Re-Thinking Ritual Traditions: Interpreting Structured Deposition in Watery Contexts in Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman Britain

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UCL

I, [Susheela Crease] confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This investigation seeks to define the strands of continuity and change in structured deposition across the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age to Early Roman transition in Britain, and interpret their significance in terms of cultural interaction. These interpretations not only examine and re-think structured deposition in relation to ritual traditions, but also explore how the continuity of such traditions was impacted by the transition between these two periods. Metalwork is a central focus but a wide range of other finds are also considered in order to take a holistic perspective on deposition. Watery deposits were an obvious starting point but comparisons with dry context deposits were necessary to provide a more complete understanding of these practices. The data were gathered from a number of individual sites throughout two contrasting case study zones defined by major waterways and labelled as such: the Severn-Thames Axis in the south and the Solway-Forth Axis in the north of Britain. Through the use of site reports as the main source of data, the analysis took a two-tiered approach. Individual episodes of structured deposition were examined and interpreted on a site-by-site basis. This then led to investigations on a broader scale by examining changes in the continuity of practices in the type of finds deposited, the contexts into which deposition took place and pre-deposition practices, such as deliberate breakage to determine patterns of deposition across the case study zones as a whole. With this comparative analysis it can be concluded that watery contexts were not a unique locus of structured deposition, and indeed that this practice is highly diverse across the zones studied. The temporal patterning in this diversity is examined in detail and related to cultural interaction.

Key words: deposition, ritual, votive, watery, transition, Iron Age, Roman, metalwork

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PART I: INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

i. Introduction

This thesis is an investigation of structured ritual deposition in association with watery areas. However, my investigation will also incorporate the examination of ritual deposits recovered from comparable dry-site contexts. Through the use of extant excavation material my study will re-think and re-interpret how such data have been understood in terms of structured deposition and associated ritual activities.

The recognition of metalwork and other fine objects deposited in or found in association with watery contexts has long been understood by archaeologists as a phenomenon of the prehistoric period in particular. Extant studies in which archaeologists have shown an interest in how past peoples utilised their elemental world tend to focus on the Neolithic through to the Bronze Age across northwest Europe (Fleming 2006: 268; Stevens 2008). From the Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age, intentional practices of deposition saw the consumption of lavish metalwork in bronze, a material not readily available, into specifically watery places. As iron became available, one metal did not seem to replace the other in the form of votive offerings into rivers, lakes, marshlands and other watery contexts. Instead emphasis seemed to change to the use of other goods in practices of deposition, such as agricultural equipment, human remains and possible food deposits (Bradley 1988: 258; Bradley 2005). By the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (LPRIA) the deposition of metalwork showed an increase once again. With this revival came the increased appearance within the archaeological record of deposits across a greater variety of contexts in addition to watery areas, including temple structures and other hoard-like deposits found on dry-land. However, the question is: how far did traditions of intentional deposition extend into the historic period? As Richard Bradley (1988: 250) has argued, 'there may well have been a continuous tradition of deposition into watery places extending into, and even in some areas throughout, the first millennium AD.'

The following sections will introduce some of the key arguments surrounding the use of water in rituals of deposition, the impact of the Roman conquest on the British ritual sphere and outline the main aim of the thesis. Key research questions will be outlined, which will form a framework for the chapters of the thesis. The Introduction will conclude with an outline of the structure of the thesis.

ii. Some existing arguments on watery deposits

There is a pre-occupation in current literature with the investigation of metalwork deposits into or in association with watery contexts. As Bradley (1988: 258) states: 'It is to that

peculiar practice of sacrificing valuables in watery locations that we owe some of the most impressive material in the archaeological record.' Alongside these examples, such abiding interest perhaps also exists because metalwork and other valuable items were the only items preserved well enough and available for study within the archaeological record. Alternatively, there is the fact that to contemporary eyes the act of depositing precious metal items into contexts where retrieval was seemingly impossible is 'irrational and uneconomic' (Wait 1985: 15). The concentration of valuable items in watery contexts suggests that deposition was intentional and the objects were not random losses. If these items were lost then it is likely their distribution would be more widespread across a number of different context types (Wait 1985: 15). Although some metalwork deposits in watery contexts were probably intended as dedicative offerings, others may have been temporary stores the recovery of which was prevented for some reason. For example, many possible hoards recovered within riverine contexts, such as the Thames in southern Britain, may have been eroded away or were originally left for some time in dry contexts but were re-deposited in watery environments with changing environmental conditions (York 2002: 90). It has also been argued that the deposition of rich metalwork may have played a part in the maintenance of the social order. Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley (1982: 152) have stated that ideology created through material culture may have been used to legitimate social hierarchies through the institutionalisation of ritual. Bradley (1988: 258; see also York 2002: 90) also considers that the offering of exotic metal goods to the supernatural realm provided a medium for competitive consumption, thus allowing the elites to control their own supplies of metalwork.

Others have observed that the nature of watery contexts has enabled the preservation of much more in terms of find-types. Klavs Randsborg (1995: 207) has acknowledged that the 'wet context is common to very many finds, and of very different kinds' with each different find having a highly symbolic meaning for the person or group depositing the item. For example, deposits of weaponry have been understood as symbolic of war and warriors, whilst deposits of jewellery and tools have connotations of fertility, both for the individual and for the general subsistence of populations (Randsborg 1995: 207). However, the intentional placing of weaponry in watery contexts and also dry-context deposits has been investigated and identified as a common feature in many ritual deposits during the Iron Age. The presence of artefacts recovered from watery contexts, specifically weaponry and armour from rivers such as the Thames and the Witham, is suggestive of ritual practices and locations for specific votive offerings. Bradley (1998: 186) has also identified the preference for weaponry deposits throughout the Iron Age up to the Early Roman period. Furthermore, both Jill York (2002: 90) and Peter Wells (2007: 470) have argued that the way weapons were treated (i.e. placed in graves, used in separate rituals of deposition into either watery or dry contexts, or

being intentionally destroyed through burning or breakage prior to ceremonial deposition), meant that they held both symbolic and utilitarian meanings. As Wells (2007: 470) states, the varied treatment of weaponry in the Iron Age and Early Roman periods 'show[s] that they [weapons] played roles in human consciousness beyond their functional use as military implements'.

However, the 'peculiar practice' (Bradley 1988: 258) of deposition in association with water is not the full extent of practices of ritual deposition and is not exclusive to the British Iron Age or the prehistoric period as a whole. Barry Cunliffe (2005: 57) argues that the ritual foci of the British Iron Age can be divided into two broad categories: natural locations, such as springs, running water or wooded areas; and shrine or temple structures. By the LPRIA the influence of the Roman world was impacting on all aspects of life in Britain, especially southern Britain. With this influence certain traditions began to take hold, including the use of cremation over burial or other means of disposing of bodies, the burial of grain in pits with accompanying propitiatory rites, and the offering of coins and other items of metalwork, rather than just weaponry, into or close to watery contexts (Cunliffe 2005: 57).

iii. Roman influences

As patterns of deposition are followed into the Roman period different and often more explicit ways of practicing ritual traditions became widely recognised. For example, temple structures and dedications in stone to classical and indigenous deities became common phenomena across the northwest provinces of the Roman Empire (Millett 1995: 95; Frere 1999: 321-2).

However, structured ritual deposition in association with both watery and dry contexts has not been as widely investigated in the Roman period as it has in the prehistoric. Ian Haynes (1997: 118) has argued that it is generally believed that the Romans discontinued the tradition of watery deposits through the intentional placement of arms. They did placate water deities through votive offerings of animal remains, coins, effigies and other precious items, though weaponry was not a part of this practice. It is believed that this was owing to laws passed prohibiting civilians from carrying arms as well as the expense of replacing such arms for Roman soldiers (1997: 118). Bradley (1998: 186) has acknowledged the impact of this time of socio-cultural transition but has stated that it is difficult to isolate chronologies of finds owing to the more gradual influence of the Roman world across northwest Europe, particularly in terms of ritual traditions of deposition. It appears that debates regarding the impact of the Roman world on traditions of ritual deposition have begun but require expanding upon. As Haynes (2013: 196) argues, ritual practices, their understanding and meaning were shared by people of diverse origins incorporated under the banner of the Roman Empire, therefore these

populations and their belief systems cannot be understood as either 'native' or Roman. As such this investigation intends to form a bridge between the existing data on practices of ritual deposition during the LPRIA and Roman eras.

iv. Main aim of the thesis

The main aim of my investigation is to examine and re-interpret a number of widely held ideas regarding theories of structured deposition, with a ritual focus, recovered in and in association with watery contexts. This will be carried out by broadening the argument and comparing and contrasting ritual deposition from dry contexts. The timeline of the investigation will also be extended into the Roman period examining the impact this period of socio-cultural change had on ritual traditions across Britain, which have been acknowledged as originating from the prehistoric. The main research questions of my thesis, therefore, are: how has the watery/dry dichotomy been understood, within interpretations of ritual, in previous excavations of LPRIA and Roman sites in Britain? And, are water and metalwork still relevant foci within the subject of structured ritual deposition? These two questions will be used to establish a framework for the chapters of the thesis. Chapter 4 will then break down the key aspects of these two research questions into a sub-set of research questions to be answered by the gathered data.

v. Structure of the thesis

This thesis has been divided into five constituent parts: Introduction (Part I), Theoretical Themes (Part II), Method (Part III), Analysis (Part IV) and Conclusions (Part V). In addition to the current chapter, Part I also includes Chapters 1 and 2. Chapter 1 will establish the theoretical tools of investigation, specifically reviewing and defining a number of the key terms and concepts throughout the thesis. Chapter 2 with then review the existing literature discussing episodes of structured ritual deposition during the Iron Age and Roman periods, based on a select number of sites. Chapter 2 introduces and criticises the term 'Romanisation' and establishes where my investigation lies in terms of the concepts surrounding the subject of 'Romanisation'. The contributions this investigation will make to the extant research are then articulated.

Part II (Chapter 3 only) will cover the theoretical concepts structuring this investigation, particularly those surrounding ritual and landscape. Chapter 3 will conclude by stating the theoretical stance this investigation will take. Part III will establish the sub-set of key research questions of the thesis to be answered by the gathered data, the methods of investigation and data analysis. The two case study zones will also be introduced in Chapter 4. Part IV consists of two chapters discussing the analysis of results of the two case study zones, bringing out

key themes from within these study zones, which will lead to a more general discussion on structured ritual deposition during the LPRIA-Roman transition in the concluding chapters. Part V, also consisting of two chapters, will bring together the main themes of the thesis: structured deposition, ritual, transition and cultural change to answer the two main research questions described in the previous section. These final two chapters also discuss how the data examined in this investigation have aided in understanding practices of ritual deposition; how relevant metalwork and watery contexts are to such episodes; and whether a transition in ritual practices can be determined from the British LPRIA to Roman period. Part V will conclude with the original contribution this investigation has made to the existing research.

The figures and tables used within the main body of the thesis have been identified and labelled throughout. However, a number of larger figures and tables have also been supplied in the Appendix in Volume 2, with references made to these figures and tables within the main body of the text. The attached CD in Volume 2 provides a copy of the research database and the Excel workbooks used for data collection and analysis. References have also been made to the database and workbooks throughout the text.

CHAPTER 1.

Structured Deposition and the Theoretical Tools of Investigation

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces and defines a number of the terms and concepts that relate specifically to the interpretation of the find-types and their contexts, which will be examined in detail in Chapters 5 and 6. In defining the key terms and concepts the following sub-sections will also explore the current arguments surrounding their definitions and uses. The chapter will conclude with the approach my investigation will take with regard to pre-existing arguments surrounding structured deposition and associated ritual practices within both watery and dry contexts during the British LPRIA to Roman transition.

1.2 Terminology

The following section explores and defines a number of key terms and concepts that will be used in the analysis and discussion of data throughout this thesis. The sub-sections will critique some of the arguments surrounding the current use of these terms and concepts.

1.2.1 'Watery' and 'dry'

Both 'watery and 'dry' are umbrella terms and refer to a variety of different environments and context types. Both terms involve varying degrees of 'wetness' or 'dryness'. Within 'watery' contexts this term refers to a variety of natural and human-made environments including running water (rivers, streams), standing water (lakes, ponds, pools), built structures (wells, water tanks, ponds) and other types of wetlands (bogs, marshland, fens). Those contexts referred to as 'dry' are equally as varied, referring to anything from terrestrial deposits in pits to material spreads to material spreads in association with different structures. The context types, whether 'dry' or 'watery' are always identified in detail throughout this investigation to make clear the types of deposits and the contexts into which they were placed.

'Watery' and 'dry' can also be coupled with the term 'landscape'. 'Landscape', as a concept, can be interpreted and understood in a number of different ways. From a materialist perspective 'landscape' is understood as a set of resources exploited by the population (Johnson 1999: 103). Alternatively, post-processualists argue that 'landscape' is seen and understood in different ways by the different groups of people using and occupying that space (Johnson 1999: 103; Paasi 2004: 275). As Johnson (1999: 103) argues, the way ancient peoples understood their landscape was through their everyday movements, such as farming, domestic activities, ritual activities et cetera, all of which were 'the media through which

understanding of the landscape was perpetuated and transformed'. A broader discussion on theoretical concepts relating to landscape use and interpretation can be found in Chapter 3. Whilst it is important to recognise the diverse use and interpretation of the landscape, in my investigation the term 'landscape' has been used to broadly describe the environmental and cultural nature of the land within and immediately surrounding the selected sites of study.

1.2.2 Structured deposition

Firstly, it is important to establish what is meant by 'deposition'. One of the key sources introducing and defining concepts of deposition is Colin Richard's and Julian Thomas' (1984: 189-218) paper 'Ritual activity and structured deposition in Later Neolithic Wessex'. In this paper they introduce the theoretical concept of 'structured deposition' particularly relating to 'ritual' deposits in association with the henge monuments of South Wessex, using the case study of Durrington Walls. Many of the ideas in this paper relating to 'ritual' deposits will be discussed later in this section. It is the concept of 'structured deposition' that needs to be understood prior to defining other types of depositional practice. 'Structured deposition' is a concept that has been developed by many archaeologists over the past 30 years. For example, J.D. Hill's (1995) work in his study of Iron Age pit deposits in Wessex references Richards' and Thomas' work (1984) and provides a general idea of what constitutes 'structured deposition'. In so doing Hill helps to establish a number of definitions for what can constitute 'structured deposition' using terms, such as 'unusual', 'symbolic', 'non-domestic', 'placed', 'intentional' and 'ceremonial' but follows this up by stating that all human activities are symbolically structured, meaning that they reproduce 'cultural norms and structures', in some way therefore all associated deposits are structured, such as those associated with the gathering/by-products of cooking, settlement arrangements, religious activities et cetera (Hill 1995: 95-6). This is not to say that Hill's definitions lack clarity but that 'structured deposition' is a term that can be used to cover a wide range of definitions of activities.

In Garrow's (2012) critical history of what is meant by 'structured deposition' he recognises the concept as an umbrella term and establishes a sliding scale with 'material culture patterning' at one end and 'odd deposits' at the other. From these two opposing ends of his perceived scale '*material culture patterning* does not even have to come about (unintentionally) as a result of underlying symbolic schemes. It can just happen' (2012: 109). Material culture patterning might simply constitute subtle differences in occupation spreads across a site. By contrast 'odd deposits' have a potentially symbolic value, such as complete animal burials with associated goods placed in a specific context in a particular location within a site (2012*:* 94). Whilst these two definitions are a useful starting point, as Julian Thomas (2012:124) comments, Garrow tends to treat these terms in opposition rather than

discuss these two aspects of 'structured deposition' on the sliding scale or 'continuous spectrum' that he alludes to (Garrow 2012: 94).

The proposition that all human activities result in some kind of 'structured deposition' prompts the need to determine exactly what is meant by those deposits identified as 'material culture patterning' and 'odd deposits', to use Garrow's scale, to help in identifying all those types of deposits that can fall in between. At one end of the scale, all those deposits that could be described as 'domestic' are difficult to define on their own without the opposite end of 'odd deposits' to which to compare these finds. As Hill has argued (1995: 44) with regard to the classification of finds from the fills of the Iron Age pits of southern Britain he investigated, the 'non-average', or 'ceremonial', layer assemblages help in the classifying of what constituted Iron Age refuse. These classifications can also aid in the interpretation of what activities led to the subsequent deposition of such material, which have previously been interpreted as merely refuse or assumed to have ended up in the archaeological record as a result of mixing, differential preservation or chance survival. What this means is that there is no single definition of 'domestic', 'rubbish' or 'refuse'. It was not all necessarily treated in the same way or discarded in the same place within the site or at the same time. As David Fontijn (2012: 123) argues, it is unhelpful to label depositional activities as 'mundane' or 'everyday', which Garrow (2012: 110) uses as labels for such deposits, because this suggests that those acts resulting in deposits interpreted as 'odd' were separate from everyday activities, which may not be the case, plus the term 'mundane' is a presumption of the activities of past societies and their activities.

1.2.3 Ritual and ritual deposition

As both Hill (1995: 95) and Garrow (2012: 93) have argued, 'structured deposition' is often used interchangeably as a term with others, such as 'ceremonial', 'odd', 'ritual', 'placed', 'symbolic', 'formal' and 'intentional'. This suggests that 'structured deposition' as a concept in the extant literature is highly flexible, adaptable and is often blurred with a number of different but closely related concepts. The one concept that is of particular relevance to the theme of this investigation is that of 'ritual'. However, as Hill (1995: 95) suggests, 'structured deposition' and 'ritual' are not the same thing, particularly as concepts in archaeology. Though Garrow (2012: 94) does add to this by stating that, whilst the two concepts are not the same they are very closely related. For example, in Michael Fulford's article on 'ritual' behaviour in Roman Britain he often combines the use of the term 'structured deposition' with 'special deposits', alluding to ritual behaviour (2001: 199; 212). The presence of recognised sites of religious importance with associated deposits, many of which will be reviewed in Chapter 2, suggests that people of the past did intentionally deposit items of

value, whether valuable in monetary or symbolic terms, in meaningful practices, which can be determined as 'ritual'. At the same time, not all items deposited and/or recovered from the vicinity of recognised sites of religious importance were done so in a meaningful way or with one specifically meaningful purpose (Garrow 2012: 106-7).

Definitions of the term 'ritual' have met with problems because it is often used as a catch-all term used to describe anything that has been interpreted as against the norm (Richards and Thomas 1984: 189; Whitehouse 1996: 9). Or, as Hill (1995: 97) has stated, it is often applied in archaeology to phenomena that cannot be interpreted as practical, technological or rational and is used to describe activities to do with the spiritual, symbolic or non-real aspects of life. This could be taken to mean that 'ritual' describes any activity to do with perceived religious activities. However as Hill (1995: 97) argues, 'Rituals are actions, practices and are not the sum total of religious life.' (See also Richards and Thomas 1984: 189; Berggren 2012: 120). Therefore, 'ritual' can be used to describe a variety of aspects of daily life including, but not limited to, religious activities. 'Ritual', therefore, is just as broad and interchangeable a concept as 'structured deposition'.

For the present research 'ritual' is defined as a form of practice distinct from daily, routine practices, incorporating overt actions, habits and use of space (Hill 1995: 99). Many (Richards and Thomas 1984; Wait 1985; Hill 1995; Bell 1997; Thomas 2012; Garrow 2012; Berggren 2012) agree that it is the behaviours behind the actions of ritual that define it as such because such factors identify that 'one is intensely aware of what one is doing' and the 'specialness' of such actions (Thomas 2012: 127). However, actions, specifically formal behaviour, speech and movement, are not archaeologically evident, especially when investigating prehistoric evidence. It is therefore necessary to examine the nature of deposits and how they came to end up in the archaeological record, particularly how certain material came to lie in an exact context sometimes in a precise arrangement. Stratigraphy is also important, as are the ways in which certain items have been arranged and associated. Therefore detailed stratigraphic excavation and recording techniques are crucial, which some of the older excavations do not focus on or provide enough detail. It is here that Hill's (1995) study on pit fills in south west Britain attempted to isolate depositional patterning by examining the 'top', 'middle' and 'bottom' fills of pits. Within these fills Hill determined that the material deeper down the pit represents the earliest deposits and sometimes 'ritual' deposits. By examining structured deposits in such a way allows for potential foundation or closing deposits to be identified and established as 'ritual' or otherwise. Therefore, added to the criteria of ritually distinct behaviour or actions is one of frequency: the less frequent the activity the more distinctive it is as is its separation from daily activities (Hill 1995: 99-100). To examine particular types of material in specific locations is not enough to fully determine ritual activity. Such deposits

could be the result of ritual but they could be present owing to 'inherited cultural conventions' (Thomas 2012: 126) - actions carried out because they always have been, but little attention is paid as to why.

The above definitions of what constitutes 'ritual' are useful but are not universally applicable. What one individual or group of people would identify as special and worthy of a ritual interpretation is not necessarily what others would identify as such, researchers and participants alike (Richards and Thomas 1984: 189; Garrow 2012: 105). For example, the contemporary disposal of refuse is often carried out at specific times of the day, in particular locations of a site and can even be separated into organic debris, recyclables, general waste and more durable debris, including building materials, and other household wares. These deposits could be interpreted as 'ritual' given the criteria outlined above. Though Hill (1995: 4) argues, '...the deposition of rubbish can often be highly patterned, but it is important to recognise that such explicit symbolic behaviour is not ritual behaviour.' We must acknowledge that there is not necessarily a right or wrong answer to what 'ritual' is, perhaps rather a 'continuum between ritual and habit' (Berggren 2012: 120). There are differing degrees of symbolism and structure that help to determine definitions of 'ritual' from the 'non-ritual', but also allow for such actions to be reinterpreted and subverted (Chadwick 2004: 95). By fully considering the landscape and the context of the deposits, the material culture being deposited, and acknowledging possible sequences of deposition interpretations can be made with more conviction (Richards and Thomas 1984: 190-2; Hill 1995: 4; Chadwick 2004: 95; Thomas 2012: 129). As Adrian Chadwick (2004: 95) argues, individual experiences of 'ritual' ensure that there will always be numerous interpretations of these actions and the events that are archaeologically visible as a consequence. The boundaries will always be blurred between what is 'ritual' and what is 'everyday' or 'routine'. What we, as researchers, must be clear on is our own interpretations of what we mean by 'ritual', particularly when it comes to deposition. 'Rather than searching for a universal definition of 'ritual' we could outline more clearly what each of us has in mind when we use the word 'ritual'' (Hill 1995: 97).

In fully establishing our own interpretations of what constitutes 'ritual' actions of deposition we must be careful not to view all depositional patterning as the result of ritual actions or culturally symbolic motivations (Garrow 2012: 137). With this in mind I will establish the way I intend to use 'ritual' when describing deposited finds throughout this investigation by applying this term to deposits with a distinctly religious or ceremonial focus. This could be overtly religious deposits, such as dedications made at shrine and temple sites (to be defined later) or those deposits that can be interpreted as made in commemoration of an individual, such as an Emperor, a societal leader or any other individual. 'Ritual' will also be applied to

episodes of deposition made in thanksgiving, though not necessarily devoted to a deity or deities at specific locations on each site, for example foundation deposits associated with a structure of any type, fertility rituals, rituals of termination or other such possible rituals. Careful consideration will be made using several criteria identified above. Firstly, I consider the items being deposited, i.e. specific finds deposited as either individual finds or limited numbers of finds categories deposited in association. Secondly, I consider the types of contexts from which these finds emerge, specifically watery areas but also dry locations including pits, other types of depression, and structures both domestic and ceremonial. Thirdly, I consider the possible processes applied to the finds prior to deposition, such as breakage, burning, wrapping et cetera. As Garrow (2012: 134) states, 'Pre-depositional processes are vital to any understanding of deposition'. Finally, where the data allow, stratigraphy will be considered to aid in determining whether deposits were intended to be made at a particular location within the context, thus helping to distinguish between rubbish deposits and 'specially placed' deposits. The distinction between 'rubbish' deposits and 'ritual' deposits will be outlined below.

1.2.4 Hoards

With the definition of 'ritual' deposits established it is possible to use the 'otherness' of these deposits to define other types of deposited items that can be placed along Garrow's (2012: 94) 'continuous spectrum'. As Thomas (2012: 125) argues, '...these 'odd deposits' were the visible portion of an iceberg, showing above the surface of the ocean. It was all the pits lined with potsherds, unbroken stone axes, placed animal skulls and general weirdness that could not easily be overlooked that first alerted archaeologists to the likelihood that 'something was going on' in the domain of deposition.'

As argued earlier, it is perhaps more difficult fully defining what constitutes 'domestic' or 'non-ritual' but for the purposes of this investigation it is necessary to establish these differences for analysis and interpretation. The term 'hoard' is one of the main deposit-types that has been contrasted with those resulting from 'ritual' actions. Bradley (1988: 249) defines hoards as those collections of items deposited into contexts in locations where retrieval was possible and may have had their locations marked. In comparison, votive items are those that were deposited without intention of retrieval, being placed deliberately into contexts where recovery was no longer possible, such as watery places, deep pits, or shafts. Hingley (2006: 214) has suggested, in his article on the deposition of iron objects during the Iron Age and Roman periods in Britain, that hoarded items can be made up of precious metals, raw materials or old or unwanted items stored for recycling. Like Bradley, Hingley (2006: 214) has reinforced that the context of the deposit is key to interpreting the difference between the

storage of objects for later retrieval and the deposition of objects for a ritual purpose, with the use of bogs, rivers, wells and human burials more common in interpretations of 'ritual' depositions.

'Hoards' can also be understood as multifaceted deposits with their fills falling along a spectrum from a one-off deposit to cumulative hoards, added to as and when, or even at certain times of the year. Stuart Needham and Colin Burgess (1980: 438) acknowledge that many major episodes of hoarding were often short-lived and represent reactions to political upheaval, or economic disturbance. Therefore the goods portray random collections of material culture. However, they also argue that not all pieces within hoards were deposited at the same time but were accumulated over a long period of time. With a cumulative hoard a 'ritual' interpretation could potentially be made if the hoard was located in an area where a changing environment could affect the retrieval of the goods being stored, such as on a flood plain or in an environment like the Fens or Somerset Levels where encroaching water impacted land regularly used for settlements, such as the Iron Age settlements of Glastonbury and Meare. As such, deposits made over a period of time could be interpreted as 'ritual' owing to the change in landscape and subsequent abandonment of stored goods. Being able to distinguish between a 'cumulative hoard' and a 'ritual deposit' may be too difficult to determine. Therefore, this investigation will keep all interpretations open on what could or could not be a deposit made with 'ritual' intent.

1.2.5 Middens

'Middens' can be defined in a number of ways, including a large collection of mixed deposits consisting of all types of finds categories intended to be discarded. In their paper, Richards and Thomas (1984: 197) do not define the term 'midden' but use the concept in reference to a large pit deposit to the south of the site labelled 'the Midden' by the original excavators of Durrington Walls, Wainwright and Longworth (1971, cited in Richards and Thomas 1984: 189). Richards and Thomas analyse this deposit in terms of what it did and did not contain; for example there was a distinct lack of flint waste material, suggesting that knapped flint was disposed of across the site rather than accumulated within the midden. Furthermore, pig bones were noted as being selectively deposited in 'the Midden' thus suggesting the control of deposition and disposal only of certain objects (Richards and Thomas 1984: 204). If the specific location of the 'Midden' in the Durrington Walls study was also subjected to selective deposits then how are these deposits differentiated from those interpreted as 'ritual'? Hill (1995: 39), when describing the different fills from South Wessex Iron Age pits, differentiated between what appear to be intentional deposits from 'middens' by explaining that middens are expected to be made up of thoroughly intermixed material whilst the

intentional deposits tended to be 'single classes of material' (Hill 1995: 39). Parker Pearson and Richards (1994: 52), again, did not define 'midden' in their case study of roundhouses in later British prehistory in their work on spatial representation and archaeology, though they did describe 'middens' as 'a place of decay and transformation' (1994: 52). This description suggests a significant process and links back to Richards' and Thomas' (1984) ideas above, that 'middens' could be interpreted as areas of significance and possible ritual on a site.

To reinforce the idea that 'middens' can be seen as 'ritual' locations Chadwick's (2004: 102) work on Romano-British settlements in northern Britain identified a trend between 'midden' locations and specially 'placed' deposits. At the Late Iron Age to Early Roman settlements of Dunston's Clump, Nottinghamshire, Scrooby Top, Nottinghamshire, and Lingwell Gate Lane, West Yorkshire, middens were used to mark or emphasise certain areas of each site and were later joined by 'placed deposits'. The concepts of fertility, bounty and regeneration, seen as associated with midden deposits and mounds during the Iron Age, appear to have been reinterpreted at these sites into the Romano-British period (Chadwick 2004: 102). Alternatively, former midden pits are often areas of soft or pliable soil, therefore making the ground easier to excavate and hence deposit other items, including those with ritual meaning (Elizabeth Graham, personal communication 2015).

Midden mounds are also an important feature. Similar to Chadwick's northern British examples, midden mounds would have been visible features within the landscape and may have been used to demarcate certain areas. For example, the 'monumental' midden mounds identified at the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age settlements of Potterne, East Chisenbury and All Canings Cross, Wiltshire (Ellis *et al* 2008: 194; see also Brück 2006: 303). The extensive middens discovered at these sites suggest that certain locations within the landscape developed as special or important foci for the economic and social lives of the associated communities (Ellis *et al* 2008: 194). It is possible that material may have been stored and gathered elsewhere before being brought to the midden site, or alternatively a collection of communities used centralised midden mounds; therefore these locations represented more than the disposal of site debris but key places for social interaction (English 2012: 299). The material evidence from these large midden mounds made visible animal ownership, the substantial consumption of pottery, food and other material, and extensive craft production. Brück (2006: 304) has suggested that these extensive refuse remains 'symbolized the vitality and productivity of the social group'.

From the above discussions it is possible to distinguish the difference between a 'midden' and a 'ritual' deposit or 'hoarded' items; however the definitions remain blurred. In my investigation the term 'midden' will be applied, as in Hill's (1995) study, to mixed find-types,

which range from organic debris through to more durable items like metalwork and stone, finds that cover a range of dates deposited into pits and mounds located either within or on the outskirts of the main settlement area. This description largely contrasts with all criteria used to define 'ritual' deposits. Where the definitions are not easily separated all viable interpretations will be applied to the data examined.

1.2.6 Votive

In much of the published literature 'votive' tends to be linked with 'ritual' activities, in the way this investigation intends to use the term 'ritual', to define deposits. While there is an ongoing debate about how 'ritual' and 'ritual deposits' are defined 'votive' does not appear to generate the same amount of debate. Gerald Wait (1985: 188) uses the term 'votive' in relation to actual objects used as offerings in Iron Age ceremonial practices. However, he also questions how we identify 'votive' offerings as being 'votive'. Wait has identified two key areas of this problem. Firstly, offerings may have been perishable, only surviving in exceptional circumstances. Secondly, the items that have survived may be difficult to separate from non-votive items, such as spoons, pottery, knives and other widely used and distributed find-types (1985: 188). Åsa Berggren (2012: 119) has furthered this debate by suggesting that whilst those finds recovered may appear to be 'votive' they may not have been intended as such. In reference to Rudebeck's work (2010, cited in Berggren 2012: 118-9) on Early to Middle Neolithic find-rich pits in Malmö (Sweden), Berggren summarises that the pits, which were rich with flint tools, animal bone or pottery, were interpreted as feasting pits and the fills represented activities connected to gathering, preparation and subsequent feasting. He then determines that the material recovered from these pits is different to what would be regarded as a 'votive' deposit but is rather a representation of the various gatherings and the feasts that took place, possibly for ritual purposes (2012: 119).

These arguments are not conclusive in determining exactly what is meant by 'votive'. In fact the term is often used interchangeably with 'ritual', as can be seen throughout Berggren's article (2012: 116-120) who also interchanges it with the terms 'symbolic' and 'sacrificial'. Whilst 'votive' seems to work together with this investigation's definition of 'ritual' as symbolic, ceremonial processes of deposition, it is still necessary to clarify what is meant by 'votive'. This term tends to be used to describe specifically the objects of dedication or devotion themselves rather than the actions or the circumstances. For example, Svend Hansen (2012: 129) uses terms like 'votive offerings', 'votive gifts' and 'votive debris' to describe items deposited within sanctuaries and understands them as 'possessions of the deity' (2012: 129; see also Wait 1985: 188). Such offerings are not restricted to particular ceremonial areas such as sanctuaries, according to Hansen, when referencing various whole metalwork finds

emerging from Bronze Age bogs in Denmark, defined as 'votive offerings' (2012: 128). This investigation will use the term 'votive' to refer specifically to the objects associated with 'ritual' practices.

1.2.7 Shrines and temples

'Shrines' and 'temples' are terms often used interchangeably to describe ceremonial structures of different sizes. Wait (1985), in his book *Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain*, has provided some definitions of pre-Roman shrines in comparison to Romano-Celtic temples acknowledging that there is 'the absence of any explicit *a priori* definition of what constitutes a 'shrine' or 'temple'' for the pre-Roman Iron Age to Roman period. Wait (1985: 156; see also Downes 1997: 145 definitions of Iron Age shrines) has established three criteria in defining religious structures in general for this period. Firstly, the structure should not be associated with any finds interpreted as 'domestic' or 'everyday', such as cooking fires, scattered potsherds, animal bone, building material et cetera. Comparing this criterion to those definitions established above concerning what constitutes 'everyday', as well as Wait's own arguments about determining 'votive' from 'non-votive' finds, this first point is not clear enough to confirm the difference between a religious structure and a non-religious structure unless consistent definitions have already been established concerning 'everyday' and 'votive' finds. The second criterion in Wait's definition is that the structure in question should differ in form from other 'domestic' structures on the site. The final criterion is that these structures should be positively associated with 'artifacts, features and elements of design, which are clearly symbolic with supernatural referents' (1985: 158). These referents include 'votive' offerings, ceremonial objects such as altars and evidence of sacrifices, both animal and human. This final criterion, however, is variably recognisable owing to states of preservation. Added to these criteria criteria is the fact that most structures excavated were orientated facing east, north east or south east (Downes, 1997: 145-153). With these characteristics available, both Wait and Downes tend to use 'shrine' to refer to pre-Roman Iron Age structures and 'temple' to refer to Roman structures. Wait (1985) and Jane Downes (1997) have argued that most Iron Age shrines have been identified as such owing to the presence of Roman temples built over the top. It is possible that a number of shrines have gone unnoticed because they were not developed into temples and subsequently fell into disrepair, particularly if it was an isolated rural shrine away from clusters of settlements (Wait, 1985: 171). Shrines also tended to vary in size from larger structures or enclosures large enough for a number of people to enter, to much smaller examples large enough to accommodate an icon, altar and few, if any, individuals.

In contrast, Roman temples were usually, though not always, much larger and more imposing than the Iron Age shrines, though they too could vary in size and components as do the Iron Age shrines. Wait (1985: 179) defines three types of Roman religious structures with 'Romano-Celtic temples' referring to rectangular buildings with a *cella* and ambulatory, 'simple Romano-Celtic temples' were free-standing structures without an ambulatory, and 'Romano-Celtic shrines' with a religious room or building (lacking an ambulatory) that was intended for private use attached to a villa or townhouse. The 'Romano-Celtic temples' tended to be larger than 'Iron Age shrines', and held more worshippers, but not all temples were necessarily intended for wide scale communal worship. These definitions are clear, although there is still overlap with 'Iron Age shrines' with the term 'shrine' being applied to religious structures of the Roman period also. In later research these terms are still used interchangeably; for example in Hingley's (2006: 221) definition of the different contexts of deposition for iron objects he uses the term 'shrine' to refer to 'temples, shrines or possible shrines'.

Much like the other terms defined in this section there is no right or wrong answer, but for the purposes of clarity and consistency in this investigation, it is necessary to determine the difference between 'shrine' and 'temple' structural types. Through the use of the typological characteristics as outlined by Wait (1985) and Downes (1997) this investigation will label those religious structures with a formal layout consisting of a cella and/or ambulatory as 'temples'. All other ritual building-types consistent with Wait's and Downes' general criteria, i.e. isolated structures of a form different to the 'domestic' structures of the site (though not as formally laid out as 'temples'), and associated with specific find-types not consistent with 'domestic' or 'everyday' activities will be referred to as 'shrines'. These definitions will work alongside the ways in which the structures appearing across the study sites have been defined in their reports.

1.2.8 'Special places' within sites and in the wider landscape

Activities taking place within 'special places' within sites and the wider landscape are not necessarily exclusive to ritual ceremonies. It is important to distinguish activities in special places from the quotidian. For example, in Mike Parker Pearson's and Colin Richards' (1994: 38-72) work on spatial representation and archaeology, they examine the importance of space and architecture in prehistoric archaeology in governing how people lived, what relationships can be determined from architecture and its associated material culture and also how this material culture contrasts with more explicit ritual deposition and other activities. Parker Pearson and Richards (1994: 40) argue that constructed cultural spaces defined contexts in which people carried out specific activities at certain times. It is through social practices that

these spaces were defined. This means that spaces can be redefined without changing the physical attributes of that space. People also use spaces in different ways; sometimes there is group consensus and sometimes there is not (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994: 40). Parker Pearson and Richards apply these ideas to their case study of the Orcadian houses in the Orkney Islands dating from the Late Neolithic. These structures, which also include the well known example of the Neolithic settlement of Skara Brae, represent consistency of design over several hundred years with all houses built out of local sandstone slabs (1994: 41). Within these structures, the hearth occupied a central position. The consistent layout of the Orcadian houses suggests that construction rituals took place, not only in the outer form of the structures but the inner organisation of the space. Fire can be seen as essential to the maintenance of life, particularly in these harsh northern climes. Fire is also a medium of transformation: light/dark, hot/cold, raw/cooked and also in the production of pottery and other ceramics, and later, from the 2nd millennium BC, in metalworking. Furthermore, when the structures were finally abandoned or demolished it was the hearth stones that were, perhaps ceremonially, often left in place. The hearths tended to be cleared from left to right, as evidenced by spreads of charcoal and burnt material trodden into the floor to the right of the hearths. The left side of the hearth also held implications of gender-specific areas within the houses. High levels of phosphate were identified on the left side of the hearth in a number of houses, suggesting food preparation. Furthermore, of the two box beds seen in the structures, on the right and left of the hearth, the bed on the left was smaller. Along with the food preparation evidence this could be indicative of the woman's side of the house (1994: 41, 44-5).

During the Early Iron Age, rituals surrounding the use of space appear more overt. The hearth was still an important focal point for heat, food and industry; however the house entrance became the main focus with many roundhouses elaborated with porches under which foundation deposits were often placed (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994: 47). Within the houses, however, space was organised much as it was in the Orcadian houses. The north of the roundhouse tended to be associated with primary refuse from stores and cooking and the south with fine ware and the serving of food. Middens and cooking areas were located at the back 'out of sight'; - therefore if approaching the entrance of the roundhouse, all refuse and working areas would not be seen (1994: 47-51). By the Middle Iron Age in southern Britain, roundhouses and their spatial organisation began to show some changes. The separation of areas of food preparation, storage and areas of consumption continued but emphasis on the nucleation of settlements and boundaries became important. Defences, and deposits made at entryways to defensive boundaries, started to increase. The houses themselves also emphasised external definition through drip gullies and the continuation of the porched

entrance served to emphasise both boundedness and isolation (1994: 52). It is through material displays such as architectural arrangements that, 'In non-literate societies we might view...the 'pre-text' for handing down traditions, rituals and cosmology.' (1994: 58). However, even with the invention of written records, social practices and ideologies are still present; we still know where to store our food, cook it and where to go to the bathroom (1994: 58).

The specific find spots and 'special' spaces of use within sites express a variety of meanings. Not only do particular locales within sites provide a focus for certain activities and social practices but, in some cases, provide a representation of bringing together the multiple meanings of the landscape in one locale (Stevens 2008: 246). For example, Fay Stevens (2008: 245) cites the two examples of Flag Fen, Peterborough and Runnymede Bridge crossing the River Thames (Surrey). At Flag Fen the multiple metalwork deposits combined with the water of the fen and the wood of the causeway, used to access the fen and the site of deposition, represent a drawing together of the elements of the landscape used in the construction and use of this site. A similar situation can be interpreted at Runnymede Bridge where evidence for metalworking was found associated with wooden piles driven into the riverbed at the confluence of the Thames and the Colne Brook tributary. Garrow's (2012: 107) arguments complement the examples discussed here. He states that people of the past deposited specific items to convey certain meanings, and people deposited items in different areas of a site owing to the different meanings each part of the site had. These two arguments are part of the same 'recursive cycle of meaning/practice' (2012: 107) and must be considered together when examining and evaluating patterns of structured deposition, whether site-specific or specific to the wider use of the landscape.

1.2.9 Summary of terminology

After reviewing the current arguments in defining some of the key terms used in this investigation it can be seen that most of the terms examined have been used with some flexibility. As Hansen (2012: 129) states, 'Pattern in archaeological finds can always be understood in several ways.' However, it is still important to outline clearly what is meant by the terms used and which definitions are to be applied throughout the analysis and discussion stages. As Elizabeth Graham (2008: 336) argues, 'classification enables discussion of the possibilities.' What is interesting to note is that the terms and associated examples examined here, with the exception of the temples and some middens, are all based on prehistoric examples. Garrow (2012: 94) confirms that the vast majority of debates on 'structured deposition' and related concepts have focused on the Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age in Britain in particular. Looking at the literature reviewed in this chapter it could be argued that

practices of deposition were not as marked during the historic period compared to the prehistoric. This is a point that has been emphasised by Fulford (2001: 213) who acknowledges that 'our understanding of the nature of processes of deposition is still pitifully limited' with regard to Romano-British material evidence. Some studies of ritual deposition in the historic period have been carried out, for example, Curle (1911), Ross and Feachem (1976: 229-239) and Clarke and Jones' (1996: 109-124) work on the well and shaft fills at the 1st to 2nd century AD Roman fort at Newstead, the fills of which have been interpreted as part of 'rituals of abandonment' (Curle, 1911: 113-114). Also Fulford's (2001 199-218) article examining site data from six major settlements of mid- to late Roman date in south east Britain, re-interpreting the findings within the concept of structured deposition with ritual potential. However, my investigation seeks to bring the concepts of 'structured deposition' and 'ritual' up to date by building upon and developing the current arguments regarding these concepts during the prehistoric to historic transition by moving the debate surrounding structured deposition and ritual associations into the historic period and by not treating these periods of time and the activities taking place as separate. My research has the potential to highlight and better define longer-term continuous processes of deposition and modification of ritual practices involving the deposition of objects.

1.3 The investigation

'...the identification of structured deposition is viewed as an interpretation in itself; a 'black box' which holds the truth but is hard to access. Often, it seems to be considered enough to identify a 'structured deposit' and leave it at that – people did funny things in the past, end of story.' (Garrow, 2012: 107)

As Garrow has stated, the study of structured deposition is difficult owing to the problems that arise in assessing motivations behind such practices. However, prior to the investigation of structured deposition and associated ritual activities it is necessary to define and interpret what is meant by such terms and related concepts. If we, as archaeologists, are to progress we need a clarity of definition that allows us to analyse and characterise the presence of patterning within and across different traditions of quotidian and ritual deposits. Having clearly established the definitions of the terms and concepts used throughout the investigation, the focus and outline of my research can now be fully understood.

My investigation seeks to re-think and re-interpret some of the perceptions Garrow outlines in the quote above by selecting a range of study sites and re-analysing the site data with the potential for structured deposition and ritual practice at the forefront of the investigation. As has been acknowledged in part in the Introduction, the amount of material available for study is extensive but, as Richard Hingley (2006: 234) argues, whereas many Iron Age and Roman

sites across Britain have produced large quantities of metalwork, 'the reasons for their deposition require serious contextual study on an individual basis, comparing their occurrence to other types of artefacts, to determine patterns in deposition.' Furthermore, the variations in deposition by chronology and region will aid in a greater understanding of the motivations behind ritual activities and associated intentional deposits taking place at this time of transition from the LPRIA to Roman periods (Hingley 2006: 236; see also Fulford 2001: 215). Therefore, as stated in the Introduction, the aim of my investigation is to assess the extent to which the practice of intentionally depositing metalwork and associated items in or in association with watery contexts, as well as comparable dry contexts, continued and changed during the Iron Age to Roman transition in Britain. This will be achieved through the in-depth study of a number of individual sites using finds and contextual data from two contrasting case study zones in the north and south of Roman-occupied Britain. I will examine the condition of the materials; context; changes in deposited items over time; changes in the types of items deposited; regional or local practices; key landscape features; and any changes in the associated community or settlement layout.

Whilst metalwork finds and watery contexts are important foci not only for the material produced but also owing to the ritual implications, the debate cannot and should not remain fixed on the water context. What is unique about this investigation is that it will not only examine the continuity and change of practices of structured deposition with ritual associations during the time of transition; it will widen the debate to comparable deposits of all find-types made in contrasting contexts to examine motivations of deposition beyond the initial focal points of water and metalwork. With a more general view the investigation will compare the data generated to the use and change of the individual contexts, associated finds involved, and subsequent ritual interpretations within practices of structured deposition.

CHAPTER 2.

Structured Deposition from the Iron Age to Roman Periods

2.1 Introduction

The practice of structured deposition of fine objects in association with watery areas stems from as far back as the Neolithic period to the first millennium AD. It is from the Bronze Age that metalwork, particularly weaponry, traditionally offered as grave goods, was placed instead in non-mortuary watery locations across Western Europe. As such, ‘‘ritual hoards’ and river finds have provided much of the most elaborate metalwork to survive from later prehistory’ (Bradley 1988: 250). Large quantities of bronzework, including swords, shields and helmets, have emerged from river contexts, particularly from the River Thames (London); River Witham (Lincolnshire); and River Trent (Nottinghamshire). It was not only weaponry finds that were recovered from such contexts but other items of high prestige. All deposits would presumably have been made at a great cost to the community, therefore helping to confirm their interpretation as votive offerings (Cunliffe 1993; York 2002: 79).

Various interpretations have been put forward for the use of watery contexts, including the idea that watery areas were seen as the domain of the gods and dead ancestors, or entrances to the ‘other world’, not only in Britain but across continental northwest Europe (Derks 1998: 135; see also Brunaux 1987). Late Iron Age/Early Roman gods believed to have resided in specific watery contexts include the deity pairing of Sulis Minerva related to the sacred springs of Bath, Somerset, with the Roman temple complex dedicated to her. On the continent, the goddess Sequana had a sanctuary dedicated to her at the source of the Seine from the 1st century AD (Cunliffe 1993). Through the examination of the known classical texts, such hypotheses are somewhat corroborated. For example, the Greek geographer, Strabo quoting the works of Posidonius, described treasures of gold and silver in the sanctuaries of Toulouse, including temple enclosures and sacred lakes (Cunliffe 1993: 7). Further to this, Caesar has been noted as saying: ‘When they [the inhabitants of northwest Europe] have decided to fight a battle, it is to Mars they dedicate the spoils they hope to win; and if they are successful, they sacrifice the captured animals and collect all the rest of the spoils in one place. Among many of the tribes it is possible to see piles of these objects on consecrated ground’ (De bello Gallico VI, cited in Cunliffe 1993: 7). What these records highlight is that structured deposition of a ritual nature was not exclusive to metalwork or to watery contexts.

In the following paragraphs, I will examine a selection of studies of structured ritual deposition from sites across Britain and northwest Europe and explore the extent to which the medium and materials used in these practices has been considered and discussed. The resulting analysis will expose gaps in the current literature, as well as highlight the ways in which my investigation can address these gaps. The first section will review structured deposition with a ritual focus in relation to both watery and dry contexts during the Iron Age within selected sites across Britain and northwest Europe. The second section will examine the reported effects of the Iron Age-Early Roman transition on these practices. The latter half of the second section will review the subject of 'Romanisation'. How this concept has impacted interpretations of socio-cultural changes during the period of transition on a society-wide scale will be considered as well as how applicable the concept of 'Romanisation' is to the practices being discussed.

2.2 Structured deposition throughout the northwest European Iron Age

Analyses and interpretations of 'special' practices are often carried out with a preoccupation with the objects recovered. As a result, archaeologists cannot get any closer to understanding the motivations that drove people to ritual uses of water. The following section will explore various examples of practice relating to systematic, ritual actions of deposition in the Iron Age in northwest Europe with particular attention paid to the discussion of the contexts involved in these practices.

2.2.1 Watery context deposits in Britain

One of the practical explanations for the use of water in practices of ritual deposition is the change in characteristics of the environment during the Bronze Age and Iron Age, particularly in Britain. One example of this is landscape use at Fiskerton Fen, Lincolnshire. This area, explored by many including Naomi Field and Mike Parker Pearson (2003: 16-32) and David Stocker and Paul Everson (2003: 271-289), has been described as a 'ritual landscape' (Stocker and Everson 2003: 272) on account of the placing of Bronze Age barrow burials along the course of the River Witham. At least 12 barrows have been identified near the Washingborough-Fiskerton Middle to Late Iron Age site of Fiskerton Fen. These barrow cemeteries were buried by encroaching peat deposits as a result of a rise in water levels in the Late Bronze Age. However, the area kept its sacred character despite the change in environment and land with a number of causeways emerging, stretching out into the watery areas, with deposits occurring in the proximity of the causeways (Stocker and Everson 2003: 276). One of the most famous of the explored sites is the Washingborough-Fiskerton causeway, which became a major centre of ritual deposition during the Middle to Late Iron

Age. Here, military regalia, in particular, was subject to ritual placement. One of the most famous examples from this collection is the Witham Shield (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: The Witham Shield

(Source: own photograph)

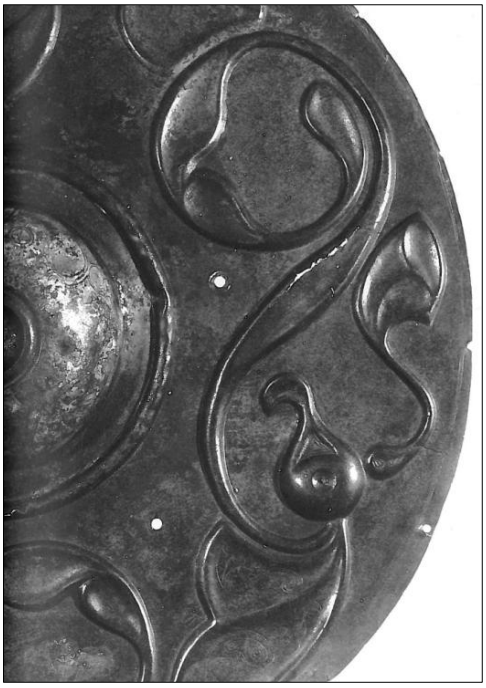
However, ritual deposits did not cease within the River Witham landscape with Roman occupation or even beyond this into the medieval period. Many jetties projecting into the wetlands surrounding the River Witham have been recorded from the prehistoric period through to the 13th century AD. Stocker and Everson (2003: 281) have suggested that it was not the jetties that were important to the ritual of deposition but the presence of the pools, meres and streams. Stocker and Everson's hypothesis is based on the fact that finds were placed some 100m+ away from the causeway terminals where access by boat would have been necessary. However, the presence of the causeways was still essential to the process of the ritual, acting as symbolic pathways to enable access to the ritually charged watery contexts (Stocker and Everson 2003: 282). Other than the flooding of an already ritually significant landscape, the reasoning for the use of the Witham in such a way is the idea that it held a liminal position in the past between various parishes and estates as well as territories, as it does today. The Witham would also have held a liminal position between the mainland and the independent political island of Lindsey (Stocker and Everson 2003: 282; Field and Parker Pearson 2003).

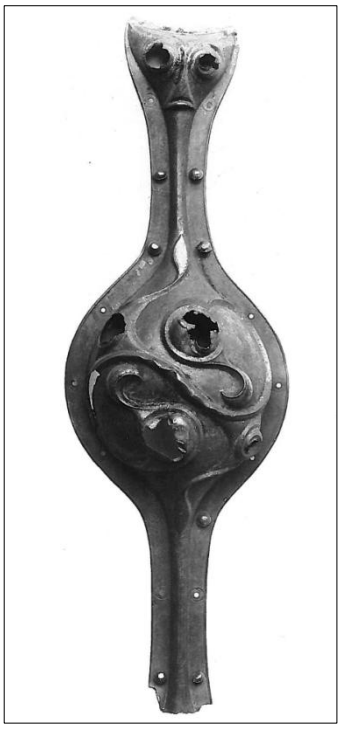
Another example of ritual deposition continuing at a location the physical character of which changed through its early history is Flag Fen (Pryor 1991; 2005; Pryor and Taylor 1992: 37-47). Comparable to Fiskerton, a wooden causeway was uncovered at Flag Fen, dating from the Late Bronze Age, with many metal objects and pottery fragments deposited in association with the causeway, especially weaponry, tools, personal ornaments and cooking utensils. However, unlike the Fiskerton area, the origins of Flag Fen may not have been ritually motivated. The causeway was built during dry times to mark the edge of the territorial area, but later became a platform when the environment became wetter (Pryor 1991). With this change in environment came an alteration in the use of the causeway with an increase in ritually placed deposits, many objects of which appeared to be deliberately broken prior to deposition (Pryor 1991: 120). Not only were metal objects and pottery vessels seen to be deposited in a ritual way but so too was the wood used to construct the platform. The evidence of construction of the platform suggests two layers were built up. The first consisted of coppiced trees, branches and recycled wood laid directly onto the organic mud surface. The floor placed above this was made up of woodchips and woodworking debris mixed with sand and fine gravel (Pryor and Taylor 1992: 37-47). Excavations down to the lowest layer of timbers recovered a bronze stick-pin of continental type, a large spearhead, and the lower part of a scabbard or chape, with each item having been deliberately broken and the spearhead deliberately overlain by a log (Pryor 1991: 118). As with the example of the Washingborough-Fiskerton causeway, the specialist treatment of the Flag Fen causeway and its importance as a pathway to enable access to the watery context of the fen suggests that the landscape was just as important in ritual depositional activities as the objects involved. Whilst the majority of the evidence for ritual activity at Flag Fen was confined to the Late Bronze Age, the ritual deposits are comparable to a number of Iron Age sites identified across northwest Europe reviewed in this chapter. Therefore the practices identified at Flag Fen represent a continuity of practices of ritual deposition throughout the prehistoric period.

Also within the area of the Fens is the example of the mid-stream settlement at Godwin Ridge, Cambridgeshire, within the River Great Ouse floodplain. The settlement activity at this site dates from the Mesolithic through to the Late Iron Age with a ritual complex identified dating from the Iron Age (Evans 2013: 55-79). This settlement was located on a ridge, the surrounding area of which was seasonally flooded. An Iron Age roundhouse located at the crown of the ridge at the opposite end of the area of ritual deposition is suggestive of the residence of a ‘guardian’ for the ritual complex (2013: 61). The depositional activities were focussed on the northern riverside at the end of the mid-stream ridge. A soil platform was built, the foundations of which consisted of the remains of four dismembered horses, disarticulated or partly articulated dog remains, two cows, a pig and 12 sheep. Large

quantities of pike, carp and perch bones were also worked into the matrix of the platform, though this has been attributed to fishing activities rather than ritual deposition (2013: 63). Also within the make-up of the platform were the bones of 15 different wild bird species either disarticulated, broken or showing signs of butchery. Large quantities of pottery, enough to make up to 134 vessels, were also recovered from the platform's matrix as were three copper alloy brooches dating to the late 2nd to early 1st centuries BC (2013: 63). A similar 'ritual package' (2013: 63) to the three brooches was the recovery of three antler weaving combs from the riverside. No other items comparable to these two 'trios' were recovered; 89 human skeletal remains were recovered from the western half of the ridge and most were disarticulated. All human remains date to the Middle to Late Iron Age and show signs of gnawing, cut marks or chop marks, suggesting they were dismembered prior to burial (2013: 67).

Few sites parallel the finds from Godwin Ridge. An inhumation dating from the Middle to Late Iron Age recovered to the north of Flag Fen's causeway is one possible example. Further south there are the examples of over 300 skulls recovered from the River Thames dating from the Late Bronze Age through to the Roman period, and from the River Walbrook, one of the tributaries of the River Thames, dating from the Later Iron Age through to the Early Roman period (Bradley 1998: 108-9, 180-1; Evans 2013: 75-6). Most of these skulls have been identified as those of younger males who suffered no injury. It has also been determined that the skulls lost their flesh prior to being deposited into the Rivers. Large quantities of metalwork, particularly Bronze Age and Iron Age weaponry, were also recovered from the Thames, but it cannot be confirmed whether these skulls and metalwork deposits were made in conjunction (Bradley 1998: 108-9) (Figure 2.2). Unfortunately, river currents hide the full scale of ritual activity (Evans 2013: 76).

a. 

b. 

c.

Figure 2.2: Examples of Late Iron Age bronzework recovered from the River Thames a: The Battersea Shield; b: The Wandsworth Shield; c: The Waterloo Helmet

(Source: Cunliffe 2005: 522-5)

A comparable site of ritual deposition on the extreme west of Britain is the lake site of Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey. Here a rich Iron Age metalwork assemblage was recovered associated with animal bone and possibly some human bone. The deposit, recovered by engineers excavating lake sediments, was investigated by Sir Cyril Fox in 1943-5 (Fox, 1946; Parker Pearson 2000:1; Cunliffe 2005: 567). The array of finds, believed to have been deposited in

the lake from a rock platform, included swords, spears, chariot fittings, cauldrons, horse gear, currency bars, a trumpet, two sets of slave chains and animal bones, and was dated to between 500 BC through to AD 100. One of the engineers also claimed to have recovered human remains, although Fox did not report any such finds. It is possible the recovery of any human remains were deliberately concealed owing to wartime propaganda. Fox may have been reluctant to publish any possible evidence of practices of supposed 'human sacrifice' in Britain's history because it was seen as 'incompatible with wartime notions of innate British decency and fair play' (Parker Pearson 2000: 1).

In northern England and Scotland fewer examples of structured ritual deposits from the Iron Age have been identified. The examples that have been investigated consist mainly of bog deposits dating from the late 1st millennium BC through to the early centuries AD. Two notable examples come from Carlingwark Loch (Dumfries and Galloway) and from Blackburn Mill (Scottish Borders). At Carlingwark Loch, a large bronze cauldron was dredged from the loch in 1866 containing a mass of metalwork dating to the Late Iron Age. At Blackburn Mill in 1852, workmen were cutting a drainage ditch through the peat when they uncovered 65 metalwork objects contained within two bronze cauldrons, one upside down on top of the other, in an area that was once a bog or marsh land (Alcock 1965: 8-9; Hutchenson 1996: 65-73; Hunter 1997: 108-134). Comparable deposits on a smaller scale have been recovered from north and west Scotland with deposits of wooden and pottery vessels recovered from watery areas. The deposition of these vessels has been interpreted as symbolic of abundance, food, healing and rebirth (Hunter 1997: 121), with the watery medium perhaps adding to the regenerative symbolism. In the Roman period, deposits of metalwork increased considerably, as will be discussed later in this chapter; however as Fraser Hunter (1997: 121) argues, the 'Excavation of hoard find spots [in Scotland and northern England] could throw light on some questions, and is badly needed.'

It was not only metalwork that was placed into watery locations within Britain but bodies also. The well known example of the Lindow Man (Cheshire) was recovered from a bog at Lindow dated to the Late Iron Age to Early Roman period (James and Rigby 1997: 17). Through the preservation of the body in the anaerobic conditions of the bog it was determined that the man had been garrotted and had his throat cut before his body was placed into the bog (Cunliffe 1993; 2005: 568-9). This body has been interpreted in a number of different ways.

The evidence available for practices of ritual deposition into or in association with watery areas across Iron Age Britain is substantial with some of this evidence, such as Flag Fen, the River Witham landscape and the River Thames landscape, providing evidence of the continuity of ritual depositional practices from the Bronze Age onwards. However, what these

examples have revealed is that ritual deposits were not exclusively metalwork but consisted of a variety of object and material types, including human and animal remains. The examination of all associated deposits is therefore required to be able to fully understand the extent of the ritual activity taking place at each site. The following section will examine a selection of continental examples from the existing literature on comparable deposits in watery areas.

2.2.2 Watery context deposits on the Continent

Numerous continental examples of structured ritual deposits in association with watery contexts have also been investigated and these will be briefly discussed. One of the most well recognised is the Middle Iron Age deposit at La Tène, on the north shore of Lake Neuchâtel, Switzerland (Hubert 1934). In the bed of the la Thielle stream, several thousand iron weapons, tools, jewellery and coins plus animal remains, particularly horses and dogs, were recovered during excavations in the mid-19th century (Hubert 1934; Brunaux 1987; Bradley 2005). This site was interpreted in a number of ways: as a lake dwelling, a place of trade, a customs outpost and a cult site. Through geological investigation it was determined that La Tène la Thielle was the branch of an extinct river that flooded periodically, forming a lake. This expanse of still water with a considerable concentration of metalwork in one location has been likened to many known ritual sites across northwest Europe, including the deposits at Flag Fen, Fiskerton Fen and Llyn Cerrig Bach, and interpreted as a cult centre. Lakes with depositional evidence such as these have produced have been interpreted as 'present[ing] an opening into the subterranean world, dwelling of certain deities' (Brunaux 1987: 42).

Further north the focus of watery areas was not limited to ritual deposits. Many thousands of sites have been identified in southern Scandinavia where exposed rock faces were used for artistic depictions. The vast majority of these pictures dating back to the Bronze Age are located on or close to the contemporary coastline. The evidence of both the locations of these depictions and their content suggests that proximity to watery contexts was a prerequisite in the selection process for carving. These carvings were discovered two centuries ago and have been interpreted as depicting scenes of Bronze Age society (Coles 2001: 148-158). One of the symbols common to many of the images is that of a boat, thus reflecting the overwhelming presence and importance of water and the mechanism societies developed for communication, transport and colonisation (Coles 2001: 148-158). At this time in the Bronze Age, boats were complex productions in terms of technology and wood consumption, which may have reinforced their importance, both in life and death. Images of boats are often seen inscribed on small bronzes, such as razors and knives recovered from other Scandinavian wetlands, which link back to a connection between water and metalwork. It has been suggested that rock carvings may have been substitutes for metalwork, or more specifically bronze, due to the

expense incurred in the production of bronze including the rarity of tin and copper in the region at this time (Coles 2001: 148-158). In the absence of anything to deposit into the watery medium, images or symbols of the importance of water, such as boats, may have been used as an alternative. Unlike metalwork, rock carvings are immobile, therefore archaeologists can be more certain that these were the places, platforms or private areas where assemblies or individuals gathered, but what is less certain is whether these areas were indeed used for means of commemoration or placation (Coles 2001: 148-158).

During the Iron Age the use of metalwork became an important part of structured deposits into watery contexts across southern Scandinavia. A comparable site to that of La Tène is the 4th century BC weaponry and boat deposit from the Danish island of Als. Recovered from a small bog at Hjortspring (Kobbel), it is a unique find of its type in this vicinity (Randsborg 1995: 17). Placed on a north-south alignment within the bog, the boat was recovered containing large numbers of swords, spears, shields and mail coats believed to be some of the earliest finds of mail coats in Europe (Randsborg, 1995: 17). Other items included personal ornaments, tools, a bronze cauldron, wooden dishes and boxes, pottery vessels and worked stone items. Beneath this deposit were a number of pits dated to the Bronze Age containing cattle bones. It is possible that these remains represent earlier sacrifices or propitiatory offerings, therefore confirming this locale as part of a recognised ritual landscape (Randsborg 1995: 36). The origins of the boat deposit are not known. It has been theorised that the boat and its associated finds represent the spoils of a battle where the losing side were stripped of their gear. The boat was then buried or placed in the bog by the winning side in thanks for the victory. However, only 11 to 12 mail shirts were recovered as well as 11 swords and 64 shields. These numbers are too low to represent an entire fleet, but perhaps represent one boat load of soldiers. Furthermore, no bodies were recovered in the area. It is possible they were killed and buried elsewhere or permitted to leave unscathed (Randsborg 1995: 54).

Whilst the considerable metalwork deposit at Hjortspring is unique to this locus, other examples of weaponry and other metalwork deposits have been recovered across Denmark and the rest of southern Scandinavia throughout the Iron Age. At Krogsbølle on North Fyn (Denmark), the remains of seven swords and 44 spears, various tools, worked antler and the axles from wagon wheels were recovered from a stone-built road leading across a brook in a bog, also dated to the 4th century BC (Randsborg 1995: 42). However, weaponry deposits were not the only metalwork deposit types in this region. Randsborg (1995: 103) has described the presence of pots in watery areas in Denmark, which halted around 3000 BC and were taken up again (with food) during the early Iron Age. These pot dedications were often found along with crude wooden images of females and less commonly with phallic males, suggesting the remnants of rituals associated with fertility. Into the mid-Iron Age, metalwork

began to come back into these particular rituals of deposition. For example, in Smederup bog, East Jutland, dating to the 5th to 4th century BC, 373 bronze rings were recovered consisting of neck rings, bracelets and other smaller rings. In a well close to this site were various stones and pottery vessels dated to the same period as the rings, suggesting a link to the metalwork deposit. Similar finds of large collections of rings and bracelets have been recovered from four other nearby bog sites. It has been proposed that the ring deposits commemorated a female deity with connotations of fertility whilst the weaponry finds were representative of different deities associated with war. Kristian Kristiansen (2002: 329) has noted that large deposits of weaponry were made and described in the Nordic Sagas as the offerings of a defeated army to Odin in thanks for the victory. Alternatively, they represented emblems of the warrior class and symbols of the ability to defend one's community as well as accumulate wealth and status (Bradley 2000; Kristiansen 2002: 329; Wells 2007: 470).

The well-known tradition of placing bodies in bogs across northern Europe throughout the Iron Age is also an important aspect to rituals of deposition. The origins of bog bodies have been interpreted in many ways, due to the fact that some of the bodies were found clutching heather or grass in an apparent bid to escape. They may have been travellers who slipped and became trapped as in the case of the body from the Vehne bog, near Cloppenburg, Germany (Coles and Coles 1989: 178). Others, however, appear to be deliberate burials. For example, in 1857 peat cutters unearthed three bodies in a bog at Getelo on the Germany/Holland border. These bodies consisted of a man, woman and child lying fully clothed upon animal hides with bunches of flowers placed directly on the tops of the bodies. Strangers in rural areas in the Middle Ages were buried in un-consecrated ground, such as bogs, as were women who died in childbirth. In the 11th century AD it was a grim belief that the burial of the deceased mother in such wasteland would prevent the newborn being dragged by the dead mother into the grave. Further to this, historical records exist of the burial of suicides in bogs. For example, in 1850 in Russia and 1988 in China, suicides were buried in wastelands in the belief that they would become ghosts and haunt the community unless buried elsewhere (Coles and Coles 1989: 178). Such a fear of the afterlife throughout the historic period could be used to help interpret prehistoric burials within bog contexts. It is the bogs with mutilated bodies or disarticulated limbs that are a little harder to explain. They have been interpreted as belonging to the site of a battle, a field hospital, or to victims of execution, comparable to the example of the Lindow Man discussed in the previous section. In 1848 two complete bodies were discovered at Vahlde, northern Germany. Their skulls were split and arrowheads were embedded within. They also lay with four arms and two legs that belonged to several different people and all limbs were severed by an axe, sword or knife (Coles and Coles 1989: 179). With this evidence it is possible to suggest that the use of the bog context related less to

commemorative rituals and more to the forgetting of otherness or social upheaval. Alternatively, the ritual aspect could be related to the remembering of war or conflict.

Reviewing the evidence of deposition in association with watery areas from northern Europe, water and the surrounding landscape were clearly a multifaceted medium within the overall ritual of deposition, owing to the range of objects being placed. Again, as with the British examples, a wider range of items than metalwork are evident from Bronze Age and Iron Age ritual deposits. However, the 'ritual' aspect of the deposits identified is highly variable. The collection of weapons finds from the boat deposit at Hjortspring, for example, contrasts with the bog bodies identified across northern Europe. These examples suggest that 'ritual' was not a straightforward concept being used to describe actions of thanksgiving and actions of discard. These issues regarding terminology will be addressed fully in Chapter 3. The following section will identify some of the extant evidence for comparable ritual deposits made into dry context types in Britain.

2.2.3 Dry context deposits in Britain

Comparable deposits to those recognised from watery contexts have also been excavated from a variety of dry contexts dating across the Iron Age from Britain and northwest Europe. A number of dry context types have been recognised as producing similar collections of metalwork and associated finds, from burials, to pits, to purpose-built shrines and temples and a limited number of examples will be considered here.

Metalwork deposits excavated from a number of pits dating from the later Iron Age across southern Britain have been investigated with two key examples from the hillfort sites at The Caburn, East Sussex, and Danebury hillfort, Hampshire. At The Caburn, a prominent hilltop enclosure, 140 chalk-cut pits were excavated with a number of these producing finds of weaponry, personal ornaments, other metalwork, human and animal remains. Not only did the presence of these items suggest a ritual interpretation, but the exact placing of the items in the pits reinforced the interpretation. Four of the pits produced weaponry, while another four pits produced personal ornaments, particularly beads and pins; a number of human and animal skulls were also recovered from several other pits (Hamilton 1998: 23-39). The middle fills of the pits also produced a number of finds, especially tools and some weaponry. At Danebury 5,000 pits have been recorded across the hillfort, the majority of which are believed to have been dug for the storage of grain. Once a pit had ceased to be of use it was filled with site waste; however a number produced ritual deposits (Cunliffe 1988: 40). These 'special burial deposits' (1988: 40) consisted of human burials of either the entire skeleton or of partial remains plus animal remains, quernstones, harnesses, iron tools and clay weights. These objects have been interpreted as offerings in thanks of a new crop, or requests for the

protection of the grain prior to planting (Cunliffe 1988: 40; Cunliffe 1993). The ritual landscape at Danebury was confirmed by a number of shrines constructed towards the centre of the hillfort. The remains of these rectangular buildings would have been identifiable on the skyline when complete. They were located beside a boundary road between an area of raised granaries and the zone of pits, occupying both a conspicuous position within the landscape and a liminal position on the boundary of the fort (Bradley 2005: 167). For the deposits at both The Caburn and Danebury it is clear that location was key to rituals of deposition, not only within the stratigraphy of the pit fills but also the siting of these context types and associated activities at the highest point of each site's situation.

The evidence for shrines within southern Britain is not extensive for the Iron Age, although those that have been discovered have provided clear evidence of structured deposition. At Thetford, East Anglia, a shrine was built over the remains of a settlement. The sequence has been dated to the 4th century BC through to the 1st century AD with the ceremonial centre occupying a conspicuous position set apart from day-to-day activities. A number of human and associated animal remains have been recovered, confirming the ritual nature of the deposit (Cunliffe 2005: 565; Bradley 2005). The most notable British sanctuary of the Iron Age is the example from Hayling Island, off the south coast and a part of Hampshire. Here an Iron Age shrine was established in the early to mid-1st century BC on the highest point of the island, visible from a distance and on the approach. The circular shrine was set inside a square enclosure, focussed around a central pit and bounded by gullies (Downey *et al* 1979: 3; Bradley 2005). It is believed the central pit held a ritual post or stone. The material deposited in association with this structure came from a layer of loam surrounding the shrine and in the ditches, gullies and pits, with some of the metalwork finds appearing to have been deliberately broken or bent prior to deposition. Some finds were also grouped around areas of burnt gravel or mudstone signifying possible offering points (Downey *et al* 1980: 289-305; Bradley 2005: 7). These deposits consisted of large numbers of personal ornaments, mostly bronze but also shale and glass, horse and vehicle trappings, sword fragments, spearheads recovered in the area of the north east cella porch, several broken currency bars shaped like swords, 92 Iron Age coins, a lower quernstone associated with a spearhead, animal bone assemblages with a distinct lack of cattle bones, and human remains: a badly preserved cranium fragment and a mandible (Downey *et al* 1979: 7). The shrine at Hayling Island continued in use as a cult site when it was developed into a larger stone-built temple in the Early Roman period, comparable to a number of the continental examples (Section 2.2.4), such as the shrine complex at Gournay-sur-Aronde, northwest France. The site went out of use by the early 3rd century AD and by this time the main finds deposited consisted of fibulae

and other personal ornaments, coins, and pottery vessels, which may have been used to bring offerings to the site (Downey *et al* 1979: 14).

The final dry-site context type to be explored here is that of burials. Graves are inherently 'ritual' therefore it is assumed that all finds accompanying the body were either used in the funerary ritual and/or intended as grave goods. This applies to the finds recovered from a 'warrior' burial (inhumations with weapons [Johnson 2002: 14]) at Kirkburn, East Yorkshire (James and Rigby 1997: 24). Dated to the 3rd century BC, the body was recovered clothed in a chain mail shirt and accompanied by a dismantled chariot-type vehicle. Also from this area was the burial of a man believed to be a blacksmith accompanied by a sword to confirm his profession. A similar burial was recovered at Whitcomb, Dorset where a swordsman was buried with a hammer and bow-drill (James and Rigby 1997: 38).

Also in Yorkshire (North Yorkshire and Humberside) are a group of burials dating to between the 4th century to late 2nd century BC recognised as the 'Arras tradition' (Darvill 1987: 158; Cunliffe 2005: 84-6) after the cemetery of the same name, which was excavated at the beginning of the 20th century. The graves originally lay in pits under barrows surrounded by square ditches. Goods common to most of the graves included personal ornaments, pottery, knives and swords, and pig bones. At least ten of the burials were recovered with the remains of wheeled vehicles, described as carts or chariots, with the cart/chariot addition to the grave goods placed in both male and female burials. (Darvill 1987: 158).

From the Late Iron Age in southern Britain, burials started to become more apparent. Here, also, the range of burial goods was not confined to metalwork. Sue Hamilton (2007: 81-107) has identified a number of cremations and inhumations from the 'British Eastern Channel area' buried with a variety of grave goods including food offerings, pottery vessels, and wooden vessels as well as weapons and personal ornaments. For example, at Mill Hill, Kent, five cremation burials and one 'warrior' burial were recovered. Two of the five cremations were recovered with animal food offerings, each comprising a piece of a pig and one whole fowl (all un-cremated), whilst the rest of the burials contained bronze and iron brooches and other personal ornaments. The 'warrior' burial included an iron sword, scabbard, shield, crown, and decorated headband all dating the burial to the early 2nd century BC (Hamilton 2007: 81-107). At the comparable site of Brisley Farm, Kent two 'warrior' burials, dating to AD 20-70, were recovered, each with a pig's head placed in the graves as well as a sword, shield boss, personal ornaments and pottery vessels. Surrounding the two burials were enclosure ditches within which deposits of a deliberately broken pottery vessel and cremated and burnt animal bone were made, suggesting funeral feasting and veneration of the graves into the Early Roman period (Johnson 2002 14, 16; Hamilton 2007: 81-107). Other burials

within this area include a cremation from Westhawk Farm, Kent, dated to the early 1st century AD, interred with a wooden bucket, one ceramic platter and fragmented copper alloy objects including a jug and bowl. One Late Iron Age cremation burial from Chilham Castle, near Canterbury, Kent comprised a mirror, brooches and pottery vessel fragments, and is believed to be the grave of a woman owing to the find-types (Hamilton 2007: 81-107).

The conspicuous display of metalwork as part of funerary rituals is seen as similar in motivation to displays of metalwork as part of rituals associated with watery deposits. The availability of ores was few and far between, therefore the control over extraction and distribution of such a product would mean wealth and power for the community and the individual at the head of that community. Thus the burial of items like these would signify the access to and control of such precious material inaccessible to the majority (James and Rigby 1997: 62). However, burial sites can also be seen as maintaining the continuity of ritual deposition, possibly for the purposes of ancestor veneration, as seen at Brisley Farm.

The variety of dry contexts receiving objects comparable to those deposits made in or in association with watery contexts in Britain suggests that ritual deposition was not limited to one specific sphere. From the evidence reviewed above it can be seen that a variety of dry contexts were used for the same range of objects found in watery contexts with no clear preference. Pits, graves, ditches and gullies have all produced ritual deposits with similar ranges of objects that cross-cut their contexts. What adds to the interpretation of these finds as 'ritual' is the location of the context, for example at the boundaries or hilltops of hillforts, and in proximity to shrines and temples, as well as their provenance in cremation pits and inhumations. The following section will examine a number of continental examples of dry context deposits and determine whether comparable trends to those identified in Britain are evident.

2.2.4 Dry context deposits on the Continent

Similar to The Caburn and Danbury hillfort deposits, a cache of 40 sword fragments, 20 lance points and other iron objects were recovered buried at a shallow depth within 600m² on a hilltop in Altenburg, North Hesse, Germany dated to the Late Iron Age (Wells 2007: 470-8). Burnt offering places have also been identified within northwest Europe with offerings of weaponry and other metalwork. Such places have been especially identified throughout the Alpine foothills and central upland regions of Europe. For example, at Forggensee, a lake in Bavaria, Germany, the flatland on the shore of the lake produced the remains of weaponry and other metalwork in an area of burning dating from the Late Iron Age through to the Roman period. It is believed this area of flatland was used to enable people to view the rituals

performed from a distance, though the proximity of the lake cannot be unimportant (Wells 2007: 470-8).

Specially constructed enclosures across Germany have also produced similar metalwork find-types. At Nordheim, Wurttemberg, eight iron shield bosses together with a Roman amphora were recovered in a small, Late Iron Age rectangular enclosure (Wells 2007: 470-8). This example is relatively modest both in size and amount of deposits. A number of larger sanctuaries, similar to the examples identified in southern Britain, have been excavated across the Continent with a long history of depositional activity, producing evidence of continuity into the Roman period. At Acy-Romance, northern France, an important ceremonial centre was established in the 2nd century BC and occupied for 200 years (Bradley 2005: 176). In the domestic area of the site, which produced evidence of barn buildings, rectangular houses and raised granaries, a number of grain storage pits were excavated with similar fills to those seen at The Caburn and Danebury. The pits produced quantities of human bone as well as other site waste from industrial processes, with parts of one body divided between a series of pits. A number of shrines was also identified separated from the domestic areas of the site. One of the shrines was located in the centre of the settlement within a D-shaped enclosure and produced quantities of animal remains in ditches and pits, particularly cattle and horse. Another shrine on the site housed a well, which produced finds of axe heads, an iron hammer, a sickle and a triangular loom weight (Bradley 2005: 176).

A sanctuary in Montmartin, northwest France, produced similar finds to those from Acy-Romance. Located on a promontory between a river valley and a dry valley, the site consisted of an outer enclosure interpreted as a high-status settlement, and an inner ditch that marked the limit of the sanctuary. The site was occupied from the 3rd century BC through to 100 BC when it was destroyed by fire (Bradley 2005: 180). The finds from the outer enclosure produced evidence of a community rich in craft activities including wood working, leather working and iron working. The inner sanctuary produced evidence of votive offerings, predominantly weaponry and human skulls but also animal bones and brooches (Bradley 2005: 180-1).

Comparable in date, finds and site-type is the sanctuary at Gournay-sur-Aronde, close to Montmartin in northwest France. Established in the early 3rd century BC this rectangular sanctuary was enclosed by a ditch and bank beyond. By the mid-3rd century BC a large, oval pit in the western half of the enclosure was dug, along with nine other smaller pits orientated with the post structures, into which votive offerings, particularly weaponry and animals, were placed and then transferred into the surrounding ditch originally used to ring the sanctuary but then replaced by a palisade placed on the bank (Derks 1998; Bradley 1998: 176). By the

beginning of the 2nd century BC, an un-roofed timber structure was erected around the pits and a second ditch dug around the outside of the bank to further enclose the ritual locale. The un-roofed structure was then replaced in the late 2nd century BC to early 1st century BC by a timber-roofed structure. It was during this latest phase that the timber structure and palisade burnt down and the central pit and ditches were filled in. In the second half of the 1st century BC the site was completely reconstructed with the establishment of a temple with dry-stone foundations, a hearth located where the earlier central pit had been and a narrow ditch dug to demarcate the north and south sides of the cult site. From the Early Roman period the site went out of use until the Middle to Late Roman period, making Gournay one of the oldest cult locations in northwest Europe and one of the few known sanctuary sites with prehistoric origins (Derks 1998: 176).

Comparable evidence of ritual deposition in dry contexts was clearly taking place across continental Europe during the Iron Age. The presence of sanctuaries with deposits in ditches, pits and gullies appears to be a longer-lived tradition in northwest Europe than in Britain. What this evidence confirms is the need to examine all contexts producing evidence of structured deposition to be able to fully understand the nature of ritual deposition taking place during the period in question.

2.2.5 Summary of Iron Age practices of structured deposition

After reviewing a selection of key sites exploring Iron Age practices of structured deposition there appears to be a general consensus that the interpretation of water in a ritual context will not be truly understood aside from the supposition that it is a liminal interface between the earthly and the supernatural worlds (Rogers 2008: 43). In a bid to unravel structured deposition and associated ritual activities, archaeologists need to look at wider contextual associations of shrines, houses, funerary practices, agricultural practices, landscape alteration and perception (Insoll 2004: 152). Examining dry-context deposits allows for a fuller exploration of episodes of deposition during the Iron Age period. From the evidence examined in this chapter, it is clear that contexts and landscape need to be coupled with finds evidence to enable a full and richer interpretation of ritual practices of the past rather than treating each as exclusive points of discussion.

Whilst the context types used in episodes of ritual deposition cannot be easily characterised during the Iron Age period, the key find-type identified within such episodes appears to be the use of metalwork, particularly weaponry and personal ornaments. However, other key deposits including human remains, animal remains and pottery vessels also seem to be significant to individual episodes of deposition. These key find-types will be re-examined in the analysis stage of this investigation.

It has been accepted that ritual in prehistory was transmitted orally and through specific actions rather than through scripture (Stead 1985: 66). As a result 'it is difficult to be objective on what might characterize a highly ritually charged 'special deposit'' (Hamilton 1998: 31). Into the Roman period it may be possible to trace these ritual activities and associated deposits in a more objective way, in part through written evidence. However, according to Ton Derks (1998: 241), 'what the incorporation in the Roman Empire entailed for the religious life of the peoples settled here [northwest Europe] has scarcely been a subject for research so far.' The following section will examine the extant studies regarding 'ritual' deposition identified during the Roman period in Britain and northwest Europe and how socio-cultural changes impacted ritual practices and structured deposition. However, before I discuss material culture changes, I review the arguments surrounding these socio-cultural changes, and discuss the meaning and use of the term 'Romanisation'.

2.3 What is 'Romanisation' and in what ways has it been perceived to have impacted on social and material life in Britain and northwest Europe?

The amount of literature dedicated to the transition from the Iron Age to the Roman period in terms of the continuation or adaptation of indigenous rituals and spiritual traditions in northwest Europe is relatively small compared to literature discussing pre-Roman practices. The rest of this chapter will examine the impact the Roman occupation had on the material culture of Britain and northwest Europe including the ritual sphere.

2.3.1 Introduction

It is undeniable, as Philip Freeman (1997: 438) states, that: 'For more than 600 years, the city of Rome [created and] possessed an 'empire' made up of a number of administered regions known as provinces.' What is debatable is the extent of the impact on local cultures, social structures and traditions that this empire had incorporated, especially across Britain and northwest Europe. Through archaeological evidence coupled with the remaining, largely biased, social commentaries written by the incoming imperial administrators, we know that the communities of Britain and northwest Europe had a long history of contact with the Roman world prior to official annexation into the Empire, resulting in an everyday life influenced by certain attitudes, styles, customs and actions emanating from the Empire through the sphere of influence it held over her neighbours and eventual subjects (Millett 1990: 40). Bearing in mind that the Roman Empire eventually stretched from North Africa in the south through to Scotland in the north there were a remarkable number of people who were conquered and with them a vast number of cultures and societies who were integrated and combined under one ruling force. It cannot be assumed, however, that this entire population ever formed one homogenous culture (Mattingly 2004: 9). What is more likely is

that different varieties of 'Roman' identity were constructed and in turn different ideas about what being 'non-Roman' meant became more apparent (Mattingly 2004: 9).

Before discussions about these different identities can be broached it must first be determined who the 'Romans' actually were and how the different peoples of Europe were so drastically affected both socially and culturally by this empire. The term 'Romanisation' often comes into play when discussing changes at this time to the population. 'Romanisation' in itself has caused much contention in academic circles, in particular whether it is a term that should persist or be done away with when describing and explaining cultural changes that began to take place over 2000 years ago. As Colin Haselgrove and Tom Moore (2007: 10) have stated, 'current research is moving away from the Romanisation paradigm that has dominated Later Iron Age research for the last twenty years.' When examining and assessing the use of the term 'Romanisation' it must first be determined where the term itself originated, and in what context, before examining the different critiques of the term and its use that more contemporary academics have developed. Once this has been done it can then be better determined whether it is still appropriate to use the term 'Romanisation', particularly within the context of this investigation.

The arguments surrounding the use of the term 'Romanisation' cannot, however, be based on theoretical themes and discussions alone. The material record must be consulted to understand fully how and where cultural change took place. It is important to determine whether acculturation across a wide population and the import of certain items and customs of a Roman or Italian origin were used by those wishing to emulate communities from Rome itself, or were being adopted and adapted in different ways by societies alien to Rome, as 'Romans' spread further from the centre of the Empire (Woolf 1995: 9). Therefore, to understand cultural variation within the Empire it is essential to assess how identity on a smaller scale was constructed through material culture evidence in general, i.e. imported goods, art, architecture, language and organised customs, as well as ritual practices (Mattingly 2002: 540).

The following sections will examine all of these issues surrounding 'Romanisation' by questioning who the Romans were, how cultural change took place across northwest Europe, and whether it is still appropriate, especially within the context of this investigation, to continue to use the much debated term of 'Romanisation'.

2.3.2 The origins of the term 'Romanisation'

'Romanisation', as a term, was not invented and used by the populace of Rome to describe their own influence but one created later to label the activities and material culture of a

widespread population that can now be recognised in hindsight (Freeman 1997; Hingley 2000: 111).The two major scholars who have been associated with the early emergence and use of 'Romanisation' from the late 19th century through to the early 20th century are Francis Haverfield and the German academic Theodor Mommsen. In Haverfield's view in particular, in his text *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (1912), 'Romanisation' occurred relatively quickly as a consequence of Roman foreign policy and military organisation directed at the northern Empire, particularly the so-called 'upper classes', whom the rest of the populace would emulate. The people of these lands protected by the Roman legions were given the status of citizens and as a result the indigenous populations were, in Haverfield's view, 'assimilated' and 'denationalised'. This is what Haverfield theorised as the beginning of 'Romanisation' (Hingley 2000: 114).

Haverfield's definitions of 'Romanisation' were theoretically culture-historical and diffusionist in their themes; i.e., civilisation was spread via the social elites to the 'primitive' and 'uncivilised', and he also believed that once the Roman Empire began to decline, social and cultural aspects once popular in the pre-Roman world began to reappear as the Saxons moved into Britain, reappearing from peripheral areas less affected by the Roman conquest, such as Cornwall, Ireland and northern Britain (Hingley 2000: 124-5). It is interesting to note that Haverfield's theoretical ideas of 'Romanisation', being a force that completely transformed the population of Britain from supposed barbarians to civilised people, was nonetheless reversible, as he believed that these socio-cultural changes did not last much longer than the period of conquest and did not completely remove the attributes of pre-Roman culture in the indigenous population. Haverfield saw the Roman Empire as more of a melting pot of different cultures and societies. 'Romanisation' was a two-way process of acculturation in which one culture did not completely over-write another, but the Roman and indigenous cultures interacted, creating a synthesised cultural form that Haverfield saw as 'Romanised' (Millett 1990: 1-2).

This point of view was subsequently championed by numerous scholars, including Sheppard Frere (1999: 297) when he stated that, 'There was a synthesis, intended by Rome, and welcomed by the British people as they came to realise the advantages of peace and wealth conferred by membership of the Empire.' However, whilst these scholars have popularised ideas of this form of acculturation and the term 'Romanisation', it has been accepted more and more in contemporary academic circles as an academic construct that is based solely on a modern day, Eurocentric point of view. It is now understood as a view that reflects the late 19th and early 20th century colonial and imperial world within which it emerged. Furthermore, there is criticism of the emphasis on emulation of the social elites and the idea of 'trickle down' effects to the rest of the local populace (Freeman 1997: 10 and 1993; Mattingly 2002:

537, 359). We will never truly know how the indigenous people of the regions affected by the spread of the Roman Empire felt and how they reacted to its actions. With the waning of various aspects of Roman culture in the 5th century AD, it is relevant to question Frere's words above – if incorporation into the Roman Empire was welcomed by the British people, then why did they revert to pre-Roman ways of living rather than perpetuate the lifestyle and living conditions popularised hitherto?

Whilst the likes of Haverfield and Frere argued that the Romans adopted an interventionist approach to cultural change, Martin Millett (1990), for example, argued that the Empire took a laissez-faire approach – Rome did not intend to impose its own culture onto indigenous populations. The Empire was primarily concerned with the security of the frontier and administrative responsibilities, such as tax collecting. 'Romanisation' was merely a by-product of such activities and required active participation in cultural and social changes by the locals, in particular those, again, regarded as socially superior (Millett 1990: 212; Grahame 1998: 2). In more recent years it is possible to see similar ways of thinking, which hold that 'Romanisation' was more of an unintended consequence of the spread of, and resistance to, the Empire. As Andreas Bendlin (1997: 39) speculated, negative indigenous reactions to the Imperial take-over could have acted to reinforce the differences between Roman and non-Roman identities and social actions: 'local resistance could be explained as a negative embodiment of that very same [Roman] identity, namely as an indigenous reaction against the political and cultural determinism which had fostered a particularly Roman way of behaviour or, as in the Greek case, threatened to destroy what was regarded as a superior cultural tradition.' From this point of view the term 'Romanisation' can be seen as being increasingly used to describe all post-conquest social and cultural changes, thus assigning all conquered areas a place within the Empire, whether or not they distanced themselves from Roman or preceding cultures (Woolf 1995: 10). Therefore, as described by Greg Woolf (1995: 14), 'Romanised' started to become the definition of those groups who were characterised, either by themselves or by observers, as those who possessed or did not possess certain common attributes dependent on place, time, customs and styles.

Whilst the active adoption or non-adoption of certain cultural or social aspects may have been occurring, resulting in widespread cultural changes, it is not to say that there would have been a straight line separating those who adopted changes and those who did not. It is more likely that certain aspects of so-called 'Roman' culture were adopted and adapted by indigenous populations, such as goods and certain social traits from the outside population. These aspects may have been adopted because they would have been cheaper and/or better quality goods, more efficient technology or more compelling social practices. As Freeman argues, following Percival (1987, cited in Freeman 1993: 444), from Britain's relatively recent colonial

experiences, certain aspects of British or European culture were adopted across the world; however this did not necessarily result in the abandonment of deep-seated traditional values and customs. This is not to say that 'Romanisation' can or should be compared directly to contemporary definitions of imperialism or globalisation, but from a modern perspective it is the closest thing we have to understand how cultural changes may have happened within the Roman Empire.

More recent definitions of the term 'Romanisation' see it as a cultural process that affected different individuals or groups of individuals in a distinctive way. If we are to accept these definitions then it has been argued that the term is no longer functional. In these terms, there is no single characteristic that can be defined as 'Roman' or a result of 'Romanisation'; rather Romanisation refers loosely to cultural and social changes that were occurring alongside the expansion of the Empire as a political entity (Mattingly 2002: 537). This is why the term 'Romanisation' has been re-evaluated more recently as more scholars attempt to understand what it means and whether it should continue to be used at all. It cannot be denied that whilst local experiences may have been different in reaction to the movement of the Empire, there were distinct features common across occupied areas, thus resulting in regional hybrids of Roman culture and society and subsequently in the ability of academics to label these features as Gallo-Roman, Romano-British, Hispano-Roman et cetera (Woolf 1992: 352; Freeman 1993). As Woolf states (1992: 352), there was 'something *particularly Roman* about the Roman Empire, some trait or cluster of traits that will only emerge from studies of what distinguished Romans among ancient conquerors.' This in itself is a huge undertaking, too complex to be explored and discussed fully within this investigation. Therefore, Section 2.3.4 will examine what, in terms of the most relevant aspects of material culture and social customs, came to contribute to the debate on the definition of 'Romanisation'. But first it must be established who the Romans were or who we believe them to have been.

2.3.3 Who were the Romans?

Many pre-suppose that the term 'Roman' refers to those people who originated from the city of Rome or perhaps Italy in general. It is true to say that Roman political and administrative expansion began with the city of Rome, then spread over much of Italy and into the surrounding Mediterranean territories, before moving further north across Gaul, Central Europe and on into Britain (Millett 1990: 2). However, with the continual movement of many thousands of people under the banner of Rome it is unrealistic to think that these people consisted solely of those moving outwards from the city of Rome. When looking at Roman Italy itself the state was culturally heterogeneous with distinctions having to be made between the early Italian Iron Age-Roman culture and the later Republican culture with its Hellenised

and Mediterranean components (Mattingly 2002: 538-9). Examining the wider Roman world, many different populations were incorporated into the Empire, thus creating a variety of cultural and social identities in the wake of the conquest, resulting in the academic terminologies Romano-British, Romano-African, Gallo-Roman, Syro-Roman et cetera. Therefore, what we see as Roman culture or identity did not come directly from Rome or Italy but was actually created by the various movements of soldiers, bureaucrats, traders, administrators and all those other individuals and communities right across the Empire (Mattingly 2004: 5).

When examining Roman identities on a smaller scale it is possible to see the origins of the various identities that made up the supposedly 'Roman' populations of different areas. One of the most effective ways the indigenous populations affected by the spread of the Empire were incorporated under the umbrella of 'Roman' culture was through the development and movements of the Empire's armies. Britain, for example, had one of the highest densities of army personnel within Roman occupied lands. It has been estimated that 10-12% of the army were accommodated in around 4% of occupied British territory, especially in the north and west (Mattingly 2004: 15). Of these soldiers a variety of cultural backgrounds were represented, including Germanic, Gallic, Spanish and Middle Eastern, as evidenced through epigraphic remains and other imports, which will be discussed in more detail in the following section. However, even within Britain itself the prior social and cultural make-up was not homogenous. Those indigenous to this island would not have named themselves 'Britons' but would have had their own localised identities. The invading Roman armies would have been confronted with a diverse population of different socio-cultural communities, each with its own individual political unit with locale-specific social formations, lifestyles, economies and material cultures (Millett 1990: 42; James 2001: 189; Mattingly 2004). Each loose unit had its own relationship with its neighbours and with the imperial armies; therefore even within Britain, and other countries within the Empire, identities such as Romano-British could be considered as too all-encompassing.

Examining the British example further, how the different communities around the island reacted to impending annexation into the Empire needs to be examined. It has been argued that the island's incorporation into the Empire came as a consequence of the British dynasts' (from southern Britain) close ties through trade, kinship and alliance to the Gallic nobility. As a consequence of these ties, and those established through the Julio-Claudian house during Caesar's initial interventions, the area of the northwest Provinces was connected to the systems of Rome even before official annexation (Creighton 2000: 214; James 2001: 195). In contrast, the northern uplands of Britain chose resistance and independence from Rome rather than incorporation. Various questions have arisen and theories put forward as to why

incorporation was less favoured by the peoples of the north. It is possible their pastoral lifestyle was less compatible with the structures of Rome, or that these communities were not successfully linked into the social networks that spread as a result of the Empire's reach, such as those identified in the pre-AD 43 period in southern Britain. Whatever the reason, the differences effectively created two halves of the island: the self-governing lowlands as the 'civil zone', and the more unstable, military-dominated uplands, as the 'military zone' (James 2001: 196). Compared to the urbanised lowland zone, the military zone was sparsely settled in terms of towns, and the villas were lacking. Widespread socio-cultural changes in material culture were also quite minimal in the north, although this could be partly down to the acidic nature of the soil unable to preserve such material evidence rather than the lack of adoption by the populace. These ideas will be discussed further in the analysis stage of this investigation. Once the Roman army set up a permanent frontier in the uplands, their presence may have interrupted and replaced indigenous power structures, stunting any potential growth and development of the local populations. Perhaps the social, cultural, political and economic changes resulted in different forms of Romano-British identities, rather than straight-forward resistance to those influences established in southern Britain and Gaul (James 2001: 197).

Not all areas across Europe were resistant to the presence and influence of the imperial armies. The Lower Rhine in the 1st century AD has been recognised as one of the major recruitment areas for Roman auxiliary troops (Roymans 1995: 58). The reasoning behind the use of troops from this area has been related to the presence of an organised warrior elite leading the social/'tribal' systems known to have been common at this time. The Lower Rhine, much like Britain, has been recognised as accommodating various identities. Whilst we may refer to their presence within Roman armies and the Empire as Germanic or Romano-German, these terms refer to a collection of different social units. At the time of Caesar's conquest, the name '*Germani*' referenced small social groups who settled on either side of the Lower Rhine. These groups were stereotyped as the 'barbarian other' in Roman ethnographies (Roymans 1995: 62; Woolf 1995). Therefore, the label 'Germans' was a term created by southern European Romans. As Roymans confirms (1995: 62), '[German was] an ethnic-cultural macro-term [which] is largely a Roman construction.' This, however, does not resolve the argument of who the Romans were. It establishes that the Romans were largely a collection of various small social units brought together under the banner of the political entity that was the Empire. But who were the Romans who were coining terms such as 'German' and 'Briton'? It is supposed that if these were terms invented to label the populations of northwest Europe then they were invented and used by those from Rome or Mediterranean areas of the Empire.

As stated above, the army was perhaps the main means of transporting and absorbing large numbers of different populations into the folds of the Empire, thus perpetuating a 'metropolitan Roman culture' (Mattingly 2004: 5), partly through rewarding service with citizenship. The military was an important part of social life and economic systems. The success of the Roman Empire was dependant on 'wars of conquest' (Millett 1990: 3), therefore making those inducted into the Empire's armies an important asset in its continuing growth and power. Military life also offered many benefits to the young men recruited, especially social advancement. As with those men recruited from the communities of the Lower Rhine, most of the young men were probably drawn from provincial warrior cultures and this may have allowed many outside these warrior circles to bypass traditional local systems to achieve status and access new forms of wealth otherwise unknown or unavailable to them (Millett 1990: 60; Woolf 1995: 12). As further territories were annexed, more soldiers recruited, and more populations moved alongside the imperial armies, those 'Romans' who came through to the northwest territories would have been closer to provincial populations culturally and socially than the populations located close to the imperial core of Rome and the Mediterranean. This does not mean, however, that no one of a southern European identity did not make it to the northern-most reaches of the Empire, as will be examined in the following section.

Citizenship in the Empire did not come only as a consequence of serving in Roman armies. With the institutionalisation of the Roman Empire, administrative systems, which were established across the various pre-existing political units and states annexed by the Empire, had to be run by the indigenous population once the armies had moved on. It tended to be the local social elites who acted as agents of the imperial government, maintaining and running administrative systems, collecting taxes and enforcing the compliance of new laws created by the ruling power, thus reinforcing the power of the indigenous ruling elite. The majority of the population were not consulted regarding socio-political changes (Millett 1990: 58; Woolf 1995; James 2001). Some new prohibitions forbidden to all Roman subjects included polygamy, human sacrifice, slaving within the Empire, and there was also the definitive separation of civilian and military sectors (Woolf 1995: 12). It was the individuals who allied themselves with the new imperial power and complied with the new laws and exactions who have been described by David Mattingly (2004: 10) as occupying Romano-indigenous duality. In his example, Mattingly describes the Romano-Britons as the group who were most completely integrated into Roman life, and tended to be the urban or governing elite, rural villa owners, merchants and town dwellers. Those participating in only some form of Roman life are excluded, because this definition labels too wide a group. It does seem from this perspective that those who perpetuated the 'Roman cultural revolution' (James 2001: 199)

were the socially advanced, but this does not necessarily explain the entirety of the nature and processes of cultural changes occurring at this time, as Section 2.3.4 will explore.

The fact that the Roman population was not genealogically homogenous and that being 'Romanised' did not require claims to a common line of descent from Rome meant that it is likely to have been relatively simple to become a Roman citizen. The people of the Empire were a diverse federation brought together under the rule of Rome rather than a homogenous social, cultural, ethnic and even administrative block (Millett 1990: 8; James 2001). Even the concepts of 'Roman-ness' or *romanitas* (what it means to be 'Roman'), which occurs in much of the literature dedicated to the debate on the Romans and 'Romanisation', were not terms widely acknowledged in Roman literature and wider society. *Romanitas*, never properly defined, can only be traced back to circa AD 200. This term is 'essentially a modern conceptual fiction, projecting anachronistic nationalist notions of a shared...community identity into a past where they hardly existed' (James 2001: 200). The next question in this debate is what material evidence in the archaeological record is available to provide indicators of the adoption of 'different lifeways' (Moore 2007, cited in Haselgove and Moore 2007: 56-7) merging or overtaking those that existed before the spread of the Roman Empire?

2.3.4 The use of the material record to establish evidence of socio-cultural changes during the expansion of the Roman Empire across northwest Europe

So far my examination of 'Romanisation' has been largely a critique of extant theories and assumptions. Debates surrounding 'Romanisation' have tended to concentrate on interpretations of the actions of elite members of society as stimulating socio-cultural changes at the time in question. As Mattingly (2004: 9) acknowledges, the 'Romanisation' paradigm has always represented a top-down approach. To enrich this debate we need to look at the material culture available in the archaeological record to assess emerging patterns that may relate to a wider selection of social groups, not just those deemed to be elites. This is not to say that those who had higher status in society did not play an important role in socio-cultural changes, but we must acknowledge the impact these changes had on social subordinates also. Woolf (1995: 9-10) has determined four developments common in provincial societies during the formative period of the Roman Empire, including the importance of the elite members of society in aiding in the distribution of new social and cultural changes. The four developments are as follows:

1. Initial time lag between the acquisition of new cultural influences and the capacity for the receiving society to realise them. For example, the adoption of stone as the main building material took a while before quarries were sourced, distribution systems were set in place and designs were available to emulate.

2. ‘New elements appeared in provincial cultures’, which were translated from the centre of the Empire. This relates to point one above, where Roman building techniques coupled with classical designs were producing various imitations of building styles across the outskirts of the Empire.

3. ‘New styles spread throughout local societies’, initially through adoption by social superiors and then by their social subordinates in attempts at emulation or merely exposure to new styles and ways of living. For example, fashion, feasting and domestic technology amongst others.

4. Provincial cultures took part in Empire-wide changes, for example the establishment of the classical-style city not only in structure and layout but administration and other governing systems, social structures, customs and beliefs. (Wolf 1995: 9-10)

Once these developments have been determined we can better understand how the various elements of material culture that made their way to the provinces were able to infiltrate the different societies and became a part of the evolving socio-cultural scene. Again, Woolf (1995: 13; see also Grahame 1998: 5-6) has theorised how such changes may have been absorbed. As stated above the adoption of Empire-wide changes included an almost uniform infrastructure and system of administration that served to control a huge variety of societies and their activities, which were spread over a vast area. Laws established from the centre were enforced over all subjects of the Empire to bring the Imperial state closer to both individuals and entire communities. Mediators in provincial communities were tasked with enforcing these laws and other administrative tasks communicated from the centre, the most obvious mediators being local social elites who already held positions of power prior to their territory being annexed by the Roman Empire. It would have been through these mediators that new forms of material culture could find their way into societal circles, either in unchanged forms or manipulated and adapted by the receiving society. For example, the staging of gladiatorial games in both Gaul and Asia tended to be traced to areas where local elites came into close contact with imperial administrators and associated travellers (Woolf 1995: 13). These gladitorial displays were not exclusive to areas of local elite/imperial contact but were apparent in Britain also. This suggests that relationships between social elites and imperial officials existed here also. Evidence of earthen amphitheatres has emerged from locations such as London, Cirencester, Silchester, Dorchester, Chichester, Richborough, Caerwent and Carmarthen (Frere 1999: 301). It is unsure whether these attest to forms of gladiatorial display or to arms training. However, in addition to these amphitheatres, epigraphic evidence has been recovered suggesting that many gladiators were recruited from the provinces and were part of a recognised form of entertainment and display. Other

evidence includes a bronze gladiatorial helmet recovered close to Bury St. Edmunds, gladiatorial scenes depicted on Caistor ware from Colchester and Nene Valley potters, statuettes of gladiators from South Shields and London, and a mosaic of cupids dressed and impersonating gladiators at Bignor Villa (West Sussex) dating to the late 4th century AD (Frere 1999: 301).

The ways in which new aspects of material culture were generated in the provinces of the Empire have been considered, but now we must examine which aspects of material culture were affected and why. It is more difficult to determine the meaning and value of material culture than it is to uncover the regimes of the imperial administrative systems, but these value systems are just as important in understanding cultural and/or symbolic systems that existed at this time and help us to understand what kind of changes were taking place across society both to individual identities and on a community-wide scale (Woolf 1995: 13). M. Grahame (1998: 3) has argued that 'archaeologists have come increasingly to the view that material culture is not an incidental product of society, but is rather integral to it.' This means that all material products are made and used by humans, and we give them meaning in spaces to which we also give meaning, but such spaces also determine our behaviour. However, we must be careful in our interpretations of material culture to avoid adopting assumptions based on modern conditions about the nature of Roman intentions towards provincial societies and their populations (Grahame 1998: 1). Additionally 'If the material world is so integral to the constitution of identity then a change to the material world must imply a change to the social practices through which identities are created' (Grahame 1998: 4). Thus, when examining the material record during the time of the transition from the LPRIA to Roman Imperial rule across the provinces the changes that are apparent should, theoretically, suggest a change in social conditions and hence identities occurring in conjunction. These changes will be examined in more detail below.

a. Religious and ritual material culture

Where the debate has centred around the adoption of new forms of material culture, initially by those higher up in society with a trickle-down effect influencing their social subordinates, the process was not necessarily one directional as not every single member of any society is entirely governed by the social and cultural agendas of the socially dominant (James 2001: 200-1). Therefore, those who were of lower social standing must be acknowledged also as creating new cultural forms on their own terms. As Ruth Whitehouse and John Wilkins (1995: 119-121; see also Millett 1990) have argued, the importing of prestige goods from outside the established communities allowed individuals to attain higher status or displays of wealth through the acquisition of such goods and the adoption of a certain lifestyle. However, whist

the poorer members of society may have aspired to live like the affluent, they may have adopted only those aspects of the imported culture that they could afford or that appealed to them, thus resulting in regional variations in the adoption and adaptation of Rome-inspired goods and ways of living. Therefore communities across the Empire were not 'Roman' like those from Rome but formed their own distinct hybrid culture, as evidenced through their material culture (Hingley 2000: 120). This idea can be most readily applied to religious and ritual practices across the provinces, the focus of this investigation, and the evidence of which will be considered, in part, below.

It is widely believed, from a contemporary perspective, that religious practices were an 'additive extension of an open system' (Bendlin 1997: 53; Millett 1995), meaning that any changes affecting religious and ritual practices extended rather than replaced pre-existing systems, as per Hingley's ideas discussed above. As such there are a variety of examples apparent in the archaeological and epigraphic records that can attest to such changes. One of the most visible ways this extension is seen to have occurred is through votive inscriptions, which name a provincial deity alongside a classical god (Webster 1995: 154; see also Alcock 1965; Henig, 1984 and 2004; Millett 1995). Inscriptions have been recovered from both private shrines and public temples or alternative sites of worship. These dual namings have been recognised widely from across northwest Europe. Derks (1998: 242) has theorised that they enabled Northern Gallic communities in particular to preserve something of their own god's original identity whilst at the same time emphasising their loyalty to the Roman cause. There are a large variety of indigenous deities that have been associated with a limited number of Roman gods. Mars, Mercury, Hercules, Apollo and Silvanus appear to be the most prevalent, though this list is not exclusive. In Britain, one of the most well known couplings of deities of this time is that of Sulis Minerva in association with the hot springs at Bath (Cunliffe 1969; 1988; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985), whilst continental examples of deity syncretism can be found at a variety of sanctuaries. Dedications to Apollo and Silvanus have been evidenced across large parts of the Gallo-Germanic provinces. They too have often been linked to a water source, such as the sanctuary of Essarios, Cote-d'Or dedicated to Apollo Vindonnus and the Fontes, deities apparently worshipped for their healing powers owing to the number of stone votives in the form of limbs and other body parts recovered from the source (Derks 1998: 243). At Empel, Holland an inscription was discovered dedicated by a Batavian veteran for Hercules Magusanus dating to AD 96. In addition to the inscription was the temple itself. Influenced by classical architectural designs, this Gallo-Roman temple also provided the focus for comparable offerings as identified during the Iron Age, including various military items, signet rings and seal boxes. These items suggest that not only were military personnel important in this society but that Magusanus was a deity associated with

warfare and was a local variant of Hercules (Derks 1998: 243). Jane Webster (1995: 157, 161), however, argues that whilst the tradition of deity syncretism did occur across the northwest provinces and did make the Iron Age deities more visible within the archaeological record, it can be interpreted as a form of mastery with Latin-literate, incoming populations mis-labelling and mis-characterising indigenous deities and assuming that all gods were the same everywhere. From this perspective the tradition of syncretism actually tells us little about the pre-Roman Iron Age deities of the northwest provinces. Large proportions of pairings have been made with the classical war-god, Mars and could reflect, according to Webster (1995: 161), the concerns of the imperial soldiers and the nature of the population that they were conquering. However, it is also possible that the syncretism of many local deities with classical war-like gods reflects the nature and character of those applying the duality i.e. the imperial soldiers and those associated with the military.

It was not only through religious means that epigraphic evidence demonstrated the influence of Roman social structures on pre-Roman communities. An inscription on the Arch of Claudius in Rome shows that the arch was dedicated in AD 52 with the names of 11 kings who formally submitted to Claudius. These kings have been identified as the leaders of the Iceni, Brigantes, Atrebates, Cantiaci and part of the Dobunni (Millett 1990: 46). This epigraphic evidence reflects the influence of socio-political changes on the societal elites, as discussed above, providing evidence that certain provincial aristocratic regimes 'actively sought engagement with Rome' (James 2001: 193).

Whilst it is believed that the literary culture of the Roman army, associated administrators and bureaucrats was part of Rome's 'centralised communication system' (Bendlin 1997: 44), epigraphic evidence is not wholly reliable. As J.C. Mann (1985: 206) argues, the use of stone by those in the army was not universal. Men from non-inscription-using societies would inevitably have joined the army, and not all would have adopted the practice of setting up stones giving any indication of their origins and/or beliefs. Therefore, as material evidence, use of stone is very limited, especially for the time in question, with a minority of the population being literate and even fewer of these people leaving inscriptions in stone (Millett 1995: 95). Carved and inscribed stones do not give much of an indication of local beliefs or ways of life but rather beliefs of the foreign incomers who originated from stone-using areas. This is particularly true of the areas of prolonged Roman military occupation of northern and western Britain, where epigraphic evidence is more common compared to the civil zone to the south (Millett 1995: 95).

Much material evidence is only able to suggest that those aspects that were manipulated with socio-cultural changes were the superficial aspects of ritual, such as the increased use of

engraved and inscribed stone, rather than the actual belief system (Millett 1995: 95). As the evidence discussed above suggests, the limited epigraphic evidence of deity syncretism shows that in certain places across northwest Europe, the worship of pre-Roman indigenous gods and goddesses was not abandoned or expelled either by force or in favour of the new. This suggests that the conquering of religion and ritual practices were an unlikely avenue of wider imperial control. It is possible that there were distinct similarities between northern religious practices and those of the Mediterranean, thus aiding in the spread of the Empire, either in gaining the trust of the annexed communities and/or easing the conquering armies in settling into the newly acquired territories. However, as discussed in the previous section, it must be remembered that those who were incorporated into the Roman armies originated from the conquered territories; therefore soldiers recruited from the northwest reaches of the Empire would have shared religious practices (Millett 1995: 99).

Thus one way pre-Roman religious practices were affected was that they were sometimes made conspicuous through inscriptions or the written word. The places of pre-Roman practices were also affected. Sanctuaries or sites of ritual activity tended to persist into the Roman period but were either replaced or enhanced through the construction of a permanent, roofed structure (Lewis 1966: 5; Henig 1984). The remains of Romano-indigenous temple sites are relatively common across the northern provinces in particular. It is precisely these remains that Martin Henig (2004: 220) has determined as one of the 'recognisable, sometimes even predominant, element[s] which can be called Roman, even in an outlying province like Britain'. The construction of square or rectangular buildings was translated into stone and the addition of altars in such structures during the Roman occupation became a widespread phenomenon, such as the temples at Caesar's Camp (Heathrow), Danebury and South Cadbury (Somerset) in Britain, with perhaps the most well known Romano-British temple site being that of Bath (Somerset), where official involvement in the cult has been widely recognised as greater than elsewhere in Britain. The temple at Bath has been identified as having more in common with forms in Rome and the wider Mediterranean, whilst the sanctuary was larger and richer than elsewhere in the region, though the practices carried out in Bath were no different to those recognised at other sites across Britain and sanctuary sites within the mainland provinces at this time (Henig 1984: 125).

Among these ritual and religious practices, it is possible to trace traditions of watery deposition through into the period of imperial rule. The practice of watery deposits suggests that socio-cultural influences worked in both directions. There are a number of sites dating from the period of Roman occupation where the deposition of items into watery areas has taken place. One trend noticeable at this time is the use of wells as part of these activities. Webster (1997, cited in Hingley 2006: 228) reviewed Iron Age wells from across Britain and

found that very few contained significant deposits or those indicative of ritual activities, therefore suggesting that the use of wells and pits in this fashion was a purely Roman phenomenon. The Roman fort of Newstead in the Scottish Borders is possibly the most well known site, where a vast number of wells and pits produced large amounts of material, including metalwork and building debris, as well as animal and human remains (Curle 1911; Ross and Feachem 1976). Another site within this area of the province that produced interesting finds from well features is that of the fort of Bar Hill in Strathclyde. Whilst only two wells were identified from this fort, a significant amount of material was unearthed from one well in particular, including a complete iron tyre (Robinson *et* al 1975; Hingley 2006: 228). It is possible that units from the Roman army who occupied the northern reaches of the province either indulged in or continued with known practices similar in nature to those that were being practiced prior to their arrival. Elsewhere in Britain a number of Roman sites, including villas, had two wells – one functional and one containing a large amount of objects known in other contexts as ritual offerings. One example, in Rudstone, Humberside consisted of an enormous well containing four stratified groups of animal bones, pottery, remains of buckets and chains, coins, antlers, stonework, tesserae and wall plaster. Amongst the deepest stones was a block carved with the figure of a deity or 'genius'. Interestingly, the pottery collection comprised vessels not represented elsewhere on the site (Poulton and Scott 1993: 124-5). The fills of these wells have been interpreted in a number of ways. Webster (1997: 134-145) has recognised them as both functional and non-functional - structured and special. What this means is that the finding of a variety of deposits in the wells may have represented aspects of specific 'rituals of termination' of a site or well during the renovation of a building or the vacating of a site (Poulton and Scott 1993; Webster 1997). Alternatively, Hingley argues that (2006: 230), 'the general similarity of some of the iron objects...that occur in later prehistoric and Roman deposits could suggest that they [wells/pits] form a new type of context for what are effectively old practices.' However, he also states that more information is required on military sites regarding the origin of these soldiers and the ritual practices in which they partook in their home lands prior to their absorption into the Roman army (Hingley 2006: 228).

Other examples of ritual deposits reinforcing the importance of watery contexts throughout the period of Roman occupation in Britain include plaques recovered from York dedicated to Ocean and Tethys, the divine sister-wife of Ocean, dating to AD 80, whilst an altar recovered from Newcastle was also found to be dedicated to Ocean. Unmarked deposits also continued into the Roman period in Britain. Sites in Lincoln along the River Witham, which received dedications of metalwork, and the River Walbrook in South East Britain (Section 2.2.1), which received human skulls into the Roman period, indicate that both areas were ritually

imbued and continued to be a focus of attention even after the period of Roman conquest (Rogers 2008: 37-62).

It is not only the type of context that has raised questions about cultural changes affecting pre-existing ritual activity across northwest Europe but the material types used. Pewter started to become more apparent in hoards and ritual deposits across Britain in particular, with examples of pewter plates coming from the River Ver's floodplain in St. Albans, from alluvial deposits from the Thames at Shepperton, Surrey, recovered from the spring at Bath with some bearing votive inscriptions to Sulis Minerva, pit deposits from Stanwick Villa, Northamptonshire, and well deposits from Brislington Villa (Gloucestershire) and Appleford (Berkshire) (Poulton and Scott 1993: 115-133; Rogers 2008). Rob Poulton and Eleanor Scott (1993: 132) propose that these pieces were manufactured for use as votive items. Many showed signs of defective manufacture, therefore making it unlikely they were used for domestic purposes prior to their being deposited. Furthermore, the majority of these items were recovered with a number of other finds reinforcing their ritual meaning, including precious metalwork, coinage, human and animal remains, pottery vessels and quernstone fragments. These pewter finds have been likened to a cheaper version of silver making those less able to buy silver for ritual purposes able to source a more affordable alternative (Poulton and Scott 1993: 132).

On the Continent, in some areas Roman armies simply took advantage of regional customs and rituals. Gallic beliefs and uses of springs were recorded by Hiritus in Book 8 of *Caesar's Gallic Wars* (Brunaux 1987: 42). It is commented that during the siege of Uxellodunum the Romans cut off the spring that served the town. The Gauls saw a divine omen in its failure, perhaps believing that the deity had deserted them, and they consequently surrendered. Another example is an event that occurred at Toulouse. The Volcae Tectosages people devoted a cult here to the god Belenus and honoured him by sinking offerings of gold and silver into the waters. The consul L. Servilus Caepio robbed this site when he conquered the civitas in 106 BC and took over 110,000lbs of silver and 100,000lbs of gold (Brunaux 1987: 42). However, material evidence for the continuation of rituals surrounding the use of water is much more apparent. For example, the sources of the Seine, Marne and Yonne saw the construction of monumental sanctuaries dating from the Roman period, with the goddesses Sequana and Matrona worshipped at the first two of these sites respectively, evidenced by votive inscriptions. At sites such as these the connection between the source and the sanctuary is emphasised by analogy with Roman river names (Derks 1998: 136). Where architectural markers were not used to identify a specifically ritually charged location, large volumes of deposits are apparent, as they were during the prehistoric period. For example, at the place where the Vesle discharges into the Aisne near Condé-sur-Aisne, France, the existence of a

cult place is assumed on the basis of the recovery of a large number of coins from the waters; 304 Iron Age coins in bronze and potin and several thousand Roman coins were recovered. Military regalia also continued to be dedicated in watery contexts. Two finds complexes were recovered from the Rhine at Mainz and both incorporated various aspects of Roman military gear including helmets, gladii, daggers, lance points and horse harnesses (Derks 1998: 49).

b. Domestic material culture

Outside of the religious and ritual spheres the domestic aspects of society were also subject to socio-cultural changes taking place at this time. Coinage, language, fashion, art, diet and much more have been identified as receiving the impacts of change with the expansion of the Empire. As Frere (1999: 299) has summarised, by the end of the 1st century AD, towns had started to develop and expand across northwest Europe resulting in the spread of different forms of education, the uptake of Latin as popularised by foreign merchants and army officials, trends in Mediterranean styles of dress and the adoption of certain continental habits, such as dinner parties and visiting the baths.

With the spread of towns, rectangular buildings with a number of rooms rather than one central living and working space became popularised and spread to the trend of building villas further out in the countryside, into the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (Henig 1984; Freeman 1993; Frere 1999). With the spread of building forms came the adoption of certain kinds of decorative art, including mosaics noted at sites in Dorset, Gloucester and Somerset, not known to have been an apparent part of pre-Roman society in Britain (Frere 1999: 299, 314). Continuing the British perspective, it is known that certain art forms were imported by those affluent enough to do so. If the form itself could not be imported then the artists and craftspeople were brought to Britain from the continent to produce the pieces and hence pass the techniques on to local apprentices (Frere 1999: 313). For example, a bronze statuette of Mercury recovered from King Henry Lane, St Albans (Figure 2.3) associated with burials outside Verulamium depicted an amalgamation of geographic styles. Mercury was accompanied by a tortoise, an animal not native to the British Isles, and was carved wearing a sliver neck torc – a pre-Roman Iron Age symbol of divine authority (Henig 1984: 127; Bagnall Smith 2006: 47). It seems, therefore, that the movement of craftspeople from the continental mainland to Britain resulted in distinct 'Romano-British' styles, with indigenous British techniques and styles mixed with classical designs. However, many of the craftspeople were not necessarily indigenous to Rome, so these styles can be described as continental at best, but it is difficult to describe them as 'Roman' when the term itself is not exact or accurate in its description, as explored above. As such it is possible to adopt Clarke and Robinson's (1997: 162) viewpoint that, 'the development of urban society in Britannia [and

elsewhere across the western provinces] involved, not a simple translation of a Roman form onto an indigenous landscape, but a dynamic cultural negotiation between the forces for change and those for stasis and the creation of a specifically local identity'. This point of view can be applied to the majority of evidence available for material culture of the time in question.

Figure 2.3: Bronze statuette of Mercury recovered from King Henry Lane, St Albans

(Source: own photograph)

Whilst alternative building designs and art forms are likely to have had more of an impact on the social elites, other forms of material culture heavily influenced by socio-cultural and socio-economic changes will have penetrated imperial societies with greater effect upon all peoples alike. Coinage specifically can be seen to have played a part in aiding the Roman Empire in its reach across the entire cross-section of society. The introduction of a 'large-scale, regular and consistent monetary system' (Frere 1999: 308) influenced not only the growth of a certain form of commerce but was also a useful form of propaganda through imperial images imprinted on the coinage, which consequently found their way to the farthest

reaches of the Empire and had the potential to reach every subject. The images apparent on imperial coinage also point to the import and spread of mythologies across the provinces. Late Iron Age and Roman coins have been recovered across northwest Europe bearing images of Pegasus, Perseus, Medusa and other gorgons. However, it is possible that these images were also copied from imported gem stones or other forms of classical art and sculpture (Creighton 2000: 131-3). Whilst these classical mythological creatures are known in pre-Roman Britain at least, it is possible that these images were adopted and adapted from both incoming influences and their own provincial versions of mythological beings. Gorgons are images known to have spread with the Roman invasion and have been found in many locations, such as the mosaic floors of Fishbourne (West Sussex), Brading (Isle of Wight), and Bignor, West Sussex; the remains of a temple pediment in Caerleon (South Wales), on a tombstone at Chester, Cheshire and the famous image of the gorgon's head from the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath (Creighton 2000: 133).

Through the increased popularity of dinner parties and feasting - outside of ceremonial necessity - new technologies were introduced to the indigenous populations of northwest Europe including the widespread use and production of a variety of standardised pottery forms, such as fine wares, mortaria and amphorae, as well as different diets and methods of food production, such as the consumption and production of olive oil, wine and garum (Frere 1999: 299; Hill 2002). As J.D. Hill (2002: 81) has argued, 'Decoration and other aspects of ceramic style, including technology, appear to have played important, and possibly active, roles in defining and reaffirming different forms of identities throughout British prehistory.' If Hill's idea is true for the British pre-Roman society then it is surely applicable to other pre-Roman societies as well as those being affected by socio-cultural and socio-economic changes into the Roman period. The evidence discussed above appears to suggest that changes occurred as a consequence of one-way socio-economic processes as a result of the Roman Empire's influence creating 'Romanised' consumption (Haslegrove and Moore 2007: 69). However, as with all aspects of material culture the explanation is not so simple. As Haselgrove and Moore (2007: 9) argue, 'changes in material culture and foodways can be regarded as a social as much as an economic process and cannot simply be attributed to levels of 'Romanisation''.

c. Absences in the material record

Aspects of 'Roman' and indigenous culture that were strongly opposed by both the local populations and also by those from the Imperial core emigrating to the western provinces must be investigated within this debate. One of the most noted groups to resist the Roman expansion were the druids. Tacitus made note of druidic involvement in Gallic revolts over

100 years after the initial Roman conquest and the druids themselves, along with their practices, were not favoured by Rome, specifically owing to their supposed religious associations with human sacrifice (Webster 1999: 13). As more social elites rejected such practices in favour of the new socio-cultural influences emerging as a consequence of forces from Rome, this further forced the abandonment of druidic practices and those who continued to worship these ways into hiding. As such the decline of the druids came as a result of their incompatibility with the changing socio-economic and cultural climate and the movement of the majority of certain social elites away from this specific way of life (Webster 1999: 16).

In comparison to the spiritual and religious debate, the domestic sphere also saw areas that did not or could not adapt to changing social and cultural influences. The area of the Lower Rhine, for example, saw a much slower rate of domestic change compared to neighbouring areas, such as Gaul, Central Belgium, northern France and the southern Rhineland, which saw the development of a villa-dominated landscape from the late 1st century AD onwards (Roymans 1995: 51). The Lower Rhine area consisted of the southern Netherlands, North and West Belgium and the northern most part of the German Rhineland. These areas have produced very little evidence in terms of a widespread villa-scape and city development was either very slow or failed completely, making a rural way of life more successful aided by animal husbandry, which was more appropriate than arable farming owing to the poor quality of the soils. Finally, this area was recognised as being located on the periphery of the Empire in terms of communication networks, even pre-conquest (Roymans 1995: 48). These characteristics are broadly comparable to the northern Highlands of Scotland, which saw a similar way of life during the time of Roman occupation. Furthermore, aside from materialist and socio-economic factors it is also possible that indigenous autonomy played a part in keeping both of the area of the Lower Rhine and the Highlands of Scotland from being fully absorbed by the Empire (Roymans 1995: 48).

d. Material culture summary

From the evidence examined in this section it can be seen that changes in material culture can be attributed to changing socio-political circumstances in areas of the northwest provinces dominated by the Roman Empire. The import of various goods, especially those perceived by local populations as ‘prestige’, led to differences in wealth and status between individuals and encouraged those wishing to emulate a certain way or quality of life to adopt specific aspects of imported culture (Grahame 1998: 7; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1995: 121). This does not necessarily mean, however, that new ways of life were specifically ‘Roman’. When examining ritual aspects of material culture it is possible to see an amalgamation of cultures and beliefs but not necessarily one belief trying to overtake the other, especially when we

bear in mind the fact that those facilitating these changes originated from all over the Empire rather than from Rome or the Mediterranean alone. It cannot be denied that social, political, economic and cultural changes were occurring across Europe, the near East and North Africa at this time as a result of the expanding power of the Roman Empire, apparent in the material available in the archaeological record. However, there is no central force that can be obviously acknowledged as influencing and homogenising these changes.

2.3.5 Summary of Roman-focussed literature

The preceding sections have attempted to critique the present debate on the use of the term 'Romanisation' whilst also getting to the bottom of the term by examining the available evidence that contributes to its use and misuse in academia. From the evidence reviewed above it can be seen that the term 'Romanisation' comes with much 'intellectual baggage' (Hingley 2000: 112) and, as such, many contemporary academics have called for its abandonment. As Simon James has questioned (2001: 206), given the complexity of the term can we still justify its use and what it stands for? He argues that its long establishment as a term in academia is not enough to justify its continued use and goes on to compare the use of 'Romanisation' to the use of the term 'Celtic', stating that this label has 'been generally abandoned in British Iron Age archaeology for such reasons'. However, as Hingley (2000: 112) argues, to completely negate the use of the term 'Romanisation' would be to deny the past, the origins of the term and developments in the progression of this debate over the past 100 years. Therefore, we should remain aware of this term but keep the arguments for and against its continued use open to interpretation.

Throughout the last century or more, many different perspectives have attempted to establish what 'Romanisation' consisted of. The very earliest culture-historic perspectives, particularly that of Haverfield (1912), often paralleled the Roman Empire with the growth and expansion of the British Empire and saw it as a positive creation (Hingley 1993: 24). These earlier academics appeared to favour the following pre-conditions of 'Romanisation': that Romans assumed the role as 'civilisers' of the people of the northwest European provinces and that those indigenous populations, the higher social orders in particular, were the ones who were most willing to adopt and emulate a 'Roman' way of life in terms of lifestyle, culture and attitudes, which can be most notably recognised through the adoption of various uniform aspects of material culture (Hingley 1993: 23-28; Roymans 1995: 47). This is, however, a huge generalisation, assumption and over-simplification on the part of contemporary historians analysing a past cultural change and past processes on their own terms and not those of the people experiencing such changes.

