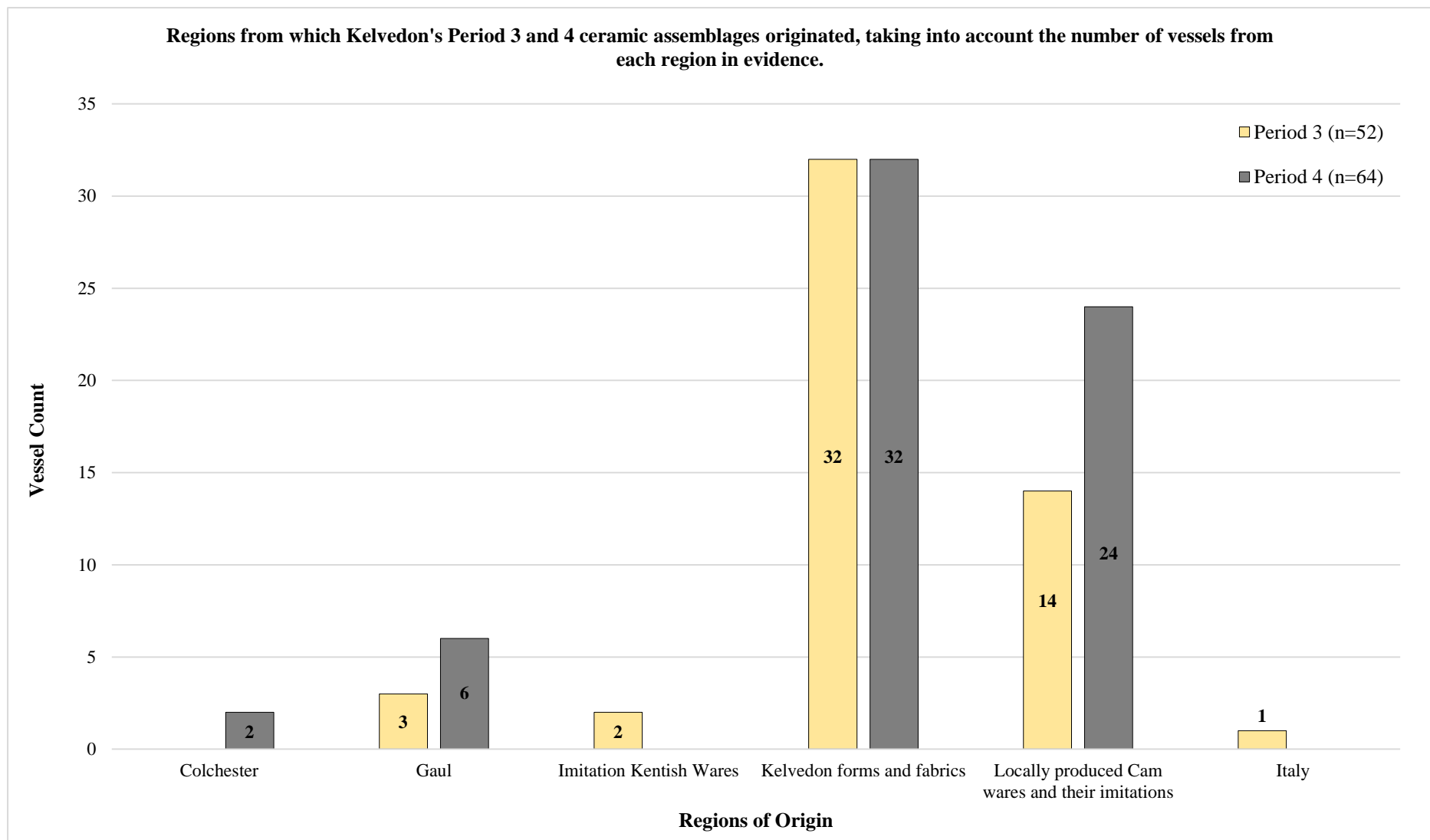


Figure 8.13: Based on evidence from: Rodwell 1988; Sealey 2007.

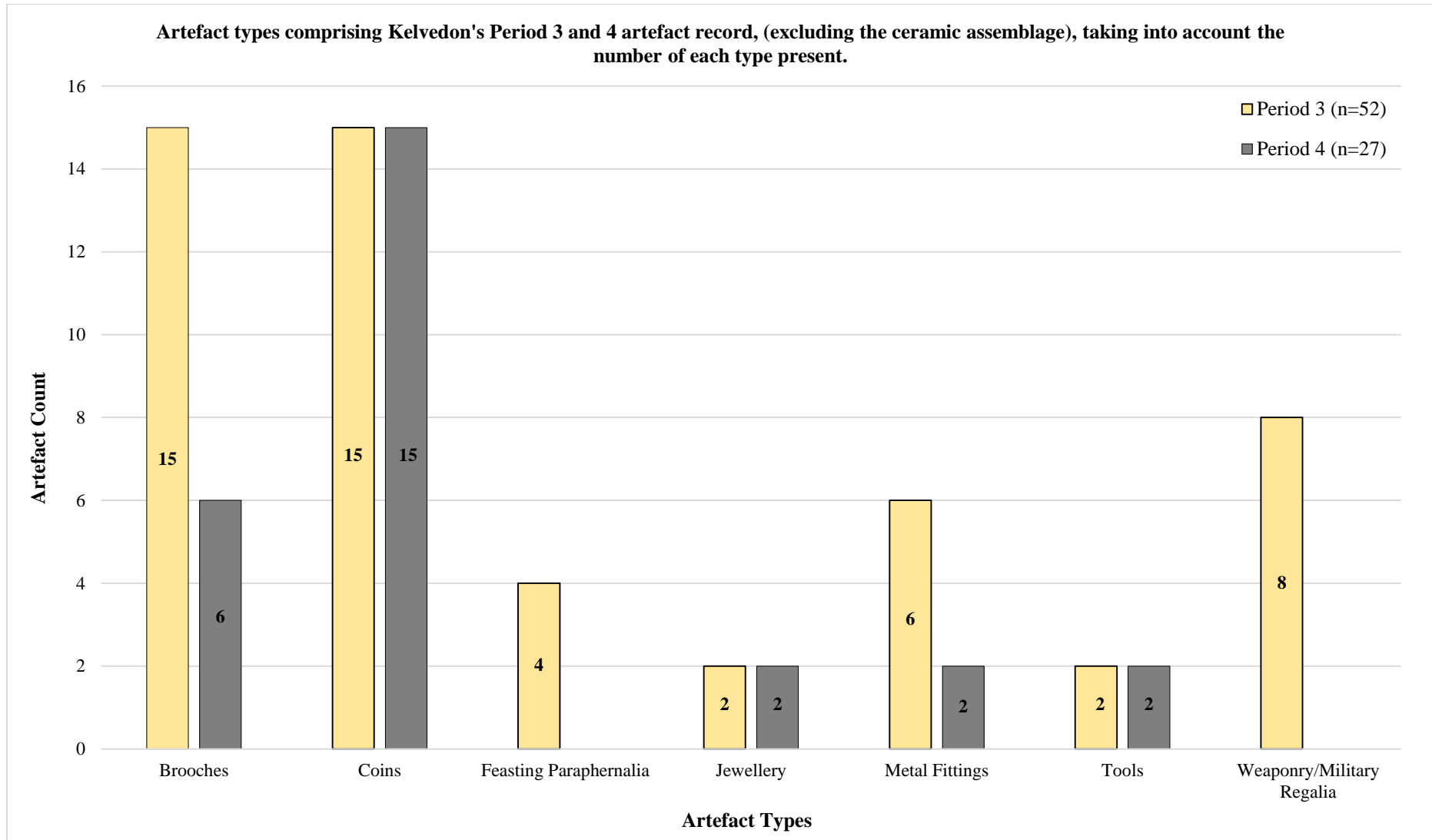


Figure 8.14: Based on information from Rodwell 1988; Sealey 2007.

population are likely to have reared their own sheep for wool to use in textile production; while the presence of agricultural tools confirms earlier suppositions that the site's occupants engaged in arable farming. Consequently, these artefacts can also be said to further support earlier notions that Kelvedon was a relatively self-sustaining settlement that was not reliant upon Colchester for success.

Progressing, to the second group of artefacts selected for consideration here it is prudent that we first overlay the context types from which the site's artefact assemblages were recovered (see Figure 8.15). From Figure 8.15 it is evident that all of the artefacts classified as either weaponry or feasting paraphernalia were recovered from the Warrior Burial. The presence of this material within the grave tells us two things:

1. That the mourners included feasting paraphernalia within the graves for the same reasons as their counterparts at Colchester did at both Lexden and Stanway (see Chapters 7.3.3.2 and 7.3.4.2).
2. That the presence of weaponry within this burial is likely representative of the same defining characteristics as in the 'Warrior's Burial' at Stanway (see Chapter 7.3.4.2); that is the existence of a 'Warrior Culture' that was used to denote power. While one might be forgiven for assuming that these similarities are evidence for a close cultural relationship between the communities of Kelvedon and Colchester, this was not necessarily the case. Kelvedon's 'Warrior Burial' predates that at Stanway by at least 60 years, and warrior burials are prevalent elsewhere in both Britain and Temperate Europe at this time as the burials at Owlesbury, Hampshire (Going 1984, 51; Sealey 2007, vii), Birdlip, Gloucestershire (Stead 2006, 1999), and Fiéré-la-Rivière, (Indre), (Ferdierè and Villard 1993, 50, 60-1) can attest. This evidence, like that discussed above, also brings into question the notion that Kelvedon was tied to Colchester at this time because the burial's similarities to those noted above can be said to demonstrate a widespread cultural practice and not just one shared by Kelvedon and Colchester, or indeed south-east Britain; however in order to really verify this notion we need to also consider the origins of this material.

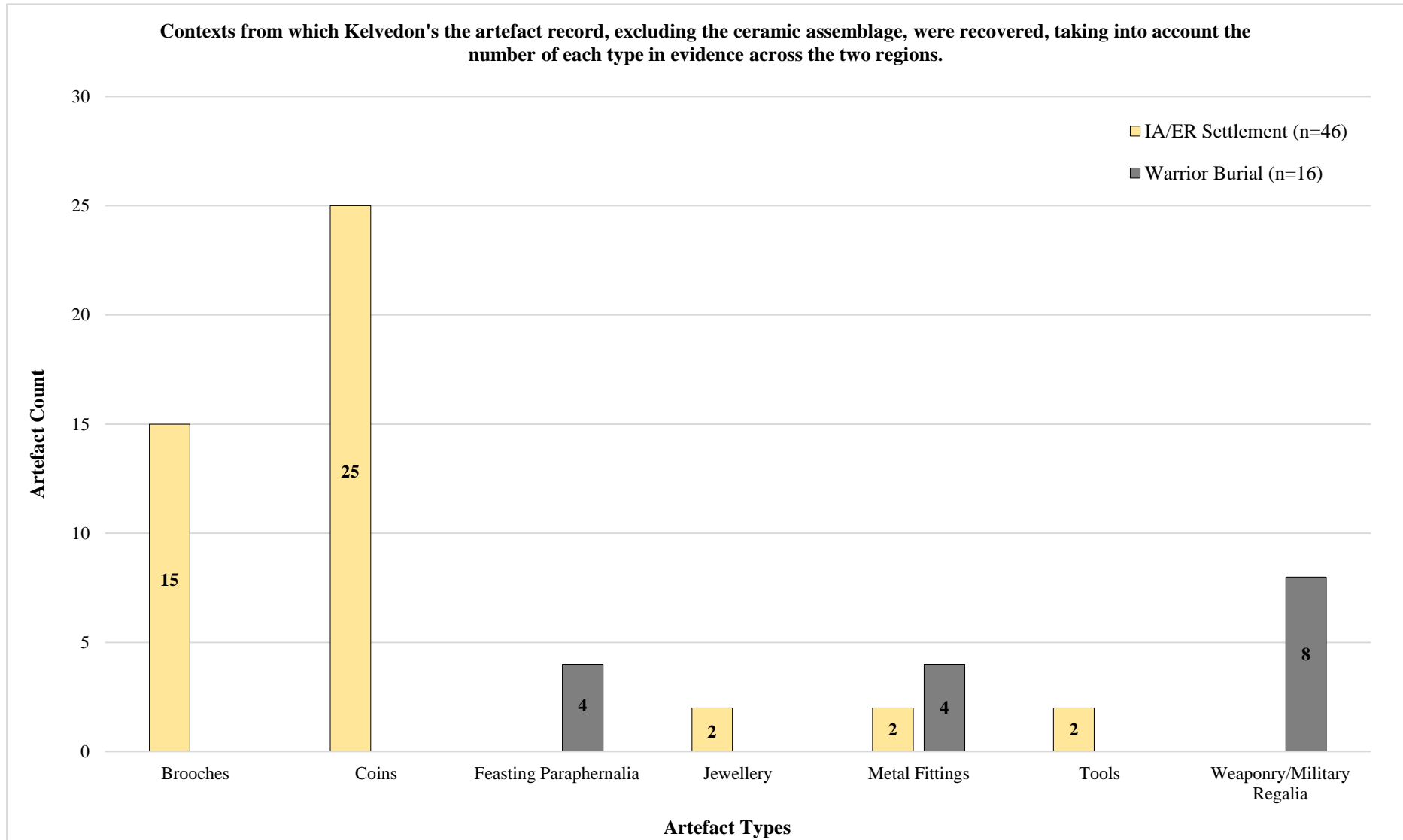


Figure 8.15: Based on information from: Rodwell 1988; Sealey 2007.

From Figure 8.16 it is evident that the artefacts discussed above originated from five regions. Of these regions Kelvedon itself is purported to have manufactured many of the artefacts in evidence (Rodwell 1988; Sealey 2007); suggesting that in addition to weavers and potters the local craftsmen also comprised blacksmiths. In addition to locally produced wares, products from both Colchester and Gaul were also relatively numerous (see Figure 8.16). The items from Colchester may have arrived at Kelvedon indirectly from other settlements with whom Colchester and Kelvedon had trading partnerships, a view that was put forth for the ceramic vessels manufactured in Colchester (see pages 253). Furthermore, the coins of Cunobelin need not have been present as a result of economic relationships between Kelvedon and Colchester; instead, it is much more likely that these coins are present because of Kelvedon's position within the tribal domain ruled by Cunobelin. In other words, it is possible these coins are evidence of tribal membership, (in this instance membership to the Trinovantes), (Sealey 2006). Conversely, for reasons stated elsewhere (see page 248-249, 253) products from Gaul, Italy, and The Rhineland need not have originated from Colchester, instead it is possible they may have come from Elms Farm, which, as will be seen below (Chapter 8.3), was just as well situated as later Iron Age Colchester to receive continental imports.

Based on the evidence discussed above one can conclude that during the later Iron Age Kelvedon's resident population were capable of producing/acquiring much of what they needed themselves. Like many sites of this period, Kelvedon obtained and made use of imported wares, but these need not have come via Colchester as Rodwell (1988) suggests. Instead the author believes that while a relationship may have existed between Colchester and Kelvedon, it was from Elms Farm that the latter site obtained their imported wares. Consequently, the evidence presented here cannot be used to infer the existence of a patron-client relationship between Kelvedon and Colchester. Therefore, Kelvedon is another site that brings into question notions that Colchester was a central site within its local landscape (see Table 2.4), as well as the view that *oppida* were central nodes within core-periphery models (see Chapter 2).

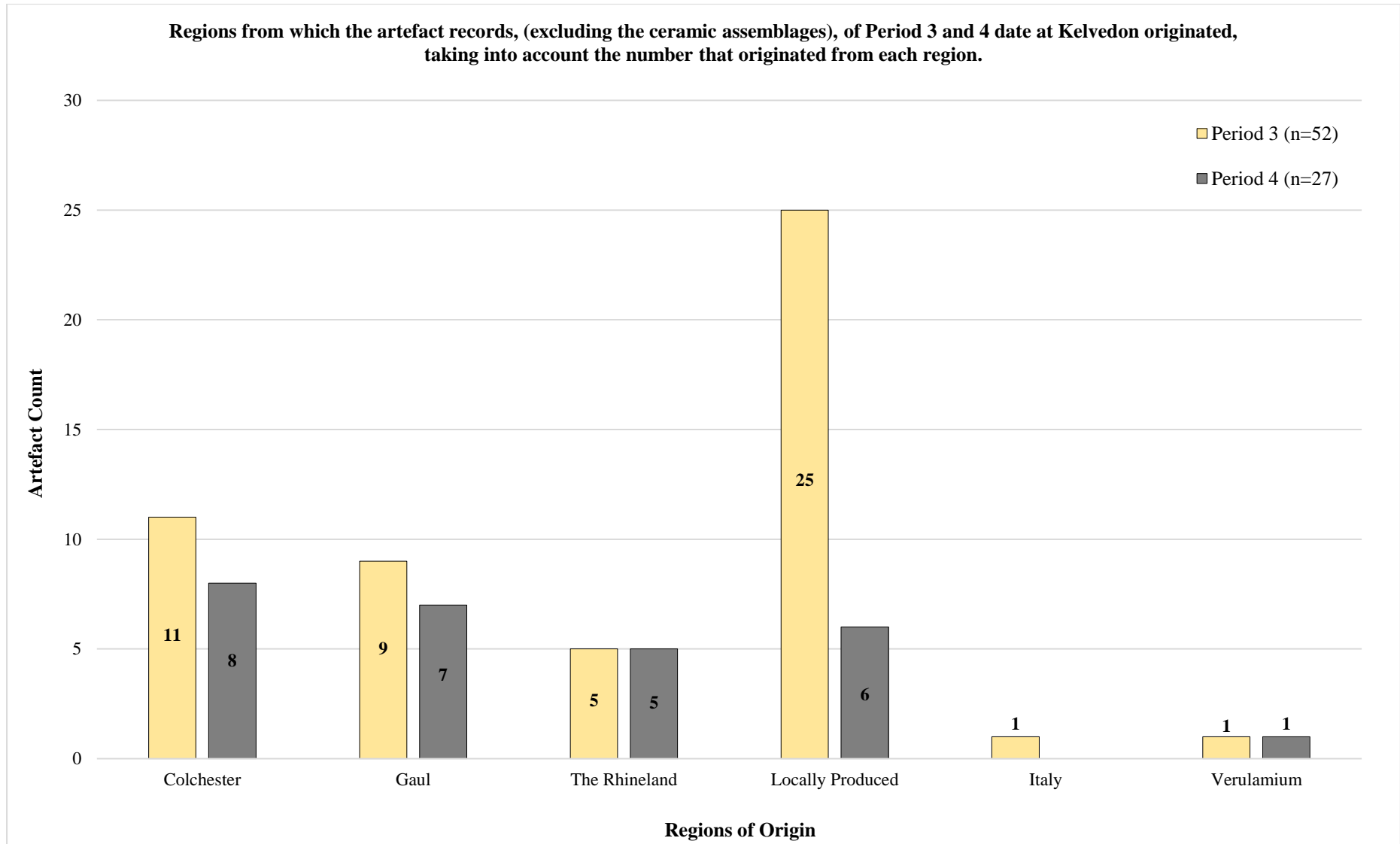


Figure 8.16: Based on information from Rodwell 1988; Sealey 2007.

8.3: Elms Farm, Heybridge

8.3.1: Topography and Morphological Setting

8.3.1.1: Landscape Setting

Elms Farm covers an area of 7 hectares located on the western periphery of Heybridge to the north-west of Maldon and at the head of the Blackwater Estuary (Atkinson and Preston 1998) (see Figure 8.17). This makes Elms Farm the largest of the three case sites, Kelvedon covers only 0.2 hectares (Rodwell 1973, 265) while Ardleigh covers an area of 1.5 x 2 km (see Figure 8.2). Despite these differences in size, Elms Farm, like both Ardleigh and Kelvedon, is situated within a landscape well suited to supporting Iron Age life.

8.3.1.2: Morphology

Unlike Ardleigh, Kelvedon, and even Colchester occupation at Elms Farm appears to have first emerged during the later Iron Age, when the principal components of the site emerged. These features, those one would associate with traditional Iron Age occupation, (see Chapter 3.4), comprise: trackways on a north-south alignment, a large number of pits (including a possible feasting pit), ditches, a metallised surface, as well as both circular and rectilinear buildings (ibid, 94) (Figure 8.18). Moreover, archaeological investigations identified the presence of a road on a north-north-east alignment which is thought to have traversed the landscape linking Elms Farm with Kelvedon and ultimately Colchester (ibid, 103).

Within Elm Farm's landscape there also exists an enclosure containing a circular building/temple as well as a large pit which is said to have been a religious centre (ibid, 94-98) (see Figure 8.18). Following along the same theme, a number of cremation burials of later Iron Age style and date have also been identified. All of the aforementioned features have, on some level, contributed to the site's artefact record during excavation; as can be seen from the catalogues documented in Appendices 8.8-8.9.

8.3.2: Existing Theories

Elms Farm at present is largely unpublished; however, interim reports and one off papers provide a good overview of the site's later Iron Age occupation. The first aspect worth noting from these sources is that later Iron Age occupation at Elms Farm is thought to have been highly organised (Atkinson and Preston 1998; 2015). Furthermore, it is also believed that the successful organisation of Elms Farm led to the site's continued success during the early Roman period (ibid).

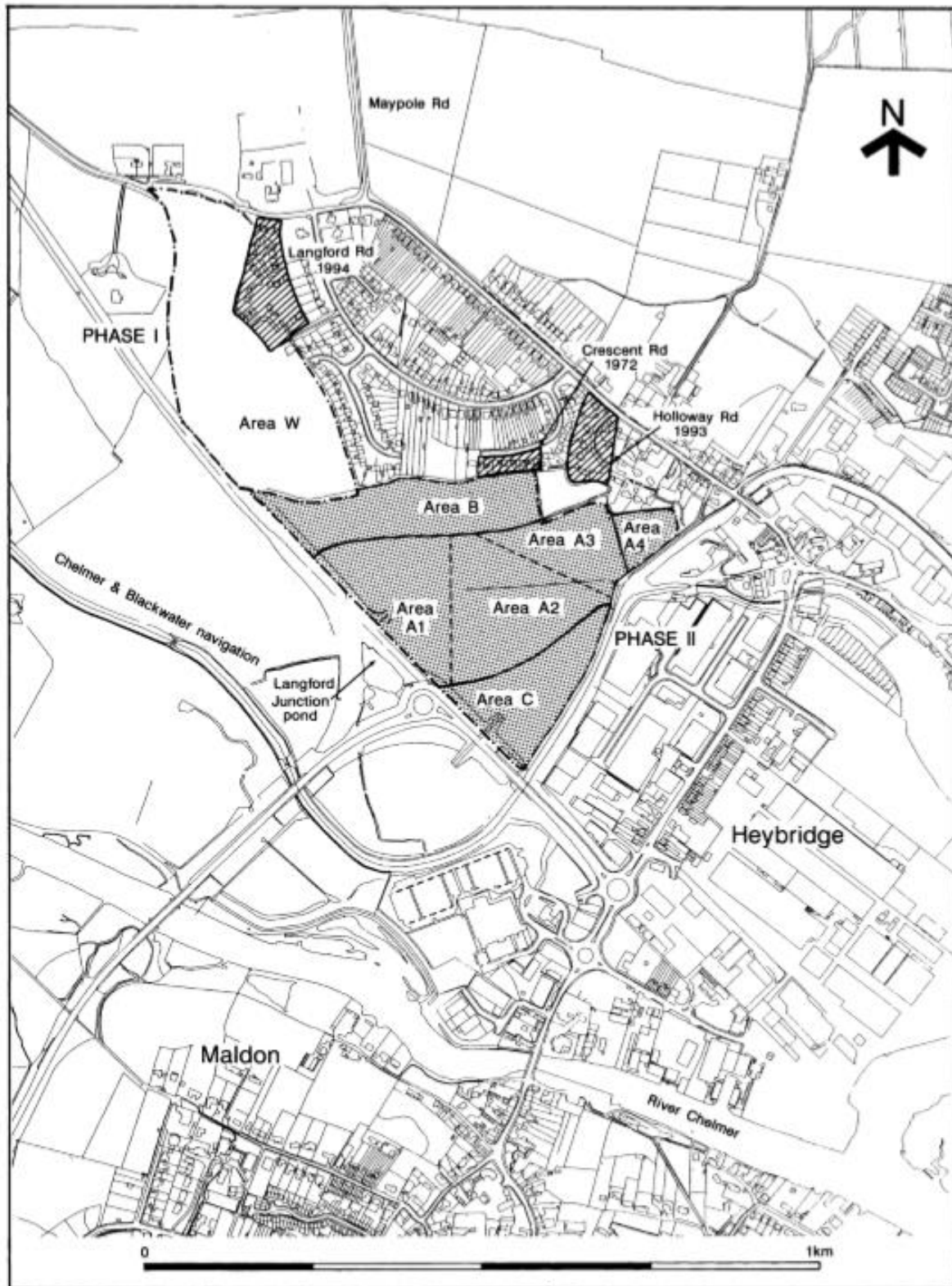


Figure 8.17: Plan of Elms Farm's landscape setting (after Atkinson and Preston 1998, Fig. 2).

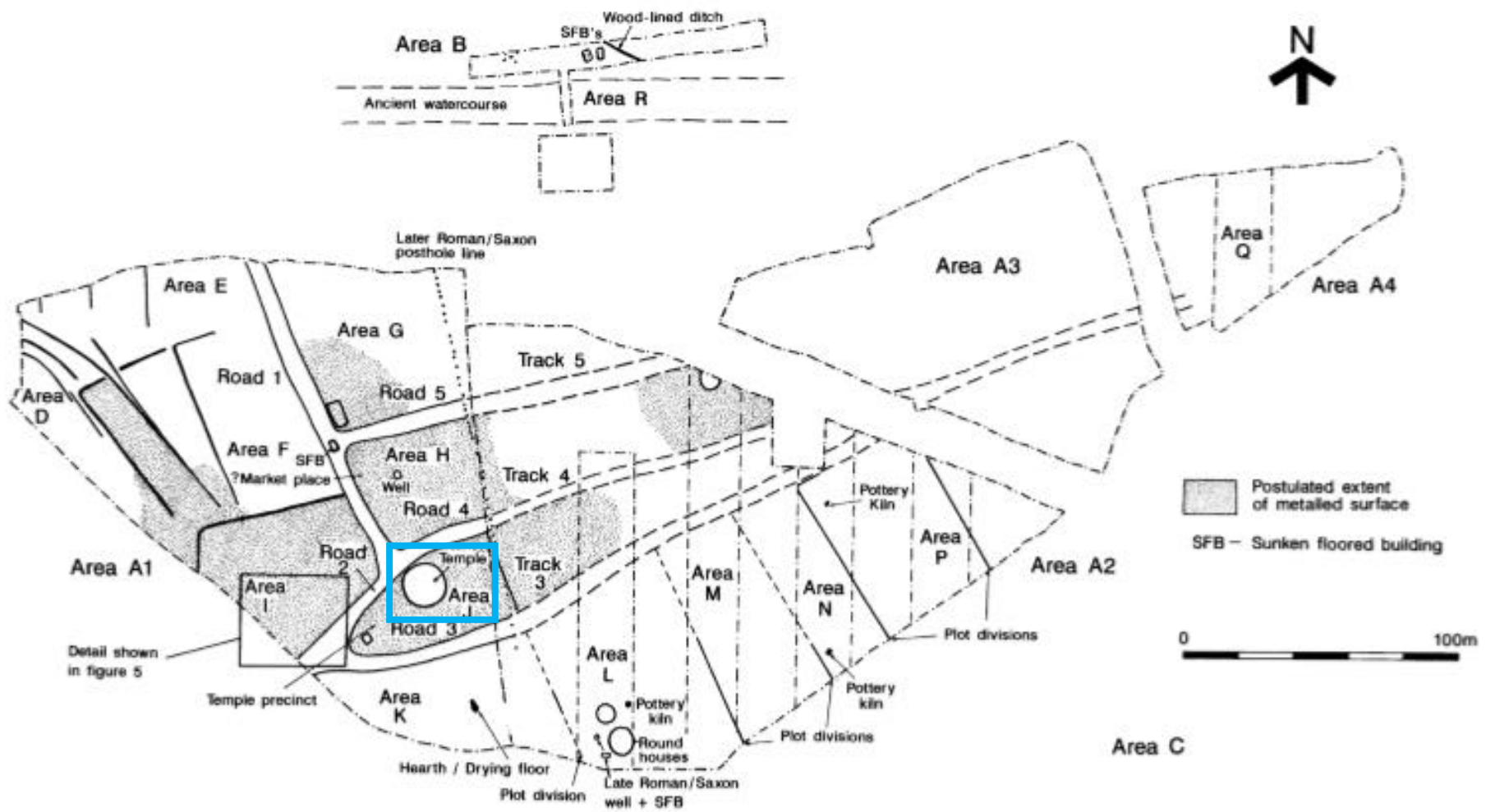


Figure 8.18: Plan of Elms Farm's Morphology, the area of religious import is marked in blue (after Atkinson and Preston 1998, Fig. 4).

First and foremost Elms Farm's later Iron Age success has been linked to agricultural production, which it is surmised the majority of the local population engaged in on a yearly basis (ibid). Furthermore, it is believed that when the fields needed less tending the local community engaged in craft production, producing both practical and luxury goods (Atkinson and Preston 1998, 108), including: salt, horse and vehicle fittings, textiles, iron tools, and copper alloy objects associated with personal adornment and dress (Atkinson and Preston 2015, cc. 3). Consequently, it has been concluded that even as 'a lower order settlement, [Elms Farm] Heybridge clearly had an importance as a local centre' (Atkinson and Preston 1998, 109).

With the above in mind it is interesting to note that Atkinson and Preston (1998) believe the site's original focus was centred on social and ritual activities; a conclusion they reached as a result of the presence of features interpreted as a shrine together with a pit, thought to hold the remains of a substantial feast, within a self-contained enclosure (ibid, 109). Moreover, this interpretation of the site's morphology led Atkinson and Preston to surmise that the site acted as a neutral meeting place (ibid, 109).

In 2004 Pitts stated that the pit located within the aforementioned enclosure contained the remains of a feast hosted to enhance 'the articulation of social relations at Elms Farm' (ibid, 20). Additionally, he noted that the social group in charge of its organisation was powerful enough to have implemented the creation of such a social centre (ibid, 20-21). It is not only the ability to implement the creation of this enclosure that has been said to denote the presence of high-status individuals at Elms Farm, so too has the presence of imported wares within its fill (ibid, 19-21). Sealey (forthcoming a) has used these imported wares to illustrate the changing nature of dining habits at Elms Farm; as illustrated by the statement: 'the imported and locally copied platter and beaker forms, implied that wine [and food] was being consumed in the 'Roman' style, at a banquet or dinner' (cf. Pitts 2004, 20).

In addition to providing insights into the daily lives of Elms Farm's resident community and the ways in which its elite maintained social cohesion, the current literature provides an overview of the site's burial record. Within Elms Farm's morphological record 14 pits containing pyre debris have been identified by Atkinson and Preston (2015). Of these 14 pits, 11 contained artefacts identified as a combination of both personal artefacts and feasting paraphernalia, resulting in conclusions that this material denotes both grave goods and the nature of funerary processes, which included the incorporation of these items on the funeral

pyre, as attested by their burnt state within the grave (Atkinson and Preston 2015, cc.3.7), at the site (ibid).

The above depictions of Elms Farm denote a number of cultural processes that the site shared with both Colchester and her hinterland; that is the site's basis in agriculture, and the inclusion of goods within burials denoting both personal artefacts and feasting paraphernalia. Furthermore, these texts suggest that the site was relatively self-sufficient and economically capable. Consequently, it could be suggested, based on this evidence, that the site was not beholden to Colchester in any way.

8.3.3: Elms Farm Reassessed

As was the case for Ardleigh, Kelvedon, and even Colchester, Elms Farm's earliest phases of later Iron Age occupation are represented by only a fraction of the site's overall ceramic assemblage (see Figure 8.19). We can therefore surmise that it was not until Period 3 that the site truly came into its own. However, this is not to say that Elms Farm was unoccupied/un-used during these earlier periods; in fact of the sites considered thus far, Elms Farm presents the greatest quantity of ceramic vessels dating to Periods 1 and 2 of the later Iron Age.

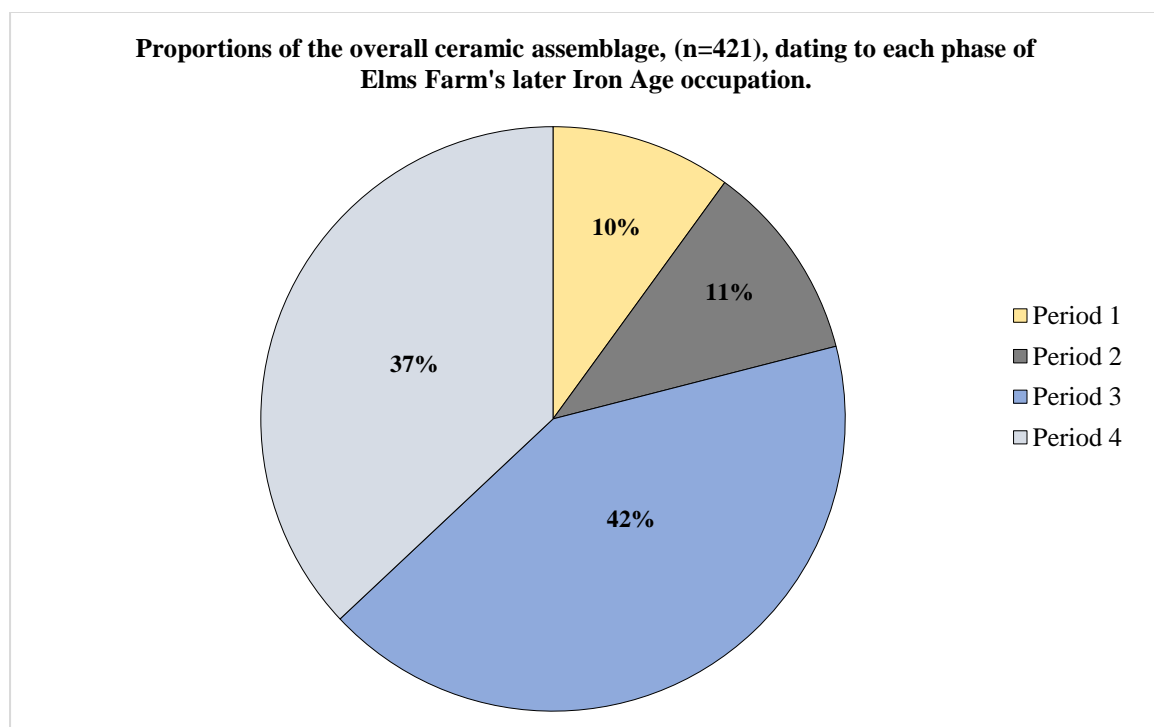


Figure 8.19: (based on information from: Atkinson and Preston 2015)

When one considers the ceramic assemblages dating to Periods 1 and 2, see Figure 8.20, it becomes apparent that amphorae are by far the most numerous form type in evidence. The presence of these amphorae, all Dressel 1 vessels, can be used to form two conclusions. Firstly, that Elms Farm was in a position of clear economic importance; a supposition that can be verified when one takes into account the fact that the quantity of Dressel 1 amphorae in evidence at Elms Farm is greater by far than the number of these vessels recovered on site's across Britain famed for their Dressel 1 assemblages, including Hengistbury Head where 38 Dressel 1s are known to have been found (Williams 1987, 271). Furthermore, this observation can be said to verify earlier inferences that Kelvedon was supplied with imports from Elms Farm and not Colchester. The second conclusion that can be drawn from the presence of the amphorae is that Atkinson and Preston (1998) and Pitts (2004) were right to assume the site played a role in facilitating ritual/religious and other communal events. This can be inferred because many of these vessels were recovered from the pit located within the site's ritual centre, (see Appendix 8.6), and may have been used during communal events designed to facilitate the celebration of religious events such as those of this date at Colchester are surmised to have been (see Chapter 7.3.1.3). However, as with Periods 1 and 2 occupation at Colchester, there is not enough other evidence of this date present to substantiate these inferences.

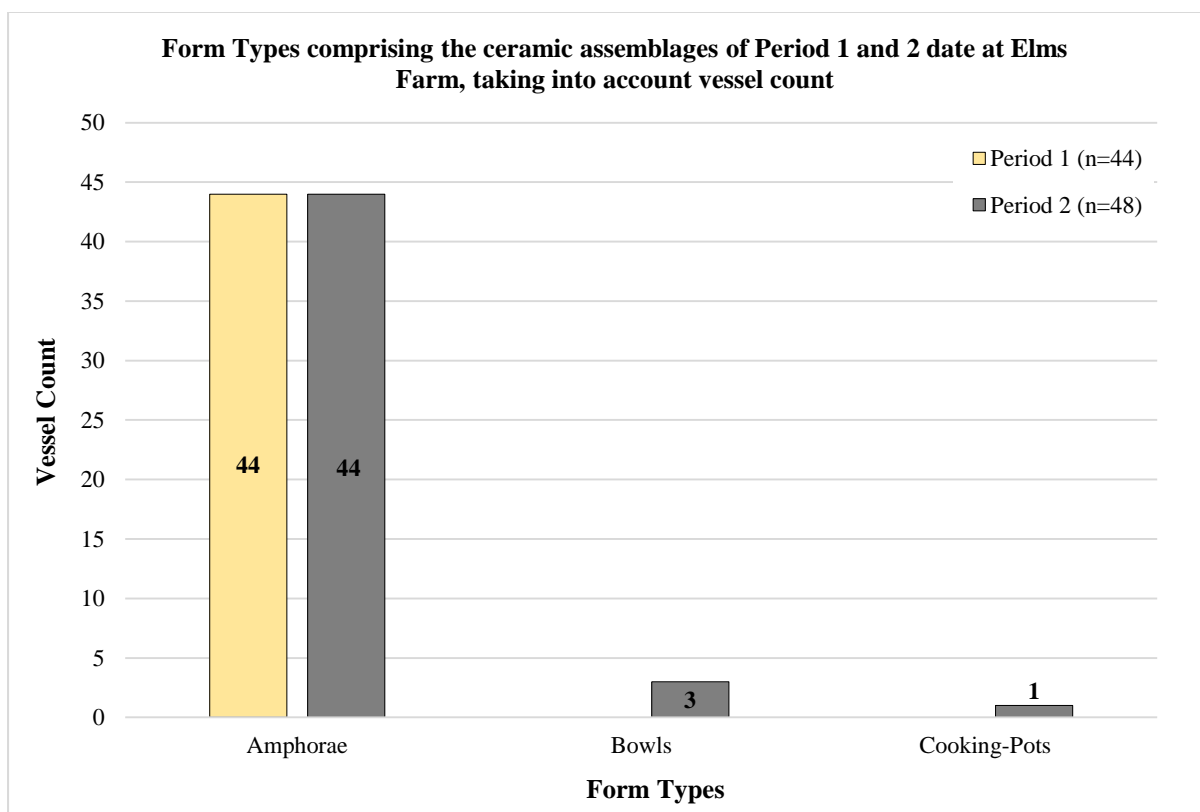


Figure 8.20: Based on information from Atkinson and Preston 2015).

In contrast to this, the other form types introduced during Period 2 (see Figure 8.20) could be viewed as evidence for domestic occupation at Elms Farm. While not as numerous as the amphorae the presence of bowls and cooking-pots, two of the most traditional ceramic forms in circulation during the later Iron Age (see Chapter 6.2.1), can be said to provide evidence of Elms Farm's resident population, and the population responsible for beginning the agricultural production believed to be behind the success of the site's later Iron Age existence (see Chapter 8.3.2). Consequently, one could surmise from this evidence that Elms Farm was not beholden to Colchester during Periods 1 and 2; in fact, based on the site's position as both an economic and religious centre it is possible that it was itself a centre where people from neighbouring communities could obtain Continental wares and/or fulfil their religious needs.

Conversely, whilst the above conclusions are viable, we have to remember that the vessels being considered here enjoyed long periods of circulation, (see Appendix 8.6), and as such may not have been deposited until a later phase of the site's later Iron Age occupation. However, even if this should have been the case the conclusions drawn above provide a glimpse of what we might learn from an analysis of the artefacts pertaining to the sites occupation during Periods 3 and 4.

From Figure 8.21 it is evident that amphorae remained the most common vessel type in circulation during Period 3; however it is equally evident that those form types typically associated with native occupation during the Iron Age were also numerous. With regards to the amphorae, the author stands by those conclusions drawn in conjunction with the Dressel 1 amphorae which may or may not have been in circulation during Periods 1 and 2, (see page 264), even though new forms were introduced at this time (see Appendix 8.6). In other words, despite this timeframe being associated with the introduction of new amphorae forms, such as Cam 183 (Dressel 2-4) and Cam 187 (Dressel 20) (see Appendix 8.6 and 7.2), as well as the Haltern 70, Pascual 1, and Beltrán I vessels that started to appear in grave assemblages at this time (Sealey 2009, Table 4), the occupants of Elms Farm continued to utilise Dressel 1 amphorae during events of social significance, be they communal events designed to foster social cohesion or religious festivals attended to celebrate religious feast days or participate in rituals. There are many reasons this could have been the case, for example this form may have taken on particular meaning for the occupants of Elms Farm and as such obtained a central role within the aforementioned events, or alternatively other forms of amphorae may not have been

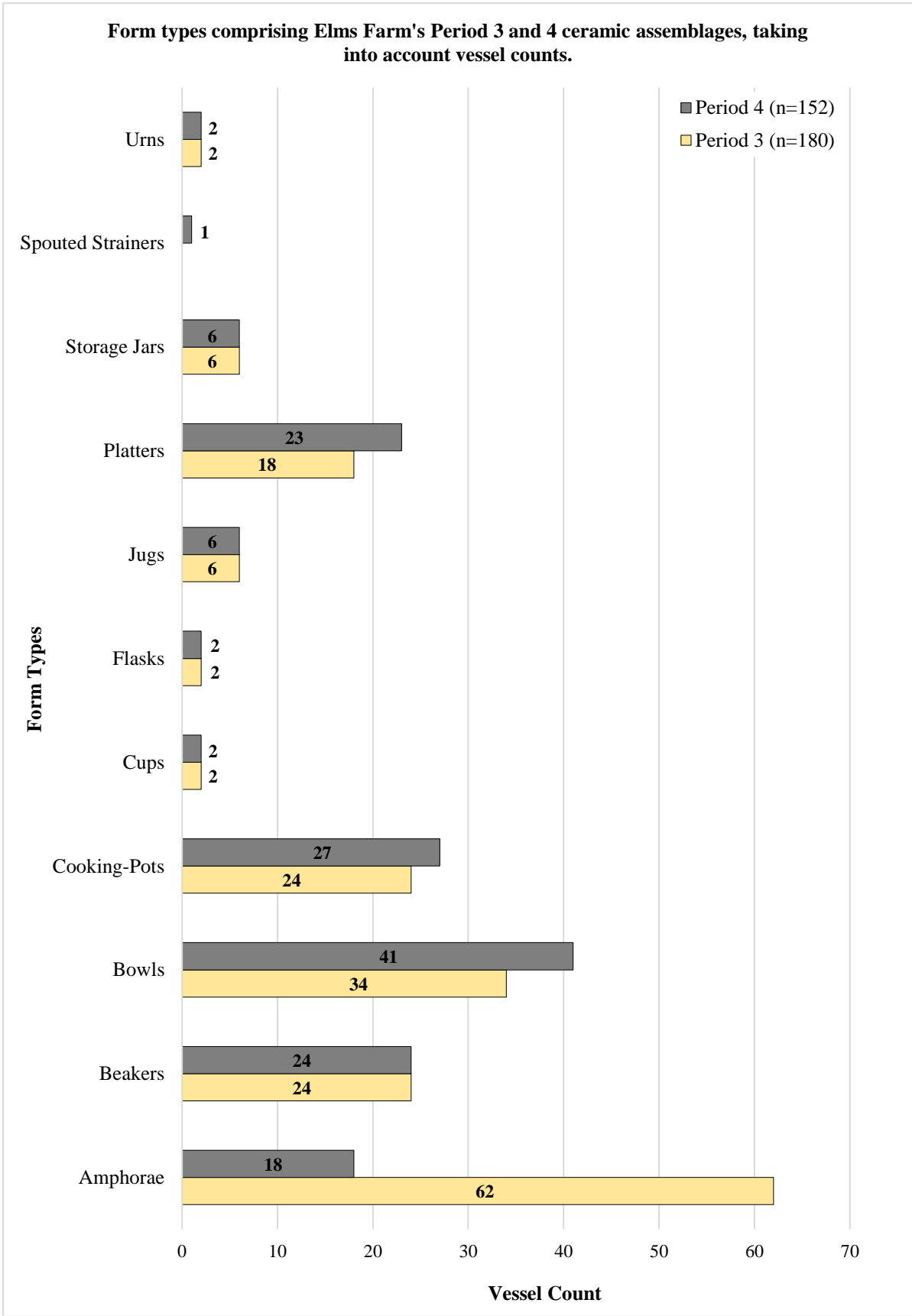


Figure 8.21: Based on evidence from: Atkinson and Preston 2015.

available to them in the quantities desired. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know for certain which of these possibilities holds the most truth, although, as this site was well placed for accepting continental imports the former of these notions may hold more truth than the latter.

Native vessels on-the-other-hand, can be said to provide further evidence to support the above conclusion that Atkinson and Preston (1998) were right to infer that Elms Farm was used for both domestic occupation and agricultural production. The native wares can be used to confirm this assertion for two reasons. Firstly, these wares are among those form types most commonly recovered on Iron Age settlements (see Chapter 6.2.1); and secondly because these vessels are those we would typically associate with traditional Iron Age lifestyles, the most traditional of which is domestic occupation coupled with agricultural production (see Chapter 3.4.1).

With regards to this latter point there is one further aspect of the data associated with the native wares that can be used to verify these conclusions, the context types from which these vessels were recovered. As can be seen from Figure 8.22 the majority of vessels in circulation during Periods 3 and 4 were recovered from pit and ditch contexts, those context types commonly associated with the disposal of domestic waste on later Iron Age settlements in Britain and Temperate Europe (see Chapter 6.2.2). However, the excavation of pits was a priority during excavations at Elms Farm, therefore this observation could be misleading (Willis pers comm.)

Despite this, the evidence considered above allows us to surmise that Elms Farm led a traditional and economically affluent existence. Furthermore, there are aspects of this dataset that can be said to be more important to the present study than others because they allow us to further explore the view that Colchester was a central site upon which the settlements within her hinterland were dependent. These include: the non-traditional form types, (though not exclusively); the pit contexts from which this material was recovered; and the regions from which the ceramic assemblage originated. In order to illustrate how this data aids our understanding of any relationships that may have existed between Elms Farm and Colchester at this time, we have to begin by considering the latter of these categories first.

From Figure 8.23 it is evident that the majority of Elms Farm's ceramics were imported from external regions, with the Thames Region, Gaul, and Italy being among the biggest contributors. It is however prudent to note that the Italian wares likely came by way of Gaul,

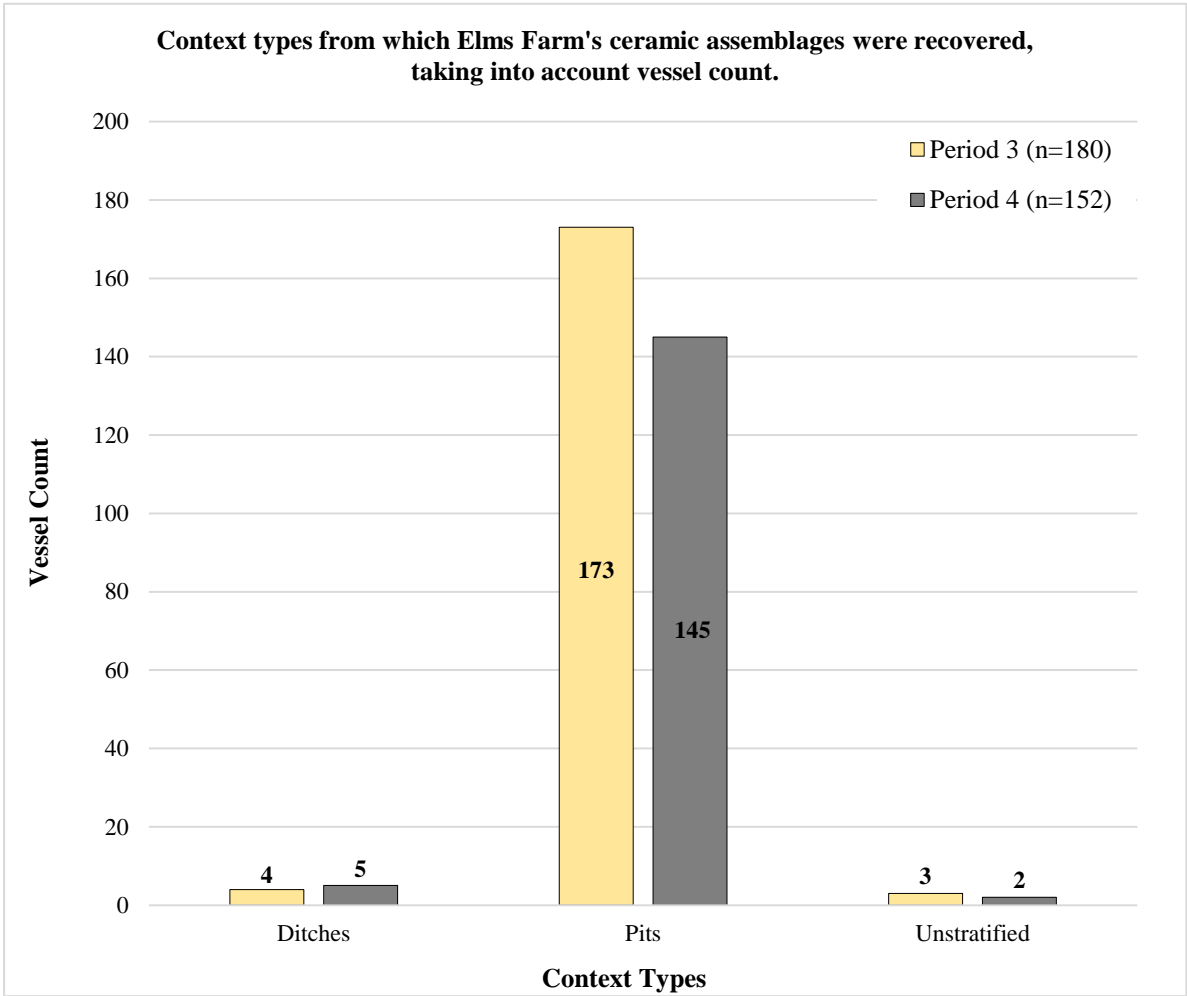


Figure 8.22: Based on information from: Atkinson and Preston 2015.

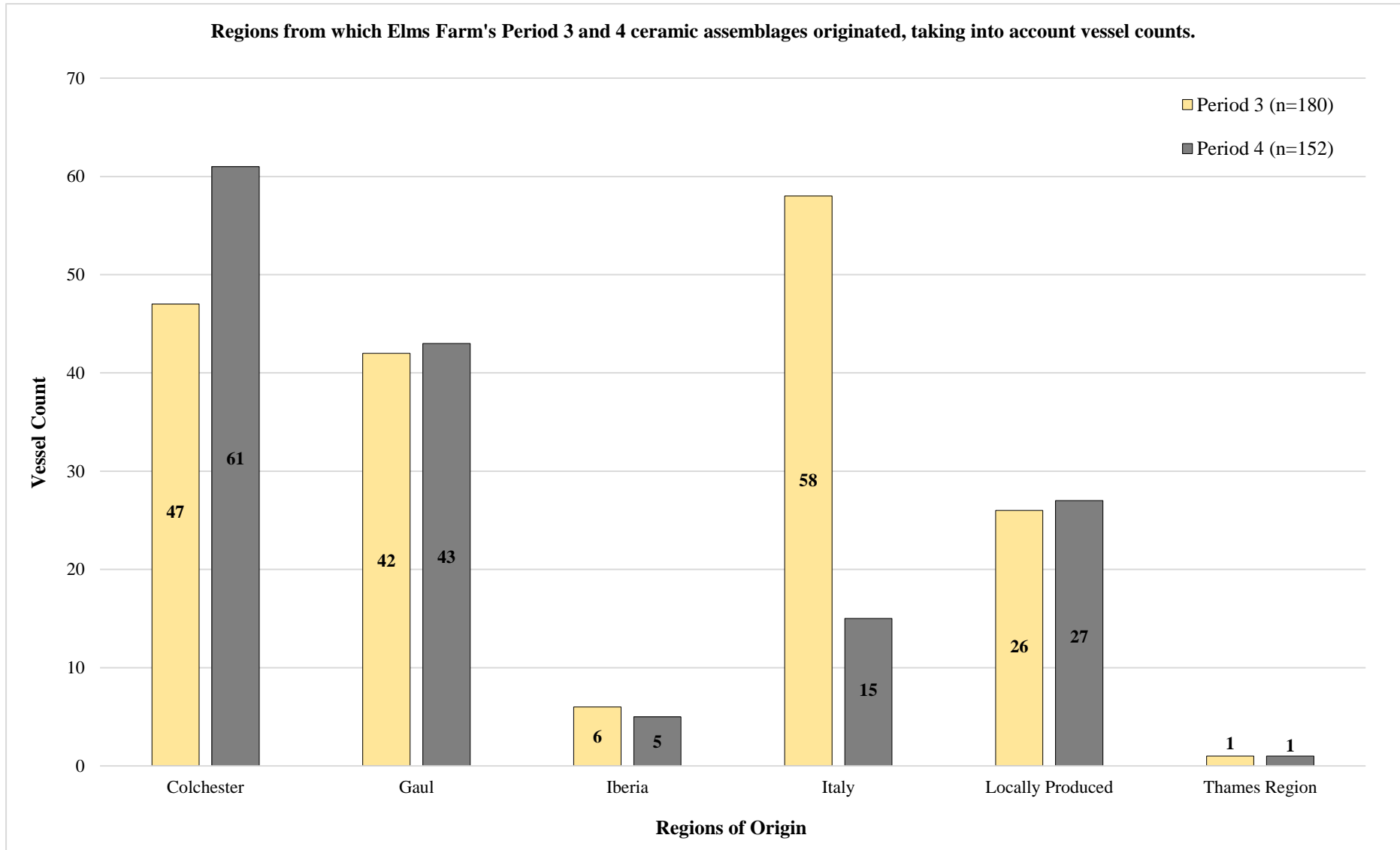


Figure 8.23: Based on information from: Atkinson and Preston 2015.

or more specifically a central trading sites in northern Gaul, (see Chapter 4.3), that had strong trading links with Italy at this time as the majority of imports from this region, (Italy), are purported to have done during the later Iron Age (see Chapter 4.3). These observations, coupled with Elms Farm's position near an inlet of the North Sea at Maldon, and the single vessel whose origins probably lie at Colchester, (see Figure 8.23), allowed the author to surmise that an economic relationship did not exist between the populations of these sites, if we take ceramics as a proxy for a relationship.

Conversely, it is interesting to note that unlike the other sites within Colchester's hinterland considered within this chapter locally produced ceramics at Elms Farm were greatly outnumbered by vessels from both the Thames Region and Gaul. While this could be indicative of potteries at Elms Farm being unable to keep up with local demand, therefore highlighting a deficiency in the argument that Elms Farm was relatively self-sufficient, the author feels that this was not the case. Given the site's ability to obtain large numbers of imported wares it is possible that the vessels from the Thames Region reached Elms Farm as payment for imported wares that left the site; thus rendering it unnecessary for local potteries to produce as much pottery themselves, giving the potters more time to fulfil farming commitments or practice a second craft. In other words, it seems likely that the occupants of Elms Farm established an economic system whereby they not only facilitated the importation of goods from the near Continent but utilised them for their own gain, and in doing so ensured that their craftsmen could concentrate of the production of those products that it was not possible to obtain through local trade links, or that it made little economic sense to import, (such as nails), and/or the cultivation of agricultural crops and the rearing of livestock. Furthermore, it is possible the site's economic affluence was not the only draw for communities from the Thames regions and their ceramic wares.

It was noted above, (see page 265), that the amphorae in evidence within the site's ceramic assemblage were proof that Atkinson and Preston (1998) and Pitts' (2004) inferences that Elms Farm enjoyed a religious/communal function. The evidence of Period 3 and 4 date can be said to reaffirm this interpretation because the non-traditional form types: cups, jugs, flagons, and platters, can be said to denote the adoption of Roman dining habits (see Chapter 4.2), but more importantly between the years of c.30/25 BC and AD 50 these wares were more often than not incorporated within deposits denoting communal events, such as feasting (see Chapter 5.3); as well as conspicuous consumption (see Chapter 5.3). Moreover, the deposition of these wares

alongside native vessels, also used for the consumption of food and drink, in pit contexts, (see Appendix 8.6), could prove indicative of them being deposited as part of a communal event of religious significance, or feast hosted by the site's nobility to maintain social cohesion (see Chapter 5.3). Either way, occasions such as this may have drawn people from other communities to Elms Farm, especially if these communities did not come from settlements with facilities to support their populations' religious needs. It is therefore possible that the ceramic vessels from the Thames Region arrived at the site not only because of economic ties but social relationships too.

Consequently, it can be said that rather than Elms Farm being a client site of a settlement such as Colchester, it was itself a centre of economic and social importance within the local landscape. Therefore, the author's view that the small number of locally produced ceramic vessels should not be used to represent deficiencies in the site's apparent self-sufficiency is likely viable. Furthermore, in progressing to a consideration of the other artefacts comprising the site's archaeological record (see Appendix 8.7) it will be seen that there are additional means through which the site's population ensured their self-sufficiency.

From Figure 8.24 it is evident that the remaining artefacts comprising Elms Farm's archaeological record can be divided into nine sub-categories. A brief overview of the activities each of these artefact types supports can be found in Appendix 8.7, but for the purposes of the current paper only the coins and various tool categories are of interest. It can be seen from Figure 8.25 that the coins originated from five regions; with the largest quantity of these coming from Colchester. While many might use this evidence in conjunction with the notion that later Iron Age coinage was used as currency, (see Chapter 4.3), to state that this is proof for an economic relationship between Colchester and Elms Farm, the author stands by their earlier conclusions that these artefacts were used to symbolise social relationships (see Chapter 7.3.1.2). Consequently, some might say this is proof of a patron-client relationship between the two sites; in other-words, this could be considered evidence of Elms Farm being tied to Colchester in such a way that the former site was presided over by the latter, whilst also being beholden to the former for success as was the case in most patron-client relationships particularly as it is believed that tribal coinage such as this was utilised to display membership to a tribe (see page 258). However, this conclusion cannot be supported archaeologically, because unfortunately we cannot be certain of the purpose of Iron Age coinage, and more importantly it is not judicious to surmise that just because the occupants of Elms Farm were

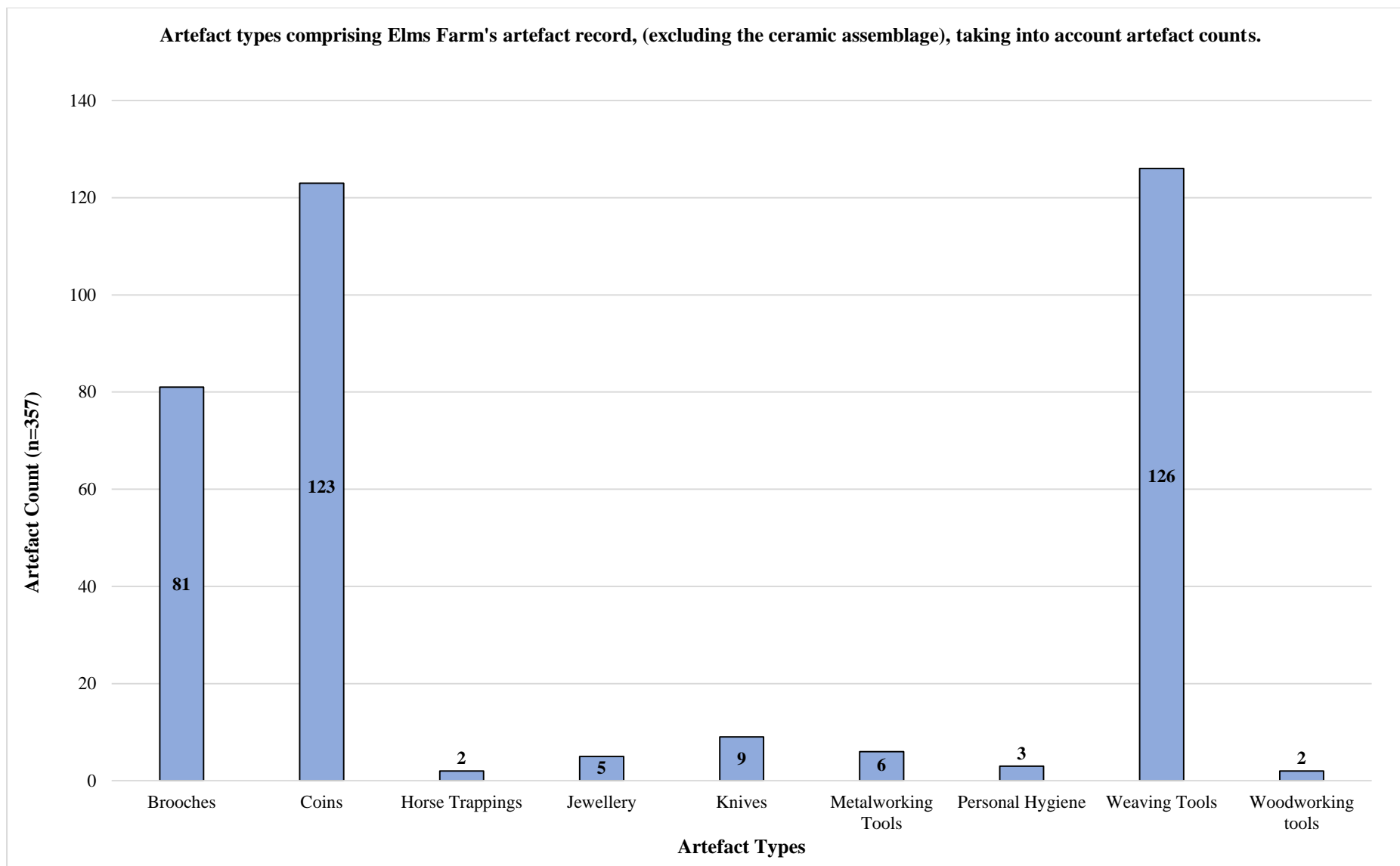


Figure 8.24: Based on information from Atkinson and Preston 2015.

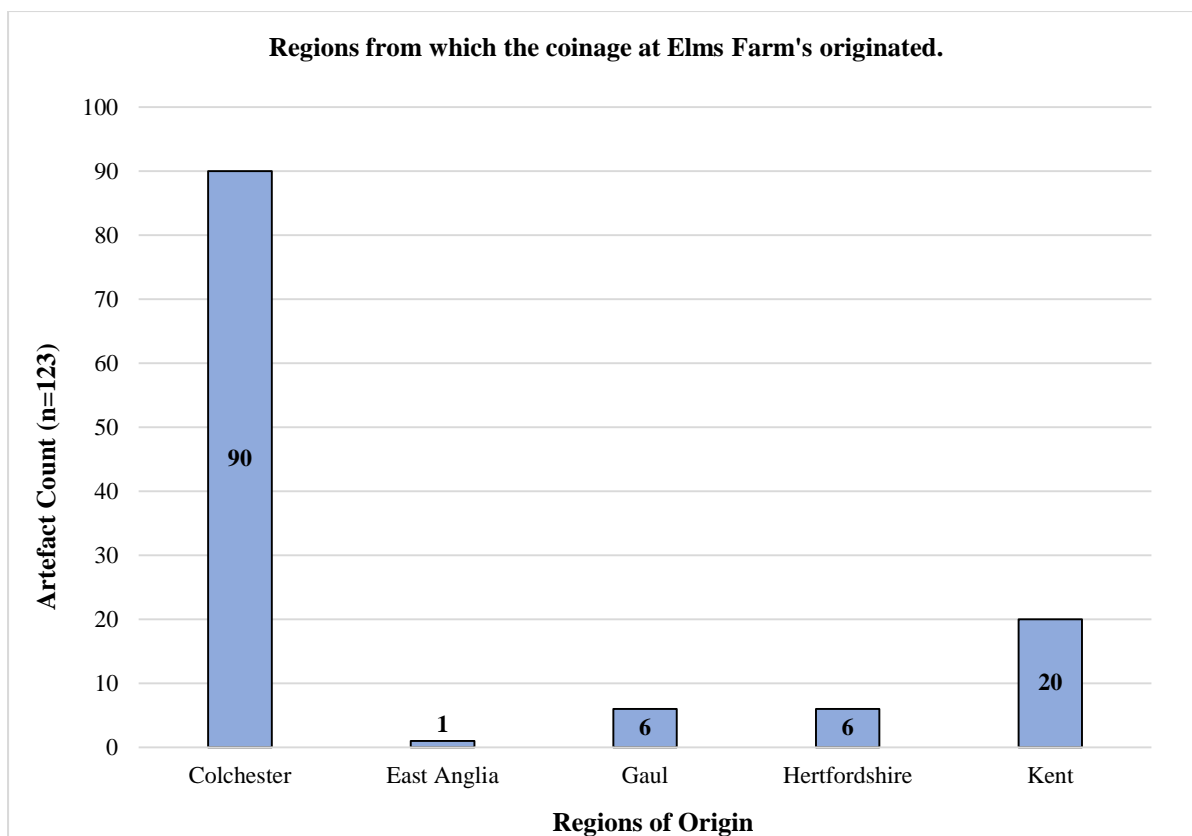


Figure 8.25: Based on information from: Atkinson and Preston 2015.

in possession of coinage minted in Colchester they were beholden to this site for success, particularly as any settlement in possession of this coinage could have been responsible for its arrival at Elms Farm. Moreover, given that there were a number of tools recovered from the Elms Farm site, as will be seen in due course, it can be said that this site was relatively self-sufficient and as such they are unlikely to have relied upon Colchester, or other settlements in the region, for much at all.

Turning our attention to the tools, the first thing to note is that from Figure 8.24 it is evident that this category of evidence supported the following industries: carpentry, metalworking, weaving and spinning; as well as the rearing of livestock, (the textile industry would have required a local supply of wool for success). Therefore, in addition to the local community being capable of producing their own food and ceramics, the craftsmen produced textiles, woodwork and metal artefacts for local consumption; although some of these final products may also have been traded with neighbouring communities. Consequently, it can be concluded that Elms Farm was a successful centre that catered for its resident community as well as those

from less affluent settlements, and as such had no need of a patron-client relationship with Colchester.

8.4: Colchester's Hinterland: A Summary

The author's considerations of later Iron Age occupation at Ardleigh, Kelvedon, and Elms Farm above can be said to highlight these sites as relatively self-sufficient. Ardleigh's occupants not only farmed the land upon which they resided, but manufactured much of their own pottery, as well as many of the other products attributed to the site's occupation at this time. Furthermore, the discovery of the cauldron pit, which has been connected to communal and/or ritual pursuits, suggests that at least some of the residents' religious needs were fulfilled on-site. Consequently, the author concluded that any relationships existing between Colchester and Ardleigh at this time did not range beyond typical social and economic relationships for the time (see Chapter 8.3.1); a notion supported by the limited range of artefacts from Colchester present at Ardleigh.

Similarly, the occupants of Kelvedon not only farmed the land upon which they resided, but manufactured much of their own pottery. Conversely, in contrast to Ardleigh, Kelvedon's population likely had close economic ties to another settlement, however, this settlement was not Colchester. Instead, the author believes that many of the imported wares recovered at Kelvedon reached the site from Elms Farm, to which Kelvedon was linked via the River Blackwater. An inference made all the more likely when the site's connection to this waterway through the salt industry is taken into account (see pages 245-247). This is, however, not to say that Kelvedon had no connections at all to Colchester; the presence of coinage minted in Colchester at Kelvedon can be said to link these sites on a social level, but as this coinage was likely distributed for the purposes of highlighting membership to the regional tribe it cannot be used to suggest Kelvedon was reliant upon Colchester for success.

Elms Farm is somewhat different to both Ardleigh and Kelvedon in that it was likely a centre of economic import in its own right. This inference is based not only on this site's geographic position, but the considerable number of continental, and British imports, recovered within its bounds. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that Elms Farm attended to the religious needs of not only its own population, but also those of the communities within its hinterland. This is however, not to say that there are not similarities between Elms Farm, Ardleigh, and Kelvedon, nor that it had no ties to Colchester. With regards to the former of these points, it

can be said that like its contemporaries discussed above, Elms Farm's occupants not only farmed the land upon which they resided, but manufactured much of what they required on a day-to-day basis, with the possible exception of pottery²⁸. On-the-other-hand, in terms of Elms Farm's relationship with Colchester it can be said that this site may have been linked, socially or economically, to Colchester. However, as this notion is largely based upon the presence of coinage minted at Colchester it is possible that this coinage, like that recovered at Kelvedon, was distributed to Elms Farm to highlight the site's connection to the regional tribe. Although, it is equally possible that this coinage reached the site as a result of its social and/or economic relationships with the settlements with whom it traded, such as Kelvedon.

In light of the above, it was deemed unlikely that Ardleigh, Kelvedon, and Elms Farm were beholden to Colchester for success, and as such the author's inferences can be said to question the existing theory that Colchester was a central site upon which its hinterland relied for success (e.g. Collis 1984a; Cunliffe 1976; Rodwell 1976). Moreover, this conclusion can be said to bring into question existing theories on *oppida*, and in doing so, support the need to re-consider the value of this term today.

²⁸ There is evidence to suggest that Elms Farm acquired much of their pottery from external, but regional, sources.

9: Titelberg

The thesis' second case study is the Gallia Belgica site of Titelberg (Fernández-Götz 2014b, 1), located in Northern Gaul (Roymans 1990, 1), which still has a striking presence within the landscape today (Figure 9.1). Situated in south-west Luxembourg near the French and Belgian borders (Figure 9.2), Titelberg occupies a plateau, at c.100 metres (Rowlett 1982, 301), overlooking the valley of the Chiers/Kor²⁹ (Gaeng and Metzler 2011, 125; Hamilton 1996, 33; Metzler 1995a, 11; Rowlett *et. al.* 1982, 301) which is today, and was historically, an important transport route. Incised short valleys define the plateau to the north and south as they open out by the modern settlements on the eastern side of the Chiers Valley at Rodange and Lamadelaine (Figure 9.3). Titelberg was occupied from the Neolithic period (Thill 1966a *cf.* Rowlett 1988, 32), with earlier pre-historic communities making use of the site sporadically. The Mesolithic saw the region's natural geology exploited for the production of stone tools (Metzler 1995a, 13), while the discovery of a Mousterian scraper hints at the area's use during the middle Palaeolithic (Metzler 1995b, 564). During the later Iron Age Titelberg became a major centre defined by massive earthworks (Figure 9.4). Stretches of these earthworks are well-preserved and provide excellent dating evidence, while occupation reached its peak between 25 and 1 BC (Metzler 1991, 521); although the site did continue to be used as an industrial centre into the Roman era (Hamilton 1996; Metzler 1995a; Rowlett 1988; Thomas *et. al.* 1976).

Occupation at Titelberg took place on the flat lands surrounding the base of this hilltop settlement, as well as on its slopes, and the plateau traditionally identified as the hub of the complex (see Chapter 9.2); a factor that also contributed the site's selection as a case study, because it contrasts markedly with later Iron Age Colchester, a valley-bottom and low plateau settlement. These differences are crucial to the current study because they will allow us to determine whether settlements sited within different topographic settings can be considered part of the same class of settlement, (*oppida*), and by proxy enable the overarching aim of the thesis, (see Chapter 1), to be met. In other words, the geographic setting of a settlement can impact upon not only the resources available to its occupants but the activities they engaged in; therefore it is possible that the location of these sites had enough impact upon their functions that they were considerably different and as such it would be imprudent to define them as part of the same category of site.

²⁹ A tributary of the Meuse (Metzler *et al.* 1999, 11)

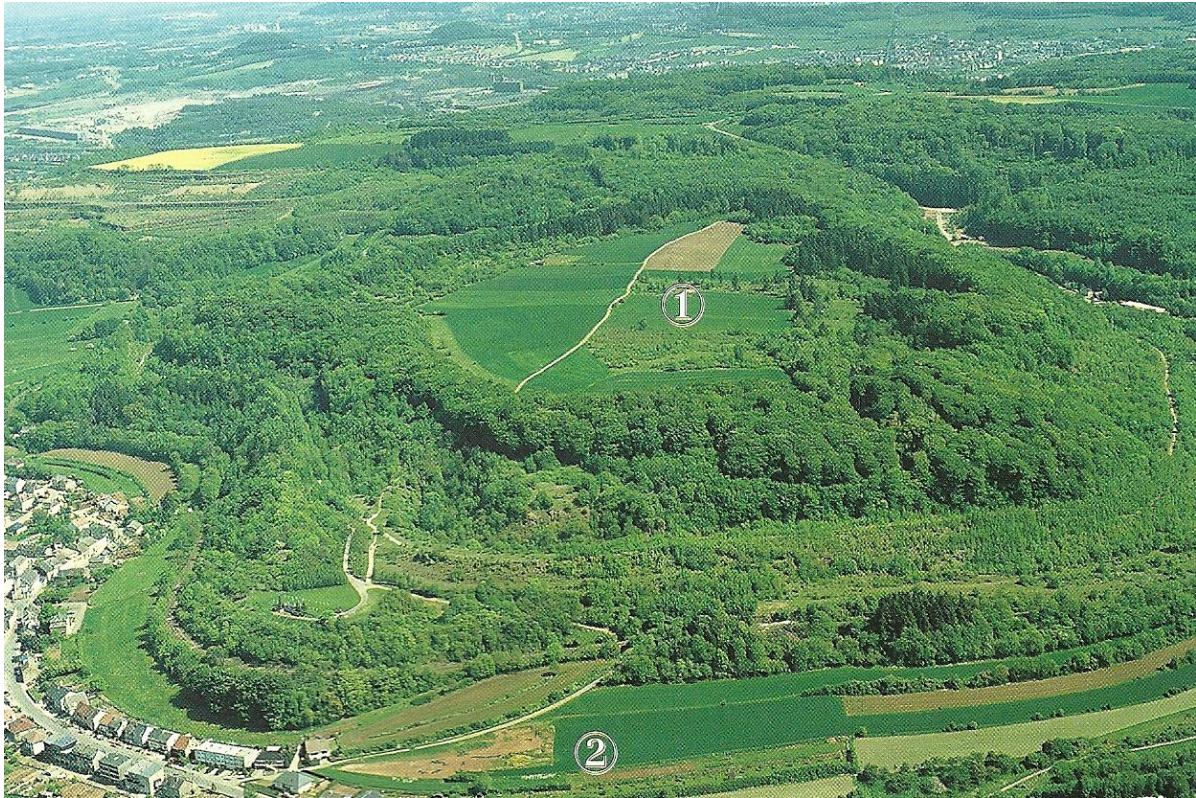


Figure 9.1: Titelberg today. 1: Titelberg, 2: Lamadelaine (after: Metzler *et al.* 1999, Fig. 2).

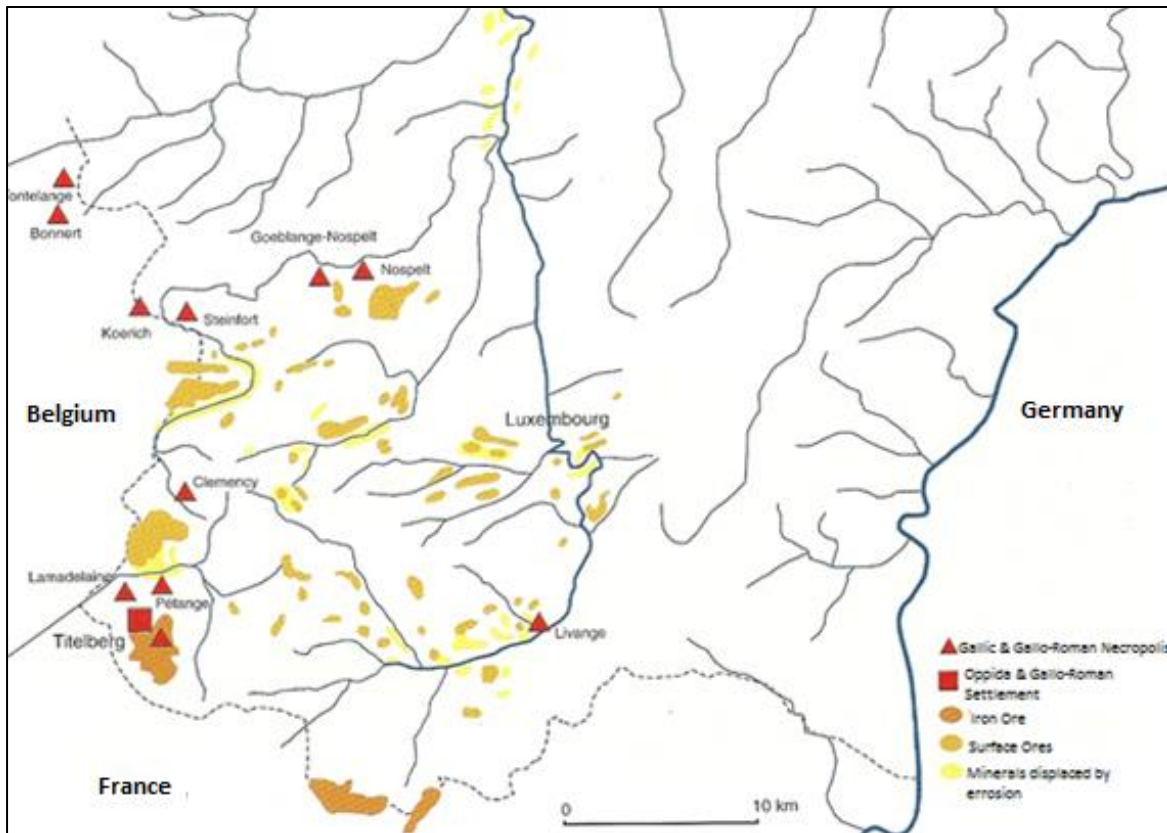


Figure 9.2: Titelberg's location in relation to the French and Belgian borders (after: Metzler and Gaeng 2009, Fig. 5).

