Belonging and Belongings

Portable Artefacts and Identity in the *Civitas* of the Iceni

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Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
January 2018, revised May 2018

(redacted version: 3rd party images removed)

Abstract

The Late Iron Age in northern East Anglia ends with the Boudican revolt in 60/61 CE, after which, the people known as the Iceni were subsumed by the Roman empire. This thesis tests the archaeological evidence for the Iceni as a defined group, demonstrated by the distinctive character material culture in the region. It investigates the theory that they were slow to adopt Roman imports and luxury goods, either as a form of deliberate resistance or due to cultural retardation following the Boudican revolt. It also questions the interpretive narrative of the Iceni as 'Other', in both Classical and modern sources.

My research expands upon previous studies, which have often been restricted to a single county, time period, or class of artefact. It includes a broad study of the three counties most closely associated with the Iceni: Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. The chronological range (*circa* 100 BCE-200 CE) incorporates the Claudian invasion, Boudican rebellion and several generations either side. A large dataset of over 14,000 object records has been examined, drawn from county Historic Environment Records (HERs) and the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). This project reassesses many of the long-held stereotypes about the Iceni in the light of the dramatic increases in metal-detector finds over the past 20 years.

This thesis demonstrates that:

- A single unified social entity ('the Iceni') is not archaeologically visible across the study area, although there is intra-regional patterning.
- Iron Age modes of expressing status and identity persisted under Roman rule, through the manufacture, use and display of objects.
- Evidence is lacking for regional impoverishment and depopulation in the aftermath of the Boudican revolt.
- Metal-detected surface finds have significant research potential when viewed across a wide area and in conjunction with stratified sites.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my thanks to the following people, without whom this research would not have been possible: My supervisors, Will Bowden (University of Nottingham) and Colin Haselgrove (University of Leicester), for always steering me in the right direction. The Midlands3Cities DTP gave me the privilege of a full studentship and a wide support network.

Staff at the county HERs showed great diligence and patience in dealing with my requests for information (Gaby Day, Ben Donnelly-Symes, Heather Hamilton, Rik Hoggett, Faye Minter and Jude Plouviez) as did Finds Liaison Officers (FLOs) and other PAS staff: Anna Booth, Garry Crace, Adrian Marsden, Julie Shoemark and Alastair Willis. Wendy Scott (Leicestershire FLO) hosted my research placement and initiated me into the mysteries of the PAS database and Julia Farley (British Museum) was a welcoming host for my employability placement. At Norfolk Museums Service, Steven Ashley, John Davies, Natasha Hutcheson, Jan Pitman, Andrew Rogerson and Alan West all encouraged me and answered my questions and Tim Pestell set me on this path towards a PhD.

My gratitude is also due to the metal-detectorists who took the time to answer my interview questions and others who generously shared their research: Colin Andrews (seal-boxes), Robin Bendrey (horses), Dot Boughton (miniature axes), Tom Brindle (RRS), Nina Crummy (bracelets), Jack Davy (miniatures), Matt Fittock (pipeclay figurines), Stuart McKie (curse tablets), Gwladys Monteil (samian), Michelle Statton (personal ornament), Naomi Sykes (zooarchaeology) and John Talbot (coins). Brian Read (Historical Metallurgy Society), David Viner (Cirencester Archaeological & Historical Society) and Judy Sims (Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society) assisted me with archive materials. Jenny Press and Ian Jackson (CRP) kindly supplied small find images and Katherine Robbins provided her Roman road and coastline maps.

Thanks also to friends and family who proofread and commented on chapters and to Lyn and Roy Catchpole, Sue Harries, Steve Buck and Chris Taylor who put me up (and put up with me).

For Chris Barringer

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Abbreviations

ADS	Archaeology Data Service
BAR	British Archaeological Report
BM	British Museum
CAMARC	Cambridgeshire Archaeology
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CCC	Cambridgeshire County Council
CHER	Cambridgeshire Historic Environment Record
CRT	Caistor Roman Town Project
EAA	East Anglian Archaeology
FLO	Finds Liaison Officer
HER	Historic Environment Record
LIA	Late Iron Age
LPRIA	Late Pre-Roman Iron Age
NA	Norfolk Archaeology
NAHRG	Norfolk Archaeological and Historical Research Group
NAU	Norfolk Archaeological Unit
NCC	Norfolk County Council
NHER	Norfolk Historic Environment Record
NMS	Norfolk Museums Service
NRC	Norfolk Research Committee
NWHCM	Norwich Castle Museum
OAE	Oxford Archaeology East
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme
PCAS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society
PPS	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
PSIA(H)	Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology (and History)
RRS	Roman Rural Settlement project
SAU	Suffolk Archaeological Unit
SCC	Suffolk County Council
SHER	Suffolk Historic Environment Record

Naming Conventions

Throughout the text, sites and objects are referred to using a code which combines a prefix (NHER, SHER, CHER, or PAS) followed by the individual reference number. Objects labelled CRT, NWHCM or BM followed by an alpha-numeric sequence are registered finds of the Caistor Roman Town project, Norwich Castle Museum and the British Museum respectively.

Chapter 1. The Land of the Iceni

To the aristocratic male writers of classical histories, Britain signified a savage land in need of Roman civilisation. However, many people were familiar with Roman architecture, language and artefacts. Southern parts of the British Isles had experienced nearly a century of engagement with the empire, between Julius Caesar's abortive expeditions of 55/54 BCE and Claudius's successful conquest (Creighton 2006:14-34; Woolf 2011b:89-91). Imports arrived in large numbers from the Mediterranean and Gaul, with wheel-turned pottery, coinage and cremation burials becoming increasingly visible in the archaeological record (Mattingly 2007:68-84).

The land of the Iceni falls within the modern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire (Figure 1.1). Settlements cluster on the higher ground at the Fen edge, in a line running up the northwestern side of Norfolk. Along this ridge run two major routes, the Icknield and Peddar's Ways. The northern part of the Icknield Way (NHER:1398) extends from the southwest of the region, past the important Iron Age sites at Thetford and Snettisham, arriving at the Wash near Holme-next-the-Sea. This routeway marks the chalk escarpment above the Fen edge and is considered to have prehistoric origins. The Peddar's Way (NHER:1289) marks the western watershed and is thought by some to be a military road, along with the Pye Road and the Fen Causeway, driven through the territory in the wake of the invasion (Andrews 2012:63; Fairclough 2010:64; Gurney 1993:34; Hutcheson 2004:7). The precise routes and dating are still uncertain.

The territory was located between two great wetlands, the Fen Basin to the west and the so-called 'Great Estuary' on the east coast. Increased flooding in the Late Iron Age (LIA) made the Fenlands virtually uninhabitable until a fall in sea levels and large-scale drainage in the 1st century CE made reoccupation possible. The Great Estuary had formed by the Iron Age, with submersion of a spit of land allowing tidal ingress of the North Sea near modern Great

Yarmouth. In the Roman period, a vast landscape of saltmarsh and mudflats existed, with estuarine conditions reaching far inland. The tributaries of the Great Estuary are the modern Rivers Yare, Bure and Waveney, forming the main river valleys of today's Norfolk Broads. The Great Estuary would have been a major gateway to the area, with the *civitas* capital sited on a navigable but shallow branch (Bescoby *et al.* forthcoming). The Estuary silted up again in the Anglo-Saxon period, attributed to rising sea levels and the re-emergence of the sandbar on which Yarmouth now sits (Albone *et al.* 2007a:3-6; Frere 1991:267; Gurney 1993:34).

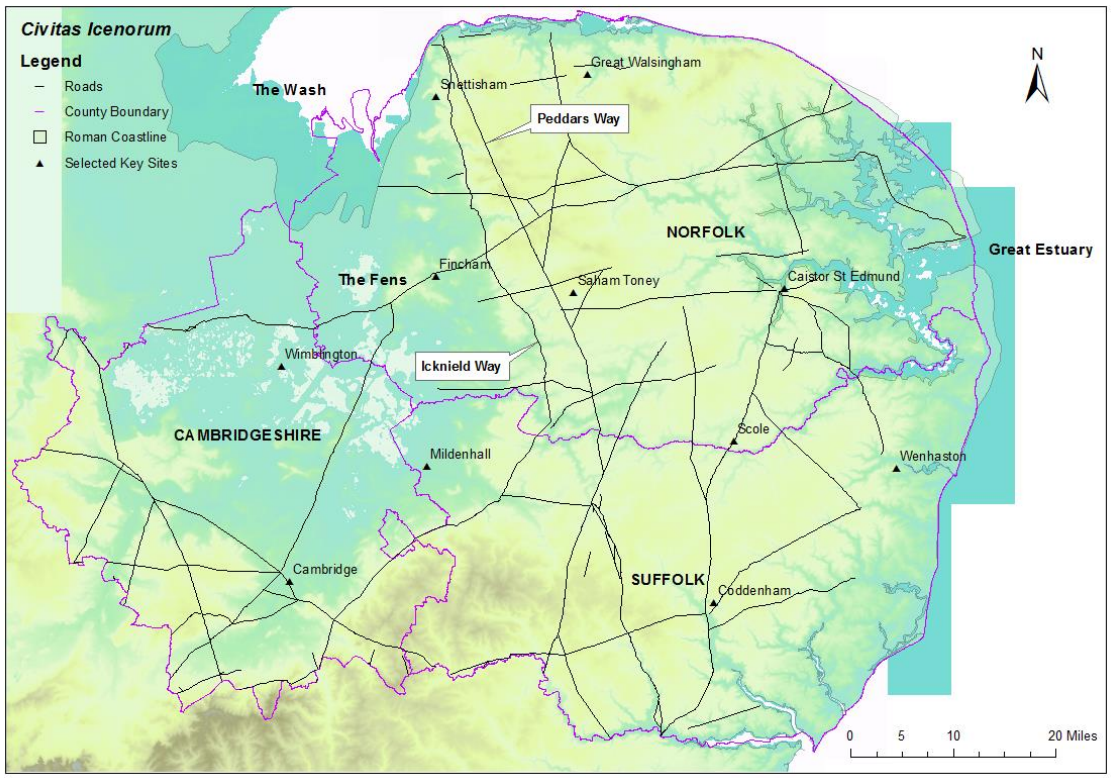


Figure 1.1: Key modern and historic features of the *Civitas Icenorum* showing elevation (Image: Author).

The landscape was intensively farmed where suitable, with relatively sparse settlement dotted across the fertile areas. Different patterns of agriculture and stock-rearing may explain the lack of surrounding earthworks, which are found in other regions. Similarly, the tradition of fortified hilltops seen in southern and western Britain seems to have been less common here, partly due to the low-lying geography of the area. However, several putative hillfort-type sites have

been identified. Enclosures are known at various locations in west Norfolk: Warham, Narborough, Holkham, Thetford and South Creake. Barnham in northwest Suffolk may also fit into this category. There are also exceptional sites at Snettisham, Stonea Camp and Thetford (Fison Way), interpreted as *foci* of ritual behaviour (Clarke 1939; Davies 1996, 1999; Hill 1999; Hutcheson 2004; Malim 2005; Martin 1999). Most homesteads were unenclosed (construed as undefended) and there were few extensive LIA nucleations, usually described as *oppida* (Fernández-Götz 2014; Moore 2012; Pitts 2010). Davies considers the settlements at Thetford, Saham Toney and Caistor St Edmund as potential candidates in Norfolk (1999:33-37); Pitts includes only Cambridge and Burgh (2010:36 table 1). Some of these designations will be challenged below.

1.1. The Iceni in the Late Iron Age and Early Roman Periods

The Iceni[1] is the name given to the people living in what is now northern East Anglia, immediately before contact with the Roman world and during the period of Roman rule in Britain. The LIA in the polity is normally dated to *circa* 100 BCE to 60/61 CE, the change from self-governance to full Roman rule marked by the Boudican revolt (Davies 1996:65).[2]

'Icenia'[3] was atypical compared to other parts of southern Britain. Few imported goods seem to have reached the region. Dressel 1 wine *amphorae* and imported finewares are rare,[4] unlike other parts of southern and eastern England in the LIA (Champion 2016:159; Ralph 2007:108). Highly-ornamented fine metalwork, including torcs and horse gear, was crafted and deposited across the region, often found in hoards. Production of this distinctive indigenous material culture continued into the early Roman period, frequently developing hybrid forms.[5] Gold coins were being struck from *circa* 65 BCE, with silver issues appearing in the record from about 35 BCE (Davies 1996, 1999; Hutcheson 2004). There is minimal archaeological indication of developed social hierarchies or warfare, and an absence of the 'warrior chieftain' funerary rites typified by Aylesford-Swarling or Welwyn in the southeast, or the extravagant

'Arras-style' chariot burials of Yorkshire (Clarke 1939; Davies 2011b; Hill 1995, 2007; Martin 1999).

Funerary rites left little trace in the Late Iron Age across much of Britain. Human remains may have been deposited in water, which has parallels with the tradition of metalwork deposition in wet places (Johnson 2002; Sykes 2014:65). Urned cremation burial was a local tradition in southeastern Britain, from the early 1st century BCE into the post-conquest period. Burial of partial remains in pits, often alongside animal bones, was another common method of disposing of the dead. Human remains were perhaps also scattered, excarnated or deposited in middens or wells. It is estimated that 90-95% of the population did not receive a formal interment, although inhumation became popular from *circa* 200 CE across the western empire (Carr and Knüsel 1997; Cool 2011; Gurney 1998; Hill 1995a; Merrifield 1987; Sealey 2016). This major shift corresponds to several other changes in material culture and practice beginning in the 3rd century CE, which will be explored further below.

The Iceni way of death was distinct from neighbouring regions and other provinces and, at the same time, similar to other parts of Britain. Iron Age and Roman burials are infrequent, especially in Norfolk and north Suffolk.[6] Mapping from the Roman Rural Settlement (RRS) project confirms this trend (Figure 1.2, Figure 1.3). Despite strong evidence for production of horse and vehicle trappings (Chapter 6), there are no confirmed chariot burials.[7] The discussion of pipeclay figurines in children's burials (Chapter 7) presents evidence for some intra-regional differences.

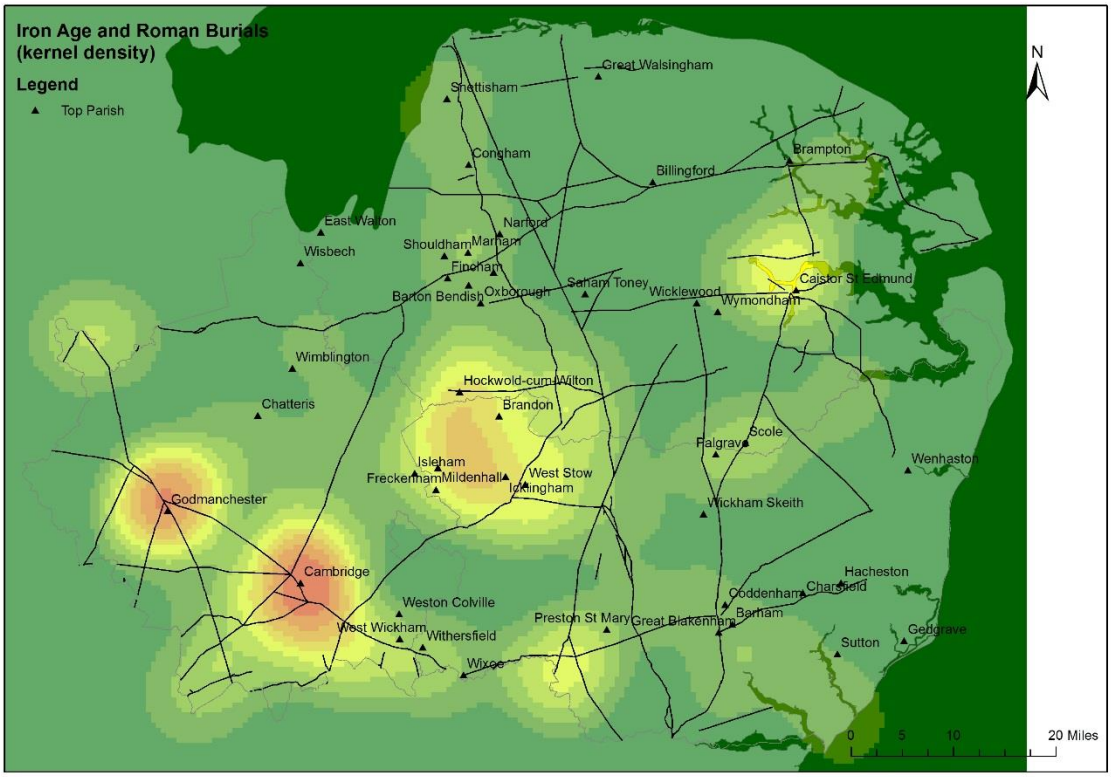


Figure 1.2: Density of Iron Age and Roman burials (Image: Author).

Image removed pending copyright permission

Figure 1.3: RRS map of funerary sites.

According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.31, 14.31), after the invasion instigated by the emperor Claudius in 43 CE, some groups, including the Iceni, were affiliated with the Roman Empire as client-kingdoms. This allowed local rulers to control their own internal affairs providing they followed Roman policy. Client-kingdom status meant they could draw on the security and might of the Roman army when necessary, without the need for a permanent military presence. Gift-giving, diplomacy and trade advantages may have also sweetened the deal for such semi-independent states (Hanson 1997; Mattingly 2011:85-93; Richardson 1984:13-4; Wacher 1976:226-7). The client-kingdom may account for the restricted numbers of forts and military material culture in the Iceni heartland (Eckardt 2005:150-1; Mattingly 2007:138-9).

Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.31) states an uprising among the Iceni in 47 CE was prompted by their forcible disarming by the incoming governor, Ostorius Scapula. This might suggest that they were not one of the kingdoms to submit to Claudius at the original invasion (Salway 1981:90, fn. 1, 101). Mattingly interprets this more as a skirmish than a full-blown revolt, as the client-kingdom status was maintained (2007:101-2). Some numismatists suggest it may have been at this point that Prasutagus became king of a unified Iceni (Allen 1970:16; Davies 1996:85, 1999:41), although Hutcheson discerns an earlier change in social organisation in the late 1st century BCE/early 1st century CE (2007:369).

The people of Icenia seem to have subscribed to a different way of life, following less hierarchical settlement patterns, social structures and burial practices than their LIA neighbours, the Trinovantes in south Suffolk and Essex and the Catuvellauni in Cambridgeshire. They expressed wealth and rank through their numerous harness and chariot fittings and personal ornaments, at the pinnacle of which were the golden torcs, and 'the absence of imported wine-vessels and certain types of pottery' set them apart (Green 1993:32).

1.2. The Boudican 'War of Independence'

The breakdown of the client-kingdom relationship and the ensuing 'War of Independence' (Crummy *et al.* 2015) has been much discussed (Collingridge

2005; Gambash 2012; Hingley and Unwin 2005; Trow 2003, to name but a few). Classical sources describe how the oppressed indigenes (the Iceni and some of their near neighbours) rose up in an ill-fated revolt against the occupation under their leader Boudica, Prasutagus's widow, in 60/61 CE (Dio *Hist. Rom.* 62.1-12; Tac. *Ann.* 14.29-39). This was eventually put down under the serving provincial Governor, Suetonius Paulinus (for concise summaries see Hingley and Unwin 2005:41-61; Mattingly 2007:106-13; also Braund 1996; Webster 1993). This rebellion marks the demise of the client-kingdom and is normally accepted as the end of the Iron Age in Iceni territory.

Direct archaeological evidence for the revolt is limited. Destruction levels at *Camulodunum* and *Londinium* tally with the written accounts. A less comprehensive destruction horizon is seen at *Verulamium*, and Chelmsford, although not mentioned in the classical texts, may also have suffered the same fate (Gambash 2012:2; Hingley and Unwin 2005:63-107). Mid-1st century CE burnt levels and hoards of coins and metalwork are usually interpreted as 'Boudican'. These hoards, dating to the 60s CE, occur in Norfolk, north Suffolk and north Cambridgeshire. However, the supposed Trinovantian territory in Essex and south Suffolk has not produced similar hoards, suggesting regional variation in deposition (Chadburn 2006:174; Todd 1999:72-3). There may be an element of circularity here, in which Icenian mid-century hoards are expected to be Boudican, whereas elsewhere the narrative is different. There has been a tendency to interpret archaeological remains in Icenia through the lens of the Boudican story and this will be explored as a key theme throughout this study.

The end of the client-kingdom and ensuing full Roman control of the Iceni territory is one of the most interesting periods in this part of Britain. Davis and Gwilt (2008:146) suggest that, prior to the revolt and for several generations beyond, the Iceni people used items of portable wealth to both passively and actively resist incorporation into the Roman world. These ideas will be revisited below in the discussion of identities, resistance and material culture.

1.3. The *Civitas Icenorum*

I use the term *civitas Icenorum*[8] to describe the territory populated by the people known as the Iceni in the post-client-kingdom phase from 61 CE onwards. This was effectively a Roman administrative district with its capital at *Venta Icenorum*, which is one of this study's key sites. The Latin usage of the word encompasses a sense of citizenship of the people, as well as their state or community. *Civitas* is generally accepted to define a political as opposed to an ethnic identity. However, Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.31) also refers to the Iceni as *gens* which could be translated as 'clan' or 'people' (Moore 2011:339-40).

Frere suggested strong military reinforcements and refortification of the province after the rebellion, with new forts at Great Chesterford, Coddenham, Ixworth and possibly Saham Toney (1991:73-4). The assumed militarisation is not currently supported by archaeological evidence, although this may be due to a lack of recovery and poor dating (Millett 1990:55). Evidence for overt military control of the territory is lacking; instead, there may have been more subtle impacts on the landscape of the region. Some see a deliberate reordering of the indigenous landscape, through the development of the road network and schemes of centuriation, by which land was mapped, measured out and allocated (Dilke 1971; Frere 2000; Williamson 1986). British centuriation schemes, if indeed they existed, may respect pre-Roman field systems and land-use, but are highly contested (Mattingly 2007:359-62).

Studies of coins and horse harness do not support the assertion that the territory was a 'cultural backwater', disengaged from wider socio-political changes (Davies and Gregory 1991:77; Hutcheson 2004:95). The narrative of widespread depopulation and abandonment in the aftermath of the rebellion, based on Tacitus (*Ann*. 14.38), has gone relatively unquestioned. The Iceni are perceived to have rejected the civic trappings and imposing architecture found elsewhere in Roman Britain (in the form of large towns, villas, mosaics and inscriptions), preferring traditional modes of status, display and portable wealth (Andrews 2012:66; Fincham 2002:83; Mattingly 2007:111-3; Trow 2002:104). We will return to this 'reluctance' again throughout this study.

1.4. The *Civitas* Capital: *Venta Icenorum*

The *civitas* capital has been described as 'an afterthought' and 'poorly developed'. It is considered to have failed as an urban centre, due to the impoverishment of the Icenian people and their 'local nobility' subsequent to the Boudican rebellion (de la Bédoyère 2006:137; Frere 2000:354; Millett 1990:100-1). These typify standard, but outmoded, views of the town and demonstrate the persistence of the 'barbarians vs. civilisation' narrative. Excavations were carried out between 1929 and 1935 (Atkinson 1932a, 1932b), later part-published by Frere (1971, 2005). Atkinson dated the formal layout of the town to *circa* 70 CE, as a Roman response to the revolt and, influenced by Haverfield (1901), described the 'conservative character of the Iceni' and their 'relatively imperfect degree of Romanisation' (1932a:133; 1932b:42).

Despite its tenacity in most subsequent literature, the narrative of stunted urban development at *Venta Icenorum* has been challenged by the Caistor Roman Project (2009-2017). Bowden states it is no longer possible to think of the *civitas* capital as part of the post-revolt 'pacification' of the Iceni, as excavations have found little evidence for significant settlement before *circa* 120 CE (2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2017).

1.5. *'Igni atque ferro vastatum'*: Harried with Fire and Sword

> 'The tribes which had shown themselves dubious or disaffected were harried with fire and sword. Nothing, however, pressed so hard as famine on an enemy who, careless about the sowing of his crops, had diverted all ages of the population to military purposes' (Tac. *Ann*. 14.38).

A similarly intransigent hypothesis states that after the rebellion the population was annihilated and the region laid waste (Hutcheson 2004:95). 'Tribes' (plural) reminds us that, in the classical telling, the Iceni were joined in revolt by their neighbours, the Trinovantes, and perhaps others. The proposed 'Imperial Estate' in the Fenland depends on the Boudican narrative to provide the conditions for colonisation of a ravaged and empty land with few survivors (Malim 2005:42). Archaeological exploration does not support this, with

increasing evidence for LIA and early Roman settlement in the Fens, particularly from developer-led projects. Numerous sites are also suspected from field survey and aerial photography, although they are scarce in my database due to lack of metal finds. The roads and canals (like the Fen Causeway and Car Dyke) were not planned strategic expansions, but local improvements on existing networks (Catling 2014; Smith *et al.* 2016; Taylor 2007). Interestingly, this narrative of depopulation and retribution does not feature strongly in archaeological or historical presentations of the LIA in Suffolk or Essex. Moore *et al.* (1988:21, 82) observed there was little evidence of either a 'dramatic disruption' or new settlers in Suffolk and the small towns at Hacheston and Coddenham developed uninterrupted.[9] This may be part of the construction of the Icenian 'Other'.

Tacitus claims that 70,000 Roman citizens and allies were killed in the destruction of *Camulodunum* and *Verulamium* and that 80,000 Britons fell at a cost of 400 Romans in Suetonius Paulinus's victory (*Ann*. 14.33, 14.37). It is practically impossible to estimate the numbers of inhabitants of the territory either directly before or after the revolt, but it is commonly assumed that a great many people died or were displaced as a consequence of the fighting, or the subsequent famine (Clarke 1939:60-1; Millett 1990:100-1; Webster 1993:101, 129):

> 'Almost a complete generation of men of marriageable and procreative age would have been wiped out in battle while poverty, starvation and slavery will have reduced the number of survivors. It seems doubtful whether the population could have been restored to its original level within a generation, if indeed it ever was' (Wacher 1976:229).

The post-Boudican impoverishment of the Iceni is often referred to, and yet is little supported by material evidence. Hutcheson notes the continued production of horse equipment on Roman-period sites in Norfolk: 'The assumption that this region was devastated in the aftermath of the rebellion is not sustained by a close reading of the archaeological record. "Iron Age"

cultural attributes do not disappear' (2004:97-8). She advocates further research on this topic, which this study attempts to address. The 'Iceni' as a people disappear from the sparse written records, preserved only in the name of the *civitas* capital. This is the fate of many other named communities which may have been creations of the colonial administration. It is necessary to evaluate the material remains carefully with this in mind.

The slow adoption of new material culture and practices has been ascribed to a social inwardness or an unwillingness to adopt a 'Roman' way of life (e.g. Atkinson 1932b:42; Millett 1990:100-1), although critiques of 'Romanisation' have rightly questioned these concepts (e.g. Barrett 1997; Grahame 1998; Hingley 2008; James 2010). Cultural conservatism can instead be regarded as part of a dynamic of resistance in response to imperial oppression (Hill 2001; Hingley 1997; Scott 1990). This may reflect an alternative engagement with a vastly unequal power, or the extension of significant pre-conquest differences. It is possible that the Iceni were simply following a broader trend in LIA Britain, creating a strong regional identity in opposition to outside pressures (Davis and Gwilt 2008:176).

The land of the Iceni seems to have been defined by what it is not. As the old adage relates, 'in Norfolk we do things different'; the motto of the University of East Anglia exhorts its students to 'Do Different'. This rhetoric has been applied to the inhabitants of Icenia (Clarke 1939:85, attributed to R.H. Mottram; Davies 2011b:104; Fairclough 2010:105; Marsden 2012:52, 64). There is a strong sense that in the past, as today, the region was defiantly independent.

The Iceni stood apart from other peoples of pre-Roman Britain. Their distinctive use of material culture reflects changing expressions of status and identity. The making of the Icenian 'Other', which began in the classical texts, has continued to structure our understanding of the period. In this thesis, I consider this discourse and illuminate some responses to major changes, both internal and external, through portable artefacts. I also explore the significant increase in recorded metal-detector finds since the inception of the PAS in terms of its

research potential and implications for studies of material culture. This brief summary of the historical and archaeological background sets the scene for the following research questions:

- Is there a distinctive material culture in the region which can be identified with 'the Iceni'?
- Did the Iceni favour displays of objects over other symbols considered to demonstrate status, such as elaborate burials?
- During the client-kingdom period, were personal belongings used to show resistance to Roman influence?
- Is there evidence for the claimed post-rebellion famine, depopulation and reallocation of land?
- Are unstratified surface finds recovered by metal-detector useful for research purposes?

Chapter 2. Belonging and Belongings: Exploring the Research Context

The complex subject of the Roman interlude in Britain[10] raises questions about identity and ethnicity, resistance and agency. This thesis considers the role of material culture in identity formation. It focusses on practice, display and difference (Eckardt 2014; Gardner 2007; Revell 2016). I combine Crummy's functional categories (1983), which are allied to *praxis*, with an object-centred approach to agency in which 'things' engage in social and material networks (Gell 1998; Gosden 2005; Hodder 2012).

This chapter reviews our current state of knowledge on the key issues of belonging (identity) and belongings (material culture). It situates my research within contemporary theoretical thought and considers the interpretive models suitable for large-scale data analysis. These will be discussed under three overarching themes: How do we understand cultural contact and change? How are private and public, individual and group identities expressed through material culture? What is the discourse of 'the Iceni' and does it stand up to scrutiny?

2.1. How do we Understand Cultural Contact and Change?

The prevailing Romanisation paradigm of the late 19th/20th centuries coloured archaeological understandings of interactions between Iron Age Britain and the Roman empire. Its application to the Iceni and the *civitas* capital (Atkinson 1932a, 1932b; Haverfield 1901) resulted in the persistent 'cultural backwardness' stereotype. Romanisation has been heavily critiqued over the past 30 years (e.g. Hingley 2008; James 2010; Mattingly 1997, 2007; Millett 1990; Webster and Cooper 1996; Woolf 1997). In the ensuing theoretical vacuum, questions remain over the evidence for continuity and change during Britain's term as a Roman province (Gardner 2007, 2013; Versluys 2014; Woolf 2014).

Romanisation explained the incorporation of diverse groups of indigenous people into the monolithic imperial body as part of a progressive framework

(Barrett 1997:51). Classical descriptions and numismatic evidence were used to conceptualise 'tribal' groups and territories (Section 2.2.2). One narrative saw emergent 'native élites' in the LIA maintaining power through the control of rare and imported products. The deliberate acculturation of 'native aristocracies' paved the way for assimilation into the empire. Certain groups were permitted to retain local dominance in exchange for their loyalty (Frere 1991). Literary claims that indigenous princelings were taken 'hostage' to Rome, returning home to impart a cultured touch to their countryfolk may have had a comforting resonance for antiquaries familiar with the Grand Tour, but there is minimal evidence in the archaeology (see Creighton 2000:89-92). An alternative approach considered the importance of social reciprocity and the desire to acquire prestige. Cultural change trickled down the social hierarchy by a process of emulation (Haselgrove 1996; Millett 1990, 2002). Gifts, honours and privileges may have overcome the potential culture clash between conquerors and colonised (Grahame 1998; Kurchin 1995). Both these viewpoints rely on an economic model for social change. The idea of 'native élites' is rarely questioned, but the social structure of the Iceni would have played a large part in whether these strategies found favour.

James develops this approach by emphasising 'élite negotiation' to explain the profound material changes in the artefactual record, with new coinage, burial rites and personal adornment apparent in the century before the Claudian invasion. Long-standing contact and trade links with Gaul influenced lowland Britain's relationship with Rome (James 2010). Despite Icenia's geographical proximity to the mainland, this suite of novel ideas and objects was not adopted with the same enthusiasm as other parts of southeastern England.

Regional differences were homogenised by the 'Romans vs. Natives' opposition of Romanisation (Hill 2001:12). The tendency to see imperialism as a unilateral process failed to explore the role of the colonised in creating and subverting the *status quo*. Reassessment of 'Britain in the Roman Empire' (Mattingly 2007) highlights resistance, regional diversity and the active construction of identities, rather than the straightforward adoption of *romanitas*[11] (Creighton 2006;

Gardner 2013; Grahame 1998; James 2010; Keay and Terrenato 2010). Within this 'nativist' critique, the diversity of material culture and social practice across the provinces has been given greater attention (Crummy and Eckardt 2003:44). These approaches still make certain assumptions about social structure, leadership and value systems.

If Romanisation has been discredited as, at best, a historical discourse and at worst, an irrelevant fiction, how does this affect my attempt to seek Icenian identities? What traces might the two-way process of adaptation and appropriation between groups leave in the artefact record?

2.1.1. Persistent Identities: Resistance and Discrepancy

In the late 20th century, archaeological debates moved away from Romanisation to address overlooked areas such as class, age, gender and regionality. This socially-aware archaeology reflected political fights for equality and consideration of individual power for change. Cultural contact was redrawn as a multifaceted experience which allowed a range of 'discrepant' identities and greater agency among occupied peoples. The revisionist approach (Haselgrove 1996, 2002; Millett 1990) was criticised for its focus on élites and the 'trickle down' effect on the wider population. A dynamic recreation of identities occurred in response to Roman influence, but was not driven purely by submission or slavish emulation (Hill 2001; Mattingly 2007).

Ideas of resistance and 'cultural conservatism' are key concepts in the discourse of the Iceni. I define 'resistance' in Hingley's (1997:88) sense, in which material culture is used in indirect forms of opposition, or Scott's 'hidden transcripts' (1990), which may be expressed as an alternative, or a counterpart, to outright insurgence. While the average Icenian peasant-farmer may have had limited potential to effect large-scale change, the will to resist may have been expressed through simple personal belongings, such as brooches.

Davies argues for a series of 'cultural indicators' and 'deliberate exclusions' which set the Iceni apart from other Iron Age Britons (2011b:104). Indicators like language, dress and cuisine can mark out cultural interactions and may tell

us about attitudes to citizenship in the past. The persistence of older forms, styles and perhaps also meanings, into the post-revolt period may reveal this process. The re-forging of identities, creating a creolised Romano-British character, may have reinforced or challenged the new administration (Davis and Gwilt 2008:146-7; Hingley 1997:96; Mattingly 2008:218).

2.1.2. What is the Power of the Dispossessed?

To understand interactions between indigenous groups and colonial powers, we must query the mechanisms for social change and the role of state and individual. In the early to mid-20th century, Marxist archaeologists posited that past societies were aligned along class lines, emphasising domination by the powerful and resistance among minority or oppressed groups. Internal struggles for power instigated social transformations. Processual archaeologies drew heavily on anthropological theory, science and linguistics to interpret the spread of Roman culture in terms of the big picture, taking a long view of social change (Tilley 1990; Trigger 2006:386-483). Structuralist analyses compared Roman unity with Iron Age diversity, Roman order with Iron Age chaos (Woolf 1992:351-2).

Social theorists like Giddens (1984) criticised the Marxist/structuralist approach for lacing too tight a social straightjacket around the individual agent. Sociologists (e.g. Bourdieu 1977) viewed individuals at the nexus of a constantly-renewed web of relationships, practices and interactions with both institutions and other social actors. Structural relationships of domination and exploitation are still valid in this model, but are tempered by individual actions. However, these analyses tend to neglect the agency of the less powerful and the masses (Grahame 1998:5). James sees local élites reinforcing their roles through the control of cultural capital. They sought to maintain and express a social hierarchy which validated their privileged position, defining themselves through 'distinction from their subordinates through new symbols of exclusion' (2010:199).

In Roymans's discussion of Belgic Gaul and the Rhineland, Roman 'cultural uniformisation' occurs, while continuing cultural differences were 'reformulated in interaction' (1996:10). Some peoples held ambiguous identities which bridged the perceived gap between 'civilised' Gallic and 'barbarian' Germanic societies. A 'failure to Romanise' left those on the margins 'doomed to chaos and barbarism'. Roymans considers that those areas which felt the impact of Rome less heavily were differently integrated into the empire, often based on what they could provide (e.g. conscripts to the military or agricultural surpluses) (*ibid.*:101-3). There were multiple unequal power structures and relationships of exploitation within the Roman provinces. Where on this spectrum of engagement did the Icenian *civitas* fall?

Much has been written on potential replacements for Romanisation as a narrative to explain cultural process and change, and their application to material culture. These include globalisation and glocalisation, discrepant experiences and institutional archaeology (e.g. Gardner 2013; Laurence 2001; Mattingly 2011; Woolf 2014). I have attempted to integrate the nuances of discrepancy and hybridity with a wider post-colonial analysis of power and discourse. Gardner (2013) recommends that small finds are interpreted as manifestations of *praxis*. His 'institutional archaeology' considers interactions of practice, structure and agency over time and space. These institutions may be anything from customs and ethnicity to more structured organisations. By looking at a large geographical area and a 300-year timespan, I will attempt to demonstrate some of these relationships in areas such as religion, literacy and transport.

Under the client-kingdom, the 'Icenian aristocracy' (Gurney 1998:27) included Prasutagus and Boudica, or their equivalents. After the revolution was subdued, were the remnants of this 'élite' enslaved or permitted to take up positions of power under the new administration? During the *civitas* period, we can only imagine the dynamics at work between local power-brokers, resettled veterans, active military personnel and the administrative class, as well as the average subsistence farmer. Yet, this viewpoint still assumes that hierarchy was the

norm. There are possibilities for a re-reading of the Boudican uprising, using concepts of consensus and collective action (DeMarrais 2016).

Scott's 'hidden transcripts' (1990) allow for marginalised and subordinate groups to express dissent through cultural forms. People may tolerate periods of domination if they believe they will be eventually be liberated. This can be related to the Iceni both during the client-kingdom and the occupation. Perhaps this explains the lack of militarisation in the territory before Ostorius Scapula's programme of disarmament reportedly triggered the first uprising (Hingley and Unwin 2005:26; Mattingly 2007:101; Tacitus *Ann.* 12.31).

The idea of cultural resistance has been critiqued by Sauer (2004) who accuses resistance theorists of an 'anti-colonialist mission', seeking proof in the archaeological record of 'otherwise unrecorded widespread resistance' (*ibid*.:119). If material culture was a means of expressing resistance to Roman rule, who was in on the joke, or as Webster puts it, the 'ironic potential' for satire, mimicry and subversion (2003:35)? Other Britons who were friendly to the Romans must have been aware of the hidden meanings. As a client-state, many people in Icenia would have been pro-Roman and may even have contested the revolt. Scott acknowledges the difficulties of finding subordinate discourses both past and present. Overt resistance may be expressed in domains of domination: against taxation and appropriation of goods and lands, public rituals and ideological displays. Hidden transcripts are transmitted most keenly where control is weakest, through popular culture and personal religious expression for example (1990:108-35). Counter-cultural dissonance can be expressed through dress and language, and it is these things which may leave traces in the archaeological record.

Taking up the Roman way of dress may have paid cynical lip-service to the incoming hegemony, but maintained contradictory or subversive attitudes (Grahame 1998:2). Carroll discusses the blending of 'ethnic' clothing in Germany and Gaul (2012) and notes a 'pronounced diffidence' towards Roman female attire on the 2nd century CE tombstone of the Catuvellaunian woman,

Regina, at South Shields. Depending on the strictures of the occupiers, resistance may have been subtle or overt; if wearing one's British heritage on one's sleeve was considered dangerous or rebellious, this may have been restricted to times when surrounded only by close kin or sympathetic community members. If, however, it was seen as a parochial but harmless fashion, indigenous dress may have been retained as a means of sustaining pre-Roman beliefs and traditions through the occupation, and to pass these on to future generations, along with ritual, oral histories and language.

2.2. How has the Icenian 'Other' been defined?

2.2.1. Creating the Iceni

The people known to the Romans as the Iceni or Eceni are possibly identified with the 'Cenimagni', one of the groups who purportedly surrendered to Julius Caesar during his brief British expeditions in the 50s BCE (*BG* 5.21). Chadburn (2006:322-3) tentatively suggests that the word 'Eceni' could be related to the Latin *equus* (equine) which would make them 'Horse' people. A graffito on a greyware sherd from *Venta Icenorum* appears to read 'IQVINI' (Figure 2.1).

As Davies observes, the 'peoples of this island were neither unified nor uniform' (1999:14). Some pre-conquest British societies may have been loose allegiances which coalesced around particular leaders or 'clans' in response to the invasion. Named groups like 'the Iceni' are unlikely to reflect genuine indigenous identities or political structures. They may only have come into existence in the administrative context of Roman occupation. Moore cautions against mapping named 'tribes' onto contemporary boundaries. This 'tribalization' denies the 'potentially multifaceted and fluid nature' of Iron Age societies (2011:354). It is also essential to question our vocabulary and reflect upon the potential for multiple identities and groupings.[12]

Classical writers used a variety of terms to refer to the social structures of those with whom they came into contact, including 'peoples', 'nations' and 'states'. Roman administrators were more interested in the political allegiances of those they had conquered or were trading with, than their ethnic or 'tribal'

origins. Ethnicities can emerge as a response to engagement with external forces (Moore 2011). Emberling (1997:305) notes that societies structured around kinship (and thereby ethnicity) are less hierarchical than those based on status or class, which can cross-cut ethnicity. If 'being Roman' was a mark of citizenship, not ethnicity, which identity are we looking for?



Figure 2.1: Greyware vessel with IQVINI graffito, *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152) (Image: Author).

The ethnicity of Iron Age Britons has been contested on many fronts. Earlier narratives in archaeology saw 'Celtic' or 'Belgic' invasions and ethnic links with the Gauls (e.g. Bulst 1961; Childe 1980; Clarke 1939; Hawkes and Dunning 1930). Ancient Britain was defined as 'a mosaic of bounded monolithic ethnic or tribal units' through reliance on classical texts and coinage (Jones 1997:31). These have been replaced by an independent 'insular evolution' combined with many generations of cultural contact across the North Sea (Mattingly 2007:83).

Ethnicity is a focus within and between groups, usually based on common descent or cultural identification. Jones (1997) warns that ethnicity is not a reflection of the *habitus*; material culture contributes to the creation of identity and is reciprocally structured by it. Ethnic groups are dynamic and can be strategically manipulated to accommodate social and political tensions. Under Roman occupation, changing interactions and social relationships must have

created new 'manifestations of ethnicity' (*ibid*.:133). Jones argues that it is impossible to meaningfully view past ethnicity through material culture (*ibid*.:123-7). She proposes one way out of this impasse is to consider a multiplicity of contextual categories, although these perpetuate some constructed dualisms such as 'private/public' and 'ritual/secular' (*ibid*.:130).

Whilst Jones's critique is useful for problematising the issue of ancient ethnicities, it is less constructive particularly when dealing with decontextualised finds, meaning her 'holistic' analysis is impracticable. In addition, 'acculturation' was not forced upon Roman subjects (Kurchin 1995:128) and holding multiple levels of ethnicity (local, regional) was not antithetical to Roman identity. Revell (2016) also found it impossible to delineate a single 'Roman ethnicity' to which provincials were supposed to aspire. Derks and Roymans' volume on ethnic constructs (2009) demonstrates the variety of potential readings of ethnicity from an archaeological standpoint, stressing the difficulties, perhaps impossibilities, of reconciling cultural and ethnic identities through material artefacts or even language.

2.2.2. Mapping 'Tribal Territories'

The territory resists definition; it has been characterised using coin distributions, despite issues with this rather narrow interpretation of the data (Allen 1970; Chadburn 2006:333;[13] Clarke 1939:42, 81; Kimes *et al.* 1982). Evidence from settlements and material culture shows well-developed and distinctive regional and intra-regional identities (Davies and Williamson 1999:8). Variations in materials and distribution suggest that these subtleties existed and that 'the social, political and territorial structure of Late Iron Age Britain was much more complex than the accepted "tribal map" implies' (Haselgrove 1992:128). Regional distinctiveness has become a cause célèbre, modern preoccupations with devolution, migration and multiculturalism, perhaps subconsciously, entering the archaeological debate.

Geographical features have also been used to establish boundaries. Davies (2011c:1) identifies the River Waveney (the modern Norfolk-Suffolk county

division) as a possible southern limit, whereas Martin fixes the line much further south, between the River Lark and the Alde (1999:85). The Fen edge is clearly an important boundary in the west, although this seems to have attracted activity rather than formed a barrier. Waterways can be considered connective rather than divisive. These boundaries, if they were conceptualised as such, were changeable, permeable and intangible.

Liminal zones or areas of intersection are where identities are most cherished and contested. The social study of boundaries, both symbolic and physical, has been approached scientifically, anthropologically and experientially (Barth (ed.) 1969; Bradley 2000; Kimes *et al.* 1982). Parker discusses different types of frontier and the potential for religious, cultural, economic and democratic borders (2006). Borderlands are therefore essential to understanding the territory. One of the aspects of this research is to look for patterns in the archaeological evidence which could be interpreted as zones of overlap between distinctive regional material culture assemblages.

2.2.3. Neophiles and Neophobes

The concepts of cultural retardation and backwardness applied to the Iceni are a foil to the idea of other southern British peoples as early adopters or 'neophiles'. The Iceni have been defined in opposition to these groups as 'neophobes', resisting the onward march of progress. In some ways, this rhetoric still exists in the common perception of Norfolk today as a sleepy backwater. Imported goods and appropriated traditions may signify a new way of belonging, perhaps desirable to those who would benefit from increased access to the Roman system of towns, roads and currency. The southern lands of LIA Britain had closer contact with Roman expansion for longer, whereas Icenia perhaps maintained earlier networks with northern Britain (Davis 2014:217; Hunter 1997:109; MacGregor 1976:103, 134; Mackreth 2011:188). However, not all imports represent adoptions of identity; they can be imposed as part of wider power relationships (Haselgrove and Moore 2007:8). Cultural capital and technical 'know-how' can be inclusive or exclusive. Different cultural practices and new objects can alienate or disempower those without this

cultural knowledge. Conversely, acquisition or appropriation of these behaviours and belongings can be empowering or used to express difference (Swift 2017:13).

When addressing the material culture of the region, I will consider the discourse of the Iceni as 'Other'. Often, the same evidence is used to make contrasting statements based on the perception of the Icenian character. For example, the lack of villa estates and an 'aristocratic class of landowners' in the Fenland is considered evidence for a possible Imperial estate. The lack of military posts in the same area 'implied a compliant population' (Catling 2014), whereas in the Iceni heartland these are considered evidence for cultural conservatism and the depopulation of the area after the revolt. As mentioned above, it is often forgotten that the Trinovantes and other groups are said to have joined the rebellion (Tac. *Ann*. 14.31). One of the practices which seems to set the Iceni apart archaeologically is the tendency to hoard decorated and precious metalwork.

2.3. Deposition and Hoarding

Although my dataset is primarily composed of surface finds, discussion of hoards is integrated within the relevant sections, particularly on horse harness and jewellery. The Icenian hoarding tradition appears to be a 'culturally distinct phenomenon' which is not found to the same extent among neighbouring groups (Chadburn 2006:174). Coin hoards are often cited as evidence for the Boudican revolt (Clarke 1939; Todd 1999:72-3). Hoarding continues well into the Romano-British period, contradicting the narrative that the Iceni were annihilated during or after the Boudican revolt (Hutcheson 2007:369) (Section 1.5).

Of course, hoarding as a practice is not specific to East Anglia or the Iron Age: people have been depositing selected artefacts for millennia, across the British Isles and beyond. The topic is a large one and I cannot do it justice here (see Chadburn 2006; Creighton 1994; Hutcheson 2004, 2007; Johns 1997; Stead 1991; Talbot 2015, 2017 for East Anglian examples; Davis and Gwilt 2008;

Garrow and Gosden 2012; Haselgrove 2015; Hunter 1997 for the wider picture).

The massive increase in the deposition of brooches and other small personal belongings on settlements in southeastern Britain in the 1st century BCE/CE is known as the '*fibula* event horizon' (Hill 1995a:66) (Section 4.1, see also Section 4.13). This dramatic growth in finds suggests either a shift away from the LIA focus on recycling or a materially rich and careless approach to objects (Cool 2006:49). There seems to have been much less effort to reuse or retrieve lost and broken belongings, and a greater emphasis on deposition (Jundi and Hill 1997). Nonetheless, some items were worth conserving, as shown by repairs to certain brooches and samian tableware.

2.3.1. Deposition and Intentionality

Familiar terms need constant questioning and re-evaluation. A 'votive' is a ritually deposited gift or devotional offering, technically a fulfilment of a vow to the deities (Bagnall Smith 1999; Kiernan 2009:2). A 'hoard' is a collection of objects buried together, often seen as a temporary cache. This contrasts with 'offerings' which are seemingly part of a one-way transaction. Haselgrove proposes the alternative 'dépôt' which strives to be less value-laden in terms of the original motivation (2015:27). Broken and incomplete artefacts, often deposited in water, render obsolete the idea that hoards were for 'temporary safekeeping' (*ibid*.:36). 'Ritual' is broadly defined as a habitual action, 'a kind of practice - a performance which is defined by its own conventions' (Bradley 2003:12); it need not be synonymous with religion (see *ibid*. for a deconstruction of its use in archaeology; Insoll 2004:10-11). A 'deposit' is something deliberately placed, unlike a casual loss. This is notoriously difficult to substantiate archaeologically without contextual evidence for a hoard or deliberate concealment. Brudenell and Cooper (2008) have questioned the concept of 'structured deposition', although I use it here as a less loaded alternative to some of the above.

Hoards have often been interpreted as valuables secreted in times of stress, with the intention to return. This was previously a key criterion of Treasure Trove legislation, which was removed in the 1996 Treasure Act.[14] Single finds are usually deemed 'casual losses' unless specifically associated with other objects, such as ploughed-out hoards. Nevertheless, clusters of individual objects are found at shrines, perhaps representing personal moments of devotion (Garrow and Gosden 2012:31). How can we establish whether hoards were permanent offerings or temporary caches? We might look for 'purposefulness in deposition', but context is rare (Wason 1994:109). Identifying intentionality in the past is problematic and similar assemblages could have been hoarded for different reasons.

The importance of place and appropriateness are central to votive deposition (Fitzpatrick 1992:396; Hutcheson 2007:369; Osborne 2004:7-8). Material interactions with objects shape whether things are perceived as in their rightful place and time, or are rejected or changed. Ritual practice often stands upon notions of 'fittingness' and the human tendency to seek out coherence (Hodder 2012:113-37). Many deposits show a strong sense of suitability in selection, arrangement and location, such as the deliberately arranged 'nests' of torcs from Snettisham (Joy 2016; Stead 1991) (Section 5.5). Bronze Age hoarding involved placing metalwork, often weaponry, into rivers and other watery places. Iron Age deposition in water is rarer, suggesting a shift in appropriate location or medium (Garrow and Gosden 2012:69, 97). Hoarding practice was transformed with the increase, and perhaps 'reorganisation of control', of metal artefacts in circulation in LIA Icenia (Hutcheson 2004, 2007:369).

Were hoards caches of individual or community wealth, valuables hidden in times of trouble or displays of conspicuous consumption? Some may be trophies, the spoils of war. Hoards may have acted to increase social equality by removing excess wealth from the community (Wason 1994:109-11). Alternatively, hoarding may be a form of resistance 'reinforcing community cohesion and solidarity' especially at times of change (Garrow and Gosden

2012:312). This relates to the many hoards which are attributed to the Boudican revolt.

2.3.2. Hoarding and the Iceni

In early 1st century CE Icenia, hoarding shifted from gold to silver coins, then to deposits of decorated equestrian equipment. In harness hoards (Section 6.10) objects were combined and fragmented in quite deliberate ways, possibly marking important events within a community, perhaps even acting as proxy burials. This separation and recombination process may have emphasised relationships between groups of people and sets of objects. Garrow and Gosden conclude that 'hoards were not the wealth of the élite or material for a smith to recycle, but elements of a dispersed community of people linked through artefacts' (2012:191-2).

Earlier hoards, like the Snettisham torcs, have been called 'tribal treasuries' (Stead 1991), whereas finds dating from the client-kingdom period are considered security hoards. Roman-period deposits often combine jewellery, coinage, harness, vessels and religious items. Although other practices died away with the conquest, hoarding continued under the occupation (Hutcheson 2004:90-3).

Archaeologists have often been quick to ascribe mid-1st century CE hoards to the 'War of Independence'. As discussed elsewhere, this can be a self-fulfilling argument and scepticism is recommended. Creighton (1994) reassessed Icenian coin hoards from an archaeological perspective. He observed that Roman coins phased in gradually and increase over time. Both Roman and Icenian issues were hoarded together, so they were not exclusive monetary systems, if their sole purpose was economic. A clear material distinction between invaders and indigenes is not supported. This blurring of boundaries is a common theme throughout this research. Talbot's research (2015, 2017) reveals that Icenian coin hoards were carefully selected by metal and denomination, as part of an episodic, not continuous, practice.

Two significant deposits of vessels show that people were combining imported and indigenous practices in the 1st century CE. At Crownthorpe, pans and dishes were packed inside a strainer, all of Italian origin, alongside two locally manufactured drinking cups with 'Celtic' style ducks on the handles (Figure 4.82). Stylistically these have been dated to the 60s CE, which has given license for a 'Boudican' interpretation: 'It may have been owned by a prominent local person who had been hoping to enhance his status by adopting Roman modes of behaviour' […] 'The owner may have been fleeing from Boudica's rebels' (Davies 2009:137-9). At Hockwold-cum-Wilton, on the Fen edge, seven high-quality, silver drinking cups, some with Bacchic imagery, were deliberately broken up, flattened and buried (Figure 2.2). This has been described as loot 'buried for temporary safe-keeping during the upheavals' and 'clearly a smith's bullion' (Davies 2009:137-9; Davies and Robinson 2009:32-3). These late 1st century CE vessels may instead have been 'part of the wealth of a Romano-British shrine' (BM:1962,0707).[15]

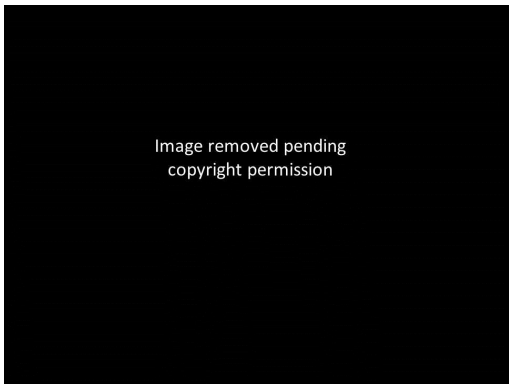


Figure 2.2: Hoard of silver cups, Hockwold (BM:1962,0707).

The Iceni are thought to have deliberately excluded imports of wine in favour of locally-produced beer during the contact and client-kingdom periods (Davies 2011b:103-4). The choice of vessels related to wine preparation and drinking may imply that some people in Roman Norfolk were accustomed to the practice or had adopted a new intoxicant. Tankards and handles are regular components of hoards, including the mixed mid-1st century CE Santon hoard (Section 6.10.2). The hoarding impulse at important religious sites and the

appropriateness of drinking paraphernalia for votive deposition carries through from the LIA to the occupation.



Figure 2.3: (left) Structured deposit of ceramics and animal bone, *Venta Icenorum* (Image: CRT); (right) The Fenwick hoard, Colchester, Essex (PAS:ESS-058E5B).

Occasionally, a link with the rebellion is a real possibility. The Fenwick Treasure (Figure 2.3) was found beneath the Boudican destruction levels in Colchester, one of three Roman towns destroyed during the uprising. The hoard includes both male and female personal belongings: military decorations (possibly awarded during the conquest of Britain), bracelets and earrings, along with a coin-purse. Many of the items of jewellery were imported and followed contemporary Mediterranean fashions. A pair of silver bracelets and a military medallion have been interpreted as '*armillae*' awarded to a veteran living in Colchester (see Section 5.2.1). This is a rare example of a jewellery hoard from a domestic context. It was hidden in a small box under the floor of a house, which burned down on top, sealing the deposit. The hoard's owners never returned to retrieve their belongings (Crummy *et al.* 2015, 2016). It is highly likely that this was a flight hoard, deposited at the time of the Boudican crisis.

The Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard, a mid-2nd century CE hoard of jewellery and coins including unfinished and recycled items, is interpreted as a cache secreted by a travelling metalworker (Section 4.10). A group comprising some 60 Roman brooches was found at Mildenhall. It included 2nd century CE enamelled disc and bow-and-fantail brooches, which had probably originally been deposited in a box (SHER:MNL543). Unlike coins and chariot fittings,

brooch hoards are very rare, perhaps indicating different values and appropriateness.

The Iceni tradition of hoarding continues long into the later Roman period. Numerous pits containing ceramics and small artefacts, such as bone pins, suggest structured deposition at *Venta Icenorum*. A large pit within the town contained deliberately placed vessels, including a complete mortarium containing a samian cup (Figure 2.3). I would argue this shows continuity of practice, despite the difference in materials. Why is this regarded as a structured deposit not a hoard? Non-precious materials, ceramics or bone pins and needles may still have been considered prestige goods or appropriate items for deposition. This division of hoards, votives and deposits may be part of our modern assumptions about material wealth. Ideas of Treasure and the intent to return may continue to prejudice our understanding.

The *civitas* remained materially wealthy right through the Roman period, with an array of late hoards of coins and precious metalwork. There is a concentration in the Lark Valley and around the Fen edge. Later Roman hoards tend towards pewter and silver plate vessels, such as Mildenhall and Hoxne, sometimes with Christian or cult overtones (Davies and Gregory 1991:86; Moore *et al.* 1988:73, 82). Hoarding continued apace in the *civitas*, but the choice of appropriate artefacts, materials and locations varied. Attitudes towards accumulation and disposal of metalwork across the Iceni territory seem to have changed during the LIA to Romano-British transition, but within a strong set of cultural conventions.

2.4. How does identity relate to material culture?

2.4.1. Personhood and Adornment

The complex process of interaction between people and things can create gender, ethnic and group identities. Revell (2016) explores the plural, varied and personal nature of identity formation. Identity is both product and performance, mutually constituted through practice and often mediated by material culture. Practice is the connective tissue between belongings and

belonging. Identities are 'socially constructed, situational and mutable' (Crummy and Eckardt 2003:44). Fowler proposes the more reflexive notion of 'personhood' (2004), which may be analysed in social, political and spatial terms. This is a dynamic process whereby identities are created both internally and externally through practice or 'strategies' (Pudney 2010:116). How people chose, or were expected, to decorate themselves and their clothing gives us clues to past personhood. Through their association with the body, adornment, costume and grooming are common points of focus when discussing gendered identities.

A multifaceted set of personal and social meanings can be communicated through items such as hairstyles and accessories, jewellery, clothing and other personal belongings (Swift 2011:206). These symbols would have been consumed in varied ways by different individuals depending on their social background. As agents in the social life of the community, individuals manifested multiple forms of identity throughout their lives and in varying social contexts. Material culture would have played an active part in the creation of 'a complex interlocking series of connections and identities' which can potentially be recognised in artefactual distributions and contexts (Hunter 2007:286-7).

Crummy and Eckardt recommend exploring the interwoven strands of social practice and identity embodied within objects (2003:45). Changes in *praxis* can occur which utilise the same material culture and *vice versa*. Artefactual conservatism, innovation and hybridity can demonstrate changing patterns of display and behaviour. Although material agency without context, and intentionality in resistance, have been questioned (Ribeiro 2016; Russell 2004), objects can express and create feelings of (in)equality. This goes beyond the simple idea of 'haves' and 'have nots': not every symbol of rank or status is desirable to all. In this way, we can challenge the doctrine of 'tribal élites' which is a key part of the narrative of cultural contact. How did the people of Icenia express identity and status through material culture? Did it differ from their neighbours and the Roman occupiers? Is there evidence for discrepancy and dissonance?

2.4.2. Social Boundaries and Identity

The critique of 'Romanisation' revealed its inherent unidirectional model of conquest and acculturation. Narratives are peppered with 'quick learning natives' in the towns and 'tribal nobles' in the country eagerly emulating Roman standards of living. Enthusiastically cooperating 'native élites' were grateful to be offered material trinkets or key positions in provincial life, from where they could exercise hegemony on behalf of their distant imperial masters (Fincham 2002; Hattatt 1982:21; Millett 1990). In this model, the agency and potential of the masses is often 'neutralized', 'disempowered' and 'unprivileged' (James 2010:199).

The evidence for Icenian élites derives largely from literature rather than archaeology and thus presents a problem. The assumed social structure has been based upon ideas of kingship and Iron Age 'warrior' societies with little supporting evidence. Ideas of social stratification are entangled with the interpretation of coinage as evidence of élites. The possibilities of alternative power dynamics may be a genuine difference in Icenia and reflect the way the empire interacted with its people (Lamb 2018). Perhaps the mechanism of occupation worked more smoothly through engagement with or creation of an active stratum of privilege. Imperial expansion and centralisation required the construction of defined 'tribal' territories with stratified leaderships, creating the conditions for 'effective interaction' (Wells 2001:113-4). If the Iceni had an 'aristocracy' would that make them easier to govern? Could they have revolted without leaders? Material culture is also implicated in the construction of these narratives, which has a bearing on the minting of coin and the importance of horses and hoards.

What constituted a 'British élite'? Did they exist and how involved were they in processes of capitulation and negotiation? Élite status and identity have been presumed to be 'self-evident, inevitable and unproblematic' (Revell 2016:61). Within such meta-structures, numerous select groups may have coexisted, including military, mercantile, political, religious, ancestral and intellectual 'élites'. Dominant groups can only operate via the acquiescence or oppression

of the non-élite (*ibid*.:62). A change of landholder or overseer may have impacted little on ordinary people's lives. Structures of power may have continued, leaving the *status quo* virtually intact. Slave labour is certainly a possibility in certain industries in Roman Britain (Watts 2005:2). Iron shackles have been discovered at Saham Toney (Bates *et al.* 2000:230; NHER:29429) and dredged from the River Wensum at Worthing (NHER:2984).

We must deconstruct this terminology and its application to archaeological groups and artefacts. The assumed membership of these élites, aristocracies and status groups needs to be questioned. I am not disputing the existence of social differentiation, but wish to raise the debate about how to recognise it archaeologically. An exclusive group based on access to specialised knowledge, such as a craft workshop or a religious cult, would leave very different material remains to one based on communal ownership of livestock. What other models might have existed in later prehistoric and early Romano-British societies? How can they be recognised in the material culture?

2.4.3. The Material Élite Paradigm

The paradigm of the material élite is based largely on many authors' own positions in late Western capitalism. Assumptions are made that past societies operated hierarchically through material wealth. The idea of inherited status is also seldom interrogated. Social status can nevertheless be predicated upon many other factors, including ownership of livestock, magico-ritual capital, prowess in battle or hunting, and links with ancestors or land. Individuals may have held membership of multiple, sometimes contradictory, social groups based on kinship, specialist knowledge, age, gender, inherited class or non-hereditary leadership (Tullett 2010:65-7). Even in societies which are outwardly egalitarian, people continually monitor and evaluate each other (Wason 1994:36-7). Many of these forms would leave little archaeological trace, but it is important to consider their existence (Hill 2011:243). Naturally, I do not wish to imply that all LIA and Roman archaeologists make such assumptions. Rather, they are rarely overtly problematised in the same way as gender, for example

(on which, see Effros 2004; Gibbs 1987; Harlow 2004; Holmes 2012; Scott 1995; Sørensen 1987; Van Driel-Murray 1995).

Wells (2001) regarded pre-conquest male burials with weaponry, horse gear and luxury items as the hallmarks of an 'international warrior élite', dominant across much of Europe. Giles (2012) has questioned this in relation to the chariot burials in Yorkshire. Hill (2011) considered possible alternatives to stratified societies for the Iron Age, such as segmentary and non-hierarchical groupings, which lack élites and hold resources collectively. The idea of heterarchy has been explored in relation to complex societies and gender (Crumley 1987; Ehrenreich *et al.* (eds.) 1995; Levy 1999). Revell's (2016) search for non-élite provincial identities and Rathbone's 'anarchist archaeology' (2015) also provide interesting possibilities. Oosthuizen (2016) looks at the potential for collective land rights and 'horizontal' forms of governance. Given the frequency of hoards of torcs, coins and horse harness (Chadburn 2006:174) it is conceivable that the Iceni held their wealth communally, rather than individually, in the form of precious metalwork or livestock. Production and hoarding of metalwork doubtless relate to social structures, which may have continued under Roman occupation. Such a social organisation would have an important impact on inheritance of land, power and wealth, and on our ability to recover these structures archaeologically.

The material élite paradigm has seeped into our understanding of artefacts and practices such as hoarding. The language speaks of 'treasuries', objects are 'in circulation' or 'cached' for safe-keeping. There is also a tendency to refer to Roman 'industries', 'factories' and 'commodities' which is perhaps a relic of the progressive understanding of Roman imperialism (Webster and Cooper (eds.) 1996). It is hard to retrieve value systems and these can be culturally specific. During the early colonial period in North America, the Algonquians were keen to trade for refined, European copper at the expense of gold and silver. This seemed naïve to the European colonists, but 'within the indigenous world view it made complete sense': copper was a powerful, spiritual and political substance, particularly valued for its red colour (Farley 2012:152-6). This

should serve as a salutary warning to avoid retro-fitting materialist and capitalist doctrines onto prehistory. Eckardt advises against applying capitalist ideologies of consumption to the Roman period, suggesting 'appropriation' more suitably represents the active process of constructing social meaning (2005:140).

Classical texts emphasised the 'transgressive customs' of the 'barbarous' Britons (Stewart 1995:3). In Boudica's rallying speech to her troops, Dio has her refer to British men, who hold all things in common, even their children and wives. She reminds her compatriots 'how much better is poverty with no master than wealth with slavery' (*Hist. Rom*. 62.3, 6). Of course, we have no archaeological evidence for Boudica, and Dio's dramatisation may be a reference to Caesar, who stated the Britons practiced polygamy and had customs which determined the place of children within this marriage network (*BG* 5.14). Caesar's knowledge of Britain was extremely limited and we have no information to confirm or disprove this social structure (see Hingley and Unwin 2005:41-61 for a concise discussion of the classical sources).

Some client rulers were allowed to nominate heirs, but successions were moments of tension which could descend into chaos and violence (Mattingly 2011:75-92). Power struggles after the uprising in 47 CE may have led to Prasutagus's accession to leadership (Frere 1991:61). Tacitus introduces other elements of social hierarchy, such as the role of priests or 'Druids' (*Ann*. 14.29). Clearly, the hints of alternative social organisation in the literary narratives cannot be taken at face value. The archaeology confounds any attempts to fit the classical texts, and it is necessary to derive new narratives which take the material culture as the starting-point.

2.4.4. Object-Centred Approaches

Born out of heavily artefact-based prehistoric studies, material culture theory can be applied to historical archaeology to balance the classical sources. An object-centred approach views artefacts as active. Human socialisation derives from and impacts upon the material world: 'things create people'. This

standpoint gives us the opportunity to consider how objects can actively create membership of groups. Becoming Romano-British may have entailed 'a series of subtle, but fundamental shifts' in personal presentation and behaviour (Gosden 2005:193-8).

Small personal belongings can be examined for their role as 'cultural or regional identifiers' (Swift 2011:209). Objects do not straightforwardly reflect the social context of their production. Instead, artefacts recovered by excavation or surface collection have reached the most recent milestone in their life histories, a biography of materiality stretching back to their inception in the maker's imagination (Appadurai (ed.) 1986; Beaudry *et al.* 1991; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Hodder (ed.) 1991; Hodder and Hutson 2003; Joy 2009, 2010).

2.4.5. Coins and Identity



Figure 2.4: Clay pellet moulds, Fison Way, Thetford (NWHCM:1995.60) (Image: Author).

The idea that we can retro-fit coin distributions to ethnic boundaries has been roundly critiqued and found wanting. Iron Age coins predominantly found in East Anglia may be called 'Icenian', although the lack of ethnic names in coin legends (with the possible exception of ECEN), leaves us with some problematic archaeological evidence. These 'tribe-sized' coinage groups (Figure 2.5) refuse to dissolve, even as the concept of 'tribe' itself dematerialises (Moore 2011:350). These distributions are also seen in certain small finds, which

appear to match the estimated boundaries of *civitates.* It is likely that political allegiances were as important as ethnic factors of identity and that workshops may explain the zoning of small finds and coins (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:68, 74). Are these 'tribal territories' actually evidence for the geographical range of specific production centres or exchange networks?

Coinage has been used to identify sub-groups within the Iceni and is important for understanding the role of other material culture as portable wealth. A reading of Icenian coinage refutes some of the conventions derived from the classical sources. While the coinage appears fairly contained geographically, there are intra-regional variations and inter-regional similarities (Figure 2.6). Three main mints often produced issues in parallel (Talbot 2017:60-2). Chadburn (2006; following Allen 1970), interpreted these as representing three *pagi*, each with a leader named in coin legends, and in the case of Prasutagus '*Rex Icenorum'* (Tac. *Ann.* 14.31), a king.

These coins have been reassessed and are now thought to relate not to Prasutagus, but an otherwise unknown person called Esuprastus (Williams 2001:9). This individual may also be referred to on neighbouring coinage, including AESV and IISVPRASV variants (Talbot 2017:100). Coins bearing the legends ANTED and ECEN were issued concurrently by the same mint and had broadly similar distributions. Talbot found these multiple, contemporaneous names inconsistent with the idea of dynastic sovereignty (2015:310-1, 2017:33). Other forms of material culture show no clear archaeological evidence for strong social hierarchy. Alongside evidence for the flatter social organisation and greater political diversity of the region (Davies 1999; Hill 2011; Lamb 2018), the coins reveal 'no evidence of rigid centralised organisational structures' and kingship 'does not appear to be appropriate in Late Iron Age East Anglia' (Talbot 2017:149). Leins argues for a similar lack of stratification in the northeastern coin producing region (2012:244-7).

The precise function of coinage remains unknown. While Talbot sees it as part of a consistent monetary system, 'a means of payment, for the storage of

wealth and as a standard of value' […] 'it was not used in the way that we use money today, or indeed in the way that the Romans used money' (2017:63, 144-5). Instead, Icenian coinage was part of a community pooling of resources which was used only for large, perhaps long-distance, transactions. The practice of hoarding suggests it was not a purely monetary system, although Talbot argues that Icenian coins were not specifically minted as votives (*ibid*.:144-7). Coin hoards fit into the long tradition of Icenian metalwork deposition and reveal distributions which may reflect regional boundaries (Chadburn 2006:333; Davies 1996:85-7). Hoards of Icenian coins are inevitably attributed to the unrest of the revolt and its aftermath (Allen 1970:16-8; Chadburn 2006:161-3), although this assumption has been disputed (Creighton 1994; Leins 2008).

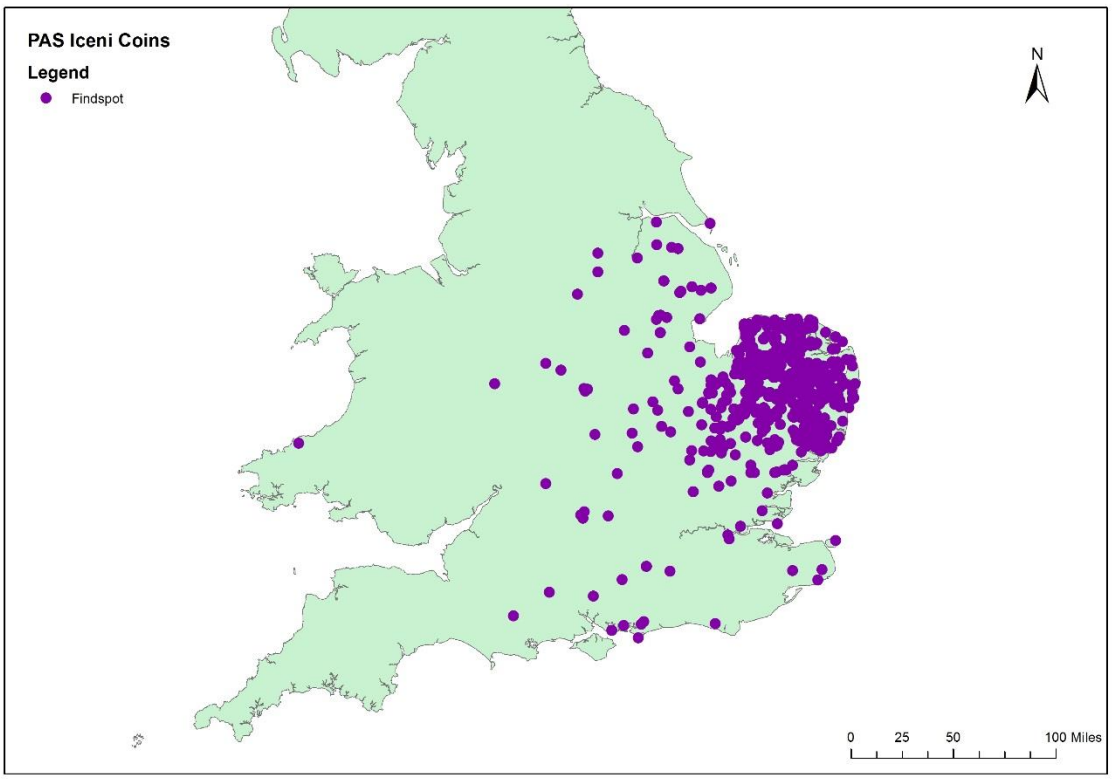


Figure 2.5: PAS distribution of 'Icenian' coins (Image: Author).

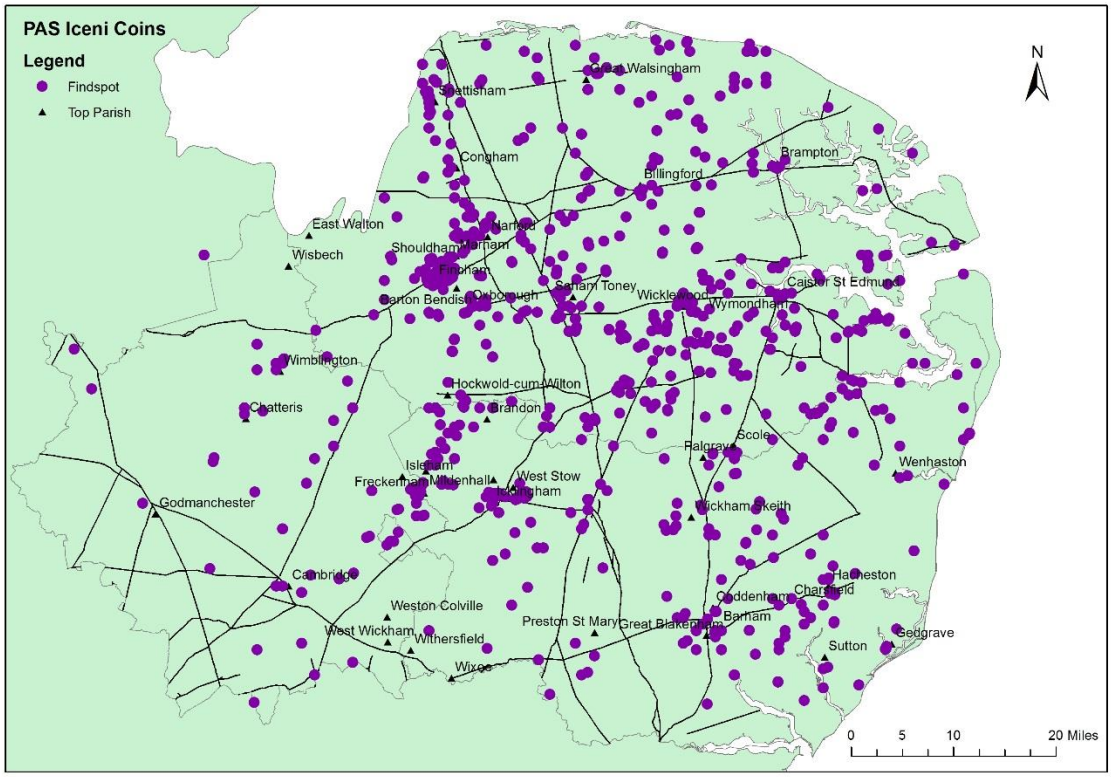


Figure 2.6: PAS distribution of 'Icenian' coins in the study area (Image: Author).

Over 100 fragments of pellet moulds, probably used to alloy coin blanks, were found at Fison Way, Thetford (NHER:5853) (Figure 2.4), identified as the location of an Iron Age mint (Talbot 2015:155). Coin moulds have also been found at Saham Toney (NHER:4697), Needham in the Waveney Valley (NHER:11071; NWHCM:1942.15.6) and West Stow in Suffolk (SHER:WSW002). Chadburn also adds possible mint sites at Snettisham and Fincham (2006:460-4).

Gregory (1991a:196) argued for continued minting of Icenian silver coinage during the client period. By contrast, Creighton concluded that coinage was rarely, if ever, minted at this time (1992, 1994). More recently, Talbot observed that Icenian coin production continued after the conquest into the client-kingdom in 'a steady orderly way', only ceasing to be minted after the 60/61 CE revolt (2017:125). He also noted that neither the invasion nor the revolt of 47 CE is 'directly detectable in the numismatic record' (*ibid*.:150). For the first few centuries of the occupation, monetisation in Roman Britain was patchy (Walton 2011:290-1). Most transactions must have carried on as part of pre-existing

barter or gift exchange systems. Davies and Gregory also observed an unusually rich collection of coin hoards across Norfolk in the later Roman period, which may reflect the enduring wealth of the territory (1991:86).

2.4.6. Craft Specialisation

The division of labour which supports specialised craft practices is sometimes considered evidence for social differentiation. In this model, supposed 'élites' exercise symbolic and economic power through controlling the skills of craftspeople and negotiating the exchange of prestige items. This commissioning of high-quality artefacts is seen as a political strategy which differentiates the (material) 'élite' from other levels of society (Wason 1994:107-8). While there may be a relationship between specialist craft skills and social stratification, this model seems to me rather too analogous with the medieval system of patronage.

The image of Icenia as backward and culturally impoverished derives partly from the lack of familiar benchmarks for social stratification and therefore the high degree of craft skill seems puzzling. In Joy's discussion of Middle Iron Age cauldrons, he observes little sign of the 'élite-sponsored' specialist workshops once thought to be the driving force behind the production of 'prestige' metalwork (in Baldwin and Joy 2017:103-5). The frequency of metalworking debris in settlements confirms that small-scale, local production with idiosyncratic styles and methods continued into the LIA. Therefore, I would argue that highly-skilled craft production need not exist within a hierarchical, competitive social milieu.

2.4.7. Similar but Different: Iron Age and Roman Aesthetics

'Celtic' art is characterised by its individuality, curvilinear decoration and rotational symmetry (Johns 1996b:24; Swift 2011:212). In the LIA, personal possessions became part of 'an expanding visual repertoire' related to identity, status and body-perception (Haselgrove and Moore 2007:8). Decoration seems heavily stylised or abstracted to modern eyes. Many of these patterns may have been understood as apotropaic, that is, beneficial to the owner or

recipient (Gell 1998:83-4). Representational depictions are rare in pre-Roman art, but animals are sometimes naturalistically modelled, especially on figurines and 3-dimensional objects. The Iceni were especially fond of boars, bovids and waterbirds (Davies 2011a, 2014).

A significant shift in material culture occurs in the 1st century BCE/CE, as pre-Roman styles of jewellery disappear in favour of continental ornaments. This was 'highly significant in the renegotiation of social and personal identities' (Pudney 2010:115). Hunter notes the enthusiasm with which Roman-style artefacts were acquired, and the development of 'new, distinctive and local' styles (2007:288-9). Behaviour and usage is not always apparent from the form of artefacts, as functional features can change, and objects can have a range of functions (Swift 2017:16, 102). Several such classes of objects will be discussed in this study. The curvilinear artwork of the LIA resurfaces around the time of the conquest, but is eventually replaced with a more symmetrical and geometric style.

Coins, brooches and ceramics are seen to become increasingly standardised and mass-produced, which Garrow and Gosden suggest had an impact on practice (2012:152). Standardised products have no clear relationship to individual makers or end users, meaning they need guarantees like stamps for quality control. However, in the decades immediately post-conquest, many indigenous British groups 'retained the autonomy and wherewithal to make and wear their own distinctive styles of metalwork' (Davis and Gwilt 2008:146, 178). I would argue that greater standardisation is superficial. Many artefacts produced in the first two centuries CE were distinctive, even unique, though produced in relatively large quantities (Jackson 2010:26). Spratling describes this 'similar but different' aesthetic as 'purposeful differentiation' (2008:197). Some pre-conquest traits persist, such as multicoloured enamelwork and individual finishing. An interesting observation is that imagery on LIA coinage undergoes a process of *simplification* over time, which gives the lie to evolutionary typologies which see progression from simple to complex. This will

be revisited in discussions of items like intaglios and cosmetic mortars (Garrow and Gosden 2012:80) (Section 8.5, Section 9.2).

A narrative of Roman standardisation leads us to expect decreasing individuality of ornament and form as artefacts become increasingly mass-produced. Our perceptions of these ideas are based on modern production techniques. In the past, objects made in small quantities could be made to strongly conventional prototypes, thus being very similar. Conversely, artefacts made in large numbers may have been individually hand-finished to the owner's specifications (Swift 2017:14-6). However, the study period is one still strongly embedded in a small-scale workshop tradition. Most small finds produced during the early years of the Roman occupation of Britain were hand-finished and display great variety and difference, such as cosmetic grinders (Jackson 2010).

Garrow and Gosden perceive a reflexive process between objects and people, in which artefacts provide 'switch points' for new connections and identities to be created (2012:152). Decoration is also a key facet – traditional objects may have been decorated with new styles creating a visual and conceptual fusion (Swift 2011:212). This stylistic syncretism may have been recognised as such at the time. Hybrids developed amid the culture clash in regions which resisted Roman rule. New materials (e.g. brass) and technologies were selectively adapted to an older value system, perhaps retaining strong aesthetic codes.

Another major shift occurs in the later 2nd century CE. Many artefact types disappear and the archaeological record of the 3rd/4th centuries CE is very different. Roman fashions were waning, possibly due to their political and cultural capital becoming less advantageous. A resurgence of earlier art styles and a re-creation of tradition perhaps ushered in another cycle of resistance and identity-building in the mid-late Roman period (Wells 1999:197-8, 256). These changes and tensions over time will be addressed in relation to Icenian material culture.

2.4.8. Hybridity and Creolisation

The consumption and display of personal artefacts may have played an active role in Iceni people's interactions with the Roman world and in creating social distinction within the group. Objects can be active participants in social discourse, capable of unmaking, transforming and recreating relationships and identities. Hybridisation can result from innovative responses to the styles, materials and technologies of 'outside' sources (Davis and Gwilt 2008:146). Woolf sees an entirely novel imperial culture in the Gallic provinces arising from this 'new cultural logic' (1997:347). However, different groups may have utilised the same items, potentially as badges of belonging or as statements of resistance. It is important not to become too polarised in our thinking about hybridity, as it can replicate the binary ideas of Romanisation.

Change can take decades, even generations. This slow creep of time may be seen in the development of hybrid forms. Looking for locally-produced objects is one way to determine indigenous attitudes to regime change. Evidence for manufacturing processes includes unfinished, miscast and modified artefacts. Experimental objects may also show hybridity of technology and form. During data collection for this project, objects identified in this way were recorded and will be discussed below. Creolisation provides a more nuanced alternative to hybridity which derives from post-colonial thought. It allows for the imbalance of power in colonial situations to be addressed. Deliberate ambiguity and the potential for subversion through art and artefacts are considered from the perspective of the subjugated (Carr 2003, 2006; Webster 2001, 2003).

Theories of resistance, creolisation and hybridisation, in turn, have their critics. Mattingly warns that creolisation risks simply inverting the tenets of Romanisation with all its attendant problems (2011:203-4). The idea that Rome remained the instigator of cultural change fails to acknowledge the importance of pre-existing relationships with neighbouring provinces, such as Gaul (Revell 2016:47). Resistance, adaptation and acceptance can also occur simultaneously (Carr 2006:110). Continuity and transformation are not mutually exclusive. At Ditches, Trow *et al.* (2009:64-71) identified a sense of ownership and the

importance of place with an emphasis on the pre-Roman past which was seemingly held simultaneously with a desire to engage with Gaulish culture and through it an interpretation of the Roman lifestyle.

Versluys (2014) insists that cultural processes of hybridity, creolisation and resistance perpetuate the dualistic thinking of 'Romans vs. Natives' and instead proposes a focus on connectivity and communication. This globalised and entangled approach to material culture has its benefits, but I am somewhat wary of deliberately discarding one doctrine in favour of another. It is important to consider the implications of cultural engagement and negotiation for all sides, with an open mind.

2.5. Discussion

In this section, I have discussed the ways in which cultural contact and change have been approached through archaeology. Ideas of resistance and discrepancy can help us move away from élite-focussed studies and allow us insights into other potential sources of identity and power. However, it is important not to replace the doctrine of Romanisation with an uncritical view of identity (Pitts 2007). Change and continuity have respectively been seen as progressive and reactionary. There has been a tendency in the past to fall back on the paradigm of the material élite and a teleological view in which neophilia is seen as positive and evolutionary, whereas neophobia stifles growth and creativity. The processes by which new ideas and things arrive, take hold, and become commonplace, are much more intricate.

Evidence for social hierarchy in Icenia is limited, although the region appears to have been materially rich both before and after the conquest. Perhaps this signifies that its people had different attitudes to portable wealth and were less easily swayed by imported goods and diplomatic gifts than other groups in the southeast of Britannia. The role of 'élites' in the development of the *civitas* may have been minimal. Both my critique of the material élite and the idea of resistance may help illuminate the differences apparent in the *civitas*. If the Iceni were not a hierarchically-structured and coherent group before the client-

kingdom, or if they based their value systems, inheritance and prestige on non-material aspects, their interactions with the colonial power would be less visible, resulting in the 'culturally conservative' interpretation.

Due to an over-reliance on classical literature, Icenian identities have often been constructed around a Boudican narrative which bears little relevance to the archaeological record. Material culture, such as hoards and coins, has been used to create a sense of coherence which can be explained in terms of 'tribal' interactions with the Roman incomers. This is clearly too simplistic. Evidence for continuity, dispossession and resistance needs to be examined afresh. In the next chapter, I set out how I have tackled the key research themes of this project through the study of portable artefacts.

Chapter 3. Understanding Variety and Looking for Difference

This chapter sets out the methodological approaches developed for this thesis and explains their appropriateness to my data. It outlines how I have addressed the research questions of evidence for cultural change in the *civitas*, the relationships between material culture and identity and the historical construction of the Iceni. I consider factors of collection and recording bias and the constraints that working with a large body of surface finds can impose.

The Icenian *civitas* represents an ideal arena to examine, through artefacts, the variety of responses to Rome. Utilising surface finds in combination with stratified data, I explore the changing significance of different types of objects and materials, examining spatial and chronological variations in object use and deposition. Regardless of the challenges posed by decontextualised finds, they form a large proportion of archaeological data, and we must find appropriate ways to interpret them. Surface finds form a resource which allows the investigation of a different, yet complementary, set of research questions to the often 'keyhole' approach of modern excavation. Despite the trend towards contextual archaeology, I regard this as an opportunity to assess the value of low-context finds over a wide geographical distribution. I investigate intra-regional diversity and similarities through mapping distributions and concentrations of finds (using ArcGIS software). Firstly, I will introduce Crummy's functional categories and some of the key artefact types.

3.1. Functional Categories

Crummy's methodology for the categorisation of small finds is adapted for use here (1983, 2007b, 2012). The use of functional categories is more appropriate than, for example, selection by material or context. In my database, copper alloy predominates, partly due to its durability in the soil. Other materials, such as bone, glass, iron and precious metals are to be found, albeit in small numbers. The inevitable lack of stratigraphy of detector finds means contextual analyses are unfeasible and looking at social distribution equally problematic. A hypothesis-testing model was impractical as a methodology; rather it was

necessary to examine the data and the potential applications of theory to them as a holistic process, leading to observations and interpretations.

Crummy's work on Roman Colchester (1983) has become one of the main reference points for small finds. Many specialists use this publication to identify objects. Function is an effective way to think about *praxis* in the past. As Gardner describes, small finds are embedded within dynamic and meaningful practices. Functional understandings of objects can help us understand the reproduction and transformation of differentiated identities (2002:332-4). For example, personal ornaments are involved with the social practices of 'appearing' and 'belonging'. The materialisation of agency through action or 'projects' emerges in relationships between people, and between people and things (Hodder 2012; Robb 2010).

Nevertheless, there are some drawbacks and gaps. Spradley questioned Crummy's justification for attempting to impose functional categories onto objects. Functional categories are necessarily biased towards modern interpretations of usage and there will always be those which traverse boundaries, or embody irretrievable practices. Artefacts often have fluid, multiple functions which change over time, but these cross-functional objects offer numerous interpretive opportunities (2001:105).

Crummy herself proposed that the framework be adapted to fit other assemblages (1983:4-5) and I have done so accordingly. As Crummy dealt primarily with Roman period artefacts, some Iron Age items do not fit neatly into the categories. Other categories have been updated with more recent scholarship and revised to fit my own criteria, as follows.

3.1.1. Inclusions and Exclusions

As brooches form the bulk of the dataset, I have subdivided Crummy's Category 1 'Objects of personal adornment or dress' into two parts: brooches and other personal ornament. Chapter 4 looks exclusively at the brooches, from simple wire *fibulae* to elaborate enamelled plate brooches. Chapter 5 examines

other items of adornment, including bracelets, necklaces, finger-rings, fasteners and toggles.

Chapter 6 discusses artefacts associated with horses and wheeled transportation, Crummy's Category 8. This includes harness such as bridle-bits, strap unions and some mounts, as well as chariot fittings, especially terret rings and linch-pins. For Chapter 7, I have selected artefacts related to religious or votive practice: miniature objects, such as axes and wheels, and pipeclay figurines (Crummy's Category 14). Chapter 8 looks at objects associated with written communications (Crummy's Category 7) as evidence of developing literacy in the *civitas*. These include seal-boxes, intaglio rings and wax *spatula* handles in the shape of the goddess Minerva.

Finally, Chapter 9 is based on Crummy's Category 2 'Toilet, surgical or pharmaceutical instruments'. This chapter above all has seen the greatest deviation from Crummy's approach. As well as nail cleaners and toilet implements, I discuss hairstyles and hair ornament (moved from Category 1) because I am interested in their role within an active practice of personal grooming and body modification, rather than a passive decoration. I have relocated cosmetic grinders from Category 14 into Category 2 to reflect current scholarship. I have also added mirrors here as, although they do not feature among the Colchester finds, they find a natural home amongst toilet implements. I have included Roman mirrors, partly for comparison with the Iron Age examples and because they provide an interesting example of recovery bias which will be discussed in Section 9.6.

I decided to exclude overtly military objects (Crummy Category 13), such as weaponry and armour, as my interest lies in the civilian population's interactions with the Roman world. I retained personal items, such as some brooches and mounts, which have an uncertain military association. For instance, there is doubt over whether button-and-loop fasteners were military trappings; they certainly appear to predate the Roman conquest and are found on many settlements. I have included them in Chapter 5. Likewise, some

insecurely dated categories were included for comparative discussion, such as metal figurines and anatomical mounts. I also screened out non-portable articles such as furniture mounts and studs. Containers such as *paterae*, buckets and other vessels were similarly excluded.

Unidentified (Category 18) or undated material presents a problem. I have referred to published catalogues to identify unknown items wherever possible, e.g. nail cleaners (Crummy 2016; Crummy and Eckardt 2003; Eckardt and Crummy 2008), hairpins (Cool 1990; Crummy 1979), rings (Henig 1974), seal-boxes (Andrews 2012) and brooches (Bayley and Butcher 2004; Fowler 1960; Haselgrove 1997; Hattatt 1982, 2007; Hull and Hawkes 1987; Mackreth 2011; Plouviez 2008, 2014; Snape 1993). However, I did retain what I considered 'undated but interesting' records where appropriate. Many objects are given only a broad 'Roman' date range, so only those which can be fitted into my parameters have been included here. Objects with this long dating such as needles, tweezers, earrings and *styli* were reluctantly excluded.

Coinage is another significant category which I have deliberately omitted, partly because numismatics is a specialism in itself. It is essential, however, to be aware of previous work on coins and their relationships with artefacts and identities. Pertinent studies include Allen 1970; Chadburn 2006; Creighton 1992, 1994, 1995; Davies and Gregory 1991; Haselgrove 1992; Leins 2008, 2012; Nash Briggs 2011; Talbot 2011, 2015, 2017; Talbot and Leins 2010; Walton 2011, 2012).

3.2. Looking for Difference

In conjunction with the functional approach, I am interested in the processes of adoption and adaptation of artefact types and the hybridisation of Roman and indigenous forms and aesthetics. I find the methods of Eckardt (2014, 2018), Carr (2001, 2003) and Webster (2001) useful; rather than looking for patterns and objects which fit neatly into typologies and classifications, they aim to highlight difference, hybridity and change. Spradley looks for difference, focussing on the importance of recognising, and thinking through, unknown

and ambiguous objects. Focussing on 'oddities', not dismissing them because they fail to fit into neatly defined categories, can be productive (2001:104-11).

Sørenson (1987) looked at the dichotomy between standardisation and uniqueness. Objects with limited variability (less distance from the norm) can have 'automatically ascribed' meanings whereas 'unusual, unique, varied' objects require more thinking about, working through. This may be applicable to large datasets of small finds which lack context, assuming a norm can be established. This has influenced my decision to look for unusual variants, as well as grouping finds by functional category.

Wells observed that over time both new and old material culture passed through phases of popularity. During the occupation 'new traditions developed, adapting elements of both indigenous and introduced practices and style to create patterns different from any of the antecedents' (1999:265). Many small finds specialists search for parallels and seek similarities for identification. I am interested in the oddities, the square pegs, which don't neatly fit into our, often subjective, classifications. I have tracked those objects called 'unique', 'unusual', 'unparalleled' by the recorder. These are of course personal judgments by the identifier, but it is a useful way of flagging difference (Harlow 2017).

3.3. Data Collection

This section discusses the sources of data: the county HERs, published excavations and the PAS database. I will explain how my decision-making processes developed during creation of the database. I also consider the methodological issues and constraints which arose during data collection.

3.3.1. Historic Environment Records

In the 1970s, Historic Environment Records (HERs) replaced county Sites and Monuments Records, often based on much older card index systems. The Cambridgeshire HER has some 17,000 records from all sites and periods, Suffolk over 32,500 records and Norfolk more than 60,000 entries from 22,000 sites. These figures provide some sense of the proportion of finds from each

county, which reflects their relative geographical extents and the frequency of metal-detecting.

Initial database searches were requested from the three county HERs using the recommended 'archaeological objects' termlists (Source: FISH forum) and the date range 100 BCE-200 CE. I also requested a wider 'Iron Age-Roman' search for comparison. These were returned in a variety of formats including Excel, HTML and PDF documents. I subsequently visited each of the HERs, having drawn up a shortlist of sites to look at in more detail. The paper records were consulted, and information added to an Excel table for each county. Variations occurred in recording styles and methods within and between counties. One of the benefits of researching in three English counties is to observe and compare these differences.

In Norfolk, files are allocated an individual number, for example *Venta Icenorum* is NHER:9786; the higher the number, generally, the more recently-created the entry. Blocks of HER numbers were issued to, for example, the local archaeological unit or a project recording standing buildings of Victorian schools. This means that some sequences 'jump', leading to gaps where allocated chunks were not completely used.

In Suffolk, sites are designated using a three-character parish code and three-digit site code. For instance, Coddenham is recorded as SHER:CDD017. The paper records are filed not by code sequence but alphabetically by parish name, which makes it difficult to ensure that one has seen every file flagged up by the search. An ongoing process of digitisation temporarily restricted access to some records. A substantial backlog of paper records had built up, which were not, at the time of visiting, on the digital HER. I worked through these alphabetically and attempted to pick out relevant finds.

The process of selecting records differed in Cambridgeshire. Each finds category (e.g. dress, written communication) was presented in a PDF document, in one case over 1000 pages long. These were searched in full within the shorter date range and the site codes extracted and then requested

from the HER. Many records were only available online through the ADS due to the high proportion of 'grey literature' (Section 3.3.4).

In many HER records, small finds are categorised very broadly, 'RB *fibula'* being a case in point. This is more frequent in antiquarian records or imports from early card indexes. If there was no other description, image or dating evidence attached to the record, the object was excluded. If the record was a little more specific, such as 'Colchester type brooch' or undated but recognisable objects, I recorded these and attempted a closer identification.

Working from the digital search results to the paper records threw up some inconsistencies. Some sites with dated artefacts failed to appear, or contained only references to flint or ceramics, which could not be explained except in terms of human error or data entry limitations. Some objects returned by the digital search did not appear in the paper records. HER staff could not identify an explanation, but it may reflect the creation of 'digital only' records.

The potential overlap of HER and PAS finds posed a serious issue. Norfolk HER records have been entered in purely digital form since September 2012, meaning paper records do not exist. All finds should now be entered on the PAS, although this is not necessarily the case in practice.[16] In reverse, PAS records have been systematically added to the HER records in recent years. This is usually noted on the record. The PAS dataset, for Norfolk especially, has had fluctuations in entry levels, due to periodic uploads of bulk batches of backlog entries (Andrews 2012:57; Pett 2010:3). This may well result in skewed interpretations of the records (Worrell 2008:337, 2010:410). In Suffolk, there is no determined effort to bring PAS records into the HER or *vice versa*,[17] although there are certainly numerous PAS records within the HER. In Cambridgeshire, there has been no deliberate crossover to date between the two databases.

3.3.2. Portable Antiquities Scheme

The Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) began in 1997 as a pilot scheme based in local authority museums and archaeological services, including Norfolk. In

1999, services including Suffolk joined the scheme and an online database was created. Since 2003, a network of Finds Liaison Officers (FLOs) has been employed to cover each English county and Wales. The PAS database now includes over 1.3 million object records. To give a sense of relative proportions of finds of all periods, there are over 95,000 from Norfolk, 70,000 from Suffolk and 17,000 from Cambridgeshire.[18]

Public access to the database provides a certain amount of information, with restrictions on sensitive data such as finders' names and exact findspots. Researcher clearance allows greater access, more precise geo-referencing, the ability to map data and export records. During a short placement, I gained insights into how PAS data are collected, organised and stored, the decisions made when describing objects and recording findspots and the impact of individual and institutional biases.

Work by Brindle (2010, 2014) explores these issues across several study areas and looks at Roman Britain in detail. Biases were observed in both recovery and recording, although these were not considered insurmountable (2014:18-20). He concluded that although PAS data were of limited statistical use for Correspondence Analysis (*ibid*.:14, 26, 122), they present great opportunities for local and regional analyses of identities looking at artefact types and styles (*ibid*.:130). Although Brindle baulked at the prospect of analysing the large amount of data from Norfolk and Suffolk (*ibid*.:29) within his overview, this thesis addresses itself to the task.

At the start of my data collection, I ran PAS searches and exported .csv files for selected object types, based on my dating and functional criteria. These gave me the basis to begin work on mapping and categorising the data, although it became apparent the narrow date range of -100 to +200 was restrictive. Once the bulk of HER data collection was completed, additional PAS records were downloaded to make the two datasets comparable. A cut-off date (30/04/2017) was chosen and no PAS finds recorded thereafter were added.

During my data cleaning, some records were found clearly erroneous, whether from imprecise data entry, misidentifications or mapping errors. Locational data were sometimes problematic, conceivably due to deliberate misinformation from the finder, but more usually from a mistranscribed or mistyped grid reference. When mapping findspots, several records appeared beyond the county boundaries and some strayed into the North Sea. In a small number of cases, I replaced the PAS description with my own identification or dating of objects. End-users are encouraged to report *errata* via an online form. I completed error reports and fed back mapping inconsistencies to the relevant FLOs, to assist with the precision of the database where possible. Generally, however, the information was good, the locational data were precise, and most finds have high-quality zoomable photographs, which is one of the biggest advantages of the PAS over the HER records.

One of the most striking observations from working with PAS finds is the increase in frequency across all categories and the continued rise in records of artefacts, in comparison to even recently published catalogues. A few examples, discussed further in the relevant chapters, suffice here to highlight this proliferation (Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3).

County	Hutcheson (2004)	Harlow (2017)
Norfolk	88	301
Grand Total	**88**	**301**

Table 1: Increase in terret rings recorded, including miniatures (Norfolk).

County	Jackson (2010)	Harlow (2017)
Cambridgeshire	22	35
Norfolk	169	340
Suffolk	101	210
Grand Total	**292**	**585**

Table 2: Increase in cosmetic grinders recorded.

County	Andrews (2012)	Harlow (2017)
Cambridgeshire	12	18
Norfolk	98	189
Suffolk	52	107
Grand Total	**162**	**314**

Table 3: Increase in seal-boxes recorded.

3.3.3. Locational Information

Norfolk and Suffolk HERs provided GIS shapefiles to be imported into mapping software for visualisation.[19] However, it quickly became apparent that it would be necessary to combine the two different datasets (HER and PAS) to fully express them in GIS. The Norfolk HER export included Eastings and Northings for each of the numbered sites, allowing a simple transfer to my database. These were generally centred on the field. Individual findspots with grid references recorded during my visits were converted to coordinates for greater precision.

The Suffolk records were less straightforward, as there were often two or more entries with the same parish codes and different coordinates. Where possible, these were checked using MagicMap and where there were two points within the same area, a midpoint was selected. The Cambridgeshire GIS tables did not give locational data, instead providing a hyperlink to the Heritage Gateway, which shows the grid reference; these were individually compiled and converted to coordinates. Therefore, there will inevitably be small inconsistencies in the mapping, although hopefully within limited geographical areas, at the scale of the field or at most parish.

As the dataset was largely comprised of surface finds, I wanted to visualise concentration zones in GIS rather than signposting known sites or modern designations. The two sets of records were not necessarily compatible, so I decided to do this at the parish level. There were also discrepancies in the numbers of findspots by county (i.e. Cambridgeshire would have had very few in the top 5% if combined with Norfolk and Suffolk). The top 5% by county were used to create a shapefile of markers centred on the parish, which is included as a 'Top Parishes' layer on the maps.

3.3.4. Grey Literature

Since the 1990s, developers are required to obtain archaeological information before starting work on a site (DCLG 1990, 2010). Often, watching briefs and small-scale excavations are undertaken in advance or as construction work happens. These investigations are usually carried out by commercial archaeological contractors and are rarely published in full, leading to a large body of 'grey literature'. These reports are held by the HERs and are usually deposited with the ADS.

Few artefacts of relevance were found in these reports and the way they are indexed makes searching both time-consuming and unrewarding. For this reason, I chose to only look at grey literature for specific cases in Norfolk and Suffolk. In Cambridgeshire, the scale of recent development has meant that grey literature forms approximately half of the sources to be found in the HER.[20] Therefore, a slightly different approach was necessary and more grey literature was included in the sample.

3.3.5. The Roman Rural Settlement Project

The Roman Rural Settlement (RRS) project was underway during the writing of this thesis. As a response to the issues relating to grey literature, the RRS collated a large amount of information nationally from developments and produced a searchable online database and mapping tool.[21] The project used East Anglia as one of its pilot studies.[22] RRS coverage of developer-funded literature is therefore complementary to my research as an alternative dataset.

The East of England RRS strand, which also included parts of Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Essex, along with Norfolk and Suffolk, noted that although most LIA sites continued into the early Roman period, this was also a period of significant disruption, with signs that the landscape underwent considerable reorganisation and almost a fifth of settlements were 'abandoned'. These were located mostly in the south, 'well away from the "Icenian Heartlands"' where such devastation would be anticipated from Classical sources. Smith *et al.* suggest that perhaps only 'exceptional' sites such as Thetford were targeted,

resulting in such restricted evidence for Roman retribution after the revolt. Larger scale abandonment in rural settlements is not seen until the 4th CE (Smith *et al.* 2016:208, 214).

Cambridgeshire is mainly included in the 'Central Belt' RRS strand. Recent excavation and survey data contest the idea that an Imperial Estate was constructed in an empty land, with LIA/Roman settlements 'at very regular intervals across much of the landscape' (Smith *et al.* 2016:193). Some of these were newly established in the LIA in the Fenland area and around Cambridge, many within pre-existing sites or field systems. There was also some major settlement change in this area, with some 50% of enclosed farmsteads going out of use in the mid-1st century CE. This phenomenon is not regarded as a catastrophic failure, but Smith *et al.* relate it to either the conquest or the Boudican revolt and the 'subsequent increased military presence' (*ibid*.:192-207).

These rural shifts and transformations continue into the mid-late 2nd century CE with a significant expansion of villages and farms around the Fen edge (Smith 2013). There are fewer villas in East Anglia than in the southeast and southwest, and the incidence of samian ware is considerably lower than in the Central zone. As discussed in Chapter 1, there is also a notable difference in burial evidence. The region is more lightly covered in general than elsewhere in the southeast, which is probably due to the prevalence of development excavations, showing the differences between the varied sources (Allen *et al.* 2016).

3.3.6. Excavated Sites

Excavations across the east of England have added to our knowledge of the LIA and Roman periods. I have included selected artefact assemblages from excavated sites, which helps relate the surface finds to stratified sites, grounding the research and improving the dataset from which to understand patterns of deposition and recovery. The series of East Anglian Archaeology reports (EAA) has been of particular use here, presenting a wealth of data in a

consistent and user-friendly format. Local historical journals were also searched, including Norfolk Archaeology, the Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology (PSIA) and the Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (PCAS).

Sites at Burgh, near Woodbridge (Martin 1988), Fison Way, Thetford (Atkins and Connor 2010; Gregory 1991a), Chatteris (Evans 2003) and Stonea (Wimblington) (Jackson and Potter 1996; Potter and Jackson 1982) span the conquest period. Excavations at Hacheston, near the River Deben, have contributed to the idea of a territorial boundary on the northern edge of the Trinovantian area (Blagg *et al.* 2004:196).

The work of the Caistor Roman Project (CRP) at the *civitas* capital and its hinterland, with which I have been closely involved for over a decade, has changed our understanding of the town's layout, dating and role as 'the marketplace of the Iceni' (Bowden 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2017; Bowden and Bescoby 2008). Settlements at Caistor-on-Sea (Darling and Gurney 1993), Billingford (Wallis 2011), Scole (Ashwin and Tester 2014), West Stow (West 1989) and Brampton (Knowles 1977) are also of interest. Sites at Brancaster (Hinchliffe 1985), Brettenham (Mudd 2002), Snettisham (Flitcroft 2001; Stead 1991) and Wighton (Gregory and Gurney 1986) have also been excavated. The temples at Crownthorpe (Davies 2009:137-9), Walsingham (Davies and Gregory 1991:69) and Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Gurney 1986) and the site at Saham Toney (Bates *et al.* 2000; Brown 1986) have produced large assemblages of coins and other portable artefacts.

Many published site reports include a mixture of excavated and metal-detected finds, reminding us that these are not exclusive methodologies, but complementary tools for archaeological investigation, along with fieldwalking, geophysical and aerial surveying. Many HER records lack stratigraphy and context, due to surface or chance finds. The next section looks at the practicalities and implications of using metal-detecting for research.

3.4. Working with Surface Finds

This thesis highlights the value of using surface finds in conjunction with excavated material (see Haselgrove 1985; Marsden 2012; Worrell *et al.* 2010). The three counties provide a rich diversity of both stratified and surface material to be investigated. Projects taking unstratified finds as primary data have become more commonplace (Andrews 2012; Brindle 2010, 2014; Jackson 2010; Robbins 2012; Statton 2016; Walton 2012). Despite inherent biases, the quantity of information available is unparalleled by that from well-stratified sites. Nevertheless, there are significant ethical and practical issues to be addressed with material collected and reported by detectorists.

Questions have rightly been asked about the authenticity of records, particularly locational information. Marsden decries ongoing illegal detecting in Norfolk (2012:51). The debate remains hotly contested and, at times, divisive (Gill 2010; UKDFD 2007; van der Schriek 2014; Winkley 2016). However, as a source of research data, it is impossible to ignore the large quantities of artefacts reported annually, and new ways forward have been proposed to minimise the ethical implications (Chester-Kadwell 2009; Ulmschneider 2000; Worrell *et al.* 2010). This project deliberately explores some of these issues and contributes to this emerging branch of the discipline.

3.4.1. Interviews with Metal-Detectorists

One of my key arguments, upheld by my data and interpretation, is that metal-detecting is an important and useful resource for archaeological research. During this project, I encountered scepticism regarding the benefits of metal-detecting. I was often challenged about the veracity of records, findspots and issues surrounding looting of historic sites. This highlighted my own East Anglian bias, as an inheritor of the efforts of Tony Gregory (NMS), and his successors, who have developed positive relationships between archaeologists and detectorists over the past 30 years.

Cool and Baxter's research into morphological bias (2016a, 2016b) (Section 3.4.4) also prompted me to enquire about detecting practices. Quantitative

studies using questionnaires and interviews have previously been carried out with detectorists (Brindle 2014; Chester-Kadwell 2009; Robbins 2012; Winkley 2016). To explore these questions further for my own satisfaction, I carried out a short series of interviews with detectorists from Norfolk and Suffolk. These were intended more as oral history interviews than quantitative research, looking for opinion and personal experiences on metal-detecting practices, in the vein of Winkley's (2016) 'phenomenology of metal-detecting'. Verbatim quotes and summaries of their responses (using anonymised reference numbers) are included where relevant.

3.4.2. Variability in Recording

Individual finders use idiosyncratic recording methods, such as numbering systems for fields and finds. Archaeologists identifying and recording objects also have their own ways of describing and dating objects.[23] Although computerised databases have ironed out some of these discrepancies, many remain. Earlier records are often the least well-identified and located. Recording also varies due to new catalogues and publications. For many years, the standard identification texts for British brooches were Hattatt's catalogues (1982, 1985, 1987, 1989, and 2007). However, these have been superseded by Mackreth's volumes (2011), and PAS/HER staff are generally expected to use Mackreth categories.[24] Unfortunately, Mackreth made little attempt to synchronise his brooch categorisation with Hattatt's, preferring to develop his own chronology.

In my HER searches, patterns of individual finders could be discerned. Some were particularly good at spotting non-metallic objects e.g. flints or bone; most concentrated on non-ferrous metalwork and discriminated accordingly. Geospatial information is another category in which personal ability, preference and technical know-how can affect results. I built up a mental picture of which detectorists regularly recorded 10-figure grid references and who never recorded specific locations. During interviews, eight of the nine respondents said they now use handheld GPS in the field, with only one preferring a map, ruler and pencil. It is important to remember that metal-detecting is changing

over time, with improvements in technology, knowledge and recording. To record and analyse this, I included the finder's name and the date found (or date recorded). This also assisted with identifying objects recorded pre-HER and flagging up PAS duplicates.

This highlights some of the difficulties found when working with multiple sources. A large synchronisation and data-cleaning period was necessary once the dataset was compiled. Consequently, my database only represents a sample of the total. The HER and PAS records are, of course, in themselves only a sample, defined by the chances of survival, discovery and reporting. The combined approach which integrates HER and PAS finds, metal-detected and excavated materials, is one of the strengths of my project.

3.4.3. Constraints

Although East Anglia's arable land is a hotspot for detecting, there are many constraints. Urban and agricultural land-use, scheduled monuments, military zones, Forestry Commission, coastal and Crown properties restrict available search areas and influence recovery (e.g. for Norfolk Chester-Kadwell 2009:82-6, and 167 pl. 1) (Figure 3.1). Both now, and in the past, extensive areas of wetland (the Great Estuary/Broads and the Fens) restrict access. The coastline has receded by as much as 2km since the Roman period (Albone *et al.* 2007b:74). Discussions with detectorists revealed other constraints on their practices. Peat build-up means the ancient land surface is buried many feet below the surface in some places. An increasingly efficient (or industrialised) agricultural cycle means that many fields are drilled immediately after harvest, and the pheasant shooting season is another factor which prevents detecting at certain times of year. Linear features may be explained by the tendency of detectorists to search along known prehistoric trackways and Roman roads[25]. A geographical bias is introduced by 'productive' sites attracting heavy detector use. These may show up in mapping as concentrations of finds.

> *One of the problems detectorists have is this "honeypot syndrome" where you've found good things in a field, and you're just drawn back like a*

magnet, because you want to find more exciting things. So we try and force ourselves to keep exploring more and more. [003]

As Chester-Kadwell's map shows, a group of parishes in west Norfolk has seen extensive detector coverage (Figure 3.1). This shows up repeatedly in my own mapping, and means either a high concentration of human activity, or a high recovery rate. This area includes the possible ritual/votive site and small town at Fincham, described as 'a prolific site actively detected over a long period, the detectorist having a good relationship with Norwich Castle Museum' (Talbot 2017:94, 128). This patterning has twofold implications. Firstly, as several detectorists pointed out during interview, if there were nothing to be recovered, no amount of searching would create this pattern. Therefore, the finds must be there in the first place. High numbers of finds from a certain area, while perhaps disproportionate compared to other parishes, nevertheless show a concentration of settlement or other past human activity.

Secondly, Chester-Kadwell shows detector finds from all periods, not just Iron Age and Roman. A map of Roman brooches from Norfolk on the PAS database (Figure 3.2) shows there is county-wide detector coverage and the area in question (circled), while high, is not the highest, nor the only area producing many finds. What is noticeable is the gap produced by Thetford Forest (in green on Figure 3.1), an area that warrants further archaeological investigation. Metal-detecting is generally banned on Forestry Commission lands. Some key Iron Age sites in the HER files do not feature on the PAS, presumably because they are scheduled monuments with restrictions on casual use of metal-detectors.

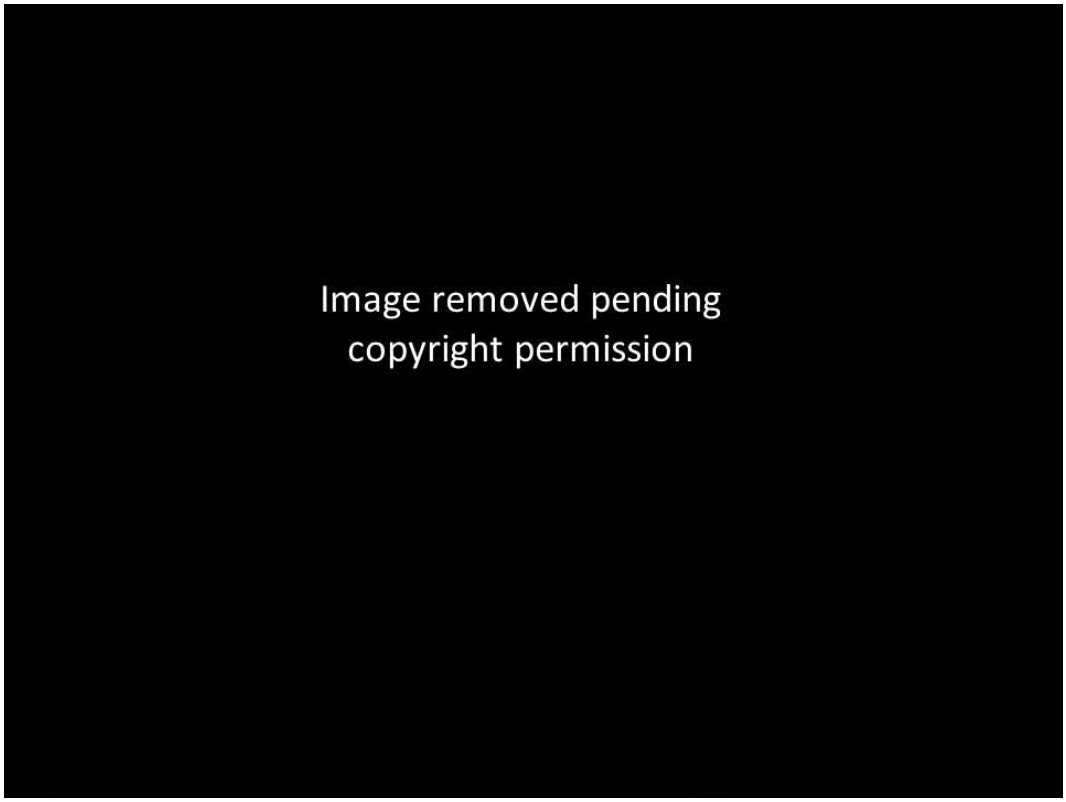


Figure 3.1: Metal-detecting map of Norfolk (Chester-Kadwell 2009:167 pl. 1).

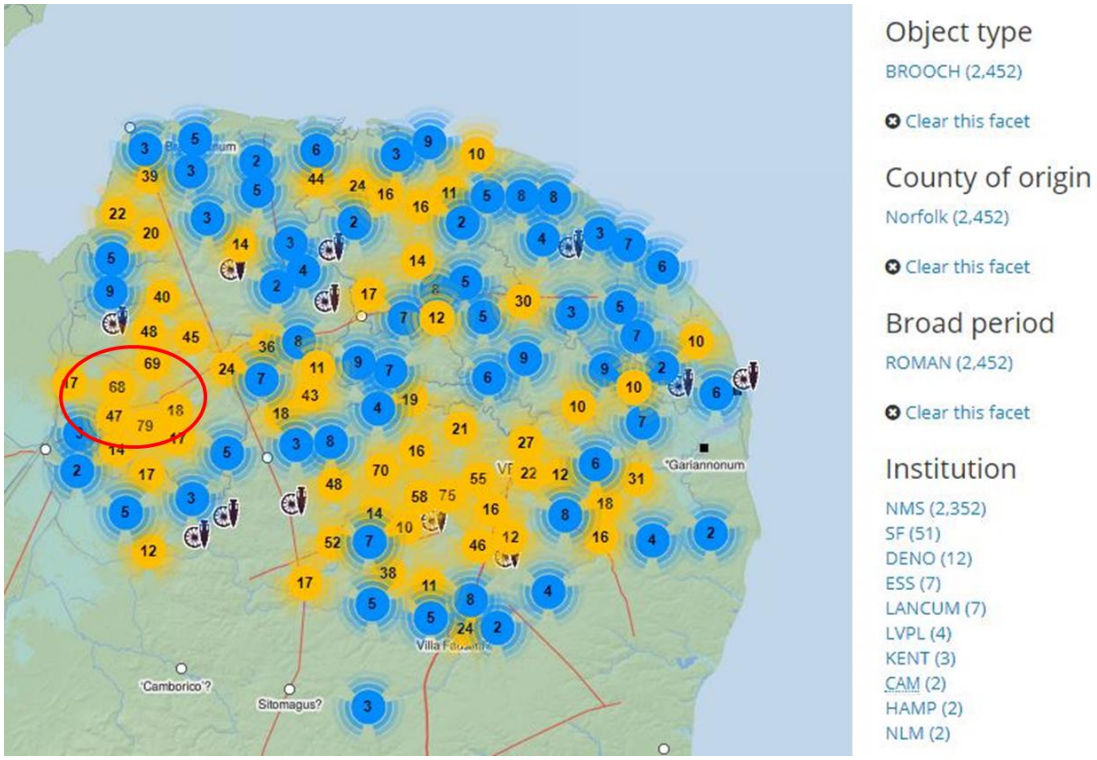


Figure 3.2: Roman brooch finds in Norfolk (Image: PAS).

Constraints are manifold, through the usual processes of deposition, survival, discovery and recording, as well as physical restrictions on where people can search. My own collection biases will have further skewed the selection. Despite

these issues, by compiling a large dataset to work with, the sheer numbers may help to reduce the inherent slant and unpredictability.

3.4.4. Morphological Bias in Metal-detector Finds: A Response to Cool and Baxter

At this point it is necessary to discuss critically an important piece of recent research. Cool and Baxter's work (2016a, 2016b) has an important bearing on this research project due to the high percentages of metal-detector finds in my database (Table 5, Table 6). Approximately 99% of PAS and 64% of non-PAS finds were metal-detected. The different county percentages may reflect the higher density of grey literature in my Cambridgeshire data and the selective incorporation of Norfolk HER material onto the PAS. The high proportion of brooches (Table 4) probably reflects the '*fibula* event horizon' phenomenon (Hill 1995a:66) and county variations in dating small finds.

While other studies have explored recovery bias in terms of constraints on permissible metal-detecting (Brindle 2014; Robbins 2012), Cool and Baxter consider the impact of morphology upon artefact retrieval. The authors investigate this process using Mackreth's 2011 corpus of over 15,000 brooches, which covers published and unpublished excavations and both public and private collections. Mackreth was rather scathing of metal-detected material generally, although he assisted Norwich Castle Museum staff to record detector finds as the technology developed. He saluted the PAS, which was still in its infancy when he was collecting data, as a 'brave attempt'. Data collection closed in 2004, meaning his corpus includes few, if any, PAS data (Cool and Baxter 2016a:72, 2016b:1643-4; Mackreth 2011:4).

County	HER Brooches	HER All	%	PAS Brooches	PAS All	%
Cambs	465	693	67%	414	524	79%
Norfolk	2562	3997	64%	2284	2759	83%
Suffolk	2669	3198	83%	2588	2937	88%
Total	**5696**	**7888**	**72%**	**5286**	**6220**	**85%**

Table 4: Percentages of brooches by county and source.

HER Brooches				
County	Metal-detected	Excavated	Unknown/other	Total
Cambs	241	87	137	465
Norfolk	1798	184	580	2562
Suffolk	1622	286	761	2669
Grand Total	**3661**	**557**	**1478**	**5696**

Table 5: Non-PAS brooches by collection type and county.

PAS Brooches				
County	Metal-detected	Excavated	Unknown/other	Total
Cambs	413	0	1	414
Norfolk	2279	0	5	2284
Suffolk	2563	2	23	2588
Grand Total	**5255**	**2**	**29**	**5286**

Table 6: PAS brooches by collection type and county.

Cool and Baxter divided Mackreth's brooches into those collected prior to common metal-detector use, by survey, excavation or chance, which they term 'conventional' (meaning non-detected, but a somewhat loaded term – suggesting the opposite 'unconventional' for detected finds) and finds 'made most probably by metal-detectorists', namely those in private collections (2016a:79-80). They reserved Hattatt's collection as a special case as it drew on both sources. This methodology raises some questions about provenance. Many artefacts in museum collections are poorly provenanced antiquarian finds, many excavations use metal-detectors on site, and chance or surface finds made by eye are equally biased by artefact morphology, environmental conditions and visibility (see Robbins 2012:41-3 on 'visual apparency' and 'detection probability').

East Anglia (Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire) is the region with the highest proportion of metal-detector finds nationally. Here, 44% of Mackreth's 2395 brooches derived from 'conventional' sources, 50% from metal-detecting and 6% from Hattatt's mixed collection. This compares, for example, to the southwest (2554 brooches) where conventional recovery stands at 92%, metal-detector finds at just 4% and Hattatt 3% (Cool and Baxter 2016a:81, table 2; 2016b:1645). This stark contrast probably reflects the arable nature of the East

Anglian landscape and strong relationships between detectorists and NMS and SCC staff over several decades.

Cool and Baxter's analysis demonstrated that some brooches were differentially recovered by metal-detecting, sometimes in favour and sometimes against. Only one-third of the earliest types of bow brooches - Colchester one-piece brooches and Nauheim Derivatives - were retrieved by metal-detectorists. By contrast, Aesica brooches formed 14% of conventional and 70% of metal-detected finds. Penannular brooches, which have a very long date range, showed a dramatic difference, with only 11% found by detector and 82% by conventional means (2016a:81, table 3). This appears to show that metal-detectorists are considerably less successful at recovering early one-piece brooches and penannulars, which have a 'wiry' or two-dimensional morphology. Larger examples like plate and Aesica brooches and decorative Headstud and Trumpet brooches were more commonly found. These brooch types are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

It is common practice for detectorists to discriminate against ferrous metals when detecting in fields with miscellaneous surface ironwork from agricultural activity and Victorian rubbish dumping.[26] This may explain the lower representation of simple one-piece brooches and penannulars which were more commonly made in both iron and copper alloys. Booth suggests that some detectorists mistake penannular brooches for simple metal rings and discard them before recording (2014:74).[27] Excavated ferrous finds are much more often retrieved, retained and are more likely to be from datable contexts than surface survey. There may also be an element of anaerobic preservation in buried deposits compared to ploughsoil. Mackreth acknowledged this bias in his dataset. He noted that pre-1960s excavators, museum curators and collectors rejected ferrous finds or they decayed beyond recognition in store (2011:20).

In interviews I asked: do you screen out certain metals?

> *Yes, unless we're on a dig of course, in which case then it's all metal. Screen out purely ferrous. You still have everything non-ferrous. Well, as I*

say, when it comes to official digs or something, it's all metal. Every nail, unfortunately, every nail. [001]

We do discriminate…except for big bits of iron we do pick them up because you can't avoid it. Yeah you're right, the little tiny brooches, they're so…you get a really small signal so you're only going to get them shallow so you're not going to dig a big hole to find them. [002]

The survival in this sort of soil isn't good for ferrous items so most of the things we have retrieved have been corroded beyond belief and, to be honest, most of them are fairly modern, probably 18th century or later. [003]

…modern detectors, well the ones I use anyway, produce a different sound most of the time for ferrous but we do dig iron up sometimes, horseshoes, ploughshares, bits of cultivators, tractors in general. [007]

If it's iron, it goes [makes noise]...you just walk on. But you have to be careful because next door to the iron could be a good object. [008]

I try to discriminate as much iron out, or at least to be identified as iron because the modern detectors now you can assign a certain level of tone or a certain pitch to an iron signal, so you need to know that there's iron there to know that there's been habitation, but you don't necessarily want to dig it, I mean you can spend all day digging horseshoes and they're not very exciting I'm afraid. [009]

Degradation of metalwork in ploughsoil is also an increasing problem, due to the heavy usage of agri-chemicals on arable land:

The things which we are finding, especially the Roman coins, they're deteriorating due to fertiliser, they're in the topsoil and, maybe agriculture may change where they don't use so many fertilisers, but the damage has been done to a lot of those coins, they're really corroding. Fifty years' time, if there's any left, you may not even be able to identify them. [004]



Figure 3.3: (left) Colchester Derivative Harlow, South Elmham St Mary (PAS:SF5751) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Colchester Derivative Rearhook, Pulham Market (PAS:SF-C65E1A) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0).

I would also question Cool and Baxter's interpretation of Colchester Derivative brooches (Figure 3.3), of which there are high concentrations in East Anglia and which have played a key part in defining the Iceni in recent years (Section 4.2). Colchester Derivative Rearhook brooches were represented by 32% conventional and 63% metal-detected finds. Colchester Derivative Harlow-type brooches, however, were 50% conventional and 47% metal-detected. If morphology is the deciding factor in recovery bias, why should there be such a disparity between Harlow and Rearhook brooches, which are essentially similar in form and only differ in the mechanism which affixes the spring? This needs to be explained more fully before it can be accepted as a firm theory.

Lower recovery rates may be partly technological, as more two-dimensional artefacts are simply harder to detect and give weaker signals, 'no matter how skilled the detectorist is, how careful the recording is or how complete the item may be' (Cool and Baxter 2016b:1647, 1651). Mackreth believed that brooches with brightly coloured enamelling, like Headstuds and Trumpets, show up well in the soil and so are more easily recovered (2011:119). Certainly, some detectorists only search for the most complete, attractive, and therefore saleable finds, but there is a danger of reinforcing outdated 'treasure-hunter' stereotypes which denigrates many detectorists' longstanding experience and ability.

Discussions with detectorists revealed that:

> *It's clear from our experience of retrieving finds that some things are going to give less of a signal and are easier to miss than others. It's not just the size and shape of an object, it's the chance aspect of how it lies in the soil … Randomness is an enormous part of that. The fact is that most of our machines don't go very deep, we're not digging anything below the plough depth, because we constantly search fields over and over again, eventually we find that most things will come to the surface within range of the machines, so that's smoothing out the bias that you might get in the statistics.* [003]
>
> *Yes certainly, thin wire brooches, the same as Roman hairpins, are far more difficult to detect. They give a very erratic signal whereas a large, reflective surface such as a plate brooch, will give you a very good signal*

no matter how it's lying in the soil. [Do you still dig up the erratic signals?] *[laughs] You never lose that enthusiasm!* [009]

Obviously the smaller the find, the more difficult it is, or the less likely it is that you're actually going to detect it, and the classic one is a cut quarter penny for instance, which is really tiny, if it's horizontal you'll find it, down to probably five or six inches, if it's on edge with the pointed end upwards you won't get a signal from it, it's too tiny. The bigger the item, obviously, the more likely you are to find it. Modern detectors do find remarkably small items. [Detectorist 007 presents me with two fine pieces of wire including one with the insulation still on it, picked up the day before by his detector, to prove his point].

3.4.5. Research Implications

My research relies heavily on metal-detected artefacts and Cool and Baxter highlight several potential biases. The suggestion that the distribution and chronology of East Anglian brooches is seriously undermined by the high regional proportion of metal-detector finds merits closer investigation. Some of my results will doubtless be weighted by recovery bias; this is an accepted and acknowledged part of the process. The implications are twofold. Firstly, the chronological signature of an assemblage may be distorted by under-representation of certain types of brooches found by metal-detector. The recovery of LIA and early Roman brooches is biased in favour of conventional methods, swinging towards metal-detector finds throughout the 2nd century CE (Cool and Baxter 2016a:86, 2016b:1648-50).

Secondly, Cool and Baxter insist that brooch data can only really be understood in relation to other small finds. In my analysis of cosmetic grinders (Chapter 9) I observe that the smaller, more delicate 'pestles' are recovered differently to the larger 'mortars'. This is also noted as a possible cause for variations in finds of linch-pins and the chronology of terret rings (Chapter 6). While Hutcheson uses PAS data to substantiate her claim that the distribution of horse gear represents ancient practices rather than modern recording bias, the concentration of enamelled and highly-ornamented harness fittings in Norfolk may confirm Cool and Baxter's theory (2004:21-2). The advantage of my research scope is that it incorporates small finds from many different functional

categories, of all shapes and sizes, which have the potential to calibrate the morphological bias against detected brooches.

One of the benefits of working with large numbers of finds, mostly due to high metal-detector coverage, is that you derive a sense of overview, rather than the 'keyhole' approach of excavation. These are 'surface' finds in more than one way though, as the interpretation relies on quantity and concentrations in the absence of context and time-depth. The advantage of using a mixture of detected and excavated finds is that they complement each other and fill in gaps in the available information. It is not my intention to find fault with this important new research, but to consider critically its methodology and potential implications. I remain vigilant for such biases and hope that my study contributes to the ongoing debate.

Cool and Baxter successfully show the '*fibula* event horizon' to be much more complex, regionally varied and sequential than previously thought. East Anglia shows unusual results again, with a secondary peak in the late 2nd/early 3rd century CE, which the authors also attribute to recovery bias (2016a:86). I would suggest that like other forms of material culture, especially seal-boxes and cosmetic grinders, perhaps we are seeing multiple 'event horizons' through time and across different artefact types. Cool and Baxter also coin the phrase '*fibula* abandonment horizon' (2016a:94) to describe the abrupt decline in the everyday usage of brooches (as previously noted by e.g. Allason-Jones 1989:126; Hattatt 1982:35). I will return to this fascinating avenue of enquiry in my analysis of personal ornament (Chapters 4-5).

Chapter 4. Brooches: Badges of Belonging?

4.1. Late Iron Age and Early Roman brooches

The unprecedented amount of material relating to personal adornment in the 1st/2nd centuries CE enables an investigation of the role of belongings in the creation of personal and public identities. These artefacts allow us to see change and continuity at work. The functional category of personal ornament is divided into two parts: this chapter is dedicated to brooches. Other forms of jewellery are dealt with in Chapter 5.

The research questions can be tested using my dataset of over 10,000 brooches which form, at 78%, by far the greatest proportion of the database (Table 7). A discussion of manufacturing evidence provides context for an investigation of regional, ethnic, religious and gender identities. Looking for difference and hybridity demonstrates changing technologies and aesthetics. I address assumptions about the Icenian depopulation after the Boudican revolt and active resistance to Roman imports. It is also possible to test Cool and Baxter's metal-detector bias hypothesis (2016a, 2016b).

Source	All brooches	All finds	%
HER	5696	7888	72%
PAS	5286	6220	85%
Total	10982	14108	78%

Table 7: Overall percentages of brooches by source.

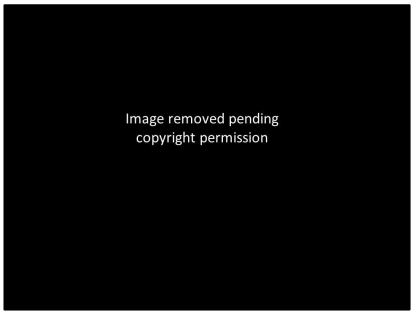


Figure 4.1: Terminology of brooch components (Hattatt 1982:27 fig. 8).

My research adds to the growing picture of regional identity and adornment, building on the work of Adams (2013), Farley (2012), Rosten (2007) and Statton (2016) in adjacent regions and periods. Mackreth (2011) and Hattatt's

(1982, 1985, 1987) overviews of Iron Age and Roman brooches are invaluable typological and chronological sources, along with Bayley and Butcher's (2004) work on metal composition.

Brooch usage did not happen overnight, as Hill's well-known expression 'the *fibula* event horizon' might imply, but a dramatic increase in finds does occur from the 1st century BCE (see Appendix A: Brooch Date Ranges). Hill questions whether this event resulted from greater abundance and loss, or changing cultural processes with higher archaeological visibility (1995a:66, 85, 1997:96). For centuries before the conquest, the people of Britain used distinctive brooches to fasten their clothing. Adams argues that major regional differences, and the techniques and components of brooch-making, already existed in the Middle Iron Age, rendering the 'horizon' somewhat less dramatic (2013).

Gosden sees a shift in aesthetics, with a decline in the production of individual 'virtuoso objects' such as torcs, shields and swords and increased manufacture and deposition of small personal items (2005:203). This bulge in production and the narrative of standardisation implies that more brooches were in use, and/or were recycled less frequently. As a result, they perhaps became less distinctive and precious as belongings. However, the explosion in brooches was not universal: regional and chronological variations suggest a sequence of 'multiple well-defined events or horizons' (Cool and Baxter 2016a:86).

Earlier in the Iron Age, brooches were rare in burials and are only found with adult remains, both male and female. Children may have worn different clothing or perhaps brooches were symbols of adulthood. Brooches were almost never worn in pairs. Toggles and pins, many in perishable materials, may have served the purpose of brooches. By the LIA, brooches were worn by all age groups and genders. This may suggest a change in clothing or the availability of metal. Their size and robustness depended on the fineness of the fabric being secured. Romano-British women used pairs of brooches to fasten their garments on each shoulder (Adams 2013:217-32; Allason-Jones 1989:61).

Metal production in the LIA and Roman period is not the focus of this thesis (see Bayley and Butcher 2004; Davis 2014; Dungworth 2016; Garrow and Gosden 2012 for various aspects of the subject); rather I consider the evidence for metalworking and hybridity which result from a merging of technologies and aesthetics. Bayley and Butcher (2004) analysed the metallurgical make-up of some 3,500 LIA and Roman brooches from Richborough, considered representative of the period. They found that there were preferences for different copper alloys over time. The colouration of brass is closer to gold than bronze, which may have been an important aesthetic choice. Manufacturers of Iron Age coins and torcs deliberately manipulated the colour of gold and silver by varying alloys and surface enrichment (Farley 2012:47, 85, 193). This selectivity seems to persist into the Roman period with the choice of specific alloys for brooches.

Under the occupation, brooch forms and decoration changed, developing hybrid regional varieties which combined both imported and British elements. This may have been a political statement of continuing indigenous identity or simply fashion (Jundi and Hill 1998). Certain brooch types display regional patterning, from Dragonesques in Yorkshire to the Rearhook in Norfolk (Mackreth 2011:60, 188). Regional preferences may have defined members of social groups (Gosden 2005:204). Alternatively, distributions could purely reflect accessibility to local workshops (Section 4.10). Unlike coins, which have restricted circulations, but are impersonal objects, wearing a brooch is an active, personal choice. Brooches were often large and elaborately decorated, clearly designed to be seen. Their archaeological ubiquity implies they were everyday items, although the average person may not have had the means for the more ornate examples. Brooches meant more than their primary utilitarian function; visual appeal and symbolism became increasingly important. They were sometimes used as votive offerings (Eckardt 2005:148; Marsden 2014:66-7; Chapter 7), although Mackreth states the evidence for this is equivocal (2011:242).

Brooches continued to multiply and diversify until the later 2nd century CE when there is a sudden decline, most likely due to a change in fashions or the

use of other types of fasteners. Some imported brooches remained in use, but manufacturing in Britain ceases (Section 4.13). This change did not occur on the continent (Hattatt 1982:35).

4.2. Badges of Belonging?

Regional and chronological variations can be visualised through mapping the distributions of personal belongings. Brooches have been used, like coinage, to define regional groups and territories (Mackreth 2011; Martin 1999; Plouviez 2014). In this section, I problematise 'tribal boundaries' and the ascription of identity groups to material culture. Based on distributions of finds, during the client-kingdom the Iceni are said to have made and worn a specific two-piece brooch as an ethnic identifier. The Rearhook 'was exclusively an Icenian brooch type […] pre-Boudicca in its homeland, and may well have been something by which members of the tribe could have been recognized' (Mackreth 2011:60). Their neighbours, the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni, wore a related brooch, the Harlow type (*ibid.*:50). It should be noted that Mackreth does not elaborate regarding the territorial limits, nor provide distribution maps.

Plouviez used ratios of Harlow to Rearhook brooches to look for indigenous affiliations in Suffolk (in Martin 1999:88-9). The small towns of Wenhaston and Pakenham had a ratio of 1:1, which she ascribed to an Icenian origin. Hacheston and Coddenham had a much lower ratio of Rearhooks to Harlows, which would place them in Trinovantian 'tribal' territory. Mackreth dates Rearhooks tightly to the invasion and assigns a marked endpoint for manufacture (43-60/65 CE) to the 'savage repression of the Iceni after the defeat of Boudicca' (2009:144). Both this frequently-repeated subjugation premise and the idea that brooches symbolised allegiance to a political or ethnic entity are problematic. It is necessary to rethink these brooches as badges of 'tribal' identity.

4.3. Colchester Derivatives: Harlow and Rearhook



Figure 4.2: (left) Colchester Derivative Harlow brooch, Ickburgh (PAS:NMS-17E397) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Colchester Derivative Rearhook brooch, Wymondham (PAS:NMS-ACB73A) (Image: PAS/CC BY 2.0).

The Harlow[28] (Figure 4.2) brooch is a two-piece Colchester Derivative with a double pierced lug. This method fixes the two parts securely together: one lug holds the spring, the other the chord (Figure 4.1). Harlow brooches were produced in great numbers and are very common in East Anglia, with a *floruit* 50-70 CE, although running on into the later 1st century CE. The Harlow was made in regular sizes and is less ornate than its cousin, the Rearhook. Mackreth asserts it was the natural successor to the pre-conquest Colchester brooch (Section 4.8.5) in the 'home territory' of the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni (2011:50).

As the Harlow replaced the Colchester brooch around the Claudian invasion, so the Iceni developed an idiosyncratic range of brooches using the Rearhook fixing method (Mackreth 2011:234). Rearhook brooches are Colchester Derivatives with the spring secured by a rear-facing hook extending over the head of the bow (Figure 4.2). They are more decorative than Harlow types, which Mackreth interprets as a 'deeply rooted' regional preference (*ibid.*:67). Rearhook brooches predominate in Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, naturally prompting connections with the client-kingdom and revolt (Plouviez 2014:34-6, 40).