The question of perspectives is ever-present throughout the debate on 'Romanisation', with most contemporary studies examining cultural changes from pre-Roman conquest or post-Roman conquest perspectives, or from that of the Roman peoples documenting their own movements throughout the provinces. Unfortunately no truly objective or equal view can be obtained on how cultural changes impacted on those facing such movements. However, the material record can be used to reinforce or verify if and when changes occurred. The material record does itself have its own limitations (Carroll 2001: 599). Before material evidence can be consulted to determine if socio-cultural changes were taking place we must determine what changes may have occurred and to whom, i.e. who can be defined as 'Roman' and 'non-Roman'? As Mattingly (2002: 539) argues, identity needs to be at the core of the arguments surrounding the definition of 'Romanisation' and only then can material culture be more accurately compared to historical sources. If we do concentrate on issues of identity when first defining who the Romans were, considering all those who were affected through both annexation into the Roman Empire and the resultant socio-economic, political and cultural changes, at one extreme it could be possible to define each member of the Empire as representative of a different Roman identity because each would have reacted differently to these changes. However, to generalise somewhat, it is possible to define several common elements that were adopted by groups of individuals in each province absorbed into the Empire, such as religious worship, and even Empire-wide trends, such as fashion, laws, diet, social customs et cetera (Mattingly 2002: 540).

What is more difficult to determine is whether cultural changes originated from a merging of cultural codes of local communities and the Roman state through an 'exchange of ideas' (Derks 1998: 241), or if certain cultural codes from the invading cultures were selected by local communities receiving the incomers therefore creating new cultural forms. It has been generally assumed through many debates surrounding 'Romanisation', especially by Haverfield (1912) and Millett (1990; 1995), that emulation was the main force behind cultural change with first the societal elites adopting what was assumed to be a better culture with the Roman Empire and consequently the social subordinates wished to aspire to these standards who in turn emulated their social superiors. However, this theory is difficult to prove through the archaeological and historical records without coming across biased reports from the conquerors and contemporary ethnocentric views. Furthermore this theory does not take into account of counter influences on local identities including resistance, pre-Roman regional differences and dominant local traditions, amongst others (Mattingly 2004: 6; see also Woolf 1992; Freeman 1997; Webster 1999). To understand cultural changes resulting from the spread of the Roman Empire, the role of the social elites must not be held with such high regard to the detriment of all other members of society; they must be included in

interpretations but only as a part of a wider whole (James 2001: 205; Haselgrove and Moore 2007: 4). Further to this view Mattingly (2004: 22) argues: '... different groups constructed their own versions of Roman and/or non-Roman identity, both in embracing and in resisting the Empire.' I am inclined to agree with this viewpoint in defining who the Romans were. Not all members of the Empire wished to emulate the trends of their social superiors and conversely not everyone in the provinces reacted negatively to new socio-cultural influences. Many different reactions, responses and interpretations would have been adopted by individuals within the provinces in reaction to the incursion of the Roman Empire and its associated socio-cultural changes, with individual and group identities being 'fluid across life experiences' (Meskell 2001: 189; Mattingly 2004: 22).

2.4 Summary

Accurately identifying the different cultural practices and identities examined within the extant literature and any changes that may have affected them with the spread of the Empire is incredibly difficult 2000 years later. One way in which to do this is to examine material culture on a contextual basis, as suggested by Mattingly (2004: 16; see also Freeman 1993: 445). Breaking down material culture into certain themes and examining these themes in specific contexts could allow archaeologists to better understand socio-cultural changes occurring with the spread of the Roman Empire on a micro-scale rather than concentrating on Empire-wide generalisations. It is, therefore, one of the aims of this investigation to determine what cultural changes were occurring during the LPRIA to Roman transition in terms of the ritual landscape of Britain specifically. This study alongside others taking on a similar contextual approach which, as Mattingly argues, is lacking at present (2004: 16), could help to provide a deeper account of socio-cultural, political and economic changes that were occurring at the time in question across all provinces affected by the Empire.

The debate here has concentrated on a broad discussion regarding the use of material culture to aid in understanding ritual activities and socio-cultural changes that were occurring across Europe, specifically the northwest provinces, both prior to Roman influences and as the Roman Empire grew. The pre-Roman data provide palpable evidence of structured deposition on a broad scale, not only with and around watery contexts but also in a variety of comparable deposits from dry contexts. The discussion in extant studies has prioritised certain finds, such as precious metalwork, perhaps owing to preservation, but it is clear that associated finds from other categories are apparent in these rituals. Looking specifically at the evidence of Roman cultural influences, the examples discussed above help to deduce that some aspects of material culture are useful but limited, such as the use of epigraphic evidence, especially when examining the phenomenon of syncretic deities (Freeman 1993: 441; Haynes 1997:

114-5). However, the term ‘Romanisation’ is increasingly problematic even when regarding material and immaterial evidence. It cannot be denied that various new aspects of material culture were adopted by indigenous populations of the wider Empire, which were imported or created as a result of these broadening links, but these populations were not necessarily displaying aspirations or acceptance of Roman culture, or conversely actively resisting incoming changes. The question is: would they have identified themselves or those coming into their territories as ‘Roman’ (Bendlin 1997: 53; James 2001: 203)? If we cannot detail who the Romans were and what constitutes Roman material culture then we cannot accurately explain how those individuals and communities experiencing such changes succumbed to ‘Romanisation’, or measure the extent to which it spread (Freeman 1993: 444).

This chapter has also sought to explore the concept of ‘Romanisation’, what it has meant and what it means today, whilst also finding a place within the debate for my research. The question of ‘Romanisation’ can never be fully answered; it is a concept that can only be further explored and added to (Woolf 1992: 352; James 2001). When examining ancient cultures from a contemporary perspective, it will never be clear where one cultural sphere ends and the next begins, and we must not assume that other societies, past and present, were structured as ours is and that whatever answers we come up with today are not/should not be subject to change (Meskell 2001: 203-4). From the evidence examined above it is clear that much has been written on the subject of ‘Romanisation’ yet there is still much to discuss, including whether the term itself should or should not be abandoned. I do not believe it should be abandoned but I do believe that those who choose to use the term should use it carefully when describing socio-cultural changes relating to the spread of the Roman Empire. There is still much work to be done in determining whether or not socio-cultural change occurred across all imperial provinces and if so what changes occurred. As Mattingly (2004) stated above, the key to assessing the nature of change is to examine evidence on a small scale, for example, the context-specific scale, which is where I believe my research fits into the overall debate. Furthermore, this investigation will contribute to ideas about the socio-cultural changes taking place during the LPRIA-Roman transition from the perspective of the wider ritual landscape of Britain. However, throughout the remainder of this investigation I have chosen not to use the term ‘Romanisation’. From what has been discussed here it is too problematic a term and requires far more explanation and analysis, more than there is space for here. I will accept that cultural change - in terms of material culture, socio-economic systems and the people themselves - was undoubtedly taking place at this time across Britain and northwest Europe in particular. However, to use one term to encompass these changes is like answering my research question before it is asked. The issues regarding socio-cultural change during the period of transition will resurface in Chapter 7.

PART II: THEORETICAL THEMES

CHAPTER 3.

Theoretical Frameworks of Interpretation

3.1 Introduction

The practice of depositing objects into a variety of context types is a much-researched topic, as Chapter 2 reviewed. However, the distinction of these context types within practices of structured deposition can be treated as too generalised by contemporary researchers. Pits, rivers, caves, bogs are useful terms of categorisation for present analysis but, 'the societies who created and deposited objects in such contexts comprehended their environments differently to the present day understanding of culture and nature.' (Hingley 2006: 224). Therefore, it is necessary to consider fully the ways in which societies occupied and adapted their landscape to communicate certain symbols and ideologies both to each other and to the supernatural realm.

Various interpretations have been put forward for the habitual use of specifically watery contexts in practices of structured deposition, including the idea that these areas were seen as the domain of the gods and dead ancestors, or entrances to the 'other world' (Brunaux 1987; Derks 1998). What much literature on the subject of deposition, both past and present, has in common is the assumption that practices of deposition in association with watery areas were part of special rituals, as Chapter 2 has reviewed. That is not to say that the idea of ritual is invalid as an interpretation. Shanks and Tilley (1982: 130) argue that, 'ritual activities form an active part of the social construction of reality within social formations and may be conceived as a particular form of the ideological legitimation of the social order, serving sectional interests of particular groups.' Researchers must be careful of not automatically reverting to a 'ritual' explanation for all that is seen as symbolic of odd or unusual behaviour in the material record. Duncan Garrow (2012: 105) has argued that 'variability [in material culture patterning] has been viewed as both intentionally created and symbolically relevant.' What is required in the analysis of material culture and structured deposition is that attention is paid to 'examining the validity of such meanings' and how these meanings were intended to be communicated (2012: 105).

The interpretations of the deposits in much of the existing literature are not so much theory-based but embedded in presumptions of past traditions, particularly when dealing with prehistoric interpretations. This chapter, therefore, seeks to discuss and examine broadly some of the work carried out so far on the theory of ritual, its connection with practices of deposition, including the relevance of the landscape used and the material culture deposited.

The chapter will conclude by confirming this investigation's theoretical standpoint after a discussion of the theories identified relating to the traditions and time periods in question, especially the Iron Age to Roman period of transition.

3.2 Theoretical frameworks relating to the ritual use of watery landscapes and other landscape features

'But this rough magic I here abjure...I'll break my staff, Bury it certain fathoms in the earth, And, deeper than did ever plummet sound, I'll drown my book.' (From Shakespeare's *Tempest*, cited in Coles and Coles 1989: 192)

The quote above, spoken by the character Prospero when renouncing sorcery, communicates the fact that the memory of distant acts of which little is now known emerges in many forms, aside from what we know and infer from the material record. Amongst the many interpretations of such acts of sacrifice and deposition into a watery medium are ideas of appeasement of the forces of nature and the other world, 'so that societies and individuals could feel more comfortable with their unequal lives, their uncertainty of survival and their acceptance of a fate over which they had little control.' (Coles and Coles 1989: 196) However, when attempting to record and interpret ideas of past belief systems, methodological problems arise. When studying rituals and activities relating to the supernatural in prehistory in particular, maintaining objectivity becomes difficult when establishing relationships between contemporary pre-conceived notions of the world and motivations behind the ritual activities of the past. With this in mind, the following section will explore the various themes and theories that have emerged relating to the ritual use of watery landscapes and other landscape features.

The processual New Geography and New Archaeology theoretical movements of the 1960s and 1970s considered space as an abstract dimension or container in which human activities and events took place, thus implying that activities took place in spaces conceptually separate, making space '...a nothingness, a simple surface for action, lacking depth' (Tilley 1994: 9). This also meant that space was universal; it was assumed to be the same everywhere, making it easy to measure objectively through mapping and modelling. Space was also seen as a commodity, stripped of any sacred meaning and treated in rational, economic terms (Derks 1998: 134). These rational approaches to space and landscape studies benefitted the examination of settlement sites with regard to the necessity for water, agriculture, trade and industry. The understanding and interpretation of specific landscape features, however, such as hills, caves and watery contexts are more complex than quantitative terms allow (Rogers 2008: 42).

Alternative post-processualist views emerged in the 1990s regarding space as a medium for, rather than container of, action; that is to say, it was acknowledged that space is involved in action rather than separate from it (Fleming 2006: 268). Space is and was socially produced, with different societies and groups acting out their lives in different spaces, and acknowledging that the term 'space' should be plural; there is not one space but many (Tilley 1994: 9). Ideas about space and landscape moved away from the objective and quantifiable to something more subject-centred and relatable to agency. Space was no longer understood as neutral but instead invested with power relating to age, gender, social position and relationships with others. What this also means is that there is no single method when conducting research. The ideal approach to take is a continuous dialectic between ideas and the empirical data (Tilley 1994: 9).

Phenomenology arose in the 1990s as a theory applicable to conceptualising the role of space. Phenomenology is concerned with 'the relationship between Being and Being-in-the-world' (Tilley 1994: 12; Brück 2005: 46). In other words, phenomenology assumes a universality of the human body whilst 'being' varies across time, space, social standing and gender as well as with bodily form, i.e. age and ability. Phenomenology in archaeology provides significant re-contextualisations when considering how sites were used along with societal functions and routines (Brück 2005: 64-5; Hamilton and Whitehouse 2006: 33). Because phenomenology is concerned with sensory perspectives of human experience, it is not easily quantifiable by traditional archaeological methods. As a result it should be combined with other approaches to understand sites and landscapes to achieve a picture of the past (Hamilton and Whitehouse 2006: 31). Joanna Brück (2005: 52; also see Tilley 1994) has reviewed a variety of ways to measure space and landscape systematically in order to understand the possible variety of perceptions and interpretations that can be made and ascribed to particular materials, landscape features and places. For example, she proposes the use of photographs to distinguish visual relationships between places, as well as the combining of photography with line drawings to provide a panoramic view from a certain promontory. Photography can also be combined with video and sound recordings to recreate particular encounters with different landscape features.

Brück (2005: 52) has criticised the use of video and photography in phenomenological studies as not wholly objective records but selected and edited representations of the landscape. A further critique identified by both Brück (2005: 57) and Andrew Fleming (2006: 271-2) is that many archaeologists have begun to include detailed personal accounts of their experiences in the field when carrying out such empirical research. Phenomenology is a method of enquiry and reflection on past landscapes making it highly problematic in terms of accurately measuring differences or similarities between sites. Therefore accounts such as these, which

reflect only the experiences of the archaeologist, can be seen to impede accurate and systematic measurements. However, phenomenological approaches to fieldwork can be robust and repeatable as long as recording techniques are kept systematic across chosen sites.

In considering the theoretical context of the subject of water, the focus has been on the Neolithic through to the Bronze Age across Britain and northwest Europe; it is this span of time in which archaeologists have shown an interest in how past peoples utilised their elemental world (Fleming 2006: 275; Stevens 2008: 238-252). Stevens (2008: 245) has further commented on the idea of elemental interaction by pointing out that many human activities were dependent on the combined elements of water, fire and air, such as in metal-making (Section 1.2.8). Water, like metal, is transmutable, able to change from one form to another, for example from liquid to solid (ice) and back again. Additionally, water and metal can be encoded with powers of life, death, wealth and social-well being. Such shared characteristics and the desire to return these materials back into elemental circulation may have led to the reasoning behind prolific depositions of metalwork from the Bronze Age through to the early medieval period (Stevens, 2008: 245).

Along with others, Fontijn (2007: 74) has observed that metal finds (mainly bronze) dating from the Bronze Age were recovered from watery contexts in southern areas of the Netherlands and into northern Belgium. He reasons that these were deliberate deposits. Due to the need to transport copper and tin from great distances to be able to make bronze, therefore making bronze a valuable commodity, the deliberate deposition of bronze objects would have reinforced control over material supplies and also increased the value of the items in circulation (Pryor 1991: 120). Furthermore, evidence of selective deposition saw specific objects being positioned in particular types of places. The most noticeable trend identified by Fontijn (2007: 74) was that burials in the area of the Netherlands and northern Belgium tended not to contain bronze items, which can be contrasted with the occurrence of bronze objects in the Netherlands and northern Belgium in watery contexts.

Given the apparent wastefulness (to contemporary eyes) of depositing metalwork in watery areas, it is likely that not all finds from such contexts were intended as ritual deposits. Those, especially from riverine contexts, may have been deposited as wealth-stores intended for recovery on river banks or islands and may have been deposited in containers with markers indicating their position, but were then released through erosion (Poulton and Scott 1993; York 2002: 90). However, as Needham and Burgess (1980: 446-7) argue, a distinction can be made between those items hoarded and those intended as ritual deposits. In their study of later Bronze Age metalwork recovered from the river Thames, Needham and Burgess note a significant difference between find-types from dry context hoards and riverine deposits.

Hoards tended to be dominated by scrap metal fragments and blunted objects. However, the finds from the river consist mostly of masses of complete weapons, particularly socketed axes, swords and chapes.

A recurrent explanation for the association of water bodies with the deposition of prestigious metalwork and associated objects is the idea that landscape features, such as rivers, lakes, mountains, forests and caves were points of reference for signs of cosmology (Derks 1998: 135; Bradley 2000). As an understanding of the world, cosmology was expressed in landscape features, i.e., the way certain features were seen and understood by individuals and communities. For example, the deposition of metalwork into watery or dry contexts can be understood as a symbol of the life cycle of the items. The ores were extracted from the earth, manipulated through the use of water and then returned to either medium when the item reached the end of its 'life' (Sue Hamilton, personal communication 2014). This brings the argument back to the themes of ritual, in which landscape and cosmological concepts feed into each other, thus producing a ritual landscape (Derks 1998: 135).

Further archaeological reasoning for the use of watery contexts for rituals of deposition is the idea that watery contexts were used as territorial boundaries and thus perceived as zones of liminality. Boundaries between land and water, where two worlds meet, may well have been served by ritual actions to address this dichotomy (Renfrew 1985: 16; Cunliffe 1993: 359; York 2002: 91). For example, at the Late Bronze Age site of Flag Fen, Cambridgeshire the timber causeway platform was located between the dryland of the Fengate to the east, the open fen to the north east, and the floodplain of the River Nene to the south west (Pryor 1991: 120). This platform stood at the boundary of several distinct environments, thereby symbolising the importance of the location and the structure used to traverse these worlds (Pryor 1991: 120). York (2002: 91) also suggests more generally that the placing of sun-coloured bronze into rivers could symbolise the sun sinking into water, thus linking these two life-giving elements as well as providing a votive offering (see also Stevens 2008: 249; and Simmons *et al* 2009: 70-1 for Maya associations of metal with the sun). By applying these ideas to items placed into both watery contexts and at dryland boundaries (including geographical, architectural and cultural boundaries) throughout the Iron Age and Roman periods, the act of deposition could be a statement signifying power and authority over the land and its resources directed to rival socio-cultural territories.

The use of hilltops in ritual activities has also been noted throughout the later prehistoric and early historic periods. Such natural landscape features and monuments on hilltops would have been used or built to make ritual practices visible from a distance but functioned also as entry points into understanding past ritual activities (Llobera, 2007: 51-70). Similar to the

discussion on midden mounds (Section 1.2.5) David Field (1998: 309-324) has argued that Early Bronze Age barrow burials in south east England were used to communicate various messages to both the surrounding community and the supernatural realm. He argues that the placing of these barrows was intended to be seen from the 'spiritual' world, therefore certain spatial patterns were reproduced to mirror the 'heavens' (1998: 315). Furthermore, many of the barrows were sited on elevated ridges, making them even more visible, with their locations highlighted so that they could be viewed from long distances. The barrows were located in such a way that they were also used to mark the boundaries of settlements, particularly those located on the South Downs ridgeway (1998: 316). Some of the barrow cemeteries were located overlooking the sea. Field (1998: 321) has argued that these locations marked the boundaries of both 'spiritual' and 'physical' worlds. From a utilitarian viewpoint the sea was a form of communication, allowing access to other places, but it also served in the acquisition of goods and in the provision of food and minerals. It was also the boundary between two distinct worlds, especially when considered against the 'voyages' of death and moving on to the spiritual realm. Hills, whether natural landscape features or monuments constructed by people, provide highly visual backdrops to lower-placed sites and locations (Hamilton, 2004: 208). The 'unreachability' of features on hills reinforced concepts of elevated status and exclusivity in relation to the surrounding community, thus making hills and associated features built on them significant in ritual landscapes (Hamilton, 2004: 208).

The above concepts are useful in aiding interpretations of structured deposition in terms of landscape archaeology and the various meanings the landscape can produce for ritual actions and the interpretation of deposits. It is this point at which theories regarding the items deposited must be examined.

3.3 Theoretical frameworks relating to the use and deposition of material culture

Theorising about the past use of the landscape in practices of deposition only provides half of the interpretations regarding these practices. It is necessary to examine the items being deposited to fully understand what symbolism was being communicated. Objects can be understood as symbols to provide a visual expression of ideology and iconography used and understood by that specific community (Reinhold 2003: 28). As such it may never be fully possible to understand the meanings surrounding objects deposited and what they symbolise, though patterns in their deposition, such as the repetition of items, groups of items found together, the condition of those items deposited as well as the find spots of deposition can all aid in such interpretations (Reinhold 2003: 28; Hingley 2006: 221).

Up until the 1960s the subject of material culture, particularly the symbolic nature of material culture beyond its practical value, was treated as inaccessible by Culture Historical and

processual theoretical archaeological approaches. For example, Hawkes' famous 'Ladder of Inference' (1954, cited in Renfrew 1985: 1; see also Whitehouse, 1996: 10) that identified religious and spiritual institutions and ideologies as the most difficult aspect of society to infer from the archaeological record. By the 1980s religion and ritual were increasingly studied by post-processual and cognitive processual schools of thought. As a result, concepts of ritual behaviour, and symbolism relating to the objects used in ritual practices became increasingly more significant in the study of material culture within archaeology.

In terms of my investigation I question why quantities of metalwork were deposited in contexts and were then abandoned, or in contexts in which retrieval was not intended, even though such items could be recycled (Hingley 2006: 215). A processual perspective would interpret these deposited items as abandoned or discarded objects which represent nothing more than the day-to-day activities of the people who discarded them: industrial, economic or domestic behaviours (2006: 217). However, when considering the methods used in the production of metalwork, symbolism and ritual become apparent. Ethnographic studies by Randi Haaland (2004: 1-19) and Randi Barndon (2004: 22-40) have observed how the ironworking process in East Africa is imbued with ritual processes and the symbolism of fertility and reproduction. In East Africa, iron smelting symbolism is linked to women, pots and furnaces because they all transform substances, whether it be a foetus, cooking food, or iron ore, into an irreversible state through the use of heat (Barndon 2004: 23). The smelting process is finalised by the ritual killing of a goat and offerings made to the ancestors, gods and spirits. The smelter is seen as a 'magician' because of the skill and knowledge entailed to transform ores into bloomer iron (Barndon 2004: 28, 36). From an archaeological perspective, these ethnographic examples can be applied to help understand how metalworking may have been understood in past societies. For example, Haaland (2004: 14) cites the example of ritual activities associated with iron smelting at the Iron Age site of Stordalen, Norway. Smelting took place at this site in the shaft of a furnace and after the smelting activities, the shaft was pulled down and the slag pit closed with a flat slab of 'special slate'. Haaland has argued that the closing of the pit was done symbolically to keep the knowledge of ironworking secret.

Stevens (2008: 241-2) has also argued for the elemental significance involved in metalworking during the Bronze Age in Britain. Fire, air and water are brought together to transform raw materials and, like the examples from East Africa, the production and transformation can be seen as associated with power. Stevens argues that 'perhaps one of the typological designs [of the bronze object] might be as a visual expression of its conjoined elemental constituents' (2008: 242). Not only was the process of bronze or iron working seen as symbolic but the objects that were subsequently produced. Metal was used to produce tools and weapons, items of strength for the development and security of a community (Hingley

2006: 217-8). The deposition of such items could have been part of wider cosmological understandings, to return the manipulated materials back to the natural world. But deposition may also have been used to symbolise societal functions, and thus drew upon this symbolism to affirm the practical processes and developments of society. It can be seen, therefore, that material culture held an 'active' role in society and people's ideologies (Garrow 2012: 92).

What these arguments suggest is that the act of depositing certain objects in particular places may have been part of important social practices (Garrow 2012: 92). However, it is important to remember that not all deposits were necessarily made with symbolic intention. As Garrow (2012: 110, 114) argues, the characterisation of certain deposits as 'symbolic' has come to dominate the day-to-day interpretations of material in the archaeological record. As a consequence much 'everyday' material is often misunderstood and is just as important as the 'ritual' or 'symbolic' finds. For example, referring back to the discussion of middens (Section 1.2.5), it is possible to determine deposits as ritual owing to their specific location and/or specific associated finds. When examining structured deposition it is necessary to keep all interpretive possibilities available to be able to fully understand the processes behind the actions.

Garrow (2012: 114-5), using the example of Durrington Walls, explains that the deposits of pottery sherds displaying certain decorative patterns in particular areas could represent a change of focus at times when new decorative patterns came into fashion, rather than intentionally constructed contemporaneous deposits. This is not saying that one interpretation is right and one is wrong but that interpretations and theories of depositional behaviour must be kept open.

Fontijn (2012: 121) elaborates on Garrow's arguments by emphasising the importance of the sequence of events leading up to the deposition of items. For example, the content of a pot may have been the symbolic factor in ritual practices. With only sherds left in the deposit it must be questioned whether sherds were the intention or whether the pot broke and shattered accidentally while being taken to the point of deposition, and only the sherds made it into the deposit. It is also possible that the contents of the pot were a part of a ritual feast and the pot was discarded after it was emptied. Therefore the action of the feast was significant and not only or necessarily the remains of the feast or its containers. Fontijn (2012: 121) suggests that researchers should 'analytically separate the significance of an object during its life and its significance during the moment when it was finally deposited into the ground.' This will encourage a greater understanding of cultural practices and that more consideration is given to what was intentional and what was unintentional in terms of structured deposition (Thomas 2012: 127).

3.4 Summary

Whether the structured deposition of metalwork and other associated artefacts was a result of cult ritual practices, domestic hoarding, or site waste, landscape is an important factor in said occurrences. As Adam Rogers (2008: 42-43) has stated, 'Places can be considered as ways of seeing, knowing and understanding the world...They are foci of human feeling and thought and central to experiences of the environment; they are constructed in human memory and encounter...and can vary according to the world-views and beliefs of those experiencing them.' However, when attempting to interpret episodes of structured deposition, it is difficult to ascribe meaning to deposits based solely on their context or on artefact type. One aspect that aids interpretation is the observation of repetition in particular areas and with specific types of deposit (Renfrew 1985: 18; Hamilton 1998). In my investigation, the focus is the accumulation of metalwork in relation to watery contexts. In a bid to unravel meanings behind the behaviour of depositing, however, it is necessary to look beyond water at wider contexts and features, such as shrines and temples, houses, funerary practices, agricultural practices, landscape alteration and perception (Insoll 2004: 152). Settlement contexts and landscape contexts need to be coupled with finds to enable a fuller interpretation of ritual practices of the past. As Garrow argues (2012: 108), 'the meaningfulness of deposition is conveyed *intentionally*'; individuals and communities used material culture to communicate certain messages by depositing material in particular parts of the landscape or a settlement, or by placing certain items together in a specific context type.

In terms of practices, the historical legacy of deposition has been uncertain. Do deposits reflect the exchange of ideas resulting from the conflicting cultural codes of the Iron Age communities and the Roman armies; do they represent the creation of new hybrid forms of ritual; or do they reflect the political motivation of the indigenous peoples to define themselves apart from the Roman influence (Barrett 1991: 6; Derks 1998)? As well as these issues, our viewpoint must be carefully treated in studies such as this. It is all too often that 'we' as archaeologists give supposedly ritual objects and contexts meaning (Garrow 2012: 105). It must be acknowledged that material culture already has meaning beyond our understanding (Hubert 1994: 12; Whitehouse 1996: 11).

The issue of ritual is central within existing literature and although my investigation will guard against bias by not making assumptions prescriptively about structured deposits, a discussion of ritual cannot be ignored. Theories surrounding deposition and ritual will provide a framework for my investigation. My investigation will first focus on themes of ritual, liminality and adaptation or uptake as a result of the period of LPRIA-Roman transition, whilst also keeping in mind processual and Culture Historical themes.

PART III: METHOD

CHAPTER 4.

Methods of Investigation and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The following chapter will provide a review of the methods utilised in the research design process and consequent compilation of data for this project. To begin with, a list of research questions, elaborating on the two broad research questions established in the Introduction, was created. This sub-set of research questions was applied to both inter-site and intra-site analyses of the sites that had been isolated via an in-depth review of the current literature on key sites of structured deposition. The next step was to create a database in Microsoft Access. This relational database was used to store general data on site information and more detailed records on specific sites, including find and context types. Two pilot studies were selected and examined to assess the robustness of the investigation as well as the methods of gathering information, its storage within the database and subsequent analysis. Once the trialling of the investigation had taken place the main body of data collection and analysis commenced.

4.2 Research Questions

The following questions were compiled and divided into those relating to patterns of deposition and landscape use across all sites considered, and patterns and adaptations in practices of deposition occurring at the individual sites selected for in-depth investigation. These questions are concerned with the type and condition of finds recovered, from what context type they came, and how depositional practices changed with the commencement of the Roman conquest.

These questions were applied to data extracted from site reports only. The use of Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) and Historic Environment Records (HERs) in addition as forms of data gathering were originally considered; however, owing to the lack of detail on both finds and finds-producing contexts from these records, as well as the advice of the specific records departments contacted for access to the SMRs and HERs, the sole use of site reports for the main body of data was favoured. Furthermore, the availability of a selection of site reports for the larger sites studied also allowed for the focussing of the investigation onto the most relevant areas of each site for the nature of this investigation.

From the contexts considered, cemeteries and grave goods have been included but considered as part of a wider use of the sites' locations in question. This investigation is concerned with practices of structured ritual deposition in association with watery contexts and dry context types that show comparable patterns of depositional practices. Whilst graves and cemeteries

can fall into the latter category, the interpretation of motivations behind mortuary behaviour could potentially produce too much data to analyse and discuss in full here. With this in mind the research questions for this investigation are as follows:

4.2.1 General questions – to be answered by the whole database

- Were finds recovered in proximity to water?
    - Were finds recovered close to any other significant landscape feature(s)?
- What is the rate of deposition across the sites?
    - Does the volume of items deposited change with the transition from the Iron Age to Roman periods?
    - Does the distribution pattern change to other context types or sites with the transition? Are some context types or wider sites distinctly Iron Age/others distinctly Roman?
- Is there a distinct change in types of metal items deposited with this transition? (Tools, personal ornaments and weaponry in the Iron Age; icons, figurines, money et cetera in the Roman period.)
- What is the general condition of metal finds recovered? (Whole, broken or deliberately broken.)
- Can similar and/or variable practices be recognised across the separate regions?
    - Do regional practices relate to Iron Age groupings or Roman groupings or both?
- Are LPRIA and Early Roman practices similar?
    - Can a transition be observed?
    - Is there a staggered change across the different study zones?

4.2.2 Specific questions – to be answered by individual sites

- Is there any change in material deposited during the transitional phase (50BC- AD 50/ AD 100)? (Metalwork, other.)
- In what condition were the majority of metal finds recovered? (Whole, broken or deliberately broken?)
- Is there any change in the layout of the site? (In terms of geographical setting or structurally: buildings, shrines et cetera.)
- Were metal finds recovered with other non-metal items?
    - Is there a dominant group of find types?
    - Are there dominant associations of find types?
- What are the key landscape features? (Water, topography.)

- Are finds in water or close to it?

4.3 Data Categories

From an initial review of the current literature discussing depositional practices from the later prehistoric period onwards (Chapter 2), several sources have discussed the quantity of metalwork recovered within and in association with watery contexts across Britain and northwest Europe. Metalwork as a whole is too crude a category to investigate, therefore prior to any formal data collection 'metalwork' was divided into several subsections and listed in data forms in the database ready for the input of information from the site reports. The development of the database will be discussed further in Section 4.4. Weaponry was the first subdivision established within the metalwork category, being the most discussed metalwork-type from the literature on Bronze Age and Iron Age practices of structured deposition. Following weaponry are tools, coins and personal ornaments, which include jewellery, toiletry items and other adornments. It is important to note that these first four database categories did not exclude other materials. They helped to categorise the metalwork but if weaponry, tools and personal ornaments were recovered that were made of other materials, these were categorised to ensure full coverage of the activities these objects relate to. Two sub-categories, 'other small metal finds' and 'other large metal finds', were included to group any remaining metalwork types not attributable to any other sub-category, such as scrap metal pieces and items described as 'unknown'. Following the metalwork categories, human remains and animal remains were listed as subsequent categories. The 'animal remains' category spanned both ritual and domestic interpretations. Finally, ceramics consisting mostly of pottery vessels but also other items made out of ceramic material, and the 'other' category were established, with the 'other' category being used for items such as quernstones, building materials, glass and organic remains (see individual site forms in the database in the attached CD in Volume 2 to observe the ordering of the data categories). Whilst this investigation's ritual focus was on the deposition of metalwork in association with watery areas it was necessary to expand upon these categories to include associated finds from across all context types recorded. This allowed for a wide variety of deposits to be examined and more accurate patterns of structured deposition to be identified.

To identify the context types at each site, both the context and the feature from which the finds were recovered were established as categories. However, due to the way the database developed with use, these terms came to form a broader category compared to their normal archaeological definitions in the field. The feature type was used as more of a general category identifying the broad nature of the land from which the objects were recovered. The 'feature type' category includes buildings, roads, rivers or stream beds et cetera. To add detail

to the broader ‘feature type’ category a ‘context type’ group was added to specify micro-locations of groupings of finds. The ‘context type’ group includes structural features, such as ovens or post holes as well as deposits within pits, wells and other larger features, accounting for specific layers where layers are identified in the records used.

For definitions of the different find types and context types identified during this part of the investigation, a glossary has been created and can be found in Appendix 1.

4.4 The Database

Prior to any formal data collection, a relational database in Microsoft Access was established. To begin with, the database was used to store general data, including find types recovered, context types and dates of depositional activity, on a range of sites from across Britain, identified from an initial review of the current literature, some of which have been discussed in Chapter 2. The context-type information was used to divide sites into three main tables: watery, dry and structurally built-up sites. In separate tables, these sites were then categorised into time zones showing the main period of use for each site (Figure 4.1). From these time zones, period blocks of Early Iron Age, Middle Iron Age, Late Iron Age, 1st century AD, 2nd century AD, 3rd century AD and 4th century AD were established as a framework to analyse any changes and patterns in the practice of deposition across the Iron Age–Roman transition.

From the identification of these locations (listed in Figure 4.1) across Britain, two sites were isolated and used as pilot studies to test the robustness of the investigation, the methods used for data collection and the methods of analysis. The results from these two pilot studies, discussed in more detail below, were tabulated in the database with each table incorporating the data categories listed in Section 4.3. To begin with, the presence of each object type identified and the context in which each object type was recovered were detailed in the pilot study tables.

Figure 4.1: General British site information

(Source: own)

4.1a: Structurally built-up site - find types

Building Find Types : Table

Site Name	Site Type	Metalwork	Metalwork Type	Human Remain	Human Type	Animal Remain	Animal Type	Ceramics	Ceramin Type	Other
Bath	Temple	☑	Weaponry, tool	☐		☐		☑	TBC	
Cadbury Castle	Hillfort and shri	☐	Weaponry, tool	☐	N/A	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	Metalworking sl
Fring	Temple	☑	Coins	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Harlow	Temple	☑	Coins	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Hayling Island	Temple	☑	Weaponry, pers	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	N/A
Maiden Castle	Hillfort and tem	☑	Weaponry	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Thetford	Shrine	☑	Weaponry, coir	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Uley	Hillfort and tem	☑	Personal ornam	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	N/A
Worth	Temple	☑	Weaponry, coir	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A

4.1b: Structurally built-up sites – dates of deposition

Building Sites - dates : Table

Site Name	Site Type	Early Iron Age	Middle Iron Age	Late Iron Age	1st c AD	2nd c AD	3rd c AD	4th c AD
Bath	Temple	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐
Cadbury Castle	Hillfort and shri	☐	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fring	Temple	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
Harlow	Temple	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
Hayling Island	Temple	☐	☐	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑
Maiden Castle	Hillfort and tem	☑	☐	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑
Stanwick	Villa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑
Thetford	Shrine	☐	☑	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐
Uley	Hillfort and tem	☐	☐	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑
Worth	Temple	☐	☐	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐

4.1c: Dry context sites – find types

Dryland Find Types : Table

Site Name	Site Type	Metalwork	Metalwork Type	Human Remain	Human Type	Animal Remain	Animal Type	Ceramics	Ceramic Type	Other
Alkham	Graves - single	☑	Tools	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Aylesford	Graves - cemet	☐	N/A	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	N/A
Caburn	Pits	☑	Weaponry, pers	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Chilham Castle	Graves - single	☑	Personal ornam	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Danebury	Pits	☑	Tools	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	Quern stones,
East Yorkshire	Graves - cemet	☑	Weaponry, tool	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Harlow	Pits	☑	Coins	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Mill Hill	Graves - single	☑	Weaponry, pers	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Shepperton	Hoards	☑	Tools	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
St. Albans	Hoards	☑	Tools	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Traprain Law	Hoards	☑	Tools, coins	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Uley	Pits	☑	Weaponry	☐	N/A	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	N/A
Westhampnett	Graves - cemet	☑	Coins	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	N/A
Westhawk Farr	Graves - single	☑	Tools	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	☑	TBC	Wooden basket

4.1d: Dry context sites – dates of deposition

Dryland Sites - dates : Table

Site Name	Site Type	Early Iron Age	Middle Iron Age	Late Iron Age	1st c AD	2nd c AD	3rd c AD	4th c AD
Alkham	Graves - single	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
Aylesford	Graves - cemet	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Caburn	Pits	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐
Chilham Castle	Graves - single	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐
Danebury	Pits	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐
East Yorkshire	Graves - cemet	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Harlow	Pits	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mill Hill	Graves - single	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐
Shepperton	Hoards	☐	☐	☐	☑	☑	☑	☐
St. Albans	Hoards	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	☑	☐
Traprain Law	Hoards	☐	☐	☐	☑	☑	☐	☐
Uley	Pits	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
Westhampnett	Graves - cemet	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Westhawk Farr	Graves - single	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐

4.1e: Watery context sites – find types

Wetland Find Types : Table

Site Name	Site Type	Metalwork Find	Type Metal	Human Remain	Type Human	Animal Remain	Type Animal	Ceramics	Type Ceramic	Other Finds
Appleford	Well	☑	Tools	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	Organic materia
Brislington Villa	Well	☑	Tools	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	Building materia
Caburn	Well	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☑	Few pot sherds	N/A
Flag Fen	Marshland	☑	Weaponry, pers	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	Food remains
Llyn Cerrig Bac	Lake	☑	Weaponry, cau	☐	N/A	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	Trumpet, slave
Newstead	Well	☑	Weaponry, pers	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	Quern stones, a
Rudstone	Well	☑	Tools, coins	☐	N/A	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	Stonework, buil
Springhead	River	☑	Personal ornam	☐	N/A	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	Metalworking sl
St. Albans	River	☑	Coins	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	Plates
Thames	River	☑	Weaponry, pers	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	N/A
Trent	River	☑	Weaponry	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	Wooden cart
Walbrook	River	☐	N/A	☑	TBC	☐	N/A	☐	N/A	N/A
Witham	River	☑	Weaponry, pers	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	☑	TBC	wooden boat as

4.1f: Watery context sites – dates of deposition

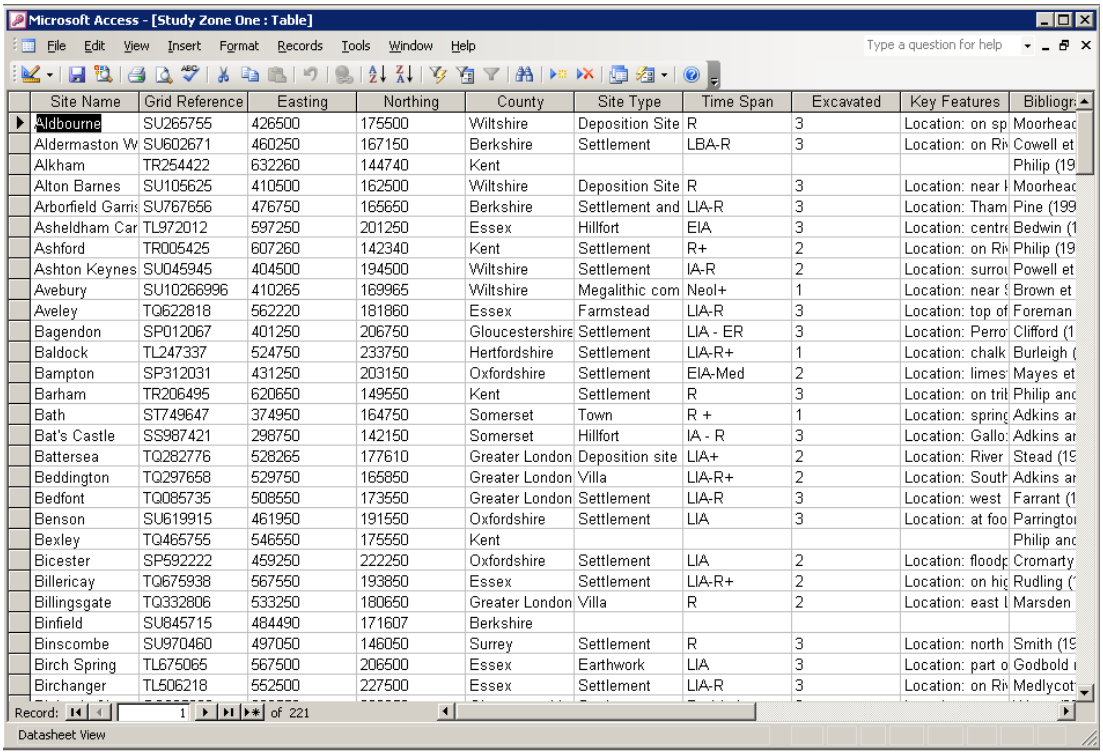
Wetland Sites - dates : Table

Site Name	Site Type	Early Iron Age	Middle Iron Age	Late Iron Age	1st c AD	2nd c AD	3rd c AD	4th c AD
Appleford	Well	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑
Brislington Villa	Well	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
Caburn	Well	☐	☐	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐
Flag Fen	Marshland	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Llyn Cerring Ba	Lake	☑	☑	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐
Newstead	Well	☐	☐	☐	☑	☑	☑	☐
Rudstone	Well	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐
Springhead	River	☐	☐	☐	☑	☑	☑	☑
St. Albans	River	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	☑
Thames	River	☐	☐	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑
Trent	River	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Walbrook	River	☐	☐	☐	☑	☑	☐	☐
Witham	River	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑

With the conclusion of the pilot studies the database was amended as needed and used to accommodate a series of tables holding more general data on site information from the two study zones identified as the basis of this investigation. These zones, designated as The Severn-Thames Axis: Study Zone One and The Solway-Forth Axis: Study Zone Two, will be described and discussed in detail in Section 4.6. The initial stage of data collection for each of the study zones identified began with a more general identification of a large sample of sites from across each zone to study in more detail. This information was collected from an in-depth review of the available literature for each zone. Sites included in the database at this stage were those that were occupied during the Iron Age and Roman periods or those that spanned both time periods. The data for each of these sites recorded were quite broad and included site name, grid reference, time span, key features and literary references (Figure 4.2). From these criteria several sites were identified for more detailed study involving the methods used for the pilot studies (Section 4.5), and stored separately within the database. For full details of site selection and data gathering see Section 4.7. All study zone site information can be viewed on the attached CD in Volume 2. To open and use this information, see Appendix 2 for the user instructions.

Figure 4.2: View of the relational database showing tabulated records from Study Zone One

(Source: own)



Microsoft Access - [Study Zone One : Table]

File Edit View Insert Format Records Tools Window Help

Site Name	Grid Reference	Easting	Northing	County	Site Type	Time Span	Excavated	Key Features	Bibliogr
Aldbourne	SU265755	426500	175500	Wiltshire	Deposition Site	R	3	Location: on sp	Moorhead
Aldermaston W	SU602671	460250	167150	Berkshire	Settlement	LBA-R	3	Location: on Ri	Cowell et
Alkham	TR254422	632260	144740	Kent					Philip (19
Alton Barnes	SU105625	410500	162500	Wiltshire	Deposition Site	R	3	Location: near	Moorhead
Arborfield Garri	SU767656	476750	165650	Berkshire	Settlement and	LIA-R	3	Location: Tham	Pine (199
Asheldham Car	TL972012	597250	201250	Essex	Hillfort	EIA	3	Location: centre	Bedwin (1
Ashford	TR005425	607260	142340	Kent	Settlement	R+	2	Location: on Ri	Philip (19
Ashton Keynes	SU045945	404500	194500	Wiltshire	Settlement	IA-R	2	Location: surrou	Powell et
Avebury	SU10266996	410265	169965	Wiltshire	Megalithic com	Neol+	1	Location: near S	Brown et
Aveley	TQ622818	562220	181860	Essex	Farmstead	LIA-R	3	Location: top of	Foreman
Bagendon	SP012067	401250	206750	Gloucestershire	Settlement	LIA - ER	3	Location: Perro	Clifford (1
Baldock	TL247337	524750	233750	Hertfordshire	Settlement	LIA-R+	1	Location: chalk	Burleigh (
Bampton	SP312031	431250	203150	Oxfordshire	Settlement	EIA-Med	2	Location: limes	Mayes et
Barham	TR206495	620650	149550	Kent	Settlement	R	3	Location: on trib	Philip and
Bath	ST749647	374950	164750	Somerset	Town	R +	1	Location: spring	Adkins ar
Bat's Castle	SS987421	298750	142150	Somerset	Hillfort	IA - R	3	Location: Gallo	Adkins ar
Battersea	TQ282776	528265	177610	Greater London	Deposition site	LIA+	2	Location: River	Stead (19
Beddington	TQ297658	529750	165850	Greater London	Villa	LIA-R+	2	Location: South	Adkins ar
Bedfont	TQ085735	508550	173550	Greater London	Settlement	LIA-R	3	Location: west	Farrant (1
Benson	SU619915	461950	191550	Oxfordshire	Settlement	LIA	3	Location: at foo	Parrington
Bexley	TQ465755	546550	175550	Kent					Philip and
Bicester	SP592222	459250	222250	Oxfordshire	Settlement	LIA	2	Location: floodp	Cromarty
Billericay	TQ675938	567550	193850	Essex	Settlement	LIA-R+	2	Location: on hig	Rudling (
Billingsgate	TQ332806	533250	180650	Greater London	Villa	R	2	Location: east l	Marsden
Binfield	SU845715	484490	171607	Berkshire					
Binscombe	SU970460	497050	146050	Surrey	Settlement	R	3	Location: north	Smith (19
Birch Spring	TL675065	567500	206500	Essex	Earthwork	LIA	3	Location: part o	Godbold
Birchanger	TL506218	552500	227500	Essex	Settlement	LIA-R	3	Location: on Ri	Medlycott

Record: 1 of 221

Datasheet View

4.5 Pilot studies

With a series of research questions set out, the categories established for researching depositional practices and a database created to store all data to be gathered, two pilot studies were then conducted to test the robustness of the database and the viability of the investigation, as well as possible methods of analysis. The following will explain the process of identifying and trialling two comparable pilot study sites.

The choosing of two possible sites for the pilot study began with the plotting of a selection of known recorded occurrences of structured ritual deposition as researched in the existing literature (Section 4.4 and Figure 4.1). This collection of sites was initially plotted on a hard copy standard map of the British Isles but was since converted to digital form (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: Map of Britain showing the selection of sites of episodes of structured deposition and ritual activity

(Source: Google Maps with own annotations)

1: Maiden Castle (Dorset); 2: Cadbury Castle (Somerset); 3: Brislington Villa (Somerset); 4: Bath (Somerset); 5: Uley (Gloucestershire); 6: Danebury (Hampshire); 7: Appleford (Berkshire); 8: Hayling Island (Hampshire); 9: Westhampnett (Hamshire); 10: Shepperton (Surrey); 11: Verulamium (Hertfordshire); 12: Walbrook (London); 13: Worth (Kent); 14: The Caburn (East Sussex); 15: Harlow (Essex); 16: Springhead (Kent); 17: Aylesford (Kent); 18: River Thames; 19: Westhawk Farm (Kent); 20: Chilham Castle (Kent); 21: Alkham (Kent); 22: Mill Hill (Kent); 23: Thetford (Norfolk); 24: Flag Fen (Cambridgeshire); 25: Fring (Norfolk); 26: River Witham; 27: River Trent; 28: Humberside and East Yorkshire; 29: Rudstone (East Yorkshire); 30: Stanwick (North Yorkshire); 31: Newstead (Scottish Borders); 32: Traprain Law (East Lothian); 33: Llyn Cerring Bach (Anglesey).

For the ease of this investigation in gaining access to available literature, the sites and their records, the choice of sites was confined to the British mainland, whilst keeping the theoretical view firmly within the context of northwest Europe. From the plotted sites a definite concentration of sites producing evidence of structured ritual deposits within various contexts was observable across the south of Britain from the south west to the south east and diminishing northwards, seemingly confined to the east coast, with these episodes terminating in the Scottish Borderlands. All of these sites date from both the Iron Age and the Roman eras but few have been examined in terms of their continuity of practices of ritual deposition from one time period to the other.

From the 33 possible sites to choose from, a series of criteria had to be identified to aid in the selection process for the pilot studies. Firstly, sites identified in the literature with significant quantities of metalwork in one or more forms recovered from a variety of context types were identified. The chosen sites then had to span the transition period with a date for the start of occupation somewhere between 50BC - AD 100/150. Finally the two sites needed to encompass variability and therefore it was useful to choose two sites from contrasting regions. Although my investigation is concerned with practices of ritual deposition in relation to watery contexts, water was not the sole selection criteria. It is useful to examine deposits made in contrasting context types to identify differences in patterns of deposition. With these criteria set out, the two sites selected for testing the robustness of the relational database were Uley, Gloucestershire and Newstead, Scottish Borders. The information gathered for each site was taken from their main site reports: *The Uley Shrines* (Woodward and Leach 1993) and *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* (Curle 1911). As stated above, site reports were used in favour of SMRs and HERs due to the amount of detail in listing all finds recorded at each site and the context from which each find was recovered. These two locations were chosen due to the deposition of various forms of metalwork and other associated items within contrasting contexts of dry pits at Uley and wells at Newstead. The temporal span of each site covered the transition period with the major depositional activities developing at each site within the 50BC – AD 150 period of conquest. Finally, the geographic location of each site within contrasting regions made them useful studies to compare in identifying distinct regional patterns of depositional behaviour, whilst also helping to narrow down the two study zones on which to focus the investigation.

Uley is a known cult site, interpreted as such on the basis of the Roman temple structure. Uley was occupied from the Middle to Late Iron Age through to the early medieval period. The evidence indicating ritual deposition dates from the time of transition from the late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD with the digging of a large focal pit within the existing enclosure. Deposits into this pit include a variety of iron projectiles, Dobunnic fine-ware vessels, bone tools and animal remains (Ellison 1980). The site was continually used over the following centuries, as evidenced from various episodes of deposition plus the erection of stone buildings over the Iron Age timber predecessors, with the stone temple erected in the 4th century AD (Ellison 1980). The fort at Newstead was one of the largest Roman military bases known to have been established in the area north of Hadrian's Wall, and acted as a major supply and command centre for the period of sporadic occupation between the later 1st to late 2nd centuries AD (Clarke and Jones 1996). Within the area of the fort and annexes, a total of 107 pits, wells and shafts were discovered and excavated; various fills were unearthed with finds including metal tools and weaponry, plant waste, building materials, human and animal

remains, religious icons and altars, and small personal ornaments. Such an array of deposits within a vast number of pits and wells in this one locality suggests specific traditions of deposition were taking place here. The question is: how culturally significant were they (Ross and Feachem 1976)?

After testing the robustness of the database and the viability of the investigation with information from Uley and Newstead, the use of the site reports as a primary source of data proved to be robust in detailing the numbers and types of finds and contextual information for both sites. Furthermore, the pilot studies allowed for the exploration of how reliable the information from these reports was with the two sources covering the chronological breadth of archaeological publishing - Curle in 1911 and Woodward and Leach in 1993. It was also noted that whilst site reports provide adequately detailed information on large and small finds and the contexts from which they were recovered, the 'context type' category needed to be added to the site information in the database to trace more accurately the location of each find and associations with other finds, features and contexts. After testing the data gathered for Uley and Newstead against the questions listed in Section 4.2, the results were useful in terms of seeing how well the layout of the data worked in the database. However, when running these data through the query function in Access, the results produced were not very easy to read or transfer to graph form. As a consequence, Microsoft Excel was favoured for the analysis of the main body of quantitative data, which will be discussed in full in the following two chapters (for the analysed data from each site, open Excel spreadsheets for 'Zone One analysis' and 'Zone Two analysis' in the attached CD [Appendix 2]). Another methodological issue raised and amended as a result of the pilot studies was the need to provide details of the finds within the database forms and tables. These details include the listing of specific find-types: for example, which tool types, weapon types and personal ornament types were recovered and in what condition – whole, broken or deliberately broken. Finally, language use was made consistent in the tables and forms; for instance, to describe the context types, the object types recovered and the condition of the objects themselves, consistency of language was important to enable accurate and reliable searching and analysis of the data to be carried out.

4.6 Selection of Study Zones One and Two

Southern Britain was identified as an initial zone on which to focus the investigation owing to the apparent concentration of practices of deposition in this area, as identified in Figure 4.3. One possible reason for this concentration could be its proximity to the Continent, as well as a bias in the focus of archaeological excavations. Southern Britain was the first area to be reached and therefore affected by the Roman conquest. As a result it is possible that these

sites either increased their ritual activities to counter Roman forces or they adapted their practices to accommodate the inevitable change. When determining criteria to aid in the defining of this region, several were available to choose from, though none of these were satisfactory on their own. Topographical features and river systems are interconnected and therefore cannot be used to define one region alone. However, when combined with information on what we know of the areas occupied by Iron Age socio-cultural groupings across the south of the island, one distinct zone can be identified as appropriate for study. Study Zone One has been defined as those sites lying within the area of the Rivers Severn and Thames; therefore this study zone is labelled the Severn-Thames Axis. This axis area includes elements of three to four Iron Age cultural regions: The Dobunni, the Atrebates, the Catuvellauni and the Trinovantes (moving west to east) (Ireland 2008: xiv; Firstbrook 2001: 46; Cunliffe 2005: 216). The 'boundaries' of these groups are, however, quite fluid as the comparative maps in Figure A5.4.1 (Appendix 5) portray.

Following on from the test site data, an ideal geographical area contrasting with the Severn-Thames Axis both in terms of landscape and cultural relations between the indigenous population and the incoming military forces was the area recognised as the Military Zone. The Military Zone encompasses the area of land from the Pennines up to the northernmost point of major Roman occupation, the Antonine wall. This second zone was selected with a view to identifying and isolating possible regional patterns of deposition, whether relating to object types deposited or the type of context into which deposition took place. As with Zone One, the definition of Zone Two did not rely on any single factor to create its boundaries. Topographical features and river systems were once again consulted as were known Iron Age community boundaries to identify any possible limits to create a suitable area of study. With the added factor of the boundary-creating walls attributed to Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, a second, contrasting study zone was created.

Study Zone Two can be defined as those sites lying between the Solway Firth to the south west and the Firth of Forth to the north east, with the extension of the two Roman walls helping to confine this zone, thus naming Study Zone Two as the Solway-Forth Axis. From within this boundary four Iron Age socio-cultural groupings have been identified: the Brigantes covering the largest area, with the Novantae, Selgovae and Votadini (moving west to east) (Ireland 2008: xiv; Firstbrook 2001: 46; Cunliffe 2005: 179) also partially residing within this area (Figure A5.4.1 in Appendix 5). The following will explain in full the processes used in selecting and defining both study zones.

4.6.1 Study Zone One boundaries and site selection

When delimiting Zone One by way of natural and cultural parameters, the Iron Age socio-cultural regions were consulted in particular, as defined in several contemporary literary sources including Barry Cunliffe (1991; 2005) and Colin Haselgrove (1987). These regions were relatively fluid in their boundaries owing to internal and external trade patterns and continuous movements between communities, hence making them difficult to wholly rely on as a basis for Zone One's limits. In an attempt to define these regions, Cunliffe (1991; 2005) conducted an extensive study of ceramic styles and decoration prevalent across the south and east of England and parts of Wales to delineate cultural and ethnic groups throughout the Iron Age, which he defined as 'style zones'. Although Cunliffe's study is relatively broad in terms of its temporal span of the entire Iron Age up to the 1st century BC and the geographically broad style zones identified to define cultural groups, his investigation still reveals the centralised areas around which many later Iron Age community groupings appear to have formed, a topic that was also examined by Haselgrove (1987). By using coin evidence Haselgrove was able to refine definitions of Late Pre-Roman Iron Age socio-cultural boundaries from the 1st century BC through to the 1st century AD. From coinage struck in Britain he was able to classify seven geographical and typological regions that relate to Allen's (1944, cited in Haselgrove 1987) 'tribal' groupings. However, these groupings were also fluid, having been influenced by trade both internally and from continental imports, resulting in the blurring of possible community boundaries in the south and west especially. From these two definitions alone it is easy to see that Iron Age socio-cultural groupings will never be fully defined and tightly regionalised, as Figure A5.4.1's comparative contemporary maps display (Appendix 5). Therefore, using this parameter alone was not a viable option when classifying the Zone's limits.

The additional criterion used in the defining of Zone One was the physical geography of the River Severn and River Thames valleys. Although both rivers' entire watersheds do not occupy the space defined by the Iron Age social groupings in particular, the sites of known depositional practice within this area occur within the catchment areas of these major rivers and their tributaries, as they are today and as they once were over 2000 years ago. This axis of space that the Severn and Thames rivers occupy helps to bring together the fluid social and cultural collectives that define LPRIA regions.

4.6.2 Zone Two boundaries and site selection

Whilst the boundaries for Study Zone One were aided in their definition by later Iron Age cultural 'boundaries', as determined by Cunliffe (1991) through ceramic style zones, similar socio-cultural groupings identified within Study Zone Two are not possible to classify

through the same means. The fluidity of Iron Age group 'boundaries', as discussed in the previous section, is entirely relevant in Study Zone Two as well. However, when examining the same means of defining said community areas as determined for Zone One, in general, north and west Britain, throughout the Iron Age, are more difficult to regionalise especially through ceramic styles due to a lack of pottery use or a lack of evidence of pottery use in these areas (Cunliffe 1991: 91; see also Millett 1990; Hill 2002). Through the 7th to 6th centuries BC bronze implement typology offers a limited method of social grouping, though by the 5th century BC this method can no longer be relied upon as bronze seems to disappear from the archaeological record. From this point onwards it is possible to use hillfort architecture to identify regional and cultural groups, although in comparison to southern Britain, the study of these structures within this area is very limited (Cunliffe 1991: 102).

Boundaries based on the movements of material culture appear to be very fluid at this time (Cunliffe 1991: 102). However, material culture evidence in the north of Britain as a whole is relatively sparse, thus suggesting a smaller or less permanent population compared to southern Britain. It was during the latter part of the Iron Age that animal husbandry as well as cereal production featured largely in the north. When thinking about the physical geography of northern Britain, in particular the terrain, compared to southern Britain it is not surprising that a certain degree of transhumance occurred between summer and winter pastures (Millett 1990; Cunliffe 1991: 103). As a result, population patterns and material culture usage are poorly represented in the archaeological record, thus making regional and chronological identities less definite.

Looking further north into Scotland, two distinct bronze-working groups have been identified on the east coast: the Traprain-Hownam tradition and the Covesea-Abernethy group; however, most of Scotland has been identified as aceramic during this period (Cunliffe, 1991). The only area within Scotland found to be producing ceramics throughout the Iron Age into the Roman period was the northwest and the islands. As a result cultural groupings are more difficult to define with any certainty until the 1st century AD when Roman garrisons were established in the area and record keepers and other writers began to comment on the social and cultural make-up of the land they were invading (Cunliffe, 1991). However, literary sources giving details of campaigns against the 'tribes' of this area are sparse; therefore the archaeological record must be relied upon more so than is the case with Zone One (Millett 1990: 50; Cunliffe 1991). It is possible to question how aceramic areas of Scotland were. Several reasons could account for the lack of ceramic evidence up to the presence of the Roman armies, including the lack of settlement excavation, poor preservation or partial excavation that did not take into account ceramically rich sites or contexts, or a mobile population, as seen in pre-Roman Ireland (Hill 2002: 78). (See Figure A5.4.2 in

Appendix 5 for distribution groups of decorated pottery and bronze working in Britain during the Iron Age.)

The theme of water was ever present in the selection process. Climatically speaking, the geographical areas of Zone Two compared with that of Zone One, only a few hundred miles to the north, are served by significantly different weather patterns. As mentioned above, the physical geography is generally more mountainous in Zone Two compared to Zone One, thus resulting in a different use of the landscape. The weather in northern Britain, much wetter and at times more harsh compared to southern Britain, would no doubt contribute to the living and working patterns of the indigenous population in this area.

The wetter nature of the northern environs of this investigation also contributed to difficulty in using the physical geography of the area to narrow down the limits of Zone Two compared to Zone One. To maintain consistency in selection criteria, the river systems were taken into account for Zone Two also. However, significant river systems are more numerous owing to the physical geography and the rainfall. As such, up to five major rivers and their systems were identified in this area as possible boundary markers: the River Solway, River Forth, the River Tyne, the River Tweed and River Clyde. Whilst these rivers help to bound Zone Two, to examine sites along and around each of these waterways would potentially create too large a study area. However, when used in conjunction with the original criterion of the Iron Age socio-cultural 'boundaries', plus the addition of the two Roman walls, a more clearly definable study area became visible. Once the selected sites were plotted on a map (Section 4.7) a clear pattern emerged and the two waterways working with all of these elements to bound this area are the Solway Firth and the Firth of Forth. To maintain consistency, this study zone was named as the Solway-Forth Axis, otherwise recognised and referred to as Study Zone Two.

The landscape of northern England and the Scottish Borders is, today, scattered with lakes, lochs, tors and many more major rivers than the physical geography of Zone One, as well as having higher annual levels of precipitation. With the physical geography and climate pointing towards a much wetter landscape, these aspects can be coupled with cultural parameters, which have been used to define this second study zone.

4.7 Data collection and analysis

After the trialling of the methodological rationale of the investigation and the form of the database were both successfully carried out through the pilot studies, and the two case study zones were defined, the main body of data collection commenced. To begin with, a survey of all relevant, available publications relating to the counties covered by the two study zones was

undertaken. The boundaries of the counties falling within the parameters of the two study zones also acted to create boundaries for study Zones One and Two. The in-depth survey of literature was carried out by reviewing a range of site reports, excavation monographs, county journals, other published works, grey literature and their bibliographies for further references. These literary sources were accessed in the 'counties' section of the Institute of Archaeology library. From these publications, a large sample of 323 sites (221 sites across Zone One [Figure 4.4] and 102 sites across Zone Two [Figure 4.6]) demonstrating general patterns of settlement activity dating to within the Iron Age and Roman periods were recorded in the database (see data reports *Study Zone One* and *Study Zone Two* in the database on the attached CD). This sample of 323 sites is not a finite number of sites in the overall investigation of structured deposition and associated ritual activities. These sites were selected to act as a basis for my database to produce general patterns of settlement activity and potential patterns of structured ritual deposition for the Iron Age and Roman periods. The sites in this database can be added to or challenged as future sites and arguments regarding structured deposition and ritual come to light.

From the 323 sample sites identified from the initial review of Iron Age and Roman sites a subset of sites were selected based on those showing evidence of repeated depositional activity of metal and associated goods along with their grid reference, time span and key features, including physical geography and key finds. One other aspect used in the cataloguing of each site was a rating from 1 to 3 ascribed under the term 'excavated' (see Figure 4.2). This rating was used to determine how much information is available for each site and how old this information is. For example, sites with information dating over 50 years old with less than two publications of this age were given a rating of 3. Sites with extensive amounts of literature both old and new were given a rating of 1. Sites and their relevant information falling anywhere between these two classifications were given a rating of 2. These ratings were used along with the 'key features', 'key finds' and 'time span' categories to help narrow down a number of sites to investigate in more depth. Therefore from the data bank of 323 available sites 22 sites were selected for in-depth study from across Zone One (Figure 4.5) and 19 sites from across Zone Two (Figure 4.7) using the criteria outlined above (see reports *Severn-Thames Axis* and *Solway-Forth Axis* in the database on the CD). As with the pilot studies, the main source of information for data collection was the use of site reports. A gazetteer of all sites selected for in-depth study, their key information and the reports from which the data were gathered can be found in Appendix 3.

Figure 4.4: Sites of potential study in Zone One

(Source: Google Maps with own annotations)

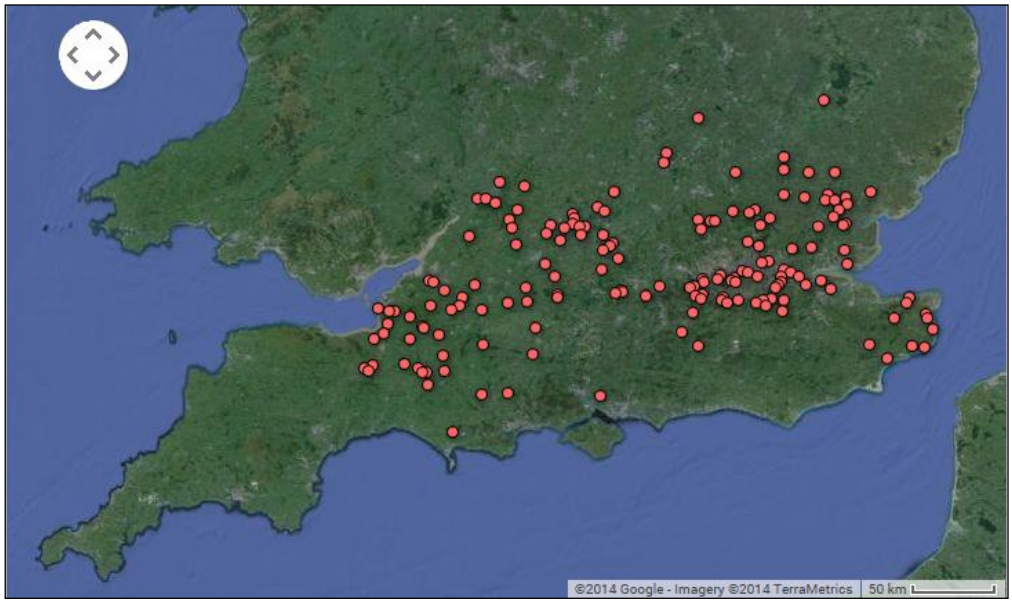
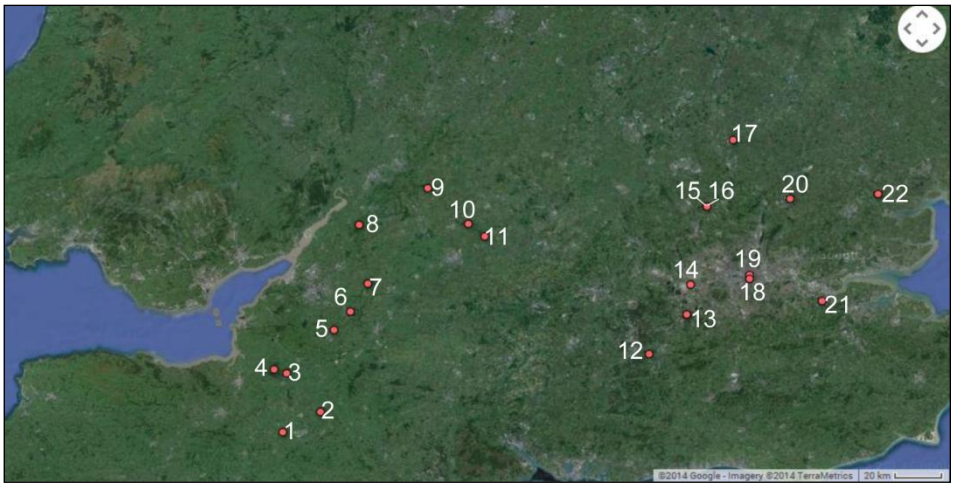


Figure 4.5: 22 sites of selected study in Zone One

(Source: Google Maps with own annotations)



1: Ham Hill (Somerset); 2: Cadbury Castle (Somerset); 3: Glastonbury (Somerset); 4: Meare (Somerset); 5: Camerton (Somerset); 6: Bath (Somerset); 7: Nettleton (Wiltshire); 8: Uley (Gloucestershire); 9: Chedworth (Gloucestershire); 10: Lechlade (Gloucestershire); 11: Faringdon (Oxfordshire); 12: Wanborough (Surrey); 13: Weybridge (Surrey); 14: Heathrow (Greater London); 15: Folly Lane (Hertfordshire); 16: Verulamium (Hertfordshire); 17: Baldock (Hertfordshire); 18: Southwark (London); 19: Walbrook (London); 20: Harlow (Essex); 21: Springhead (Kent); 22: Ivy Chimneys (Essex).

Figure 4.6: Sites of potential study in Zone Two

(Source: Google Maps with own annotations)

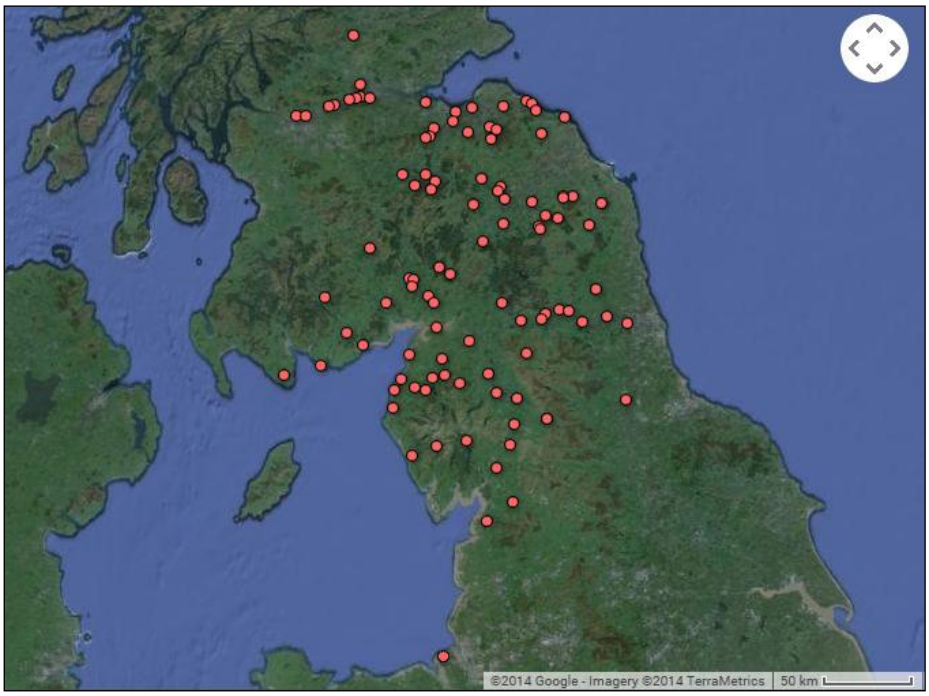
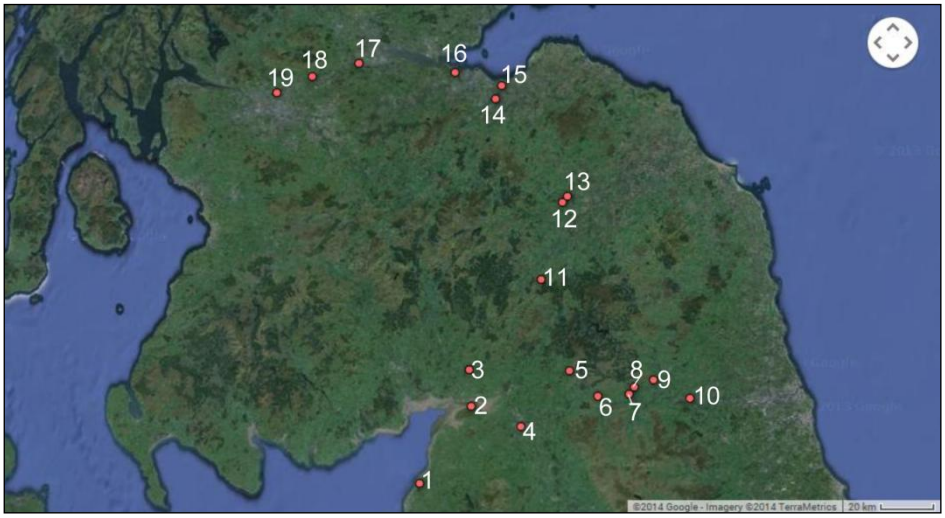


Figure 4.7: 19 sites of selected study in Zone Two

(Source: Google Maps with own annotations)



1: Maryport (Cumbria); 2: Bowness-on-Solway (Cumbria); 3: Birrens (Dumfries and Galloway); 4: Carlisle (Cumbria); 5: Bewcastle (Cumbria); 6: Magna (Northumberland); 7: Vindolanda (Northumberland); 8: Housesteads (Northumberland); 9: Coventina's Well (Northumberland); 10: Corbridge (Northumberland); 11: The Dod (Scottish Borders); 12: Eildon Hill North (Scottish Borders); 13: Newstead (Scottish Borders); 14: Elginhaugh (Lothian); 15: Inveresk (Lothian); 16: Cramond (Edinburgh); 17: Camelon (Strathclyde); 18: Bar Hill (Dunbartonshire); 19: Balmuildy (Strathclyde).

Due to the nature of this investigation, examining possible ritual origins of deposits associated with watery areas, the site data utilised from the reports selected for detailed study produced various interpretations for the finds and their context types. The authors of many of the site reports interpreted certain finds as votive or ritual in some way, perhaps owing to their material type, object type, find spot, time at which they were deposited, object associations and whether they were miniature representations, as was the case with a series of miniature axes recovered from Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993). Whilst these interpretations are frequently valid, those items that had been left out of these definitions might be equally important. This is because the terms 'votive' or 'ritual' are in themselves subjective on the part of the person interpreting the find and/or its context, as discussed in Chapter 1. What became increasingly apparent throughout the data-collecting process was that the description of finds as 'votive' or 'ritual' varied between site reports and their interpretations. As such, the items classified as 'votive' or 'ritual' in the reports were labelled in the database with a '(v)' but in the analysis were compared with the total finds recovered within their contexts to determine the nature of the finds and their find spots. Analysing the data in this way also sought to re-interpret the pre-determined categories of what constitutes votive and non-votive, as set out by the archaeologists in their site reports.

Finds noted as whole, broken or deliberately broken in the reports used were also recorded as such in the database (these classifications can be observed in the individual site data reports in the database on the CD). All finds were recorded as whole unless identified as broken '(b)' or deliberately broken '(db)' and details on how they were broken or deliberately broken are given where the information was available. The destruction of items prior to deposition has been noted as part of significant practices of ritual depositional activities elsewhere, for example Pryor's (1991) observations of the weapons, tools, personal ornaments and pottery vessels deposited near the causeway at the Late Bronze Age site of Flag Fen (Chapter 2). If deposition involved the removing of the item from circulation in the living world through the medium of water, earth or fire then the destruction of the item prior to deposition ensures that this object can no longer be used (Wells 2007: 468-78). York (2002: 80) has defined what can constitute deliberate breakage: chopped across at right angles to the length, crushed or smashed in a way that is inconsistent with the item's use; bent to breaking point; and burnt and possibly distorted as part of this process, particularly for metalwork. These characterisations contrast with those items that appear used or destroyed owing to use, in which case such items show evidence of blunting, notches, chips, tears or worn edges, whilst those items that were destroyed are often smashed and appear fragmented owing to actions as part of their function, such as pottery or glass vessels. In terms of this investigation, it was the metalwork, on the whole, that was analysed in this way, owing to the fact that all those finds

recorded as deliberately broken or altered fell into the different metalwork categories, thus limiting the comparisons between whole, broken and deliberately broken finds to these artefacts. If finds of any other type were noted as deliberately broken in their respective site reports, these were also taken into account in data recording and analysis.

Owing to the nature of this investigation, the time zones were delineated to cover the immediate pre-Roman period through to the end of the Roman period to account for the phase of transition. To determine continuity of depositional practices, the finds and features of each site studied were taken into account outside of these time zones as far back as records allowed and as far forward as the post-Roman/medieval period. For the ease of categorising find types and context types, standardised time zones were employed as part of the analysis. The time zones were divided into 100-year segments starting from 50 BC and ending with the period AD 250 to AD 350. Those finds and contexts dating pre-50 BC and post- AD 350 were placed in their own separate categories to be focussed upon in the discussion if necessary. Those finds the date range of which fell into more than one of these specified time zones were recorded from the earliest period given for their date. This ensured that they were recorded only once.

As with the pilot studies, all quantitative data were analysed and displayed through Microsoft Excel. This program provided the most straightforward methods for storing and comparing the analysed data in relation to the research questions to be asked of it. The analysis of the data took a two-tier approach. In terms of intra-site analysis, the individual sites were examined in depth to bring out both recognised and as yet unrecognised episodes of structured deposition by discussing in full the find types, context types and the wider landscape involved in individual episodes of deposition. The rest of the analysis took on a more broad perspective across the study zones as a whole, examining general trends in depositional behaviour using the key themes from the research questions to lead the analysis. This formed the inter-site analysis. This two-tier analysis allowed for a thorough review of the data by bringing out patterns on a site-by-site basis as well as more generally zone-wide. Hill (1995: 70) critiqued his own methods of research and analysis when investigating Iron Age pit fills across Wessex. He stated that it may have been more useful to concentrate on individual pits and draw out general ideas through discussions of each. He felt that concentrating on individual pits would have allowed for connections to be made between overall patterns, making the data easier to understand and making the overall argument stronger whilst also stressing individual processes of deposition. Hingley (2006: 220), in his research into ironwork deposits during the British Iron Age and Roman periods, also suggested that a more detailed analysis of the individual sites explored in his database would lead to better understanding of the patterns identified so far. My investigation, therefore,

seeks to fill these methodological gaps. The results for both the intra- and inter-site analyses can be found in Chapters 5 and 6.

The use of statistical tests were trialled on the total finds data for each study zone, specifically the chi-squared test and Fisher's exact test, through the use of the R program. It was hoped that through the use of statistical tests, general patterns of deposition might be highlighted and the results used to focus the investigation on specific sites or episodes of deposition. However, these tests proved ineffective in discerning any significant patterns. What the practice of applying statisitcal tests showed is that, whilst these tests are no doubt of use for certain data sets, the relatively low numbers that were being tested here, and the high variablity of the finds across different context types and finds categories, made the results of testing inaccurate and unreliable for the full analytical purposes of my investigation. For the nature of these data, it is more effective to look at the results in a more raw form to determine which finds, and in what context types, appear more unusual or significant and therefore useful to discuss within the framework of the investigation. The trialling of the significance tests also ensured the robustness of my investigation's methodology.

Whilst the number and variety of sites selected for in-depth study is quite large for each study zone, it is the nature of my investigation to provide a wide basis for further exploration of possible ritual practices of deposition. The investigation has been designed to provide a database exploring patterns of depositional behaviour from a range of context types dating across the period of transition so that further exploration and investigation can be carried out in the future on specific sites or on a smaller collection of the sites selected here. Furthermore, new sites that have come to light since this investigation was begun can also be added to the database.

4.8 Summary

After establishing both general and site-specific research questions, identifying sites within the broad parameters of the British Isles for possible study through initial reviews of the literature, trialling the methodological rationale of this investigation and the current format of the study's database through the two pilot studies of Newstead and Uley and their patterns of deposition, the empirical approach of this investigation was resolutely confirmed in its examination of existing records provided in site reports.

A broad sample of 323 sites producing general settlement information spanning the Iron Age and Roman periods from two contrasting study areas has been examined and the sites collated from in-depth reviews of a range of available publications. From this databank, 22 sites from across Zone One and 19 sites from across Zone Two have been selected for more detailed

study with all find-types, their condition and the context from which they were recovered recorded from site report data and stored within the database. It is hoped that the number and type of selected sites for in-depth study provide enough data to produce regional patterns of structured deposition, ritual activities and changes in such activities over the period of transition. It is also hoped that the patterns emerging from these 41 initially selected sites can be expanded upon or challenged in future investigations.

Careful attention has been paid to the ways in which the site reports categorised and interpreted the finds, whilst also creating my own standardised methods of labelling the data within the database, in particular votive finds against non-votive finds, to aid in a thorough intra-site analysis. The rest of the data were then subjected to a broad inter-site analysis to draw out zone-wide patterns of deposition across the transition period. The following two chapters will discuss the results of the intra- and inter-site analyses based on the key themes of the research questions outlined in this chapter.

PART IV: ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 5.

The Severn-Thames Axis and Analysis of its Sites: Study Zone One

5.1 Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is to review the patterns of depositional behaviour across the 22 sites from within the Severn-Thames Axis, otherwise referred to as Study Zone One. Findings from Zone One's sites have been grouped in relation to the main themes of this investigation using the research questions established in Chapter 4. The analysis for Zone One commences with an in-depth intra-site examination of the finds, features and contexts, and will evaluate whether current ascribed interpretations of these particular finds and their contexts are appropriate in terms of depositional practices (Section 5.2.2). The investigation will then move on to broader inter-site analyses to answer the remaining research questions relating to the individual study zones, in a prelude to an inter-regional comparative discussion in Chapter 7.

5.2 Intra-site analysis

5.2.1 Introduction

Table A6.5.1 (Appendix 6) provides an outline of each of the Zone One sites studied in depth in section 5.2.2. Table A6.5.1 has been divided into sites with shrine and temple structures and other settlement and hillfort sites. Within these divisions the sites have been ordered geographically moving from west to east. The 'Key Landscape Features' and 'Watery Aspect' categories are based on the details given in the site reports and the use of Ordnance Survey maps to confirm these details.

5.2.2 How appropriate are the definitions of categories of deposition in the site reports?

This investigation has noted interpretations of ritual deposition made in the site reports, but these interpretations are often based on site-specific circumstantial evidence or presumed practices. Their interpretations are open to further exploration and investigation. Specific find types, and context types, and the percieved continuation of similar practices of deposition attributed to ritual in earlier traditions could all lead to uncritical interpretations of such practices of deposition as ritual. In this section I will compare and contrast the finds interpreted as 'ritual' in the site reports to the total finds emerging from each context type (see Figure 5.1a-c).

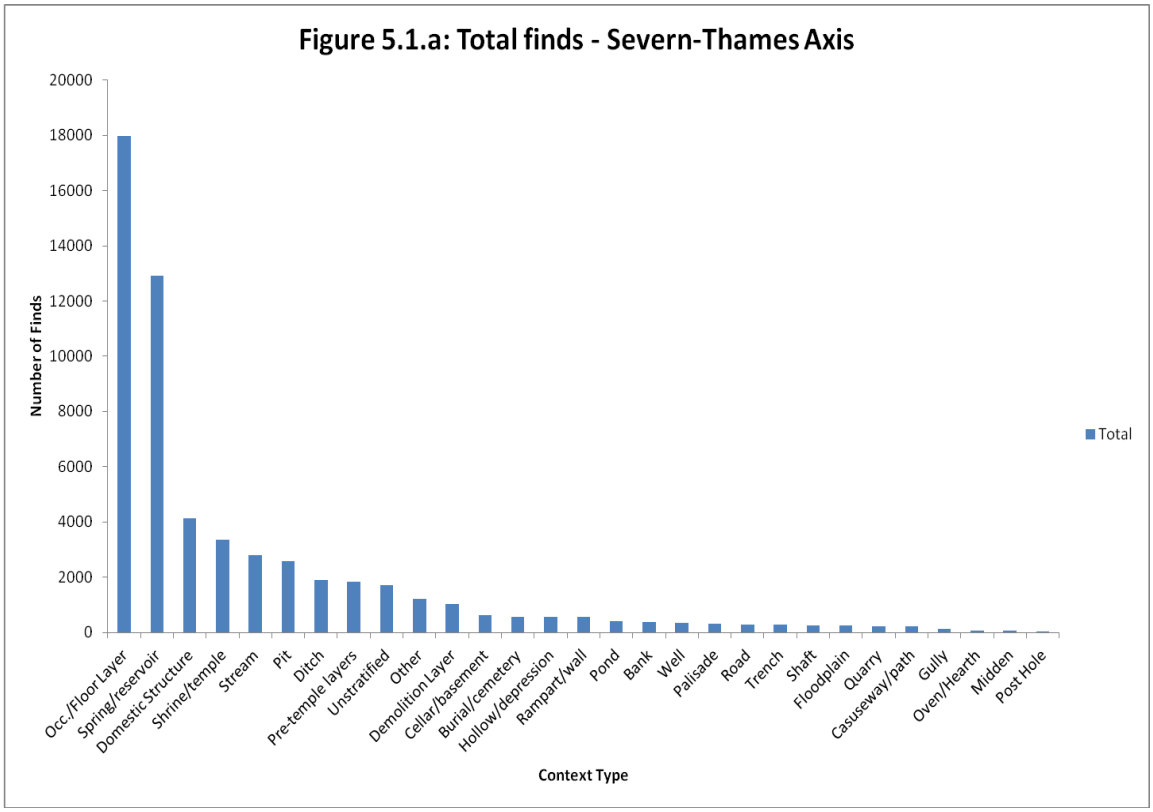


Figure 5.1.a: Total finds - Severn-Thames Axis
Number of Finds
20000
18000
16000
14000
12000
10000
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
Occ./Floor Layer
Spring/reservoir
Domestic Structure
Shrine/temple
Stream
Pit
Ditch
Pre-temple layers
Unstratified
Other
Demolition Layer
Cellar/basement
Burial/cemetery
Hollow/depression
Rampart/wall
Pond
Bank
Well
Palisade
Road
Trench
Shaft
Floodplain
Quarry
Casuseway/path
Gully
Oven/Hearth
Midden
Post Hole
Context Type
Total

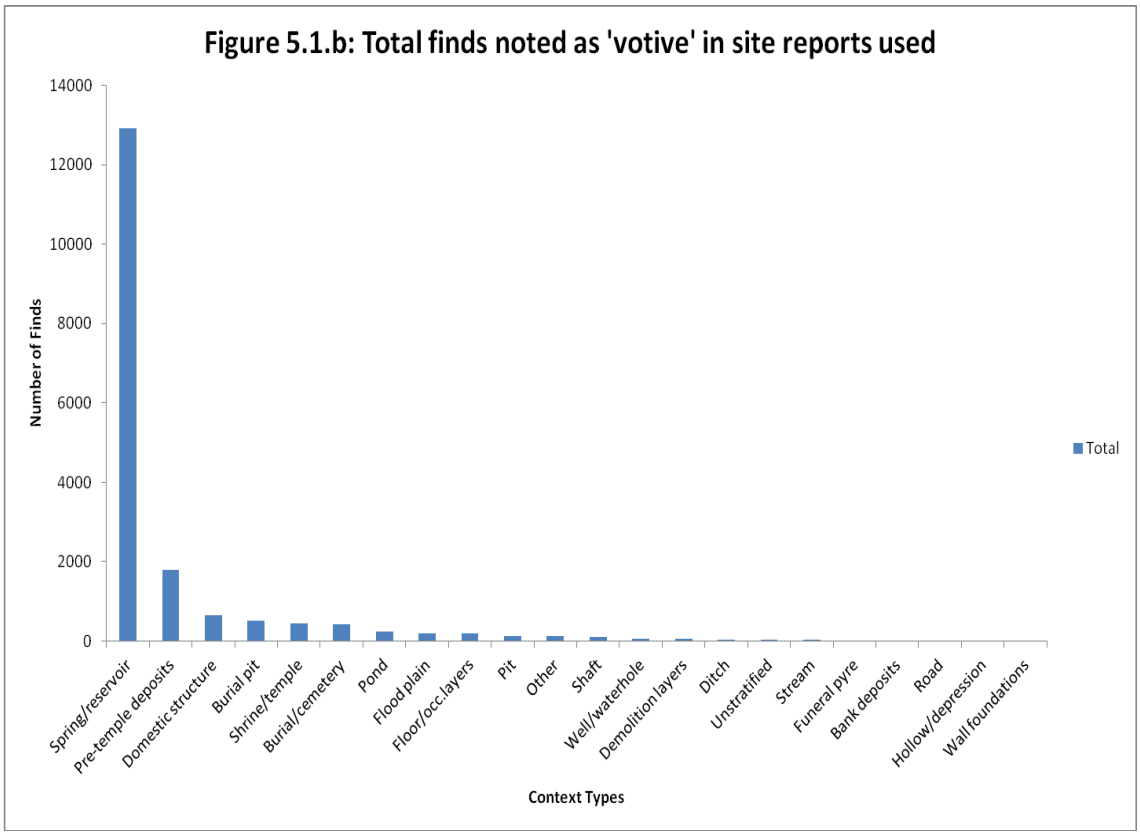
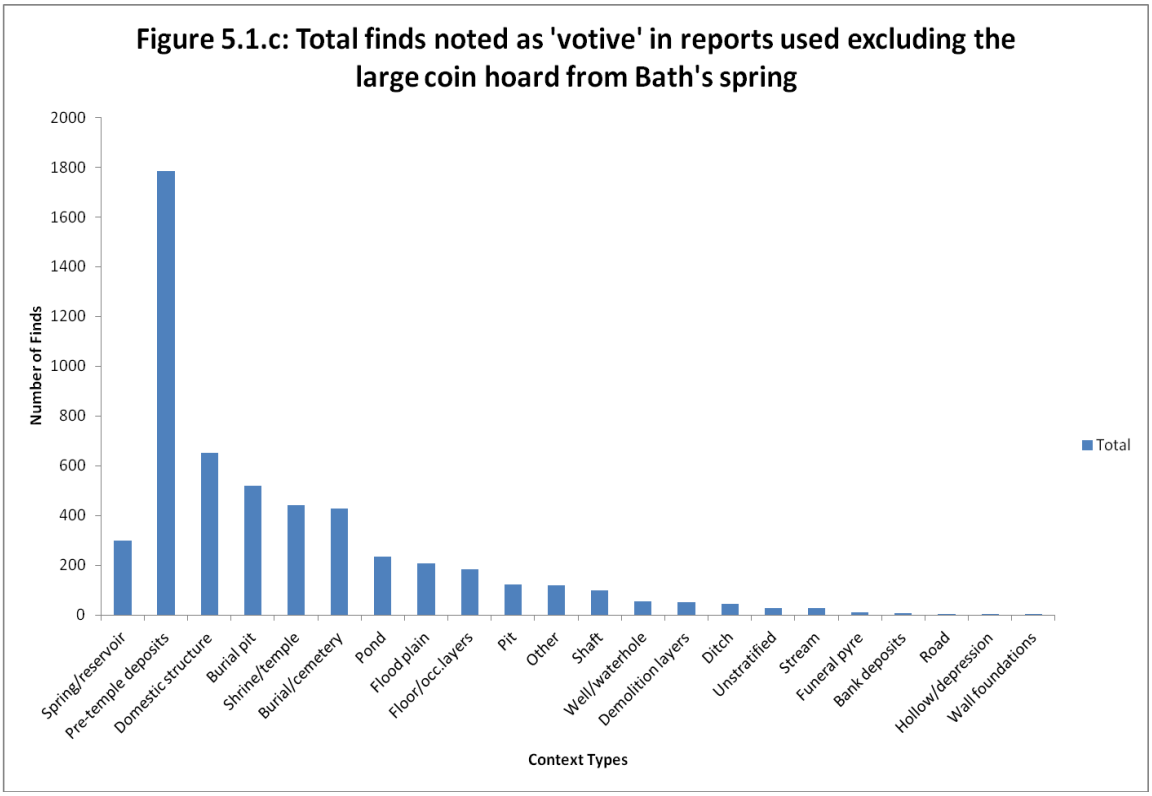


Figure 5.1.b: Total finds noted as 'votive' in site reports used
Number of Finds
14000
12000
10000
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
Spring/reservoir
Pre-temple deposits
Domestic structure
Burial pit
Shrine/temple
Burial/cemetery
Pond
Flood plain
Floor/occ.layers
Pit
Other
Shaft
Well/waterhole
Demolition layers
Ditch
Unstratified
Stream
Funeral pyre
Bank deposits
Road
Hollow/depression
Wall foundations
Context Types
Total



Out of the 22 sites from across Zone One, four produced no finds of an ascribed 'ritual' nature during the pre-Roman Iron Age to Roman periods. These four sites are Lechlade, Gloucestershire; Weybridge, Surrey; Southwark, London; and Springhead, Kent. Of these sites Lechlade and Springhead produced finds of human remains, both articulated and disarticulated, which for the purposes of this investigation have been acknowledged as ritual. Southwark produced two Venus statuettes, one from a later Roman ditch and the other from a later Roman pit or gully amongst building debris and middens with associated marble remains, possibly indicating the original presence of a domestic shrine, for which no remains are currently known or argued for. It is for these reasons that these sites have been included here.

Of the remaining 18 sites, 10 revealed contexts which were overtly religious i.e. shrines, temples or burial areas. In many cases the majority of finds are a part of the ritual activities taking place at these sites, such as the coin finds from the spring reservoir silts at Bath and the burial goods mixed with the cremated human remains recovered from the large burial pit at Folly Lane. It is important to note, however, that all finds recovered from specifically religious or ritual contexts do not necessarily relate to ritual deposition linked to these structures or areas. Furthermore, there are other locations of each site studied here, whether of a religious focus or not, that have produced finds that fall within this investigation's definition of what might consistiute 'ritual' deposition (Section 1.2.3). For example, large collections of the same or related finds, or single/minimal finds from categories that rarely produced finds in

quantity, specifically 'other large metal' finds, and, as mentioned above, the presence of human remains, all of which appeared to be deliberately placed in particular contexts or specific areas of the site. The presence or absence of these types of finds patterns will be discussed below on a site-by-site basis. These sites have been ordered according to the site sequence in Table A6.5.1.

Sites with shrines/temples:

Cadbury Castle, Somerset

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Cadbury Castle, Somerset: the Later Prehistoric and Early Historic Archaeology* (2000) by J.C. Barrett *et al*. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.5.1 in Appendix 4.

Some of the most interesting features relevant to this investigation at Cadbury Castle hillfort include the 'massacre and burning levels' (Barrett *et al.* 2000: 81), the deposits made in the area of the South Western Gate, and the one shrine from which a large number of animal burials was recovered. Water, however, is not a significant factor relating to the ritual finds recovered from this site. The total finds, however, did match patterns of deposition examined across Zones One and Two, thus making Cadbury Castle a significant site to examine as a part of this study.

Key episodes of structured deposition have been dated from the Late Iron Age to Early Roman period. Six hoards of tools and weaponry have been noted from the archaeological record at Cadbury Castle hillfort. One hoard of clay sling shots and two of slingstones, one of 26 stones and the other two of unknown numbers, were recovered from the area of the South Western Gate, one from a pit near the guard chamber, and two from deposits made above the bank extension next to the guard chamber. All hoards pre-date the aforementioned 'massacre and buring levels' (Barrett *et al* 2000: 81), dating to the Late Iron Age. These sling shot and slingstone hoards are comparable to a number of similar hoards from several sites studied across western Zone One, including Ham Hill and the settlements of Glastonbury and Meare, but also sites not a part of this in-depth study. At Maiden Castle, Dorset, one of the sites considered as part of the wider Zone One study area, many thousands of slingstones were recovered in a number of large hoards from across the hillfort (Sharples 1991: 111). It is possible that hoards of slingstones and clay sling shots were significant deposits made in Zone One. These ideas will be explored later in this chapter.

A fourth hoard of clay sling shots, consisting of an unknown number, was recovered along with a number of whole iron tools, which were wrapped in straw prior to deposition, from a pit behind the inner bank to the south of the site dated to the mid-1st century AD. The tool types are as follows: one axe, two saws, four knives, one adze, four reaping hooks and three awls. Other items recovered as a part of this hoard were one bone weaving comb, one antler hammer, an iron currency bar, a shale platter and wooden bowl. Being contemporary to the 'massacre and buring levels' it is possible that this hoard represents dedicative deposits honouring the development and refortification of the fort and solidifying the site's boundaries as seen by Brück (2006: 298) during the Late Bronze Age in Britain, Parker Pearson and Richards (1994: 53) during the British Iron Age, Hingley (2006: 238) during the Late Iron Age to Early Roman periods in Britain (Section 1.2), and Fulford (2001: 202) in Roman Britain, specifically the south east of England. Hingley (2006: 226) has also commented on the emphasis during the 1st century BC to 1st century AD upon enclosure entrances and the marking of the entrance through the placement of votive deposits, particularly currency bars. Whilst this hoard is not near the fort's main entrance, a similar interpretation can still be applied, marking the established boundary of the fort. However, this deposit could also represent a hoard of items wrapped in straw for protection, which was intended for recovery at a later date.

The main feature that is most significant, in terms of numbers of finds and their condition, is the 'massacre and burning levels'(Barrett *et al* 2000: 81). Large quantities of weaponry, tools, personal ornaments, including 13 iron spearheads, seven iron catapult bolts, one iron reaping hook, 22 iron nails and bolt heads, 42 copper alloy brooches, four copper alloy rings and bracelets, two iron neckring pieces, and the disjointed remains of over 40 individuals aged between 4 and 35 years (both burnt and unburnt), known as 'massacre deposits' (Barrett *et al* 2000: 98), were recovered from this layer, which was spread around the hillfort's South Western Gate. Whilst it appears that a massacre ocurred at this site, the remains of which were spread across this area of the site during the mid-1st century AD, there are yet a number of finds from this layer and the contexts immediately pre- and post-dating these levels that offer insight into the actions of deposition and development of the site, including the recovery of weaponry and tool hoards recovered from the area of the South Western Gate and the fort bank next to the gate discussed in part here and examined in full in Sections 5.7 and 5.8. In the following section a comparison is also made to Sharples' (1991: 41) interpretation of similar burnt material spreads identified at the Maiden Castle hillfort, Dorset.

A fifth weaponry and tool hoard dates to the period of re-building immediately after the 'massacre and burning' layers in the mid- to late 1st century AD. The hoarded items, recovered from the occupation layers of the South Western Gate structure, consist of 10 iron

latch lifters, five of which were noted as being deliberately broken having had their tips removed. In addition to these hoarded finds were a number of other items of weaponry, tool and personal ornament finds. Of the weaponry, nine iron spearheads were recovered with one of these also noted as being deliberately bent and broken prior to deposition. Additional weaponry finds from the occpation layers of the South Western Gate include one iron shield boss, one copper alloy knife scabbard complete with knife dated to the Late Iron Age, and one sheep/goat bone blade. The additonal tool finds include three iron lift keys, five iron bolts (heads only), one iron nail and one iron ferrule. In the personal ornament category were 37 copper alloy brooches, one iron buckle, one shale armlet, one iron neckring fragment and one copper alloy ring. These finds recovered along with the hoarded finds, all directly related to the South Western Gate, adds to the theory that these artefacts were intentionally placed immediately prior to or during the re-building of the structure and its associated buildings, with the presence of the hoarded latchlifters and additional lift keys reinforcing ideas of 'boundedness and security' (Hingley 2006: 218). The fact that five of the latchlifters, along with one of the spearheads, were deliberately broken could, however, be symbolic of the failure of these boundaries and the subsequent 'massacre'. These broken items will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.8. A final ironwork hoard was recovered from a gully from fort structures within the centre of the plateau, dating to the later period of Roman occupation; however no other details are available regarding the contents and condition of this hoard.

The mid-1st century AD rectangluar shrine was located with other fort structures at the centre of the hillfort plateau, and identified as such owing to its large size in comparison to the neighbouring buildings (Downes 1997: 156). The shrine was identified along with a large number of neonate calves. These animal remains were noted as being connected with this structure recovered 25 meters to the east on the approach to the shrine in a context identified as pre-dating the structure by up to 100 years (Downes 1997: 151). The 34 calves could signify ritual killing or alternatively the culling of animals to halt the spread of disease, or for milk production; the lack of butchery marks, dismemberment or gnaw marks suggests they were buried soon after death (Downes 1997:151; Barrett *et al* 2000: 291). Finds recovered from the occupation layers of this building include one coin of Late Iron Age date plus various potsherds, metalworking debris and two quernstones – one lower stone of a rotary quern and one saddlestone quern fragment. The pottery remains could represent offerings made at the shrine and the quernstones could also be suggestive of ritual activity. Several scholars have suggested that quernstones could be significant, including Brück (2006: 304) in her work on Middle and Late Bronze Age pit, posthole and burial deposits in Britian, Wait (1985) examining what items have been identified as 'votive' in ritual shafts of the Iron Age,

Downes (1997: 151) in her work on Cadbury Castle, and Hamilton (1997: 9) in her work on pit deposits at the Caburn hillfort, Sussex. One possibility is that querns were seen as symbolic, representing recreation or transformation in their re-used form from domestic activities to ritual purposes (Downes 1997: 151). However, from these few finds directly related to this one structure little can be surmised of the activities taking place here and the traditions acknowledged. The neonate calf remains do appear to reinforce the idea that this area of the fort was of ritual importance in the 100 years prior to the building of the shrine.

One of the limestone quarry scoops associated with part of the rampart section close to the South Western Gate produced a total of 23 bone and antler tools, 13% of the total tool finds from across the site. Very little else was recovered from these context types other than a few potsherds and two pieces of polished sheep or goat metapodial bone, all dated to the 1st to 2nd centuries AD. The 23 tool finds consist of 11 bone or antler weaving combs and 12 bone gouges with only the small ceramic assemblage in addition. Their condition, according to the site report, was whole and undamaged (Barrett *et al* 2000). Items in such a condition that took time to create could be easily retrieved prior to the infilling of this context and with few other finds associated would suggest deposits of importance. It is possible these tools were intended as a dedication marking the construction of the rampart and other areas of the fort structure, after the period of 'massacre and burning'. The relevance of the 23 tools in the quarry scoop close to the south western rampart and the nearby hillfort gate could also suggest deposits signifying or reinforcing the boundaries of the hillfort, as discussed above.

The concentration of structured deposits of weaponry, tools, personal ornaments and smaller quantities of other find types, particularly at the South Western Gate of Cadbury Castle's hillfort, dating to the Late Iron Age to late 1st to early 2nd centuries AD, suggests that this period in the hillfort's history and the location of these deposits at the entrance to the fort was of significance. With this finds evidence it is possible to suggest that the 'massacre and burning levels' (Barrett, *et al* 2000: 81), as they have been identified, may not be 'massacre deposits' (Barrett *et al* 2000: 98).

Bath, Somerset

Two site reports were used for the gathering of finds and context data for Bath, the latter report was used to provide details of the finds from the spring's reservoir in particular. The reports are as follows: *Roman Bath* (1969) by B. Cunliffe; *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, Volume 1: The Site* (1985) by B. Cunliffe and P. Davenport. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.5.2 in Appendix 4.

The town of Bath has evidence of both ritual and domestic activity from late prehistory through to the present day; however it is the bath and temple areas that are the focus in this investigation, owing to their obvious ritual character centred on a spring. The use of the spring in prehistory is difficult to ascertain owing to Roman period reconstructions that involved the clearing of the deposits surrounding the spring (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985: 39). Eighteen Late Iron Age coins were recovered from the silt deposits in the spring's reservoir but little else. When excavated the coins appeared new and unworn having been well preserved in the anaerobic conditions of the reservoir mud; therefore they are likely to date to the LPRIA deposits rather than being hoarded coins subsequently deposited in the Roman period (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985: 9).

Of the total number of 'votive' finds identified from Bath, the majority were recovered from the spring's reservoir and included coins, personal ornaments and other metal types including lead tablets and pewter tableware. As Cunliffe and Davenport have explained with reference to the early excavations: 'Major Davis excavated comparatively little of the votive deposit in the spring...although the records are far from satisfactory we can with certainty list [several] items which definitely came from the spring in 1879' (1985: 45). In comparison, the finds from the temple precinct built around the spring mainly consisted of worked stone fixtures, such as inscribed stones dedicated to Sulis Minerva, stone capitals, the remains of decorative façades depicting various deities and the remains of eight altars. Few other finds have been recovered associated with the temple precinct. Those that have been recorded include oyster shell remains and a few sherds of pottery. It is possible that post-occupation activity and excavations did little to preserve any associated finds within the temple or that this area was kept clear during its use. From the finds evidence available, the main focus of structured ritual deposition was confined to the spring's reservoir.

Whilst there appears to be little pre-Roman activity owing to constant rebuilding from the Roman period, the presence of Sulis Minerva's name inscribed on various stones, her image decorating stone façades and bronze statues, as well as other syncretised Roman/indigenous deities worshipped at this site suggests, if not a pre-Roman, at least an indigenous presence in ritual activities. It is possible that local populations, those who settled in the area through trade links or those in connection with army personnel travelling throughout northwest Europe with the Roman occupation maintained or brought with them rituals honouring pre-Roman deities, which were practiced at this site. Table 5.1 shows the number of deities mentioned in inscriptions, depicted in stone and on personal ornaments from the temple and bath complexes as available from the two reports used:

Table 5.1: Deities identified at the temple and its precinct, Bath

Name of Deity	Number of inscriptions/images noted
Sulis Minerva	6
Unknown	Various
Mother goddess	3
Emperors	2
Minerva	2
Apollo	1
Bacchus	1
Cupid	1
Diana	1
Hercules Bibax	1
Jupiter	1
Loucetius Mars	1
Luna/Selene	1
Mercury	1
Nemetona	1
Sulviae	1
Sulis	1
Fortunas	1
Methe	1

The names of Sulis, Loucetius, Nemetona, and Sulviae all attest to the presence of indigenous deities. These particular examples were known to have been worshipped across northwest Europe as a whole and worshipped in southern Britain at least during the Roman occupation, with Sulis Minerva most prominently associated with the site of Bath. With this epigraphic evidence it is possible to see a transition in ritual practices, specifically the amalgamation of indigenous and classical deities worshipped in the same ways at one site.

Much ornamental stonework was recovered from the temple precincts and temple foundations, also with some unprovenanced, including altars, forms of deities and other icons, and the associated niches and stands for display, none of which are an unusual occurrence for a temple building and its surrounding area. Examining some of the other finds categories, the 'other large metal' category produced an unusually high number of finds. The majority of these finds were recovered from the spring's reservoir. Two were recovered from the temple precinct or close by: one find was a large bronze cup and the other the head of a Sulis

Minerva statue (Figure 5.2), again not an unusual find for the temple precinct where the principle deity worshipped was the goddess so named.

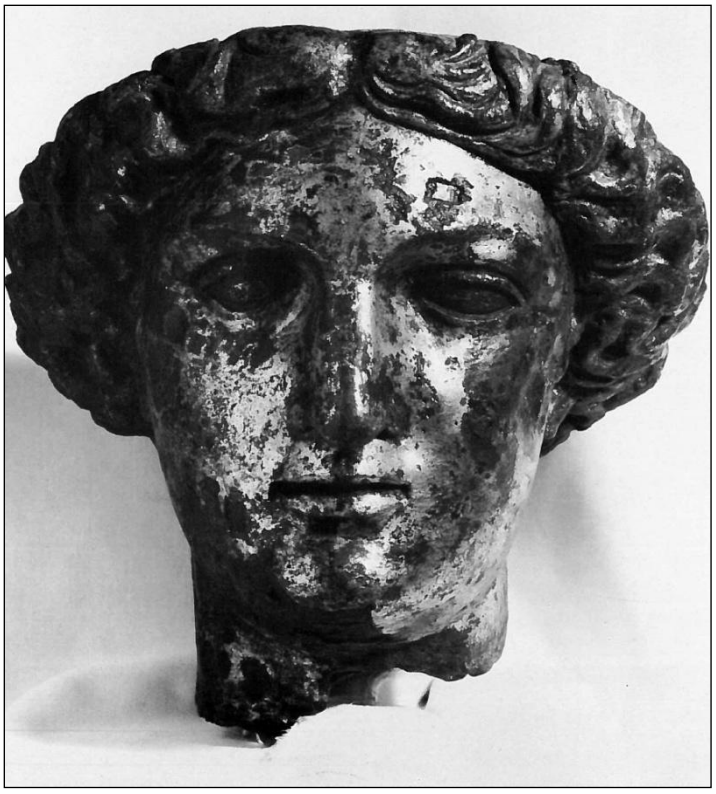


Figure 5.2: Bronze head from a staue of Sulis Minerva

(Source: Cunliffe and Davenport 1985: plate xxxii)

The recovery of the Sulis Minerva statue head could, however, relate to the Iron Age and Roman 'cult of the head', the belief that an individual's soul and personality was held within the skull (Clarke 1996: 75; Frere 1999: 323). Possible evidence of the 'cult of the head' has been identified across a number of sites studied in both Zones One and Two. Through these finds it is possible to suggest that Roman rituals maintained or were based on pre-Roman ritual ideologies. Alternatively, like the presence of the indigenous deities named above, the 'Roman' populations moving to this part of the Empire were closer socially and spiritually to the people of northwest Europe than they were to the popualtions of Mediterranean Europe (see Chapter 2).

Of 'other large metal' finds 34% were recovered in association with the temple baths (see the database in Appendix 2 and open site data reports for 'Bath' and 'Bath 2') and relate to the functions of these buildings: lead piping, lead lining and sluice remains. One large lead pig, or ingot, was recovered along with the remains of lead lining, piping and frameworks from the drain system. In Cunliffe's (1969) report the lead pig was recorded as possibly votive,

perhaps owing to its one-off presence. The only other finds recovered, though not in direct association, were a lead dowel and some stone building material, as well as the water pipe sections and framework. From these minimal finds data it is clear that continual structured deposition was not practiced in this part of the temple complex. However the one-off, large and valuable find of the lead pig certainly stands as a ritual deposit in connection with both flowing water and the spiritual focus of the temple.

The skull of an adult female dating to the Late Roman to early medieval period was recovered from the disused flue of an oven from one of the domestic structures of what is now Abbeygate Street, located to the south of the main temple and bath complex. It appears to have been placed into the flue with no other finds directly associated. A human skull discovered outside of a cemetery context is a find of significance. The other artefacts from the surrounding occupation layers of the structure with which the flue was associated include pottery sherds dating from the 1st to 4th centuries AD, butchered animal remains, building materials and the singular finds of a lump of lead slag and a bone finger ring. The disarticulated skull find is no doubt significant, perhaps also relating to the pre-Roman Iron Age to Roman 'cult of the head' (Frere 1999: 323). Whilst the small collection of finds within the occupation spreads could be remnants of the everyday activities that took place in this structure, it is also possible that they too form part of the ritual deposition associated with the votive skull find. The skull placed in the flue may have been part of some kind of ritual relating to the use or evacuation of the building at the close of the Roman period and the associated small finds could also be representative of the ritual closure of activities that took place here.

Unlike the shrine at Cadbury Castle, the temple complex established at Bath was a clear focus of ritual deposition throughout the Roman period. From the finds discussed here it is possible to see a transition in ritual activities mainly through the epigraphic evidence of indigenous/Roman deity syncretism within the temple complex, but also through the possible evidence of the 'cult of the head' (Frere 1999: 323), a practice identified from the pre-Roman Iron Age and continuing into the Roman period.

Uley, Gloucestershire

The report used for the collection of finds and context data for this site was: *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire 1977-9* (1993) by A. Woodward and P. Leach. The location of the finds discussed below have been displayed in Site Plan A4.5.3 in Appendix 4.

The hilltop temple at Uley is a recognised ritual centre with associated activity from the LPRIA through to the late Roman period, at least, with Mercury the most prominent deity worshipped here during the Roman period (Woodward and Leach 1993). When examining the total finds from across the site the main three finds-producing contexts types include the temple, occupation spreads from domestic structures and demolitions layers (see Figure A5.5.1c). When examining the finds from these contexts further it is interesting to note the types of objects recovered and their condition, which may provide some insight into the ritual activities and associated depositional practices that took place at the temple and associated structures.

Little is known of the pre-Roman deity or deities worshipped. Most of the pits pre-date the Roman occupation of Uley, thus reinforcing the idea of a continuation of the cult legacy of the site or, at the very least, occupation of the site. One such pit, located in the temple complex, was named in the report as a 'votive' pit producing finds such as weaponry, animal remains, personal ornaments and unknown numbers of coins. It has been suggested that this pit once held a water tank in the Early Roman period to receive votive deposits and that those finds recovered from this pit were a result of this practice. Prior to the accommodating of a water tank, this pit is interpreted to have been a focal point for a pre-Roman cult possibly holding a tree, post or other organic matter no longer evident, though what evidence there is of this function is uncertain. The consequent temple and water tank occupying the pit are believed to be adaptations of the Iron Age cult (Woodward and Leach 1993: 308).

Human remains dating from the late Iron Age to early Roman period consisted of four infant remains, one from a ditch and three from late Iron Age pits associated with domestic structures. Owing to the minimal numbers of finds from associated contexts, which included pottery and glass vessel fragments, worked flints, small tools and three brooches, none of which were directly associated with the burials, it is likely that these remains represent burial practices. However, their presence in association with domestic structures is of note, especially at this time of transition, perhaps representing foundation rituals or other practices marking the socio-cultural changes and structural developments within the hillfort.

Several weapons recovered in association with the temple structure, as well as the site as a whole, were described as deliberately broken (Woodward and Leach 1993). The site of Uley is one of the few sites from across Zone One with deliberate breakage of items prior to deposition, specifically relating to weaponry, but also a few tool and personal ornament finds (see Section 5.8). The weaponry finds determined to have been deliberately broken prior to deposition consist of iron spears and spearheads either completely broken away from the shaft or bent if still attached to the shaft. Miniature weapons, spears in particular, were also a

common find across the site, most of which were specifically recovered from contexts associated with the domestic structures and their demolition layers, with fewer recovered from occupation and demolition spreads associated with the temple, all dated to the late 3rd to late 4th centuries AD. The domestic structures produced up to 64 miniature pots and three miniature spears from occupation material spreads, pits or demolition layers, whilst the temple contexts produced only two miniature pots and two miniature spears. However, one pit within the temple complex produced one of the pots in addition to the remains of a miniature altar, as well as 283 late 3rd to late 4th century AD coins, five small personal ornaments, seven lead curse tablets, one bronze cockerel and some other metallic remains, with the presence of the cockerel confirming the worship of Mercury, at least, at this site. As argued by Miranda Green (1987: 240; see also Henig 2004: 229) miniaturisation may have held a similar ritual purpose to deliberate breakage and ritual deposition; the items created were too small for practical use and therefore their only intention was use in ritual activities. They could also represent economical practicalities i.e. it was less expensive to make and purchase a smaller item intended as a votive offering. The use of miniature weapons, in this case spears, has been interpreted as representative of warrior deities. For example, at the Romano-British temple in Woodeaton, Oxfordshire, miniature spears were recovered where Mars was known to have been worshipped (owing to representations in stone and bronze (Green, 1987: 240)). In the case of Uley these dedications were likely made in honour of Mercury, though other deities were worshipped here from the evidence of a copper alloy bust of Sol (Figure 5.3) and a bronze bust of Jupiter both recovered from mid/late 4th century AD dated material spreads over two different robber trenches associated with domestic structures.

Figure 5.3: Copper alloy bust of Sol

(Source: Woodward and Leach 1993: 98)

The presence of a number of lead curse tablets, mostly from site-wide demolition layers, material spread layers and demolition layers relating to the temple also attests to ritual practices. Known as 'nuncupationes' (Bagnall Smith 2006: 49) these lead tablets have been found across southern Britain and have been related to a more complex Roman ritual of inscribing a request or favour of a deity onto one lead tablet, depositing it and later following this with another inscription informing the deity if the dedicator was satisfied with the outcome of the initial request (Bagnall Smith 2006: 49). Examples of this practice have been recorded from the reservoir deposits at Bath, the site of a probable Roman temple in Great Walsingham, Norfolk, and at a Roman shrine in Emple, Rhineland (Bagnall Smith 2006: 49*;* see also Derks 1998: 227).

Uley's human remains raise some questions. Bones of varying dates from the early 1st century AD through to the late 4th century AD, were all recovered in association with domestic structures and the 'votive' pit discussed above, all of which produced a number of other finds from all other finds categories consistent with the rituals taking place as part of the temple cult. It can be supposed that these human remains, none of which were whole skeletons, represent individuals of importance to the site and the activities taking place, however none were recovered in direct association with any finds or inscriptions, therefore making it difficult to determine who these individuals were. Finds of particular note include two teeth, one adult and one child. The adult tooth was recovered from a layer over one of the robber trenches, dated to the mid- to late 4th century AD, associated with one of the domestic structures. On its own it appears to represent part of an occupation material spread. However, amongst the other finds from this layer were a number of dolphin teeth, two miniature spears, three miniature pots, the bronze bust of Sol (Figure 5.3), and a number of tools and personal ornaments as well as some 'other small metal' finds. It is possible that this disturbed layer represents some overspill of ritual activity, relating to the temple cult. The other tooth, a child's canine, was recovered in the rake-out layer from an oven from another mid-4th century AD domestic structure. Amongst the other finds from this context were a bone handle, a spindle whorl, one 4th century AD coin and parts relating to the oven. On its own the child's tooth within the oven rake-out layer could represent something quite macabre; however along with the handle, spindle whorl and coin a ritual purpose may have been the intention. The oven context and its finds can offer ideas of rituals of clearing and transformation. This contrast of fire and burning with water-focussed rituals is an interesting aspect and one that has been recognised across a number of the sites explored in both Zones One and Two, such as Cadbury Castle. These ideas will be expanded upon in Chapter Seven.

Overall, the majority of the finds from the site of Uley represent activities of a ritual nature taking place not only in the temple and its ancillary buildings, but also in the domestic

structures at the site. From these finds it is possible to determine which deities were worshipped, though it is more difficult to ascertain what activities were taking place here prior to Roman involvement. The 'votive' pit has been interpreted as a possible pre-Roman ritual focus of the site, though, as with the evidence recovered from Bath, few relatable finds have been recovered.

Nettleton, Wiltshire

The report used for the finds and context data for this site was: *The Excavation of the Shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, Wiltshire, 1956-1971* (1982) by W. J. Wedlake. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed in Site Plan A4.5.4 in Appendix 4.

The site of Nettleton is very similar to Uley in that it was a known cult centre for the majority of its history. Whilst much of the finds evidence relates to the later use of the site as a ritual complex, specifically from the AD 250 period onwards, a Claudian enclosure with pits produced a considerable number of finds relating to occupation during the turn of the LPRIA to Early Roman period with possible ritual depositions taking place. Amongst the finds relating to these features are two late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age polished axe heads, 31 bronze brooches, a number of flint tools, and over 10 Dobunnic and Early Roman coins as well as metalworking slag and quantities of potsherds. These finds could represent the early use of the site as a cult ritual centre with these finds being comparable to those relating to the later shrine and temple structures, particularly the coins, personal ornaments and tools. However, most of Nettleton's context types that are studied here are the remains of buildings and other structures associated with the octagonal shrine and rectangular temple buildings and their related finds.

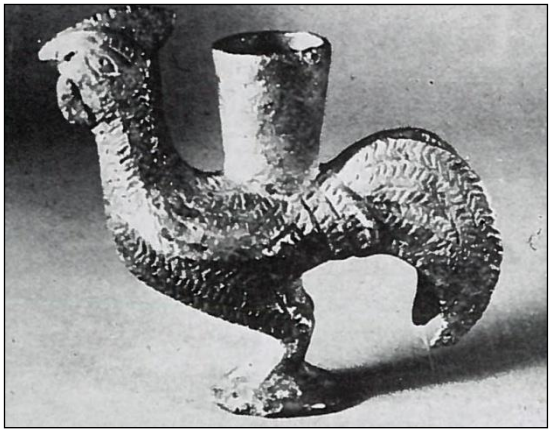
From the three cemeteries, 26 individuals have been identified: 19 inhumations and seven cremations, dating from the later 1st century AD through to the mid-4th century AD. All of the associated finds were interpreted as grave goods though not all were recovered in relation to the bodies. Those grave goods that were recovered in direct contact with the burials include four coins, a few Samian sherds, one bronze fibula and one Neolithic stone axe, though it is not clear if this axe was an intended grave good or was intrusive. Outside of the cemeteries the remains of 15 individuals were also recovered in association with the octagonal shrine and the rectangular temple. Fourteen of the 15 human remains recovered were males and females found disarticulated with what was interpreted as sword cuts, though it is not known whether or not the individuals were disarticulated post-mortem (Wedlake 1982). They were associated with the octagonal shrine after it went out of use. The 15th burial recovered within the rectangular temple was that of a female with an axe wound to the head, dating to the 4th century AD, the same date as the rest of the burials. All other finds from these features and

their contexts do not provide any additional evidence for the events that took place here and how these individuals came to such a violent end. The only other human remains recorded from Nettleton were the cremated remains of an individual recovered from a domestic dwelling. Aside from the cremation in its urn there were two coins and a 4th century AD spoon handle, none of which were determined to be directly associated with this cremation burial. It is possible that all together the cremation and its associated finds represent votive deposition and ancestor veneration or the burial of an important individual.

From the two religious buildings and their occupation contexts the most common finds were tools, coins, personal ornaments, 'other small metal' finds, a small number of weapons from the octagonal shrine in particular, and some worked stone. Some finds were images of the deities worshipped at these structures, particularly Apollo, with an altar, a piece of statuary, a bronze plaque and a bronze ring recovered from the temple contexts depicting the deity. An additional three bronze rings with images of Apollo were found, two recovered from one of the domestic structures and one recovered from an industrial building elsewhere on the site, all dated to the early to mid-4th century AD. Other iconic images in stone have been recovered from the site, most notably a piece of statuary, dated to the 3rd to 4th century AD, depicting Diana, Apollo's twin sister, with her hound recovered from the occupation layers of the rectangular temple; another of Apollo of a similar date was recovered from the occupation layers of the octagonal shrine; a rare image of what is believed to be an Iron Age deity, unidentified, is also from the occupation layers of the octagonal shrine. An altar of a mid-4th to early 5th century date dedicated to Silvanus and a limestone relief of an unnamed goddess, dated to the late 4th century AD, were also recovered from two separate structures not part of the main temple and shrine complexes. The altar dedicated to Silvanus was recovered from the occupation layers of a structure known as the West Lodge amongst a considerable number of finds, including over 685 coins, a lead-weighted harpoon in burnt material believed to be an incendiary device, as well as a large number of tools and personal ornaments, various 'other small metal' remains and pottery and glass vessel remains dating to the 4th century AD. Aside from the 'incendiary device' these finds are comparable with those from the shrine and temple structures and their ancillary buildings, suggesting that the West Lodge acted as an additional 'shrine' for the worship of Silvanus specifically, or an overflow area of dedication for those visiting this cult centre. The incendiary device is of note. The only burnt remains apparent from this structure were the remains of the structure itself; therefore it is likely that the burning took place after the site went out of use. It is possible the episode of burning was part of the process of clearing the site or the battle or event that took place here that resulted in the deaths of the 15 individuals. With only one incendiary device recorded find from this site it is difficult to understand why only one building was burnt, and only one of the three

main cult centres of the site, if it was part of site-clearing processes. Equally, if the burning was a part of site-clearing rituals, why was this one 'shrine' structure burnt but the octagonal shrine and rectangular temple left intact? Perhaps those who burned this additional structure did not approve of the sharing of this cult site by Silvanus.

Three finds of a cockerel form were also recovered: a terracotta cockerel figurine from the occupation layers of the same structure as the unnamed limestone relief of the goddess mentioned above, a bronze cockerel figurine (Figure 5.4a) from the occupation layers of the rectangular temple, and a clay finial with the representation of a cock's head (Figure 5.4b) from the occupation layers of a building identified as the Precinct Shop. The image of the cockerel is recognised as the symbol of Apollo, amongst other classical deities including Mercury as seen at Uley, therefore reaffirming Apollo's presence as the principal deity worshipped at this location during the Roman period. Other deities may have been worshipped at Nettleton including the unidentified Iron Age deity and Silvanus represented in stone, as mentioned above.

a. 

b.

Figure 5.4: a: Bronze cockerel figurine; b: Clay finial representation of a cock's head

(Source: Wedlake, 1982: a: plate XXXIa; b: XXXIb)

It is clear from the finds discussed here that formal ritual activity was taking place during the later Roman period of the site. However, there is a similarity in the items recovered from Nettleton's religious buildings dating to the later Roman period to those items deposited dating to the LPRIA to Early Roman occupation of the site, particularly the coins, tools and personal ornaments. Interpreting these finds together could prove that it is not just the overt

presence of ritual and religion but the characteristics of the practices involved that provide evidence of the continuity of such ritual traditions of deposition from the Iron Age into the Roman period.

Wanborough, Surrey

The report used for the finds and context data for this site was: 'The Roman temple at Wanborough, Surrey, excavations 1985-86' (1994) in *Surrey Archaeological Collections,* by M. O'Connell and J. Bird. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed in Site Plan A4.5.5 in Appendix 4.

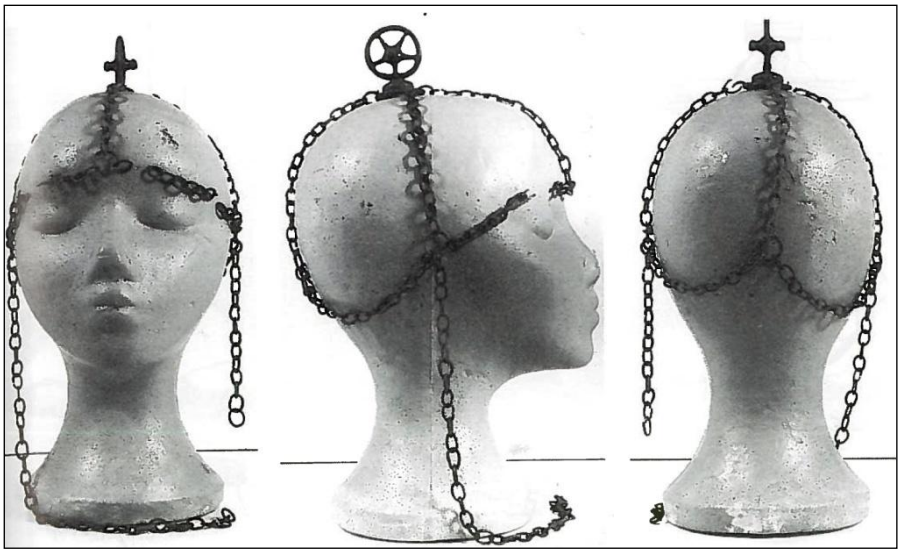
Wanborough is the location of a Roman temple, dating to the mid- to late 1st century AD, and is associated with a nearby villa. Whilst none of the finds were recorded in the report as 'votive', the type and character of the majority of the finds are undeniably religious. In addition, pre-temple deposits also suggest a late pre-Roman or Early Roman origin for the ritual activity practiced at this site.

The only items from the later prehistoric occupation, and the only weaponry recovered from the site, were two copper alloy sword hilts of anthropomorphic types dating to the 2nd to 1st centuries BC (O'Connell and Bird 1994). These finds were recovered from occupation material spreads surrounding the temple and ancillary buildings. Whilst these finds were not found associated with other pre-temple deposits, they could still represent a ritual importance of the area as far back as the Late Iron Age.

A coin hoard of at least 1,041 coins dating to the AD 50s, pre-dating the temple, represents the beginning of the major period of use of the site (O'Connell and Bird 1994). The coins comprise a mixture of pre-Roman indigenous and Roman coins. Pottery sherds and worked flints of the same date have also been recovered within the vicinity. The hoard potentially represents the beginning of a long history of ritual depositional practices. A number of other pre-temple deposits dating to the mid- to late 1st century AD were recovered post-dating the coin hoard. Amongst these material spreads underlying the temple's stratigraphy were three bronze headdresses (Figure 5.5a) and the remains of 16 bronze sceptres (Figure 5.5b) apparently used by those officiating temple rituals, as well as several bronze brooches and numerous potsherds. Associated with these finds were the remains of 32 pigs, 61 sheep, 19 cattle, 91 oyster shells and 420 other unidentified animal bones plus a number of flint pot boilers. It is supposed that these animal remains along with the large numbers of broken pottery vessels, some burnt, relate to a mass ritual feast marking the development of the temple yet to be constructued or in the process of construction. Throughout the next two phases of temple construction more animal remains and associated pottery vessels were

uncovered, though not in the numbers found in the pre-temple material spreads. It is possible that a similar but smaller scale feast was prepared to mark each phase.

a.



b.