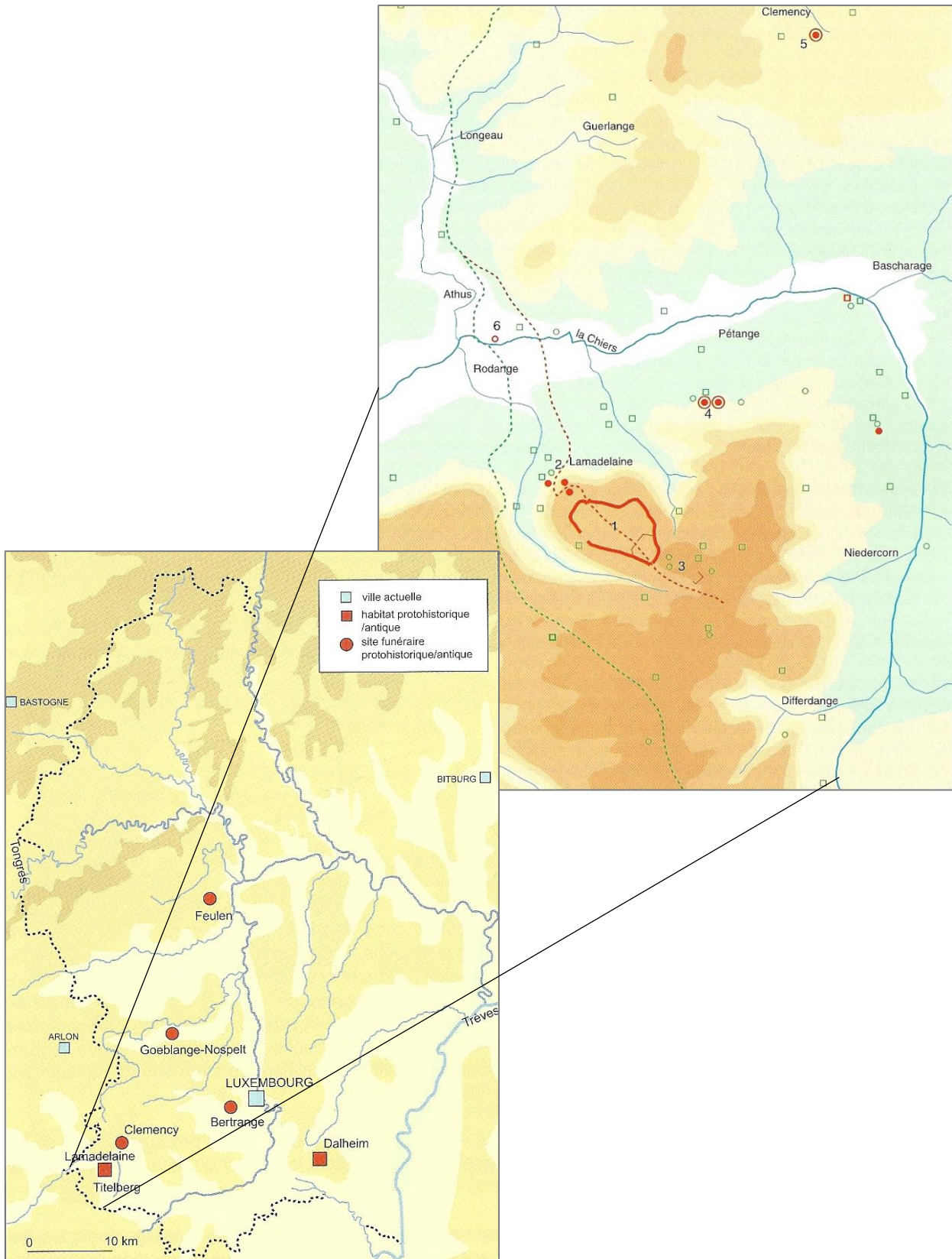


Figure 9.3: Titelberg's position within the Luxembourg landscape (after: Metzler and Gaeng 2009, Fig. 1; Metzler *et al.* 1999, Fig. 3; composition author's own).

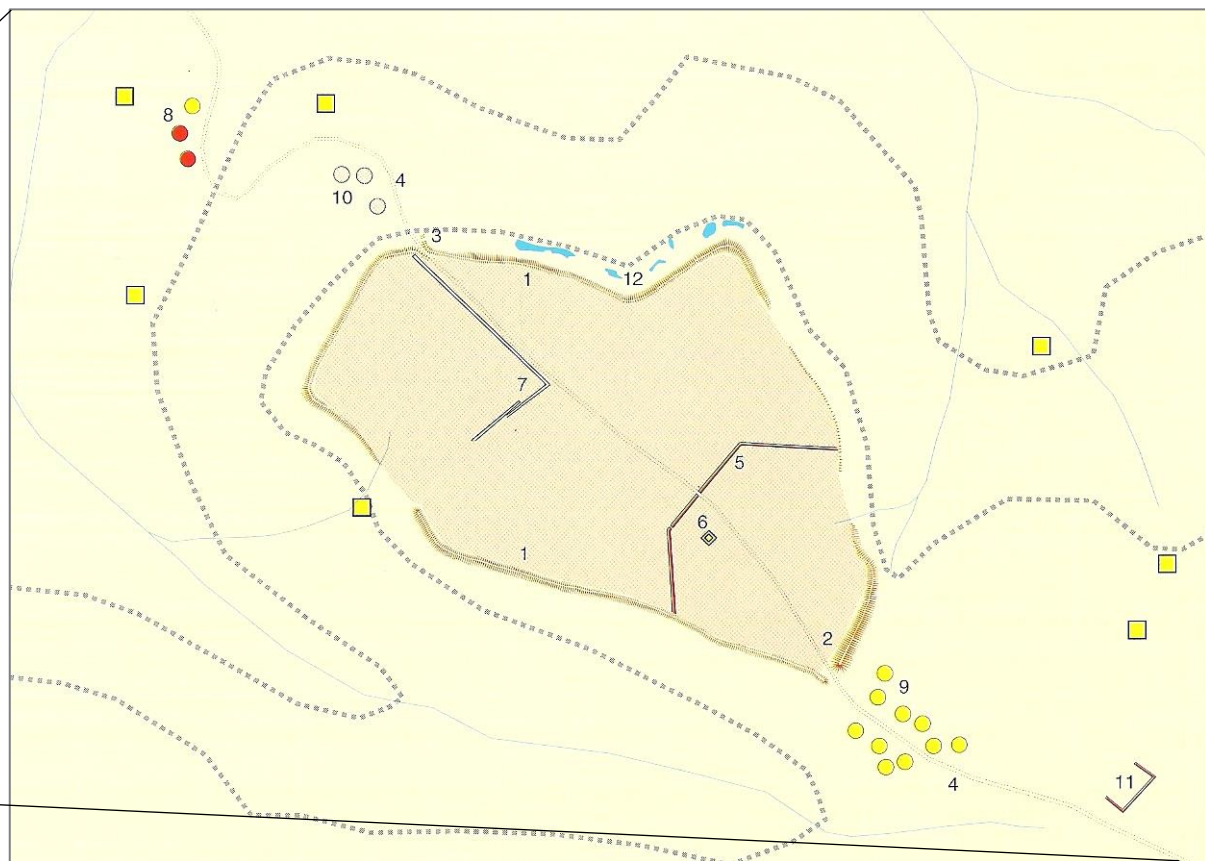
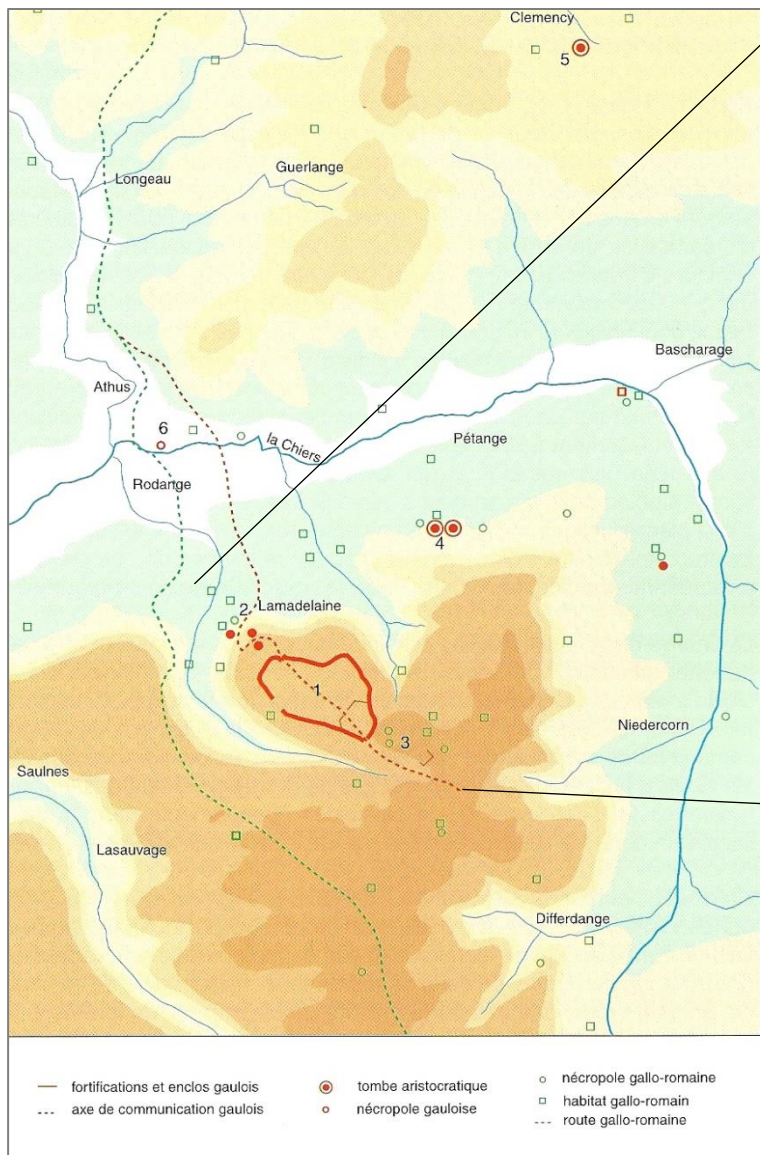


Figure 9.4: Titelberg site plan, 1) rampart, 2) eastern entrance, 3) western entrance, 4) trackway, 5) 'Holy Enclosure', 6) sanctuary, 7) Augustan enclosure, 8) Lamadelaine, 9) Gallic cemetery, 10) ?burials / quarries from mineral extraction, 11) prehistoric enclosure, 12) quarries from mineral extraction during the 19th and 20th centuries (after: Metzler *et al.* 1999, Fig. 1 and Fig. 3; composition author's own).

In order to explore the archaeology of Titelberg, and how this can aid current understanding of *oppida*, the methodology outlined in Chapter 6 will be applied here. The use of this methodology will enable us to determine the nature of the site's occupation during the later Iron Age; and moreover, what these interpretations mean for the site's current status as one of Temperate Europe's *oppida*. This chapter will consider existing theories on Titelberg's later Iron Age occupation, the author's interpretations of the site's use, and how these compare to one another. However, before we look into this we need to first become better acquainted with Titelberg's archaeological record.

9.1: Morphology and Topographic Setting

9.1.1: Landscape Setting:

Titelberg is situated on a flat-topped 'cuesta'³⁰ with a geology comprising limestone, sandstone, clays, and iron ore (Hamilton 1996, 33; Metzler 1995a, 11; Rowlett *et al.* 1982, 301), in the extreme south-west of Luxembourg (Hamilton 1996, 33; Metzler 1995a, 11; Rowlett 1988, 31; Rowlett *et al.* 1982, 301), where Luxembourg, France, and Belgium come together (Rowlett 1988, 31). With the upper course of the River Chiers to the immediate west (Hamilton 1996, 33; Metzler 1995a, 11; Rowlett *et al.* 1982, 301), and the Alzette river system accessible at some distance to the east (Metzler 1995a, 11) the site had good communications potential. Thus, this site was situated in close proximity to water sources that would have provided access to the waterways of Temperate Europe, while also providing sustenance for the resident population. Furthermore, during pre-history the Chiers was partially dammed to form a pond that would have attracted aquatic animals to the site (*ibid.*, 11), therefore increasing these waterways' ability to sustain local life.

Environmental studies, on-the-other-hand, have highlighted that the landscape surrounding the base of the hill, as well as the plateau itself, was suited to arable farming (Hamilton 1996, 33; Metzler 1995a, 11); while the areas of alluvium close to the region's rivers would have been ideal for pastoral farming (Metzler 1995a, 11). Consequently, the site was situated in an area well suited to the farming lifestyle with which the Iron Age is traditionally associated (Chapter 3.4).

³⁰ Cuesta: 'a hill that drops off sharply on one side and slopes gradually on the other' (Rowlett 1988, 33).

Furthermore, Titelberg's landscape was also well suited to industrial activities courtesy of the region's geology, which contributed raw materials for blacksmithing and ceramic industries. (The region has seen concerted mineral extraction and manufacturing since the Industrial Revolution, with Titelberg's slopes being heavily mined at this time, resulting in some re-landscaping and the insertion of a mineral line trackway (ibid, 17)). Consequently, Titelberg's location would have enabled the site's population a certain degree of self-sufficiency, with surplus local commodities, such as the ironwork and ceramics known to have been produced at the site during the later Iron Age (see Chapters 9.2, 9.3), being used to obtain that which could not be easily acquired/manufactured locally.

9.1.2: Morphology and Associated Archaeological Material

9.1.2.1: Titelberg: Morphology

This site's morphology is as vast as it is complex. Of the 50 hectares comprising Titelberg's plateau (Daval 2008; Gaeng and Metzler 2011, 125; Thomas *et al.* 1976, 241), 30 are believed to have been occupied during the later Iron Age (Metzler 1995a, 95). Across these 30 hectares numerous morphological entities exist which aid our understanding of the activities the site's occupants engaged in, as well as the site's spatial organisation; however, it should be remembered that only a fraction of these 30ha have been excavated, as can be seen from Figures 9.5-9.6. In order to fully appreciate the nature of Titelberg's morphology further considerations will group these entities, (that is, the site's structural features), by the activities they represent; including: domestic occupation, farming, industry, ritual/communal activities, and defence/protection.

During the 1980s Titelberg was subject to a number of archaeological investigations, many of which produced evidence for domestic dwellings and their associated features. This evidence comprised: two rectilinear houses/buildings (ibid, 95), limestone lined cellars (ibid, 98), drainage ditches (ibid, 104), wells (ibid, 98), a number of large pits (ibid, 97-98), fireplaces (ibid, 104), and in association with one of the aforementioned domestic dwellings: a gabled area containing a small hearth that is believed to have been a forging furnace (ibid, 104).

In addition to the above, a number of trackways/roads exist that can also be linked to the site's domestic occupation. The earliest of these extended from the base of the hill to the plateau (ibid, 13), while another bisected the plateau itself (ibid, 91). As the later Iron Age progressed, these trackways became more complex, and the 30 hectares of occupied land were divided into

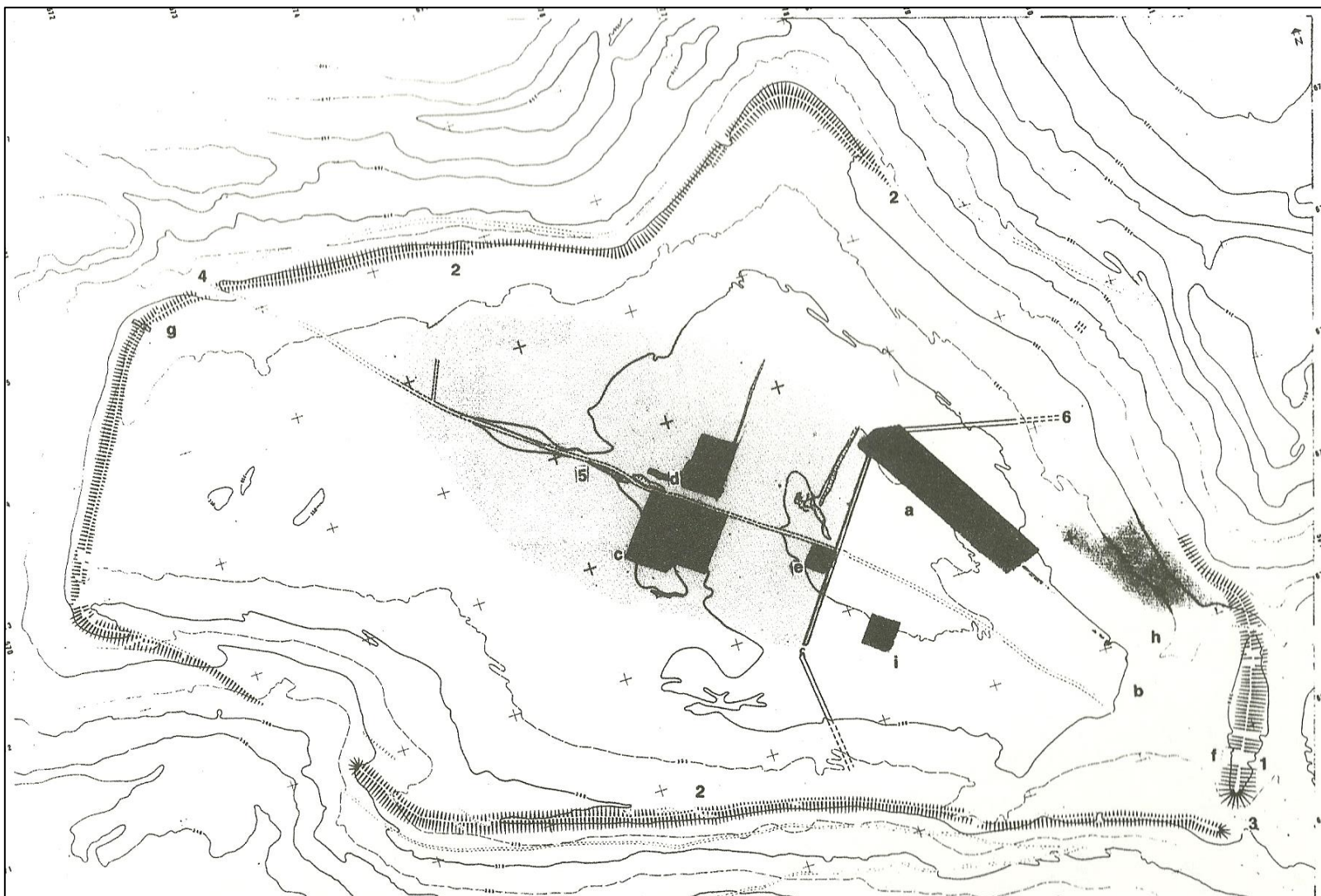


Figure 9.5: Plan of Titelberg's later Iron Age occupation with the areas excavated between 1958 and 1994 highlighted. 1. Main Wall, 2, Boundary Wall, 3. East Gate, 4. West Gate, 5. Area of later Iron Age occupation, 6. Embankment ditch of the sanctuary; Excavated areas: a-b: 1986-1989, c: 1968-1985, d: 1958, e: 1977, f: 1980-1982, g: 1985, h: 1993-1994 (after Metzler 1995a, Fig. 67).

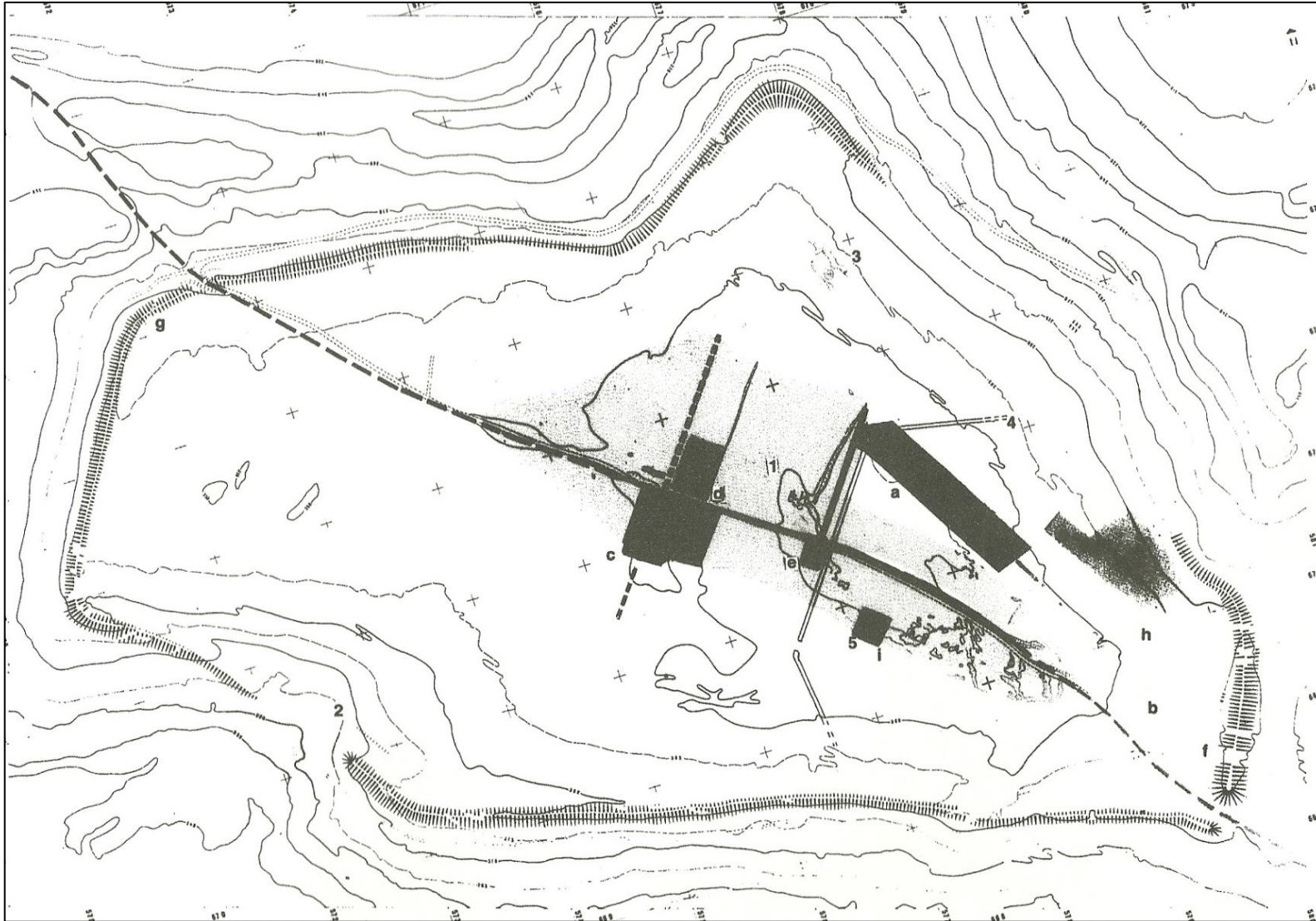


Figure 9.6: Plan of Titelberg's Gallo-Roman occupation with the areas excavated between 1958 and 1994 highlighted. 1. Settlement area, 2. Baths, 3. Glass Workshop, 4. Filled ditch of sanctuary, 5. Post-geomagnetic post-mark; Excavated areas: a-b: 1986-1989, c: 1968-1985, d: 1958, e: 1977, f: 1980-1982, g: 1985, h: 1993-1994 (after Metzler 1995a, Fig. 70).

neighbourhoods (ibid, 95). While it can be speculated that these thoroughways aided movement through the settlement in a coherent manner, there is one whose sole function appears to have been to direct ‘foot-traffic’ to the site’s ritual centre (ibid, 95); a feature to which we will return below.

With the above in mind we progress to a consideration of those morphological entities, namely ditches, fields, and post-pits for four- and six-poster buildings, which promote the most traditional Iron Age activity: farming. At the majority of Iron Age sites farming comprised both arable cultivation and animal husbandry (Chapter 3.4.1), and Titelberg is no exception. Although there is no evidence of Iron Age field systems, or even granaries, on the hill itself (Metzler 1996b, 566), there were a number of small agricultural settlements around the base of Titelberg (ibid, 541), that presumably could have produced much of the site’s agricultural produce, the basis of the local economy (ibid, 532). Contrastingly, it is surmised that the small areas between domestic dwellings were used for rearing small livestock, such as chickens, mallards and dogs, while the areas near the site’s ramparts are believed to have been large enough to rear pigs (ibid, 566).

Morphological evidence associated with Titelberg’s industrial activities was located on the plateau itself, and included: iron and bronze workshops (Metzler 1995b, 566), as well as a small pottery containing a kiln and potter’s wheel (Rowlett 1988, 33), and the ‘Foundation House’ (Hamilton 1996, 34 – 36; Rowlett 1988, 33 - 36; Rowlett *et. al.* 1982; Thomas *et. al.* 1976); the latter of which has received the most attention within the literature. This structure, (Figure 9.7), comprised fourteen occupation levels (Hamilton 1996, 36; Rowlett *et. al.* 1982, 302) all of which were perfectly superimposed on top of one another, so much so that even the fire places were perfectly aligned (Rowlett *et. al.* 1982, 302). In its last incarnation this structure included two rooms (Rowlett 1988, 36; Thomas *et. al.* 1976, 247), two entrances (Thomas *et. al.* 1976, 247), a fireplace (Rowlett *et. al.* 1982, 302, Thomas *et. al.* 1976, 247); and was associated with a smelter pit/furnace (Hamilton 1996, 35; Rowlett 1988, 36; Thomas *et. al.* 1976, 251), a well (Rowlett 1988, 36), a stone-lined ditch (Thomas *et. al.* 1976, 251 – 252), as well as a side street (ibid, 251), a walk way outside of the building’s eastern entrance (ibid, 247), and a series of post-holes, c.29cm in diameter, for Augustan limestone columns along its frontage (ibid, 247). Finally, this building is believed to have been a mint for the region’s coinage (Thomas *et. al.* 1976, 241; Metzler *et. al.* 1999, 13; Metzler and Gaeng 2009, 14; Rowlett *et. al.* 1982, 311), this being an interpretation drawn from observations of coin moulds

within the southern room, an anvil in the northern room (Rowlett 1988, 36), and the smelter (Hamilton 1996, 35) or firepit/furnace measuring to a depth of 50 cm (Rowlett 1989, 35).

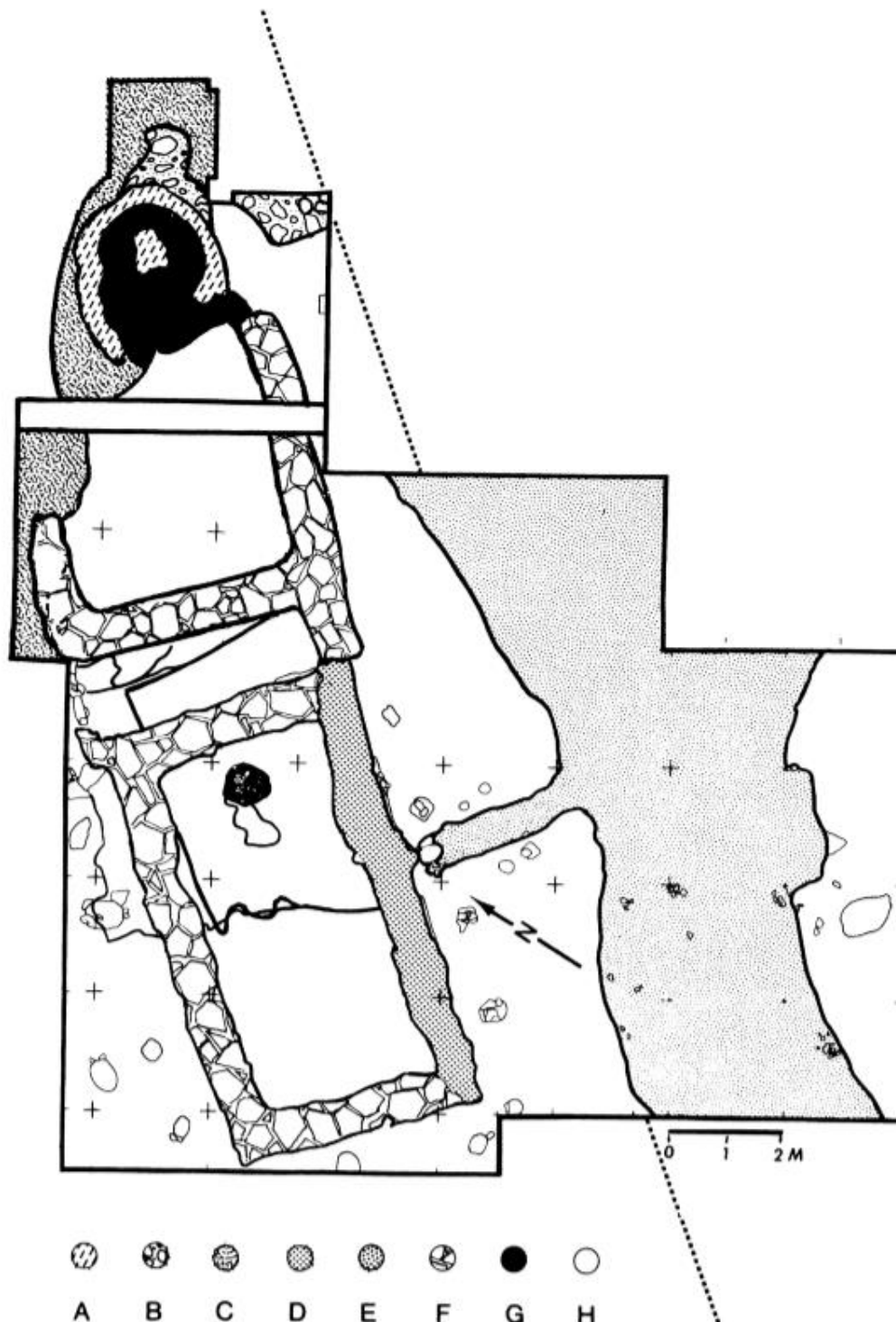


Figure 9.7: A plan of the Foundation House: features labelled d – h represent the structures later Iron Age occupation. a) Clay around 4th Century smelter; b) stone rubble associated with 4th Century smelter; c) Compact rubble associated with 4th Century; d) gravel-paved side street; e) plaster-filled robber trench; f) foundations of Augustan mint foundry; g) fireplace of Augustan foundry; h) exterior levels. Heavy lines show limits of Dalles Floor (larger enclosed area), and clay and earth floors (smaller enclosed area) (after: Rowlett *et al.* 1982, Fig.2).

In the south-east portion of Titelberg's plateau existed a ditched enclosure bounding 10 acres of land (Metzler 1995a, 91, 95). Within this enclosure, dubbed the 'Holy Enclosure' by Metzler (ibid, 91), was a sanctuary (ibid, 91) which later became a Gallo-Roman temple³¹ (ibid, 95) (see also Figure 9.4 for this feature's positioning on the plateau). It is however, not only religious/ritual activities that can be inferred from this sanctuary, but communal gatherings too.

Turning to defence/protection, the site's fortifications are a major aspect of Titelberg's identity and morphology. Titelberg's earthwork fortifications survive in places at heights of up to c.10 metres (ibid, 30). Excavations in areas now absent of upstanding fortifications and elsewhere have revealed that these features, which went through five consecutive phases (Metzler 1995a, 40-60), followed the natural contour of the plateau and were very broad, suggesting they were synonymous, in other words they shared a fortification practice, with their counterparts at Otzenhausen in north-east Gaul (ibid, 30); while their adoption of the *murus-gallicus* tradition (see Figure 9.8) during their 4th phase of construction suggests that Titelberg shared cultural practices, in terms of their preferred method of fortification, with many sites elsewhere in Gaul, but most famously Mont Beuvray, Metz, Cherain-Brisy, Cheslé-von-Bérisménil, and Otzenhausen (ibid, 32).

9.1.2.2: Titelberg: Artefact Records

Titelberg's artefact record is expansive, (see Appendices 9.1-9.2); with excavations having revealed a wide range of artefacts, the most prominent being: ceramic vessels, brooches, and coinage. For the purposes of this thesis these artefacts have been recorded in two catalogues, the first documents the ceramic vessels, (Appendix 9.1), and the second all other artefacts recovered at the site, (Appendix 9.2).

Additionally, these catalogues contain contextual information which was of considerable importance to the author's analysis of the site, (see Chapter 9.3). Furthermore, it was these artefacts that were used by those who have previously worked on the site to produce the interpretations of the site's later Iron Age occupation presented within the literature, (see Chapter 9.2). Before we look at either of these uses of the archaeological record in more detail,

³¹ This was a common progression for sanctuaries in both Britain and Temperate Europe, as can be seen when we consider sites such as: Springhead in Kent and Hayling Island in Hampshire (Bédoyère 2001), and Gournay and Ribemont-Sur-Ancre in Gaul (James 1993, 145).

there is one further aspect of the site's morphology that needs to be noted here: the cemetery of Lamadelaine (Metzler *et al.* 1999).³²

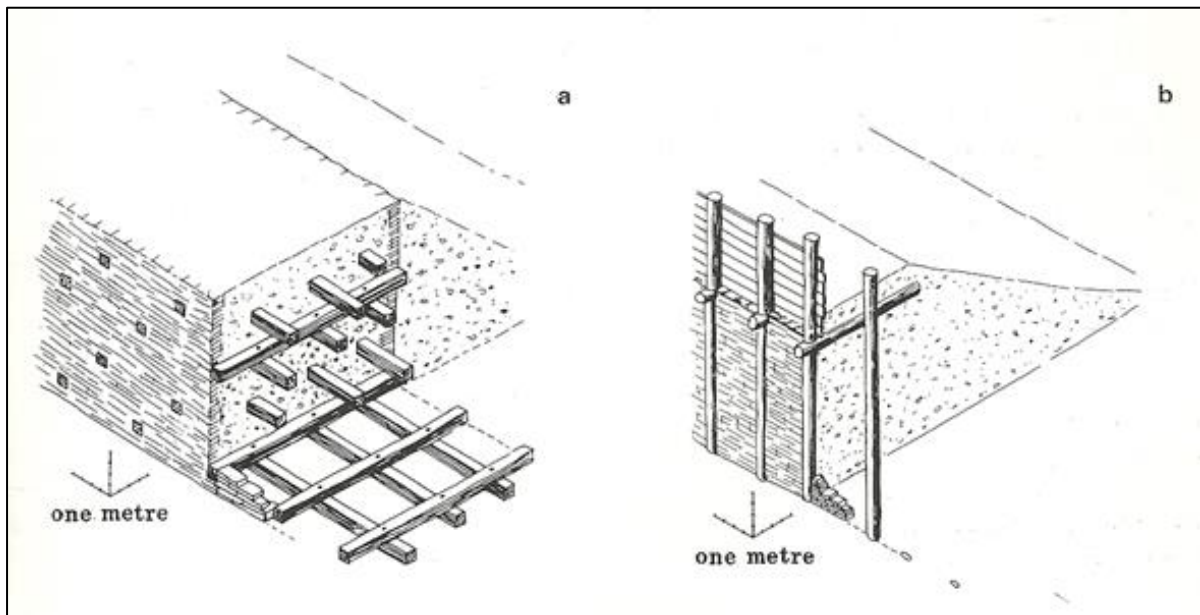


Figure 9.8: Cross section of *murus gallicus* fortifications utilised during the later Iron Age, a) represents what Caesar term *murus gallicus*, whilst b) depicts the standard construction of these fortifications when found at *oppida*, (these are known at the Kelheim construction). (after Collis 1984b, Fig. 45).

9.1.2.3: Lamadelaine: Morphology

The cemetery of Lamadelaine, is situated near the village of Lamadelaine in Rollingen on the northern slopes of Titelberg (Metzler *et al.* 1999, 17) (Figure 9.9); and is currently understood to comprise 3 burial groups with a period of use spanning over c.120 years (*ibid.*, 17). However, as a consequence of both erosion and ploughing we have to be cautious about drawing definitive conclusions about the extent of the cemetery's lifespan, and the overall nature of the site's organisation, because it is believed that a number of burials have been lost as a result of these processes (*ibid.*, 18).

Despite this, some 90 possible burials have been identified and excavated (*ibid.*, 20-246); of these 16 have subsequently been interpreted as pit offerings because they contained no human bone. Therefore, the total number of clearly identifiable burials sits at 74 (*ibid.*, 432), across which a minimum of 82 individuals have been identified (*ibid.*, 440). Some 20 graves

³² It should be noted here that another, larger, cemetery is also identified in Figure 9.4; this is not to be considered here because the evidence associated with this aspect of Titelberg's environs is not as well documented, and does not survive to the same extent as that recovered at Lamadelaine.

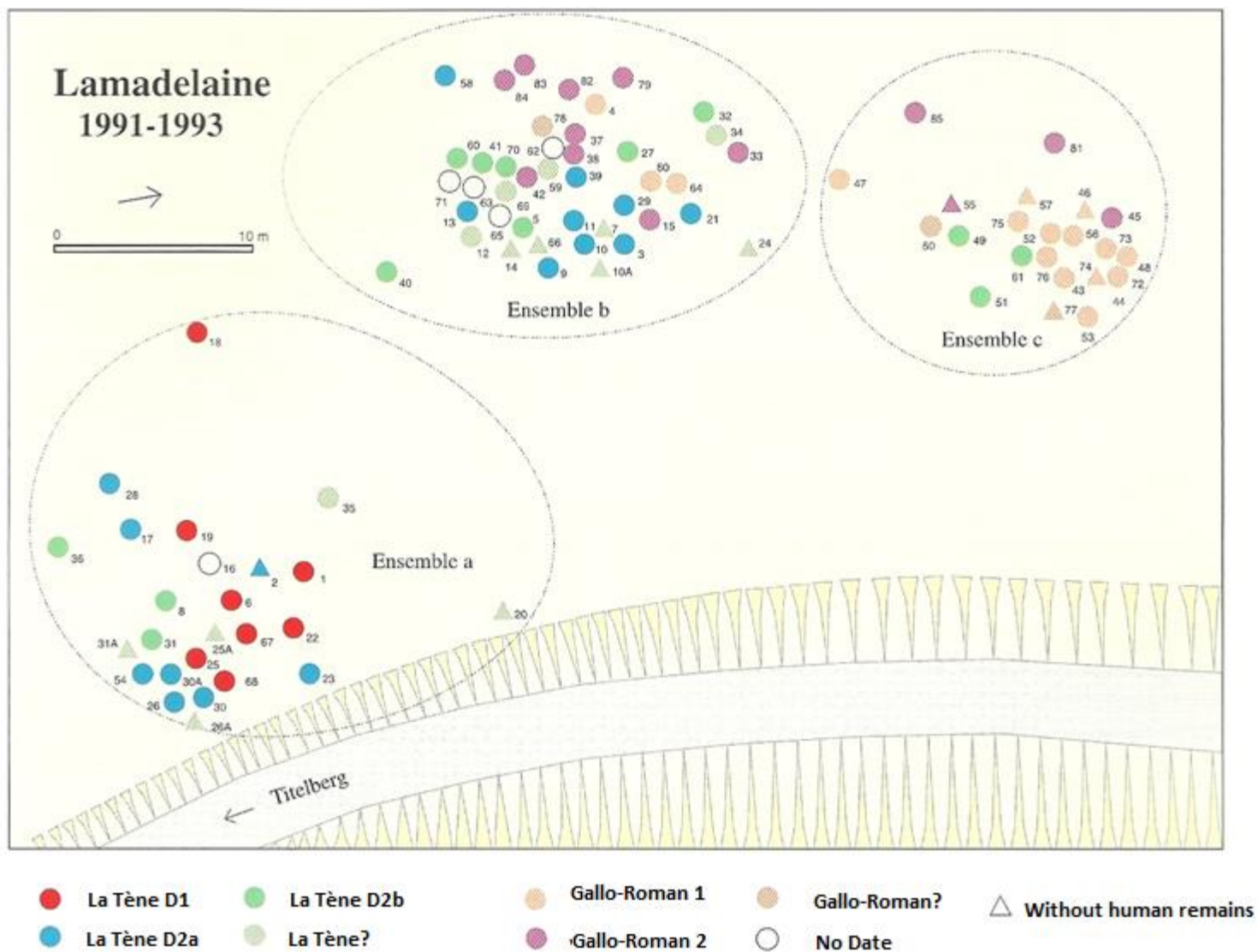


Figure 9.9: Plan of Lamadelaïne (after Metzler *et al.* 1999, Fig. 395).

containing a minimum of 26 individuals existed in Area A, a further 37 graves containing a minimum of 38 individuals were identified in Area B, while the remaining 17 burials, containing a minimum of 18 individuals, were located in Area C (ibid, 440). Contrastingly, the majority of the pit offerings, 6 in all, were identified in Area C, while the remaining 10 are split evenly between Areas A and B (ibid, 20-246).

9.1.2.4: Lamadelaine: Artefact Records

As with Titelberg, the Lamadelaine cemetery has yielded a vast archaeological record containing a wide array of artefacts ranging from ceramic vessels (Appendix 9.4) to brooches, jewellery, coinage and weaponry (Appendix 9.5).

9.2: Existing Theories

In comparison to Colchester, Titelberg's literary footprint is surprisingly minimal, especially within general texts pertaining to the later Iron Age and/or *oppida*. Furthermore, research has illustrated that the site was not mentioned within the ancient sources, possibly because Caesar and his troops did not come into contact with the site, or its inhabitants, during the Gallic wars (Metzler 1995b, 568).³³ Within those texts in which Titelberg is noted the interpretations presented are of a similar calibre to those put forth for Colchester, but more than this some of the same discrepancies existed too, including inconsistencies pertaining to the site's date of origin, and the purpose of its boundary markers. These similarities however, have more to do with the theories and models applied to 'oppida' than they do their site of origin.

9.2.1: 17th Century

The earliest literature pertaining to Titelberg was penned by two religious figures; one of whom is also purported to have been a historian. Although neither of these pieces present interpretations of the site's later Iron Age occupation they do put forth observations that better help us to understand the nature of the site at this time. The first of these works, by Abbot Johannes Bertels (1606), makes note of the impressive earthworks surrounding Titelberg's plateau (Metzler 1995a, 19); while the second, by the Jesuit priest and historian Alexander

³³ Although there is no evidence of conflict at Titelberg that can be attributed to Caesar's conquest of Gaul it has been surmised that this site may have been the meeting place of the Treveran assembly described by Caesar in his text *The Conquest of Gaul* (V, 56) (Fernández-Götz 2014b, 147), however, this cannot be verified with the evidence available (ibid, 157).

Wiltheim, provides insight into aspects of the site's topography no longer visible today; in this case a spring (Metzler 1995a, 19).

9.2.2: 18th Century

The 18th century witnessed the first excavations at Titelberg. These excavations were designed to explore the site's walls (Metzler 1995a, 19) although it appears that more was robbed and reused than explored archaeologically, as illustrated by Bertholet (1741), who noted the existence of a "mausoleum" constructed from reused architectural materials from Titelberg (*cf.* Metzler 1995a, 19).

9.2.3: 19th Century

The 19th Century literature, albeit anonymous, provides insight into the nature of Titelberg's Iron Age occupation; unlike that from the 17th and 18th Centuries. These sources provide insights into the site's burial record, (excluding the cemetery of Lamadelaine), but more importantly a burial record that has now been all but lost³⁴. These sources state that burials once existed in both the northern and western areas of the site, but that they have since been destroyed by subsequent iron mining (Metzler 1995a, 19). With this in mind we can state that the destruction of archaeological materials at Titelberg through cultural processes has been an issue faced by archaeologists of all generations and not just those who have worked on the site in recent years.

9.2.4: 20th Century

The 20th Century saw the publication of reports detailing archaeological evidence recovered during excavations at Titelberg, as well as more general texts on *oppida* and/or the later Iron Age that mention this site. Consequently, these papers provide the greatest range of interpretations pertaining to life at the site during the later Iron Age. However, much like the literature of the 19th Century not all of these interpretations can be traced back to their original authors, and it is with this in mind that we consider the 20th Century's first publication.

In 1928 an anonymous piece likened Titelberg to the Gaulish *oppida* on the basis of coin evidence (Metzler 1995a, 22). Although we do not know how the coinage aided this

³⁴ The cemetery of Lamadelaine is the only one of the three cemeteries believed to have existed on the slopes of Titelberg, (see Figure 9.4), to have left a comprehensive footprint within the archaeological record.

comparison, this is the first publication in which the site was linked to other so-called *oppida*; thus it marks the birth of one of the most traditional views of the site.

Forty years later Thill (1968) notes that Titelberg and its environs were densely populated from the end of the La Tène period until the 3rd Century AD; setting it apart from many *oppida*, as these sites were typically abandoned during the 1st Century AD. Furthermore, it should be noted that this is only the first of a number of observations said to set this site apart from its contemporaries.³⁵ With this in mind our attentions turn to the first of three papers published during the 1970s to bear mention of Titelberg.

In his paper detailing the late La Tène burial from Trier-Olewig, Schindler notes that Titelberg is commonly regarded as the main *oppidum*, or fortified town, of the Treveri (1971, 34 *cf.* Rowlett *et al.* 1982, 302); thus, Schindler became the first to link Titelberg to the Treveri.

The following year Reading (1972) pondered the coins recovered during excavations at Titelberg not manufactured by the Treveri, (in other words those manufactured by tribes situated elsewhere in Temperate Europe, but particularly Gaul), determining that these coins represent the southerly and westerly contacts of the tribe (*cf.* Collis 1984a, 149). This notion can therefore be said to highlight the social, and possibly even trading, relationships forged by the site's occupants.

Four years later, in 1976, two further papers were published. The first of these focuses on excavations carried out by Missouri University on the 'Foundation House', while the second is one of two general texts relating to the later Iron Age and/or *oppida* to mention Titelberg. Beginning with the first of these papers, by Thomas *et al.* (1976), it is important to note that while this paper primarily focuses on the 'Foundation House', some general interpretations of Titelberg are also present.

The most prominent of these, is that the site was a Treverian centre during the later Iron Age (*ibid.*, 242) that was more densely occupied than its contemporaries (*ibid.*, 256), and unlike these contemporaries continued to be used into the Gallo-Roman period (*ibid.*, 256). In pondering

³⁵ Examples of Titelberg's contemporaries abandoned during the 1st Century AD include: Mont Beuvray which was abandoned for Autun, Gergovie which was replaced by Clermont Ferrand, and Pommiers which was abandoned for a new settlement at Soissons (Collis 1976, 8; 1984a, 50).

the reasons for its prolonged existence, Thomas *et al.* determined that it ‘must be attributed to the continuing industrial importance of the site not only in the areas of metallurgy and glass making but weaving as well’ (ibid, 256).

Bearing this in mind we turn our attentions to these authors’ interpretations of the ‘Foundation House’, the most famed of which is that the building was a mint used for the striking of bronze and gold coins (ibid, 248); although, additional industrial activities also took place within this building, particularly after c.30 BC (ibid, 251).

In addition to the above, Thomas *et al.* note that this area peaked during the reign of Augustus, (c.27 BC-AD 14), with this period being one of great prosperity for this area of Titelberg (ibid, 256). Although, it should be noted that the site’s economic prominence within its wider landscape prior to this period is one of the only reasons the mint survived this long (ibid, 256); in other words, it was the site’s connection to rich iron ores that allowed it to enjoy economic longevity long after its contemporaries, (see pages 292, 296), had been abandoned for new settlements/towns.

Leaving the work of Thomas *et al.* behind we turn to Collis’ (1976) paper: ‘*Town and Market in Iron Age Europe*’. Within this paper Collis furthers observations of Titelberg’s relative uniqueness made by the aforementioned authors, as well as Thill (1968), by noting that while several major sites (*oppida*) were abandoned for lowland settings soon after the Roman conquest some, such as Titelberg, continued into the Roman period in elevated locations (Collis 1976, 8).

The 1980s saw the publication of three papers. The first, by Rowlett *et al.* (1982), focuses on the ‘Foundation House’ and in doing so considers the nature of the site’s later Iron Age occupation, as well as the aforementioned building’s function. Of Titelberg, these authors follow the same line of thinking as both Schindler (1971) and Thomas *et al.* (1976) in that they view the site as a Treveran tribal centre because of the inscriptions identified on coinage minted at the site (Rowlett *et al.* 1982, 302). However, these same authors further this conclusion by stating that Titelberg was this tribe’s main *oppidum*, due to its purported role as the tribe’s primary seat of power, a role it was ascribed because it minted the majority of the groups coinage (ibid, 302).

With regards to the 'Foundation House', Rowlett *et al.*, like Thomas *et al.* (1976), view this building as a mint foundry (1982, 302); though they do not believe this to have been the oldest mint associated with the Treveri (*ibid*, 302). With the exception of this latter observation, Rowlett *et al.*'s portrayal of the 'Foundation House' does not differ from that put forth by Thomas *et al* in 1976.

Finally, there are a number of observations put forth by Rowlett *et al.* that apply to both Titelberg and the 'Foundation House' that need to be noted here. Firstly, that 100 BC marks both the establishment of later Iron Age occupation at Titelberg, and the initial use of the 'Foundation House' (*ibid*, 311); secondly, that mint foundries, like the 'Foundation House', are typically located near the seat of power belonging to the tribe for which the mint was producing coins (*ibid*, 302); and finally, that this building might have been semi-sacrosanct not only because each layer of occupation for this structure was superimposed directly upon its predecessor, but because it was established in an area of pre-existing import on the site's plateau (*ibid*, 302).

Two years later within '*Oppida, Earliest Towns North of the Alps*' Collis notes that Titelberg, unlike many Gaulish *oppida*, was not abandoned with the onset of Roman occupation; noting instead that Titelberg was re-organised at this time (1984a, 50), a process that led to the emergence of a pottery industry that Collis believes was in place by the Augustan period, and as such specialised not only in the production of native pottery forms, but Roman tablewares too (*ibid*, 98; 219). Furthermore, Collis has also pondered the lure of this area, and how the local landscape shaped the site's success; stating that the site's appeal was intrinsically linked to the rich iron ore it was situated upon (*ibid*, 92, 173), which ultimately contributed to the site's wealth (*ibid*, 219). Additionally, Collis gives thought to Titelberg's function, stating that it was one of two tribal centres occupied by the Treveri (*ibid*, 218), as well as a major centre for the production of the region's coinage (*ibid*, 219). Finally, this paper saw Collis state that those coins not manufactured in the name of the Treveri represent the communities with whom the occupants of Titelberg had forged relationships (*ibid*, 149), thus agreeing with the work of Reading (1972).

Rowlett (1988) meanwhile used the final paper of the 1980s to reconsider the Missouri excavations, in particular the 'Foundation House'; unsurprisingly therefore many of the ideas and interpretations presented within this paper mirror those presented by Thomas *et al.* (1976)

and Rowlett *et al.* (1982). However, with regards to the ritual significance of the 'Foundation House' Rowlett furthers earlier interpretations by stating that the importance of this structure is reflected in the apparent ritual consumption, and subsequent deposition, of a horse after each fireplace went out of use (1988, 37), as well as the apparent absence of evidence to suggest features were sited in this area of the complex after the cessation of activities at the 'Foundation House' (*ibid.*, 39).

In 1995 Metzler authored the two volume report pertaining to the Museum of Luxembourg's excavations at Titelberg (Metzler 1995a; 1995b); which, as can be seen from Figures 9.5-9.6, covered a sizable portion of the site's plateau when compared to the 119 sq. m excavated close by, by the American team (Thomas *et al.* 1976, 241) (see Figure 9.10). These reports document many ideas and interpretations, a number of which mirror those presented in earlier papers. In considering Volume 1, the first thing to note is that the report's title characterises Titelberg as an *oppidum* and Treveran tribal centre (Metzler 1995a). In keeping with this, Metzler also states that Titelberg was one of two major Treveran centres (*ibid.*, 162), whose emergence was linked to local 'politics' (*ibid.*, 95). Metzler places this emergence during the La Tène D1/D2 transition period when the construction of the site's fortifications and the establishment of the 'Holy Enclosure' took place (*ibid.*, 95); before then noting that the site's occupation peaked during La Tène D2 (*ibid.*, 95)

Additionally, Metzler surmises that the construction of the 'Holy Enclosure' at the same time as the site's walls was a conscious decision by Titelberg's occupants to found a large settlement with urban/proto-urban character (*ibid.*, 95). Concluding, as a result of this, that the site's walls were important, (although in order for us to fully understand their purpose he recognises more work is needed), (*ibid.*, 32), and that the 'Holy Enclosure' was a sanctuary where votive offerings were made; thus, explaining the animal skeletons, human skull fragments, and weapon miniatures discovered within its bounds (*ibid.*, 95). Metzler believes this latter feature may have sparked permanent occupation at the site by acting as a religious/ritual lure (*ibid.*, 95), while also contributing to the site's status throughout the later Iron Age (*ibid.*, 95). This final point is said by Metzler to have marked the site as unique, much as he believes the use of stone as a building material at the site did (*ibid.*, 98).

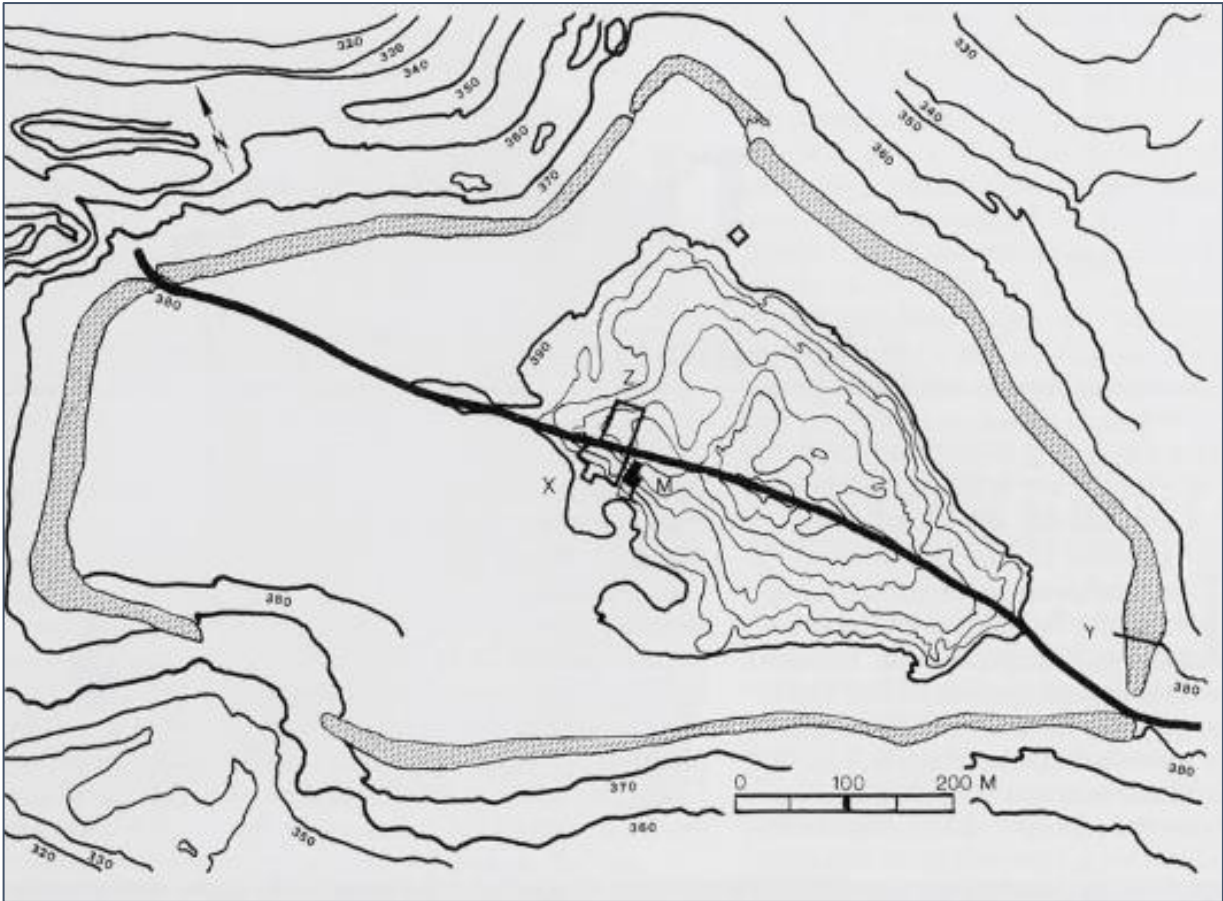


Figure 9.10: Plan of Titelberg showing areas excavated by the Luxembourg State Museum (marked X-Z on the plan) and the University of Missouri (marked 'M' on the plan) (After Rowlett 1988, Fig. 2).

Furthermore, Metzler, like Collis (1984a), believes that Titelberg's economy revolved around locally occurring iron ore, and the blacksmiths who worked this material into finished artefacts (1995a, 13); although other industries, such as the pottery known to have specialised in 'Belgic-ware' cups existed (ibid, 98). In addition to noting the existence of industries, Metzler also comments on the longevity of the site's economy by stating that during the 1st Century AD the site's economic importance decreased along with the site's population numbers (ibid, 98).

In Volume 2 Metzler emphasises the importance of blacksmithing to the local economy while also noting that bronze-smiths were operating out of the site (1995b, 566). Furthermore, Metzler notes that these industrial processes took place between the domestic dwellings at the site, in the absence of agricultural activities being carried out in these areas (ibid, 566). This is however not to say that agriculture did not contribute to Titelberg's economic success, as Metzler later concludes that permanent occupation in and around Titelberg was dependent on an economy centred around agriculture and blacksmithing (ibid, 583).

Metzler also uses this volume to ponder the status of both the settlement and its occupants. With regards to the former, Metzler ponders whether the site's fortifications/walls may have symbolised the settlement's status (*ibid*, 576), (although he does note that they may also have served a refuge/military purpose) (*ibid*, 575). Similarly, in terms of the site's occupants, Metzler considers the evidence of faunal remains from wild animals to be indicative of hunting regimes reserved for the site's resident nobility (*ibid*, 567).

In 1996 Hamilton published a paper which considers the nature of bronze working at Titelberg, and in doing so provides further insight into the industrial processes engaged in by the site's resident population. With this in mind, it is unsurprising that Hamilton promotes the idea of specialist craftsmen working within these industries (1996, 25); specialists that she believes would have been under the direct control of the elite (*ibid*, 25): 'because control over production translates into straightforward control of distribution' (Costin 1991, 11 *cf.* Hamilton 1996, 25), and it would be, she contends, the nobles who decided where, and to whom, finished goods would go (Hamilton 1996, 25). Furthermore, Hamilton also voices her agreement with the traditional view that Titelberg was occupied by the Treveri during both the later Iron Age and Gallo-Roman period (*ibid*, 1).

Metzler *et al.*'s report on Lamadelaine, published in 1999, provides a wealth of information about the burials contained within the cemetery, including the contents of the graves and burial rites observed by those interring the dead, while also giving consideration to contemporary occupation at Titelberg itself. With regards to Titelberg, Metzler *et al.* put forth many ideas and interpretations that have been presented within earlier papers (e.g. Thomas *et al.* 1976; Rowlett *et al.* 1982; Rowlett 1988; Metzler 1995a; 1995b). Despite this there are some discrepancies, namely with regards to when activity at the site peaked and subsequently declined. In portraying these aspects of Titelberg's lifespan Metzler *et al.* note that the site enjoyed a 'golden age' between c.50 and 25 BC (*ibid*, 14), with a marked change in the character of the material culture being particularly noticeable in c.30 BC with the onset of Roman occupation in Gaul (*ibid*, 14). Consequently, Metzler *et al.* believe that shortly after c.30 BC Titelberg lost its position as a political and economic centre; a process that was in part sparked by the emergence of a new Treveran capital in Trier (*ibid*, 15). Despite this, the site's natural iron resources are believed to have enabled the site to survive this decline and ensured its continued existence (*ibid*, 17).

In terms of what Metzler *et al.* (1999) had to say about the cemetery of Lamadelaine, on-the-other-hand, these authors believe this site to have been the final resting place of at least 82 individuals (ibid, 249), with this number being a direct reflection of the ‘economic boom’ that occurred at Titelberg during the late La Tène period (ibid, 440). It is believed that the ages of these individuals ranged from infants, (as young as six), to fully matured adults (ibid, 249); a factor that led Metzler *et al.* to ponder whether these individuals represent a family group spanning at least five generations (ibid, 440), or alternatively, as individuals were spread across three distinct, and very different, areas of Lamadelaine it is possible that they represent three family groups (ibid, 442). However, Metzler *et al.* subsequently state that this inference is not conclusive because we do not know what actually constituted a family unit during the later Iron Age (ibid. 442).

Furthermore, Metzler *et al.* do not believe that these individuals were nobles or aristocrats (ibid, 447), although they do surmise that a certain degree of wealth was required to gain access to the cemetery (ibid, 442). In fact they state that the poorest members of the local community were not represented at Lamadelaine (ibid, 442), because not everyone could ‘afford’ the rituals and offerings that the site’s funerary rites required (Kaenel 1998 *cf.* Metzler *et al.* 1999, 442).

Within Iron Age Gaul it is believed that native funerals involved four stages (ibid, 443). Stage 1 saw mourners expose the body to the elements whilst partaking in the first of two funerary feasts. During stage 2 the deceased was cremated, animals were sacrificed and offerings were laid out on the funeral pyre. Stage 3 included the collection and ritual washing of the cremated bones with either wine or water, and the second funerary feast; while stage 4 involved the final interment of the deceased (ibid, 443-447). At Lamadelaine this final stage did not see the interment of all of the cremated bones, at least half were removed for unknown ritual purposes (ibid, 419). Consequently, Metzler *et al.* conclude that death in this region was marked as a communal event (ibid, 443).

Metzler *et al.* also note that ancestor worship took place at the cemetery; a process they infer from the continued use of Lamadelaine from the Gallic (La Tène) period into the Gallo-Roman era (ibid, 434). Furthermore, they believe that the inclusion of certain vessels, namely amphorae and dolia, is indicative of libations poured in honour of the Cult of the Dead (ibid, 434). It is also interesting to note that local Romanisation, taken in this instance to be an

increased Roman presence and the emergence of Roman towns in the region, caused the simplification of funerary rituals and the demise of Celtic symbolism within the burials of Lamadelaine (ibid, 429).

Finally, this report considers the day-to-day lives of those interred within the cemetery alongside objects representative of atypical processes during the later Iron Age. Burial 3 contained both medical tools and weaponry (ibid, 308), artefacts Metzler *et al.* believe represent a surgeon, who may also have practiced dentistry (ibid, 308). Furthermore, these authors have noted that Burial 3, along with the other weapon bearing burials, held a central position within Area B of the cemetery, thus differentiating these individuals from the general population of Titelberg interred at Lamadelaine (ibid, 381). Lastly, the weaponry within the aforementioned burials was deliberately mutilated, a practice within the Treveran area said to denote rich burials (ibid, 380, 381); consequently, Metzler *et al.* view these as the richest burials within the cemetery.

Overall, the literature of the 20th century gave rise to numerous insights, many of which are now viewed as traditional interpretations of the site.

9.2.5: 21st Century

Hamilton's 2003 paper reaffirms earlier beliefs that the eastern portion of Titelberg was an area of ritual importance because of the number of coins and fibulae it has produced (2003, 23). Furthermore, Hamilton reiterates the much favoured interpretation of Titelberg which states that the site differed from its contemporaries because it was not abandoned during the 1st Century AD (ibid, 24).

In 2008 Daval published a paper that presents many of the ideas and interpretations prominent within earlier literature; noting that Titelberg belonged to the Treveri, that its economy was founded upon naturally occurring iron ore, and that the site started to dwindle in prominence upon the establishment of *Treverorum* in Trier. Furthermore, Daval also notes that Titelberg had a strong aristocratic presence.

2009 saw the publication of Metzler and Gaeng's report on the cemetery at Goebblange-Nospelt. Although, this cemetery will not be considered in as much detail as Lamadelaine within the current chapter, because of its considerable distance from Titelberg, this volume provides

valuable insight into life at Titelberg. However, because Metzler and Gaeng view Titelberg in much the same light as many who authored the texts discussed above (e.g. Thomas *et al.* 1976; Rowlett *et al.* 1982; Rowlett 1988; Metzler 1995a; 1995b) it is not necessary to repeat them in detail here, instead, it suffices to say that they too view the site as a Treveran tribal centre that was not only of political significance for both its occupants and environ, but of considerable economic and communal³⁶ importance too (Metzler and Gaeng 2009, 14).

Two years later another paper co-authored by Gaeng and Metzler emerged within which they provide an overview of Titelberg's emergence and purpose. The interpretations of the site they note in doing this mirror those they presented in 2009, and thus they too can be said to mirror those put forth in earlier papers/volumes.

Finally, in 2014 Fernández-Götz published two papers within which he considers the function of the *oppida*, as well as the reasons behind the site's development and success. These two discussion points can to a certain extent be said to be one and the same, because Fernández-Götz believes that it was the site's role as a politico-religious centre that not only characterised its existence as an *oppidum*, but led to its initial development into such a site (2014a, 380, 390; 2014b, 147). Fernández-Götz believes that the site's role as a politico-religious centre was possible because of the area on the eastern side of the plateau that was enclosed 'by a ditch and mudbrick wall built on a stone base' (2014b, 146) and which has come to be known as the '*area sacra* where assemblies, fairs, and religious ceremonies were held (Metzler 2006; 2008; Metzler *et al.* 1991; 2006)' (*cf.* Fernández-Götz 2014, 146; Fernández-Götz 2014a, 388), due to the impressive array of finds recovered from the ditch that bound it that are said to denote cult practices; these finds include: c.100 brooches, spear heads, miniature weapons, coins, and fragments of human bone (Fernández-Götz 2014b, 146). Conversely, despite promoting the former ideas as Titelberg's primary purpose, Fernández-Götz also recognises that the site was a prolific economic centre that produced artisanal crafts 'on a scale that went well beyond supplying local needs' (2014b, 146).

³⁶ The site's communal importance is linked to the sanctuary present on the site's plateau, as well as the considerable public space associated with this (Metzler and Gaeng 2009, 14).

9.2.6: A Summary

The last four centuries have seen many papers/volumes published in relation to Titelberg. These have highlighted four primary themes relating to the site's later Iron Age occupation:

1. Political prominence, at least prior to the establishment of Trier in c.20 BC,
2. Economic success founded on the region's natural mineral resources and transportation possibilities,
3. Religious importance borne out of the presence of the site's sanctuary,
4. Its relative uniqueness when compared to its contemporaries elsewhere in Gaul, in terms of the site's abandonment.

9.3: Titelberg Reassessed

The reassessment of Titelberg's archaeological record considered herein was designed to determine the nature of the site's later Iron Age occupation through an analysis of its raw datasets (Appendices 9.1-9.2); as well as those compiled for Lamadelaine (Appendices 9.4-9.5), and to a lesser extent Goebange-Nospelt³⁷ (Appendices 9.7-9.8). The interpretations the author established in doing this were not only compared to current thinking on the site (Chapter 9.2) over the course of this chapter, but were used in Chapter 11, alongside those compiled for both Colchester (Chapter 7) and Canterbury (Chapter 10), to determine how well these sites compared to their contemporaries be they farmsteads or *oppida*. This latter consideration is particularly significant for the present study because it enabled us to explore the site's identity and its erstwhile characterisation as an *oppidum*, and more importantly whether this term can continue to be used today.

The process of reassessing Titelberg's later Iron Age occupation was facilitated by the methodology outlined in Chapter 6. Furthermore, the majority of the evidence utilised in this process was compiled from Metzler's 1995 volumes, (Metzler 1995a; 1995b), on excavations carried out at the site during the 1980s, because these were the most complete records available to the author for this study. The only exception to this is the evidence considered in relation to Lamadelaine and Goebange-Nospelt. This was collated from Metzler *et al.*'s 1999 report on

³⁷ While this cemetery is too far from the plateau to have been conceivably linked to Titelberg and its occupants, a consideration of the material recovered within the cemetery enabled a better understanding of Lamadelaine to be gained. Consequently, the author compiled catalogues of Goebange-Nospelt's artefacts following the same approach they used to assemble those attributed to both Titelberg and Lamadelaine.

the 1980s excavations at Lamadelaine and Metzler and Gaeng's 2009 volume on excavations at Goebblange-Nospelt between 1966 and 1967, as well as in 1993.

9.3.1: Period 1: 150/100 – 55/50 BC

Period 1 occupation at Titelberg saw not only the emergence of the walls surrounding the plateau, and the 'Holy Enclosure' (Metzler 1995b, 95)³⁸, but the growth of the site into a flourishing centre where domestic occupation was coupled with industrial activities (Figure 9.11). The success of the site at this time is well represented within the archaeological record and can be considered part of the trend of new and quickly established settlements emerging across Temperate Europe between 150/100 and 55/50 BC (Champion *et al.* 1992, 306; Fernández-Götz 2014; 380; Kappel 1969; Maier 1970; Wells 2001, 84-85; 2002, 366).

9.3.1.1: The Evidence

Period 1 occupation at Titelberg is represented within the archaeological record by 85 morphological entities representing 17 context types (Figure 9.12/Appendix 9.9), 443 ceramic vessels denoting 8 form types (Figure 9.13/Appendix 9.10), 57 brooches and coins, in 8 and 15 different styles respectively (Figures 9.14 and 9.15), and an unspecified quantity of bronze-smithing debris (Appendix 9.11).

This period of occupation at Titelberg is also represented by 31 burials and 7 pit offerings at Lamadelaine. Of these burials, 17 were located in Area A and 14 in Area B; while the pit offerings were split 3:4 between Areas A and B respectively. In addition to the settlement morphology, Period 1 use of Lamadelaine is denoted by 181 ceramic vessels representing 10 form types (Figure 9.16/Appendix 9.12), and 347 additional artefacts including: animal remains, brooches, tools, and jewellery (Figure 9.17/Appendix 9.13).

The aforementioned artefacts all come from identifiable context types. Those from Titelberg were recovered from across the 85 morphological entities established during Period 1, with pits and ditches being the most prolific in terms of the number of artefacts they produced (Figure 9.18); while those from Lamadelaine were primarily recovered from the burials (Figure 9.19).

³⁸ There is speculation that the area that became the Holy Enclosure was utilised as a cult place and centre for assemblies prior to this feature's formalisation in c.100 BC, and that this is the reason why the site later became an *oppidum* with both politico-religious and economic import (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 391; 2014b, 69).



Figure 9.11: Plan of Titelberg. Those features associated with Period 1 occupation are marked as: 1: Ramparts, 2: Holy Enclosure, 3 Sanctuary, 4: Excavated Areas of Occupation, 5: Lamadelaine, and 6) Eastern Necropolis on the plan (after Gaeng and Metzler 2011, Fig. 1).

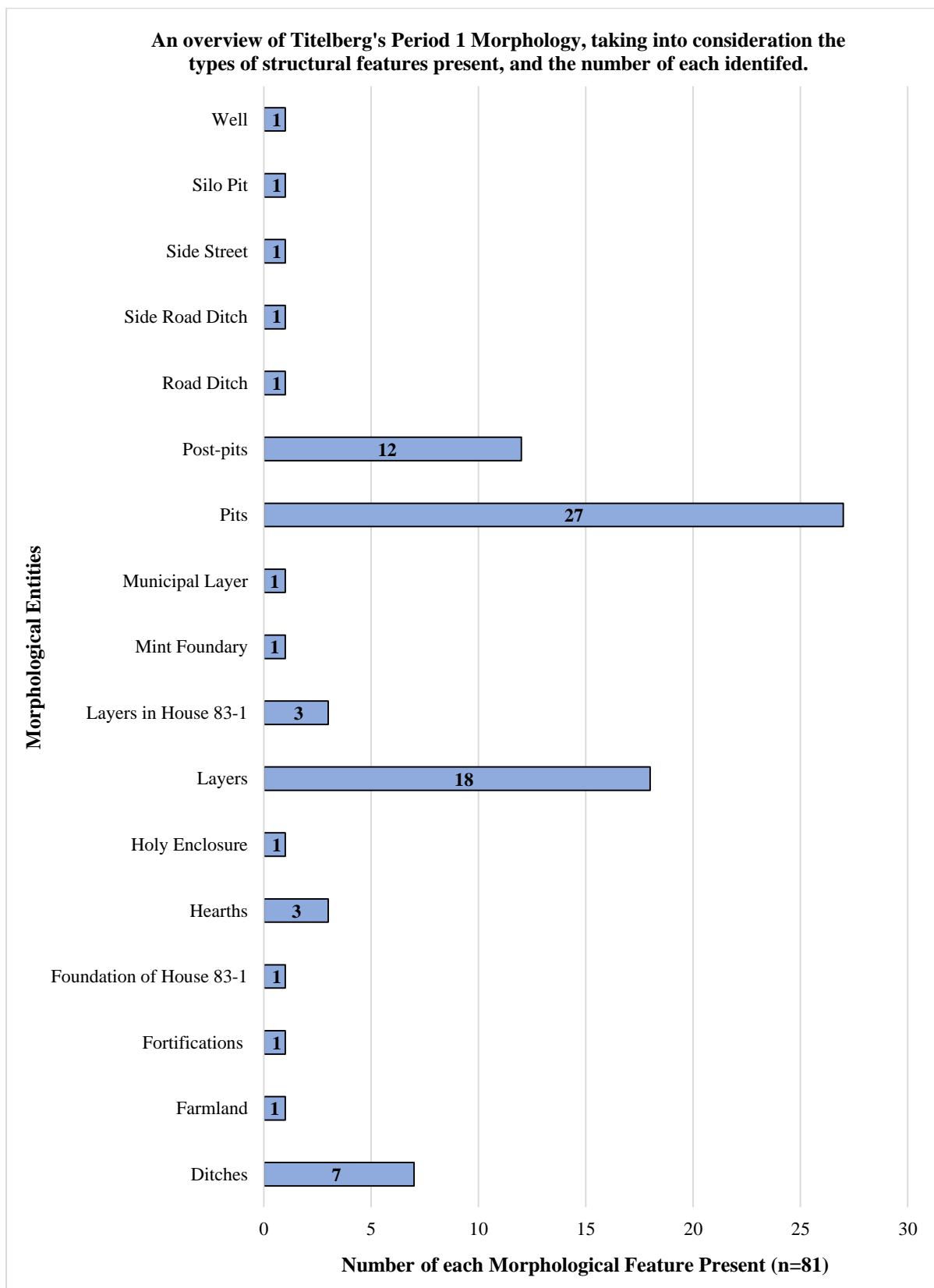


Figure 9.12: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

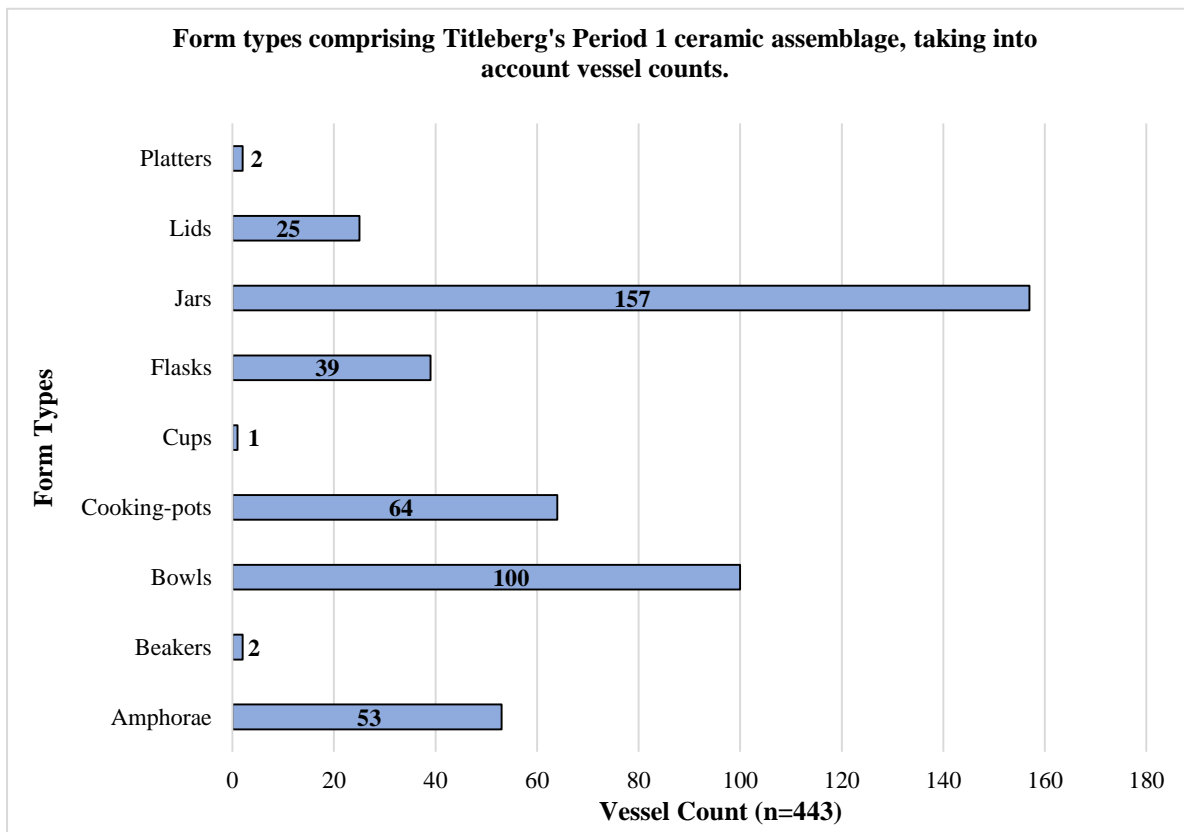


Figure 9.13: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995; Metzler *et al.* 1999.

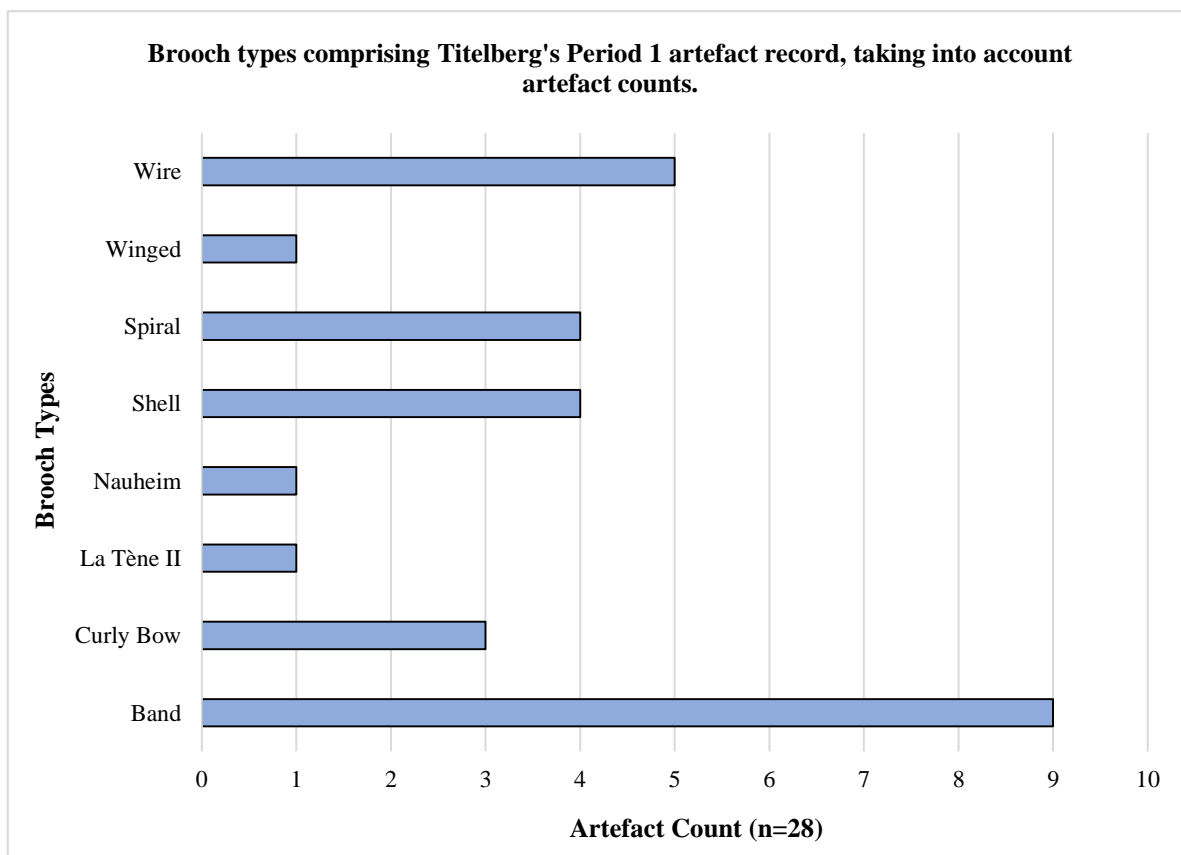


Figure 9.14: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995.

