



UNIVERSITY
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**Ritualising encounters with subterranean places:
an investigation of urban depositional practices of
Roman Britain**

by

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This thesis is dedicated to my children, the three brightest stars who light my path,

Gabriel, Indigo and Lilliana.

Declaration of Originality

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University of Tasmania or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to the best of my knowledge and belief no material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis, nor does the thesis contain any material that infringes that copyright.

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Abstract

This project investigates the depositional practices of the towns of Roman Britain. The material remains of these depositional events are characterised by the appearance of certain objects and bodies within particular subterranean features. The most common types of objects and bodies found within urban centres include complete and almost complete pottery vessels, dogs and other domestic species, infants and sometimes metal objects and personal objects. The most common feature types are shafts, pits and wells with some evidence for deposits made underneath buildings or other structures. This investigation was motivated by the suggestion that urban depositional practices may have been distinct in form and function from those found in other location types such as rural areas. Furthermore, previous research into the subterranean deposits of Dorchester and Silchester has proposed diverse cultural origins for these practices. Although suggestions have been made regarding the nature of urban depositional practices in Roman Britain, systematic analysis of a large body of data from urban locations has not previously been undertaken.

Analysis of a large number of subterranean features and their contents from urban sites was compared to analyses of subterranean features from three other location types: non-urban sites, sacred precinct sites and Roman military forts. An emerging pattern of difference between the characteristics of urban deposits and those found in other locations was further tested via close analysis of the three main case studies of Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*), Dorchester (*Durnovaria*) and *Verulamium*.

It was found that there was a particular set of characteristics that were common to urban depositional practices of Roman Britain. There were also distinctive changes to all of the case studies' depositional practices during the third century AD. Furthermore, the close analysis of the three case studies also revealed that there were inter-urban differences in depositional practices, particularly in terms of spatial distribution of these features. These differences were then read for variations in processes of urbanisation and cultural change over time. Comment is also made on the nature of urbanisation in Roman Britain and how at each site the 'Roman town' was translated in a unique and place-specific manner.

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Introduction

'...Roman' is an idea, and ideas are understood in different ways by different people.'

(Creighton, 2006, p.77)

Overview

This thesis investigates the nature of pit, shaft, well and concealed deposits from the urban spaces of Roman Britain. Research interest into these types of features has been stimulated by the understanding that the act of deposition was in some way ritual, special or purposeful and thus distinct from more mundane rubbish disposal. The act of depositing particular objects and materials into pits, shafts and other areas such as lakes and rivers has been extensively researched for the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods of Britain (for example, Brudenell & Cooper 2008; Dickenson 2007; Harding 2006; Pollard 2008; Thomas 2012). The Iron Age has also been a period of intense research focus for these types of features (for example, Cunliffe 1992; Hill 1995; Green 1976; Merrifield 1987; Wait 1986; Webster 1997; Ross 1968). Although there is ample evidence for this type of activity during the Roman period within urban places, it has received little systematic analysis. This thesis investigates these subterranean features via analysis of a database incorporating 275 examples of pit, shaft, well and concealed deposits from across a range of site types and locations within Roman Britain. These features are then analysed statistically and patterns of difference and similarity recorded in order to describe the nature of these features and how they operated within the social and spatial fabric of the towns of Roman Britain. The purpose of creating a database of similar features from different site types facilitates empirical analysis and comparison of the archaeological features under question. By creating this large database of subterranean features, the following research questions have been addressed with reduced potential of biased results. Furthermore, this database-focused approach has broadened the research field into these types of ritual features of Roman Britain.

Three urban case studies are focused upon in order to test the findings of the initial analyses of subterranean deposits from urban centres, sacred precincts, non-urban sites and Roman

military forts: Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*), Dorchester (*Durnovaria*) and Verulamium. The research questions to be addressed by the analyses of this thesis are as follows:

1. Were subterranean depositional practices different within urban centres as compared to other location types (non-urban, sacred precinct and Roman military sites)?
2. If urban depositional practices were generally different to those outside of urban areas what can account for those differences?
3. Were there differences between individual town's depositional practices? If so, what can account for those differences?
4. As a result of addressing research questions 1., 2. and 3., how can depositional practices be utilised as a method for reading processes of urbanisation and cultural change in Roman Britain?

Essentially then this project is concerned with a particular set of archaeological features and how they are the same in some regards, and how they were expressed differently between towns. These broad patterns of similarity and more specific patterns of differences between towns can then be read for the more general socio-cultural implications for the urban spaces of Roman Britain.

Therefore the key themes of this project are:

- The subterranean dimension of the ritual use of space in urban areas of Roman Britain
- Inter-urban differences in depositional practices
- Inter-urban similarities in depositional practices
- Critiquing and developing methodological and theoretical frameworks for identifying and interpreting evidence for subterranean and concealed deposits within Roman Britain, and specifically within the urban centres of Roman Britain.

These questions and themes are addressed via a methodology which follows the work of Revell (2007, pp.212-213) who suggests a more contextually specific and material culture-centred approach to understanding 'the role of religion in the process of cultural change'. Accordingly 'this approach moves away from seeing material culture as a passive reflection of cultural identity and instead sees it as playing an active role in the ways in which people make sense of the world around them' (Revell 2007, pp.212-213). Consequently, four key research outcomes are achieved. Firstly, it is apparent that the way these types of features were enacted and how they operated within the towns was similar to how they operated in rural

areas and sacred spaces in the countryside for example. That is, they worked to ritualise people's encounters with subterranean places via the consumption and deposition of particular objects and bodies that were part of daily life. Secondly, although it is found that these features had a similar operational logic, they were aesthetically quite different in urban areas from non-urban and sacred precinct locations (that is, in non-urban and sacred precinct locations there was a greater emphasis on aesthetics and complexity of construction, but in the towns the deposits were enacted more simply and opportunistically). Thirdly, although it is found that there was a distinctive set of characteristics for urban depositional practices, close analysis has also found that inter-urban variations existed as well. Fourthly, by analysing these features and their spatial distribution within the three case studies, it is clear that the process of urbanisation was unique to each location. That is, the idea of the town was interpreted, constructed and used differently at each urban location. Finally, an Actor-Object/Body-Location model is proposed as an appropriate framework within which the depositional features of Roman Britain can be analysed and interpreted. The purpose of this model is to incorporate the elements of a depositional event: the person(s) who enacted the event, the objects and bodies that were deposited, and the place-specific socio-economic and political structures present in the location of the event.

The three case studies provide evidence of how over time these types of features marked space and embedded meaning into towns in different ways. Within Dorchester, the spatial distribution of these features and the types of objects and materials deposited in them are suggestive of the presence of distinct socio-economic zones within the town. The shaft deposits within the central *insula* of the town provided a civic focus for ritual activity. The deposits of Silchester are ubiquitous and opportunistic (see Fulford 2001). Different buildings and *insulae* were associated with particular types of deposits. There is a strong association between types of structures and nearby pit deposits marking out space and delineating particular functions of place. The deposits of Verulamium were enacted quite differently in that they worked to reinforce the meaning and symbolism of the pre-existing ceremonial enclosure of Folly Lane. Therefore, the manner in which people engaged with urban subterranean places was enacted differently in each town. These differences in depositional practices can be read for inter-urban difference with regards to socio-cultural structures. The way that the individual towns originated, developed and changed over time and therefore the nature of their social relationships can be seen to have affected how depositional practices were enacted. The study of urban depositional practices then also contributes to wider debates regarding the nature of urbanisation processes within Roman Britain.

Concepts and background

This section examines the stimuli for this project and highlights the major debates and previous research that have influenced this thesis and its proceeding analyses and interpretations. This study is about objects and bodies and the actions that resulted in their deposition. Particular objects and bodies were chosen for these acts and certain people, either groups or individuals, enacted the deposition of things for certain purposes. The action of those people appears to have been informed to varying degrees by norms and boundaries of individual urban places. In simple terms, people in particular towns chose certain types of objects to deposit in certain types of features differently to people in other towns. The production of objects and domesticated animals and their final consumption during the depositional act is also an intrinsic concept to the analyses and interpretations of this project.

Literature review: key concepts and areas of research into depositional practices from prehistory and the Roman period of Britain

As outlined above, research into these types of features, and also other types of ritual deposits, is common for the Neolithic and Bronze Age (see for example Thomas 2012; Pollard 2001), the Iron Age (Cunliffe 1992; Hill 1995; Green 1976; Ross 1968; Wait 1985), and also for the post Roman and into Medieval periods in Britain (Osborne 2004). Studies of these types of subterranean practices during the Roman period are surprisingly sparse considering the number of pits and shafts which are found within and around the immediate vicinity of many of the urban centres of Roman Britain. Making special, formal or ritual deposits into these types of features was a characteristic part of the urban fabric of towns in Roman Britain, so it is the nature of these deposits in this particularly 'Roman' locale that is investigated within this thesis. This project's focus on urban depositional practices fills a void in the current literature where looking at subterranean features within the towns of Roman Britain has so far not been undertaken in a systematic way.

As recognised by Osborne, 'objects given to supernatural powers have been remarkably neglected by archaeologists' (2004, p.1). Osborne attributes this lack - in part - to the common practice of defining artefacts according to type instead of using context as a means of classifying groups of objects. Implicit then is a need for a more developed methodology for artefacts that were once released into the sphere of the supernatural or transcendent. There is

substantial research however into votive hoards and other types of depositional practices from both the Iron Age, and to a lesser extent Roman Britain. As highlighted by Osborne however these do not always consider the wider context of the deposit in terms of how it related to the site in which it was located and the social relationships that provided the framework for deposition (Merrifield 1987; Ross 1968; Ross & Feacham 1976, and also see Clarke 1997, for an interpretation of the Newstead pits as possible examples of ritual/special deposits made within a very 'Roman' context of a Roman Fort). As already stated, a gap in this literature which is addressed by this study is a lack of focus on the nature of these features within *urban spaces* (although see Fulford 2001). Defining the appearance of an object as the result of ritual action within a very deep shaft that contains hoards of metal objects, carefully arranged stones and a horse's skull located in a rural site seems straightforward. Defining a group of four pots at the base of a well as the result of ritual action in an urban location is not as straightforward however. This study addresses the less 'spectacular' or aesthetically simple deposits found within towns of Roman Britain. Thus, Osborne's suggestion for incorporating closer readings of context in order to understand possible ritual significance of objects is applied to this project. Furthermore, the overall spatial arrangement of these features within the context of the entire town has been analysed for each major case study. Context therefore is important for this project at the level of the individual feature but also at the level of context within a social and spatially defined urban area.

The nomenclature constructed for the types of subterranean features under consideration change according to the researchers' points of view and the aims and objectives of their research agendas. Terms such as votive, special, structured, purposeful and ritual are variously used when talking about concealed deposits (Brudenell & Cooper 2008, pp.15-16). What unites these features is that they are all either below the surface of the earth or are concealed in some way under buildings or structures, and seem to demonstrate some kind of purposeful 'letting go' or consumption of particular materials, objects and/or bodies. Across Roman Britain, these objects and bodies can be categorised as: animal remains, human remains, pots and other vessels (often complete or nearly-complete), metal tools and objects, stone objects, wooden objects and to a lesser extent, personal objects and coins and in some cases, botanical material in the form of seeds or large portions of plants – in particular oak. Merrifield (1987) makes a number of distinctions and classifies deposits according to the type of medium into which the deposit was made. These groupings include watery places, dry land, ditches, and shafts and wells. Merrifield defines the parameters for these types of feature by stating that, 'Archaeological evidence for ritual activity consists mainly of objects deliberately deposited for

no obviously practical purpose, but rather to the detriment of the depositor, who relinquishes something that is often at least serviceable and perhaps valuable for no apparent reason, and sometimes seems to have taken considerable trouble to do so' (1987, p.22). Merrifield also argues for the importance of repetitive behaviour when defining evidence as the result of ritual action, but concedes that even accidental loss can be repetitive. Therefore, it is suggested, making an interpretation for ritual might only be 'credible when it conforms with known practices of that nature' (1987, p.22). It is also significant that these rituals may represent what Merrifield terms 'rituals of commencement and termination' (Merrifield 1987, p.48). Significantly rituals of termination are thought to be possibly a ritual in association with failure of a site or feature, but also as indicators of change. An example given of a rite of commencement are 'builder's deposits' made when a building was either constructed or redeveloped (Merrifield 1987, p.50).

The most applicable previous research for the purposes of this project is the interpretations made by Woodward & Woodward regarding the shaft deposits of Dorchester (2004) and Fulford's work on the pit and other deposit from Silchester (2001). On the one hand the shaft deposits of Dorchester have been interpreted as a Roman tradition of founding and commemorating the founding of a new town (Woodward & Woodward 2004). Conversely, Fulford (2001) suggests that the pit deposits of Silchester represent links to the non-Roman past and thus are representative of cultural continuity from the late Iron Age. Furthermore, his conclusions on the nature of these deposits are based on his definition that for a feature to be defined as the result of ritualised action it must empirically show 'a repetitive nature, and display 'irrational' characteristics' (2002, p.201).

Thus far, research into these types of subterranean features has either focused upon: 1. attempting to ascertain the cultural origins of the practice, 2. describing and categorising a range of deposit types that are suggestive of ritual or meaningful discard into groups based upon location or context type, and/or 3. Linking these practices and the deposited objects to particular transcendental forces or deities, and making suggestions about how these actions may have had meaning in terms of presumed beliefs regarding the supernatural sphere. This project however is primarily concerned with how these features can be read for meaning in terms of social relationships and the nature of urbanism within Roman Britain. A primary research focus upon the nature of urban subterranean deposits has thus far not been undertaken in any kind of rigorous way. Thorough investigation of these features across a number of towns is argued here to be a useful way of describing the intersection between the

human experience of urbanism and the material/social cultures of the Roman Empire and Indigenous populations.

How these deposits were arranged and ordered spatially has so far been overlooked. Contextualising these features within the urban space as a whole, and then at the closer level of associations with particular buildings or other features enhances current understandings of the nature of urbanism in Roman Britain. Namely, that the translation of the idea of a Roman town was interpreted differently in particular places and clearly interacted with previous notions of space and place from the pre-Roman period (following Rogers 2008). Rogers' (2008, p.40) innovative approach of determining 'possible pre-Roman attitudes towards place and space and how these interacted with the Roman period settlement pattern' are also applied to this study at the level of the internal urban space. As suggested by Rogers, pre-Roman attitudes and significance of place (in this case religious place) was a determining factor in the pattern of urbanisation in Roman Britain. Taking this one step further it is suggested here that pre-Roman notions of place and space – and indeed sacred place – can be seen as influential and intrinsic to how urban space was perceived and used by people within the towns of Roman Britain. Any analysis and interpretation of urban space in colonised landscapes cannot disregard the pre-existing relationship to place. This is evidenced by the vastly different spatial arrangement of subterranean features at the three major case studies and is discussed further below in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

This project's analysis of ritual behaviour in and around the urban landscape, which incorporates and contrasts special deposition within urban spaces with depositional practices from other non-urban sites, extends Fulford's previous assumptions regarding ritual practices within and around towns. Fulford (2001) has suggested that urban subterranean ritual practices may form a particular type of depositional activity. This study uses Fulford's suggestion as an initial point of inquiry and continues with empirical evidence and testing in order to define if patterns of difference existed between the depositional practices of urban and other location types. Commonly towns are thought of as places of organised and 'formal' ritual practices 'associated with temples and extra-mural cemeteries as well as 'informal' practices associated with, in particular, infant burials beneath, within, or close to buildings, and with the closure of wells' (2001, pp.200-201). It is however becoming evident that the degree of 'informal' practices was more common than previously thought. This point of 'informal' versus 'formal' is in itself an important methodological and analytical issue which is investigated within this project. However, the contrast between 'formal' and 'informal' is

conceptualised more as a difference between the aesthetics and complexity of deposits and is discussed in detail throughout this thesis (following Pollard 2001).

Previous research into subterranean deposits from non-urban and non-Roman Britain

Boon's examination of the turn of the century excavations at Silchester highlights the possibility that some deposits do indeed date from the pre-Roman period (1974, p.164). In particular 'the curious pre-Roman deposit in Insula XII' suggests that the deposition of pottery vessels in a structured and purposeful way can be interpreted as ritualistic and socially meaningful. The description of at least twelve complete vessels – possibly placed in three defined layers – at the depth of 2.54 m also includes an account of how they were 'packed about with moss' and records the presence of animal bones. The bones were interpreted as suggestive of the remains of a 'ritual meal'. Furthermore Boon (1974) also notes that 'The orderly arrangement of the vessels in clean layers of filling is the chief clue, found also in XXII.B.2, and again in XXVII, Pit 22 and perhaps in a well of XXI. These instances must be distinguished from others where the vessels lay in no sort of order' (1974, p.164). No further detail is provided however as to the dating of these deposits and how they relate to the stratigraphy of the insula or other parts of the site. It is likely then that special deposition was always a feature of how people interacted with subterranean spaces at the site of Silchester prior to the development of the Roman town there following the Claudian annexation of AD 43. This highlights that it may be futile to attempt to pinpoint the cultural origins of urban depositional practices with any certainty.

Furthermore, there are many key sites that provide extensive evidence for ritual deposition in settlements prior to the Roman period. Woodward and Woodward have argued that the shaft deposits found at Roman Dorchester were the result of ongoing rituals commemorating the town and that these depositional rituals had Roman antecedents. So there is evidence for pre-Roman ritual deposition throughout the landscapes of Britain along with the possibility that within some urban centres at least there was the enactment of particular depositional events that were associated with Roman/Etruscan traditions. That there may have been two cultural traditions at work does not, however, impact on the research agenda of this thesis. What is more crucial is determining inter-urban difference and similarity in terms of depositional practices in order to describe more closely processes of urbanisation. The ritual activities of a

town are integral to the social and physical fabric of an urban space and thus focusing on depositional activities contributes to a broader understanding of the human experience of Roman Britain.

An example of a site with extensive evidence for ritual deposition from the Iron Age is Danebury Hillfort, Hampshire, England. Animal remains figured largely in the archaeological record of many of the cleared grain storage pits from Danebury, and within these a number of species were found to be dominant. A high proportion of the animal deposits were of dog and horse and also raven – with implications for the indigenous deities associated with these creatures (Cunliffe 1992, p.77). Also prominent were pig deposits which were representative of meat-yielding species that had significant resource value for the Danebury community. Overall, Cunliffe interprets the special deposits in these pits (which are assumed to have been used for grain storage) as propitiatory (1992). These acts of propitiation are understood as probable because of the community's reliance on successful harvest and storage and the need for 'some system of placating the deities who controlled fertility' (Cunliffe 1992, p.78). Cunliffe goes further to suggest that the act of storing the grain underground, as opposed to above-ground silos, was not for safety or defence but rather as a way of placing precious resources directly into the realm of the chthonic deities responsible for fertility. Specifically Cunliffe suggests that 'pit storage may be the response of Iron Age society to the perceived dangers of the liminal time between harvest and germination. The tensions and fears of this period were best resolved by consigning the vital seed corn to the protection of the gods' (1992, p.79). Judging by the morphology of some of the pit deposits - and associated lack of erosion beneath the offering - it seems that the propitiatory ritual took place in expectation and hope of a successful harvest rather than in thanks for one (Cunliffe 1992, p.79). Other deposits are not so easily accounted for but in any case Cunliffe recognises the possibility that 'In the changing attitudes to the pit as it receded from consciousness may lie the explanation for the differences between the basal special burials and later deposits' (1992, p.79). In a similar way it is argued here that the liminal nature of rubbish pits, quarry pits, wells and cess pits located in urban centres of Roman Britain were appropriate for, or necessitated, ritualisation. As these places penetrated the earth's surface they were part of the unknown subterranean domain and thus disturbed the order of everyday life which occurred on the ground above. The act of deposition could work to re-establish order and in the specific setting of urban centres, could also work to demarcate and define space according to particular social relationships.

Cunliffe demarcates deposits in grain storage pits, from ritual deposits in watery locations and also defines 'hoards' as a separate group of acts that are all related to different deities and having different purposefully created relationships with the transcendent. Indeed Fulford (2001) has suggested that the special deposits found in urban pits are justifiably separate from other pit deposits found in the later Iron Age-Roman transition period and must be interpreted on their own terms. Summarising these different yet complementary ritual activities Cunliffe (1992, p.81) suggests that:

‘They may be regarded as the constituent elements of a complex system of ritual observances by which Iron Age societies in southern Britain communicated with their gods and attempted to maintain an equilibrium between the familiar world and the unknown.’

Cunliffe’s suggestion that the Iron Age deposits at Danebury were an attempt by people to ‘maintain an equilibrium between the familiar world and the unknown’ is a key theme of this project. It is argued here that the operational logic of depositional practices was a ritualisation of people’s encounters with subterranean places. Everyday life necessitated the interaction with the subterranean via the digging of wells, cess and rubbish pits and quarry shafts. Thus, the making of subterranean deposits was undertaken so as to re-establish order between the known, lived-in surface of the earth and the unknown spaces below.

This type of interpretation for pit deposits being related to the harvest cycle is significant in light of the evidence from Ditches Hillfort in Gloucestershire which was occupied in the later Iron Age and into the Roman period.(Trow, James & Moore 2009). Deposits in pits and boundary ditches located at Ditches were found to contain items such as a rotary quern stone and human bone. These deposits have been interpreted by the authors as being associated not with the production of grain but only the final stages of grain processing (Trow, James & Moore 2009). A shift then can be seen from the settlement being an intrinsic element of the agricultural/fertility cycle and a move towards food resources being obtained from outside of the settlement community. This type of interpretation has important implications for this present study in that it links place-specific processes of production and consumption with the nature of depositional practices located within particular sites and location types. It is argued that the depositional practices of Roman Britain were also linked to place-specific processes of production and consumption. Variations in depositional practices from different location types is a key finding of this study and are interpreted in relation to distinctions between locations in terms of production, consumption and power structures.

Trow, James & Moore have interpreted the crop remains at Ditches as primarily associated with consumption rather than production (2009). It is suggested that only the 'final stages of crop processing' were undertaken within the site as evidenced by the high proportion of grain remains to weeds (Trow, James & Moore 2009, p.48) and the presence of the remains of a stone rotary quern within a pit deposit (Trow, James & Moore 2000, p.49). This disassociation from the agricultural cycle may represent a significant shift in the way resources, production and consumption were conceptualised. How this affected the socio-psychological relationship people had with material culture and the sphere of the gods may therefore be represented by these depositional remains. Although these later Iron Age sites cannot be classified as urban they do represent a shift in the way people took part in the production of food and presumably the method of its distribution and/or attainment. In a similar way, the emergence of towns intensified this distancing from the point of growth and production and became foci for commerce and consumption. A consideration of the processes of production and consumption and how these affected depositional practices in different location types are considered closely in the final analysis of this thesis contained in Chapter Six. It is stated at the outset however that the position of this thesis regards the depositional act as an act of consumption of available objects and bodies.

At the Iron Age sites in Wessex examined by Hill (1995) there is significant spatial patterning of deposits in pits and in boundary ditches. The deposition of certain material into the ditches took place at the time these boundary features were periodically re-cut. As such Hill suggests that what material was deposited, and how this related spatially to the settlement and boundary system, was a method of marking the community who occupied the space and embedded social, historical and cosmological/temporal meaning into the landscape (1995, p.79). The settlement structuring variables of this interrelationship between ditch layout and deposits are identified by Hill as: '1. a concern with the direction of the rising sun, east, and other cardinal points. 2. a distinction between the inside and outside of the enclosure. 3. a distinction between the front and back of the enclosure, and 4. an emphasis on the threshold' (1995, p.79). This focus upon the socio-symbolic significance of the spatial arrangements of deposits is also applicable to the analysis of the spatial distribution of depositional features within the towns of Roman Britain. A similar analysis is carried out within Chapters Three, Four and Five below. Hill draws out the types of deposits and associations (for example those between bird bones and human remains) and how they were distributed spatially to conclude that 'the location of these deposits provides evidence for the structuring principles and pre-dispositions drawn on in daily social reproduction, and suggests that these deposits were a key

practice for maintaining those structures' (1995, p.94). Hill's interpretation between deposited objects and their spatial distribution within particular sites is useful for the proceeding interpretations of this thesis. The spatial distribution of the subterranean features of the three case studies of Silchester, Roman Dorchester and Verulamium also had distinctive spatial distribution patterns of depositional features. It is argued here that these differential spatial patterns were linked to social structures unique to each town. This association between social structures and depositional features is considered closely throughout this thesis.

Description of deposits and categorising features according to location and/or context type

There is a wide range of ritual deposits and they have been categorised generally according to the context in which they were initially deposited, but not including urban contexts. As such, Merrifield (1987) for example, defines watery deposits as distinct from deposits on dry land and also suggests that offerings to the divine beings of the sky were probably also part of the spectrum of depositing rituals of the past, but are no longer recognisable archaeologically. Fulford's assessment of the ritual deposits within urban areas of Roman Britain also suggests that they in themselves may represent a distinct type of deposit that although appearing similar to acts of the later Iron Age, must be analysed within the urban context (2001).

My line of enquiry into the meaning and role of structured deposition within the urban landscapes of Roman Britain has been stimulated by Fulford's assessment of recent evidence of such activity that is 'strongly reminiscent of the evidence from the British Iron Age' (2001, p.199). There is more recently a cautious attitude towards trying to definitively define the cultural origins of these types of practices. Evans notes that the deposition of pottery at the rural Roman site of Bossington, Test Valley, Hampshire is suggestive of being structured in a purposeful way (2007, p.177). He does suggest that this might represent a degree of continuity from the Iron Age (following Cunliffe 1991), however he cautions that it may also represent a particular practice related to Roman traditions and may have been discrete from previous Iron Age practices (following Webster 1997). It may be impossible to define the origins of these practices with any clarity, and it is proposed here that it is more useful to focus instead on the regional and locale-specific differences between these types of depositional practices. By focusing on specific locations and differences in depositional practices, it is then possible to

apply the results of analyses to broader issues of urbanisation and cultural change in Roman Britain.

Roman cultural influence and the colonial experience

Making a clear distinction between 'Roman' and 'native' is not a useful system of classification for the purposes of my research. This may be a projection of current understandings of the colonial experience coloured by post-colonial experiences and a present focus on identifying ethnicity (following Hingley 2005). For example, Gosden recognises that 'there has been considerable discussion concerning the manner in which new built forms, such as villas, were marks of either Romanization or native resistance, but less concern *over the sensory and emotional effects that new types of building in novel landscapes might have had on human subjects.*' (italics added, 2005, p199). In a similar way this research positions the 'town' as a new sensory object in the landscape that appeared quite rapidly and - depending on local topography - may have been viewed from afar or on approach via a range of queues and symbols – such as roads and religious precincts associated with a town. Furthermore, Gosden also suggests that 'we should not spend time trying to identify the original elements of a bipartite Romano-British culture, but rather look at the logics by which the pieces were combined' (2005, p.209). This is particularly useful for this project's research agenda because as already highlighted above, it is thought that depositional practices of the towns of Roman Britain probably had either/or both Roman and pre-Roman British traditional antecedents. Accordingly, 'the internal logic of Romano-British culture was not one of gentle harmony and smoothness, but contained tensions, created through material things.' (Gosden 2005, p.209). As Gosden points out it may be more useful to look at how pieces of Roman and indigenous culture were combined through the internal logic of the town and the inhabitants and users of these urban spaces. Present interest in defining and classifying certain material or phenomenological cultural traits as descended from certain ethnic or historical sources is surely a product of historically informed cultural mindsets. In line with this is Revell's assertion that 'through creating the hybrid of Romano-Celtic, there is the temptation to concentrate on the identification of the Celtic (or pre-Roman) and Roman elements, and then to think about them in isolation, downplaying the dynamic way in which the people of the provinces negotiated their way through the new imperial context' (2007, p.210). Accordingly, this project is focused upon describing the way people actively engaged with their urban environments in a ritualised manner as a means of embedding meaning into their landscape and negotiating

space and place (following Laurence 1994, p.19). This project, therefore, does not prioritise the search for cultural origins of particular material culture traits or practices.

As noted by Holder (2008, p.31) 'in a major town such as London, the distinctions between 'British', 'Roman' and 'Romano-British' identities probably faded away with time'. Analysing and interpreting the data sets for this project as being the result of distinct relationships to either indigenous or Roman material culture and religious expression is undertaken with caution. For example, the domestic offerings in the homes of Roman London – such as dogs or pots buried under floors – resemble ritual activity from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age. However, Haynes (2000, p.95) does not suggest any direct 'ethnic' link to these pre colonial ritual activities. Indeed Revell thinks about religion and ritual in terms of 'cultural homogeneity' across the empire and how that homogeneity was not just about iconography, deities and temples but also about 'a shared repertoire of ritual practices' (2007, p.226). This of course does not mean culture was homogeneous across the Empire but was more like context-specific homogeneity where human experience incorporated new and introduced cultural traits within a local milieu. In accordance with this Revell has revealed novel pathways for considering cultural identity and how it operated in the various provinces. More than just being represented by the recognisable material culture of Rome, cultural identity incorporates new ways of doing things and therefore new ways of identifying and being. The spatial arrangement of the subterranean features within the urban spaces included in this study demonstrates the differences in how the 'town' was conceived of and used by its builders and inhabitants.

As discussed above, the nature of these features within towns of Roman Britain has been addressed as either having been an 'introduced' tradition from Roman origins (see Woodward & Woodward 2004 on Dorchester), or as representing a link to the Iron Age past (see Fulford 2001 on Silchester). Although attempting an analysis of the origins of these practices could be a significant line of enquiry, it is not focused upon within the research constraints of this study. Rather, it is accepted that the appearance of these subterranean features in various towns may have had various origins, and that depositional activity is found across Western Europe over a vast temporal distribution (Bradley 2005; 2003). Ritual or special depositional activities were ubiquitous across the European landscape. Thus, searching for their origins within the towns of Roman Britain is a complex and possibly redundant undertaking. Multiple and contradictory interpretations could be made dependent on what particular characteristics of a deposit is focused upon. What is important for this project however, is that previous research

has highlighted that making deposits was a significant practice for the inhabitants of towns in Roman Britain, and that 'urban deposits' warrant investigation as a discrete category from other types of deposit (Fulford 2001). The importance of focusing upon urban deposits has informed the research questions and themes of this study. By collecting and analysing this large corpus of material, the study of the nature of urbanism in Britain during the Roman period is further enhanced. The subterranean dimension of space is in itself an under-researched area, and this thesis also contributes to an expansion of theoretical approaches to describing how humans engage with what lies beneath the earth's immediate surface.

The question of urbanisation

This research enhances more recent notions about the nature of urbanisation in Roman Britain by highlighting the unique identity of individual towns (following Creighton 2006). However, this research also highlights the inter-connectedness of towns as they all demonstrated similar changes over time in terms of the intensity of the making of special or ritual deposits according to analysis of the urban data (which is not matched by the non-urban data). Also, how special deposits were made within urban spaces has also been found to be distinct (on the basis of a number of archaeologically visible characteristics) from non-urban sites such as enclosed rural settlements and sacred spaces. Aesthetically, the deposits made in towns appear to have been less structured and controlled in comparison to many of those found in rural locations.

Describing the nature of the subterranean spaces of towns of Roman Britain allows for analysis of how the Roman character of towns was not uniform or homogenous. That people constructed and chose to live in towns was not so much about wanting to appear Roman, but more about the intrinsic appeal of urbanity (following Laurance, Esmonde Cleary & Sears 2011, p.4). The continuity and change in the nature of depositional practices during different time periods within and around towns demonstrates an example of fluctuating 'cultural continuity' (following Fulford 2001). That a particular practice continued to be enacted within an entirely new structure of an urban landscape demonstrates the flexible nature of the 'town'. Alternatively, that a particular cultural practice may seamlessly be incorporated into a location with different cultural past also demonstrates the flexibility of how the notion of the town was translated in different locations. Although a town might look very Roman on the surface, closer examination of the spaces in-between and below the archetypal features of the Roman town reveals the complexity of provincial urban places. The practice of making deposits

in some kind of structured and/or purposeful way is archaeologically visible from the Neolithic period until the Late Iron Age. It is unsurprising then that this practice may have continued into and beyond the Roman period. Although urbanity was perceived as attractive and worthy of time and economic investment by the inhabitants and creators of these places, it did not mean that certain cultural practices were obliterated by the highly visual, and munificent structures of the Roman town. Again, that some of the subterranean deposits of Roman British towns may represent imported Roman traditions is also possible.

Roman Britain: archaeology and experience of ancient imperialism

The use of aesthetics in archaeological inquiry is compatible with my research as it is concerned with the experience of a dramatically transformed landscape and the inter-relationship with social relationships, networks and perceptions of urban space. As emphasised by Gosden ‘the notion of aesthetics is vital in allowing us to understand the values that people attach to objects in different cultural contexts’ (2001, p.165). Expanding on this notion this project explores the values that people attached to place and space in different and transformed cultural contexts within Roman colonised Britain. This thesis then is about the purposefully transformed landscape and the transition to urbanisation and the implications of how things looked and felt to those living in urban places. This experience and perception of place is related to objects and material culture and associated social relations. The planning and building of Roman style towns in Britain represents a dramatic shift in settlement type where initially at least occupants were ‘transplanted’ or migrated from nearby settlements and combined with people from other cultures and contexts.

Although the emergence of the urban form in Britain is well-theorised and described (Millet 1990, and see for example Hurst 2005) it is, however, uncommon to find studies that work towards a greater and more in-depth description of what the experience of this colonial process was like (although see Creighton 2006 and Laurence, Esmonde Cleary & Sears 2011; Revell 2009). McCarthy’s assertion that ‘despite the vast amount of work and the huge database for Roman Britain, the people of the province remain very difficult to discern’ (2006, p.201), is informative in terms of approaching the archaeological record of Roman Britain from a more empathetic sociological perspective. This study seeks to develop an interpretive method and theoretical position that moves towards a closer relationship between archaeological material and describing past human experience. The nature and definition of

this spectrum of ritual deposits clearly needs redefinition and closer examination. Analysing these subterranean features within the methodological framework constructed for this project provides a greater understanding of the ground as the boundary between above and below in urban spaces, and how the ground's surface was a point of mediation between the visual Roman characteristics of the town, and the non-visual concealed elements of ritual action. Furthermore, this project considers how various ritual activities were constructed and enacted within the towns as a means of embedding meaning and solidifying the town's place within the broader socio-political and economic landscape.

Method of analysis

Each subterranean feature is considered within the location type within which it was found. Thus, the entire database for this thesis is broken down into separate databases of: other urban centres; non-urban locations; sacred precincts (that were located outside of urban centres); and Roman military forts. Following the analyses of these four databases, the databases for Silchester, Roman Dorchester and Verulamium are examined. Finally, the results of all of the analyses of the separate databases are analysed and discussed in Chapter Six in order to address the four main research questions outlined above. In order to analyse the data, the following characteristics are focused upon in order to statistically demonstrate similarity and/or difference between the depositional practices of each location type and between each case study:

- Animal species
- Infant and adult human remains
- Pottery
- Metal objects
- Other objects: personal objects, coins and other objects and materials
- The feature type in which special and/or ritual objects and materials were deposited (pit, shaft, well, or deposit under building)
- Dating of features, and in particular dating of the event of deposition
- Aesthetic care taken with the arrangement and/or appearance of the feature and its contents
- Spatial analysis of where these features were used within and around the immediate surrounds of the town under investigation

Following these analyses of this project's data, the research questions are addressed by combining the patterns of similarity and difference found between urban depositional practices and those found in other location types. What can account for patterns of similarity and difference in depositional practices is then closely discussed in Chapter Six.

Organisation of thesis

Chapter One is comprised of methodology and definitions and outlines in detail how the major concepts of urbanisation, Romanisation and cultural change are dealt with throughout the analytical and interpretative stages of the thesis. Chapter Two describes and analyses the other data included for the purposes of testing and comparing the data from the three major towns. Chapter Two deals firstly with data from urban centres other than the three case studies, and the second section deals with non-urban data from Roman military forts, villa sites, sacred spaces, and other non-urban settlements. Incorporated into this chapter are the major theoretical approaches that underpin the interpretations made throughout Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six. Chapters Three, Four and Five are focused upon the three main case studies of Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*), Dorchester (*Durnovaria*) and *Verulamium*. Chapter Six brings together the analyses and initial interpretations from Chapters Two to Five in order to address the research questions listed above in accordance with the key themes. Each major object category was compared in order to demonstrate general trends in the data, and to display findings based on discernable gross differences between urban deposits and deposits from non-urban locations. Chapter Seven incorporates the final conclusion and overview of answers to the research questions and makes suggestions for future study.

Project Significance

Research into depositional activities across time and space in Britain and Western Europe is well developed as outlined above. However, what makes this project unique is the broad nature of the database which was constructed in order to remove potential bias in the way the data was presented. Although the research questions of this project are concerned with special or ritual deposits within urban centres of Roman Britain, the database also incorporates a large number of features from different types of locales (Roman military forts, non-urban settlements and sacred spaces such as rural temple sites). Including a range of site types has

allowed for more detailed testing of the empirical data from the towns. Positioning the towns within their wider landscape, both in terms of spatial analysis and also statistical analysis, has provided for a more rigorous analytical process.

A study devoted to urban depositional practices helps to fill some of the gaps in the current literature for both urban studies of Roman Britain, and also for studies of ritual practices of Roman Britain. Ultimately this thesis suggests that an Actor-Object/Body-Location model be used when investigating subterranean depositional practices. This model incorporates the key elements that intersected at a depositional event. Necessarily then this provides a contextually-based framework which considers the relationships between people, place and objects.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the research questions and themes that have provided a framework for enquiry in the nature of depositional practices of urban towns within Roman Britain. This chapter has also provided a literature review of past and current research into depositional practices of prehistoric and Roman Britain. Thus, a gap in the literature has been identified and the analysis and interpretation of this thesis works to fill this void. The lack of previous systematic analysis of urban depositional practices - as a possibly discrete practice separate from depositional practices of other location types such as non-urban settlements - is addressed in the proceeding chapters. Furthermore, this chapter has also demonstrated how analysis of urban depositional practices can be read for processes of urbanisation in Roman Britain. The following chapter defines the methodology and terminology employed throughout this thesis.

Chapter One: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter discusses the following:

- Method of case study selection and method of data collection
 - The three main case studies of Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*), Dorchester (*Durnovaria*) and *Verulamium*
 - The other towns included in the data collection
 - The other types of sites included in the data collection
- Method of database construction and categorisation of deposited objects and feature types
- Method of analysis (statistical analysis combined with a reading of the spatial analysis)
- Method of interpretation
- List of definitions

Method of case study selection and method of data collection

The purpose of creating a comprehensive database of depositional features from different location types was undertaken in order to provide a broad empirical basis for analysis and interpretation as framed by this project's major research objectives. A large database was required so that potential patterns of similarity and differences in practice could be compared and analysed between urban and other site types. The creation of the database for this project has also limited potential biases and selectivity of the available material.

The choice of Silchester and Dorchester as two of the key case studies for this project was stimulated by the vast difference in the way the subterranean features of these towns have been interpreted within previous research. Fulford's (2001) suggestion that the pit and well deposits of Silchester represent links to the non-Roman Iron Age past is in contrast to Woodward and Woodward's argument that the shaft deposits of Dorchester were the result of the importation of a Roman practice associated with founding and commemoration of a newly formed town (2004). That two such varied interpretations have been made for the group of

subterranean features – within two towns within the same province - requires attention. However, as outlined in the Introduction, defining the precise cultural origins of these practices is not the purpose of this thesis. Rather, the analysis of urban depositional practices is more useful for addressing the unique nature of how the towns of Roman Britain were conceived, developed and used over time.

A third case study was chosen in order to provide further empirical evidence of the relationship between special deposition and process of urbanisation during the Roman period. Verulamium was considered appropriate because of the long history of archaeological investigation at the site and the availability of data for subterranean deposits. Furthermore, the site of Folly Lane and its close association with the urban centre of Verulamium provides evidence for yet another distinctive form of subterranean ritual deposition in a sacred space closely connected to the form and function of the town.

In order to avoid being selective in data collection a further thirteen towns were also included in the database and are outlined below. These towns were not analysed and interpreted in the same way as the three case studies but rather were analysed as a group in order to provide a basis for urban depositional practices. This basis was tested through the statistical analyses of subterranean features of Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium. Thus, the thirteen other towns were grouped together to form ‘other urban data’ and the evidence from these centres is analysed and interpreted in Chapter Six along with the data from non-urban sites. The data from other types of sites and why they have been included in this project are outlined below.

Silchester

There are 65 subterranean features included in the database from Silchester and they are located fairly evenly throughout the town. This ubiquitous spatial distribution of pits, wells and shafts is unique to Silchester and is discussed more closely below in Chapter Three. The data used in this project have come from numerous sources and are referenced in the database as well as throughout the discussion and analysis of Chapter Three (Silchester). See *Appendix 6* for the Silchester database.

Dorchester

For the town of Dorchester there are three main areas of excavation from which the features included in this project's database have been found. These areas are: the Central *Insula* (The Old Methodist Chapel and Greyhound Yard excavations: Woodward, Davies and Graham 1993), the north-western quarter of the Roman town (Excavations at County Hall, Colliton Park, Dorchester, Dorset, 1988 in the North-West Quarter of *Durnovaria* (Smith 1993) and the south-western quarter (Suburban life in Roman Durnovaria Excavations from the former county hospital site, Dorchester 2000-2001, Trevarthen 2008).

There were 24 subterranean features from Dorchester that are included in the database, the majority of which were the shafts found in the central *insula* during the Greyhound Yard excavations. Other features were also found in the north-western quarter of the Roman town and from the south-western quarter. These features are discussed more closely in Chapter Four (Dorchester). See *Appendix 7* for the Dorchester database.

Verulamium

There were 18 subterranean features from Verulamium and associated sites included in the database. The majority of these features were located within the Folly Lane site, but the intrinsic relationship between the urban centre of Verulamium and this ceremonial site warrants the inclusion of these features. Despite the Folly Lane site not being within the confines of the town boundaries, it is included due to its proximity to the town and the way that it informed the spatial geography of the town (following Creighton 2006). The fact that they are located outside the boundaries of *Verulamium* provides an opportunity to consider the nature of special deposition both inside and immediately outside the defined urban area. The primary focus of this site was for the enactment of funerary rites, but the nature of these will not be discussed within the research confines of this project. The associated pits and possible ritual deposits have been collected from the associated excavation report and form the basis of the data collection for this section (Niblett, Manning & Saunders, 1999). See *Appendix 8* for the Verulamium database.

Other towns included in the database

Other towns considered appropriate for inclusion within the 'urban' database were defined according to Burnham & Wachter's categorisation of 'small towns' of Roman Britain (1990). Along with these smaller towns a number of other more substantial cities were included in the 'other urban' database: London, Wroxeter, Gloucester, Lincoln, Winchester, Caerwent and Cirencester. Therefore, the other urban centres included in this project are: London (*Londinium*), Wroxeter (*Viconium Cornoviorum*), Lincoln (*Lindum Colonia*), Gloucester (*Glevum Colonia*), Kelvedon (*Canonium*), Cirencester (*Corinium Dobunnorum*), Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*), Baldock, Neatham, Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*), Kenchester (*Magna Castra/Magnis*), Brampton, and Colchester (*Camulodunum*). The purpose of including these towns was as a method for establishing if there was a particular form of subterranean ritual practice which could be categorised as specific to urban settlements. Although Fulford (2001) has suggested this, it has thus far not been thoroughly investigated. It was also necessary therefore for this project to compare urban sites to non-urban sites in order to look for patterns of difference or similarity between the evidence for these types of rituals between urban and non-urban locations. The other site types are discussed below.

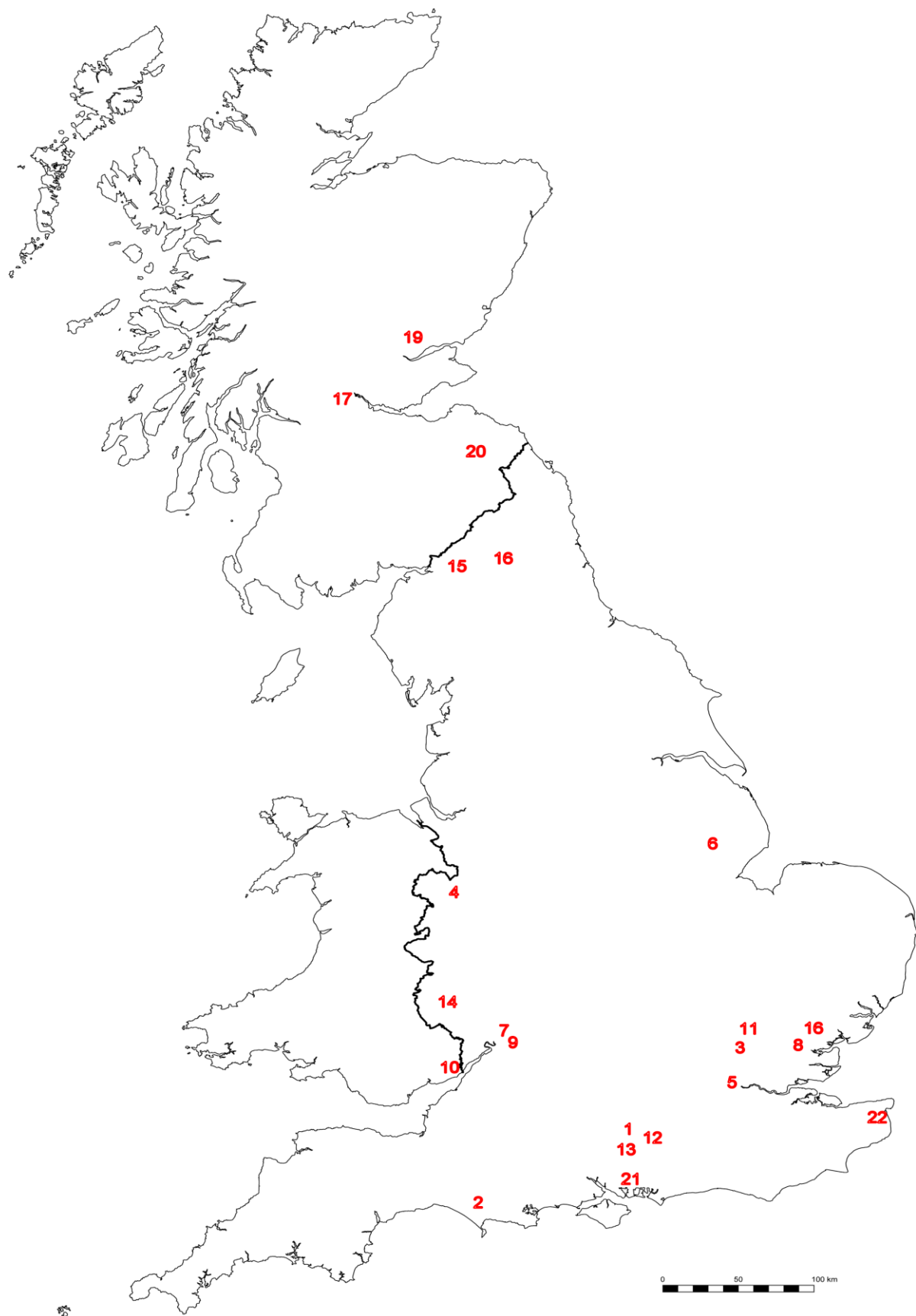


Figure 1: Locations of major and minor towns and Roman military forts included in this study

Key to Figure 1:

TOWNS

1. Silchester
2. Dorchester
3. Verulamium
4. Wroxeter
5. London
6. Lincoln
7. Gloucester
8. Kelvedon
9. Cirencester

ROMAN MILITARY FORTS

10. Caerwent
11. Baldock
12. Neatham
13. Winchester
14. Kenchester
15. Brampton
16. Colchester
17. Bar Hill
18. Carrawburgh
19. Inchtuthil
20. Newstead
21. Porchester
22. Richborough

Other types of sites included in the data collection

In order to address the research questions of this project, it was necessary to also look at subterranean deposits from other non-urban locations. These other location types were categorised as: non-urban locations; sacred precincts; and Roman military forts. It was important to contextualise the results from the urban data analysis within the wider landscape of Roman Britain so as to broaden interpretation of how ritual behaviour within the towns was similar and/or different to non-urban areas. This level of comparative analysis was a useful means of looking at how ritual deposition operated within urban places as a possibly unique form of this type of action, distinct from what went on at non-urban locations. How these types of rituals were enacted within non-urban areas, sacred spaces such as temple sites, and Roman military forts provided a method of more closely analysing particular patterns of behaviour within the towns and cities. See *Appendix 3* for the non-urban database and *Appendix 4* for the sacred precinct database and *Appendix 5* for the Roman military fort database.

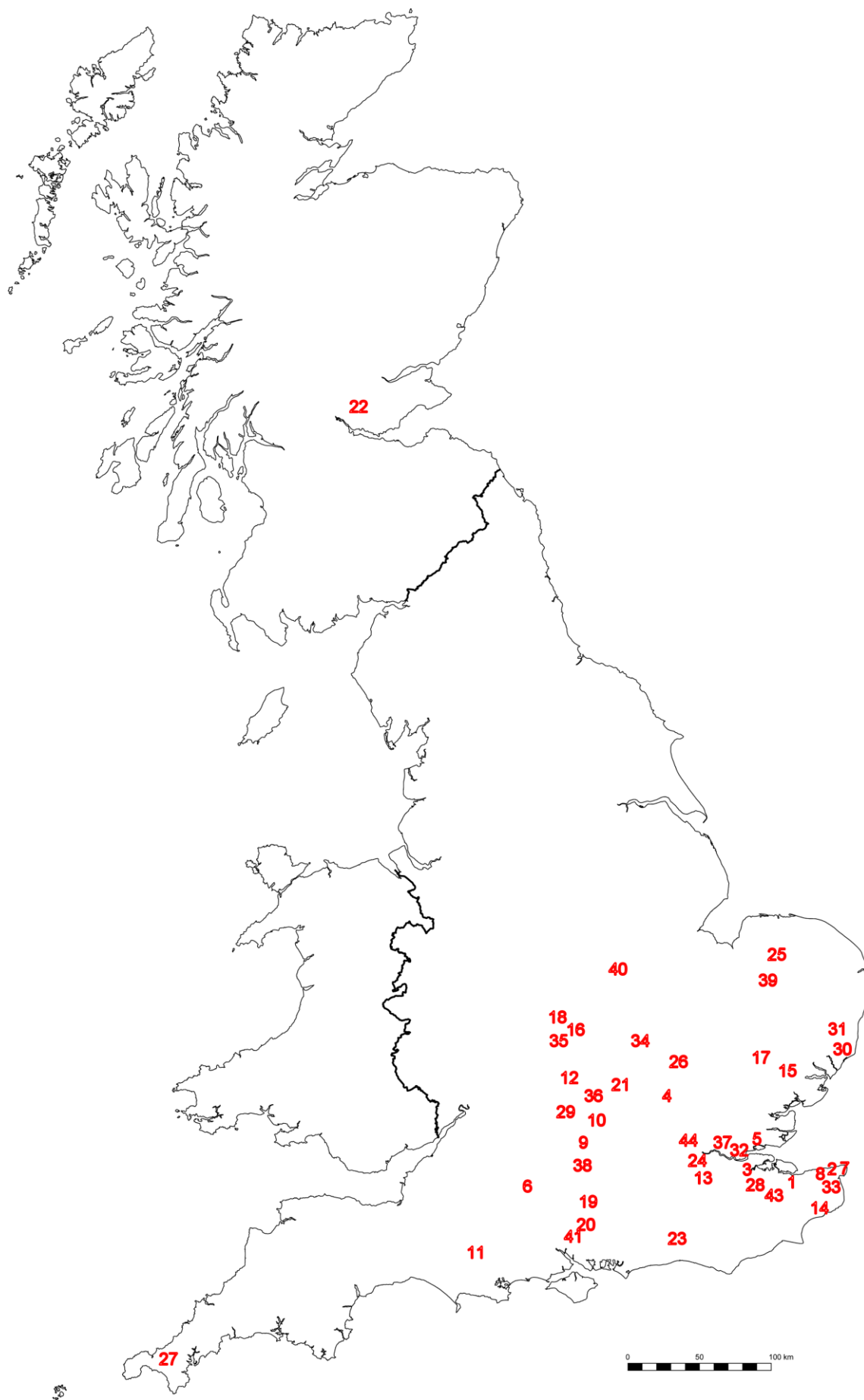


Figure 2: Location of non-urban sites included in this study

Key to Figure 2:

NON-URBAN SITES

1. Bekesbourne	17. Borough Field	33. Sandwich
2. Birchington	18. Alcester	34. Wellingborough
3. Crayford	19. Oakridge	35. Wolfhampcote
4. Dunstable	20. Winchester	36. Chesterton
5. Greenhithe	21. Wavendon Gate	37. Bromley
6. Heywood	22. Bertha	38. Thatcham
7. Isle of Thanet	23. Hardham	39. Kilverston
8. Plumstead	24. Ewell	40. Leicester
9. Rotherfield Peppard	25. Ashill	41. Owelsbury
10. Stone	26. Biddenham	42. Armsley
11. Winterbourne	27. Bossens	43. Frittendon
12. Wychford	28. Darent	44. Southwark
13. Staines	29. Kidlington	
14. Dover	30. Felixstowe	
15. Ardleigh	31. Ipswich	
16. Coleshill	32. Northfleet	

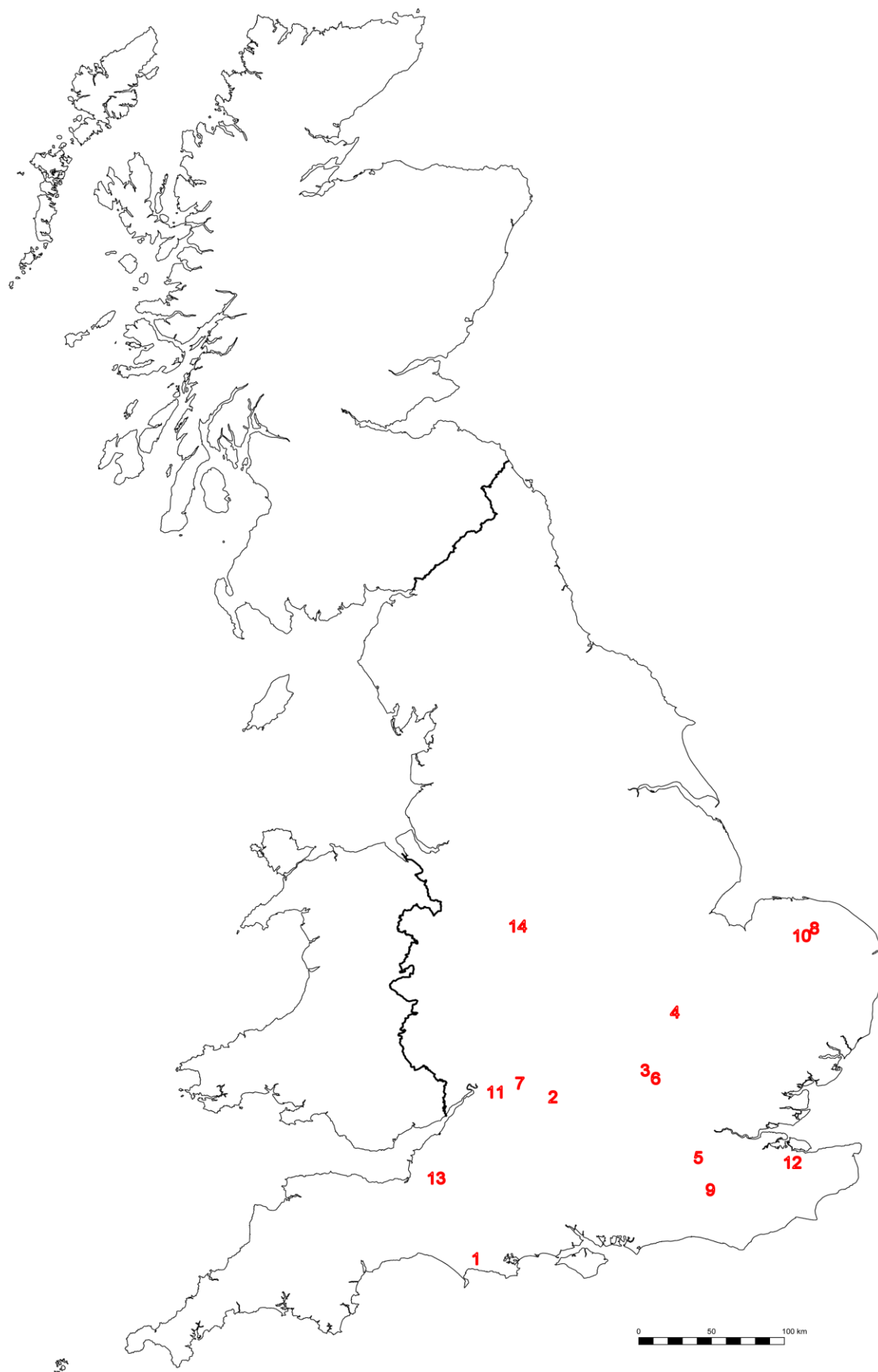


Figure 3: Location of sacred precincts included in this study

Key to Figure 3:

SACRED PRECINCTS

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Jordan Hill | 8. Hockwold |
| 2. Frilford | 9. Muntham Court |
| 3. Bourton Grounds | 10. Broomhill |
| 4. Brigstock | 11. Uley |
| 5. Farley Heath | 12. Springhead |
| 6. Bancroft | 13. Lamyatt Beacon |
| 7. Chedworth | 14. Orton's Pasture |

Categorisation of object type and feature type: concepts and problems

The following section explains the method of categorising feature types and the objects and materials found within them. The objects and materials were organised within the database under twelve main headings: Dimensions, Dating, Pottery, Other Vessels, Animal Remains, Human Remains, Metal, Coins, Personal Objects, Botanical, Stone Objects and Other objects and materials. The features themselves have all been given a number within the database and are henceforth referred to as Feature 167, for example, and abbreviated to F167 within the body of this project. The features are organised according to five main headings: Number, Category (urban, non-urban, rural, sacred site for example), Location (modern town or location name and county), Context (archaeological context as provided in publications and reports) and Type (pit, shaft, well or deposit under building or other structure and the number of features found in a group if more than one). See *Appendix 1* for the complete database for this project.

Animal remains

The 'number' of animal remains of any given species as listed in the database refers to the presumed number of individuals, not the number of bones or fragments. If complete skeletons were found this is also listed in the database and accounts for '1' statistically. So, for statistical purposes it has been assumed in this project that if an excavation report referred to 12 dog remains for example, that it was fairly reasonable to the excavator that this likely represented

12 individuals. Therefore within this project's database these 12 instances of dog remains have been counted as 12 in order to carry out the analysis.

Human Remains

Adult human remains were rare and if found within a subterranean deposit were usually well-described. If a number of bones are included they are counted as such for statistical analysis so for instance if 2 adult bones are listed they are counted as 2. It is more common to find infant remains within these kinds of deposits and if the information was available number of individuals was listed in the database. If the number of individuals was not listed, as is the case with older reports and publications, the number of infant remains provided is counted according to that number. So, if 6 infant remains were published then they count as 6 for the purposes of this project.

Pottery and other vessels

Fragments of pottery were counted according to if they represented one or more vessels in most reports and publications, and as such this method was followed in the listing of numbers of pots within this project's database. Therefore, if a report lists 6 pots found within a given feature then they were counted as 6 for the statistical purposes of this project. If a pot was found nearly complete or fully complete this information was also been included in the database as 'whole pots' are important at the interpretive level as markers of ritual behaviour. 'Other vessels' were categorised by their fabric within the database and were any type of vessel found that was not made of pottery.

Metal objects

Metal objects were counted according to the number of individual objects and/or fragments or pieces of objects. If the type of metal was known it was also included in the database along with type of metal object if known. Generally speaking, metal objects fell into two type categories: agricultural objects and tools or weaponry and military objects.

Personal objects, coins and other objects and materials

Coins were categorised separately from other metal objects and other personal objects within this project's database. However, there may be some ambiguity with the categorisation of personal objects and other objects due the subjective nature of interpreting these types of finds. In any case any object is only ever listed in one category within the database and therefore have not biased the statistical analyses by appearing in a number of categories. Objects or remains of stone and wood were categorised separately from each other and botanical remains also form a discrete category within the database in order to make explicit any observable patterns of deposition according to different objects and materials.

Feature type

The feature type refers to the subterranean or concealed space in which objects and materials were deposited. Within this project these include pits, shafts, wells and concealed deposits under buildings or other structures. Within the limits of this project other types of deposits, such as those found in watery contexts, have not been included. The features included are the types found commonly within urban centres and places of centralised human settlement.

Dating

If the information was available date ranges have been provided for the features listed in the database. Dating however is not always provided and in some cases, the dating of features from older reports and publications have been reassessed recently, with many features once dated to the late Iron Age now being placed in the Roman period (see Webster 1997, p.134). This does not affect the analyses carried out in this project however, as the features and sites that have been reappraised are found within non-urban contexts and therefore any discrepancies in publication of dates has not affected the analysis of the urban contexts included in this project.

Method of analysis: statistical analysis combined with a reading of the spatial analysis

The basic structure of Chapter Two (Depositional practices of Roman Britain), Chapter Three (Silchester), Chapter Four (Dorchester) and Chapter Five (Verulamium) follow the same sequence of analysis and discussion of the data. Each chapter is organised as follows:

- Brief overview of excavation biases and site formation processes that might have impacted upon the nature of data collection and analyses.
- Discussion of animal remains and summary of key characteristics arising from analysis.
- Discussion of human remains and summary of key characteristics arising from analysis.
- Discussion of pottery and other vessels and summary of key characteristics arising from analysis.
- Discussion of metal objects and summary of key characteristics arising from analysis.
- Discussion of personal objects, coins and other objects and materials and summary of key characteristics arising from analysis.
- Discussion of feature type (pit, shaft, well or building deposit) and summary of key characteristics arising from analysis.
- Discussion of dating of depositional events and summary of key characteristics arising from analysis.

Spatial Analysis: consideration of social and spatial relationships within Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium

For the case studies of Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium the sequence of discussion of findings and analysis were integrated with a spatial analysis of the location of the features within the town and a consideration of how they were related spatially and socially to buildings, other features and the spatial geography of the town under question. Spatial distribution maps were created in order to demonstrate spatial relationships between subterranean features and other features within the three case studies (see for example *Figure 32*).

For some of the sites included there may be multiple pits or shafts within the one location and these are listed in the database. Wherever this occurs it is noted in the body of the accompanying text if this was a significant element of the statistical analysis.

Discussion and analysis

Chapter Six combines all of the findings from the previous chapters' analyses and discussion and addresses the four main research questions of this project. Along with the results of analysis, other historical and archaeological evidence and theories are drawn upon in order to provide a comprehensive interpretation of the nature of urban depositional practices in Roman Britain.

Definitions

Subterranean feature: Within this thesis subterranean feature refers to the pits, wells, shafts and deposits under buildings and their associated deposited objects. The inclusion of the subterranean features within the database is based on their previous interpretation as being the result of ritual and/or special depositional acts. In-depth critiquing of excavators or other researchers' interpretations is not the purpose of this project.

Pit: Any feature referred to as a pit in this project is done so according to excavators' reports and terminology. Pits may be any depth with some features defined as pits that are deeper than shafts or wells. The form of the feature is more often used as the basis for definition, however descriptions or profiles of features were largely unavailable.

Shaft: Like 'pit', this project has followed the definition of these types of features according to how they were categorised within excavation reports. Attempting a re-interpretation or re-categorisation of these features has not been the purpose of this project so definitions are bound by previous research.

Well: Wells and shafts are sometimes confused in the literature due to unclear excavation results. In any case a well is defined according to it having reached the water table, and may also take into account other characteristics such as evidence for the presence of lining. Whether a feature was constructed as a shaft or a well is often ambiguous and so features are

therefore frequently referred to as 'well or shaft'. The database (see *Appendix 1*) includes ambiguous definitions if they were presented as such in the relevant excavation reports.

Deposit (under building or any other major structure): These types of deposits have been included in the database because they share a similar feature to subterranean deposits in that they involve complete concealment of the deposited object or material, and are rendered inaccessible via their particular mode of deposition. Although these types of deposits are sometimes found within sacred spaces such as underneath structures within a temple complex, they are regularly located beneath domestic urban structures and thus were considered an important inclusion for describing urban ritual practices of these types.

Ritual: The enactment of a set of actions that is intended to relate in some way to the transcendent. Ritual action is reproduced via understandings and beliefs of how a particular event should be thought about and carried out. Although these boundaries of a particular ritual may change over time or between different events, they will be visible archaeologically because they have features in common that leave a physical trace within the landscape. For the purposes of this project the term 'ritual' is interchangeable with 'meaningful', 'purposeful' and 'special' when describing the evidence for subterranean deposits included in the database (see *Appendix 1*).

An underlying assumption that works with the aims of this project is Bradley's assertion on the process and practice of ritualisation which he sees as 'essentially historical...(and)...In principle, that means that it can be traced over time and studied in its wider setting. By following the development of ritual in this way it should be possible to identify a few of the ideas that they were meant to express' (2003, p.12). This notion is ideal for my research as it incorporates both the spatial and temporal dimensions of the urban space within its wider landscape, and the material evidence of the range of ritual behaviour that is included within this project. Furthermore, it is useful to consider the assertion that 'rituals form a continuum: they are not set apart from other areas of life.' (Bradley 2003, p.12). This is particularly relevant to the subterranean features under consideration in this project as deposits of particular objects are often found within the context of other types of disposal, and indeed may or may not have been distinct from other forms of discard.

Meaningful/Purposeful/Special: These terms have been used interchangeably with 'ritual' when describing subterranean deposits in order to express the ambiguity between interpreting

something as a result of definable 'ritual' action or more opportunistic and yet just as meaningful action.

Space/Place: The work of de Certeau is informative as a means of seeing the city beyond the plan (and in simplistic terms 'from above' like the planner or cartographer) and is aligned with the theoretical archaeology outlined above. Rather than just viewing an archaeological site as something separate and distinct from the lives and experiences of those who once inhabited these spaces this project makes a closer reading of Roman British urban spaces. De Certeau (1984) uses 'place' to denote the abstract space articulated in maps and town planning. 'Place' for de Certeau is the picture or concept (the 'Concept-city') imposed from an imaginary 'above' according to abstract principles. 'Space' in contrast, 'takes vectors of direction, velocities and time variables into account' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 117). 'Space' is an appropriation of place by users. This appropriation happens 'below the threshold of visibility' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 93): it is difficult to perceive from the birds-eye view of the planner or cartographer, and indeed the archaeologist. Nor are the users of a space themselves able to fully 'read' the urban 'text' that they, in effect, 'write' with their movements (de Certeau, 1984, p. 93). This notion of 'writing' is at the crux of this thesis and my research questions as it positions my research closer to the human experience of place and space within Roman Britain.

Romanisation: For the purposes of this project, the term 'Romanisation' is considered in relation to urbanisation but is not critiqued as a concept in itself (for a comprehensive critique of the historical use and application of the term 'Romanisation' see Hingley 2005). The relationship between urbanisation and cultural change during the Roman period in Britain is neatly summarised by Willis (2007, p.144): 'Towns played a pivotal role between Rome and local traditions and between incomers and the indigenous, representing physical contexts for mediating these relations'. Willis' description of the interplay between Roman and Indigenous traditions within urban spaces is a more useful way of thinking about cultural change and the process of urbanisation rather than Romanisation. As such, the terms Romanisation and Romanised have largely been avoided within this thesis and terms such as urbanisation and cultural change have been applied. This project rejects the simplistic notion that urbanisation and the appearance of Roman architectural forms implies Romanisation of all social structures and relationships within a given location. The idea that the appearance of urbanism equates to Romanisation has also been challenged by Laurence, Esmonde Cleary & Sears (2011, pp.105-106) where they assert that 'the use of the fabric of the city does not coincide with the spread

of Roman citizenship, and indeed the city in the Roman Empire appears at once as a global phenomenon and at the same time as a local adaption of that phenomenon’.

Non-urban: For the purposes of this project this is any kind of settlement that has not been classified as urban by previous research. Within the database if the site type was not defined by previous research as urban it has just been referred to as non-urban. Sometimes, depending on the extent of excavation, some sites are more specifically defined as nucleated settlements, enclosed settlements or rural settlements.

Culture: Petts (1998, p.80) makes a useful assertion that 'Cultural identity can be defined as the means of centring individuals in relation to geographical and cosmological space, although within each society different elements may create different myths of being and cultural identity may often be contested'. This dynamic relationship between people and the physical and ideological elements of culture is the relational space where the enactment of special or ritual subterranean deposits can be interpreted for human experience and cultural change/continuity.

Urban and urbanisation

Most important for the purposes of this project is the assertion that ‘when we view the urban forms of the Roman West, what we should be looking for is not the replication of urban forms of say, Pompeii or Cosa, but a form of urbanism that reflects the utility of the individual elements of the city in the local situation’ (Laurence, Esmonde Cleary & Sears 2011, p.95). The inter-urban differences that have been highlighted by the proceeding analyses of the database of subterranean ritual deposits confirm this attitude towards researching towns in Roman Britain. Furthermore, this idea of considering the translation of urban forms onto a new landscape like Britain works well with research into how contemporary urban models ‘travel’ from the place of their inception into different contexts (Tait & Jensen, 2007). During the process of translation, meaning and form are read by the producers of new towns and reproduced according to their particular economic, social and cultural relationships. The notion of urban forms being translated at the regional level is thus integral to the interpretations made in this thesis. How urbanism was taken up and developed at Dorchester for example, is very different to the nature of the development of Verulamium. These differences in urban form are argued here to have been the result of this process of translation of urban forms into new social environments. Urbanism and the array of urban forms and

elements of the 'Roman' city were interpreted and reproduced in unique ways. The analysis of urban depositional practices of Roman Britain enhances current understandings of the individual nature of urban development in Roman Britain.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodology of this project, key concepts and definitions, and has also discussed how interpretation has been undertaken. Additionally, this chapter has highlighted how this thesis has approached issues surrounding the concepts of urbanisation and Romanisation. The following chapter analyses the data for depositional practices from urban locations (towns and cities apart from the case studies of Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium), non-urban locations, sacred precincts and Roman military forts. The proceeding results of analyses from Chapter Two provide a basis for describing urban depositional practices of Roman Britain which are further tested and discussed throughout the remainder of this thesis.

Chapter Two: Depositional Practices of Roman Britain

Introduction

This chapter deals with data from locations that are defined as 'urban' (other than the three main case studies of Silchester, Dorchester and *Verulamium*) and also considers the data available from other types of site locations. Following an overview and analysis of other urban centres, the non-urban settlements are considered. Sacred precincts (temples, shrines, ritual enclosures) are also considered as a separate category. Roman forts or military spaces comprise another distinct group.

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate a wide range of subterranean features that were found within different types of locations. By doing so, it has been possible to determine patterns of difference between these location types and also between individual towns. Ultimately, collecting a large body of data across these different locations has worked towards establishing a base for enquiry regarding the nature of these subterranean practices within urban centres. Looking at subterranean deposits from non-urban places, sacred precincts and Roman military forts has highlighted the particular characteristics of depositional practices within urban centres of Roman Britain. Therefore, the results of this chapter are further investigated and tested throughout Chapters Three, Four and Five where the urban centres of Silchester, Dorchester and *Verulamium* are focused upon.

The objects and materials deposited within the features under consideration were counted based upon their appearance (in any number or quantity) across all of the given features. This method was used in order to establish if a particular object or material was deposited regularly enough to produce a pattern of frequency. If a particular animal species or object tended to be deposited in high numbers within any given feature then this has also been noted but the numbers of individuals were not included in the analysis so as not to bias results. So, objects may have a distribution across all of the given features from a particular location type, and they also have a density within any given feature. Thus the two key variables that have been

taken into consideration are: 1. the frequency of appearance of an object type across all of the features and, 2. the density of an object type within any given feature. This project is mostly concerned with the first variable in order to ascertain patterns of action that may have been similar or different across different location types. Furthermore, the first variable is important because of this project's enquiry into possible patterns of inter-urban difference in the way these depositional events were enacted.

It is noted that some 'sacred precincts' are located within urban centres such as the 'Classical temple' found at Wroxeter south of the Forum (F22). For the purposes of this project any sacred precinct found within a town's boundaries is included within the 'other urban data' subset (see *Appendix 2*). As this project is concerned with subterranean depositional practices and the use of space within urban centres it is logical to incorporate a site such as a temple within the urban category.

How urban centres and/or towns are defined within this project has already been discussed above in Chapter One. Other definitions have also been provided in Chapter One that apply to this chapter and have been outlined due to the variety of terms that are used by excavators and researchers from where the data has been collected. It has been necessary to generalise to an extent in order for reasonable analysis of the data to be undertaken. Thus, a 'non-urban' settlement is grouped with 'enclosed settlement' and 'rural settlement' for example.

Within the entire body of data, the towns of London, Wroxeter, Lincoln, Gloucester, Kelvedon, Cirencester, Caerwent, Baldock, Neatham, Winchester, Kenchester, Brampton and Colchester are included under the definition of 'urban'. Some of these sites have been defined as 'small towns' (Burnham and Wachter 1990) but all of them have a number of features which allow them to be categorised as at some time having had urban characteristics during the Roman period. However it must be noted that the definition of a 'town' is always subjective (Burnham and Wachter 1990, p.1) and that all sites changed status, function and size over time. The towns and cities that are included in this study do not provide an exhaustive list of these types of sites. The towns and cities that have been included in this study are those in which evidence for purposeful deposition into subterranean features has been found via archaeological investigation. Within this project the above towns and cities are described as 'other urban data' so as to distinguish them from the urban case studies of Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium. The other towns have been included in order to provide a holistic analysis of the nature of depositional practices in urban centres.

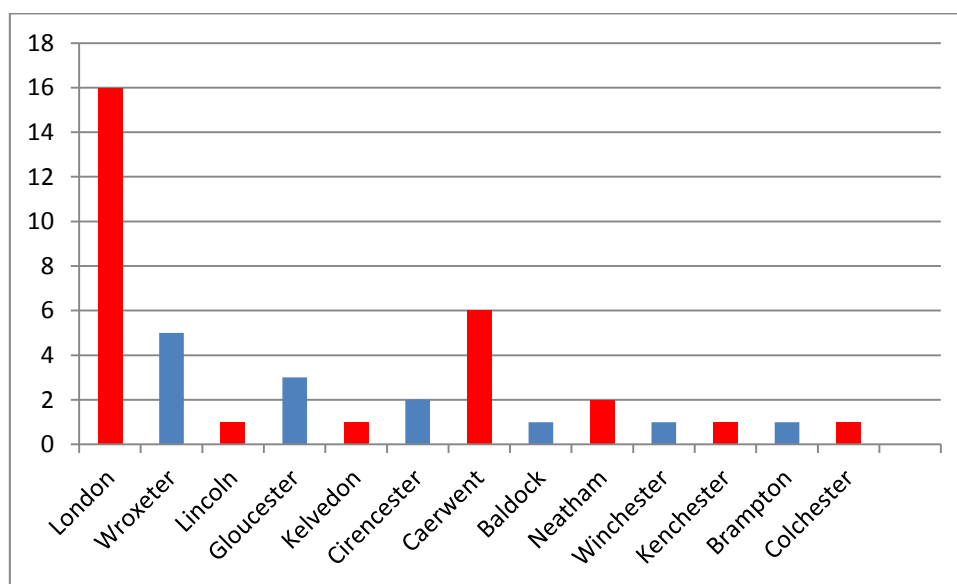


Figure 4: Sites included within the 'other urban' database n=42

Excavation biases and site formation processes

As noted by Webster, the spatial patterning of these types of subterranean features across Britain is biased due to a large number of sites excavated in association with the development of the southern railway network of Britain (Webster 1997, p.135). This bias in part may have led to interpretations of examples of this practice during the late Iron Age being linked to Belgic settlement patterns and ritual customs (see Ross 1968). Within the body of data that has been categorised as 'urban', London has by far the greatest number of excavated examples of subterranean deposits (16). Caerwent and Wroxeter also have a substantial number of examples of this practice with 6 and 5 features excavated respectively (see *Appendix 2*). Within the confines of this thesis these urban centres cannot be analysed at the same level as the main case studies of Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium were. However, it is suggested below in the Conclusion chapter that close analysis of London, Caerwent and Wroxeter would be appropriate for future studies of urban depositional practices.

Data from urban centres

This section discusses the data from urban centres other than the three main case studies of Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium which are discussed in Chapters Three, Four and Five. The database for the other urban data is found in *Appendix 2* and includes all of the references from which the data were collected. The outcomes of the following analyses of the objects/bodies deposited along with analyses of the feature type, dating and presence/absence of aesthetic qualities of individual features demonstrates that there were particular characteristics common to depositional practices carried out within urban spaces. Thus, the results of the analyses of the urban data provide a basis for comparison with subterranean features from the other location types of non-urban, sacred precinct and Roman military forts. Furthermore, that there were particular characteristics common to the depositional practices of urban centres is further tested and explored below in the analyses of the data from Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium.

Animal remains

Out of the 42 features within the 'Other Urban' database, there are 17 examples of subterranean deposits with no evidence of the incorporation of animal remains. The highest proportion of animal remains are made up of the deposition of dog (10 features), followed by cattle/ox (5 features). The other species represented within this body of data include a category of 'uncertain' animal remains (5 features), bird, oyster and horse each are represented in the deposits of two of the features, with sheep, fish and deer being only represented within one feature each (see *Figure 5*).

Out of the 10 features incorporating deposits of dog remains, seven are located within London. This is not surprising when the nature of the database is considered and that 16 of the 42 'other urban data' features are located within London. Two of the examples of dog deposits were found at Caerwent within wells. One of these features (F39) contained five dog skulls, whilst another well (F4) contained one large dog skull. The other example of dog deposits was found at Neatham within a pit or well (F174) with five individuals uncovered during excavation.

In terms of the types of features in which the dog remains were found, there is an even distribution of pit or shaft/well deposition. Deposition of dog remains is not restricted to a particular type of feature and they always occur with a range of other remains and objects. All

of the cattle/ox remains were confined to features within Caerwent (F37, F38 and F41) or Wroxeter (F22 and F67). That cattle only appear within these two towns is noteworthy. Cattle remains were absent from Dorchester and *Verulamium*, but were represented in high numbers at Silchester.