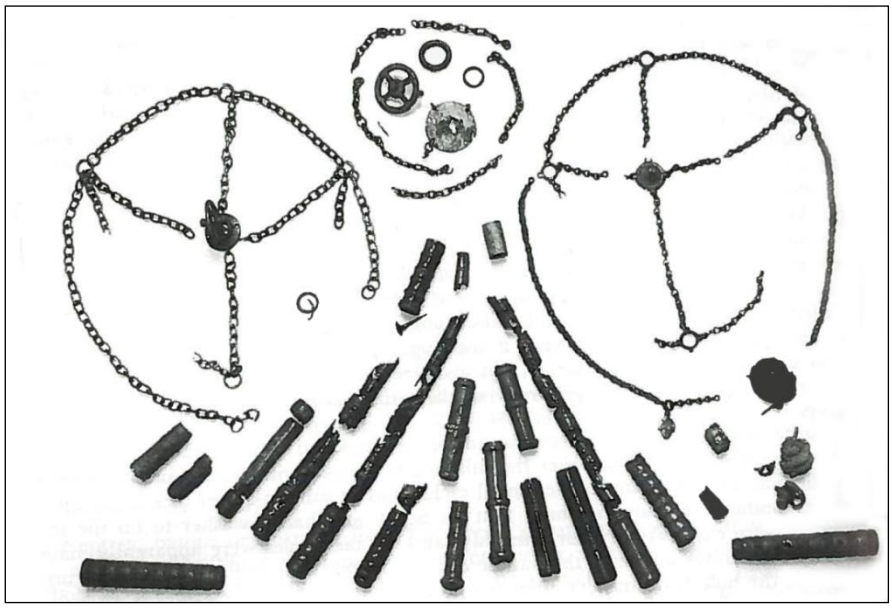


Figure 5.5: a: Three bronze headdresses; b: the remains of 16 bronze sceptres and the three bronze headdresses, all from pre-temple deposits

(Source: O'Connell and Bird 1994: a: 103; b: 96)

Whilst the temple is situated by a spring it is not apparent that the presence of water played a significant part in ritual activities. For example, the episodes of structure deposition were not focussed around the spring and the remains from the temple did not produce any epigraphic or statuary evidence of the worship or depiction of water deities or nymphs. Unfortunately no epigraphic or iconographic evidence has been recovered at all, therefore it is unknown which deity or deities were worshipped at this site or if syncretised indigenous-Roman deities were

acknowledged here, such as those examples seen at the temple at Bath. A large number of treasure-hunting pits were dug across this site of unknown date thus raising the question, what else would have been found if the site had been left alone? Two unstratified bronze miniature axe heads recognised as possible pendants or amulets were recovered from an unknown part of the site. These axe heads form a link to the miniature weapons recovered from Uley and their connotations, as discussed above. It is clear, however, that ritual activity was present at Wanborough and pre-Roman to Early Roman period deposits were made prior to the development of the site, thus suggesting a continuation of pre-Roman depositional practices.

Folly Lane, Hertfordshire

The report used for the finds and context data for this site was: *The Excavation of a Ceremonial Site at Folly Lane, Verulamium – British Monograph Series no. 14* (1998) by R. Niblett. For the locations of the finds discussed below see Site Plan A4.5.6 in Appendix 4.

For the high-status burial from Folly Lane, the ritual foci are the funerary shaft, the burial pit, funeral pyre/mound and their fills, which included cremated human and animal bone, quantities of tools, potsherds and other metal remains, all of which were burnt. Over the funerary shaft a temple was constructed dated between the 2nd to 4th centuries AD, confirming the ritual nature of this area of the site. The presence of other shafts at this site, however, is of equal importance, especially regarding the depositional activity related to these features.

Surprisingly the overtly ritualistic feature of the Romano-Celtic temple dating to the 2nd to 4th centuries AD produced very few related finds. Those that were recovered included one spindle whorl, a few potsherds and building material. From this evidence it is possible to theorise that the depositional activity that was taking place at Folly Lane was focussed more on the large ceremonial burial, pre-dating this structure, and the shafts, wells and pits contemporary to this structure, rather than on the building. However, the temple itself was built directly over the main funerary shaft of the high-status burial. Therefore, whilst the considerable deposits being made at this site were undoubtedly centred in the shaft, well and pit features, the presence of the temple reinforces the ritual actions these finds and their contexts represent.

Forty shafts have been identified in addition to the main funerary shaft and also a number of other shallow pits and wells also comparable to the shaft features, specifically in their finds (Niblett 1999: 414). The finds from these shafts, wells and pits encompass glass and pottery vessel fragments, animal remains, broken metal and bone tools, personal ornaments, a few coins and 'other small metal' finds, plus some cess accumulations. However, three shafts produced finds of more obvious significance amongst these other remains. One near complete

human cranium was recovered from the floor of one of the shafts (Shaft AET) along with the bones of a young dog, with all finds from this shaft dating to the late 1st to early 2nd century AD (Figure 5.6). In this same shaft the remains of a puppy were also recovered from a subsequent layer, and at a later episode of deposition three large deposits of bones of over 34 butchered cattle were also made. A second shaft dating to the 3rd to 4th centuries AD revealed the near complete skulls of two oxen recovered from the base with the rest of the fill incorporating those find-types listed above. Finally, a third shaft of unknown date produced the partial skull of an ox, although this was recovered from the hollow over the top of the shaft with only a few stray potsherds found in the main fill. Whilst these shafts did not produce substantial amounts of finds compared to the ceremonial centres of Folly Lane, all finds are similar in nature and the skull finds recovered from the base and top of the shafts are too suggestive to ignore.

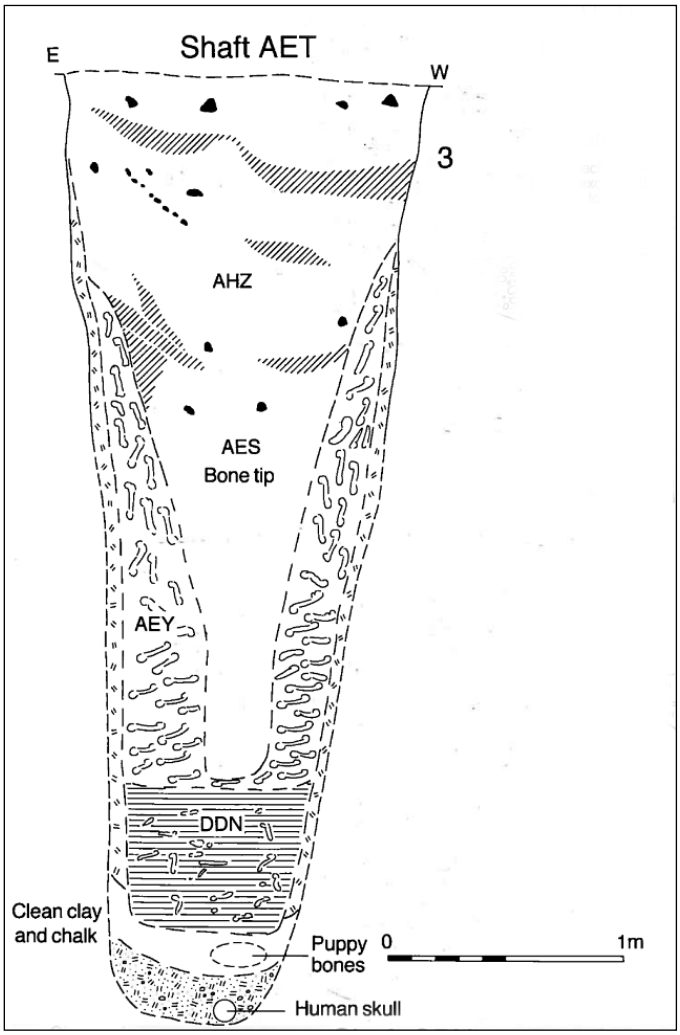


Figure 5.6: Stratigraphy of shaft AET

(Source: Niblett 1999: 92)

The significance of the human cranium at the base of Shaft AET is something that has been noted by a number of researchers investigating other sites across Britain. Cunliffe (1988: 40) identified 'special deposits' of human bodies and, less frequently, parts of human bodies recovered from the bases of pits dating to the Middle to Late Iron Age at Danebury hillfort, Hampshire. Around 5,000 pits identified as Iron Age storage pits at Danebury hillfort were excavated with about 2,000 of these pits also incorporating some kind of 'special burial deposit' (Cunliffe 1988: 40). Not all 'special deposits' at Danebury included human remains, though they were recurrent with skull finds being the most common human part, which Cunliffe interprets as the 'Celtic love of head-hunting' (Cunliffe 1988: 40), or the aforementioned 'cult of the head'. Hill's (1995) work on Iron Age pit fills across Wessex also notes the relevance of pit deposits and their significance if made at the base, middle or top of the fill, with human skulls and other bones often recovered at the base of Middle Iron Age pits in particular (1995: 50). Hamilton (1997: 9) also noted the presence of 'special' placed deposits on the base of the c. 150 pits excavated at the Caburn dating to the Middle and Late Iron Age hillfort, which included a small number of human bones, particularly skulls, as well as wild bird bones and weapons. The significance of selected depositions of animal remains, especially dog remains, has also been discussed in past research. Ross in her work on finds from Late Iron Age shafts, pits and wells across Britain suggested the presence of dogs and dog skulls could be representative of the Iron Age mallet god Sucellos who had the dog as his attribute (1968: 283). However, it is not clear what Ross' evidence is based on, whether it is from written observations from the Roman period or iconographic evidence available from other sites. Without tangible evidence, Ross' interpretation can only be taken at face value. Deposits of cattle bones have also been interpreted as symbols of wealth during the LPRIA to Roman periods (Wait 1985: 152). These interpretations of pit deposits could all be potentially applicable to those finds recovered from the shaft bases and subsequent fills across the Folly Lane site.

Whilst the high-status burial is the main focus of depositional activity at Folly Lane, the number of shaft, well and pit features producing finds of significance, all of which date from the Late Iron Age through to the Late Roman period, suggest that the continuation of structured deposition was maintained as a practice, with the construction of a temple within the ceremonial burial enclosure formalising the site as a ritual centre.

Ivy Chimneys, Essex

The report used for the finds and context data for this site was: *Excavations of an Iron Age Settlement and Roman Religious Complex at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex 1978-83*, (1999)

by R. Turner. Fort the locations of the finds discussed below see Site Plan A4.5.7 in Appendix 4.

The site of Ivy Chimneys was a ritual site that was in constant occupation from the Early Iron Age through to the early 5th century AD. The location was served by a temple in the later Roman period; however it is the main pond and several large depressions that acted as the focus for extensive amounts of depositional activity.

From the early period of the site, from the Middle Iron Age through to the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period, five deposits of human remains were recovered consisting of mostly burials with one unexplained find of 14 cranial fragments from a LPRIA depression. However, the majority of depositional activity took place in the mid- to Late Roman period. One early 4th century AD animal bone deposit comprised an articulated horse with a sheep torso either placed or fallen into the mouth of the horse, and a line of perforated dog teeth that look to have once been strung together, though the string has since decayed; another early 4th century AD deposit of human foetal bones was buried with a hoard of 17 late 3rd century barbarous radiates. Both deposits were in ditch fills and indicate ritual deposits during the later Roman occupation. However, it is the main pond feature and nearby depressions that produced the most significant evidence in favour of ritual depositional behaviour from the Middle to Late Roman period.

The main pond feature, dated to between the late 3rd to early 4th centuries AD, produced a great quantity of finds, including 12 Palaeolithic hand-axes intermixed with gravel fills, one hoard of 232 barbarous radiates, various iron tools and copper alloy personal ornaments including a ring or bracelet, noted in the report as specifically 'votive' (Turner 1999), and potsherds, stone building material and tile fragments, and the butchered animal remains of red deer, cattle and other unidentified species together with oyster and other molluscan remains. The high density of animal bone, pottery sherds and stone building material recovered from the fill of this and related depressions from across Ivy Chimneys could be seen as debris buried in features that were going out of use. However, the presence of the coin hoard and the Palaeolithic hand axes suggests that activity of a ritual nature was taking place. The hand-axes have been interpreted as representative of thunderbolts associated with the worship of Jupiter, which were compared with the remains of a 3rd century AD post pit and post pipe, also interpreted as evidence of a 30cm diameter Jupiter column (Turner 1999; see also Frere 1999: 319).

Examining the pond fills with the Roman depressions and their fills together (see Site Plan A4.5.7) it is possible that the associated deposits represent votive offerings made by the wider lay population who were not permitted to access the site's temple, since the main periods of

deposition took place during the 3rd to 4th centuries AD, which coincides with the temple construction and related activities. The finds from the temple's occupation layers are similar but far more minimal in number compared to the finds from the main pond and other depressions. The temple finds include three barbarous radiates, one jet bead and two adult long bone fragments found with the coin and bead finds. Infant bone fragments were also recovered as well as 12 animal bone fragments associated with the adult remains. The temple contrasts significantly with a second religious structure labelled as a 'chapel' in the report (Turner 1999). The 'chapel' building was dated to the mid-4th century AD though very little was recovered in association. Pottery was recovered including a whole miniature beaker in Nene Valley ware, noted in the report as a votive offering (Tuner 1999), as well as some building debris. A font was also excavated in the middle of one of the depressions between the temple and 'chapel' dating to the same time period as the 'chapel', with only a few oyster shells, one 4th century AD coin and some building debris associated. It is possible that these two structures were linked and that both together, and along with the lack of associated finds, are representative of changes in religious practices.

Aside from the main pond fills discussed above, several of the depressions also provided considerable numbers of finds of a similar nature to the main pond and its contexts. The depressions produced large quantities of tools, coins, personal ornaments, various 'other small metal' objects, human and animal remains as well as quantities of potsherds, charred plant remains and building debris. These depressions may have provided additional contexts for the deposition of votive offerings for the temple, much like the main pond feature. Three key depressions produced large quantities of finds comparable to those recovered from the main pond. The first depression dated to within the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD. This feature produced 117 coins, one unidentified copper alloy head with lead infill, which looked to have been part of the temple equipment, and a number of personal ornaments, tools and scrap metals. The other depression dated to the early 4th century AD. In addition to the common finds shared by the pond and the first depression discussed, this second feature also produced seven Palaeolithic hand-axes comparable to those recovered from the main pond. A third depression dating to the mid-4th century AD also produced comparable finds including 46 coins, one dog burial and one Neolithic axe amongst other tool, animal and 'other small metal' finds. The former two depressions in particular produced notable comparable finds to the main pond thus suggesting similar practices of deposition taking place across this site. Of the third depression its use or purpose is not clear. The finds were comparable though fewer in number suggesting either site clearing or the falling away of these identified practices of deposition throughout the 4th century AD. However, it is also possible that the finds from these depressions and the pond were made as a consequence of votive offerings left in and around the temple. It could

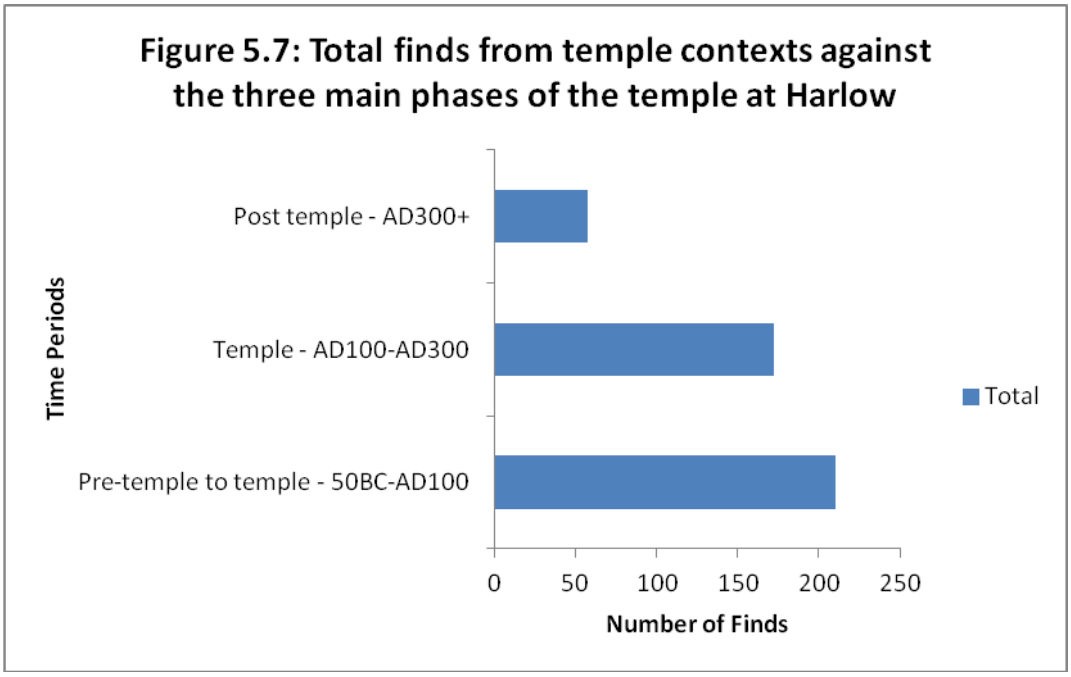
be that the temple area was regularly cleared and the pond and depressions were used to accommodate these items, whether they were dug out especially or were re-using pond features that had subsequently gone out of use. This could account for the vast quantities of similar find-types across three to four related features compared to the relatively sparse finds recovered from the temple itself. If this is the case, then as one of the depressions pre-dates the construction of the temple, depositional activity into the depression, or elsewhere at the site, was taking place from the 1st to 2nd centuries AD prior to the 3rd century AD construction of the temple. It is possible that the practice of more regular ritual deposition did not become popularised at this site until the Middle to Late Roman period encouraged by, or as a consequence of, the formal presence of the temple structure.

Practices of structured deposition are notable during the later Roman occupation of Ivy Chimneys in a series of depressions and one large pond feature. However, it appears that it is the deposition that was significant to the rituals practiced rather than the importance of the watery feature of the pond, owing to the similarity and quantity of finds within the pond and neighbouring depressions. It is possible that some of the other depressions were used as ponds or to hold water, although there is no firm evidence of this aside from a few animal remains from one depression including frog, water vole and water mollusc, which could equally be remnants from the main pond.

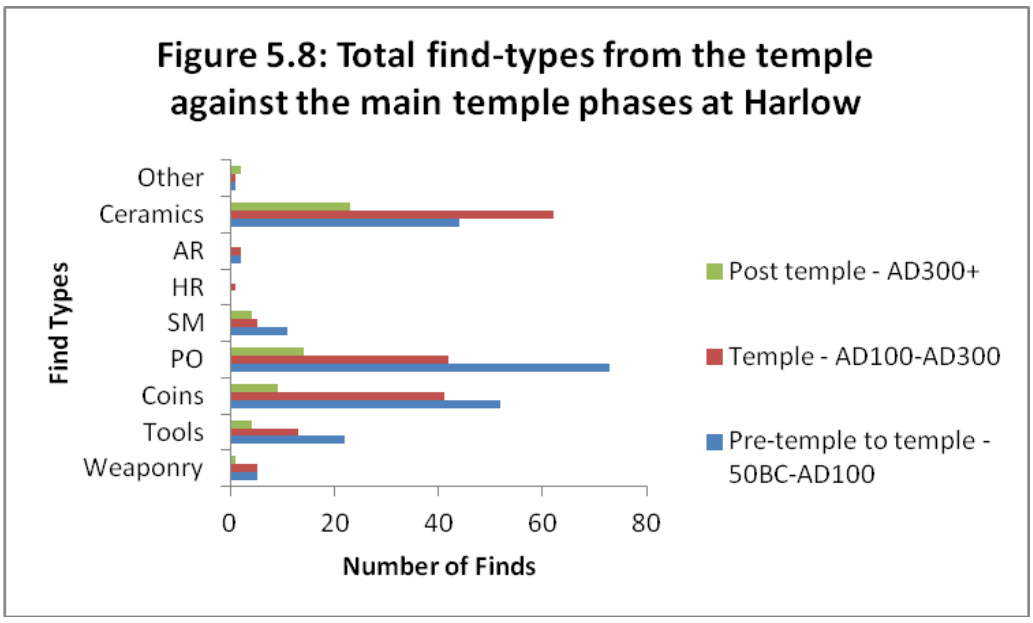
Harlow, Essex

The report used for the finds and context data for this site was: *The Romano-British Temple at Harlow* (1985) by N.E. France and B.M. Gobel. The locations of the finds discussed below can be seen in Site Plan A4.5.8 in Appendix 4.

It is evident that Harlow was a ritual centre not only due to the presence of the Romano-Celtic temple from the early Roman period through to the early 4th century AD, but also as a result of the number and types of objects deposited in association and thus presumed to be of a ritual nature. The numbers of items labelled as 'votive' in the report indicate that personal ornaments and coins were most prevalent within the temple contexts and those beneath the temple immediately preceding its construction. What is also interesting to note is that weapons and tools are evident within these contexts. Whilst personal ornaments, particularly brooches, together with coin finds are most numerous in relation to the temple and its contexts, the number of weapon and tool finds within these same locations suggests similar meanings behind these items. These finds are all fairly consistent in number from the pre-temple phase through to the end of the use of the temple in the early 4th century AD with all finds significantly falling away in the post temple phase after AD 300 (Figure 5.7).



Unsurprisingly, quite a substantial number of finds from Harlow were recorded as 'votive' in the site report (France and Gobel 1985). Those found in connection with the temple are quite clearly of this nature owing to the volume, similarity and condition of the brooches in particular being apparently deliberately broken prior to deposition. The finds recovered from the temple complex can be divided into those that were recovered from the main temple area, specifically the cella and ambulatory, and those recovered from adjoining rooms. The occupation layers of the rooms of the temple formed the second most numerous finds-producing contexts of the site behind the material spreads of the main temple area. What is interesting about the finds recovered from the adjoining rooms is that they are consistent with finds recovered from the main temple area, i.e. personal ornaments and coins as well as tools and 'other small metal' finds. There were a number of pottery remains from these contexts that could relate to the domestic nature of these specific areas. However, it could be that the adjoining rooms of the temple complex were used - in addition to the main temple, as well as other features including the east and west porches - for the dedications of these object types, with the pottery remains representing offerings or containers for offerings. The potsherds date across all periods thus indicating consistent occupation or use of the adjoining rooms and the rest of the temple complex (Figure 5.8). However, what the pots contained is not indicated in the text, if anything.



For a key to 'Find Types' see Figure A5.5.1 in Appendix 5.

The pits surrounding the temple complex and their fills also produced a number of finds deposited across Harlow, although the finds from these pits are fewer in number compared to those from the main temple and its rooms, as can be seen in Figure A5.5.1j. Furthermore, the pit finds date to the earlier periods of the site: from the mid-1st century AD through to the mid-2nd century AD. From the finds present it appears these pits were related to the activities taking place at the temple and its associated rooms, with all of the pits producing finds consistent with these structures and their contexts (Figure A5.5.1j), including broken brooches and other personal ornaments and coin finds in addition to various other finds including tools, large quantities of pottery and 'other small metals'.

Examining the total finds from across the site of Harlow in and around the temple it is clear that ritual deposition was taking place in the form of specific objects, particularly personal ornaments and coins and, to a lesser extent, tools and weaponry. The adjoining rooms and pits in and around the temple complex apparently served as additional features into which worshippers to the site could make their offerings, or alternatively were where objects were filtered away from the cella and ambulatory by those working in and organising the site, to be either stored or discarded, as was suggested with the finds in the pond and depressions at Ivy Chimneys. However, if this were true, would more finds have been recovered from the pit contexts rather than the temple itself? It could be that the adjoining rooms and pits represent different areas used by those of a different social standing. But again, the quality and type of the finds recovered would not be consistent across all context types. Colin Haselgrove (1989: 74) has argued that 'The placing of offerings at temples and ritual sites was almost certainly subject to definite spatial rules...which could well have changed over time, resulting in

chronological differences between clusters of offerings.' These 'spatial rules' could account for the similarity of finds across a number of context types at Harlow where the site as a whole was an important cult centre and the temple, its adjoining rooms and pits represent this to varying extents.

Sites without shrines/temples:

Camerton, Somerset

The report used for the finds and context data for this site was: *Excavations at Camerton, Somerset* (1958) by W.J. Wedlake. The locations of the finds discussed below can be seen in Site Plan A4.5.9 in Appendix 4.

From the site of Camerton there is a variety of irregular finds as well as several that appear to relate both overtly and covertly to ritual activity across this location. Items of interest include bronze sheet fragments from two possible votive tablets, one recovered from a 1st to 2nd century AD pit fill and the second from the 3rd to 4th century AD occupation layers of a structure. The remains of a stone statuette believed to have been a depiction of Minerva with stone spear once attached (Wedlake 1958), were recovered from the occupation layers of a late 2nd to mid-4th century AD structure. No other evidence of the worship of Minerva has been discovered from this site. The remains of this statuette were recovered along with a partial inscribed stone and the remains of another statue depicting the feet of two adults and two children. It is possible these remains were incorporated into the building material for this structure, though their presence implies ritual activity took place at this site at some point during the Roman occupation.

Three separate coin hoards (totalling 508 coins, 68% of the total coin finds from the site) were recovered from the foundation contexts of one late 2nd century AD building along with personal ornaments, 'other small metals', tools and pottery remains. Seventy nine coins ranging in date from the mid-1st century AD through to the mid-4th century AD were recovered from the occupation material spreads of a second late 2nd century AD building. Though not identified as a hoard, other finds from the occupation layers include four small bronze and iron tools, 12 bronze personal ornaments, two pewter plates, potsherds and a stone head described as a 'grotesque Roman head' (Wedlake 1958: 215) (Figure 5.9), recovered from 3rd century AD layers to the east of this building. A fourth hoard of 85 minimi was also recovered from occupation material spreads from a 3rd to 4th century AD blacksmith's shop. It is possible that these coin hoards and coin collections, along with their associated finds, were of some significance to the construction of these three buildings, perhaps representing foundation deposits.

Figure 5.9: 'Grotesque Roman head'

(Source: Wedlake 1958: 77)

One complete skeleton dated to the Late Iron Age was recovered from the infill of the defensive ditch, with only a few potsherds also recovered from this context. This interment on its own in a ditch could be seen as the disposal of someone who was seen as 'socially unclean' (Cunliffe 1988: 41) and therefore segregated from 'normal' burial procedures. Cunliffe uses the example of the Ashanti people of West Africa, who buried people who died an unnnatural death, such as being struck by lightning or in child birth, in disused pits (1988: 41). A funerary urn with a few cremated human remains was recovered from a LPRIA occupation layer along with two bowls and one mortarium. The urn is undoubtedly ritual in nature and requires no further discussion here. Finally, seven skulls and various disarticulated bones were recovered from the infill of a small mid-3rd to late 4th century AD quarry to the north east of the main site. Found in the same fill as several short daggers, a small number of tools, two coins, three pieces of jewellery, a few potsherds and stone/brick building material, none of these finds was noted as directly associated with the human remains. These bones included skulls and disarticulated bones and may represent criminals, casualties of conflict or enemies to the settlers at Camerton at this time. Alternatively, these remains could be those of the poorer members of the settlement's population who could not afford a more formal burial, or, as explored above, those individuals who were seen as 'socially unclean' (Cunliffe 1988: 41) by the rest of the community. Without any grave goods or an apparently respectful burial these are quite easy suppositions to make. However, the presence of the skulls with few other bones could, again, relate to the 'cult of the head' as referenced earlier, or the 'special'

deposits of skulls discussed in relation to the Folly Lane evidence, all of which relate to a ritual placement of these remains.

Structured deposition is clearly apparent at Camerton through the presence of at least four coin hoards dating from the middle to later Roman occupation of the site. A number of other remains, including the burial of individuals, from the LPRIA into the later Roman period appear to provide some evidence of a continuation of depositional practices and certain funerary traditions.

Glastonbury and Meare (west), Somerset

The reports used for the finds and context data for these sites were: *Industrious and Fairly Civilised: the Glastonbury Lake Village* (1995) by J. Coles and S. Minnitt and *The Meare Lake Village I-III 1948-1953* (1966) by A. Bullied. The locations of the finds discussed below can be seen in Site Plans A4.5.10 and 4.5.11 in Appendix 4.

The Early to Late Iron Age settlements of Glastonbury and Meare have been grouped together here because their finds as well as the site types are very similar and therefore worth discussing together, though it must be acknowledged that the settlement of Meare was considered to be seasonal whilst Glastonbury was more permanent during the Iron Age. Settlement mounds formed the main occupation areas for each site with the mounds producing large quantities of clay sling shots and slingstones, Meare more so than Glastonbury, with 14 slingstone/clay sling shot hoards recovered from across ten settlement mounds. These hoards were not noted as votive in the site report (Bullied 1966). It is possible, that owing to the seasonal nature of Meare, the sling shots and stones were made and if unused either discarded or buried for later reuse when next occupying the site. These hoards are also comparable to those examples identified in the analysis of Cadbury Castle and all examples could relate to processes of storage for reuse or deposition of a ritual nature.

Aside from the large quantities of slingstones and clay sling shots there were also large quantities of all other finds categories. Those that are of particular note are the ‘other large metal’ finds and the human remains. Glastonbury produced three finds from the ‘other large metal’ category including one large bronze bar, one bronze bowl, noted in the report as ‘votive’ (Coles and Minnitt 1995) (Figure 5.10), and one lead/tin bar. All of these finds were recovered associated with the large variety of all finds categories common across the site. It is difficult to understand what makes the bowl find ‘votive’.

Figure 5.10: Bronze bowl, Glastonbury

(Source: Coles and Minnitt 1995: 204)

The bowl was recovered from a settlement mound with additional palisade, which in itself was not an uncommon feature with ten other settlement mounds excavated with a palisade structure associated. There were few other total finds recovered from this feature compared to other settlement mounds though those finds recorded were no different in type compared to the rest of the finds from across Glastonbury. The only significant find was the bowl and only because no 'other large metal' find like this was recovered from the site as a whole. It is possible that other offerings were made into the marshy area surrounding the settlement, but they perished or washed away during seasonal flooding. This one bowl could represent the remains of a particularly significant offering or one made to or for a particularly important individual, although with no comparable examples it is difficult to confirm an interpretation.

A total of 52 individual human remains were recovered from across the Glastonbury settlement. The most common remains recovered were skulls, which numbered 18, and it is possible these could represent the results of warfare or, again, the 'cult of the head'. An additional two skulls were recovered with sword cuts representing the results of violent activities. All 52 remains were fairly well distributed across the site with almost all types of settlement mound producing at least one element of skeletal remains. It is probable that some of the remains of those who lived at this site during its main period of occupation were buried in the area of the living, perhaps because this was the driest land available close by. Alternatively, with at least one skeletal element coming from the majority of the settlement mounds, the remains could reflect foundation rituals or ancestor veneration.

The results are quite similar for Meare. Seven skull remains were recovered from this settlement with two showing sword cuts. A further nine partial and whole human remains were recovered from Meare incorporating teeth, single bones and two child skeletons. Because they are very similar to Glastonbury's human remains, it is possible the same patterns of burial were also taking place here but on a smaller scale, perhaps owing to the seasonal nature of this settlement. As for the 'other large metal' finds, only one object was recovered and this consisted of a large bronze box damaged in situ within the floor layers of one of the settlement mounds amongst finds from the majority of finds categories, though the box was not noted as votive (Bullied 1966). No other items were recovered associated with or inside the box. It is interesting to note that, according to the report, the box was damaged in situ, making the damage appear to be a deliberate act (Bullied 1966). As with the bronze bowl from Glastonbury it is possible any items inside deteriorated or washed away with rising flood waters, though, again, with no other comparable finds ritual deposition is difficult to confirm.

The large quantities of finds recovered from across these two settlements signify the extensive and consistent history of these sites throughout the Iron Age. The slingstones and clay sling shot hoards from Meare and the recovery of human remains from both sites appear to represent the extent of structured patterns of ritual deposition. However, the vast quantity of finds from these two sites may attest more to the exceptional preservation of the finds in waterlogged sites than the ways these finds were deposited.

Lechlade, Gloucestershire

The report used for the finds and context data for this site was: *Excavations at Roughground Farm, Lechlade, Gloucestershire* (1993) by T.G. Allen *et al*. The locations of the finds discussed below can be seen in Site Plan A4.5.12 in Appendix 4.

Though the site of Lechlade produced no finds noted as 'votive', overt signs of ritual behaviour are still apparent. The single find from the 'other large metal' finds category was of interest owing to its associated finds. This one find was a large lump of slag from the remains of 1st to 2nd century AD ironworking, discarded into an enclosure ditch. In addition an iron washer, copper alloy and iron scrap metals, various butchered animal remains, potsherds, building debris, other organic detritus, charcoal and the remains of eight high quality glass vessels were also recovered. These vessels, dating to the mid-2nd century AD, are of interest because they were noted as being of high quality thus making their presence significant (Allen *et al* 1993). It is likely, owing to the lack of other comparable high quality finds, that they were discarded owing to breakage or some flaw in their form. Though coming from a ditch where the few other finds relate to industrial work at the site, they could collectively

form a deposit, with the charcoal being representative of a burnt offering, marking the craft work carried out at the site.

The remains of 27 individuals dating from the late Bronze Age through to the later Roman period were recorded, the earliest of which were four late Bronze Age to early Iron Age crouched burials from gully contexts, one early Roman cremation burial, two mid-Roman infant burials, one with an adult female, within the villa, and the Roman-dated remains recovered from cemeteries to the north and south of the enclosure (Allen *et al* 1993). None of the burials had any significant numbers of burial goods associated. One find of human remains in particular, however, is open to interpretation. The remains recovered consisted of only a few skull fragments excavated from the base of a posthole of a late 3rd to early 4th century AD building. The only other find recovered was a mid-4th century AD coin. A number of other objects were recovered from occupation layers relating to this feature including six coins, several small tools, personal ornaments, potsherds and building debris. These latter finds could confirm the domestic activities that were taking place in this structure during its lifetime. However, along with the finds of the human skull fragments and the coin in the posthole base, it is possible the finds recovered from this structure represent ritual foundation deposits or other ritual depositional practices relating to this specific building. Again, these skull fragments in the base of the posthole relates back to Hill's (1995: 50) and Hamilton's (1997: 9) arguments regarding 'special' deposits recovered from pit bases in the British Middle to Late Iron Age. These finds could represent the continuation or reprisal of such traditions several centuries later.

The pit features and their contexts provide the largest numbers of finds, particularly tools, butchered animal remains, pottery vessels and 'other' finds. The finds from the pits indicate two peaks in deposition: pre-50 BC consisting of finds predating the period in question (see Table A6.5.2 identifying continuity of depositional practices) and a second smaller peak in the AD 250 to AD 350 period, which appears to be consistent with the rest of the finds-producing contexts across the site. Two deep pits or possible wells from the area of the eastern enclosure, dating to the late 3rd to mid-4th centuries AD, stand out owing to the nature of their fills. From these features' fills came a higher number of tools and personal ornaments than was usual for the rest of the pits examined; 16 tool finds, including one iron key shank and one iron latch lifter, and six personal ornaments, including a child's bracelet, were amongst the finds, which also included some scrap metal, four coins, glass fragments and rotary quern fragments. The higher number of metalwork finds from across these two features could represent a ritual deposit, especially owing to the presence of the key and latch lifter from deep deposits at the site's eastern boundary, relating to the aforementioned arguments

regarding boundedness and security. Furthermore, the quernstone fragments can also relate to themes of transformation as discussed above.

The site of Lechlade did not produce excessive evidence of structured deposition outside of the various human remains dating from the late Bronze Age through to the later Roman period. However, three key episodes of deposition from the early Roman and later Roman periods suggest that ritual deposition was taking place. These finds, from the enclosure ditch, posthole and deep pits to the east of the site, may be indicative of ritual deposition taking place at the open and close of the period of Roman occupation.

Heathrow, Greater London

The report used for the finds and context data for this site was: *Landscape Evolution in the Middle Thames Valley: Heathrow Terminal 5 Excavations, Volume 1* (2006) by J. Lewis. The locations of the finds discussed below can be seen in Site Plan A4.5.13 in Appendix 4.

The prehistoric landscape of the Heathrow area has been identified by archaeologists as producing evidence of both domestic and ritual activities, with consistent signs of such activities dating as far back as the Middle Bronze Age. With the development of the possible temple at the Early Iron Age settlement at Caesar's Camp within the vicinity (though not a part of this study), it cannot be denied that this area held some kind of ritual meaning with its inhabitants from the Bronze Age through to the Late Roman period.

There were no large volumes of 'votive' material noted in the report (Lewis 2006), with much of what was recoverable, dating across all periods of the site, consisting mostly of plant, tree and seed/grain remains preserved in a number of warterholes and deeper wells, as well as charcoal, worked wood and worked flint. The organic remains could relate to Martin Henig's (2004: 229) arguments stating that the more living or fresh sacrifices an individual or family could make in ritual depositions, such as livestock, fruits, vegetables and so forth, the richer the family was. Many of the waterholes, wells and gullies excavated, as noted above, produced quantities of burnt flint and stone, which were commonly used to heat water for cooking and cleansing purposes. It is possible that some of these finds common across the site represent the remains of domestic activity and/or those of ritual feasting and cleansing taking place from the Late Bronze Age through to the 4th century AD.

The items and features noted as 'votive' include one Early to Middle Iron Age penannular gully that produced burnt and worked flint, various animal remains and organic plant matter. It is believed that the gully fill represents the remains of a votive deposit or ritual feast (Lewis 2006). Also, finds from one 1st to 3rd century AD waterhole include a pair of tweezers

together with an iron bar, and in addition, though not directly related, the remains of cattle and horse, and sherds of Verulamium ware, all deposited after the waterhole went out of use. Other finds from the waterhole include one 2nd century AD coin, one wooden bowl, one leather shoe, rope fragments and the remains of a wattle structure. Whilst these remains were not a part of the 'votive' deposit, it is possible that they also mark the end of the use of the waterhole. Finally, a large lead tank, bent prior to deposition, was recovered from a waterhole dating to the late 4th/early 5th century AD with the tank bearing a St Andrew's cross (Figure 5.11). This find with be explored in more detail in Section 5.8.

Figure 5.11: Lead tank bent prior to deposition

(Source: Lewis 2006: 228)

Much of the finds evidence from Heathrow appears to represent domestic accumulations including plant remains intermixed with worked flint, building material and pottery and butchered animal remains. From the finds that have been noted as 'votive', aside from the large lead tank, which is undoubtedly ritual, the Early/Middle Iron Age gully finds and the finds from the 1st to 3rd century AD waterhole could be interpreted as ritual deposits. As for the burnt flints, these along with a few potsherds and plant remains suggest water heating and cooking activities, but nothing can be confirmed. What can be stated is that these wells and waterholes were used, for whatever reason, to contain items of human creation and alteration, whether for discard, burial or ritual deposition.

Walbrook, City of London

The report used for the finds and context data this site was: *Excavations in the Middle Walbrook Valley* (1991) by T. Wilmott. The locations of the finds discussed below can be seen in Site Plan A4.5.14 in Appendix 4.

The Early to Late Roman settlement surrounding the River Walbrook, a now lost tributary of the Thames, is known more for its domestic and industrial activities than its involvement in a ritual landscape; however it is known that at least one temple, the Temple of Mithras, was located on the east bank of the old stream, therefore indicating a ritual aspect to this location within Londinium.

Finds noted as 'votive' in the site report as well as the total finds were most numerous in the stream itself, as shown in Figure A5.5.1r and A5.5.1r.i. Tool finds were more numerous than any other find from the stream feature and from across the site in general, again shown in Figure A5.5.1r. A hoard of 2,456 iron nails and hobnails recovered from one of the revetments of the stream accounts for the high numbers of tool finds. From this same feature a considerable number of other tools, scrap and waste metal and personal ornaments were also recovered along with pottery remains, a few weapons and a scattering of coins, all of which dated to between the mid-1st to early 2nd centuries AD. It has been supposed that the nails were part of a smith's scrap metal hoard intended for recycling (Wilmott 1991), which could account for many of the other metalwork finds recovered from the area. This explanation fits in with Needham and Burgess' (1980: 446-7) ideas regarding the difference between hoarded materials and metalwork deposited ritually into the Thames in Late Bronze Age Britain (Chapter 1). Finds from the area of the stream are difficult to interpret owing to the largely unstratified nature of the feature. It is possible that the finds from the revetment and the surrounding stream bed came to be in the river owing to the erosive action of the stream against the banks; thus hoards, rubbish pits and other storage pits were destroyed and their items claimed by the tributary (York 2002: 90). Furthermore, these finds date from the mid- to late 1st century AD, therefore this period of development and growth of Londinium would have produced large amounts of domestic and industrial debris, much of which would likely have fallen or been discarded into the river. Looking at the nature of the finds from this area, with many of an industrial character, either Needham and Burgess' (1980) or York's (2002) proposals seem likely. However, from the entirety of the site of Walbrook, the revetment produced the largest number of finds with the majority being deposited in two separate acts, with the rest of the finds unstratified across the feature. It could be that the finds that were unstratified across the site gathered in this one area owing to the currents of the stream, though the two separate acts suggest intentional deposition. Perhaps the intention was

hoarding for recycling that was subsequently flooded or eroded away, or ritual deposition. The number of tools suggests the importance of the craftsperson in this society and the significance of the work they carried out, particularly at a time of development and expansion. Alternatively, the finds could represent the only items available for use in ritual practices. There was no sign of epigraphic or iconographic evidence as overspill from the Temple of Mithras to the west of this location, or other smaller temples or shrines along the banks of the Walbrook and other streams, the data of which were not included in the excavation report. Therefore confirmation of ritual depositional activity in this area is not possible at this time. This does not mean, however, that such activity did not take place outside of the known ritual landscape.

Only one find of human remains was noted from Walbrook. These remains, dated to the early 2nd century AD, were recovered broken and incomplete from a silt layer of the stream bank. Partial animal bones were also recovered in the same condition thus making them difficult to identify. Few other finds were recovered from this context. Those that were include a few potsherds, one copper alloy stud, one 2nd century AD coin, one iron flesh hook and one iron stylus, as well as organic and ash layers. Owing to the minimal number of finds from this layer it is likely that these finds were washed up from elsewhere along the river and settled in the silts. Knowing that up to 48 human skulls were recovered from the Walbrook stream dating to the mid- to late 1st century through to the mid-2nd century AD, once believed to have been related to the Boudiccan uprising (Bradley and Gordon 1988: 504; Bradley 1998: 180-181), but now more likely related to other violent activities, it is possible that these skeletal remains fall into this category. Burnt building material from one of the pits of this site date to the Boudiccan uprising of AD 60-61 and thus confirm the effects of this episode at this site. However with a lack of relatable finds, no firm conclusions can be drawn as to the origin of the skeletal remains. It is possible that the human and animal bones are related in some way, inferred from the similar nature of their conditions; however, the actions of the stream, rather than any pre-deposition activities, have most likely had an impact on these remains and left them in an unidentifiable state.

Looking to the 'other large metal' category, four finds were recovered in total. Three pieces of iron bars or spikes were recovered from a 3rd to 4th century AD structural foundation along with an unfinished tool, a few coins, potsherds and some stone building material. The purpose of the iron bars is not known but it is likely they formed a part of the structure. The final 'other large metal' find was an iron shackle with part of a chain attached, which was recovered along with the finds from the revetment. No other shackles were recovered from this site or any other Zone One site studied in depth. Shackles have been recovered from the deposit site of Llyn Cerrig Bach in Anglesey, discussed in Chapter 2 (Parker Pearson 2000:

1), suggesting a possible, though remote, connection in terms of the kind of activities taking place. However, the finds recovered from Llyn Cerrig Bach date to between the 6th century and 2nd century BC. No other finds were recovered in direct association with the shackles from Walbrook. Therefore the question posed is, who was the shackle intended for? Or was it part of a collection of metal items stored for recycling or ritually deposited?

The River Walbrook and its surrounding silt deposits have proved to be exceptionally rich in Roman finds. These silts, deposited during the 1st to 3rd centuries AD, contained an abundance of metal, worked wood and worked stone, although the finds were unstratified, therefore making them difficult to date, and indistinguishable between bank and stream deposits. The large amounts of metalwork in particular have been interpreted by Hume (1956, cited in Wilmott 1991) as detritus deposited in the stream by metal working and other industrial activities taking place along the river's banks. Although small personal ornaments or decorative objects were found in quantities within the silts, as well as a small collection of skulls (Bradley 1998: 180), this is not enough evidence to suggest a ritual association (Wilmott 1991; Bradley 1998). Whilst theories relating to discard and disposal of detritus can be applied, environmental forces also dictate how landscape affected the behaviours of the population, including how and where disposal of contaminants from industrial activity took place (Hubert 1994). Ritual activity cannot be ruled out, however, with specific depositional episodes apparent as well as the presence of human remains.

Baldock, Hertfordshire

The report used for the finds and context data for this site was: *Baldock: the Excavation of a Roman and Pre-Roman Settlement, 1968-72* (1986) by I.M. Stead and V. Rigby. The locations of the finds discussed below can be seen in Site Plan A4.5.15 in Appendix 4.

The publication of the excavated settlement of Baldock recorded a total of 18 finds as 'votive', the majority of which were labelled as such due to their occurrence within burial contexts. The remaining objects included three miniature model weapons from separate contexts dating to between the late 2nd to late 4th centuries AD, a 'ritual' iron rattle dated to the later 4th century AD (Figure 5.12), and a piece of bronze believed to be from an icon of a deity worshipped at the site dated to the late 4th century AD (Stead and Ribgy, 1986: 86).

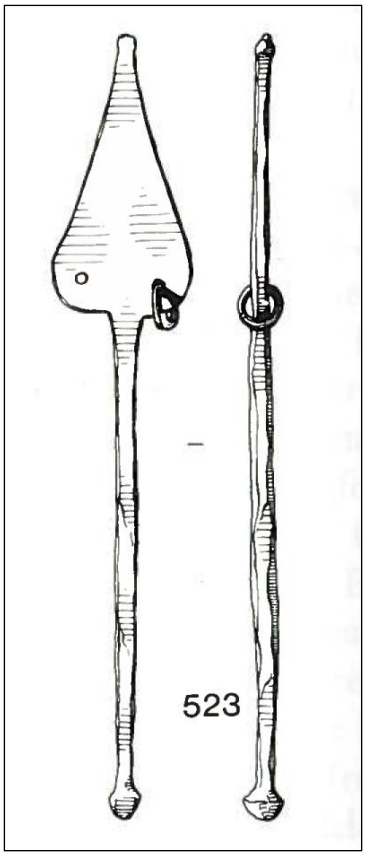


Figure 5.12: 'Ritual' rattle (scale: 1/3)

(Source: Stead and Rigby 1986: 152)

These few finds may be remnants from two possible temples. One temple was located to the south west of the settlement and identified through aerial photography, though it was not excavated. However, the second, though not formally identified, has been suggested to lie to the north of the settlement, owing to the concentration of 'votive' finds in this area (Stead and Rigby 1986: 86), discussed in more detail below.

Prior to the identified 'votive' deposits, evidence of structured deposition can be traced back to the mid-1st century AD. The remains of what was identified as an entire 'flock' of sheep of unknown numbers showing butchery marks was recovered from a pit dating to the AD 60s (Stead and Rigby, 1986: 85-6). It is not often that a whole flock of sheep is killed at one time. It is possible these sheep were slaughtered for a large feast for some kind of celebration, whether part of a religious ceremony or some other ritual. Other finds recovered from this pit include a few stray sherds, a bronze ligula, a bone pin, a bone needle and an iron spearhead, though these finds were not directly associated with the 'flock'. The location of this pit was less than 10 metres away from the pit producing one of the model axes and a well producing the large collection of iron spearheads, both to be discussed below, along the northern

boundary of the settlement. The small collection of finds from this 1st century AD pit in itself raises questions about ritual deposition versus processes of discard. If the pit fill were a midden then a greater variety of finds would be present. A collection of finds such as these, in the proximity of other potential ritual deposits, could suggest a dedication in reaction to the changing socio-cultural and socio-political environment of the beginning of the Roman period, or the beginning of a history of structured deposition at Baldock.

The three miniature weapon finds, mentioned above, were recovered from separate pit, ditch and well contexts. The weapons comprised two model axes and one model spear. The spear, from the upper fill of the well, and one of the axes from the pit were recovered along with three spearheads each. The well also produced the 'ritual' rattle. The exact placement of the model axes and the 'rattle' in their respective fill contexts, is not known. A number of other finds came from each of these three features including coins, tools, personal ornaments and some potsherds. The dates of these three features and their fills are as follows: all material from the pit was dated to between the late 2nd to early 3rd centuries AD; the model axe from the ditch was dated to the 3rd century AD; and the model spear, 'rattle' and associated spearheads from the well were dated to the late 4th century AD. Residual material from the ditch and well was dated from the late 1st to 4th centuries AD. It is notable that the types of items recovered from these three features and their contexts are mostly metalwork. The pit also produced one partial upper handstone from a saddle quern, one partial whetstone and the base of one glass vessel. These finds, like those from the 1st century AD pit, are not varied enough to suggest site middens and are all very similar across these three features with the model weapons being the key finds linking all three. The similarity in miniature weapons to those recovered from the cult sites of Uley and Wanborough aid in confirming ritual interpretations.

A collection of 32 iron spearheads was recovered dating to the 3rd century AD within a separate well on the northern boundary of the excavated settlement less than 10 metres from the pit and well features noted above. Additional finds from this well include one small iron bar, one iron spatula, one iron carpenter's knife and a few samian sherds. The 32 spearheads were recovered dissociated from the other finds and recorded as 'votive'. Stead and Rigby (1986: 149) note that this collection of spearheads was an unusual find as it represents a large quantity of weaponry in the hinterland away from known Roman garrisons. As they state, civilians were only permitted to carry weapons when travelling and for the purposes of hunting, and whilst these weapons could indicate these uses, this is still an unusually large cache (1986: 149). Further to these arguments, the idea that these spearheads could have been recycled instead of forming a votive deposit is negated by the large number recovered together and the fact that the spearheads were placed in a well, suggesting that retrieval was

not intended. As for the remaining finds from this well, again, as with the other deposits discussed above, there are too few finds here to suggest that the rest of the fill was a midden. If the 32 spearheads were intended as offerings, it is likely that the individual finds were also intended as offerings. There were also other 'votive' collections nearby.

The 'votive' finds recovered from Baldock confirm the ritual deposition of both small and large collections of finds, particularly in association with the northern boundary of the site. These finds also provide connections, through the excavation of miniature model weapons, to other sites investigated within Zone One, specifically Uley and Wanborough, and possible ritual practices specific to this Zone.

Verulamium, Hertfordshire

The report used for the finds and context data for this site was: *Verulamium Excavations Volumes 1 and 2* (1972-84) by S. Frere. The locations of the finds discussed below can be seen in Site Plan A4.5.16 in Appendix 4.

Whilst data for the entirety of this site were examined, owing to the size and extent of this settlement my investigation has focussed on the ritual aspects of two shrines, the watery feature of the River Ver flood plain and a number of other features that showed obvious signs of ritual depositional practices and concentrations of finds.

Some of the earliest evidence of ritual deposition recovered from Verulamium are human remains and associated finds recovered from outside the cemetery areas. The remains consisted of a skull fragment emerging from building foundations dating to the LPRIA/Early Roman period. The early foundation feature and occupation layers producing the skull fragment also produced a variety of finds including pottery remains, a few scattered coins, small personal ornaments, some animal remains, a bronze scabbard chape and stone building material. Nothing was recovered in association with the skull fragment. It is possible that this find was intrusive after accidental destruction of a grave during the digging out of the foundation. However, with relatively few other finds recovered, all dated to the same period, it is possible all represent ritual foundation deposits.

During the Roman period one of the two small shrines from insulas 14 and 28 within the centre of the town (Site Plan A4.5.16), dated to the mid-2nd century AD and the mid-4th century AD respectively, was a focus for ritual deposits. The latter shrine from insula 28 produced 126 coins as well as a few pottery sherds contemporaneous with the shrine. However, little else was recovered in association with either shrine. Looking more closely at the total coin finds for Verulamium the majority were found in six hoards, excepting those

recovered from occupation material spreads, the two shrines and the area of the flood plain. The coin hoards consist of two from one 2nd century AD workshop, two from 2nd to 3rd century AD cellar contexts, one from a 3rd to 4th century AD wooden box recovered from the River Ver floodplain, and one from late 4th century AD rubble layers. In addition, from the 'other small metal' category, a hoard of 108 lead roundels believed to be coins or weights were recovered from floor layers dating to a domestic structure of the period AD150-55. These hoards and those coin finds scattered across the flood plain, in the cellar contexts and across the occupation layers suggest both intentional deposition and casual losses. Considering the size and longevity of this settlement it is probable that the majority of the coins, particularly from occupation layers, were lost. The hoards could represent storage for later retrieval, though three of the hoards, one from the early 2nd century AD smith's shop, one from the 3rd century AD cellar and one from late 4th century AD rubble layers, consist of less than ten coins, not substantial enough numbers to draw major attention and more likely to be small personal caches or purse hoards. The other three hoards consisted of between 28 to 90 coins, though two out of these three were not recovered in association with great quantities of finds and those that were recovered consisted mostly of potsherds, stone building material, small personal ornaments and scrap metal: one from the 2nd century AD workshop and one from the 2nd to 3rd century AD cellar as mentioned above. The final hoard of 28 coins was recovered from within the 3rd to 4th century AD wooden box from the flood plain.

Finds from the flood plain in particular are more notable owing to their type, variety and quantity. Whilst the two shrines do indicate the presence of formalised ritual activity from at least the Middle to Late Roman period, it is the material recovered from the River Ver floodplain that produced large quantities of finds, many of which were noted in the report as 'votive' (Frere 1972). Finds from the floodplain include personal ornaments, iron and bronze tools, pewter table ware, a large bell and 179 coins, including the 28 within the wooden box. It is possible that many of these finds came to be recovered from the flood plain as a result of eroded middens, hoards or other storage deposits, or in addition that the river itself acted as a large domestic rubbish dump for the entire settlement of Verulamium (York 2002: 90). A cobble layer was uncovered around the area of the flood plain. It is likely this formed a track leading up to a crossing over the river. Derks (1998: 135) has theorised that many offerings recovered from watery areas, especially during the Roman period, were derived from river crossings, as well as sources and confluences. Furthermore, Niblett (1999: 409) has noted that the pre-Roman Iron Age name for the town, Verlamion, meant the settlement on the marsh or by the marsh, which helps to confirm the Iron Age relevance of water and watery areas. These ideas together could indicate the significance of these metalwork finds, in particular,

recovered from the River Ver's floodplain to the north of the town and possible evidence of the continuity of ritual deposition with a wartery focus at this locale.

Aside from the Late Roman to early medieval cemetery and five cremation burials noted from a later Roman trench, the rest of the human remains recorded from Verulamium consist of seven infant burials, six of which were recovered from domestic structures in the centre of the town and one from the insula V defence trench to the south of the settlement, all dated to the mid-2nd century AD. Aside from a crucible and a few sherds loosely connected to two of the burials in the centre of the settlement, no other grave goods were recovered. Roman burials commonly took place along roads outside the main settlement area (Arnold 2006: 8); however inhumations of infants within the confines of the domestic settlement were common practice (Perring 2009: 198). In Verulamium four separate infant burials were recovered beneath the floors of four separate rooms from neighbouring buildings, dating to AD 130-50. Whilst no finds were recovered in direct association with these burials, a bronze phallic-shaped amulet with suspension loop was recovered from one of the occupation layers of one of the structures. It is possible that this find relates to the desire for fertility and prosperity in this particular house or along this row of houses amongst many infant losses. However, the lack of comparable evidence cannot confirm this as a continual ritual practice.

Of the five cremation burials, all from one pit in a later Roman trench date to the mid- to late 3rd century AD, and a ritual focus is obvious. The cremation burials were also associated with one coin of Tasciovanus and a jar sherd as well as a layer of ash and charcoal sealing the pit with these cremations and their finds. Close to these finds a second pit was recovered producing seven dog skulls and one complete dog skeleton along with a gold finger ring and a bronze 'Knee Brooch'. As with the finds from the site of Folly Lane overlooking this settlement from the north, these dog skulls could be representative of the Iron Age deity Sucellos (Ross, 1968: 283). However, as stated above, evidence of prehistoric deities cannot be relied upon. The occurrence of these dog remains in highly ritualised cremation deposits at sites less than two miles apart is unlikely to be a coincidence, though the difference in date of two hundred years between those remains at Folly Lane and those identified here does not confirm the burial of dog remains as a consistent ritual practice.

Several examples of structured ritual deposition are notable from the settlement of Verulamium, specifically from the Roman period. The River Ver floodplain is most notable in the variety and quantity of metalwork finds close to a possible river crossing. However, other comparable finds, particlarly coins, from a number of hoards across the settlement provide evidence of the importance of deposition that is not confined to a particular context.

Springhead, Kent

The report used for the finds and context data for this site was: *Excavations at Springhead Roman Town, Southfleet, Kent* (1999) by A. Boyle and R. Early. The locations of the finds discussed below can be seen in Site Plan A4.5.17 in Appendix 4.

The settlement of Springhead, dated from the LPRIA to Late Roman periods, had a Romano-British temple to the north of the main settlement (Boyle and Early 1999; Andrews *et al* 2011). At the time of original data collection for the present research, the only site reports available pre-dated the comprehensive excavation and compilation of information regarding the temple features (Andrews *et al* 2011). However, there are other signs of depositional activity that could relate to the ritual activities known to have taken place at this site.

The only two weapon finds from the site were one incomplete iron blade recovered from within a recognised metalworking pit of unknown date, along with three 'other small metal' objects, three quernstone fragments and the leg and right femur of an infant. Owing to the nature of the area being used for metalworking, this incomplete blade and 'other small metals' are not unusual finds. However, the presence of the infant remains and quernstone fragments appear to represent something that appears to be rather more ritual in nature. The other weapon find was that of a spear or catapult bolt head, much corroded, from the fills of a ditch dating to 1st century AD occupation activity and metalworking. The remaining finds from this feature appear very much of a domestic nature: a few stray nails, three small personal ornaments, glass vessel sherds and quernstone fragments. However, the low number of finds and the presence of the quernstone fragments could, again, represent deposits of ritual significance, particularly in a 1st century AD feature, perhaps marking the period of transition and transformation.

The pits within the main settlement and their fills were the most numerous finds-producing contexts, as shown in Figure A5.5.1v. From within these contexts the human remains stand out as significant in exploring what kinds of activities were taking place across this site. All human remains recovered from the pits were those of infants, as were all human remains from the settlement as a whole. Like the finds from Verulamium, this practice could indicate the burial of infants to encourage fertility within the confines of the settlement or, as Dominic Perring has argued from classical sources, because it was thought better 'to keep these unfortunates at home than to dispatch them to a cemetery' (Fulgentius, cited in Perring 2009: 198) .

The surrounding pit fills from which the infant remains were recovered produced tools, animal bone, some worked, stone building materials, quernstone fragments, pottery and glass

vessel fragments, a few small personal ornaments and some 'other small metal' finds, most of which dated to the 1st to 2nd centuries AD. No other finds were recovered in direct association with the burials. Again, the presence of the quernstone fragments along with the infant remains could be suggestive of ritual deposits relating to transformation and/or fertility (Downes 1997: 151; Brück, 2006: 304). Two pits produced finds that stand out as ritual deposits. From within a 2nd century AD pit, the remains of a sheep cleaved in half with the right side remaining were recovered. An infant burial was recovered buried into the chalk floor next to this pit with the sheep remains. Aside from these remains a fragmented prismatic bottle and stone building material were also present in the occupation material spreads around these two features. As for the other pit feature, the right humerus of an infant was recovered from the same pit or ditch as the remains of two or three sheep, although not in direct association. The remains recovered from this feature date from the 1st through to the 3rd/4th centuries AD with the remaining finds consisting of potsherds, minimal scrap metal, mill and whetstone fragments and stone building material.

The number of infant burials recovered from the main settlement of Springhead provide evidence of formal ritual activities taking place here. Whilst it has been acknowledged by Perring (2009: 198) that infant burials were not uncommon within the confines of a settlement, their presence still represents significant episodes of ritual deposition along with any associated finds during the Early to Middle Roman period.

Other sites:

Chedworth, Gloucestershire; Faringdon, Oxfordshire; Ham Hill, Somerset; Weybridge, Surrey; Southwark, London

The reports used for the finds and context data for each of these sites are as follows: *The Roman Villa at Chedworth* (1979) by R. Goodburn; 'An early Iron Age occupation site, a Roman shrine and other prehistoric activity at Coxwell road, Faringdon' in *Oxoniensia,* Volume 69 (2004) by S.D.G. Weaver and S. Ford; 'Excavations at Ham Hill, Montacute, Somerset 1994 and 1998', in *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society*, Volume 142 (1998) by J.J. McKinley; *Brooklands, Weybridge: the Excavation of an Iron Age and Medieval Site* (1977) by R. Hanworth and D.J. Tomalin; and *Excavations in Southwark 1973 – 76* (1988) by Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Excavations Committee. The locations of the finds discussed below can be seen in Site Plans A4.5.18 to A4.5.22 in Appendix 4.

Out of these five remaining sites, Chedworth, Gloucestershire and Faringdon, Oxfordshire were more overtly ritual, being shrine sites. However too few finds were associated with the shrines themselves, as well as the sites overall, to suggest prolonged depositional activity.

At Chedworth one villa shrine dated to the Late Roman period and one temple, exact date unknown, were discovered. The Romano-British temple just outside of the main villa site produced very few finds with a few human and red deer remains, of unknown date, recovered from a pit in the temple's foundations plus the remains of limestone walls and columns in the vicinity. It is possible that the red deer remains were deposited in honour of the hunter god identified from the shrine within the villa complex, though no other finds from this feature could support this. As for the villa shrine, this building, of a possible 4th century AD date, was constructed over a natural reservoir, though relatively few finds were recovered in association. Those that were include the aforementioned stone depiction of a possible hunter god with dead hare and hunting dog (Figure 5.13), one bronze brooch, an uninscribed altar, two other altars dedicated to Mars Lenus, other indigenous deities depicted in stone and one stone slab inscribed with the chi-rho symbol, which was re-used as building material, as well as other stone building material and lead piping associated with the reservoir. Some 360 coins were also recovered from Chedworth, though all were unprovenanced, and the majority of which dated from the mid-1st century AD to the early 5th century AD. It is possible that these coins related to the shrine and temple and the ritual activities taking place at these locations, either as dedications or payment, to the temple especially (Bradley 1998: 177). Two other slabs were recovered depicting the chi-rho symbol, though these were discovered unstratified and of an unknown date. This array of finds appears to show the progression of worship at Chedworth from indigenous deities through syncretised Romano-indigenous deities and then on to Christianity. With the re-use of one of the chi-rho slabs as building material it is possible that the practice of Christianity at this site was short lived with the inhabitants reverting to the worship of local and/or Roman deities or new inhabitants reviving pre-Christian traditions. Alternatively, the incorporation of the chi-rho slab into the structure of the shrine added to the ritual aspect of the building and its associated activities, perhaps owing to its inherent spiritual meaning or in combining Christianity with the already existing Romano-indigenous ritual practices.

Figure 5.13: Stone depiction of a possible hunter god with dead hare and hunting dog

(Source: Goodburn 1979: plate 9)

At Faringdon, the main settlement activity dated from the early Iron Age through to the Late Roman/early medieval period. Prior to the development of the mid/late 1st century AD shrine, a series of six pits with separate fills dating to the Early Iron Age were recovered across the area of the Early Iron Age roundhouse, producing what have been described in the report as 'placed deposits' (Weaver and Ford 2004: 131). The contents of these pits were as follows: Pit One: one fox with cub; one raven; two neonate piglets; small mammals: water vole, field vole, woodmouse; worked sheep and cattle bone, with no specific order noted in the placing of these remains (Weaver and Ford 2004: 131); Pit Two: the wing and leg of a raven; Pit Three: one clay loom weight, one puppy, and one stone lens with the lens recovered from the upper part of the fill; Pit Four: two young sheep remains partially burnt; Pit Five: one horse skull and one cow scapula; Pit Six: one whole pottery vessel. The presence of cattle bones in ritual deposits has been recognised as a sign of wealth in Iron Age and Roman society (Wait, 1985), whilst the loom weight, animal skulls, and wild animal and bird bone finds have been interpreted by Hamilton (1997: 9; 1998: 23-39) as 'special' deposits in pits and pit bases,

particularly at the Late Iron Age Caburn hillfort. The Romano-British shrine produced a larger variety of finds though still too few to suggest ritual depositional activity. Amongst the finds were five coins dating between the mid-1st to early 4th centuries AD, one iron arrowhead and one iron spearhead, of a form similar to those recovered from Uley, one copper alloy bracelet plus other finds including 17 iron nails, little copper alloy scrap metal, one bone gaming piece, a few potsherds and some stone building material. It is possible that organic deposits were made but there appears to be little humic evidence to support this hypothesis.

The hillfort at Ham Hill produced occupation material dating from the Early to Late Iron Age. A 4th to 3rd century BC pit produced a number of burnt remains, including human and animal remains, an iron spearhead, a bone gouge and various potsherds. It is probable that this pit represents a human burial with a number of grave goods. The only finds to be determined as deliberately 'broken' prior to deposition were a pair of 3rd to 1st century BC iron neckrings intertwined prior to burial. These neckrings were recovered from an undated gully with one other neckring recovered together with the intertwined pair. No other finds were noted in association. The only other find of significance from Ham Hill was a solitary 'votive' find of an iron currency bar. Dating to the 2nd to 1st century BC and recovered from the fill of a pit, the bar was fashioned into the shape of a sword and noted as having broken in two, post-deposition (McKinley 1998). It is believed that this find relates to a hoard of 70-80 similar bars recovered in 1845 from Stroud's Hill, immediately to the north of Ham Hill (McKinley 1998). Aside from the similarity of objects, no other evidence supports such a connection. Also dated to the 2nd to 1st centuries BC was a charcoal layer consisting of animal bone, potsherds, wood, flint and carbonised grains. This layer was dated to the latest phase of the site. Comparable to the burnt layer identified at Cabury Castle, it is possible that this layer and the currency bar deposit represent a ritual marking the clearing and subsequent abandonment of the site, perhaps influenced by the changing socio-cultural environment at the time of transition.

Those finds recovered from the Middle to Late Iron Age settlement of Weybridge were mostly from pit contexts (Figure A5.5.1p). These finds included tools, 'other small metals', animal remains, pottery remains, stone building material and organic deposits indicative of occupation and industrial activities taking place at this site, specifically iron-working through the presence of slag deposits. An iron latch-lifter was recovered from the internal entrance to the roundhouse together with one potsherd suggesting a ritual foundation deposit reinforcing the Iron Age belief in the importance of the entrance and its security (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994: 47).

The majority of finds from the Early to Late Roman settlement of Southwark, London, were apparently domestic or industrial in character, consisting of middens and other debris. Two Venus statuettes were recovered from Southwark: one from a later Roman ditch and one from a later Roman pit or gully and both intermixed with other building material and middens, neither of which were noted as occupying a specific place in the contexts from which they were recovered. The find from the pit or gully was recovered with some marble inlay, suggesting the remains of a possible domestic shrine. Whilst these finds appear to represent the remains of a possible shrine or at the very least iconic figures of classical religion, the recovery of these items in a ditch and pit or gully with associated middens dating to the later Roman period suggests the discard of either the classical religions in favour of another faith, or the demolition and/or rennovation of a domestic shine or small temple that was subsequently demolished. However, aside from these finds, nothing else from Southwark suggests ritual activity. These final two sites are less overt in any practices of ritual deposition; however their evidence is still noteworthy and adds to the wider debates regarding practices of ritual deposition within this study zone to be explored in the remainder of this chapter.

5.2.3 Summary of the intra-site analysis

Analyses of the indvidual sites above has confirmed that structured deposition was a practice that was taking place during the Iron Age and Roman periods across Zone One. The in-depth exploration of the total finds recorded from each site in comparison to those finds recorded in the respective site reports as 'votive' has proved that 'votive' interpretations of finds are not wholly accurate. Those that have been interpreted as 'votive' can be maintained as such, however, what this analysis has drawn attention to is the need to examine associated finds and wider comparable depositional patterns to fully explore what can constitute a 'votive' deposit and ritually charged areas of each site, such as the entrances of sites such as Cadbury Castle and Weybridge, and the possible location of an as yet unidentified temple at Baldock.

This initial stage of analysis has allowed for a thorough exploration of depostional activity taking place across the individual sites of Zone One and for a number of significant finds and groups of finds to be discussed in detail. The next stage of analysis is to determine whether broader region-wide patterns of deposition across this study zone can be identified. Whilst the intra-site analysis has concluded that structured deposition was taking place across all sites studied, the inter-site analysis will explore these episodes of structured deposition more widely to assess whether the find-types and context types used were unique to each site studied or whether common practices can be identified.

5.3 Inter-site analysis

5.3.1 Introduction

Following on from the in-depth investigation of the 22 Zone One sites, this section will consider all Zone One sites as a whole in an inter-site analysis based on the research questions put forth in Chapter 4. These sections broadly outline any regional patterns apparent to allow for an inter-zone comparison in Chapter 7. The sections below will look specifically at broad patterns in finds, context types, the condition of finds recovered and whether a transition in episodes of structured deposition can be determined from the LPRIA to Roman periods. When discussing the sites in the sections to follow, they have been ordered as they occur in Table A6.5.1.

5.3.2 What were the most common finds-producing contexts and the dominant find-types emerging from within these context types?

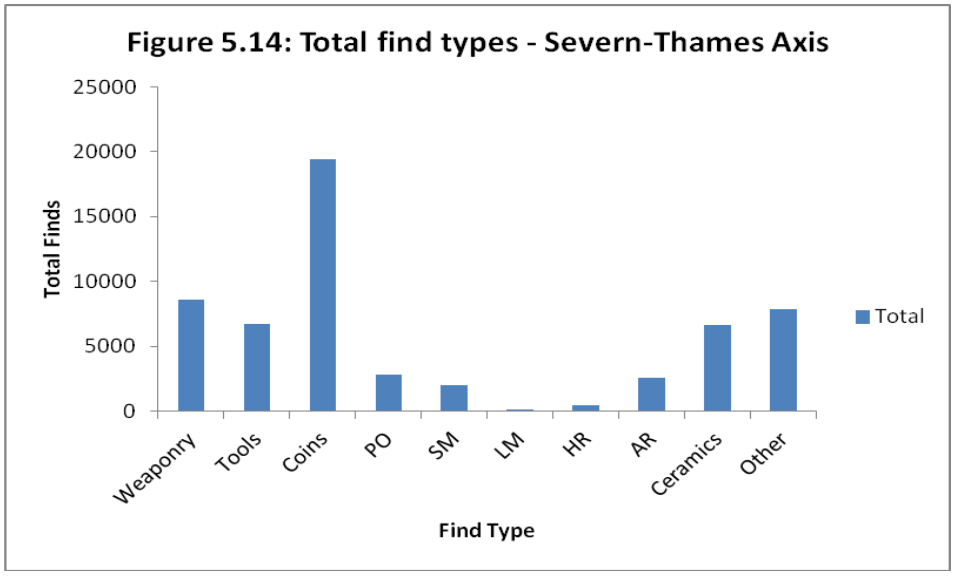
Of the 22 sites studied, just over a third were distinctly watery in nature being either river-based sites, spring-based sites where the spring acted as a main focal point, or built on reclaimed wet or boggy ground close to a natural water source. Of the 14 remaining sites water played a less central role forming either the boundary to the site or the spring location for the initial development of the site on a hilltop overlooking a main body of water, in all cases that body of water being a river. Examining the total number of finds-producing contexts across the 22 Zone One sites (Figure 5.1a), it is apparent that finds from occupation material spreads and those from spring or reservoir contexts greatly outnumber all other finds-producing context types. However, the majority of the finds from the spring and reservoir context came from the reservoir silt deposits at Bath. With these finds excluded from the total, the number of total finds in this category is reduced to circa 300 (Figure 5.1c), with the contexts producing the greatest numbers of finds, behind occupation material spreads, from domestic structure contexts and contexts relating to shrine and temple occupation. Whilst these context types do help to explain the nature of each site, whether it be a hillfort or other settlement type, a seasonal or permanent settlement, or a ritual centre with temple and shrine remains, this only represents a part of the site's activities.

Whilst watery features are connected to each site, some more so than others, what must be examined here is the relationship between watery features and depositional activity. Specifically, it must be determined whether general actions of deposition are able to suggest common zone-wide rituals or other traditions of deposition relating to or owing to these watery areas. Examining the total numbers of finds from each context type for all of the 22 sites it was necessary to narrow down and concentrate upon the main three finds-producing

contexts from each site to focus the investigation. These results can be seen in Figure A5.5.1a-v. From these, only five sites produced results showing that one of the three main contextual foci for producing finds was watery in nature. Of these only three sites: Bath, Heathrow and Walbrook had watery contexts as their primary focus for depositional activity, or at least for the preservation and production of the largest number of artefacts.

Out of the three main finds-producing contexts, 12 of the sites show that pits were key to producing large numbers of finds. Domestic structures were also amongst the dominant finds-producing contexts, being common across 12 sites. Seven sites show that temples and shrines were significant contexts and seven sites show that ditches were significant contexts for producing finds. To provide depth to the finds-producing contexts the find-types must be examined more fully to discover the dominant find-type. This will provide more insight into the nature of the depositional activity taking place across these broad context-type categories as well as Zone One as a whole.

Examining the total finds from across Zone One as a whole (Figure 5.14) shows that coins were the most numerous artefact followed by weaponry and finds in the 'other category'. By examining the finds on an individual site basis (Figure A5.5.1a-v) these results reinforce that coin finds were most numerous followed by finds in the 'other' category; however tools and animal remains come in equally as the third most numerous find-types recovered. Overall, the 'other' category represents building materials, glass vessel fragments, worked stone and wood, and various plant and grain remains. Finds such as these plus the large numbers of animal remains could represent the majority of occupational material spreads from eating, farming and secondary use. The large number of total tool and coin finds is perhaps more significant. Coin loss is not an uncommon occurrence across many sites, whilst tool losses can be attributed to the gradual expansion and evolution of the sites through the Iron Age to Roman transition and the development of workshops and larger industrial centres.



Coin finds were the most abundant across 16 sites. Of these 16, half had coin finds as their most numerous find-type and of these eight sites, five had an overtly ritual focus, with the coin finds being strongly associated with the ritual foci of three sites in particular: the spring's reservoir at Bath; the temple at Uley, where coin finds date across all periods of these sites; and the pre-temple deposits at Wanborough dating to the mid-1st century AD. Of the remaining two sites of a ritual nature where coins were the most numerous find, the temple sites of Nettleton and Chedworth, the coins were associated with domestic and industrial structures in the case of Nettleton and were all unstratified in the case of Chedworth, dating across all periods of the two sites. Camerton, Ivy Chimneys and Verulamium represent the remaining three sites where coin finds were the most numerous of all finds recorded.

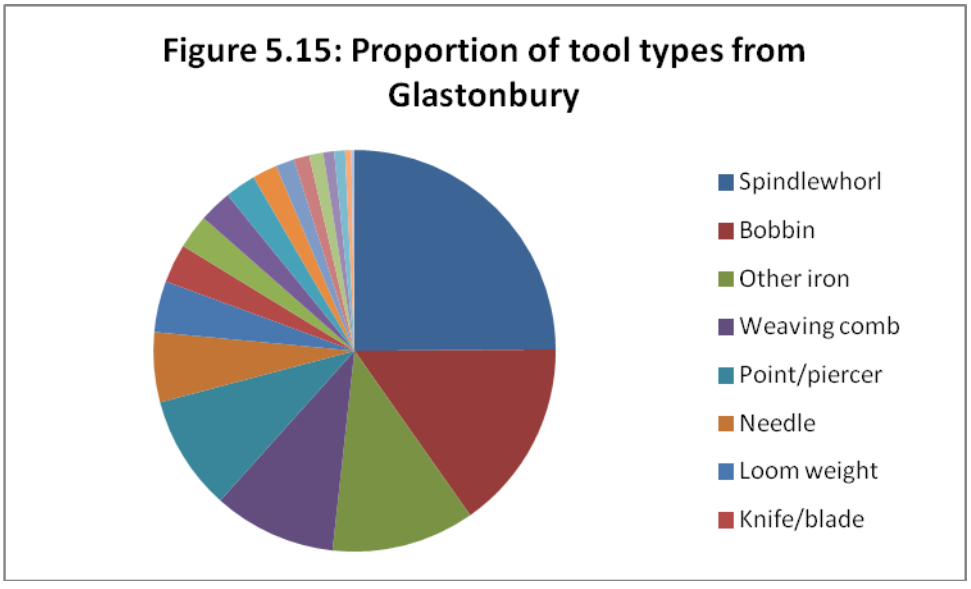
At Ivy Chimneys, the main pond and seven depressions across the site produced the largest numbers of total finds, with the coins the most numerous. As has been described in the intra-site analysis, the three coin hoards that were recovered all comprised barbarous radiates: one from within the main pond dated to the late 3rd to early 4th centuries AD, and two from ditch contexts dating to the late 2nd to mid-3rd centuries AD, one of which was associated with 17 foetal bones. At Camerton the coin finds were most strongly associated with structural remains, examined above; 68% of the coin finds were recovered from three separate hoards and all from the same location, a late 2nd century AD stone building. At Verulamium the majority of coin finds came from the occupational material spread across the majority of the town. However, this context type has been ruled out because it encompasses too large and incomparable an area. Looking to the other context types that produced coins, the cellar contexts of a 3rd to 4th century AD domestic structure, and the layers of deposition from the River Ver floodplain constitute the next most numerous finds-producing context types. Associated finds from the cellar consist of a number of tools, personal ornaments, 'other

small metals', pottery and glass vessel fragments, and building debris. Coins from the floodplain area, which constitute 16% of the total from Verulamium and were dated across the Roman period, were individual finds, although they were recovered with a substantial amount of other metalwork. It is possible that organic or lighter metalwork finds were deposited into the river or along its banks but deteriorated or were carried downstream. Other finds, however, are more difficult to explain, as discussed in the intra-site analysis.

Tool finds were the dominant find-type across ten of the main three finds-producing contexts from Zone One, being most prevalent from four sites: Folly Lane, Glastonbury, Weybridge and Walbrook. Interestingly, two of these sites were significantly watery in nature and a third is a definite site of overt ritual activity. At the site of Folly Lane, the majority of tool finds were recovered from the main mid-1st century AD burial pit, along with ceramics and 'other small metal' finds. Owing to the nature of this site and the cremation of not only the body but associated grave goods it was quite difficult identifying all of the different find-types. However, most of the tool finds have been identified or interpreted from the remains available (Niblett 1998). Of the tool finds, nails and hobnails were the most numerous encompassing 98% of the total tool finds from across this site as a whole, the majority of which came from the burial pit. At the mid- to late Iron Age site of Glastonbury, tool finds were most numerous from the occupation layers of the stand-alone settlement mounds, with the settlement mounds associated with palisades and paths also producing numerous tool finds. By looking at tool types it is obvious that the majority relate to weaving, as Table 5.2 and Figure 5.15 below show. It is interesting to note that almost 800 were lost or discarded into mostly standing water, where retrieval may have been easier. Looking to the condition of these finds, only 8% were recovered broken, therefore posing a question as to why they were discarded if they were domestic or industrial debris.

Table 5.2: Type and number of tool finds recovered from Glastonbury

Tool types	Number
Spindle whorl	199
Bobbin	123
Other iron	92
Weaving comb	79
Point/piercer	74
Needle	45
Loom weight	33
Knife/blade	25
Other antler/bone	22
Other stone	21
Scraper	20
Hammer	16
Hooks	12
Other wood	10
Awl	9
Adze	7
Gouge	7
Ladle	4
Axe	2



At the mid- to late Iron Age settlement of Weybridge, tools were most numerous amongst the total finds, although tools numbered only 29 in total. As was the case at Glastonbury, all but one of the tools were recovered whole and 79% of the total tools recovered were from 12 different pit contexts, consisting of 13 clay loom weights, four iron nails, three clay spindle

whorls and individual finds of an iron ferrule, an iron punch and one unidentified iron tool (see Site Plan A4.5.21). The question posed in the case of the Glastonbury finds can be posed here: if these tools were fit for purpose why were they discarded? As discussed in the intra-site analysis, the presence of the loom weights at Glastonbury as well as at Weybridge could imply ritual pit and watery deposits (Hill 1995: 52; Hamilton 1997: 9), perhaps honouring the weavers and their work or donated by them. The number of tool finds from the late Iron Age to Roman site at Walbrook as a whole over-shadows the rest of the site's finds, constituting 89% of the assemblage. Total tool finds numbered 2,589 with 98% coming exclusively from the stream context. The question is, were these casual losses into a fast-flowing tributary during the building and development of the foreshore as Londinium's port was growing and becoming the largest across Roman-occupied Britannia? Or, is there something more to explaining these losses? As the intra-site analysis suggested these tool finds could be the result of hoarded scrap metals eroded away; or, the ritual deposition of tools in honour of, or provided by, the crafts people working and living in this area during the early years of Roman occupied Britain.

Looking at the contexts and finds from across this Zone as a whole is useful in terms of determining the dominant contexts producing finds as well as the types of finds made, used and visible archaeologically. What results show is that water was not significant in broad patterns of deposition but on a site-by-site basis it can be determined as a key factor in preserving and producing finds for sites such as Bath, Glastonbury, Meare and Walbrook. However, the question is still open as to what the general nature of depositional activity was across Zone One at this time of transition. The next step in analysing the finds data is to examine them across the time periods and whether or not a transition in types of finds deposited and context types used can be determined, along with the social and cultural transition that was already undoubtedly underway.

5.3.3 Can a transition of depositional practices be identified across the Iron Age to the Roman period within Zone One?

All sites studied in depth from across Zone One showed some signs of socio-cultural transition from the Iron Age to Roman periods, whether it be in a few scattered finds or via more conspicuous evidence, with the development of features overlying the old, or re-use of certain finds and features in later activities. For the 22 sites studied in detail, there are those the stratigraphy of which represents distinct changes across the Iron Age to Roman periods in both finds and features, and those at which only a few scattered finds harks back to or presage socio-cultural changes.

All but two sites produced evidence of settlement activity across the time of transition. The two exceptions are Ham Hill and Weybridge. It is possible that these sites, both with relatively few finds and feature data all dating to within the pre-50 BC and 50 BC to AD 50 time periods (see Chapter 4 for the definition of these time periods), were used for a short period of time by their Iron Age occupants. Ham Hill produced a total of three finds dating to the later Roman period; these were a few pottery fragments and one post-medieval tile fragment, all of which were noted as intrusive (McKinley 1998). Owing to the small numbers of Roman and post-medieval finds compared to the total of at least 198 other dated finds, intrusion is most likely.

Twenty Zone One sites all showed signs of occupation and/or use from the pre-Roman Iron Age through to the Roman period and, in some cases, beyond. Of these sites, nine out of 22 produced finds evidence peaking during the AD 50-150 time period, whereas six sites produced finds evidence peaking during the pre-50 BC time period and the remaining seven sites were evenly distributed across the remaining time periods in terms of the peak in their finds chronology (see Figure A5.5.2). From these numbers it appears that the Late Iron Age to Early Roman period was a significant time for occupation and other activities. The finds evidence may reflect increases in the population, increased material culture or increases in deposition.

The nine sites the finds numbers of which peaked during the AD 50 to 150 period include Cadbury Castle, Bath, Wanborough, Harlow, Walbrook, Southwark, Baldock, Verulamium and Springhead. Three of these sites were overtly religious and a fourth produced finds of a ritual nature. Of these sites, Bath, Wanborough and Harlow are those the main finds-producing contexts and associated finds of which relate to their relative temples; the fourth site is that of Baldock, where burials were especially numerous during this period of time, accounting for 69% of the total human remains for this site. The finds from the three temple sites could represent either an increase in the number of people using the sites for their particular religious purposes and/or a response from the local populations to new demographies and new socio-political, socio-economic and socio-cultural trends. To examine the possible stimulus to these trends, it is necessary to look at the dominant find-types that were recovered from this time period (see Figure A5.5.3). The most numerous finds recovered from Bath for the AD 50-150 period relate directly to the spring; coins are the most numerous with at least 12,599 dating to this period alone. The other finds from the spring for this time are not as numerous as the coins, though they do represent associated votive deposits with ‘other small metal’ finds, pottery remains and ‘other’ finds, worked stone and organic material, particularly twigs and nuts, numbering between 79-156. The results are similar for Wanborough and Harlow with personal ornaments occurring most commonly in association

with both the temples. At Wanborough, the coin finds plus 'other' finds - with the 'other' finds consisting of 1,244 tesserae as well as building material relating to the construction of the temple - were the second and third most numerous find types for this period. At Harlow, potsherds and coins numbered most highly behind the personal ornaments.

Cadbury Castle showed the possible impact of unrest between clashing cultures during the AD 50-150 period. The finds recovered from this site peaked during this period with the material spread recognised as the 'massacre and burning levels' (Barrett *et al* 2000: 81) representing the context-type producing the largest volume of finds. From this layer, personal ornaments, human remains, tools and weaponry numbered most highly. For a layer recognised by archaeologists as 'massacre and burning levels' it is not surprising that human remains and weaponry should number highly; however the number of tools and personal ornaments is noteworthy. It is possible that the tools could be related to periods of building prior to, and post, the episode of burning. The personal ornaments could represent the population numbers affected by subsequent looting and destruction of the site during this period. However, a burnt material layer has been identified at other hillfort sites during this time period, for example at Maiden Castle and at Bredon Hill, Worcestershire (Sharples 1991: 41; Hingley 2006: 226). The burnt material spreads from these sites, which also contained a number of other metalwork finds, were deposited around the entrances to the hillforts, as was the case with Cadbury Castle (Hingley 2006: 226). These spreads could be indicative of ritual deposits during this period of transition, particularly when considered with the ritual deposits and period of re-build of the South Western Gate immediately post-dating these material spreads, as discussed in the intra-site analysis.

Examining the six sites whose finds numbers peaked during the pre-50 BC period, they can be divided equally into two types of site with three examples: Faringdon, Glastonbury and Meare producing the largest number of finds from occupation layers, and the remaining three: Ham Hill, Lechlade and Heathrow producing the largest number of finds from pits and waterhole contexts. Looking to the finds themselves, the remains from Faringdon, Glastonbury and Meare appear to be consistent with the dominant finds-producing context type with flints, animal remains, tools and pottery remains coming from occupational material spread. Of these sites, a few have produced interesting finds suggesting ritual depositional activity, such as the Early Iron Age 'placed deposits' (Weaver and Ford 2004: 131) from Faringdon, described in detail in the intra-site analysis. These collections are a significant association of animal and other finds, although they are Early Iron Age dated deposits and not related to the Roman incursion. They could relate to some other territorial clash or ritual of thanksgiving at a time of social transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age periods. Or alternatively, they represent elements of the 'natural world' in rituals of deposition being

symbolic of generative power, and hence enhancing the potency of the settlement (Richards and Thomas 1984: 206; Pollard 2008, cited in Garrow 2012: 103). The settlements of Glastonbury and Meare produced finds of weaponry as the most numerous from the occupation material spreads during this period, accounting for the large numbers of weapons finds from across Zone One as a whole (Figure 5.14). The majority of these weapons consisted of clay and pebble slingstones, either in hoards or scattered across the occupation layers. On their own these finds could represent deposits of significance; however in association with other finds, including potsherds, tools and organic remains such as various seeds, nuts, pulses and wood, both worked and un-worked, these finds look to represent the hunting activities of the seasonal occupations of these two settlements, which were known to be at their height during the Middle to Late Iron Age. Alternatively, as discussed in the intra-site analysis, these collections of finds could represent votive offerings in thanks of food produce gathered and hunted, similar to the 'placed deposits' identified at Faringdon.

The remaining three sites of Ham Hill, Lechlade and Heathrow, the main periods of occupation of which fell within the pre-50 BC time period, the majority of the finds relate to pre-Roman periods of occupation dating as far back as the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age in all three cases. As with the settlements of Glastonbury and Meare, weaponry was most numerous at the site of Ham Hill and, like Glastonbury and Meare, this amounted to a total of 56 sling stones dating to late Neolithic and early Bronze Age occupation layers, and two other finds of a spear and clay sling shot fragments from middle to later Iron Age occupation. Again, like the Cadbury Castle hillfort and the settlements of Glastonbury and Meare (and the site of Maiden Castle, not a part of this study) these slingstone collections could all relate to common patterns of hoarding in western Zone One. As with the settlements of Faringdon, Glastonbury and Meare, the finds of which peaked during the pre-50 BC period, the sites of Ham Hill, Lechlade and Heathrow do not appear to show a significant increase in depositional activity immediately prior to the Roman occupation. The use of contexts and numbers of finds are spread equally across the pre-Roman period with no notable concentrations of activity.

The six sites whose finds peaked during the pre-50 BC period (Faringdon, Glastonbury, Meare, Ham Hill, Lechlade and Heathrow) are better known for their prehistoric rather than their Roman activity, but this may simply reflect the greater attention focussed on the pre-Roman period. What can be seen from across the 22 sites is that a transition did indeed occur across almost all cases evident in the form of a few stray finds or a distinct change of the sites with development and expansion evident in the finds record, which could represent increased material culture or increased levels of deposition. It is clear that the period of the transition, AD 50-150, is a significant period of time for almost half of the sites studied. Looking broadly at the activity occurring at these times provides important information about where

and when activity was concentrated across the zone. However, there is no clear pattern of ritual depositional activity affected by the period of transition when examining the data in general, region-wide terms. The circumstances of the increase in material culture and the potential meanings of ritual deposition taking place during this time of transition will be explored further in Chapter 7.

5.3.4 Is the completeness or deliberate alteration of the finds at the time of deposition a significant part of the practice of deposition?

Evidence for Zone One as a whole showed that the deliberate breaking or altering of the condition of the finds at the time of deposition did not appear to be a significant practice. Sixty percent of sites studied in depth produced no deliberately broken or altered finds prior to deposition. Of the nine sites that did produce deliberately broken finds, five produced 10 or fewer deliberately broken or altered finds, with the remaining four sites producing more significant numbers. These sites include the temple sites of Uley, Nettleton, Folly Lane and Harlow. Whilst these four sites did produce large amounts of deliberately altered finds, only four out of 22 sites does not suggest a pattern in this practice within this zone on its own, or in association with any other practices of deposition into or in association with watery areas.

The reasons for episodes of deliberate breakage can be determined on a site-by-site basis. The number of finds recorded as deliberately broken at Uley numbered only 32 in comparison to 48 broken and 183 whole from the categories of weaponry, tools and personal ornaments. It is interesting to note the dominance of weaponry in the 'deliberately broken' category, with 84% of the deliberately broken finds recovered being weaponry. The majority of the weaponry in this category relates to temple contexts and includes the specially-made miniature model weapons. These weaponry finds could represent the 'killing' of their power, to prevent re-use, to be dedicated in honour of a deceased individual or to reaffirm life at a burial ritual, or to qualify the weapon for ritual use (York 2002: 90-91). The deliberate breakage of weaponry, whilst not universal across Uley as a whole, is clearly relevant to the ritual activities that took place at this site.

At Nettleton personal ornaments dominated the numbers of finds recovered deliberately broken with a hoard of 54 folded bracelets recovered from 4th century AD levels, around the time temple activity was coming to an end. Such a deposit could be part of a ritual of termination of the ritual site, although there was too little information about this deposit in the report, including a lack of information on which features this hoard was associated with. This hoard remains an interesting and significant find nonetheless.

At Folly Lane, the majority of finds were recovered in association with the high status cremation, which took place in the mid-1st century AD. As a consequence, over 499 finds from the weaponry, tools, personal ornaments and 'other small metal' categories were recovered and identified in the report as burnt or molten in form (Niblett 1998). One other find not recovered from the contexts associated with the cremation and the burial of its detritus was recorded as deliberately broken prior to deposition. This find, an iron key bent into a U-shape recovered from one of the shafts across the site, was recovered along with three other small metal tools, six personal ornaments, two 'other small metal' remains, quantities of potsherds and glass ware, one bone gaming counter, worked antler waste and cess accumulations; nothing else was comparable to this find. It is not certain what the significance of this individual find was, although the iron key could relate to the Iron Age and Roman significance of deposits associated with entrances and their security, explored across a number of the sites in the intra-site analysis (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994: 47; Hingley 2006: 218).

Harlow produced 77 finds that were classified as being deliberately broken or altered prior to their deposition, specifically in relation to the temple. From this collection, much like Nettleton, personal ornaments dominate, forming 90% of the items deliberately broken. In most cases, deliberate breakage was defined in the site report as the pins or catch-plates on brooches, in particular, appearing to be bent, cut or removed completely (France and Gobel 1985). What is notable is the fact that both weaponry and tools were similarly subjected to deliberate breakage, though in much smaller quantities compared to the personal ornaments. Perhaps, like the weaponry finds identified at Uley, new depositional practices were being adopted and adapted, or alternate or personal items were dedicated in such a way. These ideas will be expanded upon in Chapter 7.

As for the remaining five sites the smaller numbers do not suggest significant overall patterns, although on a site-by-site basis these finds, like those explored above, are relevant to depositional practices. The condition of the finds from Cadbury Castle appears to provide evidence of a tradition of destruction prior to deposition, but with only ten such smaller finds identified, their overall significance against the rest of the finds is minimal. Various weapon and tool finds, which appear to have been deliberately bent prior to deposition, were recovered from the bank, wall and structural extensions within the area of the guard chamber of the South Western Gate. Episodes of deposition also appear to have taken place in the periods immediately surrounding the time of burning and 'massacre' that took place during the mid-1st century AD. In total five spearheads were recovered that were deliberately bent and broken prior to depsoition: three pre-dated the massacre deposit and two dated to the first major post-massacre re-build along with the hoard of ten latch-lifters, five of which were

recovered with their tips missing, suggesting deliberate breakage also. It is still interesting to note that the few intentionally destroyed finds recovered from this site relate to periods of possible destruction and re-building and were strongly associated with the boundary of the fort.

The single deliberately broken find from Ivy Chimneys was a decorated jet armlet, deliberately cut, recovered with three shale armlet fragments. The jet armlet was recovered from the early 4th century AD depression, which also produced the seven Palaeolithic hand axes and the few other finds discussed in the intra-site analysis. It is possible that the deliberate cutting of the armlet prior to deposition formed a part of the ritual depositional activities that were taking place at this site. However, this remains a one-off find. The data from the Ham Hill report were lacking in detail and provided sparse information about the two 3rd to 1st century BC neckrings deliberately intertwined prior to deposition and recovered from an undated gully. The Heathrow site data provided few finds overall, aside from much organic detritus, including various plant, tree, other wood and seed/grain remains. The only find recovered and determined to be deliberately altered was that of the large late 4th to early 5th century AD water tank (Figure 5.11). This lead tank was not only intentionally placed in one of the waterholes in the area along with the twisted hazel ropes used to transport and lower it into the hole, but it was also deliberately bent and broken prior to deposition and was inscribed with St. Andrew's cross. It is possible that this deposit either represents a merger of religious beliefs in one ritual, or the symbolic rejection of Christianity. From Walbrook, only two deliberately broken items from the personal ornament category were recovered from the stream deposits and were thus not linked to any specific context or feature.

The condition of the objects recovered from the 22 Zone One study sites does not confirm general patterns of deliberate breakage prior to deposition; analysis of the evidence shows that it is more useful to interpret the data on a site-by-site basis. Whilst there is no region-wide significance of the practice of breakage, a number of the individual sites have produced some compelling evidence to support it.

5.3.5 Summary of inter-site analysis

The broader region-wide analysis of patterns of deposition across Zone One has determined that whilst certain sites produced the majority of their finds from watery areas, specifically stream and spring contexts, the main finds-producing contexts were occupation material spreads, and those contexts associated with domestic structures and shrines or temples. From across the total context types, the most numerous finds recovered from across Zone One were coins, weapons and 'other' finds and the material culture appeared to peak in the period between AD 50-150 across the majority of sites studied. Whilst this could indicate an increase

in depositional activity at this time, it could also be representative of socio-cultural changes and population changes that were taking place. Examining patterns on a region-wide scale is useful in providing a wider context to the data examined in the intra-site analysis; however, it also confirms that it is necessary to explore these sites on an individual basis to help answer specific questions on structured ritual deposition.

5.4 Continuity of traditions of deposition

To ensure a well-rounded and accurate investigation, all finds included in the site reports were recorded in the database (see CD in Appendix 2), including those finds that pre- and post-dated the Iron Age and Roman periods. The few finds that have been recorded from these periods may offer additional insights into the continuity of episodes of ritual deposition taking place across the individual sites and Zone One as a whole. Table A6.5.2 summarises this evidence of the continuity of practices of deposition.

The majority of finds recorded outside of the Iron Age and Roman periods from Zone One date from the Mesolithic through to the Bronze Age. Aside from finds identified as associated with burials, the only other finds that appear to be suggestive of ritual deposition are the Middle Bronze Age copper alloy spearhead from Wanbrough and the Late Bronze Age pit from Lechlade. The single spearhead find from Wanborough is not particularly significant on its own; however its provenance in layers pre-dating the temple and its similarity to other finds of metalwork dating to the main period of this site's use could indicate this area's importance pre-dating the Iron Age. The Late Bronze Age pit from Lechlade containing over 60 animal remains, worked flints, potsherds, one bone needle, one worn lump of sandstone and charcoal could be evidence of a ritual deposit with burnt offering. Whilst these few finds provide evidence of structured and ritual deposition pre-dating the Iron Age, it is apparent that the majority of structured and ritual depositional activity took place from the Iron Age onwards.

5.5 Summary

Of the 22 sites studied in detail across Zone One, it is possible to determine patterns of depositional activity on both an intra- and inter-site basis. The major finds-producing context types common to the majority of sites were those associated with occupation material spreads, domestic structures, and shrines and temples.

When examining the finds themselves it is possible to identify certain common finds and a distinct lack of others. Deposition of weaponry, for example, is not as numerous during the LPRIA to Roman period as it had been throughout the Neolithic, with flint arrowheads;

throughout the Bronze Age with flint arrowheads and slingstones; and in the Early to Middle Iron Age with clay sling shots, slingstones, and bronze and iron spearheads and blades. It is possible that the '*lex Julia de vi publica*', the law enforced under Roman rule forbidding conquered peoples to bear arms (Stead and Rigby 1986: 149; Millett 1990: 68), was in full force at the time many of these deposits were made thus explaining the lack of weaponry from most of the sites explored across Zone One. However, it has been argued that this particular law was a rule only temporarily enforced immediately after surrender to prevent disturbances within the conquered population (Freeman 1993: 442). It could be that weaponry was not key in these rituals of deposition, particularly in the communities in this study zone.

Particularly significant collections of finds were the occurrence of two types of hoard: coin hoards and slingstone/clay sling shot hoards. Nineteen coin hoards were identified in total from across seven sites, with four sites producing more than one coin hoard. These sites include Bath[1], Uley, Nettleton, Wanborough, Ivy Chimneys, Camerton and Verulamium. Aside from Camerton, the rest of these sites were either temple sites or, in the case of Verulamium, domestic shrines. The slingstone or clay sling shot hoards were a common feature at a number of sites to the west of the Zone, including the hillforts of Cadbury Castle and Ham Hill and the settlements of Glastonbury and Meare. It is possible that the presence of these two types of hoard is significant in this Zone and in community practices of ritual deposition. When examining practices across Zone Two, it will be interesting to see if the same patterns surface.

It is clear to see that the major period of intense activity across the majority of sites studied in depth took place during the AD 50 to 150 time period, which coincided with the arrival of the Roman armies and their subsequent occupation of Britain. However, much activity is evident in the archaeological record of occupation and, in some cases, ritual deposition during the pre-Roman period also. This could be evidence confirming the continuity of depositional practices throughout much of the prehistoric period. By examining a contrasting region it will be interesting to note if longevity in such practices is common or even discernible elsewhere, or if the shock of the conquest increased episodes of structured deposition across the island in similar ways to those suggested across the sites studied in the intra-site analysis.

Looking specifically at the condition of objects deposited it is possible to identify certain sites where the deliberate breakage of items prior to deposition was a common practice. The main

[1] Whilst the coinage recovered from the spring and reservoir from Bath is not a traditionally defined hoard but a collection of over 12,000 coins cast into this context over a period of time, from the LPRIA through to the late Roman period, it still represents a specific practice in which one type of find was deposited into a certain context; the collection has therefore been included in this category.

sites where this trend has been noted are Harlow, Nettleton, Folly Lane and Uley. Across the remaining 18 sites only five produced five or less items that appeared to be deliberately broken or 'killed' prior to deposition, therefore the deliberate breakage of items across this zone in relation to the practice of deposition is not particularly significant.

The range of sites examined provides useful comparative examples in terms of the common theme of metalwork deposited in concentration in specific contexts. Most of the sites examined are, however, fundamentally dry sites in their physical geography. Nonetheless the practices of deposition discernible at each site during this time of transition and beyond to the end of the Roman period is worthy of examination due to their merit as sites for comparison with the watery sites. The contrast of dry site deposits with the watery focus of other sites is crucial to the overall argument as well as the significance of water and watery areas in terms of habits of ritual depositional behaviour across the contrasting case study of Zone Two, which will be analysed in full in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6.

The Solway-Forth Axis and Analysis of its Sites: Study Zone Two

6.1 Introduction: Solway-Forth versus Severn-Thames Axes

Much research has concentrated in this study area on the forts established by the Roman armies from the later 1st century AD onwards. As such it is these locations in particular on which I focus the investigation. Furthermore, owing to the military nature of all sites studied within this zone, particular questions of practices of deposition distinct to this area are to be asked in addition to those considered in the south. Firstly, because the Roman army comprised people from various different cultural backgrounds, as discussed in Chapter 2, is it possible to identify the different garrisons in relation to where the soldiers originated? If so, is it possible to identify different traditions of deposition relating to these different garrisons, such as the type of material deposited, context of deposition and timing of deposition? Are comparable traditions of deposition identifiable within non-garrison sites within the study zone? And finally, how do these traditions from the pre-Roman uplands/ military zone compare with those longer-standing traditions of deposition already identified and more widely studied in the pre-Roman lowlands/civilian zone of the southern British Isles? These questions will be touched on in part in this chapter and drawn into the discussion in full in Chapter 7.

The focus of this chapter is the data collection and analysis from the site reports of 19 case study sites from the northern-most reaches of the Roman Empire. As was the case in the analysis of Zone One, the discussion of the results from the analysis of Zone Two has been considered according to the main themes of the research questions set out in Chapter Four. Possible theories of ritual deposition will be explored in the intra-site analysis with a full inter-site discussion at the end of this chapter. Chapter 7 then compares and discusses the patterns and themes identified within Zones One and Two.

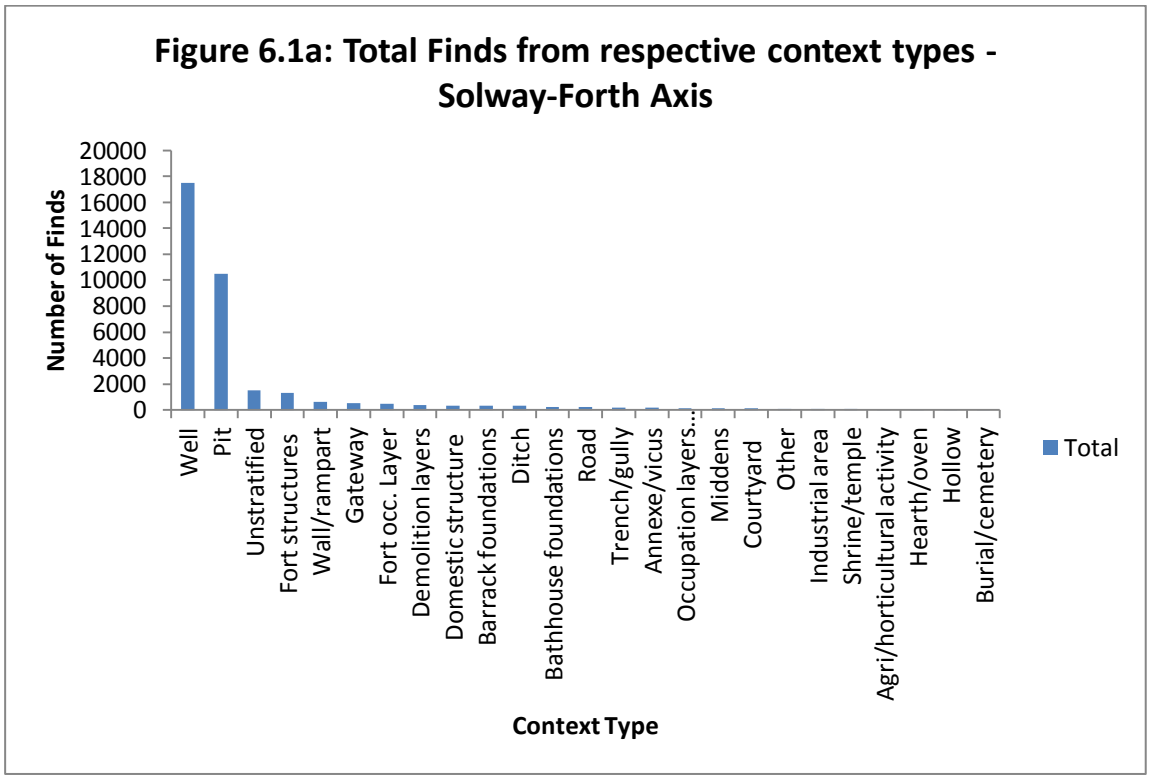
6.2 Intra-site analysis

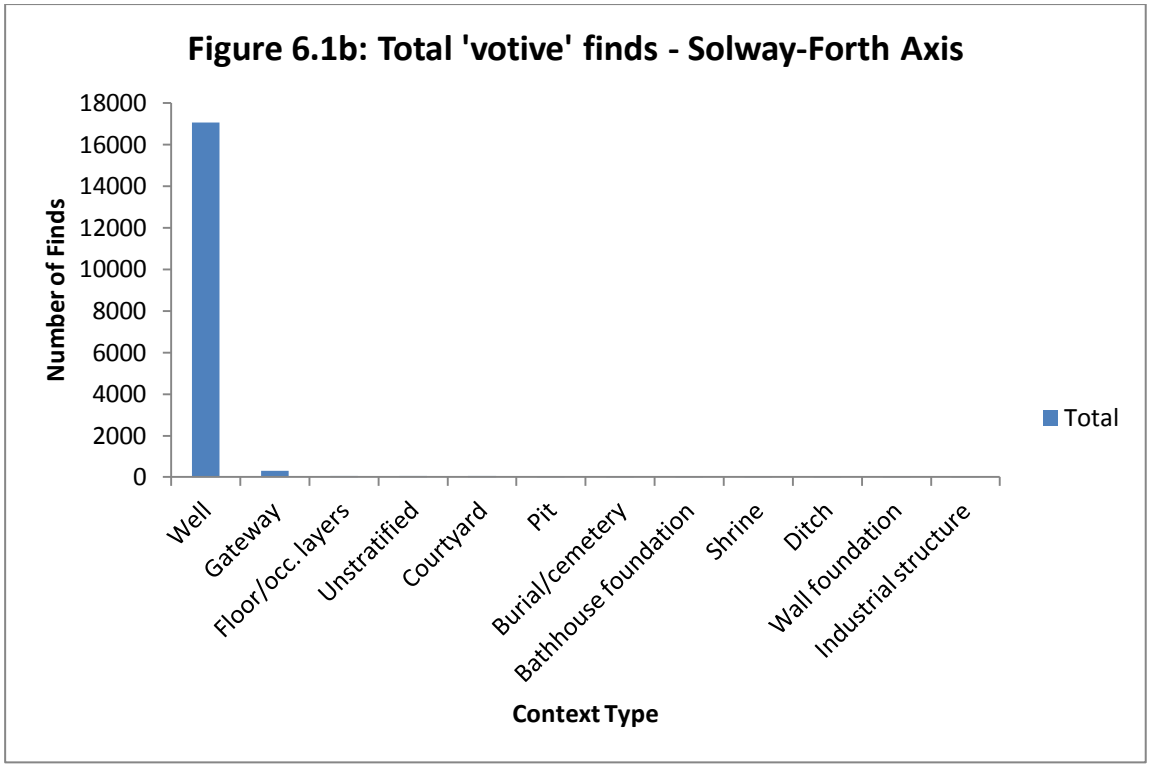
6.2.1 Introduction

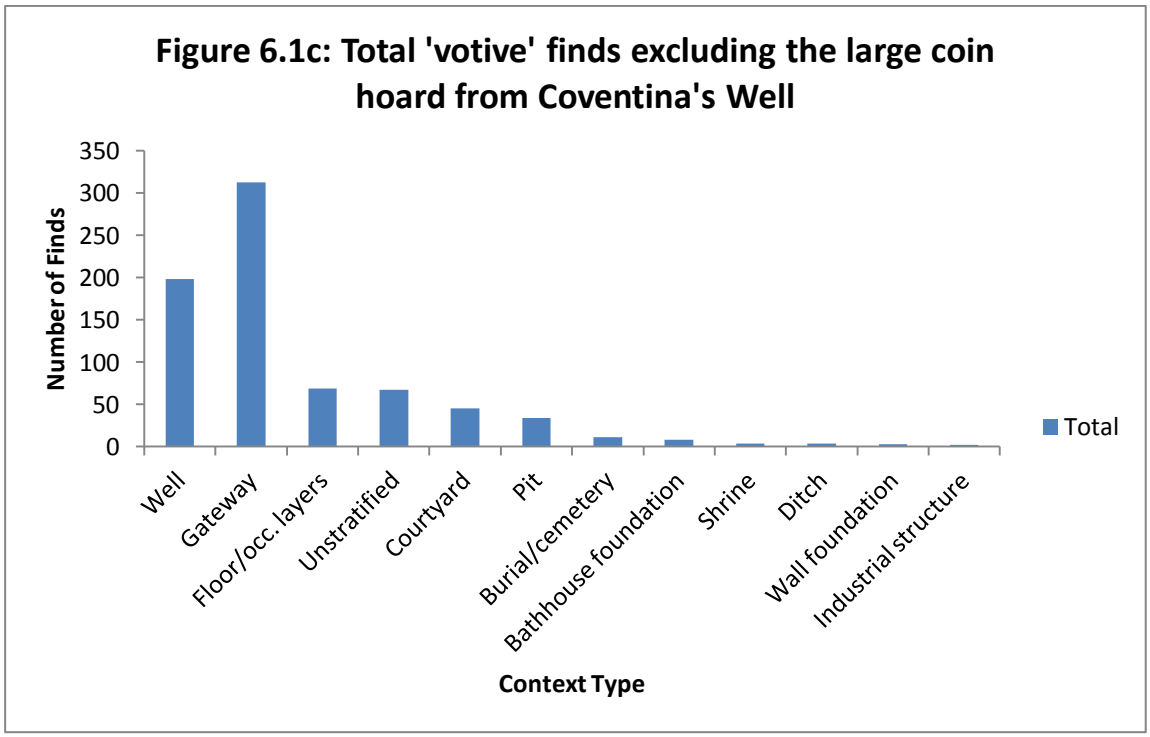
As an introduction to the detailed intra-site analysis, the 19 sites studied in depth from Zone Two are summarised in Table A6.6.1 (Appendix 6). Consistent with Chapter Five, these sites have been divided into those with shrine or temple structures present and those without, and within these sections the sites have been ordered geographically from west to east.

6.2.2 How appropriate are the definitions of categories of deposition in the site reports?

As with the results from across Zone One, the finds data from across Zone Two's sites have been divided into total finds and those that have been recorded and interpreted in the corresponding site reports as 'votive' (Figure 6.1a-c). One major difference between the finds recovered from across Zone Two compared to those from Zone One is the greater quantity of inscribed stonework dating from the Early Roman period and throughout the occupation. This epigraphic evidence is hugely valuable in being able to confirm ritual activities taking place across many of the sites studied, not only rituals honouring the various deities, Roman emperors and other individuals but also in informing us about who was active in dedicating inscribed items, whether it be entire regiments, prefects on behalf of the regiments or other individuals acting alone. Whilst these finds provide evidence of ritual behaviour they do not necessarily provide evidence of traditions of deposition. To determine whether or not particular patterns of ritual deposition were taking place across Zone Two, the context types and associated fills are examined in detail to determine trends in items deposited and contexts used.







Five out of the 19 sites studied in depth across Zone Two lacked finds noted as 'votive' and only four out of the 19 sites studied produced evidence of features identified as small shrines or temples (see Table A6.6.1). This is not to say that ritual activities and associated deposits were not taking place across the zone, but fewer sites in Zone Two were explicitly religious in their structures compared to those in Zone One.

In the following paragraphs, I examine the evidence available indicating possible practices of structured deposition. The inter-site analysis follows in which I identify Zone Two's patterns of deposition in more general terms. The sites have been ordered according to the sequencing in Table A6.6.1.

Sites with shrines/temples:

Balmuildy, Strathclyde

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *The Roman Fort at Balmuildy* (1922) by S.N. Miller. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.1 in Appendix 4.

The fort site of Balmuildy was occupied by Roman forces from the year AD 142 for roughly 40 years and formed part of the Antonine Wall frontier system running from the Clyde Estuary in the west to the Forth Estuary in the east (Leslie *et al* 1999: 116). The fort is known to have been garrisoned by *cohors miliaria*, *quingenaria* and *equitata*[2] (Miller 1922: 108). No artefacts pre-dating the Roman fort have been recovered, therefore all archaeological evidence available during the early centuries AD represents the activities of the Roman troops and the people living amongst them. Of the items recovered that have been interpreted as 'votive', all are stone with no other associated items. These finds include two fragments of inscribed stones dedicated by the Second Legion in honour of the building of the north gateway; together with one sculpted stone depicting a standard bearer; one stone altar dedicated to Fortune recovered from the fort bathhouse foundations; a female sculpture depicting Fortune or a nymph from the bathhouse foundations of the annexe located to the east of the fort, where the soldiers and their families and other non-military people living around the fort settled; and finally, one altar dedicated to Mars along with the fragmentary remains of sculptures depicting Victory and Mars recovered from the foundations of a wooden structure, which has been identified as a possible shrine also located in the annexe (Miller 1922).

The presence of inscribed stonework provides explicit acknowledgement of ritual practices taking place, although the question of whether or not these items were ritually deposited still remains. Examining the contexts from which the 'votive' finds emerged provides additional insights but little in terms of actions of ritual deposition. Looking first to the north gateway, aside from the inscribed stone blocks, the only other finds from the associated occupation material spreads are masonry, two stone gate pivots, and scraps of leather clothing. With the

[2] The definitions of the different cohorts can be found in the Glossary in Appendix 1.

inscriptions and statuary built into the gate structure, it can be assumed that the dedication and the statue of the standard bearer were intended to be left as a commemoration of construction by the Second Legion. These finds were not deposited but were left to erode after the fort went out of use. The inscriptions and statue of the standards bearer perhaps relate to the importance of boundaries and entrances to settlements from the pre-Roman Iron Age into the Roman period, explored in the previous chapter. In reference to boundaries in the Roman world, Haynes (2013: 197; see also Hingley 2006: 213-257) has argued for the continuation of symbolism from the pre-Roman to Roman periods in which ditches and walls, particularly around Roman forts, were of importance in rituals of deposition. These ideas will be explored further throughout this chapter.

Regarding the finds from the fort and annexe bathhouses, and the possible shrine within the annexe, there is little clarity as to their originally intended location of deposition. A number of finds from the fort bathhouse attest to its use, including an iron strigil, four coins suggestive of admission payments (Bradley 1998: 177), pottery vessel remains including unguent pots and amphora sherds, ox bones, and structural remains from hypocausts, furnaces and drainage systems. The stone altar dedicated to Fortune was recovered amongst these other remains but was not in direct contact with any other artefacts forming a part of the occuaption layers of the bathhouse. The single female sculpture representing Fortune (or an unnamed nymph) from the occupation material of the annexe bathhouse was recovered partial amongst a mass of burnt material. The only other finds from these layers were potsherds and building debris. The mass of burnt material, identified only at this location, could be representative of the ritual cleansing and abandonment of the site. Alternatively, the stonework finds could also reflect the ritual activities practiced in these two locations.

The proposed wooden shrine was interpreted as such through the finding of a single denarius, one stone altar dedicated to Mars, one stone sculpture of Victory and two sculpted stones depicting Mars and Victory, with all finds recovered from the foundations and occupation layers of the structure's remains (Miller 1922). No other finds were recovered within this structure. Outside, in the surrounding area, were a second denarius, two shale armlets, some potsherds and building debris. If the feature was indeed a shrine, it does not appear that ritual deposition was practiced as part of the cult worshipped. There are several possible explanations for this: that any possible mass offerings were organic; only a select few individuals were allowed into the shrine i.e. unit commanders and other senior personnel; few soldiers and others living in the annexe venerated or worshipped the deities identified at Balmuildy; any offerings were removed when the 'shrine' was abandoned; or, the acidic nature of the soil in this area hindered the preservation of any organic offerings made, a possibility that has been acknowledged for many of the sites studied in this zone.

Whilst there is little evidence available indicating practices of structured deposition - possibly owing to the age of the site report - it can be confirmed that ritual activity, in some form, was taking place across the Roman fort site of Balmuildy through the presence of inscribed and dedicative stonework. Themes relating to the importance of boundaries and entranceways into the Roman period have been introduced here for this zone and will be further explored across the rest of the sites studied.

Elginhaugh, Lothian

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Elginhaugh: a Flavian Fort and its Annexe Volumes 1 and 2* (2007) by W.S. Hanson *et al*. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.2 in Appendix 4.

The fort site of Elginhaugh is located on a hilltop overlooking the crossing over the River North Esk and straddling the Roman road of Dere Street, the main north-south route on the east of the country (Hanson 2007: 12-13, 22). It is not known which garrisons were stationed at this fort. Elginhaugh is one of the few sites from Zone Two that has produced archaeological evidence of prehistoric settlement activity, with some of these finds dating to between the Mesolithic and Early Iron Age, having been interpreted as 'votive' (Hanson *et al* 2007). The finds are discussed further in Section 6.4 and summarised in Table A6.6.3 (Appendix 6). However, the only Early Iron Age find recovered from the site was a single potsherd. The main period of occupation dated from the late 1st century AD with the establishment of the Roman fort. The context producing evidence of ritual activity, as noted in the site report, comprised pits and foundation trenches. Pits were the largest finds-producing contexts recorded at Elginhaugh (Figure A5.6.1b).

Within the courtyard of the *principia,* a pit in the south east corner produced charred animal bone of unknown species and other organic charcoal suggesting a burnt offering (Hanson *et al,* 2007) relating to the construction of the courtyard. Perhaps more explicitly ritual was the second 'votive' find within the *principia's* foundation trenches, a hoard of 45 Republican and Imperial denarii stacked in three groups. These coins date to the period AD 77-80, suggesting a dating of the primary construction of the fort (Hanson *et al* 2007). The courtyard also contained a well which produced demolition material, charred cereal grains and straw, Roman potsherds, a few small copper alloy and iron tools including a washer and padlock, and weapons including two spearheads, a knife blade and the ear-piece from a helmet. These were not acknowledged by the excavator as significant deposits, as they are associated with other debris and demolition material. It is possible this collection of finds represents middens from site clearing. However, metalwork in the well contexts parallels examples seen from well deposits at Newstead, Scottish Borders; Bar Hill, East Lothain; Magna, Northumberland; and

the spring/well at Coventina's Well, Northumberland, to be explored below. These trends are highly suggestive of ritual deposition. Haynes (2013: 198) has argued that some wells and pits in Roman Britian seem to have been filled with special deposits but were also back-filled with what appears to be site debris. What this could imply is that ritual activities were not separated from everyday life, an idea applicable to a number of the sites studied below.

A possible *aedes*, or shrine structure was centrally located at the rear of the *principia* within which a pit, known to have contained a strong box, was located (Hanson *et* al 2007; Haynes 2013: 218). The *aedes* would also house the unit's imperial statues and standards and is interpreted as acting as a religious centre at the fort (Hanson *et al* 2007: 35). However, aside from the pit, no other epigraphic evidence or evidence of ritual activities, such as stone altars or sculptures was recovered.

Other finds of significance include a copper alloy couch mount in the form of a helmeted bust of Minerva, recovered from the occupation layers of one of the barracks. This bust was the only depiction of a deity recorded from the site. A small lead figure of a naked child with a cloth drape around its waist, and a steatite amulet suggested in the report as a 'personal religious dedication' (Hanson *et al* 2007: 675) are amongst the unstratified finds. The occupation layers from the area of the barracks also produced one copper alloy apron pendant, one knife blade, a few nails (many unused) in a pit, some scrap metal remains, burnt animal bone, assorted potsherds, charred cereal grain, demolition material (some burnt), and glass vessel fragments and a few lava quern fragments all intermixed with charcoal and all dated to the mid- to late 1st century AD. These finds appear consistent with site clearing and abandonment; however, the presence of the pit containing the nails, the knife blade, apron pendant, quern fragments, burnt cereal and animal remains, and a charcoal layer, as well as the Minerva couch mount could indicate burnt votive offerings and ritual deposits spread across this area at the time when the fort as a whole or this area was coming to a close.

Numerous finds were recovered from a single latrine pit within the barracks, also dating to the mid- to late 1st century AD. Over 100 lava quernstone fragments were recovered along with fig seeds and one iron chisel. It is likely the fig seeds represent the remains of the soldiers' diet. However the large number of quernstone fragments and single chisel find are more unusual. The quernstone fragments could represent the infilling of the latrine pit after periods of its use and the chisel was a loss that was irretrieveable. No other finds were recovered from this pit and the only other latrine excavated at the site did not produce finds of this type or quantity. Comparable to the few lava quern fragments from the material spread across the area of the barracks, this large number of quernstone fragments is potentially a special deposit. Whilst the previous chapter has discussed the symbolism of quernstones, both whole

and fragments, particularly from the Late Iron Age, Chadwick (2004: 100) argues that their significance in Romano-British deposits has been little discussed. It was not noted in Hanson *et al's* (2007) report whether these quernstones were deliberately broken or broken through secondary use, such as substitutes for anvils in metalworking (Chadwick 2004: 100). Their deliberate fragmentation prior to deposition could indicate symbolism associated with productivity within the fort, or represent symbols of great value and power. Alternatively, the presence of quernstones as part of closure deposits or deposits to mark spaces seen as domestic could be relevant interpretations for the presence of this deposit (Chadwick 2004: 100).

Whilst there is some material evidence available for occupation dating to the Early Iron Age it is from the Early Roman period that structured deposition is evident. Episodes of structured deposition at the fort of Elginhaugh appear to be focussed on the central part of the fort, the *principia.* Not only were foundation deposits apparent through the discovery of a coin hoard in a foundation trench but also a burnt offering in a pit, and the assorted metal and non-metal finds from the well in the courtyard all contribute to evidence that structured deposition was being practiced at this site. The concentration of acivity in the *principia* could be owing to the presence of the *aedes* centrally located at the back of this area. The *principia*, being centrally located within the fort and at the highest point of the site, could indicate the significance of the hilltop as central to ritual practices of deposition within this zone. Hilltop deposits have been noted from other hillfort sites in southern Britain, including The Caburn, East Sussex and Cadbury Castle, Somerset. These ideas will be explored further in the following chapter. Also of note is the possible activity of deposition in the area of the barracks. It could be that these material spreads, pit and latrine deposits represent ritual activity by those who were not permitted access to ritual activities within the *principia.* Alternatively, these deposits may indicate abandonment deposits across this area as the fort was abandoned in the late 1st to early 2nd centuries AD.

Newstead, Scottish Borders

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *A Roman Frontier Post and its People: the fort of Newstead in the Parish of Melrose* (1911) by J. Curle. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.3 in Appendix 4.

The Roman fort of Newstead located on Dere Street and overlooking the River Tweed is dated to AD 80 to AD 180. It is a particularly significant site within Zone Two owing to the vast number of pits and wells discovered, producing 343 iron artefacts including domestic, military and religious finds (Ross and Feachem 1976; Clarke 1996; Hutchenson 1996: 66). Of

the 107 pits and wells excavated by James Curle (1911), almost all produced finds. The fort was occupied by *ala Augusta Gallorum Petriana milliaria Civium Romanorum bis torquata* and *ala Augusta Vocontiorum Civium Romanorum* (Galer 2010: 818). The density of its occupation, both within the fort and in the three annexes located to the east, south and west of the fort, in part accounts for the large number of finds recovered from the fills of the pits and wells. Curle (1911: 113-114) suggested that the majority of these finds were deposited as part of a major disaster or abandonment, possibly the withdrawal of the army from Calendonia to the frontier line of Hadrian circa AD 120. More recently, others, such as Ross and Feachem (1976) and Clarke (1996), have suggested that some of these finds can be interpreted as part of practices with more 'symbolic potential' (Clarke 1996: 73), especially when comparing the find-types recovered to those from the recognised ritual location of Coventina's Well, Northumberland, discussed below, as well as other similar finds from Zone Two well contexts at Elginhaugh, Lothian; Bar Hill, East Dunbartonshire; and Magna, Northumberland.

Only one find was explicitly recorded as 'votive' in the original site report (Curle 1911). This is an inscribed marble tablet dedicated in honour of the deified Imperial House and genius of standard bearers and image bearers dated to the late 1st century to early 2nd century AD. This find was not recovered from one of the pits or wells but from a sunken vault within the *sacellum*, or open-air shrine, in the fort interior. The only other find associated with this tablet was a stone altar dedicated to the genius of the Emperor and of the First Cohort of the Varduli and of numerus pioneers of Bremenium (Curle 1911: 54). Whilst the finds from the shrine were not labelled as 'votive' in Curle's report, it is assumed that all finds recovered associated with this structure would have played a part in the ritual activities taking place within the structure. The finds recovered from within the well/pit over which the shrine was built are one inscribed tablet, one stone altar dedicated by G. Arrius Domitianus, iron weapons (armour and shield fragments), two coins dated to the late 1st to early 2nd centuries AD, one penannular brooch, a few glass beads, one human skeleton along with two skulls (one of which was directly associated with the iron armour fragments), one ox and several horse skulls all recovered within the main body of the fill, together with antler fragments, amphora sherds, iron fragments, quernstone fragments and some building material with two images of boars. Curle recognised the images of the boars as symbolic of theTwentieth Legion; however the boar was a popular symbol used within the Roman army as a whole (Haynes 2013: 220). This collection of finds is clearly significant in the very specific types of finds and their associations in this one pit: the numbers of skulls, both human and animal, as well as the dedicative altar, the quernstone and amphora fragments, inscribed tablet and the images of the two boars. Human remains, particularly skulls, in association with weapons is a connection that has been recognised from the Bronze Age through the Iron Age and Roman periods in

ritual deposits, particularly in the River Thames (UK) and at Montmartin (France), which could suggest a continuity of such traditions into the Roman period (Bradley and Gordon 1988: 503-9; Bradley 1998: 108; York 2002: 77; Bradley 2005: 180). The presence of quernstones has already been acknowledged, and in Chapter 5 as symbolising productivity and power, again suggesting continuity of symbolism and practices from the Late Iron Age into the Roman period (Chadwick 2004: 100). This is the only recorded pit/well with a structure built directly over the top, much like the temple constructed over Folly Lane's main burial pit in Zone One, reinforcing an explicitly ceremonial intention for this particular pit.

The presence of skulls is an interesting occurrence (see Tables 6.1 and A6.6.2). It is possible, once again, that the Iron Age and Roman 'cult of the head' (Clarke 1996: 75; Frere 1999: 323) was the motivation behind these finds and their burial into the pits and wells. Furthermore, the presence of five helmets, three whole and two fragmented from Pits 22 and 55, could reinforce this veneration of the head, with the symbolism of the cult extending to the headgear (Brunaux 1987: 93). It is also possible that these were normal burials of some of those who occupied this site and the vast number of pits provided an ideal location for the disposal of the dead as well as other deposits with the skulls remaining amongst the other finds (Cunliffe 1988: 40). No cemetery was uncovered during Curle's excavations making the burial of individuals within the fort and annexe boundaries a possibility, although the burial of individuals within the confines of a settlement was not a normal practice on Roman-period sites. Bradley (1998: 176) has also discussed the possibility of both human and animal 'sacrificial' remains, as determined at continental sanctuaries, including the Iron Age shrine at Gournay, Picardy and at the Iron Age shrine at Ribemont-sur-Ancre on the Somme, both in northern France. Comparable finds from these shrines to the finds recovered from Newstead include disarticulated human and animal remains accompanied by weapons.

Table 6.1: Number of human remains recovered from Newstead

Feature Number	Skeleton	Skull only
Pit - 1	1	2
Pit - 16	0	1
Pit - 17	1	0
Pit - 23	0	1
Pit - 55	0	1
Ditch - 108	Cremated remains x2	
Pit/well - 113	1	2
Storehouse floor - 116	1	0
West annexe bathhouse foundation - 121	0	1
Total	**4+**	**8**

With the exception of feature 113, which was the pit/well within the shrine structure, the rest of the features were spread across the fort interior and annexes. Particular pits are possibly more significant than the rest owing to their finds: Pits 16, 22 and 23 from within the south annexe and Pit 57 from the area of the bath building between the ditches of the later fort. These pits seemed significant in their finds because they held large quantities of whole or nearly whole weaponry compared to many of the other pits and wells, but they also contained wheel hub rims and other wooden wheel components alongside human and animal remains. Pit 23 also produced an upright branch of a birch tree along with two wooden wheels, various animal skulls (see Table A6.6.2) and one human skull in the proximity of the wheels, which could also be suggestive of specific ritual placement.