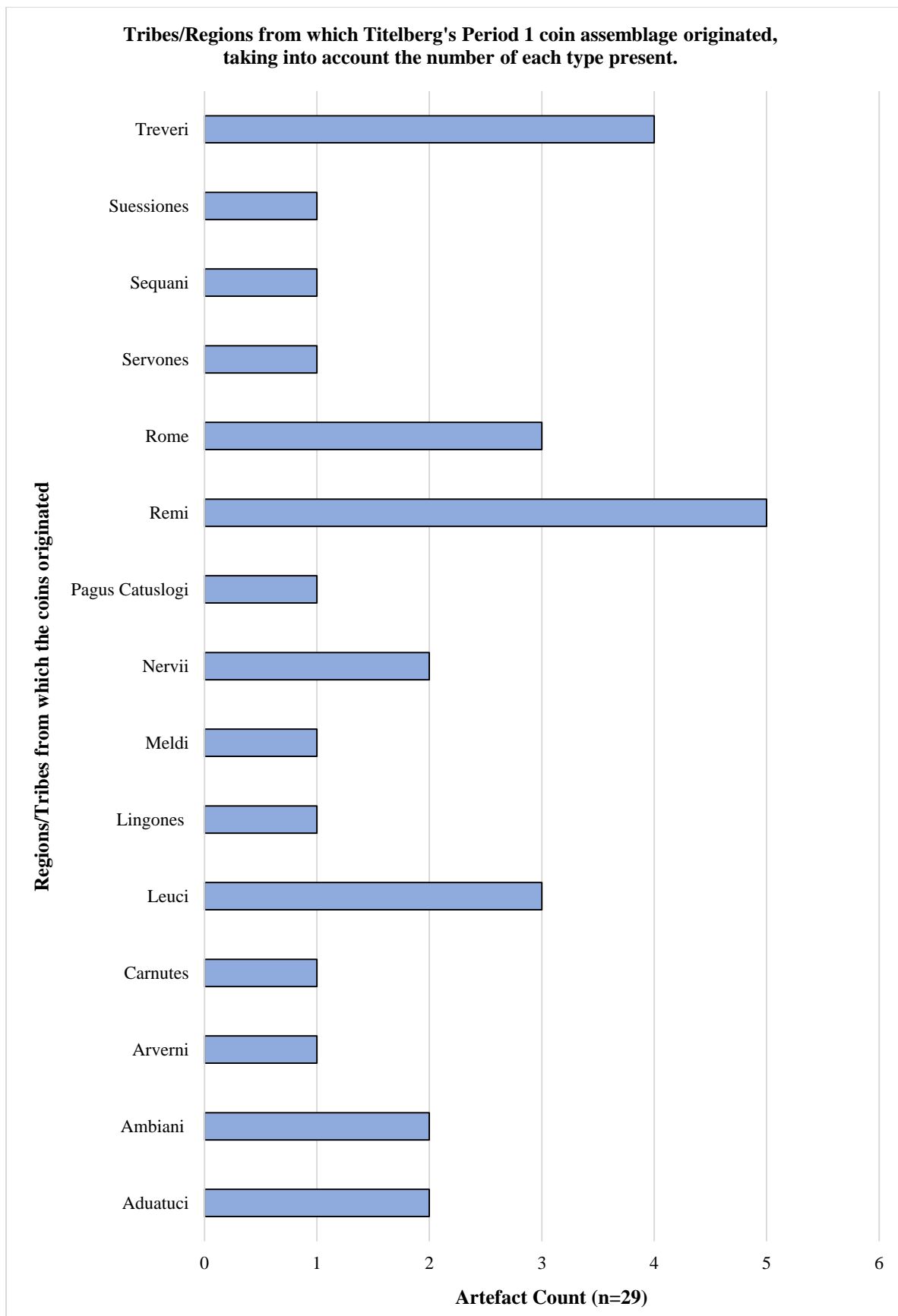


Figure 9.15: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995.

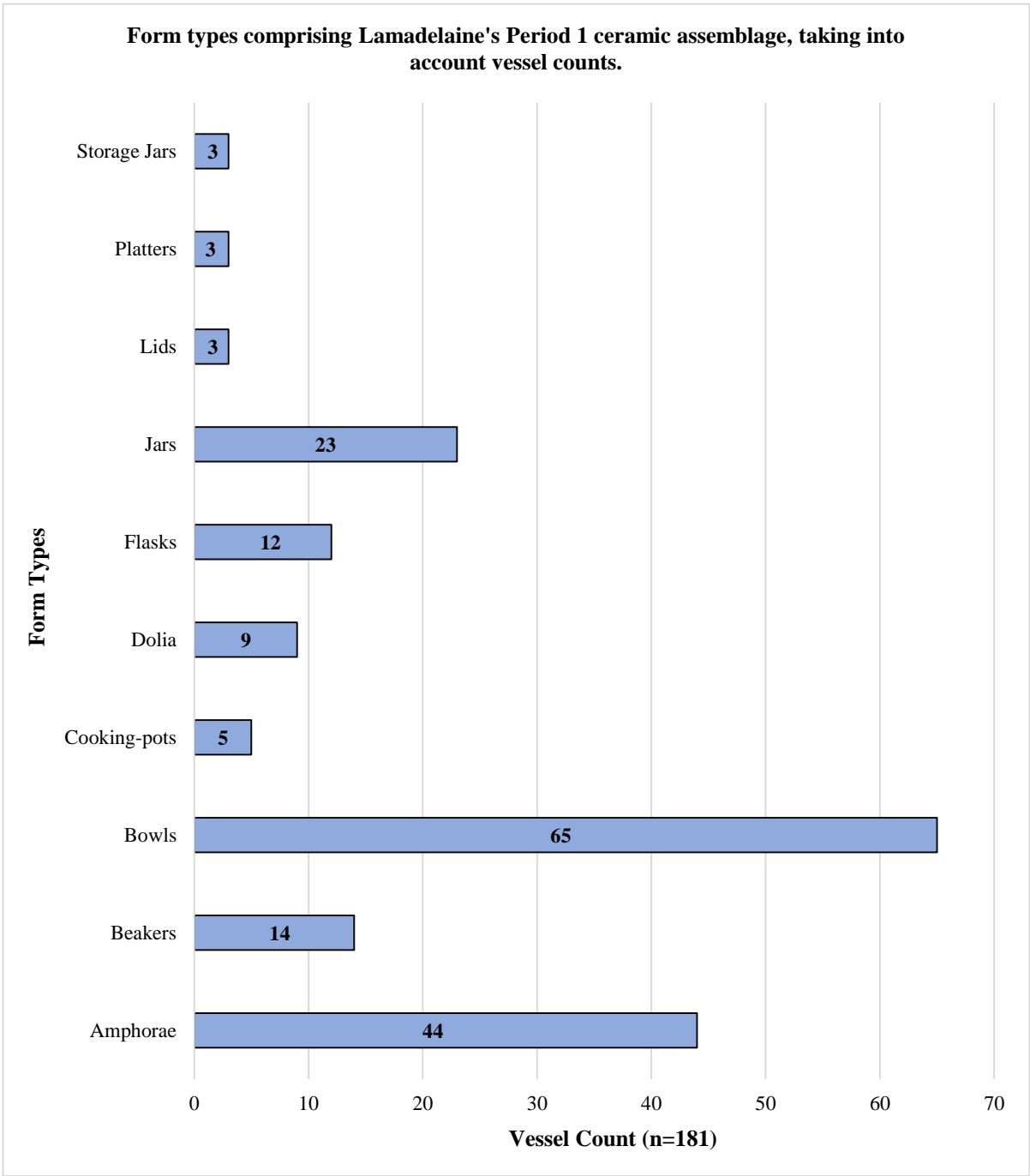


Figure 9.16: Based on information from Metzler *et al.* 1999.

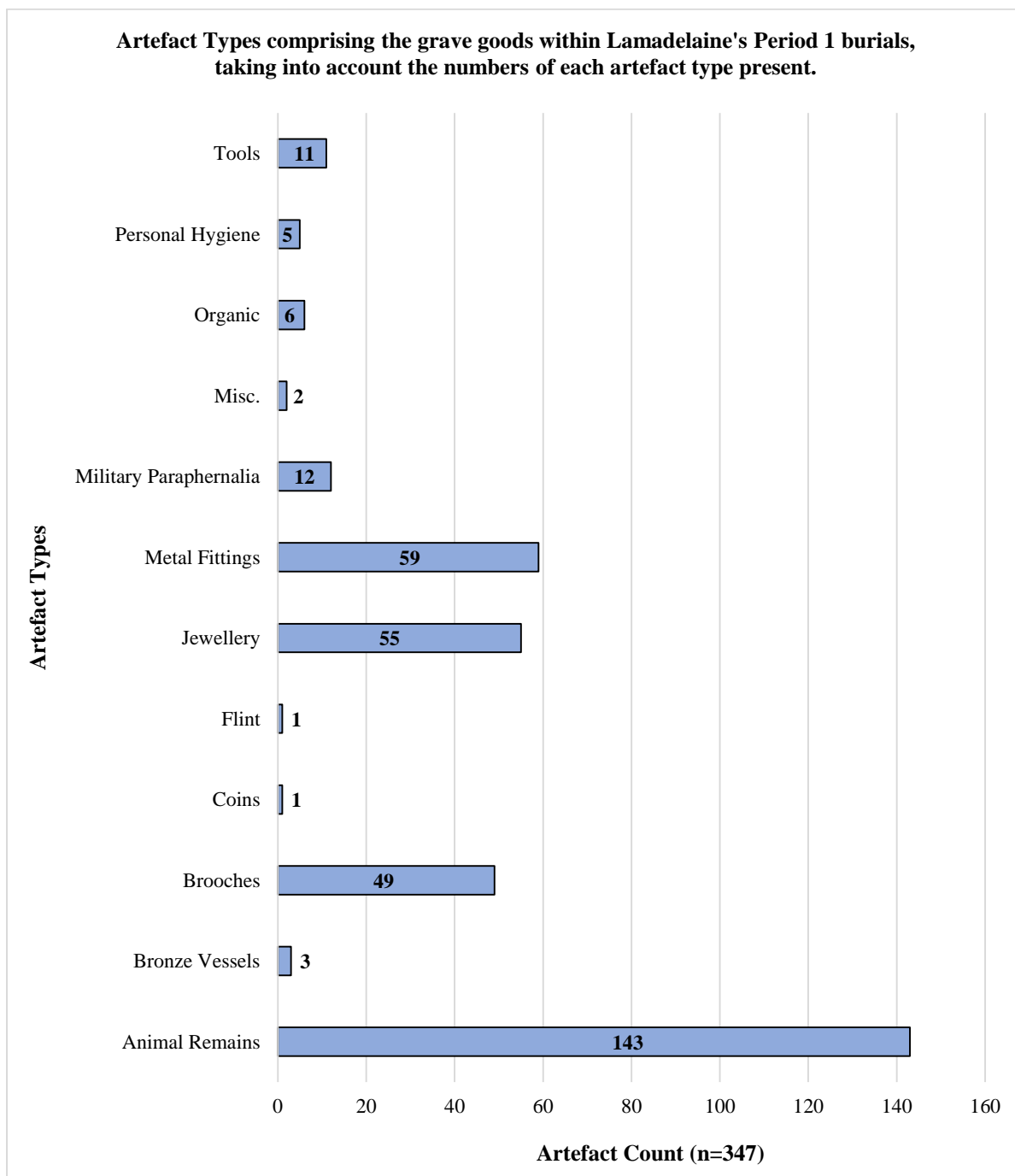


Figure 9.17: Based on information from Metzler *et al.* 1999.

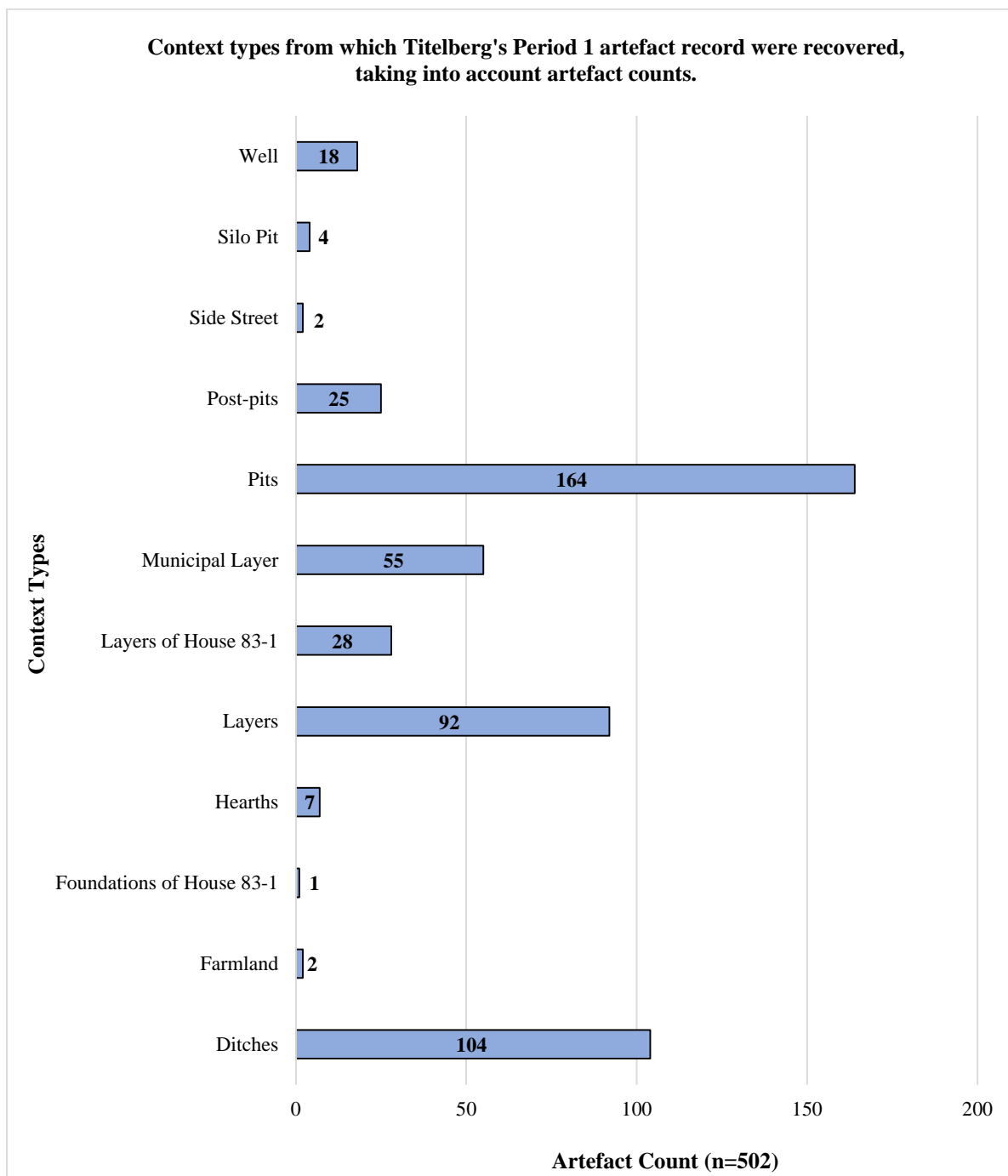


Figure 9.18: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

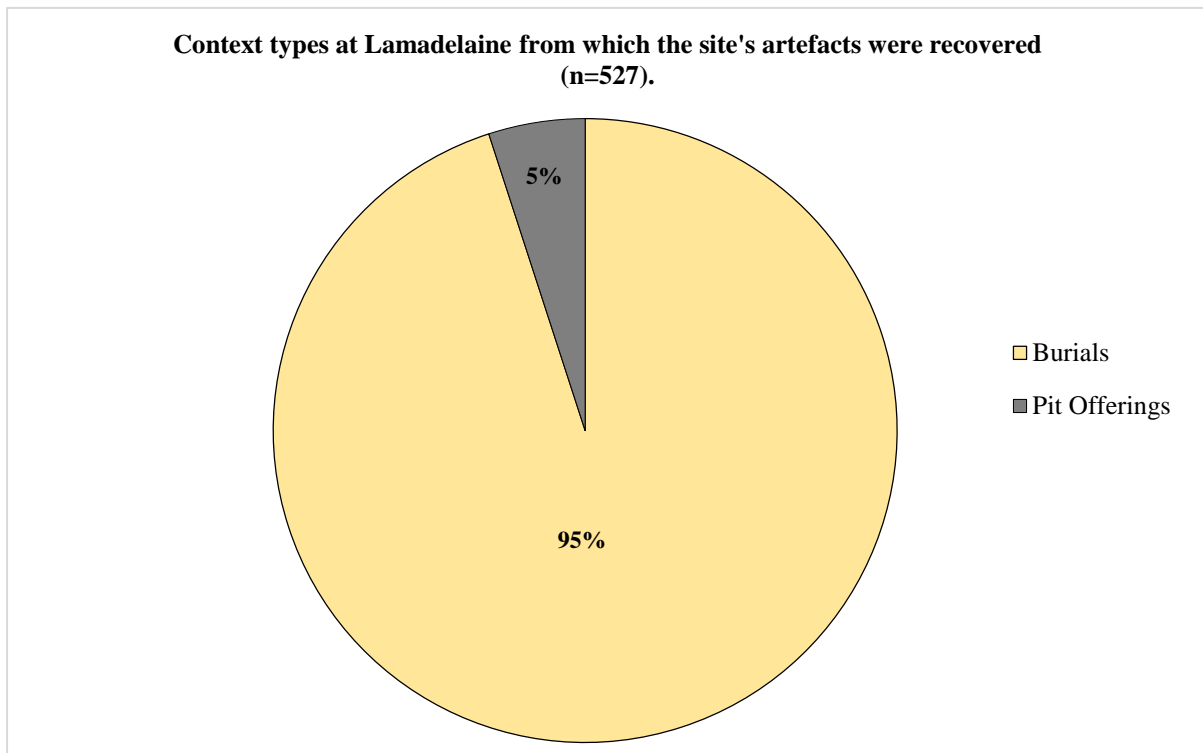


Figure 9.19: Based on information from Metzler *et al.* 1999.

Finally, unless specified within the figures/appendices noted above the evidence detailed within the current chapter was identified/recovered during the seasons of excavation noted in the introduction to Chapter 9.3. This was then compiled into the aforementioned datasets, split by the author's chronological sequence, (Chapter 6.1), using the dates attributed to the data presented within the reports pertaining to these excavations; unless current thinking on the dates associated with the material present has in recent years altered.

9.3.1.2: An Analysis

As can be seen above, (Chapter 9.3.1.1), Period 1 occupation at Titelberg is represented by a rich archaeological record. Consequently, we must ask ourselves what this evidence can impart about the activities occurring at the site during its earliest later Iron Age occupation, (which based on the author's chronology spanned c.100 years³⁹); a question we will first approach through a consideration of the settlement morphology.

³⁹ In the case of Titelberg, the longevity of Period 1 is arguably best represented by the site's brooch assemblage which is extensive and demonstrates a number of changing fashions during this period with regards to dress accessories.

The 17 contexts into which this period's settlement morphology can be divided, represent a number of different activities. These activities, whilst numerous, (see Appendix 9.9), can be said to represent four essential Iron Age pastimes: domestic occupation, farming, industry, and the observing of religious/ritual ceremonies.⁴⁰ Consequently, Titelberg's morphology would have enabled the site's residents a certain degree of self-sufficiency, while also seeing to it that they were able to provide for a local economy using the surplus generated through farming and industrial activities. Furthermore, the site's morphology tells us that Titelberg was able to care for the religious needs of its resident population and their neighbours, as well as provide protection, through its fortifications, during times of need.⁴¹

Conversely, one cannot base the above conclusions on the morphological entities alone, thus our attention turns to the site's ceramic assemblage. We will begin our contemplation of this evidence with a consideration of the basic form types utilised by the site's residents; of which there are nine (see Figure 9.13). Of these form types, four, (beakers, bowls, cooking-pots, and jars), are those we would typically associate with traditional Iron Age activities, (see Chapter 6.2.1); but in particular the consumption of food and drink within the domestic sphere (see Chapter 3.4.3). Unsurprisingly therefore, these form types, with the exception of beakers, were the most numerous within Titelberg's Period 1 ceramic assemblage (see Figure 9.13). Consequently, one can use these observations to support the suppositions about the site's use borne out of an analysis of the settlement morphology; with the possible exception of its religious importance. Therefore, these inferences can be said to thus far mark the site, and its occupation, as characteristically Iron Age in nature.

The aforementioned ceramic assemblage also tells us that from the very beginning of the site's occupation its inhabitants received/had access to imported amphorae, and that from c.80 BC⁴² they were also making use of form types more commonly associated with Roman dining habits; namely cups and platters (Sealey forthcoming a). These aspects of the ceramic assemblage

⁴⁰ See Chapter 3 for further details on traditional/typical Iron Age pastimes.

⁴¹ It should be noted here that while the settlement morphology available for consideration enables considerable insight into the nature of occupation at Titelberg between 150/100 and 55/50 BC, this evidence was collated during archaeological examinations of only a fraction of the site's plateau (see Figures 9.5-9.6). It is therefore possible that occupation at this time was more developed still than the picture gained through an analysis of the site's structural record and associated artefactual evidence.

⁴² The date of c.80 BC is derived from the information presented in Metzler 1995b in relation to the ceramic phases identified at Titelberg (1995b, 369-371), and transposed from the La Tène periods attributed to these phases using the same sources utilised for this process in Chapter 6.1.

allow us to deduce four things about the site's later Iron Age occupation, although points 3 and 4 could be considered synonymous:

1. that the local population had a taste for Italian wine,
2. that local merchants had an economic relationship with communities who imported and redistributed this product,⁴³
3. some members of Titelberg's population wished to emulate Roman dining habits;
4. these vessels, (namely the amphorae and Roman tablewares), were likely reserved for events of special significance/utilised by individuals with power to demonstrate their position within society.

In other words, those wishing to emulate Roman dining habits may also have been those who used these wares as visual representations of their social standing. Furthermore, it is equally noteworthy that none of the above practices are unique to Titelberg; there are many sites across both Britain and Temperate Europe that have produced amphorae, (including a number of Titelberg's contemporaneous *oppida*, such as Colchester (see Chapter 7.3), Canterbury (see Chapter 10.3), Aulnat (Collis 1983 *cf.* Collin 1998, 141), Corent (Poux 2014b, 172-173; Poux *et al.* 2014, 117-133; Pranyies 2014, 196-197), and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Hénon 1995 *cf.* Collin 1998, 167)); and almost as many that show signs of having made use of wares more commonly associated with Roman customs, probably as a result of these latter vessels being moved/traded in association with amphorae (see Sealey 1985a, 105, 1985b, 99).

Some 12 context types bore ceramic vessels, (see Figure 9.18), of which pits and ditches were the most prolific. This observation is, in many ways, unsurprising because these contexts are those most commonly associated with the deposition of waste on Iron Age settlements (see Chapter 6.2.2); thus supporting earlier conclusions about Period 1 occupation at Titelberg conforming to traditional Iron Age pursuits (see page 311). Moreover, the occupation layers, and that labelled the 'municipal layer', also produced a fair proportion of the site's ceramic assemblage, (see Figure 9.18), further suggesting that the site conformed to traditional Iron Age practices, (that is a combination of domestic occupation, farming pursuits, and craft production (see Chapter 3.4)), in other words, the recovery of this materials from these contexts

⁴³ As has been discussed elsewhere in the thesis, see Chapter 7.3.1.2, the presence of vessels from Italy is not necessarily indicative of a direct trading relationship between the settlements under consideration and the vessels region of origin; instead they were likely obtained from redistribution centres in Gaul.

cannot be said to highlight atypical use of the site's ceramic assemblage.⁴⁴ Can the same be said of the results acquired from an analysis of the ceramic vessels' origins?

Figures 9.20-9.21 illustrate that locally produced vessels far outnumber those imported from elsewhere in Temperate Europe. Before we ponder what this means for our understanding of Period 1 occupation at Titelberg, it is important to note that the locally produced vessels were manufactured at the site itself in two very distinctive fabrics; one contained inclusions of mica, and the other locally occurring limestone containing shell (Metzler 1995a, 13); a conclusion that is reached based on geological studies that highlight this limestone as a regional commodity for the occupants of Titelberg (*ibid*, 13). With this in mind we turn our attention to what this evidence imparts about occupation at Titelberg.

If we transpose the data presented in Figure 9.20 into percentages, it becomes evident that locally produced ceramics comprise 89% of the ceramic assemblage. This tells us that local potteries fulfilled the majority of Titelberg's ceramic needs. Furthermore, these ceramics allow us to determine the capabilities of Titelberg's Period 1 potteries. From Figure 9.22 it is evident that these potteries were capable of manufacturing 8 of the 9 form types utilised by the site's occupants at this time, the only exception being the amphorae for which the occupants of the site were apparently happy to rely upon trading relationships to obtain, which could also speak of the value of imported pottery to certain cultural practices Titelberg's occupants may have engaged in (see pages 311-312).

Consequently, this evidence, (the locally produced vessels), suggests that local potters were capable of manufacturing form types one would typically consider Roman tablewares. Furthermore, as these vessels predate both Caesar's conquest of Gaul and the importation of fine wares it seems probable that they were adopted independently of the cultures we would expect them to represent should they have been found on Roman sites/sites with Roman connections; because as Okun notes 'a new type of pottery does not necessarily mean that the associated culture [was] adopted along with the pottery.' (1989, 45). In fact, it seems likely that the adoption of these forms was a response to local factors such as the adoption of new

⁴⁴ Atypical use would be evidenced through data suggesting that this material was reserved for use during events of social significance, and would be highlighted by the presence of groups of ceramics, namely tablewares, recovered alongside meat bearing animal bones, (and other artefacts that could denote feasting), from sealed contexts that are absent other domestic artefacts.

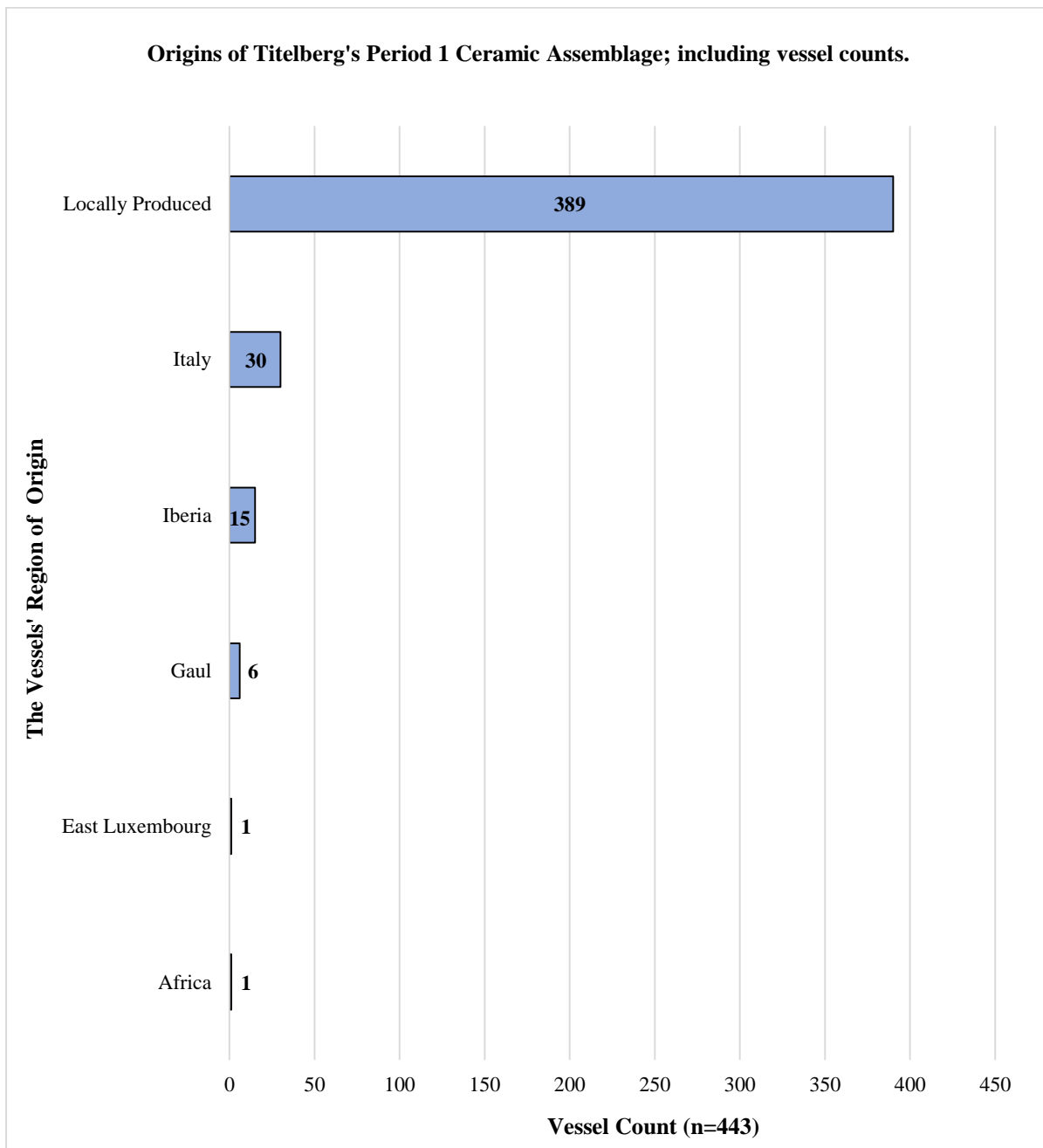


Figure 9.20: NB: the vessels from Africa, Iberia, and Italy were amphorae. Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b; Metzler *et al.* 1999.

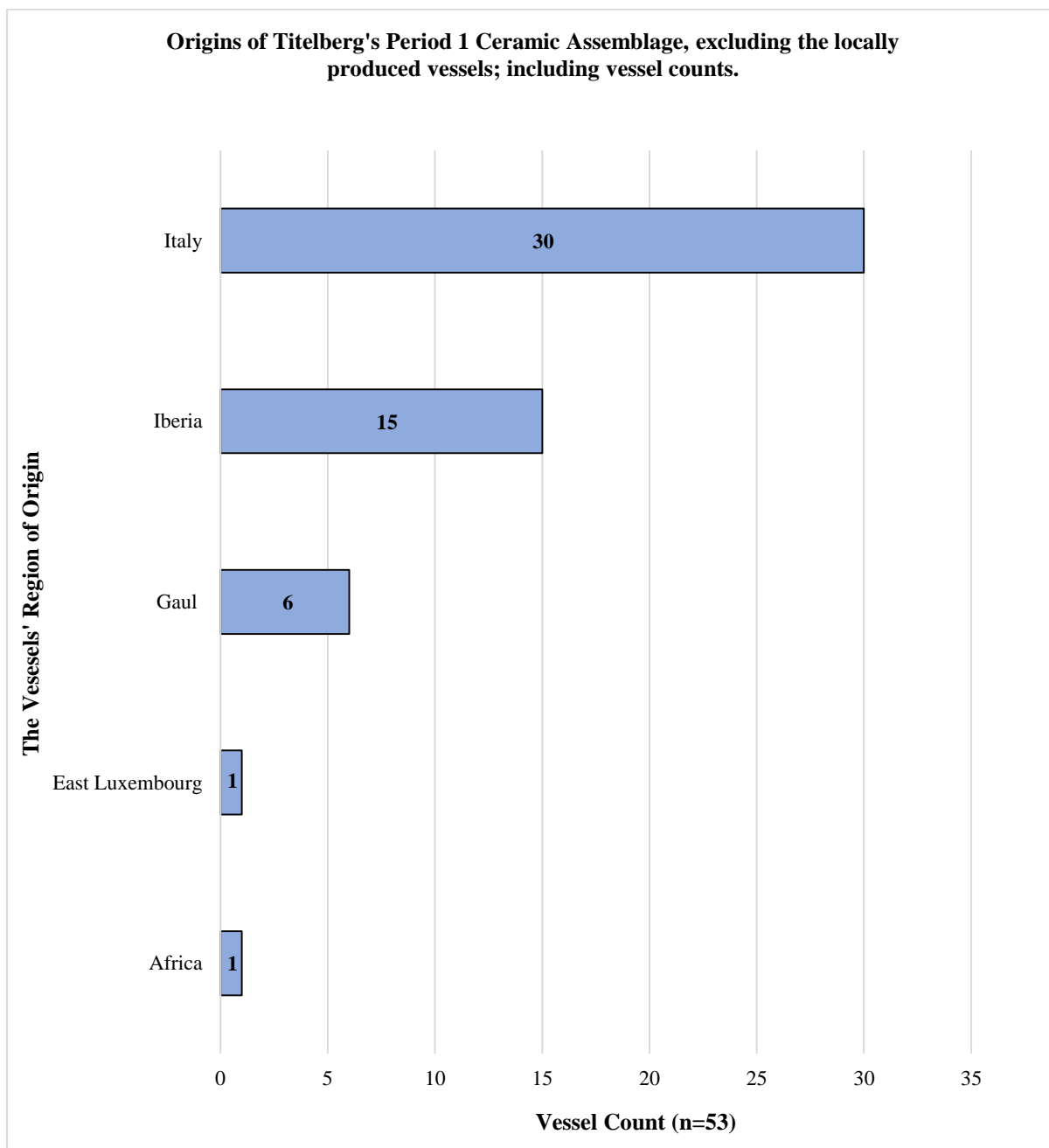


Figure 9.21: NB: the vessels from Africa, Iberia, and Italy were amphorae. Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b; Metzler *et al.* 1999.

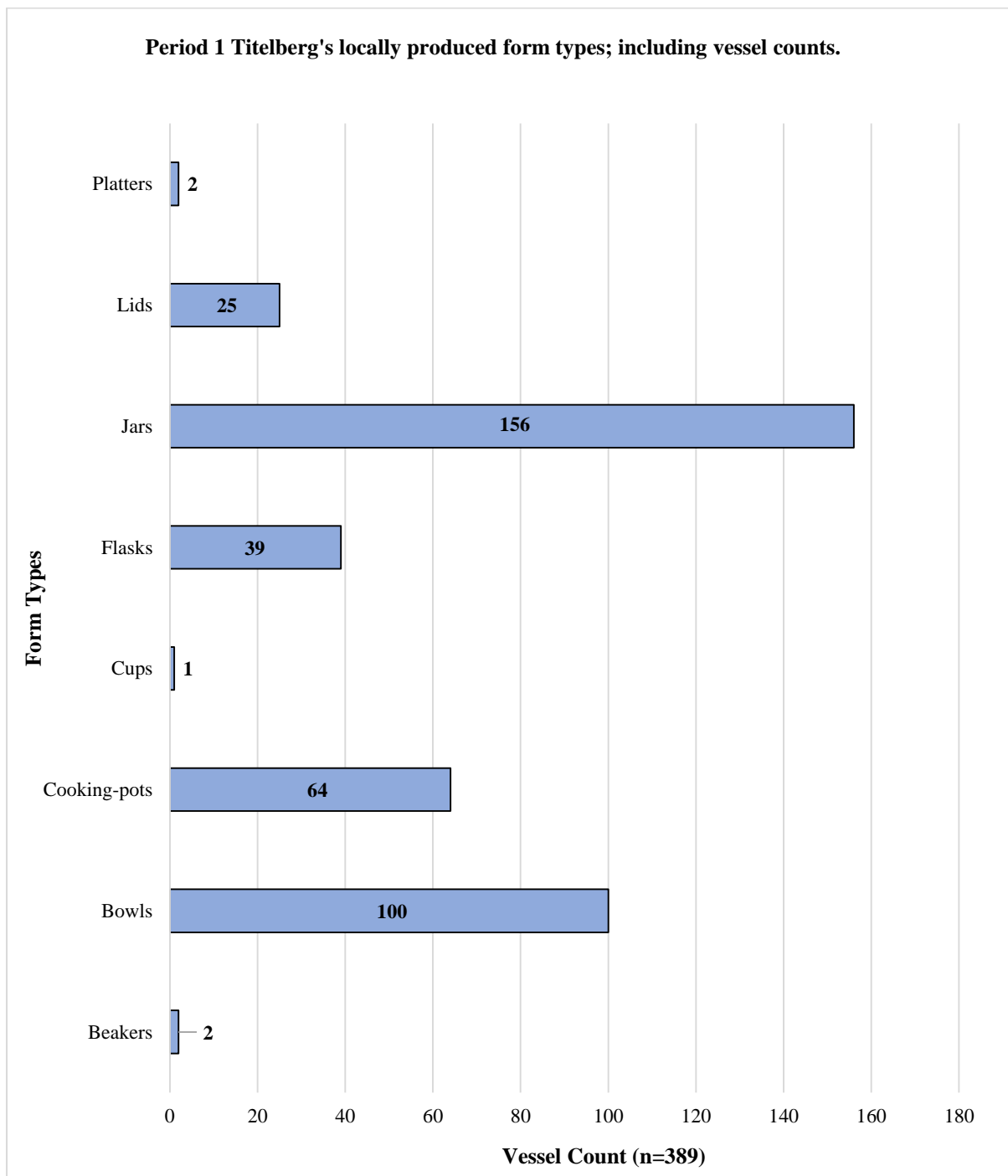


Figure 9.22: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b; Metzler *et al.* 1999.

foods and drinks (*ibid*, 50), such as those likely to have entered the site within the period's amphorae. Therefore, one can conclude that in addition to representing natural social developments at the site, this observation further portrays Titelberg as a relatively self-sufficient settlement whose population was not reliant upon external sources for those products they used on a daily basis. Had they done so 89% of the sites' ceramic assemblage would not be manufactured on-site, and those forms, excepting the amphorae, that are more commonly associated with Roman populations would have been imported from sites in southern Gaul, such as Nabonne, where these wares are known to have been circulated at this time (Collin 1998, 120).

The presence of imported wares on-the-other-hand, (see Figure 9.20-9.21), tells us that some members of the local population desired the use of 'foreign' vessels, even though they were apparently superfluous. These vessels, which comprise 53 amphorae and 1 jar, originated from five regions, (see Figures 9.20-9.21), highlighting the possible communities with whom Titelberg traded; although it is most likely that these vessels entered the site by way of a distribution centre elsewhere in Gaul, just as similar products did when they were shipped to Britain (see Chapter 4.2-4.3). Furthermore, in addition to representing possible trading relationships these vessels allow us greater insight into Titelberg's resident population because they were apparently surplus to requirement in terms of being imported when all other vessels utilised at this time, even those in non-native forms, were manufactured on-site. Therefore, it is possible that there were certain social situations/cultural practices where the use of imports was required/desired by their participants and as such a consideration of these vessels allows us to consider the nuances of a site's population as well as the activities they engaged in.

Imported vessels are typically linked to two activities; conspicuous consumption and communal celebrations (see Chapter 5.3). Moreover, these vessels' contexts of origin, (see Appendix 9.10), can be said to support these inferences, because alongside the imported vessels were those ceramics one would expect to find in special deposits, namely those which can be said to represent feasting paraphernalia. Conversely, this is not to say that we can rule out the possibility that these vessels found their way into these contexts as a result of traditional activities associated with domestic occupation, particularly as these contexts, (e.g. pits, ditches, and occupation layers (see Appendix 9.10)), are those we would associate with later Iron Age refuse deposits (see Chapter 6.2.2). However, given the 'completeness' of these deposits, (in terms of the vessels it contained and their association with feasting assemblages), it can be said

that the assemblages comprising amphorae, and other imports, were representative of either conspicuous consumption or communal celebrations, and as such allow us to say that Titelberg's resident population was likely stratified and followed the later Iron Age practice of utilising the consumption of food and drink to maintain social cohesion (see Chapter 3.2).

Consequently, Titelberg's Period 1 ceramic assemblage can be said to confirm, and further, those conclusions drawn from the settlement morphology. These artefacts continue to portray those activities most commonly associated with Iron Age occupation, while also providing insight into a prolific ceramic industry and some of the more allusive social practices of the Iron Age period.

In addition to the above, Period 1 artefacts recovered at Titelberg comprised brooches, coins, and bronze-working debris; the latter of which can be said to only provide evidence for bronze-smithing at the site, while the brooches and coins provide insight into a number of different activities, including industry. From Figures 9.23-9.24 it is evident that many of the brooches and coins were manufactured locally. The most likely area of the plateau given over to this activity is that associated with the 'Foundation House' (see Figure 9.25), which has produced evidence to suggest it was a mint (Thomas *et al.* 1976; Rowlett *et al.* 1982). Consequently, this evidence may demonstrate the range of artefacts local craftsmen were capable of manufacturing for both local consumption and trade with external communities.

Moreover, these artefacts can be said to further earlier conclusions of economic relationships between Titelberg's merchants and their Gallic counterparts. However, one must bear in mind that Gallic coins, (see Figure 9.24), may not have reached Titelberg as a result of economic relationships, but as physical tokens exchanged to symbolise newly forged social relationships (see Chapter 6.2.4), just as their counterparts at Colchester are believed to have been (see Chapter 7.3.1.2). This inference can be sustained, because there are fewer locally produced coins, (i.e. those minted in the name of the Treveri) circulating Titelberg at this time, than Gallic imports (see Figure 9.15)). Had the coinage in circulation been used as currency to make purchases at the site we would expect this distribution to be reversed as the site's occupants, as well as the occupants of the Titelberg's Treveran hinterland who are likely to have visited the site for access to imports (Roymans 1990, 162), are far more likely to have possessed the coinage of the Treveri than other tribes in Gaul.

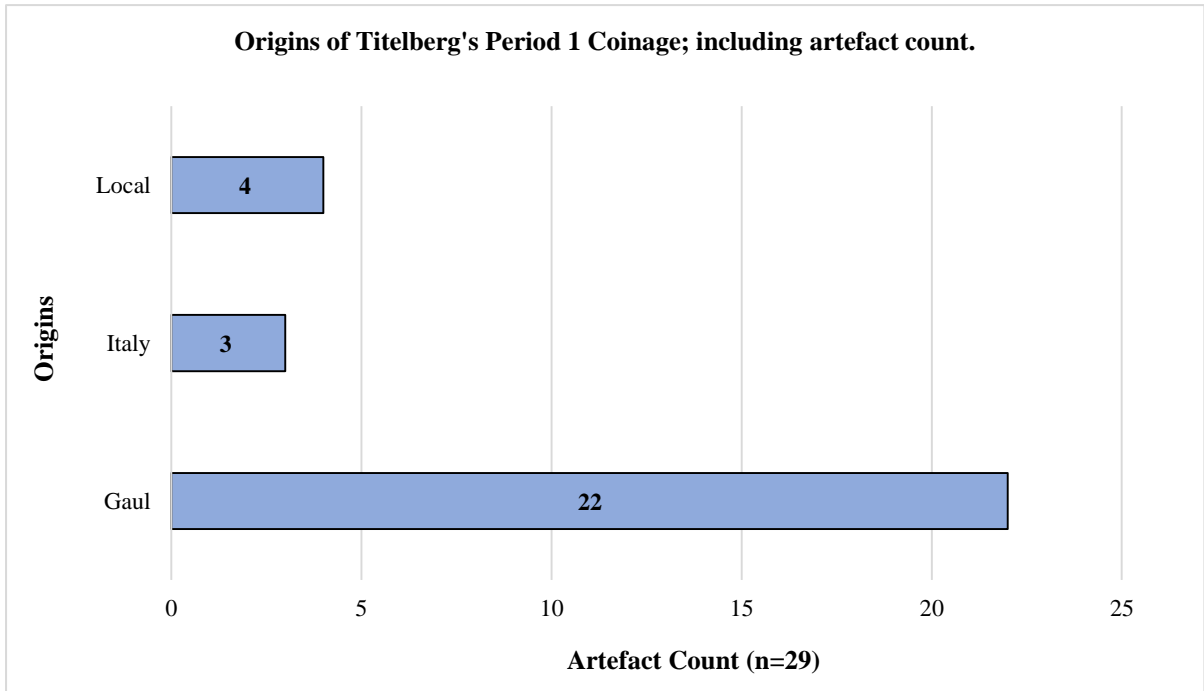


Figure 9.23: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

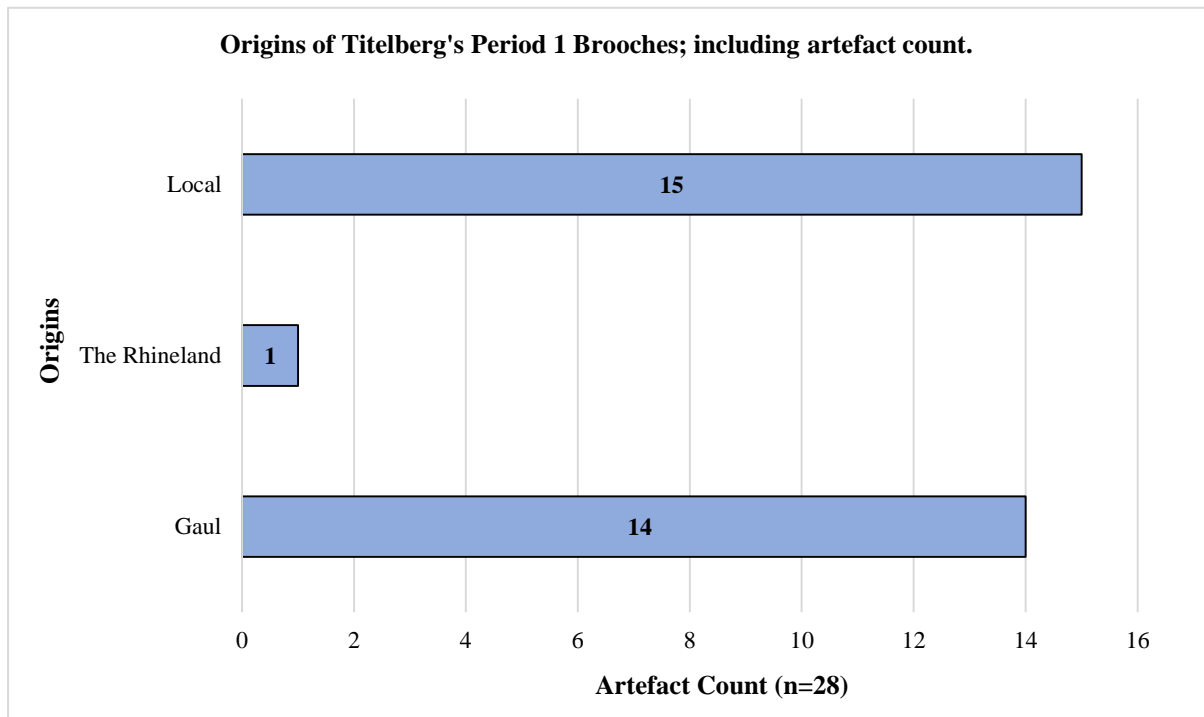


Figure 9.24: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.



Figure 9.25: Plan of Titelberg showing the location of the foundation house on the plateau (a plan of this feature, and its excavations can be seen in Figure 9.7) (After Thomas *et al.* 1976, Fig. 1).

Furthermore, these artefacts provide insight into the brooches used by Titelberg's earliest population to pin together clothing, with those of foreign origin, (that is those that were not manufactured at Titelberg or within its immediate vicinity), possibly being reserved for individuals of power (see Chapter 6.2.3). This latter point can be made because local craftsmen were evidently capable of manufacturing a range of brooches, (see Figure 9.23/Appendix 9.11), therefore, those of Gallic origin were superfluous and likely utilised by those wishing to differentiate themselves within the local community.

Similarly, locally produced coinage can be said to represent identity, but in this instance the identity of the local region, (namely that overseen by the Treveri (Collis 1984a, 149; Reading 1972; Rowlett *et al.* 1982, 302; Thomas *et al.* 1976, 248)), rather than just one individual or community as many other Iron Age coins are believed to have been (Creighton 2000). Consequently, this evidence highlights the existence of skilled craftsmen, individuals of power who differentiated themselves through conspicuous consumption, whilst also depicting

Titelberg itself as a settlement of status. This latter inference was reached because surely only a settlement of considerable importance would be selected to produce its region's coinage; an importance Titelberg likely gained through its economy. Conversely, as Metzler has pondered the possibility that Martberg may also have been responsible for the minting of some of the Treveri's coinage (1995a, 152), while some of the tribes silver coins may have been minted at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain at Soissons (*ibid*, 148), one has to be cautious of the extent to which they favour this conclusion despite Titelberg being associated with the greatest number of this tribe's coinage.

It was however not only artefacts from Titelberg that provided insight into the site's Period 1 occupation, but evidence from the cemetery of Lamadelaine too. As was noted above, Chapter 9.3.1.1, Period 1 use of Lamadelaine is represented by 31 burials, 7 pit offerings, 181 ceramic vessels, and 347 additional artefacts, all of which were deposited during the funerary celebrations observed by the local population.

The aforementioned ceramic vessels, (see Figure 9.16), are those one would associate with the consumption of food and drink and therefore likely denote feasting paraphernalia used during feasts to celebrate the deceased's life. Moreover, their inclusion can be said to represent the same three burial rites as were observed later at both the Lexden Tumulus and Stanway cemetery in Colchester, (see Chapter 7.3.3.2 and 7.3.4.2), as well as at the sites of Folly Lane (Niblett 1993; 1999), *Verulamium*, more specifically the King Harry Lane Cemetery (Stead and Rigby 1989), and Welwyn (Stead 1967) in Hertfordshire, Clemency, in Gallia-Belgia (Fichtl 2003; 2005; Metzler 1995a; Metzler *et al.* 1991), and Acy-Romance in Gaul (Haselgrove 2007, 497, Fig. 6; Lambot 1998b; 2002; 2011; Lambot *et al.* 1994 *cf.* Haselgrove 2007, 497; Lambot and Méniel 2000, 104-120 *cf.* Haselgrove 2007, 497). Consequently, the similarities between these sites' burials/cemeteries tell us that some cultural practices, namely those associated with burials, were relatively widespread across south-east Britain and some areas of Temperate Europe.

These same vessels can also further our understanding of Titelberg's resident population and economy, because only two regions produced the ceramics found within the Period 1 burials at Lamadelaine: Titelberg and Italy (see Figure 9.26). Consequently, Metzler *et al.*'s (1999) belief that Lamadelaine was not a cemetery reserved solely for the elite can be viewed as viable because typically these individuals' burials contained more imported wares than vessels

manufactured by local potteries, the Lexden Tumulus and Stanway Cemetery are two casing examples (see Chapter 7.3.3.2 and 7.3.4.2); although, some of these burials may have contained individuals who had had more power than others within the local community.

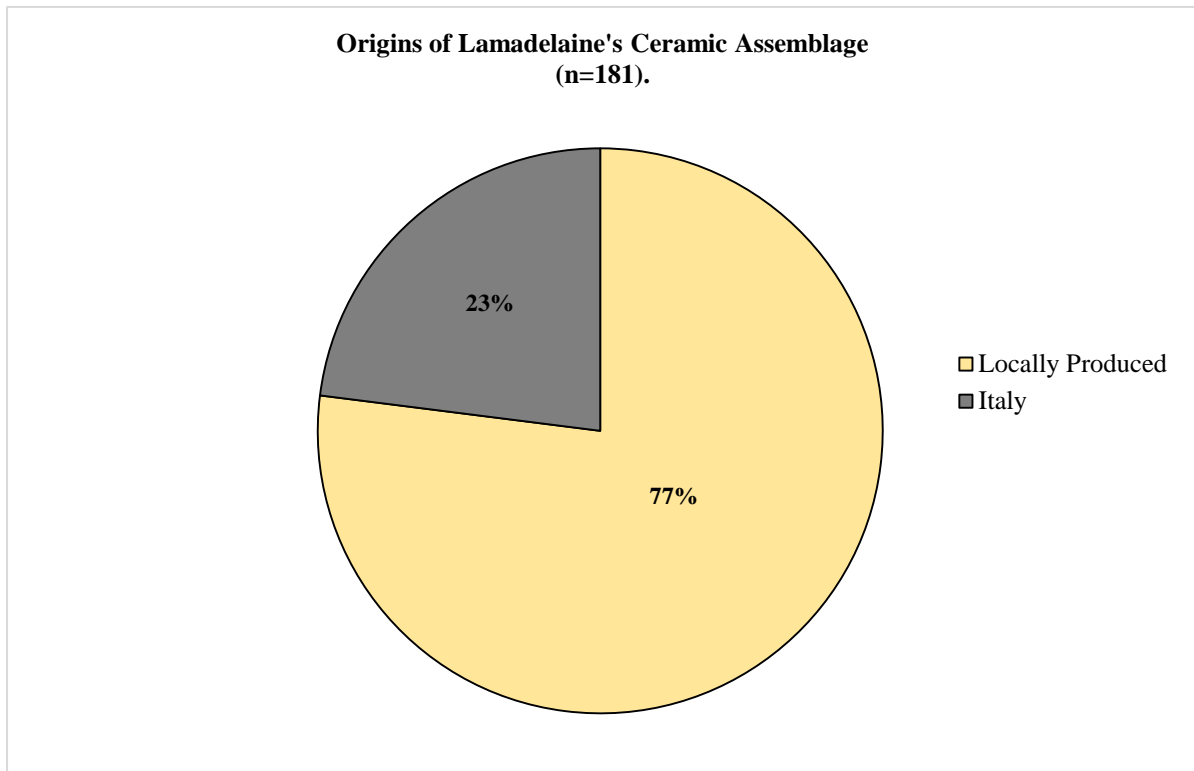


Figure 9.26: Based on information from Metzler *et al.* 1999

Figure 9.27 demonstrates that form types more commonly associated with Roman dining habits were infrequent within Lamadelaine's ceramic assemblage, just as they were in Titelberg's. The author believes that the limited number of these vessels within the burials is indicative of them having belonged to individuals of status, (even though they were manufactured in local fabrics), much as those present on the plateau did; with their deposition within these features suggesting they were taken out of circulation to prevent them and the status they represented passing to another individual.

Conversely, it is possible that these vessels, along with the amphorae, were deposited within the burials because they 'amplified' the burial rites noted above, just as it is suggested their counterparts at Colchester did (see Chapter 7.3.3.2). Furthermore, Lamadelaine's ceramic assemblage can also be said to support earlier conclusions of Titelberg's economy, as it too demonstrates the prolific nature of the site's potteries during Period 1 and the potters' ability

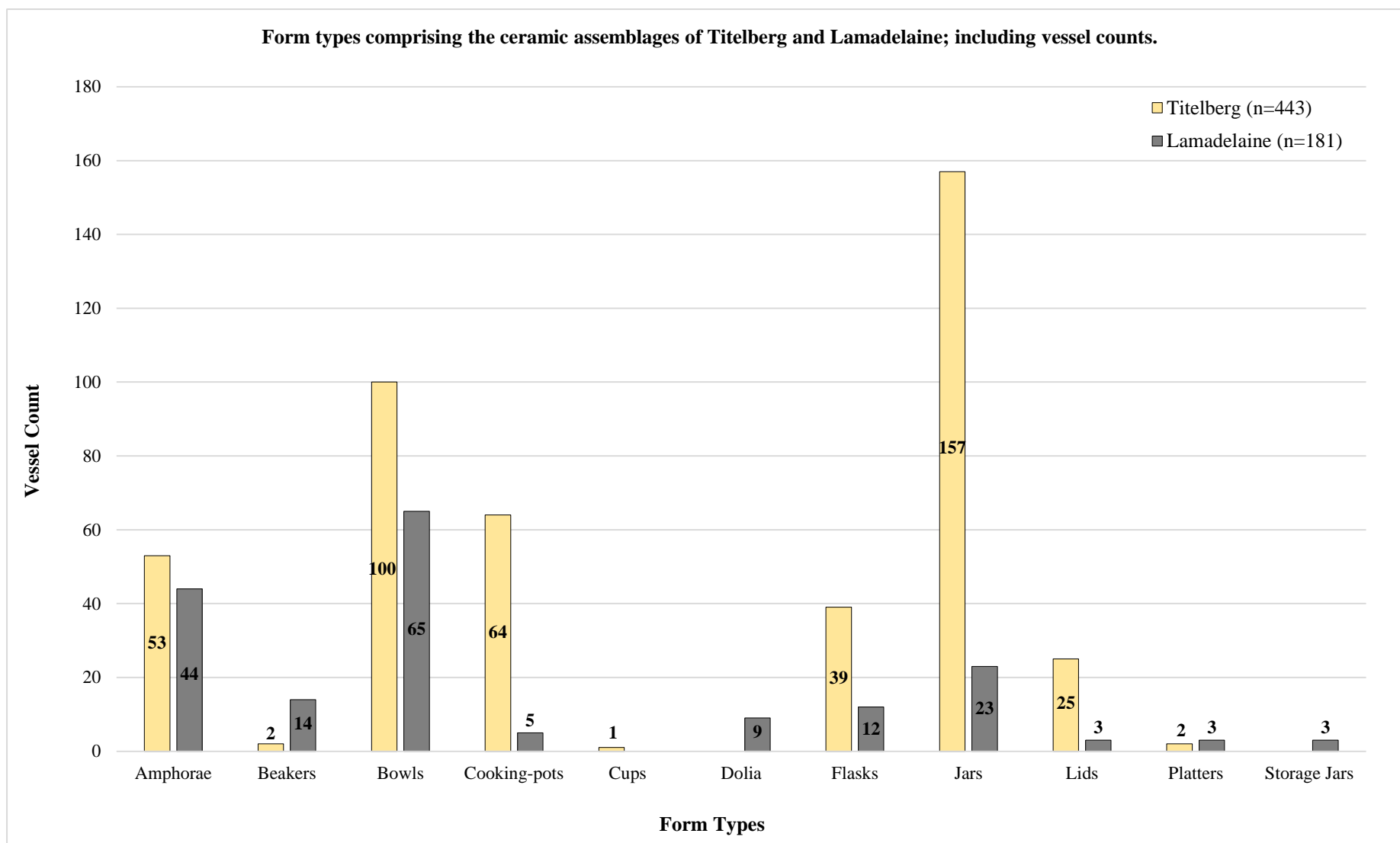


Figure 9.27: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b; Metzler *et al.* 1999.

to produce both traditional and non-traditional vessels; while the amphorae from both Titelberg and Lamadelaine demonstrate the solid trading relationships forged between the merchants of Titelberg and Gaul.

Figure 9.18 documents the 12 sub-categories into which the grave goods can be divided; all of which impart further information about the funerary practices observed at Lamadelaine and the activities occurring at Titelberg. Animal remains are numerous and well dispersed across the cemetery suggesting their presence was crucial to the burial rites observed by the local community. Those bones displaying evidence of butchery likely came from meat bearing joints consumed by mourners during funerary feasts, while those absent these marks were probably offerings designed to enable the deceased to partake in the funerary feast; just as Metzler *et al.* have suggested (1999, 388). Furthermore, the author believes that these remains were included within the burials to fulfil the same burial rites as the ceramic vessels, see page 321; with some of these animals having fulfilled these rites as sacrifices offered directly to the deceased and/or deities, thus explaining why some animal's skeletons are better represented than others. Consequently, some animals are more likely to have been sacrificed than others, namely the boars and horses, because these held significant positions in Iron Age ideologies (see Chapter 5.3). Finally, much of this evidence can also be said to highlight the livestock reared on, and around the base of, Titelberg, as well as those animals hunted for sport and displays of power (see Table 9.1).

Animal Species	Livestock	Animals with social significance	Count
Boar	N	Y	2
Cockerel/Rooster	Y	N	22
Dog/Puppy	N	Y	10
Goat	Y	N	8
Horse	N	Y	4
Ox	Y	N	12
Pig	Y ⁴⁵	Y	76

Table 9.1: This table provides a breakdown of the species present within the Period 1 graves at Lamadelaine, noting not only how many instances of each species occurred at the cemetery at this time, but whether these animals would be considered livestock, as well as whether they had social significance during the later Iron Age (information from Appendix 9.13).

⁴⁵ Although Iron Age peoples domesticated pigs, these were not livestock to the same extent that sheep and cattle were, as they were often allowed to roam wild in pre-defined areas of a site, especially if there was woodland cover available for such a use (Cunliffe 2005, 415 – 417; Maltby 1994, 9; 1996, 20).

It is not only the animal remains that allow us insight into the funerary rites observed at Lamadelaine, so too do the bronze vessels. These vessels fulfilled the aforementioned burial rites in much the same way as their ceramic counterparts, see page 321. Furthermore, we have to wonder whether the appearance of these vessels is representative of individuals of power. The infrequency of these vessels, (see Figure 9.18), leads the author to surmise that they represent conspicuous consumption by those wishing to differentiate themselves within the local community; thus, they were likely placed within burials for the same reasons as those vessels most commonly associated with Roman dining habits, (see page 322).

The remaining artefacts, with the exception of the flint which the author believes to be residual, can be said to represent offerings designed to equip the deceased in death and/or appease local deities. Although this is all these artefacts can be said to depict with regards to the burial rites observed at Lamadelaine, there is much they can impart about the nature of Titelberg's occupation. However, as two of these categories mirror those in evidence at Titelberg, the brooches and coinage (see Figure 9.18), they will not be considered here as an analysis of this material revealed nothing that has not been discussed elsewhere within this thesis, see pages 318-321. Consequently our attention turns to those artefacts encompassed within the categories of jewellery and personal hygiene.

The term 'jewellery' covers artefacts such as: bracelets, rings, and beads that would have been used as personal adornments by the local population regardless of their gender. It is pertinent to note therefore that while it is unlikely this practice was limited to individuals of power, the wearing of jewellery manufactured in materials considered rare/rich for this period, namely glass, amber, and to some extent bronze, may have been. Figure 9.28 illustrates that much of the jewellery recovered from Period 1 burials at Lamadelaine was manufactured in bone, antler, and glass. The presence of jewellery manufactured in antler and bone tallies with our earlier suppositions that jewellery was not reserved solely for the elite, because this medium was probably readily available at Titelberg as a by-product of butchery. Amber, glass, and bronze on-the-other-hand were less frequently occurring, and consequently could be viewed as artefacts consumed conspicuously by those wishing to differentiate themselves within the local community.

Moreover, this evidence can be said to further our understanding of Titelberg's industries, while also reaffirming the site's strong economic integration with Gallic distribution systems.

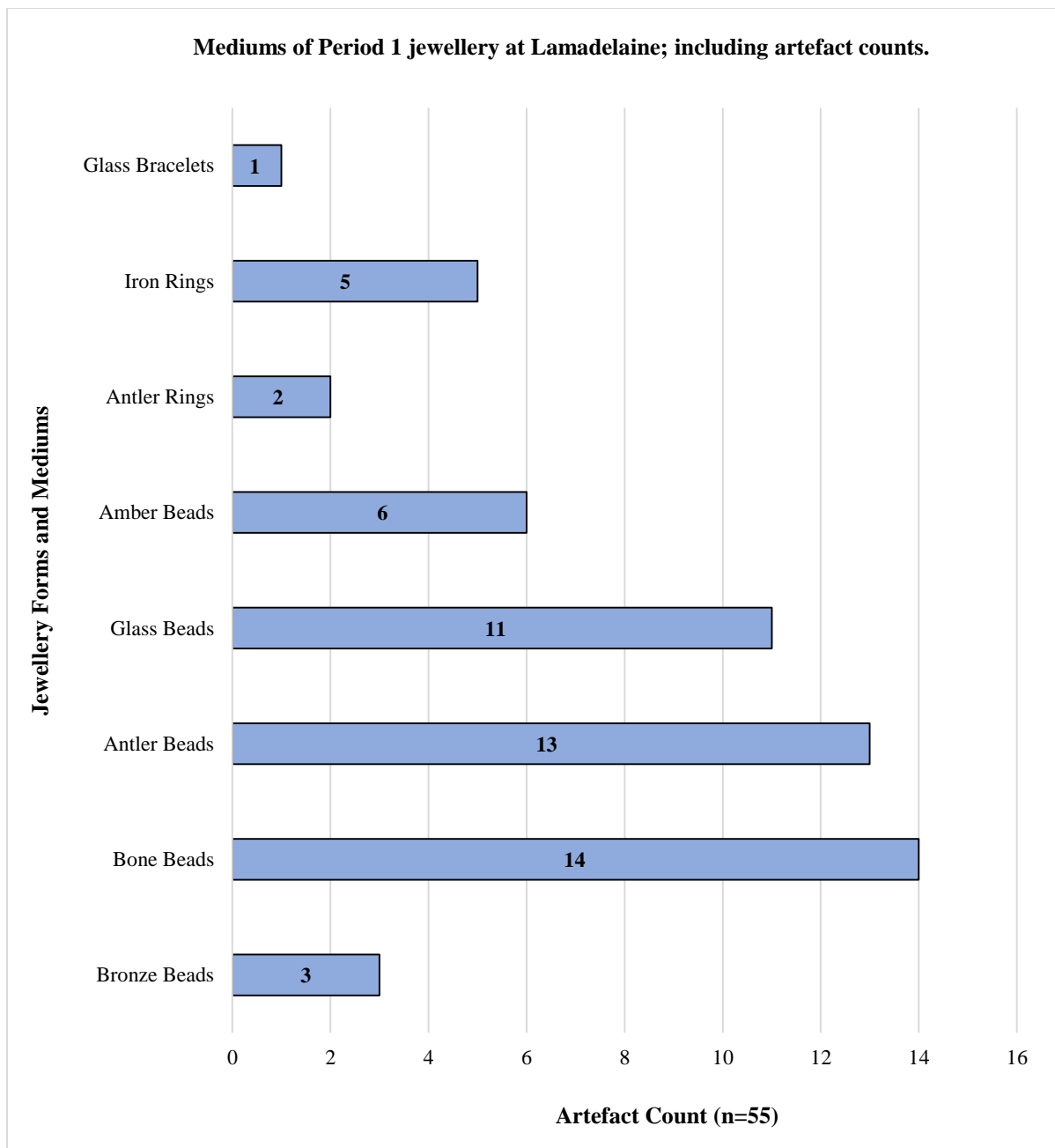


Figure 9.28: Based on information from Metzler *et al.* 1999.

It seems likely that the artefacts manufactured in bone, antler, and bronze were produced at Titelberg given its association with both bronze-working and the rearing of livestock (see pages 311, 318), while those appearing in amber and glass were likely imported as finished products from trading centres in Gaul, via the modes of exchange noted in Chapter 4.3, as there is no evidence at Titelberg to suggest that either of these materials were worked at the site. Similarly, those artefacts denoting personal hygiene manufactured in bronze and iron are likely to have been produced within the site's metalworking industries. These artefacts, which comprise: razors, nail clippers, and tweezers, suggest the local community took pride in their appearance,

and maintained a certain level of hygiene. This pastime is one that many sources attribute to the elite (see Chapter 5.4), the author however, believes, based on the artefacts recovered alongside those denoting personal hygiene, which do not lend themselves to this interpretation of the evidence, they were available to all who desired to make use of them.

Artefacts pertaining to personal hygiene are not the only tools to have been present within the Period 1 burials at Lamadelaine. These artefacts were accompanied by items such as: knives, chisels, shears, loom weights, and needles, all of which would have held a significant place within Titelberg's industries. The knives and shears are representative of previously discussed activities at Titelberg, arable and pastoral farming regimes, and thus will not be considered further here; the remaining artefacts, on-the-other-hand, denote previously unidentified industries: the chisels represent carpentry workshops, whilst the loom weights, needles, and to some extent the shears, denote textile production. Consequently, these artefacts further highlight the ways in which Titelberg's occupants maintained craft production. Furthermore, it is likely that surplus commodities manufactured through these industries were exchanged for the non-essential items consumed at Titelberg.

Meanwhile, the metal fittings recovered from Lamadelaine, that had, at one time or another, been affixed to grave furniture, (see Appendix 9.13), were manufactured locally, thus providing further insight into the range of products Titelberg's blacksmiths were manufacturing from the local iron ore.

The final artefacts, (weaponry), recovered from the burials of Period 1 date at Lamadelaine appear to have been manufactured locally,⁴⁶ (see Appendix 9.13), further representing the skills of Titelberg's craftsmen. Furthermore, these artefacts can be said to denote a warrior culture, just as similar artefacts at both Colchester (see Chapter 7.3.4.2) and Kelvedon (see Chapter 8.2.3) did. Conversely, although it is impossible to know whether these artefacts fulfilled a practical role, it is the general consensus that they were owned by individuals with power (see Chapter 5.3-5.4). It is therefore possible, that these artefacts mark out some of the individuals interred at Lamadelaine as being of a higher status than others; a possibility that conforms to Metzler *et al.*'s views on this material (1999, 380-381). Consequently, these artefacts can be

⁴⁶ We know that these items were manufactured at Titelberg because of their metal composition, which is said to mirror that associated with this site's later Iron Age metalworking industries (Metzler *et al.* 1999, 306).

said to highlight further similarities between Titelberg and its contemporaries in both Britain and Temperate Europe, a factor that will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 11.

9.3.1.3: A Summary

Based on the analysis presented above, Period 1 Titelberg can be said to have been characterised by a stratified population who engaged in much the same activities, (domestic occupation, farming, and industry), and displayed power in the same ways, as many Iron Age communities across both Britain and Temperate Europe at this time (see Chapters 3-5). However, of these pastimes it appears that the site had a particular proclivity towards industrial activities, as evidenced by the identification of ceramic, metalwork, and jewellery production, and a sizable quantity of these wares, at Titelberg itself (see pages 313, 318, 325); which likely explains its ability not only to support the majority of its occupants needs on-site, but to procure items from the wider Gallic landscape. The early use of the 'Foundation House' to produce coinage for the local tribe meanwhile, tells us that Titelberg's prominent industries were probably also responsible for the site's position, and status, within its hinterland.

Further to the above, the prominence of the 'Holy Enclosure' during Period 1 allows us to surmise that Titelberg's role as a religious centre was also a defining characteristic of the site's existence at this time. It can therefore be concluded that current thinking on Titelberg, (Chapter 9.2), tallies with the author's analysis of Period 1 occupation at the site.

Additionally, it should be noted that the activities supported by Titelberg at this time likely go some way in both supporting the site's labelling as an *oppidum* and calling into question the validity of this term today (see Chapter 11). This supposition is made here because on the surface the activities represented by the site's archaeological record are not atypical for the period (see Chapter 3.4); even the site's apparent connection to a highly stratified society at this time is not unusual. The site's proclivity towards large scale industrial production, on-the-other-hand, could be considered usual/a pastime we would expect to see connected with a certain class of settlement, (such as the *oppida*); however, as will be seen in due course (Chapter 11.2) there are multiple non-*oppida* settlements producing just as many/if not more wares than the so-called *oppida*.

Conversely, if we consider the site's fortifications (see page 311), as well as its connection to the production of much of the Treveri's coinage at this time (see pages 320-321) it is possible

to say that we might be looking at characteristics that tally with those associated with the *oppida*. In other words, fortifications are believed to have had symbolic as well as practical functions, with the former of these being to denote a settlement of power and status within the landscape, such as an *oppidum* (see Chapter 5.3), while a site's connection to the minting of a tribes coinage can be said to not only mark out the site as a tribal centre, but one with administrative qualities (see Table 2.4); again qualities sought in apparent *oppida* (see Chapter 2.2, 2.3). Consequently, the author will have to weigh the evidence carefully before determining whether the site can be said to warrant its label as an *oppidum*, or whether the studies conducted herein suggest it is time to part ways with this term (see Chapter 11).

9.3.2: Period 2: 55/50 – 30/25 BC

The first three years of Period 2 occupation at Titelberg coincide with the final years of Caesar's conquest of Gaul, which ended in c.51 BC (Caesar *The Conquest of Gaul*, VIII). Although there is no evidence of conflict associated with Caesar's Gallic conquest at Titelberg,⁴⁷ its aftermath may have impacted upon the settlement as it resulted in an increased Roman presence in Gaul, (the region in which this site and its associated population, the Treveri (ibid, II.24), were sited), and greater contact with Roman material culture.

Furthermore, the end of Period 2 occupation at Titelberg coincides with the establishment of Augustus, in 27 BC, as the first Roman Emperor. This is significant because with the advent of Augustus' reign came numerous changes within both Rome and its provinces, including the emergence of new settlements and/or the rearrangement of existing settlements so that they not only had formalised layouts with street grids, but included public buildings; additionally, there was greater access to luxury and exotic goods, which enabled individuals to live lavish lifestyles such as those associated with Roman villas (Collin 1998, 221). Moreover, it is said that with Augustan rule some areas of Temperate Europe, such as Gaul, were absorbed into the Roman Empire (Brogan 1953, 26; Drinkwater 1983, 20-21; Haselgrove 1987, 196; 1996a, 138; King 1990, 64; Millett 1990, 32; Woolf 1998, 32) thus ending the Iron Age in these regions/parts of these regions. It is possible therefore that significant changes occurred at Titelberg as Period 2 ends and Period 3 commences.

⁴⁷ Although there is no evidence of conflict at Titelberg that can be attributed to Caesar's conquest of Gaul it has been surmised that this site may have been the meeting place of the Treveran assembly described by Caesar in his text *The Conquest of Gaul* (V, 56) (Fernández-Götz 2014b, 147), however, this cannot be verified with the evidence available (ibid, 157).

9.3.2.1: The Evidence

Period 2 occupation at Titelberg is known through a rich archaeological record comprising evidence from the site's plateau and the cemetery of Lamadelaine; although some of the well-furnished burials at Goebblange-Nospelt are also significant for this period. As we begin our consideration of this evidence the first thing to note is that this period's morphological entities mirror those in existence during Period 1, (see Appendix 9.9), with three exceptions: cellars, cisterns, and pavements, (see Appendix 9.14).

Furthermore, this period of occupation is denoted by 890 ceramic vessels, (see Appendix 9.15), appearing in 14 form types (see Figure 9.29); and 125 additional artefacts, (see Appendix 9.16), comprising metalworking debris, 13 brooch forms,⁴⁸ and 15 coin types (see Figures 9.30-9.31). These artefacts were recovered from 15 context types (see Figure 9.32).

Period 2 use of Lamadelaine, on-the-other-hand, is evidenced by 14 burials and 4 pit offerings. These burials were spread, 2:9:3, across Areas A, B, and C of the cemetery respectively, while the so-called pit offerings were all located in Area B (see Appendices 9.17-9.18). Moreover, these 14 burials produced a total of 63 ceramic vessels, (Appendix 9.17), representing 8 form types (see Figure 9.33); and 126 additional grave goods, (Appendix 9.18) that can be divided into 10 sub-categories, (see Figure 9.34). These artefacts, including the ceramic vessels, were primarily located within the burials, although, a fraction of this evidence, (8%), was also recovered from the pit offerings.

In addition to the continued use of Titelberg and Lamadelaine, Period 2 saw the first use of the cemetery at Goebblange-Nospelt. Although this cemetery is too far from Titelberg to have conceivably been used to bury the site's dead, it is important that we are aware of the materials deposited there because these will aid our understanding of the region in which Titelberg is sited. Therefore, while we will contemplate this material over the course of Chapter 9.3.2,

⁴⁸ It should be noted here that there was likely a degree of residuality involved in the brooches circulating during Period 2, given the longevity of the forms present, (some of these would have also been in use during Period 1), (see Appendix 9.16) and the fact that not all members of society would have adopted new fashions as soon as they became available.

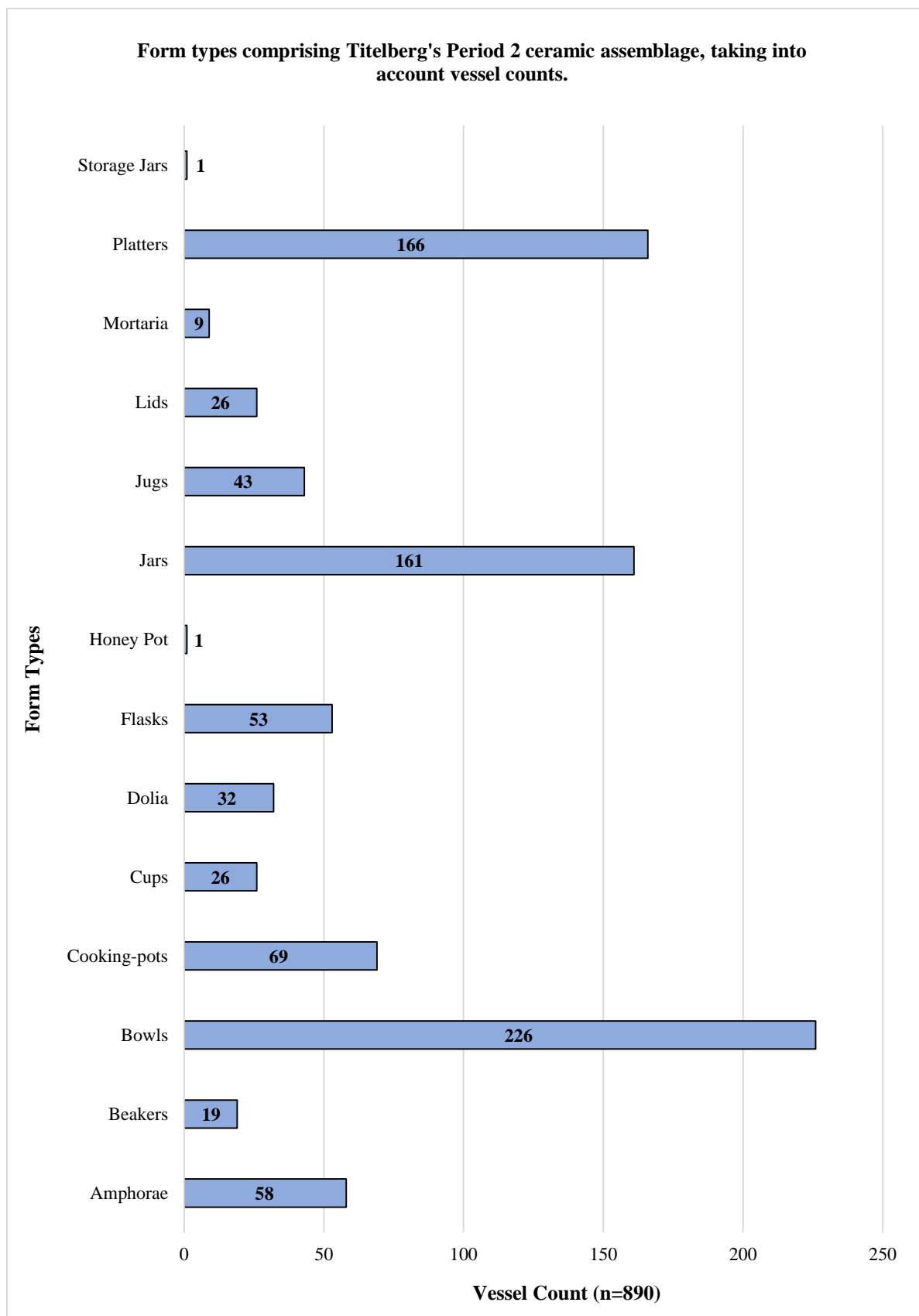


Figure 9.29: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b; Metzler *et al.* 1999.