Mackreth's tight dating of Rearhook brooches suggests production ends *circa* 60/61 CE (in Gregory 1991a:122-3; 2011:60-9). This is derived from numerous examples from Colchester dated *circa* 49-61 CE, plus a few from other sites

such as Fison Way (45-61 CE), Snettisham (mid-1st century CE), Bagendon (43-50 CE, 50-60 CE), Hod Hill (49-61 CE) and Puckeridge (40-65 CE). However, he also records examples from Stonea (2nd/3rd century CE, 220-400 CE) and Snettisham (late 1st/early 2nd century CE). Many of the other dated examples are from late 1st century CE or later contexts. The dramatic cut-off point is only really recognisable at Fison Way and Colchester, both sites which clearly suffered destruction at this time, but which may have 'Boudican' attributions based on readings of the literature. The Rearhook brooches appear to have a long 'tail' in keeping with many of the other brooch types, especially at sites considered to be Icenian strongholds like Snettisham and Stonea.

County	Harlow	Rearhook
Cambridgeshire	74	38
Norfolk	297	684
Suffolk	839	671
Grand Total	**1210**	**1393**

Table 8: Harlow and Rearhook brooches by county.

Mackreth's sample of Rearhooks was small: Norfolk (276), Suffolk (23) and Cambridgeshire (42) (2011 Access database) in comparison to my own, which includes PAS finds. There are slightly more Rearhook than Harlow brooches in my dataset and together they comprise almost 24% of the total. Suffolk has nearly three times as many Harlow brooches as Norfolk, but the two counties have roughly equal numbers of Rearhooks (Table 8).[29]

Neither Rearhook nor Harlow is common in northeast Norfolk or Cambridgeshire, perhaps reflecting geographical constraints, such as wetlands. The distribution maps look quite similar (Figure 4.3, Figure 4.4), but the densities tell a different story (Figure 4.5, Figure 4.6). Harlow brooches have a southerly bias, in line with Mackreth's observations. They particularly cluster in the southeast around Coddenham (45), Charsfield (37), Hacheston (35) and Wenhaston (57). The parishes around Withersfield (30) show concentrations of Harlows and a paucity of Rearhooks, again fitting the regional ascriptions. Conversely, Harlows are found in west Suffolk, with *foci* around Icklingham (17)

and Freckenham (21) and west Norfolk around Fincham, areas usually considered Icenian territory.

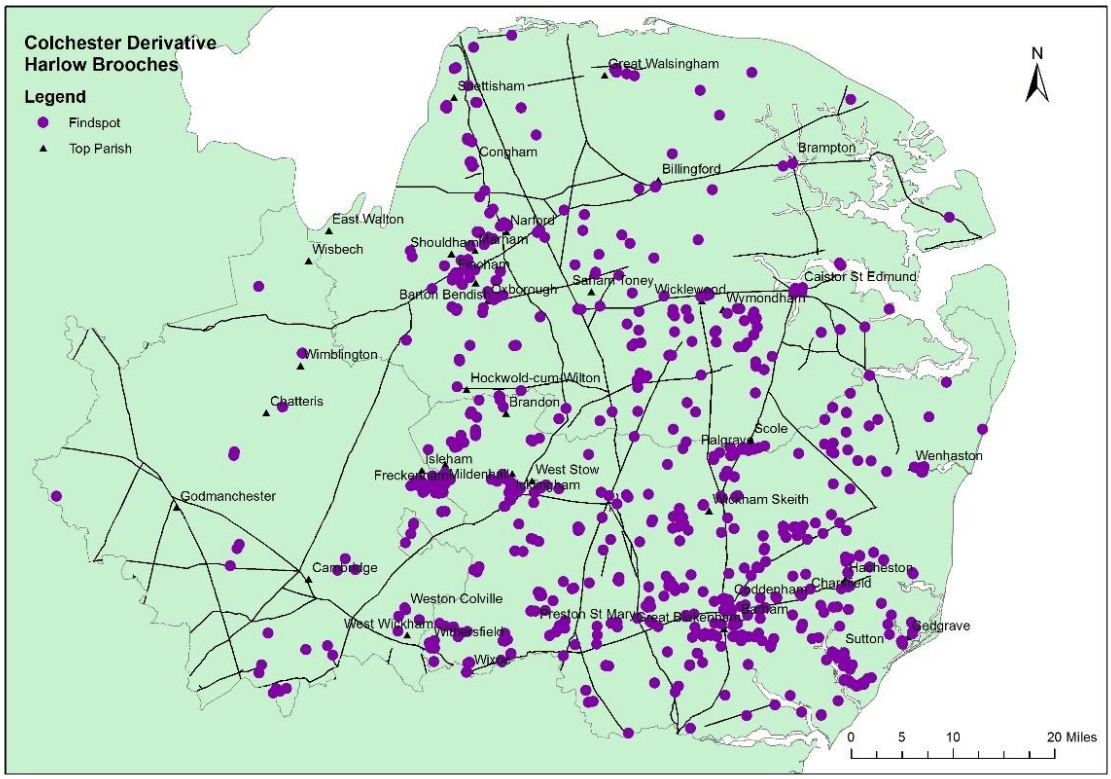


Figure 4.3: Distribution of Colchester Derivative Harlow brooches (Image: Author).

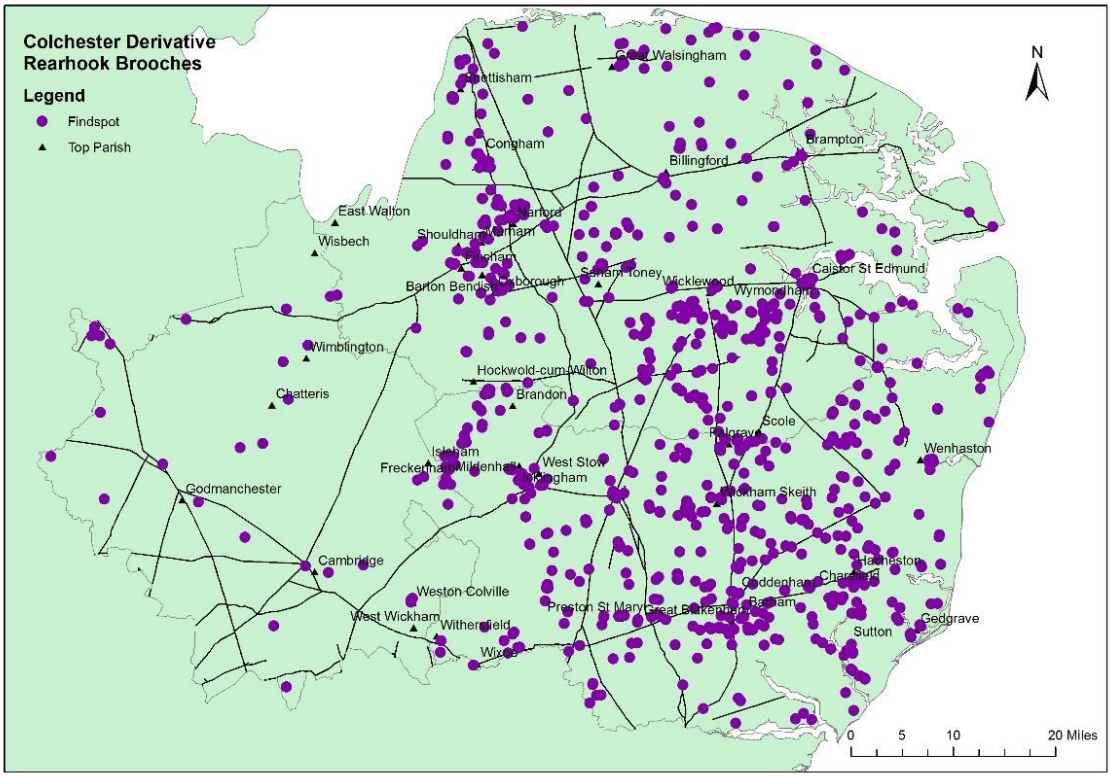


Figure 4.4: Distribution of Colchester Derivative Rearhook brooches (Image: Author).

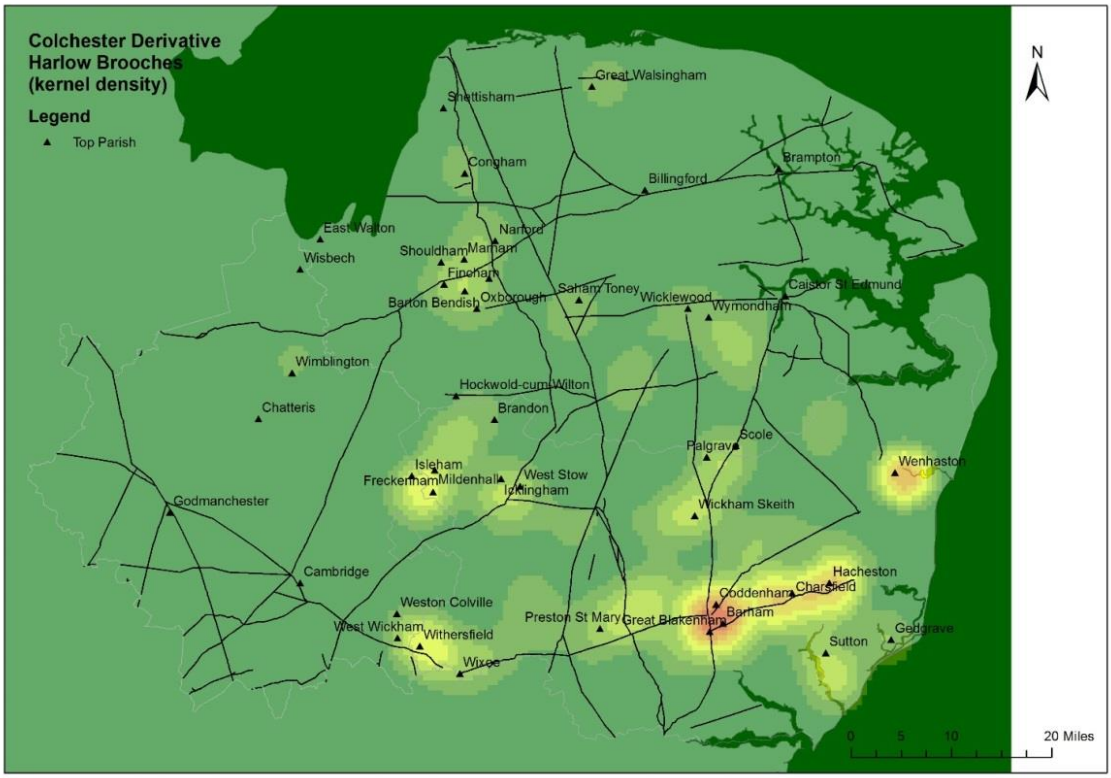


Figure 4.5: Density of Colchester Derivative Harlow brooches (Image: Author).

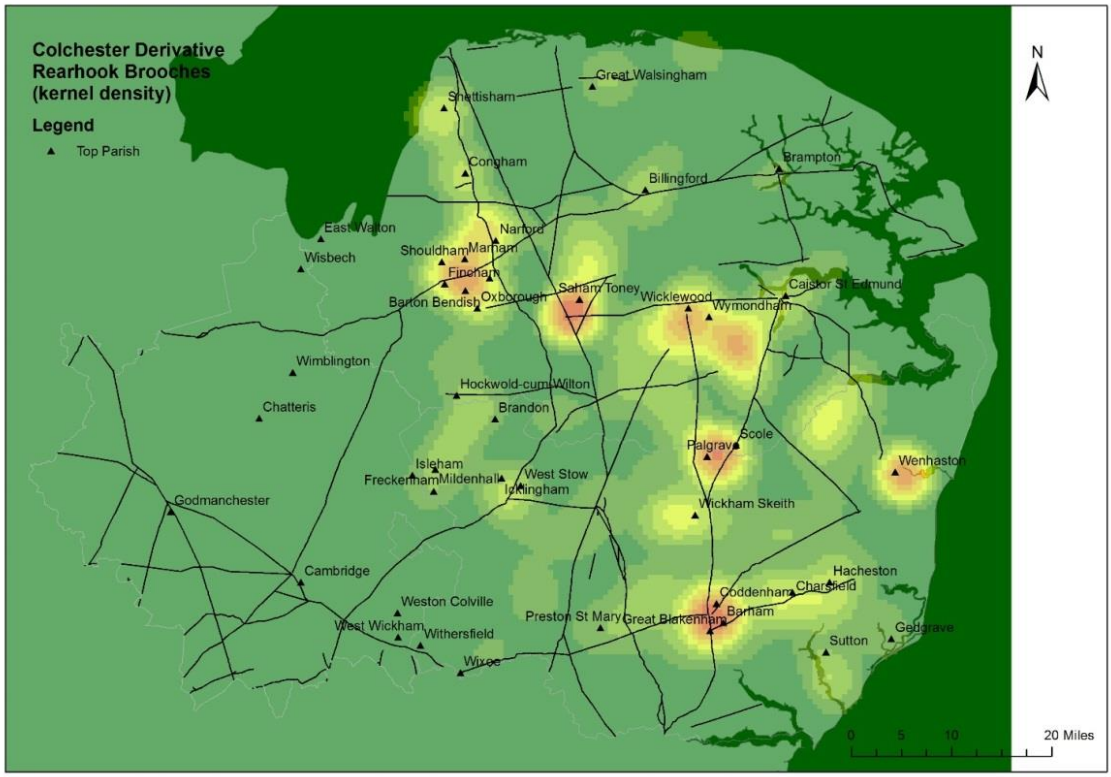


Figure 4.6: Density of Colchester Derivative Rearhook brooches (Image: Author).

Rearhooks abound in the central belt of settlement in Breckland and along the Icknield corridor. Concentrations occur at Palgrave (33), Saham Toney (61), Coddenham (35) and Wenhaston (44). There are also 25 at or near Crownthorpe temple, Wicklewood (NHER:8897). While the hotspot in west Norfolk may derive in part from heavy detector use (Figure 3.1), the concentrations fluctuate over time and with different brooch types, and I believe these reflect real archaeological densities, perhaps slightly exaggerated by higher recovery levels.

A shift in the importance of certain areas may have already occurred by the time of the client-kingdom. The spine running along the southern Fen edge is less visible compared to pre-conquest brooches (Section 4.8). Both Rearhook and Harlow distributions avoid key sites of the supposed Icenian 'heartland', such as Thetford and Stonea. These are potentially ritual sites rather than permanent settlements (Hingley and Unwin 2005:31, 36). Single brooches did not feature highly as votive offerings in the LIA, unlike at Romano-British temples.

When considered in tandem, these brooch types share many centres of deposition. The hotspots appear very tightly focussed, almost restricted to certain areas, perhaps suggesting a lack of usage in rural settlements (compare fasteners Figure 5.5, or cosmetic grinders Figure 9.7). The small towns of Coddenham and Wenhaston are hotspots for both, areas recognised as zones of interaction by Martin (1999:86, 90). This 'Gipping Valley frontier' shows 'no clear tribal affiliation' and 'may reflect greater contact and cultural mixing' (Moore *et al.* 1988:13). My updated figures roughly correlate with the distinctions Plouviez made in 1999, with approximately 1:1.3 in the parishes of Coddenham and Wenhaston, and 1:5 at Hacheston. I doubt that these represented 'tribal badges' and would argue that many people could have owned and worn both types. These settlements certainly do not represent a boundary, rather a nexus in which different groups met and merged. This implies that both types of brooch were being made and worn across the area during the client-kingdom. A look at the evidence for production may confirm this (Figure 4.9, Figure 4.10).

4.4. Manufacturing in Icenia

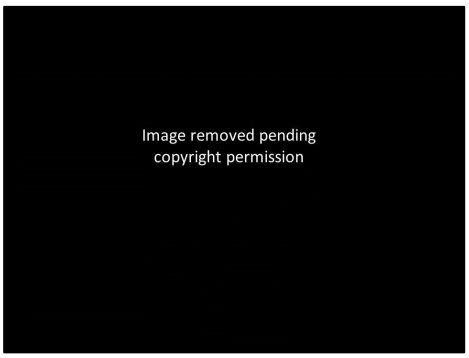


Figure 4.7: Two valves of a piece mould, Old Buckenham (Bayley *et al.* 2001:fig. 3).

Personal possessions form an important lens through which the significance of metalwork can be viewed. One of my key arguments is that the production and consumption of high-quality decorated metalwork plays a central and long-standing role in the land of the Iceni. This preoccupation may also explain their reasonably early adoption of brooch-making and wearing. In this, they were certainly not lagging behind their neighbours (Mackreth 2011:5, 60). This

extends into the early Roman period and the manufacture of brooches in larger quantities.

Earlier Iron Age moulds or failed brooches are unknown in Britain. Metal (or the knowledge to produce it) may have been so precious that imperfectly-cast artefacts were always recycled or reworked, unlike in later periods. In the LIA, a range of production processes was used. Brooches were initially forged, and later, cast in two primary ways: piece mould and investment casting. Investment moulds were used for individual solid-cast objects, such as harness and chariot fittings. It is thought the lost-wax (*cire perdue*) process was utilised, although this is yet to be scientifically proven.[30] The wax 'former' melts away and the surrounding clay must be broken off once cool, meaning that lost-wax castings are unique artefacts even when made in multiples (Adams 2013:143-4; Davis 2014:25; Dungworth 2016:539).

Clay piece moulds date from the Roman period and were made in matching pairs or 'valves' (Figure 4.7). A wooden, bone or lead pattern (Figure 4.8) was impressed into both halves. For brooches, spacers for the spring, catchplate and attachment lugs were fitted into the mould before casting. Decoration was inscribed into the wet clay or worked into the finished object. Although piece moulds could only be used once, the pattern was reusable; multiple moulds could create groups of objects which looked very similar, but had subtle variations (Bayley 1995; Dungworth 2016:539; Garrow and Gosden 2012:93-6). These may have been accidents of manufacture, or part of a deliberate aesthetic of understated difference. This calls into question the idea that Romano-British small finds were highly standardised and mass-produced.

4.5. Brooch Moulds and Patterns



Figure 4.8: (left) Plate brooch mould, Wymeswold (PAS:LEIC-0B42E6) (Image: Leicestershire County Council/CC BY 2.0 ; (centre) Die stamp, Hanworth (NHER:30853); (right) Lead brooch pattern, Grimston (PAS:NMS-006CB8) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Possible lead manufacturer's models have been found at Burgh Castle (NHER:10471), Grimston (NHER:43198) (Figure 4.8) and Caistor St Edmund (NHER:20452). A very recent find (which post-dated my PAS cut-off) is a lead umbonate brooch pattern from Scole (PAS:NMS-091CB2).[31] A triskele die stamp from Hanworth has similarities with a double-sided mould from Whitby, Yorkshire (PAS:YORYM-466941) and a copper alloy mould from Leicestershire (Figure 4.8) (Davis 2014:92). These may have been formers for clay moulds or more likely, given their negative designs, used for making decorative repoussé plates, such as those applied to disc brooches.

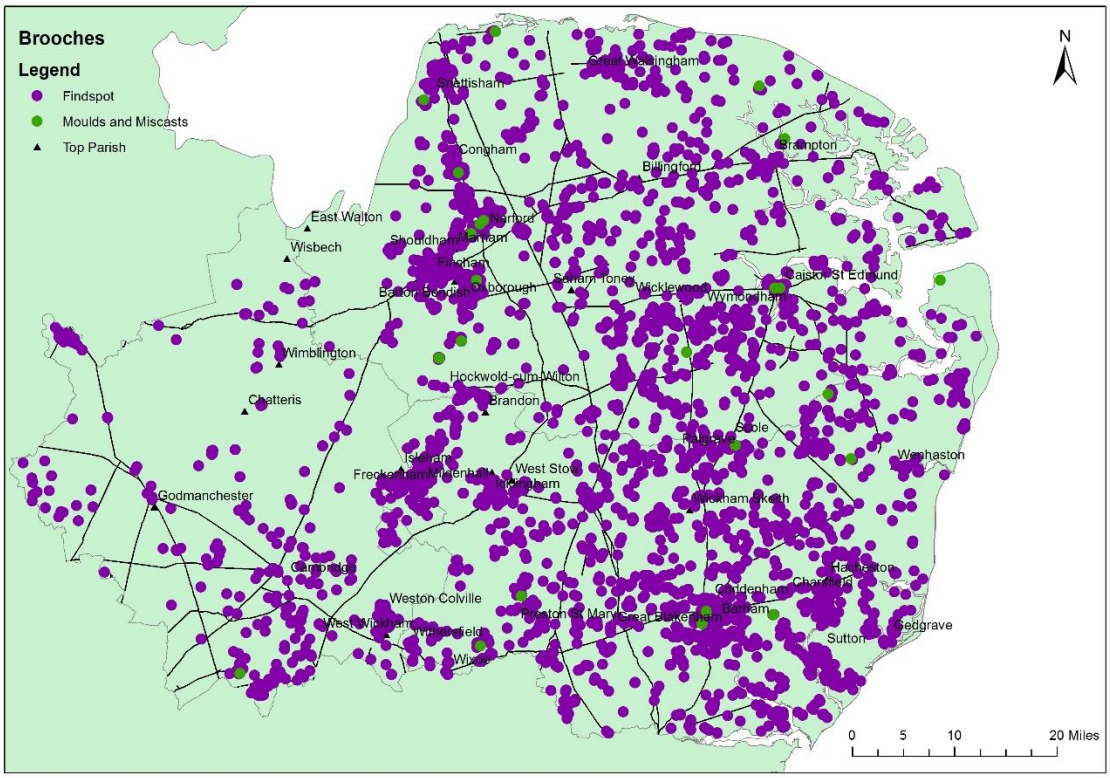


Figure 4.9: Distribution of all brooches showing evidence for manufacturing (Image: Author).

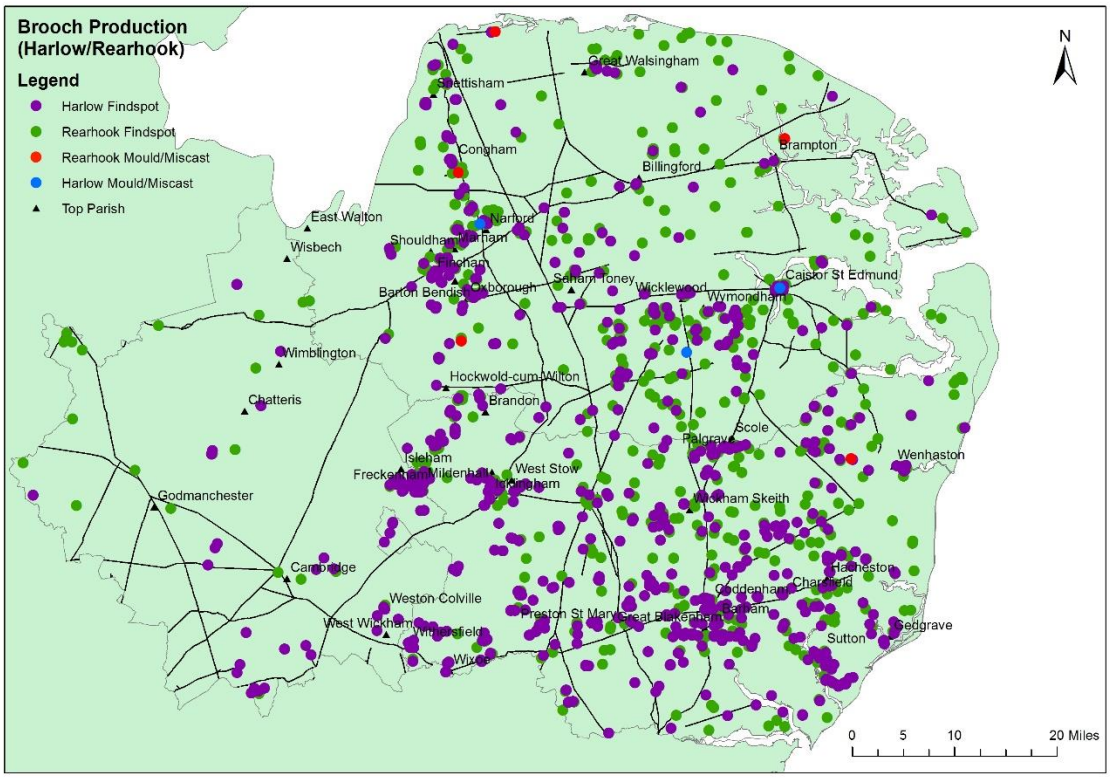


Figure 4.10: Distribution of Harlow and Rearhook brooches and manufacture (Image: Author).

Moulds and miscast objects can give us clues to the manufacturing of indigenous ornaments. Mackreth cautions that the survival of metal moulds is extremely rare as they were probably re-melted numerous times (2011:5). According to Bayley *et al.*, Norfolk provides the only known metal bi-valve brooch moulds from the Roman empire (2001:542). Their scarcity may simply be due to lack of preservation and recovery, or reflect genuinely restricted craft production. Mapping the findspots of artefactual evidence for brooch production shows that it was widespread, but related to centres of population (Figure 4.9). The distribution of manufacturing evidence for Rearhook and Harlow brooches (Figure 4.10) instead shows that both types were largely found in the north of the region. This presents an intriguing puzzle. A more detailed analysis of these finds follows.

4.5.1. Felmingham

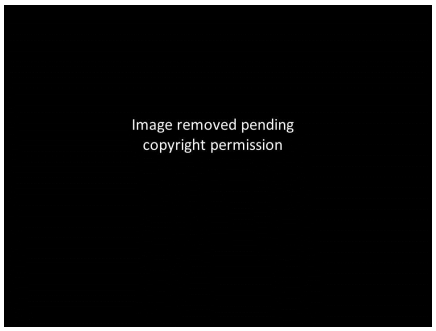


Figure 4.11: Rearhook brooch mould showing sprue cup, Felmingham (NWHCM:2013.144).

One valve of a copper alloy mould suggests that Rearhook brooches were being manufactured in Felmingham in the mid-1st century CE (NHER:34732). The mould has a deep recess for the spring housing, a central depression for the Rearhook and a channel for the formation of the catchplate (Figure 4.11). The metal composition of this mould shows that it is a 'lightly leaded' bronze. The large mass ensures that it does not melt during casting. Bayley reports that it has an unusual sprue cup at the head end (circled). This technology is better suited to early 1st century CE one-piece brooches, in which the sprue and runner were hammered out to form the pin/spring. Moulds of this period are usually filled from the foot end. Two suggestions are put forward to explain this: the awkward positioning of the Rearhook, with its derivation from the

Colchester, or a personal preference of the maker (Bayley *et al.* 2004:540-2). I would add that it may be an experimental form in which the manufacturer is trying new styles, while using the older method of filling the mould.

4.5.2. Brancaster



Figure 4.12: Colchester Derivative Rearhook brooch mould, Brancaster (PAS:NMS-E99B33) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Another valve of a Rearhook brooch mould was found in the *vicus* of Brancaster shore fort (NHER:1003) (Figure 4.12). Although the shore fort dates to 260 CE+ (Moore *et al.* 1988:80), this type of brooch was in production in the mid-1st century CE, so the *vicus* may stand upon an earlier settlement or metalworking area.

4.5.3. Old Buckenham

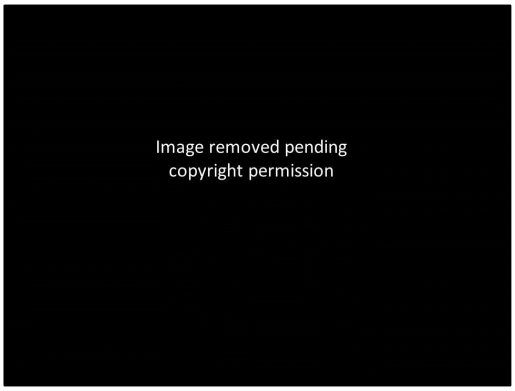


Figure 4.13: Front valve of a Colchester Derivative Harlow brooch mould, Old Buckenham (Bayley *et al.* 2001:104, fig. 5).

At Old Buckenham (NHER:30864), metal-detecting in 1994 recovered an unprecedented collection of brooch blanks, moulds, failed castings and scrap metal. The bi-valve metal mould fragments, some still containing unfinished castings, were for production of a Colchester Derivative brooch (Figure 4.13). The brooch is an unparalleled subtype with the Harlow spring mechanism

(Section 4.3) (Bayley *et al.* 2001; Mackreth 2011:5, 59). In 2012, the lower part of a Harlow brooch blank was found at the same site. This example has the casting sprue at the foot (Rogerson and Ashley 2013:555-8 fig. 4.14; PAS:NMS-2E1E91). Another 'highly distorted', possibly miscast, Colchester Derivative brooch comes from elsewhere in the parish (PAS:NMS-08AC82).

The Old Buckenham moulds are unique survivals of experimental forms: 'The brooch type is truly a hybrid' (Bayley *et al.* 2001:116). The brooch resembles the 'native Icenian habit' in form and decoration, but is sprung in the Harlow style with a double lug. This indicates that some innovative brooches had extremely limited production runs and/or distribution zones. Bayley *et al.* reflect that 'at the very moment that the Colchester was being replaced by its progeny, there were experiments with the new style of separately-made pins. They appear as hybrids, but in truth they should be seen as the failures they were' (2001:111). Failures, perhaps, on an individual basis, but these tests and prototypes also represent lessons learnt and human adaptability in action. This demonstrates that the metalworkers were familiar with the Harlow fixing method and tried it out, but it ultimately was not adopted for use locally. The reasons for this are unclear, although I doubt it relates to a clash of 'tribal' identities.

4.5.4. *Venta Icenorum*



Figure 4.14: (left) Fragments of clay brooch moulds, Caistor Paddocks (NWHCM:1961.150); (right) Two possible miscast brooches, Caistor Paddocks (NWHCM:1961.150) (Images: Author).

In 1938, investigations by Commander Mann at Caistor Paddocks, between the *civitas* capital and its extra-mural temple, revealed a layer of ash containing metalworking debris, clay mould and crucible fragments. Hearths, a kiln and a

furnace were also found. This site is interpreted as a bronze-casting workshop (Tylecote 1969:46-7; NHER:9816). Manufacture of razors, brooches, bracelets and pins is demonstrated by failed castings and mould fragments. Some burnt mould pieces preserved the shapes of the objects within, including the only known manufacturing evidence for Mackreth's Harlow Type 1.a1 brooch (2011:50; Tylecote 1969) (Figure 4.14).[32] Also found was an unfinished, forged Drahtfibel derivative brooch (Mackreth 2011:22, Type 1.b1). The mixed production of brooch types is paralleled at Compton Dando, Somerset, where moulds were found for several brooches including 'Dolphin', T-shaped and Hod Hill (PAS:GLO-9090B6).

The moulds from *Venta* are the investment type for lost-wax casting. Both triangular Iron Age and hemispherical Roman crucibles were found. Among the fragments was a brooch spring and wound wires, an early sign of production of two-piece brooches (Tylecote 1969:46-7). The presence of Iron Age and Roman crucibles, alongside investment moulding, indicates that Icenian bronzesmiths were using both indigenous and introduced technologies in parallel. These finds bear strong similarities to discoveries from Prestatyn, which included clay piece and investment moulds for a variety of objects. The two casting technologies were distributed in different buildings on that site. The crucibles were mainly triangular Iron Age forms, but contained traces of high zinc alloys from casting brass, which Bayley claims reflects a 'Romanised' industry (in Blockley *et al.* 1989:179-81).

Harlow brooches date from *circa* 40-70 CE, putting the Caistor Paddocks finds in the client-kingdom period. No substantial LIA settlement is yet known in the vicinity of the *civitas* capital (*contra* Davies 2011b:103-4), although there are abundant surface finds, including Icenian coins. Flavian samian ware was excavated at the town, although the formal civic layout has been convincingly re-dated to *circa* 120 CE (Atkinson 1932a:137-8; Bowden 2013b). Therefore, we would not expect many early to mid-1st century CE brooches, as indeed is demonstrated by the density maps (Figure 4.5, Figure 4.6). If the Harlow brooch is characteristic of the Trinovantes (Mackreth 2011:50), its

manufacture, at *Venta Icenorum* and Old Buckenham in the heart of Icenian territory, is unexplained. These finds have raised important questions which I will attempt to address further in this chapter.

4.5.5. Chediston

Although metal moulds are only known from Norfolk, Suffolk has several finds of ceramic moulds. At Chediston (SHER:CHD004), bronze-casting waste, furnace and mould fragments were found (Ranson and Cooper nd:16). The moulds were for Colchester Derivatives, several with Rearhooks.[33] This is particularly significant in light of the above discussion of Harlow production in Norfolk. Eastern Suffolk has a strong metalworking focus for personal ornament and horse harness, such as the Waldringfield terret moulds (SHER:WLD001) (Section 6.10.4). Martin also mentions clay mould and crucible fragments for producing 'ornamental metalwork' from Burgh (1988:24-5, 1999:83).

No references to brooch production were found in the Cambridgeshire records. This is probably due to recording differences, but may also reflect the importance of specific parts of the territory in manufacturing.

4.6. Hybrids and Failed Castings

Objects which exhibit hybridity can show the assimilation and appropriation of new ideas and materials; failures can reveal experimentation and recycling processes. A brooch from Brockley has unfinished decoration and its cylindrical hinge-casing is obstructed with a compacted clay-like deposit. Both wings are truncated and chisel marks on the back of the head may signify it was a failed casting, intentionally cut up for reprocessing (Figure 4.15). Another hinged brooch from Freckenham shows damage on the head consistent with a sequence of hard blows. This may show deliberate breakage for scrap, although modern agricultural damage cannot be ruled out (Figure 4.16). A Rearhook brooch from Methwold shows several signs of incompleteness. The semi-cylindrical wings are part-filled with superfluous metal, and the stump of a miscast hook protrudes from the head. The catchplate is unfinished: the

thickened flap of metal would have been hammered out and folded to hold the pin, which was never attached (Figure 4.17).



Figure 4.15: Hinged Colchester Derivative brooch showing chisel marks, Brockley (PAS:SF-680F00) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).



Figure 4.16: Hinged Colchester Derivative brooch with damage suggesting reprocessing, Freckenham (PAS:SF-C6A840) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

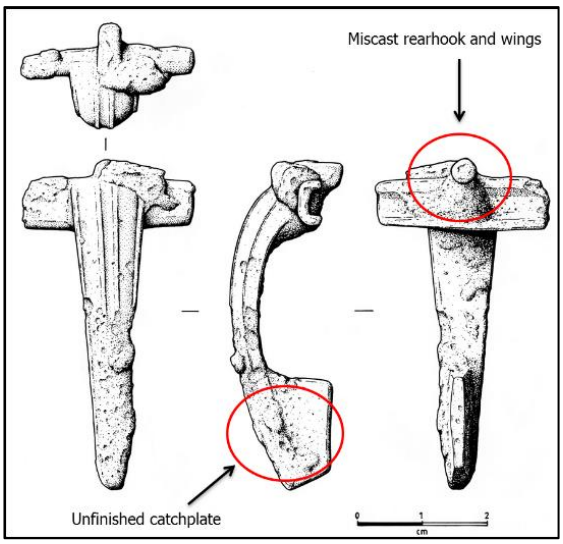


Figure 4.17: Unfinished Colchester Derivative brooch, Methwold (PAS:NMS-85D343) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Some hinged brooches show evidence of a cast-in skeuomorph of the spring on the axis bar casing. The mock-spring hinged brooch is found in Britain from the Early and Middle Iron Age onwards (Adams 2013:80). Colchester Derivative brooches with pseudo-springs come from Saham Toney (NHER:4697), Beighton

(PAS:NMS-2A0CE6) and Bythorn and Keyston. Mackreth discusses two unusual hybrid Rearhooks from Marham (NHER:29189) (Figure 4.18) and Suffield, both in Norfolk. These have a pseudo-spring moulded into the rear of the wings. He regards these as transitional forms between sprung and hinged variants (2009:137-49). A visible spring must have been an important part of the underlying 'fittingness' of a brooch. These finds demonstrate that manufacturing, reprocessing and experimentation were occurring in the region during the 1st century CE.



Figure 4.18: (left) Hinged Colchester Derivative brooch showing mock-spring, Bythorn and Keyston (PAS:NMS-4B8E49) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Hybrid Colchester Derivative brooch, Marham (Mackreth 2009:fig. 1).

4.7. 'A souvenir or a bleak survival'?

Mackreth identifies the Rearhook as a distinctively Icenian type, which ceases to be made or distributed after the uprising: 'This Icenian brooch type had become a souvenir or a bleak survival' (2009:144). As with coin hoards, there is a risk of creating a circular argument when attempting to make the archaeology fit the classical texts. Statton (2016:237) critiques Mackreth's reliance on 'tribal' designations and his failure to explore alternative explanations. Excavated finds may be attributed to 'Boudican' levels and those same layers dated *circa* 60/61 CE based on the brooches deposited within them. My study shows a much more complicated picture.

The Rearhook was a particularly ineffective method of fixing the pin and soon went out of use. Although it visibly holds the spring, in reality a drop of solder was necessary to secure it. Some brooches had double or triple Rearhooks for extra stability (Mackreth 2011:60, 68-9) (Figure 4.19). The allegedly interrupted lifespan of the Rearhook may be due to this inherent design flaw

and may bear no relation to the revolt (Bayley and Butcher 2004:157; Hattatt 1982:46). This weakness may have led to them being abandoned and hinged versions being taken up with gusto (Section 4.11.3). Although, if the remains at *Venta Icenorum* and Old Buckenham (Section 4.5) are correctly identified, Icenian craftspeople were fully capable of producing brooches with double pierced lugs, but chose not to wear or deposit them locally.



Figure 4.19: Triple Rearhook brooch, Stanton (PAS:SF-885244) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

There is an inherent danger in mapping group identities indiscriminately onto material culture (Jones 1997:122-3). Brooches are, of course, not directly comparable to named groups of people. Spring fixings are not especially visible, even to the wearer, so present a limited means of distinguishing one group from another, except in close proximity (Cool 2016:415). I agree with Mackreth's observations that certain brooches had restricted distributions, but I am wary of the idea that brooches were worn as badges of ethnic identity. I am more inclined to interpret this regional patterning as reflecting local workshops, exchange networks and fashions (Eckardt 2014:218).

4.8. What is the evidence for cultural contact?

Davies's assertion that the Rearhook indicates 'a strong tribal unity and lack of integration with other tribal peoples' no longer seems valid, although he questions whether it was 'a tribal symbol or badge' or simply 'a local way of doing things' (2014:30-1). Mackreth considers whether the Iceni were 'relatively successful in keeping out "foreign" brooch types', based on his conclusion that the Rearhook was a homegrown brooch (2011:145). In this part, I use the frequency and distribution of imported brooches to examine the idea that the Iceni avoided integration with their neighbours and resisted

foreign brooch types. These range from the continental *fibulae* of the late 1st century BCE through to early British-made varieties in the early 1st century CE. The impact of cultural contact and change may be seen through the selective uptake of 'outsider' brooches.

4.8.1. One-piece (La Tène) Brooches

One-piece brooches are simple 'safety pin' types, hand-forged from a single piece of wire. These developed across Europe in the second half of the 1st millennium BCE and are designated La Tène I-III. La Tène III brooches inspired and ran concurrently with the Colchester brooch, which proliferated in Britain in the early 1st century CE. In turn, the Colchester gave rise to both the Harlow and Rearhook Derivatives discussed above (Bayley and Butcher 2004:145-7).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	188
Norfolk	481
Suffolk	465
Grand Total	**1134**

Table 9: Number of one-piece brooches by county.

One-pieces represent over 10% of the brooch dataset (Table 9). Their distribution is widespread, excepting the Fens (Figure 4.20). Concentrations occur around Coddenham (46), Freckenham (25), Oxborough (31) and Saham Toney (52) (Figure 4.21). These appear to be the main centres of population (or at least brooch deposition) in the late 1st century BCE and early decades of the 1st century CE. A comparison with the Iron Age coinage (Figure 4.22) shows coins were more widespread than brooches, but with similar concentration zones, including Saham Toney and Coddenham/Baylham (Leins 2012). Saham Toney presents perhaps the best case for a pre-conquest *oppidum* (Davies 2009:124-5) (see case studies Section 4.14). Coddenham is said to have pre-conquest activity as well as a post-conquest fort (Blagg *et al.* 2004:75, 87).

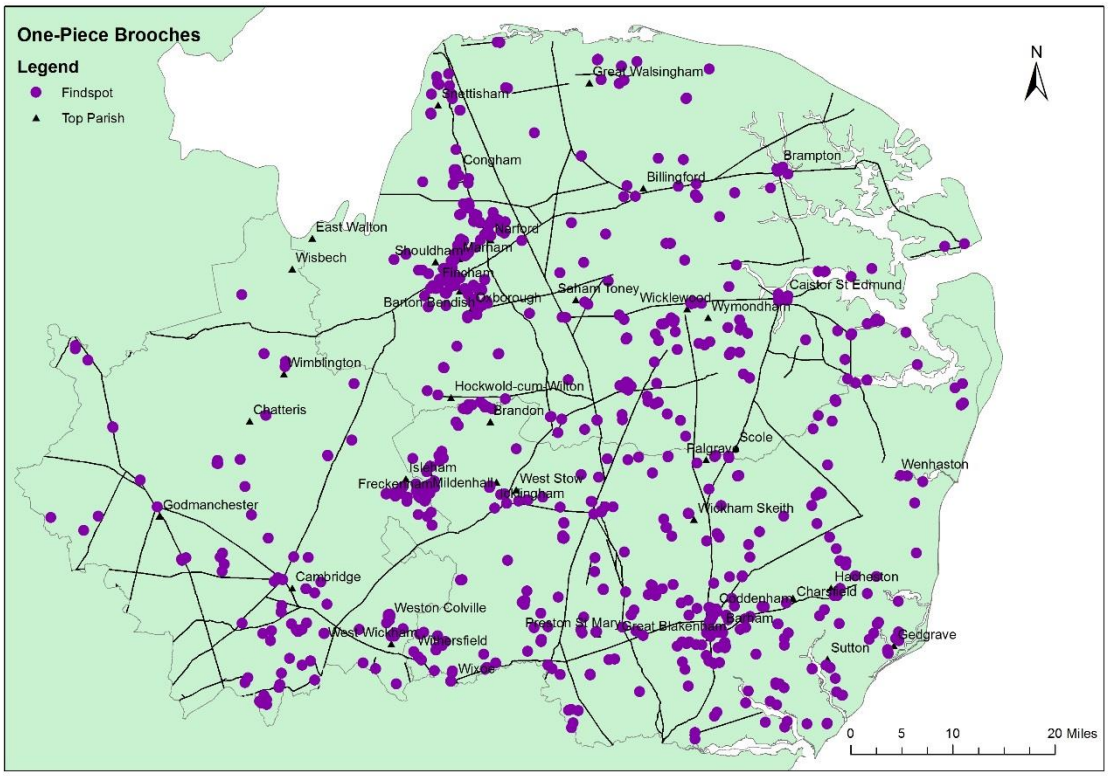


Figure 4.20: Distribution of all one-piece brooches (Image: Author).

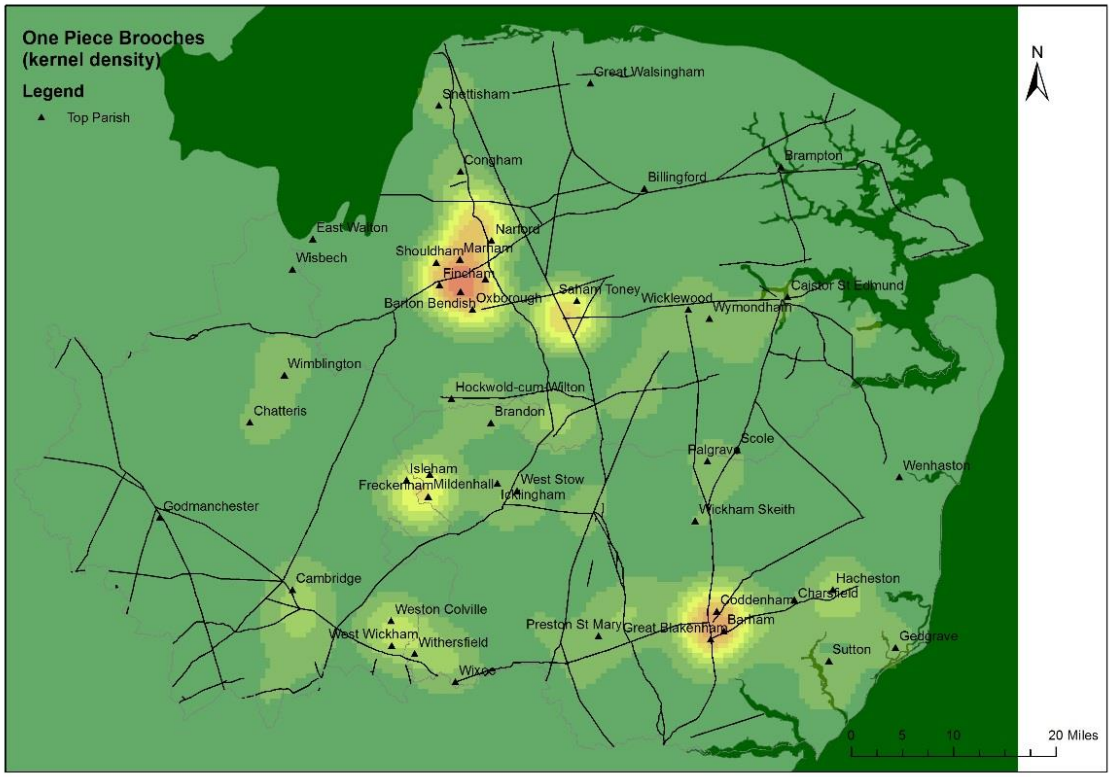


Figure 4.21: Density of all one-piece brooches (Image: Author).

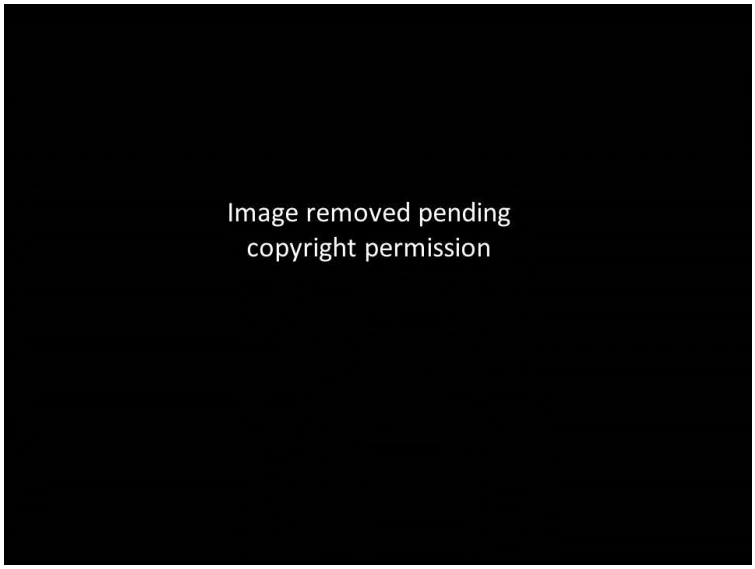


Figure 4.22: Density of Eastern Iron Age coins and coin hoards (Leins 2012:170).

Walsingham is less visible in the brooch densities than coins, which could present evidence for metal-detector bias. Sites like Thetford, Caistor St Edmund and Stonea, commonly cited as probable *oppida* (Davies 2009:120; Gregory 1991a; Malim 2005:51) and earthworks defined as 'hillforts' in north Norfolk (Davies 2009:95-100), are scarcely represented by the brooch mapping. These may never have been centres of occupation, or had fallen out of use by the LIA.

4.8.2. Continental Imports



Figure 4.23: (left) Augenfibel brooch, Kettlebaston (PAS:SF-7C5F65) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Kräftig Profilierte brooch, Gedgrave (PAS:SF-17BC30) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0).

Early continental imports, including the Augenfibel, Knickfibel, Knotenfibel and Kräftig Profilierte, were simple one-piece brooches (Figure 4.23). These brooches are sparse, but widespread, from coast to Fenland: Cambridgeshire (8), Norfolk (13) and Suffolk (6). Mackreth argues that 'Roman brooches were

not generally to be seen in the lands of the Iceni before the suppression of the rebellion', claiming the absence in his corpus of the Augenfibel as evidence. Mackreth associates it with the army and suggests it declined before 60 CE (2011:151). It is rare in Britain and there are only four in my database: three from Chatteris (CHER:SCB19670) and one from Woodcock Hall, Saham Toney (NHER:4697).

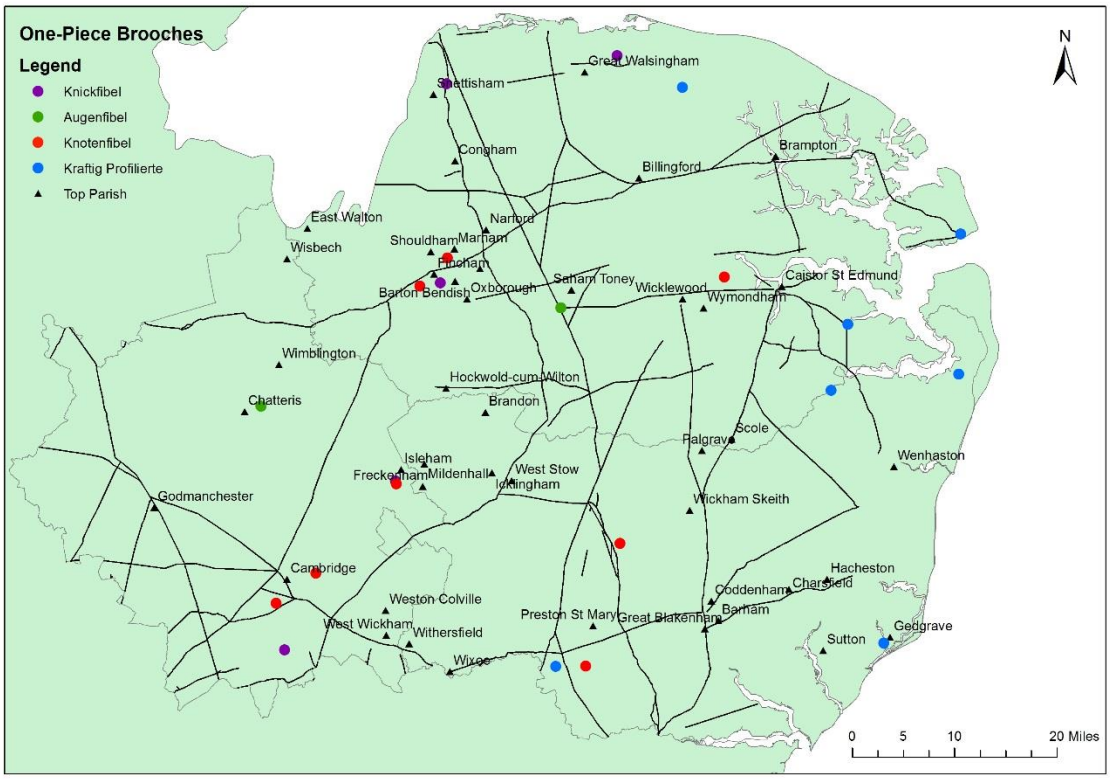


Figure 4.24: Distribution of imported one-piece brooches (Image: Author).

Bayley and Butcher suggest that brooches such as the Knickfibel and Kräftig Profilierte were military introductions, commonly found in the Rhine-Danube frontier forts. These are scarce in Britain, found mostly in the eastern counties. They date from the Claudian period to the later 1st century CE (2004:148). Kräftig Profiliertes hug the coast and the perimeter of the 'Great Estuary' in the east. Perhaps this hints at its use as an *entrepôt* for mercantile or military contact with the near continent.

4.8.3. Drahtfibel, Nauheim and Derivatives



Figure 4.25: Nauheim one-piece brooch, Snettisham (PAS:NMS-B79531) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

The Nauheim has a decorated rectangular-section upper bow, which tapers toward the foot (Figure 4.25). Its date range is mid-1st century BCE to early 1st century CE. The Drahtfibel has a plain circular-sectioned bow. Both have framed catchplates; derivative forms are solid. Mackreth states the Drahtfibel is rarer in East Anglia than other parts of southeast England (2011:13-4, 21-3). My data again agree, with only four confirmed identifications, although there are a further 110 unspecified Late La Tène brooches.

There are very few true Nauheims or Drahtfibels, including related or possible examples (Figure 4.26). A scattering across Suffolk and Cambridgeshire is bolstered by 14 from Norfolk: Fincham, Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Snettisham, and particularly Thetford. Ten iron Drahtfibel/Nauheims were excavated at Fison Way, Thetford (NHER:5853) hinting at an important pre-conquest centre (see Section 4.14.1). A gilt Drahtfibel was excavated at *Venta Icenorum* (NHER:9786; NWHCM:1929.152.B17). These finds may relate to early cult centres or shrines, with a preoccupation for silver and gold surface finishes.

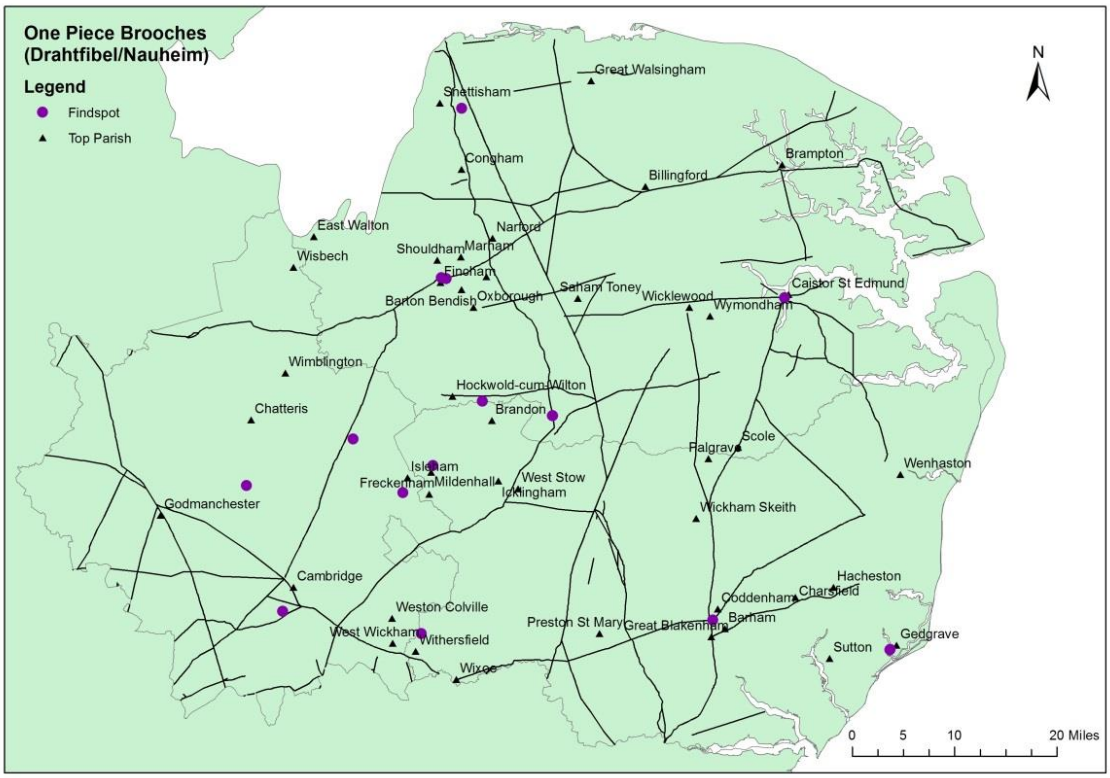


Figure 4.26: Distribution of Drahtfibel and Nauheim brooches (Image: Author).

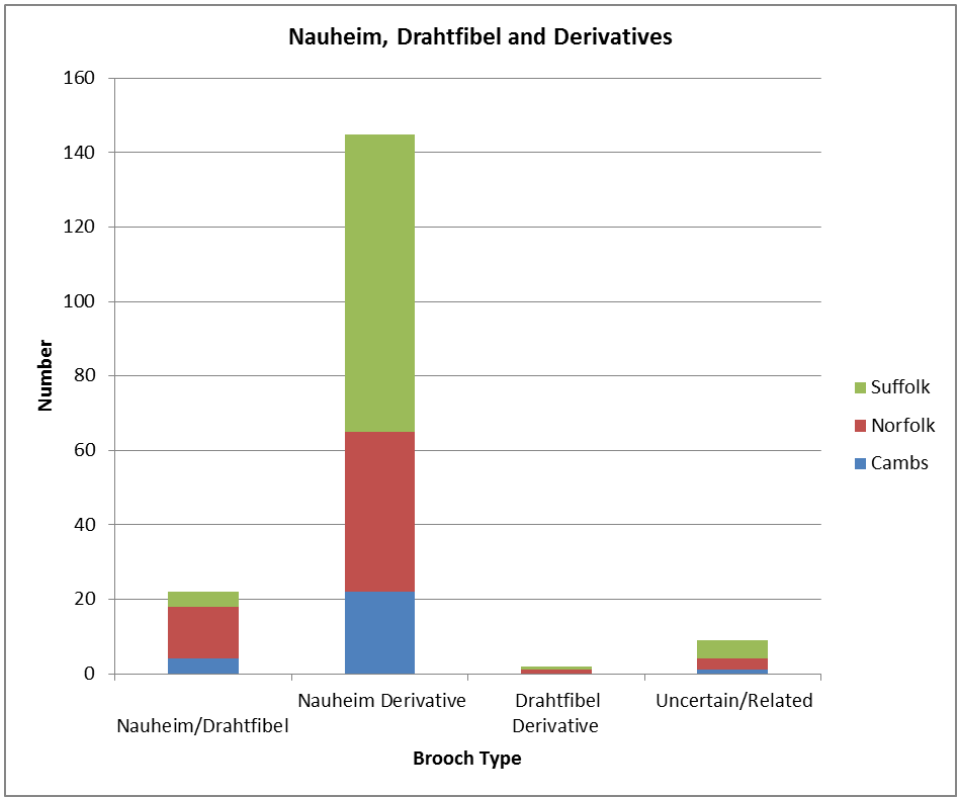


Figure 4.27: Nauheim, Drahtfibel and derivative brooches by type and county.



Figure 4.28: (left) Nauheim Derivative brooch, Great Barton (PAS:SF-48E5C2) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Drahtfibel Derivative brooch, Stowmarket (PAS:SF-DCADF7) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0).

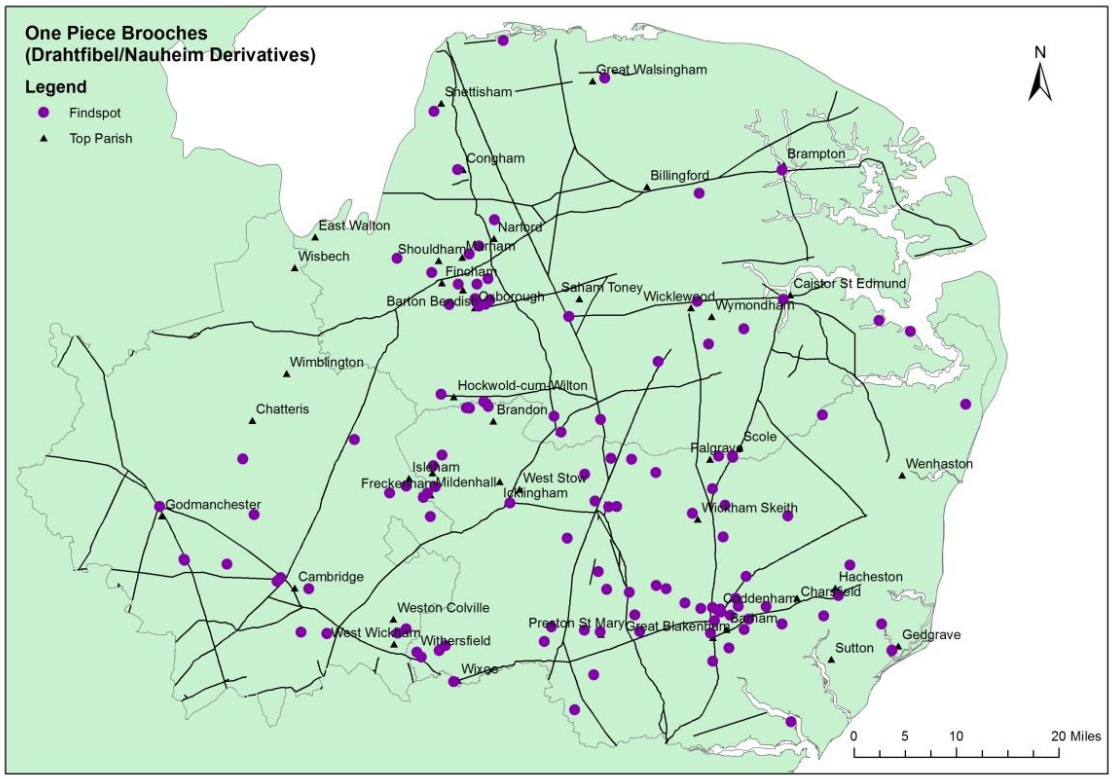


Figure 4.29: Distribution of Drahtfibel/Nauheim Derivative brooches (Image: Author).

Drahtfibel Derivatives are extremely scarce in the dataset (Figure 4.27). Mackreth's Type 1.b1 includes the unfinished, forged brooch from Caistor St Edmund, evidence which suggests that casting and forging may have been taking place in the same workshop (Mackreth 2011:21-3; NWHCM:1961.150) (Section 4.5.4). Nauheim Derivatives are plentiful and were manufactured in Britain in the 1st century CE (Bayley and Butcher 2004:147). Suffolk has most Nauheim Derivatives. The distributions reflect the overall LIA settlement pattern, with concentrations at Coddenham (10) and Saham Toney (11) (Figure 4.29).

4.8.4. Langton Down



Figure 4.30: (left) Langton Down brooch, Great Barton (PAS:SF-78AA07) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Langton Down brooch with punched decoration, Melbourn (PAS:CAM-D3D5A7) (Image: CCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

The Langton Down has a distinctive, longitudinally-reeded bow without footknob and a cylindrical, enclosed spring cover (Figure 4.30). Their main period of usage in Britain is *circa* 25-60 CE, although early arrivals from Gaul may be late 1st century BCE (Hattatt 1982:80; Mackreth 2011:32-5). The distribution in mainland Europe is Gaul and the German frontier. In Britain they focus on the southern counties, with high numbers at King Harry Lane cemetery. They were out of vogue by the invasion, but may have been retained, valued and deposited in burials due to their fine decoration and quality casting in brass (Bayley and Butcher 2004:150).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	28
Norfolk	235
Suffolk	222
Grand Total	**485**

Table 10: Langton Down brooches by county.

Nearly 500 Langton Down brooches were recorded (Table 10). There are concentrations at Coddenham (19), Hacheston (19), Preston St Mary (12), Pentney (10), Saham Toney (20) and Wicklewood (8) (Figure 4.31, Figure 4.32). The hotspot in west Norfolk again corresponds to the area of high detector use. Mackreth attributes the numbers of his Type 2.b1 to disproportionate metal-detected collections from Norfolk and recommends reducing the numbers by a third to compensate. At approximately 5% of the

total, this is a frequently-recovered brooch type, perhaps because of its thicker profile, which may confirm Cool and Baxter's morphological concerns.

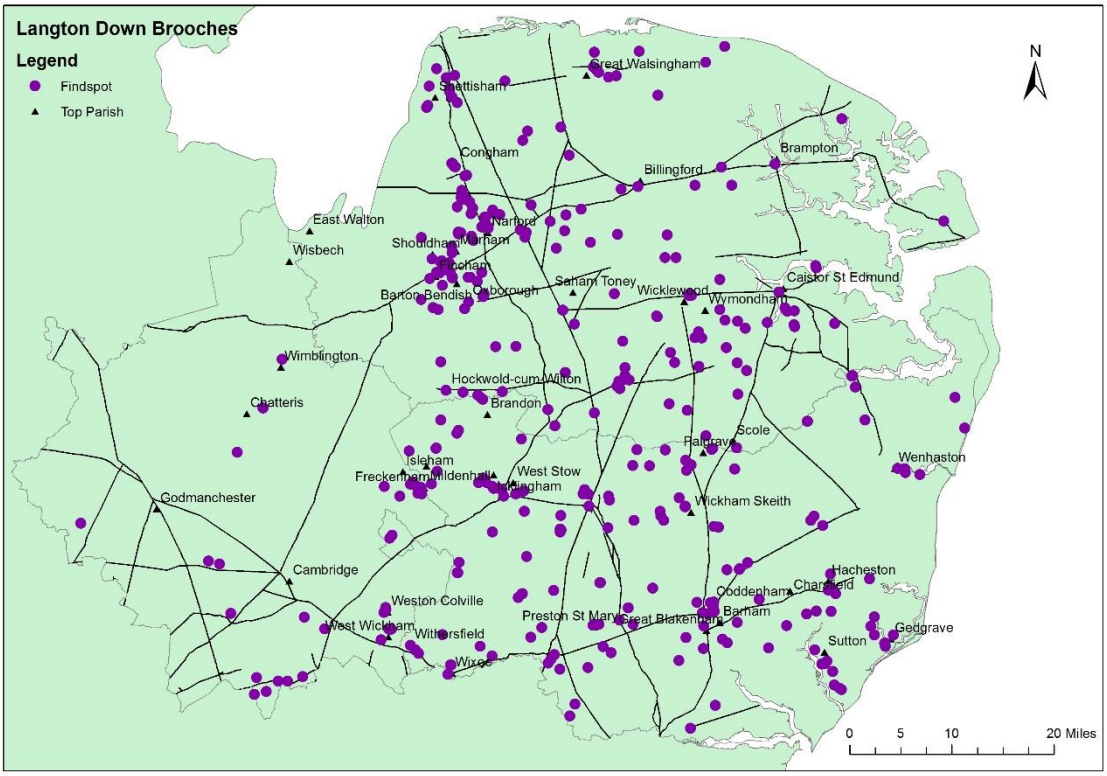


Figure 4.31: Distribution of Langton Down brooches (Image: Author).

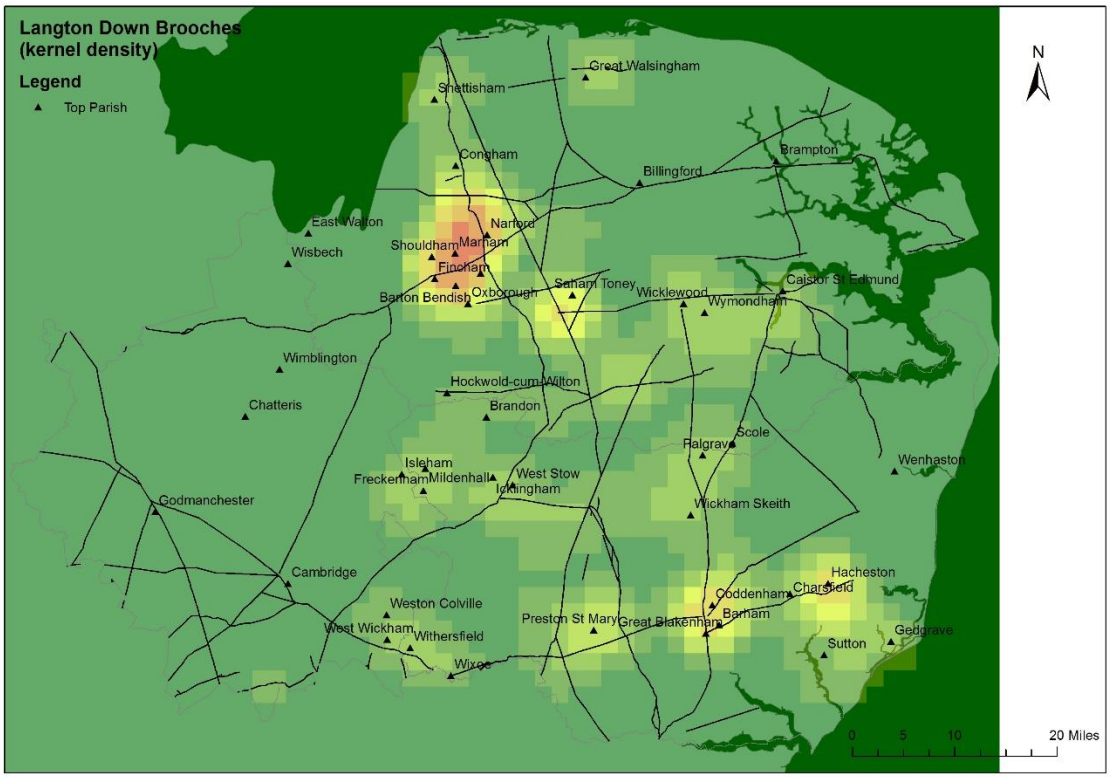


Figure 4.32: Density of Langton Down brooches (Image: Author).

Several hybrid versions combine a Rearhook fixing and broad reeded bow (Figure 4.33). Five Langton Downs from Woodcock Hall, Saham Toney, were deliberately cut or damaged (Brown 1986) (see Section 4.14.10). An unusual example from Melbourn has punched curvilinear dots along the bow and a white metal surface finish (Figure 4.30). A badly miscast brooch from Great Dunham has very rough, white metal coated surfaces, molten wings and a large blob of metal fused beneath the spring housing (Figure 4.33). These locally-made adaptations of imported brooches suggest an interest in colour and sheen. The distribution of the Langton Down shows pre-rebellion settlement patterns and exchange networks. The people of northern East Anglia were not resisting or slow to appropriate these brooches.



Figure 4.33: (left) Hybrid Langton Down brooch with Rearhook, Weston Colville (PAS:PUBLIC-CE2857) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Miscast Langton Down brooch, Great Dunham (PAS:NMS-414840) (Image: North Lincolnshire Museum/CC BY-SA 4.0).

4.8.5. Colchester



Figure 4.34: (left) Colchester brooch with pierced catchplate, Iken (PAS:LVPL-9A3D92) (Image: National Museum Liverpool/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Colchester brooch with fretted catchplate, Freckenham (PAS:SF-42E064) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

The Colchester is a single piece brooch, with a bilateral spring held by a forward hook, and often a decorative catchplate (Figure 4.34). The type has continental origins in the late 1st century BCE and British copies peaking *circa* 20-60 CE. Colchester one-pieces are the standard pre-conquest brooch in the southeast and East Anglia (Mackreth 2011:36-7). As discussed above, Mackreth claims the Colchester 'marks the lands' of the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni, whereas the Rearhook shows Icenian influence extended out from Norfolk to the Fenland margins in the west (*ibid*.:234).

County	Colchester One-piece	Uncertain ID
Cambs	119	4
Norfolk	300	25
Suffolk	317	21
Grand Total	**736**	**50**

Table 11: Colchester One-piece brooches by county.

The Colchester resembles Late La Tènes in terms of its morphology and potential recovery issues. That said, over 700 Colchester brooches have been recorded, representing around 7% of the total (Table 11). This may challenge Cool and Baxter's comments about one-piece brooches being less frequently found by detector. Concentration zones exist at West Wickham/Weston Colville (21), Oxborough (23), Saham Toney (31), Coddenham (28) and Freckenham (23) (Figure 4.35, Figure 4.36). Notably, the towns of *Venta Icenorum* and Wenhaston have very few, presumably reflecting their later foundations. In both the Fens and Broadland, Colchesters and Langton Downs are sparsely represented. This may relate to the higher sea level and coastal flooding in the LIA, which would have restricted settlement potential.

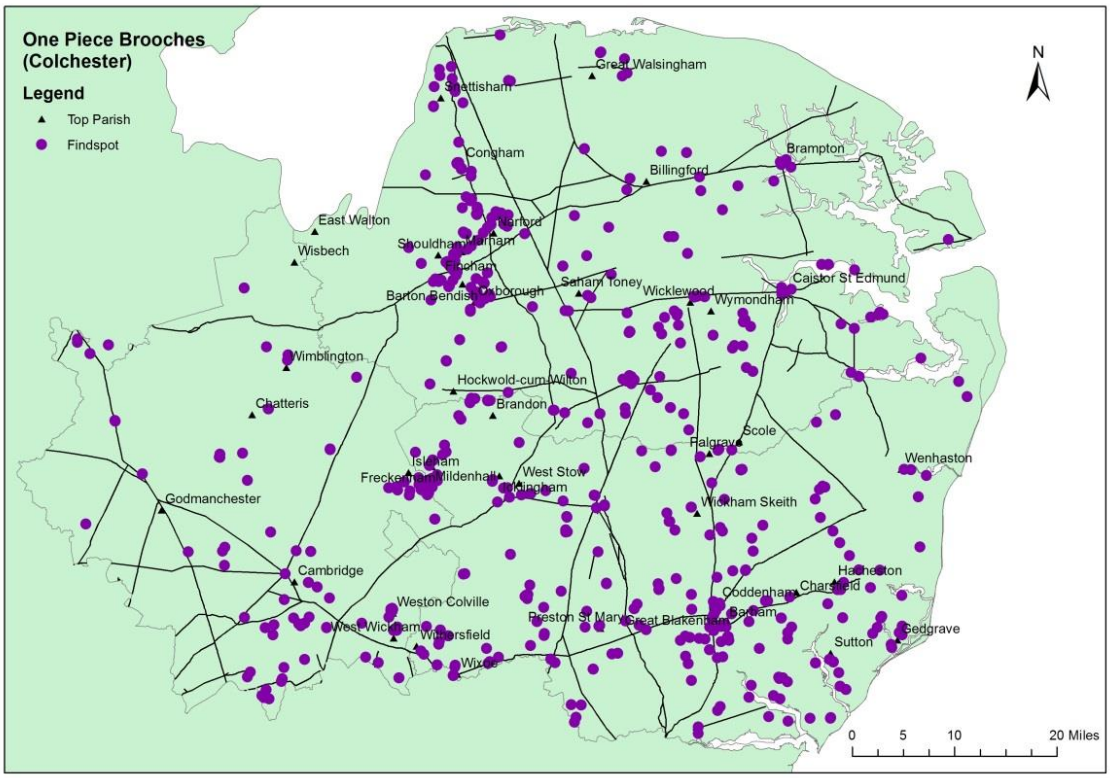


Figure 4.35: Distribution of Colchester one-piece brooches (Image: Author).

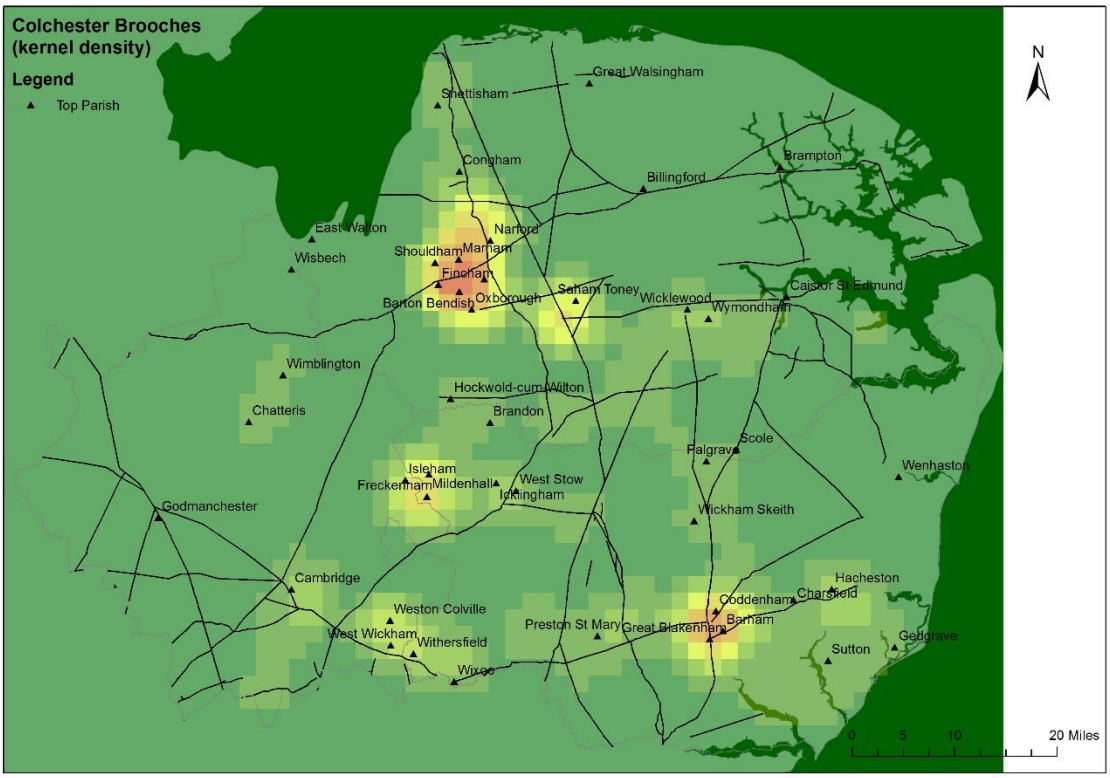


Figure 4.36: Density of Colchester one-piece brooches (Image: Author).

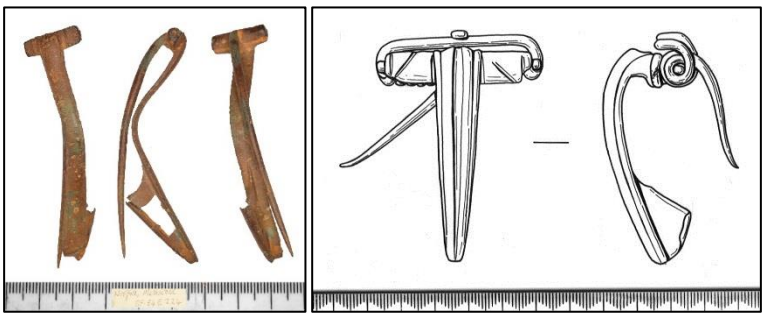


Figure 4.37: (left) Hybrid hinged Colchester brooch, Methwold (PAS:SF-64E224) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Hybrid brooch with pierced lug and forward hook, Brandon (PAS:SF8899) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).



Figure 4.38: (left) Colchester brooch with double hook, Beyton (PAS:SF-OFF4E3) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Hybrid Colchester/Harlow brooch, Nedging-with-Naughton (PAS:SF-0A8018) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0).

Although the Colchester was initially imported, it found a home in Britain and was heartily embraced by the inhabitants of East Anglia, who put their own idiosyncratic twist on it. Colchesters show evidence of the transition from forged to cast brooches (Mackreth 2011:4). There are considerable signs of experimentation and hybridity. Some present traits associated with the subsequent Rearhook or double pierced lug (Harlow) derivatives. A hinged rarity from Methwold (Figure 4.37) belongs to a group in Norfolk and Lincolnshire (*ibid*.:26). Brooches from Beyton and Nedging-with-Naughton (Figure 4.38) are developed forms which share decorative and structural commonalities with the Rearhook and Harlow (Section 4.3). Their opposing-facing integral hooks show the derivation of the double lug of the Harlow (Plouviez, PAS:SF-0A8018). The brooch from Brandon (Figure 4.37) is another step ahead, with both pierced lug and forward-hook.

4.8.6. Rosette (Thistle)



Figure 4.39: (left) Rosette (Thistle) brooch, Foxhall (PAS:SF-C83122) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Rosette brooch, Keyhole variant, Shottisham (PAS:SF-B0284D) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	24
Norfolk	159
Suffolk	172
Grand Total	**355**

Table 12: Rosette brooches by county.

Around 350 Rosette brooches, also known as Thistles, due to the decorative disc on the bow, come from the study area (Table 12).[34] The earliest types developed before 20 BCE, probably in southern Germany, and must have arrived in Britain via Gaul shortly thereafter. Early Rosette brooches are

associated with both pre-conquest settlements and Roman military activity (Bayley and Butcher 2004:150; Hattatt 1982:98; Mackreth 2011:27-8). Finds cluster at Freckenham (9), Coddenham (8) and Hacheston (11). A dozen from Saham Toney (NHER:4967), includes early forms with Rearhooks, later hinged derivatives and experimental types, demonstrating local adoption and manufacture.

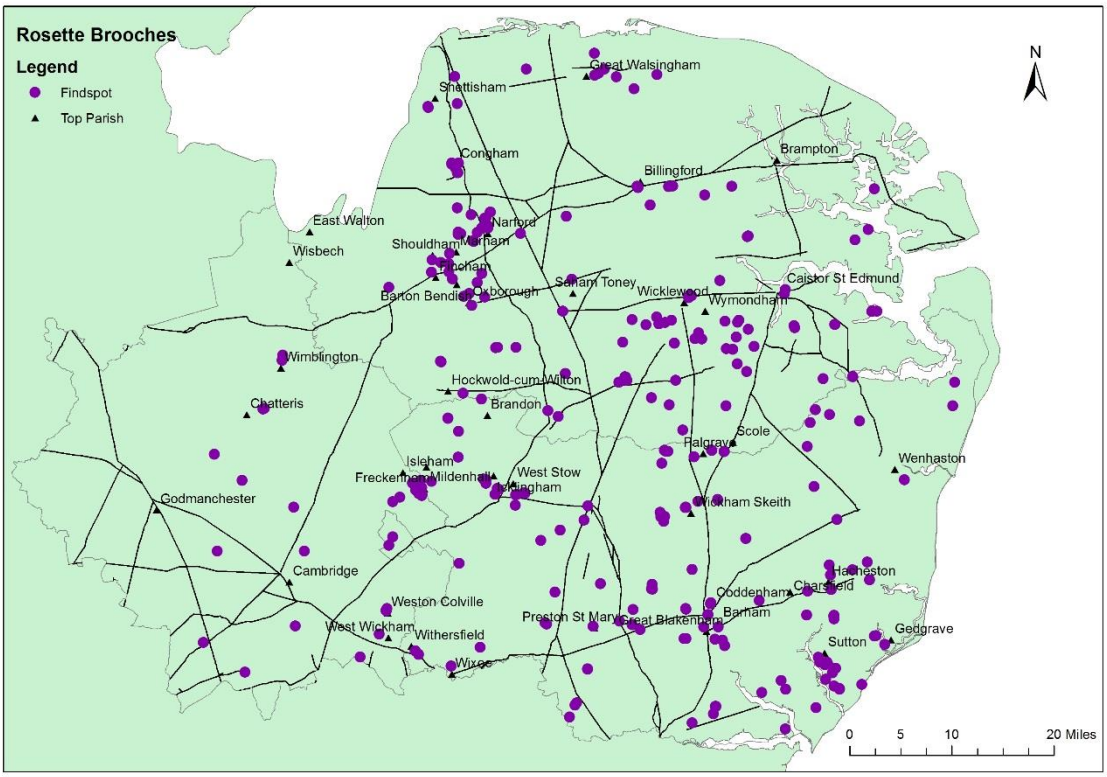


Figure 4.40: Distribution of Rosette brooches (Image: Author).

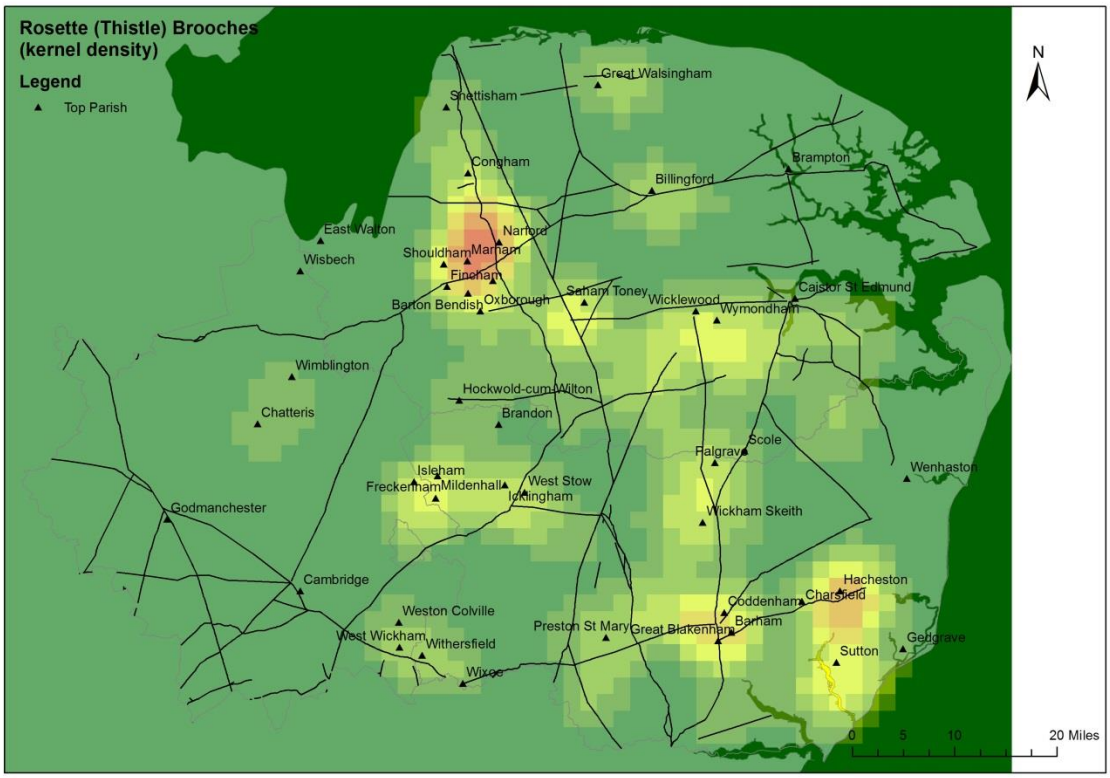


Figure 4.41: Density of Rosette brooches (Image: Author).

The distribution shows the penetration of imported goods, if not actual military personnel, throughout the region (Figure 4.40, Figure 4.41). Rosette brooches demonstrate the continuity of settlements along the Icknield Way and the ascendancy of southeast Suffolk. A hotspot at Hacheston/Charsfield extends along the northeastern bank of the Deben valley around Sutton, site of a 1st century CE *denarius* hoard (SHER:SUT041) and a suspected LIA to Roman settlement (SHER:SUT022). This would seem a profitable route for coastal trade and communication. Four from Walsingham (NHER:2024/28253), three from Wicklewood (NHER:8897/18111) and one from the Romano-Celtic temple at Caistor St Edmund (Gregory 1991b:193; NHER:9787) imply votive associations.

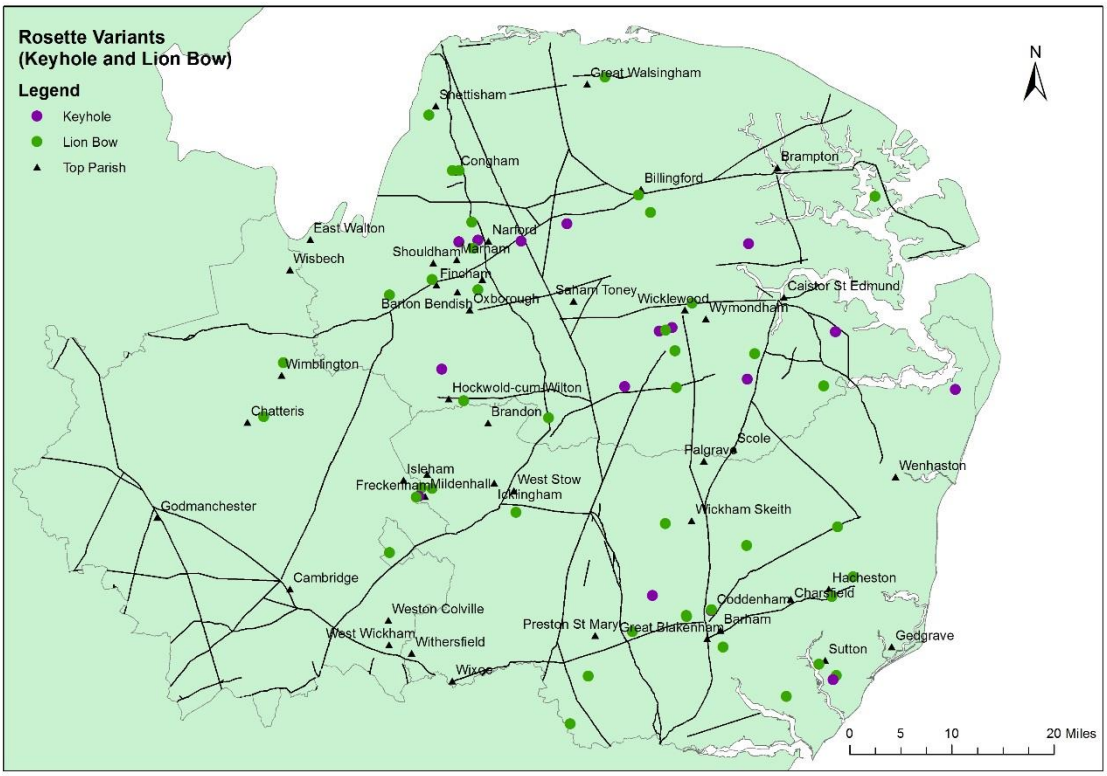


Figure 4.42: Distribution of Rosette variant brooches (Image: Author).



Figure 4.43: (left) Lion bow brooch, Barking (PAS:SF-7B02F4) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Lion bow and bovid head brooch, Old Buckenham (PAS:SF-BA4524) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

The Keyhole variant occurs in small numbers only: Norfolk (12) and Suffolk (5) (Figure 4.39). The Léontomorphe type, with an applied lion on the bow, has Gaulish origins (Figure 4.43). Neither has great concentrations, suffice to note that they penetrated Icenia and some may have been locally made. An unparalleled 'imitation' Rosette from Billingford (NHER:7206) may be of Norfolk manufacture. The British Lion Bow is devolved. Mackreth refers to the 'decreasing skill in representing the beast' which is reduced to a bowtie (2011:30). This schematisation is part of a key regional aesthetic (Section 2.4.7). There are 46 Lion Bow brooches (Cambridgeshire 3, Norfolk 22, and

Suffolk 21) (Figure 4.42). Mackreth links these to the region controlled by the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes i.e. the southeastern Cambridgeshire Fens and Essex (2011:29-30). If anything, my distribution contradicts this, with few from either the southwest or northeast. This may be due to the use of different data sources. A peculiar example from Old Buckenham (Figure 4.43) has the fully-modelled lion with a bovid head attached between its paws. This type has its roots in late 1st century BCE Gaul and has been found as far afield as Turkey (Plouviez PAS:SF-BA4524). An interest in zoomorphic objects, particularly bovids, is also apparent in the later cosmetic grinders (Section 9.2).

The association of Rosettes with temples hints at a votive aspect which continues with the later plate brooches (Section 4.12.1). Rosettes are large and highly-visible, therefore morphological bias is unlikely to play a role in their recovery. These complex and attractive brooches may reflect connections between Icenia and Gaul in the pre-invasion years. An interest in Gaulish objects and local adaptation are also evidence for Icenian openness to certain outside influences. This may have changed with the invasion, as will be discussed in relation to pipeclay figurines (Section 7.7). Again, we see early adoption and selective appropriation of artefacts in the early 1st century CE, which contests the narrative of cultural isolationism.

4.9. What is the evidence for the Boudican revolt and military occupation?

Imported brooches show that the people of Icenia were receptive to external influences and freely adopted new styles and technologies in the early to mid-1st century CE. Their insularity and resistance to 'foreign' types may have been misinterpreted. The same questions can be asked of the conquest and client-kingdom period, in particular the presence of brooches associated with the military. I will now consider the discourse of the Boudican revolt and the subsequent depopulation through the evidence of brooches in the later 1st/2nd centuries CE.

4.9.1. Hod Hill and Aucissa

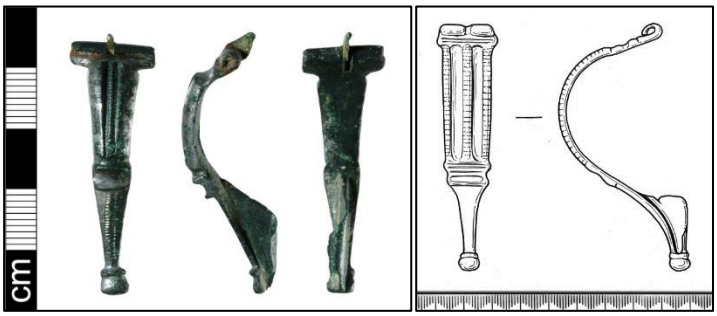


Figure 4.44: (left) Hod Hill brooch, Great and Little Chishill (PAS:BH-EE1C23) (Image: St Albans District Council/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Aucissa brooch, Wickham Skeith (PAS:SF4129) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

The brooch associated with the Claudian invasion force is the Aucissa and its successor the Hod Hill (Figure 4.44). They can look extremely similar and uncertain identifications are common, so I have often grouped them together as 'Hod Hill/Aucissa'. In total they form 10% of my dataset (Table 13). Hotspots occur in the parishes around Fincham (69), as well as Saham Toney (49) and Coddenham (51). Other *foci* exist at Hacheston (32), Wenhaston (28), Freckenham (22), Walsingham/Wighton (35), Beachamwell (22), Caistor St Edmund (17), West Wickham (14) and Wimblington (20) (Figure 4.46, Figure 4.47).

County	Aucissa	Hod Hill	Uncertain/Related
Cambs	15	74	16
Norfolk	26	369	45
Suffolk	31	346	82
Grand Total	**72**	**789**	**143**

Table 13: Hod Hill/Aucissa brooches by county.

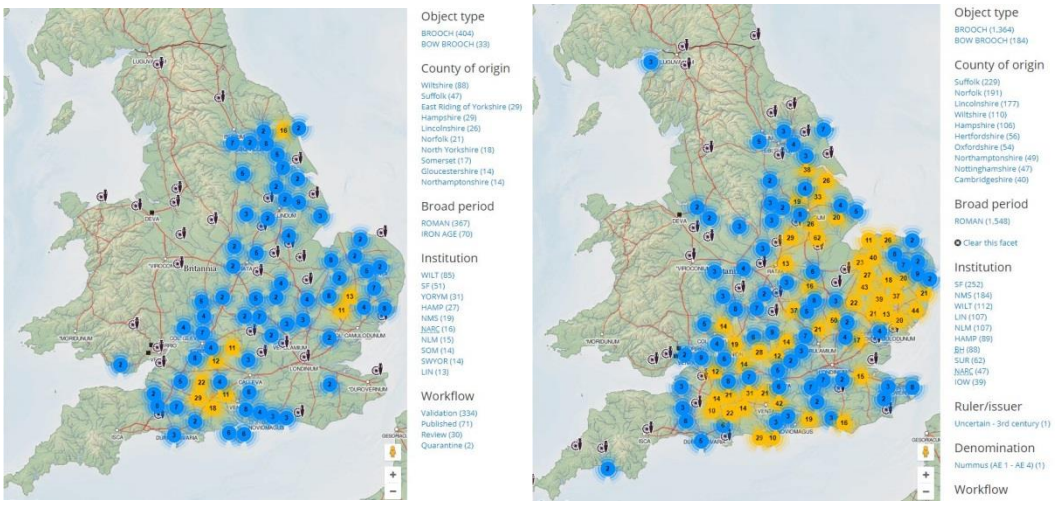


Figure 4.45: Distribution of (left) Aucissa and (right) Hod Hill brooches (Images: PAS).

The Aucissa is a hinged brooch, with an arched, D-shaped bow (Figure 4.44). It was extensive in the empire and is widely regarded as a military type. However, its frequency on civilian settlements suggests it was extensively imitated by indigenous brooch-makers. The dating for Aucissa brooches is Augustan to Neronian. Few pre-conquest examples are known and it is rare in northern Britain, perhaps distributed during the first wave of military occupation (Bayley and Butcher 2004:151; Hattatt 1982:83; Mackreth 2011:131-3) (Figure 4.45). In my database, Aucissa brooches show similar concentrations to Hod Hills, but in far smaller quantities (a ratio of 10:1), which corroborates previous studies (Eckardt 2005:150-1; Plouviez 2008:173). This might suggest that Icenia missed out on the 'first wave' of conquest by virtue of its client-kingdom status.

A numerous and diverse hinged type, the 'Hod Hill arrives, fully developed, at the conquest' (Mackreth 2011:133). Dating *circa* 40-70 CE, these brooches flourished during the crucial client-kingdom phase. Not all British 'imitations' have mainland European parallels, implying that indigenous variants were rapidly devised. None have yet been found from a convincing pre-conquest context (Bayley and Butcher 2004:152-3). There is a danger of making circular assumptions by allowing presence or absence to determine dating, or role, of a particular site. For instance, a Hod Hill brooch in the Santon Hoard (Chapter 6) contributed partly to its later 1st century CE dating (Hutcheson 2004:33-4).

There are key differences in production between these two closely-related types. Aucissas were 'mass-produced' by die-cutting the bow and attaching a separately cast footknob and headplate. All Hod Hills were cast in one and are made from more diverse alloys. Where recorded, both types inevitably have a white metal surface finish. This reflective silvery shine appears essential to the design, which would have appeared quite different to the Britons who were familiar with iron and copper alloys (Bayley and Butcher 2004:151, 153; Mackreth 2011:130, 134).

Plouviez defined 1st century CE East Anglian forts as sites with typically 15-20% Hod Hill brooches compared to fewer than 10% on civilian settlements (2008:176). This will be explored further in the parish case studies (Section 4.14). A group of 20 Hod Hill/Aucissa brooches at Walsingham, along with 13 from Crownthorpe, suggest a relationship between early 'military' activity and sacred sites. Were these items deposited by passing Roman soldiers, making offerings for success in battle? Perhaps they were taken as trophies from skirmishes and their silvery finish and embodied power of the invading military made them ideal votives for indigenous people. Both Walsingham (NHER:2024) and Crownthorpe (NHER:8897) temples appear to be 2nd century CE, but may sit upon earlier shrines, suggested by the latter's association with the vessel hoard dated *circa* 50-70 CE.

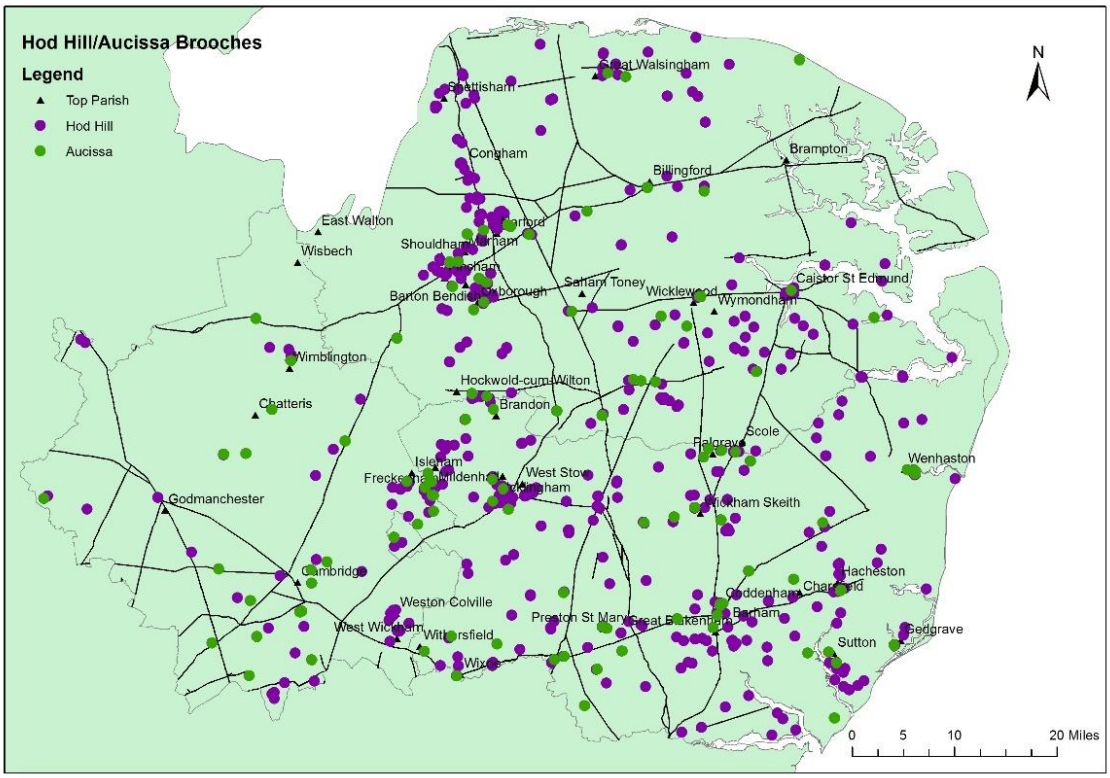


Figure 4.46: Distribution of Hod Hill/Aucissa brooches (Image: Author).

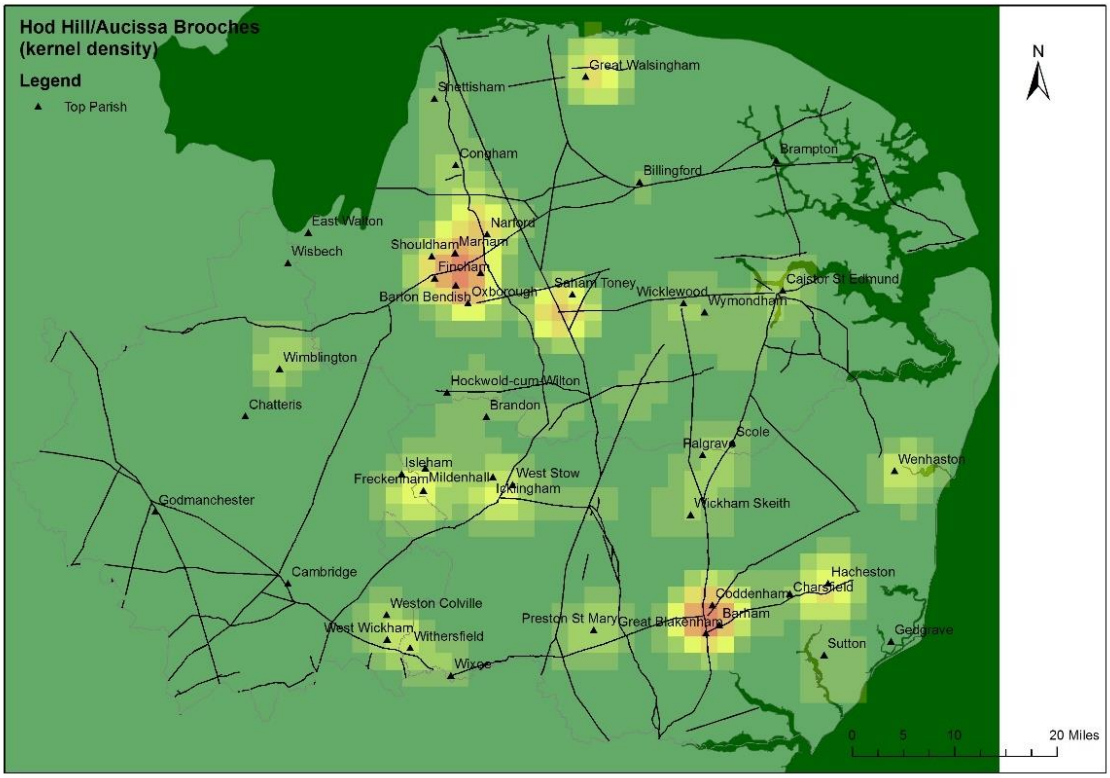


Figure 4.47: Density of Hod Hill/Aucissa brooches (Image: Author).

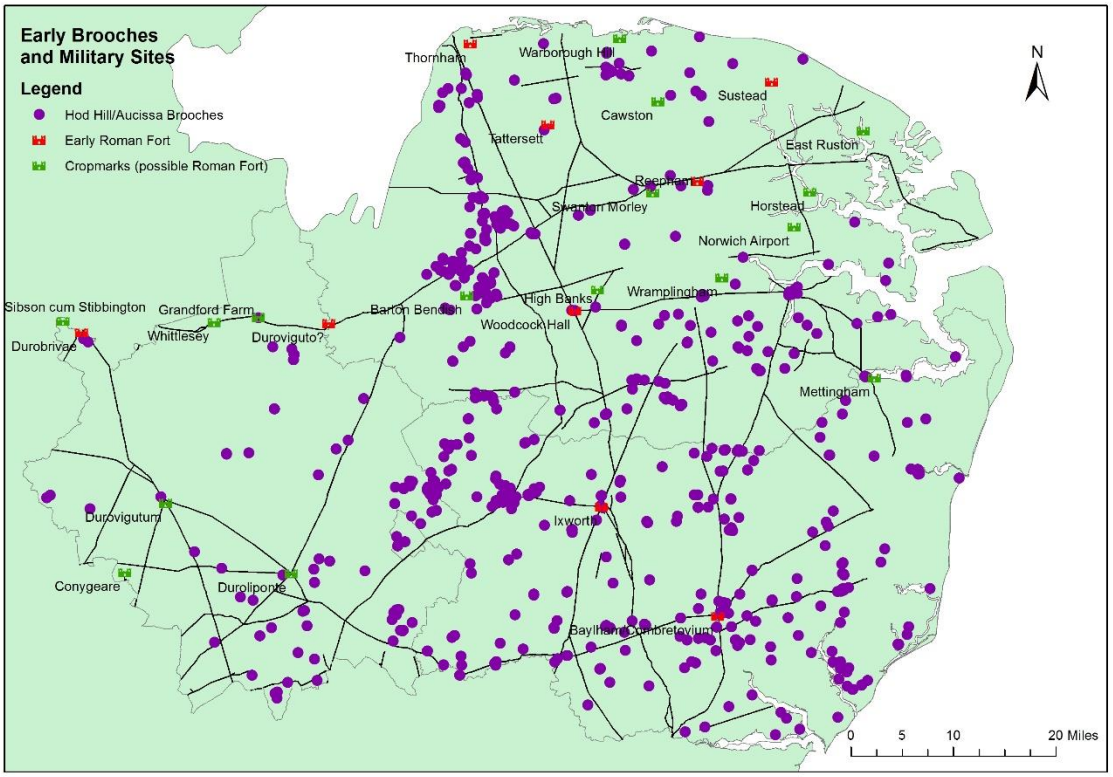


Figure 4.48: Distribution of Hod Hill/Aucissa brooches and early Roman forts (Image: Author).

Not every Hod Hill or Aucissa 'marks the passage of a soldier' (Mackreth 2011:133), although Mackreth speculates about the movements of various legions based on their distributions. He attributed concentrations from Norfolk and the Fens to the army eradicating the last traces of the Boudican revolt. In Essex, contrastingly, they belong to 'veterans left behind' at Colchester (*ibid*.:139, 143). Material culture is being used to create a distinction between the Iceni and their neighbours, as well as the military. Why should the Essex examples not reflect a punitive campaign to pacify the Trinovantes after the revolt in which they played a key role?

Alternatively, the presence of Hod Hill/Aucissas in similar concentrations to civilian brooches may demonstrate a fashion for quasi-military styles among the indigenous population, rather like the popularity of army surplus clothing today. As Eckardt noted, Aucissa brooches are surprisingly common on 'rural' sites and places 'where a military connection is tenuous at best' (2005:152-3). Mapping against both known and suspected early forts confirms this divergence (Figure

4.48). While the presence of Aucissa brooches in civilian areas does not preclude their loss or deposition there by soldiers, it raises questions over the dating of known forts and the military ascription of these finds in Britain. Two very similar hybrid sprung examples with the local Rearhook fixing were found at Flixton and Weeting-with-Bromehill (Figure 4.49). Likewise, two eccentric hinged and winged interpretations come from Stradsett and Brandon (Figure 4.50). This evidence for local imitation and innovation shows a potential non-military explanation.



Figure 4.49: Hybrid Hod Hill/Rearhook brooches, (left) Flixton (PAS:SF-AD18F3) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Weeting-with-Bromehill (PAS:SF3611) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0).

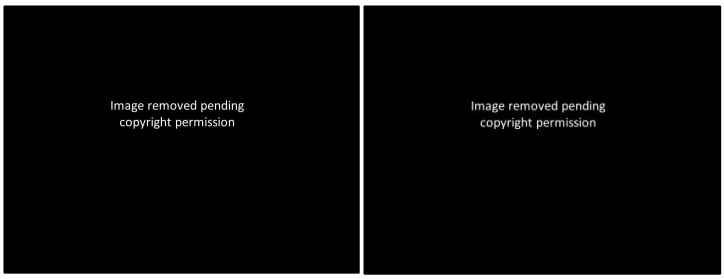


Figure 4.50: Unusual winged Hod Hill variants, (left) Stradsett (NHER:39567); (right) Brandon (SHER:BRD080).

4.9.2. Knee



Figure 4.51: (left) Knee brooch, Coddenham (PAS:SF-A4FD73) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Hybrid Knee brooch, Isleham (PAS:SF-19A3F4) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

The dearth of Aucissa brooches from Iceni territory may reveal an absence of early Roman military activity. There are also few Knee brooches, so-called for their resemblance to the curvature of a lower leg (Figure 4.51), despite their prevalence in military contexts elsewhere. Initially imported from mainland Europe, where they were popular on military sites in Pannonia and the Rhine, they soon developed local variants (Eckardt 2005:150-1, 154; Hattatt 1982:114; Statton 2016:146). Continental versions are hinged with horizontal catchplates, whereas British-made brooches were sprung, with vertical catchplates and often white metal trim. Mackreth dates them after 150 CE into the 3rd century CE (2011:167, 189).

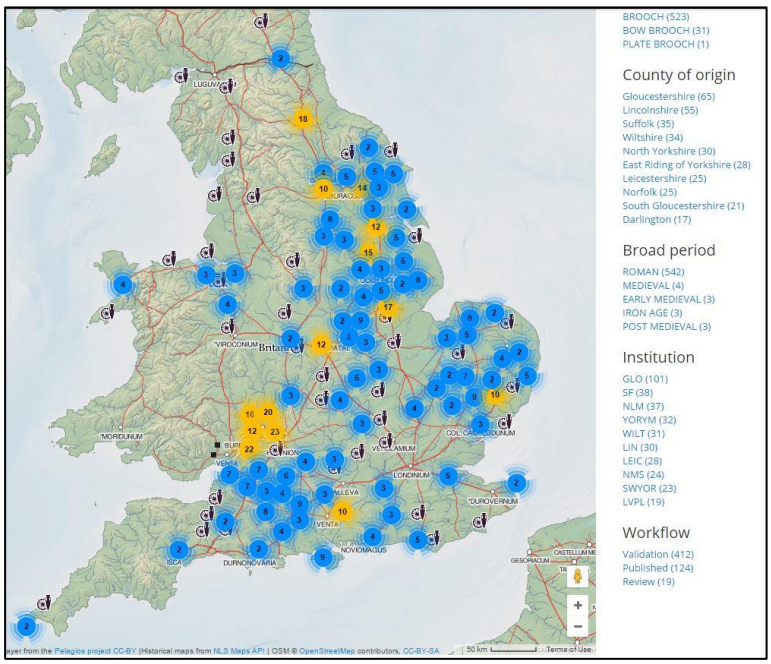


Figure 4.52: Distribution of Knee brooches (Image: PAS).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	7
Norfolk	55
Suffolk	69
Grand Total	**131**

Table 14: Number of Knee brooches by county.

Knee brooches are widespread across southern England (Figure 4.52), although there are surprisingly few on the PAS map from the northern frontier, and just 131 were recorded from the *civitas* (Table 14). The distribution shows groups around the towns of Coddenham (7), Wenhaston (14) and *Venta Icenorum* (7).

As some settlements developed around military bases, a correlation with Knee brooches may be unsurprising. The sprawling Suffolk small towns may alternatively have operated as market centres, connected by the expanding road network (Moore *et al.* 1988:38). In west Norfolk, the focus around Fincham is also visible, albeit lessened.

Five from Walsingham temple (NHER:2024) including three imports, intimate a votive role. The simplest explanation is that Roman soldiers visited this shrine. However, Knee brooches, like Hod Hills, belong to a grey area in which their military origins became blurred once they were manufactured on British shores (Figure 4.55). Most are diminutive and would struggle to fasten a large bunch of cloth like a cloak, but some have extended catchplates to allow for coarser fabric (Statton 2016:147). An unusual hybrid from Isleham, probably of local manufacture, combines a Colchester Derivative-style spring fixing and enamelled spots on the bow with the sinuous profile of a Knee brooch (Figure 4.51).

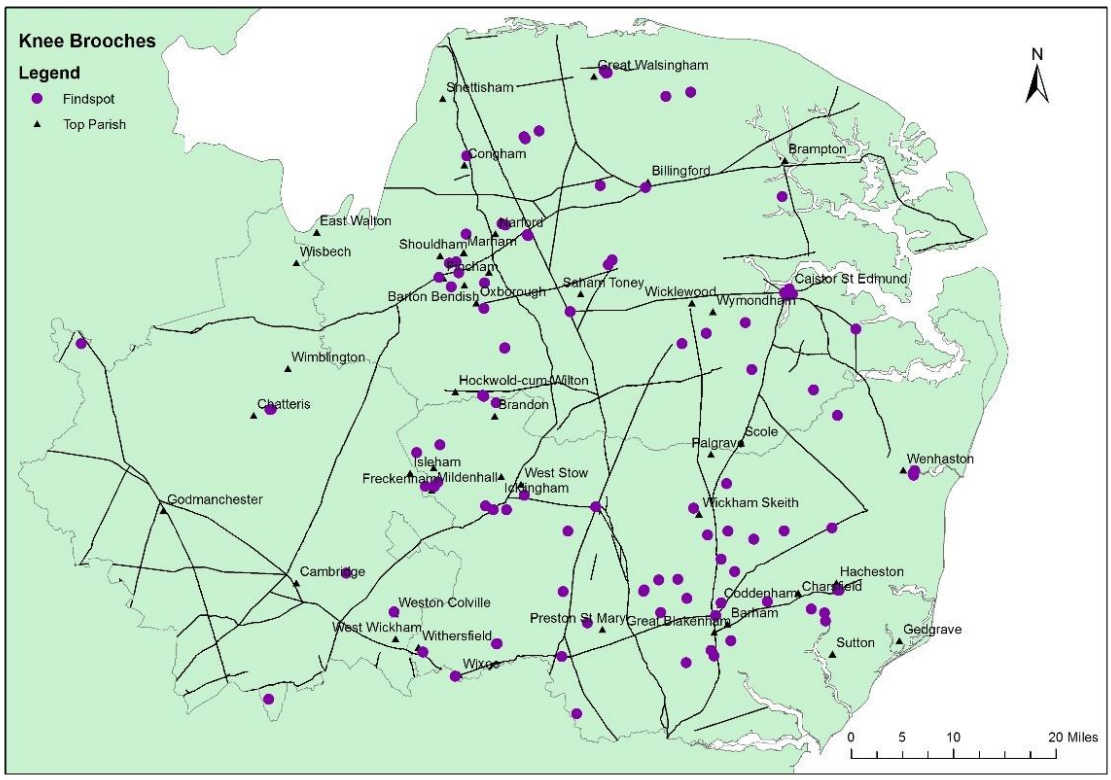


Figure 4.53: Distribution of Knee brooches (Image: Author).

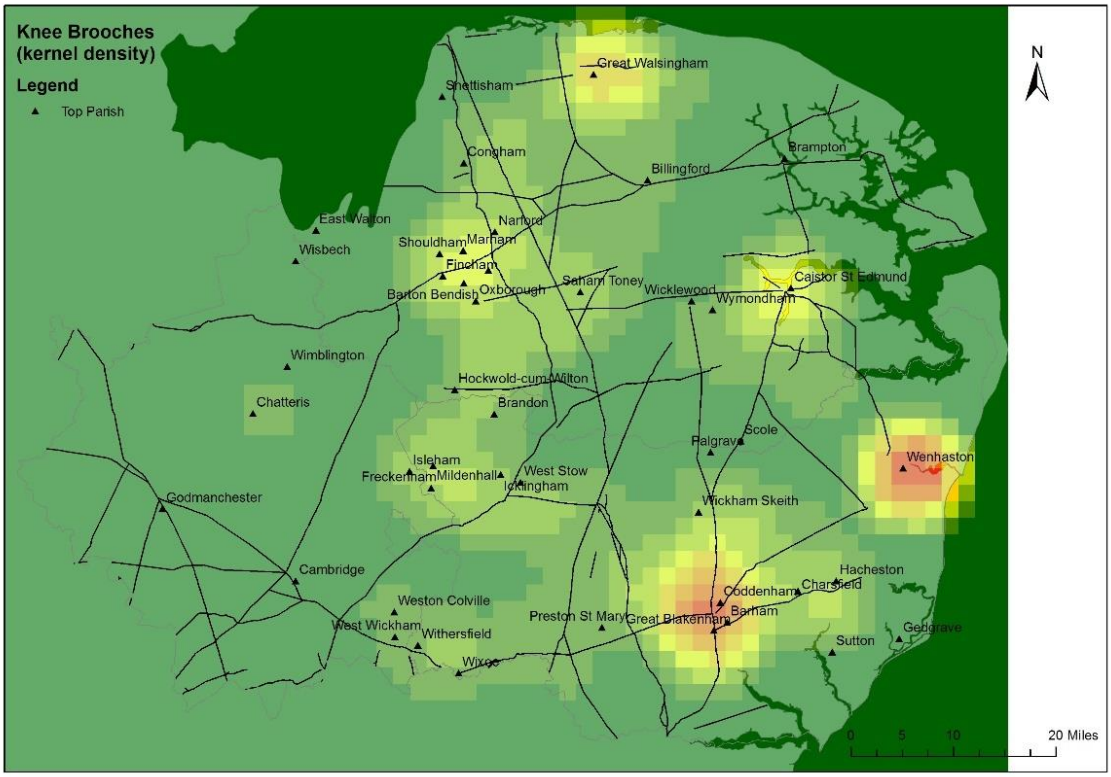


Figure 4.54: Density of Knee brooches (Image: Author).

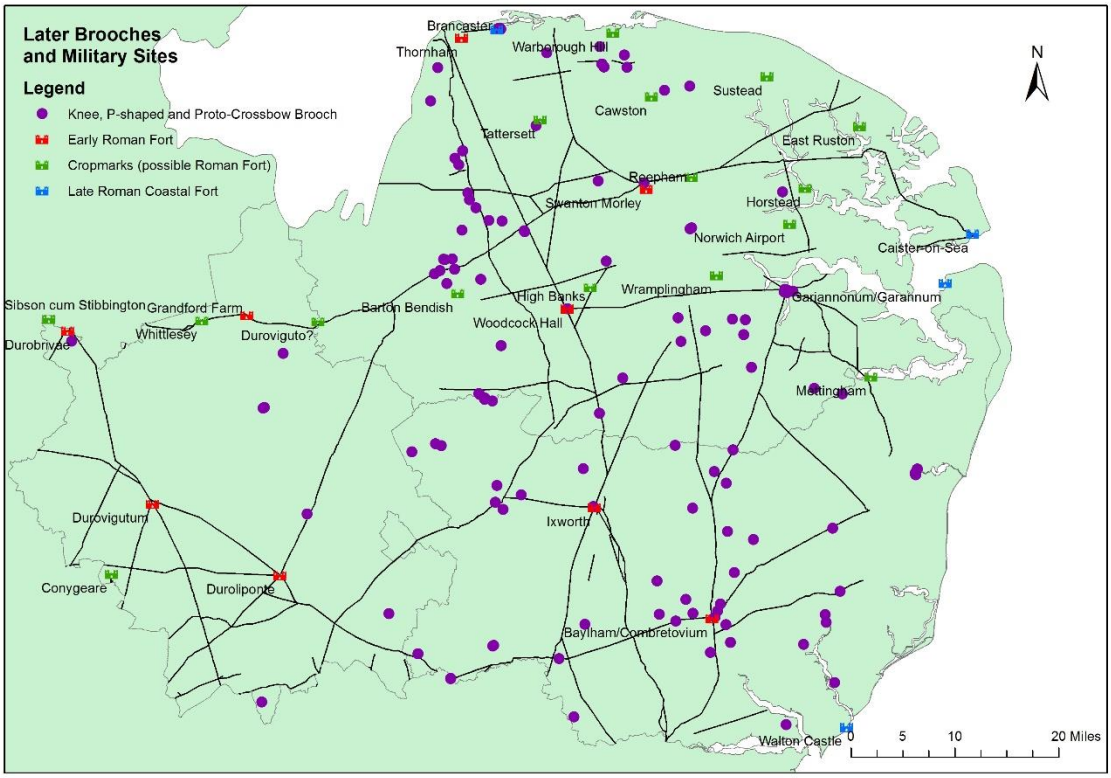


Figure 4.55: Distribution of Roman forts and later 'military' type brooches (Image: Author).

The Knee brooch develops into later forms which survive the '*fibula* abandonment horizon', including the Divided Bow, P-Shaped, Proto-Crossbow and Crossbows. These are often tinned or gilded. All have a strong bulked-out version of its S-shaped profile, explained as a necessity for retaining a heavy military cloak (Mackreth 2011:196-9; Statton 2016:147). Like the earlier pseudo-military brooches, these later 2nd and 3rd century CE types do not appear to respect the known military installations of the period, including the so-called Saxon Shore Forts (Figure 4.55). This implies either there were no soldiers at these sites, or these brooches were not restricted to the military.

Crossbow brooches were initially emblems of military authority, but were adopted by civic officials and their male offspring (Eckardt 2018:165), which may echo the Hod Hills. Although these are outside the scope of the current research, a cursory glance at their distribution pattern shows they were widespread but not common, with small concentrations at Caistor St Edmund and Wenhaston. Norfolk (48) and Suffolk (47) have the most Crossbows on the PAS database; such low numbers do not support a strong military presence.

4.9.3. Discussion

Several interpretations can be considered. An early military presence at the *civitas* capital and other key LIA sites might call into question the client-kingdom designation derived from classical sources. Were numerous soldiers stationed in the polity despite its 'friendly king' and self-governing status? Do they represent an influx of legionaries during the suppression of the Boudican revolt? If so, where are their marching camps and forts?

Davies considers Norfolk to have been garrisoned soon after the conquest, with possible forts at Ashill, Swanton Morley and Horstead and a marching camp at Barton Bendish. Irregular coinage and military fittings from the fort at Saham Toney suggest a Claudian presence in one of the major centres (Section 4.14.10). Nevertheless, many of these sites are unexcavated and of uncertain date, known only from aerial photography and surface survey (Brown 1986; Davies 2009:147-51 and fig. 122). Minimal Roman military installations in

Suffolk suggest the (southern) Iceni did not oppose the invasion. A conquest-period fort was constructed at Coddenham, but a Neronian fort at Pakenham was short-lived. The LIA defended settlement at Burgh was remodelled and continued in use (Moore *et al.* 1988:18). Millett also advances Scole, Godmanchester, Ixworth and Water Newton as invasion period forts (1990:62). Two Roman forts have been identified from aerial photography at Grandford on the Fen Causeway (Potter and Robinson 2000).

Rectilinear and concentric earthworks are not solely diagnostic of Roman military sites, given the earlier square enclosures elsewhere in the county and the mid-2nd century CE triple ditches at *Venta Icenorum* (Ashwin and Bates 2000; Gregory and Gurney 1986; Lyons 2017:384). Jones and Mattingly outline the risks of assigning cropmarks to temporary camps and specific campaigns (1990:77-9). Smith *et al.* also observe a strong bias of abundant crop/soilmarks in Norfolk with 'an almost complete break' in Suffolk and North Essex which they identify as a result of different soil types and 'variable local authority records of cropmark data' (2016:212 and map p.389, based on Taylor 2007, fig. 3.3).

Forts established in the southwest at Longthorpe, Cambridge and Great Chesterford are interpreted as repercussions of the Boudican revolt (Moore *et al.* 1988:25). Many civilian settlements, including *Venta Icenorum*, demonstrate a low-level background assemblage of military finds. If Knee brooches are justifiably associated with the military, their low frequency suggests that there were few martial installations in the 2nd century CE *civitas*. If this were the case, does this sustain either the depopulation or the resettlement theory? Gambash explains the lack of militarisation as a Roman strategy to win 'hearts and minds' post-revolt, rather than risking a military crackdown (2012:12). This relies on a rather modern concept of warfare and although Tacitus suggests Scapula's successors followed a more 'soft-hearted' policy (*Agr*. 16.1), this is at odds with his 'harried with fire and sword' hyperbole (Section 1.5).

The accepted sequence of Roman interactions with the Iceni is not supported by the brooch finds. One would expect more military trappings if the army had taken control in large numbers, or if numerous veterans were offered lands in previous Iceni heartlands. A comparative investigation of quasi-military brooches from other *civitates* would make a useful future study. Local manufacture and adaptation demonstrate that both Hod Hill and Knee types were being produced with indigenous or hybridised aesthetics. If the Iceni had truly been eradicated after the rebellion, who was making, wearing and depositing these brooches?

4.10. Itinerant Metalworkers and the Icenian 'Other'

Mackreth proposes that, soon after the rebellion, members of the disaffected Iceni were removed in 'a kind of enforced diaspora', developing their distinctive brooches in supervised exile (2009:147). An alternative storyline has metalworkers fleeing as economic migrants 'from a devastated and impoverished land to a more congenial area' (Mackreth 2011:234). This is based on a distinct sub-group of Rearhooks (*ibid*.:64-5, Type 3.k.c) clustered around Cirencester, far outside their usual distribution. However, these brooches fall in the same area as Harlow Type 4a (*ibid*.:58), which suggests, following Mackreth's logic, that a group capable of making both types of spring fixing moved to Gloucestershire.

Manufacture of both Rearhook and Harlow brooches has been demonstrated in the lands of the Iceni (Section 4.5). This issue has previously caused some interpretive problems. The close relationship between material culture and identity means that the Iceni have been defined or even created by their brooches. Contradictory evidence has conveniently been attributed to a passing craftsman losing his or her stock-in-trade e.g.: 'The Old Buckenham finds, with the other scraps, could be described as part of a metalworker's baggage lost in transit' (Mackreth 2011:5). If brooches were not worn as badges of belonging, what other explanations are possible? Two contrasting interpretations relating to manufacture can be presented. Either the casting and finishing of portable artefacts took place in small workshops in both rural and urban settlements

(Dungworth 2016:549) or they were produced sporadically by 'itinerant metalworkers' (e.g. Bayley *et al.* 2001). This narrative has also played its part in the construction of the Icenian 'Other'.

Bayley *et al.* are at pains to prove that the Harlow brooch moulds from Old Buckenham are aberrant. A range of speculative options is considered, including the dispersal of Icenian metalworkers after the revolt. Little Roman archaeology and a lack of any manufacturing evidence in the vicinity leads them to speculate that these isolated finds were mislaid by a travelling craftsman or even imported in topsoil during construction of a nearby airfield (2001:97-100). Bayley *et al.* are incredulous that a simply decorated Harlow brooch was being made and even worn in Norfolk: 'The limited range of brooches using the Harlow system is in stark contrast to the Icenian metal-workers who excelled in producing decorative effects which the Rearhook family shows only too well' (*ibid*.:110-1). I agree that the simplicity or ornateness of a brooch might have been more visually significant as a badge of belonging than the spring fixing, but the Rearhook and Harlow brooch divisions are far less clear-cut than they assume.

Bayley *et al.* attempt to fit the archaeology to the classical narrative, leading to some rather implausible suppositions:

> 'While the Iceni maintained an independent state, and the Rearhook was the tribal type brooch, it seems unlikely that an itinerant outsider would have had much success, and even may have been barred from trade. However, with the collapse of the Boudiccan rebellion and the retaliation of the Roman army, fierce enough to ensure that no maker of Rearhook brooches continued his craft afterwards, the survivors of the tribe presented new market opportunities' (2001:112).

This narrative has impacted on the dating of the Old Buckenham moulds: no earlier than 60/65 CE and probably not later than 80/100 CE. Mackreth's dating of Rearhooks has been questioned above.

Although the army distributed equipment to soldiers and travelled with mobile workshops,[35] a large-scale influx of continental metalworkers during the mid-1st century CE seems unlikely (Eckardt 2014:132). Rather, indigenous bronzesmiths introduced brooches and grooming implements into their repertoire of horse harness and decorated metalwork, creating a 'distinctive provincial Roman style' (Cool 1983:359). There is minimal evidence for established manufactories, but there is equally little support for the peripatetic craftsperson, other than isolated finds of brooch moulds and occasional scrap hoards (Johns 1997; Mackreth 2011:242; Revell 2016:90). I explore so-called metalworkers' hoards further in Section 5.5 and Section 6.10.

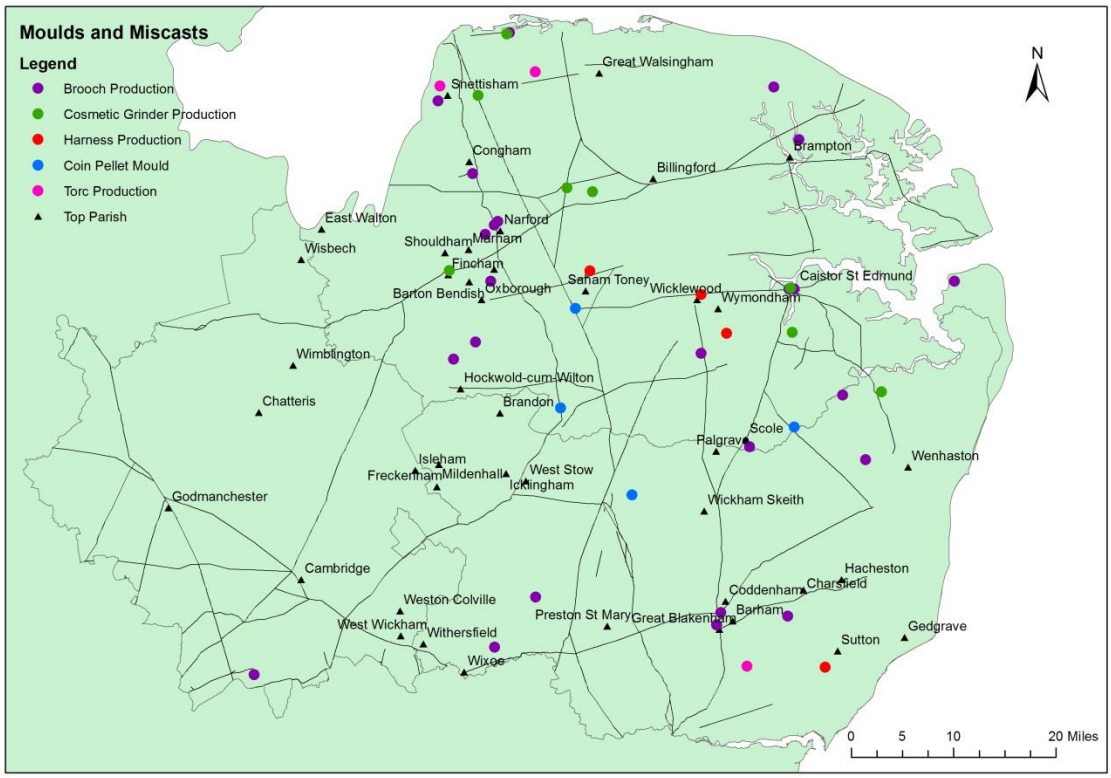


Figure 4.56: Distribution of metalwork production evidence (Image: Author).

Metalworking appears to have taken place right across the region. Figure 4.56 shows the distribution of moulds and miscastings or unfinished pieces for a variety of object types. Whilst manufacturing is not concentrated in any one area, this does show some patterning, such as the two groups of cosmetic grinders in northwest and southeast Norfolk, or the central placement of finds of pellet moulds.

Travelling smiths attending seasonal fairs and markets may have driven changes in style and decoration by producing certain brooches for sale. However, there is considerable risk in casting and finishing batches of brooches which might be found unacceptable to discrepant regional preferences. Producing the right material properties of moulds, crucibles and alloys was a highly technical ability (Garrow and Gosden 2012:95). While it was entirely possible for one person on horseback to carry all the necessary tools and materials for brooch-making and to acquire raw materials by recasting their customers' scrap metal, as with coinage,[36] they would still need a range of tools, crucibles, moulds and access to a furnace. Unless the maker also carried numerous different brooch moulds, those would also have to be made to order, involving further materials and tools.

Settled metalworking communities presuppose a constant flow of output and demand and perhaps aristocratic patronage in the LIA. Foster considers this system unsupported by archaeological evidence. She contributes a more cooperative parallel from a study of Andean potters in which the village provides the basic equipment while visiting craftspeople bring the tools, raw materials and expertise. In her view, the itinerant craftsperson model allows greater autonomy and diverse production within a less hierarchical social system (1995:58). Of course an 'itinerant metalworker' could still be part of a 'workshop' in the *atelier* sense, but not have a permanent base. Bayley *et al.* suggest that the itinerant tradition may have continued into the 2nd century CE, based on the notion that most people lived out of range of large settlements capable of sustaining a permanent bronzeworker (2001:116). This rather underestimates the ability of people to acquire and even commission goods through the actions of merchants, markets and middlemen. The idea that ceramics and other artefacts were made in settled workshops, particularly in urban areas, is much more readily accepted than metalwork, perhaps due to its links with coinage in the academic mindset. The changing pottery industries in the mid-late Roman period (e.g. Brampton, Aylsham) suggest increasing

specialisation and centralisation away from towns (Burnham and Wacher 1990:6; Cooper 1996:88).

The alternative explanation is that metalworkers belonged to the community and had permanent workshops in towns and villages. This interpretation also has some problems and contradictions. Although metalworking debris is commonplace in settlements, there are limited archaeological indications of workshops, suggesting small-scale 'dispersed production' on an *ad hoc* basis (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:69; see Bayley and Butcher 2004:35-40 for a summary of British and continental evidence). Cool notes the material evidence for workshop production is rarely preserved, miscastings and scrap usually being reprocessed (1983:329). Mackreth sees a very limited spread of brooch types outside their production zones before *circa* 125 CE. He concludes that, despite the finds at Caistor St Edmund, Compton Dando and Prestatyn (Section 4.4) 'craftsmen were almost certainly itinerant and travelled on a more or less fixed annual route through their market territory' (2011:242). At Weelsby Avenue, Grimsby, large amounts of metalworking debris, crucibles and moulds for harness manufacture were concentrated in different areas on a small permanent settlement dating from the 1st century BCE (Foster 1995). Other workshops for portable artefacts are known at Canterbury, Keynsham, Silchester and Wroxeter (Cool 1983:330). Myres and Green identified a possible industrial suburb to the east of the *civitas* capital, a 'shanty town' of simple huts linked to the street grid, predating the walling of the town in the late 3rd century CE (1973:12).

Many writers, perhaps unthinkingly, reproduce the language of capitalism when discussing Roman industrialisation and standardisation. There may be an underlying agenda which uses the terminology of materialism and western capitalism to make the Roman empire seem more 'like us'. Cool imagines 'enterprising bronzesmiths' making votives and souvenirs at temples (1983:332). Crerar also envisages travelling craftspeople setting up shop on festival days, or having more permanent workshops near a specific shrine, making and inscribing votive plaques for dedication (2006:78). Mackreth

proposes a 'particularly successful salesman' or 'prime manufactory' producing Trumpet brooches with peltate feet from the Walsingham/Wighton area (2011:125-6). The idea of 'marketing zones', 'mass-production' of brooches in a 'factory system' or pipeclay figurines as cheap commodities, churned out in continental factories, depend on modern conceptions of consumerism, which are hard to avoid (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:68; Foster 1995:58; Green 1976:15, 20, 1978:16-7; Mackreth 2011:130).

Why were certain small finds and coins confined to *civitas* boundaries? This is an unresolved and important question. Eckardt and Crummy also pose this in relation to nail cleaners (2008:68). Distribution patterns of small finds often show tight regional groupings which roughly correspond to *civitates*. This is unlikely to be attributable to ethnic identities and probably has its roots in the location of manufacturing or market centres in the major settlements. It may be that one of the changes at this period is from mobile production to more settled manufacture. The individuality embodied by many finished artefacts shows pieces were made to a preconceived and very deliberate aesthetic, perhaps a negotiated process between maker and recipient. Manufacturers could have been catering to local tastes, or simply the nearest providers in a chain of suppliers. Many brooch types of the late 1st/2nd centuries CE are found with both sprung and hinged fixing methods, perhaps implying that different craftspeople (or their customers) had their own preferences (see Section 4.11.4). We need a better understanding of the processes by which objects travelled from their places of origin and who was commissioning, using and depositing artefacts.

4.11. What is the evidence for change and hybridity?

In the decades after the Boudican rebellion, the area is assumed to have suffered massive depredations and repopulation with veterans (Section 1.5). What happened next can be explored through later 1st/2nd century CE brooches. Were the Iceni devastated? Did their distinctive metalworking tradition continue? Brooches show evidence for changing fashions and

experimentation, resulting in hybrids and new variants. This section looks at some of these changes and wider issues of identity and display.

4.11.1. Aesica



Figure 4.57: (left) Aesica brooch with curvilinear decoration, Mautby (PAS:NMS-0E757E) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Aesica brooch, Crescent variant, Little Wilbraham (PAS:SF-15F370) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

The Aesica brooch is a derivation of the Rosette (Mackreth 2011:8). It has continental origins, developing distinctively British variants in the mid-1st century CE. There are only *circa* 350 nationwide on the PAS with a noticeable absence in Kent and the southeast (Figure 4.58). Norfolk dominates the 223 examples on my database (Table 15) with concentrations in the northwest and Breckland, both areas known for indigenous metalworking (Figure 4.59, Figure 4.60). Few parishes contain clusters: Beachamwell (5), Wymondham (6), Palgrave (7) and the parishes around Snettisham (7).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	7
Norfolk	131
Suffolk	85
Grand Total	**223**

Table 15: Aesica brooches by county.

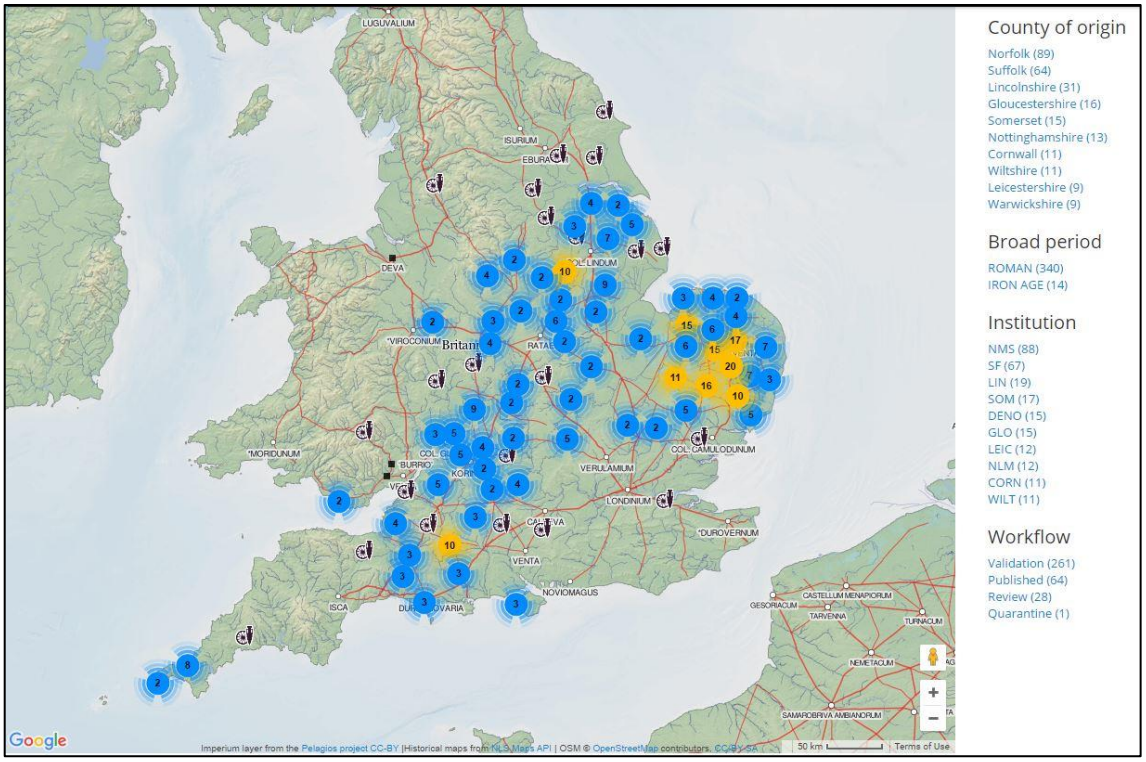


Figure 4.58: Distribution of Aesica brooches (Image: PAS).