Only two out of the total number of finds appeared to be deliberately broken prior to deposition. One was a sword bent double, recovered with three others and the remains of a helmet, from Pit 57. The other find was, again, a sword with the upper section bent over, recovered from Pit 58, located between the ditches of the later fort to the north. Other finds from Pit 58 include one other sword, three possible sword hilts, a piece of brass with a Late Iron Age design and other pottery remains and metallic detritus. With only two examples, the deliberate breakage of items prior to deposition does not form a pattern of practice at Newstead. The two bent swords are, however, significant in the similarity of their type and condition and will be explored further in Section 6.3.4.

Considering the scale of the fort and its three annexes, covering around 55 acres, there are relatively few finds of an overtly religious nature compared to some of the other Zone Two sites examined in depth. Only five altars were recovered, two dedicated to Apollo and Jupiter,

in addition to three inscribed stones, one of which was from the *sacellum* described above. It is possible that more items like these were deposited higher up in the fills of the wells and pits but were robbed or did not survive in the archaeological record. However, of the large number of finds that remain, it is interesting to note the mixing of those that appear significant with those that appear to represent middens and other waste from site clearing, such as building debris, butchered animal remains and organic waste. It is possible that these finds represent 'rituals of termination' (Clarke 1996: 80): as one pit or well went out of use it was symbolically closed prior to the next being excavated for use. What could be equally likely is the existence of widespread practice of rituals of deposition; that is, traditions were not confined to a specific religious quarter, thus enabling all inhabitants of Newstead access to contexts required for this practice (Clarke 1996: 81; Haynes 2013: 198).

Corbridge, Northumberland

The site reports used for the collection of finds and context data were: *Corbridge: Excavations of the Roman Fort and Town* (1988) by M.C. Bishop; and *Excavations at Roman Corbridge – the Hoard* (1988) by L. Allason-Jones and M.C. Bishop. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.4 in Appendix 4.

The fort and town of Corbridge, dating from the Late Iron Age to mid-2nd century AD, and located a few miles south of Hadrian's Wall overlooking the River Tyne, was occupied by *ala Augusta Gallorum Petriana milliaria Civium Romanorum bis torquata* and *cohors I Fida Vardullorum milliaria equitata* (Galer 2012: 452, 510). Corbridge is recognised most notably for the extensive metalwork hoard dating to AD 122-138 recovered from the floor of a store building in the *principia*. This extensive hoard of Roman armour represents a fascinating insight into the items present and in use at a Roman fort in Britain (Allason-Jones and Bishop 1988: 110). The rest of the finds recovered from across this site are less well detailed (Bishop 1988). Nonetheless the context types recorded and the finds recovered provide some insights into the types of activities taking place at Corbridge.

Corbridge is one of the few sites explored in depth across Zone Two that produced evidence of a temple with associated pit feature. However, none of the finds recorded within the report were noted as 'votive'. The finds listed from the temple and pit provide little explanation as to the types of activities taking place. One flint blade, contemporary to the structure, was recovered from the occupation layers of the temple along with building material and potsherds dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. The temple pit produced similar finds to the temple with 1st to 2nd century AD pottery vessels and building material recovered, plus quantities of oyster shells and unknown animal bone fragments, unidentified plant debris and two glass counters. The pit appears to have produced evidence of possible food offerings or the remains

of ritual feasts through the organic, animal and pottery remains though not in large quantities. This could imply that if votive offerings were made at the temple the pit was not the intended receptacle for clearing away these offerings but recieved certain small quantities of votive items. These pit offerings could relate to Henig's (2004:229) ideas of organic ritual deposits, as discussed in Chapter 5.

The most significant find from this site is the large metalwork hoard contained within a wooden chest from the mid-2nd century AD in the base of a storeroom within the *principia*. This metalwork hoard contained 96 items of weaponry, 150 tools and 75 'other small metal' finds but only seven personal ornaments and no coins. The lack of these latter two find-types and the condition of much of the weapon, tool and small metal finds, being bent in two to enable them to fit into the chest, suggests that this hoard was practical rather than ritual and intended for retrieval and recycling. Shugar (2006, cited in Simmons *et* al 2009: 68) confirms that crushing or flattening metal items reduces the surface area and facilitates melting for reuse. This is done by reducing the size of the object and allowing for more items to fit into a crucible; flattening also helps to reduce the length of time required to maintain the high temperature needed to melt all material in the crucible. In addition, 54 glass gaming counters were recovered along with three wooden writing tablets, papyrus fragments, and textile fragments adhering to a number of the metal finds, indicative of the remains of binding. The recovery of this find from a storeroom adds to the conclusion that this hoard was intended for retrieval at a later date but perhaps was forgotten or intentionally left behind when the site was abandoned in the mid-2nd century AD. According to Lindsay Allason-Jones and M.C. Bishop (1988: 109), the non-ritual deposition of unwanted items was a standard practice in the Roman army. Owing to these factors it is unlikely that this find was intended as a votive deposit, though this is always open to interpretation.

Despite the presence of a temple at the fort of Corbridge, practices of ritual deposition do not appear to have been practiced extensively here. The considerable metalwork hoard recovered from the storeroom within the *principia* looks to have been intended as items for recycling; or the items were unwanted and subsequently abandoned when the fort was evacuated. However, with the metalwork hoard located within the *principia* where finds of significance have been identified from other sites, particularly Elginhaugh, this could indicate a votive motivation behind its deposition.

Sites without shrines/temples:

Bar Hill, East Dunbartonshire

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Bar Hill: a Roman Fort and its Finds* (1975) by A. Robinson *et al*. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.5 in Appendix 4.

The fort site of Bar Hill, located almost in the middle of the Antonine Wall, was occupied from AD 142 until AD 197 by *cohors I Baeasiorum*, an auxiliary infantry regiment recruited mostly from the lands between the Rhine and the Meuse rivers, and *cohors I Hamiorum*, a unit of auxiliary archers, recruited mostly from what is now Syria (Robinson *et al* 1975: 1, 24). The earliest finds associated with this site consist a of silt and unidentified organic material layer, and one Roman shoe recovered from a mid-2nd century AD ditch. No finds pre-dating the Roman occupation have been recorded. The artefacts that were recorded as 'votive' consist entirely of stonework. Finds include six altars, one commemorative pillar, one inscribed stone fragment and one commemorative tablet dedicated by Legions II and XX, known to have repaired the fort between its two phases (Robinson *et al* 1975).

The majority of the finds were excavated from pit contexts or were unstratified; however the single well identified within the fort interior also produced a significant number of finds, mostly characterised as domestic and military detritus resulting from the demolition/re-building of the fort (Robinson *et al* 1975) (Figure 6.2). Metalwork recovered from the base of the well included 12 arrowheads, 31 blunted pilum heads, 66 lengths of heavy iron strapping from doors/balustrades, 2 iron wheel hub rims and 3 iron wheel hub linings, and a bag containing various blunted iron nails and other iron scrap recovered within an amphora. These finds suggest the disposal of items as a result of evacuation or re-building; however, owing to the large numbers of metal finds, it must be asked, that at a time when the production of metal items was a long and arduous process, why discard so many useful objects when the same objects could be re-used or recycled? It is possible that hoarding is the answer, but these finds were deposited at the base of a feature where retrieval would be difficult if not impossible; furthermore the finds underlay a mixture of building debris, leather tent fragments and plant remains. Within the well was a stone altar dedicated by *Cohors I Baetasiorum* (the first unit stationed at the fort), the fragmented remains of half of an inscribed stone recording the building work completed by this unit and a commemorative pillar dedicated to Antoninus Pius (Robinson *et al* 1975: 34). The stonework and its epigraphic evidence has been suggested as indicating ritual deposition associated with the annual renewal of vows for the Emperor's health and safety and in which new altars were set up and the old altars buried honourably (Ross and Feacham 1976: 229; Henig 2004: 225). The symbol of the wheel, in this case the

hub rims and linings, parallels wheel remains recovered from Newstead. One of Bar Hill's Cohort's originated from the current borders of Holland and Germany between the Rhine and Meuse rivers. From the Kops Plateau, Holland (overlooking the River Rhine with the River Meuse running to the south) three successive Roman forts were excavated, dated to the mid-1st century AD, within which a series of pits were uncovered (Haynes 2013: 195). Six pits produced individual helmets accompanied by broken pots and, from one pit, the remains of a chicken. Another pit held two helmets placed together, and in another pit was a folded shield placed with broken pots (2013: 196). It is possible that some or all of the finds recovered from Bar Hill's well represent a continuation of traditions of deposition originating in this area of Europe. However, the likelihood that the soldiers of the *cohors I Baetasiorum* contiunued to be recruited exclusively from the area around the Rhine and Meuse rivers is slim. Soldiers would have been recruited along the way from this region to Britian, thus absorbing forms of worship both from soldiers' homelands and which became altered through their interactions with the non-military provincial populations (Chadwick 2004: 104; Haynes 2013: 229).

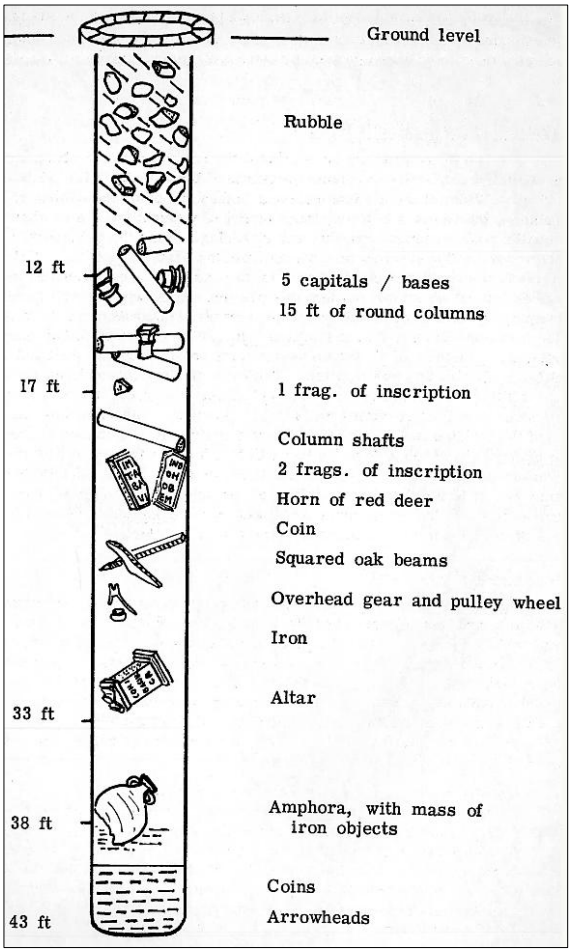


Figure 6.2: Stratigraphy of the well from Bar Hill

(Source: Robinson et al 1975: Figure 6)

The remains of 12 phalanges of an individual's hands and feet were recovered from the fill of one of the pits at Bar Hill (Pit 1), in the area of the barracks. Within this pit, though not directly associated, were worked red deer tines used as pegs or picks, one stone kerb and one oak plank. No other human remains were recovered from the site. It is possible that the hands and feet derived from some kind of punishment or torture.

A total of 518 leather shoe fragments, some with hobnails still attached, and many belonging to women and children, were recovered from across nine other pits in the fort interior. These finds confirm the presence of women and children at Bar Hill, likely the soldiers' families who resided in the annexe, or within the fort itself. However, with these finds coming from pits within the fort interor and not the annexe it is possible that this large number of shoe finds represents ritual deposits. Carol van Driel-Murray (1999: 131-141) has discussed the significance of shoe finds in Romano-British contexts. She has argued that their deposition in wells, pits and shafts could be representative of a human sacrifice. Footprints provide evidence of a living being and therefore shoes can be seen as indicative of an individual's signiature, therefore the placing of the shoes in these pits could represent a substitute for a human sacrifice (1999: 135-6, 138). Alternatively, she states that shoes would rarely have been repaired in the Roman period; therefore these remains could be evident of refuse (1999: 137). Chadwick (2004: 101) argues that the deposition of shoes was a possible metaphor for commencement and termination. It is possible that these deposits were made towards the close of the fort and represent the movement of the soldiers and their families away from the area. The rest of the fills from these nine pits produced masonry, pottery vessel remains, animal and shellfish remains, iron fragments, one comb, one toggle, one bobbin, one horn strip to strengthen a bow and one wheel, perhaps comparable to the wheel fragments recovered from the well. These few finds contrast with the large numbers of leather shoe finds.

From the defensive ditches came two stone male busts. One represents a man drinking but with the face partially broken off; the other individual has his arm across his chest and the fist clenched, except for an extended middle finger. It is possible that the extension of the middle finger is representative of the archer cohorts residing at this fort. The provenance of the busts within the fill of one of the fort's ditches could be part of the ritual deposits reinforcing the boundaries of the fort by the archers. Other finds from the ditch include a deer horn strip used to strengthen a bow, one wooden comb, one bronze mounting, possibly depicting the head of Silenus, one bronze cooking pot, four wheel fragments and few clay vessel remains. It is possible that these few finds were intended as votive deposits either during the building of this fort or the re-building during the second phase, with the busts along with the bow strip

representative of the archer cohort. The wheel fragments are comparable to the wheel hub rims and rim linings from the well and the wheel from the pit in the area of the barracks.

The structured deposition identified across Bar Hill in my investigation provides evidence that wells - in this case one specific well in the fort's interior - were significant in ritual practices across Zone Two. The presence of inscribed dedications aids in locating the areas from which the garrisons stationed at this fort were raised and in tracing the possible continuity of practices of deposition across the Roman Empire. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, it is likely that the soldiers recruited into the units stationed both here and at other forts within the study zone did not orginiate solely from the Rhineland or Syria but were absorbed as well from all areas in between these locations and the northern extent of the Empire (Haynes 2013: 196). Therefore the ritual practices identified are more likely indicators of adoption and adaptation rather than the extent of the same or similar practices of structured deposition across the Roman Empire. These ideas will be further explored in Chapter 7.

Birrens, Dumfries and Galloway

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Birrens (Blatobulgium)* (1975) by A. Robinson. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.6 in Appendix 4.

The fort of Birrens, located on a scarp overlooking Mein Water to the north of Hadrian's Wall, was occupied between the AD 80s to the AD 180s by *cohors I Augusta Nervana Germanorum milliaria equitata* and *cohors II Tungrorum milliaria equitata*, both evidenced through inscriptions recovered from the fort (Robinson 1975). The fort produced a larger number of finds compared to many of the sites studied within this zone, though none of the finds were noted by Robinson as 'votive'. Birrens was one of the few sites studied from Zone Two that produced no finds of inscribed stone, stone altars or other dedicative epigraphic evidence. The only find to suggest that any kind of overt ritual activity took place here was the presence of a single bronze statue of a satyr recovered from the occupation layers of one of the fort buildings dating to the late 1st century AD (Robinson 1975). Other than this figure, the only other finds recovered from the material spreads of the fort building were nail fragments, one crucible, iron slag, pottery and glass vessel fragments, animal teeth and a few charred parts of wooden structures. Surrounding fort buildings produced similar finds of metalworking debris including slag and crucible remains, though few in number, as well as some tool, personal ornament and pottery finds. It is possible that the area from which the satyr figure was recovered was the main metalworking area of the site, and the statue was produced to be sent to a ritual centre in the region surrounding the fort. With a lack of

comparable evidence available from Birrens, it is difficult to acknowledge this single example as indicative of ritual practices taking place at the fort.

Only five weapons were recovered from across the site: one iron blade from the occupation layers of one of the fort buildings, a second iron blade from the area of the northwest rampart and associated structural remains, and three lead sling shots from the foundation trench of one of the fort buildings. All weapon finds were dated to the mid-2nd century AD and were recovered in fills with scrap metal, potsherds, building material, a few small personal ornaments and one or two coins common to many of the site's contexts. These few finds, particularly the blade in the area of the rampart, could be votive deposits securing the boundaries and inherent security of the fort. Additional finds from the northwest rampart, though from contexts unassociated with the knife blade, include iron hub rim fragments and quernstone fragments, in addition to a quernstone incorporated into the base of the western rampart. As with comparable finds from Newstead, Scottish Borders and Bar Hill, East Dunbartonshire, these remains could be indicative of ritual deposition.

Five denarii of Mark Anthony were recovered from an oblique ditch to the north east of the fort, with the fill producing finds dating across all periods of the fort. No other coins across Birrens were recorded in numbers of more than two; furthermore these coins date to the mid-1st century BC, therefore it is possible that they represent a small hoard or votive deposit, though they were not noted as such in the site report. Other than these coins, a few nail fragments, metal scraps including bronze harness mounting, animal bone and tooth fragments, pottery and glass vessel remains, building debris, one quernstone fragment and one whetstone were also recovered from this ditch. These finds are similar to the finds from the other ditches and the area of the northwest rampart, discussed above, and none were noted in direct association with the collection of coins. The quernstone fragment, and possibly the whetstone, are suggestive of ritual deposition.

The evidence in favour of ritual activities taking place at Birrens is not as overt as it is at the majority of other sites studied across Zone Two. However, a number of ditch deposits and the collection of five mid-1st century BC coins in a late 1st to late 2nd century AD ditch are of interest and have been interpreted in the context of this investigation as the possible continuation of pre-Roman practices of structured ritual deposits taking place at Birrens.

Maryport, Cumbria

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Maryport, Cumbria: a Roman Fort and its Garrison* (1976) by M.G. Jarrett. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.7 in Appendix 4.

The fort of Maryport occupying a coastal position overlooking the Solway Forth, was occupied between the early 2nd century AD to circa AD 400 by several units, with epigraphic evidence naming *cohort I Hispanorum milliaria equitata,cohors I Batavorum, cohors I Delmatarum* and *cohors III Nerviorum* (Galer 2010: 815). The majority of the finds were recorded as unstratified and the data were relatively poor owing to poor preservation of the site. However, Maryport is included here for detailed study becasue of two interesting finds suggesting both ritual activity and associated depositional practices. These two finds were a forger's hoard or possible votive deposit of 17 counterfeit denarii, which has subsquently been lost (Jarrett 1976), and the head of a Venus statuette in a Gallo-Roman style of unknown date, recovered unstratified.

Other than the two finds noted above, little else recovered offers much explanation into the activites that took place here other than the day-today military operations. 149 coins were recovered unstratified dating across all periods of the site, accounting for 93% of the total coins recovered. This is quite substantial in comparison to some of the other larger sites examined across Zone Two, where coin finds were relatively low, for example Newstead where only 46 coins were recovered, and Inveresk where no coin finds were made. This could be suggestive of some significant activity taking place at this site. As Philipa Walton (2011: 32) has determined, coin profiles can be used to help identify the locations of temple sites, particularly during the Roman period. Along with the discovery of the partial remains of a Venus statuette it is possible these coins were intended as dedications to the goddess or other ritual dedicative activities at a shrine or temple site yet to be discovered. It is also interesting to note the remains of the statuette's head. The head could, again, relate to the identified 'cult of the head' and the continuation of possible pre-Roman indigenous ritual practices.

Stratified coin finds were noted amongst the remains of three buildings within the fort's interior. Nine coins were recovered dating from the mid-2nd century AD through to the late 4th century AD. Of the other finds from these structures were a number of pottery and glass vessel fragments, stone builidng debris including an inscribed re-used tombstone, and a bronze apron mount. It is possible that these structures were the focus of the ritual activity taking place at this site owing to the stratified coin finds. The tombstone re-used as building material could also add significance to this area. It is possible that it was moved from elsewhere to be used, or was never used for its intended purpose. Its incorporation into the building's form, like the altars and inscribed stones from a number of the other Zone Two sites, such as Bewcastle and Vindolanda examined below, could have been intended as a dedication as a part of the ritual significance of these buildings.

From the finds examined from Jarrett's (1976) report there appears to be few examples of ritual activity and structured deposition identifiable. However, from previous excavations a considerable number of altars were excavated from pit contexts. These excavations, carried out in 1870 by Humphrey Pocklington Senhouse, resulted in the recovery of 17 altars, dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, from pits 300 metres to the east of the fort and recognised as the biggest single find of Roman inscriptions in Britain (Jarrett 1976: 4). Unfortunately, there are no known accurate records of the details of the pits, including a total number, or their distribution (Roas and Feachem 1976: 230). The recovery of these altars is proposed to constitute evidence of the Roman army's regular renewal of vows for the emperor's health and safety, usually taking place at the beginning of the year, when new altars were set up and the old ones were buried (Ross and Feachem 1976: 230). However, in more recent excavations carried out by Haynes (2013: 207), he has re-analysed the location of the pits producing the altars. Haynes has determined that rather than being buried within years of each other they were all buried at the same time, centuries after the inscribed dedications. They were buried together with a range of other stones as ballast for the construction of a large timber building. Therefore the actual evidence of cult practice and structured ritual deposition involving inscribed dedicative stonework is not very strong (2013: 208).

From the finds recovered from Maryport, both in the report used and those known to have been excavated in antiquity, it is clear that dedicative ritual activity was taking place here. However, through a re-analysis of the antiquarian evidence, the support for ritual deposition as a part of these practices is no longer as strong as it once was.

Bowness-on-Solway, Cumbria

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Romans in North West England: Excavations at the Roman Forts of Ravenglass, Watercrook and Bowness-on-Solway* (1979) by T.W. Potter. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.8 in Appendix 4.

The fort site of Bowness-on-Solway was occupied between the later 1st to 4th centuries AD and is the most westerly fort located on Hadrian's Wall. One inscription naming the *Trib*(*unus*) *coh*(*ortis*) confirms that the fort was garrisoned by infantry units during the 3rd century AD (Potter 1979: 321). The site was quite minimal in its finds evidence and the majority of its finds were recovered unstratified. The site did provide evidence of Bronze Age occupation, though the majority of finds recorded dated to the late 1st to 4th centuries AD.

Two pits dating to the late 1st to early 2nd centuries AD were recovered producing a number of finds including metalworking slag and lead fragments, burnt animal remains, the remains of

eight pottery vessels, glass vessel fragments, leather fragments, some building debris and charcoal. These two pits could represent the remains of a burnt offering in thanksgiving for the development and protection of the fort. However, Wait (1985: 240) has argued that ash deposits and burnt offerings were sporadic across Roman sites and usually only seen on civilian sites. Therefore, these two pits could merely be indicative of the disposal of domestic waste.

Three stonework finds were recorded as 'votive' suggesting ritual activity at this site. These finds include one building inscription dated to the reign of Caracalla from the late 2nd to early 3rd centuries AD, and two altars dedicated by Sulpicius Secundianus dated to AD 251-3, all unprovenanced. Other finds of note include 10 coins, four of which were recovered from the building foundations of a 4th century AD strucutre. Other finds from this structure include assorted potsherds, a small quantity of metalworking slag, one bronze harness mount and a charcoal spread. It is possible that these few finds are remnants of the abandonment and clearing of the fort. Charcoal spreads, comparable to the burnt pit deposits discussed above, were consistent across much of the site from the earliest fort of the late 1st century AD and the later phases; therefore it is possible that ritualised site clearance was practiced for the first and last phases.

The burnt remains from both pits and material spreads noted across the fort at Bowness are comparable with a number of Zone Two sites, including Camelon and Vindolanda and the examples of Cadbury Castle, Somerset and Ham Hill, Somerset discussed in the analysis of Zone One. These burnt material spreads are too few within both study zones to suggest consistent patterns but their similarities are worth noting amongst other practices of deposition.

Castle Street, Carlisle, Cumbria

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Roman Waterlogged Remains at Castle Street, Carlisle* (1991) by M.R. McCarthy. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.9 in Appendix 4.

The fort and settlement of Carlisle, with the fort occupied for a time in the early 2nd century AD by the *ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata* (Galer 2010: 452), lies less than three miles to the south of Hadrian's Wall. Owing to the size of this fort and settlement, the investigation was narrowed down to the Castle Street area owing to the waterlogged nature of this part of the civilian settlement immediately outside the fort as well as its importance at the junction of two major Roman roads (McCarthy 1991: 1).

From across the vicinity of Castle Street only one 'votive' find has been noted, that of a cow's skull from the base of a timber-lined pit within a timber building complex dating to the late 1st century AD (McCarthy 1991). This was the only find from the pit though other finds recovered from the occupation layers of the structure were a number of organic remains including weed and crop suggestive of animal fodder or bedding, building debris, pottery vessel remains, one bronze mirror fragment, one copper alloy pin in the form of a hand holding a pomegranate (Figure 6.3), three coins dated to AD 86, nine wooden writing tablets, shoe and other leather fragments. Demolition layers suggestive of a short hiatus of a few weeks or months post dating these features were also apparent. It is possible that the cow's skull in the lined pit was ritually deposited owing to the subsequent destruction or demolition of this area of the site. The other finds from the same structure appear to be occupation material mixed with demolition spreads.

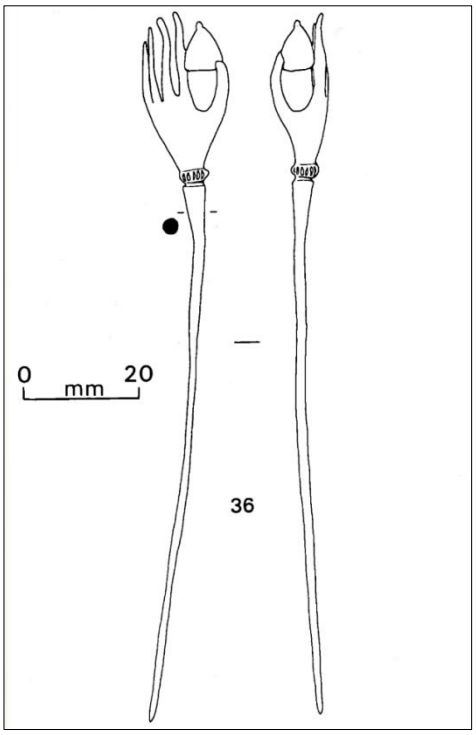


Figure 6.3: Copper alloy pin in the form of a hand holding a pomegranate

(Source: McCarthy 1991: 12)

No inscribed or sculpted stone was recovered from the area of Castle Street. However, a number of other finds from the locale have been noted as significant. One 'other large metal' find of a single iron manacle was recovered from the floor layers of a non-military structure and abandonment deposits dating to the late 2nd to early 3rd century AD. The few other finds that were recovered from these layers include small numbers of needles, pins and bobbins, an inscribed soldier's name tag, various pottery vessel remains and one female sandal. It does not

appear that the manacle was associated with any of these finds but formed part of the abandonment layers of the site for this period. It is interesting to note the lack of similar manacle finds anywhere else across the site, suggesting the holding of prisoners. This single find is a possible casual loss from the marching of prisoners through the settlement on their way north or south to other forts in the area. This find also has parallels to the manacle recovered from the revetment from Walbrook in Zone One, again the only find of its type at Walbrook and from Zone One as a whole. The relevance of the individual sandal is potentially more symbolic of ritual activity. Van Driel-Murray (1999: 136) has argued that individual shoe finds could indicate the offering of a pledge to a deity whilst the other was kept by the supplicant as a sign of the contractual vows. Whilst this may be the case at other sites, such as Bar Hill where large numbers of shoes were recovered, the single example recovered here amongst a few other finds seemingly representative of domestic debris, is unlikely to point towards a ritual meaning.

The recovery of two human remains, one of a whole skeleton of unknown sex from a grave dating to the Late Roman/Early Medieval period, and one unassociated disarticulated bone close to the grave site, were also of note, indicating ritual activities in the vicinity. No other items were recovered within or around the grave. The only potentially votive find from this area of Carlisle was the cow's skull. Associated material spreads dated to a potential time of destruction and re-build help to support the theory that the timber-lined pit with cow skull was intended as a votive offering.

Bewcastle, Cumbria

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Bewcastle and Old Penrith: a Roman Outpost and a Frontier Vicus: Excavations 1977-78* (1991) by P.S. Austen. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.10 in Appendix 4.

The fort of Bewcastle just north of Hadrian's Wall located on a natural plateau overlooking the Kirk Beck, was occupied from AD 122 through to the late 4th century AD by the *cohors Aelia Dacorum milliaria* and *cohors I Augusta Nervana Germanorum milliaria equitata* (Galer 2010: 800). Few finds from a limited number of features and contexts were recorded; however a small number of finds recovered suggest some kind of ritual activity took place.

One 'other large metal' find noted in the report was a copper alloy bowl fragment recovered from the occupation layers of the internal fort buildings dating from the late 1st to early 2nd centuries AD and was recovered along with burnt timber structural remains and glass vessel sherds from the surrounding area. The burnt timbers are possible evidence of site clearance

prior to a second phase of building of the site. The copper alloy bowl and glass vessel remains could be representative of foundation deposits, either containing offerings or symbolising 'implications of plenty' (Clarke 1996: 75) prior to the next stage of the fort's development.

Two items of weaponry were recovered, one unstratified and one from the occupation layers of the internal fort structures. Both were iron spearheads and both broken at the blade as a consequence of use. For a fort site it is interesting that more weaponry finds were not recovered; however Roman soldiers were legally obliged to keep a hold of their arms at all times and if lost would have to pay for replacements (Haynes 1997: 118). The spearhead recovered from the occupation layers of the internal fort buildings dated to the late 2nd to early 3rd centuries AD and was recovered with a small number of glass and pottery vessel fragments, one copper alloy skillet and five coins all contemporary to the structures. These finds appear to represent material spreads indicating evidence of the day-to-day activities of the fort.

Only three finds from across the site were noted in the report as 'votive' and all three came from the area of the fort wall foundations and associated structures dating from the early 3rd century AD (Austen 1991). These finds include two large, silver plaques dedicated to Cocidius and one stone altar dedicated to Disciplina. The only other find from this area was building debris noted as a demolition layer (Austen 1991). The stone altar was noted as having fallen into the cellar of a fort building next to the fort wall and thereafter incorporated into the floor (Austen 1991). This altar may have been intentionally 'deposited' and incorporated into the floor of the structure to imbue this building with ritual meaning. No structures were noted as acting as a possible shrine that may once have housed this altar and possibly the plaques also. The presence of the demolition material could be suggestive of evidence that a structure housing these 'votive' items did once exist.

Ritual activity at Bewcastle is apparent through the finds of one altar and two 'votive' plaques dated to the later use of the fort. However, deposits of burnt material and metal finds from the earliest period of the fort may provide evidence of ritual deposition. The two groups of finds from the earliest and latest use of the fort could be suggestive of rituals of deposition taking place at the open and close of the Roman-occupied site.

Cramond, Edinburgh

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Excavations of Roman Sites at Cramond, Edinburgh* (2003) by N. Holmes. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.11 in Appendix 4.

The fort site of Cramond, located overlooking the Firth of Forth, was occupied between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD by *cohors V Gallorum equitata* and *cohors II Tungrorum milliaria equitata* evidenced through stone inscriptions (Galer 2010: 509, 514). The site did not produce large numbers of total finds and context types; however a number of 'votive' finds were noted in the report therefore making this site vital to this investigation.

One altar was recovered from the area of the rampart and fort wall and dedicated to Mars Condatis dating to the mid- to late 2nd century AD. Amongst the other finds in the material spreads in the vicinity of the altar were one miniature copper alloy axe, one iron key, four coins contemporary to the altar, five small personal ornaments, unidentified animal remains, potsherds and three worked stones, noted as possibly ornamental (Holmes 2003). These accompanying finds appear to signify votive offerings whilst the three ornamental stones could indicate the remains of a shrine that once housed the altar. The location of the altar and these finds close to the fort wall and rampart could also emphasise the continuity of the importance of boundaries into the Roman world, as discussed above.

An infant burial recovered in the area of the industrial complex at a time of destruction, dating to the mid- to late 2nd century AD, was identified. Associated with this burial were a number of samian sherds and nothing more. Amongst the other finds from the destruction deposit spreads from the surrounding area were a number of personal ornaments, one of which was an orange cornelian intaglio depicting a satyr (Figure 6.4a), boot studs, scrap metals, pig, sheep and cattle bones, pottery and glass vessel remains, building debris, and charcoal and ash layers. The intaglio is of note considering its similarity to two other intaglios noted from the area of the bathhouse, examined below. It is possible that this find is a loss that was part of the bathhouse collection or a discarded personal ornament mixed in with other site debris. The spreading of this material intermixed with charcoal is comparable to those spreads noted at Cadbury Castle, Somerset in Zone One, and charcoal spreads noted at some of the other sites examined in this chapter. Whilst later in date than those identified at Cadbury Castle, the charcoal and ash spreads identified at Cramond could represent the continuity of such practices into the Roman period within Zone Two.

A well dated to the mid- to late 2nd century, also within the industrial complex and dated to the time of destruction, was excavated with its fill producing a mixture of metalwork and other finds comparable to the wells at several other Zone Two sites, discussed above. The metalwork included 14 iron tools (one shovel blade, one axe hammer, one curved blade, two tanged tools, one punch, six nails, one T-clamp and one unidetified tool) and 2 iron bars, as well as butchered sheep and cattle bones, leather shoe remains, one charred linen fragment and two wooden window frames. At a time of destruction these remains could represent site

middens filling a feature that was going out of use. However, these finds are comparable to the well fills at Elginhaugh, Newstead and Bar Hill. The mixture of potentially votive deposits of metalwork and shoe remains at Cramond along with other finds that appear to be part of the destruction deposit could indicate the merging and fluidity of the ritual and everyday spheres. From this evidence it is possible to deduce that ritual deposits, particularly into pits and wells, were not necessarily intended to be kept separate from domestic or industrial middens (Haynes 2013: 198).

a.

b.

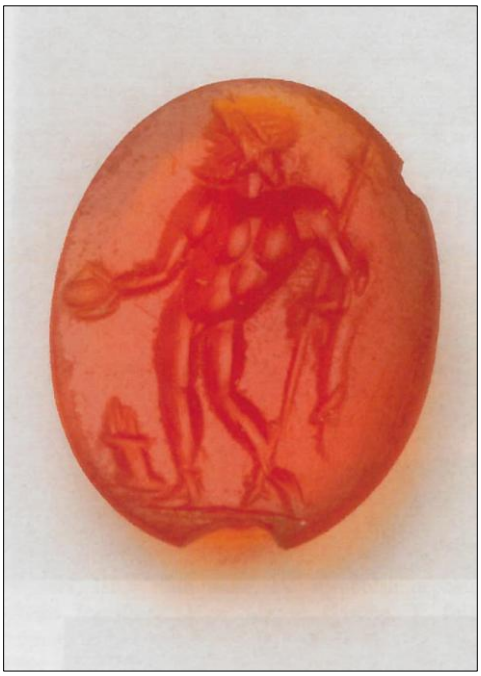


Figure 6.4a: Orange intaglio depicting satyr and goat; b: Orange intaglio depicting Jupiter

(Source: Holmes 2003: 39)

The bathhouse, dated to the late 2nd to mid-3rd centuries AD, produced the largest number of finds from Cramond. From this feature, one find was noted as 'votive': a stone altar with no dedication. Other than this stonework the bathhouse occupation layers produced 15 personal ornaments, including two orange cornelian intaglios depicting Jupiter (Figure 6.4b) recovered from the base of the latrine pit, animal remains consisting largely of oyster/mollusc shells, as well as cattle, pig and fish bones, gaming pieces, pottery, glass and building material remains. A deposit of animal bones was uncovered at the base of the hypocaust chamber with species including red deer, sheep, cattle, pig and dog. They were not noted as being burnt and no other finds were recovered in association. The collection of animal bones appears to be a ritual deposit owing to the specific location at the hypocaust chamber base. This bone collection could be a foundation deposit or some other ritual deposit of thanksgiving. Dog remains, both articulated and disarticulated, have been observed within potentially votive deposits across a number of the sites examined in Zone One, including Folly Lane, Hertfordshire and Verulamium, Hertfordshire, as well as paralleling the deposition of dog, sheep, cow and pig remains in pit bases at Danebury hillfort, Hampshire (Cunliffe 1988: 41). The deposition of these bones could indicate the continuity of these practices into the Roman period within this study zone.

Ritual activities are identifiable through the two altars recovered from the rampart and the bathhouse. The depictions of classical deities and other figures in intaglios also suggests religious activities were taking place at this fort. In terms of structured deposition, one infant burial from a structural foundation, the animal bone collection in the hypocaust chamber base and the well fill from the industrial complex all provide evidence that ritual practices of deposition were taking place at this site.

Inveresk, East Lothian

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Roman Inveresk: Past, Present and Future* (2002) by M.C. Bishop. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.12 in Appendix 4.

The fort of Inveresk is located overlooking the Firth of Forth just to the north of the fort of Elginhaugh and was likely occupied by *ala quingenaria*, cavalry regiments (Bishop 2002: 19). The intermittent occupation material evidence from the mid-2nd century AD fort dates as far back as the Neolithic through to the Roman period and comes mostly in the form of field systems, pits and structural evidence. A few Iron Age metal finds have been identified including the partial remains of a bronze cauldron, which was unprovenanced and the remains of a bronze torc from a well dating to the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period. Of the finds

noted as ‘votive’ they consisted of a deposit dating to the Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. These finds are summarised in Table A6.6.3.

The aforementioned Late Iron Age/Early Roman well produced a few finds other than the partial Iron Age bronze torc, including a pair of discarded boots and the iron well hook as well as organic debris including leaves and twigs. Compared to other significant well deposits across this zone, such as Elginhaugh, Newstead, Bar Hill and Cramond these finds are not as numerous or varied in type, although they are significant if only for the minimal number. The torc could represent pre-Roman ritual activity or may have been used by Roman occupants of the site in their own ritual practice along with the boots. These two finds of the torc and the boots may have been deposited in commemoration of an individual, perhaps the owner of the boots symbolising their movement into the ‘other’ world (van Driel-Murray 1999: 131-2), or could mark the termination of the pre-Roman site as the Roman armies were moving in and occupying the area (Chadwick 2004: 101).

Two stonework finds, recovered unprovenanced, are more overtly suggestive of ritual practices. They consist of a stone pine cone sculpture (Figure 6.5), believed to be from a tomb monument originating to the south of the fort. The symbol of the pine cone represented life after death in the Roman world and is likely to have belonged to a high status individual (Bishop 2002: 75). The other was a stone altar, recovered in 1565 but since lost, dedicated to Apollo Grannus by Quintus Sabinianus, the Imperial Procurator. The coupling of these two gods was most common in North Gaul and Germany of the Upper Danube area (Bishop 2002: 77). Other items recovered depicting classical deities include a bronze pin head in the shape of an eagle symbolising Jupiter and a gemstone from a signet ring representing Venus Victrix: Venus carrying weapons and armour. These were recovered unstratified and were the only finds of their kind. They may all have been associated with a shrine at the site that also housed the altar, though no structure has yet been identified.

Though few finds were apparent from the fort of Inveresk, they indicate ritual activity was taking place at this site through the dedicative stonework as well as the personal ornament finds depicting classical deities. The well deposits also appear to maintain the relevance of structured deposits centred around well contexts within Zone Two.

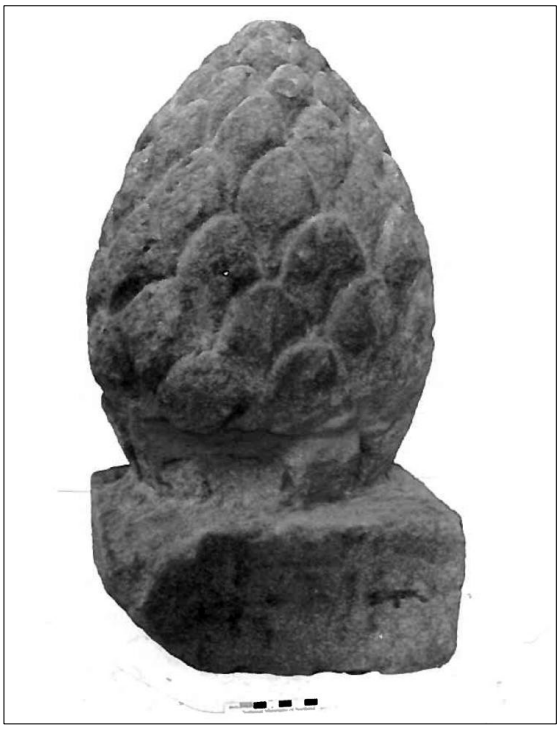


Figure 6.5: Stone pine cone tomb monument

(Source: Bishop 2002: 76)

Magna, Northumberland

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *The Fort at the Rock: Magna and Carvoran on Hadrian's Wall* (1998) by R. Birley. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.13 in Appendix 4.

The fort of Magna, located in marshy ground to the south of Hadrian's Wall, was occupied between AD 80 to the mid-4th century AD by *cohors I Hamiorum sagittariorum, cohors II Delmatarum equitata* and *cohors VI Nerviorum* in the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD (Birley 1998: 14-15; Galer 2010: 778). From a total of 58 recorded finds from across the fort 74% were of unknown provenance having been lost or sold into private collections and of these 70% were identified as 'votive' in nature consisting entirely of stone inscriptions, altars and sculpted stone icons. Table 6.2 summarises the number of dedications recorded from these stonework inscriptions that were either recovered directly from the site or known to have been taken from the site and sold.

Table 6.2: Dedications in stone from Magna

Stone Inscription	Number of Finds
Dedication:	
Veteris	9
Vitiris	5
Syrian Goddesses	2
Jupiter	2
Baliticaurus	1
Blatucadrus	1
Epona	1
Emperor's Fortune	1
Fortune	1
Hammia	1
Hercules	1
Mars Belatucairus	1
Mother Goddess	1
Mars	1
Minerva	1
Nymphs	1
Silvanus	1
Unknown	1
Illustrated Stone:	
Fortune	1
Triton	1
Cybele	1
Altar:	
Vitires	1
Veteris	1
Fortune	1
Veteres	1

A bronze corn measure dated, from an inscription, to the reign of Domitian, late 1st century AD, was recovered from an area to the north east of the fort that was marshy owing to the possible remains of an aqueduct channel (Birley 1998). This find was isolated and could represent little more than local trade. However, because it dates to the origins of the fort, it could represent a foundation deposit dedicated to the development of the fort. The votive tablet known as the Ceres text was also recovered from the north eastern corner of the fort commemorating Syrian and African deities (Birley 1998: 37). In the area of the bathhouse, three areas of inscriptions were recorded from the wall, all inserted by the *Prefect of the*

Cohors I Hamiorum Sagittariorum, first battalion of archers from the Hamii in Syria, who were also stationed at Bar Hill. An altar dedicated to Fortune was also recovered from this locale, again, dedicated by a representative of the Hamian archers, all of a mid-2nd century AD date. Further to these stone dedications a ring, unprovenanced, depicting Victory is also known to have come from Magna. Aside from this ring and one coin of Nero, no other metalwork items depicting iconic images are known to have originated from the site.

The well at Magna also produced two finds of interest. A large pair of antlers and an iron spearhead or angon of Frankish type were recovered dating to the 4th century AD (Figure 6.6). It is possible these finds relate to ritual practices, perhaps signifying abandonment deposits marking the close of the fort. Finds from this well in addition to a number of other well deposits from this zone provide evidence in favour of the ritual of deposition into well contexts prolific in Zone Two.

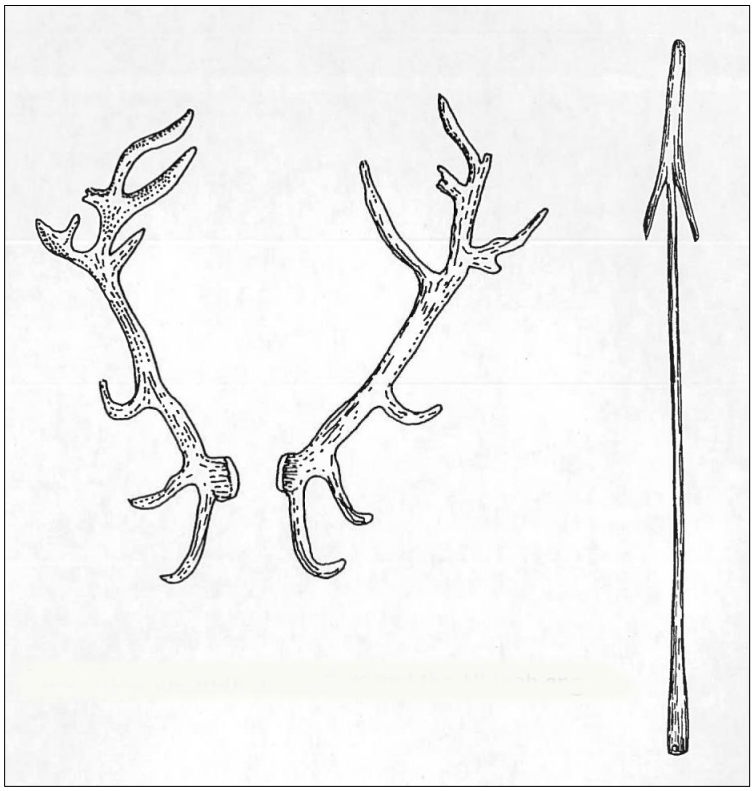


Figure 6.6: Large pair of antler and iron spearhead from Magna's well

(Source: Birley 1998: 43)

Vindolanda, Northumberland

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *The Roman Fort of Vindolanda* (1985) by P.T. Bidwell. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.14 in Appendix 4.

Vindolanda was a large fort, occupied between AD 80 to AD 400, situated a couple of miles south of Hadrian's Wall. It was occupied by *cohors VIII Batavorum, I Tungrorum, IV Gallorum* and the *II* and *III Nerviorum* all identified through epigraphic evidence (Bidwell 1985: 31). This site produced much metalwork mostly in the form of coins, tools, and personal ornaments, with its most famous finds being the numerous writing tablets that provide an important insight into the everyday lives of the soldiers stationed in this area of the Roman Empire. Ritual depositional activity is apparent dating from the pre-Hadrianic strata through to the sub-Roman occupation layers, although only three key episodes of deposition were noted in the report.

A coin hoard of 60 denarii and 3 aurei forming the contents of an arm purse was recovered from a crevice in a nearby quarry dating from the early 2nd century AD. The coin hoard could have been intentionally placed within this crevice but it is also possible that the owner of the purse lost it en route to the fort or beyond. An inscribed stone dated to AD 122-4 was dedicated by the Second Legion to Hadrian and was recovered from occupation material spreads within the first stone fort. The inscribed stone alone confirms that dedicative rituals took place at this site from its earliest form as a stone fort.

Fourteen inscribed and sculpted stones were also recovered from fort foundation contexts dated to the early to mid-3rd century AD, twelve of which had dedicative inscriptions. Three stone altars were recovered in total: two dedicated to Jupiter and Fortune were recovered from the area of the praetorium, and one with an inscription that reads 'Ara Vitrium' (Bidwell 1985: 42) was recovered from the foundations of the north east fort wall. From this latter context, four tombstones were recovered along with one dedicatory slab, one inscribed stone and the remains of a relief featuring Victory (Figure 6.7). These were all noted as incorporated into the building material, possibly re-used from ritual activities taking place in the earlier period of the fort, or possibly used in similar ways noted at Maryport and Bewcastle to reinforce the ritual significance of these areas. In more recent excavations a temple has been identified located at the north east wall of the fort dating to the 4th century AD (Haynes 2013: 194). Whilst the evidence available for the temple post dates the stonework evidence discussed here, the location of the dedicative stonework described implies that another shrine or temple may have pre-dated the 4th century AD structure.

Interestingly, very few animal remains were recovered from this site. It is possible that the site's middens were not excavated at the time of the report. Those finds that were recorded include some burnt bone, unidentified, in a charcoal layer associated with three circular structures beyond the north wall of Stone Fort Two, dating to the early to mid-3rd century AD, together with a few coarse ware sherds, stone building material, hearth remains and street

surfacing, all of which appear to be consistent with site clearing. The charcoal layer, however, is comparable to layers at other Zone One and Zone Two sites discussed. The numbers and types of find in this layer at Vindolanda, however, are not as varied. Unidentified animal remains were recovered from the fill of one of the fort ditches, dated to the mid-2nd century AD, along with one large lead sheet, potsherds, leather remains and stone building material. Finds of animal bones, also unidentified, came from the fill of a well within the *principia* dating to AD 223-5. Also within the well were one painted Crambeck ware bowl recovered whole, slates, wood fragments and a cabbage stalk. The well dates to a period of re-build, therefore it is possible that the finds were dedicated prior to the development of this area of the fort; the bowl, animal remains and other items would then have acted as offerings either of termination of the first fort or foundation rituals for the period of re-development. Whilst the fill was not as voluminous at Vindolanda as other well deposits discussed in this chapter, the trend of structured deposits within well contexts across Zone Two can be applied here.

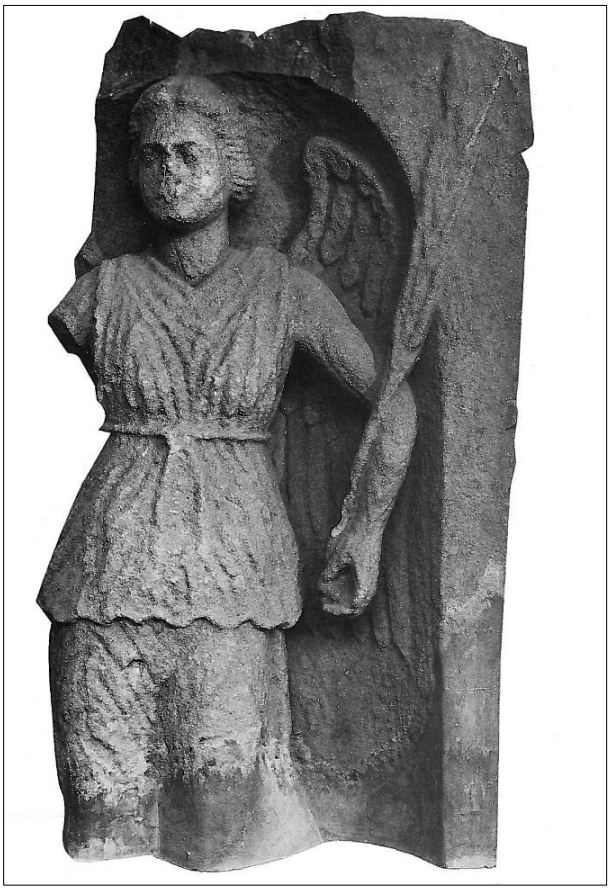


Figure 6.7: Remains of a relief featuringVictory

(Source: Bidwell 1985: Figure 17)

Similarly to Newstead only one knife blade was recovered, which appeared to have been deliberately broken at the tip. This knife was recovered from the occupation material spreads

of the area of the barracks dating to the mid- to late 3rd century AD. The rest of the weapon, tool and personal ornament finds were recovered whole or broken. As with Newstead, there is too little data at each site alone to deduce a practice of deliberate destruction or killing of items prior to deposition, but these themes will be discussed for the sites of Zone Two collectively in Section 6.3.4.

A second and more extensive coin hoard consisting of 300 coins dating to the mid-4th century AD accounted for 37% of the total recorded coin finds from across the site. This hoard was recovered in the proximity of one of the cornice blocks of the west gate foundations but at some point, post-deposition, it was dispersed across the ground. One iron spearhead, a shield umbo and a large copper pan were also found in this area. Though these finds were not directly associated with the hoard, they are still specific in their type, minimal in number and are therefore unlikely to be casual losses within the gate foundations. It is possible that the finds recovered from this feature's contexts were intended as votive foundation deposits prior to the building of the west gate to bring good luck to the fort. Alternatively, owing to the later date of this hoard, it is possible that it was a deposit marking the demolition of the structure and eventual abandonment of the fort that took place from the later 3rd to later 4th centuries AD.

Ritual deposition was clearly taking place across a number of context types at the fort of Vindolanda. Whilst no specific shrine or temple was located at the time the report used was produced, subsequent excavations have confirmed the presence of two temples: one on the fort and one in the vicus (Haynes 2013). The number of inscribed stonework finds described here pre-dating the known temples indicate possible evidence for a shrine or temple pre-dating the 4th century AD temple in the fort interior identified by Birley and Birley (2010, cited in Haynes 2013: 194). At least one extensive coin hoard in relation to the west gate also indicates practices of ritual deposition comparable to a number of sites examined across Zone Two, such as Balmuildy.

Housesteads, Northumberland

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Housesteads Roman Fort: The Grandest Station - Excavation and Survey at Housesteads, 1954-95, by Charles Daniels, John Gillam, James Crow and Others Volumes 1 and 2* (2009) by A. Rushworth. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.15 in Appendix 4.

The fort site of Housesteads, located on Hadrian's Wall and overlooking Knag Burn, was occupied from AD 125 to the 4th century AD by *cohors milliaria,* in particular *cohors I*

Tungrorum milliaria known from epigraphic evidence (Crow 1995: 57). The finds from across the fort were recovered in comparatively larger numbers when compared to finds from other sites examined across Zone Two. Nothing has been previously identified as 'votive' for the Roman period (Rushworth 2009). However, a number of finds are suggestive of ritual activities and associated episodes of deposition.

Two sculpted stones, one in partial relief, though both unidentifiable, were recovered from the ramparts of the primary fort modifications around the late 2nd century AD. The incorporation of dedicative stonework into the building material of the rampart could, like the finds associated with the coin hoard in the proximity of the rampart explored below, have been intended to imbue this structure with ritual meaning. A collection of coins, interpreted as the contents of a purse that was lost, was recovered from the area of the north rampart and dated to the late 2nd to early 3rd centuries AD. Unfortunately this find has since been lost and therefore little else is known about it including the quantity of coins. In the surrounding area were one copper alloy nail, 10 personal ornaments (mostly brooches, bracelets/armlets, pins and one red jasper intaglio), various copper alloy fragments, pottery and glass vessel remains, building debris and rampart make-up. The coin 'hoard' was not associated with any other finds and all finds were either incorporated into the rampart material or formed part of the occupation layers in the surrounding area. A second coin hoard consisting of four radiate copies was recovered from the occupation layers of one of the fort buildings dated to the mid- to late 3rd century AD. Very few other finds were recorded from this structure's occupation layers and none were associated with the hoard. Those that were recovered include two other coins, various iron nails, one glass bead, one copper alloy stud, potsherds and iron fragments, some of which were recovered from a pit along with some iron-stained stones. A total of 164 coins dating across all periods of the fort were recovered from across the site as a whole but most were recovered as individual finds or scattered across the barracks and roadside areas. It is possible that these two 'hoards' represent a personal cache and a purse that was accidentally lost within the fort. However, owing to their locations, it is also possible they were intended as votive offerings, the 'purse' collection marking the development of the fort building and the four radiate copies marking the development of the rampart. The number of personal ornaments and other metalwork may have been intentionally incorporated into the rampart material to instil it with ritual significance, as opposed to leaving a small collection of finds as an offering.

Two uninscribed altars and a few inscribed stone fragments suggestive of the practice of ritual activity at the site or sites nearby were incorporated into building material. One degraded possible dedication slab dated to the mid- to late 3rd century AD was recovered from the wall remains of one of the barrack buildings along with other building material, potsherds and one

coin of Titus (Rushworth 2009). The other inscribed stone and altar finds were recovered from the wall of the Middle to Late Roman rampart modification in the proximity of the dedication slab discussed above. These finds included the two uninscribed stone altars, one stone block inscribed with the letter 'A' and one stone relief of a naked man holding a buckle that was resting against the altar. One of the altars and the rest of the stonework mentioned were re-used as building material. In addition the base of a 'pipeclay' Venus figurine was recovered in the proximity of these finds, although incorporated into the rampart material. These finds altogether suggest the presence of ritual activities taking place at this site.

Owing to the amounts of inscribed stonework and the remains of the Venus statuette it is possible that a structure was once erected as a shrine or temple for use at this site, probably located in the annexe. The soldiers may have visited another larger temple close by to practice ritual activities, though for a site with as long a history as Housesteads there would likely have been a small shrine, at least, to accommodate the soldiers and their families. The Venus figurine may have been a part of these activities or belonged to one of the soldiers as part of his own personal dedication. The incorporation of this figurine along with the unidentified sculpted stones into the rampart could be indicative of ritual depositions incorporated into the rampart material.

Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh, Northumberland

The site report used for the collection of finds and context data was: *Coventina's Well* (1985) by L. Allason-Jones and B. McKay. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plan A4.6.16 in Appendix 4.

The fort of Carrawburgh located on Hadrian's Wall, was occupied between AD 133 to the mid-3rd century AD and represents one of the easternmost forts examined within Zone Two. Garrisons known to have been stationed at Carrawburgh include *cohors I Tungrorum milliaria, cohors I Aquitanorum veterana, cohors I Batavorum, cohors I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum Civium Romanorum* and *cohors II Nerviorum Civium Romanorum* (Galer 2010: 509-516). The most detailed site data for this location came from the well or revetted spring known as Coventina's Well located to the west of the fort and built as a functional cistern between AD 128-30. It is believed the 'well' became imbued with ritual significance as the vallum-builders gave way to the Roman soldiers along with their collective ritual beliefs and practices. The deposits and wall surrounding the 'well' are contemporary with the occupation of the fort (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985: 8). With the research emphasis of this thesis being structured deposits into or in association with watery areas, the detailed analysis of the contexts of the 'well' are of relevance to this investigation.

The spring or 'well' was first noted in 1732 by John Horsley, who identified large quantities of 'rubbish' filling the 'well' and a wall or house built surrounding the spring's location (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985: 2). In 1870 the location was identified as a spring that had dried out owing to lead mining activities in the South Tyne Valley. As the lead miners were prospecting the area around the fort of Carrawburgh and Coventina's Well for an easier source of ore, they uncovered dressed stones and informed the owner of the fort of Carrawburgh, John Clayton. By 1876 Clayton, who also catalogued the finds from the 'well', had discovered that the 'well' was positioned in the centre of a rectangular enclosure with a possible doorway in the west wall. Various interpretations of the structure surrounding the 'well' have been suggested. Richmond (1955, cited in Allason-Jones and McKay 1985: 3) argued that the structure was a Romano-Celtic-type shrine with the 'well' taking the place of the cella, although no other temple of this type has yet been discovered. Alternatively, the temple may have been a sacred water reservoir open to the sky, with a similar example identified at Springhead, Kent. The lack of roofing material excavated appears to support this idea (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985: 3). Furthermore, the neighbouring shrine of the Nymphs and the Genius Loci, located to the south east of the 'well' next to the *Mithreaum* (Site Plan 6.16, Appendix 4), was also identified as open-air. Similar examples of open-air shrines dating to the Late Iron Age to Roman period include: a pool with surrounding wall at Chamalières near Clermont-Ferrand, Southern France; votive tablets recovered in association with a 45 square foot basin at the source of the Seine, France; and large quantities of coins and inscriptions recovered from a thermal reservoir at Bourbonne-les-Bains, France (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985: 3).

Finds of inscribed stone were common within Coventina's Well. In addition, large numbers of coins and a number of personal ornaments were also recovered. In contrast, very few weapons, tools, other scrap metal or building materials were recovered, reinforcing the idea that this feature was not intended for general use as a receptacle for the disposal of fort waste. Only one find of military equipment was recorded and this was the bronze brow band from a helmet dated to the early to mid-2nd century AD. The lack of weaponry deposits could, again, account for the fact that soldiers who lost their armour and equipment would have to pay for replacements, thus other metalwork items were offered instead (Haynes 1997: 118).

Of the finds recovered from the 'well', four either depict the Iron Age goddess Coventina or were dedicated to the goddess, which include one bronze furniture mount dating to between AD 120-140, one sandstone relief of Coventina with two attendants pouring water from pitchers dating to between AD 180-200, and two inscribed stones both of unknown date (Figure 6.8). Other items depict female faces or masks, such as a bronze furniture mount and the cranium of a female that was found filled with coins. The coins may have collected in the

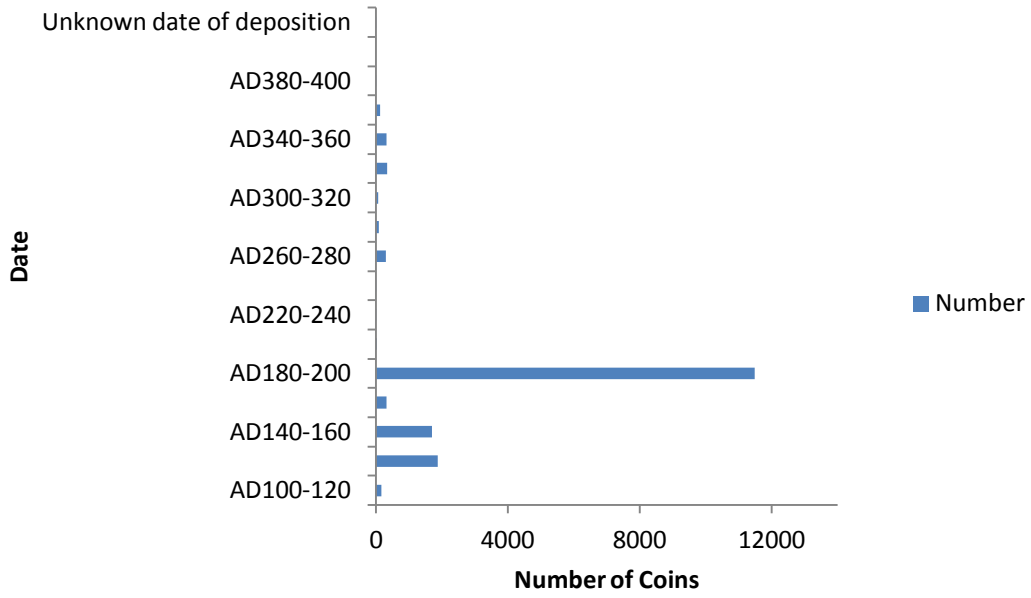
cavity over time or were intentionally placed in the skull prior to deposition. It is possible the skull (little detail of which was included in the report) represented a person of significance to the site and the ritual activities.

Figure 6.8 Carved sandstone image and inscription dedicated to Coventina

(Source: Allason-Jones and McKay 1985: plate VI)

The coins are most reliable in helping to date the various finds recovered from the 'well' contexts and aid in dating depositional episodes. The timespan of activity was divided into 20 year segments for the purposes of cataloguing the finds data from Coventina's Well. Figure 6.9 indicates the main date ranges of the coinage recovered.

Figure 6.9: Number and dates of coins recovered from Coventina's Well



The results shown are skewed owing to a large hoard of 11, 413 coins, accounting for 99.9% of the coins from the period dating between AD 180-200 (see Figure 6.10 depicting total coin finds excluding the large coin hoard). Despite this spike the rest of the results indicate the most frequent deposition of coins dates to between AD 120-200. This could represent a peak in depositional activity or an increase in coins of this date being deposited at a later date. When examining the total number of finds recovered in conjunction with date deposited, this hypothesis is supported, that the coins were deposited later than the dates they represent. Figure 6.11 represents the total number of finds relating to the date they were deposited. Figure 6.11 differs very little from Figure 6.9 above but when the hoard is taken out of the finds, as seen in Figure 6.12, the total numbers peak slightly earlier in the 2nd century AD, though still owing to coin deposits.

Figure 6.10: Number and dates of coins recovered from Coventina's Well - excluding the large coin hoard

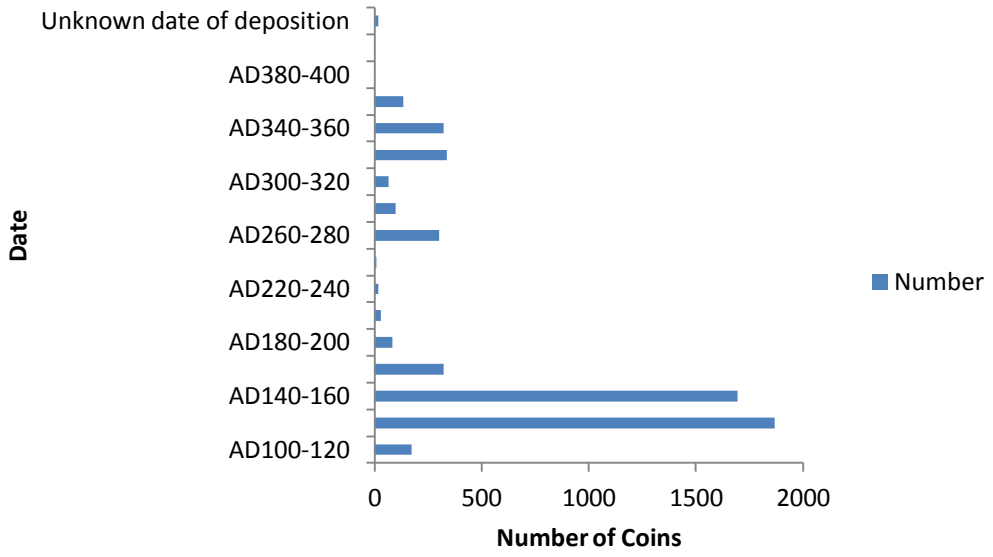


Figure 6.11: Total number of finds and dates deposited in Coventina's Well

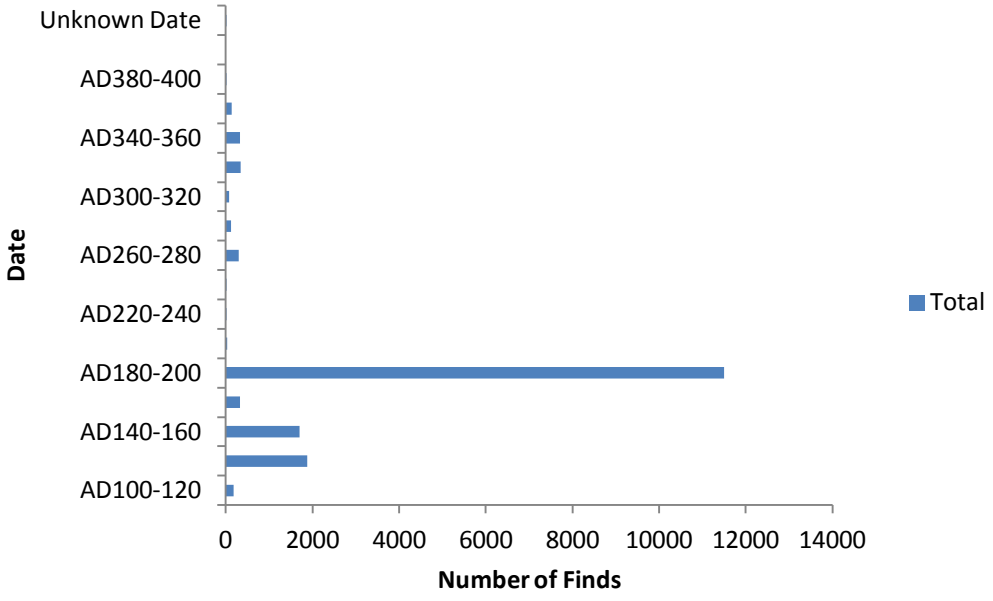
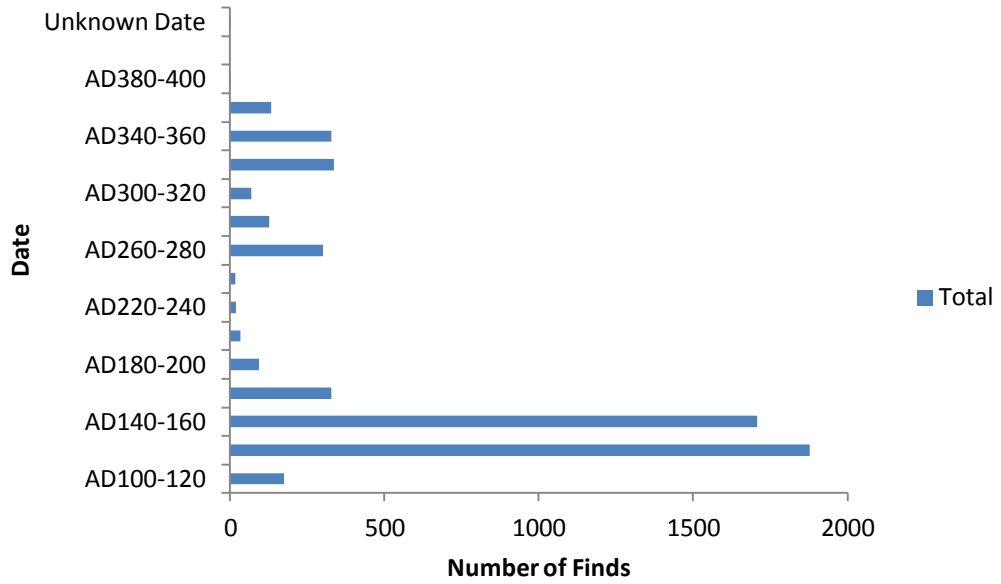


Figure 6.12: Total number of finds and dates deposited in Coventina's Well – excluding the large coin hoard



A bronze mask depicting a male face in a style described as Iron Age in style (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985), possibly belonging to a cauldron, was recovered within the context dating between AD 120-40, and from the AD 180-200 context the sandstone head of a bearded and moustached man in Iron Age tradition was recovered along with a sandstone relief depicting Coventina with attendants or nymphs pouring water from pitchers (Figure 6.13). This classically designed relief was described as being executed with Iron Age tradition (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985). Also dated to this time was the large coin hoard and an uninscribed sandstone altar. It is possible that these pre-Roman-style stone works represent the continuity and amalgamation of ritual practices. The stonework described above could be indicative of the provincial population being allowed access to the ritual site, the use of local sculptures by those residing in the fort, or the execution of such designs by soldiers who were drafted from the local populations, hence the combination of classical and pre-Roman designs and styles.

The years AD 180-200 appear to have been an important time during the life of this ritual site. From the epigraphic evidence, cohorts originating from the Rhineland were stationed nearby, therefore it is possible, as with the activity noted around the well at Bar Hill, the wells and pits at Newstead and the inscriptions from Magna and Inveresk, that the soldiers recruited into the Roman armies brought their rituals and traditions with them and adapted existing practices of deposition. What is significant is the lack of evidence for the coupling of Coventina with a classical partner, as has been evident at other sites studied within this investigation (Webster

1995: 160). Much epigraphic evidence has been produced from the well, therefore if this practice of syncretism was invoked at this site it is likely some evidence would remain.

Figure 6.13: Coventina with attendants or nymphs pouring water from pitchers

(Source: Allason-Jones and McKay 1985: plate V)

Aside from the small temple surrounding the 'well' two other temples were identified at Carrawburgh, which were not a part of the report used for this site, with the excavation concentrating upon the 'well' only. The two other temples structures include the aforementioned open-air shrine of the Nymphs and the Genius Loci, and a temple dedicated to Mithras. Both the open-air shirne and the *Mithraeum* were established to the south of the fort. Of the *Mithraeum* in particular, one of the markers of progress through the cult was through ritual dress and mock burial, indicated by the presence of a large rectangular pit identified at the site of the *Mithraeum*. It is believed that the ritual burial represented unity with the sun and with Mithras, who were associated (Henig 2004: 232). Aside from the ritual burial aspect and the location of both temples at the head of the same watercourse, very little activity of the cult of Mithras and the Nymphs and Genius Loci seems to link with the practices observed at Coventina's Well, including a lack of dedicative inscriptions.

Coventina's Well was undoubtedly part of a wider ritual landscape. Various interpretations regarding how the material came to fill the 'well' have been put forward. It is possible that the finds were placed into the feature as a result of invasion and were concealed by large stones placed on top of the 'well' to protect the valuables since recovered. However, many of the finds, including the large coin hoard, would have been easily visible and retrieveable through the water despite the placing of the stones therefore concealment seems highly unlikely

(Allason-Jones and McKay 1985: 6-7). The fill of the 'well' provides evidence of continuous ritual deposition rather than midden accumulations, unlike a number of the other wells discussed within Zone Two in which ritual and domestic deposits appear to have been intermixed. The finds from Coventina's Well aid in confirming the relevance of this context type to episodes of structured ritual deposition within this study zone during the Roman period.

Other Sites:

Camelon, Strathclyde; Eildon Hill North, Scottish Borders; The Dod, Scottish Borders

The site reports used for the collection of finds and context data were: 'Camelon native site' (1980) in *Proceedings for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 109, by E.V.W. Proudfoot; 'Trial excavations at Eildon Hill North, Roxburghshire 1986' (1987) in *University of Durham Newcastle Upon Type Archaeological Report for 1986,* 10, by O. Olwyn; 'Excavations at the Dod: Roxburghshire: 1981 an Interim Report' (1982) in *Northern Archaeology,* 3, by I.M.Smith. The locations of the finds discussed below have been displayed on Site Plans A4.6.17-A4.6.19 in Appendix 4.

Of the remaining three fort sites, none produced finds recorded or recognised as 'votive' in their respective site reports. These sites were quite minimal in their features and finds evidence but still produced some compelling evidence indicative of structured deposition. Furthermore, their total finds evidence is useful to keep as a part of the wider inter-site investigation with respect to the purposeful deposition of material culture across Zone Two as a whole.

All three sites were amongst three of the four sites that produced no inscribed or dedicative stonework, therefore no explicit signs of religious activities are evident across these sites. However, there are finds that could be suggestive of ritual deposition owing, in particular, to their condition. The hillfort of Camelon is located to the north of the Antonine Wall overlooking the River Carron from the south and was occupied from the late 1st century to the mid-2nd century. The hillfort was an indigenous settlement located close to Roman-occupied forts. A number of burnt remains were recovered from the bedding trench and post holes of one of the internal fort structures, including unidentified animal bone fragments, potsherds, hazel and birch charcoal specifically in the post holes, burnt daub and non-metallic slag. In addition to these finds, a large rectangular pit from the fort interior, dated from its fill to the late 2nd century AD, produced few finds: two iron studs and various iron nails, grey ware sherds, one glass phial fragment, carbonised barley grain and some charcoal. The charcoal and the relatively low numbers of finds from a feature in the proximity of the bedding trench

and post holes (also producing burnt material), could be suggestive of the clearing of the area to prepare the site for a second phase of occupation or abandonment of the settlement. Whilst these burnt remains are likely representative of the clearing and abandonment of the fort, the spreads of charcoal and ash mixed with a variety of metal and non-metal finds are comparable to other charcoal and ash spreads from other sites studied within both Zones One and Two and may reflect ritual practice.

The fortified enclosure of The Dod, located at the western end of the Cheviot Hills at the confluence of three valleys, was occupied from the Late Iron Age to Late Roman period (Smith 1982: 6). An unidentified number of human remains were recorded within the rampart close to the enclosure's western entrance. Unfortunately nothing is known of the human remains, including their date, other than that they were partial. It is possible the remains were incorporated into the rampart material accidentally as the rampart was being developed, or they were incorporated deliberately as a part of the dedicative processes of the building of this site, particularly at the entrance. The burnt remains of a Late Iron Age roundhouse were recovered over which a Roman-date raft structure was built within the main enclosure. Among the finds recovered associated with the roundhouse were an antler weaving comb recovered at the base of the roundhouse's hearth, burnt building material, pit hearth remains, charcoal and stone dumps directly over the roundhouse upon which the raft structure was built. It is possible that these burnt remains are indicative of the clearing of the site with the Roman occupation, or the ritual abandonment of the site. The weaving comb in the hearth, though not burnt, could be an offering or symbol of the site's abandonment.

Whilst no finds or collections of finds of particular significance were determined from the Early to Middle Roman hillfort and signal station of Eildon Hill North, the total finds and context data are of use to this investigation. These data will be combined with the data from across the rest of the Zone Two sites in the inter-site analysis and aid in determining regional patterns of occupation, continuity of structured deposition and possible evidence of cultural change.

6.2.3 Summary of intra-site analysis

Through the analysis of the 19 Zone Two sites, ritual practices can be confirmed across the majority through the presence of inscribed and sculpted stonework depicting and dedicated to classical deities, Roman Emperors and other individuals. Whilst these stonework finds represent formalised ritual activities, evidence in favour of practices of structured deposition can also be determined across a number of these sites. Of particular relevance are the number of well deposits identified, ranging from a few finds from sites such as Inveresk, Magna and Vindolanda to large collections of finds from Elginhaugh, Newstead, Bar Hill and Cramond.

It can be confirmed that structured deposition was taking place across Zone Two; however the majority of this activity appears to have been limited to the Roman period. The next stage of this investigation is to determine the broader patterns of deposition that were taking place across the study zone, including the main context types used, find-types deposited and their condition at the time of deposition, and whether a transition in practices of ritual deposition can be interpreted on a region-wide scale.

6.3 Inter-site analysis

6.3.1 Introduction

Following on from the intra-site analysis, the sections below will examine the site data from Zone Two to determine general patterns of deposition. This stage of the analysis is geared towards a better understanding of structured deposition and ritual practices across the study zone as a whole, and also to determine the existence of socio-cultural changes in these practices. Again, questions are based on the main themes of the research put forth in Chapter 4. When discussing the sites in the sections to follow, they have been ordered as they occur in Table A6.6.1.

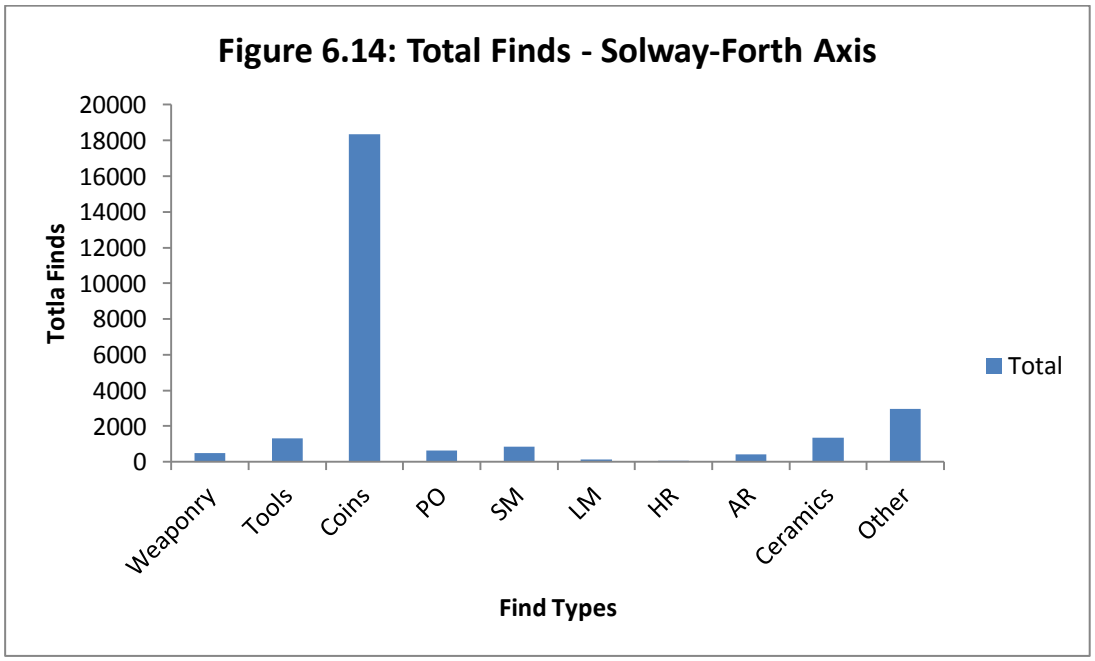
6.3.2 What were the most common finds-producing contexts and the dominant find-types emerging from within these context types?

Examining the total context types from across Zone Two (Figure 6.1a), the three main finds-producing contexts are wells, pits and the finds recovered unstratified. Whilst the large coin hoard from Coventina's Well could be seen to affect these patterns, even when removed, the number of total finds from well contexts numbered over 6,000, making this context type particularly significant in broad patterns of deposition.

Only one site studied from across Zone Two, Coventina's Well, was watery in nature, with the rest of the sites being predominantly dry but with watery foci, particularly wells and the forts/settlements overlooking bodies of water. The hilltop location of the majority of sites studied could also be relevant to practices of deposition. The nature of the case study area is, as has been acknowledged, rugged and mountainous in character. Whilst almost all of the sites examined were of a military nature and hence the upland position was relevant in the siting of the majority of these defensive outposts, the higher latitudes, or individual hills, may also have been relevant in ritual depositional activities taking place at the time. These ideas will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Examining the main finds-producing contexts across the individual Zone Two sites (Figure A5.6.1a-s), those that produced the largest numbers of finds were spreads of occupation material relating to non-fort structures, with five sites producing these results and another five sites where the greatest numbers of finds were unstratified. Three sites' main finds-producing contexts were those from fort structures and another three sites the main finds-producing contexts of which were pits. These contexts appear to relate directly to the structural development of these 19 sites and the storage, deposition or loss of items relating to the activities taking place at these locations. Quite a large number of finds were recorded in the reports as 'unstratified' or 'unprovenanced', particularly compared to Zone One's finds data. Without the contextual or stratigraphic information, it is more difficult to understand the potential depositional activities that were taking place. Nonetheless the finds data provide useful patterns relating to occupation and cultural change.

Examining the total finds from across Zone Two (Figure 6.14), the most common find-types are coins, 'other' finds and ceramics. Again, removing the large coin hoard from Coventina's Well from these total finds does not affect the results.



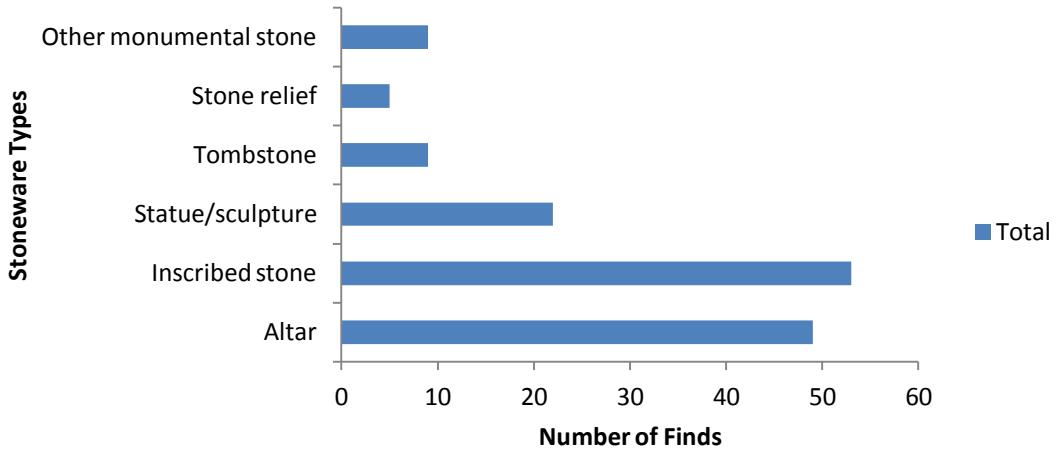
Examining the dominant find-types on a site-by-site basis from the main three finds-producing contexts, (Figure A5.6.1a-s) the main three find-types were those from the 'other' category, ceramics and tools. As explained in Chapter 5, the finds recorded in the 'other' category include organic debris, stonework, building material, worked flint and worked wood. It is not surprising that, again as with Zone One, 'other' finds and ceramic remains number most highly across the majority of the sites studied in Zone Two, providing evidence of

concentrated occupation, whether continual or sporadic, during the lifetime of these settlements.

The tool finds appear to represent the developments of the individual sites as well as domestic and larger scale industrial activities. At the site of Corbridge, all but four of the tool finds were recovered from a metalwork hoard. As for the sites of Carlisle and Camelon, the tool finds were relatively minimal with only 23 and four finds respectively. Of the remaining sites where tool finds numbered amongst the highest total finds, Elginhaugh, Bar Hill and Vindolanda, the numbers of nails recovered from across each of these three sites accounted for the majority of the tool finds. The remaining tools were consistent with woodworking, agricultural working, weaving and general daily activities. Vindolanda produced a number of knives, all of which were recovered from within the vicinity of the barracks, suggesting that the knives served as a part of the soldiers' kit.

Within the 'other' category, the numbers of stonework finds recorded are of note. There were significantly more finds of altars, inscribed stones and stone icons recovered from across Zone Two than from across Zone One with 63% of sites producing such finds. A total of 147 items of inscribed, monumental or dedicatory stonework was recovered from across Zone Two (Figure 6.15). With comparably fewer of these find-types recovered from across Zone One, this confirms that new or alternative ways of dedication and worship were dominant within Zone Two, certainly as a result of the presence of the Roman army.

Figure 6.15: Total stonework finds - Solway-Forth Axis



The majority of the dedicatory and monumental stonework recorded came in the form of inscribed stones and altars (Figure 6.15) Not only does this evidence provide insights into who was being worshipped but, along with the tombstone evidence, provides some answers as to who was doing the worshipping with not only individual names but the names of regiments

indicated on some of these remains, as observed in the intra-site analysis. This epigraphic evidence potentially provides information on where the populations of these forts originated or at least in which areas the regiments were raised. This in turn could provide some answers as to the origins of ritual activities and related deposition or how these practices may have been adopted and adapted by the time they reached the northern extent of the Empire. Table 6.3 below displays the garrisons mentioned in the epigraphic evidence and their geographic origins.

Not only does the area of North Gaul and the Rhineland appear to be significant for the origins of many of these regiments but the finds of epigraphic evidence for regiments from as far as Syria and North Africa represent the extent of the Roman Empire's reach. This does not, however, suggest that soldiers residing in the Zone Two forts all originated from these locations listed or that the written evidence is a finite list of all who resided in these forts, but it does provide origins for some of the regiments who occupied these sites. As discussed in Chapter 2, as these regiments progressed across the Empire they would inevitably have absorbed many young men into their ranks, therefore resulting in a mixture of beliefs and practices amongst the ranks of each unit reaching the northern extent of the Empire, including rituals of deposition. This is a crucial issue to this investigation, particularly when determining whether practices of deposition were continuing or changing owing to or as a consequence of the Roman conquest. This will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 7.

Looking at general patterns in find-types and context-types it is clear that the most significant watery locations for producing finds were wells. However, examining the data on a site-by-site basis, wells or other watery features did not appear to be as significant in producing quantities of finds with occupation material spreads and pit contexts producing the largest numbers of finds per site. What these results suggest is that whilst well contexts were not as numerous across all sites they were still the focus for depositional practices. From the finds produced, metalwork was also relevant with total finds across Zone Two showing coins to be most numerous, whilst on a site-by-site basis tools were particularly significant in their numbers. However, from the intra-site analysis it is known that examining the dominant finds- and context-types lends little explanation as to what was being deposited in ritual practices and how.

Table 6.3: Origins of garrisons of the Zone Two forts and settlements based on epigraphic stonework evidence – site-by-site

Site	Find Type	Location on Site	Geographic Origin of Garrison	Details
Bar Hill	1 altar	Well in fort interior – mid 2nd century AD	Lower Germania	Dedicated by *cohors I Baetasiorum.*
	1 inscribed stone	As above	Lower Germania	Recording building work at the fort by the Baetasii.
	1 altar	Occupation layers outside fort – mid-2nd century AD	Syria	Dedicated to Silvanus by Caristanius Iustianus for *cohors I Hamiorum*.
	1 tombstone	Unstratified – date unknwon	Syria	For C. Iulius Marcellinus praef(ectus) Coh(ortis) I Hamior(um).
Coventina's Well	2 altars	Spring/well – 200-220AD	Rhineland	Dedicated by units raised in Rhineland: *cohors I Tungrorum,* *cohors I Batavorum*
	1 inscribed stone	Spring/well – date unknown	Rhine Delta	To the goddess Coventina from the Batavians.
	1 altar	Spring/well – date unknown	Scheldt, North Gaul	From a cohort raised in the Scheldt area.
Inveresk	1 altar	Unprovenanced – date unknown	North Gaul/Germany on Upper Danube frontier	Dedicated to Apollo Grannus by Quintus Sabianus the imperial procurator.
Magna	1 votive tablet	Occupation layers in north east corner of the fort – early 3rd century AD	Syria/North Africa	Ceres text commemorating Syrian and African deities.
	1 inscribed stone and 1 altar	Building foundations for	Syria	Dedicated by the prefect of *cohors I Hamiorum*

		commanding officer's bath suite – mid-2nd century AD		*sagittariorum*, the first battalion of archers from the Hamii tribe in Syria.
	1 tombstone	Unknown provenance inside the fort – date unknown	Croatia	Dedicated to Aurelia Aia by her husband Aurelius Marcus – both dedicated by members of the 2nd Dalmatians.
Newstead	1 altar	Foundations of sunken vault in fort interior – 2nd century AD	Iberian Peninsula and other pioneers of fort of Rochester	Dedicated to genius of the Emperor and of the standards of the First Cohort of the Varduli and of numerus pioneers of Bremenium.

6.3.3 Can a transition of depositional practices be identified across the Iron Age to the Roman period within Zone Two?

When examining the finds evidence across the different time zones, outlined in Chapter 4, 30% of the sites studied in-depth produced finds dating to the pre-Roman later prehistoric periods. Four of these sites produced less than seven pre-Roman LIA finds: Bowness, Cramond, Inveresk and Eildon Hill North. All finds evidence appears to be consistent with early domestic occupation dating from the Bronze Age through to the later pre-Roman Iron Age period. This evidence consists mostly of potsherds, 'other' finds and flint weaponry. The two remaining sites of Elginhaugh and Housesteads produced 34 and 25 finds respectively dating to the pre-50BC period, namely Neolithic to Bronze Age finds (Table A6.6.3).

Very few of the 19 sites studied here produced significant numbers of finds relating to the transition from the first millennium BC to AD. However, seven sites produced finds dated to within the 50 BC to AD 50 time period, though four of these sites produced single finds. These finds were three Roman coins from Balmuildy, Bewcastle and Housesteads. Of the remaining three sites, Newstead produced the largest number of finds from this period with 16 recovered from Pit 65 (Curle 1911). However, only two finds from Pit 65 dated to this time: two Roman coins dating to the 40s BC. It is likely that these coins were reincorporated with later material into Pit 65, perhaps as part of the ritual depositional practices. They were not in situ and therefore not relevant evidence to the discussion on transition. The few finds from Inveresk from the 50 BC- AD 50 period were scattered across the site in material spreads and relate to the Late Iron Age structural and agricultural features. These finds include burnt

animal bone fragments together with small quantities of carbonised grain in the remains of an oven, pottery fragments and very small quantities of unidentifiable human bone in pit contexts. The three finds dating from the 50 BC- AD 50 period at The Dod were recovered from the Late Iron Age roundhouse and consist of charcoal remains, building debris and some worked wood. The finds from the two sites of Inveresk and The Dod for this time period also appear to be consistent with occupation material spreads. Whilst the evidence for the period 50 BC – AD 50 confirms occupation at a number of the sites within Zone Two it does little to determine practices of ritual deposition or how the socio-cultural transition was impacting on the provincial population and vice versa.

Like Zone One, the AD 50 to AD 150 time period saw a peak in depositional activity for 42% of the sites. For seven of the sites studied the majority of their finds were not accurately dated. However, when looking to the rest of the dated finds, four sites showed peaks during the AD 50 to AD 150 period (Figure A5.6.2 and Figure A5.6.3). As with Zone One this is not a surprising peak in activity, considering this was the key period of Roman annexation of the Island and occupation by the Roman armies and other personnel within this zone. This concentration of occupation activity during this 100 year period for Zone Two reflects the number of units needed to subdue the indigenous socio-cultural groups of the northern extent of the Roman Empire and also how dedicated, for a time, the Emperors were in their goals to command this area. This peak in occupation material also emphasises how short a period this concentration of activity lasted when considering the Roman occupation as a whole and the secondary peak the Zone One sites saw during the AD 250 to AD 350 period. Whilst it is known that a number of the forts, particularly those located in what is now southern Scotland, were not in use after AD 160+, it is yet necessary to examine the site-specific contexts to explore deeper the nature of the deposition that was occurring during this transitional period.

When examining the context types producing the largest numbers of finds for this 100 year period the majority were recovered from occupation material spreads relating to fort structures and the annexes that developed directly outside of the forts. Two sites produced the majority of well stratified finds for this period and these came from pits and wells. The majority of finds from pit contexts at Newstead came either from the area of the south annexe, the area between the ditches of the later fort, or pits from within the area of the *principia*. Bar Hill is the second site where the majority of dated finds recovered dating to the AD 50 to AD 150 period was excavated from well contexts. One well within the fort interior was excavated producing a significant number of finds, particularly those from the weaponry, tools, ‘other small metals’, ‘other large metals’ and ‘other’ categories, which have been outlined in the intra-site analysis. Of note is the large number of finds from this one feature for this time period, with many finds comparable to those recovered from the wells and pits from across

Newstead. This could be suggestive of either a concentration of settlement activity for this time and then a rapid abandonment of the site with the well being utilised as a container for the material from site middens. However, with the large quantity of metalwork plus the presence of three inscribed pieces of stonework including an altar, an inscribed stone and a dedicatory pillar, it is possible that the fill of this well is representative of ritual deposition.

Whilst an analysis of the main periods of occupation can be determined across Zone Two, broadly examining these patterns does little more than confirm a concentration of occupation in this region at the time of transition. To be able to fully appreciate the nature of the activity that was taking place across Zone Two, specifically rituals of deposition, the finds must be examined in further detail. The following section will examine whether the condition of the finds at the time of deposition provides any insights into the types of depositional activities taking place across Zone Two.

6.3.4 Is the completeness or deliberate alteration of the finds at the time of deposition a significant part of the practice of deposition?

Very few finds recovered from across the sites studied in Zone Two showed obvious signs of special or specific treatment prior to deposition; significantly fewer finds were recorded as deliberately broken or altered prior to deposition from this zone than from across Zone One. Table 6.4 summarises the total numbers from the main finds categories where finds were noted as whole, broken or deliberately broken prior to deposition.

Table 6.4: Condition of objects deposited – Zone Two

Find Type	Whole	Broken	Deliberately Broken
Weaponry	228	208	6
Tools	1039	200	1
Personal Ornaments	393	137	0
'Other Small Metal' Objects	162	80	4
'Other Large Metal' Objects	38	7	0
'Other' Finds	111	53	0

Only 11 finds were recovered that were interpreted in their respective site reports as being deliberately broken or altered prior to deposition. The individual sites from which these 11 deliberately broken or altered finds were recovered were Corbridge, producing eight finds, Newstead producing two finds, and Vindolanda producing one find.

As described in the intra-site analysis, the hoard excavated from Corbridge was recovered in a wooden chest in the floor layers of a store or hospital building within the *principia* dating to between AD 122-38. Of the items recorded as deliberately broken or altered were one iron spearhead, three parts of iron armour and four folded lead sheets of unknown use. The remaining finds were recovered whole or broken either in situ or accidentally prior to hoarding. These finds do not appear to relate to any special treatment within the hoard as a whole. Of the over 400 finds from within this hoard, consisting mostly of metalwork with other finds including antler fragments, writing tablets, a wooden tankard, textile and papyrus remains, it does not appear that the deliberate breakage of items prior to deposition was part of the motivation behind this collection of items. Those that were folded prior to being placed into the wooden chest seem to have been manipulated to allow all items to fit into the chest prior to it being stored and, as described in the intra-site analysis, to aid in the smelting process. Its provenance in a store room suggests that retrieval of this chest was intended but perhaps forgotten or abandoned at around the time the site was coming to a close (Allason-Jones and Bishop 1988).

As for the two finds recovered from the site of Newstead, one find was a sword bent double, recovered from one of the pits in the area of the bathhouse in the west annexe. The other find was also a sword with the top half bent over the upper half of the blade, from a pit between the ditches of the later fort to the north, both dating to the mid- to late 2nd century AD. It is interesting to note the similarity between these two swords in both find type and the way they were altered. Both pits were comparable in the rest of their weaponry finds with both producing a number of swords, blades and hilts, whilst the remaining finds were minimal and encompassed a mixture of finds from across all category types. It is possible that the two folded swords were part of a termination ritual. Being folded and not broken or cut suggests deliberate damage rather than accidental breakage. These folded weapon examples are similar in treatment to those recovered from the Iron Age to Early Roman sanctuary of Gournay-sur-Arond, northern France (Bradley 1998: 176). It is possible that these two swords from Newstead were bent and deposited in such a way as part of a one-off ritual or as a continuity of pre-Roman continental rituals.

At Vindolanda an iron knife that is recorded as having the point deliberately broken off (Bidwell 1985) was recovered from the occupation layers of the area of the barracks dating to the mid-3rd century AD. Amongst the other finds from the contexts within this area were three iron projectiles, another iron knife recovered whole, an iron sack hook, two coins, four personal ornaments, a copper alloy handle, a few potsherds, building material and some quernstone fragments. Owing to the minimal numbers of finds, which would not be uncommon in the area of the barracks, these finds appear to be consistent with occupation

material spreads. It is difficult to say why this one find was labelled as 'deliberately broken' in the report. It could be that the knife point broke in use and was either discarded or continued to function for some time before being discarded later. However, the presence of a number of other metalwork finds including a whole knife, projectiles, coins and personal ornaments, as well as the quernstone fragments could be suggestive of a ritual deposit, perhaps marking the beginning/end of this period of use of the barracks. With only one find of this type from this site it is difficult to determine its provenance with confidence.

Whilst the 100 fragmented quernstones recovered from the latrine pit at Elginhaugh were not recorded in the report (Hanson *et al* 2007) as deliberately broken prior to deposition, they are still worth mentioning in this section. Dating to the mid- to late 1st century AD and accompanied by fig seeds and one iron chisel, it is possible that these quernstones were broken prior to deposition as part of a ritual marking the end of use of the fort. No other comparable quantities of whole or fragmented quernstones have been recovered within this site or Zone Two as a whole; therefore the mass deposition of these types of finds was not a common practice. However, like the other finds explored in this section, Elginhaugh's broken quernstones stand out owing to their volume and uniqueness as an entire deposit and likely represent a votive deposit.

Whilst Zone Two does not appear to have upheld any widespread traditions of specific treatment of items prior to deposition, the few finds available provide some interesting insights into ritual activities at the sites in question. However, unlike sites such as Harlow and Folly Lane where deliberate breakage and alteration were clearly a part of the depositional activities taking place, the four sites across Zone two where deliberate breakage or alteration has been determined do not point to breakage or alteration securely as ritual practice. The three finds recovered from Newstead and Vindolanda are too minimal to be able to confirm any kind of a tradition, though the similarity of the two bent swords from the two pits at Newstead are too significant to ignore. The finds from the Corbridge hoard however, suggest folding for ease of storage rather than deliberate destruction of these objects for any ritual purpose. The broken quernstones from the latrine pit at Elginhaugh, whilst not recorded as deliberately broken, are still relevant as a mass find of one type and of the same condition. Though significant to the site and its patterns of deposition, they represent the only example of a large number of this one find-type across Zone Two and therefore do not represent a pattern common to this region.

6.3.5 Summary of the inter-site analysis

Examining broad patterns of deposition across Zone Two has confirmed that wells and pits were particularly significant as receptacles for deposited objects, with the objects mostly

consisting of coins, 'other' objects and ceramics. This stage of the analysis also confirmed that the major period of occupation for this zone was the AD 50 to AD 150 time period, which coincides with the establishment of most of the sites studied here. Whilst this verifies an increase in occupation and deposition from AD 50 to AD 150 in Study Zone Two due to the Roman military presence, these broad patterns do little to determine patterns of structured deposition or ritual deposition. It is only when these patterns are coupled with the results from the intra-site analysis that structured ritual deposits can be better understood. The results from Zone Two also confirm that the deliberate breakage of items prior to deposition was not significant to widespread practices of ritual deposition during the LPRIA to Roman transition but, like the results seen in Zone One, important to specific sites only.

6.4 Continuity of traditions of deposition

As with the data from Zone One, all finds pre-dating the Iron Age and post-dating the Roman period were recorded in the database to ensure an accurate investigation of all available finds evidence. This additional evidence may help to determine the possible continuity of practices of structured deposition across this zone. Table A6.6.3 summarises these results.

The majority of the finds summarised in Table A6.6.3 represent occupation material spreads from the late Mesolithic to early Bronze Age periods and burials dating from the early to mid-medieval period and their accompanying grave goods. The Neolithic 'votive' pit from Elginhaugh confirms ritual deposition was taking place in this zone prior to Roman occupation. However, this one episode of deposition is not enough and too early to suggest that continuity of such rituals was taking place in this region from the prehistoric through to the Roman period.

6.5 Summary

The sites of Zone Two differ from those from Zone One in a number of ways including geology, climate, some key find types, specifically the provenance of engraved and inscribed stonework, and context types relating to the military nature of the region. Whilst geology and climate have already been outlined in Chapter 4 they are still key to explaining the types of sites and quality of finds and features recorded in the reports used in this investigation.

One comparison between the two study zones reveals that in Study Zone Two there do not appear to be any focal areas for ritual deposition and associated activity pre-dating the arrival of the Roman armies. This does not necessarily mean that rituals of deposition into or in association with watery or other areas were not practiced in Zone Two but perhaps alternative organic items were placed into watery or other contexts. What is explicit archaeologically is

the appearance of traditions of deposition with the arrival of the Roman armies into the north. As Chapter 2 has discussed, the Roman armies consisted of soldiers recruited from across the Empire. Those soldiers and their families originating from continental Europe and southern Britain, who seemingly practiced ritual deposition, continued with these same or similar forms of practice, even after they were recruited into the various Roman garrisons. It is possible ritual deposition was able to continue and develop in areas, such as northern Britain, where it was either not previously practiced or not practiced in this specifically formalised way with precious metals and engraved stonework. Wait (1985: 189) has suggested, 'Iconography, in the form of altars and statuary, is known only from the Roman period, though this is probably the result of translating accepted [pre-Roman] customs from the perishable medium such as wood, into enduring stone.'

Looking to individual context types, wells and pits were the most prominent finds-producing context types from across Zone Two. With key sites such as Newstead, Bar Hill, Magna and Coventina's Well, amongst others, it is possible that wells (or the revetted spring in the case of Coventina's Well) held some significance not only for the provision of water for the forts and associated annexes; 36 wells have been noted from across 57% of the sites examined. Pits, on the other hand, were more common across Zone Two with 408 recorded in total.

The most overtly ritual finds identified across Zone Two were the inscribed and sculpted stonework, particularly stone altars and inscribed dedications. This gives clear evidence not only of ritual activity but also of who conducted the activity, where the units they were a part of originated, and who the dedications were offered to, including both Roman deities and Iron Age /Roman syncretised deities, not only from across northwest Europe but from the southern reaches of the Roman Empire and the Near East.

When comparing depositional activity analysed in this chapter to that discussed in Chapter 5 it cannot be denied that ritual deposition across the period of transition, or in the case of Zone Two, from the early years of the Roman occupation, took place across both zones studied. Zone Two differs from Zone One in the contexts in which items have been recovered and in the most prominent find types. Natural water sources or those unaltered by human development do not appear to be a focus of activity, though wells were commonplace across the majority of sites examined and drew much depositional activity. It is clear that wells were created and used initially for water provision to serve those stationed at the forts and their annexes; however in the cases of Elginhaugh, Newstead, Bar Hill, Cramond and Magna, wells appear to have been sites of significant actions of deposition once their original use of water provision came to an end.

Through this analysis it is clear that both the intra- and inter-site analyses are required to be able to answer the research questions put forth in Chapter 4. Broad patterns of deposition are apparent but can only be fully explained through detailed site-by-site examination. The following chapter will discuss the patterns of deposition and ritual themes across both case study regions to determine the evidence of similarities and differences of ritual deposition across the two study zones.

PART V: CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 7.

Synthesis

7.1 Introduction

The preceding two chapters have analysed and discussed the evidence of practices of structured deposition taking place across two geographically and culturally contrasting case study zones during the LPRIA to Roman transition in Britain. All interpretations of 'structured deposition' in Chapters 5 and 6 have been applied according to the definition established in Chapter 1. The majority of site reports used for data gathering either did not use the term 'structured deposition' or interpret the site data in such terms. This chapter will consider Study Zones One and Two on an inter-regional basis by comparing and contrasting identified practices of structured deposition and how practices vary across the zones in the find-types deposited, the context-types used, and volume of items deposited. Through this discussion it is hoped that a determination can be made as to whether specific practices of ritual deposition continued, emerged or evolved with the Roman incursion.

This investigation has been concerned initially with metalwork as key items involved in practices of structured deposition, owing to the widespread discussion in the literature of metalwork being associated with practices of ritual deposition. However, as Stevens (2008: 244) states for prehistoric metalwork, 'The abundance of metalwork deposited in the landscape presents a challenge to us because little [metalwork] comes from excavated contexts...the metalwork from these [landscape] contexts is defined as 'stray''. Whilst this is not necessarily true of all metalwork recovered from the archaeological record it is notable of a number of well known examples, especially bronze weapons and tools recovered from British riverine contexts during the Late Bronze Age and Iron Ages (Needham and Burgess 1980: 437-471; Bradley 1998; York 2002: 77-9). Such examples have led to the defining of traditions of deposition into and in association with watery areas, with theories surrounding the 'elemental transformation' of ores into metalwork goods and then returning them to the environment from which they came used to understand such traditions (Steven 2008: 249). However, little can be concluded about such traditions of deposition by examining a single category of find. This investigation therefore widened the categories of data collection to include metalwork and other categories of items selectively and purposely deposited. Not only did this provide depth to already established ideas about practices of structured deposition but allowed a fuller understanding of how metalwork was used within these practices. This is also true of the decision to investigate a number of context types other than just those of a watery nature. Rituals involving structured deposition have been noted across a number of context types and in association with a variety of features throughout the LPRIA to

Roman periods. To allow for a full and comparative analysis of such rituals it was necessary to investigate both watery and dry sites as potentially producing evidence of such practices. It can be confirmed that all sites studied in depth showed signs of structured deposition, whether explicitly identified in the site reports used for data collection or inferred from the data during this investigation. Once episodes of structured deposition had been identified, the issue then became determining the meaning of these episodes and identifying the multiplicity of traditions of structured deposition, rather than generalising the interpretation of all episodes of deposition under the term 'ritual'.

This chapter will seek to address fully the research questions set out in Chapter 4 and also address any questions that could not be answered within this investigation. It will also discuss the project's theoretical underpinning and its relevance to the subject. These discussions will lead into the main conclusions of this investigation offered in Chapter 8.

7.2 How do practices of structured deposition vary across the two study zones?

Both study zones revealed evidence of practices of structured deposition, the proof of which came from both watery and non-watery contexts. However, aside from the actual practice of deposition, both zones (and the individual sites) were distinct in these practices, in terms of the types of objects involved, the contexts used and the longevity of practices of structured deposition during the time span of the LPRIA and Early Roman periods.

Zone One can be characterised as evidencing a longer history of depositional practices using a greater range of context types in comparison to Zone Two. Whilst this investigation is concerned with the practice during the Iron Age to Roman periods, certain sites within Zone One produced evidence of depositional practices pre-dating the Iron Age, specifically the sites of Heathrow and Lechlade (Table A6.5.2). From the Iron Age across the transition into the Roman period, the majority of the sites studied produced evidence of structured deposition. In comparison, the sites studied within Zone Two showed evidence of depositional activities taking place from the Early Roman period through to the end of the Roman period. What is remarkable about the evidence examined from across Zone Two is the volume and the overt nature of practices of deposition at the sites occupied by the Roman armies. The practices are highly visible, compared to what appears to be a lack of any such practices taking place prior to this period. Military sites were identified for in-depth examination within Zone Two owing to the quantity of literature on Roman fort sites indicating practices of structured deposition involving metalwork and items from other finds categories. In any follow-up work to this investigation it may be of use to investigate some of the non-military sites from across Zone Two to assess whether the continuity of structured ritual depositional practices can be widened before the Early Roman period. This point will be explored further in Chapter 8.

The find-types deposited varied between the two zones. Coins, finds categorised as 'other', and ceramics (including potsherds, whole pots and any other items made out of clay) were the most numerous find-types recovered from across both zones when examining total finds recovered (Figures 5.14 and 6.14). However, when identifying specific episodes of deposition and significant finds emerging from these collections, Zone One shows that personal ornaments and coins are particularly relevant to structured ritual deposition. For example, the spring at Bath, the pre-temple deposits at Wanborough, the pond and depression fills at Ivy Chimneys and the temple deposits at Harlow produced considerable volumes of coins and personal ornaments amongst relatively smaller numbers of other associated finds. In comparison, Zone Two is characterised by the quantities of engraved stonework of an explicitly ritual intention. Whilst coins are also notable from some of Zone Two's sites particularly at Coventina's Well, the majority of the sites investigated produced evidence of stone altars, dedicatory stones and other sculpted stones. The stonework depicted either the deities worshipped at each site or dedications to the Emperor, and often who was offering the dedications and whether it was an individual or an entire unit.

What is of particular note is the lack of weapons finds across both zones. Whilst the total finds from across Zone One, as shown in Figure 5.14, displays numbers of weapons comparable to the 'other' and ceramic categories, these figures have been skewed by the large number of clay sling shots and slingstones from the settlement of Meare, which accounts for 92% of the total weapons[3] finds for Zone One. With the sling shot and slingstone finds from Meare removed, the total number of weapons recovered from Zone One numbers 659 finds compared to the large quantities of finds from the other finds categories across Zone One (Figure 5.14). Acknowledged at the outset of this investigation in Chapter 2 it has been a widely held belief that weaponry formed a significant and integral part of practices of deposition, not only into and in association with watery areas but also associated with sanctuary sites, particularly in the pre-Roman period across both Britain and northwest Europe (Derks 1998; Bradley 1998: 186). However, what my investigation suggests is that weaponry was not necessarily as significant a votive item in broad patterns of structured deposits as previously believed, particularly during the Iron Age. A number of sites across both study zones have produced significant numbers or types of weapons finds, such as Uley and Baldock with both their miniature and full-sized weapons finds, and Newstead and Bar Hill with the number of weapons recovered from within their pits and wells. Bradley (1987:

[3] The slingstones and clay sling shots within this investigation have been interpreted as 'weapons' though it is understood that they would not necessarily always have been used in conflict or to kill animals during hunting, but would have been used to stun also. The purpose of this would be to protect the pelt in fur bearing animals (personal communication, Hamilton 2014).

360) has argued that the deposition of miniature copies of weapons contributes to ideas of replacement and the 'standardisation' of ritual deposits from the pre-Roman Iron Age to Roman periods. He also suggests that coin deposits were slowly used to replace earlier weapon deposits as practices of deposition continued during the socio-cultural transition (Bradley 1998: 186; see also Haselgrove 1989: 86). Bradley's ideas can be applied to the coin finds from the Romano-British temples at Bath, Wanborough and Harlow and the large numbers of coins from Coventina's Well located close to the Temple of Mithras believed to be part of the same ritual landscape. Haselgrove (1989: 86) has linked structures of overt religious worship and watery sites, suggesting that coin deposits at river sources and fords were a recognised post-conquest phenomenon.

Whilst coin finds associated with ritual practices of deposition can be seen to increase during the period of transition, there is no evidence to suggest that they were used as a replacement for weapons deposits. The published literature has focussed on individual finds of Bronze Age and pre-Roman Iron Age metal weaponry from watery contexts and has assumed an established tradition of watery deposition. This in turn has maintained a biased view of depositional practices. Only three sites within Zone One (Cadbury Castle, Ham Hill and Meare) and two sites within Zone Two (Corbridge and Bar Hill) produced evidence of weapons deposits amongst their most numerous finds (Figures A5.5.1a, l and n, and A5.6.1d and e). This is not to say that individual finds identified in previous studies, such as the Battersea Shield (Figure 2.2a), the Waterloo Helmet (Figure 2.2c) or the individual sword finds recovered from the River Thames, River Witham and River Trent (Bradley 1998; Stocker and Everson 2003) were not intended as votive deposits as part of wider ritual practices of deposition. However, the interpretation of ritual practices of deposition should not be limited to specific items, such as weaponry. River finds must be interpreted by comparison with finds in other context types. Weapons were no doubt important in individual ritual deposits but they were not the most important or most relevant find-type involved in ritual practices identified, either prior to or during the Roman incursion.

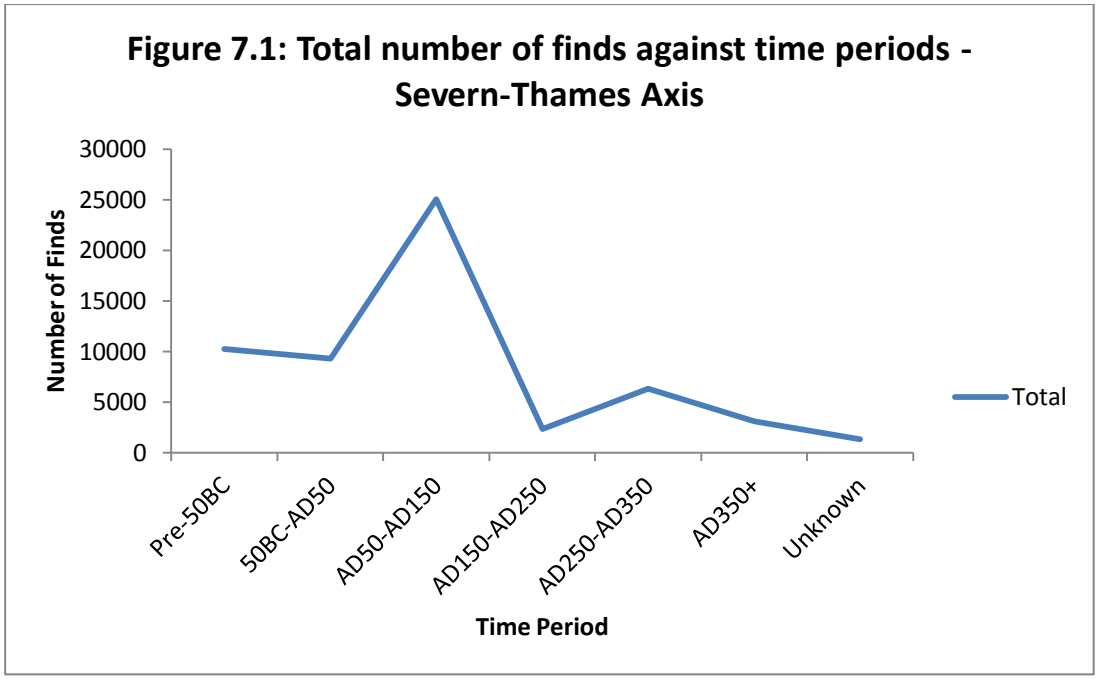
The deposition of dedicative stonework across Zone Two is relatively self-explanatory in terms of who the inscription was dedicated to and who the dedication came from; however the finds of coins and personal ornaments are perhaps more difficult to interpret. It is possible that patterns emerge owing to meanings behind weapons offerings compared to coins and personal ornaments in rituals of deposition. Perhaps the offering of smaller items was preferred because they were easier to carry, place and reproduce for these rituals. The relatively small numbers of weapons in comparison could indicate either a lack of access to these items to offer or symbolise how special and rare they were within rituals of deposition for this time. From a more practical viewpoint, a weapon lost would be more difficult to

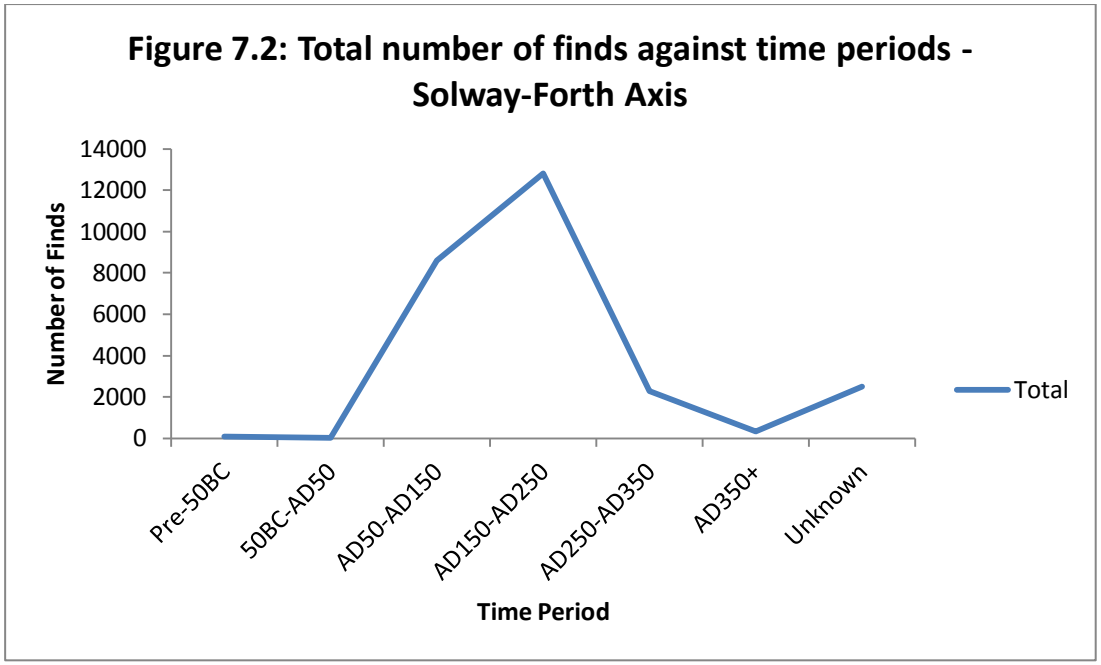
replace compared to a small brooch or a small collection of coins. Furthermore, as has been discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, laws restricting civilians from carrying weapons, except for travel and hunting, were introduced during the Roman period. In addition, soldiers who lost their arms had to pay to have them replaced (Stead and Rigby 1986: 149; Haynes 1997: 118).

Whilst it has been possible to determine some trends in find-types deposited and also to characterise each study zone, to generalise practices of structured deposition in such a way would not be useful to understanding these practices. Practices of structured deposition varied across the study zones over time but more important, they also varied within sites and this must be kept in mind when interpreting these practices.

7.3 Is a clear transition in practices of deposition identifiable across the two study zones?

Throughout the analysis it has been determined that there was an increase in the amount of material culture deposited during the period of transition, with large numbers of finds recovered dated to within the period AD 50 to AD 150 (Figures 7.1 and 7.2). However, these patterns on their own do little to explain or describe patterns of structured deposition, either zone-wide or at individual sites. It has become clear that the evidence must be examined on a site-by-site basis to determine whether structured deposits were made as a consequence of the socio-cultural change taking place during this period of transition. The following section will examine what evidence has been revealed concerning this transition, as a precursor to exploring evidence further to explain how cultural changes affected practices of ritual deposition in Britain.





Through the analysis of the material from Zones One and Two it can be confirmed that an increase in material culture deposits, both structured and non-structured, took place across Britain during the period of transition (Figures 7.1 and 7.2). Chadwick (2004: 103) has suggested that this can be linked to changes in consumption in a number of communities following the annexation of the island. However, these changes in the volume of material culture are not simple to explain on a broad level. Focussing on episodes of structured deposition, certain find-types can be identified as common to the individual zones at this time. The use of stonework can be singled out as a common find-type across Zone Two, as has been determined throughout Chapter 6 and in Section 7.2. The deposition of altars specifically has been acknowledged by many as a part of ritual practices. For example, Derks (1998: 176) has identified five votive altars dedicated to Rhenus, the personified Rhine, recovered in the vicinity of Roman army camps around the river and dedicated by the units stationed in the area. This continental example links very closely with the examples of altar dedications identified within Zone Two. Ross and Feacham (1976: 229) and Henig (2004: 225) have commented that the Roman army's regular renewal of vows for the Emperor's health and safety took place annually at the beginning of January with the act of setting up a new altar and disposing of the old. This tradition could account for some of the altars excavated from within Zone Two, although there are not enough to account for 300 years of occupation. As shown in Figure 6.15, less than 50 altars were recovered from the sites of in-depth study in Zone Two. What this evidence confirms is the necessity to examine material culture on an individual contextual basis and how evidence differs between villages, towns, military sites, rural sites and religious sites (Mattingly 2004: 16). For example, when comparing the use of dedicative inscriptions across the two study zones, those recovered in the south of Britain

signify a different epigraphic form, specifically the lead curse tablets recovered from the reservoir silts at Bath and temple occupation spreads at Uley. It is possible that lead was less expensive than stone in southern Britain. Alternatively, this evidence could point towards a difference in cultural outlook and preferences in methods of ritual and deities venerated between the military and civilian populations (Millett 2004: 17). Whilst there is a distinct difference among the materials used in epigraphic dedications in practices of structured deposition, the evidence is too varied across both study zones to be able to confirm differences in epigraphic use between the military and civilian populations of Early Roman Britain. There are, to date, no finds of curse tablets recovered further north than Nottingham (Mattingly 2004: 20); however inscribed stone was not exclusive to Zone Two, with evidence of dedicative altars and other stone work from a number of Zone One sites, including Bath, Uley, Chedworth, Nettelton and Wanborough. What this suggests is that within Zone One, inscribed dedications involved more varied material-types than in Zone Two.

Whilst these practices represent overt ritual activities and associated practices of deposition, it is the epigraphic evidence of deity syncretism, indigenous and classical, that provide evidence of a transition of practices from the pre-Roman to Roman periods. As Webster (1995: 155) identifies, the distributional evidence available for indigenous-classical deity pairings is biased towards those sites around Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall, though there is evidence available within Zone One, the most well known being the temple of Sulis Minerva in Bath where a number of indigenous and classical deities were worshipped, as noted in Table 5.1. It is also known that the temple at Bath was frequented by veteran soldiers, therefore forming a link with practices identified in Zone Two (personal communication, Andy Gardner 2014). The larger amount of evidence of epigraphic acknowledgements of deity syncretism within Zone Two compared to Zone One is perhaps owing to the conspicuous presence of the Roman army in this area, as Mann (1985: 205), Webster (1995: 156) and Mattingly (2004: 17) have argued. As such the practice of epigraphic commemoration of the dead and of deity worship may not have been passed on to or adopted by the local populations (Mann 1985: 205). This could account for the limited distributional reach of epigraphic evidence being centred on the forts along the Roman walls, as determined from the evidence seen in this investigation. This can only be confirmed through the investigation of civilian settlements away from the two Roman walls, which was not possible here owing to a lack of data. Furthermore, as Mann (1985: 206) argues, the extent of epigraphic evidence does not provide proof of the total numbers of people who used this form of communication, 'They merely tell us something about the people in that area who used stone inscriptions.' In this case the people in the area were soldiers, their families and other important dignitaries stationed within Zone Two. There is also the issue of whether the

epigraphic evidence as well as the conspicuous building of the few shrines and temples identified within the Roman-occupied forts specific to Zone Two makes these practices, and any associated deposits, a particularly 'Roman' practice. Alternatively, it is possible that practices of deposition involving dedicative inscriptions were transplanted from pre-Roman rituals and associated practices of deposition and then absorbed into the practices of the Roman armies from northwest Europe, including the Civil Zone to the south. With very little pre-Roman archaeological evidence in this zone, this theory is plausible. These ideas will be further explored in the section to follow.

The importance of pits as contexts for structured deposition at both shrine and temple sites has been noted particularly at Uley, Ivy Chimneys and Harlow. As noted by Brunaux (1987: 91), 'The ritual pit within the sanctuary will have served to conceal instruments of the cult, sacred deposits and then precious objects'. It is possible that certain items, especially metalwork, were deposited into specific context-types, such as water and deep pits, to remove them from circulation and thus help communities maintain control of material resources (Needham and Burgess, 1980; York 2002: 91), especially at the time of transition. Whatever the specific motivation behind practices of structured deposition, the uneven patterning of material culture across a number of context types reflects the intention of conveying messages (Garrow, 2012: 97).

Whilst there is evidence for the increased volume of material culture across both study zones during the LPRIA-Roman transition, the material must be further examined to determine what evidence there is of cultural changes. Through the examination of the evidence on a site-wide and region-wide scale it is possible to identify cultural change in both the items being deposited and the ways ritual deposition was being practiced during the socio-cultural transition.

7.4 Can continuity and change in traditions of ritual deposition be determined during the LPRIA-Roman transition and what are the characteristics?

The previous section has proposed that the transition period is characterised by the increased volume of deposited material culture apparent in the archaeological record during the AD 50 to AD 150 period. The following section will examine this material culture in more detail to understand the ways in which cultural change can be determined, and how it affected structured deposition and ritual practices.

In reference to structured deposition, Millett (1995: 99) argues: 'I find the evidence for special deposits in wet places and within settlement sites a much more widespread aspect of the evidence for the rituals of life in the period [of transition]. These were omnipresent and

represented activities fully integrated into the ways of life of the people.' Whilst the continuity of certain ways of life, particularly structured deposition, can be determined during the LPRIA-Roman transition period, it is certain that changes occured at the time of the transition in socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political ways of life. These changes occurred at differing rates across Britain, as this investigation has identified. In the south of Britain within the Civil Zone the population were active participants in Roman culture, absorbing many aspects of classical ritual culture into long-standing practices of structured deposition. This can be observed across Zone One through the development of pre-Roman shrines into Romano-British temples at sites such as Bath and Uley, for example, and the incorporation of rituals of deposition alongside the temple cult, for example at Wanborough, Ivy Chimneys and Harlow. Brunaux (1987: 41) has questioned whether practices of ritual deposition were used as a refuge or form of resistance against Roman cult practices. What seems more likely is that to allow for the retention of indigenous identities whilst also easing into this period of transition, pre-Roman rituals were maintained and slowly developed (Millett 1995: 98; Creighton 2000: 217).

Within the Military Zone in the north of Britain, the evidence for practices of ritual deposition points towards a phenomenon transplanted from continental Europe and southern Britain, into a region that has shown sparse evidence of pre-existing practices of ritual deposition. The forts examined in this investigation can be understood as a microcosm of social and cultural amalgamation from across the Empire with the populations occupying these sites defined under the term 'Roman'. However, the populations occupying these forts were not representative of the population of Zone Two as a whole. Within the forts and their associated settlements, diverse beliefs and a mixture of methods of worship were adopted and adapted by the soldiers stationed in this region. This will have been expressed through new architectural forms, such as temples or small-scale shrines, and novel ways of ritual practice that will have seen new understandings of social space (Chadwick 2004: 103), such as the deposition of inscribed stonework into a number of context types, as identified at the majority of Zone Two sites.

Across both study zones it can be concluded that practices of deposition became more conspicuous with the Roman conquest through increasingly formalised shrine and temple sites and the use of inscribed dedicative objects in practices of ritual deposition. Millett (1995: 94) has argued that the Roman impact on indigenous religions was superficial in that developing of monuments and the erection of stone deities and other icons resulted in making these ritual centres more visible but not necessarily reflective of widespread change. Millett's statement is true to the extent that many ritual areas became more noticeable in the landscape with erection of monuments. However, his use of the word 'superficial' is misleading. Ritual

deposition continued from the pre-Roman Iron Age into the Roman period but incorporated additional dedicative objects while maintaining many of the same objects-types that were deposited prior to Roman occupation. Across a number of Zone One sites, including the city temple of Bath, the temple at Uley and the shrine at Chedworth, pre-Roman indigenous practices and locations were maintained but made more conspicuous through the formal development of ritual sites with the addition of temples and shrines. Within Zone One, overt ritual practices and associated structured deposition have been identified throughout the Roman period. Examples include the erection of stone and metal statues depicting both local and classical deities, and the deposition of certain votive items, especially coins, miniature weapons and miniature icons, both indigenous and classical. What this reinforces is the idea that pre-Roman Iron Age concepts, beliefs and ways of worship were not superseded but conflated with the influence of Roman culture (Bagnall Smith 2006: 48). The development of formal shrines and temples during the period of transition may have served to delineate ritual space from the domestic sphere more formally. However, continued practices of ritually motivated structured deposition taking place alongside practices centred within and around temples and other smaller domestic shrines reinforces the acceptance and fluidity of ritual practices, and the acceptance of different ways of carrying out such practices.

It has already been discussed that evidence of practices of ritual deposition were apparent across the majority of the 19 sites studied in depth within Zone Two from the Early Roman period onwards. Haynes (1997: 120) has argued that by the 2nd century AD the Roman soldiers stationed in northern Britain adopted a more 'Roman' way of placating deities through the use of temples and altars. Across the majority of Zone Two sites, altars and other dedicative stonework were involved in practices of deposition. For example, within the pits and wells at Newstead and in the well at Bar Hill. In addition there is the presence of altars and other statuary representing possible ritual locations within the forts, such as at Vindolanda. However, the deposition of metalwork and associated items into watery and pit contexts, such as wells across a number of the sites studied here and the placing of cauldrons containing metalwork into lakes at Blackburn Mill, Scottish Borders and Carlingwark Loch, Dumfries and Galloway during the late 1st to early 2nd century AD (Chapter 2), reinforces the continuity and adaptation of depositional practices from provincial to 'Roman' and vice versa within this zone. The soldiers stationed within Zone Two did not have their own homogenous cult practice but would have brought with them their own individual ritual practices. Furthermore, the soldiers and their ritual activities would not have been confined to the forts but would have been carried out in the annexes and surrounding settlements of the forts, provincial towns and other indigenous settlements without an attached garrison. As such, this

would result in varying influences on how ritual was practiced, by both the soldiers and indigenous population (Haynes 2013: 193).