In general then dog and cattle/ox are fairly well represented within this these data from urban centres. Dog and cattle are well represented both in terms of appearance within any given feature, but are also present in proportionately high numbers when the number of presumed individuals is also taken into account (see *Figure 6*).

There is only one example of the deposition of oysters at Winchester (F78) within a very deep shaft in association with Romano-British pottery and some other animal remains. The appearance of oyster remains within the archaeological record of Roman Britain has been considered as a marker of 'Romanisation' (Evans 2007, p.171). It is interesting to consider if their appearance or absence within these subterranean deposits is linked to their availability or lack of frequency of consumption. Furthermore, that oyster remains were largely absent from urban depositional features (see Chapters Three, Four and Five below) but were common in non-urban depositional features (see below within this chapter) seems to argue against the appearance of oysters being a marker of 'Romanisation' in Britain.

There is only one example of horse remains being incorporated into any of the features. One carefully arranged deposit from London (F131) involved the placement of a horse, a dog and a young deer nose to tail. This deposit is dated to earlier than the mid second century. This is the only example of this species being deposited into a subterranean feature from this data subset.

There was an example of a deposition of a single heron in context with flagons from a pit in Roman London's eastern cemetery (F130). This feature was dated to the mid second century. The inclusion of wild species into subterranean deposits is always rare within urban contexts. It is apparent then that wild species were not commonly found within the urban depositional features and that there is a pattern of general absence of non-domesticated animals being chosen for depositional purposes. This is a significant finding for this thesis as it provides a characteristic of urban depositional practices that is different to those found in the other location types.

Some of these animal remains are exceptional in terms of their rarity as depositional objects. There are no examples of horse deposition from Dorchester for example. Silchester is

suggestive of this practice but horse remains are found only at the amphitheatre site and are not found within the town itself (Fulford 1989). In terms of animal remains dog, bird and cattle/ox typify the depositional mode of some of the towns under consideration here. The rarity of horse deposition in urban centres is in contrast to the relatively high number of horse remains deposited in features from non-urban areas (see below).

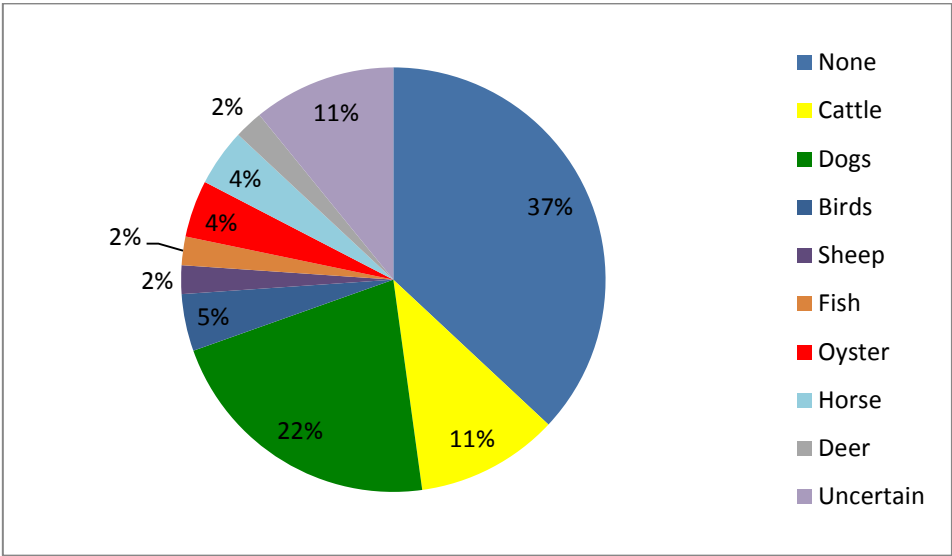


Figure 5: Appearance of any animal species within the 'other urban' features

n=46 individuals

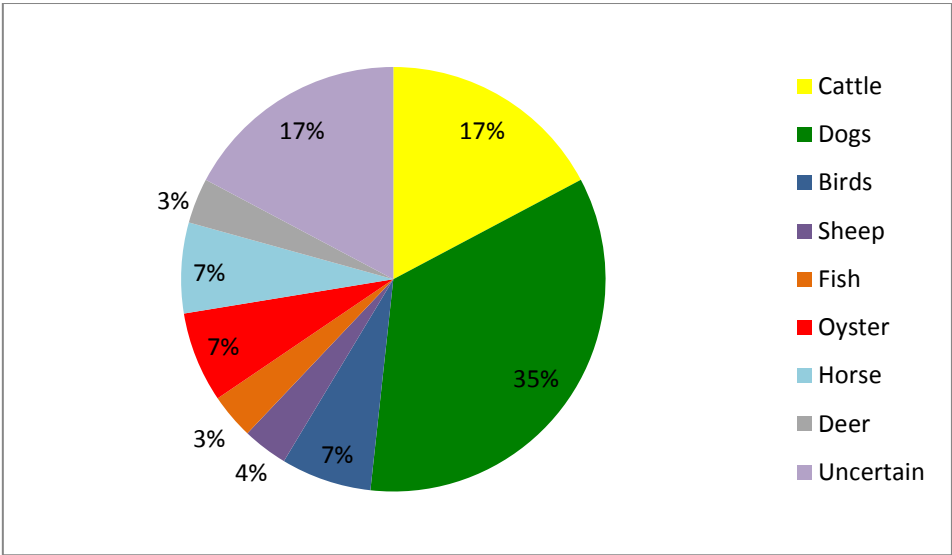


Figure 6: Proportion of species present within the 'other urban' features (not number of individuals) *n=26*

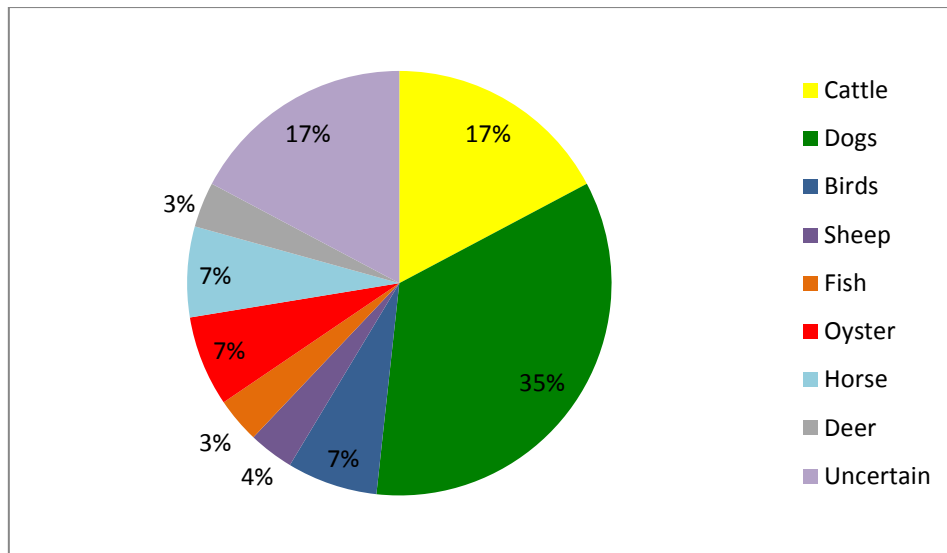


Figure 7: Number of individuals per species across all of the 'other urban' features n=42

Human remains

Compared to the data from Dorchester and Silchester, there was a surprising absence of infant remains, with only one example from Cirencester of a deposit beneath a building containing human infant remains along with a complete pot under a roof slate (F175). That this deposit was made underneath a building equates to the evidence for this practice from Dorchester where most of the deposited infant remains located there were found within the same type of context. The deposition of infant remains at Silchester and Dorchester however was found in both pits and deposits under buildings.

As demonstrated by Figure 8, the number of instances of adult human remains being incorporated into deposits is higher however with five examples, one of which was of fragmentary remains of adult human bone found in a pit in association with the same building in Cirencester where the infant remains were located (F176). These were possibly redeposited and were found in association with animal remains and pottery fragments. Three other deposits of adult human remains were located within London. F188 contained a human skull in a well, F191 contained a complete adult male skeleton placed head-down at the side of a shaft and F29 incorporated a number of 'ritual pits' containing an unidentified amount of human skulls. The only other example of the deposition of adult human remains comes from a well in

Caerwent where this feature was found to contain skull fragments from 2 or possibly 3 adult individuals.

The number of examples of this mode of deposition is small. However there is a consistency in the pattern of the appearance of adult human remains being found within town boundaries being a rare occurrence. That there isn't more evidence of infant deposition is at odds with data from the urban centres of Silchester and Dorchester which are discussed below in Chapters Three and Four. Additionally, all of these examples of the deposition of human remains occur in association with the deposition of other objects and materials. Furthermore, there is no evidence of adult human remains being deposited within only one feature type and the spread across deposition in wells, pits and shafts is reasonably even.

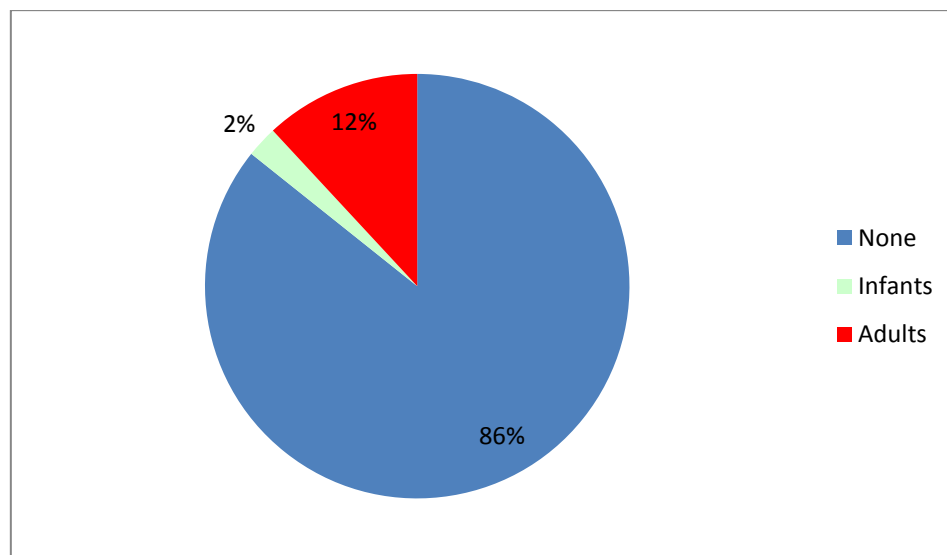


Figure 8: Appearance of human remains within the 'other urban' features n=6

Pottery

Out of the 42 features within this subset of the database, 25 contained pottery vessels in some form (see *Figure 9*). Of the features that were found to have this type of deposit, 6 places of deposition contained 5 or more examples of pottery vessels with F174 containing pots or fragments representing nineteen vessels. This type of deposition sometimes occurs in context with other objects and materials, apart from the appearance of single deposits of pottery vessels in features in F25, F26, F27, F32 and F33. Feature 25 consists of a complete pot with lid

deposited under a temple in Kenchester. This is one of the few examples of temple deposits within an urban centre. Also, a complete cook-pot with lid was found within a deposit under a house in Gloucester (F26).

There were 2 other features containing pottery to the exclusion of any other object and were located in Gloucester with one pit located under a house and the other pit from a location with no given associations (F25, F26). Isolated deposition of pottery was also found in London (F32, F33), with a single pot found as a 'foundation deposit' beneath an urban house in F32. There is therefore a discernable pattern of single complete pots (with lids or lids not mentioned) deposited under houses and one example of this type of deposit being made under a building identified as a temple at Kenchester. One other notable example which necessitates inclusion in this group is a single pot found under a tile-slate (in association with a single infant deposit) under a building in Cirencester (F175). Examples of pottery vessels are found across the towns and feature types from the database and no discernable pattern can be seen in terms of spatial distribution of this object type between the towns included.

The most notable pattern then is that sometimes pots occurred in some features to the exclusion of any other deposited object. Furthermore, these finds are in themselves isolated and do not occur in groups of pots. This emerging pattern of isolated pottery deposition and the deposition of pottery to the exclusion of any other object type was also commonly found at Silchester and Verulamium and is discussed in detail below in Chapters Three and Five.

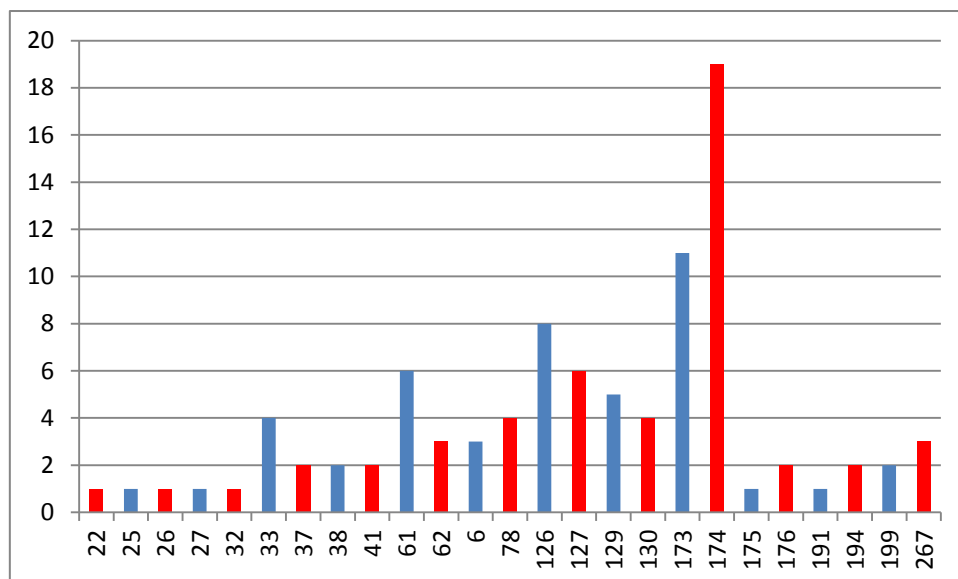


Figure 9: Number of pottery vessels per feature that contained any evidence for pottery from the 'other urban' features n=95

Metal objects

Out of the 42 features 10 incorporated the deposition of some type of metal object (see *Figure 10*). When the number of objects is considered from any given feature, the large majority consist of iron tools and other iron objects. Features 36 and 247 have the greatest amount of metal objects deposited within them and bias the results of the data for metal objects when counted individually. Many of the objects are identifiably associated with agriculture such as a ploughshare, scythe, hoe and buckets and bucket fittings. The other feature that provides evidence for large amounts of deposited metal objects is F247 at Baldock, Hertfordshire. This feature consists of a pit found close to a temple and dated to the third century AD. Its contents consisted entirely of 33 spearheads. The fact that this pit is in such close proximity to a temple makes this type of deposit unique within a settlement that has been categorised as 'urban'. This type of deposit has more in common with the large deposits found in rural areas (see below).

Other examples of significant metal object deposition were found in Caerwent (F37, F38, F41 and F42) and all were located with wells. There are two examples of metal deposition from Wroxeter (F63 and F62) and again these were confined to wells and were not found in any other feature type. There is one example of metal object deposition from London in a well (or shaft) consisting of four iron spikes. The last example comes from two pits associated with an urban temple at Kelvedon where seven cast bronze letters and a lead *defixio* were found (F267).

Metal deposits were most likely to be found in the context of wells. Indeed all of the metal deposits located in Caerwent, Wroxeter and London were found in this feature type. This pattern of substantial deposits of iron and other metal objects is different to the evidence from Dorchester and Verulamium where there was an absence of this type of deposition. There was however a significant amount of metal deposition within Silchester as discussed further below in Chapter Three. The absence of any kind of metal deposition in Dorchester, apart from a limited number of coins, may be suggestive of a more prescriptive form of special deposition within this town. Regional differences are most easily argued for the site of Dorchester where the centralised and continuous deposition of particular objects and materials, and the absence of others, seems the most pronounced. This inter-urban difference is discussed more closely in Chapters Four and Five.

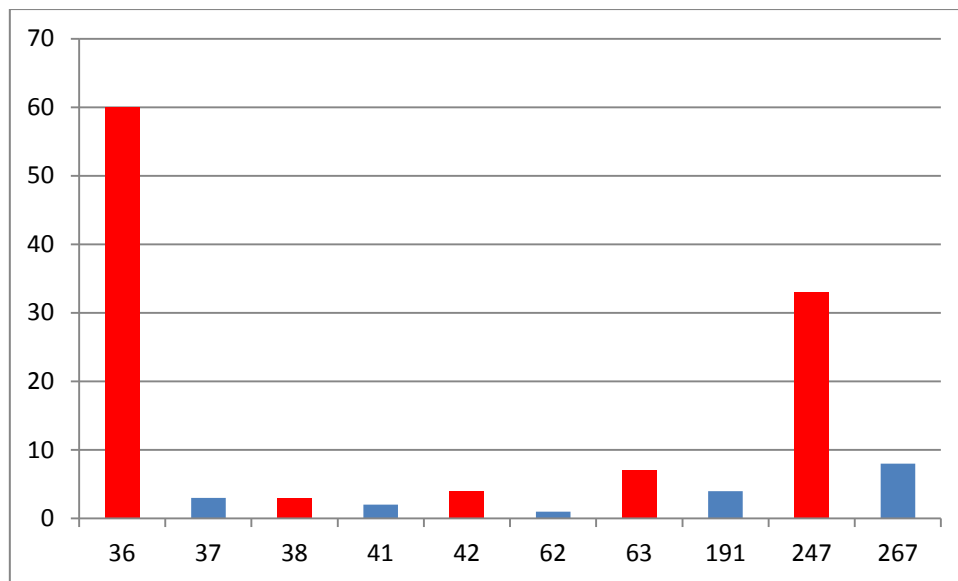


Figure 10: Number of metal objects per feature that contained any evidence for metal deposition from the 'other urban' features n=125

Coins

Only 4 out of the 42 features incorporated coins. F37 consisted of a well located in Caerwent with three coins deposited along with a range of other objects and materials including cattle bones, hazel nuts, burnt oak, pottery, bucket parts and a glass fragment. This well appears to have been associated with a house. F199 is recorded as either a pit or well and is located in Gloucester and contains 'Romano-British' coins in association with pottery and animal bones. F63 from Wroxeter includes one coin along with a range of other metal objects and other remains and objects. The only other feature containing coins is from a pit associated with what is thought to have been an 'urban temple' in Colchester (F194) found in association with pottery and jewellery. The deposition of coins was not common in urban centres and is a characteristic of urban depositional practices that was also apparent within the three case studies as discussed throughout the proceeding chapters.

Personal objects and other objects and materials

There were only two examples of the deposition of any object that could be categorised as 'personal'. F194 has one recorded example of 'jewellery' found in a pit associated with what is

believed to have been an 'urban temple'. As discussed above, this feature also contained pottery and coins. The only other example of the deposition of a personal object is from F63 where a pair of bronze tweezers was found in context with a coin and a range of other objects and remains.

The paucity of personal objects is noteworthy when compared to the data from the Dorchester which is the only town under consideration within this thesis that had substantial amount of personal object deposition. The significance of this lack of personal object deposition in all of the urban centres apart from Dorchester is discussed further below within Chapter Four.

There is some evidence for the purposeful deposition of botanical remains from a number of features. F63 contained some large flat oak pieces within a well at Wroxeter. There were also the remains of some charred oak and hazel nuts found in a well in Caerwent (F37). The only other example of deposition of plant remains comes from a pit or well found in London that contained an amount of burnt plant matter which comprised mainly of wheat chaff.

It is noted that all of these example of deposited botanical remains were found in context with a range of other objects thought to have been purposefully deposited. The sample size is obviously too small to note any distinctive characteristics or pattern of behaviour. However, the deposition of distinctive types of remains is still important when the whole data set of this project is considered. The deposition of oak remains in various forms is not uncommon and is located in a number of features found outside of urban centres, and in particular within non-urban features as discussed below in this chapter.

There is a general paucity of the deposition of identifiable botanical remains from the three main case studies, although there are some examples from Silchester which are discussed in the following chapter. It is argued here that depositing the remains of plants and trees did not have the same meaning as it did within other types of locations, particularly for non-urban sites. This difference then provides another example of how there were variations in objects/bodies chosen for deposition between urban and other location types.

Feature type

Out of the 42 features within the data subset the most common type is pits with 21 examples (see *Figure 11*). The other 3 main types of feature are also represented with 4 shaft deposits, 13 well deposits and 4 deposits made under buildings (with one example being a deposit under a Romano-Celtic temple within the urban centre of Kenchester – F25). The only discernable pattern or correlation with feature types and location is that all of the features found and included in the database for Caerwent have been classified as wells (F37, F38, F39, F40, F41, F42). The two other towns from which the majority of the data were drawn are London and Wroxeter. Within these two towns all of the feature types are represented.

This particular pattern of depositional practice at Caerwent warrants further discussion. That all of the found and recorded deposits occur within wells is unique within the entire database for this project. Although not possible within the limitations of this thesis, further analysis of Caerwent would be an appropriate focus for future study of urban depositional practices. The consistency of feature type correlating with object type demonstrates that inter-urban patterns of difference in depositional practices were present as this pattern was not found at any other site. It also suggests that particular modes of practice were somehow prescribed at certain towns by particular social relationships and relationships to place and objects. It is also noted that there is some correlation with particular feature types and the types of objects and materials appropriate for deposition. The relationship between wells and metal objects has been substantiated by the above evidence where metal objects deposited in London, Caerwent and Wroxeter occurred only in wells.

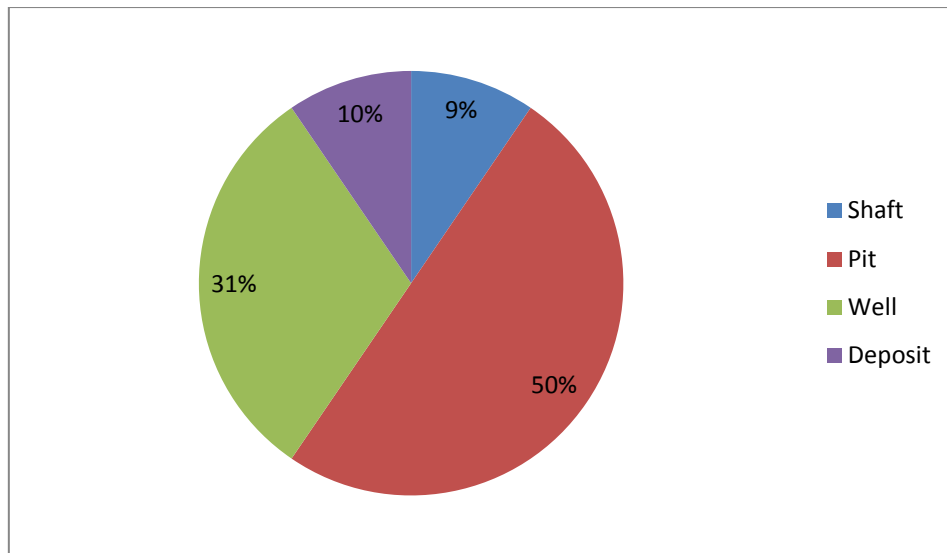


Figure 11: Proportion of the 'other urban' subterranean features by type n=42

Dating of features

Only 15 out of the 41 features have been dated, and of those dates given most are broad and span centuries. The earliest possible date given for any feature is AD 60-120 for the well/shaft located in London containing a male adult skeleton head down along with other objects (F191). Other features dated early in the Roman period include Feature 31 located within London (late first century) and F267 located within an urban temple at Kelvedon (first century to late second century).

The latest features include F173 and F174 with possible activity up until the mid-late fourth century. Although even for these features there is a broad dating range apparent with activity at both features being dated from the second century. Both features were located at Neatham. In any case, there is no discernable pattern to the dating of these features, and the lack of any kind of dating for the majority of the features included in the database prevents any useful conclusions being drawn.

Note on aesthetics of deposits

It is apparent within the non-urban and sacred precinct data that many features within these locations display characteristics that could be considered as evidence for aesthetic care being taken in the construction and enactment of the subterranean feature and its deposits. This does not appear to be a feature common to the data just discussed from urban centres.

If the deposits displayed any of the following characteristics they were included within the group of features displaying a degree of aestheticism: distinctive layering of deposits and/or depositional events often marked by sterile layers of chalk/flint packing; repetition in the number and type of an object across a group of associated pits or shafts; clearly arranged objects forming patterns or shapes; placement of objects in symmetrical arrangements and lining of feature with some type of fabric for non-structural purposes (chalk blocks or pebbles pressed into wall surface for example).

On this basis, only F131 of the urban deposits in London could be considered to display some level of aesthetic care with the purposeful arrangement of the horse, dog and deer. It is clear then that a concern with aesthetics was not a common feature of the urban deposits but that it was common to features from non-urban and sacred precincts. This is a significant finding and is discussed further in Chapter Six in relation to research questions of this project.

Data from non-urban sites

This section discusses the data and analyses of evidence for subterranean deposits from sites that have been classified as either: non-urban, extra-urban or rural. These classifications have been followed according to published excavation reports or other publications from which the data was gathered. See *Appendix 3* for the non-urban database. The results of the following analyses of the objects/bodies deposited, along with the feature type, dating and the presence/absence of particular aesthetic qualities demonstrate that there were particular characteristics of non-urban depositional practices that were not found in the urban data above. Therefore, a comparison of the characteristics of non-urban and urban depositional characteristics highlights that there were variations in these practices and that urban depositional practices were distinct from those in other location types.

Animal remains

Out of the 73 features found in sites classified as non-urban, extra-urban or rural there were 52 that had some kind of animal deposit and 21 that didn't have any evidence of animal remains (see *Figure 12*). Examples of dog remains of any number were found within 12 of the 73 features (see *Figure 13*). This number is proportionately lower when compared with the results from the urban data (24% of features within urban areas, and approximately 16% within features found in non-urban areas), but there were two examples of dog remains with very high numbers of bones or presumed individuals found. F230 located at Oakridge II, Basingstoke, Hampshire, produced 87 presumed puppy individuals and 7 adult dog individuals. F190 located at Staines, Surrey had 15-17 presumed dog individuals. Such high numbers of deposited animal individuals is a characteristic of non-urban depositional practices which is in contrast to the lower numbers that were generally found for urban deposits above. This is a significant finding for this study that is discussed further below.

The appearance of cattle remains in any given feature is not high with only 11 examples of this type of deposition found across the 73 features. These 11 examples may have been made up of cattle bones or horns and may or may not represent number of individuals. Additionally, unlike some of the features from urban sites, there are no instances of large deposits of cattle bones.

Deer remains appear as either bones or antlers and one or both instances of these types of remains were found within 15 of the features. This is significant in comparison to the distribution of deer remains within the urban data set. In urban places, deer deposition is extremely rare (as is the deposition of any type of wild species). It is also noted that sometimes deer antlers appear without any other deer remains present. It appears that deposition of the antlers alone was not an uncommon practice.

Sheep/goat remains were deposited in 12 of the features, with one example of an articulated sheep skeleton being found within F245 at Wavendon Gate, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire and is dated to the mid third century. There was one exceptional feature that contained 13,000 fragments of sheep/goat bone and has been interpreted as a possible ritual of closure due the evidence for backfilling (Brett & McSloy 2011).

Oyster shells were found in 9 of the features and often in high numbers. For example F50 is recorded as having had several hundred unopened oyster shells deposited at the base of the shaft. F70 also is recorded as having a layer of oyster shells located at the base of the shaft.

This layering of oyster shells is representative of the greater care taken with the arrangement of deposits within shafts and pits from non-urban and rural locations. This evidence for greater aesthetics for the subterranean deposits is discussed in greater detail below within the concluding sections of this chapter. This finding is in contrast to the evidence from the other urban data above where only one example of oyster shell deposits was found at Winchester (F78).

One of the greatest differences in terms of animal remains deposited between non-urban/rural and urban areas is the distribution of horse. Within this data set there are 13 examples of horses or parts of horses being deposited within any given feature. This is distinct from the urban data where only one example was found (F131 in London) out of the 42 features under consideration. Only 2.3% of features in urban areas contained any evidence of horse remains, whilst in non-urban and rural areas horse remains occurred in approximately 18% of all of the features under consideration. Furthermore, the arrangement of some of the horse remains is also of note. For example F48 at Bekersbourne, Kent contained horses' teeth arranged in a circular formation on a stone that covered the shaft base. Horse's teeth also appear in F76 at Sandwich, Kent. Like deer antlers then, horses' teeth could also be deposited to the exclusion of any other type of horse remains and is argued to be representative of the greater care taken with object choice and arrangement found within the deposits from non-urban locations.

There were 6 examples of pig deposition within the database. The total absence of pig from any of the deposits in the other urban data provides a significant contrast to these data for non-urban areas. It is notable that at least within the towns of the other urban data this species has not been found within any subterranean deposits. However, there are some instances of pig deposition in Silchester but not in significant numbers (see Chapter Three below).

Within this data set there were 7 examples of corvid deposition which was proportionately higher than any other bird species (there was one example of sea eagle remains: F235, and one example of buzzard remains: F232). Furthermore, there were 6 examples of domesticated bird species being deposited with two examples of cockerel remains (one as an individual 'burial' in a posthole dated to the mid third Century: F204). The other deposits of domesticated species were comprised of chicken remains.

The other animal species include 2 examples of rat remains (F193), 2 examples of badger remains (F66,F69), 1 example of cat remains (F232) and 2 examples of fox remains (F49, F69).

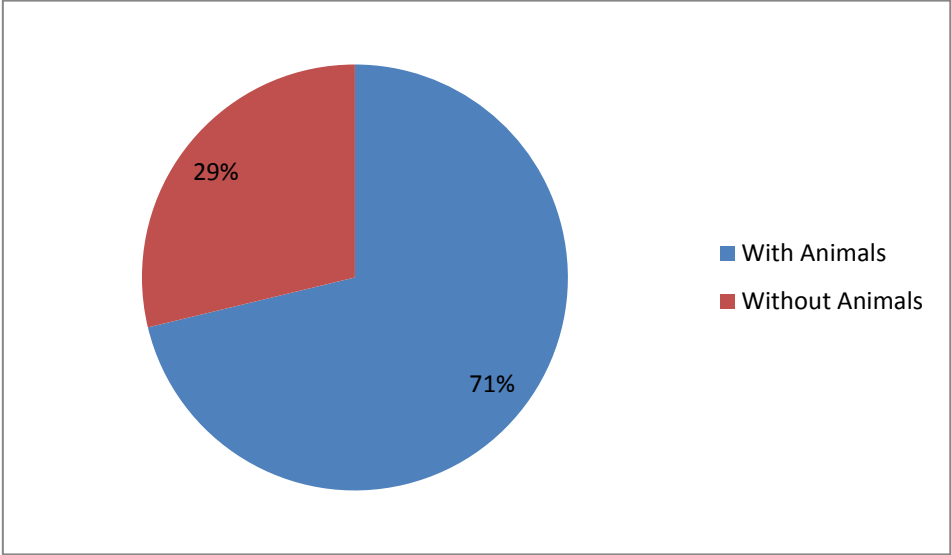


Figure 12: Proportion of non-urban features that contained evidence for animal deposition
n=73

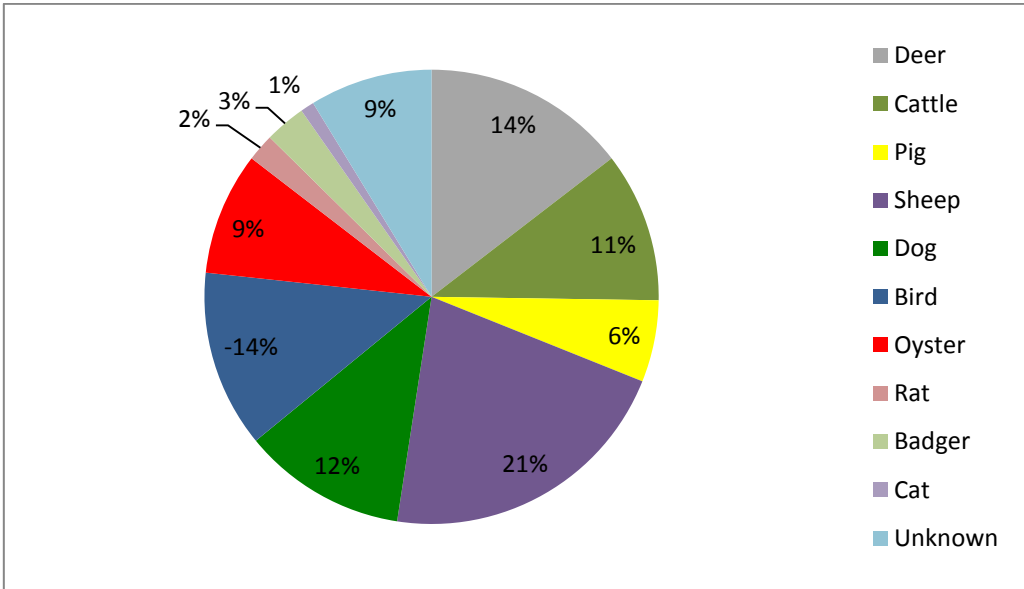


Figure 13: Proportion of species represented within the non-urban subterranean features *n*=120

Human remains

Within the non-urban data there are 9 examples of human remains being deposited but there is no evidence for deposition of infant human remains. Many of the features that contained human remains also display a degree of aesthetic care taken with the arrangement and layering of remains which is not found within urban centres.

F56, F54, F65, F76, F206, F251, F260, F262 and F264 all have evidence of some type of human remains deposition. F262 has evidence of aesthetic care taken with the arrangement of deposits. This feature is made up of a group of subterranean features with 5 to 6 large pits or shafts being surrounded by 15 to 16 smaller pits. The male skeleton was found to the exclusion of any other remains within a pit south east of the main complex and was interpreted as a burial. It was noted by the excavators that all of the subterranean features of this group had a particular form and that there was evidence for layering and patterning in the way in which deposits were arranged (Ross 1968). The evidence for layering and patterning and the care taken with the arrangement of the deposits is again noted as a defining characteristic of non-urban depositional practices which is different to those found in urban locations where there is little evidence for this type of aesthetic concern.

Complete skeletons were also found in F54 which contained 3 individuals, F264 and F206. F206 is of particular interest as the skeleton had been positioned across the top of the well which also contained a complete samian dish, pottery fragments and sheep bone. This deliberate positioning of the skeleton is again suggestive of care and thought being taken with where and how types of deposits were placed within this subterranean deposit. This apparent thoughtfulness given to how the deposit appeared is considered within this project to have been a distinguishing characteristic of non-urban depositional behaviour that was different to urban depositional practices. This difference is discussed in more detail throughout each chapter of this project.

Not all of the human remains found were of complete skeletons. It is noted here that distinguishing between a 'burial' and a 'deposit' when dealing with the appearance of human remains in these features may be entirely arbitrary. A blurring of what constituted a burial and what constituted other types of subterranean deposition when incorporating human remains may have existed. In any case, there are examples of deposited human remains that were made up of less than complete skeletons. Feature 56 contained human bone, F65 incorporated fragments of human skull, F76 contained human bones in cinerary urns, F251 contained a

human cremation in an urn, and F260 burnt human bone. It could be argued that these features may represent burials and could be defined separately from other types of subterranean deposition. However, all of these features contained other types of objects and materials that are consistent with other non-urban subterranean features that do not contain any evidence for deposition of human remains. Therefore, these examples of human remains have been included in this data set because the form of the feature and the other materials and objects deposited within them is consistent with the other features from this data set.

Pottery

Out of the 73 features 47 contained some type of pottery vessel or fragments. This is a similar proportion of features with pottery to the other urban data. What does make this object group distinctive from the urban data is the prevalence of funerary/cinerary urns. This is not surprising considering the taboo against human burials within urban boundaries and does suggest that some of the human remains deposited were burials but constructed within the context of other subterranean deposits and/or features as just discussed above.

There is only one example of an isolated pottery find with F60 containing a 'Roman vessel' filled with acorns. This is quite different from the other urban data above where isolated pottery finds are not uncommon (particularly in association with spaces under buildings or other structures and sacred spaces).

Out of the 73 features at least 10 contained pottery or vessels that were recorded as 'complete', 'whole' or 'near complete'. It is likely that many more of the vessels found were complete but details were not recorded and/or not available in order to confirm the state of all of the pottery remains. The completeness of many of the vessels found is a common feature to all depositional practices from all location types which are analysed and discussed within this thesis. Indeed, the deposition of complete (and therefore functional or valuable) pottery is one of the hallmarks of these practices that have led to a number of researchers interpreting these types of features as being the result of ritual behaviour (see for example Fulford 2001; Woodward & Woodward 2004).

Personal objects, coins, other objects and materials

Objects that could be defined as ‘personal’ were found in F80, F189, F260, F264 and F269. F260, F264 and F269 contained rings and/or bone pins. It is significant that these are the only examples of these types of objects being deposited out of the entire data set and all three features also contain human skeletons or burnt human bone.

Only 7 of the 73 features contained evidence for coins, and only one has been dated: F212 contained a bronze *folius* of Diocletian (AD 289/299). There is no evidence for coin ‘hoards’ from the data provided. There was one example of the deposit of a quern stones within F248 found along with a wooden ‘votive’ head. This is in contrast to the types of deposits found at military sites where quern stones are a common object of deposition (see below).

Oak, flint, stone and stone slabs

One of the characteristic aspects of many of the features included in this data set is the remains of oak planks being used in some way to provide form to the subterranean space. The arrangement of pebbles and flint/chalk is also common to many of the features within the non-urban data. Features that incorporate oak planks or oak fragments include F48, F50, F72, F76, F251, F252 and F214. It is possible that these planks provided support to deeper pits and shaft walls (for example F48) but some do not appear to have functioned in obvious structural ways. F72 provides an example of the deposition of complete oak tree trunks along with hazelnuts in addition to other depositional objects.

Shafts and pits may also have incorporated significant amounts of flint into their fills (F44, F55, F69 and F263). Sometimes flints or layers of packed flints acted to form distinct layers between other deposits or acted to line the shaft or pit (F44, F48, F67, F69 and F254). These features will be discussed more closely below in the section on aesthetics.

Stone slabs also appear in some of the features in various ways. For example, F263 contained two circular stone slabs – one of which had a circular hole in the middle - at the base of the shaft. F71 was lined with chalk blocks and an uninscribed altar was found in F259. This is further evidence of aesthetics being an integral aspect of many of the non-urban features, and this type of aspect was not commonly found in any of the urban locations. Thus, the presence of aesthetic thought being taken with the appearance of non-urban features and its general

absence in urban features was a major difference between the depositional practices of these two location types.

It is important to note that these types of oak, flint, chalk and stone objects do not occur commonly within the urban data (with only one example of large oak remains from Wroxeter, F63 and one from Caerwent, F37, and it is argued here that these possibly could represent the remains of well-linings). The distinctive layering utilising flint does not occur at all in the other urban data and is very rare within the three main case studies (see Chapters Three, Four and Five below). The materials themselves are characteristic of the non-urban data set. Furthermore, the nature of a more structured approach to the construction of the subterranean feature itself and complex depositional layering using these materials is also a unique characteristic of many of the features in the non-urban data. The notion of aesthetics and the care taken with the arrangement of these features as distinct from features in urban areas is discussed more closely below.

Metal

Metal objects of various fabrics and form appear in 25 of the 73 features of the non-urban data set and this is proportionately similar to the distribution of metal objects from the other urban data. There are no examples of large deposits or hoards. Most of the features that contained metal objects incorporated at least one object made of iron and often all of the objects were made exclusively of iron in many of the features. F54, F55, F59, F70, F71, F214, F242, F243, F244 and F248 are all comprised of only iron objects with no other types of metal present. Iron deposition is considered as a distinctive and common form of deposition for both the Roman period and the Iron Age (Hingley 2006). Furthermore, the appearance of groups of iron objects associated with agriculture is similar to the finds from the non-urban data. The special deposition of iron tools and agricultural objects (or components of agricultural objects) is a common feature to both urban and non-urban subterranean features.

It is noted that metal never occurs without other depositional objects and/or materials. F260 at Ewell, Surrey, is notable because of the consistency in the number of certain metal deposits. This feature is comprised of 8 shafts located in a chalk pit. Each shaft contained an equal amount of iron nails amongst other deposits.

Feature Type

There is a fairly even distribution of pits and shafts with 33 and 26 examples of each respectively. Some of the pits (F262, F263) are classified as being either a shaft or a pit. There are only 7 examples of wells with any kind of special deposition and this is proportionately lower than the urban data where wells are much more common.

There are two examples of deposits within post holes: F205 and F54. There are also three examples of combination chamber plus shaft features: F69, F73 and F74. There is also one example of a dene-hole, F70. The presence of purposeful deposition of objects and bodies into dene-holes and chamber plus shaft features is a unique feature of non-urban depositional practices and these features did not occur at all within urban contexts. The large numbers of objects and bodies found in these types of features presents a different pattern to many of the urban features where object/body numbers are usually lower and with less complex relationships between different types of objects and bodies.

Dating of features

There are three possible examples of features dated to the first century AD: F69, F86 and F87. However, the dates given to these features extend into the second century AD as well. There are five features that are dated to the second century: F71, F73, F258, F260 and F259. The dates given to these features also extend into the third century in some cases. The majority of the features are dated to the third or fourth centuries with 13 examples being ascribed a date range from the third century into the fourth century or within the fourth century. The other features in the data set were either undated or ascribed a general period such as 'Roman', 'late Roman' or 'later Roman'. No features were ascribed 'early Roman' or 'mid Roman' dates.

There was an apparent rise in depositional activity within Silchester during the third and fourth centuries as well. Additionally, there were distinctive changes found for the depositional practices of both Dorchester and Verulamium. The significance of these shifts in urban depositional behaviour is discussed more closely below in Chapter Six. That there were possibly concomitant shifts and intensification of non-urban depositional practices around the same time as changes to the practices of the three case studies cannot unfortunately be investigated closely within the confines of this thesis.

Note on aesthetics of deposits

Out of the 73 features at least 19 are recorded as having some type of complexity that has been defined within this project as being evidence for 'aesthetic value' (following Pollard 2001) attached to the arrangement of objects and materials. If the deposits displayed any of the following characteristics they were included within the group of features displaying a degree of aestheticism: distinctive layering of deposits and/or depositional events often marked by sterile layers of chalk/flint packing; repetition in the number and type of an object across a group of associated pits or shafts; clearly arranged objects forming patterns or shapes; placement of objects in symmetrical arrangements and lining of features with some type of fabric for non-structural purposes (chalk blocks or pebbles pressed into wall surface, for example).

Features that are considered to display a concern with aestheticism include: F44, F48, F49, F50, F54, F58, F67, F69, F70, F71, F206, F207, F214, F251, F258, F260, F263, F228 and F262. It is probable that other features may also have displayed these characteristics but may not have been recognised during the excavation process or may have not been recorded in great detail.

The significance of this type of action is summarised by Pollard (2001, p.315) as reflective of 'an understanding of styles of action considered proper and efficacious, and which drew in a knowledgeable and skilful fashion on specific understandings of the world and the order of things'. Furthermore, Pollard emphasises that it was not the aesthetic value of the object that was of importance, but rather it was how objects and materials were arranged and how people constructed object associations within deposits that operated aesthetically (2001, p.315). These notions and the significance of this characteristic for the non-urban data within this project are discussed further below in Chapter Six. There is only slight evidence for this kind of aesthetic value being constructed within the urban subterranean features can be read for how space was perceived and used within the towns of Roman Britain and is discussed in detail below in Chapter Six.

Additionally, it is also argued here that these more complex deposits might represent group action as opposed to the more individual action that can be ascribed to many of the subterranean features within the urban centres. In general the urban deposits are less complex and appear to have had less aesthetic thought in their construction. This distinction between group and individual action and the evidence for this possible difference between

how urban depositional events were constructed and enacted compared to those in non-urban locations is discussed more closely below in Chapter Six.

Data from sacred precincts

This section discusses the data for the subterranean features found within sites that can be classified as sacred. Temple sites, religious sanctuaries and shrines are included. There are 26 features within this data set and all were located within rural areas apart from F28 found within Caerwent's extra-urban area. The database for the sacred precinct data is found in *Appendix 4*. The results of the following analyses of the objects/bodies deposited, along with the feature type, dating and the presence/absence of particular aesthetic qualities demonstrate that there were particular characteristics of depositional practices in sacred precincts that were specific to this location type. The outcomes of the proceeding analyses emphasise how different location types had particular depositional behaviours that were distinct and 'location-specific'. This further demonstrates that there were general differences in depositional practices and that urban depositional practices were unique when compared to the non-urban data and the sacred precinct data.

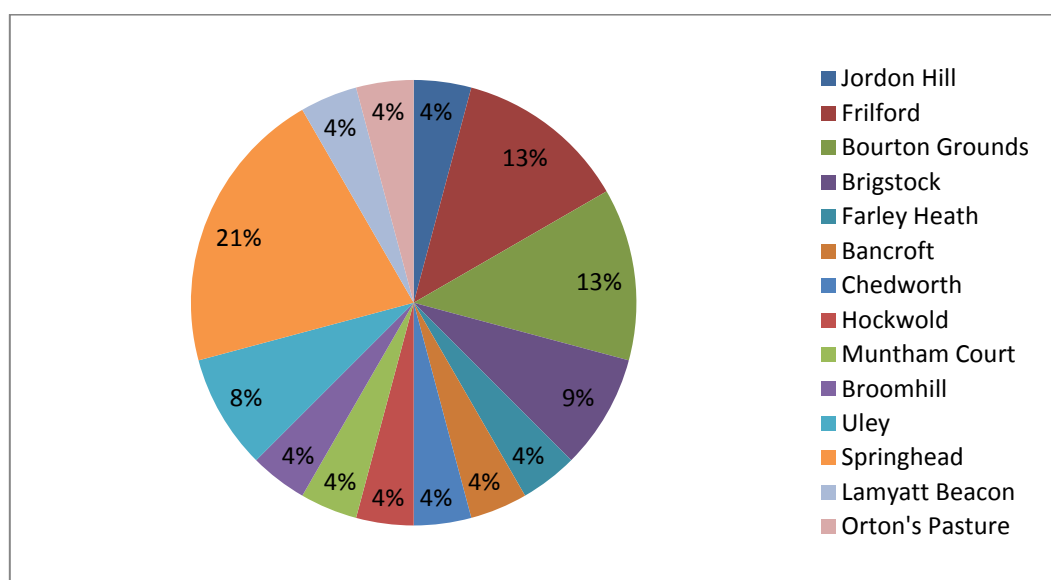


Figure 14: Location of subterranean features from sacred precincts $n=24$

Animal remains

Two thirds of all of the features contained some kind of animal remains (see *Figure 15*). There were no outstanding patterns or preferences for particular species apparent from the data (see *Figure 16*). Sheep and bird remains do appear the most frequently but other species have high numbers of deposits when numbers of individuals represented within a given feature are considered. For example, there were 5 features with sheep remains and 5 features with bird remains (domesticated and wild species). However, there are only 3 features with dog remains but of those features all three contain large numbers of this species. F185 exclusively contains a large number of dog skeletons within a well near to a shrine. F239 contains at least 13 individuals deposited in three different depositional events. And F28 contains 5 dog skulls within a well along with ox skulls and human skulls.

Other features which incorporated large numbers of a particular species include F57, Jordon Hill, Somerset, where large numbers of birds were deposited in distinct arrangements and layers. Also, F180 at Brigstock, Northamptonshire includes 7 ox and 8 sheep/goat deposits. The distinctive layering and organisation of these deposits is suggestive of care being taken with the aesthetic appearance of the depositional event. This characteristic was also common to many of the features from the non-urban database and is found to have been a major difference between urban depositional practices and those from non-urban and sacred precinct locations. The absence of aesthetic care taken with urban deposits is discussed closely in the proceeding chapters and represents a major finding of this thesis.

Overall then the animal species chosen for deposition within the subterranean features found in sacred precincts include: dog, cattle, deer, pig, sheep, ox, domesticated and wild bird species and horse. Dog, ox, sheep/goat and wild bird species are found in large numbers in some of the features. Other species are often found as part of distinct arrangements such as the pig bones found deposited within the four post holes of a *cella* of a rural shrine at F266. F182 contained a semi-articulated pig skeleton located centrally in a pit of rural Roman shrine. F179 had a sheep/goat with a coin in its mouth facing east deposited within a pit found in a polygonal shrine of a rural ritual complex.

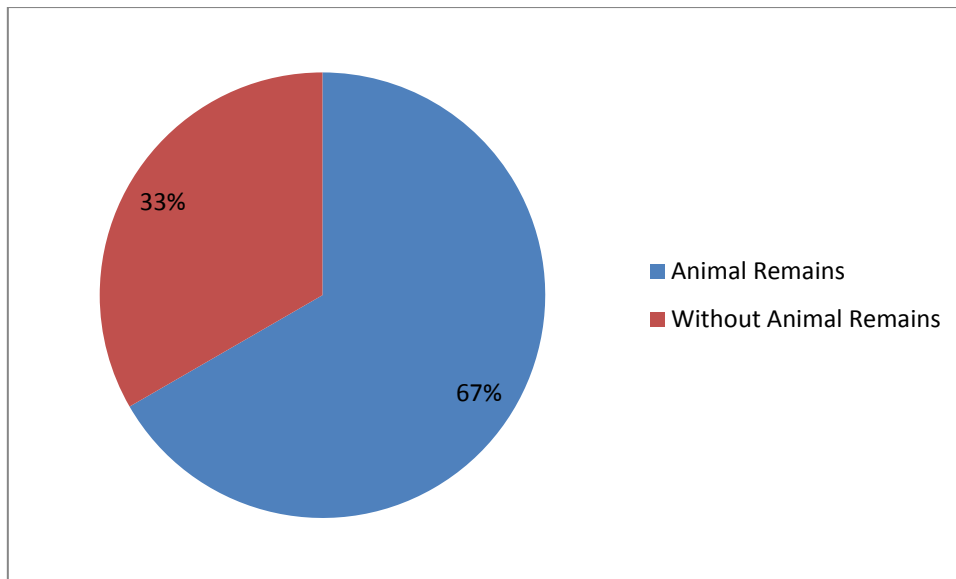


Figure 15: Proportion of subterranean features that contained animal remains from sacred precincts n=24

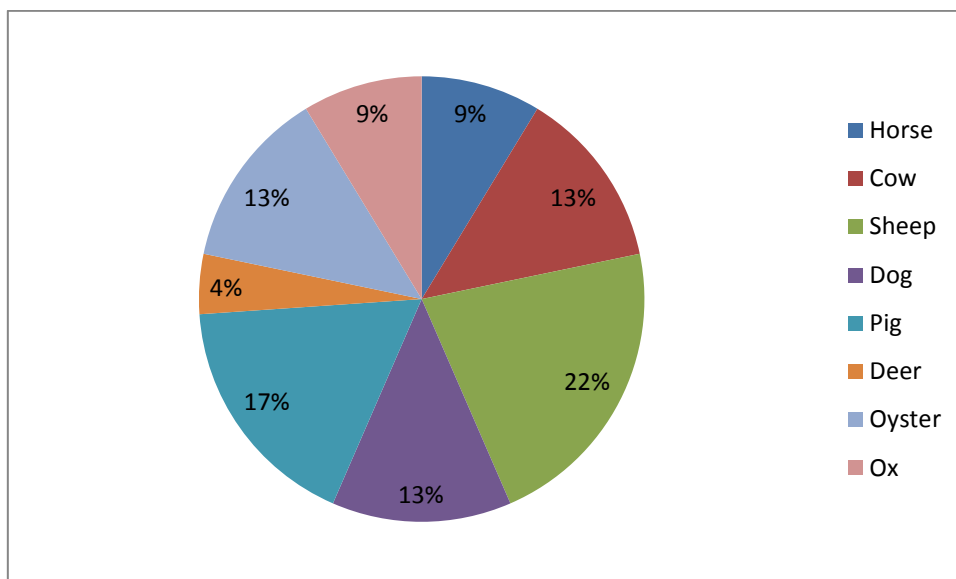


Figure 16: Proportion of Animal Species found within subterranean features from sacred precincts n=29

Human remains

Four of the features contain adult human remains but there is no evidence for infant remains being deposited within sacred precincts. This is a relatively low number and is similar to the pattern within the urban data discussed above. F178 contained a nearly complete male skeleton re-deposited beneath the ambulatory located under the entranceway of a temple within a larger rural ritual complex. F183 incorporated a young male adult frontal bone along with other objects in a pit found next to a temple wall. F239 contained a human skull along with many other objects within a shaft at Springhead. Additionally, as already mentioned above, F28 contained human skulls along with ox and dog skulls within a well found in an extra-urban context of Caerwent.

Pottery

Out of the 26 features within this data set 10 contained some kind of pottery vessel (F57, F85, F181, F182, F226, F241, F256, F265, F266 and F272). Many of these appear to have been complete when deposited and there is one example of a single pot in F85 found along with a Roman shoe within a pit at the Frilford ritual complex.

Of note is F256 where 50 complete pots were found along with other objects in a shaft within a Romano-Celtic temple complex which was located inside an Iron Age hillfort. Unlike the data for urban centres there is no evidence for pottery being deposited to the exclusion of any other type of object or material. Within the data for sacred precincts pottery always appears with a range of other objects and/or materials and the numbers of vessels is often much higher than the numbers of pots found within any given feature from urban areas. Thus, the lack of evidence for exclusive pottery deposition within sacred precincts highlights the positive pattern of exclusive pottery deposition within urban areas as discussed above.

Personal objects, coins and other objects and materials

The only example of any deposit object that could be categorised as personal was a Roman leather shoe found in F85. There are a number of features that contained coin deposits and this is a distinctive pattern for the sacred precinct data as they were uncommon within the urban and non-urban data. Out of the 26 sacred precinct features 6 contain coins. A number of these features include significant amounts of coins. In particular, F84 had 20 copper alloy coins dated to the Roman British period. F182 had 23 coins with the feature itself dated to the mid fourth century. Also, F256 contained 15 coins with the feature being dated to between the second and fourth centuries.

There are no other distinctive patterns observed for other types of objects with only isolated objects being of note. There was a 'Mother Goddess' figurine found in F28, a fragment of a quern stone found in F226, a fragment of an altar found in F272 and oak branches were found in F256. There was only one example of a feature being lined with stone or other any other kind of material (F256) which is in contrast to the high frequency of lined features within the non-urban data.

Metal objects

Metal objects appear in only 6 of the features and include a range of materials and object types. F57 is noteworthy because of the large amount of metal objects incorporated into this complex feature. Included in this deposit were iron swords, iron spearheads, an iron knife and an iron steelyard. F226 also had a significant amount of iron objects including 8 projectile heads and 2 iron bolt heads. Bronze objects were found in F183 and F181. It appears then that the majority of metal objects deposited within sacred precinct locations were associated with weaponry. This is a major difference compared to the metal deposition of non-urban areas which were nearly always of an agricultural/tool nature. Although not within the scope of this project's research agenda, this major difference between the types of metal object deposition between non-urban and sacred precinct locations is noted.

Feature type

By far the most common feature type is the pit, with 14 instances included in the data set (see *Figure 17*). There are only 4 examples of wells, 2 groups of post-hole deposits, 2 shaft deposits and 2 instances of deposits being made under buildings or structures. This is a different pattern from non-urban sites where there was a larger proportion of shafts and demonstrates a major variation between the depositional practices of these two location types.

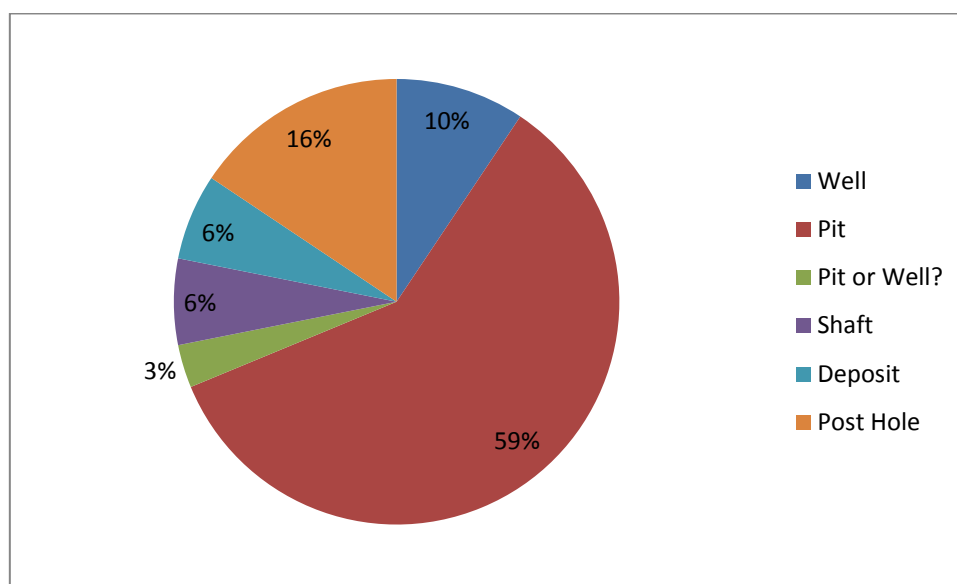


Figure 17: Proportion of subterranean features by type from sacred precincts n=24

Dating of features

There is a fairly even distribution of features across the centuries of Roman occupation with no discernable pattern in terms of changing frequency of deposits during any given period. Furthermore, the date ranges provided in the excavation reports and published data are often very broad. For example F181 was dated to between the first to mid-fifth century, and so is not useful for defining any patterns of change in terms of depositional activity over time.

Note on aesthetics of deposits

Like many of the features from the non-urban data, a significant proportion of the features within the sacred and religious data set also display characteristics suggestive of a degree of aesthetic care taken in the construction of the deposits.

As for the non-urban data above, if the deposits displayed any of the following characteristics they were included within the group of features displaying a degree of aestheticism: distinctive layering of deposits and/or depositional events often marked by sterile layers of chalk/flint packing; repetition in the number and type of an object across a group of associated pits or shafts; clearly arranged objects forming patterns or shapes; placement of objects in symmetrical arrangements and lining of the feature with some type of fabric for non-structural purposes (chalk blocks or pebbles pressed into the wall of the feature's surface for example). Features that displayed one or more of these characteristics include: F57, F83, F177, F178, F179, F182, F236, F239, F256, F266 and F28. This represents almost half of the features within the data set. Furthermore, as suggested for the non-urban data it is likely that other features may have been constructed in this way but excavation may either not have been precise enough to reveal these characteristics, or site formation processes may have disturbed the subterranean deposits.

Also of note is that some of these features located in sacred precincts were used repeatedly in separate events over time. Three features suggest repeated use at distinct events over time. A pit at the rural shrine at Uley, F226, shows repeated use from the Iron Age into the Roman period and is referred to as a 'focal pit' (Woodward & Leach 1993). A ritual shaft at Springhead, F239, is recorded as having three distinct depositional events. F85 is also likely to represent this kind of repeated use with 8 fills identifiable. This therefore implies collective knowledge of the pit location and/or some kind of visual marker of the pit's location. This then provides evidence for reading these features as the result of group action. For knowledge of a pit to be maintained over time would require collective memory or knowledge of the pit's existence, its purpose, its historical meaning and its location passed on through generations. There is evidence for this kind of knowledge also being maintained in collective memory from Dorchester and *Verulamium*. In these urban centres it is clear that deposits were made in either the same feature, or in features located within the same spaces in separate depositional events over time. Significantly, Dorchester has repeated use of shafts over time with similar objects and materials being deposited over time. These towns are discussed in greater detail in Chapters Four and Five.

Data from Roman military sites

This section discusses the subterranean features from Roman military sites. The data from Roman military forts is found in *Appendix 5*. The results of the following analyses of the objects/bodies deposited, along with the feature type, dating and the presence/absence of particular aesthetic qualities demonstrate that there were particular characteristics of depositional practices at Roman military forts that were unique to this location type. Furthermore, the outcomes of the proceeding analyses highlight that particular species and objects were more likely to be deposited in particular locations than others and that certain characteristics, such as a concern for aesthetics, only occurred in non-urban and sacred precinct locations. Additionally, a comparison of the depositional practices of Roman military forts and urban centres emphasises that urban depositional practices were a discreet form of this particular tradition.

F53, Coventina's well, was the only feature included in this data set that was not located within a fort itself. The well was closely associated with the fort of *Brocolitia* and was clearly a sacred precinct. However, because of its definite associations with the fort, it has been included within this data set rather than the sacred precinct data set. In any case, the inclusion of this feature into the fort data does not bias the results of analysis and discussion because its deposits are discussed on an individual feature basis. As this thesis is concerned with the appearance of object types across all given features, any features with outstanding numbers or types of objects do not become conflated within a generalised statistical analysis. Therefore, the large numbers of deposited altars at Coventina's well (see Allason-Jones & McKay 1985, pp.13-19) is viewed within this project as unique and does not count towards generalisations made regarding the whole fort data set.

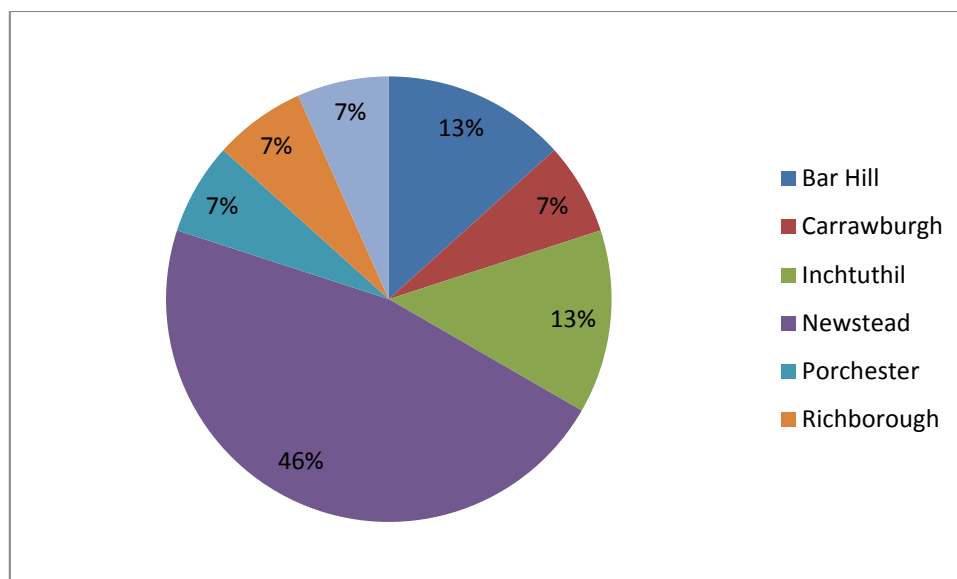


Figure 18: Location of subterranean features from Roman military forts n=15

Animal remains

Out of the 14 features, 7 included animal remains of some type and number. There were no horse remains, unlike in the urban, non-urban and sacred precinct data, where horse remains were found to varying degrees. Also, there is very little evidence for the inclusion of any wild species within deposits apart from deer remains which were found in F257, F233 and F46. F233 also included two raven deposits.

Other domesticated animals found include ox (F46 and F233 where there were 13 individuals found), sheep/lamb (F46, F233 and F257), dog (F233), calf (F233), cat (F233) and piglet (F233). Shellfish were found in F233. Clearly the animal remains found in F233 make up the majority of the finds listed in this section so no generalisations can be made in terms of species more or less likely to be found in subterranean features of Roman military forts. However, it is the species that are absent that are considered significant here. As mentioned above, that there is no evidence for horse deposition is in contrast to the non-urban and sacred precinct data sets where horse remains were fairly common. Horse remains are generally rare within urban settings and thus shows a commonality with attitudes towards appropriate species for deposition with Roman military forts.

Any other features that contained animal deposits were not specific and had just been recorded as 'animal bone' (F217, F219, F220, F221, F222 and F246).

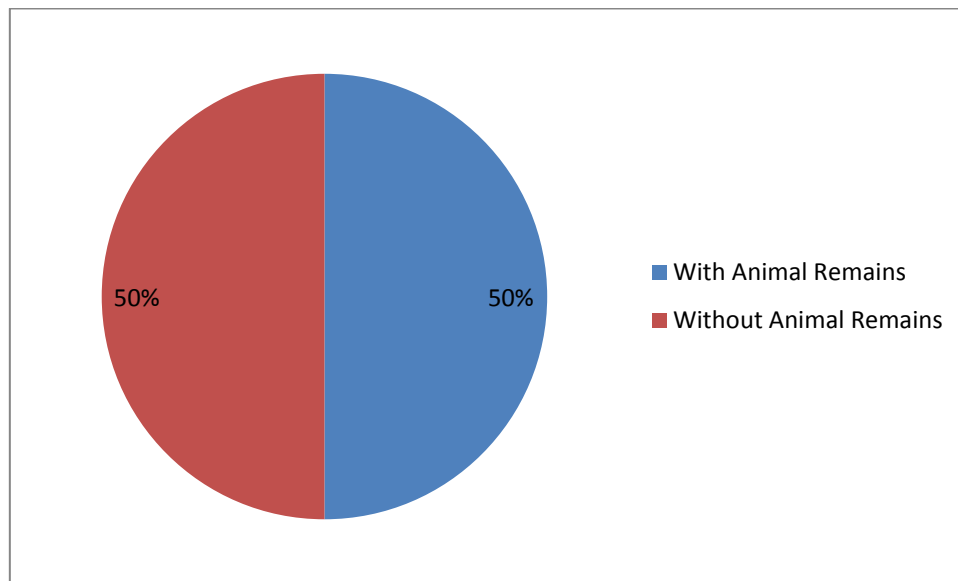


Figure 19: Proportion of subterranean features containing animal remains from Roman military forts n=15

Human Remains

Of the 14 features, 4 contained evidence for the deposition of human remains. There was no evidence for infant deposition and presumably all of the remains found were from adults as relative ages are not specified. F53 contained a human skull and F216, F221 and F222 all contained human bone. These remains were always found with other types of deposits and are distributed amongst a range of feature types.

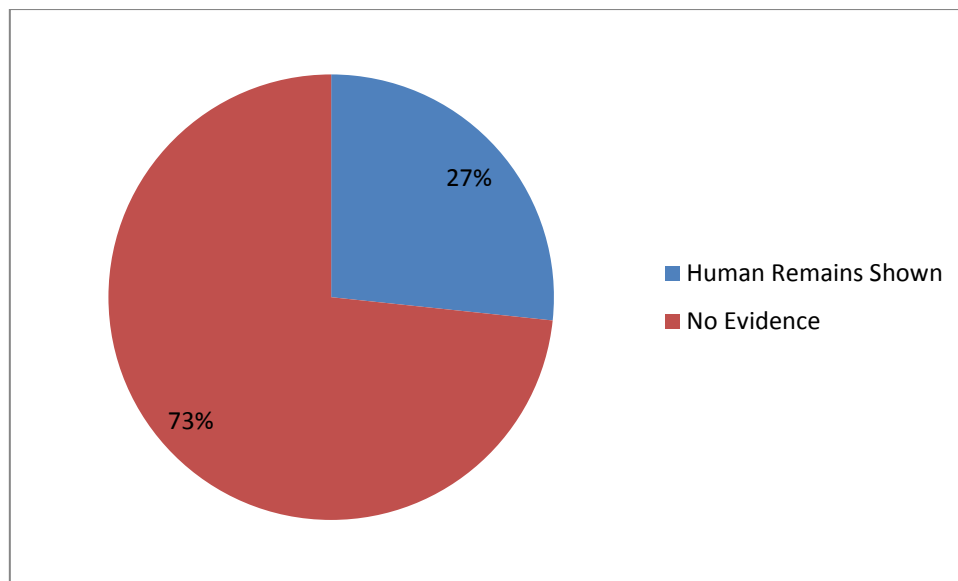


Figure 20: Proportion of subterranean features containing human remains from Roman military forts n=15

Pottery

Pottery is found in half of all the features (F53, F216, F217, F218, F219, F220 and F222). Apart from F53 where samian ware is specified, all of the other deposits are just recorded as 'pottery'. These pottery deposits always occur with a range of other materials and objects and were found exclusively in pits, apart from the samian ware from F53 which was located within Coventina's well (see Allason-Jones & McKay 1985, pp.41-50).

Personal objects, coins and other objects and materials

There is only one example of the deposition of personal objects from F53 (Coventina's well) where brooches and pins were found. That this feature was located near to a Roman fort and not actually inside the military complex is significant in that all of the other features within this data set are located within military complexes. It seems then that the deposition of personal objects within military forts was inappropriate as there is no evidence for any object that could be classed as 'personal' found within any of the deposits.

Coins are extremely rare within the subterranean features of military forts with only two examples of single finds found within F219 and F221. Coins therefore were not an appropriate

object for deposition within these site types. However, there were 13 000 coins found in Coventina's well (F53) (see Allason-Jones & McKay 1985, pp.50-76) but as discussed above this feature is associated with a fort but not actually located within military boundaries.

Quern stones are reasonably common within the features from forts. This pattern is in contrast to all of the other data sets where these objects are extremely rare. Indeed, the deposition of querns is characteristic of the pits at Newstead where the 4 examples of this type of deposition were found (F220, F221, F222 and F217).

Again, there is a large deposit of altars at F53, Coventina's well where 24 complete altars were deposited, some of which were dedicated to Coventina (Allason-Jones & McKay 1985, pp.13-17). There is one example of an inscribed altar deposited within a well, inside the *praetorium* of the fort at Bar Hill (F46). Generally then, deposited altars are extremely rare within this data set with the unique example of Coventina's well being outside of the boundaries of a military fort complex.

Botanical remains are found within F46, F47 and F246. F46 contained a number of oak pieces and hawthorn twigs while F47 contained oak stakes, one of which was placed in between a chariot wheel's spikes. F246 had a fill made up of charcoal from oak and a small amount of birch. This pit was very small and shallow and was located within the courtyard at the centre of the *principia* which approximated the centre of the fort complex. This feature in form and contents is similar to the *mundus* offerings and depositional rituals found within Roman towns (following Woodward & Woodward 2004).

Metal objects

Out of the 14 features, 11 contain some type of deposited metal objects, whilst 3 features contain no evidence for this type of deposition (F233, F257 and F246). There is no obvious grouping of metal objects according to function with a mix of both military and non-military items found within the one feature. For example, F222 at Newstead contains a large number of metal objects made of bronze and iron and are representative of both military objects (spearheads and swords for example) along with non-military objects (tongs, hammers, and an anvil for example). The square pit of F213 at Inchtuthil is the only example of a feature that contains metal objects with no examples of any having a clear military function or association (at least 875, 428 nails and 9 wheel tyres). Coventina's well (F53) only contains bronze objects

(including a dog, a horse and shrine bells) with no evidence for the deposition of iron. Metal objects were the most frequently deposited object types at military forts.

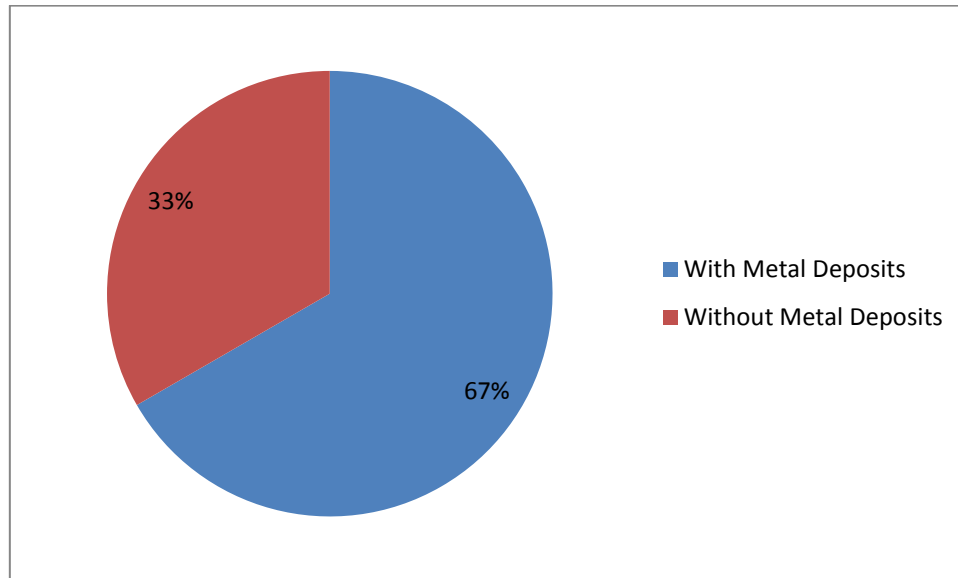


Figure 21: Proportion of subterranean features containing metal objects from Roman military forts n=15

Feature type

The pit is by far the most common feature type with 11 examples. There is one example of a feature which may have been a pit or well (F233). The remaining features are F46 and F53 which have been classified as wells. There was no evidence for the use of shafts or deposits under buildings or other structures and, therefore, this represents a major aspect of variation between this site type and non-urban sites.

Dating of features

Almost half of the features are dated between the first and second centuries (see *Figure: 22*). However the majority of the features dated to this phase (and indeed dated accurately at all) were located at Newstead. Therefore, this pattern is biased due to the large number of features that are located at this one fort. Thus, it has not been possible to draw any

conclusions or trace patterns of change regarding the dating of the depositional features from Roman military forts in any general way.

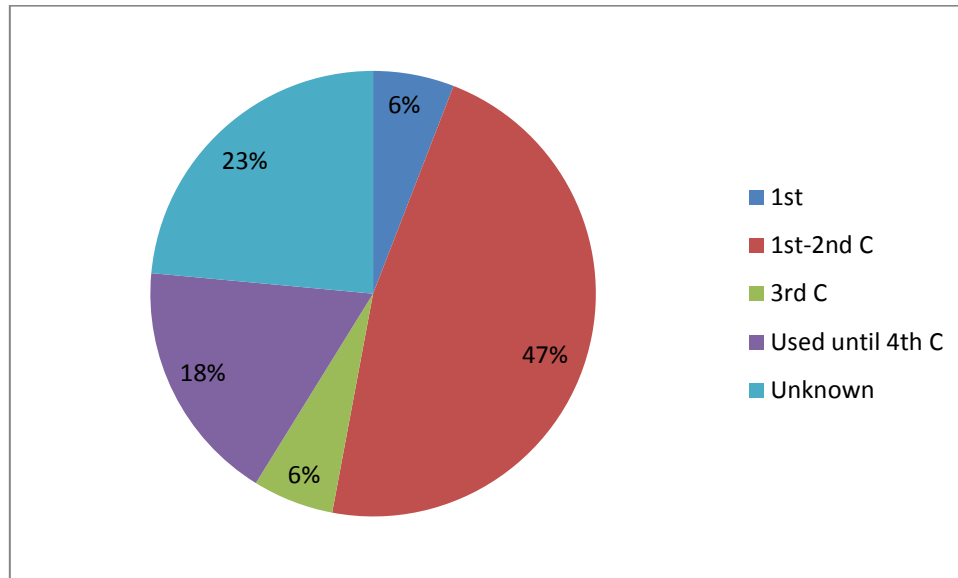


Figure22: Proportion of subterranean features per time period from Roman military forts n=15

Note on aesthetics of deposits

Unlike the features from non-urban and sacred precinct locations there is no evidence for aesthetic care taken with the arrangement of deposits. The significance of this is uncertain but within the confines of this thesis the lack of aesthetics within Roman military depositional practices does not affect the final outcomes of this research. That this lack of care with aesthetics was also evident within the urban data is of greater significance in terms of the research agenda of this thesis.

Analysis and discussion of data variables from all location types

The following section considers the results of the preceding analyses for both object/body type deposited along with a discussion of patterns of difference and similarity between the four main location types under consideration. The preceding analyses are compared across site types and major differences between the depositional practices of those location types are

highlighted. Furthermore, in accordance with this project's research agenda, the characteristics of the urban depositional practices are prioritised in order to define variations between deposits found within the towns as compared to all of the other location types.

Animal remains

In general, deposition of animal remains was significant for all location types. Approximately 40% of subterranean features in urban locations, 71% of features in non-urban locations, 67% of features in sacred precincts, and 50% of features in Roman military forts contained some type of animal deposit. Common to all location types was the deposition of dog, sheep/goat, cattle, deer and oyster. However these species may have appeared infrequently and/or there may have been great variation in their numbers within any given feature.

Deposition of domesticated species is proportionately much higher than deposition of wild species across all of the location types. Deposition of wild species was always relatively rare with the exception of deer, oyster, and crow/raven. Deer is the most commonly deposited wild species and was found to varying degrees in all locations although it was extremely rare in urban centres with only one example from London. Deposition of wild black bird species of crow/raven were also found across all types of sites although again the deposition of any kind of wild bird species was extremely rare within the urban data set. Oysters were found in very large numbers within some of the features from non-urban and rural location, but were uncommon in the urban centres.

Major patterns of difference between location types were found for horse deposition. Horse remains were found relatively frequently in non-urban and sacred precinct locations. Horse remains were extremely rare for the urban locations and absent entirely from the Roman military forts. This pattern of distribution for horse is also found across the three major case studies of Silchester, Dorchester and *Verulamium* and thus it appears that horse was inappropriate for deposition within urban places as well as within military forts. Horse and deer were not chosen for deposition in any of the urban centres, apart from the one example from London which contained both (F131).

The deposition of dog remains is common to all location types and is significant both in the pattern of distribution observable for all location types but also that dog deposits are often found in high numbers within many given features. High numbers of dog individuals within any

given deposit was evident for the subterranean features found in non-urban locations. Indeed, it is the features from this data set that are generally the most complex in terms of arrangement, use and numbers of deposited animals and objects. So not only dogs are found in high numbers but also sheep/goat and bird are also sometimes found in very high numbers within particular features.

Pig deposition was common to all location types apart from the urban data where this species was absent. Pig deposition was also found to be absent from Dorchester and Verulamium and rare at Silchester. Therefore, along with most wild species, horse and pig were rarely used as depositional bodies within the range of urban depositional practices. This pattern was in contrast to all of the other location types where pig was relatively common.

Within the urban data, cattle remains were only present at Caerwent and Wroxeter, suggesting inter-urban patterns of difference that were also discernable between Silchester, *Verulamium* and Dorchester, as discussed below in the proceeding chapters. Furthermore, cattle numbers were sometimes high within any given feature from these urban locations.

What has emerged from this analysis then is that there were clear differences between urban and non-urban locations in terms of the types of species chosen for deposition. Furthermore, there is a possible pattern of difference discernable between the towns when species type is considered. Inter-urban difference is an important finding for this project as it supports the argument that processes of urbanisation were unique to individual locations.

Other patterns of difference have been found in terms of numbers of individuals deposited within any given feature, with the non-urban and sacred precinct locations most likely to have large numbers of individuals deposited within one feature. These features from non-urban and sacred precinct locations are also more complex in ways other than just large numbers of individuals: there is also evidence for animals being arranged in particular ways and being used for layering and construction of visual patterns within the feature.