Aesicas are cast, rather than forged, two-piece brooches, often displaying curvilinear decoration on the bow and/or fantail (Figure 4.57). The hotspot around Wymondham and Wicklewood is seen clearly in the mid-1st century CE brooches, like Aesica and Rearhooks (Figure 4.60). My mapping repeatedly highlights this zone, suggesting an important indigenous focus. Its appearance here may relate to advances in bronze-casting technology and the development of two-piece brooches instead of single forged construction. There may also be a connection with the production of ornamental horse harness in this area (Chapter 6). An unfinished casting in Mackreth's corpus (2011:46, Type 2.b1) comes from Carleton Rode, close to Saham Toney and the Breckland metalworking area. The presence at Snettisham might suggest a religious focus, although the group in central Norfolk comes from Wymondham parish, not Crownthorpe temple.

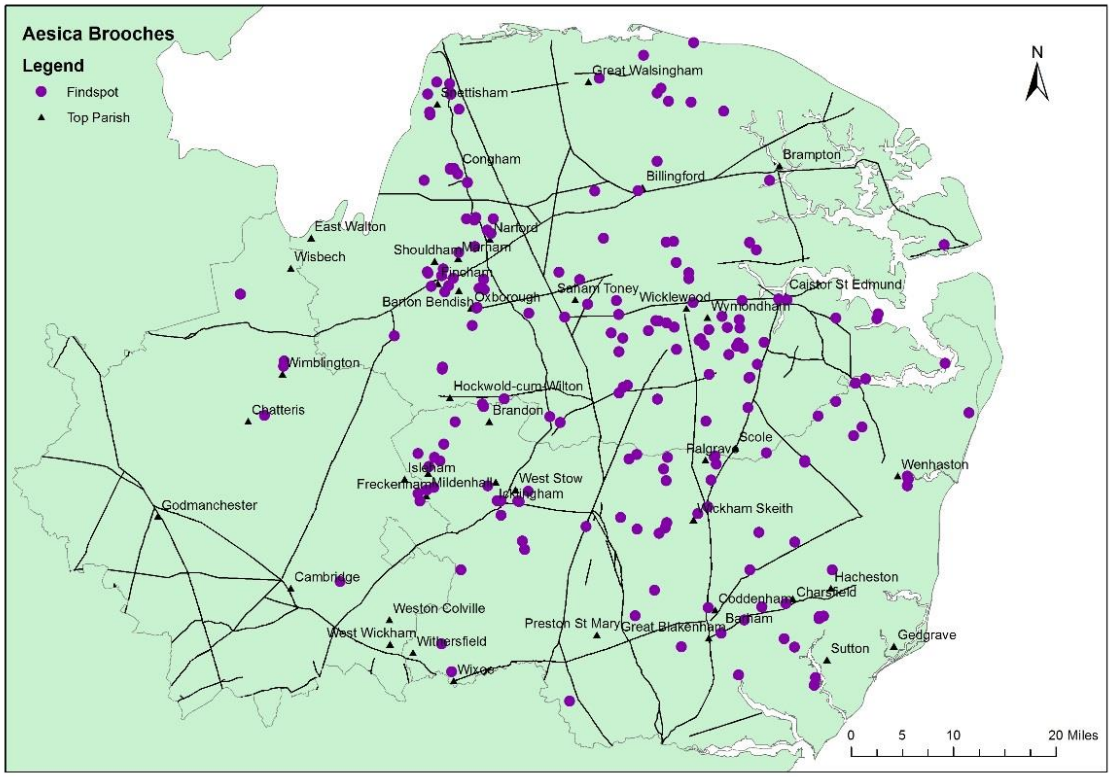


Figure 4.59: Distribution of Aesica brooches (Image: Author).

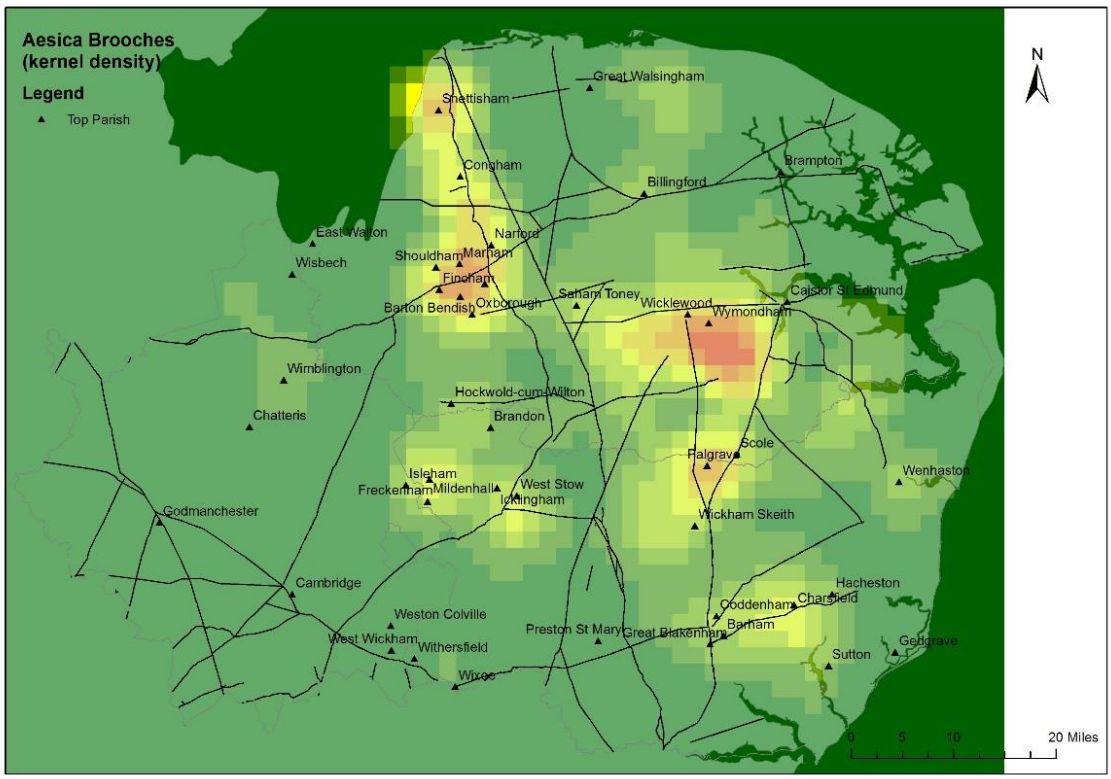


Figure 4.60: Density of Aesica brooches (Image: Author).



Figure 4.61: Unusual Aesica brooch with Rearhooks, (left) Quidenham (PAS:NMS-19A7F3) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Wacton (PAS:NMS-459FA7) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

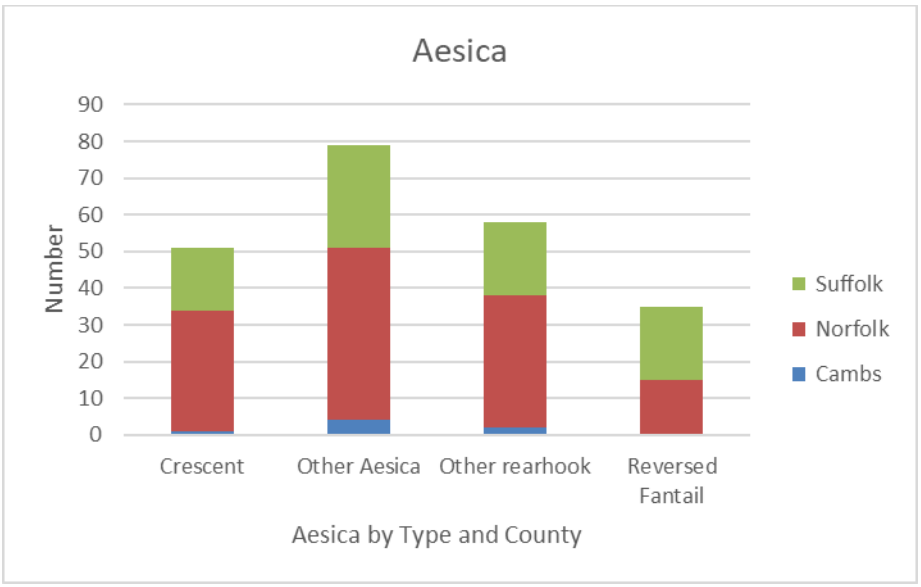


Figure 4.62: Aesica brooches by type and county.

The Aesica brooch, with its wide plate and fantail, lends itself to elaboration and experimentation. Several variants are mapped in Figure 4.63. The closely-related Crescent and Rearhook subtypes are centrally-distributed, being absent from the extreme northeast and Fens, while Suffolk has a higher incidence of Reversed Fantails. Those with the Rearhook mechanism are considered an East Anglian type (Mackreth 2011:46-7; Statton 2016:109) (Figure 4.62). Cool and Baxter found that Aesica brooches were highly discoverable by detectorists (2016a:81, table 3), presumably due to their large surface area. Given the relative numbers in my dataset, it is unlikely that this has introduced a great deal of bias.

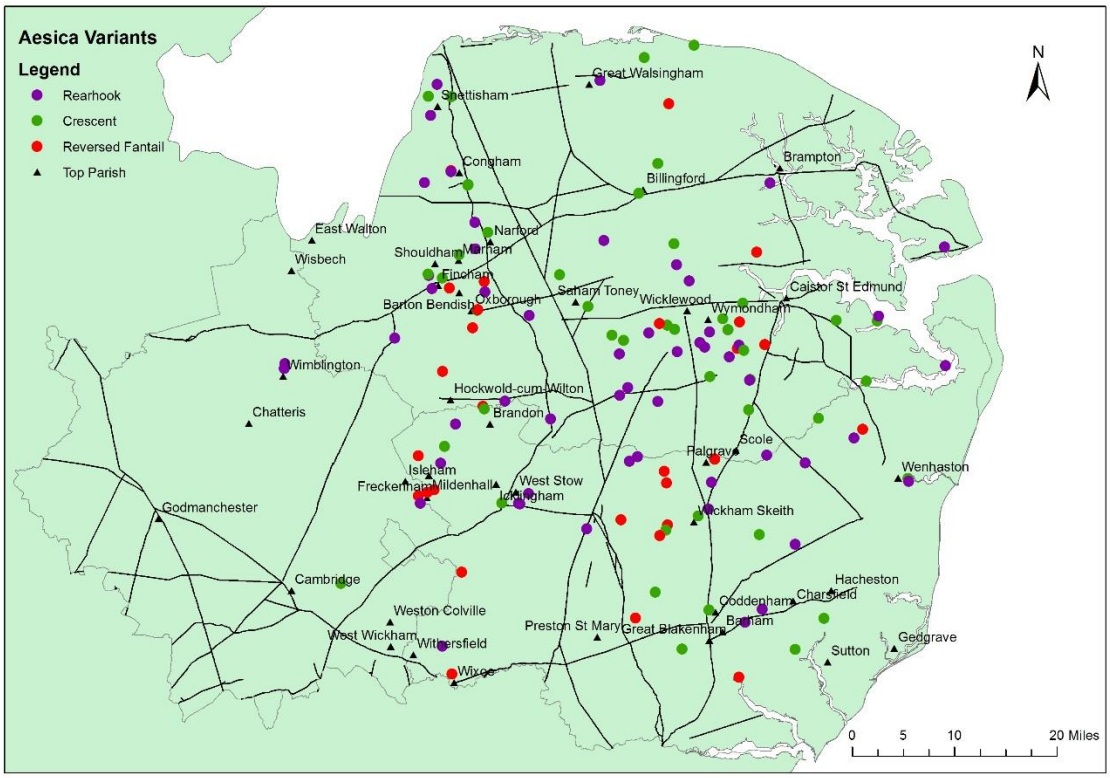


Figure 4.63: Distribution of Aesica variant brooches (Image: Author).

Hybrids include a Rearhook with fantail from South Elmham, a Polden Hill/Aesica hybrid from Redgrave (**Error! Reference source not found.**) and, unfortunately unillustrated to my knowledge, a 'way out' variant from Ashwellthorpe (NHER:30205). One from Stonea Grange, Wimblington (CHER:06057) is described as an unparalleled hinged Aesica with 'trumpet head and fantail foot both with "Celtic style" decoration'. A Rearhook variant from Tharston and Hapton has a zoomorphic bow, perhaps representing a swan or even a horse. Lastly, a very elaborate and devolved hinged version from Lackford has sharp-cornered enamelled triangles (Figure 4.65).



Figure 4.64: (left) Unparalleled Aesica hybrid brooch, South Elmham (PAS:SF-D0CC91) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Unclassified Aesica/Polden Hill variant, Redgrave (PAS:SUSS-D6EB34) (Image: Sussex Archaeological Society/CC BY-SA 4.0).



Figure 4.65: (left) Unusual enamelled Aesica variant, Lackford (PAS:SF-CF2A24) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Hybrid Rearhook/Aesica brooch with zoomorphic bow, Tharston and Hapton (PAS:NMS-FB0840) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

These brooches, like the Rosettes, were large, ornate and costly to produce (Hattatt 1982:99-100). Their display potential means they would have been recognisable at a distance. The aesthetic choice of 'Celtic' decoration may have been deliberately conservative. This phenomenon will also be seen in the conquest period horse harness in Chapter 6.

4.11.2. Colchester Derivative: Polden Hill



Figure 4.66: (left) Polden Hill brooch with curvilinear decoration, Hacheston (PAS:SF-2477CB) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Hybrid Polden Hill brooch, Wenhaston (PAS:SF-057E25) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Polden Hills[37] are post-conquest, British-made brooches (Bayley 1989:180). They cluster in southeast Suffolk (Figure 4.67, Figure 4.68, Table 16): Charsfield (10) and Wenhaston (23), although there are fewer from nearby Hacheston (7) and surprisingly only one from Coddenham. 'Polden Hill' (Figure 4.66) describes a spring system with semi-cylindrical wings, enclosed by cast on end-plates which secure the axis bar. This may have been an attempt to rectify the inbuilt flaw of the Rearhook brooch. Earlier variants have the Rearhook; the spring on later ones is held by a pierced crest. Polden Hills date *circa* 70-170 CE (Hattatt 1982:69; Mackreth 2011:69).

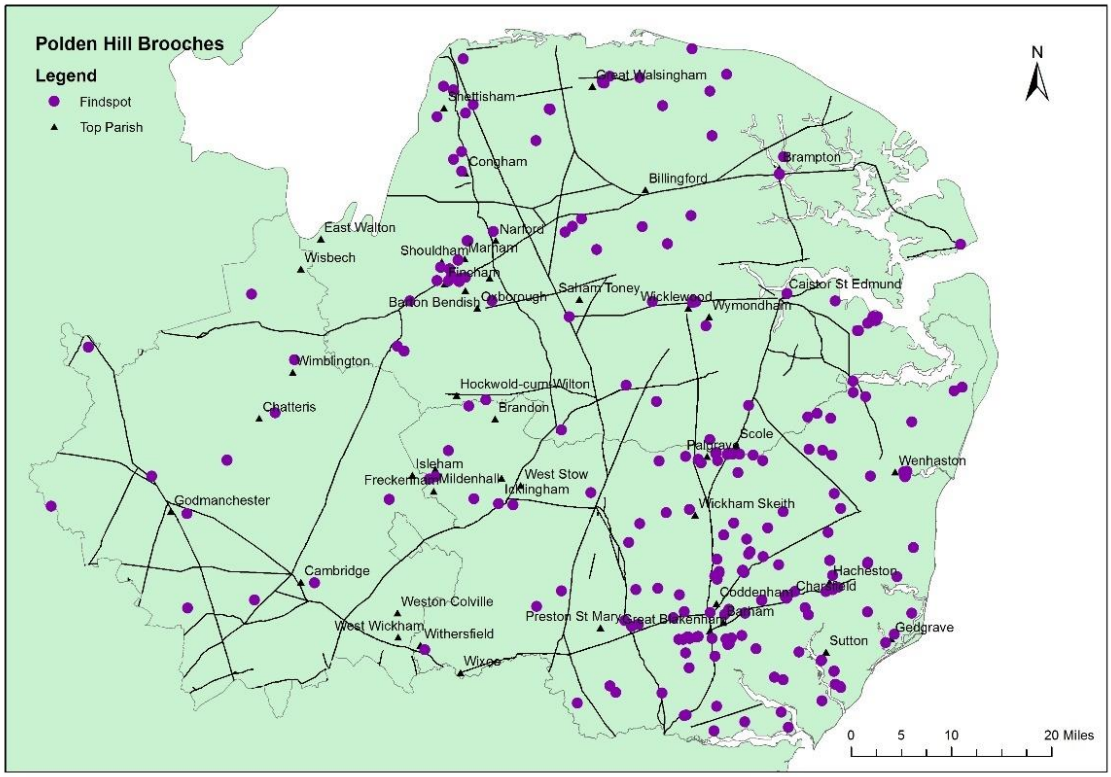


Figure 4.67: Distribution of Colchester Derivative Polden Hill brooches (Image: Author).

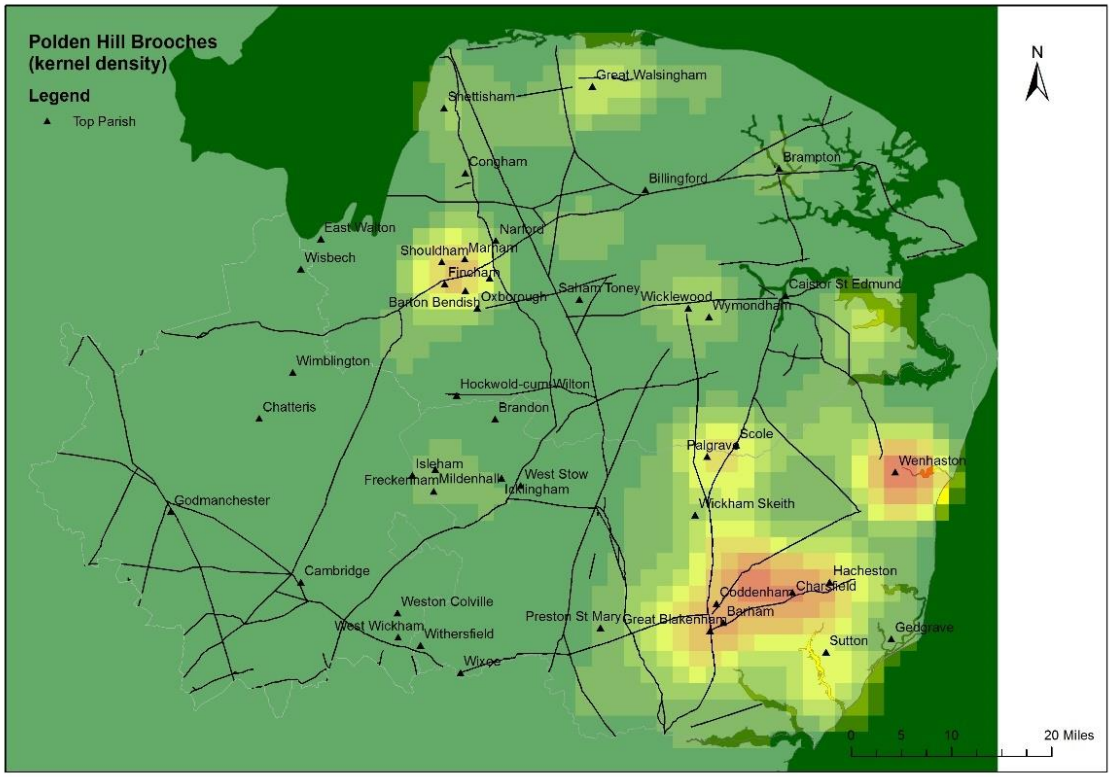


Figure 4.68: Density of Colchester Derivative Polden Hill brooches (Image: Author).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	16
Norfolk	96
Suffolk	179
Grand Total	**291**

Table 16: Polden Hill brooches by county.

Eastern Suffolk increases in importance in the late 1st/2nd centuries CE, perhaps reflecting the development of the East-West road network which linked coastal ports and salt production sites on the eastern seaboard to regional market towns and further afield. Plouviez's distributions of Polden Hills are heavily accented towards this area and my wider dataset corroborates her findings. A distinctive subset, with Rearhooks and a folded wing-end flap, occurs at Scole, and is potentially the work of a single craftsperson (Mackreth 2011:78; Plouviez 2014:35-41). Several brooches are recorded as hybrids with either lugged or hinged fixing arrangements. These include two from the Snettisham area (NHER:23001, NHER:1554) and one from Freckenham (PAS:SF11136). A hybrid from Wenhaston exhibits a combination of hinged bow design, Rearhook and Scole-type moulded wing-ends (Figure 4.66). Plouviez places a workshop within south and east Suffolk 'on the southern edge of the Icenian area where the rear hook type of Colchester derivative is dominant' (2014:40).

The now familiar clusters around Fincham in west Norfolk and southeast Suffolk are persistent concentration zones in the early part of the brooch sequence. These must represent production and deposition patterns in the 1st centuries BCE/CE, as well as successful metal-detecting. Polden Hills are distinctly post-revolt in date and if there had been systematic depopulation of Icenian centres of settlement, these sites would not be expected to show concentrations of later 1st century CE brooches. Many Polden Hill brooches were still using the Rearhook spring system and co-existed with hinged Colchester Derivatives and Trumpet types. People did not abandon the Rearhook, but applied it to new and experimental variants. Mackreth's attribution of the Rearhook's decline to the destruction of the Iceni population and the redeployment of its

metalworkers is not borne out. Continuity, and indeed innovation, in brooches at these sites contradicts the 'harrying of the east' narrative.

4.11.3. Colchester Derivative: Hinged



Figure 4.69: Colchester Derivative Hinged brooch, Wenhaston (PAS:SF-21FF06) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Hinged pins run concurrently with springs on certain types of brooch from the Colchester onwards (Hattatt 1982:39) (Figure 4.69), becoming the most common fixing method in East Anglia. They belong to the second half of the 1st century CE to mid-2nd century CE. Plouviez's comparative analysis of brooch proportions from different regions shows that all the Colchester Derivative types (Harlow, Hinged and Rearhook) are concentrated in East Anglia (2008:173, fig. 4.1.2).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	24
Norfolk	337
Suffolk	548
Grand Total	**909**

Table 17: Colchester Derivative Hinged brooches by county.

These brooches form almost 10% of the dataset (Table 17); Suffolk is the clear focus (Figure 4.70). Hotspots include Coddenham (22), Hacheston (26) and Charsfield (46), but these are far outstripped by Wenhaston with 116 hinged Colchester Derivatives. Almost all derive from just two fields immediately on and around the Roman town (SHER:WMH004 and WMH005) (Figure 4.71). The huge numbers from such a small area must surely represent a manufacturing or distribution centre (see Case Study Section 4.14.7). A second tier of parishes in Norfolk includes Beachamwell, Caistor St Edmund, Scole, Walsingham and

Saham Toney. Mackreth records many hinged Colchester Derivative brooches from Norfolk – his highest proportion by county – but very few from Suffolk, which would appear to be contradicted by my findings (2011:82-8). At least half of my dataset comes from the PAS, which may partly explain this discrepancy, and Mackreth calls Suffolk 'a black hole' in his catalogue, compared to Norfolk and Essex (2011:3).

According to Mackreth, the Rearhook was abandoned and replaced with hinged pin types which spread into the surrounding areas (2009:146). However, the Polden Hill brooch used a Rearhook fixing and the Harlow brooch continued on into the late 1st century CE. Curiously, the hinged format was known centuries before and hinged pins were more reliable to produce: spring coils are prone to snapping during shaping (Adams 2013:81-4). This did not seem to deter the makers of sprung brooches, despite this clear technical disadvantage. If manufacturers understood this weakness and could produce more efficient alternatives, why does the sprung brooch persist, especially the Rearhook (Section 4.3), which was particularly prone to failure in use? Perhaps it was driven by the preference of the wearer. Perhaps brooches were simply 'meant' to have springs, which would fit with the simulated spring types discussed above. The role of the sprung bow brooch may extend beyond pure practicality as a fastener, for ornamental or even symbolic reasons.

Hinged brooches show that innovation could occur in very restricted locations, perhaps resulting from a single workshop or distribution centre. Wenhaston shows considerable evidence for development of just such a hub. Polden Hill and Hinged Colchester Derivatives improved upon the failings of the Rearhook, but retained the decorative preferences of Rearhook and Harlow brooches respectively.

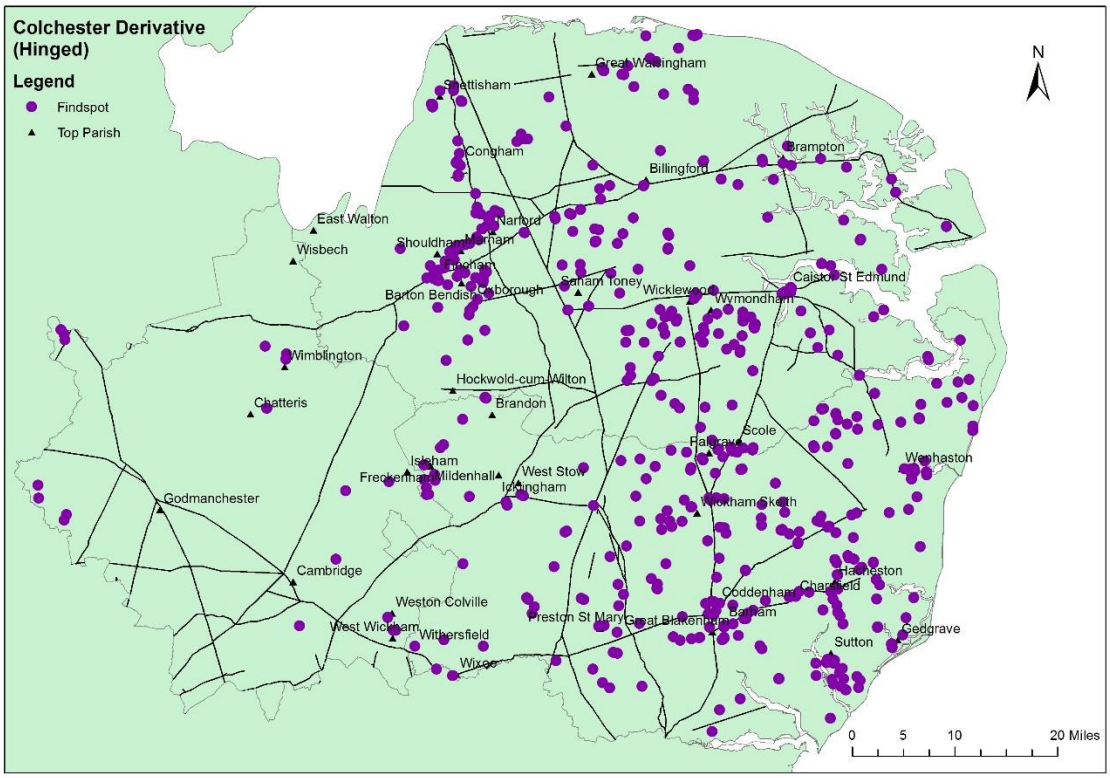


Figure 4.70: Distribution of Colchester Derivative Hinged brooches (Image: Author).

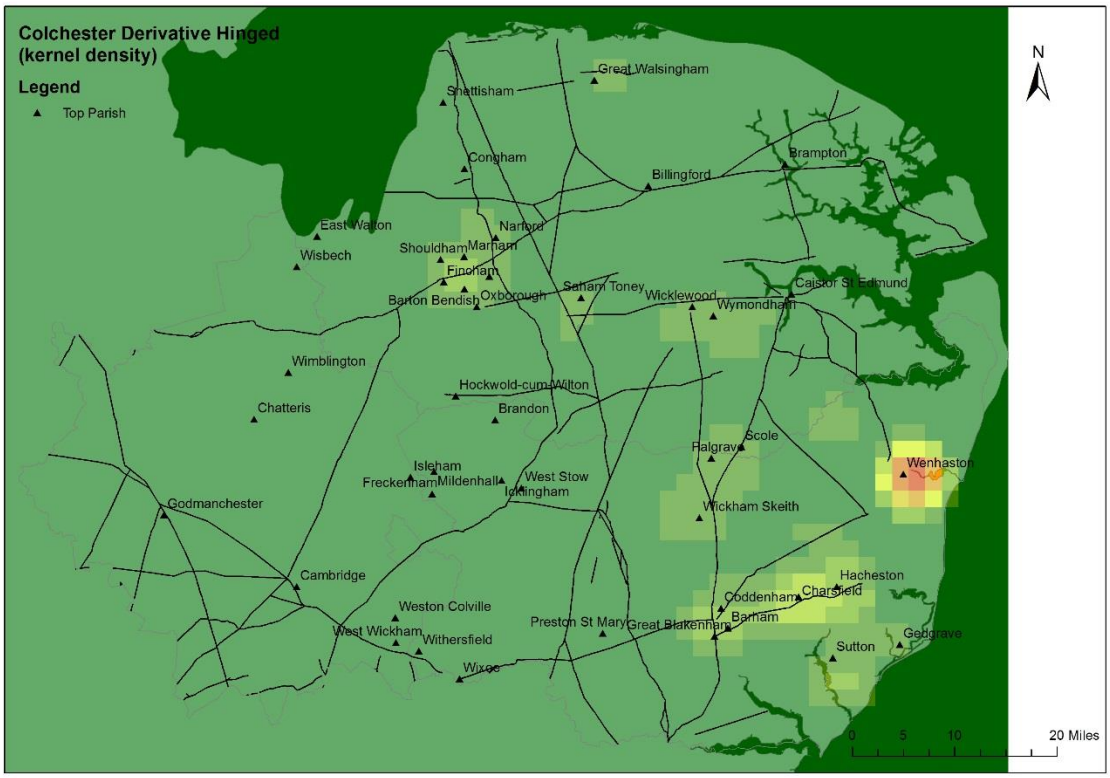


Figure 4.71: Density of Colchester Derivative Hinged brooches (Image: Author).

4.11.4. Headstud and Trumpet Brooches



Figure 4.72: (left) Headstud brooch, Lakenheath (PAS:SF-7CE16B) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Trumpet brooch, Brooke (PAS:SF-DF8AE2) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0).

Headstuds (Figure 4.72) developed from the Colchester brooch, commonly featuring a separate spring, a cast-on headloop and an enamelled lattice on the bow. They date from the Claudian period onward, but are generally 2nd century CE, with a *floruit* 75-120 CE. Both sprung and hinged varieties are common, the hinged versions being slightly later. The distribution is wide, generally in the east and south (Hattatt 1982:74; Mackreth 2011:103-13).

Early Trumpet brooches were imported in the mid-1st century CE. They were soon adopted and adapted by local craftspeople, flourishing in the late 1st/2nd centuries CE. The British Trumpet is a two-piece brooch, with a single spring fixing loop behind the head; occasionally hinged (Figure 4.72). The diagnostic features are the wide circular head and the mid-bow moulding, usually described as petals or 'acanthus' leaves. Trumpet brooches are often highly embellished with enamelled decoration, occasionally in curvilinear 'Celtic' swirls (Hattatt 1982: 40, 104-5; Mackreth 2011:114-5).

County	Headstud	Trumpet
Cambridgeshire	20	28
Norfolk	166	239
Suffolk	139	230
Grand Total	**325**	**497**

Table 18: Headstud and Trumpet brooches by county.

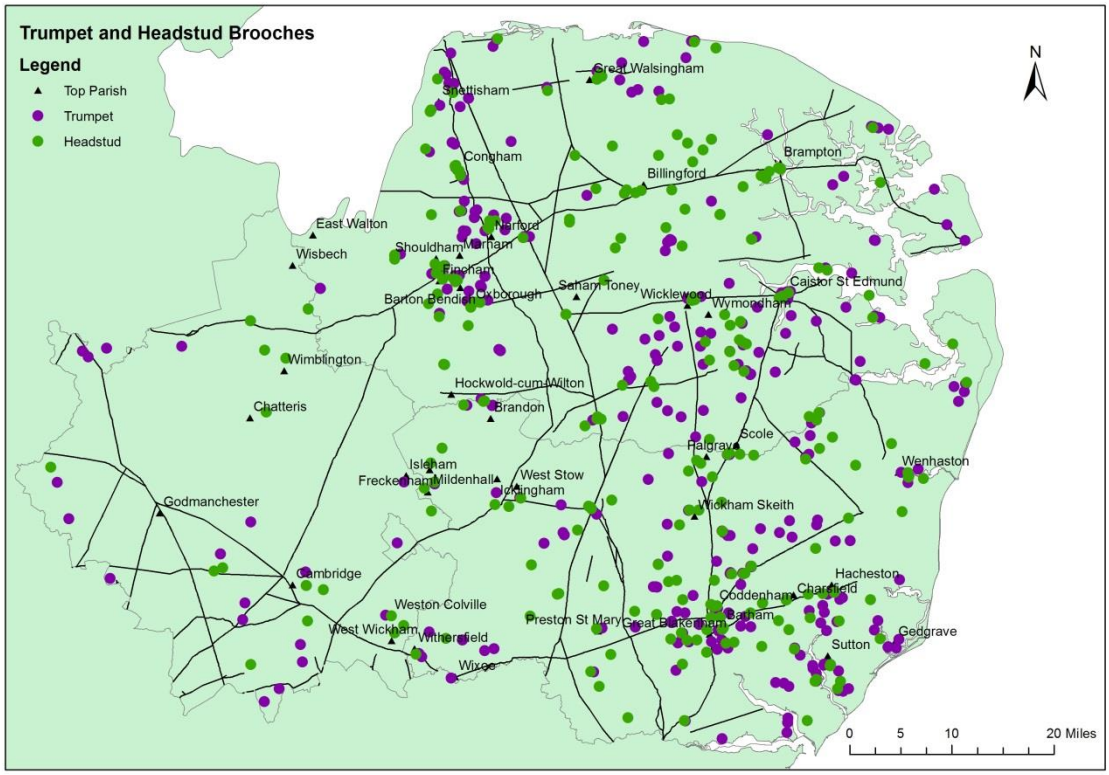


Figure 4.73: Distribution of Trumpet and Headstud brooches (Image: Author).

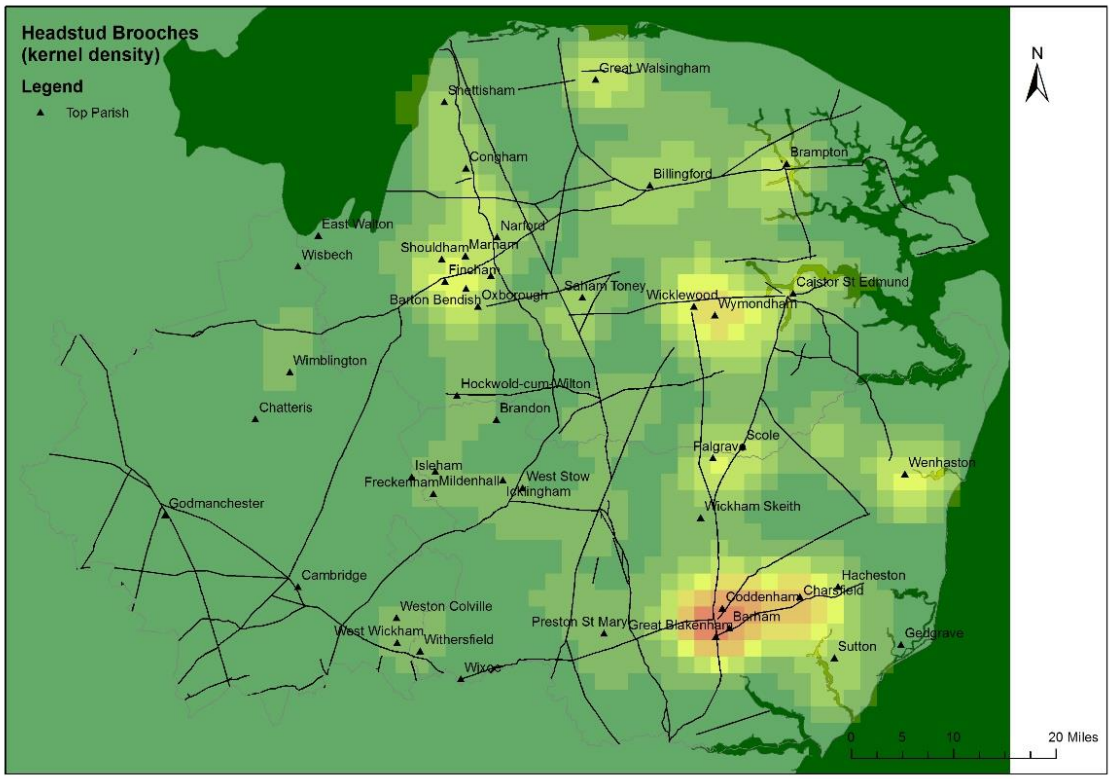


Figure 4.74: Density of Headstud brooches (Image: Author).

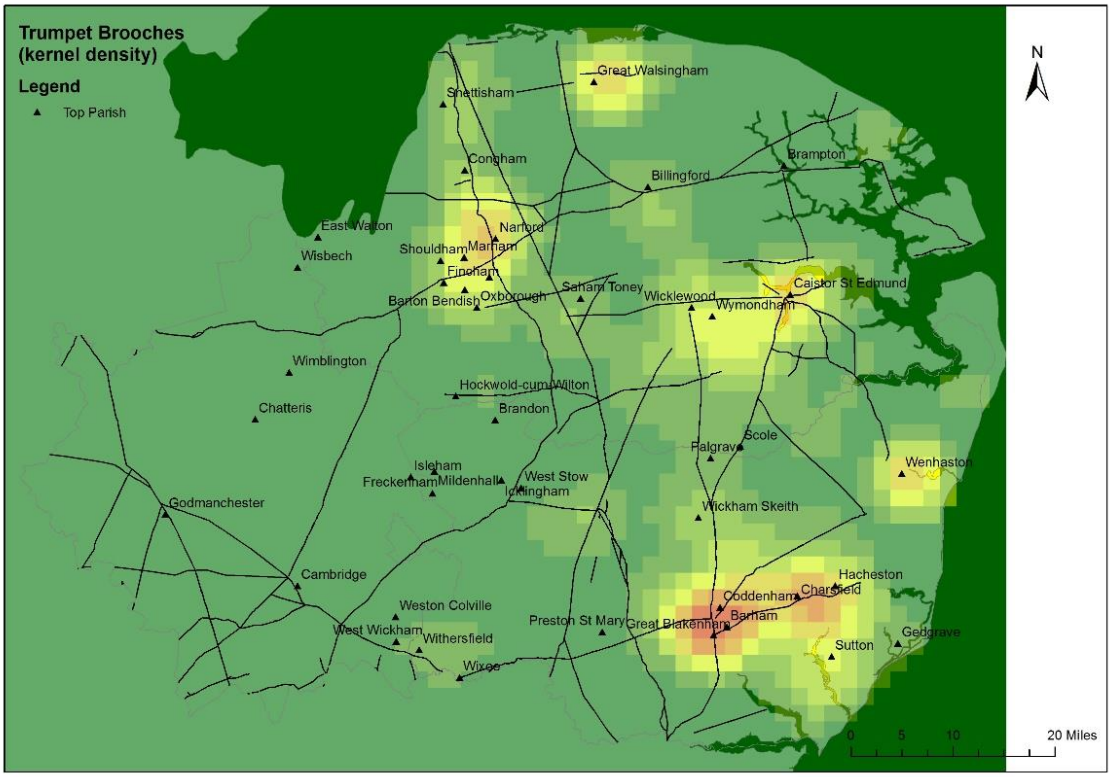


Figure 4.75: Density of Trumpet brooches (Image: Author).

For both Headstud and Trumpet brooches the county figures are similar. Norfolk and Suffolk have roughly equal quantities and as usual Cambridgeshire lags behind (Table 18). Concentrations of both types occur at remarkably similar locations: Caistor St Edmund, Saham Toney, Scole, Walsingham, Wicklewood, Charsfield, Coddenham and Wenhaston (Figure 4.73, Figure 4.74, Figure 4.75). Hacheston and Pakenham have more Trumpets than Headstuds. These are mostly towns, some containing a religious focus. This may demonstrate a preference for wearing more elaborate ornament in urban areas, combined with population densities. Mackreth attributes strong showings of some Trumpet subtypes in Norfolk to recovery bias (2011:116), which Cool and Baxter investigated (2016a, 2016b). The Suffolk figures in my dataset calibrate Mackreth's high numbers from Norfolk, and to some extent contradict this assertion. As with the Polden Hill brooches (Section 4.11.2), there is a shift in emphasis towards the southeast of the region in the later 1st and 2nd centuries CE.

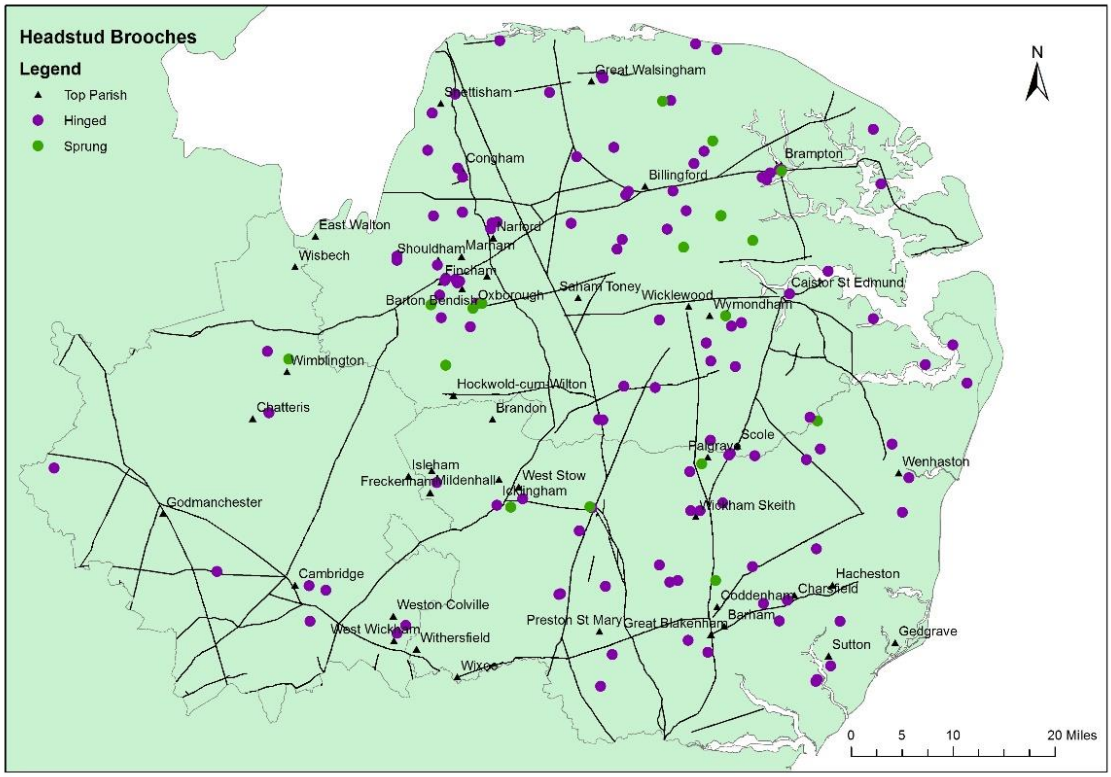


Figure 4.76: Distribution of hinged and sprung Headstud brooches (Image: Author).

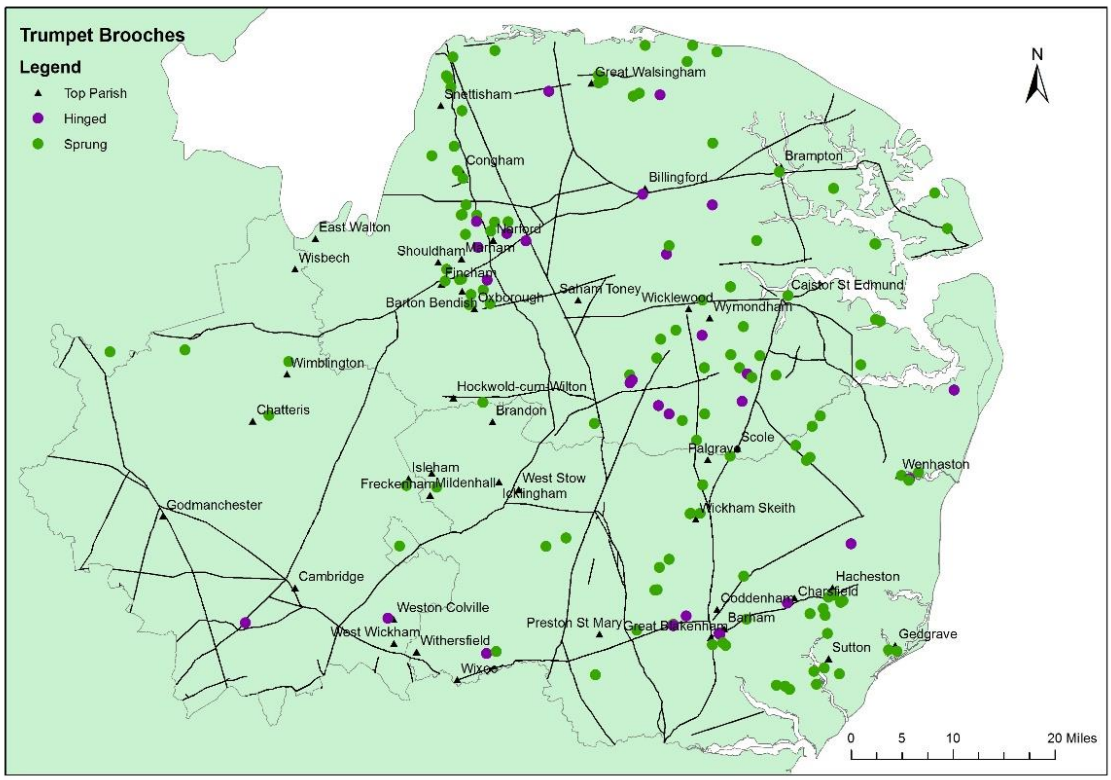


Figure 4.77: Distribution of hinged and sprung Trumpet brooches (Image: Author).

There are some differences: of those which it was possible to identify, approximately 80% of Headstuds are hinged, in contrast to only 20% of Trumpet brooches (Figure 4.76, Figure 4.77). This illustrates an element of choice in the brooches on offer, but it is not one of geographical distinction. It may denote preference in the workshop traditions of the manufacturers of these two types. Headstud brooches may be creolised artefacts, combining indigenous and Roman aesthetics with colourful and ostentatious decoration. They show the decorative shift which is also evident in horse harness, from monochrome curvilinear to geometric polychrome enamelling (Hattatt 1982:74; Webb 2011:13). Trumpet and Aesica brooches seem to retain pre-conquest metalwork styles (MacGregor 1976:124) and do not change to the more symmetrical decorative scheme. This suggests that some metalworkers were adapting their styles based on the prevailing fashions.

Both Headstud and Trumpet brooches often have chain-loops, suggesting they were worn in linked pairs. Cool considers these as gendered artefacts, relating to women's fashion in the later 1st/2nd centuries CE, based on art history and grave goods from elsewhere in the empire. She connects the chain-loops to wearing of a tube dress (the *peplos*) which was pinned at each shoulder. Men only wore a single brooch on one shoulder. Cool regards headloop brooches as a British response to changing costumes and the development of a 'new visual identity' for Romano-British women. Brooches with chain-loops decline (like most brooches) in the mid-late 2nd century CE, which again may reflect shifts in fashion and identity, with women perhaps taking up the Gallic coat (2016:413-5). Although Cool claims there is no precedent for the headloop in the LIA/early Roman period, I would argue that penannular brooches were worn in pairs and this may be a sign of continuing British practices with new material culture. Mackreth also points out that only brooches *found* in pairs should be attributed to women's dress, as single brooches with chain-loops may have been worn to hold a cloak and sewn to the fabric (2011:234-5).

Headstuds and Trumpets also demonstrate the mobility of the settlement pattern. The centres around Fincham and Coddenham are still active, but a

new focus emerges in Norfolk around *Venta Icenorum* and Wicklewood, with the foundation of the *civitas* capital and probable extensions to the road network in this area. The late appearance of *Venta Icenorum* in the brooch densities may have several explanations, least of all because of 'the conservative character of the Iceni' (Atkinson 1932b:42). The absence of early brooches from the town suggests that it was not an *oppidum*, although it is possible there is an unexcavated LIA centre in the vicinity (see Section 4.14.11). The concentrations of Trumpet and plate brooches also fit with the archaeological evidence, which indicates the formal town developed in the late 1st/early 2nd century CE (Bowden 2013:165). There are numerous undated and unpublished brooches from the early excavations which may have skewed this sample.

4.11.5. Zoomorphic



Figure 4.78: (left) 3D enamelled waterbird brooch, Brandon (PAS:SF-F3AFA9) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Bird in flight brooch, South Elmham St Margaret (PAS:SF-058774) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Zoomorphic brooches depict a veritable menagerie, dating *circa* 50-150 CE in Britain, although they can be long-lived. Mammals, avians, insects and denizens of the sea are portrayed. Some zoomorphic brooches are thought to display overt religious messages and may signal devotion to specific deities. Zoomorphic figurines and brooches may have acted as votive replacements for sacrificial animals, or signified the god in animal form. There are British variants with strongly indigenous styling. Some have an eastern distribution, although this may result from metal-detecting bias (Hattatt 1982:158, 160; Mackreth 2011:181-6; Marsden 2012:58-61, 2014:66).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	19
Norfolk	133
Suffolk	154
Grand Total	**306**

Table 19: Zoomorphic brooches by county.

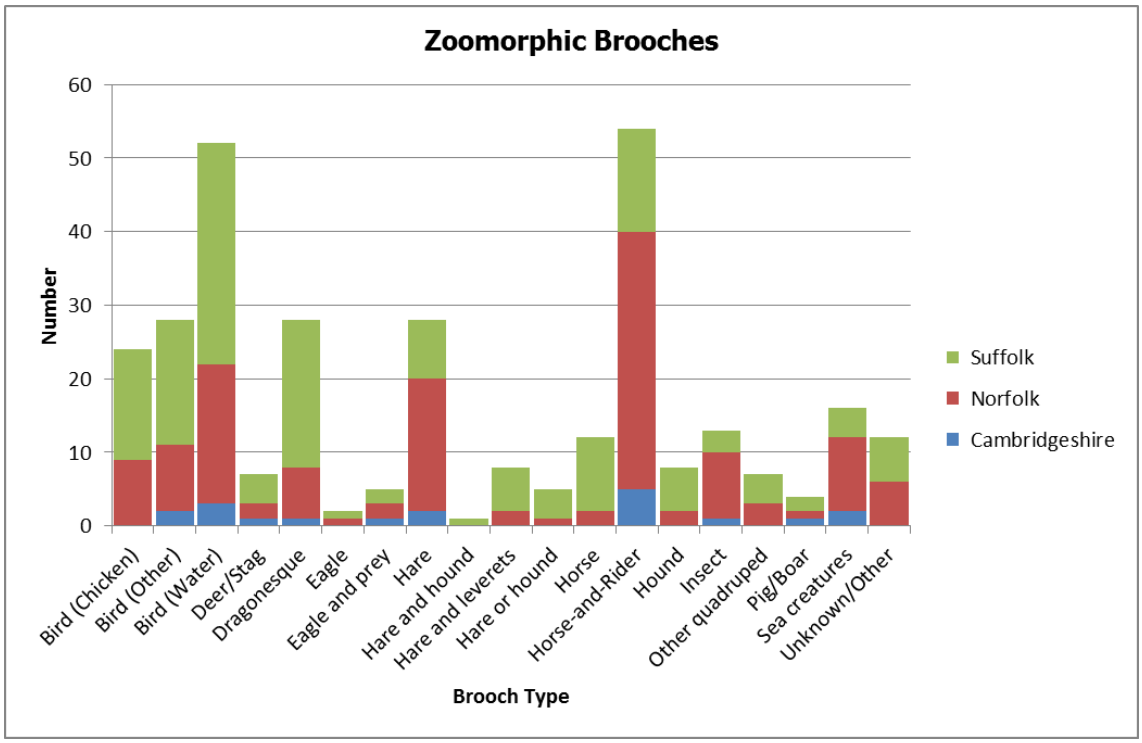


Figure 4.79: Zoomorphic brooches by type and county.

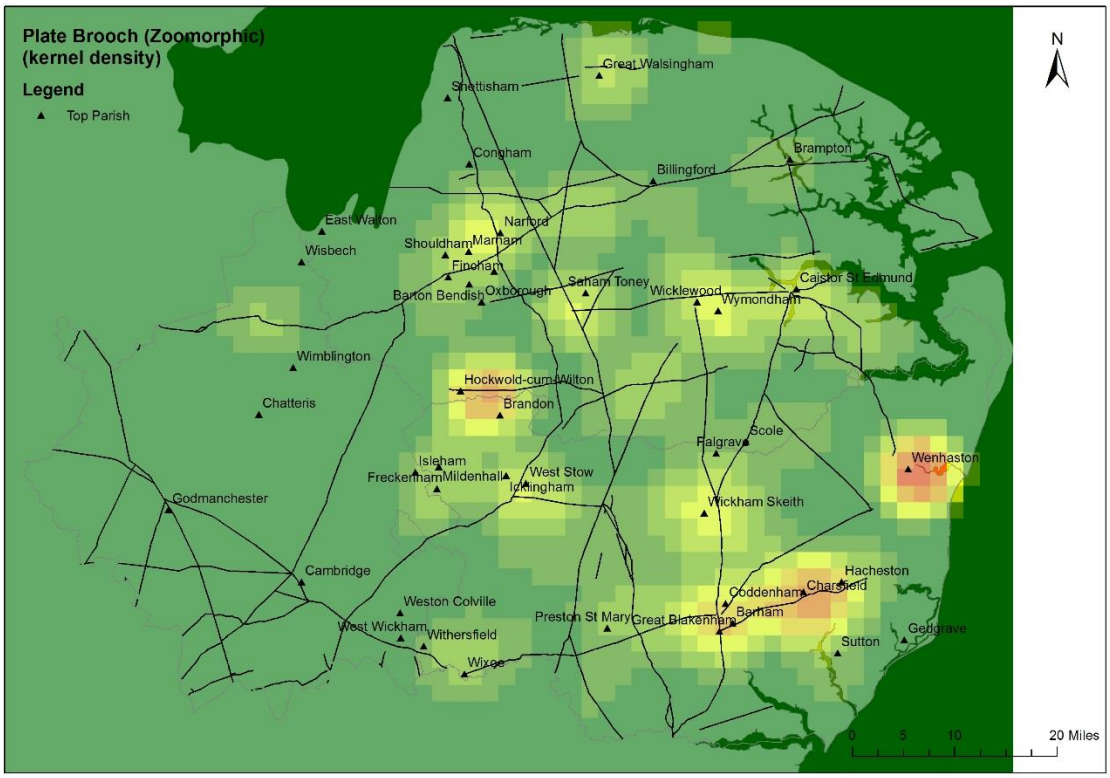


Figure 4.80: Density of all Zoomorphic brooches (Image: Author).

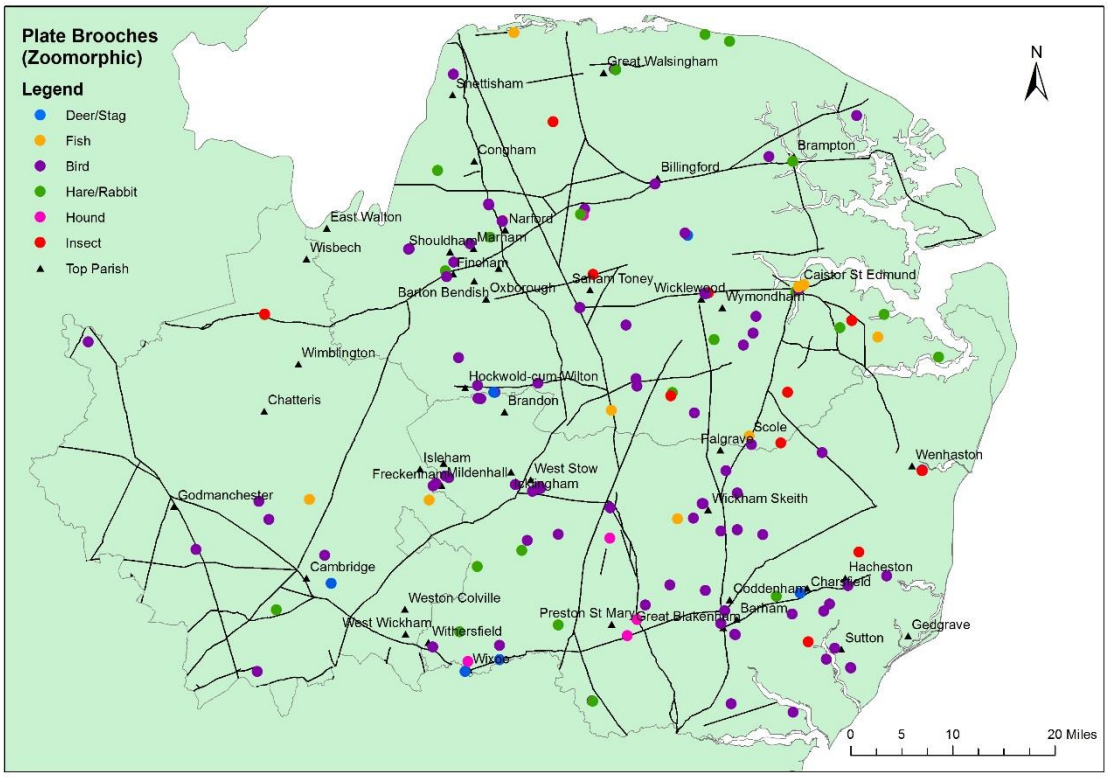


Figure 4.81: Distribution of Zoomorphic brooches by type (Image: Author).

The most frequently represented are birds: ducks, geese, chickens (both hens and cocks), birds of prey and more exotic species. Ducks and cockerels connect the brooches to seal-boxes and cosmetic grinders. Peacocks were associated with the goddess Juno (Toynbee 1973:251), and while cockerels symbolised Mercury (Crummy 2011:66), I would argue that most zoomorphics are not overtly gendered. There are 103 bird brooches from the study zone, including 48 ducks and 20 chickens. They can be depicted swimming, sitting or in flight, sometimes with three-dimensional heads and wings (Figure 4.78). A miscast chicken brooch from Poslingford probably demonstrates local manufacture. The concave underside is filled with fired grey clay, part of the original mould (Figure 4.83). Many of these brooches have a small cast-in loop on the bird's tail for affixing to clothing or chaining in pairs, perhaps suggesting a link to female attire (Cool 2016:413; Johns 1995:107). Johns astutely notes that powerful animals such as rams, bulls and wild boar, often shown in both Roman and British art, rarely feature on brooches (1995:106). This is in clear contrast to cosmetic grinders, for example (Section 9.2). Could this be a distinction based on gender?

There also seem to be rules of fittingness for different species. Ducks show evidence for continuity. Davies includes the duck and swan in his 'Norfolk menagerie' along with iconic creatures like boars and wolves which appear on Icenian coinage (2011a). Waterbirds were especially popular in the eastern counties, on brooches, drinking vessels and cosmetic grinders, although they were not sacred to any known deity (Marsden 2012:60, 2014:66). Along with bulls and dogs, they have links to healing deities and may represent curative aspects (Morrison 2013:228-9). Ducks are modelled on vessels in the Crownthorpe and Santon hoards (Davies 2011a:64-5) (Section 6.10.2; Figure 4.82). Green provides little substantiation for her claims that swans and ducks were associated with 'Celtic' water or solar cults (1976:5, 1978:24).

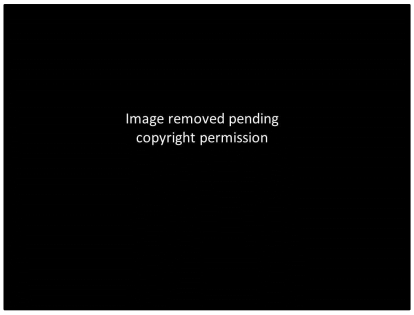


Figure 4.82: One of a pair of pedestal cups with duck terminals, Crownthorpe (NWHCM:1982.464.5).



Figure 4.83: (left) Miscast chicken brooch, Poslingford (PAS:SF-7821E2) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Owl brooch with 'torc', Norfolk (Hattatt 1987:#1154).

A rare owl brooch, with an enamelled 'torc' around its neck, was found at Caistor St Edmund (Gurney 2003:360; NHER:9791), reportedly identical to Hattatt's #1154, also from Norfolk (Figure 4.83). Owls were sacred to Minerva (Toynbee 1973:251), the goddess of wisdom and learning. Wearing a torc or collar may perhaps symbolise the bird's domestication, or the status ascribed to knowledge. Conversely, the collar may simply be a decorative device representing feathers (see Section 8.5.1).

Hare brooches are found across the northern provinces and in south-central Britain. They are usually depicted running or crouching, sometimes with a pair of leverets, reminiscent of the Wolf and Twins or the *Dea Nutrix* with her paired babies (Section 7.7.1). Like the Horse-and-rider brooches, an eastern group is focussed on Norfolk, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, 'suggesting that a hare-deity was worshipped chiefly in those regions' (Crummy 2013:121). This may be an assumption based on Boudica's use of a hare for divination in Dio's account of the rebellion (*Hist. Rom.* 62.6.1). The automatic identification of animals with deities rather than prey or individual beings in their own right is

questionable. Hare brooches have been found at Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Walsingham and the extra-mural temple at *Venta Icenorum*. Hares were sometimes sacrificed at temples and Crummy proposes the brooches are votive substitutes (2013:122).



Figure 4.84: (left) Hare plate brooch, Ousden (PAS:SF-93372E) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Hound plate brooch, Kedington (PAS:SF-FE1338) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).



Figure 4.85: (left) Hound and hare brooch, Wickham Skeith (PAS:SF-B857C1) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Raptor and prey brooch, Worlington (PAS:SF-BAD294) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Hunting and prey-predator scenes were important in Roman art. Dogs were associated with hunter-gods like Diana and Silvanus and as familiars of the healer-god Asclepius. Running hound brooches may depict hunting dogs (Johns 1995:105), famously an export of Britain according to Strabo (*Geog.* 4.5.2). Norfolk and Suffolk have more hares than hounds, although they can be difficult to distinguish (Mackreth 2011:182-3) (Figure 4.84). A single example of the rare 'hound chasing a hare' type is known from Wickham Skeith (Figure 4.85). These are later 1st century CE imports, the theme of predation supposedly having military connotations (Brown PAS:SF-B857C1).

Another predation scene is the raptor devouring its catch, usually identified as an eagle and hare. Eagles were sacred to Jupiter in the Roman cosmology

(Johns 1995:106). Crummy notes a concentration 'among the Iceni' (2013:121). These are not urban finds; some derive from rural sanctuaries. There are five from the study area: Hockwold-cum-Wilton (NWHCM:1961.199.57), Witton (PAS:NMS-116425), Worlington (Figure 4.85), Wetheringsett-cum-Brockford (SHER:WCB048) and Papworth Everard (CHER:SCB21418). The Worlington and Hockwold examples are so similar, they may come from the same mould, and the sprung construction suggests indigenous production (Plouviez PAS:SF-BAD294). There are also two eagle brooches from Braiseworth (PAS:SF-3AB971) and Narford (PAS:NMS-56DB25).

Creatures of the waters, including fish, dolphins and the mythical hippocamp, also feature in this zoomorphic repertoire. Fish are uncommon, with eight of the 12 brooches recorded in Norfolk. Two come from northeast of the *civitas* capital, possibly from near a spring, and a third from the far side of the extra-mural temple. A tentative fourth identification comes from within the town, on a road leading to the temple (Figure 4.86, Figure 4.87, Figure 4.88). Marsden proposes that fish brooches may be related to Neptune (2014:68) who is named on the River Tas *defixio* (Section 7.5.2). Again, I would question the simple association of animals with gods and goddesses. Brooches may have represented part of a complex understanding of living beings and their roles in the natural and spiritual worlds, which were not clearly divided.



Figure 4.86: Fish brooches from Caistor St Edmund, (left) (PAS:NMS-13F7BA) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) (CRT:SF3677) (Image: CRT).



Figure 4.87: Fish brooches from Caistor St Edmund, (left) (PAS:NMS-0596A5) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) (PAS:NMS-A9F35F) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

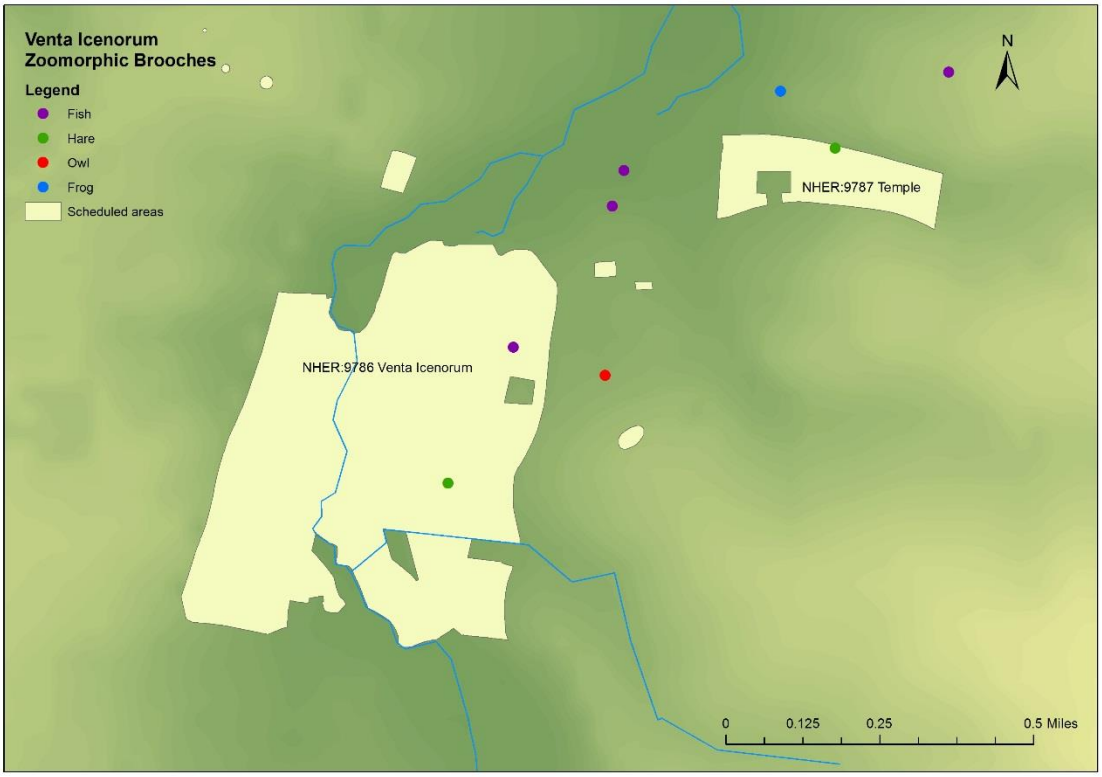


Figure 4.88: Distribution of Zoomorphic brooches around *Venta Icenorum* (Image: Author).

Depictions of animals and predation may also have been related to changes in cuisine. The 'creolisation of food' can be part of the negotiation of identities (Hawkes 1999; Webster 2001:218). Diet is one of the longest-lasting cultural attributes in colonial situations and diasporas, distinguishing locals from newcomers. Fish bones are very rare on Iron Age sites, becoming more common in post-conquest faunal assemblages, particularly on 'higher status' settlements. Taboos against fish-eating, past and present, are widespread. In Iron Age Britain, killing and consumption of symbolically 'wild' or impure creatures may have been culturally proscribed (Dobney and Ervynck 2007).

Disposal of some human remains may have taken place in water; therefore, a sacred/polluted status may explain the lack of fish consumption (Booth and Madgwick 2016; Sykes 2014:65).

Caesar (*BG* 5.11) references a British prohibition on eating hare, chickens and geese. Chickens were popularised as a food item in Britain by Mediterranean incomers (Sykes 2014:84-8). Perhaps a change in diet and everyday exposure to these creatures was absorbed into the artistic lexicon. Wearing a chicken brooch may have been a statement of adherence to the cult of Mercury or a sign of new cuisine. Perhaps making an offering representing an impure animal lifted the taboo of killing and eating them. Hare and rabbit remains are also rare on pre-conquest sites, with little evidence of butchery, and at Romano-British rural sites and small towns, but Crummy found a high incidence in large towns and villas: 'Developing a taste for hare may have been another way in which some Britons became Roman, while others may have continued to regard the animal as taboo' (2013:111-9).

Davies's 'Celtic menagerie' (2011a) was depleted by the time plate brooches became popular in the 2nd century CE. These share a different, more classical, iconography with the animals depicted on intaglio rings, although deities do not appear on brooches. Large, dangerous beasts like wolves, boars and bovids are infrequent. Alongside the Iron Age waterbirds, we now have more representations of chickens and hares. A different preoccupation with prey animals or the domestication of previously wild species is implied (see Sykes 2014:84-91 on the introduction of new edible species). Changes occurred in religious behaviour, diet and the representation of animals. This fusion of old and new, indigenous and imported, indicates that the *civitas* was changing with the times.

4.11.6. Horse-and-Rider



Figure 4.89: Horse-and-rider brooches, (left) Hockwold-cum-Wilton (PAS:NMS-36EA72) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) 'Baton holder' variant, Beeston-with-Bittering (PAS:NMS-B9CE17) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

While zoomorphic plate brooches are common, anthropomorphic representations are incredibly rare. Despite many small *personalia* (such as intaglio rings) depicting the classical pantheon, gods and goddesses never appear on brooches (Johns 1995:104). Perhaps the exception to this rule is the Horse-and-rider. These brooches are widespread across East Anglia and the Midlands (Figure 4.91). Mackreth's Type 2.1 is the standard, usually with the applied white metal trim and bilateral spring denoting British-made brooches. The 'baton-holder' variant depicts the rider grasping an upright staff (2011:181-2) (Figure 4.89). Others portray the horse without its human burden.

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	6
Norfolk	38
Suffolk	24
Grand Total	**68**

Table 20: Horse and Horse-and-rider brooches by county.

There are 68 equine brooches from the *civitas Icenorum* (Table 20). A group of 10 Horse-and-riders comes from the religious complex at Leyland's Farm, Hockwold-cum-Wilton (NHER:5587, NWHCM:1961.199), with another small group from near Crownthorpe temple (NHER:8897/18111). Three Horse-and-rider brooches and a miniature axe were found in a hoard at Grandford (CHER:03936) (see Chapter 7). These finds all evoke ritual usage in the life of these brooches.

One of two very similar Horse-and-riders from Saham Toney (NHER:4697) has its catchplate and pin 'crushed' (Brown 1986:38-9, fig. 25) (Section 4.14.10). There is no evidence of brooch manufacture at Woodcock Hall, but bronze-smelting occurred across the site. About 34% of brooches in Brown's 1986 study had been 'mutilated' - crushed, broken or cut in half. Although this might simply reflect recycling processes, he observed that some pieces were bigger than a standard crucible, and even the smallest brooches were seemingly 'deactivated'. It is tempting here to posit a reading of 'ritual killing' of metalwork which would fit with the deposition of many of the artefacts in water.

Although zoomorphic brooches are generally late 1st/2nd century CE, Horse-and-rider brooches are long-lived, excavated predominantly in 3rd/4th century CE contexts. The short pins and tight fit between pin and plate indicate a display rather than functional role. The social distribution includes temples, small towns and rural settlements (Eckardt 2005:148; Fillery-Travis 2012). An 'internationally significant assemblage' of equine brooches (93 Horse-and-rider and eight horse brooches) was recovered at Bosworth, Leicestershire. A high proportion were 'Baton-holders'. These may represent messengers, symbolically carrying votive communications, or a military association with Mars. Excavations in 2013 revealed a stone-built circular temple, dated 2nd century CE to Late Roman (Scott 2017).

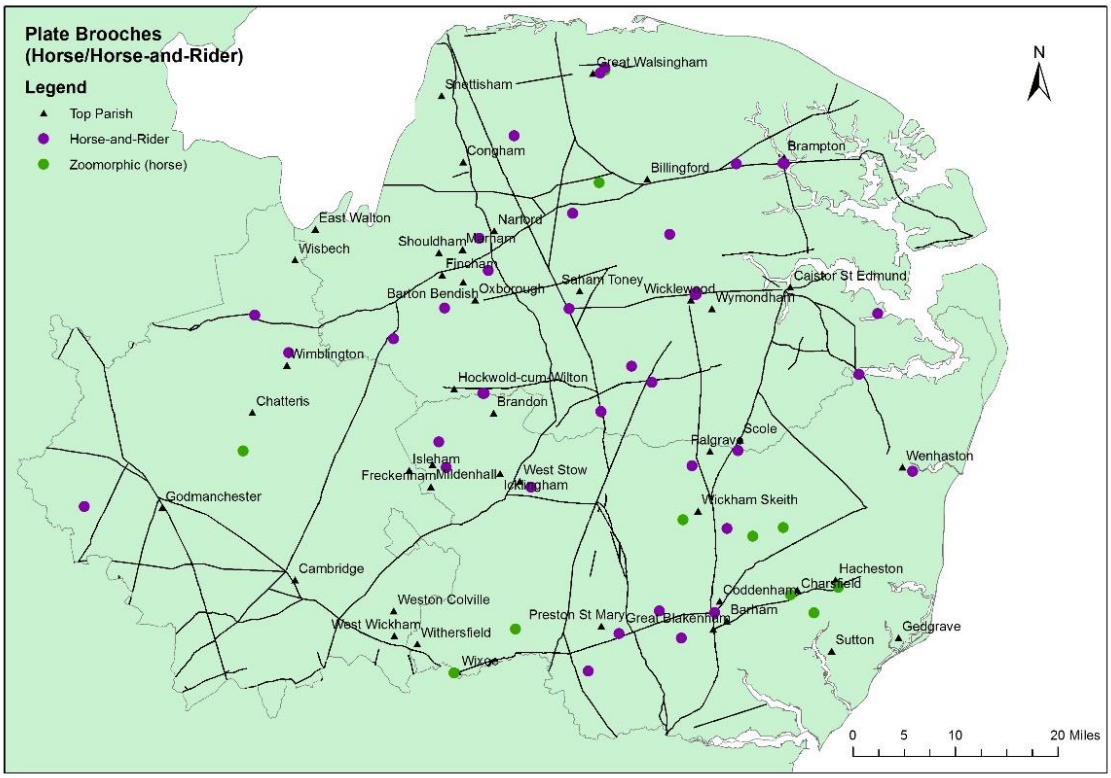


Figure 4.90: Horse-and-rider and Horse brooches (Image: Author).

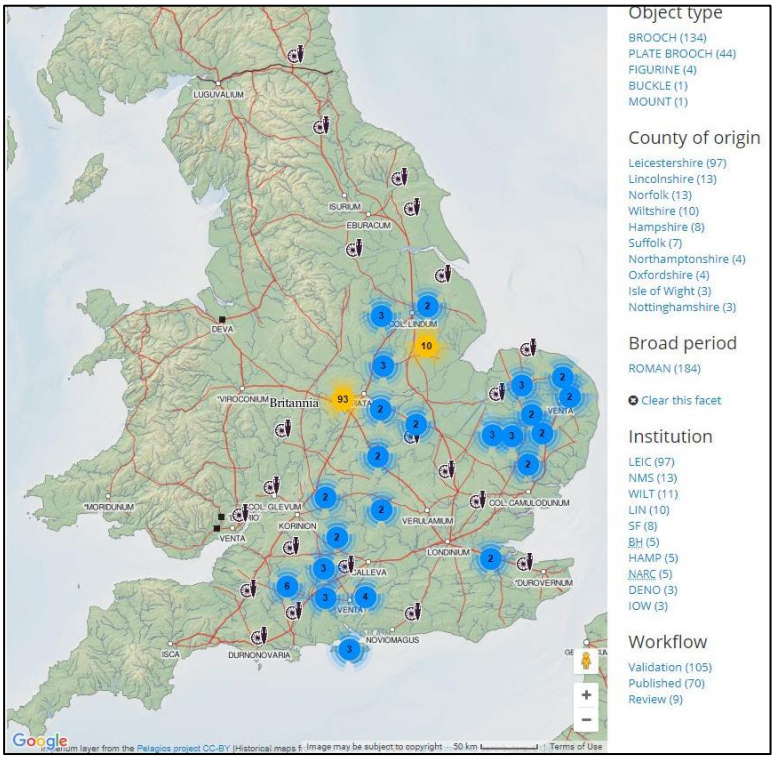


Figure 4.91: Distribution of Horse-and-rider brooches showing peak at Bosworth (Image: PAS).

Riders on horseback are often presumed to portray warriors or hunters. Mackreth links Horse-and-rider, raptor-and-prey and *Adlocutio* brooches to a probable hunter-god cult at religious centres like Cold Kitchen Hill and Hockwold-cum-Wilton (2011:182, 241). The Hockwold brooches are so similar that they were possibly manufactured in the same mould, perhaps specifically for dedication at the temple (Mackreth in Gurney 1986:65-6). The Bosworth brooches are morphologically very diverse, cast in numerous moulds and enamelled with several colour combinations (Figure 4.92).[38] This might suggest that at Bosworth, unlike at Hockwold, people arrived with different brooches from multiple workshops and deposited them together. This is reminiscent of ideas about the multiple authorship of hoards of torcs and harness (Garrow and Gosden 2012; Joy 2016) (Section 5.5, Section 6.10). Alternatively, these could represent different moulds and craftspeople working at the site over decades or even centuries.[39]

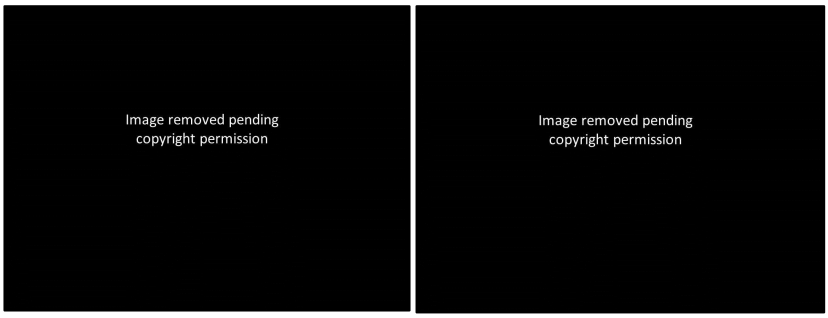


Figure 4.92: (left) Horse-and-rider brooches, Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Gurney 1986:fig. 41); (right) Equine brooches, Bosworth, Leics. (Scott 2017).

Suffolk shows a higher proportion of horse brooches without riders (Suffolk 10, Norfolk 2 and Cambridgeshire 1 uncertain).[40] Unlike the rider types, these do not cluster around temples. Mackreth's emphasis on Norfolk is certainly balanced out by Suffolk in my analysis. He muses whether they reflect two distinct deities or a local horse-breeding economy (2011:182, 241). Norfolk and parts of Suffolk are interpreted as important areas for horse-breeding and training (Davies 2014:31), with concentrations of harness and chariot gear (Chapter 6). Equine figurines from Norfolk may show 'a continued interest in the raising of horses in the Roman period' (Marsden 2014:55).

The horse is not attributed to any Graeco-Roman deity, although Epona is portrayed as a 'Celtic' Mother-Goddess associated with the protection and fertility of horses (Mackintosh 1995:1, 29). Fillery-Travis is sceptical that the figure on the brooches is Epona, as the iconography is not considered female (2012:141) and besides, she is very rarely represented in Britannia (Mackintosh 1995:30-1). I would argue the riders are ambiguously gendered, though some have indistinct facial markings which could denote beards. Johns makes a tenuous connection with an indigenous version of the war-god Mars, allied to agricultural fertility (1995:105; Scott 2017). Mars is not a commonly represented god in East Anglia, which fits with evidence for the light garrisoning of Roman Norfolk (Marsden 2012:57) (Section 4.9). The military iconography is questionable and the horse itself is clearly of importance (Fillery-Travis 2012:142-3).

Horse and eagle brooches are often identified as badges of identity signalling affiliation to a 'provincial Rider-god', syncretised with Jupiter (Crummy 2011:61, 2013:122; Fillery-Travis 2012:135-41; Johns 1995:105; Mackintosh 1995:20; Marsden 2014:66-7). This points to an over-reliance on Green's outdated interpretations. Green links horse and wheel symbols on Iron Age coins to figurines of the supposed Gaulish wheel-god Taranis, associating the horse with the god, thereby the 'Divine Rider' (1976:9, 30; 1984:40-1). Evidence for connecting this god with Taranis is 'meagre and problematical', although a mounted Jupiter is a possible candidate for the figurines (Mackintosh 1995:21).

British horseman brooches have no continental parallels or associations with any known deity, neither are they found with bronze rider figurines (Mackintosh 1995:17), which are largely restricted to Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and south Lincolnshire. Marsden is unenamoured of the idea they were worn as pilgrim badges, as Johns suggests (1996b:174), or any of the proposed identifications for the deity, simply noting the character's popularity across the Midlands and eastern England (2014:66-7). I would champion Marsden's archaeology-first view, rather than trying to fit the artefacts into the available pantheon. Horse-ownership or riding skill may have

been more significant than any divine personification. Stereotypes that men (or male gods) are always war-like and women are forever associated with fertility, even that of animals in the case of Epona, still need to be challenged. The Horse-and-rider brooches may equally have been offerings given for luck during a rite of passage, or even a contest, for young horses and their riders.

The discovery of a new focus of religious and manufacturing activity at Bosworth changes our understanding of Horse-and-rider brooches. Their distribution and deposition around votive *foci* is linked to personal dedicatory practices (Fillery-Travis 2012:135-41). The popularity of rider brooches and the absence of figurines in Norfolk may also imply regional discrepancy in devotional practice. Like the hare brooches (Section 4.11.5), the distribution stretches from Leicestershire, across Lincolnshire, into Norfolk, perhaps indicating a shift in the contemporary connections of the *civitas*.

4.12. What is the evidence for cultural resistance?

In this section, I consider the evidence for cultural resistance through brooches. Which Iron Age cultural identifiers (Davies 2011b:104) show continuity into the client-kingdom and beyond? This includes the selectivity of materials – the choice of metals, colours and enamelling; aesthetics and the importance of decoration; ritual behaviour and votive deposition; and the role of display.

4.12.1. Plate Brooches



Figure 4.93: (left) Enamelled umbonate plate brooch, Worlington (PAS:JP7277) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Disc brooch with triskele, Walsingham (PAS:NMS-974487) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

One of the significant differences between bow and plate brooches is the amount of fabric which could be held behind the pin. Pierced catchplates on

bow brooches could also have been sewn onto the cloth for added security. Plate brooches would have been of limited use to fasten thick cloth and were probably worn for their decorative effect, more like badges than buttons (Johns 1995:103). Despite this, their votive deposition implies they embodied more than simple ornament. Mackreth proposes that lightweight brooches were less suitable for ordinary working people, perhaps shedding light on class differences (2011:235). I would add that this may be evidence for the start of changes in everyday attire which eventually resulted in the abandonment of brooches (Section 4.13).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	134
Norfolk	728
Suffolk	714
Grand Total	**1576**

Table 21: Plate brooches by county.

Plate brooches are one of the most common types in my database, around 14% of the total (Table 21). They may be preferentially recovered by metal-detectorists given their large surface area, as long as they are orientated suitably in the ground. There are roughly equal numbers from Norfolk and Suffolk, with few from Cambridgeshire and the Fens, which fits the general trend throughout (Figure 4.94, Figure 4.95). Concentrations occur at Saham Toney (44), Wicklewood (38), Charsfield (35), Coddenham (46) and Hacheston (44). Walsingham (35%) and Hockwold (55%) have a disproportionate number of plate brooches. Caistor St Edmund, Stonea (Wimblington) and Wenhaston all have 20% plate brooches. Many of these are small towns with religious *foci* and early-mid Roman occupation (see Case Studies Section 4.14). Mackreth frequently notes a heavy bias towards East Anglia in his plate brooches, due to historic issues with data collection policy (e.g. 2011:168). A view of the PAS distribution suggests that this issue resolves itself when compared to the metal-detected finds (Figure 4.96).

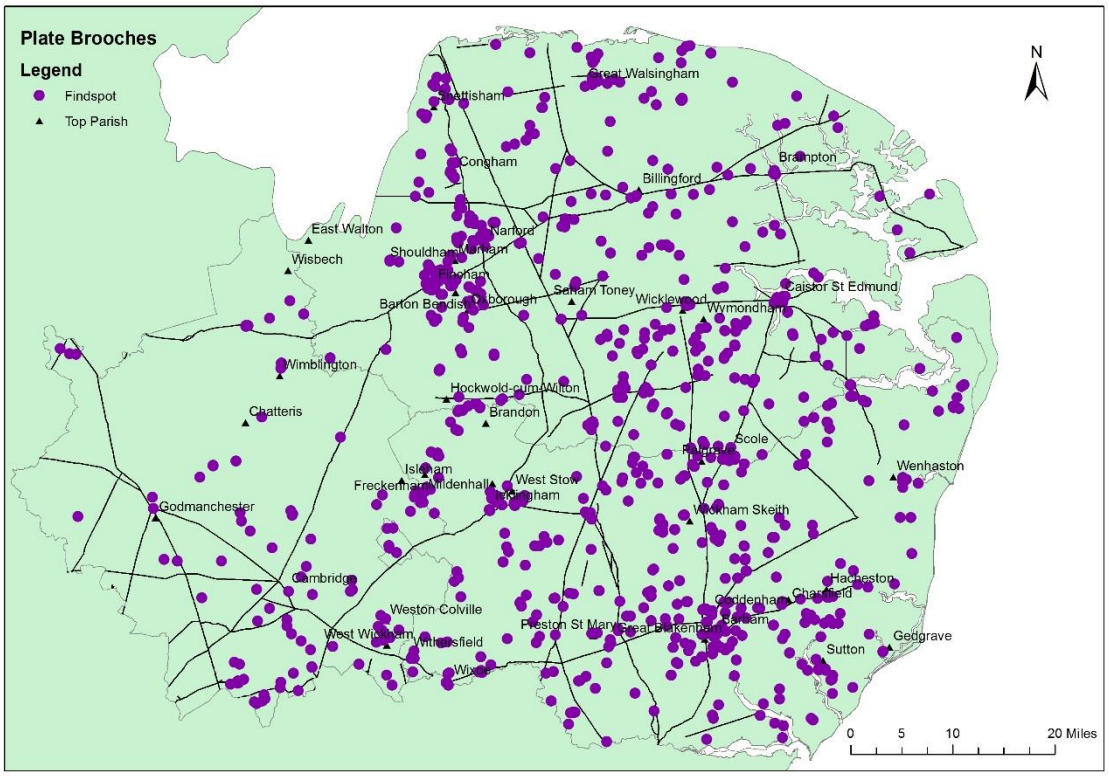


Figure 4.94: Distribution of all plate brooches (Image: Author).

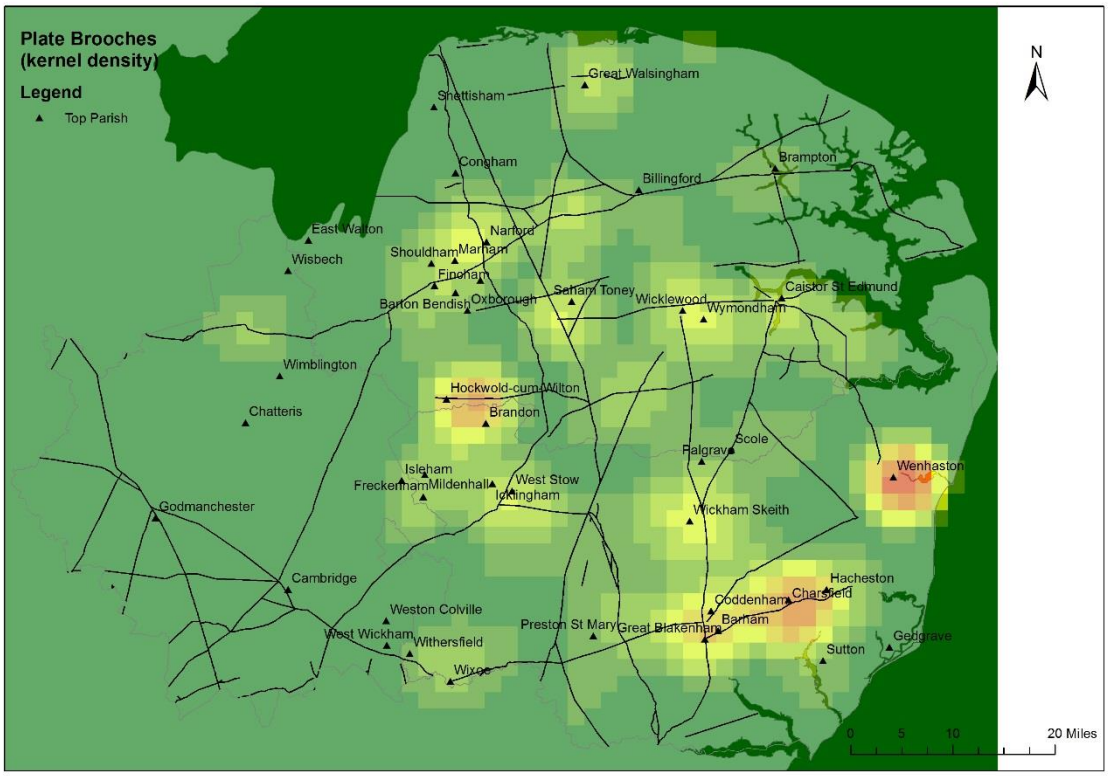


Figure 4.95: Density of all plate brooches (Image: Author).

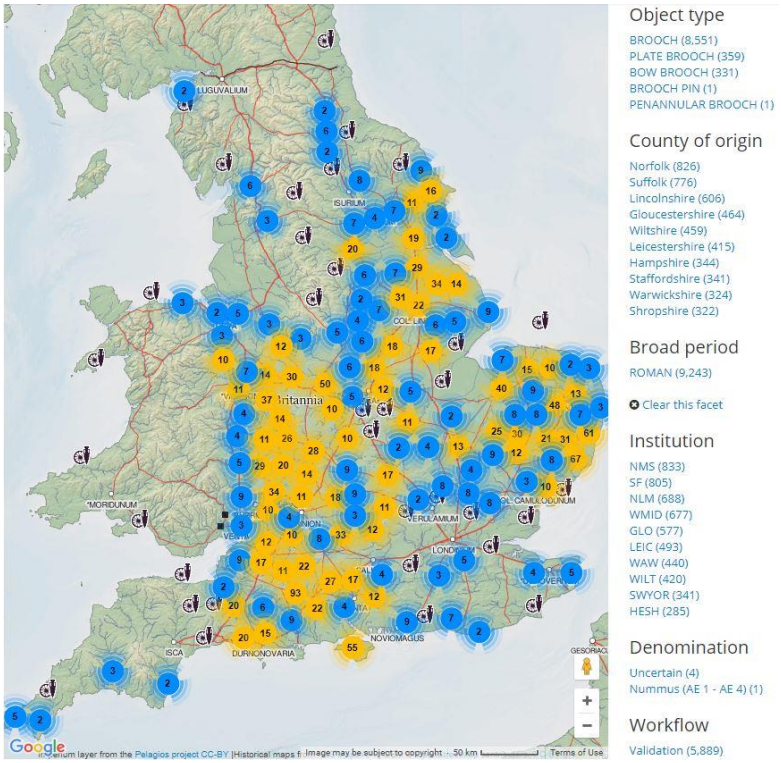


Figure 4.96: Distribution of Plate brooches (Image: PAS).

Plate brooches (Figure 4.93) in Britain can be pre-conquest, although most are mid-1st/2nd centuries CE. The early types are simple, unenamelled discs often with repoussé decoration, followed by *lunular* or flat enamelled discs (Figure 4.97). Plates are ordinarily hinged and later examples are often elaborately enamelled or gilded. Mackreth divides the numerous plate brooches into imported and indigenous types. Continental workshops rarely used the sprung pin, unlike the British manufactories. Some types of brooches are found, by this logic, to have been made both in Britain and abroad, such as sandal-sole brooches (Hattatt 1982:148; Mackreth 2011:154-80) (Section 4.12.4).

4.12.2. Disc Brooches



Figure 4.97: (left) Disc brooch with enamelled 'cogwheel' decoration, Weybourne (PAS:NMS-A33796) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (centre) Modified Disc brooch, Dalham (PAS:SF-35BA47) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) '*Adlocutio*' disc brooch, Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Gurney 1986:fig. 41.10).

Disc brooches come in a wide variety of shapes and designs. These are particularly difficult to quantify as similar types are often recorded under several names. The earliest flat, circular brooches are mid-late 1st century CE. The 2nd century CE types have lugged projections (Hattatt 1982:137). The 'glass centre boss' brooches, which are often gilded, date from the late 2nd-4th century CE and are mostly outside the remit of this study. These have concentrations in Wiltshire and Lincolnshire and do not have especially high numbers in East Anglia on the PAS.

Approximately a third of plate brooches are described as discs (Table 22). Like the overall plate brooch distribution, they cluster around urban areas and temples: Wimblington (12), Walsingham (30), Saham Toney (15), Hacheston (17), Wenhaston (36) and Hockwold-cum-Wilton (13). Disc brooches were particularly suited to being repurposed as votive offerings and pierced examples are sometimes found from shrines (Figure 7.2; Section 7.4). Walsingham and Wenhaston show particular hotspots (Figure 4.98, Figure 4.99). Most from Wenhaston are the flat enamelled type characteristic of the 2nd century CE.

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	69
Norfolk	254
Suffolk	272
Grand Total	**595**

Table 22: Disc brooches by county.

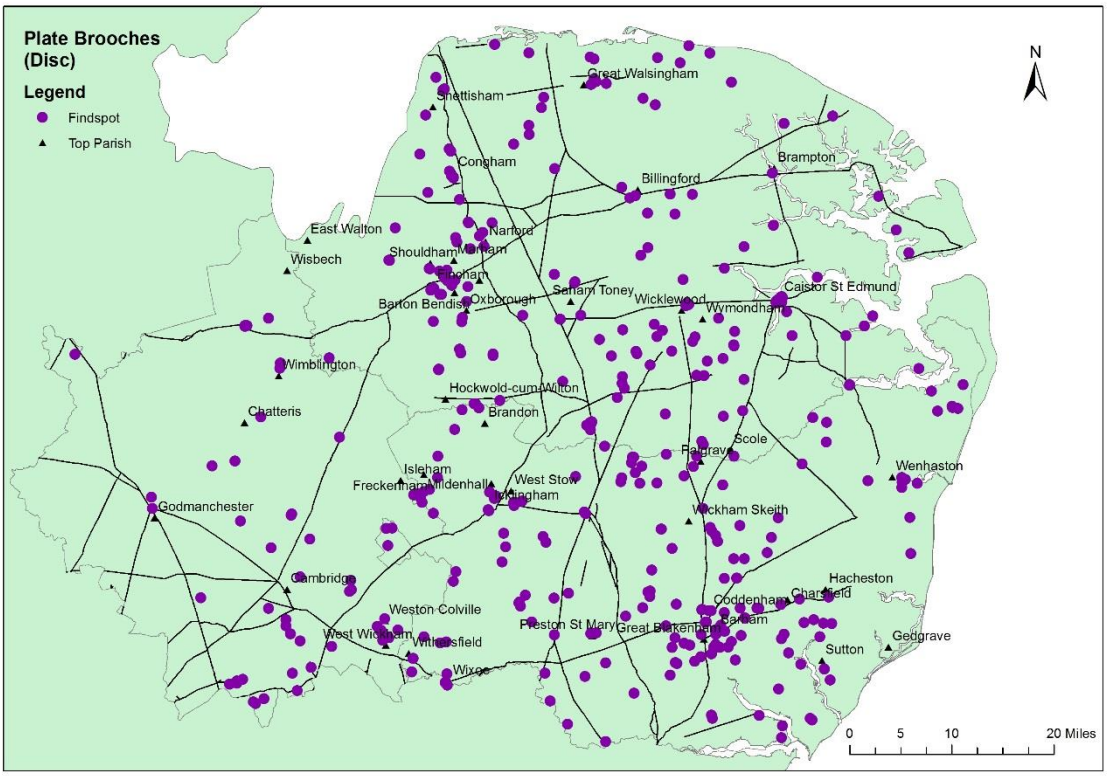


Figure 4.98: Distribution of Disc brooches (Image: Author).

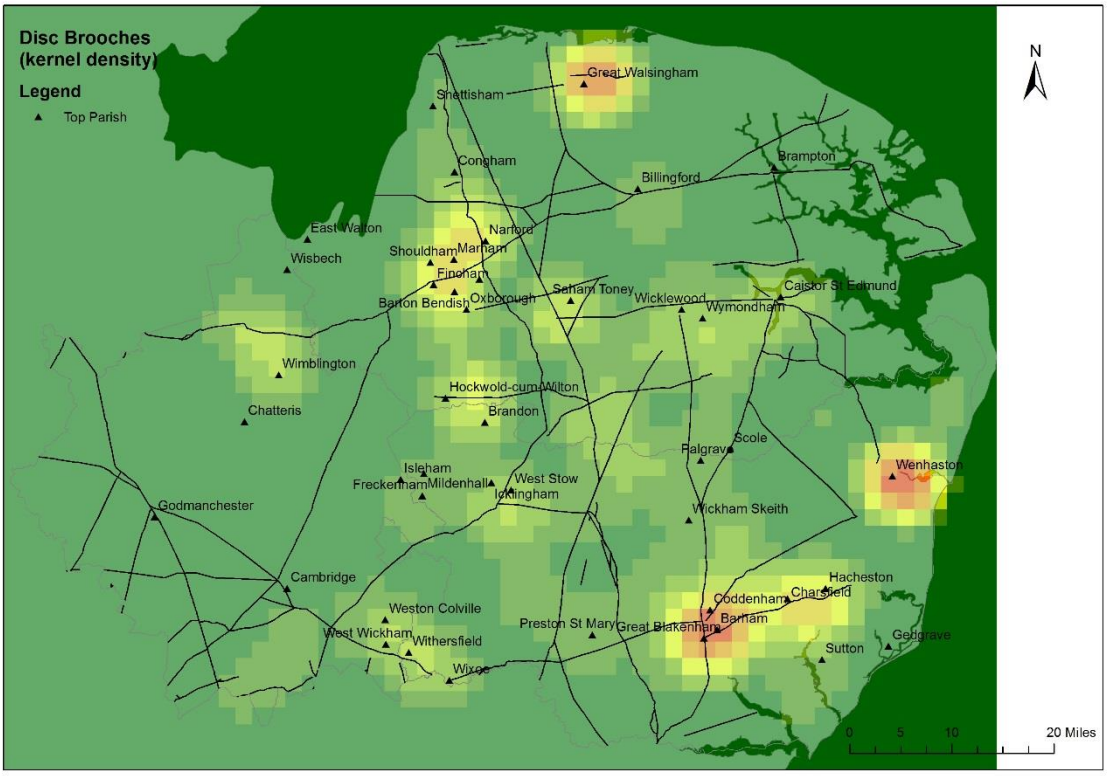


Figure 4.99: Density of Disc brooches (Image: Author).

Why was it important to have brightly-coloured ornaments at this time? The colourful, circular designs on many disc brooches could be argued to be apotropaic. There is a decorative connection between seal-boxes, harness, and plate brooches. Paites tentatively suggests that domed variants (umbonates) may be associated with women, or feminine attire more generally (2016:20), as they regularly have chain-loops. The emphasis on gender and religious identities in the 2nd century CE seems to outweigh any ethnic or class considerations.

There are ten examples of '*Adlocutio*' disc brooches, which have applied repoussé images depicting riders, soldiers and an eagle, based upon a coin of Hadrian, giving a *terminus post quem* of 134 CE (Figure 4.97). Seven of these were recovered from Hockwold (Mackreth in Gurney 1986:64-6; NHER:5587). These, combined with the Horse-and-rider brooches and a raptor-and-prey type, led Gurney to draw parallels with another possible temple at Lackford. He suggests their predominance at religious sites makes it likely that they were priestly regalia, worn at the shrine as 'badges of office' possibly related to the cult of Mars. He also considers that brooches may be apotropaic, souvenir or cult emblems and observes that, as pilgrim badges, they would have moved away from temples to settlements (1986:89-90). I am wary of the idea of priestly badges, but there is clearly a connection between these offerings of *Adlocutio* brooches and the coins which inspired them. Many Late Roman coins are found at temple sites, which may indicate that changes in deposition culture occurred, although the sacredness of the place remained. The ritualisation of plate brooches suggests a continuity of votive behaviour with new belongings.

4.12.3. Dragonesque



Figure 4.100: (left) Dragonesque brooch, Wetheringsett-cum-Brockford (PAS:SF-ACBAE6) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (centre) Dragonesque brooch, Wereham (PAS:NMS-F13683) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Dragonesque brooch, Lakenheath (PAS:SF5191) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Dragonesques are one of the earlier enamelled British brooches, probably originating in Yorkshire. Mackreth suggests 'an intimate economic link' between East Anglia, Lincolnshire and parts north of the Humber (2011:186-8). British Dragonesques are sometimes found overseas (Ivleva 2016:15). They are a post-conquest variety (50-150 CE) which was highly-visible and distinctive in decoration, fusing the La Tène style with a Roman plate brooch and a wraparound pin similar to penannulars (Figure 4.100). The name derives from the opposing zoomorphic terminals, which might represent horses, dragons or mythical beasts. These brooches are often described as distinctively 'Celtic' or British in design, although there are no known pre-conquest examples (Croom 2004:290; Hattatt 1982:30, 1985:171; Jundi and Hill 1997).

A total of 29 Dragonesque brooches was recorded: Suffolk (20), Norfolk (8) and Cambridgeshire (1) (Figure 4.101). They follow the focus of other plate brooches on Suffolk. There are two apiece from Coddenham and Hacheston and another two from Saham Toney, including an unusual 'reversed S' variant (NHER:4697). Votive deposition has been considered as Dragonesques have been found in several caves (Eckardt 2014:132; Jundi and Hill 1997:131-4), although there are none obviously from shrines in my dataset and the lack of Dragonesques from Walsingham is worthy of note.

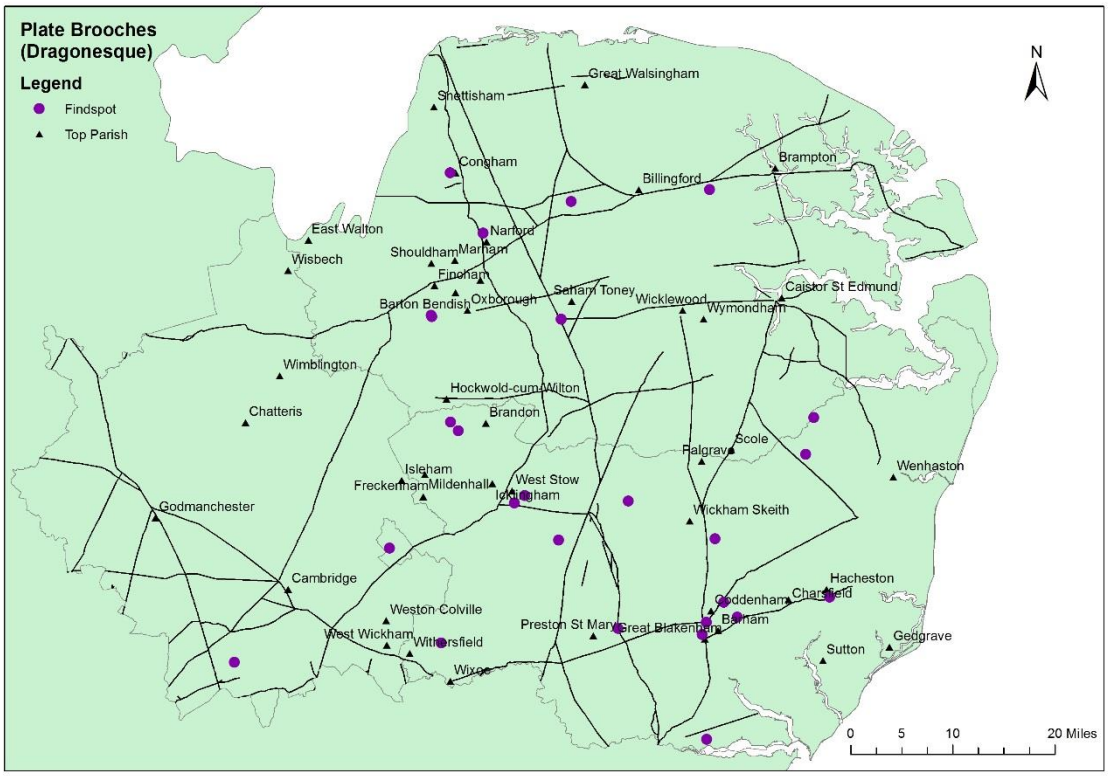


Figure 4.101: Distribution of Dragonesque brooches (Image: Author).

Dragonesques follow the changing decorative fashions in horse harness, seal-boxes and other plate brooches: starting with unenamelled curvilinear and circular motifs, then single rows of enamelled squares and triangles, and finally panels of geometric squares and lozenges, recalling the harness mount from Saham Toney (MacGregor 1976:127, 129) (Figure 4.100). Dragonesques may reflect the hybridisation of a restricted local type into the wider plate brooch design scheme. This could derive from the integration of different groups of people or the appropriation of styles and fashions between groups (Croom 2004:290; Webb 2011:13). These brooches may have been used to express a non-verbal, anti-Roman message by those experiencing a loss of autonomy after the conquest (Jundi and Hill 1997; Ross 2011:74). The lack of Dragonesques in Norfolk and from shrines shows regional discrepancies. It implies that their indigenous, northern origins and potential 'hidden transcripts' may have been less significant to people in this area than their colourful aesthetic.

4.12.4. Skeuomorphic



Figure 4.102: (left) Axe brooch, West Stow (PAS:SF-042714) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Axe brooch, Crownthorpe (NWHCM:1985.380.1).

Figurative plate brooches, including zoomorphic and skeuomorphic types, are frequent in East Anglia (Plouviez 2008:173, 178). I would clarify this with a particular focus on Suffolk. Concentrations on religious sites include Horse-and-rider, sandal-sole and axehead types (Bird 2011:288). Other skeuomorphic variants include shields, tools and lamps.

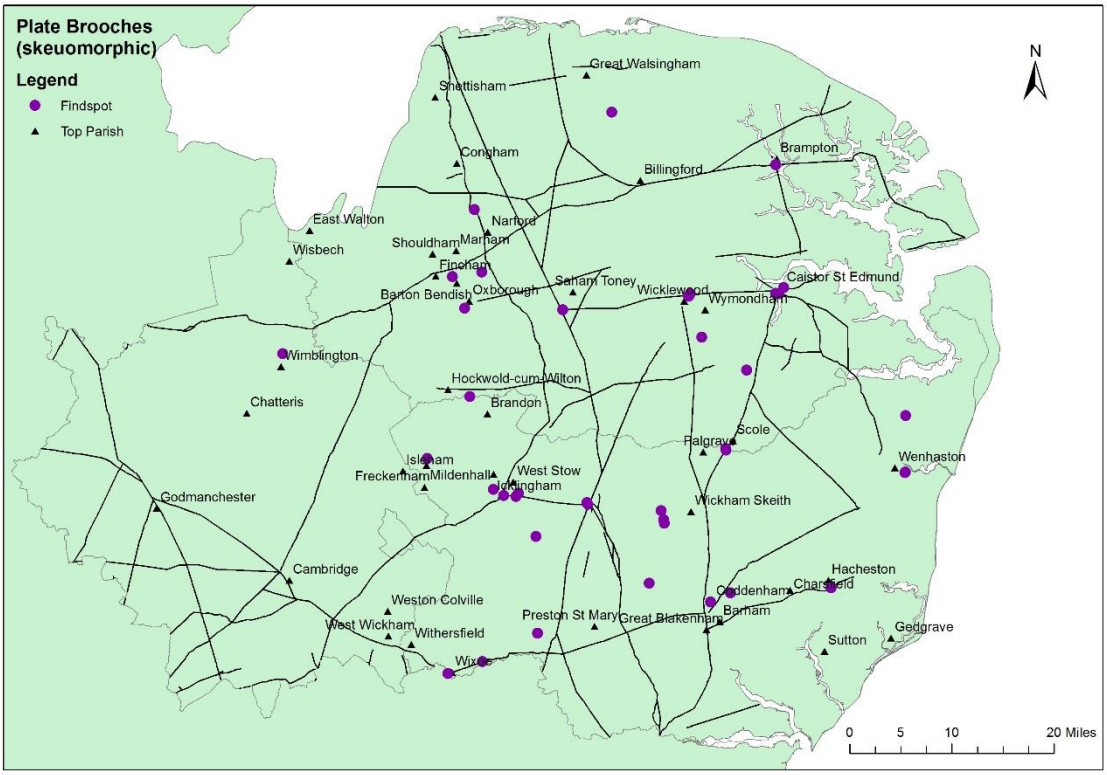


Figure 4.103: Distribution of all Skeuomorphic brooches (Image: Author).

I recorded nine axe brooches, eight from Suffolk and one from Norfolk. All enamelled ones have bilateral springs mounted between pair of pierced lugs (Mackreth 2011:179-80, Type 1.2a), suggesting British manufacture. Miniature

axes are also most common in south Norfolk and Suffolk (Section 7.6.2). Kiernan claims axe brooches are most frequently found on military sites, proposing a tenuous link between axe and Horse-and-rider brooches and the cult of Sabazius, a Phrygian Rider-god (2009:121) (Section 4.11.6). The military link does not hold true for the *civitas Icenorum*, although the votive example may have merit. Two brooches are so similar they could have been made in the same mould (Figure 4.102). One comes from Crownthorpe temple, the other from the same field in West Stow as the hoard of 'priestly regalia' which also contained votive leaf plaques, headdresses and staff terminals (Worrell *et al.* 2011). The parish, on the borders of Lackford, where the Cavenham crowns were discovered, also has a miniature bronze axe, a Dragonesque brooch and two sandal-sole brooches.

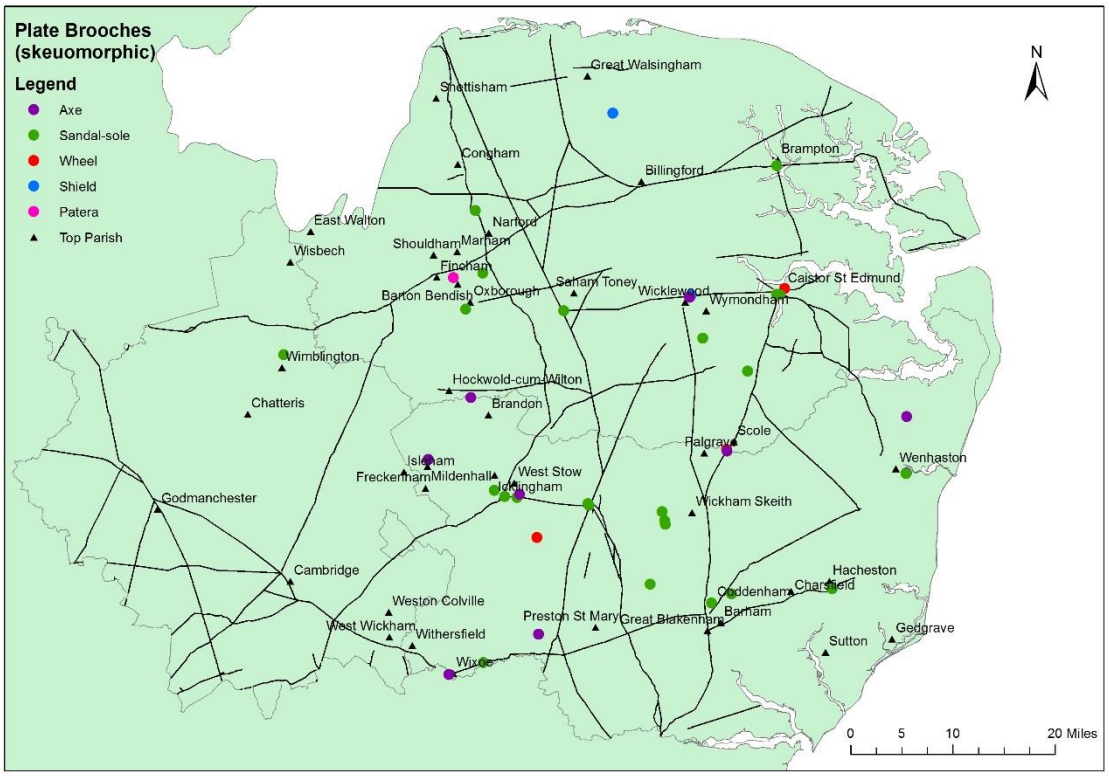


Figure 4.104: Distribution of Skeuomorphic brooches by type (Image: Author).

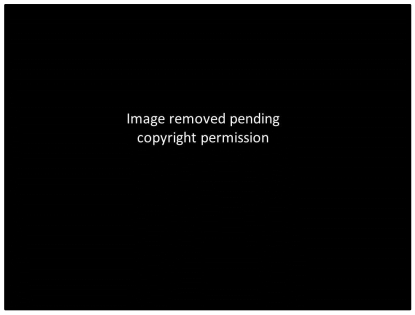


Figure 4.105: Skeuomorphic 'sandal-sole' brooch, Brampton (NMS:L1975.16.11).

Hinged 'sandal-sole' brooches are the most common skeuomorphic brooches in Roman Britain (Figure 4.105). They represent the underside of a shoe, usually with enamelled 'hobnails', and sometimes a chain-loop. There are 17 from Suffolk, 12 from Norfolk and just one from Cambridgeshire (Figure 4.104). Three shoe brooches from the fields surrounding *Venta Icenorum* include one recorded as a 'double sandal-sole'. A further three are known from Hacheston, with two each from Pakenham and Wenhaston. This corroborates Statton's assertion that they are more frequently found in urban areas (2016:146).

Sandal-soles are an imported variety, ranging across the northwest provinces. Bilaterally-sprung examples show occasional British production. The earliest, non-enamelled varieties date to the mid-1st century CE. Eckardt (2013) found no clear preference for depicting the left or right foot and there were none from gendered grave contexts, although the chain-loop may indicate female dress (Hattatt 1985:170; Mackreth 2011:179). Cool observes that women become more visible in the later 1st century CE (2016:413). Gender identities may have become more clearly delineated through material culture.

Crummy's observation that sandal-sole brooches are sometimes bent, giving them a votive interpretation, is plausible, but unproven. She discusses the symbolism of the sandal and its possible relationship to Mercury/Hermes and his winged footwear (2007a:226-7). The lack of wings is problematic, and I remain unconvinced by her examples. Brooch-makers were more than capable of depicting a winged shoe in profile. Johns proposes a connection with safe travel and pilgrimage (1995:107). Miniature votive feet and legs have been found (Section 7.6.6). Eckardt concludes that shoe symbolism was apotropaic,

brooches functioning 'perhaps to commemorate particular journeys or to ensure safe passage through life' (2013:217, 230). Shoes are considered protective in much later domestic ritual practices around the world (Hukantaival 2007). Johns suspects many figurative representations, as today, derived from popular culture, well-known games or proverbs (1995:104). This could equally apply to the hares and even the Horse-and-rider brooches.

4.12.5. Discussion

According to Hattatt, enamelled plate brooches show a strong Roman influence and a lack of 'Celtic' designs (1982:136), although this does not account for the triskele motifs and Dragonesques. As discussed elsewhere (Chapter 6), British-made plate brooches show many similarities with decoration on horse harness (Crummy 2011:58). There is a new emphasis on multicoloured surfaces and symmetrical, contrasting ornamentation (Garrow and Gosden 2012:29). The concentration of some plate brooches away from the main LIA centres of population in Norfolk (Figure 4.95) may reflect a general rejection of the identities and votive behaviours associated with these badge-like ornaments. The *foci* at temples and small towns with 2nd century CE foundations like *Venta Icenorum* and Stonea (Malim 2005:52) demonstrate chronological differences.

Wearing a plate or bow brooch had implications which could affect displayed identity. They had a practical influence on what sort of cloth could be worn and presented new possibilities for design and symbolism. Plates did not replace bow brooches, but coexisted with the Trumpet and Headstud types. Plate brooches peak in popularity and then start to fade out in the late 2nd/3rd century CE. The military continued to use the bow brooch right through into the 4th CE, which suggests its practical function as a fastener was still a consideration. They must be significant of a change in lifestyle, clothing or iconography. Did they signal different political allegiances or religious beliefs? Some people in the region were creating new religious identities for themselves. However, 50 plus years after the Boudican revolt, did people still remember or care about their pre-Roman identities or had new religious allegiances and familial ties been forged?

4.13. The *Fibula* Abandonment Horizon



Figure 4.106: (left) Gold Crossbow brooch, Gunthorpe (PAS:NMS-E7D6B7) (Image: BM/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Gilded glass centre boss brooch, Ashbocking (PAS:SF-CE17C0) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

After about 150 CE, bow and plate brooches begin to fade from the record, and once into the 3rd century CE, a very restricted range of brooch types is being worn, or at least deposited. These include the descendants of Knee and Disc brooches, which are beyond the range of this research, dating to the 3rd/4th centuries CE (Hattatt 1982:42) (Figure 4.106). This '*fibula* abandonment horizon' is unexplained (Cool and Baxter 2016a:94-5; Mackreth 2011:236). Mackreth relates the sudden decline to a sumptuary law which dictated who could wear brooches and/or gilded jewellery (2011:237). Cool notes a restriction on wearing gold jewellery to Equestrian status and above in Roman laws under Tiberius (1983:15; based on Pliny *NH* 33.8).

I am unconvinced by an edict against brooch-wearing, especially in Britain. It is much more likely, as Cool and Baxter suggest, that people fell out of love with costumes which demanded the use of brooches as a fastener. Did new trends like wearing the Gallic coat or stitched clothing sound the death knell for the bow brooch (2016a:94-5)? If multiple '*fibula* event horizons' marked the advent of shifts in social boundaries and identities expressed through material culture, then their abandonment must surely signify further changes in both objects and practices associated with personal adornment.

Statton considers the abandonment horizon to be overblown. She gives examples of continued local production and importation of brooches, such as Knee and gilt plate brooches in East Anglia and the East Midlands, despite a significant decline in brooch loss. She also considers that wearing brooches in

civilian as well as military contexts continued into the later Roman period (2016:152, 260). Again, we may be seeing discrepant and chronologically varied responses to changing costume in different regions, resulting in multiple abandonment horizons. Hattatt asserted that this was a peculiarly British event, as abandonment does not occur on the continent at this time (1982:35). Cool and Baxter, however, noted a similar drop-off in brooches at Augst and in southern France, perhaps implying a regional shift peculiar to the northwest provinces (2016:88-9, fig. 6).

If we want to look for a historical explanation, this change in fashions may be partly related to the Imperial family, with the Emperor Septimius Severus setting up court at York in the early 3rd century CE. The Empress Julia Domna is widely regarded as a trend-setter for hairstyles (Baharal 1992). The use of jet as a material for jewellery and hairpins begins in the late 2nd century CE at York and continues in popularity into the Late Roman period (Allason-Jones 2011:2). This trend may have been keenly followed by some Romano-British women, much like Queen Victoria's mourning attire, which influenced the production and imitation of much jet jewellery in that era (Bedikian 2008).[41] What is interesting is that, around the same time, many other types of small personal belonging and ornaments disappear from the archaeological record. I refer to this period as the Roman 'Dark Ages'.

4.13.1. Penannular



Figure 4.107: Penannular brooch, Fowler Type C, Wacton (PAS:NMS-33DDA5) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Mackreth observes one constant: despite the huge changes which occurred in brooch distribution and production, from pre-Roman types, through the

'massive explosion' in imports in the 1st century CE, indigenous experimentation, variation and abandonment, the penannular brooch remained in use throughout (2011:236-7). Were penannulars used for a different practice, or by different people, or as fastenings for something less susceptible to the vagaries of fashion?

Penannular brooches are typically divided into groups by terminal type, using Fowler's typology (1960), although Booth has recently reviewed and critiqued this system (2014). Types A and D are pre-conquest, but with subgroups extending into the 3rd century CE. Types B and C are generally 1st century BCE/CE, but are often residual (Mackreth 2011). Half of those recorded here are Fowler's Type C (Figure 4.107; Table 23).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	7
Norfolk	38
Suffolk	29
Grand Total	**74**

Table 23: Penannular brooches by county.

Penannular brooches are one of the less-frequently recovered types highlighted by Cool and Baxter (2016a, 2016b) and Booth (2014:72-3). The distribution and concentrations show they are found in much the same places as one-piece brooches: areas of Iron Age settlement (Figure 4.21, Figure 4.108, Figure 4.109). Groups at Saham Toney (7), Thetford (5) and Hacheston (7) are therefore unsurprising. Two examples from Thetford (NHER:5853), in which one terminal has been cut or modified to reform the penannular into a loop, hint at the genesis of the brooch in earlier Iron Age ring-headed pins (Fowler 1960:156). Two from Saham Toney are recorded as 'distorted', again reminding us of the 'mutilation' of brooches at that site (Brown 1986).

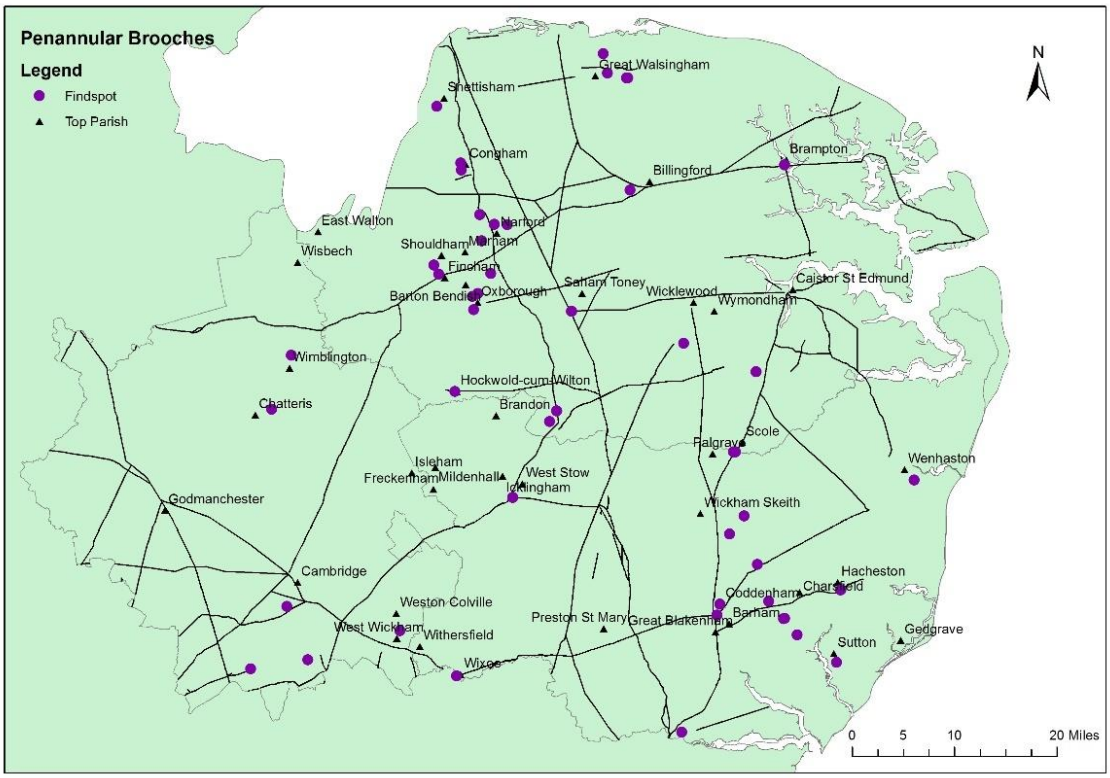


Figure 4.108: Distribution of penannular brooches (Image: Author).

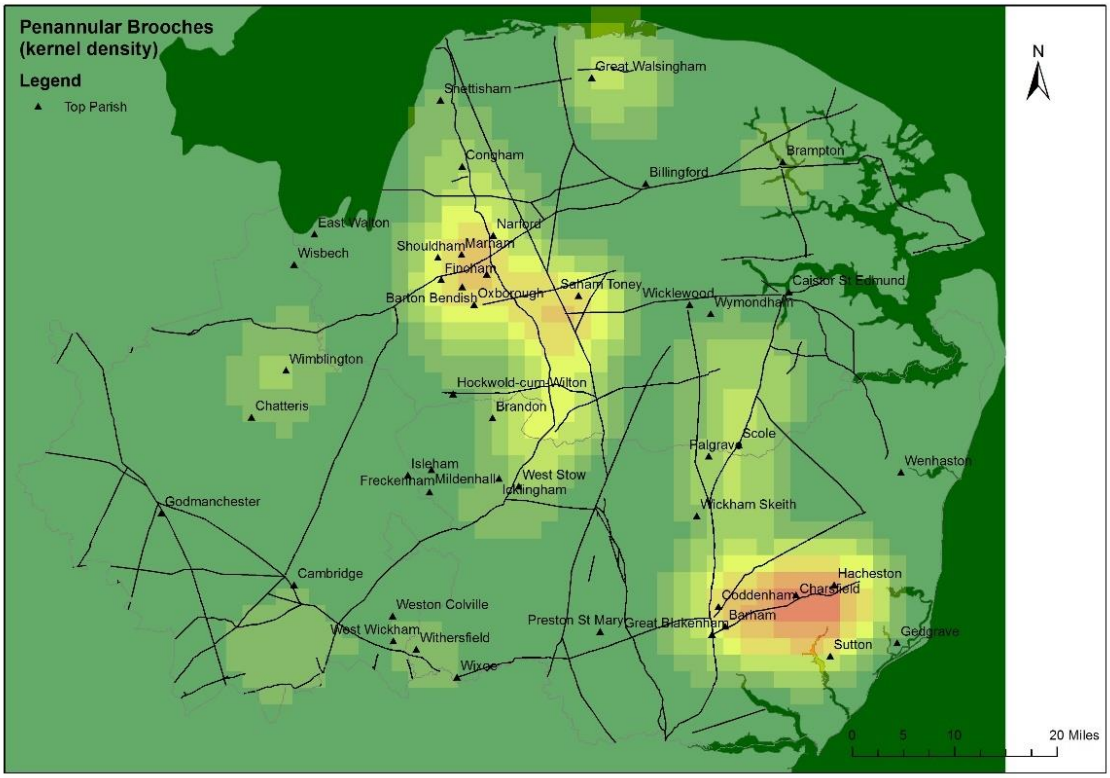


Figure 4.109: Density of penannular brooches (Image: Author).

These brooches start early and are long lived, running throughout the LIA and Roman periods. The penannular type follows bow brooches with an intensification of numbers in the 1st century CE. However, it persists in use well into the Late Roman and early medieval period. In the Late Roman period, penannulars began to be associated with women (Cool in Booth *et al.* 2010:285). The style of the loop and pin means that substantial fabric can be held by these brooches. It may be that penannulars were used to fasten cloaks rather than dresses or were worn by those who were less interested in changing fashions or were less able to afford them.

4.14. Parish Case Studies

In this section, I have sampled parishes with substantial collections to compare proportions of brooch recovery. Some parishes are focussed on one or two key sites which have been extensively excavated or metal-detected. Others contain multiple sites or large scatters untested by excavation. However, it is useful to visualise the brooch patterns which arise from the study of individual types discussed in the preceding sections. The potential morphological bias of metal-detector finds can also be questioned (Section 3.4.4). I am particularly interested to compare areas which have known forts to supposed military brooches like Hod Hill/Aucissas (Figure 4.110), those with supposed 'ritual' sites to plate brooches, and those with continuing or interrupted settlement. Plouviez used Hod Hill brooches to define 1st century CE forts, with proportions of 15-20% compared to <10% on civilian settlements (2008:176).

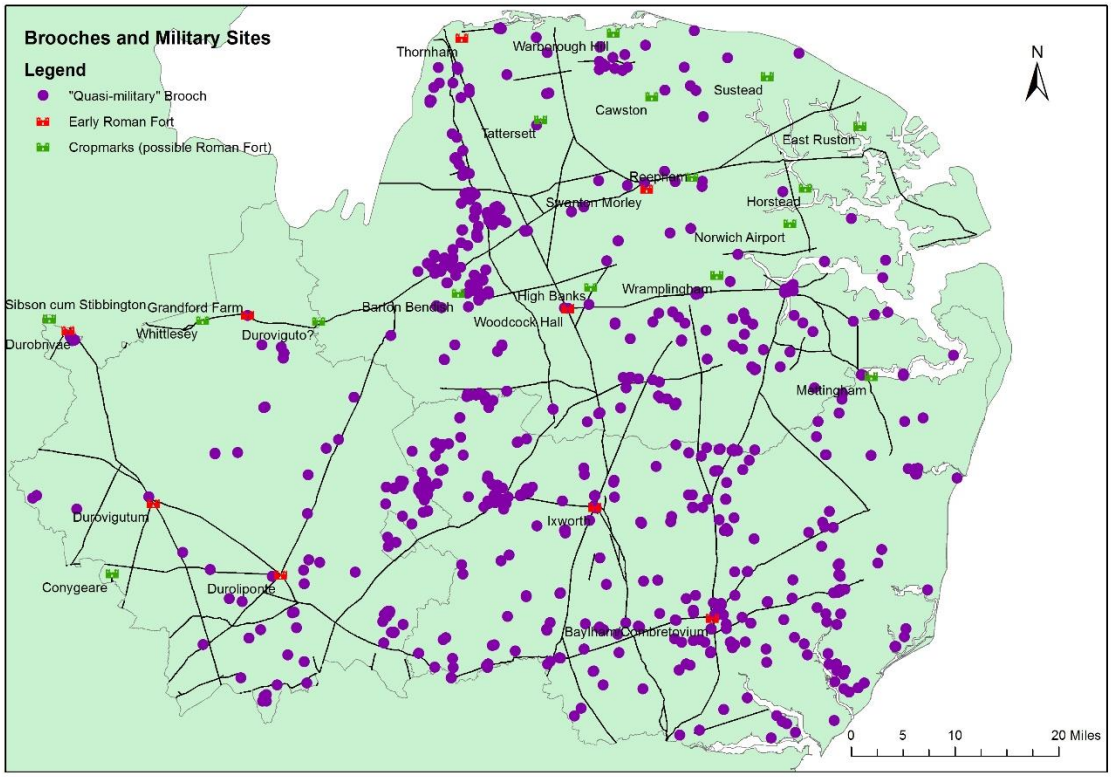


Figure 4.110: Distribution of early Roman forts and 'military' type brooches (Image: Author).

Pitts (2010) looked at brooch assemblages (1st centuries BCE/CE) from sites in the south and east which he associated with *oppida.* This revealed that brooches such as Langton Down, Rosette and Colchester one-pieces were much more common on indigenous sites like King Harry Lane and *Camulodunum* and Colchester Derivatives and Hod Hill brooches were frequent on early Romano-British towns, villas and military sites. He interpreted this as cultural distinctiveness, defining colonised from colonisers, linked to the emergence of new political entities, as well as 'high cultural connectivity' with the near continent (*ibid.*:50). Pitts also suggested brooches may have moved through the actions of 'independent traders' attracted to Britain as it opened up to the empire. These 'alternative "globalizing" networks' worked in parallel with the distribution of other military and indigenous metalwork (*ibid.*:54). While I am sceptical of the capitalist overtones of this approach, there are benefits in looking at assemblages of brooches types to gain an overview. These case studies also provide context for the discussion of other small finds from these parishes in subsequent chapters.

4.14.1. Thetford

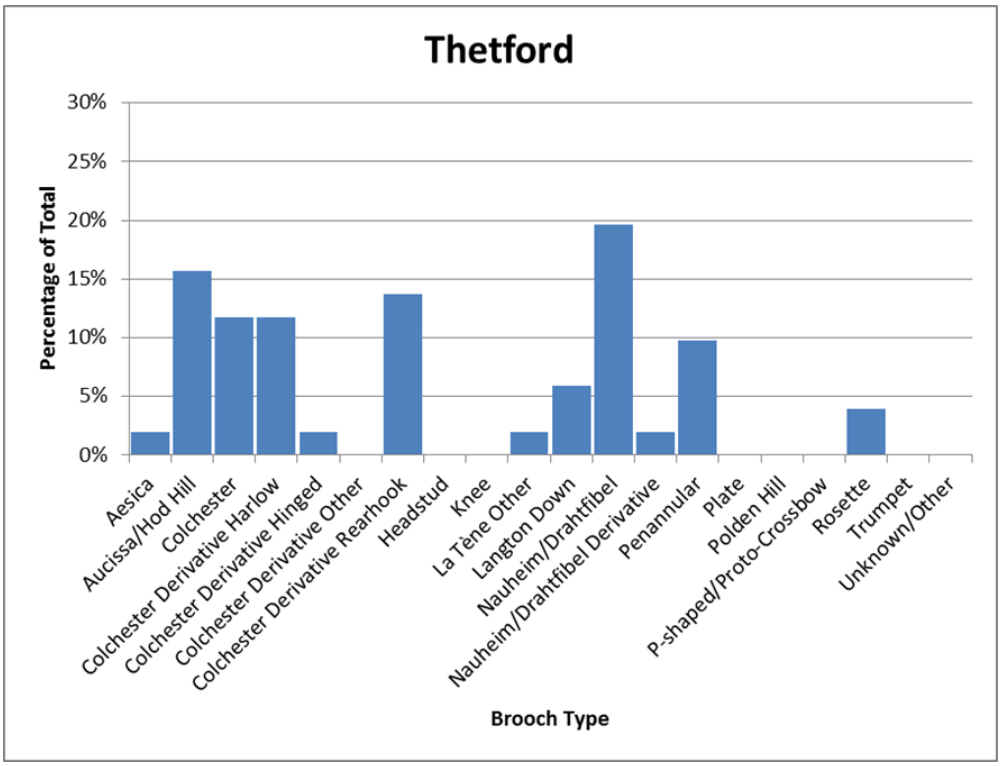


Figure 4.111: Percentages of brooches by type, Thetford (51 brooches).

Thetford is situated where the Icknield Way crosses the Rivers Thet and Little Ouse. It has a Middle Iron Age fort at Thetford Castle (NHER:5747). Occupation continued from the Iron Age (NHER:5756, 5738) through the Romano-British period, and a spectacular hoard of Late Roman gold and silver was found at Fison Way. Davies has suggested this was a British *oppidum*, due to evidence for contemporaneous coin minting and bronzeworking, which includes clay moulds, crucibles and pellet moulds, although occupation is slight (2009:120, 124; NHER:5853). The lack of settlement is corroborated by my analysis, Thetford never featuring particularly highly in any artefact category.

The important, possibly ceremonial, centre of Icenian power at Fison Way is also the origin of most brooches in this parish. The brooch percentages (Figure 4.111) show a high proportion of early types, the ten iron Nauheim/Drahtfibels (Section 4.8.3) being of particular interest. It also shows similar proportions of Hod Hill/Aucissas and Colchester Derivatives, both Harlows and Rearhooks. Thetford is one of the few parishes which exceeds Plouviez's threshold of 15% Hod Hill/Aucissas relating to a military presence, at eight out of a total of 51

brooches, all from the Fison Way excavations. This is a small sample compared, for example, to the 49 Hod Hill/Aucissas from Saham Toney. Did soldiers visit or control this indigenous ritual complex or were local people disposing of trophies or adopting incoming symbols of power?

The pre-conquest sanctuary was rebuilt at the invasion and may have been a 'symbol of native resistance to foreign rule' (Bradley 2005:188). This potentially suffered retributive destruction as part of the Boudican backlash, although it seems the ritual centre was deliberately, but carefully, dismantled in the 60s or 70s CE (Healey in Gregory 1991a:190). There are very few late 1st or 2nd century CE brooches from this area, perhaps implying there was military occupation and civilian abandonment soon after the rebellion.

4.14.2. Hockwold-cum-Wilton

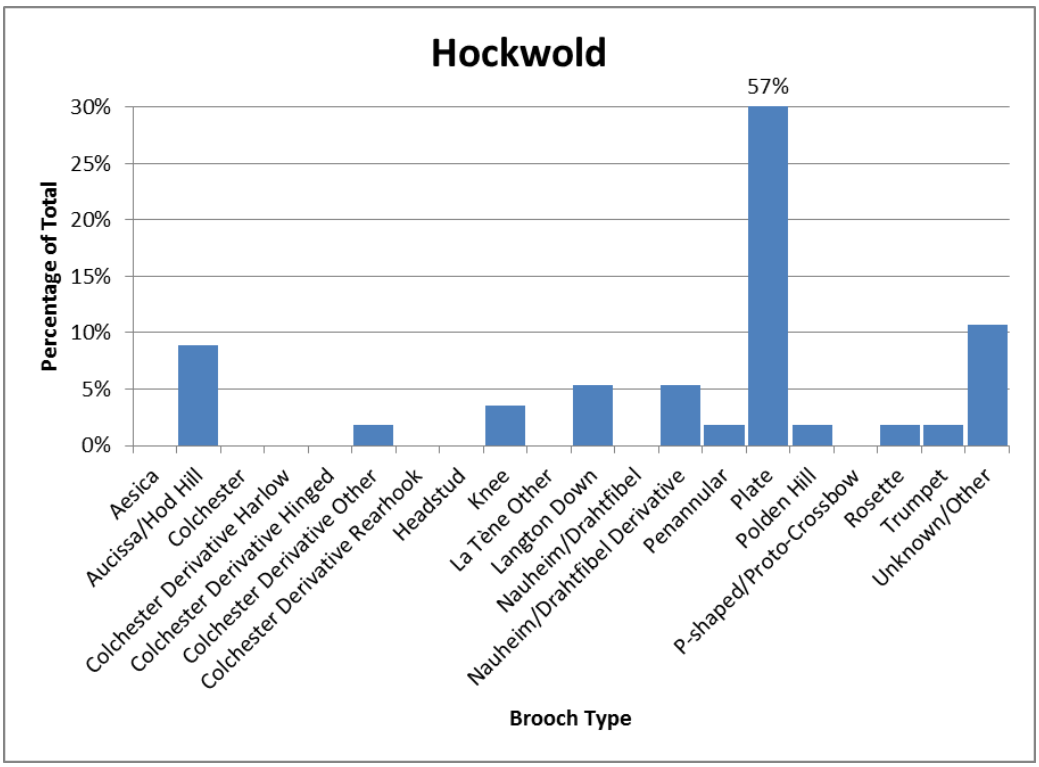


Figure 4.112: Percentages of brooches by type, Hockwold (56 brooches).