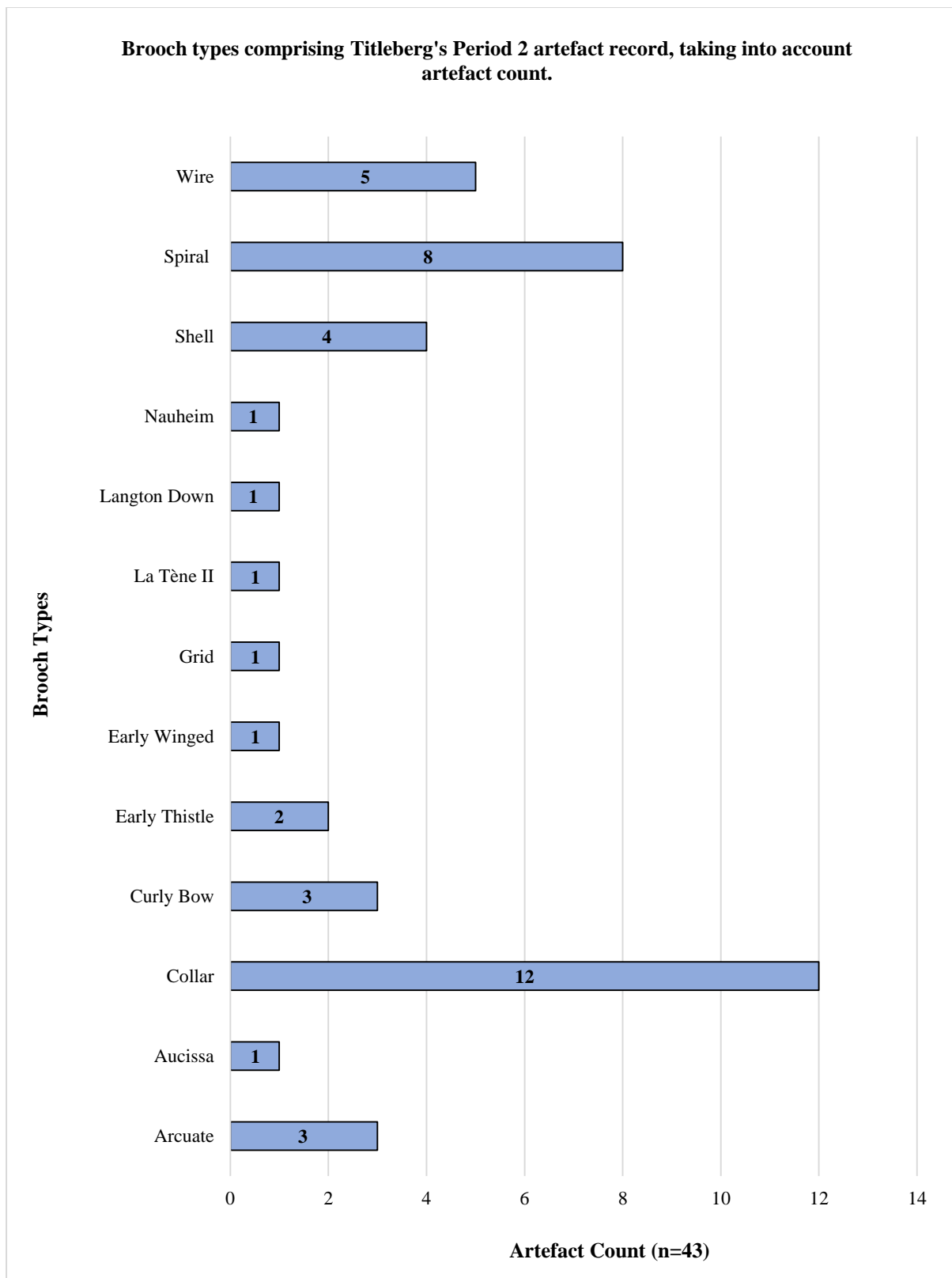


Figure 9.30: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

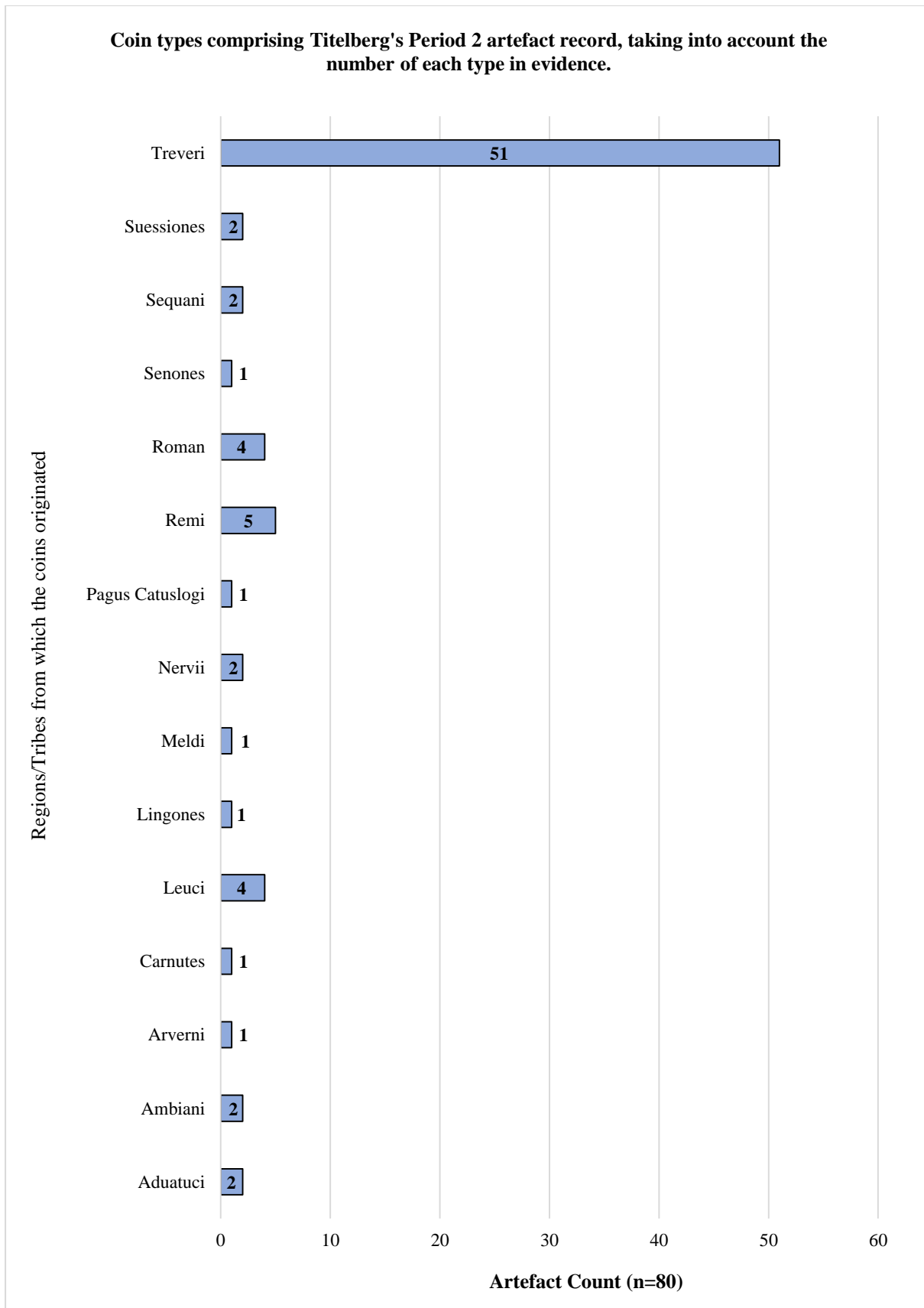


Figure 9.31: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

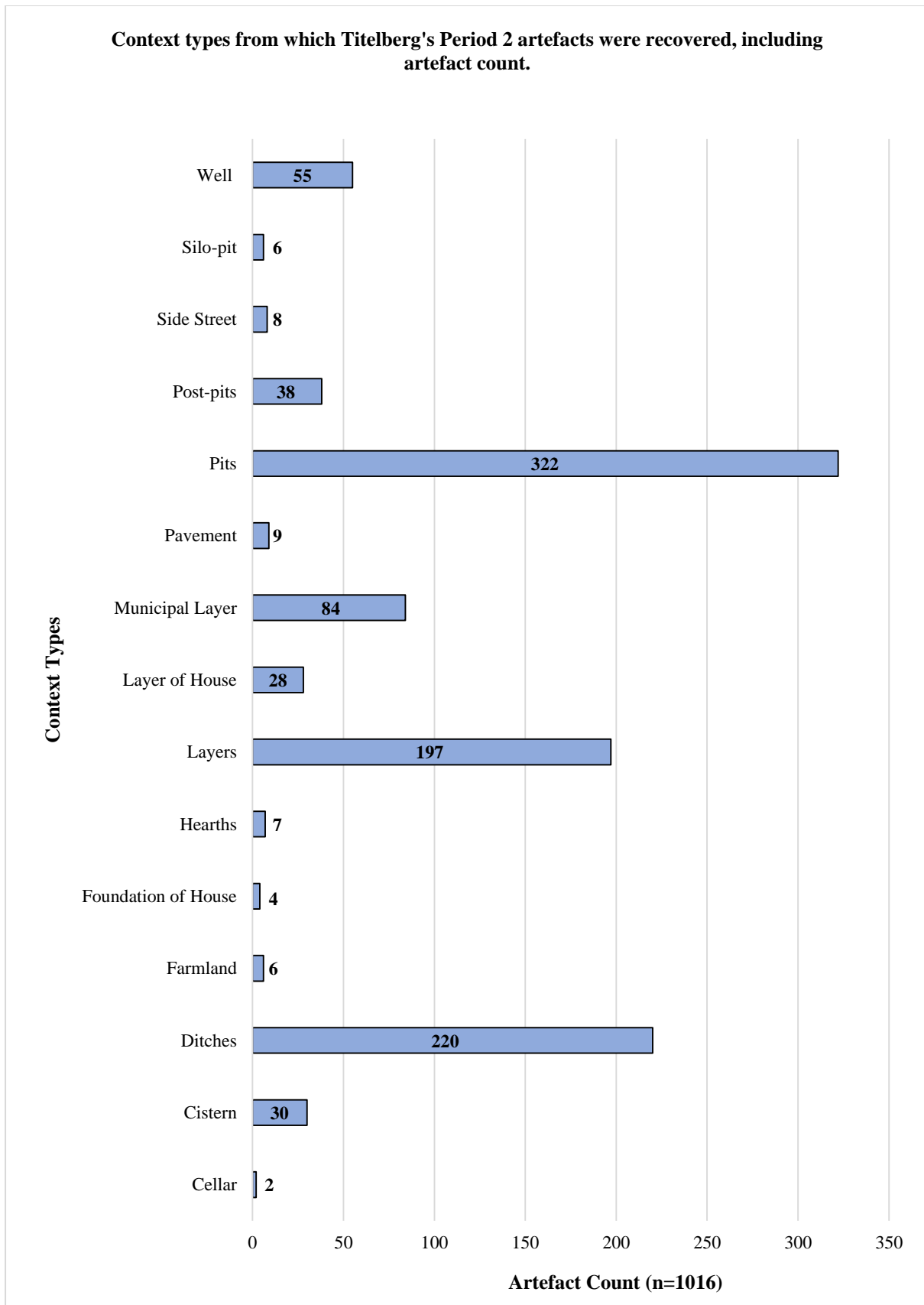


Figure 9.32: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

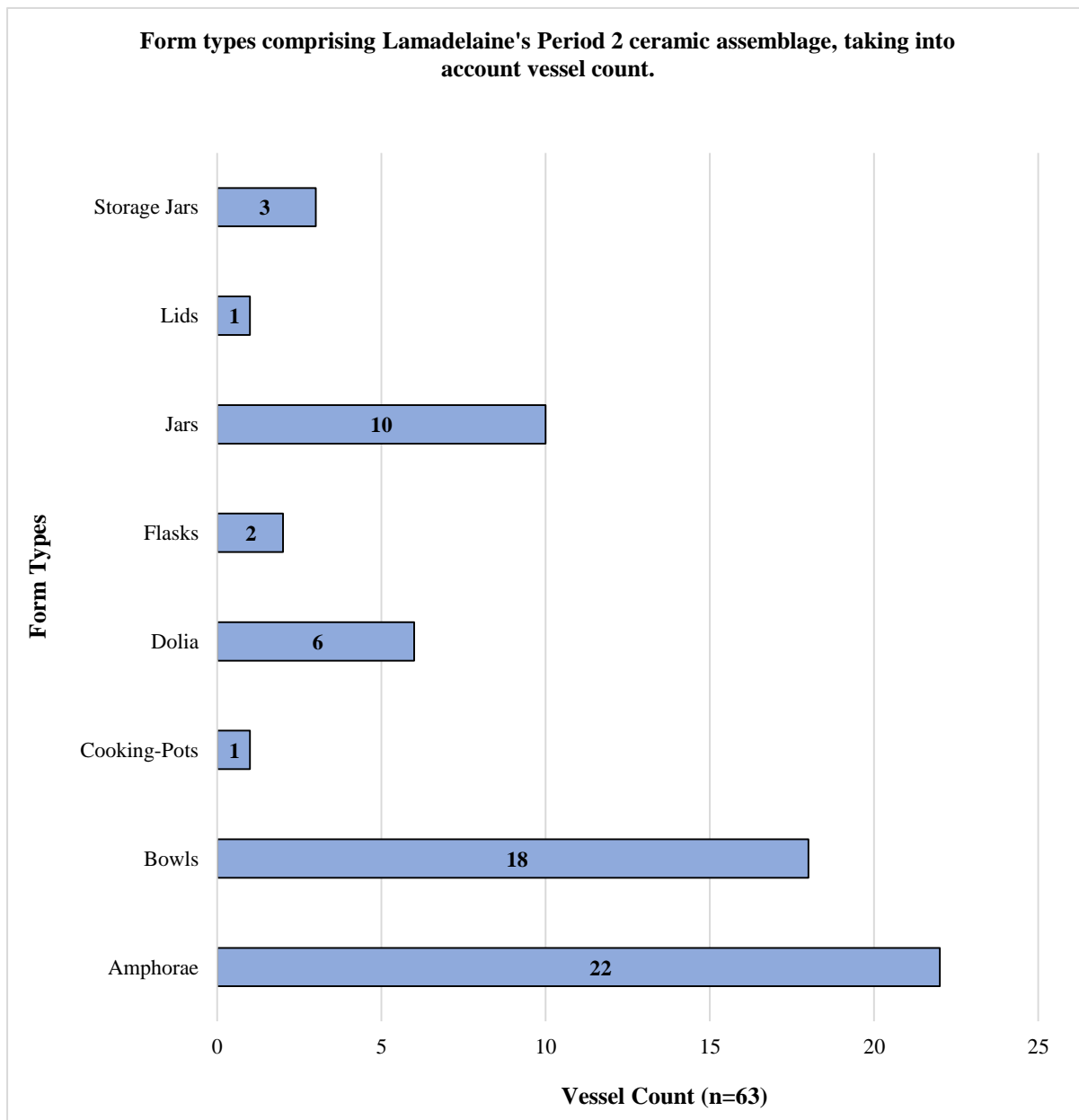


Figure 9.33: Based on information from: Metzler *et al.* 1999.

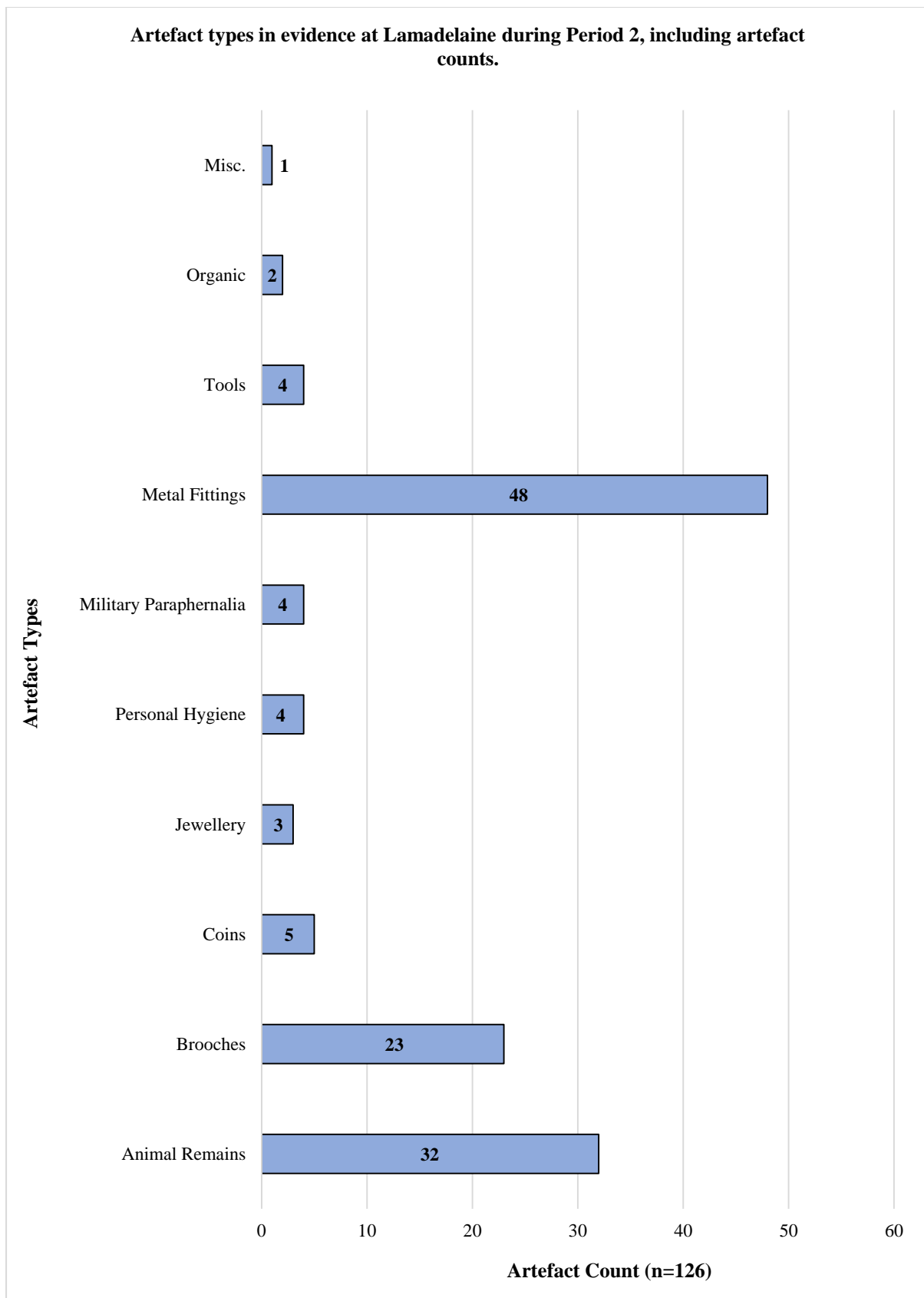


Figure 9.34: Based on information from: Metzler *et al.* 1999.

particularly when considering the region's industrial and economic capabilities, it will not be considered to the same extent as that associated with either Titelberg or Lamadelaine.

Period 2 saw seven burials and two pits, one of which is said to have contained a sacrifice, established at Goebblange-Nospelt (Metzler and Gaeng 2009). Excavation revealed that these features contained a combined total of 79 ceramic vessels in 9 form types (Appendix 9.19/Figure 9.35), and 87 additional grave goods comprising 8 categories of artefact (Appendix 9.20/Figure 9.36). Finally, it is important to note that 94% of the aforementioned artefacts were recovered from Goebblange-Nospelt's burials, while the remaining 6% were recovered from the cemetery's pits.

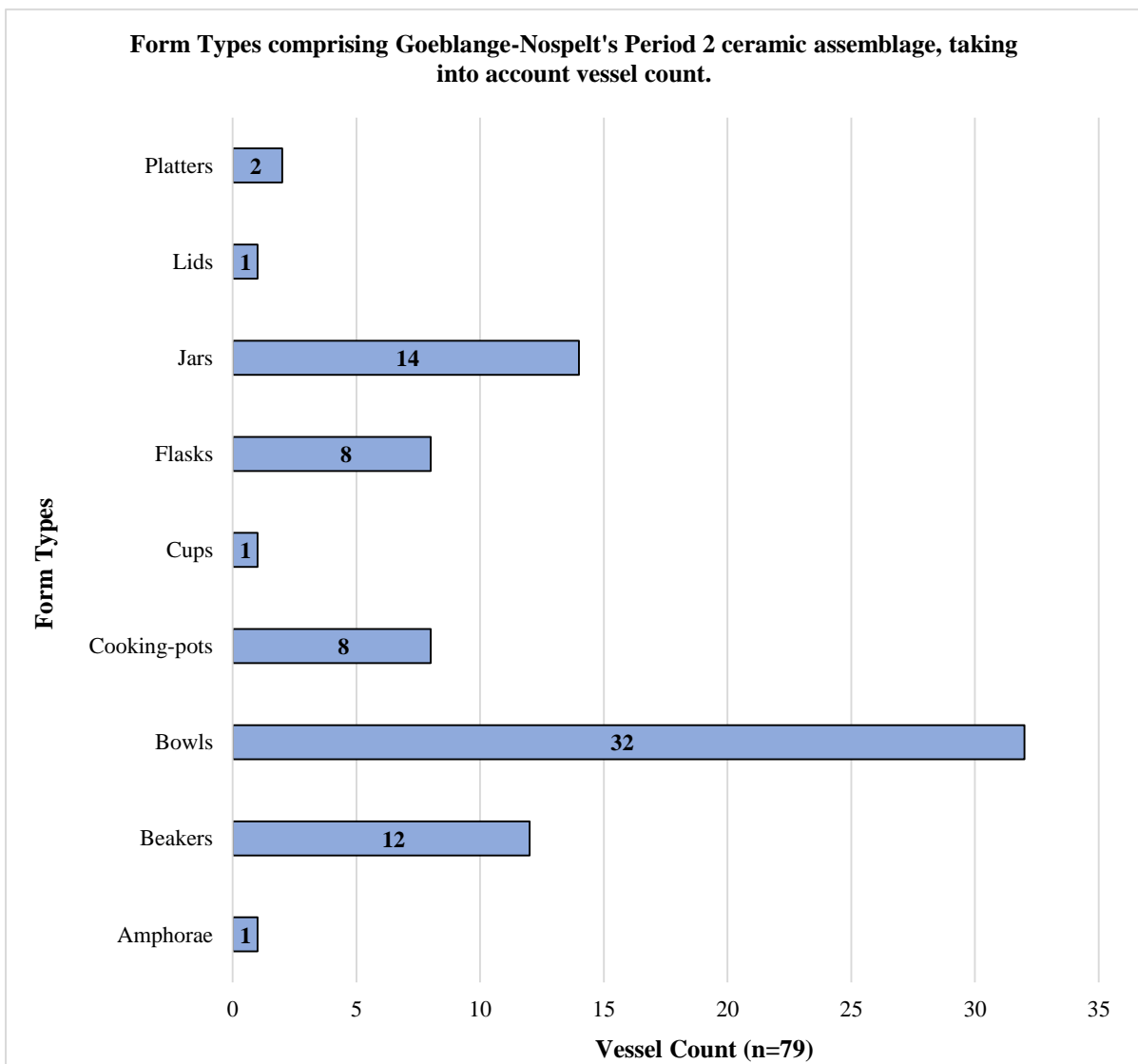


Figure 9.35: Based on information from: Metzler and Gaeng 2009.

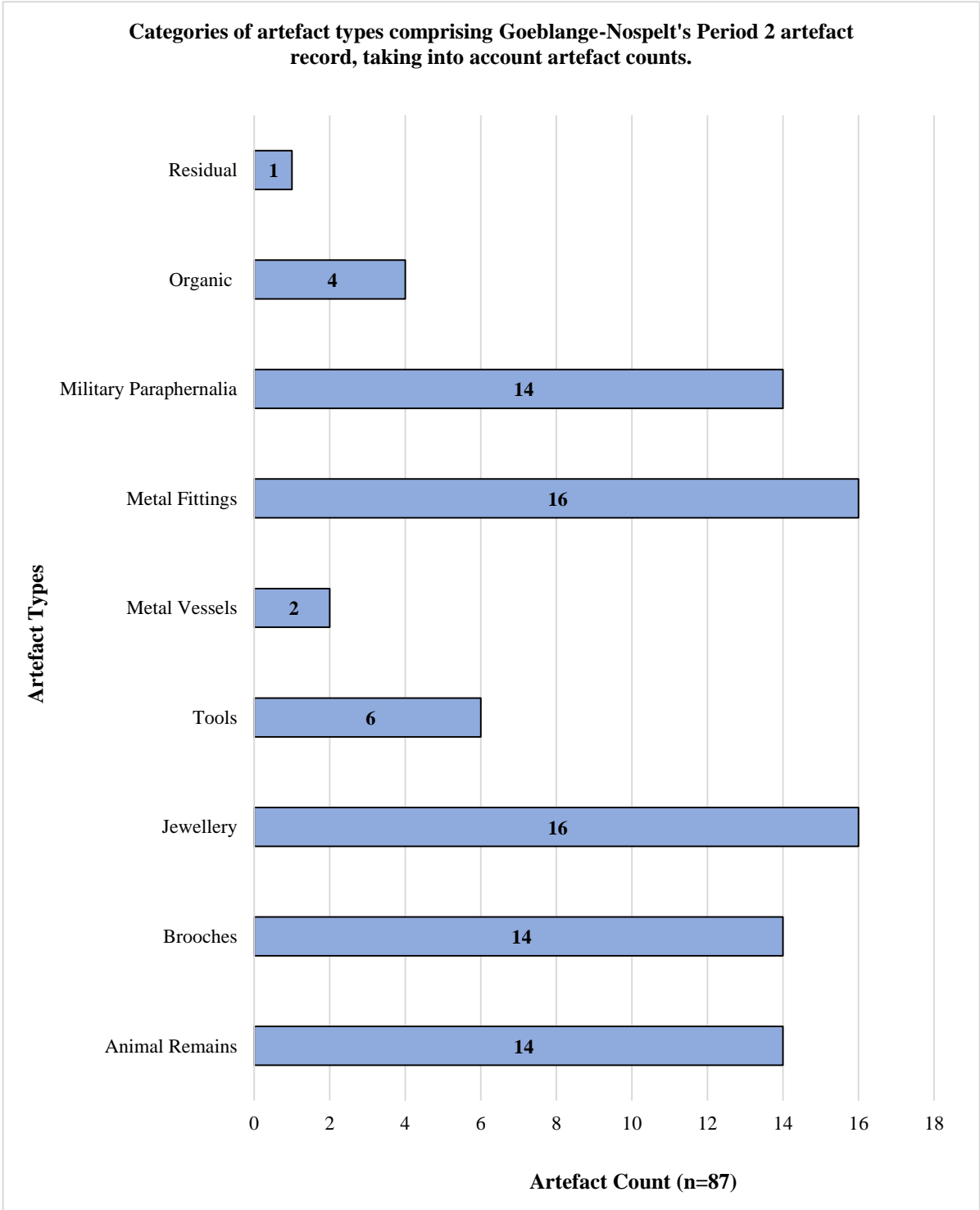


Figure 9.36: Based on information from: Metzler and Gaeng 2009.

9.3.2.2: An Analysis

We begin our analysis of the above evidence with a consideration of the morphological entities. As the majority of these features mirror those established during Period 1, (see Appendix 9.9), they can be said to have supported the same activities (see pages 310-311). Those morphological entities not in evidence during Period 1, (see Appendix 9.14), on-the-other-hand, can be said to represent Roman influence on native communities towards the end of Period 2, because cellars, cisterns, and pavements are more commonly associated with Roman towns and are not often found on Iron Age settlements. Despite this, these features continue to promote those activities already taking place at Titelberg (see Appendix 9.14); and thus, cannot be said to have altered the nature of occupation at the site; can the same be said when we examine Titelberg's Period 2 ceramic assemblage?

As was noted above, (see Chapter 9.3.2.1), 891 vessels can be attributed to Period 2 occupation at Titelberg; a c.50% increase in sample size from Period 1. When one compares these ceramic assemblages further, (see Figure 9.37), it is evident that it was not only the vessel numbers that increased, but the number of form types in circulation. These increases saw both native, (bowls, cooking-pots, and jars), and non-native, (cups, dolia, mortaria, and platters), form types grow in number and relative proportion; particularly the bowls and platters (see Figure 9.37). This marked increase could be indicative of population growth at Titelberg, although it could equally represent an increased 'thirst' for material possessions by the pre-existing population; although, it is equally possible that this is also a product of the scale of excavations undertaken at Titelberg, as only a fraction of the site's plateau has been excavated to date (see Figures 9.5-9.6). In other words, it could be that the area of excavation contains more deposits of Period 2 date, with additional materials of Period 1 date being located in an unexcavated portion of Titelberg.

Furthermore, an increase in non-native wares, but particularly cups, flasks, jugs, and platters (see Figure 9.37), could be indicative of the effect Caesar's conquest of Gaul had on Titelberg's occupants. In other words, these vessels suggest that after c.52 BC, and certainly by 30/25 BC, it was common-place for vessels typically viewed as Roman tablewares to appear more frequently within the ceramic assemblages of later Iron Age settlements in Temperate Europe (see Chapter 6.2.1). This is somewhat unsurprising when we take into account the fact that with the emergence of Augustus as Roman Emperor in 27 BC came greater Roman interest in Gaul; while the emergence of workshops in northern and central Gaul who started to mass-produce

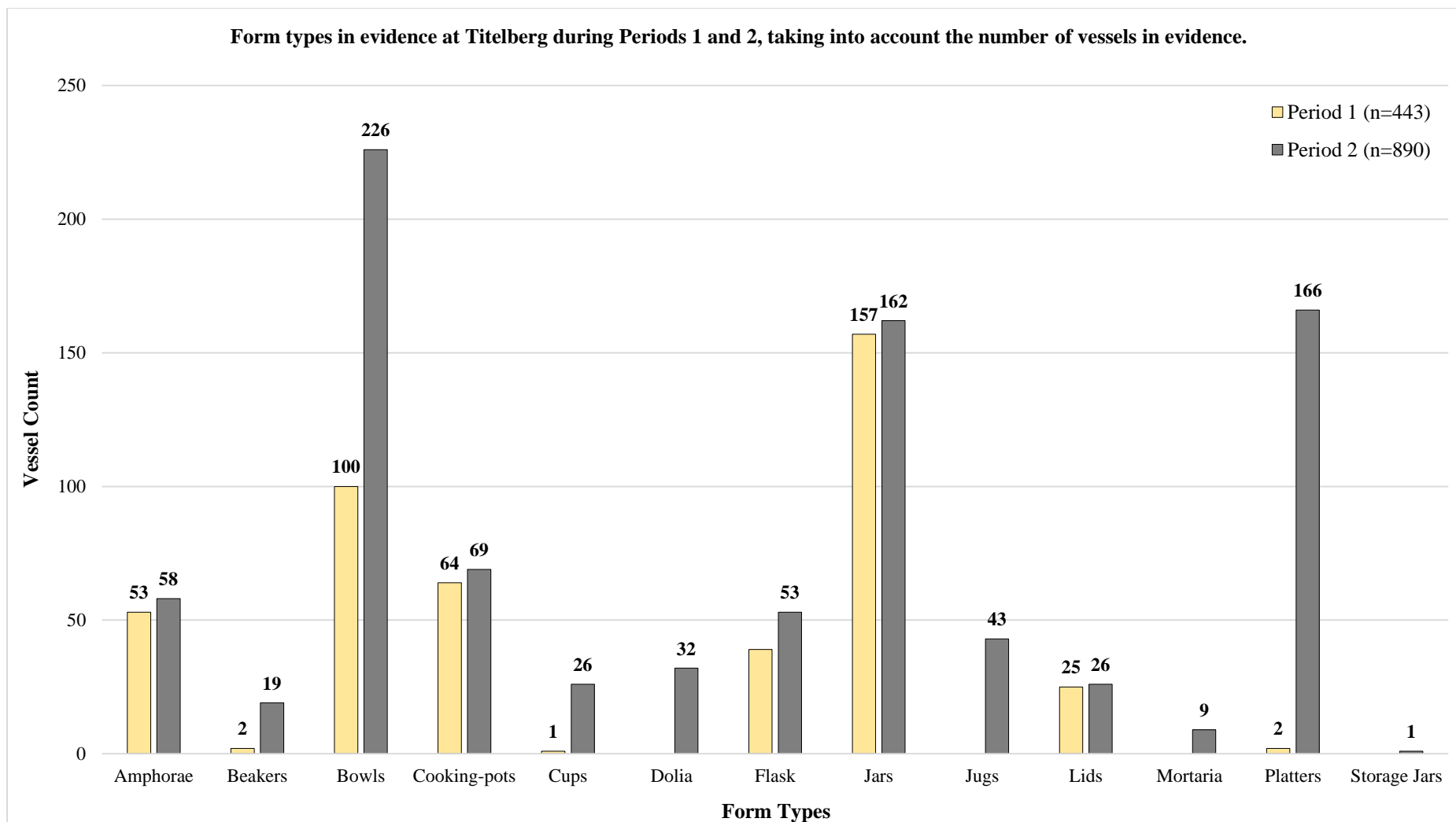


Figure 9.37: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b; Metzler *et al.* 1999.

these form types shortly after the end of this period (see Chapters 3.4.3 and 4.2) could be viewed as a culmination of earlier contact with these vessels through trade and contact with Roman populations, and an increased desire to possess them. Thus, the changes observed in Titelberg's ceramic assemblage are not unexpected; especially when we also take into account its proficient economic system during Period 1 (see Chapter 9.3.1.2).

The majority of the aforementioned vessels were manufactured locally judging from Metzler *et al.*'s cataloguing, (see Figures 9.38-9.39); and as such they can be said to denote the continued operation of the potteries established during Period 1. These potteries flourished during Period 2, as can be seen from the vast increase in locally produced vessels between Periods 1 and 2 (see Figure 9.40); an observation made all the more impressive when one takes into account the fact that Period 2 was shorter than Period 1 by c.70 years. Conversely, it was not only the locally produced wares that increased in number over the course of Period 2, so too did the number of imports. In fact, this increase in imports means that despite there being considerably more local vessels circulating the site at this time, they actually account for less of the ceramic assemblage than during Period 1; during Period 1 the locally produced and imported vessels were split 88:12 respectively, whereas during Period 2 they were split 85:15.

Figures 9.41-9.42 highlight six areas that supplied ceramics to Titelberg during Period 2, one more than during Period 1. Many of the regions supplying Titelberg with pottery during Period 1 were responsible for the presence of a greater number of vessels during Period 2, suggesting these vessels were now in greater demand; a demand that highlights an increase in trading activities between Titelberg and its contemporaries.

Furthermore, this increase in imported wares can be said to represent two aspects of life at Titelberg during this Iron Age to Roman Transitional period. Firstly, these vessels may represent conspicuous consumption engaged in by individuals wishing to differentiate themselves within the local community. Alternatively, some of these vessels may also have been imported for use by the community as a whole during events of special significance; such as those designed to celebrate religious festivals and/or promote social cohesion. In conjunction with Period 1 occupation at Titelberg it was surmised that these activities were represented by imported wares and those vessels more commonly associated with Roman

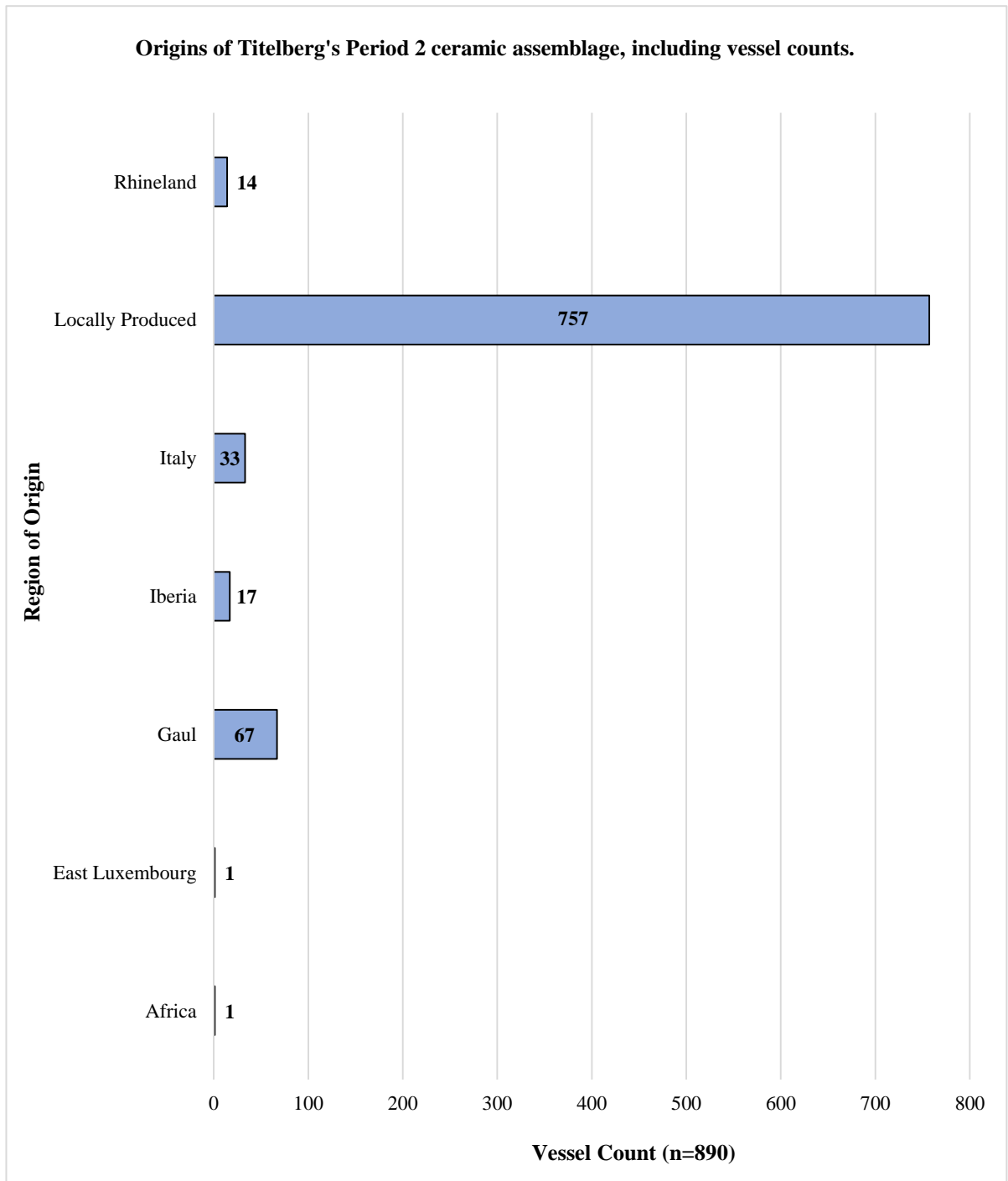


Figure 9.38: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

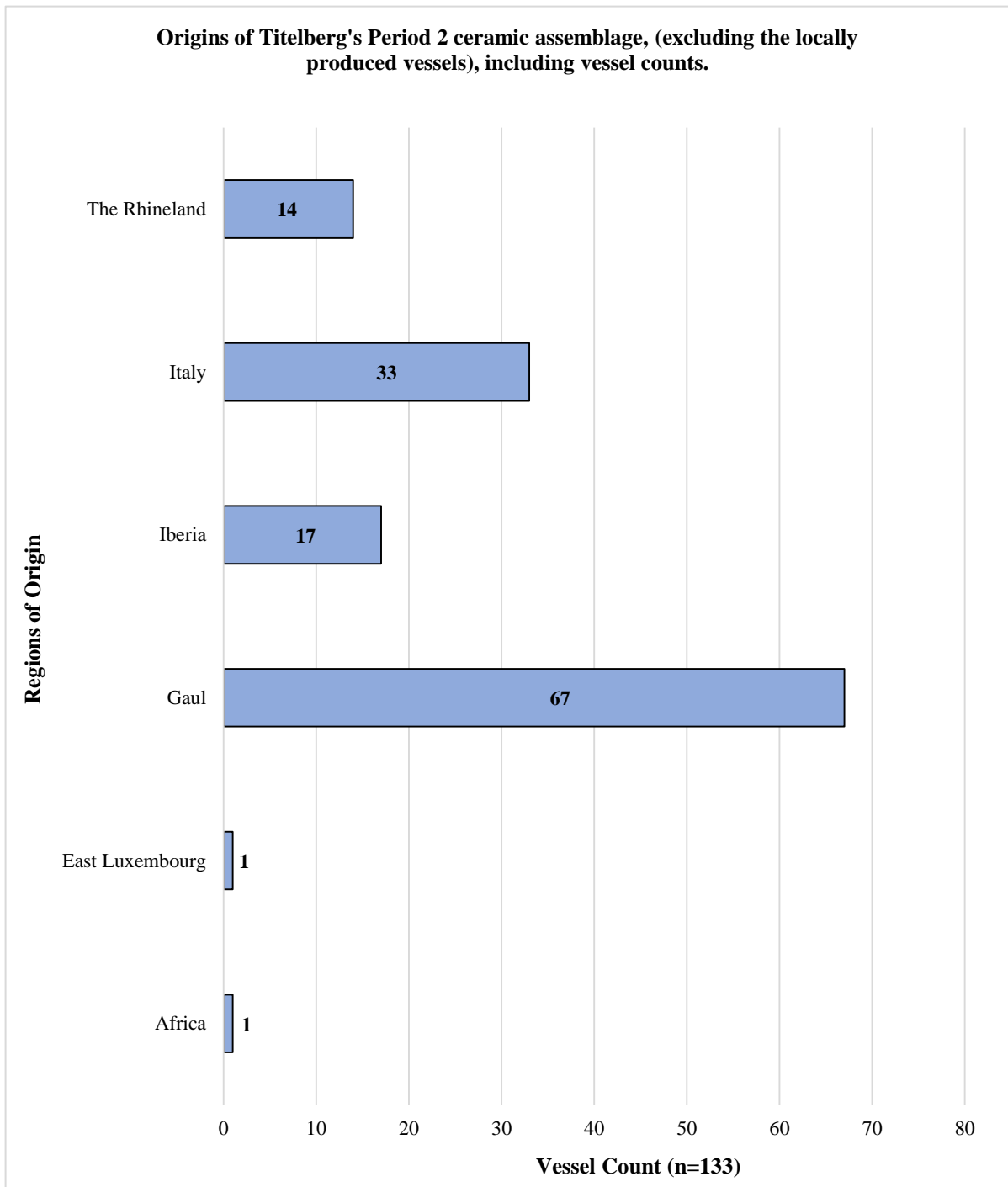


Figure 9.39: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

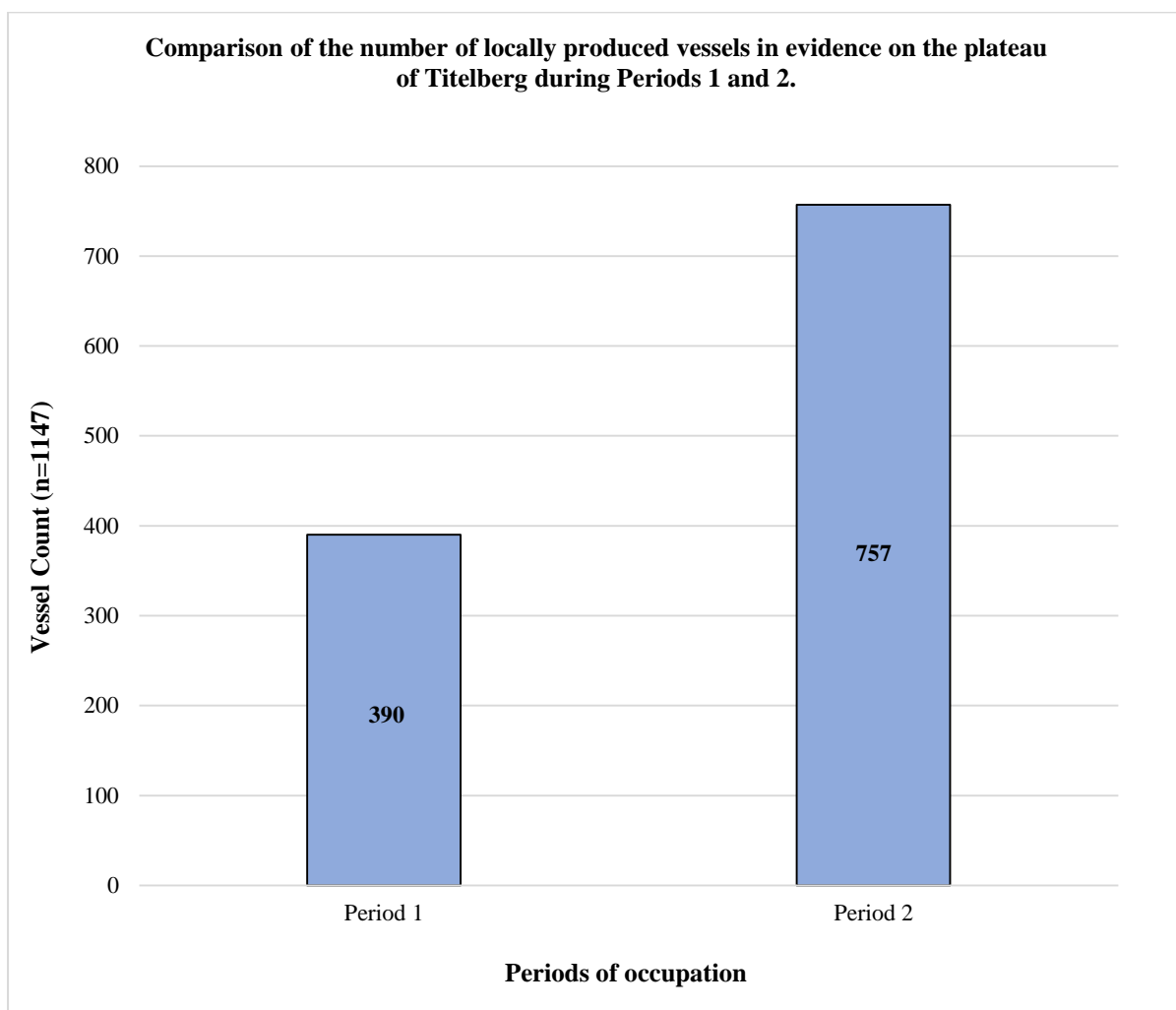


Figure 9.40: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

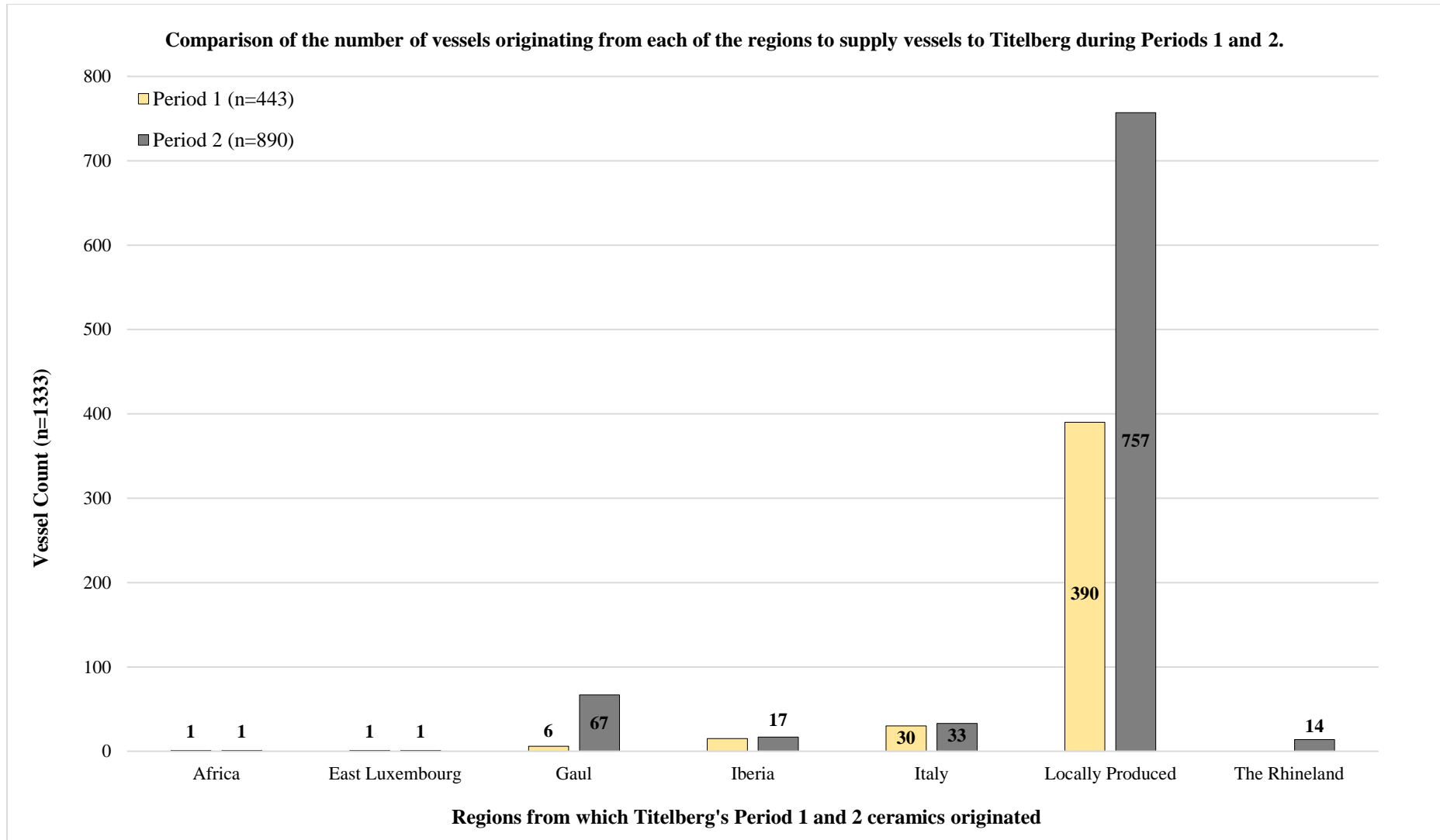


Figure 9.41: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

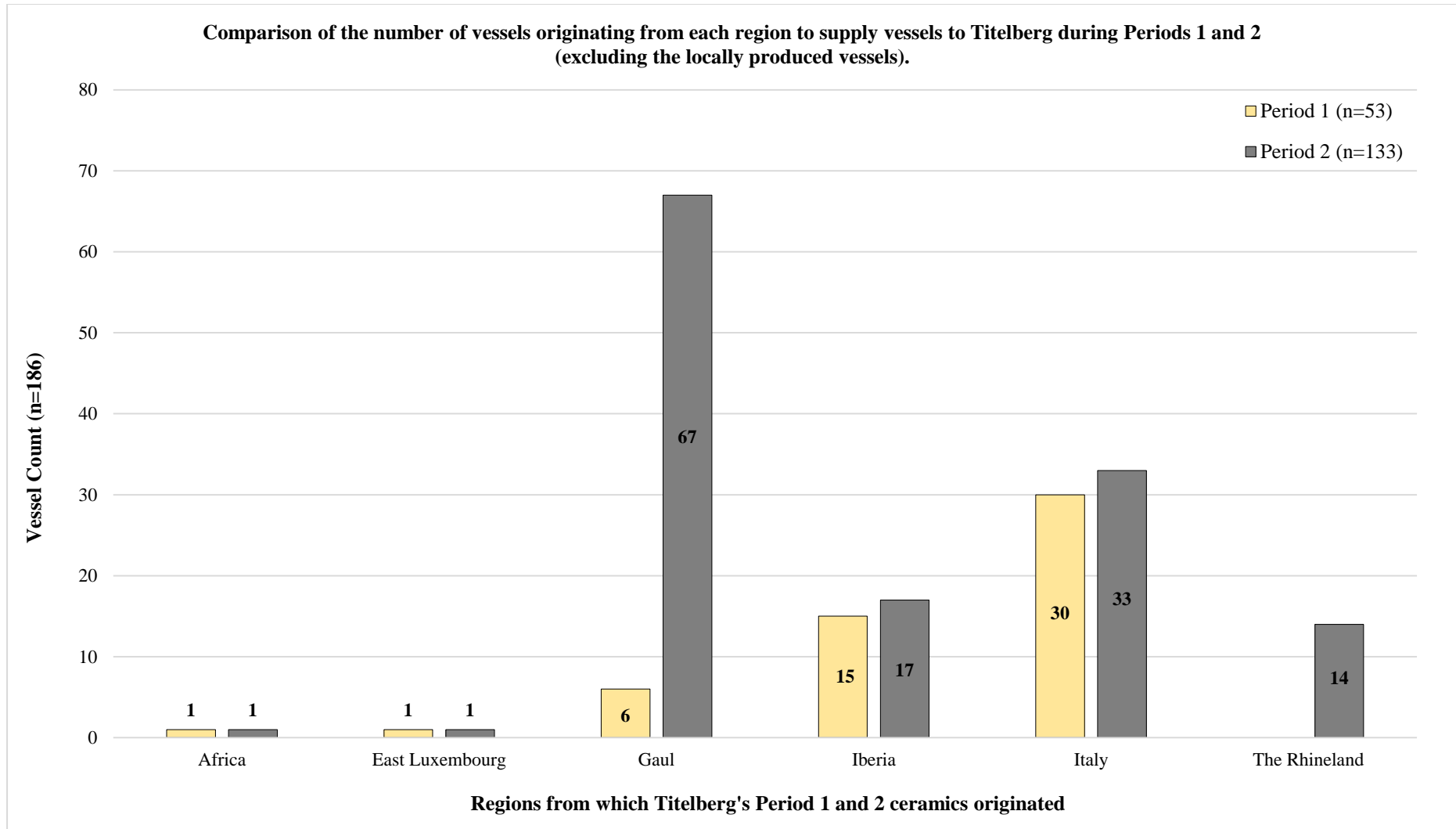


Figure 9.42: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

dining habits, (see pages 311-318); in the case of Period 2 however the author believes there may have been a shift in the significance of Roman form types because they were now more frequently occurring, (see Figure 9.29), suggesting a possible decrease in their value. Consequently, this shift would have seen individuals wishing to display their social standing through conspicuous consumption seek access to vessels still comparatively rare at the site, in this case imported wares. This same inference can be said to apply to those vessels utilised during events of special significance, where the use of these vessels would have amplified the messages being portrayed through the deposition of luxury products designed to ensure the propitiation of deities looked to for better harvests/industrial output or to ensure that the dead moved on and did not linger and interfere with the living; a notion that Roymans puts forth in *'Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul: An Anthropological Perspective'*, suggesting the value of the votive offering reflects the needs and/or wants of those seeking divine help (1990, 75).

It is however not only the site's ceramic assemblage that allows us insight into Period 2 occupation at Titelberg, so too do the bronze-working debris, brooches (see Figure 9.30), and coins (see Figure 9.31). The former of these artefact groups is indicative of the continued existence of bronze-smiths at Titelberg, while the brooches and coins continue to represent the same activities as their Period 1 counterparts, (see pages 318-321), but on a grander scale. Furthermore, during Period 2 the number of imported brooches at Titelberg increased (see Figure 9.43), allowing us to surmise that the economic relationships the site's merchants had with their counterparts elsewhere in Gaul also intensified. Finally, the presence of imported brooches could represent a deficiency⁴⁹ within the local industries in terms of their ability to keep up with local demand for this product; however, as the number of locally produced brooches also increased this does not seem likely. Instead these could represent one of two things: the use of imported brooches to denote status, (as many imports are purported to be (see Chapter 5.3)), or alternatively the introduction of new styles yet to be manufactured locally.

⁴⁹ A deficiency in Titelberg's craftsmen could be alluded to through a consideration of the quantities of locally produced and imported goods. However, whilst it is highly plausible that an artefact assemblage comprised largely of imported wares and only a few locally produced items can be considered evidence of local industries being unable to cope with demands put upon them by local peoples and therefore there was a reliance upon outside sources for essential products, it could also represent the introduction of new forms that local craftsmen had yet to manufacture themselves. Similarly, given that very few Iron Age sites, *oppida* or not, have been fully excavated (see Chapter 2.3.4) it is difficult to fully comprehend the capabilities of craftsmen and the consumption of their wares by local populations, therefore it is prudent to err on the side of caution when considering the capabilities of the period's craftsmen.

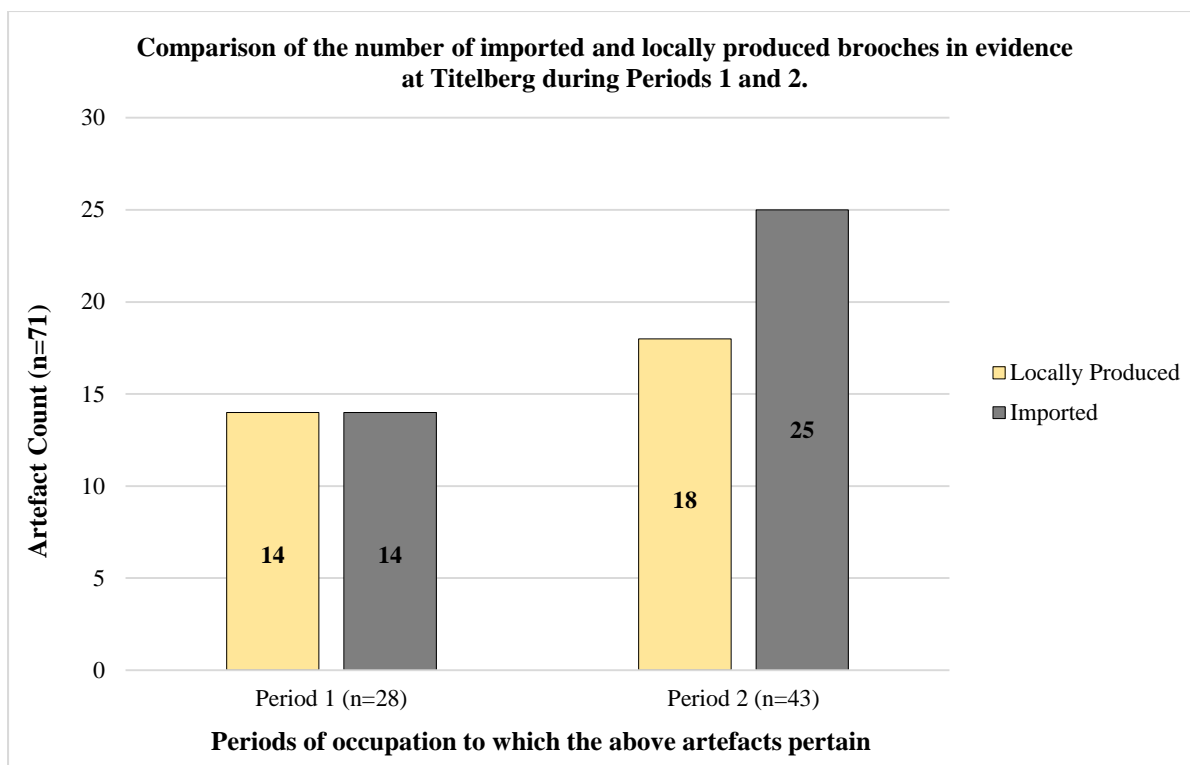


Figure 9.43: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

On-the-other-hand, with regards to coinage Period 2 saw a vast increase in the number of locally produced coins in circulation, (see Figure 9.44); telling us that Titelberg’s mint was responsible for the production of both a greater number of coins and coin types, (see Appendix 9.16). Consequently, we can conclude that it was not just the potteries that increased their product repertoire during Period 2. The evidence discussed above as a whole allows us to surmise that between the years of 55/50 and 30/25 BC the essential Iron Age make-up of Titelberg remained as it had during Period 1; whilst the material culture being used by the site’s inhabitants was starting to be influenced by the changes taking place in Gaul at this time as a result of both Caesar’s conquest of Gaul, and renewed interest in this region upon Augustus’ ascension to Emperor.

This period also saw 14 burials and 4 pit offerings established at Lamadelaine. These burials contained a range of artefacts from ceramic vessels to brooches, tools, and weaponry (see Appendices 9.17-9.18). From Figure 9.33 it is evident that traditional form types were the most prominent at this time; suggesting that regardless of the changing nature of Titelberg’s material culture, those vessels selected for deposition alongside the deceased were those we think of as characteristically Iron Age.

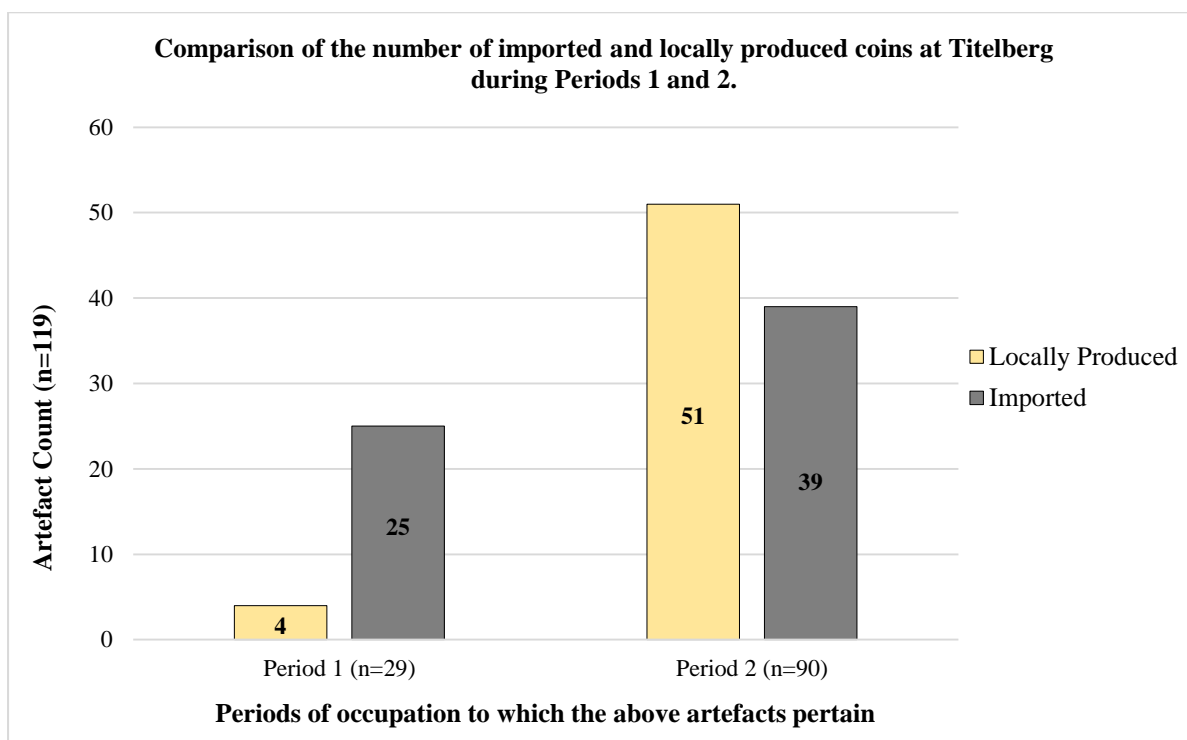


Figure 9.44: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

This observation can be said to highlight three aspects of Titelberg's later Iron Age occupation. Firstly, this evidence might be thought to denote feasting paraphernalia utilised by mourners during feasts hosted to fulfil the same three burials rites observed at the cemetery during Period 1, (see page 321). Secondly, it is possible that the predominance of traditional form types is indicative of there being limited/no desire to take those vessels denoting Roman dining habits out of circulation at this time. Therefore, the most likely explanation for this occurrence is that the majority of individuals interred at Lamadelaine during Period 2 were not in a position to have made use of such items to display their social standing, thus there was no need for vessels of this kind to be included within grave fills to ensure that the status they had bestowed upon their owners in life could not be transferred to another as there had been during Period 1. Thirdly, because the owning of Roman dining vessels/those vessel that were comparatively rare is often believed to have been indicative of an individual of power during the later Iron Age, (see Chapter 5.3), their absence from the majority of burials established at Lamadelaine during Period 2 is, therefore, likely a reflection of the social standing of those being buried at this time; which in turn means that Metzler *et al.* were correct in their conclusion that Lamadelaine was not a cemetery for the elite (1999, 447)

However, this latter inference is challenged by the results of an analysis of the vessel origins. It can be seen from Figure 9.45 that c.50% of the site's ceramic assemblage was imported from Italy, a more even split between imported and locally produced wares than was seen during Period 1, (see Figure 9.45). The presence of Italian imports, namely Dressel 1 amphorae, within Lamadelaine's Period 2 burials can be considered unsurprising, especially when one considers how frequent amphorae are within burials of this date in Gaul (Carver 2001, 20). Their presence is sometimes believed to represent the pouring of libations offered to both the dead and local deities; although, they are also believed to have been symbols of power within Iron Age communities, thus they could mark burials containing individuals of status. Conversely, given the absence of imported wares from the other regions of Temperate Europe that supplied ceramics to Titelberg during Period 2, see Figures 9.38-9.39, the author believes that the amphorae were present because they were seen by the local community as being able to amplify the significance of the burial rites they represented, and not as markers of the deceased's status. Consequently, Lamadelaine's ceramic assemblage can be said to denote the continued observation of traditional burial rites, while also supporting Metzler *et al.*'s belief that the cemetery was not associated with the elite (1999, 447).

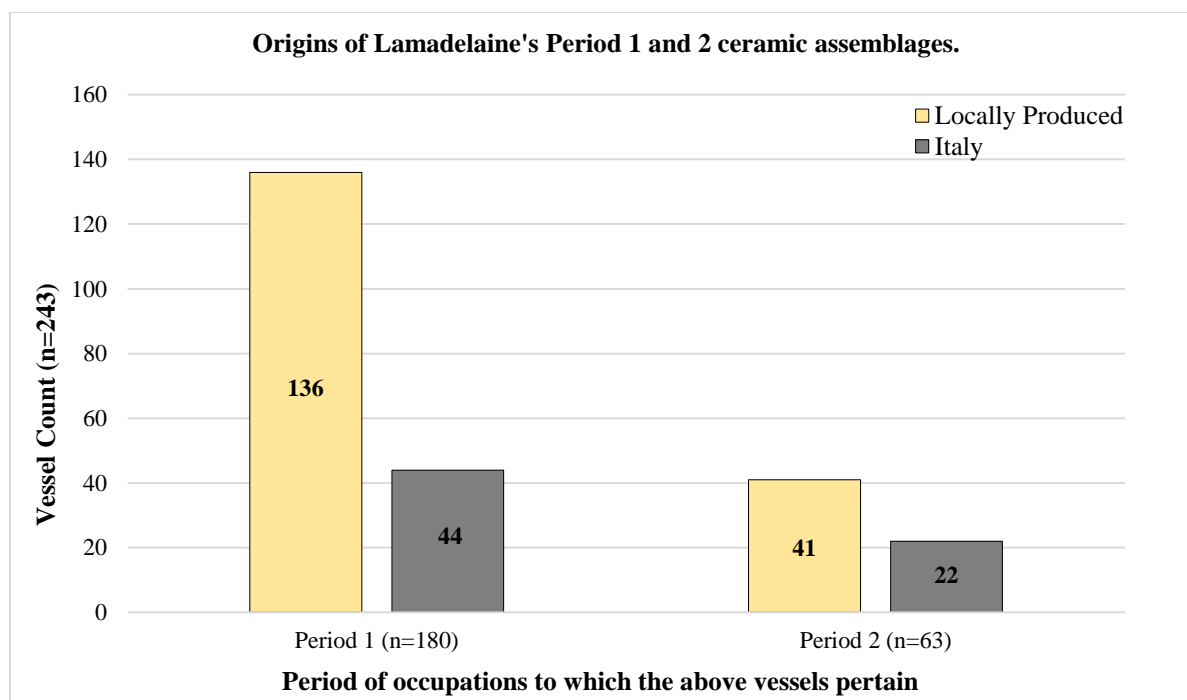


Figure 9.45: Based on information from: Metzler *et al.* 1999.

With the conclusions pertaining to Lamadelaine's ceramic assemblage in mind, our attention turns to the other artefacts contained within the Period 2 burials at the cemetery. Figure 9.34 highlights the presence of 10 categories of artefact within these graves, two less than during Period 1, (bronze vessels and flint artefacts were absent). Consequently, the conclusions drawn in relation to the Period 1 grave goods stand up here, (see pages 324-328); thus, these artefacts too denote: burial rites, funerary feasts, animal husbandry, industry, personal adornment, grooming, and a warrior culture (see Appendix 9.18). This evidence therefore further supports conclusions that Titelberg's occupants adhered to traditional Iron Age burial practices, while also demonstrating that, with the exception of changes within the material culture used on Titelberg's plateau, little else changed with regards to the nature of occupation occurring at the site during Period 2.

Our attentions now turn to the cemetery of Goebblange-Nospelt, which was used for the first time during Period 2. This cemetery can shed light on the possible elite burial customs that existed in this region at this time, that is during the early years of Roman authority, and thus provides an excellent comparison to, the non-elite, Lamadelaine; whilst, also allowing us to better understand Titelberg's wider landscape. Three of the seven burials interred at Goebblange-Nospelt during Period 2 were deposited within wooden chambers overlain with tumuli, suggesting that the burial rites observed at this cemetery differed from those at Lamadelaine. It is possible that these differences arose as a result of the cemetery being used for the interment of the elite, as Metzler and Gaeng (2009) suggest. However, can the presence of chambers and tumuli alone be used to infer status? A question to which the answer, as will be seen below (see page 351), is: possibly, but it is better to consider this evidence in conjunction with those goods recovered from within the graves themselves.

Figure 9.35 illustrated that a total of 9 form types were present within the cemetery's Period 2 burials; the majority of which are those form types typically associated with Iron Age traditions. Furthermore, all of these vessels are associated with the consumption of food and drink, and as such can be presumed to be feasting paraphernalia. Consequently, their use, and subsequent deposition, can be considered the result of the same burial rites observed at Lamadelaine (see pages 321, 349), as well as the Lexden Tumulus and Stanway Cemetery at Colchester (see Chapter 7.3.3.2 and 7.3.4.2). In comparison to Lamadelaine, and even the Lexden Tumulus and Stanway Cemetery, there are very few amphorae within the Goebblange-

Nospelt grave assemblages. While it is virtually impossible to ascertain why this was the case, one can surmise that they were either not used as extensively during funerary feasts, or they were used but subsequently removed to be reused by the living. That said, some apparently high status burials in south-east Britain at this time have only one or two amphorae present; such as the Mirror Burial at Dorton in Buckinghamshire where only three amphorae were discovered (Farley 1983, 289).

Conversely, some of the burials at Goebange-Nospelt contain spectacular grave assemblages (see Appendix 9.20/Figure 9.46). What is often taken as striking about these burials is that some, (Burials C, D, and possibly 9,18,20⁵⁰), include weapons, showing that people we might presume to be powerful had the right to bear arms under Roman rule, just as it is presumed the individual interred within the ‘Warrior Burial’ at Stanway, Colchester did (see Chapter 7.2).

Consequently, this factor can be said to add further weight to Metzler *et al.*’s view that those individuals buried alongside their weaponry at Lamadelaine were of a higher status than those buried elsewhere in the cemetery (see page 327). The undeniably lavish grave furniture included within the burials of Goebange-Nospelt, and the fact they are interred within wooden chambers under tumuli, could be said to further demonstrate that Metzler *et al.*, as well as the current author, are correct in their assumption that Lamadelaine was not a cemetery reserved for the elite.

Finally, it remains for the author to note what can be learnt of Titelberg’s wider landscape from Goebange-Nospelt’s archaeological record. Firstly, we can use these burials to state that the funerary rites observed at Lamadelaine, (see page 349), during Period 2 were also adhered to at Goebange-Nospelt; thus, allowing us to remark upon the fact that these rites were used regardless of the status of the burials, while also highlighting cultural similarities within Titelberg’s wider landscape. Furthermore, we can use both the site’s ceramic and artefact records, Appendices 9.19 and 9.20 respectively, to note that Titelberg was not the only site within this portion of Gaul to receive goods from Gallic redistribution centres via the modes of

⁵⁰ Burials 18 and 20 both contain knives which could be viewed as either tools or weapons; whilst Burial 9 contains a shield boss which could be considered evidence of someone being able to bear arms even if a weapon proper is not contained within the burial.

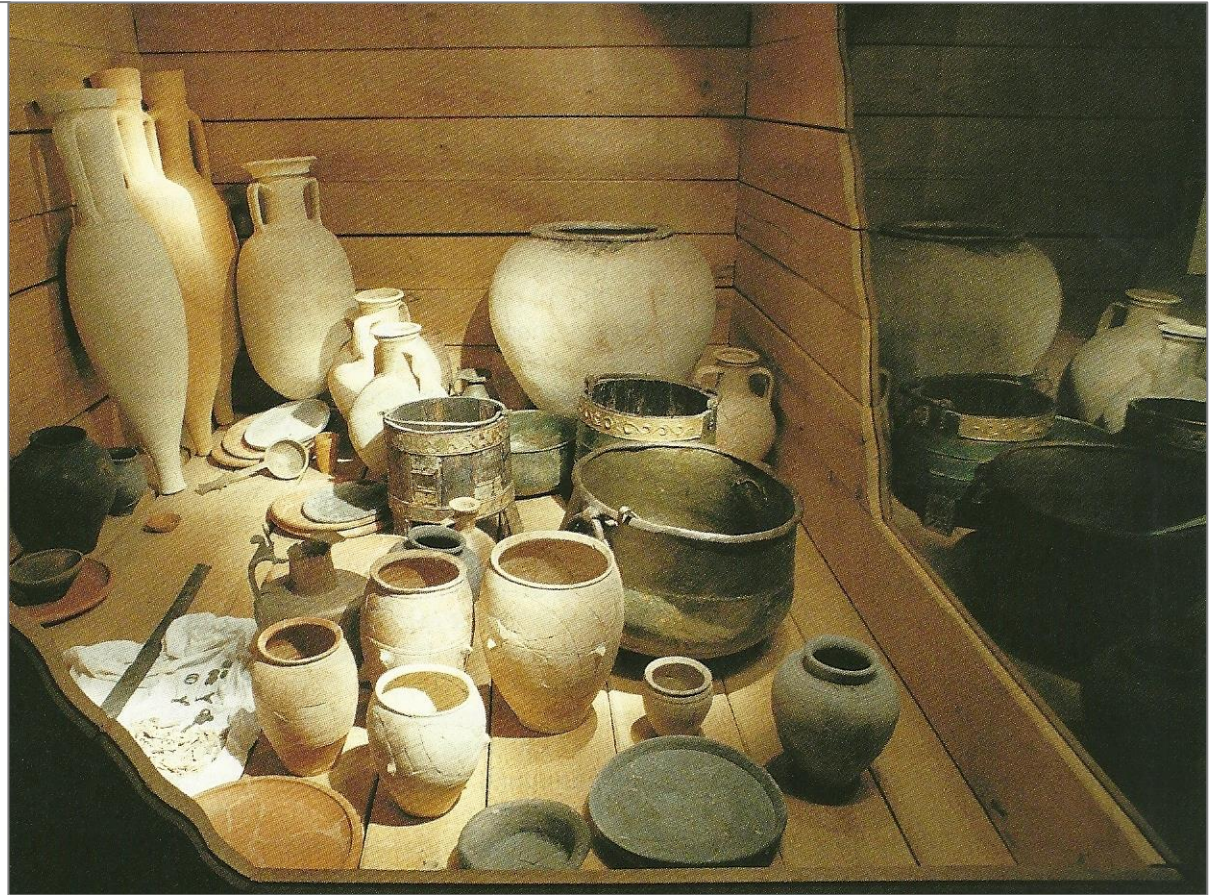
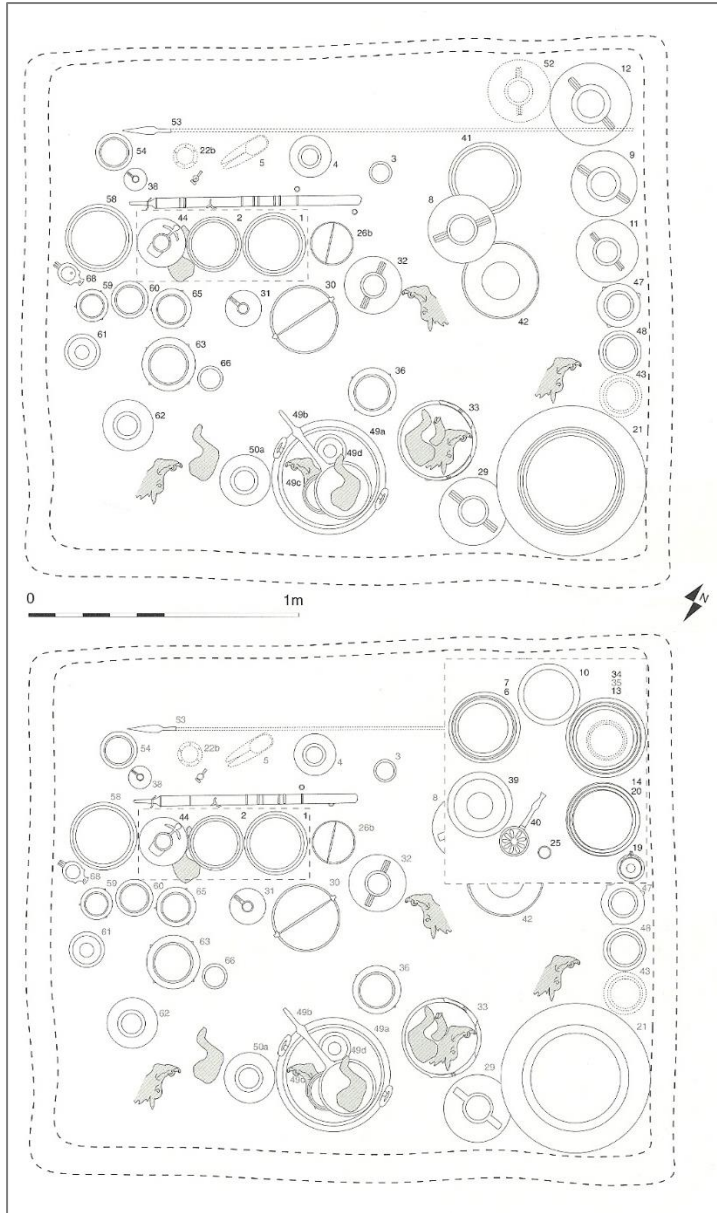


Figure 9.46: Plan and photo of Burial B at the cemetery of Goebblange-Nospelt. Left: Plan of grave presented as two images to take into account the wooden structure in the northern area of the grave upon which a number of vessels were placed, Right: Reconstruction (after: Metzler and Gaeng 2009, Fig. 58 and Fig. 64).

exchange discussed in Chapter 4.3, so too did Variscourt, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, and Pommiers (Roymans 1990, 164),⁵¹ or to make use of those vessels thought of as Roman tablewares. While, the large proportion of locally produced products contained within the cemeteries graves, see Appendices 9.19-9.20, allow us to surmise that burial rites were not the only shared cultural practices in play within Titelberg's wider landscape, as the similarities between the products being manufactured at Titelberg and within the Goebblange-Nospelt region suggest that manufacturing techniques were also shared.

9.3.2.3: A Summary

Period 2 occupation at Titelberg can largely be defined as a more intense version of that which had taken place at the site between the years of 150/100 and 55/50 BC; although, not everything remained unchanged. The repercussions of Rome's interest in Gaul during this period resulted in the first evidence of Roman influence on the site's archaeological record, in particular developments in the way certain cultural practices, namely the funerary rites associated with the use of the cemetery of Lamadelaine, were performed, and a change in the way ceramics were used to display power.

Furthermore, a consideration of Goebblange-Nospelt's archaeological record tells us that many of the cultural practices taking place at Titelberg were not unique, but also taking place within the site's hinterland. Consequently, we can conclude that while Period 2 occupation at Titelberg was privy to a number of changes, these were shared by other communities in this region suggesting that they were a widespread phenomenon; and moreover it is evident from this consideration that this period of occupation largely tallies with current thinking on the site (see Chapter 9.2).

With regards to the latter of the above points however, it should be noted that one area in which this period of occupation at Titelberg may not tally with current thinking on the site is with regards to its characterisation as an *oppidum*. As the only notable difference between this period of occupation and its predecessor is the scale on which activities were undertaken, it can be said that later considerations of this site in conjunction with current thinking on the parameters by which *oppida* are defined, (see Chapter 11), will likely reveal similarities and

⁵¹ Roymans has also suggested that Titelberg, Variscourt, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, and Pommiers were actually termini along the Roman-Gallic trade routes (1990, 164).

differences in Titelberg's adherence to the term, just as the author supposed the case would be for its use between 150/100 and 55/50 BC (see Chapter 9.3.1.3), and in doing so put forth the notion that this term may no longer be valid when used in connection with this site.

9.3.3: Period 3: 30/25 BC – AD 20/25

The beginning of Period 3 occupation at Titelberg coincides with the onset of Augustan rule in Rome, and an increased Roman imperial interest in Gaul. Many consider the earlier Augustan era to represent the end of Iron Age traditions in Gaul, because as the region was absorbed into the Roman Empire (Brogan 1953, 26; Drinkwater 1983, 20-21; Haselgrove 1987, 196; 1996, 138; King 1990, 64; Millett 1990, 32; Woolf 1998, 32), this period saw the emergence of Roman architecture and governance systems, especially in southern Gaul (King 1990, c.3; Vanderhoeven 1996, 190; Woolf 1998, 32, 44-45, 118-119). However, with this said native practices tended to prevail in northern Gaul, the area in which Titelberg is sited, as the changes occurring in southern regions tended to be slower to appear in the north (King 1990, c.3; Vanderhoeven 1996, 190; Woolf 1998, 118-119). Consequently, as Period 3 progresses one might expect to see, at Titelberg, the continuation of Iron Age practices coupled with an increase in cultural practices and beliefs more commonly associated with the Roman World.