Identified patterns of difference however must be considered within the broader context of the similarities between the location types as well. There are many species common to all location types as listed at the beginning of this section, with dog being particularly common across all location sites. Furthermore, the deposition of domesticated species is always higher than deposition of wild species across all location types. Therefore there are similarities that unite all of the features from all of the locations in terms of animal deposition but that the

enactment of special/ritual deposition also had room for practices unique to each location type.

Human remains

Although both the appearance and number of examples of human deposition is small, there are instances of it found across all site locations. Significantly there was only one example of infant deposition found within a feature from Cirencester and it was otherwise entirely absent from all of the other site types. The paucity of evidence for infant deposition is at odds with the data from Silchester and Dorchester where the deposition of infant remains was relatively common within these urban spaces and is discussed more closely in the proceeding chapters.

There are examples of the deposition of complete skeletons from all site types apart from military forts where only bones were deposited. Although there are some examples of complete skeletons being deposited mainly from the non-urban and sacred precinct locations, it was more common to find bones and skulls of adult humans being deposited along with other objects and materials. It is clear however that the deposition of human remains was not a common practice compared to the deposition of animal remains and other objects. Furthermore, the deposition of adult human remains has been found to have been rare in all urban locations including Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium which are discussed in the proceeding chapters. The deposition of infant remains however was common to Dorchester and Silchester but not to Verulamium. Thus, patterns of deposition of infant remains represent inter-urban differences which are discussed in Chapter Six.

Pottery

The deposition of pottery is significant for all location types. 60% of features from urban locations contained pottery, 64% of non-urban features contained pottery, 38% of features from sacred precincts contained pottery and 50% of features from military forts contained pottery. Common to all of the features is the frequent deposition of either whole or nearly whole pots (for example see F67, F126, F127 from the 'other urban' database, *Appendix 2*; F259, F48, F49, F69 from the non-urban database, *Appendix 3* and F57, F85, F256 from the sacred precinct database, *Appendix 4*).

A pattern of difference that has emerged is the presence of single pot deposition within urban centres. There are 6 examples of single complete pots found without any other associated objects or materials from the urban features. Often these single pots (often complete with lids) are located within building deposits underneath houses (see F22, F25, F26 from the 'other urban' database, *Appendix 2*). Thus, this appears as a distinct practice enacted within the subterranean spaces of domestic (and sometimes urban temple) structures. There is only one other example of a single pot find from other locations with a 'roman vessel' filled with acorns found at F60 in the non-urban data.

The other main pattern of difference found between the location types is that within the non-urban data there were a number of examples of the deposition of funerary urns (with or without evidence for human remains) (for example see F76, F251, F253, *Appendix 3*). These types of vessels have not been recorded for any of the other site types. Furthermore the deposition of vessels just termed 'urns' was very frequent for the data from the non-urban sites although whether these vessels were believed to have been funerary urns was not specified (see Ross 1968). Again, however, this terminology has not been used for any of the other location types and is thus suggestive of a distinctive practice of deposition associated with human and animal funerary/votive rituals within the data from the non-urban locations.

Like the number of animal individuals deposited within a single feature from the non-urban and sacred precinct often being very high, pottery numbers too are much higher in terms of vessel numbers within the non-urban and sacred precinct features. Overall then the deposition of pottery is characteristic of these subterranean features from all location types. However, the distribution of the appearance of pottery within the features from the sacred precinct data is lower than the other location types where pottery was found frequently across all of the given features. A pattern of single pot finds being associated with urban locations (and domestic and temple structures: F22, F25, F26, *Appendix 2*) is a difference that is further investigated below within the analyses of the data from Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium.

Personal objects

The deposition of objects that could be defined as personal is very rare within all of the location types. There were only 2 features containing personal objects within the urban data

set, 5 examples from the non-urban data set (out of 73 features), and only one example each from both the sacred precinct and Roman military fort data (and was in fact from Coventina's well so no personal objects were found actually inside a fort complex).

Clearly then this type of deposition was not commonly chosen for the features under consideration, and animal and pottery deposition was far more likely to be undertaken for the activities associated within the subterranean features under consideration. That the deposition of personal objects is rare within the features under question suggests certain things about the nature of these depositional practices in general. It is possible that these kinds of objects did not have the same meaning as things like animals and pottery in terms of the relationship between the actor(s) and the transcendental 'other' that was being engaged with via the depositional act. Why depositing anything in this way was enacted has of course received much speculation (for example see Cunliffe 1992 and Merrifield 1987). What does seem plausible is that the lack of personal objects and coins (see below) suggests that personal/individual concerns were not the motivation for making deposits. Rather it appears that the types of depositional acts under question within this thesis are more likely to have been about more group/community concerns. This idea is discussed further below in Chapter Six.

Coins

Within the urban and non-urban data, coin finds are rare. Out of the 42 features within the urban data, only 4 contained coins, and out of the 73 features from the non-urban data, only 7 contained coins. Within these two locations there are no examples of large amounts of coins being deposited with only a few examples at the most having been uncovered within these locations.

Coins were a far more significant object for deposition within the sacred precinct and military fort locations. There were 6 examples of coin deposition from the 26 features located within sacred precincts (see F180, F181, F182, F184, F256, F266, *Appendix 4*). Furthermore, there were a number of subterranean features that contained more than 15 coins and therefore this presents a pattern quite different from the urban and non-urban data where coins were found only in low numbers or as isolated finds.

The site of Coventina's well from the military fort data contained around 13 000 coins dated to between AD 41-383. However, this feature as discussed above was outside actual fort boundaries. Of the data within the forts themselves there were only 2 examples of single coins deposited within in any given feature. Coins then were not particularly significant overall for these features in general. There was some significance for sacred precincts and there is only the site of Coventina's well that is suggestive of coin deposition being a common practice.

Botanical remains

As discussed above, the appearance of oak planks is reasonably common within the features from the non-urban data. These remains were often found in association with other objects and materials that together are suggestive of aesthetic care taken with the construction of the feature and its deposits. The deposition of botanical remains was reasonably significant for the data from the Roman military forts. Evidence from the urban locations and sacred precinct data was scarce however. The most significant aspect of this finding is that the incorporation of oak planks, and/or large pieces of oak (see F48, F50, F72, F76, F214, F204, F251 and F252 in *Appendix 3* and *Appendix 4*), into depositional events appears to have been related to complex construction and arrangement of the features and their depositional contents at non-urban locations. Thus, the absence of this kind of deposition at urban locations provides further evidence for differences between urban depositional practices and those located outside of urban centres.

Stone

Stone and objects made from stone were reasonably important within the deposition from the non-urban locations. Furthermore, where stone was incorporated into a deposit it often was part of an arrangement of objects or was part of the structuring of the feature itself. Indeed, the use of stone slabs and smaller fragments like pebbles and flint often formed layers that defined events within the deposit or were arranged to produce patterns or decorative elements.

Stone was also relatively common within the deposits from forts where there were a number of quern stones found that were particularly characteristic of the deposits from Newstead.

Coventina's well contained 24 inscribed altars but again this feature is not representative of the fort data as discussed above. For the urban locations and sacred precinct data, stone or stone objects were very limited within the subterranean features.

Metal

One of the major differences between location types in terms of metal deposition is between the types of objects deposited. Within urban centres and non-urban locations metal deposition is reasonably frequent and the objects themselves were usually of an agricultural nature or were some other kind of tool.

However, within sacred precincts the metal objects deposited were commonly weaponry with spearheads, swords, bolt heads and knives being most frequently deposited. Metal deposition was very frequent within military forts with 11 out of the 14 features often containing large deposits of both military and non-military objects. Indeed, there does not appear to be a distinction between the types of objects deposited within features from the forts, with swords and armour being deposited with anvils and tongs for example.

Dating of features

The only clear pattern observable for the dating of features was for the non-urban data, where most of the features were dated to the third and fourth centuries. The forts tended to date to the first and second centuries but the majority of these dates were from the features found at Newstead and are therefore not reflective of forts in general.

The pattern for the non-urban data is similar to the pattern that is also observable for Silchester where an intensification of these types of subterranean deposits can be seen from the third century onwards. This pattern of increasing numbers of features from the third century onwards at Silchester is discussed further below in Chapter Three.

Feature type

Overall the pit is the most common type of feature across all of the location types. There is however a large number of shafts (and shaft-chamber combinations and dene-holes) within the data from the non-urban locations. Again, because shafts are much deeper than pits this is further evidence for the greater complexity of the deposits within the non-urban features that are often also related to greater aesthetics and careful arrangement and layering of the depositional objects and materials.

Additionally, wells correlate with the deposition of metal and so clearly some feature types were more appropriate for the deposition of certain objects and/or materials.

Aesthetics of deposits

One of the most significant differences between the location types was the level of aesthetic care taken with the deposition of objects and materials into the various types of subterranean features. This type of complexity was not apparent for the features from urban locations or from the features located within the forts. The apparent absence of aesthetic care taken with the arrangement of objects and bodies in the urban features is one of the greatest differences that have been found between urban depositional practices and those from other location types. A similar pattern was also found for Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium and is discussed in detail throughout Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six. The implications of this difference between urban depositional practices and those from other location types is thought to have been related to who was enacting the depositional event and whether it was intended to be 'viewed'. These implications are discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

The characteristics of depositional practices in urban centres

When the depositional practices of the urban centres are considered in comparison to the characteristics of depositional practices within the other location types a number of key differences emerge. One of the most apparent variations is the lack of aesthetic concern with which deposits were arranged and enacted in urban centres. Furthermore, deposits were generally less complex in terms of number of objects deposited along with the fact that there

is evidence for re-use over time. Generally, the deposits from urban centres appear to be more opportunistic single events that could have been enacted by either individuals or groups. The simplicity of many of the deposits, however, is suggestive of individual action within loosely prescribed parameters rather than group action.

The animal species deposited within urban centres were very rarely wild and more often than not were domesticated animals. Also, a number of species were absent or almost absent from the urban centres that were found frequently in the other locations. Horse, deer and oyster deposition were very rare, and pig deposition was entirely absent.

Pottery deposition was clearly important for all of the urban centres and there is some evidence for a relationship between single pots (often with lids) deposited underneath buildings and/or domestic structures. Single pot deposition, whether as a building deposit or within any other type of feature, was not found at all outside of the urban locations.

A pattern of inter-urban difference was observable when animal species were considered. Only Wroxeter and Caerwent had evidence for the deposition of cattle. Furthermore, Caerwent had proportionately high numbers of well deposits to the exclusion of any other feature type. This is in contrast to all of the other towns where pit deposits were usually the most common feature type and where deposits under buildings were also reasonably common.

Metal deposition was reasonably common but not as significant as it was for the other location types – particularly military forts where it was the most common object and/or material deposited. Furthermore, metal objects deposited within urban centres were nearly always tools and/or agricultural in function. This was different to the metal objects deposited within sacred precincts where they were nearly always weaponry. However, the metal deposits in non-urban areas were very similar in terms of object type to the urban deposits as they too were nearly always groups of tools and/or agricultural artefacts.

The operational logic of depositional practices in urban and non-urban areas

That the towns had their own unique ways of enacting these types of subterranean depositional activities is supported by the evidence from the above examples. Not only were

there differences between the types of objects being deposited between urban and non-urban sites, there were also differences between the towns in terms of types of objects deposited and the subterranean spaces they were likely to be deposited in. This discernable pattern of difference *between* the various towns provides evidence for unique processes of urbanisation at each location. This argument is further supported below with the evidence from Silchester, Dorchester and *Verulamium* and is closely analysed below in Chapters Three, Four and Five. It is only logical that the objects and materials chosen for deposition would be variable between different locations. What made sense as a mode of embedding meaning into the immediate landscape within a Roman military fort would not have held the same meaning for someone at a non-Roman rural settlement.

There were also differences in terms of aesthetic care taken with the deposits between urban spaces, rural sites and the other categories of military forts and sacred sites. When looking at the urban data compared to data from non-urban and rural settlement sites it is apparent that there is a distinct difference in the aesthetic organisation of deposits and how ‘structured’ they appear to have been (following Pollard 2010). When talking about aesthetics of comparable Neolithic depositional practices Pollard (2010, p.317) argues that ‘the qualities perceived to be inherent in certain materials often conditioned the kinds of response given to them at the point of burial. A sense of action that was proper and respectful may have been an essential element in the ‘effectiveness’ of deposition, especially where these practices were tied into ideas of symbolic renewal and regeneration’. It is not thought here however that a lack of complexity or aesthetic care taken with urban deposits equates to them being any less symbolic or meaningful. Rather it is suggested that the more complex and visually intricate organisation of many of the non-urban deposits may represent difference in modes of production, resource ownership and consumption. Modes of production, resource ownership and consumption and social relationships would have necessarily been different within urban centres. Thus, who enacted a deposit, along with the intentions of the actor(s) and what social relationships which informed the depositional event were likely to have differed depending on location type and the inherent social, economic and power relationships of that site. This argument is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six below.

So all of these subterranean features operated to embed meaning into the landscape appropriate for the space they occupied. Although they were *operated* similarly they were often *enacted* in very different ways specific to particular sites. Most significant for the purposes of this thesis are the inter-urban differences between what object types were chosen

for these depositional acts. These variations in depositional practices between the various location types, and between the individual towns, are discussed and accounted for in Chapter Six.

Key findings

There are therefore four key findings from the preceding analysis. These results are applied in Chapter Six where a final analysis and interpretation of all of the data are undertaken in order to address the research aims of this thesis (as outlined in the Introduction).

Firstly, it has been found that the pits, shafts, wells and concealed deposits across different site types of Roman Britain operated similarly. It was shown that these features were enacted in order to demarcate space and embed meaning into particular places. Depositional practices were at the intersection between people, objects and place. The depositing of particular things from a repertoire of objects made sense in particular locations. The objects deposited at the military forts were different to those deposited at rural settlements for example.

Secondly, it has been shown that there was a distinct aesthetic difference between some of the features found in rural and non-urban areas and those found within towns and minor urban centres (following Pollard 2001). In some cases, there was much more aesthetic care taken with the arrangement of objects in the non-urban and sacred precinct locations. In general, there was a scaling down in the number of objects and the way they were arranged in urban deposits. The deposits within the towns in general give the appearance of more opportunistic enactment with less care taken over their placement and complexity. This in turn is suggestive of group action in non-urban and sacred precinct areas and more individual type action within urban centres. The possibility that these features can be read for differences between group and individual action (and thus differences between social organisation in rural Roman Britain and urban Roman Britain) is suggested in Chapter 7 as an area for future research.

Thirdly, that there were differences in the types of features and objects deposited between different towns has begun to be apparent. For instance, there is a marked pattern of cattle deposition at Caerwent and Wroxeter which is not discernable at any of the other towns. That individual towns had their own unique patterns of depositional activity is further tested in Chapters Three, Four and Five. The denser amount of data from the case studies of Silchester,

Dorchester and *Verulamium* substantiate the finding that although all people from different type sites were engaged in depositional practices, how they were enacted was still prescribed to an extent dependent upon which town the actor occupied. This finding has important implications for the proceeding discussion on the nature of urbanisation in Roman Britain.

Fourthly, the suggestion that different objects occupied different types of features and different locations (Webster 1997) has been argued for on the basis of the discernable patterns of object distribution in the other urban data and data from other site types. The systematic analysis of a large data set has shown empirically that this was the case. This finding again has implications for the proceeding discussion on the nature of depositional practices and urbanisation processes in Roman Britain.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed and discussed subterranean features with evidence for ritual and/or special deposition from the four different location types of urban centres, non-urban and rural locations, sacred precincts and Roman military forts. By analysing a large range of features from different site types it has been found that these features had a similar operational logic within urban spaces and the other location types. This operational logic was based on embedding meaning into the landscape via depositing various objects and materials that were appropriate for particular location types and spaces. Therefore, following this space-specific logic, it has also emerged that urban centres had unique modes of enacting these types of events, with particular objects and features more likely to occur in particular locations than others. So, how these depositional events were enacted within urban spaces was different according to some variables. Furthermore, processes of urbanisation were unique to different locations and analysis of these subterranean features highlights variation in how particular traditions were translated and interpreted within different urban spaces.

The next chapter deals with the data from Silchester and is utilised to test the findings from the preceding analysis regarding the nature of subterranean deposits of Roman Britain. When the data from other towns discussed within this chapter are considered, the analyses of the three main towns of Silchester, Dorchester and *Verulamium* are further enhanced by comparing any apparent patterns of depositional practice within urban centres generally. The main characteristics of subterranean depositional practices of the three main case studies are discussed in the proceeding chapters. These characteristics suggest that populations were

enacting meaningful disposal and/or ritual deposition quite differently within individual urban locations.

Chapter Three: The Depositional Practices of Silchester

Introduction

This chapter deals with data from Roman Silchester, *Calleva Atrebatum*. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the subterranean features of Silchester that have been found inside of the urban centre. That is, all of the features that have been included in the data base for this town (see *Appendix 6*) were located within the town's urban boundaries delineated by the circuit of the third century walls. This investigation has made it possible to determine the nature of urban depositional practices within Silchester. Furthermore, the results from the previous chapter's analyses of other urban centres and the other location types of non-urban, sacred precinct and Roman military forts are incorporated into the proceeding analysis and discussion of Silchester's subterranean features. In this way, the operational logic of depositional practices within Silchester have been highlighted and it has become apparent that there were a number of similarities in the way urban deposition was enacted within Silchester and the other urban centres already discussed above. Furthermore, it has also been found that the distinctions between urban and the other location types of non-urban and sacred precinct depositional practices that were highlighted above in Chapter Two were also common to the urban centre of Silchester.

The emerging differences between urban centres and the other location types that were found in the analyses in Chapter Two above are further evidenced by the proceeding analysis and key findings from Silchester. It is apparent then that the nature of depositional practices within urban centres was similar in all towns, but that there were distinct differences to depositional practices from other location types. Additionally, it has also emerged that there were inter-urban distinctions as well and these will be discussed further in Chapters Four and Five when the towns of Dorchester and *Verulamium* are investigated.

The methodology for this chapter follows that of Chapter Two. The objects and materials deposited within the features under consideration were counted based upon their appearance (in any number or quantity) across all of the given features of Silchester. This method was used

in order to establish if a depositional object was deposited regularly enough to produce a pattern of frequency. If a particular animal species or object was ever deposited in high numbers within any given feature then this has also been noted but the number of individuals was not included so as not to bias results.

Archaeological background

The earliest archaeological evidence for the site of Silchester in the form of a possible proto-urban centre is dated to 20/10 BC (Creighton 2006). The site is bound by a series of two circuits - the Inner Earthwork and the Outer Earthwork - constructed at some point prior to the building of the Roman stone and timber walls. Evidence of a Late Iron Age 'town' has been found under the Roman forum-basilica site (Fulford & Timby 2000).

By the Flavian era, the town was outgrowing its boundary: urban expansion was not containable within the inner earthwork (de la Bedoyere 1992, p.275). The next important development occurs at around 200 AD, with the construction of an earthwork fortification incorporating a number of gateways composed of masonry or brick (Allen 2012, p.41). This feature generally conformed to the circuit of the now disused Inner Earthwork, and the incorporated masonry gates are thought to have been built earlier than the earthwork itself (de la Bedoyere 1992, pp.73-4). Around a century later this boundary was fortified with a flint and stone wall that measured almost 3 m at its base (Allen 2012, p.42). The flint and stone wall of Silchester is considered to be 'one of the most impressive sets of Roman walls in the whole of Britain, excepting only Hadrian's wall' (Allen 2012, p.42). The erection of masonry features and their completion by earthworks is evident in many Roman British towns during the third century. The stimulus for this rather piecemeal building programme at Silchester can be accounted for by a number of insular political episodes, and may in part have been stimulated by Clodius Albinus's preparations for usurpation of imperial power.

This interpretation is based on evidence that where this building pattern occurred, masonry was used in place for curtain walls. The inconsistency in use of building materials demonstrates that the fortifications were completed in a hurried manner (de la Bedoyere, 1992, pp.74-5). Silchester, unlike most Roman towns in Britain, has not produced evidence for the curtain wall gaining the addition of external towers. Thus, it is thought that the position of the town was relatively secure. Significant for the purposes of this thesis however is that there is evidence for the blocking of the southern portals of the south-east and west gates, and the reduction of

the south-western gate by nearly half its previous width. The exact date of these modifications is not known, but must have occurred sometime after the wall's construction in the late second century (de la Bedoyere, 1992, p.75). It is unlikely that these modifications to Silchester's boundaries occurred during the fourth century as they would normally have included the addition of external towers for defensive purposes, which was not the case (see Wachter 1995, p.78). It appears then that the reduction in the permeability of Silchester's boundaries likely occurred sometime during the third century. These modifications and a process of emphasising the urban space as clearly defined from 'outside' occurs at the same time as other modifications and shifts in the physical, social and economic shape of Silchester occurred. Significantly, the subterranean deposits of Silchester also seem to increase and operate as means of emphasising internal boundaries within the town from the third century onwards. The implications of these urban changes for the research themes of this thesis are discussed below within this chapter and are re-evaluated in the application of key findings in Chapters Six and Seven.

During the mid third century, Silchester's basilica was appropriated by metalworkers after being apparently unoccupied for around a century (Fulford & Timby 2000, pp.72 & 76). It is not known where administrative functions were henceforth carried out (de la Bedoyere 1992, p.69). Metalworking of some kind continued within the basilica throughout the late Roman period (Fulford and Timby 2000, pp.576-581). Unlike many other major Roman towns, the occupation and development of Silchester ceased in the post-Roman period (Clarke & Fulford 2002, p.163).

Excavation biases and site formation processes

The greatest limiting factor in this analysis of Silchester is the nature of the early excavations of the town carried out during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Clarke and Fulford 2002, pp.129-130). Due to the antiquated nature of these excavations there is a lack of dating and a focus on artefact recovery and collection rather than an integrated technique that could have recognised not only the finds but also the nature and possible date of the features they were located within. However, 'Despite all the imperfections of the record of the early excavations, it is clear that the incidence of placed deposits in pits and wells represents a persistently recurring feature within Silchester' (Fulford 2001, p.207). Indeed, due the poor recording techniques of the early antiquarian investigations of Silchester it is likely that many

more subterranean features may have existed but are now lost due to the extensive trenching and backfilling employed. So in any case, the current record of the distribution and number of subterranean features that had evidence for special and/or ritual deposition is probably a conservative estimate of the amount of these features that may have existed during the Roman period.

The evidence from a number of the the early excavation reports (specifically Fox & Hope 1890, Hope 1906 and Hope 1908) are noted below where relevant. Although these reports mention a range of animal species' remains being uncovered during excavation, unfortunately the context, relative dating, and provenance of these finds were not recorded. Thus, in most instances these finds have not been used in the database for Silchester as it is impossible to define if they were found in a subterranean context. As the parameters of this thesis clearly define the nature of the features under investigation as being pits, wells, shafts and/or purposeful deposits under buildings, many of the finds from the Victorian excavations have not been able to be included in analysis. Furthermore, these finds - and their approximate location in the stratigraphy of Silchester's archaeological record – were not recorded with any detail or accuracy. So, relative dating of these features and events is not possible to discern and therefore it has not been ascertained with certainty if any of these remains belong to the Roman period. Indeed, from one of the excavation reports it appears that the feature and remains discussed were likely from the pre-Roman period. For example, one of the features from Hope that was defined as a well was discussed in a manner that suggests it was from the Late Iron Age: 'owing to the lack of Roman remains...this was a British water hole' (1908, 213). Therefore, the results of the Victorian excavations are noted as potentially relevant to this project, but because they lack any kind of relative or specific dating or context have not been able to be included in the database and proceeding analysis.

Data from Silchester

This section discusses and analyses the data from Silchester. The database for Silchester is found in *Appendix 6* and includes all of the references from which the data were collected. The results of the following analyses of the objects/bodies deposited, along with the feature type, dating and the presence/absence of particular aesthetic qualities demonstrate that there were particular characteristics of the depositional practices of Silchester that conform to the general characteristics already found for urban depositional practices analysed above in Chapter Two.

Furthermore, the proceeding analyses also highlights that within the range of urban depositional characteristics there were certain aspects that were unique to particular towns. For example, a pattern of dog and infant deposits occurring within the same feature is a unique finding for Silchester that had not been apparent in the other urban data. Thus, this project argues that there was a particular form of depositional practice similar to all urban centres, and that within the range of practices there were also characteristics that could be unique to individual towns.

Animal remains

Animal deposits were significant for the subterranean features of Silchester with 28 out of the 64 features incorporating one or more animal species. By far the most common species deposited across all of the given features was dog with 13 features containing the remains of one or more individuals (see *Figure 23*). Indeed, dog is the only prominent species within the deposits, with all other animal types being represented in 4 or fewer features (see *Figure 24* & *Figure 25*). This prominence of dog deposition is a similar pattern to the other urban data discussed above in Chapter Two. The prominence of dog in comparison to any other species is a defining characteristic of urban depositional practices, and particularly so for Silchester. Furthermore, not only were dogs found commonly across all of the given features, they were also deposited in high numbers within some features (see *Figure 26*). For example, F19, F20, F87, F91 and F92 all contain four or more individuals. This pattern was also found for non-urban locations where there were some features that contained very high numbers of individuals. Dog deposition was well distributed across all of the given features as well as having significant density in many of the features from both Silchester and non-urban locations. It would seem then that dogs were significant and appropriate bodies for deposition at many locations and along with pottery were ubiquitous within subterranean features from Roman Britain.

The other species found within the features from Silchester include: cattle (3 examples), birds (2 examples), sheep (4 examples), pig (2 examples), cat (2 examples), horse (1 example) and fish (1 example). It is noted however that although cattle only appeared in three features, the numbers of remains in F124 and F125 were very high with at least 2,500 individuals represented in the deposits of F125. Again, this appearance and distribution of different species is similar to the data from the urban centres discussed above in Chapter Two. Horse

and pig deposition was rare, and there is also an almost complete absence of oyster and deer within the features from Silchester that have been able to be clearly defined as from the Roman British period of the town. There is then a continuing pattern of an almost complete absence of pig, horse and wild species that was found above for the other urban centres in Chapter Two. There was also a similar pattern found at Dorchester and Verulamium as will be discussed below in Chapters Four and Five. It is apparent then that another characteristic that was similar for Silchester and the other urban centres was that there was an almost complete absence of wild species from Roman levels. Within the features from Silchester there is one feature that contains fish (F122) and one feature that contains bird remains (F117). The particular species of these birds is not specified and in any case the infrequent representation of wild bird species is in contrast to the deposition of corvids that was common within other location types. The deposition of wild bird species was reasonably common to the features from the non-urban and sacred precinct data, but not present at all within the features from military forts. Significantly, the almost complete absence of birds from the subterranean features of Silchester is a completely different pattern observable for the features from Dorchester where the deposition of crow and raven was important. The importance of the deposition of these wild bird species within the features from Dorchester is discussed more closely below in Chapter Four.

It is noted however that wild species were found at Silchester during the Victorian excavations but the context and stratigraphy of these finds has indeterminable due to the antiquarian nature of the excavations. The excavation report from Hope (1906, p.167) lists mammals found as: 'man, dog, cat, horse, ox, sheep, red deer, roebuck and pig'. The report also lists birds found during excavation: 'rook or corw, fowl, pheasant, wild duck, widgeon, goose and crane' (Hope, 1906, p.167). The relative dating of these animal finds is not known or stated in the report. Furthermore, the vertical and horizontal locations of these finds are also unknown and unstated by the report. The numbers of these species have not been recorded and it has been impossible to determine if they were found in contexts that correlate to the parameters of this study. Although this evidence is suggestive of the presence of these species within the Roman town of Silchester it is not known if they became part of the archaeological record due to purposeful deposition into subterranean features or as the result of other activities. Therefore, although some wild species do appear to have been present at some the site, this evidence cannot be strictly included into this project's statistical analysis due to lack of dating and provenance.

The only towns that had any evidence of cattle deposition were Wroxeter and Caerwent, and indeed cattle deposition was also uncommon at both Dorchester and *Verulamium* as well. Therefore, Wroxeter and Caerwent were unique in having this type of deposition, and cattle deposition was also reasonably common at Silchester and is discussed below in Chapter Three. The deposition of cattle was also common for the non-urban locations where horns were often deposited along with bone, and cattle deposition was also reasonably significant for the sacred precinct data but not for the military forts. This similarity between Silchester and non-urban locations in terms of cattle deposition could be seen as supporting the notion that rural ritual practices continued to be carried out within the urban space of Silchester (see Fulford 2001, p215). Indeed Fulford suggests that the subterranean deposits of Silchester in general were possibly links to the pre-Roman past (and therefore non-urban Britain).

It is, however, the frequent appearance of dog deposition that characterises the animal deposition carried out within Roman Silchester. Although there is a pattern of cattle deposition within Silchester (and Wroxeter and Caerwent) which is similar to non-urban areas, the other characteristics of the animal deposition within Silchester have more in common with the other urban data discussed above in Chapter Two. The lack of wild species, the almost complete absence of horse and the dominance of dog are common to all of the urban areas discussed so far. There are, therefore, a number of characteristics which so far appear common to all of the urban centres included in this study.

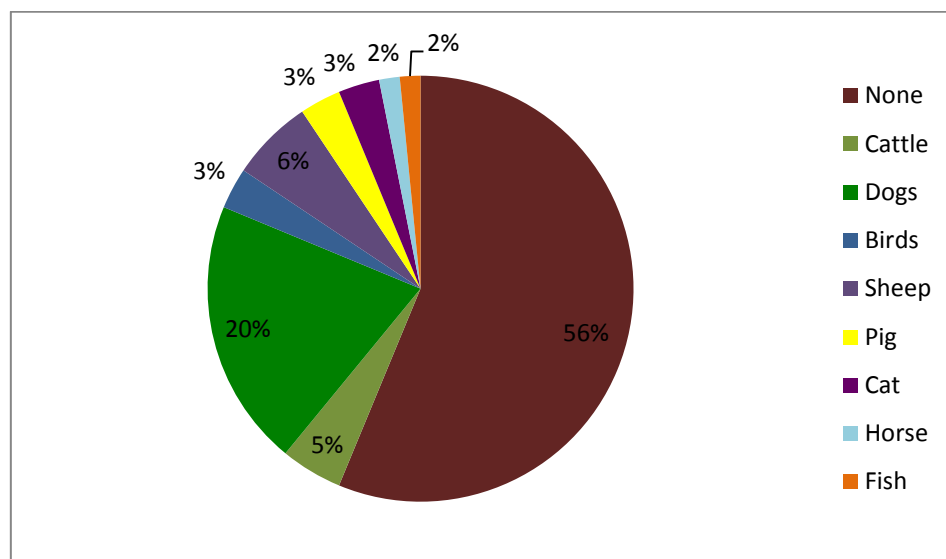


Figure 23: Distribution of species across all of the known subterranean features from Silchester

n=32

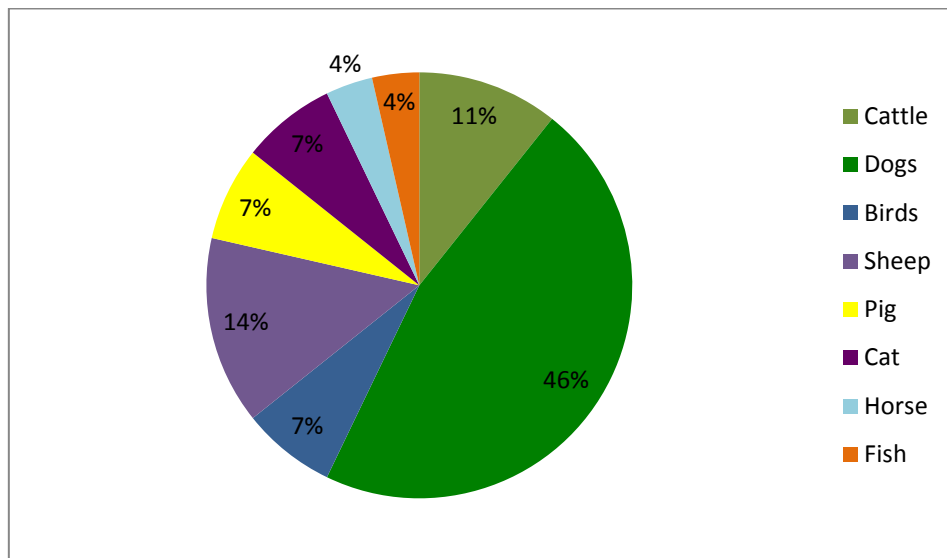


Figure 24: Distribution of species within the subterranean features containing animal deposits from Silchester n=67

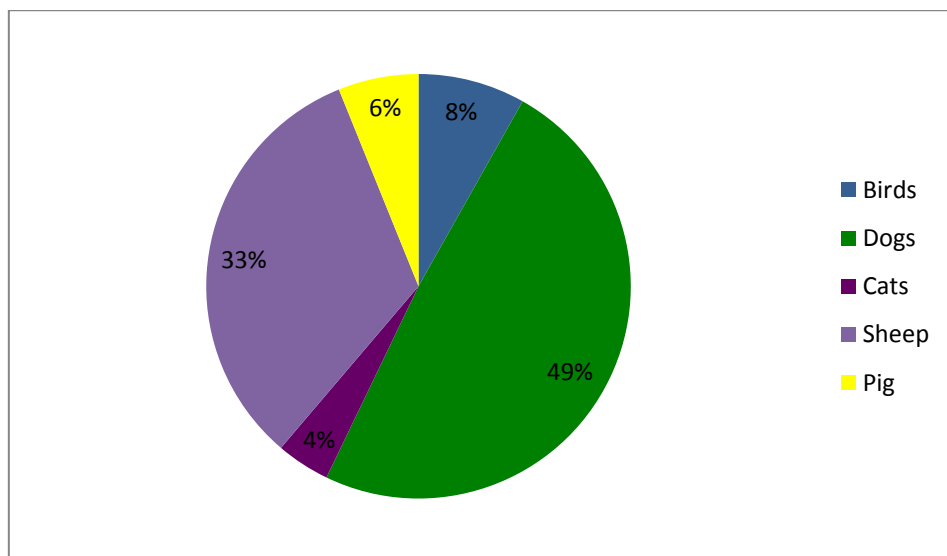


Figure 25: Total number of individuals per species found within all of the features from Silchester excluding F125 & F124 n=87

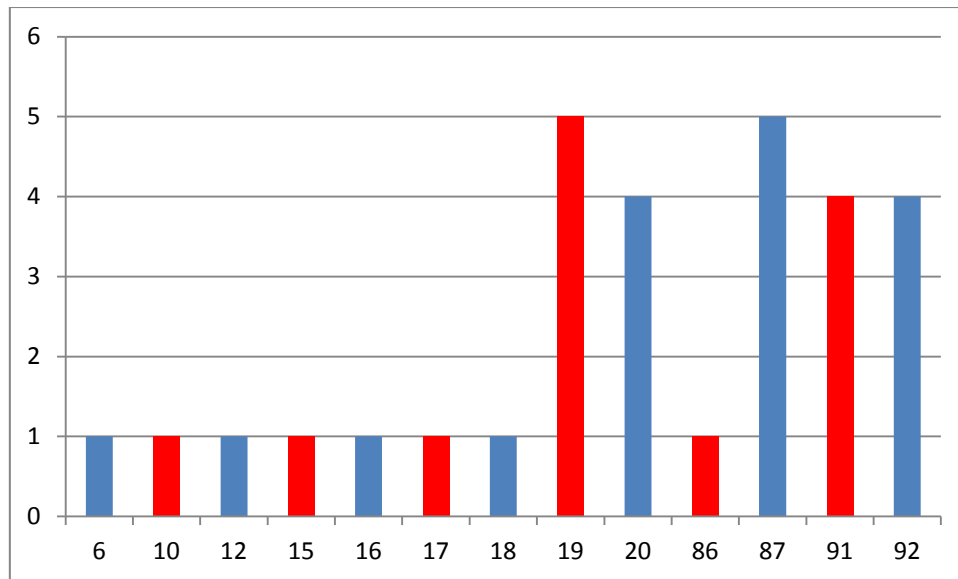


Figure 26: Number of individuals per feature containing dogs from Silchester

Human remains

There were 8 features containing some type of human deposition. The majority of these contained one or more infant individuals with 6 pits having infant remains and 2 containing adult or adolescent remains.

There were five pits within *Insula IX* containing infant remains (F10, F13, F19, F20 and F21) with the only other example found within *Insula I* (F99). All of these features were located close to or underneath domestic structures and in the case of the infant deposition within *Insula IX* some features also contained dog remains (see Eckardt 2006, p228 for a detailed discussion of the correlation between infant, dog and complete pot remains within the same feature). F10 contained one infant individual and one dog, F19 contained 2 to 3 individuals plus 5 dogs and F20 contained 2 infant individuals and 4 dogs. This correlation between dog and infant remains is suggestive of a particular type of depositional practice at the level of the individual *insulae* and may have been specifically associated with domestic structures (see *Figure 27*). It is argued here that the proximity of these features to the houses of *Insula IX* could suggest that these types of depositional practice embedded meaning into the immediate domestic landscape and emphasised occupation and perhaps ownership of particular places within the urban space. The deposition of infants would have been appropriate in subterranean places because of the liminal place that children and infants held in Roman

society and their conceptions of the transcendent (Moore 2009; Norman 2002, p. 302). The significance of the relationship of infants and dogs to the familial groups who lived and worked within *Insula IX* (and who presumably enacted the depositional events) can be read from this apparently purposeful pairing of infants and dogs into particular subterranean features.

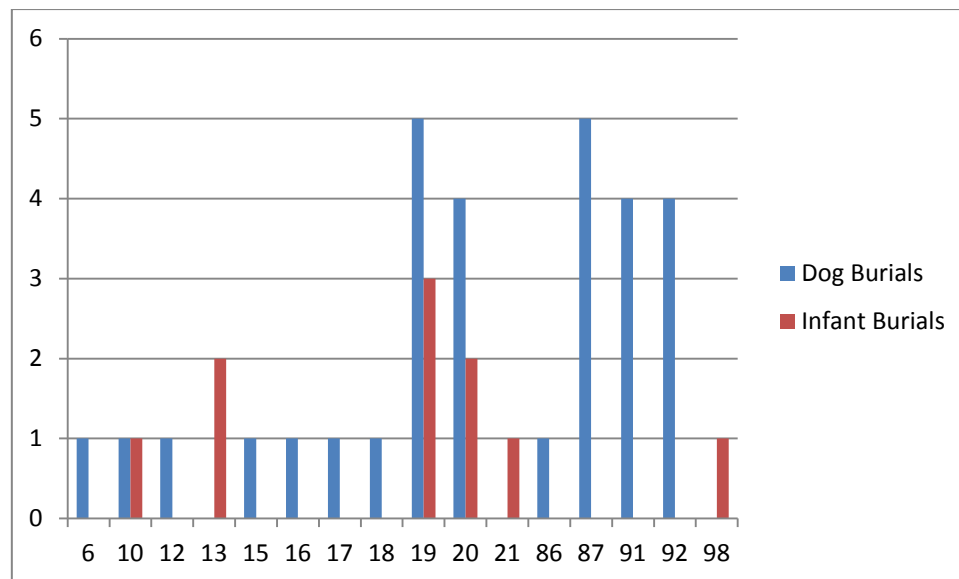


Figure 27: Proportion of dog and infant remains per feature containing either and/or both body types

The infant remains from *Insula I* were deposited inside a pottery vessel underneath building foundations. This is the only example of infant deposition that was made to the exclusion of any other type of object or material. Overall then, there is a pattern of dogs and infants being deposited within the same feature. Furthermore, these features were always located close to domestic buildings (see Figure 32).

F97 in *Insula XXI* contained a femur, other leg bones and skull fragments of an adult male. No other objects or materials were recorded for this feature. F98 in *Insula IV* contained the remains of a 12 to 14 year-old. This feature also contained no other types of depositional objects and/or materials.

Deposition of infant remains within the other urban data discussed above in Chapter Two was extremely rare. This pattern is at odds with the higher frequency of infant deposition found in Silchester and Dorchester (as discussed below in Chapter Four). Human adult deposition is

found within many of the urban centres including Silchester, but the frequency of this type of deposition is relatively low within all urban centres compared to non-urban and sacred precinct locations. This is not surprising considering the Roman laws and taboo against non-infant human burial within the boundaries of Roman towns (Redfern & DeWitte, 2011, p.271). The deposition of infants, therefore, is a defining characteristic of the urban depositional practices of Silchester. A similar pattern for the frequency of infant deposition was also found for Dorchester and is discussed below in Chapter Four.

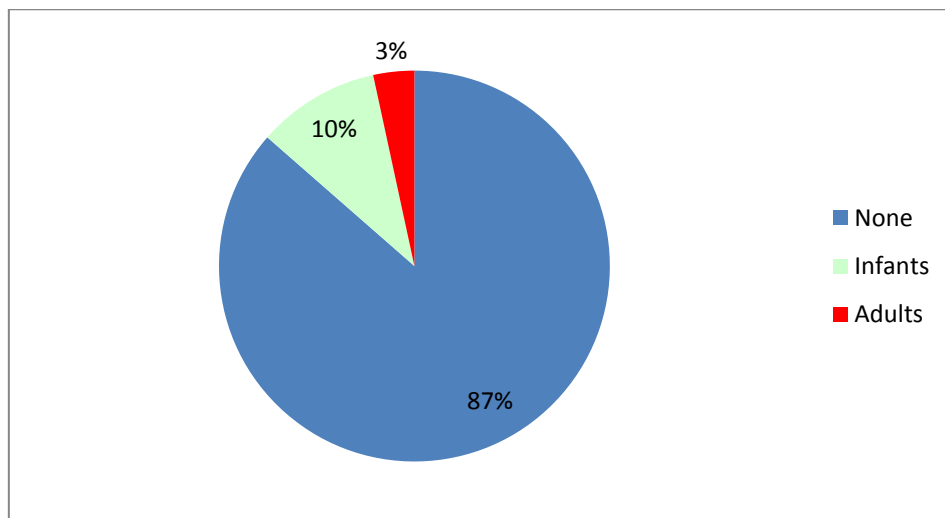


Figure 28: Distribution of human remains across all of the subterranean features from Silchester n=64

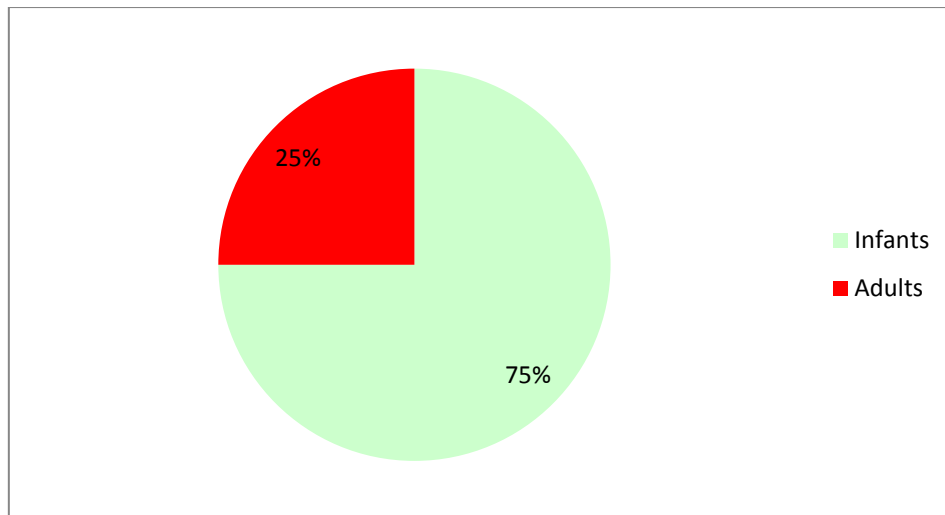


Figure 29: Differential distribution of infant and adult/adolescent remains from features containing human deposits from Silchester n=8

Pottery

Pottery deposition was significant for Silchester with 38 of the 64 features containing some type of pottery deposit. Many features contained more than one vessel, and many features also contained vessels that were either complete or almost complete.

The pottery deposition at Silchester is characterised by the appearance of one or more pottery vessels being found in subterranean features to the exclusion of any other object or material. The features that had only pottery deposited within them include: F1, F2, F4, F5, F7, F8, F9, F11, F14, F88, F95, F96, F102, F103, F104, F105, F107, F109, F111, F113, F114, F117 and F118. Plant remains were found inside the pots located in F113 and F114, and animal remains were found inside the pots located in F117 and F118, which had been embedded within the floor surface of House One, *Insula XXVII*. That over a third of all of the subterranean features of Silchester were of pottery deposition made to the exclusion of other depositional objects is a unique pattern for this town. Furthermore, well over half of all of the features that contained pottery did so at the exclusion of any other object type. The other towns discussed above in Chapter Two did show a trend towards isolated pots being found underneath buildings or urban temples. Although the evidence from the other urban areas for this type of depositional pattern was minimal, the more extensive evidence from Silchester presents a more convincing argument for exclusive pottery deposition as a characteristic of urban depositional practices in

general for the towns of Roman Britain. A pattern of exclusive pottery deposition was not found for any of the other location types of non-urban areas, sacred precincts or Roman military forts. This then is a distinctive characteristic of urban depositional practices, although it was not present at Dorchester where pottery always appeared within contexts that contained a range of depositional objects and bodies. Thus, within the broad pattern of urban depositional practices there is also evidence for inter-urban difference. Patterns of inter-urban difference and their implications are discussed more closely below in Chapter Six.

The evidence for pottery deposition at Silchester is important for the research questions and themes of this thesis. It is apparent that Silchester had a pattern of exclusive pottery deposition, which was also evident within the other urban data discussed in Chapter Two. Urban depositional practices were different in the way they were enacted in terms of choice of object for deposition and how this object type was thought of in regards to relationships to other object types and the spaces that they were deposited within. Simpler deposits, made entirely of a single pot or a few pots, were one of the key characteristics for the subterranean features of Silchester. Significant pottery deposition was also found within non-urban and sacred precinct locations but was almost always made in concert with other depositional objects and materials and very often with large numbers of pots being deposited together. This pattern of depositional complexity was not found within the features of Silchester.

Metal objects

Out of the 64 features located within Silchester, 13 contained some type of metal deposit (including coin/coins). Often these deposits were just of a one or a few objects or pieces of metal along with other types of depositional objects (see *Figure 30*). There were, however, two features that contained large amounts of metal objects that were deposited together according to the function or type of object. Although there are only two examples of these large, grouped deposits, they are reminiscent of the metal deposits from non-urban locations and sacred precincts. In non-urban locations, metal deposits usually consisted of a group of agricultural and functional objects, whilst at sacred precinct locations metal deposits were usually comprised of groups of weaponry.

There was one feature (F64) where the deposition of metal was exclusive of any other object type and consisted of 60 iron objects including a sword blade that had been bent in two. F223

consisted of a large number of iron objects including two iron bars and a sword which had been placed at the top of the well with objects such as a hipposandal, many axes, an anvil, a carpenter's plane and tongs placed within the well itself. The deposition of iron objects within settlements during the Roman period is considered to have been done purposefully for meaningful/ritual reasons, as evidence for accidental loss of objects is not significant for this period (Hingley 2006, p.213). Thus, the deposition of metal was common at Silchester. This represents an aspect of inter-urban difference as metal deposition was not common at Dorchester or Verulamium (see Chapters Four and Five below). The implications of inter-urban differences are discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

Pewter vessels and other pewter objects were also found within some of the features from Silchester. F3, F94 and F106 all contained one or more pewter objects and all of these features have been defined as wells. Only F112 included a pewter jug but was defined as a pit. However, there does seem to be a correlation between pewter deposition and wells, as this pattern was also observed for Caerwent as discussed above in Chapter Two. Furthermore, the deposition of pewter is unique to the urban centres discussed so far as there is no evidence for this type of deposition from the non-urban locations, sacred precincts or from the Roman military forts. Why this type of metal is only found within urban locations is not clear but in any case this is another characteristic of urban depositional practices which is not found in any other location type.

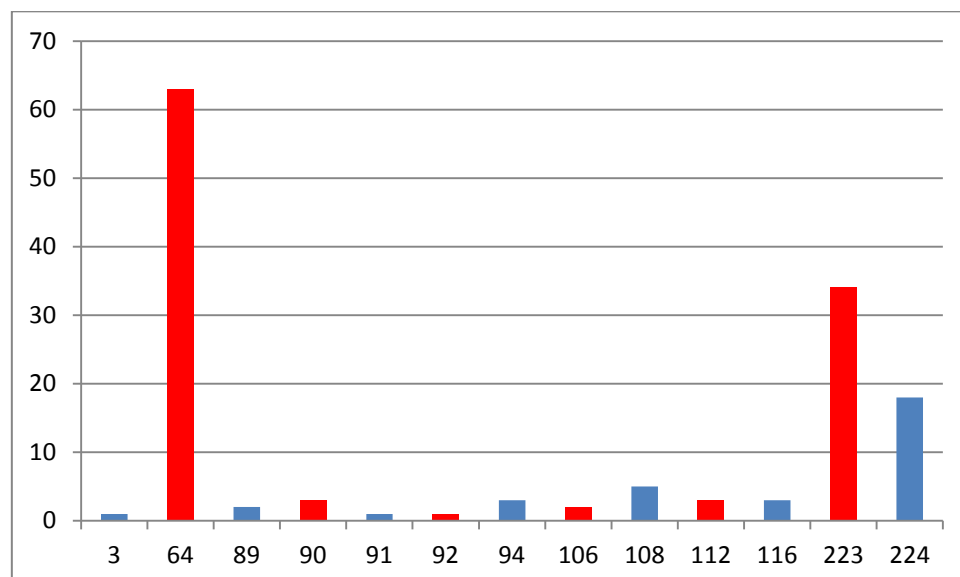


Figure 30: Number of objects/pieces per feature containing metal from Silchester

Coins

Only two examples of coin deposits have been specifically recorded for F13 and F94. Both of these only contained one coin each and there is no evidence for coin hoards or for consistent coin deposition (like that found at F53, Coventina's Well) into any of the features from Silchester. Thus, it appears that the coins from F13 and F94, and any others that may have not been recorded, came from casual loss rather than purposeful deposition. It appears then that coin deposition was not significant for Silchester and that coins were not an appropriate object for special or purposeful deposition within urban centres. Evidence for purposeful coin deposition was also low at Verulamium and Dorchester and is discussed below in Chapters Four and Five.

Personal objects and other objects and materials

The only two examples of the deposition of personal objects came from *Insula XXXVI* (F273 and F274). These two pits contained a number of personal objects each including bone pins and the glass setting for a ring or brooch and have been dated to possibly the late third or fourth centuries (Boon 1974, p.153). Located nearby are the remains of a temple and Boon makes the link between this structure and the pit deposits noting that the offerings were clearly 'associated with the petitions of women' (Boon 1974, p.153).

This general lack of deposition of personal objects is common to all of the location types considered so far with only three examples from the non-urban data and one example from the Roman military forts. There was one example from the other urban data with the deposition of jewellery within F194. This feature, however, was located within an urban temple at Colchester and therefore occurred in a circumscribed sacred precinct. The deposition of personal objects at Silchester has also been associated with a nearby temple and therefore they two can be considered to have been made in a prescribed way in a demarcated sacred space. The only feature containing any significant amount of personal object deposition was from F53, Coventina's well.

Generally speaking then the deposition of personal objects was not a common element of depositional practices from urban centres of Roman Britain (although there is some evidence for this type of deposition at Dorchester which is discussed below in Chapter Four). Indeed, the deposition of personal objects was only found regularly at Coventina's well within the data

included within this project (see Allason-Jones & McKay 1995). Thus, consistent personal object deposition only occurred regularly at circumscribed places such as shrines within specific votive contexts. These types of places are outside the confines of this thesis but future study could include these places as highly prescriptive places where people could offer and conceal particular types of objects as a different way of interacting with the transcendent. Whatever the case however, it is clear that this type of deposition was not common within all of the urban spaces under consideration in this thesis. If it did occur within an urban centre it was done so within a bounded space such as a shrine or temple.

There were also two examples of plant remains deposited in a purposeful way, with F106 containing plant remains within two complete pots and F110 had evidence for the grape and fig remains deposited at the base of a deep pit. However there was no evidence for the non-structural deposition of oak planks or large portions of oak in any of the features from Silchester. This type of depositional object was common in non-urban locations and thus its absence is another characteristic of urban depositional practices.

Feature type

By far the most common feature type is the pit with 43 examples, followed by wells with 14 examples, and there were also 6 examples of deposits made underneath buildings and 1 example of a trench (F122). The trench however is more likely to have referred to an excavation trench and so the original feature from which the deposit was found was either not recorded or unknown.

This comparative proportion of feature types is fairly consistent with the comparative proportion of feature types from the other urban data discussed above in Chapter Two. Pits were, in the case of Silchester and the other urban centres, by far the most common feature type, followed by wells. However there were a number of examples of shaft deposits from the other urban data but this feature type was entirely absent from Silchester. Generally however, pits and then wells characterize the feature types of the urban centres discussed so far. Deposits made underneath buildings are not uncommon and can also be considered a significant form of deposition and concealment for urban inhabitants (see for example F21 at Silchester, *Appendix 6*).

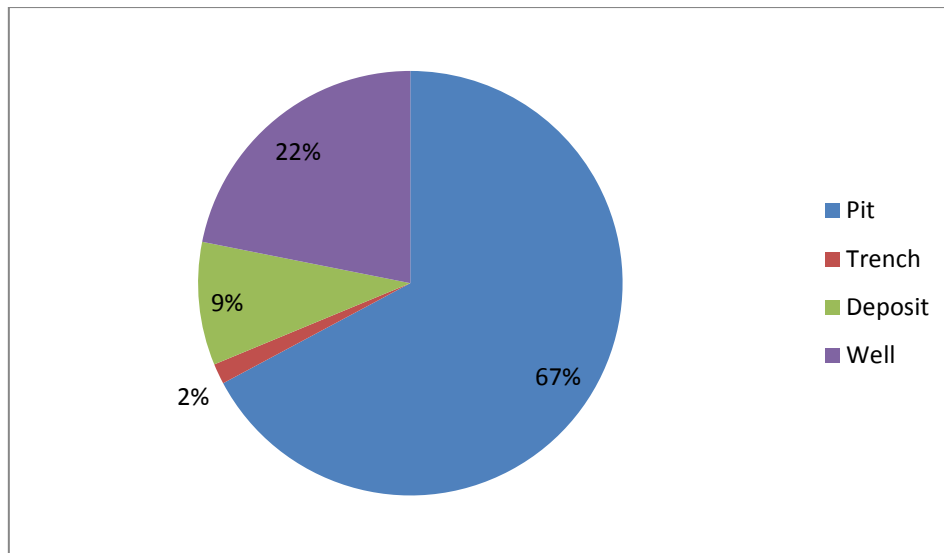


Figure 31: Proportion of feature types found within Silchester ('trench' refers to excavation trench and therefore the original feature type was not known and/or stated) n=64

Fulford notes that subterranean deposits are often either located in pits that were created for cess or other rubbish, as wells for water collection, or for 'some other purpose' (2001, p.202). This point is significant for my proceeding analysis and interpretation as it demonstrates that although beginning as mundane receptacles for various substances these subterranean features were ritualized at times as people encountered the permeability of the urban surface. How this relates to this project's broader enquiry regarding the nature of urbanism in Roman Britain is discussed more closely below in Chapter Six. The very nature of these types of features and the way that they disturbed the order of the lived-in surface of the earth meant that they were appropriate – or indeed necessary – places for purposeful, symbolic acts. Furthermore, it is argued within this thesis that these acts became appropriate vehicles for embedding meaning into the landscape in association with the socio-cultural relationships of particular sites and locations. This interpretation of the results of analyses of the data of this project is discussed in detail within Chapter Six below.

The possibility that different types of features were appropriate for variations of depositional acts is considered within the conclusions to this thesis in Chapters Six and Seven. This possibility is based on the results of analyses of feature types which have shown that although pits were the dominant feature type at Silchester, at Dorchester and Verulamium shafts were by far the most common feature type (see Chapters Four and Five below). Furthermore, how these different types of features operated in terms of site-specific socio-cultural relationships

was also found to have been different within the three case studies. That there may have been a correlation between type of feature and how it functioned symbolically is raised as a possibility for future study.

Dating of features

It is noted that for many of the features under question there is evidence for continuous use with clear contexts and depositional events occurring over time. For example, many of the pits found in *Insula IX* have deposits within them that were likely made as separate 'fills' or events that have been interpreted as possibly ritual or 'special' (for example see Eckardt 2006, p.243 regarding pit 3251 – F20). Thus, most features, and particularly those that are well-dated from recent excavations within *Insula IX*, are not the product of one single depositional event. Therefore, when considering dating of the features of Silchester it is more appropriate to think in terms of periods of use rather than precise dating of single depositional events.

Pottery and coins have been the main pieces of dating evidence (Eckardt 2006, p.228). The coin evidence was found distributed across *Insula IX* in various contexts (Eckardt 2006, p.229). In general, the dating of the deposits is contentious due to a number of factors. By the very nature of a pit it is common to find remixing of fills from different chronologies. As highlighted by Eckardt, pits containing fourth century potsherds may have in fact been dug much earlier. An example of this process is Pit 1438 (not included in this project's database as it was not interpreted as containing any special or ritual deposits) where pottery dated to the third century was found in the same context with an AD 337 coin (Eckardt 2006, p.231). It is also possible that different depositional acts, which have been interpreted as special or ritual, were made at different times within the one pit. This is exemplified by F13 where remains of dogs and infants were deposited at different times within different fills. So, in any case, dating a pit or well is complex because the chronology of a deposited object does not correspond to the chronology of the depositional act, unless of course it involved the immediate deposition of an intact body of a deceased infant or dog. Even in the case of human or animal remains it is possible that bone assemblages may only represent part or parts of the skeleton as retrievable archaeological evidence. Indeed, older objects may even have held special value and been appropriate for special or ritual deposition.

The life cycle of individual pits has been analysed by Eckardt for F19 and F20 (2006). Significantly these analyses reveal that there was a complex sequence of contexts built-up over

time that are distinguishable in terms of type of fill and within which contexts 'special' deposits of dog or infant remains occurred. It is apparent that there were periods of relatively infrequent use of the pit, in comparison to times when there were distinguishable 'special' events of deposition. Eckardt (2006, p.244) concludes that:

'While there can be no certain answers regarding the intent behind these deposits...close analysis demonstrates that they do represent 'special' events distinguishable by their character from the rest of the fills. These deposits embrace infant and canine death...as well as waste which is typical of high levels of consumption, such as feasting. The very particular concentrations of debris in the final fills of both pits are intriguing. They indicate a deliberate decision to abandon the pit in question, rather than to excavate out the contents and re-use it. We may speculate that, together, the evidence may point to major events in the life of the household, including deaths, departures, or even abandonment'.

Out of the 66 features from Silchester, 17 have been dated to particular time periods. The majority of these dated features come from *Insula IX* (F1, F2, F3, F4, F6, F7, F8, F10, F11, F12, F13, F15, F18 and F19), however all of the dated features have been assigned to the third century and/or up to the late fourth century (including the non-*Insula IX* features of F223, F273 and F274). Thus, overall, the features under question are all from later Roman periods and provide the impression that this type of activity increased during the later phases of the town during the third and fourth centuries (also see Fulford 2012, pp.269-270). This apparent increase in depositional activity from the third century onwards has important implications for the interpretations of this project. Changes to the depositional practices of Verulamium and Dorchester also occurred during the third century and therefore shifts in all of the case-studies depositional behaviours have been found in this project. The nature of these shifts in urban depositional practices is considered closely in Chapter Six.

How this increase in the frequency of these depositional activities possibly relates to other changes occurring within Silchester from the third century onwards is discussed further below in this chapter and is discussed in much greater detail within Chapter Six. This apparent increase in depositional activity during the third and fourth centuries was also found in the non-urban locations as discussed above in Chapter Two. Furthermore, there is also a definite pattern of change and/or cessation of depositional activities for Dorchester and Verulamium at the same time which, is discussed further in Chapters Four and Five. However, it is noted that many of the features from Silchester are undated and thus it is not known if the pattern of features dated mainly to the third and fourth centuries is the result of bias in the nature of

archaeological investigations of this site. However with the present available evidence there does appear to have been an increase in depositional activities from the third century onwards at Silchester.

Aesthetics of deposits

As with the features from the other location types (see Chapter Two above), if the deposits displayed any of the following characteristics they were included within the group of features displaying a degree of aestheticism: distinctive layering of deposits and/or depositional events often marked by sterile layers of chalk/flint packing; repetition in the number and type of an object across a group of associated pits or shafts; clearly arranged objects forming patterns or shapes; placement of objects in symmetrical arrangements and lining of feature with some type of fabric for non-structural purposes (chalk blocks or pebbles pressed into wall surface for example).

There is no evidence for these kinds of aesthetic characteristics in the way in which deposits were made within Silchester. Furthermore, there is little evidence for the kind of regular depositional complexity and density of object numbers found within the features from non-urban and sacred precinct locations. Therefore it appears that the subterranean features of Silchester were simpler and lacked aesthetic care and in many cases appear to have been 'opportunistic' in that they were often made within pits that were already in use for the disposal of cess, rubbish and other refuse (see Eckardt 2006, pp.239-241 for example). It is argued here that this does not diminish the meaningful intent on behalf of the depositor but rather that within urban spaces such as Silchester the urge to deposit and conceal objects for whatever purpose within subterranean spaces was often linked to the presence of a pre-existing pit or well. People would have regularly encountered subterranean spaces via rubbish disposal, well-digging and storage for example. These subterranean spaces would have provided, or indeed necessitated, opportunities to deposit or conceal various objects for purposes beyond just functional rubbish disposal. Indeed, a blurring of rubbish disposal and ritual was likely (following Dickson 2007).

The apparent lack of care taken with the enactment and visual arrangement of deposits within the towns of Roman Britain is a distinctive characteristic of urban depositional practices. This characteristic is highlighted when the non-urban and sacred precinct deposits are considered. In these deposits, there is evidence of greater complexity and aesthetic care taken in the

arrangement and construction of relationships between various objects is taken into account (see Chapter Two above). This then is a major point of comparison between urban and non-urban depositional practices. It is argued here that this in part was the result of different patterns of production, resource ownership, trade and consumption within different location types. Environmental and osteoarchaeological evidence for differences in status, distribution of wealth and relative levels of health does suggest that there were a number of differences between urban and rural areas. That wealth and status were probably more evenly distributed within urban centres as compared to rural areas (Albarella, Johnstone & Vickers 2008; Cheung, Schroeder & Livarda 2012; Locker 2007, pp.157-158; Pitts & Griffin 2012) supports the position of this project. Therefore, how and why depositional events were enacted in urban areas, and who was involved in their enactment, were probably different to other location types based on variations in socio-cultural relationships and economic processes. There were greater levels of disparity in status and health in areas outside of urban centres and thus a probable greater disparity between individuals and groups in terms of who controlled/owned resources and modes of production and consumption. Therefore, it is argued here that these differences in status, wealth distribution and health were related to the more complex and larger depositional events in non-urban areas, and that the depositional event may have been intended to have been 'viewed' as an act demonstrating largess and power (following Bradley 1980). This argument is discussed in detail below in Chapter Six.

Spatial distribution of subterranean features

Due to the ubiquitous nature of the spatial distribution of the special deposits and ritual pits of Silchester it is difficult to claim any particular zoning of this type of activity (see *Figure 32 & 33*). It seems that this type of ritual act was available to a large proportion of the population if space and social action are assumed to have a correlation. Therefore, how the town was perceived and how space was used for this type of depositional activity seems to be fairly well distributed across the town. Furthermore, Fulford highlights how the records of the pit deposits from the northern half of the town appear to be 'fuller than those from other insulae' (Fulford 2001, p.206). Accordingly, Fulford suggests that this appearance of less pits in other parts of the town may 'be the result of less intensive trenching elsewhere in the town or of difficulties in identifying deep pits through, for example, the greater depth of stratigraphic accumulation which occurs over the southern half of the walled area' (Fulford 2001, p.206).

So, if these factors are taken into account it is likely that the act of making subterranean deposits was probably even more widely distributed across the town than is evident from current research. This is in contrast to the apparent zoning of Dorchester (see Chapter Four below) where the central *insula* was a bounded space where prescribed depositional activities were carried out throughout the Roman period of the town. Furthermore, unlike Silchester, there does appear to have been zoning in Dorchester, with major differences between sectors of the town in terms of the types of objects and animal remains that were deposited within subterranean features.

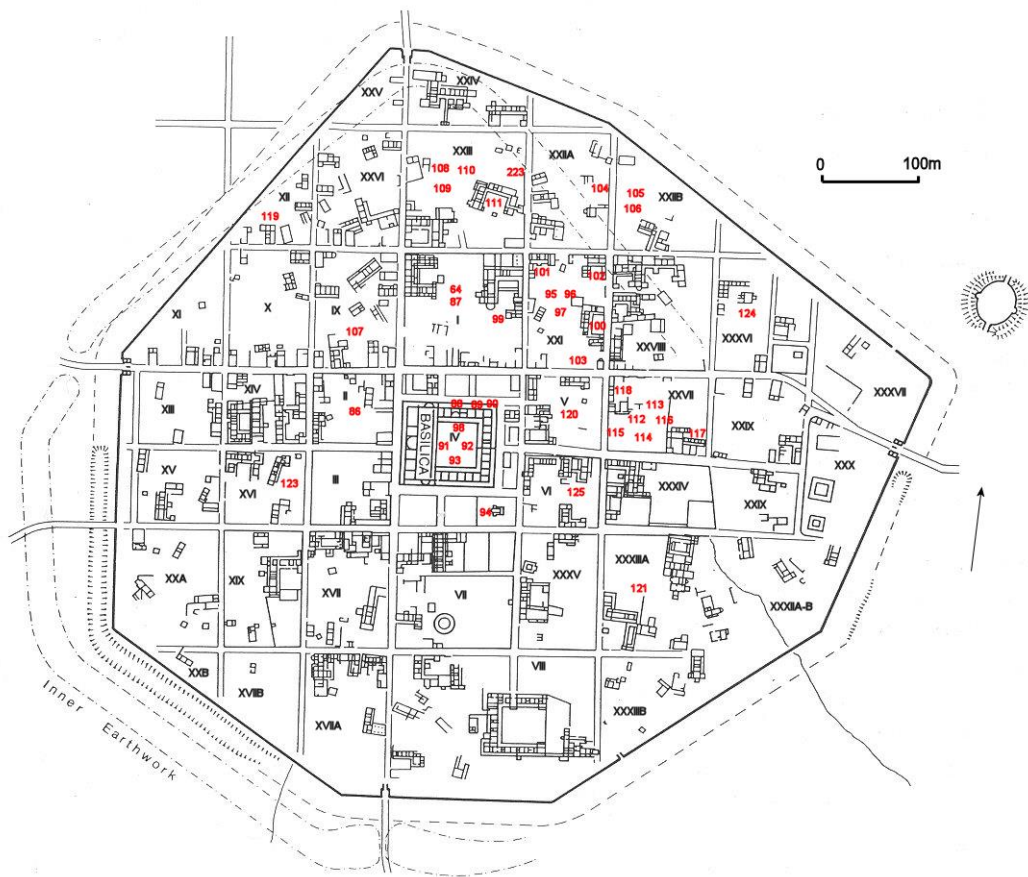


Figure 32: Spatial distribution of the known subterranean features of Silchester

This variance between Silchester and Dorchester highlights the inter-urban differences observable between individual towns on the basis of how special deposition was enacted. Thus, although there were gross similarities between the urban centres for subterranean deposition, close analysis reveals that although these acts operated similarly there were differences between towns in terms of the spatial and social relationships associated with these particular meaningful acts. The types of objects deposited are largely the same, however the spatial patterning of subterranean features and possible intra-urban differences within individual towns demonstrate that inter-urban differences existed in terms of the spatial and socio-economic shape of the town. These inter-urban differences - based on intra-urban spatial distribution of subterranean features - was also obvious at Verulamium and is discussed in detail within Chapter Five.

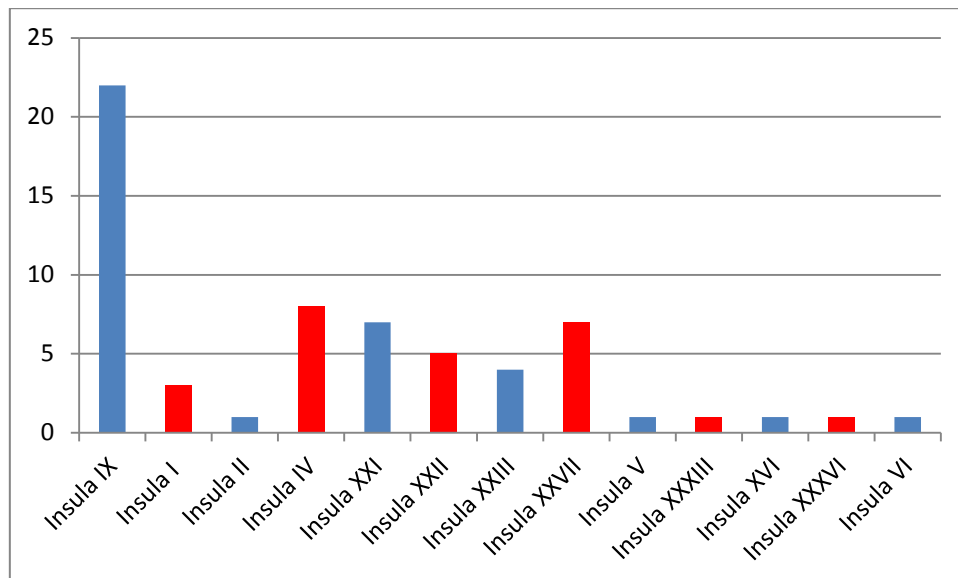


Figure 33: Location of the subterranean features of Silchester according to distribution within individual insulae

Insula IX

On a smaller scale, it is possible to see how subterranean features may have worked to enhance boundaries at the level of individual *insulae*. A linear group of five pits located between the northern quarter of *Insula IX* and Building 5 (see Figure 34) is notable in the manner in which they also relate spatially to the 'southern boundary of one of the plots in the northern quarter' (Clarke and Fulford 2002, p.148). Clarke & Fulford note that 'what determined the pattern of pit digging, such that continuous rows of pits did not develop on

each side of the boundary rather than the other, is obscure' (Clarke & Fulford 2002, p.148). The fill of these pits consisted largely of pottery and animal bone. However F13 revealed a dog skeleton which had been placed in a realistic upright position. Also of ritual significance was the deposition of two infants (or at least the partial remains of two skeletons) within this same pit (Eckhardt 2006, pp.225-226). The five pits that appear to be part of a linear formation and that have evidence of special or ritual deposition include F1 (pot x 2), F2 (pot x 1), F9 (pot x1), F11 (pot x 1) and F15 (pot x1, dog x1) and F13(infant x2, coin - *Tetricus* 1, AD271-280, dog x 4) could also be included in this group as it effectively marks the eastern extremity of this linear arrangement along with F15. These pits form part of a line of pits that effectively marks a boundary between the northern and southern sectors of the plots at the northern end of the *insula*.

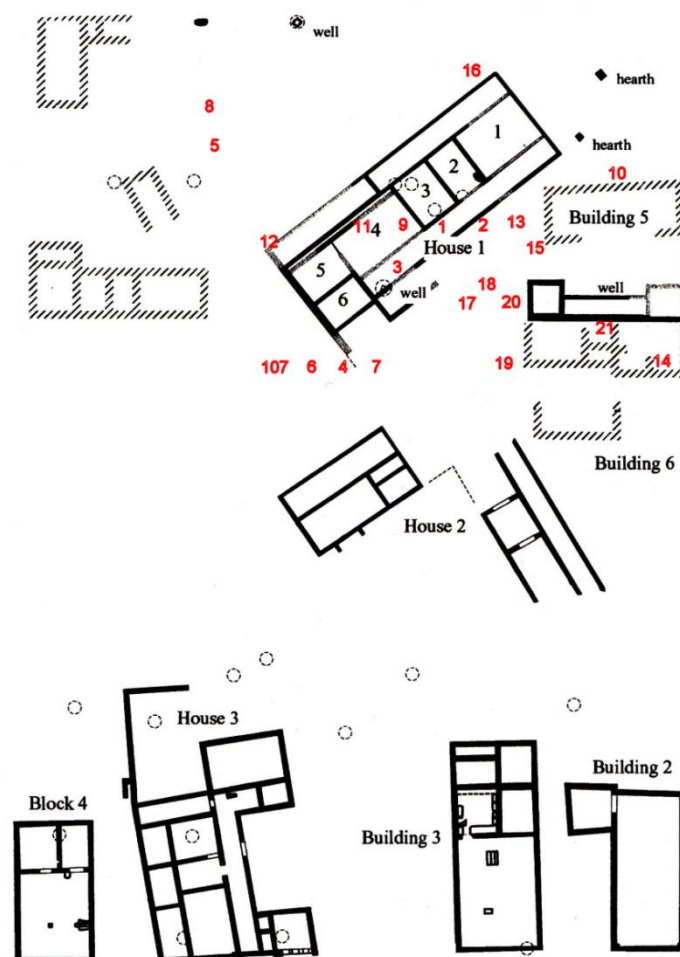


Figure 34: Spatial distribution of known subterranean features within Insula IX at Silchester

The spatial significance of the subterranean features of Silchester is further highlighted when the demarcation between the northern and southern sectors of this *insula* is considered. The overall impression from the use of the pits of *Insula* IX suggests differential action roughly divided between the northern and southern halves of the *insula* (Eckardt 2006, pp.227-228). An example of this, in terms of depositional object, is that most of the remains of canines occur in the southern half of the block (ten of the eleven late pits containing dog remains were found in this sector). Infant remains also cluster in a particular pattern within the southern sector of the *insula*, and were located within pits in close association with Building 1 and Building 5 (Eckardt, 2006, p.226). Why this patterning occurred is not certain and investigating it more closely is outside the confines of this thesis' enquiry. However that there appears to be a difference in types of bodies deposited between two sectors of the *insula* suggests that depositional practices may have had been perpetuated in a place-specific way. Furthermore, it is possible based on the evidence from Silchester's *insula* IX that different objects and bodies had particular significance and this was reinforced by repeated similar depositional events across time and space.

To be able to make this claim it is necessary to assume that knowledge of these places existed amongst the people who occupied and used *Insula* IX. The pits with complex deposition do support this assumption in that for repeated deposition of special objects to occur over time (Eckardt 2006, p244), people must have been able to locate them above ground. They may have been left open or marked in some way. Alternatively, their location – even if they were covered and not in use at certain times – may have simply been part of local or family knowledge. Feature 13 is an example of the repeated use of one feature over time for certain depositional acts (Eckardt 2006, p.223). So, whatever the case, a method of remembering and/or recognising visually where the pits were located must have existed within the community. Thus it is plausible that this line of pits operated to mark some kind of boundary and/or difference between the northern and southern sectors of the *insula*, or as markers of distinctions between plots and/or properties within the northern sector of the *insula*. It is also possible that the disposal of rubbish at the limits of a property or plot within the *insula* also operated to demarcate space. In a very simple sense, people will naturally not walk through or across a line of open rubbish pits or pits that create significant undulation of the ground's surface: they are in themselves a physical, visual and olfactory boundary. As noted by Eckardt (2006, p.223), 'some of the recutting of substantial pits...occurs next to the proposed fence

line dividing the *insula*'. It is argued here that the disposal of rubbish combined with the more special or ritual deposition that occurred within these subterranean features worked together to define space at its limits. The sometime transformation of a rubbish pit into a place of ritual via purposeful depositional acts worked to embed social meaning into subterranean place. That these places penetrated the earth and were filled with detritus necessitated special attention from the occupants and users of *Insula IX*. Furthermore, that these same places were also often located at the limits of properties and/or plots also meant that they were at the crucial intersection between conceptions of 'mine' and 'yours'. F13 is an example of this as both a place of rubbish disposal but also incorporated the deposition of two infants. F15 as part of the same linear arrangement as F13 also exemplifies this argument that rubbish and special deposition combined to demarcate space and ritualize the abject limits of space with the deposition of a complete pot and an articulated dog skeleton along with evidence for regular rubbish disposal.

These pits can be seen to facilitate linear boundaries across the surface of the *insula* and acted to demarcate the northern and southern sectors via the type of objects deposited within them. The row of five pits within the northern portion of the *insula* appears to mark space between plots and/or property boundaries. Indeed, Clarke and Fulford are adamant that '...the group of pits associated with house 1, with their – to all appearances – intentionally placed finds, have a ritual significance' (1998, p.30). These pits and the way that they their location focused upon the demolished House 1 are suggestive of intentional action marking out newly defined boundaries within the reorganised *insula*. Furthermore, it is argued here that the pit and well deposits worked to mediate the relationship between people and the liminality of the pits and wells which penetrated the earth. In effect the earth's surface is a boundary that separates people from what lies below. Wells and pits for rubbish, cess and other waste necessarily penetrate this boundary and are points of permeability of the boundary of the urban surface in the case of Silchester. So, not only did the special deposits within these pits work to ritualise the boundary between the surface of the ground and that which lies below, they also in the case of the third-century *Insula IX*, worked to emphasise boundaries between properties (Clarke and Fulford 2002, p131). The implications of this interpretation are discussed further in Chapter Six.

There was also the line of features that ran approximately east-west from the edge of Building 1 (see *Figure 34*). This approximate line includes (from east to west) F20, F18, F17, a gap and then, F7, F4, F6 and F107. Along with evidence for cess and rubbish in the first three features

there was also evidence for special deposits of 4 dogs, 1 complete pot, complete jars and two infants (F20), 1 dog (F18) and another complete dog (F17). The other features in this linear group also contained special finds with a complete beaker and complete flagon in F7, a complete pot in F4, a fully articulated dog in F6 and a very large black jug along with flint fill in the well of F107. It is possible then that this group of features may also have acted as markers of the delineation of space where both rubbish and cess along with the sometime event of special deposition worked to define the limits of certain places within the *insula*. In a different way the group of three subterranean features associated with Building 1 can also be seen to act as markers of space and place as they appear to act to define the location and limits of this structure. F21 consisted of an infant deposited under the building's foundations, F19 contained 5 dogs, 2-3 infants and 3 almost complete vessels and is located at the western limits of the building, whilst F14 contained a single complete pot and is located approximately at the eastern limits of the structure.