In comparison to Thetford, Hockwold has a very different brooch profile (Figure 4.112). The HER records no Iron Age settlements and minimal stray finds in this parish, close to the Fen edge. There are Romano-British settlements and two temples with priests' crowns and pewter hoards (NHER:5316, 5367, 5587).

Hockwold is also well-known for the hoard of silver Bacchic cups (NHER:5395). The percentage of plate brooches is extremely high (57%) within such a small sample, including seven '*Adlocutio*' and 10 Horse-and-riders (Section 4.11.6). This makes a convincing link between Romano-British shrines and plate brooches. There are very few early brooches and only a single Colchester Derivative. Figure 4.113 shows the two profiles combined. Is it possible the ritual focus at Thetford moved to Hockwold, just 10 miles away? Could this be evidence for resettlement, or different populations with new gods and new masters?

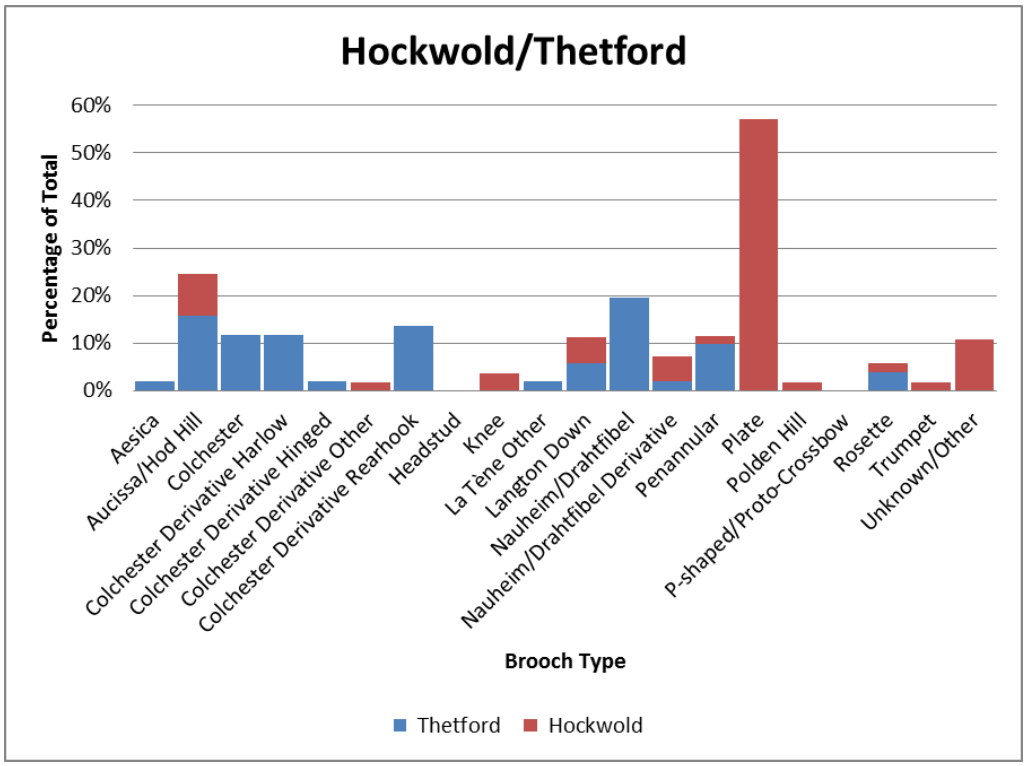


Figure 4.113: Hockwold/Thetford brooches by percentage of type.

4.14.3. Charsfield

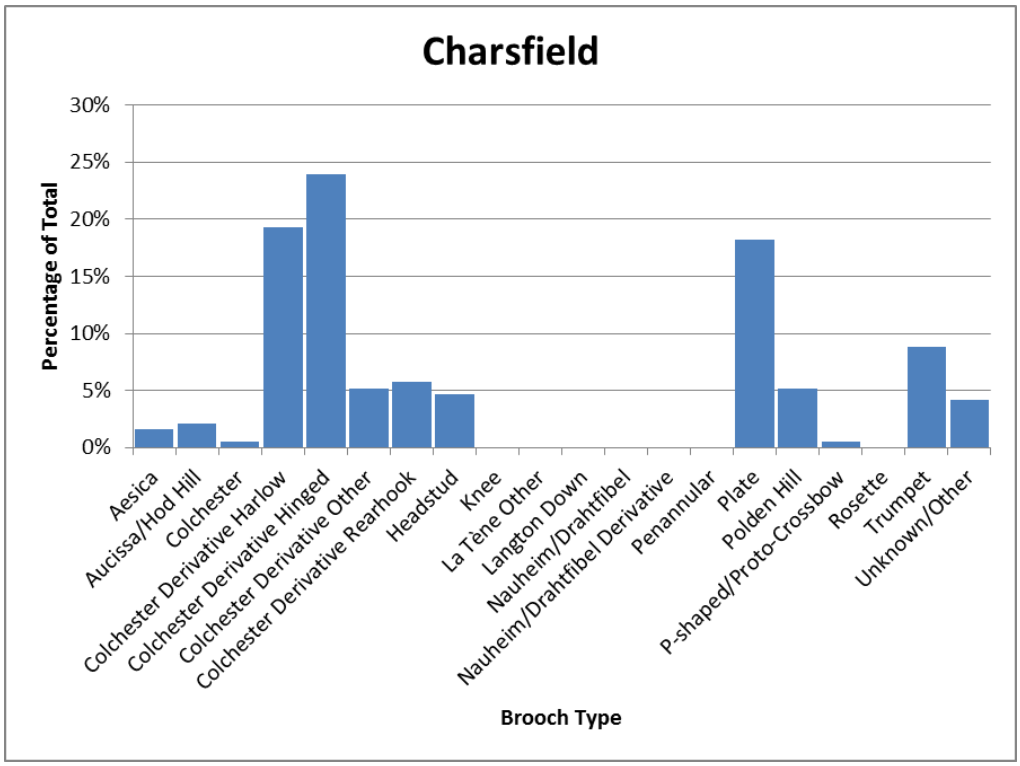


Figure 4.114: Percentages of brooches by type, Charsfield (192 brooches).

Charsfield, though frequently occurring in my brooch maps, has very little Iron Age or Roman occupation recorded on the Suffolk Heritage Explorer, despite extensive Roman scatters. The profile (Figure 4.114) lacks any brooches considered pre-conquest and neither does it reveal many 'military' types. The concentrations of Colchester Derivatives and the relatively high proportion of plate brooches could be interpreted as a post-conquest settlement, tied to the production centre at Wenhaston, with a potential ritual focus. Seeley names it as a 'probable rural temple site' (in Blagg *et al.* 2004:87).

4.14.4. Wicklewood

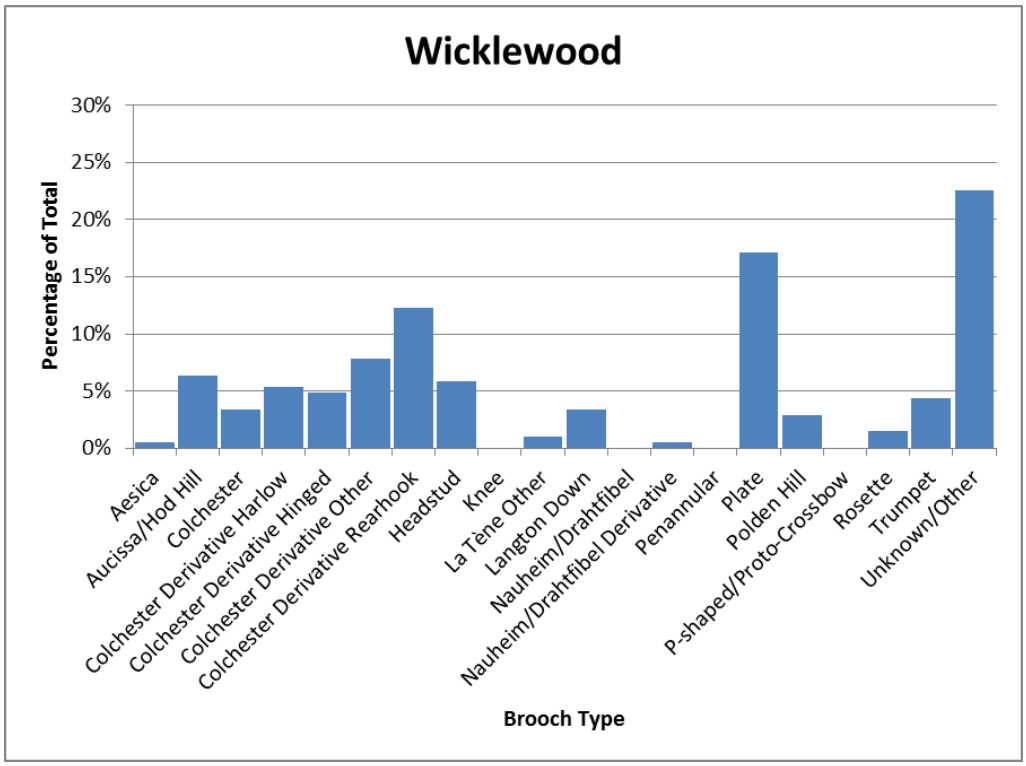


Figure 4.115: Percentages of brooches by type, Wicklewood (204 brooches).

Wicklewood (Figure 4.115) spans the conquest and Boudican revolt. It regularly shows high densities for both LIA and Roman brooches and other small finds, particularly horse harness, closely linked to the neighbouring parish of Wymondham, just east of Breckland. A large settlement is known at Crownthorpe (NHER:8897) dating from *circa* 70-180 CE, with at least one Iron Age coin hoard and a cache of copper alloy vessels. A rectilinear Romano-British temple (NHER:54693) was probably constructed in the 2nd/3rd century CE. A metalworking area is also known (NHER:18111), perhaps linked to the high proportion of brooches noted as unusual or unparalleled. Plate brooches, including four zoomorphics and four Horse-and-riders may represent a votive tradition, although they are not as numerous as at Hockwold or Walsingham. 'Military' type brooches are not abundant. However, there are many unknowns in the chart, due to old HER records which simply specify '2nd century brooch' or 'hinged 1st century' etc. This assemblage warrants further investigation.

4.14.5. Walsingham/Wighton

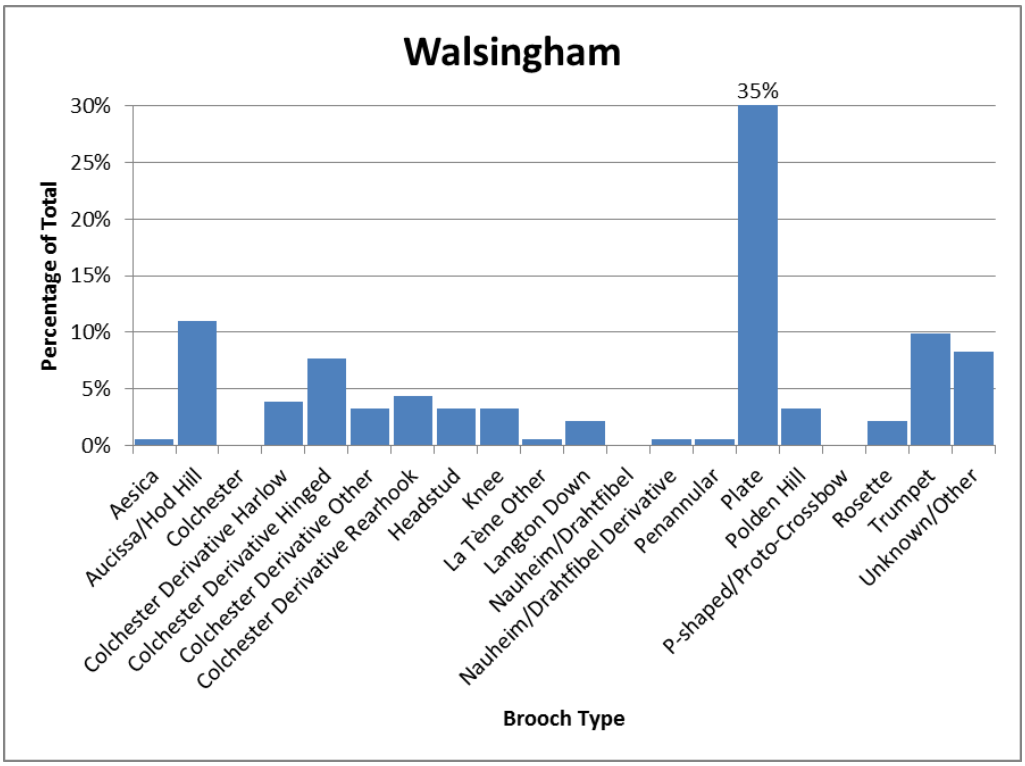


Figure 4.116: Percentages of brooches by type, Walsingham (182 brooches).

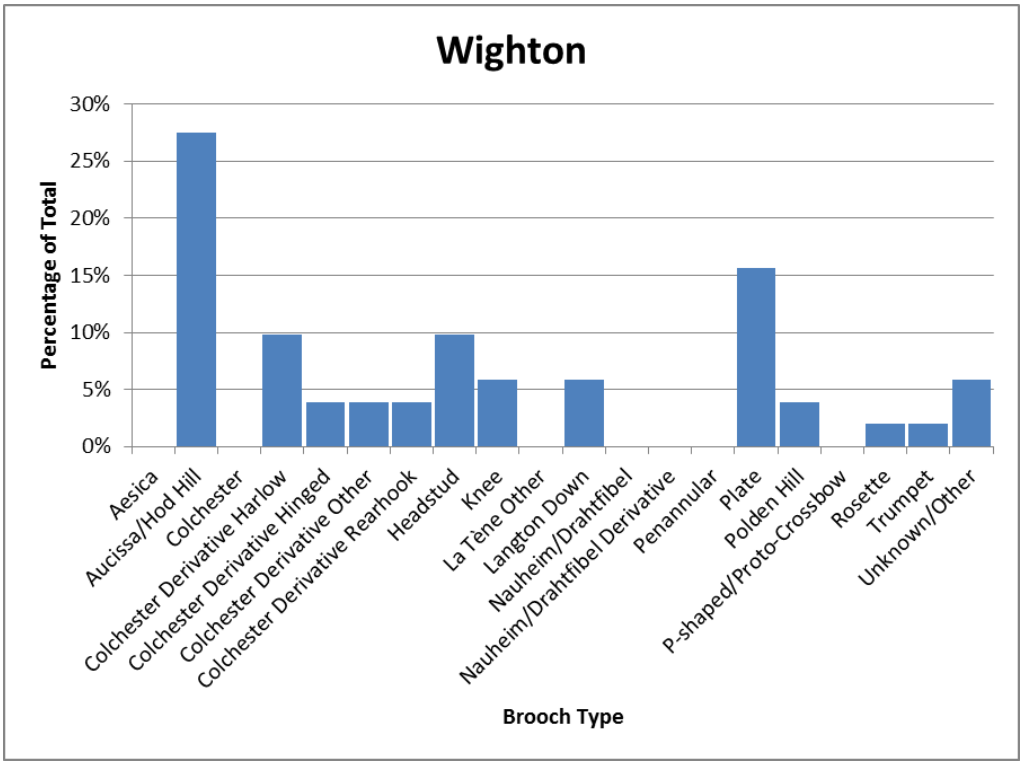


Figure 4.117: Percentages of brooches by type, Wighton (51 brooches).

Over 200 brooches and 6000 coins have been recovered from Walsingham (NHER:2024) through the efforts of one dedicated metal-detectorist working in close collaboration with local authorities. Many votive items were also recorded including figurines, inscribed rings, miniature objects and seal-boxes. This points to a ritual site of some importance, although no foundations of a temple have yet been found (Bagnall Smith 1999:22). The shrine at Walsingham may have been a location for regular markets and fairs with metalworkers possibly making offerings for pilgrims (Andrews 2012:64).

Like Hockwold, Walsingham shows a vastly disproportionate number of plate brooches, at 35% of the total (Figure 4.116). These include 30 disc brooches, mostly enamelled British types, several continental plate brooches, and six zoomorphics including one Horse-and-rider brooch. Brooches were most probably being deposited as votives along with coins and other belongings. There are over 10% Hod Hill/Aucissa brooches, but this still falls below Plouviez's 15-20% for a military site. It has considerably more hinged Colchester Derivatives than Rearhooks and few early brooches, suggesting a foundation in the later 1st century CE. This could be recovery bias, although Marsden has suggested that the shrine at Walsingham came to replace the earlier ritual focus at Snettisham (2014:70).

Walsingham is conjoined with the neighbouring parish of Wighton (Figure 4.117) and the two make up a Roman small town (NHER:42850) (see combined chart Figure 4.118). This is thought to date from the 2nd-4th centuries CE, although it is largely unexcavated. There is a small multivallate ringfort at Warham Camp just to the north (NHER:1828) with LIA to 2nd century CE occupation. There is LIA to Romano-British settlement at Wighton Camp (NHER:1113) and a LIA 'fort' at Copy's Green was said to have been abandoned and then reoccupied *circa* 75-200 CE (NHER:2072). Reoccupation by whom, whether locals, soldiers or veterans, is unknown. In contrast to Walsingham, Wighton has over 25% Hod Hill/Aucissa brooches, although there is no Roman fort known to me. The majority are from NHER:3980 which is a bath-house and metalworking area of the proposed town. There are few early

brooches from this parish and, interestingly, a higher proportion of Harlow brooches than Rearhooks. This disputes the badging of Icenian identity with Rearhook brooches, especially in the most northerly lands of the territory.

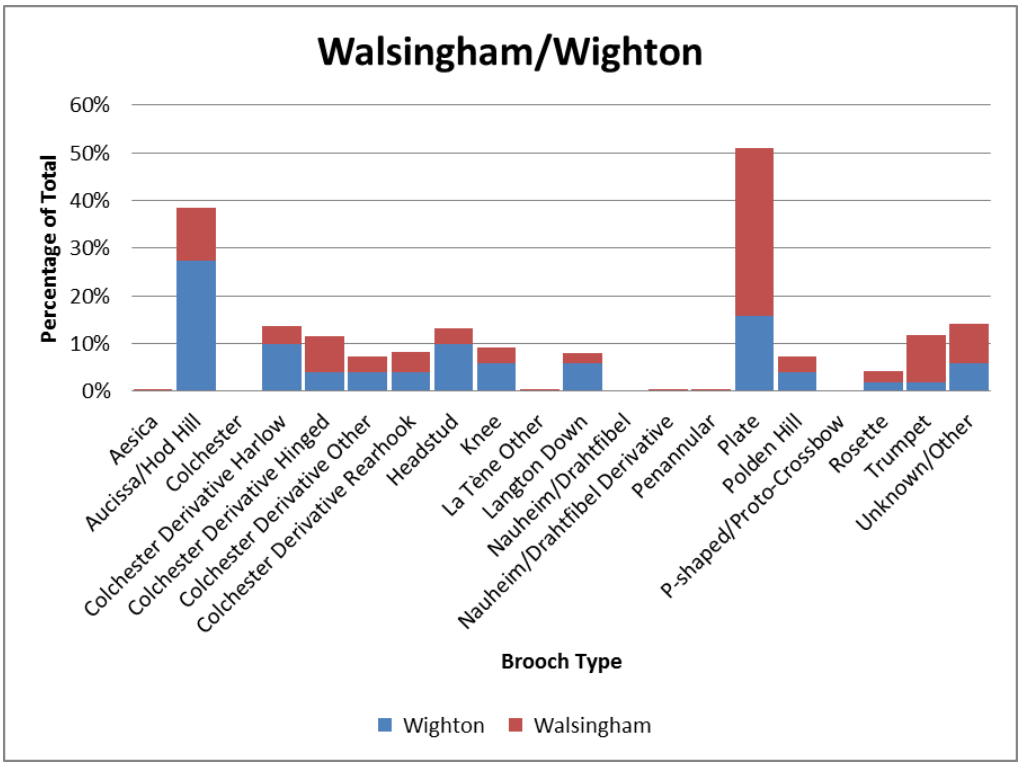


Figure 4.118: Percentages of brooches by type, Walsingham/Wighton (233 brooches).

4.14.6. Hacheston

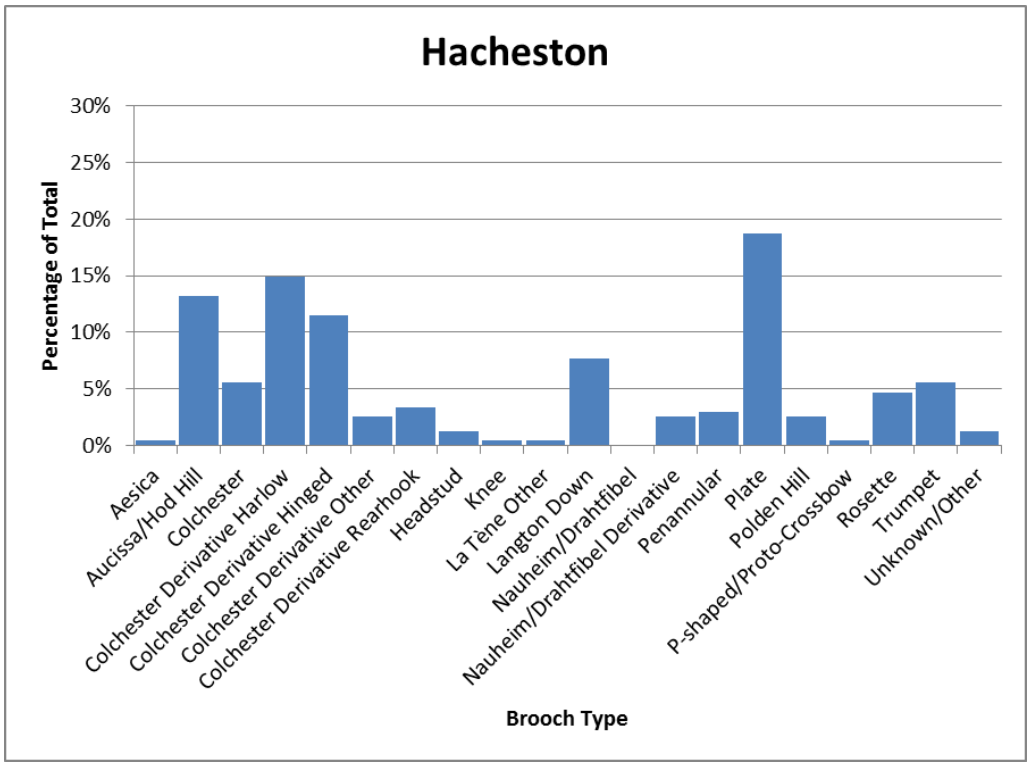


Figure 4.119: Percentages of brooches by type, Hacheston (235 brooches).

The parish of Hacheston incorporates a large Romano-British town on the River Deben in southeastern Suffolk. Settlement begins pre-conquest, with metal-detector finds of a significant quantity of both Icenian and Trinovantian coins, which Martin considered evidence for 'tribal interactions' (1999:90). Roman coins are infrequent until the late 1st century CE, with peaks in the Hadrianic period and the mid-4th century CE. There is a distinction between brooches and coins here, with many more Harlow brooches than Rearhooks, despite the fairly equal numbers of Icenian and Trinovantian issues (Blagg *et al.* 2004:75, 87) (Figure 4.119). This again contradicts the argument that brooch types were restricted to ethnic or social groups.

Hacheston also shows evidence for continuity of settlement, with Langton Down, Rosette and Colchester brooches, which Pitts used to define his pre-conquest 'political entities' at *oppida* (2010). There is no evidence for a military emplacement or post-revolt disruption (Moore *et al.* 1988:21), although there are reasonable numbers of Hod Hill/Aucissas, again questioning the presence of these brooches on civilian sites. This is supported by the lack of indicative finds

of pottery and other *militaria* (Blagg *et al.* 2004:197). Hacheston also has a high percentage of plate brooches, including numerous disc and zoomorphics, suggesting a possible temple.

4.14.7. Wenhaston

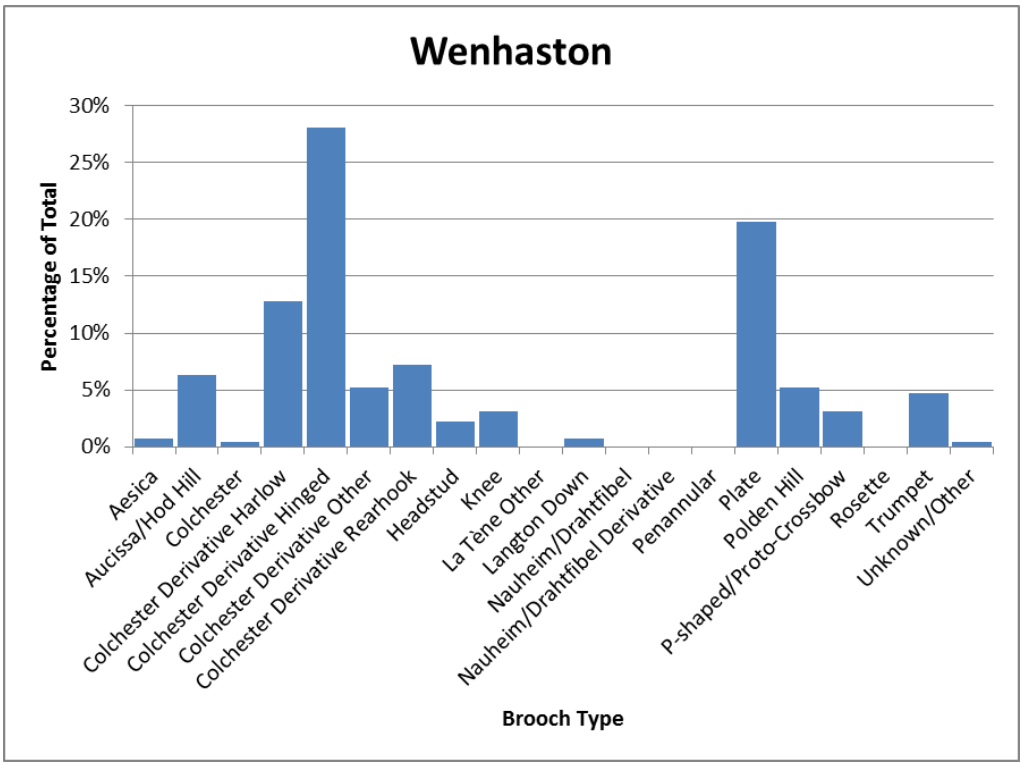


Figure 4.120: Percentages of brooches by type, Wenhaston (445 brooches).

Wenhaston appears to be a Romano-British town with little previous Iron Age activity. This is confirmed by the brooch profile (Figure 4.120) which shows very few one-piece brooches. The most notable feature is the high percentage of Colchester Derivative Hinged brooches from the two fields closest to the town (SHER:WMH004/005). As discussed above (Section 4.11.3) this must relate to a production or market site close by in the later 1st century CE (Blagg *et al.* 2004:87). Wenhaston also has few pseudo-military brooches suggesting either it was not garrisoned or its population preferred Colchester Derivative and plate brooches. This also fits with Pitts's analysis of urban sites in the southeast (2010:51). Could Wenhaston have been a new foundation in the aftermath of the rebellion? The lack of military brooches means it is unlikely to have been laid out for an intake of veterans. Towns were established to keep

control, but also as market centres and it may be we are seeing such a nucleus for craft production and exchange here.

4.14.8. Coddenham

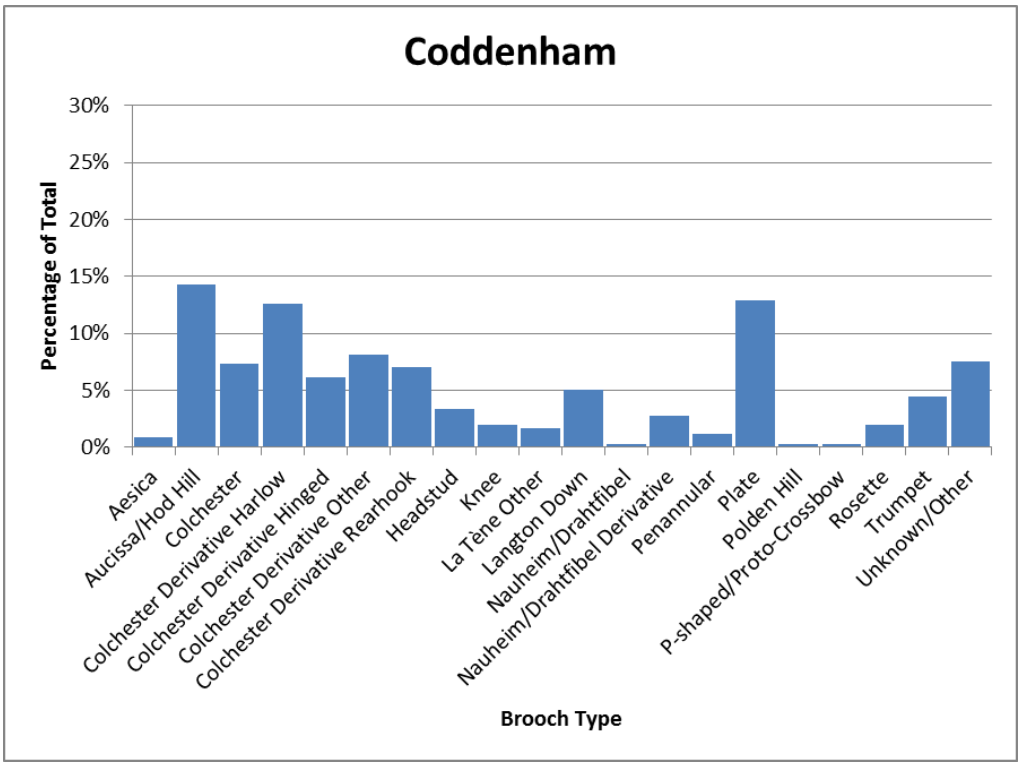


Figure 4.121: Percentages of brooches by type, Coddenham (358 brooches).

Coddenham is another Suffolk small town, but with a military presence in the form of two forts (SHER:CDD016), known from aerial photography (Rodwell 1975:92). There is LIA settlement and scatters of coinage include Icenian issues. Continuity in the brooches is evinced by the Colchesters and Langton Downs (Figure 4.121). The Romano-British settlement is associated with *Combretovium* (SHER:CDD003). Its brooch profile shows a fairly even spread over time and type, with higher numbers of Harlow and plate brooches. Almost 15% Hod Hill/Aucissas would classify this parish as a 'military' site using Plouviez's parameters, which would agree with the presence of forts. However, this is roughly equal to Hacheston which does not have military origins.

4.14.9. Wimblington

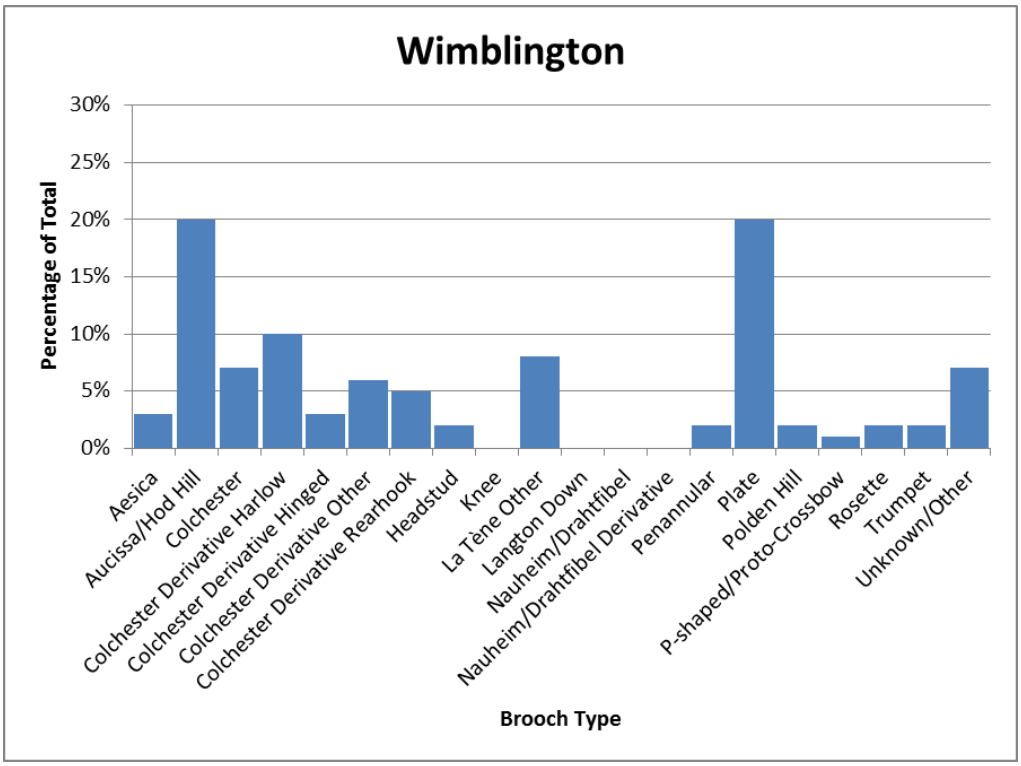


Figure 4.122: Percentages of brooches by type, Wimblington (100 brooches).

Stonea Camp, Wimblington, has been mooted as a possible Icenian *oppidum* or market centre active from the Middle Iron Age until the 1st century CE. There is little evidence for settlement and despite its place in the narrative of the revolt of 47 CE, there is no evidence for dismembered bodies or a war cemetery. A mid-1st century CE military presence is implied by Claudio-Neronian samian and surface finds of Hod Hill/Aucissa and Colchester brooches (Malim 2005:51-2, 77; Potter and Jackson 1982:116). Mackreth put the relative proportion of 'military' brooches down to 'the arrival of the vengeful Roman army' (in Jackson and Potter 1996:299). I would query this, as 12 of the brooches from Stonea Camp on my database were seized from illegal detectorists (Jackson and Potter 1996:35-6) so it would be hard to draw any conclusions from such data. The Hod Hill/Aucissa category stands at 20% (Figure 4.122), which correlates with Plouviez (2008:176). The only other sites which show such high percentages of Hod Hill brooches are Saham Toney and Wighton.

The settlement at Stonea Grange provided 85 of the 100 brooches. These suggest some pre-conquest activity, followed by an association with Harlow

over Rearhook brooches in the client-kingdom period. A Romano-British town developed in the 2nd century CE. A rectangular building excavated within the town is interpreted as a 2nd/3rd century CE temple, which would fit with the 20% of plate brooches recorded. These are largely disc brooches, with one Horse-and-rider. Other religious material has been found, such as miniature axes, part of a pipeclay Mother-Goddess and a votive leaf plaque (Jackson and Potter 1996:214-20; Potter and Jackson 1982:112-3).

4.14.10. Saham Toney

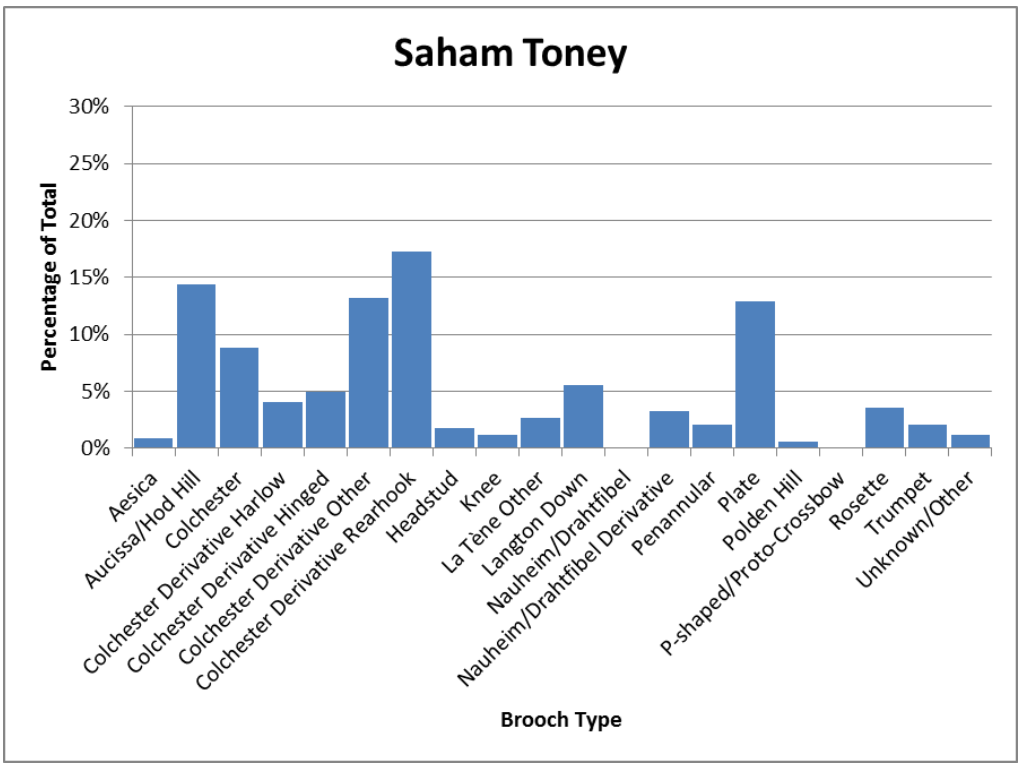


Figure 4.123: Percentages of brooches by type, Saham Toney (342 brooches).

Saham Toney occupies a meeting of rivers and natural crossing-point on the Peddar's Way. It is considered a good candidate for an *oppidum* and adjacent parishes also show considerable Iron Age activity. In the early to mid-1st century CE, Saham Toney may have been a regionally significant cult site. There are multiple deposits of pre-conquest brooches and coins, including pellet moulds and unstruck gold stater flans (Brown 1986:8; Davies 1999:34-5; Hutcheson 2004:7; Talbot 2015:259). Strong evidence for metalworking and terret manufacture has been found at the nearby site of Quidney Farm (NHER:29429) (Chapter 6).

A Claudian-period auxiliary fort overlooking the Icenian settlement at Woodcock Hall (NHER:4697) is interpreted as a response to the first uprising in 47 CE (Brown 1986; Davies 1999:34). Brown envisaged a heavy military presence and its attendant infrastructure, including roads, based upon a group of 35 Claudian *aes* copies and a collection of early military metalwork. The Roman coin profile shows peaks in the reigns of Claudius (41-54 CE) and Vespasian (69-79) (1986:5, fig. 2). Based upon this hiatus, Brown saw abandonment of the auxiliary fort by about 58 CE. A Romano-British settlement later expanded on the northern side of the river. A second, larger, legionary fort of the later 1st century CE has been identified from aerial photography (NHER:8745), interpreted within the Boudican 'pacification' narrative (Bates *et al.* 2000:204). Neither of these sites has yet been systematically excavated (Talbot 2015:5).

The brooches are predominantly pre-conquest types and quasi-military varieties (Section 4.9) with Colchesters and Derivatives, particularly Rearhooks, numbering over a third of the total (Figure 4.123). There are substantial quantities of Hod Hill/Aucissas (although fewer than 15%) and plate brooches, including four zoomorphic and two Horse-and-rider. However, only one Hod Hill came from the Claudio-Neronian fort, which makes a large-scale military occupation between the two revolts unlikely. There are few later brooch types, either military or civilian, and Brown records a solitary 4th century Crossbow (1986).

4.14.11. Caistor St Edmund

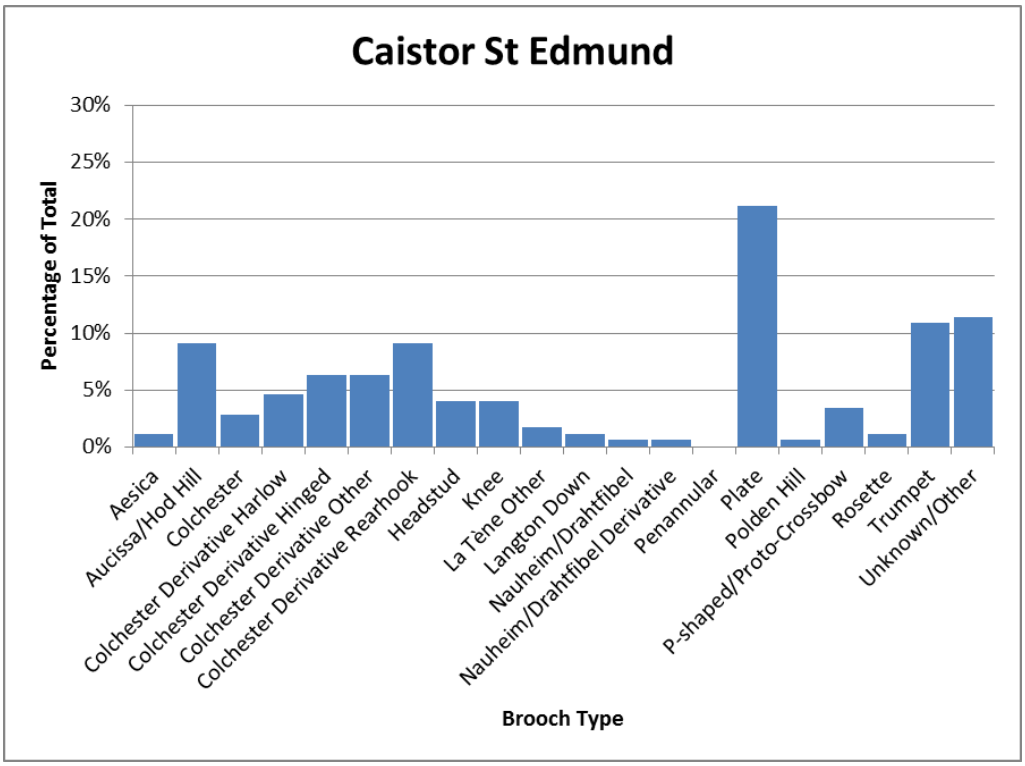


Figure 4.124: Percentages of brooches by type, Caistor St Edmund (177 brooches).

The parish containing the *civitas* capital has LIA occupation and ritual sites including the possible mortuary enclosures at Harford Farm (NHER:9794). The parish also contains the extra-mural Romano-British temple (NHER:9787), resulting in a mixed brooch profile (Figure 4.124). *Venta Icenorum* (NHER:9786), while plentiful in pre-conquest surface finds, has few early brooches, although it has not been possible to track down or identify all brooches excavated in the 1930s. This agrees with the early 2nd century CE formal layout of the town. There are more Rearhooks than other Colchester Derivatives and numerous Trumpet brooches. Hod Hill/Aucissas are infrequent, suggesting minimal 'military' contact, although there are some later brooches like Knee and P-shaped. Although over 20% of plate brooches has been related to religious sites, it is important to remember these were also worn prior to deposition, except in special circumstances, like the Horse-and-rider brooches which may have been cast specifically for dedication (Section 4.11.6).

4.15. Summary

Firstly, it is important to re-state that brooches do not equal people, although we cannot divorce material culture from its social context and practical aspects of human activity. Objects find their way into the ground and are preserved into the present through various motivations and processes. Special items were selected for deposition in unusual circumstances, such as hoards. Metal was a precious and reusable resource which was hard-won, and therefore worth reprocessing numerous times. Before contact with the Roman empire, people produced a variety of brooches and other ornaments, with technical abilities which were no less sophisticated than in the later Iron Age and Roman eras. The '*fibula* event horizon' was drawn out and episodic. Could it have resulted from a democratisation of the knowledge of production? The noticeable increase in single brooch finds at shrines, but also in settlements, may represent a change in deposition practices and attitudes towards material culture. Had religion as well as metalworking become less exclusive? By the Roman period, it seems that the emphasis had shifted to deposition, rather than recycling, for brooches, thus extending the practice of torc and coin hoarding to the masses.

My analysis of brooches has revealed some interesting patterns which help answer some of the key research questions. The large proportion of imported and early one-piece brooches (including Colchesters) shows the openness to outside influences in the pre-conquest period and refutes the idea that the Iceni were slow to change. Strong concentrations around Fincham, Wicklewood and Coddenham show potential centres of LIA population (with a caveat about potential recovery bias). Areas thought to have significant settlements, like Stonea and Caistor St Edmund, are notable by their absence. Only Thetford has a concentration of Drahtfibel type brooches at Fison Way, although the brooch profile there is unusual and suggests an abrupt end around the mid-late 1st century CE.

Using artefacts to subdivide the region into 'tribal' territories is problematic. As a class, Colchester Derivative brooches are high in East Anglia, some 24% of

the total, which agrees with Plouviez and Mackreth's work. However, the distribution of the different spring systems is somewhat ambiguous. Harlow brooches certainly have a southerly bias, in line with their 'Trinovantian' ascription. Rearhooks cluster in Breckland and central Norfolk, the Icenian core. Both types, however, extend to the settlements along the Icknield Way and are found in concentrations at Coddenham and Wenhaston. The division of these two spring types into ethnic or social groupings does not stand up particularly well. The limited evidence we do have for manufacture is contradictory, indicating production of Harlows in Norfolk and Rearhooks in Suffolk. Certainly, there is no defined boundary between them and I would argue that the distributions are much more likely to reflect processes of production and exchange.

The interpretation of the pseudo-military brooches (Aucissa, Hod Hill and Knee) does not support the idea that Icenia was heavily garrisoned either before or after the Boudican revolt (Figure 4.48, Figure 4.55). The presence of Hod Hill/Aucissas at the same centres of population as the one-piece brooches (Thetford, Fincham area and Coddenham) indicates that they were probably being worn, and in some cases made, by civilians. Coddenham does have a conquest-period fort, but it also seems to have suffered little disruption during the rebellion. Evidence in the brooches for the depopulation of the region and resettlement by veterans is also lacking, as the same centres of population continue with few exceptions. Although little explored archaeologically, Saham Toney appears to have been an important Icenian centre, with a cluster of Hod Hill/Aucissa brooches, although these do not appear to come from the fort with the Claudian irregular coinage. The low numbers of Knee brooches across the region also suggests that there was not a great military presence in the 2nd/3rd century CE, despite the difficulties of tying these wholly to the army.

Through analysis of the brooches, we can see that aspects of people's identities were changing over time. This happens gradually into the 2nd century CE and has little relationship to the revolt. A shift in the production and deposition of brooches towards the southeast also occurs around this time. Greater changes

in the material culture appear to happen earlier and later (the event and abandonment horizons). New religious *foci* at Hockwold and Walsingham replaced the pre-conquest sites at Snettisham and Thetford. Plate brooches also witness the development of towns, including the *civitas* capital, Wenhaston and Coddenham. Depositions of brooches, especially plates, became popular, perhaps replacing sacrifices or votive deposits of harness and jewellery. Zoomorphic brooches show animals were clearly still an important design feature, but the emphasis of the iconography shifts. Ducks remain constant, but new prey animals and scenes of predation are introduced. Wild and powerful creatures are absent, notably the characteristic Iron Age bovids, and horses are newly depicted in a medium other than coins. This may reflect changes in religious belief and prohibitions, new mythologies and folklore, animal husbandry and cuisine. Nevertheless, an emphasis on votive deposition and the related sense of appropriateness are carried through.

The evidence for metalworking demonstrates that people were keen to adopt new technologies, such as casting rather than forging, piece moulds or the two-piece spring systems. Creolisation of brooches, like the Aesica, may show the incorporation of incoming styles and the development of new visual identities, during the client-kingdom in Norfolk. The development of new types such as the Polden Hill/Rearhook hybrids and Hinged brooches, especially in eastern Suffolk, suggest manufacturing or market centres. Similarly, the curvilinear aesthetics of some Trumpet brooches may be evidence for persistence of Iron Age style, but this is negated by the very similar distribution of the more geometric Headstuds. Brooches with chain-loops may also exhibit a new interest in gendered identities from the late 1st century CE onwards.

The unexplained abandonment of brooch-wearing after 200 CE, except for certain classes possibly associated with military uniform, may relate to a return to recycling, or perhaps there was a shortage of metal. Were supplies of copper alloy diverted to making coinage instead of portable artefacts? There must have been a dramatic change in how people dressed and looked around the turn of the 2nd/3rd century CE, reflecting an important shift in people's outward

representation of themselves. Alternatively, archaeological dating of these objects may be due for a review. This reduction of metalwork production was not solely restricted to personal ornament, but also applies to objects relating to grooming, literacy, religion and some items of harness. This 'Roman Dark Ages' is a key phase in the territory's history, and in wider relation to Britain and the other Roman provinces, which deserves more research. In the next chapter, I consider some of the artefacts which survive and flourish beyond the 'abandonment horizon', bracelets and finger-rings, as well as other items of adornment which, like brooches, fade from the record.

Chapter 5. Oh! You Pretty Things: Personal Ornament

This chapter explores personal items of display, other than brooches, which are considered ornamental, fitting into Crummy's Category 1. These include torcs, necklaces, finger-rings, fasteners and toggles, bracelets and beads. As with other categories of objects, there are many more examples which could have been included, but were filtered out during searches.

5.1. Fasteners



Figure 5.1: (left) Enamelled disc-headed button-and-loop fastener, Heydon (PAS:BH-AF2E83) (Image: St Albans District Council/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Openwork button-and-loop fasteners, Porolissum, Dacia (Gui 2015:pl. 1/A).

Fasteners, other than brooches, are known from the LIA and extend into the Roman period. Two forms are discussed here: the simple toggle and the button-and-loop fastener. Toggles are most commonly a cylindrical 'dumbbell' shape with a semi-circular suspension loop or a simple integral slot (Figure 5.2). Examples are known from the Bronze Age onwards, but most date to the 1st centuries BCE/CE. It is thought that button-and-loop fasteners developed from toggles. As the name suggests, these comprise an attachment loop or shank often with decorative enamelled heads (Figure 5.3). These appear in the 1st century BCE and continue in use into the early 3rd century CE. This suggests that both types were used in parallel, although toggles arrive and go out of use earlier. Some are distinctively British and have pre-conquest ancestors, although other types are found on Continental sites. Both types of fasteners were probably designed to take leather or woven straps, which could be passed through the attachment hole and then doubled back and secured

with a loop over the head. Some may have been stitched onto clothing or other fabric, to provide holds for straps, perhaps on harness and armour (Worrell 2008).



Figure 5.2: (left) Dumbbell-shaped toggle with external loop, Kedington (PAS:SF-95B8F8) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Dumbbell-shaped toggle with integral attachment hole, Bedfield (PAS:SF-3326E3) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).



Figure 5.3: (left) Teardrop-shaped button-and-loop fastener, Lawshall (PAS:SF8242) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Rectangular enamelled button-and-loop fastener, Stowmarket (PAS:SF6391) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Like other objects, such as Wide-cuff bracelets and Hod Hill brooches, it is debated whether fasteners were predominantly military or civilian adornments (Davis 2014:230; Gui 2015; Wild 1970:146; Worrell 2008). Crummy includes one example in Category 13 (*militaria*) of her Colchester catalogue (1983:132, SF4203). A recently excavated group of openwork button-and-loop fasteners at the auxiliary fort at Porolissum, Dacia, may shed light on their continental usage (Figure 5.1). At least 22 identical examples were found in a building used as a weapons store in the later 2nd century CE, closely associated with harness fittings. This certainly suggests a military harness function, although their flimsy construction implies a decorative rather than structural purpose. Gui notes these are very rare in Dacia and considers them to have a British Iron Age origin, adopted by the Roman army (2015:231-4). This shows that the flow of

artefacts and influence went both ways. Nevertheless, this does not mean that they had a military function in their homeland. Mapping the distribution of both button-and-loops and toggles against known and conjectural military emplacements does not show an obvious correlation (Figure 5.7). I feel that there is enough doubt over the military ascription to place them in this personal adornment section with fasteners more generally. Perhaps we should simply accept the possibility that they were a multifunctional item.

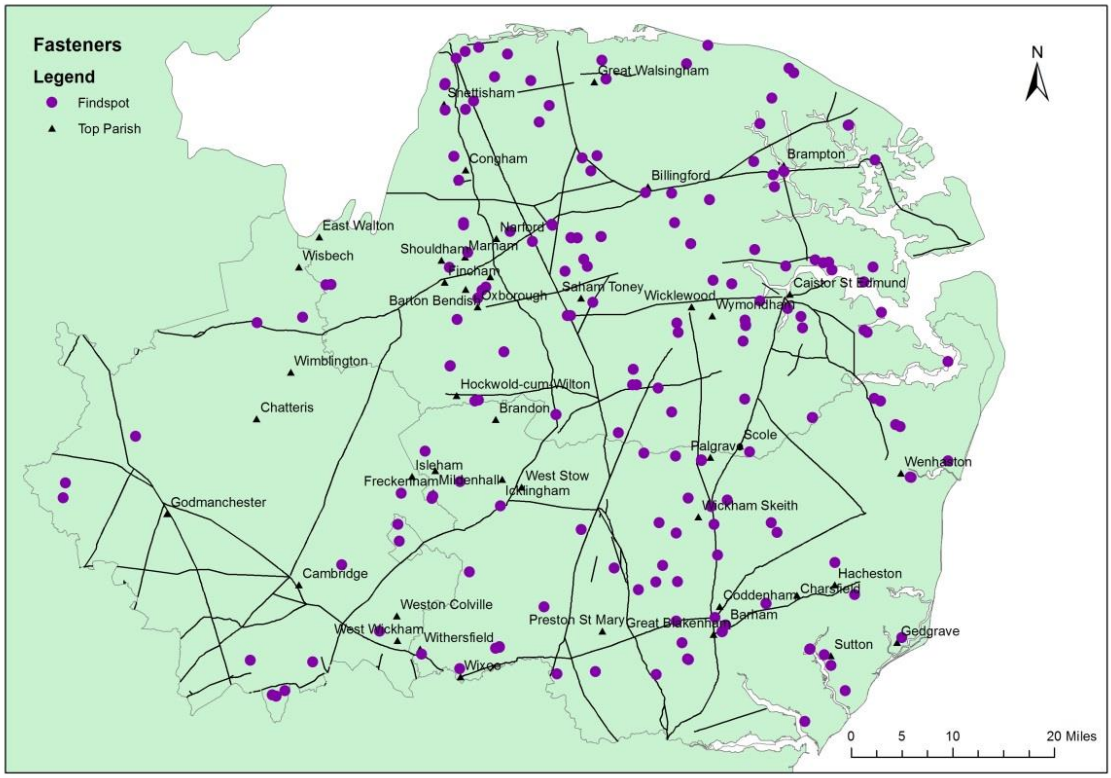


Figure 5.4: Distribution of all fasteners (Image: Author).

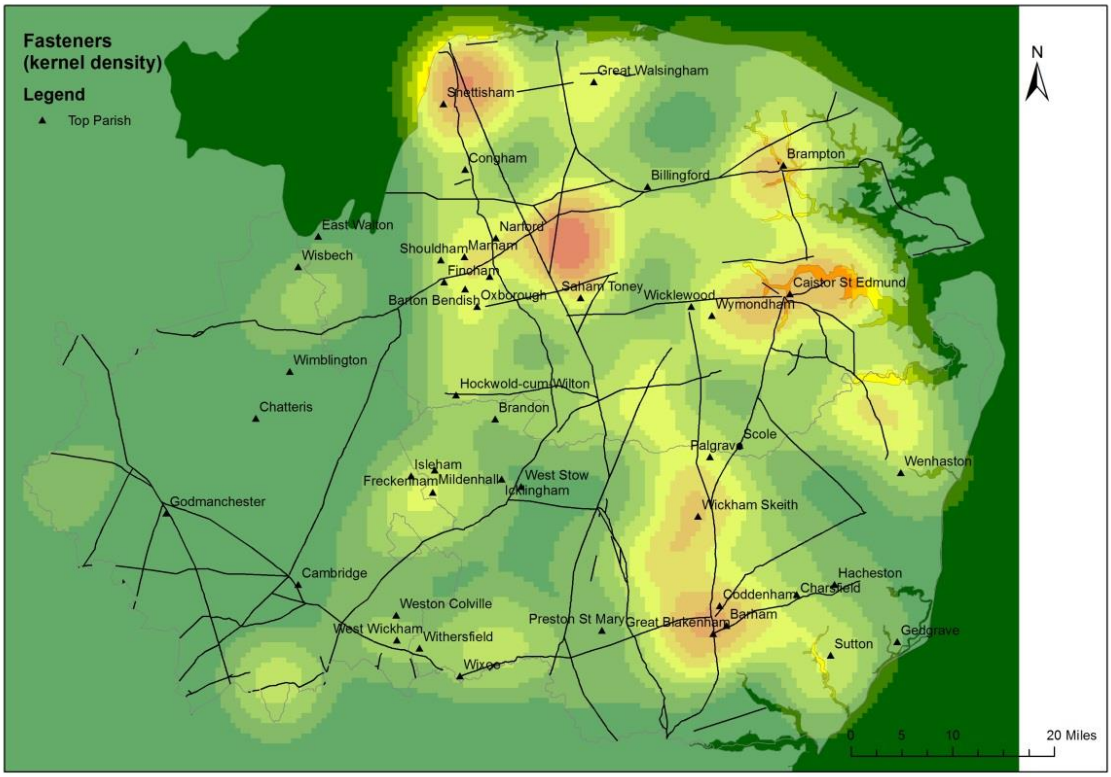


Figure 5.5: Density of all fasteners (Image: Author).

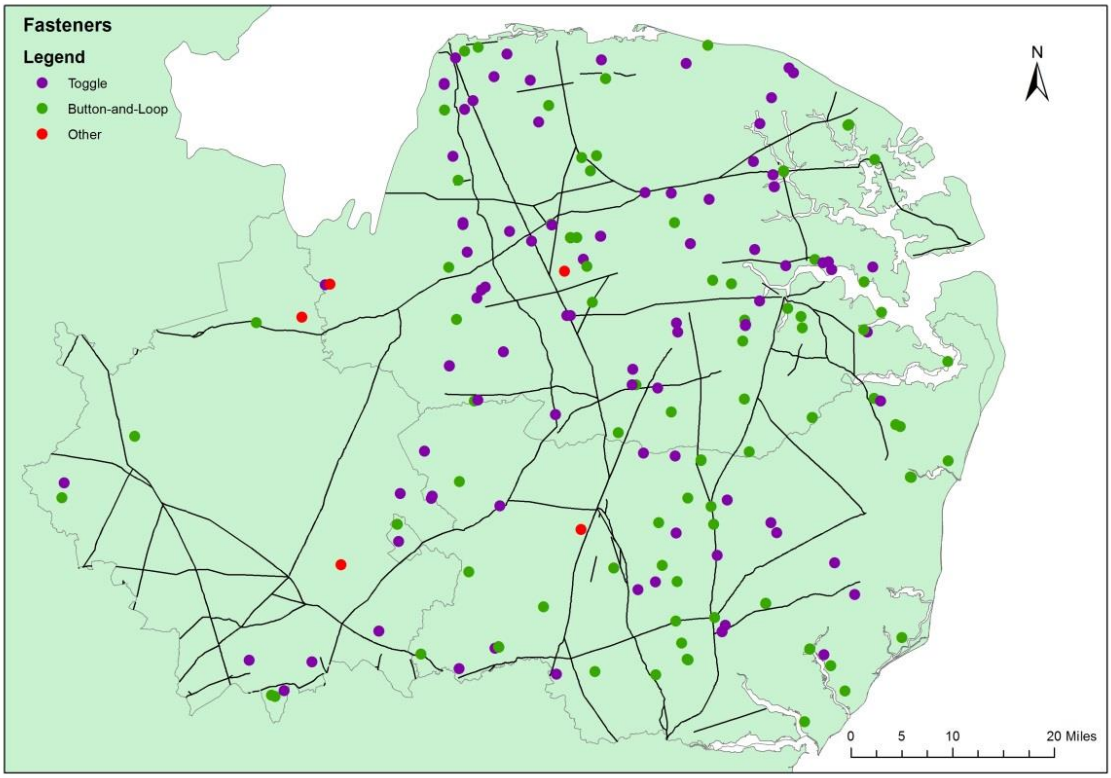


Figure 5.6: Distribution of fasteners by type (Image: Author).

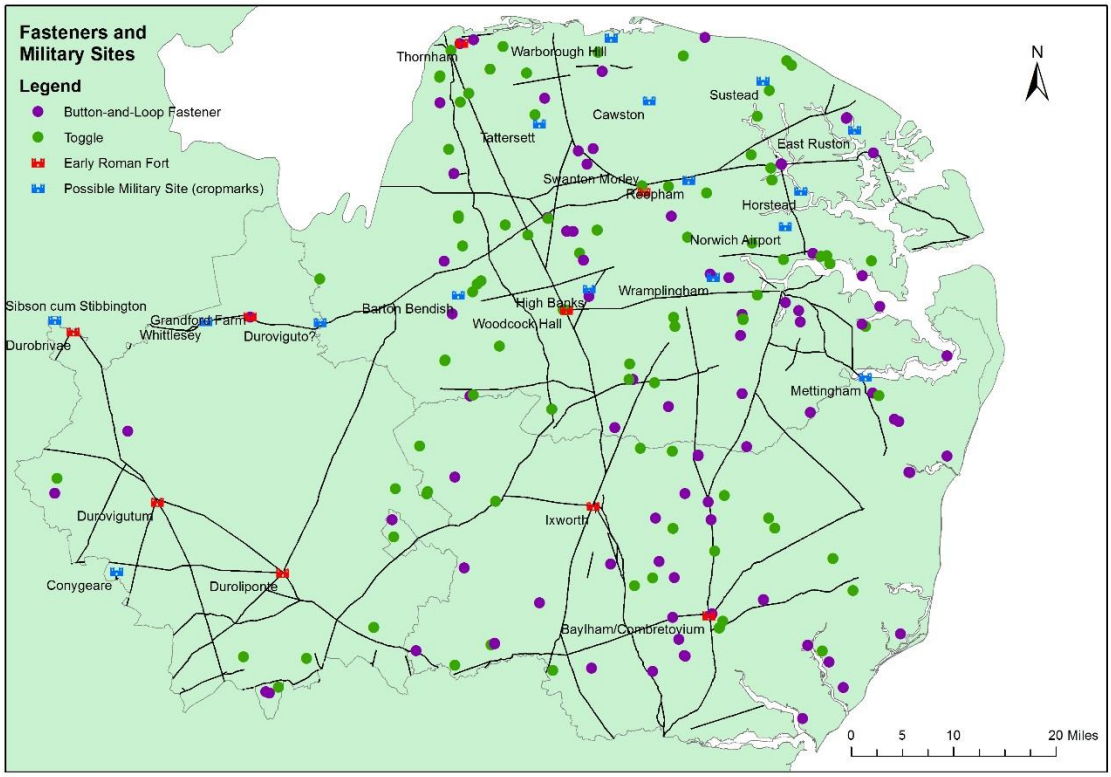


Figure 5.7: Distribution of fasteners and early Roman forts (Image: Author).

My dataset includes 102 toggles and 93 button-and-loop fasteners (Table 24), with a few other items described as buttons or dress fasteners. The distribution is widespread across Norfolk and Suffolk, with Cambridgeshire being sparsely covered (Figure 5.4). There are hotspots around centres of indigenous settlement, including Snettisham and Saham Toney, but also post-conquest foundations like Brampton and the *civitas* capital (Figure 5.5). There is a group of four toggles from Barham, near Coddenham, including two from the same site as six Icenian silver coins (SHER:BRH025/027). Four button-and-loop fasteners from Walsingham temple (NHER:2024) evoke a votive interpretation. Three button-and-loop fasteners (PAS:SF-3C8CC0, SF11039, SF9342) were found in the same field in Otley, Suffolk.

County	Button-and-loop	Toggle	Other
Cambridgeshire	5	7	2
Norfolk	49	67	2
Suffolk	39	28	1
Grand Total	**93**	**102**	**5**

Table 24: Fasteners by county and type.

The PAS database lists 280 Iron Age and 93 Roman toggles and 556 button-and-loop fasteners (Figure 5.8, Figure 5.9). This may owe something to how these items are recorded and demonstrates that small finds often do not respect modern categories. Both types are densely concentrated in Yorkshire and the Midlands. Yorkshire is certainly well-known for its horse harness. If these were exclusively military objects, I would expect to see more on the northern frontier. Many PAS finds derive from rural sites (Worrell 2008:344) which is corroborated by my density mapping (Figure 5.5) and counters the military theory. Norfolk has more PAS toggles, but is under-represented for button-and-loop fasteners in comparison to Suffolk (*ibid*.:342, fig. 2). This may bear out the military association, as Norfolk exhibits little of the characteristic military paraphernalia found elsewhere, perhaps representative of the self-governance of the client-kingdom (Eckardt 2005:150-1) and the persistence of Iron Age material culture.

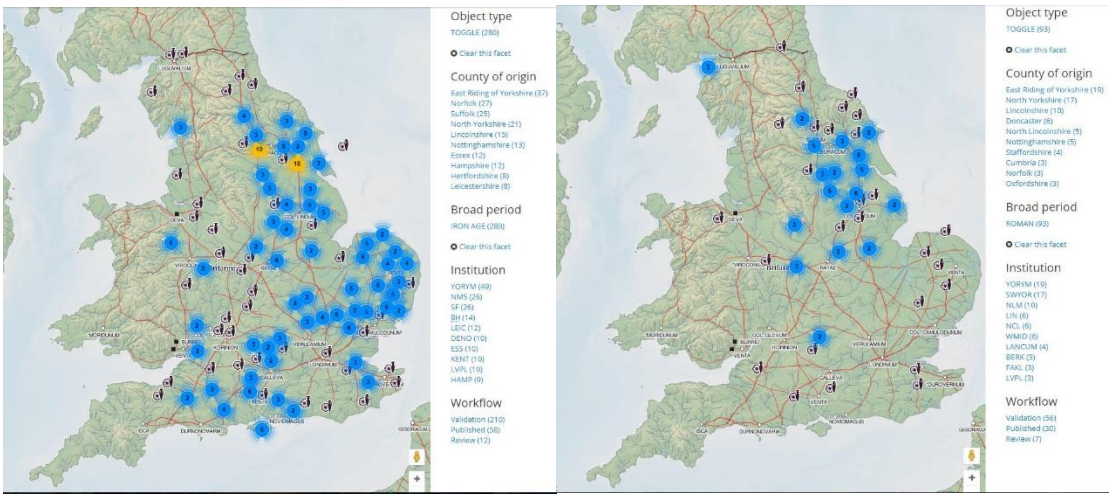


Figure 5.8: Distribution of toggles (left) Iron Age, (right) Romano-British (Images: PAS).

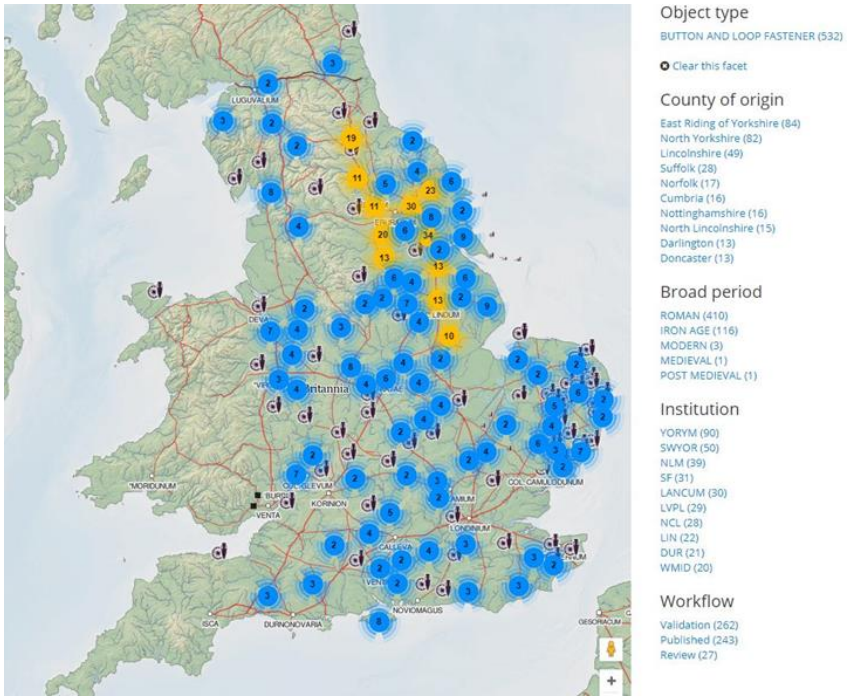


Figure 5.9: Distribution of Button-and-loop fasteners (Image: PAS).

Toggles are often simply decorated and rarely show enamelling or other surface treatments. An unusual find from Emneth is ornamented with the addorsed crescents which Davies equates with the Iceni (2009:114, 2014:27). A few rare examples have worked bone discs riveted to them, in the manner of early brooches. A toggle with a small attachment hole and widely flaring conical terminals from Heydon has a shiny surface treatment due to high levels of tin and arsenic, which reflects the ability of metalworkers to adapt alloys to affect colour, as seen with coins and torcs (Figure 5.10).



Figure 5.10: (left) Toggle with addorsed crescent motif, Emneth (PAS:NMS-E06AC5) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (centre) Unusual toggle with bone disc, Balsham (PAS:CAM-8B6ED6) (Image: CCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Toggle with flaring ends, Heydon (PAS:BH-A973D5) (Image: BM/CC BY-SA 4.0).

The enamelled button-and-loop fasteners of the 2nd century CE share a decorative scheme with seal-boxes, horse harness and plate brooches (Crummy 2011:58). This belongs to 'a common repertoire' of motifs originating in pre-conquest Britain, such as the fastener from Strumpshaw (Worrell 2008:347) (Figure 5.11). One intriguing find described as an Iron Age 'button' from Great Barton (Figure 5.12) has a curved triangle or 'steering wheel' design paralleled in the linch-pin terminals from Carleton Rode (Figure 6.34), Icenian coins and two highly-unusual triple cosmetic grinders (Section 9.2). Quatrefoil polychrome patterns are also repeated on the platform-decorated terrets from Carleton Rode (NHER:39434), Châtelaine brooches (Section 9.3.4), a square-headed fastener from Kenninghall and a flat-ring terret from just outside the study area at Peterborough (Figure 5.13).

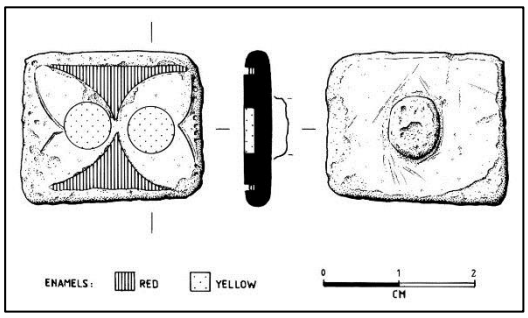


Figure 5.11: Enamelled rectangular button-and-loop fastener, Strumpshaw (PAS:NMS-FEF246) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).



Figure 5.12: (left) Enamelled 'button', Great Barton (PAS:SF-D18A63) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Enamelled linch-pin foot, Carleton Rode (PAS:NMS-248F38) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).



Figure 5.13: Enamelled quatrefoil motifs (left) Teardrop-headed button-and-loop fastener, Palgrave (PAS:SF-16E8E6) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (centre) Square-headed button-and-loop fastener, Kenninghall (PAS:SF-34B7A4) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Unusual flat-ring terret, Peterborough (PAS:CAM-CFFBD1) (Image: CCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

After the close of the 2nd century CE, fasteners, like brooches, dwindle and manufacture apparently ceases (Wild 1970:146). This provides evidence that they did not replace brooches as dress-fasteners in this period, but may have been related to costume (see Section 4.13). Some objects, like bracelets and finger-rings, survive and indeed flourish during the 'Roman Dark Ages'.

5.2. Bracelets and Finger-rings

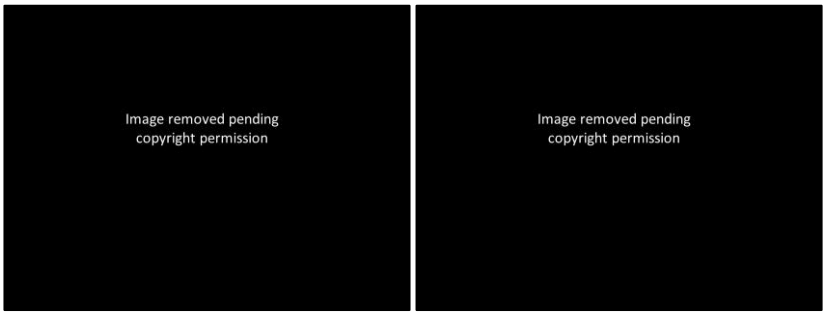


Figure 5.14: (left) Gold sheet bracelet from Hoard E, Ken Hill, Snettisham (BM:1951,0402.4); (right) Spiral armlet, Snailwell (Lethbridge 1954:pl.VIb).

This section looks at bracelets and finger-rings, focussing on the snake-headed type and the wide band '*armillae*'. A small group of other bracelets fall into the study period, including occasional one-offs, such as the gold bracelet from Hoard E at Snettisham which was intertwined with the Great Torc (Figure 5.14). Most other Roman bracelets, including jet, shale and copper alloy armlets, date from the 3rd/4th centuries CE and therefore have been omitted (Crummy 1983:36-45).

A conquest-period cremation burial at Snailwell was accompanied by a combination of homegrown and imported material culture including *amphorae*, pottery, a spiral armlet with zoomorphic terminals, described rather

unconvincingly by some as a 'snake' (Figure 5.14), a shield boss and five bridle 'cheekpieces' (See Section 6.7) (Lethbridge 1954). The armlet most likely originated in Scotland and travelled to Cambridgeshire, despite earlier diffusionist interpretations to the contrary, which saw refugees from the invasion fleeing northwards (Hunter 1997:109; MacGregor 1976:103).

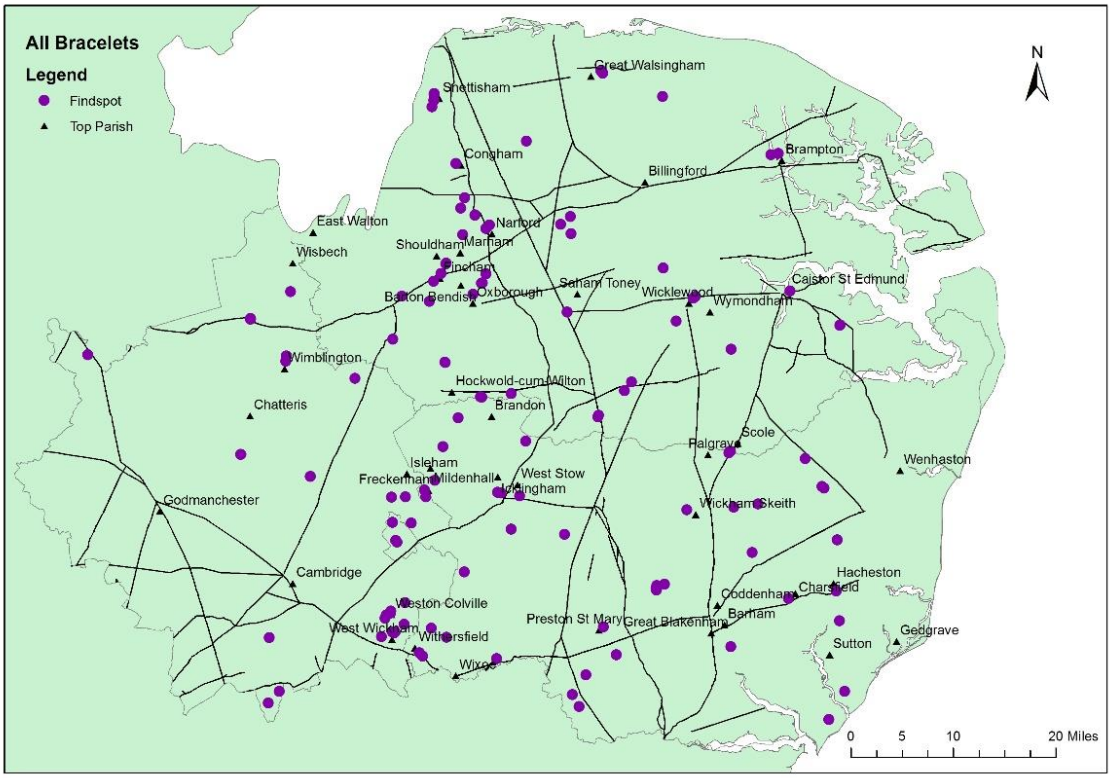


Figure 5.15: Distribution of all bracelets (Image: Author).

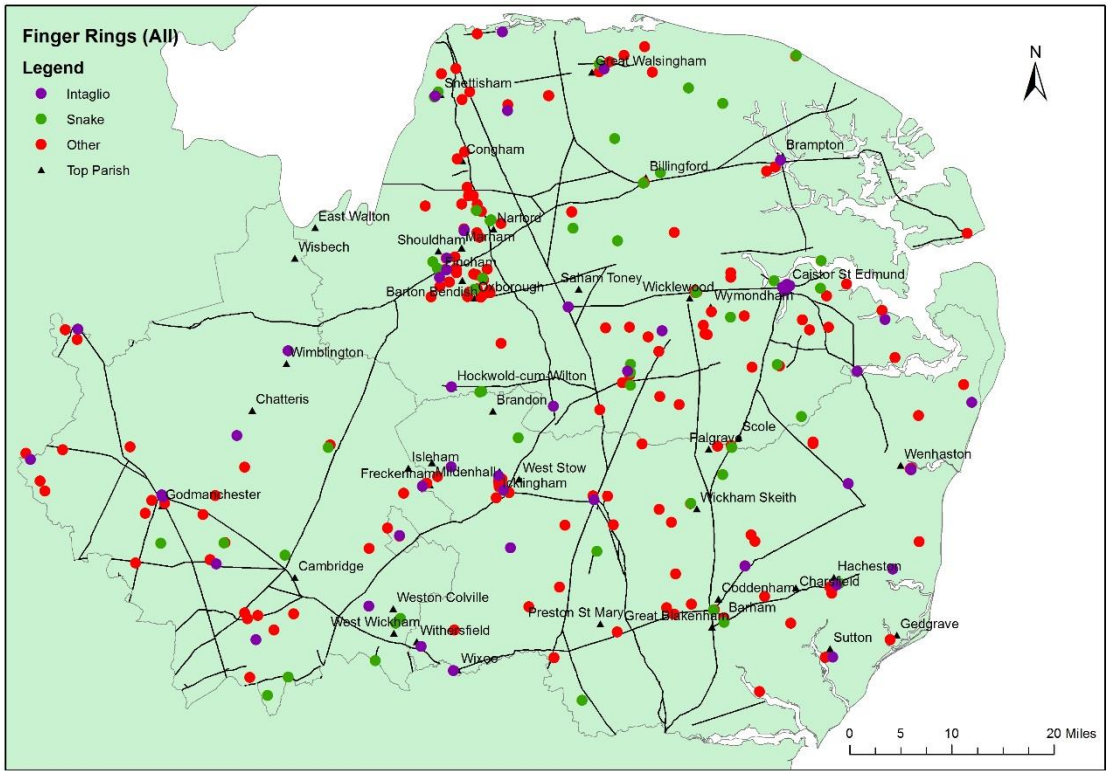


Figure 5.16: Distribution of all finger-rings by type (Image: Author).

Almost unknown in Britain before the conquest, finger-rings were worn throughout the Romano-British period. They quickly increased in popularity and were made in precious metals, bronze, bone and jet (Johns 1996b:41). The earliest forms were simple coils or loops; engraved bezels and gemstones became popular in the 2nd/3rd centuries CE. Signet rings are discussed in the chapter on literacy (Chapter 8), given their connection with correspondence. Most finger-rings from Colchester derive from late 3rd/4th century CE contexts, although several may have pre-Roman stylistic links (Crummy 1983:45-50). Rings and bracelets survive the fundamental shift in the 3rd century CE which occurs with brooches.

5.2.1. Wide-Cuff (*Armillae*)



Figure 5.17: (left) Wide-cuff bracelet fragment, Monk's Eleigh (PAS:SF-FE4116) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Wide-cuff bracelet terminal, West Wickham (PAS:SF-37B485) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

The early Romano-British bracelets with broad penannular bands form an interesting category. I have retained them in this section, although Crummy has linked them with the Claudian military (2005). The social distribution of Crummy's dataset clustered around forts, *coloniae* and large towns with a high proportion of active or veteran soldiers. The dating is post-conquest, but pre-Flavian or 'pre-Boudican', with some stratified in 1st century CE contexts. Crummy observes that most of these bracelets come from the territories of the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni. Notably there are few from Norfolk. Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire have the most PAS finds, followed by Suffolk (Figure 5.18).

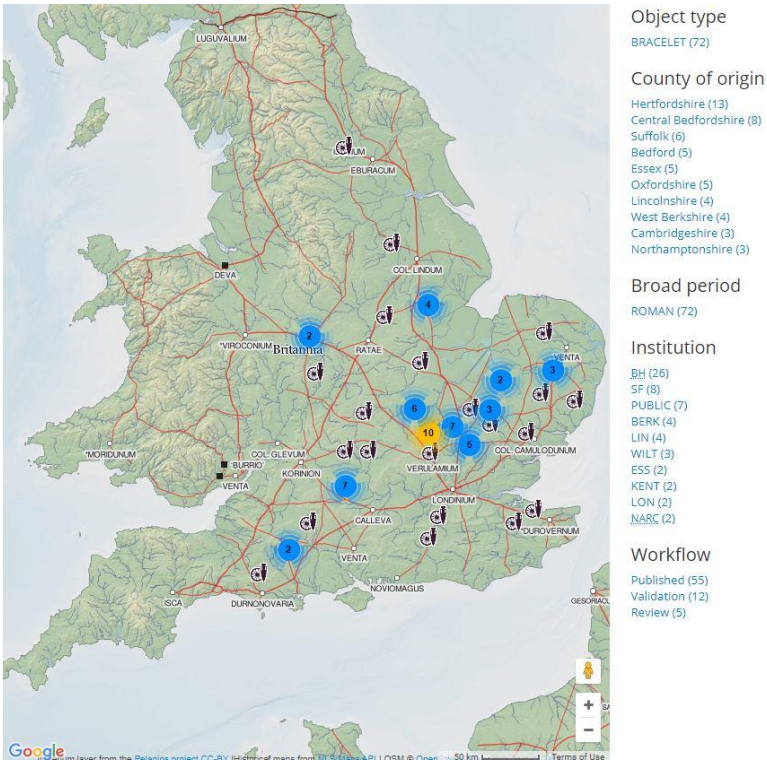


Figure 5.18: Distribution of Wide-cuff bracelets (Image: PAS).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	16
Norfolk	16
Suffolk	43
Grand Total	**75**

Table 25: Wide-cuff bracelets by county.

My dataset complements Crummy's findings, Suffolk having three times as many as the other two counties (Table 25). A cluster is evident in the southwest where the Suffolk and Cambridgeshire boundaries converge, within the parishes of Weston Colville (6), West Wratting (1), Withersfield (3) and West Wickham (3) (Figure 5.19, Figure 5.20). This hotspot is relatively close to Great Chesterford and Cambridge which have early military activity (Moore *et al.* 1988). Alternatively, the concentration may be the result of a local workshop. While some finders have recorded more than one bracelet fragment from their patch (e.g. five from Combs), there is no firm bias. A Roman road runs nearby, thought to connect Colchester, via the small town at Wixoe, to Cambridge (SHER:WTH007). The proximity to the road network may offer other

explanations, such as a *mansio* or a smaller staging post (N. Crummy pers. comm. 02/05/2017).

Crummy (2005) puts forward a good case for Wide-cuff bracelets as a specifically British type of military award 'granted to ranks below centurion for force of arms in battle', during the conquest and early years of occupation. These are attested in historical sources and epigraphy. She relates the banded cable decoration to laurel wreaths, symbolising victory, and the terminal motifs to military belt plates and Hod Hill/Aucissa brooches. Republican and early Imperial *armillae* were made from precious metals and were normally presented in pairs. Two silver *armillae* and a military armlet with a medallion were found in the Fenwick hoard (Crummy *et al.* 2015). British versions are copper alloy, frequently with a white metal surface, although it would have been a poor imitation. Crummy asserts that these bracelets would have been 'worn with pride' by both active soldiers and retired veterans. As cherished belongings, they would have enhanced the wearer's standing, but insensitive displays in front of a hostile or resentful local populace may have been unwise. They were perhaps handed down as family heirlooms, explaining their discovery in later contexts (2005:96-100).

If they were military awards, *armillae* would not be expected in the client-kingdom before the Boudican revolt. The southwestern concentration supports other evidence for minimal military activity in the core of Icenian territory, but raises the question of an early military presence on the periphery. Was a condition of Icenian self-government that the army held back beyond the borders and took their influence elsewhere? Do *armillae* show that lands were being given to veterans of the conquest in Trinovantian territory and did this provoke them to join the revolt, as stated by Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.31)? Were these items of military prowess adopted by local civilians?

The numerous finds from rural settlements, small towns and sanctuaries do not particularly suggest military deposition (Figure 5.21). Most are fragmentary and some have been cut, folded or otherwise modified. This may indicate deliberate

mutilation (Chapter 7). Crummy relies on the Boudican narrative, proposing loss during battle, requisitioning of supplies or even tax-collecting duties. Items found at shrines may have been offered by soldiers 'in times of personal and family crisis'. She suggests these bracelets may have been trophies seized from Colchester or London by Britons returning from the wars, either abandoned after Boudica's defeat or used as votive offerings (2005:100-1; N. Crummy pers. comm. 02/05/2017).

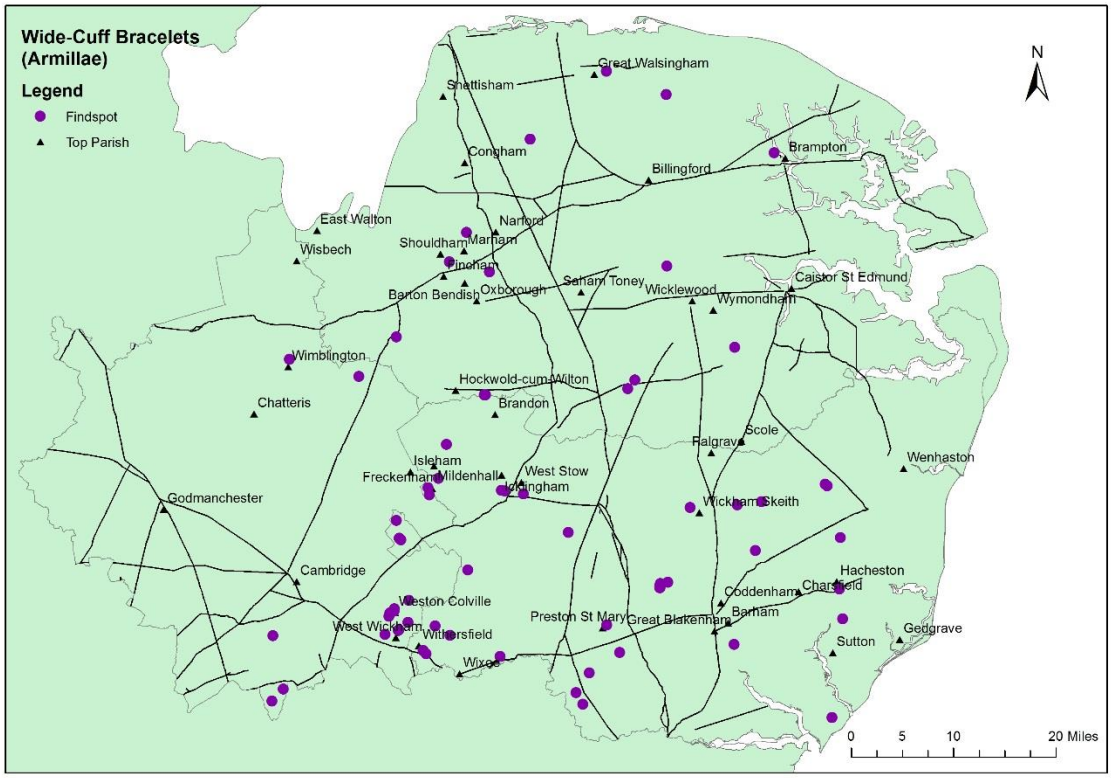


Figure 5.19: Distribution of Wide-cuff bracelets (Image: Author).

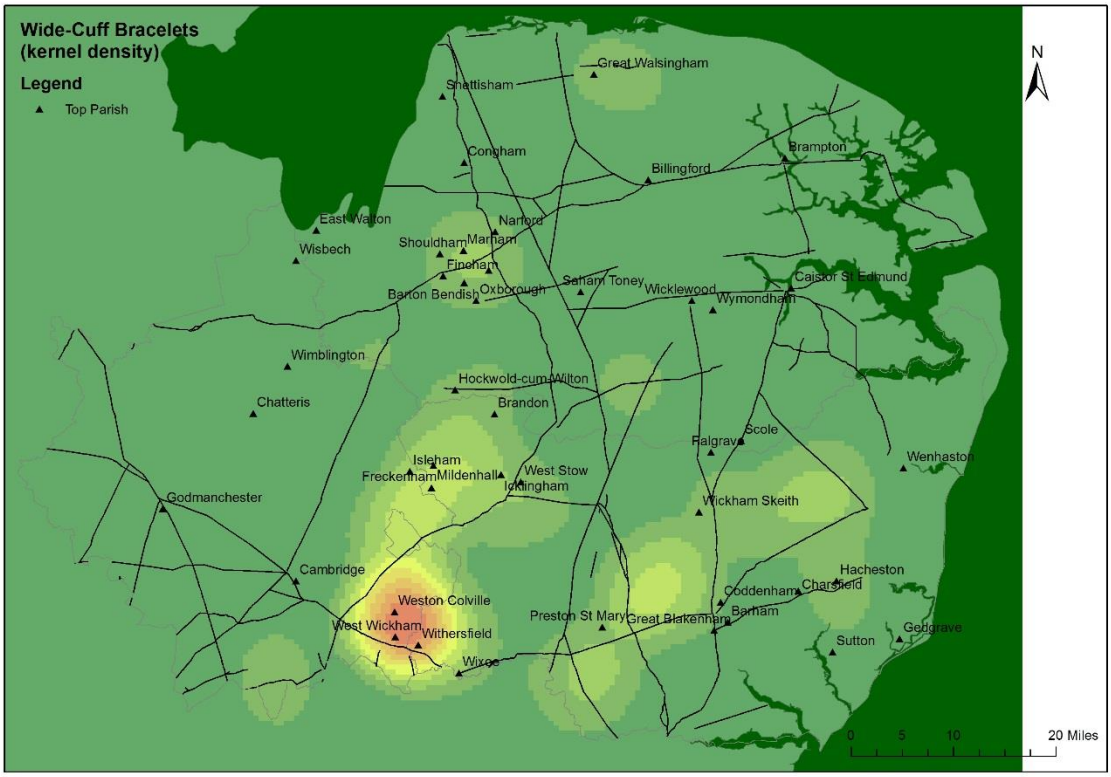


Figure 5.20: Density of Wide-cuff bracelets (Image: Author).

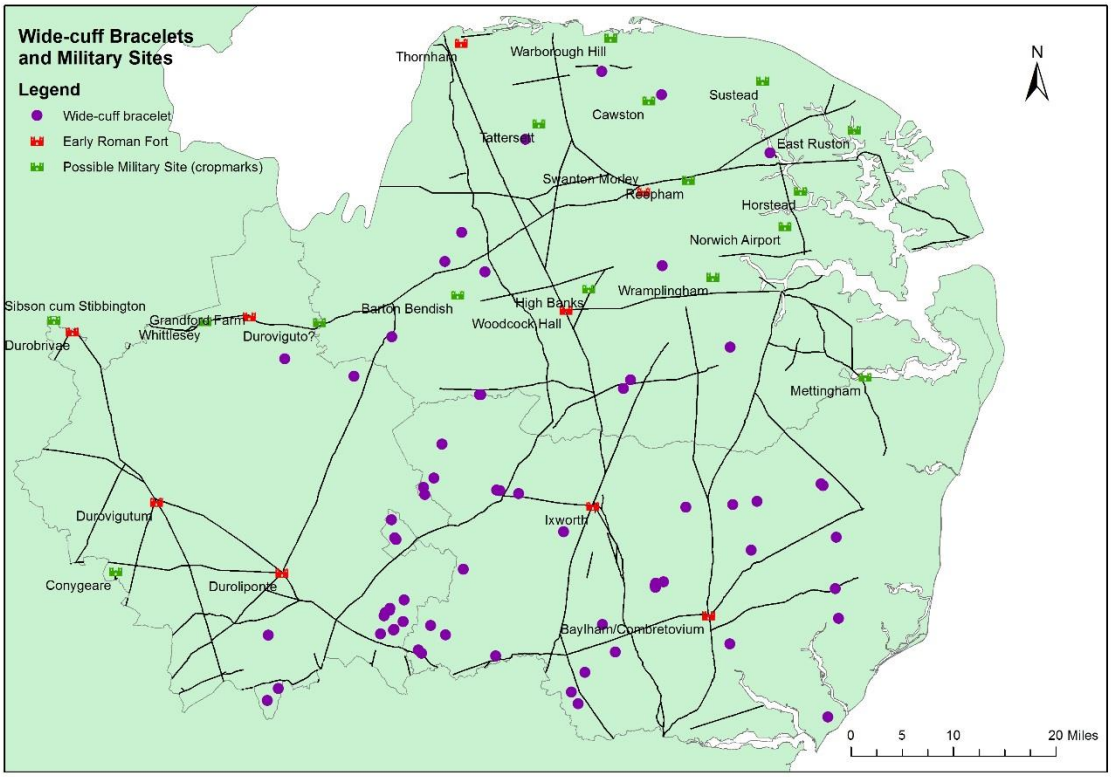


Figure 5.21: Distribution of Wide-cuff bracelets and early Roman forts (Image: Author).

On balance, the military origin of these bracelets seems plausible. Using them to visualise the movement of military personnel is less satisfactory. I would argue that the military attribution of Hod Hill/Aucissa brooches in Britain remains open to question, due to their frequency on civilian sites (Section 4.9) and this uncertainty extends to these bracelets. Considering the association of later bangles and armlets with women and girls (Allason-Jones 1989:123-5), it is interesting to note that these may have been male items of display. The rural temple finds and the incompleteness of many bracelets would fit with a potential role as offerings or trophies. Two finds each from Walsingham and Leyland's Farm, Hockwold-cum-Wilton lend further weight to this theory. Lastly, my data show very little evidence for the depopulation of the region, suggesting an influx of veterans into Suffolk is unlikely.

5.2.2. Snake-Headed Bracelets and Rings

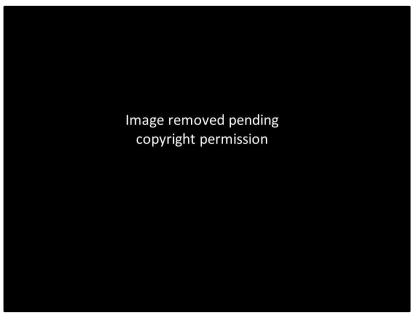


Figure 5.22: Silver snake bracelet, Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard (BM:1986,0401.313).

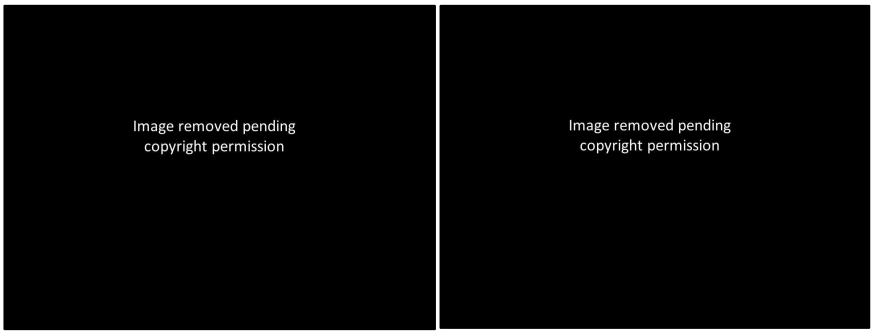


Figure 5.23: Silver snake rings, Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard (left) Johns Type Biv (BM:1986,0401.275); (right) Johns Type Bii (BM:1986,0401.268).

Serpent-shaped or snake-headed rings and bracelets were common across the Roman empire. In the classical world, snakes were symbols of regeneration and rebirth, and wearing rings or bracelets depicting serpents was thought to be apotropaic. Snakes appear on cult images of Isis, hands of Sabazius and atop

the *caduceus* of Mercury. Non-venomous snakes had positive connotations and were sometimes kept as pets. They were also associated with the spirits of the dead in Greek and Roman belief. The entwined snakes on the rod of the healer-god Asclepius were frequently-depicted symbols of healing (Cool 2000:33-5; Johns 1997:35; Toynbee 1973:223-36). Marsden (2014:68) associates snake rings with Salus, the Roman embodiment of health. Cool considers the evidence for a religious interpretation of British snake-headed jewellery, proposing a link with a cult of Glycon, a popular 2nd century CE snake god (2000:35).

Finger-rings and bracelets with snake-headed terminals became popular in Roman Britain from the late 1st to 3rd centuries CE. Examples from the Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard show both were worn in the mid-2nd century CE (Johns 1996b, 1997). There are 46 silver snake rings, in two styles (Figure 5.23) and five penannular snake-headed bracelets (Figure 5.22) (Johns 1997:37) (see also Section 5.2.2, Section 8.5.1). Two other silver snake-headed rings are recorded from Snettisham (PAS:NMS555, PAS-C29063).[42] Excepting the hoard rings, there are only a few from each county (Table 26). One rare gold example is known from Little Cornard (PAS:SF-8A6886). The colour or shine of the jewellery seems to have been important, with many examples in silver, and copper alloy examples with white metal coating. Was this another apotropaic means of 'dazzling' the evil eye or the forces responsible for bad luck and ill health (Andrews 2012:102-3; Gell 1998:83-4)?

County	Rings	Bracelets
Cambridgeshire	9	26
Norfolk	79	35
Suffolk	12	6
Grand Total	**100**	**67**

Table 26: Snake rings and bracelets by county.

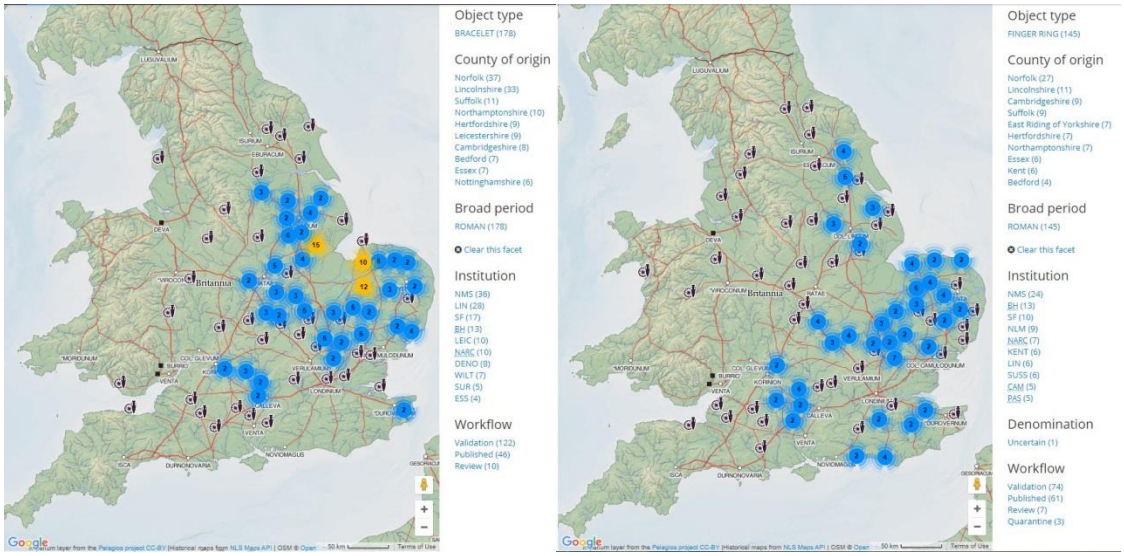


Figure 5.24: (left) Distribution of snake bracelets; (right) Distribution of snake rings (Images: PAS).

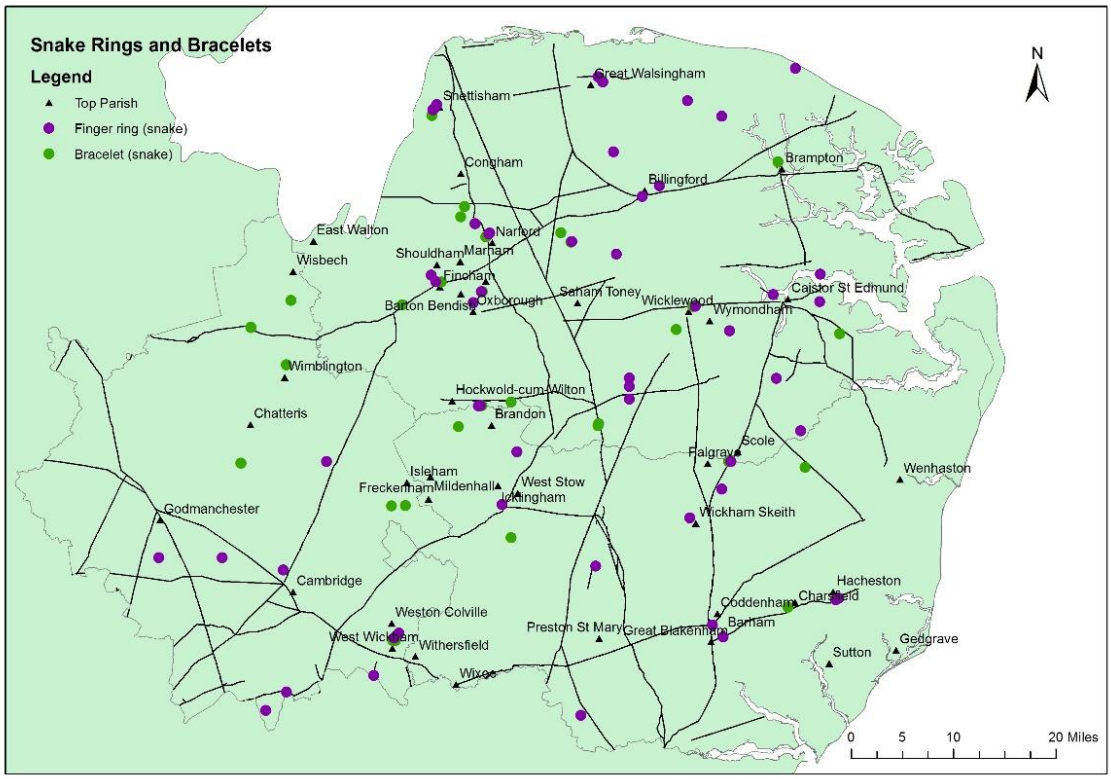


Figure 5.25: Distribution of snake rings and bracelets (Image: Author).

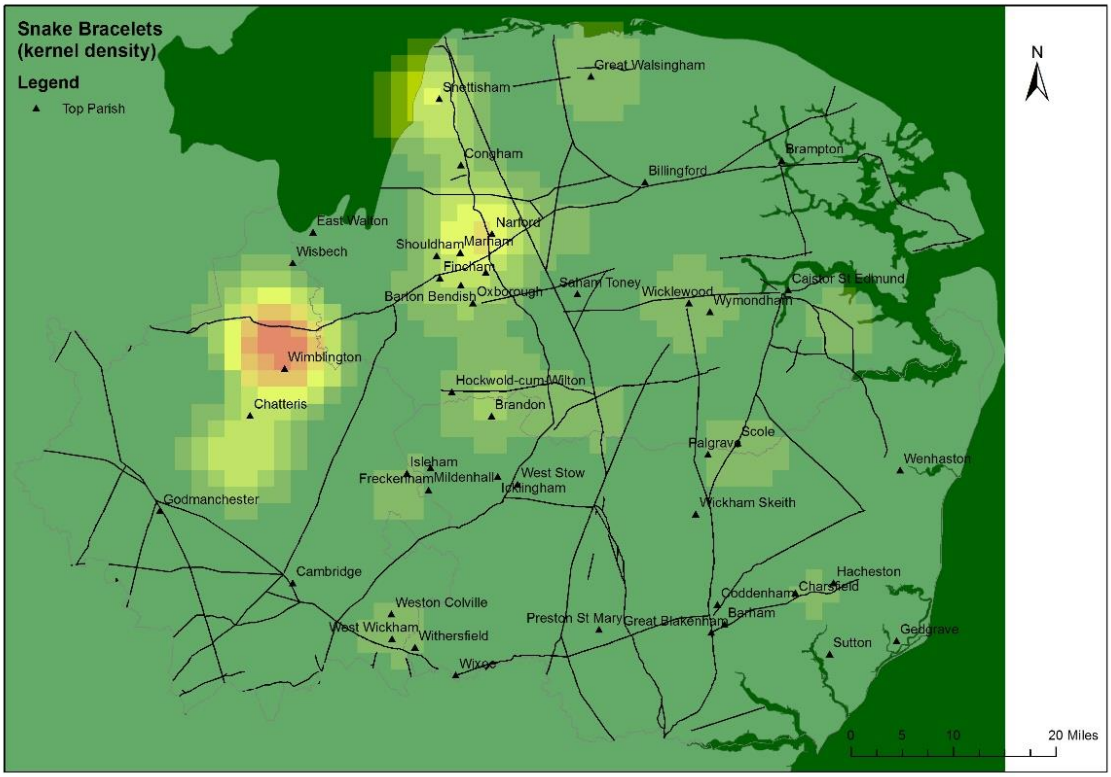


Figure 5.26: Density of snake bracelets (Image: Author).

The distribution of bracelets is far less widespread than the rings, and the two rarely seem to correspond. Bracelets are a northwestern feature in the study area (Figure 5.25). Nationally, both are an eastern phenomenon, with concentrations of bracelets more tightly focussed than rings. Norfolk and Lincolnshire have the most snake jewellery on the PAS (Figure 5.24). Hotspots occur at Snettisham and, for bracelets, at Stonea Grange, Wimblington. Here, 11 snake bracelet fragments were retrieved: nine copper alloy and two silver. One came from inside a broken jar of mid-late 2nd century CE date. It is interesting that none of these are complete bracelets and no snake rings were found at this site (Jackson and Potter 1996). A *patera* handle from *Venta Icenorum* depicts a classical Mercury holding his *caduceus.* It was reused as a plaque, possibly in a personal shrine (NWHCM:1976.303.1, 1976.303.2) (Figure 5.27). The figure had a snake-headed ring around its neck, indicating a religious connection between finger-rings and deities, perhaps even symbolising a torc (Green 1976:31; Marsden 2014:49 fig. 2.8; Wilson 1971:270 and pl. 37b).

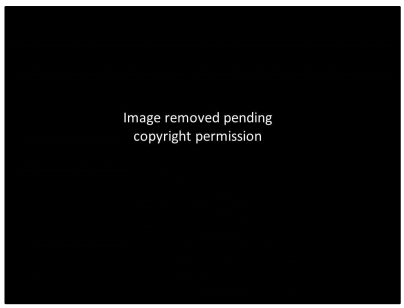


Figure 5.27: Mercury plaque with snake-ring 'torc', *Venta Icenorum* (NHER:9786).

Cool (2000) puts the snake-headed rings from Snettisham into their wider context. She cautions against assuming that the hoard was collected in the deposition area, as parallels for the less common forms come from around the Severn estuary. Finger-rings in the early-mid 2nd century CE still had a primary role as signets, and Cool observes the unusual amount of 'non-functional' rings in the hoard (2000:31-2). If these served a quasi-medical or apotropaic purpose, this 'function' could have been just as real to their wearer.

Johns discusses 'amuletic jewellery' (1996b:9-12) including the acceptance of serpent and phallic imagery in the Roman provinces. Snake jewellery may represent the adoption of new beliefs relating to health and protection in the mid-Roman period. The concentrations at Snettisham and Stonea may relate to continuance of cult centres or even the development of healing sanctuaries in the northwest of the region. The emphasis on Norfolk and Lincolnshire has similarities with the distributions of Horse-and-rider and hare brooches (Section 4.11.5). This hints at greater connections between the northern part of the region and the East Midlands in the 2nd/3rd century CE.

5.3. Beads



Figure 5.28: Melon bead, *Venta Icenorum* (CRT:SF1153) (Image: CRT).

Iron Age and Romano-British beads can be made in glass, ceramic, copper alloy and even lead. The swirled coloured glass types are very similar from the Iron Age to the early medieval period (Birley 2012; Foulds 2017). They are often very difficult to date and as a result I will look at melon beads here, which are datable to the mid-1st to 2nd century CE. There are, in addition, a few 'undated but interesting' examples in the database.

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	6
Norfolk	21
Suffolk	5
Grand Total	**32**

Table 27: Beads by county.

Melon beads were widespread across Roman Britain. They are named for their spherical shape and raised 'gadrooning' reminiscent of the fruit. They were inspired by Egyptian faience, usually made from ceramic or frit with a glazed blue finish (Johns 1996b:101), but also in copper alloy and glass. The wide perforation in the centre of the bead allowed them to be threaded onto leather or woven straps (Figure 5.28). As faience beads are not discoverable by metal-detector, the few recorded in the PAS records are testament to the keen eyes of the person in the field. As expected, most melon beads are from excavated sites, especially well post-conquest settlements such as *Venta Icenorum* (11) and Scole (5) (Figure 5.29, Table 27).

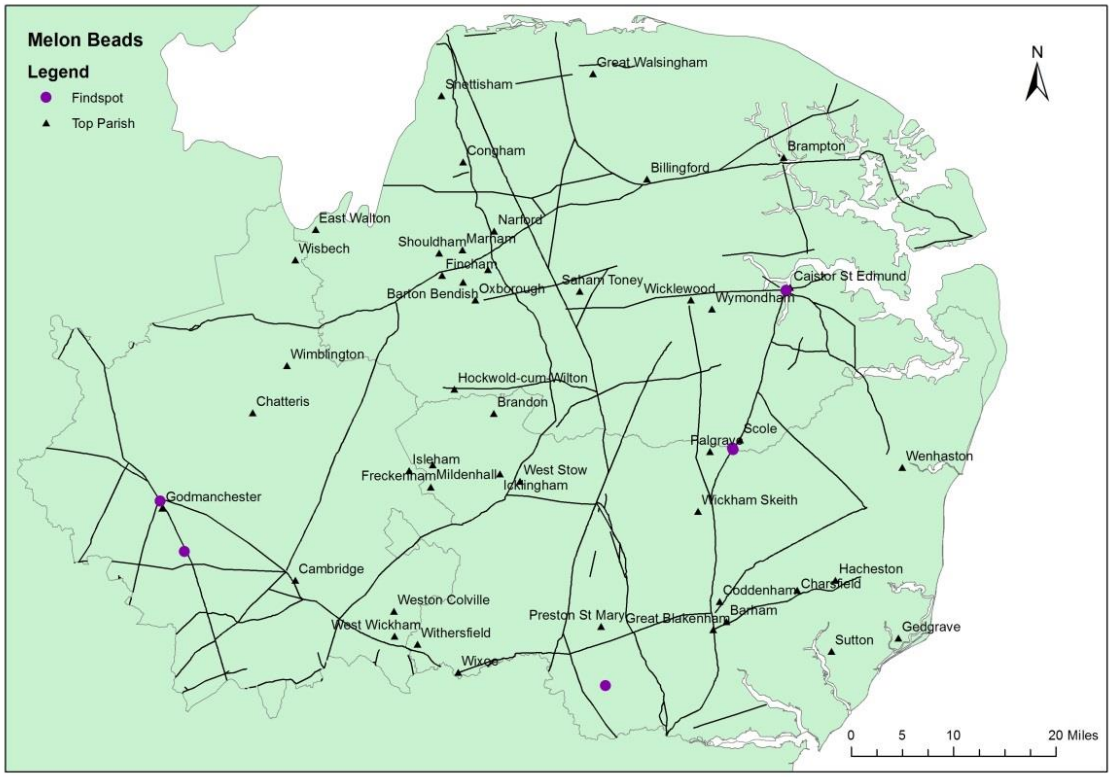


Figure 5.29: Distribution of melon beads (Image: Author).

Melon beads could have been strung along horses' reins, based upon art historical evidence from other provinces (Swift 2011:197), as well as decoration for human hair or garments. This could be 'symbolic of the rider's rank, wealth, nationality or cultural allegiances' (Birley 2012:4). I would add a possible protective role, similar to later harness pendants. In part of the 2nd-4th century CE cemetery at Lant Street, London, a small adult dog had been carefully placed into her own grave, wearing a collar ornamented with copper alloy rings, studs, a lunate pendant and seven glass melon beads (Ridgeway 2017:40-5). Grave goods are extremely rare in animal burials and this sort of decoration would have singled her out, perhaps as a favourite household pet. Melon beads are also found in human graves and on brooches, therefore they may demonstrate cross-functionality and a wider amuletic value.

5.4. Necklaces

Necklaces were rare in the Iron Age. The most significant and numerous were torcs (Section 5.4.1), for which Snettisham in Norfolk is duly famous (Section 5.5.1). Romano-British necklaces included beads and pendants, strung on

leather thongs, copper alloy wire or string, although few have close dating. These were frequently worn in multiple strands, based on sculptural evidence. Looped metal chains, sometimes made from precious metals, may have been worn as necklaces or to join pairs of brooches (Allason-Jones 1989:122; Johns 1996b:87-124).

Johns discusses Romano-British wheel and crescent necklaces, including the three silver wheel clasps and three lunate pendants from the Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard (1997:42) (see also Section 5.5.2). These were popular motifs across the Roman provinces. They are considered to symbolise solar and lunar signs, found in both Mediterranean and 'Celtic' iconography. Johns clarifies that these are not direct derivations, but 'the significance of wheels in Celtic sky-symbolism might have made these classical motifs especially appealing and acceptable to Romano-British wearers' (1996b:92-4). Spoked-wheel pendants have been speculatively associated with a sun-cult and the supposed 'wheel-god' Taranis (Green 1984). In his recent survey of plate brooches with 'sunburst' motifs, Paites is wary of any association between solar symbols, wheels and deities (2016:20) and I strongly agree (see Section 7.6.4).

5.4.1. Torcs

> 'In stature she was very tall, in appearance most terrifying, in the glance of her eye most fierce, and her voice was harsh; a great mass of the tawniest hair fell to her hips; around her neck was a large golden necklace; and she wore a tunic of divers colours over which a thick mantle was fastened with a brooch' (Dio *Hist. Rom.* 62.2.4).

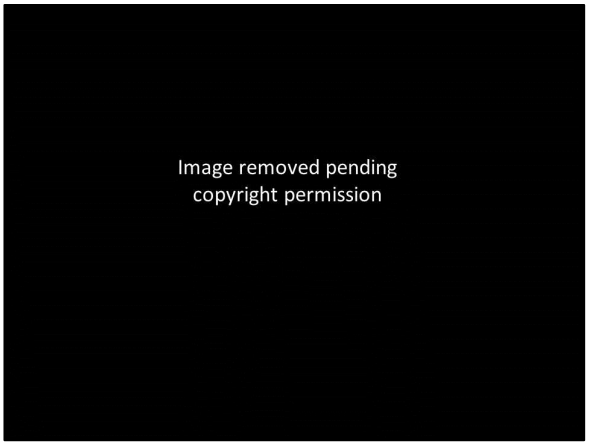


Figure 5.30: The Great Torc from Snettisham, Hoard E (BM:1951,0402.2).

Torcs were associated with 'religious and political authority' in some societies (Hingley and Unwin 2005:4). Dio's iconic description of the Icenian queen wearing a golden torc may have indicated her status and marked her out as a barbarian in the eyes of his readership in Rome (Farley 2015:14). Or perhaps Dio was 'dressing' Boudica in the provincial costume of his day, as attested by burial goods and depictions of women wearing torcs from the Danube region in the 2nd/3rd centuries CE (Carroll 2008:295). Neck-rings had largely passed out of production in Britain by the 1st century CE, making it unlikely that Boudica, if she indeed existed, wore one. If she did so, perhaps she was using the display of an heirloom to appeal to an ancestral powerbase.

Torcs are most commonly found in hoards, which may suggest they were not items of adornment for the masses, although they certainly show use-wear (Fitzpatrick 1992:396; Rosten 2007:39). Although torcs could be worn by either men or women in the Iron Age, many finds from continental graves are associated with female remains (Stead 1991:459; Watts 2005:94). In the post-conquest period, torcs went out of fashion in Britain, particularly for women. The 2nd century CE funerary depiction of Regina at *Arbeia* shows her dressed in Romano-British clothing and wearing what is described as a twisted torc (Carroll 2012:295). Wearing a torc may have emphasised her indigenous identity and difference. This shift may represent a renegotiation of identities as people interacted with changing gender expectations and forms of adornment. Neck-rings may have been awarded to legionaries for bravery in battle, and

later became worn as good luck symbols, synonymous with crescentic lunar amulets (Allason-Jones 1989:122; Cool 1983:12; MacGregor 1976:93; Pudney 2010:115).

Discoveries of numerous torcs in East Anglia suggest it was a principal centre of production (Spratling 1972:328). There is a strong emphasis on northwest Norfolk, with outliers close to major river systems (Figure 5.32). Torcs were found in great quantities at Snettisham, with groups at Ipswich and Bawsey, and individual finds from North Creake and Sedgeford (Garrow and Gosden 2012:137). Five of the six torcs from Ipswich were unfinished (Brailsford 1968). Other parishes with possible torcs or fragments include East Walton, East Winch, Forncett, Hevingham, Holkham, Narford and Weybourne, all in Norfolk (Hutcheson 2004).

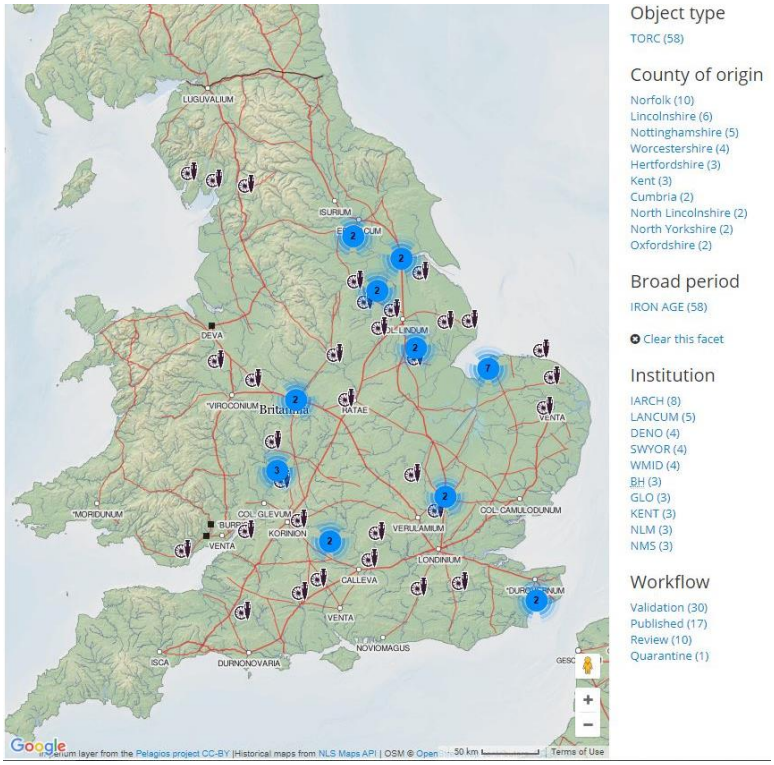


Figure 5.31: Distribution of Iron Age torcs (Image: PAS).

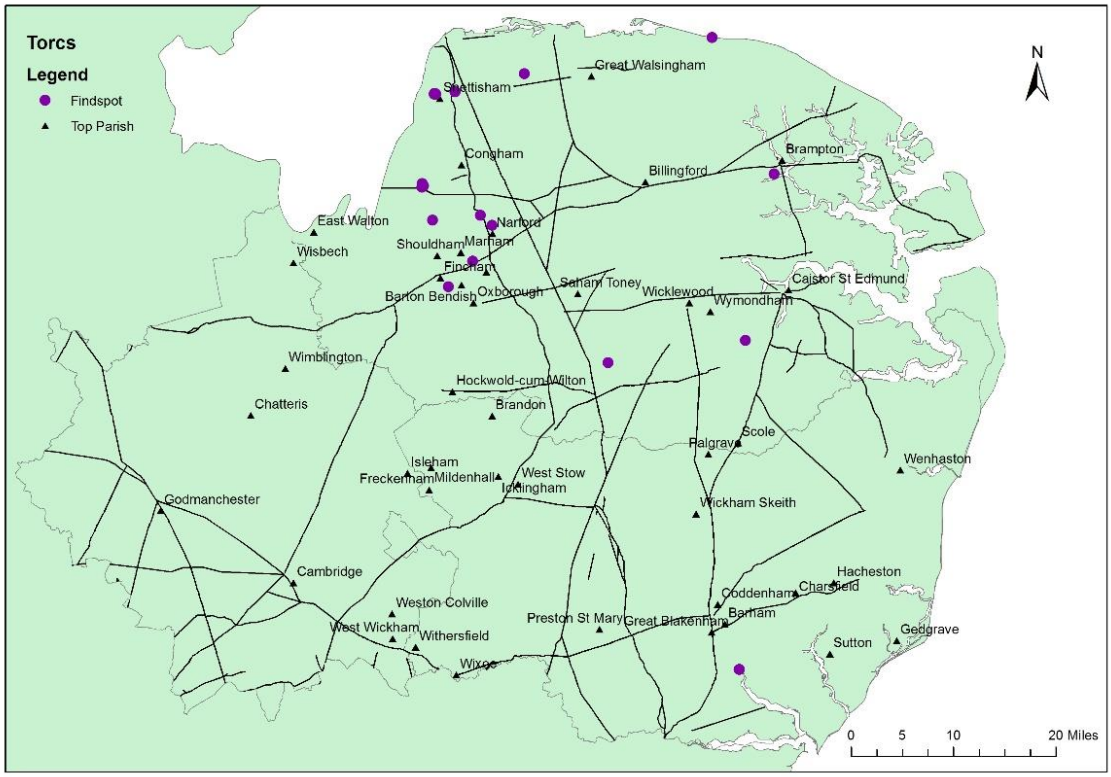


Figure 5.32: Distribution of torcs (Image: Author).

Torcs are a distinctively East Anglian product, with continental parallels, dating from the 3rd to 1st centuries BCE. The UK distribution is sparse, but widespread, with many antiquarian examples and a significant Scottish and Irish collection which does not appear on the PAS (Figure 5.31). Torcs are commonly made from twisted wires, with cast-on terminals, although some of the Snettisham examples are tubular. They were manufactured in carefully-selected alloys of gold, silver and copper. Manufacturing evidence for terminals comes from North Creake (Garrow and Gosden 2012:134, 137; Hutcheson 2004:23) (Figure 5.34).

Several torcs share a similar aesthetic, including asymmetrical half-moons, trumpet swirls, raised dots and basket weave, defined as a 'Snettisham style' (Hutcheson 2004:25). These include the torcs from Sedgeford and Ipswich and those from further afield at Newark (Figure 5.33) and Netherurd (Garrow and Gosden 2012:141; Hunter 1997:113; SHARP 2014:33). Some motifs also link torcs with horse gear and swords. Ambiguity and fluidity of design seem to be part of this aesthetic (Garrow and Gosden 2012:59, 142). MacGregor describes

torc terminals as having an 'unpredictable layout of design' (1976:94), which is certainly true of those from Bawsey (Figure 5.33, Figure 5.34).



Figure 5.33: (left) 'Snettisham-style' decoration on the Newark torc (PAS:DENO-4B33B7) (Image: BM/CC BY 2.0); (right) Decorated torc terminal, Bawsey (PAS:NMS-D3BF38) (Image: BM/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Torcs are sometimes depicted in artistic works. They may be connected with deities, such as the Hercules wearing a torc from Great Chesterford (Green 1976:25). Two plate brooches supposedly depicting a torc-wearing owl were discussed in Section 4.11.5. Similarly, the Mercury plaque from *Venta Icenorum* may be wearing the snake-headed ring around its neck in imitation of a torc (Section 5.2.2). I find the suggestion that torcs may have adorned wooden statues in shrines unlikely. Wear patterns and repairs, as well as grave evidence from the mainland, suggests they were certainly worn by humans, both the living and the dead (Fitzpatrick 1992:396; Stead 1991).

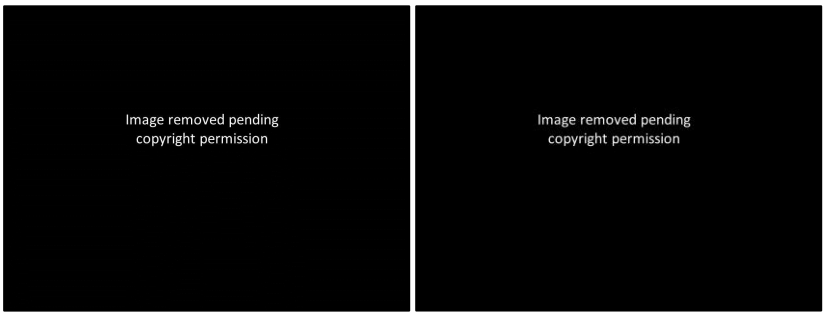


Figure 5.34: (left) Copper alloy torc terminal mould, North Creake (NHER:1913); (right) Silver buffer torc terminals, Bawsey (BM:1985,1204).

5.5. Snettisham

The parish of Snettisham has provided us with some of the most intriguing, beautiful and technically-astounding works of Iron Age art, in the form of hoards of torcs and other personal ornament. Two hoards of jewellery,

deposited perhaps two centuries apart, reflect a continuity of practice, despite changing material culture (Figure 5.35, Figure 5.36).

5.5.1. Ken Hill, Snettisham

Ken Hill has produced the most gold torcs in Britain and Ireland, with more than 14 separate hoards. Between the 1940s and 1990s, at least 60 torcs and over 150 fragments were found, along with bracelets, scrap metal and coins. Unfinished items, ingots and semi-molten objects provide evidence for metalworking, although the site revealed little trace of Iron Age occupation. These artefacts were carefully buried in 'nests', sometimes organised by metal alloy (Hutcheson 2004:1, 23; Joy 2016:243-4, forthcoming; Stead 1991). To gather a sense of their significance, in 2005 there were 276 torcs known from continental Europe and perhaps 150 from Snettisham (Garrow and Gosden 2012:138).

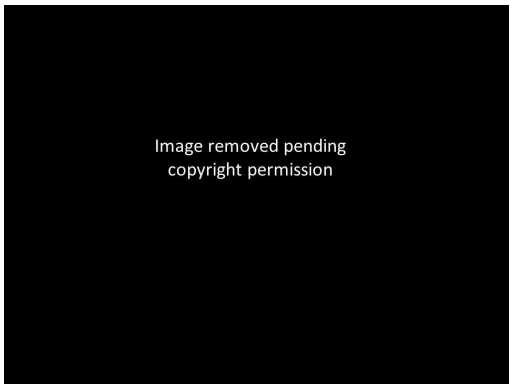


Figure 5.35: Hoard L *in situ*, Ken Hill, Snettisham (BM:1991,0407).

Interpretation of the Snettisham hoards has changed considerably over the years, partly based on archaeological understanding, but also on contemporary legislation. Under Treasure Trove law, votive deposits, grave goods and casual losses could not be declared Treasure. The criterion of 'intent to return' (*animus revertendi*) which was instrumental in defining Treasure Trove cases was removed in 1996, when the new Treasure Act was inscribed into law in England and Wales. [43]

Clarke saw the tubular torcs as externally-sourced objects, imported by groups of aristocratic refugees moving north following Caesar's invasions, or loot

gained by Icenian raiding parties. Their rarity designated them symbols of rank amongst 'the monarchy and the priesthood', concepts derived from classical sources. The presence of gold 'cakes' and coins, and the 'dismemberment' and partial melting of many torcs led Clarke to conclude these were the stock of an 'itinerant goldsmith'. He stated emphatically that the first five hoards were deliberately buried for security, within hours or days of each other, between 25 BCE and 10 CE. Some may have been deposited in bags or boxes (1954:27-86). Both Clarke and Johns (1996a:4) consider the usage of a container evidence for 'intention to return'. Hoards A-E were duly declared Treasure (Clarke 1954:30-1).

After new finds in 1990, Stead reappraised the site, using repeated language of a 'treasury' of the Iceni. Drawing on continental parallels and classical texts, Stead claimed the Snettisham hoards were 'treasure assigned to the earth for safe-keeping' and 'a gradual accumulation of wealth' of a family or even an entire community. He was at pains to establish a non-votive explanation, noting that torcs are rare in British deposits in water or sanctuaries. Unlike continental finds, torcs are absent from British graves, except for a lead example from Brackmills (Garrow and Gosden 2012:137; see discussion of lead miniatures in Section 7.6). Stead stressed intent to return, citing the conscientious placement and secretion of the torcs. Hoards G-L were adjudged Treasure Trove (1991:447-65).

The reluctance to ascribe 'votive' status to hoards may have been a political action, intended to circumvent the archaic Treasure Trove law and to claim the Snettisham torcs for the nation. This also seems to have been the case with the interpretation of the Ipswich torcs as temporarily hidden by a goldsmith or looter (Brailsford 1968). Fitzpatrick argues as much, criticising Stead's reliance on classical sources and the overly simplistic sacred:profane dichotomy. Instead, he raises the social importance of hoarding and the relationships between torcs and coins. Fitzpatrick discusses the possibility that coins gradually replaced torcs as people engaged with 'different spheres of exchange' involving new concepts of wealth (1992:395-8).

Over time the dating of the hoards has been pushed back. Clarke's dating (25 BCE-10 CE) was revised by Stead to the first quarter of the 1st century BCE. Hutcheson's reassessment (2004:24) suggests manufacture in the late 2nd century BCE, with deposition before mid-1st century BCE. This removes any historically-attested event, such as Caesar's abortive incursions, from the interpretation, but the sequencing is unclear and old torcs were sometimes curated for inclusion within hoards. Archaeology has frequently been used to corroborate classical texts in the mythologising of the Iceni. The Iceni (literature, placenames) were wealthy (torcs, hoards) warriors primarily interested in horses (chariots, harness) and their 'tribal motif' was the Boar-Horse (coins) (Webster 1993:47). Therefore, torcs are considered indicators of rank associated with warfare and individual wealth and power. Alternatively, they may have been owned and worn by generations of people, with different meanings for each. Wearing a torc could have emphasised difference rather than status, as Joy has suggested for Iron Age mirrors (2010:76-7).

Most recently, Joy (2016) has rethought Snettisham through the lens of social archaeology and object biography. He considers the cumulative aspect of hoards, the importance of practice and the longer-term actions of people (as individuals or groups) to assemble objects for deposition. Some torcs were already over a century old when they were deposited, and many show extensive use-wear and repair, raising issues of heirlooms and inheritance. Some of the coins found with the torcs were imported, others locally made. Torcs may have been made from reprocessed gold coins imported from Gaul, and later melted down to become coins again. Many objects were partially destroyed by deliberate breakage, chopping or melting; some were interlinked, especially spiral finger-rings. Joy suggests these may represent personal gifts conjoined 'to represent broader social groupings and a collective effort' (*ibid*.:247). Garrow and Gosden draw similar parallels with harness hoards. The metalworking residues and pieces of scrap, along with the linked groups, suggest a connection with craft production and a preoccupation with unmaking,

combining and recombining objects (Fitzpatrick 1992:396; Garrow and Gosden 2012:140, 176, 191).

5.5.2. The Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard

Found during building work, the Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard (Figure 5.36) contains over 350 objects, principally decorative personal ornaments, like the Ken Hill hoards. Yet the contents are stylistically very different, comprising silver snake bracelets, snake-headed and intaglio finger-rings, engraved carnelian gemstones (Section 5.2.2, Section 8.5.1), coins, silver ingots and scrap, buried in a small ceramic vessel (Johns 1997). Unlike the Ken Hill deposits, the Jeweller's Hoard was buried in proximity to industrial areas, including pottery kilns and metalworking debris as well as Romano-British occupation (Gurney in Johns 1997:13-4).

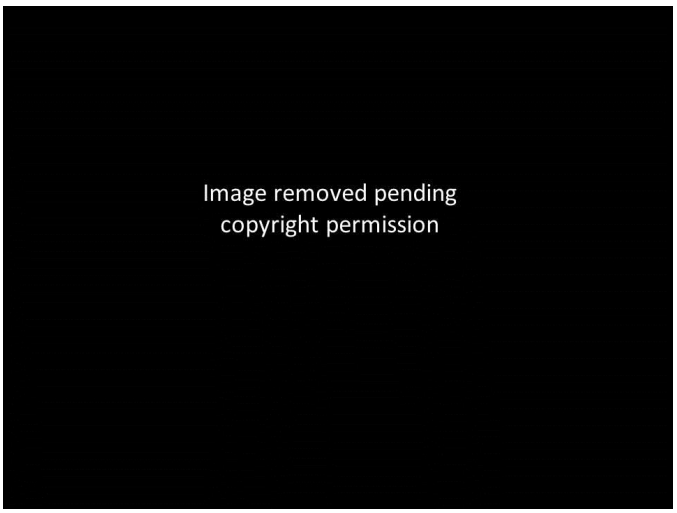


Figure 5.36: The Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard (BM:1986,0401).

Johns asserts that this collection was 'indisputably a manufacturer's hoard' collected together to be melted down and recycled into jewellery (1997:69). Johns sees a purely practical intention for its deposition. She views hoards as for safekeeping in times of danger, military or political upheaval or 'the owner may have caused his wealth to be hidden simply because he was embarking on a long journey for business or family reasons' (1996a:20). The latest coin is a worn *as* of Faustina I, providing a *terminus post quem* of 155 CE. The 83 *denarii* were deliberately selected for their silver content, which has led to the 'collection for reprocessing' case. However, analysis of the silver jewellery and

ingots shows wide disparities in purity, meaning there is no 'direct link between the silver coins and the silversmithing' (Burnett in Johns 1997:16-8). Traces of gold alloy suggest the jeweller was working with other precious metals, although no finished articles were hoarded. Roman jewellers were possibly reusing recovered torcs from Ken Hill to make new jewellery (Pike *et al.* in Johns 1997:58-9), although this is highly speculative. Johns recognises the significance of precious metalworking in the area and goes as far as to suggest that the makers of the Ken Hill torcs were ancestors of the Roman jewellers. It is not beyond the realms of possibility for craft traditions to be passed down over many generations (1997:70-3).

Many of the objects are incomplete, which lends credence to the jeweller's hoard theory, although as we have seen with Ken Hill, fragmentation is a key component of hoarding practice. Some of the silver gem-set rings are unfinished, with hammer marks, untrimmed edges and unpolished surfaces. Many other rings are in freshly cast condition, but one or two are crushed or broken, as are the snake bracelets, which were squashed to fit into the flask. The bracelets also range from pristine condition to heavily-worn. Johns regards the snake rings as part of 'an extensive series of mass-produced, mould-made, precious-metal jewellery produced at one time in one workshop' (1997:34-8). This statement embodies several assumptions about the origins of this jewellery, which Cool has contested (2000). She sees an unusual, possibly non-local range, particularly of finger-rings, in this hoard. Cool also observes the mixture of very worn and unfinished snake bracelets. She puts forward a religious explanation, these items belonging to a restricted pool of ritual jewellery associated with a cult, perhaps of Asclepius or Glycon (*ibid.*:37).

5.5.3. Discussion

Haselgrove observes that many LIA artefacts show uneven distributions reflecting 'preferential incorporation in certain regional hoarding or votive traditions, but not others'. Torcs were hoarded in East Anglia, but are found occasionally in other regions, suggesting that they were manufactured, exchanged and worn outside Icenia, but only deposited in exceptional, even

atypical, circumstances (2015:33). Hutcheson eschews the functional explanations for hoarding due to flight or safekeeping and instead proposes hoards represent 'an ongoing, deliberate, potentially votive practice' (2004:93). Therefore, it seems that the Iceni tradition of depositing portable wealth in hoards may have continued, along with a multitude of other potentially ritualised acts, incorporating changing material culture over several centuries (Chapter 7).

Torcs and hoarding are seen as key cultural indicators of the Iceni. The persistence of Snettisham as an appropriate location for deposition suggests an ongoing social practice, which may be associated with metalworking. The area may have been a significant, perhaps sacred, place from the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE. A small Romano-Celtic temple was excavated at Ken Hill in 2004 (Hutcheson 2011). I disagree with Johns's functional explanation of the jeweller secreting his stock while going travelling or for tax purposes (1996a:20), as too many aspects of the hoard seem to be ritualised. Additionally, the division of ritual and everyday practice is a modern construction which we should avoid applying to ancient Britain. Cool's idea of a healing cult with specialised jewellery is interesting, although my analysis of the snake jewellery (Section 5.2.2) shows that these are an eastern phenomenon, rather than an unusual type imported from the West Country.

The overriding interest with proving the 'intent to return' of earlier hoards has clouded the interpretation of the Snettisham torcs, which has only recently been readdressed. Stead's idea of a 'tribal treasury' depended too heavily on classical and continental parallels, which does not consider the longstanding, regionally-specific, tradition of hoarding. The link to Boudica and Icenian 'royalty' is untenable, given the revised chronology. The connection between coins and torcs is intriguing. Perhaps they were a form of highly-decorative social currency, wealth you could wear, although we are not party to the value systems of the time. The suggestion that torcs were eventually melted down to become Icenian coinage may explain the partial dismantling of some examples (Fitzpatrick 1992; Joy 2016).

Joy proposes the complete torcs were associated with past generations and were taken out of 'circulation' rather than being recycled into coins. He also notes the complete size range (to fit women, men and possibly children) which demonstrates these were personal belongings and suggests torcs may have been collected when individuals died (2016:248-50). I would extend this idea to question whether hoards might be proxy burials in communities which disposed of human remains in other, as yet little understood, ways. Perhaps their belongings, closely associated with individuals or lineages, were collected and buried together as a memorialisation. The fragmentation and recombination of torcs and other jewellery in these hoards has parallels with the selection and deposition of human and animal remains in pits and in cremation burials elsewhere. The Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard may have been a late revisiting of this tradition, buried in an urn-like ceramic vessel. These ideas are discussed further in relation to hoards of horse harness in the next chapter.

5.6. Summary

This chapter has examined personal ornaments, from the most widespread everyday fasteners like toggles, to hoards of ornate and precious torcs. Some finds such as torcs, *armillae* and snake jewellery have very restricted or concentrated distributions. These relate to local workshops and markets, but this needs more research, especially the idea of itinerant metalworkers. The focus of *armillae* has raised interesting questions about the narrative of the Boudican revolt and the potential for personal ornament to have been taken and deposited as war trophies. I continue to raise doubts over the militarisation and reallocation of lands in Icenia.

The categories which we ascribe to objects had more permeable boundaries in the LIA and Roman periods. Melon beads could equally be worn by humans, horses or dogs. Button-and-loop fasteners may have been appropriate for clothing, containers and harness. The boundaries between military and civilian are also blurred. Bracelets were worn by men, women and children, and some may have been symbolic of victory in battle or trophies of resistance. An artefact could be a simple ornament at one time or to one person, or an

appropriate votive deposit, individually or combined with other belongings, in another context.