9.3.3.1: The Evidence

The archaeological record pertaining to Period 3 occupation at Titelberg comprises a complex web of morphological entities that can be said to shed light on the activities carried out at the site between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25, and which largely mirror those in existence during Period 2 but in greater numbers, (see Appendix 9.21); a large ceramic assemblage comprising 1006 vessels, (see Appendix 9.22), and representing 13 form types (see Figure 9.47); bronze-working debris; 40 brooches in 11 distinct styles (see Appendix 9.23/Figure 9.48), and 51 coins that appear in 16 different types (see Appendix 9.23/Figure 9.49). The artefacts were recovered from across 14 context types, of which pits and ditches remain the most prolific, (see Figure 9.50).

Period 3 also saw the continued use of Lamadelaine and Goeblange-Nospelt for the deposition of the region's dead. Period 3 use of Lamadelaine is represented by 25 burials, spread 12:13 across Areas B and C respectively, and 5 pit offerings located in Area C. Furthermore, a total of 147 ceramic vessels in 12 form types, (see Appendix 9.24/Figure 9.51), were recovered from across these features alongside 178 additional artefacts (Appendix 9.25) which can be divided

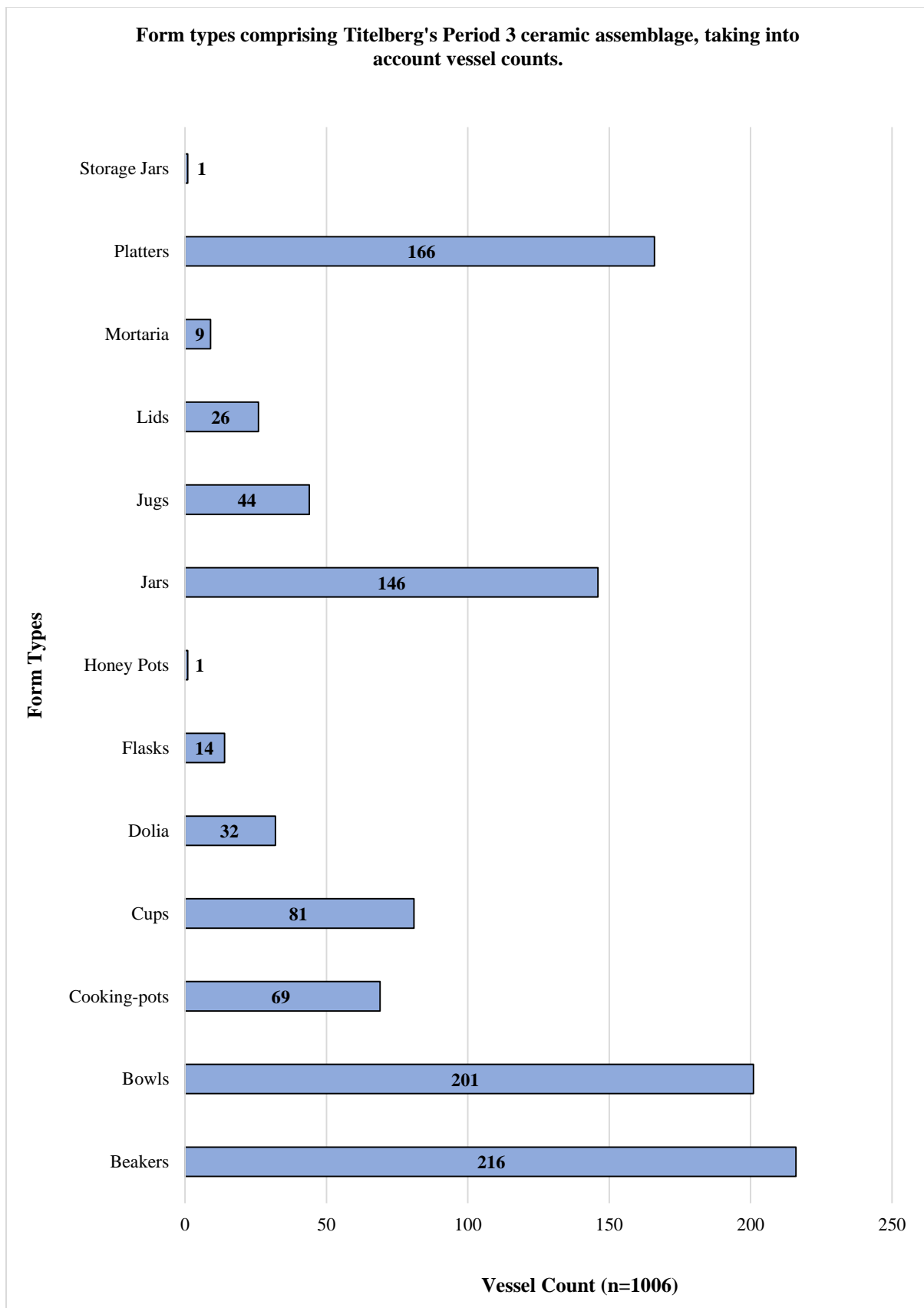


Figure 9.47: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b; Metzler *et al.* 1999.

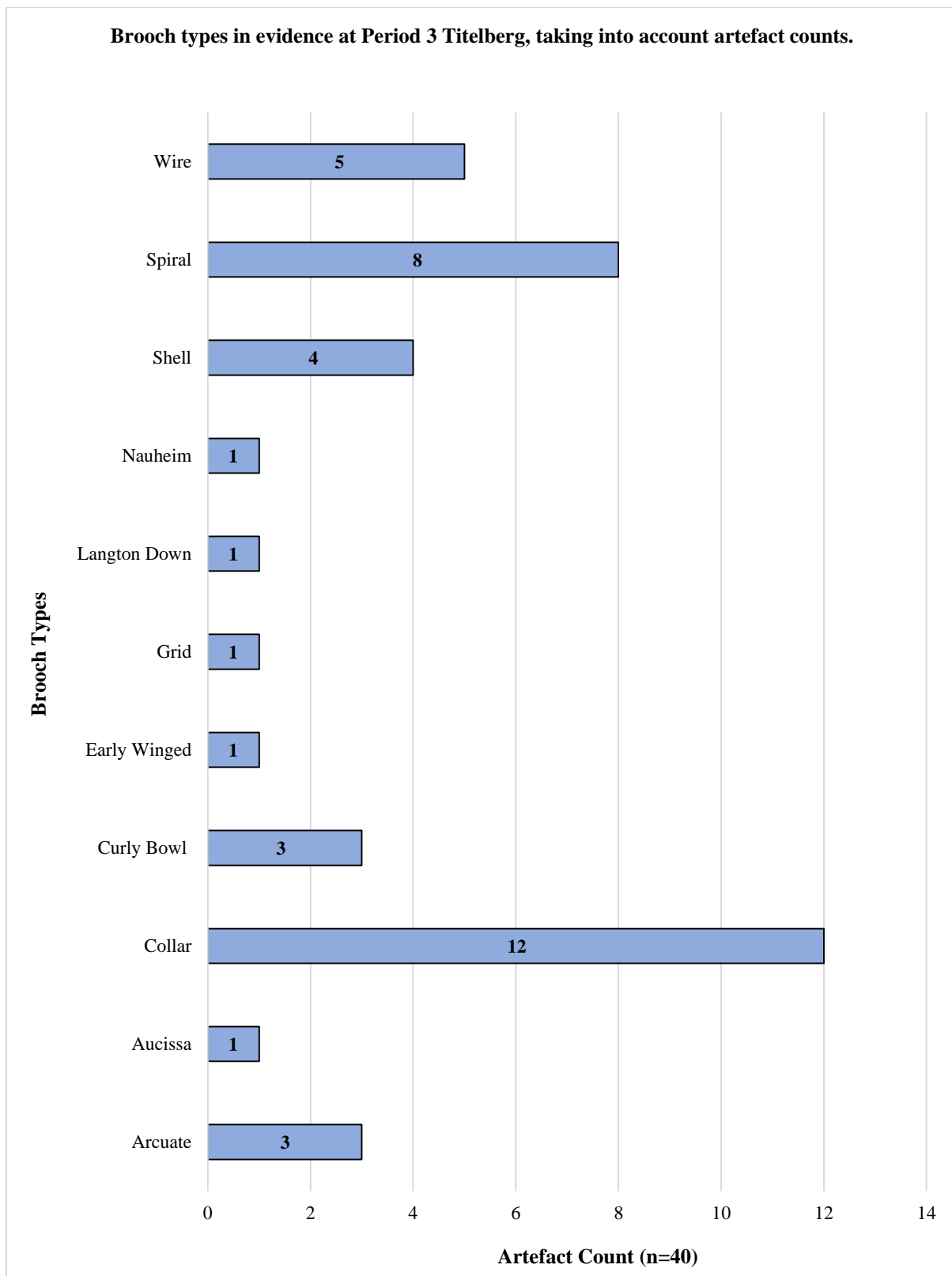


Figure 9.48: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

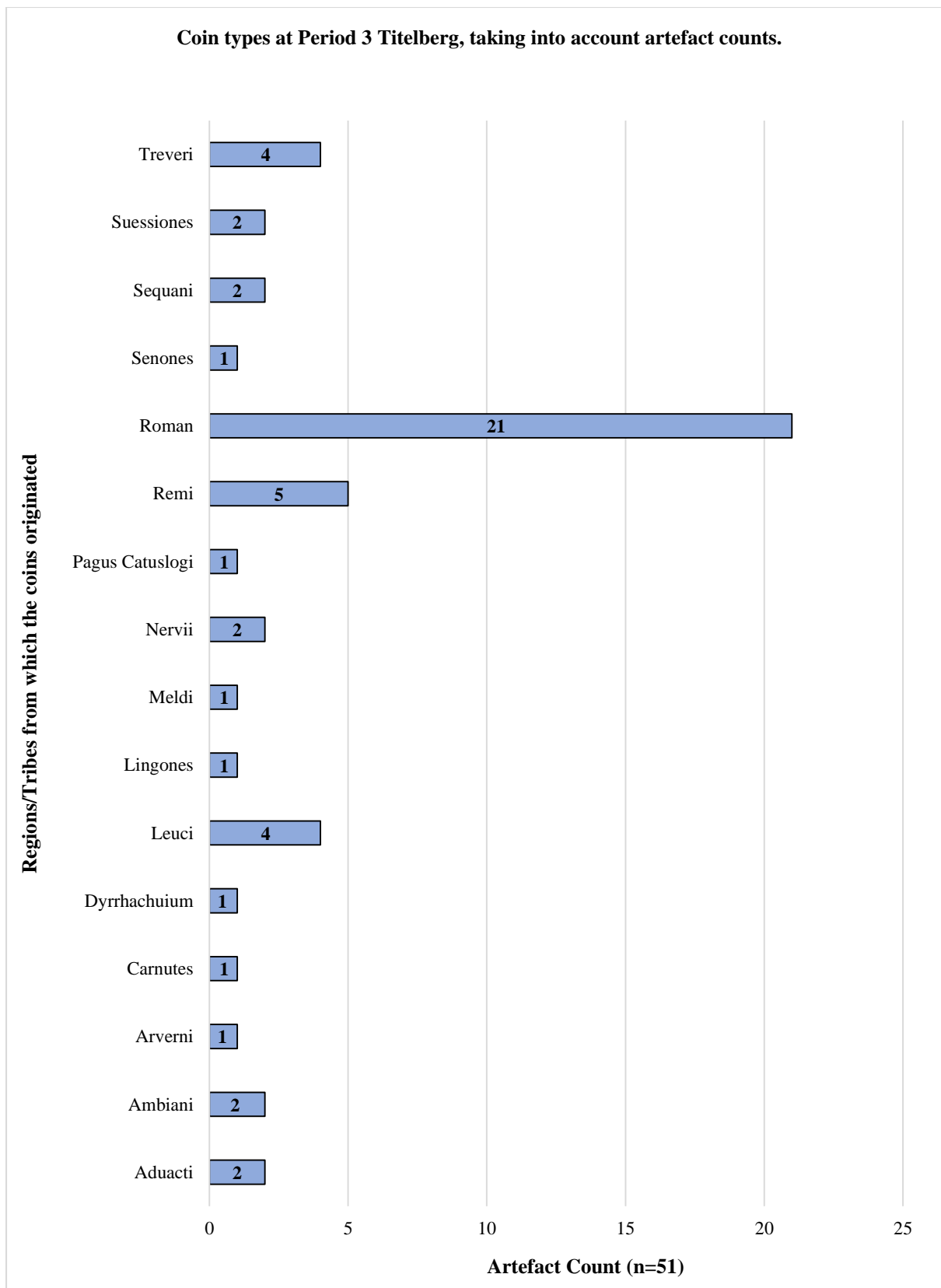


Figure 9.49: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

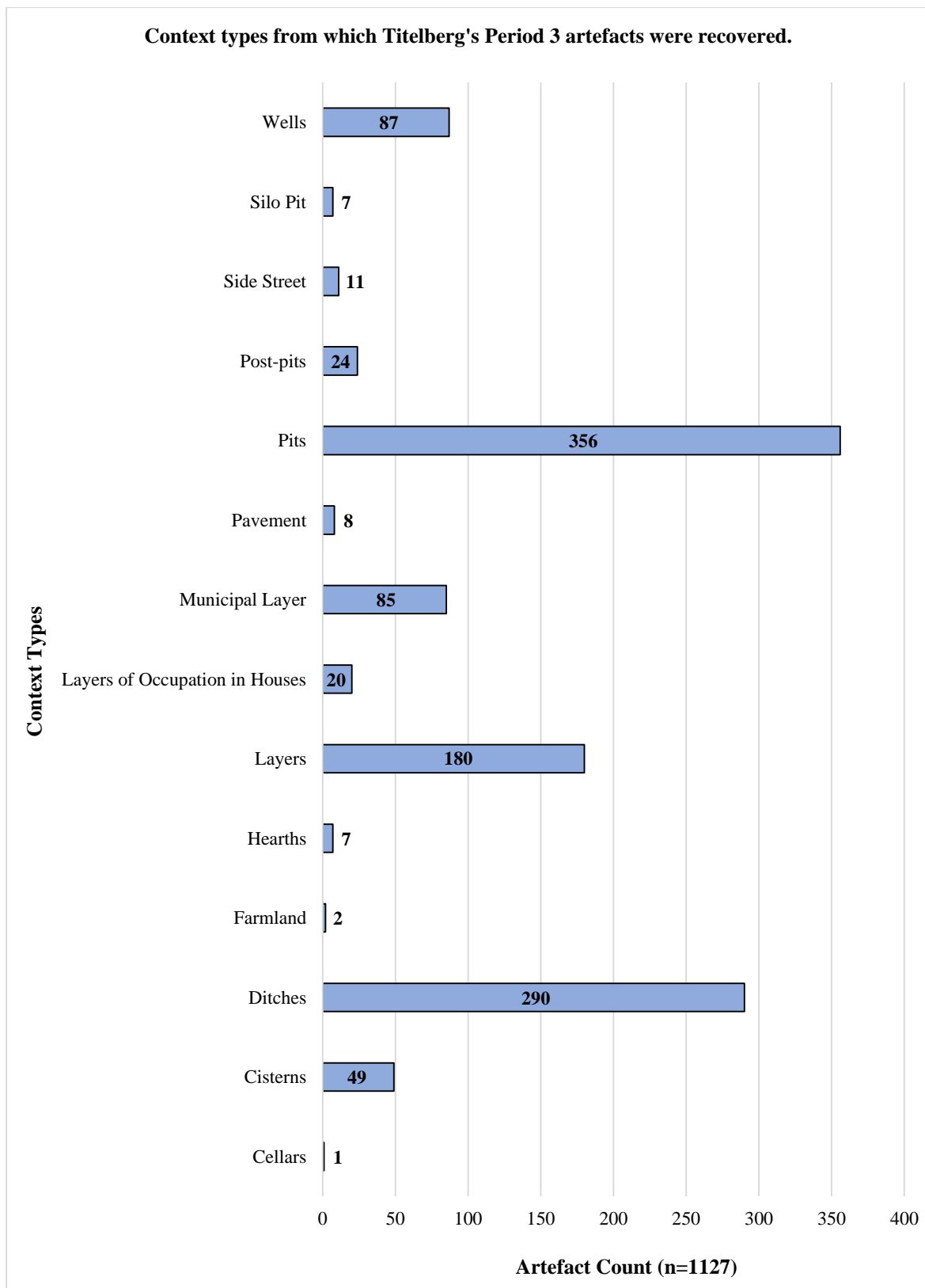


Figure 9.50: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

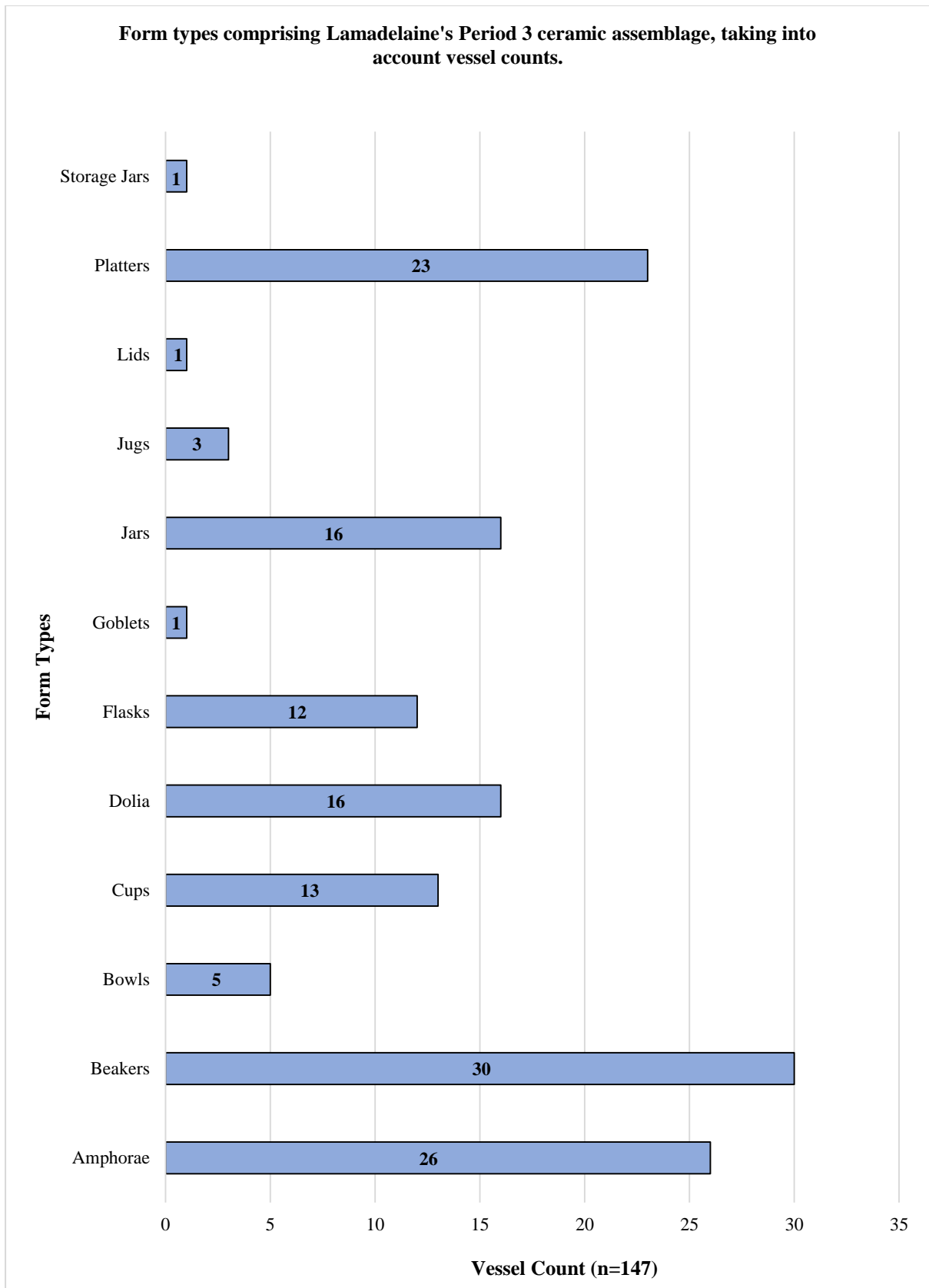


Figure 9.51: Based on information from: Metzler *et al.* 1999.

into 9 sub-categories, (see Figure 9.52), 2 of which have not previously been seen in association with Titelberg: figurines and gaming paraphernalia.

Finally, the cemetery of Goebblange-Nospelt was once more used only for comparative purposes within this section. Thus, it is necessary to take stock of the site's ceramic and artefact records here. The former of these assemblages comprised 253 vessels representing 11 form types (see Appendix 9.26/Figure 9.53) and 278 additional artefacts which can be divided into 15 subcategories (Appendix 9.27/Figure 9.54).

9.3.3.2: An Analysis

As can be seen from Appendix 9.21 Period 3 occupation at Titelberg is supported by the same types of morphological entity in evidence during Period 2, albeit in different quantities. This observation is valuable to our understanding of occupation at Titelberg, especially when one takes into account the fact that this chronological period is traditionally believed to mark the beginning of Roman occupation in Gaul (see page 329), because the structural features can be said to highlight the continuation of native activities, first established during Period 1 (see page 311), at the site, despite Gaul's annexation into the Empire at this time. Therefore, it would appear, based on this body of evidence, that Titelberg avoided the re-organisation witnessed at some of its contemporaneous southern settlements after this event (Woolf 1998, 118-119); and moreover, was able to continue its engagement in activities that could be considered characteristically Iron Age (see Chapter 3).

Bearing the above points in mind our attention turns to the site's ceramic assemblage, which includes a good representation of both native and Roman form types (see Figure 9.47). With regards to this latter point, it can be seen from Figure 9.55 that in comparison to Titelberg's Period 2 ceramic assemblage, the site's Period 3 vessels comprised similar numbers of both native and foreign form types, although in each case some differences can be observed. Native forms started to be represented by fewer vessels, although none were taken out of circulation; while, those vessels more commonly associated with Roman dining habits increased in number, particularly where cup and beaker forms were concerned (see Figure 9.55). Consequently, these changes suggest that Roman tablewares were now common place in the daily lives of Titelberg's occupants, whilst also allowing us to surmise that while the site's morphology, and the activities this supported, was not significantly influenced by Gaul's annexation the same could not be said of its material culture.

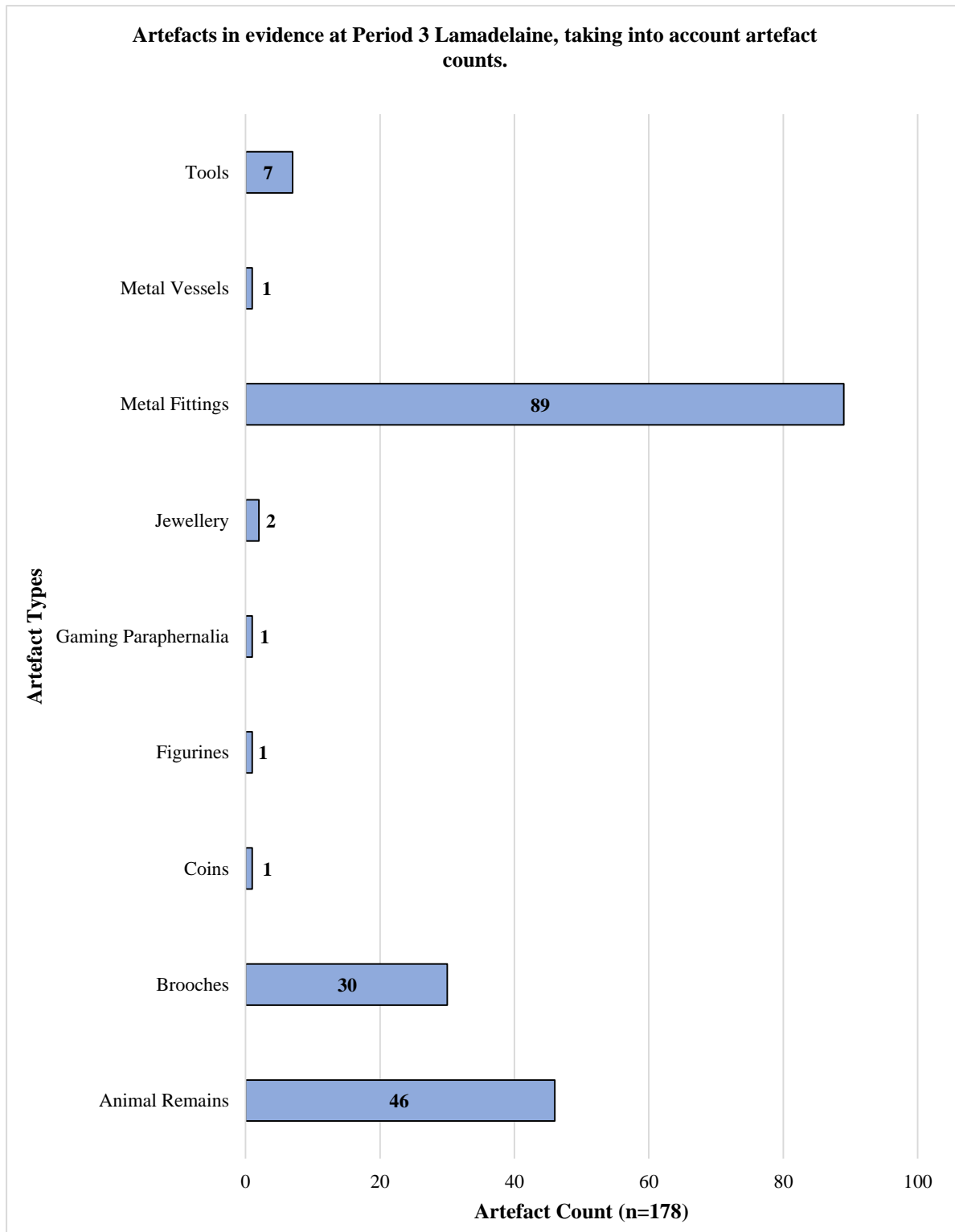


Figure 9.52: Based on information from: Metzler *et al.* 1999.

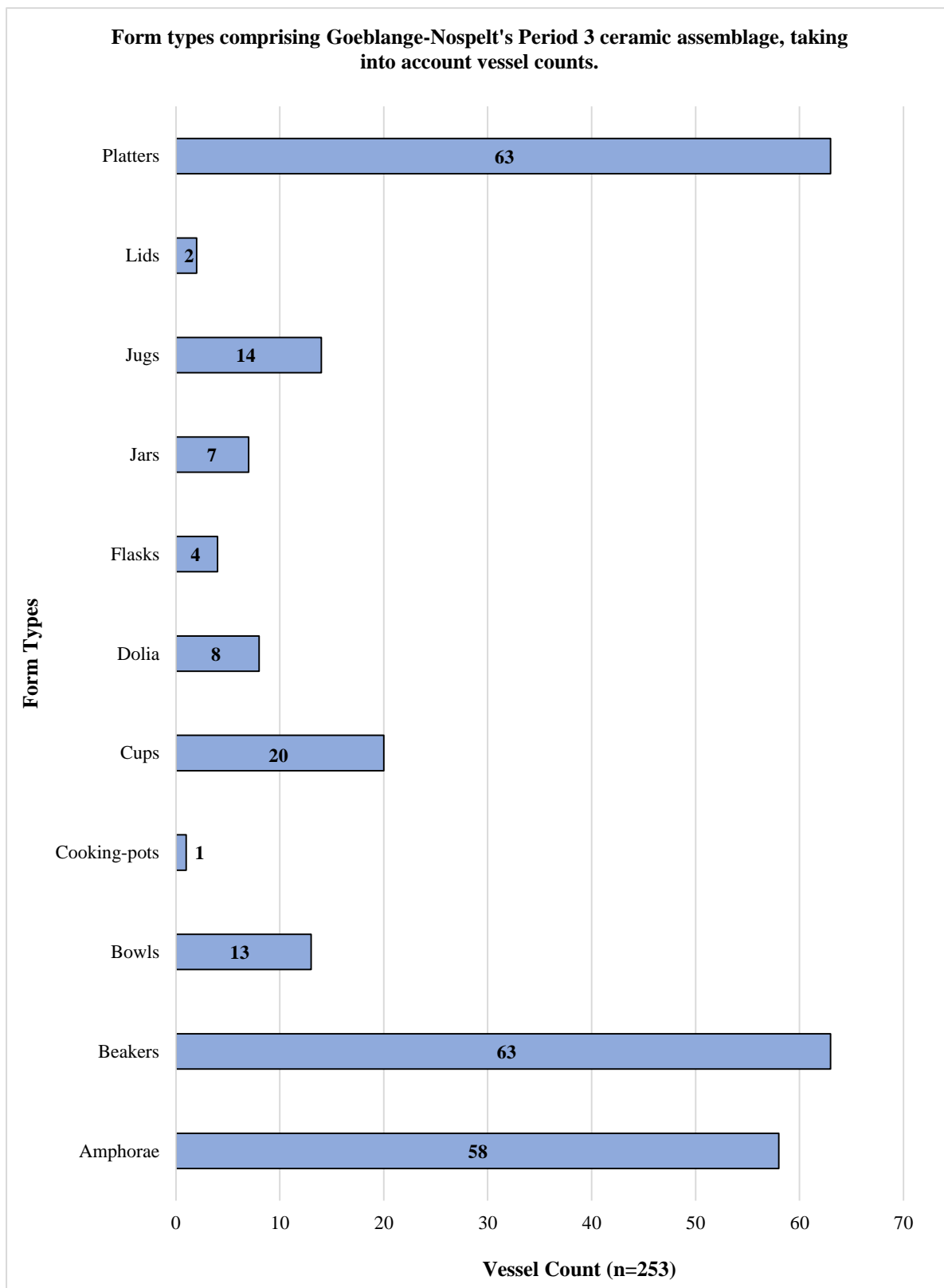


Figure 9.53: Based on information from: Metzler and Gaeng 2009).

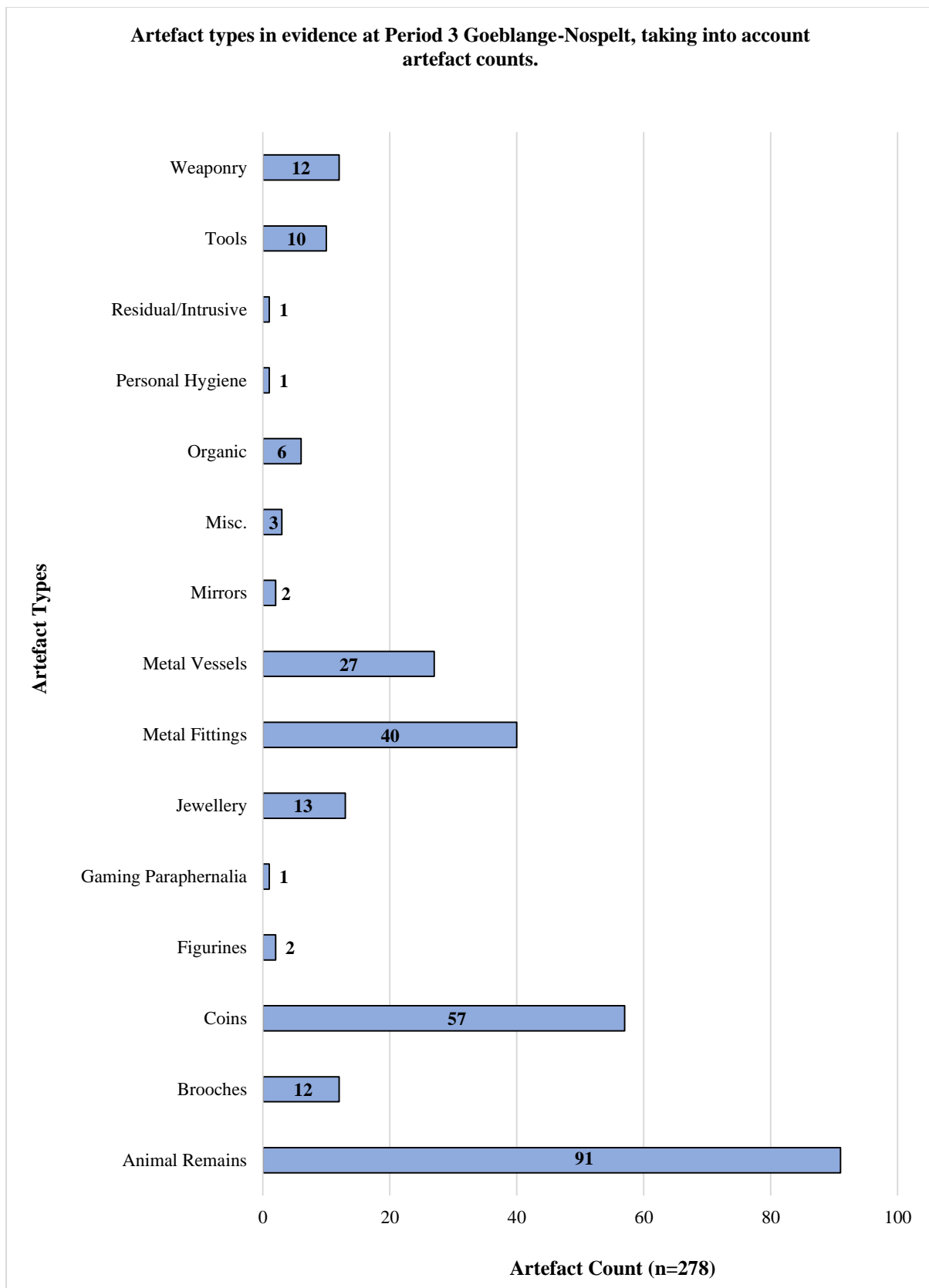


Figure 9.54: Based on information from: Metzler and Gaeng 2009.

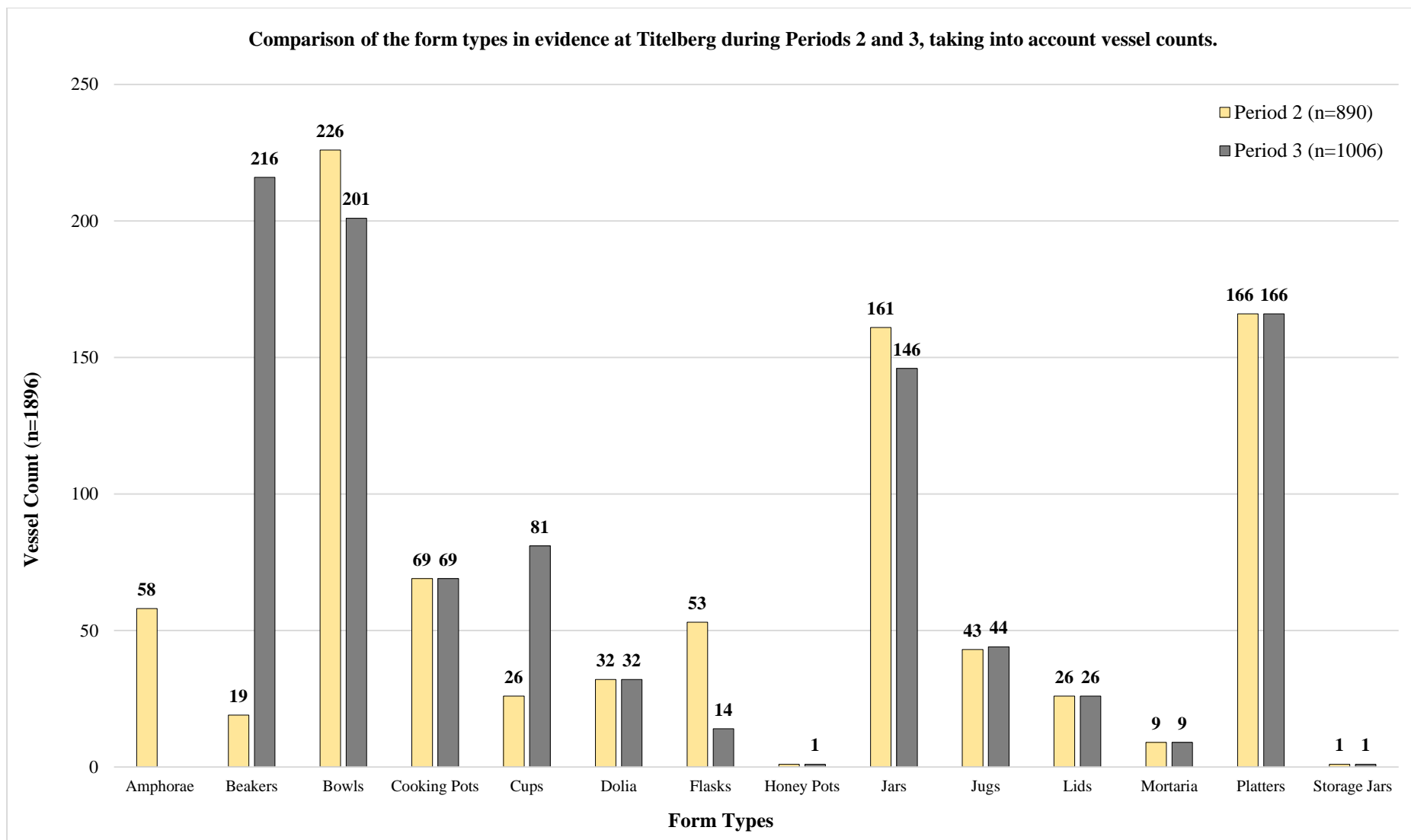


Figure 9.55: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b; Metzler *et al.* 1999.

Furthermore, regardless of whether these form types were native or Roman in style they continued to support typical Iron Age processes; namely domestic occupation coupled with farming regimes and domestic craft production (see Chapter 3.4). In other words, they are form types that many believe were associated with the preparation, consumption, and storage of food stuffs within the domestic sphere during the later Iron Age (see Chapter 3.4.3); a conclusion that is also supported by the context types from which they were recovered, as can be seen when we consider Figure 9.50 in conjunction with Chapter 6.2.1. This evidence suggests that life at Titelberg continued in much the same vein as it had during Periods 1 and 2, only in this instance these processes had a Roman undertone. That is to say, the communal nature of Iron Age dining had been superseded by the independent consumption promoted by Roman form types such as cups and platters (Okun 1989, 47); a development that could speak to the ways in which Titelberg's occupants adjusted to the wider changes taking place in Gaul at this time, just as Okun believes was the case in the Rhineland between 100 BC and AD 69 (*ibid*, 50).

Figure 9.56 tells us that locally produced vessels were once more the most prominent at Titelberg; while Figures 9.57-9.58 demonstrate that although the number of imports from Gaul increased, the number of regions supplying imports fell. These observations allow us to determine three things. Firstly, that the local potteries continued to expand and meet the needs of the local population, a process that is demonstrable through an increase in locally produced wares, as well as the fact that locally produced vessels continued to outnumber imports; secondly, that there was still a demand for imported wares from Gaul at Titelberg, a demand that was likely put on local merchants for the same reasons as it had been during Period 2 (see pages 341-347); and finally, that as Dressel 1 reached the end of its period of currency they were not replaced by amphorae from other regions, at least at Titelberg itself, (alternatives were however present within the site's burials, see (Appendices 9.24 and 9.26)). Consequently, this evidence can be said to demonstrate a continuation of practices first established at the site during Period 1, whilst also highlighting a change in the relationship this population had with amphorae and its contents. In other words, either the goods once transported in amphorae were now arriving at the site in another form of container, or these vessels, once empty, were redistributed containing new goods, or reserved for interment, within the burials, of the site's dead.

Bearing the above in mind our attention turns to the other artefacts at Titelberg dating to this period of occupation (see Appendix 9.23). The first thing to note as we embark on our consideration of this evidence is that Thomas *et al.* (1976) and Rowlett *et al.* (1982) believed that the ‘Foundation House’, the area of Titelberg’s plateau given over to the production of coins, peaked in activity in c.27 BC as this date marks the beginning of the structure’s most prolific period of coin flan production (Thomas *et al.* 1976, 304; Rowlett 1982, 251)⁵². Consequently, we would expect to see considerably more locally produced coins within the artefact record than had been present during Period 2; however, as can be seen from Figure 9.49 this was not the case.

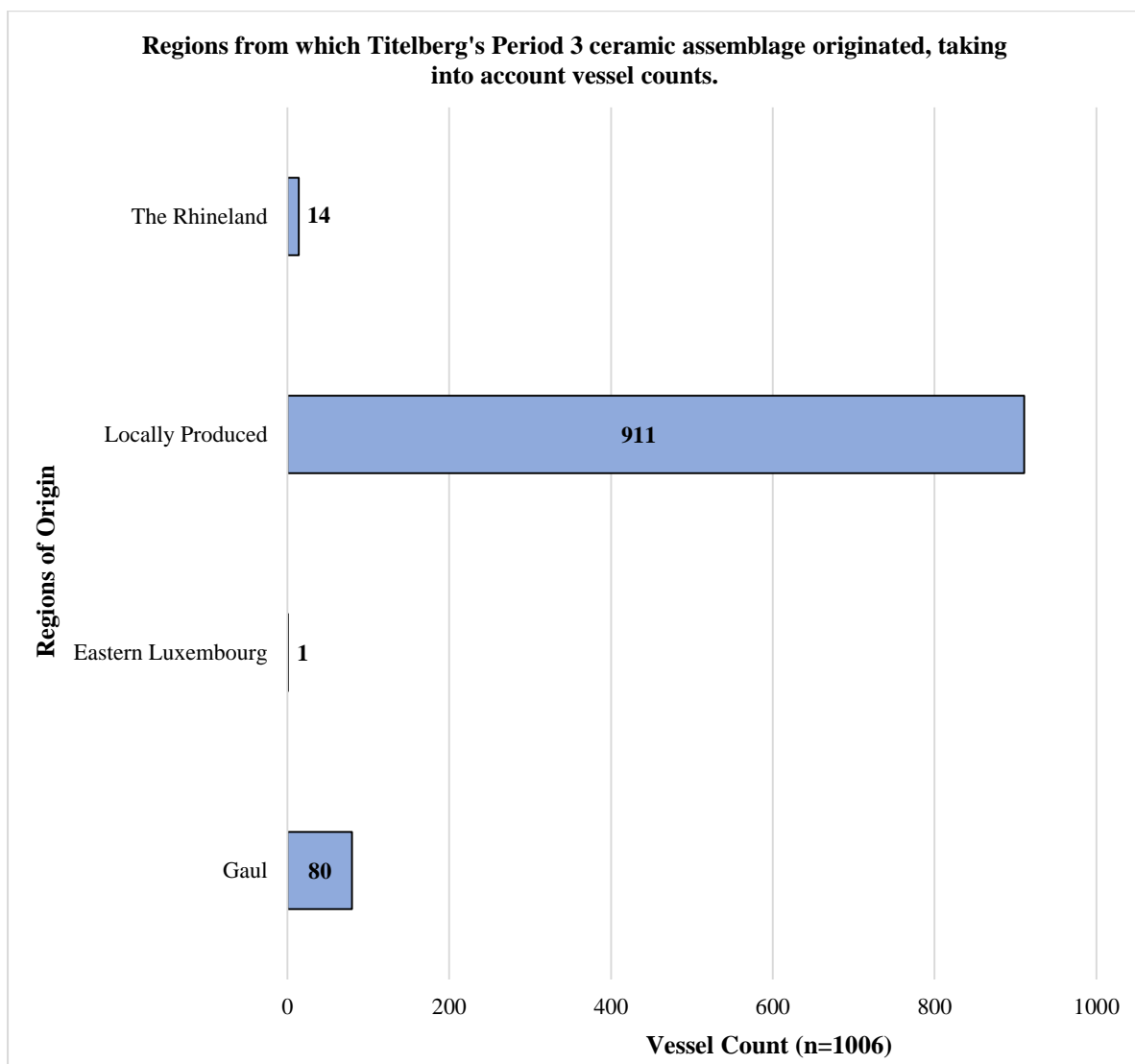


Figure 9.56: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

⁵² It should be noted here that this evidence, that is the coin flans, are not considered within the thesis because the quantities of this material are not provided within the reports, therefore it could not be analysed in the same way that the other artefacts recovered at Titelberg could.

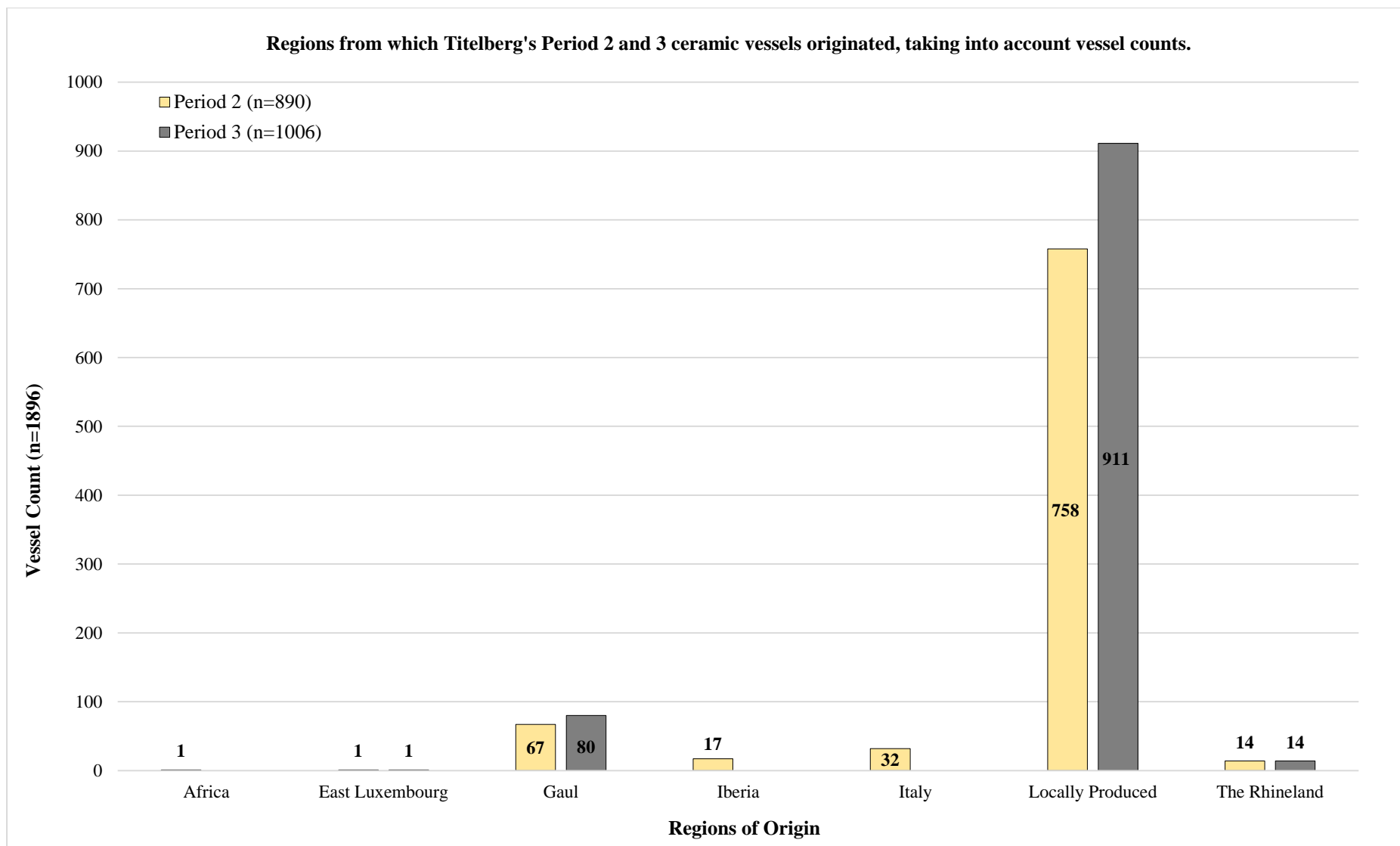


Figure 9.57: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

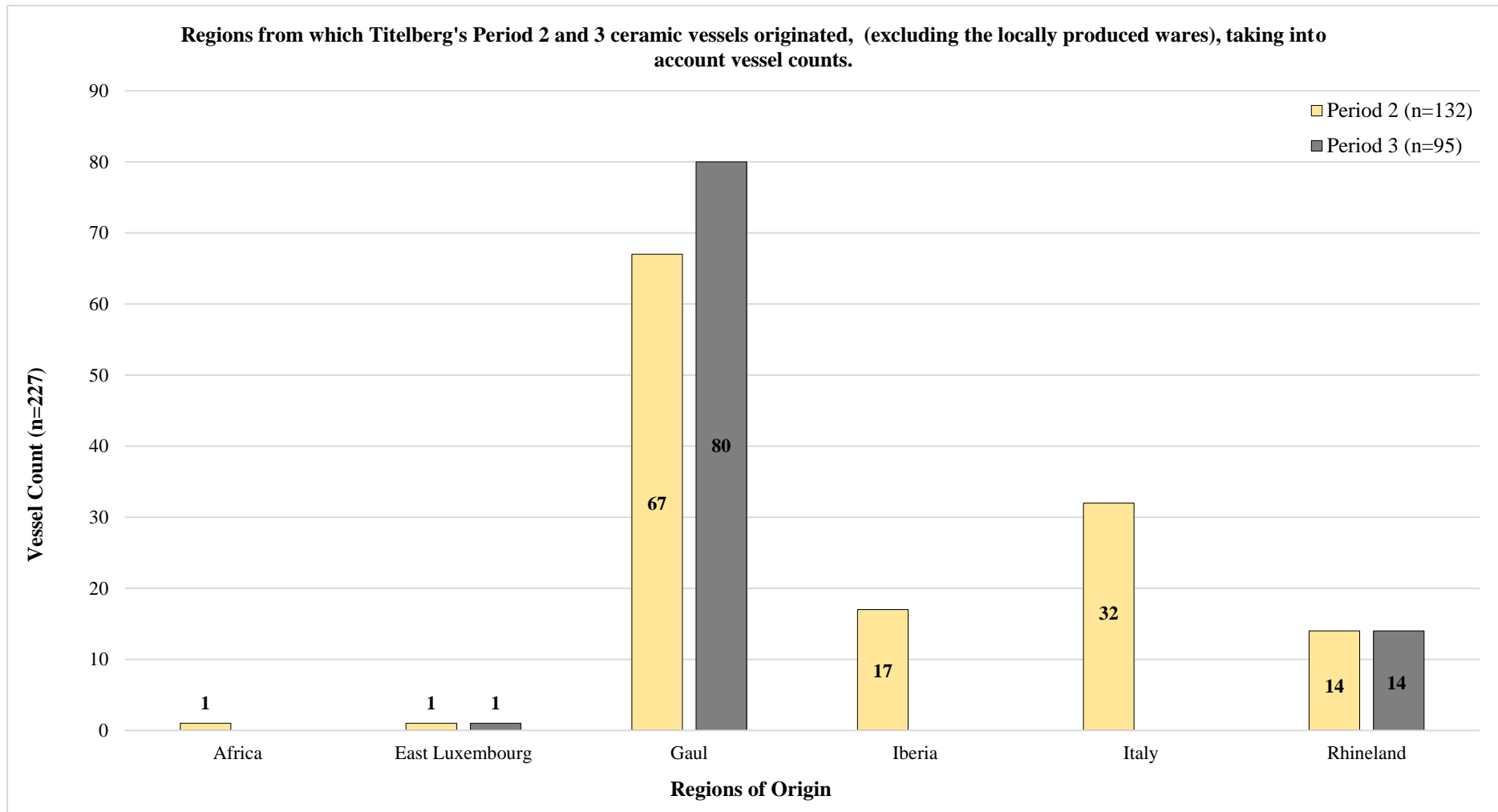


Figure 9.58: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

Unlike Titelberg's potteries which continued to prosper over the course of Period 3, the site's mint seems to have become diminished. Between Periods 2 and 3, the number of Treveri coins in evidence fell from 51 to only 4. While this evidence appears to be at odds with the interpretations presented within the current literature, it is possible that the majority of coins minted at Titelberg were consumed elsewhere. However, with this said the author believes we would still find a reasonable quantity of locally minted coins at the settlement to mirror this apparently fruitful period of production; especially when one takes into account the number of coins bearing Cunobelin's name at Colchester during this site's peak in minting activities (see Chapter 7.3.4.2). It is possible therefore, that while Titelberg still maintained some semblance of its regional importance in terms of the minting of its region's coinage, increased Roman policy in Gaul at this time (Vanderhoeven 1996, 190; Woolf 1998, 44-45), may have contributed to the decline in these activities, preferring the newly annexed province to make use of, and presumably mint, Roman coinage; an inference that is made all the more likely when we take into account the rise in Roman coinage not only at Titelberg (see Figure 9.49), but within the Goebblange-Nospelt burials as well (see Figure 9.54).

This increase in Roman coinage can, in many ways, be deemed unsurprising, and the result of the Roman's increasing grasp upon Gaul; especially as these coins were exchanged as physical tokens to represent newly forged social relationships; just as it is presumed the ever present coinage from Gallic tribes continued to be. This assertion is made by the author with conviction because the expansion of Titelberg's industries over the course of Period 3 tells us that the site continued to be a prolific economic centre, a role that would have seen many goods exchanged, a process that, should coinage have been used in the same way as modern currencies, would have resulted in considerably more coinage within the site's artefact record than there is. Conversely, it is possible that the coinage minted at Titelberg was not consumed at the site at all, and as such we have to ponder the possibility that this site was a production site rather than one where goods were consumed beyond what was required by its resident population. In other words, despite the coinage being minted at Titelberg it may have then been used elsewhere within the Treveri's environs.

Finally, it remains for us to consider the site's brooches. As was noted in Figure 9.48, 11 brooch types were in circulation during Period 3; Figure 9.59 meanwhile illustrates that imported brooches outnumbered those which were locally produced. Based on these observations one can conclude that there was a greater range of brooch types available for

consumption; which in turn allows us insight into the changing fashions of the time. The fact that many of these brooches were imported tells us that local craftsmen may not have been able to meet local demand for these products, or alternatively had yet to determine how to manufacture them themselves. Although, it is equally possible there was no need for local craftsmen to manufacture these products, as the site's economic proficiency may have meant that imported wares were more affordable in this guise than local copies. This latter supposition would mean therefore that it is unlikely that these items were used in displays of power and wealth, as it is often believed imports were (see Chapter 5.3).

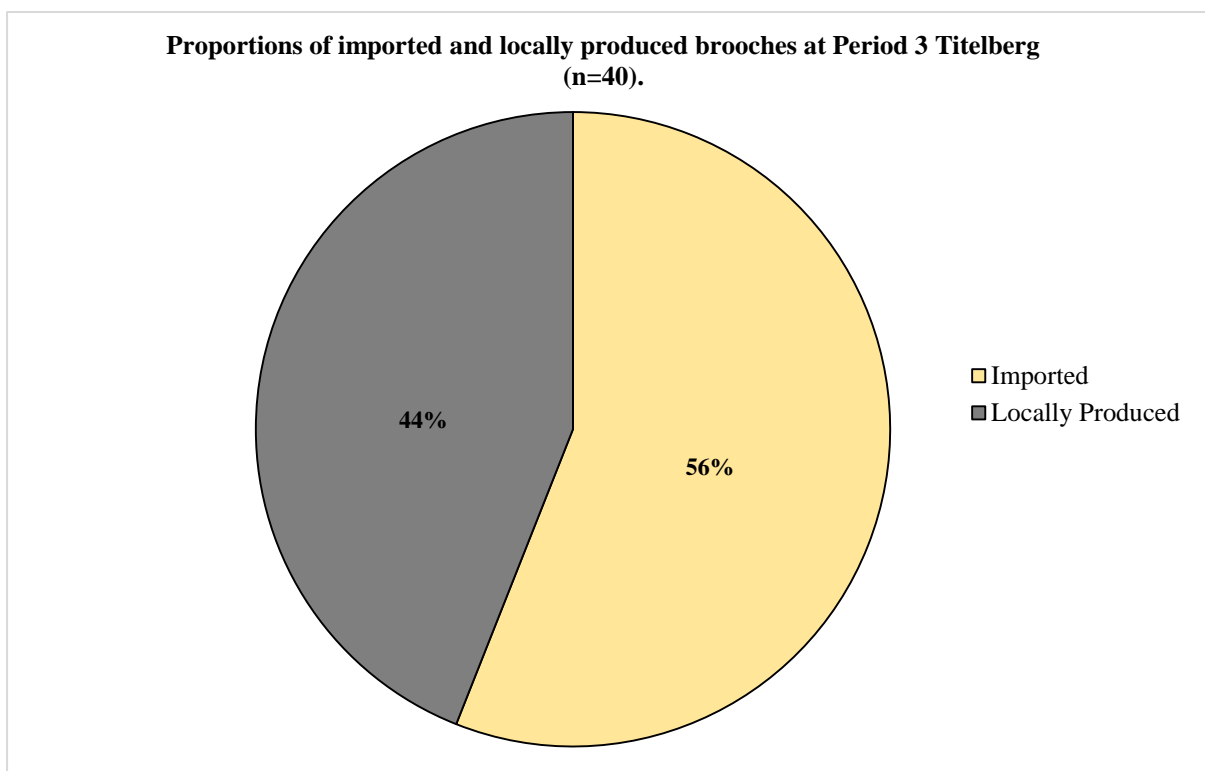


Figure 9.59: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

With the above in mind our attention turns to Period 3 use of Lamadelaine, which was associated with 25 burials and 4 pit offerings, (see Chapter 9.3.3.1). Consequently, nothing can be said to have changed with regards to the cemetery's morphology between Periods 2 and 3; thus, we progress to a consideration of what an analysis of the site's ceramic assemblage revealed. From Figure 9.51 it is evident that the form types in evidence are once again those one would associate with the consumption of food and drink; thus their presence within the graves can be linked to the fulfilment of the same burials rites observed during Periods 1 and 2 (see pages 321, 349).

Furthermore, when one considers Figure 9.60 it becomes evident that it was not only on Titelberg's plateau that the use of Roman form types became common place during Period 3; this histogram clearly illustrates a considerable increase in these forms since Period 2. Consequently, it is the author's view that the incorporation of these goods has to do with their practicalities and not their potential use as symbols of power as it was surmised they had been during Period 1 (see page 322).

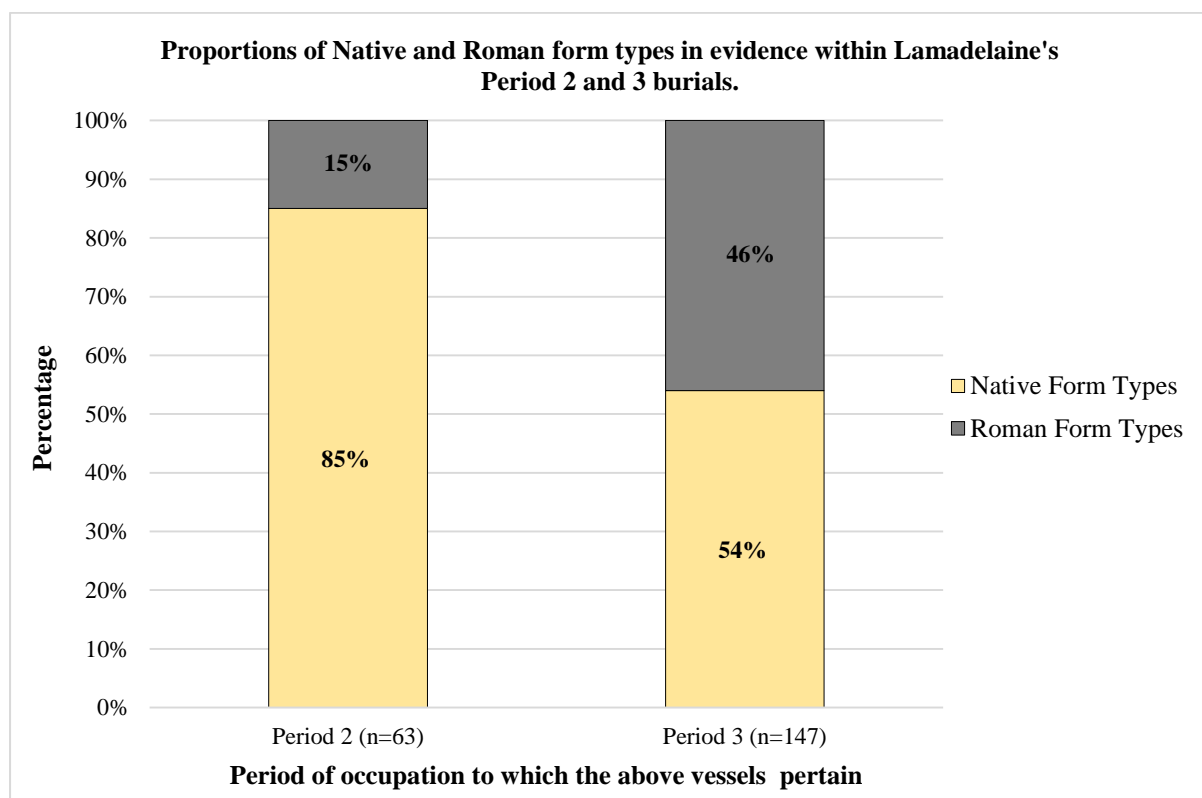


Figure 9.60: Based on information from: Metzler *et al.* 1999.

Progressing to a consideration of the origins of the vessels recovered from Period 3 burials at Lamadelaine, it can be seen from Figure 9.61 locally produced vessels were by far the most numerous within the cemetery; an observation that also tells us that many of the form types with Roman traits in evidence were manufactured at Titelberg. Despite this, it is clear from Figure 9.61 that Italian amphorae still played a vital role in the funerary rites observed at Lamadelaine. The fact that these vessels were imported to the site, and are therefore likely to have been 'costly', causes the author to stand by the conclusions drawn in relation to this evidence of Period 2 date: that the mourners used these vessels to amplify the offerings made to both the dead and local deities during the funerary proceedings (see page 322). Italian

amphorae however are not the only imports to have been incorporated within the Period 3 grave fills at Lamadelaine.

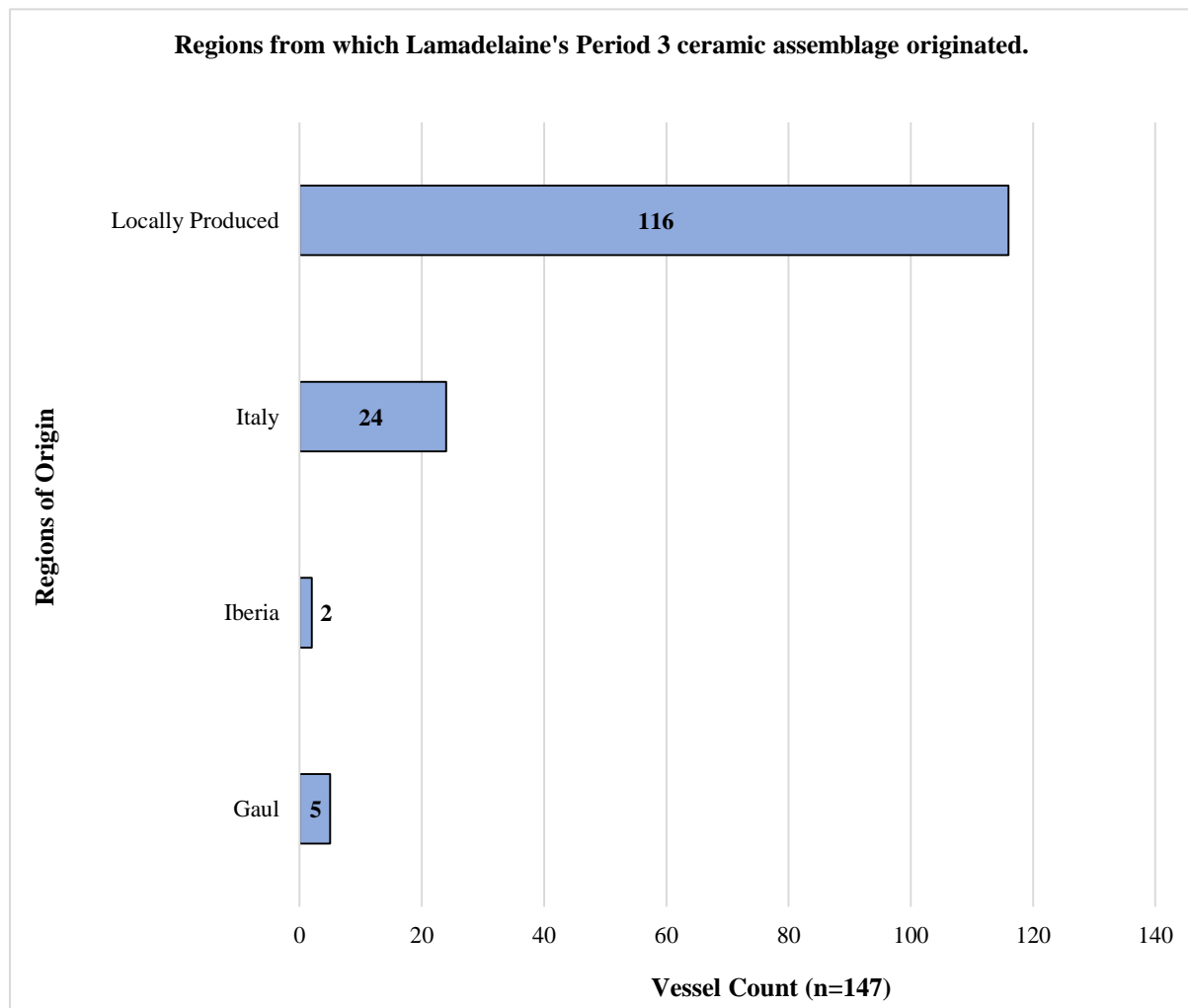


Figure 9.61: Based on information from: Metzler *et al.* 1999.

These additional imports originated from both Gaul and Iberia, see Figure 9.61. The Iberian vessels, (Pascual 1 amphorae), as well as the Campanian amphorae from Gaul, can be said to represent the occupants of Titelberg finding alternative sources for amphorae once Dressel 1 ceased to be manufactured; these vessels can be said to have fulfilled the same roles as their Italian counterparts, (see page 322). The additional vessels from Gaul, on-the-other-hand, may be indicative of burials containing individuals of power. This assertion can be made for two reasons; firstly, because the use of these vessels at Titelberg has been convincingly linked to individuals of status, (see page 366); and secondly, because their previous absence at the cemetery tells us that they were not necessary to fulfil the burial rites observed in this region. Consequently, their presence could represent the removal of these vessels from circulation to

ensure that the status they had bestowed upon the deceased in life could not be passed onto another, and in doing so confirm Metzler *et al.*'s view that while this cemetery was not reserved solely for the interment of the elite it was also not exclusively for those individuals of lower, but not the lowest, social standing (1999, 447).

Figure 9.52 meanwhile illustrates that in addition to ceramic vessels Lamadelaine's Period 3 burials contained a wealth of artefacts that can be divided into 9 sub-categories. While the majority of these artefacts mirror those recovered from burials of both Period 1 and 2 date, and thus represent the same burial rites and day-to-day activities as those from earlier periods of the cemetery's use (see pages 324-328, 350), there are two previously unseen categories of artefact: gaming paraphernalia and figurines.

Only one of Lamadelaine's Period 3 graves, Burial 53, contains gaming paraphernalia, but this does not make its appearance any less significant. It is not unusual for native communities, in particular high-status individuals, to have engaged in gaming during leisure time, any more than it is unusual for these artefacts to make their way into burials belonging to individuals of status; as can be seen when we take into consideration their presence within the Warrior Burial at Stanway, Colchester (see Chapter 7.3.4.2). Consequently, the presence of these artefacts at Lamadelaine not only exemplifies the adoption of Roman cultural practices by native communities, but depicts the grave from which it was recovered as belonging to an individual of power, thus verifying Metzler *et al.*'s belief that some of these graves belonged to individuals of status (*ibid*, 447).

Similarly, the figurine recovered in Burial 53, can also be said to suggest that the individual interred within this grave was one of status, because this object is unlikely to have had much practical purpose, and is therefore likely evidence for conspicuous consumption. This therefore further emphasises the truth in Metzler *et al.*'s belief that some burials at Lamadelaine contained individuals of status (*ibid*, 447). Additionally, this figurine depicts a lion, an animal we would traditionally associate with classical imagery; thus we can state that it was more than just the Period 3 ceramic and coin assemblages attributed to Titelberg and the cemetery of Lamadelaine which demonstrate Roman influence on the region's material culture.

Finally, there is one last aspect of Lamadelaine's grave assemblages worth noting here: the quernstones. This is noteworthy because it further emphasises the continuation of native

practices on Titelberg during Period 3; in this case a continuation of the ideological significance ascribed to agricultural production and/or the processing of cereal crops. Consequently, we can state that the evidence dating to between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25 at Lamadelaine furthers the conclusions drawn in relation to the evidence recovered at Titelberg: that while native traditions prevailed increased Roman occupation in Gaul was beginning to affect the material culture in circulation.

Period 3 use of Goebblange-Nospelt meanwhile can be said to further emphasise the region's burial rites, as well as the cultural practices taking place in Titelberg's wider landscape. For the most part, the evidence attributed to this period of the cemetery's use mirrors those highlighted through an analysis of the archaeological record attributed to Period 2 Goebblange-Nospelt (see pages 351-354). For this reason there are only four aspects of the cemetery's vast archaeological record (see Appendices 9.26-9.27/Figure 9.53-9.54) that will be commented upon here; these include the Gallic wares, gaming paraphernalia, figurines, and mirrors. The inclusion of the first three of these artefact classes within the graves of Goebblange-Nospelt, an undeniably elite cemetery, can be said to verify the author's above interpretation that the inclusion of these artefacts within some graves at Lamadelaine, but particularly Burial 53, mark those buried alongside them as individuals of status. Meanwhile, the mirrors can be said to highlight another way in which the elite within Titelberg's wider landscape displayed their status, as these items are often recovered from elite burials, such as the Mirror Burial at Stanway, Colchester (see Chapter 7.3.4.2), typically believed to have belonged to high status females. Thus, this cemetery can be said to have furthered our understanding of Lamadelaine, whilst also highlighting additional means through which we might expect the elite to have displayed their power at Titelberg, means that these could crop up in future excavations at the site.

9.3.3.3: A Summary

Period 3 occupation at Titelberg whilst conforming to traditional perceptions of the activities engaged in on later Iron Age settlements was arguably, and irrevocably, altered by Gaul's annexation into the Roman Empire. This period saw a vast increase in the influence the Roman World had on the material culture utilised, and produced, by the site's occupants; whilst also marking a significant decline in locally produced coinage. Meanwhile, the increase in Roman coinage witnessed at this time suggests that the aforementioned process may have been governed by increased Roman policy in Gaul. This final point is of particular significance

because the decreasing prominence of Titelberg's mint identified by the author is at odds with the chronology for this structure's use presented within the literature; thus, Period 3 occupation at Titelberg cannot not be said to wholly adhere to current thinking on the site.

Furthermore, while much changed on Titelberg's plateau between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25, the cemetery of Lamadelaine was not privy to the same level of change. In other words this aspect of the site remained entirely native in nature.

In addition to the above, it should be noted that Titelberg's continued use for activities we would consider the norm for later Iron Age settlements, that is domestic occupation coupled with farming regimes and domestic/industrial craft production (see Chapter 3.4), despite increased Roman influences on its material culture are likely to continue to both support and call into question its characterisation as an *oppidum*. In other words, these activities, including the scale on which the industrial activities were conducted, are far from atypical for the period (see Chapters 3.4.2-3.4.4, Chapter 11.2), and as such were undertaken by the majority of settlements in use at this time (see Chapter 3.4), thus suggesting the author's later considerations of the site's habitation between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25 in conjunction with the defining characteristics of *oppida*, (see Chapter 11), will reveal a number of shortcomings in the application of this term. The site's continued connection with elaborate fortifications, on-the-other-hand, could reveal some areas in which the evidence supports the site's characterisation as an *oppidum*; as it is believed that structural evidence such as this denotes settlements of considerable power and status (see Chapter 5.3), which it is purported the *oppida* were (see Chapter 2).

9.3.4: Period 4: AD 25/30 – 50

AD 50 marks the end of our consideration of life at Titelberg because this date marks the end of the later Iron Age in much of south-east Britain with the Roman provinces in northern and western Temperate Europe well established. Consequently, we might expect Period 4 occupation at Titelberg to be characterised by an overhaul of native activities, particularly because this site is situated in an area of Gaul that is known to have been associated with the appearance of Roman towns, such as *Treverorum*, that led to occupation moving away from the regions *oppida* and into these new settlements (Duval 2008).

9.3.4.1: The Evidence

Period 4 occupation at Titelberg is represented, (within the archaeological record), by a wealth of archaeological materials. This evidence was primarily recovered from the site's plateau as both Lamadelaine and Goebange-Nospelt saw only minimal use during this phase of occupation. This period of occupation at Titelberg is represented by a number of morphological entities, though far fewer than Periods 1-3 (Appendix 9.28), and 563 ceramic vessels, (Appendix 9.29), comprising 8 form types (see Figure 9.62), recovered from 11 context types (see Figure 9.63). The only other evidence of Period 4 date attributed to Titelberg are metalworking debris; although future excavations could alter this tally.

Neither Lamadelaine (see Appendix 9.30) nor Goebange-Nospelt (see Appendix 9.31) were represented by extensive archaeological records at this time, thus there is no need to summarise their archaeological records here.

9.3.4.2: An Analysis

It can be seen from a cursory glance at the evidence dating to Period 4, that Titelberg was no longer as prolific as it had been between 150/100 BC and AD 20/25. This however, is not to say that the site completely ceased to be used in the way that it had between Periods 1 and 3.

From Appendix 9.28 it is evident that a number of the site's most frequently occurring morphological entities continued to be present, just less frequently. This tells us that while the site was still able to support domestic occupation coupled with farming, industrial, and religious activities these activities were no longer performed on the scale they had once been. Consequently, the assertions made within the current literature stating that the site decreased in prominence but continued to exist as an important economic centre during the Roman period, see Chapter 9.2, may be true; and it is with this in mind that we turn our attention to the site's ceramic assemblage.

Between Periods 1 and 3, Titelberg's ceramic assemblage comprised an average of 12 form types, 4 less than were in circulation during Period 4. This information, coupled with that presented in Figure 9.64, tells us that since Period 3 a number of form types had fallen out of use. There could be many explanations for this, but because the form types that fell out of use comprised: cooking-pots, dolia, jars, and lids, the author surmised that this evidence could be indicative of domestic occupation no longer being prolific at the site. This latter supposition

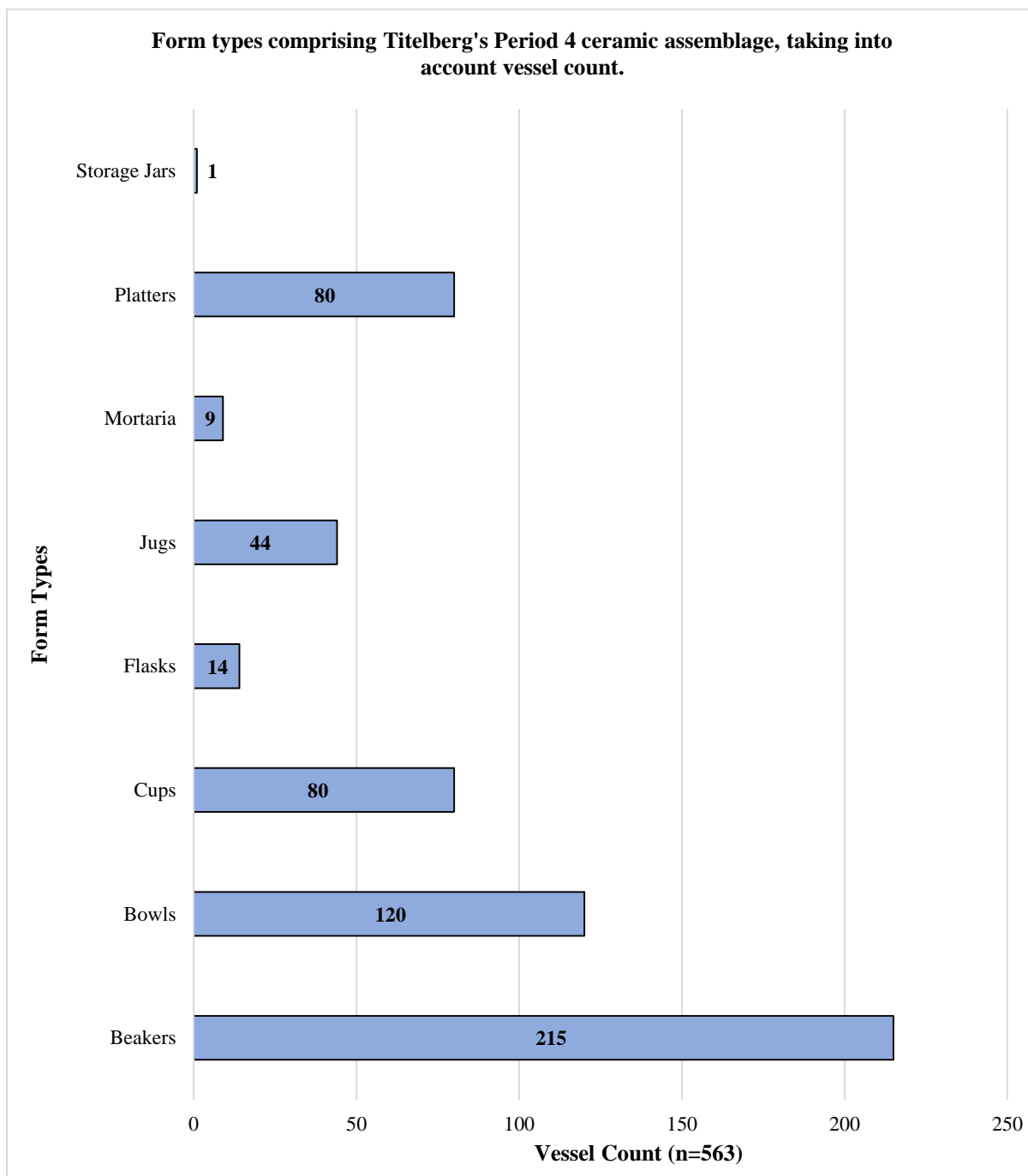


Figure 9.62: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b; Metzler *et al.* 1999).