How these subterranean features of *Insula IX* were utilised over time provides a narrative of use from which can be read certain events in the life of this part of the *insula*. For what purposes these features were originally cut is also significant in that although they may have been intended as places of rubbish disposal they were manipulated and utilised for a range of socially-meaningful activity over time. This demonstrates how this evidence of life events may not have been distinguished from other more everyday activities. Furthermore this provides a contrast to other ritual activity enacted with the towns of Roman Britain which was more closely circumscribed within demarcated ritual spaces (such as temples or public civic areas). As discussed in Chapters Four and Five below the majority of subterranean features found at Dorchester and Verulamium were located in demarcated spaces, unlike Silchester, where the majority of features were found throughout many sectors of the town.

Insula IV, the forum-basilica complex

Another area which has evidence for a particular spatial distribution of features is *Insula IV* (see *Figure 32*). The boundaries of the forum-basilica complex that occupies the entirety of this *insula* are marked by a group of pits with special deposits (F88, F89 and F90). The forum complex is also marked by a number of subterranean deposits which are focused upon marking space beneath the structures of the complex (F91, F92, F93 and F94)

Located between the east-west street and the northern end of the forum were three pits (see Figure 32). One of these pits contained thirty-nine necks of flasks or bottles of various sizes (F88). From the other pit (F89) was a bronze figure, which is suggested to have been a representation of an infant Hercules, along with an iron screw and pottery fragments (Fulford 2001, p.203). There was also a well (F90) in a nearby location that included 5 pots (two 'perfect' and the others presumably fragmented), a steelyard weight and a farmyard weight. Effectively then these pits mark the northern limits of this complex and mark the limits of the *insula*.

The other group of features that are argued to have been significant in the way they emphasised place include F91, F92, F93, F94 and F98. A well in the forum courtyard (F92) was found to contain animal bones (primarily dog but also some pig and sheep bone) and there were also pottery fragments, flints and an iron stylus (Fulford 2001, p.203). Another 'pit or well' incorporated two cattle jaw bones (F93). Another well south of the forum contained three coins (*Victorinus*), some *opus signinum* fragments, 'large flints' and two small conical pewter cups (F94). Four dog skulls, a small blade of a knife and some gamecock spurs were found underneath the floor of one of the forum rooms (F91). F98 is unique within urban deposits in general as it contained the skull and arm bones of a child aged 12-14 years. As discussed previously, the deposition or burial of non-infant humans was extremely rare in the subterranean deposits of urban centres presumably due to the taboo and laws surrounding non-infant burial within Roman town boundaries. These deposits then would have been enacted to mark the place occupied by the forum and the central location that the forum-basilica complex within the town of Silchester. Unfortunately these deposits have not been dated as they were found during the antiquarian excavations of the late 19th century (Fulford 2001, p. 203).

The deposition of these objects in a purposeful, ritual manner would have been appropriate at the outer limits of this *insula* as a means of defining the boundary of this place. The function of the forum-basilica complex would seem straightforward in conception but the actual use of this place is manipulated over time. As outlined above, during the third century, the basilica is taken over by metalworkers and the original function of this building complex is therefore dramatically altered. Because of the lack of dating of the features found within this *insula* it is impossible to connect them to these changes that took place during the third century. The significance of marking boundaries of place via the deposition of material culture was a common practice throughout different periods in Britain from the Bronze Age – Iron Age

transition onwards (McOmish 1996; Thomas 1997) and during the Roman period in rural areas (Evans 2007). It is argued here that the deposition of particular objects and bodies within subterranean features of Silchester operated in a similar way. That is, the limits of a particular place were defined by depositional events. This demarcation of space has been shown via the spatial distribution of many of the subterranean features of *Insula* IV and *Insula* IX.

Gendered space in *Insula* XXXVI

Other examples of specific urban depositional practices that marked space in a particular way and worked to emphasise certain social relationships within the town are found in *Insula* XXXVI. *Insula* XXXVI, located in the eastern sector of the town, close to the Eastern Gate, is the source of particular deposits associated with a Romano-British temple (see *Figure 32*). The special pit deposits in this locale have been interpreted as ‘female’ in character and are assumed to have been deposits made by women (Boon, 1974, p.153). F273, dated to the third or fourth century, contained two small complete pots along with bronze pins and a glass setting for a ring or brooch. F274, also dated to the third or fourth century, also contained a range of personal objects which Boon interpreted as female (1974, p.153). Boon’s interpretation raises the possibility of defining urban depositional practices according to gender-specific action. Further investigation into this possibility is outside of the immediate research agenda of this thesis but it does suggest that there were multiple types of depositional behaviour expressed in urban areas of Roman Britain. Therefore, this possibility also suggests that the complex nature of the socio-cultural relationships of urban centres may have allowed for a diverse range of socially informed ritual activities.

Spatial distribution of urban depositional practices

Clearly then this marking of space and place via special deposits (and often in association with more general rubbish and cess disposal) operated to demarcate space and emphasise place within the town of Silchester. By embedding meaning into subterranean deposits the inhabitants of Silchester effectively made distinctions between themselves, their property and other people and properties of different *insulae* and sectors of the town. This type of action can be seen as a characteristic of urban depositional practices in that the complexity and size of urban centres necessitated a clear marking of boundaries between different groups and

places. The nature of urbanism and the need for clear spatial boundaries is reflective of the complex and intensive social organisation of the 'town'. The marking of space via rubbish deposition as a component of boundary construction has a long history within the landscapes of pre-Roman Britain. Defensive circuits and boundary ditches filled with, for example, midden material, were a common feature of the landscape of Bronze Age Britain (for example see Edmonds 1993; Gosden and Lcok 1998; McOmish 1995; Thomas 1997: Tilley 1994). It is not being argued that the subterranean deposits of Silchester represent continuity from Britain's prehistoric past. Rather, it is being suggested that rubbish, cess and detritus can act in powerful ways via a relational logic of exclusion and inclusion at the limits of a person's or group's property.

Boundaries operate as places of 'regulated permeability' and importantly 'all social systems are vulnerable at their margins' and accordingly these margins are conceptually hazardous (Butler 1990, p.132). The subterranean features of Silchester were at the margins not only of the earth's surface, but were also often located at the margins of urban properties. It is possible that these subterranean features functioned symbolically on a number of levels.

Note on urban change in third-century Silchester

There was an extensive reorganisation and replanning of *Insula IX* culminating in the re-orientation of buildings onto the Roman street pattern which occurred during the last quarter of the third century (Fulford and Clarke 2006, p145.). It is proposed that similar re-organisation may have occurred within other areas of Silchester. This proposal is in part based on the fact that quite a number of buildings in other *insulae* are also askew and not aligned with the Roman street grid (see *Figure 32*). That there was a complete reorientation of the town that conformed to the Roman grid pattern seems likely. Fulford, Clarke & Eckardt ask 'What precipitated this extensive reorganisation of the insula?' (2006, p.250), thereby prompting enquiry into the broader social structures of the town that could have contributed to this major manipulation of Silchester's built environment. Furthermore it is also suggested that these extensive changes to this *insula* 'symbolically eradicated a link which went back to the origins of *Calleva*' (Fulford 2006, p.250). Thus, the changes that are seen in depositional practices at this time could be considered in terms of the related processes of Romanisation and urbanisation. The position of this project is that defining the cultural origins of these practices may be unwarranted by the time of the third century as Roman British material

culture had developed as a unique phenomenon. As stated in the Introduction, defining an aspect of material culture as either the result of 'Romanisation' or as related to an Indigenous trait is not the purpose of this study. Rather, it is the nature of urban depositional practices that are being investigated. The nature of urbanism by the time of the third century in Roman Britain should be seen in the context not just of 'Romanisation' but as a development that was unique to this particular provincial context.

The ritual pit deposits of *Insula IX* are associated temporally with this reorganisation and continue in use after this and into the later Roman phase of the town. It is conceivable then that the consistent and repeated deposition of particular objects and remains into subterranean features were part of these social and physical changes to the urban fabric. If the re-orientation of houses onto the Roman street pattern does indeed represent a symbolic end to a link with the pre-Roman past, then perhaps a need was felt to utilise other forms of material culture that could maintain this link (based on Fulford's 2001 interpretation of the subterranean features of Silchester likely being a continuation of pre-Roman traditions). Ritual pit deposits provided an appropriate form of expression in the way that they could be enacted opportunistically into pre-existing pits dug for rubbish, cess or wells. That pits – particularly those used for rubbish disposal – are intrinsically associated with discard, death and the abject aspects of human use of space meant that they could have provided an opportunity for symbolism that either recognised or countered these more negative and dangerous psychological associations. At this level of analysis it is sufficient to recognise that places of discard and loss were an appropriate receptacle for burial of remains that would have had social meaning. Collective knowledge and memory of these types of depositional practices may have maintained a link with the non-Roman past. The re-establishment of the pre-Roman boundaries of the town was expressed via the construction of the late second-century town wall following the circuit of the later iron-age inner earthwork circuit (de la Bedoyere 1992, p.74). This building programme demonstrates how knowledge and memory would have been a clear aspect of the town's character and conceptualisation of the past. It follows then that common practices from the pre-Roman past could have maintained meaning over time even if they were not continuously practiced.

The idea that subterranean deposition was associated with changes to urban fabric from the third century onwards is discussed more closely in Chapter Six where the relationship between subterranean depositional practices and urbanism in general is considered. It is shown below that the towns of Dorchester and Verulamium also had depositional practices that linked the

town and its population to the past. Furthermore, it is also claimed in this thesis that the perpetuation and then cessation of particular depositional practices during the third century within these urban centres were related to changes to the socio-cultural and physical structures of the towns. Thus, the fourth major research question of this thesis is addressed by focusing on the maintenance and change observable for depositional practices and how these related to processes of urban development and change during the Roman period.

The characteristics of the depositional practices of Silchester

There are then a number of key characteristics observable for the depositional practices of Silchester. The animal species present and absent within the features largely conform to the patterns of species distribution for the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two. Dog was predominant with only a couple of examples of deposition of other domesticated species occurring. Like the other urban centres analysed so far the deposition of any wild species, including oyster and deer, did not occur. Also, horse and pig were very rare which also conforms to the pattern found for the other urban centres discussed above in Chapter Two. There were also two examples of dense cattle deposition with large numbers of individuals being deposited at the same time within the same feature. This was very similar to the evidence from Caerwent and Wroxeter. So it seems likely that there was an urban tradition associated with the deposition of particular species where dog predominated, whilst horse, pig, oyster, deer and wild species in general were either absent or very rare.

Pottery deposition to the exclusion of other object types was also characteristic of Silchester's subterranean features. Pottery deposition was also important for the other urban centres but the proportion of exclusive pottery deposition at Silchester was very high with over a third of all of the features from the town being devoted to the deposition of just pottery. Also, over half of the features that contained any type of pottery deposition contained it exclusively. So far then, this is a feature unique to Silchester which sees the slight trend of exclusive pottery distribution found for the other urban centres (see Chapter Two above) being expressed strongly within this town.

Deposition of metal was relatively significant for Silchester with just over 20% of features containing some type of metal object(s). This is a greater proportion than was observed for the other urban centres but the types of objects deposited were very similar, with agricultural equipment and tools being most common. Another similarity with the other urban centres

was that the deposition of pewter only ever occurred in wells. Furthermore pewter is only ever found within features from urban centres as there was no evidence for this type of deposition found at any of the other location types. It is apparent then that the deposition of pewter correlates with the feature type of wells and that this practice was entirely unique to the urban locations under consideration in this thesis.

Unlike sacred precincts and non-urban locations, there was no evidence for aesthetic care taken with the arrangement of objects used for depositional acts that were suggestive of ritual and/or special deposition. Furthermore, there was a lack of complexity in terms of large combinations of many different types of objects and materials that were otherwise common within non-urban and sacred precinct locations. This trend was the same pattern found for the other urban centres as discussed above in Chapter Two. Therefore, one of the most apparent differences between urban and other locations' depositional practices was the general absence of intricate visual arrangement of deposited objects along with a generally lower proportion of numbers of objects and bodies deposited within the one event. This difference between urban depositional practices and those from the other location types is discussed in detail below in Chapter Six.

There appears to have been an intensification of depositional practices from the third century onwards that occurred at the same time as other major changes to the urban fabric. It is not immediately clear why ritual deposition became a significant form of ritual expression during the third century and latest Roman phases of the town. What is clear however is that larger changes to the urban fabric occurred during the same time as the intensification of the use of subterranean features for ritual and/or special deposition. The reorganisation of *Insula IX* and realignment with major buildings to the Roman street grid occurred during the third and fourth centuries and in some senses the alignment of pits may have been a means of embedding memory into the fabric of this section of the town. The demolition and rebuilding of House 1 for example may have necessitated the commemoration of past places within the *insula* and the ancestors and groups of people that occupied them (following Clarke & Fulford 1998, p.29). The spatial distribution of subterranean features throughout Silchester was ubiquitous. However, at the level of individual *insulae* or sectors of the town it has been found that these features operated to demarcate space and emphasise definitions of place.

The operational logic of depositional practices in Silchester compared to the other urban centres and other location types

Compared to the other towns of Dorchester and *Verulamium* which are discussed in detail in Chapters Four and Five, the subterranean deposits of Silchester have a ubiquitous spatial patterning (following Fulford 2001 who has described the ritual deposits of Silchester as 'pervasive'). However the general logic that can be assumed for the features of Silchester can also be assumed for the other urban centres of Roman Britain as well as other location types. Most of the special or ritual deposits of Silchester were made within pre-existing subterranean places such as cesspits and rubbish pits. Indeed the majority of objects that have been interpreted as special or ritual deposits were found within more complex matrices of rubbish and cess. Thus the logic of depositing something for special or ritual purposes is intimately linked to the fact that the receptacle for the deposited object already existed and was a place that necessarily penetrated the earth's surface.

Crucially, for the purposes of this thesis, is describing how these depositional acts might have been similar and different between different location types, and most importantly defining the similarities and differences of urban depositional activities. It is clear that there was a similar logic in all urban centres, that is that subterranean spaces were appropriate for – or perhaps necessitated – the special or ritual deposition of a particular range of objects. It has been found that the range of objects appropriate for deposition within urban centres was similar within most towns (for example, dogs and pots but no horses, pigs or wild species) but that there are observable differences in the way that they were spatially organised within particular cities. The inter-urban difference in the spatial distribution of these subterranean features is a major finding of this thesis and is utilised as a means of describing the individual nature of urban development in Roman Britain where each town's origins and growth were dependent upon relationships to place, people and the past that were already present at the time of the Claudian annexation of AD 43 (following Creighton 2006; Rogers 2008).

The use of pits, wells and deposits under buildings for ritual purposes in Silchester appears to have intensified from the third century onwards. This intensification continued until the later phases of the Roman occupation and was particularly marked during the sub-Roman phase when occupation and use of the town declined and was eventually abandoned (Clarke & Fulford 1998). This intensification in subterranean deposition occurred concomitantly with larger social and physical changes to the urban structure from the third century onwards. The

construction of non-defensive walls that followed the course of the later Iron Age boundaries of the pre-Roman settlement of the site represents broad processes of change occurring during the third century. The need to embed meaning into the landscape by boundary construction and marking of place via location of ritual pits and the third-century town walls are argued to have been the physical manifestations of certain social and cultural processes. The relationship between social and physical change to the case-studies during the third century and the concomitant changes to depositional practices of the towns is a point of significant interpretation for this thesis. It is demonstrated below in Chapter Six how these changes to depositional practices were intrinsically related to structures of power, status and modes of ownership and consumption within the towns.

These social and cultural processes left particular traces of change in the perception and use of the town – most markedly being the appropriation of the basilica by metal workers sometime during the third century. It has also been argued that control of taxation shifted to the outer limits of towns at this time within the Empire and shifted to an economic process operating at the gates of the walls (see Perring 1991, p.283). This decentralisation of the urban space and infrastructure, along with related social and economic relationships mediated within and at the limits of the town, represents major shifts in how the town was perceived and used by its inhabitants. The occupants and users of the urban space manipulated particular places and buildings according to needs and social relationships of the time. These issues surrounding urbanism and urban change during the third century are discussed more closely in Chapters Six.

The operational logic for other location types such as non-urban places was not vastly different from what occurred within urban places. Again there is the similarity that for whatever reason, places that penetrated the earth's surface where appropriate for and/or necessitated the deposition of a range of particular objects that were consistent within a particular locale type. The major difference between Silchester and the other location types discussed so far is that the depositional activities outside of urban centres incorporated a different range of depositional objects (large metal deposits and horse and deer but no infants for example). Furthermore, non-urban and sacred precinct deposits were generally more complex and were constructed and arranged with a degree of aesthetic care that was not found within Silchester or any of the other urban centres. Looking at the spatial distribution of the features at Silchester and the lack of complexity in terms of relationships between objects and the numbers of objects present within any given feature does suggest that individual action was

more likely in the creation of these deposits. However the larger, more complex features from the non-urban and sacred precinct locations suggest group action. This distinction between group and individual action and how this relates to urban depositional activities is discussed more closely in Chapter Six.

Key findings

There are, therefore, a number of key findings from the preceding analysis. These results are applied in Chapter Six where a final analysis and interpretation of all of the data included in this project is consolidated in order to address the research aims of this thesis.

Firstly, it has been found that the subterranean deposition practices from Silchester were similar to those from other urban centres in terms of what types of objects and animal species were chosen for deposition. Furthermore, it was also found that these major similarities within urban depositional practices were different to those found in other location types. Secondly, isolated pottery deposits were unique to Silchester in that a large proportion of features within the Silchester database contained pottery to the exclusion of any other object type. Although there was some evidence for this type of practice from the other urban centres it was far more pronounced at Silchester. Thirdly, the subterranean features of Silchester had a ubiquitous spatial distribution. Furthermore, when individual *insulae* were analysed it became apparent that these features may have operated to demarcate space and/or enhance boundaries within and around particular *insulae* or sectors of the town. This was most obvious within *Insula IX* and *Insula IV*. Finally, there was an intensification of subterranean features being used for special or ritual deposits from the third century onwards. This increase coincided with other changes to the spatial and social shape of Silchester such as the building of masonry walls around the town and the appropriation of the forum-basilica by metalworkers during the third century (Fulford 1986, p.39).

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed and discussed the subterranean features of Silchester that have produced evidence for ritual and/or special deposition. By analysing these features and their contents it has been shown that the depositional practices of Silchester had many characteristics in common with the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two. Furthermore, the evidence from Silchester has substantiated the claim made in this thesis that how these depositional acts were carried out within Roman towns was in some ways unique compared to depositional practices from other location types. The lack of aesthetic care taken with the deposits in urban areas compared to non-urban areas and sacred precinct locations is one of the most significant differences that have been found within this project. It was also found that these features appear often to have operated to mark boundaries and demarcate places within individual *insulae*. It has become apparent then that there was a particular way of carrying out these depositional events that was specific to Roman urban centres of Britain. There were also found to be emerging patterns of inter-urban difference and that some variations of urban depositional practices were common to only one or two towns. Specifically, the pattern of pewter being deposited into wells was found in Silchester and Caerwent but not at any of the other urban centres discussed above in Chapter Two. The correlation between dog and infant burial at Silchester was also a unique finding for this location and suggests that this practice was particular to this site. Further evidence for inter-urban difference is discussed below in the analyses of the other two case-studies of Dorchester and Verulamium. The following chapter considers the town of Dorchester (*Durnovaria*) and analyses the subterranean deposits located there.

Chapter Four: The Depositional Practices of Roman Dorchester

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the subterranean features with evidence for ritual and/or special deposition within the town of Roman Dorchester (*Durnovaria*). The results of the analysis of the data from Dorchester are considered against the results of the previous investigation of Silchester and the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two. The results of this comparative analysis have revealed that this second key case study emphasises two important findings for this project as a whole. Firstly, it has been found that Dorchester, like Silchester and the other urban centres under consideration, has evidence for depositional practices that were common to urban locations in general and which were on the basis of a number of variables distinct from other non-urban location types. Secondly, however, it has also been found that although there are many similarities between the depositional practices of Dorchester, Silchester and the other urban centres, there were also inter-urban differences. Furthermore, Dorchester also has been found to display intra-urban differences in terms of depositional practices and these are discussed in detail below.

The methodology for this chapter follows that of Chapter Two and Chapter Three. The objects and materials deposited within the features under consideration were counted based upon their appearance (in any number or quantity) across all of the given features of Dorchester. This method was used in order to establish if an object/body was deposited regularly enough to produce a pattern of frequency. If a particular animal species or object was ever deposited in high numbers within any given feature then this has also been noted but the number of individuals was not included so as not to bias results.

The data from Dorchester is discussed across animal remains, human remains, pottery, metal objects and other objects and materials. The type of feature and dating are also applicable for the analysis of these data due to the modern excavation methods and scientific approach to data recording and categorisation. Following the discussion of the data, the spatial relationships within the urban space are considered in a similar approach to the spatial analysis used for Silchester above in Chapter Three.

Dorchester: Archaeological background

It is presumed that *Durnovaria* was the tribal capital of the *Durotriges* despite the lack of tribal suffix in the town name (Wacher 1974, p.315). The locale it occupies, along with its size and complexity, lend weight to the argument that *Durovaria* held this status. The founding and development of the town throughout the Roman period began with the relocation of power and settlement foci of the nearby hillforts of Maiden Castle and Poundbury (Woodward et al 1993, p.359). The territory of this tribe incorporated southern Somerset, western Hampshire, eastern Devon and Dorset (Trevvarthen 2008, p7). In comparison to Silchester, it seems that the *Durotriges* did not have a defined 'capital' or settlement core as at pre-Roman *Calleva Atrebatum*. Although there is some evidence for cultural homogeneity amongst the tribal groups in the Dorset region, there is no evidence for the type of 'centralised leadership' which is documented for the tribes of eastern Britain (Trevvarthen 2008, p.7). The hillforts of the *Durotriges* maintained their importance as key settlement sites into the Late Iron Age (Trevvarthen 2008, p.7).

The *Durotriges* were different culturally from the neighbouring *Atrebates* (whose major centre and possible tribal capital was located at the site of the later *Calleva Atrebatum*: Silchester) and these distinctions are evidenced through various material culture forms. The key features include the maintenance of inhumation despite the Roman cremation tradition becoming the common rite elsewhere in civilian Britain (Redfern and DeWitte, 2011, p.270-71). Distinctive pottery styles are also linked to production centres in this region as was the adaption of 'Kimmeridge shale into items such as jewellery, furniture fittings, and vessels' (Trevvarthen 2008, p.7). The coinage of this tribe was uninscribed and so the names of the pre-Roman leaders are not known.

Within only fifteen years after the initial Roman conquest (43 AD) the town was founded, therefore many of the new inhabitants of this constructed urban space would have memories of the Roman invasion. There is evidence for some early occupation of the site after the Roman conquest and it is suggested to have been an informal settlement possibly influenced by the site of 'a pre-existing shrine or cult centre' (Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993, p.367). The governance of towns within Britain would have been drawn from local elite leaders and the concomitant social structures would have been to a certain extent maintained and transformed within the new urbanising landscape (Creighton 2006). This creation of a new town with novel structures and functions, suggests that the experience for its inhabitants and leaders must have been initially confronting. The need for rituals and the embedding of

meaning into the urban landscape seems a logical form of expression for the new population of a new urban space, and the subterranean features of Dorchester do appear to be closely associated with the central and early sector of the town. That the ritual deposition within the central sector of Dorchester was highly prescriptive (as discussed below) fits the probable perceptions of urban space encountered by its occupants.

For the purposes of this project it is noted that the founding and development of the towns of Britain, and the reasons for their conception and growth, 'was extremely varied, and subject to a range of local influences, administrative arrangements and the attitude of the local population' (Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993, p.361). It is thought that Dorchester developed with 'a rapid development of a street plan, as early as AD65 in the pre-Flavian period, the construction of public buildings during the second century, the construction of small timber buildings within extensive *insula* allotments, up to the end of the second century, and no large scale buildings constructed until the third century AD' (Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993, p.362). It is also evident that the early town was made up of comparatively substantial allotments, containing small timber structures which were possibly utilised as stock pens.

The locale chosen for the development of Dorchester has evidence for significant Neolithic and Iron Age ritual activity. Iron Age and Late Iron Age burials have been found within the areas surrounding the town, and the town itself was built over a 'Neolithic timber post-monument' and it is thought that this may not have been entirely unintentional (Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993, p.361). Other features within the town may also have been located in particular places in association with pre-existing places of religious or ritual significance. Notably, the bathing complex of the town may have been positioned at a site of pre-Roman religious focus, as bathing complexes were often constructed and used in association with temple complexes (see for example Wheeler & Wheeler 1932).

Additionally, there is no evidence of any form of dense settlement, or centralised settlement in the pre-Roman levels of the town. Rather, it appears that the site of Dorchester was probably utilised as pastureland prior to the construction of the Roman town (Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993, p.361). This is in direct contrast to the manner in which Silchester developed, in that the site of Dorchester was effectively a newly established site of concentrated human settlement in comparison to the site of *Calleva Atrebatum* (Silchester) which was already a well-established, complex site from the late Iron Age.

Dorchester incorporated stone houses by the fourth century, replacing the more commonly used wood from the preceding centuries. As the Roman period was ending, these domestic structures were being rearranged in order to provide compartmentalised dwelling spaces. Often, these buildings had 'adjacent-aisled buildings' providing possible evidence of spaces being made available to house slaves, tenants and labourers (Lewis 2010,p.406).

Excavation biases and site formation processes

Unlike Silchester, Dorchester continued to be occupied and developed after the Roman period up until the present day and thus there is no holistic 'town plan' as is available for Silchester. Rather, the data for the town of Dorchester (see *Appendix 7*) have been compiled from three main excavations: 1. The Old Methodist Chapel and Greyhound Yard excavation (central *insula*); 2. the County Hall site at Colliton Park (north-west corner of Roman Dorchester), and 3. excavations at the former County Hospital site (south-west corner of Roman Dorchester). The approximate locations of these areas are highlighted in *Figure 35* with red zone representing the north-western quarter, the blue zone representing the south-western quarter and the green zone representing the central *insula*.

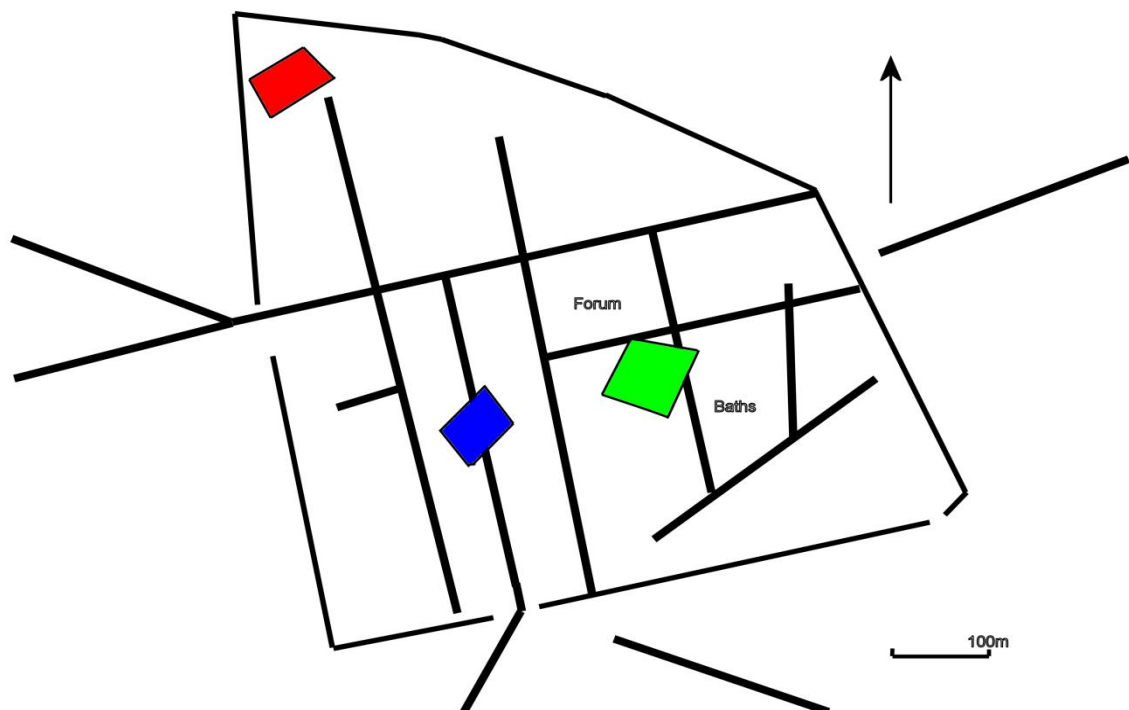


Figure 35: Location of excavation areas and occupation zones of Roman Dorchester

Key to Figure 35:

Red zone: the north-western quarter

Blue zone: the south-western quarter

Green zone: the central *insula*

Central *insula*: Old Methodist Chapel and Greyhound Yard

The key depositional features at Dorchester comprise a number of subterranean features containing a range of material located within the town's presumed central *insula*. The majority of the features were shafts: F149, F150, F151, F152, F153, F154, F156, F157, F158, F159, F161, F162 and F164. There was also a rectangular pool (F160) containing ritual and/or special deposits as well as one example of a pit deposit (F163). Woodward & Woodward have redefined these shafts and link them to 'the symbolism of Roman town planning' (2004, p.68). In particular Woodward & Woodward draw on Cosa in Italy as an example of a town with 'hard archaeological evidence' for the possible presence of a *mundus*. The feature of the *mundus* is conceived as a pit or hole into which offerings of 'first fruits' would be deposited on the foundation of a new town and would have been located in the centre of the urban space (2004, p.69). These central subterranean features of Dorchester have been interpreted by Woodward & Woodward (2004) as having Roman traditional antecedents. This is in direct contrast to the interpretation of Silchester's subterranean deposits, which have been interpreted as a likely link to pre-Roman and non-Roman rural traditions (Fulford 2012, p.269; 2001).

The rapid excavation process carried out within the central *insula* of Dorchester at the Old Methodist Chapel and Greyhound Yard site resulted in enough data 'to allow a detailed reinterpretation – that certain shafts at Greyhound Yard were dug to receive placed deposits of ritual significance, and that these shafts were located in relation to particular structures within the *insula*' (Woodward and Woodward 2004, p.70). Furthermore the placement of these shafts and their associated spatial arrangement occupied 'a very particular central position within the town as a whole' (Woodward and Woodward 2004, p.70). This central and circumscribed spatial distribution of the majority of the subterranean features of Dorchester is significant for this study as it represents a very different spatial distribution of subterranean features located at Silchester. Thus, this inter-urban difference of spatial distribution of depositional features is read for differing processes of urbanisation and cultural change having

been unique at each urban location. The individual nature of the case-studies' origins and development is discussed in detail in Chapter Six below.

The Old Methodist Chapel and Greyhound Yard site is located in what was the north-east corner of one of the Roman town's central *insulae*. It appears that the building program in this sector was planned and that its boundaries remained almost the same throughout the four centuries of the Roman province and contained at least one 'urban farmstead' (Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993, pp.31&370). The conservative and constant nature of this sector is at odds with the rapid and marked changes to the orientation and buildings of Silchester that occurred during the third century (see Chapter Three above). That this area seems to have been planned and then maintained over the entire Roman period lends weight to the argument that the subterranean features located there operated as a space for organised ritual activity. Furthermore, the shafts of this area that comprise a large number of the subterranean features of Dorchester were in use for one to two centuries. Thus, there is evidence for continuity of depositional practices in general, and it is also apparent that there was continuity of use of the same feature over long periods of time.

The history of this section of the town is mapped out into stratigraphically defined periods. The initial digging of wells, shafts and deep pits (for quarrying) was undertaken between AD 75-120 (Period 6), although this is not conclusive and some may have been cut during the time when town roads were being established (Period 5). There is evidence of a 'ditched enclosure' within which were placed two shafts within a central position. This enclosure was located approximately within the central portion of the *insula* and had an equal distance from its boundaries to each street frontage. Pit 1 'was conical in section and circular in plan while Pit 2 was a large and unusual sub-square pit, 2m deep with vertically cut sides and ramped access' (Woodward & Woodward, p.72). Outside the eastern boundary of this enclosure was a 'row of shafts' – Shafts 3-7 – and Shafts 8-10 were grouped together 'at its north-eastern corner' (Woodward & Woodward, p.72). These shafts correspond to this project's F152, F150 and F149 from the first row, and F154 and F156 from the second row.

Later, between AD 100-200 (Period 7), the 'central fenced enclosure' was changed and re-established as a smaller square-sided structure with a width of 24m (Woodward & Woodward 2004, p.72). More shafts were cut during this period (Shafts 11-14 corresponding to F157, F151 and F159) outside enclosure B on its eastern side. Two more shafts – Shafts 16 and 17 (F161 and F162)- were also constructed between AD 150-300 (Period 8).

During Period 9 (AD 250-400) a pit was dug and located close to the shrine in the courtyard of building IV. Further manipulation of this group of structures and subsoil features was undertaken during Period 10 (AD 350-450). Significant for this research project was the discovery of two human footprints within an *opus signinum* floor and a number of infant burials located within the same northern range of the courtyard buildings (F275). During this same period, 'pit 18 was in-filled and replaced by a massive square shaft' (Shaft 19 equating to F164 in this project) (Woodward & Woodward 2004, p.72). The complexity of the possible use of this shaft is evidenced by the fact that it had a superstructure of stone and was housed in a 'small square annexe' off building V. Furthermore it was linked by a pathway to courtyard IV.

Note on the morphology of the central *insula* shafts

It is useful for the purposes of this thesis to note how research into depositional features has focused not only on the artefacts recovered, but also on the nature of the feature itself and how it was constructed and maintained over time. In the case of Dorchester's Greyhound Yard excavations and the investigation into the shafts located in this central *insula* area, analysis of the morphology of the shafts has been part of the process of interpreting these features as ritual foci. In part this interpretation has been based on the nature of the maintenance and cleanliness of the bases of these features and that there was often evidence for distinct depositional events being capped or sealed by chalk or other types of stone. As far as the morphology of these shafts is concerned it is useful to look at Shaft 13 (this project's F151) (Woodward & Woodward 2004, p.74). It is significant that the shaft itself has evidence for being kept clean and that it was probably covered after it had been dug. Furthermore, there is also evidence that it may have been filled quickly after completion due to the cleanliness of the base, and/or that it was maintained and deepened regularly (Woodward & Woodward 2004, p.74). This provides evidence of the care taken with the maintenance of the shaft and supports an interpretation of this feature being part of a group of subterranean features which operated in a ritual manner.

The interpretation of this shaft is one of ritual, purposeful deposition of particular objects, involving the embedding of 'purification' in the form of the chalk and maintenance of cleanliness at its base. After this act, a sheep joint, a puppy and two whole pots were deposited. Evidence that the shaft may have been uncovered for a period of time is supplied by the skeletons of 'pitfall victims' – in this case frogs. The next phase of the shaft's use was

the possible closure of this event with slabs of limestone. The following act incorporated deposition of personal possessions, organic material and dog and cat remains (Woodward & Woodward 2004, p.75). Again this event is marked by substantial material closing this layer – in this case it was clay and chalk forming a ‘plug’. The next phase had a range of objects and animal remains: joints from sheep and pig, two whole jars, corvid and raven remains, and several dogs. Sealing this event was ‘a wooden cover, or perhaps a box’, the box was found in association with a whole pot, a dog and a puppy (Woodward & Woodward 2004, p.77). The last act of deposition for this shaft comprised of pots, jackdaw and corvid, sheep joints and dog remains being sealed with a chalk layer. It is on the bases of these characteristics that Woodward & Woodward interpreted these features and their contents as the result of purposeful and/or ritual action (2004). Furthermore, the close analysis of this feature demonstrates how the shaft was used repeatedly over time and that there were distinctive depositional events within the one feature. This repeated use over time further substantiates Woodward & Woodward’s claim that these centrally located shafts were used for commemoration of the founding of the town (2004). This project further proposes that by commemorating the founding of the town, there was also an implicit link being made to the founders of the town and therefore to relationships that were established with Rome at the time of the town’s origins. Thus, major changes to the nature of depositional practices within these centrally located shafts during the third century (discussed below in this chapter) are interpreted here as being the result of changes to power structures and social relationships that also occurred at this time. The implications of this interpretation are discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

North-West Quarter of *Durnovaria*: Excavations at County Hall, Colliton Park

The data that are included from this excavation were extracted according to the potential of certain features representing variations of distinctive deposition. The data presented below for the purposes of this project are only a small proportion of the data from the entire report by Smith (1993), but have been included because of the characteristics of the features and finds which were suggestive of special deposition. A number of pits were found during excavation and their contents recorded, the original purpose of many of the pits however is unclear, although the earlier pits were suggested to have been the result of quarrying (Smith 1993,

p13). Like the central *insula*, this section of *Durnovaria* was the location of at least one 'urban farmstead' (Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993, p.370) and demonstrates the diverse nature of this urban centre in terms of modes of production.

F165 (Pit 267) has an interesting morphology and contents which are suggestive of purposeful deposition and sealing. The pit's base was flat and appears to have been quickly backfilled around the later first century AD. It might be significant that 'these fills were sealed by a 0.7m thick layer of clean chalk in the top of the pit' and that 'a fragment of human bone representing the left radius of an adult was also recovered' (Smith 1993, p.14). A number of other pits were also sealed by layers of chalk or chalk rubble dated to the second and third centuries. Another notable feature that is suggestive of purposeful deposition is F166 (Pit 523) which was filled by 'dark grey silt loam dumped over the remains of at least five individual sheep' (Smith 1993, p.16) and is dated to the late Roman period. The animal remains are subsequently referred to as 'sheep burials' later in the excavation report. The dating of this event is uncertain.

Six infant burials within a pit were found below the flooring of a building (F167) and were dated to the late Roman period (Smith 1993, p.20). Some distinctive deposits were also found in a group of late third to fourth century post holes (F168), including a late Roman bracelet of copper alloy, a 'complete feeding or invalid cup' and a spindle whorl made of shale and bone pins (Smith 1993, p.20). Analysis of these deposits and the particular bodies and objects that were deposited in the north-western quarter is undertaken below in this chapter.

South-western corner of *Durnovaria*: Excavations from the Former County Hospital site

A number of Infant burials located as deposits under buildings or other structures were found in the south-western sector of the Roman town during the Former County Hospital site excavations (Trevathen 2008). One such feature (F169) was located within what was likely to have been an atrium-style garden of Building 7 and coins found within surrounding contexts were dated to between the first and second centuries. Two other infant burials were found within Building 6 (F170) and are dated to 'the second half of the third century, or to the early fourth century, by which time the status of the house had declined considerably' (Trevathen 2008, p.25).

Building 12 has a number of features which are included within this study due to the nature of their deposition and context within this structure. The building is described as an 'aisled barn' and was possibly built during the late third century or early fourth century (Trevvarthen 2008, p.39). At least five infants are represented by skeletal finds in burial contexts underneath the floor of this structure (F171) and have been dated to the late third to fourth century. Also, F172 included infant remains in pits cutting through Room 1 in Building 13 which have been interpreted as likely been the result of re-deposition. The significance of these infant deposits within the south-western quarter of Dorchester is considered below in the analysis of the data for this chapter and relate to the temporal changes observed for depositional practices of Dorchester.

Within this south-western sector of the town there was evidence for 'urban re-structuring and building clearance in the latest third or fourth century' (Trevvarthen, 2008). The remains of a structure (Building 12), which has been interpreted as a barn (Trevvarthen, 2008, p.2), provides evidence for the mix of activities that occurred within the town. The presence of 'rural' structures within the town highlights the multi-functional aspects of the town and that the urban space was not so clearly defined from the way in which the surrounding countryside operated. The structure is thought to have been built early in the fourth century or late third century. It is significant that F171 containing the remains of five infants was located underneath Building 12. The nature of the socio-economic status of this quarter and how this is thought to have been associated with the depositional activities carried out there is discussed below in relation to the differential nature of how various types of depositional practices may have operated within the town.

Note on possible socio-economic zoning within *Durnovaria*

An analysis of the different types of environmental and bone evidence from the three major areas of excavation (central *insula*, the north-west corner of the Roman town and the south-western corner of the Roman town, see *Figure 35*) suggest that these three areas might represent distinct socio-economic zones (Grimm, 2008). The results of excavation of County Hall/Colliton Park (north-western corner) reveal clear variations in animal remains as compared to the data from the Greyhound Yard (central *insula*) and the County Hospital site (south-western corner). It is apparent that the inhabitants of the north-western corner of Roman Dorchester probably consumed a greater amount of sheep/goat meat in comparison to

the other two regions where there was a greater amount of birds and pig remains found. Grimm suggests that this might be due to the less urban character of the north-western region where rural/Indigenous eating habits were maintained in the midst of introduced Roman traditions (2008, p.12). This has implications for this project, in that the interpreting the status of different sectors of the Roman town might be read from the bone assemblages. That there appears to be an intense use of special deposition rituals in the Greyhound region might therefore be correlated with other socio-cultural factors such as dietary preferences, access to better-quality meat, and also the choice to eat food more common to Roman traditions.

Another indicator of status and relative wealth is that the population of the central *insula* sector of the Roman town consumed a greater amount of veal and younger pigs than the other two excavation regions (Grimm, 2008). Grimm concludes then that 'the three assemblages from Roman Dorchester (Former County Hospital, Greyhound Yard and County Hall/Colliton Park), represent three social groups' (2008, p.14). The County Hall assemblage (north-western sector of the Roman town) provides evidence that the population 'clung to their Iron Age customs and ate primarily mutton' representing a lower socio-economic space than the other two areas. The Former County Hospital site at the south-west sector of the Roman town consumed comparable amounts and types of meat to the elite groups in the town but from older animals, thus being interpreted as an intermediate socio-economic group. Whilst the assemblages from the Greyhound Yard located within the central *insula* in proximity to the forum consumed the greatest amount of young meat, pigs and wild birds thus representing an uptake of Roman traditions and wealth.

The possibility that Roman Dorchester had distinct socio-economic zones has implications for this project. The evidence for the possible existence of different social groups from the bone assemblage and environmental evidence adds an extra interpretive dimension to this analysis. It is likely that the central *insula* sector of the town was occupied and used by a more elite group. Thus, the nature of the subterranean features located there, have been considered in association with this socio-economic evidence. The implications of the dietary and social status evidence are discussed in more detail below in this chapter.

Data from Dorchester

This section discusses the data from Dorchester in terms of object and material type. The database for Dorchester is found in *Appendix 7* and includes all of the references from which

the data were collected. The results of the following analyses of the objects/bodies deposited, along with the feature type, dating and the presence/absence of particular aesthetic qualities demonstrate that there were particular characteristics of Dorchester's depositional practices that were similar to those found for Silchester and the other urban centres analysed in Chapter Two. Thus, the proceeding analyses provide further evidence for a general urban depositional practice. Furthermore, it is also apparent that within the range of urban depositional characteristics that Dorchester's practices had some unique aspects that were different to those of Silchester. The implications of these differences and how they are interpreted in relation to the research agenda of this study is discussed more closely below.

Animal remains

Like Silchester and the other urban centres included in Chapter Two, dog remains are one the most prominent animal species deposited within the subterranean features from Dorchester (see *Figure 36*). The features that incorporated dogs include: F149 (17 individuals), F151 (9 adult individuals and 4 puppy individuals), F154 (3 individuals), F157 (1 individual), F158 (3 individuals), F161 (20 individuals) and F162 (11 individuals).

In terms of spatial distribution, the deposition of dog remains is restricted to the central *insula*. Temporally there is a peak in deposition of dog within the late second to mid third-century period (see *Figure 38*). Prior to this the deposition of dog remains was proportionately high when compared to other types of deposits but after the mid third century this mode of deposition appears to cease. This pattern is also the case for deposition of bird remains, with a steady rise in the number of instances of bird remains found until the mid-third century where this activity also seems to cease (see *Figure 39*). Indeed, within the central *insula* shafts, the deposition of any type of animal remains is absent from all of the shafts except for one example of unidentified animal remains from one feature (F164) dated to the AD 350-450 period. The deposition of personal objects appears to remain significant during this latest Roman period and will be discussed below. The cessation of animal deposition from the mid third century onwards is in complete contrast to the pattern for Silchester where there appears to have been an intensification in all types of deposition around this time. Although they were different, these major temporal shifts in depositional practices were found both in Dorchester and Silchester from the third century onwards. There was a decrease in animal deposits in Dorchester (and also an increase in infant deposition, which is discussed below).

However, there was an apparent increase in all types of deposition at Silchester at this time. It is argued in this project that the changes to depositional practices seen within Dorchester, Silchester and indeed *Verulamium* from the third century onwards, related to wider changes to the urban landscapes of Roman Britain. Furthermore, it is also argued that these changes were associated with shifts within the empire that affected the province of Britain both internally and externally. These social, economic and political changes to Roman Britain are discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

Birds were also found across a high proportion of the features (see *Figure 37*), with nine features from the central *Insula* containing bird remains. The features that incorporated birds include: F149 (4 individuals), F151 (4 individuals), F152 (2 individuals), F153 (1 individual), F154 (2 individuals), F157 (1 individual), F158 (4 individuals), F161 (4 individuals) and F162 (2 individuals). This is a different pattern than was found for Silchester and the other urban centres, where bird deposition was relatively rare. Significant bird deposition is a unique characteristic of Dorchester's depositional repertoire. Although it has already been found that there were many similarities between urban centres in terms of depositional practices, it has also been found that there were intra-urban differences. The importance of bird deposition within Dorchester (or at least within the central sector of the town) is one of the identifiable intra-urban variations. It also appears that certain instances, some features' deposits were of bird and dog together, with the absence of any other species (F154, F161, F162), or only bird (F152, F153). Although the evidence for this is small, it is another unique pattern which has been found at Dorchester. Thus, this finding emphasises that inter-urban difference existed within the range of urban depositional practices that have been identified by the analyses of this project.

Sheep deposits were also significant within the subterranean features of Dorchester, when the distribution of animal species in any given features is considered. The features that incorporated sheep include: F149 (4 individuals), F151 (7 individuals), F158 (7 individuals) and F159 (1 individual as an isolated deposit dated to sometime in the second century) (see *Figure 40*). An apparent peak in the deposition of sheep remains occurs during the second century within the features from the central *insula*. The marked increase in this mode of deposition is attributable to two features in particular. F158 contained the remains of what are thought to have been seven individuals, and F151 also contained instances of seven individuals. The sheep remains deposited within the central *insula* shafts were found in context with significant amounts of other animal remains, along with other objects.

In any case, as for actual number of remains, dog is proportionately much higher than any other species. Apart from five examples of sheep remains being deposited within a pit from the northwest quarter of the Roman town (F166), no other animal remains were found outside of the central *insula* pits uncovered during the Greyhound Yard excavation. Again, this is in marked contrast to Silchester where all types of commonly deposited animal remains were found to be distributed fairly evenly across the town. The pattern found at Dorchester however appears much more prescriptive spatially, where animal deposits are generally restricted to the central *insula*.

The repetitive appearance of various species of corvids within depositional contexts in Roman Britain has recently been focused upon as a significant area of research (Serjeantson & Morris 2011). It is thought that these types of birds were an important component in purposeful deposition, and that their appearance in subterranean features could be linked to beliefs concerning the relationship of black birds and the transcendent (Sejeantson & Morris 2011, p.94). Accordingly, the raven and crow deposits in Dorchester's central *insula* have been interpreted as part of range of foundation rites (Woodward & Woodward 2004). The importance of corvid deposition at Dorchester again suggests that there were distinctive inter-urban differences in the nature of depositional practices, and that particular bodies and/or objects were more commonly used in these events within particular urban centres as compared to others.

The density of bird deposits in Dorchester's central *insula* is not high when compared to the density of dog individuals deposited. They were, however, well-represented in terms of distribution across the 24 features included in the database for Dorchester. That they were never found in high numbers is not surprising considering the nature of their species being wild. Like Silchester, and the other urban centres, it is clear that domesticated species were the most commonly deposited animals within urban contexts. This pattern of domesticated species dominating animal deposits was found also at Silchester and the other urban centres discussed above. This pattern was in contrast, however, to the evidence from non-urban and sacred precinct sites where the deposition of wild species was more common, as discussed above in Chapter Two. The evidence from Dorchester further confirms that urban depositional practices were distinct from depositional practices in other locations outside of urban centres. That domesticated species would have been a more logical choice for ritual or meaningful deposition seems obvious in that they are easy to acquire, and in any case often need to be disposed of after death or butchering for more 'mundane' rubbish disposal purposes.

A complete absence of cattle remains is also in direct contrast to the evidence from Silchester, and also in comparison to other location types both urban (Wroxeter and Caerwent in particular) and non-urban locations where there were some examples of large numbers of cattle being deposited into particular subterranean features. Thus, cattle was only significant as a depositional body at some towns and this provides further evidence that distinctive patterns of depositional behaviour were present at each urban location. It is thought that Inter-urban differences at the level of depositional object/body could be suggestive of differing modes of production, trade and consumption at different sites. Differences in these processes and how they may have related to what was deposited within subterranean features is explored further in Chapter Six.

There were however many similarities between Dorchester and all of the other urban centres analysed so far in terms of patterns of animal species deposition. As at Silchester and the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two, there is a complete absence or only a rare occurrence of horse, pig, oyster, deer and other wild species (apart from corvids). This pattern marks out deposition of animals within urban contexts as different from those in non-urban and sacred precinct locations as discussed above in Chapter Two. Thus, there have been a number of intra-urban variations identified for animal deposition between Dorchester and Silchester. However, the rarity and/or absence of horse, pig and most wild species is a characteristic common to all of the urban centres investigated so far and marks urban depositional practices as distinctive from those at other location types.

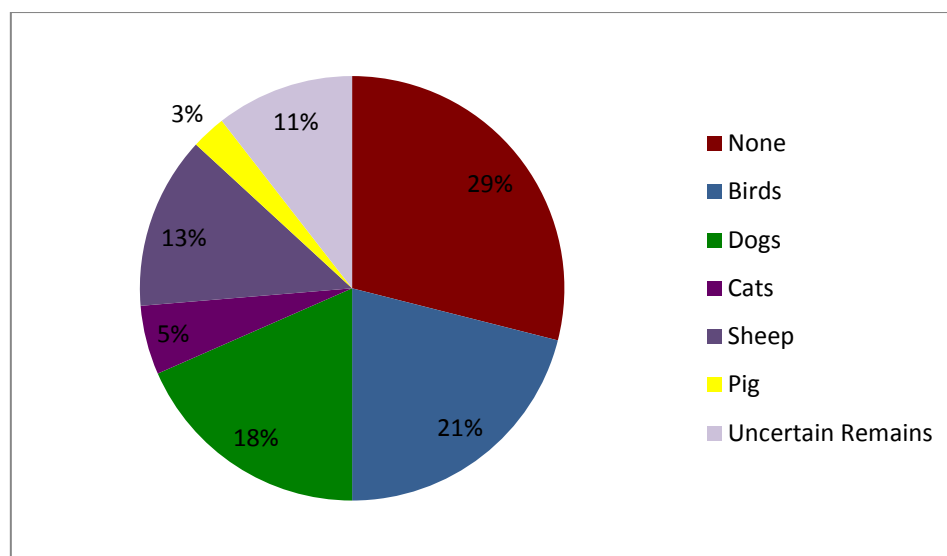


Figure 36: Proportion of animal species across the subterranean features of Dorchester n=39

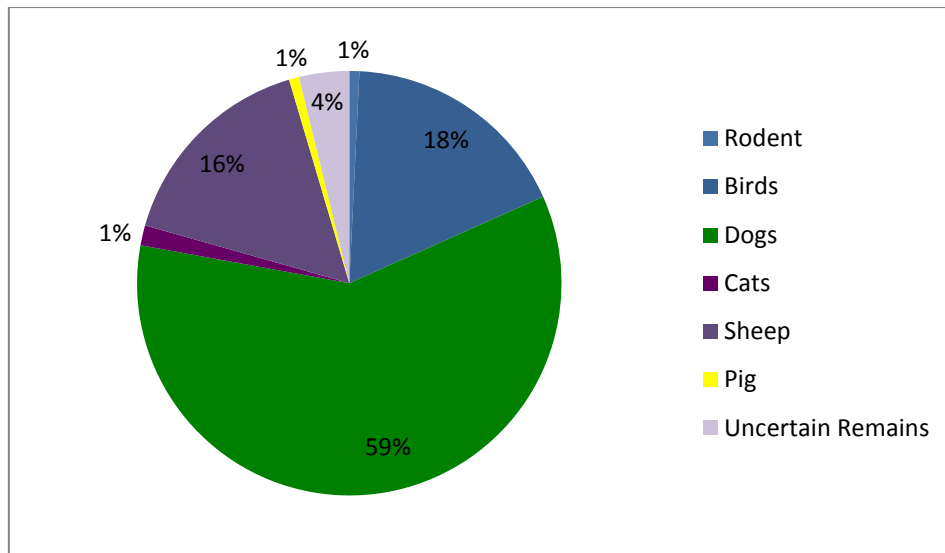


Figure 37: Density of species across the subterranean features of Dorchester that contained animal deposits n=131

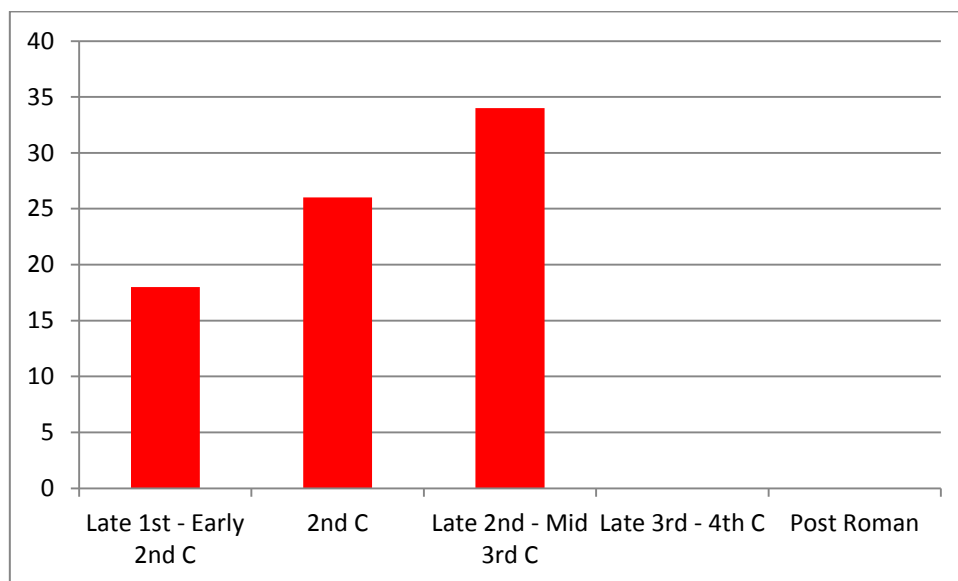


Figure 38: Temporal distribution of dog deposits from Dorchester

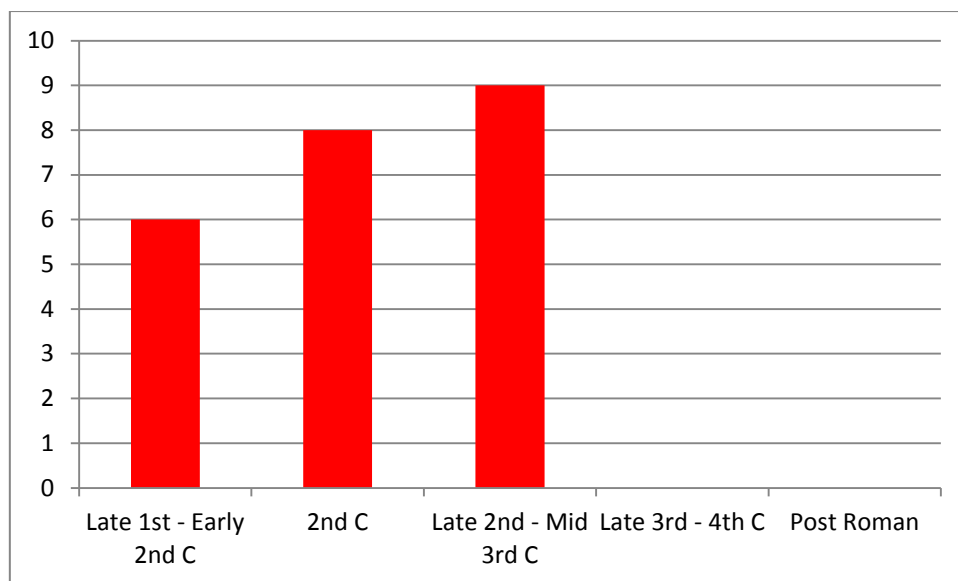


Figure 39: Bird deposits from the subterranean feature of Roman Dorchester

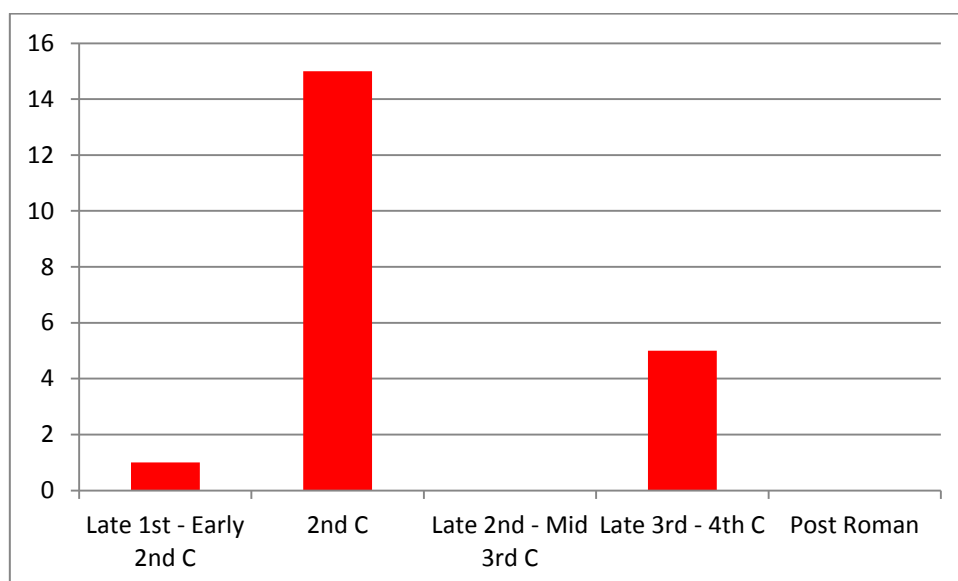


Figure 40: Sheep deposits from the subterranean features of Roman Dorchester

Human remains

There were only two instances of adult human bones within any given feature from Roman Dorchester (see *Figure 41*). An adult human skull was found in the lower levels of one of the shafts (F149) from the central *insula* and was dated to the AD 75-120 period. This find was not

isolated, and other deposited objects include a range of animal bones from a variety of species, a crucible, a number of complete and broken pots and three personal objects. This shaft was located under Building 5433. The only other instance of deposited human remains was the adult radius fragment found in a pit that had been sealed by clean chalk and was dated to the first century. The pit was located within the north-west quarter of the Roman town (F165). There were a series of infant deposits (F275) found in the northern range of an extended courtyard building in the central *insula* which have been dated to the AD 350-450 period (Woodward & Woodward 2004, p.72)

There was one instance of infant deposition from the north-west quarter. In this location there were 6 individuals deposited beneath a building and which were dated to the late Roman period (F167). There were no other objects deposited in context with the infants. The larger proportion of deposited human remains came from infant bones discovered mainly from deposits under buildings found at the former County Hospital site in the south-western quarter of the Roman town. The infant deposits were found in F169 (1 infant dated possibly to the first or second century deposited under an atrium-style garden of a house), F170 (2 infants dated to the late third-early fourth century deposited under a building), F171 (5 infants dated to late third-early fourth century deposited under a building) and F172 which included probably redeposited infant bones underneath a building and dated to the post-Roman period.

One of the most significant aspects of these deposits is that within Dorchester, they are only found in contexts under buildings (or associated features such as the atrium-style garden of Building 7 (F169)), and never in shafts or pits, and are other notable objects or materials are absent from these finds. Furthermore, there is a significant peak in this kind of depositional activity in the late third to fourth century period (see *Figure 42*). This increase in infant deposition in Roman Dorchester occurred at the same time as the cessation of dog and bird deposition in the central *insula* as discussed above. These changes to the depositional practices at Roman Dorchester occurred at the same time as changes to the depositional changes also found for Silchester above in Chapter Three. These depositional changes, along with other shifts in the physical, social and economic fabrics of these two towns, is considered more closely below in Chapters Six and Seven. It is noted that during the fourth century there has been an observable pattern of increasing infant burial within villas in Roman Britain (Scott 1991). Furthermore, these burials were often made within the agricultural precincts of villa compounds and are therefore linked to the cultural and economic pressures extant within Roman Britain at the time. Because of the deceased infants' inherently liminal position

between birth and death they were appropriately placed within agricultural precincts in order to promote fertility (Scott 1991, p.114). It is possible that the increase in infant deposition in the late third and fourth centuries at Dorchester may also have been in response to the social and economic stresses felt at this time within the province. It is argued here that these pressures and broader changes to the nature of Britain as a province within the Roman Empire, can be linked to other changes in depositional behaviours that have also been observed at Silchester. The implications of these broader changes are discussed further below in Chapters Six and Seven.

The general pattern of infant deposition corresponds to the pattern observed at Silchester where infant deposition was relatively common (particularly in *Insula IX*). However, the mode of infant deposition between the towns of Dorchester and Silchester is different in terms of the feature type and associated objects. At Silchester, infant deposits are nearly always found in pits in close proximity to buildings, but at Dorchester they were always made underneath buildings and other structures, such as the deposit under the atrium-style garden in the south-western quarter of the town (F169). Another intra-urban difference that has been found is that at Silchester, infant deposits were often made in conjunction with other objects, and in particular they seem to correlate with dog deposits being carried out within the same depositional episode (see Chapter Three above). At Dorchester infant deposits were always made to the exclusion of other objects or materials.

The pattern of human deposition therefore is similar across Dorchester, Silchester and the other urban centres under consideration in that adult remains are rare but infant deposits are reasonably common. This is a different pattern from human deposition in non-urban and sacred precinct locations where adult remains were more commonly found as part of depositional events. Overall then, infant deposition is a common characteristic of urban depositional practices. However it has also been found that although this was a common component of the urban depositional repertoire, there were intra-urban differences in terms of how these deposits were integrated into the landscape and in association with or without other objects and materials.

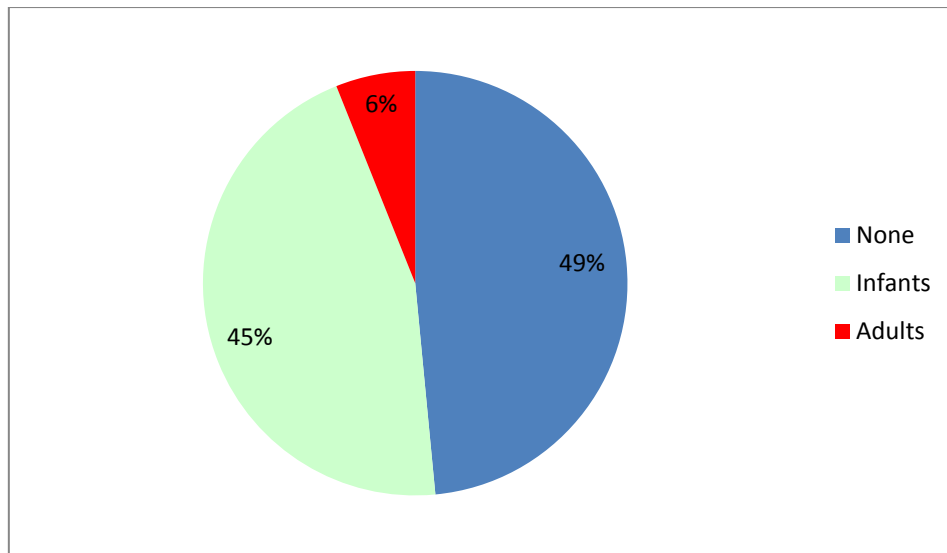


Figure 41: Proportion of human adult and infant remains found within the subterranean features of Dorchester n=33

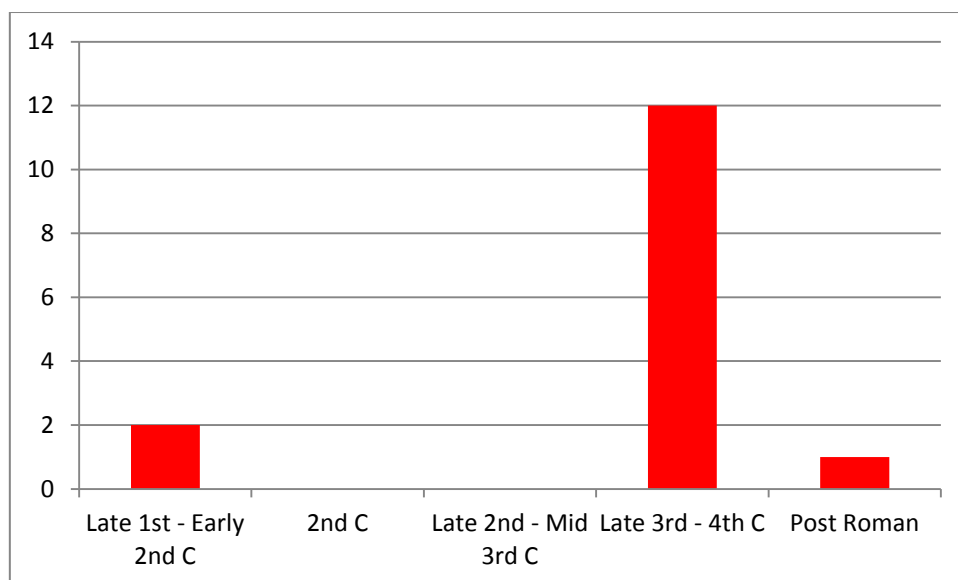


Figure 42: Number of infant individuals within the subterranean features of Roman Dorchester at different time periods

Pottery

The appearance of pottery is confined to three shafts from the central *insula* (F149, F150 and F151). Another characteristic of this depositional category is that the appearance of pottery was restricted to shafts dated to either the AD 75-120 period or the AD 100-200 period. All of

the pottery deposits included an amount of complete pots and an amount of fragments or nearly complete pots (see *Figure 43* for the proportions of different vessel types found). Additionally, all the depositional contexts included other objects and/or animal remains. Deposits containing just pottery were not found in the data from Dorchester.

A defining feature of this group of deposits is the way in which they were restricted temporally to the first and second centuries with a complete absence of pottery deposition after AD 200. Therefore, along with the almost complete cessation of animal deposition during the third century, there was also an apparent cessation of pottery deposition at the beginning of the third century. These notable changes in the nature of urban depositional practices during the third century are a major finding of this thesis. This finding is applied to the major research questions of this project in Chapter Six, where the inter-urban differences in terms of spatial distribution of features, and the changes to urban depositional behaviour during the third century, are focused upon.

Compared to Silchester, pottery deposition at Dorchester was relatively infrequent in terms of its appearance within any given feature. Only 3 out of the 23 features under consideration for Dorchester contained any pottery, which is in contrast to Silchester where over a third of all of the features located there contained some type of pottery deposition. Furthermore, at Silchester, there is evidence that over half of the features containing pottery did so to the exclusion of any other object type. There was also an indication of a pattern of isolated pottery deposition from the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two. So again, although pottery deposition (and specifically the deposition of complete pots) is not rare at Dorchester, there is further evidence for inter-urban difference in that it did not have the same significance as it did at Silchester, and possibly the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two.

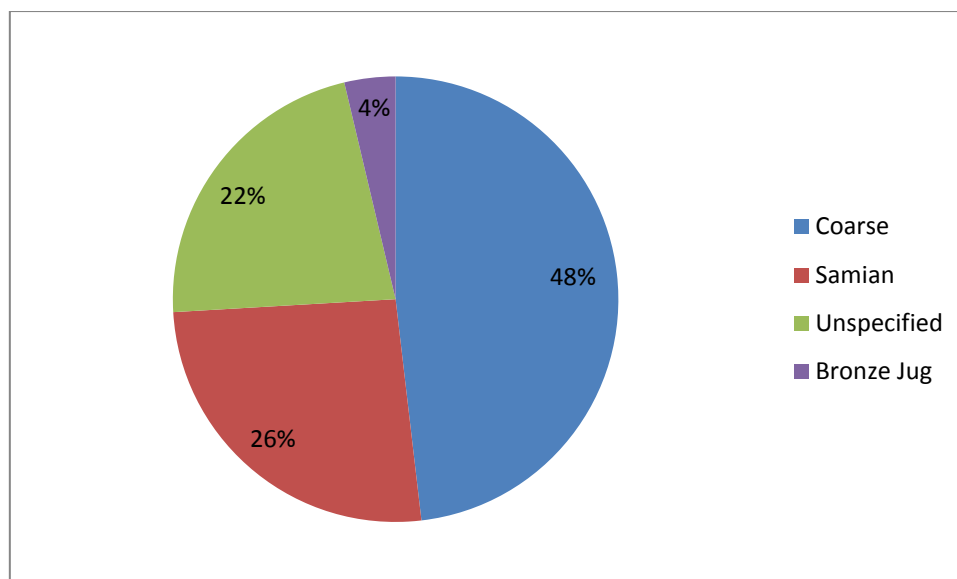


Figure 43: Proportion of vessel type and/or fabric found deposited in the subterranean features of Dorchester n=27

Personal objects, coins and other objects and materials

The deposition of personal objects is much more common at Dorchester than Silchester, or any of the other urban centres discussed so far. Dorchester is unique within this category of finds because of the appearance and concentration of ‘counters’ within some of the features.

Particularly characteristic of the shafts from the central *insula* from Dorchester is the deposition of ‘counters’. This type of object is found in F158 dated to AD100-200 with seven counters, F161 dated to AD 150-300 with thirty counters, and F161 dated to AD 150-300 with two counters. The counters always appear in context with other objects and animal remains. So far, there is no evidence of this type of depositional object being employed at Silchester, and within Dorchester this practice is isolated to the shafts of the central *insula*. Furthermore there is no evidence for this type of deposition from any of the other urban centres analysed and discussed in Chapter Two.

Other notable objects include a range of (unspecified) personal objects which appeared in 9 out of the 13 subterranean features located within the central *insula*. A number of personal objects were deposited within the post-hole(s) of a building (F168) in the north-west quarter including a bracelet, bone pins, a spindle whorl and an ‘invalid feeding cup’. The significance of personal object deposition at Dorchester is in marked contrast to Silchester, and the other

urban centres, where this type of deposition was found to be rare. Indeed, the only other feature in the database for this project that included a large number of deposits of 'personal objects', was Coventina's Well (F53). As seen above for Silchester, there were two examples of personal object deposition in *Insula XXXVI* (F273 and F274) that were specifically associated with a nearby temple and the 'petitions of women' (Boon 1974, p.153). There was also one example for Colchester (F194) of the deposition of jewellery that was located in an urban temple. Thus, it was argued in Chapter Three that personal object deposition was appropriate only within circumscribed sacred precincts (in either urban or non-urban locations). Therefore, it is also argued within this chapter that the deposits of personal objects found within Dorchester were largely of a more prescriptive nature, as they almost all occurred within the central *insula*, which does appear to have operated as some kind of ritual space. The only other example of personal object deposition within Dorchester was from the post-hole deposits in the north-west quarter (F168), and thus it is also possible that personal object deposition could have been a form of concealed deposition within and beneath particular types of buildings.

There were only four examples of coins being found within any of Dorchester's subterranean features. It is not clear, however, if they were the result of casual loss or of purposeful deposition. All of the coins were found in features from the central *insula*. F149 contained one coin, F150 contained 6 coins, F161 contained 1 coin and F164 contained 2 coins. Clearly then even if these coins had been deposited for ritual and/or special purposes this kind of deposition was not of great significance for the population of Dorchester. So, like Silchester and the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two, coin deposition was not significant within the repertoire of urban depositional practices. This limited evidence for purposeful coin deposition is characteristic of urban depositional practices.

Metal objects

Within Dorchester there was an almost complete absence of metal objects (apart from the copper alloy bracelet in F150). This is in contrast to the results from the 'other urban data' and is also different to the patterns of metal object deposition in Silchester where large metal deposits were not uncommon. The absence of metal deposition at Dorchester is also different to patterns observed in the data from non-urban centres and sacred precinct locations where metal deposition was relatively significant (see Chapter Two above). Thus, the absence of

metal is characteristic of Dorchester's depositional practices and is in direct contrast to the nature of metal deposition at Silchester.

The complete absence of metal within the deposits of Dorchester is important in that metal deposition was significant for Silchester, and in some ways the metal deposits at Silchester were very similar to the large metal deposits found within sacred precinct and non-urban locations. Within Silchester there were a number of metal deposits that were comprised of groups of agricultural tools/objects and this showed similarities to depositional practices found in non-urban locations. At Silchester there was also an example of a metal deposit that included weaponry and other metal objects to the exclusion of any other type of object (F64). That there is no evidence for metal deposition at Dorchester is significant for this project in that the complete absence of metal deposition demonstrates another unique intra-urban characteristic for Dorchester. These characteristics will be discussed further below in the section on the operational logic of Dorchester's depositional practices.

Feature type

The most common feature at Dorchester was the shaft, and all of these types of features were located within the central *insula* (see *Figure 44*). Why these features were originally cut has been discussed previously; they may have been quarrying sites used in the construction of the early town (Woodward & Woodward 2004). It is apparent that these features began to be used for ritual or special deposition early in the life of the Roman town with evidence of F159 and F150 being dated to the AD75-120 period. Out of the 33 features in the Dorchester data base there are 13 shafts, four pits, one pool, one group of post-hole deposits and four deposits under buildings (see *Figure 44*).

The most significant characteristic of the subterranean features of Dorchester is how closely defined they are by their location within the town (see *Figures 46 & 47*). All of the shafts, one pit (F163) and one pool (further supporting that this zone within the town functioned ritually) were located in the central *insula*, the four deposits under buildings and the pits that intercut a building (all with infant remains) are all located in the south-western corner of the Roman town, whilst the north-western quarter has examples of pits, one deposit under a building (infant remains) and post-hole deposits. The spatial distribution of the subterranean features of Dorchester is significant for addressing the research questions of this project. In particular, the differences in the way that the features from Silchester were distributed in a more

ubiquitous pattern as compared to the circumscribed spatial distribution of the majority of Dorchester's features demonstrate two key findings. Firstly, it is apparent that there were inter-urban differences in depositional practices between the towns at the level of spatial arrangement. Secondly, it is also apparent that the nature of Dorchester's spatial arrangement of depositional features was likely to have been associated with the social and economic structures of the town. These findings and their implications for the research questions of this thesis are investigated closely below in Chapter Six.

It is proposed here that the spatially restricted nature of the subterranean features of Dorchester is suggestive of some type of control or organisation of the central section of the town. As such, it is thought that particular social relationships and structures associated with the built environment in this section of Roman Dorchester must have been maintained over time. These social structures would have allowed for continuous use of the space below the town's surface for the enactment of these particular rituals that are thought to have been for the ongoing commemoration of the founding of the town (Woodward & Woodward 2004).

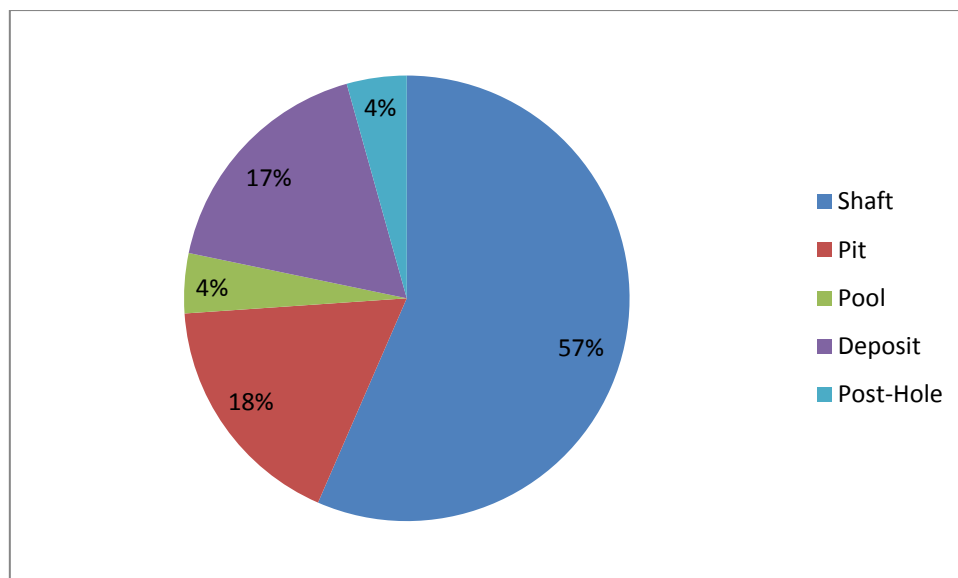


Figure 44: Proportion of different subterranean feature types at Roman Dorchester n=24

Dating of features

The spread of available evidence of use of the subterranean features across time from the late first to early second century until the third to fourth century is very even (see *Figure 45*). The only exception to this is one group of intercutting pits which has been dated to the Post-Roman period and was located within south-western corner of the Roman town within Room 1 of Building 13 (F172). This feature was part of a group of pits that cut through the building and contained probably redeposited infant bones (Trevarthen 2008).

The shafts located within the central *insula* from the Greyhound Yard excavations were used over the entire Roman period. The complexity of these shafts, and the evidence for their repeated use over time, is discussed below. Indeed, this apparently consistent and continuous use of these shafts throughout the Roman period is a defining feature of this section of the town and is discussed in more detail below. The repetition of use and the spatial relationships of the shafts to each other, and associated buildings within this central *insula*, suggest a defined ritual function for this part of the town. Consistent and repetitive use of these features over time is also suggestive of associated and interrelated social relationships that would have allowed for the use and meaning of these features and places to have been maintained over time.

The four features located within the south-western corner of the Roman town are all deposits of infant remains under buildings, with one infant deposited under an atrium-style garden (F169) (Trevarthen 2008). This particular feature is dated on contextual coin evidence to somewhere between the first and second century. One feature, of probably redeposited infant remains, is dated to the Post-Roman period as discussed above (F172). The other two features are dated to the late third to fifth century and also contained infant remains (F170, F171).