Ritual practice appears to have continued, with an emphasis on hoarding and votive deposition. New material culture was incorporated into these rites. The adoption of jewellery with snake iconography, especially around Stonea and Snettisham, may suggest changing religious ideas and an interest in health and healing. Both rings and bracelets survive the 'abandonment horizon', featuring in Late Roman hoards at Hoxne and Thetford (Johns 1996b:114-7). The emphasis on fragmentation, recombination and possible recycling of metalwork can be seen in both hoards from Snettisham. Scrap metal processing is one suggestion, but within a ritual or votive context, in which precious metals are returned to the earth. This aspect will also be explored in the next chapter on horse and chariot fittings.

Chapter 6. Always Look a Gift Horse in the Mouth: Harness and Chariot Fittings

6.1. 'The Kingdom of the Horse'

Why examine horse harness rather than simply concentrate on personal ornament and grooming items? Horse and chariot fittings are one of Davies's 'cultural indicators' of the Iceni. He calls Icenia 'The Kingdom of the Horse' (2009:109). He sees a special affinity between the Iceni and horses: a persistent motif, along with the boar and wolf, on their coins (2009:110, 2011a:67, 2011b:103-4, 2014:27-34). East Anglia has a predominance of finds of horse equipment and has been identified as an important production area. The continuity of hoarding practice also applies to deposition of harness. Pudney explores human-animal-object relationships, noting the 'powerful associations of the horse and of metalworking in regional Iron Age societies […] as an integral fragment of personhood' (2018:3). For these reasons, I consider horse trappings as portable artefacts, items of display, and therefore 'belongings', though I acknowledge that they are not personal possessions like finger-rings.

Possible horse ornaments such as button-and-loop fasteners and melon beads were examined above. In this chapter, I present the artefactual evidence for both horses (bridles and harness fittings) and vehicles (terrets and linch-pins). These finds have a similar collection profile to brooches including surface finds, hoards and manufacturing evidence. They are key artefacts for investigating chronological changes (see Appendix B: Harness Date Ranges). Many of these harness fittings continue throughout the Roman period in East Anglia, which suggests that the equine economy remained important and people continued to display this aspect of their identity and heritage (Hutcheson 2004:98).

Palk (1984) and MacGregor's (1976) catalogues provide useful background, even if the interpretations are now in need of refreshing. More recent research by Lewis (2015) and Davis (2014) complement these studies. The subdiscipline

of ethnozooarchaeology (Argent 2016; Bendrey 2010; Sykes 2014) also provides a different perspective on the subject.

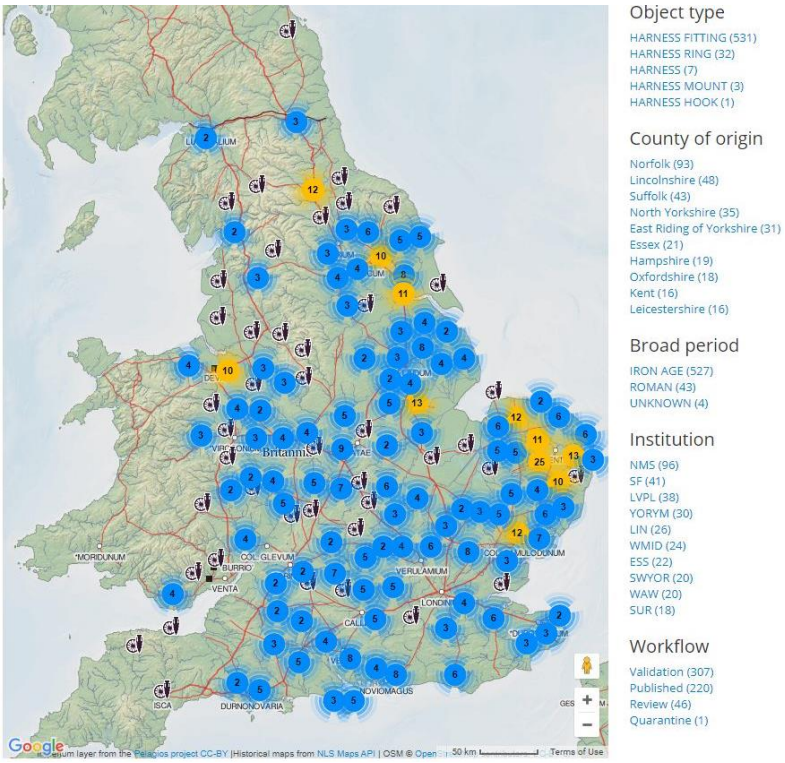


Figure 6.1: Distribution of Iron Age and Roman harness (Image: PAS).

Hutcheson's work on Norfolk (2004, 2007) has been particularly influential. She utilises comparative material from the PAS to show the easterly pattern of horse gear (Figure 6.1) and notes that enamelled and highly-ornamental harness pieces are concentrated in this region. Hutcheson discounts the East Anglian metal-detector bias; although the region has more finds overall, there is no particular bias towards any one period and therefore the distribution is likely to reflect actual Iron Age practices (*ibid*.:19-22).

Attitudes towards accumulation of portable wealth, especially metalwork, across the Iceni territory changed under the occupation, but within a distinct cultural convention. Hutcheson has suggested that new political and economic arrangements 'facilitated the extensive use of a new material language'. She considers the preponderance of horse gear to show the wealth and connectedness of the territory (2004:98). Like the brooches, I will attempt to

show through analysis of the horse harness that the region was not a 'cultural backwater'.

6.2. The Ancient Horse



Figure 6.2: Horse skeleton from enclosure ditch, *Venta Icenorum* (Image: CRT/Ian Jackson).

Horses are native to Britain, becoming extinct during the Mesolithic, with small numbers probably reintroduced in the Bronze Age. These animals were sometimes given special burials suggesting they were highly valued. The arrival and spread of horses was 'transformative, bringing new mechanisms for the negotiation and legitimization of power' […] 'an animal having the capacity to genuinely change human life and worldview' (Sykes 2014:81-4). From the Late Bronze Age, horses were being used to manage livestock, control territory and transport people and goods over large distances with relative speed. People also turned this to their advantage for raiding and warfare (Bendrey 2010:16).

Classical authors wrote of the Britons' abilities with horses. Caesar mentions the enemy's cavalry tactics and use of chariots to close in on Roman infantry (*BG* 5.16). In Tacitus's depiction of the Boudican revolt, the insurgent forces are 'disposed in bands of foot and horse' who 'brought even their wives to witness the victory and installed them in waggons' (*plaustris* = sledges) (*Ann.* 14.34). During her protest to the 'clans', Boudica was 'mounted in a chariot (*curru*) with her daughters before her' (*Ann.* 14.35).

Special animal deposits including horse bones are found on many Iron Age and Roman sites. Hill's discussion of skeletal remains in Iron Age Wessex reveals that horses and dogs were treated differently to other animals, but human and

animal remains were treated in similar ways in structured deposits (1995a:103-5). Martin reports deliberate placement of horse jaws at the possible ritual enclosure at Barnham, Suffolk, suggesting a religious or mythological explanation (1999:61-2). At *Venta Icenorum*, excavation of the 2nd century CE perimeter defences revealed a partially-articulated horse skeleton accompanied by a broken greyware vessel at the base of the ditch (Bowden 2017:22) (Figure 6.2). As with torcs, horse harness hoards may have represented the dead and stood in for the mortal remains which were disposed of in other ways. Pudney has also related horse harness and coin hoards to death and burial of humans: 'The horse-gear deposited in the ground, just as the coins, become totemic objects of the human-horse person' (2018:18-9). Hoarding and manufacture of decorated horse harness at Westhall (northeast Suffolk), Santon (Norfolk) and Waldringfield (Suffolk) are discussed further below (Section 6.10).

6.3. The Symbolic Horse



Figure 6.3: Icenian 'ANTED' coin with the horse's legs forming part of the legend (PAS:NMS-26B8A1) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Imagery of horses is common on Iron Age coinage, thought to be based upon gold staters of Philip of Macedonia depicting a charioteer. This was replaced on most British types by a solitary horse. It seems too straightforward to relate the ubiquity of horses on LIA coinage simply to their importance in the regional economy. Creighton describes the horse as a potent symbol and an 'icon of kingship'. He considers that horses had cultural significance which pre-dated the advent of coinage 'rather than merely representing a Celtic artistic abstraction' (1995:286-7). Many Icenian issues have a horse on the reverse, with a boar, wolf or human face on the obverse. On some coins, the letters of the legend are deliberately fused with the zoomorphic imagery, the inscription

becoming part of the animal and *vice versa* (Allen 1970; Creighton 1995; Talbot 2015:214-6 appendix 3) (Figure 6.3). Talbot also describes encoded faces on Icenian coins (2017:90). This merging of creatures with other design elements is similar to possible 'hidden faces' on the characteristic 'La Tène' style enamelled harness, some of which Foster suggests may be (very stylised) horses' heads (2014). These enigmatic designs continue during the occupation on items such as the Westhall terrets (Section 6.10.3).

The horse is rarely depicted on other LIA material culture, 'as if its use as a symbol was restricted' (Creighton 1995:289; Davies 2014:31). This may suggest a prohibition or taboo on the representation of horses other than on coins. The Aylesford bucket is one of a very few non-numismatic images of certain Iron Age date (Figure 6.4). The two creatures have 'pantomime horse' legs, perhaps depicting mythical rather than natural beings (Stead 1971:266). Garrow and Gosden note that this mixing of representations, like on the coins, may reflect 'a blurring of boundaries', an absence of distinction between people and other types of animals (2012:146). Another exception is the horse-head mount from the Stanwick (Melsonby) hoard (Figure 6.4). Not only is it a rare appearance of an equine head in the art of the period, but its full-face (rather than profile) representation is remarkable (MacGregor 1962:26-7).

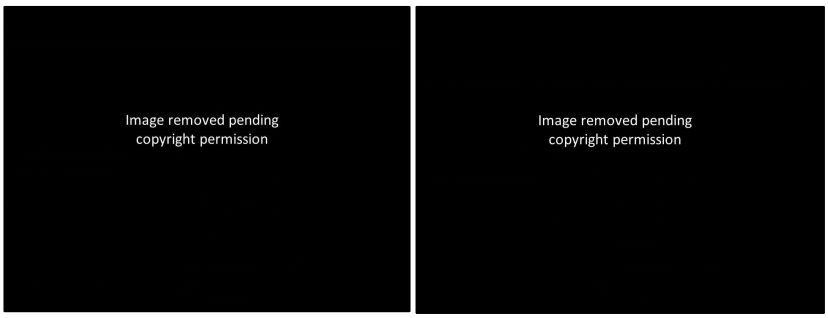


Figure 6.4: (left) 'Pantomime horses', Aylesford (Stead 1971:267, fig. 6); (right) Horse's head mount, Melsonby (BM:1847,0208.82).

Herds of livestock can form a key part of a group's collective wealth and express social status through a complex set of values invested in their ownership (Giles 2012:58-62). Equestrian prowess can be a common feature in societies which place high value on the interaction between humans and other

animals (Argent 2010, 2016). Ambivalent attitudes suggest that horses held a special status which may have been enshrined in everyday practice as well as art. This will also be seen in my discussion of cosmetic grinders (Section 9.2) and other zoomorphic artefacts. The abundance of Horse-and-rider brooches in the East Midlands and East Anglia in the 2nd/3rd century CE shows a change in attitudes, or perhaps differing responses to the idea that horses were sacred (Section 4.11.6).

Green states that horses, along with a range of other animals, were associated with pre-Roman 'solar cults'. She describes horses as one of the 'divine animals' and the companion of Epona, the Romano-Celtic horse goddess attested by epigraphy. A cache of pipeclay horse figurines is known from Belgium and others come from Gaulish healing spring sanctuaries (1976:5, 12, 30; 1978:25). Evidence for Epona is almost unknown in Britain and Green uncritically uses many parallels from Gaul to extrapolate ideas about Romano-British religious beliefs.

6.4. Breeding and Training

The people of Icenia were experienced equestrians and certainly trained draught ponies, for daily usage and warfare. Norfolk appears to have been an important area for horse-breeding (Davies 2014:31; Marsden 2012:61). Martin estimates the sizes of Iron Age ponies from settlements in Suffolk: West Stow (11-13.5 hands) and Burgh (11-12 hands). Small by today's standards, they accord well with the diminutive varieties of other livestock including sheep and cattle (1999:47). In Wessex, Hill states that horses were probably selected from managed semi-wild herds, rather like New Forest or moorland ponies today (1995a:104, 107). Palk disagrees with the idea that wild herds roamed the landscape. She regards animals as commodities, with horses ranking above other domestic livestock as important resources to be exploited in Iron Age economies (1984:98). Absence of breeding on settlements is based on the scarcity of neonatal horse bones compared to cattle, sheep and pig. Alternatively, young horses may have received greater nurture and care, meaning more survived to adulthood (Bendrey 2010:14-5).

Unlike horses, there is good evidence that dogs were raised on settlements; finds of puppy and young canine skeletons on both Iron Age and Roman sites are common, as are pawprints on ceramic tiles. Hill envisages the process of bringing in wild horses: capturing, domesticating, 'breaking', taming and controlling activities, which may have held similar resonances to the training of dogs and even young humans (1995a:107). This raises questions about the actual process of living and working with horses, the power structures exercised during the lifetime of these animals and the bonds which surely developed between humans and horses, not just the artefactual record of their ornaments and shackles.[44]

Not only must horses have been ridden and worked, but fed, groomed with a range of implements, treated for ailments, possibly eaten and certainly buried. Recent interest in care and presentation of the human body as social *praxis* could easily be extended to non-human animals. There is little room to deviate into the realm of human-horse interactions here,[45] but much as we are often reminded to keep people in mind when discussing their accoutrements, it is essential to reflect upon the beasts of burden themselves when considering their harness.

6.5. Horse and Chariot Equipment

Harness gear spans the LIA-Roman divide, with many artefacts dating from the 1st centuries BCE/CE, peaking with highly-ornamented equipment in the mid-1st century CE. Evidence for actual vehicles is extremely rare in Britain, other than the well-known chariot burials from Yorkshire. Some Roman examples are identified, such as the complete wheels and many fragmentary components found in pits at Newstead fort (Crummy 2011:53, 55; Curle 1911:292). Chariot burials are almost unheard of in East Anglia, with only one reported antiquarian find at Mildenhall (Clarke 1939:43) (see endnote 7). Two iron wheel hubs, together with several other ferrous objects which may have been part of the same vehicle, were excavated at the Forum of *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152.F150-5). Indirect evidence in the form of wheel-ruts in roads is also abundant. Many artefacts in this category were discovered in

antiquarian excavations, Victorian civic projects or during ploughing which means the records are sketchy at best and some are long lost.

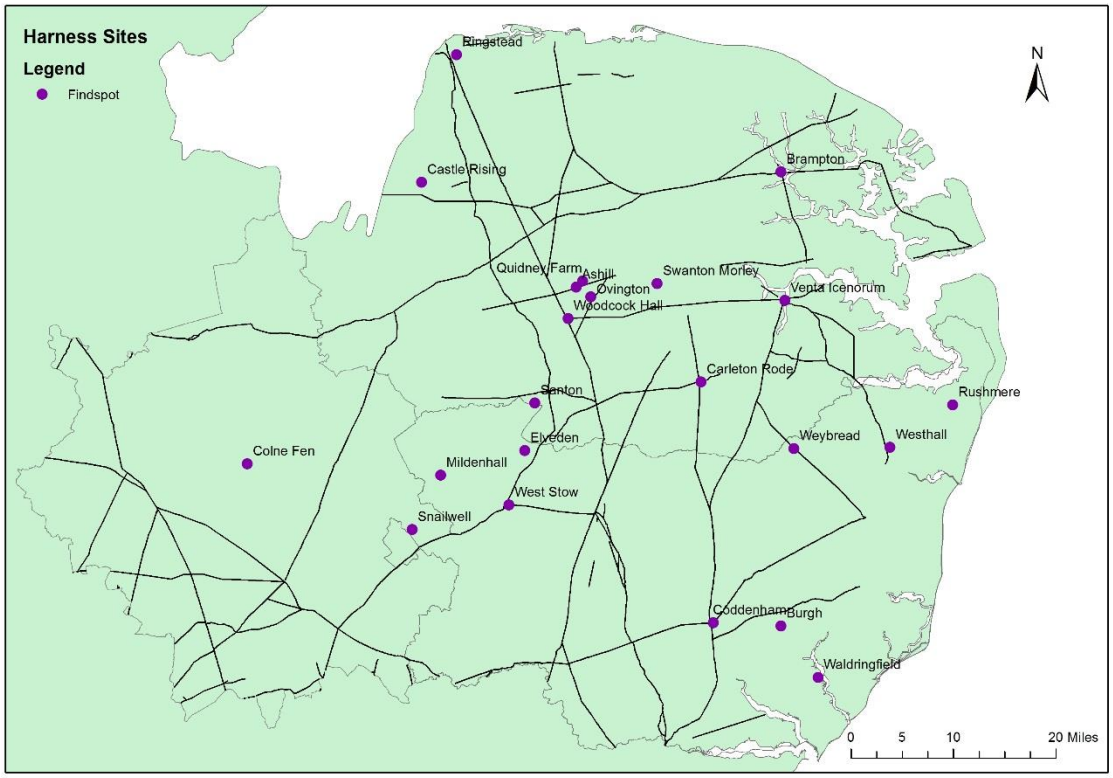


Figure 6.5: Sites relating to harness mentioned in the text (Image: Author).

Iron Age carts or chariots also contribute to the 'cultural backwardness' narrative. Webster regards the British chariot as 'outmoded', almost reactionary, when they had long since been given up by their continental neighbours (1993:29). Clarke certainly saw the Santon and Westhall hoards as preserving the 'vitality of the chariot tradition in Norfolk and Suffolk' (1939:43). Even if war chariots were unwelcome, unfashionable or even prohibited in the *civitas*, carts surely had an essential place in everyday life for both indigenous Britons and their occupiers, and their innumerable passages are worn into many of the region's roads and trackways.

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	32
Norfolk	478
Suffolk	180
Grand Total	**690**

Table 28: All harness by county.

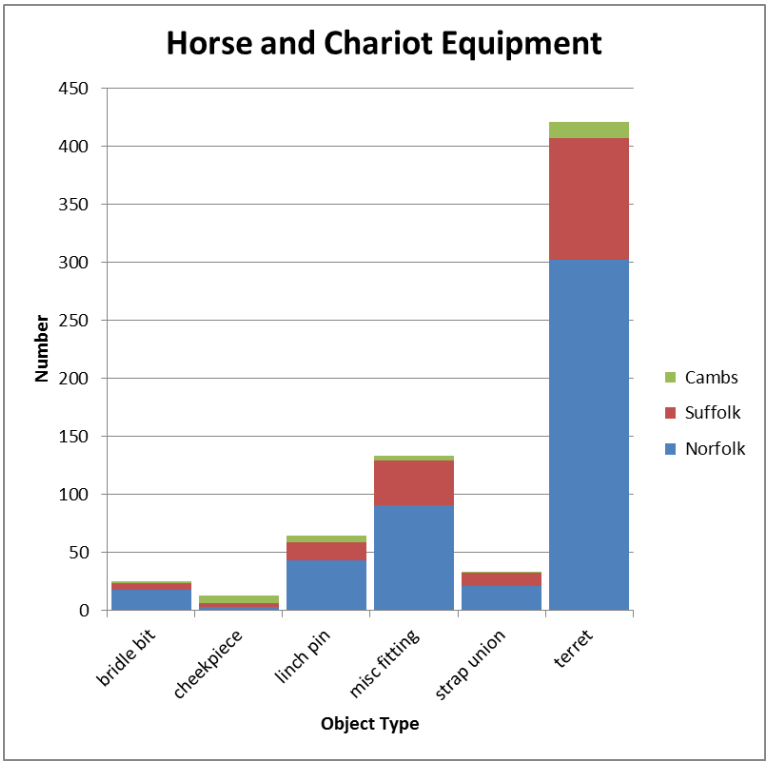


Figure 6.6: Types of horse harness by county.

There are almost 700 finds of harness and chariot gear in total (Table 28). Norfolk is best represented for horse equipment, particularly terrets (Figure 6.6). The figure includes 67 'miniature' terrets which will be discussed in Section 7.6.3. Horse harness is widespread, reflecting both the broad pattern of settlements and the coverage of metal-detecting (Figure 6.7). There is a strong showing along the northern Icknield Way, Saham Toney and a cluster around Brampton. The small towns of Suffolk also show concentrations. The density map (Figure 6.8) shows the northern and eastern bias, with an intense hotspot in the area around Wicklewood/Wymondham.

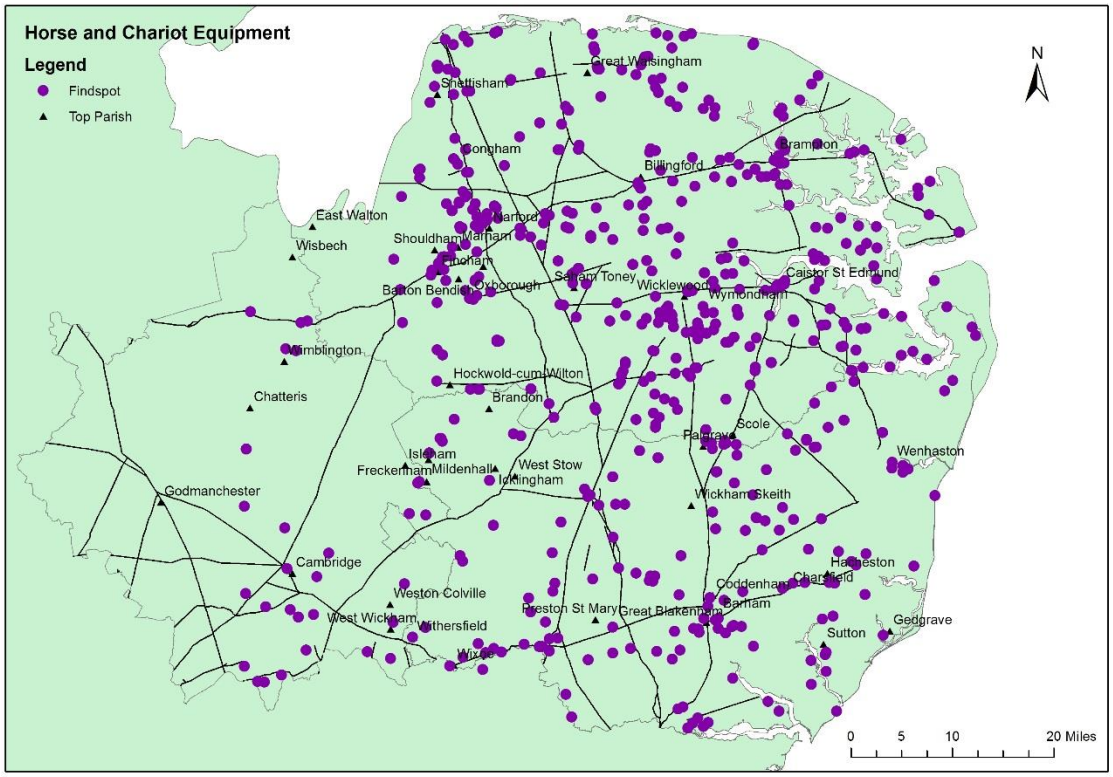


Figure 6.7: Distribution of all horse harness (Image: Author).

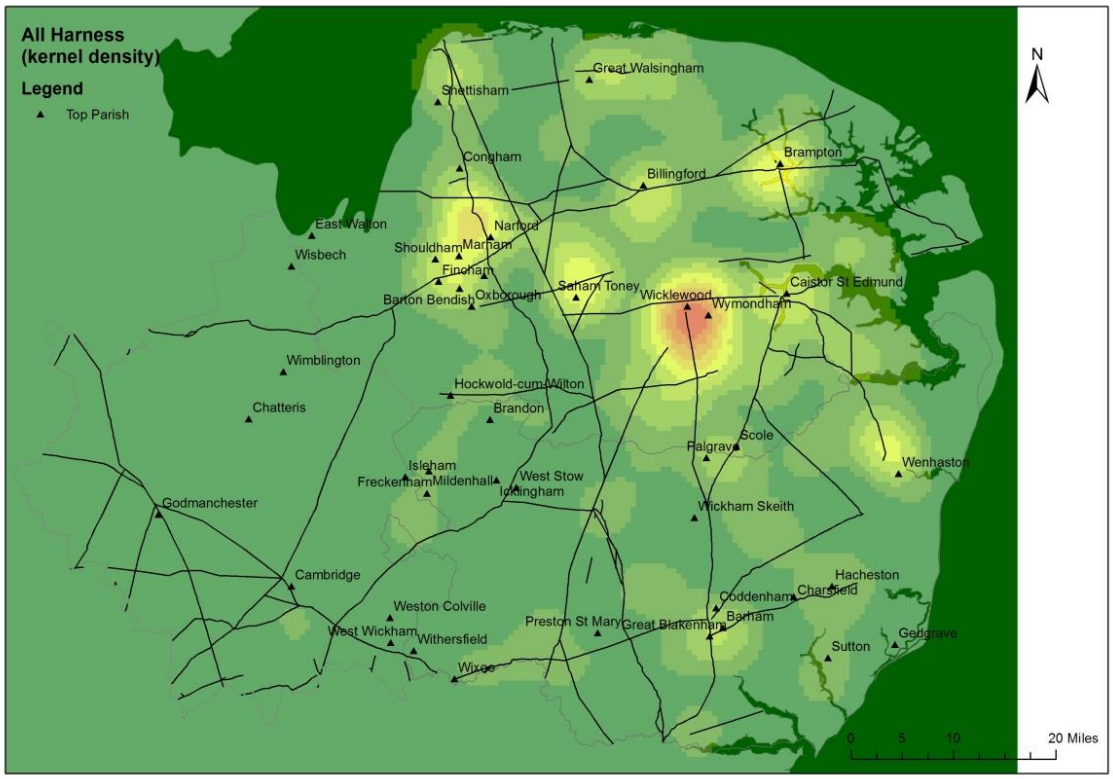


Figure 6.8: Density of all horse harness (Image: Author).

Martin attempted to plot the geographical boundaries of the Iceni and Trinovantes using 'tribal indicators', including ornamental horse harness. He saw the fine metalwork, especially round the Fen edge, as an inheritance from the Bronze Age, re-emerging as conspicuous consumption in the later Iron Age. In the early to mid-1st century CE, northern Suffolk was a focal point for harness which stylistically references the curvilinear designs and red enamelling of tankard and mirror handles (1999).

As far back as 1939, Clarke observed that much enamelled horse harness was concentrated in Breckland, long considered to be the heartland of Iceni territory. He dated much of this metalwork to the mid-1st century CE, disparaging its 'degenerate Celticism', but noting the development of a 'rigid symmetry' derived from Roman influence (1939:68). Despite the outmoded language and attitude, Clarke's perception was accurate: as we shall see below, the decorative schemes of northern East Anglian harness show the change in fashion from asymmetrical curvilinear ornament. Crummy also proposes a link between the geometric designs on harness pendants, seal-boxes and plate brooches, many of which date from the 2nd century CE (2011:58), demonstrating that aesthetic preferences can also cross boundaries between species and function.

The following sections present an analysis of horse gear including bridle-bits, linch-pins and terret rings, which are all necessary for harnessing a team of ponies to a cart. Miscellaneous fittings and harness mounts are also discussed, although these are seldom closely dated. Hipposandals have been excluded as they are very functional and poorly dated; there is doubt whether horseshoes were used in this period (Crummy 2011:61).

6.6. Terret Rings

The most numerous finds in the transport category are terret rings. These are small, often decoratively-moulded or enamelled copper alloy rings, used to guide the reins. Norfolk and Suffolk have the highest number of Iron Age and Roman terrets recorded on the PAS, and this is reflected in my data (Table 29).

Approximately two-thirds of horse harness finds are terrets, with few in Cambridgeshire.

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	15
Norfolk	304
Suffolk	111
Grand Total	**430**

Table 29: Terrets by county.

Each pair of ponies would require a set of five terrets: four similar-sized terrets across the yoke and one larger ring fixed to the central pole of the chariot. Although some are elaborate, Davies found most Norfolk terrets were 'relatively plain', *contra* Hutcheson (2004:22) who saw a concentration of ornamental harness in Norfolk and north Suffolk. Davies's distributions show a major concentration around the parish of Saham Toney (see Section 4.14.10), clusters of lipped and knobbed terrets in west Norfolk, simple terrets in the south, and miniatures in the south and east (1999:21 and map 2.4). These essential items for draught horses are found in both urban and rural locations. Terrets may also have been used to yoke draught oxen for ploughing, which may explain the rural nature of many finds and the frequent, but undateable, simple iron rings (Crummy 2011:57), although Foster claims that oxen did not need reins (1995:59).

Terrets came into general usage in the 1st century BCE, but with a focus in the 1st century CE. There are numerous stylistic varieties, although their basic function is broadly agreed. Miniature terrets present an anomaly: some interpret them as votive, others as fasteners for fine straps or linchpins. Lewis exempted these from her study of rein-guides (Hutcheson 2004:29, 34-5; Lewis 2015:57-8). Protected-loop (skirted) and dropped-bar terrets are considered to be post-conquest imports, with a later 1st/2nd century CE range (Lewis 2015:76, table 4.1). These differences permit us to look at terret usage chronologically, as well as spatially.

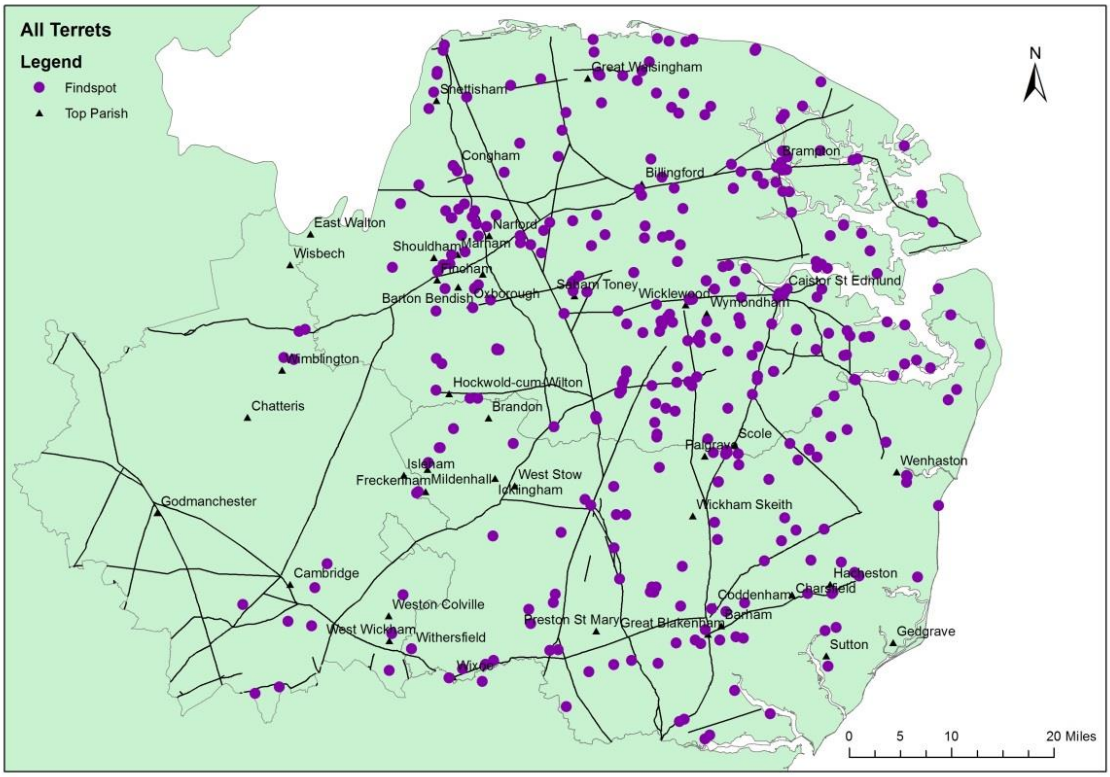


Figure 6.9: Distribution of all terrets (Image: Author).

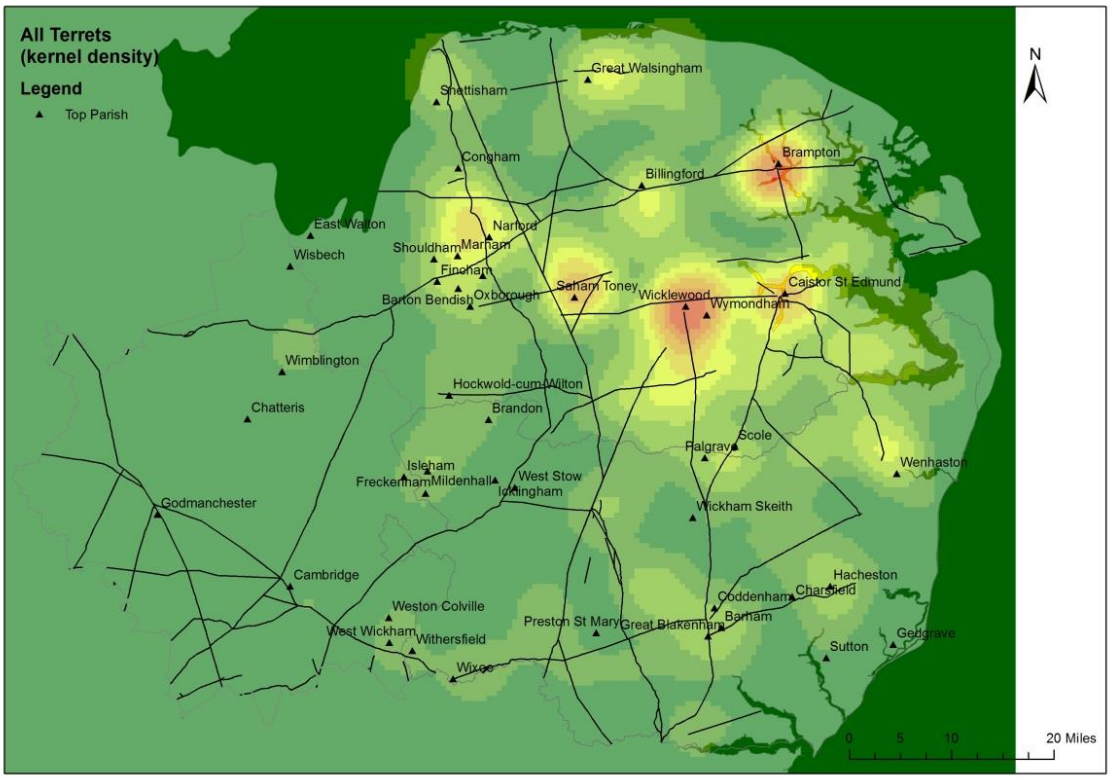


Figure 6.10: Density of all terrets (Image: Author).

Lewis's study recorded 596 terrets from her research area, which included Wales, central and western England, but excluded Scotland, East Anglia and the southeast of England (2015:55 fig. 3.1, 65 table 3.1). Hutcheson's (2004) catalogue of horse harness includes 88 terret rings from Norfolk. My database comprises 430 examples (including miniatures) (Table 29). There are over 300 from Norfolk, a dramatic increase in numbers since Hutcheson's study, partly due to the success of the PAS.

The distribution of terrets (Figure 6.9) shows widespread coverage in Norfolk and Suffolk, sparser in the Fens, as would perhaps be expected in a marshy landscape with few surfaced roads. The usual Norfolk hotspots around Saham Toney and Pentney/Fincham are also seen in the terrets, but may be associated with heavy metal-detector use in this area (Figure 6.10; see Section 3.4). The Brampton group arguably represents a connection between the large ceramic industry at the town and the need for transportation. The strong concentration in the Wicklewood area is partly due to the hoards from Carleton Rode. Both the Weybread and Westhall terrets were found near Roman roads (Martin 1978:140 and fig. 18). Hutcheson observed that many terrets are found in close proximity to routeways (2004:86-7, map 28), although correlation is slight in my distribution. While this may not be unexpected for chance finds associated with transport, it is a less convincing explanation for hoards.

The following sequence maps the distribution of the different forms of terret. In East Anglia, certain forms are rare or non-existent, including the early ribbed varieties and the 'massive' terrets found in northern England and Scotland (Hutcheson 2004:30).

6.6.1. Simple Terrets



Figure 6.11: Simple terret ring, Shudy Camps (PAS:CAM-D62140) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0).

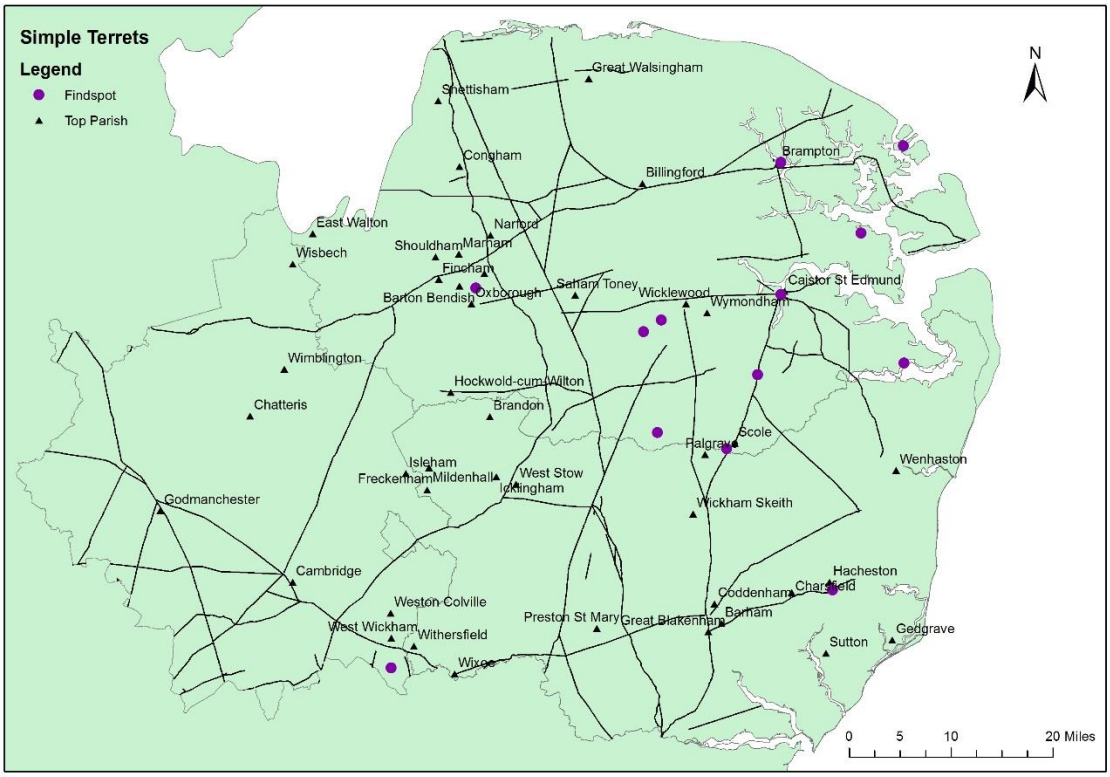


Figure 6.12: Distribution of simple terrets (Image: Author).

Simple terrets are plain and undecorated (Figure 6.11). They date from the 3rd century BCE to 100 CE, although the PAS generally gives a 1st century CE date. Figure 6.12 shows they are nearly all clustered in southcentral and eastern Norfolk, with a few outliers in Suffolk. This agrees with Davies's assessment of the Norfolk patterning (1999:21). This distribution may relate to centres of settlement and production. The wide river valleys and heathlands of the Brecks may have made ideal rough pasture for herds of horses. The scattering around the Great Estuary is harder to explain, unless these represent transhipment of

goods coming in by sea. As the simplest form of terret ring, numbers would be expected to be greater and the distribution wider. However, this may be explained by variations in recording nomenclature and the lack of tight dating. Miniature terrets are most often of this simple design.

6.6.2. Lipped Terrets



Figure 6.13: Lipped terret, Suffield (PAS:NMS-D36060) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

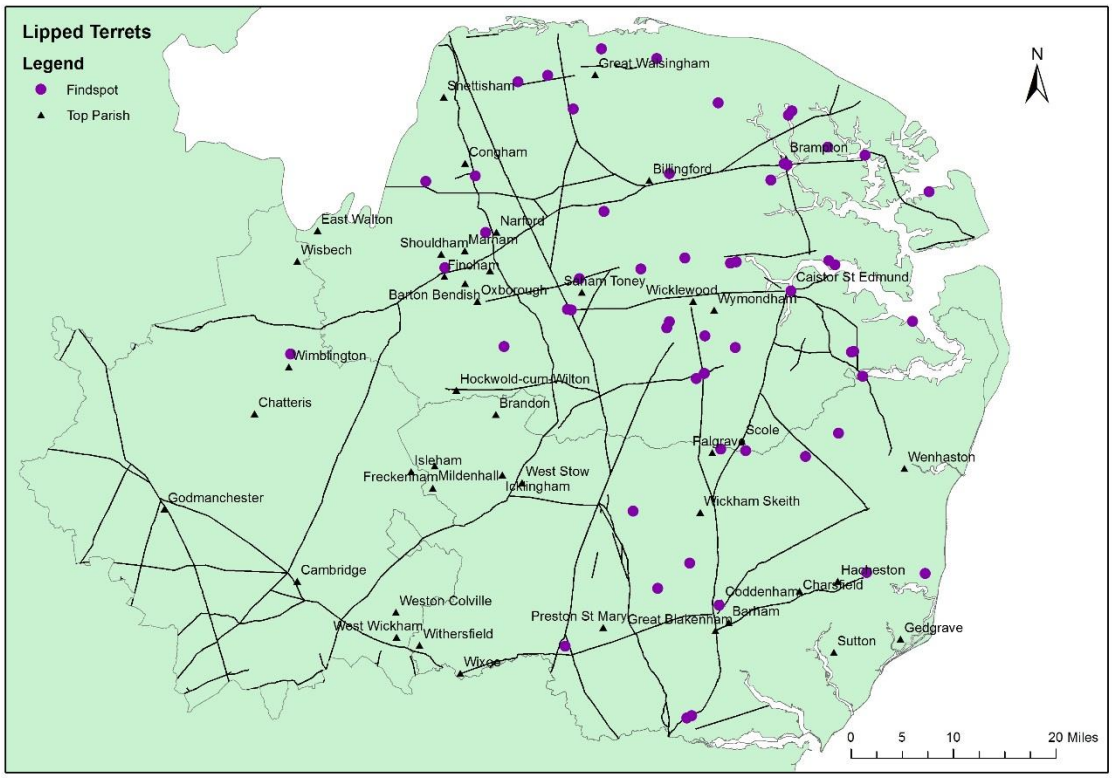


Figure 6.14: Distribution of lipped terrets (Image: Author).

Lipped terrets have a 1st century BCE/CE date range. Davies (1999:21) describes regional distributions of lipped and knobbed terrets in west Norfolk. Hutcheson concluded that lipped terrets were fairly evenly distributed across Norfolk (2004:66 and map 18). New finds in the intervening period (Figure

6.14) rewrite this distribution pattern. Extending the search into Suffolk and Cambridgeshire reveals a stark absence in the southwestern part of the region, whilst lipped terrets are widespread across Norfolk, not just in the west. This could be recording bias, for the terminology is certainly variable, although it would be unlikely that the same finds recorder used different terminology for east and west Suffolk.

6.6.3. Flat-Ring Terrets



Figure 6.15: (left) Westhall-type flat-ring terret, Sporle (PAS:NMS-6599B4) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Unusual flat divided ring, Castle Rising (PAS:NMS-30AC24) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Flat-ring (or 'crescentic') terrets are usually decorated with red enamelling in characteristic swirling patterns on both sides (Figure 6.15). They are given a very wide date range on the PAS: anything from 200 BCE to 100 CE. Hutcheson (2004:29) considers a date in the mid-1st century CE most likely. The distribution (Figure 6.16) is similar to lipped terrets: Norfolk and eastern Suffolk, with few in the south and west. Moore notes a concentration on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk, where a production centre is suspected. The hoard of eight terrets from Westhall, Suffolk confirms these interpretations (1973:153) (Section 6.10.3).

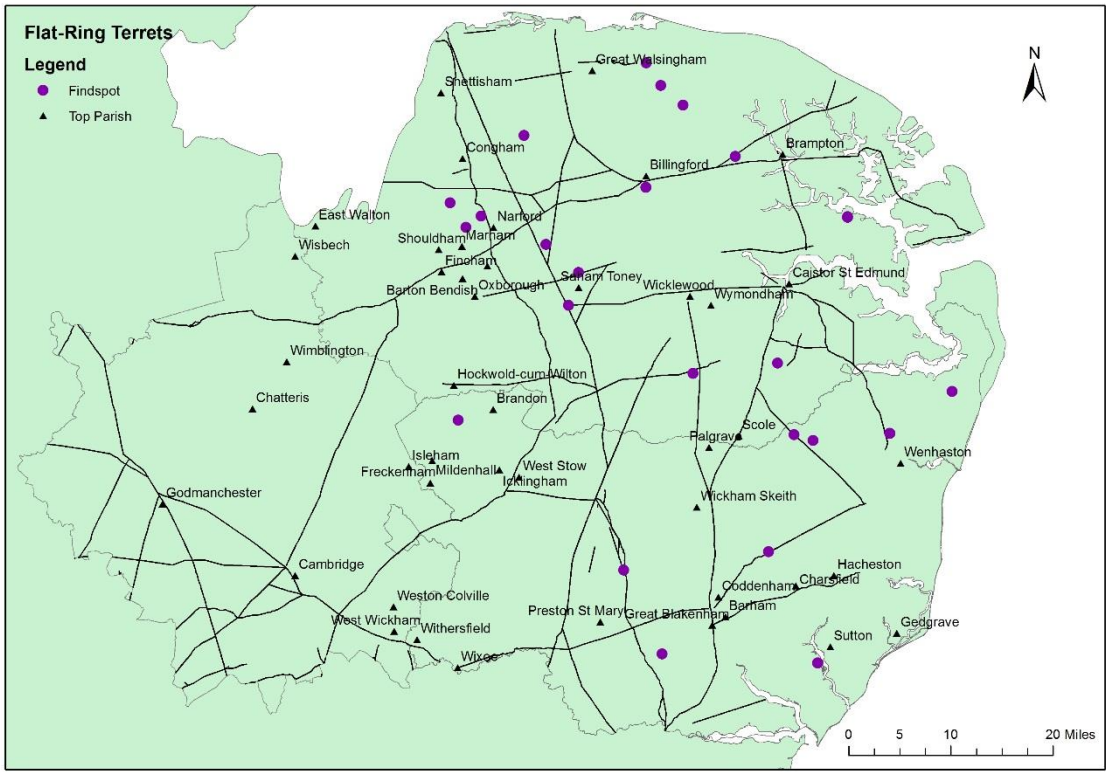


Figure 6.16: Distribution of flat-ring terrets (Image: Author).

A group of two enamelled flat-ring terrets and one plain harness ring were found at Castle Rising near King's Lynn. The enamelled examples have similar decoration to the Westhall terrets with S-shaped swirls in a 'moustache' around the flattened crescent. The third object is hesitantly called a terret in the PAS description (Figure 6.15). Although no parallels have been found, it would seem to be another piece of harness paraphernalia. Perhaps this prefigures the divided dropped-bar terrets, such as the one from Sutton (Figure 6.23). A harness mount decorated in the Westhall style was found less than half a mile away, suggesting they could have been part of a single deposit (Hutcheson PAS:NMS-30AC24).

6.6.4. Platform-Decorated Terrets



Figure 6.17: Two very similar platform terrets from Saham Toney and Carleton Rode (Image: NMS).

Platform-decorated terrets have three ornamented projections spaced around the ring, which are decorated with geometric polychrome enamelling (Figure 6.17). Hutcheson argues that the blue and yellow enamelling, like on some plate brooches, justifies a post-conquest date, probably mid-late 1st century CE. She records that all single finds of platform terrets from Norfolk come from Roman sites (2004:30). The distribution (Figure 6.18) finds them in the north of the region, with a group around Brampton and only one outlier in Suffolk.

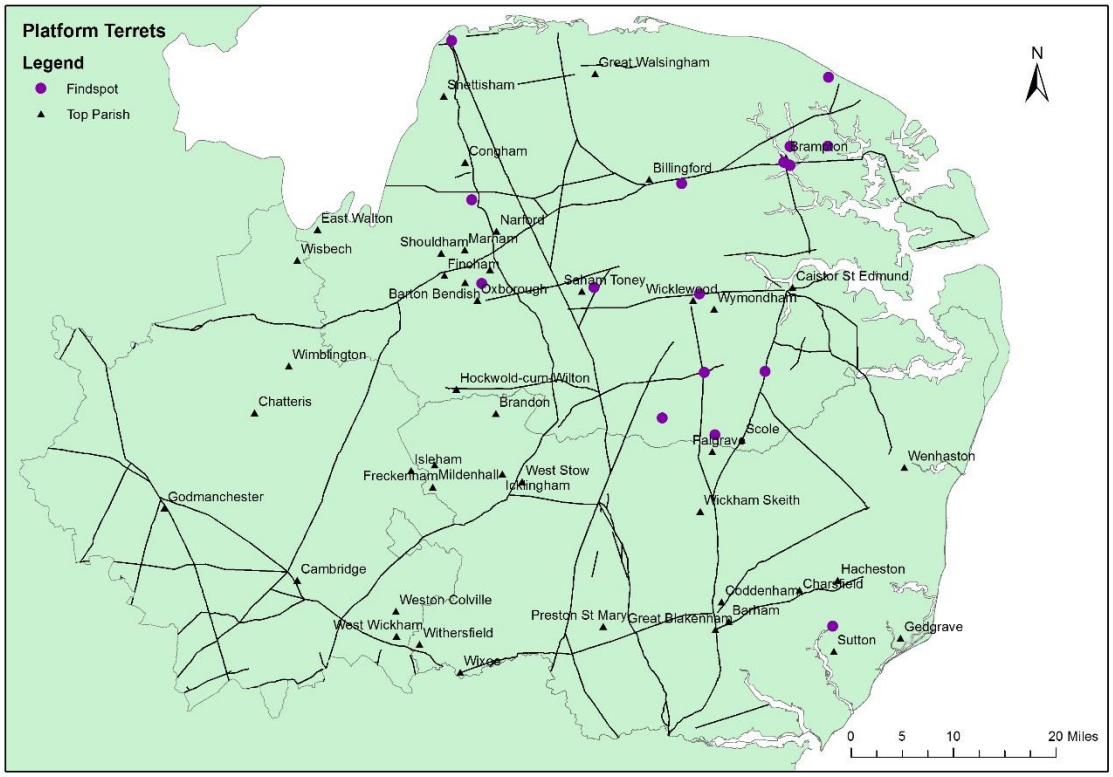


Figure 6.18: Distribution of platform-decorated terrets (Image: Author).

Four of the terrets from Ovington/Saham Toney found in 1838 are platform-decorated types (NHER:15050). One is decorated with polychrome quatrefoil enamelling on disc-shaped platforms. By remarkable coincidence, in 2004, an almost identical terret was found as part of a small hoard by a metal-detectorist in Carleton Rode, approximately 13 miles away (Figure 6.17). This shares the enamelled blue and yellow geometric petalled design. They are so closely matched that they must have been manufactured in one workshop (Pestell in MODES News 2015). Also found were a lipped terret and a harness mount with red enamelled lobed decoration, similar in style to the Polden Hills and Santon hoards. The group is dated to *circa* 1-75 CE, probably towards the later part of the century, based on the presence of multicoloured enamel which, as mentioned above, is possibly a post-conquest innovation (Hill and Hutcheson 2004:47). A hoard of three linch-pin terminals was also retrieved from Carleton Rode (PAS:NMS-41A985) by the same finder in 2007.

Platform-decorated terrets are extremely attractive and would have been conspicuous items, ornamenting the chariots of client-kingdom period. These

finds are good evidence for a manufacturing centre in the Saham Toney area. The adoption of polychrome enamelling shows the Iceni metalworkers' habit of appropriating new technologies and design elements and applying them to a very localised material culture.

6.6.5. Parallel-Wing and Transverse-Wing Terrets

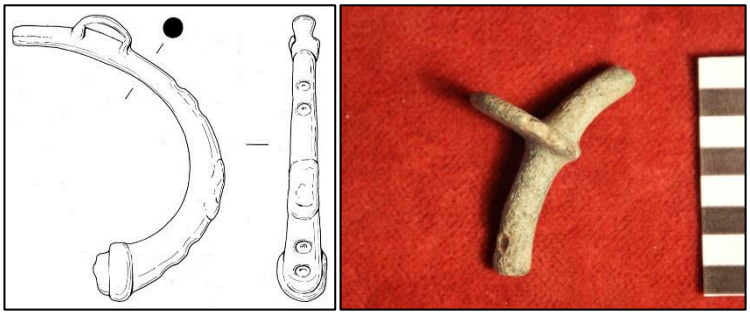


Figure 6.19: (left) Parallel-wing terret, Ashbocking (PAS:SF2647) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Unusual transverse-wing terret, Clare (PAS:NMS-D5E6F4) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0).

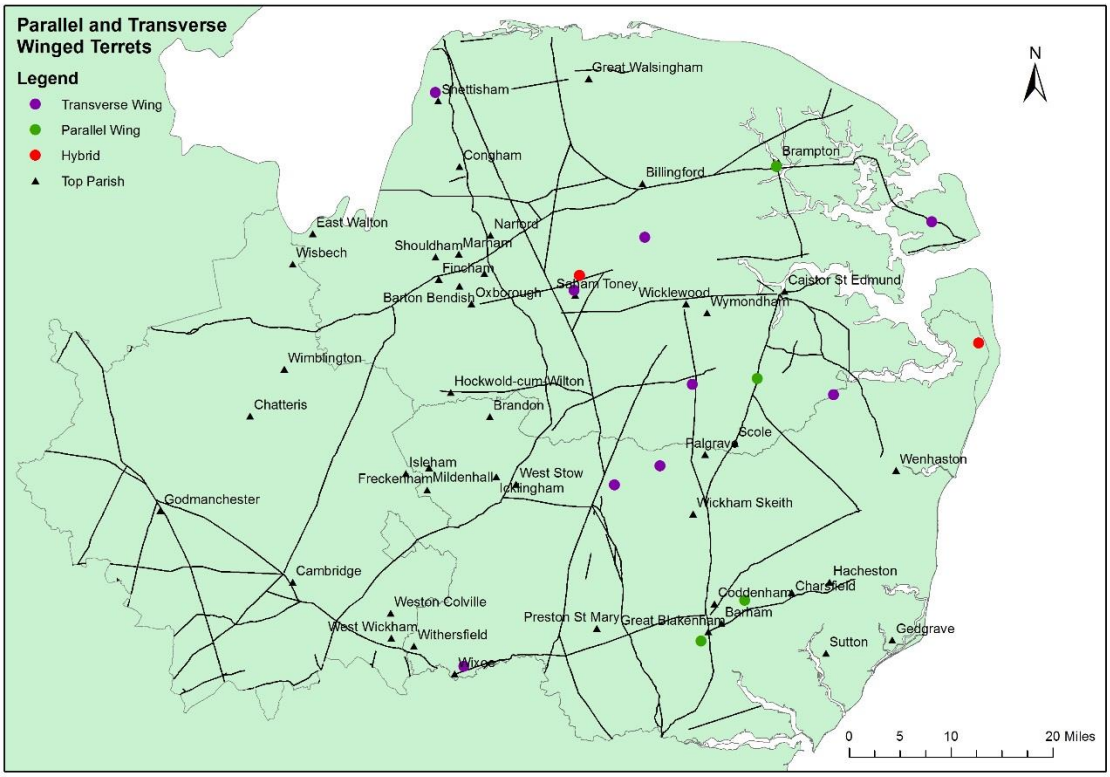


Figure 6.20: Distribution of parallel and transverse-wing terrets (Image: Author).

Parallel-wing and transverse-wing terrets (Figure 6.19) date from the 1st century CE. These are distributed in the central region, with one ornate example found in the extreme northwest at Snettisham, which confirms

Hutcheson's findings (2004:73). The parallel-wing types, while admittedly a small sample, are decidedly easterly finds. The evidence for an experimental workshop of metalworkers in the Saham Toney area mounts up. Six of the terrets from Saham Toney (Section 6.10.1) are transverse-wing types. Two of these show hybrid forms, one which has some similarities with the unusual example from Clare (Figure 6.19). A fragment of a large terret from Oulton (PAS:NMS-C18B95) is described as having mouldings which combine the transverse and parallel-winged types.

6.6.6. Knobbed Terrets



Figure 6.21: (left) Knobbed terret, Stapleford (PAS:CAM-5D7F05) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Knobbed terret, Lyng (PAS:NMS132) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0).

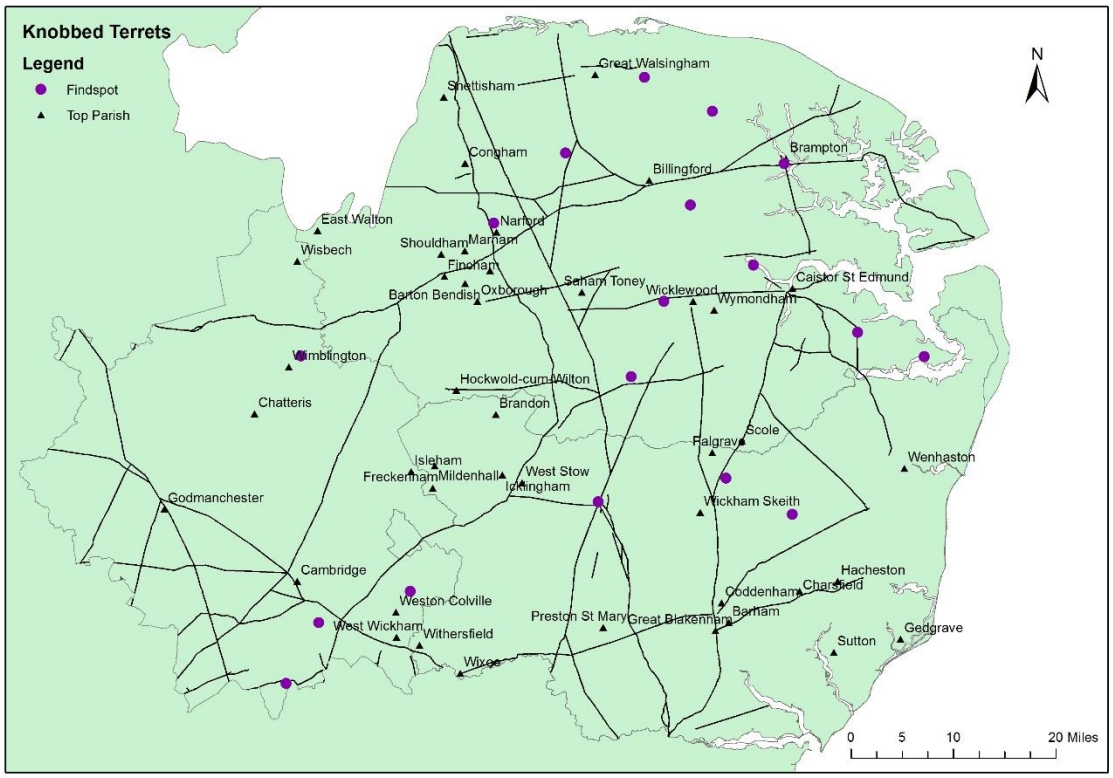


Figure 6.22: Distribution of knobbed terrets (Image: Author).

The incidence of knobbed terrets in Figure 6.22 shows a wide dispersal, with several from the southwest, unlike other forms. This contrasts with Davies's statement that knobbed terrets are a western feature in Norfolk (1999:21). Knobbed terrets on the PAS are most common in Lincolnshire (20), then Norfolk (16) and Suffolk (13). Cambridgeshire has only three. The formal differences between terrets allocated as 'knobbed' can be seen by comparing Figure 6.21. I would sooner classify that from Stapleford as a lipped terret. Hutcheson dates these post-conquest, from the mid-1st century CE onwards, although she highlights two examples from Hingham and Gunthorpe which appear to be more Iron Age than Roman, suggesting a hybrid form (2004:30). This reveals the sheer variety of terret designs in the 1st century BCE/CE as well as the difficulties in comparing recorded types.

6.6.7. Dropped-Bar Terrets



Figure 6.23: Dropped-bar terrets, (left) Holbrook (PAS:SF-5565A1) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Sutton, showing wear to attachment loop (PAS:SF-E4B59A) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0).

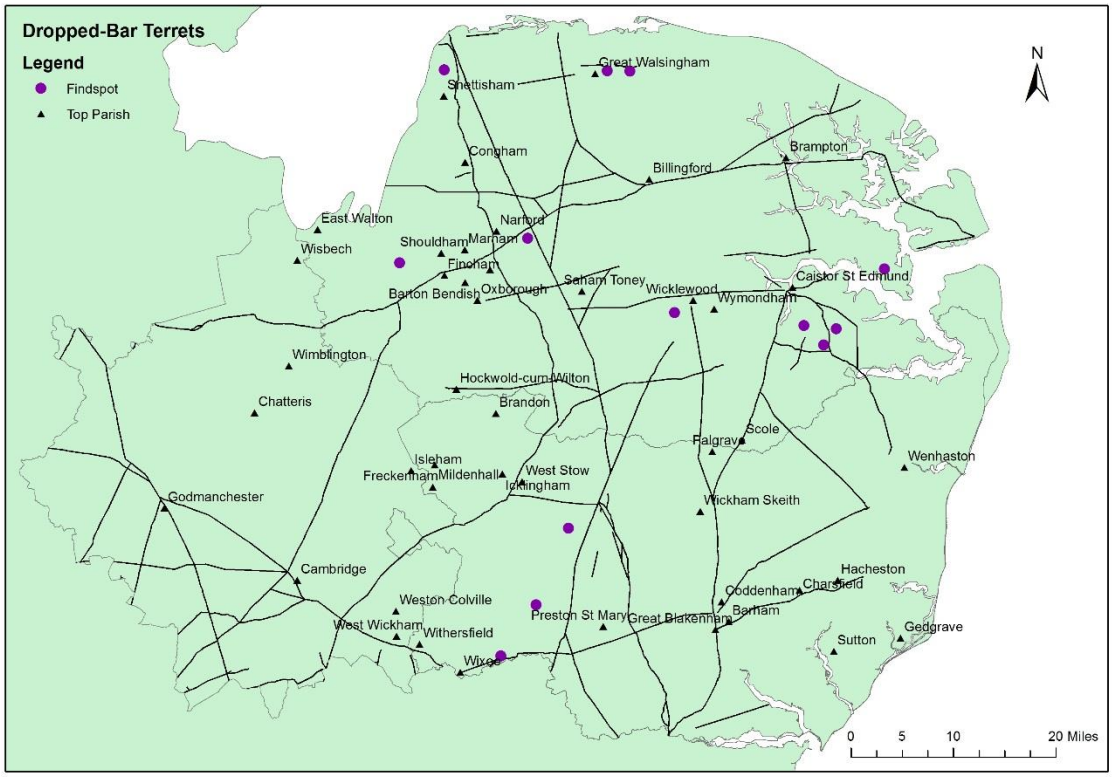


Figure 6.24: Distribution of dropped-bar terrets (Image: Author).

Figure 6.24 shows the range of dropped-bar terrets, also recorded as 'projecting loop' terrets. There is a dearth of these types in north Suffolk and northeast Norfolk, which could be a recording issue, as there is often some confusion between the dropped-bar and protected-loop types, the latter also inconsistently known as 'skirted' or 'covered loop' terrets. Dropped-bar terrets have an extended bar, as the name suggests, which may have allowed for a more secure fixing to the yoke. A late example from Sutton is dated 2nd/3rd century CE and shows heavy wear to one side of its projecting loop. It also has a central dividing feature which was perhaps intended to prevent a pair of reins from becoming twisted together or for securing a looped strap (Figure 6.23).

6.6.8. Protected-Loop Terrets



Figure 6.25: (left) Protected-loop terret, Offton (PAS:SF-CE0736) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Double horse-headed skirted terret, Cholesbury, Bucks. (PAS:BUC-F16307) (Image: Buckinghamshire County Council/CC BY-SA 4.0).

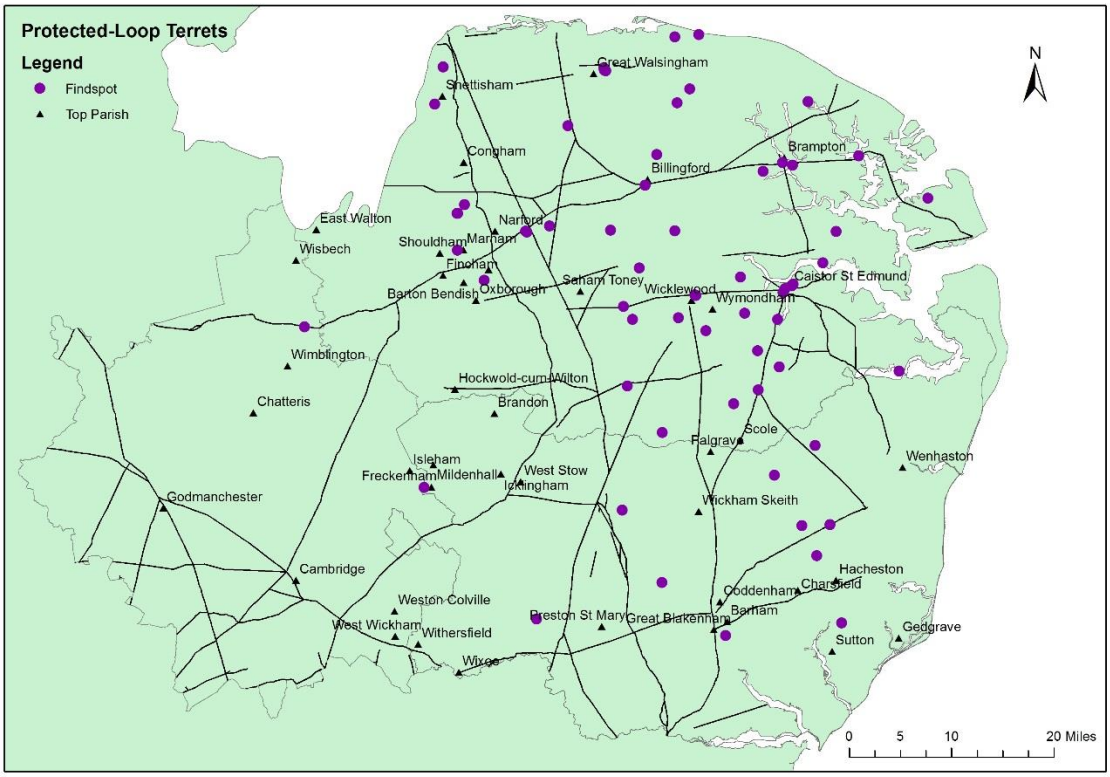


Figure 6.26: Distribution of protected-loop terrets (Image: Author).

Finally, Figure 6.26 shows the distribution of protected-loop terrets. Again, these are concentrated in the northeast, with very few from the Fenland. The protective 'skirt' creates a cover for the lowered bar or loop. In the Offton example, the skirt has been decoratively moulded into petal shapes (Figure 6.25). Protected-loop and dropped-bar terrets date from the late 1st/2nd century CE and are thought to be Roman imports. The later terrets lack the colourful enamelling of the client-kingdom examples, which typifies the Icenian

style. Display and differentiation were clearly of utmost importance during the upheavals of the mid-1st century CE.

6.6.9. Discussion

Norfolk and Suffolk have a high concentration of the later protected-loop and dropped-bar types, far more than neighbouring Cambridgeshire and Essex. This probably reflects an ongoing tradition of horse usage, perhaps using imported material culture. Yorkshire and Lincolnshire also show higher proportions of later terrets on the PAS database, areas which have a tradition of Iron Age chariot burials. These later terrets are decorated differently and less conspicuously to the earlier enamelled types and do not feature highly in hoards. The functional purpose of these terrets seems to have persisted, but the modes of display and disposal have changed.

Following the discussion of restricted depictions of horses (Section 6.3), we may speculate why equines are not more frequently represented on terrets or other harness trappings. One unique example is known from Buckinghamshire, dated 1st/2nd century CE (Figure 6.25). There are also several broadly Roman dated horse-head mounts on the PAS database, including one from Scole (PAS:NMS-78F017). Figurines in bronze and pipeclay are also known. This suggests there may have been changing attitudes towards (representing) horses.

Hutcheson's observation (2004:30) of the striking abundance of later-dated terrets in Norfolk would seem to hold true for the wider Icenian region. There are large numbers of flat-ring and the protected-loop/dropped-bar types which flourished from mid-1st century CE onwards. To divide the terrets into Iron Age and Roman types seems unnecessary, as the likelihood is that people and their horses were very much embedded in the landscape throughout. This could be taken as evidence for the continuity of settlement, industry and metalworking in the region, again contradicting the story of the great depopulation after the revolt. If anything, transport seemingly became more important from the mid-

1st century CE onwards. Whether this is related to increased military manoeuvres, road-building projects or overland trade is hard to say.

Without terrets there are no chariots; without bridles there are no riding ponies.

6.7. Bridle-Bits and Cheekpieces

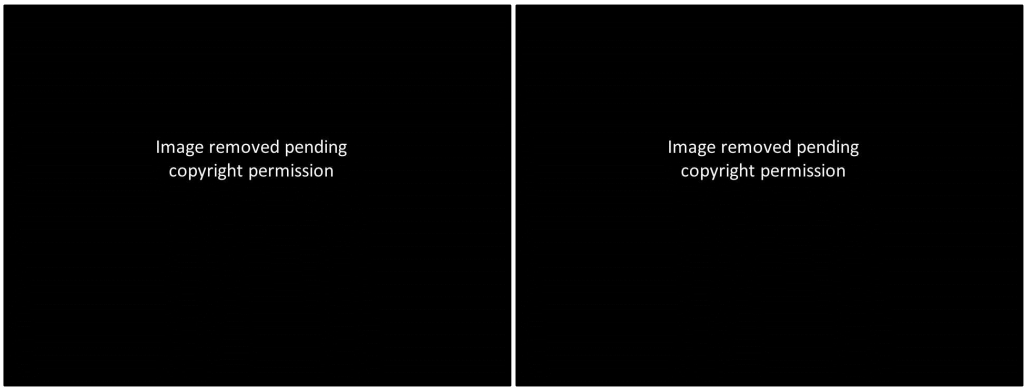


Figure 6.27: (left) Bridle-bit from Santon and fragment with Polden Hill style 'ears', Elveden (Palk 1984:fig. C38); (right) Bridle-bit showing delicate asymmetrical relief decoration, Ringstead (Palk 1984:fig. C20).

Bits are generally classified into three-link (double-jointed) and two-link (single-jointed) snaffle forms and their derivatives. Three-link varieties are slightly earlier and are the common Iron Age type. Two-link bits are later, generally 1st century CE, including 'Polden Hills' types, such as those from Santon and Elveden (Hutcheson 2004:31; Palk 1984:3) (Figure 6.27). Multi-link horse-bits date from as early as the 4th century BCE to the conquest, but the majority are 1st century CE.

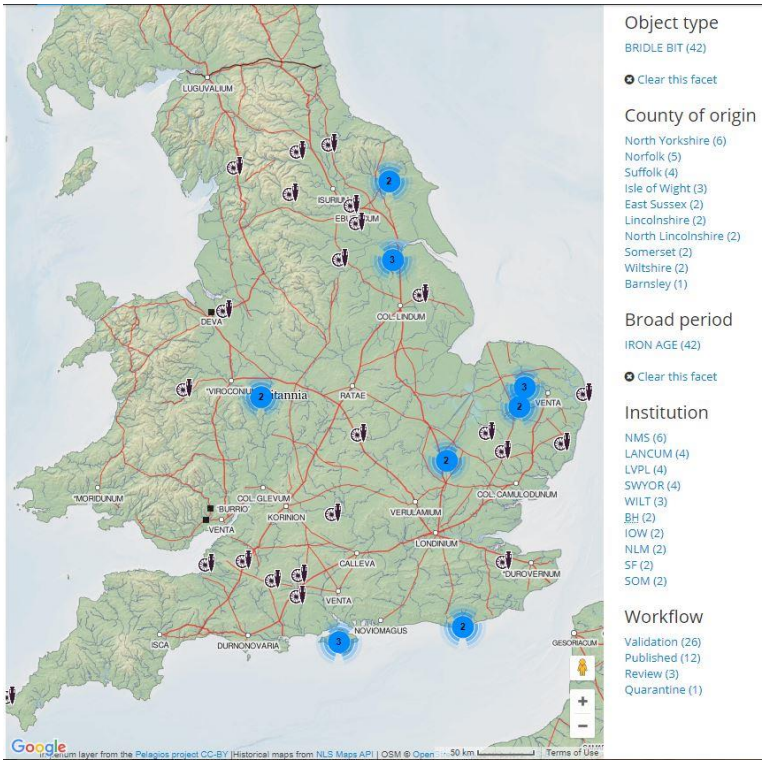


Figure 6.28: Distribution of Iron Age bridle-bits (Image: PAS).

Bridle-bits are much rarer than terrets. Norfolk has by far the most bridle-bits of both three and two-link types: Cambridgeshire (2), Norfolk (18) and Suffolk (5). My mapping shows absences in most of Cambridgeshire, much of southeast Norfolk and, unusually in comparison to terrets, eastern Suffolk (Figure 6.29). Some bits were found in hoards which will be discussed further below. MacGregor mapped major clusters in Yorkshire and Wessex (1976:24-31), with PAS records for Iron Age bits showing a similar distribution (Figure 6.28). Only 12 Roman bits are recorded on the PAS, most of which are not given a date range. Like the terrets, Roman snaffle bits are much plainer than their Iron Age counterparts, suggesting display through decorated metalwork became less important. Unlike the explosion of terrets in the later 1st century CE, there appear to be more (earlier) three-link than two-link bits. However, this is probably due to the number of bridles which are not dated to a specific century, or perhaps the earlier recycling of metal. Bridles are often composites with iron components which may result in preservation issues.

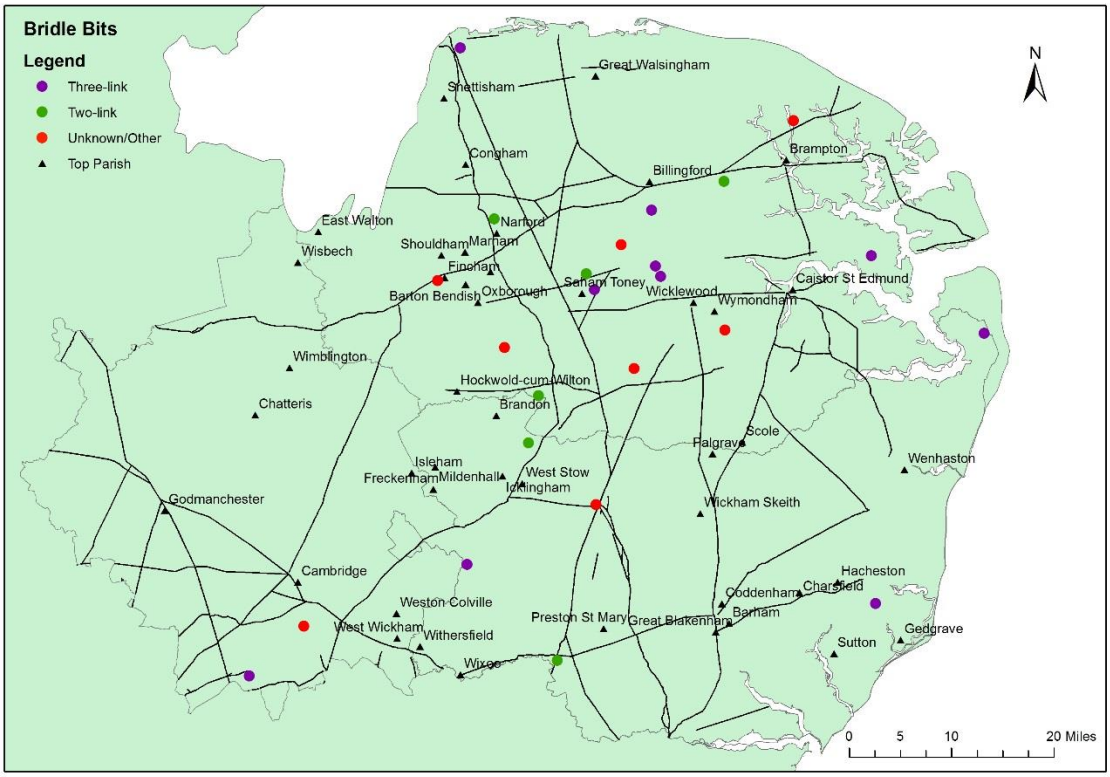


Figure 6.29: Distribution of bridle-bits by type (Image: Author).



Figure 6.30: Bridle-bits, Swanton Morley (left) Asymmetrical three-link bit (PAS:NMS213) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Simple bit (Palk 1984:fig. C23).

Two three-link bridle-bits are known from Swanton Morley in central Norfolk. One is a simple, robust, undecorated bit and the other is a unique, highly-ornamental enamelled example, with asymmetrical castings within each ring (Figure 6.30). Davies observes that bridle-bits 'of such high quality are exceptionally rare', suggesting that it was owned by 'a high-status individual of the Iceni' (2009:11). Rarity is certainly a factor, although status may have been attached to the horse who wore it, and by association its owner, if indeed individuals had a sense of private ownership in the LIA.

Two other three-link bits came from the Ringstead hoard in northwest Norfolk, which also included a strap union, two 'shield plates', a button-and-loop fastener (Section 5.1) and a bronze 'ingot'. These two bits are very closely matched in shape and decoration, suggesting they were made as a pair for a team of ponies. The decorative scheme is a delicate relief pattern draped over the bulbs of the bridle, differing at each end. They share aesthetic similarities with some of the Snettisham torcs (Garrow and Gosden 2012:179-84; Hutcheson 2004:33; Palk 1984:37) (Section 5.5; Figure 5.30).

Although the decorative style is very different from the Swanton Morley bit, asymmetry seems to be an important part of the design, perhaps revealing an emphasis on the different sides of the horse or chariot. When worn by a pair of horses, the undecorated inner ring would be hidden from view (Blockley *et al.* 1989:188; Giles 2012:195). One of the paired bits from Ringstead had its mouthpiece purposely broken prior to deposition, as had selective examples from Garton Slack and Polden Hills (Palk 1984:71, 93). It is tempting to relate this to the longstanding cultural practice of bending and breaking other metal items such as swords, especially given that these examples are from harness hoards or funerary contexts.

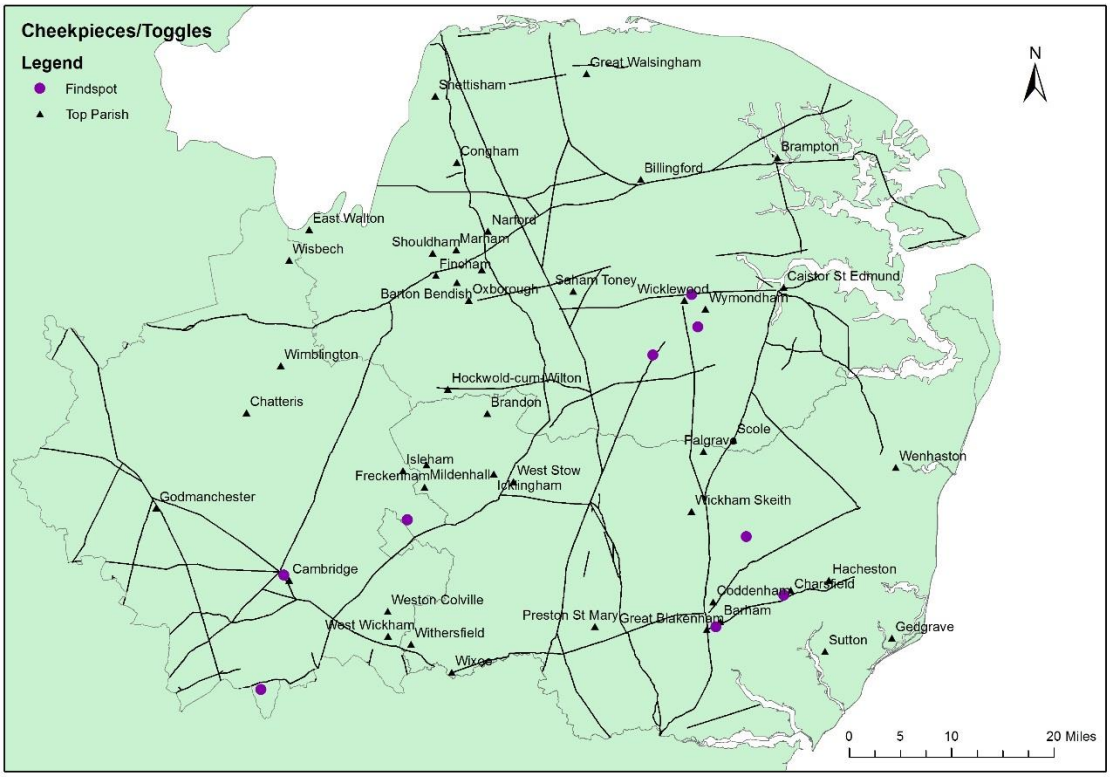


Figure 6.31: Distribution of cheekpieces and toggles (Image: Author).

The number of cheekpieces in Cambridgeshire is skewed by the five decorated bone toggles from the Snailwell burial. There is a debate over whether these 'cheekpieces' were really from bridles. Lethbridge (1954:32) suggested that they were handles for a bier used to lift the body onto the cremation pyre (Section 5.2). Regardless of whether the Snailwell artefacts were part of horse harness, they remind us that many portable artefacts were made from perishable materials, not just leather straps, but also bone, antler and wooden components which may not survive.

The shape and decoration of horse bits finds parallels with both Iron Age mirror and tankard handles (Joy 2010:46). Like other metalwork, the decorative style on bridle-bits changes over time from swirling, asymmetrical patterns to more geometric, polychrome designs. Early opaque red glass is followed by red and dark blue enamelling post-conquest, with turquoise and yellow in regional variations (Davis 2014:157; MacGregor 1976:30).

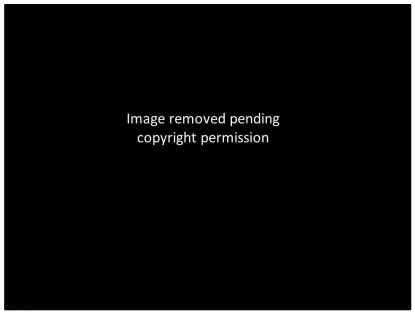


Figure 6.32: Saham Toney bit (MacGregor 1976:26).

A comparison of the bits from Ringstead (Figure 6.27) and Saham Toney (Figure 6.32) illustrates this different aesthetic well. The once-enamelled geometric square and triangular cells on the Saham Toney harness can also be seen on seal-box lids, button-and-loop fasteners and cosmetic grinders, which become popular in the later 1st-3rd centuries CE. It is also closely paralleled by some of the harness from the Seven Sisters hoard (Davis 2014:160). I would disagree with MacGregor's assertion, based on the annihilation theory, that it is 'unlikely that the Saham Toney trappings could have been manufactured after the Icenian revolt' (1976:26). If anything, this shift to geometric enamelwork is exactly characteristic of this period.

6.8. Linch-pins

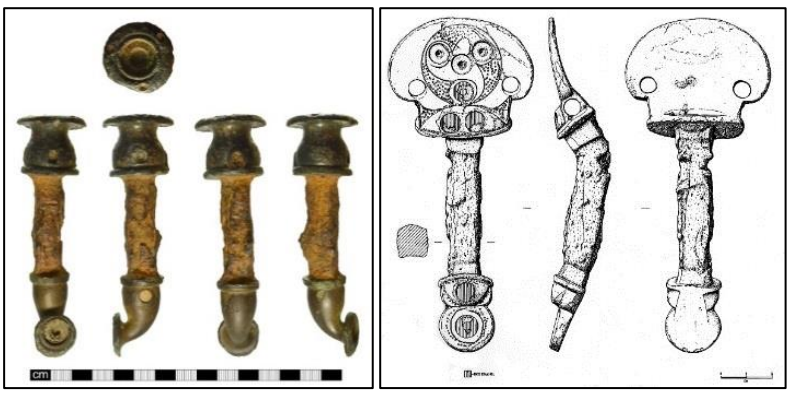


Figure 6.33: (left) Baluster-headed linch-pin, Fressingfield (PAS:SF-1007C4) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) Crescent-headed linch-pin, Wymondham (PAS:NMS-F36EDA) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Linch-pins are the mechanism by which the wheel of a cart or chariot was secured to the axles. These composite iron and copper alloy objects often have highly-decorated terminals, gilding and enamelwork. The shape of the foot of the linch-pin resembles a horse's lower leg and hoof (Spratling 1972:58),

interesting in the light of the possible disinclination to represent horses discussed above (Section 6.3). Linch-pin terminals may have had an apotropaic function, protective of the vehicle or its occupants, in the crescentic shape of the heads and the zoomorphic imagery such as dogs, waterbirds and rams. A phallic example is also known from Chesham in Surrey (Crummy 2011:67).



Figure 6.34: (left) Enamelled linch-pin foot, Carleton Rode (PAS:NMS-248F38) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Curvilinear decoration on harness mount, Carleton Rode (PAS:NMS-EE8B03) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0).

The distribution shows few linch-pins in Suffolk (16) and Cambridgeshire (5) (Figure 6.36), despite the Colne Fen hoard (see below). In Norfolk (43), the findspots are mostly south-central (Breckland) and northwestern (Icknield), with a cluster around Wymondham. The horizontal trend along the roads in south Suffolk is familiar. As mentioned previously, a decorated linch-pin head and two matching feet were found at Carleton Rode, dating 1st century BCE/CE. All had the enamelled curved triangle or 'steering wheel' motif. Very close by, a symmetrically-enamelled harness mount and two terrets were found, suggesting a dispersed hoard (Figure 6.34). Nationally, Norfolk and Lincolnshire have the highest numbers of linch-pins, followed by Suffolk (Figure 6.35). There are very few recorded as Roman by PAS (10 as opposed to 102 Iron Age), which suggests a change in modes of transport, recording bias, or a change in materials – iron perhaps becoming much more common and therefore less recoverable.

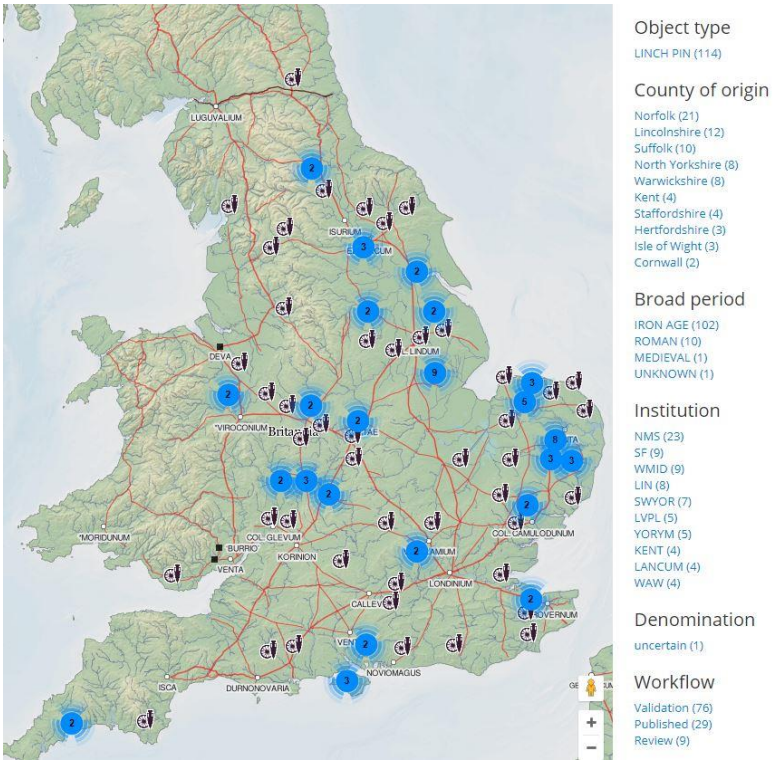


Figure 6.35: Distribution of linch-pins (Image: PAS).

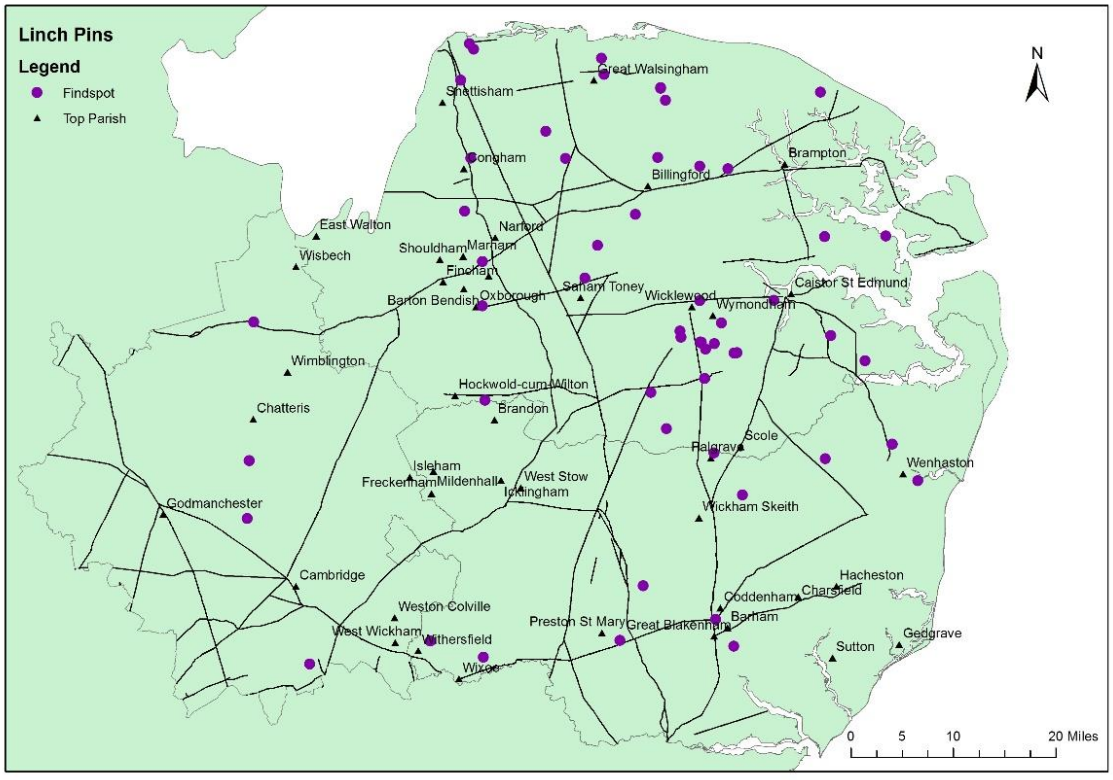


Figure 6.36: Distribution of linch-pins (Image: Author).

6.8.1. Colne Fen

A hoard of five linch-pin heads was found at Colne Fen, now in Cambridgeshire, in an area of intensive Roman occupation. Three of these are the plain 'baluster' or 'vase-headed' fittings known from the Santon and Westhall hoards. The other two linch-pins are highly-decorative with enamelled heads. One has a swirling red pattern reminiscent of Westhall (Section 6.10.3). The second is an unusual example with recurving duck's head-shaped terminals which are pierced for attachment, one of which still has an iron link looped through it. It has a projecting 'shelf' or cover with curvilinear enamelled decoration (MacGregor 1976:49-50; Tebbutt and Fox 1961:235-8). Intriguingly, this echoes the design of the protected-loop terrets discussed above and may also give clues to the function of the miniature terrets (Section 7.6.3). The crescentic head is enamelled with blue and red shapes, perhaps zoomorphic or birdlike, with 'eyes' as described in the Waldringfield terret moulds (Rigby 2013).

Tebbutt and Fox dated the Colne Fen pieces *circa* 1-25 CE and 20-40 CE, 'wholly in the Celtic tradition'. The two decorated heads are both reported to be 'broken off short' from their pins, leading to the romantic notion that they were lost during a 'violent collision in fighting' (1961:236-8), but may alternatively have been deliberately damaged before votive deposition. All five pieces are different, leading again to the question as to whether these are scrap metal pieces collected together for recycling. The number five reflects the five terrets needed to join a team of horses to the vehicle, but is less explicable in relation to the number of wheels, which must surely have been two or four. The choice of mismatched or different items grouped together is also paralleled by the mould fragments from Waldringfield (see below). Chittock (2016) describes the 'patchwork' nature of chariot burials and horse harness hoards. Finally, the use of waterbirds' heads as terminals recalls the many examples found on cosmetic grinders (Section 9.2) and other artefacts. These disparate characteristics begin to draw together some of the collective features which may have been important to the Iceni people.

6.9. Miscellaneous Fittings

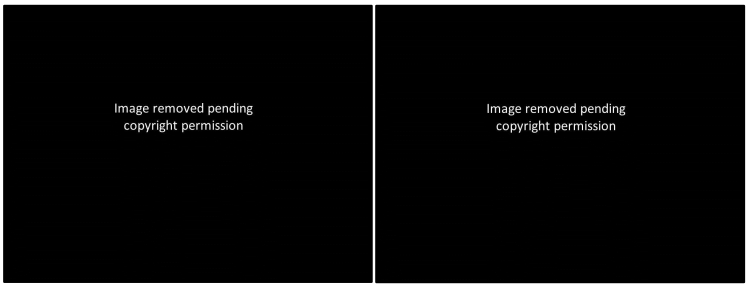


Figure 6.37: (left) Harness 'roundel', Saham Toney (NMS:1993.204.6); (right) Quadrilobe strap union, Saham Toney (NMS:1847.66.7).

Ornamental fittings for reins and other straps were popular in both the LIA and Romano-British periods. Some functioned as strap junctions or sliders, holding straps together or allowing for adjustment, others were simple 'danglers' or pendants, often highly decorative. 'Miscellaneous fittings' have been grouped together here, including objects described as harness mount, strap fitting, strap slide, fob, dangler, hanger and pendant. Crummy observes 'harness fitting' has become a catch-all term (2011:60) and probably reflects recorders' choices of categorisation. Dating is often broad and the 'military' phallic and vulvate pendants and mounts are dealt with under anatomical votives (Section 7.6.6).

Military and civilian fittings are sometimes difficult to distinguish. Some harness pendant types are known from art historical and classical sources. Indigenous metalwork is generally identified stylistically, and no large-scale study of metal composition exists for harness, unlike the Richborough brooch analysis, although Davis's work has gone some way to address the metallurgy and surface elaboration of hoards (2014).

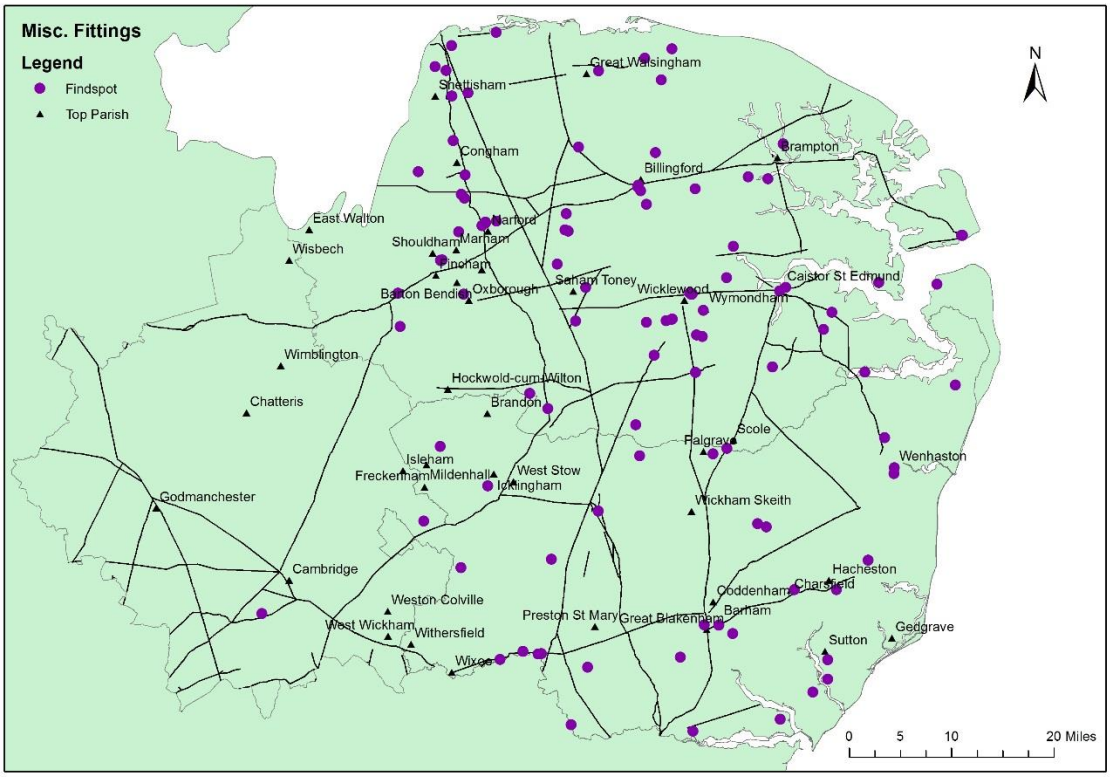


Figure 6.38: Miscellaneous harness fittings (Image: Author).

There is also a group of objects which may be related to harness, which are usually described as 'discs' or 'roundels'. There are eight from Norfolk and six from Suffolk, often with triskele or enamelled decoration. A link with harness and brooches can be established at Saham Toney, where a plate brooch with a radiating pattern of enamelled triangular cells was found, along with a roundel of very similar design, with the familiar 'steering wheel' motif in the centre (Figure 6.37). This symbol has been noted on numerous objects including the linch-pin terminals from Carleton Rode. Although plate brooches are usually 2nd century, Davies suggests a date in the mid-1st century CE for these closely associated objects (in Bates *et al.* 2000:225). Perhaps they were horse 'brooches', showing the potential for crossover between human and animal ornament.

A design link between the enamelled strap union from Saham Toney and one from the Middlebie hoard in Dumfriesshire led MacGregor to suggest that the unrest in the Iceni territory led to the movement of craftspeople as refugees (1976:179-80), much like Mackreth's diaspora of broochmakers (2009:147). It

is unlikely that types of decoration were spread by mass movements of people, although, as we have seen, the imitation and adoption of 'outsider' objects was common.

6.10. Harness Hoards and Production

Horse gear follows a broadly eastern pattern from Kent to Yorkshire. Deposition in the Iceni territory differs to other parts of Britain, in which horse harness tends to be found either in large hoards or chariot burials, whereas individual finds are more widespread across Norfolk (Hutcheson 2004:18-9). This may be due to greater metal-detector coverage and higher overall proportions of finds. Nevertheless, hoards have been found at several sites. In Norfolk, these include Ringstead, Santon and Carleton Rode/Saham Toney, which date to the 1st century CE. In Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, there are harness hoards from Westhall and Colne Fen respectively. These are well-known and significant finds (Clarke 1939; Davis 2014; MacGregor 1976; Manning 1972; Smith 1909; Spratling 1972; see Garrow and Gosden 2012 for an overview).

Harness hoards appear to show the same impulse towards votive deposition as those of the torcs and jewellery previously discussed. They span the conquest and rebellion period, suggesting continuity of practice. Evidence for manufacturing implies that the north of the area was a key production zone, in line with the overall deposition of harness fittings (Figure 6.8), with only the moulds from Waldringfield demonstrating the links with Suffolk (Figure 6.39).

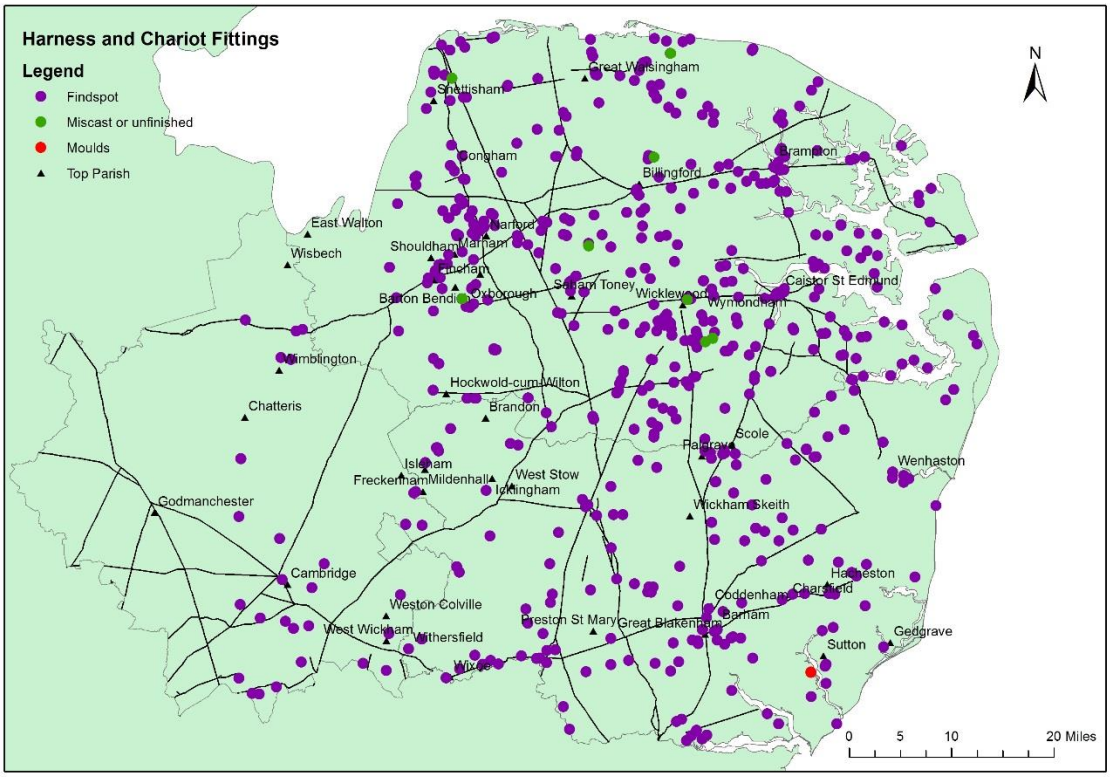


Figure 6.39: Distribution of all harness showing evidence for production (Image: Author).

6.10.1. Saham Toney

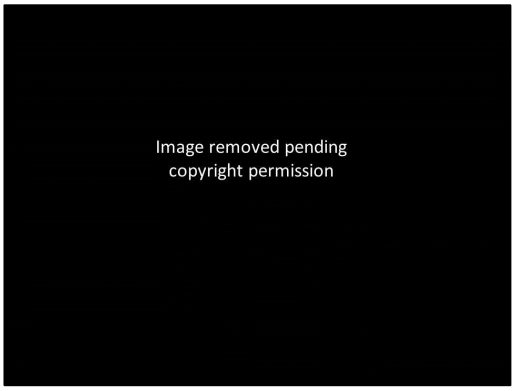


Figure 6.40: Harness items from the Saham Toney hoard (MacGregor 1976:26).

The 1938 Saham Toney (Ovington) hoard (Figure 6.40) demonstrates the varied ornamental schemes which I have termed the 'similar but different' aesthetic. The terrets are of different sizes and the decoration is largely polychrome and geometric enamelling. Evidence for a local workshop is strongly suggested by the two matching platform-decorated terrets from the Saham Toney hoard and Carleton Rode (Section 6.6.4). Excavations in the parish in the 1990s, following a metal-detector find, uncovered a new dispersed

hoard of horse gear, the matching roundel and plate brooch mentioned above, an iron axehead and a pair of manacles. Thirteen mid-1st century CE brooches and a miniature terret were also discovered in the same field. This site at Quidney Farm (NHER:28294, 29429) shows overlapping LIA and Romano-British ceramic traditions, until at least the late 1st century CE (Bates *et al.* 2000).

Crucibles and numerous ceramic mould fragments, some of which may have been used to manufacture terrets were found, as well as iron-working debris. The largest terret is unparalleled in design. It has asymmetrical, projecting ribs (Figure 6.41) similar to another fragment found at Saham Toney in 2002 (Figure 6.42). Another hybrid terret bridges the Iron Age lipped type and the Roman protected-loop terret, with punched dot decoration on the 'skirt' (Figure 6.41). This shows the Icenian appetite for experimentation extends from brooches to horse gear. The terrets may represent a complete set from a single vehicle, although only two of the terrets are tightly matching in design. Bates *et al.* suggest this is a reprocessing hoard (2000).

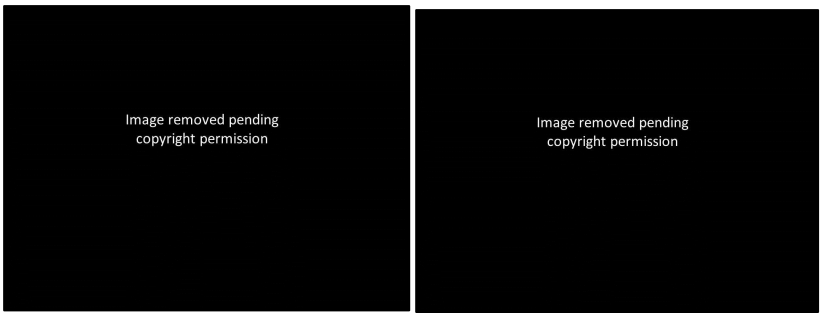


Figure 6.41: (left) Unusual rotationally-ribbed terret, Saham Toney (Bates *et al.* 2000:fig. 7); (right) Hybrid lipped protected-loop terret with punch-dot decoration, Saham Toney (Bates *et al.* 2000:fig. 7).



Figure 6.42: Unusual rotationally-lipped terret, Saham Toney (PAS:SF9412) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

A dispersed hoard discovered in 2011 in the parish of Whinburgh and Westfield (NHER:55521), approximately 6 miles from Saham Toney, comprises a lipped terret, a tankard or bucket mount with a zoomorphic (bovid) head and a protected-loop terret with punched decoration on the skirt in the form of two back-to-back crescents, considered an Icenian device (Davies 2014:27; Talbot 2015:302) (Figure 6.43). The hoard is broadly dated 100 BCE-100 CE, but is most likely to be post-conquest, again showing a fusion between the styles and preoccupations of the indigenous people and the occupiers.

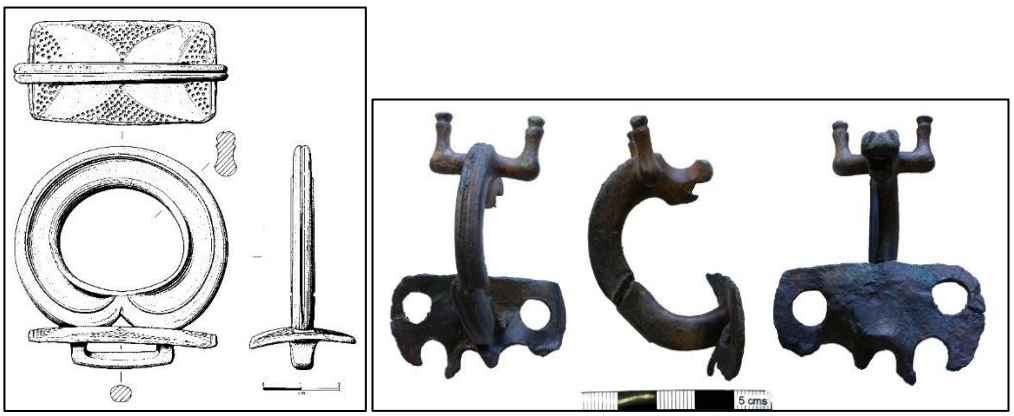


Figure 6.43: (left) Hybrid protected-loop terret and (right) bovid mount, Whinburgh hoard (PAS:NMS-E51D37) (Images: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

In conjunction with brooch production at nearby Old Buckenham (Section 4.5.3), this is excellent evidence to support the theory that indigenous metalworkers continued to produce small portable metal artefacts in the same workshops, while fusing both new and old techniques, materials and decorative styles. It also backs up Hutcheson's assertion that the Iceni were not wiped out after the revolt, but adapted to the conditions thrust upon them. These hybrid

and unusual artefacts have the potential to show that the political clashes of the 1st century CE were not necessarily detrimental to the development of material culture and may in fact have prompted innovation.

6.10.2. Santon

The Santon hoard (found 1897) is a large mixed hoard which includes horse and chariot fittings as well as bronze-working tools and scrap metal. Interestingly, there are no terret rings in this hoard, although the linch-pins do suggest vehicles rather than riding horses. It is dated to *circa* 60 CE, again based on a Boudican explanation, and the inclusion of two Thistle brooches (1-60 CE) and four sprung Colchester Derivatives (40-70 CE). All the brooches show signs of being worn or broken. A military connection cannot be ruled out, as the hoard also contains Roman legionary armour fittings and a Hod Hill (40-70 CE) brooch. However, this brooch is unparalleled on the continent and may be an indigenous variant with no military association (Davis 2014; Hutcheson 2004; Spratling 1972, 1975).

The tools and scrap metal in the hoard suggest collection for recycling, reminiscent of the Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard (Section 5.5.2). Perhaps the military objects were trophies from a battle or ambush, or had been brought to the smith for repurposing in a more peaceful climate. The presence of repaired, new and unfinished objects in the Santon and Ringstead hoards suggests they may be related to manufacturing (Garrow and Gosden 2012:182-3). This calls to mind the mixture of ancient, repaired and unfinished torcs in the hoards at Ken Hill, Snettisham, at least one of which was centuries old and had been customised and curated at various stages before deposition (Joy 2016).

6.10.3. Westhall-type Terrets

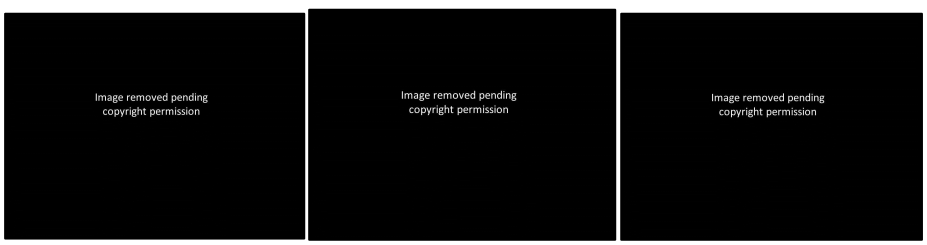


Figure 6.44: Terrets from the Westhall hoard (BM:1855,0519).

The Westhall hoard (found 1855) included six linch pin terminals, two quadrilobe mounts and eight enamelled terrets (Figure 6.44). Both Westhall (BM:1855,0519.20) and Santon hoards included discs embossed with zoomorphic imagery, possibly horses or mythical beings (Clarke 1939:65-9). The hoard was reportedly surrounded by charcoal and scorched earth. Davis also notes burning on the Polden Hills, Stanwick (Melsonby) and Seven Sisters hoards (2014:260). Once again the Boudican narrative is crucial in pinpointing the dating. Clarke imagines its concealment in 61 CE during reprisals 'at the hands of the overzealous Roman troops' (1939:68-9). Spratling attempted to debunk this notion, but still concluded that a mid-1st century CE date was likely (1972:307-9).

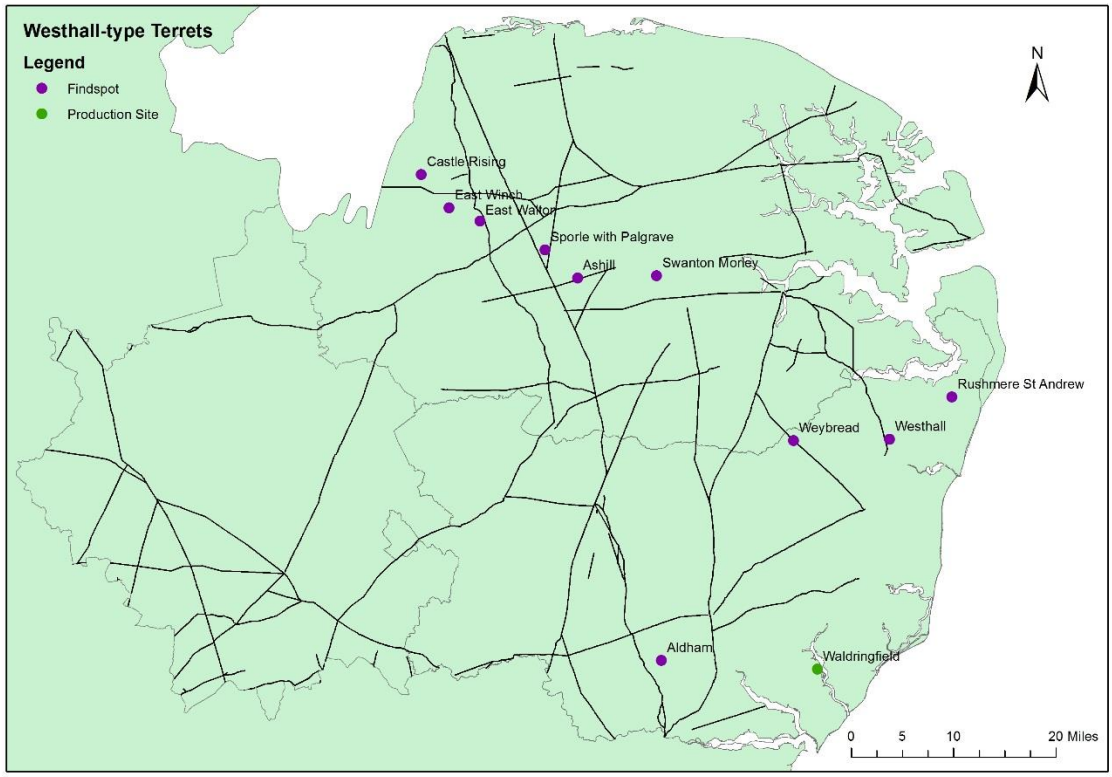


Figure 6.45: Distribution of Westhall-type flat-ring terrets and moulds (Image: Author).

Enamelled flat-ring terrets from Weybread, Westhall and Rushmere are so similar that they are likely to have come from the same production centre. The distributions of such highly-distinctive, decorative artefacts in north Suffolk and Norfolk were said to distinguish their Icenian manufacture (Gregory and Martin 1985:35; Martin 1978:137). However, evidence for production of Westhall-type

terrets was subsequently found at Waldringfield in southeast Suffolk (Figure 6.45). This would be considered Trinovantian territory, although it is important to remember these are Roman administrative categories, like modern counties and probably do not refer to ethnic groupings. The lines are much more blurred.

It is possible to see these finds in light of local workshops and product availability rather than 'tribal' territories. Local tastes and styles were influenced by, and influenced, the metalworkers' own aesthetics and methods. The debate over itinerant versus settled workshops can be revisited here (Section 4.10). Westhall-type terrets have been found some distance from Waldringfield (Figure 6.45), but the Carleton Rode terret was discovered only 13 miles from Saham Toney. The distributions of brooches and torcs show strong connections between southeast Suffolk and northwest Norfolk. Again, I would stress the need for thorough investigation into how decorative metalwork was distributed.

6.10.4. Waldringfield Moulds

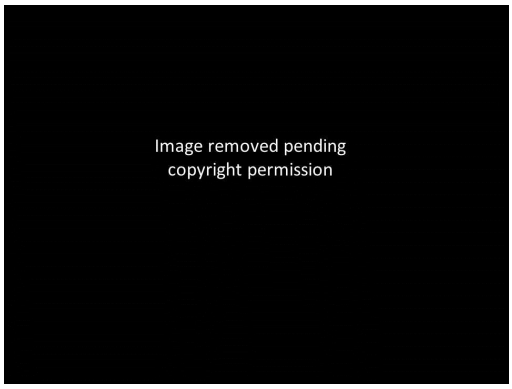


Figure 6.46: Clay harness moulds, Waldringfield (Rigby 2013:27).

Over 30 fragments of clay 'lost-wax' moulds for Westhall-style enamelled terrets and strap unions were found in a churchyard at Waldringfield (Figure 6.46). Trial trenches later unearthed several further fragments and both Roman and Iron Age ceramics. It is posited that the moulds had been placed in a pit, disturbed by later grave digging. These may represent a workshop specialising in the manufacture of 'yoke furniture' i.e. sets of terrets and the strap unions which fitted onto the yoke (Martin *et al.* 1986; Rigby 2013).

The Waldringfield fragments appear to have zoomorphic features encoded within them, as recognised on other LIA metalwork (Foster 2014). Birds' heads and eyes are part of the unique design, nevertheless within a specific aesthetic. Rigby suggests the Waldringfield moulds made objects of conspicuous display which embodied the metalworker's prowess in creating complicated double-sided objects, as well as the acquisitive desire of the owner/commissioner. Of course, these items could be part of a gift exchange cycle, which alters the directional flow of personal display and prestige.

The individual moulds included two matched sets of five crescentic terrets and a pair of strap unions. Could this relate to the casting of specific designs meant for individual vehicles, persons or groups? One mould has been identified with the terret from Weybread. At Gussage All Saints, Dorset, a Middle Iron Age pit produced over 200 fragments of clay moulds estimated to be the equivalent for manufacture of around 50 sets of chariot fittings (Hill 1995a:65). Rigby determined an aspect of controlled deposition at Waldringfield, with 'contemporary sorting and recycling' resulting in only a small part of the manufacturing debris being deposited in the pit. This is reminiscent of the structured sorting of human and animal remains in pits and the deliberate nesting of torcs in hoards (2013:26, 34).

Garrow and Gosden discuss set-matched pairs of bridle-bits and cheekpieces in the Polden Hills hoard, which also has dissimilar terrets and horse brooches, and the variability of harness 'groupsets' (2012:188-9, 217-9). Davis's analysis of the metallurgy found paired bits were very similar (2014:103-10). In the Yorkshire chariot burials, some harness sets may have been manufactured specifically for funerary rites, being virtually non-functional. Others were closely matched with deliberate pairing; some never matched in the first place (Giles 2012:196-7). At Saham Toney and elsewhere mismatched sets are usually interpreted as replacements for worn or lost terrets (Garrow and Gosden 2012:215-9). Is this part of the aesthetic of 'purposeful differentiation' (Spratling 2008:197)? Or more prosaically, was 'close' good enough? Perhaps

the uniqueness and individuality of harness items, like cosmetic grinders (Section 9.2), was an important part of the design brief.

6.10.5. Discussion

Why were people burying horse harness in hoards? Were they offerings or metalworkers' caches? Do they relate to the Boudican revolt at all? Hutcheson challenges the Boudican ascription of Norfolk hoards, arguing for a much longer, more spread out chronology. Many key finds, including hoards, post-date the rebellion, in some cases by decades (2004:34-5). This raises questions about the alleged devastation and the nature of the end of the Iron Age in Icenia.

Webster proposes that workshops near military sites fed the Roman army's enthusiasm for attractive horse harness, local craftspeople quickly adapting to new markets, while retaining pre-conquest decorative styles (1993:104). If so, significant harness finds around the presumed forts at Saham Toney and Swanton Morley may be evidence of this sort of symbiosis. This may explain the many finds of openwork harness mounts with triskele decoration which are categorised as 'military' finds. At Swanton Morley, another early fort is presumed from air photography and metal-detector survey. As well as the bridles discussed earlier, a triskele mount and four terrets embody the aesthetic shift, with two crescentic Westhall-type terrets and a distinctive example with enamelled triangles (Davies 2009:148-50; Hutcheson 2004:29 and cat. #136-8).

MacGregor disputed this idea. She considered the British harness system entirely alien to the Roman cavalry and noted that several hoards contain paired bits for draught horses (1976:178-80). The association of British metalwork with forts is more likely to demonstrate discrepant responses to the occupation among indigenous people, than movements of the army around Britain making commissions from local workshops. The current evidence for production seems to follow the distribution of harness equipment more generally, with concentrations in central Norfolk (Figure 6.39). In the *civitas*,

finds of harness are concentrated around the indigenous settlement and forts at Saham Toney, suggesting a mixture of people and artefacts. Further excavation is sorely needed at these sites to gain a clearer picture.

Although the people of the Iceni polity appear not to have favoured chariots for burial, some of the components of harness hoards are very similar to funerary assemblages. Davis discusses the similarities and differences between hoards and LIA burials in the context of the Santon Hoard. Although she concludes that Santon probably did not accompany a burial, she draws parallels between the deposition of human remains and that of artefacts (2014:213-5). As we have seen with the hoards at Snettisham (Chapter 5), votive deposition is a long-lasting tradition in eastern Britain. I have suggested that these might have represented proxy burials for significant members or groups within the community. The fragmentation of the chariot and horse equipment has parallels with the dispersal, mixing and partial integration of human and animal remains in some Iron Age deposits (Hill 1995a). There is a sense of selectivity at Waldringfield which echoes the small percentages of pyre remains in cremation burials (Pearce 1997:177). Burning also seems to have featured in the deposition of some hoards, including Westhall.

The inclusion of tools, repaired and unfinished items and scrap metal might be related to proxy burials of metalsmiths. Perhaps metalworkers were held in high esteem, with advanced cultural capital due to their important 'know-how' and magically-transformative abilities. Their role as significant people in the community, maybe tinged by their dangerous or polluted work, set them apart as liminal or taboo. This attitude to blacksmiths has been observed in anthropological studies, particularly in parts of Africa (Kusimba 1996; McNaughton 1993; Njoku 1991). After death, perhaps their belongings, products and tools were considered both sacred and contaminated, which needed to be safely contained and deposited.

6.11. Summary

The practices of horse-breeding and training (and possibly also chariot warfare) span the conquest and revolt period. Perhaps this aspect of life in the 'Kingdom of the Horse' would have characterised the region more so than brooches. I have questioned the 'material élite' as an overly simple way of understanding social organisation in the LIA. Living assets, such as herds of horses, may have been communally owned and decorative harness may have reflected their importance within the community, rather than any individual person's. Attitudes to representing horses in the iconography may also have changed. As Roman coins replaced Icenian issues, horses are not found on either the imported seal-boxes or indigenous cosmetic grinders, but become visible as pipeclay figurines and plate brooches associated with burial and religious practices. The disputed imagery of the 'Rider God' nevertheless suggests that horses remained a potent symbol.

Manufacture, display and deposition of horse furnishings, particularly in central Norfolk, implies that the equine 'economy' remained a significant aspect of identity during and after the client-kingdom. Sites which both pre- and post-date the rebellion have concentrations (Brampton, Caistor St Edmund, Saham Toney) and the use of terrets in the later 1st and 2nd centuries CE show continuity, although conspicuous decoration diminishes. A production centre is also likely in eastern Suffolk, as with brooches. This supports my argument against the destitution of the region in the Boudican aftermath, and corroborates Hutcheson's assertions for Norfolk (2004:97-8, 2007:369). Hoards of horse and chariot fittings may demonstrate continuity of behaviour from the torcs and other deposits. I have suggested these might be proxy burials enacted as part of communal, ritual practices to commemorate important events or individuals.

Changes over time as well as hybridity can be seen through harness fittings. As in previous chapters, military and civilian, local and imported artefacts are not easily distinguished, especially where there is evidence for local manufacture. Decoration on harness reflects the broader shift in style from curvilinear

towards geometric pattern in some personal ornament, like plate and Headstud brooches. Highly-coloured, symmetrical designs on horse gear and plate brooches become the new popular aesthetic after Roman colonisation (Garrow and Gosden 2012:33). The shift in aesthetics is therefore applicable beyond objects worn on the person, reinforcing the idea that symbolism, colour and technical abilities displayed across categories of portable artefacts remained desirable to the people of the region. Harness and chariot fittings may also reveal potential collection bias as identified by Cool and Baxter for brooches (Section 3.4.4). Many are large, attractive pieces, often brightly enamelled and therefore highly-collectable.

A miniature terret was found in the same field as the hoard of harness fittings at Quidney Farm, Saham Toney (Bates *et al*. 2000:229). In the following chapter, we return to the question of miniature terrets and explore links between these and other model artefacts. Discussion focusses on deposition and evidence for ritual behaviour and belief, such as miniature axes, figurines of deities and their animal familiars.

Chapter 7. Magic and Loss: Votive Miniatures and Figurines

This chapter will investigate the connections between people, things and concepts through votive objects, with specific reference to miniatures and pipeclay figurines. Although 'Celtic' religion is often referred to, there is minimal concrete evidence for it in Britain, with few inscriptions or known deities; much of the comparative material comes from very different European cultural contexts. Using my dataset, I consider evidence for continuity of practice, hybridity and syncretism within the material record.

Studies of religious artefacts and ritual practices have been carried out by Hutcheson (2004, 2007) and Marsden (2012, 2014) for Norfolk, Derks (1998) and Henig (1984) on religion, Talbot (2011, 2015, 2017), Chadburn (2006) and Creighton (1995) on coins. Green's (1976, 1978) well known compilations of Roman religious items are sorely in need of modernisation. Jenkins's catalogue of pipeclay figurines (1977) remains a valuable source of information, currently being updated by Fittock (2015, 2016). Farley (2011, 2012) discusses miniature objects from neighbouring Lincolnshire, while Kiernan (2009) provides an overview of the northwestern provinces.

In Icenia, the tradition of hoarding endured the fluctuating political situations of the Roman occupation. Devotion and deposition are fascinating practices which involve giving or putting something away. Therefore, they can give us a glimpse into the intersection between *praxis* – ritual and habitual action – and material culture. Small finds from hoards, burials and religious sites can tell us about the multitude of public and private acts of devotion, although belief is very subjective and hard to assess. Objects can be interpreted differently depending on their use in varied contexts, e.g. temples, hoards or structured deposits in settlements.

Crummy includes figurines and other ritual items, such as amulets and votive plaques, in Category 14 (Objects associated with religious beliefs and practices) (1983:141-8). I have switched cosmetic pestles and mortars ('amulets') to the

personal grooming section (Chapter 9). Due to the lack of good chronology for statuettes in bronze, such as the Mercury figurines from Walsingham, these artefacts have only been included on maps for comparison, based largely upon Durham's online 'Depicting the Gods' database (2012). Some brooches may also have been votive offerings, e.g. the concentrations of horse-and-rider brooches around small towns and rural shrines in East Anglia and the Midlands (Section 4.11.6). The votive interpretation of miniature objects, including terrets, is also evaluated.

7.1. Magical and ritual practices?

If objects acquire meaning through exchange, ritual and performance (Joy 2009:544), this surely encompasses exchanges of artefacts between humans and the numinous world (Insoll 2004:19-20). Osborne observes that votives stand apart as objects transformed by human agency through the process of dedication (2004:1-3). Moretti notes the lack of distinction between magic and religion in the ancient world (2015:107).

Metalwork, especially weaponry, was deliberately damaged and deposited in rivers, lakes and bogs throughout the Bronze and Iron Age (Garrow and Gosden 2012; Haselgrove 2015:36; Wells 2001:91). Prehistorians often use the term 'ritual killing' (Joy 2011:410-1), but this is less frequent in Roman studies. Generally interpreted as a means of putting items 'beyond use', Garrow and Gosden reassess some of these ideas in their wider discussion of fragmentation in 'Celtic art' (2012:174-8). Deposits in water may remove objects from the community, similar to grave goods. Watery places were perhaps understood in prehistory as permeable borders between life and death, liminal zones linking the world and the underworld. Human remains from peat bogs across northern Europe lend weight to the idea that wetlands were places of sacrifice or suitable locations for the dead (Glob 1971). The possible Iron Age taboo on fish consumption was discussed in relation to zoomorphic brooches (Section 4.11.5).

Modern conceptualisations draw convenient territorial lines using waterways. However, water is a connective medium. Rivers are in constant motion; before the development of wheeled transport and passable roads, they connected the living with each other, not just the dead or the spirit world. Offerings when crossing water were made in the Roman period. At Piercebridge in County Durham, many thousands of finds were made by divers searching the bed of the River Tees, including coins and brooches dating from the 1st to 3rd centuries CE. A military explanation has been proffered for this particular crossing, although objects relating to women and children have also been found and indigenous Britons were likely no less superstitious (Walton 2011:263-86).

7.2. Ritualisation as Power and Practice

Anthropological studies show there is often no explicit distinction made between the everyday lived world and the supernatural dimension (Bradley 2003; Insoll 2004). The static concept of religious activity is being replaced with an idea of 'ritualisation' as a form of practice (Bradley 2003:12). This concept allows for the fluctuating status of sites and objects, their ability to be both ordinary and special, at different times, to different people. Ritualisation can also be part of power relationships; it can empower and control, promote social cohesion or distinction. Power, and thereby ritual, operates through the body (Bell 1992:197-223). Bradley questions the separation between Iron Age public/private and domestic/ritual worlds at Thetford, concluding that these spheres moved gradually apart as a response to increasing contact and centralisation (2005:165-90).

What evidence is there for magical and ritual practices in Iceni territory? Did they approach the world differently to their neighbours and Roman rulers? Can we retrieve anything of their attitudes, their beliefs, their rites? Classical accounts refer to the strange behaviours of the Britons: their priests, the 'Druids', worshipping in 'groves consecrated to their savage cults' (Tac. *Ann.* 14.30). The Gauls and Britons are said to have practiced human sacrifice and taken heads as gruesome trophies, although there is little evidence for this in

Britain either in literature or archaeology (Frere 1991:320; Henig 1984:18-9; Salway 1981:681). These have been rejected as propaganda, intended to exaggerate barbarian difference from the Roman incomers (Wells 1999, 2011).

Dio's (*Hist. Rom.* 62.6.1) tableau of Boudica releasing a hare on the brink of battle names a British war deity, Andraste. Dio describes the Icenian queen releasing a hare, not sacrificing it, which goes against the bloodthirsty image painted elsewhere. Perhaps the key issue is difference. The ritual practice of seeking auguries in the passage of animals is a Roman behaviour, transposed here onto the leader of the Iceni. Assumptions have also been made that the Britons worshipped nature, not anthropomorphs like Roman deities, based on the lack of representational art (Watts 2005:132). This 'aniconic stereotype' has been questioned (Green 1998), although Webster notes that many of the 'Celtic' representations of deities were made post-conquest (2003:43-4). The idea of religious syncretism has also been problematised. This fusion of belief systems was far from a 'neutral process', but embodied the power relationships of the colonial situation. The adoption of the classical pantheon was not a progressive move towards Rome, but a sequence of negotiated and contested political actions between different indigenous class strata, as well as military and other incomers. In this light, the pipeclay figurines discussed in this chapter become an 'alternative indigenous pantheon' (Webster 1997).

7.3. Religious Regalia

It is often assumed that a 'priestly caste' gained material wealth and status through officiating at ritual sites. There are occasional finds of religious regalia: staff terminals, headdresses and crowns, sometimes in hoards. These are most common in the lands ascribed to the Iceni and Catuvellauni (Bird 2011:276; Green 1976:49, 75). At Hockwold-cum-Wilton, a cache of crowns and 'diadems' was found in 1956-7 (NHER:5367). Another group formed part of the Felmingham Hall hoard (NHER:7533) (Figure 7.1), which also included a miniature wheel and two corvid staff terminals. In Suffolk, a chain-crown and two diadems were found at Cavenham Heath, Lackford (SHER:LKD003) and a recent cache discovered at nearby West Stow (PAS:SF-D4D044) contained

chains, disc and lunular pendants and a crest which may have come from a cult image of Minerva (Worrell *et al.* 2011). These finds are interpreted as priests' ceremonial headwear and may have been deliberately deposited near shrines. The headdresses are often associated with votive leaves or feathers (Section 7.6.5) and curse tablets (Section 7.5.2). Dating is poor, but not usually earlier than mid-2nd century CE (Gurney 1986:49, 90-2; Marsden 2014:46).

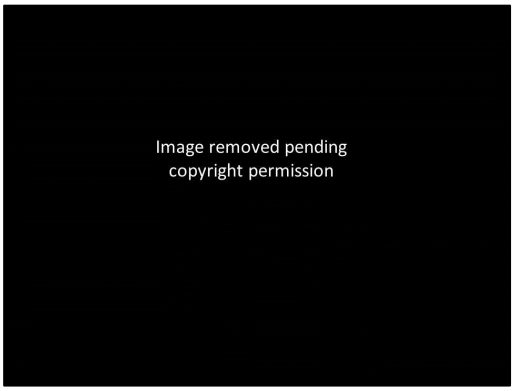


Figure 7.1: Part of the Felmingham Hall hoard (BM:1925,0610).

Religious concepts are expressed in material culture and are both 'confirmed and renewed' by ritual practice (Derks 1998:19). Status acquired through spiritual practice is another archaeologically invisible rank. Religious hermits or ascetics may have been highly-regarded in social terms, but conspicuously eschewed material riches (see Section 2.4.3). Hoards of 'priestly regalia' may be seen in a similar light to the torcs and harness hoards, for the safe disposal of personal belongings associated with potent magical practices and occupations. Could these caches be substitutions for burials of important and powerful individuals? Post-conquest, Romano-British cult behaviour was pantheistic, with temples providing more formalised opportunities for worship. Literacy also became ritualised through amulets and curse tablets. Later, mystery cults and exclusive sects such as Mithraism and Christianity gained popularity (Creighton 1995:300; Eckardt 2018:26; Moore *et al.* 1988:73).

7.4. Votive Jewellery

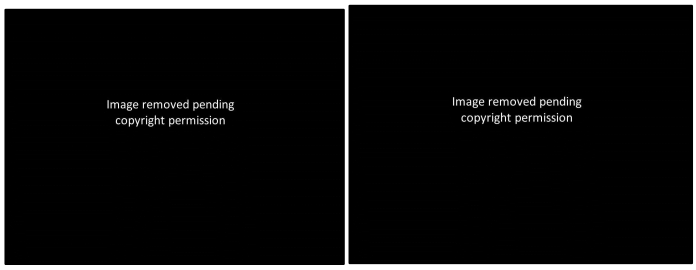


Figure 7.2: Pierced disc brooches, Hockwold-cum-Wilton (NWHCM:1962.396.37, NWHCM:1962.396.47).

Small personal belongings may have been offered as votives. Dragonesque brooches are sometimes found in caves, and Horse-and-rider brooches are commonly found at rural sanctuaries. Rings inscribed 'TOT' (to the god Toutatis) have a strong regional distribution in Lincolnshire and Minerva wax *spatulae* handles may have doubled as offerings (Daubney 2010; Eckardt 2014:132) (Section 8.4).

Bronze, rather than bone, pins may have been preferred as funerary and votive offerings, although neither was greatly favoured for deposition at temples. Some may have been deliberately bent or 'ritually killed' (Carr 2006:67). At the *civitas* capital, pits contained numerous bone hairpins and needles, which may represent structured deposition or at least structured discard (Bowden forthcoming). A third of the brooches recovered at Saham Toney had been 'mutilated' in some way (Brown 1986:11) perhaps for recycling purposes or as a ritually-motivated termination practice (Chapter 4).

Enamelled plate brooches (usually disc and zoomorphic types) are often found at temples. Two pierced 2nd century CE disc brooches from the Sawbench temple at Hockwold-cum-Wilton illustrate this aspect well (NHER:5637) (Figure 7.2). Plaques, brooches, discs and letters may all have been ceremonially nailed onto the walls of the temples themselves or onto trees, sacred posts or wooden panels. Not all plaques have holes, so were perhaps propped up on shelves or laid on altars for display (Bird 2011:287; Crerar 2006:80). Iron nails are often found in structured deposits and other votive contexts, such as the *amphora* with pipeclay figurines discussed below (Dungworth 1998). Was the process of

affixing by nailing associated with the permanence of the vow being made, a continuation of the prehistoric 'ritual killing' practice, or simply a means of putting one's religious beliefs on display to the gods, religious officiants and other members of the community?

7.5. Magical Literacy

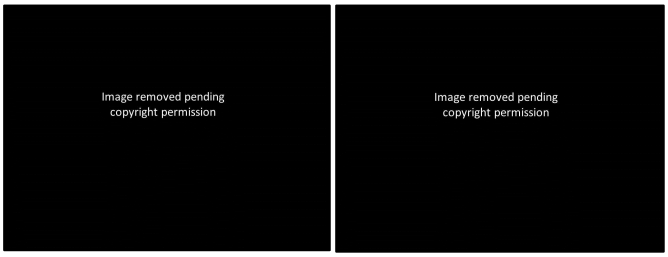


Figure 7.3: (left) Letter M, Hockwold-cum-Wilton (NWHCM:1962.396.19); (right) Letter L, Hockwold-cum-Wilton (NWHCM:1961.199.27).

Repeatedly chosen motifs on material objects have cultural meaning. In the absence of a written language, symbolism was used to reinforce group identity. Later Icenian coin issues do feature names, possibly of leaders, moneyers or trade organisations (Talbot 2015:310-1, 2017:148). The multivalency of Iron Age coins as tokens in an economic sense, and as votive offerings, may put these legends into the realms of magical literacy. Certain animals and designs may have distinguished the Iceni from their neighbours: the Iceni preferred back-to-back crescents on both gold and silver issues, especially the Pattern-Horse and later inscribed series. This addorsed crescent motif, which is also seen on other Iron Age metalwork, could represent a 'tribal emblem'. They avoided the classical imagery used by the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni and were the only issuers to depict a wolf on their coinage. Triplets are another Iron Age motif found on objects across Europe. The triple pellet, usually arranged in a triangle, is found on Iceni coins and other artefacts, such as linch-pins and button-and-loop fasteners (Davies 2009:114-5, 2014:27-9). Talbot suggests the addorsed crescents were a quality control mark which gave 'confidence and the assurance of authenticity' (2015:302).

Eckardt notes that cult writing was important, in the form of inscriptions and devotional records. Inkwells are rarely found, but seal-boxes are present at

shrines across the Roman world (2018:127). Roman religious literacy included personal dedications on wood or stone at temples enhanced by metal letter-plaques (Figure 7.3), or as *defixiones* (curse tablets) and *nuncupationes* (ritual vows). Seal-boxes were possibly used to secure wooden tablets on which vows were written (Bagnall Smith 1999; Crerar 2006:80-1). Wax *spatulae* with a handle in the shape of the goddess Minerva may have been used in devotional writing practices and deposited as offerings (Crummy 2002; Eckardt 2014:187-93; see Chapter 8).

7.5.1. The Billingford *Lamella*

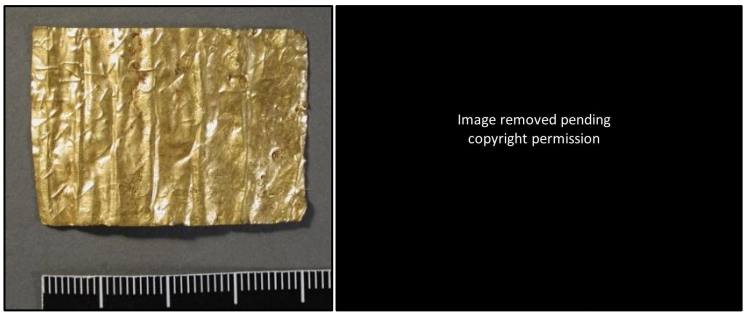


Figure 7.4: (left) Gold *lamella*, Billingford (PAS:NMS-7BEED8) (Image: BM/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Symbols on the Billingford *lamella* (Hassall and Tomlin 2006:fig. 9b).