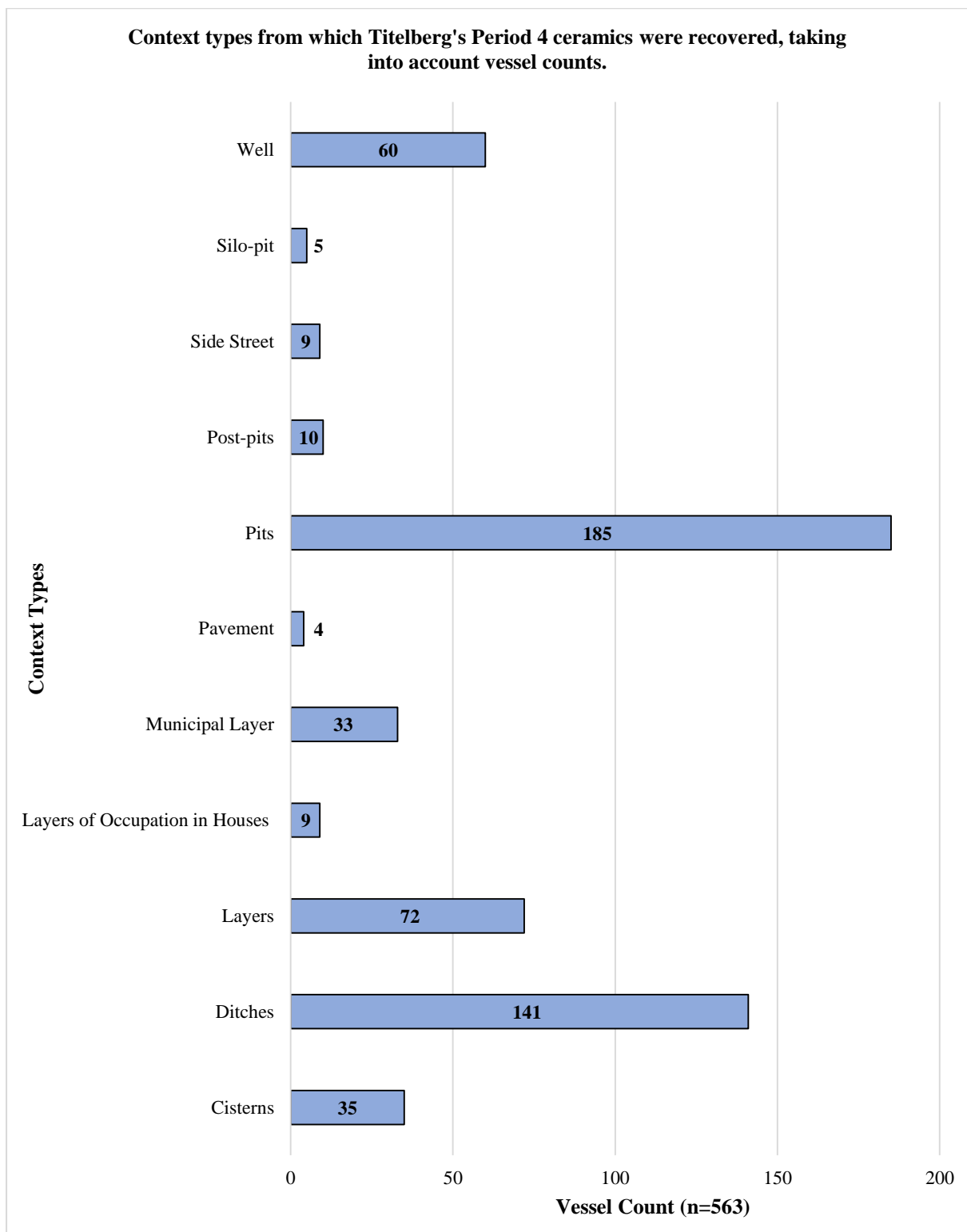


Figure 9.63: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

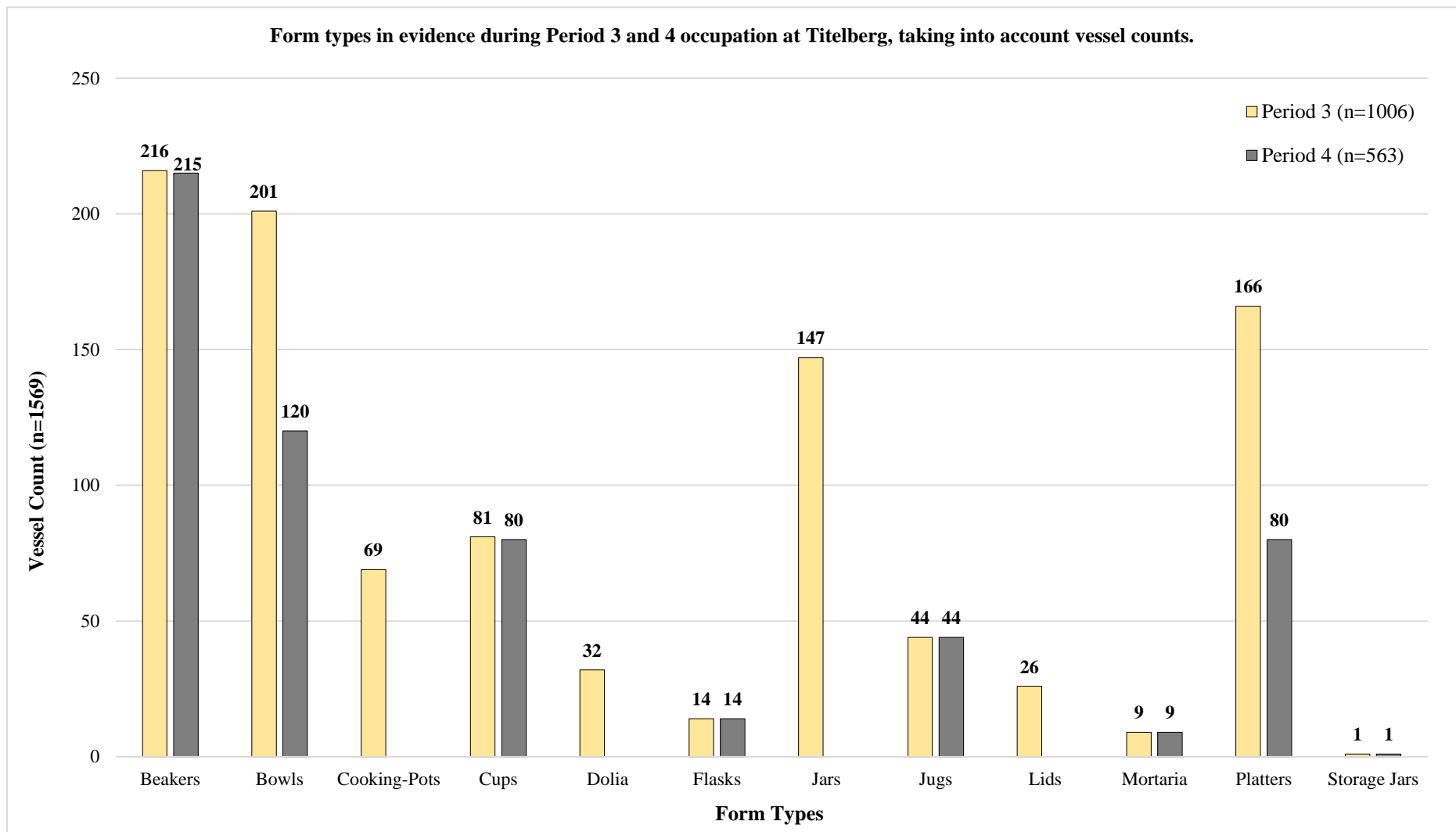


Figure 9.64: Based on information from Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

is supported by the fact we would usually find traces of vessels used to both cook and store foodstuffs on sites where domestic occupation was occurring (see Chapter 3.4.3).

However, a decline in domestic occupation is not the only plausible explanation for the decline in these form types. It is equally possible that an absence of these vessels is indicative of Titelberg no longer being used for communal events of a religious nature despite the continued existence of the 'Holy Enclosure'. This scenario can be considered because these events would usually be associated with the consumption of food and drink, processes that would require food to be carried, and possibly even cooked in situ. Consequently, it is possible that if anyone was using the 'Holy Enclosure' during Period 4 they were taking vessels to be used during ritual/religious ceremonies to the site and removing them once the celebrations were over. Conversely, it is also worth noting that by AD 25/30 many Iron Age sanctuaries had been replaced by Gallo-Roman temples (Woolf 1998, 235-236), thus the discontinuation of the 'Holy Enclosure' as a ritual centre during Period 4 is feasible.

In contrast to the above, the absence of cooking-pots, dolia, jars, and lids at Titelberg could have nothing to do with the site ceasing to function as a domestic settlement, and instead could be a reflection of the areas excavated by the National Museum of Luxembourg. While these latter points are feasible the author believes that the observed decrease in form types coupled with a decline in vessel numbers and in the use of Lamadelaine and Goebange-Nospelt makes the former interpretations all the more likely. It is with this in mind that we further explore the number of vessels in evidence.

As can be seen from Figures 9.62 and 9.64 Period 4 use of Titelberg is marked by the use of both native and non-native form types; and although the quantities of many of these vessels decreased during Period 4 their numbers remained relatively high. When we overlay this information with the vessels' origins, see Figure 9.65, it can be said to provide evidence for the continued existence of local potteries, albeit on a lesser scale than during Period 3 (see Figure 9.66), because locally produced vessels continued to be the most frequently occurring. Also, as the existence of domestic occupation at Period 4 Titelberg is uncertain this evidence can be used to surmise that this period saw the site used primarily as an economic centre. Thus, these vessels may represent the ceramics intended to be traded with local communities.

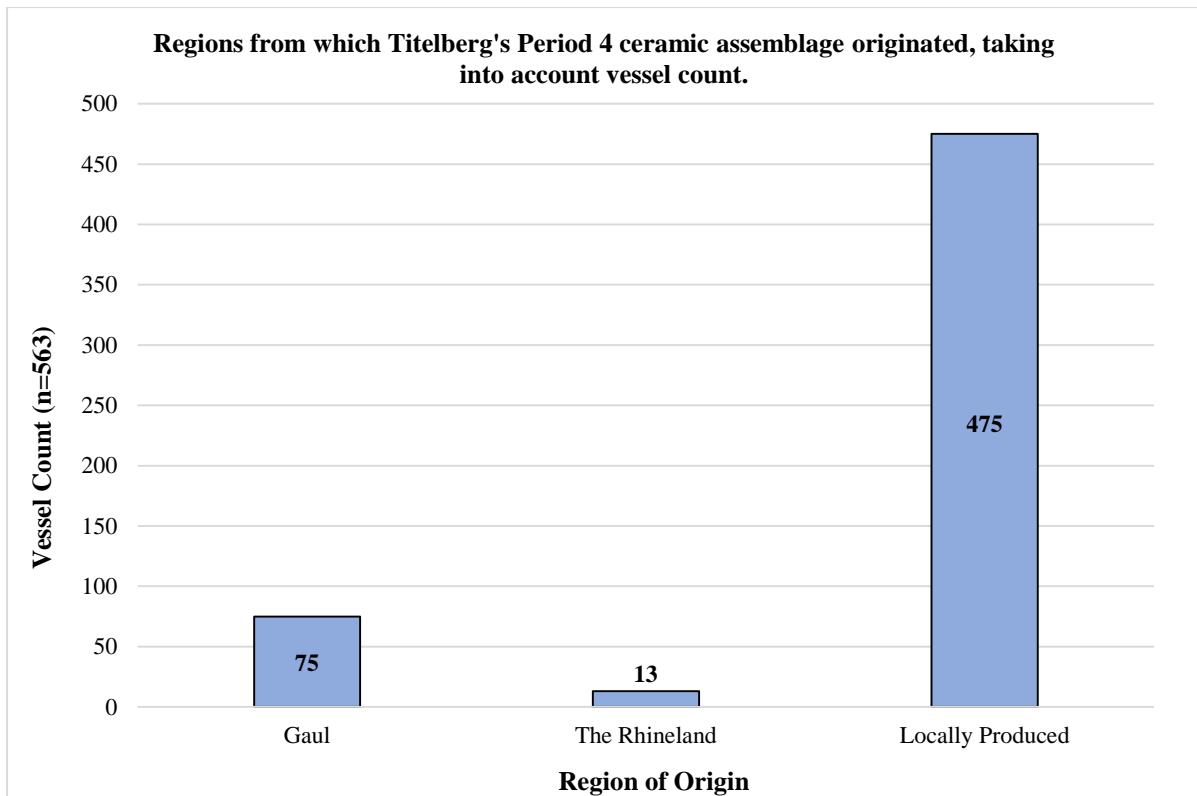


Figure 9.65: Based on evidence from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

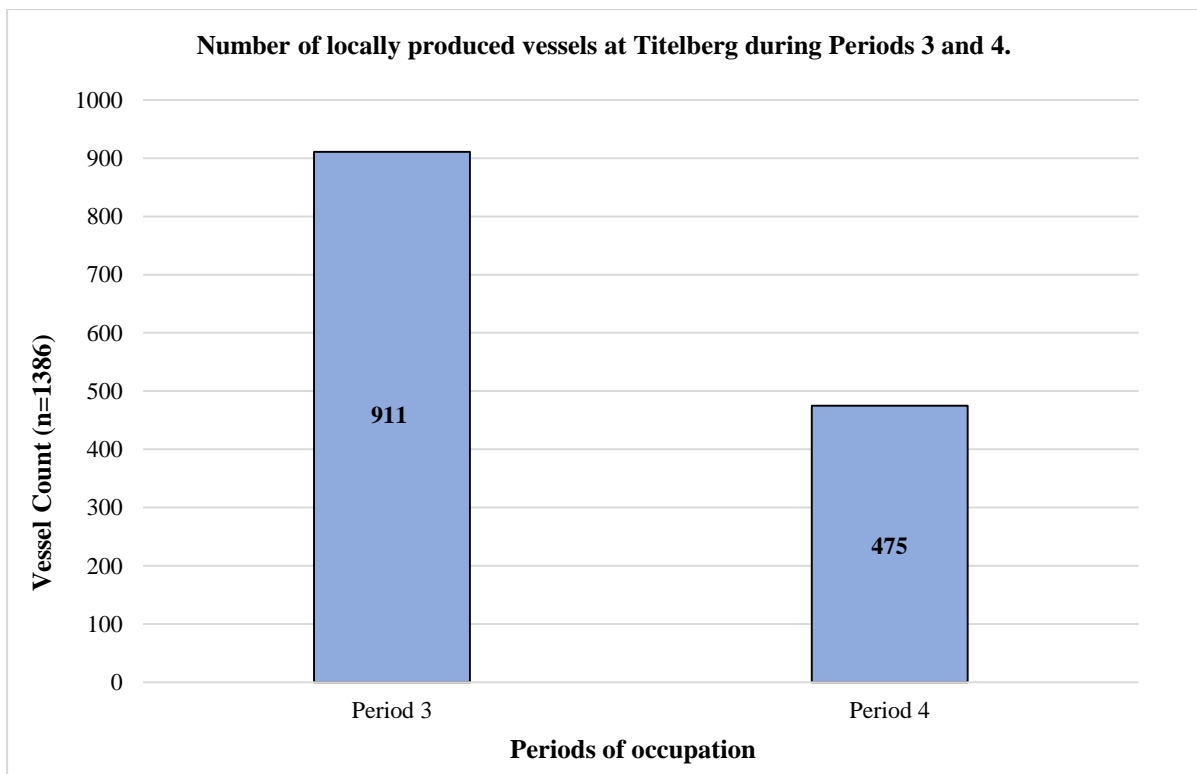


Figure 9.61: Based on information from: Metzler 1995a; 1995b.

Lastly, with regards to the imported wares, it remains for us to consider what these vessels were being used for. As can be seen from Figure 9.65 all of the imported wares in evidence originated from either Gaul or The Rhineland, which, based on earlier interpretations of similar evidence, (see pages 341-347, 366), could be indicative of wares that represent conspicuous consumption. If this was the case it is likely that those now consuming these vessels did not reside at Titelberg, but used the site as a middle point within the trading network from which imports could be obtained. Although, it is also possible that these vessels may have been used at the site during communal/religious events, if the 'Holy Enclosure' continued to be utilised, to amplify the significance of offerings being made to local deities.

Titelberg's Period 4 ceramic assemblage can therefore be said to denote a potentially dramatic change in the site's function; as this evidence suggests that widespread occupation on the plateau ceased, with the continued use of the site's ritual/religious centre also being questionable. Furthermore, this evidence suggests that the site primarily operated as an economic centre, with its ceramic industry remaining prolific despite producing fewer vessels; a notion that is supported by the continued presence of locally produced vessels in reasonably large quantities (see Figure 9.65-9.66), as well as the fact that the site is known to have continued to be utilised, as a result of its iron deposits, for many years after the later Iron Age (Metzler *et al.* 1999, 17). This latter point is something that becomes further evident when one also takes into account the lack of additional artefacts on the site's plateau.

When providing an overview of Titelberg's Period 4 evidence, it was noted that the only evidence of Period 4 date was metalworking debris (see Chapter 9.4.3.1). This evidence suggests that the site continued to be used for the production of metalwork, but that this process no longer included the production of those artefacts which had been prolific during earlier periods: brooches and coins. While it can be said that the cessation of brooch production could further support inferences of a lack of domestic occupation at Titelberg, (as these items were manufactured to pin together clothing), the termination of coin production at the site could be more telling about the site's function at this time.

The termination of coin minting could, in addition to representing a decline in the range of metalwork manufactured at Titelberg, denote the end of the site's importance to the region's native tribe, the Treveri, as well as a decline in the site's status. Consequently, it can be said that those views within the current literature suggesting that regional focus shifted from

Titelberg to a newly established Gallo-Roman centre at Trier (Metzler *et al.* 1999, 15) are correct.

An analysis of Titelberg's Period 4 archaeological record has therefore enabled us to establish that Metzler was correct in his assumptions that there was a decline in both the activities taking place on the site's plateau as well as the site's importance within the local landscape. It is therefore evident that in spite of this decline in native practices Titelberg continued to exist as a centre of economic importance; as can be attested to by the continued production of local ceramics as well as the presence of imported wares, not to mention our knowledge of the continuing extraction of iron ore at this time (Metzler 1995a, 15).

Finally, it remains for the author to note that over the course of Period 4 the cemetery of Lamadelaine saw the interment of only one individual, telling us that this site had fallen almost entirely out of use. Consequently, it can be assumed that traditional burial practices, adhering to native burial rites observed at the cemetery between Periods 1 and 3, (see pages 321, 349, 371), had fallen out of favour; probably to be replaced by Roman customs and cemeteries. Similarly, this period marks the end of Goebblange-Nospelt's use as a cemetery. Consequently, the discontinuation of Lamadelaine was not an isolated event within Titelberg's wider landscape, but was likely commonplace.

9.3.4.3: A Summary

An analysis of Titelberg's Period 4 artefact records can be said to have revealed a considerable decline in the site's prominence. In other words, this period marks the end of the site's c.150 years as a prominent economic and religious centre with a prestigious position within its wider Gallic landscape; whilst also witnessing an apparent end to its use for domestic occupation. The decline in all activities except industrial production at Titelberg can be said to tally with current thinking on the end of the site's later Iron Age habitation, as it is widely believed that upon the establishment of Roman towns, such as Trier, within its locale Titelberg only continued to exist because of its contributions to the region's economy (see Chapter 9.2). Thus, Period 4 can be said to mark the end of the site's vibrant existence.

Finally, the author's detailed considerations of the conclusions presented here in conjunction with current thinking on *oppida* in Chapter 11 will likely question the validity of Titelberg's characterisation as an *oppidum* at this time. This assertion is made because Titelberg's use

diminished so much over the course of Period 4 that there are few areas in which the site's occupation is likely to tally with the parameters by which these sites are defined; and moreover, *oppida* are believed to have been flourishing centres of occupation, (see Chapter 2), something it is clear was no longer the case at Titelberg at this time.

Chapter 10: Canterbury

Iron Age Canterbury is something of an enigma making it the perfect control for the present thesis, because there are very few existing interpretations about the site's use between 150/100 BC and AD 50 that can influence the author's conclusions not only about the nature of occupation at this site, but its status as one of south-east Britain's *oppida*. There are many reasons why Iron Age Canterbury can be considered thus, the most prominent among them being that despite our knowledge of many archaeological sites in this region, little has been comprehensively published on them and their archaeological records. Curiously, despite this limited knowledge many have pondered the nature of Canterbury during the later Iron Age, (see Chapter 10.2), and in doing so labelled it an *oppidum* (e.g. Collis 1976, 8; 1984a, 227; Cunliffe 1976, 147; 2005, 166; Pitts 2010, 35; Rodwell 1976, 240); an inference that is typically based on Caesar's belief that four kingdoms existed in east Kent at the time of his invasions (*The Conquest of Gaul*, V.20.1), which in turn has led many to date the emergence of the *oppidum* at Canterbury to 55/54 BC (e.g. Ashbee 2005, 157; Cunliffe 1976, 149; Detsicas 1983, 2; Thompson 1980, 411-413; Thompson 1983, 256; Williams 2007, 119). Modern scholars have identified these four kingdoms as: Thanet, the Stour Valley and Watling Street Zone, the Chalk Downlands stretching from the coast to Canterbury, and the Lower Medway leading to the Lower Greensand Belt and North Down escarpment (e.g. Ashbee 2005, 156-157; Jenkins 1962, 6; Millard 1975, 4). In light of this, Canterbury can be considered well suited to the author's methodology, (see Chapter 6), for two reasons: its presumed existence as an *oppidum*, and its limited presence within the literature.

In applying this methodology, (see Chapter 10.3), we are able to gain insight into the nature of occupation at Canterbury between the years of 150/100 BC and AD.50; with the inferences borne from this process then being used, in Chapter 11, to compare the site and its contemporaries in order to answer the thesis' research question: is the term *oppida* still relevant today? However, before one looks at the results borne out of this analysis we need to first acquaint ourselves with the site's landscape setting and morphological footprint.

10.1: Topography and Morphological Setting

10.1.1: Landscape Setting

Modern day Canterbury is located in East Kent in the valley of the Great Stour c.15m OD, at the point where the river forms a divide between the Upper Chalk and London Clay outcrops (Millard 1975, 2). The city's Iron Age counterpart was also located on the River Stour (see Figure 10.1), most likely because of the trading opportunities it presented (e.g. Ashbee 2005, 157; Blagg 1991, 9; Detsicas 1983, 2-3; Jenkins 1962, 8); although, the site's positioning is also believed to have provided good opportunities for the overland distribution of goods (Blagg 1991, 9). Furthermore, the Canterbury landscape is thought to have comprised many woodlands and much fertile farmland during the Iron Age (Jessup and Cook 1936; Thompson 1983); environmental features that potentially led to permanent occupation in the region as these were crucial for sustaining Iron Age communities: woodlands for timber, fuel, wild crops, and pannage for pigs (Cunliffe 2003, 15), and farmland for arable cultivation; the basis of Iron Age economies (see Chapter 4.1). Finally, it is also known that this region was suited to animal husbandry (Jessup and Cook 1936; Thompson 1983), a pastime that is believed to have gone hand-in-hand with arable farming at many Iron Age settlements (Hill 1995a, 60).

10.1.2: Morphology and Associated Archaeological Material

Canterbury's later Iron Age occupation, (as far as we know it), was widely dispersed across much of the above landscape. Consequently, the site is represented within the archaeological record by many morphological entities; prominent among these were features identified during excavations in the Marlowe Car-park, (Blockley *et al.* 1995a; 1995b), between the years of 1978 and 1982 (Blockley *et al.* 1995c, 4), (see Figure 10.2). These excavations revealed a number of features⁵³ bound by an enclosure comprising 3 concentric ditches. This enclosure, contained: 2 round-houses (Blagg 1991, 8; Blockley 1995a, 32), one of which was porched (*ibid.*, 32); c.46 pits (*ibid.*, 32), 6 of which might have been shallow scoops or clay extraction pits, and the remaining 40 storage pits (*ibid.*, 39); a wicker lined well (*ibid.*, 32); a further possible well (*ibid.*, 39); 2 ovens (*ibid.*, 39); 4 hearths (*ibid.*, 39); 6 additional structures, including a potential sunken hut (*ibid.*, 34-36); 7 gullies associated with drainage and fencing (*ibid.*, 39); an unspecified number of post-/stake-holes (*ibid.*, 32-39); and a cremation (*ibid.*, 39); which are together believed to constitute a village farmstead (Blagg 1991, 9) (see Figure 10.3). Furthermore, these morphological entities contained almost all of the artefacts the author

⁵³ All of which date to between the 1st Century BC and AD.70/80 (Blockley *et al.* 1995a, 32).

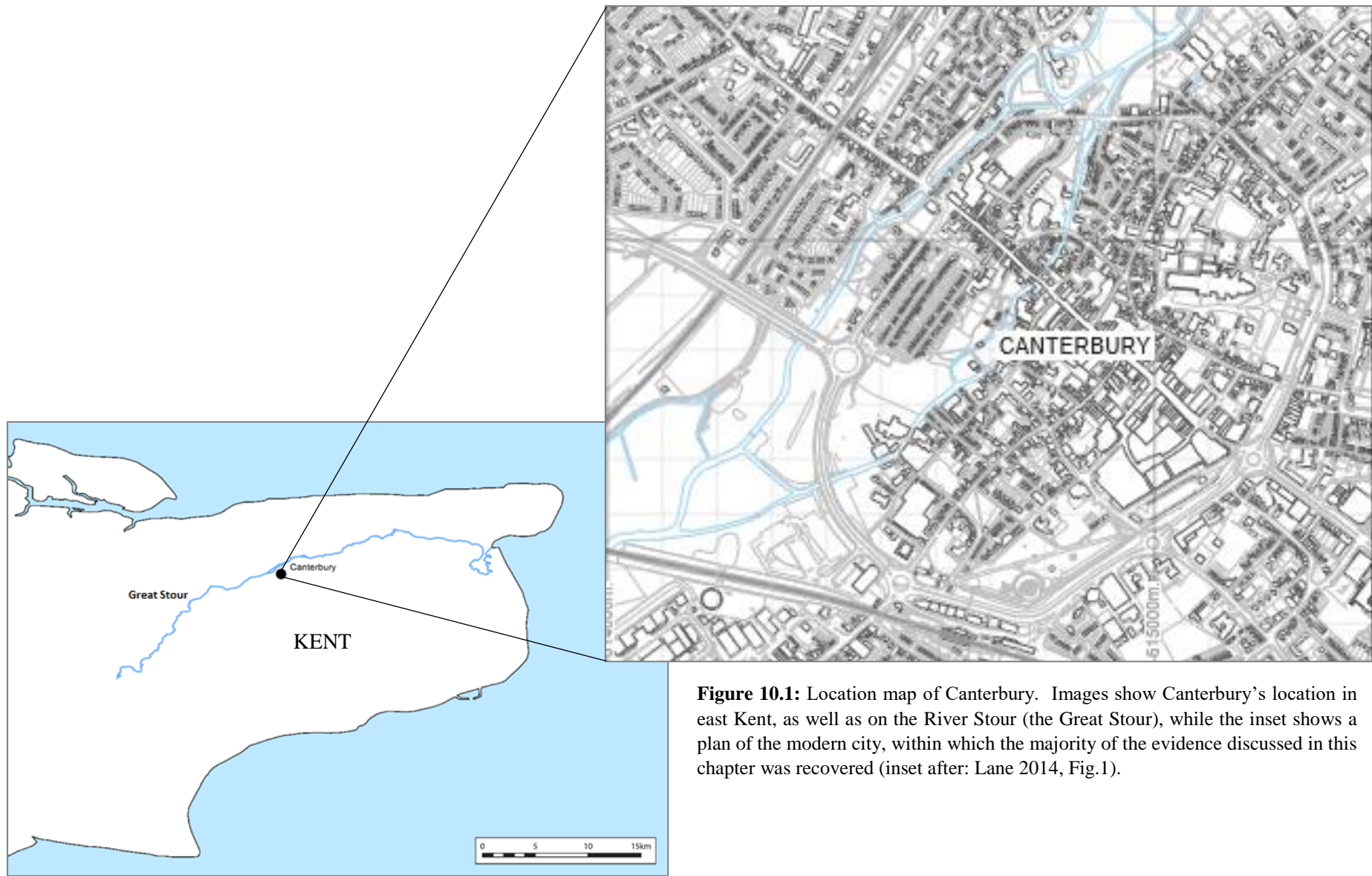


Figure 10.1: Location map of Canterbury. Images show Canterbury's location in east Kent, as well as on the River Stour (the Great Stour), while the inset shows a plan of the modern city, within which the majority of the evidence discussed in this chapter was recovered (inset after: Lane 2014, Fig.1).

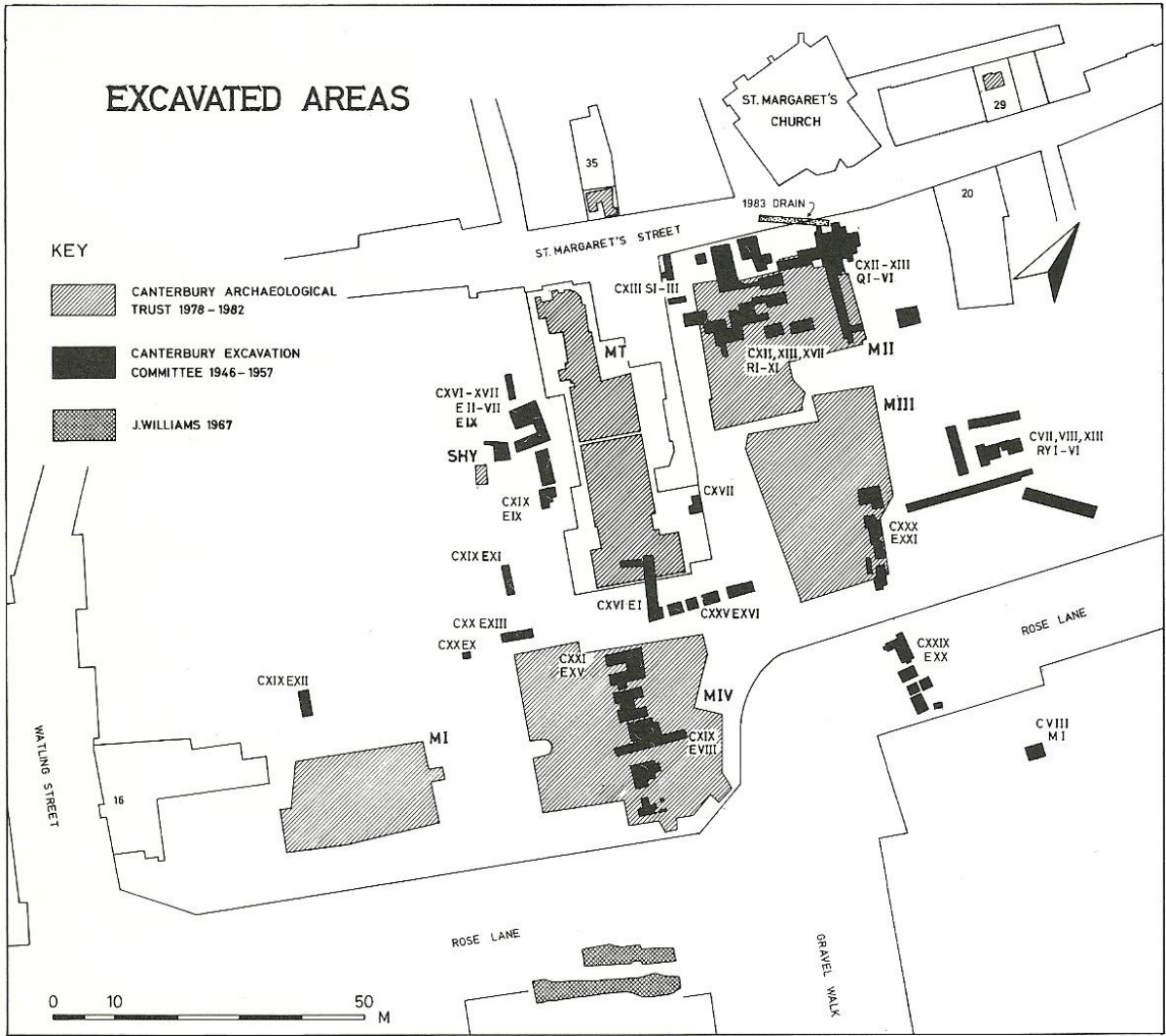


Figure 10.2: Plan of the Marlowe Car-park site excavations. The shaded areas represent those areas of the site that have been subject to archaeological examination, with those excavated by Canterbury Archaeological Trust between 1978 and 1982 revealing the evidence discussed in relation to this site within the current chapter of the thesis (after: Blockey *et al.* 1995a, Fig.3).

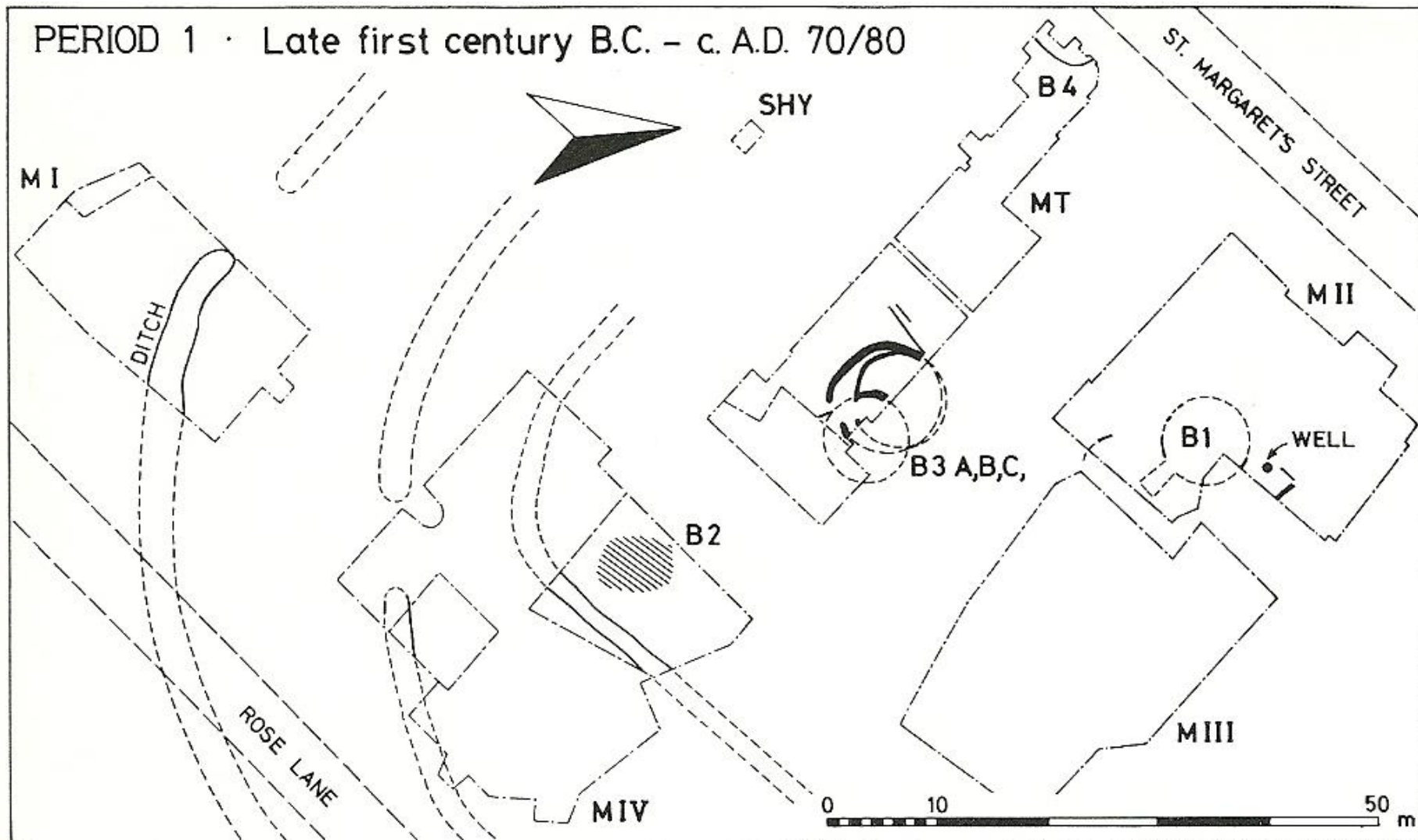


Figure 10.3: Plan of the later Iron Age features at the Marlowe Car-park site (after: Blockey *et al.* 1995a, Fig.4).

analysed in relation to Canterbury, including: a sizable ceramic assemblage (see Appendix 10.1), coins, brooches, and weaving paraphernalia (see Appendix 10.3).

However, it is not only the Marlowe car-park excavations that have revealed morphology associated with later Iron Age occupation in Canterbury, but recent archaeological investigations at St Edmund's School on land adjacent to Giles Lane (Lane 2012) (see Figure 10.4) and at Turing College on the University of Kent at Canterbury campus (Lane 2014) (see Figure 10.5-10.6). Later Iron Age occupation at St Edmund's School is primarily represented within the morphological record by a number of shallow sub-oval pits and linear features that follow a ridge of natural clay on the plateau of St Thomas' Hill on a north-west south-east alignment (Lane 2012, 9); as well as a sunken-floor structure surrounded by 20 or more stake-/post-holes (ibid, 9-10). Prior to the establishment of these features, and at the onset of what the present author terms Period 1 (see Chapter 6.1), the site comprised an elliptical enclosure on a north-east south-west alignment within which was sited at least one roundhouse (ibid, 9). Though, unlike later Iron Age occupation at the Marlowe Car-park these morphological features are not associated with a wealth of artefacts, and until the final report on these excavations is released all that can be said with regards to material culture in circulation at this time is that it likely comprised flint tempered pottery and pot boilers (ibid, 11).

The first thing to note with regards to the later Iron Age morphology at Turing College is that at the onset of the later Iron Age there was already an established settlement in place at the site, just as there had been at the St Edmund's School site discussed above. At the beginning of the author's Period 1, occupation at Turing College comprised ditched enclosures on a north-west south-east co-axial alignment that formed 3-4 separate zones of activity (Lane 2014 8); as well as an unspecified number of: roundhouses and sunken-floor buildings, pits, post-holes, stake-holes, kilns, and quarries (ibid, 9-12). Over the course of the later Iron Age this site went through two transformations; firstly, a realignment of the pre-existing enclosure ditches, and the addition of new boundaries on a north south alignment (ibid, 13), and secondly a change in the nature of the site's purpose, a process that saw the site become associated with the dead, as attested to by the 6 cremation burials on the north-western edge of Area 2 (ibid, 12) (see Figure 10.6).

Further to the above, Turing College is also associated with a limited artefactual record that primarily comprised a gold Gallo-Belgic stater (ibid, 13) and part of at least 1 Dressel 1b

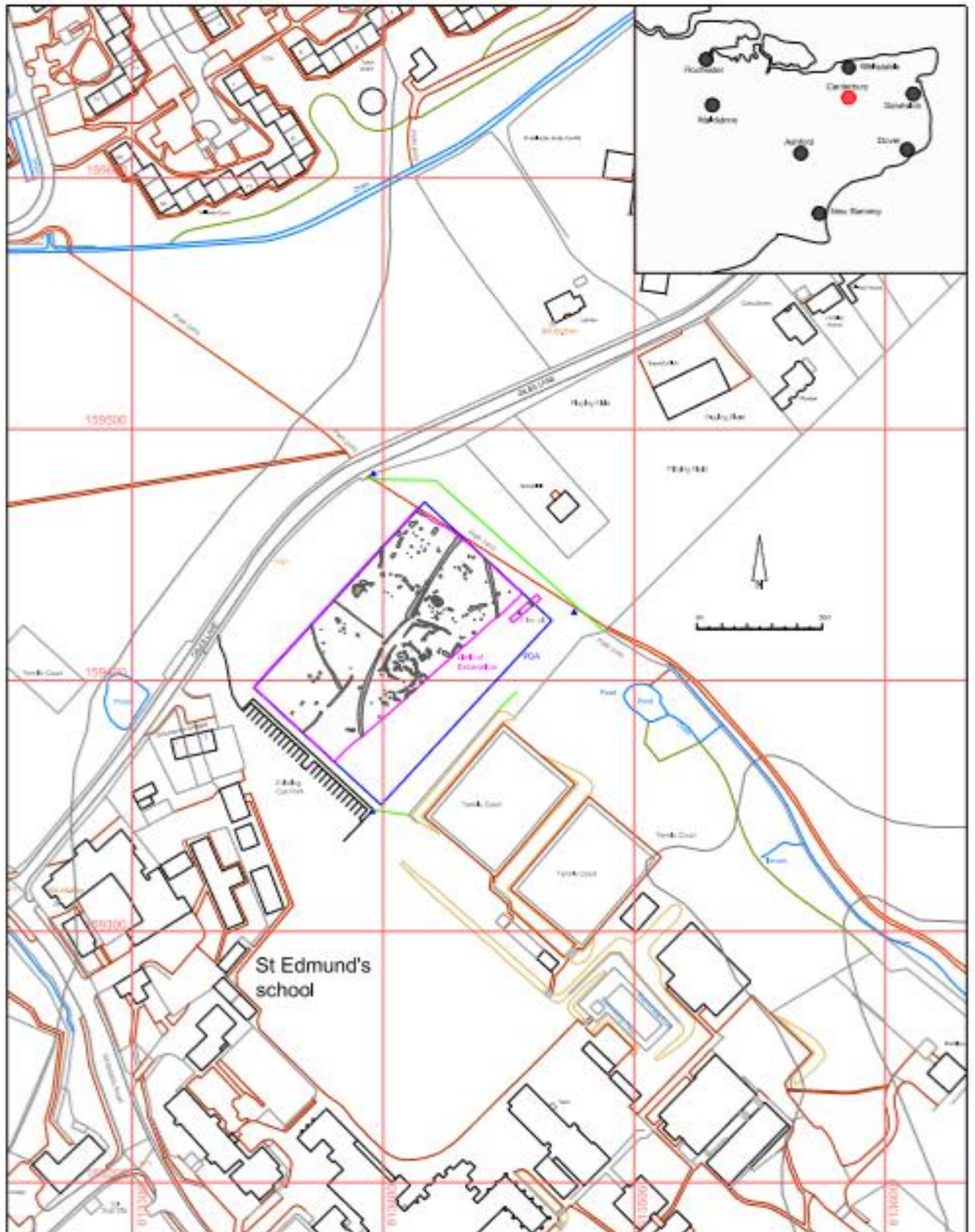


Figure 10.4: Plan of St Edmund's School illustrating the area excavated in 2012 by Canterbury Archaeological Trust (after: Lane 2012, Fig. 1).

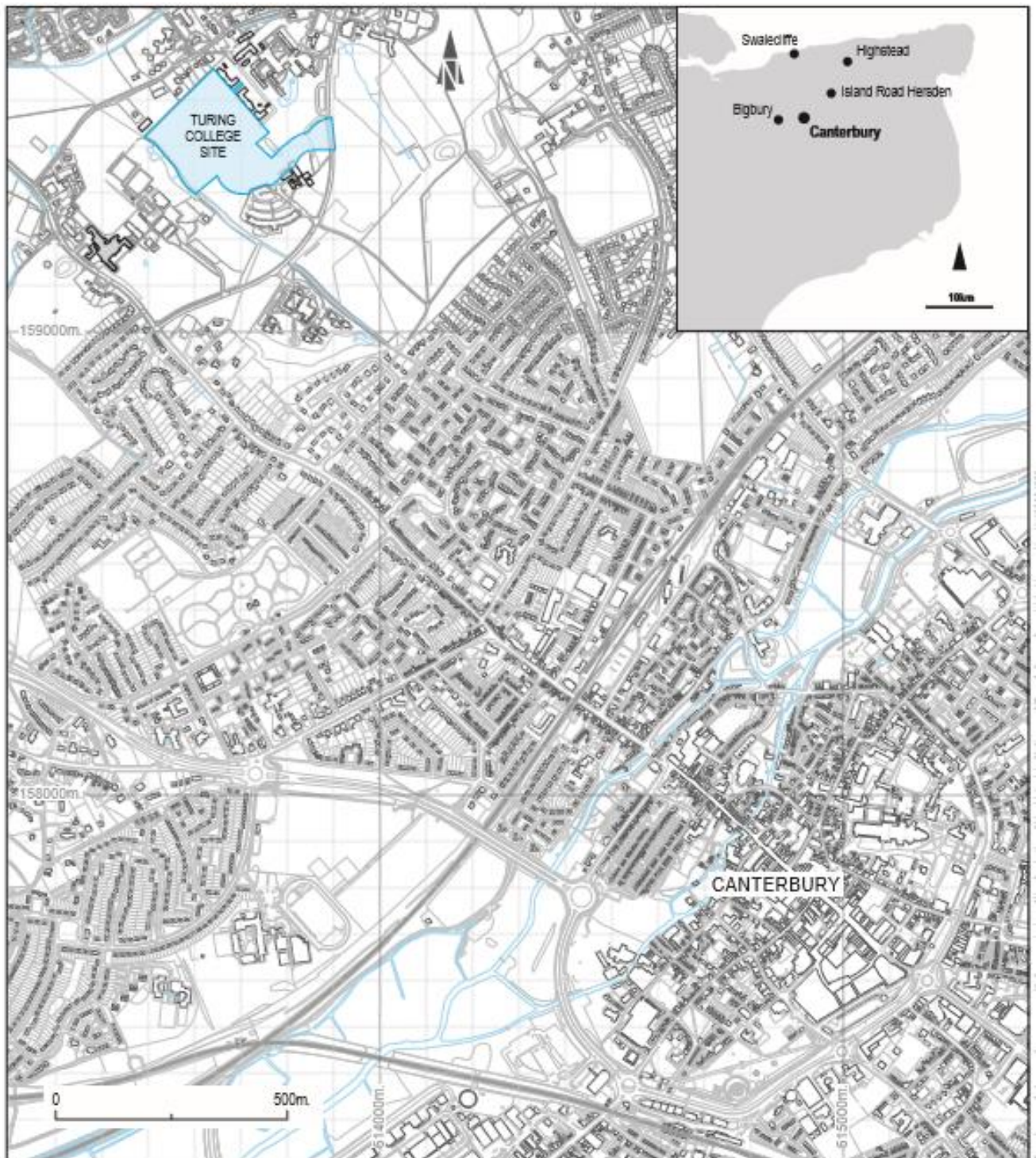


Figure 10.5: Plan of the Turing College site in relation to the rest of Canterbury, illustrating the area excavated by Canterbury Archaeological Trust in 2014 (after: Lane 2014, Fig. 1).

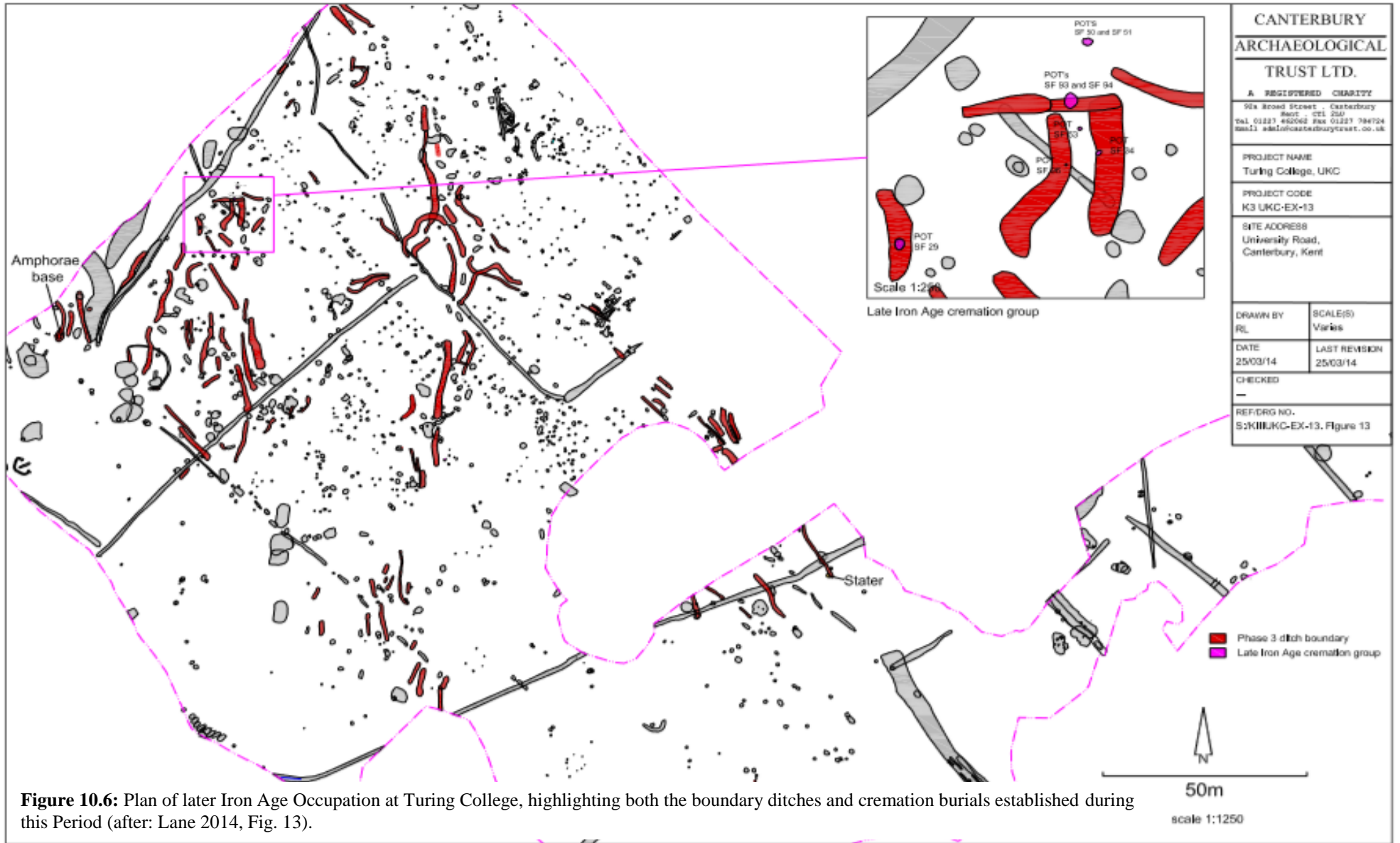


Figure 10.6: Plan of later Iron Age Occupation at Turing College, highlighting both the boundary ditches and cremation burials established during this Period (after: Lane 2014, Fig. 13).

amphorae (ibid, 13); although an unknown quantity of occupational pottery has also been attributed to the dates c.100 BC-AD 43 (ibid, 17). Moreover, at the onset of later Iron Age occupation, (c. 150 BC), and until at least c.100 BC, the site existed much as it had since c.400 BC; consequently, a number of the finds associated with this occupation, namely loom weights and ceramic vessels (ibid, 10-11), may also have been in use for the first 50 years of what the author terms Period 1. However, until a full analysis of this material emerges we cannot know for certain the exact number of these artefacts that may have been in use at the beginning of the later Iron Age.

Conversely, it is not only excavation reports that have provided insight into later Iron Age morphology at Canterbury, as a study of: general texts pertaining to Kent, Canterbury Archaeological Trust's annual reports, interim reports, journal articles, and the HER have revealed a number of additional morphological features within Canterbury and its immediate environs, as can be seen from Appendix 10.4. These range from pits and ditches to hut-sites and features utilised for the smelting of iron, and as such can be said to emphasise the existence of domestic occupation, farming practices, and industries at later Iron Age Canterbury.

Lastly, it is important to note that c.3 km to the west of modern Canterbury (Ashbee 2005, 160) lies a crucial element of the site's later Iron Age landscape: the Bigbury Hillfort (see Figure 10.7); thought by many to have been the pre-historic precursor to Canterbury that was stormed by Julius Caesar in 54 BC (e.g. Ashbee 2005, 157; Champion 2007, 119; Detsicas 1983, 2; Frere 1965, 5; Jenkins 1962, 9; Thompson 1983, 253, 256). At Bigbury 'a single bank and ditch encloses 10.7ha and surrounds a gravel-capped plateau which has a maximum height of 71m OD.' (Ashbee 2005, 160) This enclosure is joined in the north to a largely bivallate annexe that adds 3.3ha to the site's overall area (Ashbee 2005, 160; Sparey-Green 2009, 32). Covering this site was a complex web of morphological features, the most pronounced of which are the site's ramparts (Blockley and Blockley 1981a, 289); which today stand c.9m wide and c.3m above the edge of the ditch. These ramparts are believed, in part, to have comprised a double bank and ditch (HER TR15NW33) with at least two entrances, one on the eastern side of the site marked by large post-holes (ibid), and the other within the south-western ramparts (Blockley and Blockley 1981a, 291). Furthermore, some of the ramparts also comprised palisades (Blockley and Blockley 1981a, 291; Blockley and Blockley 1981b, 11; HER TR15NW33), believed to have been used to give extra height to the banks (Ashbee 2005, 160); while further boundary markers exist in the form of additional fence lines identified through a

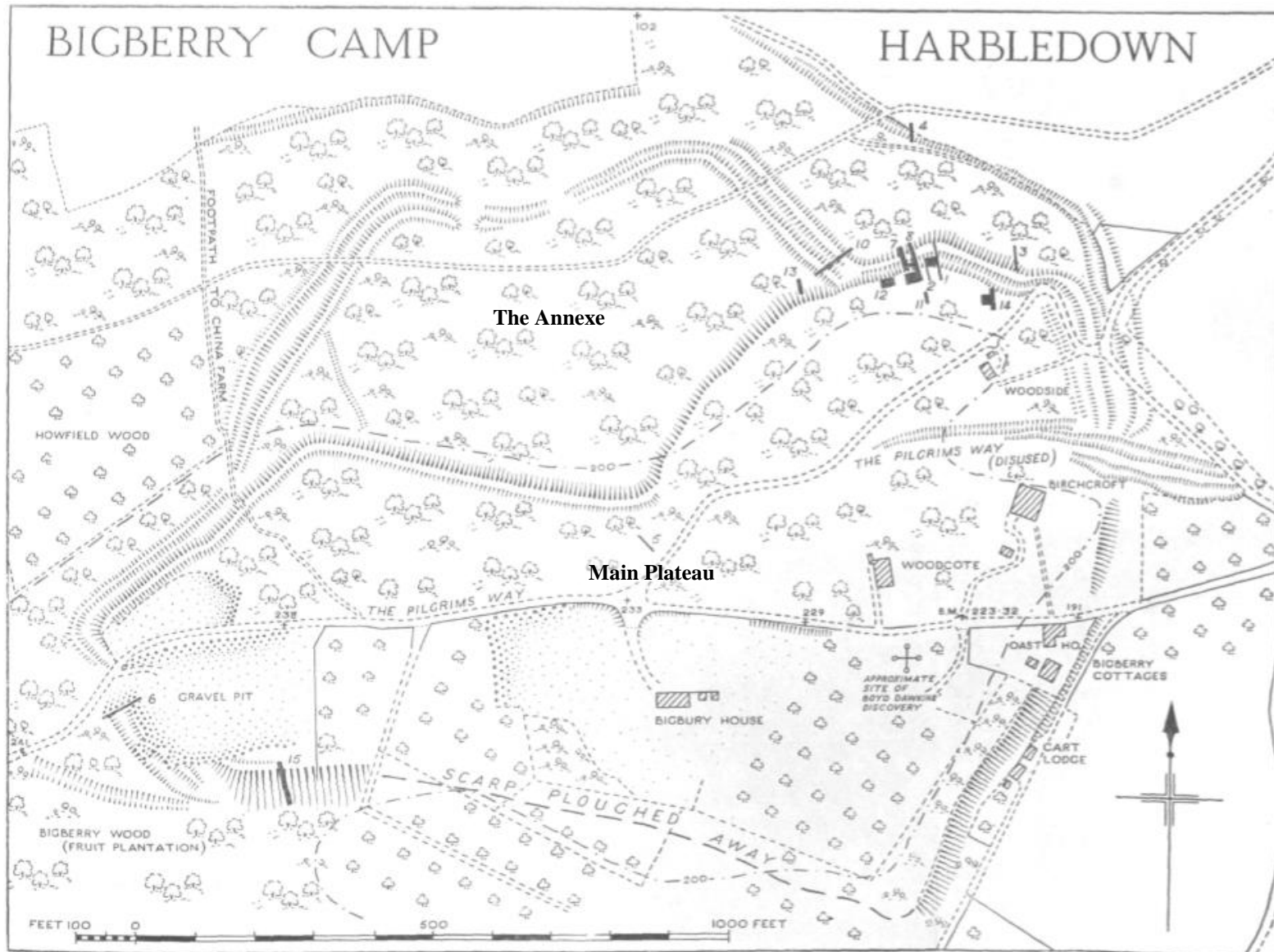


Figure 10.7: Plan of Bigbury (after Jessup and Cook 1936, Fig. 1; Additions author's own).

series of post-holes (Blockley and Blockley 1981a, 289).⁵⁴ Also present were: a possible quarry (ibid, 289), although one has to wonder how this was distinguished from modern quarrying at the site; a hut (Thompson 1979, 302); a water-hole (Thompson 1983, 248-249); a number of post-holes (ibid, 246); a hearth (ibid, 248); and a series of gullies (ibid, 246-248).

10.2: Existing Theories

10.2.1: Ancient Sources

It has been inferred, within modern studies, that Canterbury is one of the four Kentish kingdoms alluded to by Caesar's statement, within *The Conquest of Gaul*, that: '[w]hile these operations [excursions against Cassivellaunus' stronghold by Caesar's forces] were proceeding in his territory, Cassivellaunus sent envoys to Kent ordering the four kings of that region, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segovas, to collect all their troops and make surprise attack on the naval camp' (5.20.1). This observation can be said to have influenced not only interpretations of Canterbury as one of the four Kentish kingdoms (e.g. Ashbee 2005, 156-157; Jenkins 1962, 6; Millard 1975, 4), but its position as one of Britain's *oppida* (e.g. Champion 2007, 121; Cunliffe 1976, 147; 2005, 166; Collis 1976, 8; 1984, 227; Pitts 2010, 35; Rodwell 1976, 240), as Canterbury, or more specifically Bigbury, has been interpreted as the camp Caesar (*The Conquest of Gaul*, 5.1-23) talks of within his chapter on his second British invasion (e.g. Ashbee 2005, 157; Champion 2007, 119; Detsicas 1983, 2; Frere 1965, 5; Jenkins 1962, 9; Thompson 1983, 253, 256).

10.2.2: 19th Century

During the 19th Century very little with regards to later Iron Age Canterbury was published; in fact the author's research only located one such text. This paper, Hussey's 1874 contribution to the *Archaeologia Cantiana*, primarily focuses upon Bigbury Hillfort, and states that this site, which is situated c.1.5 miles from Canterbury (ibid, 13), comprised a plateau one quarter of a mile in length north-south, and three eighths of a mile east-west, that was bound by steep embankments that comprised a double ditch and bank (ibid, 14). In addition to providing details of Bigbury's morphology, Hussey ponders the possibility that the road that transected the site in a westerly direction was connected to the main route linking Canterbury with Sarre and Thanet (ibid, 14), as well as the notion that the site was the scene of Caesar's most vigorous

⁵⁴ It should be noted that the ramparts surrounding the main plateau of Bigbury were constructed at the time of the site's inception during the 5th Century BC, while those bounding the site's annexe were constructed just before c.54 BC and the site went out of use (Thompson 1983) (see also Appendix 10.5).

military operations following his arrival in Britain (ibid, 13); a view that is shared by many who authored much of the 20th Century literature bearing mention of Canterbury and its environs.

10.2.3: 20th Century

The earliest mention of Canterbury during the 20th Century dates to 1930, and saw Jessup ponder the likelihood that the people of Bigbury had been farmers with a knowledge of carpentry and forestry, as well as an interest in the rearing of horses (ibid, 145-146). However, six years later in a co-authored paper with Cook, Jessup progresses from this original interpretation, surmising that Bigbury played a defensive role against Caesar's second invasion of Britain in 54 BC (1936, 152, 167). The most likely reason for the advancement of Jessup's 1930s interpretations of Bigbury is a series of excavations carried out at the site between 1933 and 1934 (ibid, 151). These excavations led to the supposition that the site was occupied for about a century, and that the ramparts were hasty and insignificant (ibid, 167), suggesting that the site's purpose had not primarily been defence despite its inferred role during Caesar's second invasion of 54 BC.

Three decades later another text pertaining to Bigbury emerged, within which it is stated that the site was designed as a stronghold/place of refuge during times of war, and a market and/or tribal assembly point during times of peace (Jenkins 1962, 9). Additionally, Jenkins refers to Bigbury as an *oppidum*, but more importantly the pre-historic forerunner of Canterbury (1962, 9); thus making this text one of the first to bear mention of an Iron Age Canterbury in the area now occupied by the modern city.

With regards to Canterbury Jenkins follows a prominent view of the time, suggesting that during the 1st Century BC the people who inhabited East Kent, including Canterbury, were identical in race and custom to the Belgic tribes living in Gaul (ibid, 5); suggesting these peoples were migrants. He also states that Canterbury, an open settlement, was one of the four kingdoms identified by Caesar in his Gallic Wars (ibid, 6, 9), and was brought into being only after inter-tribal conflicts, during the Belgic Period, had ended (ibid, 9); although, it is important to note here that Jenkins does not believe that Canterbury became a tribal centre itself until the Roman period (ibid, 9), in other words after AD 43.

Furthermore, Jenkins also notes that Canterbury was a widely scattered settlement of timber-framed hutments (ibid, 13) that emerged in the bottom of the Stour Valley to form a convenient trading-post for water-borne traffic, because at its fordable point the settlement lies just above an old tidal creek that led into a navigable channel between the mainland and Thanet (ibid, 8). Moreover, he alludes to the fact that commerce between Belgic Britain and the Roman Empire commenced in this area in c.15 BC, a date based on the Gaulish coins recovered from this area, not long after the Gallic communities started to mass produce pottery; a quota of which eventually reached the Canterbury market by way of this trading post (ibid, 13).⁵⁵

Two years later Frere mirrors Jenkins' interpretations of Bigbury, and to some extent Canterbury, by stating that Bigbury was a stronghold near Canterbury, and the site's pre-historic precursor (1965, 5). Furthermore, Frere identifies Bigbury as the *oppidum* stormed by Caesar in 54 BC (ibid, 5), while also stating that Canterbury should be seen as a Belgic town, (occupied by the Belgae), that was spread over both sides of an important ford on the river Stour (ibid, 5).

One of the first papers published during the 1970s was Millard's *A Report of the Archaeological Implications of Development in Canterbury*, within which she states that Bigbury was a later Iron Age stronghold, and the Canterbury region one of the four tribal districts of Kent identified by Caesar (1975, 4). Millard also notes that continuous occupation occurred at Canterbury starting with the migrant Belgae from the Continent (ibid, 4); while also citing her agreement with Frere's conviction that Canterbury was a Belgic tribal capital, and Jenkins belief that this tribal capital was located within the Whitehall/Rheims Way area (ibid, 4) (see Figure 10.8). It is however curious to note that the Jenkins' argument supported by Millard in this paper contradicts the views he put forth in 1962, when he stated that Canterbury did not become a tribal centre until the Roman era.

The following year was one of the most prolific for publications pertaining to *oppida*; it is unsurprising therefore that a number of these mention Canterbury. In the first of these, Collis notes that Canterbury was an urban settlement where occupation continued uninterrupted in

⁵⁵ It should be noted here that this is a view also shared by Nash (1995) and Rigby (1995) within their respective studies of the imported coinage and ceramics recovered at the Marlowe Car-park site; as well as Blagg (1991) who quotes these dates in his overview of later Iron Age occupation at Canterbury in Blockley *et al.* (1995a) site reports on excavation at the Marlowe Car-park.

the same location into the Roman period (1976, 8). Meanwhile, Cunliffe states that between the years of 54 BC and AD 43 minor shifts in the emphasis put on certain sites can be observed; including Canterbury, where emphasis shifted from the hilltop settlement of Bigbury to a site in the valley (1976, 149).

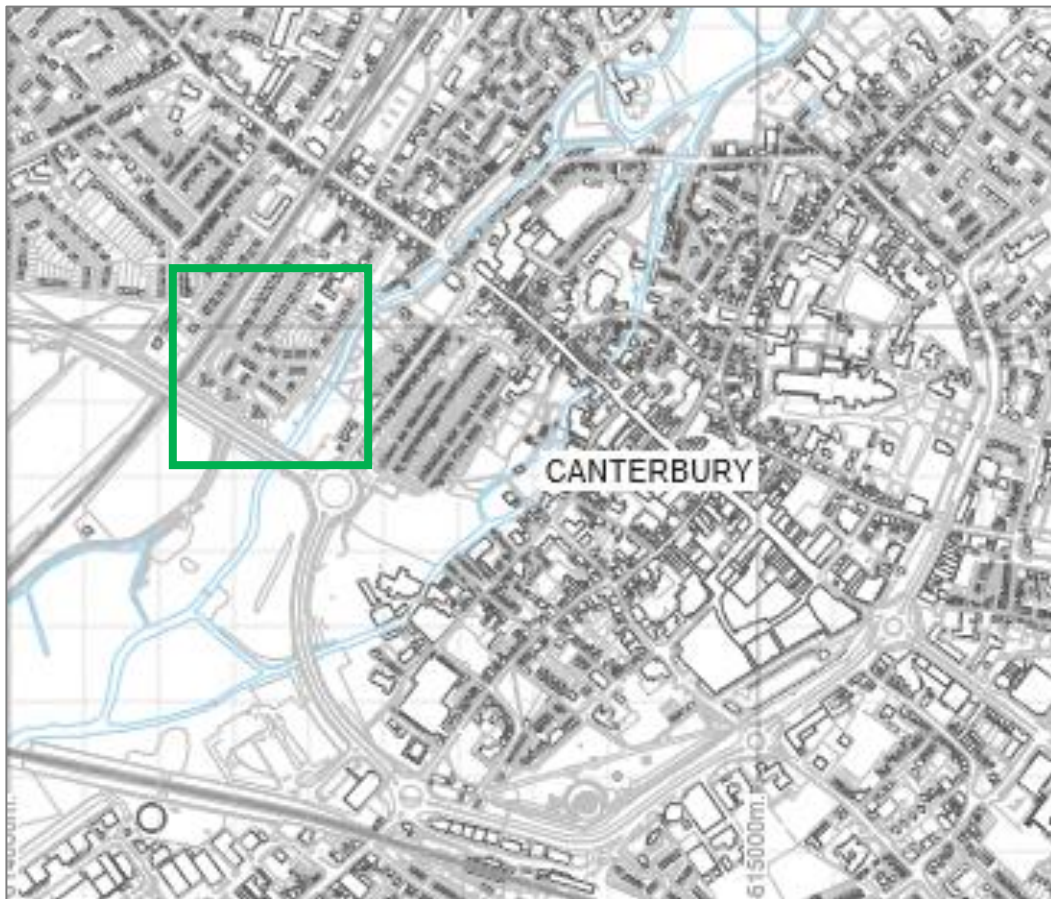


Figure 10.8: Map of Canterbury with the Whitehall/Reims Way area highlighted by the green box (Map after Lane 2014, Fig. 1; additions author's own)

1976 also saw Rodwell state that East Kent, including Canterbury, was one of the four Kentish regions observed by Caesar in 54 BC to have been inhabited by maritime tribes (1976, 213). Furthermore, Rodwell, like Collis (1976), notes that Canterbury was a major settlement occupied into the Roman period when the area became a town (*ibid*, 237); a notion he furthers by interpreting the site as a: major market (*ibid*, 207, 268), proto-urban centre (*ibid* 220-221), and probable *oppidum* (*ibid* 240, 268) that doubled as the mint of eastern Kent (*ibid* 283). Curiously, Rodwell later contradicts two of these interpretations by surmising that the presence of a major market was a criterion of *oppida* (*ibid*, 282), but that there are no major markets anywhere in Kent, Surrey, Hampshire or Sussex only two minor centres, one at Canterbury and the other at Silchester (*ibid* 289).

In the final year of the 1970s, we encounter the first in a series of interim reports produced annually by Thompson detailing the results of excavations at Bigbury.⁵⁶ Within this report Thompson provides an overview of the excavations carried out during the summer of 1979 with the aim of determining the date of the bivallate defences surrounding the annexe, and this aspect of the site's relationship to the main enclosure (1979, 301). In light of the evidence recovered, it was surmised that the annexe was utilised to some extent for industrial activities, as attested by the presence of an anvil, but that this occupation was neither intense nor prolonged (ibid, 302). Further to this, and based on the ceramic evidence, Thompson suggests that the annexe was chronologically linked with the rest of the site (ibid, 302), by which he intimates that the pottery recovered within the annexe is reminiscent of that found on the main plateau, and as a result of this the two areas of the site were, at some point, occupied simultaneously (ibid, 302); although, he does then state that the annexe was likely added as an additional defensive space, an event that Thompson believes coincided with Caesar's landings in Britain in 55 and 54 BC (ibid, 303). Consequently, this leaves one to ponder how long these sites, Bigbury and the annexe, were contemporary, as Thompson goes on to propose that Bigbury was the first obstacle met by Caesar during his advance on the Thames in 54 BC, and that this event led to the site's abandonment; a process that may or may not have occurred under Roman compulsion (ibid, 303). This latter point is one with which we are now familiar, especially when it is coupled with Thompson's final remark: that the site's occupants began to settle either side of the Stour where modern day Canterbury now lies (ibid, 303).

Moving into the 1980s we once again encounter an interim report pertaining to excavations at Bigbury. This report details the results of excavations carried out in 1980 that primarily looked at the water-hole identified within the annexe. These revealed that while the structure could have held a reasonable quantity of water it would not have been enough to supply the site as a whole (Thompson 1980, 412). The sealing of this feature, and the ceramic evidence recovered therein have been used by Thompson to support his supposition that Bigbury was abandoned in 54 BC after Caesar's attack (ibid, 413). Interestingly however, within this report Thompson has moved away from his earlier assumption that upon the abandonment of Bigbury the site's occupants moved to settlements along the Stour at Canterbury (1979, 303), suggesting instead

⁵⁶ These reports were produced until 1983 when Thompson's full report on the excavations at Bigbury was published in *The Antiquaries Journal*.

that there was a c.50 year gap between the abandonment of Bigbury and the founding of pre-Roman Canterbury, with the site's occupants becoming dispersed across agricultural settlements until urbanisation resumed (Thompson 1980, 413). Consequently, the author might expect their considerations of later Iron Age Canterbury, (see Chapter 10.3), to reveal such a void, however, as Thompson himself noted, additional archaeological examinations in Canterbury might be needed to fully understand this process (ibid, 413).

Three years later two texts emerged. The first of these was Thompson's overview of excavations at Bigbury between 1978 and 1980 (1983, 237); within which he states that Bigbury was the first obstacle encountered, and stormed, by Caesar after his landing in 54 BC (1983, 254). An interpretation Thompson initially appears to borrow from Champion (1976) and Thompson (1982), but which he later cites based on the evidence recovered during excavations at the site, in particular the infilling of the water-hole identified in the annexe, the ceramics, and metalwork (Thompson 1983, 256). Furthermore, while the dating evidence for Bigbury is at present best described as patchy the ceramic evidence⁵⁷ used by Thompson to found his abandonment theories largely date to between 150 and 50 BC (ibid, 255). Finally, Thompson rounds off his report on Bigbury by reiterating the now familiar opinion that when occupation at Bigbury ceased, the site's occupants moved to the valley location beneath what became Roman, and eventually modern, Canterbury (1983, 259).

The second text published in 1983 was Detsicas' *The Cantiaci*. Within this book Detsicas draws on the work of Thompson, through his suggestion that Bigbury hillfort was the precursor of Belgic Canterbury which emerged in the easily controlled/crossed area of the Stour (1983, 2). Furthermore Detsicas' also notes that towards the end of the Iron Age two political *civitates* emerged in Kent one of which was controlled from Canterbury and presided over East Kent, while the other, which presided over West Kent, was controlled from Rochester (ibid, 10).

In the following year one of the most influential texts to discuss the nature of the *oppida* was published. Within his *Oppida, Earliest Towns North of the Alps*, Collis states that Canterbury

⁵⁷ The patchiness of this ceramic evidence stems from a number of factors including: the mixing of earlier and later phases of ceramic evidence (Thompson 1983, 255); the longevity of a number of the ceramic forms utilised by Bigbury's occupants (ibid, 253); the limitations of the evidence recovered in terms of both the minimal assemblages recovered from the site's annexe which has produced little of any form of evidence (ibid, 254-255); and the fact that the circumstances of this material's recovery, from spoil heaps as well as sealed contexts, could have led to contamination and the skewing of the results obtained from archaeological examination techniques such as archaeomagnetic testing and radio-carbon dating (ibid, 256).

was an open settlement that developed into a Roman town (1984, 227). Three years later Haselgrove suggests that Canterbury was a nucleated settlement situated on the River Stour (1987, 139), which was a flourishing centre of activity before the end of the first Century BC (ibid, 144); an interpretation that is based on the imported coinage of this date (ibid, 144).

1989 saw two texts of import emerge. The first of these reiterates earlier theories on Bigbury, while the latter considers the area of Canterbury now occupied by the modern city. Blockley and Blockley's consideration of rescue excavations carried out at Bigbury in 1981 (1989, 239), saw them conclude that the evidence recovered conformed to the interpretations presented by Thompson in 1983 (ibid, 246). Furthermore, it is not only Thompson's conclusions to which Blockley and Blockley's text conforms, but the recurrent view that Bigbury was associated with Caesar's second invasion of 54 BC (ibid, 246).

The second text to be published in 1989, Haselgrove's *The Later Iron Age in Southern Britain*, is significant to the current thesis because it sees Canterbury grouped with a number of later Iron Age Britain's most prominent *oppida*, including: Colchester, Chichester, St Albans, Silchester, Braughing, Bagendon, and Stanwick (Haselgrove 1989, 10). In addition to this, Haselgrove, drawing on the data presented by Fulford (1987), Arthur (1986), Partridge (1981), and Haselgrove (1987), suggests that Canterbury was probably an important nucleated settlement by the end of the 1st Century BC (1989, 10). Furthermore, based on coinage evidence, in particular inscribed coinage, Haselgrove postulates the possibility that Canterbury was a seat of power for the individuals appearing on the area's coinage (ibid, 12).

The 1990s mark the publication of the first excavation reports pertaining to Iron Age Canterbury; those associated with the Marlowe Car-park site situated within the eastern quarter of the modern city (Blagg 1991, 4) c.200 metres from the present course of the river Stour (Frere *et al.* 1987 *cf.* Blagg 1991, 8). Although the excavations carried out between 1978 and 1982 (ibid, 4) are those documented within the Blockley *et al.* (1995a; 1995b) volumes to be discussed below, it is crucial to note that these were not the first excavations to be carried out in this area of Canterbury. Between the years of 1948 and 1960 Frere investigated the cellars of the Royal Fountain Hotel along the St Margaret's Street frontage, as well as the Rose Yard area (Blagg 1991, 4); the trenches open during this 12 year period were in some cases re-examined during the 1978-1982 excavations as Figure 10.2 highlights.

Within the first volume of the Blockley *et al* reports Blagg notes that the site's emergence was part of a wider development of south-eastern Britain during the later Iron Age (1991; 7), and that this area of Canterbury was likely a village farmstead as the structures in evidence were not proto-urban in character (*ibid*, 9). However, despite drawing this conclusion Blagg also notes that the site's urban status, and position within the regions settlement hierarchy, should remain open to question, because such notions tend to be coloured by a site's later habitation, such as Canterbury's role as a Roman *civitas*, and as such the Marlowe houses and ditched enclosure which can be said to resemble no more than a village farmstead, are being misconstrued (*ibid* 9). Although, and in spite of this, Blagg also believes that by the early 1st Century AD the site had become one of status and wealth (*ibid*, 11).

Furthermore, Blagg believes Canterbury to have been a flourishing centre of economic activity, whose development may have been aided by the sophisticated metalworking occurring at the site, an activity inferred through the presence of moulds used for the casting of metal pellets, but not coin blanks (*ibid*, 9). This portrayal of Canterbury as an economic centre is also highlighted by the author's belief that Continental imports, which first emerged in 15 BC, stimulated Canterbury's expansion, (in East Kent), (*ibid*, 11), while an abundance of low-value potin coinage from Canterbury is indicative of the site's early urban status (Nash 1995, 923). Blockley *et al.* meanwhile believe that the site's economic status, prior to AD 15, was also linked to the site's position on the Stour which made it easy to control both the passage of individuals and goods (1995a, 50-51),⁵⁸ as well as its ability to acquire early Gaulish imports from c.15 BC (*ibid*, 48). It is somewhat unsurprising therefore that these ideas and interpretations led to the conclusion that the *oppidum* at Canterbury developed into an industrial and/or distribution centre (*ibid*, 458).

In addition to the above, Blockley *et al.* have inferred that there were two nuclei of settlement at Canterbury, one on either side of the Stour, that together covered c.150 hectares (*ibid*, 50). Furthermore, these authors believe that the importance of these nuclei is emphasised by the areas early constitution as the centre of a self-administrating *civitas*, whose importance was based on pre-existing social, economic, and political structures (*ibid*, 51-52). Interestingly, these interpretations have been drawn despite Andrews' belief that it is difficult to fit the

⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that this is also cited as the reason why Canterbury, unlike Bagendon, Chichester, Colchester, and *Verulamium*, is not defended by a series of banks and ditches (Blockley 1995a; 50).

evidence from the Marlowe Car-park excavations into a comprehensive overview of Belgic Canterbury because the information was amassed from evidence that was thinly spread over a wide area of the site (1985, fig. 2A *cf.* Blockley *et al.* 1995a, 50). It is therefore possible that Andrews does not believe the site to have been as densely occupied as others who have contributed to the interpretation of the Marlowe Car-park site in Blockley *et al.* (1995a; 1995b) reports.

It should also be noted that while much of this report ponders the economic nature of later Iron Age Canterbury, these authors have also given consideration to the site's relationship to Bigbury; noting that rather than replacing Bigbury as an *oppidum* Canterbury actually started off as an ancillary trading station, which eventually came to supersede the former centre (Blagg 1991, 9). Meanwhile, Blockley *et al.* state that economic activities were also taking place at Bigbury in the form of blacksmithing, an inference that is based on the presence of an iron anvil within a hut (1995a, 50). Lastly, these authors also support earlier interpretations of Bigbury, in this case the belief that the site ceased to be used after Caesar's invasion of 54 BC (Blagg 1991, 9).

The second volume of the Marlowe Car-park report primarily focuses upon the finds, and in doing so further promotes the interpretations presented within the first volume, while also highlighting a number of new aspects of later Iron Age life at Canterbury. The work of Rigby and Freestone on the Gallo-Belgic wares reaffirms the notion that Canterbury was a settlement of sufficient wealth by AD 15 at which time there was a market for fine table-wares (1995, 641); while their study of pre-Claudian Gallo-Belgic stamps led them to be the first to suggest that imported ceramics were channelled through Colchester prior to their arrival at Canterbury (*ibid.*, 641). Meanwhile, Thompson used the overall ceramic assemblage to conclude that the site was heavily populated during the later Iron Age (1995, 625).

In 1997 Cleary published a review of the above volumes, stating that the excavation report is at best a patchy overview of the work carried out (1997, 492); and that the later Iron Age settlement at Canterbury, based on the evidence and discussion presented, seems to have been rather unstable (*ibid.*, 492).

10.2.4: 21st Century

The first publication of the 21st Century to make reference to Canterbury is Ashbee's '*Kent in Prehistoric Times*', within which Ashbee presents a number of ideas that were first published in the 1960s. Consequently, this text contains notions such as Bigbury having been the original *oppidum* within this region, until Caesar's invasion of c.54 BC when it fell out of use and focus shifted to an area spanning the River Stour (2005, 157). Furthermore, Ashbee returns to the idea that Bigbury, and subsequently Canterbury, were the foci of eastern Kent, with the evidence recovered at Bigbury, (with the exception of gang chains and fetters), being said to denote the routine existence of a rural settlement (ibid, 182).

2005 also saw Cunliffe release the 4th edition of his '*Iron Age Communities in Britain*'. Within this volume Cunliffe reiterates many of the interpretations noted above, including the supposition that Canterbury became a principal urban centre within eastern Kent over the course of the later Iron Age, and eventually the focal point of Roman occupation within this area (2005, 166). Furthermore, he too surmises that Bigbury was an enclosed *oppidum* (ibid, 166) which fell out of use when the regions focal point shifted c.2 kilometres to the east to the area of modern Canterbury (ibid, 406).

Additionally, Cunliffe ponders the possibility that Bigbury was the first native fort attacked by Caesar in 54 BC (ibid, 168); while also surmising that Canterbury itself represented one of 17 socio-economic zones in the south-east of Britain between the years of 50 BC and AD 10, thus leading him to characterise the site as a nucleated settlement with potential urban functions (ibid, fig. 7.2), despite its lack of significant boundaries, such as dykes and other similar earthworks (ibid, 406).