The features located within the north-west corner of the Roman town have been dated to either the late Roman period (F166, F167) or the first century, with the deposit of an adult human radius fragment in a pit (F165). The post-hole deposits of F168 are undated. Overall, it is apparent that the use of the shafts in the central *insula* for probable ritual purposes is consistent and even over time, with the exception of a single deposit from the post-Roman period. The other zones of the town under consideration do not provide enough evidence to suggest this kind of consistent use over time and are dominated by the deposition of infant remains. There is a general trend however for the deposition of infant remains during the later

Roman period from both the north-western and south-western quarters of the town. This peak in the deposition of infant remains is discussed in the section on human remains above.

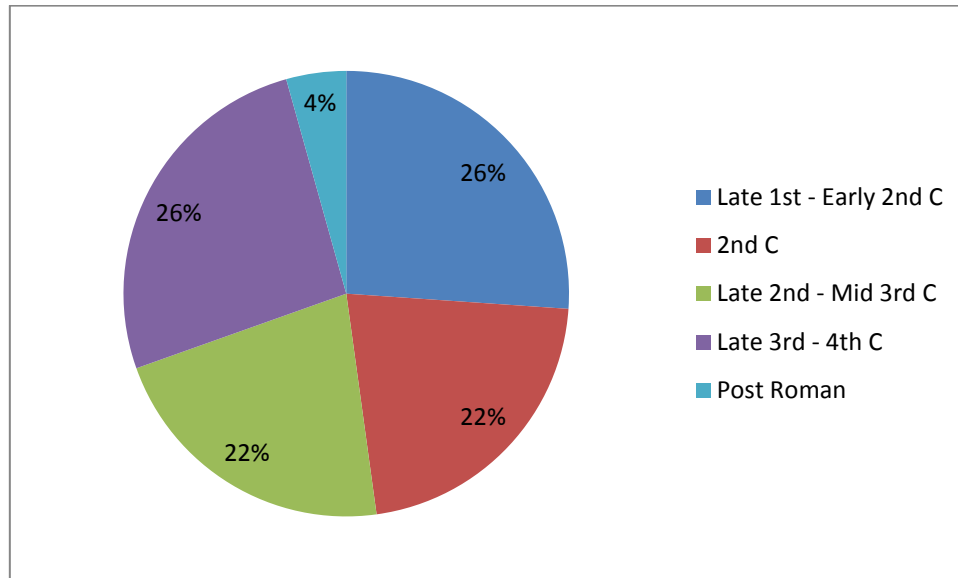


Figure 45: Proportion of subterranean features dated to particular periods at Roman Dorchester n=24

Aesthetics of deposits

As with the features from the other location types, urban centres and Silchester (see Chapters Two and Three above), if the deposits displayed any of the following characteristics they were included within the group of features displaying a degree of aestheticism: distinctive layering of deposits and/or depositional events often marked by sterile layers of chalk/flint packing; repetition in the number and type of an object across a group of associated pits or shafts; clearly arranged objects forming patterns or shapes; placement of objects in symmetrical arrangements and lining of feature with some type of fabric for non-structural purposes (chalk blocks or pebbles pressed into wall surface for example).

There is some evidence for these kinds of aesthetic characteristics being focused upon in the way in which deposits were made at Roman Dorchester. For example, the shafts from the central *insula* were used repeatedly over time, and sometimes included characteristics such as chalk and clay capping and depositional events being marked by slabs of limestone (for example, see Woodward & Woodward 2004, p.74 and also F151). However, there is little evidence for the kind of substantial depositional complexity and density of object numbers

found within the features from non-urban and sacred precinct locations (see Chapter Two above). Therefore, it appears that the subterranean features of Dorchester were simpler in terms of the visual and/or spatial arrangement of objects in comparison to many of the features from non-urban and sacred precinct locations. This is a similar finding to the deposits from Silchester which in general appear to have been simpler in terms of visual arrangement and numbers of objects and bodies in comparison to those from non-urban and sacred precinct locations.

Generally speaking, the lack of aesthetic care taken with the enactment and arrangement of deposits within the towns of Roman Britain is a distinctive characteristic of urban depositional practices. This characteristic is highlighted when the non-urban and sacred precinct deposits are considered, where greater complexity and aesthetic care taken in the arrangement and construction of relationships between various objects is taken into account (see Chapter Two above).

Spatial distribution of features from Roman Dorchester

The most apparent characteristic of the spatial distribution of the features from Roman Dorchester is that the intra-urban differences in patterns of depositional practices do seem to correlate with the environmental and bone differences as analysed by Grimm (2008). As argued by Grimm, there were three distinct socio-economic zones within *Durnovaria*, it is also apparent that the depositional practices of the central *insula* were different compared to those of the north-west quarter and the south-west quarter (see *Figure 46* for the approximate spatial distribution of the features from the north-western quarter and south-western quarter). The deposits in the central *insula* were focused on deep shafts where a large number of dogs, birds, pots, game counters and personal objects were deposited regularly over the first two centuries of the Roman town (see *Figure 47* for the approximate spatial distribution of the features from the central *insula*). The other sectors did not have the same type of depositional practices, with deposition of infants being common but with only a few instances of animal and/or personal object deposition. What this suggests is that depositional behaviour in general could be linked to the economic status of a place and/or group of people. This would make sense when the highly complex and structured deposits from non-urban areas are considered.

As discussed above in Chapter Two, one of the defining aspects of the subterranean features from non-urban areas was their complexity, aesthetically-considered arrangements and associations between objects, along with the deposition of often very large numbers of objects (such as the 150 Roman urns found in F54 for example). It is argued here that these events may have been associated with expression of largesse by certain groups of people where relationships between power, land and resource ownership intersected in these subterranean features (following Bradley 1980).

Grimm's analysis of the environmental and animal bone evidence from the different sectors of *Durnovaria* resulted in an interpretation that the highest socio-economic group lived in a central *insula* (2008). This interpretation was based on the evidence which demonstrated the regular consumption of young animals, pigs and wild birds which were commonly consumed according to Roman traditions. Grimm also found that an intermediate socio-economic group lived in the south-west quarter of the town (the Hospital site) where similar consumption patterns were found to the central *insula* but from older animals. The lowest socio-economic group was located in the north-western quarter where the inhabitants 'clung to their Iron Age custom and ate primarily mutton' (Grimm 2008, p.14). It follows then that in simple terms there was more wealth, power and reinforcement of social status by the central *insula* inhabitants, and this is reflected in the larger array of deposited objects in this sector of the town, along with the careful maintenance and use of the shafts located here over a period of about 200 years.

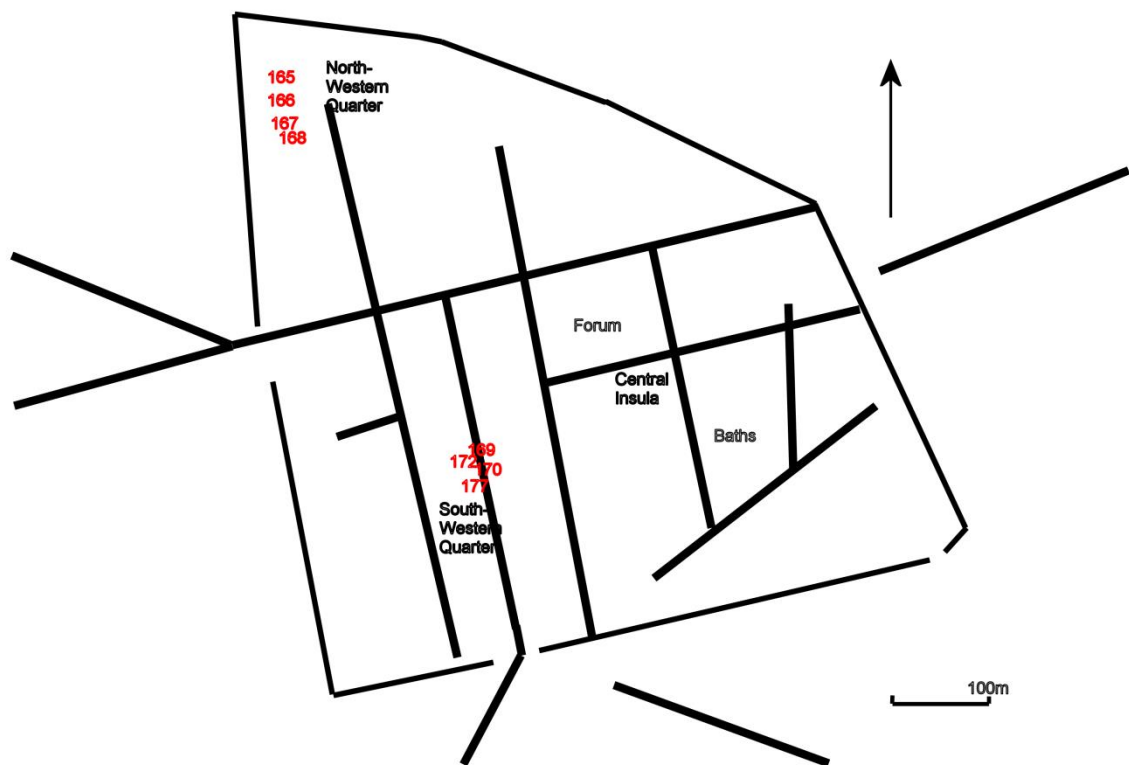


Figure 46: Approximate location of depositional features in the north-western and south-western quarters of Roman Dorchester

Apart from the evidence for socio-economic zoning of the town, and how depositional practices related to this, there is also evidence that the features from the central *insula* might have been part of foundation and ongoing commemoration rituals associated with the inception and development of the Roman town. Woodward & Woodward's interpretation of the shafts at Dorchester as being probable foundation deposits is, in part, based on the spatial arrangement of the shafts with respect to the orientation of the entire town and also how they are arranged within the *insula* (2004).



Figure 47: Approximate location of the depositional features located in the central insula Roman Dorchester

So, the argument presented in this project that the features of Roman Dorchester are reflective of the three socio-economic zones suggested by Grimm and others (Maltby 1993), is further substantiated by Woodward & Woodward's argument that these shafts were the foci of town-founding rituals (2004). Thus, as suggested here, these features and their contents were linked to expressions of wealth, resource-ownership and power and were therefore distributed spatially in relation to the social structures present in the Roman town. The central *insula* was a place for habitation and use by the more elite and resource rich groups in the town who were also presumably of the elite social structure that was harnessed by Rome in order to fulfil the needs of provincial administration and imperial policies.

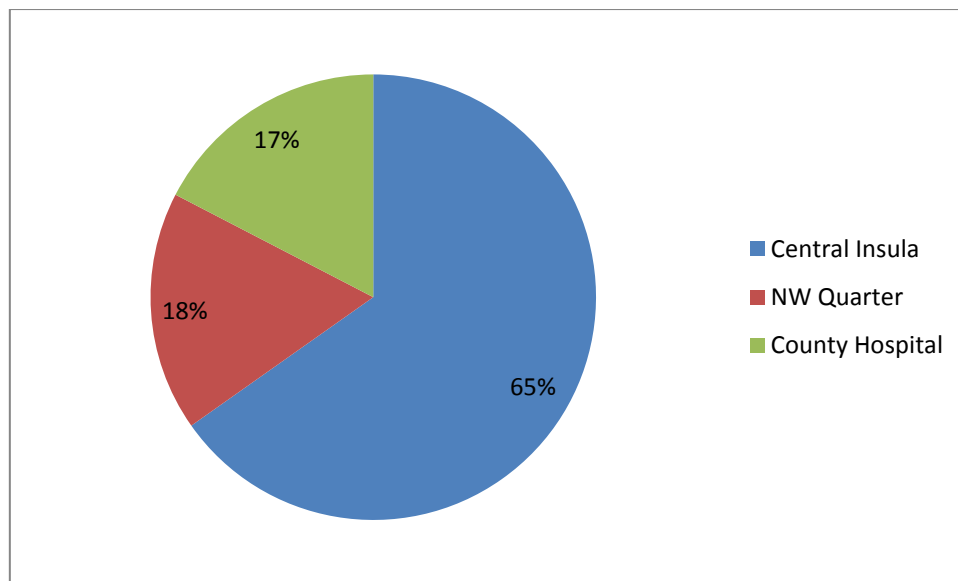


Figure 48: Spatial distribution of all features across the central insula, north-western quarter and south-western quarter of Roman Dorchester n=24

Changes to later Roman Dorchester

As already highlighted above, it is clear that there were significant changes to the modes of Roman Dorchester's depositional practices from around the mid third century to the beginning of the fourth century. These changes were characterised by three factors: the cessation of dog and bird deposition, the absence of pottery deposition and, a marked increase in infant deposition from all three sectors of the Roman town. Why these changes occurred is not clear but importantly they occurred either leading up to or during the fourth century. These changes to depositional practices were therefore concomitant with general changes to the character of the urban landscape observed for *Durnovaria* during the fourth century. These changes to the urban space are seen to have been associated with coin circulation and economic shifts (Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993, p.369). The increase in the deposition of infants during the fourth century may therefore relate to the associations between deceased neonates and the promotion of fertility in a similar way to the villas of the fourth century during a period of economic flux (Scott 1999, p.114).

Shifts in depositional practices were also observed for Silchester, as outlined above in Chapter Three. Indeed, the fourth century was an apparent period of intensification of depositional activity in Silchester, and as already discussed this change coincided with other major changes

to the urban fabric and socio-economic functioning of the town. It is significant that key changes to the depositional practices in Roman Dorchester also occurred around this time. The implications of these temporally defined changes to both Silchester and Roman Dorchester are considered more closely below in Chapters Six and Seven where the notions of urbanisation, translation of the urban model and the operational logic of depositional practices are considered in more general terms.

Changes to health of the population of Roman Dorchester

It is also necessary to include a description of health effects that were concomitant with the cultural changes of the Roman period. The interplay between Indigenous and Roman traditions didn't just change the culture of Britain but had significant impacts on health, mortality and life-ways of urban populations in particular. The social and cultural implications of these changes cannot be underestimated, and it is suggested here that the disposal of particular objects and human and faunal remains in a purposeful manner would have been intrinsically related to the health and status of those enacting these particular rituals. This suggestion is based on the manner in which diet, economics, status and markers of these factors present themselves within the remains of pits and shafts as discussed above for the spatial distribution of subterranean features.

Lewis provides an osteoarchaeological investigation into levels of disease and trauma present in the skeletal remains of children from Roman Dorchester who were buried in the Poundbury Camp cemetery (2009). These remains have all been dated to the third to fifth centuries and therefore this evidence is useful for considering the relative health of the Dorchester population during the later Roman period. As stated by Lewis 'non-adult remains provide an effective measure of population fitness, as the ability of a society to keep their most vulnerable members alive, and in good health, attests their ability to adapt to their environment' (2009, p.405).

It is apparent that compared to any other published findings regarding the health and physical well-being of any other Roman British group, the young inhabitants from Roman Dorchester suffered the greatest amount of trauma and malnutrition (Lewis 2010, p.406). The extensive range of fractures to ribs and other bones may be an indicator of severe physical punishment and also possibly of the extreme frailty of infant and child skeletons due to malnutrition and associated diseases (Lewis 2010, p.414). Such evidence could be an indicator of what would

now be termed child abuse and that 'modern cases of physical abuse are seen to reflect a high level of stress within the community as a result of overcrowding or parental consumption of alcohol, and the cases of infant trauma may demonstrate this tension' (Lewis 2010,p.414).

Furthermore, the number of cases of *cribra orbitalia* (pitting of the anterior and/or antero-lateral sections of the orbital plate of the skull) seen within the bones of both non-adult and adult male individuals at Roman Dorchester is extensive. The appearance of *cribra orbitalia* is often thought to be the result of iron deficiency and anaemia, but it is also thought that B12 and B9 deficiency could also be the cause of bone and blood cell malformation (Lewis 2010, p.413). Additionally, there is also evidence that the populations of Roman Dorchester and surrounding areas had an increase in cases of scurvy, rickets and poor dental health, likely due to the introduction of Roman style diets and 'the introduction of urban living' as compared to late Iron Age populations in the region (Redfern, Millard & Hamlin, 2012, p.1249; see also Redfern & DeWitte for a similar argument for the decline in health of populations of Roman Britain compared to the Later Iron Age).

Therefore, the skeletal evidence for Roman Dorchester is suggestive of the presence of economic, social and physical stresses amongst the population of later Roman Dorchester. The evidence for childhood malnutrition and trauma in particular coincides temporally with the changes found in this chapter's analysis of depositional practices carried out within the town. These changes are in part marked by the increase in neonatal deposition within and underneath buildings and other structures in all parts of the town. This increase in infant deposition could be reflective of both the symbolism of depositing a dead infant in a ritualised way (following Scott 1991&1999), along with the reality of high infant mortality rates due to malnutrition and stress within Roman Dorchester's population.

This osteoarchaeological evidence is useful for this study as it highlights physical and sociological stress experienced by the inhabitants of Roman Dorchester during the later and sub-Roman periods. The increase in infant deposition during the later Roman period might be aligned with practices that sought to improve the health and fertility of a place as argued by Scott of the appearance of infant burials within the agricultural precincts of villa complexes during the fourth century (1991 & 1999).

The apparent health changes observed for later Roman Dorchester occurred at the same time as the shift in depositional practices of the central *insula* where animal deposits of the previously common bird and dog abruptly ceases whilst some personal object deposition

continued. Furthermore, there was the increase in infant deposition which is seen in the central, north-western and south-western sectors of the town. It is possible that different types of objects and depositional bodies of neonates functioned differently in terms of their depositional purpose or meaning and therefore their presence or absence in subterranean features could relate to the broader health and stress changes of the population. Scott's (1991, p.115) interpretation of the appearance of infant deposition within the agricultural ranges of Romano-British villa complexes during a period of social and economic stress during the fourth century could also be applicable to Dorchester. Clearly then at both Roman Dorchester and Silchester, changes to depositional practices occurred at the same time as other changes to the physical, social and economic aspects of the urban fabric.

The characteristics of the subterranean features of Dorchester

As for Silchester there are a number of key characteristics that have been found for the depositional practices of Roman Dorchester. These key characteristics show similarities to the depositional practices of Silchester and the other urban centres considered in Chapter Two. Thus, the analysis and discussion of the data from Roman Dorchester further substantiates the claim made in this project that depositional practices in the towns of Roman Britain were enacted differently to those made in non-urban, sacred precinct and military fort locations.

The similarities found for urban depositional practices of Roman Dorchester, and the other towns considered so far, pertain to the distribution of animal species within the subterranean features under consideration. As for Silchester, and the other towns considered in Chapter Two, the deposition of dog is the predominant species found within subterranean features in terms of number of individuals. Dog numbers per feature were high at Roman Dorchester (ranging between 1-20 individuals within any given feature), but in contrast to any of the other towns considered so far, the deposition of birds (mainly corvids) was even greater than dog when appearance in any given feature is considered. Within Roman Dorchester, dog(s) appear within 6 features (all located within the central *insula*) while birds appear in 7 features (again all of which were located within the central *insula*). Apart from this difference, the general absence of wild species (deer, oyster and other species), pig and horse was common to Roman Dorchester and all of the other towns considered in this project so far. Again, this absence of wild species, pig and horse is in direct contrast to the evidence from the non-urban and sacred precinct locations where these animals were commonly part of deposits within subterranean

features. Unlike Silchester, Wroxeter and Caerwent there was no evidence found for cattle deposition either which provides another characteristic of inter-urban variability.

The cessation of the previously important deposition of dog and bird at Dorchester, which occurred during the late third century, was also a unique characteristic of this town's depositional activities. This in contrast to the temporal pattern found for Silchester where it appears that there was an intensification of all types of depositional activities during the late third and fourth centuries. The concomitant increase of infant deposition during this time period also occurred within all three sectors of Roman Dorchester considered in this study. Again, this clear shift in depositional practices was different to that found at Silchester where all types of deposition, including infants, intensified during the later Roman period.

The almost complete absence of metal deposition, and indeed the complete absence of large deposits of grouped metal objects, is in direct contrast to the evidence from Silchester and to an extent the other towns considered in Chapter Two where the deposition of pewter in wells was a common characteristic. Large metal deposits and the frequency of iron objects in these deposits was also a common feature to the non-urban and sacred precinct data that was discussed in Chapter Two, and therefore this almost complete absence of metal deposition in Dorchester is a unique feature of this town's depositional practices without any parallels found so far. Along with this difference in the frequency and density of numbers of metal object deposition is the contrast in the distribution of pottery between the two case studies and the other towns considered in Chapter Two. Although there were fairly large numbers of pots found in F149, F150 and F151, these features are the only places where any type, or number, of pottery vessels were located. So, although pottery deposition was clearly significant it was not enacted with the regularity and frequency found at Silchester, where over a third of all of the town's features contained some type of pottery deposition. Additionally, it was found in Chapter Three above that over half of the features containing pottery at Silchester did so to the exclusion of any other type of depositional object. This pattern of exclusive pottery deposition, which was also a pattern that was found to a lesser extent across the other towns considered in Chapter Two, was not indicated at all in the data for Roman Dorchester. Within Roman Dorchester the deposition of pottery was always made in combination with other object types.

Another unique aspect of the depositional characteristics of Dorchester was the much greater frequency of personal object deposition in the form of jewellery or 'dress' objects as well as the common inclusion of 'gaming counters' into the shaft deposits (Woodward & Woodward

2004, p.73). This was very different from the pattern found at Silchester and the other urban centres where evidence for this type of deposition was low. Furthermore, it appears that deposition of personal objects continued into the fourth and fifth centuries, whereas the previously common deposition of pottery, dog and corvid had ceased prior to this time during the third century. It is possible then that the ongoing deposition of personal objects at Dorchester had a different meaning or was informed by different social structures than pottery and animal deposition. The reason for ongoing personal object deposition is uncertain, however, and that this occurred is a significant finding. This is a unique characteristic for Dorchester's depositional practices which has not been found for any of the other urban centres under consideration.

As already discussed above, the apparent zoning of depositional activity within Roman Dorchester is one of the most significant differences between this town and Silchester. As found above in Chapter Three, the subterranean features of Silchester as a whole look ubiquitous both in terms of spatial distribution and object types found across these widely dispersed features. Although there is evidence in *Insula IX* that dog and infant remains were more likely to appear in particular parts of this sector of the town, generally speaking subterranean features with evidence for special and/or ritual deposition occur reasonably evenly throughout the town. That Roman Dorchester had a centralised focus for shaft deposits with a range of objects included seems likely from the preceding analysis of the other sectors of the town where ritual deposition was not as common, and certainly not as spatially focused. Although there is evidence for substantial numbers of infant remains being deposited under floors of buildings and structures, there is only minimal evidence for other types of subterranean deposits from the north-western and south-western quarters of the towns. In addition to this spatial zoning of object types and their focused location within one of the central areas of the Roman towns, is that shafts, rather than pits, were by far the most common type of features within the town as most of the deposits were enacted in the central *insula* where nearly all of the features were deep shafts. Within Roman Dorchester then there is evidence for intra-urban differences in depositional behaviours which has not been found in any of the other towns considered so far.

There were therefore a number of distinct differences between Roman Dorchester, Silchester and the other towns considered which provide evidence that although urban depositional practices in general were different to non-urban depositional practices, close analysis has also found that inter-urban differences in urban depositional practices existed between the major

towns. These differences also support the position of this thesis that the towns of Roman Britain and concomitant processes of urbanisation were unique for each location (following Laurance, Esmonde Cleary & Sears, 2011). Thus, the findings of this project contribute to wider debates surrounding studies of Roman Britain, and notions associated with urbanisation and 'Romanisation'. The implications of this finding of inter-urban difference in depositional practices are considered more closely in Chapter Six. It is the position of this present project that the individual translation of the 'town' was distinct at each location and this in part is evidenced by the variations in depositional practices, and in particular in terms of variances in spatial distribution of subterranean features.

The operational logic of depositional practices in Dorchester compared to other urban centres and other location types

Although the feature types are different to Silchester where pits were far more common, the shafts of Roman Dorchester's central *insula* were similarly initially constructed for 'functional' purposes. Like many of Silchester's pits which would have originally been for cess, rubbish or water collection, the shafts of Dorchester are thought to have been originally cut for chalk quarrying in the early construction of the town. So, like rubbish and cess pits, the logic of depositing dogs, birds, pots, personal items and gaming counters into the shafts of Dorchester was a transformative act that rendered a place that penetrated the earth's surface into a meaningful location. The fact that the shaft already existed and by its very nature provided a liminal space between the earth's surface and the unknown space below this boundary, may have made it an entirely appropriate place for the offering or 'letting go' of particular objects of value and/or meaning. Indeed, the fact that a quarry shaft so deeply penetrated the earth's surface, may have necessitated that these types of places be transformed by the purposeful deposition of a repertoire of appropriate objects and materials.

As highlighted in Chapter Three above, what is crucial for this thesis however is to define how these depositional acts might have been similar or different between location types, and most importantly defining the similarities and variations between urban depositional practices. It is apparent that there was a similar logic in all urban centres in that subterranean spaces necessitated and/or were appropriate for purposeful deposition of particular types of objects and materials. It has been found for Dorchester, Silchester and the other towns discussed in Chapter Two that a uniting feature of urban depositional practices was that pottery was always

significant to an extent, dogs and infants were predominant in many subterranean deposits, and that horse, pig, oyster, deer and other wild species were very uncommon choices for deposition within urban spaces. It has also been found that there were a range of inter-urban differences that existed within this broad framework for subterranean deposits. As highlighted by the preceding analysis of Roman Dorchester, it is clear that in this town at least spatial zoning of depositional activity existed where some places within the town were more appropriate for special deposition and particular objects more than other sectors of the town. Also, it has been shown that there was also a temporal patterning where at certain time periods types of objects and intensity of depositional activity could change. It has also been argued that the logic of these changes to depositional activity was somehow related to broader economic, social and physical changes within the towns. Simply, what was appropriate depositional behaviour at one time was not always appropriate at another time period. Therefore, the spatial and temporal differences that have been found for depositional activities within Dorchester and Silchester were the result of - and also part of - the constant fluctuations and changes to the urban fabric and the relationships between its inhabitants.

As discussed for Silchester in Chapter Three, the operational logic for other location types such as non-urban places was not significantly different from what occurred within an urban space like *Durnovaria*. In non-urban locations, places that penetrated the earth's surface (whether constructed for that purpose or already in existence as a well or quarrying shaft), where appropriate for and/or necessitated the deposition of a range of particular objects that was consistent with a particular type of place. The key difference between an urban space like *Durnovaria* and the other location types discussed so far is that the depositional activities in non-urban and sacred precinct locations utilised a particular range of objects for deposition which were specific to those location types (large metal deposits and horse, deer, oyster and other wild species but no infants for example). Additionally, sacred precinct and non-urban deposits were generally more complex and were constructed and arranged with a degree of aesthetic care that was not found within an urban centre like Roman Dorchester.

The implications for this project's research questions of the operational logic of depositional behaviours and how these relate to questions surrounding urbanisation and 'Romanisation' are defined in the proceeding analysis chapters following an analysis of Verulamium in Chapter Five.

Key findings

From the preceding analysis and discussion of the subterranean features of Roman Dorchester there are a number of key findings. These results are applied in Chapters Six where a final analysis and interpretation of all of the data included in this project is consolidated in order to address the research questions and aims of this thesis.

Firstly, it has been found that the depositional activities enacted within Roman Dorchester had similarities to the depositional practices from Silchester and the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two. The uniting feature of these urban depositional practices was found to be a consistency in the deposition of infant remains and in the range of animal species chosen for deposition. Additionally, it was also found that these major similarities within urban depositional practices were in contrast to practices in non-urban areas. Thus the claim made by this thesis that urban depositional practices were distinct in terms of object type and nature of enactment is further substantiated by the preceding analysis of Roman Dorchester. Secondly, there were a number of characteristics of Dorchester's depositional practices that suggest inter-urban differences. These key differences were: 1. the absence of metal deposition, 2. spatial zoning of depositional activities, 3. the frequency of black bird deposits, 4. the significance of personal object and gaming counter deposition and, 5. the apparent cessation of bird and dog deposits by the end of the 3rd century occurring at the same time as in an increase in infant deposition. Thirdly, the shifts in depositional practices found for the end of the third century and into the fourth century occurred at the same time as in increase in infant and childhood trauma and malnutrition, and a shift in the economic fabric of the town. It is thought here that these changes to depositional practices and shifts in the social and economic structures of the town were linked. The changes to depositional practices during the third century – and in particular those located within the central *insula* – are argued to have been reflective to changes in the social structures of Dorchester. This argument is based on the interpretation of the central *insula* shafts as having been the receptacles of depositional events that commemorated the founding of the town (following Woodward & Woodward 2004). Therefore, any major changes to these depositional practices should be considered in terms of the social structures that maintained and perpetuated these rituals of commemoration.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed and discussed the subterranean features of Dorchester that had evidence for ritual and/or special deposition. The analysis of these features and their contents demonstrated that the depositional practices of Dorchester had many characteristics in common with other urban centres. However, when compared to Silchester and the general patterns found in the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two, it also has been found that there were some significant inter-urban differences between the other towns and Roman Dorchester. Furthermore, it was also found that Dorchester had a level of intra-urban difference in the nature of depositional activities between one of the central *insula*, the north-western quarter of the Roman town, and the south-western corner of the Roman town. These differences in types and dating of depositional activities were emphasised by an overview of Grimm's analysis of associated bone groups from these same three areas (2008). The argument that Roman Dorchester consisted of a number of distinct socio-economic zones can be further substantiated by the findings that these areas also had apparent distinctions in the way people carried out depositional activities.

The manner in which the deposits of the central *insula* were maintained over time is one of the greatest points of comparison to the apparently pervasive and opportunistic deposits of Silchester. To have maintained the shafts as places of appropriate and special deposition over such a long period of time would have required social organisation and the construction of memory of the locations and the purpose of these features. This degree of social organisation and maintenance of these sites of ritual importance suggests that there was a degree of continuity in the centralised nature of the town and the perceived nature of how the town operated. This is exemplified by the evidence discussed above that traces socio-economic difference throughout difference zones within the town based on dietary habits and faunal remains (Grimm 2008). So, there is evidence that points to zoning within the town, and the area displaying the highest degree of social and economic status is the central Greyhound Yard *insula*. It is also in this sector of the town where special deposits were made repeatedly over the Roman period, and prescribe to location and object type. In contrast to the analysis of the special pit deposits found in Silchester, it appears that the shaft deposits of Dorchester are more spatially circumscribed and don't appear as pervasive or opportunistic as those within Silchester.

The following chapter considers the town of *Verulamium* and the associated sites of Folly Lane and King Henry Lane. The following case study of the ceremonial site at Verulamium provides

more evidence of this extensive practice of special deposition and its significance within the urban spaces of Roman Britain. Unlike Roman Dorchester however, the proceeding analysis of *Verulamium* highlights the nature of special deposition within a ritual precinct located outside of the town's boundaries.

Chapter Five: The Depositional Practices of Verulamium

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse and discuss the data for subterranean features from Verulamium and its surrounding sites of Folly Lane and King Harry Lane. As such, this case study is different from Silchester and Dorchester, in that the majority of the data for this project have come from sites that are outside of the town boundaries. Thus, the depositional practices of this town are marked by the way that they were enacted mainly within the ceremonial site of Folly Lane. The evidence for subterranean deposits within the town itself was limited. The results from the previous chapters' analyses of other the other urban centres, Silchester and Roman Dorchester, are incorporated into the proceeding analysis and discussion of Verulamium and its associated sites' subterranean features. This final case study provides further evidence for inter-urban difference in terms of depositional practices. However, it has also been found that the operational logic of these features of Verulamium and surrounding sites were similar to those from the other towns. This similarity is apparent from the evidence for major shifts in depositional behaviour at this case study, which coincided with other changes to the urban fabric and the site of Folly Lane.

The inclusion of the available data from Verulamium is distinctive because the majority of the features under consideration were located outside the urban boundary. As such, the data from Verulamium is considered differently from the data from Silchester and Verulamium. Although the large part of this database lies outside the urban core, the subterranean features included in the database were located less than a kilometre from the town's boundaries and were found within a site that was intrinsically linked to the town itself. Indeed, the ritual site of Folly Lane is thought to have been so important that the town was planned and developed according to the location and alignment of the ceremonial site (Creighton 2006, p.125) (see *Figure 56*). The Folly Lane site was the location of the cremation of an unknown, high-status individual around AD 55 (closely following the time of the Claudian annexation of Britain) (Niblett 2004, p.32). The cremated person was likely one of Rome's friendly kings or was

either a successor or relative of one (Niblett 1999). Over time this site was the focus of a number of ongoing ritual acts that worked to commemorate the cremated individual and/or symbolise the associations of the person with time and place in the surrounding landscape (Niblett 2004, p.35; Creighton 2006, p.127). The ceremonial function of this site did not end with the funerary rites, as it is thought that by the Antonine period it had become a significant cult centre (Niblett 2004, p.38). It is possible that another aspect of this ceremonial site/cult centre was the series of subterranean features located there that incorporated special deposits and were in use from the second century AD until the late third century AD (see F133, F134, F135, F136, F137, F138, F139, F140, F141, F142, F143, F144, F145, F146 in *Appendix 8*). Important for this thesis is the fact that this site was the 'focal point for an enduring cycle of ritual acts which did not just occur within the enclosure itself, but framed the very geography of the city below' (Creighton 2006, p.127). This raises a number of questions about how processes of urbanisation are interpreted with regards to 'pre-Roman' notions of place and the significance of meaning already present within the landscape prior to the development of Roman towns in Britain (following Rogers 2008). Verulamium provides a useful case study which contributes to the research aim of this thesis regarding urbanisation and how to define this process with regards to the wider landscape of Roman Britain. These broader issues of processes of urbanisation and cultural change are addressed below in Chapters Six.

The methodology for this chapter follows that of Chapters Two, Three and Four. The objects and materials deposited within the features under consideration were counted based upon their appearance (in any number or quantity) across all of the give features of Verulamium and its immediately surrounding sites. If a particular animal species or object was deposited in high numbers within any given feature then this has also been noted, but the number of individuals was not included so as not to bias results.

Archaeological background

The site of Verulamium was a large Iron Age settlement prior to the establishment of the Roman town. The pre-conquest site was the main centre of the Catuvellauni. There is evidence for a ditch underlying parts of the later town. This ditch was possibly the remains of an enclosure of a chief religious sanctuary of the tribal group. The foremost *insula* of the town was built on the site of what may have been a primary place of sanctity within the pre-Roman settlement forming part of the territorial *oppidum* of Verlamion (Niblett 2004, p.32; Wachter

1995, p.216). As already outlined above the ceremonial site of Folly Lane informed the developing spatial geography of the Roman town as, 'its position on a prominent slope, close to the main route into the *oppidum*, appears to have been deliberately chosen to overlook the centre of the pre-Flavian settlement' (Niblett 2004, p.32). In the central region of the town there is evidence for a large ditched enclosure which may have been the site of a ritual enclosure or a royal residence (Niblett, Manning & Saunders 2006, p.53). It has also been thought that a small Roman military fort may have existed within this sector of the town but is still unproven (Niblett, Manning & Saunders 2006, pp.61-63).

New walls were constructed around the town sometime at the end of the third century and consisted of a bank fronted by a masonry wall which was in turn fronted by a ditch system, and were probably the first physical boundaries of the town that covered the river frontage. The walls probably incorporated five known gates (Wacher 1995, p.232). The ribbon development along the Silchester road subsequently ceased after the construction of the town wall (Wacher 1995, p.241). It is also significant that the later third century town wall acquired the addition of two monumental arches (Frere 1991, p.245). Such an addition is indicative of some level of prosperity and pride within the town, and would not appear to indicate modifications associated with a need for defence. The significance of the late third-century town walls is discussed more closely below in this chapter in relation to changes to the Folly Lane and the cessation of depositional activity there which occurred around the same time.

The town incorporated large, good quality housing composed mainly from bricks and mortar, clay and flint and tiled roofing (Wacher 1995, p.235). During the later second century the densely occupied areas of workshops and commercial shops were replaced by 'larger and more luxurious town-houses' (Frere 1991, p.234). A similar process also occurred at London where previously cramped commercial quarters were replaced by widely-spaced large houses displaying a degree of opulence. In order to contextualise the special deposits of Verulamium it is critical that during the third century the pattern of increasing affluence of individual houses and the lowering of density within the town can also be traced within this urban space. These larger and relatively elite structures in Verulamium were of a distinctly Romano-British type that had evolved differently to the more 'closely planned' houses of the classical south (Frere 1991, p.238). Between AD 215-240 construction was completed on a number of substantial private houses (Frere 1991, p.245), demonstrating that a sector of the population of third century Verulamium were enjoying a degree of prosperity. The more prosperous sector of the population however did not appear to engage in munificence with little evidence for

'competition for honour' within the town's fabric (Creighton 2006, p.130). Although the Catuvellaunian *civitas* has evidence for villa construction, there are not many in close proximity to Verulamium itself. This could indicate that a significant number of landowners had lived in and carried out the running of their estates from the town (Wacher 1995, p.241). Alternatively, Creighton suggests that the prominent family that probably held successive leadership within the town may have lived at nearby Gorhambury villa (2006, p. 130). The town itself, the Folly Lane site and possibly Gorhambury villa (which had been constructed within a prominent Later Iron Age enclosure) formed places for the living and the dead and reinforced the ancestral bases for power and resource ownership of the urban-suburban network of Verulamium. There is evidence that the town continued to function as an urban space well into the fifth century AD with ongoing reconstruction of buildings using tile and mosaics (Frere & Witts 2011).

The Folly Lane Site

Despite the Folly Lane site not being within the confines of the town boundaries, it is included due to its proximity to the town. The fact that this site was located outside the boundaries of *Verulamium* provides an opportunity to consider the nature of special deposition both inside and immediately outside the defined urban area. Furthermore, Creighton's analysis of the relationship between the Folly Lane site and the town itself argues for the ceremonial enclosure being an intrinsic part of the town (see *Figure 56*) and that it was in fact the primary point of reference for the alignment and further development of the town. Niblett argues that 'It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the enclosure was designed to be accessible from the early Roman town, while the most likely occasion for such a radical change in the plan and outlook...must surely be that of the remarkable funerary rites held in the centre of the enclosure in the middle of the first century' (1999, p.24).

The primary focus of the Folly Lane site was for the enactment of the cremation of a high status individual around 55 AD (Niblett 1999, p.29). The structures within the ceremonial enclosure included 'a large shaft, with the remains of a timber structure in its base, a pit containing a high status cremation burial, dating from shortly after AD55, and an eroded mound' (Niblett 1999, p.29). The shaft was dug so as to penetrate the chalk bed and at the base was a 0.5m gravel or sand layer. The shaft, and the wooden structure at its base, were 'systematically demolished' and then finally filled with 'a massive deposit of laid turf, which

originally almost certainly extended above ground level to form a stack' (Niblett 1999, p.30). The shaft was not used as a burial chamber but rather the cremated remains were carefully placed in the nearby burial pit. At the time of the completion of the cremation, the shaft and its wooden structure at its base were demolished. It has been suggested that the shaft was used as a mortuary chamber in which the body of the deceased was lain out prior to the cremation and accompanying funerary rituals.

The funerary rites for this individual were at the intersection between this local leader, their relationship with Rome (Roman military gear comprised part of the funerary goods), and their position of power in regards to the landscape and its people (represented by the different turf stacks included in the funerary pyre) (Niblett, 1999). It is noted that the turf stacks that sealed the demolished shaft had been cut from a large range of different pastures and thus may have symbolically referenced the domains of the person who had been cremated (Creighton 2006, p.125). The fact that this cremation occurred just after the annexation of Britain around 55 AD, and just prior to the establishment of the town of Verulamium, provides further evidence of how important this site was in the landscape and that it maintained its meaning and prominence for the people of Verulamium up until the end of the third century AD (Creighton 2006, p.124-130).

During the two centuries in which the ceremonial enclosure was maintained and used a number of pits and shafts were constructed that contained a range of depositional objects and materials. These include F133, F134, F135, F136, F137, F138, F139, F140, F141, F142, F143, F144, F145 and F146 (see *Appendix 8*). All of these shafts and pits date to between the early second century and the mid third century. A number of shafts were used repeatedly over time where deposits were made at different intervals. These types of features include F133, F134 and F135.

It was during the late third century that the 'latest ritual pits went out of use, the ritual complex was abandoned and the lower slope largely turned over to agriculture' (Niblett 1999, p.29). It is suggested that the purpose of the site, and the rituals that took place there, were linked to a specific family and that the ending of the use of the site was the result of the extinction of the final descendents (following Creighton 2006). Alternatively it is also suggested that the dramatic shift in the use of the site might be associated with broader socio-religious changes. This shift and decline in the use of the ceremonial enclosure coincides with the construction of the town wall during the mid-third century (Frere 1983, p.11)

King Harry Lane Site

The King Harry Lane site where F35 was found is located just outside of the line of Verulamium's third century town walls to the south east (see *Figure 56*). Within this site were found the Silchester Roman Road, an Iron Age ditch, an extensive Late Iron Age cemetery and a range of Roman period buildings and structures (Stead & Rigby 1989). Roman period settlement developed along the Silchester Road from about 180 to 460m from the boundary of the town during Flavian times (Stead & Rigby 1989, p.11). There was an abrupt cessation of the occupation of the site around AD 260 (Stead and Rigby 1989, p.11). This shift in occupation of this site occurs at the same time that town gained masonry walls somewhere between AD 260-270 (Frere 1987, p.37) and that use of the Folly Lane site also ceases (Creighton 2006, p.130). Stead & Rigby allude to the possibility that F35 may have been enacted as a means of marking the abandonment of the site (1989, p.11). The feature contained third century pottery and a denarius of Caracalla.

Data from Verulamium

This section discusses and analyses the data from Verulamium. The database for Verulamium is found in *Appendix 8* and includes all of the references from which the data were collected. The results of the following analyses of the objects/bodies deposited, along with the feature type, dating, and the presence/absence of particular aesthetic qualities demonstrate that there were particular characteristics that were unique to the depositional practices of Verulamium and the sites of Folly Lane and King Harry Lane. Because the large majority of subterranean features were located at the Folly Lane site the results of the proceeding analyses are mainly in association with this ceremonial site. Thus, the proceeding analyses of the depositional practices of the Verulamium complex (the town itself, the Folly Lane site and the King Harry Lane site), correspond mainly to the nature of Folly Lane site and the ritual activities that were enacted there. The implications of the findings of the proceeding analyses are discussed more closely below and in Chapter Six.

Animal remains

The deposition of animals into the subterranean features of Verulamium and associated sites was important but not as significant as it was for the towns of Dorchester and Silchester (see *Figure 49*). This pattern is distinctive compared to the high numbers of animal remains deposited into subterranean features at Silchester and Dorchester and the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two. Indeed, the common appearance of dog within the subterranean features of all of the towns discussed so far is a hallmark of urban depositional practices. Cattle were also reasonably common in the subterranean deposits of Silchester as was the deposition of corvids in the case of Dorchester. It is suggested that the circumscribed nature of the spaces containing ritual/special deposits at sites associated with Verulamium may have resulted in very particular objects and materials being utilised for special deposition. Dog was not a common find within Verulamium's subterranean features unlike the other towns where this species was always a dominant and widespread deposit (see for example F6, F10, F15, F16, F17, F18, F19 in Silchester, *Appendix 6* and F144, F152, F154, F158 in Dorchester, *Appendix 7*). In terms of numbers of individuals deposited, cattle were the dominant depositional species within Verulamium's features (see *Figure 50* & *Figure 51*). This pattern of a few features containing very high numbers of cattle individuals demonstrates some similarities to the large cattle deposits at Silchester and the cattle deposits of Wroxeter and Caerwent as discussed in Chapters Three and Two above.

Out of the 17 features, 5 contain any definite evidence for the deposition of animal remains. However, if the actual number of individuals is considered, there is a significant amount of cattle remains (see *Figure 50*). The other two species represented within the deposits are dog with two examples and horse with one example. There were also two examples of unknown animal species. The high proportion of cattle bones can be accounted for by analysis of the contents of one particular feature found within the Folly Lane complex. F133 consisted of a shaft dated to between the second and third centuries and contained deposits of cattle bones representing possibly 34 individuals. These deposits were interpreted as butchery waste (Niblett 1999), and therefore may also be suggestive as being the result of the discard of animal waste associated with ritual feasting. The purposeful deposition of remains from feasting rituals has also been suggested for the special pit deposits of *Insula IX* at Silchester (Eckardt 2006, p.245) and it is argued here that a site like Folly Lane was likely to have been the site of this type of consumption. Other animal remains deposited in this feature include dog and puppy bones. Additionally, a human skull was also found within the shaft. It is

important to note that depositional events were enacted at this shaft at regular intervals over the span of its use. In a sense then, although there is no evidence of aesthetic structuring of the deposits, they were structured in terms of action at particular points in time. Furthermore, this feature had a mix of chalk nodules and flints mixed with sterile clay deposited within the lower portion of the shaft suggesting a degree of aesthetic care taken with the construction of this feature and will be discussed more below. This structuring of depositional events over time was also observed for F134 at Folly Lane. Dated to between the second and third century, this shaft contained two ox skulls located centrally on the base of the shaft. The significance of this purposeful central placement of these two ox skulls argues for a degree of aesthetic care taken with the deposits of this feature and will be discussed more closely below in the section on aesthetics.

F135, located within the western terminal of the boundary ditch at the entrance to the enclosure, contained horse bones, possibly representing a single individual, horn cores and cattle bones. This feature is dated to the early second century. There was a 'matching' shaft (F136) at the eastern end of the boundary ditch at the entrance to the enclosure which did not contain any finds but was very similar in form and location. F137 from Folly Lane also contained animal bones of unspecified species along with two face pots. This feature was dated to the late second century. F138 also contained unspecified animal remains along with fragments of face pots and other potsherds. This feature was dated to the late second to mid third century and was also located within the Folly Lane site. The appearance of horse remains was always rare within urban contexts and as such their appearance in F135 at the Folly Lane site further emphasises how this space, although closely associated with the town of Verulamium itself, was a defined ritual area. Therefore, the depositional characteristics of the Folly Lane site are in many ways distinctive from those located within the other urban centres and towns under consideration in this study.

So, in general animal deposits were important across all of the features within the Verulamium database. However, animal deposition was of great significance for F134 and F135. Compared to the towns of Silchester and Dorchester and the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two, animal deposition in general was not as significant for Verulamium. Indeed, there were no subterranean features from inside town boundary that included any animal deposits. Finally, the animal deposits of Verulamium and its associated sites, were characterised by cattle and ox remains, followed by dog and horse. The high numbers of cattle remains has more in common with non-urban features discussed in Chapter Two.

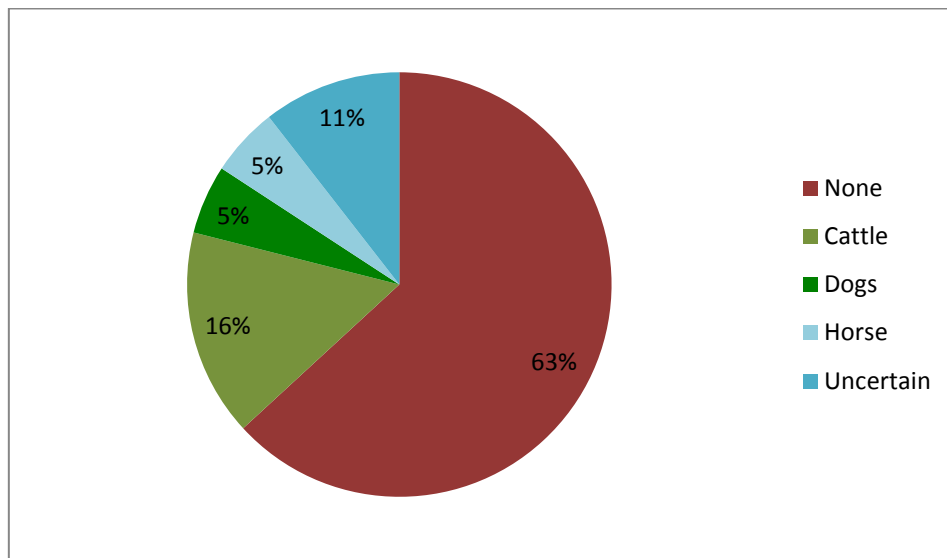


Figure 49: Distribution of animal species within the subterranean features of Verulamium and associated sites n=17

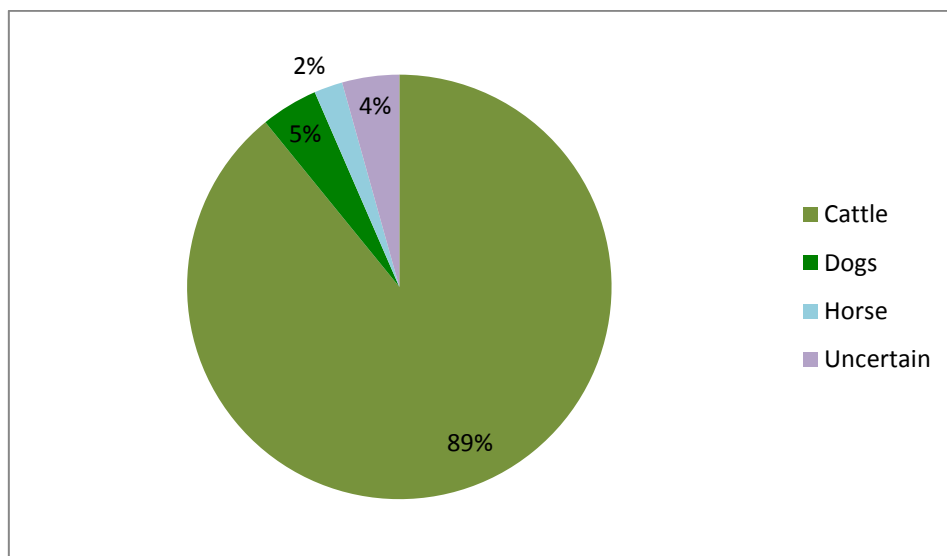


Figure 50: Proportion of individuals per species represented in the subterranean features of Verulamium and associated sites n=46

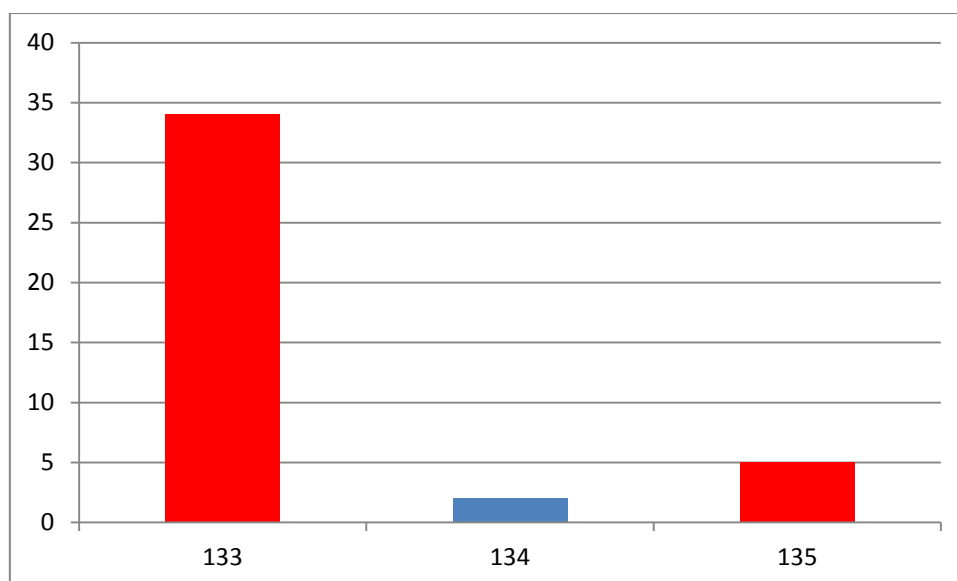


Figure 51: Number of individuals per feature containing cattle deposits from the depositional features of Verulamium and associated sites

Human remains

The evidence for human remains is limited, and unlike the other major urban centres under discussion, there is no evidence available for the deposition of infant remains. Another distinctive difference between Verulamium and its associated sites and other urban sites is that there is some evidence for adult human remains being incorporated within the deposits of the Folly Lane site. This is a similar pattern that was found for non-urban and sacred precinct sites above in Chapter Two. Therefore, the distinction between urban depositional practices and those practices carried out in non-urban and sacred precinct sites that is argued for within this project is further highlighted by analysis of the subterranean deposits of the Folly Lane site. It is apparent that this ceremonial site had more in common with other sacred precincts and non-urban locations, in terms of depositional practices, than with urban locations. So although Folly Lane was located less than a kilometre from the town of Verulamium and was intrinsically linked to the urban space, the depositional events enacted there appear to have been informed by social relationships that were different from those that informed many of the depositional activities within urban centres.

F133, located on the lower slope of the Folly Lane site, contained a human skull along with dog and puppy bones and the extensive amount of cattle remains discussed above in the section

on animal remains. Within this shaft were other finds along with potsherds from a possible face pot, other pottery fragments and a knife. The lowest section of the shaft had a fill of sterile clay mixed with flint and chalk nodules. As noted above, the deposits within this shaft were made at structured intervals over time between the mid second and late third centuries AD.

F135 also located within Folly Lane, is the other feature to contain evidence of human remains. This pit, as discussed above in the section on animal remains, was located at the western end of the ditch terminal at the entrance to the enclosure. There was another very similar pit located identically but at the eastern end. F135 contained a human humerus along with other types of finds including Hadrianic pottery, horse bones (possibly from a single individual), cattle bones and horn cores. The pit is dated to the early second century.

The appearance of any adult human remains within these contexts is always exceptional. Across the entire database it has been found that human remains were rare within subterranean deposits of any type (see *Appendix 1*). Their appearance within the Folly Lane site has further significance in terms of spatial relationships of pits and shafts to other structures. F135 would appear to have been a means of marking the entrance to the ceremonial. As with many of the features under discussion here, it is notable that this event occurred sometime in the second century AD. Thus, although the site was used around AD 55 for the funerary ritual of a particular individual, the whole complex was re-used for ritual purposes throughout much of the Roman period. The links between this place and the town of Verulamium have been discussed above and it is suggested here that the deposition of human remains in this spatially significant location marked the intersection between place, time and people at some point in the second century.

Pottery

Out of the 17 features, 14 contained pottery (see *Figure 52*). The features that didn't contain any pottery were also found to be empty, but similar in form, to other subterranean features (F136 and F139). F147 was the exception to this pattern where only personal objects were deposited underneath a hearth in *Insula II* within the town. So, all of the features that contained any type of deposited object always included pottery. F35 from the King Harry Lane site has by far the highest proportion of individual vessels, with 16 examples (see *Figure 53*),

with all of the remaining features having a fairly regular distribution of pottery remains with anywhere between two to five examples within any given deposit. Out of the 15 features containing pottery, 10 of them contained anywhere between two to three complete vessels (see *Figure 54*).

The locations of these features were not unexpected considering the spatial distribution of the data, with 15 of the listed features found at Folly Lane, with 1 feature each located within the King Harry Lane site and the urban centre of Verulamium. One of the most significant characteristics of these data is the dating of the features, with the large proportion of the deposition of pottery occurring during the late second century and third century.

F35, located at the King Harry Lane site and dated to the mid third century, contained high numbers of pottery remains and has been interpreted as possibly being the result of a ritual of closure (Stead & Rigby 1989). Sixteen vessels were represented by potsherds from thirteen vessels and the remains of a complete bowl, a complete funnel and a complete dish. A denarius of Caracalla was also found in this context. This type of pit deposit, when considered as one assemblage, and from the nature of the report that is how it is described, is typical of the pottery-rich subterranean deposits found in other locations. F149, F150 and F151 from the central *insula* at Dorchester have comparable deposits of complete pots combined with potsherds from other vessels. The significance of pottery deposition at Verulamium and its associated sites is comparable to the pattern found for Silchester where pottery was the prominent depositional object. Furthermore, like Silchester, pottery was often found to the exclusion of any other object type at Verulamium. The features that had exclusive pottery deposition include F140, F141, F142, F143, F144, F145, F146 and F148. Therefore, it is apparent that pottery was a ubiquitous depositional object across all of the towns under consideration in this study, as well as being commonly found in the features from other location types as discussed above in Chapter Two. Additionally, pottery deposits were regularly made at the exclusion of any other depositional objects in a number of contexts, with Verulamium and Silchester being the most likely locations for this type of depositional tradition.

The greatest difference, however, between Verulamium and all of the other urban centres, and indeed other location types, was the prevalence of face pots. Within the series of 10 shafts dated from the late second century onwards, which were located south west of the Folly Lane ceremonial enclosure, 4 contained at least one face pot. Face pots, although rare, are thought to have been an insular development of Roman Britain (and possibly North Africa) and in

general face pots and head pots are thought to have been associated with ritual behaviour (Braithwaite 1984). This characteristic is unique to Verulamium and when considered along with the spatial arrangement of these features on the town-facing side of the ceremonial enclosure, argues for a clear marking of space in a ritualistic manner. Meaning was embedded into this space just outside of the ceremonial enclosure where a person walking from the town would have necessarily had to pass through in order to enter or view the enclosure. The prevalence of pottery deposition along with the unique characteristic of face pot deposition in this series of shafts demonstrates a very consistent depositional practice for the period between the late second and late third century in a defined space.

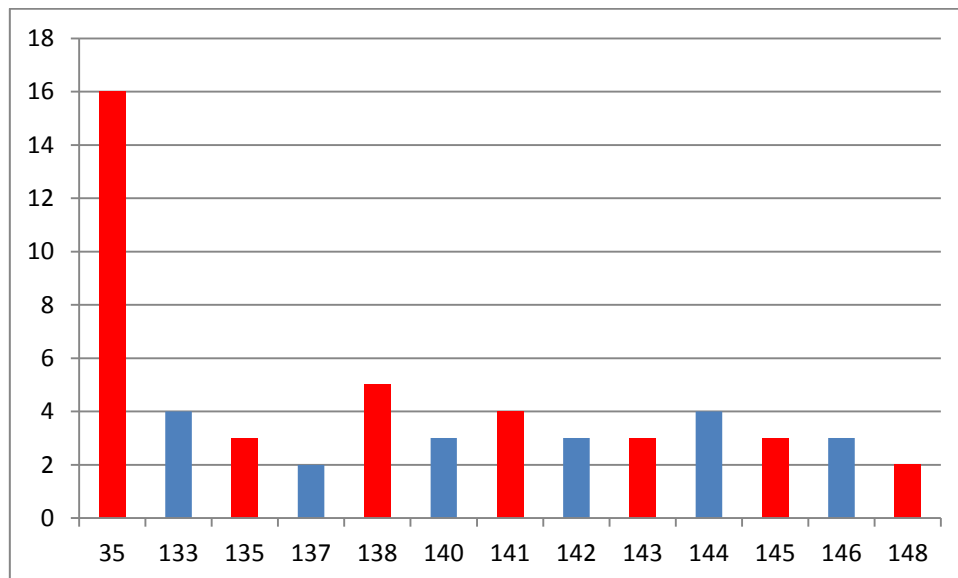


Figure 52: Number of pottery vessels per feature from Verulamium and associated sites

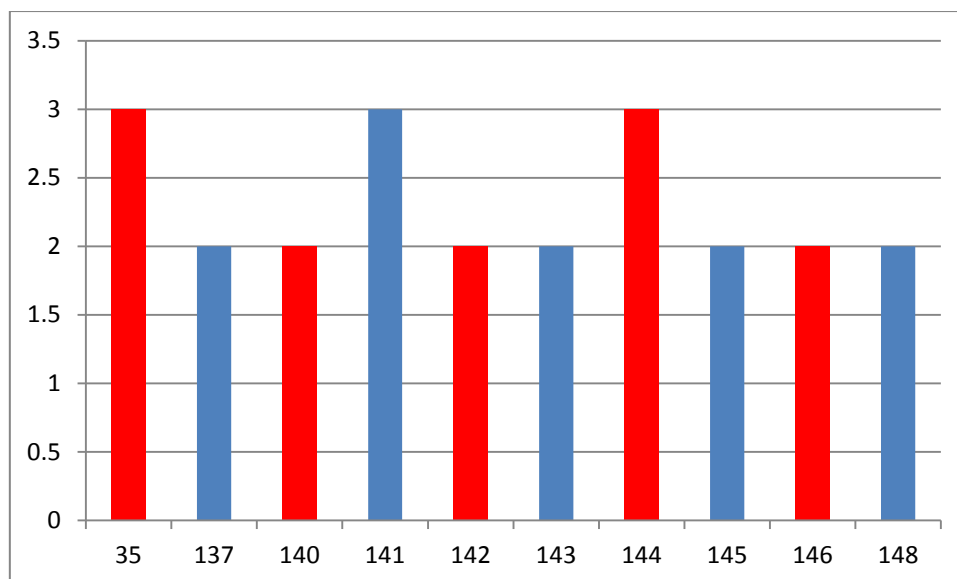


Figure 53: Number of complete pottery vessels found per feature from Verulamium and associated sites.

Metal objects

Metal objects were not well represented in the data from Verulamium. This in contrast to the high numbers of metal objects found at Silchester and non-urban and sacred precinct locations. The only examples of deposited metal objects include the knife found in F133 at Folly Lane, and there were four bronze fittings found in F147 in *Insula* II inside the town itself. Therefore, the general absence of metal objects at any of the Verulamium sites is in itself significant when compared to many of the other major towns where metal objects make up a significant portion of the deposited objects. Silchester had a number of metal object deposits and is also the location of at least two metal ‘hoards’ as discussed above in Chapter Three. The pattern from Verulamium and its associated sites is similar to that of Dorchester then where large metal deposits were also absent.

The absence of significant metal deposition at Verulamium and Dorchester highlights a distinct inter-urban difference when compared to Silchester and the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two. Also, the deposition of pewter jugs and other pewter objects (and often within the context of wells) was found to be characteristic of Silchester’s and the other urban centres’ depositional practices. Again, however, this pattern was entirely absent from Verulamium (and Dorchester) which makes these two towns unique within the group of urban centres under consideration within this project.

Personal objects, coins and other objects and materials

There was only one example of a feature containing objects that could be defined as personal (F147 located under a hearth within a building located in *Insula* II dated to the late first or early second century). Within this feature were found 7 brooches, bone pins, 4 bronze possible belt fittings and 4 bone phallic amulets. This limited evidence for personal object deposition is a similar pattern to that found at Silchester and the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two where personal object deposition was rare. The pattern observed for Verulamium, Silchester and the other urban centres was different to that of Dorchester where personal object deposition was relatively common. This then was a unique characteristic for Dorchester that was at odds with the more general patterns found for all of the other urban centres including Verulamium.

There was only one coin found in any of the deposits and this was a denarius of Caracalla located within F35 from the King Harry Lane site. This paucity of coins within subterranean deposits is a feature common to all of the urban centres that have been analysed within this project. Furthermore, coins as a depositional object were also rare for the subterranean features from the other location types of non-urban sites, sacred precincts and Roman military forts.

Feature type

Out of the 17 features 12 have been classified as shafts, three as pits and two as deposits under buildings or other structures (see *Figure 54*). Both of the 'deposits' were found within the boundaries of the town itself. F147 was located in *Insula* II at Verulamium and consisted of a group of personal-type objects (seven brooches, bone pins, four bronze fittings possibly from a belt and four phallic bone amulets) deposited under a hearth and is dated to the late first to early second century. F148 was located within the matrix of the demolished bath house underneath the foundations for the newly constructed bath house. The deposit itself consisted of two complete pots that had been placed in an upright position, with one of the pots being decorated with a phallic symbol.

Two of the 'pits' were located in the eastern and western terminal ends of the enclosure ditch which marked the-inner boundary of the Folly Lane ceremonial enclosure. These features appear to have been enacted in order to mark or re-define the entrance to this sacred place.

Although only one of these pits contained any deposits (F135 on the western side) the other pit, F136, was identical in form and location but at the equivalent eastern end. The only other feature defined as a pit was found at the extra-urban King Harry Lane site. F35 was dated to the third century and contained a number of kitchen vessels and has been interpreted as possibly representing a closure ritual (Stead & Rigby 1989).

The high proportion of shafts is a trend for Verulamium, and its associated sites, which corresponds to the pattern seen at Dorchester where the large proportion of features have also been classified as 'shafts' based on the relative depths of the features. The shafts were all located on either the lower slope of the ceremonial site (F134 and F133) or were found to the south west of the site facing the town (F137, F138, F139, F140, F141, F142, F143, F144, F145 and F146). The shafts located within Dorchester's central *insula* have been interpreted as the remains of early quarrying at the outset of the town's construction (Woodward & Woodward 2004). How and why the shafts were constructed at the Folly Lane site is not stated by the associated researchers directly, but it is possible that they were purpose-built for the ritual activities at this place. Alternatively, it is argued here that these shafts may have been the result of previous activities such as quarrying and indeed the ceremonial site did gain the addition of white chalk face on its town-facing side during the second century. This visual embellishment occurred at the same time as many of the deposits in the 10 shafts located just below the south western side of the ceremonial site (the town-facing side). Therefore, it is suggested here that the shafts could have been the result of chalk quarrying for the embellishment of the ceremonial enclosure and thus necessitated ritualisation of people's encounters with subterranean places.

Whether the shafts were constructed for the purpose of ritual deposition, or were the result of quarrying but used later for ritual purposes, is an aspect of these types of features that requires consideration. If they were often the result of quarrying activities then their re-use for ritual purposes may have been opportunistic, or may have been necessitated by beliefs associated within subterranean spaces. Perhaps the very fact that these types of activities penetrated the earth necessitated particular ritual or symbolic action. Indeed, it is likely that the act of quarrying or mining was not ever entirely separate from symbolic and transcendent socio-cultural aspects of any group of people during prehistory. The argument presented here regarding the necessary ritualisation of people's encounters with subterranean places is discussed more closely below in Chapter Six. It was argued above in the chapter on Silchester that even cess pits and latrines may have been appropriate (or indeed necessary) places for

ritual deposition because of the way they penetrated the earth's surface. Whatever the case, it is clear that Folly Lane site was a site of many features that penetrated the earth's surface and that the majority of these were in the form of shafts located together in series just outside the ceremonial site's boundaries (see *Figure 56*).

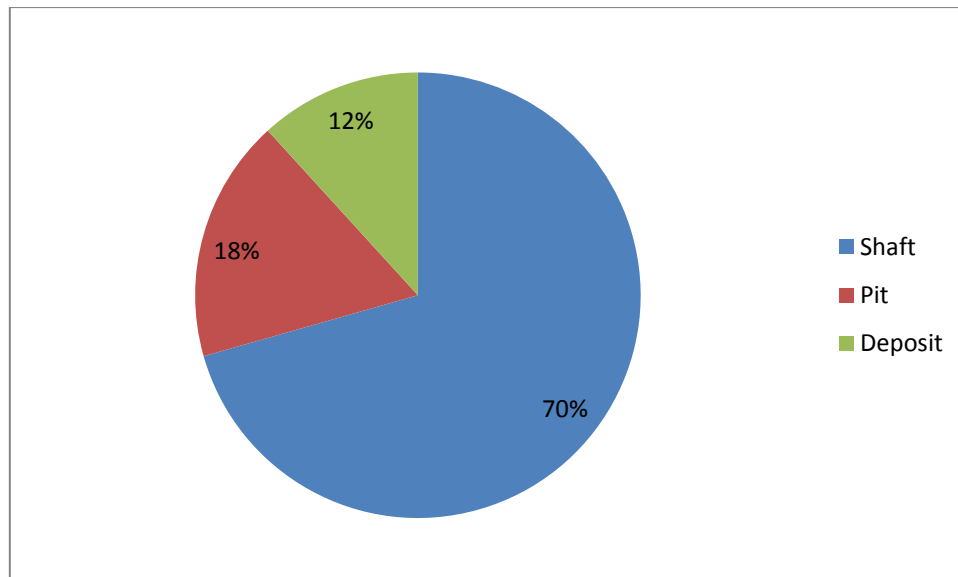


Figure 54: Proportion of feature types at Verulamium and associated sites n=17

Dating of features

The dating of the features places the highest amount of depositional activity occurring during the late second and into the third century (see *Figure 55*). Six of the features have been dated to between the late second and third century period, and eight have been dated to the third century. Two were dated to the second century and one was dated to that late first century.

All of the features at Folly Lane have been dated to the second or third century. With the exception of F135 and F146, all of the features at the Folly Lane complex have been dated to anywhere between the mid second century and into the third century. Although there are examples of features where deposits were made at distinct intervals over time (F133 and F134), these all still occurred within the range of time between the mid second century up until the late third century. Therefore, there was a distinct rise in depositional activity occurring at this time at the Folly Lane site. This plateau in depositional activity is comparable to the dating of features at other towns and locations where changes in depositional

behaviour have been linked to other changes within the urban socio-economic, political and physical landscapes. There was an apparent rise in depositional activity at Silchester during the third century which was discussed extensively above in Chapter Three. There was also found to be also a cessation and shift in particular types of depositional activity during the third century at Dorchester which was linked to economic changes as discussed above in Chapter Four. Similarly, there were distinct changes in the depositional practices of Verulamium with the appearance of new depositional features within the ceremonial site from the second century onwards. The addition of two new pits (F133 and F134), along with the series of 10 shafts at the south western side of the enclosure (F137, F138, F139, F140, F141, F142, F143, F144, F145 and F146), all occurred around the same time as other embellishments to the site. During the mid second century the site was enhanced with the addition of a Romano-Celtic temple and the levelling of the boundary ditch and its course being made visible to the town below by the addition of chalk nodules (Niblett 2004, p.38). Furthermore, other major changes to the town were being carried out during the second century including the construction of a new road that connected Verulamium to Colchester. Also, a new theatre was constructed at this time that was aligned with the Folly Lane site and the road leading up to the ceremonial enclosure (see Creighton 2006, p.126). The emergence of a period of depositional behaviour at the Folly Lane site, as evidenced by the subterranean features included in this study, is argued to have been part of the development of an important cult centre at the Folly Lane site (Niblett 2004, p.38). Furthermore, as argued by Creighton (2006), other changes to the town at this time should also be considered in relation to the increasing ritual activity carried out at the Folly Lane site during the second and third centuries.

So, the subterranean deposits of Verulamium and its associated sites is characterised by increased activity during the mid second century and throughout the third century. It is argued that this increase is due to the nature of deposition at the Folly Lane site and the role of subterranean deposition in the embedding of meaning into this circumscribed space. The site began its use as a place of ritual and funerary activity around the time of the Roman conquest (approximately AD 55) means that there may have been a break in activity at the site with ritual action resuming again around the early to mid-second century and continuing throughout the third century. Furthermore, it would seem that this re-emergence of ritual activity was marked by the embellishment of the terminal ends of the enclosure ditch with the two matching pits (F135 and F136) as F135 is dated to the early second century. The cessation of activity at this site occurs at the end of the third century and Creighton argues that this effectively marks the end of two centuries of rule by a local dominant family whose ancestor

was likely to have been cremated and commemorated at the Folly Lane site (2006). So Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium have evidence for shifts in depositional practices that have been found to occur around the same time as other major changes to the social and physical fabric of the towns. The significance of this, and how these changes to depositional behaviours can be read for particular things about urbanisation and cultural change, is discussed more closely in the proceeding chapter.

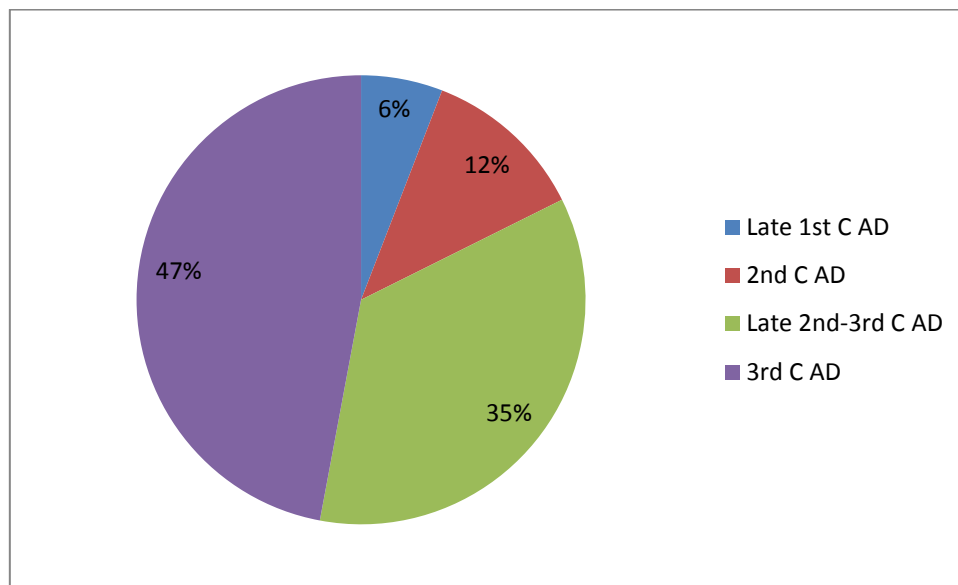


Figure 55: Proportion of dated features to particular time periods from Verulamium and associated sites n=17

Aesthetics of deposits

As with the features from the other location types (see Chapter Two above), if the deposits displayed any of the following characteristics they were included within the group of features displaying a degree of aestheticism: distinctive layering of deposits and/or depositional events often marked by sterile layers of chalk/flint packing; repetition in the number and type of an object across a group of associated pits or shafts; clearly arranged objects forming patterns or shapes; placement of objects in symmetrical arrangements and lining of feature with some type of fabric for non-structural purposes (chalk blocks or pebbles pressed into the wall surface for example).

There is some evidence for care taken with the aesthetic arrangement of objects and the construction of subterranean features from Folly Lane. F133 was found to have a mix of sterile clay, chalk nodules and flint deposited into the lower portion of the shaft. This feature also contained a human skull, the 34 cattle individuals, part of a puppy, other young dog bones and a large amount of butchery waste that was largely made up of cattle, and a small group of Hadrianic pottery. These deposits were made at intervals between the mid second century and the late third century. Another feature that had evidence for aesthetic arrangement of objects was F134 with two ox skulls being placed centrally at the base of the shaft. Like F133, this shaft also had a mix of sterile clay and chalk nodules and flints located in the lower portion of the feature. F135 also had evidence for aesthetic care taken in the placement of its contents with all deposited objects and remains being located on the base of the pit which had been backfilled with gravel. The location of this feature is also of significance for this project in that its spatial arrangement marked one side of the entrance to the ceremonial enclosure. The pit was found within the western terminal of the ditch that marked the inner boundary and entrance to the enclosure. There was also another pit found in exactly the same location but at the eastern terminal of the ditch (F136). This feature did not have any deposited objects but was similar in form and location to F135 and was similarly backfilled with gravel. These two features were presumably constructed around the mid second century and thus were enacted a century after the cremation rites of the high status individual within the ceremonial enclosure. It seems that these depositional events marked and/or commemorated the ritual space and reinforced the meaning and significance of the site. As outlined above these embellishments to the Folly Lane site occurred at the same time as other changes to the town of Verulamium and its road networks. As the town of Verulamium was provided with greater access to the outside world, it seems that it was important for the local population to reinforce their connection to the Folly Lane site, and the implications that this place had for the users of the urban space and its surrounds. The spatial arrangement of the newly added subterranean features, and the aesthetic care taken with the arrangement and fills, is suggestive of group or community action and is discussed more closely in Chapter Six.

Along with F135 and F136, which marked the entrance to the inner section of the ceremonial enclosure, there were also 10 other subterranean features constructed from the late second century onwards that all have evidence for aesthetic care taken in their enactment via consistency and care taken with the fill of each feature. These features include F137, F138, F139, F140, F141, F142, F143, F144, F145 and F146 and nearly all incorporated a mix of sterile clay, chalk nodules and flints as fill. Some of these features also included chalk capping (F141

and F140), which can also be argued to fall within the range of aesthetics characteristics as defined by this project.

This then is a distinct difference between Folly Lane and the urban centres and Silchester and Dorchester where there was little or no evidence for aesthetic concern with the construction and/or deposits of urban features. The distinctions between urban and non-urban and sacred precinct sites that have been found so far in this project's analyses are supported here with the evidence from Folly Lane. As suggested above in Chapter Two, that there might have been a difference in terms of how these subterranean features were enacted with regard to group or individual action is possible. At non-urban and sacred precinct sites, the degree of aesthetic care along with the higher numbers of individuals and bodies and the more complex associations between objects, have been argued to be suggestive of greater numbers of people involved in either the enactment of and/or viewing of the depositional events. The urban deposits have been found to have been generally simpler with little or no obvious aesthetic care taken in their arrangement. It is possible that the subterranean deposits made outside of the urban centres were more likely enacted by people with access to, or ownership of, large numbers of resources (or by the power structures where one or a few powerful individuals had dominion over landscapes and people). Furthermore, there is also the possibility that there were more 'viewers' of these depositional events and the deposits were enacted in order to emphasise particular relational power structures. These socio-economic relationships would have been different within the towns where it appears that the subterranean deposits were more likely to have been enacted by individuals or small groups due to the nature of their simpler and often opportunistic characteristics (see Chapters Two, Three and Four above). Additionally, the more even dispersal of wealth and status within the urban centres as compared to the more asymmetrical power structures in non-urban areas (Pitts & Griffin 2012; Cheung, Schroeder & Hedges, 2012) supports the argument presented here for differences in depositional behaviour based on differences in location-specific social relationships. Therefore, the enactment of depositional events may have had less potential 'viewers' and less significance for others within urban landscapes. This argument is discussed further below in Chapter Six.

Spatial distribution of subterranean features from Verulamium and associated sites

The spatial relationship between the Folly Lane site and the town of Verulamium has already been discussed above in this chapter. That the ceremonial lane site had an intrinsic, and indeed dominant, relationship with the town has been established by analysing the alignment of the town and the positioning of buildings and roads within and around the town with close reference to the Folly Lane site (following Creighton 2006, see *Figure 56*). However, it is also the location of the features within the Folly Lane site itself that are of importance for the research aims of this thesis. The subterranean features located within the site are suggestive of the marking of boundaries and places of permeability at the site. The subterranean features and the deposits made within them operated to enhance and emphasise certain places within the site during the second and third centuries as already discussed above. This can be clearly seen with F136 and F135 which marked the western and eastern terminal ends of the inner boundary ditch of the ceremonial enclosure. These deposits were made at the same time period as other major enhancements to the site and changes to the town, and the construction of the new Roman road leading to the colony of Colchester (Niblett 2004).