Occasionally, we are fortunate to discover the name of the dedicant and something of the votive's purpose. In 2003, a gold amulet (*lamella*) was discovered in Billingford (Figure 7.4). The thin rectangular plaque was originally rolled into a tube, worn around the neck in a small cylindrical pendant. The sheet is faintly incised with a mixture of Greek and Latin characters and magical symbols, written *circa* 60-150 CE. The Latin inscription reads: 'Iao, Abrasax […], ablanathanalba, give health and victory (to) Tiberius Claudius Similis whom Herennia Marcellina bore'. Naming matrilineal relationships is the norm for these inscriptions, unlike other epigraphy. Greek magical symbols make up the first two lines, with others appearing in the third and fourth lines. The names of the gods Iao and Abrasax are written in Greek characters. The strange, almost palindromic, 'ablanathanalba' was a magical word like 'abracadabra' (Hassall and Tomlin 2006:481-2; Marsden 2012:52-3).

Gold *lamellae* are extremely rare, with fewer than 70 known across the Roman empire. They were worn as charms for luck or talismans to ward off evil. Mark-making was essential for the success of mystical formulae: 'the precise form and arrangement of the words and characters was critical in investing the object with its protective magical powers' (Hinds PAS:NMS-7BEED8).

7.5.2. Curse Tablets

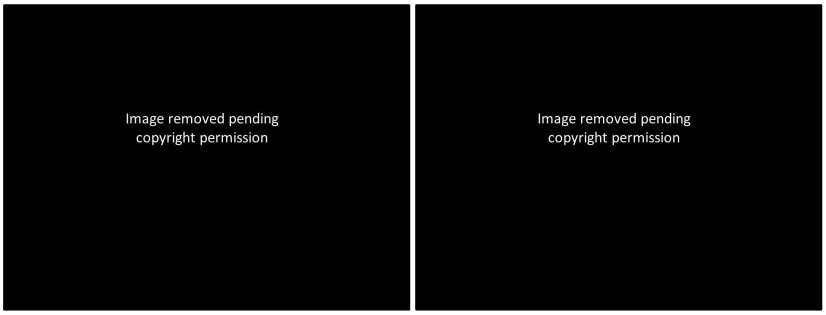


Figure 7.5: (left) Lead *defixio*, *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:2005.600); (right) Text on the *Venta Icenorum defixio* (Hassall and Tomlin 1982:fig. 34).

As well as amulets for personal protection, Roman Britons used magical inscriptions to petition the gods for justice, almost always in matters of theft. This is in distinct contrast to their continental neighbours, who also frequently mention affairs of the heart and business. Curse tablets (*defixiones*) were normally made of lead sheet, allowing the curse to be scratched into the soft metal. Many were then rolled, folded and/or pierced (Mattingly 2011:230; McKie 2017:109-10). Lead may have had symbolic connotations with the underworld (see Section 7.6.2). It may invoke a 'sympathetic magical association' between the accused and the 'cold, poisonous metal' (Moretti 2015:107). Lead or pewter may be associated with shrines, springs and ritual activity (Eckardt 2018:131). Dating is problematic, often stylistically based on the handwriting.

One was found on the bank of the River Tas, not far from *Venta Icenorum*, dedicated to Neptune (NHER:9819) (Figure 7.5). The inscription is somewhat formulaic, requesting divine intervention to punish a thief. The *defixio* itemises a long list of missing belongings, and promises: 'If you, (Neptune) want the pair of leggings they shall become yours at the price of [the thief's] blood'

(Bagnall Smith 1999:49; Hassall and Tomlin 1982:408). This sort of contractual arrangement with deities is typical of Roman religion. Marsden (2012:51-2) links the rather unusual appeal to Neptune to the position of *Venta Icenorum* on one of the tributaries of the Great Estuary. This may also hint at the association of Roman gods with earlier sacred watery places.

Two lead tablets are known from near Hockwold-cum-Wilton temple. One was dredged from the Little Ouse in Brandon parish. It was also addressed to Neptune, in a 4th century CE script. The other came from Weeting-with-Broomhill, an adjacent parish just west of Hockwold. The characters on this *defixio* were in mirror-writing, another common manifestation of ritual literacy (Hassall and Tomlin 1994; McKie 2017:107). Curse tablets were particularly popular in Britain and are usually associated with sacred sites. The finds from dredgings and riverbanks hint at a persistent connection between the divine and the liminal boundary of water. McKie identifies springs, wells and rivers as common contexts for curse tablets across the northwest provinces (2017:31). Perhaps Neptune became appropriated as the embodiment of the local spirit of the waters.

Watts notes that *defixiones* were regularly written by, or on behalf of, women (2005:139), perhaps signifying a practice which did not have gender restrictions. Additionally, some Britons, including women and slaves, who did not have the personal wherewithal or legal status to appeal to the court system for redress, may have resorted to appealing to the gods through cursing. Almost a quarter of named victims and petitioners on *defixiones* had female names (McKie 2017:131-5, 192). The colloquial Latin and stolen belongings itemised imply the enactors of curses were not highly-educated or materially wealthy (Moretti 2015:113). The study of handwriting suggests they were lettered by individuals rather than scribes (Cool 2011:36). Even if the person who commissioned the amulet or *defixio* were themselves illiterate, the importance and power of marking may have created a symbolic dialogue with the gods. This may also be a consideration in votive deposition of coins.



Figure 7.6: Chi-Rho disc, *Venta Icenorum* (CRT 2017) (Image: CRT/Ian Jackson).

Deposition of inscribed metalwork continues into the later Romano-British period, including the Thetford Treasure (Marsden 2014:48). There are traces of nascent Christian cults, including the Water Newton Treasure (Jones and Mattingly 1990:295-7), culminating in several late hoards of pewter and silver tableware with Christian inscriptions and symbolism, such as the Mildenhall Treasure (BM:1946,1007) and the Hoxne Hoard (BM:1994,0408). As Marsden notes, there is very little Romano-Christian material culture from Norfolk, unlike Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, suggesting an area 'rather unreceptive to the new religion' […] 'even as Roman authority was collapsing in Britain, most of Norfolk's inhabitants stuck stubbornly to the gods of their ancestors' (2014:70). Is this further evidence that change happened slowly in the Iceni heartland or that paganism was more firmly rooted in the hearts of its people? A recent find of a gilded disc with a Chi-Rho at *Venta Icenorum* demonstrates that, by the very end of the Roman period, some people were adopting the symbolism of the new faith (Figure 7.6).

7.6. Votive Miniatures



Figure 7.7: Miniature bridle, Southery (PAS:SF-691092) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Deposition of votive miniatures[46] in northwest Europe begins in the LIA. A range of miniature objects is known from northern Gaul and Britain, from the 1st century BCE into the Roman period (Kiernan 2009). They are made from iron and copper alloy, lead and bone, most often representing tools or weapons. Other miniaturisations include parts of the body, symbols and animals. Wheels and terrets are made in miniature, but very rarely any other chariot gear or horse harness. A miniature Roman bridle from Southery (Figure 7.7) and a mini prick-spur from Mattishall (NHER:25729) are the only examples on my database. Votives are found at both settlements and temples, such as Walsingham (Bagnall Smith 1999).

Stewart's theoretical art-historical view of the microcosmic may help us think about archaeological miniatures. She describes the miniature as a discourse of the self, as opposed to the gigantic, which is a discourse on the world, the collective. Miniatures are cultural artefacts which have no parallels in nature (1993). Through miniaturisation, large-scale concepts can find material expression. Farley found varied regional deposition of miniatures in the Midlands, with a focus on shields and swords in Lincolnshire (especially at Nettleton). Neighbouring areas favoured model axes and *defixiones*, which she attributes to the powerful influence of Roman votive practice (2011, 2012).

For Kiernan, models must replicate full-size, everyday objects, produced specifically for dedication. For a miniature object to be considered votive, it must not be functional. His narrow definition excludes representations of divinities, people, animals and anatomical parts, as well as functional objects and decorative fittings. I would argue our options for archaeologically retrieving this sort of intentionality are limited and use somewhat broader criteria in my discussion. Kiernan's rather linear interpretation considers miniatures as sympathetic magic: farmers' tools for fertility of the land and a successful harvest, weapons for success in battle, or shields for protection. A celebrated group of axes from Allmendingen, Switzerland, carry inscriptions with the names of gods, confirming their votive nature, at least in that area (Kiernan 2009:7, 114).

A miniature axe will not fell a tree or a wheel transport any goods. The idea that miniature replicas were being offered up instead of real tools and weapons implies a certain credulity on the part of the divinities, but the devotee may indeed believe that these things are causally linked. As Henig observes, in 'the spirit world, token-coins and other objects become real' by the process of substitution (1984:22-3). In this instance, objects have agency to effect belief in people as well as engage in perceived interactions with deities.



Figure 7.8: (left) Miniature brooch, Cambridge (PAS:CAM-26D033) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Diminutive Colchester brooch, Worlington (PAS:SF-ADD6C5) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Is there an appropriate scale for votive models? These factors all influence recording and interpretation, sometimes appearing arbitrarily defined by the identifier. Miniature terret rings, for example, vary between 10-30mm in diameter (Section 7.6.3). Miniature brooches have been included in the personal ornament category, unless specifically identified as votive. A tiny brooch-shaped object from Cambridge illustrates this point concisely (Figure 7.8). This minute copper alloy rendition of a bow brooch (length 10mm) must have been made either as a votive or a casting pattern, as it has neither a completed spring housing nor catchplate. Another is known from Beachamwell in Norfolk (NHER:4530).

When brooches are fully-modelled but diminutive, it is hard to divide function from intention. The brooches recorded as 'tiny' are not the enamelled discs and zoomorphics found at shrines, but typically bow brooches in familiar regional styles, such as Colchester Derivatives and Hod Hills, including one from Worlington which appears fully-functional (Figure 7.8). A plausible alternative suggests they were for fastening children's clothing or fine undergarments

(Kiernan 2009:181). As we have seen, full-sized functional brooches were also used as votive offerings (Chapter 4).

The miniature impacts upon perceived time as well as space, transcending everyday experience (Stewart 1993:65). Although Stewart's perspective is a long way from the LIA, it raises issues about the perception and impact of small votive items, which may relate to their production and deposition. Like their larger-scale counterparts, miniature objects are frequently found bent or broken (Bird 2011:288; Green 1976:42-3). To perform a 'ritual killing' on non-functional objects is surely unnecessary, if the intention is to remove them from human use and make them more acceptable to the deities. One of the constants of ritual behaviour is that it is complex, erratic and often illogical.

7.6.1. Miniature Weapons and Tools



Figure 7.9: (left) Miniature silver sword, Bracon Ash (PAS:NMS-F2D1B2) (Image: BM/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Miniature sword, Foulsham (PAS:NMS-8D8E67) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Despite Kiernan's assertion that model weapons were the most common in the northwest provinces, my study shows that miniature axes, terrets and anatomical votives are most frequent in eastern England (Figure 7.10). Tools and weapons are modern categories which may not have applied in the past: after all what is a sword, but a tool for killing? This group includes knives, swords and spears as weapons, and tools such as sickles, chisels, hammers and anvils. The numbers are small, but Norfolk has the bulk of tools and weapons with eight of each type. Cambridgeshire has one tool and two weapons, Suffolk two of each (Figure 7.11). No records of miniature shields (or cauldrons) were found in East Anglia,[47] despite having much the same date range as axes, *circa*

200 BCE-50 CE (Kiernan 2009:45). This concurs with Farley's study (2012:315) showing regional selectivity in production and deposition of miniature artefacts.

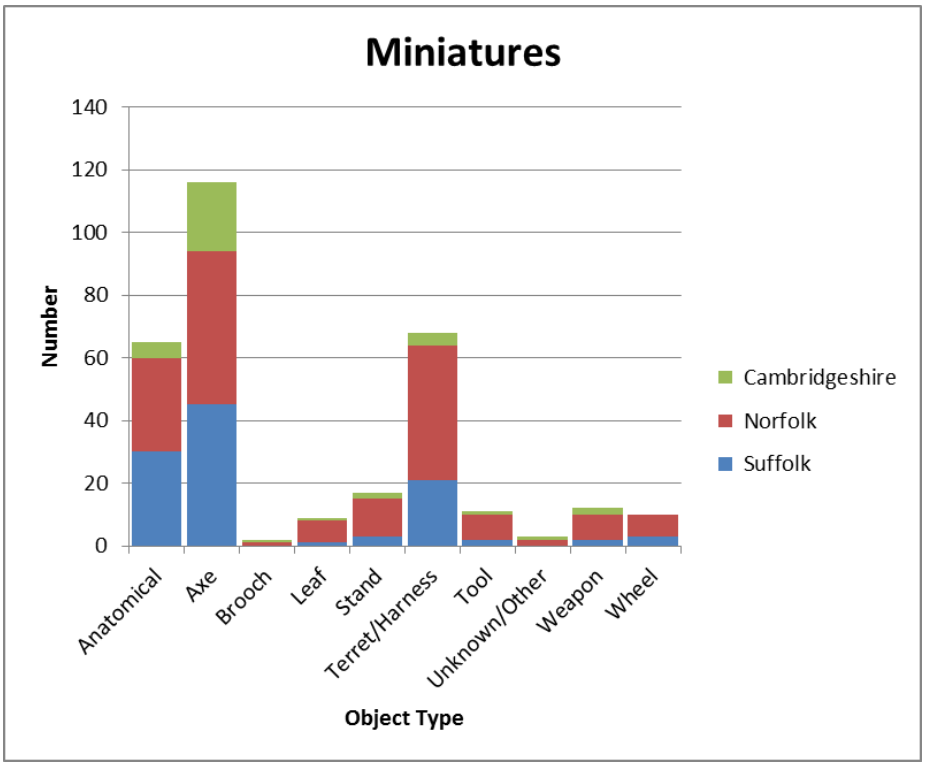


Figure 7.10: Miniature objects by type and county.

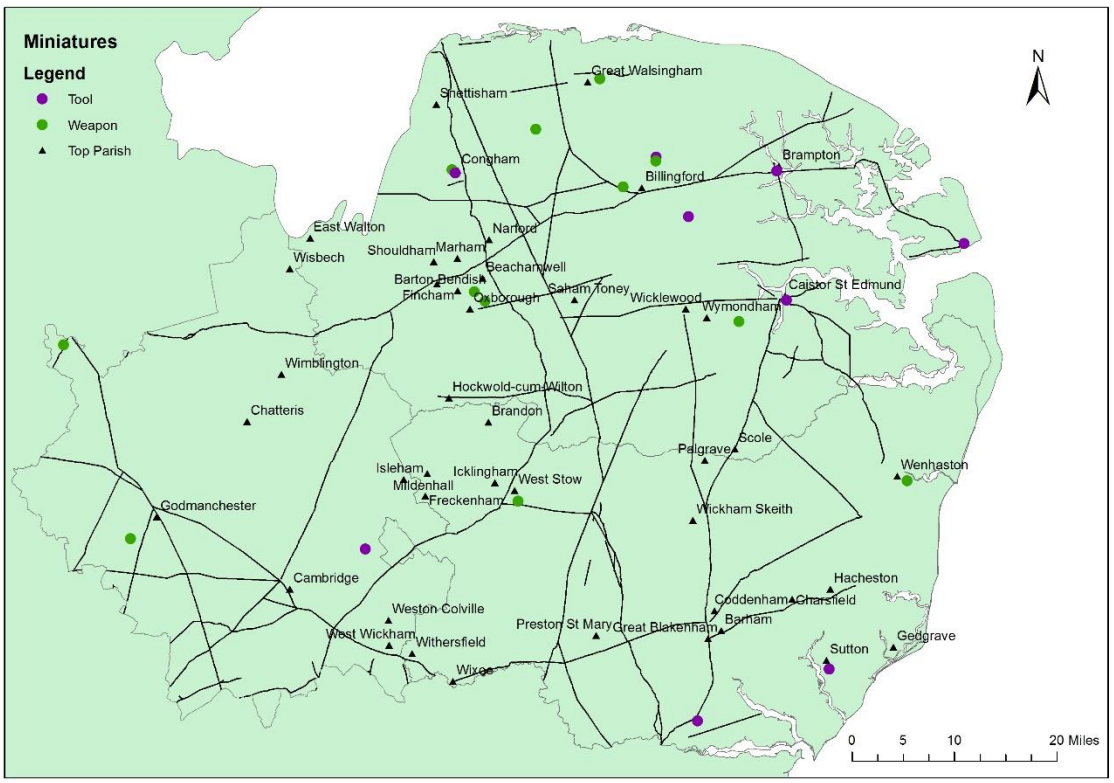


Figure 7.11: Distribution of miniature weapons and tools (Image: Author).

In several cases, identification is ambiguous, for example the two copper alloy sickles are potentially toilet implements (NHER:8675; SHER:SUT022) although the Fe example from Swaffham Prior is perhaps a less likely candidate. A miniature spear from Walsingham (NHER:2024) is possibly 'from a figurine' and a double-ended fork from Brampton (NHER:1124) could have several interpretations. None of these alternatives would preclude these small belongings being offered at shrines. Only one example (a votive hammer from Walsingham NHER:2024) is identified as lead. The silver sword from Bracon Ash (Figure 7.9) has two small holes near the hilt, either for affixing a lost handle or for suspension. An undated small bone shovel from the *civitas* capital may have had multiple uses (Figure 7.12).

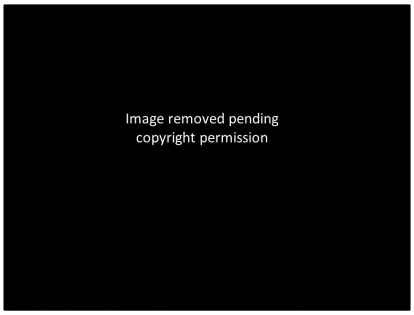


Figure 7.12: Miniature bone spade, *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152.18).

Kiernan dates model weapons from the 1st century BCE to the end of the 1st century CE (2009:109). There are large assemblages from Romano-Celtic sanctuaries in Gaul. The site of Flavier, near Mouzon, France, yielded 309 swords, 213 shields, 33 spearheads, five axes and two possible arrowheads. The peak in deposition dates from the early 1st century CE. These generally copy Iron Age rather than Roman prototypes. They were all of iron except one copper alloy shield, which again reminds us of how much has been lost to rust. Many were pierced, presumably for display in the shrine, like the plaques and brooches mentioned earlier. Two of the swords had been deliberately bent in the middle, perhaps as some form of ritual mutilation (*ibid*.:47-63).

Kiernan regards miniature representations of arms and armour as part of a 'substitutional rite' which replaced offerings of real weapons. This ritualisation may be linked to the supposed confiscation of arms by Roman officials from

rebellious Britons (2009:40, 111; Tac. *Ann.* 12.31.2). Farley suggests miniatures may have reduced ritual display and deposition of full-size weaponry to a more appropriate and controlled form, at times of tension and change (2011:111, 2012:315). The tools on toiletry sets are sometimes modelled as weapons, which links the iconography to personal appearance and grooming (Kiernan 2009:85). Crummy proposes the weapon-like shape of toilet implements represents dissent, a 'quietly subversive imagery' which followed Roman disarmament of the British. The popularity and longevity of nail cleaners in Britain depended on 'their similarity to forbidden weapons' (2016:290-2). Symbolic weaponry is worn today by Sikh men in the form of the *kirpan*,[48] which may also be miniaturised into a turban pin or pendant.

Farley discusses the assemblage of over thirty miniature weapons from Nettleton Top in Lincolnshire (2011), adjacent to my study area. An important LIA centre, with parallels to Thetford, was found during excavations. The miniatures mostly comprised shields, with swords, spears and axes. This hilltop site yielded ritual and settlement activities dating from the Bronze Age into the Roman period. She suggests that the deposition of miniature weaponry was a response to the major social changes in Britain in the 1st centuries BCE/CE. There were also brooches which may have been votive offerings, which has parallels with the shrine at Walsingham.

7.6.2. Miniature Axes



Figure 7.13: (left) Miniature axe with 'binding' or saltire, Freckenham (PAS:SF-77FA41) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Miniature axe with '+' symbol, Kenninghall (PAS:NMS-CB4D75) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

One frequent motif is the model axe. Kiernan asserts that LIA axes were not commonly used as weapons and are rarely found in burials or martial contexts

(2009:144-5). In Roman iconography, they may represent the axe used in animal sacrifice (Henig 1984:149). Axes are also found on brooches (Section 4.12.4), pin heads and 'good-luck charms' (Green 1978:32-3).

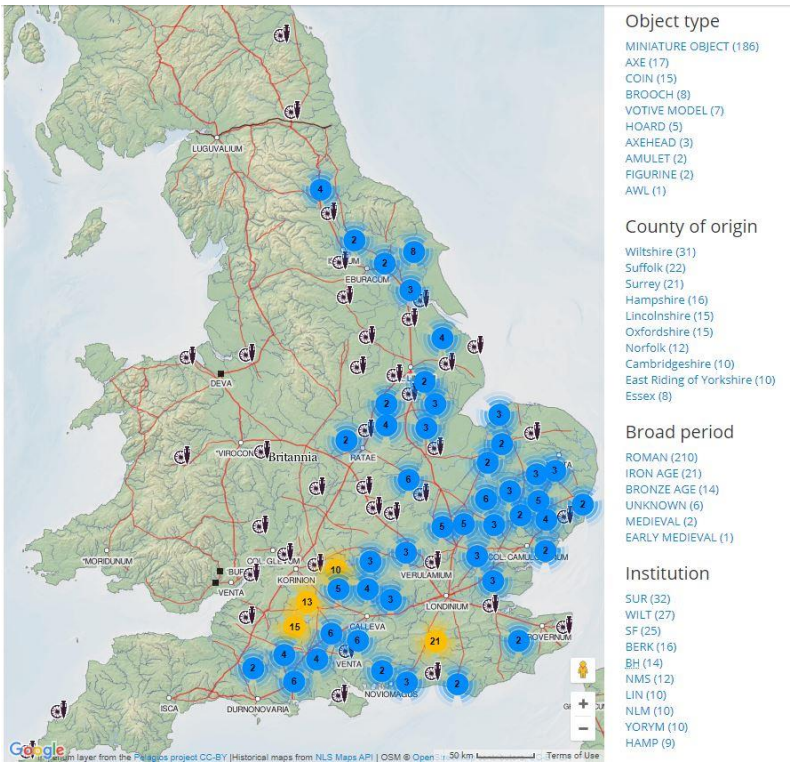


Figure 7.14: Distribution of miniature axes (Image: PAS).

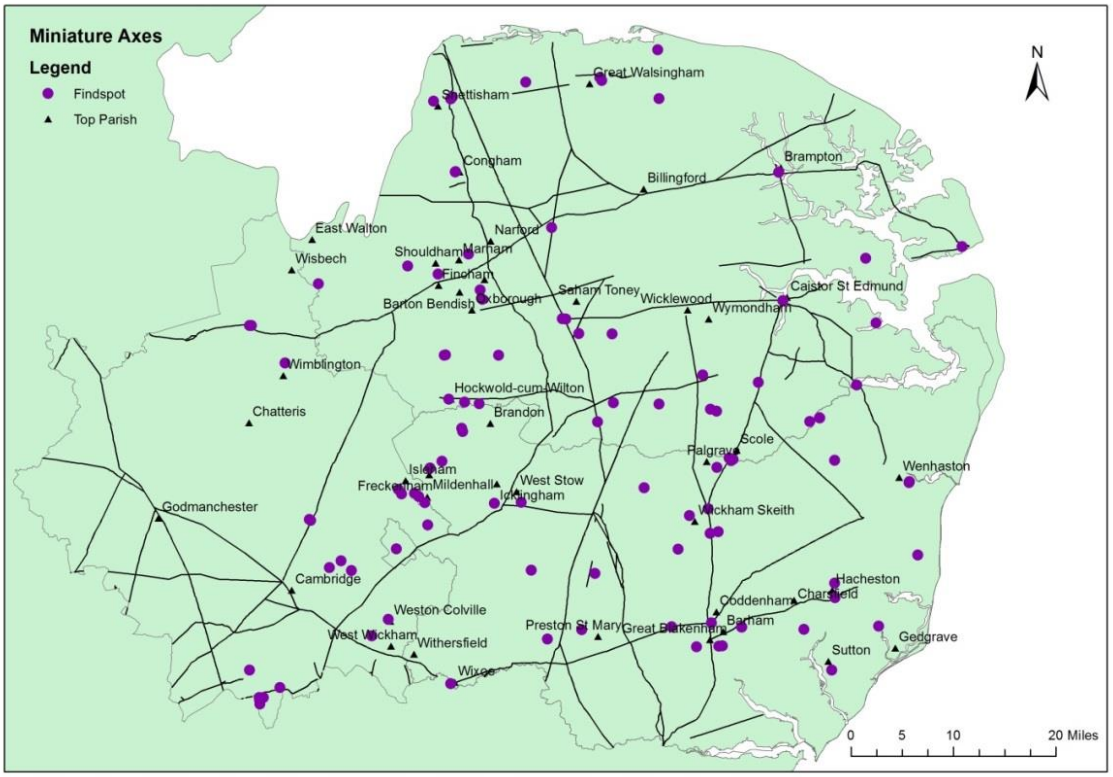


Figure 7.15: Distribution of miniature axes (Image: Author).

My combined dataset numbers 116 axes: Norfolk (49), Suffolk (45) and Cambridgeshire (22) (Figure 7.15). There is a slight southern trend, with minor concentrations including three from the same field at Great and Little Chishill (4), Hockwold-cum-Wilton (4) and Scole (4), including one from the temple. Another comes from the Roman temple at Cottenham (CHER:05523) and an unfinished example from the metalworking area at Walsingham (Bagnall Smith 1999:48). As Figure 7.16 shows, Cambridgeshire appears to be catching up with the adjacent counties. Kiernan's study lists 16 votive axes from East Anglia. These cluster in southern and eastern Britain (2009:fig. 4.9), as per the latest PAS map (Figure 7.14).

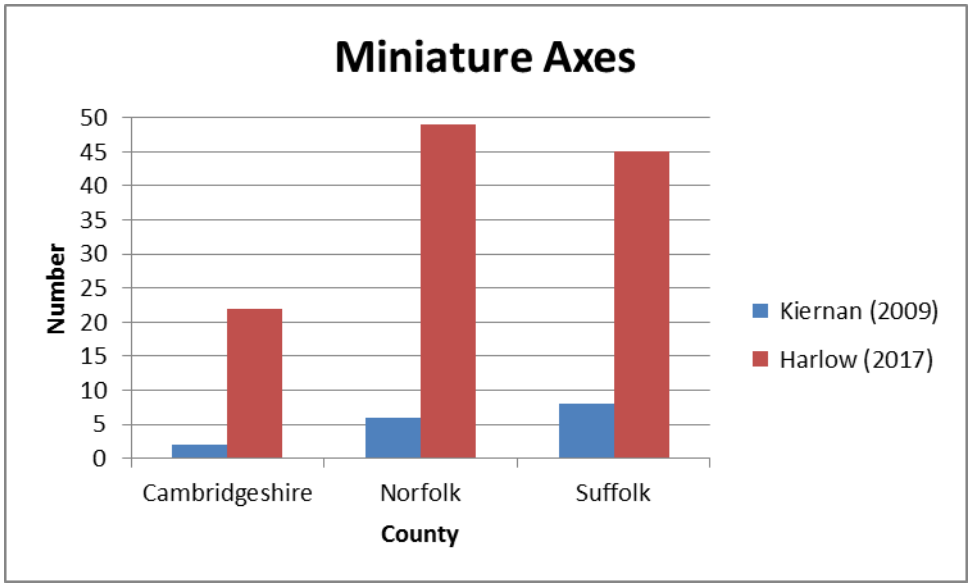


Figure 7.16: Comparison between studies of miniature axes.

Thirteen examples have incised markings on the blade, usually in the form of a saltire and interpreted as bindings which secured the blade to the handle on a full-size axe. Some binding marks are mislocated, and others have parallel lines, open V-shapes, mouldings or, in the case of one from Kenninghall, a + symbol (Figure 7.13), suggesting that the makers were unfamiliar with axe construction. An alternative reading considers these inscriptions as part of the ritual practice of marking which predates common literacy. An unusual example from outside the study area is an elaborate miniature axe with inscribed symbols (possible a wheel and a lyre) on either side of the blade (Figure 7.17).



Figure 7.17: Miniature axe with inscribed symbols on blades, Melton Warwick, Leicestershire (PAS:LEIC-88ADC3) (Image: Leicestershire County Council/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Miniature axes are usually less than 50mm long and found in Romano-Celtic sanctuaries across Gaul and Britain. They date between 50 BCE and 200 CE, with a focus on the 1st century CE. Kiernan appears keen to substantiate the

pre-Roman origins of miniatures. He sees 'an abrupt cessation' in the tradition of high-value precious metal offerings following the Claudian conquest. Instead, smaller, lower value deposits begin to be made, perhaps reflecting a shift to personal rather than group devotion. The 'extreme paucity' of miniature votive axes from military sites suggests an indigenous custom rather than a Roman import (Kiernan 2009:114-52).

Miniature axes pose two intriguing puzzles regarding both form and practice. The first relates to material. Approximately a third of the miniature axes (where recorded) are made from lead, particularly in Suffolk (Figure 7.18) with a concentration around Coddenham. My first thought was recovery bias: were Suffolk detectorists setting different parameters, but this does not seem to be the case.[49] All the miniature Pb finds were made by different detectorists, which rules out an individual being particularly vigilant in one area.[50]

Kiernan states miniature axes are almost always made of copper alloy (2009:115). Green notes that lead, which she associates with death and the underworld, was used for all the models from Chesters (1978:11, 1981:260). Lead was certainly used for coffins and baptismal tanks, especially in the later Roman period. The predominance of lead for curse tablets, from ancient Greece into the Medieval period (Moretti 2015) may be significant, although I doubt its 'astrological association with the unlucky planet Saturn' (Merrifield 1987:142).

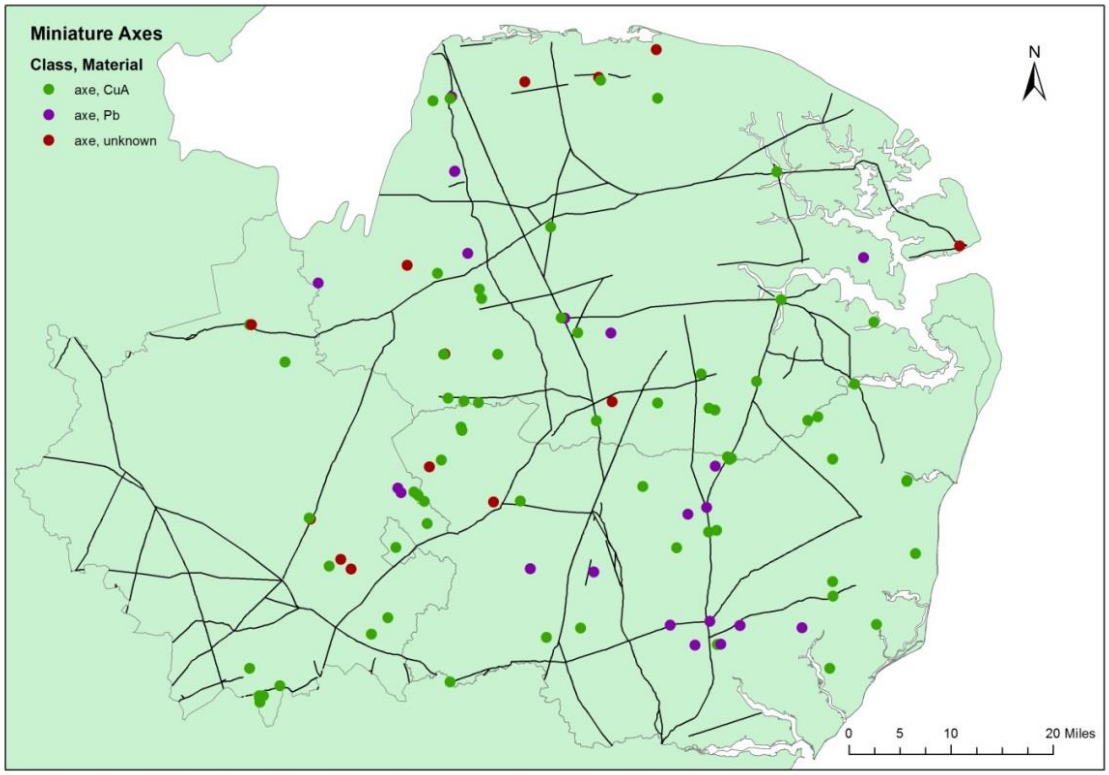


Figure 7.18: Distribution of miniature axes by material (Image: Author).

More prosaically, lead was simply a commonly available, malleable metal, easy to work and inscribe (Green 1981:262). Crude pot mends on samian vessels demonstrate lead's domestic availability. If there were similar proportions of lead miniatures across the board, I could accept this, but when other materials are considered, the axes are clearly set apart (Figure 7.19, Figure 7.20, Figure 7.21). The proportion of other lead model objects is much lower than axes (Table 30). There are only six, including two lead phalli from Suffolk, a miniature hammer, a phallic pendant and a model finger from Norfolk, and a foot model from Cambridgeshire. This suggests that axes/hammers and anatomical models were disproportionately and deliberately made from lead, unlike other miniatures.

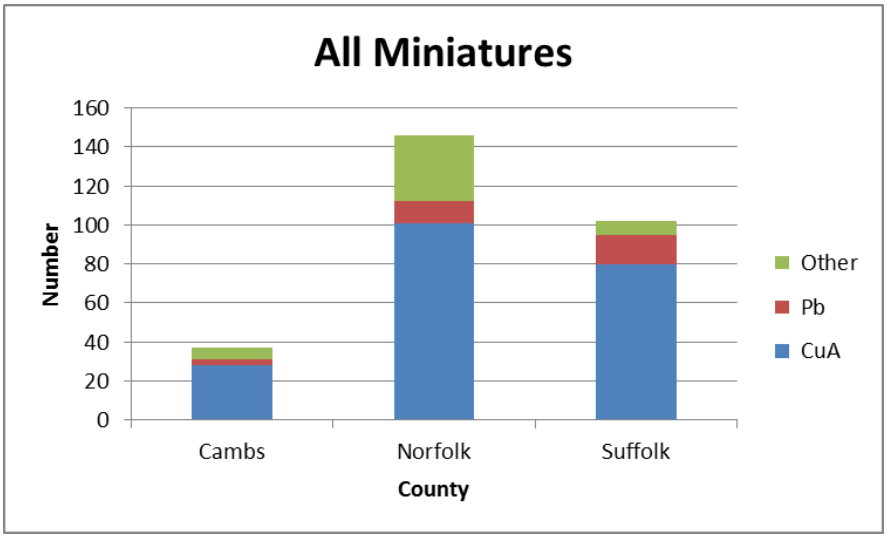


Figure 7.19: All miniatures by county and material.

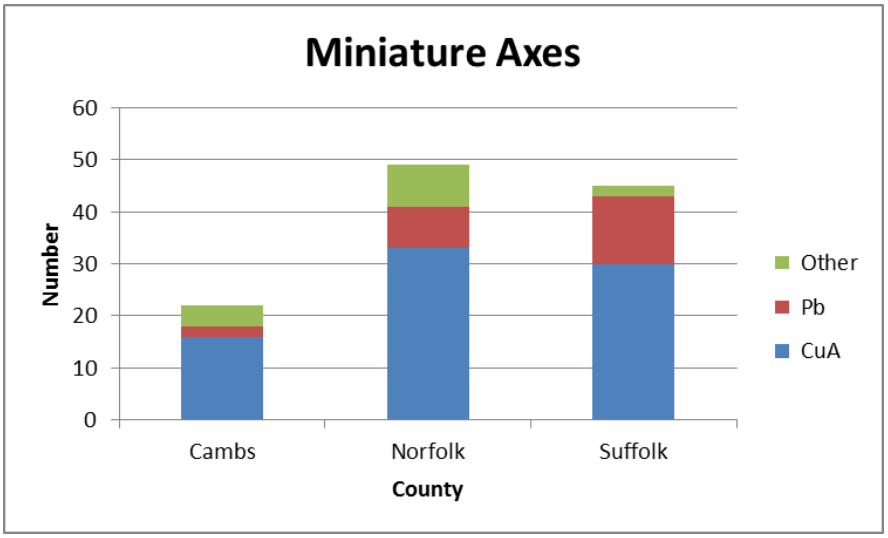


Figure 7.20: Miniature axes by county and material.

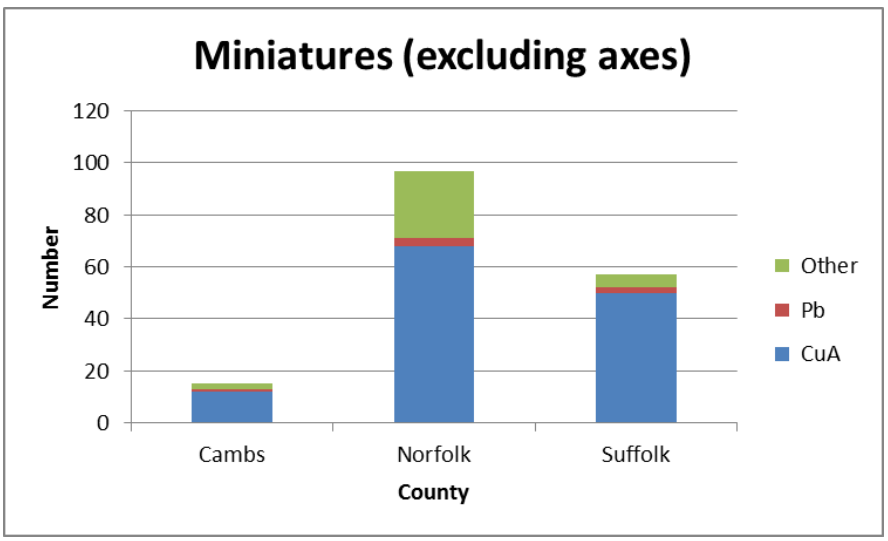


Figure 7.21: Miniatures (excluding axes) by county and material.

County	Anatomical	Axe	Tool
Cambs	1	2	0
Norfolk	2	8	1
Suffolk	2	13	0
Grand Total	**5**	**23**	**1**

Table 30: Miniature lead objects.

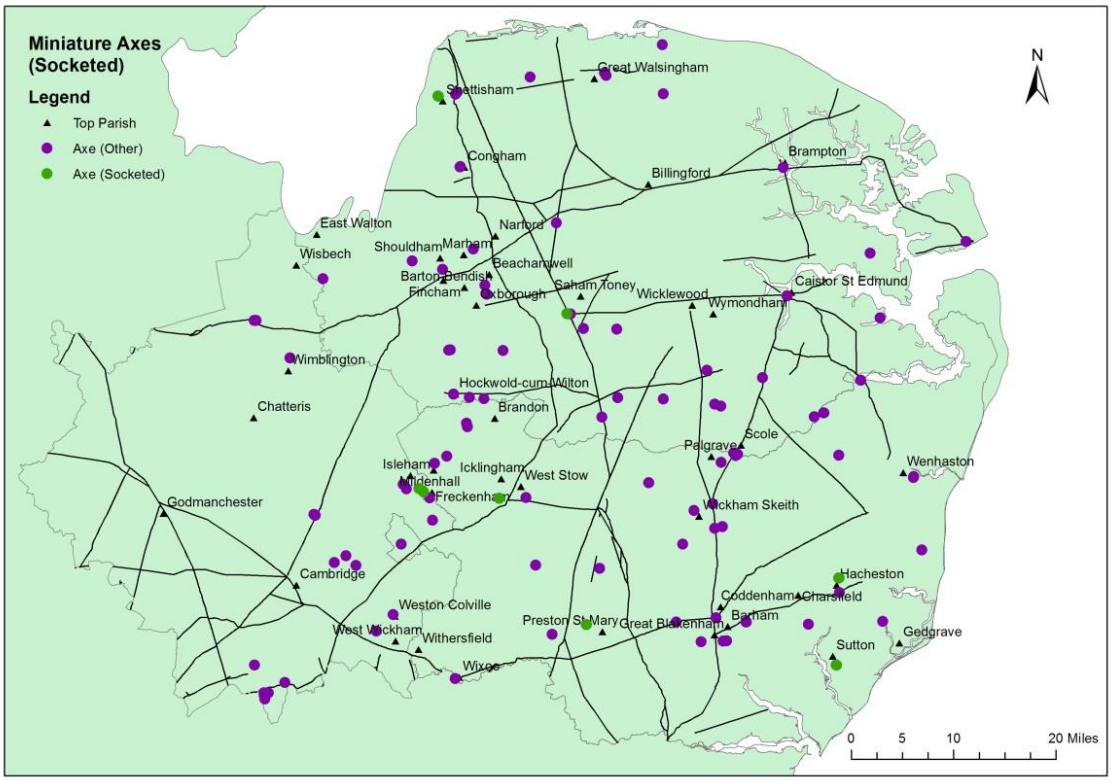


Figure 7.22: Distribution of socketed miniature axes (Image: Author).

The second question is why some LIA and early Roman models appear to copy obsolete Late Bronze Age socketed axes (Figure 7.23). There are socketed miniature axes from all three counties (Cambridgeshire 1, Norfolk 2, Suffolk 5) (Figure 7.22) including examples from Snettisham (PAS:NMS-CBCB34) and Saham Toney (PAS:SF-838F44). These are all copper alloy and come from different parishes. Three have attachment loops (PAS:SF-632655, SF-631D32, SF698), perhaps for veracity to the original design of the axe, doubling up as a suspension point. Robinson's catalogue of bronze miniature socketed axes (1995) showed they are mainly found in Wiltshire and range in date between Late Bronze Age and Late Roman, although few come from stratified contexts. He also observed that many are poorly and flimsily constructed (*ibid*.:60).



Figure 7.23: Socketed miniature axe, Sutton (PAS:SF-631D32) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Miniature axes were not included in metalwork hoards predating 600 BCE. Some PAS records date miniature socketed axes as Bronze Age; but some may actually be Iron Age or Roman copies (see for e.g. PAS:SF-9398D2, SF-F97721, NMS592). 'By the time these small axes were made, people were using iron, not bronze, axes and they were made like earlier shaft-hole axes, rather than socketed axes' (D. Boughton pers. comm. 02/03/2017). Earliest Iron Age socketed axes are found in hoards, such as the Netherhampton hoard, alongside miniature cauldrons and shields. Boughton proposes that large items like cauldrons were oversize for deposition and were therefore miniaturised, whereas the full-size (but small) socketed axes did not need votive models to be included in an assemblage of small artefacts. Robinson found little evidence to suggest that Bronze Age socketed axe hoards were unearthed and venerated in LIA and Roman Britain, although this was not ruled out, the model axes perhaps having an amuletic function (1995:60-1).

Davy looked at miniaturisation as resistance in the material culture of the American Northwest coast (2016). Despite either being rendered obsolete by colonial contact, or by technological advances in boat-building, some groups continued to make miniature models of 'traditional' canoes. The revival of forgotten vessels in miniature is nostalgia and loss made material, but also evokes a sense of pride and resilient community identity (2016:143). The 'fittingness' or conceptual presence of *canoe* may have similar resonance in the production of archaic socketed miniature axes in the Roman era.

7.6.3. Miniature Terrets



Figure 7.24: (left) Miniature terret showing flat back, Oakley (PAS:SF-7BC364) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Decorated miniature terret, Letheringham (Martin *et al.* 1996:fig. 97F).

Miniature terrets are frequently recorded as 'votive'. Unlike full-scale terrets, miniatures are usually plano-convex in shape (Figure 7.24). Their D-shaped cross-section suggests a slightly different function to their unreduced relatives. Occasionally circular-section examples are recorded; others have decoration, such as the terret from Letheringham (SHER:LRM013) which has punched dots in crescent shapes and a 'milled' edge (Figure 7.24). This is paralleled by one from Kenninghall (NHER:32862) described as 'unusual style with flat faces, a milled rim and dotted decoration' (Gurney 2000:518).[51]

Hutcheson, who discusses miniature terrets alongside horse and chariot gear, is sceptical of the votive interpretation and considers usage as fasteners for very fine straps more likely. She gives them a long date range of 2nd century BCE to 1st century CE and a diameter of up to 20mm (2004:28-30). Spratling's measurements are more generous than Hutcheson, allowing a diameter of 19-28mm. Although miniatures are sometimes found in pairs, he discounted their function as terrets, partly based on differences in use-wear. They may instead form part of other harness or cart fittings. A clue comes from Trevelgue, Cornwall, where a miniature terret and a linch-pin were concealed together in the wall of a structure demolished in the 2nd century CE (1972:50-4). Miniature terrets have also been found in association with the heads of linch-pins in vehicle burials in East Yorkshire. There is a strong possibility that such small terrets were attached by a strap to the linch-pin of vehicles as retaining rings, to stop them jumping out during transit (Hutcheson 2004:29).

Miniature terrets are widely distributed, with fewer from Cambridgeshire and the west (Figure 7.25), which matches with harness generally (Chapter 6). There are 41 examples from Norfolk, 21 from Suffolk, but only four from Cambridgeshire, reflecting the high proportions of horse harness from Norfolk. If they are indeed associated with transport, it may be that the marshy Fenland of Cambridgeshire did not lend itself to wheeled vehicles. No parish has a concentration of these artefacts, although there are two from Saham Toney and Fring, not far from Snettisham, has three examples.

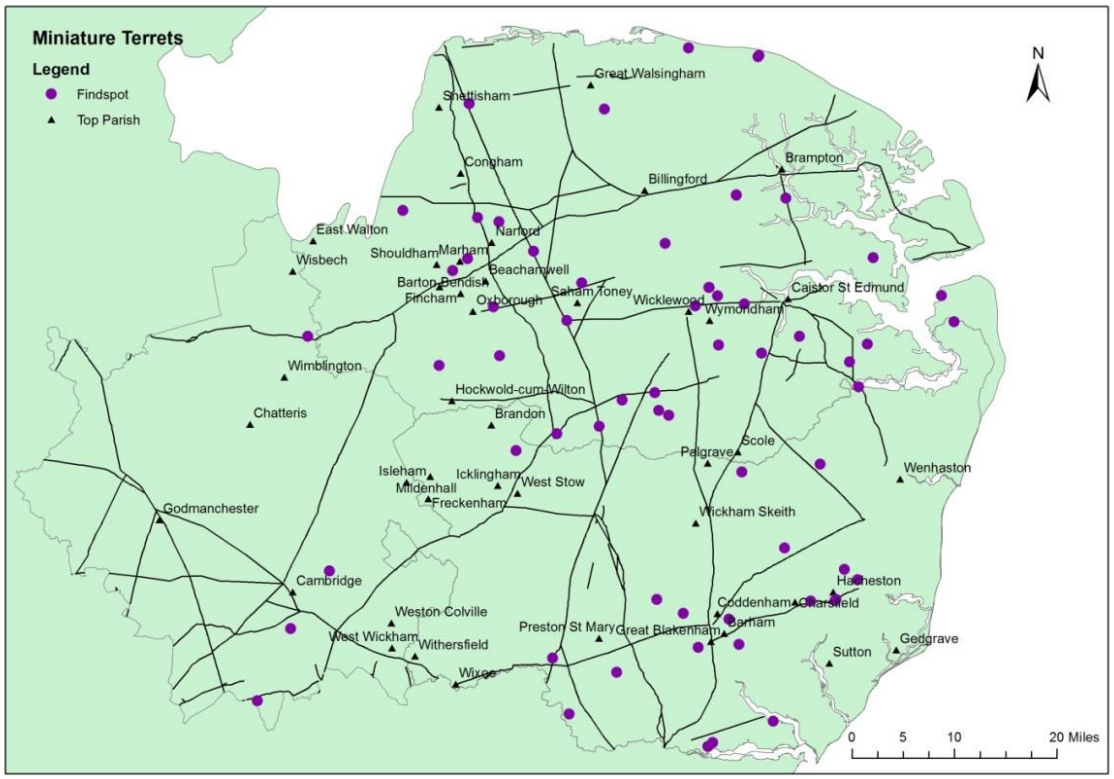


Figure 7.25: Distribution of miniature terrets (Image: Author).



Figure 7.26: Miniature terret with bezels, Marham (PAS:NMS-44F9E6) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

An oddity from Marham in northwest Norfolk (Figure 7.26) has three ovoid bezels arranged around the perimeter, rather like the full-sized platform-decorated terrets which seem to be a Norfolk speciality. No trace remains of what was held in the bezels, whether inlaid glass, enamel or gemstones. Evidence for manufacturing comes from Ashwellthorpe in the form of a miscast or unfinished strap-mounted miniature terret (Rogerson PAS:NMS-6B7DF3).

From Monk's Eleigh (SHER:MKE010), unfortunately unillustrated, is a bronze harness mount 'shaped rather like a miniature Westhall-type terret ring, with red and yellow enamelled decoration on a crescentic flange'. It is approximately 30mm high and dates from the 1st century CE (Martin *et al.* 1989:63). This mount may be related to the enamelled button-and-loop fasteners (Section 5.1), and demonstrates that miniature objects were being made which reference other, full-size harness items. An atypical object from Lound, in the extreme northeast of Suffolk, resembles a miniature terret, but has an attachment loop hidden behind a decorative 'button' and set at a 90-degree angle to the ring (PAS:NMS920).

An unusual example from Stratford St Andrew (SHER:SSA002) is recorded as a small, or miniature, terret ring fragment, with triple pellet decoration. This is intriguing, given Davies's assertions about the symbolism of triple pellets on Icenian coins (2014:27). The recorder noted that it was made from a high lead or tin copper alloy. Again, I have been unable to verify this object from a published image, but there may have been preferences for the colour or metal content of certain objects.

There are no confirmed leaden miniature terrets in my database, unlike other votive objects, particularly axes (Section 7.6.2). This is a good argument against miniature terret rings being produced specifically for use as votives, although they may have served both purposes. Miniature objects are certainly present in special deposits (Haselgrove 2015:34). A pair of miniature terrets was included in a coin hoard from Honley, West Yorkshire (Spratling 1972:51-2). The linch-pin and mini terret concealed at Trevelgue suggests a possible

apotropaic motivation. Dividing objects into ritual or practical categories may purely reflect modern considerations which have no bearing on how they were used and understood in the past. Multifunctional objects may have crossed conceptual distinctions during their lifetimes.

7.6.4. Miniature Wheels

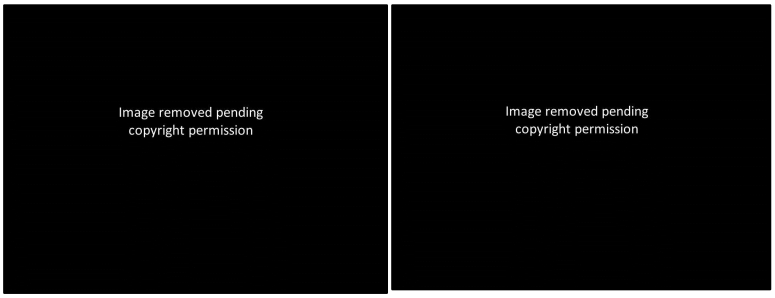


Figure 7.27: (left) Miniature wheel, Walsingham (NHER:2024, Bagnall Smith 1999: #22); (right) Miniature wheel, Felmingham Hall (BM:1925,0610.9)

If miniature terrets are of contested votive significance, the opposite is true of miniature wheels. Deposits of wheel models at LIA shrines in mainland Europe can number in their thousands (Kiernan 2009:16-20). Miniature wheels are also known from Gaulish graves and tombstones (Green 1976:10). The wheel motif is also found on brooches, pendants and necklace clasps, and chain-crowns (Bird 2011:276; Cool 1983:305-6). These symbols were worn and displayed in a variety of situations, perhaps as apotropaic amulets. An Early La Tène burial of a young girl from Dürrnburg contained a necklace made of charms, including a wheel, triangle and an axe (Kiernan 2009:14, 120 fig. 4.5i).

By contrast, miniature wheels are not known in great quantities from Britain. This prompts us to keep in mind the geographical differences in ritual behaviour throughout this discussion. Kiernan's chronology is LIA to the end of the 1st century CE, although the Felmingham Hoard example was found with a coin of 260 CE (2009:23, 29), suggesting they remained in use for some time. Kiernan discounts the idea that miniature wheels were parts of model or toy chariots or that they could be substitutions (*pars pro toto*) for full-size chariots in graves. He also considers the possibility that model wheels could have been used as currency or voting tokens (2009:29-32, 39). An amuletic function seems probable given the aforementioned pendants and brooches, but the

most likely explanation is the votive one, which could be dedicated for a range of reasons, 'from casual piety to a very specific request' (*ibid*.:39). Miniature wheels, like the axes, seem to have been specifically produced for dedicatory purposes.

Wheel symbols are common on Iron Age coins, usually above or below the horse on Icenian issues (Figure 7.29). This makes the paucity of miniature wheels stand out: Norfolk (7) and Suffolk (3) (Figure 7.28). Two six-spoked examples from different moulds from Walsingham (Figure 7.27) are discussed by Bagnall Smith (1999:34); a third with three spokes is registered on the HER.[52] A fragment comes from Woodcock Hall at Saham Toney (NHER:4697) and the one from the Felmingham Hoard (NHER:7533) (Figure 7.27), which also included 'priestly' crowns and staff terminals in the form of corvids. The wheels' presence at temples and in hoards is certainly more indicative of votive deposition than the miniature terrets. There is seemingly little patterning, but this is unsurprising given so few examples.

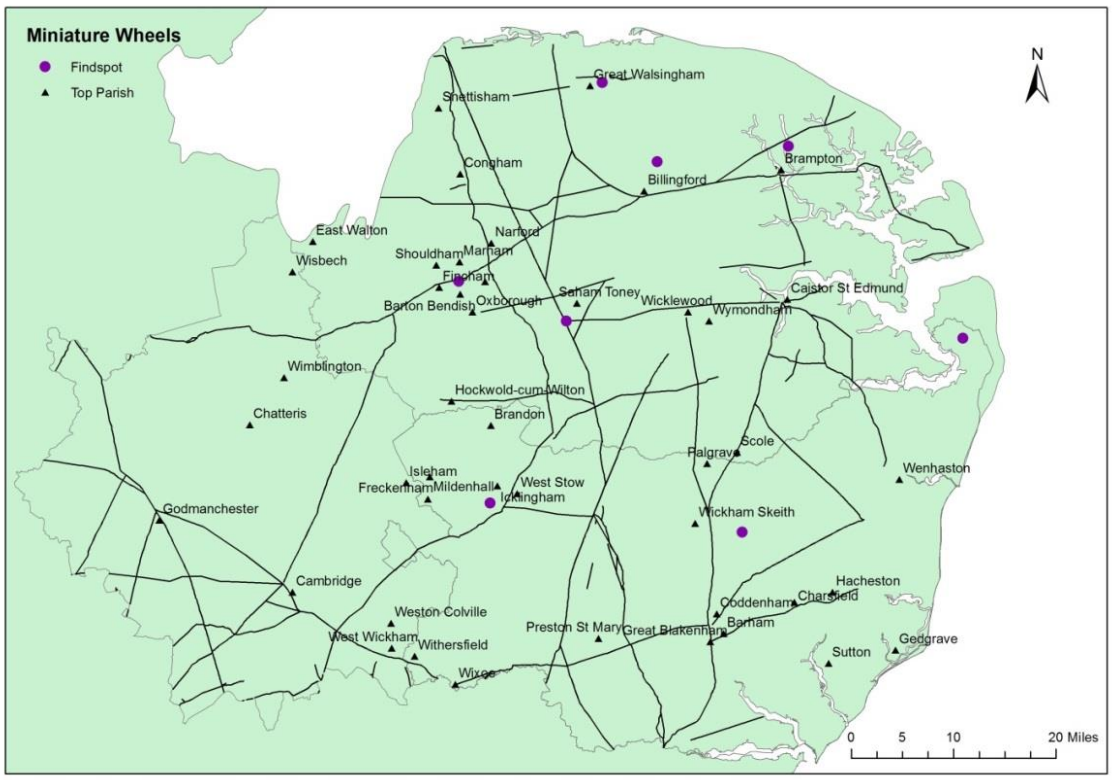


Figure 7.28: Distribution of miniature wheels (Image: Author).

The one regularly-cited parallel from Cambridgeshire is the bronze 'mace' from the Willingham Fen hoard. This odd object, found in 1857, resembles a Hercules club, decorated with a bull, dolphin, eagle, a six-spoked wheel and a 'Taranis and chthonic giant' (CHER:05784) (Figure 7.29). Its function is unknown, but it is unlikely to have operated as a sceptre or mace, even symbolically (Alföldi 1949:16-22). Despite recording no model wheels from Cambridgeshire, the combination of a wheel and other religious imagery on this object show that the symbolism was recognised in the Roman Fens. The low quantities of votive wheels in the *civitas* shows selective uptake of religious material which was popular in Gaul.



Figure 7.29: (left) Mace or sceptre depicting a wheel, Willingham Fen (Alföldi 1949:pl. 1); (right) Boar-Horse coin with wheel motif above horse, Whepstead (PAS:SF-729FDD) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0).

Green's studies of 'Romano-Celtic' religion relied heavily on antiquated studies and ethnographic parallels. She attributed wheels to the syncretic 'Jupiter-Taranis', supposedly the lord of the sky and sun, symbolised by the wheel and thunderbolt (1976:9, 1978:18-9, 1981:255). This is predicated on tenuous evidence. In Britain, there is no epigraphic mention of a combined indigenous deity sharing attributes with Jupiter (in the mode of Sulis Minerva, Mars Nodens). The closest inscription, to 'IOM Tanarus' from Chester, has a rosette, not a wheel, motif. Some military altars with wheel symbols in northern Britannia were devoted to Jupiter, but dedicated by Dacian and Spanish troops (Green 1984:218-47). Admittedly, in Gaul there are numerous male figurines holding wheels, although the 'solar' wheel is not held aloft, but tends to rest by their side, or be held like a shield. A link between wheel models, a sky-god and

a Jupiter cult in Britain is entirely conjectural, although often repeated (Allason-Jones 1989:122; Bagnall Smith 1999:34; Johns 1996b:92).

7.6.5. Votive Leaves

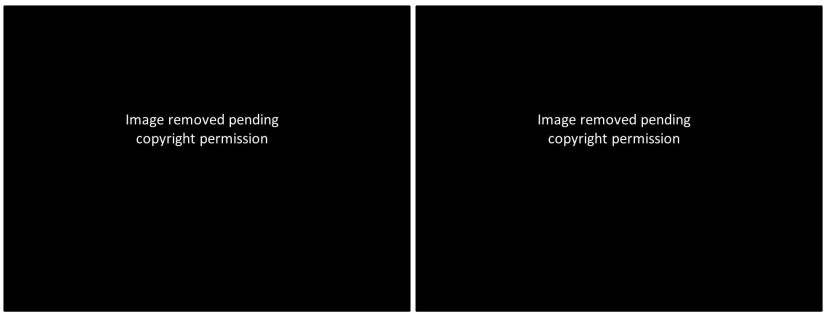


Figure 7.30: Votive leaf plaques (left) Hockwold-cum-Wilton (NWHCM:1961.199.62); (right) *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152.B6).

Repoussé plaques, in the shape of leaves or feathers, were made from thin sheet metal, sometimes silver gilt or gold and inscribed. Occasionally found in the *civitas*, they are considered a 'stock votive offering' in the northeastern provinces. They are interpreted as ornaments from priests' headdresses (Section 7.3) or as votive plaques dedicated at temples. The symbolism of the leaf may refer to Jupiter (oak), Apollo (laurel) or Victory (palm). It is unlikely that these were feathers although, as we have seen, birds were revered in both Iron Age and Roman religion (Crerar 2006; Henig 1984).

Examples are known from Cavenham (Lewis 1966:125), Walsingham (PAS:NMS-9BC376) and *Venta Icenorum* (Figure 7.30) where an additional, newly-identified fragment comes from the 'workshop' which also produced evidence for brooch manufacture at Caistor Paddocks (Section 4.5.4). There are four from Hockwold-cum-Wilton (NWHCM:1961.199.105, 1962.396.70, PAS-D29168) (Figure 7.30). A fine gold example from Stonea is inscribed to the goddess Minerva (Potter and Jackson 1982:112-3). Finds near Bury St Edmunds revealed three votive leaves in a cache of objects which included chain-headdress fragments and staff terminals (Worrell *et al.* 2011; PAS:SF-D4D044).

Dating is difficult. The plaques range from the 2nd century CE to the post-Roman period. They are therefore at the edge of my study range, but worthy of mention, as they add to the picture of a long-continued pattern of votive

deposition which sometimes embraced the classical pantheon. Again, I am reluctant to generalise about religious practice across the whole Roman empire.

7.6.6. Anatomical Models

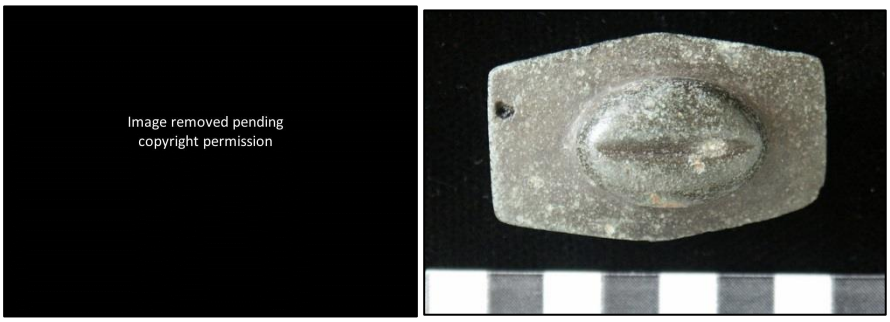


Figure 7.31: (left) Votive model eye, Caistor St Edmund (Gurney 2003:361 fig. 3A); (right) Vulvate mount, Brancaster (PAS:NMS-EA2E31) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Kiernan excludes anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations from his discussion (2009:2). Although there are few from the region and dating is poor, I have chosen to include phallic mounts and pendants as well as 'votive models' (following Plouviez 2005). My dataset contains 39 anatomical models of which 35 are phallic. The other four miniature body parts are a finger from Shouldham (NHER:28645), an eye from Caistor St Edmund (PAS:NMS385, NHER:9815) (Figure 7.31) and a foot (PAS:CAM-6C84E2) and a leg (CHER:SCB20969) from Cambridgeshire. The foot and finger are cast in lead alloy, already noted in the discussion of metals and materials of *defixiones* and miniature axes (Section 7.6.2). The eye from Caistor is interesting in the light of a *collyrium* stamp from the *civitas* capital (Jackson 1990:278).

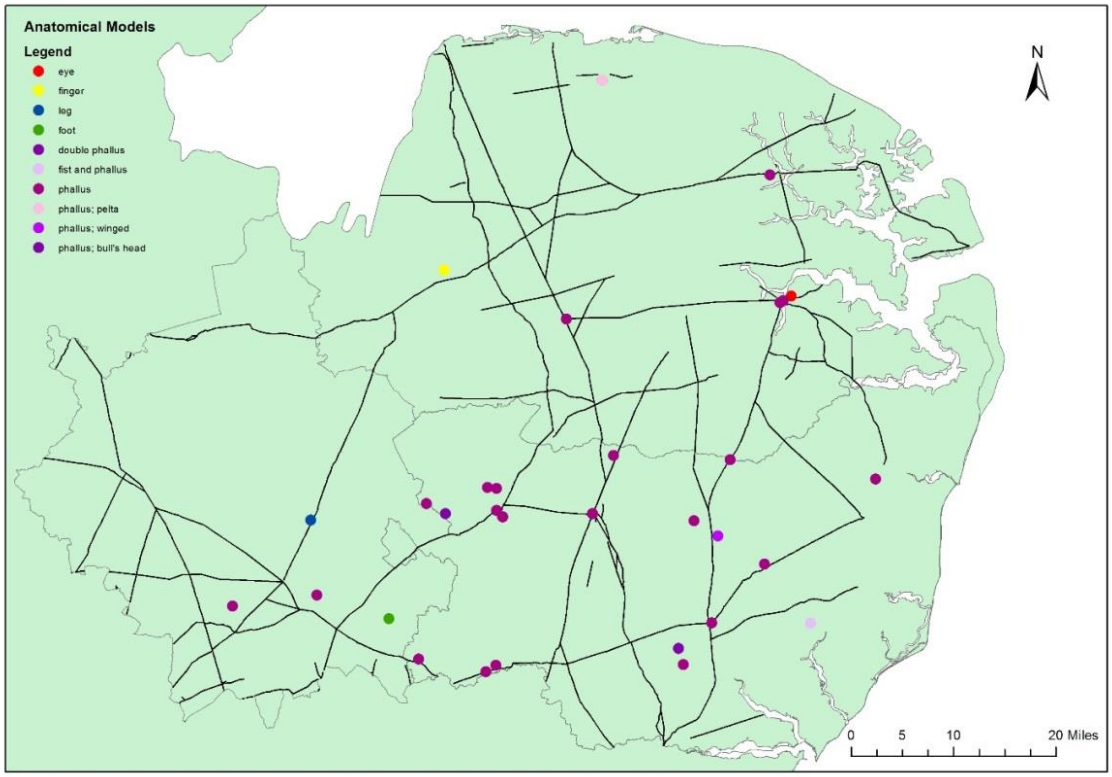


Figure 7.32: Distribution of anatomical votives (Image: Author).

Jackson (1988) relates offerings of model body parts to the cult of Asclepius, the primary Graeco-Roman healer-god. Such votive reliefs and anatomical *ex-votos* present us with an interpretive problem: were they consecrated as a prayer for help, or in gratitude for divine intervention to cure an illness? Perhaps both. This interpretation is rather reliant on our modern understanding of Christian healing shrines such as Lourdes. Some shrines specialised in certain ailments, attracting offerings of model eyes, feet and hands, or genitals, breasts and wombs (*ibid*.:160).

At Lydney near Chepstow, a Romano-British cult centre developed associated with the syncretic god Mars Nodens. Finds included votive plaques, offerings of coins and small metalwork 'trinkets', a miniature bronze arm and an engraved bone plaque of a naked woman pressing her hands against her belly, interpreted as a childbirth votive. By contrast, at Bath the temple and healing springs dedicated to another syncretic deity, Sulis Minerva, produced numerous curse tablets, metal artefacts and coins, but no anatomical votives. Jackson (1988) proposes that the curative nature of bathing in hot springs was more

important here than petitioning the deity for health, suggesting appropriateness of location or association. Finally, as a salient reminder of what time has taken from us, several hundred wooden carvings were found in waterlogged conditions, near the source of the Seine, along with stone and bronze *ex-votos* and coins. This was the site of a Gallo-Roman spring shrine, dating from the mid-1st century BCE onwards, dedicated to the goddess Sequana (Deyts 1983).

7.6.7. Phallic Amulets



Figure 7.33: Two of six similar phallic pendants, Lackford (PAS:SF-75B574 and SF-75CF48) (Images: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Phallic objects are concentrated in Suffolk (Figure 7.32). There are six very similar pendants from Lackford (PAS:SF-5B3285, SF-760A21, SF-75EC55, SF-75CF48, SF-75B574, SF-660C05), which may be the site of a temple (Gurney 1986:89-90) (Figure 7.33). They are reminiscent of cosmetic mortars which often have phallic terminals (Section 9.2.2). Similarly, the pendants have either end or centre suspension loops, although casual observation suggests they have not been used for grinding. *Venta Icenorum* has three copper alloy phallic pendants – one from the town, and two from the extra-mural settlement (NHER:9786, 9759), as well as several other crudely carved phallic objects. Three lead examples are recorded from Scole (SHER:OKY005), Clare (SHER:CLA018) and Saham Toney (NHER:4697).

Phallic amulets may have been fertility charms (Green 1976:47) or military harness pendants (Johns 1996b:108; Plouviez 2005). Small apotropaic phallic pendants were worn by Roman children, as well as soldiers, although whether these customs applied to Britain is debateable.[53] Swift (2017:168-73) discusses the predominance of the phallic motif on very small finger-rings, presumed for

wear by children (Section 8.5). Ferris notes the frequency of Priapus images and phallic ornaments from rural Suffolk (2012:152-3). Small towns with examples include Icklingham, Coddenham and Pakenham, which has three almost identical phallic mounts. Plouviez endorses their Roman nature and considers them indicative of new cultural forms which penetrated the rural hinterland from the towns in the region (2005:161-2).

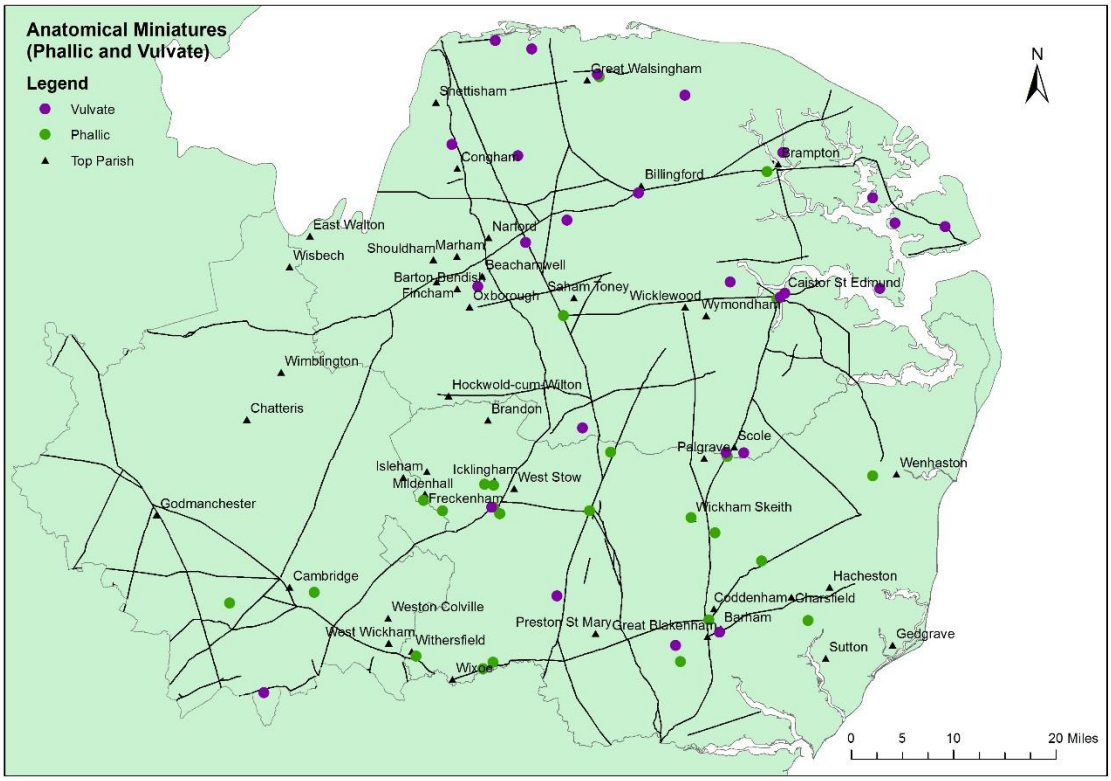


Figure 7.34: Distribution of phallic and vulvate objects (Image: Author).

Plouviez reported a PAS trend of phallic amulets towards the North and Midlands, a reversal compared with many other artefacts. She links their presence in the military north with serving or retired soldiers, referring to the redistribution of lands after the Boudican revolt as a possible explanation for their appearance in Suffolk (2005:163). While this may be the case, I would add a reminder that if phallic amulets were worn by children in Britain as well as in Rome, their presence on military sites could be indicative of soldiers' families, much like the pipeclay figurines (Section 7.7). The lack of phallic amulets in rural Norfolk differs from the widespread distribution of knobbed cosmetic grinders (Section 9.2.2). This may imply a resistance to this type of

imported symbolism, which was more acceptable in Suffolk and at the *civitas* capital than elsewhere. If Plouviez's hypothesis regarding soldiers is correct, this may also demonstrate the lack of militarisation in the Icenian heartland.

A comparative look at the findspots of 26 'vulvate' mounts (usually recorded as harness fittings, sometimes 'coffee-bean' mounts) shows they are largely distributed in northwest Norfolk and around the Great Estuary. These objects are generally associated with the military and are broadly dated, but may also have been used as votives or amuletic charms. Neither form of anatomical mount appears to respect the known military sites of the period (Figure 7.35). It is unlikely that two different military units using separate anatomical harness mounts and pendants were in residence in the north and south of the *civitas*. As we shall see with the pipeclay figurines, there is a preference for female symbolism in Norfolk.

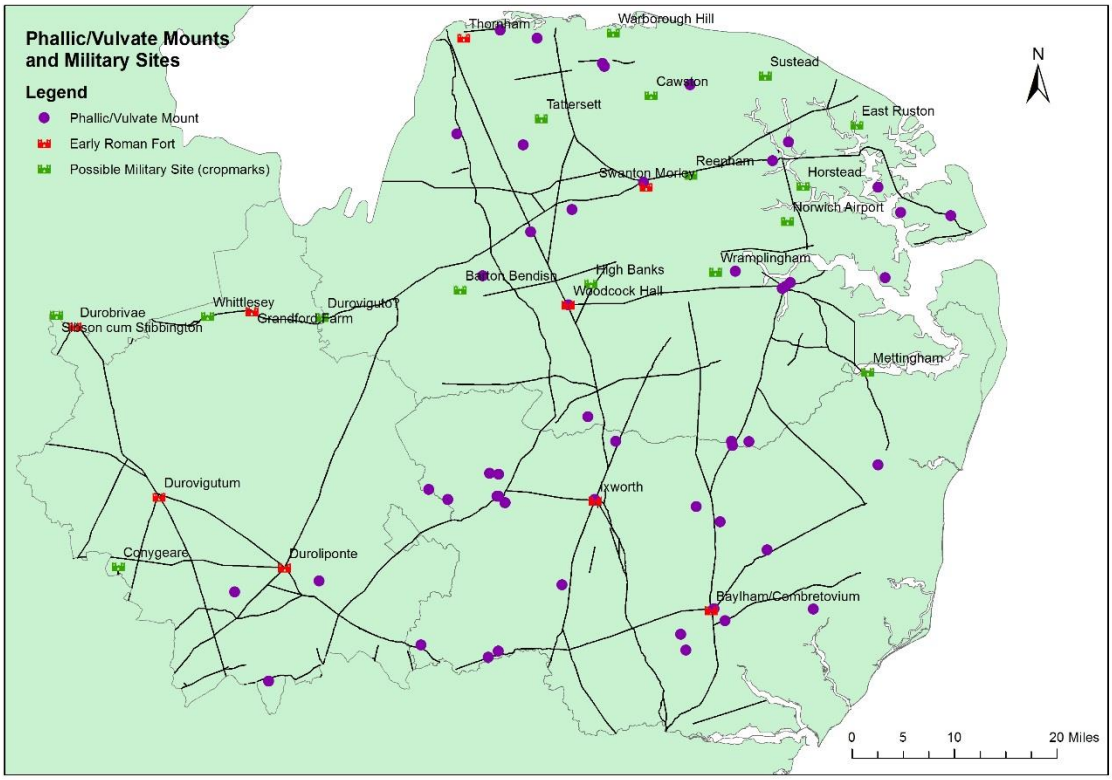


Figure 7.35: Distribution of phallic/vulvate mounts and early Roman forts (Image: Author).

7.6.8. Votives and Gender Bias

Votive miniatures and figurines reveal intrinsic gender bias in both classical and modern interpretations. This is based on double standards in which classical medical texts are read as fact, despite their inherent bias against women. Images of female figures or anatomical parts are assumed to represent fertility and a preoccupation with reproduction. The presumption is that infertility was understood as an ailment which could be corrected by petitions to the gods. Phallic votives and amulets, conversely, are rarely used to suggest that men deposited these as part of ritual behaviour to ensure healthy children or relief from STIs. Votives of vulvas or other parts of the body are referred to as miniature anatomical models designed for healing, yet both vulvate and phallic mounts are recorded as military charms.

Miniature objects and other votives reveal changes in ritual behaviour over time. The people of Icenia seem to be following the wider trend with increased magical literacy and deposition of miniatures, but continued to develop distinctive regional tendencies during the move to Roman administration, such as the absence of model shields and the use of lead. This may be a sign of resistance to Roman rule, or rather an evolving process which incorporated new materials, beliefs and belongings into their existing practices.

7.7. Pipeclay Figurines

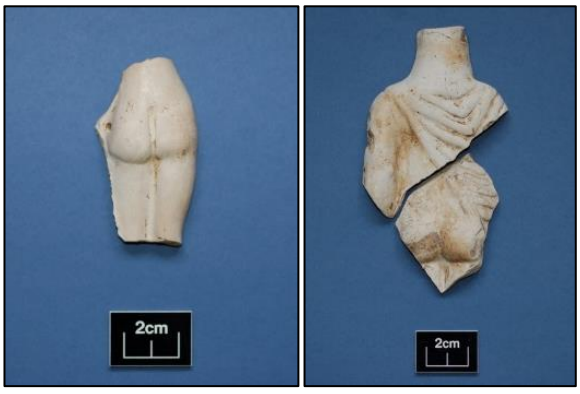


Figure 7.36: (left) Fragment of Venus figurine, *Venta Icenorum* (CRT:SF5141); (right) Two joining fragments of Mercury figurine, *Venta Icenorum* (CRT:SF5139 & SF5140) (Images: CRT/Ian Jackson).

Representations of humans, animals and deities in pipeclay are common in the northwest provinces, but rare in Rome itself, where terracotta statuettes were

popular. Large quantities were manufactured in central Gaul and the Rhineland during the 1st/2nd centuries CE (Bird 2011:287-8; Crummy 1983:141; Jenkins 1977; Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972). Pipeclay statuettes were made in piece moulds and finished by burnishing and painting. In parts of Gaul, manufacture is related to samian production. The figurine industry is likely to have suffered the fate of the samian workshops, exports from which decline severely at the end of the 2nd century CE (Jenkins 1977).

These artefacts are not found in pre-conquest Britain and are generally considered cheap imports for an entirely 'Romano-Celtic' market (Crerar 2006:79; Green 1976:20, 1978:16). The range of types in Britain is restricted compared with Gaul. This may suggest that only certain forms were offered for export, or demanded for import. Fittock found no evidence to suggest that pipeclay figurines were ever made in Britain. They are distributed widely, with a trend towards southeastern settlements and shrines, as well as military *vici* in the North. Fittock notes the lack of pipeclays from military installations and temples in *Londinium*, an odd distribution which he tentatively explains as related to private, domestic worship (2015, 2016).

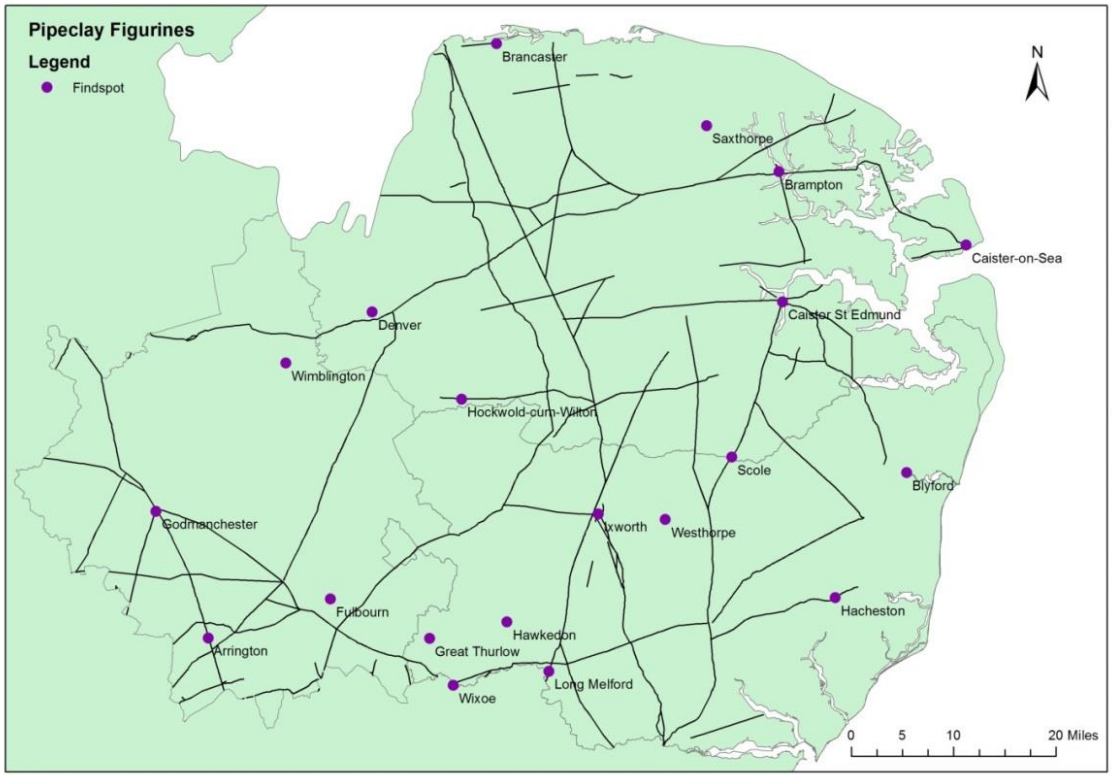


Figure 7.37: Distribution of pipeclay figurines (Image: Author).

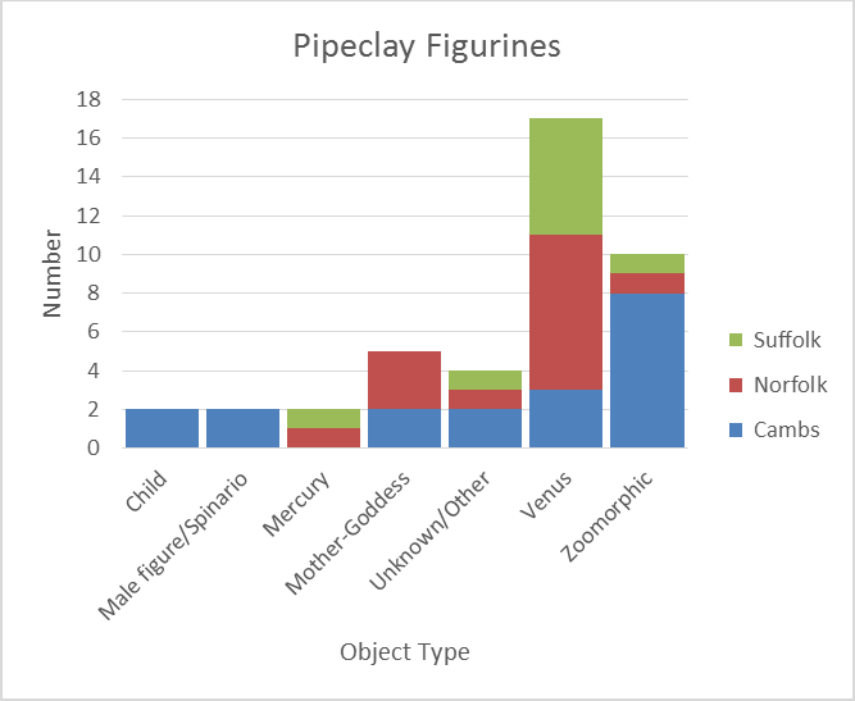


Figure 7.38: Pipeclay figurines by type and county.

Forty-two pipeclay figurines were identified (Figure 7.37): Cambridgeshire (19), Norfolk (14) and Suffolk (9). The distribution shows a general trend towards the south. There are no PAS records for pipeclay figurines in the region,

perhaps unsurprisingly, as they are non-metallic and unlikely to be recovered by metal-detection.[54] The most common type (17) are female figures identified as Venus, the Roman goddess of fertility. There are 10 zoomorphic statuettes and five Mother-Goddesses, known as *Matres* or *Deae Nutrices* (Figure 7.38).

Although metal figurines (most commonly bronzes, with a few lead examples) are rarely convincingly dated, many are likely to date from the same period as the pipeclay figurines. I have included them here as comparative material, always bearing in mind some may be considerably later. HER and PAS records were checked against, and supplemented by, Durham's online database (2012). The overall distribution is similar to the pipeclay examples, with a general southerly bias (Figure 7.39). There are few around the parishes on the Icknield Way, while Cambridgeshire boasts more than its usual slim proportion. Of the 277 metal figurines, there are groups at Willingham (10 from the Fen hoard), Brampton (8), Caistor St Edmund (7), Walsingham (9) and Icklingham (7). Interestingly, in the light of the preference for lead miniature axes (Section 7.6.2), most Pb figurines are also found in Suffolk. The most popular deities represented are Mercury (38 including possible identifications), Hercules (15), Minerva (11), Mars (7), Cupid (7) and Jupiter (5). There are also just over 100 zoomorphic renderings in metal, including 39 birds, 16 sheep/goats and nine horses.

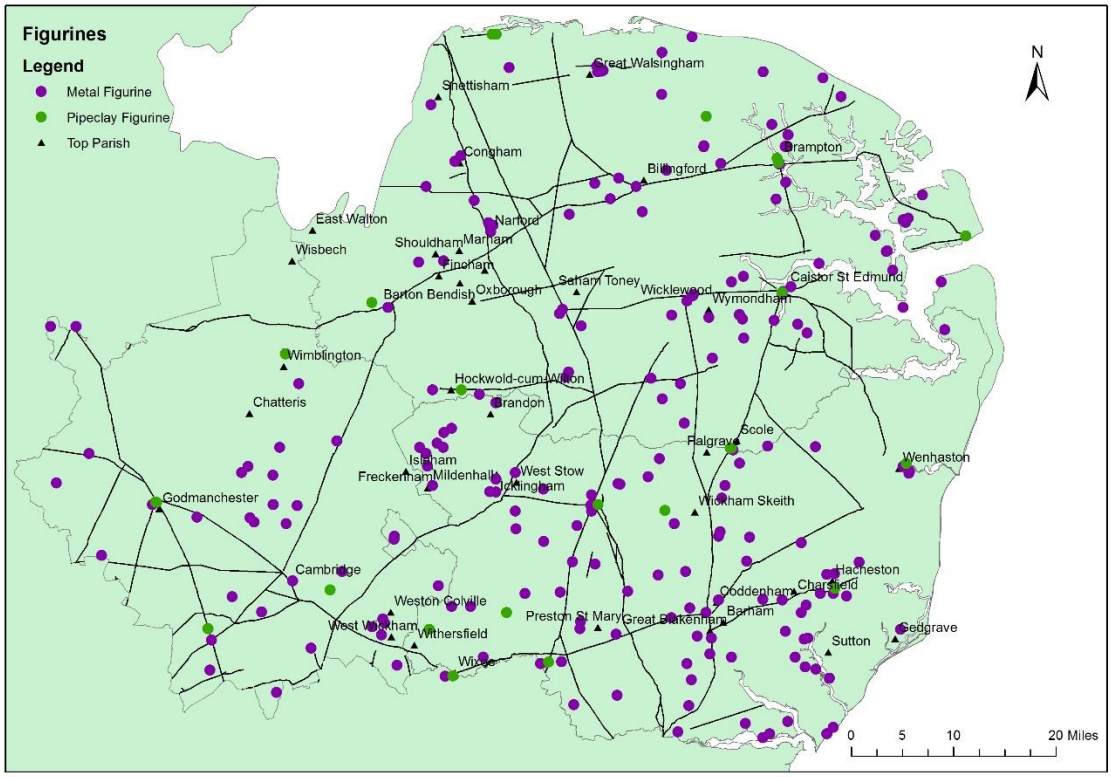


Figure 7.39: Comparative distribution of metal and pipeclay figurines (Image: Author).

7.7.1. Venus and the Mother-Goddess

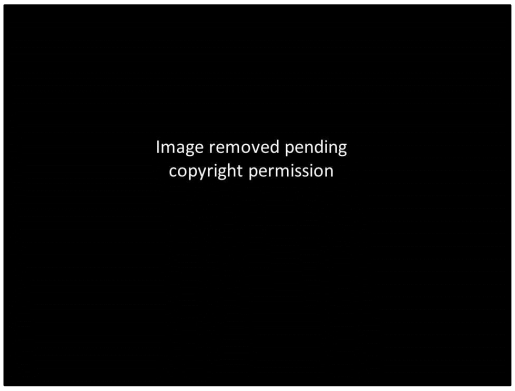


Figure 7.40: *Dea Nutrix* nursing two babies, Denver (NHER:4235).

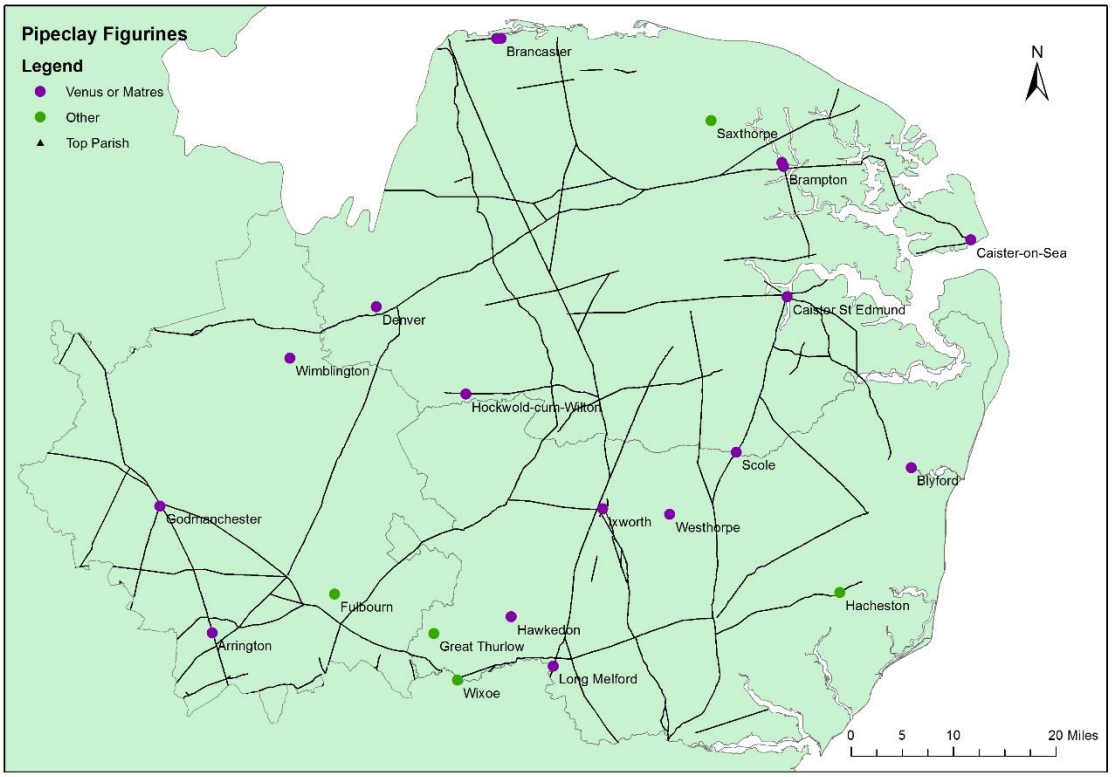


Figure 7.41: Distribution of pipeclay figurines (Image: Author).

Venus figurines depict a youthful woman, standing with the folds of her drapery held at one side, sometimes touching her hair with the other hand. She is sometimes described as a provincial 'pseudo-Venus', based upon the classical Venus *Pudica*. Despite her 'Romanised' appearance, Venus figurines may be part of an alternative pantheon reflecting discrepant indigenous beliefs (Webster 1997:332-3, 2003:46-7). The Mother-Goddess is seated, often in a basketwork chair, with various attributes on her lap, including nursing infants as the *Dea Nutrix*. Venuses date *circa* 70/80-200 CE and the *Deae Nutrices circa* 150-200 CE (Barnard 1985:237; Jenkins 1977:161-2).

Two Venuses are recorded from the settlement and temple at Hockwold-cum-Wilton (NHER:5587). One (a truncated 'bottom', almost certainly a Venus) came from a floor surface which also yielded an assemblage of coins, jewellery including horse-and-rider brooches, crown fragments, votive leaves and letters, and the foot of a model bird (Gurney 1986:56, 73 fig. 45). Another fragment, found in 1931, was reported by Clarke, although details are sketchy (M. Fittock pers. comm. 18/01/2017; Jenkins 1977:346).

A 2nd century CE Spanish olive oil *amphora* containing iron nails and two fragmentary Venus figurines was found at a possible temple at Hawkedon. The vessel may have been reused as a cremation urn (M. Fittock pers. comm. 18/01/2017; Jenkins 1977:353). Three pipeclay Venuses are also recorded from the town of *Durovigutum* (Godmanchester). Two come from 2nd century CE rubbish pits at the *mansio* or inn and the other was found at the gateway of a possible shrine (CHER:00927, 00961; Green 1977:17-8).

Two Venus figurines were excavated at the small town of Brampton. The first was found in mid-late 4th century CE occupation on the site of an earlier kiln field. This sculpture was missing its head, feet and base (Jenkins 1977:346; Jenkins in Knowles 1983:26). The second, complete and virtually undamaged, came from a complex of 3rd/4th century CE pits. Their fills included animal remains (one pit contained four dog skeletons and an ox skull, another had horse and dog bones), a small wooden box represented by *in situ* nails and a bronze pin depicting a hand holding an apple. A disturbed male inhumation on the site was also covered by fragmentary ox skulls and other faunal remains. These finds have clear ritual connotations (Knowles 1981:12, 1983:20-6; Rankov 1982:370 and pl. 36).

In Gaul, pipeclay figurines, especially Venus and *Dea Nutrix* types, were often deposited in shrines and burials (Green 1976:20). In Britain, figurines are found in domestic religious contexts, as well as in burials of children. Pipeclay Venuses are also found in military establishments (Green 1978:16). If directly related to women, this supplements other evidence for women's presence in forts, usually defined by personal ornament (e.g. Allason-Jones 1989:61; Allison 2008; Cool 2016:417-8; Mattingly 2007:170-6). These women are rather predictably assumed to be soldiers' unofficial wives, daughters, prostitutes or servants. By the conquest, military wives were commonplace, although ordinary legionaries were not allowed to marry until after 197 CE (Watts 2005:26-7). Venus figurines are widespread in London, especially in and around the Walbrook, implying a possible import and/or cult centre (Fittock 2015:119),

although many Walbrook finds come from a washed-out cemetery (Pearce 2017).

The distribution in northern East Anglia is temples and towns, with little penetration into rural settlements (Figure 7.41). In Norfolk, 12 of the 14 pipeclay figurines are female, either Mother-Goddess or Venus, and another is a fragment of a pigeon or dove, often associated with Venus. However, this does not hold true with the metal figurines (Figure 7.42), which shows clusters around Brampton and Coddenham/Charsfield areas and a gap in the parishes along the Icknield Way.

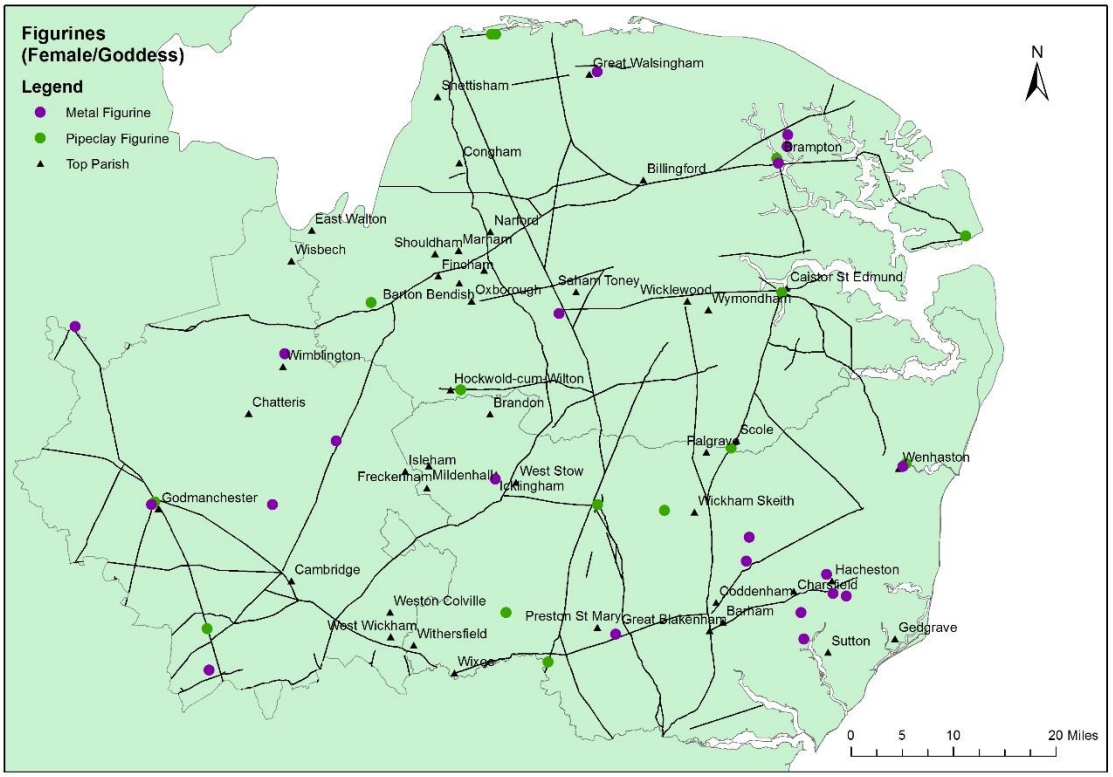


Figure 7.42: Comparative distribution of metal and pipeclay female figurines (Image: Author).

A Romano-Celtic cult of the *Matres* has been deduced from epigraphy, material culture and so-called 'Celtic Mythology', despite a lack of literary references. Images of *Matres* have been found in *Mithraea* – begging the question of who was worshipping them, given that Mithras's cult was supposedly restricted to men. The cult of the *Matres* was also popular in what is now Lincolnshire: a temple to the Mother-Goddesses has been posited at Ancaster; reliefs are also

known from Lincoln. The *Matres* often appear in groups of three. Instances of 'triplication' seem to have symbolic importance in LIA art, perhaps suggesting that the *Matres* slotted into a pre-existing indigenous belief system (Barnard 1985; Davies 2014:27; Green 1975:13, 1976:20; Lewis 1966:124).

The Mother-Goddess is often subject to the same kind of woolly mythologising as the Taranis-Jupiter and Rider-God characters. She is described as 'a symbol of protection in death and rebirth in the Otherworld', as a symbolic parent or guardian for 'the journey to the afterlife' in child burials (Green in Taylor 1993:196). Barnard claims that goddess worship ensured the fertility of the earth, animals and women (1985:237). Green suggests that these female figurines are private, domestic representations of the 'Celtic' Mother-Goddess rendered in a cheap material. She proposes the rather obvious explanation that they were *ex-votos* designed to bring luck to women for fertility and childbirth (1978:16-7). Derks notes that Rhenish cults of the Mothers were based on pre-Roman ancestral beliefs in local communities. Their sanctuaries were modest in appearance and size, suggesting a low rank in the cult hierarchy (1998:122). This perhaps supports a class distinction rather than a gender split in their adherents. The stereotypical association of women with the domestic sphere, low-status materials and fertility has been widely debunked (Butler 2006; Gilchrist 1999; Sweely (ed.) 1999).

Votive anatomical models found at shrines include breasts, genitalia and uteri, which would comfortably fit with a medical devotion or healing interpretation (Jackson 1988:91, 160). Venuses and Mother-Goddesses are also often too simplistically connected with fertility and motherhood. Burials accompanied by *Dea Nutrices* have sometimes been interpreted as mothers or babies who died in childbirth (Allason-Jones 1989:148; Laurence 2012:147-52). The *Dea Nutrix* is regarded as a goddess of childrearing, depicted nursing one or a pair of infants (Bird 2011:287-8; Green 1976:20) although she has numerous other attributes including small animals, baskets of fruit and loaves of bread. Tacitus makes a distinction between Roman children and those of barbarians, whose 'own mother suckles each at her breast; they are not passed on to nursemaids

and wet-nurses' (Laurence 2012:149; Tac. *Germ*. 20). Whether this was also the case in Gaul or Britain is a matter for debate. This demonstrates the difference between Roman ideals and these provincial figurines.

Interpretations of figurines range from children's toys to votive objects. Pipeclay is fragile. Although sometimes packed in wooden boxes, most are broken, which may be accidental in the former use and intentional in the latter (Fittock 2016:4-5). Several explanations are put forward for this: Allason-Jones (1989:148) suggests they were purposely smashed to free the spirit of the object to accompany the deceased, which seems somewhat far-fetched. Cool proposes that figurines from cremation burials may have been damaged on the pyre (2011:296).

Fittock experimented with fragmentation analysis of pipeclays from London. He states that the heads, particularly of Venus and *Dea Nutrix* figurines, were selectively kept, whether deliberately or accidentally parted from their bodies. They may have been a source of impromptu anatomical votives, broken up for deposition in healing rituals, or linked to the 'cult of the head'. Unfortunately, caches of pipeclay heads are yet to be discovered and broken heads remain scarce. Complete figurines are seemingly reserved for burials (Fittock 2015). Two finds from the 2nd century CE outer ditch at *Venta Icenorum* support the deliberate breakage theory. One is a Venus fragment, broken at the waist and knees, and the other is a headless torso of Mercury, wearing his characteristic cloak (*chlamys*) across one shoulder (Figure 7.43). Both seem to have been intentionally fragmented before deposition, close together in the enclosure ditch (Bowden forthcoming).

7.7.2. Mercury

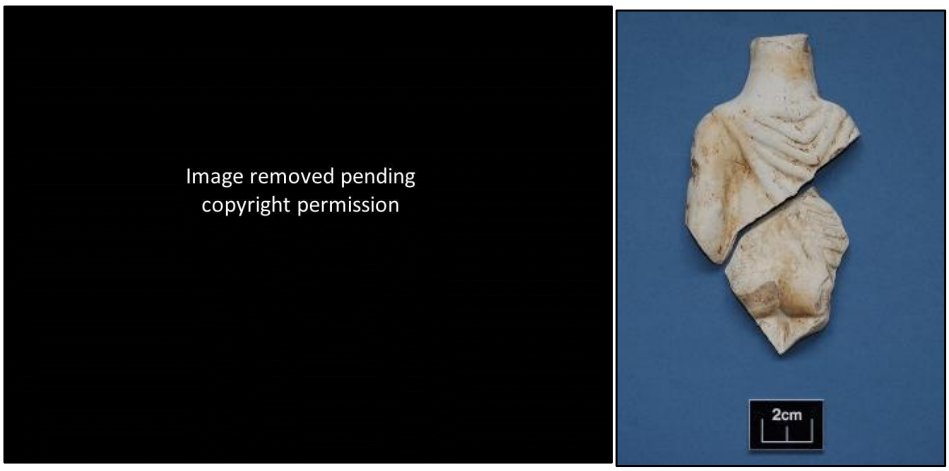


Figure 7.43: (left) Parallel for Mercury figurine from France (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972 #490); (right) Mercury figurine, *Venta Icenorum* (Image: CRT/Ian Jackson).

Mercury is regarded as one of the most popular deities in Roman Britain. There are numerous inscribed rings, bronze figurines and other references (e.g. goats and cockerels) to Mercury (Marsden 2014:50-5, 65) (see Section 4.11.5). There are 38 metal figurines portraying Mercury; however, depictions in pipeclay are extremely rare. In addition to the example from *Venta Icenorum*, the only others are from Corbridge and York (Green 1978:11). There are no Mercury figurines in Fittock's recent study of Roman London (2015:115). This could suggest that Mercury figurines were less common products of the Gaulish workshops, although they undoubtedly were making them, or that they did not appeal to British tastes.

The Mercury figurine from *Venta Icenorum* is certainly part of a suite of finds which allude to a cult at the town, including a seal-box and a pan handle (see Section 5.2.2). A good continental parallel is illustrated by Rouvier-Jeanlin, although the *chlamys* is draped over the opposite shoulder (Figure 7.43).

7.7.3. Apollo and the Thorn-Puller '*Spinario*'

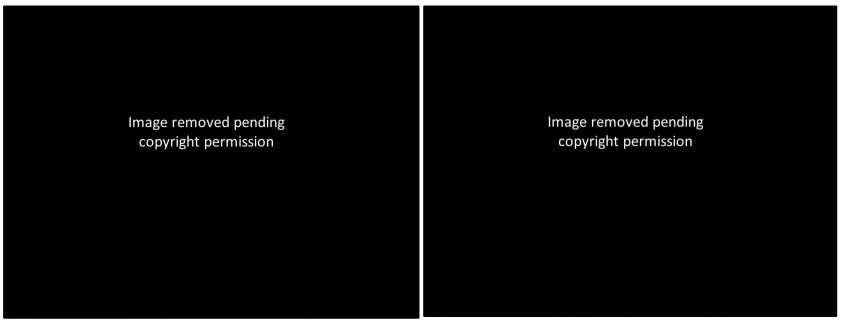


Figure 7.44: (left) Apollo *Citharoedos*, Hacheston (Blagg *et al.* 2004:141, fig. 100); (right) Thorn-puller figurine, Arrington (Taylor 1993:198, fig.4.4).

Another unusual find is a pipeclay Apollo from Hacheston, found in 1970 (Figure 7.44). The god holds his five-stringed lyre (*cithara*) and a large plectrum which identifies him as 'a provincial copy of the classical art-type of Apollo *Citharoedos'* (Jenkins in Blagg *et al.* 2004:140). The clay is very fine and typical of central Gaulish fabrics. It is close in style to a 2nd century CE clay statuette of Apollo from Bedford (Blagg *et al.* 2004:140-1, fig. 100 and pl. 13).

Based on a Hellenistic prototype of the 3rd century BCE, the '*Spinario'* depicts a young man seated with one ankle drawn up on his other knee, removing a thorn from the sole of his foot (Jenkins 1977:386) (Figure 7.44). Thorn-pullers were only produced in the central Gaulish workshops, based on finds of moulds and wasters (Fittock 2016:4). Jenkins dates this type, in Britain, to the Hadrianic period. Two examples from London bear traces of a dark red pigment, perhaps imitating samian. The Thorn-puller does not have any known mythological or religious symbolism (1977:8, 163, 507), although later anecdotes and legends have been attached to him.

Male figurines in metal, like the female representations, are almost absent in the area around the Icknield, considered one of the cores of pre-Roman settlement. This absence of anthropomorphic depiction may be evidence for deliberate resistance of the classical pantheon. In contrast, the southern and northeastern region is well-populated with statuettes, along with several in central Cambridgeshire (Figure 7.45).

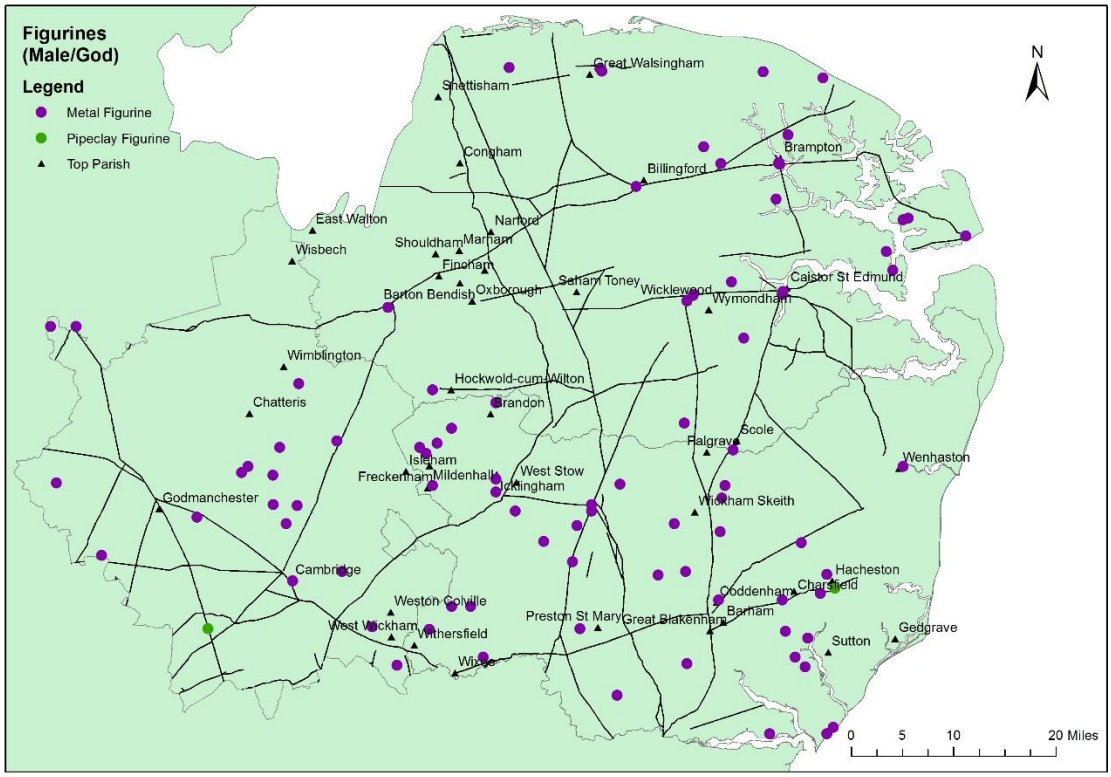


Figure 7.45: Comparative distribution of metal and pipeclay male figurines (Image: Author).

7.7.4. Zoomorphics

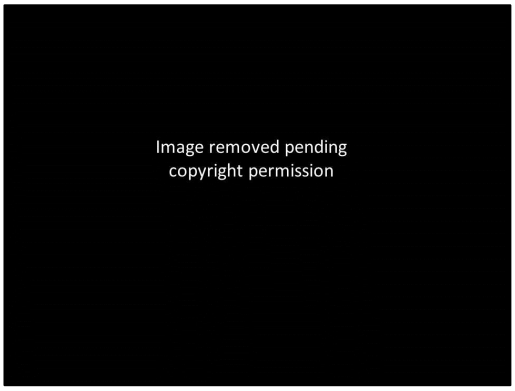


Figure 7.46: Ram figurine, Arrington (Taylor 1993:200, fig. 5).

The other main class of pipeclays from Britain are representations of animals and birds. Frequently, these portray bulls and oxen (Figure 7.50), dogs, horses, goats and sheep (Figure 7.46), chickens, doves and pigeons (Fittock 2016:3). This is a remarkably similar list to the zoomorphic plate brooches (Section 4.11.5). A pipeclay horse was excavated at Stonea Grange, Wimblington (CHER:06057), from the early 3rd century CE fill of a pit shaft adjacent to the temple *temenos*. From the same site came a *Dea Nutrix* fragment found in a

3rd/4th century CE well fill (Jackson and Potter 1996:486, fig. 177). A pipeclay ram comes from the curious context of inside a metalworking 'oven' at an industrial part of the small town at Wixoe (SHER:WIX003; Chapman *et al.* 2012:324).

Bulls are frequent characters in Graeco-Roman mythology and art, linked to Jupiter and Mithras among other deities (Toynbee 1973:135, 151). Rams, goats and cockerels were associated with Mercury. Marsden considers goats, rams and lambs to be ideal sacrifices to Faunus, in his role as guardian of flocks (2014:55). In Roman tradition, sheep were sacrificed to many gods including Jupiter and Mars, and cockerels were offered to the Lares. Doves and pigeons symbolised Venus. Dogs and horses were the companions of Epona, who herself was sometimes associated with the *Matres* (Toynbee 1973). Caches of pipeclay horses are known from Belgium and at healing-spring sanctuaries in Gaul (Green 1976:12).

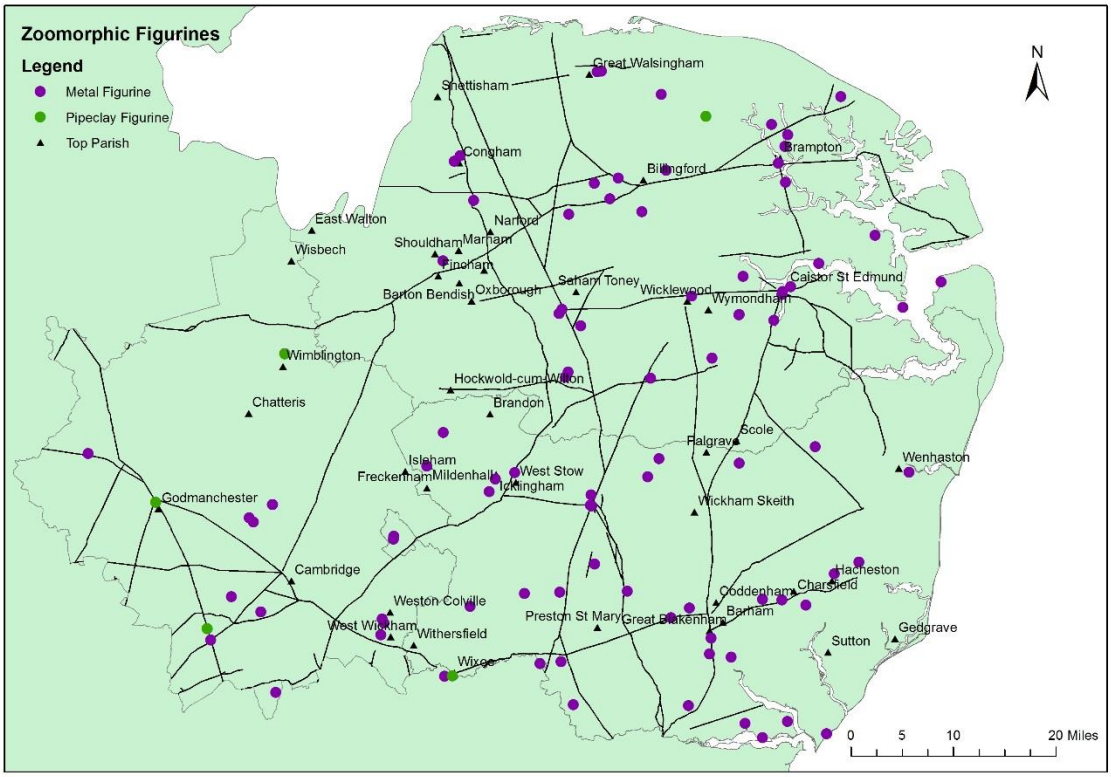


Figure 7.47: Comparative distribution of metal and pipeclay zoomorphic figurines (Image: Author).

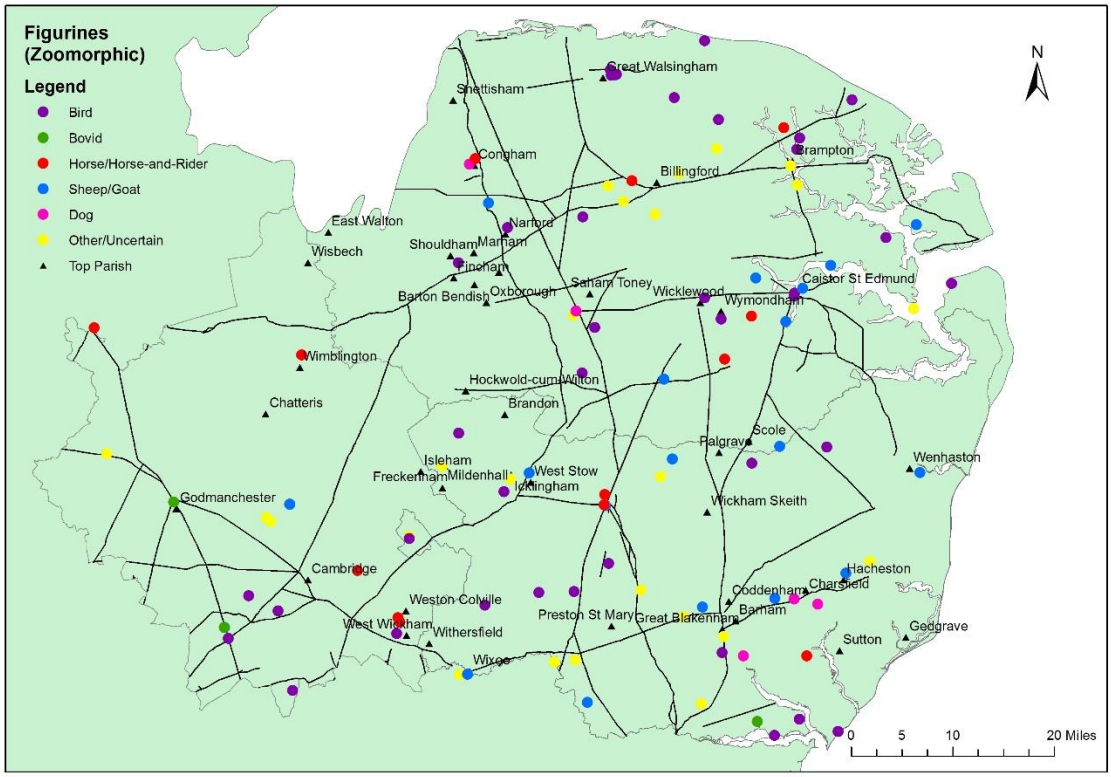


Figure 7.48: All zoomorphic figurines by type (Image: Author).

Zoomorphic figurines, both metal and ceramic, are widespread and include a few finds from the Icknield Way parishes (Figure 7.47). There may be a slight tendency towards deposition along roads and around coastal waterways. There are 16 sheep/goats, 39 birds of various species and nine horses. Some clusters may be seen around Brampton and Caistor St Edmund. The latter appears to be a focus for sheep/goat figurines, likely to be associated with a cult of Mercury at the *civitas* capital, and there are three dogs from southeast Suffolk, sometimes related to healing cults (Bird 2011:287-8).

The figurines' function is debated. Bird concedes that while both pipeclay and copper alloy figurines of animals could feasibly be children's playthings, they only seem to depict creatures associated with cults and healing (2011:287-8). Some zoomorphic figurines are found in grave contexts and at shrines. They may have been produced as proxies for the sacrificial animals which usually accompanied rituals of devotion and burial (Taylor 1993:199-201). While pipeclay animal figures are mainly found in Cambridgeshire (Norfolk 1, Suffolk 1, Cambridgeshire 8), their metal counterparts are proportionally rarer in that

county (Norfolk 48, Suffolk 44, Cambridgeshire 15). This may be related to their selection for deposition in children's graves (see below) or differences between status and materials. Is this another sign of Icenian selectivity regarding imported artefacts or practices? Was the ritual of animal sacrifice alien to the people of early Roman Norfolk and Suffolk, in contrast to those inhabiting Essex and Cambridgeshire?

The earliest pipeclay figurines known in Britain come from Colchester, dated around 55-65 CE. A 'child's grave', excavated under antiquarian circumstances in 1866, contained 13 figures, including a triple-horned bull, a Hercules and a set of 'comic old men' characters. The figurines were thought to represent toys, and a small vessel, possibly a lamp-filler, was considered a 'feeding bottle' (Jenkins 1977:155-9). Green proposed the grave instead belonged to a 'high-ranking woman' (in Going *et al.* 1997:fn. 254). The poor preservation of skeletal remains means age and gender remain inconclusive (Eckardt 1999). This very unusual early Roman burial is paralleled in two examples from Cambridgeshire.

7.7.5. Arrington

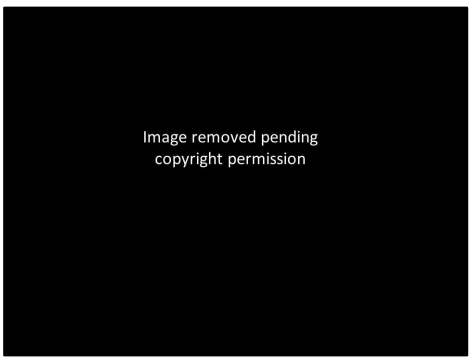


Figure 7.49: Rhenish *Matrona* figurine, Arrington (Taylor 1993:195, fig. 3.1).

Another grave was discovered in 1990 at Arrington (CHER:09955). The small lead coffin (1m long) and surviving fragments of the cranium and hair are convincing evidence that this was the burial of an infant, aged six months to a year old at death. The pipeclay figurines were probably contained in a wooden box which sat atop the coffin until it was disturbed by the finders. The pipeclay grave goods are dated to *circa* 130-160 CE (Taylor 1993).

The group comprises an unusual Rhenish-type *Matrona* Mother-Goddess wearing a distinctive large, round headdress (Green 1998:26) (Figure 7.49), a seated male figure, probably a Thorn-puller, a figure wearing a cloak and Phrygian cap, two images of children (an infant and an older child), a male bovid, two complete and two fragmentary rams (Figure 7.46). The Mother-Goddess holds a pile of fruit in her lap, and the rear of her seat is inscribed with faint markings (Taylor 1993), illegible but possibly in cursive script. This relates back to the role of magical literacy and the connection between writing and votive deposits (Section 7.5).

Green's tendency to mystify these objects in their role as grave goods results in a less than critical reading. The rams and bullock may symbolise fertility, strength, Mercury, or substitutes for sacrificial offerings 'to the gods of the underworld'. The busts may represent the dead child and a sibling, or perhaps its unrealised future self, 'in a kind of wistful hope that it would grow up in the Otherworld' (in Taylor 1993).

The coffin also contained red-dyed cloth and an aromatic resin. Along with the imported figurines, these have been interpreted as components in an 'exotic' burial for a 'cosmopolitan family', passing through the area along Ermine Street from one urban or military location to the next (Green in Taylor 1993:208). While this may be somewhat pejorative to the inhabitants of 2nd century CE Cambridgeshire, the inclusion of Rhenish and Gaulish statuettes may indicate that this was a Gallo-Roman family, which is an important reminder not to lose sight of the numbers of Gauls who may have been resident in Britain during this period.

7.7.6. Godmanchester

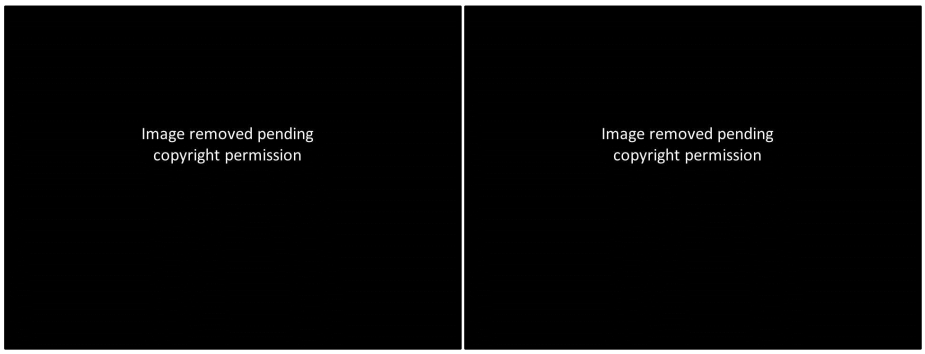


Figure 7.50: (left) Horse figurine, Godmanchester (Going *et al.* 1997:389, fig.17); (right) Bull figurine, Godmanchester (Going *et al.* 1997:388, fig. 16).

Godmanchester is the site of Roman *Durovigutum*, at a strategic crossing point of Ermine Street over the River Ouse. In 1991, a mid-2nd century CE cremation burial was found by a member of the public (CHER:SCB21040). A samian jar contained the cremated remains of unsexed child aged three to eight years at death, with two bangles, box-fittings, three pots and pipeclay figurines of a bull and a horse. One of the bangles had snake-headed terminals and both were small enough to fit a child, 'probably a girl' based on the presence of these bracelets (Going *et al.* 1997), which is debateable.

The horse figurine has a mane and wears neither saddle nor bridle. Its sex is not indicated, which may mean it is a mare or gelding. The pipeclay bull portrays an uncastrated bovid wearing the *vitta* or sacrificial 'body-belt' around its waist. The triple-horned bovid from the Colchester burial also has this band. Both bulls and horses were considered appropriate for sacrificial rituals (Figure 7.50). The placing of the figures either side of the cremation vessel suggests a guardianship role over the deceased child (Eckardt 1999:66; Green in Going *et al.* 1997). Perhaps they also represent a paired wild/domestic, male/female dichotomy: the bull (male) is dressed and the horse (female) is undressed. The dedication of pipeclay animals as proxies for sacrificial victims finds parallels with the shift from deposition of full-size to miniature weaponry (Section 7.6.1).

7.7.7. Discussion

When discussing objects of potential veneration and devotion, it is easy to fall into the trap of reading too much into too little evidence, or attempting to layer

the known rites and beliefs of other communities onto an unknown one, and previous authors have been duly criticised here for exactly that.

The arrival of pipeclay figurines, representing alien deities, sacrificial practices and mythological allusions, must have seemed mysterious or simply irrelevant to some local populations. Were they seen as Gaulish, Roman or simply different? Similarly, Gosden asks if imports of Gaulish samian were regarded as 'Roman', or from near neighbours across the sea, or even as novel indigenous objects arriving through 'well-known local exchange networks' (2005:207). The later Roman dates of some deposits suggest a lag between the figurines' manufacture and subsequent use and discard in some parts of the region, with early adoption and usage, especially in funerary contexts, in other areas.

The high proportion of pipeclay Venuses and *Matres*, against zoomorphic and masculine representations, in the northern and eastern range, perhaps relates to an interest in the feminine aspect, fertility or the cult of the Mother-Goddess, although this remains speculative, and it must be remembered that these are the most common types across Roman Britain. The Venus from Hockwold temple is associated with a collection of votive objects, including numerous brooches and coins dating from the mid-2nd century CE onwards (Gurney 1986). The pipeclay horse and Mother-Goddess from the Roman temple at Stonea may emphasise this as a place where different traditions interacted: 'The fens appear to have been a border land, with Stonea and perhaps March islands as western outliers of Icenian power' (Malim 2005:39-40, 93).

The presence of (primarily zoomorphic) pipeclay figurines with child burials is incongruous with the lack of early burials in Norfolk and Suffolk. Cambridgeshire fits into a very different funerary distribution, allied with Essex and Hertfordshire, attributed to the 'tribal territory' of the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes. Going *et al.* regard figurines as indicators of the importation of Gallo-Belgic traditions into this area (1997:391-3) and Martin claims the urned cremation at Elveden and the Snailwell burial represent the 'outer limits' of this polity (1999:70-2). Although this may lend some credence

to the idea that the Fenland was divided between different communities, I doubt the relationships were as strongly defined as these 'tribal' ascriptions suggest.

The most interesting observation about pipeclay figurines is how they differ from many other categories of objects studied, even from the bronze and lead variants. Firstly, we are dealing with a limited number of imported objects which are rarely if ever retrieved as surface finds by detectorists and therefore are not subject to the recent explosion in numbers of other PAS finds. This discrepancy presents a rare opportunity to talk about context and discovery circumstances, as most of the finds come from excavations. Although many of the records are either antiquarian or development finds, there has been enough information to discuss the role of figurines in temples, domestic contexts and burial rites. These finds may relate to a post-conquest tradition of structured deposition of objects and animal/human remains in pits, which is also a practice seemingly carried out at the *civitas* capital (Bowden 2017:22). Despite their fragility, pipeclay figurines are long-lasting, appearing in contexts dated to centuries after their production. Their similarity to samian ware in terms of production centres may also extend to their longevity, and perhaps even curation, within the domestic sphere.

Secondly, the distribution of figurines is very different to other small finds. The parishes with the usual highest densities (along the Icknield Way, around Saham Toney and Wicklewood in Norfolk) are barely represented. These areas lack anthropomorphic representations in both pipeclay and bronze (arguably supporting the pre-conquest non-depiction of humans, *contra* Green 1998). The pipeclay figurines present a very small sample of the non-British material culture which was finding its way into the country in the decades after the invasion. Imported brooches were accepted into the pre-conquest inventory (Section 4.8), so the preference for figurines is not related to resistance of all 'foreign' objects, but perhaps more closely associated with the burial traditions of each local community. These imported goods, along with *amphorae* and other continental trade items, may have been selectively rejected by those in

the Iceni heartland, where practices of devotion and burial followed older customs into the early Roman period. This is in marked contrast to 2nd century CE brooches, for example, which still seem to cluster around the traditional areas of settlement (Chapter 4). The difference between these two categories is that local manufacturing of brooches is evidenced, bringing up the questions of disparate markets, distribution and demand.

7.8. Summary

The idea that the Iceni were combining old ways and new gods agrees with the hybridity of personal ornamentation and horse gear. Some of these practices and events may have been used to reinforce group identity, at the level of a family or a community. One of the qualifiers mentioned in the introduction of this section was the complexity of recovering past beliefs through material culture. Much like the argument for working with surface finds, the sheer volume of evidence is invitation enough to try. Our interpretations will inevitably be erroneous, but some of them can suggest past people's activities, if not their actual philosophies.

My investigation of votive and miniature objects shows intra-regional differences. The burials with pipeclay figurines suggest that the people of the Iceni core were still 'Doing Different' to their Cambridgeshire, Essex and Hertfordshire neighbours in the post-conquest period. Such interments are rare, special deposits across Britain, so Norfolk and Suffolk may simply lack evidence. I also suggest that different iconography was chosen regionally, with female representations in pipeclay particularly favoured in Norfolk. Assumptions about female deities and fertility need to be thoroughly interrogated for implicit gender bias, as do the views on phallic symbolism and other anatomical votive miniatures. A clear geographical division was noted between the phallic and vulvate mounts, which may have been used cross-functionally on military and civilian harness and as votives.

The figurines prompt questions about the relationships between adults and children in the past (Crawford and Shepherd (eds.) 2007; Millett and Gowland

2015). What were people's attitudes towards the physiological dangers and rewards of childbirth and rearing? How did people feel about losing a child? What symbolic/spiritual dimensions did they imagine? Clearly some of the children who died young were enormously important to their families and were buried with care, attention and distinctive material culture. Marking people out through objects may have been a way of emphasising difference, social distinction, rather than status, part of the production of the body in life and death (Bourdieu 2010; Fowler 2004:38-9; Joy 2010:76). Cremation was also a way of fragmenting and rearranging the bodily remains (Cool 2011:295; Pearce 1997:177), in some senses a similar process to the selective destruction and reintegration of objects like torcs and harness, which were then buried. There is scope to consider figurines in terms of group and individual, public or private identities. Were burials private events? Did domestic shrines contain objects only for the family's use? Were personal dedications to deities part of a discreet rite or on full show in temples?

There are also similarities and differences outside of the immediate area. Miniatures show continuity of indigenous practice, deposition and appropriateness in terms of scale and materials. The few model wheels show that not all Gaulish comparanda are appropriate and the lack of shields is notable, given the concentrations in Lincolnshire and elsewhere. The use of lead for miniature axes in Suffolk is also intriguing. This indicates that very local practices could occur within wider trends. There is a lack of distinction between what is 'votive' or 'ritual' and what is functional. In the case of miniature terrets, like seal-boxes and brooches, the use of everyday objects in different contexts is what marks them out. Again, the persistence of hoarding is seen throughout the period. Special or structured deposits, hoards, however categorised, form part of a long-standing ritual practice which absorbs changes in material culture. There is a strong argument for this practice continuing well into the Roman occupation, with pits, shafts, wells and other features being used for deposition, such as the two figurines from the 2nd century CE enclosure ditch at *Venta Icenorum*.

Religious practices were changing with the institution of formal temple complexes, often linked to developing towns. Priests may have become more visible, perhaps wearing crowns and brooches as the exterior signals of their office. This again challenges the idea of the material élite, with a concept of spiritual capital. Mark-making on miniature axes prefigures the introduction of magical literacy, through cursing and amulets, incorporating the symbolism of writing into ritual. The next chapter considers personal and public expression of these practices.

Chapter 8. A New Lexicon of Power: Writing and Sealing

8.1. Becoming Literate

The following chapter examines written communication in the Icenian polity. I argue that certain displays of status, power and control were implemented through literacy and its accoutrements. As 'a set of social practices' (Eckardt 2018:5), literacy became necessary for engagement with the Roman administration. The main paraphernalia of literacy are seal-boxes, intaglio rings, Minerva wax *spatulae*, *styli* and inkwells (Andrews 2012; Derks and Roymans 2002; Eckardt 2014, 2018; Henig 1974; Marshman 2015). Their distributions may tell us about how people reacted to its introduction. They may also shed some light on the 'Roman Dark Ages', the 2nd/3rd centuries CE, when so much existing material culture disappears, and little is known historically about what is happening in East Anglia. In the post-Boudican generation, the material culture and architecture of the *civitas Icenorum* was becoming more like other provinces of the empire.

Evidence for literacy in Britain begins with coin legends, around a century pre-conquest (Williams 2001). Writing was therefore familiar to Iron Age Britons, although comprehension is another matter. Legends on Roman coins would have been sources of information, power or frustration depending on one's level of literacy. The potency of writing would have been a daily reminder of a person's place in the hierarchy of empire (Creighton 2000:146-73; Williams 2007). Nash Briggs (2011) claims Iceni legends use a language closer to West Germanic than Celtic. Williams proposes that the Iceni may have deliberately resisted using Latin on coins until the SVB ESVPRASTVS ESICO FECIT issue. He also notes that the East Anglian coin series retains its traditional symbolism and aesthetics until quite late, which 'suggests strongly that this was a conscious expression of preference, rather than the outcome of ignorance' (2007:8-9). Woolf sees the spread of writing as parallel processes of local 'adoptions, adaptions and rejections' and 'rapid imperial expansion accompanied by

widespread cultural change which destroyed writing practices and changed their meaning as well as spreading new ones' (1994:97).

Some objects continue to function over many centuries with limited innovation, which gives us insights into long-standing practices. *Styli* are too similar over the ages to date tightly, especially without a full survey of published and unpublished data (Eckardt 2014:187). Inkwells are relatively rare finds in Roman Britain, with a peak in the late 1st/early 2nd centuries CE. They were clearly valuable possessions, perhaps expressing status through literacy, and in some cases, were interred with the dead. Samian inkwells are biased towards military sites and urban centres, suggesting a predisposition towards places requiring day-to-day record keeping (*ibid*.:193-204). Eckardt has recently published a comprehensive survey (2018).

Other evidence comes from the actual practice of writing: inscriptions, graffiti and curse tablets (Section 7.5.2). Personal names are often scratched on pottery vessels, especially finewares and plain samian tableware. This may point to individual ownership of vessels and the ability, at the very least, to write one's name. The occurrence of graffiti is higher at forts and *vici* than small towns and rural sites, which may suggest lower levels of rural literacy, although *styli* occur on all site types (Cool 2006:35-6).

Ritual literacy was an important means of communicating with the gods. Analysis of handwriting on *defixiones* demonstrates that these were written by individuals, rather than scribes, and many bear local British names, often female (Eckardt 2014:180; Watts 2005:139). Perhaps there was an appropriate and intimate connection between the petitioner marking the curse or charm in her/his own hand. Woman also wrote letters, famously including some of the *Vindolanda* tablets (Bowman and Thomas 1987:137-40; Eckardt 2018:157). Seal-boxes and signet rings may be associated with written communication and were introduced in the late 1st century CE. They peaked in popularity, along with wax *spatulae*, in the 2nd/3rd centuries CE. By looking at these artefacts as

an assemblage, the relationships between writing, sealing and the wider practice of mark-making will be explored.

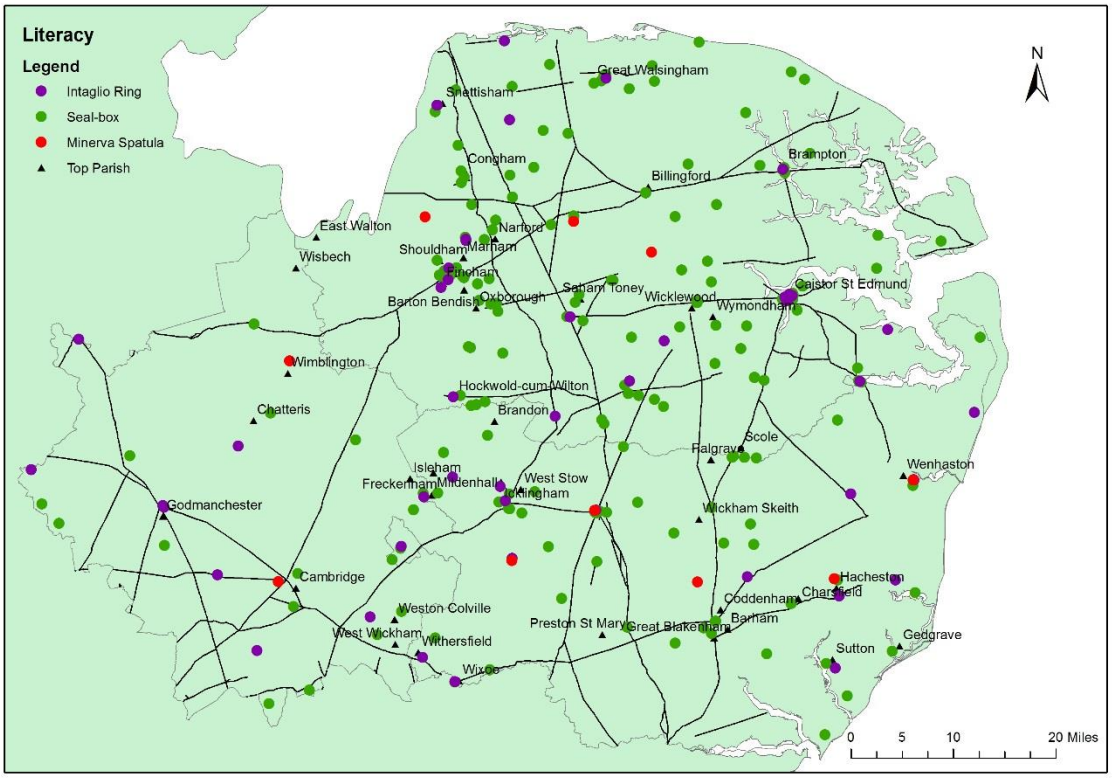


Figure 8.1: Combined evidence for literacy and sealing (Image: Author).

8.2. Writing Power

A shared spoken language is more fundamental to feelings of belonging or otherness than other elements of costume or material culture. Repetitive activities, like writing, are normalised or subverted as part of the performative action of identity. Routine activity becomes internalised, producing and reproducing social norms and the sense of self-identity. These performances also allow for demonstrations of difference – to choose to comply with the norms or adopt different routines, to make an 'Other' of oneself (Revell 2016:10-11). Indigenous Britons were presented with the opportunities to become literate and multilingual, or could have been doubly disadvantaged by the lack of a written mother tongue, meaning even dictation to a scribe would be difficult. Refusal to adopt Latin and literacy could also be seen as resistance, as Williams suggests for coin legends (2007:8). Bowman and Woolf describe

writing as 'a transferable technology' which could be turned to multiple ends regardless of the power structure in which it was taught (1994:6).

Eckardt has looked at the power relationships embedded in literacy, which is part of the domination of the Roman occupation. She considered how material culture reveals the impact of literacy on Britain, looking at socio-spatial distribution and materials. The practices of reading, writing and speaking in a new language would have been part of the internalisation of power structures and the rules governing social order. Literacy could also be an empowering skill-set, providing aspirations within certain social strata and the ability to engage with the prevailing power structure. The new skills of writing and reading involved 'culturally laden' front-stage artefacts (2005:142, 2014:177-207, 2018:3-20). The physical actions of smoothing, sealing, inscribing, and the use of materials such as ink and wax in a new context would all have given opportunities for people to identify and belong, or to resist and stand apart. In this chapter, I will consider objects relating to literacy and mark-making to weigh up the response to occupation in the *civitas*.