Two years later Williams (2007) published '*The Archaeology of Kent to AD 800*'. Within the chapter on prehistoric Kent, contributed by Champion, Bigbury's status as the fortified place Caesar attacked in 54 BC is again pondered (2007, 119). Furthermore, this volume sees Bigbury once more labelled an early *oppidum* and the precursor to Canterbury; East Kent's Iron Age capital (ibid, 119). Champion bases these interpretations on the presence of iron work, slave chains and a fire dog at Bigbury; although he goes on to contradict his inferences by citing that the lack of intensive occupation and the absence of coinage makes Bigbury an unlikely *oppidum* (ibid, 119).

Despite this, Champion believes that the later Iron Age was marked by the emergence of new types of settlement, (with Canterbury existing as an example of these), that were associated with the founding of dynastic rule/power (ibid, 116). This observation led Champion to tentatively conclude that Iron Age Canterbury comprised a cluster of dispersed and variable settlement complexes rather than a formally planned settlement such as Silchester. This inference is made only tentatively because Champion believes the difficulties faced by excavators as a result of continuous occupation within the city centre make it difficult to ascertain the true nature and status of this site during the later Iron Age (ibid, 121).

2009 saw Sparey-Green publish a paper within which he too considers the relationship of Bigbury to Canterbury. In doing this he states that Bigbury may be analogous with other Iron Age centres in south-east Britain because of its defensive dyke system, and that if this was the case then the site might not have been a hillfort but a territorial *oppidum* (2009, 35). Furthermore, Sparey-Green also suggests that Bigbury was a worthy predecessor of Canterbury, and that the latter site was the largest pre-Roman centre in east Kent (ibid, 35). In 2010 Sparey-Green again comments on Bigbury, this time stating that the site was the woodland stronghold described by Caesar during his campaigns of 54 BC (2010, 15).

2010 also saw Pitts publish: '*Rethinking the Southern Britain Oppida: Networks, Kingdoms and Material Culture*', within which he ponders the possibility that Bigbury was one of Britain's earliest enclosed *oppida*, and in being so represented the final stage of the hillfort evolution outlined by Cunliffe in 1976 (Pitts 2010, 35). Pitts also surmises that it was not just Bigbury that was part of a settlement evolution; suggesting that Canterbury too was part of the reorganisation of southern Britain and its *oppida* between 25 and 15 BC (ibid, 35).

Two years later, in 2012, the interim report pertaining to excavations carried out at St Edmund's School, on the land adjacent to Giles Lane, emerged. These excavations, which took place between April and July 2012 (Lane 2012, 3), revealed a '[l]ong lived prehistoric settlement located on the brow of St Thomas' Hill overlooking the river basin of the Great Stour.' (ibid, 12) This occupation has been split into three phases (ibid, 12), that are believed, based on the forms and fabrics of the ceramics in evidence, to have collectively spanned from c.700 BC – AD 43 (ibid, 12). The Iron Age phases proper were associated with the establishment, (in phase 2), and eventual decline, (in phase 3), of a large elliptical enclosure that was associated with domestic occupation, with the enclosure ditch itself purported to have fulfilled a defensive

role (ibid, 12); while, the latest phase of the site's prehistoric occupation saw the emergence of a series of shallow scoops and linear features along a ridge of natural clay that are said to represent either the laying down of new field boundaries or alternatively evidence of small scale quarrying (ibid, 9). It can therefore be said that this report provides crucial evidence for our understanding of Iron Age occupation in Canterbury, with Lane surmising that the '[f]inal results of the excavation will give us a far greater insight into developing settlements in the Iron Age on the Upper Ridges of the Great Stour valley during a period which included the construction of Bigbury hillfort.' (ibid, 12)

The excavations at St Edmund's School are not the only ones to have been conducted on the upper brow of St Thomas' Hill in recent years. In 2014 the interim report for archaeological investigations carried out at Turing College on the University of Kent at Canterbury campus was published (Lane 2014). Within this report Lane presents a wealth of information, providing insight into extensive occupation at the site during the early and middle Iron Ages, (thus allowing us to gain an appreciation of life in Canterbury prior to the establishment of the site as an *oppidum*, and in doing so the reasons why Canterbury may have become such), and to a lesser extent the later Iron Age. Although the current chapter focuses on later Iron Age occupation in Canterbury, Lane's suppositions about early and middle Iron Age occupation in this area are significant because 'previously the Iron Age evidence in the Stour region had been limited to the later Iron Age settlements identified within the Stour basin at Canterbury and the antiquarian investigations into the obvious and famous earthworks at Bigbury.' (ibid, 65) Between 600 and 100 BC the settlement at Turing College was organised into zoned areas of activity (ibid, 65). Excavations conducted within these zones, revealed that specialised activities were taking place 'including textile production and storage as well as pottery manufacture, charcoal burning and metalworking.' (ibid, 65)

From c.100 BC the site's settlement morphology, which comprised postholes for roundhouse and posted sub-circular structures, as well as 4 and 6 post-structures, ditches, and pits (ibid, 9), was reorganised (ibid, 13), with the evidence suggesting a 'significant decline in activity on the upper ridge of the Stour valley with perhaps a return to traditional agricultural regimes' (ibid, 65), coupled with pastoral activities such as the management of livestock (ibid, 13). These activities are believed to have been associated with habitation, an inference that has been based on the discovery of a gold Gallo-Belgic stater (dating to c.50 BC), the remains of at least one Dressel 1b amphora, and 423 sherds of occupational ceramics (ibid, 17). Furthermore,

there existed at the site a later Iron Age cremation group, (comprising 6 burials and 8 cremation vessels (ibid, 12)), that conforms to the Aylesford-Swarling burial tradition (ibid, 12), which may represent the graves of a fairly low status family group (ibid, 18). Interestingly, these burials are thought to have post-dated domestic habitation at the site, because the dates of the stater and Dressel 1b amphorae, as well as the absence of Gallo-Belgic and Central Gaulish fine wares, are indicative of the site having been abandoned at the time of the creation of the *oppidum* at Canterbury in c.15 BC (ibid, 18); while the burials could date to any time between 25 BC and AD 50 (ibid, 17).

Finally, there are two undated sources from the HER (Historical Environment Records) that provide insight into the nature of later Iron Age occupation in and around Canterbury that we must consider here. The first of these, by Palmer, suggests that Canterbury was an *oppidum* with political and economic similarities to Roman Towns; while the second, by Smith, suggests that Bigbury existed for either the purpose of protecting communities against clan or tribal threats, or as a defended political centre forming part of broader tribal confederation. With these final points, as well as those discussed above, in mind our attention turns to the reanalysis of Canterbury's later Iron Age occupation.

10.2.5: A Summary

Overall, the literature pertaining to later Iron Age Canterbury can be said to promote two primary interpretations of the site. Firstly, that until Caesar's incursions of 54 BC Bigbury was the principal settlement in this area, with occupation moving from elevated locations to the valley bottom only after the events associated with this. Secondly, that the site within the valley emerged, and subsequently flourished, because of the economic opportunities the location provided.

10.3: Canterbury Reassessed

The analysis of Canterbury presented below follows the methodology outlined in Chapter 6, and although the site's archaeological record is not as extensive as either Colchester's (Chapter 7) or Titelberg's (Chapter 9) it was substantial enough for the purposes of the present study. Before we look at the results of the aforementioned analysis, we need to first note that while Canterbury's archaeological record is substantial, some of the conclusions presented are not based on as much evidence as one might like, this is due to the nature of the evidence available and the fact that while many areas of Canterbury have provided evidence of later Iron Age

settlement morphology, only the Marlowe Car-park site has significantly contributed to the artefact records analysed below. Despite this the results obtained were satisfactory, as well as in keeping with those presented in conjunction with both Colchester (Chapter 7.3) and Titelberg (Chapter 9.3).

10.3.1: Period 1: 150/100 – 55/50 BC

Canterbury's location in south-east Britain means that Period 1 occupation at this site coincided with the numerous developments taking place in Britain between 150/100 and 55/50 BC (see Chapter 6.1). Furthermore, unlike Colchester which emerged within a landscape that has produced little/no convincing evidence for long term occupation prior to the later Iron Age, a pattern seen across much of south-east Britain at this time, the same cannot be said of Canterbury, or indeed Kent.

From the two most recent publications discussed in Chapter 10.2, the reports on excavations at St Edmund's School (Lane 2012) and Turing College (Lane 2014), as well as those published during the 20th Century detailing excavations at Bigbury hillfort (e.g. Jessup and Cook 1936; Thompson 1983) we know that some areas of the Canterbury region were occupied during the early and middle Iron Ages, c.800-150/100 BC. An appreciation of this occupation, seen in Appendix 10.5, can be said to better enhance our understanding of Canterbury between the years of 150/100 and 55/50 BC; especially as life is believed to have continued at the aforementioned settlements until at least 54 BC.

10.3.1.1: The Evidence

Although Period 1 occupation at Canterbury was in many ways more easily identifiable within the archaeological record than contemporaneous occupation at either Colchester (Chapter 7) or Titelberg (Chapter 9), our knowledge of it is primarily based around the site's morphological record. There are two reasons for this; firstly, there is little dating evidence published within the Marlowe Car-park excavation reports (Blockley 1995a; 1995b),⁵⁹ the site from which the majority of the artefacts addressed within this chapter were recovered; and secondly, neither the St Edmund's School (Lane 2012) nor Turing College (Lane 2014) reports contain the final analysis of the artefacts recovered, therefore it is at present impossible to determine to which period of occupation at the site they pertain.

⁵⁹ That which does exist is considered in Appendix 10.6.

Despite the limitations associated with dating evidence presented within the Marlowe Car-park report, see Appendix 10.6, and in light of the dating ascribed to a number of the artefacts in circulation at Canterbury over the course of the later Iron Age, the author feels justified in suggesting that the morphological entities documented in Appendix 10.7 emerged at this site during Period 1; because while there is limited evidence to support this, the site's location and subsequent developments, (see Chapter 10.1-10.3), are in themselves indicative of there having been some form of occupation in place by the end of this chronological time frame.

It is however not only the Marlowe Car-park excavations that have produced evidence of occupation at Canterbury between 150/100 and 55/50 BC; so too have investigations at St Edmund's School (Lane 2012), Turing College (Lane 2014), and Bigbury hillfort (Jessup and Cook 1936; Thompson 1979; 1980; 1983), (see Appendix 10.7). Furthermore, unlike the Marlowe Car-park excavations, these latter sites have produced evidence for artefacts as well as morphological entities of Period 1 date; as can be seen from Appendices 10.8-10.9.⁶⁰ Conversely, we cannot be entirely certain how many of these artefacts were in circulation at these latter sites during Period 1 due to an absence of sound contextual and/or dating evidence. Despite this, that we can attribute some of these artefacts, in particular the ceramics and tools of various crafts, to this period of occupation proved invaluable for the analysis to which our attention now turns.

10.3.1.2: An Analysis

The structures either in use or established within the Canterbury area during Period 1 primarily represent domestic occupation, farming regimes, (both arable and pastoral), and craft production (see Appendix 10.7); in other words those activities considered typical for the later Iron Age (see Chapter 3.4). Consequently, one could surmise that those residing within the Canterbury region at this time were not only relatively self-sustained, but perhaps capable of producing surplus, (in the form of grain and livestock, as well as craft wares produced through the kilns at Turing College and metalworking industries at both Bigbury and Turing College); thereby allowing them to gain access to products they may not have been able to produce

⁶⁰ Unfortunately this evidence is not conducive to the production of graphs and similar diagrams, accordingly it is not displayed within the document here; but does appear in some form within the analysis documented below.

themselves from elsewhere within the local region/Britain, or even non-essential items, such as Dressel 1 amphorae, from the Near Continent.

Conversely, as this conclusion is at present based upon the morphological entities alone many might question its validity, the author however feels that it is justified for two reasons:

1. The economies of the Iron Age in general are believed to have been founded on the generation of surplus (see Chapter 4.1).
2. Some of the most valuable commodities at this time, and those most frequently exchanged, using the modes of exchange discussed in Chapters 4.2-4.3, between British communities domestically, as well as with the Near Continent, were: grain, livestock, and the by-products of animal husbandry namely: milk, cheese, and wool/woven textiles (Cunliffe 1984, 6; 2005, 408, 418, 478; 2011, 374-375); all things that the morphology suggests Canterbury's Period 1 populations were capable of producing.

In addition to the above, the morphological entities, but particularly the pits, ditches, and postholes associated with domestic habitation and storage (see Appendix 10.7), can also be said to confirm many of the interpretations put forth by those who have pondered the nature of occupation at Bigbury, St Edmund's School, and Turing College, (see Chapter 10.2); as well as Blockley *et al.*'s supposition that the enclosure bounding the site at the Marlowe Car-park may have served as a stock enclosure (1995a, 50). However, before we progress any further with our analysis of the evidence attributed to Period 1 by the present author, there is one element of the settlement morphology at Bigbury that cannot be said to fit as comfortably into the above interpretations as the others: the ramparts.

Although these features, both the earthworks, (ditches and banks), and the palisades believed to have topped them, could have been used as traditional boundary markers to indicate the ownership of land or even to ensure the safety of livestock (see Appendix 10.7), the notion that they served as defensive boundaries has been nurtured within much of the literature, (see Chapter 10.2), for so long that this is how they are traditionally perceived. While there is little/no evidence available to support this inference, except perhaps their size and scale, the author does not feel they are able to rule it out either because there is much of the site that has never been explored archaeologically. Conversely, they do suggest a further role these features may have fulfilled: a symbolic representation of power (see Chapter 5.3). Although this is an

interpretation that has been pondered in relation to the dykes at Colchester in recent years (Grocott 2007, 30; Radford 2013a, 43), it is something that we are unable to verify within the archaeological record; therefore it suffices to say that we can no longer simply surmise that ramparts represent defence as recent studies of similar features have given rise to alternative, viable, interpretations. Consequently, while these features do not fit as convincingly within the picture of Period 1 life at Canterbury outlined above, they also cannot be said to alter it because without definitive proof for their use as defences there is nothing to say that anything other than a combination of domestic occupation, farming, and craft production, (in other words, those activities identified through a study of the other structural features considered in relation to Period 1), was taking place at Canterbury between 150/100 and 55/50 BC.

The artefacts circulating at Bigbury, St Edmund's School, and Turing College between 150/100 and 55/50 BC⁶¹, (see Appendices 10.8-10.9), represent a broad range of artefact types from ceramic vessels and agricultural paraphernalia to the tools of industrial crafts and the slave-trade, (see Appendix 10.9). That these artefact types were present within the Canterbury region during Period 1 is vital to our understanding of occupation at this time, not only because their functions and find-spots, where known, can be said to verify the interpretations drawn as a result of an analysis of the settlement morphology, but because these artefacts, and a consideration of their functions, can help us to better gauge the development of the site over the course of the later Iron Age.

These assertions can be made because many of these artefacts represent domestic occupation; arable farming regimes; the rearing of livestock, in particular sheep and horses; and both domestic and industrial crafts, including the production of textiles, ceramics, and metalwork, (see Appendix 10.9). In addition to this, this evidence can also be said to provide insight into trading activities taking place within the Canterbury region between 150/100 BC and 50 BC.

Based on the evidence available it can be said that there were potentially ten commodities being exported from the Canterbury region during Period 1; including: grain; livestock and those items associated with this such as hides, wool, cheese, and milk; ceramics; textiles; metalwork; and possibly even slaves. Furthermore, the archaeology suggests that these items were being exchanged locally in return for ceramics produced elsewhere in Kent; however the presence of

⁶¹ NB: no artefacts from the Marlowe Car-park site can be reliably attributed to this phase of occupation.

Dressel 1(?b) amphorae at both Bigbury and Turing College also alludes to some of these products having been exchanged with communities outside of Kent, such as those on the near Continent. Of the commodities available for exchange within Canterbury during Period 1 the author believes that while many of these would have been readily accepted by foreign merchants in exchange for amphorae, the amphorae recovered at Bigbury was probably exchanged for the slaves known to have been present at the site, (see Appendix 10.9); as these are widely perceived to have been highly valued British exports during the later Iron Age, (see Chapter 4.2-4.3). Unfortunately, in the absence of other continental imports at these sites we cannot be certain that these vessels were being imported from the near Continent, and thus we do not know with whom Canterbury's occupants/merchants had established trading relationships at this time.

Despite this, amphorae being present at all increases our understanding of the communities residing at the Bigbury and Turing College sites during Period 1, because vessels such as these are traditionally believed to have been imported to allow the upper-reaches of society to display their wealth and position within their local community, (see Chapter 5.3); therefore allowing the author to surmise that the communities occupying the Canterbury region at this time may have been stratified. Conversely, it is equally possible that these vessels, and their contents, are actually indicative of Bigbury and Turing College being used for communal activities designed to foster social cohesion, as it is surmised imported vessels sometimes were (see Chapter 5.3).

10.3.1.3: A Summary

Overall the above interpretations can be said to suggest that Period 1 occupation at Canterbury was characterised by three developed settlements whose inhabitants were largely self-sufficient, thanks to the kilns at Turing College, and metalworking industries at both Bigbury and Turing College; and in so being were able to obtain that which they could not produce themselves through local trading networks. The apparent self-sufficiency of these settlements comes from their adherence to traditional Iron Age pastimes. Furthermore, that there were members of these societies importing/making use of Italian wine amphorae tells us that there was either conspicuous consumption taking place, or individuals present who wanted to make use of these products during communal events to enhance social relationships.

Consequently, the evidence attributed to Period 1 occupation at Canterbury is unlikely to support the site's characterisation as an *oppidum* when it is subjected to closer scrutiny in Chapter 11 and considered in conjunction with current thinking on the parameters by which *oppida* are defined. In other words, the activities Canterbury's occupants engaged in at this time tally so closely with what can be considered the norm for this period (see Chapter 3.4), that it is doubtful there will be any area of this that can be considered atypical, and in being so tally with the characteristics said to set *oppida* apart from the farmsteads, villages, and open settlements also occupied at this time (see Chapter 2).

10.3.2: Period 2: 55/50 – 30/25 BC

This chronological timeframe is of considerable importance to our reanalysis of Canterbury because it represents a period of considerable change within the region. There are two events that can be said to have influenced, on some level, these changes. Caesar's invasions of Britain in 55 and 54 BC (Caesars *The Conquest of Gaul*, 4.20-5.23; Mattingly 2007, 64); events that are believed by many to have led to both the construction/intensification of defences at Bigbury pre-54 BC, and the site's abandonment post-54 BC (see Chapter 10.2); although, as the present author notes above, (see pages 411-412), there is nothing within the archaeological record to suggest that these features were constructed for the purpose of defence. Furthermore, the dates attributed to Caesar's incursions are said to coincide with the development of occupation in the bottom of the Stour Valley (see Chapter 10.2), and with this the intensification/emergence of the Marlowe Car-park site (Blockley *et al* 1995a; 1995b); as well as the decline and/or alteration of occupation at both the St Edmund's School (Lane 2012) and Turing College (Lane 2014) sites.

10.3.2.1: The Evidence

As was the case with Period 1 the author faced a number of difficulties when attempting to identify archaeological evidence pertaining to occupation at Canterbury between 55/50 and 30/25 BC; not least because the use of the Marlowe Car-park site continues to fall within what Canterbury Archaeological Trust, (CAT), termed Period 1, (see Appendix 10.6). These issues were however overcome, and the author feels justified in attributing the morphological entities at the Marlowe Car-park outlined in Appendix 10.10 to this period of occupation for two reasons:

1. It is unlikely this area was un-occupied after 54 BC when Bigbury went out of use; particularly as the people who occupied Bigbury are likely to have moved elsewhere in Canterbury after the site's abandonment and established a new settlement in an advantageous location (see Chapter 10.1.1), something that the Marlowe Car-park can be said to have been (see Chapter 10.2). In other words, a displaced population is likely to have sought out an area that would enable them to not only establish a new home, but take advantage of new opportunities, and the Marlowe Car-park's position of the River Stour is likely to have done this through the trading opportunities it would have presented (see Chapter 10.2),
2. Artefactual evidence of Period 2 date exists at this site, (see Appendices 10.11-10.12).

In addition to the above, the author also faced problems because of the incomplete nature of the reports concerning excavations at the St Edmund's School and Turing College sites. The incompleteness of these reports stems from the newness of the excavations and the limited analysis that has to date been carried out on the evidence recovered. Despite these shortcomings the author was able to establish the most likely features, (see Appendix 10.10), and artefacts, (see Appendix 10.11-10.12), in use at this time.

This dataset comprises numerous morphological entities (see Appendix 10.10); 14 complete/identifiable vessels (see Appendix 10.11), that represent 6 form types (see Figure 10.9); an unknown quantity of pottery sherds from both the St Edmund's School and Turing College sites (see Appendix 10.11); 11 brooches (see Appendix 10.12) in 3 different styles (see Figure 10.10); 46 coins (see Appendix 10.12), signifying the use/circulation of 7 different coin types (see Figure 10.11); and a number of pot boilers (see Appendix 10.12). Finally, it is pertinent to note that these artefacts were recovered from 13 context types, as can be seen from Figure 10.12).

Further to the above, and based on the terminology⁶² used in relation to the morphological entities identified elsewhere within the area now occupied by modern Canterbury, the author was able to ascertain that this period of occupation was associated with more than just the

⁶² This terminology, namely the use of the term 'Belgic', is traditionally used in relation to occupation in Iron Age Britain that dates from the mid first century BC. Furthermore, it is also widely used to describe 'those tribes living in south-eastern England in the 1st Century BC who had close contact with the continental mainland, and who after 57 BC, traded with Roman-Gaulish communities then inside the empire' (Darvill 2003, 44).

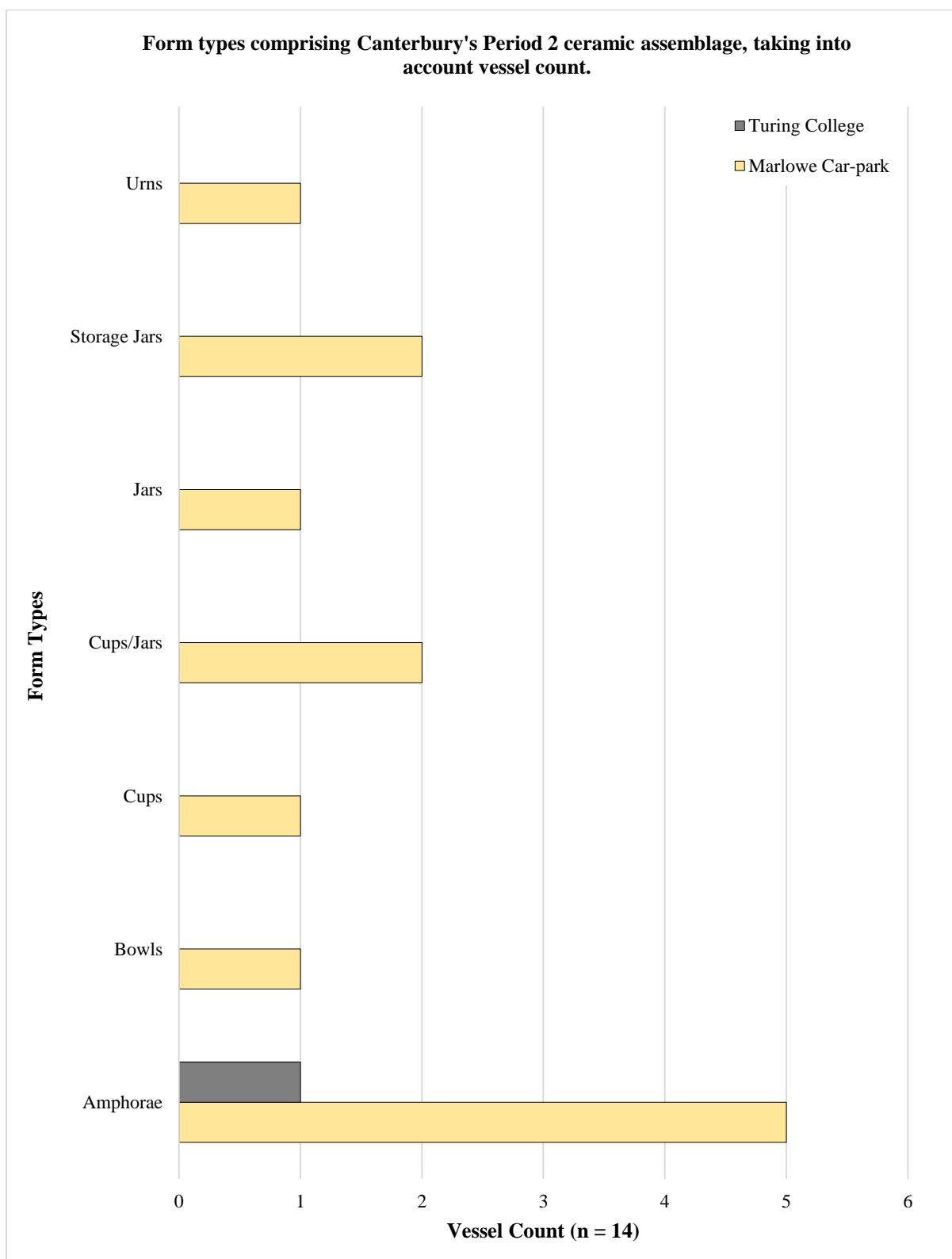


Figure 10.9: Based on information from Lane 2014; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

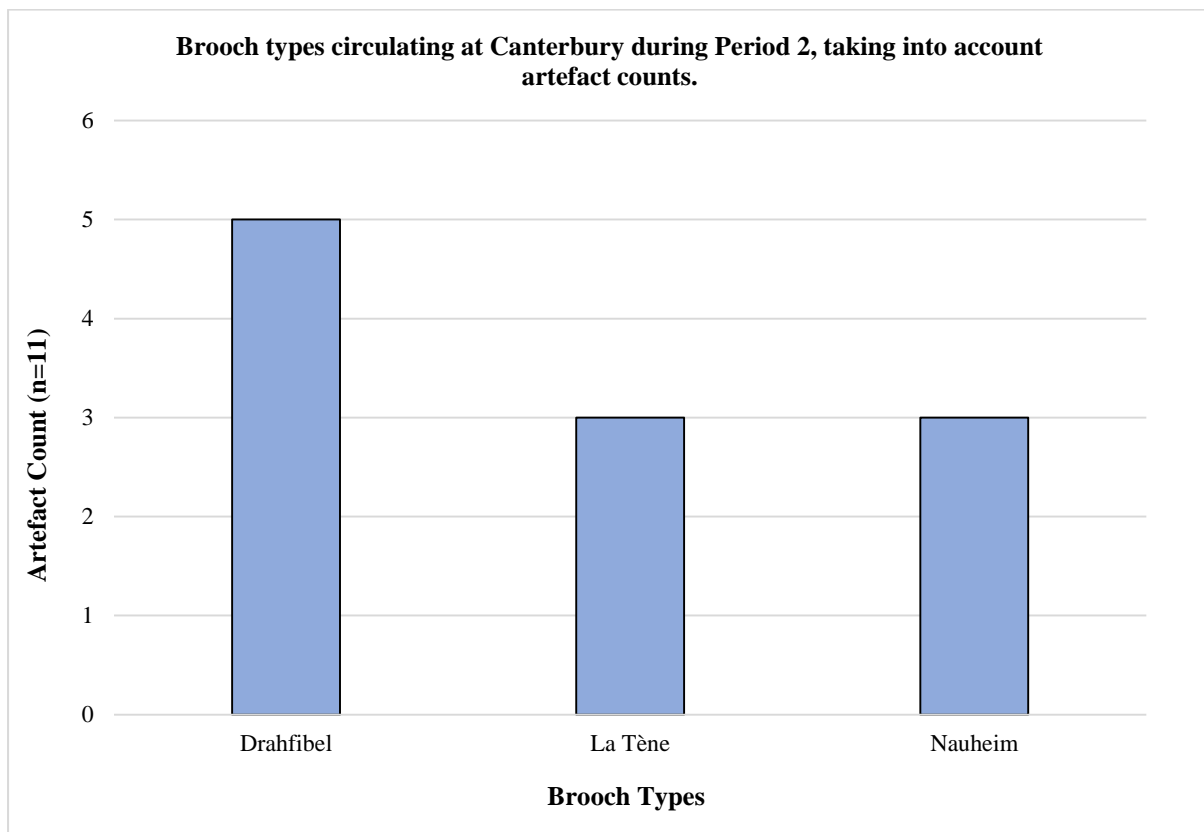


Figure 10.10: Based on information from: Mackreth 1995.

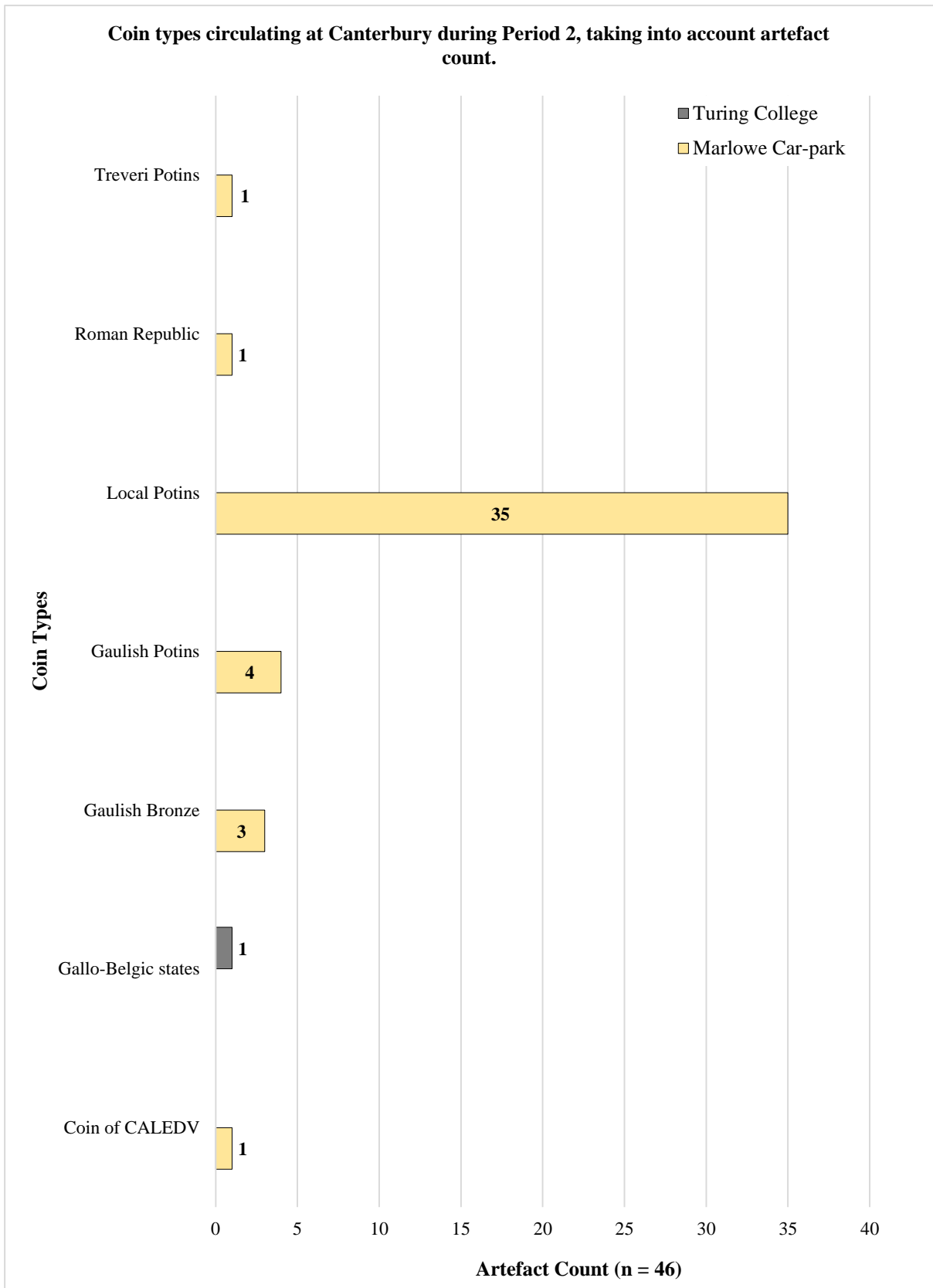


Figure 10.11: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Nash and Sellwood 1995.

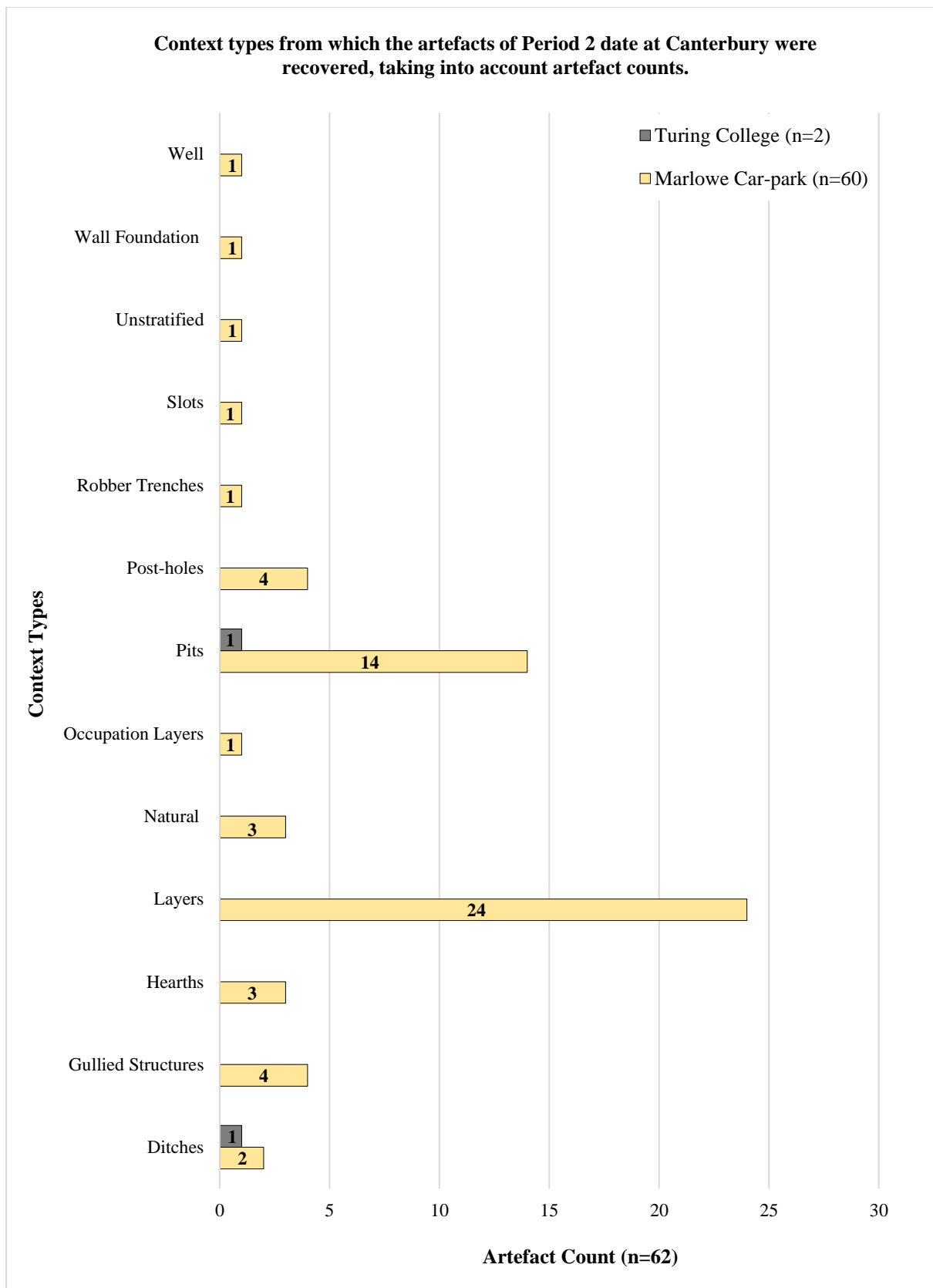


Figure 10.12: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Mackreth 1995; Nash and Sellwood 1995; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

development of the Marlowe Car-park, St Edmund's School, and Turing College sites, (see Appendix 10.10).

10.3.2.2: An Analysis

Occupation within the Canterbury area underwent a number of changes during Period 2. These changes saw a shift in the intensity of some of the activities engaged in during Period 1, (see Chapter 10.3.1.3), while others diminished; as well as the abandonment of Bigbury, (see Chapters 10.2 and 10.3.2.1), a re-organisation of the St Edmund's School and Turing College sites, and the emergence of occupation within the area now occupied by the modern city. Arguably these changes are best illustrated, at least initially, by the region's morphology; in other words, exploring the structural records of these regions of Canterbury is the best way to gain insight, at least initially, into the changes that took place at the site after c.55/50 BC.

Over the course of Period 2 the St Edmund's School site went from being well represented morphologically, (see Appendix 10.7), to being characterised by a series of shallow pits and gullies identified as quarries, two sunken-floored structures, and a series of post- and stake-holes. The aforementioned quarries suggest that clay and/or gravel was being extracted from the site, (although, it is also possible that they also doubled up as settlement boundaries), (see Appendix 10.10); whilst, the other features are indicative of the site's occupants' lifestyles being typical for the period (see Chapter 3.3-3.4). Consequently, one can state that although the site was less intensively represented archaeologically during this period, it continued to function in much the same way that it had during Period 1.

At Turing College meanwhile, the site went from being a traditional Iron Age settlement in Period 1, (see Chapter 10.3.1.3), to one whose occupation was considerably less intense over the course of Period 2. The period currently under exploration is represented by field boundaries and a series of pits (see Appendix 10.10). Based on this observation the author surmised that Period 2 use of the Turing College site was primarily characterised by farming regimes; an interpretation that is supported by the presence of pits, because in the absence of evidence denoting domestic occupation one can suggest that they were likely used for the storage of grain. The site can therefore be said to have gone from a flourishing centre of activity to one that is barely visible within the site's archaeological footprint.

In addition to the above, it can be said that Period 2 occupation at the Marlowe Car-park site is represented by the same morphological entities as it was during Period 1; thus suggesting that those residing at the site between 55/50 and 30/25 BC engaged in the same pursuits as those at the site in Period 1 (see pages 410-412). The Marlowe Car-park site was however not the only area of the modern city occupied during Period 2, as two new sites, at Rose Lane and Stour Street/Adelaide Place (see Figure 10.13), were also in use at this time. Although very little information about these latter sites is available within the literature, their morphological footprints, (see Appendix 10.10), are also characteristic of those sites used for what we would deem typical Iron Age activities, (see Chapter 3.4). One can therefore conclude, based on the morphological record, that whilst it is undeniable that changes were taking place within the Canterbury area over the course of Period 2, the nature of occupation within this region altered very little. Nevertheless, it is imprudent to base these inferences, however viable, on the settlement morphology alone.

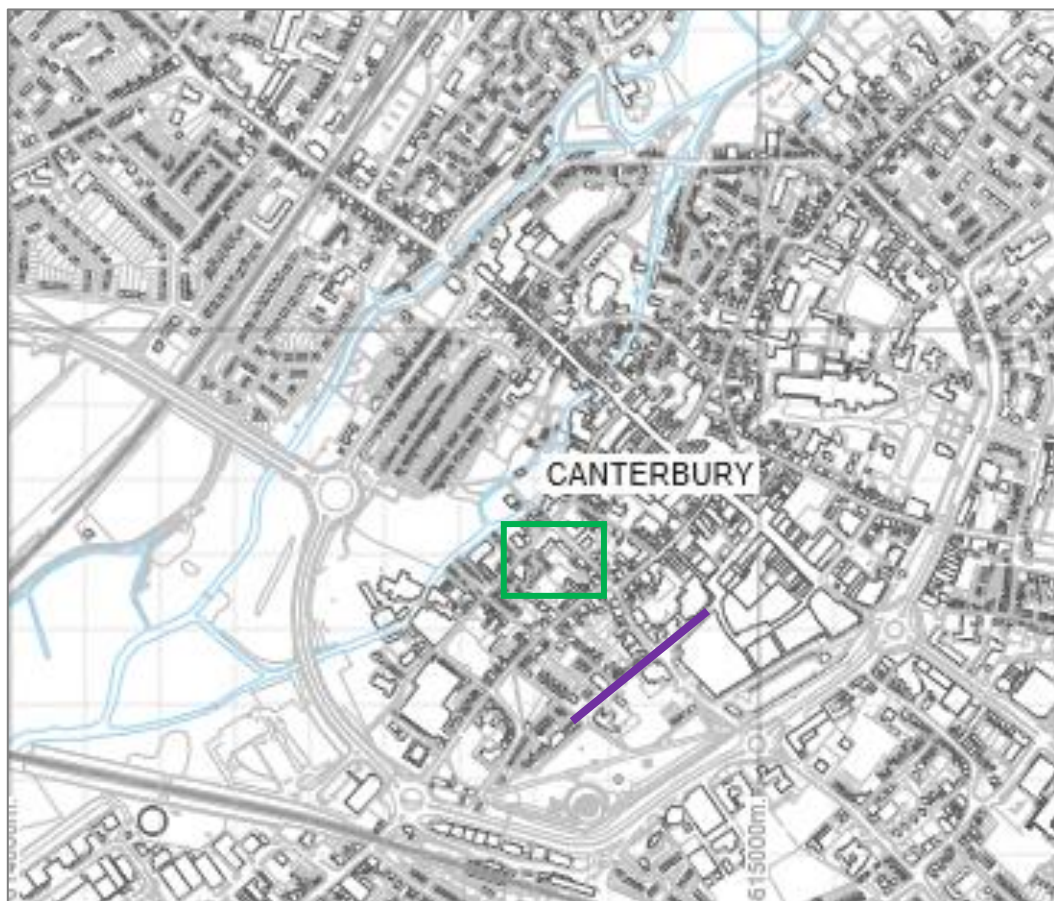


Figure 10.13: Map of Canterbury highlighting the positions of Rose Lane (purple) and Stour Street/Adelaide Place (green) (after Lane 2014, Fig. 1; additions author's own)

Turning our attention to the artefact record, we will begin by considering the ceramic assemblage. The first thing to note about this is that it comprises two components:

1. Whole/identifiable vessels,
2. Pottery sherds that cannot/have yet to be attributed to a vessel form.⁶³

We will begin by considering the latter of these components first as there is less that can be ascertained from it. The exact number of pottery sherds associated with occupation at the St Edmund's School and Turing College sites, (see Appendix 10.11), is unknown; however we do know that the majority of these sherds appear in flint tempered clays, (see Appendix 10.11), telling us that the vessels they represent were likely every-day pots associated with domestic occupation (see Chapter 6.2.1). This inference is one that can be said to further support the author's earlier notion that these sites conformed to traditional Iron Age pursuits. Furthermore, if pending analyses show that some/all of the Turing College sherds match clays from those vessels of Pre-Period 1/Period 1 date recovered within the site's kilns (Lane 2014, 11), these sherds could also be used to provide insight into the types of domestic/industrial craft production the site's occupants engaged in alongside their farming commitments.

The whole/identifiable vessels on-the-other-hand, can be said to represent a wide range of form types (see Figure 10.9), with these types representing those vessels associated with the preparation, consumption, and/or storage of foodstuffs (see Chapter 3.4). Consequently, they too can be used to suggest the site's occupants engaged in activities typical for the period. However, in addition to native form types this assemblage also contains vessels we would more commonly refer to as Roman tablewares (see Figure 10.14).

From Figure 10.14 it is evident that there were 5 traditional and 3 Roman form types in use at Canterbury during Period 2.⁶⁴ When we take stock of the number of vessels comprising each of these categories however, it is curious to note that Roman forms outnumber traditional wares: 3:2. While there are many reasons why this is the case, from a lack of natural resources

⁶³ Many of the sherds associated with later Iron Age occupation at the St Edmund's School and Turing College sites have yet to be analysed fully.

⁶⁴ It is worth noting that one of these form types bridges both categories having been identified as a 'jar/cup' within the Marlowe Car-park report. Despite the uncertainty surrounding the true nature of this vessel, and by proxy its most likely function, this vessel has been considered as part of both the traditional and Roman ceramic assemblages; this decision was made because both vessel forms are present in their own right, therefore suggesting that one of these form types is more likely for its identity than the other would be incongruous.

to the site's population being particularly wealthy or closely connected to Roman populations on the near Continent, the author believes that the vessels under consideration here do not represent the true number of vessels in circulation within Canterbury and its immediate environs during Period 2; particularly given the newness of some of the evidence in terms of when the excavations, particularly those at Turing College and St Edmund's School, took place. In other words, it is likely that a lack of final excavation reports containing detailed analyses of these sites' ceramic assemblages, as well as limited information pertaining to the dates of the vessels for much of the pottery attributed to Iron Age occupation at the Marlowe Car-park site, (see Appendix 10.1), has skewed the nature of the evidence available for analysis. Despite this there is still much that these vessels, (see Figure 10.14), can tell us.

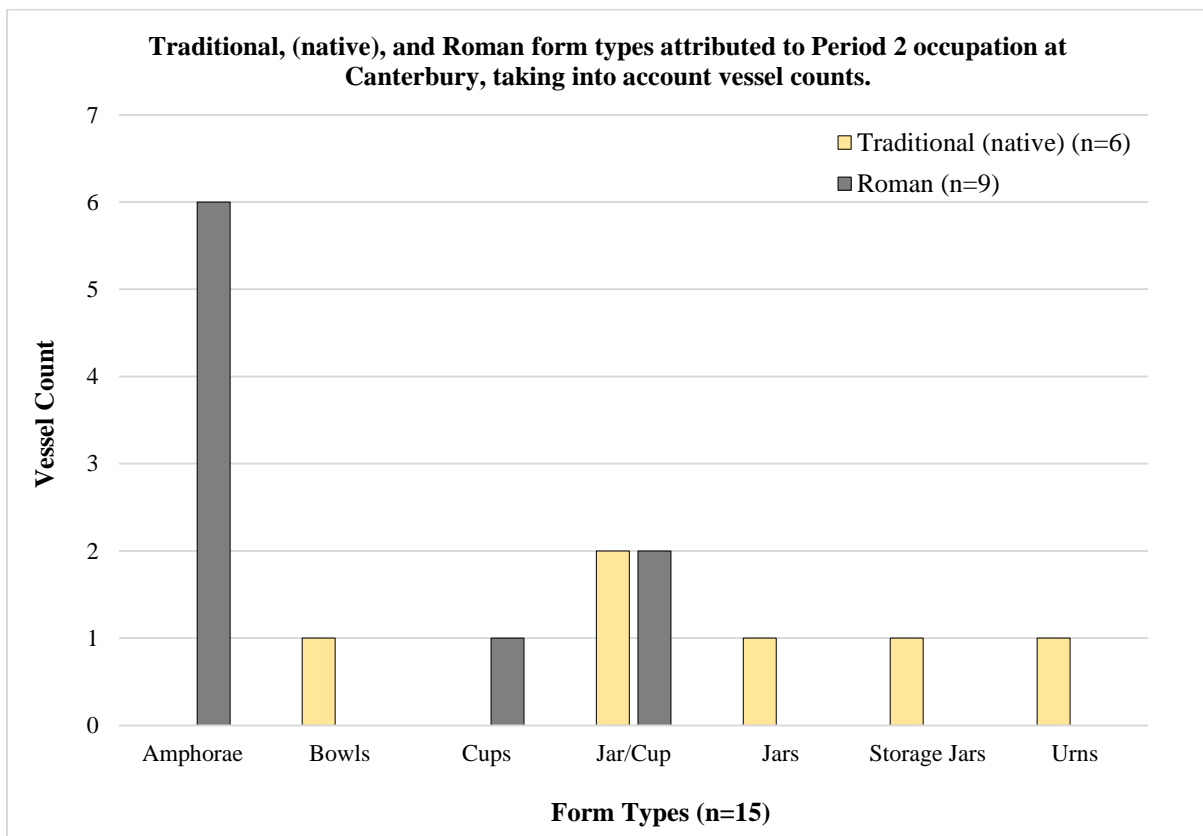


Figure 10.14: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

The traditional/native wares represent those form types characteristically recovered on Iron Age settlements, regardless of their date (Hill 1995a, 145-149); with one exception, the urns. Whilst the majority of these vessels can be said to further confirm earlier suppositions about the nature of occupation within the Canterbury region, (see page 421), urns are traditionally associated with the interment of cremated remains. If this is what the urn recovered from the

Marlowe Car-park site represents, (in the absence of cremated bone from this area it is impossible to be certain), the author feels that the burial was likely informal and situated in close proximity to domestic occupation in the area; an interpretation that is furthered when one takes into account the fact that this vessel was recovered from within a gully associated with one of the site's roundhouses (see Appendix 10.11).

The Roman form types meanwhile can be said to have arrived/been manufactured at the site for one of the following reasons: 1) to display the power of the elite, 2) to allow the elite to emulate Roman lifestyles, and 3) to be utilised during communal events; as vessels in these forms generally are (see Chapter 5.3). Unfortunately the nature of the evidence available is not conducive to determining whether one of these factors may have had precedence over the others in terms of leading to the presence of this material within the Canterbury region. Despite this, the author believes that they could have arrived at the site to fulfil all three of these pursuits, just as their counterparts at both Colchester and Titelberg were.

Leaving the form types behind we turn our attention to a consideration of the vessels' origins. From Figure 10.15, (and Appendix 10.11), it is evident that Canterbury's Period 2 ceramic assemblage originated from c.3 regions: Canterbury, Kent, and Italy⁶⁵. Conversely, it is prudent to note that the Kentish wares may have actually been produced at Canterbury, but due to the way in which this data was recorded within the Marlowe Car-park report, (Blockley *et al.* 1995b), it is impossible to say more than the ceramics were produced in Kent.⁶⁶ The presence of locally produced/Kentish vessels allowed the author to ascertain two things: firstly that pottery production may have been one of the domestic/industrial crafts Canterbury's inhabitants engaged in alongside their farming responsibilities; and secondly, that the local farmers and/or craftsmen were able to produce surplus grain/wares that could be exchanged for one of the most fundamental artefacts of the period, ceramic vessels, via one of the modes of local exchange discussed in Chapter 4.3. Consequently, this evidence can be said to further support earlier inferences about Period 2 occupation within the Canterbury region.

⁶⁵ Curiously there are no Gaulish wares of Period 2 date at Canterbury, despite the likelihood that the Italian wares entered Kent from Gaul and as such there were probably a number of Gaulish wares circulating this region at this time. Consequently, we have to ponder the possibility that either these vessels were not desired by those residing in Canterbury at this time, or alternatively these vessels were imported to the site alongside the Italian amphorae but excavations have yet to take place within the area of the site where this was utilised and/or deposited.

⁶⁶ For this reason the vessels are counted twice within the comparative histogram depicted in Figure 10.15.

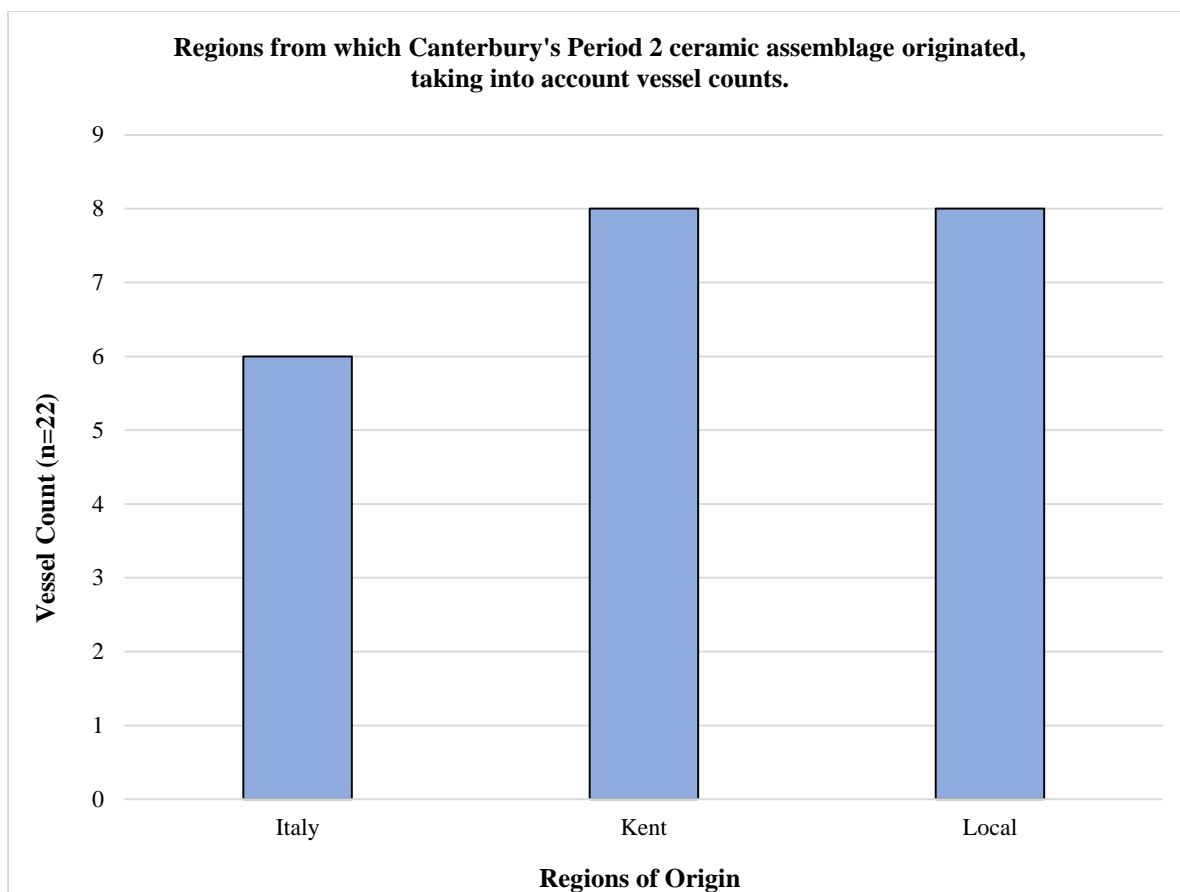


Figure 10.15: Based on information from: Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

Those vessels of Italian origin meanwhile can be said to provide insight into Canterbury's economic relationships. With regards to this point the first thing to note is that these vessels are unlikely to have been imported directly from Italy, despite the plausibility of this process. Instead it is more likely that these vessels entered the south-east of Britain by way of a Gallic trading centre such as Alet (see Chapter 4.3). Furthermore, given recent discoveries within the Folkestone area it is probable that these vessels entered Canterbury after first passing through this site (Parfitt 2013). Consequently, Period 2 trade between Canterbury and the Roman World can be said to conform to that which was typical for this period; in other words, it usually took place by way of Gaul (see Chapter 4.3). We can therefore use this evidence to state that in addition to forging trading relationship with their neighbouring communities in order to obtain everyday ceramics the merchants/occupants of the Canterbury region also had established economic links with their counterparts either in Folkestone or in Gaul through which they were able to attain wares of a luxury nature for elite and/or communal use as it has been surmised amphorae at Canterbury were (see page 424).

In addition to ceramic vessels Canterbury's Period 2 artefact record comprises a number of brooches and coins (see Appendix 10.12); although it is also possible that a number of the loomweights and pot boilers, recovered from the Turing College and St Edmund's School sites respectively, were in use at this time (see Appendix 10.12). From Appendix 10.13 and Chapter 10.3.1.3 we know that the loomweights and pot boilers are indicative of traditional Iron Age practices. In other words, the loomweights further emphasise farming and craft production, whilst the pot boilers are indicative of food preparation within the domestic sphere. Consequently, this evidence supports the inferences borne out of analyses of Canterbury's settlement morphology and ceramic assemblage about the region's later Iron Age occupation.

Turning our attention to the brooches, (see Figure 10.10), the first thing to note is that only three brooches⁶⁷ can be attributed to this phase of occupation, all of which are in the late La Tène style (see Appendix 10.12). Although this is a very small sample, and one that many would argue against the use of when drawing conclusions about the nature of Canterbury's inhabitants and use between 55/50 and 30/25 BC, an analysis of these artefacts, in terms of the mediums in which they were manufactured and their origins, proved beneficial for our understanding of the society residing within Canterbury and its environs at this time, as well as its economic connotations. Before we consider these points in further detail, it is necessary to first note that the primary function of these artefacts was to pin together garments (see Chapter 6.2.3).

Furthermore, all of the aforementioned brooches appear in one medium: bronze (see Appendix 10.12). This aspect of the evidence, coupled with the fact all three of the brooches are of the late La Tène style, allows us to surmise that these were likely the types of brooches used by the bulk of society; an interpretation that can be substantiated by two factors. Firstly, the majority of brooches circulating in Britain and Temperate Europe during the later Iron Age were manufactured in either bronze or iron (see Chapter 6.2.3), mediums that would have been easily 'affordable' for the general populace; and secondly, the fact that these brooches are very simple (see Figure 10.16) makes it unlikely that they would have served as anything other than fastenings for clothing.

⁶⁷ It is possible, and in fact likely, more brooches of this date exist but excavation has yet to reveal them, because after all only a fraction of the site has been excavated.

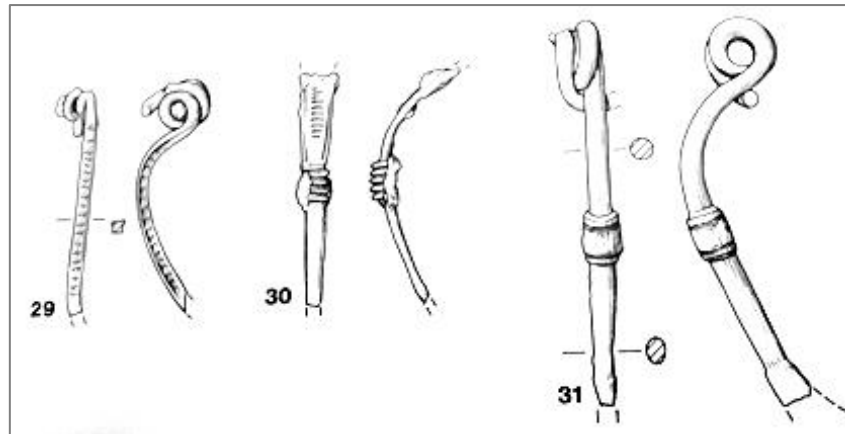


Figure 10.16: La Tène brooch forms (after Mackreth 1995, Fig. 404).

Although the style and medium of these brooches suggests that there were individuals of humble means occupying the Marlowe Car-park site during Period 2, the fact that they were likely manufactured in Gaul could call this interpretation into question. It is typically believed that imports were consumed conspicuously by the elite (see Chapter 5.3). However, these brooches provide an excellent example of how generalising evidence can lead to the generation of misinformation. In other words, this evidence cannot be said to lend itself to interpretations of an elite presence; because these brooches represent the forms and mediums in which brooches available to everyone in society during the later Iron Age would have appeared, even if they were imported to a site (see Chapter 6.2.3). Instead the author believes that these brooches represent a lack of metalworking industries within the Canterbury region at this time, whilst also emphasising the value of the area's farming regimes and domestic/industrial crafts to its economy. That is to say, Canterbury's occupants were reliant upon the exchange of surplus local products for more than just regional ceramics.

As two of the most basic artefacts of Iron Age date, ceramics and brooches, were apparently imported means that the trading networks along which these products passed were well established and strong. Had this not been the case it is possible that the site would have been unable to develop into the major centre it eventually became, because the inability to establish a functional settlement in one area would likely have seen Iron Age communities move onto another, presuming that was an option. In other words, providing Iron Age communities were able to sustain themselves either through their own means, (that is, their own farming regimes and industries), or through the forging of strong economic links that could be relied upon to provide the basics, they settled in the most advantageous landscape setting available and remained there for as long as was possible (see Chapter 3.3). Finally, should these items have

originated in Gaul it is likely they arrived at Canterbury alongside the amphorae through the same trading channels as those noted above (see page 425).

The coinage of Period 2 date at Canterbury comprises three different coin types, (see Figure 10.11), one of which originated in Kent, possibly even the Canterbury area, while the other two were manufactured in Gaul (see Appendix 10.12). Many believe that Iron Age coinage was used as currency in market exchanges (see Chapter 4.3), however in recent years this notion has come to be questioned, with some now preferring to believe that Iron Age coinage fulfilled a symbolic role (see Chapter 6.2.4). The author favours the latter of these interpretations, and as such believes that some of the coinage at Canterbury is a symbolic representative of economic relationships forged between the occupants of Canterbury and both Kentish and Gallic merchants, rather than evidence for the exchanges that would have taken place as a result of these.

In addition to the above, it is also possible that the coinage from either the local region or elsewhere in Kent was indicative of social relationships forged to signify an alliance that could be called upon in times of need, or alternatively the forging of marriage alliances. The coinage can therefore be said to further earlier suppositions about the site's economic relationships; whilst also providing insight into the possible regions with whom the site's occupants had social ties.

10.3.2.3: A Summary

Overall it can be said that Period 2 occupation within the Canterbury area remained in essence the same as it had been during Period 1, (see Chapter 10.3.1), and in being so the site engaged in traditional Iron Age activities. The above analysis has also afforded us a greater understanding of those residing within Canterbury at this time, in so far as we are able to ascertain that the site was occupied by both the humble and the elite; whilst also allowing us to determine those products used by the elite to display their social standing. Furthermore, we have also been able to gain a better understanding of the region's economic relationships, and the most likely trading routes through which imports and exports travelled.

Finally, it is worth noting here that the similarities between Period 1 and 2 occupation at Canterbury make it probable that this latter phase of the site's later Iron Age occupation does not warrant the site its characterisation as an *oppidum*. In other words, the author's

consideration of this period of Canterbury's habitation in conjunction with the parameters by which *oppida* are defined in Chapter 11 is likely to reveal that the use of the term *oppidum* in relation to Canterbury, at least during this phase of its occupation, is not judicious.

10.3.3: Period 3: 30/25 BC – AD 20/25

Period 3 occupation at Canterbury coincides with an event in Rome that can be said to have influenced later Iron Age life in both Britain and Temperate Europe: Augustus' ascension to emperor. This development not only led to Gaul being absorbed into the Roman Empire, but a change in the material culture being moved between the continent and Britain (see Chapter 4.2-4.3). Consequently, and in light of pre-existing trading relationships between Canterbury, Gaul, and the Roman world, one might expect occupation within the Canterbury region between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25 to be marked by an increase in imported wares from the continent, as well as the influence one might expect the use of this to have had on native communities; for example, the importing of Roman tablewares to Canterbury at this time may have led to adoption of Roman dining habits by its population, just as it is purported was the case elsewhere in Britain at this time (see Chapters 4.2, 5.3).

10.3.3.1: The Evidence

Period 3 occupation within the Canterbury region has left a substantial archaeological footprint; consequently, the author was not faced with as many problems when ascertaining the extent of this period's archaeological record within the area now occupied by the modern city as they had been for Periods 1 and 2. However, this does not mean that the identification of artefacts pertaining to this period was not without its problems. In this instance the problems stemmed from the undated vessels comprising this period's ceramic assemblage; however it was possible to use the dates of the material recovered alongside these ceramics to attribute them to the period of occupation to which they most likely pertain. Although viable, this approach is not 100% accurate and therefore many of these vessels are also considered in connection to Period 4 occupation at Canterbury, not least because the currency of this material likely bridged the two timeframes.

This period's archaeological record comprises an extensive morphological footprint compiled of at least 262 individual features from c.23 areas of Canterbury (see Appendix 10.14); furthermore, these features represent 35 different context types (see Figures 10.17). Additionally, there is a ceramic assemblage, (see Appendix 10.15), made up of c.215

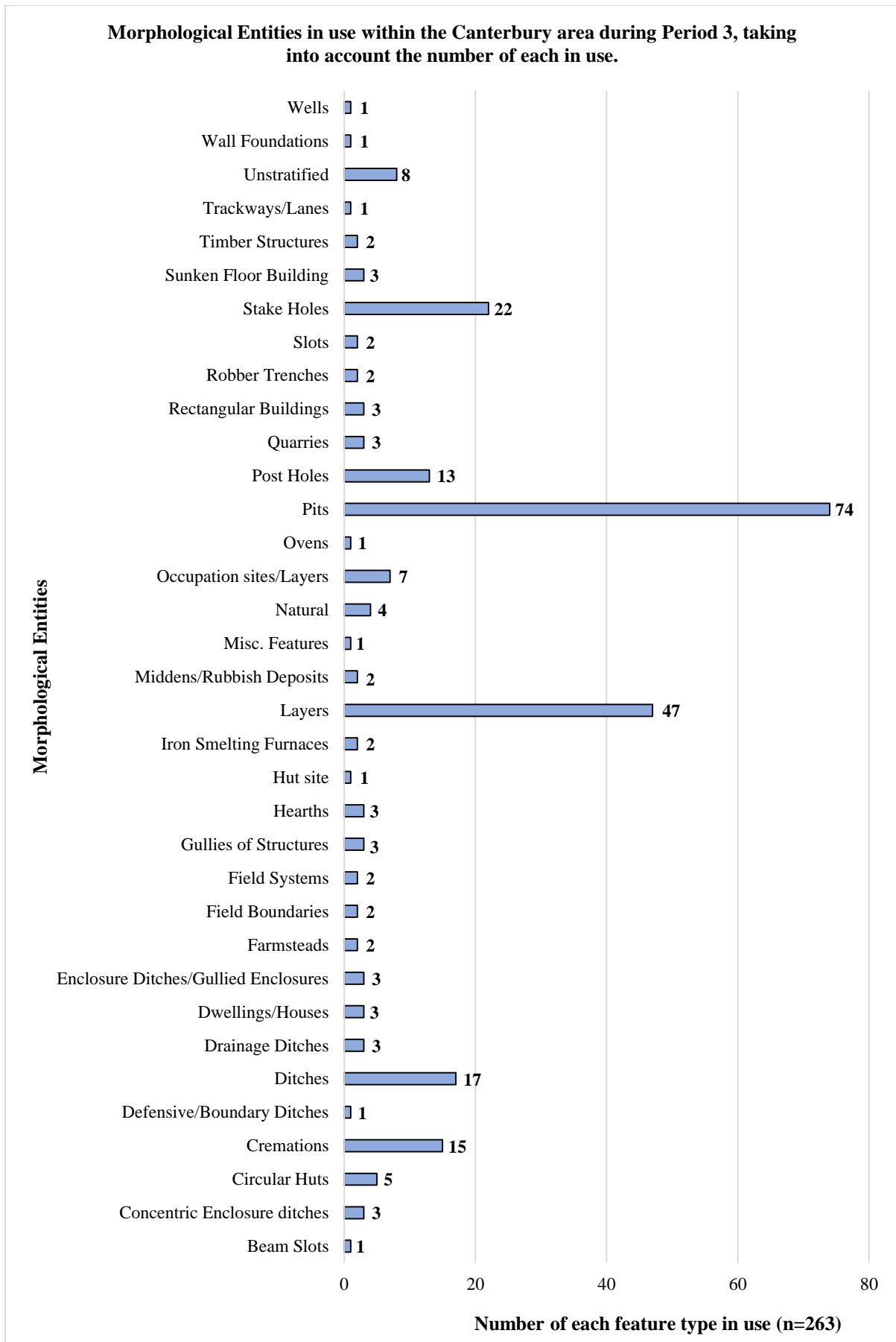


Figure 10.17: Based on information from: Blockley *et al.* 1995a; 1995b and Appendix 10.4.

whole/identifiable vessels representing 20 form types, (see Figure 10.18), and an unspecified number of flint-tempered sherds (see Appendix 10.15). The remainder of the site's Period 3 artefact record, (see Appendices 10.16-10.17), comprises 38 brooches in 7 different designs, (see Figure 10.19); 58 coins identifying 10 regions/tribes/individuals, (see Figure 10.20); as well as cremated remains, pellet moulds, crucibles, and an unknown quantity of loomweights and pot boilers, (see Appendix 10.16).⁶⁸ Finally, these artefacts were recovered from 17 of the 35 contexts in use at this time, (see Figure 10.21).

10.3.3.2: An Analysis

The author's analysis of the Period 3 dataset outlined above began with a consideration of the Canterbury region's morphology (see Figure 10.17 and Appendix 10.14). From Figure 10.22 it is evident that Period 3 occupation in this area is represented archaeologically by at least 20 more context types than Period 2. Despite this increase in feature types, the morphology present, with the exception of one category, suggests a continuation of traditional Iron Age activities, (see Appendix 10.14); although these were conducted on a more intensive scale. In other words, the site continued to support those activities considered typical of the later Iron Age: domestic occupation, farming regimes, and craft production (see Chapter 3.4).

Furthermore, it is interesting to note here that we see the emergence of features within Canterbury's landscape designed specifically for the purpose of craft production, in this instance bloomer furnaces at both the Old Cattle Market and Harbledown region (see Appendix 10.14), during Period 3. We can therefore surmise that there was a need for blacksmithing to become industrialised at Canterbury at this time; most likely because the area's population had expanded and pre-existing workshops, such as those that are believed to have existed at Turing College during Periods 1 and 2, and Bigbury during Period 1 (see Chapters 10.3.1.2, 10.3.2.2), could no longer meet local demands. A viable possibility given the intensification of both domestic occupation and farming activities witnessed during this period. Alternatively, it is possible that this development was the result of economic changes in the region; that is to say a greater range/number of local products were needed to ensure the continued import of materials from external sources. Of course it is equally possible that a combination of these factors led to the industrialisation of this craft between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25.

⁶⁸ It is possible that a greater range of artefacts relating to this period of occupation at Canterbury exist, however, if they do, they are not recorded within the literature in such a way that makes it possible to link them to later Iron Age use of the Marlowe Car-park site.

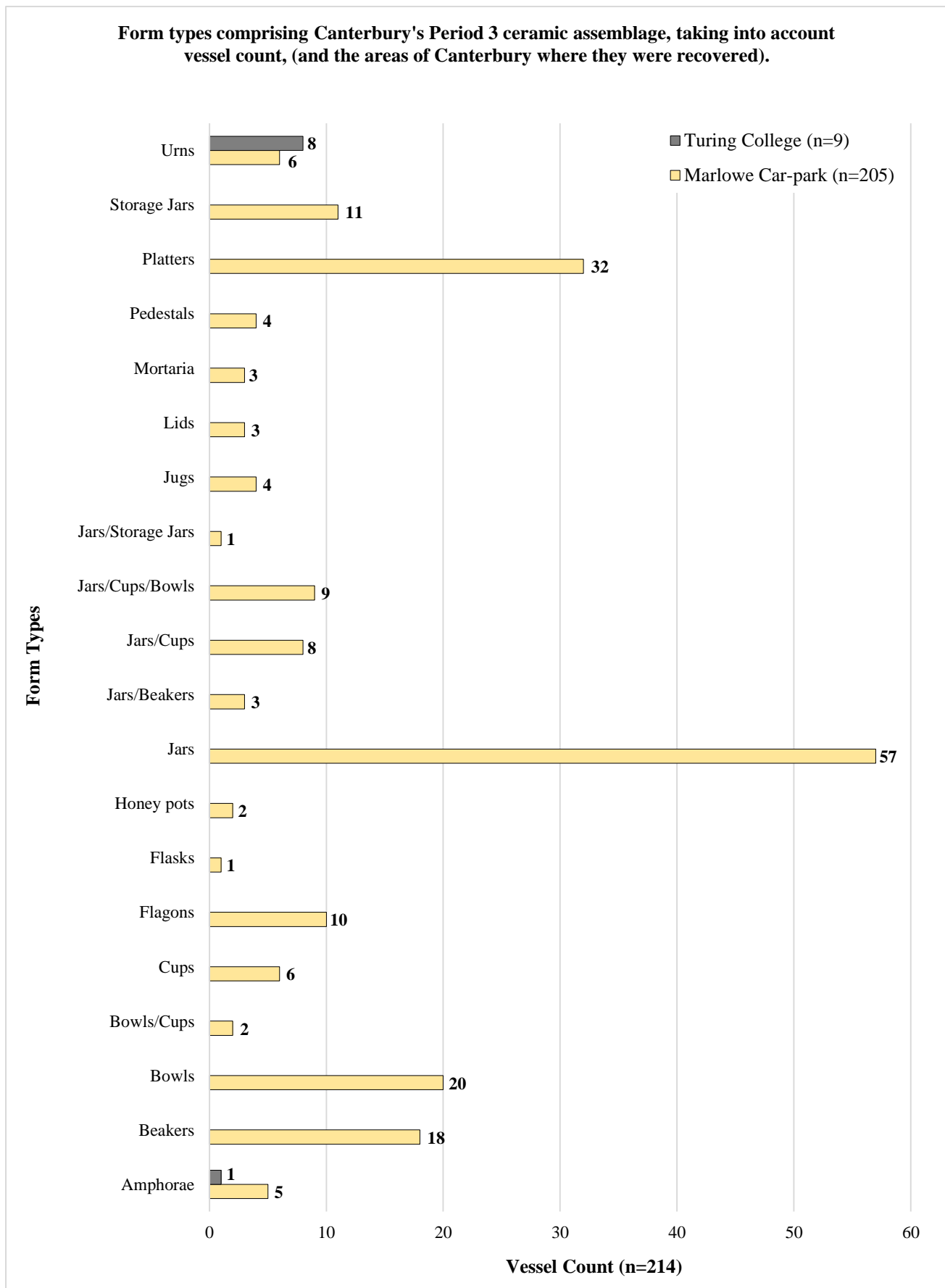


Figure 10.18: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

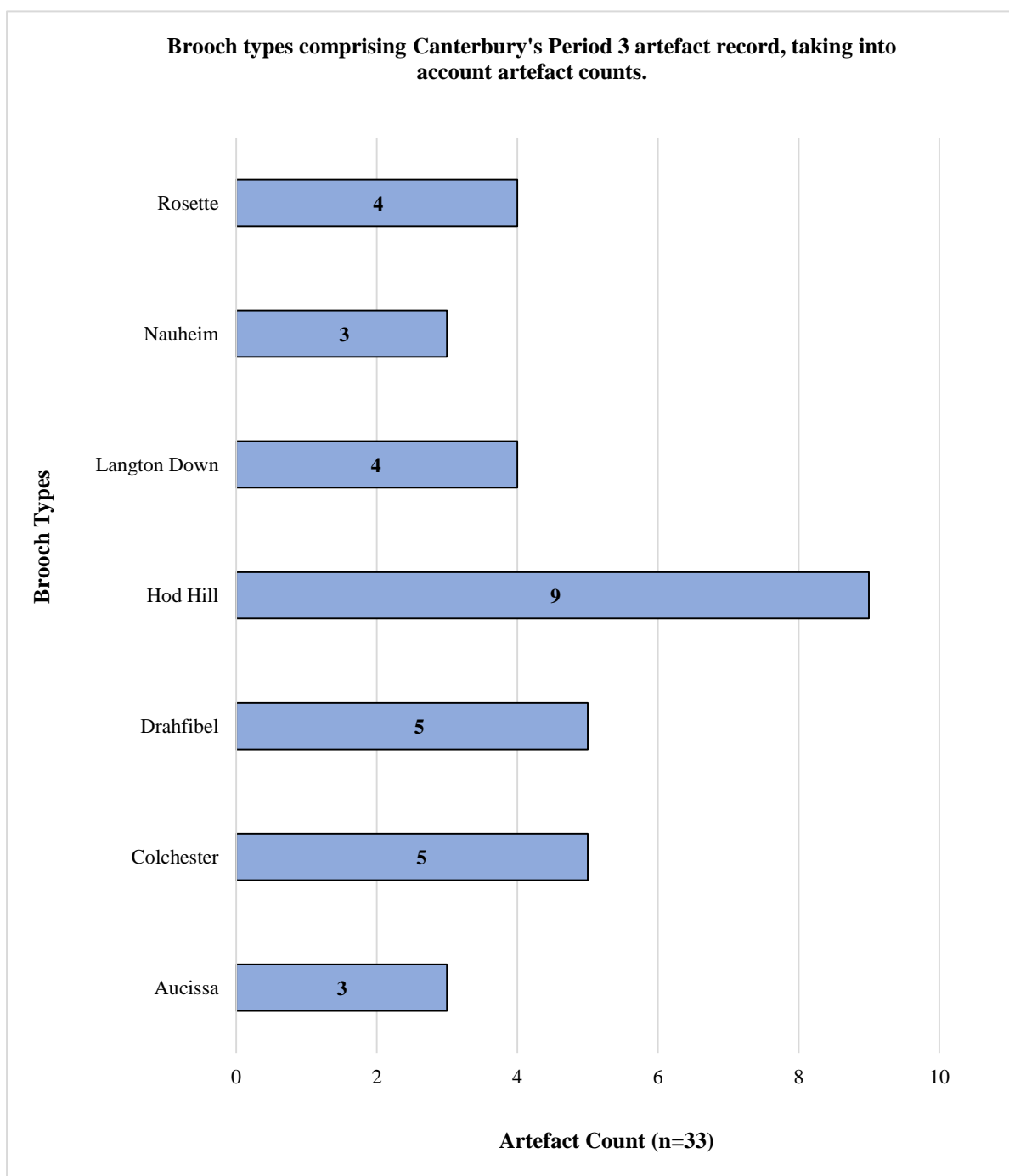


Figure 10.19: Based on information from: Mackreth 1995.



Figure 10.20: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Nash and Sellwood 1995.