The transition across Britain from the pre-Roman Iron Age to Roman period can be characterised by a more conspicuous display of ritual practices. Iron Age shrines and ritual sites developed into more formal shrine and temple structures either by being built over Iron Age shrines in Zone One, or outside Roman forts in Zone Two. In addition, stonework and deity representations have been recovered from both watery and dry contexts, particularly pits and wells, across both study zones. The more formal expression of Iron Age rituals as shrines and temples, as well as the occurrence of Roman-like stonework in pits and wells hints at the kinds of cultural change taking place. Whilst some of the evidence has been explained as representative of 'Roman' influences, such as the veneration of classical deities and the use of classical architectural designs, it is important to remember that the 'Roman' occupiers did not have a uniform culture or uniform ways of carrying out ritual practices. Furthermore, the effects of the Roman occupation were not one-way; indigenous beliefs and ways of ritual practice would have been adopted and adapted by 'Romans' and provincial populations alike. This is evident through the maintenance of structured ritual deposition with additional dedicative objects becoming popularised in these traditions, such as engraved stonework and coins. New perspectives on the archaeological material and ritual landscape of the areas studied in this investigation for the period of LPRIA-Roman transition are developing (Guest 2006: 518). Therefore the material investigated here and subsequent conclusions can add to this growing area of research, especially in terms of ritual identity.

7.5 How significant is water to practices of structured deposition?

Watery contexts were used as an investigative starting point owing to the individual finds and groups of finds of metalwork recovered throughout recent history through dredging, the building of locks, bridges and riverside structures (York 2002: 77). Watery features were used in practices of deposition for a number of the sites examined here; however watery features were not the primary context types receiving items across all sites studied. Broad patterns of structured deposition across both study zones identified dry context types outnumbering watery contexts in their production of finds. The following section will discuss the relevance of the context types used in identified practices of structured deposition.

Wells were identified as significant context types used for structured deposits in Zone Two; however it is difficult to know whether their intended function was as a well that was subsequently filled, or a shaft excavated with the primary function of being filled with these deposits. Newstead, for example, produced a number of wells identifiable via the muddy silts at the base, though these features only accounted for 18% of the total 107 pits and shafts

excavated across the site. Hill (1995: 70) has argued for the understanding of the individual nature of pit fills, stating that fills were 'individual performances, all drawing from a similar tradition but in individually different ways.' It could be that for the pit and well/shaft contexts at Newstead the deposits were the result of closure rituals marking the 'lifecycle' of a particular pit/well/shaft feature prior to the next feature being dug. Whilst much excavated material from pits and other structured deposits can consist of similar collections of materials, such as human and animal remains, metalwork, pottery vessels, some whole and some broken, the individual sequences reveal 'a distinct, irregular social practice' according to each site's specific rules (Hill 1995: 75). The evidence investigated in this thesis certainly supports Hill's statement. Whilst each study zone can be characterised by specific find-types, the episodes of deposition for each site studied need to be examined and understood individually, in terms of the objects deposited, the context types used, and, where apparent, the position of the objects in the fill of the context. What can be understood from the results of this investigation is that there is no such thing as a uniform structured deposit.

Similar finds within episodes of structured deposition have been identified in this investigation across a number of context types including wells, pits, structural foundations, occupation material spreads from shrines and temples and deposits from other watery areas. Webster (1997: 137) argues that it is the characteristics of the deposits and not the contexts themselves that are ritually significant. From the evidence gathered in this study, Webster's theory could be seen to be relevant here. However, as Garrow (2012: 96) argues, unlike other context types, pits, in particular, have little function other than to act as receptacles for deposition, whether that be grain storage, the burial of cess or other site waste, or for ritual deposition. Therefore the specific location of pits in addition to the symbolism of the process of deposition would contribute to the ritual interpretation of the deposit itself (2012: 101). Garrow's perspective regarding the specific location of contexts receiving ritual deposits can be applied to many of the pits, wells and other artefact spreads located within and around shrines and temples, and other fort and domestic structures' contexts identified here. For example, the specific location of the weapon and tool deposits made in association with the South Western Gate at Cadbury Castle, the concentration of pit deposits close to the boundaries at Newstead, the well deposits within the *principia* of many of seven of the 19 Zone Two forts, and all finds located in association with shrines and temples at all sites investigated.

The location of ritual deposits in boundary contexts is a theme that has been identified at sites within both Zones One and Two, from the Iron Age into the Roman period. The significance of the deposits occurring at site boundaries reinforces the significance of liminality in ritual practices of deposition. The symbolism of depth also adds to ideas of liminality significant to

such practices: the specific placing of deposits between the surface and subterranean worlds. Also relevant here are theories surrounding concealment. Practices of deposition, whether taking place at settlement or fort boundaries, on a hilltop, or within a temple complex, would probably have been intended to be viewed publicly. However, the actual offering was concealed from view through burial and further hidden by wrapping, and in cases such as the metalwork finds, wrapped in straw recovered from the inner bank at Cadbury Castle, and the metalwork hoard wrapped in cloth from the storeroom at Corbridge. Whilst the metalwork finds recovered from the storeroom at Corbridge have been interpreted as a hoard intended for recycling, this collection is yet open to further explanation as new ideas come to light. Ideas surrounding deposits made to affirm settlement boundaries is one that has been argued by many including Hamilton (1998) in her study of The Caburn hillfort, Hingley (2006) in his study of iron deposits in Britain during the later prehistoric and Roman periods, and by Haynes (2013: 197) examining the Roman forts across northern Britain and Scotland. Both Hingley and Haynes have emphasised the continuity of the importance of boundaries in rituals of deposition from the pre-Roman Iron Age into the Roman world. The evidence gathered in this investigation certainly supports the continuity of the concepts behind boundary deposits and their importance as foci for ritual practices.

It has become apparent that a combination of the objects, the context, and the act of deposition working together gave ritual practices meaning and helps to explain why similar practices of deposition have been identified across varied context types during the LPRIA and Roman periods across both study zones. However, water may still have played a part in rituals of deposition, even if it is no longer apparent water was present at the time of deposition. Within Zone Two, specifically, contexts including ditches, ditch terminals and pits within and around the hillforts may have once held water. This could be especially relevant to the finds recovered from the boundary ditches of many of the forts examined in Zone Two, including Bar Hill, Birrens and Vindolanda. As Hingley (2006: 239) has suggested, many features, such as enclosure ditches as well as marsh land, rivers, wells and other water sources, would have been relevant to the acts of deposition at the time with any watery evidence no longer archaeologically visible.

Burnt deposits and burnt areas associated with a number of the deposits examined have also become apparent during the analysis. At sites, such as Nettleton, Folly Lane and Lechlade in Zone One, and Balmuildy, Elginhaugh, Bowness-on-Solway and Vindolanda in Zone Two, some of their significant deposits were associated with burnt material. At Cadbury Castle in Zone One, special deposits were made prior to and after what has been identified as a period of burning of specific areas of the site. Such evidence relates to ideas of cleansing and transformation, as does the watery element. Wait (1985:80) has suggested that ash deposits

and associated human remains were more of an Iron Age occurrence, appearing sporadically during the Roman period. Wait argues that the Iron Age emphasis of ash deposits reinforced ideas of fertility and associations of practices of deposition of burnt offerings with the natural world. Stevens (2008: 239; see also Pyne 2004: 108-9) has also acknowledged that both water and fire have been associated with practices of deposition and in social processes of transformation. I have suggested that, with the Roman invasion, practices of deposition evolved into more formal displays of ritual practice. However, contrary to Wait's (1985: 80) arguments, burnt offerings did not cease with the Roman invasion as the sites listed above show. With these sites producing evidence of depositional practices associated not only with water but fire during the LPRIA-Roman transition, it is possible that both elements relate not only to processes of transformation, as Stevens (2008) has suggested, but additionally to the clearing of sites prior to their transformation with Roman occupation, or, in cases such as Balmuildy and Bowness-on-Solway, abandonment.

Alternatively, Fontijn (2012: 121-122), in the context of Iron Age cremation mounds, questions whether the deposition of burnt remains of funeral pyres is representative of a meaningful deposit or the discarding of the remnants of a meaningful social practice in a non-meaningful way. This argument is especially applicable to the site of Folly Lane. Here the burnt remains from the funeral pyre were deposited into a large pit next to the pyre. It is possible to suggest that once the cremation was complete, the act of depositing these remains may have changed in significance from 'meaningful item to alienable thing' (2012: 121-122). However, the fact that the temple was constructed over this very pit confirms the significance of the act of deposition, the cremated remains and the site as sacred. As Fontijn (2012: 122) argues, it is not enough to compare the presence and absence of objects in specific contexts but we also need to examine the processes by which the material came to end up in the archaeological record.

My investigation has marshalled evidence to suggest that watery contexts were not exclusive recipients of ritual deposits, although degrees of wetness could still play a part in the contexts being used. Certain context types, such as wells/shafts, pits and ditches may once have held water that is no longer archaeologically visible, though it is possible to demonstrate their original nature through the analysis of basal sediments. Environmental changes could also account for the present character of the landscapes of ritual deposits. Landscapes that were once boggy or marshy and are now dry, such as the areas surrounding Glastonbury and Meare and the floodplain of the River Ver at Verulamium, may, in their wet phases, have been the motivation behind episodes of ritual deposition. Using water, watery areas and the proximity of sites close to water sources has been a useful starting point in identifying practices of ritual deposition and confirming the extent to which other context types provide comparable

evidence. The importance of location in episodes of ritual deposition has also been emphasised, thus leading to an emphasis on key theoretical concepts central to this investigation, which will be explored in more detail in the section to follow.

7.6 Theoretical concepts that can help explain patterns in structured deposition

Major interpretive concepts for purposeful depositing are ritual deposition, liminality, the use of the natural environment in ritual activities, and the adoption and adaptation of ritual and cult practices by communities in transition. The interpretive dichotomy of ritual deposition versus discard, especially in cases such as Ivy Chimneys, Harlow, Baldock, Newstead and Bar Hill is important to consider. From a processual perspective, reasons for traditions of depositing can be interpreted as a result of environmental change, such as the encroaching water levels at the settlements of Glastonbury and Meare. Alternatively, structured deposits can be identified as an adaptation to socio-economic changes, such as the need to hoard metalwork for future recycling as identified at Corbridge. The following section will consider the theoretical concepts that have structured this investigation.

Through the examination of what constitutes ritual, both in objects used and in practice, a definition was required prior to any application of the term. The term 'ritual' is used within the context of this investigation to define all activities and finds associated with religious or dedicative practices (Chapter 1). It has been necessary to acknowledge all possible interpretations of structured deposition as both ritual and non-ritual. By working in this way it has been possible to identify those deposits made with ritual motivations from those that occurred as a consequence of daily life, through determining patterns in the presence and absence of certain finds or collections of finds within individual episodes of deposition at each site investigated. Through the acknowledgement of both ritual and non-ritual interpretation, I have kept in mind that symbols in material culture have different meanings for different people in different social and geographical situations (Shanks and Tilley 1982: 132-4; Fulford 2001: 216), thus resulting in the non-uniform structured deposits identified within both Study Zones. The recognition that material culture is used in a variety of ways derives not only from a past/present perspective but would have applied to those using material culture as ritual symbols during the Iron Age and Roman periods.

The study of practices of ritual deposition also helps to understand the structured use of the landscape. As has been suggested in this investigation, certain sites of deposition produced evidence of long-term, continuous traditions of ritual practices both through regular episodes of deposition and/or the development of sites through monumental displays. The idea of visibility in the landscape is a key theme to the episodes of deposition recognised here, in which ritual practices were carried out on hilltops, such as in the *principia* in Zone Two, and

also within and around temple complexes, especially within Zone One. These landscape features, structures and their associated activities were not 'static entities' (Brück 2005: 63) but part of wider community links and therefore would also have structured the surrounding space. Therefore it was necessary to investigate surrounding contexts to fully understand the rituals, as well as the day-to-day activities, taking place at each site. In contrast, those practices identified that were not made visible through landscape markers suggest that memory and tradition perpetuated ritual practices through history, both in the locations used and the way in which structured ritual deposition was practiced (Fontijn 2007: 77-78; see also Tilley 1994). This is particularly relevant to the continuity of practices noted across Zone One.

When carrying out landscape studies it is important to remember that there is no objective use or understanding of the land (Tilley 2008: 272). This is what accounts for the varied deposit types identified across both zones. Various interpretations have been put forth in this investigation in an attempt to explain why some deposits were located where they were, such as interpretations of foundation deposits compared with closure or termination deposits. Both interpretations see the landscape in completely different ways, at opposite ends of a site's lifecycle. Other interpretations include the apparent importance of placed deposits at site boundaries and the thresholds of buildings. These deposits could be symbolic of the importance of community identity, security, fertility, and cosmology, or alternatively relate to dichotomies between pollution and cleanliness and the removal of these items from the domestic centres of the site (Chadwick 2004: 103). Furthermore, interpretations do not have to remain as representative of either the ritual or non-ritual spheres. For example, the mixture of seemingly ritual and non-ritual items in the depressions and main pond at Ivy Chimneys, and the pits and wells across Zone Two could imply that ritual deposition and other cult practices were not intended to be separated from non-ritual, everyday life.

It is necessary to analyse each deposit individually to be able to attempt to fully understand its origins, for example ritual deposit, loss, middens, recycling, storage et cetera (Bradley 1982: 108-122). This is why landscapes, structures and artefacts need to be brought together. Through identifying the origin of the object or objects recovered combined with the symbolic significance of the wider landscape it is possible to propose that certain finds would have attained a special value within practices of deposition (Simmons *et al* 2009: 67).

The understanding of practices of structured deposition has been seen in past research as enigmatic. As Bradley (1998: 203) argues, 'Too often we seem to despair at the limitations of our evidence, but, for once, suitable material is available in abundance; those irreducible objects that will outlast the boldest attempts to explain them.' What my investigation has

contributed to is the development of an approach to identify structured ritual deposition and to provide an understanding of the motivations behind individual episodes. Through both the interpretations of the wider use of the landscape as well as the items deposited, it is possible to be able to propose the presence of structured deposits as ritual or non-ritual and acknowledge interpretations that fall in between.

7.7 Summary

This chapter has acknowledged that structured ritual deposition was indeed taking place across Britain during the pre-Roman Iron Age to Roman transition and that the evidence of ritual practices reflects socio-cultural changes taking place at the time. However, whilst certain characteristics can be identified in ritual deposits within the individual study zones, the deposits themselves cannot be generalised about. Each deposit identified and discussed in this investigation was distinctive in the items deposited or the context-types used.

Whilst cultural change can be determined through the development of many cult centres with temples and other monuments, and practices of ritual deposition incorporating inscribed dedications to both classical and indigenous deities, the change was not necessarily a simple matter to explain. Firstly, it is important to remember not to treat these periods as individual episodes of time but rather as a continuous period in which changes to both daily and ritual life were gradual processes. Secondly, the people recognised as 'Roman' were not a homogenous population with the same methods of ritual practice. The Roman armies absorbed and incorporated all manner of populations, and hence their belief systems, as they progressed across Europe, therefore practices of the Mediterranean would have been forgotten or would have evolved as soon as the armies moved outside of the immediate area (Millett 1995; Haynes 2013: 229). Millett (1995: 98) argued that, 'In the Roman Empire...similarities in the underlying structures of belief connected the religions of the Mediterranean with those of northern Europe thus facilitating interaction between Roman and native practices.' It is possible that underlying similarities, such as practices of ritual deposition, aided in the absorption and adaptation to 'Roman' ways of life and vice versa. The continuity of structured ritual deposition and the syncretism of indigenous/Roman deities reinforce ideas that indigenous religion was not replaced but continued to develop, making it accessible to both local and immigrant populations.

CHAPTER 8.

Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

My investigation has sought to identify and re-think practices of ritually focussed structured deposition associated with both watery and dry areas. Both context types have been considered part of a continuum of the wider use of wet and dry landscapes in symbolically-charged deposition during the Iron Age to Roman transitional period in Britain. Practices of structured deposition were taking place during this time period across the two study zones investigated. Ritual depositional activity can potentially be interpreted in a number of ways: as part of ritual activities, as hoarding intended for later retrieval, or as the efficacious disposing of material culture from daily life. These categories, however, can overlap and boundaries can become blurred between the ritual and domestic spheres (Hamilton 1998: 23-39; Chadwick 2004: 103; Haynes 2013: 198). Interpretations of depositional behaviour must and should be made on a site-by-site basis - before attempting to observe wider patterns of practice.

Whilst many have argued that structured ritual deposition and the associated belief systems of the prehistoric and early historic past are not easily identifiable, it is possible to infer the presence of ritual activities and their continuity. Even in the present, acts of deposition, particularly in association with watery contexts, have relevance: for example, the throwing of coins into ponds, fountains and wishing wells. In all contemporary faiths, water is a part of cleansing rituals and watery deposits are relevant; for example in Hinduism it is required that funeral pyre remains and other ceremonial remains be placed into flowing water as part of processes of purification and new life. As water was considered a mechanism for change and transformation in the past so it continues to be considered by various communities as the essential lifeblood in all aspects of life (Stevens 2008: 244).

What has become apparent throughout is the relevance of other context types in rituals of deposition, other than the watery medium. Owing to the varied context types identified producing similar find-types both intra-zonally and inter-zonally, I argue (Chapter 7) that it was the act of deposition and what was given rather than the context into which deposition took place that was relevant to these rituals. However, it has become clear that where water was representative of fertility and transformation and was a place of liminality between the earthly world and the domain of the gods, so too dry-site contexts held similar meanings. The importance of site boundaries and entrances has been emphasised, both in terms of their liminality and the reinforcing of boundaries and access ways to emphasise political authority

and internal security (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994: 53; Hingley 2006: 238; Garrow 2012: 97). By re-thinking ritual traditions with reference to structured deposits in and in association with watery contexts, I have re-evaluated previously held ideas about the inaccessibility of past ritual traditions and behaviours (Pryor 2005: 161; Cunliffe 2005: 578). By examining a wide range of contexts of use for structured ritual deposition other than the watery medium, it has been possible to support watery contexts as locations for specially placed deposits but as part of a wider range of context types receiving deposits.

My investigation has been designed to provide a region-wide discussion on practices of structured deposition with a ritual focus across Britain during the LPRIA to Roman transition. The period of transition in relation to structured ritual deposition is one that has been little examined, therefore the extensive amount of data investigated in this thesis will be able to fill the gap in extant literature. From the data gathered and discussed here, new interpretive horizons have opened up and existing ones have been widened (Meskell 2001: 187). The aim of this chapter is to assess the methodological rationale of my investigation to examine which methods worked well and where improvements can be made. I also discuss where future work on this area of research could be carried out to build upon the conclusions. The chapter will then conclude with the original contribution this research has made to the existing literature on the topics of structured deposition, ritual and cultural change during the LPRIA and Roman transition in Britain.

8.2 Methodological rationale

The methods of investigation used for the data gathering for the 41 sites across both Zones One and Two produced a large and multi-dimensional dataset (83,780 finds from 80,142 context in total). Whilst the methods of data collection and analysis were effective in identifying episodes of structured deposition across individual sites and determining some region-wide patterns, it is necessary to examine the efficiency of the methods used.

The amount of data generated from the site reports was considerable. However, at the analysis stage the use of site reports from different traditions of archaeological recording did meet with some problems. In particular, for some of the older excavations, there was a lack of firm contextual information. This issue was particularly apparent when investigating some of the sites across Zone Two. This was not necessarily the fault of the excavators, however, but the state of preservation of the archaeological record. Despite these issues, the data available were still valuable in determining ritual practices and associated structured deposition. To eliminate poorly stratified data would be to restrict the possibilities of study. To make a note of find types and the general area from which the finds came, which this investigation did, goes some way to understanding ritual activities. More generally, across both zones' site reports there

was a distinct lack of stratigraphic information, particularly when describing the fills of wells, pits and ditches. This point was also acknowledged by Fulford (2001: 213) in his study of ritual pit and well deposits in previously excavated Roman urban environments in south east England. As Chadwick (2004: 104) has confirmed, many excavation reports do not have quantified statistical data or contextual information; therefore a full examination of depositional patterns, particularly in terms of spatial or stratigraphic information, is not possible. However, it is possible to determine which finds came from each context type, which in itself provides answers to interpreting structured deposition and the ritual motivations behind such deposits. Bearing in mind the broad date range of the site reports used, from the early 20th century through to the near present, it is likely that differences in report detail and accuracy are an indication of the changes in practice of excavation and classification techniques over the years. Despite these inconsistencies, enough data were gathered to allow for a detailed comparative investigation. Through the scale of the investigation, i.e. the number of sites studied and the inter-regional dimensions of the investigative parameters, a critical mass of data was gathered. This approach therefore provided a resolution to the 'problem' of report detail owing to age and excavation techniques.

Practices of structured deposition are too varied to be able to describe and theorise in broad terms alone; continuity and change in such practices must also be examined on an individual basis to 'fully consider the complexity of the processes which lay behind the patterning observed.' (Garrow 2012: 109). The intra- and inter-site analyses allowed for a full analysis of the individual sites and the range of material that can be characterised as formal ritual deposition. The analyses also enabled me to identify and discuss broader patterns of deposition across both study zones, and has allowed for a certain breadth and depth that other investigations have failed to achieve, as Hill (1995: 70) suggested of his own research.

The two-tier intra- and inter-site analyses proved more effective than the use of statistics tests, particularly the chi-squared test and Fisher's exact test. As discussed in Chapter 4, the total finds data for each finds category in the database (see CD in Appendix 2) were too sparse for these tests to isolate patterns of significance. Through the use of the intra-site analysis, single finds or collections of finds of significance could be identified and examined in depth prior to the implementation of the inter-site analysis to draw out any region-wide patterns of deposition. Where dominant find-types and context-types have been explored and discussed it may also be of use to examine those finds that were absent from individual episodes of structured deposition, which could potentially lead to the identification of broader, zone-wide patterns of presence and absence, as indicated by Hill (1995: 56) who used a presence/absence analysis. Examining the data in this way may be equally as effective in

helping to draw out patterns of ritual deposition within those patterns of deposition already identified, particularly during the intra-site analysis.

8.3 Recommendations for future research

My investigation was designed to identify a broad number of sites where patterns of structured deposition and ritual activity practiced during the Iron Age to Roman transition have been interpreted and investigated, but where such patterns have not previously been considered in depth. The following section will outline a number of the ways in which this investigation and the data recorded can be expanded upon.

In any future research to be carried out, there is potential to use the site data generated in this investigation to examine in depth a smaller number of the sites studied. It is known that some of the sites studied have been excavated and more detail emerged in the final stages of completion of this thesis. For example, at Maryport (Haynes, 2013: 207), Haynes re-analysed the provenance of the large numbers of altars buried in pits. Furthermore, at the site of Coventina's Well, it could also be of use to explore the adjacent fort of Carrawburgh and the *Mithraeum* located to the south of the fort and the well. Site reports for these two areas were not available at the time of data collection. With further study of this location, it may be possible to reveal more of the ritual landscape surrounding the spring/well. Examining a smaller number of sites in greater depth could also be useful in isolating very detailed stratigraphic recording as well as in analysing the condition of finds to differentiate between primary, secondary and tertiary deposition. Potentially many more patterns could be observed and discussed that could not be approached in full here.

The detailed investigation of all available literature, as outlined in Chapter 4, identified a sample of 323 potential sites of study distributed across both zones (see Appendix 2 for the database and open the data reports for 'Study Zone One' and 'Study Zone Two'). From these 41 were selected for in-depth investigation. With the results and patterns available from these 41 sites as a starting point, the investigation of another set of sites could potentially generate broader and stronger patterns of structured depositional behaviour and associated ritual practices across these study zones. Those sites studied here were identified and selected owing to a combination of the relevance of metalwork within their deposits, the presence of watery areas within or close to the sites, and the detail and availability of the site reports. However, with this investigation also encompassing comparable deposits from exclusively dry sites, the number of additional sites available for study will be greater from the databank of 323 potential locations. Zone Two, in particular, would potentially benefit from extending the study in such a way. By expanding the investigation to include non-military sites it may be possible to identify the continuity of practices of ritual deposition from the later prehistoric

through to the Roman period. Alternatively, it may be possible to confirm with more accuracy the lack of practices dating from the prehistoric within this study zone.

From the patterns of deposition readily available across Zones One and Two, it may also be useful to expand the topic of investigation to other comparable regions of study, with the possibility of third or fourth study zones extending along the east and west coasts of Britain. Not only would this increase the number of potential sites but it will also add to the inter-regional aspect of the investigation by cutting across pre-identified cultural zones to see if comparative or further regionally distinct traditions of ritual deposition can be identified. It is known from the review of extant literature in Chapter 2 that patterns of structured ritual deposition, particularly those in association with watery areas, were identified extending along the east coast of Britain. Well researched examples of such activity took place along the River Witham, Lincolnshire (Parker Pearson and Field 2003; Stocker and Everson 2003), Flag Fen, Cambridgeshire (Pryor 1991; 2005; Pryor and Taylor 1992) and comparable deposits were made in the cemeteries of South and East Yorkshire (Darvill 1987: 158; Cunliffe 2005), all of which were made during the period in question. Whilst practices of deposition are not as commonly identified along the west coast of the British Isles, there are still a number of examples in the Military Zone, some of which have been examined and some are available from the dataset of sites of potential study. There are also examples of watery ritual deposition, such as at Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey (Fox 1946; Parker Pearson 2000) as well as some examples of deposition recognised in Ireland. Webster (1997: 139) has identified references to wells in mythological and magical contexts in the medieval 'Celtic' literature of Ireland where these features provide possible entrances to the 'other world', or are the setting for supernatural events. Whilst she confirms that there is a lack of archaeological evidence for the use of wells and shafts in Iron Age Ireland for structured deposits, these sources could be suggestive of continuations of practices of deposition or ritual activities centred on these context types.

Expanding the investigation into additional British study zones could provide an increased number of comparable sites of structured deposition and potentially unidentified patterns of this practice. However it would also be of use to trace practices of deposition to the Continent to comparable sites contemporary with those identified in Britain. By expanding the investigation into Continental Europe, performing the same scale of detailed research and analysis on a number of comparable sites demonstrating practices of structured deposition, both dry- and watery-focussed, the extent of such practices can be more thoroughly examined. Possible avenues from which practices of structured deposition and associated ritual activities emerged into Britain or from Britain onto the Continent could potentially be determined. With known examples of deposition discussed in Chapter 2 located along the Rhine, Seine, the

Scandinavian examples at Hjortspring and sanctuary sites, such as the Gallo-Roman temple at Gournay-sur-Aronde dating from the Early Iron Age through to the Late Roman period (Randsborg 1995; Derks 1998), a number of comparable study regions can be identified for potential investigation.

8.4 'Re-thinking ritual traditions'

Through the re-interpretation of existing records of excavation data from 41 sites across Britain a number of episodes of structured deposition with a ritual focus, not previously identified, have been proposed. Furthermore, the methods of investigation have contributed to the ways in which a large amount of data can be explored to reveal both in-depth and broader regional patterns of deposition and ritual.

As has been outlined in Section 8.2, the two-tier analytical approach developed during this investigation proved to be effective in identifying various patterns of deposition both within individual sites and region-wide. Previous investigations of sites studying structured deposition have tended to focus on individual or small numbers of sites, such as the studies of the pits at Danbury hillfort (Cunliffe 1988), and the pits at The Caburn (Hamilton 1997; 1998). Furthermore, the pits and wells at Newstead were considered in this investigation under the term 'structured deposition' where previous studies have not applied this concept (Curle 1911; Ross and Feacham 1976). Alternatively, previous studies of structured deposition have concentrated on regional patterns without delving further into individual episodes, such as Hill's study of Iron Age Wessex pit fills (1995) and Webster's examination of Iron Age well fills across southern Britain (1997: 134-145). To be able to investigate patterns of ritual deposition thoroughly, this study was not selective of individual context types or individual sites but collected evidence of structured deposition from a wide variety of watery and dry contexts. This allowed for a comprehensive examination of all types of structured deposition and worked with the two-tier analysis to draw out patterns both within individual sites and across the individual study zones. Structured ritual deposition can be identified as a practice carried out across each study zone. It has also been confirmed that the contexts used and the items deposited, either individual objects or in collections, are unique to each site.

Not only were the sites in this investigation examined on a regional scale but also an inter-regional scale. It has been established that the two study zones cross cultural units and climatic zones. Study Zones One and Two are two regions that are not often compared and contrasted in archaeological studies of structured deposition and associated ritual practices. This investigation, therefore, allowed for a much-needed comparative study of patterns of structured ritual deposition across two culturally and geographically contrasting study zones.

Therefore it was necessary to utilise both broad and focussed analyses to fully interpret and understand the motivations behind the individual episodes of deposition, to understand and isolate ritual deposition within these episodes, as well as to emphasise that ritual motivations behind the deposits differed within contrasting case study zones.

The defining of certain terms within this investigation, particularly 'ritual', has meant consistent use of terms throughout the thesis. Whilst the terms used in the publications from which the data were gathered were not abandoned, the categories of 'ritual' or 'votive' finds within the site reports were assessed against the definitions set out in this investigation. By assessing the material in terms of time, stratigraphy, contexts and object associations it was possible to redefine the material data and better understand previously unidentified episodes of structured deposition and ritual practices. By reassessing the data, it was also possible to confirm that certain identified patterns of deposition, such as metalwork into riverine contexts, were not necessarily the norm during the pre-Roman Iron Age or Roman periods. Whilst practices of ritual deposition into watery areas were maintained as ritually significant during the period of transition, re-examining large quantities of material data confirmed that ritual deposits were not as easy to categorise as previously thought, but were much more complex in terms of find-types and context-types.

Cross-period studies of socio-cultural change during the LPRIA to Roman transition have been acknowledged as a growing area of study. However, by concentrating on structured deposition, belief systems, and identity through ritual practices, this investigation has been able to tease out further patterns of cultural change influencing ritual practices to add to the growing pool of data for the transitional period. Furthermore, the data examined were brought together using concepts of 'ritual' and 'structured deposition'. By carrying out the research in such a way, a method was established to examine the issue of 'pre-Roman' and 'Roman' identity as well as belief systems and associated ritual practices. The data generated have enabled me to say that cultural change was taking place across the two study zones during the LPRIA to Roman transition, though in quite distinct ways. Broadly speaking, ritual depositional practices became more conspicuous within both zones during the time of transition, through the development of shrines and temples in Zone One and the use of inscribed, dedicative stonework in Zone Two. The syncretism of deity worship from the Early Roman period was also evident within both study zones, attesting to amalgamation of cultures and different ways in which ritual was carried out by maintaining depositional practices but incorporating aspects of classical religion, such as epigraphic dedications. What this evidence suggests is fluidity of identity and of ritual practices. The uniqueness of the individual episodes of deposition reflect the ability of all members of the population, whether identifying themselves as 'Roman' or 'non-Roman', to adapt. In spite of the fact that previous studies

discussed the transition, there remained a need to consider identity and ritual belief, and this investigation has taken steps to do so.

Whilst cultural change has been acknowledged through the increasingly conspicuous display of ritual practices and associated structured deposition, it is the act of deposition that represents continuity across the period of transition. Owing to the uniqueness of each episode of deposition, it was perhaps the act that was of importance rather than the types of items offered and the context types used. No distinct movement from watery contexts to dry or vice versa can be determined across the period of transition, and equally, there was no distinct transition in find-types deposited from the Iron Age through to the Roman period. In Zone One, coin hoards became more significant in ritual deposits into the Roman period within a number of the sites. Despite the lack of pre-Roman evidence of structured ritual deposition in Zone Two, episodes of deposition comparable to those identified in Zone One were evident, suggesting that such phenomena were adopted and adapted by the indigenous population as well as continued by the Roman army units who would have originated from across northwest Europe, including southern Britain and the local area. Therefore embedded local pre-Roman practices of ritual deposition intermixed with the over-arching classical religions of the Roman Empire, producing structured deposits incorporating dedications to classical deities.

Though the act of deposition appears to have been the more significant aspect of ritual practice, this is not to say that the contexts used or items dedicated were not of importance. The fact that deposits were made into areas where retrieval was not intended, such as streams and rivers, wells, pits, ditch fills and foundation deposits, suggests that the intention behind the act was to conceal or hide the items from the earthly realm and to reinforce their removal from the domestic sphere. This is reinforced by finds that were recovered wrapped in straw from Cadbury Castle, or placed into the amphora in the well at Bar Hill, further concealing those items placed in their respective contexts. The liminality of such context types, emphasised by their locations at depth and at the boundaries to sites and wider territories, confirms the exclusion of the deposited items from day-to-day activities and their confinement to the ritual sphere. Whether the ritual activities practiced took place at special times of the day or the year, or were a part of daily activities where no distinction was made between ritual deposition and the rest of the daily activities carried out cannot be confirmed with confidence. However, the emergence of votive items verifies ritual practices.

In contrast to ideas of liminality is the emergence of some identified episodes of deposition occurring in contexts on hill tops with three hilltop sites of ritual significance in Zone One (Cadbury Castle, Uley and Harlow) and seven in Zone Two where the *principia* or fort interior was the focus of ritual depositional activity. It is perhaps the perspective the hilltop

would offer to the ritual activity leading up to the act of deposition that was significant to some of the episodes identified. Hamilton (1997; 1998; 2004: 208-210) has acknowledged the significance of hills as culturally important, acting as a form of communication and connection to other landscape markers and resource zones. As such, rituals could perhaps be viewed from afar whilst the locations of hillforts and Roman forts owe their perspective and security to such locations. It is possible that the offering of votive deposits on hilltops, particularly the deposits located in the centrally placed *principia* across many of the Zone Two sites, were part of the rituals of thanks for such protection.

This examination has considered a diverse number of context types as receptacles for ritual deposits. Whilst watery contexts were used as an investigative starting point, the investigation evolved to include wider contexts of water and watery areas, and thus the meaning of water has been assessed. To provide balance to the investigation of structured ritual deposits, dry contexts were also investigated. However, much like watery contexts, the definitions of dry contexts were also widened. Contexts were explored that were once wet but became dry, such as wells; others were once dry but became wet, such as the encroaching water levels at the settlements of Glastonbury and Meare; and dry context deposits in the proximity of watery areas, such as the fort locations overlooking waterways, all of which added to the complexity of the definitions behind the nature of the contexts. It became clear that the categorising of contexts as either 'watery' or 'dry' was not possible and that there were different degrees of 'wetness' or 'dryness'. Again, this comes back to the idea that it was the practice of deposition that was significant to these ritual practices rather than the type of context into which deposition took place.

Contrasting with the watery aspect of some of the practices of deposition identified in this investigation is the significance of burnt material spreads as part of rituals of deposition. A number of sites from across both study zones revealed evidence of burning, which were also accompanied in some instances by significant episodes of deposition either prior to or immediately after a period of burning, such as Cadbury Castle. Such periods of burning could indicate rituals of clearing or cleansing prior to site development, or were used alongside rituals of abandonment and the termination of sites. With the process of burning and site clearance offering interpretations of cleansing, it is possible that watery deposits were also intended as such, therefore the contrast of fire and water could indicate a meaning and motivation for episodes of ritual deposition.

Within the use of fire and water in rituals of deposition is the concept of transformation. Both fire and water form part of the same processes in the creation of certain items, such as metalwork and ceramics. Furthermore, both elements have been used in the destruction or the

marking of the death and destruction of certain items and people, such as the deposition of metalwork into rivers during the Bronze Age and Iron Ages, the burnt material spreads identified in this investigation, cremation ceremonies identified across a number of sites, particularly at Folly Lane, not only with the burning of the body but a large number of metal and other grave goods also. Both elements transform matter from one form into another. The theme of transformation is also significant to the context types being used. Wells that were no longer used for water provision or the containment of refuse were used to hold ritually deposited items. Pits that were no longer used for grain or other storage were used in the same way. In a more explicit way, pre-Roman Iron Age shrines and ritual sites were transformed into more formal ritual landscapes with the addition of stone shrines, temples and other monumental architecture. Certain finds placed in pit and well contexts have been interpreted as symbolic of transformation, i.e. quernstones. It is through the region-wide analysis of the data that such patterns have been able to be identified and concepts, including 'transformation', have been introduced to describe structured ritual deposition, not only in the finds being deposited but the context types being used.

The conclusions drawn throughout this investigation are open to interpretation as new sites are discovered and different perspectives allow for the analysis of the dataset in alternative ways. This thesis has provided a number of new ways of looking at existing material and it is hoped that these perspectives will induce others to think more deeply about existing material or re-think new evidence of structured deposition as it comes to light.

8.5 Conclusions

This investigation has introduced a new interpretive outlook to existing site data. Through a preliminary assessment of a sample of 323 sites and a subsequent in-depth consideration of 41 sites and 80,142 contexts across two distinct case study zones, it has been possible to identify individual episodes as well as wider patterns of structured deposition that took place in a variety of context types. However, these identified actions, having originated in prehistory, tell us little about the motivations behind such rituals. Bradley (2000: 161) has argued that 'Perhaps it is because natural places lost some of their power in the historical period that they have lost so much of their prehistory as well.' Where the evidence is available it has been possible to deduce that episodes of deposition were undoubtedly ritual in nature: - for example in the case of the sites across Zone One where shrines and temples have been constructed, and the sites across Zone Two where inscriptions and statuary dedicated to a number of deities (both indigenous and classical) have been recovered from the fills of wells, pits and fort ditches. James and Rigby (1997: 3; see also Henig 1984: 128) have argued that we create history using the surviving material evidence recovered from the archaeological

record. Whilst this argument is relevant to many aspects of archaeological research it is especially relevant here owing to continuity and change in ritual practices that have been identified and used for many years but cannot be traced back to a specific origin.

This investigation was designed to explore and answer specific questions regarding the motivations behind structured ritual deposition and influences of cultural change on practices during the pre-Roman to Roman transition in Britain. Through the use of existing excavation material, I have been able to propose the existence of previously unidentified episodes of structured deposition, confirm the uniqueness of each individual act, but also draw out patterns distinct to two culturally and geographically contrasting case study zones. By providing a clear definition of what constitutes ritual behaviour, my investigation has proposed that the continuity of ritual acts during a period of socio-cultural change was conceptually driven.

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Re-Thinking Ritual Traditions: Interpreting Structured Deposition in Watery Contexts in Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman Britain

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Submitted for the degree of PhD

UCL

VOLUME II:

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 1.

Glossary

1. Context Types

Aedes	Roman shrine or temple building.
Ambulatory	Covered passageway usually built around the outside of the cella.
Annexe	Small Roman enclosure built on the perimeter of a Roman fort. Those who lived in the annexe were soldiers often with their families and any other people living amongst these populations, including merchants, travellers and government officials.
Barracks	Housing within Roman forts where the soldiers lived.
Bathhouse	Consisted of both hot and cold baths, usually heated with a hypocaust or, in the case of Bath, Somerset, through natural hot water springs. Could be both public and private and introduced to Britain during the Roman period.
Burials	Human only referring to single burials or those found in cemeteries.
Cella	Inner chamber of a temple of classical architectural form.
Context type	Specific locations from which finds were recovered, used to add detail to the 'feature type' category in the database. Examples include, the fills of pits, hollows, wells, and specific areas within a building, such as post holes, foundations, occupation layers et cetera.
Demolition layer	Dateable site layers that consisted of rubble and other debris indicative of periods of destruction at the site, noted as such in the site reports.
Ditch	Linear feature usually surrounding a main area of domestic or cult activity.
Domestic structure	Buildings on the sites not displaying designs relating to known shrine or temple structural forms.
Feature type	Wider area within which context types can be found, for example buildings, roads, stream beds.

Fort (Roman)	A fortified military base defended by at least one rampart and one ditch. Contains accommodation for troops and officers (generally one regiment) along with stores and ancillary buildings.
Gully	Linear feature sometimes representing the remains of a dry stream or river bed. Can also represent the remains of structural foundations.
Hoard	Collections of finds, of the same or varying types, recovered in one location. Tend to represent finds that have been stored for future retrieval.
Hollow	Shallow pit less than one meter deep.
Other	Any other finds-producing context not numerous enough to be given separate categories. For details on these specific context types see forms on the individual sites available to view on the CD.
Pit	Shallow feature no more than two meters in depth.
Post holes	Small, narrow pits deep enough to hold load bearing posts.
Praetentura	Area to the front of a Roman fort where the most skilled soldiers were housed.
Praetorium	Area to the centre of a Roman fort where the most senior army personnel were stationed plus the military standards.
Principia	Administrative areas of a Roman fort.
Quarry/quarry scoop	Relatively small areas of mined stone.
Retentura	Area to the rear of a Roman fort where the majority of the soldier cohorts were housed.
Road/street	Major access-way leading to/from a site frequented by residents and non-residents on a daily basis.
Sacellum	Small, domestic shrine of the Roman period.
Shrine	Building of particular architectural form, usually constructed out of wood, acting as a focus for specific ritual activities. Often isolated from the main body of the site. Can range in size from small domestic shrines to larger structures used by the wider community.

Stream	Constant flow of channelled water.
Temple	Building of particular architectural form, usually constructed out of stone and on a grander scale to shrines. Also act as a focus for specific activities but for the wider community. Sometimes, though not always, isolated from the main body of the site.
Unstratified	Refers to those finds not attributed to any specific context.
Vallum	Earthen or turf rampart.
Via Praetoria	Road running from the centre of a Roman fort to the defences, which terminated in the front gate of the fort.
Via Principalis	Road running in front of the *praetorium* separating the *praetorium* from the *praetentura*.
Via Sigularis	Road running around the circuit of a Roman fort inside the defences.
Vicus/vici	Civilian settlement immediately outside a Roman fort (see Annexe).
Watery areas	Refers to all types of watery contexts both natural and human-made from running water and standing water through to boggy ground. Human-made recepticles for water, include wells, ponds and irrigation ditches.
Wells/shafts	Narrow features reaching depths of three meters plus. In most cases these features penetrated the water table.

2a. <u>Find Types</u>

Animal remains	Skeletal remains of any animals recovered from across the sites.
Ceramics	Mostly incorporates the remains of vessels but also includes other items made out of clay.
Deposition	The the act of intentionally placing one find or a collection of finds in a specific location.
Find type	Individual finds that fall into one of the established categories: weaponry, tools, coins et cetera, as used in the database (see attached CD).

Human remains	Skeletal remains of any humans recovered from across the sites.
Metalwork	Refers to any individual or groups of finds made entirely or in part from metal of various types.
Non-votive	Finds not deposited in dedication of a being or special occasion.
Other large metal	Includes finds not relevant to the other context type categories, such as large sheets of scrap metal, items used in building material and, large implements, such as cauldrons, chains et cetera.
Other	Items not numerous enough to be given separate categories. Objects include stone finds, glass finds, building materials and organic remains, such as leather and food stuffs.
Personal ornaments	Jewellery, hair accessories and toiletry items including tweezers, mirrors, scoops and spatulas.
Other small metals	Includes finds not relevant to the other context type categories, such as small scraps of metal, unidentified metal objects and partial objects such as hooks and handles that could not be attributed to their larger forms.
Ritual	Refers to actions, finds and contexts that are distinct from the everyday. See Section 3.2.2 for the full discussion.
Structured deposition	See Deposition.
Tools	Both large and small finds ranging from chisels and knives to needles, nails and studs.
Votive	Refers to a find made in dedication of an individual, a deity or some other special occasion.
Weaponry	Includes hand held weapons such as swords, daggers, shields, spears and axes; and armour for both humans and animals, specifically horses.

2b. <u>Condition of Finds</u>

Broken	Natural breakage through taphonomic processes or broken owing to use, such as the smashing of a glass or pottery vessel.

Deliberately broken	Broken prior to deposition. Items often show signs of cutting, bending or burning.
Whole	No natural or deliberate breakage apparent on object.

3. Site Records

HERs	Historic Environment Records.
Site report	Document specific to one site detailing information on geography, topography, find types, context and feature types apparent across the site.
SMRs	Sites and Monuments Records.

4. British Time Periods

Bronze Age	Circa 2500 BC to circa 800 BC.
Iron Age	Circa 800 BC to AD 43.
LPRIA	Late Pre-Roman Iron Age dating from circa 100/50BC to AD 43.
Medieval period	Early 5th century AD to 15th century AD.
Neolithic period	Circa 4000 BC to circa 2,500 BC.
Roman period	AD 43 to AD 410.
Transition period	50BC to AD 50/100.

5. Other

Ala	Cavalry regiments
Cohors	Cohort, military unit
Cohors miliaria	Infantry regiment
Cohors equitata	Mixed infantry and cavalry regiment
Cohors quingenaria	Infantry regiment
Study Zone One/Severn-Thames Axis	Case study zone, measuring approximately 90,000km^2, stretching across the south of Britain.

	Consists of 221 sites of potential study and the 22 sites selected for in-depth study.
Study Zone Two/Solway-Forth Axis	Case study zone stretching across the north of Britain, measuring approximately 99,875km² between Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall. Consists of 102 sites of potential study and the 19 sites selected for in-depth study.

APPENDIX 2.

User Instructions for Opening the Research Database and Excel Workbooks

Opening the database

1. Insert CD and open 'Research database'.
2. The database should open with all data 'reports' for each site ready to be viewed (double click on a site data 'report', for example 'Cadbury Castle Site Data' to open.
3. If the page is not set to 'reports', go to the arrow indicated in Figure A2.1 below, click on it and scroll down to select 'reports'.
4. This menu also allows you to view the data in 'table' form and as data 'forms', which is how the data was originally input into the database.

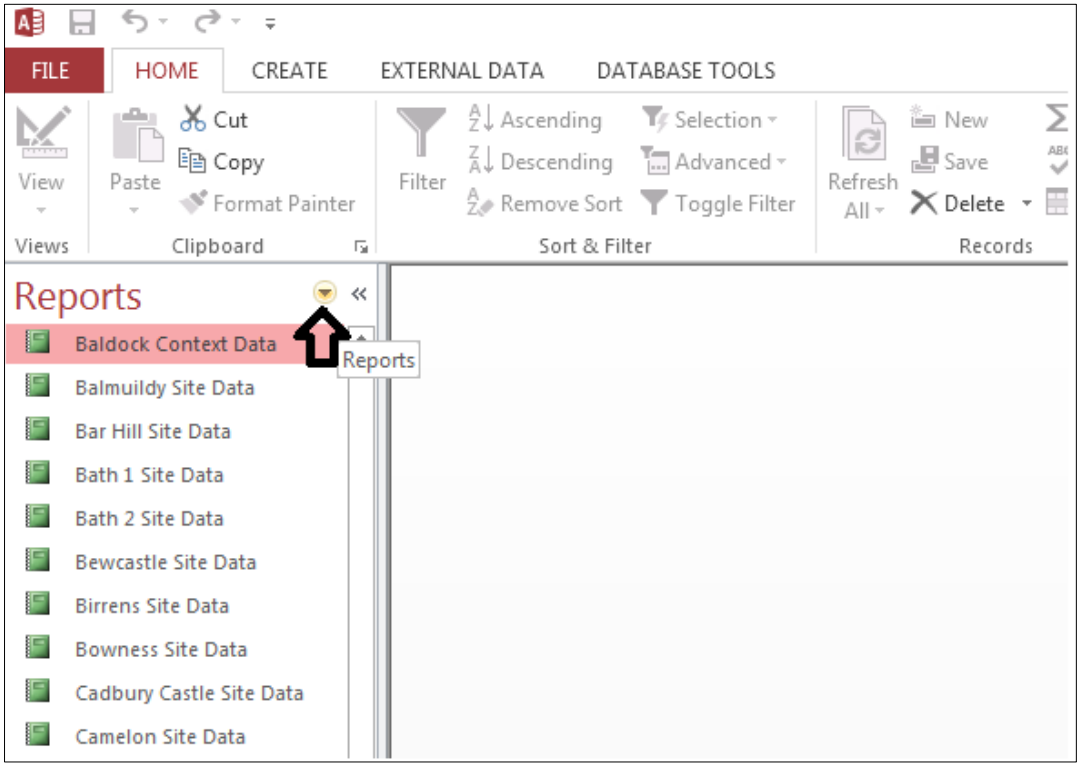


Figure A2.1: Selecting 'reports' in the research database

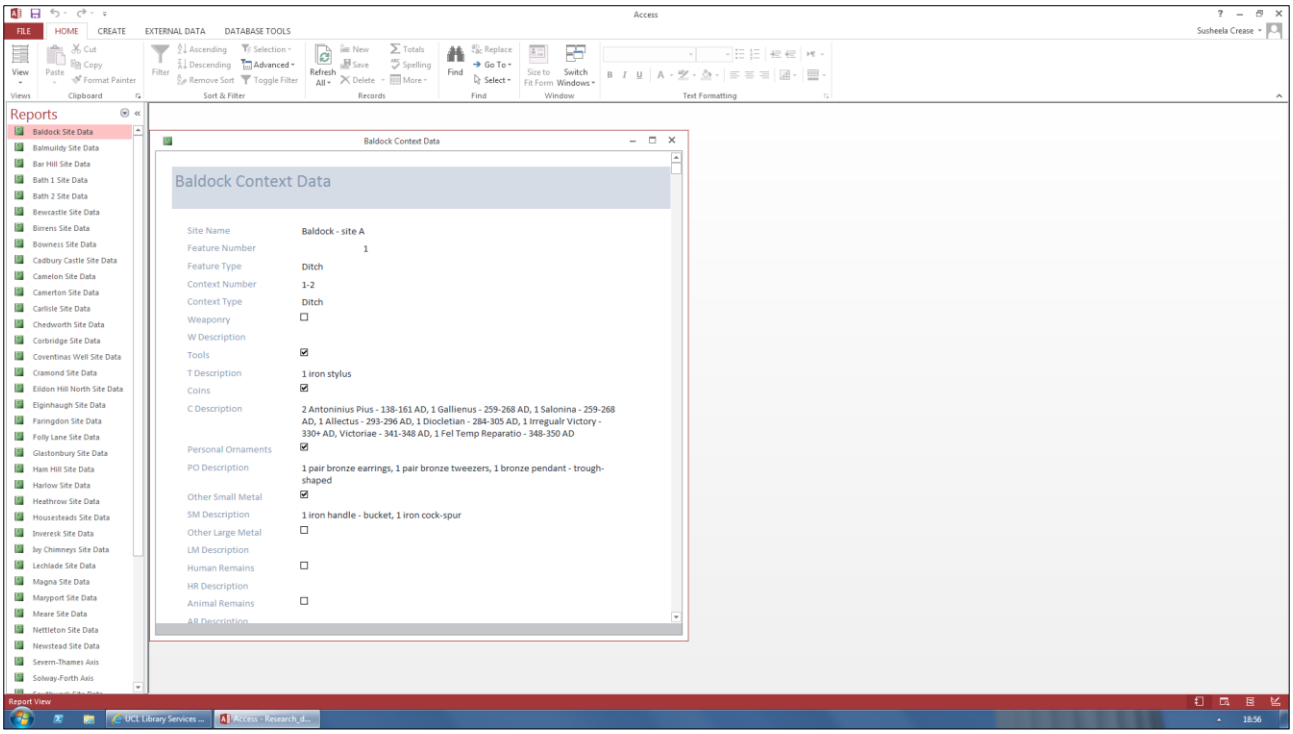


Figure A2.2: View of the database with data 'reports' open

Opening the Excel workbooks

1. Insert CD and open 'Zone One analysis' or 'Zone Two analysis'.
2. The workbooks will open showing a separate tab for each site studied in depth within each study zone.
3. To view the different stages of the analysis click on a tab (Figure A2.3) and scroll through the data.

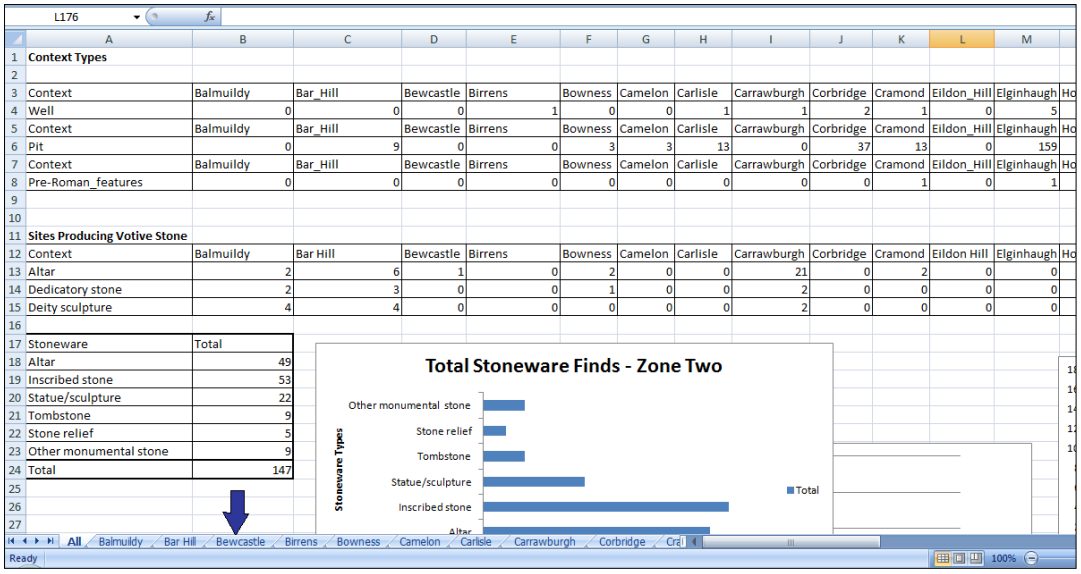


Figure A2.3: A view of the Excel workbook showing the different site tabs

APPENDIX 3.

Gazetteer of detailed sites

The following outlines the key information on each of the 41 sites studied in detail. The information includes the site reports used to source the site data as well as summarising the period of major activity, the key deposits made at each site and the main contexts receiving said deposits. The sites have been ordered according to their ordering in the main text, beginning with Study Zone One.

The Severn-Thames Axis: Study Zone One

1. **Cadbury Castle, Somerset**

Site report: *Cadbury Castle, Somerset: the Later Prehistoric and Early Historic Archaeology* (2000) by J.C. Barrett *et al.*

Time span: Late Iron Age to Late Roman/Early Medieval.

Key deposits: the 'buring and massacre layer' spread around the area of the South Western Gate incorporated large numbers of weaponry, tools, personal ornaments and human remains of up to 40 individuals intermixed with burnt debris. One shrine building was also accompanied by 30 neonatal claves buried 25 meters away on the approach.

Key features: hillfort site with shrine structure built within the boundaries. A significant period of construction took place during the mid 1st century AD around the South Western Gate immediately after the 'burning and massacre layer' was deposited.

2. **Bath, Somerset**

Site report: *Roman Bath* (1969) B. Cunliffe; *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, Volume 1: The Site* (1985) B. Cunliffe and P. Davenport.

Time span: Mid-1st century AD to Late Roman.

Key deposits: large numbers of coins have been recovered from the spring along with considerable numbers of personal ornaments and other metalwork types. The surrounding temple complex has produced remains of engraved stonework and statuary dedicated to Sulis Minerva as well as a number of other deities, both classical and indigenous.

Key features: spring site located close to the River Avon. Town was built along the Fosse Way. The focus of this site is the extensive temple complex developed from the Early Roman period, as well as the associated baths.

3. **Uley, Gloucestershire**

Site report: *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire 1977-9* (1993) by A. Woodward and P. Leach.

Time span: Late 1st century BC to early 5th century AD.

Key deposits: weaponry, including some miniature model types, tools, coins, personal ornaments, Dobunnic ceramic vessels with possible offerings, few infant remains placed into the foundations of the temple structure.

Key features: large temple structure located to the north of Uley Bury hillfort, commemorating Mercury as the principle deity. One focal pit producing a number of finds believed to have held a water tank at one time during the years of Roman occupation with possible Late Iron Age origins.

4. **Chedworth, Gloucestershire**

Site report: *The Roman Villa at Chedworth* (1979) by R. Goodburn.

Time span: Late Iron Age to Late Roman.

Key deposits: various inscribed stonework and statuary dedicated to Mars Lenus and one other possibly indigenous deity. Up to 360 coins were also recovered, although all were unstratified.

Key features: villa with both a shrine and temple attached, with the shrine constructed over a natural reservoir.

5. **Nettleton, Wiltshire**

Site report: *The Excavation of the Shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, Wiltshire, 1956-1971* (1982) by W. J. Wedlake.

Time span: Late 1st century BC to late 4th century AD.

Key deposits: coins – both LPRIA and Roman, personal ornaments, some cult items including intaglios and inscriptions on masonry dedicated to the god Apollo. Towards the later period of activity at the site remnants of industrial activities were recovered including moulds, crucibles and metalworking slag.

Key features: located in close proximity to the Fosse Way and next to Broadmead Brook, with many of the remains of domestic structures disappearing under the current level of the stream. The shrine dedicated to Apollo was central to the site with many of the surrounding buildings serving cult activities and visitors to the site, including a hostelry and a shop.

6. Faringdon, Oxfordshire

Site report: 'An early Iron Age occupation site, a Roman shrine and other prehistoric activity at Coxwell Road, Faringdon' (2004) in *Oxoniensia*, by S. Ford.

Time span: Early Iron Age to Late Roman/Early Medieval.

Key deposits: few weaponry, personal ornament and tool finds. Also animal remains and worked stone in the early votive deposits.

Key features: Early Iron Age votive pit within the settlement and later Romano-British shrine.

7. **Wanborough, Surrey**

Site Report: 'The Roman temple at Wanborough, Surrey, excavations 1985-86' (1994) in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, by M. O'Connell and J. Bird.

Time span: Late Iron Age/Early Roman to Later Roman.

Key deposits: various pre-temple deposits including a large hoard of 1,041 coins dating to the mid-1st century AD, as well as religious ceremonial paraphernalia and animal remain deposits possibly representing the remains of a ritual feast in honour of the temple construction.

Key features: considerable Roman temple associated with a nearby villa located on a spring site.

8. Folly Lane, Hertfordshire

Site report: *The Excavation of a Ceremonial Site at Folly Lane, Verulamium – British Monograph Series no. 14* (1998) by R. Niblett.

Time span: Early Iron Age to Late Roman.

Key deposits: large quantities of tools, personal ornaments and other unidentified, burnt metalwork, cremated animal remains and pottery vessel fragments all offered as grave goods in the cremation ceremony.

Key features: one large burial pit containing the majority of the remains from the cremation ceremony over which the 2nd century AD temple was constructed. Up to 40 other shafts were excavated across the site some of which contained human and animal skull remains.

9. Ivy Chimneys, Essex

Site report: *Excavations of an Iron Age Settlement and Roman Religious Complex at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex 1978-83,* (1999) by R. Turner.

Time span: Early Iron Age to Early 5th century AD.

Key deposits: large quantities of all find-types, particularly coins, human and animal remains, personal ornaments and worked flints believed to be symbolic of Jupiter.

Key features: a large 3rd to 4th century AD temple complex served this settlement site. Large quantities of finds were recovered from a series of disused ponds and other depressions, which acted as the main focus of depositional activity and were mostly contemporary to the temple.

10. Harlow, Essex

Site report: *The Romano-British Temple at Harlow* (1985) by N.E. France and B.M. Gobel.

Time span: Mid-1st century BC to early 4th century AD.

Key deposits: a large number of coin (LPRIA and Roman) and brooch hoarded/grouped deposits often found in association with each other.

Key features: dry, hilltop site overlooking the River Stort and at one time in prehistory the area surrounding the hillock was partial marshland with a causeway leading up to the site from the south.

11. Camerton, Somerset

Site report: *Excavations at Camerton, Somerset* (1958) by W.J. Wedlake.

Time span: Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age to Late Roman.

Key deposits: four coin hoards, three of which were recovered from the foundation of a late 2nd century structure and the fourth from the occupation material spreads of a 3rd to 4th century AD workshop building.

Key features: hillfort located overlooking the Cam Brook.

12. Ham Hill, Somerset

Site report: 'Excavations at Ham Hill, Montacute, Somerset 1994 and 1998' (1998) in *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society,* by J.J. McKinley.

Time span: Early Iron Age to Late Iron Age.

Key deposits: few finds recorded. Those of note include a currency bar broken post deposition and two mid- to Late Iron Age torcs intertwined prior to deposition.

Key features: hillfort on a promontory overlooking the River Parret and River Yeo valleys.

13. **Glastonbury, Somerset**

Site report: *Industrious and Fairly Civilised: the Glastonbury Lake Village* (1995) by J. Coles and S. Minnitt.

Time span: Mid/Late Iron Age to Early Roman.

Key deposits: large quantities of all find-types. The remains of up to 52 individuals were of note recovered from across the majority of the settlement mounds, perhaps suggesting ancestor worship.

Key features: a series of settlement mounds within what would have been marshland within the floodplain of the River Brue.

14. **Meare (west), Somerset**

Site report: *The Meare Lake Village I-III 1948-1953* (1966) by A. Bullied.

Time span: Mid/Late Iron Age to Early Roman.

Key deposits: as with Glastonbury, large quantities of all find-types. Of particular note are 14 clay sling shot and slingstone hoards across ten settlement mounds.

Key features: a series of 40 settlement mounds also within the marshland of the River Brue.

15. **Lechlade, Gloucestershire**

Site report: *Excavations at Roughground Farm, Lechlade, Gloucestershire* (1993) by T.G. Allen *et al.*

Time span: Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age to Late Roman.

Key deposits: tools, animal remains, ceramic vessels remains and some burials dating from the Late Bronze Age to Late Roman period.

Key features: settlement located between the River Thames and River Leach. Pits provided the majority of finds from across the site.

16. **Weybridge, Surrey**

Site report: *Brooklands, Weybridge: the Excavation of an Iron Age and Medieval Site* (1977) by R. Hanworth and D.J. Tomalin.

Time span: Mid- to Late Iron Age.

Key deposits: relatively few recorded finds. Those available include tools and scrap metals indicative of metalworking.

Key features: settlement producing a number of pits from which most of the finds were recovered.

17. **Heathrow, Greater London**

Site report: *Landscape Evolution in the Middle Thames Valley: Heathrow Terminal 5 Excavations, Volume 1* (2006) by J. Lewis.

Time span: Mid-Bronze Age to Late Roman.

Key deposits: mostly organic and ceramic vessels remains. One key find was a late Roman lead tank crushed prior to deposition into a waterhole and inscribed with a St. Andrew's cross.

Key features: waterholes, wells, pits and gullies produced the majority of finds.

18. **Walbrook, Greater London**

Site report: *Excavations in the Middle Walbrook Valley* (1991) by T. Wilmott.

Time span: Early 1st century AD to early 5th century AD.

Key deposits: various metal working deposits, leather goods, coins and personal ornaments.

Key features: itself a tributary of the River Thames. The course of the river is believed to lie under the street named *Walbrook,* which runs through the City of London today. Many domestic structures lining its banks as well as at least one known temple on its eastern bank – the Temple of Mithras.

19. **Southwark, London**

Site report: *Excavations in Southwark and Lambeth* (1988) by Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Excavations Committee.

Time span: Mid-1st century AD to Late Roman.

Key deposits: two clay Venus statuettes mixed with industrial and domestic middens. Various other finds from all categories.

Key features: Located along the south bank of the River Thames.

20. Baldock, Hertfordshire

Site report: *Baldock: the Excavation of a Roman and Pre-Roman Settlement, 1968-72* (1986) by I.M. Stead and V. Rigby.

Time span: Mid-1st century BC to late 4th century AD.

Key deposits: weaponry including a substantial number of spearheads and model weaponry, tools, personal ornaments and cult items both site-wide and in the Late Iron Age and Early Roman burials, including bronze fragments from a statue and intaglios thought to depict the Roman god Mars.

Key features: major settlement activity has been recorded in an extensive network of domestic structures, series of ditches (either for accommodation or farming practices), road lines, a cemetery and a large number of pits and wells. Evidence of ritual activity came in the form of two possible temple sites to the north east and south west of the main site, though these structures have not been discussed in detail in the site report used.

21. Verulamium, Hertfordshire

Site report: *Verulamium Excavations Volumes 1 and 2* (1972) by S. Frere.

Time span: Mid-1st century AD to Late Roman.

Key deposits: large quantities of all find-types across the town. Six coin hoards were recovered from a number of domestic and workshop structures. Finds from the flood plain include quantities of coins, pewter table ware and other metalwork.

Key features: very little evidence exists from the pre-Roman period with much evidence dating from the immediate pre-Roman period, the early 1st century AD, as well as the major period of destruction and re-building as a result of the Boudican rebellion. The River Ver floodplain to the north of the town produced large amounts of finds, particualrly metalwork.

22. Springhead, Kent

Site report: *Excavations at Springhead Roman Town, Southfleet, Kent* (1999) by A. Boyle and R. Early.

Time span: Late Iron Age to Middle Roman

Key deposits: infant burials into a number of pits across the site.

Key features: settlement lying at the source of the River Ebbsfleet. A number of pits across the site produced various finds as outlined above.

Solway-Forth Axis: Study Zone Two

1. Balmuildy, Strathclyde

Site report: *The Roman Fort at Balmuildy* (1922) by S.N. Miller

Time span: AD 142 – circa AD 182.

Key deposits: inscribed stone dedicated to the building of the main gateway of the fort as well as an altar and fragmented statuary depicting Fortune, Victory and Mars.

Key features: fort site along the northern extent of Roman-occupied Britain constructed with a bathhouse and a possible wooden shrine.

2. Elginhaugh, Lothian

Site report: *Elginhaugh: a Flavian Fort and its Annexe Volumes 1 and 2* (2007) by W.S. Hanson *et al*.

Time span: Late Iron Age to Late 1st century AD.

Key deposits: coin hoard of 45 denarii deposited in three stacked groups in a construction trench of the *principia*. Over 100 lava quern fragments recovered from a latrine pit.

Key features: fort site overlooking the River Esk at the western extreme of the Antonine Wall. A well and latrine pit produced large quantities of varied finds.

3. Newstead, Scottish Borders

Site report: *A Roman Frontier Post and its People: the fort of Newstead in the Parish of Melrose* (1911) by J. Curle.

Time span: AD 80 – AD 180.

Key deposits: Large quantities of metalwork, specifically weaponry, tools and personal ornaments. Quantities of inscribed and sculpted stone were also recovered from the pits and wells, plus human and animal remains.

Key features: one of the largest fort sites in Roman-occupied Britain producing 107 deep pits and wells. A shrine was also constructed over one of the deep pits into which votive objects were deposited.

4. Corbridge, Northumberland

Site report: *Corbridge: Excavations of the Roman Fort and Town* (1988) by M.C. Bishop; *Excavations at Roman Corbridge – the Hoard* (1988) by L. Jones and M.V. Bishop.

Time span: Late Iron Age to mid-2nd century AD.

Key deposits: large early/mid-2nd century AD metalwork hoard recovered in the floor of a storeroom within the *principia*.

Key features: fort site along Hadrian's Wall with temple constructed over a votive pit.

5. Bar Hill, East Dunbartonshire

Site report: *Bar Hill: a Roman Fort and its Finds* (1975) by A. Robinson *et al*.

Time span: AD 142 to AD 197.

Key deposits: inscribed and sculpted stone including six altars and stones dedicated to the re-building of the fort between its first and second phases. Large amounts of metalwork, including weaponry and tools, and inscribed stonework recovered from one well in the fort interior.

Key features: fort along the northern extent of the Roman Empire. A well in the fort interior produced a significant number of finds (see above).

6. Birrens, Dumfries and Galloway

Site report: *Birrens (Blatobulgium)* (1975) by A.S. Robinson.

Time span: AD 80 to AD 180s.

Key deposits: one bronze figure of a satyr plus various metalwork finds recovered scattered across the site, particularly weaponry and tool finds.

Key features: fort located just to the north of Hadrian's Wall. A number of the fort's ditches produced some potentially significant finds.

7. Maryport, Cumbria

Site report: *Maryport, Cumbria: a Roman Fort and its Garrison* (1976) by M.G. Jarrett.

Time span: 2nd century AD to AD 400.

Key deposits: large quantity of coins, the majority of which were unstratified, recovered in comparison to all other sites examined in Zone Two. Stratified finds include a hoard of 17 forged denarii and the head of a Venus statuette.

Key features: fort site at the western end of Hadrian's Wall. Little recorded contextual data though the remains of three structures may have held some ritual significance.

8. Bowness-on-Solway, Cumbria

Site report: *Romans in North West England: Excavations at the Roman Forts of Ravenglass, Watercrook and Bowness-on-Solway* (1979) by T.W. Potter.

Time span: Later 1st century to 4th century AD.

Key deposits: inscribed and sculpted stoneware including two altars and one building inscription. Burnt remains in two pits from the earliest Roman occupation.

Key features: fort site overlooking the Solway Forth at the western end of Hadrian's Wall.

9. Castle Street, Carlisle, Cumbria

Site Report: *Roman Waterlogged Remains at Castle Street, Carlisle* (1991) by M.R. McCarthy.

Time Span: Late Iron Age to Late Roman.

Key deposits: cow's skull recovered from a timber-lined pit. Also significant are quantities of personal ornaments and one iron manacle.

Key features: settlement with a focus on the waterlogged area of the town. Timber-lined pit and a demolition layer dating a hiatus in the occupation for a number of weeks.

10. Bewcastle, Cumbria

Site report: *Bewcastle and Old Penrith: a Roman Outpost and a Frontier Vicus: Excavations 1977-78* (1991) by P.S. Austen.

Time span: AD 122 to early 4th century AD.

Key deposits: two large silver plaques dedicated to Cocidius and one altar dedicated to Discipulina all recovered from the defense foundations.

Key features: fort site to the north of Hadrian's Wall.

11. Camelon, Strathclyde

Site report: 'Camelon Native Site' (1980) in *Proceedings for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* by E.V.W. Proudfoot.

Time span: Late 1st century AD to mid-2nd century AD.

Key deposits: burnt finds in bedding trench and post holes suggestive of site clearing. Finds include animal remains, pottery fragments, burnt daub and non-metallic slag.

Key features: fort site with little contextualised finds evidence. Possible pre-Roman settlement evidence.

12. Cramond, Edinburgh

Site report: *Excavations of Roman Sites at Cramond, Edinburgh* (2003) by N. Holmes.

Time span: 2nd to 3rd centuries AD.

Key deposits: one altar recovered from the area of the rampart bank dedicated to Mars Condatis. Various personal ornament and animal remains recovered from the bathhouse contexts.

Key features: fort site completed with bathhouse. Ash layer and destruction deposit containing a varied number of finds – comparable, on a smaller scale, to Cadbury Castle's 'burning and massacre layer'.

13. Inveresk, East Lothian

Site report: *Roman Inveresk: Past, Present and Future* (2002) by M.C. Bishop.

Time span: Mid-2nd century AD.

Key deposits: partial remains of a bronze cauldron and a bronze torc from a well both dating to the Late Iron Age. Two stonework finds include one stone pine cone believed to be a tomb ornament and one altar dedicated to Apollo Grannus by Quintus Sabinianus, the Imperial Protector.

Key features: one well produced a number of key finds, including those mentioned above.

14. Eildon Hill North, Scottish Borders

Site report: 'Trial excavations at Eildon Hill North, Roxburghshire 1986' (1987) in *University of Durham Newcastle Upon Type Archaeological Report for 1986,* by O. Olwyn.

Time span: Early/Middle Roman.

Key deposits: one flint arrowhead, one glass armlet and ceramic vessel remains amongst the key finds recovered.

Key features: fort site overlooking the fort of Newstead and the River Tweed.

15. The Dod, Scottish Borders

Site report: 'Excavations at the Dod: Roxburghshire: 1981 an Interim Report' (1982) in *Northern Archaeology,* by I.M. Smith.

Time span: Late Iron Age to Late Roman.

Key deposits: unidentified number of human remains in the rampart close to the western entrance. Some burnt remains intermixed with an antler weaving comb and building material dating to the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period.

Key features: fortified enclosure overlying the remains of a Late Iron Age roundhouse.

16. Magna, Northumberland

Site report: *The Fort at the Rock: Magna and Carvoran on Hadrian's Wall* (1998) by R. Birley.

Time span: AD 80 to mid-4th century AD.

Key deposits: large quantities of stonework including four altars, 35 inscribed dedications and other statuary. A large pair of antlers and an iron spear, or angon dating to the 4th century AD, both recovered from the fort well.

Key features: fort site with few contextualised finds. One well producing two key finds (see above).

17. Vindolanda, Northumberland

Site report: *The Roman Fort of Vindolanda* (1985) by P.T. Bidwell.

Time span: Mid-AD 80s to AD 400.

Key deposits: quantities of metalwork in the form of tools, coins and personal ornaments including a hoard of 63 coins recovered from a crevice in a nearby quarry and a hoard of 300 coins from the west gate foundations dating to the mid-4th century AD. Inscribed and sculpted stonework was also apparent across the site.

Key features: large fort site with annexe situated on Hadrian's Wall.

18. Housesteads, Northumberland

Site report: *Housesteads Roman Fort: The Grandest Station – Excavation and Survey at Housesteads, 1954-95, by Charles Daniels, John Gillam. James Crow and Others Volumes 1 and 2* (2009) by A. Rushworth.

Time span: AD 25 to 4th century AD.

Key deposits: large quantities of all find-types with metalwork consisting of coins, tools, personal ornaments. Some inscribed and sculpted stonework including one Venus figurine.

Key features: fort site located a short distance from Vindolanda along Hadrian's Wall. Some finds worked into the rampart make-up are suggestive of ritual associated with the construction of these features.

19. Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh, Northumberland

Site report: *Coventina's Well* (1985) by L. Allason-Jones and B. McKay.

Time span: AD 128 to mid-3rd century AD.

Key deposits: large quantities of coins plus inscribed and sculpted stonework, personal ornaments and other metal finds either dedicated to or depicting Coventina.

Key features: revetted spring/well associated with the fort site of Carrawburgh, producing extensive votive deposits in close proximity to a *Mithreaum* to the south of the fort.

APPENDIX 4.

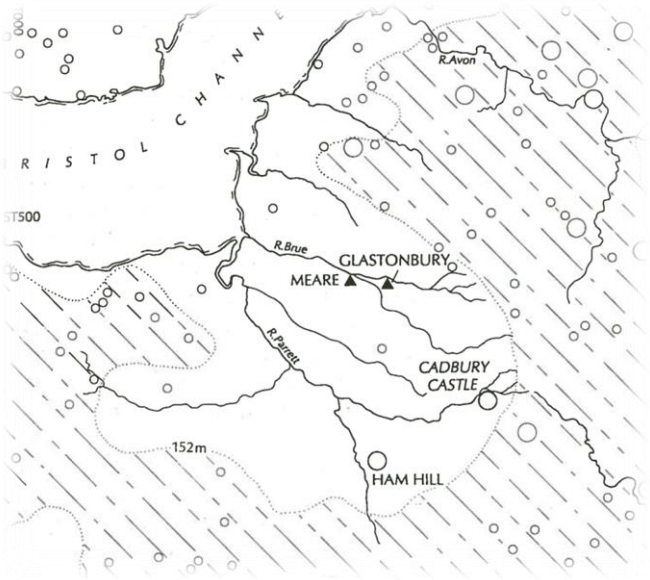
SITE PLANS

Study Zone One

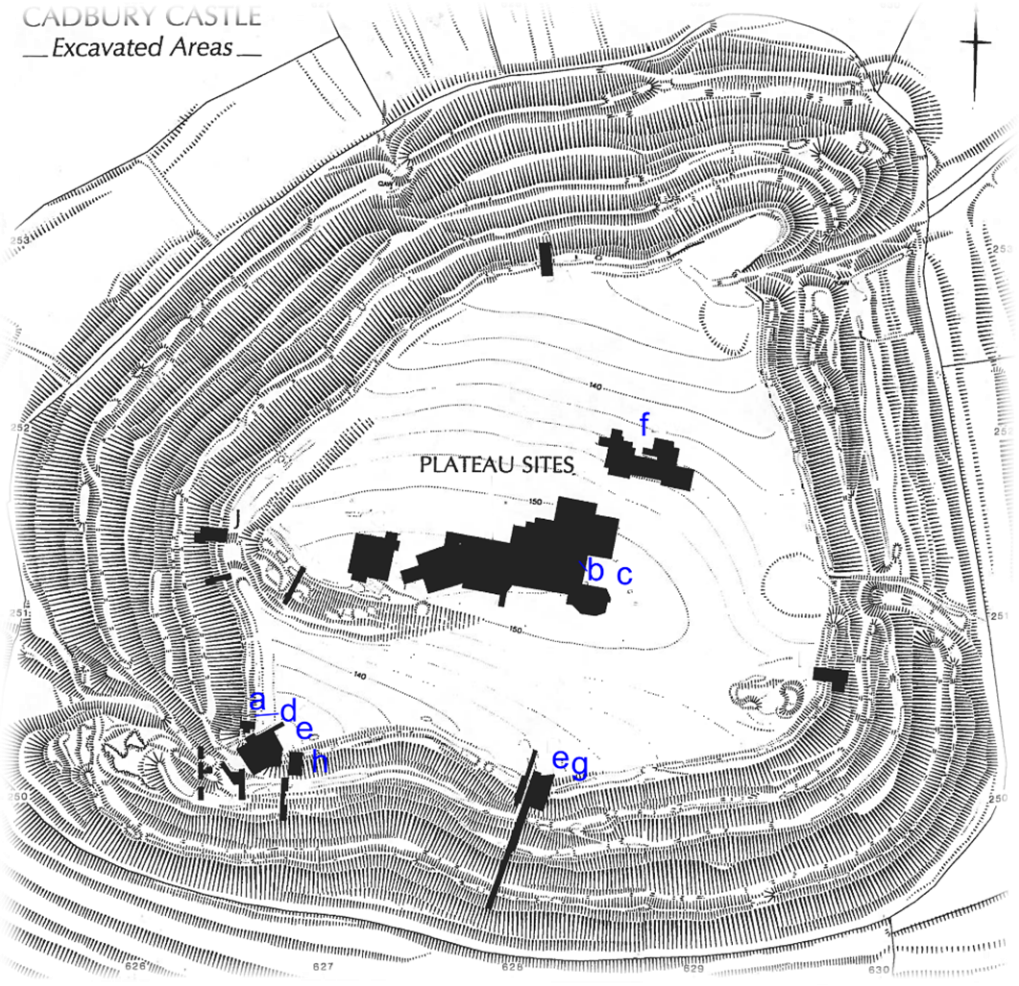
Site Plan A4.5.1: Cadbury Castle, Somerset

Source: a. Barrett et al, (2000: 4); b.Barrett et al (2000: 16) with own annotations in blue

a.



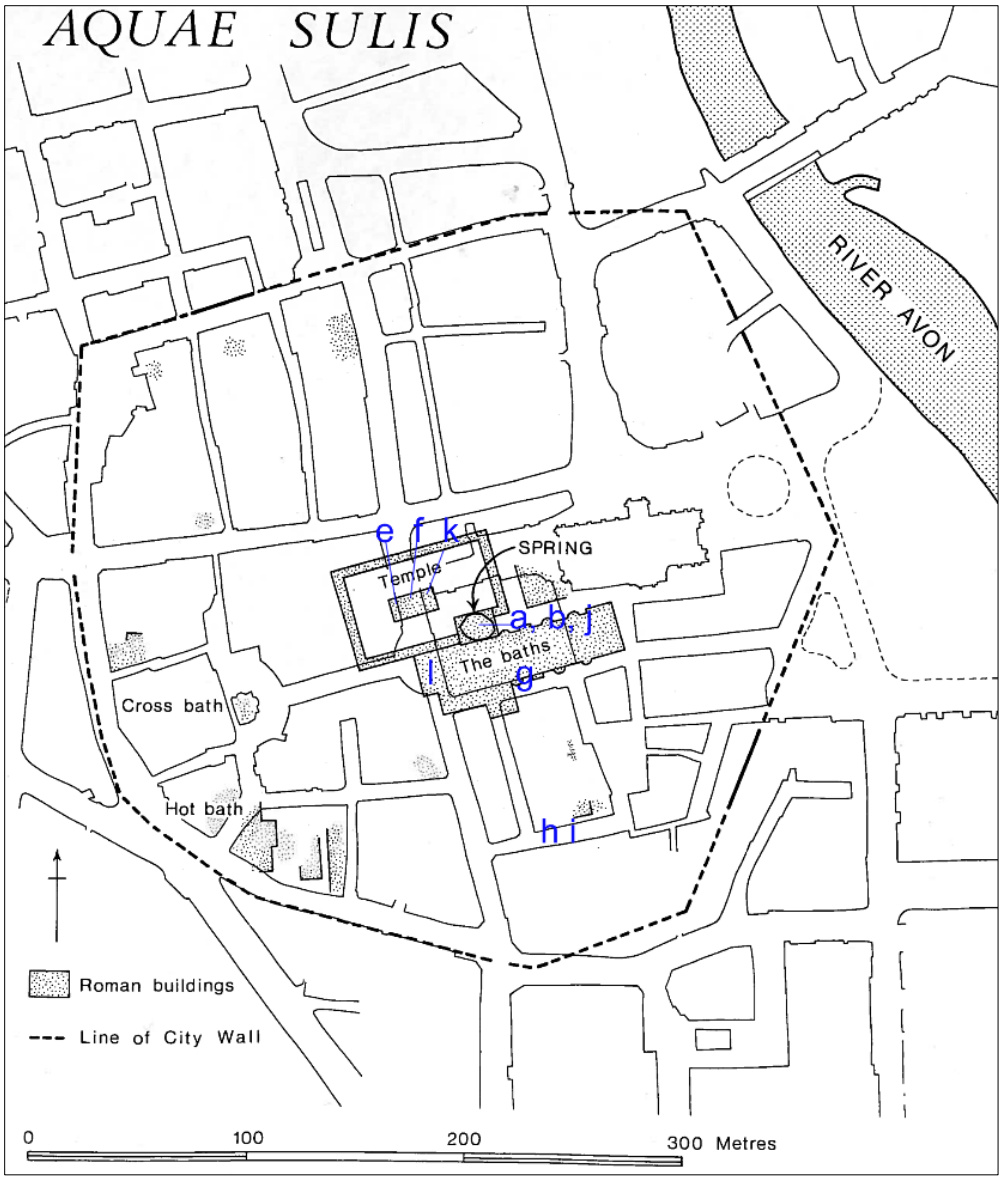
b.



a. ‘Burning and massacre layer’ - large quantities of weaponry, tools, personal ornaments and the disjointed remains of over 40 individuals aged between 4 and 35 years both burnt and unburnt.
b. Mid-1st century AD shrine with one coin of Late Iron Age date, various potsherds, metalworking debris and two quernstones – one lower rotary quern and one saddle quern fragment associated.
c. 30 neonatal calves.
d. 11 bone or antler weaving combs and 12 bone gouges with a small pottery assemblage in association.
e. Two clay sling shot hoards.
f. Ironwork hoard
g. Hoard of tools, wrapped in straw prior to deposition with clay sling shots, an iron currency bar, a shale platter and wooden bowl.
h. Five iron spearheads and five iron latchlifters.

Site Plan A4.5.2: Bath, Somerset

Source: Cunliffe and Davenport (1985: 14) with own annotations in blue

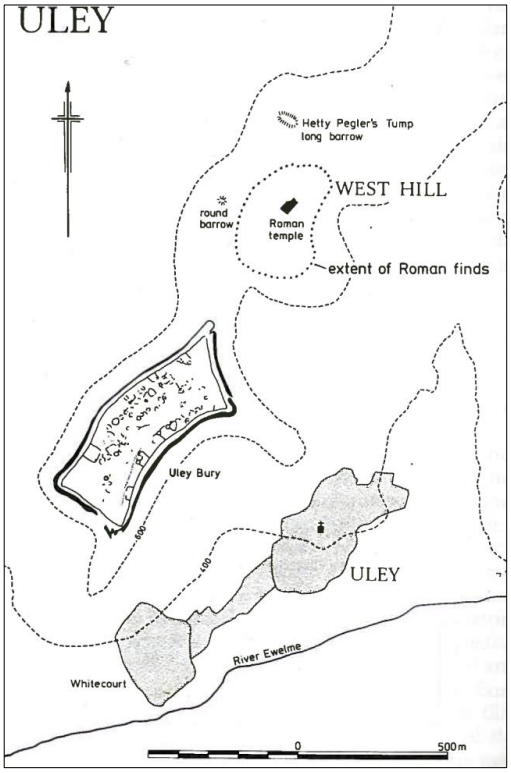


a. 18 Late Iron Age coins
b. Coins, personal ornaments and other metal types including lead tablets and pewter tableware.
c. Worked stone fixtures, stone capitals, the remains of decorative facades depicting various deities and the remains of eight altars.*Temple-wide spreads*
d. Oyster shell remains and a few potsherds. *Temple-wide spreads*
e. One large bronze cup.
f. The head of a Sulis Minerva statue.
g. One large lead pig/ingot plus the remains of lead lining, piping and frameworks.
h. Human skull.
i. Potsherds, various butchered animal remains, building materials and the individual finds of a lump of lead slag and a bone finger ring.
j. Flints.
k. Unknown number of burials – intrusive.
l. Single burial – intrusive.

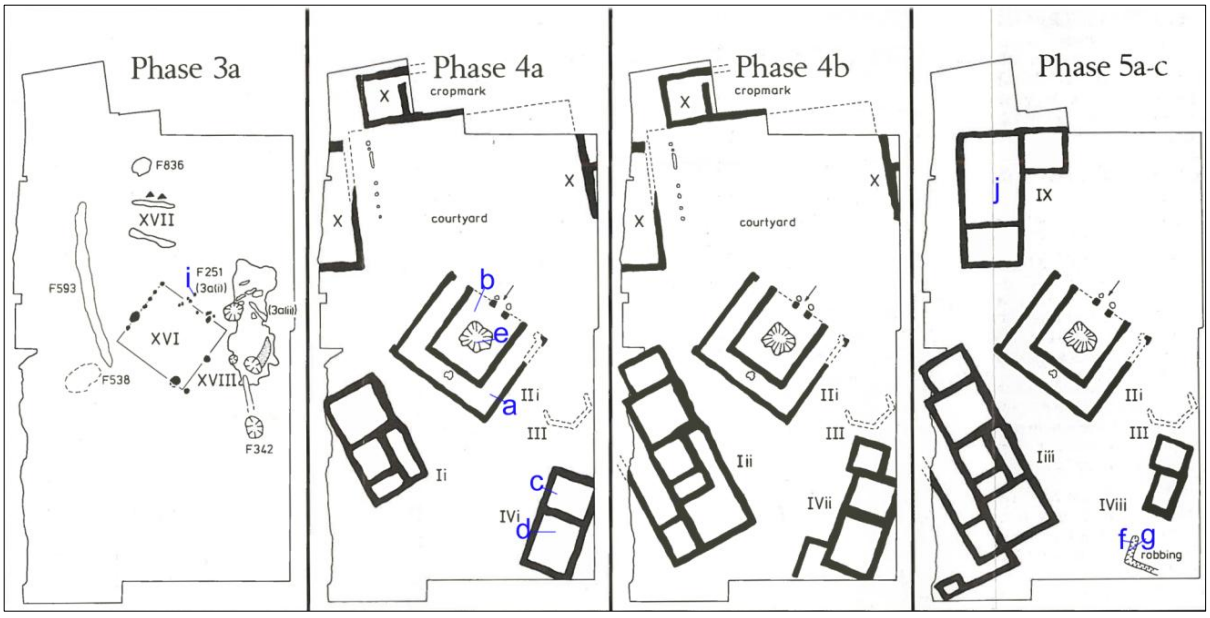
Site Plan A4.5.3: Uley, Gloucestershire

Source: a. Woodward and Leach (1993:1); b. Woodward and Leach (1993: 2) with own annotations in blue

a.



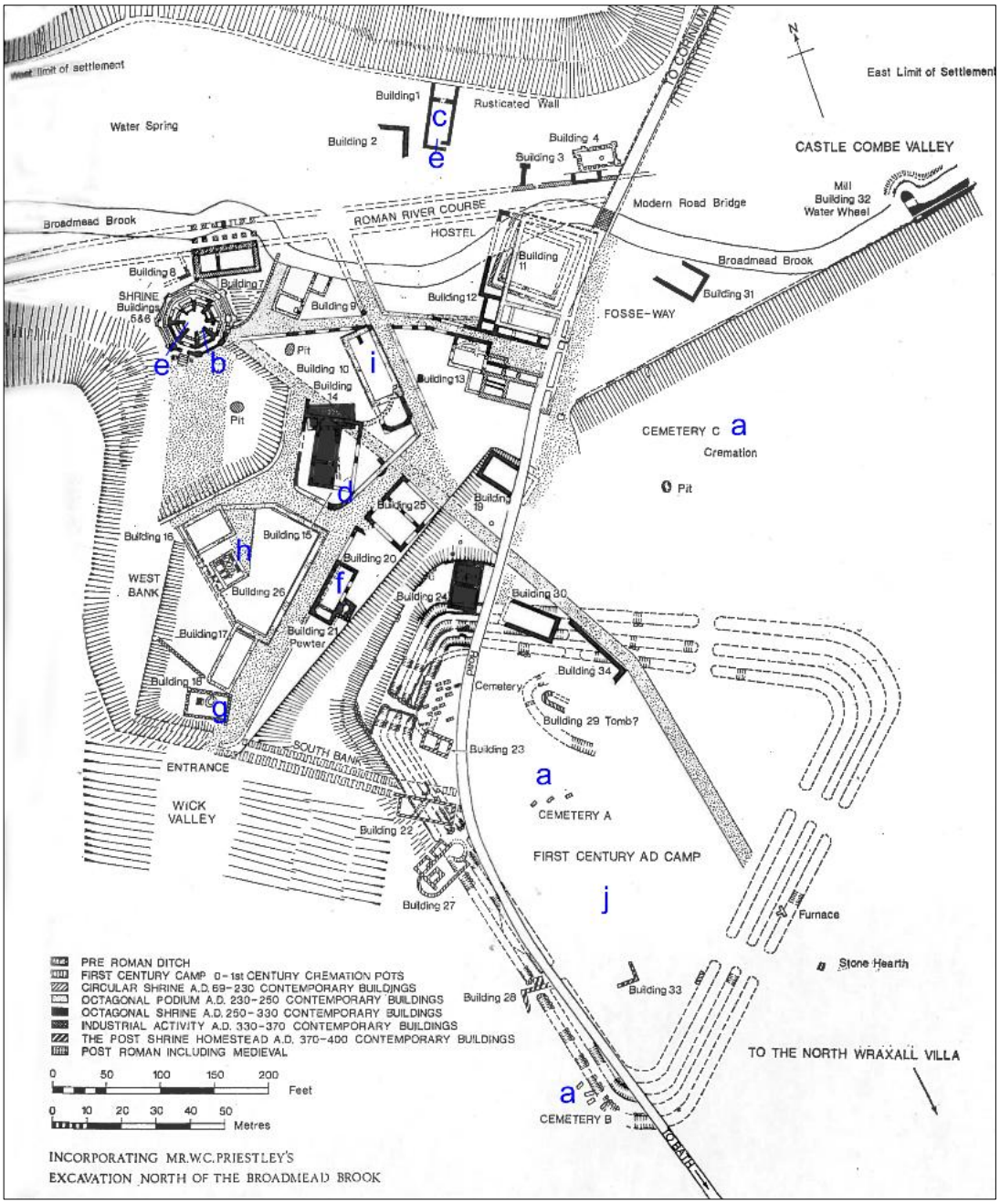
b.



a. Coins (various).
b. Weapons (various).
c. Miniature weapons – spears
d. Miniature pots.
e. One miniature pot plus the remains of a miniature altar, 283 late 3rd to late 4th century AD coins, five small personal ornaments, seven lead curse tablets, one bronze cockerel and other metallic remains.
f. Copper alloy bust of Sol associated with two teeth, one adult and one child, dolphin teeth, two miniature spears, three miniature pots, a number of tools, personal ornaments and few 'other small metal' finds.
g. Bronze bust of Jupiter.
h. Lead curse tablets. *Site-wide spreads.*
i. 'Votive pit' - weaponry, animal remains, personal ornaments and unknown numbers of coins.
j. A child's canine, plus a bone handle, a spindle whorl, one 4th century AD coin and parts relating to the oven.

Site Plan A4.5.4: Nettleton, Wiltshire

Source: Wedlake (1982: 2) with own annotations in blue



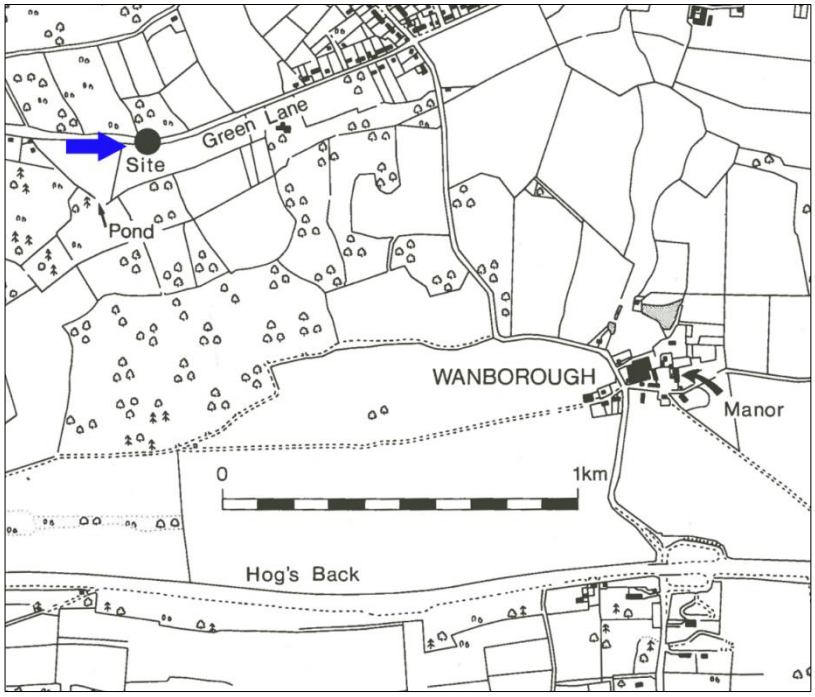
a. Remains of 14 individuals.
b. Remains of one individual with axe wound to the head. A small number of weapons, a piece of statuary depicting Diana with Apollo, and what is believed to be an Iron Age deity, unidentified.
c. Cremation urn plus two coins and a 4th century AD spoon handle in close proximity, a piece of statuary depicting Diana, Apollo's twin sister, with her hound
d. Tools, coins, personal ornaments, 'other small metal' finds.
e. Three bronze rings with images of Apollo.
f. One altar dedicated to Silvanus plus 685 coins, a lead-weighted harpoon in burnt material, a large number of tools and personal ornaments, various 'other small metal' remains and ceramic and glass vessel remains.

g. A limestone relief of an unnamed goddess and a terracotta cockerel.
h. One bronze cockerel figure.
i. Clay finial of a cockerel's head.
j. Two polished axe heads, 31 bronze brooches, a number of flint tools, over ten Dubonnic and early Roman coins, metalworking slag and quantities of potsherds.

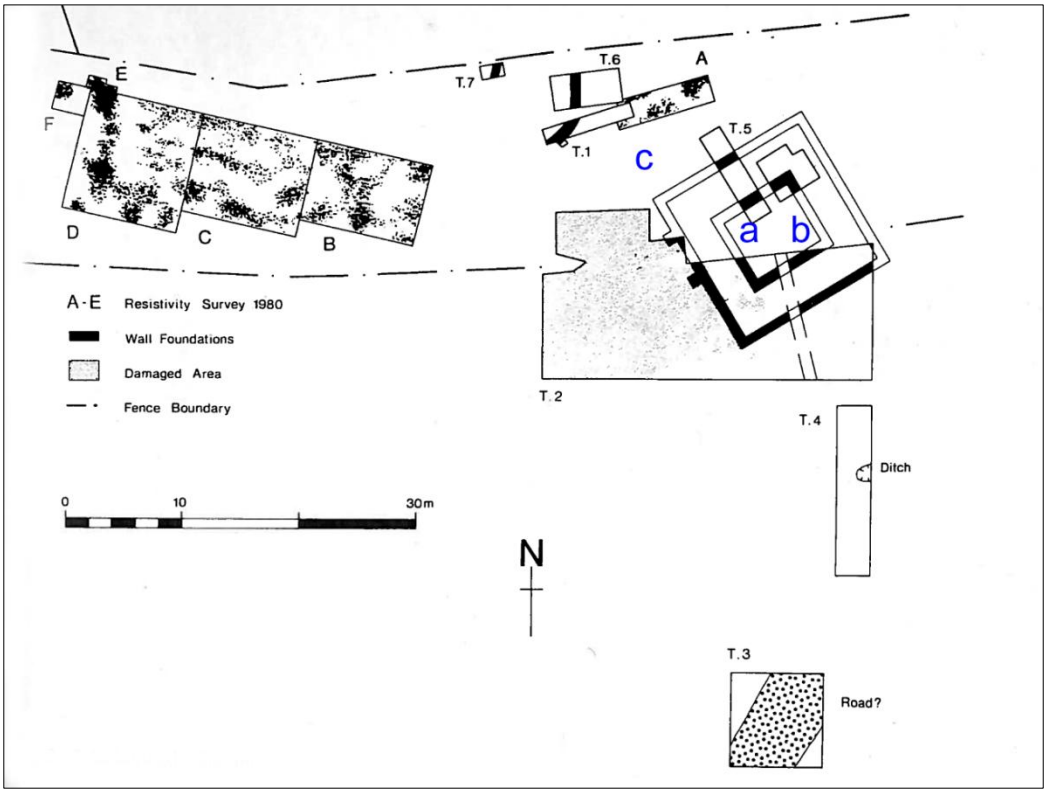
Site Plan A4.5.5: Wanborough, Surrey

Source: a. O'Connell and Bird (1994: 13); b. O'Connell and Bird (1994: 9) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

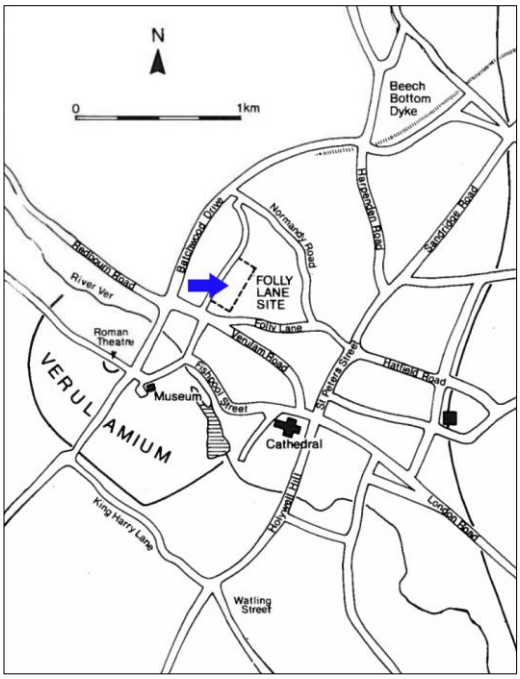


a. Coin hoard of 1,041 coins plus various potsherds and worked flints.
b. Three bronze headdresses, the remains of 16 bronze sceptres, several bronze brooches, the remains of 32 pigs, 61 sheep, 19 cattle, 91 oyster shells and 420 other unidentified animal bones plus a number of flint pot boilers and large numbers of potsherds.
c. Two copper alloy sword hilts.

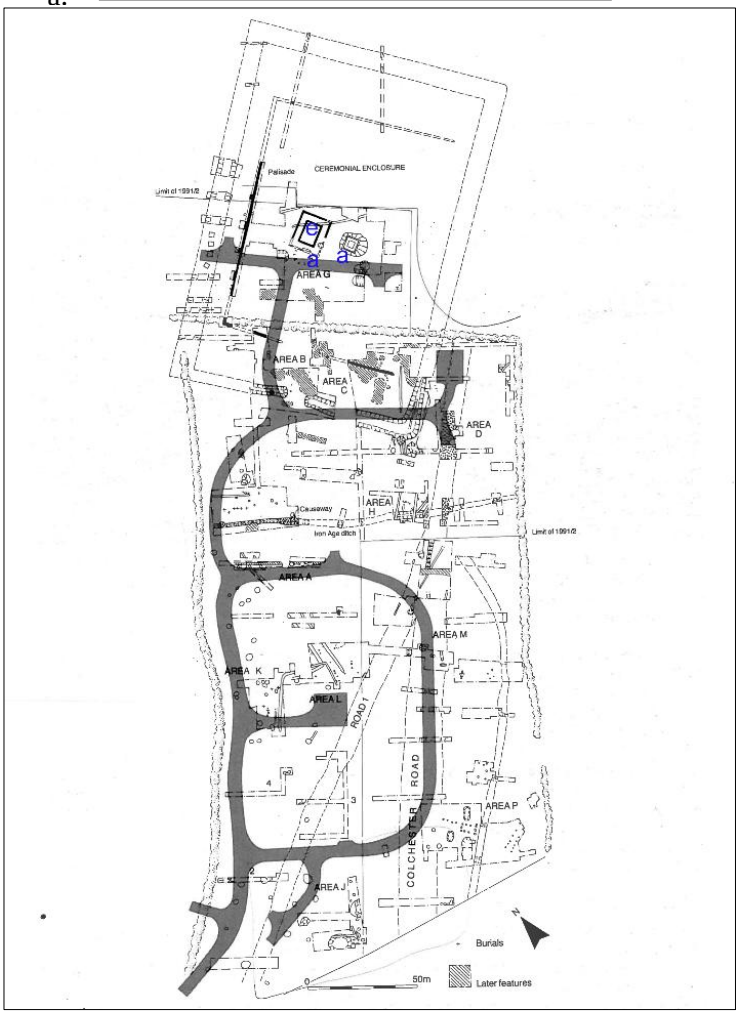
Site Plan A4.5.6: Folly Lane, Hertfordshire

Source: Niblett (1999: a: 1; b: 3; c: 82) with own annotations in blue

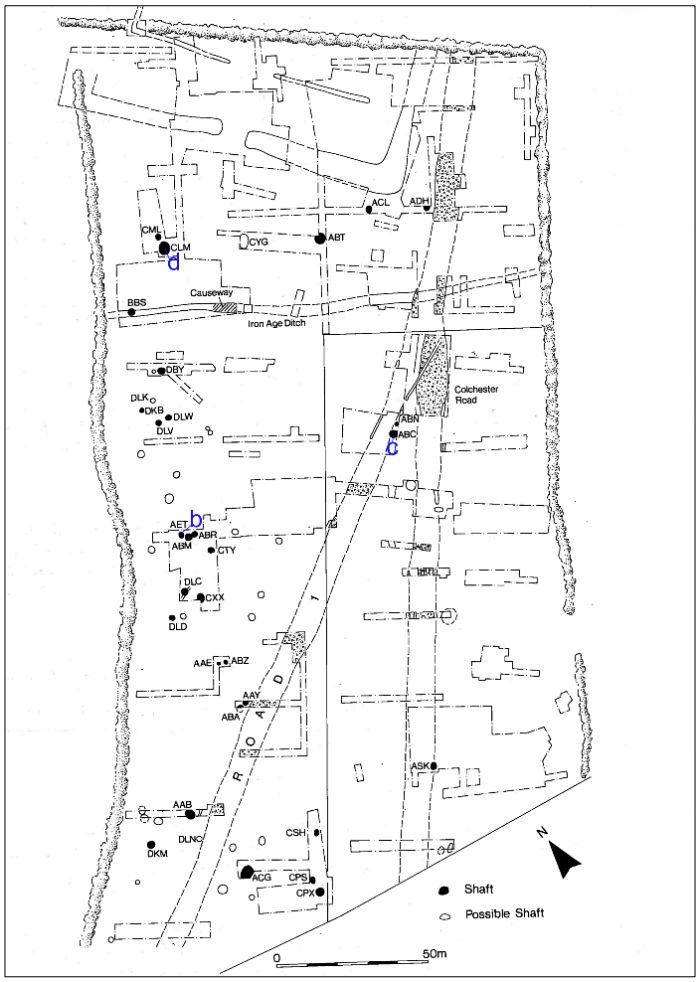
a.



b.



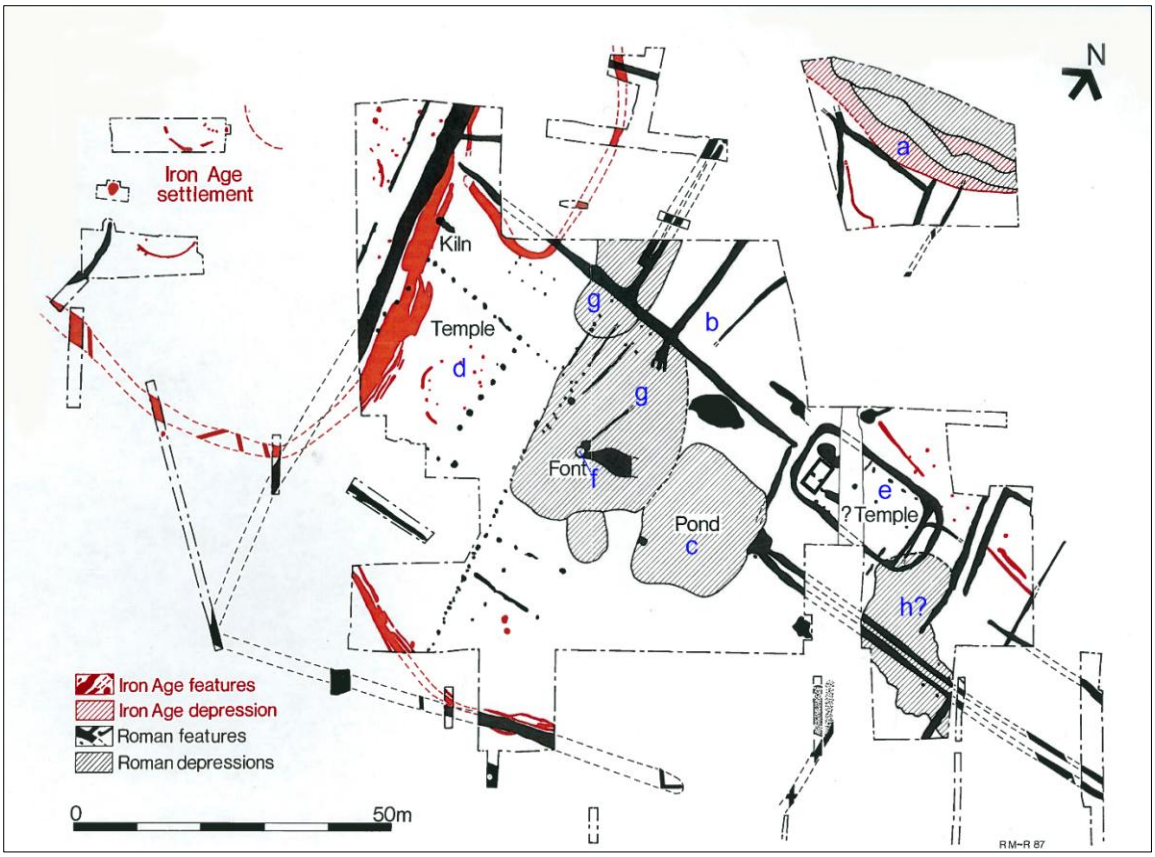
b.



a. Funerary shaft, the burial pit, funeral pyre/mound and their fills including cremated human and animal bone, quantities of tools, ceramics and other metal remains all of which were considerably burnt.
b. One human cranium plus the bones of a young dog, the remains of a puppy together with a fragmented face pot and three large deposits of over 34 butchered cattle.
c. Skulls of two oxen.
d. Partial skull of an ox with a few stray potsherds.
e. One spindle whorl, few potsherds and building material.
f. One iron key bent into a U-shape, three other small metal tools, six personal ornaments, two ‘other small metal’ remains, quantities of various potsherds and glass ware, one bone gaming counter, worked antler waste and cess accumulations. *Not on plan.*

Site Plan A4.5.7: Ivy Chimneys, Essex

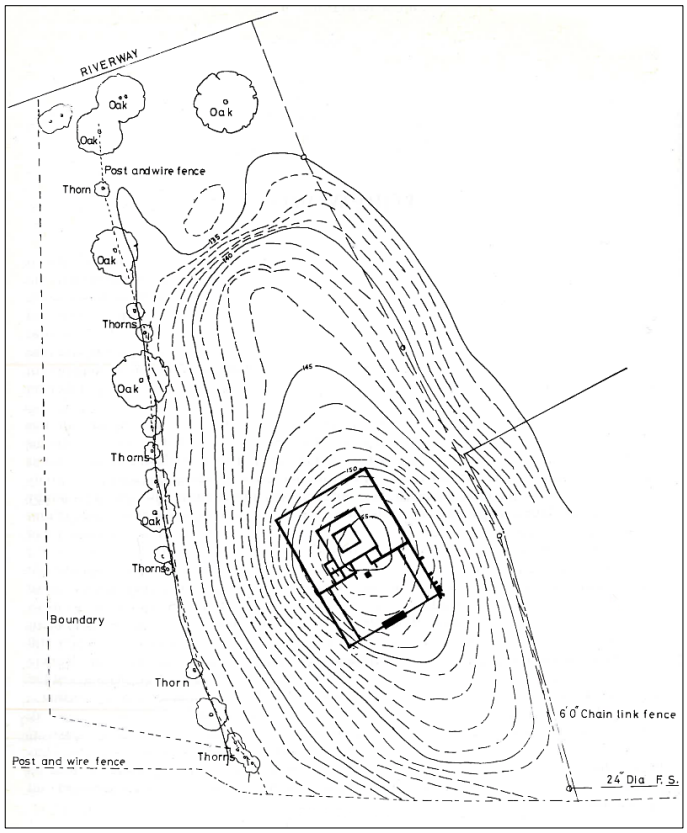
Source: Turner (1999: Figure 5) with own annotations in blue



a. 14 cranial fragments.
b. Animal bone deposit including an articulate horse with pig torso either placed or fallen into the mouth of the horse plus strung dog teeth. Human foetal bones buried with a hoard of 17 late 3rd century barbarous radiates.
c. 12 Palaeolithic hand axes intermixed with gravel fills, one hoard of 232 barbarous radiates, various iron tools and copper alloy personal ornaments including a ring or bracelet, potsherds, building material and the butchered animal remains of red deer, cattle and other unidentified types plus oyster and other molluscan remains.
d. Three barbarous radiates, one jet bead, two adult long bone fragments, infant bone fragments and 12 animal bone fragments.
e. Various potsherds including a whole miniature beaker in Nene Valley ware, plus some building debris.
f. Few oyster shells, one 4th century AD coin and some building debris.
g. Water vole, frog and water molluscan remains, 117 coins, one unidentified copper alloy head with lead infill, personal ornaments, tools and scrap metals and seven Palaeolithic hand axes.
h. 46 coins, one dog burial and one Neolithic axe amongst other tool, animal and 'other small metal' finds.

Site Plan A4.5.8: Harlow, Essex

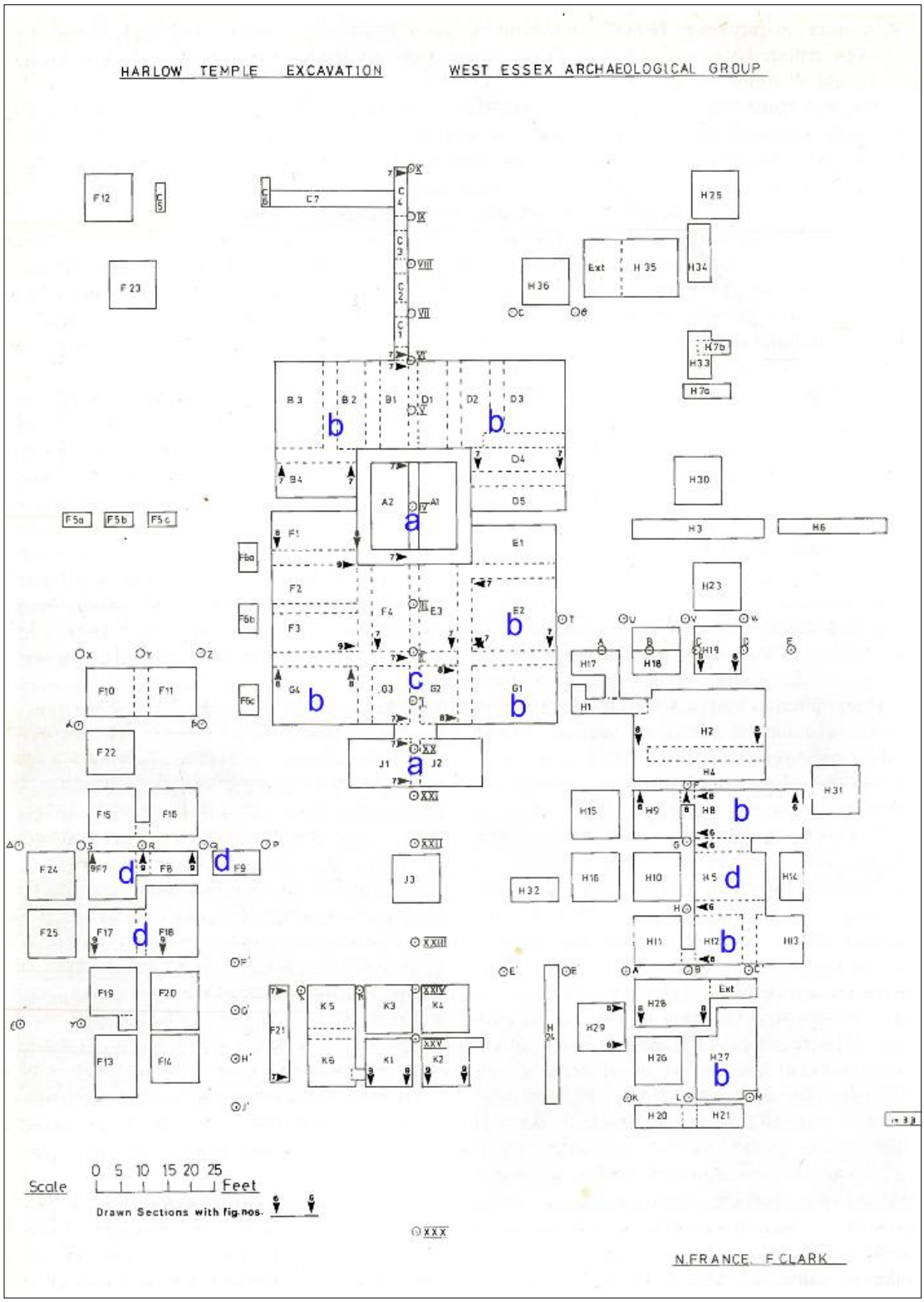
Source: France and Gobel (1985: a: 12; b: 16) with own annotations in blue

a. 

(For detailed site plan see over page)

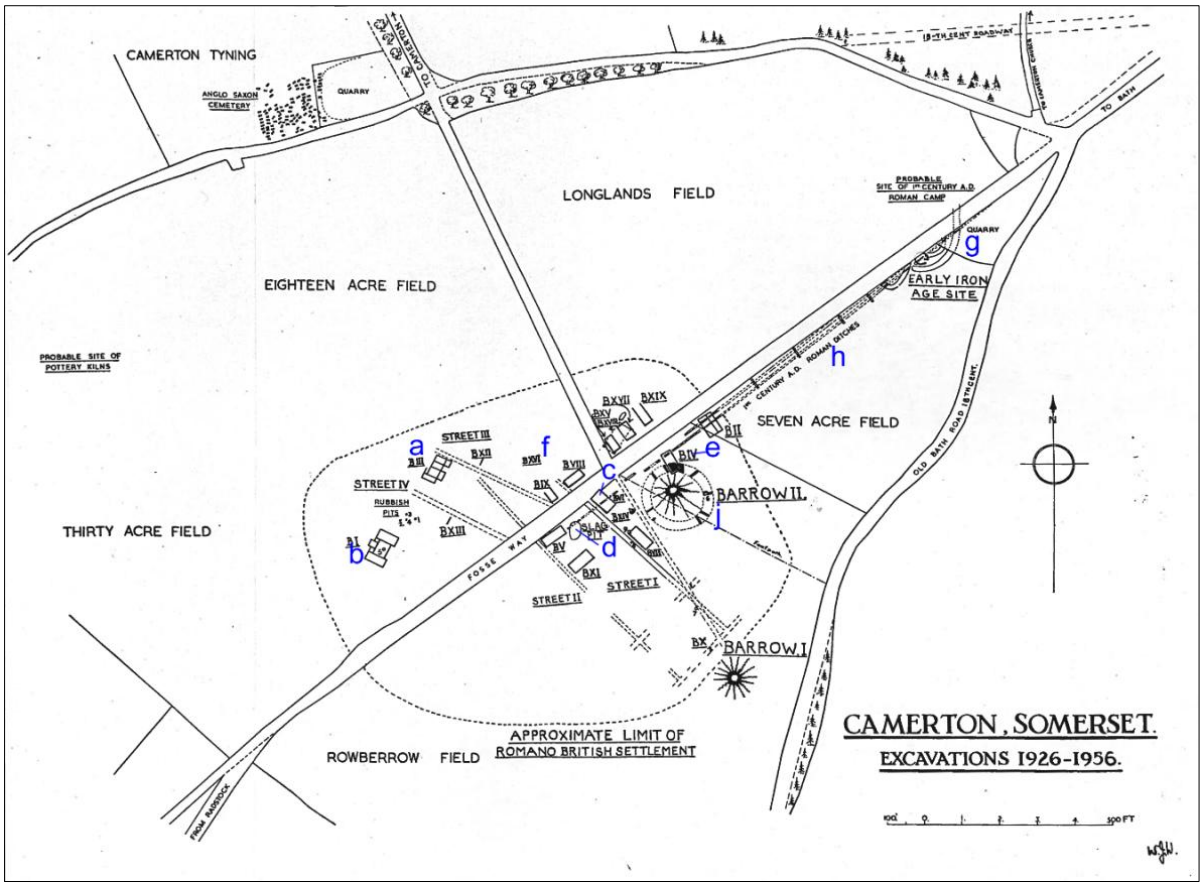
a. Main temple - personal ornaments, particularly brooches, plus coin finds, weaponry and tools.
b. Ambulatory and rooms surrounding the temple - personal ornaments, coins, tools, 'other small metal' finds and various potsherds.
c. East and west porches - personal ornaments, coins, tools, 'other small metal' finds and various potsherds.
d. Pits - broken brooches and other personal ornaments, coins, tools, large quantities of potsherds remains and 'other small metals'.

b.


HARLOW TEMPLE EXCAVATION
WEST ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL GROUP
Scale
0 5 10 15 20 25
Feet
Drawn Sections with fig.nos.
N.FRANCE F.CLARK

Site Plan A4.5.9: Camerton, Somerset

Source: Wedlake (1958: General Site Plan) with own annotations in blue

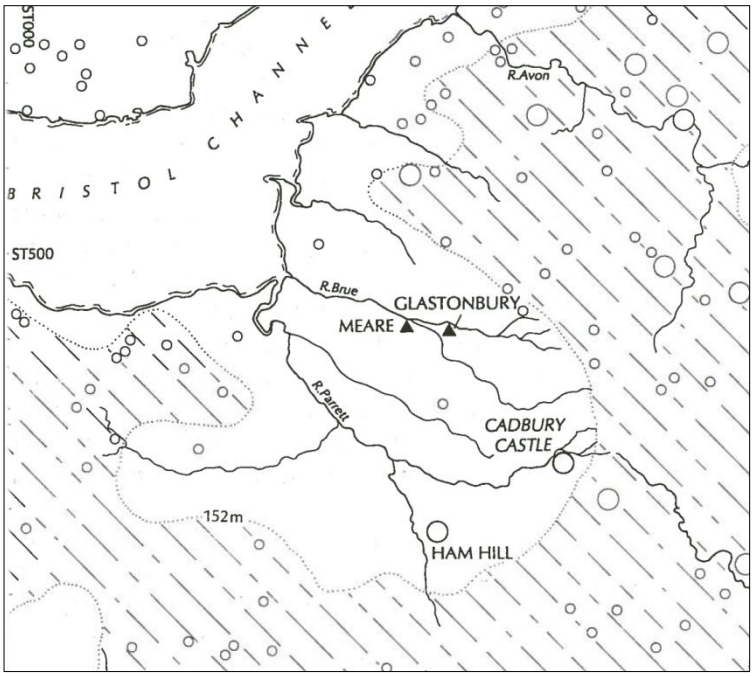


a. Three separate coin hoards totalling 508 coins plus personal ornaments, 'other small metals', tools, potsherds and worked stone finds.
b. The 'grotesque Roman head' (Wedlake, 1958: 215) and organic detritus.
c. Hoard of 85 minimi.
d. Bronze sheet fragments from possible votive tablets.
e. Remains of a stone spear from a statue, believed to have been Minerva, a partially inscribed stone and the remains of another statue of an adult and child.
f. Seven skulls and various unarticulated bones, plus several short daggers, a small number of tools, two coins, three pieces of jewellery, few potsherds and stone/brick building material.
g. One complete skeleton associated with a few potsherds.
h. Funerary urn with two bowls and one mortarium.
i. 13 human remains with personal ornaments, animal remains, pottery sherds and worked flints.

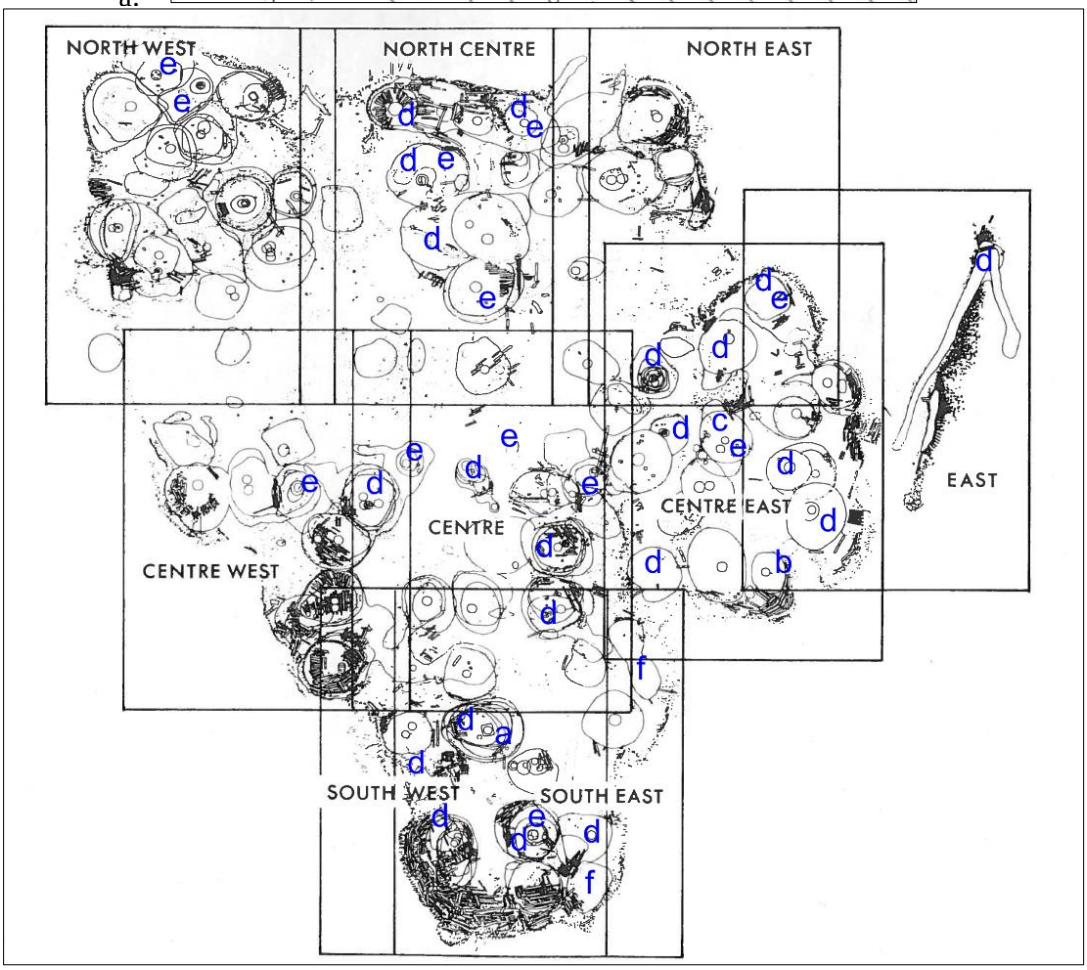
Site Plan A4.5.10: Glastonbury, Somerset

Source: a. Barret et al (2000: 4); b. Coles and Minnitt (1995: 32) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

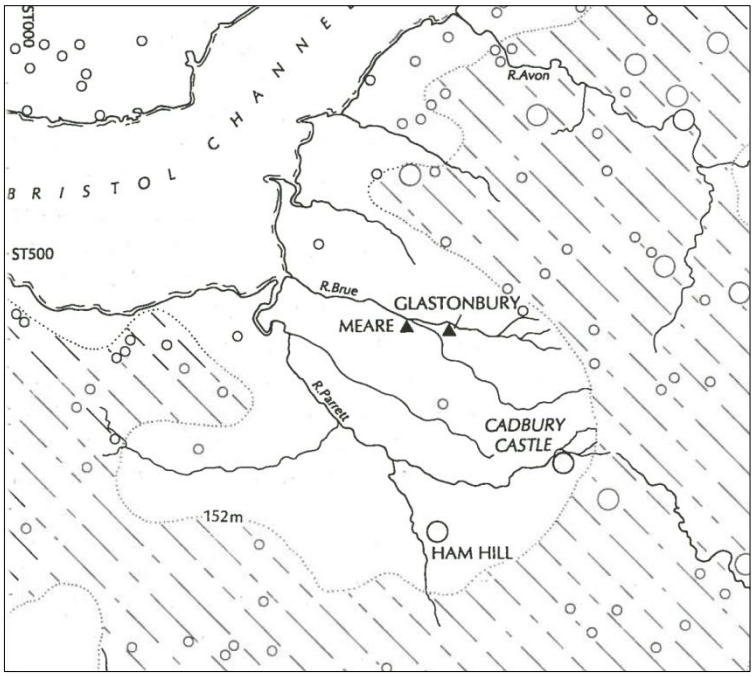


a. One large bronze bar.
b. One large bronze bowl.
c. One lead/tin bar.
d. 52 individual human remains.
e. Skull finds
f. Two skulls with sword cuts.

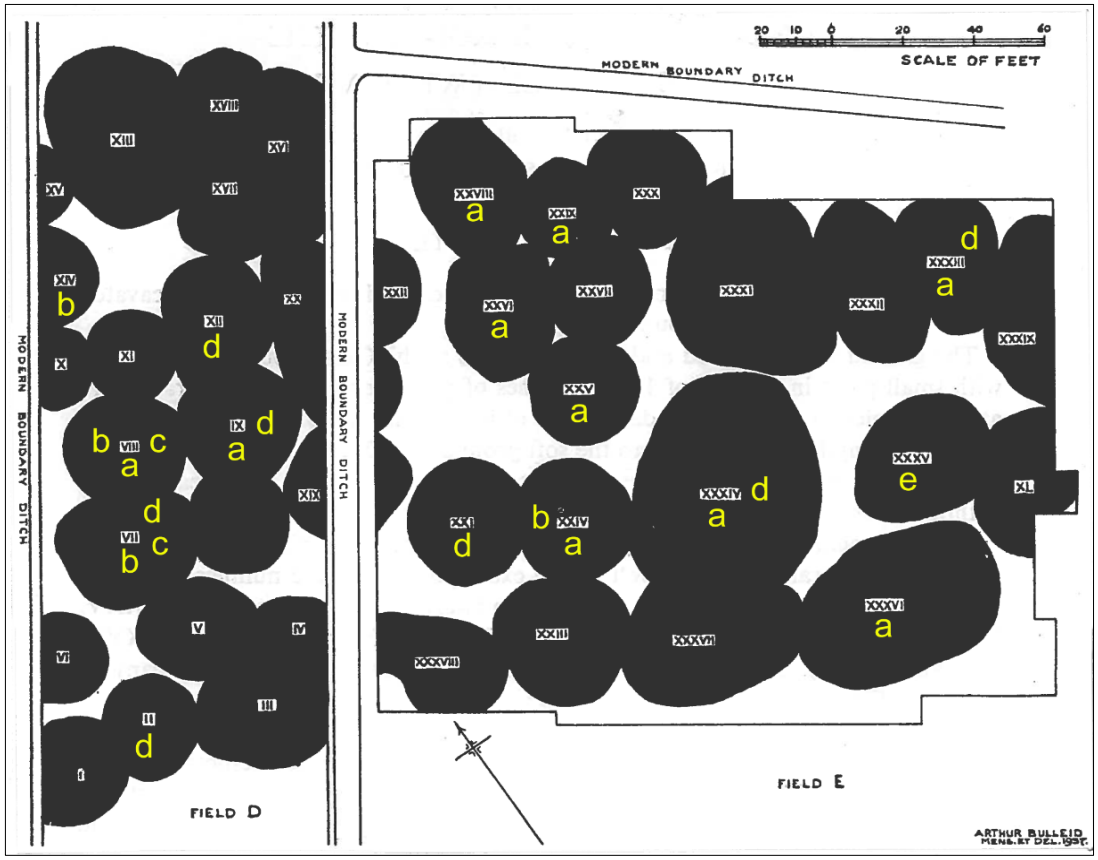
Site Plan A4.5.11: Meare, Somerset

Source: a. Barrett et al (2000: 4); b. Bullied (1966: 108) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

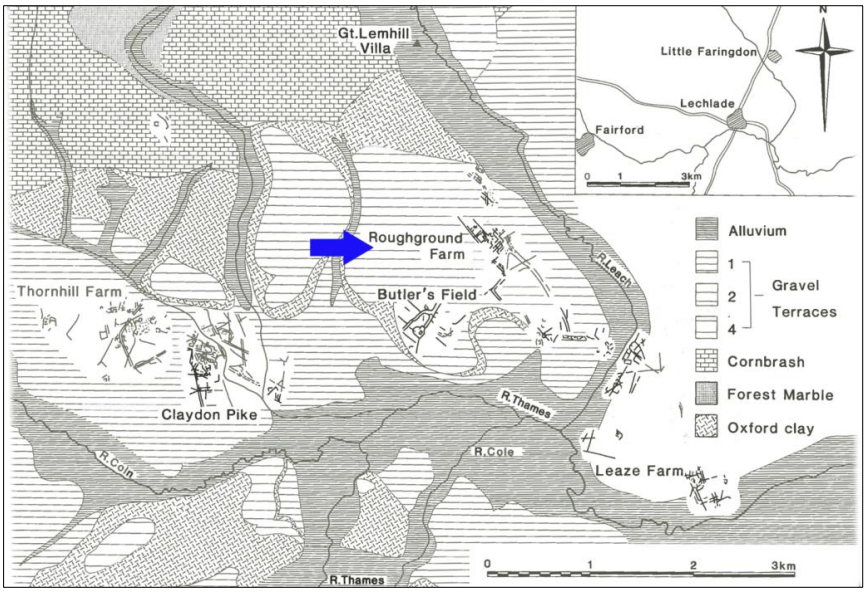


a. 14 slingstone/caly sling shot hoards.
b. Seven human skulls.
c. Two skulls with sword cuts.
d. Nine partial and whole human skeletons.
e. Large bronze box.