The spatial arrangement of F135 and F136 at the western and eastern terminal ends of the inner ditch boundary of the ceremonial enclosure have already been discussed above. These features appear to clearly mark and embed meaning into this place of permeability of the Folly Lane site. Also, apart from F134 and F133 which were located on the lower slope of the hill of the site, the 10 other subterranean features constructed from the late second century onwards at the ceremonial site were all located in a series southwest of the ceremonial enclosure (F137, F138, F139, F140, F141, F142, F143, F144, F145 and F146). The southwestern side of the ceremonial site is the face of the hill on which it is located and faces down directly towards the town of Verulamium (see *Figure 56*). It is argued here that this arrangement of the subterranean features worked to mark the space outside of the ceremonial site and therefore connected the site to the space between the ceremonial enclosure and the town. Furthermore, apart from F139, each of these features contained pottery deposits and often these were at the exclusion of any other object type. As discussed above, if other deposits were included these were in the form of animal remains but there were no other object types found within these features. Additionally, the significance of face pots has also been highlighted above as a common pottery type deposited into this series of features (following Braithwaite 1984). Additionally, there was also found to be consistency in

the types of fill incorporated into the features with a combination of chalk, clay and flints commonly found and sometimes in combination with chalk capping. All of these repeated characteristics of these depositional features, along with their spatial arrangement, worked together to mark either the liminal space between the ceremonial site itself and the town below, or marked the permeable place of the entrance to the inner section of the enclosure.

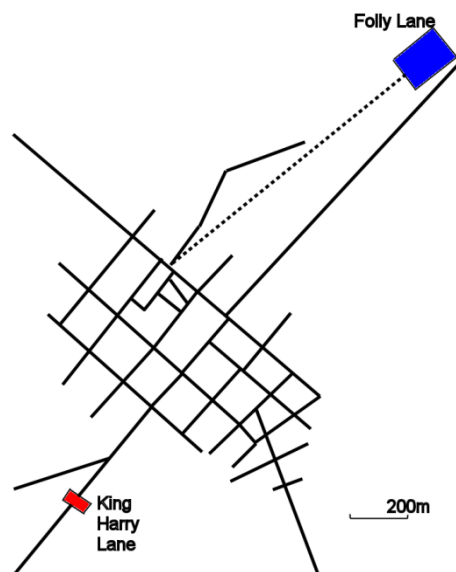


Figure 56: Location of Verulamium and the associated sites of Folly Lane and King Harry Lane

So at Verulamium and the Folly Lane site there is evidence for subterranean deposits being enacted in order to mark space and embed meaning into the landscape via particular spatial arrangements of features containing special and/or ritual deposits. It has also been found that subterranean features operated in a similar way at Silchester (particularly within *Insula IX*) in order to demarcate space and emphasise property boundaries. Furthermore, at Dorchester, there was found to be a particular spatial arrangement of different types of subterranean features which were linked to differing socio-economic zones within the town. Although what these spatial distributions meant for different locations was informed by the particular locale and its social and economic organisation, it is argued that all of these features operated with a similar logic that connected people, place and objects in order to emphasise or mark particular things about the immediate and surrounding landscapes.

The characteristics of depositional practices at Verulamium and associated sites

As for the other towns discussed in Chapter Two, and the case studies of Silchester and Dorchester, there are a number of key characteristics that have been found for the depositional practices of Verulamium and its associated sites. As established at the outset of this chapter, the large proportion of subterranean features included in the Verulamium database was located at the Folly Lane site. Therefore, the key findings of this chapter are really more about distinctions in depositional practices between a bounded sacred space (the Folly Lane site) and urban centres. Therefore it has become even more apparent that depositional practices located within urban spaces were enacted differently from other location types. As suggested above the possible reasons for this may have related to the relational power structures within the different types of communities that enacted these depositional events. It was argued above that within an urban environment there was a greater range of possibilities for land ownership and/or occupation of plots of land by individuals and/or small groups as compared to non-urban locations where control of resources and land ownership may have rested with one or a few powerful individuals. Furthermore it is also important to note that there was a paucity of depositional features located within the town of Verulamium itself and, therefore, this in itself argues for inter-urban differences in depositional practices. This particular inter-urban variation may be accounted for by looking at Creighton's argument pertaining to the ritual uses of the Folly Lane ceremonial site (2006). The manner in which the ceremonial site dominated the alignment and growth of the town of Verulamium suggests that one family held power in this location for around two centuries. Perhaps the nature of land ownership and control of resources was more focused on this hereditary arrangement and therefore a different pattern of depositional practices have been found at Verulamium and the Folly Lane site. The ceremonial enclosure was the focus of ritual activity of this type for two centuries and may have reduced the possibility of demarcating land and emphasising personal or familial 'place' within the townscape that was found for Silchester and Dorchester. This possibility is supported by Niblett's suggestion that 'the appearance of the Folly Lane rites coincides chronologically with the centralization of personal authority in the late first century BC' and that 'no doubt this importance increased following the exposure of the native aristocracy to the concept of dynastic succession established by Augustus' (2004, p.38). Perhaps this focus on centralized authority continued throughout the proceeding centuries at Verulamium and was re-

emphasised during the second and third centuries through the embellishment of the Folly Lane site which included a period of depositional behaviour.

Another key characteristic of the depositional practices of Verulamium was the ubiquitous deposition of pottery and the inclusion of face pots into four of the shafts of the Folly Lane site. Apart from the empty features of F136 and F139 (both located at the Folly Lane site) and F147 (located in *Insula* II within the town), all of the other features under consideration in this chapter were found to have pottery incorporated into their deposits. This pattern was similar to Silchester where pottery was common to a majority of the depositional features and was often found to the exclusion of any other type of depositional object. There were also a number of examples of features from Verulamium where pottery was deposited to the exclusion of any other object. The appearance of face pots however has been found to be entirely unique to the Folly Lane site. Additionally, the almost complete absence of metal deposition at any of the Verulamium sites was different to the pattern found at Silchester where metal deposition was significant. However, that lack of metal deposition was also common to Dorchester.

Animal deposits were not as significant as pottery deposition and this was in contrast to Silchester and Dorchester where animal deposits were similarly common or more common than pottery deposition. There were, however, a significant amount of cattle remains deposited within one of the shafts of Folly Lane along with two examples of dog deposition and one of horse. However, in general, animal deposition was the least frequent at Verulamium when compared to any other town or location type.

The importance of aesthetic care taken with many of the features of Folly Lane was found with regards to the type of fill that had been incorporated into the features. Commonly there was a mix of flint and chalk nodules combined with sterile clay placed within the lower portions of the subterranean features. Furthermore, there was also evidence for chalk capping of some of the features which is suggestive of greater care taken with the enactment and appearance of the feature. Additionally, there was evidence for the careful arrangement of depositional objects with the central placement of two ox skulls on the base of F134 at the Folly Lane site.

Like the central *insula* shafts at Dorchester, there is evidence that the shafts of Folly Lane were used repeatedly over two centuries with deposits being made at intervals over time. Accordingly, the location and meaning of these subterranean features must have been held in the cultural memory of the community. Furthermore, it is also possible that their location was

continuously marked in some way in order for depositional events to be enacted in the right place over different time periods. This repeated use over time is also suggestive of group action rather than individual action in that these places must have had significance for people and their descendents in order for them to be maintained and reused over the centuries. These were not one-off events that only held significance for an individual. Rather, they must have been intended to be used over time and their importance must have been perpetuated within the community. There was limited evidence for this kind of depositional behaviour at Silchester and from any of the other towns analysed and discussed in Chapter Two.

The cessation of depositional activities occurred at the end of the third century and this coincides with the disuse of the Folly Lane ceremonial site. Thus, as discussed above this dramatic shift in depositional practices can be seen in association with other major changes to the landscape of Verulamium and its surrounds. The Folly Lane site ceased to be used for ritual purposes by the end of the third century, and at the same time the town is walled and gains the addition of two monumental arches thus rendering the town more definitively bounded and the difference between the inside and outside of the town is heavily demarcated. It has been argued that the disuse of the Folly Lane site marks the end of a dynasty of hereditary power in the area (Creighton 2006). And indeed, the construction of a masonry wall with monumental arches symbolically distanced the town from its connections to non-urbanised landscape surrounding it.

There were therefore a number of clear differences between Verulamium and its associated sites and Roman Dorchester and Silchester. One of the most significant differences in terms of defining urban depositional practices was that the town of Verulamium itself did not have the same ubiquitous spread of depositional features as were found at Silchester and, to an extent, Dorchester. Indeed, there were only two examples of this type of activity found within the urban space itself. However, the number of ritual shafts and pits located at the Folly Lane site have provided further evidence that there were distinct differences between urban depositional practices and those located in sacred precincts (like the ceremonial enclosure located at the Folly Lane site). The depositional practices at the Folly Lane site were unique to that site but also showed some similarities with features from other sacred site locations and non-urban locations in that there was found to be a degree of aesthetic care taken with most of the features under consideration. The very nature of the relationship between the Folly Lane ceremonial site and the town of Verulamium, and how differently depositional activities were carried out in this urban-ceremonial site complex compared to other towns, further

demonstrates how processes of urbanisation were unique for each location (following Laurence, Esmonde Cleary & Sears, 2011). Therefore, like the findings from the previous three chapters, the outcomes of this project's analyses contribute to wider debates surrounding research into Roman Britain and the nature of urbanisation. The implications of these findings of inter-urban difference in depositional practices are considered more closely below in Chapters Six.

The operational logic of depositional practices at Verulamium and associated sites

The ongoing use of the Folly Lane site following the cremation of the high-status individual around AD 55 suggests that the site, the cremation and what the landscape and this person symbolised, continued to be marked via alterations to the site along with the new depositional events enacted during the second century and third centuries (Creighton 2006). As outlined above in the archaeological background to this chapter these new depositional shafts and visual enhancement of the Folly Lane site were completed following the construction of the new road that led to Colchester thus establishing broader connections for the town during the second century. Unlike the older track-way, which led directly to the Folly Lane site, this new road ran closely aside the ceremonial site (see *Figure 56*). So, although new routes connecting Verulamium and other Roman towns were being constructed during the second century, the Folly Lane site maintained its importance, and indeed its place within the social and settlement relationships with the people of Verulamium was emphasised by physical manipulation of the site. Around AD 150 the new bath house was constructed further down the new road and was so aligned as to face towards the Folly Lane site (Creighton 2006, p.128). Furthermore, there was also a subterranean feature (F148) containing two complete pots with one decorated with phallic symbolism located within the levels of this bath house. Like Silchester and Dorchester, it has been found that changes to depositional practices (and in this case the establishment of new shafts at the Folly Lane site) occurred at the same time as other changes to the physical and social fabric of the town.

These new depositional features and the enhancement of the Folly Lane site occurred at the same as other changes to the urban space within and around Verulamium. In a similar way there were clear correlations between shifting modes of depositional practices during the later Bronze Age in Britain that were concomitant with shifts in the social and settlement structures

and relationships at the time. In Bradley's analysis of later Bronze Age depositional practices in Britain, he argues that the deposition of votive objects and/or hoards found in watery locations could have represented the separation of funerary objects from the person being cremated and that this separation in turn was representative of social and economic shifts. The later Bronze Ages involved distinct changes to the social and settlement systems of the time. Thus, the separation of funerary goods from the deceased person marked a changing 'emphasis from the role of the deceased to the claims of the survivors, and from a sense of continuity to one of change' (Bradley 1982, p.118). Furthermore, the shifts in social and settlement patterns that occurred at the same time as shifts in burial and depositional practices could also imply 'a changing emphasis from the past achievements of the dead ancestors to the problems of succession created among the living' (Bradley 1982, p.118).

Although this is not directly analogous with Roman Britain, the clear emphasis on the high-status cremated individual, and the associations of land ownership and relationships to Rome, is similar to the changes highlighted by Bradley for the later Bronze Age. The intense period of flux for Britain around AD 55 and the ongoing processes of urbanisation and the establishment and reinforcement of Roman power structures being aligned with pre-existing power structures within the social relationships of Britain would certainly have created a sense of change. Thus, it appears that periods of social and settlement change which occurred at Verulamium and the Folly Lane site during the second century necessitated the re-emphasis of the symbolism of the ceremonial site. This re-emphasis was carried out during a period of flux for Verulamium and was in part enacted via the establishment of new depositional shafts. Furthermore, the Folly Lane site was always a place that was representative of change, highlighted by the major event of the high-status cremation of an individual who had had a clear relationship with Rome that was marked by the inclusion of Roman material culture as part of his/her grave goods.

It is not surprising that the subterranean features from the Folly Lane site have more characteristics in common with the features from non-urban and sacred sites discussed in Chapter Two. The features of Folly Lane have evidence for aesthetic care taken with their arrangement as evidenced by the use of carefully arranged fills of sterile clay and chalk nodules and flint. There was also evidence for chalk capping of some of the features which also argues for aesthetics being taken into account when the feature was constructed and used. As found in Chapter Two a concern with aesthetics was a defining characteristic which was common to features from non-urban and sacred precinct sites. It was also found in

Chapter Two and in the analyses of Silchester and Dorchester that there was little or no evidence of aesthetic care taken with the subterranean features within urban spaces. This then is a significant finding for this thesis. Although the Folly Lane site is argued to have had an intrinsic and spatially dominant relationship with the town of Verulamium, the nature of its subterranean deposits have more in common with non-urban and non-urban sacred precinct sites.

This finding is not unexpected considering that the Folly Lane site was a ceremonial enclosure, although what is significant for this thesis is that it further confirms the differential nature of how special and/or ritual deposits were made between urban and non-urban sites. It has been argued in this thesis that the operational logic of these features across all site types was similar but that there were clear differences in terms of how they were enacted regarding aesthetics, object type and animal species chosen for deposition. All of the features under consideration in this thesis acted to embed meaning into the landscape via ritualising the encounters people had with subterranean places. Ritualising these encounters worked to emphasise the relationships people had with place, the landscape and the objects and bodies (animal or human) that were part of their daily lives. Necessarily then, the objects and bodies that were deposited into subterranean places differed according to the location type that they were deposited within because of resource availability and what objects or bodies held meaning in these different location types.

Key findings

A number of key findings have been established from the preceding analysis of the subterranean features of Verulamium and its associated sites. These key findings are applied in Chapter Six in order to address the research questions and aims of this thesis.

Firstly, it has been found that the depositional practices of Verulamium were mainly focused upon the ceremonial site located at Folly Lane. The analysis of these subterranean features and the relationship between the town and the ceremonial site has provided further evidence of how the development of towns in Roman Britain was unique to each location. The spatial distribution of the subterranean features at Verulamium and its surrounding areas was very different to the ubiquitous pattern found for Silchester and different again to the pattern found for Dorchester where the appearance of certain types of subterranean features was

connected to the socio-economic zones of the town. Thus, although this thesis argues that there were similarities in urban depositional practices when compared to other location types (non-urban, sacred precinct and Roman military forts), when they are analysed at the level of the individual town it is apparent that there were also substantial inter-urban differences in depositional practices. One of the most apparent differences then is the spatial distribution of these features. The three case studies have provided evidence that each town's spatial geography was unique and that accordingly the patterning of depositional practices was also unique to each urban locale.

Secondly, in terms of object and body types chosen for deposition, there was a clear emphasis on pottery within the complex of the Verulamium sites. Nearly all of the features located within the town itself, at the King Harry Lane site and at the Folly Lane site contained pottery. There were only three examples of features that had an absence of pottery. Furthermore, there were also a number of features that had pottery deposits to the exclusion of any other object type. This extensive deposition of pottery was common to Silchester as well, and indeed pottery deposition was important to all of the other location types as well. A unique feature of Verulamium's pottery deposition was the appearance of face pots. Four of the features of the Folly Lane site contained at least one face pot and this is an entirely unique characteristic of Verulamium's depositional practices as no other face pots have been found for any of the other features investigated within this thesis.

Thirdly, there was an almost complete absence of metal deposition from any of the features from the Verulamium complex. Furthermore, there was a complete absence of large deposits of iron objects that were common to Silchester, sacred sites and non-urban sites at Verulamium. The only other location that had a similar pattern of a paucity of metal deposition was Dorchester. This finding further establishes that there were definite inter-urban differences in depositional practices. It has also been claimed in this thesis that different modes of depositional practices between different site and location types might have related to resource availability and ownership along with relational power structures. The absence of metal within depositional features therefore could relate to production and consumption within the towns and the presence and/or absence of metal procuring and processing in the local area.

Finally, there was a definite increase in depositional practices from the early 2nd century onwards at the Folly Lane site. This increase in depositional activity occurred at the same time as other changes to the town of Verulamium, the construction of a new road leading to

Colchester and embellishments to the ceremonial site at Folly Lane. Furthermore, depositional activity ceases at the Folly Lane site at the end of the third century at the same time as the site fell into disuse. Thus, like the towns of Silchester and Roman Dorchester, changes to depositional practices appear at the same time as other shifts in the urban fabric and/or socio-economic relationships within the town. This then is a uniting feature of all of the urban depositional practices: the enactment of subterranean deposits was associated with the shifts and changes to the physical, social and economic shape of a town.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed and discussed the subterranean features of Verulamium and associated sites that had evidence for ritual and/or special deposition. The analysis of these subterranean deposits found that due to the unique nature of the Folly Lane site that there were similarities in the operational logic of these events across all the towns (and indeed across all location types), but that the objects deposited were dissimilar to features from the other urban centres and Silchester and Dorchester. All of the subterranean features under consideration have been found to have had correlations between certain time periods (and certain events and changes to the urban fabric) and shifts in the mode of depositional practices of the particular town under consideration. This is the logic that has been found from the analysis of the features from Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium. It seems that the making of subterranean and/or concealed deposits was a ubiquitous practice for the inhabitants of all locations within Roman Britain but that the way these were enacted was effected by and affective upon socio-cultural, economic and political shifts. Thus, the unique nature of each town's development and use by its population is reflected within the inter-urban differences in depositional practices that have been found by the analyses of this thesis. However, it is argued that the inter-urban differences are most marked at Verulamium due to the ritual and bounded nature of the Folly Lane site.

As noted above, with regards to the continuous use of the Folly Lane site for ritual or meaningful purposes, the evidence for continuity in traditions at a particular locale can be utilised as a means of describing processes of urbanisation during the Roman period. That such a definite link was maintained at the Folly Lane site, where particular subterranean deposits were made over time, suggests that although the settlement infrastructure changed dramatically, the nature of ritual (at least for the occupants and users of the urban and

suburban areas of Verulamium) was maintained up until the end of the 3rd century when it is thought that the political organisation of Verulamium may have changed with the ending of two centuries of rule of a local dominant family (Creighton 2006, pp.128-129). The cessation of ritual and/or subterranean deposits at the Folly Lane site argues for the cessation of a particular mode of socio-political organisation of Verulamium. Thus, changes to depositional behaviour not only can be read as being reflective of social and economic change (as it has been for Silchester and Dorchester above) but can also be read as being an indicator of shifts in the social relationships and power structures of a place. The reading of subterranean depositional practices for processes of urbanisation and as a means of commenting on processes of cultural change is considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

The following chapter considers all of the results of the preceding analyses from Chapters Two, Three, Four and this chapter. The results of analysis of this project's entire database are considered in order to address the major research questions and themes of this project.

Chapter Six: Application of Key Findings

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to use the findings from Chapters Two, Three, Four and Five in order to address the research questions and aims of this thesis. As such, the following questions are addressed:

1. Were subterranean depositional practices different within urban centres as compared to other location types (non-urban, sacred precinct and Roman military sites)?
2. If urban depositional practices were generally different to those outside of urban areas what can account for those differences?
3. Were there differences between individual town's depositional practices? If so, what can account for those differences?
4. As a result of addressing research questions 1., 2. and 3., how can depositional practices be utilised as a method for reading processes of urbanisation and cultural change in Roman Britain?

One of the key findings of this project is that there was a particular mode of urban depositional practice identifiably different from depositional practices outside of urban areas. However, it has also been found that when the case studies of Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium were analysed in comparison to each other, that within the broad category of urban depositional practices there was also inter-urban differences. These inter-urban differences, and in particular the different patterns of spatial distribution found for each town's subterranean features, have been applied in order to comment on processes of urbanisation and cultural change in Roman Britain.

Urban depositional practices compared to depositional practices of other location types

There were a number of major differences found between patterns of urban depositional practices and those located within the other location types of non-urban locations, sacred precincts and Roman military forts. In general terms, the four broad location categories had a number of characteristics that were unique to subterranean deposits found within them. The main characteristics of the depositional practices for each location have been defined by the analyses of this thesis as:

- Urban depositional practices:
 - Spatial distribution of subterranean features differed between Silchester, Roman Dorchester and the Verulamium complex. Verulamium and Dorchester appear to have had clearly defined spaces within which their subterranean features were located, whilst Silchester had a pattern of ubiquitous distribution with no discernable spatial focus for subterranean features.
 - Across the three case studies, and the other towns analysed in Chapter Two, the most common animal species used for depositional purposes was dog. The other species that were common to many of the towns included cattle (particularly for Silchester, Wroxeter and Caerwent) as well as sheep/goat. Corvid deposits were also common to Dorchester but not found as extensively within any of the other towns under consideration.
 - Species that were either extremely rare or absent from the subterranean features of urban centres were: horse, oyster, deer, pig and other wild species.
 - Infant remains were commonly deposited in Silchester and Dorchester with some evidence of this practice found within the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two.
 - Metal deposition was significant for Silchester and the other urban centres discussed in Chapter Two. Metal deposition was, however, almost entirely absent from the Verulamium complex and Roman Dorchester.
 - There was little evidence for a concern with aesthetics in the depositional features of urban centres. There was less complexity in terms of numbers and visual associations made between different objects and bodies within urban deposits, as well as little evidence for obvious distinctive layering of deposits as was found in non-urban and sacred precinct deposits.

- Overall, the uniting characteristics of urban depositional practices that were distinct from practices found at any other location type were: a focus on domestic species with an absence of horse and pig and wild species such as deer and oyster; human infant deposition being relatively common (but adult human deposition relatively uncommon) and little aesthetic care taken in the arrangement of the deposits and associated fills.
- Clearly however, there were inter-urban differences within the range of urban depositional practices.
- Non-urban depositional practices
 - Non-urban depositional practices were marked by the common appearance of aesthetically arranged objects and bodies along with carefully placed fills comprised of materials such as sterile clay and chalk nodules and flint.
 - Numbers of deposited objects and bodies were often high, particularly the number of complete pots and metal objects found within some individual features.
 - Large metal deposits were also common and these often comprised of groups of iron agricultural type objects.
 - Dog was a common depositional species but horse, deer, oysters and birds (both domestic and wild) were also common. Other wild species were also deposited within some features.
 - No infant deposits were found but deposits of adult human remains were not uncommon.
 - Botanical remains were commonly found in non-urban features. Notably, oak planks were often found making up part of the structure of the feature or being placed on top of deposits.
 - The incorporation of stone slabs into the subterranean features of non-urban sites was not uncommon and was unique to this location type.
- Sacred precinct depositional practices
 - Like non-urban deposits, sacred precinct deposits were also marked by the appearance of aesthetically arranged objects and bodies along with carefully placed fills comprised of materials such as sterile clay and chalk nodules and flint.

- Large deposits of metal were common and were often made up of groups of iron weaponry type objects, making these deposits distinct from the non-urban deposits which were largely agricultural in nature.
 - Infant remains were absent from sacred precinct deposits but adult human remains were not uncommon.
 - Many types of animal species (both domestic and wild) were found deposited in the features from sacred precinct with no obvious preference for any particular type of animal.
- Roman military fort depositional practices
 - Infant remains were not found within any of the fort deposits but some human adult remains were found incorporated into some deposits of this location type.
 - Large metal deposits were common at Roman military forts and were made up of large groups of both military and non-military objects.
 - There was no evidence for aesthetic care taken with any of the features from forts.
 - There was some evidence for the occasional deposition of botanical remains such as branches and twigs.
 - Animal deposition was significant within the fort deposits but there was an absence of horse. The other species deposited included dog, piglet, raven and cat. Ox was the most prominent species deposited however which is a unique characteristic of the features located within forts.

There were then a number of major differences found between urban sites and the other location types. Urban deposits were generally less complex than those from non-urban and sacred precinct locations in terms of both number of objects and bodies deposited as well as range of object and body types that were found within any given feature. Another key difference was a fairly consistent pattern of difference between animal species deposited. Although dog, sheep/goat and cattle were found within features from all of location types (see *Figure 57* for example), horse, oyster, pig, deer and other wild species were always rare or absent from urban subterranean features (see *Figures 58, 59 & 60*). Human remains differed across the location types with infants commonly found within some urban centres but were

entirely absent from any of the other location types. Adult human remains were uncommon within urban centres but were sometimes found in non-urban locations and sacred precinct locations but not in Roman military forts. The final major difference that has been found from the preceding analyses of this project is that there was an almost complete absence of aesthetic concern with subterranean deposits enacted within urban centres (see *Figure 61*). The features from sacred precincts and non-urban locations were often enacted with a concern for the visual appearance of how objects and bodies were located within a depositional feature. Additionally, there was also more evidence for deposits having greater complexity in terms of arrangements and associations being made between the depositional objects (for example see *Appendix 3* and *Appendix 4*: F179, F182, F240, F266, F228, F48, F50, F59, F66, F69 and F133).

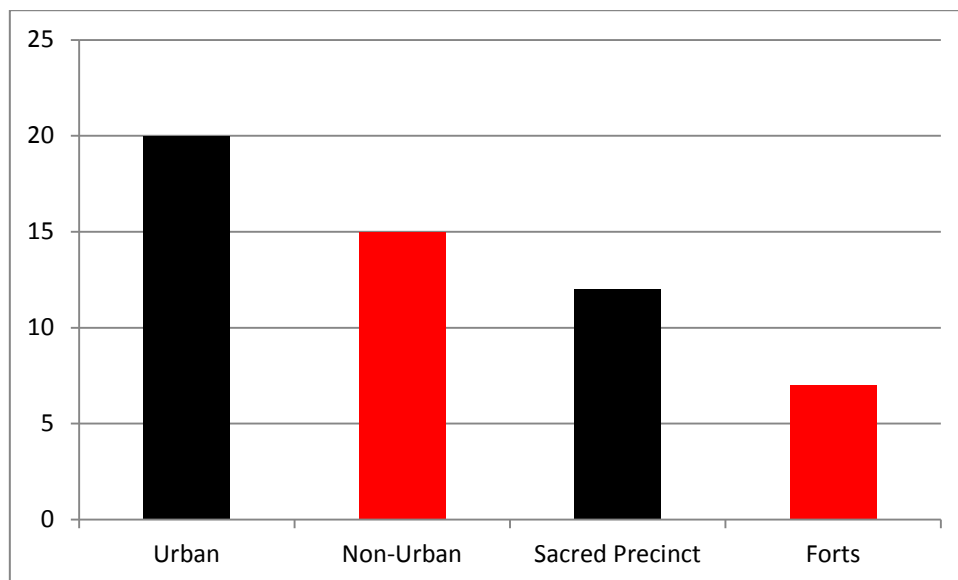


Figure 57: Percentage of features per location type with evidence for dog deposition

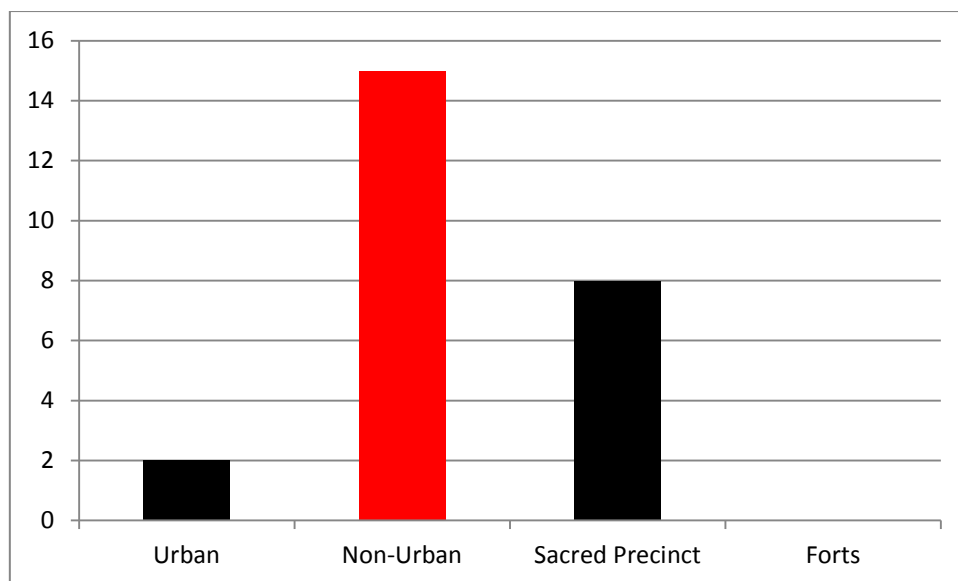


Figure 58: Percentage of features per location type with evidence for horse deposition

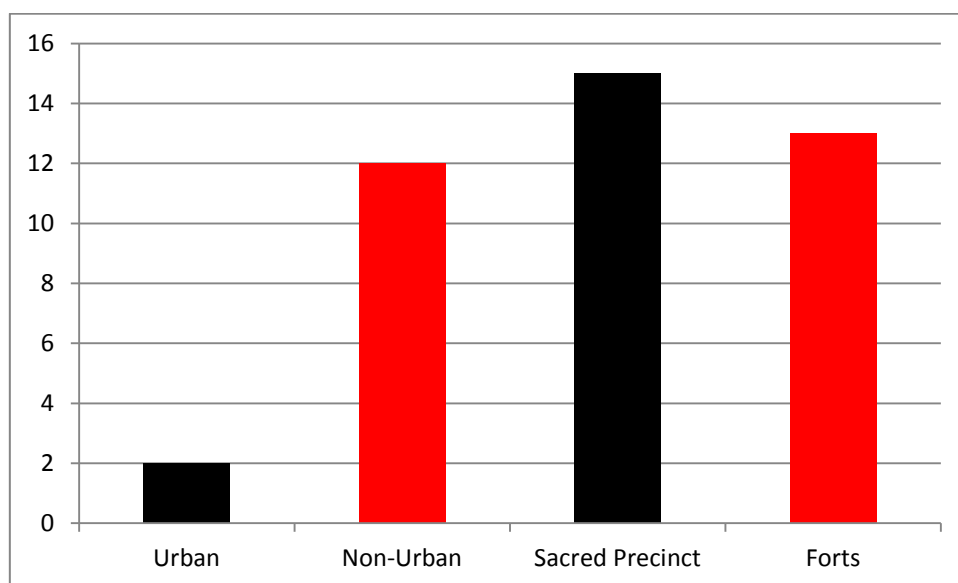


Figure 59: Percentage of features per location type with evidence for pig deposition

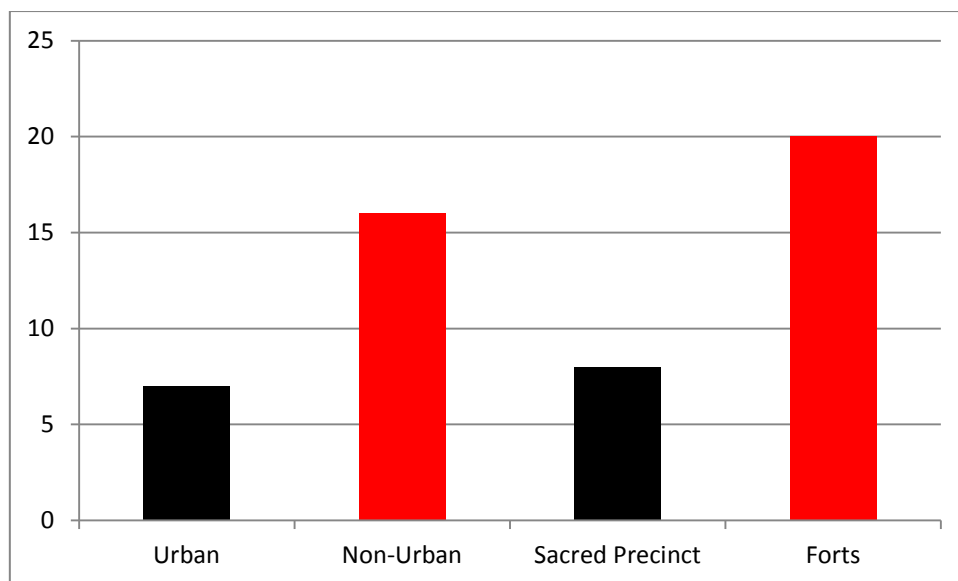


Figure 60: Percentage of features per location type with evidence for deer deposition

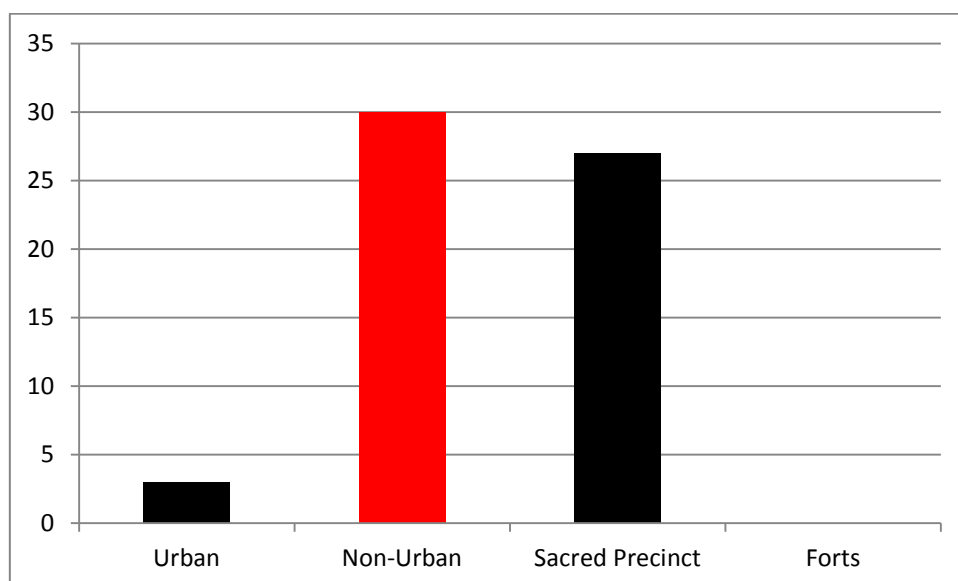


Figure 61: Percentage of features per location type with evidence for aesthetic arrangement of objects/bodies deposited and/or aesthetic concern with appearance of feature

There were some exceptions to these broad characteristics for each location type. For example there was one feature found in London that contained both a horse and a deer within its deposits (F131). Within Silchester there was an example of a large deposit of metal containing 60 iron objects (F61) which was unusual for an urban centre. Also within Silchester there was

an example of a rare deposition of a pig skull at F101 despite this species being generally absent from urban deposits. It is apparent then that although there were gross similarities for the depositional practices of each location type there was scope for individual interpretation of the depositional act at each feature. Generally, however, the choice of depositional object was informed by a repertoire of objects and bodies that were appropriate for deposition at a particular location. It is clear that there was a particular set of characteristics common to urban depositional practices that mark them as different in terms of enactment from those in other location types. It is argued that the variations in depositional practices observed from different location types were the result of a similar logic being employed for all depositional activities from all location types. That is, that people ritualised their encounters with subterranean places via the deposition of objects and bodies, and that these objects and bodies were also part of their daily encounters. Thus, the objects and bodies used for deposition were intrinsically dependent upon their production, availability, consumption and meaning within the location in which they were being deposited by the actor(s) of the event. Modes of production, ownership and consumption would have been different across all of the four major location types and therefore gross differences existed between depositional practices in these differing locale types. Furthermore, the various objects and bodies used for depositional purposes in different location types would have had meaning dependent upon a multitude of interrelated factors. The relationship between the actor(s) of the depositional event and the object(s) and/or bodies being deposited would also have been an intrinsic element of human-object-place interaction that led to these subterranean features becoming part of the archaeological record.

The operational logic of depositional practices and why there was a distinctive form of urban depositional practices: the Object/Body-Actor-Location model

As discussed above in Chapter Five following the analysis of the Verulamium complex, it is argued that the operational logic of these features across all site types was similar, but that there were clear differences in terms of how they were enacted regarding aesthetics and the object type and animal species chosen for deposition. All of the features under consideration acted to embed meaning into the landscape via ritualising the encounters people had with subterranean places. Ritualising these encounters worked to emphasise the relationships

people had with place, the landscape and the objects and bodies (animal or human) that were part of their daily lives. Necessarily then, the objects and bodies that were deposited into subterranean places differed according to the location type that they were deposited within because of resource availability and what objects or bodies held meaning in these different location types. Patterns of specific and repeated relationships between objects, place and people can be seen in the regular appearance of dogs, pots and infants within the pit deposits of *Insula IX* at Silchester (see *Appendix 6*: F6, F10, F12, F13, F14, F15, F16, F17, F18, F19 and F20). The deposition of corvids and dogs within the same shafts at Dorchester's central *insula* also represents this relationship of embedded meaning between objects, place and people (see for example *Appendix 7*: F149, F151, F154, F158, F161 and F162). Verulamium's Folly Lane site was found to have a pattern of exclusive pottery deposition (and sometimes face pots) within the shafts located on the southern slope just below the ceremonial enclosure (see for example *Appendix 8*: F140, F141, F142, F143, F144, F145 and F146).

As already highlighted above, a number of differences between urban depositional practices and those from other location types have been established by the results of this project's analyses. The most consistent characteristics of urban depositional practices were found to be: an emphasis on dog deposition with an almost complete absence of wild species and horse, along with evidence for regular deposition of other domesticated species such as cattle and goat/sheep; significant levels of infant deposition but adult human deposition was rare; lower numbers of deposited objects and/or bodies as compared to the other location types; and less or no aesthetic care taken with the arrangement of appearance of the deposits within a feature as compared to other location types. Also significant was that across the three case studies, there was found to be distinctive spatial patterning of subterranean deposits. This suggests that inter-urban differences found for how and where subterranean deposits were enacted within urban areas was effected by, and affective upon, the individual nature of the towns and their socio-cultural and economic structures.

It has been claimed in this study that, ironically, it was the nature of how subterranean depositional acts operated logically that allowed for and perpetuated the differences between different location types. That is, that people (either in groups or as individuals) enacted depositional events in order to ritualise their encounters with subterranean spaces. The subterranean domain was encountered on a daily basis in the form of wells, quarry shafts, food storage pits and cess and rubbish pits. The liminal nature of these spaces would have necessitated ritualisation as these kinds of spaces disturbed the order between life and the

'other' that existed below ground. Like the boundaries of the human body, the boundary of the earth's surface is not just about physical limits. The skin of the body and the earth's surface 'is systematically defined by taboos and anticipated transgression: indeed, the boundaries of the body become...the...limits of the social' (Butler 1990, p.131). Thus it is argued that any place which necessarily permeated the earth's surface had to be treated with care and possibly caution as subterranean places penetrated the limits of both the earth and the 'limits of the social'. Furthermore as argued by Dark, 'conceptual boundaries have their physical correlates and can, therefore, be recognised archaeologically' (1995, p.149). The subterranean features and their contents under question are conceptualised as the result of the manifestation of past concerns with both physical and the conceptual boundaries of the social which existed on the earth's surface. That these concerns were place-specific has been demonstrated by the results of analyses which have shown that there were major differences between the depositional practices in urban locations and other types of locations. Furthermore, the inter-urban differences in depositional practices found here also demonstrate that modes of depositional practices had distinctions at the level of the individual town.

So, firstly it is argued that the subterranean space itself needed to be ritualised so as to re-establish order between life and that which occurs on the surface of the earth and the unknown subterranean domain. Furthermore, there is also the issue of the objects and bodies themselves that were deposited and it is argued that these too had agency within the complex elements of depositional events. The objects and the bodies deposited may have been utilised as a means of 'offering' or a 'letting go' of things which were enacted in order to increase personal prestige or to propitiate or thank the gods (Bradley 1982; Cunliffe 1992; Osborne 2004). These objects and bodies would have had importance and meaning in peoples' everyday lives and thus worked synergistically with the ritualisation of subterranean places. It is thought, however, that the large shafts of non-urban locations may have been 'purpose built' for depositional acts (for example F48, F49, F50, F66 and F69, *Appendix 3*). This possibility of 'purpose built' subterranean features in non-urban locations further emphasises the unique nature of urban depositional activities. The majority of features found in urban locations that have been discussed and analysed were located within pre-existing subterranean places. For Silchester, most of the deposits were made in cess pits, rubbish pits and wells (see *Appendix 6* for details of the feature type and associated fills). For Dorchester it is thought that the central *insula* shafts were likely the remains of quarrying activities carried out at the time of the town's early establishment and development (Woodward & Woodward 2004). The Folly Lane shafts (which make up the majority of the features from the Verulamium complex) may

also have been the result of chalk quarrying carried out at the time of the visual enhancement of the ceremonial enclosure with chalk facing (following Niblett 1999 but also see Chapter Five above for an explanation of this argument). Whatever the origins of the feature were however, it is apparent that subterranean places were appropriate or necessary sites of ritual deposition that has been found to have been location-specific. Traditions of depositional practices were broadly similar for urban locations, but distinctive inter-urban differences were also part of site-specific depositional practices.

There appears to have been two interrelated processes at work: the need to ritualise subterranean places along with the effective relationship that objects and bodies had on the actor(s) of the depositional events (following Gosden 2005). Thus, although the operational logic of subterranean deposition was the same for different location types, the presence of pre-existing subterranean places and the agency of objects and bodies varied from location to location type. The actual feature types, therefore, and what were appropriate for deposition was dependent upon the actors and the social relationships of different settlement types. It is apparent that there were clear differences in status, health and wealth-distribution between rural and urban areas of Roman Britain based on intercemetary analysis of health markers and grave types and furnishings (Pitts and Griffin 2012). Also, stable isotope analysis of rural and urban populations of Gloucestershire has also demonstrated that there were differences in diet and social differentiation between the populations of the two location types (Cheung, Schroeder & Hedges 2012). It is thought that the reasons for this were the result of the 'negative impact of integration of rural settlements into a wider market economy' which is shown historically to have detrimental effects on health (Pitts and Griffin 2012, p.116). Furthermore, intercemetary evidence of diet and health suggests that non urban populations had limited mobility and that there was a lack of migration between different settlement types. Bauman neatly summarises the detrimental effect of being part of the rural population within a province of Rome as a result of being 'local in a globalized world' (1998, p.2). Thus, it is apparent that there were major disparities in diet, health and differentiation in status between rural and urban populations of Roman Britain. A significant aspect of this type of research is that there appears to have been less socio-economic differentiation in wealth and status within urban populations and more 'rigid asymmetrical power relations' within non-urban communities (Pitts & Griffin 2012, p.273). Consequently, the variations in socio-cultural and economic structures between rural and urban populations are argued here to have been effective upon the nature of depositional practices in the different location types. That this was the likely to have been the case has been demonstrated by the results of the analyses

carried out in Chapters Two, Three, Four and Five where clear differences in modes of depositional practices were found between urban centres and non-urban locations.

Different location types would have had different subterranean places, and indeed may have been purpose built in some non-urban locations, as well as sacred precinct and Roman military fort locations (for example see F48, F44, F66 from non-urban locations, *Appendix 3*; F226, F239, F256 from sacred precinct locations, *Appendix 4* and F213, F216 from Roman military forts, *Appendix 5*). Objects and bodies would also have had relationships with actors specific to the location type. Therefore, although it is argued that all subterranean features operated similarly, how they were enacted was different thus presenting patterns of similarity and difference within the archaeological record. For example, the absence of wild species from urban deposits may be accounted for by the likelihood that wild species did not appear commonly within urban centres due to the environmental nature of urban centres. The presence of some wild species, in particular corvid deposits in Dorchester, could be accounted for by the fact these types of species are attracted to urban areas due to presence of large amounts of waste and rubbish on which they can feed and were encouraged to do so in order to reduce rotting waste (Serjeantson and Morrison 2011, p.14; Grimm 2010). The absence of human adult remains, but the frequent appearance of infant remains, can be accounted for by the nature of urban space and the taboo surrounding human burial within Roman town boundaries. Neonates and infants under six months were not considered part of the living world and were metaphysically different from older children and adults (Plin. *HN* VII.15; Plut.*Mor.* 612a) and therefore were able to be buried and/or deposited within the urban confines (Redfern and DeWitte 2011, p.513; Rogers 2011, p.147). The ubiquitous appearance of dog deposition across all of the location types may have been due to the symbolic relationship that people had with this species. For example, Woodward & Woodward emphasise the significance of the deposition of dogs within the shafts at Dorchester and detail the place this species held in the symbolic practices of Roman Britain (2004, p.77). Notably, dogs could be symbolic in contrasting ways. Within certain contexts the figure of the dog could be linked to the protective relationship they had with humans and were therefore utilised within rituals associated with faithfulness and healing. Alternatively, dogs were representative of the chthonic domain and the reality of the hunt and death (Woodward & Woodward 2004, p.78). Therefore, the general importance of dog and their association with the transcendent, may have meant that this species was always appropriate for deposition across all settlement types.

The difference in spatial distribution of these features between the three case studies can also be accounted for by the object/body-actor-location model established by this project. The actors of the Verulamium complex were dominated in their socio-spatial relationships by the presence of the Folly Lane ceremonial site (see Chapter Five above for the details of this relationship). Therefore, the nature of the spatial and social relationships at Verulamium can be associated with the location of the reflexive relationship between objects and people. This relationship was also reinforced and perpetuated at Dorchester by the ongoing commemoration of the founding of the town by the deposition of a particular range of objects into the shafts of the central *insula* (Woodward & Woodward 2004). It is possible that like Verulamium, this sector of the town was a circumscribed space (on the conservative nature of building development and presumed land ownership see Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993, pp.72-82). This also raises the possibility that different feature types functioned for different purposes. Although this idea cannot be fully investigated within the confines of this project, it is suggested as a line of inquiry for future study. The majority of the shafts (many of which were used repeatedly over time) of Dorchester and Verulamium were located within circumscribed spaces that were also associated with structures of hegemony and relationships to the past founding and establishment of the Roman towns. At Silchester, however, the majority of the features were pits that were distributed throughout the town with little evidence for consistent use over time. The pattern of distribution and the more 'opportunistic' nature of the special deposits located in features that already contained rubbish, cess or were disused wells is suggestive that the enactment of special and/or ritual deposition functioned differently from those features of Verulamium and Dorchester. The object/body-actor-location model is also applied below in this chapter in the discussion of what can account for the inter-urban differences in depositional behaviour found by the analyses of this thesis.

Production, consumption, ownership and power: the difference between depositional practices in urban centres and other location types

The differences in depositional practices at the various location types suggest that there were deviations in processes of production, consumption, ownership and relational power structures between each location type. As outlined in the introduction to this project, Cunliffe (1992) and Trow, James & Moore (2009) have made similar suggestions for Iron Age depositional practices at Ditches in Oxfordshire and Danebury Hillfort in Hampshire

respectively. That is, it is possible to see that the object types consumed for depositional events were related to the agricultural cycle and also to the cycle of processing and consumption of agricultural produce. At Danebury, Cunliffe argues that the deposition of certain objects and bodies into grain storage pits was a means of ensuring a successful harvest and post-harvest protection of the grain. He suggests that the deposition of species such as horse, dog and raven were purposely made because of their associations with particular deities. Furthermore, Cunliffe also suggests that even the subterranean storage of grain as opposed to using above ground silos was done so in order to place the harvest directly into the protection of certain chthonic deities (1992, pp.72&78). Thus, at Danebury, the deposition and final consumption of particular objects and bodies was undertaken in relation to the agricultural cycle and production and storage. Cunliffe's interpretations are relevant here for reading depositional practices of Roman Britain in terms of relationships between objects, place and people and can be applied in order to suggest why there were variations in depositional practices between different location types.

In a similar way Trow, James & Moore (2009, pp.48-49) have argued that the boundary ditch and pit deposits of the late Iron Age and early Roman Ditches settlement in Oxfordshire were enacted in association not with grain production but rather with the final stages of grain processing (hence the appearance of quern stones and quern stone fragments within some of the deposits). Thus, like the deposits of Danebury, the consumption and deposition of particular objects at Ditches was also intimately linked to modes of production and processing upon which the settlement's economic and social relationships were based. Trow, James & Moore see Ditches as representing a shift away from a direct involvement with grain production and agricultural activity and a more specialised mode of settlement activity which was based on processing rather than production (2009, p.49).

It is argued here that how objects were produced, acquired, consumed and finally deposited into subterranean features at a Roman military fort was different to those processes within an urban centre for example. In particular, it was the modes of consumption and possibly even destruction of objects and bodies that likely differed between the various location types. Therefore, depositional practices provide evidence for how things were consumed in the past and how in Roman Britain there were zones (location types) where ownership and consumption contrasted according to socio-economic relationships. For example, F213 from the Roman military fort at Inchtuthil contained 875,428 iron nails. Non-urban features also often contained very large deposits as in F54 which in part contained the remains of 150

pottery vessels and F230 which in part contained 87 puppies. This is in direct contrast to many of the urban features which in general contained smaller numbers of objects consistently, for example: F25 (single pot, Kenchester), F26 (single pot, Gloucester), F30 (2 dogs, London) and F32 (single pot, London), F14 (single pot, Silchester), F15(single pot, Silchester), F17 (1 dog, Silchester) and F18(1 dog, Silchester). Furthermore, the large numbers of deposited objects frequently found in non-urban locations implies that either someone or a group of people with a large amount of resources available for consumption enacted the depositional event. Alternatively it is also possible that whoever enacted the event was able to harness objects and bodies from a communal source where a number of people or groups contributed to the contents of the feature. Whatever the case, many of the features from all of the location types outside of urban centres are suggestive of communal events where the depositional objects and bodies were either owned and consumed by a powerful person(s) or institution (the Roman military for example). The consumption of the objects and bodies may have been on behalf of the larger community, but at some point in the process of consumption large numbers of things were organised into a carefully articulated event (see for example non-urban features in *Appendix 3*: F49, F50, F54, F69, F230, F260 and F186; sacred precinct features in *Appendix 4*: F57, F182, F236, F239 and F256; Roman military fort features in *Appendix 5*: F213, F222 and F233).

Gosden has neatly summarised the crucial relationship between production and social relationships in that 'through the expenditure of energy in production the world is transformed by people; natural objects become social products, codes of meaning are worked out, and basic human appetites are fulfilled...If we can understand production we have the basis for understanding society' (1989, p.355). Furthermore to this fundamental social process of production, are processes of consumption, decay, discard and the removal of objects and bodies from their role in everyday lives and tasks (following Bradley 1982). It really is at this point of consumption and removal of particular objects from their place in everyday life where differences between urban and non-urban depositional practices need to be considered.

The emphasis on aesthetics of the large and complex deposits found in non-urban areas can also be seen in association with processes of production, consumption and control. In a similar way to the potlatch institution found in non-Western communities, it is sacrifices and 'gifts to gods', which cannot be returned, and so these are the only gifts which increase personal prestige over a long period' (Bradley 1982, pp.119-120). Deposition of excessively large numbers of objects and bodies can also be conceptualised as a means of increasing personal

prestige. Furthermore, the act may have been viewed by a large number of people who were connected to the person or people responsible for depositional events in certain location types of Roman Britain. The person and/or people who organised and articulated the depositional event chose how certain objects and bodies were consumed and removed from daily life at these events. It follows then that the people/person who articulated the depositional event either owned or was at least responsible for the objects and bodies that were deposited. It is also likely that the person/people making the subterranean deposits were also responsible for harnessing the labour required to construct the feature and collect and produce the objects and bodies deposited within it. Considering that these events resulted in very large and complex arrangements of objects and bodies, along with the structure of the feature itself, it seems likely that they were meant to be viewed. The viewing of these events and the physical aspects of the subterranean feature and its contents necessitated care being taken with how things looked. The relationship between aesthetics and 'viewing' in the past is well-established (Gosden 2001; Pollard 2001), and the consistent emphasis on the visual elements of the non-urban and sacred precinct subterranean deposits, is in contrast to those found within and around the towns. The lack of aesthetic care and therefore the lack of intended 'viewing' of urban depositional events suggest that they may have been made for the purposes of individuals and/or small groups.

Examples of deposits that incorporated distinctive arrangements of objects and bodies and are therefore suggestive of intended 'viewing' of the depositional event include F57 (Romano-British temple, Jordan Hill, see *Appendix 4*). This feature consisted of a well that had two oblong stone slabs at its base which formed a cist upon which rested two Roman urns. One of the depositional stratum consisted of a double layer of paired tiles with a bird and coin placed between each. Above this stratum were more deposits which were made up of layers of ash and birds enclosed in tiles. At Bourton Grounds, Buckinghamshire, a pit was found within a rural ritual complex (F177) which contained a horse's skull surrounded by oyster shells with a large smooth pebble covering the horse's skull. There were also a number of examples of features from non-urban sites which displayed a degree of aesthetic care in their arrangement. For example, the shaft of F48 at Bekesbourne, Kent, was lined on all four sides with oak planks and the entire deposit was also covered with oak planks. On the base of the shaft was a stoned slab on which horse's teeth had been placed in a circular arrangement. There were also other depositional layers including a Roman urn and a layer of flints. F49 at Biddenham, Bedfordshire, contained the sherds of 50 urns along with 5 complete urns which had been placed at the four corners of the shaft with one placed in the middle. F54, Crayford, Kent also

was found to have purposeful arrangements of large numbers of objects and bodies. This feature consisted of a 'post hole' within a chalk pit which contained the sherds of 150 vessels creating a 12 inch thick layer along with dog, horse, badger, fox, bird and animal teeth which had been organised distinctively. These characteristics were largely absent from the urban data and it is thought that this was related to the variations in social structures and processes of production, trade, ownership and consumption at each location type.

This argument for why there were these differences between urban depositional practices and those found in non-urban and sacred precinct locations is supported by a range of other types of evidence. As already discussed above it is apparent from dietary, osteoarchaeological and funerary evidence that there were clear differences in health and status between rural and urban populations of Roman Britain (Pitts & Griffin 2012). Furthermore, it has also been argued that there were more 'rigid asymmetrical power relations' within non-urban communities (Pitts & Griffin 2012, p.273). These more rigid and asymmetrical power relations can be seen in association with the larger and more complex deposits from non-urban locations and the logic established above for the manner in which they were organised, enacted and possibly viewed. The more even distribution of wealth and status within urban populations, and their more symmetrical power relations (following Pitts & Griffin 2012), supports the present position for describing why urban deposits tended to be less complex and not as intricately organised in terms of how objects and bodies were arranged. Furthermore, the populations of the urban centres would have been made up of a range of consumers that were specific to this location type that did not exist in non-urban areas, for example craft specialists and those involved in the market economy (van der Veen, Livarda & Hill 2008, p.11). Social access to new plant foods (van der Veen, Livarda & Hill 2008) and different animal husbandry techniques (Albarella, Johnstone & Vickers 2008) during the Roman period also marks social differentiation between social status and wealth within urban centres and small towns and those in rural areas. This interpretation, and the supporting dietary, osteoarchaeological and funerary evidence, are particularly applicable to the ubiquitous spatial distribution pattern found for the subterranean features at Silchester. It appears that more people were engaged in depositional activities over a large spatial range within the town, and these deposits were often less complex in terms of numbers of objects deposited and how they were visually organised (see for example: F25, F26, F27, F30, F32, F40, F188, F122, F120, F119, F107, F105, F103, F101, F99, F94, F91, F89, F18, F17 and F16, *Appendix 6*). It is thought that the asymmetrical social organisation of non-urban areas was related to differential

patterns in depositional practices compared to those in the more symmetrically socially organised spaces of urban centres and towns.

Many of the characteristics of the subterranean features that have been investigated in this project have aspects in common with traditions of conspicuous consumption and the relational ideas of 'loss' and largesse contained within the institution of the potlatch (see Bradley 1982 and Gregory 1980). As argued by Gregory and Bradley it is 'gifts to the gods' that ultimately build up personal prestige and emphasise status (Bradley 1982, p.119 and Gregory 1980, p.120). Expanding on this idea it is possible to see how the subterranean deposits investigated within this project may have worked to increase personal prestige in the socially disparate non-urban communities (see for example F230 which contained the remains of 87 puppies along with a large number of other animal deposits), but also how the smaller and less complex deposits found in many of the towns may have worked on a personal level by facilitating a relationship between the actor and the transcendent. This is particularly applicable to the features at Silchester (see for example the features from *Insula IX*: F1, F2, F3, F4, F5, F6, F7, F8, F9, F10, F11, F12, F13, F14, F15, F16, F17, F18 and F19). These characteristics of loss and largesse are particularly true of subterranean features found in non-urban and sacred precinct locations where large numbers of different types of objects and materials were deposited within the same event and were often arranged with great aesthetic care. However, as found from the analyses above, the operational logic of these depositional features in both non-urban and urban spaces were similar. That is, the deposition of particular objects and materials articulated a relationship between people and the subterranean space located beneath the ground. All of the deposits included in this study were somehow concealed either below the ground or beneath buildings. All depositional acts rendered the object or material lost to the lived-in world and given over to a hidden place for what could have been a range of possible reasons. Although it is difficult to define the exact motivation for these depositional events (or desired outcome, if there was one), it is possible to draw comparisons to other types of acts that render objects or bodies concealed and lost to the lived-in world. Burial, cremation, rubbish disposal and the containment of the result of corporeal functions within pits also functioned in the same way to the more purposeful deposition considered within this project. That is, the removal and concealment of particular things was required in order to maintain order and the social structures of a given place and its community. As already argued these acts operated to ritualise encounters with subterranean places via the articulation of peoples' relationships with gods/the transcendent and objects and bodies that were also part of everyday life in particular location types.

Order and spatial distribution of subterranean features

The depositional acts carried out in urban centres can be thought about in terms of how they related to emphasising order and social relationships within the given town or sectors of a town. As discussed in Chapter Five, part of the funerary deposits at the Folly Lane site of Verulamium included stacks of turf and earth fill taken from the surrounding locations and thus possibly symbolising the deceased's dominion by emphasising his relationship to the landscape (Creighton 2006, p.125; Niblett 2004, p.32). Along with these stacks of turf and earth fill, the other funerary objects were largely of Roman type (Niblett 2004, p.32). Therefore a connection was made between native land ownership and power combined with the perceived *humanitas* of Roman material culture and the implications of status and authority those objects held for the deceased's community. It is significant then that the Folly Lane site gains a number of new pits or shafts during the AD 140s and the whole site was embellished with the construction of a white chalk facade that faced the town along with the construction of a Romano-Celtic temple on the funeral pyre site (Creighton 2006, p.128; Niblett 2004, p.38). The addition of new subterranean features appears to re-emphasise the importance of the site via the embedding of objects and therefore meaning into the sacred landscape (see F133, F134, F135, F136, F137, F138, F139, F140, F141, F142, F143, F144, F145 and F146 in *Appendix 8*). These new subterranean features and their deposits were enacted around the same time that the old track-way (upon which the primary axis of the town's layout was aligned with) leading from the ceremonial enclosure to the centre of the town was replaced by a newly constructed diagonal road around AD 150 (see *Figure 56*). The shafts of Dorchester's central *insula* are also argued to have been associated with ongoing commemoration of the town's founding. The majority of the features from Dorchester can also be seen as a means of linking the past and the people who worked to articulate a relationship with Rome which was manifested in the building and development of the early town.

So then, there were clear variations between the depositional activities of urban and other location types and there were also some inter-urban differences between the depositional activities of the towns of Roman Britain. Just as it has been claimed that the differences between urban and other location types are suggestive of variances between modes of production, ownership and consumption, it is also possible to claim differences in these processes between the three main case studies. That there were definitive changes to the depositional practices of these towns during the third century also supports this claim in that the larger changes to the urban fabric of these towns coincided with sudden shifts in

depositional practices. These changes, particularly those at Dorchester and Verulamium, are argued to have been associated with changes to social, political and economic structures of these towns. These temporal changes to urban depositional practices and how they related to other processes within the towns is discussed in further detail below.

Concluding comments on the operational logic of depositional practices and differences between location types

What unites these different examples of distinctive deposition is the way in which they worked to define human relationships with the subterranean unknown. This ritual activity might be considered in comparison to the manner in which a Classical temple attempts to negotiate with the space above the earth's surface. The height of a temple, the use of podiums and the frequently lofty locations of such structures negotiate relationships between people and the unknown spaces (and the transcendent beings that occupy those spaces), above the ground's surface. As already noted most of the pits, shafts, wells and other features considered within this project that appear to have been utilised for ritual/purposeful deposits were not constructed for that purpose initially. The very fact that these features (whatever their original purpose) came to be used in varying and ritually significant ways demonstrates how the very nature of 'being below ground' may have stimulated their use in symbolic ways. It also is evidence of how despite the manner in which certain structures or urban features were conceived and constructed, how they come to be used and have social meaning over time was complex and changeable. An example of this complexity is the pits of late Roman Silchester (Eckhardt 2006). In the discussion of some of the pits in Insula IX Eckhardt notes that infant and complete pot deposits occur within fills of cess and rubbish that had rotted and been removed at different intervals (Eckhardt 2006, pp.222-224). Fulford sees the distinction between private/unstructured action of deposition practices versus the formal/public rituals 'associated with altars and public offerings' as reflecting a breakdown in the distinction between urban and rural practices and as further evidence for the notion of continuity between pre-Roman and Roman cultural practices that also transcended the establishment of Roman urbanism (2001, p.216). This is similar to the proposition of this study that subterranean depositional practices were enacted within a similar framework of meaning and purpose across all location types, and that the distinctions in these practices between location types was the result of site-specific relationships between people and objects/bodies. These

site-specific relationships were those associated with production, consumption, ownership and hegemonic structures of the location and sites within which the subterranean features were located.

Inter-urban difference and change to depositional practices over time

The different pre-existing landscapes of urban locales are considered here as having been potentially significant for how the subsequent populations of the town perceived the space in which they lived. Indeed, the creation of towns in Roman Britain did not just begin after AD 43 but often originated within the socio-political structures of the Late Iron Age (Pitts & Perring 2006, p.190). The conception and development of the town, and the way in which the towns' populations engaged with the urban structure in terms of ritual and religious traditions might have been influenced by these major differences in how and where the towns were founded. Rogers (2008, p.37) highlights the manner in which towns were located within the landscape as not only being based on strategy and practicality but that they 'will also have been interacting with pre-Roman urban places, which in turn may have gone on to influence the nature of urbanism itself'. Furthermore, by applying the actor-object/body-location model it is possible to see how the individual processes of urbanisation and socio-political change within each case study was unique. Therefore, the differences that have been found between the various town's depositional practices can be seen as the result of the intersection between the factors of who was enacting the depositional event, which objects and bodies were appropriate and available for consumption within the event, and the social, economic and political structures that were present within the specific location of each town.

So far then for Dorchester and Verulamium it has been argued that the major shaft deposits of these towns were associated with commemoration of the town's founding and therefore possibly with its *founders* and the power and influence that they held and/or continued to hold within the town over time (for example F149, F150, F151, F152, F153, F154, F155, F156, F157, F158, F159, F160, F161, F162, F163 and F164 at Dorchester, *Appendix 7*, and F133, F134, F135, F136, F137, F138, F139, F140, F141, F142, F143, F144, F145 and F146 for Verulamium, *Appendix 8*). The results of analysis of Silchester's depositional practices were different however. As already discussed, the ubiquitous spatial distribution of Silchester's features does not present like those of Dorchester and Verulamium. It is likely that there were spaces within the urban structure where other social classes expressed themselves ritually. Willis asserts that

towns of the provinces were distinctive and individual, and also were places for the urban 'underclass' (2007, p.161). Willis notes of course that such occupation and use of the urban space is unlikely to be retrievable archaeologically. And yet Willis does suggest that 'we need to think about the places 'the others' inhabited or used: decaying buildings, the 'backwaters' of towns, 'twilight' places likely to be in and beside towns' (2007, p.161). Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Four, the subterranean features found within other areas of Dorchester apart from those located within the central *insula*, were located in lower socio-economic zones than the central *insula* shafts (see F275, F165, F166, F167, F168, F169, F170, F171 and F172)(Grimm 2010). Thus, depositional practices were not restricted to the one area of Dorchester, but those located in the other socio-economic zones did have very different patterns of deposition in that infants in pits, or under buildings, were the most common depositional body of these areas. These features did not display the same ongoing use over time like the shafts of the central *insula* and did not contain the same range or number of objects and bodies.

One of the major changes to the construction of identity and status within the Roman Empire during the third century was the Caracalla's edict of 212 AD. Caracalla's *Constitutio Antoniniana* traditionally dated to 212 AD (Keresztes 1970, although see Millar 1962 who argues for a date within the first half of 214 AD), which granted full Roman citizenship to all free men of the Empire, reduced obvious hierarchical distinctions between people in a province like Roman Britain. It is argued that this reduction in difference based on citizenship status may have increased the need for the more elite and powerful occupants of Roman British towns to demarcate space more closely in order to maintain a divide between *them* and *us*. Thus, the building of masonry walls with monumental gates during the second half of the third century around the towns of Roman Britain can be seen as a response to the reduction of hierarchical divide between different classes of people. Evidence of 'rubbish' disposal and the depositing of objects and material in order to demarcate space was a feature of the landscapes of later Bronze Age and early Iron Age Britain. The appearance of enclosed settlements during the first millennium B.C. in Britain has been argued to have been an expression of changing land and kinship relations, rather than a defensive mechanism (Thomas 1997, pp.211-218). Indeed, the whole landscape of the first millennium is characterised by many forms of increasing land division and marking of space related to land ownership and division between social groups (Thomas 1997, p.215). Linear land divisions, ritualised middens (McOmish 1996) and fortified hill-forts (Thomas 1997, p.211), as well as the enclosed domestic settlement, worked to construct and maintain distinct boundaries between groups as ownership of arable land provides the basis for power, wealth and status (Thomas 1997, p.211). The purpose of

including this evidence is not so much a claim regarding traditional antecedents for the making of subterranean deposits, but rather demonstrates the human need to mark and embed meaning into and around place as ownership of land and resources is intensified. This need to demarcate space becomes emphasised when there is an increasing need to mark who is *included* and who is *excluded* from the physical and social shape of a human settlement.

The third century town walls worked to mark a symbolic boundary as well as a means of controlling taxation at the outer limits of the town. The implications of the third-century town walls and how they can be read for shifting economic and socio-political structures within the towns is discussed further below where the third century changes observed for the depositional practices of the three case studies are considered in association with other changes to the urban fabric. The cessation and/or change of two centuries of depositional traditions at both Folly Lane at Verulamium and at the central *insula* shafts of Roman Dorchester are argued to have been vulnerable to the larger political and economic changes of the third century. Because the deposits of these towns worked to mark and reinforce relationships to the past founding, founders and ancestral power bases of the towns, they consequently were vulnerable to shifts in the *status quo*. The granting of full Roman citizenship to all people would have necessarily impacted upon traditional elite families who held positions of power and wealth within the towns. Thus, the link to the past hereditary power bases of Verulamium and Dorchester may have been dismantled at this point and therefore the associated depositional practices also changed and/or ceased.

There was, however, an apparent intensification in all types of depositional practices at Silchester from the later third century onwards and it is argued here that these in some cases may have related to the need to demarcate internal spaces of the town. With a reduction in citizenship-based hierarchical differences during the third century, Silchester too changed in how space was used and lived-in as the traditional power-bases within the town were, at least theoretically, broken after AD 212. Differently to Verulamium and Dorchester, pressure upon people to maintain and demarcate internal space is evidenced by increasing depositional behaviour that, as argued in Chapter Three, worked to either maintain links to the past (following Fulford 2001) by emphasising ownership or occupation of place, or to embed new patterns of ownership and power into place as more people could theoretically own property and gain positions of power within the town by being eligible to being elected to the position of *Decurion*. Being elected as a member of the administrative town council was based upon election by the citizen assembly and thus, following the granting of Roman citizenship in AD

212 this became open to all males of the town. The impact on this socio-political shift can in part be seen by the building of the third century town walls and a reorganisation of how the town worked. Emphasising *insiders* and *outsiders* via the construction of masonry walls with monumental gates can be seen as a response in the breakdown of the citizenship-based hierarchical divide. Furthermore, within Silchester, there was also the emphasis on marking internal space and clearly dividing *mine* and *yours* via depositional acts which emphasised certain boundaries within the town as discussed previously in Chapter Three.

It has been shown how the subterranean features of urban centres operated to emphasise relationships between people, place and particular objects and bodies. In the cases of Dorchester and Verulamium, shaft deposits worked to emphasise power structures that were established and/or already existed at the time of the towns' establishment and Roman annexation of Britain. These shaft deposits were located within circumscribed spaces that also have evidence for being closely linked to either the town's founding and the people and their descendents who held power and articulated a relationship with Rome at the time of the town's origins. In the case of Silchester (which had very different origins and development compared to the other two case studies and will be discussed in detail below), the subterranean deposits located there were enacted by a range of people but could operate to demarcate space and internal differences within particular *insulae* of the town as discussed above in Chapter Three.

Addressing the question of urbanisation: reading depositional practices for urbanisation and urban change over time

A useful way of conceptualising the unique nature of the individual towns of Roman Britain and their unique ways of enacting and perpetuating cultural practices such as ritual deposition is the notion of translation. Tait and Jensen (2007, p.108) have developed a useful framework for considering the translation of urban models into new places – often far removed from their origins both spatially and socio-culturally – which involves 'both the material and representative practices that allow models to spread and have effects on urban areas'. There would have been a conceived notion of what it was to construct a Roman town and that the planners and builders of these urban places would have each had their own 'interpretation of *romanitas* which all of the stakeholders within each community had' (Creighton 2006, p.70). Indeed, the importance of pre-Roman places, particularly religious places, in the location and

development of towns in Roman Britain is now being recognised as a significant factor in the process of urbanisation (Rogers 2008). Furthermore, as the towns developed, generations passed and the nature of the Roman Empire shifted, the inhabitants of these towns recreated and manipulated the urban space according to their current milieu. Therefore, an intimate relationship existed in these urban spaces where their users were co-creative of the ongoing transformation of the town as they interpreted and translated the physical and social fabric of place (following de Certeau 1984). The physical manifestations of the process of translation, and the ongoing transformation of the Roman town in Britain, is in part evidenced by the inter-urban variations in depositional practices between Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium.

The production of the physical and social aspects of a town is dependent upon three key concepts: *conceived* space, *perceived* space and *lived-in* space (following Lefebvre 1974). Within this thesis, the *conceived* space is considered to have been the idea of the Roman town and the *romanitas* that it expressed, the *perceived* space is the result of the interpretation and translation of the idea of the Roman town, and the *lived-in/used* space is the physical and social reality of the use of the town by its inhabitants and other users. Within the archaeological record of a town it is possible to see physical traces of how the notion of the town was *perceived* by its builders by determining the original development of the urban space. Ongoing and shifting *perceptions* of the town by its inhabitants are also traceable within the archaeological record as changes were made to the urban space and its structures over time (as a result of the ongoing interactions between *perceptions* and *use*). The *lived-in/used* space is the most apparent archaeologically and it within this domain that changes and recreations of the urban space occurred.

One of the key inter-urban differences between different town's depositional practices was the spatial distribution of subterranean features within and around the urban space under consideration. The spatial geography of the three case studies was dependent upon how the builders and users of the space translated the idea of the Roman town. Ongoing translation and interpretation of the urban space occurred over the centuries of the Roman period within the towns and this is in part evidenced by shifts in the nature of depositional practices. Furthermore, the very different spatial distribution patterns of depositional features within the towns of Silchester, Dorchester and the Verulamium complex, appear to have been dependent upon how the town's spatial geography referenced relationships to the past. In the case of the Verulamium complex, it was the ceremonial site of Folly Lane that was continually referenced within the perceptions and use of the town below throughout the first two centuries of the

Roman period. The ceremonial site and the cremation of the high status individual that occurred there around AD 55 continued to be a dominant factor in how the idea of the Roman town of Verulamium was perceived, constructed and used by its inhabitants. Furthermore, the intensification of depositional practices with the construction of many new ritual shafts during the second century coincided with major changes to the town's physical shape and the expansion of its road network. The cessation of the depositional practices at the Folly Lane site also coincided with the town gaining masonry walls with two large ceremonial gates around AD 270. This effectively was the ending of the intrinsic relationship between the town and the Folly Lane ceremonial enclosure, the end of the depositional activities there and the end to the referencing of the past that was encapsulated into the ceremonial site of Folly Lane. As discussed in detail above in Chapter Five, the 'past' that was encapsulated by the symbolism of the Folly Lane site was one that incorporated the major social shifts that were occurring in Britain at the time of Rome's annexation of the province following the Claudian 'invasion' of AD 43. The high status cremation included Roman material culture in the funerary goods including Roman military gear. The funerary rites also included the turf stacks and earth fill that sealed the large shaft/mortuary chamber of the central enclosure. As outlined above these turf stacks had been cut from a large range of pasture types and the earth fill gathered from a number of different locations and are thus thought to have represented the cremated person's different dominions (Creighton 2006; Niblett 2004, p.32).

With the cessation of depositional practices, and disuse of the ceremonial site occurring by the end of the third century, it is clear that *perceptions* of the town of Verulamium and its social organisation were also changing. It has been suggested by Creighton (2006) that these changes to the Folly Lane site marked the end of two centuries of local power being held within one familial group who were most likely descendents of the cremated individual of AD 55. Up until the end of the third century, subterranean deposits were an important feature of the landscape of Verulamium and were concentrated either on the lower slope of the site or were in a series of shafts along the south western side outside of the enclosure (see *Figure 56*). So, up until this time the significant act of making subterranean deposits by the people of Verulamium had been focused within a prescribed area and closely associated with the space of the ceremonial enclosure. Only two subterranean features had been found within the town itself (F147 and F148), and one just outside of the town at the King Harry Lane site (F35). Thus, the spatial geography of the town of Verulamium and the spatial distribution of subterranean features were for two centuries almost entirely focused upon one zone: the Folly Lane ceremonial site. This focus for subterranean depositional activities only changed at the end of

the third century as the town became walled and symbolically distanced from the outside and outsiders. The significance of the third-century walling of the towns of Roman Britain is discussed more closely below.

Roman Dorchester had a similar circumscribed spatial distribution pattern of depositional features (see *Figures 46 & 47*). It has been argued that the central *insula* shaft deposits of Roman Dorchester were also enacted in order to mark the founding and ongoing commemoration of the founding of the town (Woodward & Woodward 2004). Like Verulamium and the Folly Lane site, the large proportion of depositional activities that have been found for Dorchester, were focused upon the one area within one of the town's central *insulae* (namely F149, F150, F151, F152, F153, F154, F155, F156, F157, F158, F159, F160, F161, F162, F163 and F164). It was found in Chapter Four that there were shifts in Dorchester's depositional activities during the third century. Namely, from the later third century onwards that there was a cessation of the previously common bird and dog deposition within the central *insula* shafts. As well as a change in animal deposition there was also a cessation of pottery deposition around the early third century. There was an increase in infant deposition in all three socio-economic sectors of the town at this time also which continued into the fourth century. It was argued above in Chapter Four that the changes to the depositional practices expressed within the shafts of the central *insula* were intimately connected to the founding of the town and therefore that any major changes to the socio-political structures of the town would have an effect on these ritual activities. As proposed by Grimm (2008), there were three distinct socio-economic zones within Dorchester based on dietary and animal bone assemblage evidence. The central *insula* was the most elite based on these variables. This interpretation makes sense in light of Woodward & Woodward's argument that this zone was the focus for ritual deposition marking ongoing commemoration of the town's founding (2004). It was argued in Chapter Four that this ongoing commemoration would have been enacted by those people in the town who had hereditary or other claims to the past bases of power within the town. Therefore, as argued above, the reduction in citizenship-based hierarchical difference from 212 AD could theoretically have had a major impact of the social and political structures of the town. The break in depositional activity of the central *insula* might therefore be linked to these wider changes during the third century. It was also shown in Chapter Four how there is evidence for a higher level of malnutrition and trauma in both the adult and child population of post third-century Dorchester compared to other towns and places in Roman Britain (Lewis 2010). Thus, it is possible to see that broad changes within the province and Empire, combined with local social, economic and health pressures could have

affected the socio-political and environmental fabric of the town thus affecting the nature of depositional practices that had previously been associated with commemoration and an emphasis on past social and power structures.

Silchester, however, as already discussed, presented a very different spatial pattern of subterranean deposition which was ubiquitous and possibly opportunistic (see *Figure 32*). Fulford has claimed that these deposits too were links to the past, but the more distant pre-Roman past, and views the deposits as a mode of ritual practice that displayed continuity over time (2001). The spatial analysis of Silchester's subterranean features in this thesis however found that at least within *Insula IX* and *Insula IV* (the location of the forum-basilica complex), that the location of the features and the objects contained within them were suggestive of demarcation of space and emphasis of property boundaries and/or land ownership/occupation. That there was no concentrated zone of ritual shafts as was found for Verulamium and Roman Dorchester presents a very different spatial geography for Silchester in terms of how people chose to ritualise subterranean places within their town. Furthermore, most of the features that contained probable ritual/special deposits at Silchester were pre-existing pits that contained cess or rubbish or were made in wells. This was a very different pattern to the other two case studies where the majority of features were shafts and therefore were much deeper and received deposits at intervals over time. There was little evidence for repeated and maintained use of a subterranean feature at Silchester.

As outlined above, the notion of translation of urban forms is one that has arisen from contemporary urban studies (for example, Franklin & Tate, 2002; Tait & Jensen, 2007). These studies look at the way a particular urban form, in this case obviously the 'Roman town', was planned for and constructed by those with sufficient resources and power to do so. How these urban models were in fact translated in the reality of urban life however is not a literal one. Peoples' perceptions and use of space and place are nearly always different from how the conception of the town was intended. Roman Silchester provides ample evidence of these processes of change from conception to perception and use. The material traces of these processes of change are ultimately retrievable from the archaeological record and reveal that the hegemony inherent in the towns of the Roman provinces allowed for complex understandings and manipulations of the intended use and operation of the 'town'. Although the plan of the Roman town was imposed upon the landscape of Britain it was done so in association with pre-existing settlement patterns and/or sacred places (Rogers 2008; Creighton 2006). It is likely for example that the site of Silchester had already been developing with a

possible grid-like street pattern, rectangular buildings and general complexity that resembled proto-urban like settlement (Clarke & Fulford 2002; Boon 1974). It is thought that much of the early town of Silchester conformed to a pre-Roman alignment and was only completely realigned onto the Roman orthogonal plan along with the construction of the town's walls by the third century (Clarke & Fulford 2002; Fulford & Timby 2000).