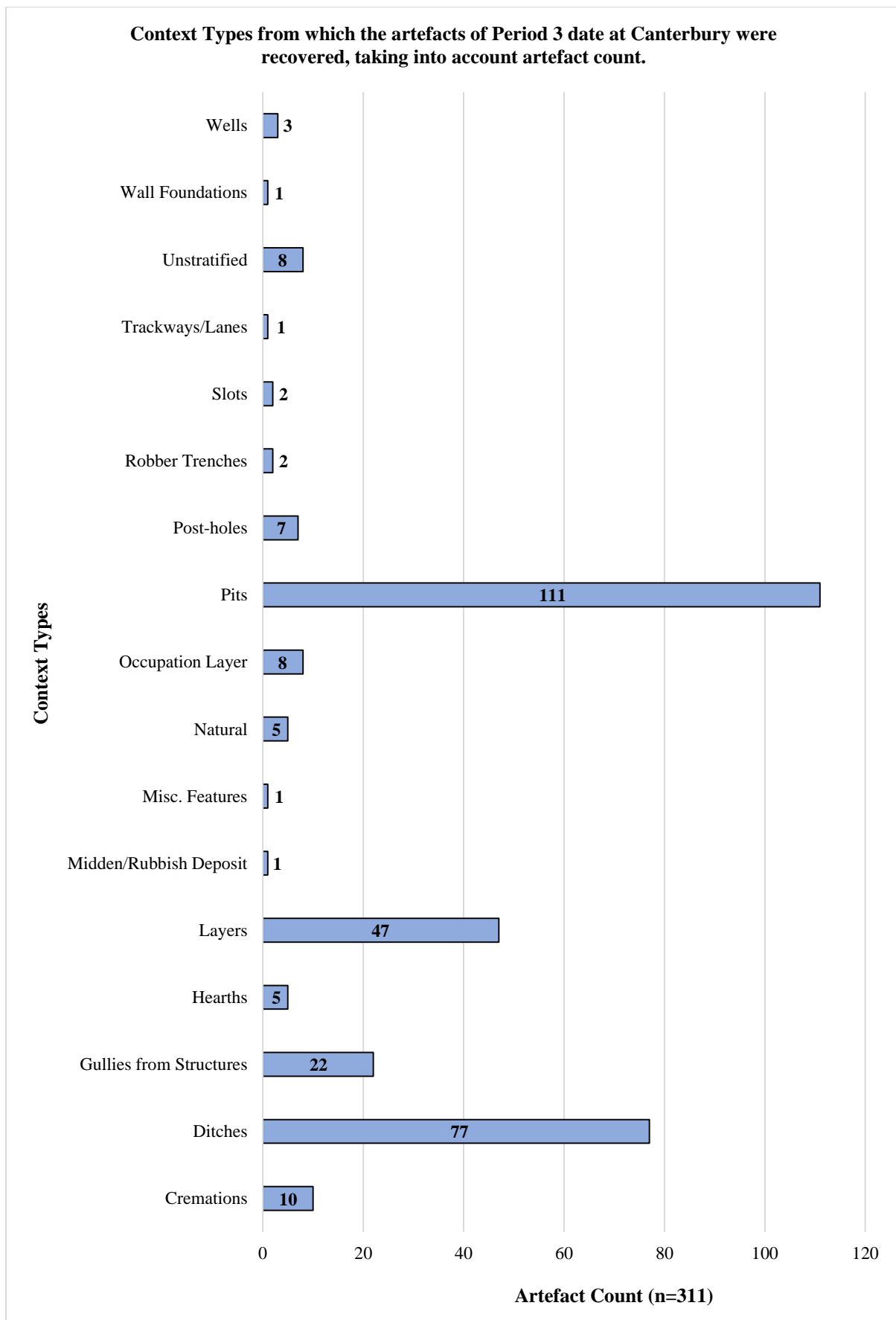


Figure 10.21: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Mackreth 1995; Nash and Sellwood 1995; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

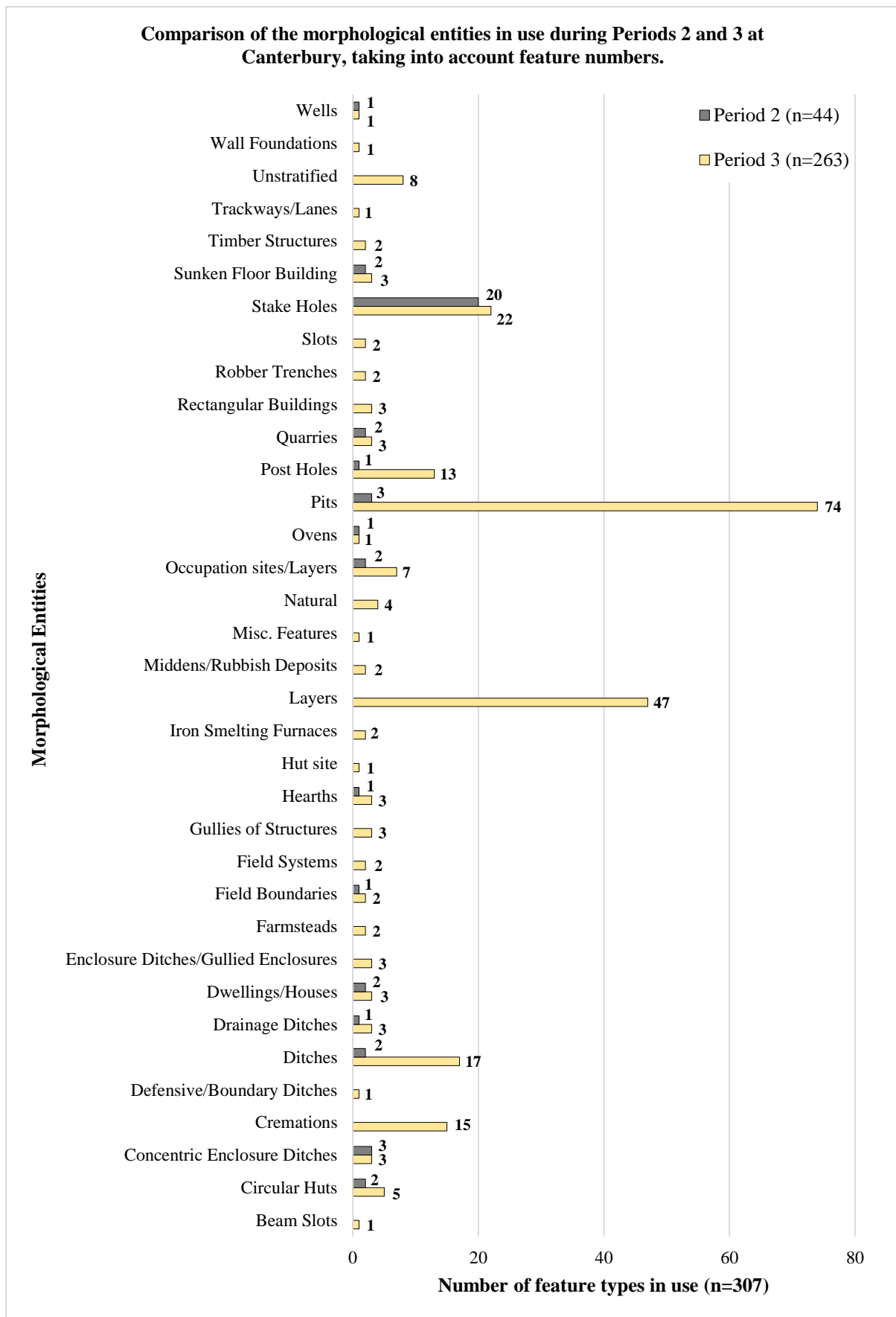


Figure 10.22: Based on information from: Blockley *et al* 1995a; 1995b; Lane 2012; 2014; and Appendix 10.4).

Before considering the only morphological features not to conform to the above inferences we need to briefly consider the emergence of rectilinear buildings at Canterbury during Period 3, (see Appendix 10.14). Typically, Iron Age buildings meant for domestic dwelling in Britain were circular whilst those on the Continent were rectangular (see Chapter 3.3). However, increased contact between Britain and Gaul during this period led to some communities, particularly those in the south-east, adopting rectilinear buildings (see Chapter 3.3). The appearance of these structures at Canterbury most likely represents a combination of Gallic/Roman influence on the native community, such as that noted at the beginning of Chapter 10.3.3; as well as both the acceptance and absorption of certain ideas this influence bore. Although it is unlikely native communities used these ideas if they saw no purpose for them.

With the above in mind our attention turns to the cremation burials identified within Canterbury's Period 3 structural record. The first thing to note with regards to these features is that unlike the burials identified at Colchester, (see Chapter 7), and Titelberg, (see Chapter 9), the majority of those at Canterbury were interred in close proximity to domestic occupation; the only possible exception to this are those identified at Turing College.⁶⁹ It is possible therefore, that mourners at Canterbury did not observe the same burial rites as those at either Colchester or Titelberg; an inference that could be substantiated by the apparent lack of grave furniture within these burials, with the exception of the occasional urn (see Appendices 10.15-10.16). However, as we likely have an incomplete record of Canterbury's later Iron Age burial record, these conclusions should be considered a work in progress that can be expanded upon as/when additional evidence on this subject comes to light.

Overall, Canterbury's Period 3 morphological record can be said to represent not only a continuation, and intensification, of traditional Iron Age pursuits, but the possible ways in which contact with Continental sources influenced life at the site, and the emergence of a burial tradition. It is however not prudent to base these inferences upon the morphology alone.

When one considers Canterbury's Period 3 ceramic assemblage, (see Appendix 10.15), the first thing to note is that this assemblage is c.15 times larger than that in circulation during Period

⁶⁹ Until such time as the final report for the Turing College site emerges, it is impossible to determine based on the current level of analysis whether the site continued to be used for traditional Iron Age pursuits after the first cremation was interred at the site.

2; with the form types present also being more numerous between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25 than 55/50 and 30/25 BC (see Figure 10.23). These observations alone can be said to verify earlier suppositions that this was a period of intensification within the Canterbury region.

In addition to the above, it can be said that the form types in circulation, (see Figure 10.18), are those that one would associate with the preparation, consumption, and storage of foodstuffs on Iron Age settlements (see Chapter 3.4.3). Consequently, this aspect of the evidence also confirms earlier conclusions that Canterbury's occupants engaged in traditional Iron Age activities. Further to this, the region's form types can once again be split into native and Roman vessels (see Figure 10.24). From Figure 10.24 it is evident that native vessels outnumber those traditionally labelled Roman tablewares. However, this divide is not as stark as one might expect: there are only 33 more native vessels than Roman wares in circulation at this time.⁷⁰ This latter point is not completely unexpected, as it can be said to follow a trend seen in the south-east of Britain after c.15/10 BC (see Chapter 4.2).

As was the case with the native forms of Period 2 date, with the exception of the urns,⁷¹ these vessels of Period 3 date also denote the preparation, consumption, and storage of food stuffs (see page 422); and thus further confirm notions of the site being used for the pursuit of traditional Iron Age pastimes, just on a more intense scale. These notions are further validated when we consider the context types from which the majority of Canterbury's Period 3 artefact record were recovered (see Figure 10.21); that is to say, that the majority of these finds were recovered from pit and ditch contexts, (see Figure 10.21), those features associated with the disposal of detritus on Iron Age settlements, (see Chapter 6.2.2), is indicative of them being consumed within a domestic setting.

The Roman forms on-the-other-hand, could be said to represent an increase in Continental influences on Canterbury's material culture, as well as an intensification of those activities these vessels' Period 2 counterparts were believed to have supported: conspicuous

⁷⁰ As some of the vessels documented within the Marlowe Car-park report are not clearly defined, that is they are listed as representing one of two, or even one of three, possible vessel types it is possible that the figures presented here are skewed. In the interests of presenting solid evidence the author opted to include these vessels in both the native/traditional and Roman categories when their component parts bridged this gap; consequently, while the totals may be skewed, the evidence being considered is balanced and has not been manipulated to make one type of vessel stand out over the other.

⁷¹ These vessels were more likely associated with the deposition of the dead.

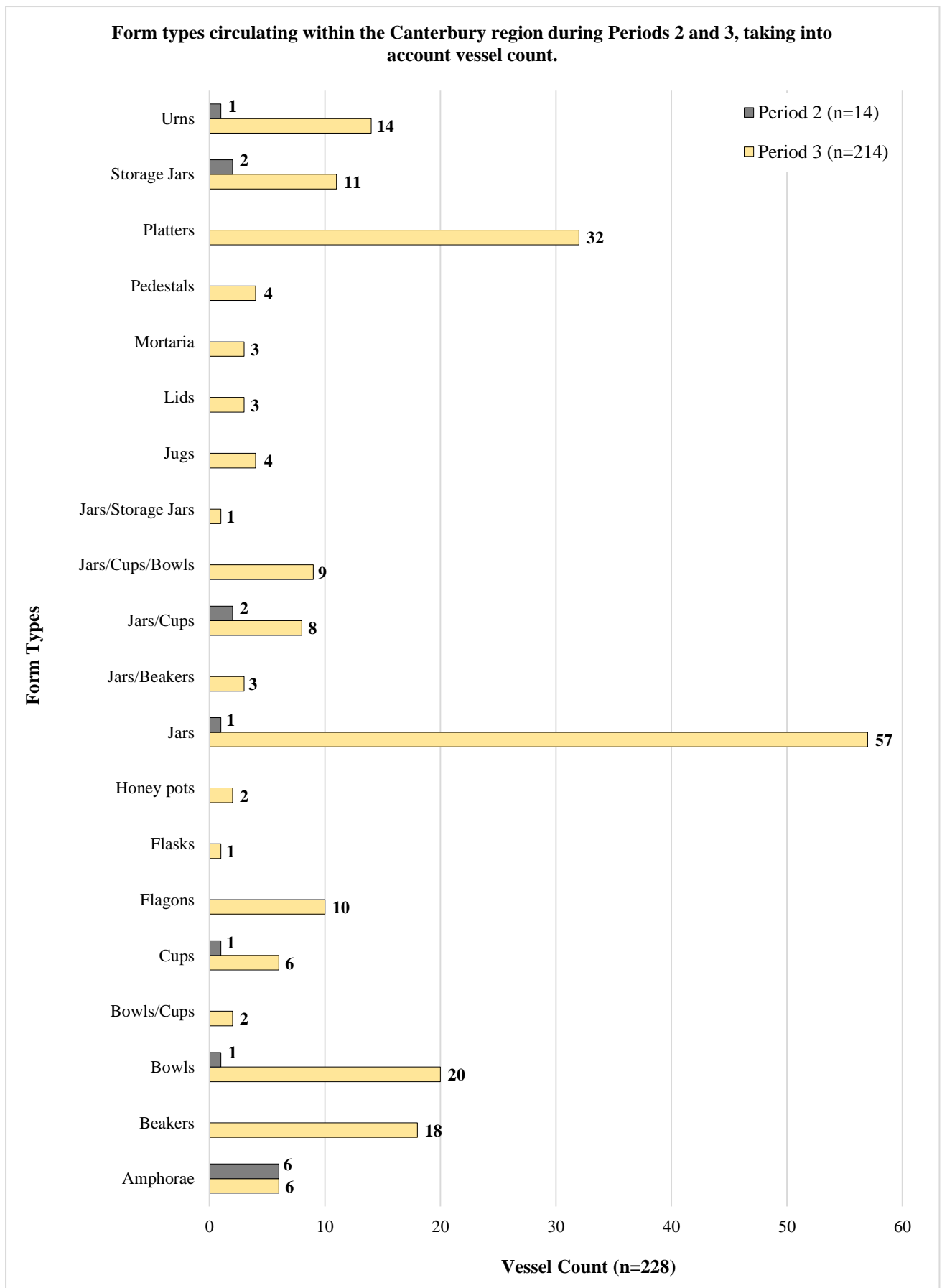


Figure 10.23: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

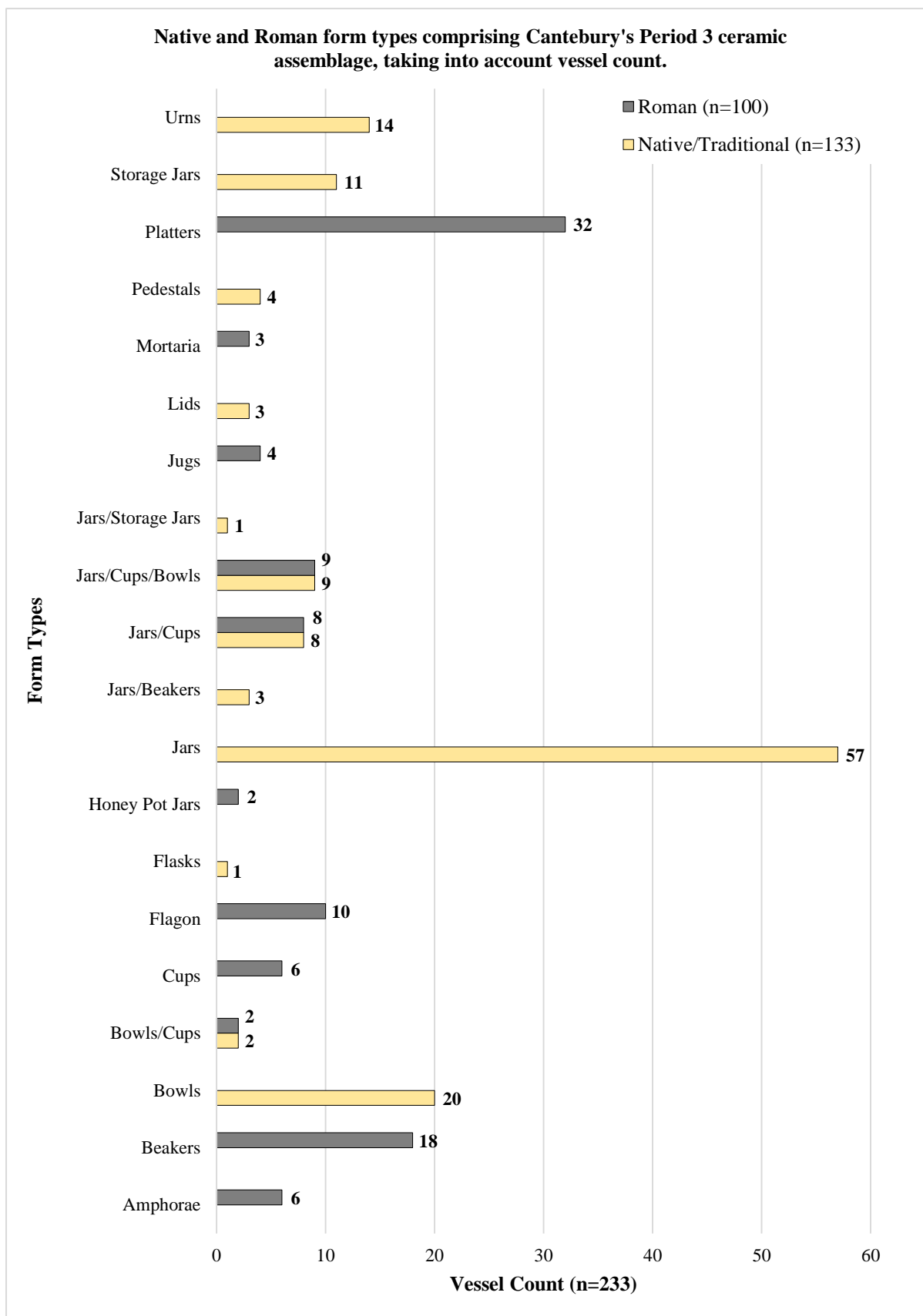


Figure 10.24: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

consumption by the elite, emulation of Roman lifestyles, and communal events (see page 424). However, as these vessels are almost evenly matched with the native wares, (see Figure 10.24), it is possible that these vessels no longer represent the latter three aforementioned processes. In other words, as these vessels became more common place, most likely as a result of increased contact within Continental communities, it is possible they lost their ‘luxury’ status; and as Okun suggests of these wares, came to be used in ways that best suited those consuming them (1989, 50).

Whilst the above supposition is viable, and one that mirrors the use of Roman wares at Titelberg at this time, (see Chapter 9.3.3.2), there is one aspect of Canterbury’s dataset that can be said to reverse these ideas and return the thinking on these artefacts to those notions associated with their use during Period 2: its incompleteness. At present we have incomplete records of excavations at St Edmund’s School and Turing College, thus we are unable to take into account vessel numbers and forms from this site; whilst those reports detailing the other sites inhabited within the area now occupied by the modern city contain very little information about ceramics recovered during excavation, and even less that can be used in a study such as this. Consequently, until we have a more complete ceramic assemblage for Canterbury it is unlikely that we will be able to say more with regards to this aspect of the data than the region’s population was using more material culture influenced by increased contact with the Roman World at this time, than during earlier Periods of its occupation. However, a consideration of the vessel’s origins could aid our understanding of these vessels in the interim.

From Figure 10.25 it is evident that local/Kentish vessels greatly outnumber those which originated in: Gaul, Italy, the Rhineland, or indeed elsewhere in Britain. In many respects this observation can be considered unsurprising given the nature of the activities Canterbury primarily supported; that is to say we might expect to find a large proportion of regional ceramics on a site utilised for traditional Iron Age pursuits. Furthermore, this can be said to promote the existence of local potteries and/or economic relationships between Canterbury and its hinterland through which these products were exchanged for surplus local products should local craftsmen not be responsible for their production; just as it was surmised was the case for regional ceramics of Period 2 date (see page 424). The imported wares, on-the-other-hand, can be said to further promote earlier notions that Canterbury had economic ties not only with its

hinterland but merchants in Folkestone and/or Gaul through whom it was possible to obtain vessels from all over Temperate Europe, as well as the Roman World (see page 425).

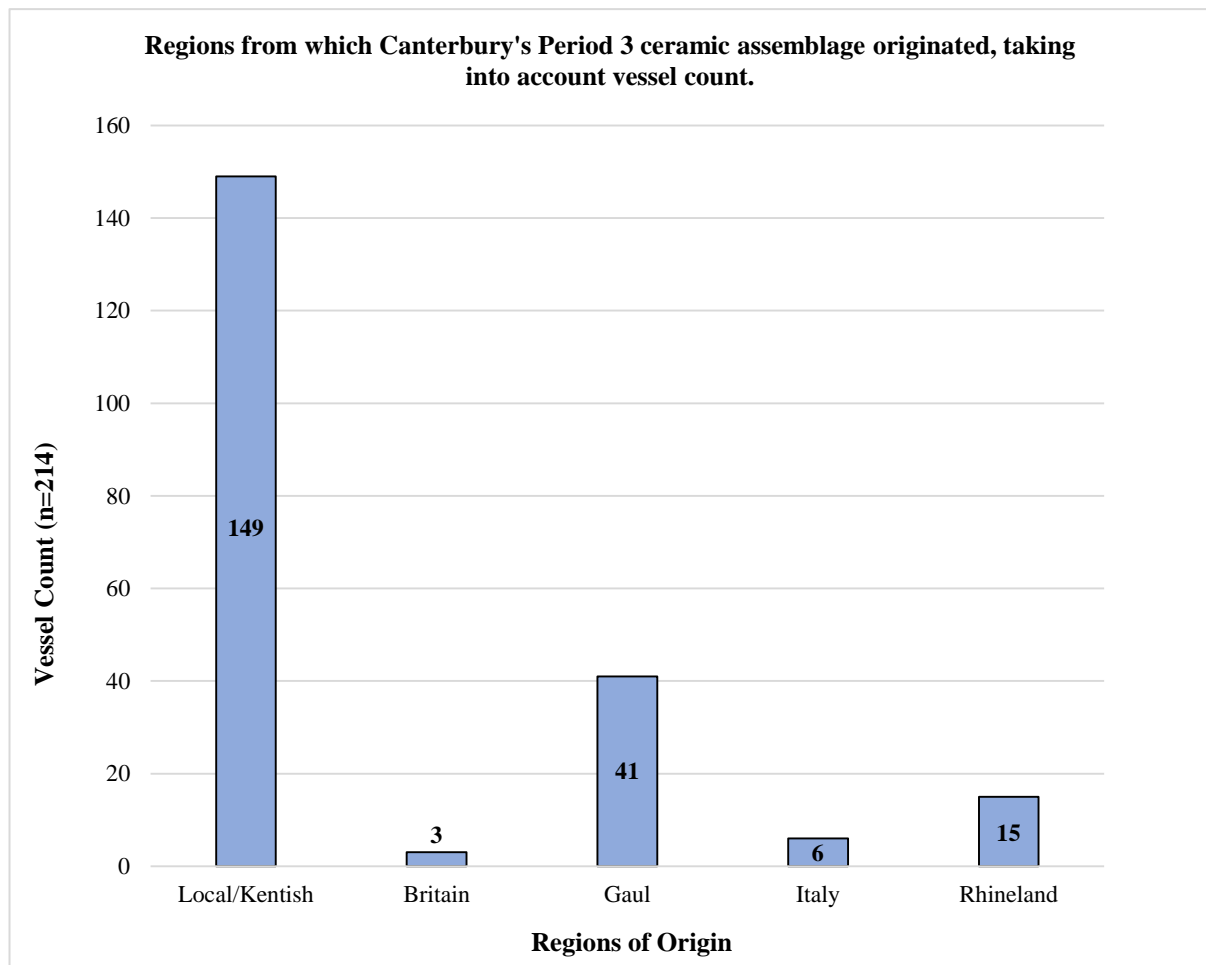


Figure 10.25: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

Furthermore, of the twenty form types in circulation at Canterbury during Period 3 nine comprised imported vessels, at least in part (see Figure 10.26). This is a considerable increase from Period 2, when the only vessels produced and imported from outside of Kent were amphorae, (see pages 424-425); and an unsurprising development given that after c.15/10 BC Gallic potters began to mass produce Gallo-Belgic wares, (see Chapter 4.2); many of which came to enter south-east Britain by way of the prominent Belgica-Thames trading route (see Chapter 4.3). As Canterbury lies in the Stour Valley, the site was in an ideal position to monopolise on the use of the river as a major trading route and in doing so raise its economic importance; as has been suggested within the literature (see Chapter 10.2). These observations, coupled with those noted above can be said to further our understanding of the economy at Canterbury during Period 3, but why were these vessels being imported in the first place?

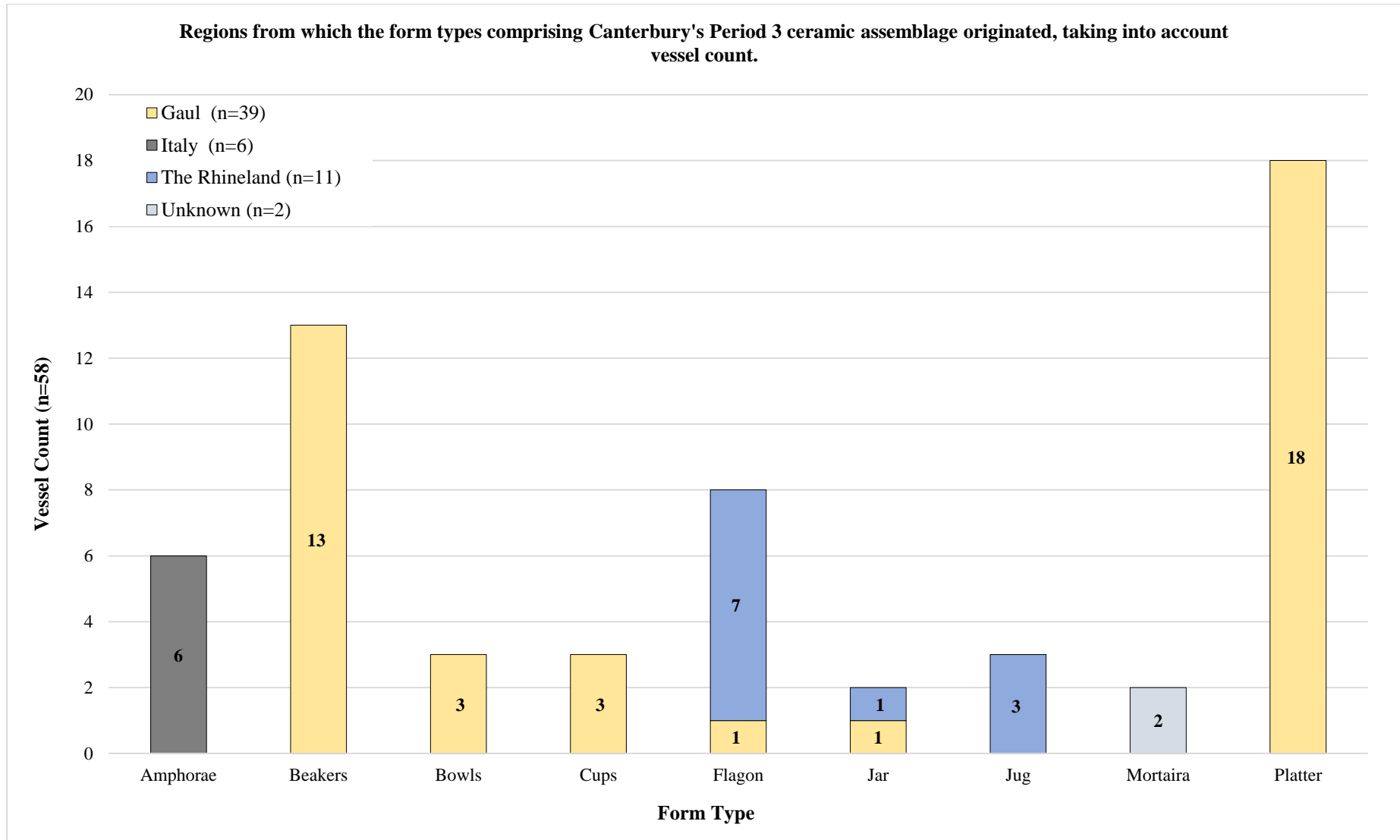


Figure 10.26: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

It is traditionally believed that imported wares were used by the Iron Age elite as a means through which to display their power (see Chapter 5.3). As locally produced/Kentish wares considerably outnumber these vessels the author believes that this notion could also be true for the Period 3 imports at Canterbury, be they native or Roman forms. Conversely, as imported vessels were also used by the elite to foster social cohesion, as well as during communal feasts, (see Chapter 5.3) it is possible that the elite may not have been the only ones making use of this material. Furthermore, it is possible that the imported vessels in Roman form types were used by those members of the elite who wished to both emulate Roman practices through the adoption of Roman dining habits and in doing so set themselves apart from those members of the local population who made use of the local variants of these forms. Thus not only can this evidence be said to build upon our knowledge of the local society, but it confirms that Roman form types were used within the Canterbury area for more than one purpose during Period 3.

In addition to the ceramic vessels Canterbury's Period 3 artefact record contained a number of additional items, the most numerous among them: brooches and coins. From a consideration of the interpretations put forth with regards to the use of these artefacts during Period 2, (see pages 426-428), and the information presented in Appendix 10.17 it can be said that the general purpose of these items did not change. However, that Period 3 saw these items used not only in greater quantities than during Period 2, but existing in a number of different styles, allows us to gain insight into the ways that Canterbury developed over the course of Period 3.

Over the course of Period 3, 7 styles of brooch were in use in Canterbury, (see Figure 10.19); all of which were manufactured in Bronze, (see Appendix 10.16). This can therefore be taken to mean, based on similar analyses carried out on the medium of Period 2 brooches (see page 426), that these items were available to any within society who wished to make use of them; particularly as it would have been possible to for local craftsmen to produce large quantities of such items through the use of moulds. Meanwhile the increase in different brooch forms can be said to represent the changing fashions of later Iron Age brooches, and in doing so provide insight into an area of Iron Age culture that is otherwise invisible within the archaeological record: dress.

Additionally, from Figure 10.27 it is evident that the brooch types circulating in Canterbury may have originated from four regions, with none of them apparently being manufactured

locally.⁷² Those which originated from the near Continent likely entered the site by way of the trading route that bore imported vessels to Canterbury, (see page 442), whilst those of British origin may have made their way to this area through those communities that Canterbury's occupants obtained regional ceramics. Although, it is equally possible that the British brooches entered the site by way of those merchants who traversed the region using the Stour. This evidence can therefore be said to have furthered earlier inferences about Canterbury's economy between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25.

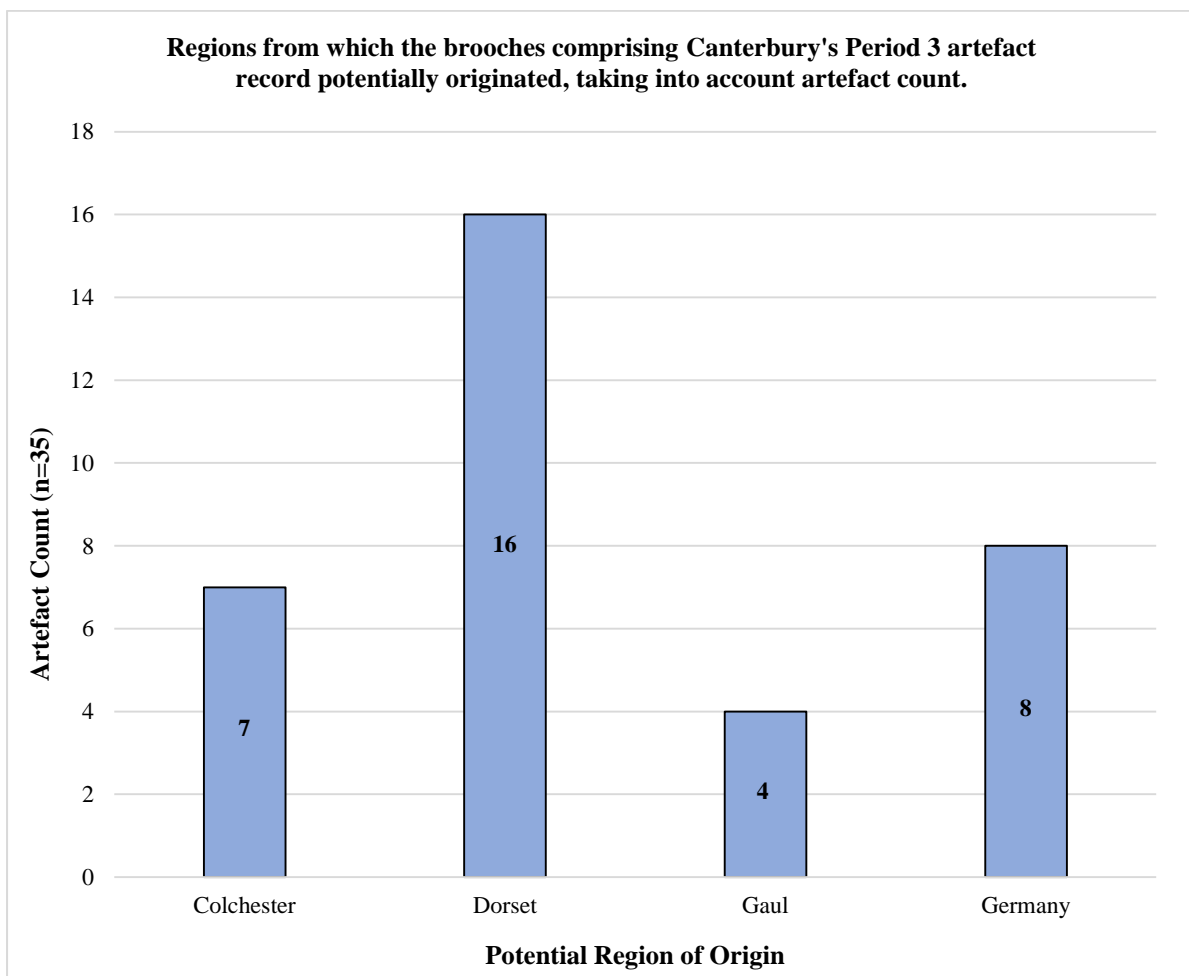


Figure 10.27: Based on information from: Mackreth 1995.

The coinage of Period 3 date can also be said to expand our knowledge of Canterbury's economy, but more than this, it can be said to provide insight into the site's social relationships. In light of earlier considerations of this material, (see pages 428), it has been ascertained that coinage arrived at Canterbury not as a result of economic transactions but to symbolise

⁷² Due to the patchy nature of the Marlowe Car-park catalogues, (Blockley 1995b), the origins of the brooches are uncertain and the author has had to go by the forms in order to ascertain their most likely region of origin.

relationships forged for either social or economic gain. This notion, coupled with the fact that the coinage present within the Canterbury region at this time originated from either elsewhere in Kent⁷³ or Gaul, (see Appendix 10.16), tells us that Canterbury's occupants upheld the relationships they may have forged with these regions as early as Period 1.

In addition to brooches and coins, Canterbury's Period 3 artefact record comprised: loomweights, pellet moulds, crucibles, and pot boilers. From Appendix 10.16 it is evident that all of these artefacts were used for the purposes of craft production. Consequently, this evidence can be said to further promote the conclusion that Canterbury supported those pursuits considered typical of the later Iron Age (see Chapter 3.4).

10.3.3.3: A Summary

Overall, Period 3 occupation at Canterbury can be said to have continued to conform to traditional Iron Age pursuits. However, these were engaged in on a more intense, and extensive, scale than during either Period 1 or 2. Additionally, the region appears to have developed economically over the course of this period with metalworking becoming industrialised and the relationships between both Canterbury's hinterland and Gaul giving rise to a greater array of products.

In addition to the above, Period 3 also saw Canterbury's population become influenced by increased contact with Gaul, contact that led to the emergence of processes one would more commonly associate with life in Temperate Europe and the Roman World. Moreover, a number of the artefacts that originated from these regions can be said to have provided insight into the ways in which the local elite displayed their status, thus telling us that the local community was stratified.

Despite these developments at Canterbury over the course of Period 3 it can be said that life altered very little for the site's occupants. As a result of this it seems likely that the author's use of the above inferences in conjunction with current thinking on *oppida* in Chapter 11, will reveal that this term can no longer be satisfactorily used to characterise occupation at Canterbury between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25. In other words, even with the appearance of an

⁷³ Although it has been pondered that there was a mint at Canterbury (Rodwell 1976, 283) there is no evidence to suggest that any of the Kentish coinage was minted at Canterbury. This means that there is no evidence of coinage bearing mint marks that can be linked to the site, or coin flans and blanks.

industrialised metalworking industry and an association with long distance trade this site's activities cannot be considered atypical, particularly as there are many non-*oppida* settlements whose occupants engaged in industrial craft production on a large scale, and in some cases on a scale that surpasses that at the purported *oppida* (see Chapter 11); similarly long distance trade was not limited to settlements of status, such as the *oppida*, but engaged in by a multitude of sites in use at this time (see Chapter 4.3). Consequently, it seems likely that there is little that can be said to set Canterbury apart from the farmsteads, villages, and open settlements also in use at this time.

10.3.4: Period 4: AD 25/30 – 50

This period, the final timeframe considered within the thesis, coincides with two processes that had the potential to alter life at later Iron Age Canterbury. The first of these is the change in material culture circulating in south-east Britain after AD 20/25 as a result of increasing relationships between Britain, Gaul, and the Roman World at this time. Consequently, we might expect this period to be marked by a change in cultural practices as a result of this new material.

Further to the above, Period 4 also corresponds with the Claudian invasion of AD 43. It is believed that Kent played a role in this process as both landing site and supply base (Hanson 1999, 145; Millett 2007, 141) for the troops that marched on Colchester (Mattingly 2007, 95-96). These events would undoubtedly mean that Iron Age populations in Kent came into contact with more and more Roman practices, and as such we might expect the end of this period to be marked by an upsurge in these at Canterbury.

10.3.4.1: The Evidence

Occupation at Canterbury between AD 25/30 and 50 is primarily represented within the archaeological record by a wealth of morphological entities identified across much of the area within which the modern city is now located⁷⁴ (see Appendix 10.18). The morphological record comprises 188 entities representing 35 feature types (see Figure 10.28). Additionally, the site has an artefact record that contains a ceramic assemblage comprising c.202 identifiable/whole vessels representing 18 form types (see Figure 10.29/Appendix 10.19), and

⁷⁴ 23 locations have given rise to later Iron Age morphology in and around the area of modern day Canterbury (see Appendix 10.18).

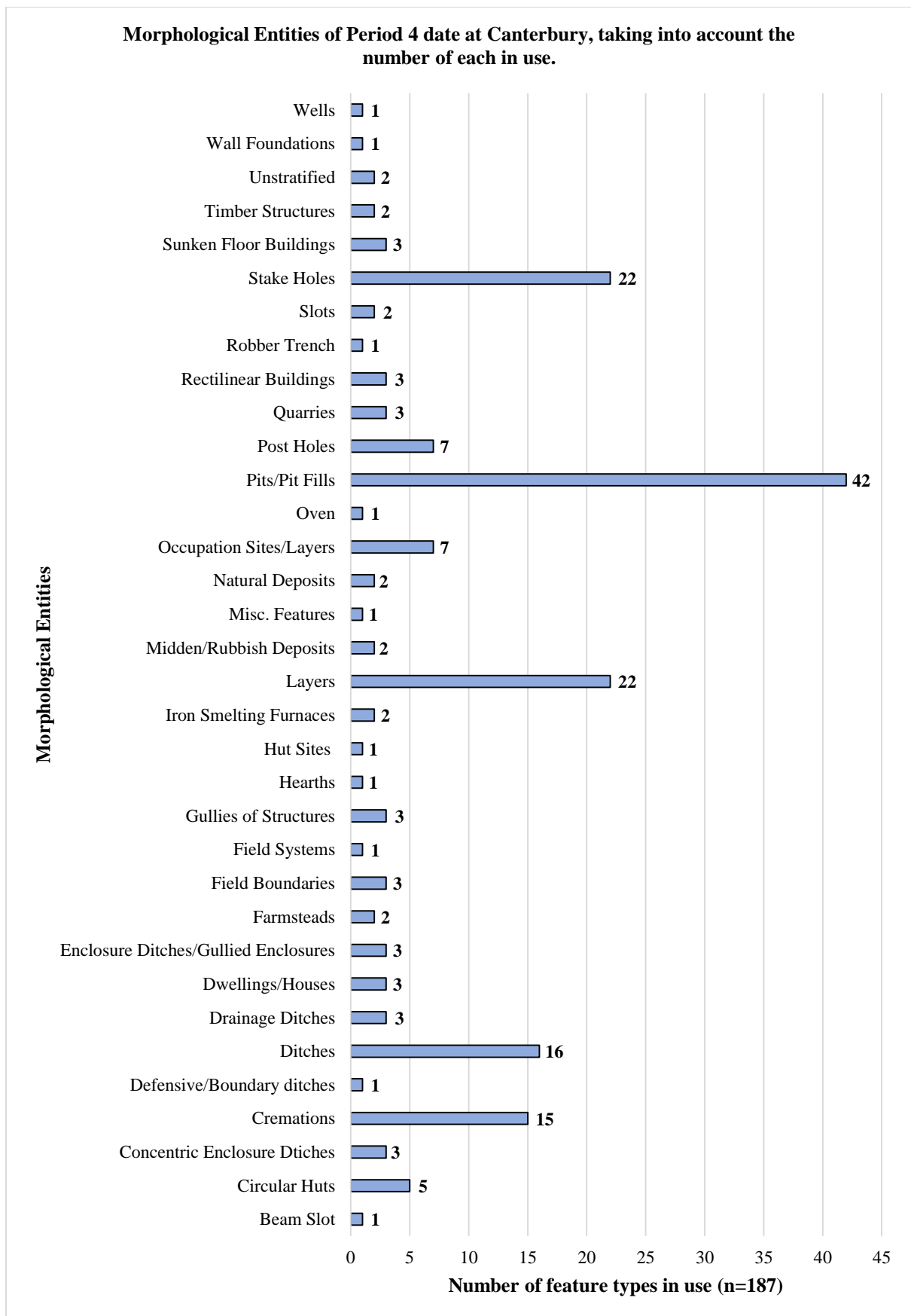


Figure 10.28: Based on information from: Blockley *et al.* 1995a; 1995b; Lane 2012; 2014; and Appendix 10.4.

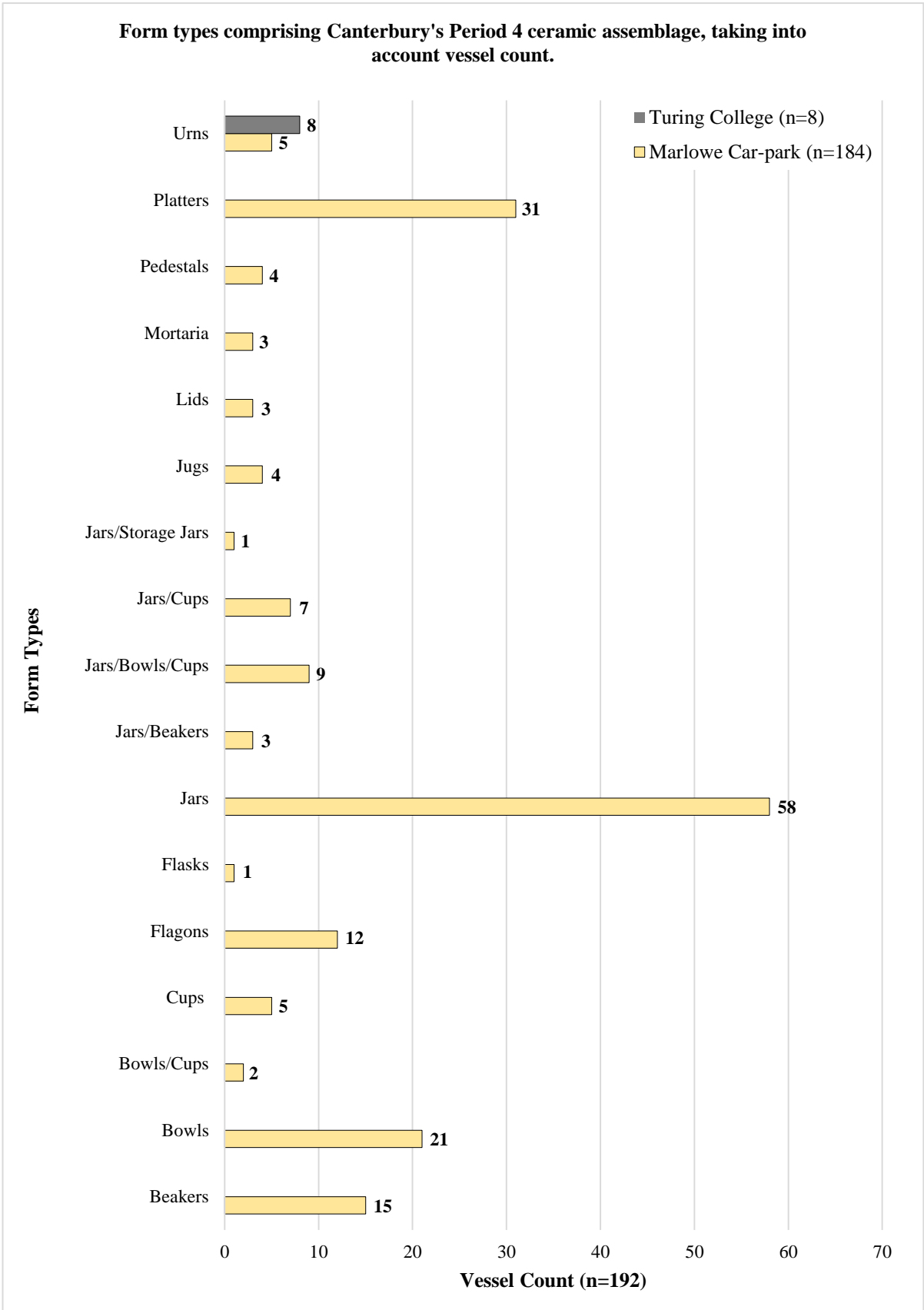


Figure 10.29: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

an unknown quantity of sherds (see Appendix 10.19); as well as 33 brooches in 5 designs (see Figure 10.30/Appendix 10.20), 9 coins from 4 regions/tribe/leaders (see Figure 10.31/Appendix 10.20), and a number of additional items including: crucibles, pellet moulds, loomweights, and pot boilers (see Appendices 10.20-10.21). Finally, the above artefacts were recovered from 16 of the 35 context types in use at this time (see Figure 10.32).

10.3.4.2: An Analysis

Period 4 occupation within the Canterbury region appears to have been very similar to that occurring between 30/25 BC and AD 20/25; so much so that very little appears to have altered with regards to the activities its occupants engaged in. As was the case for Period 3 the morphological entities in use supported traditional Iron Age activities (see Appendix 10.16); that is to say: domestic occupation coupled with farming regimes and craft production (see Chapter 3.4). It is however, curious to note that whilst occupation continued in this guise at Canterbury, some of the feature types dwindled in number over the course of Period 4 (see Figure 10.33).

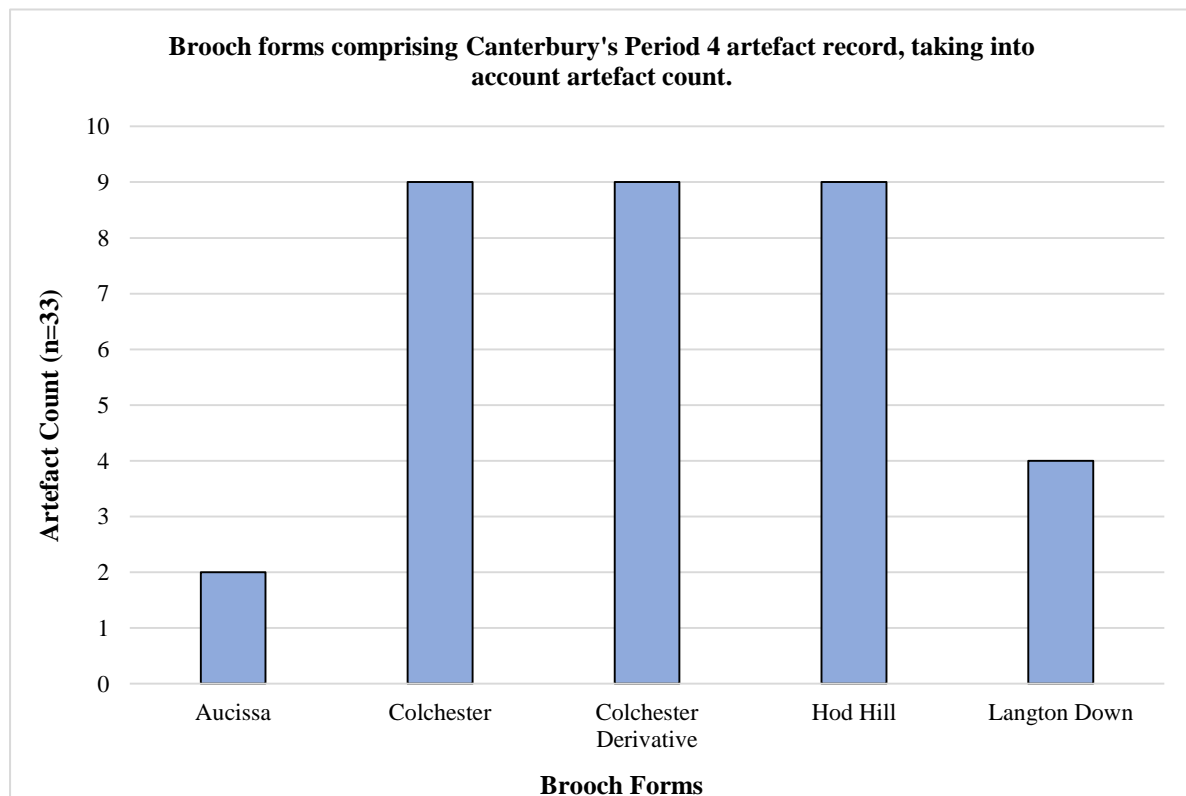


Figure 10.30: Based on information from: Mackreth 1995.

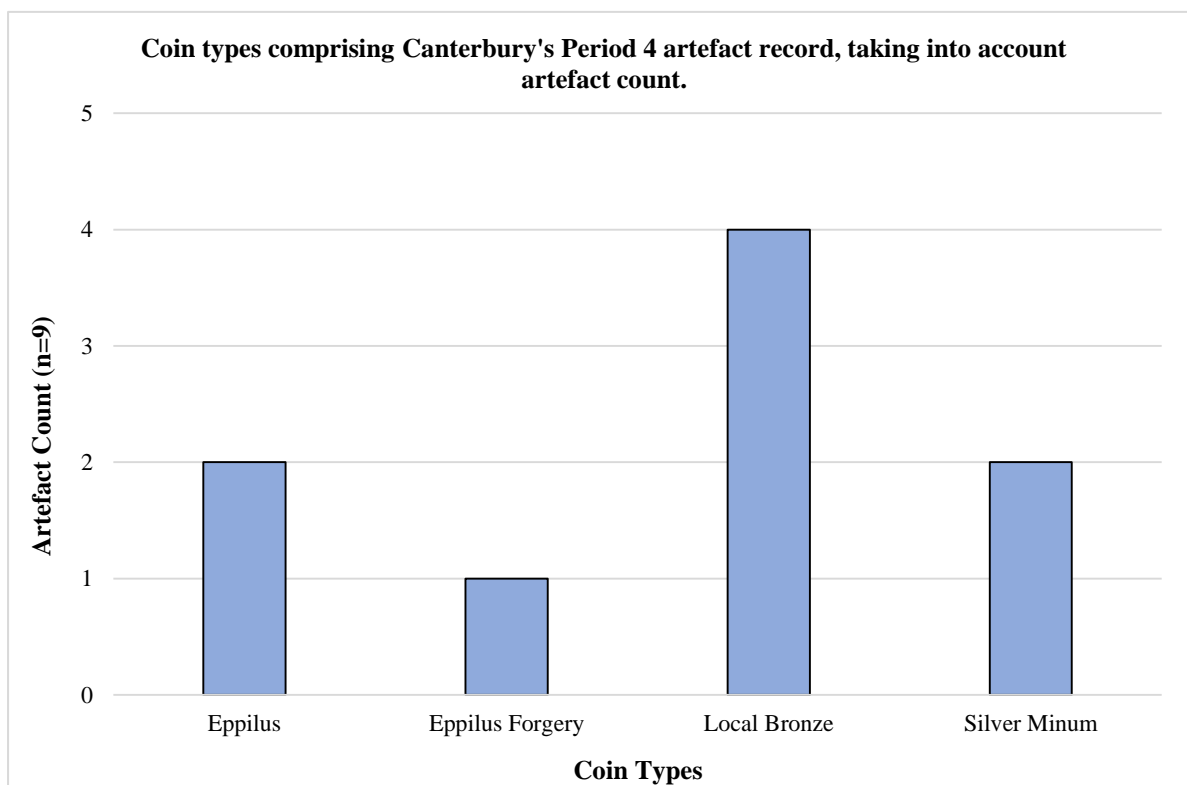


Figure 10.31: Based on information from: Nash and Sellwood 1995.

Those features that are noticeably fewer during Period 4 than Period 3 are: hearths, layers, pits/pit fills, and post-holes (see Figure 10.33). It is possible that this observation is telling of the Marlowe Car-park site declining in prominence over the course of this c.25 year period, however it is equally possible that the focus of occupation at this site shifted to an area that remains unexcavated. Given the continued prominence of other regions of Canterbury at this time it is possible that the latter of these inferences hold more truth; however, until additional information pertaining to this site comes to light we cannot say for certain whether this is the case. This point can therefore be said to form the foundations of a research question that future work in Canterbury can address.

Turning our attention to Canterbury's ceramic assemblage the first thing to note is that this collection of vessels is less numerous, albeit only slightly, than its Period 3 counterpart (see Figure 10.34). As both of these ceramic assemblages were primarily recovered from the Marlowe Car-park site it is possible that this too evidences a decline in this area of the site. However, when the author considered the form types that ceased to be used after AD 25, (amphorae, 'Honey Pot' jars, and storage jars (see Figure 10.34)), they do not believe this to have been the case.

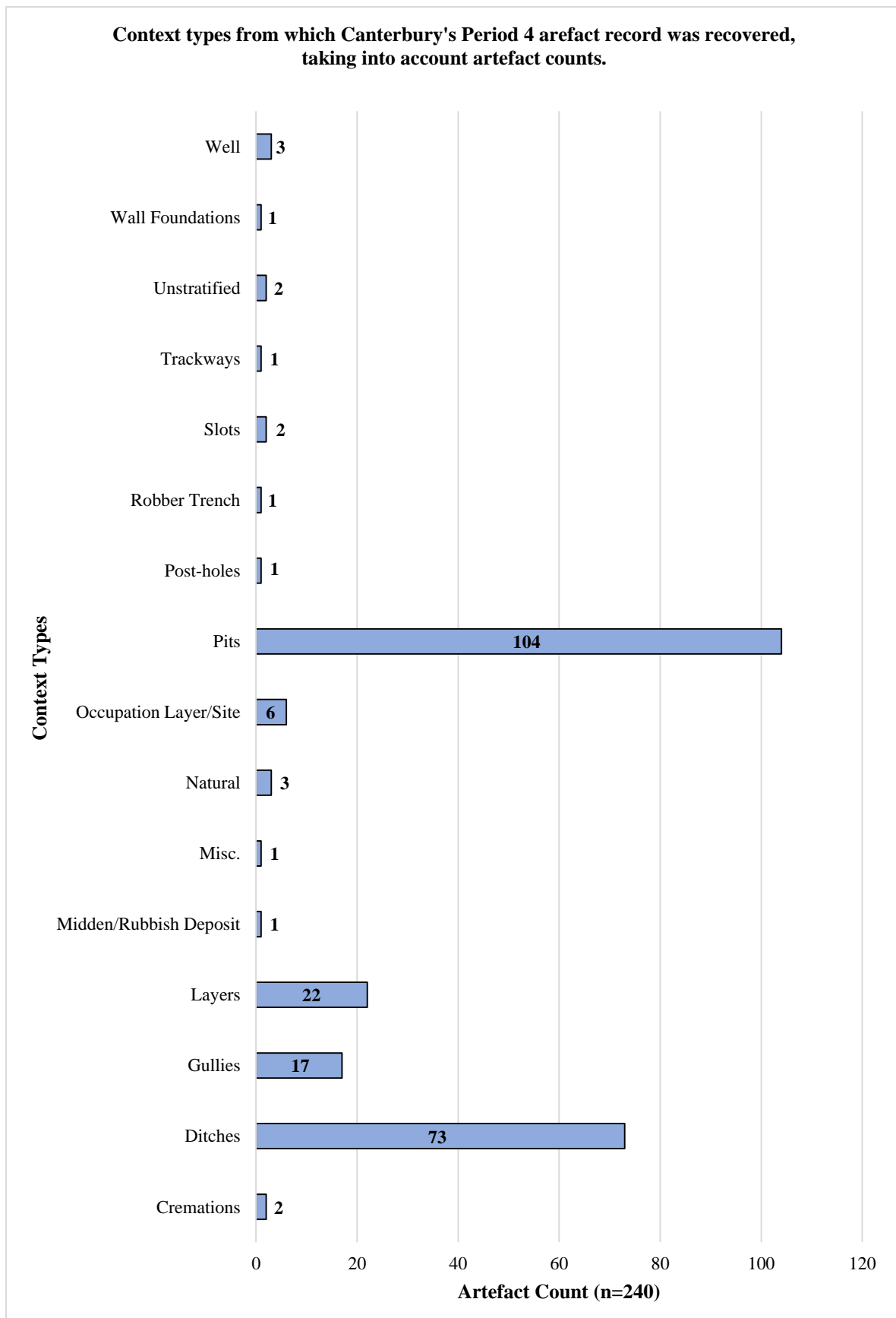


Figure 10.32: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Mackreth 1995; Nash and Sellwood 1995; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

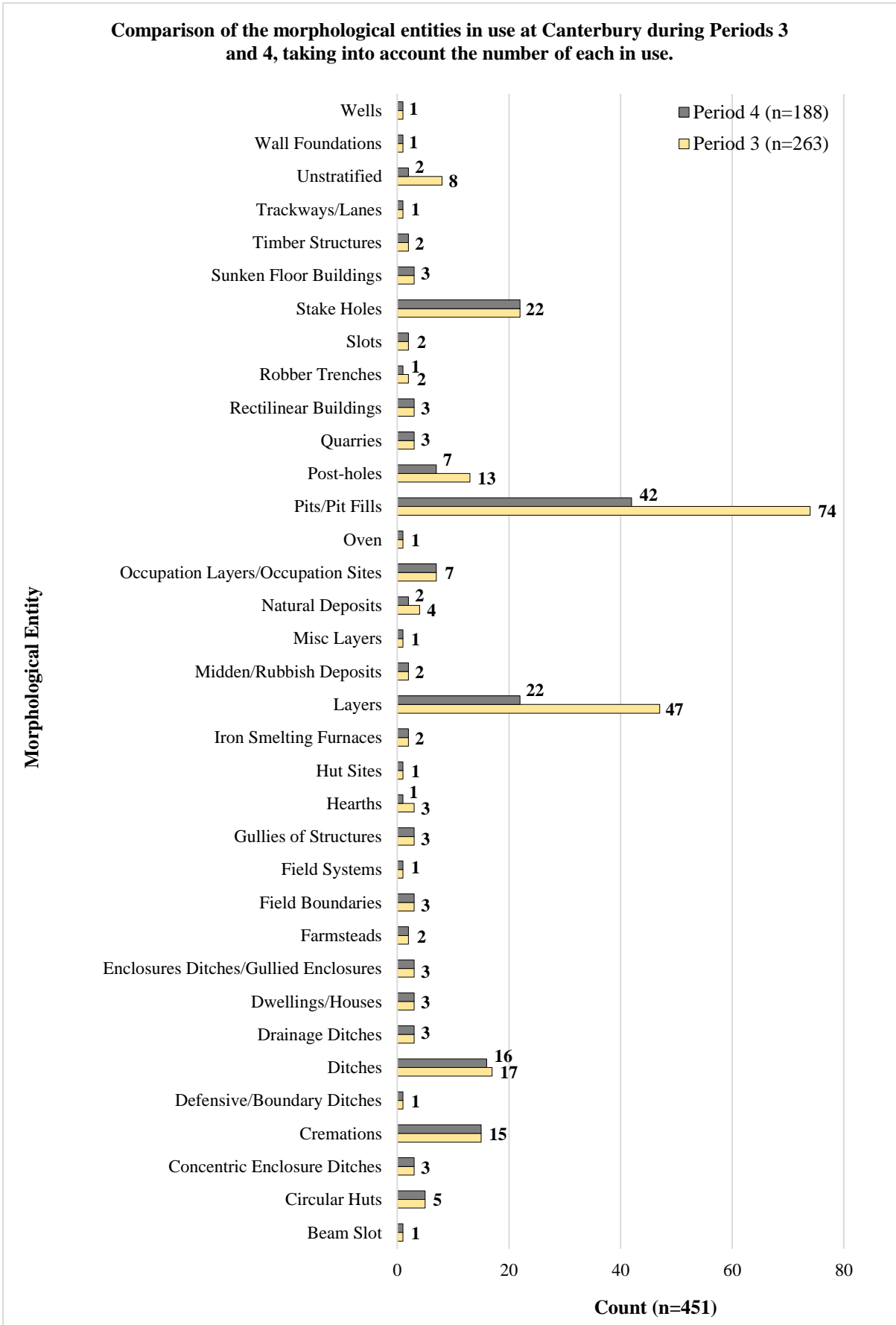


Figure 10.33: Based on information from: Blockley *et al.* 1995b; Lane 2012; 2014; and Appendix 10.4.

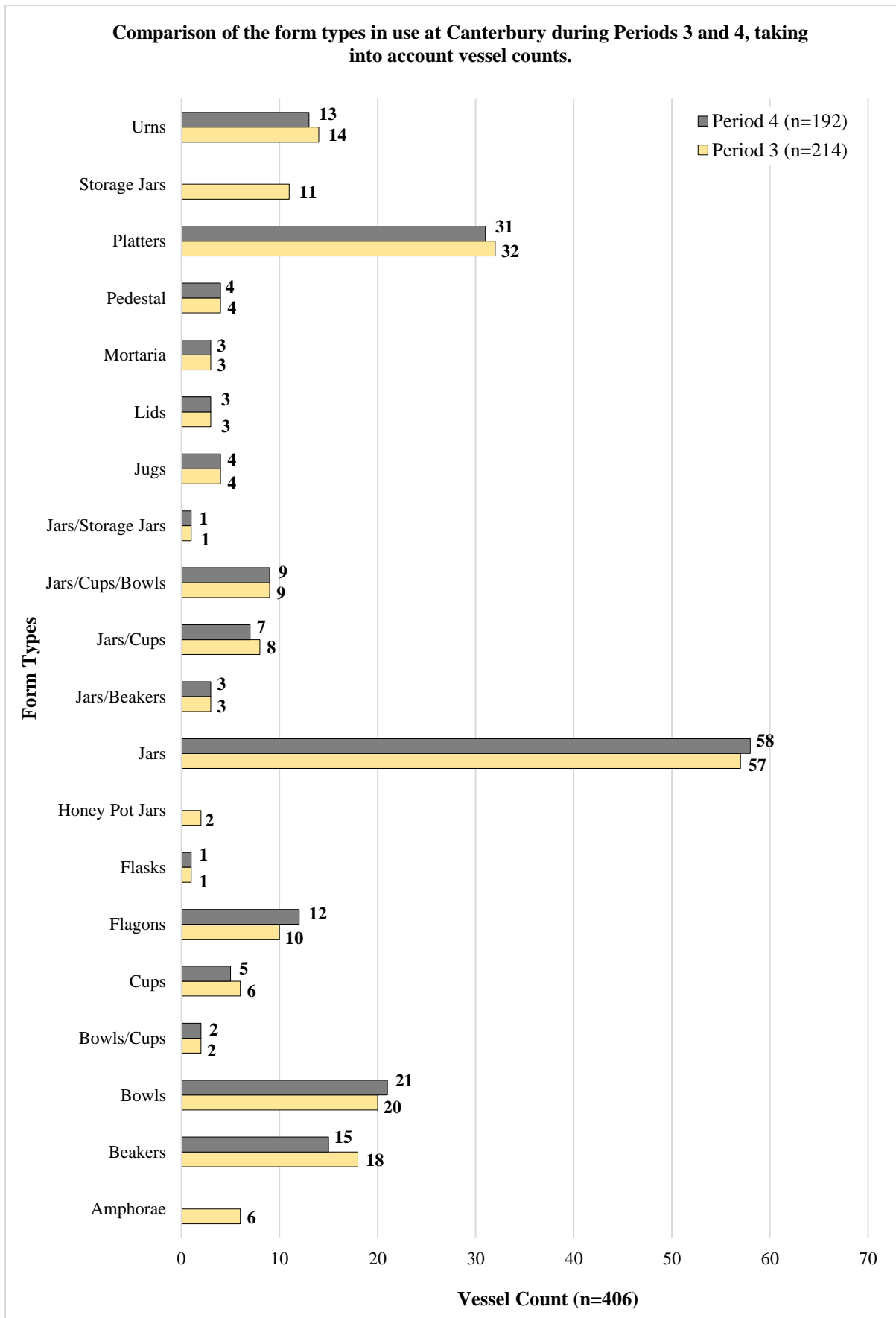


Figure 10.34: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

From the analysis of Period 1 to 3 occupation at Canterbury we know that the amphorae circulating during these earlier periods was of the Dressel 1b type. Over the years there have been many studies conducted on these vessels, all of which agree on one key point: that they ceased to be produced after c.10 BC (Peacock 1971, Sealey 1985a; 2009; Williams 1986); it is therefore unsurprising that these forms were not present at the site between AD 25/30 – 50. It is however curious that these vessels appear not to have been replaced by later amphorae forms to the same extent⁷⁵ (Arthur 1986, 242); a curiosity that fits with the general decline of amphorae within this region commented upon within the literature (Sealey 2009, 22). Although there appears to be no tangible explanation for the decline of these vessels at this time, the author believes the process cannot be attributed to a slump in the region's occupation. Many believe that these vessels were consumed conspicuously by the elite as a display of power and/or used during feasts designed to foster social cohesion (see Chapter 5.3); therefore these vessels were not necessary for the survival of the community. Consequently, the author surmises that rather than representing a decline in the site's occupation, these vessels most likely represent a change in the material used to display status and/or maintain social relations at Canterbury.

Meanwhile, the disappearance of 'Honey Pot' jars can likely be attributed to changing fashions, and the variable 'shelf-life' of those vessels being manufactured during the later Iron Age; whilst the lack of storage jars could be attributed to a change in the way that foodstuffs were stored at the site. Although, it is equally possible that the disappearance of storage jars has less to do with the occupants of Canterbury and more to do with the excavations that have taken place in this region. In other words, it is possible that there are storage jars of Period 4 date at Canterbury but they are in areas that have not been subject to archaeological examination.

The aforementioned differences aside, Canterbury's Period 4 ceramic assemblage, like its predecessors, can be said to further earlier notions that traditional Iron Age pursuits were being conducted at Canterbury. That is to say the form types present are those we would associate with the preparation, consumption, and storage of foodstuffs, most likely within the domestic sphere (see Chapter 3.4.3). Furthermore, from Figure 10.35 it is evident that both native and Roman form types continued to be in use during this phase of occupation.

⁷⁵ In other words there are fewer later amphorae vessels than Dressel 1b vessels at Canterbury.

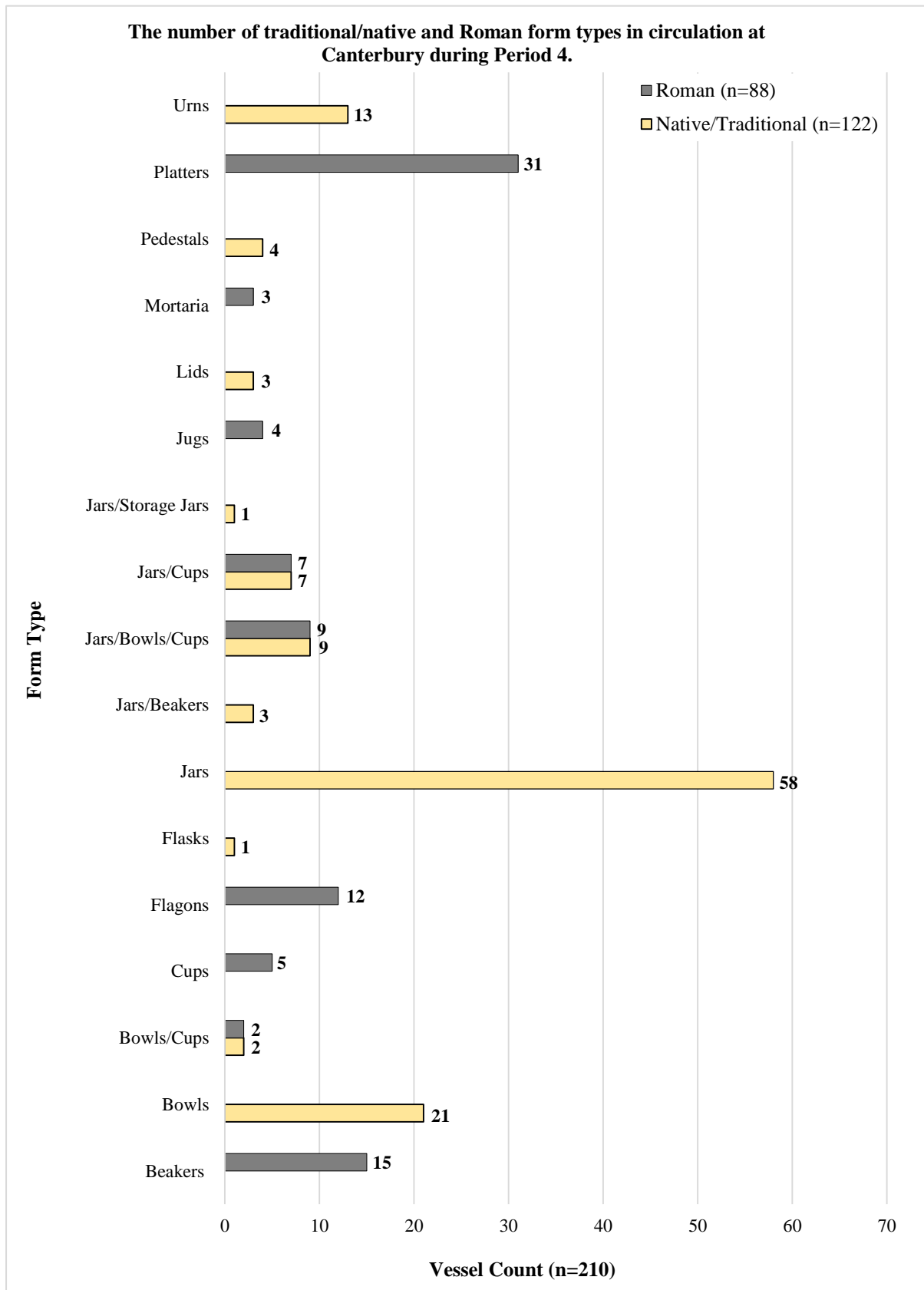


Figure 10.35: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

This latter observation suggests that native forms continued to outnumber Roman wares, albeit not drastically. This was also the case for the Period 3 ceramic assemblage, therefore the inferences drawn in relation to these vessels are applicable here. In other words, the native vessels demonstrate traditional wares used for typical Iron Age practices, whilst the Roman forms likely represent a combination of four processes: 1) conspicuous consumption, 2) the emulation of Roman practices, 3) communal feasting, and 4) the absorption of unfamiliar forms to fulfil whatever purpose the site's occupants had need of them for (see page 438-441).

Progressing to a consideration of the ceramic's origins the first thing to note is that the site's vessels originated from four regions (see Figure 10.36). As was the case during Period 3 locally produced/Kentish vessels considerably outnumbered those produced in Temperate Europe. The locally produced/Kentish vessels of Period 4 date, like their Period 3 counterparts, can be said to further denote the existence of local potteries and/or economic relationships between Canterbury and its hinterland through which the site obtained ceramics in exchange for surplus local products (see page 441). Meanwhile, those vessels that originated from Temperate Europe, as well as elsewhere in Britain, can be said to further demonstrate the existence of trading relationships between Canterbury, Folkestone, and Gaul. That is to say, the site's continental imports likely appeared at the site by way of a trading centre in Gaul, regardless of from which region of Europe they originated, and from there entered Kent via Folkestone, just as it is surmised earlier imports at the site were, (see pages 441-442).

In addition to providing insight into Canterbury's economic relationships, the imported wares can also be said to suggest the existence of an elite population at Canterbury who made use of these wares to both display their social standing and maintain social cohesion, just as it is surmised was the case with the majority of imports at this time (see Chapter 5.3). Conversely, it should also be remembered that the continued importation of these products falls in line with what could be viewed as typical developments for the south-east at this time, that is to say they mark the continued absorption of those wares Gallic potters started to mass produce in c.15/10 BC. Consequently, Canterbury's Period 4 ceramic assemblage can be said to further those inferences borne from an analysis of the site's morphological record; whilst also confirming that much remained unchanged within this area between Periods 3 and 4, especially with regards to the ways in which the various vessel types were used. In doing this the ceramic assemblage can also be said to provide insight into the site's economy, as well as its occupants cultural practices.

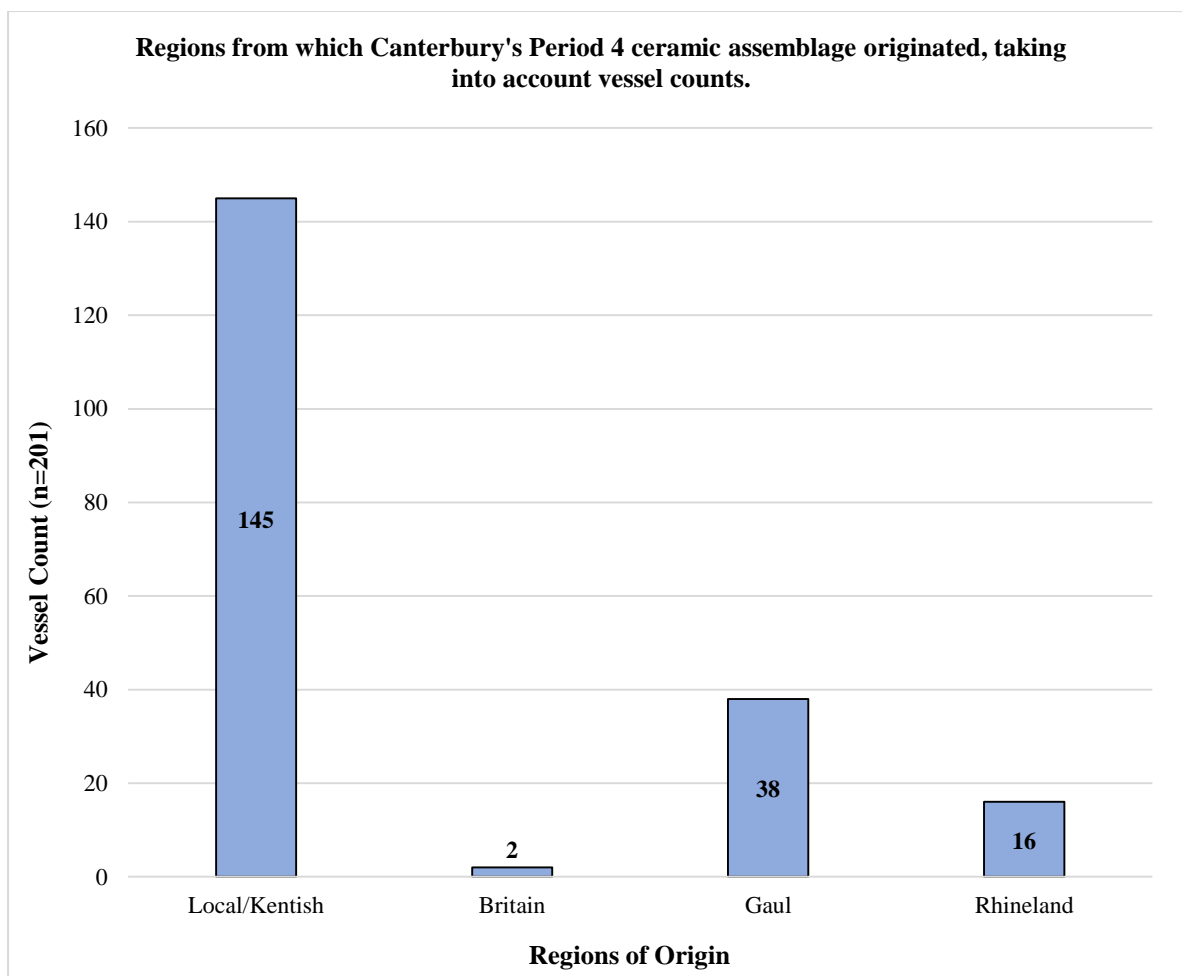


Figure 10.36: Based on information from: Lane 2014; Pollard 1995; Rigby 1995; Thompson and Green 1995.

With the above in mind, our attention turns to the other artefacts in use at Canterbury during Period 4; starting with the brooches. As was the case with those in use during Period 3, (see pages 444-445), the brooches in use between AD 25/30 and 50 were all manufactured in bronze (see Appendix 10.20) and as such were likely used by everyone comprising Canterbury's population at this time. Furthermore, these items, like their earlier counterparts, can be said to represent the changeability of dress styles and fashions, an aspect of Iron Age culture that is typically invisible within the archaeological record (see Chapter 6.2.3); whilst also furthering our understanding of the site's economic relationships.

Although, we cannot be sure of the origins of these artefacts due to the patchy nature of the artefact records within the Marlowe Car-park report, it is possible that the forms in which these artefacts appear, (see Appendix 10.20), may provide insight into the regions of Britain with whom Canterbury's population may have had economic relationships. However, it is equally possible that these items were all imported to Canterbury from Folkestone alongside the vessels

of both British and Continental origin. Either way, we know that Canterbury had established economic ties with a community that they relied upon for some of the most fundamental products of the age.

Similarly, the coinage of Period 4 date can be said to further increase our knowledge of the social and economic relationships Canterbury forged with other communities in Britain. Although, the information available to us is not conducive to determining the exact origins of the coinage circulating in Canterbury between AD 25/30 and 50, we can be certain that, although the coinage originated in Kent, (see Appendix 10.20), it was not produced within the Canterbury area. Consequently, the author surmised that like earlier coinage, the Period 4 coins at Canterbury were exchanged to symbolise relationships forged between Canterbury and its hinterland for both economic and social gain (see pages 445-446).

Finally, our attention turns to the other items comprising the artefact records: crucibles, loomweights, pellet moulds, and pot boilers (see Appendix 10.20). An analysis of these artefacts, excluding the pot boilers, can be said to further earlier inferences that the site was used for traditional Iron Age activities, because they denote the existence of craft production at the site; in this instance weaving and small scale metalworking (see Appendix 10.21). The pot boilers meanwhile, further promote the idea that the site was inhabited domestically because these artefacts are traditionally linked to cooking within the domestic sphere.

10.3.4.3: A Summary

Overall Period 4 occupation within the Canterbury region can be said to conform to what we would consider typical for the period. That is to say the site continued to be used for domestic occupation coupled with both farming regimes and craft production. With regards to the latter of these activities it can be said that the above analysis has revealed that metalworking and textile production were the most visible crafts within the archaeological record, suggesting that it may have been surplus generated through these processes, as well as farming practices, that enabled Canterbury's occupants to obtain the ceramics and brooches they imported from other communities within the Kentish landscape. Consequently, the above analysis can also be said to have provided insight into the site's economy, both how it was sustained and the trading relationships that bore imported wares to the site; in this instance a trading network linked Canterbury with Folkestone and, via Folkestone, Gaul.

The above analysis also enabled the author to identify changing fashions within the material culture, both ceramics and brooches, whilst also highlighting the possible ways in which social status was displayed.

In light of the above inferences it can be said that occupation at Canterbury between AD 25/30 and 50 differs very little from that which came before it; as a result of this it seems likely that the author's considerations of this period of the site's later Iron Age occupation in conjunction with current thinking on *oppida*, (see Chapter 11), will reveal a similar set of results to those predicted in relation to the site's Period 3 occupation (see Chapter 10.3.3.3). In other words, the continued similarities between Canterbury and the vast majority of later Iron Age settlements, and an apparent absence of atypical activities, (namely those activities that we only see at a limited number of settlements such as the minting of coinage or the presence of a particularly large religious foci), will likely reveal that the term *oppida* can no longer be successfully applied to this period of Canterbury's occupation (see Chapter 11).