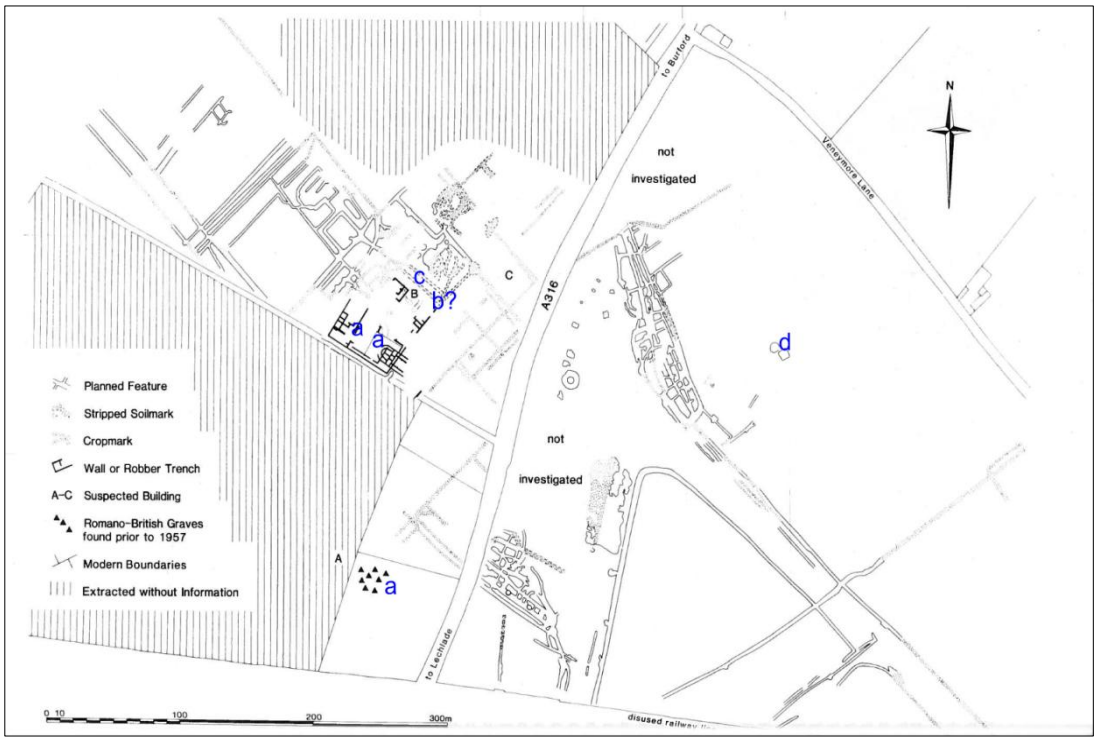
Site Plan A4.5.12: Lechlade, Gloucestershire

Source: Allen at al (1993: a: 3; b: General Site Plan) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.



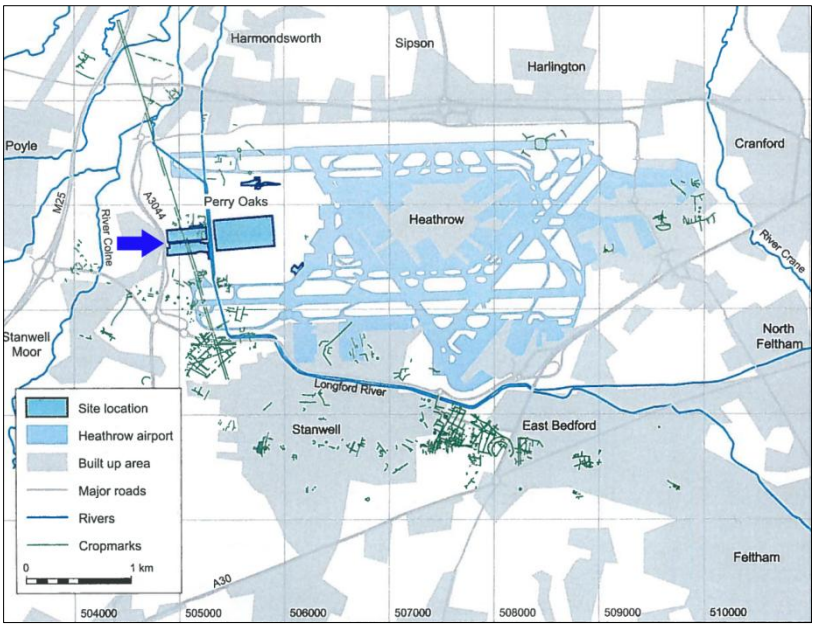
a. Two mid-Roman infant burials, one with an adult female, both within the villa, and the Roman-dated remains recovered from cemeteries to the north and south of the enclosure.
b. A few skull fragments from the base of a posthole of a late 3rd to early 4th century AD building associated with a mid-4th century AD coin. From occupation layers relating to this feature: six coins, several small tools, personal ornaments, potsherds and building debris.
c. 1st to 2nd century AD enclosure ditch producing a large lump of slag, an iron washer, copper alloy and iron scrap metals, various butchered animal remains, potsherds, building debris, other organic detritus, charcoal and the remains of eight high quality glass vessels.
d. Two deep pits/wells dating to the late 3rd to mid-4th centuries AD, producing 16 tools,

including one iron key shank and one iron latch lifter, and six personal ornaments, including a child's bracelet, some scrap metal, four coins, glass fragments and rotary quern fragments.

Site Plan A4.5.13: Heathrow, Greater London

Source: Lewis (2006: a: 2; b: Figure 4.23) with own annotations in blue

a.



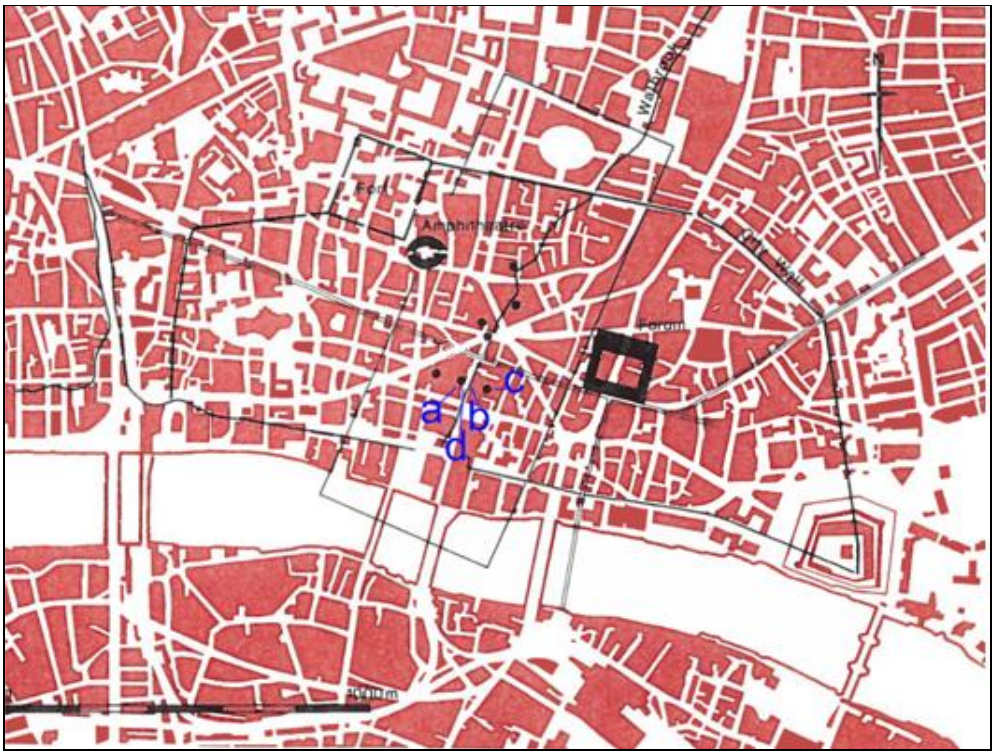
b.

a. Early to Middle Iron Age penannular gully producing burnt and worked flint, various animal remains and 'localised organic matter' (Lewis, 2006).
b. 1st to 3rd century AD waterhole producing a pair of tweezers together with an iron bar, and in addition, though not directly related, the remains of cattle and horse, and sherds of Verulamium ware.
c. Large lead tank, bent prior to deposition, dating to the late 4th/early 5th century AD. *Not on plan.*

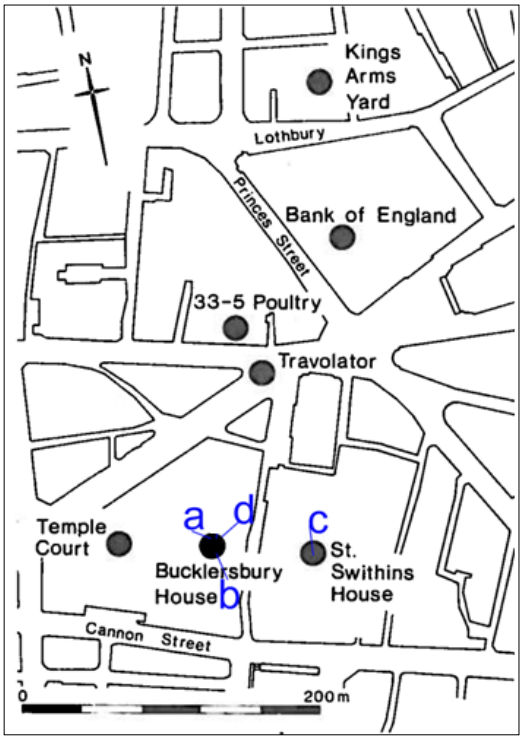
Site Plan A4.5.14: Walbrook, City of London

Source: Wilmott (1991: a: 7; b:8.) with own annotations in blue

a.



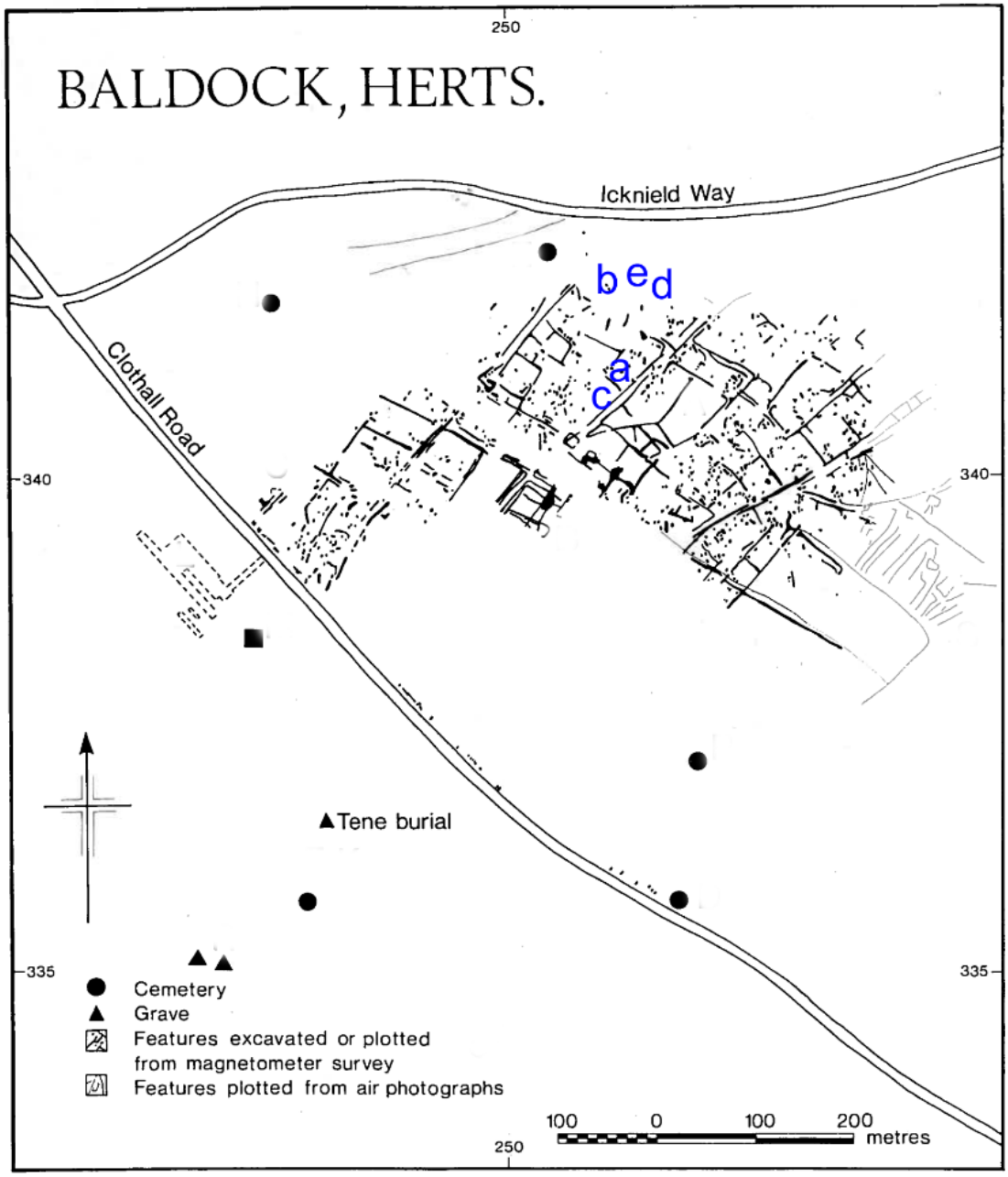
b.



a. Stream revetment producing a hoard of 2,456 iron nails and hobnails, a considerable number of other tools, scrap and waste metals and personal ornaments, a few weapons, a scattering of coins and an iron shackle, all of which dated to between the mid-1st to early 2nd centuries AD.
b. Silt layer of the stream bank producing partial human and animal bones dated to the early 2nd century AD, a few potsherds, one copper alloy stud, one 2nd century AD coin, one iron flesh hook, one iron stylus, and organic and ash layers.
c. Burnt building material in a pit dated to the mid-1st century AD.
d. Three pieces of iron bars or spikes recovered from a 3rd to 4th century AD structural foundation with an unfinished tool, a few coins, potsherds and some stone building material.

Site Plan A4.5.15: Baldock, Hertfordshire

Source: Stead and Rigby (1986: 30) with own annotations in blue

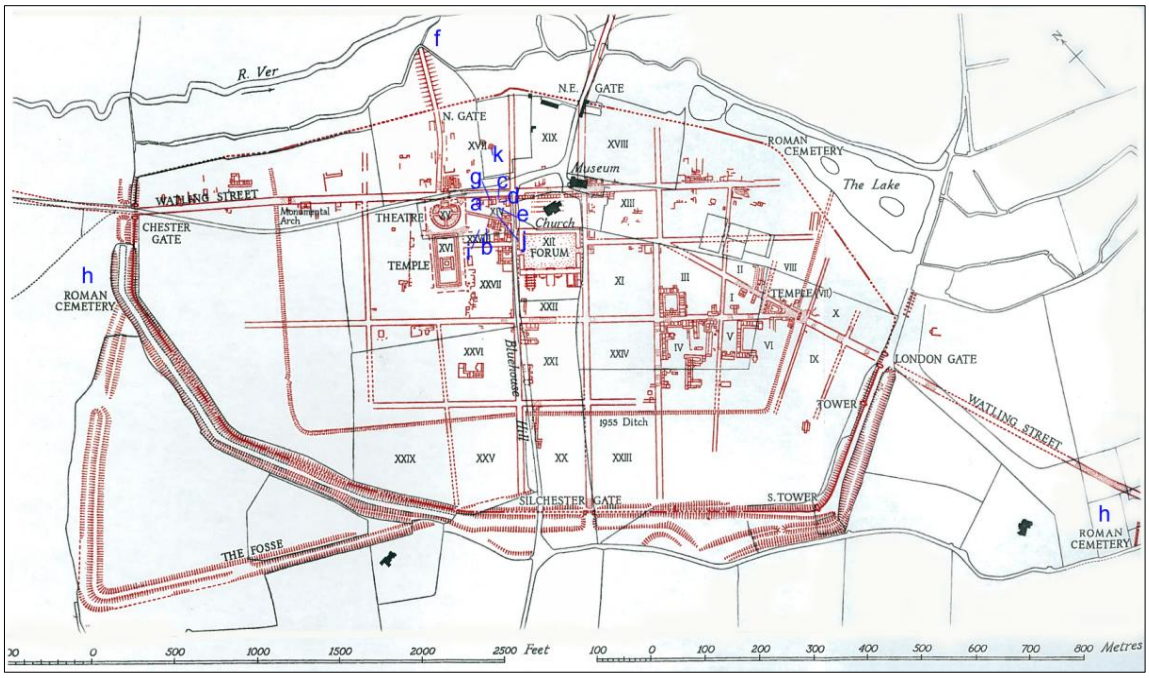


a. Well producing model spear, three spearheads, 'ritual' rattle, coins, tools, personal ornaments and potsherds – dated late 1st to 4th centuries AD.
b. Pit producing model axe, three spearheads, one rubbing stone, one whetstone, the base of a glass vessel, coins, tools, personal ornaments and potsherds – dated late 2nd to early 3rd centuries AD.
c. Ditch producing one model axe – dated late 3rd century AD.
d. Pit producing 'flock' of sheep plus few stray sherds, a bronze ligula, a bone pin, a bone needle and an iron spearhead disassociated with the sheep remains – dated 1st century AD.
e. Well producing 32 iron spearheads and one small iron bar, one iron spatula, one iron carpenter's knife, and a few Samian sherds disassociated with the spearheads – dated 3rd century AD

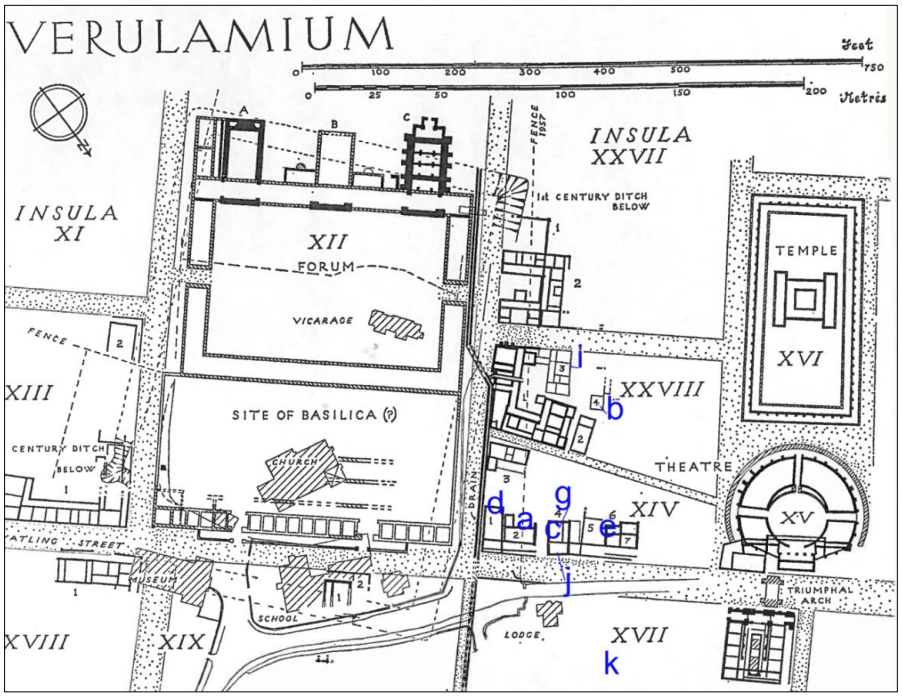
Site Plan A4.5.16: Verulamium, Hertfordshire

Source: Frere (1972: a: Figure 156; b: 2) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.



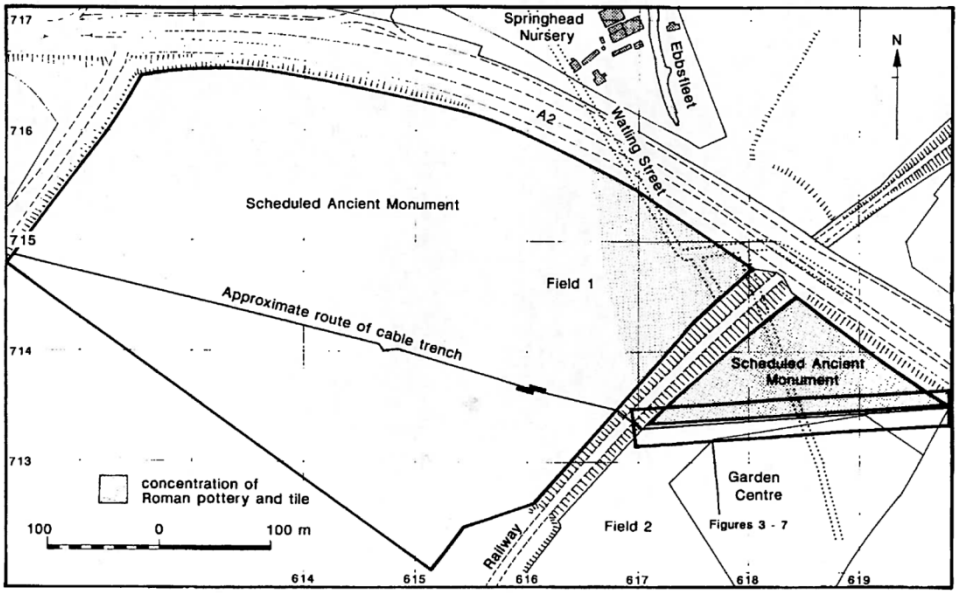
a. Mid-2nd century AD shrine.
b. Mid-4th century AD shrine producing 126 coins and a few pottery sherds.
c. 2nd century AD smiths' shop producing two coin hoards, potsherds, stone building material, personal ornaments and scrap metals.
d. 2nd to 3rd century AD cellar producing two coin hoards potsherds, stone building material, personal ornaments and scrap metals.
e. Late 4th centry AD rubble layers producing a small coin hoard.

f. River Ver floodplain prducing personal ornaments, iron and bronze tools, pewter table ware, a large bell and 179 coins, including the 28 within the wooden box – of varying Roman dates.
g. Mid-2nd century domestic structure producing a hoard of 108 lead roundels.
h. Late Roman to medeival cemeteries.
i. Five cremation burials – later Roman.
j. Seven infant burials with a few sherds loosely connected to two of the burials – dated to the mid-2nd century AD.
k. Skull fragment from building foundations. Associated occupation layers produced pottery remains, a few scattered coins, small personal ornaments, some animal remains, a bronze scabbard chape and stone building material – dated to the LPRIA/Early Roman period.

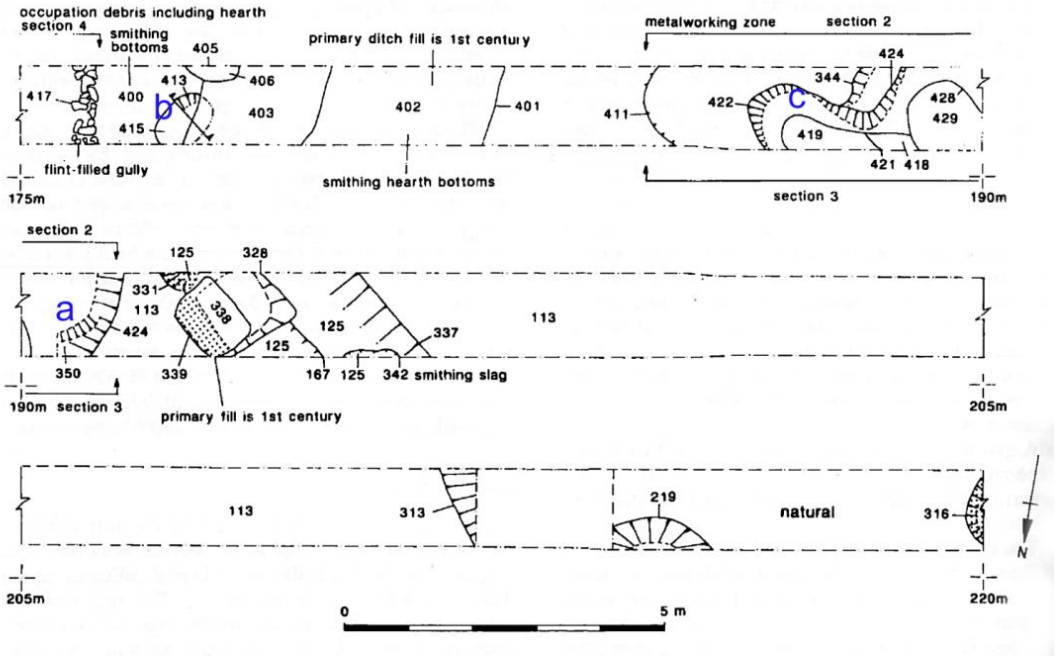
Site Plan A4.5.17: Springhead, Kent

Source: Boyle and Early (1999: a: 2; b: 4; c: 3) with own annotations in blue

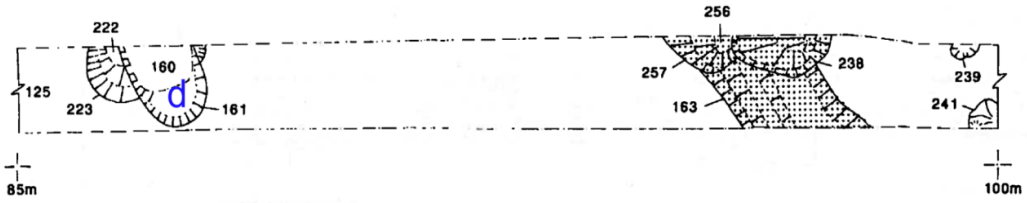
a.



b.



c.

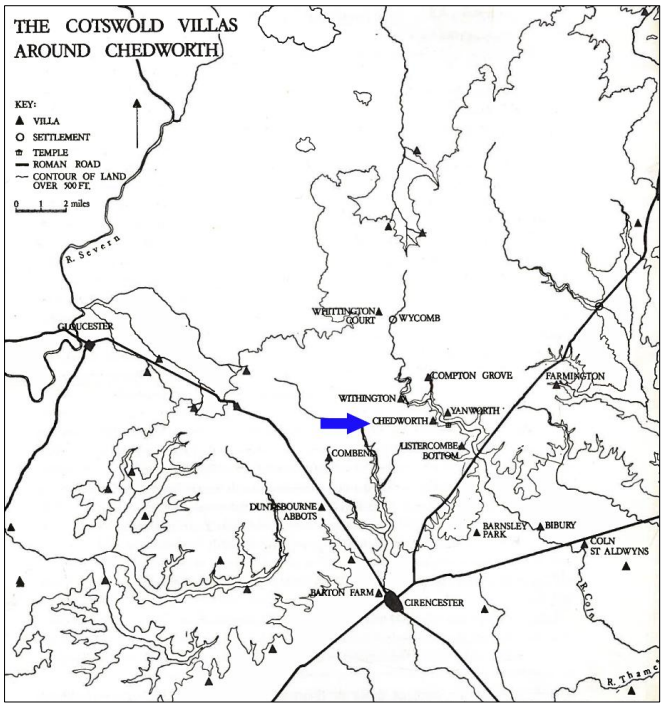


a. 2nd century AD pit producing the remains of a sheep cleaved in two with the right side remaining with an infant burial in close proximity buried into the chalk floor next to the pit.
b. Pit/ditch producing the right humerus of an infant, the remains of two or three sheep, though, not in direct association, potsherds, minimal scrap metal, mill and whetstone fragments and stone building material – dated from the 1st through to the 3rd/4th centuries AD.
c. Pit producing one incomplete iron blade, three 'other small metal' objects, three quernstone fragments and the leg and right femur of an infant – date unknown.
d. Ditch producing a spear or catapult bolt head, much corroded, a few stray nails, three small personal ornaments, glass vessel sherds and quernstone fragments – dated to the 1st century AD.

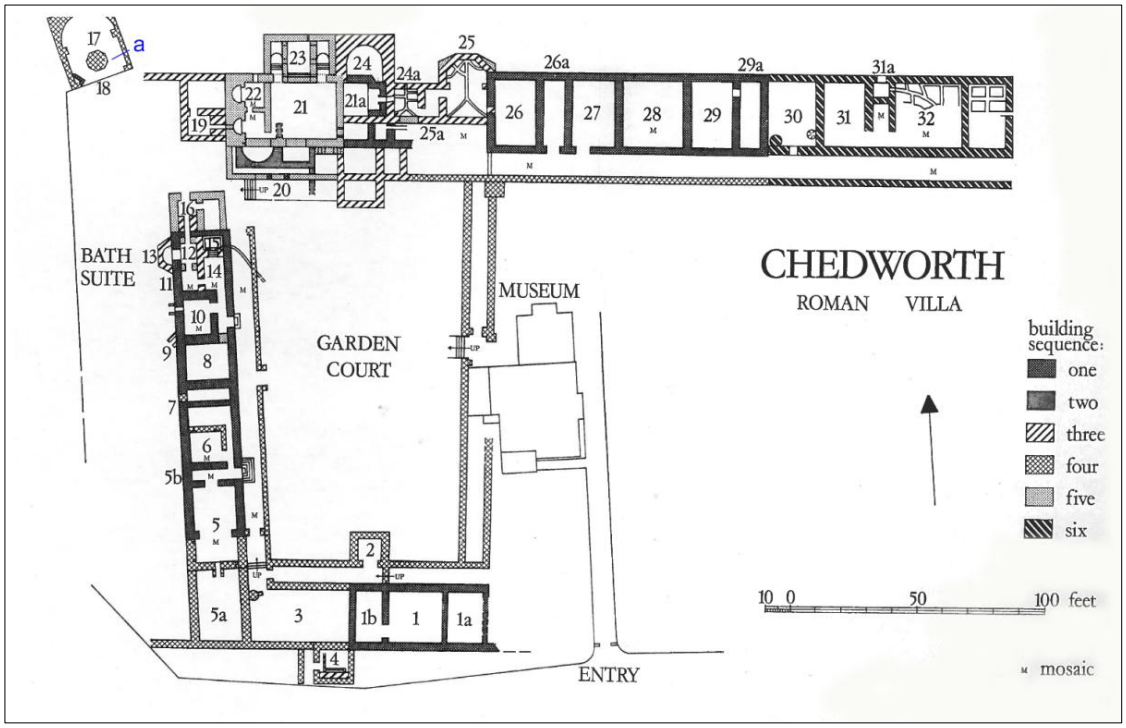
Site Plan A4.5.18: Chedworth, Gloucestershire

Source: Goodburn (1979: a: 10; b: Figure 3) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

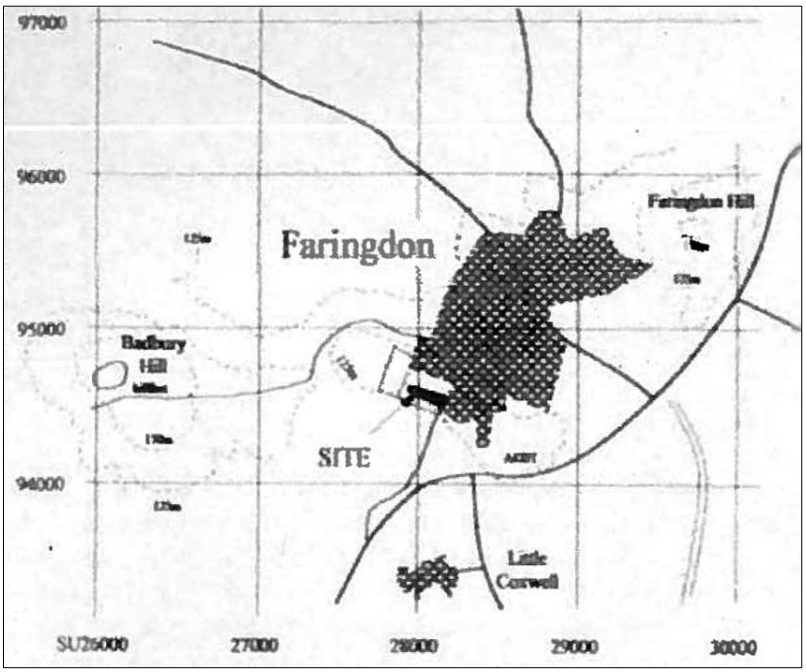


a. Villa shrine producing a stone depiction of a possible hunter god with dead hare and hunting dog, one bronze brooch, an uninscribed altar, two other altars dedicated to Mars Lenus, other indigenous deities depicted in stone and one stone slab inscribed with the chi-rho symbol, as well as other stone building material and lead piping associated with the reservoir – of a possible 4th century AD date.

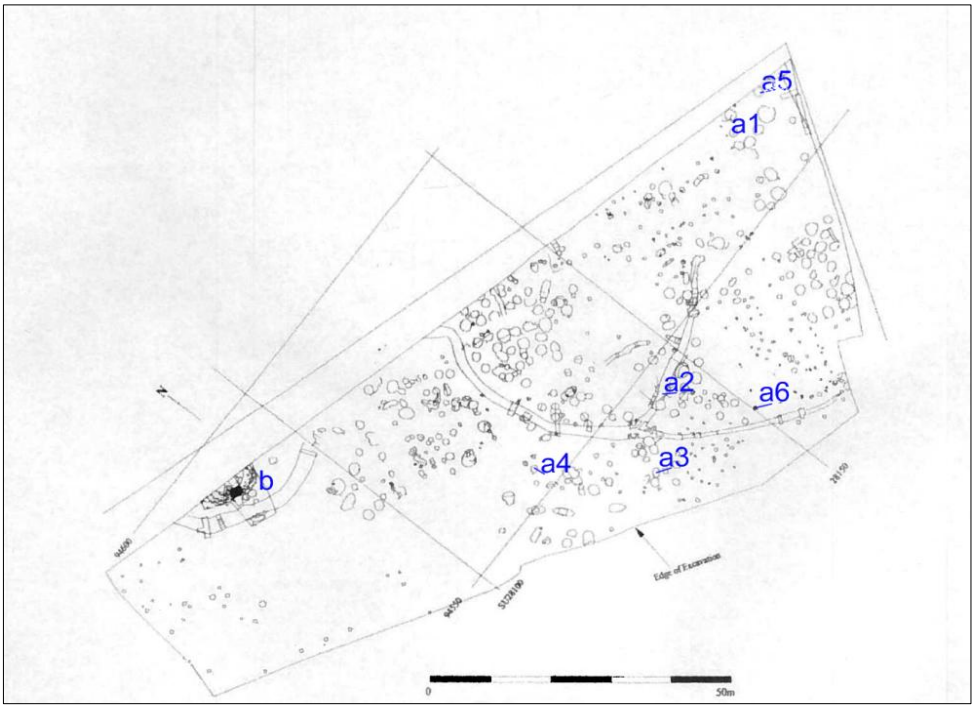
Site Plan A4.5.19: Faringdon, Oxfordshire

Source: Weaver and Ford (2004: a: 120; b: 122) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.



a. Early Iron Age pit series: Pit One: one fox with cub; one raven; two neonate piglets; small mammals: water vole, field vole, woodmouse; worked sheep and cattle bone, with no specific order noted in the placing of these remains; Pit Two: the wing and leg of a raven; Pit Three: one clay loom weight, one puppy, and one stone lens with the lens recovered

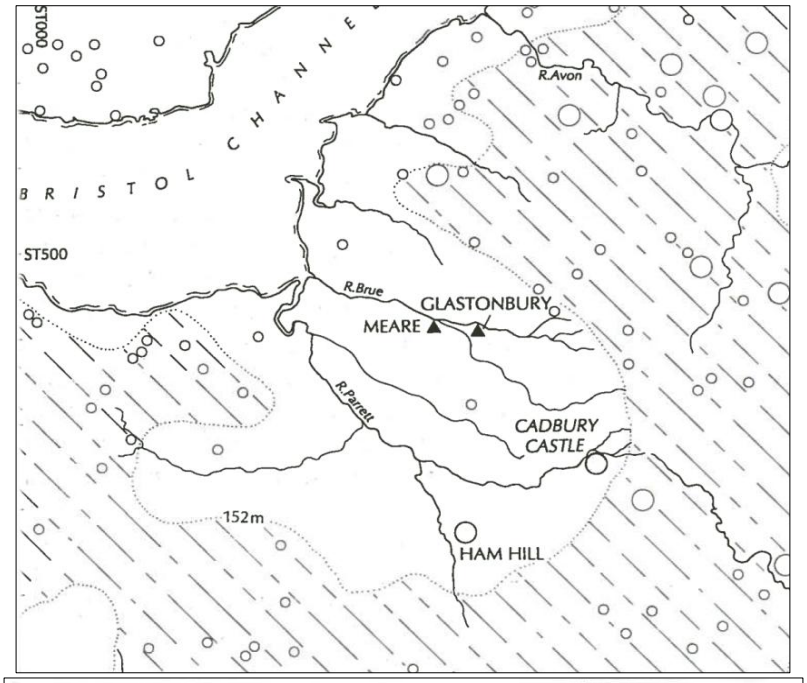
from the upper part of the fill; Pit Four: two young sheep remains partially burnt; Pit Five: one horse skull and one cow scapula; Pit Six: one whole pottery vessel..

b. Romano-British shrine producing five coins dating between the mid-1st to early 4th centuries AD, one iron arrowhead and one iron spearhead, one copper alloy bracelet, 17 iron nails, little copper alloy scrap metal, one bone gaming piece, a few potsherds and some stone building material.

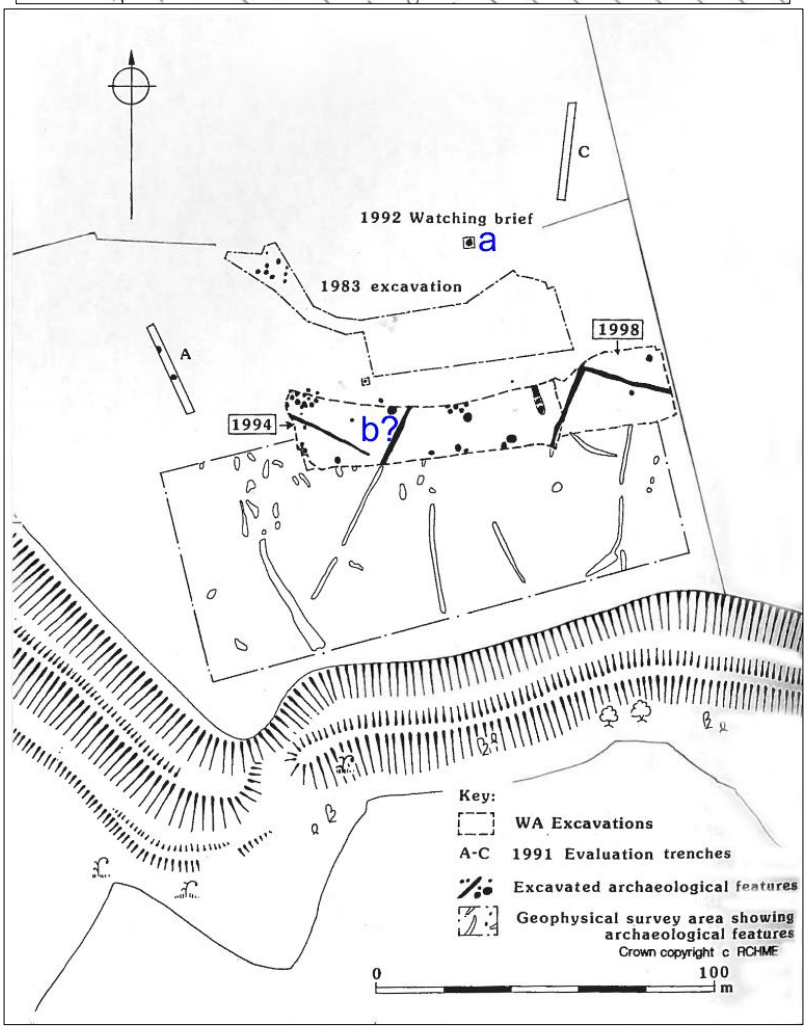
Site Plan A4.5.20: Ham Hill, Somerset

Source: a: Barrett et al (2000: 4); b: McKinley (1998: 80) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

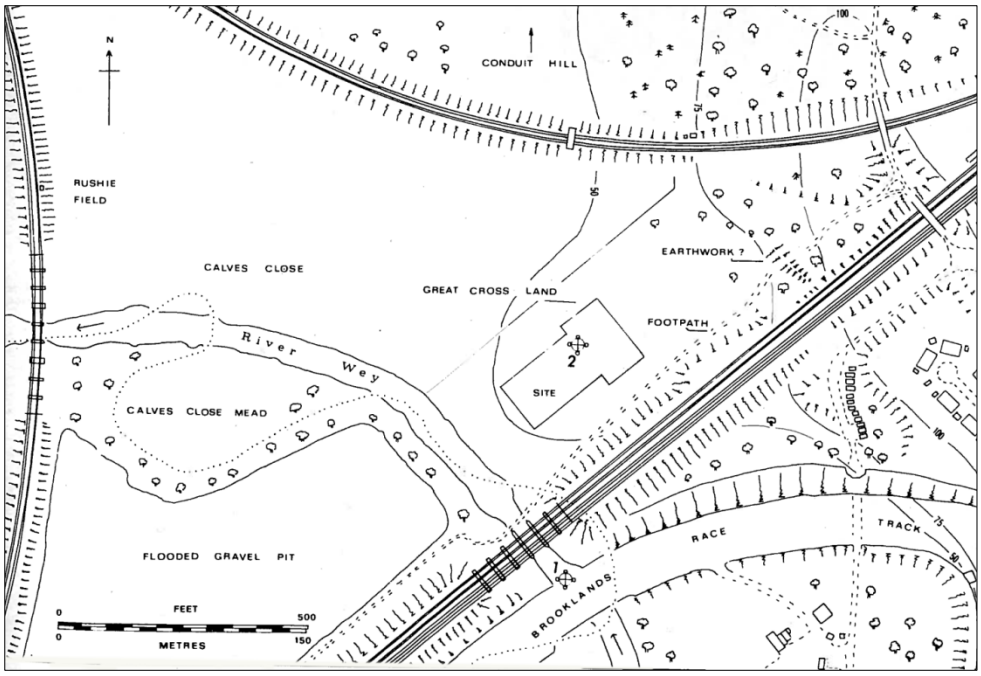


a. 2nd to 1st century AD pit producing an iron currency bar in the shape of a sword.
b. Gully producing a pair of 3rd to 1st century AD torcs or neckrings intertwined prior to burail, with one other neckring in association.

Site Plan A4.5.21: Weybridge, Surrey

Source: Hanworth and Tomalin (1977: a: 3; b: 4) with own annotations in blue

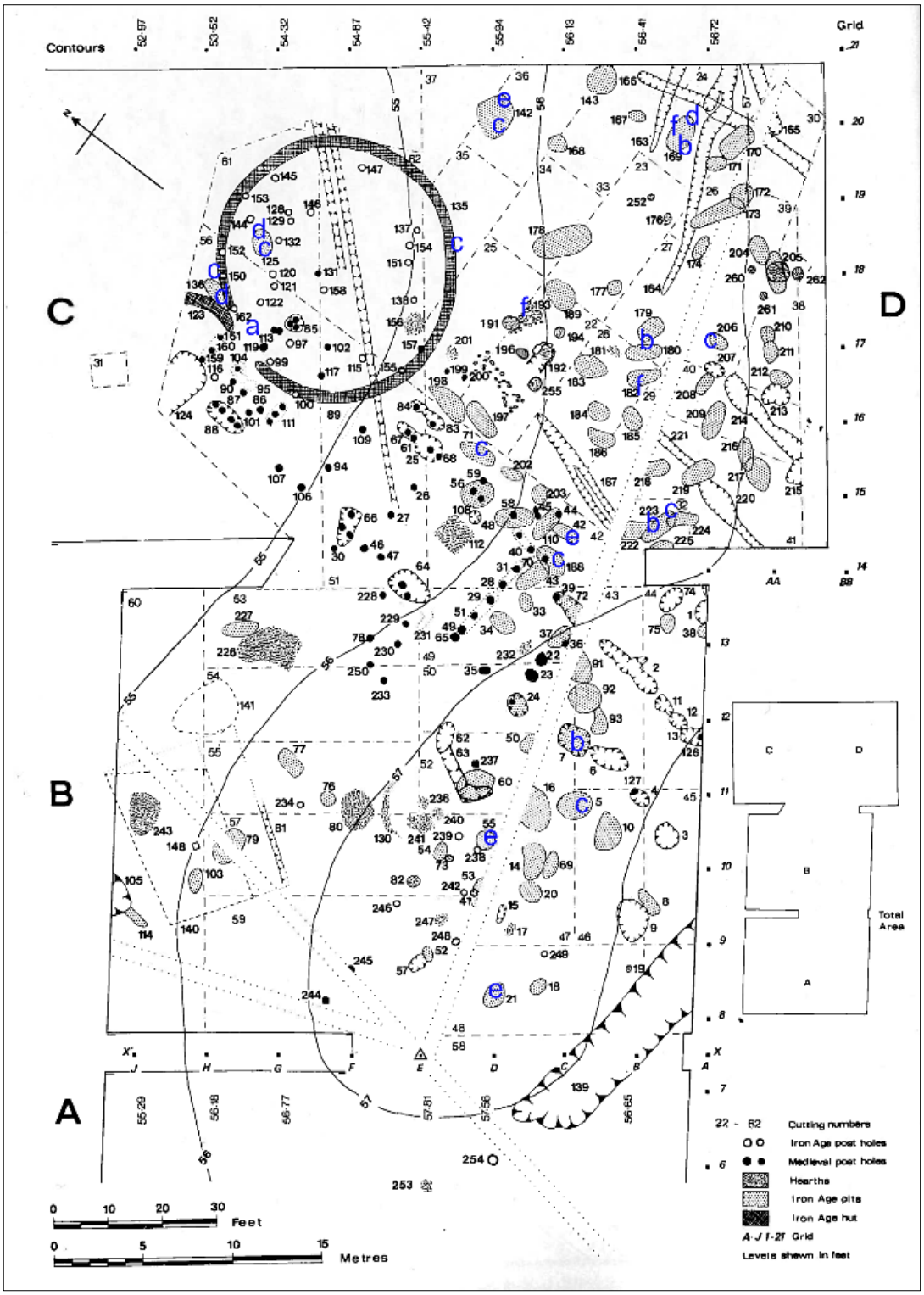
a.



(For detailed plan see over page)

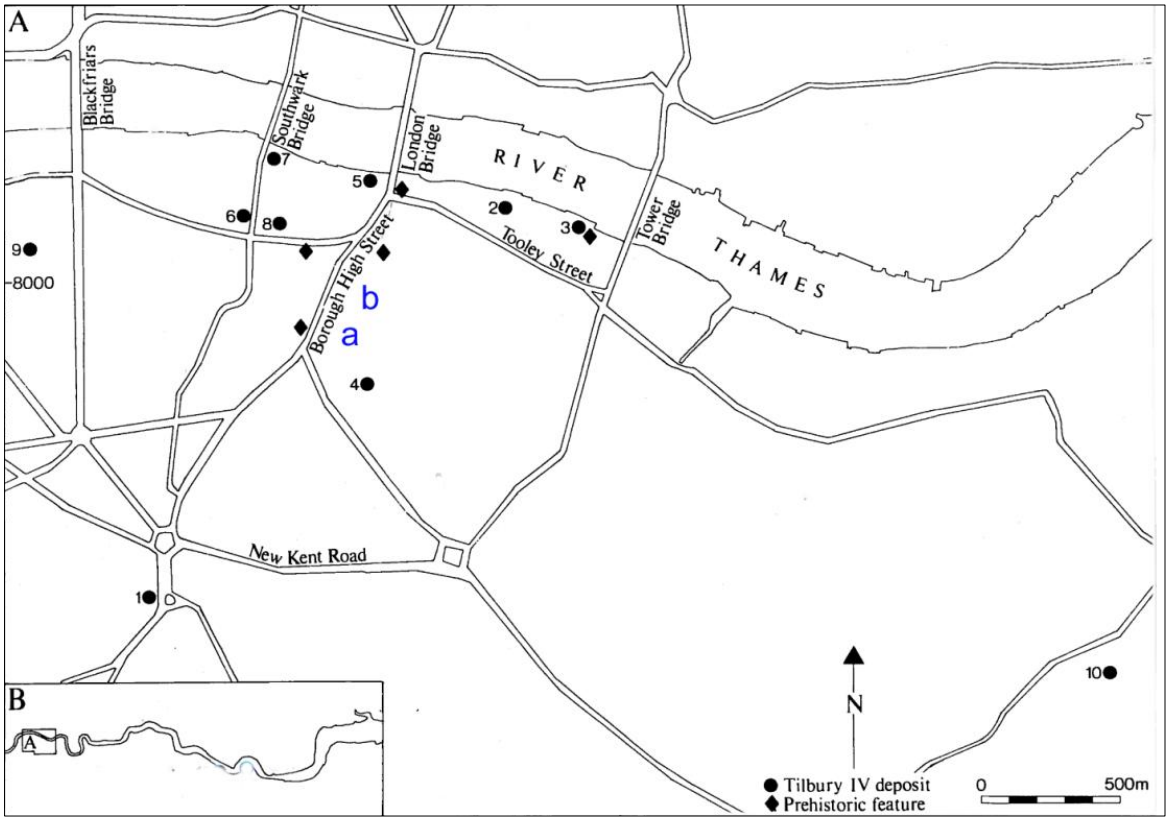
a. One iron latch-lifter.
b. Quernstone fragments.
c. Loom weights
d. Spindlewhorls.
e. Iron nails.
   Other small iron tool.

b.


Contours
Grid
C
D
B
A
Total Area
22 - 82 Cutting numbers
Iron Age post holes
Medieval post holes
Hearths
Iron Age pits
Iron Age hut
A-J 1-27 Grid
Levels shown in feet
0 10 20 30 Feet
0 5 10 15 Metres

Site Plan A4.5.22: Southwark, London

Source: Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Excavations Committee (1988: 8) with own annotations in blue

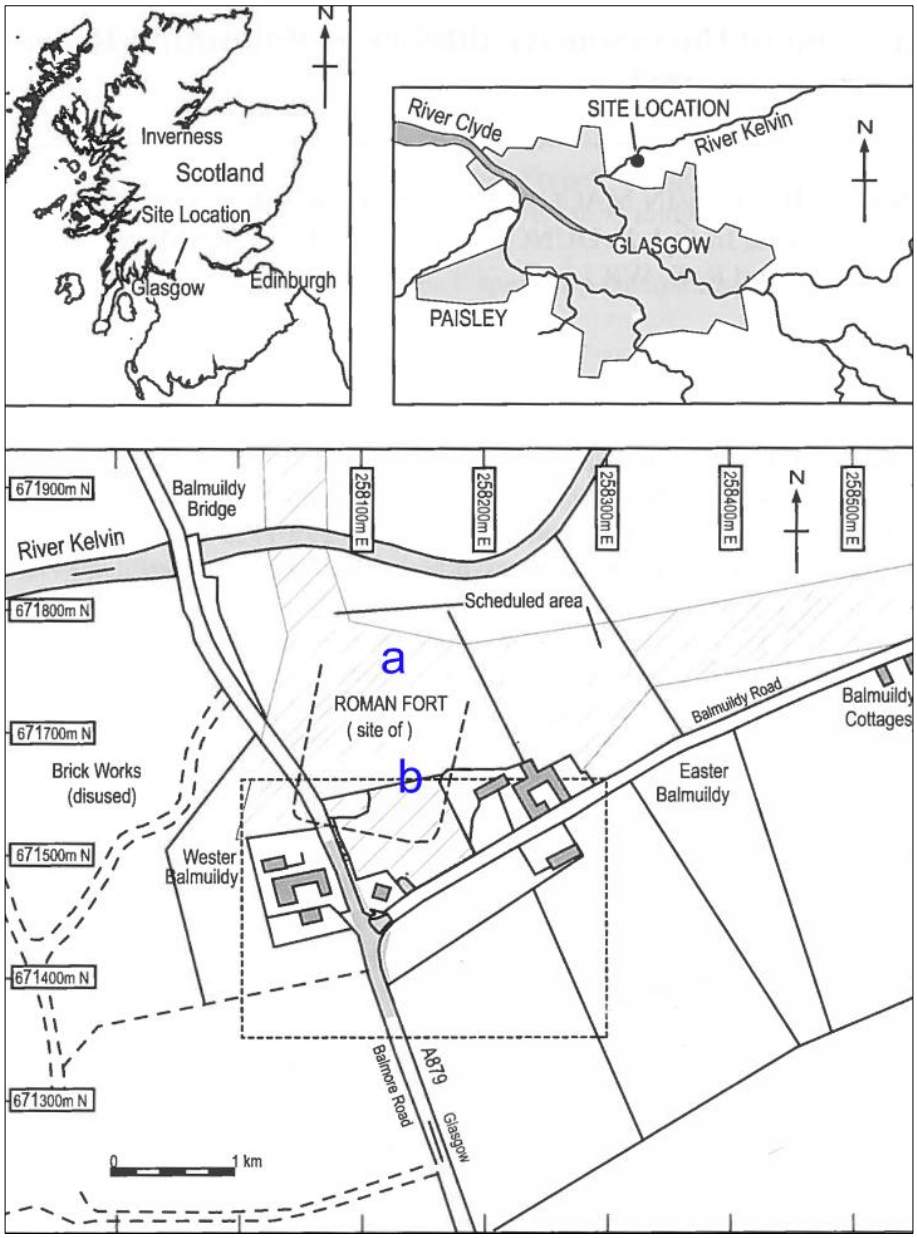


a. Later Roman ditch producing one Venus statuette intermixed with other building material and middens.
b. Later Roman pit or gully producing one Venus statuette intermixed with other building material and middens.

Study Zone Two

Site Plan A4.6.1: Balmuildy, Strathclyde

Source: Leslie et al (1999: 114) with own annotations in blue

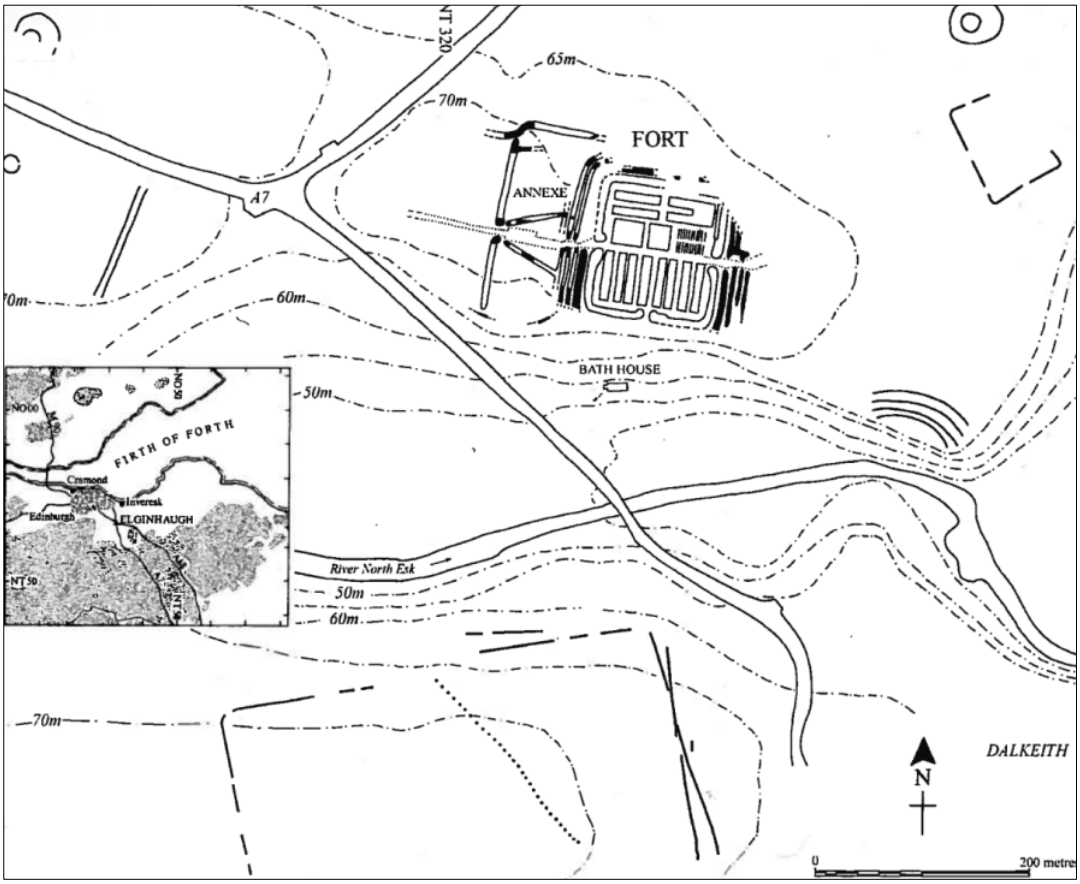


a. Gateway - two inscribed stones dedicated by the Second Legion, associated with masonry remains, two gate pivots and scraps of leather clothing.
b. Bathhouse - one stone altar dedicated to Fortune and a female sculpture depicting Fortune or a nymph, associated with an iron strigil, four coins, potsherds including unguent pots and amphora fragments, and structural remains including hypocausts, furnace remains and drainage systems.
c. Wooden structure - one altar dedicated to Mars and the fragmented remains of sculptures depicting Victory and Mars, associated with two denarii, two shale armlets, some potsherds and building material.

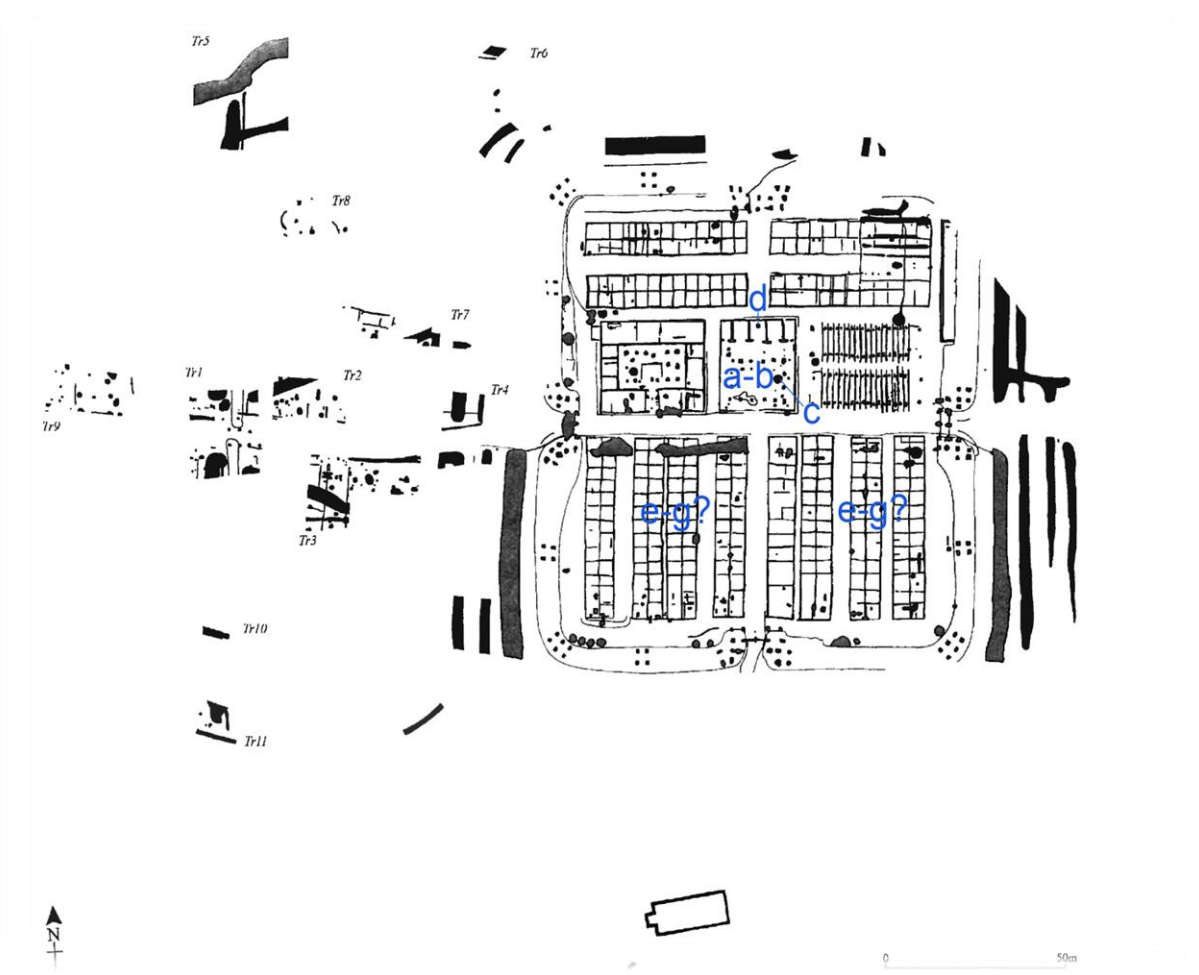
Site Plan A4.6.2: Elginhaugh, Lothian

Source: Hanson et al (2007: a: 16; b: 7) with own annotations in blue

a.



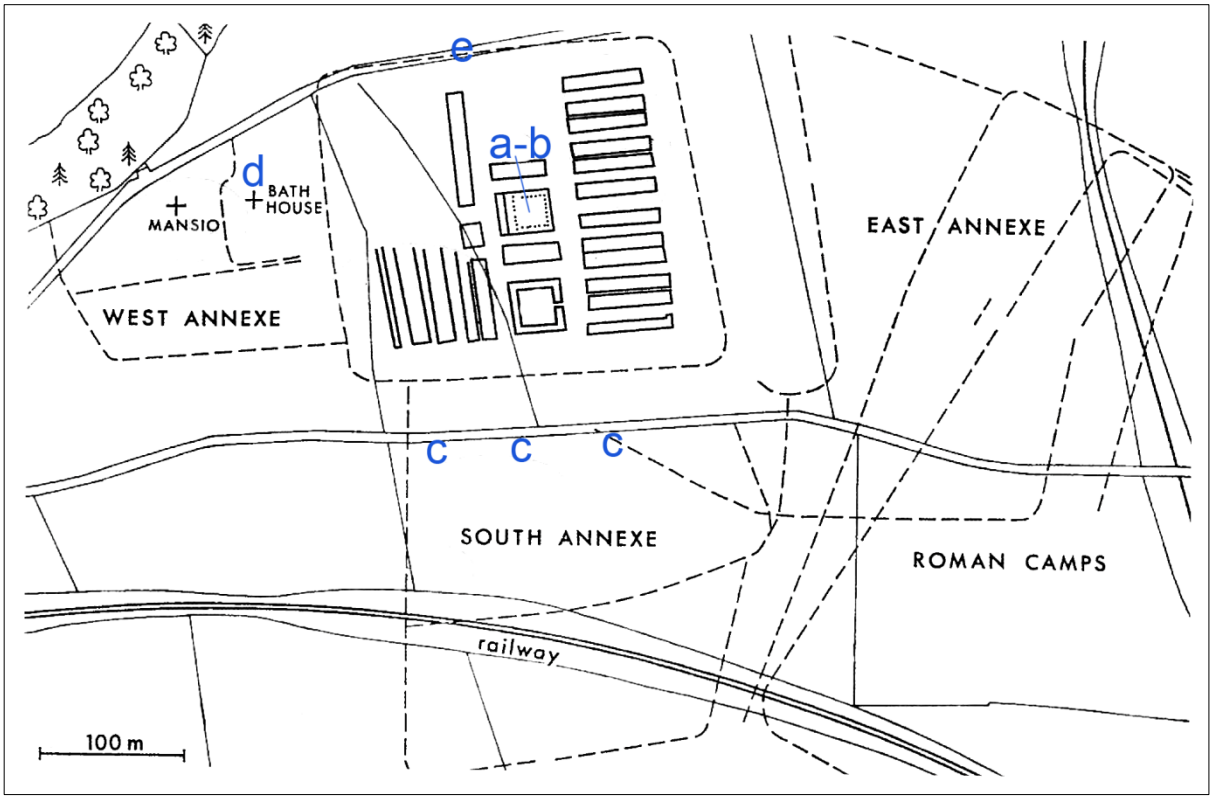
b.



a. *Principia* courtyard - charred animal bone of unknown species and other organic charcoal.
b. *Principia* construction trench - 45 Republican and Imperial denarii stacked into three groups
c. Well - Demolition material and organic remains mixed with Roman potsherds, a few small copper alloy and iron tools including a washer and padlock, and weapons including two spearheads, a knife blade and the ear-piece from a helmet.
d. *Aedes* or shrine structure traditionally known to have contained a strong box.
e. *Praetentura* barracks - copper alloy couch mount in the form of a helmeted bust of Minerva.
f. *Praetentura* barracks - one copper alloy apron pendant, one knife blade, a few nails with many unused in a pit, few scrap metal remains, burnt animal bone, various ceramics, charred cereal grain, demolition material – some burnt, glass vessel fragments and lava quern fragments.
g. Latrine pit - over 100 lava quern stone fragments, fig seeds and one iron chisel.

Site Plan A4.6.3: Newstead, Roxburghshire

Source: Elliot and Hunter (2012: 78) with own annotations in blue

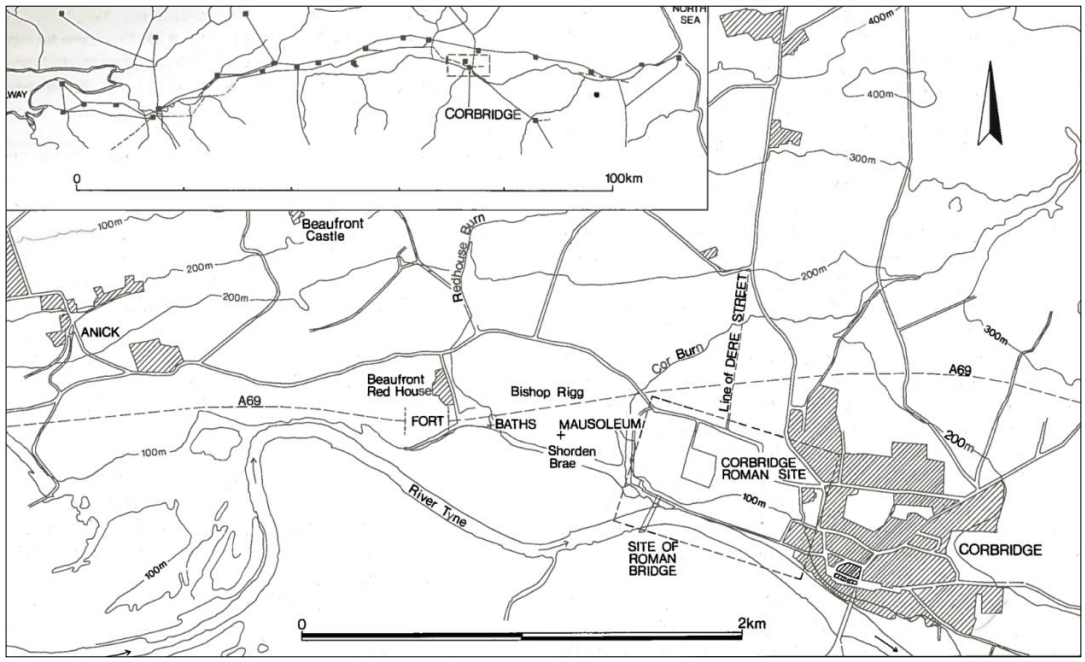


a. Shrine - inscribed marble tablet dedicated in honour of the deified Imperial House and genius of standard bearers and image bearers, associated with a stone altar dedicated to the genius of the Emperor and of the First Cohort of the Varduli and of numerous pioneers of Bremenium and melted lead fragments.
b. Well/deep pit - one inscribed tablet, one stone altar dedicated by G. Arrius Domitianus, iron weaponry remains (mostly armour and shield fragments), two first brass coins, one penannular brooch and few glass beads, one human skeleton along with two skulls one of which was directly associated with the iron armour fragments, one ox and several horse skulls, antler fragments, amphora sherds, iron fragments, quern fragments and some building material with two images of boars.
c. Pits - an upright branch of a birch tree along with two wooden wheels, various animal skulls (see Table A6.6.2) and one human skull in close proximity to the wheels.
d. Pit - one sword bent double, recovered with three others and the remains of a helmet.
e. Pit - one sword with the upper section bent over along with one other sword, 3 possible sword hilts, a piece of brass with a Late Iron Age design and other ceramic vessel and metallic detritus.

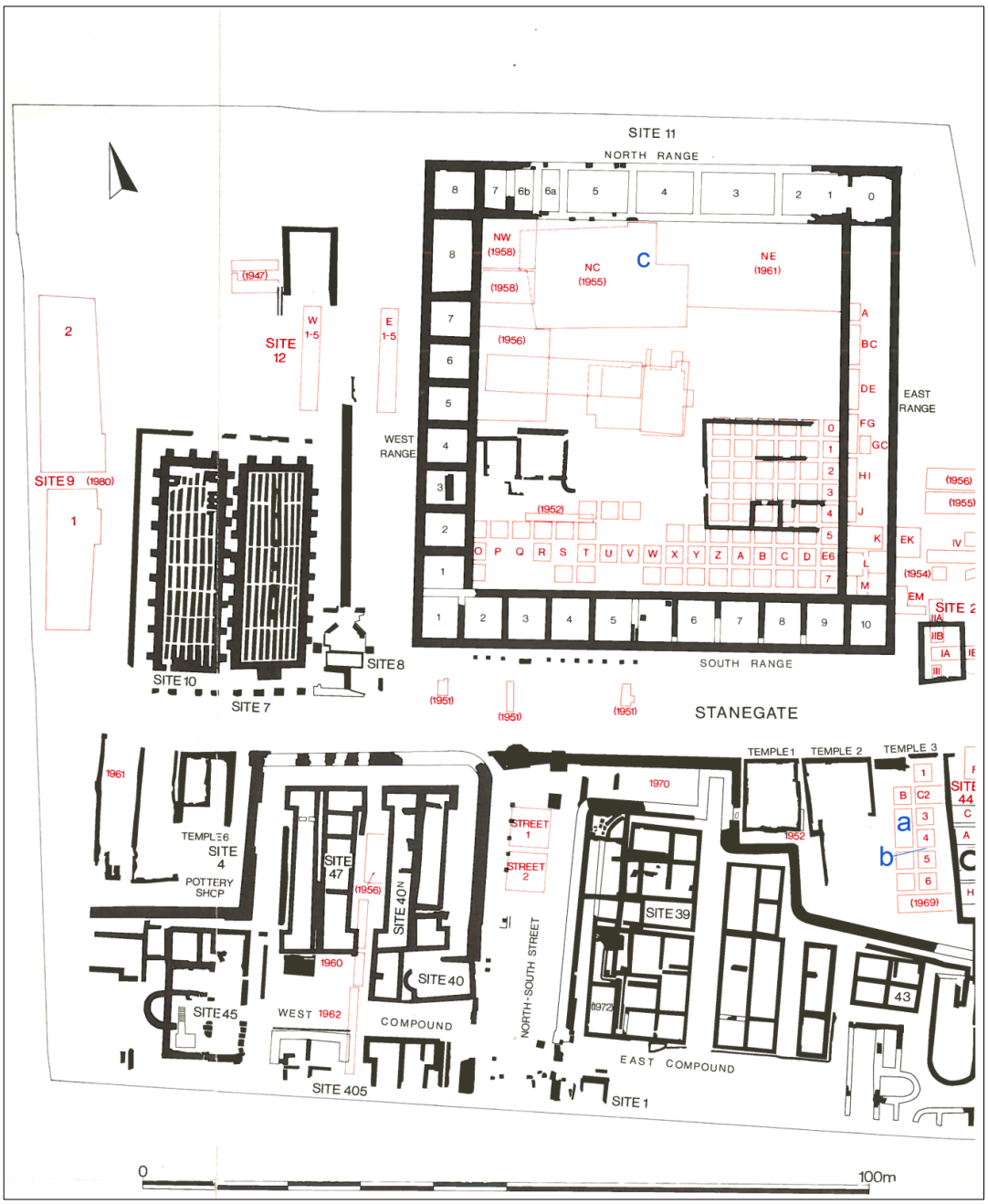
Site Plan A4.6.4: Corbridge, Northumberland

Source: Bishop (1988:a: 2; b: Figure 4) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

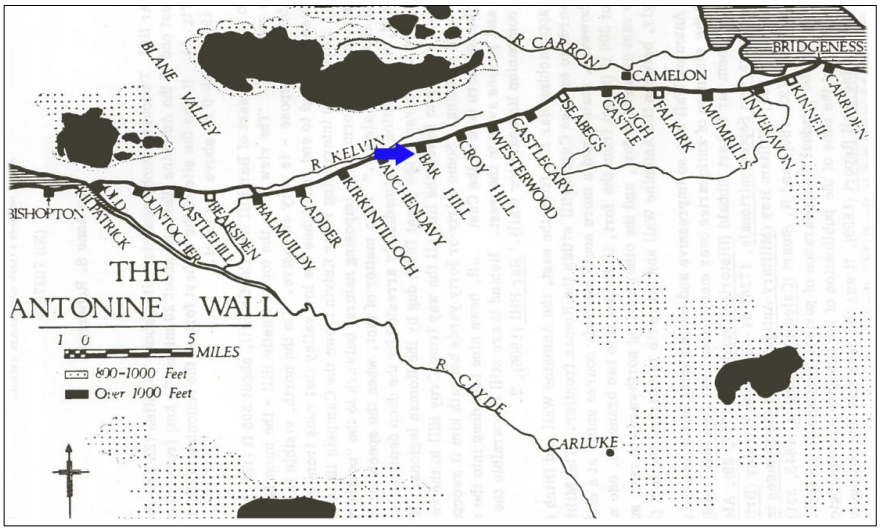


a. Temple - one flint, building material and various potsherds.
b. Temple pit - 1st to 2nd century AD potsherds and building material, quantities of oyster shells and unknown animal bone fragments, organic material and two glass counters.
c. *Principia* storeroom - metalwork hoard of 96 items of weaponry, 150 tool items, 75 'other small metal' finds, seven personal ornaments, plus 54 glass gaming counters, three wooden writing tablets, papyrus fragments and textile fragmets adhering to a number of the metal finds used to bundle a number of the metal items in the chest.

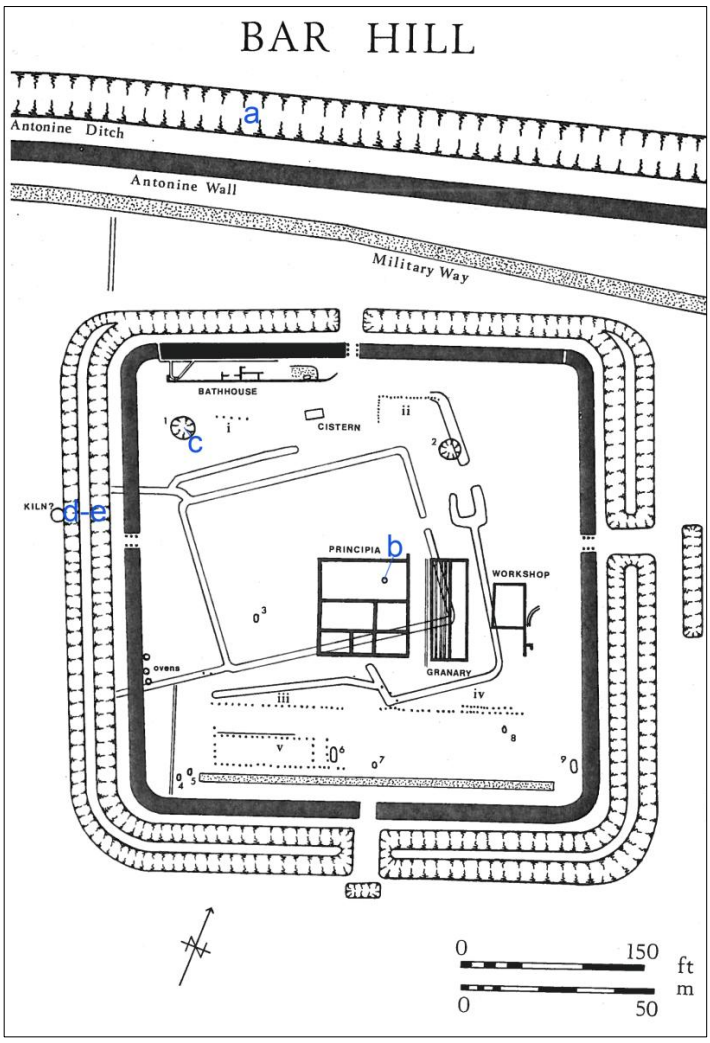
Site Plan A4.6.5: Bar Hill, East Dunbartonshire

Source: Robinson et al (1975: a: Figure 1; b: Figure 4) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

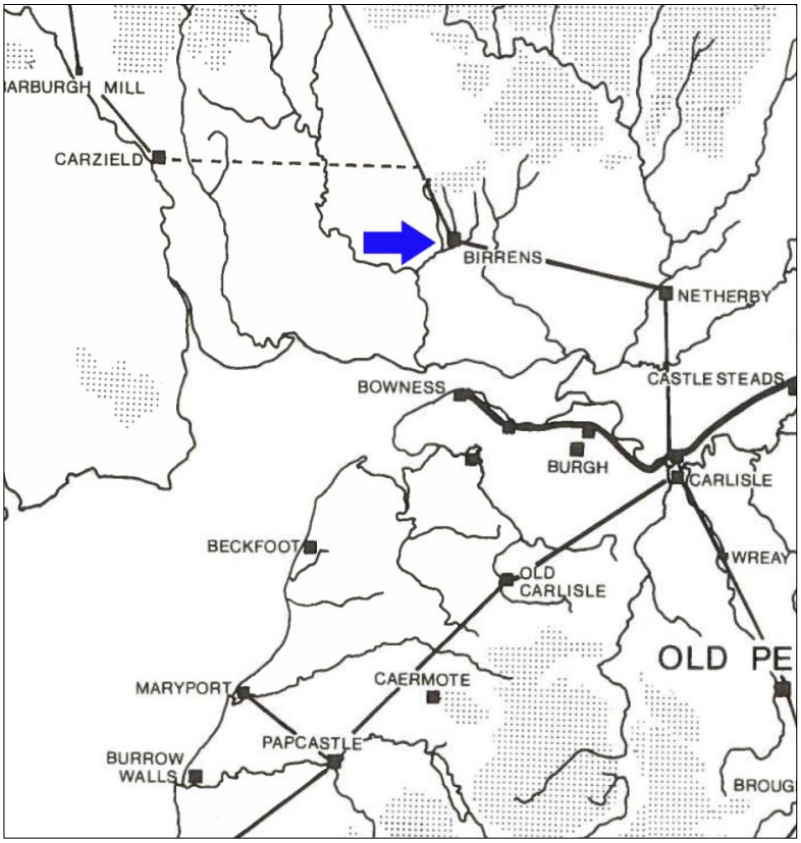


a. Ditch - organic material and one Roman shoe.
b. Well - 12 arrowheads, 31 blunted pilum heads and a bag recovered from within an amphora containing various blunted iron nails and other iron scrap, plus 66 lengths of heavy iron strapping from doors/balustrades, 2 iron hub rims and 3 iron hub linings al mixed with building debris and other organic waste. Stoneware included an altar dedicated by *Cohors I Baetasiorum*, the fragmented remains of half of an inscribed stone recording the building work completed by the Baetesaii and a commemorative pillar dedicated to Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius.
c. Pit - 12 phalanges of an individual's hands and feet, close to worked red deer tines used as pegs or picks, one stone kerb and one oak plank.
d. Defensive ditch - two stoneware male busts, one drinking but with his face broken off and the other with his arm across his chest and the fist clenched except for the middle finger.
e. Defensive ditch - deer horn strip used to strengthen a bow, one wooden comb, one bronze mounting possibly depicting the head of Silenus, one bronze cooking pot, four wheel fragments and few clay vessel remains.

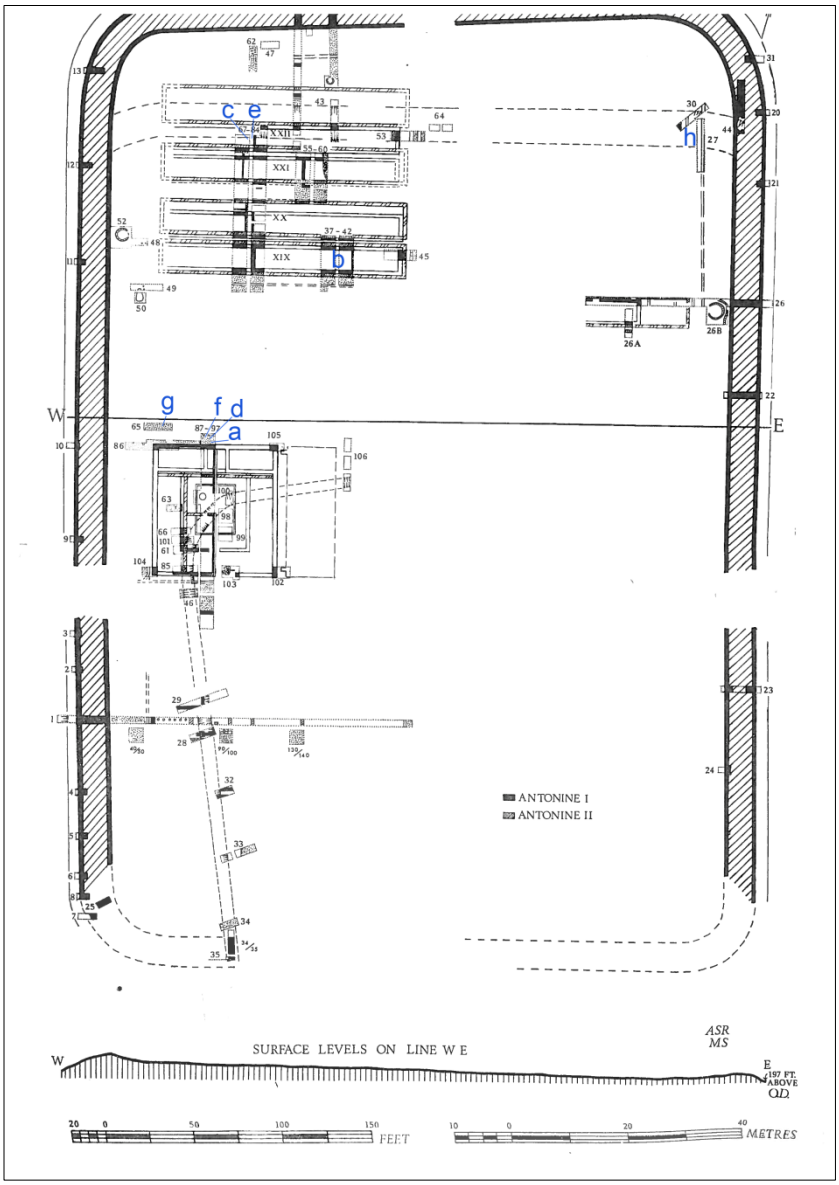
Site Plan A4.6.6: Birrens, Dumfries and Galloway

Source:a: Austin (1991: Figure 1); b: Robinson (1975: Figure 2) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

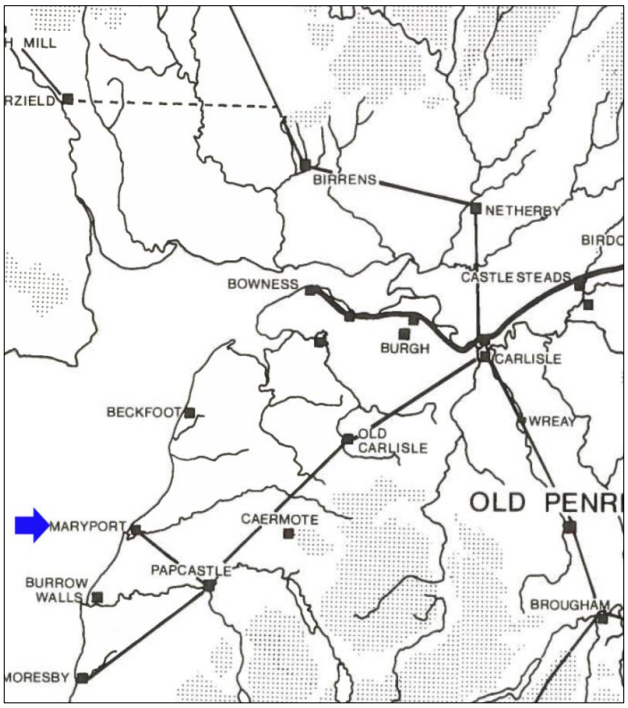


a. Fort building - single bronze figure of a satyr associated with nail fragments, one crucible, iron slag, pottery and glass fragments, animal tooth fragments and few charred wooden structural materials.
b. Fort building - one iron blade.
c. Rampart - one iron blade associated with structural remains.
d. Foundation trench - three lead sling shots.
e. Rampart - iron hub rim fragments, one whole quernstone and quernstone fragments.
f. Ditch - degraded harness remains.
g. Ditch - degraded harness remains.
h. Ditch – five Mark Anthony denarii associated with few nail fragments, metal scraps including bronze harness mounting, animal bone and tooth fragments, pottery and glass vessel remains, buildng material and quern and whetstone remains.

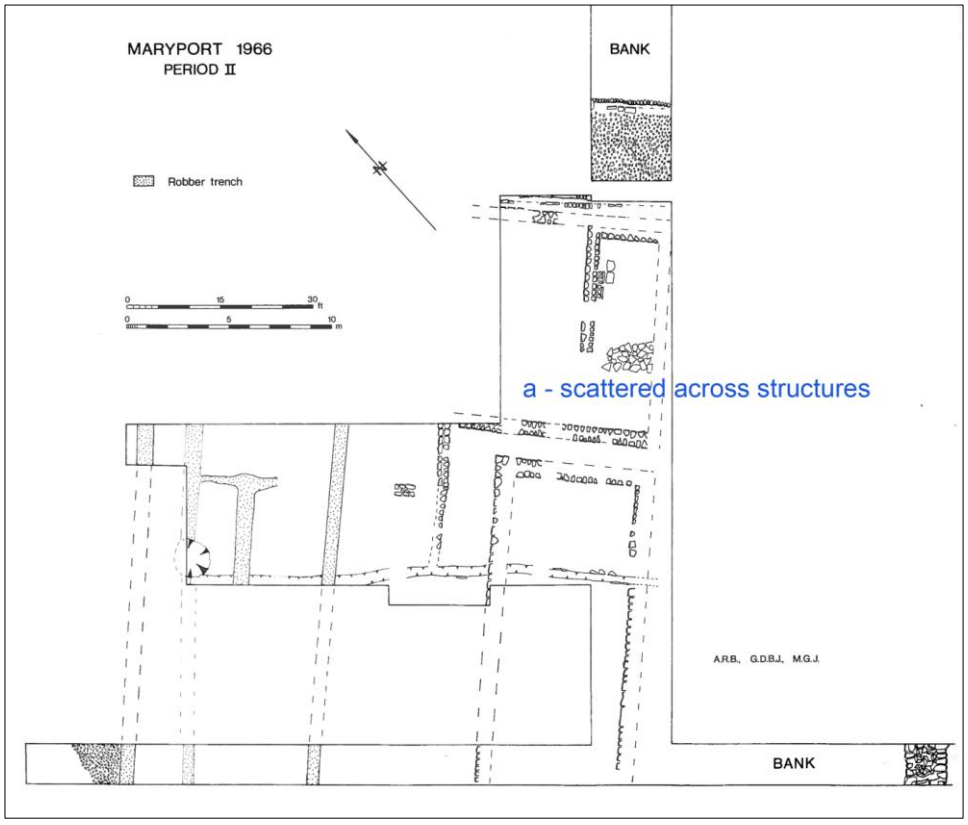
Site Plan A4.6.7: Marypory, Cumbria

Source:a: Austin (1991: Figure 1): b: Jarrett (1976: Figure 7) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

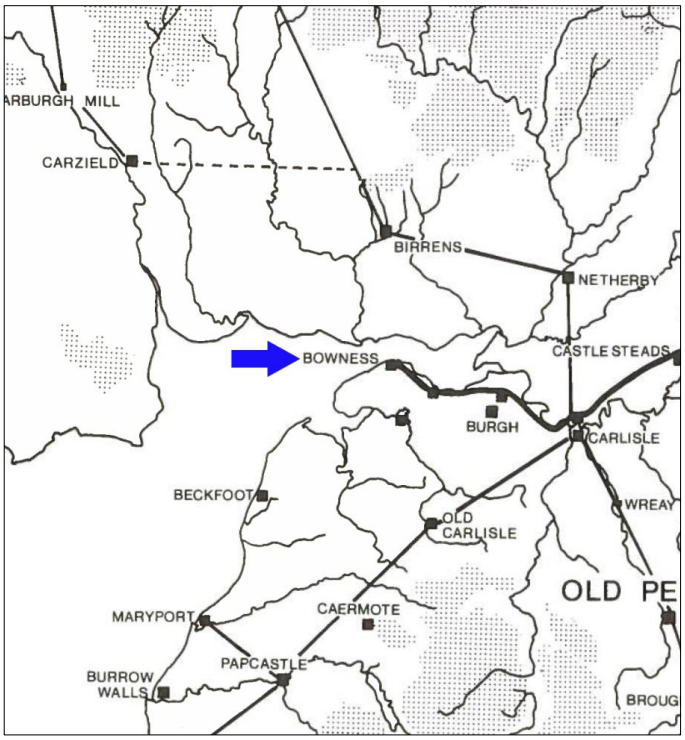


a. Fort structures - nine coins, pottery and glass vessel fragments, stone building materials including an inscribed re-used tombstone and a bronze apron mount.

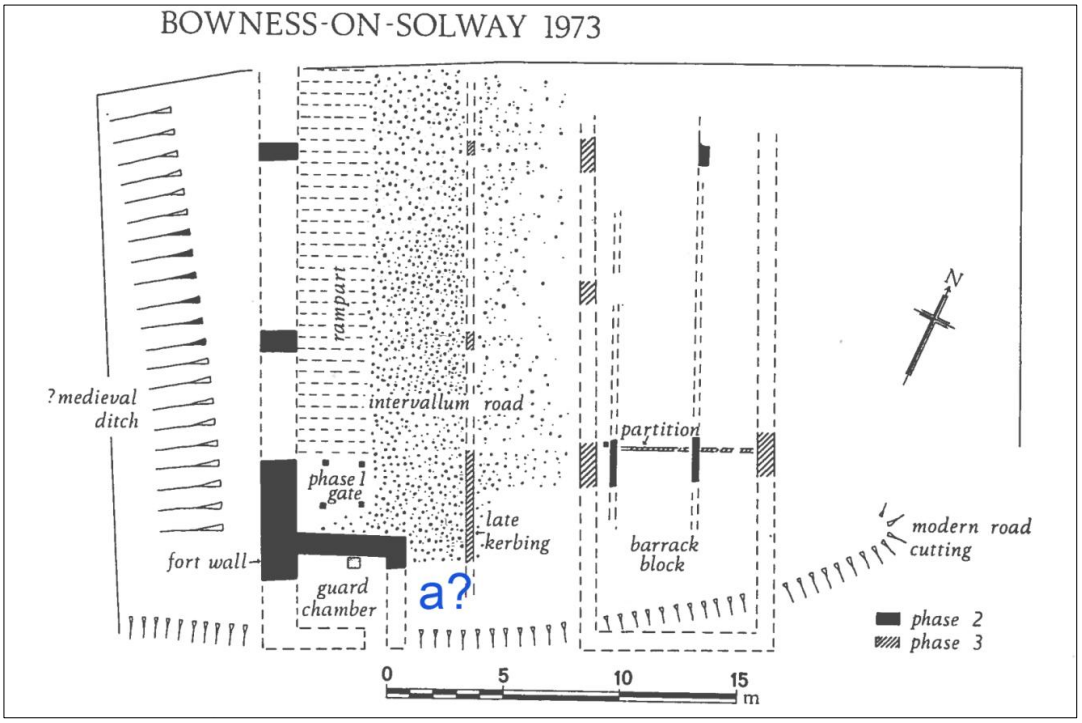
Site Plan A4.6.8: Bowness-on-Solway, Cumbria

Source: a: Austin (1991: Figure 1); b: Potter (1979: 323) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

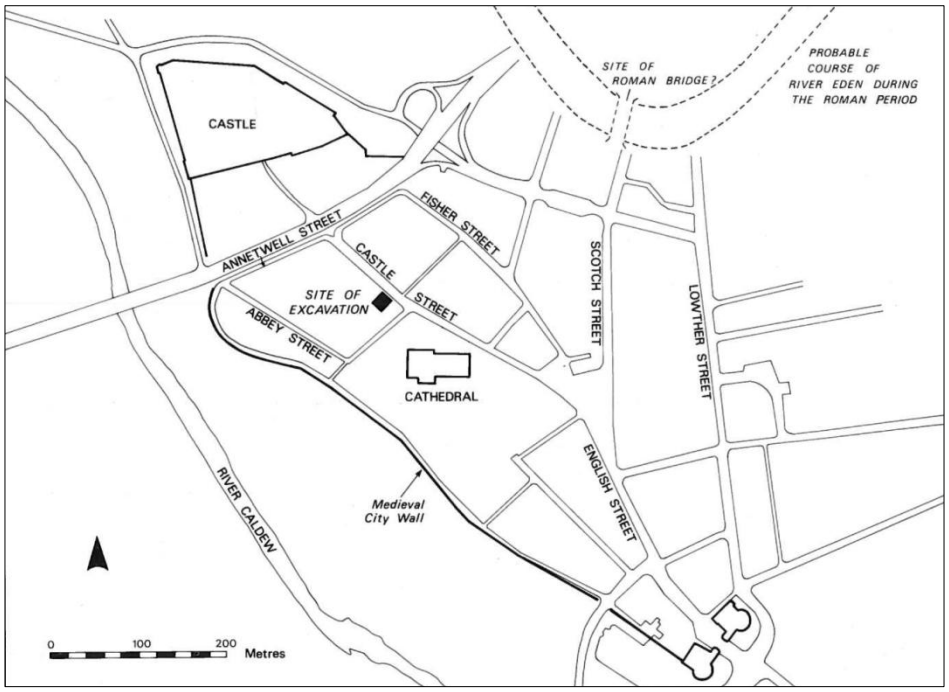


a. Fort structure foundation - four coins, various sherds, minimal metalworking slag, one bronze harness mount and a charcoal layer.

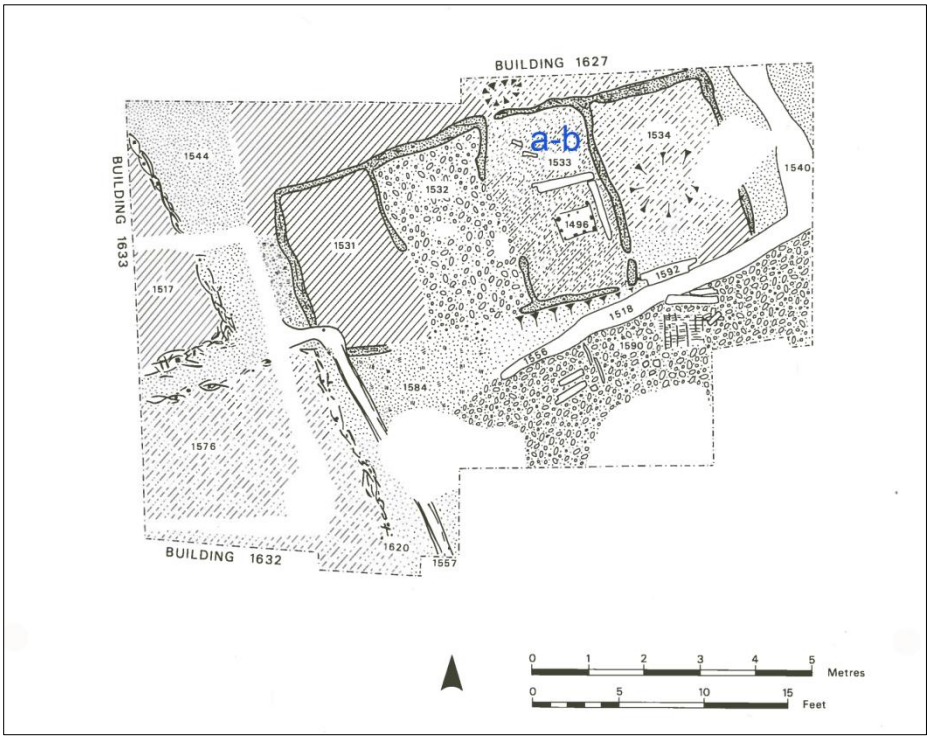
Site Plan A4.6.9: Castle Street, Carlisle, Cumbria

Source: McCarthy (1991: a: 2; b: 13; c: 40; d: 51) with own annotations in blue

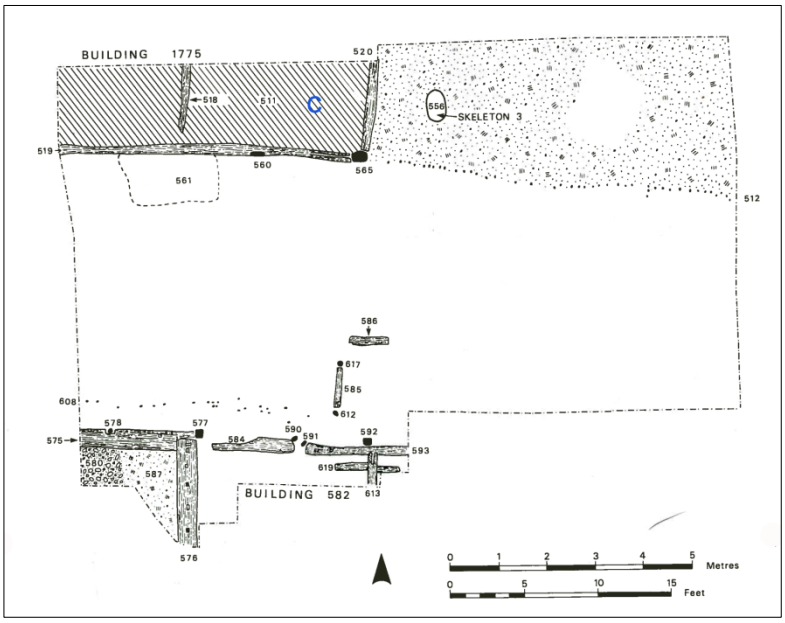
a.



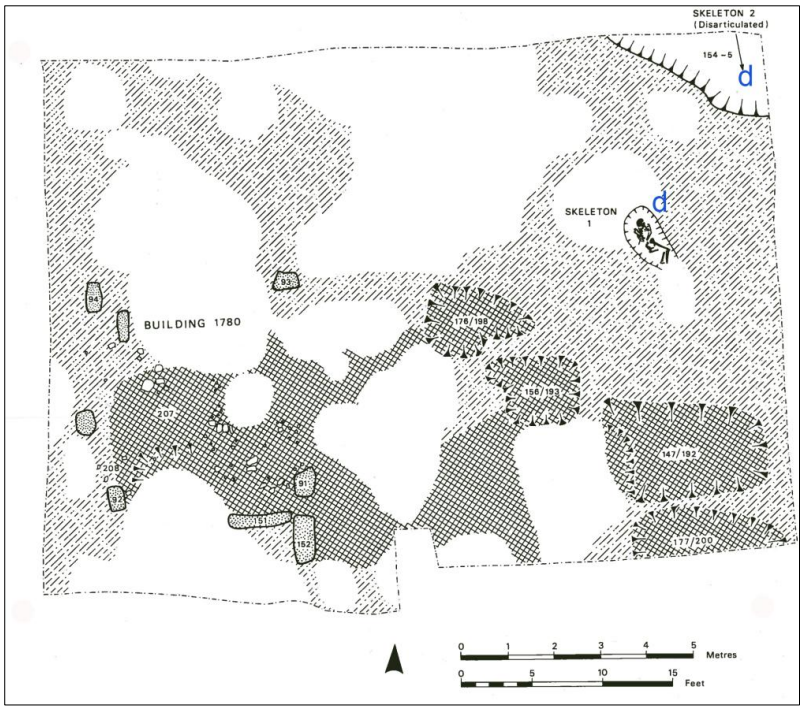
b.



c.



d.

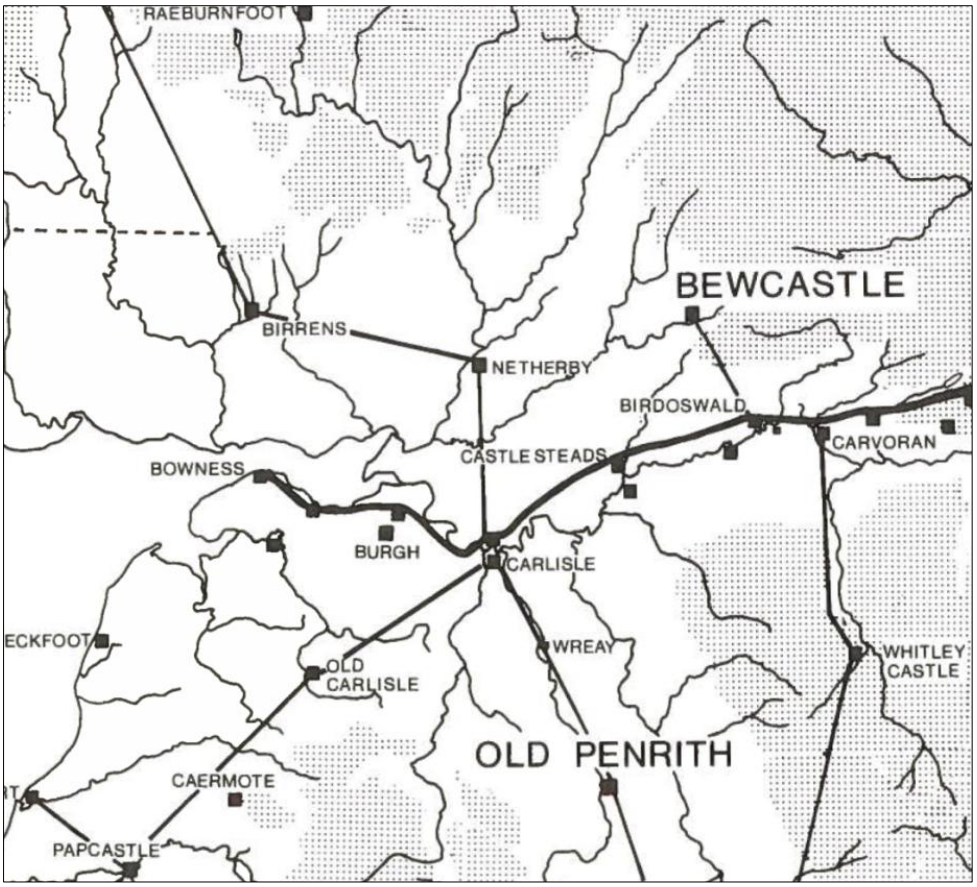


a. Pit - single cow's skull.
b. Occupation layers - organic remains, building material, various sherds, one bronze mirror fragment, one copper alloy pin in the form of a hand holding a pomegranate, three coins, nine wooden writing tablets, shoe and other leather fragments.
c. Floor layer of domestic structure - single iron manacle associated with small numbers of needles, pins and bobbins, an inscribed soldier's name tag, potsherds and one lady's sandal.
d. Burials - one whole skeleton of unknown sex and a disassociated disarticulated bone close to the grave site.

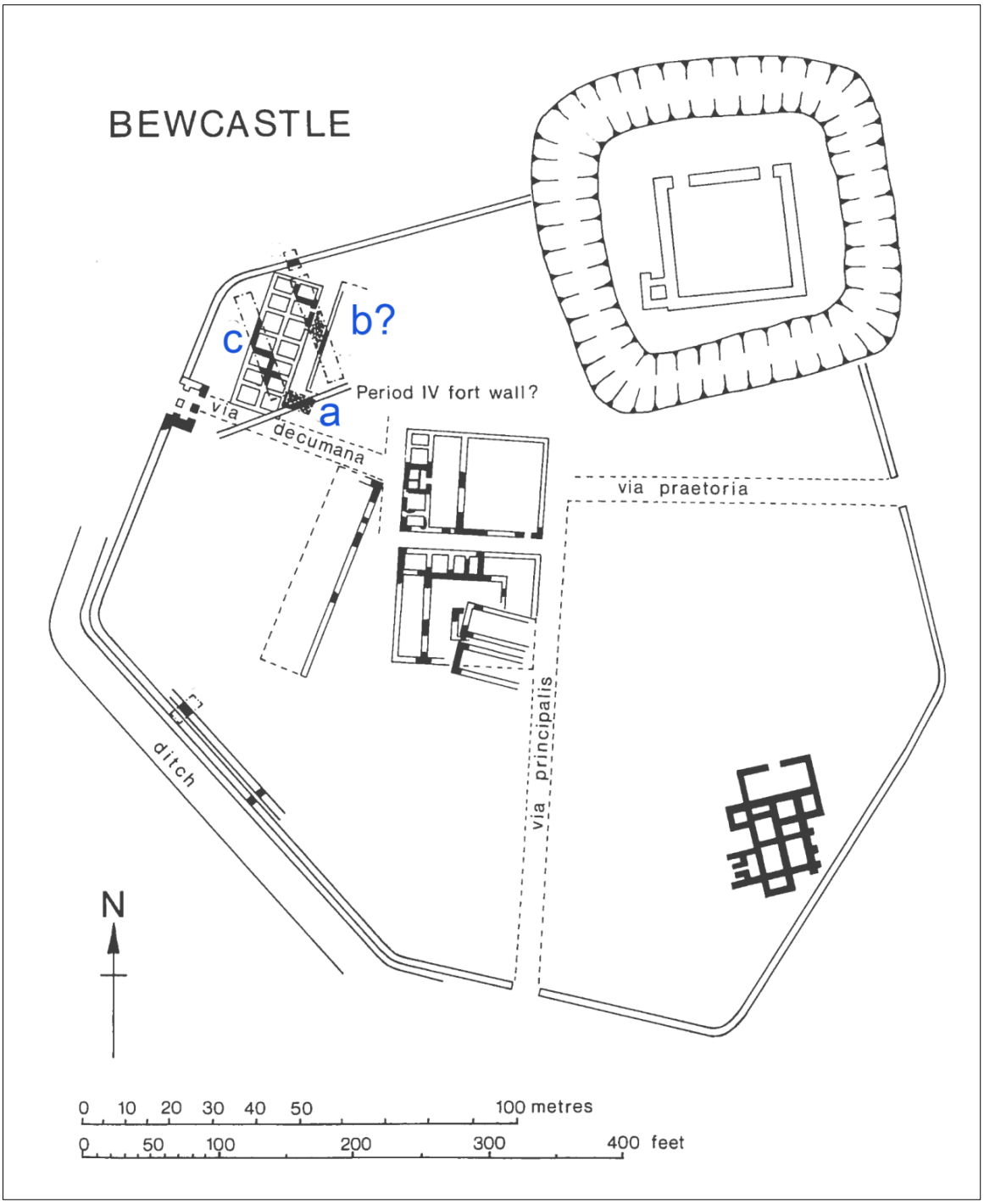
Site Plan A4.6.10: Bewcastle, Cumbria

Source: Austen (1991: a: Figure 1; b: 5) with own annotations in blue

a.



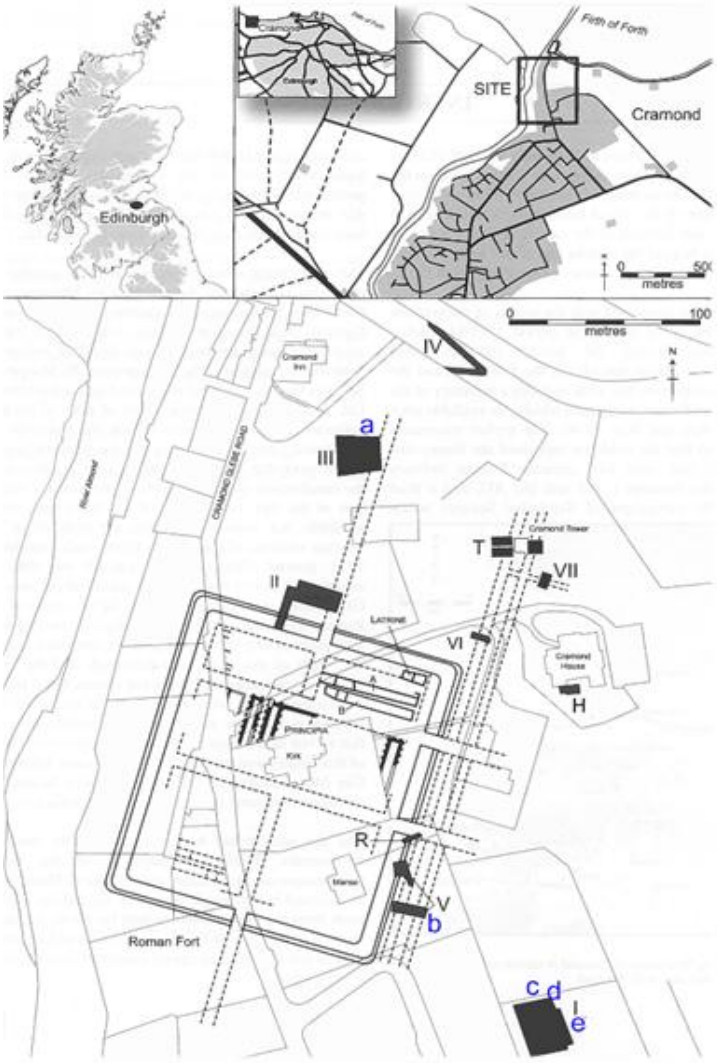
b.



a. Defense foundation - two silver plaques dedicated to Cocidius and one stone altar dedicated to Discipulina along with various building materials.
b. Fort structure occupation layers - two iron spearheads both broken at the blade associated with a small number of glass and ceramic vessel fragments, one copper alloy skillet and five coins.
c. Fort structure occupation layers - one copper alloy bowl plus burnt timber structural remains and glass vessel sherds.

Site Plan A4.6.11: Cramond, Edinburgh

Source: Holmes (2003: 2) with own annotations in blue

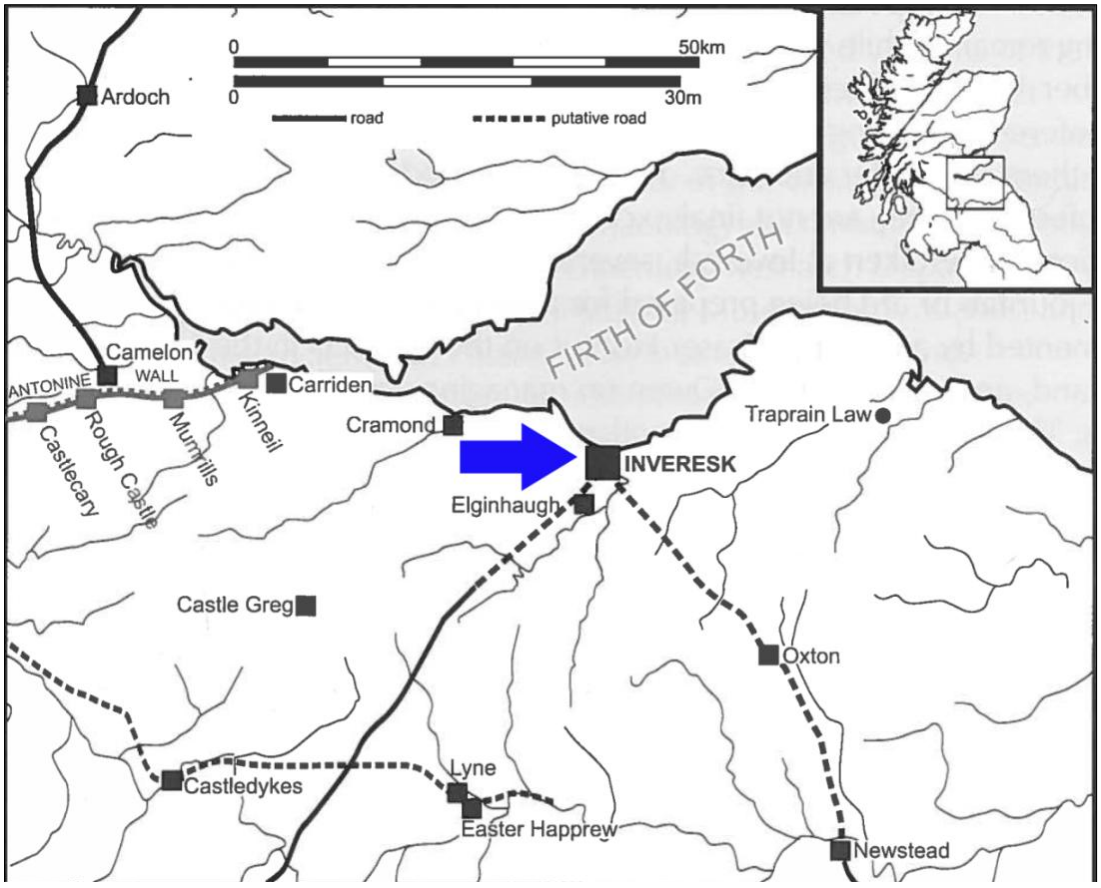


a. Bathhouse - one stone altar with no dedication, plus 15 personal ornament finds including two orange cornelian intaglios depicting Jupiter, animal remains consisting largely of oyster/mollusc shells as well as cattle, pig and various fish bones, gaming pieces, plus pottery, glass and building material remains. A deposit of animal bones was uncovered at the base of the hypocaust chamber with species including red deer, sheep, cattle, pig and dog. Medieval to post medieval: fragmented remains of up to 12 individuals; two iron blades; single intrusive human bone.
b. Rampart bank - one stone altar dedicated to Mars Condatis.
c. Industrial complex - infant burial with associated samian sherds.
d. Destruction deposit spreads - personal ornaments, one of which was an orange cornelian intaglio depicting a satyr, various boot studs, scrap metals, various pig, sheep and cattle bones, pottery and glass vessel remains, building material and charcoal and ash layers.
e. Well - 14 iron tools, 2 iron bars, butchered sheep and cattle bones, leather shoe remains, one charred linen fragment and two wooden window frames.

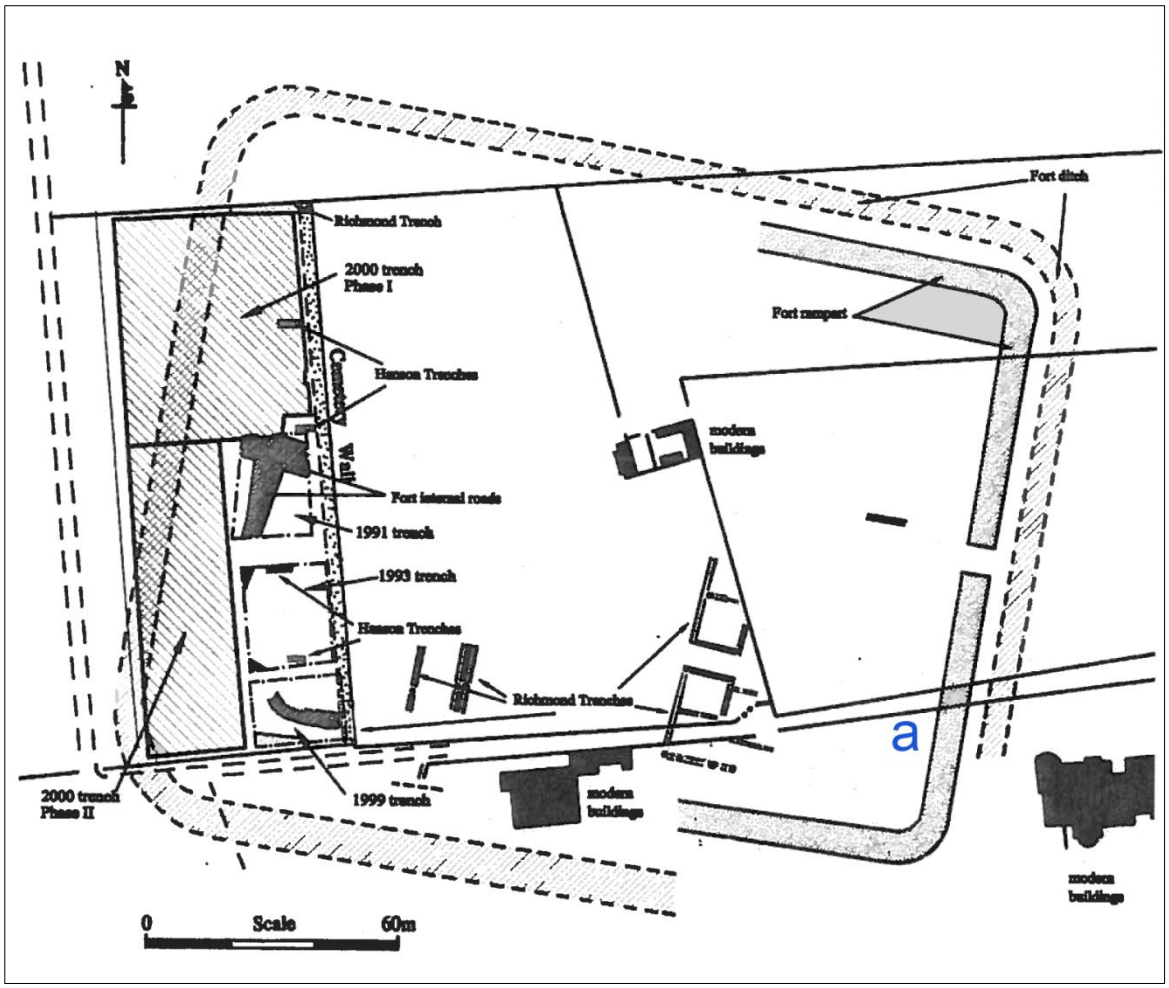
Site Plan A4.6.12: Inveresk, East Lothian

Source: Bishop (2002: a: 1; b: 26) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

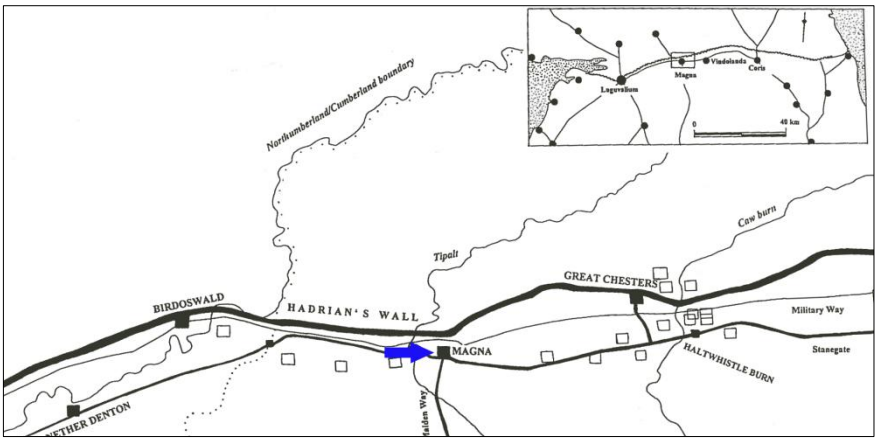


a. Well - remains of a bronze torc, a pair of discarded boots, the iron well hook and organic debris.

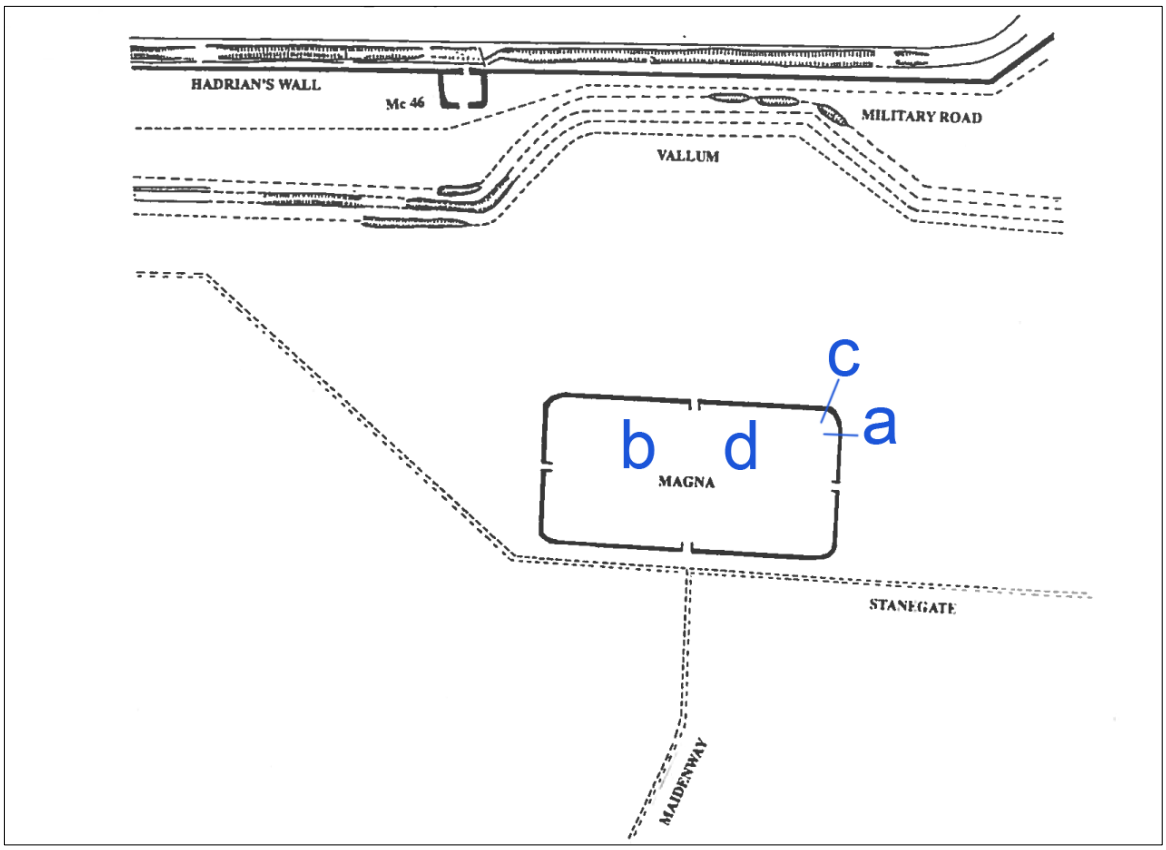
Site Plan A4.6.13: Magna, Northumberland

Source: Birley (1998:a: x; b: 8) with own annotations in blue

a.



b.

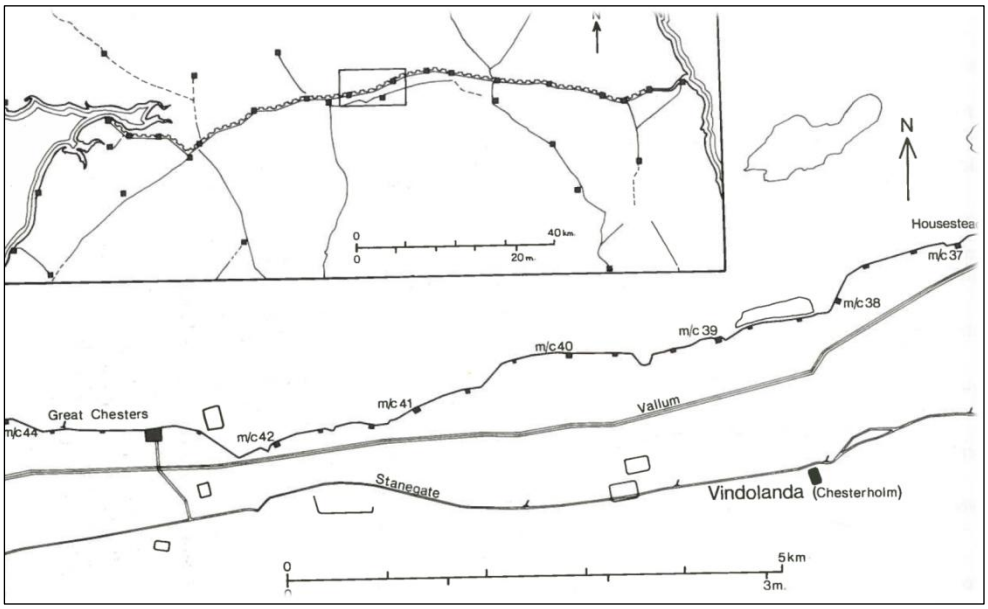


a. North east corner of fort - votive 'Ceres text' tablet.
b. Bathhouse - three inscriptions from the walling all inserted by the Prefect of the *Cohors I Hamiorum Sagittariorum*, first battalion of archers from the Hamii tribe in Syria, plus an altar dedicated to Fortune. *Exact location of the bathhouse within the site not known.*
c. North east corner of fort - one bronze corn measure.
d. Well - a large pair of antlers and an iron spearhead or angon. *Exact location of the well inside the site not known.*

Site Plan A4.6.14: Vindolanda, Northumberland

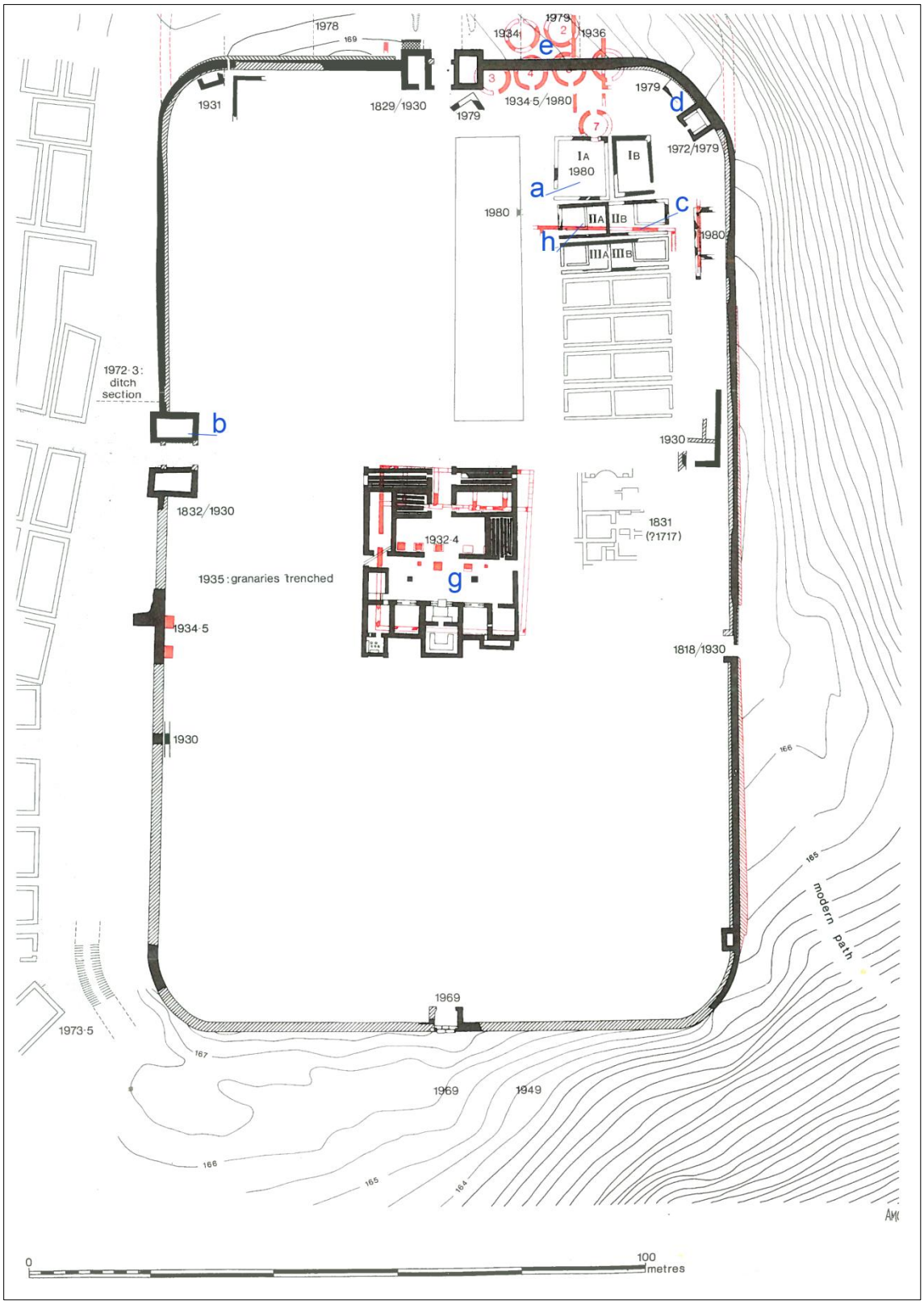
Source: Bidwell (1985:a: 4; b: General Site Plan) with own annotations in blue

a.