8.3. Seal-boxes



Figure 8.2: (left) Geometrically-enamelled square seal-box with four-hole base, Watton (PAS:WAW-0B6AD4) (Image: Birmingham Museums Trust/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Circular seal-box lid with riveted zoomorphic decoration, Weasenham St Peter (PAS:NMS-5DF6D5) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Seal-boxes are small copper alloy containers (Figure 8.2), thought to have been used to contain wax impressions for certifying documents or supplications to the gods written on wooden tablets, or sealing coin sacks. The lids are ornamental, often with similar zoomorphic symbolism and enamelwork to plate brooches and cosmetic grinders. The bases are connected to the lid with a

simple hinge mechanism and usually have three or four holes for attachment. A string would be knotted inside the base of the seal-box to secure a wax tablet or other container. The knot was covered with beeswax and sealed using an intaglio ring. This seal was protected by the lid and served as a means of guaranteeing identity and security during transit. Seal-boxes do not have a known LIA predecessor, suggesting they were part of a new lexicon of material culture. They are sometimes incorporated into older votive practices, as at Walsingham (Andrews 2012; Bagnall Smith 1999:40).

In Eckardt's study (2014:184-6), seal-boxes are part of the language of literacy and power, with a marked bias towards military sites and major urban centres including *civitas* capitals. However, in her most recent volume, she dismisses seal-boxes as certain indicators for literacy as their function is ambiguous (2018:23-4). This is discussed in more detail below. As objects which may have had multiple functionalities, I include seal-boxes with the artefacts of literacy, with the caveat that they may not be proof of writing, but are related to sealing and mark-making which may also have been actions of power and knowledge in early Roman Britain.

8.3.1. Distribution and Chronology

Andrews (2012) recorded 871 seal-boxes from the province (Figure 8.3),[55] finding them largely absent from the southwest and Wales. On PAS, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk have most finds nationally (Figure 8.6). Substantial numbers were recorded on the northern frontier, major civilian towns and rural roadside settlements, places where 'activity associated with the Roman occupation is most visible'. This suggests they were used by a range of people across various site types (Andrews 2013:428).

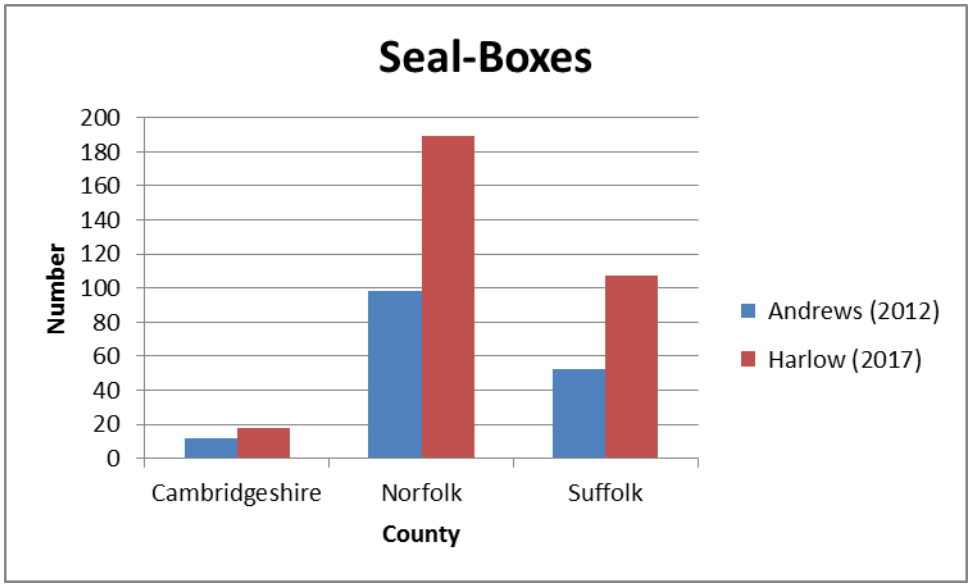


Figure 8.3: Comparison between studies of seal-boxes.

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	18
Norfolk	189
Suffolk	107
Grand Total	**314**

Table 31: Number of seal-boxes by county.

Norfolk has the highest number of seal-boxes (Table 31). Andrews claims this cannot simply be explained by its arable nature and long-standing metal-detecting (2012:57-9). Clusters are apparent around urban and religious *foci*, including Caistor St Edmund (17), Walsingham/Wighton (37), Saham Toney (6) and Hockwold (6). There is also a group in the Icknield Way parishes around Fincham. The Suffolk towns of Wenhaston (10), Coddenham (18), Wixoe (6) and Pakenham (9) are well-represented (Figure 8.4, Figure 8.5).

Cambridgeshire is typically quiet. The distribution of sources was interesting, with all PAS finds in western and southern Cambridgeshire and HER finds clustering along the eastern border with Norfolk, with the exception of one near Cambridge. This again confirms the benefit of expanding my research beyond a single resource, with the effect that the PAS fills in the gaps left by HER and excavated sites and *vice versa*. The distribution of bases by number of holes shows 4-hole bases are the most common and widespread, with a few 3-hole types around the periphery (Figure 8.7).

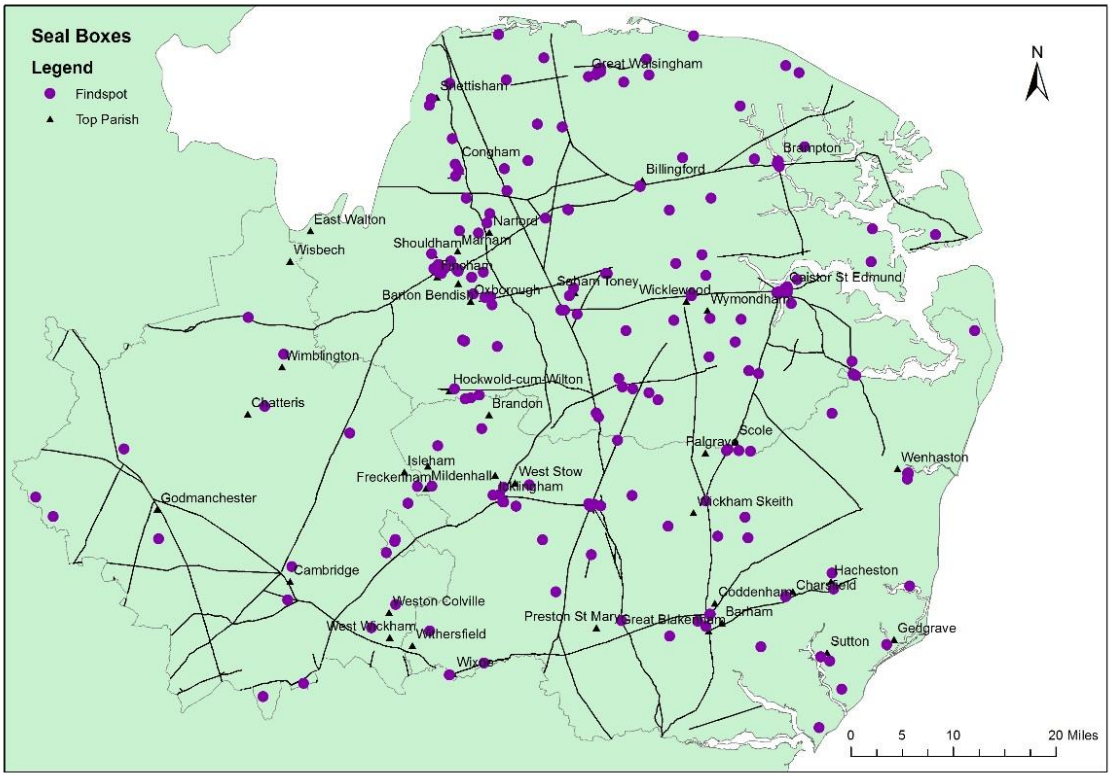


Figure 8.4: Distribution of all seal-boxes (Image: Author).

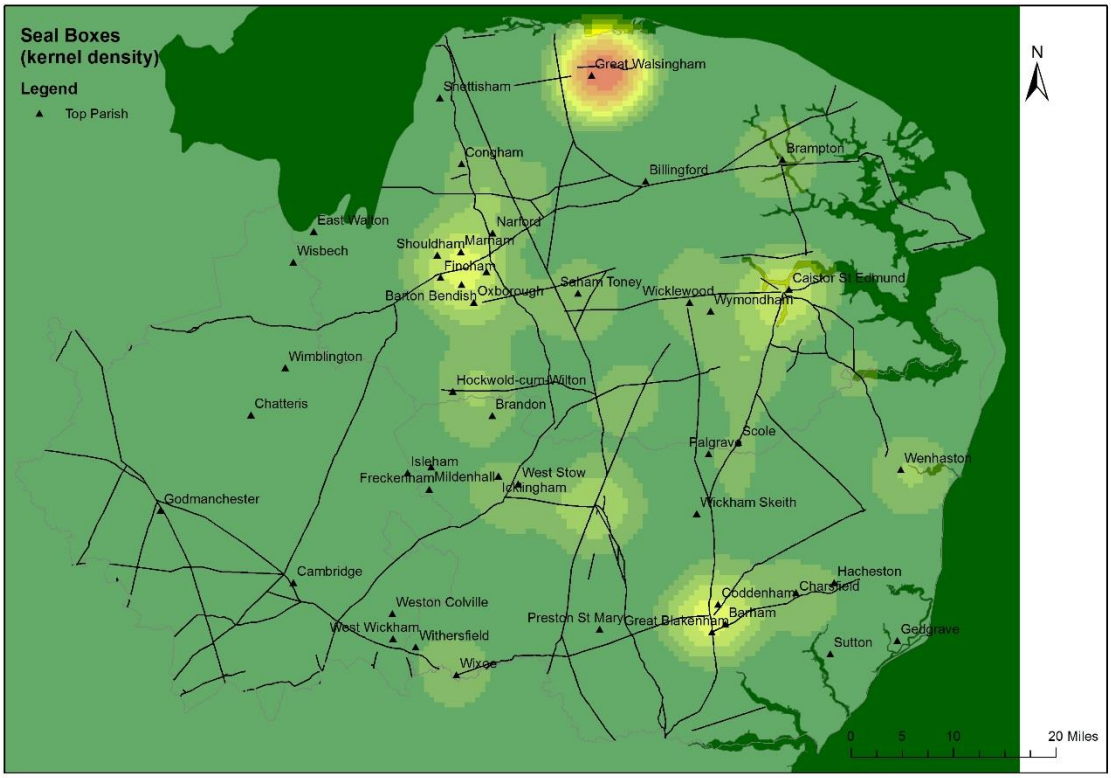


Figure 8.5: Density of all seal-boxes (Image: Author).

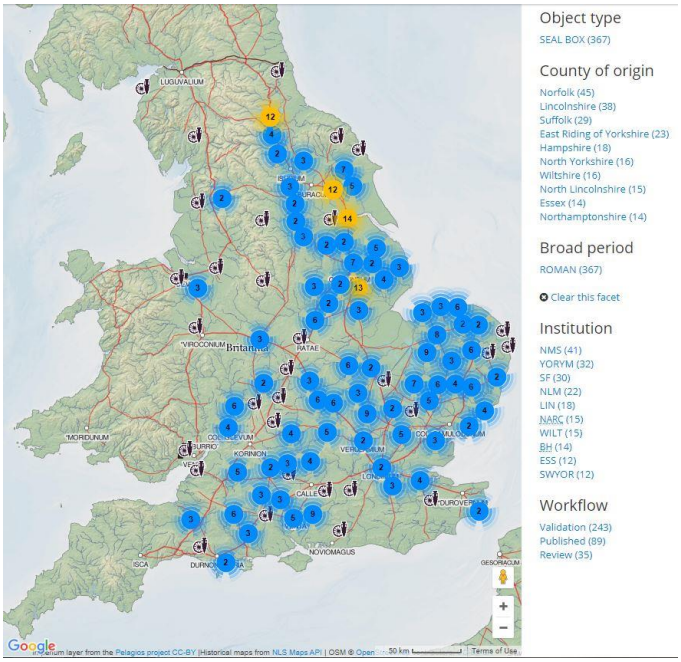


Figure 8.6: Distribution of seal-boxes (Image: PAS).

Seal-boxes are rarely given a tight date range on PAS, often being simply described as 'Roman' and dated 43-410 CE. Simple unenamelled types occur on the continent from the 1st century BCE. Square and circular forms, including variants with zoomorphic lids (Figure 8.2), belong in the 1st century CE, arriving in Britain at the conquest. Leaf-shaped seal-boxes date from the later 1st century CE. From the 2nd century CE onwards, all seal-boxes had enamelled lids. The most common type in Britain is Andrews Type P3D3, a leaf-shaped box with an enamelled heart-shaped motif on the lid (Figure 8.14). This had a longer, later date range, probably mid-2nd to mid-3rd centuries CE. The latest are the enamelled lozengiform varieties. Seal-boxes fell out of use in the 3rd century CE, like many other portable artefacts (Andrews 2012; Derks and Roymans 2002:91-2).

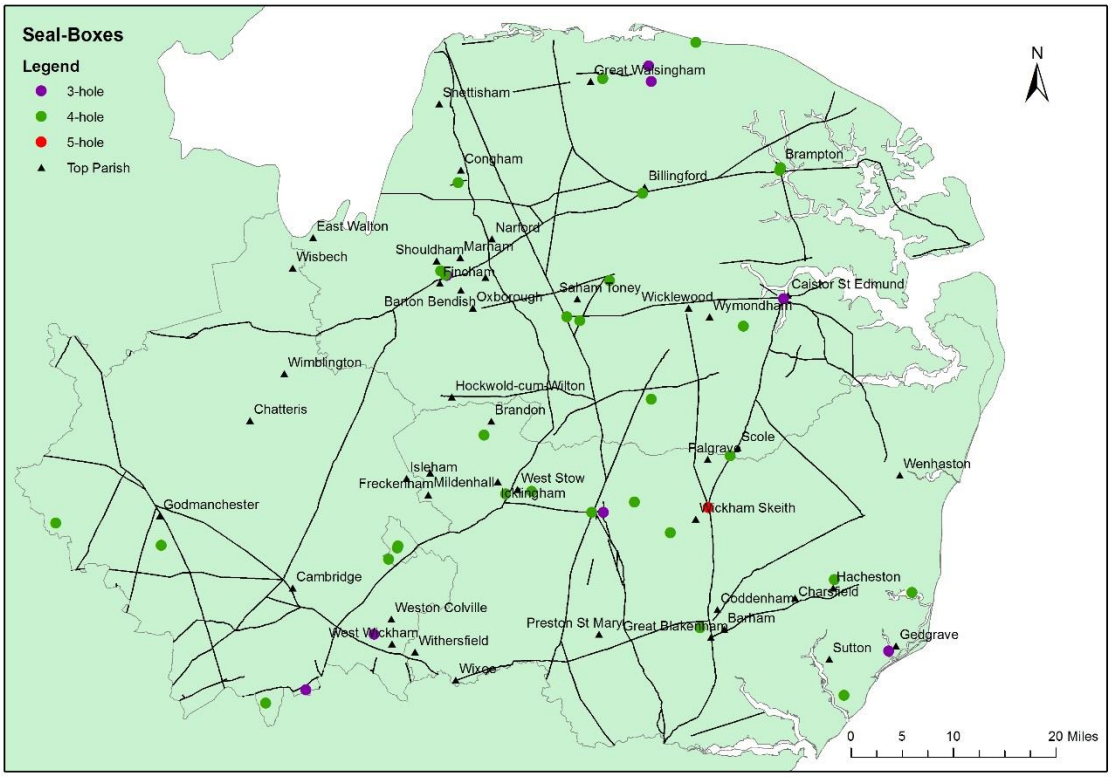


Figure 8.7: Distribution of seal-boxes by number of base holes (Image: Author).

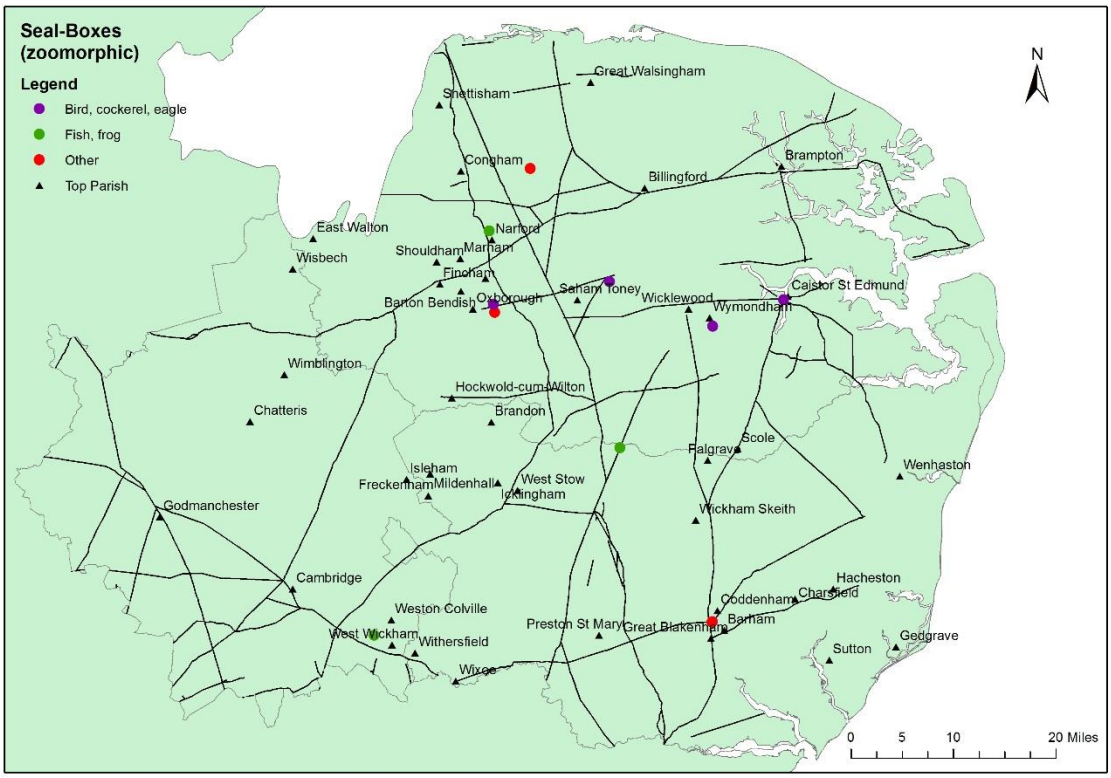


Figure 8.8: Distribution of zoomorphic seal-boxes (Image: Author).



Figure 8.9: Unusual seal-box with inscribed fish and wedge motif, possibly miscast perforation on base, Balsham (PAS:CAM-8A9EA3) (Image: CCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Lozengiform seal-box lid with enamelled crescent/leaf motif, Bacton (PAS:LON-E001C0) (Image: Museum of London/CC BY 2.0).

Square and rectangular seal-boxes with short hinges and curvilinear 'Celtic Swash-N' motifs (Type D5) may have British origins (Andrews 2012:16). These are rare in the *civitas* with only four each from Norfolk and Suffolk. Twelve examples of seal-boxes with riveted zoomorphic attachments were recorded, with most in Norfolk (Figure 8.8), suggesting a few cases of early adoption, perhaps in the later 1st century CE. Birds are most frequent, including a cockerel and two eagles, and there are two frogs. Some animals may have had links with specific deities, for example Eagle/Jupiter, Cockerel/Mercury and Frog/Diana (*ibid*.:64-5). Andrews considers the *lunula*, phallus and frog to have been powerfully apotropaic symbols. Many seal-box designs may have had a protective function, intended to avert the 'evil eye' from the private contents of a letter, or to protect valuables from theft (2012:102-3). Frogs, while frequent on seal-boxes, are rare on brooches. Horses are not represented on seal-boxes, but are relatively common brooch imagery. Like the plate brooches, anthropomorphic representations of deities on seal-boxes are unknown (2012:99). The regional preference for zoomorphic imagery has already been noted and may have had more resonance than classical associations with deities in the late 1st/2nd century CE *civitas*.

An oddity comes from Lackford in which part of the enamelled lid of a circular seal-box has been cut away. By itself, this might seem unusual, but a parallel from Cheshire (Figure 8.10) implies there was something worth removing from these lids. Perhaps a riveted zoomorphic appliqué was detached to be used as a votive, as we shall see with the Minerva *spatulae* below. Lackford parish

contains the findspot of the Cavenham crowns, possibly the site of a rural shrine (Moore *et al.* 1988:70) so this could equally be ritual mutilation.



Figure 8.10: (left) Unusual circular seal-box with 'cutout', Lackford (PAS:SF6731) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Comparative example from Handley, Cheshire (PAS:LVPL-6C9BA5) (Image: National Museums Liverpool/CC BY-SA 4.0).

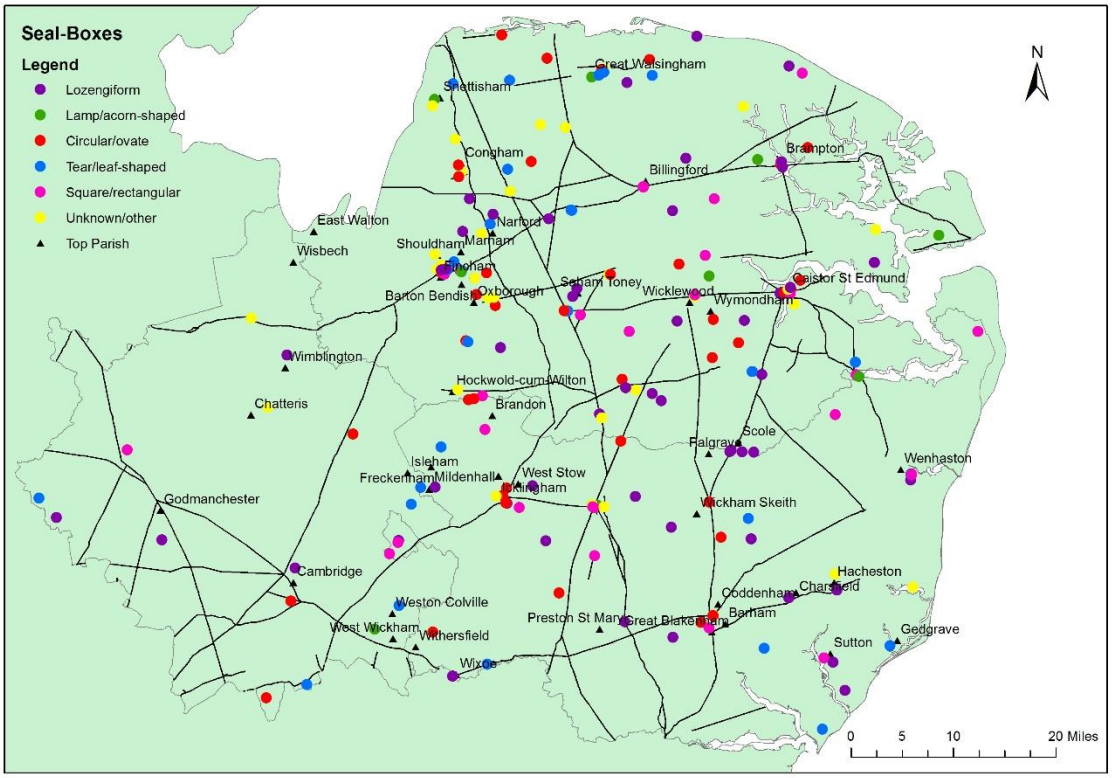


Figure 8.11: Distribution of seal-boxes by shape (Image: Author).

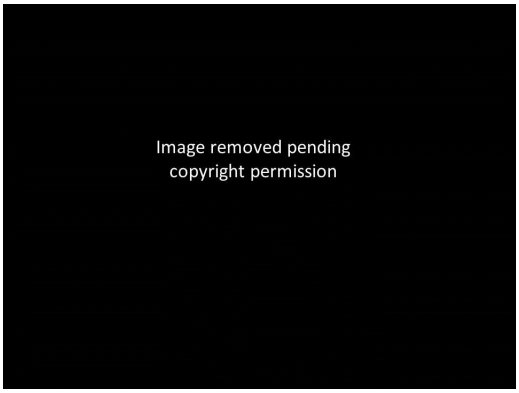


Figure 8.12: UK distribution of lozengiform seal-boxes (Andrews 2012:29).

The enamelled geometric seal-boxes of the 2nd/3rd century CE have aesthetic links to cosmetic grinders and Dragonesque brooches. My dataset shows lozenge-shaped boxes clustering in central Norfolk and Suffolk (Figure 8.11). Andrews observed significant regional differences over time. Despite the presence of a few earlier zoomorphic types, the later enamelled lozengiform seal-boxes are particularly common in Norfolk (2012:45, 64-5) (Figure 8.12). Does the popularity of later types mean the Iceni people were slow to adopt literacy and sealing as part of resistance to Roman identity? Did the client-kingdom hamper growth and imports or was this a conscious choice?

8.3.2. Functions of Seal-boxes

Derks and Roymans (2002) considered seal-boxes from the perspective of individual practice. Seal-boxes were used to protect private documents, written on wax tablets and sealed with the author's personal signet ring. Andrews refutes Derks and Roymans's research linking seal-boxes to literacy, providing compelling evidence that seal-boxes could have been stitched to cloth or leather pouches containing money or small valuables rather than wooden tablets. Andrews cites the seal-box found in the pot containing the Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard (Section 5.5.2) which may have been attached to a bag of cut carnelian gems by the short length of flax string still attached to its base. Additionally, a seal-box found *in situ* sealing a leather pouch of gold *aurei* in a hoard at Trier bolsters this claim (2012:80-92, 2013).

Andrews sees a need for tamper-evident seals on coinage moving throughout the province. Therefore, seal-boxes should be found at places associated with

trade and administration, where cash transactions occurred or valuables were stored. That seal-boxes are not found with coin hoards remains problematic. Apotropaic motifs on seal-box lids may have been intended to avert the 'evil eye' – the covetous or envious gaze – perhaps well-suited to ward off potential thieves from amounts of cash in transit (2012:97, 102-3). It is also quite conceivable that seal-boxes were used for multiple purposes.

8.3.3. Comparative Material from the Netherlands

An interesting comparison can be made between the *civitas Icenorum* and the *civitas Batavorum*, homeland of the Batavian people, a key supplier of auxiliary troops to the Roman army. Like Icenia, the Batavian territory consisted of a 'non-villa landscape' of traditional rural settlements. Seal-boxes may reflect the impact of the army in the Rhine delta, with high concentrations from military sites along the German *limes*, in the hinterlands of the frontier zone (mainly from *civitas* capitals and rural centres) and at sanctuaries. Derks and Roymans (2002) connected seal-boxes with correspondence between literate serving soldiers and friends and relatives in their homelands – and after their return as veterans. They concluded that military service meant informal literacy training for lower ranks, which then extended into rural areas with veterans. The influence of Latin (both written and spoken) must have 'brought about a radical transformation of the native spoken language' although they note this change did not persist into modern Dutch (*ibid*.:102). If Andrews's coin purse theory is correct then perhaps Derks and Roymans's findings relate to the sending and receiving of payments between military personnel and their homelands. This negates the requirement for literacy in the rural population, although mark-making remains an important means of guaranteeing identity and security.

Could the numbers of seal-boxes in rural Norfolk reflect a strong military presence, perhaps garrisons or resettled auxiliaries? Andrews applies the Boudican model to the concentrations along the Icknield Way, suggesting that the villas which cluster in this landscape may reflect the confiscation and reallocation of Icenian lands, with 'almost complete native depopulation followed by repopulation by officially sanctioned incomers, such as auxiliary and

legionary veterans' (2012:57, 63). These rural villas date from after seal-boxes fall from use and as seen in Chapters 4 and 6, this area was the focus of LIA and early Roman activity. Continuity of settlement and a lack of evidence for a replacement population indicate that indigenous people were engaging with the material culture of communications. They may also have been using seal-boxes for other purposes, beyond their intended function.

The distribution of seal-boxes changed over time in the *civitas Batavorum*: earlier ones are restricted to the military sites, extending to the *civitas* capital and the cult site at Empel during the Augustan-Tiberian period. This rural temple complex produced 26 seal-boxes, which may represent the sealing of 'petitions to the gods' (Derks and Roymans 2002). This concentration finds parallels with the seal-boxes from Walsingham (Bagnall Smith 1999).

8.3.4. Walsingham

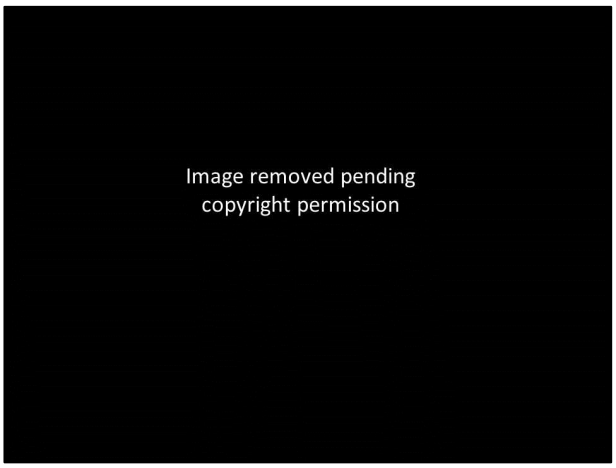


Figure 8.13: Assemblage of seal-boxes from Walsingham.

Walsingham/Wighton is a large Romano-British settlement with a clear religious emphasis, to date mainly unexcavated (Section 4.14.5 case study). Metal-detector finds from the area around the temple (NHER:2024) indicate a cult of Mercury, including three figurines, statuettes of goats and cockerels, and finger-rings with engraved gems or inscriptions naming the god. There is also evidence for the worship of Mars, Neptune and 'Toutatis' (Andrews 2012; Bagnall Smith 1999; Marsden 2012).

The Walsingham collection comprises around 30 seal-boxes and components.[56] The wide date range suggests the boxes were deposited over a long period, not as a hoard or single votive incident. Leaf-shaped and circular forms are the most common (Andrews 2012:63-5) (Figure 8.13). There are no zoomorphic lids and the only phallic example (Figure 8.16) was not found in the temple field. Two seal-boxes recorded as having 'Celtic' motifs suggest a fusion of indigenous depositional practices and aesthetics with Roman votive offerings and religious concepts (Bagnall Smith 1999:48, 51 and cat. #52, 54). Colour and repeated pattern seem to have been appropriate choices for deposition here, perhaps related to Gell's idea of apotropaic 'demon-traps' (1998:83-4).

As at Empel, these finds imply a votive practice, perhaps to seal dedications or vows to the gods, or to fasten bags of coins or other offerings. Bagnall Smith relates the seal-boxes to the contract of the *votum*. This classical rite involved a request to the deity (*nuncupatio*) and a vow in return for its granting. The *solutio* was the fulfilment of this vow. Both parts of this transaction were recorded with inscriptions. Much like sealing day-to-day correspondence, a pair of writing tablets containing a private *nuncupatio* would be tied with cord and fastened within a seal-box for protection (1999:48-50). As no writing tablets or inkwells were found at Walsingham, the seal-boxes were possibly appropriated for ritual behaviours unassociated with writing or sealing. They also evoke a link between transactions of money and transactions with the gods.

Seal-boxes and signet rings went out of use in Britain after *circa* 250 CE. Like the '*fibula* abandonment horizon' (Section 4.13), this has yet to be fully explained. Bagnall Smith theorises that the ritual formalities of the *votum* changed character, the practice of written and sealed vows being discarded (1999:51). As Andrews observes, it is unlikely people stopped writing letters, so perhaps the practice continued, but the material culture changed. His alternative theory, that the mid-3rd century CE monetary crisis and debasement of silver currency restricted the movement of coinage and hence the need for seal-boxes, is less convincing (2012:97-8, 2013:436). The abandonment horizon extends here to objects other than personal ornament,

showing that it was not merely fashion which changed, but other practices. Either there was a seismic shift in material culture at this point, or perhaps our chronologies and typologies are erroneous.

8.3.5. *Venta Icenorum*



Figure 8.14: (left) Circular seal-box with applied cockerel, *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152.B215); (right) Enamelled leaf-shape with applied white metal trim, *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152.X5).

Literacy at the *civitas* capital is attested by graffiti and inscriptions, mostly on ceramics, with occasional letters and numerals on bone gaming counters; these may also have been used as accounting tokens (Eckardt 2018:201). There are also about 70 *styli*, although these lack close dating. There are two samian inkwells: a central Gaulish inkwell from a pit in the northern part of the walled town and a south Gaulish example from the early Forum (CRT10 4101; Frere 1971:24). A badly crushed metal receptacle with separate lid, found in the 1933 Forum excavations, has also recently been identified as a possible inkwell (NWHCM:1929.152.B217a&b).

There are several partial, literate graffiti including two on samian (CRT10 2315, 3137),[57] the IQVINI example mentioned above (Figure 2.1) and an undeciphered graffito 'IKOSVRRVIIII' on an early 2nd century CE greyware vessel (Figure 8.15) (Atkinson 1932b:45-6 and pl. 12).[58] Monumental stone carving is limited to one inscribed fragment 'ADAT SVPE' (NWHCM:1929.152.M94), partly due to the lack of freestone as a building material and the impracticality of carving on local flint. Many wooden inscriptions must surely have been made which no longer survive.



Figure 8.15: Graffito on greyware sherd, *Venta Icenorum* (Image: Author).

Seventeen seal-boxes were recorded from Caistor St Edmund. Two were found in the Forum and another near an intramural road (NHER:9786). A Type P3D3 from a rubbish deposit near the South Gate has the white metal trim which Mackreth associates with indigenous brooch production (Figure 8.14). Two more came from Dunston Field (NHER:9759), across the River Tas, four from the east side of the town, with another from the nearby Romano-Celtic temple (NHER:9787). Another seal-box was found near the Late Roman villa in neighbouring Stoke Holy Cross (Bowden 2011). Some of these must be residual as the excavated areas post-date the 2nd/3rd century CE.

One circular seal-box has a riveted attachment in the form of a cockerel (Andrews Type C2D6) (Figure 8.14). It was excavated in a posthole in the Forum (NWHCM:1929.152.B215), which evokes a potential offering or special deposit. Here we have an association between the administrative heart of the town and a seal-box, perhaps used for closing correspondence or payments of coins. The cockerel, as herald of the dawn, may reference the worship of Mercury in the town, or be part of the apotropaic evidence as a noisy, watchful bird.

One possibly creolised artefact is an enamelled leaf-shaped seal-box lid which bears a stylised phallus and crescent motif (CRT:SF4483) (Figure 8.16). The

lunula and phallus are not rare designs on seal-boxes (Andrews type P4D15, 2012:13, 26), but they are always separately cast and riveted attachments, like the cockerel discussed above. The phallus and *lunula* were potent symbols considered to ward off bad fortune (*ibid*.:102-3). As discussed above, phallic symbolism is not a feature of Iron Age Britain (Plouviez 2005:161), although some Icenian coins show a 'phallus'-shape in conjunction with the ubiquitous horse ('Norfolk Boar Phallic' silver units, e.g. PAS:SF-F1C27F, NMS-D5AE8, BM-D25391; Talbot 2015:160-3, appendix 3). The phallus had a long tradition in Roman culture, where it was not directly sexual, instead inviting good fortune and averting evil. Johns sees its appearance in the provinces as indicative of 'Romanisation' (1996b:12, 62). The crescent motif is frequently found on Icenian coins and other metalwork and may represent lunar symbolism, associated with the feminine and protection (Creighton 1995; Davies 2014; Johns 1996b:143). The combination of symbols on this artefact is unusual as it hints at a convergence, or even parity, between male and female elements, as well as blending indigenous and incoming styles. Perhaps the mingling of the iconography was a way of putting a local 'seal' upon it.



Figure 8.16: Seal-boxes with riveted phalli, (left) Ditchingham (PAS:NMS-6FF112) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (centre) Walsingham (PAS:NMS-985BE7) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Seal-box with enamelled phallus and *lunula*, *Venta Icenorum* (CRT:SF4483) (Image: CRT/Jenny Press).

My recent re-evaluation of the finds from *Venta Icenorum* brought to light two new seal-boxes. A simple circular base with four holes (in Andrews's C2 layout) was found with metalworking debris from Mann's 1938 excavations at Caistor Paddocks (NWHCM:1961.150). It may have been collected for reprocessing or a product of the bronze workshop. Moulds for numerous artefacts were found at this location, but further work is necessary to fully understand the implications

of these finds. The other, recorded as a fragmentary hinged brooch, was excavated in 1929 within a building inside the town. The hinge and shape strongly resemble Andrews's P1 ovate lids, although the copper alloy is corroded, and no decoration is visible (NWHCM:1929.152.B49) (Figure 8.17). If so, it may have an official origin, usually with an applied Imperial portrait on the lid. P1 seal-boxes are Flavian imports and are very rare in Britain (2012:18); Andrews only has five examples in his corpus.[59]

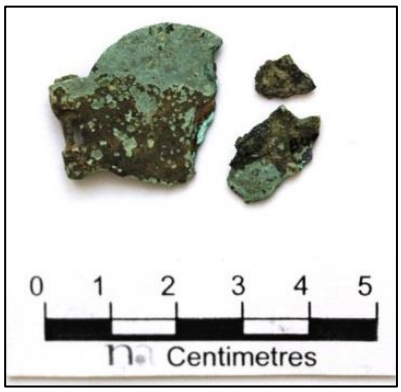


Figure 8.17: Possible P1 seal-box from *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152.B49) (Image: Author).

8.3.6. Discussion

Like terrets and cosmetic grinders, the status of seal-boxes as small, attractive, often brightly-coloured artefacts which appeal to collectors, ensures they are regularly recorded and included in museum collections. They may also be differentially recovered in the field in comparison to other less ornate objects. This may skew their distribution and their proportional relationship with other types of material culture.

If Andrews's theory holds true, the use of seal-boxes may demonstrate the use of individual sigils to safeguard shipments or payment of coins in the mid-Roman period. The lack of overt religious imagery on seal-boxes implies they were not specifically made for devotional purposes, but were reinterpreted and reused in votive contexts. The emphasis is instead on decorative motifs and those associated with good luck or protection.

Alternatively, sealing may reflect an interim approach which allowed non-literate people to dictate a message to a scribe (see Eckardt 2018:42-5) and

still authenticate it with a personal mark. If Derks, Roymans and Bagnall Smith are correct, these artefacts may signify the spread of literacy and the language of conquest into the polity. The Iceni, like other provincial subjects, were powerless to resist literacy as both a useful skill and a way to claim and display authority.

8.4. Minerva Wax *Spatula* Handles



Figure 8.18: (left) Minerva wax *spatula* handle, Middleton (PAS:SF-3292E6) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Minerva wax *spatula* handle, Stonham Earl (PAS:SF8530) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Spatulae are generally found at or near urban centres, reinforcing the view that the need for written documentation and literacy was higher in small towns and *civitas* capitals than the countryside. These objects were used for smoothing out the waxed surface of a writing tablet and are therefore associated with the spread of literacy in the provinces. *Spatula* handles in the shape of a bust of Minerva - recognisable by her crested helmet (Figure 8.18) - are found in small numbers across Gallo-Belgica and the Rhineland. Minerva was the Roman goddess associated with wisdom and learning. They were particularly popular in Roman Britain and 39 are recorded on the PAS database; by contrast, only six examples of the plain spatulae are known. Dating is 2nd/3rd century CE (Božič and Feugère 2004; Crummy 2002; Eckardt 2018:24).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	2
Norfolk	3
Suffolk	5
Grand Total	**10**

Table 32: Minerva handles by county.

Nationally these finds occur in a broad swathe across the southern counties from Suffolk to Somerset, with hotspots in Wessex and outliers moving north through Lincolnshire into Yorkshire. Lincolnshire (6), Wiltshire (5), and Hampshire (5) have the highest PAS concentrations. My database has just 10 Minerva *spatulae* (Table 32). With such a small sample it is probably unwise to generalise about their distribution. Suffice to say the Cambridgeshire and Suffolk *spatulae* occur at or near urban sites and roads, whereas the Norfolk ones do not; there are none known from the *civitas* capital (Figure 8.19).

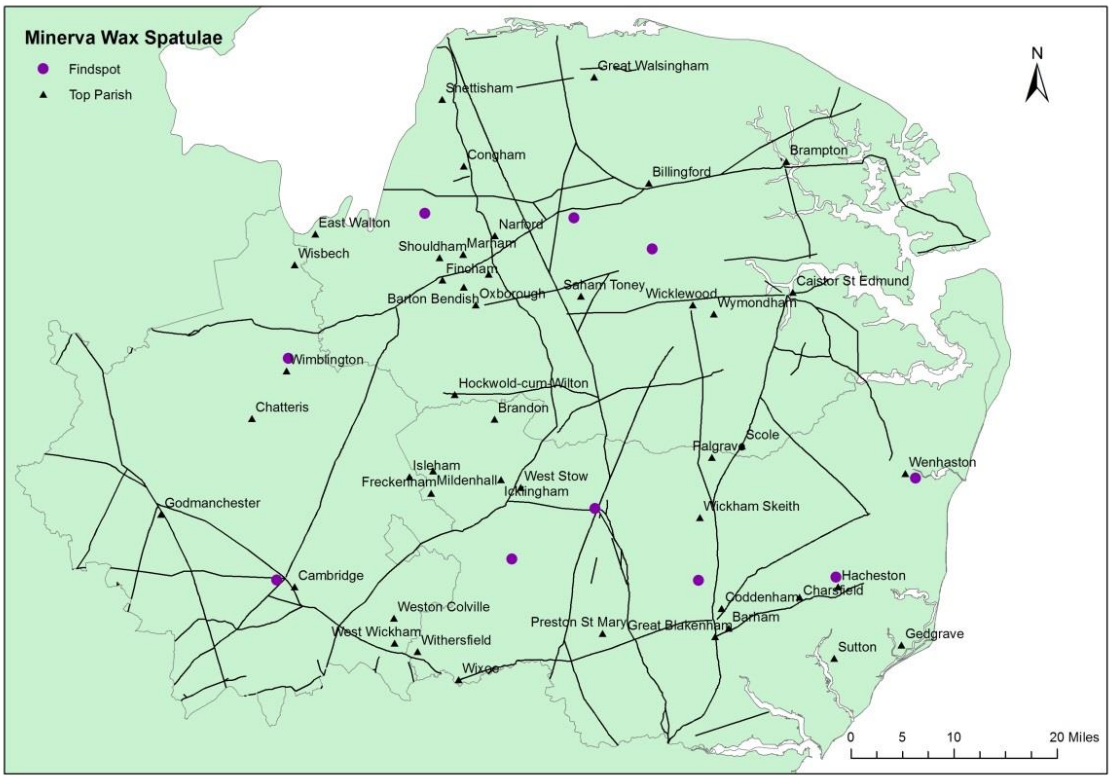


Figure 8.19: Distribution of Minerva wax *spatula* handles (Image: Author).

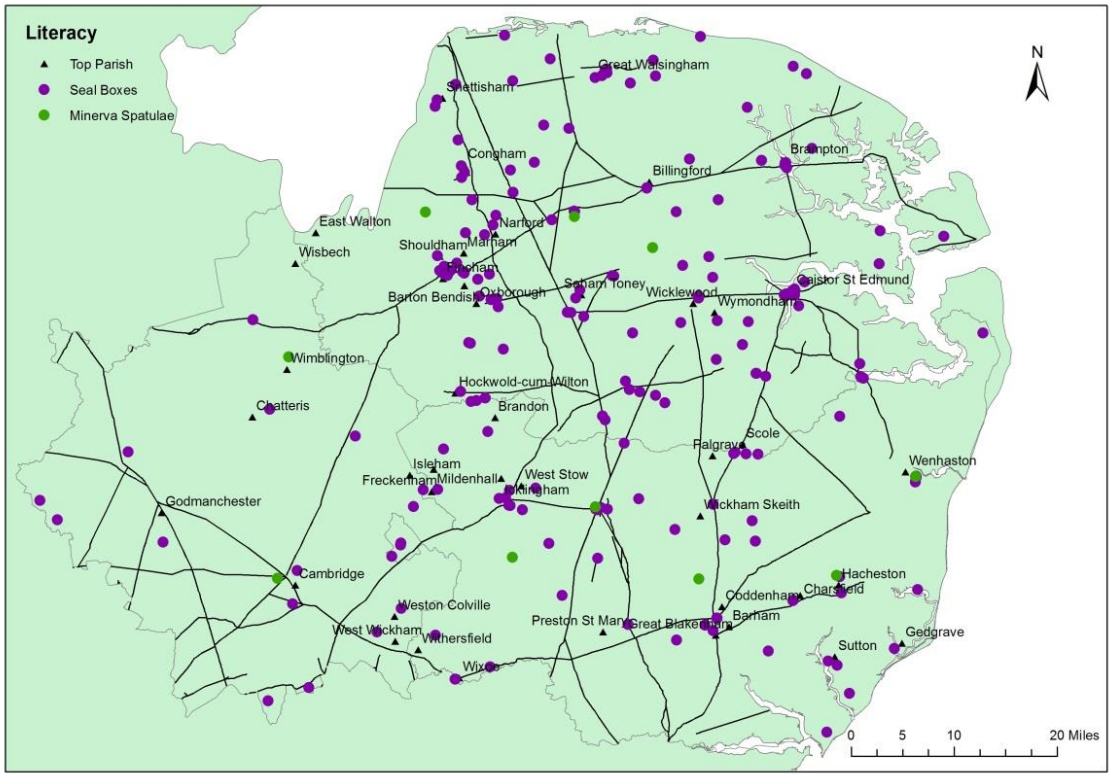


Figure 8.20: Minerva wax *spatulae* in relation to seal-boxes (Image: Author).

Minerva *spatulae* do not coincide with the distribution of seal-boxes (Figure 8.20). Eckardt's study (2014:187-193) showed a more rural distribution than other finds related to literacy, perhaps related to their reuse as votive objects. Representations of Minerva, in her capacity as a goddess of healing, are often found at Romano-British temples and shrines. Once detached from the blade, the handle bearing the goddess's likeness could function as a votive offering or amulet in its own right (Crummy 2002). Two PAS finds from Lincolnshire show potential hybridisation (Binbrook PAS:NLM-9E4586; Hemingby PAS:LANCUM-55B647). It is likely that a British workshop existed to cater to the demand in the province (Božič and Feugère 2004:33). Like the seal-boxes from Walsingham, the association of *spatulae* with writing may have become less significant when these objects were repurposed in a votive role, perhaps used as offerings by those whose cultural mode remained oral rather than written.

8.5. Signet Rings and Intaglios



Figure 8.21: (left) Carnelian intaglios from the Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard (BM:1986,0401); (right) Intaglio ring depicting a hippocamp, Ixworth (PAS:SF-DFFF00) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0).

Signet rings were worn by both sexes and often feature religious motifs, mythological and zoomorphic characters and symbols of good fortune (Figure 8.21). Swift comments on the 'remarkably consistent' iconography of gems across the empire (2017:151). Intaglio rings are sometimes found as votive deposits in rivers and shrines. Henig (1974, 1997) regards them as primarily functioning as a means of placing a 'personal signature' upon valuable or important objects or documents to validate their provenance. Alternatively, these ornaments could have been chosen for their aesthetic value; certainly, they have often been studied as art objects. Rings are both objects of personal adornment and indicative of literacy, perhaps even 'cultural aspirations' towards Roman culture (Henig 2002:56). Exposure to Roman administration may have demanded an increasing need for personal identification and a desire to demonstrate the ability to read and write.

Intaglio rings are included here due to their relationship with seal-boxes (Section 8.3); other rings were considered in Section 5.2. The engraved or inscribed surface of the ring was used to make a mark in the soft wax contained within the seal-box. Marshman notes that the two types of artefact fit together physically as well as chronologically (2015:40), although the small size and narrow aperture of some seal-boxes has engendered some doubt over the practicalities of sealing with cut gems (Furger and Riha 2009:21-2). As discussed above, there is uncertainty about whether seal-boxes (and therefore signets) were used solely for correspondence. It is possible that people used seal-boxes and intaglios precisely because their level of literacy was low, and

they engaged with writing through the services of scribes (Eckardt 2018:9-10). Placing their personal mark on such a communication may have authenticated the written words.

Dating of signets covers the Roman period, particularly the first three centuries CE, with a peak in the 3rd century CE, therefore many fall outside the range of this study. Marshman contests Henig's assertion (1974:30) that no pre-Roman seals are known from Britain, with 20 examples from around the time of the conquest, including from British shrines at Thetford and Harlow (2015:65, 68).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	12
Norfolk	158
Suffolk	23
Grand Total	**193**

Table 33: Intaglios by county (including Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard).

The numbers dated to within my study range were small (Table 33), those from Norfolk swollen by 127 carnelians from the Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard. Of Henig's (1974) corpus of over 800 intaglios, only 12 from my study area were closely dated to the 2nd century CE or earlier, the remaining 28 were later or undated. This reflects the late appearance of finger-rings and the absence of intaglios during the Iron Age. Low numbers from the PAS are not entirely surprising given that loose non-metallic gems (rather than those enclosed within rings) are not discoverable by metal-detectors.

The distribution is sparse, but well-dispersed (Figure 8.22). Apart from the inevitable concentration at Snettisham, there were small groups of signets from Wimblington (4), Caistor St Edmund (8) and Hacheston (6). These all had substantial 2nd century CE settlements which tallies with Marshman's findings that intaglios were most common at urban and military sites (2015:60). This reinforces the idea that literacy or the need for bureaucracy is higher in urban settlements. Plouviez observed that small towns were often *loci* for the distribution and expression of changing material culture and fashions (2005:162).

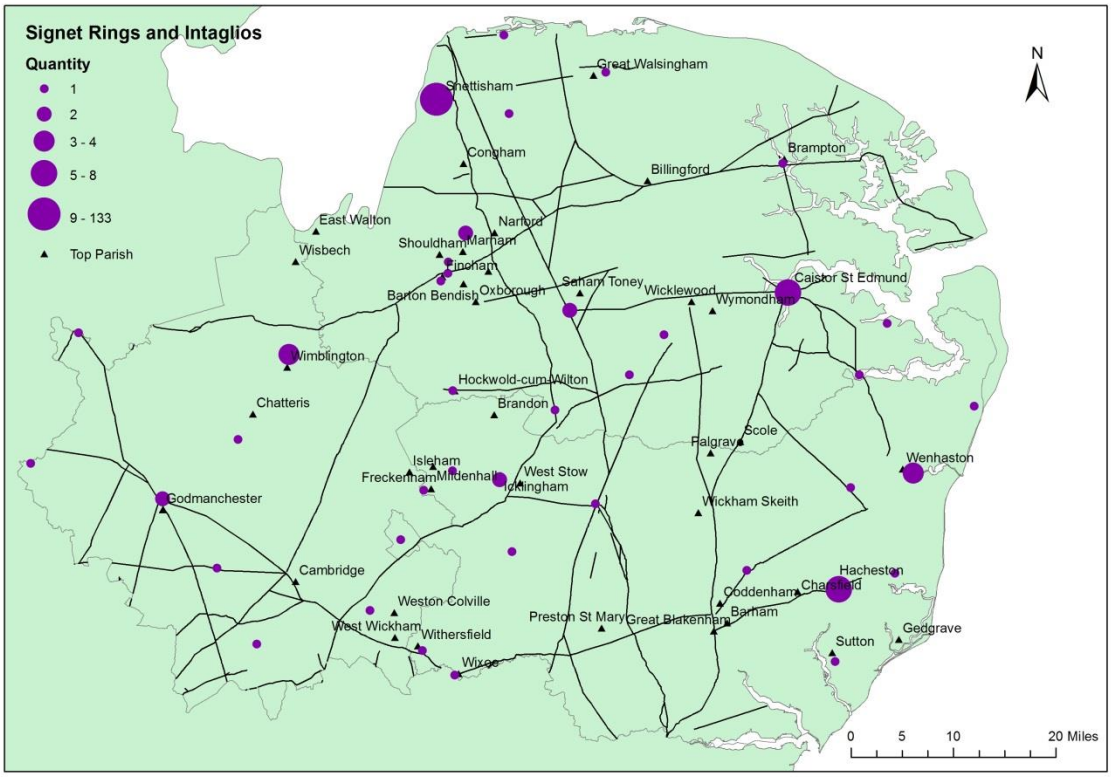


Figure 8.22: Distribution of intaglio rings (Image: Author).

Swift studied the sizes of finger-rings in conjunction with art-historical sources and burial data to explore the association of motifs with different age and gender groups. Motifs associated with children's sized rings included the phallus (see Section 7.6.7), palm branch and theatre mask, all considered protective against the evil eye. Serapis and ears of corn were perhaps for sympathetic magic, bringing benevolence and prosperity to the young wearer. Relief decoration was more common on these very small rings, suggesting they were less likely to be used for sealing, given the lack of literacy in very young children. Designs associated with adult male sizing included images of Jupiter and the Emperor, possibly with status and/or military connotations. Hercules and Mercury were perhaps associated with younger men. Symbolism of eagles and lions probably related to Hercules, the Imperial cult and Jupiter. Swift noted it was hard to associate women's sizes with specific motifs because they fall into the most common middle-range size patterning, but Minerva, Venus (and her associated fish/dolphins) and Fortuna have peaks in the most common women's size rings. Bonus Eventus was possibly associated with both sexes, as

a personification of good outcomes. A group of 12 large-sized finger-rings deposited at Walsingham shrine, including several referring to Mars and Mercury, indicates masculine participation in a votive practice to male deities (2017:150-201) and complements the large numbers of seal-boxes from the site.

8.5.1. The Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard

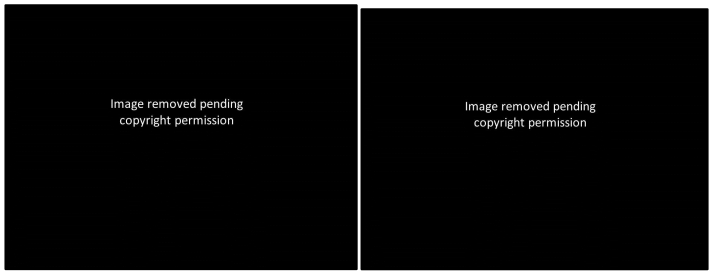


Figure 8.23: Carnelian intaglios, Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard (left) parrot (BM:1986,0401.206); (right) Mercury (BM:1986,0401.174).

The large number of carnelians from the Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard (see Section 5.5.2) rather skews the dataset. Although anomalous, these belong to the wider rural and civilian trend for signet rings from the mid-2nd century CE onwards (Marshman 2015:75, 78). The 127 engraved gems show a characteristic 'provincial' style, but feature strongly classical motifs. Most commonly represented are Bonus Eventus (27) and Ceres (20), with Fortuna, Minerva and Mercury in smaller numbers. These motifs may reveal a concern with prosperity in agricultural and domestic activities (Henig 1997:21-2). Of the zoomorphic motifs, there are 13 parrots, not a bird encountered on other material culture. Henig considers parrots to be avatars of Bacchus, associated with wine (1974:151, 1997:24); certainly, on the gems many appear to be pecking at grapes (Figure 8.23). A possible cult of Bacchus has been identified in East Anglia (Bagnall Smith 1999:47; *contra* Marsden 2014:50, 61, who considers Faunus to have 'usurped Bacchus' place' in the Icenian territory, perhaps becoming assimilated with a local deity).

The carnelians may have been contained in a bag or pouch using a seal-box (Johns 1997:46). This could strengthen the argument for use of both intaglios and seal-boxes for written communication or, on the contrary, as evidence seal-

boxes were not used to seal writing tablets, but to guarantee valuables in transit (Section 8.3.2). The Snettisham carnelians were produced by a craftsperson or a small workshop with a distinctive, almost abstract, style. Some take 'the sloppily and sketchily engraved gems' (Marsden PAS:NMS-FAC7E2) as a sign of 'poor quality and hasty production' resulting from the opening up of seal-rings to a mass market (Marshman 2015:79-80). I propose that the figures and animals were being interpreted through the lens of an indigenous aesthetic. The Snettisham carnelians are extremely stylised, in the same way as snake rings and bracelets are not directly representative of reptiles. The abstraction of the motifs is reminiscent of the schematic horses on Icenian coins.

8.5.2. *Venta Icenorum*



Figure 8.24: *Venta Icenorum* (left) Silver ring with intaglio depicting a standing figure (PAS:NMS-9D9633) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Jasper intaglio of three joined heads (Henig 1974:#380).

Three intaglio rings from the 1st/2nd centuries CE show the early practice of sealing at the *civitas* capital: a silver ring (Henig Type II) set with an oval carnelian depicting a standing figure was found close to the River Tas (Figure 8.24). An engraved red jasper intaglio set in an iron ring (Henig Type II) was found dredging the river, perhaps a votive offering (Figure 8.24). The design features three conjoined heads arranged as a triskele (Henig 1974:55, 112-3). Combinations of multiple human or animal heads are recurring symbolic motifs (Marshman 2015:123). Around the heads is inscribed 'CEN' in retrograde, erroneously thought to be an abbreviation of 'Iceni', but demonstrating its potential use as a signet ring (Allen 1970:24; Frere 1972; Ross 1972). I would add a reminder of Davies's symbolic code which sees triplication as a key marker of Icenian material culture (2014:27).

A silver ring with a cockerel intaglio was found near the extra-mural temple (NHER:9787; PAS:CORN-7384FE). Marshman notes chickens are common subjects on rural intaglios, perhaps an appealing (if prosaic) symbol for the farming community (2015:178). The imagery of the cockerel has been discussed in relation to the seal-boxes. Its association with Mercury further strengthens the likelihood of a cult at *Venta Icenorum*, along with the pipeclay figurine and the *patera* handle. Several undated rings from the area also have 'MER' inscriptions. Mercury was one of the more popular deities in Britannia, as in Gaul (Caes. *BG* 6.17; Marsden 2012:53, 2014:68-9). These three rings demonstrate that at an early stage in the *civitas* capital's development, displays of both personal adornment and literacy were important, along with a possible ritual focus of deposition in the River Tas and links to the cult of Mercury. Mercury was also the patron of travellers and merchants (Crummy 2011:65-6), perhaps appropriate for the market centre of the new *civitas*.



Figure 8.25: Silver ring with goat intaglio, *Venta Icenorum* (left, and impression, right) (PAS:NMS-FAC7E2/CRT:SF7739) (Images: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Two rings and an intaglio date from the 2nd century CE. A worn copper alloy finger-ring with an oval bezel showing engraved lion, star and crescent motifs was found in the northwest corner of the walled town (Figure 8.26). Parallels include intaglios with lions which may relate to astrological sign of Leo, and the stars and crescent motif symbolising *Aeternitas* (Henig 1974:59, cat.#409,#627-640). The motifs are also slightly reminiscent of the symbols on the Iceni horse coins.

Another zoomorphic ring was found in the south wing of the Forum (Figure 8.25). The heavy silver band holds a carnelian intaglio depicting an animal kneeling below a palm branch. Marsden identifies this as a goat, rather than

the more common stag (PAS:NMS-FAC7E2). This subject is unknown in the Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard. Marshman sees depictions of familiar farmyard animals evoking 'an atmosphere of rustic abundance', although intaglios of sheep and goats are more frequent among military communities (2015:119, 121). Nevertheless, the context may place this object into the practical realm of either mercantile trade or administrative documentation at the *civitas* capital.

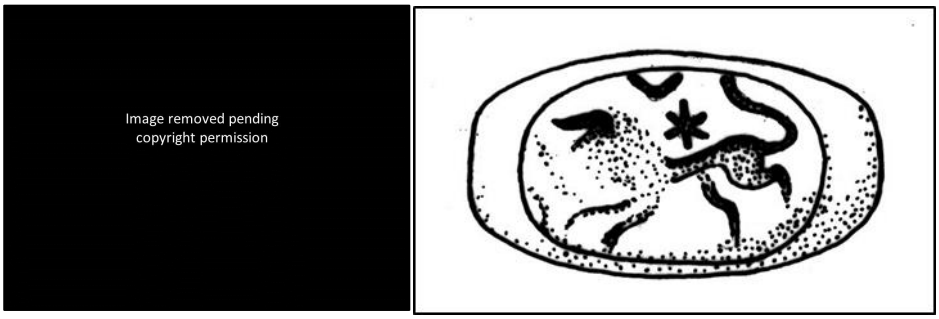


Figure 8.26: *Venta Icenorum* (left) Pharos and ship intaglio (impression) (Henig 1974:pl.XVII #538); (right) Illustration of engraved lion, star and crescent ring (CRT:SF1620) (Image: CRT/Jenny Press).

The third example is an engraved carnelian of a merchant ship and Pharos (lighthouse), a chance find from inside the western (river) end of the town (Figure 8.26). Merchant ships are not a common motif on intaglio rings (Marshman 2015:fig. 4.30). This may relate to *Venta Icenorum*'s growing importance in the East Anglian trade network, and its central role as the marketplace of the Iceni. If intaglios were used not just to seal personal correspondence, but also as a form of quality control, rather like medieval seals for example (Furger and Riha 2009:22), this may demonstrate the presence of merchants at the town. Finally, two metal-detector finds dating to the 2nd/3rd centuries CE were also found near the town. A silver finger-ring with a blue glass gem depicting cupid on a dolphin came from the south field. A copper alloy ring with 'PIA' engraved on the bezel (Frere 1984:344) may be the owner's name or more likely a religious reference meaning 'pious'. Inscribed personal names are rare on signets (Henig 2002:56), which is intriguing given their assumed connection with literacy and sealing.

8.5.3. Discussion

That most people were sealing their documents or valuables with images of gods or animals rather than words demonstrates that literacy may have been for the select few. Perhaps most people used scribes to write letters for them and the seal was recognisable to a wider part of the population. The importance of intaglios for sealing declined and rings became increasingly ornamental as time went on (Cool 1983:284). Possibly more people were becoming literate or there was a different way of protecting correspondence. Later intaglios seem to have become divorced from the practice of sealing altogether and may have been reused as amulets or miniature personal shrines (Henig 2006:3).

The influence of signet rings in the Iceni territory appears to have been limited during the client-kingdom period, with an expanding social distribution in the 2nd/3rd centuries CE. This is very much in common with other parts of Britannia and shows the regional uptake of the material accoutrements and practices of literacy. As Revell notes, the mythological figures, deities and their attributes became 'a common visual language shared by the peoples of the empire' (2016:34-6). The motifs are recognisably classical in most cases, but belong within a distinctive regional aesthetic. In this instance, this may reveal an awareness of the utility of writing and the futility of resistance in the *civitas*.

8.6. Summary

Becoming literate meant adopting a new language, practices of speech and the habit of written communication. Literacy would have started as a symbolic indicator of authority and an exclusive activity. People would have been familiar with the symbolism and legends on coinage and other forms of mark-making, the 'symbolic code' of the Iceni (Davies 2014). Becoming Romano-British involved learning a new shared symbolic language. This would have developed with the spread of literacy and increasing familiarity with classical mythology, seen in the fine mosaics from other parts of Britain. These stories could also have been transmitted through a common visual language, like the figures and deities represented on intaglios and wax *spatulae* (Revell 2016:34-6).

When considered together, the evidence for literacy, if that is what it is, shows it was a widespread and not purely urban phenomenon. Rural areas show plenty of evidence for accompanying changes in practice and display – wearing rings, sealing and writing. The regional aesthetic of simplification and abstraction on Icenian coins extends to the carnelians of the Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard. Seal-boxes show some regional patterning: zoomorphic types appear more common in the north of the region. The motifs on seal-boxes and intaglios are often considered apotropaic, perhaps a reflection on their use as guarantees of coinage or correspondence. Some of the material culture may have been subverted by incorporation into indigenous ritual practices, such as the votive seal-boxes from Walsingham.

The *civitas Icenorum* was clearly embracing material culture relating to literacy in the 2nd/3rd centuries CE. There is a lack of obvious evidence for resistance here to the power exercised through a new language and practices of reading and writing. For the post-Boudican generations, literacy may have been adopted as a necessary, desirable skill. Engaging with Latin may have been a beneficial, or less provocative, way to integrate with new power structures. However, the ability to switch back and forth between modes depending on the social circumstances may have presented opportunities for 'hidden transcripts' (Scott 1990). Other embodied practices, relating to personal care and grooming, are more archaeologically visible in the post-conquest period. It is to these we now turn.

Chapter 9. Embodied Resistance and Display of the Self: Personal Grooming

9.1. Toilet Implements

This chapter[60] explores personal grooming and the relationship between the body and identity creation. It complements the chapter on Personal Ornament with which I began this study. Several items discussed diverge from Crummy's 'Toilet, Surgical and Pharmaceutical' category: I have moved cosmetic pestles and mortars from her votives section (1983:145-6) due to a much better understanding of them as grinders, rather than amulets (Jackson 2010). I have also added mirrors and hairpins to this discussion, as they can equally be argued to belong within a practice of bodily preparation and modification rather than purely display. The discussion of nail cleaners encompasses questions of social norms, grooming practice, display and appropriateness, and the division of public and private space.

This research builds on many single artefact studies, such as Cool (1990), Crummy and Eckardt (2003), Jackson (2010) and Joy (2010), by looking thematically at groups of objects. The issue of private and public actions is re-encountered. Grooming is often considered a private act in today's western society, although this is a rather prudish attitude. Even if this were historically the case, I would argue that grooming relates to display of the body in the public sphere. The results of grooming are public and in Roman baths personal hygiene activities may have taken place in full view.

Patterning of toilet implements, like brooches, shows a marked shift from restricted, possibly 'high-status', Iron Age usage to mass consumption during the late 1st century BCE/CE. This may indicate that people had greater access to objects used for grooming, that they were becoming more concerned with appearances and bodily hygiene, or that the small finds that survive represent a change in the way that these procedures were carried out. It is also possible that regional patterns demonstrate selective uptake or resistance to this

incoming restyling of human appearance (Hill 1997:98-102). This 'technology of the body' was:

> 'related to the cultivation by people of specific ideas about how to present their own identities, their well-being, and sense of their own selves. These specific new activities of caring for the body employing these objects were linked to wider changes in individuals' lifestyles, aspirations and identities' (Hill 1997:100).

Crummy and Eckardt propose a complex mix of appropriation, social change and continuity of practice. They suggest that previously 'high-status' objects became commonplace as 'élites switched to new ways (e.g. architecture, language) of expressing their superior status' (2003:49). I have already questioned these concepts (Section 2.4).

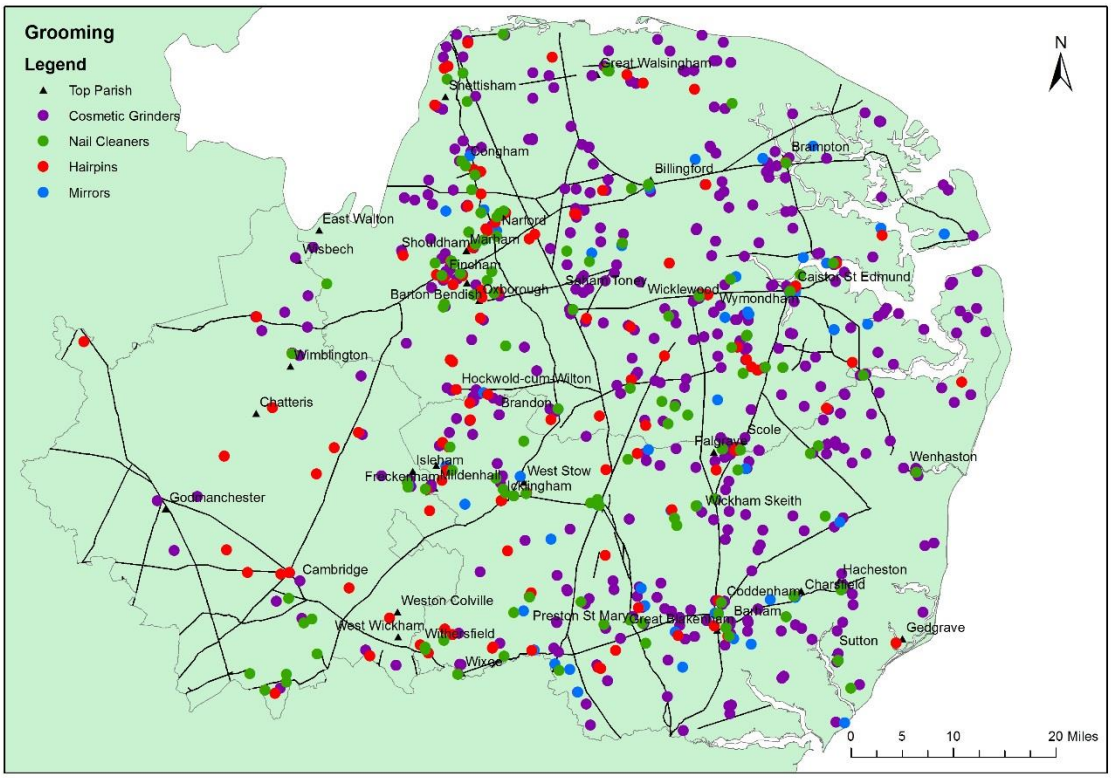


Figure 9.1: Distribution of all grooming implements (Image: Author).

Numerous tweezer arms, cosmetic spoons, ear scoops and probes have been found across the region, many from urban areas. Once again, dating is problematic and most are given a blanket Roman range. The PAS distribution

for 'toilet articles' is southeastern, extending up into Yorkshire (Figure 9.2). Tweezers, rather like *styli*, barely change over time, reflecting their functional purpose for hair removal on the head, beard, eyebrows and body. *Ligulae* (toilet scoops) tend to be Late Roman, although there are two from 2nd century CE contexts at Colchester. All these artefacts could have cosmetic, surgical or even veterinary uses (Crummy 1983:55-64).

Combs and toilet sets (linked implements on a ring) are mostly found in excavated contexts and the PAS shows low numbers of cosmetic spoons and tweezers (Figure 9.2). This disparity is likely related to the morphological bias discussed by Cool and Baxter (Section 3.4.4), and that many toilet articles and combs were made from bone. Tweezers, combs and ear scoops were excluded as it proved impossible to refine the date range sufficiently. The presence of toilet articles and increase in the Roman period represents a pervasive interest in self-presentation which matches that of personal ornaments.

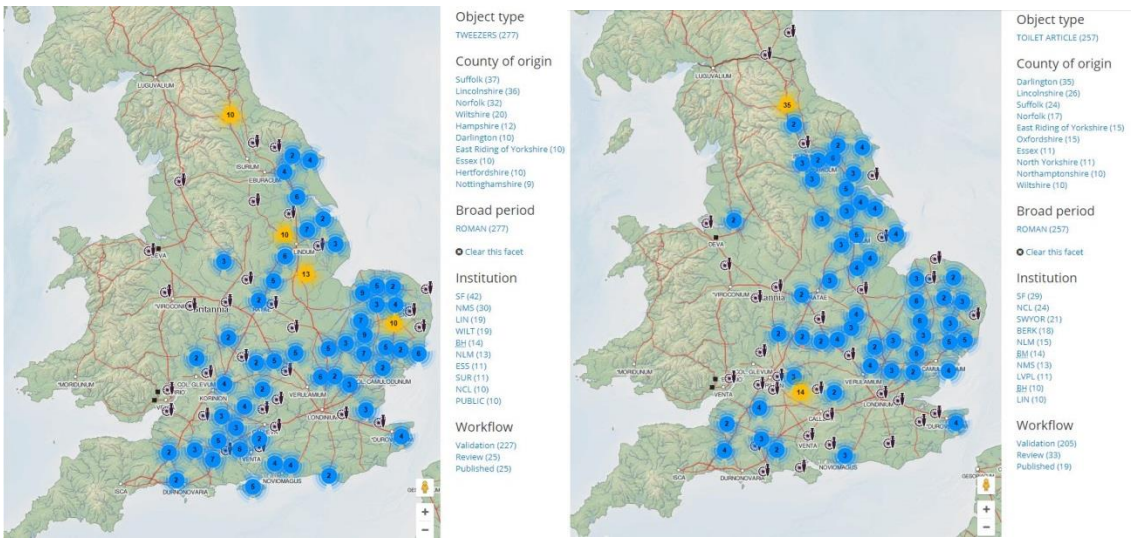


Figure 9.2: Distribution of tweezers (left) and 'toilet articles' (right) (Images: PAS).

Nail cleaners are, like finger-rings, one of the most frequent 'undated but interesting' finds on my database. I endeavoured to assign a date to the examples where photographs were available. Similarly, data on pins were collected, but only items with close date ranges are mapped. These artefact types may be multifunctional and cross categories. Pins were used to groom and style the hair and had additional functions as ornaments, possibly also

dress fasteners. Mirrors may have had both quotidian and ritual functions. Like many other objects discussed here, the question 'were they functional or ornamental?' has become somewhat redundant.

In some cases, the evidence is negative, such as the lack of Iron Age mirrors and burials. This is not evidence of absence, merely the state of our current knowledge. Iron Age and Roman mirrors provide insights into the recovery process and raise questions about regional burial practices (Section 7.7.7). Grooming implements display distinctive features, sometimes suggesting an eastern or Icenian pattern. The care and display of the self is tightly bound to identity and the ability of people to assimilate or stand out from the crowd.

9.2. Cosmetic Grinders



Figure 9.3: (left) Centre-loop cosmetic pestle, Dereham (PAS:LVPL-2174A2) (Image: National Museum Liverpool/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Centre-loop zoomorphic mortar, *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152.B136).

Cosmetic grinders (Figure 9.3) are two-part sets comprising a pestle and mortar (Jackson 1985, 2010). The slimmer pestle was used to crush or grind small quantities of substances in the groove of the mortar. Like Châtelaine brooches, with their conspicuous display of multiple toilet implements, cosmetic sets were multifunctional, intended to be both used and shown (Johns 1996b:179-80). Cosmetic grinders are a southern British artefact; there are none from the forts of Hadrian's Wall (Figure 9.5) and only rare examples on the continent. They are considered a strongly indigenous invention which predated the conquest and survived in use into the 3rd century CE (Carr 2006:86; Jackson 2010:54; Swift 2011:209, 211).

These intriguing objects show both idiosyncratic design and hybrid iconography. They are stylistically connected with brooches, seal-boxes and coins. In this section their associations with health, fertility and gender identity are considered, as is the link between ancient Britons with the woad-stained warriors of the classical writers.

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	35
Norfolk	340
Suffolk	210
Grand Total	**585**

Table 34: Cosmetic grinders by county.

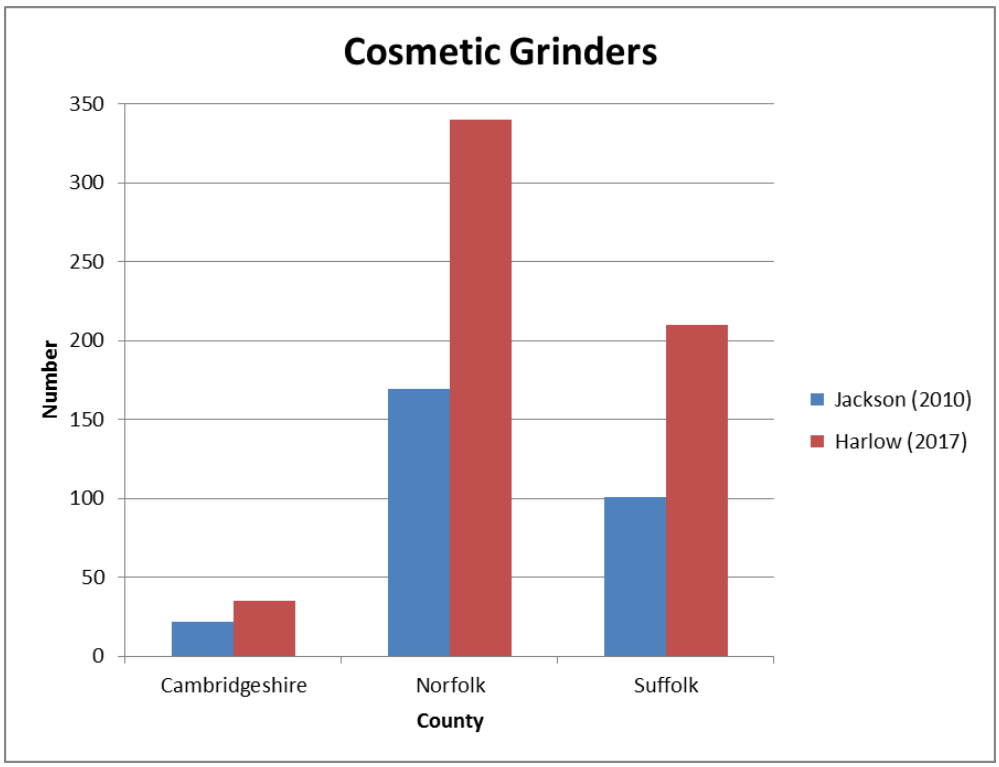


Figure 9.4: Comparison between studies of cosmetic grinders.

Figure 9.5 shows PAS grinders up to 2017, with concentrations in East Anglia, and lacking in the extreme west and north and upland zones. Norfolk shows a clear peak, followed by Suffolk, with Cambridgeshire far behind (Table 34).[61] This corresponds well with Jackson (2010) (Figure 9.4), although Worrell's (2008) highest proportion was Suffolk (55), followed by Norfolk (26). This may be explained because more Suffolk finds are recorded on the PAS. Jackson recorded 625 cosmetic grinders from the UK (up to 2004, excluding PAS finds).

Worrell counted 188 PAS grinders: 128 mortars and 60 pestles (2008:347-51). High numbers from Norfolk and Suffolk perhaps demonstrates greater usage than elsewhere in Britain, allowing for varying levels of reporting, land-use and access (Jackson 2010:55 and maps 1a, 1b; Worrell 2008:348 table 4).

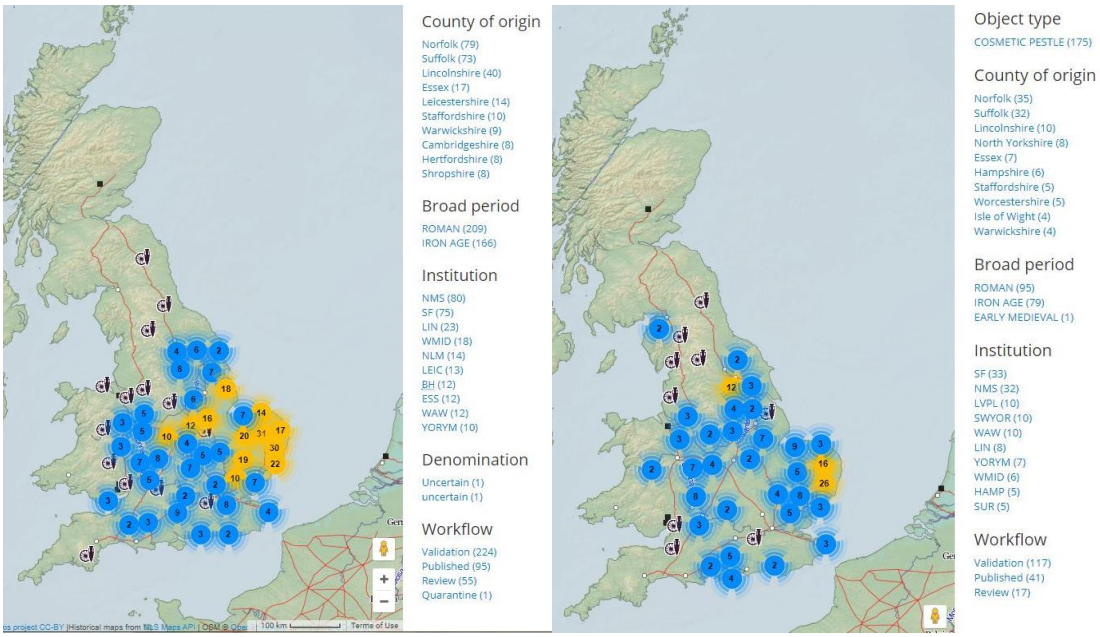


Figure 9.5: Distribution of cosmetic mortars (left) and pestles (right) to 09/2017 (Images: PAS).

Mapping (Figure 9.6, Figure 9.7) shows grinders do not respect either towns or roads. The concentration in Suffolk is further west than many clusters of brooches, for example, with fewer at Coddenham, Hacheston or Wenhaston. A previously unseen cluster in northeast Suffolk around Metfield seems unrelated to known settlement, although close to a Roman road (SHER:CRT019). Jackson regards grinders as predominantly urban and domestic objects, often found at small towns, though he also notes their connection with temples, especially in East Anglia (2010:52, 55). My strongly rural distribution agrees with Worrell's findings (2008:351). I found hotspots around settlements including Fincham (5), Brampton (5) and Saham Toney (9).

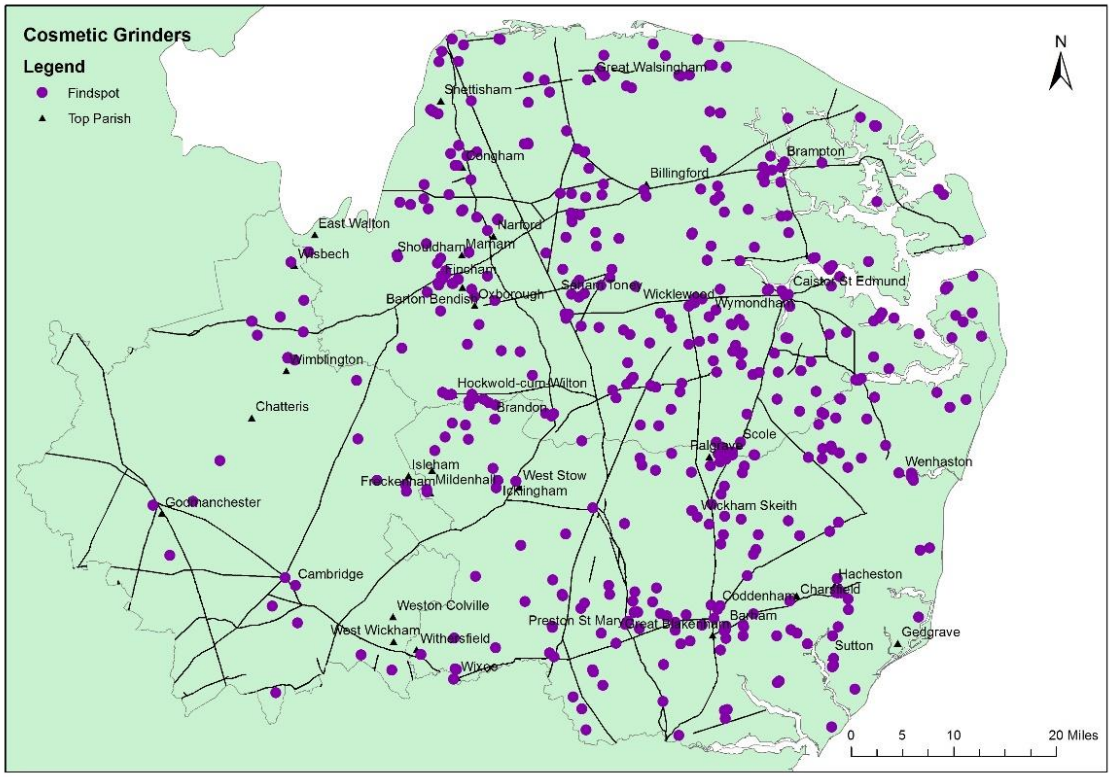


Figure 9.6: Distribution of all cosmetic grinders (Image: Author).

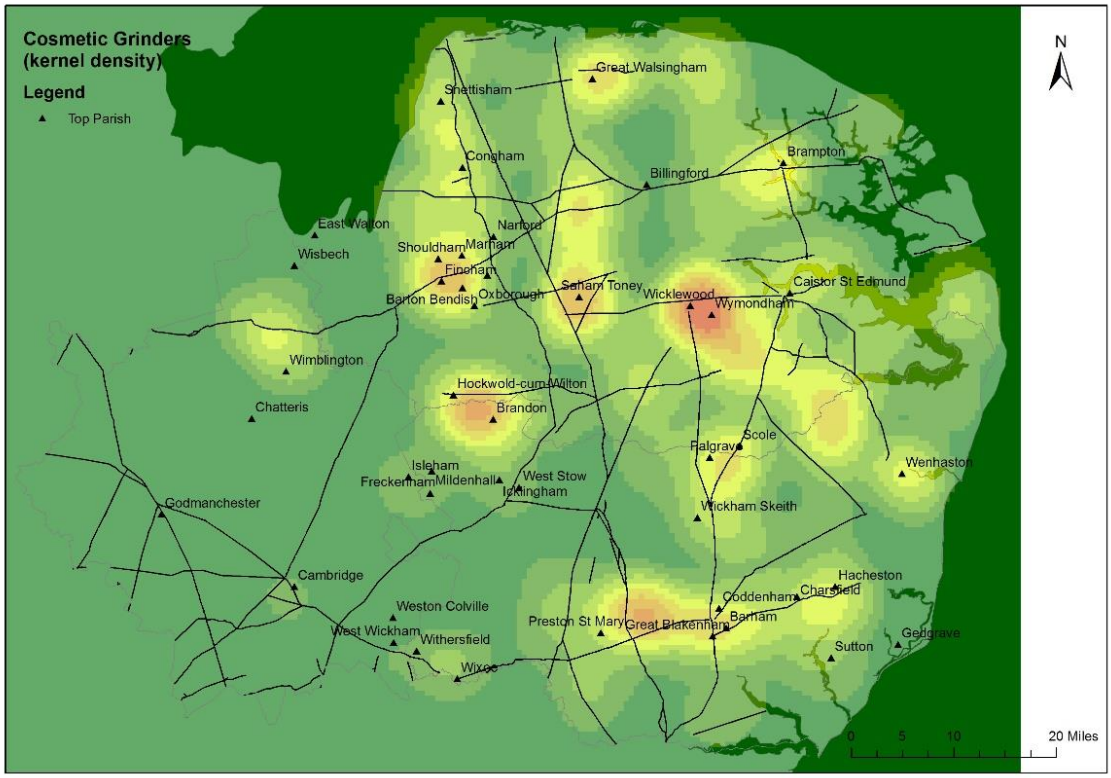


Figure 9.7: Density of all cosmetic grinders (Image: Author).

Cosmetic grinders could also be objects of dedication at shrines: 'their personal nature and apparent association with well-being and identity may have given them particular significance as religious gifts' (Jackson 2010:54). Wicklewood, particularly Crownthorpe[62] (14) and Walsingham (13) have concentrations, as does Hockwold-cum-Wilton, with 10 finds, at least two from the temple, and a further 11 from neighbouring Brandon. This broadening of the social distribution is probably the result of combining sources, demonstrating the value of incorporating PAS data.

Most complete sets come from burials of the 1st/2nd centuries CE. One cosmetic mortar was found with an adult female inhumation at Beckford and others derive from interments gendered 'female' from other grave goods. The one exception is a possible male buried with a cosmetic set at King Harry Lane (Jackson 2010:50-62). Cosmetic grinders may demonstrate selective displays of identity in early Roman East Anglia: 'a continuing allegiance by the Iceni to British ways after the conquest, perhaps, an acceptable, non-confrontational way of expressing a different identity, and maybe specifically by women' (*ibid*.:52).

Associating artefacts with gender can prove rather circular, as burial goods are not necessarily belongings of the grave's resident. Jackson rather assumes that one person owned individual items, identity surfacing as part of a specific relationship between human and object, without considering that they could be shared or passed on. Carr considers cosmetic grinders to be creolised artefacts used for constructing identities. She infers that a pre-conquest male or gender-neutral practice of body painting changed to an expression of gender identity for Roman women through facial cosmetics (2006:98).

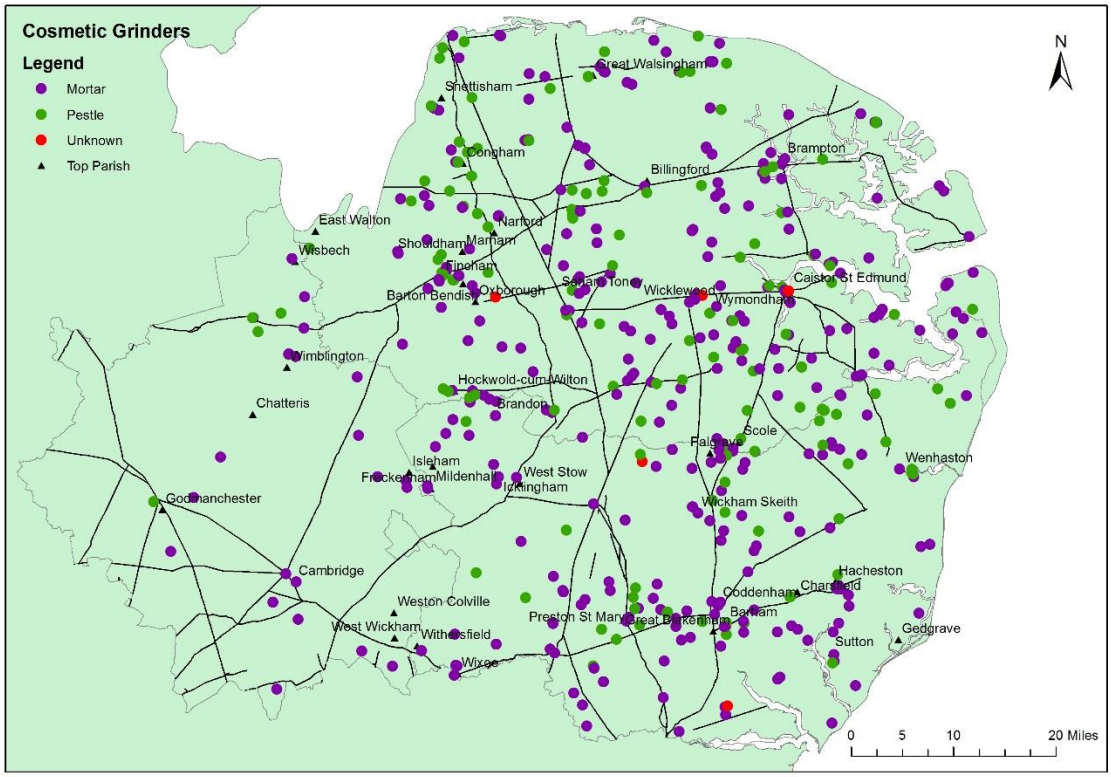


Figure 9.8: Distribution of mortars and pestles, including unknown IDs (Image: Author).

Cosmetic mortars are typically crescent-shaped and often have figurative terminals. Both mortars and pestles can have their suspension loops either centrally placed or at one end. End-looped types are slightly earlier (1st/2nd century CE) than centre-loops (75-300 CE). It appears that they were worn in pairs hanging from a thong or belt loop. Wear patterns show the pestles were abraded from repeated grinding against the mortar (Figure 9.9). The pointed tips may also have been used as applicators. No two examples are identical in Jackson. This 'infinite variety' (Jackson 2010:26) is a feature of some classes of indigenous Romano-British material culture, including nail cleaners and brooches, which goes against the perception that standardisation was necessarily part of the artefactual trend in this period.



Figure 9.9: End-loop cosmetic pestle showing use-wear, Monk's Eleigh (PAS:SF-FADE94) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

9.2.1. 'Woad-stained Britons?' Tattooing and Body Art

Cosmetic sets were previously known as 'woad grinders', based on classical descriptions of ancient body decoration. Caesar wrote that Britons 'dye their bodies with woad, which produces a blue colour' (*BG* 5.14). For Ovid (*Am.* 2.16.39) and Martial (*Epig.* 16.99, 11.53.1) they were the 'green-painted' or 'woad-stained' Britons. Pliny remarks that their wives and daughters-in-law 'stain all the body' (*NH* 22.2). Propertius warns his mistress against imitating the British by painting her face blue (*Eleg.* 2.18b.23).

Carr discusses a range of potential uses and symbolism, including body-painting and tattooing. All-over colouring of the skin could be achieved by submerging the body. Woad, as an indigo dye, is activated on contact with air, resulting in a 'magical' transformation when someone stepped from the dye bath and gradually changed colour. However, the evidence for this is very limited and mostly speculative. The classical writers accentuated the Britons' otherness through barbarian practices, legitimising their assimilation into the empire. The translation of 'woad' is disputed and it may refer to a completely different dye plant (2005:278, 2006:85-100).

The Iceni may have painted or tattooed their skins, like other peoples around the world past and present, for ornamental, religious or healing reasons. Body decoration and modification can reinforce group identities, both temporarily, by staining the surface of the skin, and permanently, by tattooing or scarification. Body art may also have played a part in resistance, as a 'hidden discourse' which allowed subtle anti-Roman messages to be shared (Carr 2005, 2006:96).

Jackson dismisses the connection with woad (2010:11-2). The contents of a cosmetic grinder have never been successfully analysed and there are no known references to their use in contemporary writings. Suggestions have included body paint, facial cosmetics, medicinal herbs, drugs or other stimulants, even aphrodisiacs. Woad is perhaps the least likely due to the quantities necessary for body-painting in comparison to the small capacity of the mortars. Morrison proposes a medical alternative as part of treatment for the eye disorder *trachoma* (2013:228-9).

9.2.2. Zoomorphic and Phallic Terminals



Figure 9.10: Zoomorphic mortar with bovid head terminals and enamelled triangles, Burgate (PAS:SF-E508C7) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Cosmetic sets can also be investigated based upon their decorative schemes. Enamelled types (Figure 9.10) are broadly consistent with the symmetrical, geometric designs found on 1st/2nd century CE horse harness, seal-boxes and plate brooches. Type J mortars, with polychrome schemes of enamelled 'toothed' triangular cells, are most common in Norfolk and Suffolk. Zoomorphic terminals are more frequent than knobbed, which may support a regional preference for animals. Fusions of 'Celtic and Roman' traditions can be seen in some portrayals (Jackson 2010). Some grinders have one bovid and one avian terminal suggesting these were not mutually exclusive categories of decoration, but combined types are infrequent (Table 35). Zoomorphic grinders show clusters of bovid types in the central and northwestern areas (Figure 9.11). Birds are more common in north Norfolk, the Fens and central areas. The inhabitants of the *civitas* may have been expressing their identity through these belongings. Were the zoomorphics more local or familiar than the 'foreign' phallic symbols? These are problematic categories which tend to divide people into 'us and them' and may not have had relevance in the past.

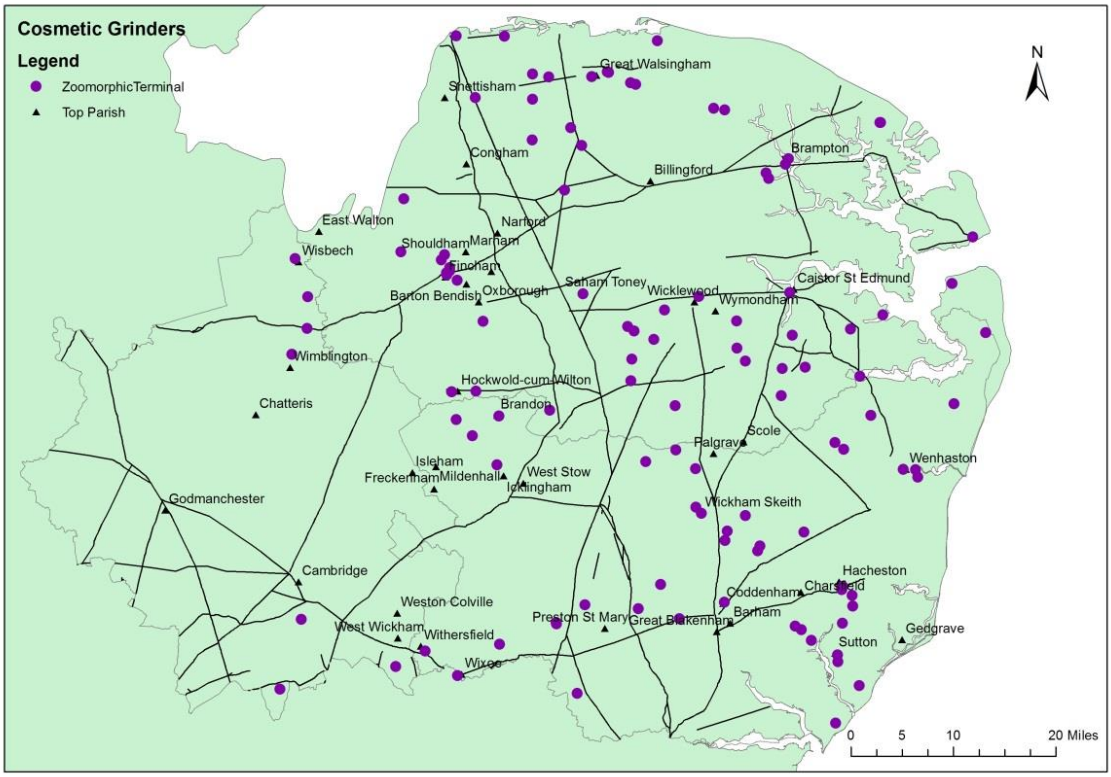


Figure 9.11: Distribution of cosmetic grinders with zoomorphic features (Image: Author).

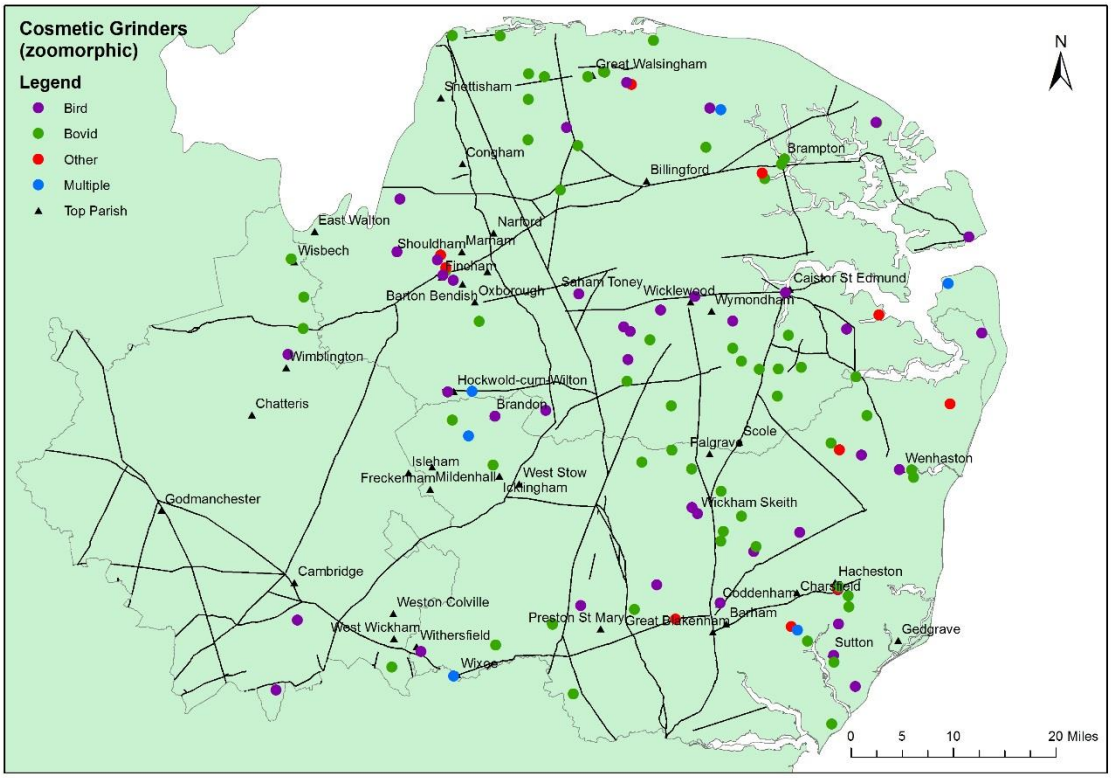


Figure 9.12: Distribution of cosmetic grinders by zoomorphic type (Image: Author).

County	Knobbed	Zoomorphic	Both
Cambridgeshire	8	4	4
Norfolk	49	57	8
Suffolk	35	48	4
Grand Total	**92**	**109**	**16**

Table 35: Cosmetic grinders by terminal type.

As discussed previously, horses rarely feature in LIA figurative art and there is not one on a grinder in my dataset. The dating runs well into the mid-Roman period, by which time horses were being represented on brooches and figurines. Does this show the extension of a pre-Roman restriction? Or did bovids and waterbirds hold special significance in grooming or healing? Morrison associates the animals represented with healing deities (2013:228-9), but Green's work is her main source for these suggestions.

Crummy noted the lack of representations of horses and the use of geometric enamelling. She related the bovid and phallic terminals to strength and fertility, perhaps unsurprisingly (1983:146). Jackson also indicates that the presence of bull and cow terminals may represent a link to fertility (2010:21). Carr even proposes the use of semen as a binder for cosmetic preparations (2006:97). The actions of the pestle (male) and mortar (female) grinding together may have embodied the straightforward symbolism of fertility and virility. Perhaps the sets were used for substances associated with aphrodisiacs or fertility rituals. However, 'knobbed' terminals occur only on mortars, although the end-loop pestles could be seen as essentially phallic in shape (Jackson 2010:21) (Figure 9.13). This is surely in part a practical consideration to allow the two components to fit together, but also inverting (or subverting) the fertility interpretation, whereby the phallus becomes the vessel.



Figure 9.13: Phallic end-loop mortar, Hemingford (PAS:CAM-979C64) (Image: CCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

A link with temples or ritual behaviour is indicated with small groups of phallic mortars at Walsingham (4), Wicklewood (5), Saham Toney (3) and Hockwold-cum-Wilton (3) (Figure 9.15). The phallus was an apotropaic device in the Roman world (see Section 7.6.7). Possibly mortars were multifunctional; worn as amulets or deposited as votive offerings once their original purpose was concluded. Phallic symbolism was a post-conquest import, yet the grinders are distinctively British, and their incorporation into the iconography suggests a merging of belief systems (Jackson 2010:21). Many grinders from these sites are described by Jackson as either 'large and bulky', or diminutive, elegant and finely made. Of course, this may simply be his personal parlance. A look at the terminal types confounds expectations: there are more knobbed grinders from the 'indigenous' settlements at Wicklewood and Saham Toney and more zoomorphics from the Romano-British shrines at Hockwold and Walsingham (Figure 9.14). This may imply that only selected mortars were considered appropriate for deposition at shrines.

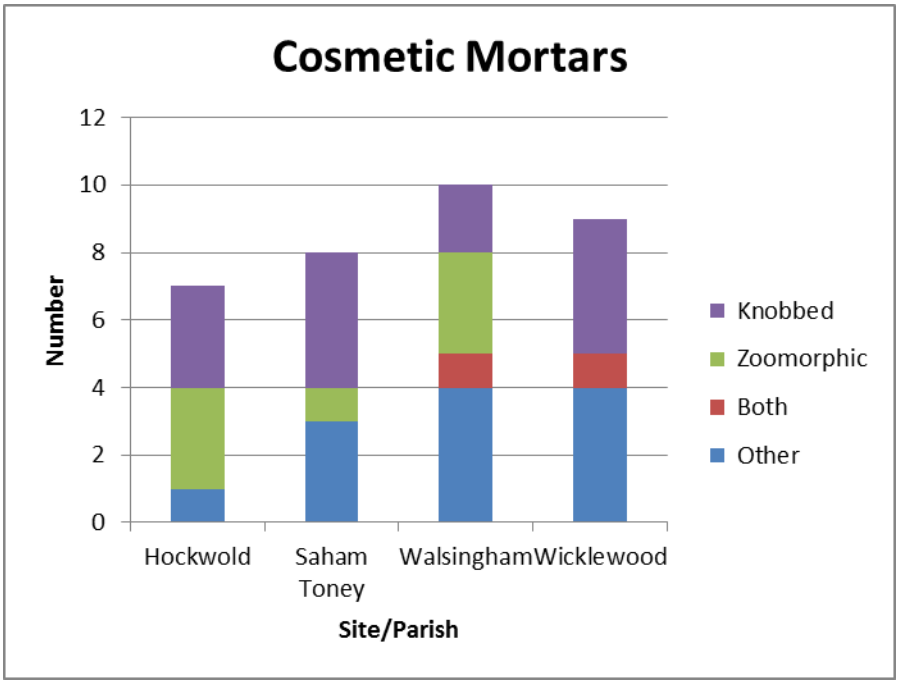


Figure 9.14: Cosmetic mortars by site and terminal type.

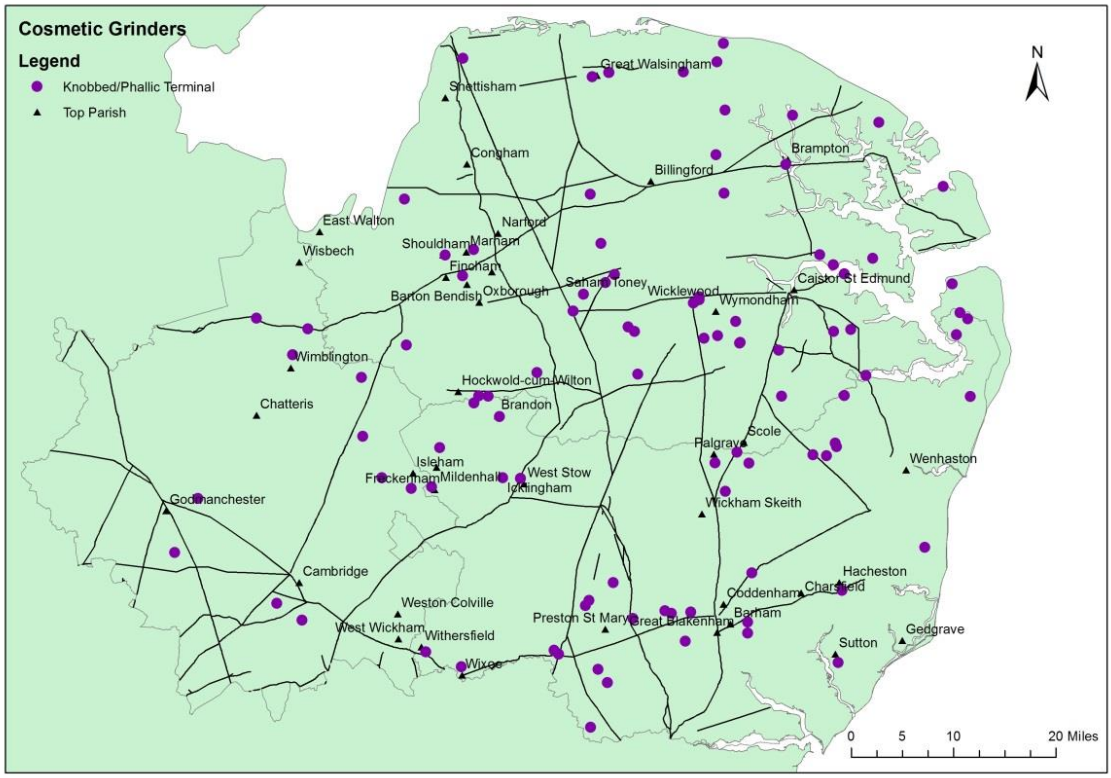


Figure 9.15: Distribution of cosmetic grinders with knobbed or phallic terminals (Image: Author).

9.2.3. Loop Types

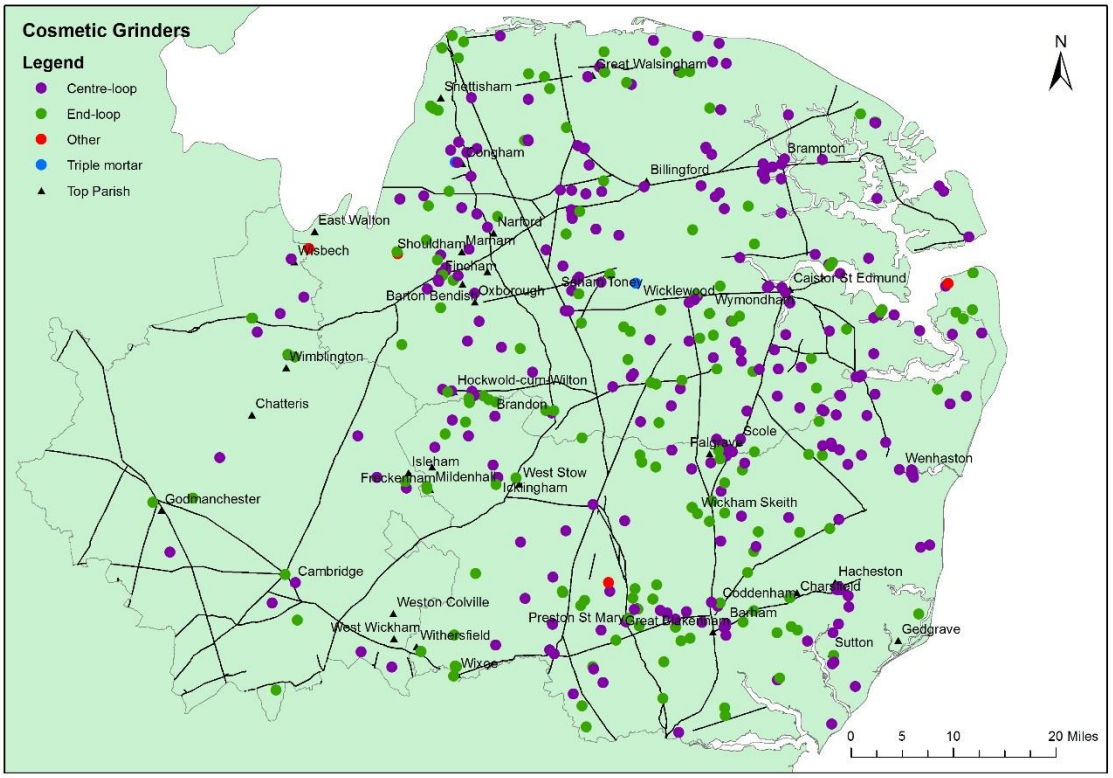


Figure 9.16: Distribution of grinders by loop type, including unknown IDs (Image: Author).

Both end- and centre-loops are widespread without any *foci*. Norfolk has more centre-loop types, with Suffolk closely following (Figure 9.16, Figure 9.17). This agrees with Jackson (2010:57) and Worrell (2008:349), who both identified regional preferences in Norfolk and Suffolk for centre-looped sets. This may indicate that grinders were popular in the *civitas*, especially the northern part, later or for longer, hinting at indigenous resistance, or at least endurance. Alternatively, like the hinged and sprung brooches (Chapter 4), this may relate to different workshops and artistic preference.

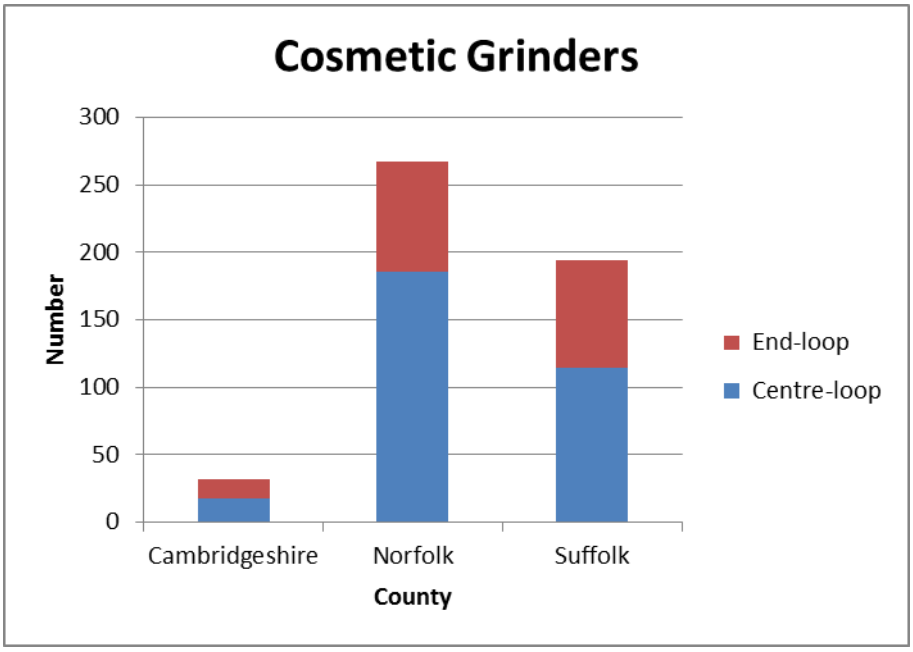


Figure 9.17: Loop types by county (excluding unknowns).

9.2.4. Manufacture

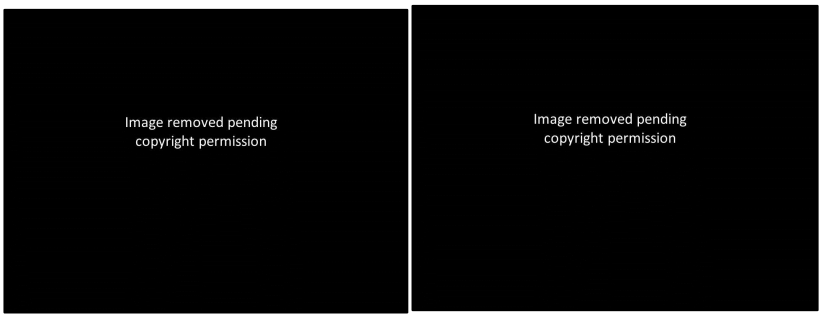


Figure 9.18: (left) Lead alloy model for a mortar, London (Jackson 2010:148, #318); (right) End-loop mortar with forged loop, Felthorpe (Jackson 2010:116, #186).

Regional variability can demonstrate the existence of metalworking workshops, supplying specific areas with similar items. There is little manufacturing evidence for cosmetic grinders, although like brooches, they are frequently found with evidence for miscasting, repair and modification (Figure 9.19). A rare lead alloy model used to impress clay moulds for casting Jackson's Type A end-looped mortar with bovid heads was excavated in London (Figure 9.18). It is well-made, but rudimentary in terms of finishing, with noticeable tool marks in places (2010:148).

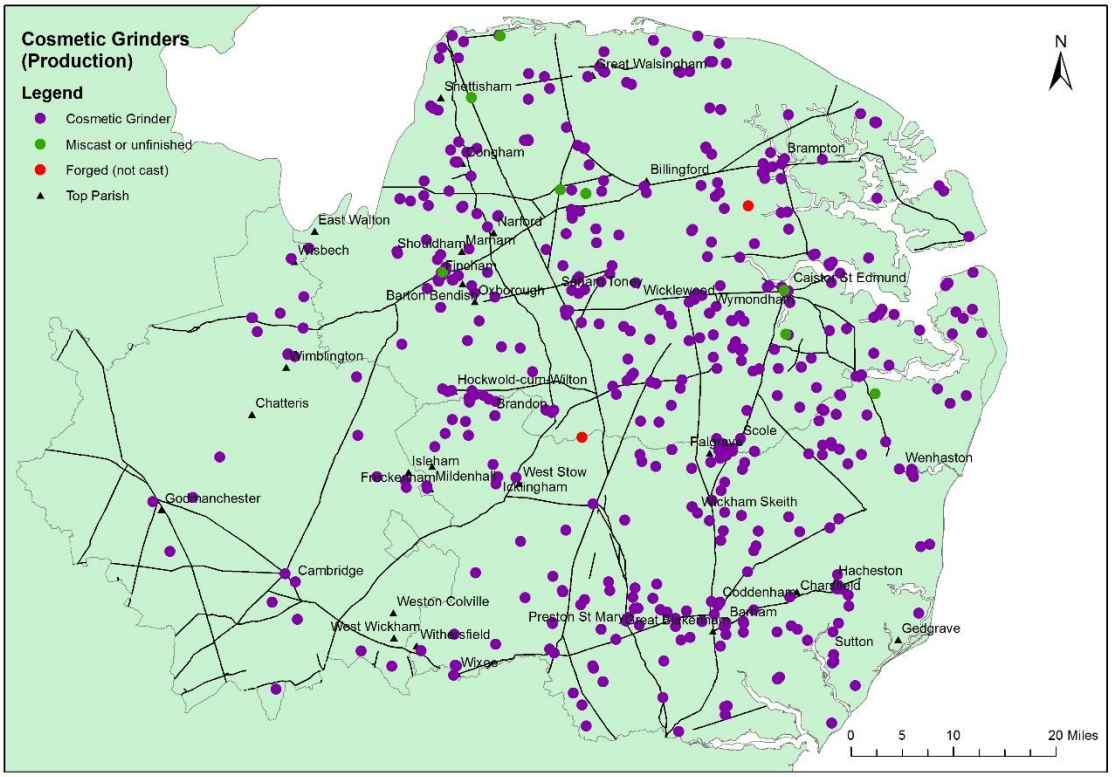


Figure 9.19: Distribution of miscast, unfinished and forged grinders (Image: Author).

Like most other objects discussed in this study, cosmetic sets were made in piece moulds and then hand-finished to a high level of individuality. The aesthetic of 'similar but different' (Section 2.4.7) applies. This may in part be due to the need for hand-finishing, as well as the more personal choices of the maker or commissioner. The distribution of unfinished or miscast grinders shows they are predominantly in Norfolk (Figure 9.19), which may indicate local recording differences, but also correlates with the incidence of horse harness and brooch production in the north of the region.

Jackson considers very similar examples to share a point of manufacture and those with matching design features a common 'craft or workshop' practice. A series of matched components reveals repeat castings from the same model, if not the same mould (2010:4, 9). Table 36 shows some examples from East Anglia. A rough-finished, unprovenanced Type D mortar matches a well-cast example from Saham Toney (#429). This may be evidence for a test casting.

Jackson Cat. No. and Site/Parish	Description
#483 Stonea, #597 unprov.	Type B end-loop mortars
#53 Northants, #158 EA unprov.	Type F, Brigstock Temple; md find on antiquity market
#36 Brampton, #213 Walsingham, #510 Toftrees	3 very similar Type E centre-loop mortars
#129 ?Colchester (spurious prov.), #279 Icklingham, #578 unprov.	3 Type J mortars, knobbed terminals
#399 Oakley, #584 unprov.	Knobbed centre-loop mortars; probably same mould/model; unprov. from collector, Cambridge area
#429 Saham Toney, #582 unprov.	Type D centre-loop mortars; one well cast and finished example and a very similar poorly cast and finished unprovenanced example, possible test casting
#134 Congham, #139 Cranworth	Type M triple mortars

Table 36: Matched cosmetic grinder components from Jackson (2010).

Occasional finds show evidence of forging. Examples include a mortar from Brettenham (Jackson #51) with a quatrefoil on an open end-loop and one from Felthorpe (#186) which has a coiled end-loop (Figure 9.18). An unprovenanced pestle from Norfolk (#388) and a mortar (#482) from Stonea have free ends on their loops, again suggesting working rather than casting. This process is reminiscent of the integral springs on Colchester brooches which were forged after casting. These examples are all the earlier end-loop types, which may suggest a production relationship with brooches. Flawed castings were not always abandoned after production. Some poorly-cast examples were obviously well-used. Repairs and alterations were also made to a number of examples, including rectifying casting failures (2010:9-10).

Figure 9.20 and Figure 9.21 have casting failures of their loops, although a loop may never have been intended on the mortar from Brome and Oakley. On the bovid head mortar from Litcham, the miscast snout of one zoomorphic terminal is considerably shorter than the other. The suspension piercing has also failed, appearing as a 'blind hole'. The central groove is smooth and unworn (White PAS:NMS-82D933). It was found close to a large metal recycling site which included lead weights, partly-melted coins, scrap metal, ingots and crucible fragments. Perhaps this object was discarded on its way to be reprocessed due to these flaws.[63]



Figure 9.20: (left) Miscast bovid mortar with 'blind' centre-loop, Litcham (PAS:NMS-82D933) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Miscast end-loop on bird-headed mortar, Heydon (PAS:HESH-DD89D6) (Image: Birmingham Museums Trust/CC BY-SA 4.0).



Figure 9.21: (left) Miscast zoomorphic mortar, Brancaster (PAS:NMS-EA71A2) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Mortar with unusual 'foot', Brome and Oakley (PAS:SF-AD6071) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

A unique, and fascinating, hybrid cosmetic mortar/brooch comes from Thelnetham, Suffolk (Figure 9.22). It exhibits hybridity of form, function and ornament. It has an end-looped terminal in the shape of a waterbird's head (possibly a duck) and an opposing heavily-worn bovid head terminal. The creature's 'belly' is decorated with a 'scrolled' roundel which would have been highly-visible when being worn as a brooch. The rear of the object has an oval groove and the catchplate and lugs for a hinged pin (Jackson 2010:193, #500).

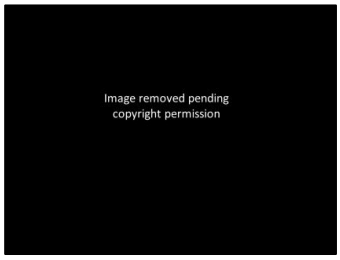


Figure 9.22: Hybrid brooch/mortar from Thelnetham (BM:2010,8007.1).

This fusion of mortar and brooch would not have been especially practical; for it to function in one capacity would negate its ability to function in the other. In this respect, it is similar to Châtelaine brooches which combine a decorative

fastener with grooming implements. The curvilinear pattern is reminiscent of the 'Swash N' designs on seal-boxes. However, this is a form of display which clearly references an indigenous practice, not Roman tweezers and nail cleaners, possibly as a means of emphasising the wearer's Britishness (Eckardt 2008:126; Jackson 2010:24, 193). Many other brooches of this period demonstrate hybrid forms and motifs, suggesting that their makers were selecting from a varied repertoire of stylistic, ornamental and functional options, which had their own sets of social and practical rules.

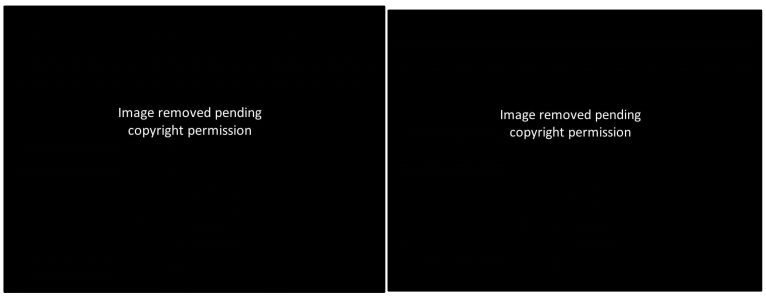


Figure 9.23: Triple mortars (left) Cranworth (Jackson #139); (right) Congham (Jackson #134).



Figure 9.24: (left) Face-Horse coin showing curved triangle motif, Wordwell (PAS:SF-04516E) (Image: SCC/CC BY 2.0); (right) 'Steering-wheel' motif on linch-pin head, Caistor St Edmund (PAS:NMS-FEA9C2) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Lastly, two Type M oddities from Norfolk have three conjoined mortars in a triangular layout (Figure 9.23). These are so similar they may derive from the same mould. The inner grooves on both sets exhibit extensive wear-polish, so they were not purely ornamental. Their findspots at Congham, not far from Snettisham, and Cranworth, close to Saham Toney, suggest they may be products of the more experimental regional metalworkers. Jackson calls them a 'novelty', providing no apparent functional advantages. They show a 'pleasing

symmetrical asymmetry' and perhaps reference the triskele and the 'religious and magical power of the number three' (2010:26).

Davies also notes the Icenian fondness for triplication (2014:27). This symbol, the curved triangle, is recognisable from Icenian Face-Horse coins, where it appears in an eye or shield above the horse and on linch-pin terminals from Saham Toney and Caistor St Edmund (Figure 9.24). The triangular shape may perhaps represent the uterus, which was conceived of as a cup in the Graeco-Roman medical tradition (Dasen 2014:180). Were these complementary to the phallic grinders, perhaps even used to grind ingredients gendered male and female?

9.2.5. Cosmetic Palettes



Figure 9.25: Unworn ?marble cosmetic palette, *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152) (Images: Author).



Figure 9.26: (left) Stone palette showing use-wear, *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152.M66); (right) Jet palette showing use-wear, *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152.M77) (Images: Author).

Jackson proposes that grinders were indigenous versions of the flat palettes (usually of marble) used to mix medicaments and cosmetics elsewhere in the empire. The association of grinders with women (in burials) may have changed with the introduction of new cosmetic items from the continent. Grinders did not fall out of fashion in Britain once the 'cosmetic paraphernalia' of the

invaders became commonplace (Jackson 2010:11-2). A shift in material culture may not have been accompanied by a shift in practice. Did people change from painting designs on their bodies to their faces?

At least six palettes are distributed across the *civitas* capital (Figure 9.25) although there are none from the bath-house. M23 came from a 1929 trench including mirror fragments, a glass bead, two pins and a needle. M66 (Figure 9.26) was excavated in the same building as the zoomorphic mortar (Figure 9.3) from Kiln III. This structure also had a high proportion of personal ornament and grooming finds, including many hairpins, several brooches, armlets, a comb, finger-ring, beads, *ligulae*, weaving tablets, needles and spindle whorls. It could be argued that these are all items which tend to be gendered feminine. The jet palette (Figure 9.26) was found in the east part of the Forum and two 'Purbeck marble' examples (NWHCM:1929.152.X9 and X10) were in a rubbish deposit which also contained an enamelled seal-box lid, two bone counters and three pins (Bowden forthcoming). Some are likely to be late in date. Three other cosmetic grinders are known from the parish of Caistor St Edmund. It seems likely the stone palettes reflect more urban preoccupations, including sealing and writing, and gender differences, alongside a lack of indigenous material culture.

I would question whether these two categories of object were used for the same purpose, although they were contemporaneous. None of the flat palettes are made from copper alloys. They are vastly dissimilar aesthetically, and even the action of grinding appears to differ, the linear motion of the indigenous sets contrasts with the circular wear-patterns on the stone palettes. They may have been intended for mixing rather than grinding, with a wider working surface. The bevelled edges may also have provided a surface for cleaning or sharpening utensils. No systematic residue analysis has yet been carried out, but suggestions include preparing pills or medicines, or rehydrating powdered writing ink. Stone palettes occur in graves with inkwells as well as grooming or medical implements, which implies they could be multifunctional (Eckardt 2018:28-9, 214-5; Eckardt and Crummy 2008:39; Jackson 1988:73-4).

9.2.6. Discussion

Like seal-boxes and terrets, cosmetic grinders are prone to the same collection bias as other attractive, small, portable items. Pestles are rarer than mortars, probably due to misidentification and a lack of reporting. Their small size makes them prone to corrosion and harder to identify in the ground (Jackson 2010:4; Worrell 2008:349). Given Cool and Baxter's recent critique (2016a, 2016b) (Section 3.4.4), it is likely that morphological bias is creating differential recovery of pestles and mortars. Positive recovery bias may apply to enamelled mortars in the same way as plate brooches and terrets.

Cosmetic grinders reveal much about the post-conquest *civitas* and the identity of its inhabitants, even if their contents remain a mystery. Although they are Romano-British items, they are distinctly non-standardised and exhibit characteristic Iron Age motifs like bulls and birds. They persist well into the 3rd century CE, suggesting a longevity which may reflect resistance, especially in rural areas, to the incoming trend for flat and unornamented cosmetic palettes. Mackreth notes the Icenian penchant for ornament when discussing the Rearhook brooches (2011:67). Grinders are hybrid and cross-functional, with phallic terminals and the potential for a second life as votive offerings or amulets. Grinding may have taken place in private, perhaps even as part of initiation rituals, but the sets were worn on the person, presumably in public, and sometimes in death. They are tied to the idea of the British, and the Iceni, as barbarian 'Others', tattooed or painted, a concept which holds strong in many popular reconstructions, despite the lack of archaeological evidence. Like cosmetic grinders, nail cleaners and hairpins relate to ideas of display of the self, embodied identities and personal grooming.

9.3. Nail Cleaners

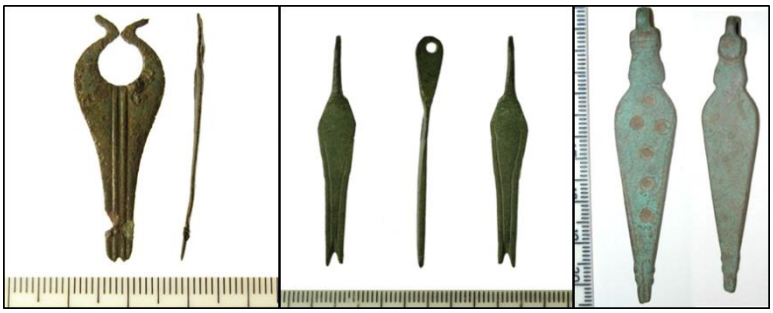


Figure 9.27: Nail cleaners showing different loop types (left to right) Wereham (PAS:SF-043652) (Image: SCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); West Stow (PAS:SF-70F507) (Image: PAS/CC BY 2.0); Stapleford (PAS:CAM-1736C2) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Nail cleaners were introduced into Britain in the LIA, with selective indigenous adoption and development. While they succeeded in southern and eastern parts of Britain (Figure 9.28), after the Augustan period their use died out, or was supplanted by a different practice, on the continent (Eckardt 2008). Nail cleaners are found on settlements throughout the occupation, developing distinctive uses as strap-ends in the Late Roman period, and as Anglo-Saxon grave goods (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:93-6).

The presence of nail cleaners in British burials peaked around the invasion. The gendering of toilet implements in Britain is unknown, as there are very few from sexed grave contexts. The adult male from King Harry Lane, *Verulamium*, included an unusual nail cleaner, a probable ear scoop and an end-looped phallic mortar and pointed pestle set, as well as an imported Rosette brooch. This grave is dated to *circa* 35-55 CE, which suggests an early adopter of toilet implements or the bodily effects they created (Carr 2006; Eckardt and Crummy 2008).

Nail cleaners were often held on a suspension loop or a Châtelaine brooch with other toilet articles such as tweezers and ear scoops. It is thought they were a multipurpose tool for cleaning and trimming the nails. These small copper alloy items fall into several types, the main diagnostic features being the shape of the blade and the angle at which it meets the suspension loop or handle (Figure 9.27). The ends are usually bifurcated and pointed, often showing uneven use-wear on one tip. Like cosmetic grinders, they show a wide range of

decorative and formal styles and are highly individual (Eckardt and Crummy 2008; Jackson 2011:265-6).

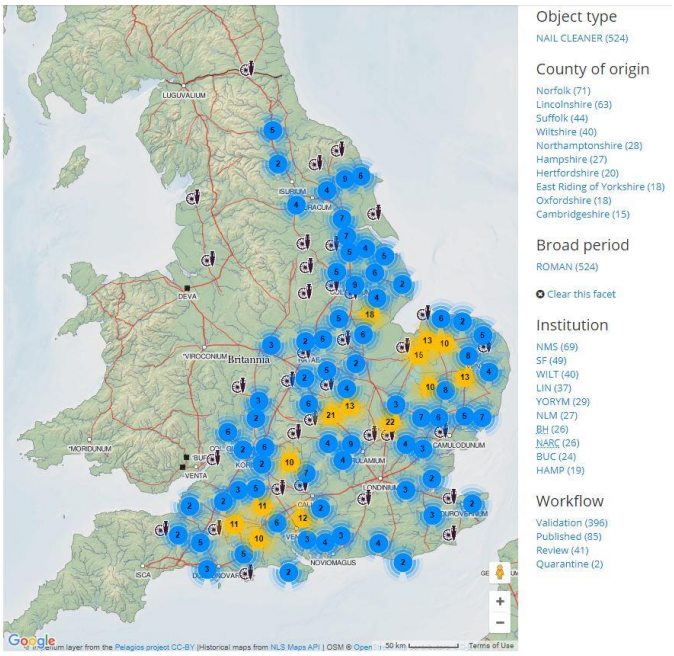


Figure 9.28: Distribution of Roman nail cleaners (Image: PAS).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	12
Norfolk	74
Suffolk	61
Grand Total	**147**

Table 37: Nail cleaners by county.

Norfolk has the most nail cleaners (Table 37). There are minor groupings at towns including Caistor St Edmund (4), Coddenham (4), Hacheston (6) and Pakenham (4). Five come from Beachamwell on the Fen Causeway, close to Iron Age and Roman settlements at Toot Hill (NHER:4530) and Barton Bendish. This is at the southern edge of the hotspot which includes Fincham and Oxborough and where the nail cleaners seem to peak. This region has strong continuity from the LIA into the Roman period. Nail cleaners are infrequent in the Fens and northeast Norfolk (Figure 9.29, Figure 9.30).

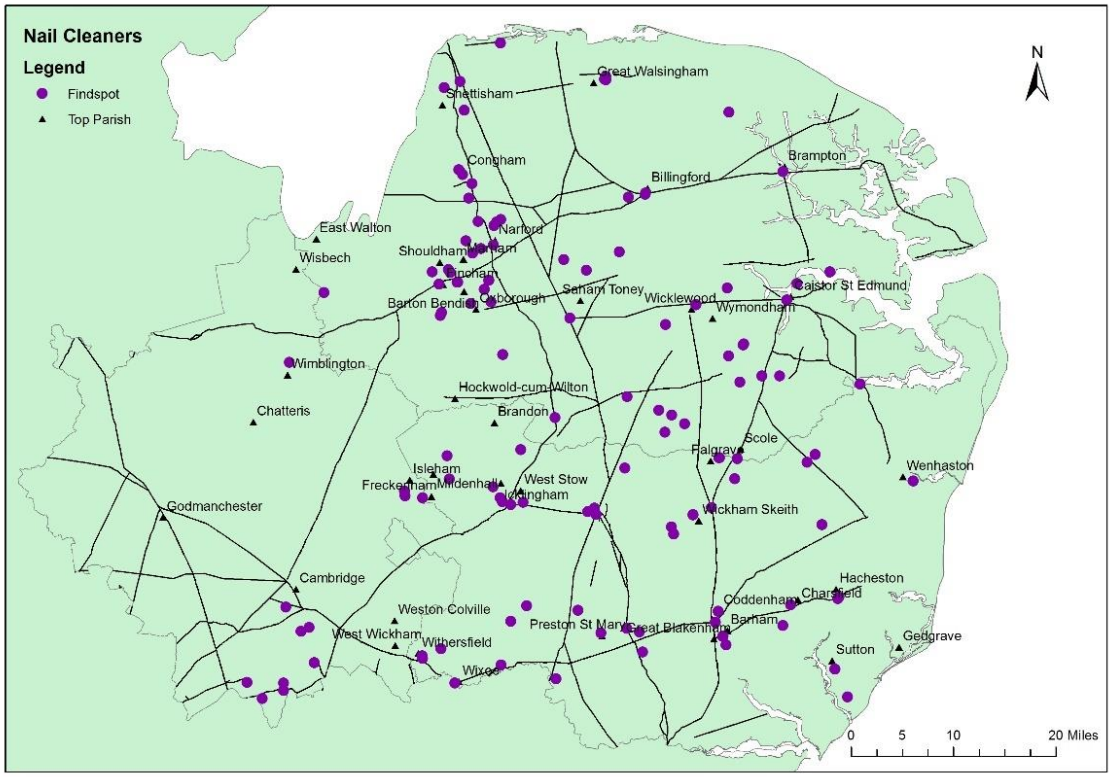


Figure 9.29: Distribution of nail cleaners (Image: Author).

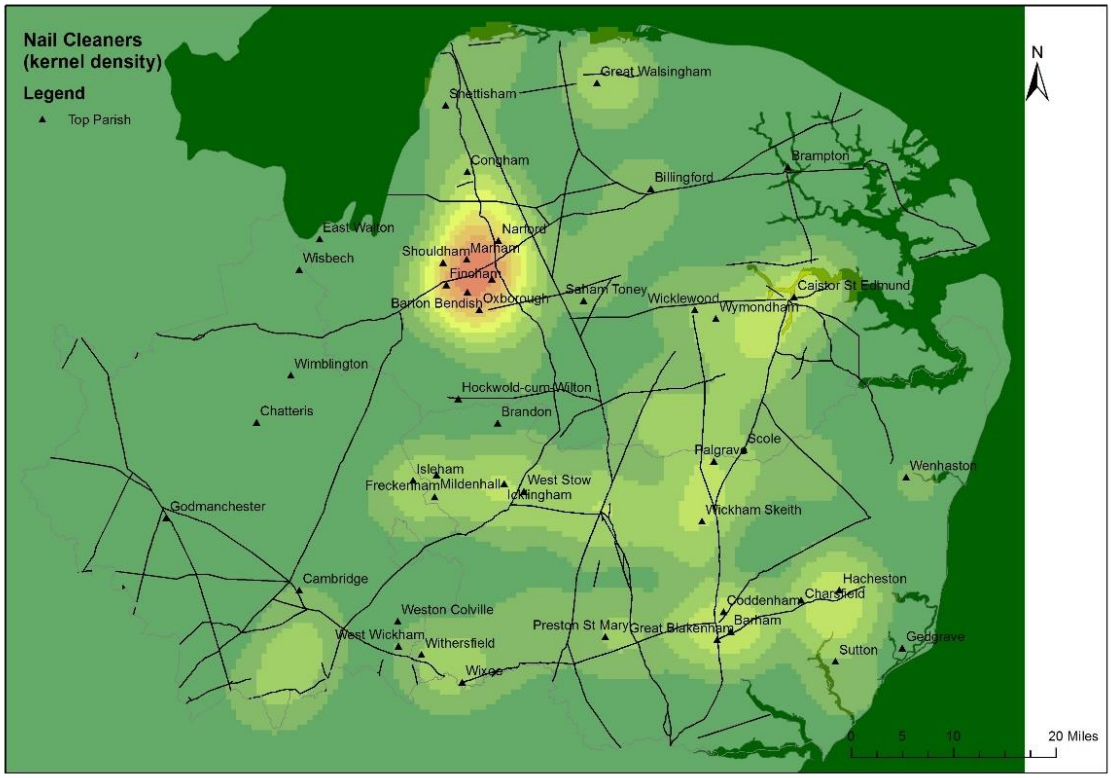


Figure 9.30: Density of nail cleaners (Image: Author).

There are four examples from Walsingham, one each from Crownthorpe temple (NHER:8897) and Fison Way, Thetford (NHER:5853) and another from Scole temple (NHER:30650). Deposition of toilet instruments at Romano-British shrines may have been part of the wider tradition of devoting personal belongings, such as brooches or hairpins. Some nail cleaners are described as 'bent' or 'damaged', but this could be post-depositional. Interestingly, toilet implements are rare in hoards, unlike personal ornaments (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:103-4), which suggests an element of appropriateness.

Eckardt and Crummy looked at the social distribution of toilet implements. Although significant numbers of nail cleaners occurred at military sites, large towns and *civitas* capitals, most of their examples came from small towns, rural settlements and villas. This counters the expectation that nail cleaners were associated with 'an incoming, highly Romanised population'. Instead 'the social distribution pattern of nail-cleaners is biased towards the "native" end of the settlement hierarchy' (2008:97). While I would question the idea of a native/Roman settlement hierarchy, my distribution agrees that nail cleaners in the *civitas* are widespread in rural parts and clustered in an area of LIA activity. My focus on East Anglia adds to Eckardt and Crummy's contextual study, which used PAS as a supplementary rather than primary resource (2008:16). Worrell's appendix adds many rural sites to their distribution, revealing the collection bias in non-PAS studies (*ibid.*:177-81). This demonstrates the value of PAS finds for filling in distributions, despite the problems of context.

9.3.1. Loop Types

Substantial regional preferences were found for these artefacts. Norfolk has more nail cleaners with the blade and handle in the same plane (Figure 9.32). Right-angle types are more common in Suffolk, and the Baldock types (which have a distinctive groove running parallel to the blade edges) are absent in the north of the region (Figure 9.32, Figure 9.33). Baldock nail cleaners are tightly concentrated in Hertfordshire and Essex, corresponding with the proposed Catuvellauni/Trinovantes territories. I agree with Eckardt and Crummy that

these were not worn as badges of group identity, the distributions more likely representing production zones and individual choice (2008:67-9 and fig. 29).