As discussed above in Chapter Three, there was an extensive reorganisation and replanning of *Insula IX* culminating in the re-orientation of buildings onto the Roman street pattern occurred during the last quarter of the third century (Fulford & Clarke 2006, p.145.). It is proposed that similar re-organisation may have occurred within other areas of Silchester which is in part based on the fact that quite a number of buildings in other *insulae* were not aligned with the Roman street grid (see *Figure 32*). Fulford sees the intensification of depositional practices in *Insula IX* in direct association with this reorganisation and that people were in fact emphasising links to the past by enacting depositional rituals that were related to rural and pre-Roman traditions (2001). It is thought that people enacted these depositional rituals at the time because their links to the past were effectively broken by the town's spatial reorganisation (Fulford 2001). This argument is plausible considering the results of this project's analysis of the depositional practices of Silchester (and indeed Verulamium and Dorchester) which have been shown to have changed during the third century at a time when citizenship-based hierarchical divides were dismantled. The building and manipulation of town walls during the third century was also part of these greater socio-political shifts in that those who had traditionally held power, wealth and status within the towns felt the need to demarcate themselves from outsiders via the construction of masonry walls.

Thus, using depositional features as a means of enhancing descriptions of past urban spatial geographies has emphasised the different ways in which the towns of Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium were *perceived* and *used/lived-in* over time. Clearly, how the *conception* of a Roman town was translated into the physical and social reality of a Roman British urban space was dependent upon many factors related to the local milieu at the time of the origins of the town in question. Furthermore, as the town developed the users of the urban space were co-creative in its further development and modes of ritualising subterranean places.

The changing nature of Roman British towns during the third century AD

In order to consider the changing nature of depositional events within the three case studies and how these may have been impacted upon by shifts within the urban social, economic and political structures it is necessary to consider what was happening within Roman Britain during the third century. The very fact that these towns were a dynamic part of the broader Empire implies that the internal processes of the town would have at some level been impacted upon by wider events and trends. These changes to the towns of Roman Britain, and specifically at Silchester, Roman Dorchester and Verulamium, can be viewed within the wider context of the Empire itself.

As already discussed, the emperor Caracalla granted all free men of the empire full Roman citizenship in AD 212 (Keresztes 1970; Millar 1962). As argued above it is thought here that this would have resulted in a dismantling of previous citizenship-based social divides, and may have resulted in a social and economic state of flux during the third century. Thus, it has been argued that this shift in status of the occupants of Roman Britain may have impacted on the nature of depositional practices of at least Verulamium and Dorchester. As already established previously, it is thought that the main areas of circumscribed depositional practices of these two towns were maintained and/or organised in order to commemorate town founding or powerful individuals associated with the early stages of the town's origins. Therefore, any major shift in structures of power and status within the empire may have resulted in shifts in social and status structures within the towns thus effecting ritual behaviours that had previously worked to emphasise traditional power bases.

Furthermore, between 244 AD and 284 AD there were at least 60 emperors proclaimed throughout various parts of the empire by the Roman armies with nearly all attempts ending in assassination (Watson 1999). Accompanying this breakdown in political unity and the imperial system were barbarian incursions throughout parts of the empire, with the north-western European frontiers of the Rhine and Danube seriously threatened (Casey 1994, p.26; Frere 1991, p.172). Massive inflation and devaluation also resulted in severe economic upheaval throughout the empire (Frere 1991, p.172; Higham 1992, p.43). Although Britain had by this time been part of the empire for over two centuries - and was clearly contained within its social, economic, political and military fabric - it seems to have largely escaped the worst effects of this widely distributed pattern of turmoil. It is recognised however that not even Britain - protected to an extent by the English Channel - was completely immune to the effects of inflation (Frere 1992, p.172).

These developments of the third century, and the extent to which Roman Britain experienced them as a constitutive part of the empire, are generally agreed upon by archaeologists and economic historians as typical of every extended empire (Casey 1994, p.25; Mattingly 2006, pp.493-495). The changes characterising the extended empire can be chronologically mapped out. Initially there is the conquest which is immediately followed by a period of dynamism in which the resource exploitation of the newly conquered territory equals or exceeds imperial expenditure (Mattingly 2006, pp.496-499). Following this there is a shift of advanced technology from the centre of the empire to the periphery, thereby rendering obsolete the exchange of raw resources from the peripheral provinces with the finished products of the central provinces. As was the case in Britain, these developments are advantageous for the peripheral province and wealth accumulated within them was maintained in the local economy. Although some of this wealth was required for the maintenance of the army it was likely a minimal expenditure by this time (Mattingly 2006, p.501; Casey 1994, p.25), no doubt as a result of the continued reduction of the military presence in Britain throughout the third century.

Due to the events in north-western Europe during the mid third century, this broad process was traceable in most provinces was compounded in Britain whose geographical position provided relative security (Casey 1994, p.26). Overall then, within the turmoil of the empire, Britain seems to have gained a degree of self-sufficiency and stability. Furthermore it is suggested that it was possibly even 'modestly enriched by the economic changes being felt detrimentally by the empire as a whole' (Mattingly 2006, p.501; Casey 1994, p.31). Importantly, the definable 'conquest' of Britain only really ceased in the early third century (Casey 1994, p.23; Fulford 2002, p.71). It is apparent that from this time onwards there was a significant reduction in military presence within Britain. It is also suggested that by this phase of colonialism that a more distinctive 'Romano-British' character had been developed within the material and social structures of the province. Increasingly, the towns began to display features that seem to represent a process whereby local aspirations and forms of expression were more prominent. Such expression has been associated with economic development (Casey 1994, p.25).

Britain's position as a peripheral province in itself encouraged a degree of self-sufficiency and comparative prosperity by the third century. In association with this process is the emergence of a clearly Roman British material culture that drew on different facets of Roman and indigenous cultural traits for different purposes of expression and use. Those responsible for

the wall building programme discussed above needed the power and wealth to carry out what must have been a significantly high resource consuming activity. It is the towns themselves, or at least the wealthiest occupants, who were responsible for these types of projects (de la Bedoyere 1992, p.93), and were not sanctioned or financed by the state. It is suggested here that economic pressure – which may have only been perceived rather than harshly felt – tightening of controls over taxation collection, and the psychological desire to ‘protect’ wealth and status that had been established over the preceding centuries by the town’s inhabitants, were the main economic and social processes that stimulated the construction of these boundaries. Concomitant with these changes were changes to the depositional activities within the case studies that have been discussed at length above.

The pattern of development in the peripheral provinces, particularly concerning the economic and commercial spheres, has been traced to one in which those provinces farther away from the centre of the empire prosper at the expense of the central core. Frere proposes that Britain, protected as it was from the most disastrous problems of the empire was a province where, ‘the curial class emerged relatively more prosperous than in many other provinces’ (Frere 1991, 245). This resultant prosperity for the ruling elite must have been accumulating from the beginning of the Roman period, when those elites who had aligned themselves with Rome and urbanity enhanced their position in terms of wealth and status. It has been argued within this project that the relationship between the town’s wealthy ruling class and the process of urbanisation was in part emphasised by Verulamium’s and Dorchester’s main centres of depositional activity. Evidence for this kind of circumscribed space for depositional events marking or commemorating the origins of the town was not found for Silchester. However it has been suggested by Creighton that Silchester too may have had a sacred precinct similar to the Folly Lane site that may have informed the spatial geography of the town (2006, pp.139-141). This argument is based on the commemoration of past ‘kings’ who established early relationships with Rome and were interred in these sacred precincts and thus these leaders, their domains and past political actions continued to inform and influence the town’s development up until the end of the third century (Creighton 2006; Niblett 2004).

The second century is marked by the advancement of a wealthy and influential element into the town structure (Frere 1991, 231; Perring 1991a, p.285). There is clear evidence for the construction of relatively opulent houses in many of the towns, or at least the introduction of masonry and tile houses of a specific Roman British plan and style (Frere 1991, p.231; Perring 2002, p.41; Perring 1991a, p.285; Wachter 1992, p.125). The development of these large

Roman British style dwellings indicates that by this time the administrative elite – who are thought to have occupied the town and carried out the curial duties in a more ephemeral way from their country residences prior to this (Frere 1991, p.231; Perring 1991a, p.285) – were now sufficiently urbanised and desired to occupy the towns on a more permanent basis.

The building of public buildings, amenities and monuments declines markedly in the towns of Roman Britain by the third century. Public expression of munificence becomes limited (Higham 1992, p.55; Perring 1991a, p.28). At the same time however there is an increase in the complexity and size of houses. This more residential character of the town often directly replaced previously cramped commercial quarters (Perring 2002, p.41; Frere 1991, p.246). Domestic use and ownership of space becomes a more prominent form of land use in the urban space during and after the third century in Silchester for example. This is evident from the more recent excavations of *Insula IX*, House 1 and House 5 in particular, demonstrating growth and expansion over time (Clarke and Fulford 1998; Clarke and Fulford 1999). The ritual pits within this *insula* do seem to be patterned according to type of object deposited, and also the physical arrangement of some of the pits indicate the formation of boundaries within this demarcated block of land as discussed above in Chapter Three. It was argued above, on the basis of the spatial distribution of the subterranean features in Silchester's *Insula IX*, that the intensification of depositional behaviour from the third century onwards and the alignment of some of the pits suggests that they in part operated to demarcate space and emphasise particular patterns of property ownership. This reading of depositional behaviour for *Insula IX* is plausible considering the broader changes to wealth, status and cultural change suggested by others regarding the changing nature of many Roman British towns during the third century. The emergence of a more 'Romano-British' material culture – as evidenced by the emergence of a unique Romano-British house style (Perring 1991a, p.285) – also supports the argument presented here that the third century marked a symbolic break from the political and cultural *status quo* of the previous centuries. The shifts in depositional behaviours found for the three case studies can be accounted for in association with changes to citizenship and social status and an ongoing economic, military and cultural distancing from Rome resultant from Britain's peripheral position and ongoing processes of cultural change that occur within the province.

The historical political and economic processes of a town such as Silchester, within the context of the wider empire from the third century onwards, can be summarised sequentially. The urban elites - in their role as *curiales* - had established a degree of wealth and status in the

preceding centuries (Esmonde Cleary 1989, p.13; Millet 1990, pp.148-149). Therefore they had something to protect, and it is their wealth and status that may have been, or perceived to have been, threatened in the third and subsequent centuries due to the changes discussed above. In their magisterial role, these 'elites' were under increasing pressure to maintain strict controls over taxation, and indeed were personally liable for its collection (Esmonde Cleary 1989, p.9). A major town such as Silchester played a central role in this taxation cycle that was intrinsic to the Roman state's revenue collection. An effective way to control taxation is by establishing clear urban boundaries that are heavily controlled at the limits of the town. The construction of masonry walls and their enhancement with the addition of monumental gates is found for many of the towns of Roman Britain during the later part of the third century. It is argued below that these walls were constructed as fiscal barriers and also a symbolic means of expressing power and status by emphasising insiders and outsiders and defining the town as a dominant feature within the landscape.

Third-century town walls and other changes to the urban fabric during the third century

The analyses of this study have found that for Verulamium and Dorchester the third century marked the cessation of depositional practices that had been enacted for the previous two centuries. There appears to have been a complete cessation of the depositional activities within the ceremonial Folly Lane site and there is little evidence for much depositional activity within the town of Verulamium after this time either. In the case of Roman Dorchester there was a cessation of animal and pottery deposition at the end of the third century in the central *insula* which was followed by an increase in infant deposition for all three of the different socio-economic zones of the town. At Silchester, from the late third century onwards, there appears to have been an intensification of all types of depositional activities and indeed there is extensive evidence for depositional practices continuing into the sub- and post- Roman periods (see *Appendix 6*). So, all of the case studies under consideration in this project had changes to their depositional practices during the third century of differing kinds. Concomitant with these changes to depositional practices were other changes to the towns' physical and social fabrics as discussed above within Chapters Three, Four and Five. One of the key changes to all of the towns of Roman Britain during the third century was that most gained

the addition of masonry walls and, as argued above, these symbolically separated the towns from who and what was located outside of their boundaries.

It is necessary then to define more closely the changes to the towns of Roman Britain during the third century in order to justify the preceding argument regarding the case –studies’ third century changes to depositional practices that have been found by this project’s analyses. One of the most radical changes to the towns during the third century was the construction of town walls. It is possible to read walls as operating for social status by highlighting the relational basis of power. Unlike the static, singular nature of other public works such as monuments, walls can be seen to articulate and attempt to regulate social positions and power relations through a logic of inclusion and exclusion. Walls inscribe the separation between social groups, providing status for those included within the privileged urban space. It is possible that these walls not only served to inscribe class differences but also social structures of regional separation between individual towns and their surrounding areas onto the Roman British landscape.

Dorchester gained the addition of stone walls around 300 AD which enhanced the previous second century ditch and bank fortifications (Allen 2012, p.62). The town of Verulamium was also walled around AD 270 (Wacher 1995, p.233). Furthermore, Silchester’s boundaries were also enhanced and modified during the third century with masonry construction and the addition of monumental gates (Wacher 1995, pp.279-280; Allen 2012). Additionally, other major urban centres of Roman Britain such as London, Exeter, York and Canterbury, also gained town walls at this time (de la Bedoyere 2006, p.154). It is argued that these walls were not built for defensive purposes but rather were created as status symbols and means of attempting to regulate social positions and power relations through a relational logic of exclusion and inclusion. There are a number of factors that support this argument that the third century town walls were more about displays of munificence and emphasised the place of the town in the wider landscape.

By focusing on gateways, Perring begins to make sense of the apparently little thought given to the actual ‘defensiveness’ of town walls in Roman Britain by comparing the British town walls to the Aurelian wall in Rome (Perring 1991a, 283). It is proposed by Palmer that the restoration of the Aurelian wall c. AD175, was essentially stimulated by economic and taxation pressures, as it could operate as a means of extending and securing the customs barrier (1980, p.217). The role of gateways within this barrier were particularly important because they provided an effective means of monitoring income and outgoing traffic, and were the point of collection for

tolls that had previously been collected through taxation generally within the marketplace. This shift of tax collection, from the interior central place of the town, to the limits of the urban space and to newly emerging smaller towns (Millett 1990, p.149), would seem to be aligned with a more general shift towards the towns becoming places of exclusion rather than inclusion.

Specifically, there does not appear to have been any tactical motivations for the walls' construction and it is more likely that the walls played more of a psychological or symbolic role by emphasising the status and security of the town (Perring 1991a, p.283). The development of town walls in Britain has been characterised as 'gradual and unsynchronized' which also implies that a specific or demanding military threat was highly unlikely. Thus, it may have been the status they could extend to the magistrates who commissioned their construction, and the urban communities that they enclosed, that was the stimulus for the building programme (Higham 1992, p.55). Indeed, Higham traces a pattern of the spending of the wealthy which was generally consistent between the first and third centuries: the late first and early second centuries is characterised by the construction of public buildings the later second century focused on private houses, and then during the third century there is concentrated spending on walls (Higham 1992, p.55). However, after c. AD280 this pattern of spending ends suddenly, and wall construction is not so evidently resultant from magisterial spending, except when ordered by the state. It is most significant that after this time the construction of walls is entirely different in terms of who was building them and their planning, and they appear to become more defensive in character (Wacher 1995, p.76).

Within the Roman inventory of status expression public amenities such as baths, amphitheatres or monuments were the traditional forms utilised to reinforce the position of the administrative elite (Bateman 1997, p.78). Walls are not traditionally included within this range of publicly expressed status (Frere 1991, p.232). However, the third century town walls under consideration here should not just be thought about in terms of Roman forms of expression, but have to be determined according to their place within Roman British society and as a expression of status or power within the Roman British cultural milieu of the third century. As outlined in the Introduction to this study, looking for distinctive cultural origins of particular cultural practices is futile within a provincial setting such as Roman Britain. As argued by Gosden 'we should not spend time trying to identify the original elements of a bipartite Romano-British culture, but rather look at the logics by which the pieces were combined' (2005, p.209). The complex interplay between pre-existing cultural traditions and

those of the coloniser surely resulted in a range of forms of expression that were the result of differing levels of intersection and hegemony. It is proposed that the intensification of boundary construction in the third century may simply have been the result of a particularly Romano-British form of expression, in the absence of any more obvious 'functional' roles that these boundaries could have fulfilled (de la Bedoyere 1992, p.75). However, as argued by Thomas, the construction of boundaries always has meaning beyond the purely functional and that the reasons for a widespread pattern of wall construction therefore has to be 'sought in the wider social changes of the period' (1997, p.213). The social changes during the third century have already been highlighted and therefore it is possible to see the third century town walls as economic and symbolic barriers that were, by this point, a particular Roman British form of expression that related to the broader changes within the empire and therefore within the towns of Roman Britain.

The broader changes in the empire, Britain's position as a peripheral province, and the change in citizenship status from 212 AD were all factors that can be argued to have eased distinctions between 'Roman' and 'non-Roman' within the towns of third century Britain. The cessation of many aspects of depositional practices within Dorchester and Verulamium can also be read for major changes to power and status relationships. The ending of types of depositional practices in the third century of these towns represent a break in the commemoration of past alliances with Rome that had been entered into during the immediately preceding decades prior to the Claudian annexation of 43 AD. Although this pattern of depositional behaviour was not found for Silchester, it is possible to see the intensification of depositional events during the later third century as part of these broader changes within Roman Britain. It is apparent that there was a decentralising process that occurred at Silchester from the third century onwards with the appropriation of the basilica by metalworkers, the construction and enhancement of the masonry town walls (and the implications this had for taxation collection and control of movement into and out of the town) and the emergence of a particular Romano-British domestic architectural form. Indeed, Fulford has suggested that many of the subterranean deposits of *Insula IX* may in fact represent people actively linking themselves and place to pre-Roman traditions (2001). The radical reorganisation of the *insula* at the time is argued to have precipitated a need for people to distinguish themselves and the space they occupied according to depositional traditions that were reminiscent of the past and rural behaviours (Fulford 2001, p.215). It is possible to see how the social and physical changes to the third century town may have allowed for a re-emergence of traditions that were held in collective memory at least within the town of Silchester.

Spatial distribution of depositional features and why the third century affected the depositional activities differently in each case study

It is argued here that for both the towns of Verulamium and Dorchester that the demarcated nature of the depositional shafts and the way that they appear to have been associated with the elite/powerful sector of the town's inhabitants was affected by the greater changes to the towns and province of Britain. The spatial distribution of these towns' depositional features has been shown to have had definite foci within the towns of Verulamium and Dorchester (see *Figures 56, 46 & 47*). These places of concentrated depositional activity (the Folly Lane ceremonial site for Verulamium and the central *insula* for Roman Dorchester) changed dramatically during the third century in both cases. The depositional activities of these two towns were closely connected to places of commemoration of town-founding and leadership (and possibly to connections and relationships with Rome) and therefore were more vulnerable to shifts in the social, political and economic changes to the towns witnessed during the third century. As discussed in Chapter Five, Verulamium's depositional activities were concentrated at the Folly Lane ceremonial site which was a powerful symbolic reference for the town for the ancestral power base of the area and the relationship it had with Rome at the time of the Claudian annexation of Britain. As discussed in Chapter Four, Roman Dorchester's focus for depositional activity was found within one of the town's central *insulae*. It has been argued that these central *insula* shafts represented an ongoing commemoration of the foundation of the Roman town which were used over a period of two centuries (Woodward & Woodward 2004). Thus, the inhabitants (and most likely those inhabitants with which power within the towns rested) of both Dorchester and Verulamium maintained their connections to the past and events that marked the foundation of their towns (and therefore their interpretation and translation of *romanitas*) in part via structured depositional activities. These places of subterranean deposits and what these acts symbolised for the urban community changed dramatically by the end of the third century. It is argued then that depositional activities, what maintained them and what they represented, also changed as the nature of the towns shifted. Because the majority of depositional activities within these two towns were closely associated with past and present power bases within the towns they were vulnerable to socio-political changes witnessed for these urban centres.

Silchester's spatial distribution of depositional features was however entirely different with a ubiquitous patterning of activity across much of the town (see *Figure 32*). No evidence for any kind of circumscribed space for depositional activities was found by the present inquiry. When

the nature of Silchester's development over time is considered it seems that Silchester was a very different type of town than Verulamium and Dorchester where the founding and origins of these towns were referenced continuously for two centuries. As outlined in Chapter Three, Silchester's origins were very different to the other two case studies in that it was already a well developed site prior to the Roman annexation of Britain with evidence for a grid-like street pattern, dense occupation and rectangular buildings more reminiscent of Roman towns than local late Iron Age architecture (Fulford & Timby 2000). The further development of the town after the creation of the Roman province would not have been as dramatic to the local inhabitants of the town or the surrounding landscape as the creation of Roman Dorchester or Verulamium would have been as no complex settlements existed on these sites prior to Britain becoming an official part of the Empire. It is suggested that perhaps there was no need for ritual activities to be closely linked to the founding of the town (because in fact it already existed in a proto-urban state) and that depositional activities therefore were less prescriptive than those found at Dorchester and Verulamium. It has already been argued that the depositional practices of Silchester were more opportunistic than those of the other case studies in that nearly any type of subterranean place could become ritualized via the deposition of particular objects and/or bodies (see Chapter Three above). Accordingly there is no evidence for ritual shafts being used over time like those of Verulamium and Dorchester, but rather most deposits were found within pits that already existed for the collection of cess, rubbish or water. That the depositional activities of Silchester do not appear to have had any connection with the founding of the town or the basis of its leadership means that they would not have been as vulnerable to changes to the physical, social and political changes of the town. The depositional activities of Dorchester and Verulamium were vulnerable to the third century changes, however, as they were closely linked to foundation/commemoration rituals and to referencing ancestral power bases within the town and its surrounding network. As already discussed, there is evidence for the decentralisation of power and control and a shifting of taxation to the town's boundaries within Roman British towns in general during the third century. This provides further evidence as to why there was a cessation and/or changes to depositional behaviours within the towns of Dorchester and at the Folly Lane site of Verulamium. Economic and social control perhaps became dissipated amongst a wider range of people and groups and thus the consistent referencing of the past and the ancestral power bases of these two towns was no longer necessary or appropriate.

It is argued that subterranean deposition could function for many different purposes and were engaged with in a number of ways by Roman Britain's urban populations. Ultimately however,

it is clear that the subterranean places of the urban and indeed the non-urban landscapes necessitated ritualisation at certain times for differing purposes. The practice of making subterranean deposits was very much a pervasive activity within Roman Britain. Indeed, these practices have prehistoric antecedents across time and place as outlined in the Introduction to this project. Furthermore, these practices continued well beyond the Roman British period with extensive evidence for similar activity being undertaken throughout the proceeding centuries (Osborne 2004).

This human urge to deposit and conceal objects and bodies within subterranean places was common to the people who occupied and used urban spaces in Roman Britain. This human urge was expressed in a range of ways and was enacted according to the nature of the urban locale and how its populations interpreted and translated their place within the Roman British landscape. Creighton (2006, p.70) neatly summarises these differences between the way the towns of Roman Britain were conceived and developed:

‘The first impression of the towns of Roman Britain is of a certain degree of uniformity: the *insula* blocks, the public buildings, the cemeteries around the outside, and the later defensive works. Yet this cursory similarity is beguiling. It masks divergent social practices that developed as the very different populations of these towns practised their varied concepts of what it was to be ‘Roman’.

The investigation of the depositional practices of the three main case studies demonstrates how variations and similarities in ‘social practices’ can be read for certain social processes. In particular it has been argued above that one of the most useful interpretations of depositional practices is how they inform descriptions of processes of consumption that were particular to different towns and different location types. Furthermore, the temporal changes to depositional practices have also been informative about the maintenance of particular hegemonic structures within the towns and how these changed over time during the Roman period.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered all of the results of analyses from Chapters Two, Three, Four and Five. In doing so the major research questions of this study have been addressed and as such it has been found that urban depositional practices were in general different from those in other location types based on the characteristics of lack of aesthetic care taken in their arrangement, a general pattern of lower numbers of objects and bodies per feature, and an

infrequency of wild species found within urban subterranean features. Once this difference had been established, inter-urban difference was discussed and it was found that the three case studies displayed different characteristics for depositional practices that were unique to each site. The major difference found was that of the patterning of spatial distribution of the features, and that in the towns of Verulamium and Dorchester, there were circumscribed areas which provided a focus for subterranean deposition. These areas, and the accompanying subterranean deposits, have been interpreted as being part of commemoration rituals that marked the founding of the town in association with powerful individuals who either were part of the creation of the town and/or responsible for creating alliances with Rome at the later Iron Age – Roman period transition. As such, these towns' depositional were vulnerable to changes in status, socio-political structures and physical changes to the urban fabric.

Another major characteristic of urban deposition was that all three towns were demonstrated to have had major changes occur to their depositional practices during the third century. These changes have been accounted for in this chapter by utilising the actor-object/body-location model which takes into account the range of interrelated factors that provided the framework for the enactment of depositional events. These interrelated factors included: granting of full citizenship to all free men by Caracalla's *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 AD (Keresztes 1970); Britain's place in the socio-political and economic flux of the empire; the construction of the third century town walls; and the posited interplay between Roman and non-Roman identities within Roman British towns that resulted in particular forms of Roman-British cultural expression. These social, political and economic structures associated with depositional events were vulnerable to change and this was particularly apparent in the results of analysis from Dorchester and Verulamium. It was also found that the apparent intensification of Silchester's depositional practices were associated with an increasing need for people to demarcate space and embed meaning into the places they inhabited via depositional traditions that were linked to past, non-Roman practices (following Fulford 2001).

It is possible then that the depositional practices that were found for the three main case studies may have functioned differently and may have also been related to different traditions and/or purposes of making subterranean deposits. This idea is discussed in the following chapter as a suggestion for future study. The following chapter provides the conclusion to this project and discusses the limitations of this study along with suggestions for future study.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The comprehensive nature of the database of this project has allowed for the analysis of a number of issues that have been raised in other research regarding the subterranean deposits of Roman Britain. This study has contributed to research surrounding depositional practices, and most significantly, has filled a void that was identified in the literature review outlined in the Introduction to this project. Although it had previously been recognised that depositional practices may have had a discrete form in urban locations of Roman Britain (Fulford 2001) this project has empirically demonstrated that this was the case. It has also been found that within the range of characteristics that were identified as common to urban depositional practices, there were also inter-urban differences.

It has been argued that these differences in depositional practices between location types and between urban centres can be accounted for firstly by considering the fundamental logic of these events. Critically, it is claimed that the making of purposeful deposits worked to ritualise peoples' encounters with subterranean places in an effort to maintain order between the known, lived-in world on the earth's surface, and the lesser known world beneath. By employing an actor-object/body-location model it has been possible to explain depositional variation between different locations because each location type would have had its own social, economic and cultural structures. Furthermore, local processes of production, resource control, settlement function and consumption were also taken into account in order to understand the varying nature of depositional practices. It therefore became apparent that which objects and/or bodies were available for consumption, or were meaningful for the depositional event, would have been different dependent upon locale type and its implicit processes and structures.

The agency of the actor in the depositional event was also taken into account and it was proposed that within the three main case studies there were differences based upon which people may have been enacting the deposition. Also, the people who may have witnessed the event, who may have been involved in its different facets, and for whom it may have commemorated or embedded meaning into place, were also considered. At Dorchester and Verulamium it was argued that the majority of these town's depositional events related to the

ongoing commemoration of town- founding and founders thereby working to emphasise connections between people and place over time. At Silchester, it was argued that many of the deposits were related to peoples' demarcation of space and were constructed as a means of emphasising ownership and/or habitation of a particular place. So, the fundamental need to ritualise subterranean places became an appropriate vehicle for ritualising other things about urban space and place within the towns of Roman Britain. The maintenance of particular social and political structures and ownership of, or responsibility for, particular urban places were emphasised via the embedding of meaning into subterranean features of the case studies. These key interpretations were based on the results of statistical analysis of databases of subterranean features from each location type. These results were tested by closer examination of the three case studies of Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium.

Differences between urban depositional practices and depositional practices of other location types

The first two research questions which were addressed by the analyses of this thesis were:

1. Were subterranean depositional practices different within urban centres as compared to other location types (non-urban, sacred precinct and Roman military sites)?
2. If urban depositional practices were generally different to those outside of urban areas what can account for those differences?

These research questions were addressed via a methodology outlined in Chapter One whereby the characteristics of each location's subterranean features were assessed according to: the types of objects and bodies deposited; the feature type (pit, shaft, well or deposit under a building or other structure); the dating of features; and the presence or absence of aesthetic concern with the feature and arrangement of the feature's depositional contents. Following these analyses, interpretations of apparent differences between urban depositional practices and depositional practices of other location types were made by applying an actor-object/body-location model. This model allowed for an interpretation that accounted for inter-location variation based on a number of interrelated factors.

The key characteristics of urban depositional practices were found to be: a general lack of complexity compared to features from non-urban locations and sacred precincts; a lack of concern with the aesthetics of the feature and the arrangement of its depositional contents;

domestic species deposition was common, particularly dog; an almost complete absence of wild species deposition apart from the common deposition of corvids at Dorchester; the almost complete absence of horse and pig deposition; human infant deposition was relatively common but human adult deposition was not common; and pottery deposition was very significant and was often found to the exclusion of any other object type. Many of these characteristics were statistically different from patterns of depositional behaviour found at the other location types. However, there were similarities between location types as well, and these were largely based on the consistent appearance of pottery and dog across all feature types from all location types.

The analysis of the subterranean features from the 13 urban centres investigated Chapter Two and the three main case studies of Silchester, Dorchester and Verulamium resulted in this pattern of difference which substantiated the claim that there was a particular form of urban depositional practice in Roman Britain. The distinctions found between urban depositional practices and those from other location types has been accounted for by considering processes of production and consumption and that each location type had its own socio-economic and political structures. Thus, the presence of towns within the landscape meant a range of different processes of production and consumption and specific forms of socio-cultural relationships existed that were distinct from those in other location types. The 'Roman town' was a physical and political entity distinct to the settlements outside of its boundaries. The urban form and its social and political structures thus affected how people interacted with space and place. Therefore, how the ritualisation of subterranean places was enacted within the towns was informed by the social, economic and political structures that were unique to the urban system.

Inter-urban differences in depositional practices

The third research question which was addressed by the analyses of this thesis was:

3. Were there differences between individual town's depositional practices? If so, what can account for those differences?

This question was addressed by the same methodology which was applied to analysing the subterranean features for patterns of similarity and difference between the other urban centres and other location types carried out in Chapter Two. In order to investigate the

appearance of inter-urban difference in depositional practices the three case studies of Silchester, Roman Dorchester and Verulamium were analysed in order to test the emerging patterns of inter-urban difference which had been found in Chapter Two. Furthermore, in addition to the analyses of object/body type deposited, feature type, dating of feature and presence/absence of aesthetic concern with the feature and the arrangement of its depositional contents, analysis of each town's spatial distribution of subterranean features was also undertaken in Chapters Three, Four and Five. Difference in spatial distribution of depositional features within the three case studies was found to be one of the greatest variations between towns in terms of this type of ritual behaviour.

The results of the analyses of depositional practices have shown how the nature of urbanism affected how people interacted with subterranean places. This effect – that is, how the social, economic and political structures of a place of human habitation had a reflexive relationship with space and infrastructure – was observed at the inter-urban level. Each case study had unique depositional characteristics which fell within the range of common urban depositional practices. In particular, how depositional features were spatially distributed was unique for each town. Therefore, by applying the actor-object/body-location model it was found that the modes of urban depositional practices at each town were informed by social, political and economic structures present.

Patterns of change over time within the depositional practices of each town were also accounted for by considering changing social, political and economic structures. Britain's place within the wider context of the Roman Empire was also taken into account. It became apparent throughout the final analyses and discussion that as Britain developed and changed as a province of Rome over the centuries, so too did the towns necessarily change. Changes to depositional practices were found to have occurred in all of the case studies during the third century. These changes were considered in relation to a range of other evidence in order to interpret diversions in depositional practices within the wider context of town, and of Britain as a province of Rome.

Reading urban depositional practices for processes of urbanisation and socio-cultural change in Roman Britain

The final research question which was addressed by the analyses and final interpretations of this study was:

4. As a result of addressing research questions 1., 2. and 3., how can depositional practices be utilised as a method for reading processes of urbanisation and cultural change in Roman Britain?

This study of urban depositional practices has been a useful medium for considering broader changes to processes of urbanisation within the landscape of Roman Britain. It has been shown that patterns of spatial distribution of these features and changes to depositional practices over time were concomitant with other changes to the social, political and economic structures of the town. There were found to be two interrelated factors associated with inter-urban difference based upon the characteristics of depositional practices. These were the differing spatial distributions of subterranean features within the three case studies and the changing nature of depositional practices during the third century. These patterns of spatial distribution and shifts in depositional practices during the third century were linked to social, economic and political structures within the town utilising supporting evidence such as: the building of third century town walls (for all case studies, as discussed in Chapter Six); dietary and environmental evidence suggestive of socio-economic zones within Dorchester (Grimm 2008); increasing levels of infant mortality and generally increasing levels of malnutrition and trauma in Dorchester's cemeteries from the late third century onwards (Redfern & DeWitte 2011; Redfern, Millard & Hamlin 2012); the cessation of use of the Folly Lane site at Verulamium and the implications this had for the probable ending of ruling dynasty in the area (following Creighton 2006); major changes to Silchester's alignment and infrastructure during the third century and appropriation of the basilica by metal-workers around this time; and other historical and theoretical data surrounding Britain's position within the Roman Empire during the third century (as discussed in detail in Chapter Six).

The fundamental interpretation that has been made by this thesis then is that the nature of urban development was unique to each location (following Laurence, Esmonde Cleary & Sears 2011; Creighton 2006). What constituted a 'Roman town' and how this idea was conceived, perceived and lived-in at the point of the planning and origins of the town, and throughout its proceeding centuries of development and occupation, were translated differently at each

urban location. The Roman town in Britain was at the intersection of pre-existing relationships between people and place. Pre-existing social relationships and relationships to place impacted on the future development of the town (see Rogers 2008 on the importance of religious place in the development of Roman towns, and Creighton 2006). Accordingly, modes of depositional practices, although conforming to a general pattern of urban traditions as demonstrated by the analyses of this study, were affected by different relationships to place. At Verulamium and Dorchester, the analysis of patterns of depositional practices has enhanced other research which has suggested that particular places in and around these towns functioned in order to emphasise relationships to the immediately preceding pre-Roman past and the founding of the towns. These suggestions have been substantiated by this project's results of analysis which have traced the cessation and/or change to depositional practices, which have been associated with commemoration of the past origins and power structures of the town, during the third century. As discussed in detail in Chapter Six, these temporally defined changes to depositional practices coincided with major shifts to the social, political and physical shape of the towns under consideration.

At Silchester, this type of evidence was absent, and so far it has been argued here that this was because the pre-Roman site of Silchester was already well-developed in a proto-urban form prior to the Claudian annexation of AD 43. Therefore, commemoration of the origins of the town of Silchester was not appropriate or necessary at this site. Silchester's growth during the Roman period would not have been as a dramatic change to the landscape and local social groups of Britain as the development of Verulamium and Dorchester would have been. It was found however, that there was an apparent intensification of depositional practices from the third century onwards and these have been linked to broader changes to the town at this time. In the changing climate of the third century, the people of Silchester ritualised subterranean places as a vehicle for embedding meaning into their immediate landscape and to closely define property boundaries and place as argued in Chapter Three. As suggested by Fulford (2001, p.218), these depositional practices provided a link to the past and referenced a non-Roman/rural mentality in order to assert a sense of place that was affected by the realignment and changes to the town during the third century.

Limitations and constraints

One of the major limitations of this study was that more towns could not be investigated at the same level that Verulamium, Dorchester and Silchester were. However, the purpose of the analyses of the case studies was to test the patterns of depositional difference and similarity that emerged from the analysis of the other urban centres and other location types in Chapter Two. If closer analysis could have been undertaken of other towns, London, Caerwent and Wroxeter would have been appropriate because of the higher numbers of subterranean features found there compared to other smaller towns. The other limiting factor of this study was the nature of antiquated archaeological investigation of Silchester (outside of *Insula IX* and *Insula IV*) where lack of precise dating and recording techniques has meant that there were probably many more subterranean features with evidence for purposeful deposition than currently known (Fulford 2001).

Suggestions for future study

It was suggested in the conclusion to Chapter Six that the findings of this project for the changes observed in urban depositional behaviours during the third century could be used to investigate the possibility that different types of depositional behaviour might be related to different functions or desired outcomes of the depositional event. The majority of subterranean features of Dorchester and Verulamium were found to have been located within circumscribed areas of a sacred and/or commemorative nature. Furthermore, the majority of features within these locations had been defined by the research as shafts. These shafts were then found to have ceased to be used for depositional purposes, or at least to have had major shifts in which objects/bodies were deposited in them, during the third century. Closer analysis of differences between shafts, pits and wells along with systematic analysis of the particular objects/bodies deposited within them would contribute to studies of depositional practices and processes of urban change of Roman Britain.

Another line of inquiry that was not able to be investigated within the confines of this thesis was the presence and/or nature of depositional behaviours within villa complexes of Roman Britain. In order to investigate the claim of continuity of a 'rural mentality' (Fulford 2001, p.218) an overview of depositional practices at villa complexes would be necessary. Although this thesis has provided analyses of non-urban and sacred precinct depositional practices, an

overview of similar practices from villa complexes would broaden the investigation of rural practices in general. If these depositional practices within towns such as Silchester are representative of 'links to the past' and demonstrate a continuing mindset from the past (and therefore the 'countryside') then they should be apparent in the non-urban landscape not only from the later Iron Age but into the Roman period as well. Villas represent a particular architectural form in the landscape of Britain that expressed power and status via the embodiment of *romanitas* (Adams 2009). Furthermore, if depositional practices were a common feature of villas then these practices could provide further comparative evidence for practices within urban centres. The relationship between urban and extra-urban and rural areas in Roman Britain continues to be an area of debate and speculation (for example Hodder & Millett 1980; Jones 1987; Perring 2002; Reece 1980; Walthew 1975; Willis 2007). Further systematic investigation of depositional practices could contribute to this area of research by focusing on the types of objects/bodies that were available for or appropriate for consumption at villa sites in these types of ritual activity and how these related to processes of agricultural production, resource ownership and trade within urban centres and other non-urban settlements. An analysis of this kind would also require addressing issues surrounding the distribution of wealth and status within rural areas of Roman Britain and the multiplicity of site types situated within the non-urban landscape (for example Dumayne-Peaty & Barber 1997; Gardner 2008; Livarda 2013; Manning, Birley & Tipping 1997; Rogers 2013)

Future studies of depositional practices of Roman Britain along these two lines of inquiry would provide further empirical bases for addressing the issues of cultural change and urbanism. As highlighted by Laurence, Esmonde Cleary & Sears (2011, p.2) 'Much, or even too much, has been written on the subject of Romanisation; but, intriguingly, very little has been said about the role of the city in the process of cultural change'. Focusing on urban depositional practices within this project has highlighted the unique nature of each town and how its development and inhabitants' perceptions of urbanity were changeable over time and space. Investigation of how different types of subterranean features and accompanying deposits were enacted temporally and spatially is a useful method for more closely describing processes of urbanisation in Roman Britain, and how the emergence of the urban form within the landscape affected peoples' relationship to place and to each other. Furthermore, the results and methods of this project could now be applied to research into subterranean depositional features from prehistoric periods. Analysing the complex interaction between actors, objects, place and modes of production and consumption was a major methodological

approach of this study. This model would be useful as a means of reading subterranean depositional practices for social and economic relationships of pre-Roman Britain.

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APPENDIX 1:

SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF

ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

Number	Category	Location	Context	Type	Dimensions	Dating	Pottery	Other Vessels	Animal Remains	Human Remains	Metal	Coins	Personal Objects	Botanical	Stone Objects	Other	Reference	Notes
1	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1019	Pit			Pot x 2										Eckardt 2006	
2	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1020	Pit			Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
3	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Well 1170	Well		Late Roman		Pierced pewter flagon							Ogham stone		Eckardt 2006	
4	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1246	Pit			Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
5	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Well 1300	Well			Complete pierced flagon. Vessel (flagon?)										Eckardt 2006	
6	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1384	Pit					dog, fully articulated skeleton								Eckardt 2006	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

7	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1463. Located west of Building 1	Pit			Complete beaker . Complete flagon.										Eckardt 2006	
8	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1513	Pit			Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
9	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1576	Pit			Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
10	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1611	Pit					Dog x 1	Infant x 1							Eckardt 2006	
11	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1634	Pit			Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
12	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1702	Pit					Dog x 1								Eckardt 2006	
13	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1707	Pit						Infant x 2			Coin , Tetri cus I, AD2 71-280				Eckardt 2006	
14	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1992	Pit			Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
15	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 2087	Pit			Pot x 1		Dog x 1								Eckardt 2006	
16	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 2596	Pit			Pot x 2		Dog x 1								Eckardt 2006	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

17	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 2900	Pit					Dog x 1								Eckardt 2006	
18	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 2921	Pit					Dog x 1								Eckardt 2006	
19	Urban	Silchester	Pit 3235				3 x vessels , almost complete		Dog x 5	Infant x 2-3							Eckardt 2006	Located next to Building 1. Evidence of cess and rubbish
20	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 3251	Pit			Pot x 1	Jars most common vessel type	Dog x 4	Infant x 2						Glass bead	Eckardt 2006	Located next to Building 1. Evidence of cess and rubbish
21	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Building 1	under building foundations						Infant							Eckardt 2006	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

22	Urban, classical temple	Wroxeter	South of forum facing Watling St	under SE angle of ambulatory wall		later 2nd Century AD	pot containing sheep and ox bones		sheep and ox bones in pot									Green 1976	
23	Urban, classical shrine	Wroxeter	SE of baths	Ritual pits ?														Green 1976	
24	Urban, classical temple ?	Lincoln		Ritual pits ?														Ross 1968, cited in Green 1976	
25	Urban, Roman- Celtic temple	Kenchester		under temple			Pot with lid											Green 1976	
26	Urban, Roman House	Gloucester	Eastgate Street	pit under house			complete cook- pot with lid											Green 1976	
27	Urban	Gloucester	New Market Hall	Pit		first half 2nd century	pot, tazza											Green 1976	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

28	Extra-urban, Romano-Celtic temple, in temenos	Caerwent		Pits and wells					ox skulls 5 x dog skulls	human skulls	decorated plate					Stone figure 'mother goddess'		Green 1976	
29	Urban	London	Walbrook	Ritual pits ?						human skulls								Green 1976	
30	Urban	London	Elephant and Castle	Ritual deposit					dog x 2							2nd century pot in wooden box		Green 1976	
31	Urban	London	Cnr Queen St and Queen Victoria St	Well		late 1st century			skull of ?									Green 1976	
32	Urban house	London	Nicholas Lane	Foundation deposit			pot											Green 1976	
33	Urban	London	Lothbury	Shaft			Complete vessels											Green 1976	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

34	Urban	London	Royal Exchange	Shaft													Green 1976	
35	Extra- Urban	Verulamium	King Harry Lane site Pit 18	Pit		Mid 3rd century	Complete bowl, complete funnel, complete dish & sherds of 13 other kitchen vessels					denarius of Caracalla					Stead & Rigby 1989	Interpreted as possible ritual of closure
36	Urban, Roman tilery site	Brampton, Cumberland		Pit		100-125AD					More than 60 pieces of ironwork: ploughshare, scythe, hoe, chains, buckets, wheels, cart fittings, hooks						Ross 1968	Many of the pieces had been bent in two

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

37	Urban	Caerwent	Well 1, House VIII N	Well	Depth 27 ft., Width 3 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in.		pottery		cattle bones		bucket parts	coin x 3		Charred oak, hazel nuts	Glass fragment		Ross 1968	
38	Urban	Caerwent	Well 2, east of house VI N	Well	Depth 25 ft. 6 in., Width 2 ft. 4 in. to 3 ft.		pottery sherds		several ox skulls	two to three fragments human skull	bucket fragments						Ross 1968	
39	Urban	Caerwent	Well 2a east of house VIII N	Well					dog skulls x 5								Ross 1968	
40	Urban	Caerwent	Well 2b near house IX	Well					large dog skull								Ross 1968	
41	Urban	Caerwent	Well 3 in courtyard of House VII N	Well			pottery	pewter jug at bottom of well	cattle rib		decorated pewter plate with a square framed wheel						Ross 1968	
42	Urban	Caerwent	Well 4								iron tools				seated figure		Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

43	Non-urban ditched enclosure	Ashill, Norfolk	Shaft 1, within inner enclosure	Shaft	3 ft. 6 in. square, Depth 40 ft.		pottery and samian sherds at different depths. At 19 ft. and below in symmetrical arrangements, 100 urns, 50 complete		ox, deer and pig bones, oyster and mussel shells, boar's tusk, pieces of antler at different depths		bronze bow-shaped fibula, iron knife			Urn had been packed in hazel leaves and nuts and oak leaves	shaft base was flint paved		Ross 1968	The enclosure was made up of one large, ditched square of 10 acres, and a smaller ditched enclosure within.
44	Non-urban ditched enclosure	Ashill, Norfolk	Shaft 2, within inner enclosure	Shaft			urn x 2	bottle	cattle skull, red deer antlers						base lined with flints, smooth stones x 2		Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

45	Non-urban ditch enclosure	Ashill, Norfolk	Pit, within inner enclosure	Pit			pottery sherds		goat skull, pig skull, ox skull, deer bones								Ross 1968	
46	Roman fort	Bar Hill, Dunbartonshire	Within the <i>praetorium</i> of Roman fort on Antonine Wall	Well	Depth 43 ft., Width, 4ft.				red deer antlers and hoofs, ox and sheep scapulae, oyster shells			many iron objects, bag of tools inside large amphora		Oak pieces, pieces of squared oak, hazel nuts, hawthorn twigs	piece of inscribed tablet, inscribed altar	capitals and bases	Ross 1968	
47	Roman fort	Bar Hill, Dunbartonshire	Pit 1, within the Roman fort on Antonine Wall	Pit		4th/5th century AD								wooden object, oak stakes x 3 - one passing through the spokes of the wheel		Chariot wheel including iron tyre	Ross 1968, Hingley 2006	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

48	Non-urban	Bekesbourne, Kent		Shaft	3 ft. 3 in. square, Depth 25 ft approx.		Roman o - British urn near bottom of shaft, beneath a layer of flints another five urns maybe containing calcified bone		horses teeth in circular formation on stone that covered the shaft base					structure was lined with oak on four sides and covered by oak planks	Large flints layered between urn deposits		Ross 1968		the five urns were placed at the four corners of the structure with one in the middle
49	Non-urban	Biddenham, Bedfordshire	In a field, 300 ft. from the River Ouse	Shaft	Width 2 ft. 9 in. Depth 37 ft.		Sherds from approx. 50 Roman urns		fox, pig, dog, ox, rat, fox and horse bones, nails and tusks from boar	human skeleton					broken stone slab with crane incised on it, broken statue of male figure	leather sandal sole	Ross 1968		

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

50	Non-urban	Birchington, Kent	Minnis Bay	Shaft, circular	Width 2 ft. 7 in., Depth 32 ft.				several hundred unopened oyster shells deposited within the final 18 in. of the shaft, horse's skull at 30 ft., ox and horse remains for 1st 27 ft.					pieces of oak found with horse's skull at 30 ft.	pierced round sandstone slab at 27 ft.		Ross 1968		A 'Roman' no-British pit dwelling' was excavated at approximately 7 yards from shaft
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APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

51	Non-urban	Bossens, St Erth, Cornwall	NW corner of 'sub-rectangular earth work	Shaft	Depth 36 ft.				horns and bones		metal patera dedicated to Mars at 18 ft., metal jug at 24 ft., steel weight, double handled metal patera			half-burnt sticks	meal-stone'	multiple leather pieces	Ross 1968	
52	Villa	Brislington, Bristol		Shaft	Width 5 ft., Depth 38 ft.		samian sherds, black pottery sherds, some almost complete pots	some nearly complete metal vessels	bones of ?	human skulls x 3	bronze objects		wooden comb				Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

53	Roman fort	Carrawburgh, Northumberland	Coven-tina's Well, beside the fort of <i>Brocolitia</i>	Well	Depth 7 ft.		samian ware			human skull	many bronze objects including a dog and horse, shrine bells	13 000 coins AD 41 - 383	brooches and pins		24 complete altars - some dedicated to Conventina		Ross 1968, p263.	Two of the altars included a ring attachment at the <i>focus</i> for 'suspension or immersion into the sacred well'
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APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

54	Non-urban	Crayford, Kent	In a chalk pit	dene-hole	42 ft. 6 in.	Pre-Roman and Roman	coarse pottery, 150 vessels represented by 12 in. layer of sherds, upper layers contained samian ware		young animal bones, oyster shells		pieces of iron						Ross 1968	upper deposits of pottery Roman and lower deposits probably pre-Roman
55	Non-urban	Darenth, Kent	open field	pit	3 ft.	Roman	large urn, samian dish, red goblet				iron lampstead				large flints packed pit		Ross 1968, http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1086234	
56	Non-urban	Dunstable, Bedfordshire	at Sewell near Maidsen Bower	Shaft	120 ft.	Roman	pottery		animal bones	human bones		coins may be			sandstone slabs	Roman tiles	Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

57	Roma no- Britis h temp le	Jordon Hill, Somerse t		Well	Depth 14ft.	Roma n	Roman urn x 2 resting on cist at well base. Ano ther cist was found at the mid- point and contai ned iron objects .		Above the cist was a stratu m with a double layer of tiles in pairs in with a bird and coin betwe en each. Above this anoth er stratu m with layers of ash, birds enclos ed in tiles and coins. Birds were starlin g, raven, crow and buzzar d		Iron broad sword, long iron pieces x 2, iron knife, iron spearhea d, steelyard. Another cist at the mid-point had a iron sword and spearhea d and urn				Two oblo ng slabs form ed a cist at well base		Ross 1968	
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APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

58	Non-urban	Kidlington, Oxfordshire	NE of the church, within a quarry	Shaft		Roman	small Roman urn at base of shaft under a stone. Red and white pottery sherds.					Many coins					
59	Non-urban	Greenhithe, Kent	Located in a chalk pit	Shaft	35ft.		Samian sherds, coarse pottery sherds		bones of birds, deer, pig, ox, horse and a cattle horn	human skeleton on x 3 placed on the base of shaft	iron nails, iron key, iron hoop fragment						
60	Non-urban	Felixstowe, Sussex	Located at cliffs, approx. 1 mile N. of Felixstowe	Shaft		Roman	Roman Vessel - acorns inside									Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

61	Urban	Wroxeter	Well 1	Well	Approx. 50 ft.	Roman	large amount of potshe rds		large amount of bones								Ross 1968	
62	Urban	Wroxeter	Well 2	Well	28 ft.	Roman	potshe rds in upper most 5 ft., large pot in lower section of well		ox bones		iron axe				coarse stones in uppermost 5 ft., large stones - some worked - in lower section of well	tiles	Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

63	Urban	Wroxeter	Well 3	Well	12 ft. 6 in.		3 x complete pots located at the base of well with some 'flat pieces of oak'				bronze tweezers, single coin, iron nails and two knife blades of iron			some 'flat pieces of oak' at base of well in context with 3 complete pots			Ross 1968	
64	Urban	Silchester	Insula I	Pit		Roman					60 iron objects within lower section of pit. At approx. 5 ft. iron bars x 2 and a sword blade broken in half						Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

65	Non-urban	Heywood, Wiltshire	Westbury Iron Works	Well			Large amount of pottery fragments		cattle skull, horse skull with pierced cheek bone	human skull pieces x 4							Ross 1968	
66	Non-urban	Ipswich, Suffolk	Shaft 1	Shaft	Depth, more than 29 ft.		Fragment of Romano-British pottery		Piece of preserved hair - possibly hare, badger or rabbit							Shaft had a finished clay surface	Ross 1968	
67	Non-urban	Ipswich, Suffolk	Shaft 2, 3 yards W.S.W. of Shaft 1	Shaft	Depth, more than 66 ft.				similar piece of hair from shaft 1 found at 20 ft.		fragments of silver sheeting x 2 found at point where shaft entered chalk bed				cylinder of finished marble, towards base of shaft lined with chalk flints	'pillar' of clay with black pebbles in surface located in centre of shaft, brick fragments	Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

68	Non-urban	Isle of Thanet, Kent	Between Reading and St Peter's St	Pit	Depth, 11 ft., Width 30-40 ft.		Amount of Romano-British pottery				iron nail				Flint spear head, flint flakes throughout fill		Ross 1968	
69	Non-urban	Northfleet, Kent	Between Northfleet and Swanscombe	Oval chamber, connected to surface via a shaft	Diameter of chamber 27ft. 6in. by 20ft. Depth of chamber 9ft., depth of shaft approximated to have been around 37 ft.	Pottery dated to between mid 1st century to mid 2nd century AD, 8 groups of pottery sherds located in W. section	Pottery fragments, complete 'pear-shaped' pot in context with horse's skull,		Dog, horse, badger, fox, sheep, bird bones and teeth deposited in distinct arrangements						worked flints x 41	roof tiles	Ross 1968	the animal remains appear to have been disarticulated and placed in different sections of the chamber in distinct groups

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

70	Non-urban	Plumstead, Kent		dene-hole, leading to cavity in chalk	Dene-hole depth 30ft., Cavity depth, 30ft.		upchurch urns x 7-8 at base of cavity, potshe rds in fill		animal bones in fill, oyster shells at base		iron knife and iron bell at base						Ross 1968	
71	Non-urban	Purberry Shot, Ewell, Surrey		shaft	Depth approx . 42ft.	Mortarium dated to around 120 AD	substantial amounts of pottery, a few near complete vessels , near-complete mortar ium				fragment of iron brooch - probably pre-Roman, iron knife, iron razor, iron blade and other objects of iron					Shaft was lined with chalk blocks from entrance to around 9ft. Deep	Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

72	Non-urban	Rotherfield Peppard, Oxfordshire		Pit	Depth 50-60ft.		Roman o-British urns x 2		Head of stag						hazel nuts, an amount of complete oak tree trunks		Ross 1968, http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1035064	
73	Non-urban	Sandwich, Kent	Hilltop	Chamber and shaft	Chamber depth 4ft., 3in., shaft 71ft.	Shaft dated to around 100 A.D.	In chamber: samian and RB sherds. In shaft at base: fragments of belgic jar plus large vessel x 2		animal bones in shaft								Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

74	Non-urban	Sandwich, Kent	Hilltop, 44 ft. N. of chamber and shaft	Pit			Sherds from approx. 50 Roman urns		horse, sheep/goat and ox bones, deer antlers, horse teeth								Fragment of pipe-clay Venus figurine	Ross 1968	
75	Non-urban	Sandwich, Kent	Hilltop	Pit			pottery											Ross 1968	
76	Non-urban	Stone, Buckinghamshire		Shaft	In excess of 19ft.		cinerary urn fragments, 12 various urns		large animal bones, skull, horn and teeth of an ox	human bones in cinerary urns	bronze ring x 2, iron bucket			burnt oak and beech				Ross 1968	
77	Non-urban	Wellingborough, Northamptonshire		Pit			Several Roman <i>ollae</i> , one being complete		deer bones									Ross 1968	Pit was lined with limestone

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

78	Urban	Winchester, Hampshire	Within the Barracks, the shaft was within a series of pits	Shaft	Approx. 130 ft.		RB pottery		oyster shells and animal bones									Ross 1968	
79	Non-urban	Winterbourne, Kingston, Dorset	Shaft 1 in a group of 2	Shaft	Deeper than 70ft.		small complete pot, large amounts of sherds including samian, grey and brown wares and hard black				large amount of iron nails							Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

80	Non-urban	Winterbourne, Kingston, Dorset	Shaft 2 in a group of 2	Shaft	85ft.		large amounts of pottery fragments	Purbuck marble vase	oyster shells, sheep, dog, ox and pig bones		embossed hare on sheet metal fragment, iron nails, bronze fibulae, iron nails	coins	ornamental objects		quern fragment	glass fragments	Ross 1968	
81	Non-urban	Wolfhamcote, Warwickshire		Shaft	In excess of 45 ft.		grey ware urns - at least 12 complete										Ross 1968	
82	Non-urban	Wychford, Oxfordshire	Hilltop, near a spring in Slate Pit Copse	Shaft			Samian sherds and grey sherds		horns and bones of cattle, sheep and boar bones, oyster shells								Ross 1968	Shaft was lined with stones

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

83	Roma no- Celtic ritual comp lex	Marcha m/Frilfor d, Oxfodshi re	Within SE corner of <i>temen os</i> , <i>Trench 14</i>	Pit			Potter y		Sheep skulls, cattle skulls, animal bone									Kamash, Gosden & Lock, 2010	pit is descri bed as ' <i>faviss a</i> ' like
84	Roma no- Celtic ritual comp lex	Marcha m/Frilfor d, Oxfodshi re	within a 'squer e stone- built shrine aligne d on earlier Iron Age pits', betwe en the semi- amphi theatr e and the <i>temen os</i>	Well							iron hob nails , 20 copp er- alloy coin s of RB date							Kamash, Gosden & Lock, 2010, p.118	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

85	Roma no- Celtic ritual comp lex	Marcha m/Frilfor d, Oxfodshi re	From Trenc h 21, at the S. sectio n of site	Pit or Well			Roman pot - nearly compl ete						Leath er Roma n shoe				Kamash, Gosden & Lock, p118	It is noted that there were 8 'differ ent fills' identif ied
86	Urba n	Silcheste r	<i>Insula</i> II	Pit					Compl ete dog skelet on								Fulford, 2001 (Fox 1892, 288)	
87	Urba n	Silcheste r	Pit R, <i>Insula</i> 1	pit					A numb er of dog skulls								Fulford 2001	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

88	Urban	Silchester	Insula V, forum - basilica, in the area between N. end of forum and the east-west street	pit				flask/ bottle necks x 39										Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 561)	
89	Urban	Silchester	Insula V, forum - basilica, in the area between N. end of forum and the east-west street	pit			pottery fragments				small figurine of bronze - infant Hercules? , iron screw							Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 561)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

90	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> V, forum - basilica, in the area between N. end of forum and the east-west street	Well			incomplete pot x 3, complete pot x 2			iron weight, bronze handle, steelyard weight							Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 561)	
91	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IV, beneath Forum floor	deposit beneath building					dog skull x 4, spurs from gamecocks	knife blade - small							Fulford 2001 (Joyce 1881, 355)	
92	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IV, beneath courtyard of forum	Well	15 ft. (extent of excavation)		pottery fragments		sheep and pig bones, assemblage dominated by dog bones	iron stylus				large amount of flints at base			Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 544)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

93	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IV, beneath courtyard of forum	Pit or Well					cattle jaw bone x 2								Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 544)	
94	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IV, W. of church, S. of forum	Well				pewter cups, conical in shape x 3				coins of Victorinus x 3			large flints	fragments of <i>opus signum</i>	Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 544)	
95	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXI	Pit				black mugs x 3, pseudo-samian vessels x 2, black dish									Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 97)	
96	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXI	Pit				coarse vessels x 5, fine but ordinary vessels x 4									Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 97)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

97	Urban	Silchester	Insula XXI	Pit						adult male femur, leg bones, skull fragment							Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 111)	
98	Urban	Silchester	Insula IV	Well						child (aged 12-14yrs) skull and arm bones							Fulford 2001 (Hope 1906, 161, 165)	
99	Urban	Silchester	Insula I, 2 ft. S. of House 2				pottery vessel containing infant bones			infant bones in pottery vessel							Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1891, 743)	
100	Urban	Silchester	Insula XXI, Pit JJ, within House 4 - possibly pre-dating it	Pit	Depth 15ft - extent of excavation		large amount of pottery fragments, pseudo-samian vases x 3	glass vessel fragment									Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 95, 108-110)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

101	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXI, Pit A, House 1, Chamber 5 - possibly predating it	pit					Complete pig skull								Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 89)	
102	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXI, well in Chamber 6, House 4	Well	18 ft.	complete vessels x 7											Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 94-5)	
103	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXI, S. of House 1	Well	9 ft.	complete earthenware jugs x 4											Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900. 96-7)	
104	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXII, Pit 16	Pit		complete pots x 9											Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 32)	
105	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXII, Pit 24	Pit		complete vessels x 6											Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 32)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

106	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXII, Pit 8	well		complete pots with plant contents x 2, pot containing plant remains x 1						flange-edge d pewter plate, pewter bucket - large		plant remains found in the two complete pots		stone from partition section of House 5	Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 32, 35)	
107	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IX	well		very large black jug									flint filled		Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 101)	
108	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXIII, Pit 10	pit	Depth 15 ft.							armour hinges and bosses, bronze plate					Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1901, 244-6)	
109	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXIII, Pit 14	pit	Depth 17 ft.	globular clay vessel with two handles, vessels x 12											Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1901, 246)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

110	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXIII, Pit 17	pit	Depth 11 ft.										cultivated plants including grape and fig		Fulford 2001 (Reid 1901, 252)	
111	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXIII, Pit 30, House 2, Room 1	pit	finds at 22ft.	jugs x 2, pot x 5											Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1901, 246)	
112	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, Pit 6	pit			pewter jug				complete axehead, iron tyres from a pair of wheels						Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 32)	
113	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, Pit 15	pit		pots with plant contents x 3											Fulford 2001 (Reid 1902, 35)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

114	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, Pit 17	pit		black pot at base with plant contents											Fulford 2001 (Reid 1902, 36)	
115	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, Pit 21	pit		large amount of pottery fragments, 2 whole vessels											Fulford 2001 (Hope1902, 26)	
116	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, Pit 25	Well		inscribed black pot, dish of samian ware, Caister ware vase					iron hook, iron staple and from a small barrel and iron hoop						Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902,32)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

117	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, House 1, room 10, northern corner	deposited beneath building		pots embedded in floor, mouths 'flush' with surface			bird bones								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 19-20)	
118	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, House 1, eastern side of room 11	deposited beneath building		pots x 3, pots embedded in floor, mouths 'flush' with surface			young lamb bones								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 19-20)	
119	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XII or XXII	pit					cat skull at pit base								Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 111)	
120	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> V	pit					cat bones								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1906, 165)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

121	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXXIII, Well A	well	17ft.				horse skull, ox skulls, sheep skulls								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1903, 423)	
122	Urban	Silchester	unknown	trench?					small fish (maybe a carp), without head or tail, inside a black pot covered by a large flint, four vertebrae of fish found next to the pot								Fulford 2001 (Fox 1892, 285)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

123	Urban	Silchester	Insula XVI	pit					Large amount of sheep scapulae with multiple perforations made by a centre-bit								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1897, 421-2)	Interpreted as the waste from bone ring manufacture
124	Urban	Silchester	Insula XXXVI	pit					cattle horn-cores x 60								Fulford 2001 (1909, 480)	Interpreted as the waste from leather-working
125	Urban	Silchester	Insula VI	pit					lower mandibles of cattle representing at least 2,500 individuals								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1906, 156, 165-7)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

126	Urban	London	South wark, F17	pit		late 2nd century	complete, or near-complete vessels x 8 (including three incense pots)									Venus' figurine and one other possible 'Venus' figurine - both missing their heads and feet	Fulford 2001 (Dennis 1978, 304-7)	
127	Urban	London	South wark, F28	pit		late 2nd century	large amount of complete pots 'dumped' in one event, a whole beaker pierced in base	an almost complete vessel of glass	complete dog skeletons								Fulford 2001 (Merrifield 1987, 49)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

128	Urban	London	South wark, F29	pit		late 2nd century			complete dog skeletons								Fulford 2001 (Merrifield 1987, 49)	
129	Urban	London	South wark, F30	pit		late 2nd century	smith urn', 'incense pot' x 5									fragments of 'lamp chimneys'	Fulford 2001 (Merrifield 1987, 49)	
130	Urban	London	Easter n cemet ary of Roman London, Plot 1	pit		Mid 2nd century	complete flagon x 2, flagon fragments		heron skeleton - almost complete in context with flagons								Fulford 2001 (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 14-16)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

131	Urban	London	Easter n cemet ary of Roma n Londo n, Plot 2	pit		Earlier than mid 2nd centu ry			purpos ely arrang ed remain s of an adult horse, a dog, and a juvenil e red deer so as to be 'nose to tail'								Fulford 2001 (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 19-20)	
132	Urban	London	Easter n cemet ary of Roma n Londo n, Plot 18	Pit or Well					compl ete articul ated skelet on of dog, burnt animal bone, fish					burn t plant rema ins domi nate d by whea t chaff			Fulford 2001 (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 36-7)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

133	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, lower slope of the hill, Shaft AET	Shaft	deposits made at intervals between mid 2nd to late 3rd century	Depth 3.4m	fragment of a possible face pot, mid/late 2nd century sherds in the butchery waste deposits		young dog bones with human cranium, parts of a puppy, butchery waste - at least 34 cattle, a bone deposit of domestic species - mainly cattle	human skull - west side of shaft base	knife						the lower portion of shaft had a fill of flints and chalk nodules mixed with clean clay	Niblett 1999	
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APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

134	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, lower slope of the hill, Shaft ABC/E 93	Shaft	deposits made at intervals between mid 2nd to late 3rd century	Depth 2.4m			ox skull x 2 centrally placed on shaft base								the lower portion of shaft had a fill of flints and chalk nodules mixed with clean clay	Niblett 1999	
135	Extra-urban, ceremonial enclosure	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Pit BJC, within W.. terminal of the ditch at the entrance to the enclosure	Pit	Early 2nd century	Depth 0.5m	smallish group of Hadrianic pottery		bones of horse - possibly representing a single individual, horn cores, cattle bones	human humerus								Niblett 1999	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

136	Extra-urban, ceremonial enclosure	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Pit C1F, within E.. terminal of the ditch at the entrance to the enclosure														Niblett 1999	The pit had no finds but was comparable in form and location to PitBJC
137	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft AAB, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 1.6m, Diameter 1.8m	late 2nd to mid 3rd century	face pot x 2		animal bones							Clay and flint fill	Niblett 1999	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

138	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly-lane site, Shaft AAE, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 3.3m, Diameter 0.8m	late 2nd to mid 3rd century	fragments of face pots, potsherds		animal bones							Clay, flint and chalk fill	Niblett 1999	
139	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft ABA, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 3.2m	late 3rd century										Clay, flint and chalk fill	Niblett 1999	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

140	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft ABZ, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 3.3m, Diameter 1.5m	late 2nd to mid 3rd century	pottery									flint and clay fill with capping of chalk	Niblett 1999	
141	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft ACG, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 5m	late 3rd century	pottery, face pot									Flint, chalk and clay fill with capping of chalk	Niblett 1999	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

142	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft ASK, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft		late 3rd century	pottery									Fill of silty clay	Niblett 1999	
143	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft BBS, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 3m, Diameter 1.5m	late 3rd century	pottery									fill of silt, clay and flints	Niblett 1999	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

144	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft CML, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth of excavation - 2m	late 3rd century	pottery, face pot									fill of silt and silty clay	Niblett 1999	
145	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft CTY, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 2.4m, Diameter 0.9m	late 2nd to mid 3rd century	pottery									fill of brown clay and loam	Niblett 1999	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

146	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft DKM, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 2m	early 2nd century	pottery										Fill in part made up of cess and silt	Niblett 1999	
147	Urban	Verulamium	Insula II, under hearth BK	deposit beneath feature		late 1st to early 2nd century							brooches x 7, bone pins, bronze fittings x 4 (belt?), phallic amulets of bone x 4					Niblett, Manning & Saunders 2006	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

148	Urban	Verulamium	site of levelled bath house	deposited beneath building		late 3rd to early 4th century	two complete pots positioned upright - one with phallic decoration										Niblett, Manning & Saunders 2006	the pots were in the matrix of the levelled bath house, beneath the new building construction
149	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 6, under building 5433	Shaft	Depth 4.2m, length 1.4m, breadth 1.2m	AD 75-120	complete vessels x 6, samian ware x 4,		bird x 4, cat x 1, dog x 17, sheep x 1, pig x 1,	human skull		coin x 1	personal object x 3				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

150	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 5	Shaft	Depth 4.8m, length 1.6m, breadth 1.6m	AD 75-120	complete coarse ware x 1, coarse ware fragment x 3, complete samian ware x 2, samian fragment x 1					coin x 6	personal object x 11			crucible	Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
151	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 13	Shaft	Depth 4.8m, length 1.3m, breadth 1.3m	AD 100-200	complete coarse ware x 6, coarse ware fragment x 3		bird remains x 4, sheep remains x 7, cat x 1, rodent x 1, small animal x 1, puppy x 4, dog x 9				personal object x 2				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

152	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 3	Shaft	Depth 4.2m, length 1.4m, breadth 1.2m	AD 75-120			bird x 2								Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
153	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 8	shaft	Depth 4m, length, 1.5m, breadth 1m	AD 150-300			bird x 1								Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
154	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 9	shaft	Depth 4, length 1.2m, width 1m	AD 150-300			dog x 3, bird x 2				personal object x 1, counter x 1				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

156	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 10	shaft	Depth 4.1m, length, 1.6m, breadth 1.3m	AD 150-300							personal object x 1				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
157	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 12	shaft	Depth 2.5m, diameter 0.9m	AD 75-120			dog x 1								Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
158	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 13	Shaft	Depth 4.8m, length 1.3m, breadth 1.3m	AD 100-200			dog x 13, sheep x 7, bird x 4, other x 3							counter x 7	Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

159	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 14	Shaft	Depth 2.7m, length 1.4, breadth 1.4	AD100-200			sheep x 1								Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
160	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 15	pool	Depth 0.2, length 4m., breadth 3m.	AD 100-200											Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
161	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 16	Shaft	Depth 4m., length 2.3, breadth 1.6	AD 150-300			bird x 4, dog x 20			coin x 1	personal object x 7			count er x 35	Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

162	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 17	Shaft	Depth 2.7m, length 1.7, breadth 1.1m	AD 150- 300			dog x 11, bird x 2				personal object x 4			count er x 2	Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
163	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 18	pit	Depth 1.7m, length 2.2m, breadth 1.6m.	AD 250- 400							personal object x 1				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
164	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 19	shaft	Depth 7.5m, length 4.5m, breadth 4.5m.	AD 350 - 450		bronze jug	animal remains x 1			coin x 2	personal object x 12				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

165	Urban	Dorchester	North-west quarter of <i>Durno varia</i> , County Hall, Colliton Park excavation, Pit 267	pit		1st century AD				adult radius fragment							Smith, 1993	Pit had been sealed by clean chalk 0.7m thick
166	Urban	Dorchester	North-west quarter of <i>Durno varia</i> , County Hall, Colliton Park excavation, Pit 523	pit		late Roman			sheep x 5								Smith, 1993	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

167	Urban	Dorchester	North-west quarter of <i>Durno varia</i> , County Hall, Colliton Park excavation, Building 572	deposit under building		late Roman				infant x 6							Smith, 1993	
168	urban	Dorchester	North-west quarter of <i>Durno varia</i> , County Hall, Colliton Park excavation	post hole(s)								copper-alloy bracelet, spindle whorl, bone pins, 'invalid feeding cup'					Smith, 1993	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

169	urban	Dorchester	former County Hospital site, Buidling 7	deposit under feature (atrium-style garden)		1st - 2nd century AD (coins found in similar context)				infant							Trevarthen, 2008	
170	Urban	Dorchester	former County Hospital site, Buidling 6	deposit under building		late 3rd to early 4th century				infant x 2							Trevarthen, 2008	
171	Urban	Dorchester	former County Hospital site, Buidling 12	deposit under building		late 3rd to early 4th century				infant x 5							Trevarthen, 2008	
172	Urban	Dorchester	former County Hospital site, Buidling 13, SW corner Room 1	pits cutting building		post-Roman				infant bones - probably redeposited							Trevarthen, 2008	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

173	Urban	Neatham	on the Silchester Rd, Pit 14	Pit/Well		2nd to mid 4th century	complete vessel x 11 - high degree of Alice Holt ware, Rhennish motto beaker		complete skeleton of a cock, goose bones x 3									Fulford 2001, (Millett and Graham 1986)	
174	Urban	Neatham	on the Silchester Rd, Pit 16	Pit/Well		2nd to mid 4th century	complete vessel x 19 - high degree of Alice Holt ware Rhennish motto beaker		dog x 5									Fulford 2001, (Millett and Graham 1986)	
175	Urban	Cirencester	Building XII, 1, east of Room XX	deposit under building			complete pot under a roof slate			infant								McWhirr 1986	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

176	Urban	Cirencester	Building XII,1, east of Room XX	pit			pottery fragments		animal bones	fragments of adult human bone - probably redeposited							McWhirr 1986	
177	Ritual complex rural	Bourton Grounds, Buckinghamshire	Ancillary building, threshold	pit		late 2nd to late 4th century AD			horse skull surrounded by oyster shells						large smooth pebble covered the horse skull		A. Smith 2001 (Green 1966)	
178	Ritual complex rural	Bourton Grounds, Buckinghamshire	Ambulatory of temple, under entranceway	deposit under building		late 2nd to late 4th century AD				almost complete adult skeleton of a male - redeposited							A. Smith 2001 (Green 1966)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

179	Ritual complex semi-rural	Brigstock, Northamptonshire	within polygonal shrine (?), Brigstock 2	pit		mid 3rd to late 4th century AD			sheep/goat with a coin in mouth - facing east, oyster shells								A. Smith 2001 (Greenfield 1963, Taylor 1963)	
180	Ritual complex semi-rural	Brigstock, Northamptonshire	within circular shrine	pit(s)		mid 3rd to late 4th century AD			ox x 7, sheep/goat x 8, fowl x 1, pig x 2, pig tooth			coin					A. Smith 2001 (Greenfield 1963, Taylor 1963)	
181	Roman-Celtic temple rural	Farley Heath, Surrey	temple in N. section of polygonal enclosure	pit		late 1st to early 5th century AD	pottery				bronze objects	coins					A. Smith 2001 (Winbolt 1927)	
182	Roman shrine rural	Bancroft 2, Buckinghamshire	close to centre of building	pit	1.5m by 1.0m.	mid 4th to early/mid 4th century	pottery in E. section		semi-articulated pig - centrally located		spear heads	coins x 23			cluster of small stones	fill was 'charcoaly'	A. Smith 2001 (Williams & Zeepvat 1994)	

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183	Rural temple	Chedworth	close to N. wall	pit	1.5m deep	2nd to 4th century			red deer bone	young adult male frontal bone	bronze pin, iron nails							A. Smith 2001 (Baddeley 1930, Webster 1983)	
184	Rural temple	Hockwold, Norwich	under floor	deposit under building		early 2nd to late 4th century			bird bones			coins						A. Smith 2001 (Wilson 1963, 1966; Muckelroy 1976)	
185	Rural temple	Muntham Court, Sussex	close to shrine	well		late 1st/2nd century to 4th century AD			large number of dog skeletons									A. Smith 2001 (Burstow & Hollyman 1955, 1956, 1957; Bedwin 1980)	

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186	Rural non-urban settlement	Blusdon St Andrew, Wiltshire	settlement close to Roman road, probably pastoral, Pit 5063, S. of ditch D	pit		Mid 1st to 2nd century AD			more than 13,000 sheep/goat bone fragments - some complete							Backfilling suggests 'closure' ritual	Brett & McSloy 2011	
187	Rural non-urban settlement	Blusdon St Andrew, Wiltshire	settlement close to Roman road, probably pastoral, Pit 5065, S. of ditch D	pit		Mid 1st to 2nd century AD			sheep/goat bone							Backfilling suggests 'closure' ritual	Brett & McSloy 2011	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

188	Urban	London	London, 119-121 Cannon St/1-3 Abchurch Yard/14 Sherbourne Lane	well		Roman			dog skeleton x 2	human skull							http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1874466	
189	Non-urban	Chesterton, Oxfordshire	Chesterton Lane (A421 Wendlebury-Bicester Dualling Sites B & C), Site B	pit		Roman	some complete and some nearly complete pots		horse bones - articulated, other remains of animals				fragment of shoe				http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1908276	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

190	Non-urban	Staines, Surrey	County Sports, Market Place	well/ritual shaft	Width c. 2.25m, Depth c. 2.5m	late 2nd or early 3rd century AD	grey-ware globular pot, samian dish, oxford white-ware mortarium, fragments of a hunt cup		almost complete antler of red-deer, dog x 15-17 individuals represented									Chapman & Smith 1988. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1860368	
191	urban	London	Former Southwark Sorting Office, Swan St	well shaft		60-120 AD	broken vessel		dog skull	adult male skeleton head-down at side of shaft	iron spike x 4							Maloney 1999. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1897157	5 other shafts form a group that are also suggestive of ritual activity

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192	Non-urban	Bromley, Greater London	Lower Warbank, Keston	pit	Depth 16ft.	Roman			horse skeletons and remains of other animals								Richardson 1985. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1873411	
193	Non-urban	Dover, Kent	Mayd ensole Farm (top field adjacent to Letter box Field	pit		up to 4th century AD			chicken remains above another deposit incorporating a dog skull								http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1838324	
194	Urban temple ?	Colchester, Essex	Roman building with apse-end	pit		Roman	pottery					coins	jewellery				http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1302207	

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195	Non-urban	Thatcham, Berkshire	Ritual pit within evidence of Roman settlement	pit		Roman											http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1302207	
196	Villa ?	Donnington, Herefordshire		pit		Roman											http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1006874	
197	Non-urban	Ardleigh, Tendring, Essex		pit			pottery		animal bones								http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1075168	
198	Temple	Weeting with Broomhill, Breckland, Norfolk		pit													http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1072175	

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199	Urban	Gloucester		pit/well			pottery		animal bones									http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1007877	
200	Non-urban	Woodnesborough, Dover, Kent		shaft		2nd/3rd century AD												http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1109754	
201	Non-urban	Woodnesborough, Dover, Kent	saucer-shaped hollow	hollow			pottery		animal remains							pipe-clay figurine fragment		http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1109754	
202	Non-urban	Coleshill, Warwickshire		well														http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=102261	

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203	Urban	Warbank Cemetery, Bromley, Greater London		pit													http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=836088	
204	Non-urban	Wavendon Gate, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire	Pit 835, within settlement enclosure, cut into a 'partly silted up hollow'	pit		Mid 3rd century AD				three pronged fork, spearhead, 18 nails, small iron object x 3						wheel symbol of carved oak - associated with god Taranis?	Williams et al 1995. Hingley 2003. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1687906	
205	Non-urban	Wavendon Gate, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire	Posthole 2051	posthole		Mid 3rd century AD			cocker al burial								Williams et al 1995. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1687907	