(For detailed plan see over page)

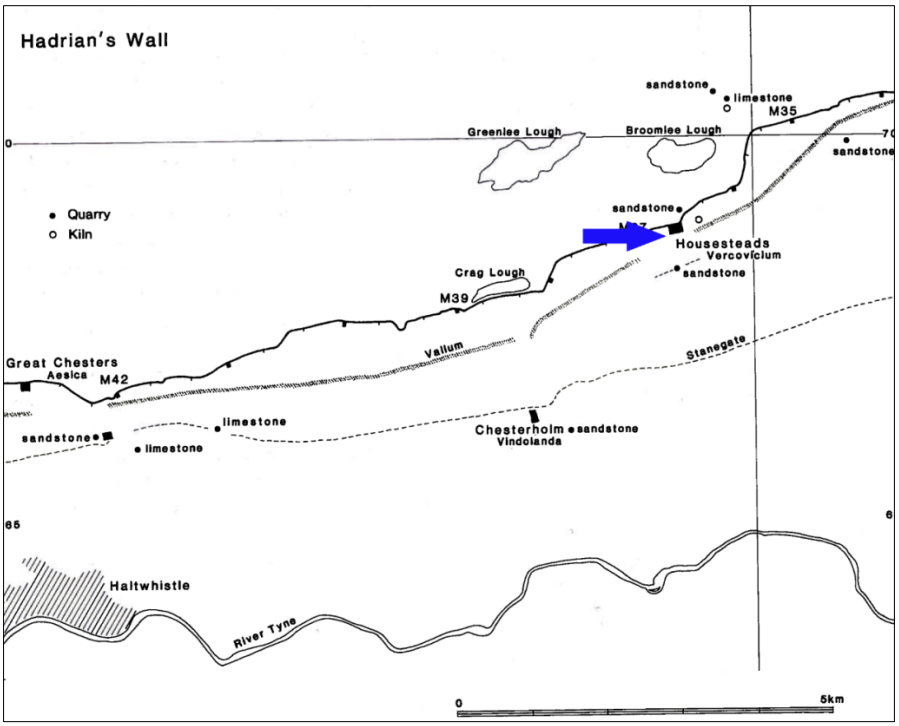
a. Occupation material - inscribed stone dedicated by the Second Legion to the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus.
b. West gate foundations - hoard of 300 mostly small brass coins close to one iron spearhead, a shield umbo and a large copper pan.
c. *Praetorium* - two stone altars dedicated to Jupiter and Fortune.
d. North east wall foundations - one stone altar inscribed with 'Ara Vitrium', four tombstones with one dedicatory slab, one inscribed stone and the remains of a relief featuring Victory.
e. Circular structures - burnt bone, unidentified, in a charcoal layer along with a few coarse ware sherds, stone building material, hearth remains and street metalling.
f. Various unidentified animal remains along with one large lead sheet, potsherds, leather remains and stone building material. *Exact location not known.*
g. *Principia* well - unidentified animal bones, a Crambeck bowl recovered whole, slates, wood fragments and a cabbage stalk.
h. Barracks occupation material - knife with point deliberately broken off associated with three iron projectiles, another iron knife, an iron sack hook, two coins, four personal ornaments, a copper alloy handle, a few potsherds, building material and fragmented quernstones.


1978
169
1979
1934
1936
e
1931
1829/1930
1979
1934-5/1980
1979
d
7
1972/1979
IA
1980
IB
a
1980
IIA
IIB
c
h
1980
IIIA
IIIB
1972-3:
ditch
section
b
1930
1832/1930
1831
(?1717)
1932-4
g
1935: granaries trenched
1934-5
1818/1930
1930
166
165
modern path
1969
1973-5
167
1969
1949
166
165
164
0
100
metres

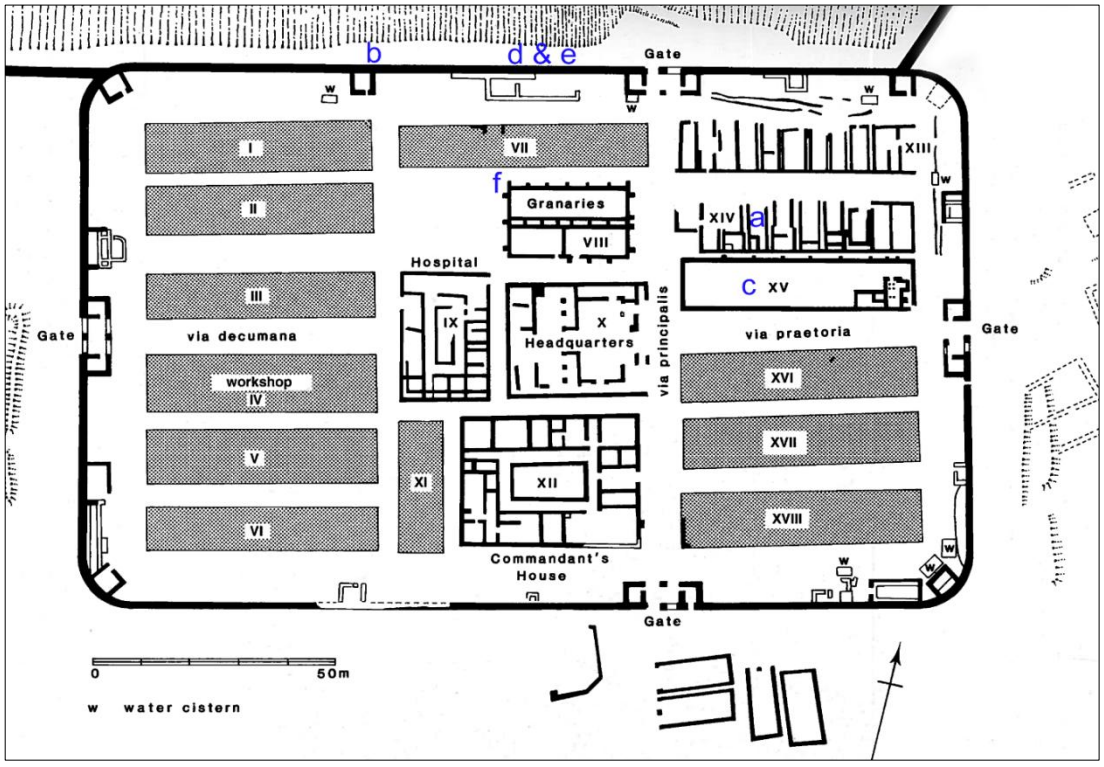
Site Plan A4.6.15: Housesteads, Northumberland

Source: Crow (1995: a: 24; b:29) with own annotations in blue

a.



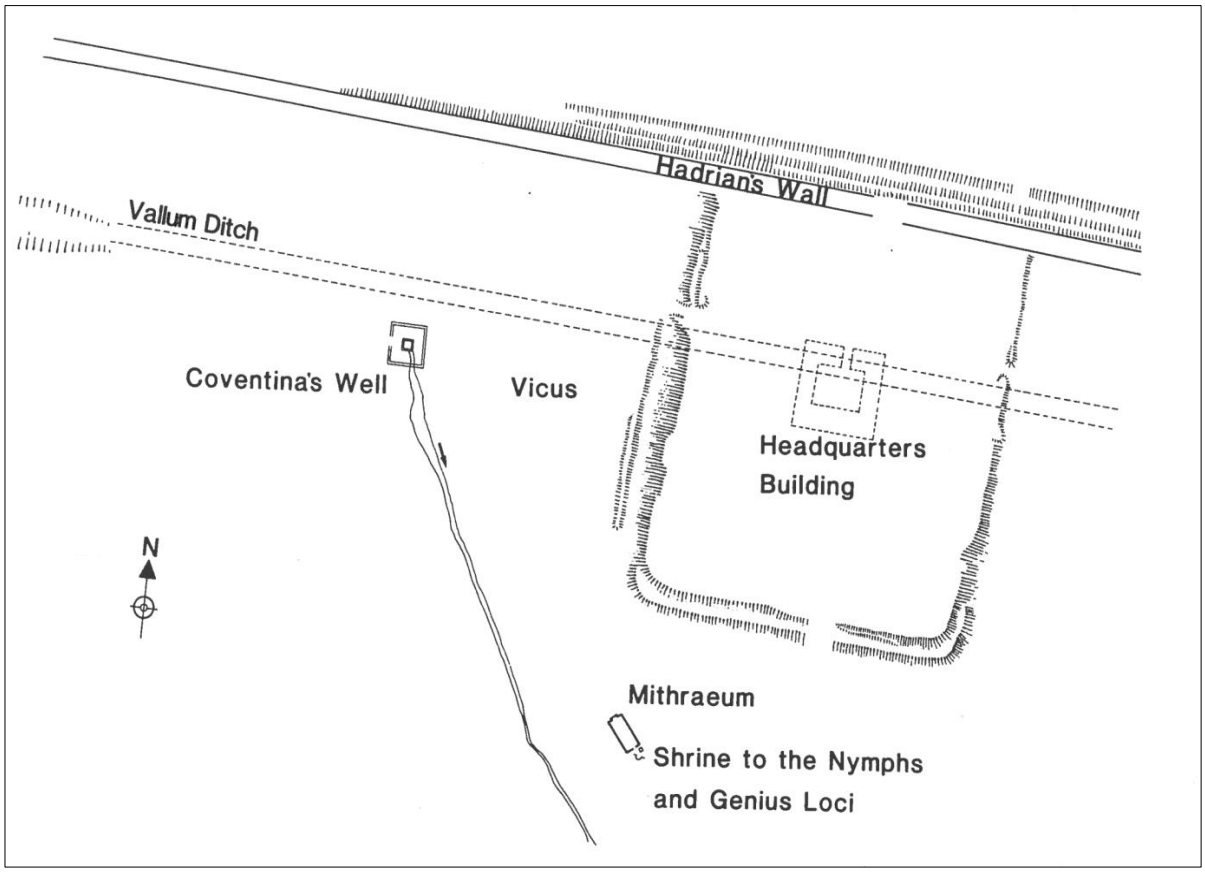
b.



a. Fort structure occupation layers - one coin hoard of four radiate copies close to two other coins, various iron nails, one glass bead, one copper alloy stud, potsherds, iron fragments and iron-stained stones.
b. North rampart - possible hoard of minimissimi interpreted as a purse. One copper alloy nail, 10 personal ornaments mostly brooches, bracelets/armlets, pins and one red jasper intaglio, various copper alloy fragments, pottery and glass vessel remains, building material and rampart make-up in the surrounding area.
c. Wall remains - possible dedicaton slab along with other building material, potsherds and one coin of Titus. Post Roman: one cist burial into a water tank.
d. Wall reamins - two uninscribed stone altars, one stone block inscribed with the letter 'A' and one stone relief of a naked man holding a buckle.
e. Rampart material - pipeclay Venus figurine, base only.
f. Rampart - two sculpted stones, one in partial relief.

Site Plan A4.6.16: Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh, Northumberland

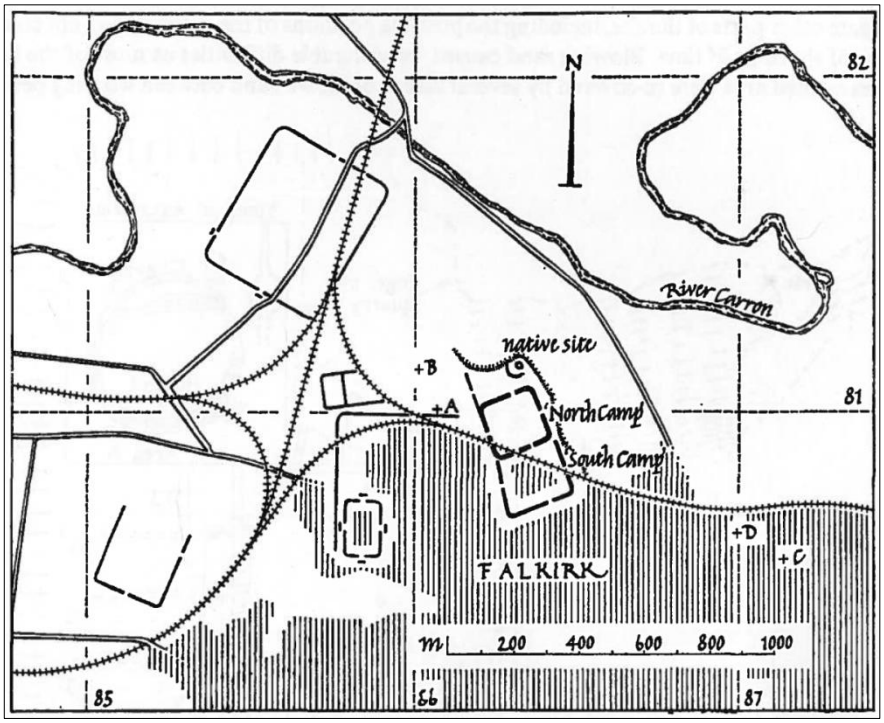
Source: Allason-Jones and McKay (1985: 11)



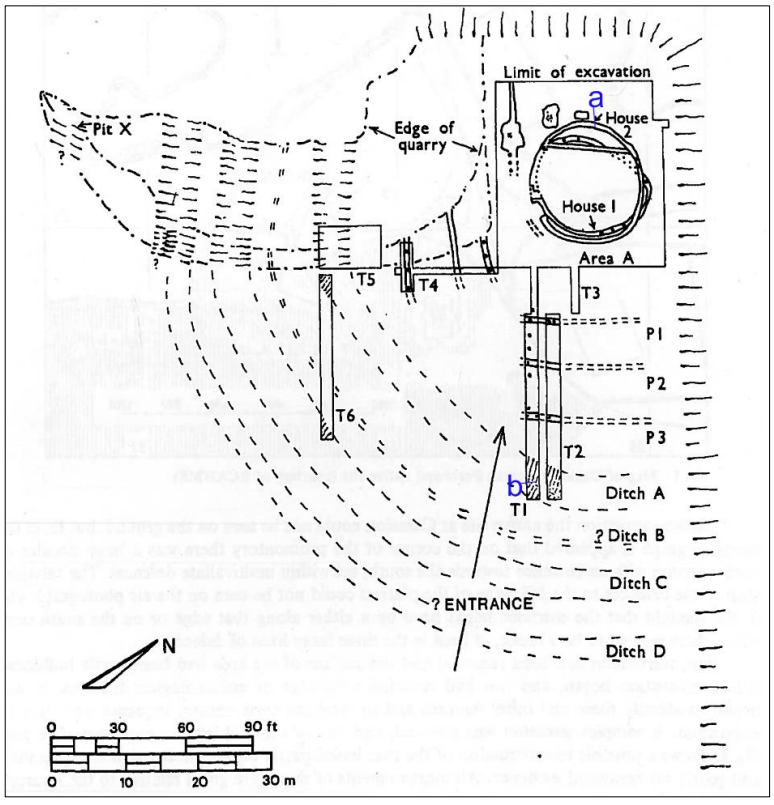
Site Plan A4.6.17: Camelon, Strathclyde

Source: Proudfoot (1980: a: 113; b: 114) with own annotations in blue

a.



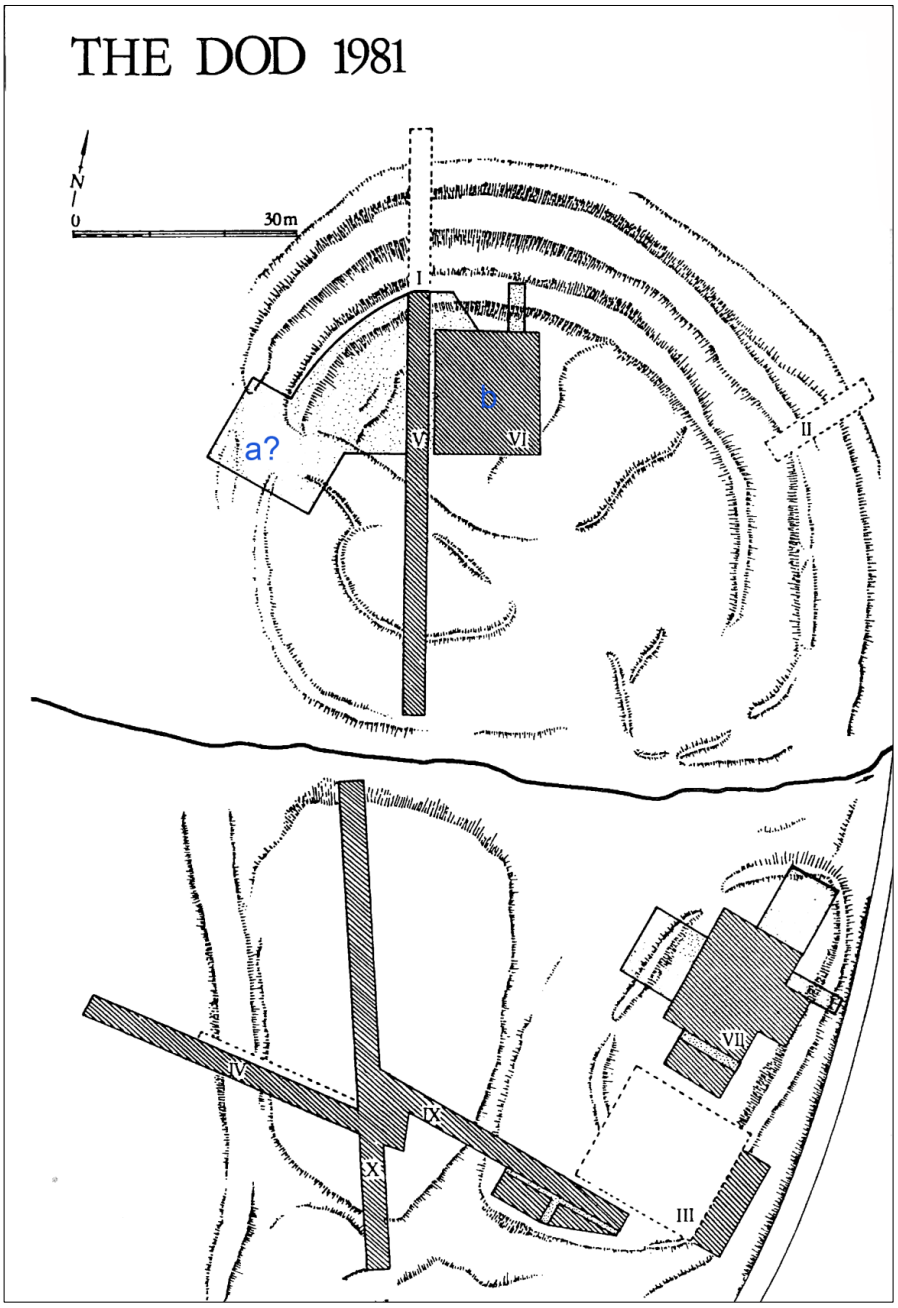
b.



a. Fort structure bedding trench - unidentified animal bone fragments, potsherds, hazel and birch charcoal specifically in the post holes, burnt daub and non-metallic slag.
b. Rectangular pit - two iron studs and various iron nails, grey ware sherds, one glass phial fragment, carbonised barley grain and some charcoal.

Site Plan A4.6.18: The Dod, Scottish Borders

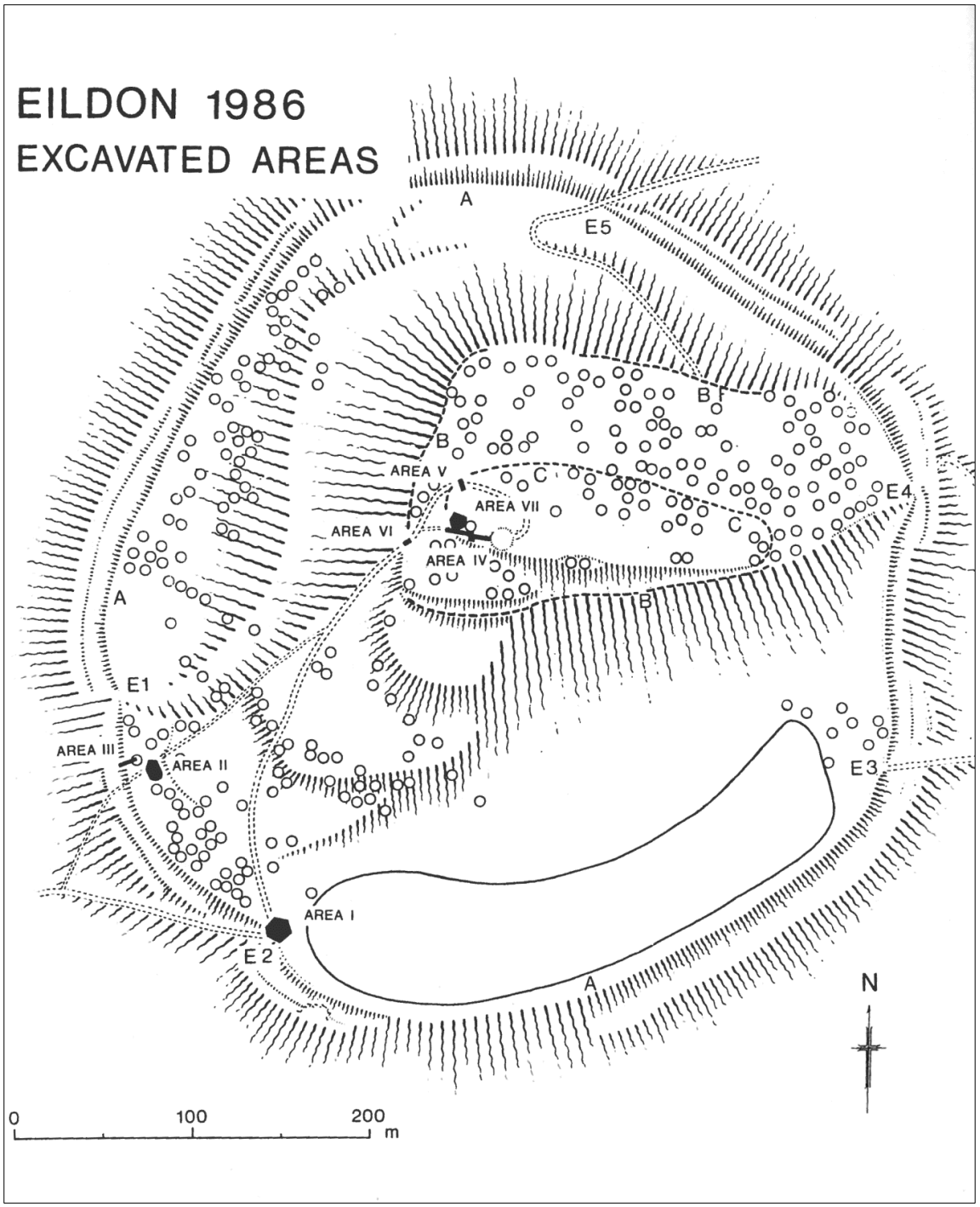
Source: Smith (1982: 8) with own annotations in blue.



a. Rampart near west entrance – unidentified number and type of human remains.
b. Roundhouse - one antler weaving comb, burnt building material, pit hearth remains, charcoal and stone dumps.

Site Plan A4.6.19: Eildon Hill North, Scottish Borders

Source: Olwyn (1987: Figure 1)



APPENDIX 5.

OTHER LARGE FIGURES

Figure A5.4.1: Possible LPRIA 'community' boundaries of Britain from comparative contemporary sources

Sources: a. Britain according to Ptolemy 2nd century BC (Ireland, 2008: xvi); b. Ireland (2008: xiv); c. Firstbrook (2001: 46); d and e. Cunliffe (2005: 179, 216)

a

b.

c.

d

e.

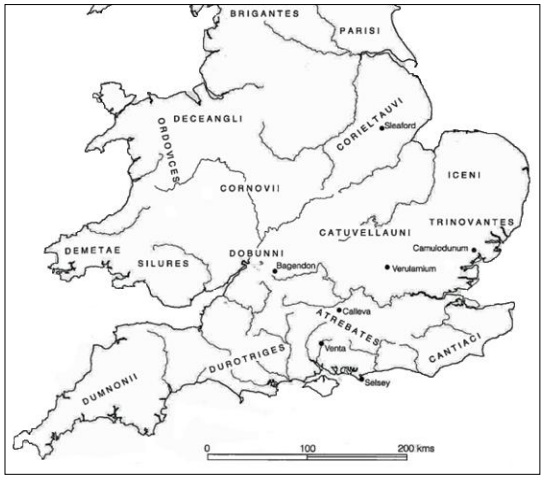
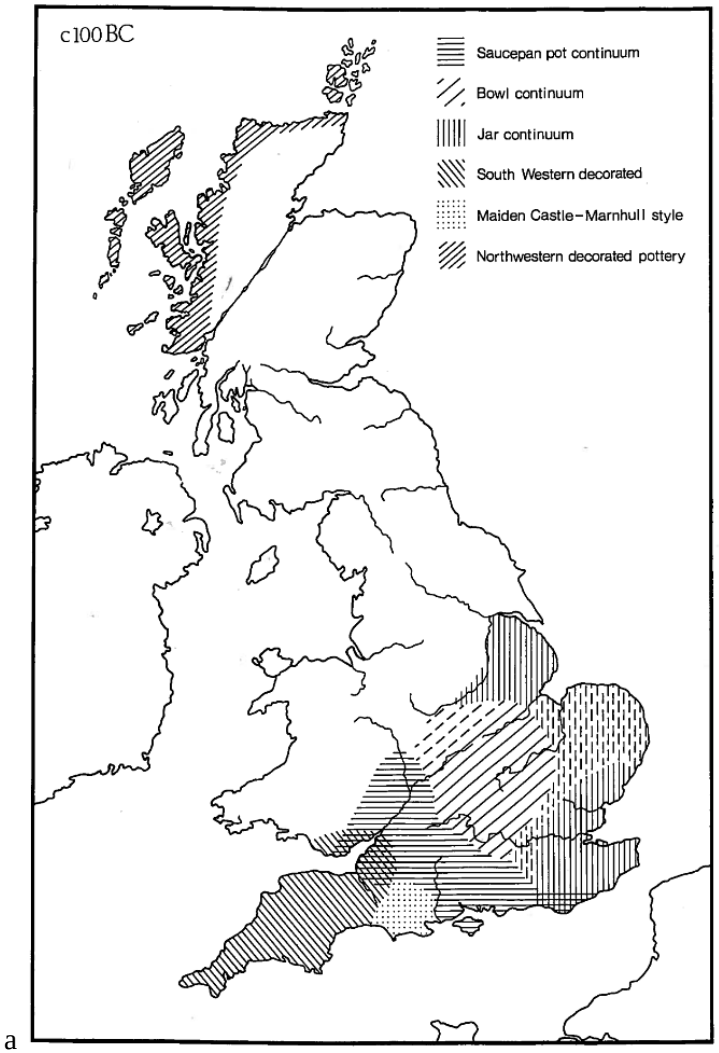
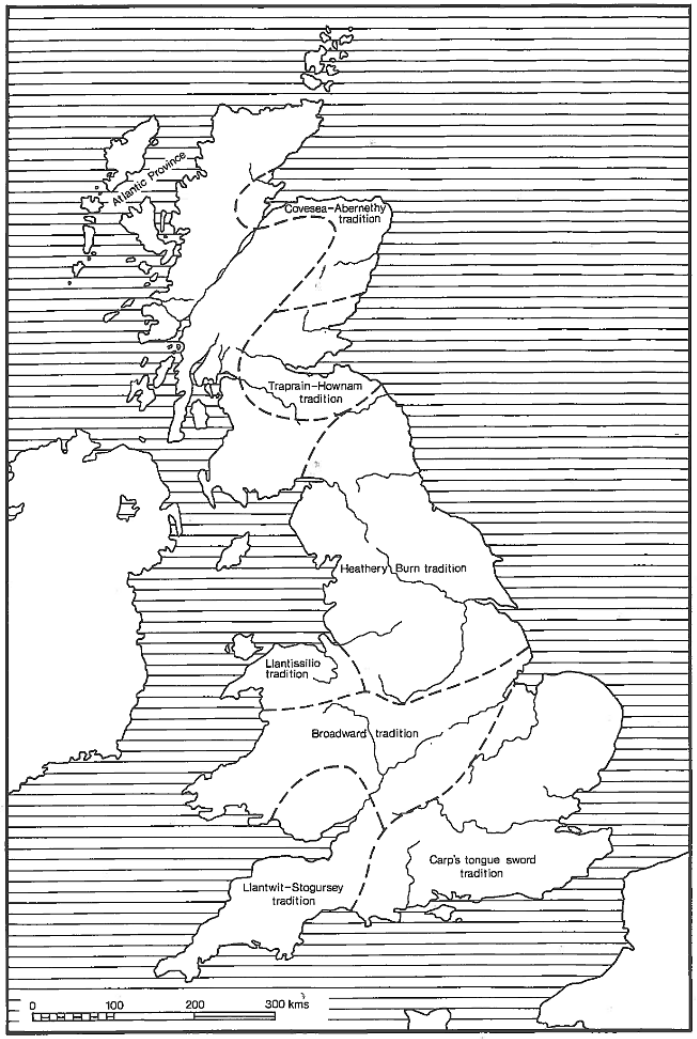


Figure A5.4.2: Distribution groups of decorated pottery (2nd to 1st centuries BC) and bronze working (8th to 5th centuries BC) in Britain.

Source: Cunliffe (1991: a: 92; b: 95)



a



b

Figure A5.5.1: Main three finds-producing context types and finds – site-by-site Zone One

Key:

AR – Animal Remains

HR – Human Remains

LM – Other Large Metal finds

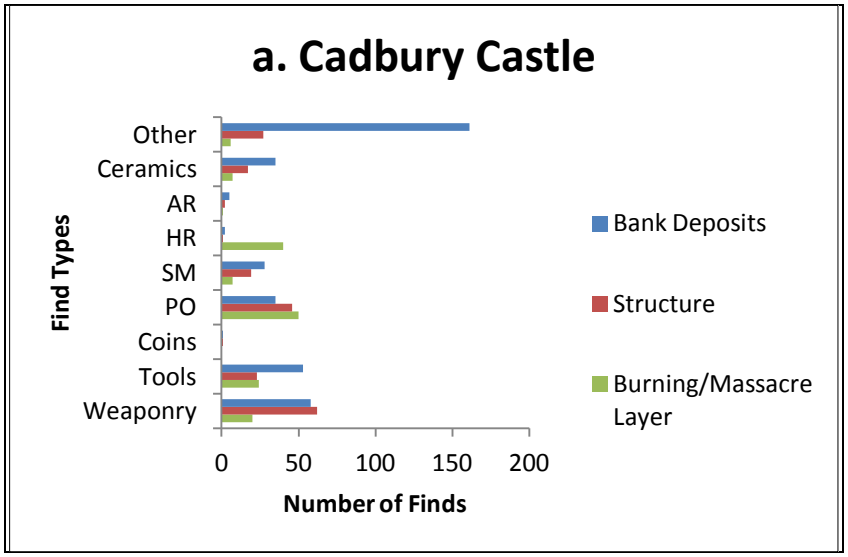
SM – Other Small Metal finds

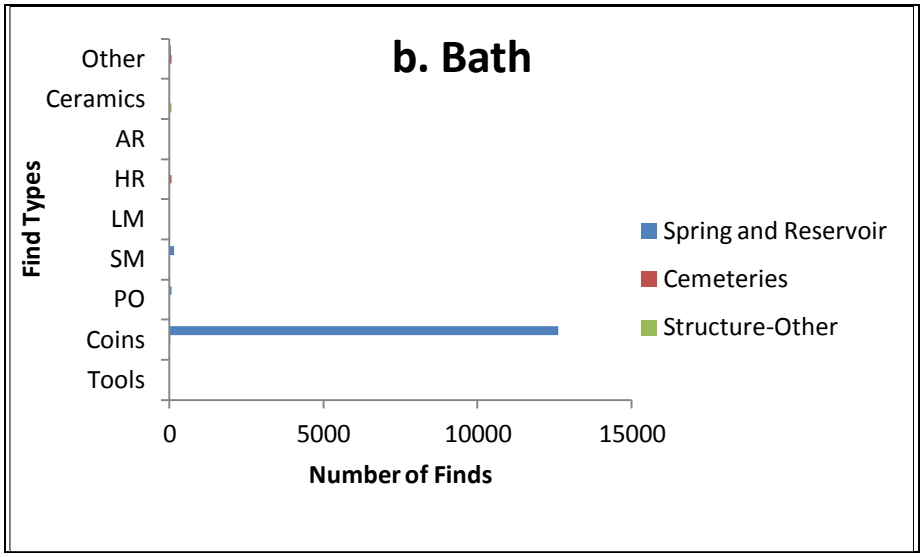
PO – Personal Ornaments

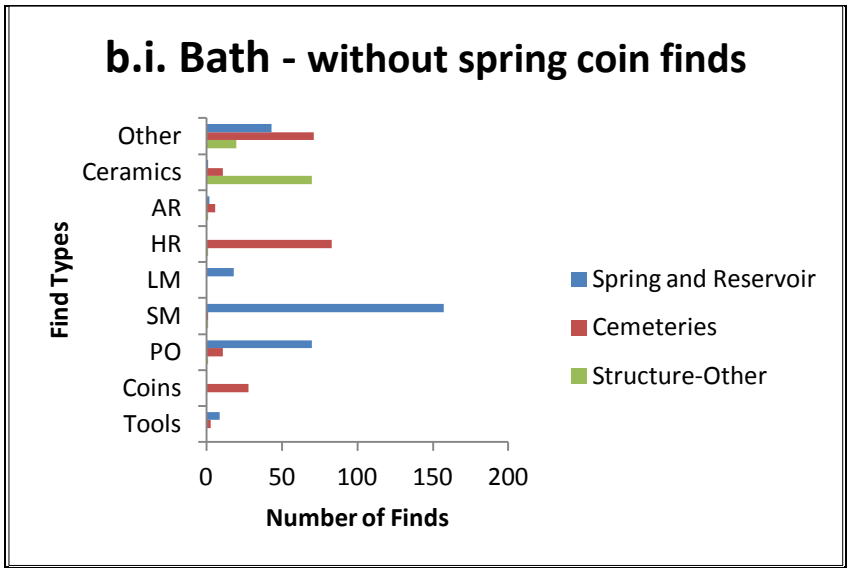
For the settlements of Glastonbury and Meare 'SM' in the legend refers to 'Settlement Mound'.

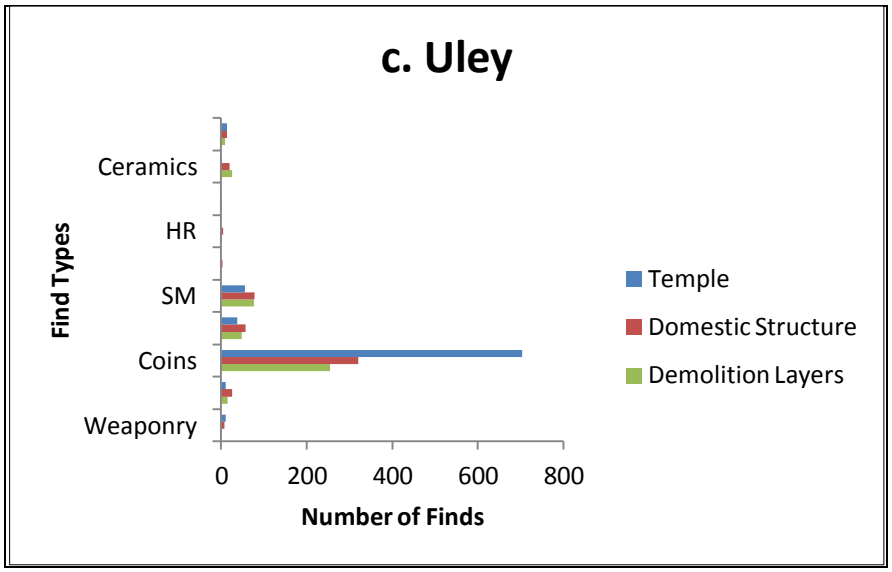
For the sites of Bath, Chedworth and Walbrook two graphs have been created to show the numbers of finds both including and excluding the large quantities of coin finds, for Bath and Chedworth, and tool finds, for Walbrook, for specific context types. This is to allow for other find-types to be observed more clearly.

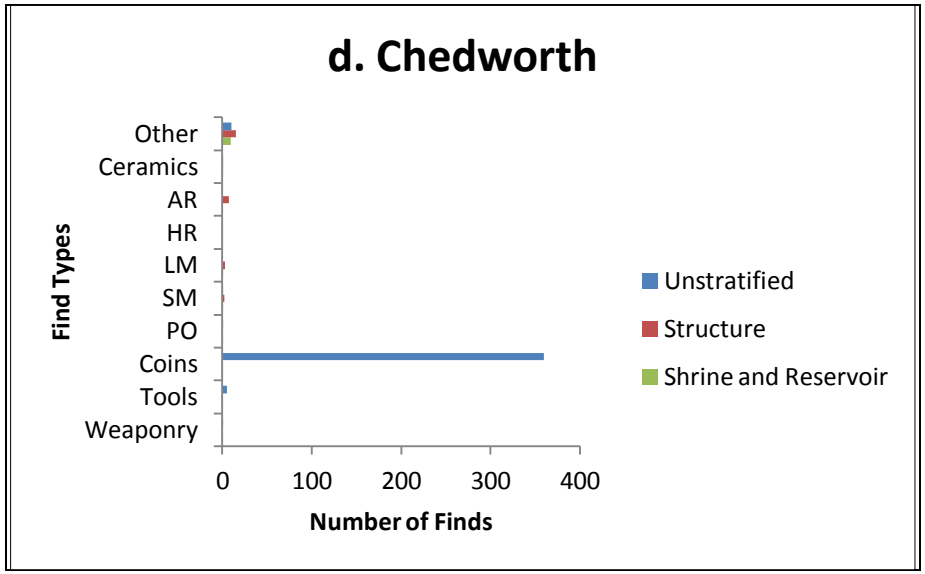
All terms used have been defined in the Glossary in Appendix 1.

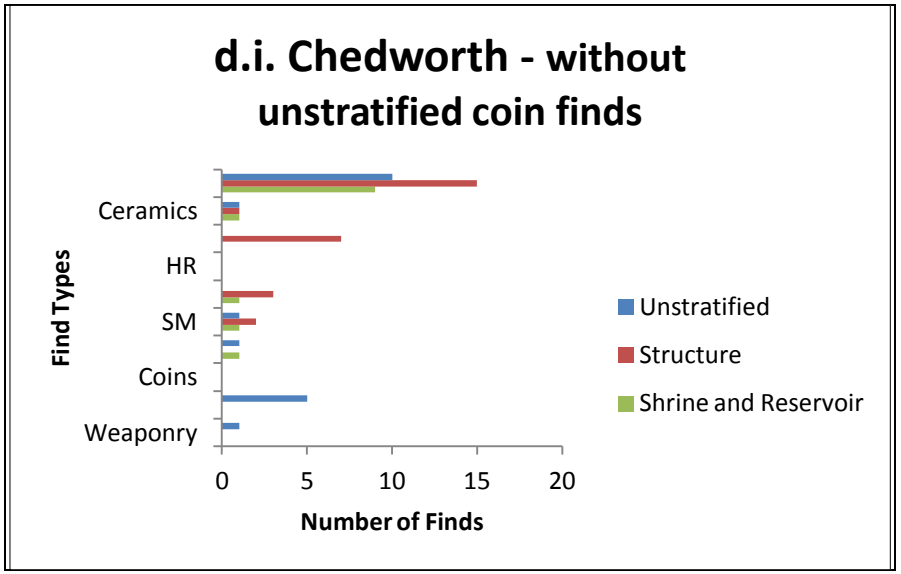

a. Cadbury Castle
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
50
100
150
200
Number of Finds
Bank Deposits
Structure
Burning/Massacre Layer

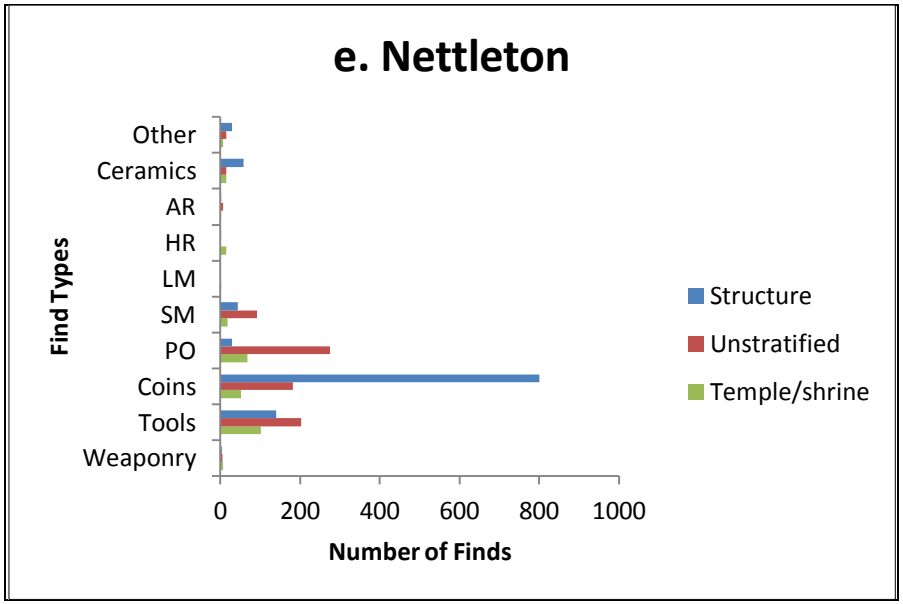

b. Bath
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Find Types
0
5000
10000
15000
Number of Finds
Spring and Reservoir
Cemeteries
Structure-Other

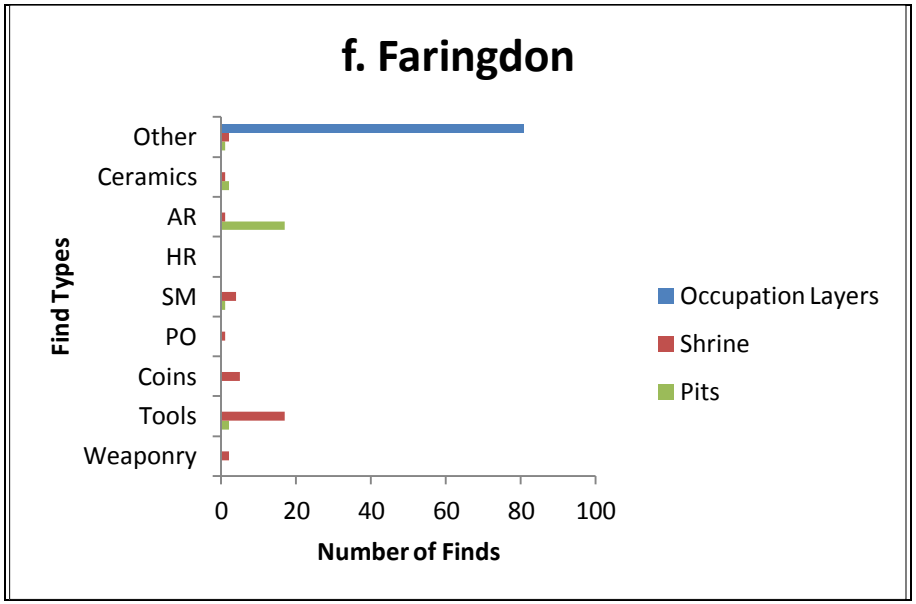

b.i. Bath - without spring coin finds
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Find Types
0
50
100
150
200
Number of Finds
Spring and Reservoir
Cemeteries
Structure-Other

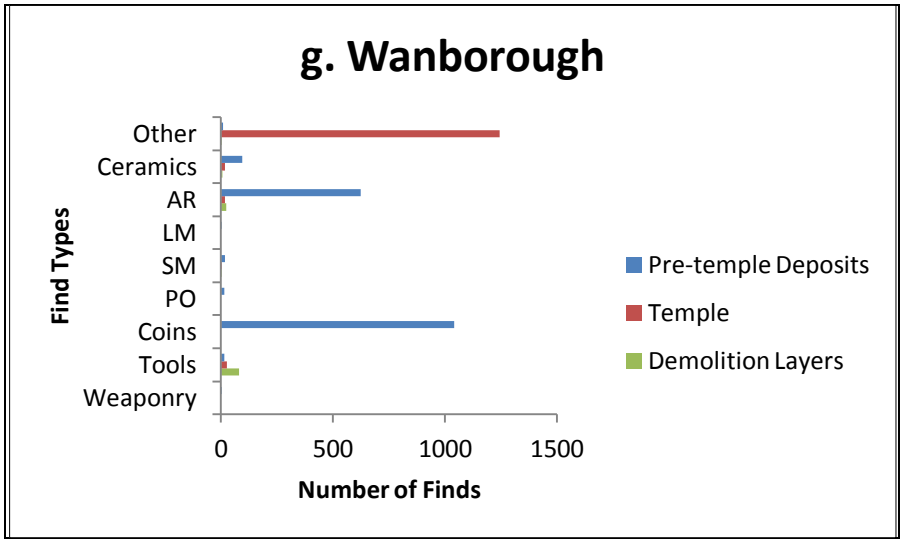

c. Uley
Ceramics
HR
SM
Coins
Weaponry
Find Types
0
200
400
600
800
Number of Finds
Temple
Domestic Structure
Demolition Layers

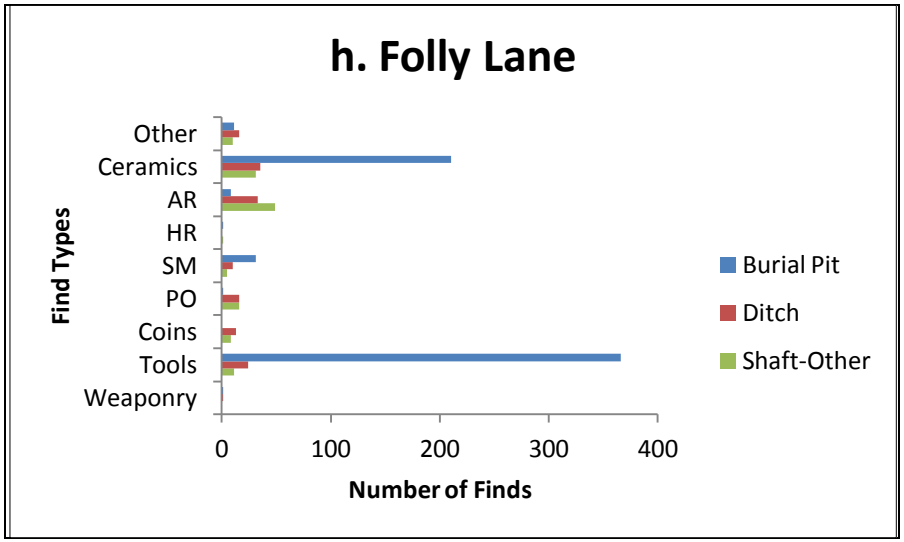

d. Chedworth
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
100
200
300
400
Number of Finds
Unstratified
Structure
Shrine and Reservoir

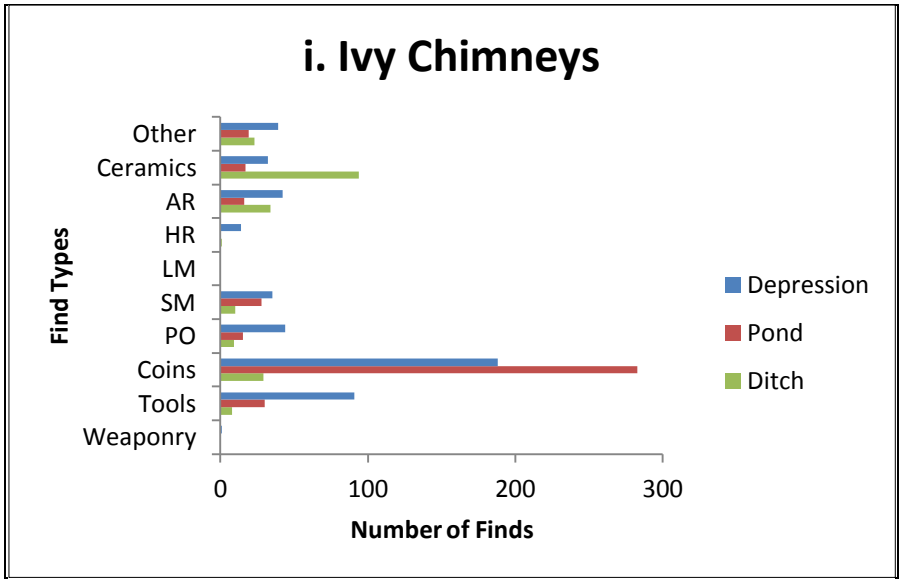

d.i. Chedworth - without unstratified coin finds
Ceramics
HR
SM
Coins
Weaponry
Find Types
0
5
10
15
20
Number of Finds
Unstratified
Structure
Shrine and Reservoir

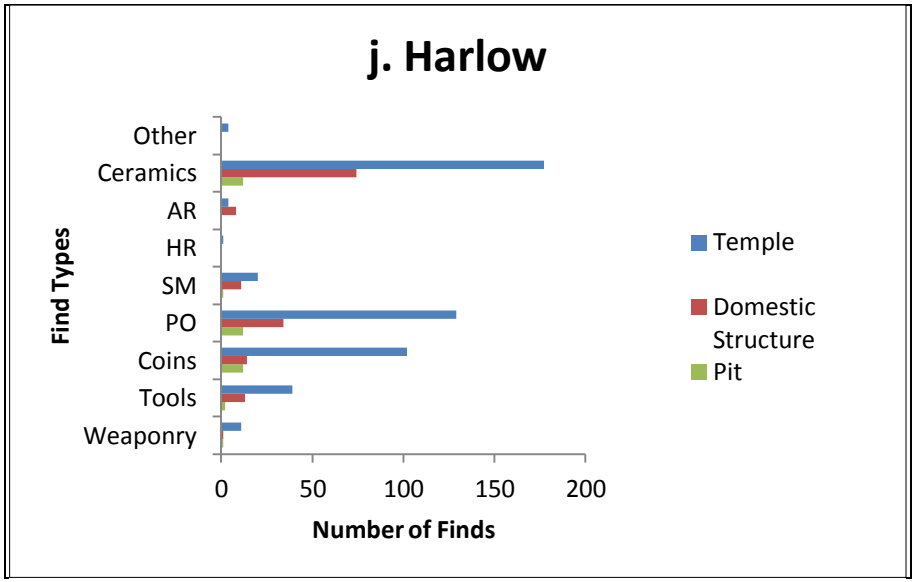

e. Nettleton
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
200
400
600
800
1000
Number of Finds
Structure
Unstratified
Temple/shrine

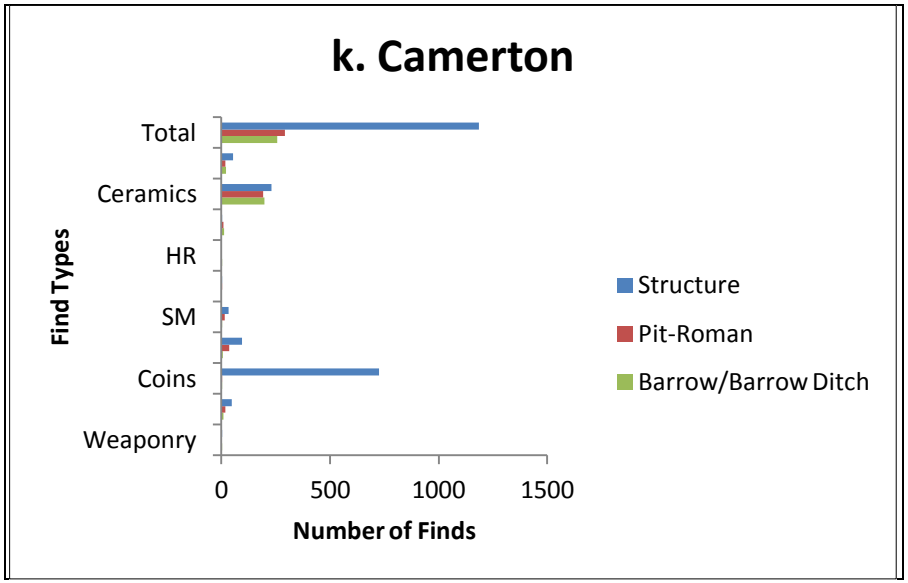

f. Faringdon
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
20
40
60
80
100
Number of Finds
Occupation Layers
Shrine
Pits

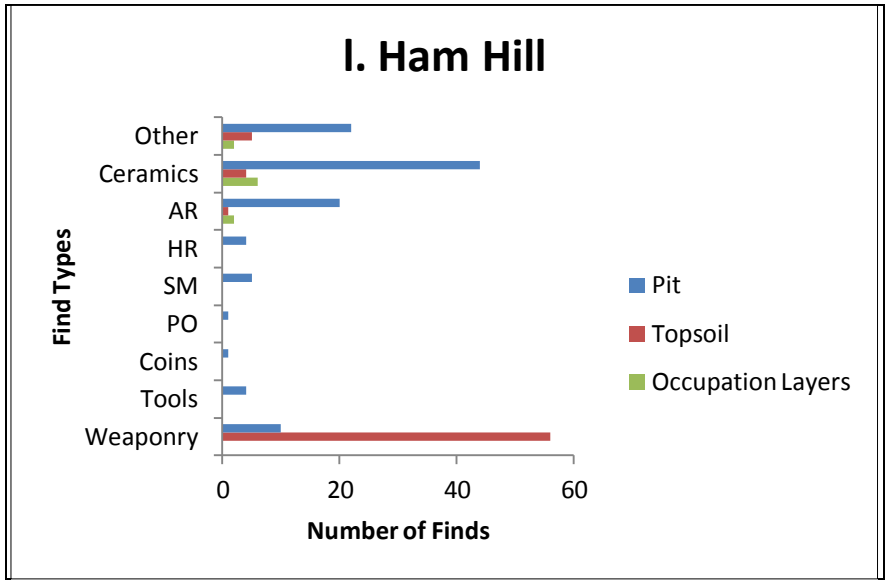

g. Wanborough
Other
Ceramics
AR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
500
1000
1500
Number of Finds
Pre-temple Deposits
Temple
Demolition Layers

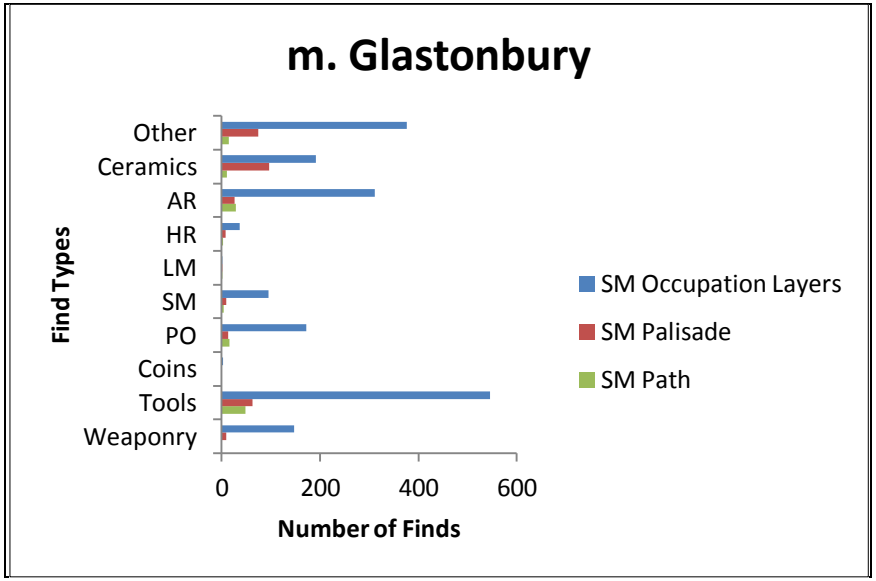

h. Folly Lane
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
100
200
300
400
Number of Finds
Burial Pit
Ditch
Shaft-Other

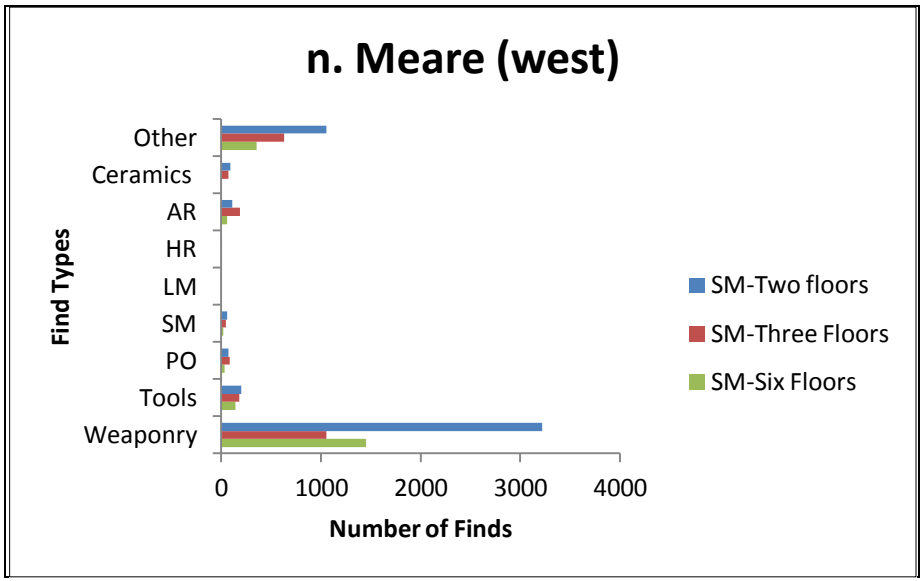

i. Ivy Chimneys
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
100
200
300
Number of Finds
Depression
Pond
Ditch

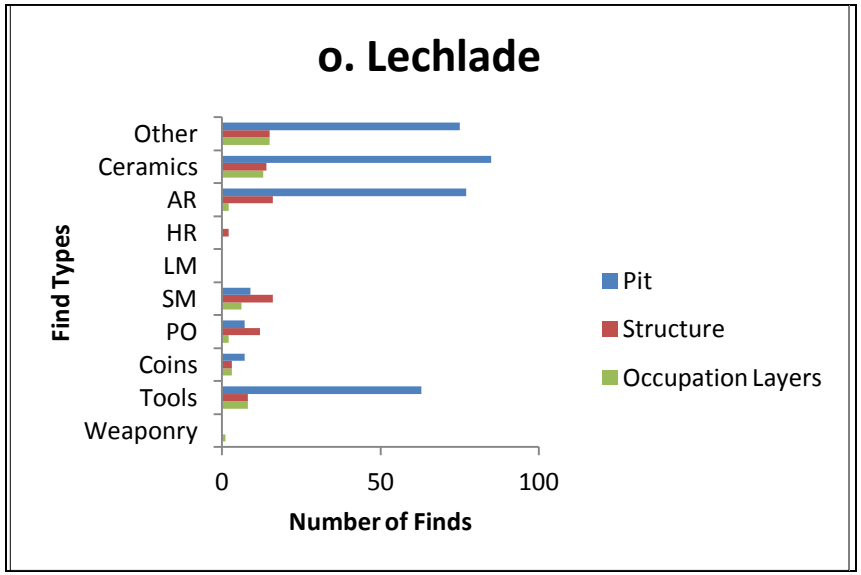

j. Harlow
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
50
100
150
200
Number of Finds
Temple
Domestic Structure
Pit

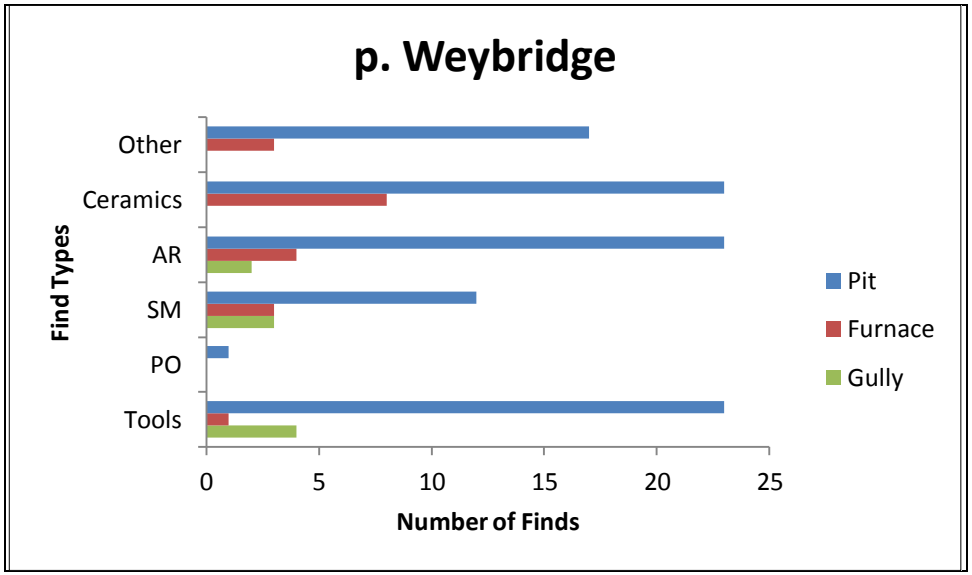

k. Camerton
Total
Ceramics
HR
SM
Coins
Weaponry
Find Types
0
500
1000
1500
Number of Finds
Structure
Pit-Roman
Barrow/Barrow Ditch

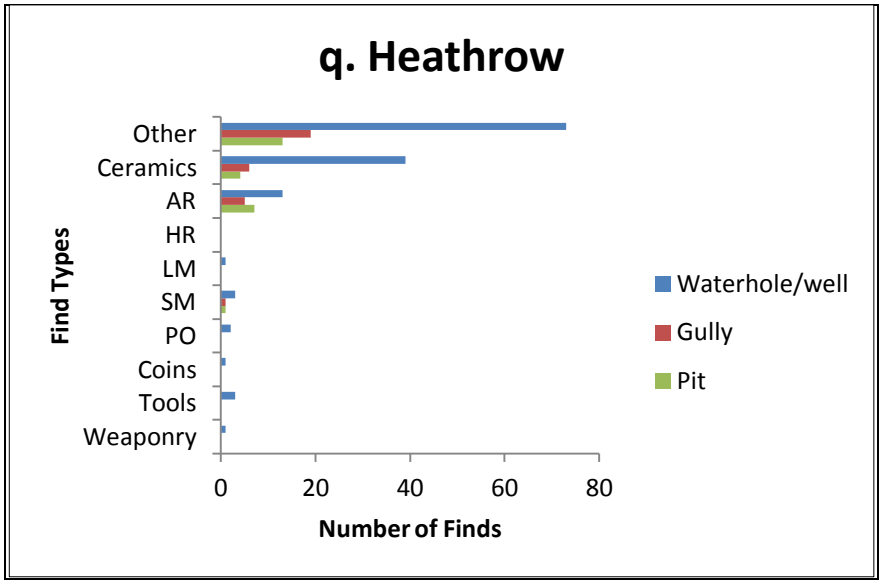

l. Ham Hill
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
20
40
60
Number of Finds
Pit
Topsoil
Occupation Layers

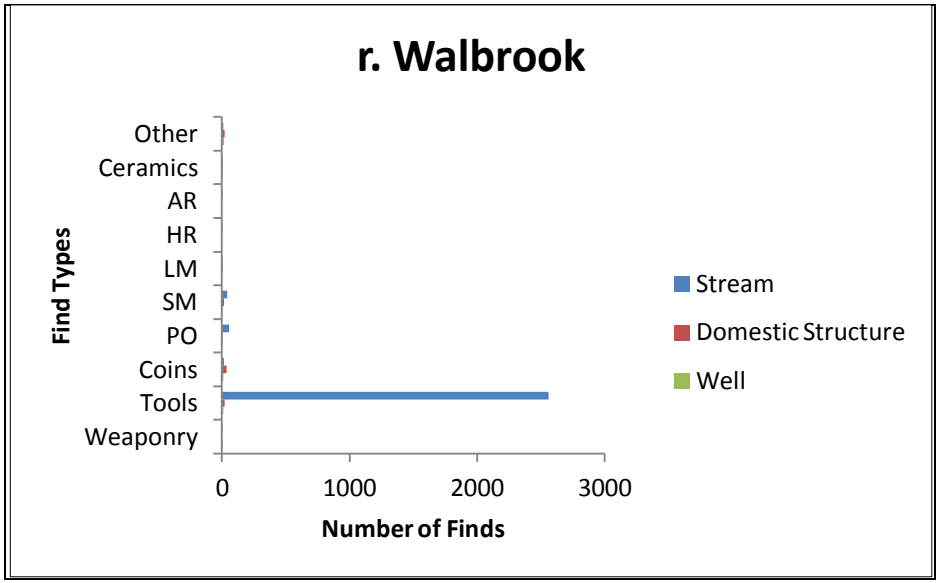

m. Glastonbury
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
200
400
600
Number of Finds
SM Occupation Layers
SM Palisade
SM Path

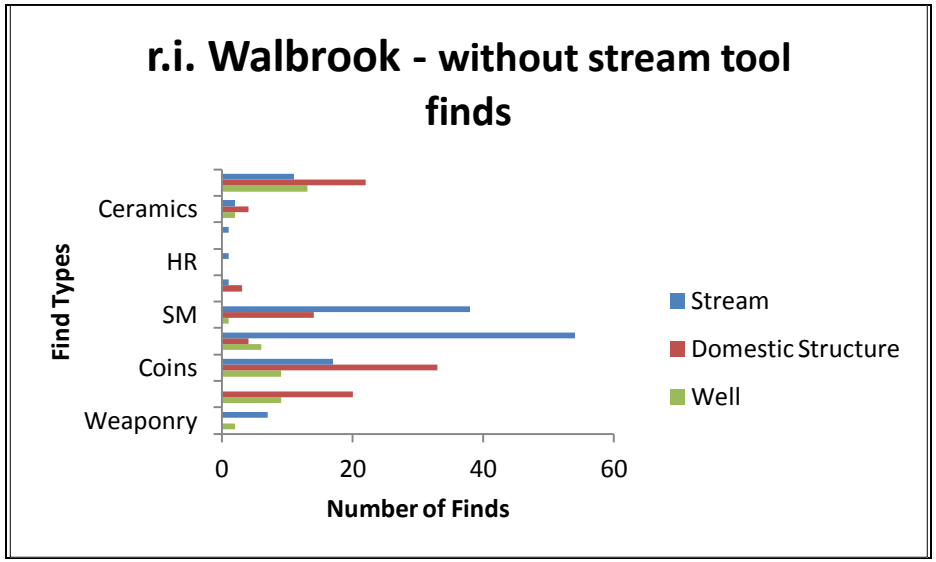

n. Meare (west)
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
1000
2000
3000
4000
Number of Finds
SM-Two floors
SM-Three Floors
SM-Six Floors

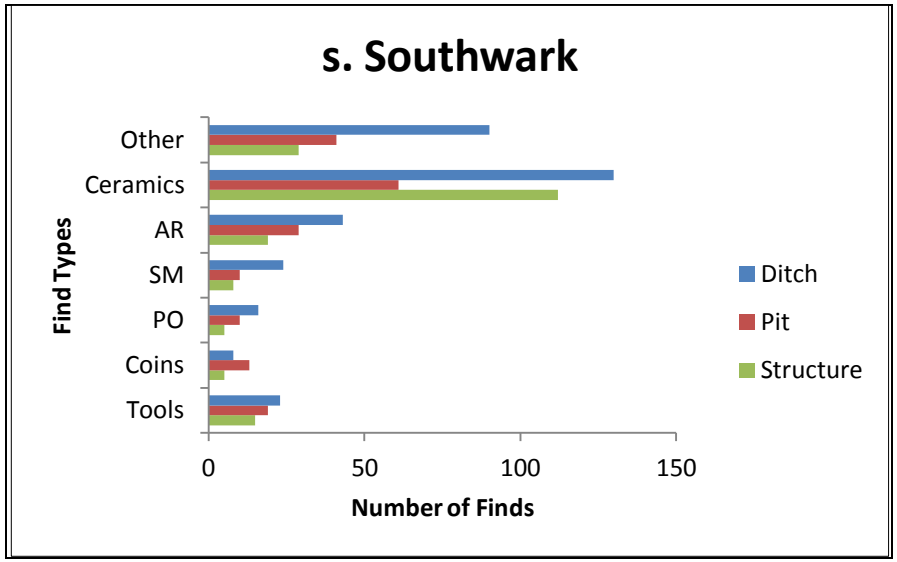

o. Lechlade
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
50
100
Number of Finds
Pit
Structure
Occupation Layers

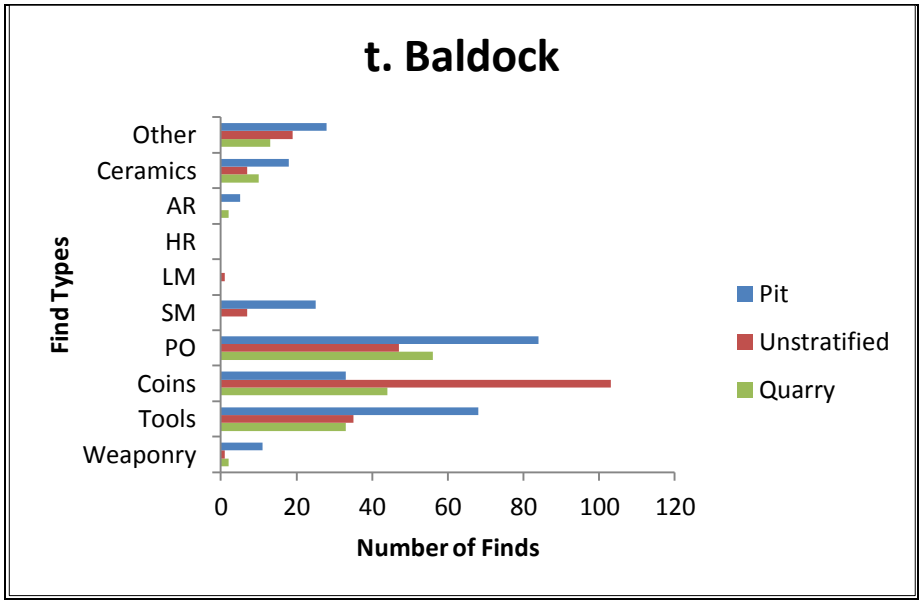

p. Weybridge
Other
Ceramics
AR
SM
PO
Tools
Find Types
0
5
10
15
20
25
Number of Finds
Pit
Furnace
Gully

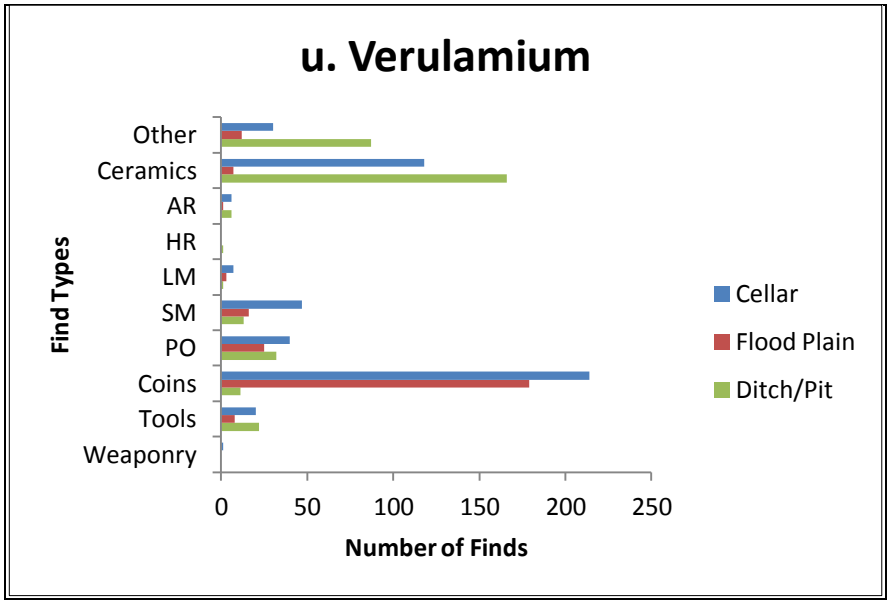

q. Heathrow
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
20
40
60
80
Number of Finds
Waterhole/well
Gully
Pit


r. Walbrook
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
1000
2000
3000
Number of Finds
Stream
Domestic Structure
Well


r.i. Walbrook - without stream tool finds
Find Types
Ceramics
HR
SM
Coins
Weaponry
0
20
40
60
Number of Finds
Stream
Domestic Structure
Well


s. Southwark
Find Types
Other
Ceramics
AR
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
0
50
100
150
Number of Finds
Ditch
Pit
Structure


t. Baldock
Find Types
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
0
20
40
60
80
100
120
Number of Finds
Pit
Unstratified
Quarry


u. Verulamium
Find Types
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
0
50
100
150
200
250
Number of Finds
Cellar
Flood Plain
Ditch/Pit

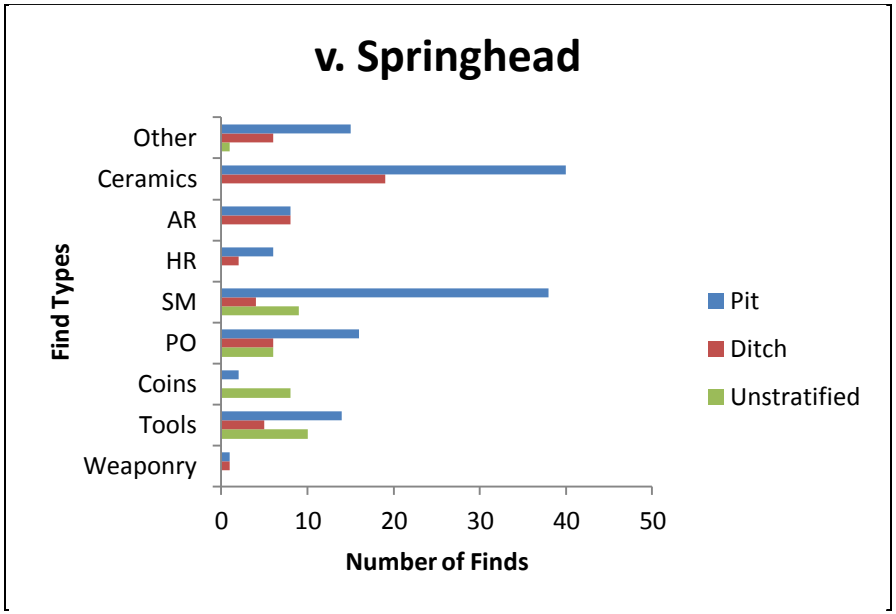
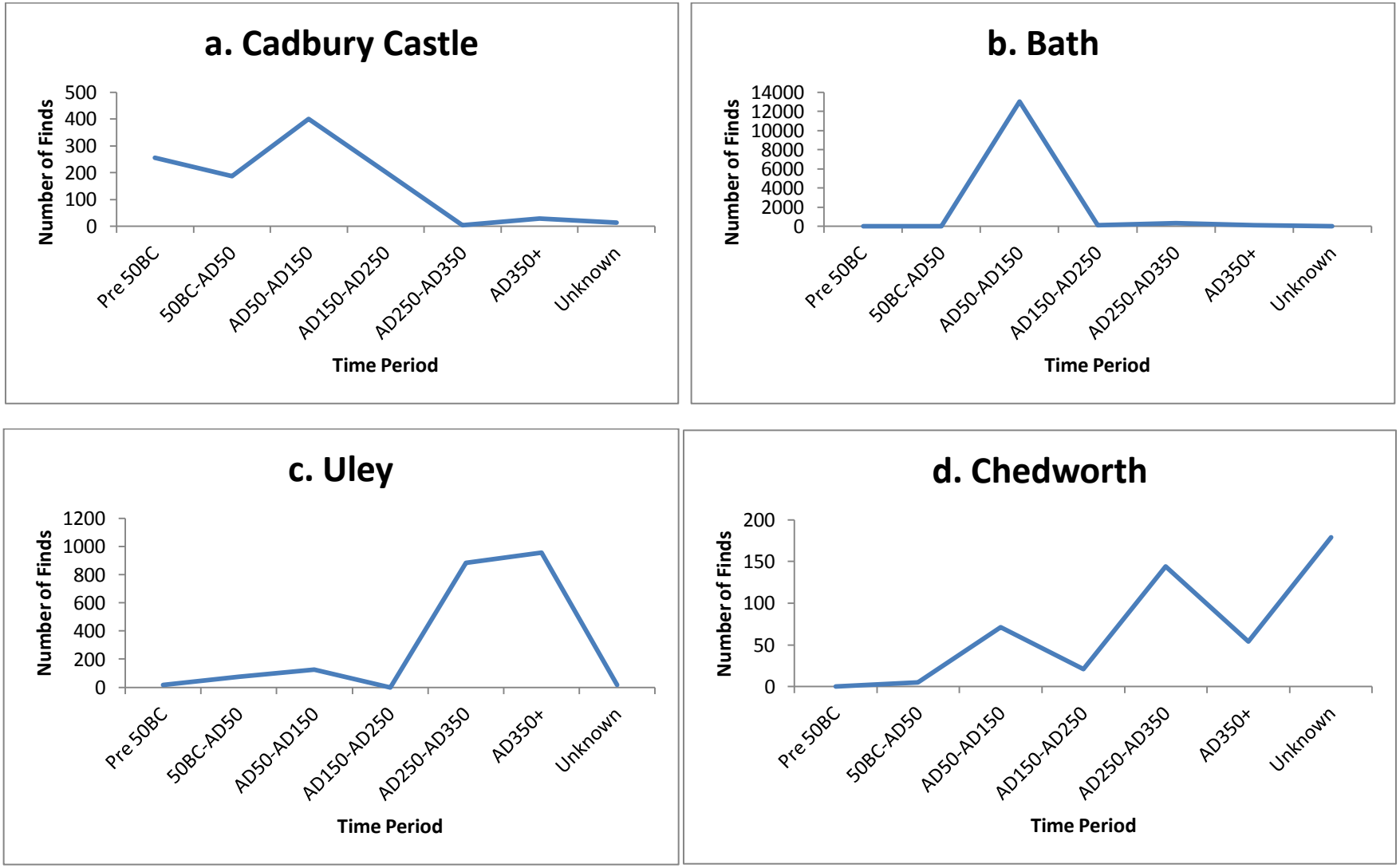
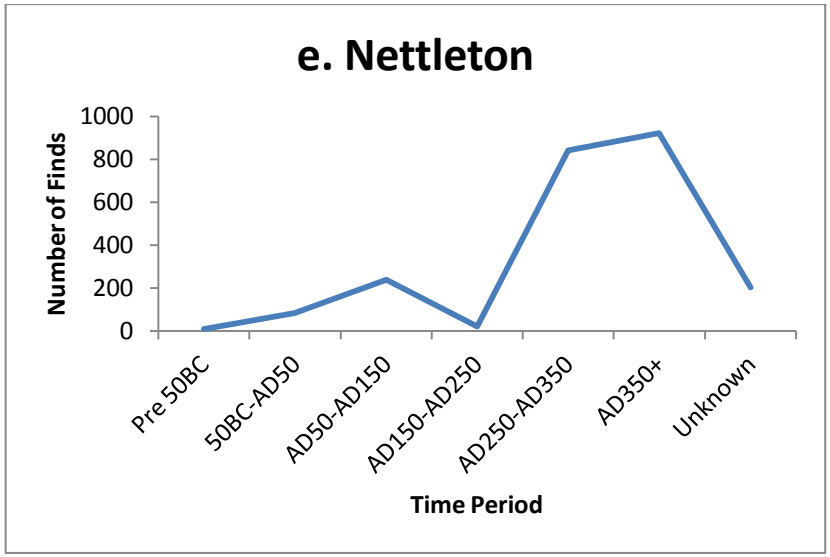
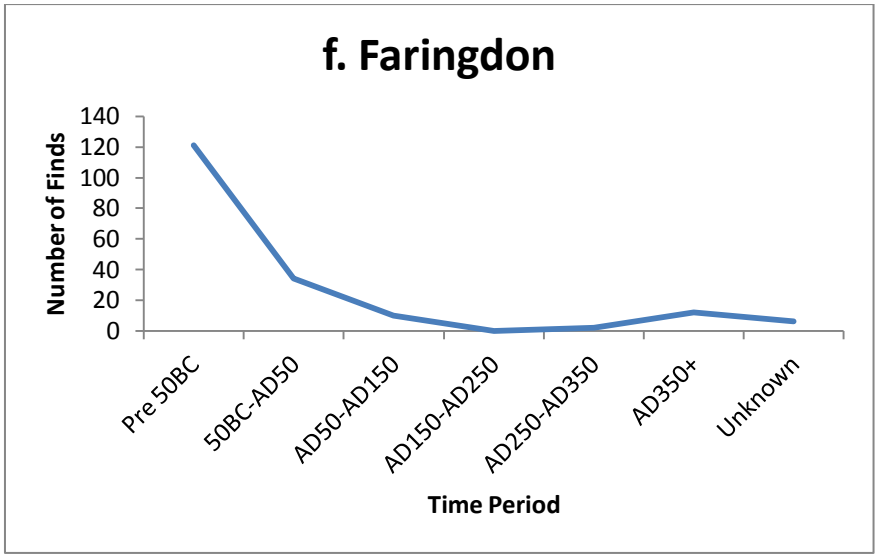
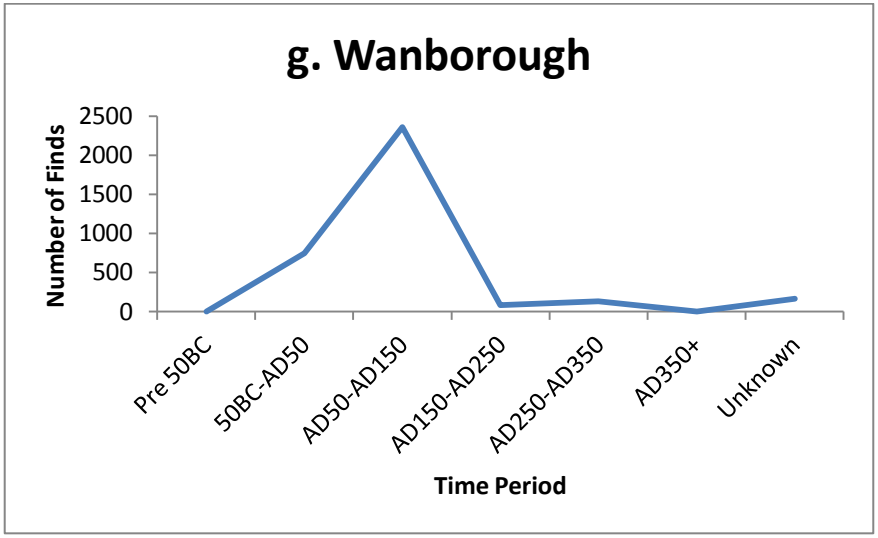

v. Springhead
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
10
20
30
40
50
Number of Finds
Pit
Ditch
Unstratified

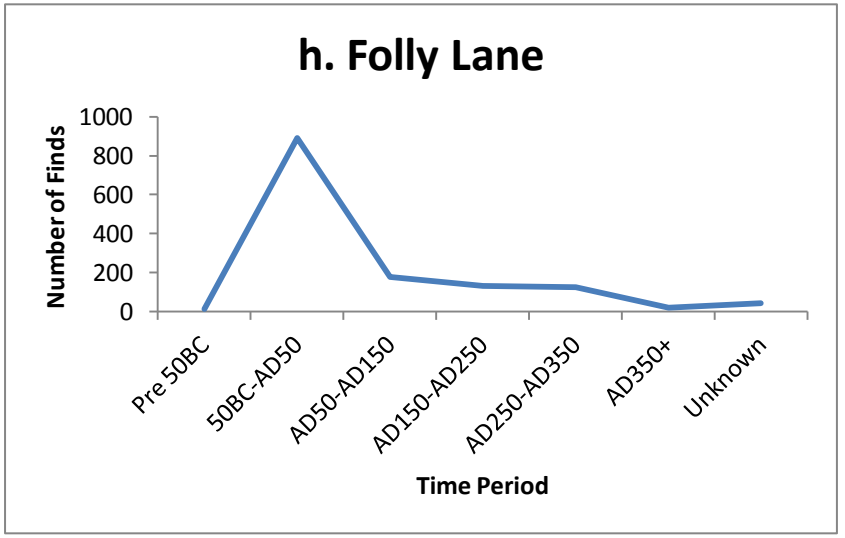
Figure A5.5.2: Total finds against time periods – site-by-site Zone One

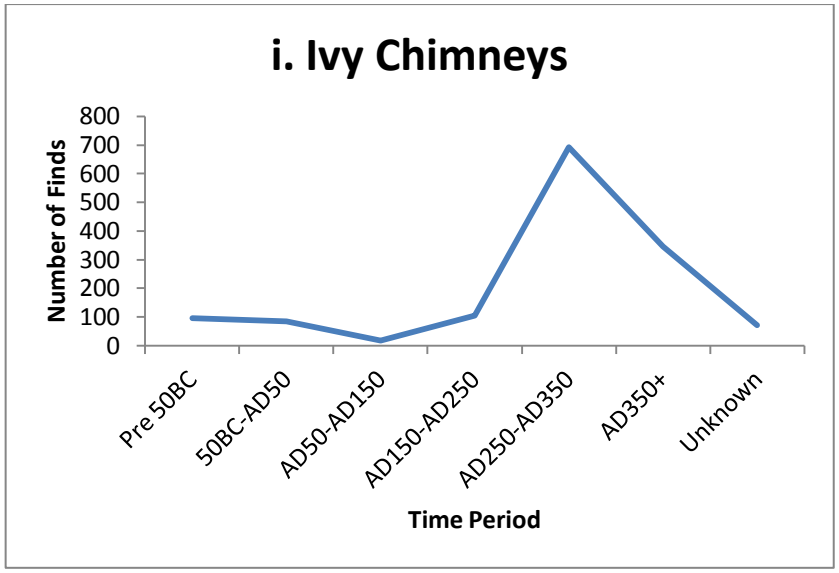


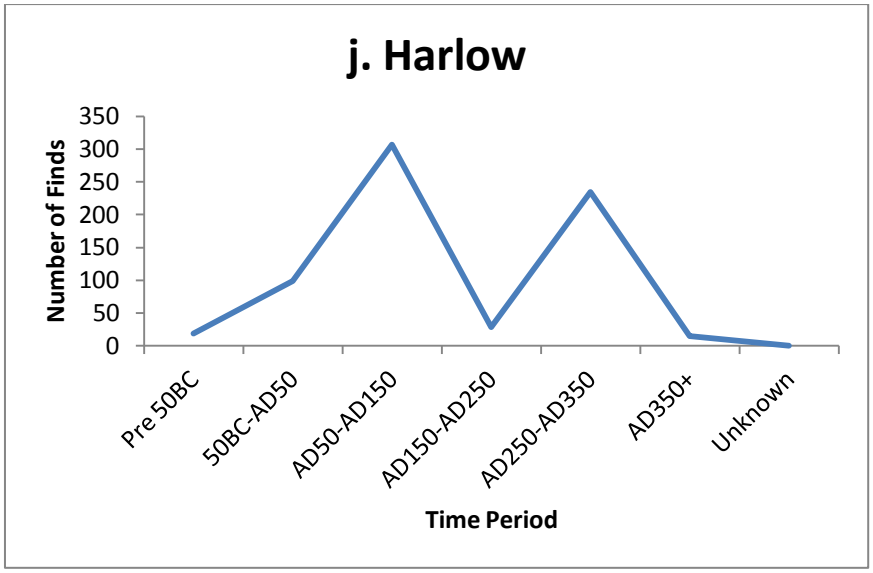

e. Nettleton
Number of Finds
1000
800
600
400
200
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

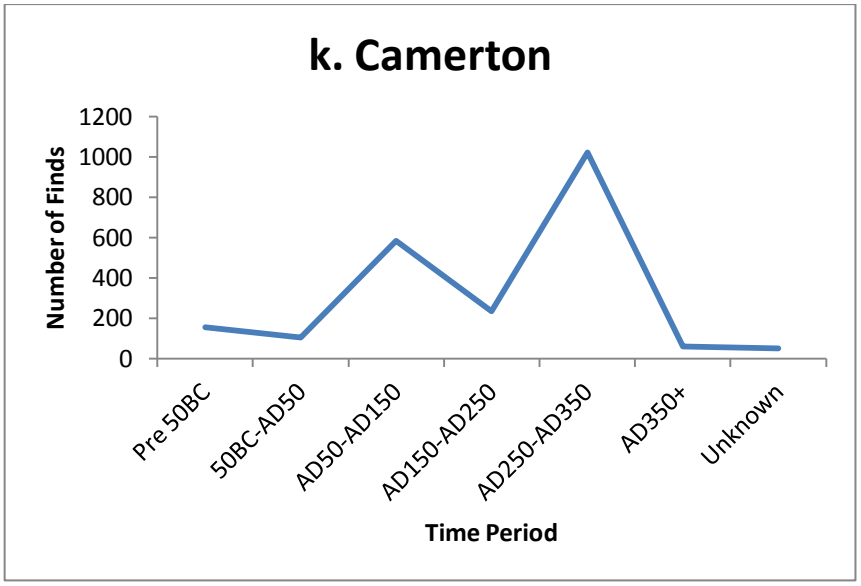

f. Faringdon
Number of Finds
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

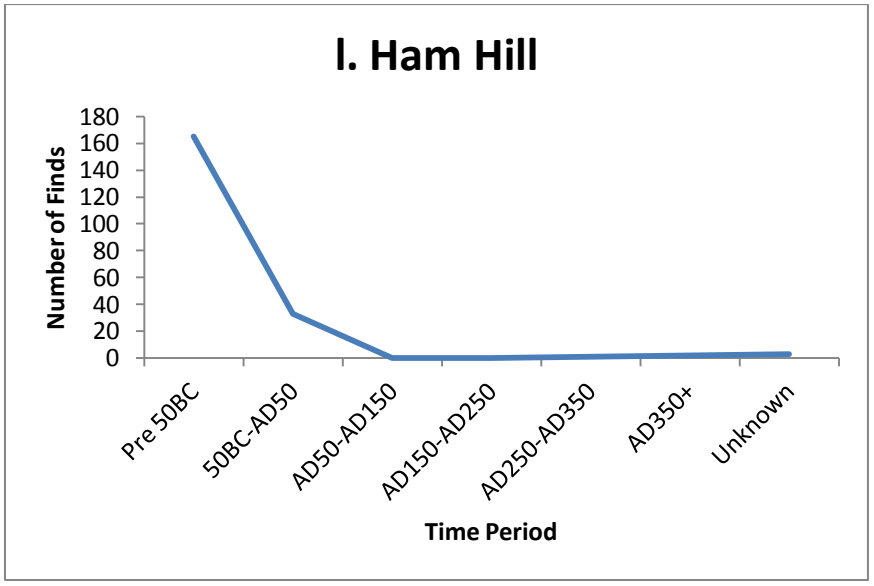

g. Wanborough
Number of Finds
2500
2000
1500
1000
500
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

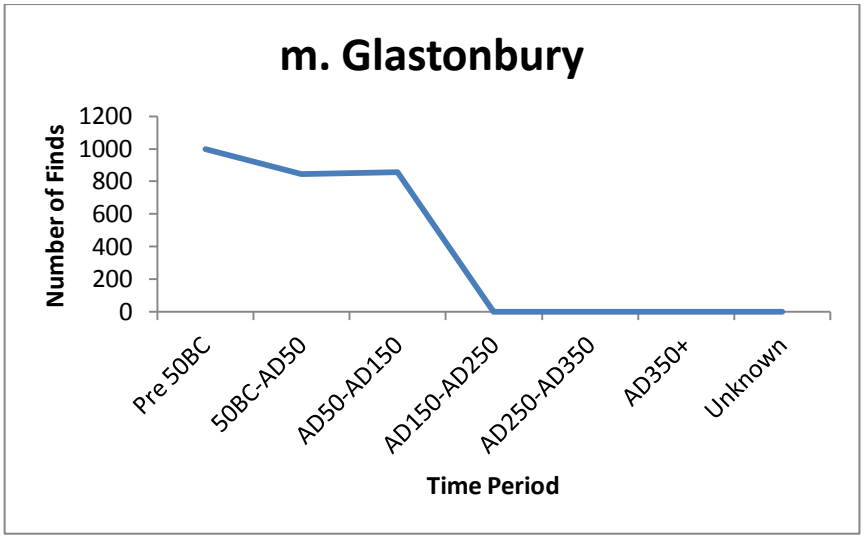

h. Folly Lane
Number of Finds
1000
800
600
400
200
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

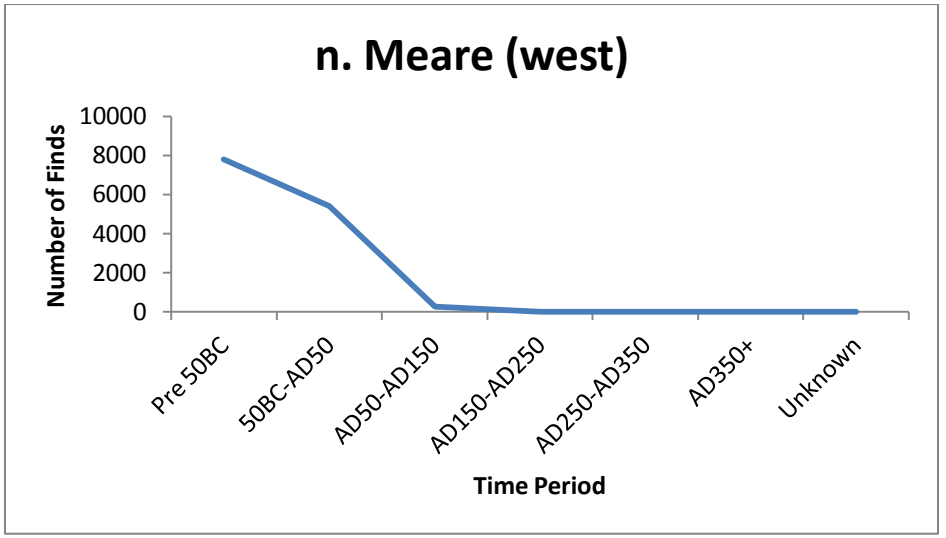

i. Ivy Chimneys
Number of Finds
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

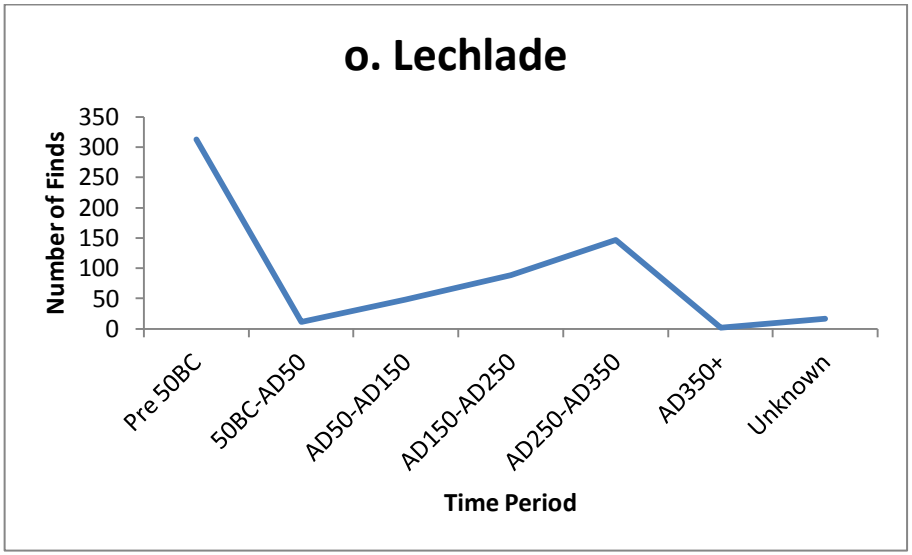

j. Harlow
Number of Finds
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

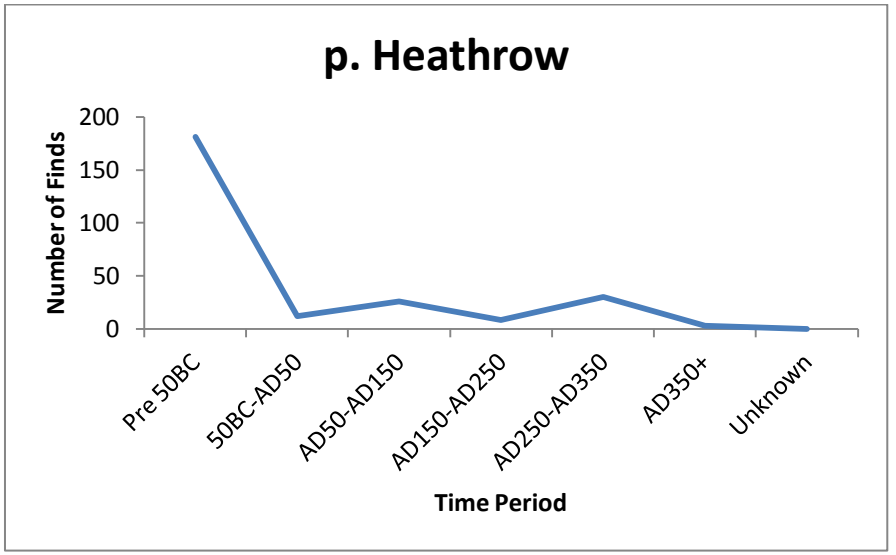

k. Camerton
Number of Finds
1200
1000
800
600
400
200
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

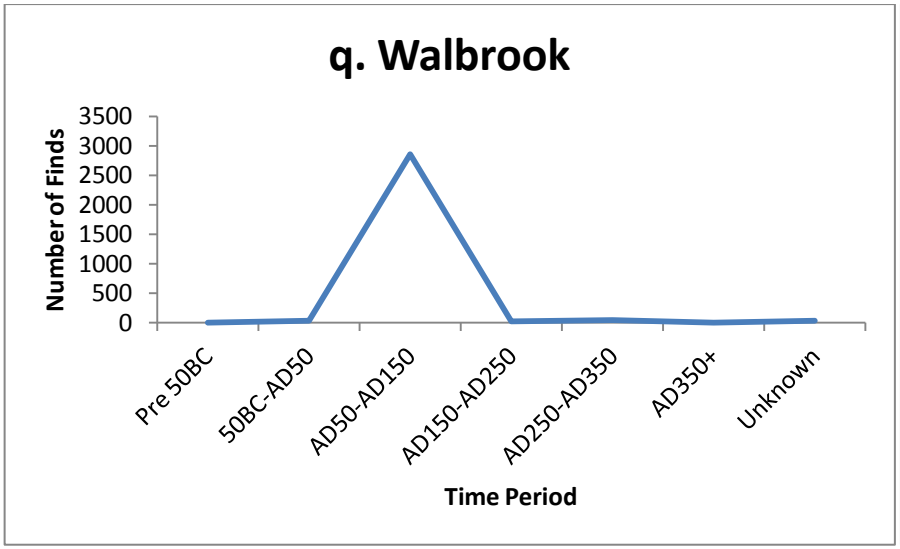

l. Ham Hill
Number of Finds
180
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

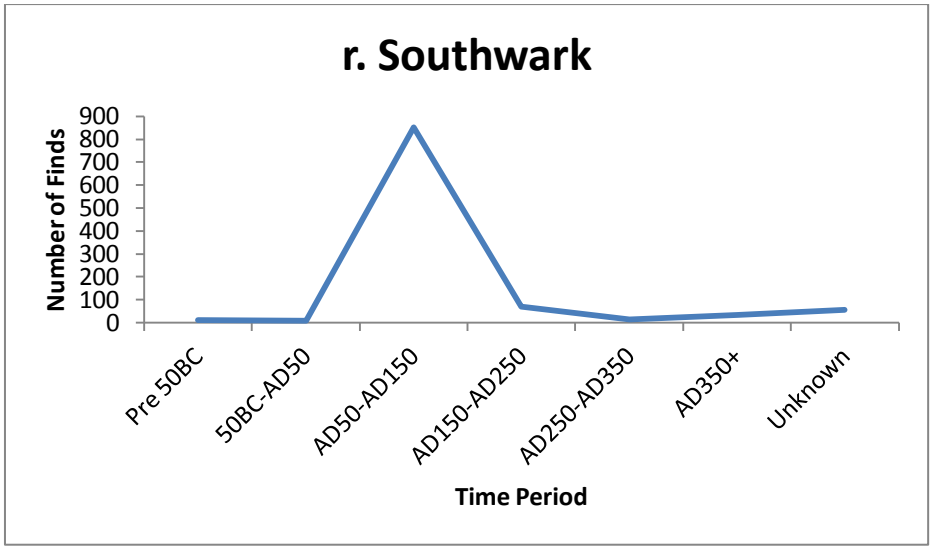

m. Glastonbury
Number of Finds
1200
1000
800
600
400
200
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

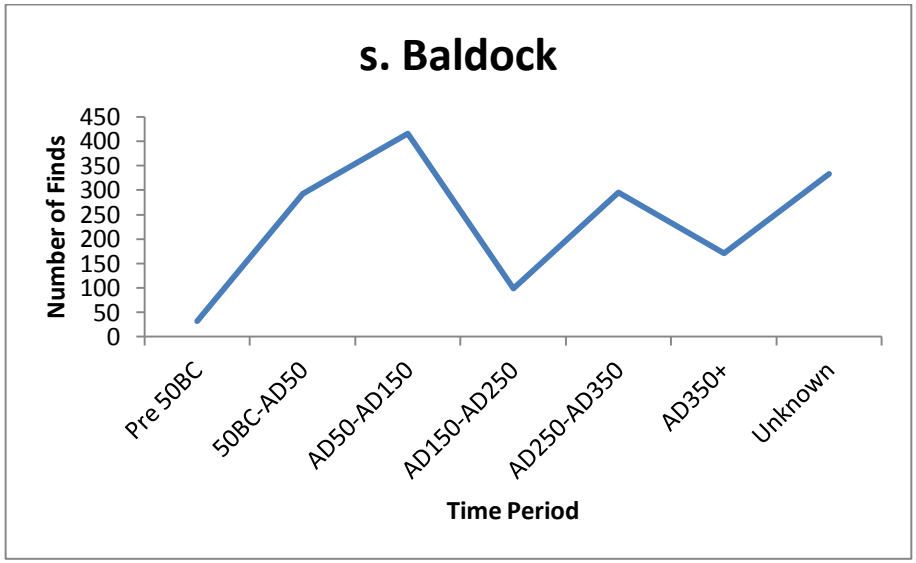

n. Meare (west)
Number of Finds
10000
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

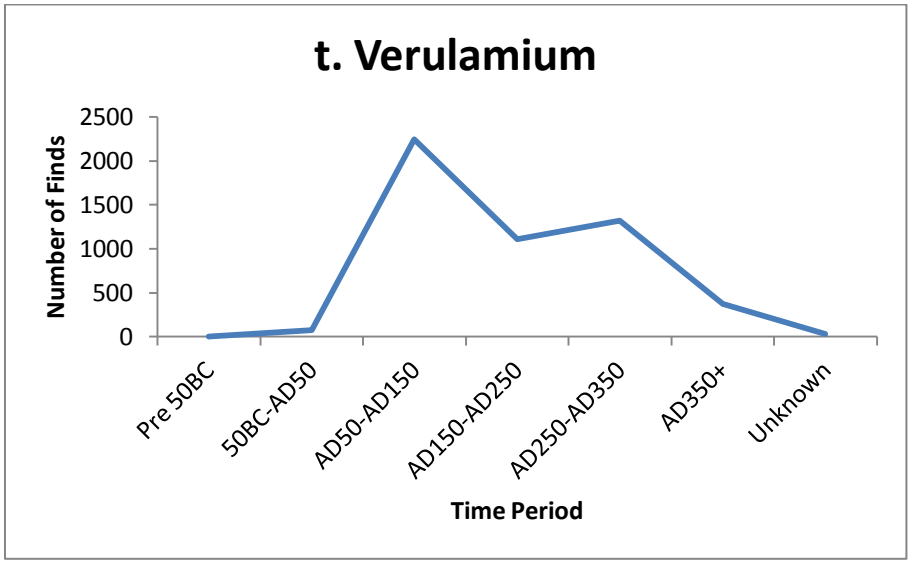

o. Lechlade
Number of Finds
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

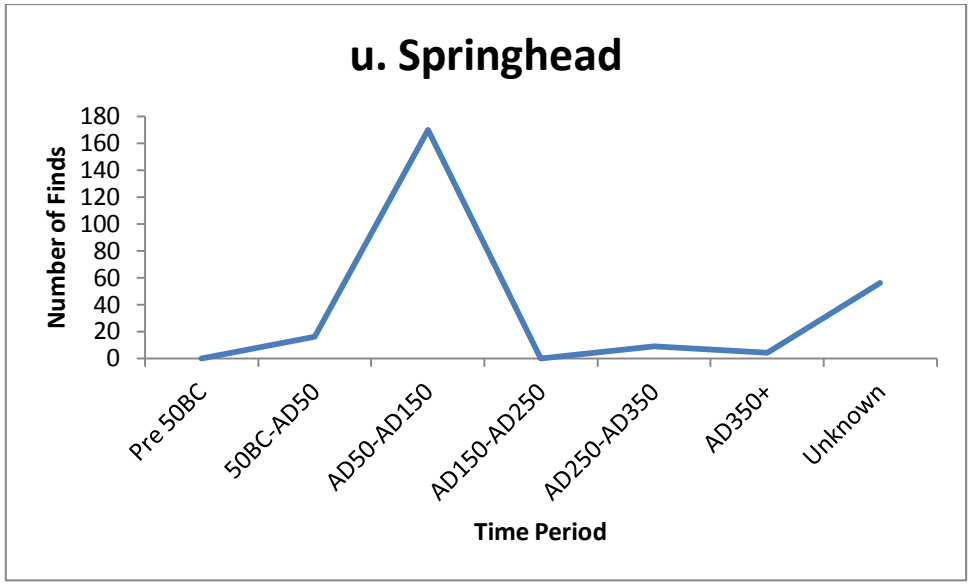

p. Heathrow
Number of Finds
200
150
100
50
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period


q. Walbrook
Number of Finds
3500
3000
2500
2000
1500
1000
500
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period


r. Southwark
Number of Finds
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period


s. Baldock
Number of Finds
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period


t. Verulamium
Number of Finds
2500
2000
1500
1000
500
0
Pre 50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period



Note: Weybridge has not been included in this figure because all finds recovered dated to within the 50 BC to 50 AD time period.

Figure A5.5.3: Proportion of total finds against time periods – site-by-site Zone One

Key:

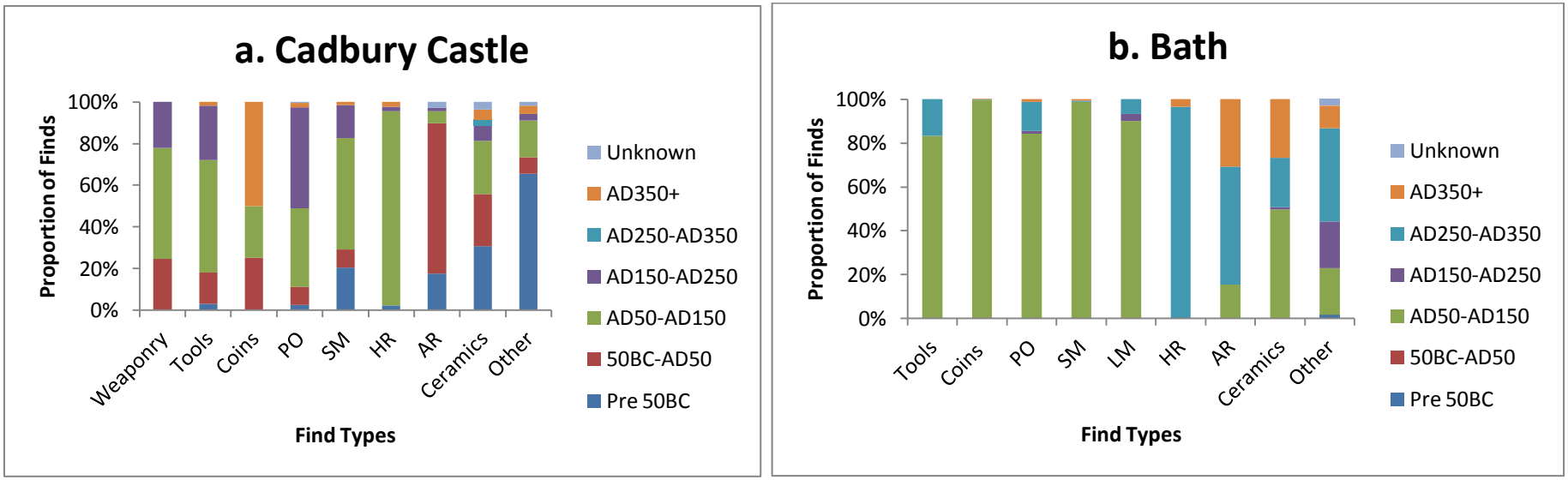
AR – Animal Remains

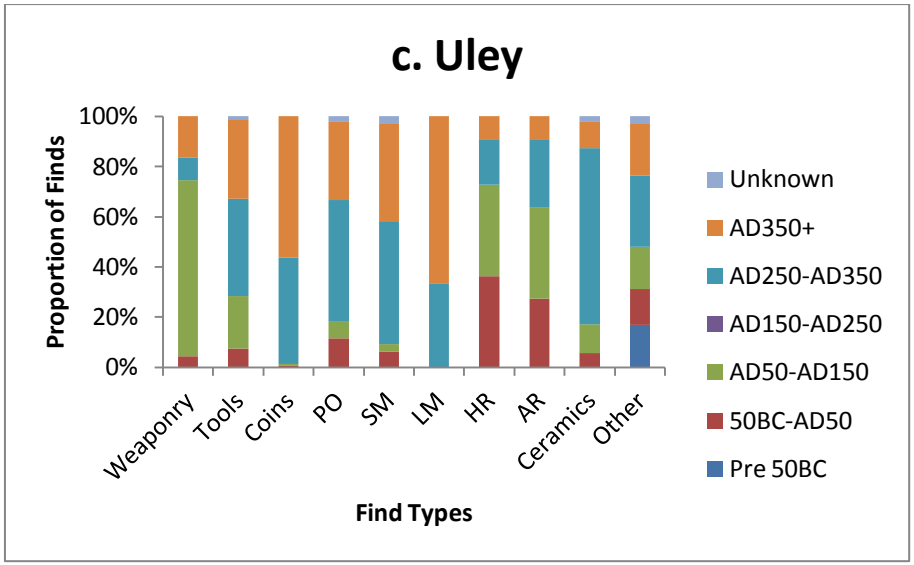
HR – Human Remains

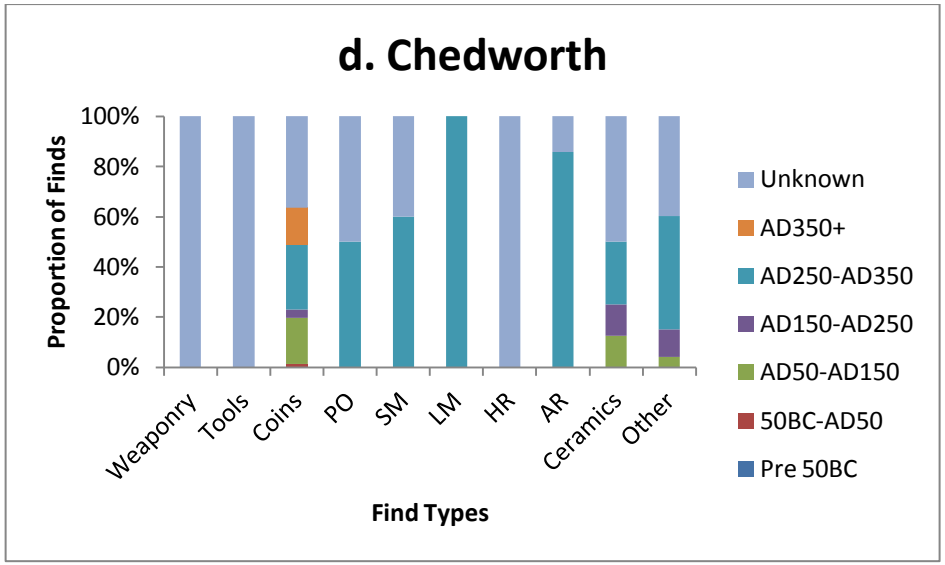
LM – Other Large Metals

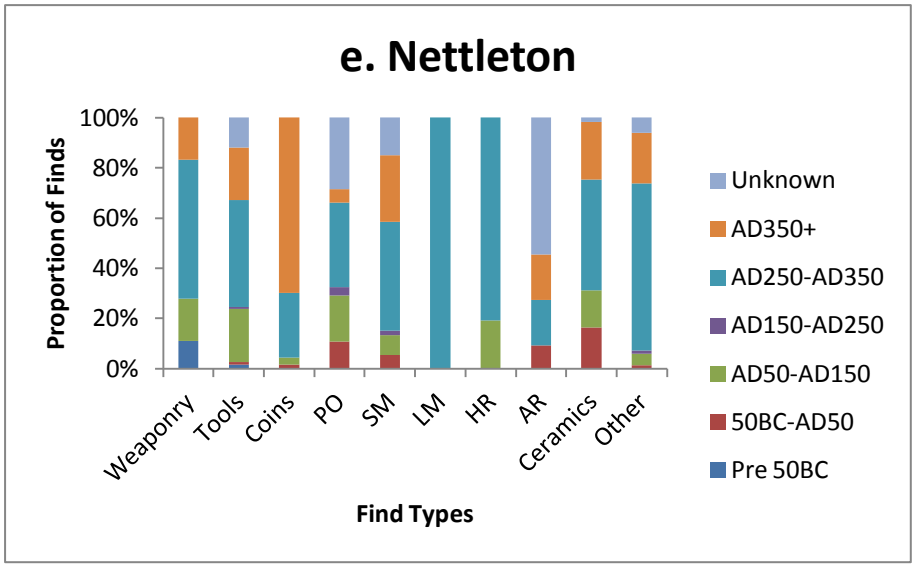
SM – Other Small Metals

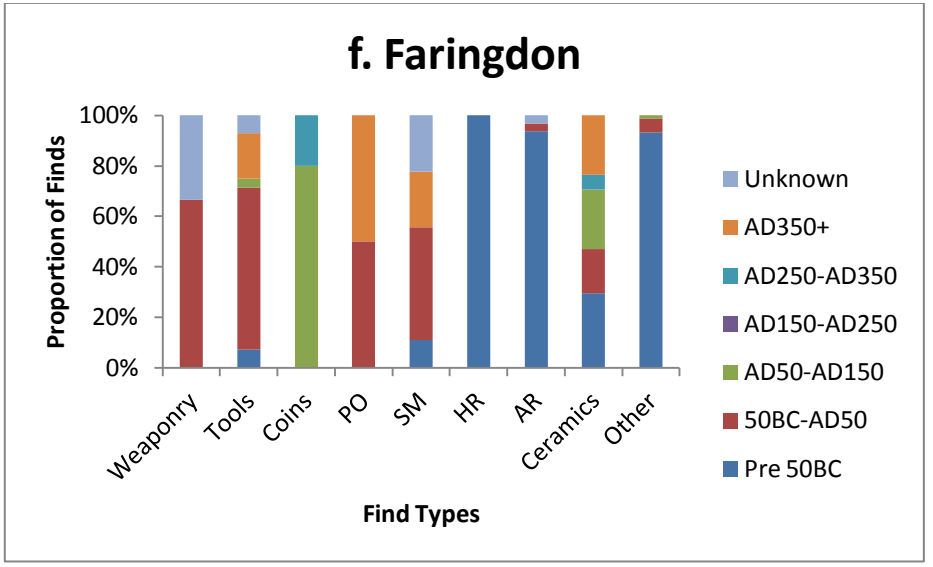
PO – Personal Ornaments

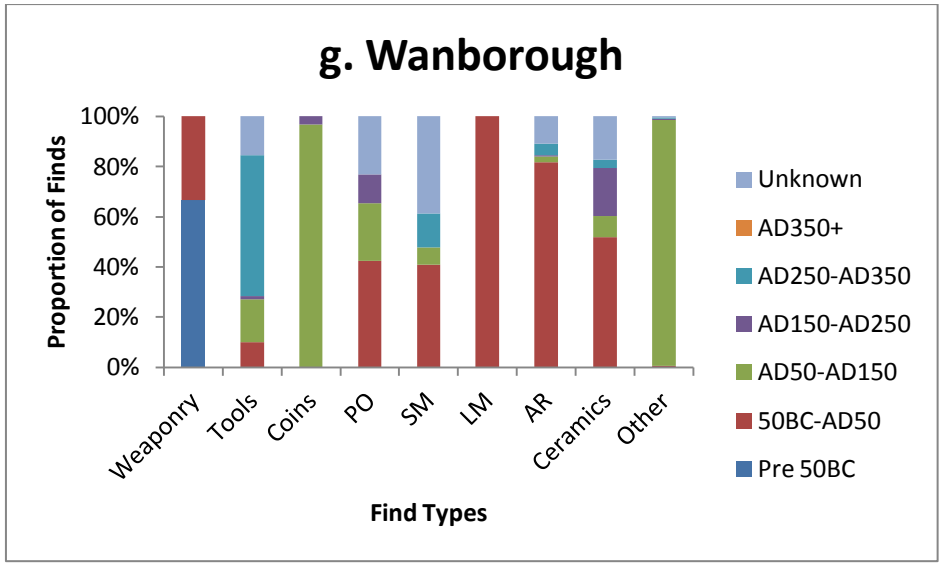


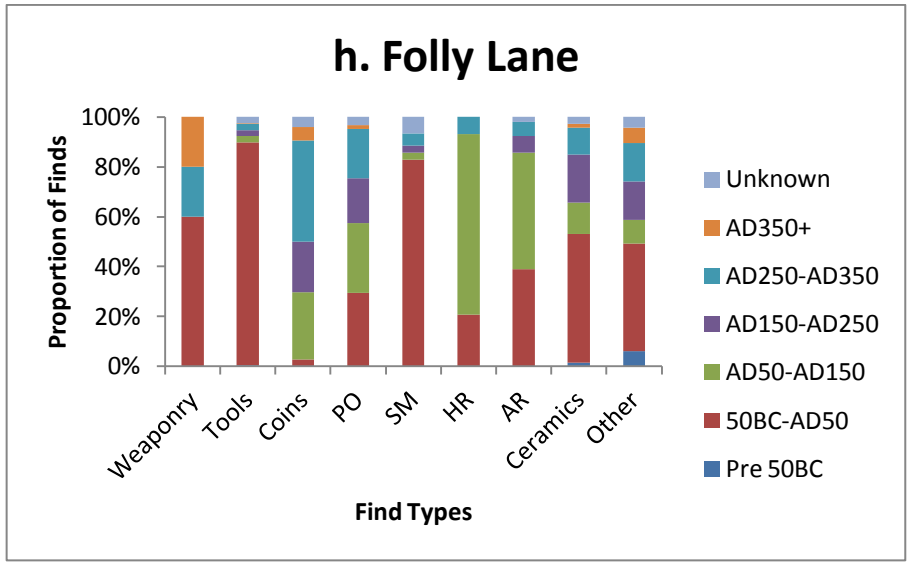

c. Uley
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

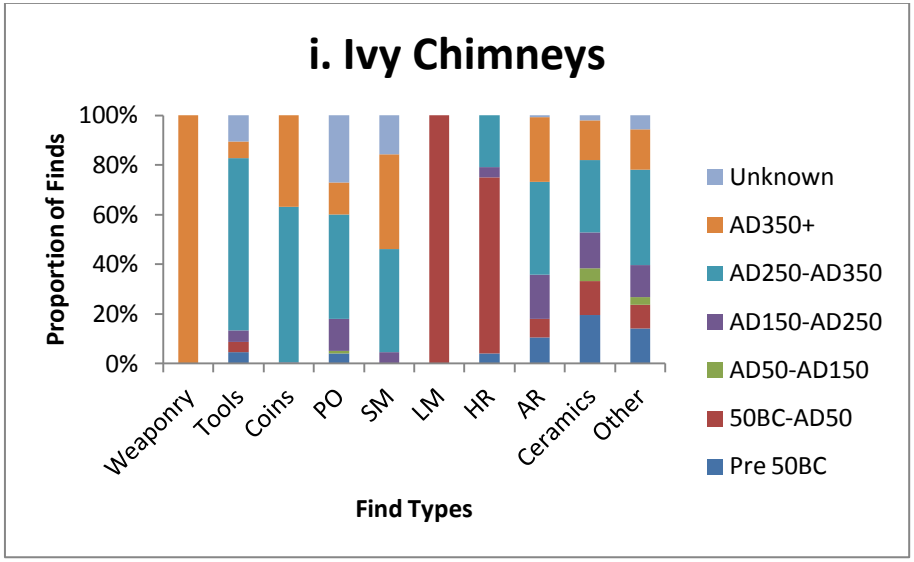

d. Chedworth
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC


e. Nettleton
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

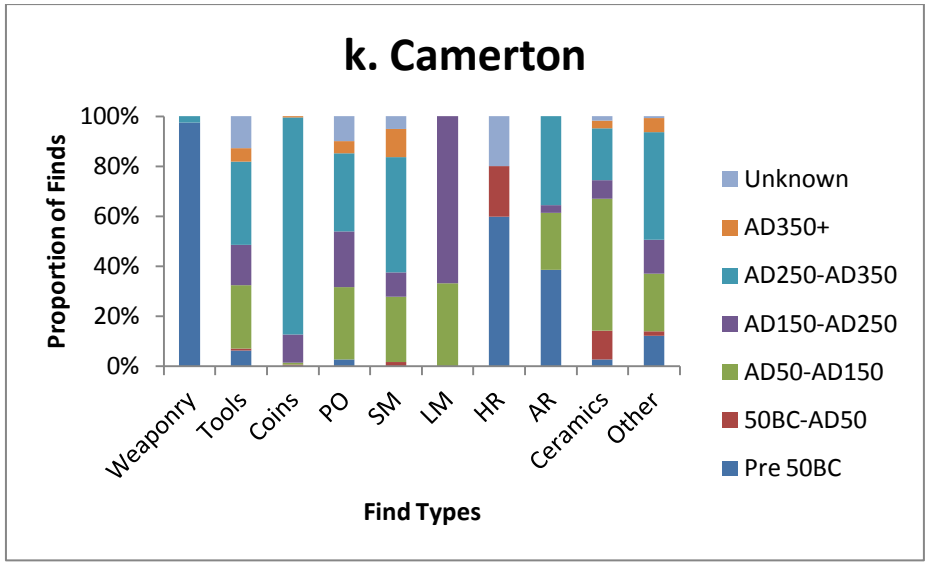

f. Faringdon
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

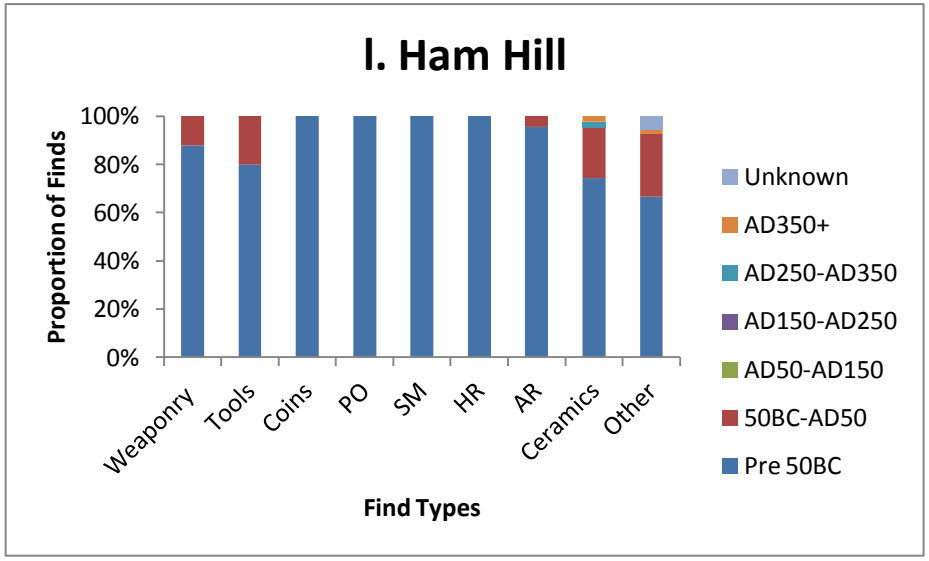

g. Wanborough
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

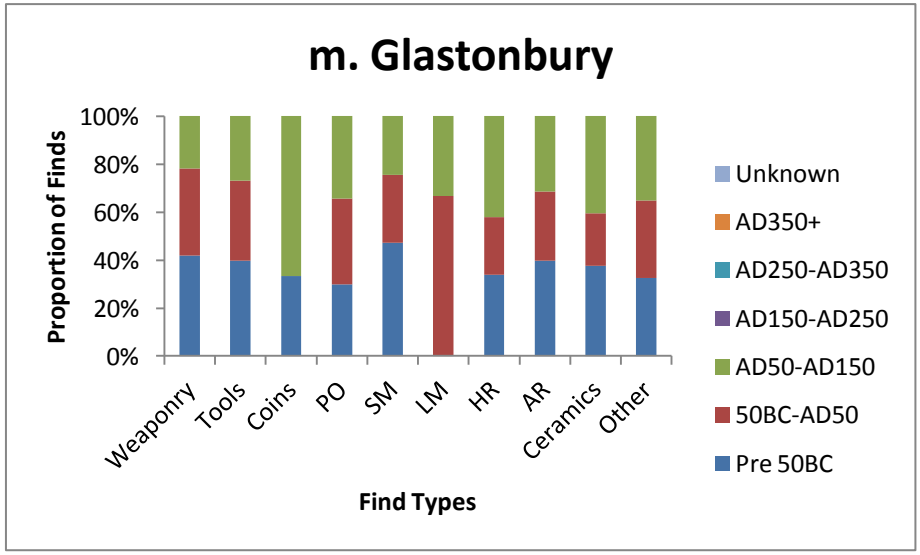

h. Folly Lane
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

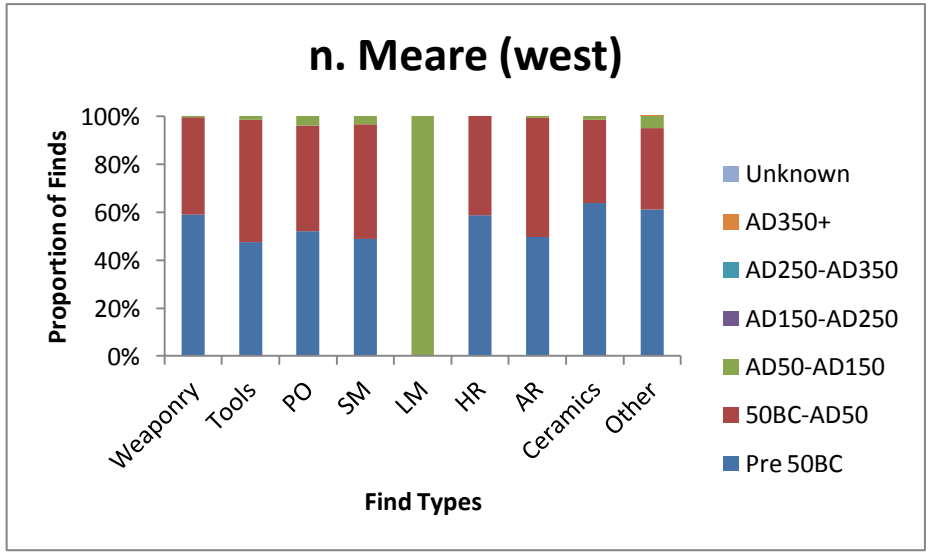

i. Ivy Chimneys
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

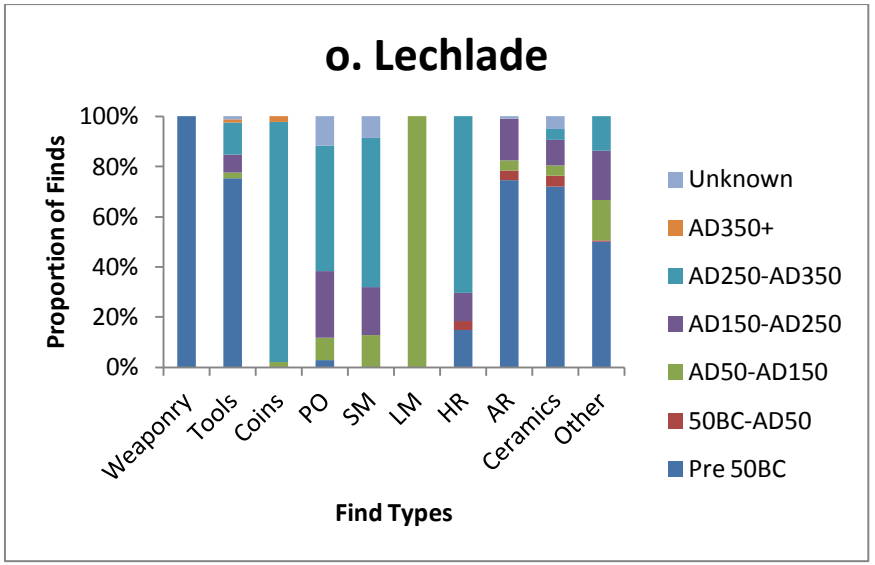
j. Harlow
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

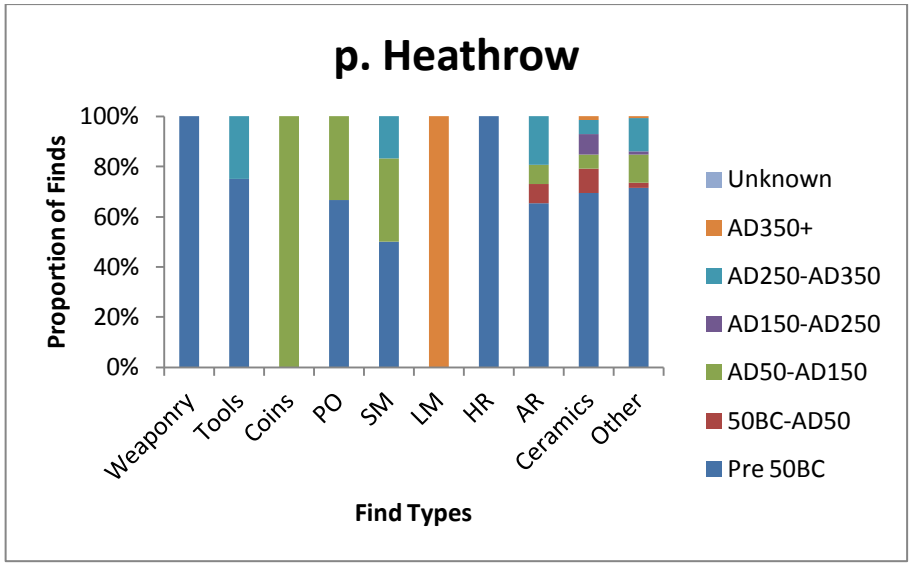

k. Camerton
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

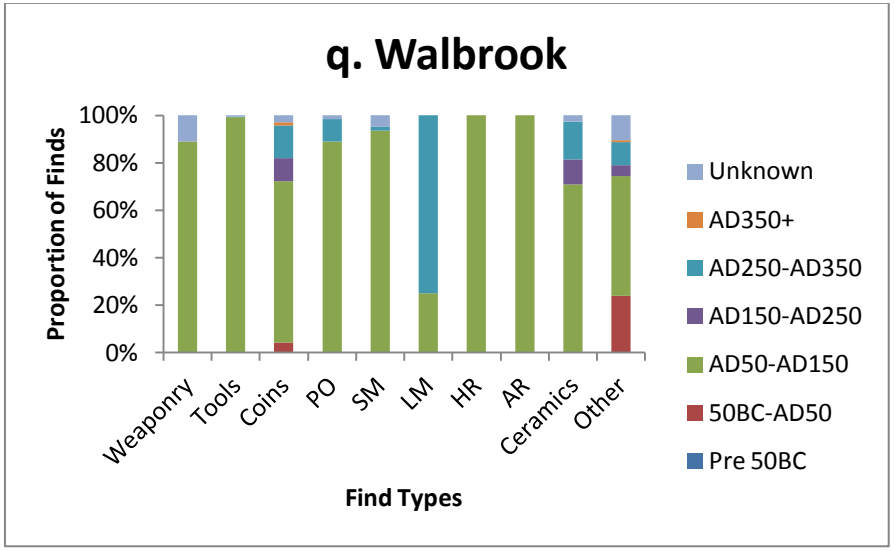

l. Ham Hill
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

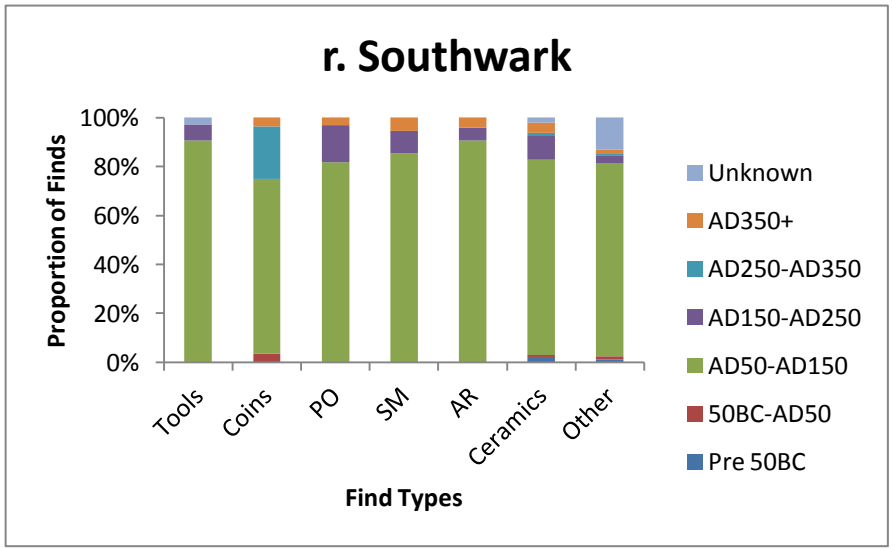

m. Glastonbury
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

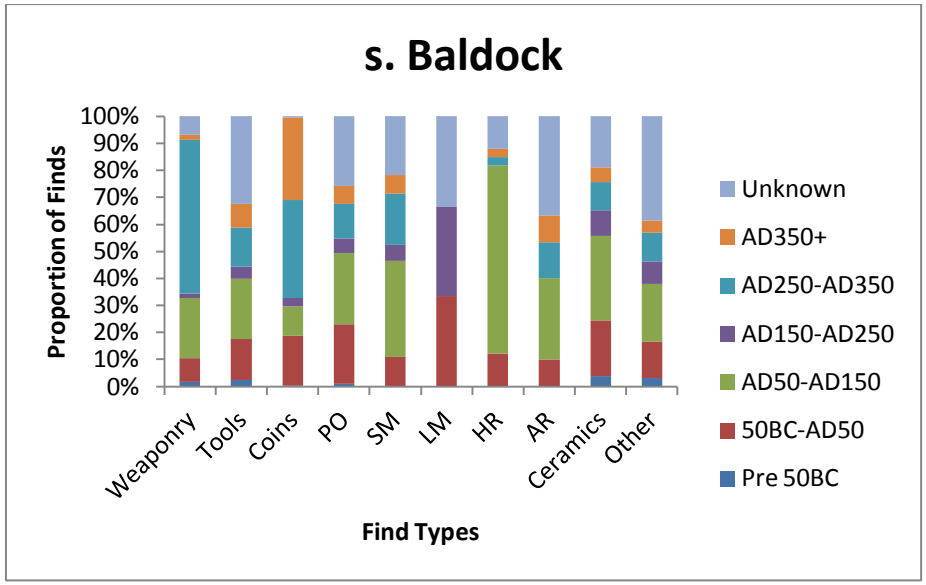

n. Meare (west)
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
PO
SM
LM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

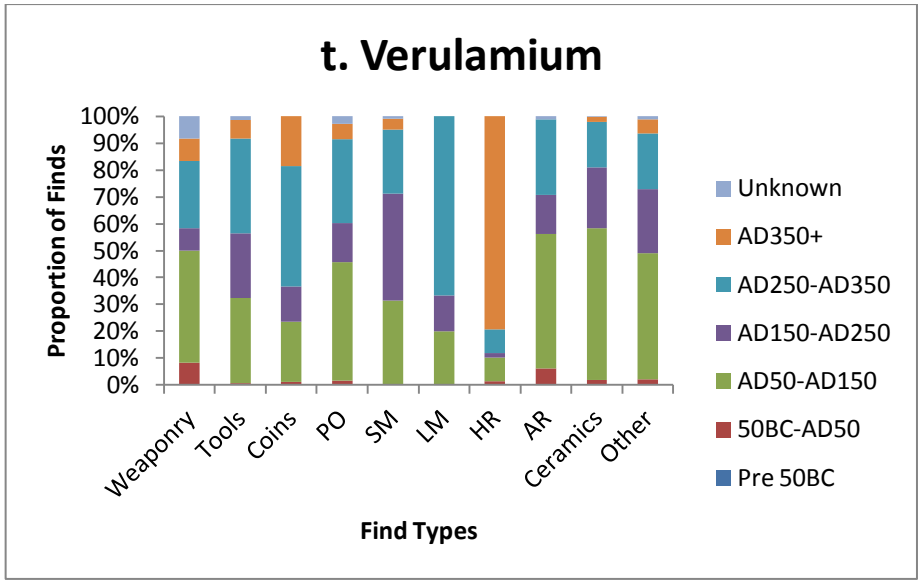

o. Lechlade
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC

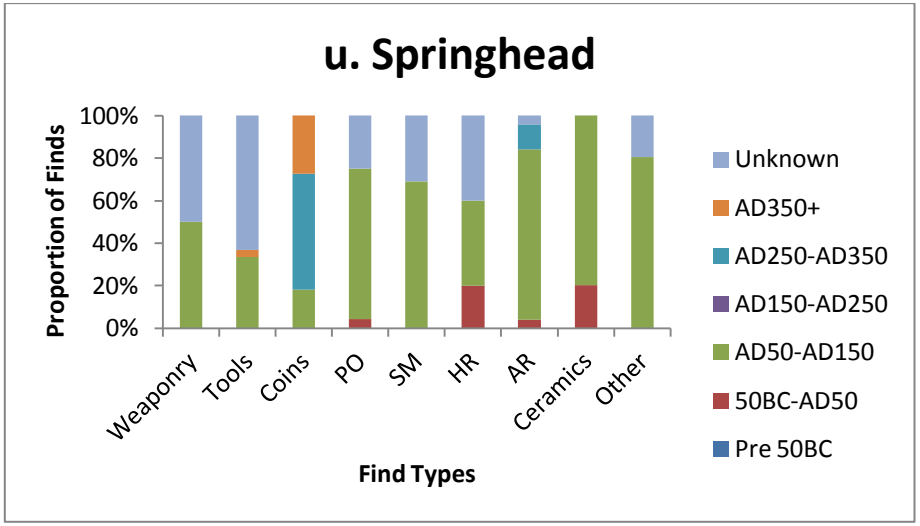

p. Heathrow
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC


q. Walbrook
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC


r. Southwark
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre 50BC







Note: Weybridge has not been included in this figure because all finds recovered dated to within the 50 BC to 50 AD time period.