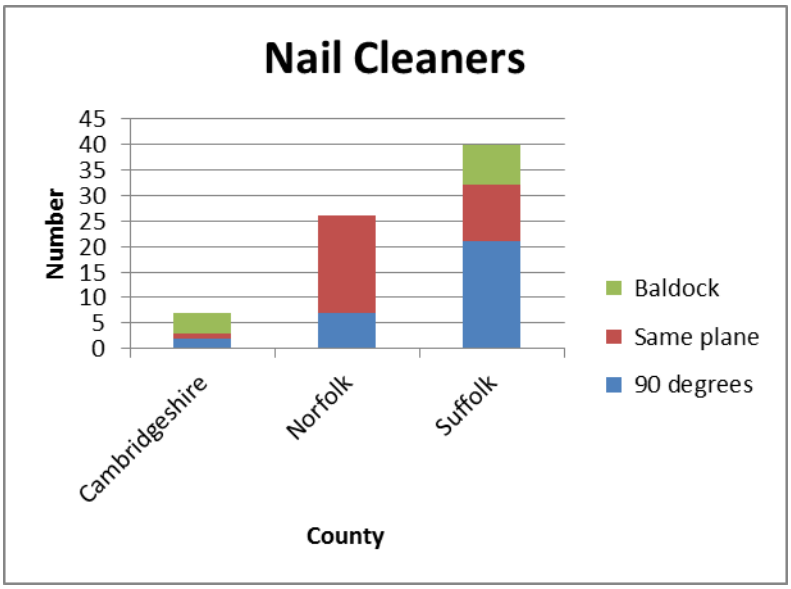


Figure 9.31: Nail cleaners by type and county.

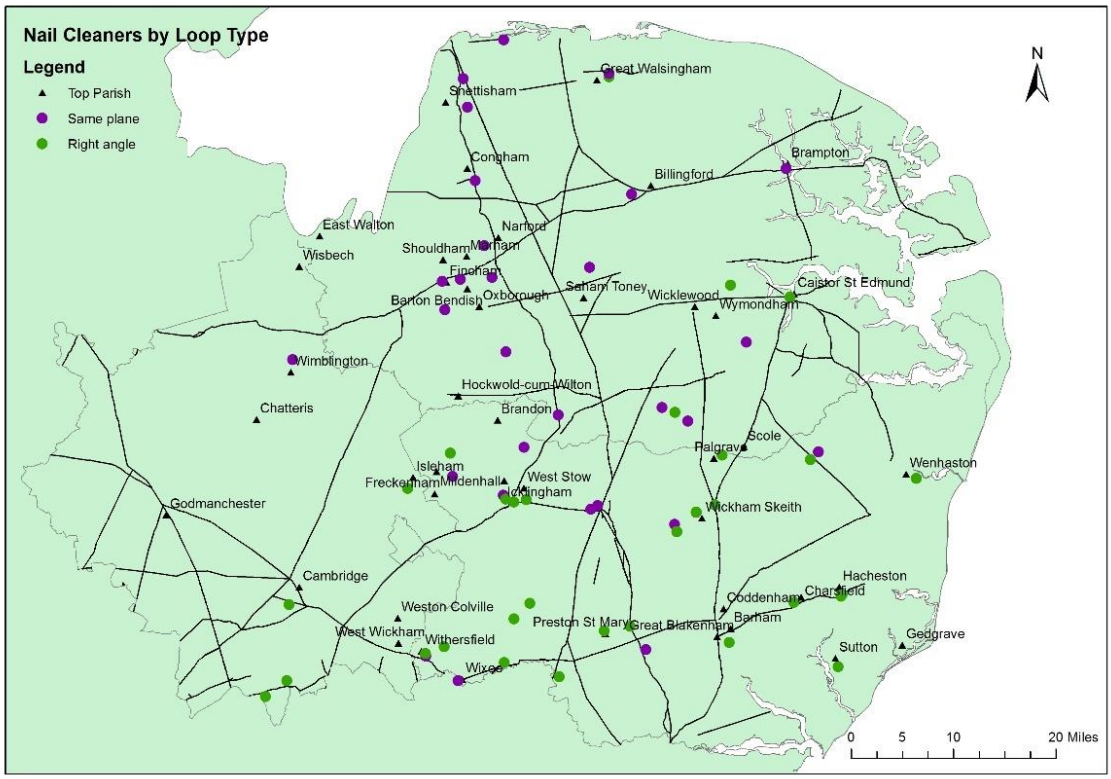


Figure 9.32: Distribution of nail cleaners by loop type (Image: Author).

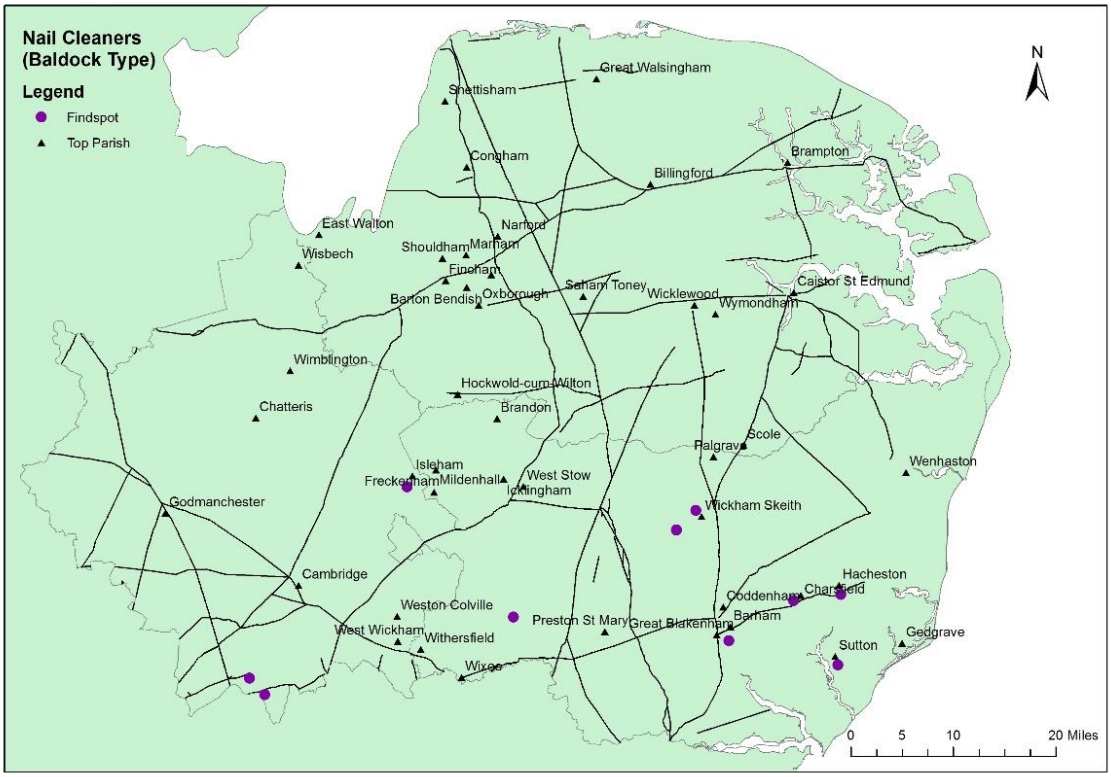


Figure 9.33: Distribution of Baldock nail cleaners (Image: Author).

9.3.2. Negotiated Identities

Decoration is variable and idiosyncratic, with no two nail cleaners exactly alike. The diversity of design noted by Crummy and Eckardt (2008:179) parallels the cosmetic grinders, which for Jackson 'probably represents the customising of a very intimate possession' (2011:266). The distribution of these two artefacts is similar (Figure 9.34), although the grinders are more widespread in rural areas. Three examples have an incised 'saltire' cross, which is reminiscent of the miniature axes (Section 7.6.2).

Crummy and Eckardt regard Britain's incorporation into the Roman empire as 'the catalyst for the large-scale production of small *personalia* [which] removed the barriers of privilege' from personal artefacts (2003:61). Carr proposes that unusual nail cleaners are better represented in small settlements, villas and religious sites than large towns. She sees these nail cleaners as deliberately equivocal 'creole' artefacts which expressed post-conquest counter-cultural identities (2006:81-3).

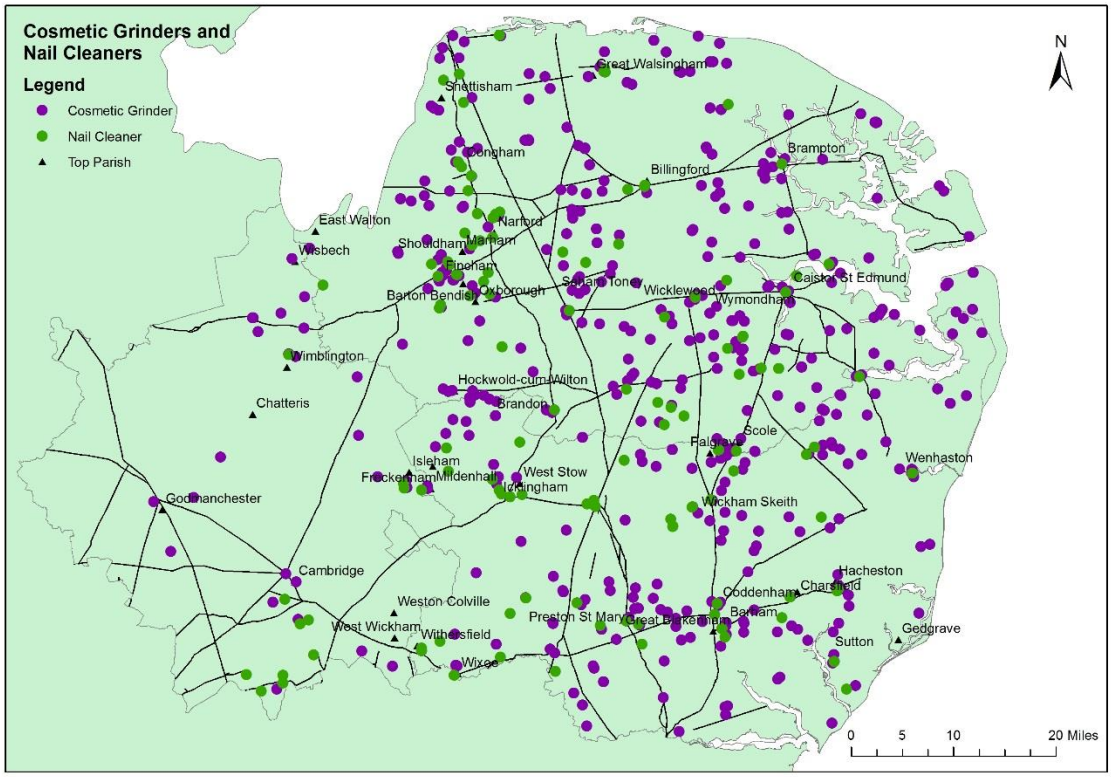


Figure 9.34: Comparative distribution of nail cleaners and cosmetic grinders (Image: Author).

Identifying 'unusual' examples was difficult, due to the overall individuality of the objects. The distinctiveness of nail cleaners and cosmetic grinders raises questions about the commissioning process, the aesthetics of 'similar but different', and the potential for both normalising and subversive uses in different contexts, from bathhouse to burial. My data indicate a clear distinction between single nail cleaners and Châtelaine brooches, possibly between usage and display. This may be an example of the ambiguous negotiation between Roman domination and British resistance:

> 'provincial artefacts in the Roman world can sometimes appear "Romanised", but can in fact operate according to a different, indigenous, set of underlying rules. As creole artefacts, they can negotiate with, resist, or adapt Roman art styles to serve indigenous ends, and ultimately, they are part of the emergence of a creole society' (Webster 2003:42).

9.3.3. Public or Private Grooming?

Was grooming carried out in public or private? Were the tools of body modification on display? Did owning cosmetic implements mark a person out as

keeping up with the times? The suspension loops certainly imply they were portable. Carr suggests that simply carrying a set or being well-groomed in public was desirable in the early Roman period (2006:74). This raises questions about social appropriateness and the norms governing grooming behaviour in public and private spaces.

Eckardt and Crummy acknowledge that it is unclear whether grooming sets were publicly displayed on the person. They conclude that 'most small toilet instruments would have been kept at home' in private quarters. The impact of grooming was nevertheless a visible sign of 'status' (although this term is not explicitly defined), inscribed on the body of the individual. Their conclusion is based partly on the rarity of nail cleaners from bathhouses, which they argue means they were not carried or worn (2008:91-2).

If, as Jackson contends (2011:265) 'town baths were the setting for a host of activities linked to personal hygiene and well-being', this may have also applied to Britain once public Roman bath-houses were established - although the lack of nail cleaners seems strange if their purpose was for bodily grooming, an activity to be expected in the public baths. Conversely, this may point to the appropriate context of use. Who would be comfortable watching someone paring their toenails beside the municipal pool today? Many such taboos and social prohibitions must have existed.

Perhaps finds from baths are rare because these grooming practices were in the hands of professionals who were less likely to lose the tools of their trade, or simply because nail cleaners were attached to clothing not the person. Nail cleaners were often secured to a suspension ring or brooch, unlike intaglios which easily became detached from their settings as the glue melted in the warm steamy environment, or finger-rings which could slip from the digit, many of which have been found in drains at York, Dover, Bath and Caerleon (Macgregor, A. 1976; Marshman 2015). Sets of toilet instruments, usually including at least one nail cleaner, were worn suspended from Châtelaine brooches suggesting they were not solely for private usage.

9.3.4. Châtelaine Brooches



Figure 9.35: Châtelaine brooch showing suspension fittings, Melbourn (PAS:CAM-F66342) (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Châtelaine brooches were designed to hold a set of toilet implements on a bar suspended between two projecting lugs (Figure 9.35). These replaced sets hanging on suspension loops in the late 1st century CE. They are very occasionally found in burials (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:74, 81-2). Clearly intended to be worn and displayed, the implements may have been non-functional for grooming (Eckardt 2008:126).

There are 34 Châtelaines in my dataset: Cambridgeshire (2), Norfolk (12) and Suffolk (20), Coddenham and Barham being the only parishes with two examples (Figure 9.36). Mackreth includes Châtelaines with his British 'petalled boss' series (2011:166), although Hattatt says they were probably imported (1982:149). The geometric enamelling, often blue and yellow, links them to Dragonesques, umbonate brooches and horse harness, and I would argue for an indigenous, post-conquest origin, related to the mass uptake of grooming implements. The southerly distribution echoes the Dragonesques (Section 4.12.3) and other plate brooches. By contrast, the concentration of individual nail cleaner finds is focussed on the Icknield Way settlements (Figure 9.37).

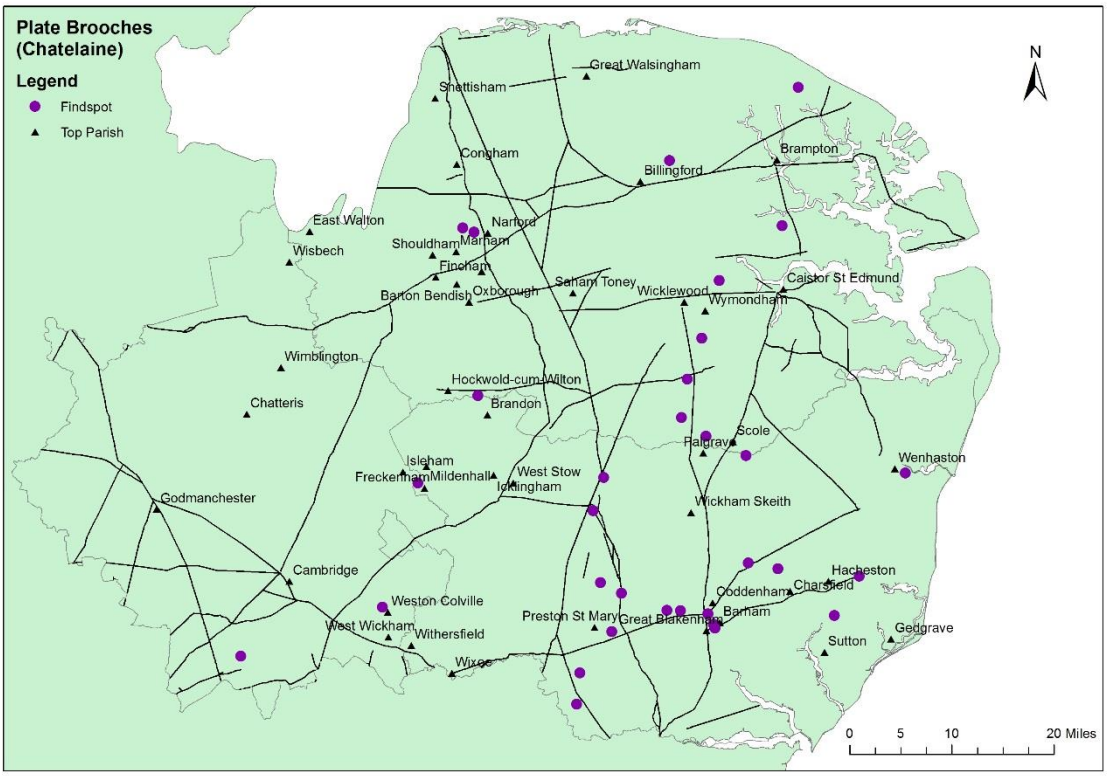


Figure 9.36: Distribution of Châtelaine brooches (Image: Author).

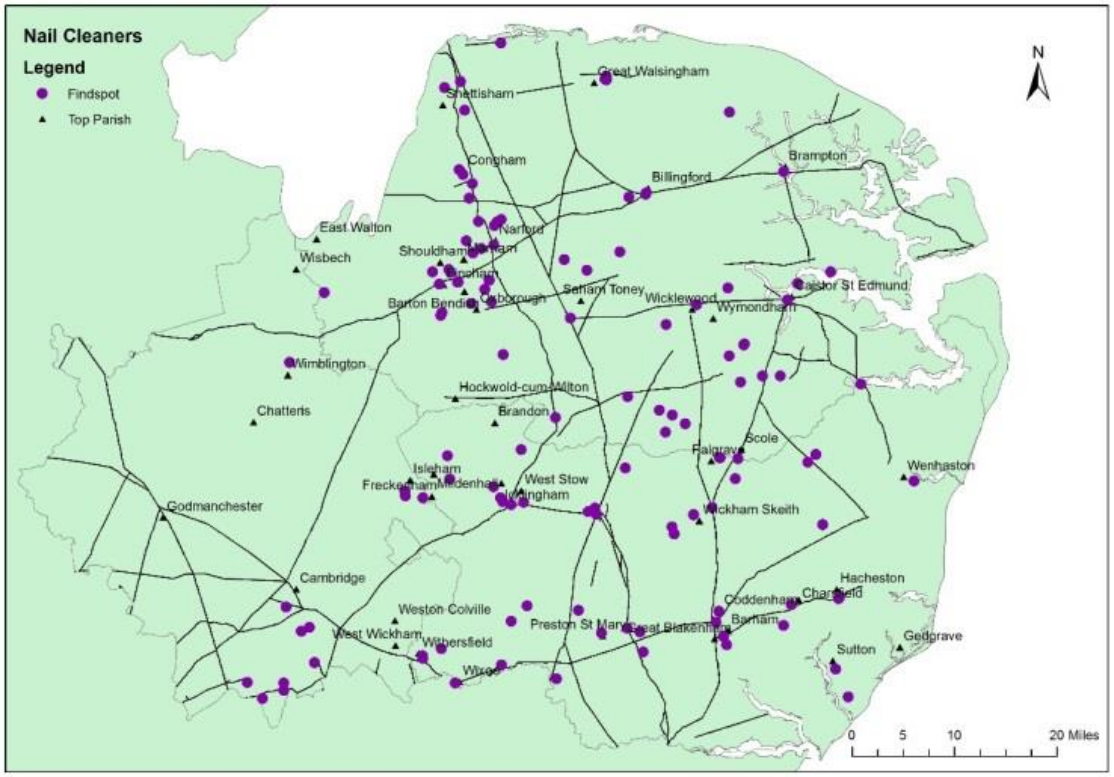


Figure 9.37: Distribution of nail cleaners (Image: Author).

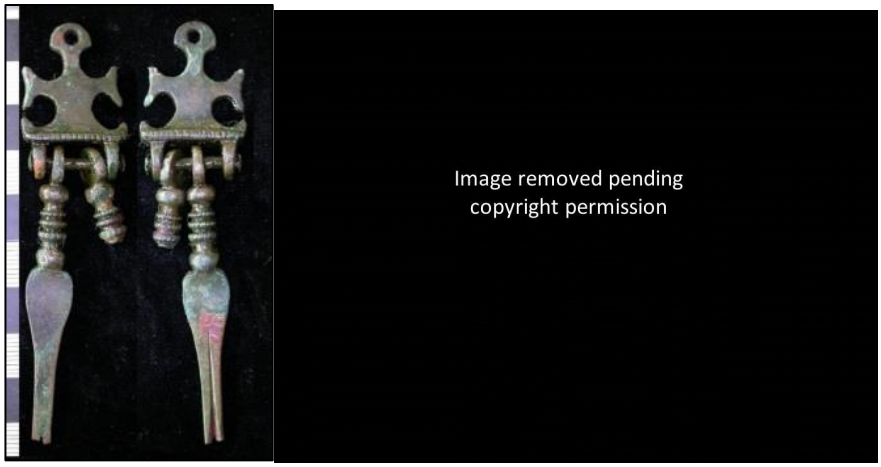


Figure 9.38: Châtelaine brooches (left) PAS:LEIC-8572C4 with broken nail cleaner (Image: PAS/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) showing use-wear on the right-hand point of the nail cleaner (Hattatt 1985:#603).

Eckardt and Crummy assert that these implements were purely decorative and symbolic, privileging display over function, expressing status through 'the well-groomed body' (2008:173). Occasional implements on Châtelaines do show use-wear. The tips of a nail cleaner from Narborough, Leicestershire are unevenly broken off, which looks like old damage. Hattatt (1985:169, #603) illustrates a Châtelaine brooch from Epping Forest, Essex, with a nail cleaner, ear scoop and tweezers. The nail cleaner shows characteristic wear on only one point of the bifurcated end, suggesting that it saw functional use at some time in its life (Figure 9.38). Although toilet instruments could have been purely for show, a set of tools carried on the person could have been utilised when necessary in addition to its role in display. The nail cleaner would not need to be detached from the suspension bar to be functional, rather like a Swiss Army knife.



Figure 9.39: (left) Modified Châtelaine brooch, Narborough (PAS:NMS-FFD942) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0); (right) Modified Châtelaine brooch, Themelthorpe (PAS:NMS-F66332) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

The proliferation of enamelled geometric decoration in the 2nd century CE on items including seal-boxes, harness, brooches and cosmetic grinders suggests a widespread, if not blanket, aesthetic. Two oddities are noted from Norfolk. One is a brooch from Narborough (Figure 9.39) which shows no evidence for having had the horizontal bar for hanging implements (Rogerson PAS:NMS-FFD942); it also displays a quatrefoil enamelled motif which references the platform-decorated terrets from Saham Toney. In my view, this object has had its attachment lugs removed and filed down at the corners, which are unusually rounded. The display component of this brightly-enamelled brooch may have had more significance to its wearer than the attached grooming implements. Perhaps during the object's life history, the bar was broken, its toilet implements lost, but it was still considered worthy of reuse.

The second is a heavily-modified brooch from Themelthorpe, apparently cut down into a triangular shape and pierced (Figure 9.39). Rogerson suggests reuse as a mount (PAS:NMS-F66332), to which I would add the potential for it to have been nailed up in a shrine, like the Hockwold disc brooches (Section 7.4). These modifications and the stronger Suffolk emphasis hint that people in the north of the region may not have displayed toilet implements, but adapted Châtelaines accordingly to fit their own practices. This shows how the same artefacts may cross boundaries between display and practice or practical and votive uses. As well as presentation of the body, grooming the hair became an important post-conquest concern.

9.4. Hair Ornament and Styling



Figure 9.40: Hairpin with multiple-block head, Oxborough (PAS:NMS-A6BAC7) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Hair is regarded as a 'potent symbol of communication, display and social distinction' (Carr 2006:52). There is very little evidence for pre-conquest

practices of styling; hair may have been worn loose or braided. There is no comparable LIA object to the hairpin, which became popular very rapidly in the 1st century CE. Styles varied considerably with fashion, sometimes simple, sometimes elaborate, and pins were necessary to keep them in place. Hairstyles in Rome itself became increasingly intricate from the later 1st century CE. Complex hairstyles are represented on British artefacts including hairpins themselves (Figure 9.45), statues and coins. Bone and copper alloy pins are most common, with later examples in rarer materials like jet, glass or precious metals. Some are very plain; others have decorative terminals and motifs (Carr 2006:52-71; Cool 1990, 2016:413; Crummy 1979, 1983:19-30).

There are concentrations of hairpins in towns, dwindling towards the smaller settlements, suggesting a social context for hairstyles and ornament (Carr 2006:67). The PAS shows a southeastern trend for Roman hairpins (Figure 9.41). Norfolk has the most hairpins in my database (Table 38). There are some regional variations including Cool's Type 1E with an expanded shank, which is considered an East Anglian design (1990:151) (Figure 9.45). The high concentration from Wimblington is due to the well-dated, published excavations at Stonea and the survival of numerous bone pins (Jackson and Potter 1996). Most of the finds from *Venta Icenorum* were not closely dated enough to be included, but are comparable. Many bone pins were handmade and do not change greatly over time (Swift 2011:198). There are also groups at Walsingham (8), Hockwold (6), Scole (22), Hacheston (21) and West Stow (7). In interview, detectorists acknowledged that hairpins are harder to find due to their wiry nature. This reinforces some of Cool and Baxter's misgivings regarding the brooches. However, pins are one of the few artefacts biased towards excavated objects, with large sites (Hacheston, Stonea and Scole) producing far more than metal-detecting (Figure 9.42, Figure 9.43).

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	58
Norfolk	108
Suffolk	91
Grand Total	**257**

Table 38: Pins by county.

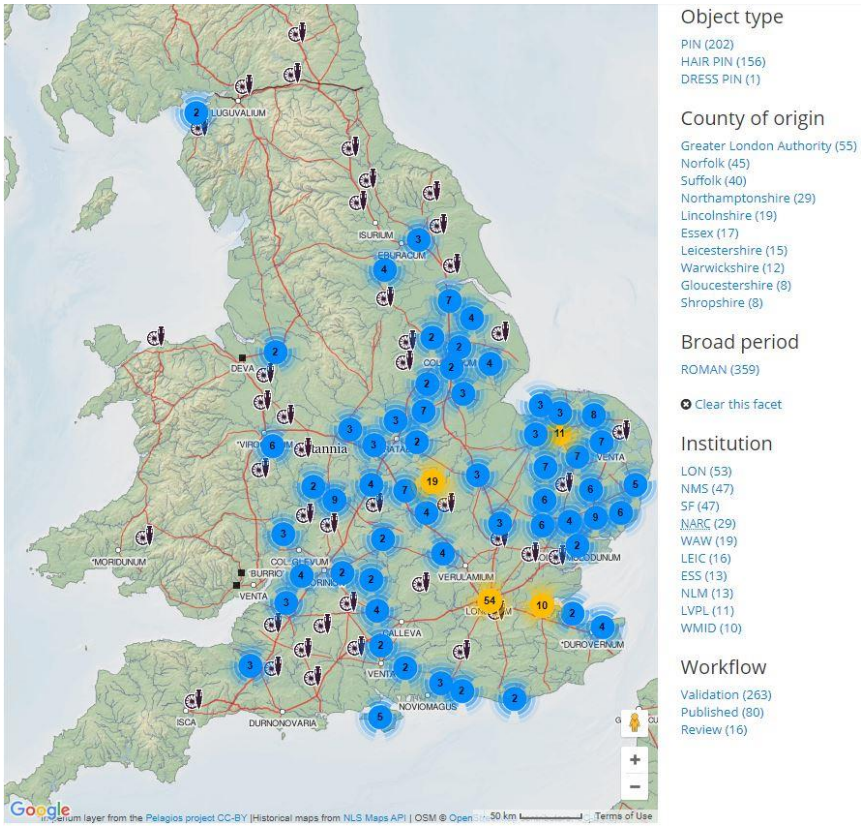


Figure 9.41: Distribution of Roman hairpins (Image: PAS).

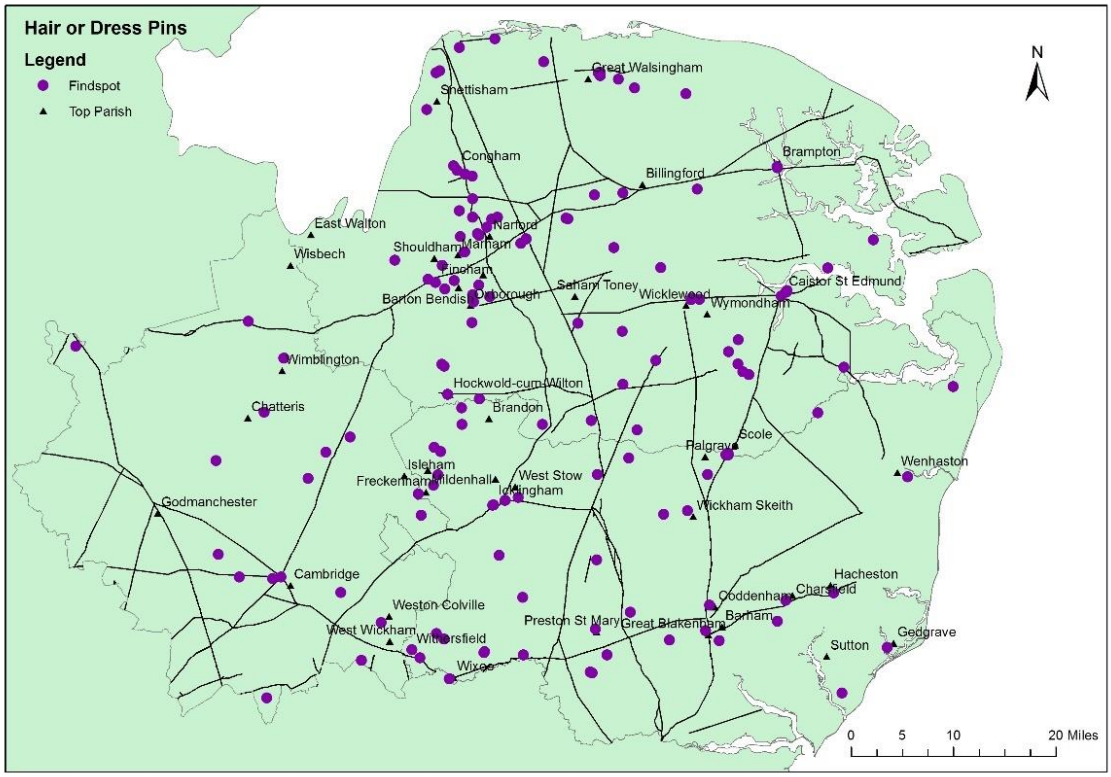


Figure 9.42: Distribution of pins (Image: Author).

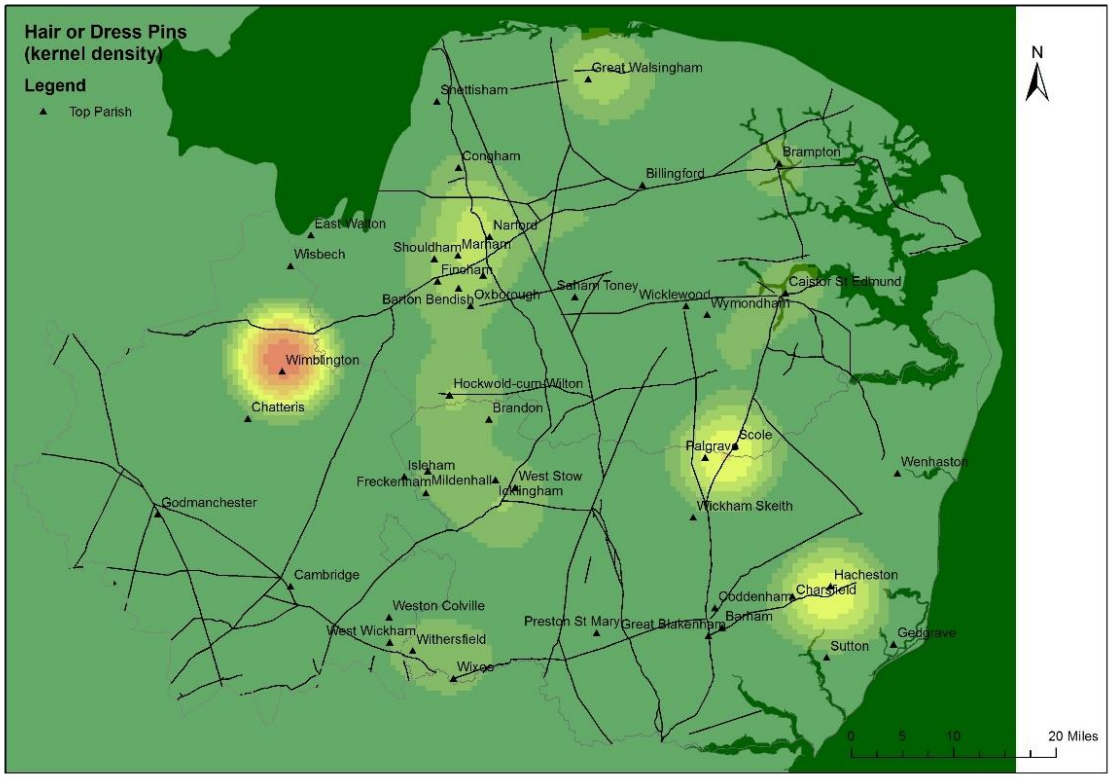


Figure 9.43: Density of pins (Image: Author).

In Rome, women dressed their hair at home, usually with the help of slaves. There were prescriptions on styles for different gender and age groups. 'Barbarian' hair was represented in sculpture as unkempt, in keeping with the stereotype of their 'wild' nature (Bartman 2001). In Britain, hairstyling may also have been a private practice, the display of the finished product more visible than the process. Janet Stephens's experimental work has shown that hairpins or 'bodkins' were probably used to create the hairstyle, with needles and thread perhaps used to stitch the intricate styles in place (2008:110-32).

In the late 1st century CE, gender becomes more visible in the archaeological record, through belongings including earrings, bracelets, beads and hairpins. Combs, like mirrors, become more common, less ornamental and presumably less 'special'. Masculine grooming equipment included razors and tweezers. Women were embracing new visual identities, including hairstyles, which involved changes in practice and material culture (Cool 2016:413). Elaborate styles were popular, with the hair braided, in ringlets, or tiered atop the head and finished with an ornamental pin (Figure 9.44). British people would have been familiar with Roman hairstyles through the portraits of emperors and their wives on coinage. Hairpins have been found to accompany male burials (Carr 2006:60), although this should be considered critically as these could have been deposited by female mourners.



Figure 9.44: (left) Sculpted hairstyles (Museo di Ostia Antica) (Image: Author); (right) Sculptural representation of a hairpin in use (Bartman 2001:12 fig.10).



Figure 9.45: (left) Copper alloy hairpin with expanded shank, *Venta Icenorum* (NWHCM:1929.152.B227) (Image: Author); (right) Pin depicting a human head with ?headdress, Gayton (PAS:NMS-ABAA90) (Image: NCC/CC BY-SA 4.0).

Hairpins demonstrate that people in the Iceni *civitas* were not just taking up new practices of personal grooming but also modifying their appearance. The presence of artefacts like hairpins associated with female grooming also shows that women were placing their new identities on display. The role of hair took on a new signification of appropriateness for age and gender groups. The presentation of the self is important in the construction of personal and public identities and the adoption of new material culture would have been key in this creative process. Carr suggests hairpins functioned as 'creolised' artefacts using 'Roman' style objects to create indigenous or hybrid hairstyles as a means of resistance. Many finds are recorded as bent, often at 90 degrees about the mid-point, which may be deliberate. Some copper alloy hairpins show signs of being 'ritually killed' for votive deposition, although they do not feature widely at shrines. This focus on 'incompleteness' may indicate that novel artefacts were being adopted into indigenous practices (2006:60, 67).

Pins were manufactured alongside other bronze objects, as the moulds from *Venta Icenorum* (NHER:9816) attest. Large numbers of bone pins and needles were found in pits at the *civitas* capital, hinting at structured deposition, which in turn suggests an ongoing concern with personal implements. Cool's definition of regional subtypes of hairpin suggests that workshops or local preference played a part in their distribution. The major concentration, despite the clear bias of excavation, is at Stonea Grange, on the western edge of the region. Rural Suffolk and Norfolk are sparsely covered, the opposite of cosmetic

grinders, suggesting that people in these areas were less likely to be engaging with this sort of identity creation.

Carr sees non-standard pins which fall outside the established typology (such as cross-hatched pins from Essex) as potentially emphasising difference through 'alternative' local identities. She suggests that people were 'unconforming' in some areas by boycotting certain products (2006:70-1). People in urban areas perhaps felt more comfortable with the new regime and its accoutrements, as with the stone palettes. Absence of hairpins in rural areas could be evidence for resistance, or simply different codes of dress and display. Like the nail cleaners, it is hard to identify 'non-standard' pins within such diverse groupings and this is arguably solely a product of typology.

Unlike the cosmetic grinders, nail cleaners and hairpins continue past the late 2nd/early 3rd century CE abandonment horizon and diversify right through the Late Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods. Late Roman pins are less decorative but made in a wider variety of materials. Earlier types are insular and in three broad geographical groupings which Cool suggests relates to workshops. By the later Roman period the regional distributions are no longer visible and British hairpins share greater uniformity with other provinces (1990:172-7).

9.5. Iron Age Mirrors

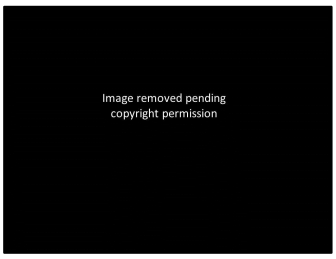


Figure 9.46: Decorated Iron Age mirror, Desborough, Northants. (BM:1924,0109.1).

Iron Age mirrors were elaborately-decorated discs of polished bronze (Figure 9.46). Joy catalogued 58 from Britain, predominantly in southern England (2010) (Figure 9.47). The earliest examples from East Yorkshire date from *circa* 400 BCE, but most others are *circa* 80 BCE to mid-1st century CE. Many items

of material culture span the Roman conquest in this way, which reveals the division into LIA and Romano-British as a modern construction.

Mirrors are especially rare in East Anglia. This may reflect not collection bias, but the lack of burials, generally the most common context for mirrors. Davies notes this absence as characteristic of the region (2011b:103-4). None are known from Norfolk, except one from Fison Way, Thetford, which may instead be a tankard or bucket handle (Gregory 1991a:132; Joy 2010:87, 143; NHER:5853). Three handle fragments have been found in eastern Suffolk: at Akenham (SHER:AKE006), Westerfield (PAS:SF6712) and Badingham (SHER:BDG033) (Joy 2010:1). There are none from Cambridgeshire. By contrast, Essex, which is rich in Iron Age burials has at least ten mirrors (Joy 2007; Whimster 1979).

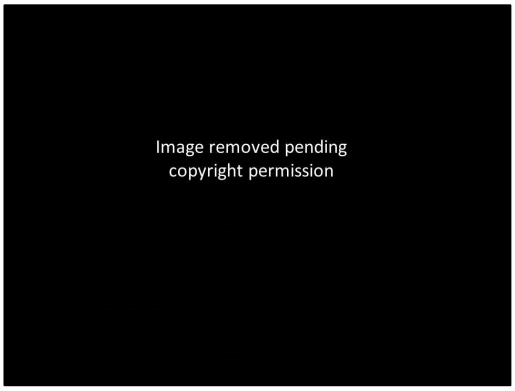


Figure 9.47: Distribution of Iron Age mirrors (Joy 2010:fig. 1.3).

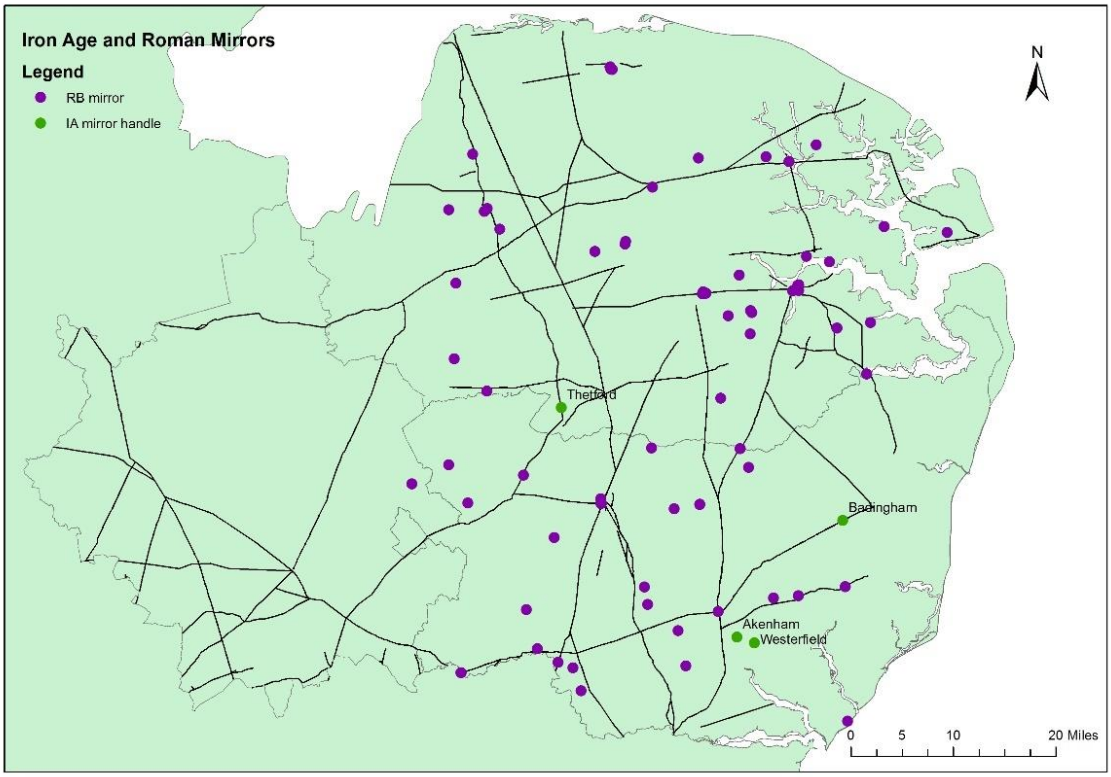


Figure 9.48: Distribution of Iron Age and Romano-British mirrors (Image: Author).

Joy takes a post-processual approach, using grave contexts and assemblages to construct object biographies (2009, 2010). This is not easily achieved with surface finds. To extend his metaphor, we are often faced with only an object's afterlife, with little information as to its biography-in-use. Mirrors have greater interpretive potential when they are contextualised as part of burial practice. In Icenia, an area lacking significant numbers of cremations and inhumations, there are also very few Iron Age mirrors.

The conventional assumption that mirrors were prestige cosmetic items, buried with high-status women for the afterlife, is problematic. Some burials have been gendered female based on the presence of mirrors. Some mirrors have been found in graves that also contain weapons, considered a masculine trait. No mirrors have yet been categorically associated with a male individual, but many 'female' burials were poorly recorded antiquarian excavations. Joy questions these definitions of 'high-status' and élites, regarding mirrors as part of a negotiated process between the individual and the community, and as indicators of 'difference' not status (Joy 2010).

Given the intensification of interest in bodily adornment and grooming in the period, a natural response is to look at one's own reflection. Monitoring of bodily presentation in this way may have affected power relations between people. Social norms and ideals could be reproduced. Clearly, these were not simply passive cosmetic objects. Mirrors may have had uses beyond personal grooming. Joy (2007, 2010) reflects on their active role in social situations. A mirror can be used to see behind or beyond one's person. It can catch and reflect light outwards, even to signal and communicate over large distances. They were perhaps used in ritual practices for scrying or divination. Mirrors may also replicate the otherworldly, shimmering boundary of water, relating back to the discussion of deposition and burial in wet places. Iron Age mirrors could be part of both private acts of grooming and public performance, rendering them a cross-functional artefact.

Joy sees mirrors as active objects reinforcing social relationships in times of cultural contact and change (2009:552). Regional and chronological differences are evident. The use of large, elaborately-decorated mirrors was abandoned by people in the southeastern core in the 1st century CE, yet continued in more westerly parts of Britain. Joy notes that a few Roman mirrors were already in use during the LIA, suggesting that some people selected large, elaborate bronze mirrors at this time. These deliberate choices of material, size, style and decoration perhaps signalled identity, group allegiance or exchange networks (2010:48, 57). The absence of Iron Age mirrors from Icenia reminds us that the Iceni may have been selective about adopting their neighbours' cultural types, as well as Gaulish or Roman artefacts.

9.6. Romano-British mirrors

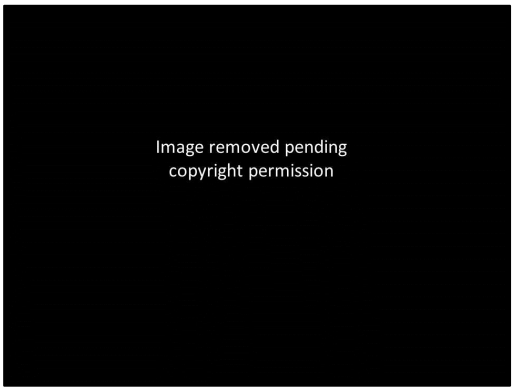


Figure 9.49: Roman mirror with bust of Nero, Coddenham (BM:1838,0331.1).

Romano-British mirrors were small, circular or rectangular, sometimes fitted into ornamental cases (Figure 9.49). They often have moulded decoration or punched patterns of ring-and-dot around the outer edge of one face. Representations on tombstones often show women holding a mirror (Allason-Jones 1989). Unlike Iron Age examples, Roman mirrors are widespread in the *civitas Icenorum* (Figure 9.48). Mirror finds on the PAS are highly-concentrated in the Eastern counties (Booth PAS:SF-2ADBD7) (Figure 9.50). Dating is vague; PAS gives a broad range of 43-410 CE, whilst Eckardt and Crummy date those with handles from the mid-1st/early 2nd century CE (2008:32). Like many other forms of material culture, mirrors fade from the archaeological record in the 3rd century CE (Eckardt 2018:214).

Mirrors were made from '*speculum*' metal: a brittle, highly-tinned, copper alloy. This material fragments easily and is often found in small straight-edged chips. It is thought that all Roman mirrors were imported, suggesting indigenous manufacture ceased post-conquest. This may relate to their superior efficacy (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:31-2). Perhaps they were less valuable and/or more available than the ornate one-off bronze Iron Age types, or they may have been used in a different social context.

County	Number
Cambridgeshire	1
Norfolk	98
Suffolk	43
Grand Total	**142**

Table 39: Romano-British mirror fragments by county.

There are 98 Romano-British mirror fragments from Norfolk (Table 39). Clusters come from parishes which have temples and/or towns, including Walsingham (22), Wighton (5), Wicklewood (26) and Caistor St Edmund (5). In Suffolk, there were finds from the small towns at Pakenham (6) and Wixoe (5), along with Scole on the county border (6). Does this represent a connection with the increased nature of personal grooming and etiquette in more urban 'observed' spaces, or a continuity of ritual practice? The lack of Iron Age mirrors in the region makes this concentration even more unusual.

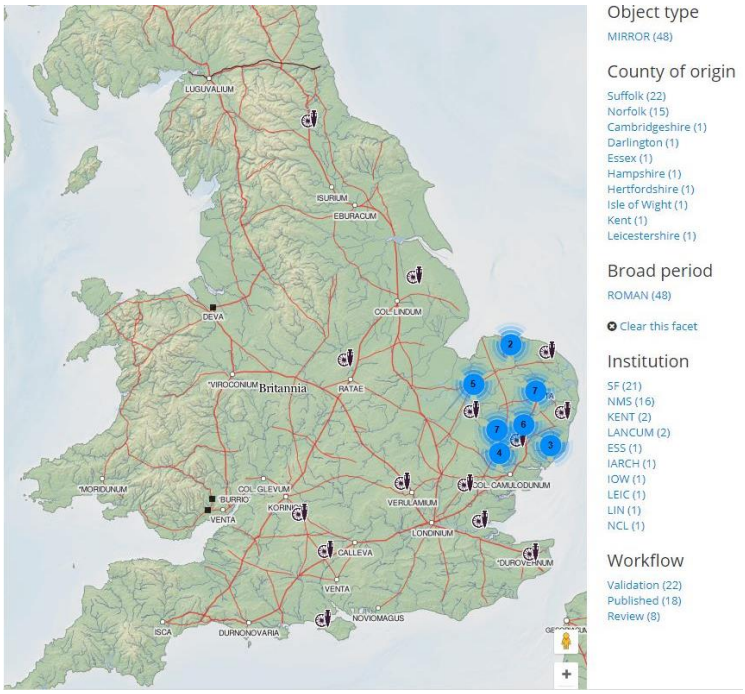


Figure 9.50: Distribution of Romano-British mirrors (Image: PAS).

Recovery bias is an important factor. During data collection in Norfolk, I noted that a small number of key detectorists regularly reported *speculum* fragments. Plotting mirror fragment findspots confirms this. The distribution is skewed heavily in favour of three detectorists (Figure 9.51). Almost one third of mirror finds reported in Norfolk were made by Finder 1, another third by Finder 2 and

Finder 3 found seven pieces all in the same parish. The concentrations reflect their search areas and ability to recognise mirror fragments (usually by their distinctive sharp 'snapped' edges and the highly-tinned metal). It is worth remembering that one mirror can shatter into many fragments, so the numbers of whole mirrors would be considerably smaller. This demonstrates that the abilities and knowledge of individual metal-detectorists has an important effect on the artefacts recovered and reported. Training for other finders (and recorders) would surely increase the quantities and coverage.

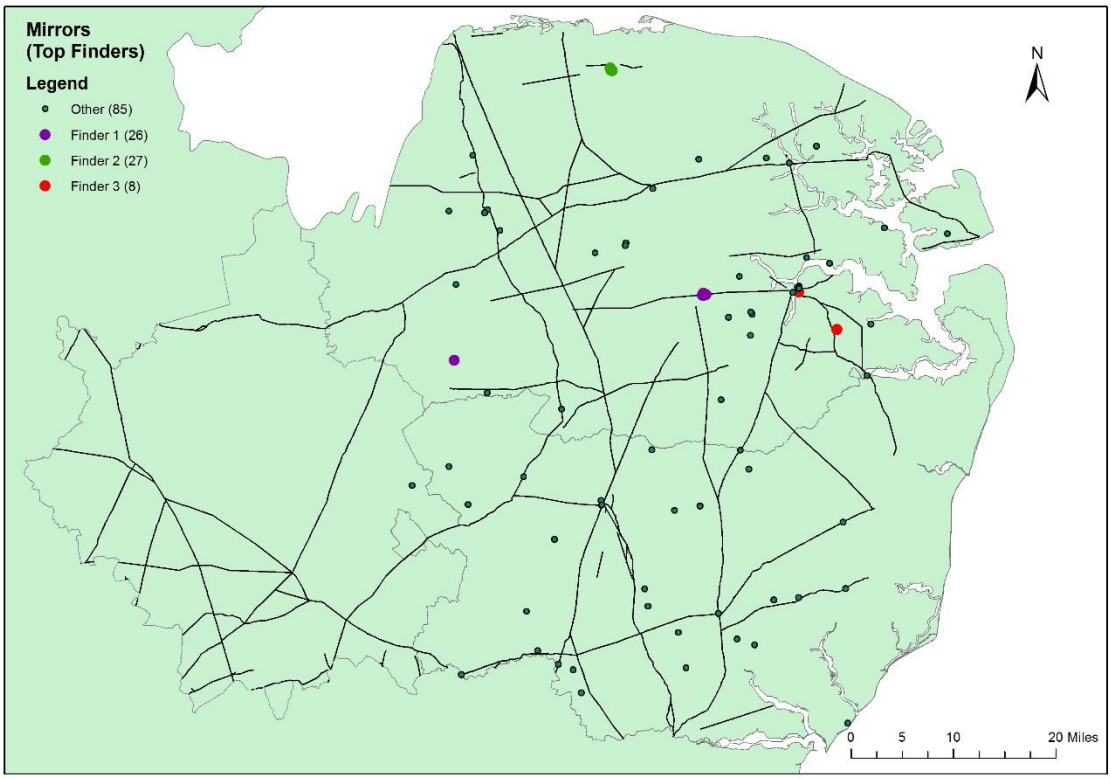


Figure 9.51: Romano-British mirror finds showing detectorist hotspots (Image: Author).

This pattern, while unusable for distribution analysis, other than to confirm that people were using Roman-style mirrors in Norfolk, is telling of the processes of recovery for metal-detected finds. It may also have a bearing on excavated and museum finds if mirror fragments are hard to recognise, although once you know what to look for they are unmistakeable!

At the extra-mural temple at Caistor St Edmund (NHER:9787), 'part of a hinged bronze mirror' was excavated in 1957, which may suggest ritual usage. An almost complete decorated circular mirror came from 'outside the town walls' at

Venta Icenorum (NHER:9826), pre-1894 (Figure 9.52). The Suffolk finds did not show any notable bias, although again several of these are antiquarian finds. A '*speculum'* came from Felixstowe (SHER:FEX092), and a 'round bronze hand mirror' was found at Long Melford (SHER:LMD020). At Herringswell a 'circular convex silvered-bronze mirror' was recorded (SHER:HGWMISC) and at Mildenhall a 'concave mirror' was reported (SHER:MNLMISC).

The association of women with Iron Age mirrors appears less significant in the Roman period. At Coddenham an urned cremation burial produced a copper alloy lid-mirror. Found in 1823, it consists of two circular cases containing convex tinned mirrors. On the outside are motifs based on a coin of Nero. One case shows his laureate head, and the other an 'imperial *Adlocutio*' (BM:1838,0331.1) (Figure 9.49). This may indicate 'male', perhaps military, symbolism indicating 'grooming and the use of mirrors were certainly not an exclusively female occupation in the Roman period' (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:32). Its inclusion in a cremation burial may also suggest some ritualised behaviour akin to the deposition of the *Adlocutio* brooches at Hockwold-cum-Wilton.

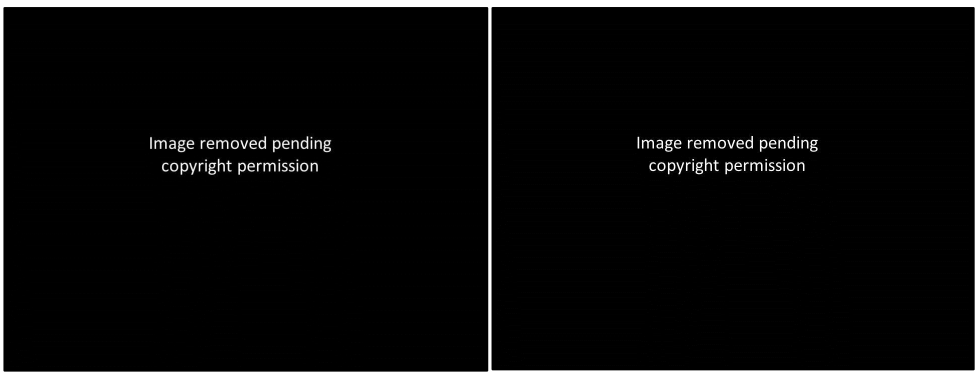


Figure 9.52: (left) Roman circular mirror, Caistor St Edmund (NWHCM:1894.76.717); (right) Mirror from cremation burial, Stanley Avenue, Norwich (NHER:550; Gurney 1998:25 pl. 3).

9.6.1. Stanley Avenue, Norwich

Two cremation burials from Norwich (NHER:550), dating to 65-70 CE, provide 'good evidence against the cultural and economic retardation of the Iceni in the wake of the Boudican rebellion' (Gurney 1998:23). In one, the cremated remains of an adult human (interpreted as female) and bones from the right-

hand-side of a pig were accompanied by *asses* of Nero (64-66 CE), a blue glass bead, and a circular copper alloy mirror. The latter had a highly-polished white metal surface, a decorative border and handle, and was found with the remnants of its wooden case (Figure 9.52). The mirror had been deposited while the bones were still hot from the cremation pyre, and the case, despite being charred, retained traces of Pompeian red paint. The second cremation also included adult human and pig bones, along with a fragmentary Thistle brooch, dating from the early to mid-1st century CE. With both cremation burials were flagons and platters. Gurney maintains that these 'richly furnished' burials 'point to the rapid re-emergence of a new and probably pro-Roman Icenian aristocracy' (Anon 1951:132; Gurney 1998:23-7).

In this scenario, it is plausible to apply Joy's object-centred approach and see the mirror as an indicator of difference rather than status (2010:76-7). This woman and her companion were individuals being marked in death by their community, for despite the introduced materials, there is nothing to suggest that they were not local. The appearance of imported objects and coinage may represent an appropriation of 'other-ness' for those individuals, or part of the community's rationalisation and integration of the political turbulence around them. The revived practice of burial may have been distinctive.

These interments may represent a hybridised rite incorporating elements of LIA and Roman traditions. The combination of the mirror in a cremation burial with pig bones seems to be a particularly Iron Age practice (Davies 2014:33), but the material culture is distinctively Roman and possibly imported. The burials date to the period when the client-kingdom was hurtling towards its violent end, shortly after the Boudican uprising, but embody the opposite of the post-revolt destitution that we are led to expect by classical sources.

9.7. Summary

Material evidence for bodily grooming shows significant post-conquest changes. Some items, like cosmetic grinders, were widespread in town and country, similar to toggles and fasteners. Cosmetic grinders were distinctively British,

but most post-date the invasion. The creatures represented, predominantly bulls, cows and waterbirds, were favourites of the Iron Age craftspeople, although not the animals predominantly represented on Icenian coinage. These differ from the more classical zoomorphics of the plate brooches and seal-boxes. Interestingly, the 'outsider' symbol of the phallus (Johns 1996b:12, 62; Plouviez 2005) has been incorporated.

The hotspot for cosmetic grinders around Wicklewood/Wymondham recalls the Rearhook and Aesica brooches and horse harness, all considered indigenous. The idiosyncratic finishing of the grinders reveals a distinct local aesthetic and the lack of standardisation in some Roman-period objects. Grinders may also show shifts in practice, running concurrently with the marble palettes. Palettes were not displayed on the person, unlike grinders and Châtelaines, and may have served a completely different purpose, such as mixing writing ink (Eckardt 2018:28-9, 214-5).

Nail cleaners also reflect changes in display and identities. They may show a division between appropriate behaviour in public and private. There is regional variety, with a concentration around Fincham and the Icknield Way settlements which have strong Late Iron Age to Roman continuity. The loop types are clearly split between the north (same plane) and south (right angle) of the region, with Baldock types only in the far south. This may show regional preferences or the availability of certain types due to local manufacture.

After the 2nd century CE peak, grooming implements decline, perhaps replaced by other means of personal and group expression, such as religious adherence or literacy. The need to display a strong identity through a groomed exterior may have become less important once the initial upheavals of conquest had receded (Carr 2006:79). Hairpins are post-conquest introductions, and Iron Age mirrors are rare. Again, a shift in visual, and possibly gender, identities was occurring. Pins are associated with women's hairstyling practices, whereas mirrors become less strongly gendered in the Roman period. The sense of

appropriateness and votive deposition seen in the pre-conquest period continue well into the 'Roman Dark Ages'.

This period, the 2nd/3rd centuries CE, is a time when little is written about Britain and there are few well-dated excavation sequences to distinguish small finds. Artefacts like nail cleaners or seal-boxes are important indicators of practices which continue through the 'abandonment horizon', which affects other articles of personal ornament and grooming. Perhaps writing, medical treatment and security of valuables were more pressing concerns which outlived the earlier focus on personal presentation and display. Objects like keys and penknives also come into regular usage at this time, and the material culture of the 3rd/4th centuries looks very different.

Chapter 10. Conclusions and Future Research

In this thesis I have explored the LIA to Roman period in Iceni territory through personal belongings. I have demonstrated that:

- A single unified social entity ('the Iceni') is not archaeologically visible across the study area, although there is intra-regional patterning.
- Iron Age modes of expressing status and identity persisted under Roman rule, through the manufacture, use and display of objects.
- Evidence is lacking for regional impoverishment and depopulation in the aftermath of the Boudican revolt.
- Metal-detected surface finds have significant research potential when viewed across a wide area and in conjunction with stratified finds.

9.8. There is no defined 'Iceni' identity visible in the material culture

Research Questions: Is there a distinctive material culture in the region which can be identified with 'the Iceni'? Did they 'Do Different' or have they been constructed as an 'Other'?

Who were the Iceni? The Iron Age people of East Anglia have been constructed as 'Iceni' through several mechanisms, starting with their naming in classical literature. Naming is also essential in rooting this group firmly in space, constructing a 'tribal territory' around *Venta Icenorum*. The story is enhanced through the romantic notion of the indigenous underdogs rising up against their cruel and unjust oppressors, led by a strong female character. The conclusion in bloodshed and devastation birthed the idea of the stunted development of the *civitas* capital, the 'pacification' of the territory and the cultural backwardness of its people.

The Iceni have been constructed as 'Other', a foil against which the neophiles of the southeastern 'kingdoms', with their imports and 'chiefly burials' can stand out. They were rebellious, but not wild like the northern barbarians, beginning as friendly clients and only resorting to violence in extreme circumstances. Their uprisings quashed, the *civitas* settles into historical obscurity, perhaps divided up and settled by veterans and complicit 'élites'. In some cases,

analysts have tried to make the material culture, particularly coins and brooches, fit with this narrative. Outside the *civitas*, the same archaeological evidence is interpreted differently, based on expectations of the Iceni to be resistant troublemakers or reactionary barbarians. Some of these attitudes also chime with the commonly-held stereotype of modern Norfolk as slow to change, lost in time, different and insular, summed up by the phrase 'Normal for Norfolk'.

This study has reassessed some of these discourses, using an archaeology-first approach which tests the material evidence against the written sources. I have taken a nuanced view of changing material culture over time. My analysis of 'belonging and belongings' shows there is no archaeologically visible Iceni, as a bounded ethnic identity group, detectable through a consistent and shared material culture. This accords with other studies emphasising the complex relationships between material culture and identity (Carr 2006; Crummy and Eckardt 2008; Gardner 2007; Hill 2007; Hutcheson 2004; Mattingly 2007, 2008; Revell 2016).

My research has confirmed some distinctive material culture and practices in the study area, which have traditionally been associated with Icenian identity. Certain types of artefact, such as cosmetic grinders and Rearhook brooches, show comparable patterning of deposition and recovery (Figure 10.1, Figure 10.2), suggesting areas of indigenous settlement and perhaps also manufacture.

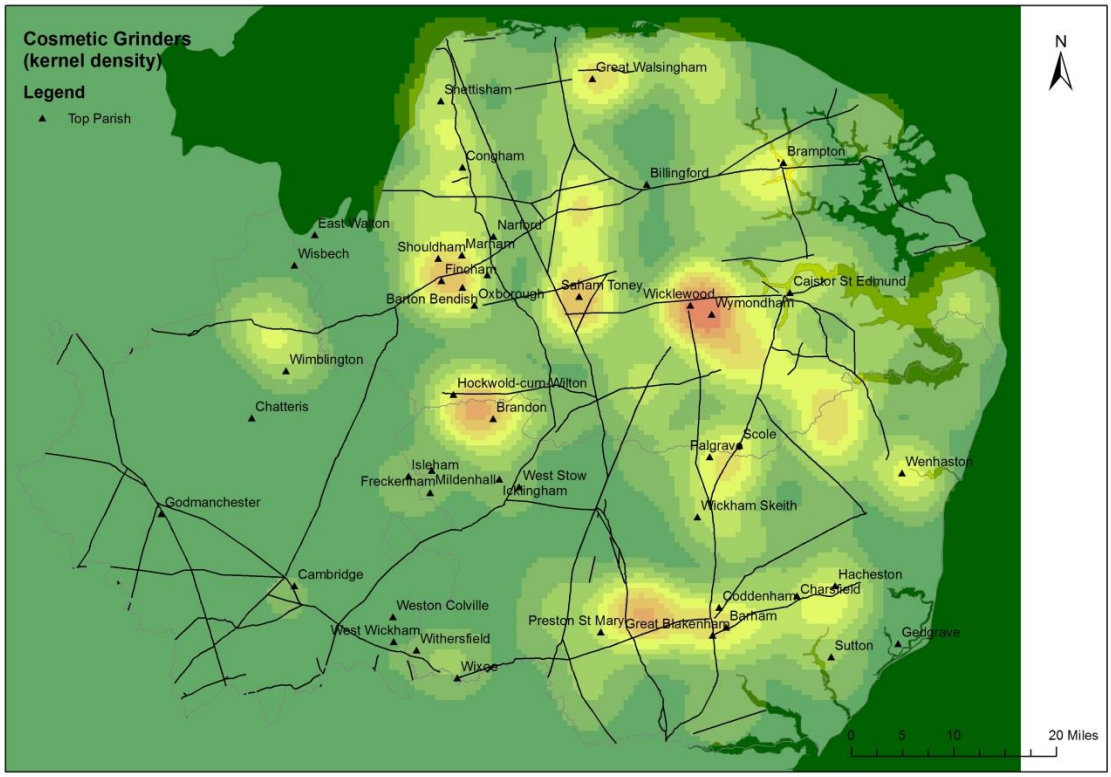


Figure 10.1: Density of cosmetic grinders (Image: Author).

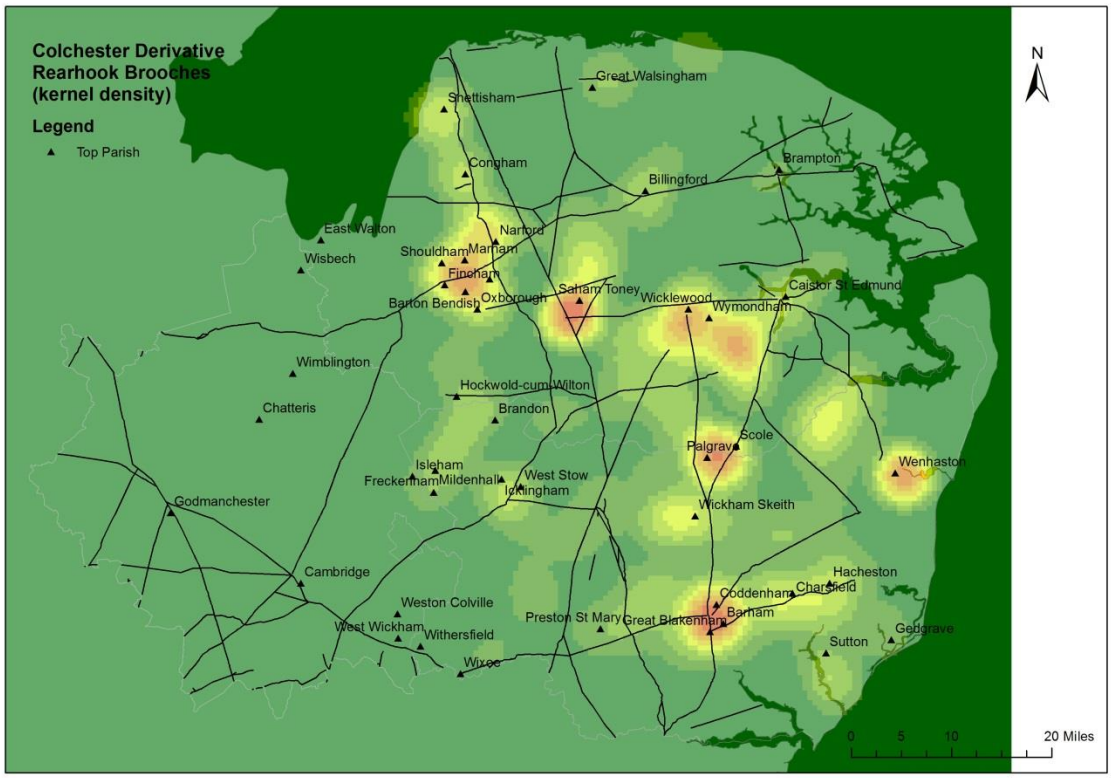


Figure 10.2: Density of Rearhook brooches (Image: Author).

My findings highlight differences with the numismatic data. Portable and personal artefacts display different distributions to coins, which have clear geographical circulation zones (Chadburn 2006; Leins 2012; Talbot 2015, 2017). Coinage is not a simple personal belonging; it is minted and issued by certain people or groups for a specific use. Coins of this period also show little wear, suggesting they were not everyday possessions carried on the person. (Talbot 2015:294, 300, 2017:144-5), which is very different from how we understand other artefact manufacture. Therefore, it is unsurprising to find that objects, such as hairpins, and coins follow differing distribution patterns.

The coin evidence does, in some cases, support my interpretations, such as the relatively late appearance of the *civitas* capital. Leins observed that *Venta Icenorum* 'appears marginal to the main areas of coin-use' (2012:185) which agrees with my assertion that it was not built upon a pre-conquest *oppidum*. The nearest possible evidence for minting to Caistor St Edmund comes from Saham Toney or Needham in the Waveney Valley (Chadburn 2006:460-4). The three main mints were not static and may have been controlled by trade organisations rather than individual rulers (Talbot 2015:310-1, 2017:99-101), although this interpretation perhaps owes more to Talbot's background in finance than the situation on the ground. There is a great deal of crossover of different coin types of this period, with neighbouring and far-flung issues finding their way into Icenia. Leins notes that the coinages of the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni are difficult to distinguish stylistically and may both have been minted at Colchester. There are many similarities in the iconography and legends on coins from different areas, suggesting these were not exclusive to certain 'tribes' (2012:41-2, 79, 108).

Although coins and ornamental metalwork are occasionally produced at the same sites (e.g. Fison Way) and even deposited together in hoards, the two categories held very different positions. Coin manufacture must have been overseen to some extent, with dies issuing from a minting authority, whether a court, council, individual warlord, trade body or religious organisation. Icenian coins were also tightly controlled in terms of weight and purity. Later

denominational coinage became progressively stable and consistent in design, weight and metal content. Talbot sees with this an attendant decrease in artistic freedom, with all reverses portraying the horse (2015:302, 2017:72, 83). Experimentation and hybridity in brooch manufacture is not mirrored in coins, in which the aesthetic becomes increasingly fixed.

My interpretation of the brooches is inevitably complex, due to the size of the dataset and some classificatory ambiguities. Colchester Derivative Rearhook brooches show strong geographical patterning, which may be consistent with the view that this was the Icenian brooch type around the time of the conquest (Mackreth 2009, 2011). Likewise, Harlow brooches are widespread in the south of the area, as would be anticipated from a brooch considered characteristic 'of the Trinovantes' (Mackreth 2011:50). I find this idea of mapping group identity directly onto brooches as 'badges of belonging' dissatisfying. It is unlikely that barely-visible differences in spring fixing were enough to distinguish one social grouping from another, although the greater decoration on Rearhook brooches may have been more noticeable at a distance.

What is more intriguing is the popularity of the Harlow spring system in a broad swathe up the western side of the study area, perhaps following main routes. Martin (1999:88) proposed the eastern Fen edge was in Iceni territory while the southwestern Fens were a contested zone between the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes. These two brooch types are far from being mutually exclusive. The manufacturing evidence supports this assertion, with Harlow production in Norfolk and Rearhooks in Suffolk (Chapter 4). A reassessment of the concepts of itinerant metalworkers and workshops in the light of the Boudican narrative has shown how archaeology can sometimes be blinkered. An unanswered question is why these types were occasionally made in one part of the region, but deposited in higher proportions in the other. Evidence for other locally-produced brooches, like Hinged Colchester Derivatives, does not show this contradiction. Could this anomaly be related to the strong metalworking tradition in the north of the territory or is it solely down to loss and recovery?

Distributions of material culture demonstrate a complex intra-regional picture. Some objects are closely tied with certain areas, most likely related to production centres and deposition *foci*. Hoards of torcs are an East Anglian phenomenon, with a probable religious focus in northwest Norfolk, as has long been established. Decorated horse harness also shows clear sub-regional distributions which are unlikely to result from recovery bias (Chapter 6). The Saham Toney area seems to have been important in the production of horse equipment and brooches. The evidence for coin minting is also characteristic of *oppida*. Until the cropmark and surface survey evidence is tested by excavation, we cannot say for sure whether this site was an *oppidum* or equivalent political power-base, but it certainly appears to have been a significant indigenous centre.

The relationship between Icenian territory and horses has also been established, with coinage and harness representing both a symbolic and practical preoccupation. If the terret moulds found at Waldringfield were made for Westhall-type terrets, then the distribution of these shows region-wide exchange networks. In some cases, items which may have been made in East Anglia have been found in Scotland (Middlebie) and *vice versa* (Snailwell). Long distance travel and communication must therefore be incorporated into our model of portable artefact manufacture and consumption. Torcs and harness may have also been essential in defining certain people in death, through hoards which I have suggested may have been substitutes for burial. The funerary traditions of the era are scarcely known, but the difference between the polity and neighbouring areas is marked.

9.9. Resistance is Useless!

Research Questions: During the client-kingdom period, were personal belongings used to show resistance to Roman influence? Did the Iceni favour displays of objects over other symbols considered to demonstrate status such as elaborate burials?

The 'Do Different' narrative here presents two sides of the same story. Many objects and sites span the conquest, which reveals the division into LIA and Romano-British as a disciplinary fiction. Although some modes of expressing status and identity persisted under Roman rule, through the manufacture, use and display of objects, there is an attendant increase in similarity with other parts of Britain and Europe. I found support for a shift from fragmentation and regional distinctiveness towards greater integration over time. However, it is important to establish that this observation is not 'Romanisation by any other name'. An explanation for this shift may be one of greater connectivity, which other writers define as 'globalisation' (e.g. Pitts 2007; Versluys 2014; Woolf 2014), although this is a modern concept projected back in time.

Martin (1999:85) tried to identify some cultural indicators in Suffolk. Apart from coin groups, horse harness was seen as an Icenian focus, with a lack of early *amphorae*, imported Gallo-Belgic pottery and cremation cemeteries, seen as identifiers of the Trinovantian territory. The region does show some distinct presences and absences in material culture, which may suggest fashions or restrictions of certain practices and belongings. Torcs seem to be a particularly northwestern artefact (Figure 10.3), but there is a lack of Iron Age mirrors. Harness and chariot fittings are highly focussed in the Breckland area (Figure 10.4). Chariot burials are conspicuously absent, whereas hoarding is an important practice. I have argued that this may relate to a less-hierarchical social structure and the absence of an élite stratum focussed on displays of individual power. The communal aspects of hoards and the potential for horse harness to represent a value system based on group ownership of livestock support these claims. In its individuality and distinctiveness, Icenia actually achieves greater similarity with other provinces. Regionality and difference are defining features of the British Iron Age, which was previously characterised by a narrow focus on the Wessex region (Hill 1999:186-8).

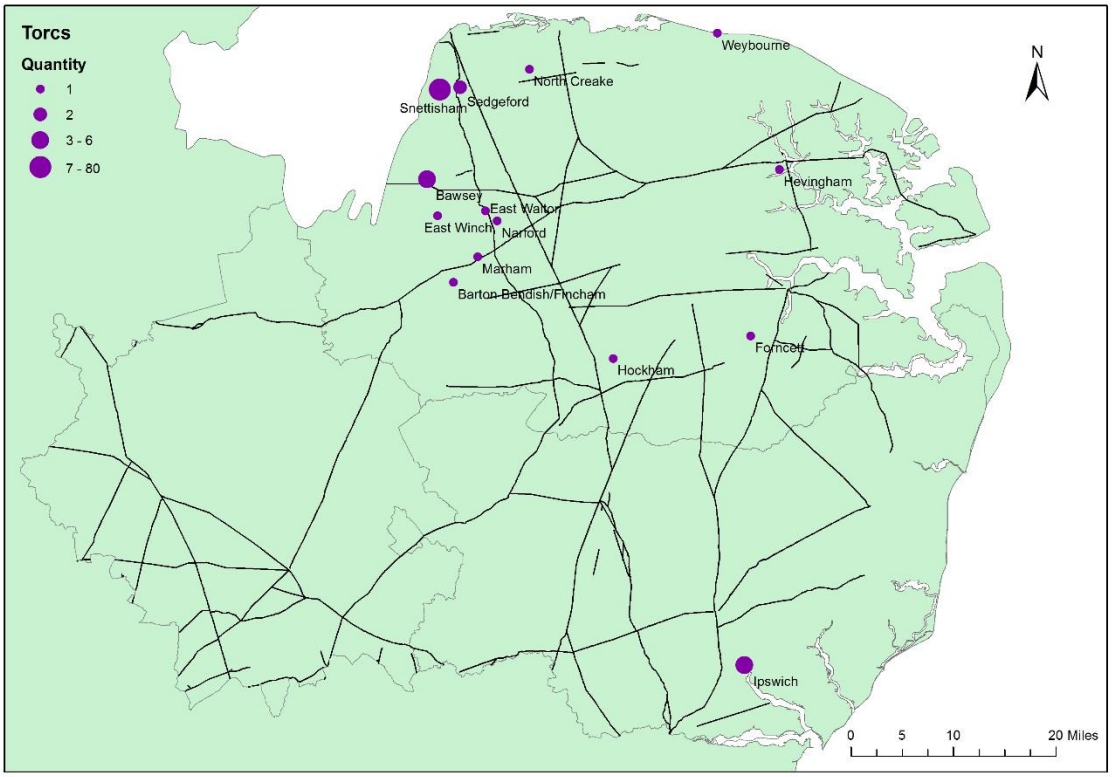


Figure 10.3: Distribution of torcs showing quantities (Image: Author).

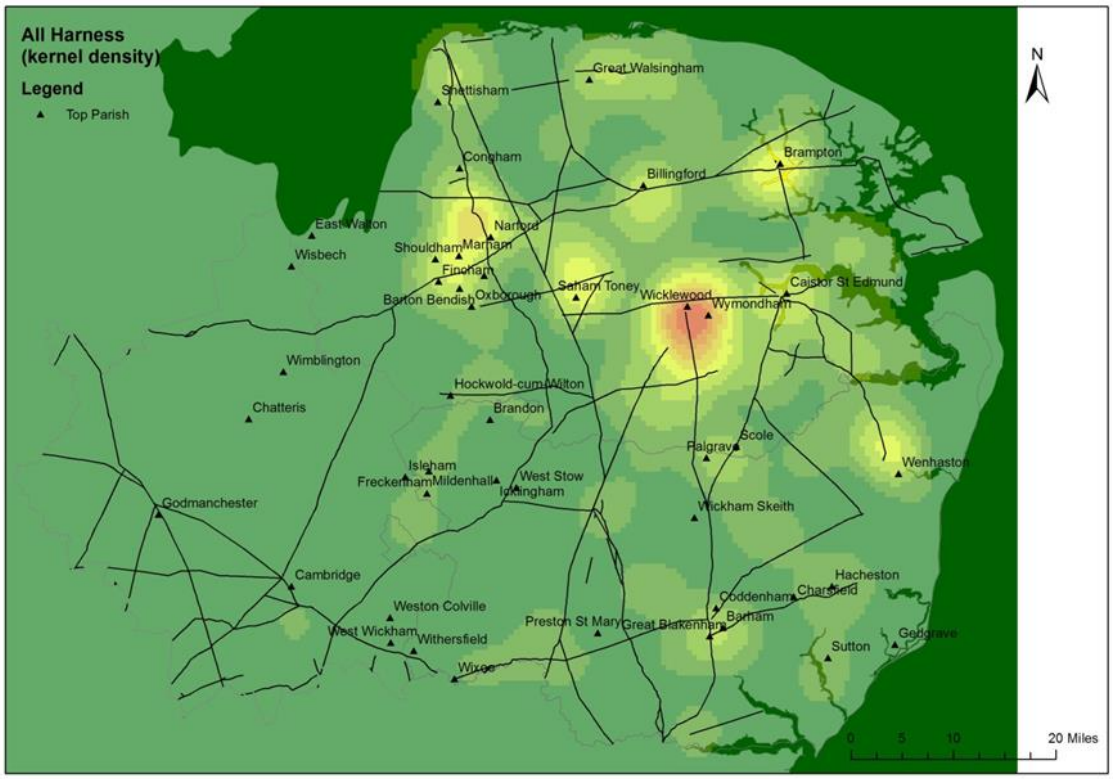


Figure 10.4: Density of harness and chariot equipment (Image: Author).

The people of eastern Britain were closely connected with their near neighbours on the mainland before the Roman invasion. My analysis of continental one-piece brooches (Section 4.8) demonstrates that there were numerous early 1st century CE imports. The Iceni were not resisting all imports or acting conservatively. Acquisition and appropriation of Gaulish material culture, along with items carried into Britain with the Roman army in the early post-conquest years, are not surprising. During the contact period and occupation, 'intrusive' objects did flow into the region, accompanied by new people, ideas and practices. Some of these show geographically-restricted distributions, implying that they were treated as extraordinary in some way, such as the clustering of Wide-cuff bracelets (Figure 10.5) and the numerous seal-boxes from Walsingham (Figure 10.6).

Not only does the Icenian polity stand out against other Roman provinces and the 'Classic' Wessex model, it exhibits key differences to neighbouring areas in modes of burial and deposition practice. These allegiances also changed over time, with a closer focus on connections with Lincolnshire and the Midlands developing in the 2nd century CE. I have characterised this as a process of selectivity rather than outright rejection of all things Roman which perpetuates the dualistic view of 'Romans vs Natives'. Icenian communities were not simply resisting Roman cultural forms and clinging blindly to their traditions. They were selectively acquiring and transforming material culture from Gaul, the Mediterranean and other parts of Britain in different parts of the region and at different times.

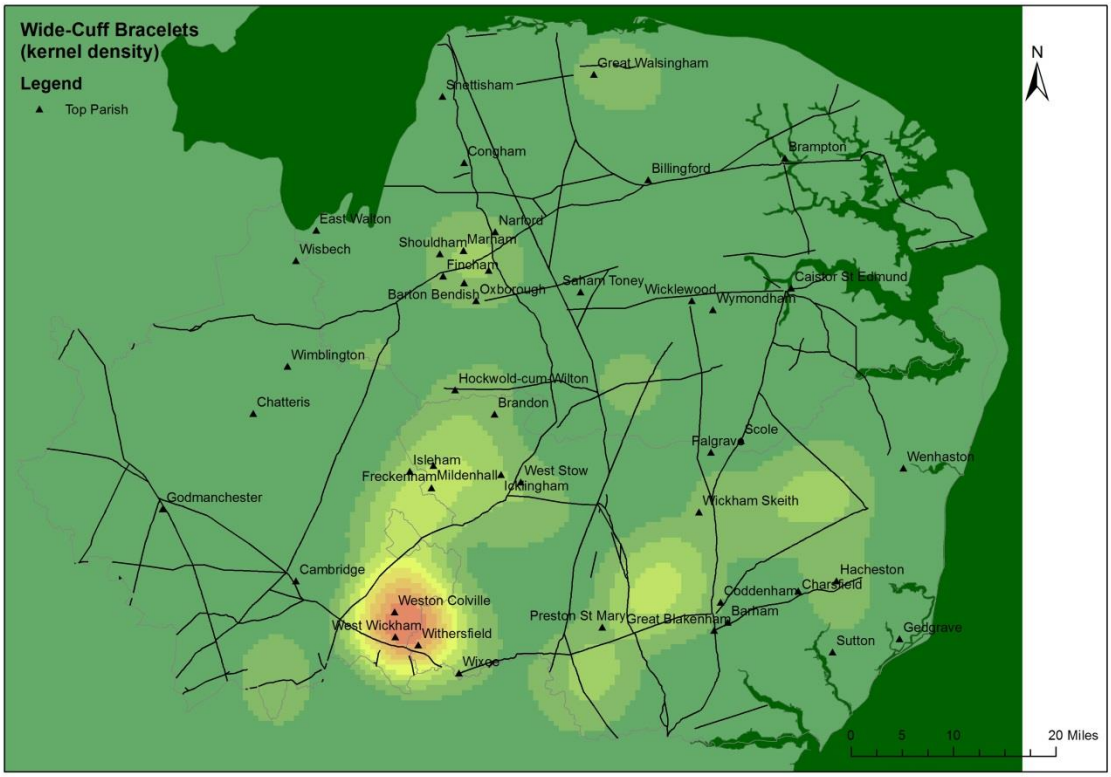


Figure 10.5: Density of Wide-cuff bracelets (Image: Author).

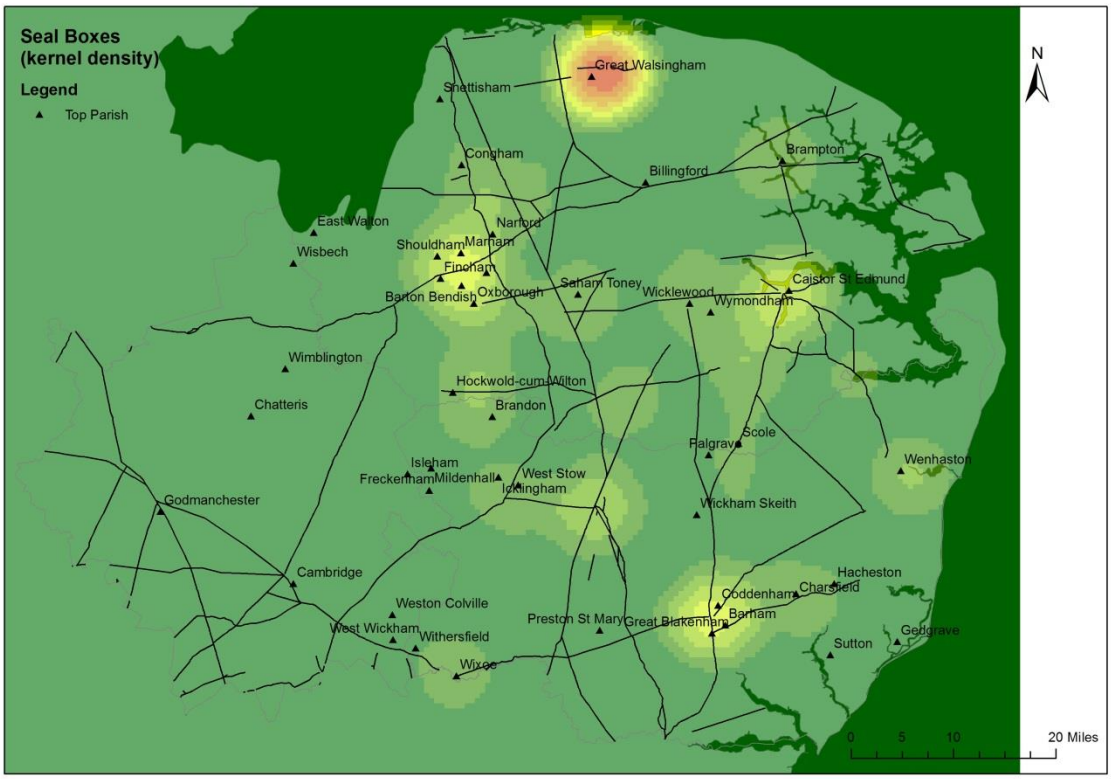


Figure 10.6: Density of seal-boxes (Image: Author).

Much as cultural change has been shown to be multidimensional and discrepant, so what looks like continuity is more likely change that happens incrementally, through the small practices of everyday grooming behaviour, hybrid forms in personal adornment or the strategic adoption of literacy. People were experimenting with new forms and ideas as they presented themselves, modifying, adopting and adapting them to their own local aesthetics and tastes. In a region with a strong metalwork tradition and therefore highly skilled craftspeople, opportunities for experimentation took place at the forefront of some of these artefacts' evolutions, for example the production of brooches. Continuity can also be seen in practices which persisted despite alterations in the artefacts, perhaps relating to gender and religious activities. The ongoing importance of ritual deposition and the focus on horses is a good argument against depopulation of the region in the wake of the 'War of Independence'.

9.10. 'Harried with fire and sword'?

Research Question: What evidence is there for the claimed post-rebellion famine, depopulation and reallocation of land?

My research challenges the long-held hypothesis that the Iceni were heavily punished for their part in the anti-Roman revolt. While an object-based approach cannot directly prove changes in populations, it corroborates the continuity shown by the RRS project (Smith *et al.* 2016:214). 'Harried with fire and sword' (Tac. *Ann.* 14.38) is commonly repeated without any real recourse to archaeological evidence. Where are the burnt layers in Iron Age farmsteads? Where are the remains of families who starved to death in the 'ensuing famine' or who were massacred in retributive attacks by the Roman army? The general lack of Iron Age human remains and an identifiable burial tradition make this problematic, although 'war cemeteries' and mass graves have been proposed elsewhere. The fortresses, garrisons and other Roman military emplacements of the later 1st century CE are few and far between in comparison with other militarised zones (Gambash 2012:12). These include Saham Toney, Ashill, Horstead, Swanton Morley and Coddenham, although several of these sites are unexcavated and known only from aerial photography and surface finds.

The Hod Hill and Aucissa brooches may indicate that Icenia was not militarised during the 'first wave' of occupation, which would be compatible with the client-kingdom, but saw more soldiers in the aftermath of the revolt. Alternatively, they could have been popular markers of status or fashion which caught on during this period and were adapted into local practices of production and display. This could be used to argue both for and against the depopulation theory. Comparing the density maps of locally-produced Colchester one-piece brooches and Hod Hill/Aucissa types shows that both these items are being deposited in areas of indigenous settlement, rather than known forts or marching camps (Figure 10.7, Figure 10.8).

My observations about the narrative of the Icenian 'Other' have shown that in neighbouring regions the same data are interpreted differently (Section 4.10). As discussed, there are multiple opportunities for circularity in the dating of contexts and finds to the Boudican revolt. The classical sources have been corroborated regarding the destruction of Colchester and London; therefore does the archaeology actually support the harrying? A counter-argument is that if the region were devastated, then repopulated with 'friendly' civilians and/or veterans, there would be no need to subdue the population with a heavy military presence. There is nothing archaeological to support a major population shift or hiatus; in fact continuity is evinced in both settlements and material culture. Frere used the stereotype of Icenia's depopulation to consolidate his claimed centuriation scheme in Norfolk. He declared: 'after the rebellion had been suppressed, much of Icenian territory was found to be almost devoid of inhabitants' and any survivors must have been sold into slavery (2000:350-5). These unlucky remnants were forced into labouring on centuriation or drainage schemes along with members of other groups who had joined in the revolt (Bulst 1961:506). Dilke (1971) noted that centuriation is only usually applied around *coloniae* and found no evidence for it in Roman Britain. Frere also accepts that Norfolk has no *colonia* and is too large for a veteran settlement (2000:351). I would argue that centuriation is unproven and needs considerably more evidence to be convincing.

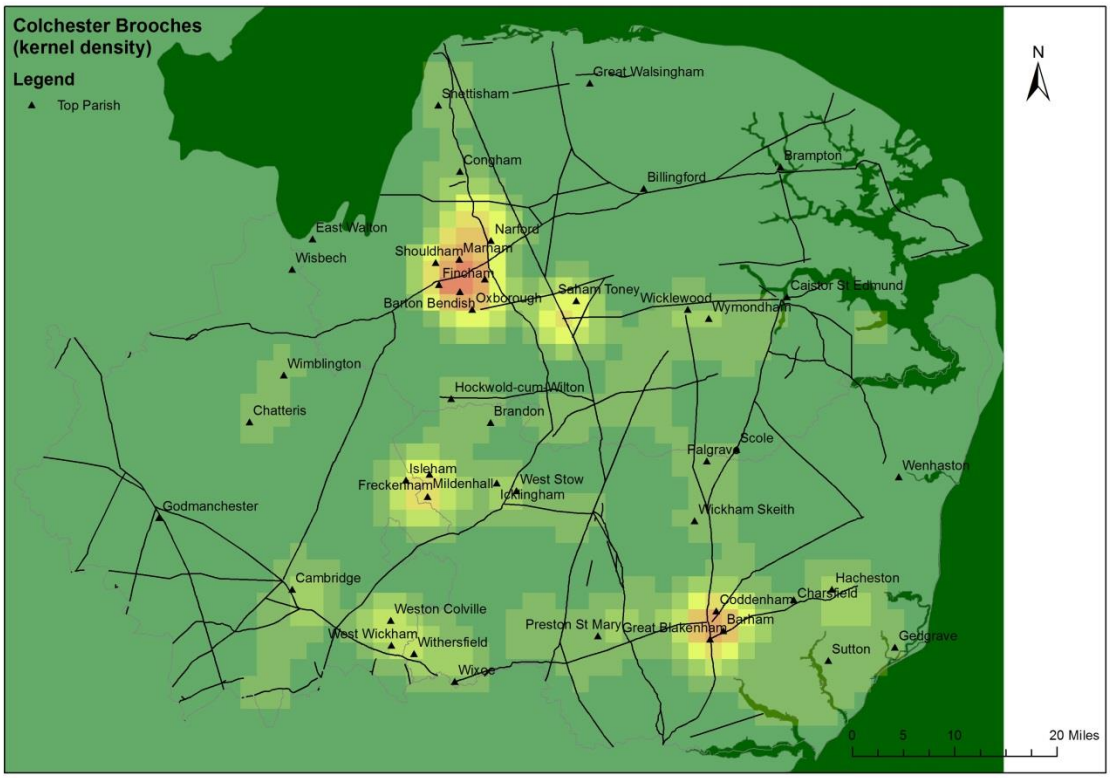


Figure 10.7: Density of Colchester brooches (Image: Author).

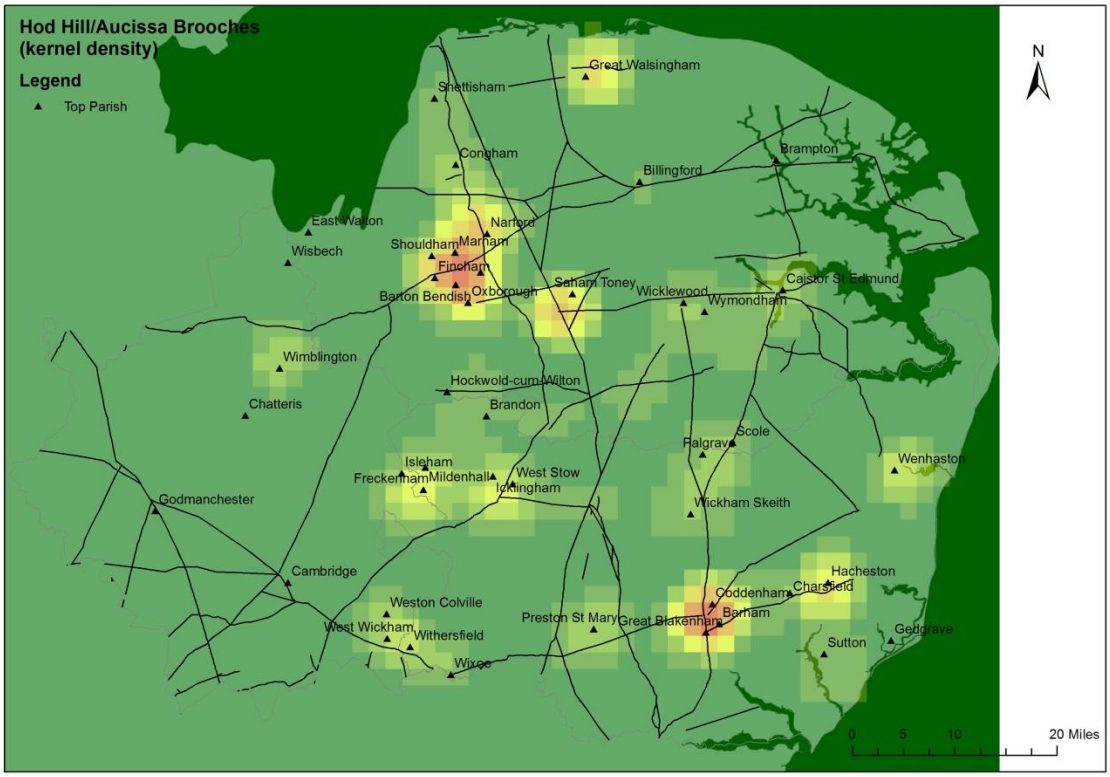


Figure 10.8: Density of early 'military' brooches (Image: Author).

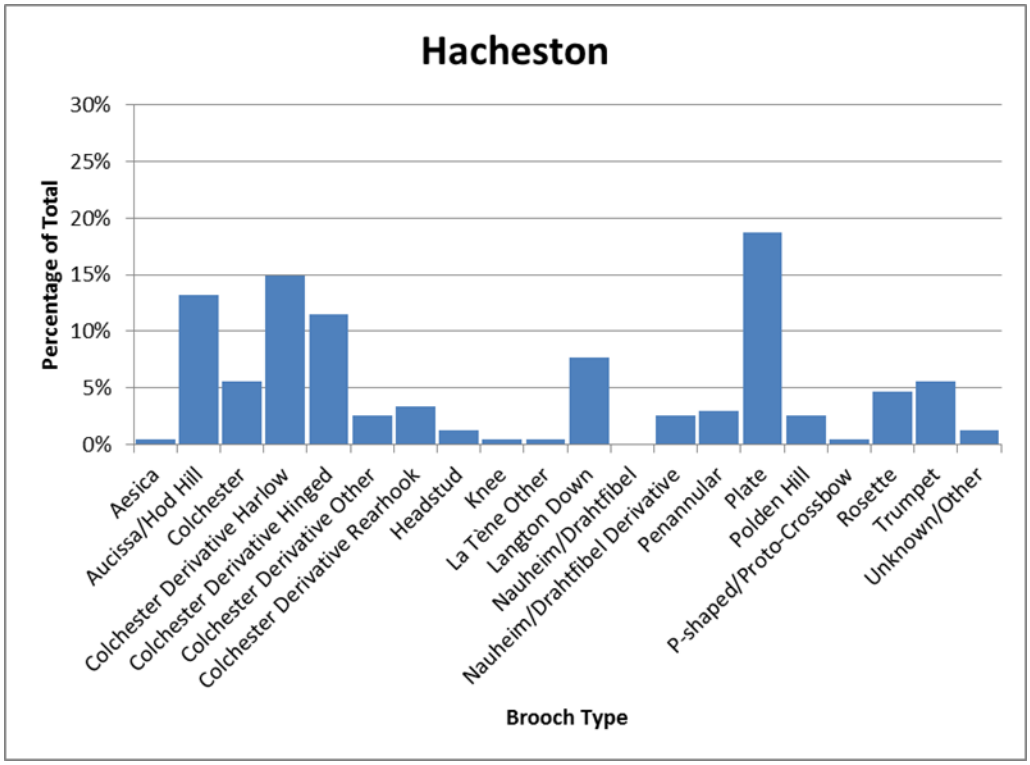


Figure 10.9: Percentages of brooches by type, Hacheston (235 brooches).

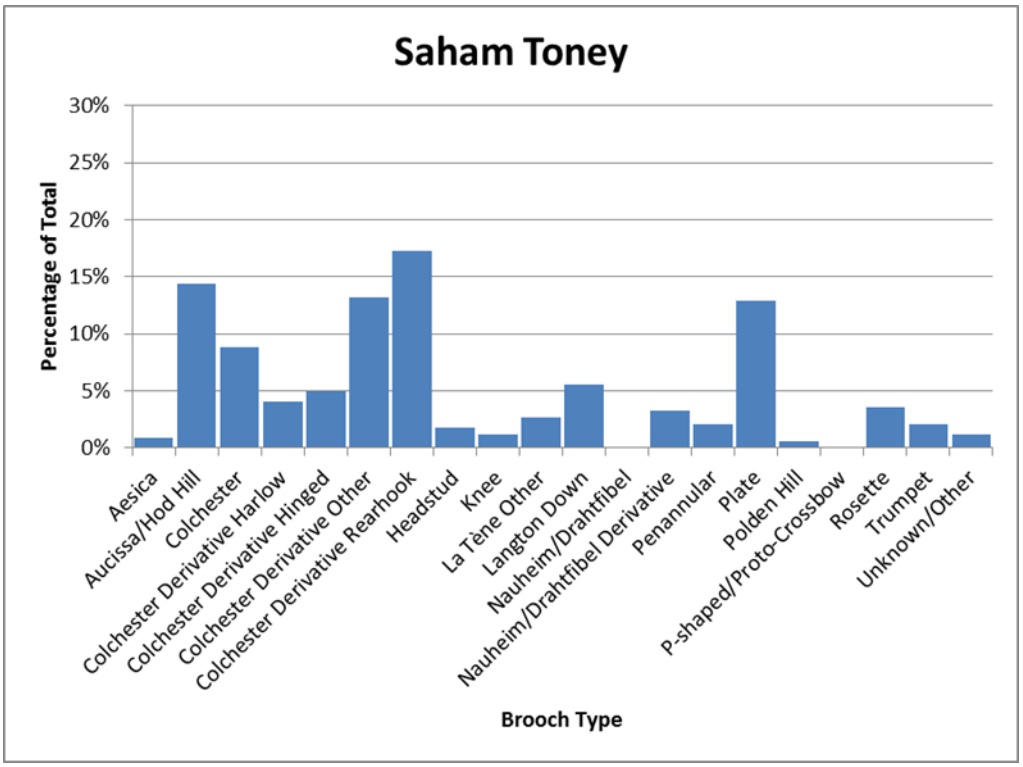


Figure 10.10: Percentages of brooches by type, Saham Toney (342 brooches).

There is a lack of archaeological evidence for reprisals and depopulation of indigenous settlements. My data, spatial and chronological analyses do not

demonstrate any large-scale population movement, and most settlements appear to continue throughout the 1st century CE and onwards. The sheer quantity of material culture indicates that there was no hiatus owing to a 'harrying' by occupying Roman forces. There are numerous brooches, other forms of personal ornament and horse harness which attest to this continuity. Sites such as Hacheston and Saham Toney have pre-conquest, client-kingdom and post-revolt activity. Here, the brooch profiles show early 1st century CE types, (like Rosettes, Nauheim Derivatives, Langton Downs and Colchesters), mid-late 1st century CE brooches (the Colchester Derivatives and the Hod Hills) as well as the plate brooches, Polden Hills and Trumpets which stretch into the 2nd century CE (Figure 10.9, Figure 10.10).

For comparison, Sedgeford is one example of where there may be evidence of population collapse and reuse of the landscape (SHARP 2014:31-2). West Stow is another (West 1989:109) although it is all too easy to ascribe abandonment to the Boudican rebellion. The brooch profiles (Figure 10.11, Figure 10.12) show there was certainly later activity in those parishes in the later 1st-3rd centuries CE, particularly the proportion of plate brooches from West Stow and Trumpets at Sedgeford. The abandonment at West Stow was not accompanied by great destruction. Additionally, the ritual site at Thetford was dismantled not burnt, perhaps with a relocation of the sacred focus (Hingley and Unwin 2005:104-5), which I have suggested may have been at Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Section 4.14.2). Similarly, the religious centre at Snettisham may have transferred to the shrine at Walsingham (Marsden 2014:70). The two cremation burials from Stanley Avenue, Norwich (Section 9.6.1) also provide some evidence against the depopulation hypothesis (Gurney 1998).

The boundary between the LIA and early Roman period is not especially clear in the small finds, revealing it as a largely modern disciplinary construction. Neither does the material culture show the political changes described so vividly in classical literature. The real shift seems to occur earlier (with the *fibula* event horizon) and later (the abandonment horizon). This leads into the 'Roman Dark Ages' and the different character of Late Roman assemblages.

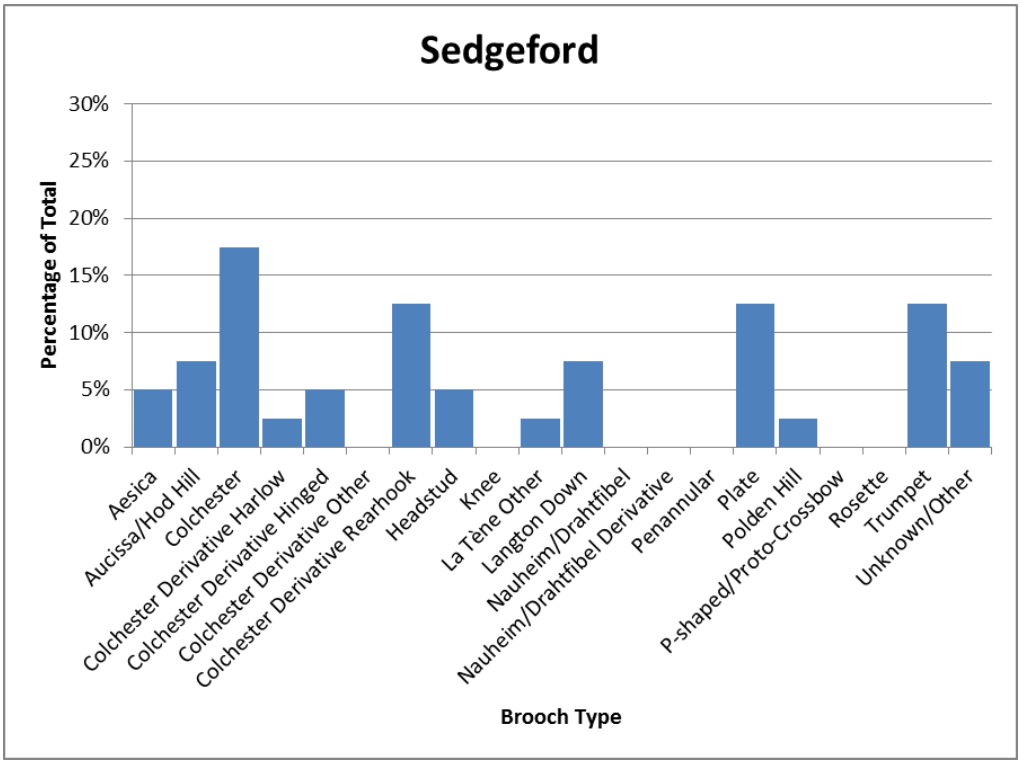


Figure 10.11: Percentages of brooches by type, Sedgeford (40 brooches).

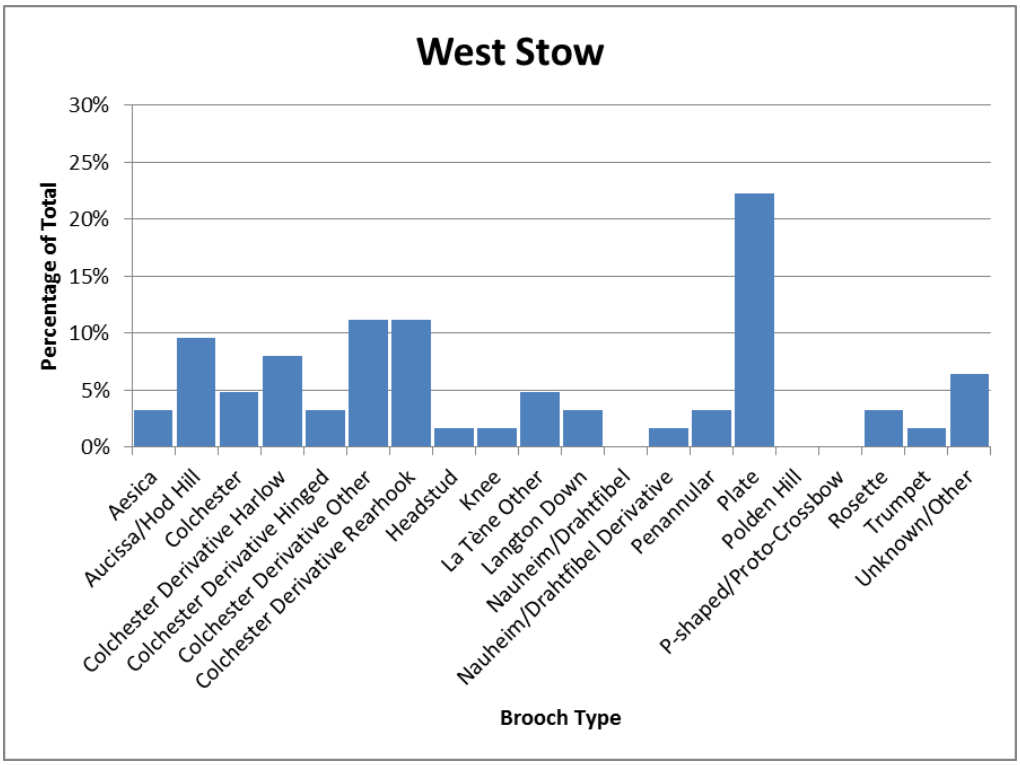


Figure 10.12: Percentages of brooches by type, West Stow (63 brooches).

9.11. Metal-detecting is Useful

Research Question: Are unstratified surface finds recovered by metal-detector useful for research purposes?

Despite the question marks over metal-detecting, my research shows that such finds are beneficial, particularly when analysed *en masse*. The success of the PAS shows there is a will to record and the number of research projects utilising PAS data is growing, with 589 thus far.[64] While the recovery of more artefacts from Norfolk and Suffolk than other parts of Britain may introduce an element of bias, it has been shown that finds are not purely concentrated in areas of high detector usage. The advantages of working with large datasets and distribution analysis allow for some of the inevitable inaccuracies to be evened out. Concentrations can also flag up areas for future investigation. I have also responded to Cool and Baxter's concerns over morphological bias in detector finds (2016a, 2016b). Discussions with detectorists revealed a variable picture of recovery which depended on weather and soil conditions and the type of machine in use.

My study has also shown the value of an integrated approach which uses the PAS data to calibrate other sources, such as HER and excavated records. In some cases, this has helped to correct the perceived bias (such as filling in Mackreth's 'black hole' in Suffolk (2011:3), with the result that the figures for Trumpet brooches look much more consistent, Section 4.11.4). My research adds to the contributions made by recent PAS studies including Brindle (2014), Robbins (2012) and Statton (2016). The ongoing increase in small finds from a variety of categories, even when compared to relatively recent studies (see Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3; Figure 7.16, Figure 8.3 and Figure 9.4), implies that more frequent reviews of material culture corpora must be made to ensure interpretation keeps apace with recovery and recording.

10.4.1. Seeking the Great Estuary

Plotting large-scale distributions of finds can also have unintended benefits. I observed that data rarely plotted in the area defined as the 'Great Estuary'[65]

(Figure 10.13, Figure 10.14). There are two potential explanations: this may be evidence that in the Iron Age and Roman periods the Great Estuary was indeed roughly where projected. Alternatively, the distributions may be biased, partly because much of the relevant area is within the Norfolk Broads National Park or recorders deliberately do not plot finds there. The only finds which stray within the estuarine boundary are a few brooches from the Waveney Valley around Mettingham and Barsham. Other categories of finds largely respect the Estuary boundaries. An interesting cluster at Langley warrants further investigation.

Peterson (2009) is one of the few who contest the idea of the Great Estuary. He argues that Roman period finds have been made in the area considered to have been submerged and that the sandbar across the mouth of the Estuary at Great Yarmouth may have periodically been reoccupied. The Fenland was wetter in the Iron Age, so this coastal part could also have become more habitable as the Roman period continued. The Norfolk results of the National Mapping Programme (NMP) also revealed that it was extremely difficult to distinguish between later prehistoric, Iron Age and Roman domestic enclosures and agricultural landscapes from aerial photography and that many sites could have stayed in use across both periods (Albone *et al.* 2007a, 2007b).

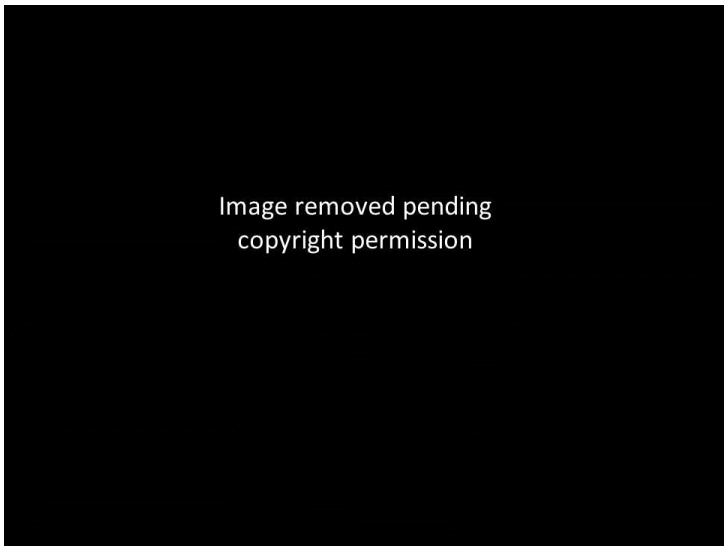


Figure 10.13: The topography and hydrology of the Norfolk Broads (NMP, Albone *et al.* 2007a:fig. 2.1).

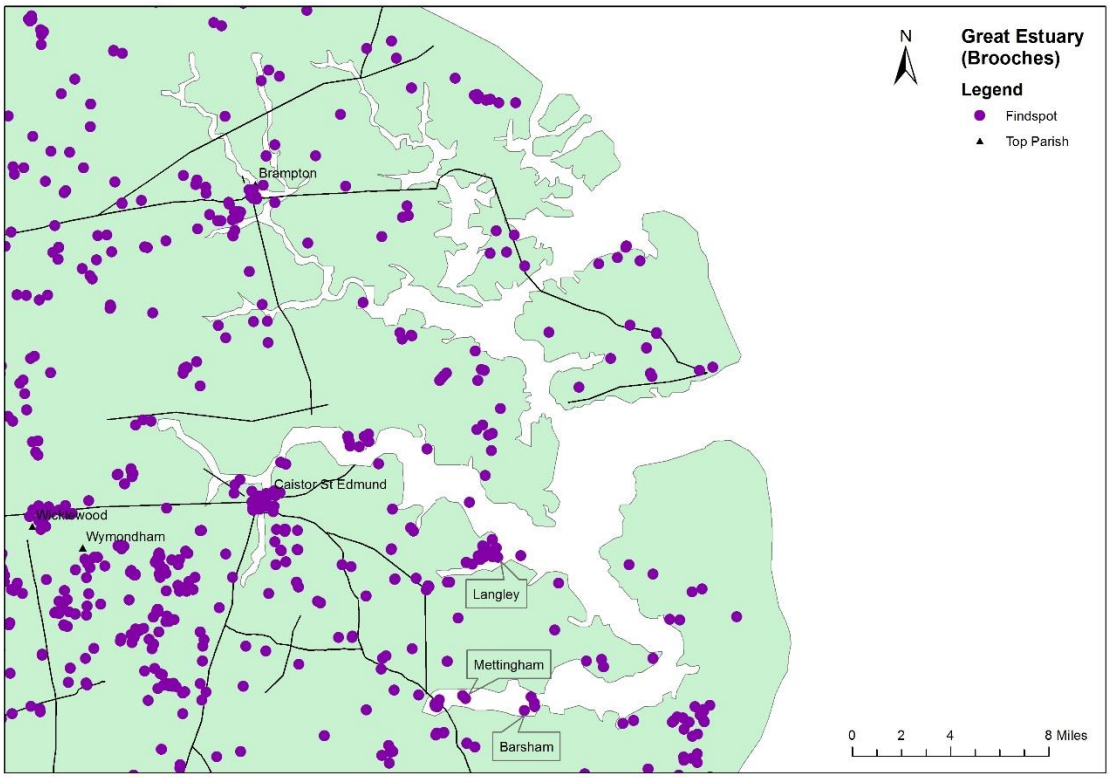


Figure 10.14: Brooch finds in the vicinity of the Great Estuary (Image: Author).

9.12. Recommendations and Future Research

This project was ambitious in its research objectives and regional scope. I have created and interrogated a database of over 14,000 artefacts from three counties, with significant conclusions regarding Icenian identity, aesthetics and the historical narrative of the region. Nevertheless, there are ample opportunities for further investigations and extensions of this project.

10.5.1. Policy Recommendations

- An integrated online small finds database, along the lines of the PAS or Celtic Coin Index (see also Adams 2013:246) would assist with searching and collating finds from multiple sources and act as a register/archive. Duplication between the PAS and HERs is also an issue which needs to be resolved.

- Romano-British mirror fragments are overlooked both by detectorists and academics. Along with miniature lead axes and one-piece brooches,

these often wind up in the scrap box. An online PAS guide could flag up these objects, along with additional training for self-recorders and FLOs.

- Streamlining of PAS descriptions and consistency in terminology is crucial for comprehensive searches. I would like to see uploads of multiple images and viewpoints (and eventually 360-degree scans) of each object. Encouraging finders to use field-based GPS to its full potential to geo-locate finds on the spot is also important.

10.5.2. Future Research

- Other brooch distribution patterns would no doubt be forthcoming if the timespan were extended to the entire Roman period. I would also be particularly keen to compare the data with those from Essex.

- The presence of *militaria*, including buckles, weaponry and armour, on civilian sites would benefit from further investigation, especially given the ambiguity over Hod Hill brooches.

- The many subtypes of e.g. Trumpet, Headstud or Disc brooches, would profit from in-depth analysis, especially given Cool and Baxter's warnings (2016a, 2016b) about biases in the East Anglian dataset.

- The colour schemes of enamelling and the application of white metal trim on plate brooches, particularly zoomorphics, and objects like seal-boxes and button-and-loop fasteners would make an interesting study relating to manufacture and design. Despite Davis's work (2014) there is still scope for analysis of the decorative features and metal components on harness and other small finds.

- One of my observations is how poorly votive and miniature objects are dated and interpreted. Like many of the large-scale catalogues of portable artefacts compiled during the mid-20th century, Green's volumes (1976, 1978) are outdated in terms of data and theory. However, as the main catalogues available, her texts are quoted time and again, with varying critical awareness (e.g. Jackson 2010:26;

Kiernan 2009:33-4; Morrison 2013:228-9). Indeed, I have frequently been obliged to refer to her publications myself. A revised catalogue of Romano-British religious small finds and a complete reassessment of their dates, roles and relationships is needed.

- Nail cleaners revealed interesting patterning, with Norfolk having many more handles in the same plane as the loop, Suffolk more right-angle types and Baldock types found only in the south of the region. Cosmetic grinders showed some intra-regional preferences in zoomorphic terminal types. This could be applied to other toiletry instruments, like tweezers and cosmetic spoons, if the dating could be improved. Cataloguing and dating of *styli* would enhance my results on the spread of literacy.

- Our understanding of the Iceni way of death and burial is extremely limited. Although there is little to go on, a survey like Hill's (1995a) on Wessex, bringing together disarticulated and fragmentary remains would be useful, along with further research on the skeletal evidence and contextual deposition of horses and other animals.

- Future research would be beneficial on the Great Estuary, plotting finds around contours, looking for evidence from dredgings, adding Lidar data to the NMP and most importantly testing on the ground.

- A targeted programme of research-led excavation in Norfolk directed at key sites known only from metal-detector, aerial photography and field survey, such as Saham Toney and Great Walsingham, is long overdue. The potential benefits are evident from the success of the Caistor Roman Project in reinterpreting the story of the *civitas* capital. Many of the research questions left open here, surrounding dating, military activity and ritual *foci*, could be answered by such excavations.

This thesis has shown the value of combining multiple datasets and the important contribution of responsible metal-detector use and recording. It has demonstrated that interpretations based on classical narratives of the Icenian

'tribal territory' and its militarisation and abandonment are questionable. This has wider implications for studies of other historically-attested peoples and regions. My study of portable artefacts demonstrates the complex and selective processes of resistance and connectedness and shows that the people of the *civitas Icenorum* were highly innovative and engaged. In this way, I hope to have liberated discussions of the 'Iceni' from the constraints of cultural conservatism and the discourse of the Boudican revolt.

Appendices

Database tables (Microsoft Excel) are provided on the accompanying digital version. Date ranges drawn from the following sources: Appendix A (Bayley and Butcher 2004, Crummy 1983, Carr 2006, Hattatt 2007, Mackreth 2011, PAS database, Snape 1993 and Worrell Autumn 2007). Appendix B (Hutcheson 2004; PAS database).

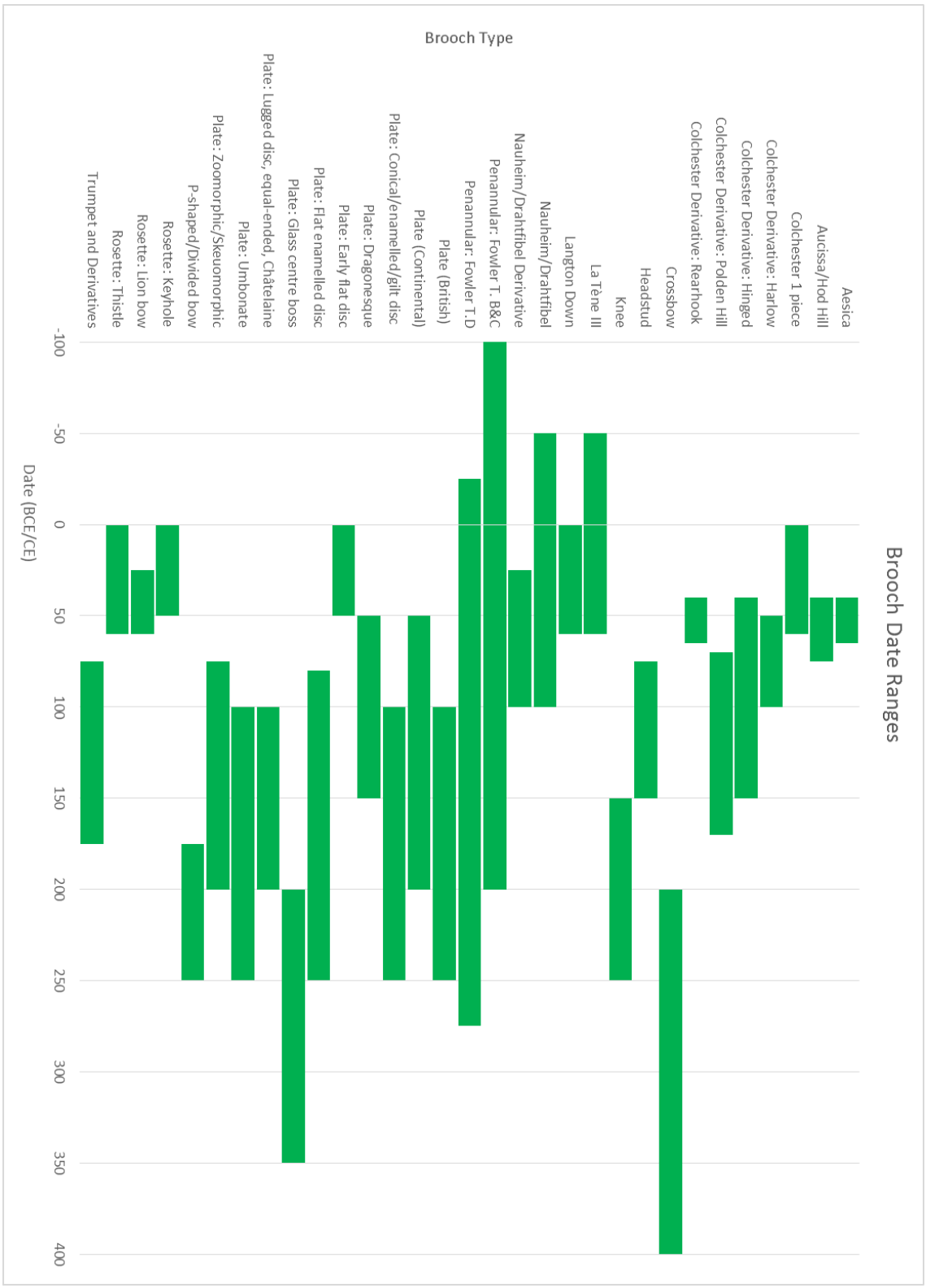
Roman Road and Coastline maps provided by K. Robbins, based on data from Ancient World Mapping Centre (2012), Norfolk Archaeological Trust (2012-6), Fenland Survey (1994), McCormick *et al.* (2013 DARMC Scholarly Data Series) and English Heritage. All PAS images are used under a CC BY-SA 4.0 licence.

Digital data were provided by:

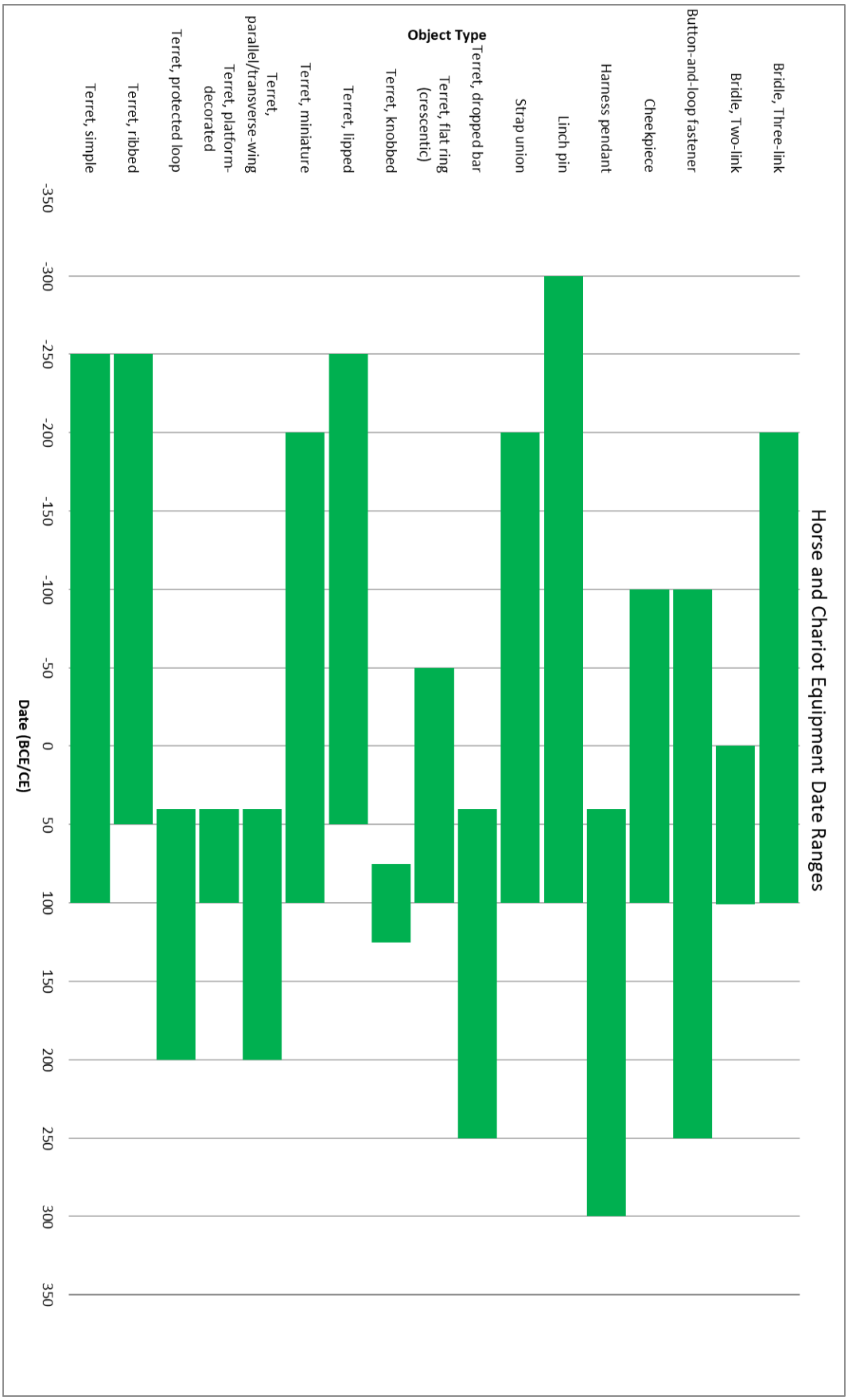
- Norfolk Historic Environment Record licence 232 (25/11/2014)
- Suffolk Historic Environment Record licence (06/11/2014)
- Cambridgeshire Historic Environment Record licence 15-2029 (01/05/2015)

Maps contain OS data © Crown copyright and database right (2014-7) provided through EDINA Digimap and OS Opendata services.

Appendix A: Brooch Date Ranges



Appendix B: Harness Date Ranges



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Notes

[1] Discussing 'the Iceni' as an entity is problematic. The name is retained throughout as a familiar epithet, but should be understood as a convenience, not a statement of ethnicity. Likewise, I use the names of adjacent peoples, such as the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni, as shorthand.

[2] Talbot (2015:241) presents reasonably convincing numismatic evidence for 61 CE, although the unrest may have continued over a period of several months.

[3] A charming term used by Rainbird Clarke (1939:3, 84) based on antiquarian predecessors, referring to the LIA territory.

[4] Dressel 1 *amphorae* have been found along the Stour Valley and at Snailwell (Moore *et al* 1988:14). The concentration of Dressel 1 in Essex highlights this gap in Suffolk, Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. This distribution has been suggested to mark a boundary between the Iceni, and their southern neighbours, the Trinovantes (Sealey 2015). Small numbers of Dressel 20 oil *amphorae* (which peak in the Antonine period in Britain) have been found at Denver, Feltwell, Hockwold, Weeting, Brancaster, Scole and Caister-on-Sea (Tyers 2014).

[5] Versluys dismisses looking for hybrids as it fails to dispel the dichotomy of Romans vs Natives (2014:13), but I would argue that they can indicate fusion and experimentation.

[6] An HER search (with wide parameters for Iron Age and Roman cemeteries, cremations or inhumations) returned Cambridgeshire (53), Norfolk (39) and Suffolk (38). Many of these were antiquarian finds, or early records without strong dating or contextual information, so should not be regarded as definitive. The broad date range also means that many Late Roman cemeteries were included.

[7] At Mildenhall in 1812, workmen 'discovered a human skeleton of large dimensions, stretched at its full length between the skeletons of two horses, arranged in a parallel order. On one side of the warrior lay a long iron sword, on the other his celt: he had a torques of gold; but the temptation of this precious metal induced the labourers to conceal for a time their discovery. The torques was conveyed secretly to Bury, sold to a petty silversmith and immediately melted down' (SHER:MNLMisc; Clarke 1939:43). The unknown fate of this skeleton and his/her grave goods means we cannot draw any firm conclusions on the nature of the burial.

[8] '*civitas*' is defined as: an organised community; a state; the persons living within such a community; a city and its surrounding district (Glare 2012) and the condition or privileges of a (Roman) citizen; the citizens united in a community; the body-politic (Lewis and Short 1969).

[9] The study of Roman urbanism and the classification of 'small towns' is beyond the scope of this thesis (see Burnham and Wacher 1990; Clarke 1995; Gurney 1995; Rodwell and Rowley 1975; Rust 2013; Taylor 2013; Todd 1970), but the term is adopted here for convenience to describe nucleated settlements that are larger than villages, but not on the scale of *civitas* centres or *coloniae*. Small towns may have played a role in the introduction and distribution of new material culture and practices in the *civitas* (Plouviez 2005:162).

[10] Mattingly also refers to the 'Roman interlude', praising the recent convergence of Iron Age and Roman specialists 'working across this divide' (2008:214).

[11] *Romanitas* denotes Roman self-image and identity, expressed through cultural attributes such as villas and townhouses (Kurchin 1995:127), although neither the term nor concept appears in the documentary record until *circa* 200 CE (James 2010:200).

[12] 'The use of the term "state" is justified for the LIA polities in Gaul and Britain as this is the term, *civitas*, used by the Latin writers who refer to them and had direct experience of them; the common translation into English, 'tribe', has unfortunate connotations in the anthropological literature, as it implies a lower level of social organisation' (Collis 2007:524). The use of 'tribe' is thus only relevant when referring to classical texts (Moore 2011). Ross suggests replacing 'tribe' with 'community', thereby highlighting differences and networks (2011:3), although uncritically substituting 'community' for 'tribe' is not especially useful. I will refrain from repeating this flawed terminology except in direct quotation, preferring to describe the Iceni *civitas*, territory, people or polity. Similarly, I replace 'native' with 'indigenous' or 'local', as it is loaded with contemporary post-imperial connotations.

[13] Chadburn reports that hoards containing only Icenian coins are found within a line running approximately from Great Yarmouth-Diss-Bury St Edmunds-Cambridge-March-The Wash (2006:333, 470 map 17).
[14] https://finds.org.uk/treasure
[15] http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1358668&partId=1&place=42835&plaA=42835-3-1&page=1
[16] Andrew Rogerson, former Senior Historic Environment Officer (Finds), NCC, (pers. comm. 24/04/2015).
[17] Richard Hoggett, former Senior Archaeological Officer (HER), SCC, (pers. comm. 19/11/2014).
[18] https://finds.org.uk/about and https://finds.org.uk/database
[19] In Cambridgeshire it is possible to create a map layer to overlay PAS finds onto the HER, although this was not offered as a research option. Gabrielle Day, former Assistant Archaeologist, CCC, (pers. comm. 15/01/2016).
[20] Gabrielle Day (pers. comm. 15/01/2016).
[21] http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/romangl/
[22] http://www.reading.ac.uk/web/files/archaeology/Roman-coins-and-brooches-in-the-east-of-England_Tom_Brindle.pdf
[23] The Suffolk County Archaeological Service had the good fortune to retain Dr Jude Plouviez for four decades; however, evolution was observed even in her terminology and dating of certain objects. This was confirmed in conversation with Jude, who acknowledged that the way she recorded brooches over the years has changed.
[24] Andrew Rogerson (pers. comm. 24/04/2015). It was also noted in conversation with detectorists that some FLOs/HERs do not have the budget to buy the latest publications and individual finders can rarely afford them.
[25] I have identified a possible extension to the Icknield Way, perhaps a summer trackway on the Fen edge, which manifests as a linear distribution of findspots stretching from near Hockwold-cum-Wilton to the Chippenham area. Time has not yet permitted me to investigate this fully.
[26] Adrian Marsden FLO (NCC) (pers. comm. 09/12/2017).
[27] Marsden (pers. comm. 09/12/2017) also suggested that wiry one-piece brooches often go unrecognised and end up in the junk bucket.
[28] The name derives from Holbrooks site, Harlow, Essex and is applied both to the brooch and the spring system (Mackreth 2011:50), which has recording implications, similar to Polden Hills.
[29] Recording bias potentially plays a part with Rearhooks. My figures include Colchester Derivatives identified as 'sprung Dolphins'. In Norfolk 'Dolphin' has been a valid category for some years, whereas in Suffolk it is rarely used (Ruth Beveridge, Suffolk Archaeology pers. comm. 21/04/2017). Nomenclature also affects the Harlow, with many PAS records giving 'Colchester Derivative double lug' or similar. I have followed Plouviez in considering the 'sprung Dolphin' and the Rearhook one and the same, distinct from Harlow and Hinged variants (2008:171, 2014:35-6).
[30] Julia Farley, BM (pers. comm. 09/05/2017).
[31] My thanks to Adrian Marsden for bringing this to my attention.
[32] Tylecote does not explicitly state what types of brooch the moulds were for, but one 'fits a *fibula* from the same area' (1969:46). Mackreth's assertion that at least one of the moulds was for his Harlow type 1.a1 suggests he examined the finds personally (2011:50). A search of Norfolk Museums stores has recently turned up some of these finds, although it has not yet been possible to verify the brooches or other artefacts in detail (NWHCM:1961.150).
[33] Unpublished letter in SHER (CHD004) from J. Plouviez to J. Bayley re: samples sent for study.
[34] My dataset includes many dual/uncertain identifications which present some problems for analysis.
[35] Adrian Marsden (pers. comm. 09/12/2017).
[36] Jason Gibbons, NMS, (pers. comm. 09/12/2017).

[37] True Polden Hill brooches are a West Country type, rarely found in East Anglia. This leads to ambiguities in recording. It is impossible to tell, without images, whether the recorder meant a Colchester Derivative with Polden Hill spring or a true Polden Hill brooch. Given their rarity in the east, it has been assumed that those recorded without further elaboration are Colchester Derivatives.
[38] Wendy Scott (pers. comm. 26/04/2017).
[39] Adrian Marsden (pers. comm. 09/12/2017).
[40] This may be a data collection issue. Mackreth numbers four from Norfolk: Two are unprovenanced from Hattatt's collection, the one from 'Walsingham/Wighton' is most likely the one on my database and the fourth from Fincham I have been unable to locate. The example from Cotton, Suffolk, (PAS: SF-2BE766) is broken behind the neck. As there is no sign of a rider, it has been included here.
[41] My thanks to Adrian Marsden for suggesting this idea.
[42] These may be duplicate records. No image exists for PAS:NMS555 for comparison, but the finder and year found are the same.
[43] https://finds.org.uk/treasure/advice/summary
[44] In the hoard from Quidney Farm was a pair of broken Roman iron shackles (Bates *et al* 2000:228, 230). Could there be an association with power, ownership and control over another being, human or animal, at work behind this assemblage?
[45] See, for example, Argent's interesting take on the Pazyryk human-horse burials from the perspective of a working rider (2010, 2016).
[46] The PAS database gives search options of either 'votive model' or 'miniature object'. Some objects are found in both categories.
[47] My thanks to Andy Lamb (University of Leicester) for raising this question.
[48] http://www.sikhcoalition.org/documents/pdf/kirpan-factsheet-oct2014.pdf
[49] Marsden (pers. comm. 09/12/2017) observed that detectorists do recover lead axes, but because they are often small and unattractive, they are relegated to the scrap box.
[50] I asked interviewed participants if they regularly discriminated against lead, and none did, partly because it would exclude medieval seals and other objects.
[51] I have been unable to find an illustration of this to compare any more closely.
[52] Possibly a duplicate as it was the same finder, but in a different year and location in the field than the other two.
[53] Pliny (*NH* 28.39) states that infants (no mention of gender) were at particular risk of the evil eye and required the protection of the god Fascinus, the embodiment of the phallus.
[54] There are only eight individual PAS records of pipeclay figurines, plus a group of thirteen from Nornour in the Scilly Isles.
[55] Andrews does not give grid references, perhaps reluctant to publish sensitive locational data, but itemises the parish or site for each seal-box. Cross-referencing his catalogue with mine has left some queries, therefore, some locations may be approximate, centred on parish.
[56] At least two of these I believe to be duplicated with PAS records, but I cannot completely discount them based on lack of precise information in Andrews's catalogue.
[57] Gwladys Monteil (pers. comm. 12/06/2017).
[58] The *defixio* from the River Tas is discussed in Section 7.5.2.
[59] A similar hinge is known on a seal-box from London, but the heavily-corroded example from *Venta* may not be a seal-box owing to its flat profile (Colin Andrews pers. comm. 21/10/2016).
[60] Parts of this chapter were published in the Norfolk Archaeological and Historical Research Group Annual (Harlow 2016).
[61] Many of the Norfolk/Suffolk grinders from Jackson's catalogue could not be matched to HER records, so coordinates are approximate, centred on parish. Some of these finds will therefore be duplicated due to insufficient information. Unprovenanced Norfolk/Suffolk collections from the BM have been excluded.
[62] Several of these may be duplicated with Jackson's catalogue.
[63] Michael de Bootman (pers. comm. 17/11/2017)
[64] https://finds.org.uk/research [Accessed:23/08/2017].