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206	Non-urban	Borough Field, Great Chesterford, Uttlesford, Essex		well	10ft	Roman	complete samian dish, many other pottery fragments		sheep bones	human skeleton, positioned across the 'top' of the well								Neville 1847. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1853347	
207	Rural enclosed settlement	Swanscombe, Kent	Pit 266	pit		4th century AD ?	near complete Oxfordshire red colour-coated beaker, miniature copy of full-sized vessel-buried upright, 21 other pottery sherds		chicken bones									MacKinder 2010	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

208	Enclosed villa site	Barton Court Farm, Oxfordshire	Well 832, SW of Building 2	well		4th - 5th centuries	pottery		animal bone		wooden bucket with iron bindings, spearhead, latch lifers							Hingley 2006, Miles 1986	
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APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

209	Villa	Dalton Parlours, West Yorkshire	Well, SE of a building at the E. side of site	well		Late 3rd-4th century	pottery		animal bone	human bone	iron bound buckets x 3, masonry pick, reaping hook, sledgehammer, spade sheath, ox goad x 2, prong, spatula knife x 3, L-shaped lift-key x 2, teathering ring, bronze object binding fragment x 2, bar x 2						wooden object	Hingley 2006 (Wrathmell & Nicholson 1990)	
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APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

210	Enclosed settlement, villa	Great Holts Farm, Essex	Well 567, within Building 416	Well		c. 220AD							leather shoe x 2 - one with hobnails				Hingley 2006, Germany 2003	
211	Enclosed settlement, villa	Great Holts Farm, Essex	Post-hole - part of Barn 417	Post-hole		Mid 3rd-late 4th century AD						knife, steelyard weight?, prick iron, scrap sheet x 26					Hingley 2006, Major 2003 (in Germany 2003)	
212	Rural settlement	Haddon, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire	Pit, later cut by malting over	Pit		Early 4th century AD						chain segments, purposely placed iron sheep shears	bronze <i>foliis</i> of Diocletian (AD289-9)				Hingley 2006, Hinman 2003	interpreted as a 'foundation deposit' associated with construction of malting oven (Hinman 2003, 55)

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

213	Roman Fort	Inchtuthill, Tayside	Square pit inside <i>fabrica</i>	Pit		83-86AD					At least 875, 428 nails, wheel-tyres x 9						Hingley 2003, Pitts and St Joseph 1985	
214	Non-urban	Kilverstone, Thetford, Norfolk	Pit (F221) - W. Of smithy, the pit cut into earlier Roman boundary ditch	Pit		3rd/4th century AD	pottery sherds from a single vessel	pewter vessel, a group of pewter plates in a stack against western side of pit			nails, padlock bolt fragment, long-handled tongs, iron hammer-head, fragment of anvil					scorched oak planks covered deposits	Hingley 2003, Garrow et al. 2006	Garrow et al. mention possible association with these deposits, ironworking and worship of Vulcan
215	Non-urban	Kilverstone, Thetford, Norfolk	Pit in the 'smithy'	Pit		3rd/4th century AD					iron axe, iron slagbronze object						Hingley 2003, Garrow et al.	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

216	Roman fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 57, in W. annexe	Pit		Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery			human bone	complete of near complete sword x 4 - one bent in half, hipposandal, strigil, hub rims x 5, lamp, bronze object							Hingley 2003	
217	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 54 - S. fort defences	Pit		Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery		animal bone		bronze object, stylus, spearhead, knife, key, hook x 2				quern			Hingley 2003	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

218	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 55 - S. fort defences	Pit		Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery				bronze object, spearhead with broken tip, arrowhead x 3, socket						Hingley 2003	
219	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 58 - N. defences of fort	Pit		Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery		animal bone		swords x 2 - one bent in half, ingot, linch pin	coin					Hingley 2003	
220	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 22 - within S. annexe, S. of defences			Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery		animal bone		bronze object, sickle, armlet, armour, bridle bit, complete helmets & fragments x 3				quern		Hingley 2003	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

221	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 1 - in <i>principia</i>			Late 1st-late 2nd century AD		pottery vessel	animal bone	human bone	holdfast, shield umbo, arrowheads x 5, rim of bucket, armour, sickle, linch pin, knife, bar	coin			quern		Hingley 2003	
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APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

222	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 16 - in S. annexe, S. of defences			Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery		animal bone	human bone	bronze object, shield rib, spearhead x 5, sword, stirrup, shod, axes x 5, hammers x 5, 'drift', tongs x 2, anvil, staple mandrils x 3, chisel x 2, gouges x 2, mower's anvil, scythe x 4, door fittings, chain, linch pin, harness fragment, nave bands for wheel x 24, hub linings x 3, pieces x 20				quern	wooden object	Hingley 2003	
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APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

223	Urban	Silchester	1990 hoard. Well 2, Insula XXIII - E. boundary.	Well		3rd-4th century AD	pottery				Bronze object, striking hammers x 2, small hammers x 10, states x 2, tongs x 2, drift, chisel, hand wringer, compass x 2, nail making instrument x 2, iron bar x 4, axehead, socketed chisel x 4, adze, centre bit, anvil or shoemaker's hobbling foot, plough coulter x 3, coulter, forks ? x 2, mower's anvils x 8, knives, choppers, bucket handles,						Hingley 2003 (Reid 1901)	The well may be on top of an Iron Age enclosure ditch
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APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

										files x 2, saw x 2, spearhead, large padlock, padlock fragment							
224	Urban	Silchester	Pit N. 1890 hoard. Within the central portion of an insula	Pit			complete pot x 2			iron sword and iron bar x 2 'on top of pit'. Within pit: hammers, axe, gouges, plough coulter x 2, tongs, anvil, files, rasp, lamp, gridiron, hipposandal, carpenter's plane						Hingley 2003 (Fox and Hope 1891, Evans 1894)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

225	Villa	Stanwick , Northamptonshire	Pit N. of interior	Pit		4th century AD		pewter vessel x 4								leather shoe offcut	Hingley 2003 (Neal 1989)		
226	Rural shrine	Uley, Gloucestershire	Pit 251, dug into ditch F264 which encloses Building XVI	Pit		1st century AD	early Roman pottery		animal bone		iron projectile heads x 8, iron bolt-heads x 2 in latest deposit					fragment of quern, whetstone	charcoal	Hingley 2003, Woodward & Leach 1993	This pit has a number of depositional phases starting from the late Iron Age into the Roman period and is referred to as 'focal pit' F251

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

227	Extra-urban settlement	Alcester, Warwickshire	Possible basement or large sub-rectangular pit	Pit		4th century AD	pottery		crow, kitten								domestic rubbish (animal bone)	Serjeantson & Morris 2011 (Maltby 2001)	
228	Rural settlement	Butterfield Down, Wiltshire	Deep pit	Pit		Late Roman			crow, animal bone, layer of oyster shells									Serjeantson & Morris 2011 (Rawling & Fitzpatrick 1996)	
229	Extra-urban settlement	Leicester	Well	well		3rd - 4th century AD			dog x 2, cattle head, raven									Serjeantson & Morris 2011	
230	Non-urban	Oakridge II, Basingstoke, Hampshire		well/shaft		3rd-4th century AD			raven, dog x 7, puppy x 87, calf skulls and feet, pig remains, sheep heads, chicken skeleton									Serjeantson & Morris 2011 (Maltby 1994)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

231	Non-urban	Oakridge II, Basingstoke, Hampshire		well/shaft		3rd-4th century AD			crow								Serjeanston & Morris 2011 (Maltby 1994)	
232	Non-urban	Owsebury, Hampshire	Cess pit F646	pit		4th century AD			raven, dog/puppy x 4, buzzard, cat x 2, sheep skulls, horse skull								Serjeanston & Morris 2011	
233	Fort	Porchester		well/pit		Late Roman	pottery		raven x 2, dog x2, sheep skull x 3, ox skull x 13, red deer skull, calf, piglets, lamb, cat x 2, shellfish							leather	Serjeanston & Morris 2011	

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234	Villa	Stanion	Well lined with stone	well		2nd century AD			raven, cattle skeleton x 3								Serjeanston & Morris 2011	
235	Suburban	Winchester, Hampshire	NE suburbs, Pit814	pit		late Roman	complete pots	glass vessel	raven, cat x 2, dog x 8, bullock remains, cattle skulls, chicken, white-tailed sea-eagle humerus								Serjeanston & Morris 2011	
236	Sanctuary	Springhead, Kent	Post-holes in temple complex	post-holes		1st-4th century AD			cattle skulls placed at bottom of post-holes								Grimm 2010 (Penn, 1965; Harker, 1980)	
237	Sanctuary	Springhead, Kent	within a series of pits	pit		early Roman			sheep - horned ewe								Grimm 2010	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

238	Villa	Northfleet Villa, Springhead, Kent	within a series of pits	pits		middle Roman			some complete and some partial remains of pig, cattle, sheep								Grimm 2010	
239	Sanctuary	Sanctuary complex, Springhead, Kent	Ritual shaft located at 'at the entrance to the ditched enclosure surrounding the sanctuary complex'	shaft	depth 4.5m	2nd century AD			at the base: dog x 6 (one with chain), domestic fowl x 3, goose, raven, calf, young pig. 2nd depositional event: dog x 6. 3rd event: dog x 1. human skull, dog, puppy sealed								Grimm 2010	

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									the two deposi ts. Next event: cattle skull, dog skelet ons. Next: dog x 2, skulls x 3, cattle x 2, horse x 1. Sealed by butche ry waste and kitche n refuse.									
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APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

240	Sanctuary	Sanctuary complex, Springhead, Kent	pit alignment	pits		2nd century AD			horse skulls, juvenile pig, dogs in lower levels (one accompanied by dove skeleton)								Grimm 2010	
241	Rural shrine	Uley, Gloucestershire	Pit F342, cut into fills of ditch F56	pit		early 2nd century	2nd century pottery in association with charcoal									charcoal	Woodward & Leach 1993	

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242	Non-urban	Kilverstone, Thetford, Norfolk	Pit F962, part of a sequence of pits at the E. section of the site	pit	4.50m x 2.80m x 0.24m deep	later Roman					iron ladle x 2, thought to have been placed in sterile fill purposefully						Garrow et al 2006	
243	Non-urban	Kilverstone, Thetford, Norfolk	Pit F968	pit	1.05m in diameter x 0.29m deep	later Roman	Roman pottery sherds x 5				iron shears, iron paring chisel, large iron reaping hook, iron spade sheath - fragment						Garrow et al 2006	
244	Non-urban	Kilverstone, Thetford, Norfolk	Pit F169	pit	1.42 x 1.20 x 0.25m deep	later Roman	pottery 60-300AD				iron nail 3, iron 'cutting tool',						Garrow et al 2006	

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245	Non-urban	Wavendon Gate, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire	Pit 553	pit		Mid 3rd century AD			articulated sheep								Williams et al 1995	
246	Roman fort	Inchtuthill, Tayside	Ritual pit at central point of the courtyard of the <i>principia</i> (which aligns with a point almost at the centre of the fortresses)	pit	0.48 m in diameter, 0.25m deep (bowl-shaped hollow)				very small fragments of burnt bone					charcoal made up the fill of the pit and consisted of burnt oak and small amount of birch			Pitts & St. Joseph 1985	

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247	Urban 'small town'	Baldock, Hertfordshire	Pit A13 in association with other pits, in proximity to enclosure boundary	Pit		3rd century AD					spearheads x 33							Stead & Rigby 1986, Hingley 2006	suggested to have been more likely associated with the worship of Mars in a ritual space of the settlement than anything military (Stead & Rigby 1986, 86)
248	Non-urban settlement	Armsley, Hampshire	Shaft	Shaft	in excess of 2m deep	Probably Roman	complete pot x 3		horse skull, deer bones and antlers		iron tools	coins			quern stones	votive wooden head	Wait 1985		

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

249	Non-urban	Bertha, Tayside	Shafts, River Almond - left bank	Shaft x 8		Roman	complete pots with ash at base of each				spearhead, lead bar					helmet	Wait 1985	
250	Non-urban	Frittendon, Kent	Pit	Pit		Roman	upchurch urn x 2 at base of pit with fill of decayed vegetable matter										Wait 1985	
251	Non-urban settlement	Hardham, Sussex	Shaft	Shaft	2.5m x 0.5m	Roman	urn with human cremation	patera	human cremation in urn	pig, horse, cattle bones, cow horn cores x 3						shaft base lined with oak planks, fragment of leather	Wait 1985	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

252	Non-urban settlement	Hardham, Sussex	Shaft	Shaft	2.5m x 0.5m	Roman	complete pot x 2 at base of shaft, pottery wine funnel, ceramic vase			cow horn cores x 3	iron rod, bronze pin					oak plank s lined shaft, fill was 'very ashy'	Wait 1985	
253	Non-urban settlement	Hardham, Sussex	Shaft	Shaft	2.5m x 0.5m	Roman	cinerary urn x 1, pottery sherds			horn cores x 2						Roman brick	Wait 1985	
254	Non-urban settlement	Hardham, Sussex	Shaft	Shaft	2.5m x 1.5m	Roman	inverted amphora containing coin x2					coin x 2				base of shaft lined with flints	Wait 1985	

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255	Non-urban settlement	Ipswich, Suffolk	Shaft	Shaft	20m x 2m	Roman					small silver sheets x 2				polished marble cylinder	a fragment of hair under base of clay pillar which had black flints 'pressed into surface'. The pillar stood upright in the shaft centre	Wait 1985	
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256	Roma no- Celtic temp le comp lex	Pagan's Hill, Somerset	Shaft within Roma no- Celtic templ e compl ex which was within an Iron Age hillfort	Shaft	17.2m x 0.75m	2nd- 4th centu ry AD	compl ete pots x 50		cow and sheep bones			coin s x 15		oak bran ches		Stone block s lined shaft	Wait 1985	
257	Near Roma n Fort	Richboro ugh, Kent	Pit?	Pit?		Roma n			bones of pig, goat and sheep and deer antlers								Wait 1985	
258	Non- urba n	Southwa rk, Surrey	Shaft	Shaft		2nd centu ry AD	compl ete pot x 3, compl ete 'votive' pot x 1		deer antlers							shaft lined with oak plank s	Wait 1985	
259	Roma no- Britis h farms tead	Tallingto n, Lincolnsh ire	Pit?	Pit?		2nd- 3rd centu ry AD	compl ete pot x 1, pot sherds									unins cribe d altar	Wait 1985	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

260	Non-urban	Ewell, Surrey	In a chalk pit at site of Stane way house, 8 shafts in total with Romano-British artefacts	Shafts x 8	12 ft - 37 ft.		layer of samian sherds including some complete vessels, another layer with amphorae		pig, sheep, stag, cattle, oyster shells, dog bones. 1 pit had a cock and hare, and almost complete dog skeleton with a severed head buried 1 ft. apart from body.	burnt human bone	Each pit had equal amount of iron nails. Bronze horse trappings ?. In 1 pit an iron hammer. In 1 pit an iron rod.		In 1 pit a bronze ring	in 1 pit apple pips and cherry stones.			Ross 1968, p.264	It was noted that the excavators recognised a pattern in the form and contents of the layering of the pits
261	Roman station	Great Chesterford, Essex		Shafts x 45	1 was 6 ft. in depth		Large numbers of complete pots deposited in repeated layers	raven skull x 2, cock skull, bird, bullock and cattle bones			bronze figurine of a 'river god', 96 objects of iron smithing tools					Bone-knife handle, figurine of 'a torc-wearing Hercules'	Ross 1968, p.264	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

262	Non-urban	Newstead, Well Meadow, Roxburghshire	Group of pits found within an area of approx 30 yd. sq.	5 to 6 large pits or shafts with 15 to 16 smaller pits among the larger			pottery sherds	deer bones and antlers, animal skulls, oyster shells	In one pit, SE of the main complex of pits was a single male burial, with body placed in upright position							Spear found beside male human burial	Ross 1968	The smaller pits were lined with whitish clay 5-6 in. thick
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APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

263	Non-urban	Ramsgate, Kent	Shaft in chalk pit surrounded by 7 pits	Shaft and pits x 8	Depth of shaft 115ft.			potshe rds in pits. In shaft sherds of Roman o- British potter y and a compl ete basin- shaped vessel.	oyste r shells and anim al bone s in pits. Shaft base conta ined layer s of cattle , horse , deer and dog bone s.								Shaft fill pack ed with flints and 2 circul ar stone slabs foun d near base - one with hole in the middl e.		Ross 1968	
									piece of thin bronze from a 'bucket- shaped cauldron' in pits. Iron fragment s in shaft											

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

264	Non-urban	Strood, Kent	Near parish church	Pits 12 approx.	Approx. 10ft.		upchurch beakers x 3, samian vessels, black beakers x 3, pieces and vase of Castor ware, red clay 'cauldron'		oyster shells and bones of pig, ox, dog and deer	human skeleton	Bronze ring, iron chain link, iron nails and iron knives		bone pin, bronze finger ring					Ross 1968	
265	Rural temple	Lamyatt, Beacon	within cella (?)	Pits x 5		late 3rd to early 5th century			antlers									A. Smith, 2001 (Leech 1986)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

266	Rural temple	Hockwold, Norwich	post holes of cella	post holes x 4		early 2nd to late 4th century AD			pig bones in each post hole base			late 3rd/early 4th century coin found in each post hole base					A. Smith 2001, (Wilson 1963, 1966; Muckelroy 1976)	
267	Urban temple	Kelvedon, Essex	close to temple	pits x 2		1st to late 2nd century AD	potshe rds - decorated with horse men figures				cast bronze letters x 7, lead defixio					high-quality hand-axe from Palaeolithic	A. Smith 2001, (Wilson 1972;; Wait 1985)	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

268	Non-urban	Hayling Island, Havant, Hampshire	S. of Iron Age & Roman building, pits in circular arrangement around a crescent of 6 other features	pits x 10												http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1886575	
269	Non-urban	Rochester, Medway, Kent		pits x 12			Samian pottery, beakers		oyster shells, animal remains	human skeleton	knives, nails	coins	rings, bone pins			http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1088945	
270	Villa ?	Ash, Dover, Kent		pits/shafts												http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1111009	

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

271	Non-urban	Sturminster Marshall, Dorset		pits x 6			pottery		animal remains							http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1105753	
272	Rural shrine	Orton's Pasture, Rochester, Staffordshire	adjacent to the most southerly enclosure - possibly a rustic Bacchic shrine	pits x 3		c. 110-130/150AD	large amounts of coarse pottery, pottery lamp							fragment of an altar		Ferris 2002	may be associated with Rochester Fort
273	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXXVI, located near to a temple	pit		possibly late 3rd or 4th century	small potx2					bone pins, glass setting for a ring or brooch				Boon 1974, p.153	the personal objects were interpreted as 'female' by Boon

APPENDIX 1: SUBTERRANEAN FEATURES OF ROMAN BRITAIN DATABASE

274	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXXVI, located near to a temple	pit		possibly late 3rd or 4th century							range of personal objects				Boon 1974, p.153	the personal objects were interpreted as 'female' by Boon
275	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , northern range of courtyard and building			AD 350-450				series of infant deposits							Woodward and Woodward 2004, p.72. Woodward, Davies&Graham, 1993.	associated find of two human footprints impressed on the <i>opus signinum</i> floor or of the same range

APPENDIX 2:

OTHER URBAN DATABASE

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

Nu mbe r	Cate gory	Locatio n	Conte xt	Type	Dimen sions	Dati ng	Potter y	Othe r Vess els	Anim al Rema ins	Huma n Remai ns	Metal	Coin s	Pers onal Objec ts	Botan ical	Stone Objec ts	Other	Reference	Notes
22	Urban, classical temple	Wroxeter	South of forum facing Watling St	under SE angle of amubulatory wall		late r 2nd Century AD	pot containing sheep and ox bones		sheep and ox bones in pot								Green 1976	
23	Urban, classical shrine	Wroxeter	SE of baths	Ritual pits ?													Green 1976	
24	Urban, classical temple ?	Lincoln		Ritual pits ?													Ross 1968, cited in Green 1976	
25	Urban, Roman- Celtic temple	Kenchester		under temple			Pot with lid										Green 1976	
26	Urban, Roman House	Gloucester	Eastgate Street	pit under house			complete cook- pot with lid										Green 1976	
27	Urban	Gloucester	New Market Hall	Pit		first half 2nd century	pot, tazza										Green 1976	

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

29	Urban	London	Walbrook	Ritual pits ?						human skulls							Green 1976	
30	Urban	London	Elephant and Castle	Ritual deposit					dog x 2							2nd century pot in wooden box	Green 1976	
31	Urban	London	Cnr Queen St and Queen Victoria St	Well		late 1st century			skull of ?								Green 1976	
32	Urban house	London	Nicholas Lane	Foundation deposit			pot										Green 1976	
33	Urban	London	Lothbury	Shaft			Complete vessels										Green 1976	
34	Urban	London	Royal Exchange	Shaft													Green 1976	

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

36	Urban, Roman tilery site	Brampton, Cumberland		Pit		100-125 AD					More than 60 pieces of ironwork: plough share, scythe, hoe, chains, buckets, wheels, cart fittings, hooks						Ross 1968	Many of the pieces had been bent in two
37	Urban	Caerwent	Well 1, House VIII N	Well	Depth 27 ft., Width 3 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in.		pottery		cattle bones		bucket parts	coin x 3		Charred oak, hazel nuts	Glass fragment		Ross 1968	
38	Urban	Caerwent	Well 2, east of house VI N	Well	Depth 25 ft. 6 in., Width 2 ft. 4 in. to 3 ft.		pottery sherds		several ox skulls	two to three fragments human skull	bucket fragments						Ross 1968	
39	Urban	Caerwent	Well 2a east of house VIII N	Well					dog skulls x 5								Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

40	Urban	Caerwent	Well 2b near house IX	Well					large dog skull								Ross 1968	
41	Urban	Caerwent	Well 3 in courtyard of House VII N	Well			pottery	pewter jug at bottom of well	cattle rib		decorated pewter plate with a square framed wheel						Ross 1968	
42	Urban	Caerwent	Well 4								iron tools				seated figure		Ross 1968	
61	Urban	Wroxeter	Well 1	Well	Approx. 50 ft.	Roman	large amount of potshe rds		large amount of bones								Ross 1968	
62	Urban	Wroxeter	Well 2	Well	28 ft.	Roman	potshe rds in upper most 5 ft., large pot in lower section of well		ox bones		iron axe				coarse stone s in upper most 5 ft., large stone s - some worked - in lower section of well	tiles	Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

63	Urban	Wroxeter	Well 3	Well	12 ft. 6 in.		3 x complete pots located at the base of well with some 'flat pieces of oak'				bronze tweezers, single coin, iron nails and two knife blades of iron			some 'flat pieces of oak' at base of well in context with 3 complete pots			Ross 1968		
78	Urban	Winchester, Hampshire	Within the Barracks, the shaft was within a series of pits	Shaft	Approx. 130 ft.		RB pottery		oyster shells and animal bones									Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

126	Urban	London	South wark, F17	pit		late 2nd century	complete, or near-complete vessels x 8 (including three incense pots)									Venus 'figurine and one other possible 'Venus' figurine - both missing their heads and feet	Fulford 2001 (Dennis 1978, 304-7)	
127	Urban	London	South wark, F28	pit		late 2nd century	large amount of complete pots 'dumped' in one event, a whole beaker pierced in base	an almost complete vessel of glass	complete dog skeletons								Fulford 2001 (Merrifield 1987, 49)	
128	Urban	London	South wark, F29	pit		late 2nd century			complete dog skeletons								Fulford 2001 (Merrifield 1987, 49)	

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

129	Urban	London	South wark, F30	pit		late 2nd century	smith urn', 'incense pot' x 5									fragments of 'lamp chimneys'	Fulford 2001 (Merrifield 1987, 49)	
130	Urban	London	Easter n cemet ary of Roman London, Plot 1	pit		Mid 2nd century	complete flagon x 2, flagon fragments		heron skeleton - almost complete in context with flagons								Fulford 2001 (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 14-16)	
131	Urban	London	Easter n cemet ary of Roman London, Plot 2	pit		Earlier than mid 2nd century			purposely arranged remains of an adult horse, a dog, and a juvenile red deer so as to be 'nose to tail'								Fulford 2001 (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 19-20)	

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

132	Urban	London	Easter n cemet ary of Roma n Londo n, Plot 18	Pit or Well					compl ete articu lated skelet on of dog, burnt anima l bone, fish						burnt plant remai ns domi nated by whea t chaff			Fulford 2001 (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 36-7)	
173	Urban	Neath am	on the Silche ster- Chich ester Rd, Pit 14	Pit/We ll		2nd to mid 4th cent ury	comple te vessel x 11 - high degree of Alice Holt ware, Rhenni sh motto beaker		compl ete skelet on of a cock, goose bones x 3									Fulford 2001, (Millett and Graham 1986)	

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

174	Urban	Neatham	on the Silchester-Chichester Rd, Pit 16	Pit/Well		2nd to mid 4th century	complete vessel x 19 - high degree of Alice Holt ware Romanish motto beaker		dog x 5								Fulford 2001, (Millett and Graham 1986)	
175	Urban	Cirencester	Building XII,1, east of Room XX	deposit under building			complete pot under a roof slate			infant							McWhirr 1986	
176	Urban	Cirencester	Building XII,1, east of Room XX	pit			pottery fragments		animal bones	fragments of adult human bone - probably redeposited							McWhirr 1986	

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

188	Urban	London	London, 119-121 Cannon St/1-3 Abchurch Yard/14 Sherbourne Lane	well		Roman			dog skeleton x 2	human skull							http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1874466	
191	urban	London	Former Southwark Sorting Office, Swan St	well shaft		60-120 AD	broken vessel		dog skull	adult male skeleton on head-down at side of shaft	iron spike x 4						Maloney 1999. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1897157	5 other shafts form a group that are also suggestive of ritual activity
194	Urban temple ?	Colchester, Essex	Roman building with apse-end	pit		Roman	pottery					coins	jewelry				http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1302207	

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

199	Urban	Gloucester		pit/well			pottery		animal bones			Romano-British coins				http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1007877	
203	Urban	Warbank Cemetery, Bromley, Greater London		pit												http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=836088	

APPENDIX 2: OTHER URBAN DATABASE

247	Urban 'small town'	Baldock, Hertfordshire	Pit A13 in association with other pits, in proximity to enclosure boundary	Pit		3rd century AD					spearheads x 33						Stead & Rigby 1986, Hingley 2006	suggested to have been more likely associated with the worship of Mars in a ritual space of the settlement than anything military (Stead & Rigby 1986, 86)
267	Urban temple	Kelvedon, Essex	close to temple	pits x 2		1st to late 2nd century AD	potsheards - decorated with horse men figures				cast bronze letters x 7, lead defixio					high-quality hand-axe from Palaeolithic	A. Smith 2001, (Wilson 1972,; Wait 1985)	

APPENDIX 3:

NON-URBAN DATABASE

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

Number	Category	Location	Context	Type	Dimensions	Dating	Pottery	Other Vessels	Animal Remains	Human Remains	Metal	Coins	Personal Objects	Botanical	Stone Objects	Other	Reference	Notes
44	Non-urban ditched enclosure	Ashill, Norfolk	Shaft 2, within inner enclosure	Shaft			urn x 2	bottle	cattle skull, red deer antlers						base lined with flints, smooth stones x 2		Ross 1968	Interpreted as possible ritual of closure
45	Non-urban ditched enclosure	Ashill, Norfolk	Pit, within inner enclosure	Pit			pottery sherds		goat skull, pig skull, ox skull, deer bones								Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

48	Non-urban	Bekesbourne, Kent		Shaft	3 ft. 3 in. square, Depth 25 ft approx.		Roman - British urn near bottom of shaft, beneath a layer of flints another five urns maybe containing calcified bone		horses' teeth in circular formation on stone that covered the shaft base					structure was lined with oak on four sides and covered by oak plank	Large flints layered between urn deposits		Ross 1968	
49	Non-urban	Biddenham, Bedfordshire	In a field, 300 ft. from the River Ouse	Shaft	Width 2 ft. 9 in. Depth 37 ft.		Sherds from approx. 50 Roman urns, 5 complete Roman urns		fox, pig, dog, ox, rat, fox and horse bones, nails and tusks from boar	human skeleton					broke n stone slab with crane incised on it, broke n statue of male figure	leather sandal sole	Ross 1968	the five urns were placed at the four corners of the structure with one in the middle

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

50	Non-urban	Birchington, Kent	Minnis Bay	Shaft, circular	Width 2 ft. 7 in., Depth 32 ft.				several hundred unopened oyster shells deposited within the final 18 in. of the shaft, horse's skull at 30 ft., ox and horse remains for 1st 27 ft.					pieces of oak found with horse's skull at 30 ft.	pierced round sandstone slab at 27 ft.		Ross 1968	
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APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

51	Non-urban	Bossens, St Erth, Cornwall	NW corner of 'sub-rectangular earth work	Shaft	Depth 36 ft.				horns and bones		metal patera dedicated to Mars at 18 ft., metal jug at 24 ft., steel weight, double handled metal patera			half-burnt sticks	meal-stone'	multiple leather pieces	Ross 1968		A 'Roman no-British pit dwelling' was excavated at approximately .7 yards from shaft
54	Non-urban	Crayford, Kent	In a chalk pit	post-hole	42 ft. 6 in.	Pre-Roman and Roman	coarse pottery, 150 vessels represented by 12 in. layer of sherds, upper layers contained samian ware		young animal bones, oyster shells		pieces of iron							Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

55	Non-urban	Darenth, Kent	open field	pit	3 ft.	Roman	large urn, samian dish, red goblet				iron lamps				large flints packed pit		Ross 1968, http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1086234	upper deposits of pottery Roman and lower deposits probably pre-Roman
56	Non-urban	Dunstable, Bedfordshire	at Sewell near Maiden Bower	Shaft	120 ft.	Roman	pottery		animal bones	human bones		coins may be			sandstone slabs	Roman tiles	Ross 1968	
58	Non-urban	Kidlington, Oxfordshire	NE of the church, within a quarry	Shaft		Roman	small Roman urn at base of shaft under a stone. Red and white pottery sherds.					Many coins						

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

59	Non-urban	Greenhithe, Kent	Located in a chalk pit	Shaft	35ft.		Samian sherds, coarse pottery sherds		bones of birds, deer, pig, ox, horse and a cattle horn	human skeleton x 3 placed on the base of shaft	iron nails, iron key, iron hoop fragment							
60	Non-urban	Felixstowe, Sussex	Located at cliffs, approx . 1 mile N. of Felixstowe	Shaft		Roman	Roman Vessel - acorns inside										Ross 1968	
65	Non-urban	Heywood, Wiltshire	Westbury Iron Works	Well			Large amount of pottery fragments		cattle skull, horse skull with pierced cheek bone	human skull pieces x 4							Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

66	Non-urban	Ipswich, Suffolk	Shaft 1	Shaft	Depth, more than 29 ft.		Fragment of Romano-British pottery		Piece of preserved hair - possibly hare, badger or rabbit							Shaft had a finished clay surface	Ross 1968	
67	Non-urban	Ipswich, Suffolk	Shaft 2, 3 yards W.S.W. of Shaft 1	Shaft	Depth, more than 66 ft.				similar piece of hair from shaft 1 found at 20 ft.		fragments of silver sheeting x 2 found at point where shaft entered chalk bed				cylinder of finished marble, towards base of shaft lined with chalk flints	'pillar' of clay with black pebbles in surface located in centre of shaft, brick fragments	Ross 1968	
68	Non-urban	Isle of Thanet, Kent	Between Reading and St Peter's St	Pit	Depth, 11 ft., Width 30-40 ft.		Amount of Romano-British pottery				iron nail				Flint spear head, flint flakes throughout fill		Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

69	Non-urban	Northfleet, Kent	Between Northfleet and Swanscombe	Oval chamber, connected to surface via a shaft	Diameter of chamber 27ft. 6in. by 20ft. Depth of chamber 9ft., depth of shaft approximated to have been around 37 ft.	Pottery dated to between mid 1st century to mid 2nd century AD, 8 groups of pottery sherds located in W. section	Pottery fragments, complete 'pear-shaped' pot in context with horse's skull,		Dog, horse, badger, fox, sheep, bird bones and teeth deposited in distinct arrangements						worked flints x 41	roof tiles	Ross 1968	
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APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

70	Non-ruban	Plumstead, Kent		Dene-hole	Dene-hole depth 30ft., Cavity depth, 30ft.		upchurch urns x 7-8 at base of cavity, potsherds in fill		animal bones in fill, oyster shells at base		iron knife and iron bell at base						Ross 1968		the animal remains appear to have been disarticulated and placed in different sections of the chamber in distinct groups
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APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

71	Non-urban	Purberry Shot, Ewell, Surrey		shaft	Depth approx . 42ft.	Mortarium dated to around 120 AD	substantial amounts of pottery, a few near complete vessels, near-complete mortarium				fragment of iron brooch - probably pre-Roman, iron knife, iron razor, iron blade and other objects of iron					Shaft was lined with chalk blocks from entrance to around 9ft. Deep	Ross 1968	
72	Non-urban	Rotherfield Peppard, Oxfordshire		Pit	Depth 50-60ft.		Roman-British urns x 2		Head of stag					hazel nuts, an amount of complete oak tree trunks			Ross 1968, http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1035064	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

73	Non-urban	Sandwich, Kent	Hilltop	Chamber and shaft	Chamber depth 4ft., 3in., shaft 71ft.	Shaft dated to around 100 A.D.	In chamber: samian and RB sherds. In shaft at base: fragments of belgic jar plus large vessel x 2		animal bones in shaft									Ross 1968	
74	Non-urban	Sandwich, Kent	Hilltop, 44 ft. N. of chamber and shaft	Pit			Sherds from approx. 50 Roman urns		horse, sheep/goat and ox bones, deer antlers, horse teeth								Fragment of pipe-clay Venus figurine	Ross 1968	
75	Non-urban	Sandwich, Kent	Hilltop	Pit			pottery											Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

76	Non-urban	Stone, Buckinghamshire		Shaft	In excess of 19ft.		cinerary urn fragments, 12 various urns		large animal bones, skull, horn and teeth of an ox	human bones in cinerary urns	bronze ring x 2, iron bucket			burnt oak and beech			Ross 1968	
77	Non-urban	Wellingborough, Northamptonshire		Pit			Several Roman <i>ollae</i> , one being complete		deer bones								Ross 1968	
80	Non-urban	Winterbourne, Kingston, Dorset	Shaft 2 in a group of 2	Shaft	85ft.		large amounts of pottery fragments	Purbeck marble vase	oyster shells, sheep, dog, ox and pig bones		embossed hare on sheet metal fragment, iron nails, bronze fibulae, iron nails	coins	ornamental objects		quern fragment	glass fragments	Ross 1968	Pit was lined with limestone

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

81	Non-urban	Wolfhamcote, Warwickshire		Shaft	In excess of 45 ft.		grey ware urns - at least 12 complete										Ross 1968	
82	Non-urban	Wychford, Oxfordshire	Hilltop, near a spring in Slate Pit Copse	Shaft			Samian sherds and grey sherds		horns and bones of cattle, sheep and boar bones, oyster shells								Ross 1968	
189	Non-urban	Chesterton, Oxfordshire	Chesterton Lane (A421 Wendlebury-Bicester Dualling Sites B & C), Site B	pit		Roman	some complete and some nearly complete pots		horse bones - articulated, other remains of animals				fragment of shoe				http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1908276	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

190	Non-urban	Staines, Surrey	County Sports, Market Place	well/ritual shaft	Width c. 2.25m, Depth c. 2.5m	late 2nd or early 3rd century AD	grey-ware globular pot, samian dish, oxford white-ware mortarium, fragments of a hunt cup		almost complete antler of red-deer, dog x 15-17 individuals represented									Chapman & Smith 1988. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1860368	
192	Non-urban	Bromley, Greater London	Lower Warbank, Keston	pit	Depth 16ft.	Roman			horse skeletons and remains of other animals									Richardson 1985. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1873411	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

193	Non-urban	Dover, Kent	Maydensole Farm (top field adjacent to Letterbox Field)	pit		up to 4th century AD			chicken remains above another deposit incorporating a dog skull								http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1838324	
195	Non-urban	Thatcham, Berkshire	Ritual pit within evidence of Roman settlement	pit		Roman											http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1302207	
197	Non-urban	Ardleigh, Tendring, Essex		pit			pottery		animal bones								http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1075168	
200	Non-urban	Woodnesborough, Dover, Kent		shaft		2nd/3rd century AD											http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1109754	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

201	Non-urban	Woodnesborough, Dover, Kent	saucer - shaped hollow	hollow			pottery		animal remains							pipe-clay figurine fragment	http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1109754	
202	Non-urban	Coleshill, Warwickshire		well													http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=102261	
204	Non-urban	Wavendon Gate, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire	Pit 835, within settlement enclosure, cut into a 'partly silted up hollow'	pit		Mid 3rd century AD					three pronged fork, spear head, 18 nails, small iron object x 3					wheel symbol of carved oak - associated with god Tarans?	Williams et al 1995. Hingley 2003. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1687906	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

205	Non-urban	Wavendon Gate, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire	Posthole 2051	post hole		Mid 3rd century AD			cocker al burial								Williams et al 1995. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleid=1687907	
206	Non-urban	Borough Field, Great Chesterford, Uttlesford, Essex		well	10ft	Roman	complete samian dish, many other pottery fragments		sheep bones	human skeleton, positioned across the 'top' of the well							Neville 1847. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleid=1853347	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

214	Non-urban	Kilverstone, Thetford, Norfolk	Pit (F221) - W. Of smithy, the pit cut into earlier Roman boundary ditch	Pit		3rd/4th century AD	pottery sherds from a single vessel	pewter vessel, a group of pewter plates in a stack against western side of pit			nails, padlock bolt fragment, long-handled tongs, iron hammer-head, fragment of anvil					scorched oak plank s covered deposits	Hingley 2003, Garrow et al. 2006	
215	Non-urban	Kilverstone, Thetford, Norfolk	Pit in the 'smithy'	Pit		3rd/4th century AD					iron axe, iron slagbronze object						Hingley 2003, Garrow et al.	Garrow et al. mention possible association with these deposits, ironworking and worship of Vulcan

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

227	Extra-urban settlement	Alcester, Warwickshire	Possible basement or large sub-rectangular pit	Pit		4th century AD	pottery		crow, kitten							domestic rubbish (animal bone)	Serjeantson & Morris 2011 (Maltby 2001)	
229	Extra-urban settlement	Leicester	Well	well		3rd - 4th century AD			dog x 2, cattle head, raven								Serjeantson & Morris 2011	
230	Non-urban	Oakridge II, Basingstoke, Hampshire		well/shaft		3rd-4th century AD			raven, dog x 7, puppy x 87, calf skulls and feet, pig remains, sheep heads, chicken skeleton								Serjeantson & Morris 2011 (Maltby 1994)	
231	Non-urban	Oakridge II, Basingstoke, Hampshire		well/shaft		3rd-4th century AD			crow								Serjeantson & Morris 2011 (Maltby 1994)	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

232	Non-urban	Owlsebury, Hampshire	Cesspit F646	pit		4th century AD			raven, dog/puppy x 4, buzzard, cat x 2, sheep skulls, horse skull								Serjeanston & Morris 2011	
235	Suburban	Winchester, Hampshire	NE suburbs, Pit814	pit		late Roman	complete pots	glass vessel	raven, cat x 2, dog x 8, bullock remains, cattle skulls, chicken, white-tailed sea-eagle humerus								Serjeanston & Morris 2011	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

242	Non-urban	Kilverstone, Thetford, Norfolk	Pit F962, part of a sequence of pits at the E. section of the site	pit	4.50m x 2.80m x 0.24m deep	later Roman					iron ladle x 2, thought to have been placed in sterile fill purposefully						Garrow et al 2006	
243	Non-urban	Kilverstone, Thetford, Norfolk	Pit F968	pit	1.05m in diameter x 0.29m deep	later Roman	Roman pottery sherds x 5				iron shears, iron paring chisel, large iron reaping hook, iron spade sheath - fragment						Garrow et al 2006	
244	Non-urban	Kilverstone, Thetford, Norfolk	Pit F169	pit	1.42 x 1.20 x 0.25m deep	later Roman	pottery 60-300AD				iron nail 3, iron 'cutting tool',						Garrow et al 2006	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

245	Non-urban	Wavendon Gate, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire	Pit 553	pit		Mid 3rd century AD			articulated sheep								Williams et al 1995	
248	Non-urban settlement	Armsley, Hampshire	Shaft	Shaft	in excess of 2m deep	Probably Roman	complete pot x 3		horse skull, deer bones and antlers		iron tools	coins			quern stones	votive wooden head	Wait 1985	
249	Non-urban	Bertha, Tayside	Shafts, River Almond - left bank	Shaft x 8		Roman	complete pots with ash at base of each				spear head, lead bar					helmet	Wait 1985	
250	Non-urban	Frittenden, Kent	Pit	Pit		Roman	upchurch urn x 2 at base of pit with fill of decayed vegetable matter										Wait 1985	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

251	Non-urban settlement	Hardham, Sussex	Shaft	Shaft	2.5m x 0.5m	Roman	urn with human cremation	pat era	pig, horse, cattle bones, cow horn cores x 3	human cremation in urn						shaft base lined with oak planks, fragment of leather	Wait 1985	
252	Non-urban settlement	Hardham, Sussex	Shaft	Shaft	2.5m x 0.5m	Roman	complete pot x 2 at base of shaft, pottery wine funnel, ceramic vase		cow horn cores x 3		iron rod, bronze pin					oak planks lined shaft, fill was 'very ashy'	Wait 1985	
253	Non-urban settlement	Hardham, Sussex	Shaft	Shaft	2.5m x 0.5m	Roman	cinerary urn x 1, pottery sherds		horn cores x 2							Roman brick	Wait 1985	
254	Non-urban settlement	Hardham, Sussex	Shaft	Shaft	2.5m x 1.5m	Roman	inverted amphora containing coin x2					coin x 2				base of shaft lined with flints	Wait 1985	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

255	Non-urban settlement	Ipswich, Suffolk	Shaft	Shaft	20m x 2m	Roman					small silver sheets x 2				polished marble cylinder	a fragment of hair under base of clay pillar which had black flints 'pressed into surface'. The pillar stood upright in the shaft centre	Wait 1985	
258	Non-urban	Southwark, Surrey	Shaft	Shaft		2nd century AD	complete pot x 3, complete 'votive' pot x 1		deer antlers							shaft lined with oak planks	Wait 1985	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

260	Non-urban	Ewell, Surrey	In a chalk pit at site of Stane way house, 8 shafts in total with Roman o-British artefacts	Shaft x 8	12 ft - 37 ft.		layer of samian sherds including some complete vessels, another layer with amphorae		pig, sheep, stag, cattle, oyster shells, dog bones. 1 pit had a cock and hare, and almost complete dog skeleton with a severed head buried 1 ft. apart from body.	burnt human bone	Each pit had equal amount of iron nails. Bronze horse trappings ?. In 1 pit an iron hammer. In 1 pit an iron rod.		In 1 pit a bronze ring	in 1 pit applied pips and cherry stones.			Ross 1968, p.264	
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APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

262	Non-urban	Newstead, Well Meadow, Roxburgh shire	Group of pits found within an area of approx 30 yd. sq.	5 to 6 large pits or shafts with 15 to 16 smaller pits among the larger			pottery sherds		deer bones and antlers, animal skulls, oyster shells	In one pit, SE of the main complex of pits was a single male burial, with body placed in upright position						Spear found beside male human burial	Ross 1968	It was noted that the excavators recognised a pattern in the form and contents of the layering of the pits
263	Non-urban	Ramsgate, Kent	Shaft in chalk pit surrounded by 7 pits	Shaft and pits x 8	Depth of shaft 115ft.		potsherds in pits. In shaft sherds of Romano-British pottery and a complete basin-shaped vessel.		oyster shells and animal bones in pits. Shaft base contained layers of cattle, horse, deer and dog bones.	piece of thin bronze from a 'bucket-shaped cauldron' in pits. Iron fragments in shaft					Shaft filled packed with flints and 2 circular stone slabs found near base - one with hole in the middle.		Ross 1968	The smaller pits were lined with whitish clay 5-6 in. thick

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

264	Non-urban	Strood, Kent	Near parish church	Pits 12 approx.	Approx. 10ft.		upchurch beakers x 3, samian vessels, black beakers x 3, pieces and vase of Castor ware, red clay 'cauldron'		oyster shells and bones of pig, ox, dog and deer	human skeleton	Bronze ring, iron chain link, iron nails and iron knives		bone pin, bronze finger ring				Ross 1968	
269	Non-urban	Rochester, Medway, Kent		pits x 12			Samian pottery, beakers		oyster shells, animal remains	human skeleton	knives, nails	coins	rings, bone pins				http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1088945	
271	Non-urban	Sturminster Marshall, Dorset		pits x 6			pottery		animal remains								http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1105753	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

186	Rural non-urban settlement	Blusdon St Andrew, Wiltshire	settlement close to Roman road, probably pastoral, Pit 5063, S. of ditch D	pit		Mid 1st to 2nd century AD			more than 13,000 sheep/goat bone fragments - some complete							Backfilling suggests 'closure' ritual	Brett & McSloy 2011	
187	Rural non-urban settlement	Blusdon St Andrew, Wiltshire	settlement close to Roman road, probably pastoral, Pit 5065, S. of ditch D	pit		Mid 1st to 2nd century AD			sheep/goat bone							Backfilling suggests 'closure' ritual	Brett & McSloy 2011	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

207	Rural enclosed settlement	Swanscombe, Kent	Pit 266	pit		4th century AD?	near complete Oxfordshire red colour - coated beaker, miniature copy of full-sized vessel - buried upright, 21 other pottery sherds		chicken bones									Mackinder 2010	
212	Rural settlement	Haddon, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire	Pit, later cut by malting over	Pit		Early 4th century AD					chain segments, purposely placed iron sheep shears	bronze <i>foliis</i> of Diocletian (AD289-9)						Hingley 2006, Hinman 2003	

APPENDIX 3: NON-URBAN DATABASE

228	Rural settlement	Butterfield Down, Wiltshire	Deep pit	Pit		Late Roman			crow, animal bone, layer of oyster shells								Serjeantson & Morris 2011 (Rawling & Fitzpatrick 1996)	interpreted as a 'foundation deposit' associated with construction of maltin g oven (Hinman 2003, 55)
259	Roman-British farmstead	Tallington, Lincolnshire	Pit?	Pit?		2nd-3rd century AD	complete pot x 1, pot sherds									uninscribed altar	Wait 1985	

APPENDIX 4:

SACRED PRECINCT DATABASE

APPENDIX 4: SACRED PRECINCT DATABASE

Number	Category	Location	Context	Type	Dimensions	Dating	Pottery	Other Vessels	Animal Remains	Human Remains	Metal	Coins	Personal Objects	Botanical	Stone objects	Other	Reference	Notes
57	Roman or-British temple	Jordon Hill, Dorset		Well	Depth 14ft.	Roman	Roman urn x 2 resting on cist at well base. Another cist was found at the mid-point and contained iron objects.		Above the cist was a stratum with a double layer of tiles in pairs with a bird and coin between each. Above this another stratum with layers of ash, birds enclosed in tiles and coins. Birds were starling, raven, crow and buzzard		Iron broad sword, long iron pieces x 2, iron knife, iron spearhead, steelyard. Another cist at the mid-point had an iron sword and spearhead and urn				Two oblong slabs formed a cist at well base		Ross 1968	

APPENDIX 4: SACRED PRECINCT DATABASE

83	Roman o-Celtic ritual comple x	March am/Fril ford, Oxfods hire	Within SE corner of <i>temen os</i> , <i>Trench 14</i>	Pit			Potter y		Sheep skulls, cattle skulls, animal bone									Kamash, Gosden & Lock, 2010	pit is described as ' <i>favissa</i> ' like
84	Roman o-Celtic ritual comple x	March am/Fril ford, Oxfods hire	within a 'square stone- built shrine aligned on earlier Iron Age pits', betwee n the semi- amphit heatre and the <i>temen os</i>	Well						iron hobnail s	20 copp er- alloy coins of RB date							Kamash, Gosden & Lock, 2010, p.118	

APPENDIX 4: SACRED PRECINCT DATABASE

85	Roman o-Celtic ritual complex	March am/Fril ford, Oxfods hire	From Trench 21, at the S. section of site	Pit or Well			Roma n pot - nearly compl ete						Leathe r Roman shoe				Kamash, Gosden & Lock, p118	It is noted that there were 8 'different fills' identified
177	Ritual complex rural	Bourto n Groun ds, Buckin ghams hire	Ancillar y buildin g, thresh old	pit		late 2nd to late 4th centu ry AD			horse skull surrou nded by oyster shells						large smooth pebble covered the horse skull		A. Smith 2001 (Green 1966)	
178	Ritual complex rural	Bourto n Groun ds, Buckin ghams hire	Ambul atory of temple , under entran ceway	depo sit unde r buildi ng		late 2nd to late 4th centu ry AD				almost compl ete adult skelet on of a male - reddep osited							A. Smith 2001 (Green 1966)	

APPENDIX 4: SACRED PRECINCT DATABASE

179	Ritual complex semi-rural	Brigstock, Northamptonshire	within polygonal shrine (?), Brigstock 2	pit		mid 3rd to late 4th century AD			sheep/goat with a coin in mouth - facing east, oyster shells								A. Smith 2001 (Greenfield 1963, Taylor 1963)	
180	Ritual complex semi-rural	Brigstock, Northamptonshire	within circular shrine	pit(s)		mid 3rd to late 4th century AD			ox x 7, sheep/goat x 8, fowl x 1, pig x 2, pig tooth			coin					A. Smith 2001 (Greenfield 1963, Taylor 1963)	
181	Roman o-Celtic temple rural	Farley Heath, Surrey	temple in N. section of polygonal enclosure	pit		late 1st to early 5th century AD	pottery				bronze objects	coins					A. Smith 2001 (Winbolt 1927)	
182	Roman shrine rural	Bancroft 2, Buckinghamshire	close to centre of building	pit	1.5m by 1.0m.	mid 4th to early/mid 4th century	pottery in E. section		semi-articulated pig - centrally located		spear heads	coins x 23			cluster of small stones	fill was 'charcoal y'	A. Smith 2001 (Williams & Zeepvat 1994)	

APPENDIX 4: SACRED PRECINCT DATABASE

183	Rural temple	Chedworth	close to N. wall	pit	1.5m deep	2nd to 4th century			red deer bone	young adult male frontal bone	bronze pin, iron nails						A. Smith 2001 (Baddeley 1930, Webster 1983)	
184	Rural temple	Hockwold, Norwich	under floor	deposit under building		early 2nd to late 4th century			bird bones			coins					A. Smith 2001 (Wilson 1963, 1966; Muckelroy 1976)	
185	Rural temple	Muntham Court, Sussex	close to shrine	well		late 1st/2nd century to 4th century AD			large number of dog skeletons								A. Smith 2001 (Burstow & Hollyman 1955, 1956, 1957; Bedwin 1980)	
198	Temple	Weeting with Broomhill, Breckland, Norfolk		pit													http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=1072175	

APPENDIX 4: SACRED PRECINCT DATABASE

226	Rural shrine	Uley, Gloucestershire	Pit 251, dug into ditch F264 which encloses Building XVI	Pit		1st century AD	early Roman pottery		animal bone		iron projectile heads x 8, iron bolt-heads x 2 in latest deposit				fragment of quern, whetstone	charcoal	Hingley 2003, Woodward & Leach 1993	This pit has a number of depositional phases starting from the late Iron Age into the Roman period and is referred to as 'focal pit' F251
236	Sanctuary	Springhead, Kent	Post-holes in temple complex	post-holes		1st-4th century AD			cattle skulls placed at bottom of post-holes								Grimm 2010 (Penn, 1965; Harkker, 1980)	
237	Sanctuary	Springhead, Kent	within a series of pits	pit		early Roman			sheep - horned ewe								Grimm 2010	

APPENDIX 4: SACRED PRECINCT DATABASE

239	Sanctuary	Sanctuary complex, Springhead, Kent	Ritual shaft located at 'at the entrance to the ditched enclosure surrounding the sanctuary complex'	shaft	depth 4.5m	2nd century AD			at the base: dog x 6 (one with chain), domestic fowl x 3, goose, raven, calf, young pig. 2nd deposit: dog x 6. 3rd event: dog x 1. human skull, dog, puppy sealed the two deposits. Next event: cattle skull, dog skeletons. Next: dog x 2, skulls x 3, cattle x 2, horse x	Human Skull							Grimm 2010	
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APPENDIX 4: SACRED PRECINCT DATABASE

									1. Sealed by butche ry waste and kitchen refuse.									
240	Sanctu ary	Sanctu ary comple x, Spring head, Kent	pit alignm ent	pits		2nd centu ry AD			horse skulls, juvenil e pig, dogs in lower levels (one accom panied by dove skeleto n)								Grimm 2010	
241	Rural shrine	Uley, Glouce stershir e	Pit F342, cut into fills of ditch F56	pit		early 2nd centu ry	2nd centu ry potte ry in associ ation with charc oal									charcoal	Woodward & Leach 1993	

APPENDIX 4: SACRED PRECINCT DATABASE

256	Roman o-Celtic temple comple x	Pagan' s Hill, Somers et	Shaft within Roman o-Celtic temple comple x which was within an Iron Age hillfort	Shaft	17.2m x 0.75m	2nd- 4th centu ry AD	compl ete pots x 50		cow and sheep bones			coins x 15		oak bran ches		Stone blocks lined shaft	Wait 1985	
265	Rural temple	Lamyat t Beacon	within cella (?)	Pits x 5		late 3rd to early 5th centu ry			antlers								A. Smith, 2001 (Leech 1986)	
266	Rural temple	Hockw old, Norwic h	post holes of cella	post holes x 4		early 2nd to late 4th centu ry AD			pig bones in each post hole base			late 3rd/ early 4th cent ury coin foun d in each post hole base					A. Smith 2001, (Wilson 1963, 1966; Muckelroy 1976)	

APPENDIX 4: SACRED PRECINCT DATABASE

272	Rural shrine	Orton's Pasture, Rocester, Staffordshire	adjacent to the most southerly enclosure - possibly a rustic Bacchic shrine	pits x 3		c. 110-130/150AD	large amounts of coarse pottery, pottery lamp								fragment of an altar		Ferris 2002	may be associated with Rocester Fort
28	Extra-urban, Romano-Celtic temple, in temenos	Caerwent		Well					ox skulls 5 x dog skulls	human skulls	decorated plate				Stone figure 'mother goddess'		Green 1976	

APPENDIX 5:

ROMAN MILITARY FORT

DATABASE

APPENDIX 5: ROMAN MILITARY FORT DATABASE

Number	Category	Location	Context	Type	Dimensions	Dating	Pottery	Other Vessels	Animal Remains	Human Remains	Metal	Coins	Personal Objects	Botanical	Stone Objects	Other	Reference	Notes
46	Roman fort	Bar Hill, Dunbartonshire	Within the <i>praetorium</i> of Roman fort on Antonine Wall	Well	Depth 43 ft., Width, 4ft.				red deer antlers and hoofs, ox and sheep scapulae, oyster shells		many iron objects, bag of tools inside large amphora			Oak pieces, pieces of squared oak, hazel nuts, hawthorn twigs	piece of inscribed tablet, inscribed altar	capitals and bases	Ross 1968	
47	Roman fort	Bar Hill, Dunbartonshire	Pit 1, within the Roman fort on Antonine Wall	Pit		4th/5th century AD								wooden object, oak stakes x 3 - one passing through the spokes of the wheel		Chariot wheel including iron tyre	Ross 1968, Hingley 2006	

APPENDIX 5: ROMAN MILITARY FORT DATABASE

53	Roman fort	Carrawburgh, Northumberland	Coventina's Well, beside the fort of <i>Brocolitia</i>	Well	Depth 7 ft.		samian ware			human skull	many bronze objects including a dog and horse, shrine bells	13 000 coins AD 41 - 383	brooches and pins		24 complete altars - some dedicated to Coventina		Ross 1968, p263; Allason-Jones and McKay 1985.	Two of the altars included a ring attachment at the <i>focus</i> for 'suspension or immersion into the sacred well'
213	Roman Fort	Inchtuthil, Tayside	Square pit inside <i>fabrica</i>	Pit		83-86AD					At least 875, 428 nails, wheel-tyres x 9						Hingley 2003, Pitts and St Joseph 1985	

APPENDIX 5: ROMAN MILITARY FORT DATABASE

216	Roman fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 57, in W. annexe	Pit		Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery			human bone	complete of near complete sword x 4 - one bent in half, hipposandal, strigil, hub rims x 5, lamp, bronze object							Hingley 2003, Curle 1911	
217	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 54 - S. fort defences	Pit		Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery		animal bone		bronze object, stylus, spearhead, knife, key, hook x 2				quern			Hingley 2003, Curle 1911	

APPENDIX 5: ROMAN MILITARY FORT DATABASE

218	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 55 - S. fort defences	Pit		Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery				bronze object, spearhead with broken tip, arrowhead x 3, socket						Hingley 2003, Curle 1911	
219	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 58 - N. defences of fort	Pit		Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery		animal bone		swords x 2 - one bent in half, ingot, linch pin	coin					Hingley 2003, Curle 1911	
220	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 22 - within S. annexe, S. of defences			Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery		animal bone		bronze object, sickle, armlet, armour, bridle bit, complete helmets&fragments x 3				quern		Hingley 2003, Curle 1911	

APPENDIX 5: ROMAN MILITARY FORT DATABASE

221	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 1 - in <i>principia</i>			Late 1st-late 2nd century AD		pewter vessel	animal bone	human bone	holdfast, shield umbo, arrowheads x 5, rim of bucket, armour, sickle, linch pin, knife, bar	coin			quern		Hingley 2003, Curle 1911	
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APPENDIX 5: ROMAN MILITARY FORT DATABASE

222	Roman Fort	Newstead, Borders	Pit 16 - in S. annexe, S. of defences			Late 1st-late 2nd century AD	pottery		animal bone	human bone	bronze object, shield rib, spearhead x 5, sword, stirrup, shod, axes x 5, hammers x 5, 'drift', tongs x 2, anvil, staple mandrils x 3, chisel x 2, gouges x 2, mower's anvil, scythe x 4, door fittings, chain, linch pin, harness fragment, nave bands for wheel x 24, hub linings x 3, pieces x 20				quern	wooden object	Hingley 2003, Curle 1911	
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APPENDIX 5: ROMAN MILITARY FORT DATABASE

233	Fort	Portchester		well/ pit		Late Roman	pottery		raven x 2, dog x2, sheep skull x 3, ox skull x 13, red deer skull, calf, piglets, lamb, cat x 2, shellfish							leather	Serjeantson & Morris 2011	
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APPENDIX 5: ROMAN MILITARY FORT DATABASE

246	Roman fort	Inchtuthil, Tayside	Ritual pit at central point of the courtyard of the <i>principia</i> (which aligns with a point almost at the centre of the fortress)	pit	0.48 m in diameter, 0.25m deep (bowl-shaped hollow)				very small fragments of burnt bone					charcoal made up the fill of the pit and consisted of burnt oak and small amount of birch			Pitts & St. Joseph 1985	
257	Near Roman Fort	Richborough, Kent	Pit?	Pit?		Roman			bones of pig, goat and sheep and deer antlers								Wait 1985	

APPENDIX 6:

SILCHESTER DATABASE

APPENDIX 6: SILCHESTER DATABASE

Number	Category	Location	Context	Type	Dimensions	Dating	Pottery	Other Vessels	Animal Remains	Human Remains	Metal	Coins	Personal Objects	Botanical	Stone Objects	Other	Reference	Notes
1	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1019	Pit		Up to late 4th century	Pot x 2										Eckardt 2006	
2	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1020	Pit		up to 4th century	Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
3	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Well 1170	Well		Late Roman		Pierced pewter flagon							Ogham stone		Eckardt 2006	
4	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1246	Pit		up to 3rd-early 4th century	Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
5	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Well 1300	Well			Complete pierced flagon. Vessel (flagon?)										Eckardt 2006	
6	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1384	Pit		Up to late 4th century			dog, fully articulated skeleton								Eckardt 2006	

APPENDIX 6: SILCHESTER DATABASE

7	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1463. Located west of Building 1	Pit		up to 4th century	Complete beaker. Complete flagon.										Eckardt 2006	
8	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1513	Pit		Up to late 4th century	Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
9	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1576	Pit			Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
10	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1611	Pit		up to 4th century			Dog x 1	Infant x 1							Eckardt 2006	
11	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1634	Pit		Up to late 4th century	Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
12	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1702	Pit		up to 3rd-early 4th century			Dog x 1								Eckardt 2006	
13	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1707	Pit		up to 4th century				Infant x 2		Coin, Tetricus I, AD271-280					Eckardt 2006	
14	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 1992	Pit			Pot x 1										Eckardt 2006	
15	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 2087	Pit		up to 4th century	Pot x 1		Dog x 1								Eckardt 2006	
16	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 2596	Pit			Pot x 2		Dog x 1								Eckardt 2006	

APPENDIX 6: SILCHESTER DATABASE

17	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 2900	Pit					Dog x 1								Eckardt 2006	
18	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 2921	Pit		up to late 4th century			Dog x 1								Eckardt 2006	
19	Urban	Silchester	Pit 3235			Up to late 4th century	3 x vessels, almost complete		Dog x 5	Infant x 2-3							Eckardt 2006	Located next to Building 1. Evidence of cess and rubbish
20	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Pit 3251	Pit			Pot x 1	Jars most common vessel type	Dog x 4	Infant x 2						Glass bead	Eckardt 2006	Located next to Building 1. Evidence of cess and rubbish
21	Urban	Silchester	Insula IX Building 1	under building foundations						Infant							Eckardt 2006	

APPENDIX 6: SILCHESTER DATABASE

64	Urban	Silchester	Insula I	Pit		Roman					60 iron objects within lower section of pit. At approx. 5 ft. iron bars x 2 and a sword blade broken in half							Ross 1968	
86	Urban	Silchester	Insula II	Pit					Complete dog skeleton									Fulford, 2001 (Fox 1892, 288)	
87	Urban	Silchester	Pit R, Insula 1	pit					A number of dog skulls									Fulford 2001	

APPENDIX 6: SILCHESTER DATABASE

88	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IV, forum-basilica, in the area between N. end of forum and the east-west street	pit				flask/bottle necks x 39										Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 561)	
89	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IV, forum-basilica, in the area between N. end of forum and the east-west street	pit			pottery fragments				small figurine of bronze - infant Hercules ?, iron screw							Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 561)	

APPENDIX 6: SILCHESTER DATABASE

90	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IV, forum-basilica, in the area between N. end of forum and the east-west street	Well			incomplete pot x 3, complete pot x 2				iron weight, bronze handle, steelyard weight						Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 561)	
91	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IV, beneath Forum floor	deposit beneath building					dog skull x 4, spurs from gamecocks		knife blade - small						Fulford 2001 (Joyce 1881, 355)	
92	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IV, beneath courtyard of forum	Well	15 ft. (extent of excavation)		pottery fragments		sheep and pig bones, assemblage dominated by dog bones		iron stylus				large amount of flints at base		Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 544)	

APPENDIX 6: SILCHESTER DATABASE

93	Urban	Silches ter	<i>Insula</i> IV, beneat h courtya rd of forum	Pit or Well					cattle jaw bone x 2								Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 544)		
94	Urban	Silches ter	<i>Insula</i> IV, W. of church, S. of forum	Well					pewter cups, conical in shape x 3				coins of Victori nus x 3			large flints	fragme nts of <i>opus signum</i>	Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1893, 544)	
95	Urban	Silches ter	<i>Insula</i> XXI	Pit					black mugs x 3, psuedo- samian vessels x 2, black dish								Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 97)		
96	Urban	Silches ter	<i>Insula</i> XXI	Pit					coarse vessels x 5, fine but ordinary vessels x 4								Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 97)		

APPENDIX 6: SILCHESTER DATABASE

97	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXI	Pit						adult male femur, leg bones, skull fragment								Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 111)	
98	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IV	Well						child (aged 12-14yrs) skull and arm bones								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1906, 161, 165)	
99	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> I, 2 ft. S. of House 2				pottery vessel containing infant bones			infant bones in pottery vessel								Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1891, 743)	
100	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXI, Pit JJ, within House 4 - possibly pre-dating it	Pit	Depth 15ft - extent of excavation		large amount of pottery fragments, pseudo-samian vases x 3	glass vessel fragments										Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 95, 108-110)	

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101	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXI, Pit A, House 1, Chamber 5 - possibly predating it	pit					Complete pig skull								Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 89)	
102	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXI, well in Chamber 6, House 4	Well	18 ft.	complete vessels x 7											Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 94-5)	
103	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXI, S. of House 1	Well	9 ft.	complete earthenware jugs x 4											Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900. 96-7)	
104	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXII, Pit 16	Pit		complete pots x 9											Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 32)	
105	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXII, Pit 24	Pit		complete vessels x 6											Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 32)	

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106	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXII, Pit 8	well		complete pots with plant contents x 2, pot containing plant remains x 1						flange-edged pewter plate, pewter bucket - large		plant remains found in the two complete pots		stone from partition section of House 5	Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 32, 35)	
107	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> IX	well		very large black jug									flint filled		Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 101)	
108	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XIII, Pit 10	pit	Depth 15 ft.							armour hinges and bosses, bronze patera					Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1901, 244-6)	
109	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXIII, Pit 14	pit	Depth 17 ft.	globular clay vessel with two handles, vessels x 12											Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1901, 246)	

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110	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXIII, Pit 17	pit	Depth 11 ft.									cultivated plants including grape and fig			Fulford 2001 (Reid 1901, 252)	
111	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXIII, Pit 30, House 2, Room 1	pit	finds at 22ft.	jugs x 2, pot x 5											Fulford 2001 (Fox and Hope 1901, 246)	
112	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, Pit 6	pit			pewter jug				complete axehead, iron tyres from a pair if wheels						Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 32)	
113	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, Pit 15	pit		pots with plant contents x 3											Fulford 2001 (Reid 1902, 35)	
114	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, Pit 17	pit		black pot at base with plant contents											Fulford 2001 (Reid 1902, 36)	

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115	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, Pit 21	pit		large amount of pottery fragments, 2 whole vessels											Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 26)	
116	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, Pit 25	Well		inscribed black pot, dish of samian ware, Caister ware vase					iron n hook, iron staple and from a small barrel an iron hoop						Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 32)	
117	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, House 1, room 10, northern corner	deposit beneath building		pots embedded in floor, mouths 'flush' with surface			bird bones								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 19-20)	

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118	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXVII, House 1, eastern side of room 11	deposit beneath building		pots x 3, pots embedded in floor, mouths 'flush' with surface			young lamb bones								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1902, 19-20)	
119	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XII or XXII	pit					cat skull at pit base								Fulford 2001 (Hope and Fox 1900, 111)	
120	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> V	pit					cat bones								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1906, 165)	
121	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXXIII, Well A	well	17ft.				horse skull, ox skulls, sheep skulls								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1903, 423)	

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122	Urban	Silchester	unknown	trench ?					small fish (maybe a carp), without head or tail, inside a black pot covered by a large flint, four vertebrae of fish found next to the pot								Fulford 2001 (Fox 1892, 285)	
123	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula XVI</i>	pit					Large amount of sheep scapulae with multiple perforations made by a centre-bit								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1897, 421-2)	Interpreted as the wast from bone ring manufacture

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124	Urban	Silchester	Insula XXXVI	pit					cattle horn-cores x 60								Fulford 2001 (1909, 480)	Interpreted as the waste from leather-working
125	Urban	Silchester	Insula VI	pit					lower mandibles of cattle representing at least 2, 500 individuals								Fulford 2001 (Hope 1906, 156, 165-7)	
223	Urban	Silchester	1990 hoard. Well 2, Insula XXIII - E. boundary.	Well		3rd-4th century AD	pottery				Bronze object, striking hammers x 2, small hammers x 10, states x 2, tongs x 2, drift, chisel, hand wringer, compass x 2, nail making instrument x 2, iron bar x 4, axehead,						Hingley 2003 (Reid 1901)	The well may be on top of an Iron Age enclosure ditch

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											socketed chisel x 4, adze, centre bit, anvil or shomake rs' hobbling foot, plough coulters x 3, coulter, forks ? x 2, mower's anvils x 8, knives, choppers , bucket handles, files x 2, saw x 2, spearhea d, large padlock, padlock fragment							
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224	Urban	Silchester	Pit N. 1890 hoard. Within the central portion of an insula	Pit			complete pot x 2				iron sword and iron bar x 2 'on top of pit'. Within pit: hammers, axe, gouges, plough coulter x 2, tongs, anvil, files, rasp, lamp, gridiron, hipposandal, carpenter's plane						Hingley 2003 (Fox and Hope 1891, Evans 1894)	
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273	Urban	Silchester	<i>Insula</i> XXXVI, located near to a temple	pit		possibly late 3rd or 4th century	small potx2						bone pins, glass setting for a ring or brooch				Boon 1974, p.153	the personal objects were interpreted as 'female' by Boon
274	Urban		<i>Insula</i> XXXVI, located near to a temple	pit		possibly late 3rd or 4th century							range of personal objects				Boon 1974, p.153	the personal objects were interpreted as 'female' by Boon

APPENDIX 7:

ROMAN DORCHESTER DATABASE

APPENDIX 7: ROMAN DORCHESTER DATABASE

Number	Category	Location	Context	Type	Dimensions	Dating	Pottery	Other Vessels	Animal Remains	Human Remains	Metal	Coins	Personal Objects	Botanical	Stone Objects	Other	Reference	Notes
149	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 6, under building 5433	Shaft	Depth 4.2m, length 1.4m, breadth 1.2m	AD 75-120	complete vessels x 6, samian ware x 4,		bird x 4, cat x 1, dog x 17, sheep x 1, pig x 1,	human skull		coin x 1	personal object x 3				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
150	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 5	Shaft	Depth 4.8m, length 1.6m, breadth 1.6m	AD 75-120	complete coarse ware x 1, coarse ware fragment x 3, complete samian ware x 2, samian fragment x 1					coin x 6	personal object (dress) x 11			crucible	Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

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151	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 13	Shaft	Depth 4.8m, length 1.3m, breadth 1.3m	AD100 -200	complete coarse ware x 6, coarse ware fragment x 3		bird remains x 4, sheep remains x 7, cat x 1, rodent x 1, small animal x 1, puppy x 4, dog x 9				personal object x 2				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
152	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 3	Shaft	Depth 4.2m, length 1.4m, breadth 1.2m	AD 75- 120			bird x 2								Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

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153	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 8	shaft	Depth 4m, length, 1.5m, breadth 1m	AD 150-300			bird x 1								Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
154	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 9	shaft	Depth 4, length 1.2m, width 1m	AD 150-300			dog x 3, bird x 2				personal object x 1, counter x 1				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
156	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 10	shaft	Depth 4.1m, length, 1.6m, breadth 1.3m	AD 150-300							personal object x 1				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

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157	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 12	shaft	Depth 2.5m, diameter 0.9m	AD 75- 120			dog x 1								Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
158	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 13	Shaft	Depth 4.8m, length 1.3m, breadth 1.3m	AD 100- 200			dog x 13, sheep x 7, bird x 4, other x 3							count er x 7	Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
159	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 14	Shaft	Depth 2.7m, length 1.4, breadth 1.4	AD100 -200			sheep x 1								Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

APPENDIX 7: ROMAN DORCHESTER DATABASE

160	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 15	pool	Depth 0.2, length 4m., breadth 3m.	AD 100- 200											Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
161	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 16	Shaft	Depth 4m., length 2.3, breadth 1.6	AD 150- 300			bird x 4, dog x 20			coin x 1	person al object x 7			count er x 35	Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
162	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 17	Shaft	Depth 2.7m, length 1.7, breadth 1.1m	AD 150- 300			dog x 11, bird x 2				person al object x 4			count er x 2	Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

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163	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 18	pit	Depth 1.7m, length 2.2m, breadth 1.6m.	AD 250- 400							personal object x 1				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	
164	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , Shaft 19	shaft	Depth 7.5m, length 4.5m, breadth 4.5m.	AD 350 - 450		bronze jug	animal remains x 1			coin x 2	personal object x 12				Woodward & Woodward 2004, Woodward, Davies & Graham 1993	

APPENDIX 7: ROMAN DORCHESTER DATABASE

165	Urban	Dorchester	North - west quarter of <i>Durnovaria</i> , County Hall, Colliton Park excavation, Pit 267	pit		1st century AD				adult radius fragment							Smith, 1993	Pit had been sealed by clean chalk 0.7m thick
166	Urban	Dorchester	North - west quarter of <i>Durnovaria</i> , County Hall, Colliton Park excavation, Pit 523	pit		late Roman			sheep x 5								Smith, 1993	

APPENDIX 7: ROMAN DORCHESTER DATABASE

167	Urban	Dorchester	North - west quarter of <i>Durnovaria</i> , County Hall, Colliton Park excavation, Building 572	deposited under building		late Roman				infant x 6							Smith, 1993	
168	urban	Dorchester	North - west quarter of <i>Durnovaria</i> , County Hall, Colliton Park excavation	post hole(s)									copper-alloy bracelet, spindle whorl, bone pins, 'invalid feeding cup'				Smith, 1993	

APPENDIX 7: ROMAN DORCHESTER DATABASE

169	urban	Dorchester	former County Hospital site, Building 7	deposit under feature (atrium-style garden)		1st - 2nd century AD (coins found in similar context)				infant							Trevarthen, 2008	
170	Urban	Dorchester	former County Hospital site, Building 6	deposit under building		late 3rd to early 4th century				infant x 2							Trevarthen, 2008	
171	Urban	Dorchester	former County Hospital site, Building 12	deposit under building		late 3rd to early 4th century				infant x 5							Trevarthen, 2008	
172	Urban	Dorchester	former County Hospital site, Building 13, SW corner Room 1	pits cutting building		post-Roman				infant bones - probably redeposited							Trevarthen, 2008	

APPENDIX 7: ROMAN DORCHESTER DATABASE

275	Urban	Dorchester	Central <i>insula</i> , northern range of courtyard building			AD 350-450				series of infant deposits							Woodward and Woodward 2004, p.72. Woodward, Davies&Graham, 1993.	associated find of two human footprints impressed on the <i>opus signinum</i> floor or of the same range
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APPENDIX 8:

VERULAMIUM DATABASE

APPENDIX 8: VERULAMIUM DATABASE

Number	Category	Location	Context	Type	Dimensions	Dating	Pottery	Other Vessels	Animal Remains	Human Remains	Metal	Coins	Personal Objects	Botanical	Stone Objects	Other	Reference	Notes
35	Extra-Urban	Verulamium	King Harry Lane site Pit 18	Pit		Mid 3rd century	Complete bowl, complete funnel, complete dish & sherds of 13 other kitchen vessels					denarius of Caracalla					Stead & Rigby 1989	Interpreted as possible ritual of closure
133	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, lower slope of the hill, Shaft AET	Shaft	Depth 3.4m	deposits made at intervals between mid 2nd to late 3rd century.	fragment of a possible face pot, mid/late 2nd century sherds in the butchery waste deposits		young dog bones with human cranium, parts of a puppy, butchery waste - at least 34 cattle, a bone deposit of domestic species - mainly cattle	human skull - west side of shaft base	knife					the lower portion of shaft had a fill of flints and chalk nodules mixed with clean clay	Niblett 1999	

APPENDIX 8: VERULAMIUM DATABASE

134	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, lower slope of the hill, Shaft ABC/E93	Shaft	Depth 2.4m.	deposits made at intervals between mid 2nd to late 3rd century.			ox skull x 2 centrally placed on shaft base								the lower portion of shaft had a fill of flints and chalk nodules mixed with clean clay	Niblett 1999	
135	Extra-urban, ceremonial enclosure	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Pit BJC, within W.. terminal of the ditch at the entrance to the enclosure	Pit	Depth 0.5m	Early 2nd century	smallish group of Hadrianic pottery		bones of horse - possibly representing a single individual, horn cores, cattle bones	human humerus								Niblett 1999	had been backfilled with gravel, all deposits had been placed on the base of the pit

APPENDIX 8: VERULAMIUM DATABASE

136	Extra-urban, ceremonial enclosure	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Pit CJF, within E.. terminal of the ditch at the entrance to the enclosure														Niblett 1999	The pit had no finds but was comparable in form and location to PitBJC. Had also been rapidly backfilled with gravel before silt could accumulate in it
137	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft AAB, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 1.6m, Diameter 1.8m	late 2nd to mid 3rd century	face pot x 2		animal bones							Clay and flint fill	Niblett 1999	

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138	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly-lane site, Shaft AAE, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 3.3m, Diameter 0.8m	late 2nd to mid 3rd century	fragments of face pots, potsherds		animal bones							Clay, flint and chalk fill	Niblett 1999	
139	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft ABA, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 3.2m	late 3rd century										Clay, flint and chalk fill	Niblett 1999	
140	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft ABZ, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 3.3m, Diameter 1.5m	late 2nd to mid 3rd century	pottery									flint and clay fill with capping of chalk	Niblett 1999	

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141	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft ACG, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 5m	late 3rd century	pottery, face pot										Flint, chalk and clay fill with capping of chalk	Niblett 1999	
142	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft ASK, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft		late 3rd century	pottery										Fill of silty clay	Niblett 1999	

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143	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft BBS, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 3m, Diameter 1.5m	late 3rd century	pottery										fill of silt, clay and flints	Niblett 1999	
144	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft CML, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth of excavation - 2m	late 3rd century	pottery, face pot										fill of silt and silty clat	Niblett 1999	

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145	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft CTY, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 2.4m, Diameter 0.9m	late 2nd to mid 3rd century	pottery									fill of brown clay and loam	Niblett 1999	
146	Extra-urban	Verulamium	Folly Lane site, Shaft DKM, S.W. of ceremonial enclosure	shaft	Depth 2m	early 2nd century	pottery									Fill in part made up of cess and silt	Niblett 1999	

APPENDIX 8: VERULAMIUM DATABASE

147	Urban	Verulamium	<i>Insula II</i> , under hearth BK	deposit beneath feature		late 1st to early 2nd century							brooches x 7, bone pins, bronze fittings x 4 (belt?), phallic amulets of bone x 4				Niblett, Mannin g & Saunders 2006	
148	Urban	Verulamium	site of levelled bath house	deposit beneath building		late 3rd to early 4th century	two complete pots positioned upright - one with phallic decoration										Niblett, Mannin g & Saunders 2006	the pots were in the matrix of the levelled bath house, beneath the new building construction

APPENDIX 8: VERULAMIUM DATABASE