Figure A5.6.1: Main three finds-producing context types and finds – site-by-site

Key:

AR – Animal Remains

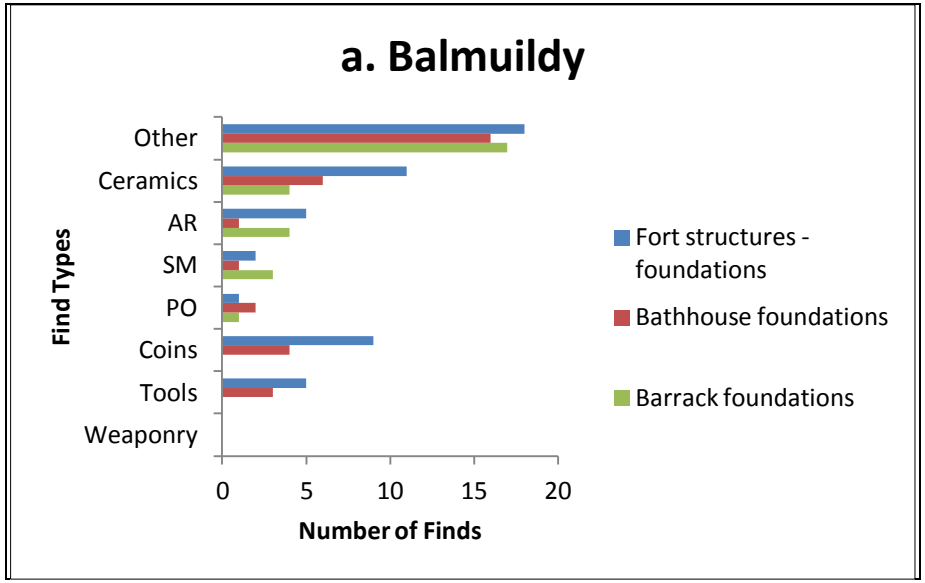
HR – Human Remains

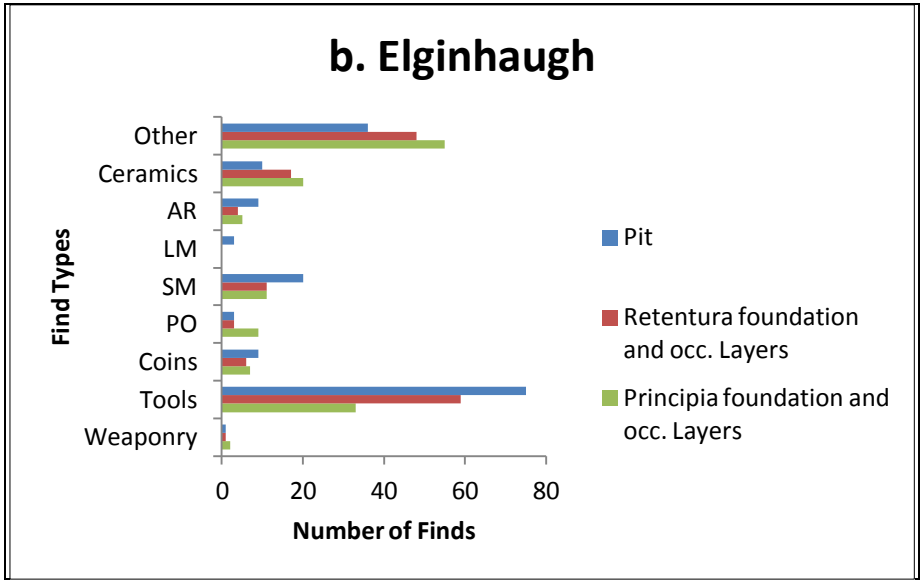
LM – Other Large Metals

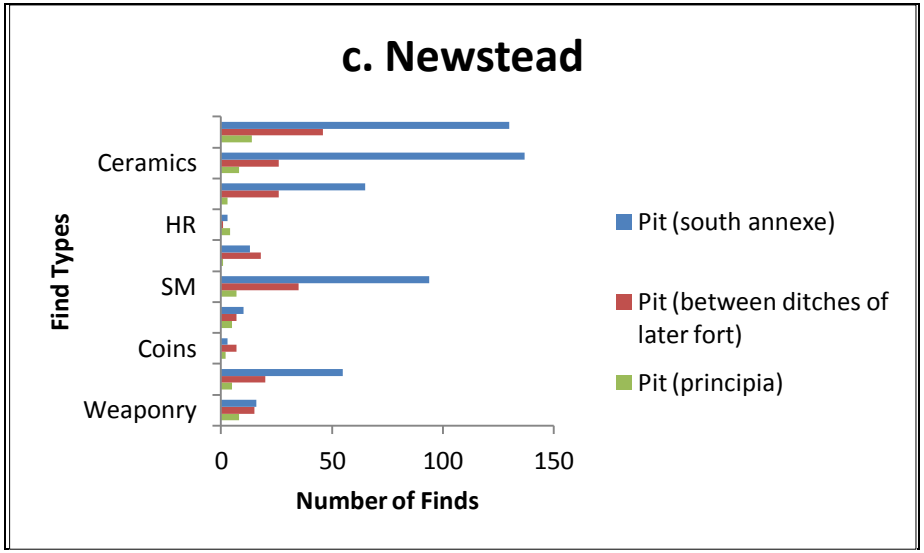
SM – Other Small Metals

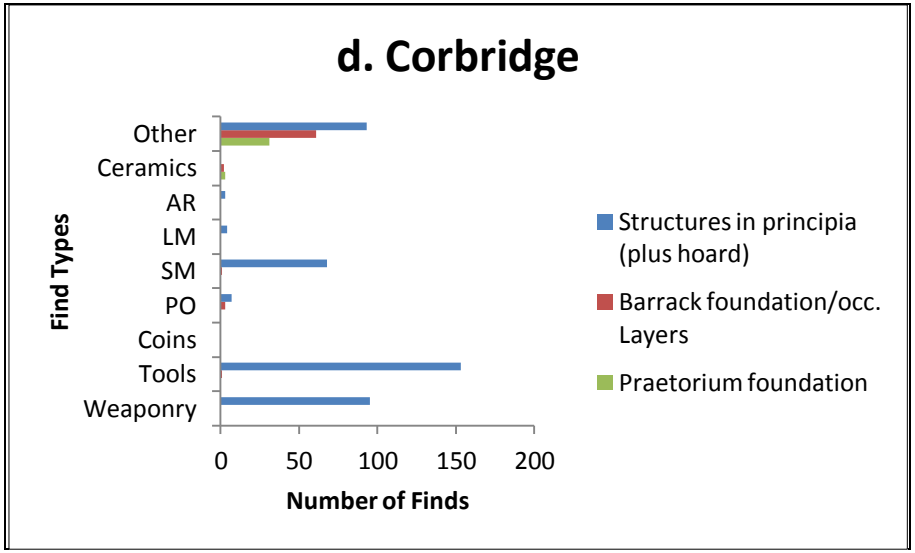
PO – Personal Ornaments

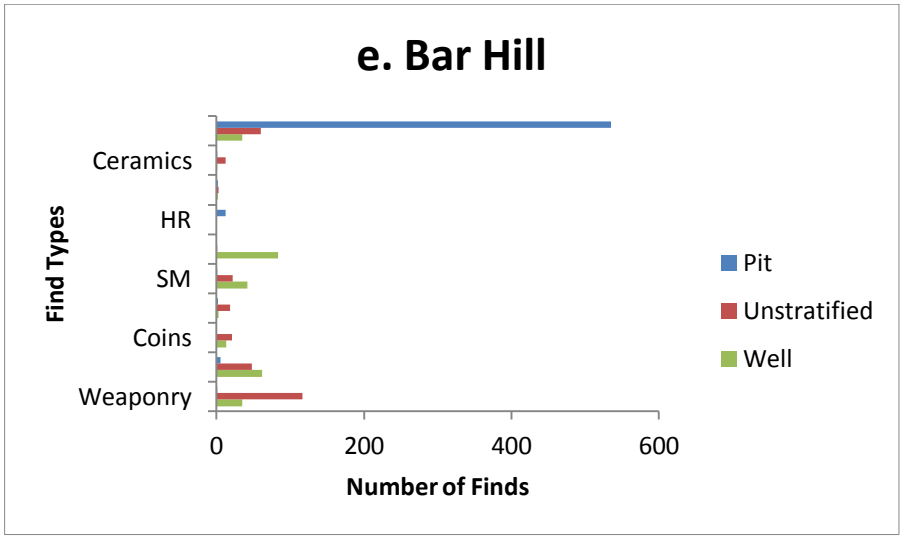
All terms used have been defined in the Glossary in Appendix 1

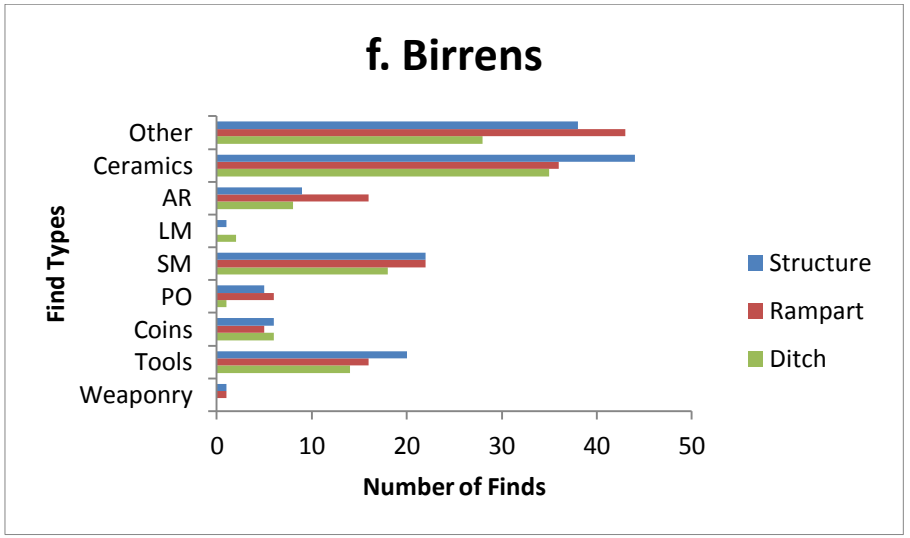


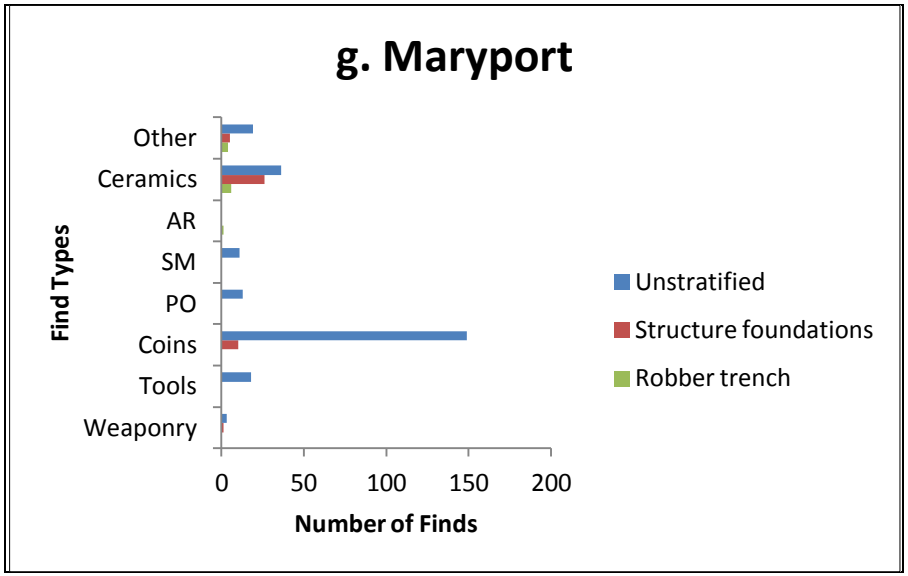


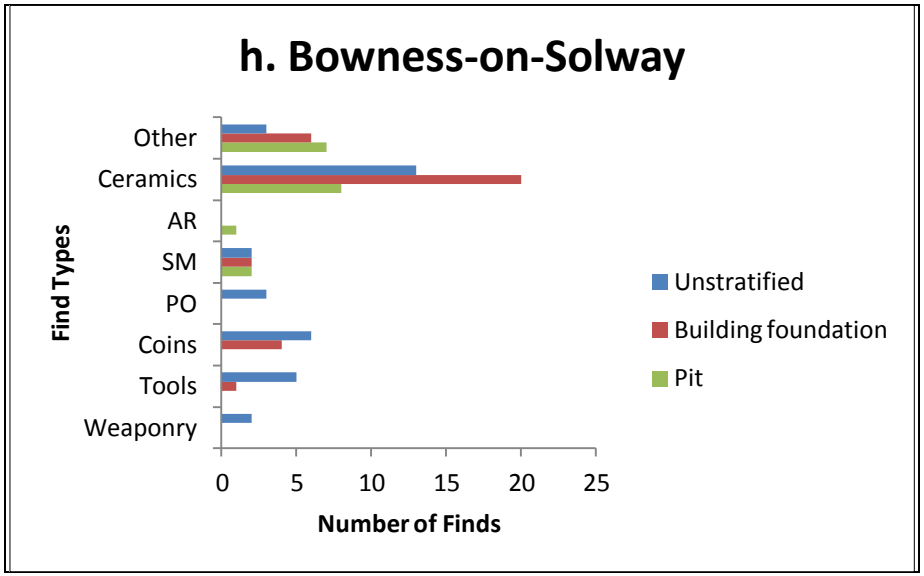

c. Newstead
Find Types
Ceramics
HR
SM
Coins
Weaponry
0
50
100
150
Number of Finds
Pit (south annexe)
Pit (between ditches of later fort)
Pit (principia)

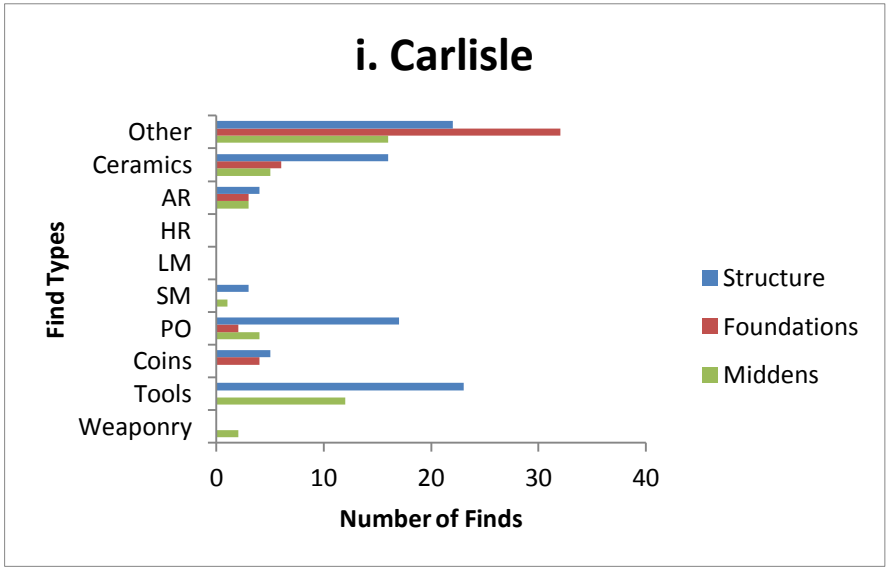

d. Corbridge
Find Types
Other
Ceramics
AR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
0
50
100
150
200
Number of Finds
Structures in principia (plus hoard)
Barrack foundation/occ. Layers
Praetorium foundation

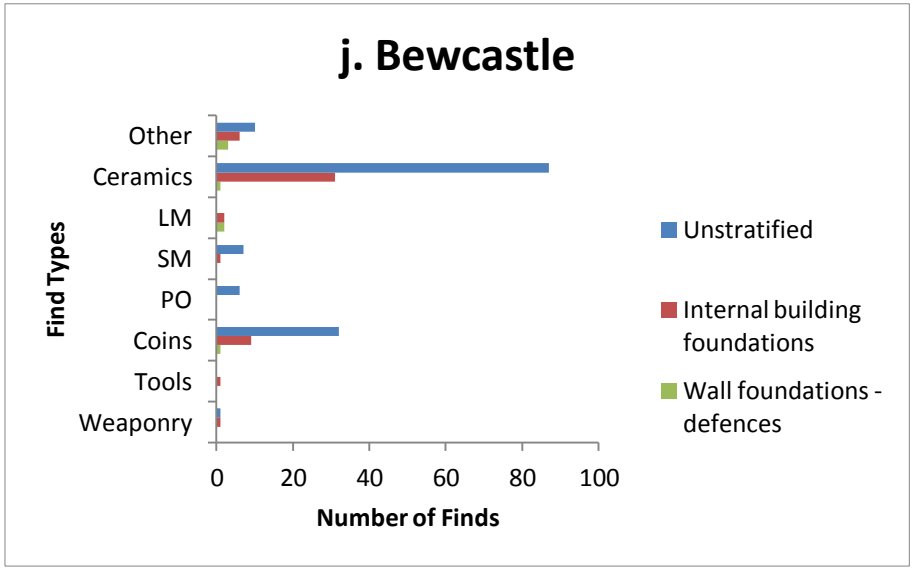

e. Bar Hill
Find Types
Ceramics
HR
SM
Coins
Weaponry
0
200
400
600
Number of Finds
Pit
Unstratified
Well

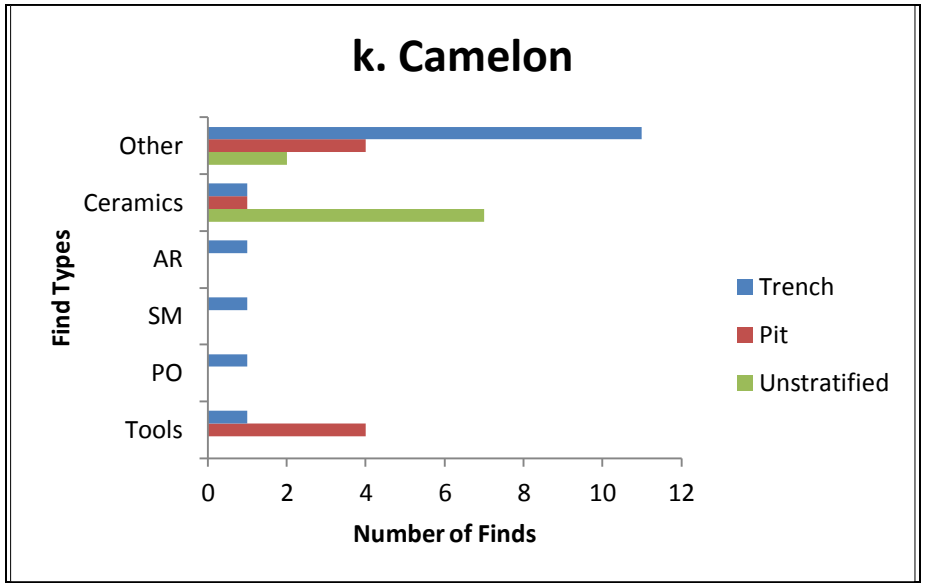

f. Birrens
Find Types
Other
Ceramics
AR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
0
10
20
30
40
50
Number of Finds
Structure
Rampart
Ditch

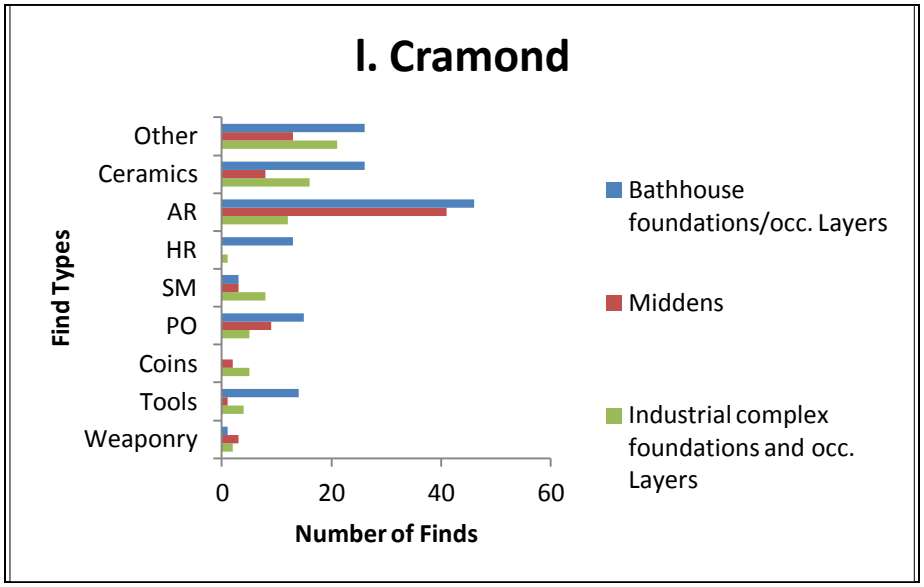

g. Maryport
Other
Ceramics
AR
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
50
100
150
200
Number of Finds
Unstratified
Structure foundations
Robber trench

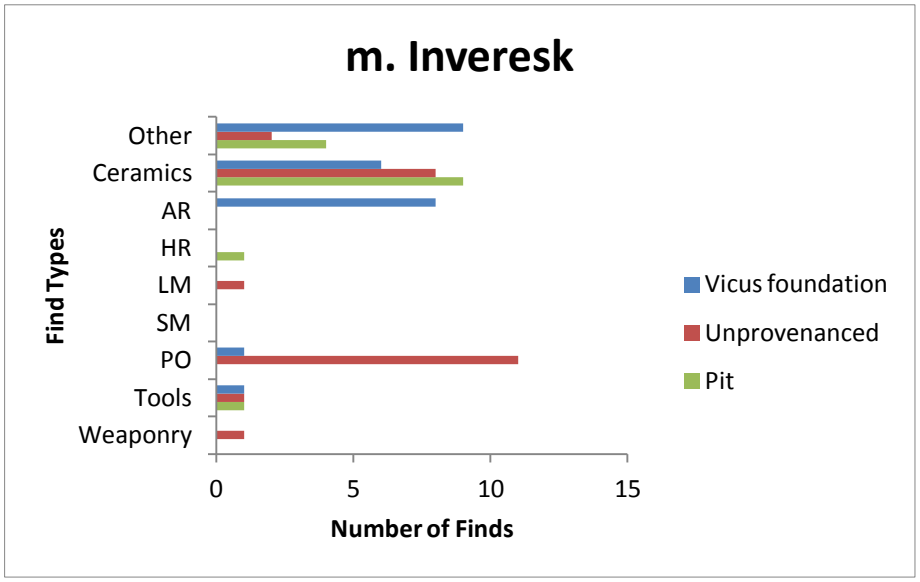

h. Bowness-on-Solway
Other
Ceramics
AR
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
5
10
15
20
25
Number of Finds
Unstratified
Building foundation
Pit

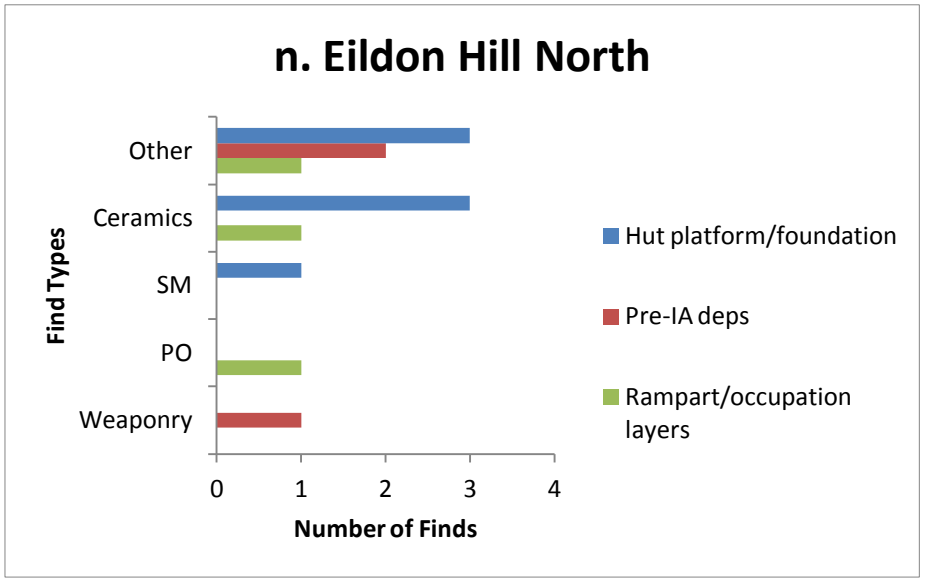

i. Carlisle
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
10
20
30
40
Number of Finds
Structure
Foundations
Middens

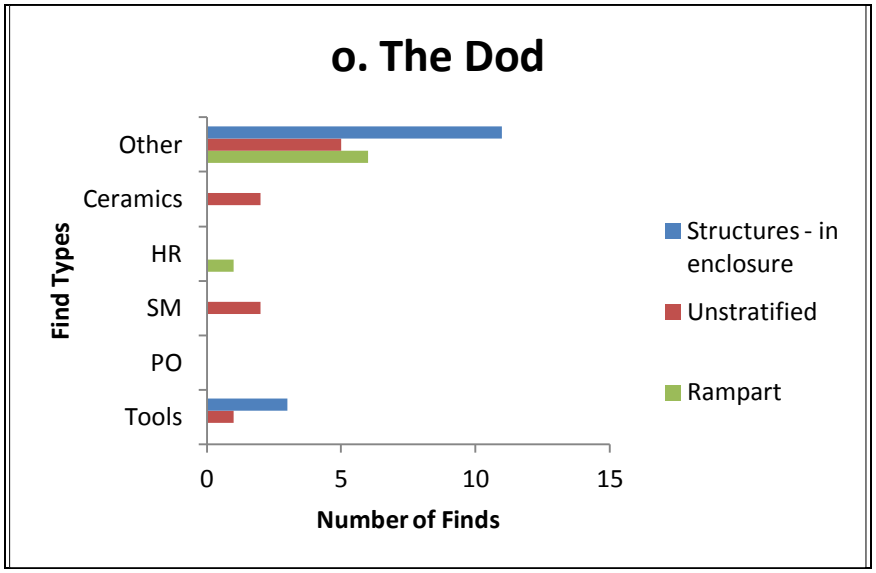

j. Bewcastle
Other
Ceramics
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
20
40
60
80
100
Number of Finds
Unstratified
Internal building foundations
Wall foundations - defences

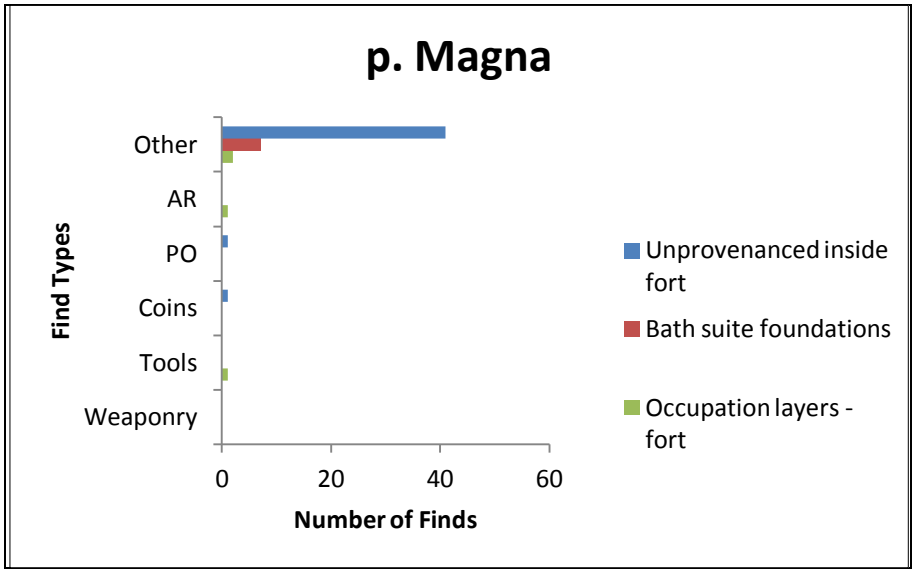

k. Camelon
Other
Ceramics
AR
SM
PO
Tools
Find Types
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
Number of Finds
Trench
Pit
Unstratified

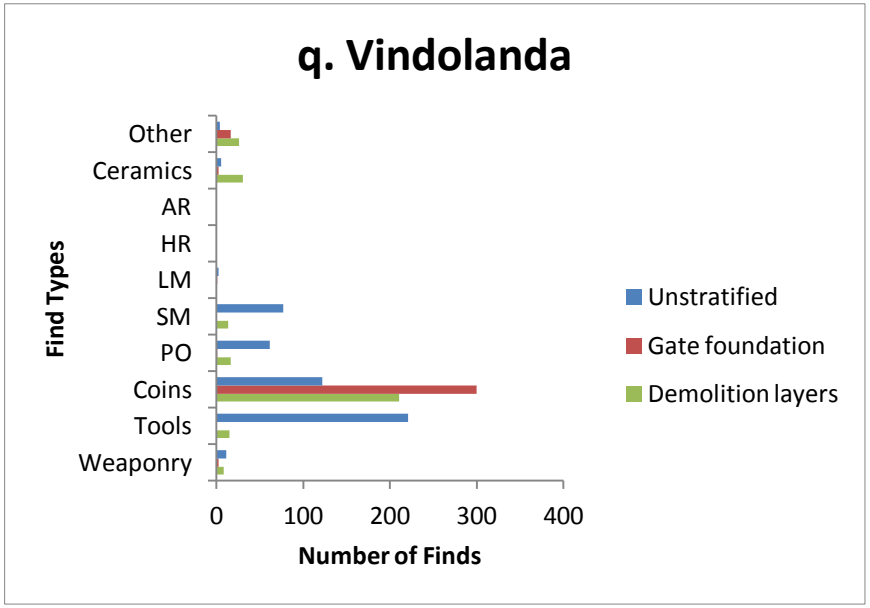

l. Cramond
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
20
40
60
Number of Finds
Bathhouse foundations/occ. Layers
Middens
Industrial complex foundations and occ. Layers

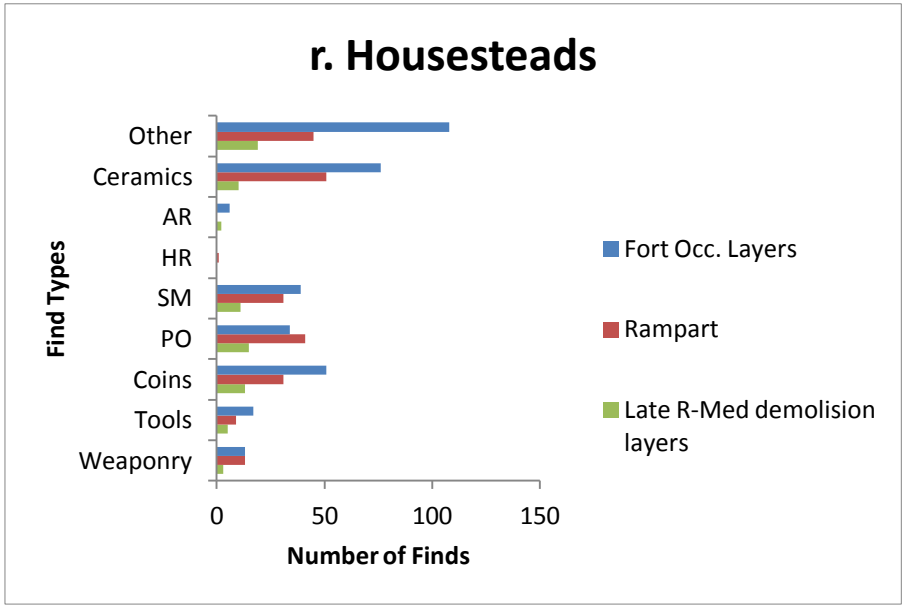

m. Inveresk
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
5
10
15
Number of Finds
Vicus foundation
Unprovenanced
Pit


n. Eildon Hill North
Other
Ceramics
SM
PO
Weaponry
Find Types
0
1
2
3
4
Number of Finds
Hut platform/foundation
Pre-IA deps
Rampart/occupation layers


o. The Dod
Other
Ceramics
HR
SM
PO
Tools
Find Types
0
5
10
15
Number of Finds
Structures - in enclosure
Unstratified
Rampart


p. Magna
Other
AR
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
20
40
60
Number of Finds
Unprovenanced inside fort
Bath suite foundations
Occupation layers - fort


q. Vindolanda
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
100
200
300
400
Number of Finds
Unstratified
Gate foundation
Demolition layers


r. Housesteads
Other
Ceramics
AR
HR
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
50
100
150
Number of Finds
Fort Occ. Layers
Rampart
Late R-Med demolision layers

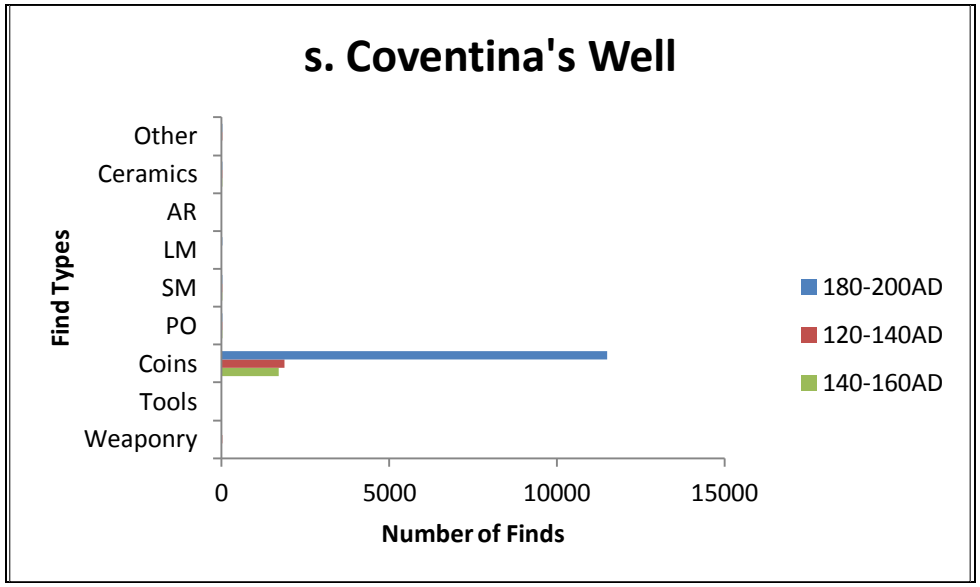
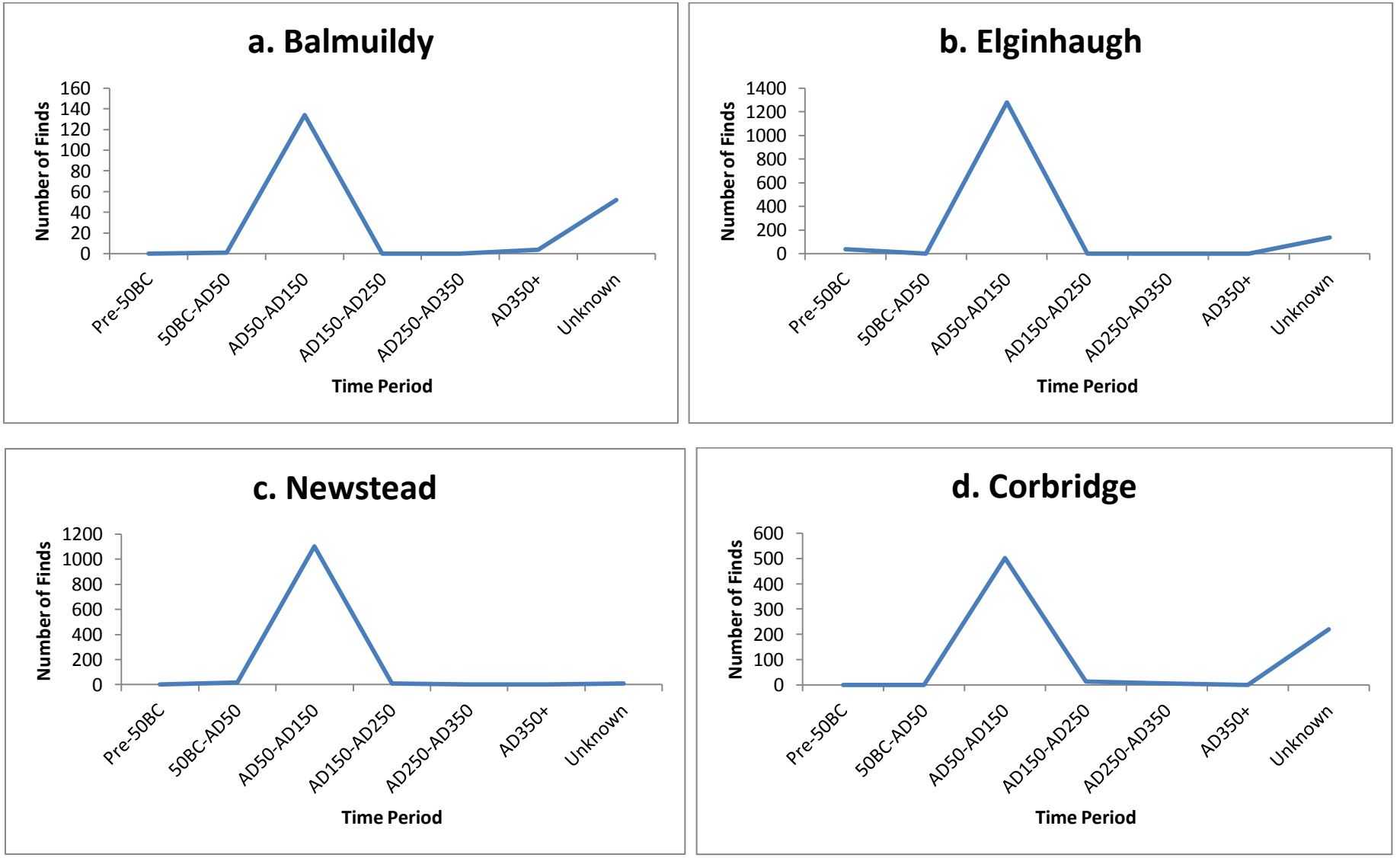
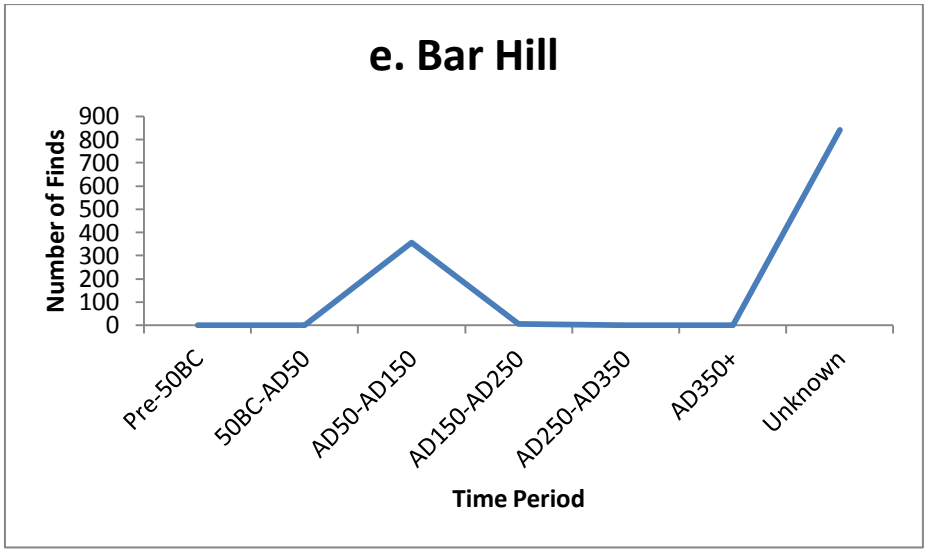
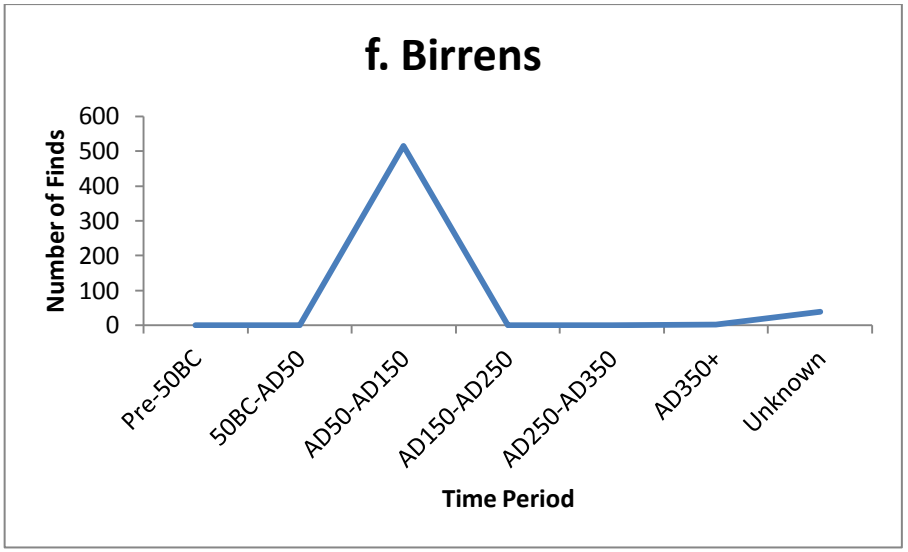
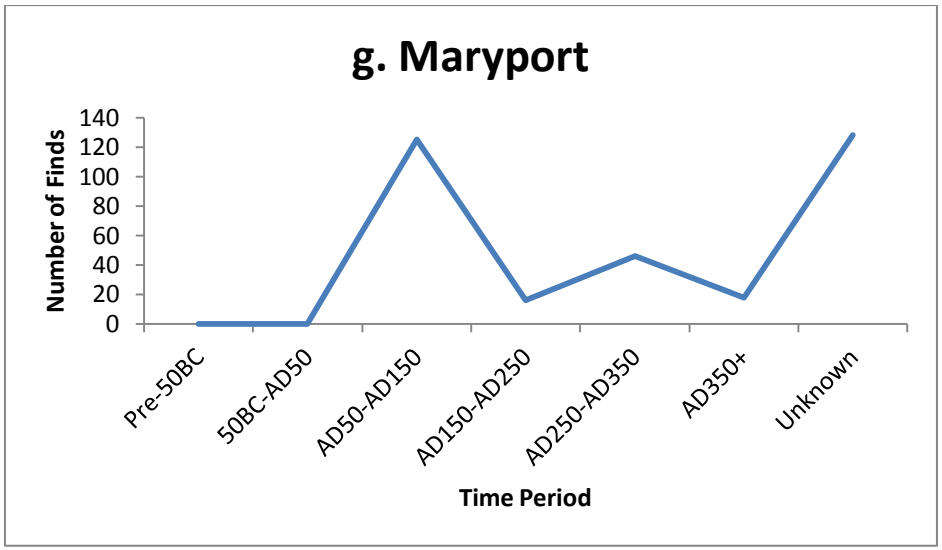

s. Coventina's Well
Other
Ceramics
AR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry
Find Types
0
5000
10000
15000
Number of Finds
180-200AD
120-140AD
140-160AD

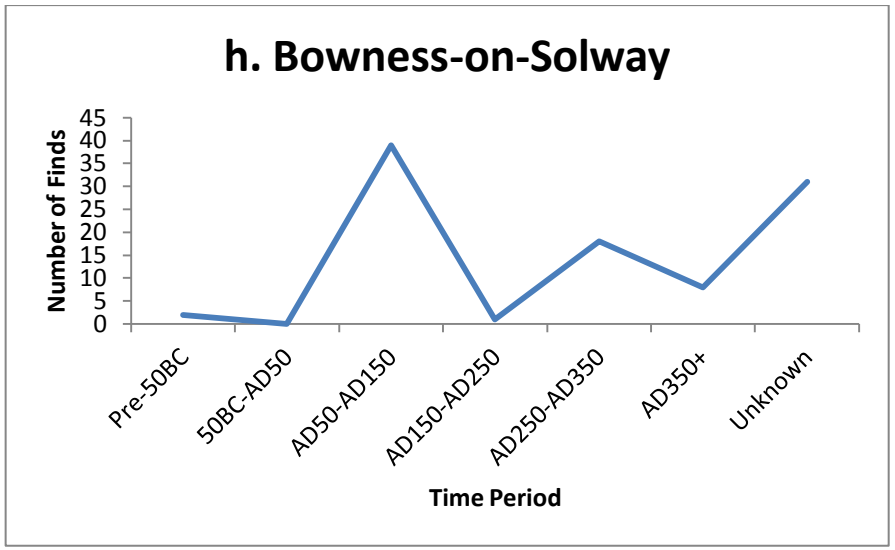
Figure A5.6.2: Total finds against time periods – site-by-site

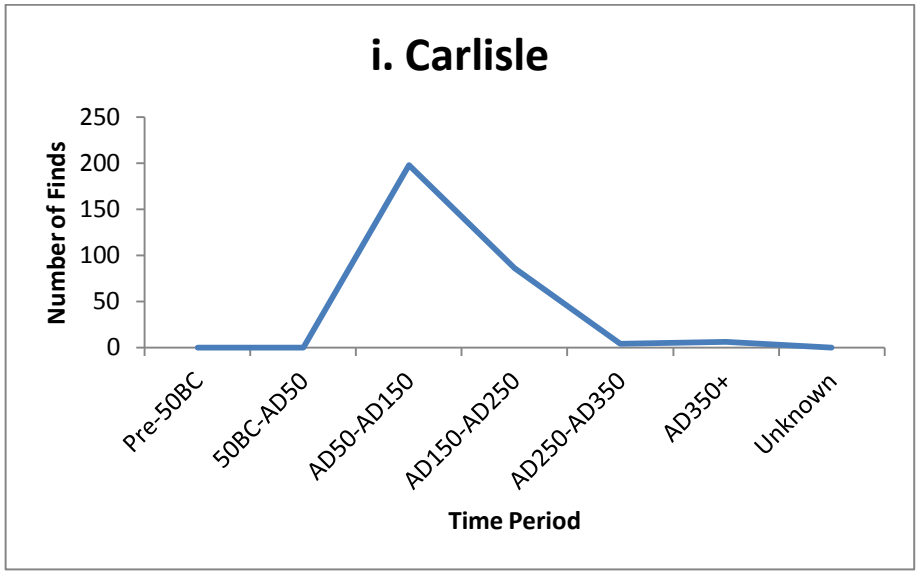


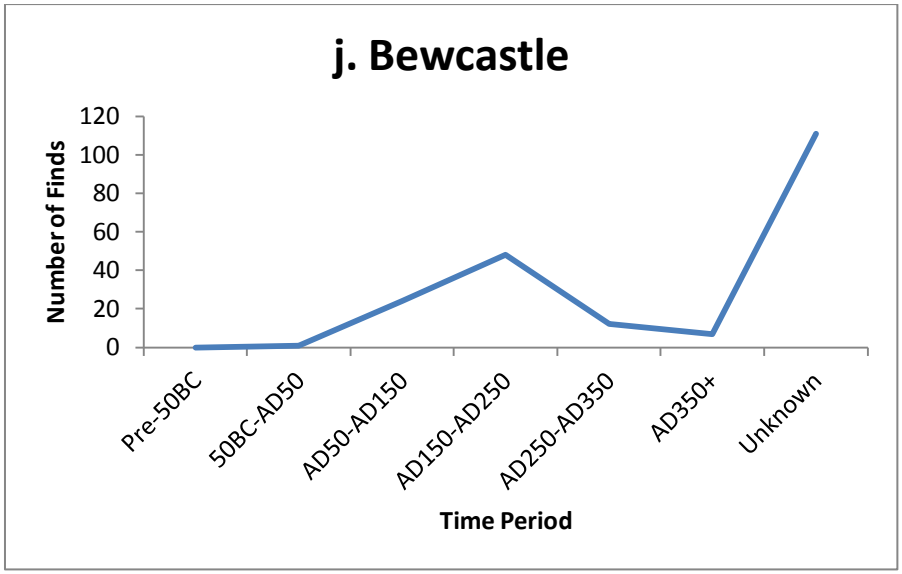

e. Bar Hill
Number of Finds
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

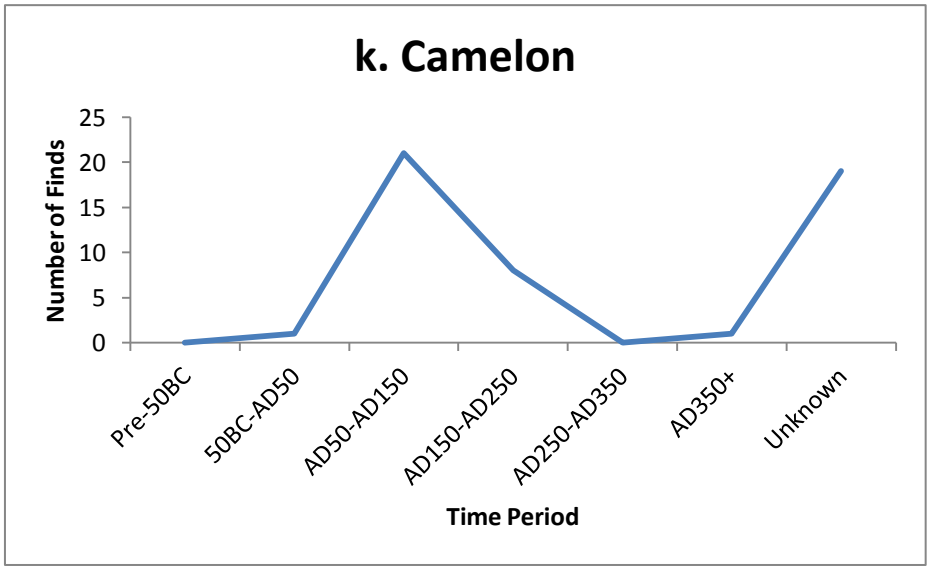

f. Birrens
Number of Finds
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

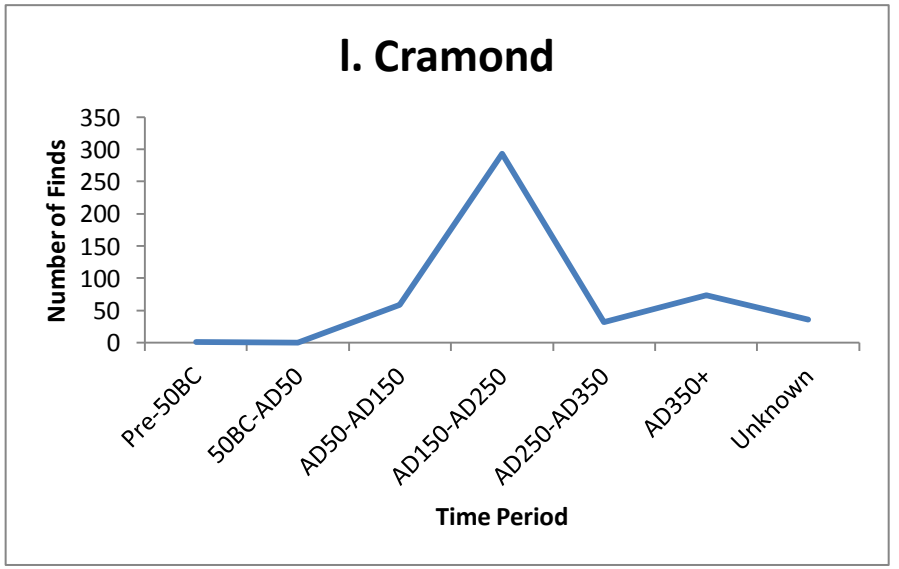

g. Maryport
Number of Finds
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

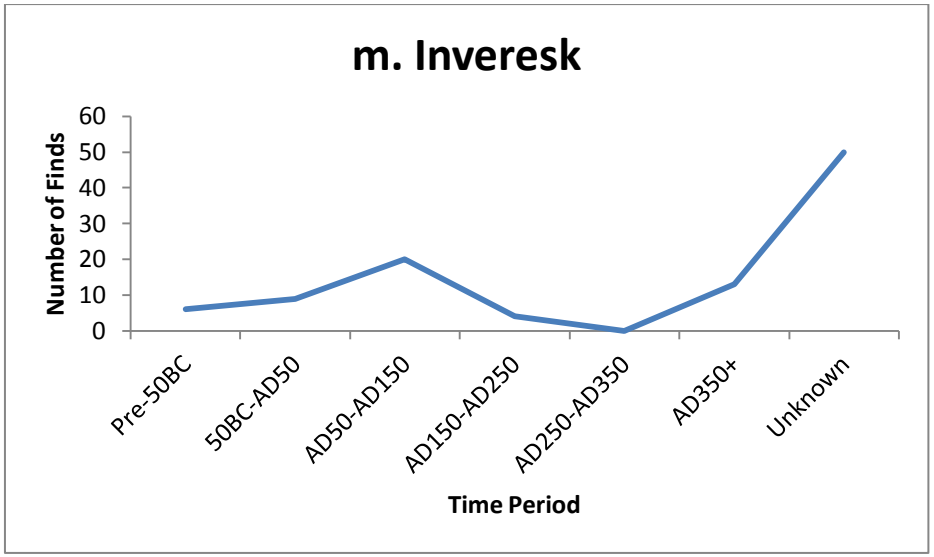

h. Bowness-on-Solway
Number of Finds
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

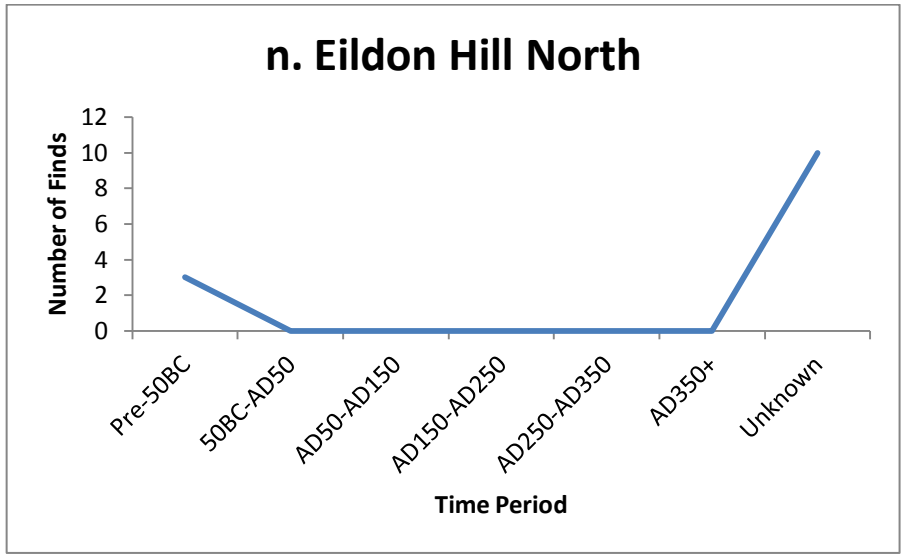

i. Carlisle
Number of Finds
250
200
150
100
50
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

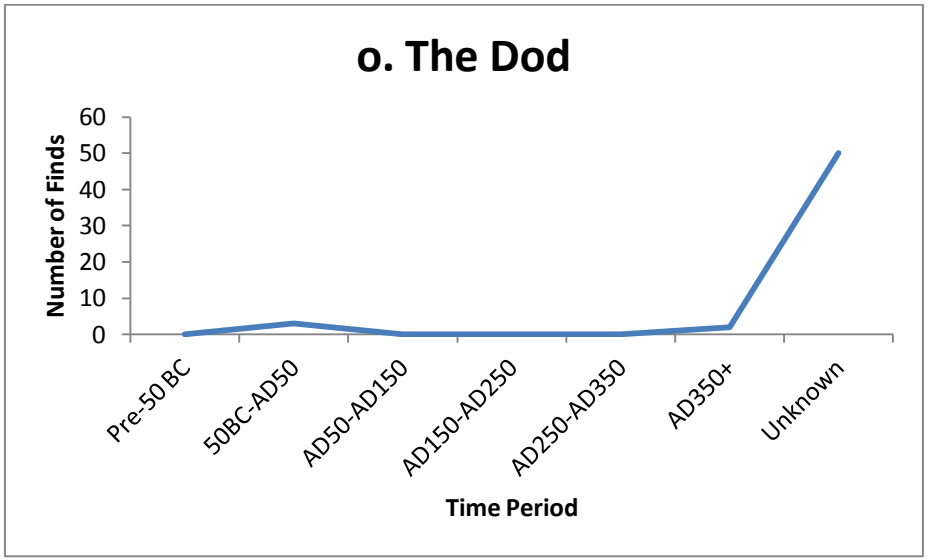

j. Bewcastle
Number of Finds
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

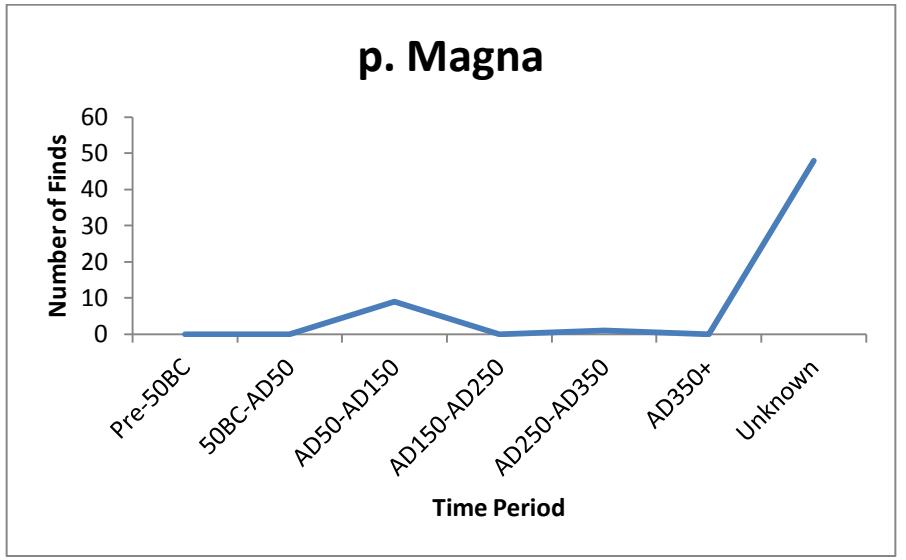

k. Camelon
Number of Finds
25
20
15
10
5
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

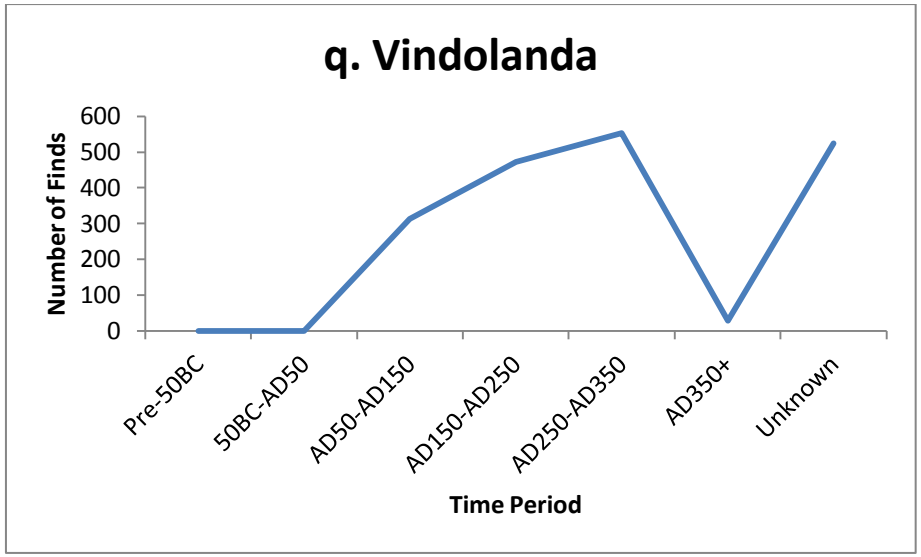

l. Cramond
Number of Finds
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

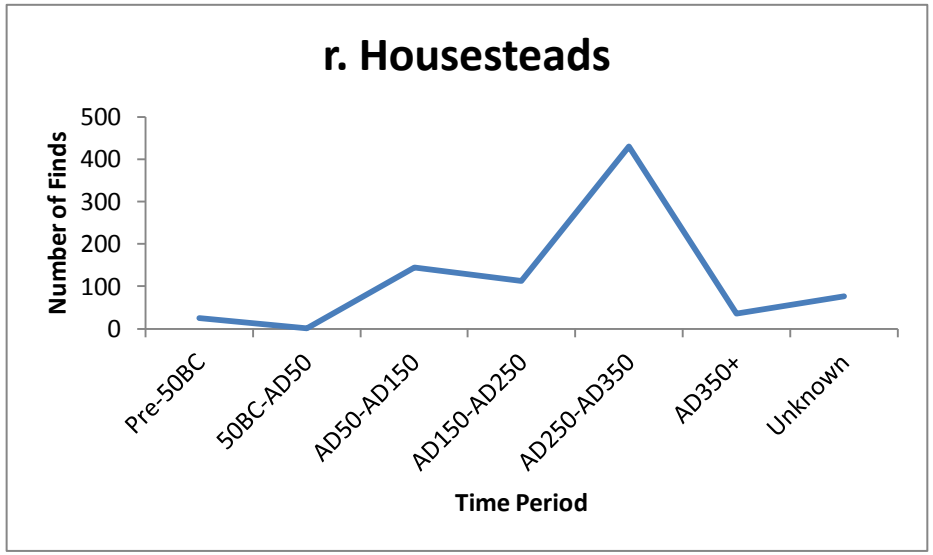

m. Inveresk
Number of Finds
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period


n. Eildon Hill North
Number of Finds
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period


o. The Dod
Number of Finds
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Pre-50 BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period


p. Magna
Number of Finds
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period


q. Vindolanda
Number of Finds
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period


r. Housesteads
Number of Finds
500
400
300
200
100
0
Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

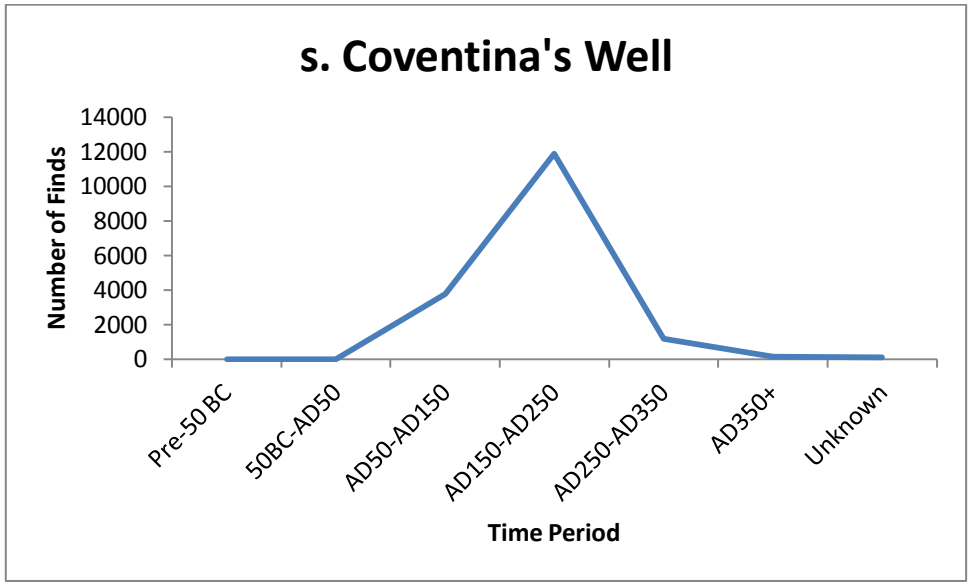

s. Coventina's Well
Number of Finds
14000
12000
10000
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
Pre-50 BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
Unknown
Time Period

Figure A5.6.3: Proportion of total finds against time periods – site-by-site

Key:

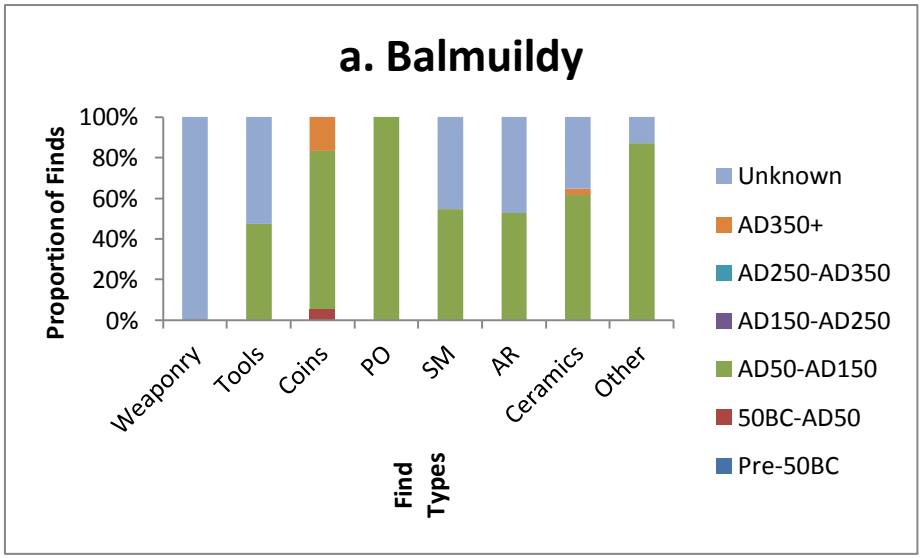
AR – Animal Remains

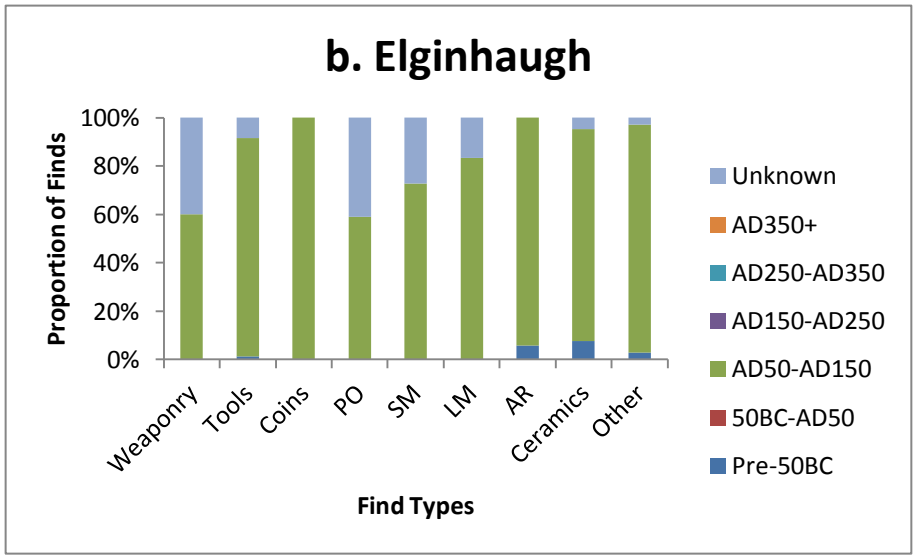
HR – Human Remains

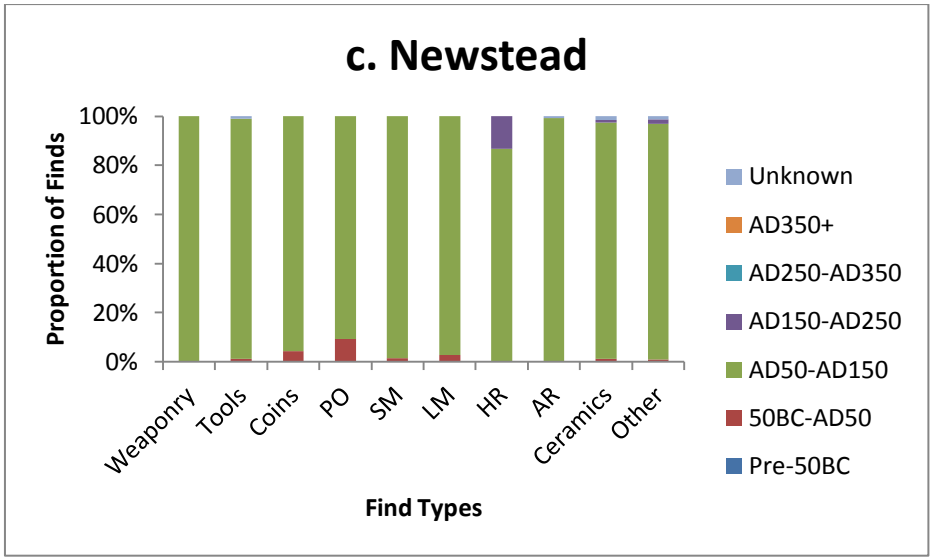
LM – Other Large Metals

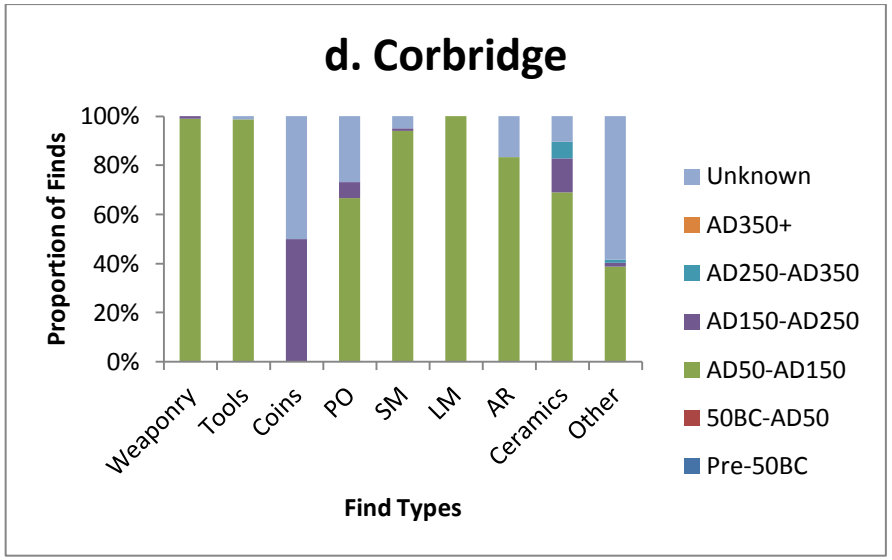
SM – Other Small Metals

PO – Personal Ornaments






c. Newstead
Proportion of Finds
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
HR
AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
Unknown
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre-50BC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40%
20%
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Weaponry
Tools
Coins
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Other
Find Types
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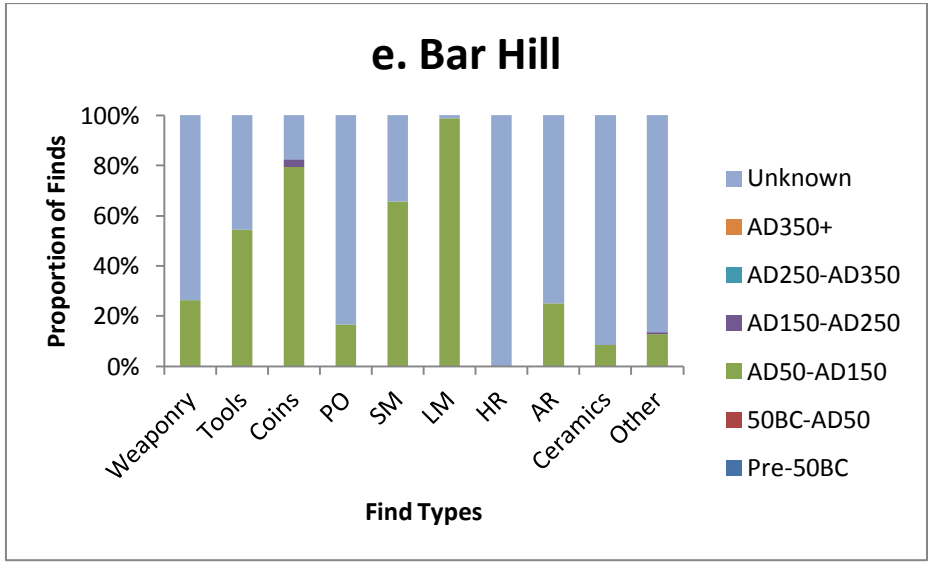
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre-50BC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0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
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Other
Find Types
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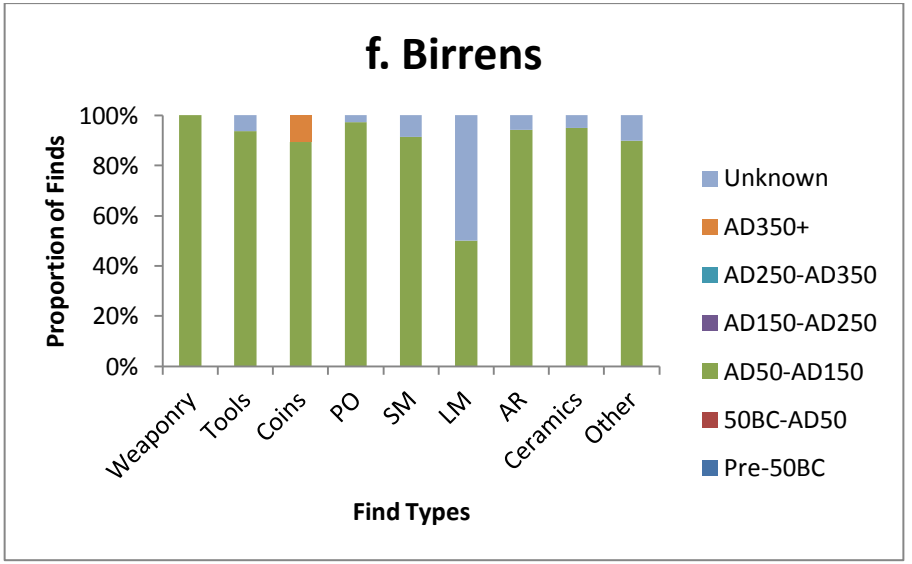
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre-50BC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Tools
Coins
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Find Types
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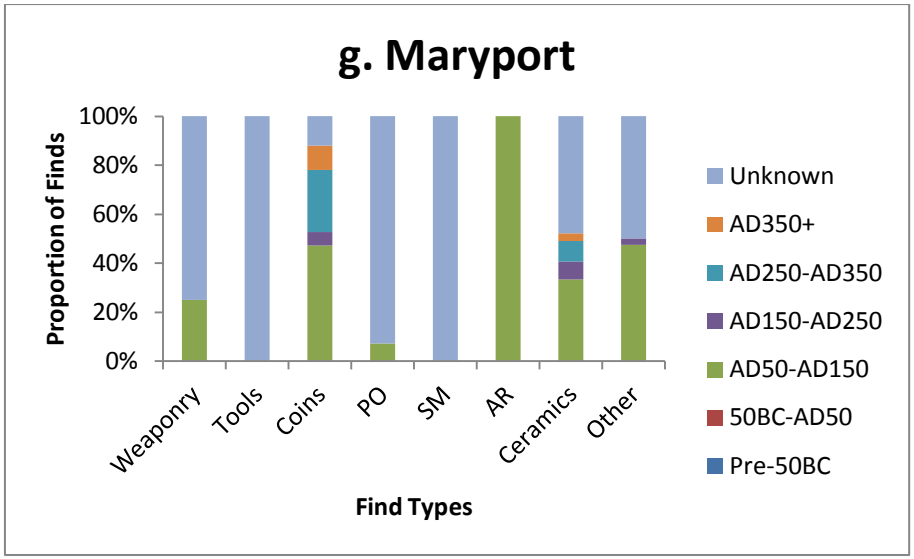
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre-50BC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Weaponry
Tools
Coins
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Other
Find Types
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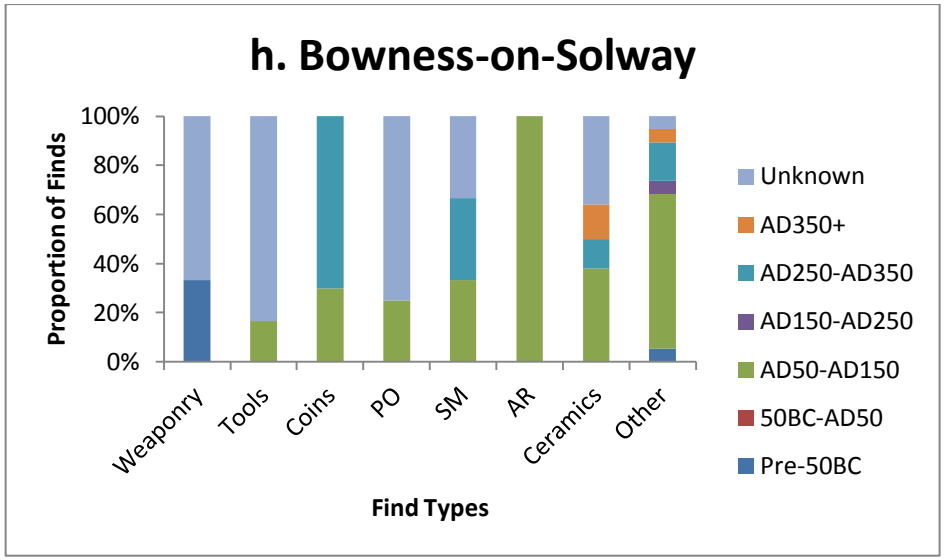
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre-50BC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Proportion of Finds
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0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
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AR
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
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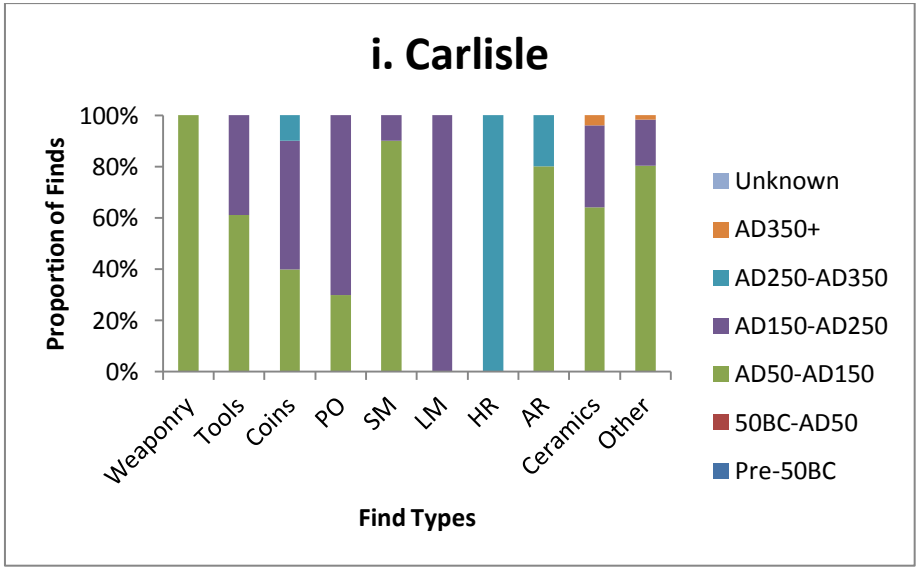
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre-50BC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40%
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Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
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AR
Ceramics
Other
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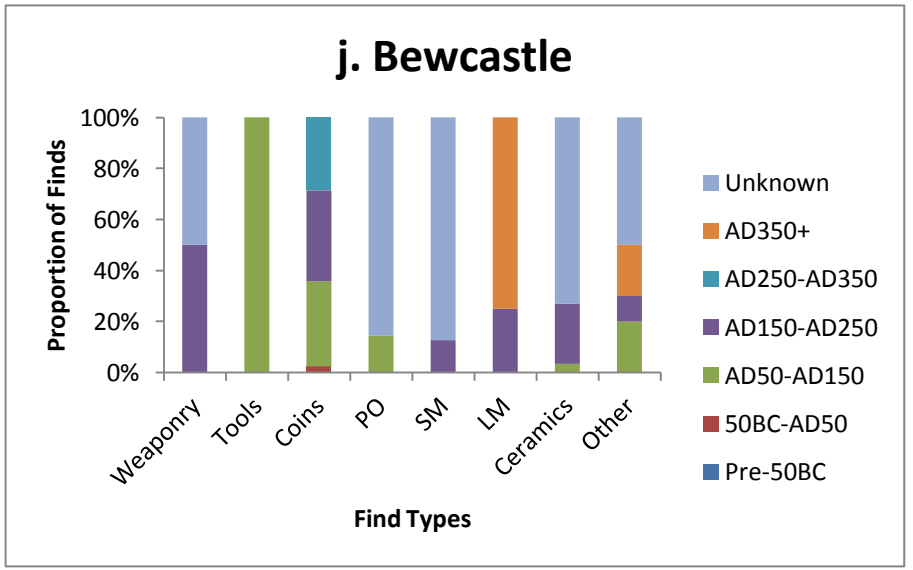
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre-50BC


j. Bewcastle
Proportion of Finds
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40%
20%
0%
Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
LM
Ceramics
Other
Find Types
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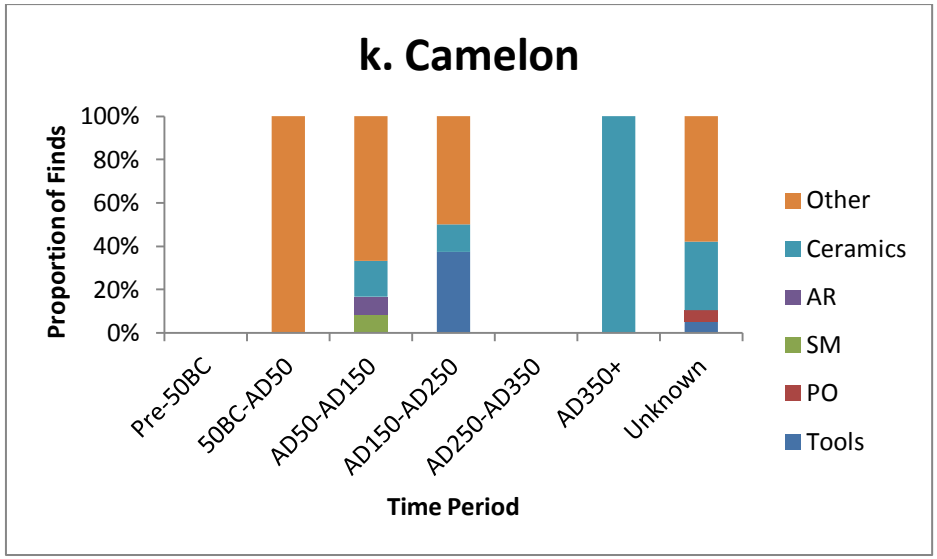
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre-50BC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Proportion of Finds
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Pre-50BC
50BC-AD50
AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
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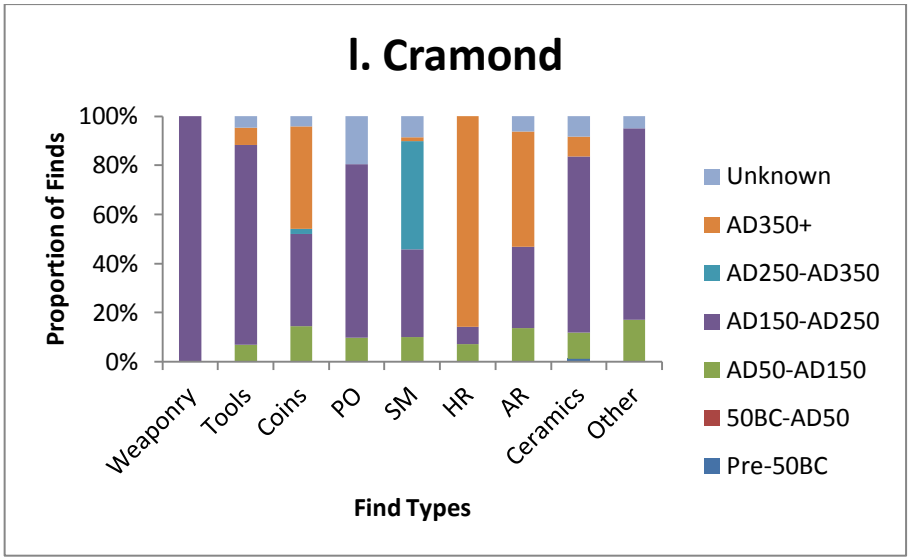
Time Period
Other
Ceramics
AR
SM
PO
Tools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Proportion of Finds
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Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
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Ceramics
Other
Find Types
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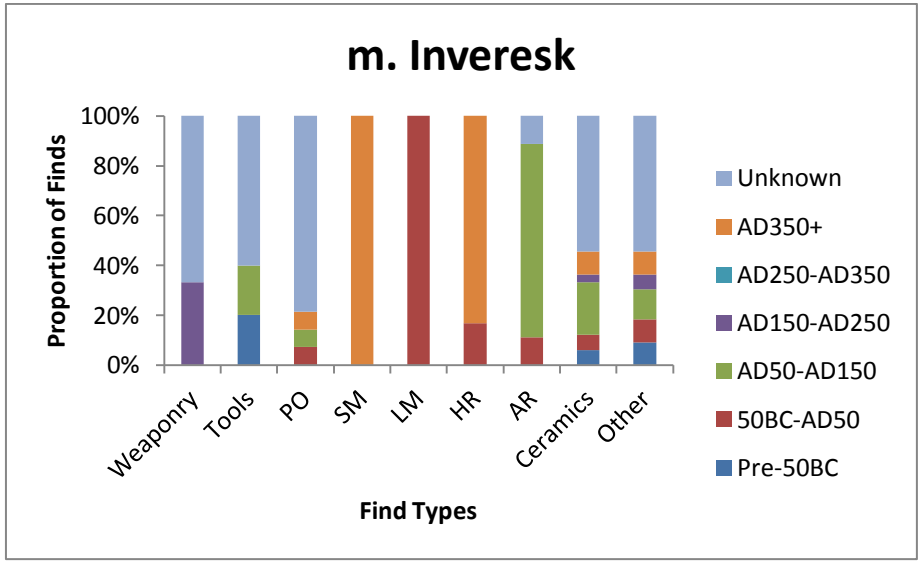
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre-50BC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Proportion of Finds
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Weaponry
Tools
PO
SM
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Ceramics
Other
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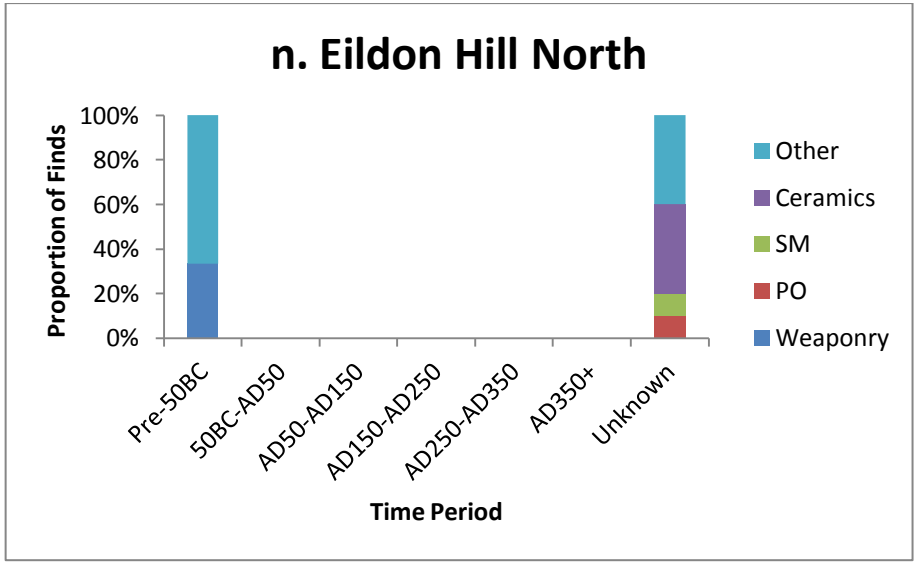
AD350+
AD250-AD350
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre-50BC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Pre-50BC
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AD50-AD150
AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
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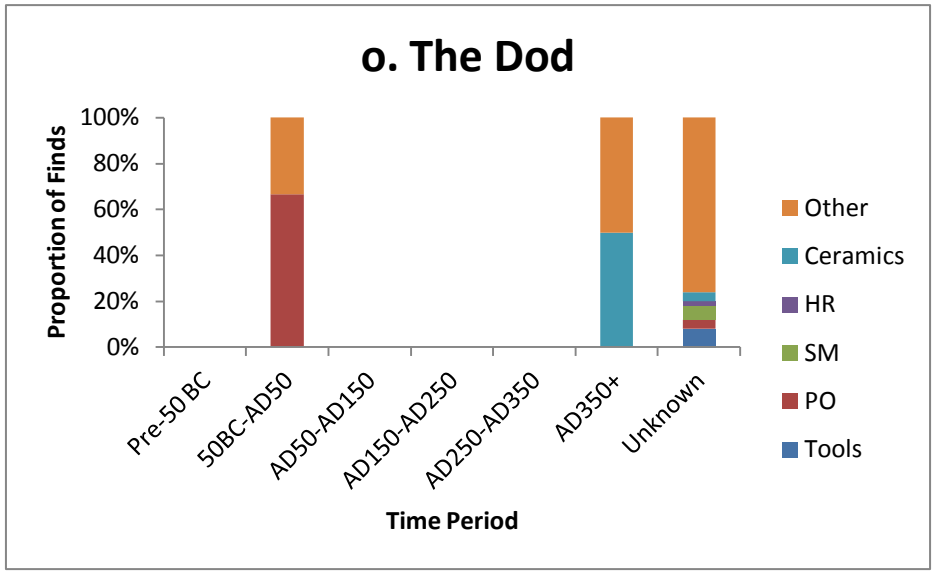
Time Period
Other
Ceramics
SM
PO
Weaponry


o. The Dod
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Pre-50 BC
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AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
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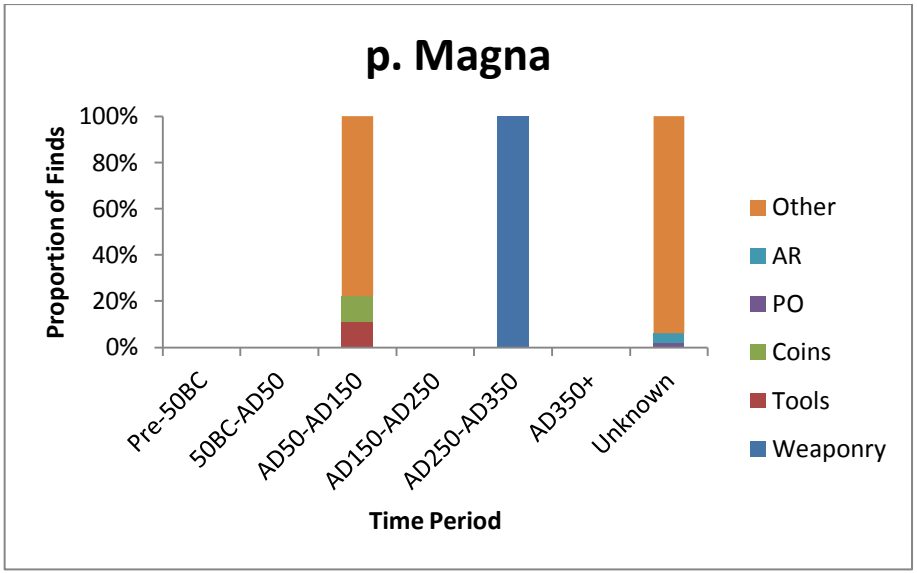
Time Period
Other
Ceramics
HR
SM
PO
Tools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Pre-50BC
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AD150-AD250
AD250-AD350
AD350+
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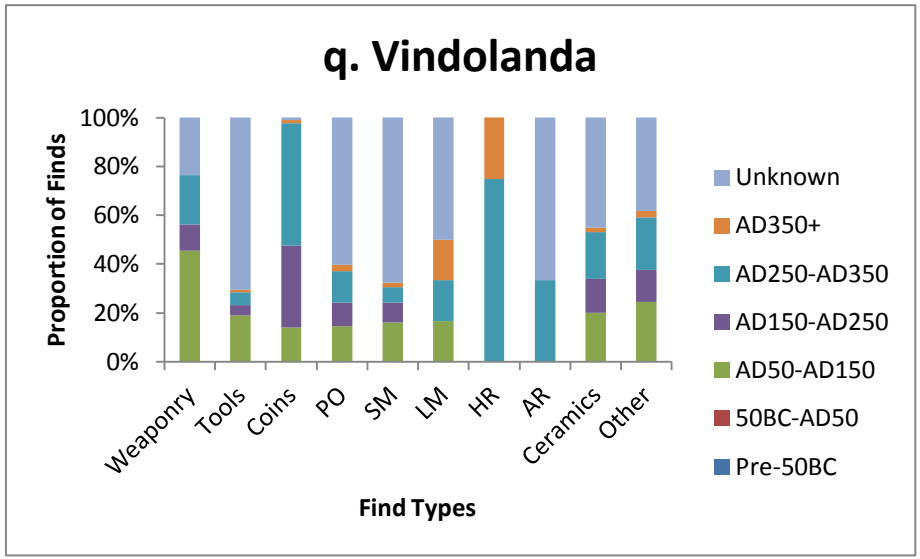
Time Period
Other
AR
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry


q. Vindolanda
Proportion of Finds
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40%
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Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
SM
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HR
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Ceramics
Other
Find Types
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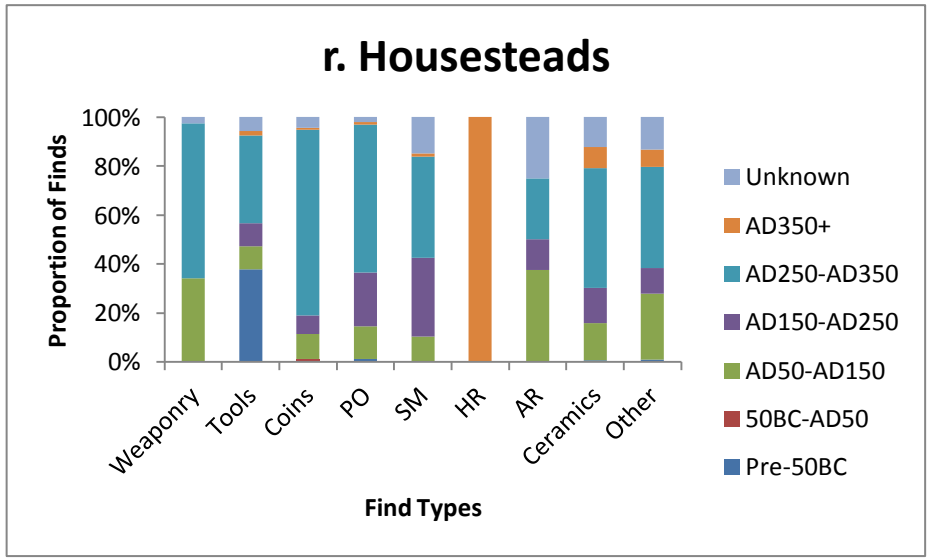
AD150-AD250
AD50-AD150
50BC-AD50
Pre-50BC


r. Housesteads
Proportion of Finds
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Weaponry
Tools
Coins
PO
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Ceramics
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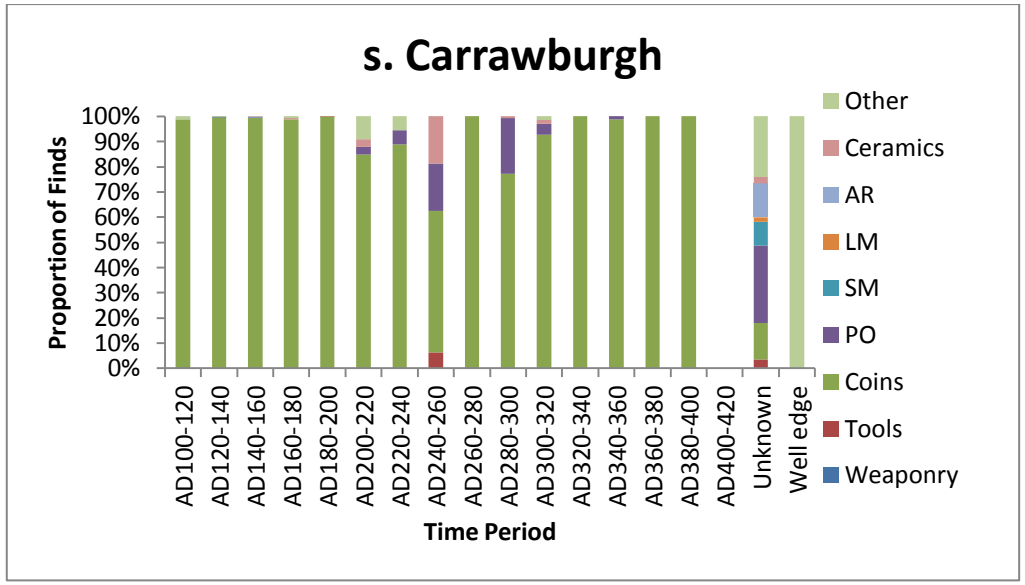
Pre-50BC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Proportion of Finds
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10%
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AD120-140
AD140-160
AD160-180
AD180-200
AD200-220
AD220-240
AD240-260
AD260-280
AD280-300
AD300-320
AD320-340
AD340-360
AD360-380
AD380-400
AD400-420
Unknown
Well edge
Time Period
Other
Ceramics
AR
LM
SM
PO
Coins
Tools
Weaponry

APPENDIX 6.

OTHER LARGE TABLES

Table A6.5.1: Summary of Zone One sites of in-depth study

Site Name	Site Type	Time Span	Key Landscape Features	Watery Foci	Key Sources
Sites with Shrine/Temple Structures					
Cadbury Castle, Somerset	Shrine and hillfort	Late Iron Age to Late Roman/early medieval	Hilltop 30m above natural spring line	Overlooking the Henshall Brook	Fowler *et al*. (1970); Alcock (1972; 1982); Radford *et al*. (1979); Burrow (1981); Adkins and Adkins (1992); Barrett *et al*. (2000); Ralegh Tabor and Johnson (2003; 2007)
Bath, Somerset	Urban temple	Early Roman to Late Roman	Spring on River Avon	Spring	Downes (1909); Knowles (1924; 1926); Adkins and Adkins (1992); Goon (1953); Richmond and Toynbee (1955); Cunliffe (1968; 1969; 1971; 1975; 1976; 1978; 1983; 1984; 1988; 1995); Blagg (1979); Keevil (1989); Davenport (1991; 2007); Dark (1998)
Uley, Gloucestershire	Temple and nearby hillfort	Late Iron Age to Late Roman	Hilltop on Cotswold escarpment	Possible Iron Age water tank. Overlooking River Ewelme valley	McGrath and Cannon (1976); McWhirr (1981); Levitan (1982); Saville (1984); Darville (1987); Woodward (1993); Holbrook and Jurica (2006)
Chedworth, Gloucestershire	Rural temple	Late Iron Age to Late Roman	Tributary of River Coln	Reservoir associated with temple	McGrath and Cannon (1976); Goodburn (1979); McWhirr (1981); Saville (1984)
Nettelton, Wiltshire	Rural temple and shrine within a domestic and industrial complex	Late Iron Age/Early Roman to Late Roman	Broadmead Brook running across the north east of the site	Brook	Wedlake (1982)

Site Name	Site Type	Time Span	Key Landscape Features	Watery Foci	Key Sources
Faringdon, Oxfordshire	Shrine and settlement	Early Iron Age to Late Roman	Top of River Thames Valley and borders the Ridgeway on a lower gravel terrace	Possible seasonal flooding of the River Thames	Weaver and Ford (2004); Cook *et al*. (2004)
Wanborough, Surrey	Rural temple	Late Iron Age/Early to Later Roman	Wanborough Spring feeding tributary of the Sandford Brook	Spring	O'Connell and Bird (1994)
Folly Lane, Hertfordshire	Large funerary pit; temple over pit dating mid 1st to 4th centuries AD	Early Iron Age to Late Roman	Hill overlooking River Ver floodplain	Seven identified wells.	Niblett (1999)
Ivy Chimneys, Essex	Temple; settlement	Early Iron Age to Late Roman	Near confluence of Rivers Blackwater and Brain - important crossing point	At least one identified pond and six other depressions or possible ponds – all constructed	Rodwell (1993)
Harlow, Essex	Rural temple with associated structures	Late Iron Age to Late Roman	Hilltop overlooking River Stort	Overlooking river valley, once partly surrounded by marsh with causeway constructed to south	France and Gobel (1985); Medlycott (2000)

Site Name	Site Type	Time Span	Key Landscape Features	Watery Foci	Key Sources
Hillforts and Settlements not Associated with Temples/Shrines					
Camerton, Somerset	Hillfort	Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age to Late Roman	On the Cam Brook	On hill overlooking brook	Wedlake (1958); Jackson (1990); Adkins and Adkins (1992)
Ham Hill, Somerset	Hillfort	Early Iron Age to Late Iron Age	Promontory overlooking River Parret and River Yeo valleys	Watershed overlooking two river valleys	Gray (1910); Sealy (1949); Ellison and Pearson (1977); Burrow (1981); Morris (1987); Pearce (1987); Smith (1990); Adkins and Adkins (1991; 1992); McKinley (1998); Leivers *et al.* (2006)
Glastonbury, Somerset	Settlement mounds	Middle/Late Iron Age to Early Roman	On River Brue floodplain, built on reclaimed marshland contemporary to the village	On floodplain of River Brue – originally built next to the old course of the river	Bullied and Gray (1911); Gray (1943); Hawkes (1950); Ellis (1982); Carr (1985); Barrett (1986); Coles (1986; 1989; 1995); Adkins and Adkins (1992); Coles *et al.* (1992); Rahtz (1993)
Meare (west), Somerset	Settlement mounds	Middle/Late Iron Age to Early Roman	On River Brue floodplain, built on reclaimed marshland contemporary to the village	Overlooking River Brue	Gray (1929; 1957); Bullied and Gray (1966); Adkins and Adkins (1992); Fitzpatrick (1996)
Lechlade, Gloucestershire	Settlement	Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age to Late Roman	Between River Thames and River Leach	Four wells contemporary to the settlement, site overlooks River Thames	Miles and Palmer (1982); Allen *et al.* (1993)

Site Name	Site Type	Time Span	Key Landscape Features	Watery Foci	Key Sources
Weybridge, Surrey	Settlement	Middle to Late Iron Age	East bank of River Wey	Overlooking river	Hamworth and Tomalin (1977)
Heathrow, Greater London	Well and pit features	Middle Bronze Age to Late Roman	South of Thames	30 natural waterholes and 18 constructed wells identified contemporary to the site	Cotton *et al.* (1986)
Walbrook, London	Settlement and workshops	Late Iron Age to Middle/Late Roman	Northern tributary of River Thames (now underground) and surrounding banks	Walbrook tributary river	Hill (1962); Toynbee (1986); Lees *et al.* (1989); Wilmott (1991); Hawkins (2009)
Southwark, London	Settlement	Early to Late Roman	South bank of River Thames	On bank of major river	Kenyon (1959); Derwent (1968); Plouviez (1973); Sheldon (1974); Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Excavation Committee (1978); Yule (1982); LAMAS (1988); Southwark Council (2000); Gerrard (2009)
Baldock, Hertfordshire	Settlement	Late Iron Age to Late Roman	Chalk ridge where source of River Ivel springs	Spring feeding Mill Stream, tributary of River Ivel	Burleigh (1980; 1982), Burleigh and Salisbury (1985)
Verulamium, Hertfordshire	Settlement	Early Roman to Late Roman	Valley of the River Ver	On banks of major river	Wheeler (1930); Wheeler and Wheeler (1932; 1936); Lowther (1937); Frere (1970; 1972); Nibblet and Thompson (2005)
Springhead, Kent	Settlement	Late Iron Age to Late Roman	Spring source of River Ebbsfleet	Spring	Boyle and Early (1999); French (2000)

Table A6.5.2: Continuity of rituals of deposition

Site	Date	Context Type	Evidence
Bath	Mesolithic	Spring	Flint flakes intermixed with spring fills
	Early Medieval	Temple precinct	Unknown number of burials – intrusive.
	Saxon	East Baths complex	Single burial - intrusive.
Faringdon	Mesolithic	Occupation material spread	81 worked flints.
Wanborough	Middle Bronze Age	Pre-temple deposit	One copper alloy spearhead.
Camerton	Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age.	Plateau	78 flint arrowheads scattered across the plateau.
	Bronze Age	Barrow burial	13 human remains along with personal ornaments, animal remains, pot sherds and worked flints all recovered as presumed grave goods.
Ham Hill	Neolithic	Topsoil	56 sling stones.
Lechlade	Late Neolithic	Post hole	One flint projectile.
	Late Neolithic	Occupation material spread	One flint arrowhead, various other flint tools and worked flints, pottery remains and butchered animal remains.
	Late Bronze Age	Pit	49 sheep bones, nine cattle bones, one deer antler, one worked goat metatarsal, a quantity of worked flints, pottery remains, one bone needle, one worn lump of sandstone and a charcoal layer.
Heathrow	Bronze Age	Cremation burial	10 grass plants, a few pot sherds and copper alloy fragments identified as grave goods with one cremation burial.

Table A6.6.1: Summary of Zone Two sites of in-depth study

Site Name	Site Type	Time Span	Key Landscape Features	Watery Aspect	Key Sources
Sites with Temple/Shrine Structures					
Balmuildy, Strathclyde	Shrine and hillfort	AD 142 – c. AD 182	At a major river crossing for the River Kelvin.	Overlooking River Kelvin	Leslie *et al*. (2007)
Elginhaugh, Lothian	Shrine and hillfort	Late Iron Age to late 1st century AD	On the crest of a hill overlooking the river North Esk.	Overlooking major river. Five wells	Hanson (2007)
Newstead, Scottish Borders	Shrine and hillfort	AD 80 – AD 180	Overlooking River Tweed.	19 wells	Curle (1911); Jones (1990); Armit (1998)
Corbridge, Northumberland	Temple and hillfort	Late Iron Age to mid-2nd century AD	Overlooking River Tyne.	Overlooking major river channel.	Forster (1976); Allason-Jones and Bishop (1988); Bishop (1994)
Hillforts, Forts and Settlements					
Bar Hill, East Dunbartonshire	Fort	AD 142 to AD 197	Close to River Kelvin on boggy, low-lying land.	One well	Scott (1966); Robinson *et al*. (1975); Boyd (1984); Armit (1998)
Birrens, Dumfries and Galloway	Hillfort	AD 80 to AD 180s	On scarp overlooking confluence of Mein Water and Middlebie Burn.	One well	MacKie (1975); Robinson (1975); Armit (1998)
Maryport, Cumbria	Hillfort	2nd century AD to AD 400	Coastal location overlooking the mouth of the River Ellen.	Overlooking major river channel and Irish Sea.	Jarrett (1976)
Bowness on Solway, Cumbria	Hillfort	Later 1st century to 4th century AD	Most westerly fort on Hadrian's Wall, overlooking River Nith and Solway Firth.	Overlooking two major river channels.	Birley (1961); Collingwood (1966); Stevens (1966); Wilson (1967); Divine (1969); Mann (1971); Breeze and Dobson (1976); Jones (1976); Frode-Johnston (1977); Birley (1978); Skinner (1978); Potter (1979); Embleton and Graham (1984); Hadrian's Wall Consultative Committee (1984); Johnson (1989); Embleton (1992); English Heritage (1995); Bedoyere (1998); Bidwell (1999); Woodside and Crow (1999); Ewin (2000); Johnson (2004); Hill (2006); Osborn (2006); Shannon

					(2007);Hodgson (2009); Simpson and Shaw
Site Name	**Site Type**	**Time Span**	**Key Landscape Features**	**Watery Aspect**	**Key Sources**
Castle Street, Carlisle, Cumbria	Fort and town	Late Iron Age to Late Roman	Overlooking confluence of River Eden and River Caldew.	Boggy ground plus one well.	McCarthy (1990; 1991; 2002); McCarthy and Weston (2004)
Bewcastle, Cumbria	Hillfort	AD 122 to early 4th century AD	On natural plateau on north bank of Kirk Beck surrounded by higher ground.	Overlooking minor river channel.	Birley (1961); Collingwood (1966); Stevens (1966); Wilson (1967); Divine (1969); Mann (1971); Dobson (1976); Jones (1976); Frode-Johnston (1977); Birley (1978); Skinner (1978); Embleton and Graham (1984); Hadrian's Wall Consultative Committee (1984); Johnson (1989); Austen (1991); Embleton (1992); Gillam *et al.* (1993); English Heritage (1995); Bedoyere (1998); Bidwell (1999); Woodside and Crow (1999); Ewin (2000); Johnson (2004); Hill (2006); Osborn (2006); Shannon (2007); Hodgson (2009)
Camelon, Strathclyde	Hillfort	Late 1st century AD to mid-2nd century AD	On plateau overlooking River Carron.	Overlooking major river channel.	Hanson (1982)
Cramond, Edinburgh	Hillfort and port	2nd to 3rd centuries AD	Eastern end of Antonine Wall looking seaward, near Eagle Rock	One well	MacKie (1975); Armit (1998)
Inveresk, East Lothian	Settlement	Mid-2nd century AD	On low-rise ridge overlooking River Esk.	Three wells	News (1998); Bishop (2002)
Eildon Hill North, Scottish Borders	Hillfort	Early/Mid-Roman	On hill overlookooking fort of Newstead and River Tweed	Overlooking major river channel.	Armit (1998)
The Dod, Scottish Borders	Fortified enclosure	Late Iron Age to Late Roman	At the confluence of three river valleys	Boggy ground	Harding (ed.) (1982); Smith (1982; 1988-9; 1983)
Magna, Northumberland	Fort	AD 80 to mid-4th century AD	On boggy land at cross roads of Roman Maiden Way and Stanegate Road,	Marshy area to north east of the fort – possible remains of an aqueduct	Birley (1998)

			south of Hadrian's Wall.	channel, one well,	
Site Name	**Site Type**	**Time Span**	**Key Landscape Features**	**Watery Aspect**	**Key Sources**
Vindolanda, Northumberland	Hillfort	Mid-AD 80s to AD 400	Overlooking confluence of Brackies Burn, Bradley Burn and Chainley Burn.	One well	Birley (1961; 1993); Collingwood (1966); Stevens (1966); Wilson (1967); Divine (1969); Mann (1971); Birley (1974; 1975; 1977; 1994a; 1994b; 2008; 2009); Bowman and Thomas (1974); Breeze and Dobson (1976); Jones (1976); Frode-Johnston (1977); Hodgson (1977); Wild (1977); Skinner (1978); Bowman (1983); Embleton and Graham (1984); Hadrian's Wall Consultative Committee (1984); Bidwell (1985; 1999); Johnson (1989); Embleton (1992); Van Driel-Murray *et al.* (1993); Bowman (1994); English Heritage (1995); Birley (1997); Bedoyere (1998); Woodside and Crow (1999); Ewin (2000); Thomas (2003); Johnson (2004); Birley (2005); Hill (2006); Osborn (2006); Shannon (2007); Brabbs (2008); Hodgson (2009)
Housesteads, Northumberland	Hillfort	AD 25 to 4th century AD	Overlooking Knag Burn	Overlooking minor river channel.	Birley (1961); Collingwood (1966); Stevens (1966); Wilson (1967); Divine (1969); Mann (1971); Dobson (1976); Jones (1976); Frode-Johnston (1977); Birley (1978); Skinner (1978); Embleton and Graham (1984); Hadrian's Wall Consultative Committee (1984); Johnson (1989); Embleton (1992); Crow (1995a and b); English Heritage (1995); Bedoyere (1998); Bidwell (1999); Woodside and Crow (1999); Ewin (2000); Johnson (2004); Hill (2006); Osborn (2006); Shannon (2007); Brabbs (2008); Hodgson (2009)
Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh, Northumberland	Ritual spring or revetted well associated with fort	AD 128 to mid-3rd century AD	On boggy ground near Meggie's Dene Burn.	Well	Allason-Jones and McKay (1985)

Table A6.6.2: Number of animal skulls and antlers recovered from Newstead

	Skull					Deer		
Feature Number	**Ox**	**Horse**	**Dog**	**Sheep/goat**	**Pig**	**Antler**	**Horn**	**Elk**
Pit - 1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Pit - 6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Pit - 7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pit - 17	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Pit - 22	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Pit - 23	0	3	5	0	0	2	0	1
Pit - 24	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Pit - 27	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
Pit - 28	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Pit - 40	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Pit - 54	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Pit - 57	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Pit - 59	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pit - 64	13	8	0	0	0	2	0	0
Well - 78	0	0	0	0	0	Several	0	0
Pit - 87	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Well - 92	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Pit - 93	1	0	0	0	0	Several	0	0
Pit - 95	0	0	0	0	0	Several	0	0
Pit - 96	0	0	0	0	0	Several	0	0
Pit/well - 113	1	1	0	0	0	Fragments	0	0
Total	**20**	**18**	**13**	**1**	**1**	**5+**	**5**	**1**

Table A6.6.3: Continuity of rituals of deposition

Site	Date	Context	Details
Elginhaugh	Neolithic	'Votive' pit (Hanson *et al*, 2007)	Three pitchstone blades along with indigenous pot sherds and the remains of cereal grains and small fruits suggesting the remnants of a feast alongside the ritual deposition of these blades.
	Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age	Occupation layers	Pot sherds, hazel nut shells and cereal grain, one flint flake and a stone axe fragment.
Cramond	Mid-medieval	Intruding into the Roman bathhouse structure.	Fragmented remains of up to 12 individuals from foetal/newborns through to adults. These finds are believed to be the remnants of a plague pit or some other disease outbreak.
	Mid-medieval	Working areas to the east of the bathhouse	Single intrusive human bone recovered with various unidentified animal bones. Possibly part of the burial pit and moved with subsequent disturbances of the site.
	Medieval to post medieval	Area of the bathhouse - occupation layers	Two iron blades – not associated with the burials above.
Inveresk	Neolithic/Early Bronze Age	Two pits relating a field system used into the Medieval period.	One flint blade, two fragmented cord-impressed pots and burnt hazelnut shells.
	Early to mid-medieval	Long-cist cemetery	Five burials one with one silver ring and one with a bronze fragment.
Vindolanda	500 AD	Sub-Roman occupation layers of Stone Fort Two	One tombstone though no inhumation or cremated remains were recovered associated.
	6^{th} to 7^{th} century AD	Floor and occupation layers of Stone Fort Two – close to the tombstone	Two small knives, two pins, one iron and one jet, one pennanular brooch, bronze and iron scrap metal and glass vessel fragments. It is possible that these few items represented grave goods though no actual grave site was apparent (Bidwell 1985).
Housesteads	Late Mesolithic/early Neolithic	Four gullies	Remnants of agricultural activity with over 20 flint tools recovered along with one saddle quern fragment and clay and charcoal layers.
	Post-Roman	Water tank in the area of the east rampart and intervallum road	One cist burial into a water tank - intrusive into the Roman layer.